Prime Time

Type of case Broadcast Standards

Decision In Breach

Service KTV

Date and 30 December 2021, 19:16

time

Category Incitement to crime and disorder

Summary This programme contained material likely to encourage

or incite the commission of crime or lead to disorder,

in breach of Rule 3.1 of the Broadcasting Code.

We published a decision relating to this programme on

31 March 2022 in our list of <u>broadcasting and on</u> demand sanction decisions on Ofcom's website,

together with a <u>Suspension Notice</u>. We have reviewed

the decision in the light of representations received as

a part of the statutory process.

Introduction

Ofcom has a duty to suspend a broadcast licence pending a decision on revocation, if it is satisfied that the licensee has broadcast a programme likely to encourage or to incite the commission of crime, that it has therefore contravened its licence conditions; and that the contravention justifies the revocation of the licence¹.

On 31 March 2022, Ofcom suspended the licence held by Khalsa Television Limited ("KTV" or "the Licensee") to provide the KTV television service. The reasons are set out in our Suspension Notice² including that it had broadcast material likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime or lead to disorder in the above programme. Ofcom considered the breach to be serious and was concerned this was the third time the Licensee had broken our rules on incitement to crime. KTV was provided with the opportunity to provide representations on the Suspension Notice. Having carefully considered the written representations provided by KTV on these matters (summarised from page 8 to

¹ Section 239 of the Communications Act 2003.

² Breach Decision and Suspension Notice – Khalsa Television Limited, 31 March 2022

15 below), Ofcom served KTV with a Draft Revocation Notice on 13 May 2022 and invited representations. On 26 May 2022, KTV surrendered its licence.

As KTV has surrendered its licence, Ofcom no longer needs to complete the revocation process. However, Ofcom has a duty to be satisfied that any person who wishes to hold a broadcast licence is fit and proper to hold it. Broadcasts which incite murder are clearly relevant to that duty. If these broadcasters, or those controlling them, were to apply for a broadcast licence in the future, Ofcom's commencement of this revocation process, this decision and the full compliance history of the former licensees would be major factors. We therefore consider it important both to record our position publicly and to complete the compliance history for KTV.

The Programme

KTV was a television channel broadcasting to the Sikh community in the United Kingdom. *Prime Time* was a 95-minute live discussion programme which was broadcast from KTV's studios in the UK. The presenter, Jagjit Singh Jeeta, opened the programme with a monologue regarding the progress of the Sikh secessionist cause towards the creation of an independent state of Khalistan since Operation Bluestar in 1984³, during which he set out his view that the current leadership of the Sikh community lacked the courage or drive to take the necessary action to achieve this aim. He focused on the recent end of the Farmers' Protests in Punjab and in particular, the arrest of Sikh activist Jagmeet Singh and his mother, Jasveer Kaur. Later in the programme the presenter took calls from viewers to discuss the issue of the pro-Khalistan cause.

Ofcom received three complaints that the programme was likely to encourage or incite crime or violence. All the complainants said that the programme encouraged Sikhs, and in particular young Sikhs, to become involved in terrorism.

As the programme was broadcast in Punjabi, we commissioned an English translation, a copy of which we sent to the Licensee for comment both at the opening of our investigation and together with our Preliminary View. KTV initially told Ofcom it that it considered our translation to be inaccurate and that it failed to "take into account the tone and cultural references", and later reiterated that it "strongly objects" to the translation. Ofcom invited KTV to provide specific details of the aspects of our translation it considered to be inaccurate or suggest any changes to it. We did not receive any representations from KTV in this regard until after we had published this decision on 31 March 2022, when KTV made representations on our Suspension Notice and Breach Decision. We reviewed our translation in light of KTV's representations and made changes where we considered appropriate (see under "Ofcom's position on the translation" on page 16).

Programme summary

Ofcom took into account the entire programme as broadcast. Due to the length of the programme, the way in which the message was articulated throughout, and the need to consider the relevant statements in context, we have annexed a complete transcript of the programme to this Decision,

³ Operation Blue Star was the codename of a military operation carried out by Indian security forces between 1 and 10 June 1984 to remove the leader of Damdami Taksal, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, and his followers from the buildings of the Golden Temple, the holiest site for Sikhs located in Amritsar, Punjab, India.

which should be read along with this Decision. Our substantive reasoning below steps through what was said.

Prime Time was a live discussion programme presented by Jagjit Singh Jeeta which lasted just over an hour and a half. After an opening monologue, the presenter invited viewers to ring in and discuss their views on-air. The presenter gave a 23-minute introduction, and then took calls from three callers.

Throughout the programme a text disclaimer was scrolled across the screen in English which read: "The views and opinion expressed in the following programme are those of the speakers or presenters so not necessarily reflect or constitute the views and opinions held by KTV".

Two further captions were repeated on screen in Gurmukhi script which read:

- "A mother and son are being held captive as a result of various cases being lodged against them, under the pretext of [links with] SFJ⁴".
- "Are those [who have been] lobbying for Khalistan in foreign nations for the last 37 years using the 'Khalistan cause' for personal gain?"

Ofcom's concerns

Ofcom received three complaints about this programme. The complainants raised concerns that material broadcast in the programme incited violence and/or terrorism. In particular, complainants said:

- the presenter encouraged/provoked Sikhs, and in particular younger Sikhs, to become involved in terrorism; and
- content in this programme was "very dangerous" and encouraged Sikhs "to do things under the table" or "underground".

We considered the programme raised issues under the following rule of Ofcom's Broadcasting Code⁵ ("the Code"):

Rule 3.1: "Material likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime or to lead to disorder must not be included in television...services..."

Background

As part of Ofcom's assessment of the programme, we took account of the following historical context with regard to the Khalistan secessionist movement and the involvement of some of the activists referenced by the presenter throughout the programme:

• In 1978, 13 Sikh followers of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale (a Sikh religious leader, also known as Sant Baba Jarnail Singh)⁶ were killed in clashes with followers of Nirankari, the breakaway sect from Sikhism. Two members of the Nirankari sect were also killed in the

⁴ Sikhs For Justice is a US based secessionist group that supports the secession of Punjab from India as Khalistan.

⁵ The Broadcasting Code.

⁶ Sikh militant leader who led the Sikh uprising in 1984 and seized control of the Golden Temple. He was killed in Operation Bluestar, the assault by the Indian military to regain control of the temple.

- clashes⁷. The Nirankari sect⁸ was regarded as a heresy within Sikhism as it named a living Guru as its head and was excommunicated from Sikhism by its highest body.
- In 1983, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale occupied and fortified the Sikh holy shrine named the Akal Takht (also referred to as the Golden Temple or Darbar Saheb), along with hundreds of his armed supporters. Despite his not calling for an independent Sikh state of Khalistan himself, the Indian government viewed Bhindranwale and his followers as secessionists whose ultimate goal was to secede from the Indian state and declare an independent Sikh state in the Punjab. Bhindranwale is revered by many Sikhs.
- In June 1984, the Indian Army carried out a military operation, "Operation Bluestar", to remove Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and his supporters from the Golden Temple, including Shabeg Singh, a former general of the Indian army. The operation was ordered by the then Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and planned by the Chief of the Indian Army, General Arun Vaidya. According to independent estimates, Operation Bluestar resulted in the death of approximately 5000 to 7000 Sikhs, many of whom were pilgrims to the temple caught up in the fighting 10. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Amrik Singh and scores of Bhindranwale's followers were also killed during the Indian Army's assault upon the temple.
- The Golden Temple or Darbar Saheb is the holiest gurdwara (place of worship) of Sikhism and is regarded by all Sikhs as the highest seat of moral, political, military, and spiritual authority. The temple is visited by thousands of Sikh pilgrims throughout the year. Many Sikhs, even those who opposed Bhindranwale's Khalistan campaign, regarded the assault on the temple a sacrilege and an affront against Sikhism. 11 The assault on the Golden Temple is now referred to as "Teeja Ghalughara", which translates to "the third holocaust" or "third massacre" of Sikh history, and is commemorated by Sikhs around the world 12.
- In October 1984, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by Satwant Singh and Beant Singh, her two Sikh bodyguards, in retaliation for Operation Bluestar¹³. Kehar Singh was also convicted and executed for his involvement in the assassination.

⁷ See <u>India: Information on the history and development of the Nirankari religion and on whether its members face political problems in Punjab in particular, or in India in general, UNHCR, 1 January 1997; and <u>Sikh-Nirankari conflict peaked with 1978 clash</u>, The Tribune, 19 November 2018.</u>

⁸ See '<u>Nirankari</u>', Britannica.com and '<u>Akal Takht directs Khalsa Panth to sever all ties with Sikhs who embraced Nirankari faith</u>', India Today, 2 February 2015.

⁹ In third-party representations received from the Sikh Press Association, it objected to Ofcom's use of the word "occupied" in relation to these events. We note that this is the word used by, for example, the reputable Sikh source https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sant_Jarnail_Singh_Bhindranwale, and consider it to be a neutral and objective term. We do not dispute that Bhindranwale is "viewed as a Saint to millions of Sikhs".

¹⁰ See '<u>Wounds That Never Heal: Remembering Operation Bluestar</u>', The Wire, 6 June 2021 and '<u>What happened during 1984 Operation Blue Star</u>?', India Today, 6 June, 2018.

¹¹ See 'Wounds That Never Heal: Remembering Operation Bluestar', The Wire, 6 June 2021.

¹² See <u>Ghallughara June 1984: Thousands of Sikhs Participate in Remembrance March and Freedom Rally in London</u>, Punjab Outlook, 5 June 2019.

¹³ See '3 Sikhs Convicted in Ghandi Murder', New York Times, 22 January 1986.

- Following the assassination of Indira Gandhi, anti-Sikh riots or pogroms¹⁴ broke out across Delhi on 31 October 1984, which resulted in the death of very many Sikhs¹⁵. Further rioting and pogroms against Sikhs, in addition to those in Delhi, took place across India. The Indian Government established the Justice Nanavati Commission of Inquiry into the 1984 Anti-Sikh riots, which found that Indian politician, Jagdish Tytler, "very probably" had a hand in organising the attacks.¹⁶ This finding was later overturned.
- A series of further terrorist attacks were carried out by Sikh militants in reprisal for the assault on the Golden Temple. For example:
 - In 1984, Harminder Singh Khalsa was involved in the hijacking of an Indian Airlines flight flying from Jammu to Lahore in Pakistan¹⁷.
 - In 1985, Gian Singh Leel¹⁸ assassinated former President of the Shromani Akali Dal¹⁹,
 Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, for signing the Punjab Accord in 1985, a peace treaty between the Indian Government and Sikh activists.
 - O In 1986, Harjinder Singh Jinda ("Jinda") and Sukhdev Singh Sukha ("Sukha"), murdered General Vaidya in Pune, India. Jinda and Sukha were members of the Sikh militant organisation, Khalistan Commando Force ("KCF") founded by Manbir Singh Chehru, which is banned by the Indian Government²⁰. Following a trial, they were sentenced to death and executed in 1992²¹.
 - In 1987, Rajinder Singh and Manjit Singh murdered Sikh leader Darshan Das, who was critical of the Sikh separatist movement, while he addressed supporters at a rally in London. Both were sentenced to life imprisonment in the UK²².
 - In 2014, Harminder Singh Mintoo was arrested by the Indian police authorities on more than ten terrorism related charges²³. He remained the head of the Sikh militant

¹⁴ We have amended this bullet following representations. The Sikh Press Association objected to the use of the term "riot" alone in this background section, which it considers to be associated with Indian governmental propaganda. We note that the term "riot" is that used by international human rights organisations such as Amnesty International (See: <u>Victims of anti-Sikh riots face further delays</u>, Amnesty International, 16 August 2005; and Punjab – <u>Twenty years on impunity continues</u>, Amnesty International, 29 October 2004) and by international media (see e.g. 1984 anti-Sikh riots: Calls for Justice in India, Al Jazeera, 07 October 2016).

¹⁵ The Sikh Press Association objected to our previously quoting a figure of 5,000 deaths in Delhi. The number of Sikhs killed in the riots and pogroms across India following Indira Gandhi's assassination is highly contested and estimates differ widely, with <u>some sources</u> citing figures up to 2733 deaths and <u>others</u> citing up to 8000.

¹⁶ See Justice Nanavati Commission of Inquiry Report (1984 Anti-Sikh Riots).

¹⁷ Harminder Singh Khalsa was sentenced to life imprisonment and ordered to leave the country on his release in 1994. See <u>Harminder Singh Khalsa et al. v. Switzerland</u>, CAT/C/46/D/336/2008, UN Committee Against Torture (CAT), 7 July 2011.

¹⁸ See Sant Harchand Singh Longowal's assassin leads a quiet life, The Hindustan Times, 20 August 2015

¹⁹ The Shiromani Akali Dal is the oldest Sikh political party in Punjab, India.

²⁰ See Ministry of Home Affairs list of banned organisations listed in the First Schedule of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967. The KCF is not proscribed in the UK.

²¹ See Sikhs face execution after court plea fails, The Independent, 8 October 1992.

²² See Sikhs Given Life Terms For Killing Religious Leader, AP News, 11 March 1989.

²³ See KLF chief Harminder Singh Mintoo dies of cardiac arrest in Patiala, The Times of India, 18 April 2018.

- organisation Khalistan Liberation Force ("KLF"), which has since been banned by the Indian Government, ²⁴ until his death in August 2018.
- o In 2018, many prominent Sikh activists including Ramandeep Singh Bagga ("Bagga") and Hardeep Singh Shera ("Shera"), were indicted by India's National Investigating Agency ("NIA") for being part of a wider transnational conspiracy to carry out targeted killings in India²⁵. This also included Harmeet Singh, who is known as the alias "Happy PhD", a leader of the KLF who was involved in the targeted killing of Indian political figures²⁶ and remained in Pakistan until he was killed in a police encounter in 2020 in Lahore. On 27 December 2018, the NIA formally proscribed the KLF in India²⁷ for involvement in bombings and terrorist activities.
- Over the years, it has been alleged by the Indian Government that the Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence ("ISI") has been "assisting pro-Khalistan groups financially and organisationally", including in relation to the attacks outlined above²⁸.
- On 12 August 2018, members of the Sikh community participating in a pro-Khalistan rally in the UK called for a referendum in Punjab in 2020²⁹ to exercise their right to self-determination³⁰. The Khalistan secessionist movement gained more prominence with the call for a referendum, particularly among members of the Sikh diaspora in Canada and the UK. The referendum was not recognised by India, and Sikhs living in the diaspora proposed holding the referendum principally in the UK and Canada, as a means of highlighting to the government of India support for establishment of an independent Sikh state in Punjab. The referendum, also referred to as "Khalistan Referendum 2020" was initially scheduled for 31 October 2020 to mark the date of the 1984 riots but was postponed due to the Coronavirus pandemic. Voting in this referendum has been taking place in late 2021 and January 2022 with results yet to be announced³¹.
- Sikhs For Justice was proscribed in India in 2019 for disseminating pro-Khalistan material and promoting the referendum as part of its secessionist agenda³².

²⁴ See Indian <u>Ministry of Home Affairs list of banned organisations</u> listed in the First Schedule of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967. The KLF is not proscribed in the UK.

²⁵ See <u>NIA Files chargesheet in Ravinder Gosain murder case of Punjab</u>, Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India, 4 May 2018.

²⁶ See Khalistan Extremism Monitor's Profile of Harmeet Singh.

²⁷ See Govt bans Khalistan Liberation Force, The Economic Times (indiatimes.com), 27 December 2018.

²⁸ See <u>Pakistan's Destabilization Playbook: Khalistan Separatist Activism Within the US</u>, Aparna Pande, Husain Haqqani, C. Christine Fair, Michael Rubin, Seth Oldmixon, Sam Westrop, the Hudson Institute (hudson.org); <u>Terrorism Update Details - infighting-is-ongoing-within-the-terror-group-klf-for-'top-post'-according-to-report</u> (satp.org).

²⁹ See <u>British Sikh Activists Lead Call For A Homeland In India Amid Tension With Police</u>, The Huffington Post, 30 September 2018.

³⁰ In its representations to Ofcom, the Sikh Press Association said that we had "listed the Sikhs For Justice Khalistan referendum as part of the context in making the decision to remove the channel" despite the fact the referendum is legal in the UK. We made no suggestion that the referendum campaign was illegal. We set out information on the referendum as part of this background section, in order to enable the reader to understand the programme, as the referendum campaign was referenced during the programme.

³¹ See <u>The Results. The Punjab Referendum Commission</u>; See <u>Sikhs worldwide to take part in referendum on Punjab independence</u>, The National, 11 August 2021.

³² See <u>Government blocks 12 pro-Khalistani websites, some being operated by Sikhs for Justice</u>, The Economic Times (indiatimes.com), 3 November 2020.

- In September 2020, Indian farmers carried out mass protests in opposition to agricultural reform bills passed in June 2020 by the Indian Government. Most of the protests were carried out in the states of Punjab and Haryana, two of the major agricultural producers of India 33. Punjab contains a majority Sikh population, while Haryana is predominantly Hindu. 44 Notable leaders of the protests include Balbir Singh Rajewal ("Rajewal"), Yogendra Yadav, Rakesh Tikait, Harinder Bindu, and Darshan Pal 55 (some Sikh and some Hindu).
- On 26 January 2021, thousands of protesting farmers on tractors broke through police barricades during a parade for India's annual Republic Day. During the clash, one protester was killed and property near the Red Fort was damaged³⁶.
- On 1 October 2021, a clash broke out between the police and protesters in Jhaggar (Haryana, India) resulting in police authorities spraying protesters with water cannons. One of the protestors, Jagmeet Singh, gained prominence on social media for not moving in the face of the water cannons³⁷.
- In November 2021, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced the repeal of the three agricultural bills³⁸, bringing an end to the year-long Farmers' Protests which had reportedly led to the deaths of more than 600 activists³⁹.
- Indian security agencies claimed the organisation Sikhs For Justice was responsible for instigating farmers in Delhi and Punjab to protest against the agricultural reform bills⁴⁰. (As set out above, the leaders of the protests included Hindus as well as Sikhs.)
- On or around 28 December 2021, Jagmeet Singh and his mother Jasveer Kaur were arrested in Patiala, Punjab for allegedly distributing pro-Khalistan material by Sikhs For Justice. The police claimed a "large quantity of pro-Khalistan material was recovered from the possession of the accused", they also claimed Jasveer Kaur's brother-in-law, Manjit Singh was an "area commander for the terrorist organisation Babbar Khalsa International 41" 42.

The Farmers' Protests and, in particular, the arrest of Jagmeet Singh and his mother provided the backdrop to the broadcast of *Prime Time* on 30 December 2021.

³³ See Farmers' protests in India and agricultural reforms, House of Commons Library (parliament.uk).

³⁴ See <u>Haryana</u>, Encyclopedia Britannica.

³⁵ See <u>The Leaders Who Shaped, Guided and Sustained the Farmers' Movement</u>, The Wire (thewire.in), 20 November 2021.

³⁶ See <u>Timeline of farmers' protest against three farm laws</u>, The Economic Times (indiatimes.com), 19 November 2021.

³⁷ See: Farm stir 'hero' held in Patiala for referendum link, Times of India (indiatimes.com), 29 December 2021.

³⁸ See <u>Farmers protest</u>: <u>Timeline of farmers' protest against three farm laws - The Economic Times</u> (indiatimes.com), 19 November 2021.

³⁹ See: Farmers' protest: 333 days & 600 deaths later, stir still strong | Amritsar News – Times of India (indiatimes.com), 26 October 2021.

⁴⁰ See <u>Fear of secessionists exploiting stir influenced govt's decision on farm laws: Insiders</u>, The Economic Times (indiatimes.com), 20 November 2021.

⁴¹ Babbar Khalsa International, also referred as Babbar Khalsa is included in the Home Office's list of <u>proscribed</u> terrorist organisation in the UK.

⁴² See <u>3 held with pro-Khalistan material in Punjab's Patiala</u>, The Economic Times (indiatimes.com), 28 December 2021.

Initial representations and representations on Preliminary View

Given the potential seriousness of this case and KTV's two previous breaches of Rule 3.1 of the Code⁴³, we informed the Licensee that we would be opening an expedited investigation into this programme and would be moving directly to preparing a Preliminary View. In response, the Licensee submitted initial written comments to Ofcom. KTV said it was "unsure" why Ofcom "would entertain the idea proposed that the program breaches rule 3.1". The Licensee argued that, rather than inciting crime or disorder itself, "the central theme of the program was exposing organisations that have exploited the community and incited violence and hatred in the name of an independent [Sikh] state". Further it argued the presenter "was encouraging representatives of these organisations to actually visit [India] and engage in the democratic system".

In response to our Preliminary View that the programme was in breach of Rule 3.1, KTV said it strongly objected to Ofcom's translation and Preliminary View but did not provide any details of its objection. The Licensee also said:

- Ofcom had reached a prejudiced Preliminary View which "manipulated (possibly unintentionally)" the contents of the programme to reach a view that the programme had breached Rule 3.1. It suggested that the basis of this prejudice was the Licensee's previous breaches of Rule 3.1 to which Ofcom had referred when notifying KTV of its investigation;
- there was "a clear lack of understanding and it feels as if there is a vendetta against the channel";
- there was "clearly no call to arms" (KTV's emphasis) in the programme and "instead it is a 'call
 to positive democratic action' in India". It added that KTV had been covering the current
 Punjab elections and "supports democratic change in India";
- the presenter was "challenging the hate rhetoric and glorified speeches of Sikh Separatists and is metaphorically challenging them to extend their peaceful activism in India". It said that the programme had "actually offended a variety of Sikh Separatist groups (Khalistani) in the UK and has earned the respect of pro-India people";
- "[t]alking about incidents in modern o[r] ancient Sikh History is not glorification of crime", rather, it likened this to "discussing the Afghanistan War or Iraq War or indeed the WW1".

Ofcom invited KTV to explain in what respects it considered our analysis of the programme in our Preliminary View to be flawed. However, the Licensee did not provide any evidence or reasoning to substantiate this objection, despite repeated requests from Ofcom⁴⁴.

As outlined above, we also invited the Licensee to make full representations to us on which parts of the translation it considered to be incorrect. However, KTV did not specify any inaccuracies in our translation until after we had published our decision on 31 March 2022.

Representations on Ofcom's draft Decision and draft Suspension Notice

Following KTV's representations above, we remained minded to consider that the programme breached Rule 3.1 of the Code.

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⁴³ See Decision – Khalsa Television Limited, Ofcom Broadcasting and on demand sanctions, 12 February 2021.

⁴⁴ On 24 February 2022, after receiving KTV's representations on the Preliminary View that same day; on 1 March 2022; and on 2 March 2022.

In accordance with our duty under section 239 of the Communications Act 2003⁴⁵ and in light of this broadcast and previous breaches by KTV of Rule 3.1 of the Code, we served KTV with a draft Suspension Notice on 21 March 2022 to which we annexed a draft Decision that the programme breached Rule 3.1 of the Code ("Draft Decision"). We invited KTV to make representations, which we said we would consider carefully before deciding whether to issue a final Decision and Suspension Notice.

In response, KTV reiterated there had been no breach of Rule 3.1 and "no incitement or call to violent action". It said the presenter had become "extremely passionate" during the programme and his words "should not be misunderstood".

KTV specifically responded to Ofcom's concerns set out in our Draft Decision in relation to the comment in the programme: "Bhai Manjit Singh must be listening to me. I am asking you to lead the community" 46. KTV said that since his release from prison over a decade ago, Manjit Singh had "led mediation at Guru Nanak Gurdwara, Smethwick for a number of years [and had] turned his life around and serves as an inspiration for Sikhs around the world". It added Manjit Singh "is an excellent orator and as such the presenter...called on him to lead. Every saint has a past and every sinner has a future. Rajinder Singh was also recognised for his humility and celebrated by the Akal Takth when he was released from prison and has now returned to India. It is common for many with violent backgrounds to become iconic leaders for example Nelson Mandela. The presenter did not ask Manjit Singh to commit violence, nor did he ask people to follow his violent example. The presenter challenged Manjit Singh to use his personality and charisma (which he has gained after his release) to become a community leader".

KTV said this was "an example" of how it believed Ofcom had misunderstood the content of the programme. It requested a meeting with Ofcom to go over similar points it wished to make.

KTV added that much of the programme expressed "frustration at the failures of so-called Sikh leaders and the falsehood of the non-binding Khalistan Referendum".

Given the urgency and seriousness of our investigation and the time that KTV had already been offered to provide its full representations to us in writing, Ofcom did not consider it appropriate to delay matters further.⁴⁷

Ofcom noted that KTV would have a further opportunity to make written and oral representations should we decide to suspend its licence.

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⁴⁵ Section 239 of the Communications Act 2003 requires Ofcom to suspend a broadcast licence if we are satisfied that the holder of the licence has included in the service one or more programmes containing material likely to encourage or to incite the commission of crime, or lead to disorder; that, in doing so, it has contravened conditions contained by virtue of Chapter 4 of Part 3 of the Communications Act 2003 in the licence to provide that service; and that the contravention is such as to justify the revocation of the licence.

⁴⁶ Manjit Singh, along with Rajinder Singh Mughalwal, murdered a Sikh leader in Southall, UK in the belief that he had dishonoured the Sikh faith.

⁴⁷ Ofcom noted that KTV was first provided with our translation of the programme on 14 January 2022 and our Preliminary View on 3 February 2022. Ofcom had granted an extension to the initial deadline for representations on the Preliminary View and following that, requested on three occasions that KTV explain in what respects it considered our translation and analysis to be flawed.

Representations on Ofcom's Breach Decision and Suspension Notice

Following KTV's representations on our draft Suspension Notice and Draft Decision, we remained minded to consider that the programme breached Rule 3.1 of the Code. Therefore, Ofcom served the Licensee with a Suspension Notice⁴⁸ on 31 March 2022 to which was annexed a final decision on breach ("Breach Decision")⁴⁹.

In accordance with section 239 of the Communications Act 2003, Ofcom provided KTV with 21 days to make its representations.

On receipt of Ofcom's Suspension Notice, solicitors instructed on behalf of the Licensee told Ofcom that the Licensee fully acknowledged "the extremely serious position it now finds itself in". KTV said it wished to apologise to Ofcom, acknowledging that its staff "did not engage with the case as promptly and thoroughly as they should". The Licensee said having reviewed the Breach Decision in detail, it now understood why it was found to breach Rule 3.1, adding it was "committed to ensuring in future that no such contraventions will occur again". It also said it was now determined "to make whatever changes and improvements in its compliance arrangements are necessary to ensure its licence is not revoked by Ofcom and the current suspension lifted". However, it acknowledged that to lift the suspension, Ofcom would need to be persuaded that KTV will be a responsible broadcaster in the future, with fully effective compliance arrangements. It said it was preparing "a comprehensive package of actions to achieve this objective" which it would set out in its formal representations.

The Licensee's solicitors provided written representations in relation to the Suspension Notice on KTV's behalf on 21 April 2022, which are summarised and considered from page 48. In addition, the Licensee provided representations on the Breach Decision as summarised below, and as relevant, we have considered them in this updated breach decision.

KTV accepted that the programme had breached Rule 3.1 of the Code. The Licensee said it "understands and accepts why some elements of the Prime Time programme could be interpreted by Ofcom as likely to encourage violence and therefore why Ofcom found Rule 3.1 was contravened".

However, it also said, "when viewed as a whole and taking account of the full context and background...the likelihood of the programme overall and cumulatively to encourage violence was less than Ofcom suggests in the Decision". It argued while the breach of Rule 3.1 was "of course serious", the contravention was "not so clear cut and so serious that it justifies revocation of the licence".

Translation

While the Licensee acknowledged that it did not object to Ofcom's translation of the programme prior to the Breach Decision, it requested Ofcom to "take into account that all translations are subjective and that to some extent the nuance of keywords can be lost or misinterpreted". KTV also made some specific points on the translation which we address below with our response.

Likelihood of inciting violence

The Licensee said when considering whether material is in breach of Rule 3.1 Ofcom is required to assess the likelihood of the content encouraging or inciting crime or disorder. It noted that while

⁴⁸ <u>Suspension Notice of Licence</u> published on 31 March 2022.

⁴⁹ Breach Decision published on 31 March 2022.

Ofcom is not required to identify any causal link between the content broadcast and any specific acts of disorder of criminal behaviour, it must take into account all of the relevant circumstances, the nature of the content, its editorial context and its likely effects. KTV said one of the circumstances not mentioned in Ofcom's Breach Decision was the size of the audience for the *Prime Time* programme. It said "no accurate figures can be provided because the number of viewers for the service is so small that BARB⁵⁰ data is not available". It said "the potential for harm is greater if there are many viewers because there is a correspondingly bigger chance of the number of impressionable viewers being higher".

Historical context of the programme

The Licensee went on to make representations on "historical context" set out by Ofcom in the Breach Decision. It said many of the events referenced by the presenter in the programme took place between the 1970s and 1980s. It categorised the more recent events into three distinct groups:

- the arrest or indictment of Sikh activists in India in 2014 to 2018, including as part of a purported transnational conspiracy to carry out targeted killings in India;
- calls for a 'Khalistan Referendum 2020' to be held by the Sikh diaspora, as a means of highlighting to the government of India support for the establishment of an independent Sikh state in Punjab; and
- events relating to the Farmers' Protests in India arising from the Indian government's agricultural reform bills passed in June 2020.

KTV said regarding the arrest or indictment of Sikh activists in India, none of the individuals named are said to have come from the UK. It argued Ofcom was unable to point to a single recent instance of an activist from the UK traveling to India to engage in crime or disorder in support of the Khalistani cause. It added that according to independent reports, the threat of violent acts by pro-Khalistani militants has "generally reduced significantly in recent years" and referenced the US government's Country Report on Terrorism⁵¹ that stated, "the many organisations involved in the Sikh separatist (Khalistan) movement have not engaged in significant recent activities within India's borders".

The Licensee said there have been some suggestions that "Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) has been trying to revive the Khalistan movement, but as Ofcom accepts in its breach Decision, the presenter was clearly *disapproving* of any Khalistani leader who accept[ed] funding from the ISI, decrying them as: 'puppets of Pakistan in India and puppets of Punjab in Pakistan'." It therefore argued "there can be no suggestion that the presenter was calling on people to travel to Punjab to support or engage in any way with the ISI-backed organisations". It added, "the Farmers' Protests, which Ofcom notes were the particular focus of the presenter...were largely peaceful and the farmers' right to protest as confirmed by India's Supreme Court "22", and therefore they "are not examples of crime and disorder".

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⁵⁰ Refers to the Broadcasters' Audience Research Board (BARB), an organisation that compiles audience measurement and television ratings in the UK.

⁵¹ US Department of State's 'Country Reports on Terrorism 2020'; Ofcom noted while the report was published in December 2021, it contained statistics of the prior year.

⁵² India's top court: Protesting farmers can't block roads indefinitely | Reuters

KTV said all this was relevant context that Ofcom must take into account when assessing the likelihood of the programme encouraging or inciting crime or leading to disorder. It said the violent Khalistani secessionist movement of the 1970s and 1980s "peaked last century and any ongoing campaign is in large part driven by either the US-based organisation Sikhs For Justice (SFJ) and/or the ISI, two organisations of which the presenter was expressly critical".

The Licensee said it was "inevitable in a live, unscripted 95-minute programme" in which the presenter and callers sometimes spoke over one another, there would be "scope for confusion as to what the presenter meant by his words and how they would have been interpreted by viewers". It said Ofcom had acknowledged in the Breach Decision the presenter did not spell out explicitly what he was calling on people to do once (or if) they travelled to Punjab. It added, "while Ofcom points out that the presenter did not specifically set out a non-violent course of action...the ambiguous nature of any indirect call for action is reflected in the description given to it at various points in the Breach Decision".

KTV said, in the Breach Decision, Ofcom described the presenter "as suggesting there should be more Khalistani secessionist activity in Punjab by those within the Sikh diaspora". However, it added that this was done in the context of a programme where he focused on the recent end of the Farmers' Protests in Punjab and in particular, the arrest of Sikh activists Jagmeet Singh and his mother. The Licensee said that Ofcom described the presenter "as challenging viewers in England to stop advocating for an independent Khalistan on social media and instead to travel to Punjab to 'affect meaningful progress' and 'to take action'". It pointed out activism with a view to affecting meaningful change does not constitute criminal activity or disorder", particularly given the recent ruling on the right to protest by India's Supreme Court.

KTV said the Breach Decision noted the "leaders of the past" referred to by the presenter were militant and suggested that by referencing them, the presenter "implied his viewers ought to emulate" them. However, it said "this is analogous in some respects to invoking the spirit of military heroes of the past, like Admiral Nelson, the Duke of Wellington or Field Marshal Montgomery in a UK context. It is a call to take inspiration from feted national heroes of the past, but not necessarily a direct or indirect call to engage in a crime or disorder".

The Licensee said it was essential that the presenter's statements are considered by the regulator from the perspective of a Sikh viewer of the programme, who is familiar with the historical context, the way in which Punjabi language is used, and the current situation in Punjab. It provided a letter from Dr Jasdev Singh Rai⁵³ whom it described as a "fully independent expert". KTV told Ofcom Dr Rai's letter highlighted an important distinction about the ways in which people from the UK can go to Punjab and the inferences that would be drawn and understood by viewers of the programme depending on which route is being suggested. He considered, "viewers, who would have the relevant background knowledge would have understood the presenter to have been talking about going to Punjab in a way that could only mean to engage in a peaceful protest". Anybody who intends to go to Punjab to engage in crime and disorder in support of the Khalistani cause, would do so either,

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⁵³ Dr Rai is an Otolaryngologist (ENT Doctor) working in the NHS and the founder and director of Sikh Human Rights Group, an international NGO with United Nations ECOSOC Special Consultative status. He is also General Secretary of the British Sikh Consultative Forum, a national body of Gurdwaras and organisations.

predominantly, via Pakistan, or under a false passport via another third party country. In his view, the language the presenter used made clear he was suggesting he would pay for people to go to Punjab, not arrange for them to be smuggled there, and the viewers would understand this could only mean to become involved in legitimate, peaceful means of protest.

The Licensee said, it did not "criticise Ofcom for not being aware of the cultural and linguistic nuances involved, but Dr Rai's evidence sheds further doubt on the regulator's findings about the likelihood of the programme encouraging or inciting the commission of crime or leading to disorder".

Criticism of activists in the Sikh diaspora

KTV said Ofcom had not given sufficient weight in its Breach Decision to an alternative interpretation of some of the presenter's statements which it said would have been understood by its viewers. It acknowledged "that it should have put this interpretation forward in much greater detail earlier" but it "does so now, not to formally challenge the validity of the Decision (which it accepts) but because Ofcom should take this alternative interpretation properly into account when deciding whether to revoke the licence".

The Licensee provided this alternative interpretation: "The presenter was in fact criticising foreign-based activists (in particular SFJ) for fomenting unrest in Punjab, leading to individuals in India who heed their calls facing severe consequences, when those foreign-based activists themselves have little or no intention of travelling to Punjab and engaging in the movement, instead seeking only to profit from their activism".

It added, the presenter was "in essence, pouring scorn on activists in the Sikh diaspora who engage in pro-Khalistan campaigns over social media for their own profit, while ignoring the plight of people in Punjab who face arrest and jail for supporting the Khalistan movement". It said the presenter was "concerned that the Khalistani cause is being linked with the ISI and terrorism in India, so any Sikh who believes in a separate Sikh state is now being wrongly associated with the ISI". KTV stated, as evidenced in Dr Rai's statement, "it was in this context that the presenter challenged foreign Khalistani activists to travel to the Punjab with him, not because he necessarily expected or intended them to do so but in order to call them out and to challenge them to have the courage to face the consequences themselves of their calls to action, rather than leaving it to others to do so". Further, the presenter "used the arrest of Jagmeet Singh and his mother as an example and as the context for his criticisms, in order to mock and expose the real focus of his anger".

The Licensee cited numerous examples of statements made by the presenter and captions repeated on screen to support this argument. It suggested that "the interpretation above...is entirely plausible and a more natural and ordinary meaning to be understood by viewers of the channel" in comparison to the "interpretation of such statements put forward by Ofcom i.e., that the presenter was really inciting Sikhs abroad to travel to the Punjab to take violent action in support of Khalistan". It said, much of the programme was a criticism of foreign activists, unfavourably comparing their actions to Sikh leaders of the past, "in order to demonstrate their hypocrisy, the danger and the consequences on others of their social media activism, and inter alia, to encourage people in Punjab not to follow these 'fake people'". It said the presenter's challenge to foreign activists to travel to Punjab with him the next morning "was not a serious one and was employed more as a rhetorical construct. It also said, "in any event, it would have been clear to the viewers that his call to go to the Punjab, in context,

was a call to engage in peaceful protest". KTV added that Ofcom's criticisms of the presenter for e.g. not setting out a non-violent course of action to be followed once his viewers arrived in Punjab, were "misplaced – since he did not intend or expect his call to go to be followed in the first place or because his viewers would understand he was not advocating engaging in crime or disorder".

References to Broadcast regulation in the programme

With regard to the awareness of broadcast regulation, the Licensee said, "Ofcom also notes that the presenter, when speaking with Caller 1, refers to "conditions and guidelines which we cannot cross" [which] is immediately acknowledged by the caller". It said, "this was consistent with the presenter being cognizant of the regulator's previous findings against the Licensee and aware of Rule 3.1 of the Code, accepting he is bound by it, and seeking to avoid breaching the rule". KTV reiterated while it "accepts Ofcom's findings that it ultimately breached Rule 3.1, it points out that this passage of the transcript is nonetheless consistent with a broadcaster having in mind and seeking to comply with its compliance obligations at the relevant time".

Third party representations on Ofcom's Breach Decision and Suspension Notice

Ofcom also received an email from the Sikh Press Association, which we have treated as third party representations on our Breach Decision and Suspension Notice.

The Sikh Press Association asked Ofcom to consider:

- how *Prime Time* differed from "broadcasters calling for UK citizens to partake in violence in Ukraine" ⁵⁴:
- whether the three complaints about the programme from among KTV's "thousands of viewers" justified suspension/revocation of KTV's licence and whether the fact those other viewers did not complain indicated that most viewers regarded the programme differently (i.e. as not indirectly inciting violence);
- that Ofcom had "listed the Sikhs For Justice Khalistan referendum as part of the context in making the decision to remove the channel" and yet the Sikhs For Justice Khalistan referendum was legal in the UK, and only illegal in India;
- why Ofcom had listed Udham Singh as an individual "known for violent pro-Khalistan action" considering Udham Singh had nothing to do with Khalistan and died approximately 40 years before the movement became popular;
- why Ofcom had assumed that calls for former Sikh prisoners to take up community leadership roles were expressions of support for their previous crimes;
- whether Ofcom understood Sikh beliefs such as "Shaheedi (martyrdom) and the faith belief in fighting oppression"; it submitted that to suspend KTV's licence for broadcasting "Sikh rhetoric around things like Shaheedi and fighting oppression" was religious discrimination;
- whether Ofcom had been influenced by "Indian nationalist rhetoric which aims to portray
 peaceful Sikh activism as violent", taking into account that "Indian nationalists often try to
 portray Sikh activism regarding India as violent to malign critics of the country. This is widely
 recognised by academics across the world, and evident through a report by the Centre For

⁵⁴ We have separately drawn the Sikh Press Association's attention to the ways in which complaints about other broadcast programmes may be submitted.

- Information Resilience, and Indian media attacks on Nobel Peace nominated groups like UK based Khalsa Aid";
- that in the programme, calls 'to do things under the table' or 'underground' cited by Ofcom as
 to be 'an indirect call to violence' were in fact just an attempt to avoid Indian state espionage,
 taking into account that, "authorities in Canada and Germany have confirmed worldwide
 beliefs that the community is regularly spied on with the aim of disrupting and derailing Sikh
 activist movements";
- Ofcom had "[taken] the position [that Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale] was a violent terrorist" by mistakenly claiming that he had "occupied" Sri Harmandir Sahib in 1984, ignoring the positive context that he is viewed as a Saint to millions of Sikhs", that he was named the greatest Sikh of the last century by the Akal Takht and has his picture in countless Gurdwaras.
- Ofcom had used "'facts' and terminology that are known in Sikh community circles to be
 regurgitations of Indian state propaganda regarding the Sikh genocide. This included calling
 genocide 'riots', claiming only 5,000 died in the genocide, claiming Bhindranwale had
 'occupied' Sri Harmandir Sahib, relating the recent Farmers' Protest to Khalistan and more";
 and
- whether the implication of regarding *Prime Time* as an indirect incitement to violence was that
 calls to be like the Sikh Gurus would also be regarded as such, given the Sikh Gurus challenged
 state leaders during their day and called for Sikhs to arm themselves.

Ofcom's position on the translation

As set out above, Ofcom received representations from KTV on the translation. The Licensee said:.

- "events referred to as farmer's protest (including by Ofcom) are inaccurately translated on occasions as 'hue and cry' at various points".
- at 05:39 had been mistranslated as "today I am discussing" instead of, "those people who I am speaking to today". It said it was "important as in the same sentence the presenter names the group, Sikhs for Justice".
- the translation of what the presenter said at 06:00 to 08:00 was incorrect. The translation read, "But who is going to work on the ground?" instead of "But who is going to support you on the ground?" It said, the presenter had pointed out that "anyone who protests in India in favour of an independent Sikh state...is arrested". It added this had been said "in the context of the [presenter] rhetorically challenging those activists to come with him to Punjab, knowing they will not do so".
- at 06:00 to 08:00 inaccurately included the word "Taksal" when "there was no mention of the Taksal seminary". The translation said, "People from Taksal have been arrested for Khalistan" instead of "People have been arrested for the last 37 years in the name of Khalistan".
- the translation of what the presenter said at 06:00 08:00 was incorrect. The translation read, "all the people who stood against the Modi government" instead of "all the people who stood against the Hindutva Modi government". It explained Hindutva is the "concept of Hindu supremacism which has been described as a variant of right-wing extremism and a form of ethnic absolutism".
- the translation of what the presenter said at 14:00 to 16:00 was incorrect. It said the translation read, "These nine people should be the ones who support the movement for Khalistan" instead of "These nine should be those who left and right [i.e., all the time] shout

Khalistan". It said, this was an "important distinction" as the "presenter [was] not challenging supporters in general of Khalistan to travel to Punjab, rather he is calling on those who actively call for it on social media".

We agreed with nine of the eleven amendments suggested and made corresponding changes to the transcript⁵⁵. We did not accept the Licensee's suggestions at timecodes 14:00 and 1:26:00.

At 14:00 we amended the translation to read, "Those nine people who are fiercely advocating for Khalistan, left, right and centre, I will pay for their tickets" ⁵⁶.

We have made no changes at timecode 1:26:00, as we do not consider that this instance of use of the term "hue and cry" refers to the Farmers' Protests⁵⁷.

Decision

Reflecting our duties under the Communications Act 2003, Section Three of the Code requires that material likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime or to lead to disorder must not be included in television or radio services.

Ofcom has taken account of the audience's and broadcaster's right to freedom of expression set out in Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Broadcasters should be able to, and can, make programmes which address controversial subjects such as the Khalistan secessionist movement, as this is clearly in the public interest. The Code does not prohibit people from appearing on television and radio services because their views are challenging and have the potential to cause offence. Nor is it prohibited to refer in positive terms to individuals who have committed crimes. To do so would, in our view, be a disproportionate restriction of the broadcaster's right to freedom of expression and the audience's right to receive information. However, when dealing with sensitive or controversial topics and views, broadcasters must ensure they comply with the Code.

Rule 3.1

Rule 3.1 of the Code states:

"Material likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime or lead to disorder must not be included in television or radio services".

When considering whether material is in breach of Rule 3.1, Ofcom is required to assess the likelihood of it encouraging or inciting the commission of crime or leading to disorder. In particular, the use of the word "likely" in Rule 3.1 means Ofcom is not required to identify any causal link between the content broadcast and any specific acts of disorder or criminal behaviour. Ofcom takes account of all the relevant circumstances, including the nature of the content, its editorial context and its likely effects. Content may contain a direct call to action – for example, an unambiguous, imperative statement calling viewers to take some form of potentially criminal or violent action. Material may

⁵⁵ See annex (pages 59 to 60, 63, 75, 89 and 91 to 92).

⁵⁶ Our original translation was, "These nine people should be the ones who support the movement for Khalistan. I will pay the price of those nine people". The Licensee suggested, "These nine should be those who left and right [i.e., all the time] shout Khalistan".

⁵⁷ We disagreed with the Licensee that the term 'hue and cry' referred to the Farmers' Protests on this occasion.

also contain an indirect call to action if it includes statements and/or images that cumulatively amount to an implicit call to act.

In his opening monologue to the programme, the presenter spoke against a background of images. To begin with, these were of: Jagmeet Singh, the Sikh activist arrested in India for handing out leaflets and possessing materials supporting US-based-secessionist-group Sikhs For Justice; of Jagmeet Singh's mother; and of a police report.

The presenter began by reminding viewers that Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale led the Sikh community until he was killed and expressed the view that now there are many leaders. The presenter then set out his view that the leadership of the Sikh community had failed to respond sufficiently to the arrest of activists such as Jagmeet Singh and his mother. He expressed disapproval that some pro-Khalistan leaders are allegedly funded by Pakistan's ISI:

"Just tell me, you leaders, who are only concerned about your benefits, your name is linked with the with ISI. You are referred to as pimps of the ISI. You are labelled as puppets of ISI. You feed the whole world and today you are serving the ISI. [Points at the camera] I have a question. I know many things, but I won't say those things. It is sad that just by offering money you give greed to the innocent young people of Punjab and ruin their lives...You think of taking some funds from ISI. Today Sikhs are dishonoured with the name of ISI. [Shouts] Put your hands up, [hits table] and say you won't take money from the ISI. Say you won't take money [from them]. I have proof that people of Pakistan who are in Punjab and people of Punjab who are in Pakistan get 'packages'. I have proof. Because they are puppets of Pakistan in India [points at the camera] and puppets of Punjab in Pakistan. A package was also given for Ludhiana scam"⁵⁸.

He also expressed a more general frustration that while activists were being arrested on the ground, pro-Khalistan leaders and Sikhs in other parts of the world limited their action to advocating for Khalistani independence on social media while continuing to enjoy a privileged lifestyle. For example, he said:

"You are the reason for the arrest of the young people of Punjab, the mother Jasveer Kaur, and her son Jagmeet Singh. All because you are greedy for money. That innocent man has such a worthy life. You are not worthy. It's because of you they are being maligned. You do not have anything [points at the camera]; you are just the users of social media but this boy and mother are of the community. [Raises voice] I want to explain to you that in 37 years since 1984 you have made millions of rupees, different organisations have made set-ups, made Gurudwaras. ⁵⁹

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⁵⁸ Reference to a bomb explosion at Ludhiana courthouse that was linked to Sikh militant groups and also Pakistan's intelligence agency, the ISI. See <u>Ludhiana Blast</u>, A 'Terrorist Attack', Arab News, 16 October 2007 and <u>Ludhiana blast accused had links with Pakistan's ISI says Punjab DGP</u>, The Tribune, 26 December 2021.

⁵⁹ A Gurudwara is a place of assembly and worship for Sikhs.

You all established your setups, but you do not have anything with you. I can say this with confidence [hits table]. You are involved in manipulating. You do not love anyone. Neither do you love the community nor the Guru" 60.

"Because of you this boy has been arrested, his mother has been arrested, who is going to ask about her? The ones who were arrested previously, no one cared for them. People have been arrested for the last 37 years in the name of Khalistan⁶¹. How many people remember them? You will use their name when you have a personal motive. You do not use it beyond that purpose. I have a problem; you are not concerned about the community [hits table and points at the camera]; you take the name of the community and are only concerned about your own selfish benefit [hits table]. You have no quality. No one is supporting you".

"You got a mother arrested. What do you do here? Just post on social media and get praise. Just make statements about the Indian government and about the Punjab government. And then you want to eat pizza at the diner. I know you wanted to go and eat pizzas in the hotel. You wanted to go to big hotels. This is your comfort zone? Trapping the innocent people of Punjab? Where have those people gone who you used to say that they will do something. Go and find them. These are good Sikhs who made a good name for Sikhs in Farmers' Protests, you got them arrested".

"Now tell me does anyone realise the pain of Jagmeet Singh and his mother. You are putting videos and pictures up on social media. Oh, my son, just go and see Punjab for yourself. Just see what Punjab's police will do with you. What is going on with that boy and his mother? [Looks directly at the camera and points with his hand] All you Khalistanis sitting in England, America, and Europe, are you not ashamed of this? Your children are going through all of this and all you are doing is sitting and talking. If you want to get Punjab, let us go to Punjab. Let us listen to this call. I am very sad about this, very sad. I am unhappy with these institutions. I tell them, I am going in the morning, come with me".

⁶⁰ In Sikhism, the word "Guru" is used to refer to the spiritual masters of Sikhism, who established the religion over the course of two and a half centuries.

⁶¹ This sentence is text we have amended in the light of the Licensee's representations. We do not consider that the change affects the thrust of the message, i.e. the presenter's frustration that while activists were being arrested on the ground, pro-Khalistan leaders and Sikhs in other parts of the world limited their action to advocating for Khalistani independence on social media while continuing to enjoy a privileged lifestyle.

He described the arrested activists as "good Sikhs" who have "worthy" lives while characterising pro-Khalistani Sikhs in the diaspora as "fake", "selfish" and lacking devotion to the Sikh religion or community.

The Licensee also noted the following on-screen captions, which it said "define and make clear an important editorial intent and purpose of the programme":

- "A mother and son are being held captive as a result of various cases being lodged against them, under the pretext of SFJ"; and
- "Are those lobbying for Khalistan in foreign nations for the last 37 years using the 'Khalistan cause' for personal gain?".

The presenter took issue with what he saw as the wider Sikh leadership's failure to effect any meaningful action or change in relation to the pro-Khalistan secessionist movement since Operation Bluestar in 1984, when the Indian Army removed supporters of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale (also known as Sant Jarnail Singh) from the Golden Temple resulting in the death of Bhindranwale and approximately 5000 to 7000 Sikhs present in the temple complex, some of whom were pilgrims visiting the temple and not involved in the clash⁶². In Ofcom's view, as part of this narrative, the presenter clearly suggested there should be more Khalistani secessionist activity within Punjab by those within the Sikh diaspora. For example, he said:

"That now 2021 is coming to an end. I challenge anyone to come and face me and claim he or she has the power to follow in the footsteps of Sant Jarnail Singh [points and the camera and hits table]...Do you have the courage to follow in the footsteps of Sant Jarnail Singh?...37 years later, now where is that foundation? You tell me today".

"When Sant Baba Jarnail Singh talked about Khalistan, when the government of Delhi came to Darbar Saheb, it was at that time that Khalistan was founded. I feel like laughing at you. Just tell me if you are the same as the farmers' leaders? Are you still in the same situation after 37 years?"

"It has been 37 years since then. I remember the words of Sant Baba Jarnail Singh that Darbar Saheb has been attacked, Khalistan's foundation has been laid. Are we suspended in time? When will we move forward? What is the progress?"

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⁶² See <u>Wounds That Never Heal: Remembering Operation Bluestar</u>, The Wire, 6 June 2021 and <u>What happened during 1984 Operation Blue Star?</u>, India Today, June 6, 2018.

Against the backdrop of these frustrations, the presenter addressed viewers in England directly, challenging them to stop advocating for an independent Khalistan on social media and inviting them to travel with him to Punjab to effect meaningful progress:

"[Points at the camera] I am challenging all you Khalistanis, all of you from England, Europe, America and from Canada, let's go to Punjab. If you have the guts. All of you social media and Facebook users, you have nothing going for you. You would not get Khalistan on Facebook".

"Just tell me that when you say those big things and you want to take control in Punjab then why do not you go there? Just tell me what is your problem? You must go there".

"But who is going to support you on the ground?⁶³ This young man and his mother have been arrested. I know about this reality. No matter what stupid things these people say. [Raises voice] "Go on, we support you". The reality will be exposed in Punjab. Come, I will come with you. No one will accompany you. I declare this. Declare this to Khalistanis. [Raises voice and points at the camera] If any leader declares that he will go there, I will buy the ticket. I will buy the ticket for ten other persons. Son, if you have the strength, instead of saying big things here, on social media".

"Let me tell you one thing [points at the camera], whatever you want to do, let's go to Punjab, it is not that far. We live only once. Let's go to Punjab. You won't be able to acquire Khalistan using WhatsApp on your mobile. I challenge you all this morning [hits table], those creating dissension in England, [hits table] come with me in the morning [points at camera], Jagjit Singh Jeeta's name will be at the forefront, if you want to live in Punjab, [hits table] if you want to live in Khalistan, then my name will come before your name. With the faith of Guru, I declare I will buy the ticket for five to ten people [hits table]. But you do not have the strength".

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⁶³ We accepted the Licensee's suggestion and amended the translation which previously read, "But who is going to work on the ground?" However, we did not consider this change affected the general meaning of this passage, which was the presenter challenging viewers to stop advocating for an independent Khalistan on social media and inviting them to travel with him to Punjab to effect meaningful progress.

"They talk big, these Khalistanis, or other organisations. Let us go to Punjab tomorrow [presenter pats his chest and points at the camera]. I will buy the ticket tomorrow morning myself. I am saying that if you have the strength just call me and book your tickets [hits table and points at the camera]".

"I will book tickets for ten people. Provide me with nine people and I will be the tenth man. Those nine people who are fiercely advocating for Khalistan, left right and centre, I will pay for their tickets⁶⁴. I will be the tenth. With the grace of the true lord, I have done so much in the past, I will do it this time as well. No one listens to you in Punjab".

The presenter's tone became more agitated in making these statements, and in one instance he repeatedly hit the table and pointed at the screen. In Ofcom's view, this heightened the impact and provocation of his statements.

We considered these statements, which were made directly to viewers in England, called on viewers to travel with the presenter to Punjab and take action. Also, within this opening monologue, on two occasions the presenter set out his position that there are "two types" of Sikhs: those who are truly committed and willing to take action and even die for the Khalistani cause, and those who merely wish to talk about it from a distance:

"Now, when I read history, and for four to five days my health was not good, so I got chance to read history. When I read, I found that there were two types of Sikhs, one like Baba Alaa Singh like the family of Captain. And the others are like Banda Singh Bahadur who did not care about anything and made sacrifices. And now when I think about the current scenario most of the Sikhs are like Baba Alaa Singh. They say my business should remain safe and I should have good fame. My name should be on social media and also in Khalistan. Just tell me that when you say those big things and you want to take control in Punjab then why do not you go there? Just tell me what is your problem? You must go there".

"But when I read about Sikhs now, I was reading a book, there were two Sikhs, Banda Singh Bahadur and Baba Aala Singh, those Sikhs who belong to Baba Aala Singh's school of thought are those Sikhs who are opportunists. Those who make concessions and compromise. They made

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⁶⁴ We reviewed this following the Licensee's representations. We do not consider the change affects the overall thrust of the passage, which is that the presenter is rhetorically offering to buy tickets for pro-Khalistani activists to travel to Punjab with him.

concessions with Mughals⁶⁵ as well as with the Englishmen. We can also say that they also did with the Marathas⁶⁶ and even with the emperors of the hills⁶⁷. They offered coins to Mughals as well. Baba Aala Singh belongs to Captain Amarinder Singh. Second types of Sikhs are those Sikhs who belongs to Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, who love the Sikhs and Sikh community. They were ready to offer their life for Sikhism. Now, this second type is the type that gave their blood [for the community]. There are two types of Sikhs, the Sikhs you are seeing behind me in the picture [screen shows images of Jagmeet Singh and Jasveer Kaur] are followers of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur [points at the camera]".

The presenter suggested that most Sikhs in the diaspora today, despite what they may say publicly, are not prepared to sacrifice their wealth, social status or lives to achieve an independent Khalistan. He went on to challenge those in the Sikh community whom he considered to be full of empty rhetoric to travel to Punjab to take action. For example, he said:

"[Hits table] I claim if I will lead then I will put my life at stake. I will not let the innocent son of mother got arrested. Come with me in the morning. You, who speak big. You do not have the strength. Let us go to Punjab [points at the camera]. Do you have the strength? No, you do not have the strength".

"I am ready for jail. Let me tell one thing, all the leaders who are talking big right now, if you are arrested, I would spend money for you. I tell this with confidence. All those leaders who talk big, if you are arrested for six months, four months [hits table] I say with confidence [pats chest] that this Jeeta Singh will not ask for any money. Whether I have to spend fifty lakhs⁶⁸ or crore⁶⁹ I will spend it from my money. All the leaders from England, who are listening in America and Canada, just get arrested by Punjab police for a day in the name of Khalistan and I will pay you".

During the opening monologue, the presenter did not spell out explicitly what he was calling on people to do once they got to the Punjab. In its representations, the Licensee argued that the audience would have understood the presenter to be pouring scorn on activists in the Sikh diaspora who engage in pro-Khalistan campaigns over social media for their own profit, while ignoring the

⁶⁵ The Mughal Empire was a dynasty that ruled northern India from the 16th to mid-18th century. Sikhs often fought against Mughal rulers, and their leaders were subjected to harsh punishments at the hands of Mughal Emperors. See 'The Sikh uprisings', Britannica.com.

⁶⁶ The Maratha Empire or Maratha Confederacy was a confederacy that ruled large parts of India in the 18th century following the collapse of the Mughal Empire. See Maratha Confederacy, Britannica.com.

⁶⁷ Likely reference to various tribal rulers based in the Chittagong hill tracts.

⁶⁸ Unit of measurement in the Indian subcontinent. 1 Lakh translates to 100,000 units. In this context it refers to currency although it is unclear which currency.

⁶⁹ Unit of measurement in the Indian subcontinent. 1 Crore translates to 10 million units. In this context it refers to currency although it is unclear which currency.

plight of people in Punjab who face arrest and jail for supporting the Khalistan movement they advocate. We accept that this was a part of the message of the programme.

However, the presenter referred throughout his monologue to leaders of the past he felt they ought to emulate, and we noted that the actions of all those leaders were militant:

"Do you have the courage to follow in the footsteps of Sant Jarnail Singh? [occupied the Golden Temple with armed supporters, killed in Operation Bluestar]"

"People lost their lives in the struggle, starting with Bhai Amrik Singh [occupied the Golden Temple, killed in Operation Blue Star], Jinda, Sukha, [together, assassinated Arun Vaidya (Chief of the Indian Army during Operation Bluestar)], Bhai General Shabeg Singh [organised the army of militants in the fortification of the Golden Temple] and then the Sikh prisoners, and the Sikh militants. They martyred their lives. And there are Sikh men languishing in jails".

"From 1984, when Darbar Saheb [the Golden Temple] was attacked, Manbeer Singh Chaheru [founded the KCF (which is banned in India, and not the UK) which carried out reprisal attacks on Indian officials following the Golden Temple attack; Chaheru was killed in a police encounter in 1986] was organising the community. Where is Manbeer Singh Chaheru now? Where is his family? He organised the people across Punjab while touring on cycle. And what are you doing?"

"Do you have the strength? No, you do not have the strength. [Screen shows images of Jagmeet Singh and First Information Report ("FIR")⁷⁰; raises voice] Sant Baba Jarnail Singh [occupied the Golden Temple with armed supporters, killed in Operation Bluestar] has sacrificed his life, and Bhai Amrik Singh [occupied the Golden Temple, killed in Operation Blue Star], Baba Thara Singh [carried out a series of violent reprisal attacks on Indian officials following the Golden Temple assault. Killed in a police encounter in 1992], Jinda, Sukha [together, assassinated Arun Vaidya (Chief of the Indian Army during Operation Blue Star)], Shabeg Singh [organised the army of militants in the fortification of the Golden Temple], Beant Singh [assassinated Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984], Bhai Manjit Singh Khanowal, Bhai Rajinder Singh Mughalwal

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⁷⁰ FIR (First Information Report) is a document prepared by police in South Asian countries, when they receive information about the commission of a cognisable offence. In this case, the FIR filed against Jagmeet Singh and Jasveer Kaur, was being shown on screen.

[together, murdered Sikh leader Darshan Das in Southall, UK in 1987]. *He spent 33 to years in prison.*

[Shouts] Do you have the strength? Tell me if you have the strength of a single day. I feel sad when I hear about Khalistan. What do you have with you? Just tell me one thing, do you have social media with you? Give a call on social media to go to Punjab. Bhai Manjit Singh [murdered Sikh leader Darshan Das in Southall, UK in 1987] must be listening to me. I am asking you to lead the community. You have spent so many years in prison [hits table]. Rajinder Singh Mughalwal has spent [murdered Sikh leader Darshan Das in Southall, UK in 1987] [hits table]. Let us go to Punjab".

In its representations on our final Breach Decision and Suspension Notice, the Licensee acknowledged these references were "problematic and should not have been made in the way they were". It added "such references were few" and none were a direct call for viewers to emulate their actions. Although it accepted there was a breach of Rule 3.1, it argued that Ofcom has overstated the harm resulting from the breach. It suggested that the presenter's references to past leaders was comparable to "invoking the spirit of military heroes of the past, like Admiral Nelson, the Duke of Wellington or Field Marshal Montgomery in a UK context" and that referring to "incidents" in Sikh history was not equivalent to glorification of crime, but rather "like discussing the Afghanistan War or Iraq War or indeed the WW1". The Sikh Press Association noted that Indian nationalist rhetoric aims to portray peaceful Sikh activism as violent.

Ofcom considered that multiple, repeated references to leaders whose actions were violent, and in particular to those who have carried out assassinations in India and in the UK, were coupled with a repeated call for current Sikh leaders to have the "strength" to follow them. We did not consider the statements to be merely discussing past conflicts or calling on viewers to revere militant leaders from the past. We considered they went further and amounted to a call for audiences to emulate those past militant leaders and their actions.

We considered there was no reference during this opening monologue to non-violent action that had been taken in support of the secessionist cause, or statements where the presenter specifically set out a non-violent course of action that he wanted people to take once they arrived in Punjab.

Ofcom was particularly concerned that the comment "Bhai Manjit Singh must be listening to me. I am asking you to lead the community" was a direct request for Manjit Singh, who along with Rajinder Singh Mughalwal murdered a Sikh leader in Southall, UK for allegedly disrespecting the Sikh faith, to assume leadership of the Sikh community. We considered that audiences were likely to understand this as a call for further action to be taken of a kind up to and including murder.

Ofcom considered KTV's representations on the Draft Decision that in its view, since his release from prison, Manjit Singh had "turned his life around and serves as an inspiration for Sikhs around the world". The Licensee said that he was an "excellent orator" and added that it is "common for many with violent backgrounds to become iconic leaders for example Nelson Mandela". Similarly, KTV said Rajinder Singh (who committed the Southall murder alongside Manjit Singh) was also "recognised for

his humility and celebrated by the Akal Takht"⁷¹ when he was released from prison. It therefore argued that the presenter did not ask Manjit Singh to "commit violence, nor did he ask people to follow his violent example", rather it said that the presenter had "challenged Manjit Singh to use his personality and charisma (which he has gained after his release) [from prison] to become a community leader". In its representations to us, the Sikh Press Association argued a distinction should be made between calls for former Sikh prisoners to take up community leadership roles and expressions of support for their previous crimes.

When considering these representations on the call for Manjit Singh to assume leadership of his community, Ofcom took into account:

- the call was coupled with a positive reference to his "strength" in light of him serving a long term of imprisonment for murder: "Bhai Manjit Singh Khanowal, Bhai Rajinder Singh Mughalwal. He spent 33-34 years in prison. [Shouts] Do you have the strength?... Bhai Manjit Singh must be listening to me. I am asking you to lead the community. You have spent so many years in prison [hits table]";
- the Licensee's representations that "Rajinder Singh was also recognised for his humility and celebrated by the Akal Takth when he was released from prison and has now returned to India" appeared to be a reference to a ceremony in early December 2021, approximately three weeks before the programme was broadcast, in which authoritative Sikh religious leaders reportedly praised the murders they committed 72. Rajinder Singh (whose name was coupled with that of Manjit Singh above) reportedly attended the ceremony. Contrary to KTV's representations, any viewers aware of the ceremony or of these reports would have been unlikely to consider that Rajinder Singh had disavowed his past violent conduct, and would have been likely to understand that the presenter's reference to Manjit Singh together with Rajinder Singh, was to the murder they carried out together; and
- the presenter did not specify or otherwise make clear that his request for Manjit Singh to lead the
 community was for his oratory skills or based on Manjit Singh having disavowed violence. Rather,
 this request was made in the context of a monologue which made repeated references to leaders
 of the past who committed acts of violence and assassinations either in the secessionist cause or
 to uphold Sikh honour, and in which the presenter made express calls for Sikh leaders to have the
 "strength" to follow them.

Ofcom therefore considered that in the context of the whole programme, the audience would have understood the presenter to have been praising Manjit Singh as a leader for his violent action, rather than for any non-violent or peaceful action since his release from prison.

Finally, we had regard to Dr Rai's argument that viewers would have understood the presenter's offer to pay for tickets to the Punjab himself as indicating that the travel was to be for lawful purposes, because anybody who intends to go to Punjab to engage in crime and disorder in support of the Khalistani cause would do so either, predominantly, via Pakistan, or under a false passport via another

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⁷¹ Akal Takht: Located within the Golden Temple complex, the Akal Takht is considered to be one of the highest seats of Sikh temporal and spiritual authority.

⁷² See <u>Jailed in UK for 34 years, Dera head assassin honoured at Akal Takht</u>, The Hindustan Times, 11 December 2021.

third party country. We do not consider this to be correct in the whole context of the programme. The presenter offered to pay for the travel but did not say anything to suggest a particular route or means to be taken. This section was in any event, as the Licensee itself points out, clearly a rhetorical construct. On the other hand, the presenter repeatedly invoked specific violent figures from the past and called on his audience to have the courage to emulate them.

Overall, as set out above, we considered that the opening monologue would have been likely to have established, for viewers, an understanding that the presenter was making an indirect call to take action, up to and including murder.

The presenter then took calls from the public.

The first caller, ("Caller 1"), was calling from Germany. The presenter indicated early on in the call that the caller was older and of a "higher position" than him. Ofcom considered that KTV's audience would have understood the presenter to be under strong social expectations to behave deferentially to the caller.

The conversation opened with a discussion of rumoured arrests in Germany in connection with the arrest of Jagmeet Singh and his mother in Punjab, and in connection with "the incident which has happened in Punjab, in Ludhiana", which viewers would have understood as a coded reference to a recent bombing. Taller 1 said that no one had been arrested, but many people had been questioned over the previous two months. He suggested that whenever "this type of thing happens in India, like a bomb blast or murder" the Indian authorities blame foreigners, and "we should not be worried about this".

The presenter then returned to his theme that no progress had been made in 37 years on establishing Khalistan and challenged the Caller 1 to tell him what he thought. Caller 1 indicated that "This leadership is comprised of sell-outs, what do you expect they are going to give you? All preachers, Sikh community leaders, and all other agencies they are sitting at the feet of BJP"⁷⁴.

The presenter said he wanted to ask a question, and the following exchange took place:

Presenter: "In 1986 the Sarbat Khalsa⁷⁵ was called and at that time it was decided

that Khalistan is the beginning of our Independence. We wanted

Khalistan".

Caller 1: "Yes".

Presenter: "Even though we might lose our lives".

⁷³ Later in the programme, Caller 2 makes this explicit when he says "They have said that they have arrested the person from Germany who was connected to the Ludhiana bomb blast. He was questioned regarding this. That person was arrested from Germany".

⁷⁴ Bharatiya Janata Party ("BJP") is currently the ruling party in India, and is one of two major political parties, along with Indian National Congress.

⁷⁵ Sarbat Khalsa refers to the tradition of holding a mass gathering of Sikhs and their institutions, in times of conflict, to discuss matters of concern to the Sikh community as a whole. On January 26, 1986, a Sarbat Khalsa was held, and its committee passed a resolution in favour of the creation of Khalistan.

Caller 1: "Whatever happens, does not matter".

Presenter: "Whatever".

Caller 1: "At any cost, we have to pay the price of that decision".

Caller 1 then expressed the view that the leadership "left behind" after Operation Bluestar "was not a continuation of that initial leadership" and explained that he had tried to vote in the non-governmental Khalistan Referendum⁷⁶ but was delayed by snow and arrived after the polls had closed.

The following exchange then took place:

Presenter: "37 years ago, in 1986, you pledged that we will take Khalistan at any

cost, by sacrificing our lives, we will take Khalistan".

Caller 1: "Okay".

Presenter: "[Points at the camera] Either with the support of the community or

through the power of the gun, we will take it by hook or crook".

Caller 1: "Definitely".

Presenter: "Even after 37 years, I want to ask those who are making noise and

spreading propaganda: do you want Khalistan or not, [points at the

camera] yes or no?"

In this exchange, the presenter referred to the resolution passed by the Sikh leadership two years after Operation Bluestar in 1986⁷⁷. which reaffirmed their commitment to achieving an independent Sikh state of Khalistan. Ofcom considered that the audience would have understood the presenter to be challenging Caller 1 that he had failed to do enough to secure an independent Khalistan. Caller 1 was reiterating his support for an independent Khalistan and blaming leaders of the community for the lack of action. In this exchange, the presenter again characterised sacrifice up to and including death as a price worth paying for an independent Khalistan state. Both agreed that it would be "taken" by any possible means ("by hook or crook") including "through the power of the gun" and at the cost of their lives if necessary.

Ofcom considered the cumulative effect of the above statements, made after the lengthy opening monologue by the presenter in which those who had carried out the armed occupation of the Golden Temple and subsequent murders were described as people with "strength" and "courage", was to present violent action, including murder ("through the power of the gun"), as an acceptable and necessary form of action to further the Khalistani cause.

The following exchange then took place:

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⁷⁶ See Sikhs worldwide to take part in referendum on Punjab independence, The National, 11 August 2021.

⁷⁷ In January 1986, the Golden Temple was again occupied by militants belonging to the all India Sikh Students Federation and Damdami Taskal. On 29 April 1986, an assembly of separatist Sikhs at the Golden Temple made a declaration of an independent state of Khalistan. This was followed by a decade of conflict and violence in Punjab.

Presenter: "[Raises voice] You can answer me [Caller 1] sir, I have discussed this off

the record with many people, but no one has the guts, no one is ready to discuss. They feel their popularity will diminish. The sisterfuckers are

scared of their reputations. They are afraid to this level".

Caller 1: "Jeeta brother, please listen to my other views, my opinion".

Presenter: "You can give three, four".

Caller 1: "Our target is simple and straight, and we will not tell now whether we

will take it or not. You check with those who work in this field. Let them

work in the way they do it".

Presenter: "[Nods] No".

Caller 1: "Let them work in their way; they will be responsible for their deeds,

good and bad, not us".

Presenter: "Brother, Harminder Singh, listen one minute, please stop here. Hello

[Caller 1]. Harminder. Have you ever talked with Harminder Singh Khalsa of Switzerland? [a Sikh militant who carried out a hijacking of an Indian Airlines flight to Pakistan in retaliation for the Golden Temple attack]".

Caller 1: "Definitely, we have talked. We, at night –"

Presenter: "We will come logically to the point. Have you ever talked on this current

topic?"

Caller 1: "Definitely, we met him for two hours that night while coming back; we

have sat with him earlier and while coming back as well".

Presenter: "See, [Caller 1] sir, he got angry with me and I apologised as well. I said

that you are our elder and we are your juniors. We may commit

mistakes as we are junior to you. Then I asked him again, [raises voice] why are you quiet when our community is getting harmed? Our name is associated with agencies like ISI in Punjab, boys are being thrown into jails, why are you quiet? Why do you not come forward? We are being seen as affiliated with terrorist groups of the ISI. What do we have to do with ISI? We are feeding and helping the world with langar⁷⁸ and we are

now being associated with the ISI in Punjab".

[...]

Caller 1: "This topic, this subject is very serious; I will tell you in a simple way".

Presenter: "[Smiles] Then do something".

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⁷⁸ Open Community Kitchen for people of all faiths and backgrounds – a tenant of Sikhism.

Caller 1: "Due to this topic, the Indian government gets irritated".

Presenter: "Yes".

Caller 1: "We also feel the same and it is natural. If we hit them, they will hit us

back".

Presenter: "Yes".

Caller 1: "In this case, we do not oppose anyone at first, as they have their own

system, that's how they want to approach it, however, regarding the farmers' protests, we have been telling you since day one that millions of

rupees have been sent [crosstalk]".

Presenter: "Farmers' protests, [Caller 1], [Caller 1] Sir, on 28th January 2021, you

might remember this, and now relevant questions will be raised. Both of us know that we have some conditions and guidelines which we cannot

cross, and it is true".

Caller 1: "Right, right, right".

Presenter: "Those who are intelligent have understood what we wanted to say".

Ofcom considered that during this section of the programme, the audience would have understood that the presenter was expressing frustration with the lack of willingness of leaders to publicly call for action of the kind just discussed, i.e. violent action, when "off the record" they would say more to him. They would have understood him to be concerned that due to the lack of openness on the part of the leadership, the actions of Sikh militants were being attributed to Pakistan's ISI, and not to the pro-Khalistan movement.

Caller 1 did not dispute this, but Ofcom considered that audiences would have understood him to be uncomfortable with the risk of discussing the topic on air. He urged "we will not tell now whether we will take it or not. You check with those who work in this field. Let them work in the way they do it... Let them work in their way; they will be responsible for their deeds, good and bad, not us".

Ofcom considered that the audience would have understood this as an assurance that violent action was being taken but there was no need for either the presenter or Caller 1 to publicly associate themselves with it. The presenter acknowledged "Both of us know we have some conditions and guidelines which we cannot cross...Those who are intelligent have understood what we wanted to say". The Licensee argued "this was consistent with the presenter being cognizant of the regulator's previous findings against [KTV] and aware of Rule 3.1 of the Code, accepting he is bound by it, and seeking to avoid breaching the rule...at the relevant time". However, having regard to the use of the phrase "Those who are intelligent have understood what we wanted to say", Ofcom considered that an audience would have understood this to be a reference to the legal and broadcast regulatory barriers to calling for violence directly, and as an invitation to the audience to read between the lines of the discussion. We also had regard to the fact that all three of the complaints we received about the programme inciting terrorism also identified concerns about the programme calling viewers "to do things under the table" or "underground".

The presenter then went on to discuss his own call for those involved with the Farmer's Protests, "If you cannot fight, you should not come forward" in contrast to the "big statement" of farmers' union leader and politician Balbir Singh Rajewal who wanted the protests to be non-violent. Caller 1 agreed that the protests had achieved nothing.

The presenter then referred back to Manjit Singh, who along with Rajinder Singh Mughalwal murdered a Sikh leader in Southall, UK, whom he had called upon earlier in the programme to assume leadership of the Sikh community: "I have received a message from Mr. Manjit Singh Khanowal and he has shown lots of love to me regarding this discussion". He went on to emphasise his close relationship with Manjit Singh, and how much he admired him:

"... he is my brother as well. Sometimes with Mr. Khanowal sir, our relationship is like son and father and like brothers as well [smiles]. Sometimes, we argue with each other, but we have very good relations, but by heart I look at him as an icon just like Jinda, Sukha, as he has made great sacrifices. He has done many great things for the country".

Again, in this passage we consider the mention of "great sacrifices" to indicate to the audience that that the presenter was referring to the Southall killing, and subsequent jail time served by those convicted of the crime. Both the presenter and Caller 1 went on to discuss how unmaterialistic and polite the two individuals who had carried out the Southall killing were, and the presenter agreed when Caller 1 said: "These souls are the guides of a community, you can learn from these souls". Finally, Caller 1 said, in relation to a further referendum on Khalistan: "We are not opposing anyone, we are Khalistani and will fight for Khalistan and will die for Khalistan".

The presenter then challenged Caller 1, that young people were being arrested in India "in your name and Khalistan's name". Caller 1 denied that it was in "our name" and indicated that "the first thing is that one has to pay the price for his deeds, nothing will work without paying a price". The presenter said that the youth were "being duped and trapped by following your orders" and Caller 1 denied this, responding: "We have neither duped anyone nor we are trapping them or providing them with bombs".

With these words, if it was not already clear, it would have become clear to the audience that the presenter was not referring to individuals being jailed for peaceful protest, but to individuals being jailed for possessing bombs. Caller 1 was denying his personal responsibility for such action, and the presenter was urging him to take responsibility. Caller 1 defined the responsibility owed as to "to take care of them, and to give them advice". The presenter responded:

"This is what I expect from you because the story of 1984 which belongs to Sant Baba Jarnail Singh and the story going on right now are completely different. We should move ahead with that topic in a diplomatic way. The rest is your choice as you feel happy. You know what I mean; I am feeling very upset as I am talking with the underground team in Punjab. As media, I do have underground connections which I do not expose, but I feel very painful due to the wrongdoing with our mothers".

Ofcom considered that the audience would have understood this as a summary of what the presenter regarded as Caller 1's weak position that he should not publicly associate himself with bombings. It contained an assertion that the presenter had his own contacts in the pro-Khalistani movement in Punjab which were "underground", and he would not "expose". We considered that in light of the previous conversation, viewers would have been likely to understand that the presenter felt reluctant to accept Caller 1's position that any arrests in Punjab of pro-Khalistan activists for bombs were solely the responsibility of those arrested.

Overall, Ofcom considered the audience would have been likely to understand the call between the presenter and Caller 1 as a discussion between two people, both of whom favoured taking Khalistan "either with support of the community or through the power of the gun", and both were aware that there were limits to what could be said openly on air. However, they would have also understood that the presenter wanted it to be more clearly advocated than Caller 1.

The presenter then gave a further monologue in which he reiterated his themes:

"Can you compare yourself with Sant Jarnail Singh? [occupied the Golden Temple with armed supporters, killed in Operation Bluestar] Can you become Satwant Singh, Beant Singh? [together, assassinated Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984] Can you become Kehar Singh? [convicted and executed for involvement in the assassination of Indira Gandhi] Can you become Sukha and Jinda? [together, assassinated Arun Vaidya (Chief of the Indian Army during Operation Blue Star)] Can you condemn ISI or Pakistan?"

"When Harminder Singh Nihang⁷⁹ Baba Mintoo [arrested by the Indian police authorities on more than ten terrorism related charges], the Jathedar⁸⁰ - do you know about Harminder Singh Nihang? This person mobilised youngsters. Please put the picture of Jathedar Harminder Singh Nihang on the screen please [asks the producer]. When after the death of Sant Jarnail Singh, it was said in the world that the Khalistan movement has been ended, this Jathedar Harminder Singh also known as Mintoo Nihang mobilised more than two thousand youngsters. He mobilised people for Gurjant Singh BudhSinghWala⁸¹. Not only in Punjab, but he also mobilised in the entire world".

The picture of Harminder Singh was shown five times during the programme.

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⁷⁹ Ofcom understands 'Nihang' refers to armed Sikh warriors who formed part of the Sikh Khalsa Army. The Nihangs today continue to uphold the form and content of the Khalsa established by Guru Gorbind Singh in the 17th century.

⁸⁰ Jathedar: An ordained leader who leads a 'Jatha' or community of Sikhs.

⁸¹ Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala was a member of the banned Khalistan Commando Force who at one point, was declared India's most wanted terrorist. He was killed in a police encounter and is considered a martyr for some Sikhs.

Again, in Ofcom's view, these statements together constituted a call for the Sikh community to emulate those who had taken violent action in the cause of an independent Khalistan.

The presenter then took a call from another caller, (referred to as "Caller 2"). While referencing the previous conversation, Caller 2 said that the presenter's suggestion of advocating for Khalistan within India was unrealistic as doing so carries with it a high risk of being arrested by the Indian state. Therefore, he suggested that if they cannot advocate for Khalistan from foreign countries, they would not be able to do it at all. In response, the presenter said:

Presenter: "What do you think? Should we discuss Khalistan practically or just

create a commotion".

Caller 2: "No, we are working practically only. What wrong has been done by that

boy? Tell me the fault of that person".

Presenter: "Thank you very much. Practical! Let me tell you one thing. There are

two aspects within this. You know what the problem with us is? One problem is that we are obsessed with highlighting ourselves and want fame. Most of the work must be disguised. [Points at the camera] Brother, if you are wise, if you are wise enough, then you'll focus on this point of mine. [Speaking English]: "We should work under the table, not

in the media".

The caller said that the media was necessary to achieve anything and reiterated his belief that if the presenter went to the Punjab, he could not do anything because he would be arrested. The presenter said:

"Brother! No, no. Everyone feels the heat...If we talk about Sant Jarnail Singh [occupied the Golden Temple with armed supporters, killed in Operation Bluestar], he has taken the lead and died. There are many examples like brother Amrik Singh [occupied the Golden Temple, killed in Operation Blue Star] [hits table], General Thara Singh [hits table], Baba Thara Singh [carried out a series of violent reprisal attacks on Indian officials following the Golden Temple assault. Killed in a police encounter in 1992] [hits table], General Shabeg Singh [organised the army of militants in the fortification of the Golden Temple] [hits table], Jinda [hits table], Sukha [hits table] [together, assassinated Arun Vaidya (Chief of the Indian Army during Operation Blue Star)], Satwant Singh [hits table], Beant Singh [hits table] [together, assassinated Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984], General etc. All of them have embraced martyrdom. Not one fled the arena. Today's leaders are all talk, and no action".

The caller again said that if the presenter went to Punjab, he would not speak up. The presenter said "Why we do we not gather two hundred thousand persons people and go to Punjab? We are just talking at random. Let us engage people my brother". The caller asked rhetorically what Jagmeet Singh

had done to get himself arrested, and the remainder of the conversation was about the banning of Sikh television channels in India.

Ofcom considered that the repeated suggestion that a long list of militants and assassins were to be emulated because they "embraced martyrdom" and did not flee "the arena", coupled with the suggestion that work must be carried out "in disguise" or "under the table", renewed the indirect call to action already established in the opening monologue and in the discussion with Caller 1. We considered the cumulative effect was not sufficiently contextualised by the presenter's suggestion, only after the question had been directly put to him multiple times, that he was "talking at random" and that two hundred thousand people could all go to Punjab together. In Ofcom's view, this would have been understood by the audience as plainly impossible, and a means of avoiding spelling out directly to Caller 2 what "action" he was really suggesting. We did not accept the Sikh Press Association's suggestion that the presenter's "calls 'to do things under the table' or 'underground'" were merely referring to attempts to avoid Indian state surveillance of Sikh activist movements. We considered these phrases were used in the context that the violent actions of former militant Sikh leaders were to be emulated and viewers would have understood it as an indirect call to violent action. (We noted that all three complainants to Ofcom referred to these phrases when raising concerns this programme incited terrorism.)

The final caller (referred to as "Caller 3") was calling from France ⁸². He criticised the presenter for defaming the Sikh community's leaders on television and not doing anything himself. The presenter reiterated his suggestion that many people should go to Punjab together, "at least, two hundred to two hundred and fifty thousand people cannot be detained". The caller challenged the presenter to identify the actual problem and asked him how he differed from Pakistan's ISI. They then debated the non-governmental Khalistan Referendum that was planned for 2020⁸³ and how much effort the presenter had made in promoting it.

Overall, in Ofcom's view, the repeated positive references throughout this programme to militant activists, many of whom were known for terrorist acts or violent crime and would be familiar to KTV's audience, suggested to viewers that their actions were noble and honourable. While we acknowledge the Sikh Press Association's suggestion that the presenter was engaging in rhetoric linked to Sikh belief in martyrdom and fighting oppression, in our view, these references went further than this and built a cumulative narrative that devout Sikhs should follow the example of these individuals and take direct action to further an independent Khalistan. We considered that through this narrative, viewers were implicitly invited to understand the presenter's call to action as being one of taking any means necessary, including violence, to achieve their aim.

The Sikh Press Association asked whether by implication, calls to emulate the Sikh Gurus would be regarded as an indirect incitement to violence under Ofcom's rules. The Code does not prohibit any subject matters or individuals from being discussed and it specifically takes account of the right to freedom of thought, belief and religion and the right to freedom of expression as set out in Articles 9 and 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights. However, material likely to encourage or incite

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⁸² We note that there was an additional call between Callers 2 and 3, however, it did not proceed due to connectivity issues.

⁸³ See <u>Sikhs worldwide to take part in referendum on Punjab independence</u>, The National, 11 August 2021.

the commission of crime or to lead to disorder must not be included in television or radio services. The presenter's references to militants of the past were not limited to the distant past or to religious icons, but included repeated references to those who have carried out murders in the UK within living memory, and as outlined above, were coupled with a repeated call for current Sikh leaders to have the "strength" to follow them.

We considered that this indirect call was exacerbated by further instances within the programme where the presenter suggested that he or the callers had personal connections to people responsible for terrorist or violent acts. For example, he said: "If I talk about Resham Singh Babbar. 84 Last time when he called, [he] showed high spirits while talking. See, we do not have enmity with anyone". Resham Singh Babbar is alleged to be the head of the German branch of the Babbar Khalsa, 85 a proscribed militant Sikh separatist movement that aims to establish an independent Khalistan. We considered in the above statement, the presenter expressed a good relationship with a proscribed terrorist organisation which had been responsible for assassinations and other violent attacks.

We also took into account several further, more neutral references in the programme to other individuals known for violent action including in support of Khalistan⁸⁶, which added to the overall impression that the presenter was thoroughly immersed in the history of violent pro-Khalistan activism:

- "Happy PHD", the Sikh militant Harmeet Singh who was accused of carrying out terrorist attacks and murders in India between 2016 and 2017.⁸⁷ He was killed by police during a shootout in Pakistan. The presenter said: "Yes, brother please to one thing. PHD was killed. PHD was martyred in Pakistan. He was shot. Do you know who PHD was?"
- Gian Singh Leel who received life imprisonment for assassinating former Shromani Akali Dal President, Sant Harchand Longowal, for signing the Punjab Accord in 1985 which was a peace deal between the Indian government and Sikh activists. The presenter said: "Many Sikh men went to meet Brother Rajinder Singh, Brother Gian Singh Leel went, I would say openly now".
- Udham Singh who came to Britain to seek revenge for the Amritsar massacre⁸⁸. He shot and killed Sir Michael O'Dwyer at Caxton Hall in 1940. O'Dwyer had been the Governor of Punjab

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⁸⁴ Resham Singh Babbar is variously described as a member of Babbar Khalsa Germany & head of Babbar Khalsa India. See <u>BABBAR KHALSA INTERNATIONAL (BKI)</u>, Khalistan Extremism Monitor and <u>As Punjab simmers, Sikh radicals revive Khalistan bogey in UK</u>, DNA.

⁸⁵ Babbar Khalsa is included in the Home Office's list of <u>proscribed terrorist organisation in the UK</u> as having been proscribed since 2001.

⁸⁶ In our Suspension Notice, we mistakenly summarised the list below as a list of individuals known for violent pro-Khalistan action. We recognise and accept the Sikh Press Association's clarification that Udham Singh was not a pro-Khalistan activist (and indeed our description of his history, which we have not changed since the Suspension Notice, did not suggest he was). However, he was a violent activist. We therefore did not consider that this clarification affects our reasoning.

⁸⁷ See <u>KLF leader Happy PhD, killed in Pak, was on 'most wanted' list</u>, The Tribune, 29 January 2020.

⁸⁸ Refers to the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. See: Why Did the Amritsar Massacre Occur in the Context of 1919?, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs. On 13 April 1919, British Brigadier General Reginald Dyer ordered British troops to open fire on a large crowd of unarmed Indian protestors. The incident resulted in the death of approximately 370 Indian protestors and over a thousand injured although the unofficial count was much higher.

at the time of the massacre and Udham Singh considered him responsible. The presenter said: "Martyr Udham Singh came here [to the UK] from Punjab, hello, listen".

Ofcom also took into account KTV's representations that there was "clearly no call to arms" and that, rather than encouraging crime or disorder, the presenter was "challenging the hate rhetoric and glorified speeches of Sikh Separatists" and in this sense, the programme had "actually offended a variety of Sikh Separatist groups (Khalistani) in the UK and has earned the respect of pro-India people".

We took into account the Licensee's representations that the Farmers' Protests were largely peaceful, were within their legal rights and therefore were "not examples of crime and disorder". We further considered their view that the presenter's suggestion there should be more Khalistani secessionist activity in Punjab by those within the Sikh diaspora was made within the context of the recent end of the Farmers' Protests and the arrest of Jagmeet Singh and his mother. KTV said that, rather than a call to violent action, the programme was instead a "call to positive democratic action" and encouraged "representatives of these organisations [who have exploited the Sikh community] to actually visit [India] and engage in the democratic system" using "peaceful activism". In doing so, we went on to consider carefully whether the presenter's statements could have been interpreted by viewers as a call to action for members of the Sikh community in the UK to travel to Punjab to engage in political activity or peaceful protest, rather than acts of violence.

During his opening monologue, the presenter suggests:

"I am ready for jail. Let me tell you one thing, all the leaders who are talking big right now, if you are arrested, I would spend money for you. I tell this with confidence. All those leaders who talk big, if you are arrested for six months, four months [hits table] I say with confidence [pats chest] that this Jeeta Singh will not ask for any money. Whether I have to spend fifty lakhs or crore I will spend it from my money. All the leaders from England, who are listening in America and Canada, just get arrested by Punjab police for a day in the name of Khalistan and I will pay you".

We acknowledged that, given the relatively short jail terms the presenter references in this statement (four months, six months, and a day), it might have been interpreted as suggesting that members of the wider Sikh community should travel to Punjab to advocate peacefully for an independent Khalistan through the democratic system, like Jagmeet Singh and Jasveer Kaur, rather than through violent crime.

However, this was one brief reference to risking short jail terms, whereas as set out above, throughout the programme there were multiple and far more positive references to the conduct of people who were jailed for decades for violent actions including murder and a direct call on one of them to assume leadership of the Sikh community. We considered that in context, the statement would have been understood by audiences as the presenter rhetorically demonstrating how little could be expected of the current Sikh leadership.

To illustrate this point further, the presenter on many occasions criticised a farmers' union leader. The presenter alleged that he went from advocating for grassroots political action, to making his party more mainstream, and contesting elections. This was coupled with the criticism that the union leader wants to become Punjab's Chief Minister. The presenter also denounced the Sikh leadership more generally as inefficient and ineffective in achieving Khalistan: ("When Sant Baba Jarnail Singh talked about Khalistan, when the government of Delhi came to Darbar Saheb, it was at that time that Khalistan was founded. I feel like laughing at you [present day Sikh community leaders and commentators]. Just tell me if you are the same as the farmers' leaders? Are you still in the same situation after 37 years?") We considered that the presenter's statements in the overall context, cited these examples as a way of demonstrating the ineffectiveness of protest activity employed by the farmers' movement, and the Sikh leadership's failure to acquire Khalistan through democratic means. We also considered that this is how the criticisms would have been understood by the audience.

We took into account the extent to which the presenter made clear what action he was considering, aside from his many references to those who had committed violent acts in the past. It was only when Caller 2 directly challenged the presenter to explain what he was calling for people to do in Punjab, that the presenter made an explicit suggestion, and that suggestion was clearly an exaggeration:

Presenter: "Brother! No, no. Everyone feels the heat ... If we talk about Sant Jarnail

Singh, he has taken the lead and died. There are many examples like brother Amrik Singh [hits table], General Thara Singh [hits table], Baba Thara Singh [hits table], General Shabeg Singh [hits table], Jinda [hits table], Sukha [hits table], Satwant Singh [hits table], Beant Singh [hits table], General etc. All of them have embraced martyrdom. Not one fled

the arena. Today's leaders are all talk and no action".

Caller 2: "[Shouts] And what would you do by going there, then?"

Presenter: "No, no, no dear, I want to add [to your point]".

Caller 2: "You said you will book a ticket, but my question is what you will do

after going there? You do not even utter a word after landing there".

Presenter: "Why do we not gather two hundred thousand person and go to

Punjab? We are just talking at random. Let us engage people my

brother".

We acknowledged that when challenged again later in the programme by Caller 3, the presenter repeats this proposal:

"No brother, I say if we go to Punjab with two hundred to three hundred thousand individuals. You and I also accompany them. Then the picture in Punjab can change. At least, two hundred to two hundred and fifty thousand persons cannot be detained".

However, we took into account that these suggestions were made after the programme had continued for more than an hour and only after:

- multiple repeated calls on Sikh leaders to be more like militants of the past;
- a call for Manjit Singh, who along with Rajinder Singh Mughalwal murdered a Sikh leader in Southall, UK in the secessionist cause, to assume leadership of the Sikh community;
- a lengthy discussion with Caller 1 in which:
 - both agreed that Khalistan would be taken "at any cost, by sacrificing our lives... Either with the support of the community or through the power of the gun, we will take it by hook or crook";
 - o both appeared to acknowledge the difficulties of calling for violence on air; and
 - the presenter called on Caller 1 to take responsibility for those "following your orders" and Caller 1 responded: "We have neither duped anyone nor we are trapping them or providing them with bombs"; and
- the presenter had himself told Caller 2 that action had to be taken "in disguise" or "under the table".

Therefore, we considered that the audience would have understood the message of the programme to be an indirect call to violence, and not a direct call to travel to Punjab for the purposes of peaceful protest.

We recognised the presenter was emotionally engaged by the subject matter and therefore was prone to using hyperbole, such as in the response above, in which he exaggerates the number of people he suggests travel to Punjab from initially ten to hundreds of thousands. He also claimed he was happy to compensate all the Sikh community leaders in England, Canada and the United States for any financial losses should they get arrested in Punjab:

"I say with confidence [pats chest] that this Jeeta Singh will not ask for any money. Whether I have to spend fifty lakhs or crore I will spend it from my money. All the leaders from England, who are listening in America and Canada, just get arrested by Punjab police for a day in the name of Khalistan and I will pay you".

We took into account the Licensee's representations that a distinction should be made between the ways in which people from the UK can go to Punjab and the inferences that would be drawn and understood by viewers of the programme depending on the route suggested. This included the letter from the Licensee's independent expert who considered viewers would have understood the presenter to have been talking about going to Punjab "in a way that could only mean to engage in a peaceful protest", and therefore cast doubt on Ofcom's findings about the likelihood of the programme encouraging or inciting the commission of crime or leading to disorder. We also took into account the Licensee's view that the instruction given by the presenter to go to Punjab was "rhetorical construct", aimed at calling out the leadership within the Sikh diaspora who, "engage in pro-Khalistan campaigns over social media for profit, while ignoring the plight of people in Punjab". KTV went on to say it was not intended to be taken seriously, and "in any event, it would have been clear to viewers that his call to go to the Punjab, in context, was a call to engage in peaceful protest".

However, in our view, throughout this 95-minute programme the presenter repeatedly praised people who perpetrated terrorist incidents and violent crimes carried out in the name of the Khalistan

secessionist movement or Sikhism and referenced them directly alongside his calls to travel to Punjab. Further and as described above, the presenter specifically suggested that the objective of achieving an independent state of Khalistan should be pursued "at any cost", including "through the power of the gun":

"37 years ago, in 1986, you pledged that we will, take Khalistan at any cost, by sacrificing our lives, we will take Khalistan...[points at the camera] Either with the support of the community or through the power of the gun, we will take it by hook or crook".

In its representations on our Breach Decision, KTV said it was "inevitable in a live, unscripted 95-minute programme" in which the presenter and callers sometimes spoke over one another, that there would be "scope for confusion" as to what the presenter was meaning and how his words may have been interpreted by viewers. Ofcom disagreed, particularly given that his 23-minute monologue was uninterrupted and that he spoke plainly about using violence ("through the power of the gun"). We considered that viewers would have understood the cumulative narrative of the programme that emulating the actions of these individuals was a righteous path for devout Sikhs committed to an independent Khalistan, notwithstanding that it was expressed at times in hyperbolic terms.

Therefore, while we agree with the Licensee that "activism with a view to affecting meaningful change does not constitute criminal activity or disorder", for the reasons outlined above, we do not agree that the audience would have understood the presenter's intention as being limited to "positive democratic action" and "encouraging representatives of these organisations [who have exploited the Sikh community] to actually visit [India] and engage in the democratic system". Rather, we considered that the audience would have understood the presenter's call to action as going beyond the suggestion of peaceful protest and engagement in the democratic system. In Ofcom's view they would have recognised the implicit, cumulative narrative of the programme to be a call to all Sikhs in the diaspora, including but not limited to those in leadership, to emulate Sikh militants of the past and travel to Punjab to engage in acts of crime and violence, up to and including murder, to further the pro-Khalistan cause.

We also noted that complainants to Ofcom about this programme considered the presenter's call to action to be one of violence rather than lawful protest and democratic engagement on the issue of Khalistan. While the representations from the Sikh Press Association pointed to the fact that the complainants to Ofcom do not necessarily represent the view of the "thousands of viewers" of *Prime Time*, we considered that it is relevant that the content was interpreted by the complainants to Ofcom as a call to violence. We also consider that the representations made to us by both KTV and Sikh Press Association, which seek to deny or downplay the violent message of the programme, fail to grapple with or in any way explain the specific statements made, which we have considered in detail above, in which it is clear that the message of the programme was violent.

We also considered the Licensee's representation that the programme sought to expose organisations that have "exploited the community and incited violence and hatred in the name of an independent [Sikh] state".

Having regard to comments such as: "these people have tried to cash in on the name of Sant Jarnail Singh"; "you have made millions of rupees"; "you...are concerned only concerned about your own

selfish benefit"; and later suggestions that the poor in India were being paid to agitate "What will be your answer be, when it is proved that work was done out of greed? Well, tell me one thing. When people sitting in foreign soil lure youths with false assurances that they will pay so and so money, what does it mean then? I just want to say what will happen if his greed is proved?", we accepted the Licensee's argument that the programme sought to expose "organisations that have exploited the community", although we did not consider that the references were sufficiently sustained to be considered one of the main messages of the programme.

We also accepted that a repeated theme of the programme was that pro-Khalistan activists were being funded by Pakistan's ISI, including being paid to plant bombs, and that the presenter strongly disapproved of this:

"Just tell me, you leaders, who are only concerned about your benefits, your name is linked with the with ISI. You are referred to as pimps of the ISI. You are labelled as puppets of ISI...You think of taking some funds from ISI. Today Sikhs are dishonoured with the name of ISI. [Shouts] Put your hands up, [hits table] and say you won't take money from the ISI. Say you won't take money [from them]. I have proof that people of Pakistan who are in Punjab and people of Punjab who are in Pakistan get 'packages'. I have proof. Because they are puppets of Pakistan in India [points at the camera] and puppets of Punjab in Pakistan. A package was also given for Ludhiana scam⁸⁹".

"[There] is a rumour that ISI is supporting Sikhs. Let me tell you one thing, many of you will get angry hearing this, work is done in two ways. Our Sikh men, those who are sitting in Pakistan they are controlled by the ISI. You will have to believe this, but no one would have told you this till today because the problem with the leaders of those Sikh religious organisations is that they are stooges of those [ISI] who want to promote them. I agree that they supported Khalistan and they were forced to go to Pakistan. According to me it would have been better if they were martyrs than have gone to Pakistan. All the sacrifices that Sant Baba Jarnail Singh and all the other warriors made was better. At least they did not become puppets of ISI...".

He also references bombs or "packages", suggesting that Sikhs in Pakistan have carried out bombings on behalf of the ISI. For example, he says:

"Both countries carry out bomb blasts in each other's country, I have proof that they give packages. The price of the package is fixed, that you will be paid a fixed amount for a particular job. This is how it works.

There is no doubt in that. Now do not say that I am degrading the Sikhs

⁸⁹ Reference to a bomb explosion at Ludhiana courthouse that was linked to Sikh militant groups and also Pakistan's intelligence agency the ISI. See <u>Ludhiana Blast</u>, A 'Terrorist Attack', Arab News 16 October 2007 and <u>Ludhiana blast accused had links with Pakistan's ISI says Punjab DGP</u>, The Tribune.

those who are in Pakistan. I am not degrading them; they are already degraded because they do not have anything going for them. Because they are in their control, they will do as ISI says. Because nothing is in their control. I accept they made a big sacrifice but now they are sorted. As we say in English [speaking English]: "we have been sorted". The organisation cannot say this thing because they have links with them [ISI]. They do not have anything with them because I know the truth".

"Those who are playing in the hands of ISI and defaming Sikhs in the entirety of India and in the world. These are the same Sikhs who fed the world with langar in COVID-19 from USA to India, they are defaming these Sikhs in the world by playing in the hands of ISI".

We considered whether these statements could be interpreted as expressing concern about the acts of violence committed by these Sikh secessionists allegedly controlled by the ISI, and therefore, as the Licensee argues, seeking to "expose organisations" that have "exploited the community and incited violence and hatred in the name of an independent [Sikh] state".

We considered that the language of the presenter's objection suggested that his concern was that the alleged arrangement with the ISI was "degrading" and "defaming" of Sikhs, rather than a concern about the violence and bombings that these arrangements had allegedly led to. This was particularly evident in his explicit comparison to Baba Jarnail Singh and "all the other warriors", which we understood to be a reference to the Sikh militants referred to elsewhere in the programme, whose violent sacrifices he considered "better" as they were not operating under the control of the ISI. We were concerned that the presenter's main objection appeared to be that the ISI took "credit" for bombings which ought to belong to the pro-Khalistan movement:

"However, I must say one thing that our name is being associated with ISI by intelligence agencies in Punjab, especially Sikhs' name. The entire credit goes to those who are working under the orders of the ISI".

We also had regard to the conversation between the presenter and Caller 1, in which the presenter implied that Caller 1's orders were responsible for bombs and that he should openly acknowledge this, and the conversation between the presenter and Caller 3, in which Caller 3 asked: "Sometimes you make connections with the ISI. The same thing you are saying again and again, what is the difference between you and them?"

In Ofcom's view and against the full context of the programme as a whole, in which the presenter had called for leadership of the Sikh community by other violent terrorists, these statements did not amount to a call to avoid violence, but only a call to refuse sponsorship from the ISI in its commission.

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⁹⁰ The Punjabi expression used is 'sera' which translates to 'garland'. In this context meaning they (ISI) should receive all the credit.

Likely effect of the call to action

For the reasons outlined above, Ofcom considered that viewers would have understood the implicit references made by the presenter throughout the programme, and therefore the cumulative narrative, as a call for violent crime and disorder in Punjab in the name of the secessionist cause.

In reaching this decision, we considered KTV's argument that Ofcom had overstated the likelihood of the programme inciting violence. However in our view, the Licensee offered no clear explanation for or alternative interpretation of:

- the exchange between the presenter and Caller 1 which characterised sacrifice up to and
 including death a righteous path for devout Sikhs and as a price worth paying for an
 independent Khalistan state, which would be taken "by hook or crook" including "through the
 power of the gun". As set out above, Ofcom considered this condoned violent action,
 including murder, as an acceptable and necessary form of action to further the Khalistani
 secessionist cause;
- the coded references to bombings between the presenter and Caller 1 which we considered viewers would have understood as a tacit assurance that violent action was being taken but there was no need for either the presenter or Caller 1 to publicly associate themselves with it;
- the presenter's objection to and frustration at the ISI taking "credit" for bombings which ought to belong to the pro-Khalistan movement rather than an expressed objection to violence itself;
- fact that the licensee was not just calling on audiences to revere militant figures from the past but to emulate them and that the militant figures referenced included two people jailed for murders carried out in the UK.

Given the profile of KTV's audience and its programming, we remained concerned that the statements made by the presenter had the likely effect of potentially encouraging members of the Sikh community in the UK to travel to Punjab with a view to taking violent and criminal action.

With reference to the arrest or indictment of Sikh activists in India between 2014 and 2018, the Licensee argued that none of the individuals named are said to have come from the UK. It said independent reports have shown that in recent years violent acts by pro-Khalistani militants have reduced significantly and that Ofcom was unable to point to a recent instance of an activist from the UK traveling to India to engage in crime or disorder in support of the Khalistani cause. KTV said the violent Khalistani secessionist movement "peaked last century and any ongoing campaign is in large part driven by either the US-based organisation Sikhs For Justice (SFJ) and/or the ISI, two organisations of which the presenter was expressly critical". However, as set out above, rather than condemn the use of violence, we considered the presenter condoned its use and his call to action was wide-ranging ("I am challenging all you Khalistanis, all of you from England, Europe, America and from Canada, let's go to Punjab. If you have the guts. All of you social media and Facebook users, you have nothing going for you. You would not get Khalistan on Facebook.")

We considered that conditions exist in which a programme aimed at a UK audience could have the potential to indirectly incite violence, particularly given that the presenter out of frustration with current approaches to furthering the Khalistani cause, was citing past example of those who had embraced violence. Ofcom understands that the target audience of KTV are young Punjabi-speaking

Sikhs in the UK with links to the Indian Punjab region and the pro-Khalistan cause. Ofcom is aware that the rise in Sikh nationalism and activism around calls for an independent Sikh state have rejuvenated a Sikh secessionist movement, largely driven by young Sikh people living in the diaspora and particularly the UK, Canada and the US⁹¹. Ofcom is also aware of a hardening of attitudes among some young Sikh people in the diaspora towards the Indian state, with hundreds of Sikh places of worship (Gurdwaras) considering banning the visit of any Indian government representative⁹². Ofcom also understands that the Farmers' Protests have rejuvenated calls for the establishment of an independent state of Khalistan given the potential impact of the controversial farmers bills on Sikhs living in the Punjab region of India. Finally, the programme itself made it clear that there have been bombings recently and made frequent reference to living individuals who have carried out violent acts in the name of Sikhism.

We also considered that the target audience would be familiar with the pro-Khalistan position of KTV's programming. Through routine monitoring of the channel, Ofcom is aware that KTV is editorially supportive of the creation of an independent state of Khalistan seceding from the Indian federation. The channel regularly features promotions throughout the day featuring video images of an armed Sant Jarnail Bhindranwale accompanied by images of the Golden Temple attack in which he and his supporters were killed. It is legitimate for broadcasters to discuss political issues such as an independent Khalistan and the Code does not prohibit any subject matters from being covered. Similarly, the Code allows for a range of opinions and views to be expressed, including those which may be controversial, in line with freedom of expression. However, when covering such subjects, broadcasters must ensure their programming complies with the Code.

We were also concerned that in making his call to action, the presenter directly challenged Sikhs living in the UK, including Sikh community leaders, which in our view increased the likelihood of audience members acting on the presenter's call to action: "All the leaders from England, who are listening" and "I challenge you, all those creating dissension in England, come with me in the morning".

Context

We then went on to consider whether there were any other contextual factors which could decrease the likelihood of these statements encouraging or inciting the commission of crime or leading to disorder.

Ofcom's Guidance_which accompanies Section Three of the Code⁹³ explains that the likelihood of material encouraging or inciting the commission of crime or leading to disorder could be reduced, for example, if sufficient challenge or context is provided.

In our view the presenter constructed a clear and cumulative narrative over the course of a 95-minute programme that devout and loyal Sikhs should travel to Punjab to take action, including violence, in order to achieve a separate Khalistan state. The presenter repeatedly glorified Sikh militants who had

⁹¹ See British Sikh Activists Lead Call For A Homeland In India Amid Tension With Police, Huffington Post, 30 September 2018. The 2017 British Sikh Report showed that 42% of participants considered that Punjab should have been an independent nation during the partition of 1947 and just under 40% had a positive view or very positive of a political and economic case for an independent Khalistan.

⁹² See <u>India must tread carefully: The impact of its present actions will shape Sikh attitudes for generations</u>, Sikh Council UK.

⁹³ Ofcom's Guidance which accompanies Section Three of the Code

perpetrated violent crimes and terrorist attacks in the past and did so alongside explicit calls to travel to the Punjab. They were presented as devout Sikhs, willing to make personal sacrifices including the loss of life and liberty for the Khalistan independence movement. At only one point, very briefly, was this positive characterisation given any context or challenge in the programme, when Caller 3 said "Sometimes you make connections with the ISI. The same thing you are saying again and again, what is the difference between you and them?" Callers did challenge the presenter in other ways, but not his central theme that Khalistan should be achieved at any cost and through violence if necessary.

We took into account KTV's representations that more broadly, it "has been covering the current Punjab elections and supports democratic change in India". However, Ofcom considered the content of this programme as broadcast. We also acknowledged the fact that certain of the presenter's comments, in which he referred to relatively short jail terms, might have been interpreted as suggesting that members of the wider Sikh community should travel to Punjab to advocate for an independent Khalistan through non-violent means, for example through protest. While this more moderate approach might also have been comprised in the presenter's call to action, the reference to this was extremely limited in the context of the programme as a whole and therefore did not provide sufficient context or challenge to the overwhelming cumulative narrative presented throughout the programme, which advocated violent means to achieve progress for the secessionist cause.

We further acknowledged that throughout the entire length of the programme, a text disclaimer was scrolled across the screen in English which read: "The views and opinion expressed in the following programme are those of the speakers or presenters so not necessarily reflect or constitute the views and opinions held by KTV". In our view, although this disclaimer attempted to distance KTV from the views expressed by the presenter and callers, it did not have the effect of challenging the cumulative narrative of the programme or reducing the likelihood of that message encouraging or inciting crime or disorder in Punjab to achieve an independent Khalistan. Licensees, including KTV, are responsible for all content broadcast on their channels and must ensure content complies with the Code and that audiences are adequately protected from harm.

As outlined above, Ofcom understands the KTV audience would probably be made up of Punjabi-speaking Sikhs with links to the Punjab region and therefore we considered they would have understood the positive references to these Sikh militants. We accepted that given the clear position the channel takes on Khalistan, KTV's audience would expect to see robust and broadly positive discussion of political issues directly linked to the secessionist cause but also more generally, in the Punjab region of India where there is a large Sikh population, such as the Farmers' Protests. Given the heightened sensitivity among the Sikh community to these at the time of broadcast, particularly immediately following the arrest of Jagmeet Singh and Jasveer Kaur, we also recognised that viewers would be likely to expect a provocative discussion about the secessionist movement and the fate of pro-Khalistan activists in India. We recognise that these discussions are emotive and sometimes heated, and so this too would be within audience expectations.

We also took into account the status of the presenter. We noted that Jagjit Singh Jeeta is not only the main presenter on KTV, but also a known activist within the Sikh community in the UK who advocates for an independent Khalistan and commemorating Sikh martyrs. We also considered the presenter's repeated references to having direct contact with Sikh militants lent him a greater authority to deliver his message to take direct action. We therefore considered he would have a considerable level of

authority with the KTV audience, which compounded the potentially harmful nature of his call to action.

We acknowledged the Licensee's allegation that Ofcom had a "vendetta against the channel" and that our reasoning in this case demonstrated "prejudice" and "a lack of understanding". It argued that our Preliminary View had "manipulated" the contents of the programme to reach the view it was in breach of Rule 3.1. We did not accept the Licensee's allegations. We considered that our reasoning in this investigation was based on clear interpretation, analysis and assessment of the audience's likely understanding (and therefore effect) of the programme.

Our Decision is that this programme contained a call for viewers to take violent action to achieve an independent Khalistan state, and it was therefore in breach of Rule 3.1 of the Code.

Breach of Rule 3.1 of the Code

Reasoning towards revocation

In the Breach Decision which we annexed to our Suspension Notice, we put the Licensee on notice that we were considering whether we could continue to be satisfied that the Licensee was fit and proper to hold a broadcast licence. We consider it important to publish our reasoning as regards revocation, to inform any future fit and proper questions relating to the Licensee and those controlling it, and to explain to audiences why it is that Ofcom took the steps we did pursuant to our statutory duty under section 239 of the Communications Act 2003.

Ofcom regards the broadcast of an incitement to murder as a very serious matter. Ofcom has a duty to include in the Code, standards to secure that broadcasters do not transmit material that is likely to encourage or incite crime or lead to disorder. Where such material is broadcast in contravention of this requirement, the Communications Act 2003 recognises the potential for serious harm to be caused to society and that, where justified by the breach, the regulator may be required to act to be able to remove a broadcaster's entitlement to hold a licence.

Specifically, Ofcom has a duty to issue a suspension notice if it is satisfied that:

- a. the holder of the licence has included in the service one or more programmes containing material likely to encourage or to incite the commission of crime, or lead to disorder;
- b. in doing so, it has contravened conditions contained by virtue of Chapter 4 of Part 3 of the Communications Act in the licence to provide that service; and
- c. the contravention is such as to justify the revocation of the licence.

We therefore proceeded on 31 March 2022 to serve the Licensee with a Suspension Notice, and informed the Licensee of its right to make representations within 21 days of service of the notice, after which Ofcom would decide whether or not to revoke the licence. Ofcom must revoke the licence if, after considering the licensee's representations, it remains satisfied of all the above and is satisfied that it is in the public interest to revoke the licence.

KTV made written representations on 21 April 2022 relating to the seriousness of the breach and the proportionality of the suspension and potential revocation of KTV's licence. Because many of these representations in this regard could be said to amount to representations that Ofcom was wrong

about how audiences would have understood the programme, we have summarised and addressed them above. Below, we consider the seriousness of the breach.⁹⁴

Ofcom considered that the cumulative effect of statements made in the programme was to present violent action, including murder, as an acceptable and necessary form of action to further the Khalistani cause, and to encourage viewers to travel to Punjab to engage in violent protest. The message was sustained throughout a lengthy programme and was expressed from time to time in a manner which, in Ofcom's view, made it clear that the presenter was aware that the message should not be broadcast.

The Licensee submitted that the breach was insufficiently serious to warrant revocation because the incitement was indirect and it considered that there were alternative ways in which the programme might have been understood by its audience. It also considered the likelihood to incite violence was lower in this case than in some other cases previously considered by Ofcom, due to the political context. It stated that according to independent reports, the threat of violent acts by pro-Khalistani militants generally has reduced significantly in recent years.

In this case, the potential for serious harm if this material incited others was clear. As already set out, members of the pro-Khalistani movement have committed murders in the past, including in the UK, and the programme referred more than once to a recent bombing in India alleged to have been carried out by pro-Khalistani activists. Ofcom did not accept that only a direct incitement was sufficiently serious to warrant revocation. As outlined above, Ofcom considered the programme was "likely" to incite to violent action including murder in the cause of an independent Khalistan. We considered this serious enough to warrant revocation regardless of whether the incitement was direct or indirect, and notwithstanding the Licensee's arguments about other ways in which it considered members of the audience might have understood the programme.

We also did not consider that audience size reduces the seriousness of the contravention. Incitement remains incitement, whether or not the conduct incited is carried out. Nor did we consider that the fact that the presenter expressed disapproval of other organisations associated with terrorism reduced the seriousness of the statements he made which incited terrorism themselves.

Ofcom considered that the circumstances of the case were such that this contravention warranted revocation.

Repeated nature of breaches

Ofcom was particularly concerned that this breach was the third occasion in less than four years on which this Licensee had broadcast an incitement to murder, and the second involving the same presenter, and that on two occasions the breach had been related to a pro-Khalistani message⁹⁵.

⁹⁴ KTV also made some procedural representations which we did not consider it necessary to summarise here because KTV surrendered its licence.

⁹⁵ Ofcom has previously made the following Rule 3.1 breach findings in relation to KTV Ltd:

In our decision on Bagga and Shera (KTV, 4 July 2018, 22:56; 7 July 2018, 21:26; 9 July 2018, 14:30; Broadcast and On Demand Bulletin 373), Ofcom found that KTV Ltd had broadcast a music video which constituted an indirect call to action for Sikhs to commit violence, up to and including murder. The broadcasts of the music video were in breach of Rules 3.1, 2.3, and 2.11.

As a consequence of the two earlier breaches, Ofcom investigated whether or not the Licensee remained fit and proper to hold a licence, a process which would have led to the revocation of its licence had the Licensee failed to satisfy Ofcom. The Licensee made assurances to Ofcom about the measures it had taken to improve its compliance processes, which informed Ofcom's decision at the time that the Licensee was fit and proper. At that time, Ofcom said that it may review this decision if KTV did not maintain these measures effectively, leading to further compliance failures. Ultimately, Ofcom imposed statutory sanctions on the Licensee, requiring it to pay financial penalties of £20,000 and £30,000 in relation to the two breaches, broadcast a statement of Ofcom's findings and not repeat the material concerned.⁹⁶

The most recent breach considered in this Decision therefore took place in a context where the Licensee was already well aware both of the seriousness of breaches of this nature and of the risks posed by this presenter in particular (in the light of the previous breach involving him). The previous enforcement proceedings by Ofcom did not secure compliance with Rule 3.1.

In its representations on the Suspension Notice, the Licensee said that there was a "considerable" gap of two years and nine months between the date of the March 2019 breach of Rule 3.1 and this most recent breach.

Ofcom does not consider a gap of two years and nine months between breaches of Rule 3.1 to be "considerable". Most Ofcom licensees do not breach Rule 3.1 at all, still less in a manner which involves incitement to violence up to and including murder. KTV is the only licensee in Ofcom's history to have been found in contravention of Rule 3.1 three times. KTV has committed all three Rule 3.1 breaches within a period of less than four years. Moreover, the latest breach involved a discussion programme which continued for 95 minutes with no intervention by the Licensee's compliance team to prevent the contravention from taking place.

Compliance history and the likelihood of further breaches

As set out in the Notice of Suspension, in addition to the above Rule 3.1 breaches, Ofcom has also made the following other breach findings in relation to KTV Ltd:

• In our Fairness and Privacy decision on **Sri Guru Singh Sabha Southall Elections Debate** (KTV, 27 September 2017; Broadcast Bulletin 380⁹⁷), Ofcom found that this programme, presented by Jagjit Singh Jeeta, contained unjust or unfair treatment of the complainant, the Sher Group⁹⁸, by giving a misleading impression that the complainant had been given the opportunity to participate in the programme but had chosen not to do so. Ofcom also found

[•] In our decision on **Panthak Masle** (KTV, 30 March 2019, 15:00; <u>Broadcast and On Demand Bulletin 391</u>), Ofcom found that the live discussion programme, presented by Jagjit Singh Jeeta, provided a platform for several guests to express views which amounted to indirect calls to action and were likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime, up to and including murder, or lead to disorder. Consequently, the programme was in breach of Rules 3.1, 2.1, and 2.3.

⁹⁶ In the particular circumstances of this case, taking into account Ofcom's fit and proper finding against this Licensee, and that the Licensee appears to have defaulted in the payment of the previous two financial penalties, Ofcom will now consider commencing civil debt recovery/winding up proceedings against Khalsa Television Ltd.

⁹⁷ See <u>Broadcast Bulletin 380</u>.

⁹⁸ One of three groups who were standing for election to form the new management committee of Sri Guru Singh Sabha Gurdwara, Southall.

- that KTV Ltd did not take reasonable care to satisfy itself that material facts had not been presented, disregarded, or omitted in a way that was unfair to the complainant, and had failed to provide the complainant with an appropriate and timely opportunity to respond.
- In our Fairness and Privacy decision on **Programming** (KTV, 30 September 2017; Broadcast Bulletin 380⁹⁹), Ofcom found that KTV Ltd did not take reasonable care to satisfy itself that material facts had not been presented, disregarded, or omitted in a way that was unfair to the complainants, Mr Malhi and the Sher Group, the comments in the programme had amounted to significant allegations about the complainants, and that KTV Ltd had failed to provide the complainants with an appropriate and timely opportunity to respond. Again, this programme was presented by Jagjit Singh Jeeta.
- In Broadcast Bulletin 342¹⁰⁰, published 20 November 2017, Ofcom recorded that KTV Ltd had failed to submit its Relevant Turnover returns by the original deadline in accordance with Licence Condition 12(1) of its TLCS Licence, but subsequently submitted a late return. We therefore considered the matter resolved.
- In our decision on **Free Jaggi Now** (KTV, 6 January 2018, 21:30; Broadcast Bulletin 358¹⁰¹), Ofcom found that the Licensee had failed to preserve due impartiality in breach of Rule 5.5. It did not adequately reflect the view of the Indian Government in this current affairs programme on the arrest and detention of Jagtar Singh Johal (referred to as "Jaggi") by Indian authorities.
- In our decision on **Indian Law** (KTV, 14 January 2018, 19:30; Broadcast Bulletin 357¹⁰²), Ofcom found that KTV Ltd had promoted and given undue prominence to the services of a guest to the programme in breach of Rules 9.4 and 9.5.
- In our decision on **Good Morning KTV** (KTV, 20 February 2018, 09:00; Broadcast Bulletin 373¹⁰³), Ofcom found that KTV Ltd had broadcast a documentary about violence and showed reconstructions of scenes involving images and graphic descriptions of abuse and sexual violence, at a time before the watershed and following a segment on the Punjab water issue, and therefore audiences were unlikely to have expected to encounter such distressing material. Consequently, the programme was in breach of Rules 1.3, 1.11, and 2.3.
- In our decision on **Acupressure Show** (KTV, 12 March 2018, 21:30; Broadcast Bulletin 373¹⁰⁴), Ofcom found that the programme had included potentially harmful medical advice as the presenter and guest: dismissed, without challenge, the effectiveness of some conventional medical treatment; implied that acupressure was more effective as a treatment than conventional medical treatments; and referred to acupressure as a cure for certain ailments. Viewers were also encouraged to use the treatment advised by the guest and to make appointments to see him, and numerous references were made to the guest's profession, his success rate in treatments, and his business. Consequently, the programme was in breach of Rules 2.1, 9.4, and 9.5.

⁹⁹ See footnote 97.

¹⁰⁰ See <u>Broadcast Bulletin 342</u>.

¹⁰¹ See Broadcast Bulletin 358.

¹⁰² See <u>Broadcast Bulletin 357</u>.

¹⁰³ See footnote 95.

¹⁰⁴ See footnote 95.

- In our decision on **Homeopathic Clinic** (KTV, 8 June 2018, 16:00; Broadcast Bulletin 373¹⁰⁵), Ofcom found that the programme had included potentially harmful medical advice as the guest: claimed to be able to treat several serious illnesses and conditions using homeopathic remedies, such as diabetes and asthma; dismissed the effectiveness of some conventional licensed medicines without challenge; and encouraged viewers to make appointments to see him. Consequently, the programme was in breach of Rules 2.1, 9.4, and 9.5.
- In our decision on **Sangeen Mamlay** (KTV, 20 September 2018, 16:00; Broadcast Bulletin 378¹⁰⁶), Ofcom found that the programme, which discussed the reasons why some parties to marital disputes in India were resorting to violence, showed footage which contained the use of offensive language and scenes of violence. The programme was also broadcast before the watershed, and immediately prior to *Children's Hour* and cartoons. Consequently, the programme was in breach of Rules 1.11, 1.14, and 2.3.
- In Broadcast Bulletin 370¹⁰⁷, published 14 January 2019, Ofcom found KTV Ltd to be in breach of Licence Condition 4(3) of its TLCS Licence for failure to submit its annual relevant turnover statement when required.
- In Broadcast Bulletin 373¹⁰⁸, published 25 February 2019, Ofcom found KTV Ltd in breach of Licence Conditions 13, 17(2) and 20(1) of its TLCS Licence:
 - Licence Condition 13 requires that licensees provide Ofcom with information relating to a change of control, which the Licensee failed to do so following a change of directorship in June 2018.
 - o Licence Condition 17(2) requires, amongst other things, that licensees adopt procedures to ensure their programmes comply in all respects with their licence conditions, and ensure that such procedures are observed. In particular, it obliges the licensee to ensure there are enough sufficiently qualified or trained people to ensure compliance, and that they have sufficient seniority to ensure the licensed service complies "in all respects" with the Code. In the context of Ofcom's investigation of two fairness and privacy complaints, the Licensee had acknowledged that it had no members of staff with responsibility for ensuring compliance between 9 July 2018 and January 2019, but it nonetheless appeared to have continued to broadcast during this period. Ofcom considered that the Licensee was in breach of Condition 17 during this period.
 - Licence Condition 20(1) requires that licensees comply with Ofcom directions and requests for information in relation to Fairness and Privacy complaints, which the Licensee failed to do for the two Fairness and Privacy cases listed above, specifically Sri Guru Singh Sabha Southall Elections Debate (KTV, 27 September 2017; Broadcast Bulletin 380) and Programming (KTV, 30 September 2017; Broadcast Bulletin 380.
- In our decision on **Homeopathic Clinic** (KTV, 15 March 2019, 16:00; Broadcast Bulletin 382¹⁰⁹), Ofcom found that the guest and the presenter on the programme had made a number of references to the guest's business, and the guest appeared to be using the programme to

¹⁰⁵ See footnote 95.

¹⁰⁶ See Broadcast Bulletin 378.

¹⁰⁷ See Broadcast Bulletin 370.

¹⁰⁸ See footnote 95.

¹⁰⁹ See <u>Broadcast Bulletin 382</u>.

- solicit business as a homeopathic practitioner and encouraged viewers to contact him off-air. Consequently, the programme was in breach of Rules 9.4 and 9.5.
- In our decision on **Vadhiyan Ji** (KTV, 9 March 2020; Broadcast Bulletin 398¹¹⁰) Ofcom found that references to the services of a guest of the programme were unduly prominent, in breach of Rule 9.5.
- In Broadcast Bulletin 413¹¹¹, published 26 October 2020, Ofcom found KTV Ltd in breach of:
 - Licence Condition 12(1) for failing to provide qualifying revenue information when requested by Ofcom.
 - o Licence Condition 20(1)(a) of its TLCS Licence for failing to provide recordings of requested content until four weeks after Ofcom's deadline.

The Licensee was granted its licence on 26 May 2016. Ofcom recorded 33 breaches of licence conditions and Code rules, in 17 separate decisions, since then. Ofcom considered that this was a very significant number of breaches in a relatively short period of time.

As set out above, Ofcom had previously made it clear to the Licensee that it may review its earlier decision that it was fit and proper to hold a licence if it did not maintain effective compliance measures, leading to further compliance failures.

In its representations on the Suspension Notice, KTV said that it regretted the number of breaches that it had committed in the period between the grant of its licence and 26 October 2020 (when the last breaches prior to the *Prime Time* broadcast were recorded). It noted that these breaches were "spread out" across a period of "well over" five years. It said that Ofcom had provided no evidence that this compliance record was materially worse than that of a number of small licensees with limited resources. It stated that compliance did improve, and gave as an example the fact that a detailed 33 page Editorial Policy and compliance manual in English and Punjabi was introduced.

Ofcom's view that the number of breaches committed by KTV is "very significant" is based on our experience as a regulator. By way of illustration, Ofcom sets out below the compliance record over the period for which KTV has been broadcasting of the five other licensees which hold licences to broadcast Punjabi television services. All were broadcasting throughout the period, and all but one, like KTV, do not appear in BARB statistics. 112

| Licensee | Service(s) | Number of breaches |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Akaal Channel Limited | Akaal Channel | 7 |
| The Sikh Channel Community | Sikh Channel | 4 |
| Broadcasting Company Limited | | |
| G Next Media UK Limited | PTC Punjabi | 1 |
| Sangat 1 Limited | Sangat TV, Sangat Channel | 0 |
| Kanshi TV Limited | Kanshi TV | 0 |

Ofcom does not dispute that we have found fewer contraventions of the Code by KTV since 26 October 2020 than we did prior to that date. However, KTV's record prior to 26 October 2020 was so exceptionally bad that Ofcom notified KTV on 19 July 2019 that we were minded to revoke its licence

¹¹⁰ See <u>Broadcast Bulletin 398</u>.

¹¹¹ See <u>Broadcast Bulletin 413</u>.

¹¹² KTV noted that it did not appear in BARB statistics.

on the basis that it was not fit and proper to hold it. As outlined above, Ofcom relied upon the assurances KTV gave us in response to that notice not to revoke its licence at that time.

In particular, Ofcom has considered KTV's compliance arrangements a number of times previously:

- On 25 February 2019, Ofcom published its finding that KTV had been in breach of Condition 17 of its TLCS Licence since at least 9 July 2018 and up to at least January 2019 (see second bullet point on page 50 above). Ofcom found that those responsible for compliance at KTV had left the service and KTV had been broadcasting without a compliance officer for at least that period; it was within this period that KTV committed its first Rule 3.1 breach.
- During the process leading up to that breach finding, KTV employed two staff members responsible for compliance in January 2019¹¹³. On 30 March 2019, KTV broadcast a programme which we found on 18 November 2019 to amount to a second Rule 3.1 breach.
- After the first Rule 3.1 breach finding, and having regard to the multiple other breach findings
 Ofcom had made against KTV, Ofcom opened a fit and proper investigation which led to the
 19 July 2019 notification that we were minded to revoke its licence on the basis we were not
 satisfied it was fit and proper to hold it. During this investigation, we learned that one of the
 newly appointed compliance staff members had already "moved on" 114, and that the
 remaining compliance officer had no compliance experience 115.
- During a second oral hearing within this fit and proper process, which took place on 21 November 2019, however, KTV provided a number of representations as to its future compliance arrangements. At this hearing, KTV was represented by three people, one of whom was Jagjit Singh Jeeta. The changes KTV had made included, but were not limited to, the reappointment of the compliance officer who had recently left. KTV assured Ofcom that the service had ceased to run live debate shows due to the potential risk of compliance breaches. It also assured Ofcom that it had put in place pre-review of all content broadcast, gallery staff and a delay system for live broadcasts. It told Ofcom it was running training from an external expert for its staff, and had put in place a system for compliance sign off of broadcasts. Ofcom was satisfied in the light of these assurances that KTV was fit and proper to hold a licence.
- KTV later told us that both of its compliance officers, who together with Jagjit Singh Jeeta had given these assurances, had either left or ceased to manage compliance from March 2020. On 29 September 2020, following further content breaches by KTV, the Licensee said it was undertaking further compliance training of its staff¹¹⁶. By 6 October 2020, we understand the KTV compliance team comprised three members.¹¹⁷
- On 10 December 2020, in the course of the oral hearing on sanction, KTV represented by Jagjit Singh Jeeta and a contractor with a background in marketing [➢ CONFIDENTIAL] together told us that Jagjit Singh Jeeta and that contractor were responsible for putting in place a

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¹¹³ Email from KTV to Ofcom Standards Team, 27 August 2019 and Transcript from Oral Hearing 3 October 2019, page 3.

¹¹⁴ Transcript from Oral Hearing 3 October 2019, page 3.

¹¹⁵ Transcript from Oral Hearing 3 October 2019, page 9.

¹¹⁶ Letter from KTV to Ofcom dated 20 September 2020

¹¹⁷ KTV response dated 6 October 2020 to Ofcom information request.

- compliance system. In addition, KTV stated it had hired a compliance consultant, Emma Beaumont, to support it.
- KTV shortly thereafter submitted its compliance action plan to Ofcom, in which it committed to further training. It was clear on the face of this plan that KTV had in fact not yet engaged the services of Emma Beaumont, and it was later confirmed by KTV that she was not engaged.
- We understand the current compliance lead, [CONFIDENTIAL], was appointed on 18 March 2021 and continued in this role. On 16 June 2021 KTV sent Ofcom a new contact list from KTV which had excluded this individual. In a phone call on 18 June 2021, a second individual, [CONFIDENTIAL] informed Ofcom that [CONFIDENTIAL] responsibility for compliance matters was being shared by himself and the compliance lead. On 7 July 2021 KTV assured us it had put in place new measures including the ceasing of live shows and new music videos until staff and presenters had been trained in compliance 118. By 21 February 2022, the second individual, [CONFIDENTIAL] had left his role at KTV¹¹⁹.

The breach considered here took place notwithstanding all the measures KTV told us in 2019, 2020 and 2021 it had put in place. Ofcom noted that each time Ofcom had previously placed weight on KTV's assurances about the appointment of a new compliance officer, that individual had soon ceased to carry out their role. Typically, Ofcom was not informed at the time of the change. KTV had also assured Ofcom multiple times that it had trained its team on compliance with the Code, and had sought external advice as appropriate.

The further breach of Rule 3.1 showed that notwithstanding the changes it made, the Licensee was still not capable of avoiding further serious breaches of the Code that had potential to cause significant harm.

In its representations on the Suspension Notice, KTV set out a number of further steps it undertook to take, if its licence was reinstated:

- appointing a Consultant Solicitor, independent TV compliance consultant and former Ofcom Senior Standards Manager as its compliance manager for an extended period of suspension to conduct intensive and face-to-face compliance training for all presenters and producers, including Jagjit Singh Jeeta, the *Prime Time* presenter, with a special emphasis on Rule 3.1 issues and the need to respond swiftly and thoroughly to Ofcom on all matters;
- a revision of KTV's editorial policy document to focus on Khalistan-related issues;
- a progress report to Ofcom three weeks into the extended period of suspension which would ask Ofcom to end the suspension at a later, agreed date;
- following the end of the suspension, the permanent recruitment of a "respected independent TV compliance consultant", Emma Beaumont, as compliance officer and manager;
- broadcasting a statement of findings and an apology and clarificatory statement by Jagjit Singh
 Jeeta, the *Prime Time* presenter, specifically condemning violence as a means of showing
 support for, or of achieving, an independent Khalistan;

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 $^{^{118}}$ Email from KTV Global to Ofcom Standards Team dated 7 July 2021 .

¹¹⁹ Email from KTV Global to Ofcom Standards Team, 21 February 2022.

- suspending Jagjit Singh Jeeta from presenting programmes for a three month period, and in the three months thereafter only permitting him to present under supervision;
- all programmes discussing Khalistan issues would explicitly condemn violent action through an on screen graphic or statements by the presenter; and
- appointing a new Board with wider membership, to include for example Mr Amritpal Singh Dhesi, former head of media for Sikh Council UK, to oversee the channel.

Ofcom noted that the compliance officer KTV proposed to appoint to oversee its compliance on an ongoing basis did not have knowledge of the Punjabi language or culture. As set out above, we also noted that KTV had had multiple compliance officers since 2018 and had twice previously assured us that it would instruct an external consultant to help it establish an effective compliance function.

Overall, Ofcom considered that the problems with the service could be resolved by the appointment of compliance officers and pointed to a fundamental problem with its management.

In this regard, we noted that according to Companies House records, at the time of the breach, the Licensee was significantly controlled and had as its sole director Jaskirat Kaur Bassi, who had held both roles since 1 January 2021. Prior to that, it was significantly controlled and had as its sole director Amarjit Kaur. Ms Bassi ceased to have significant control on 9 March 2022, but remains as a director. The change was not notified to Ofcom at the time and was filed at Companies House only after Ofcom had sent the Draft Revocation Notice to the Licensee. Significant control is now held by Constantin Corman, who is also a director.

However, on 10 December 2020, during a sanction hearing, Jagjit Singh Jeeta introduced himself to us saying: "I'm head of the channel, plus the partner in KTV" and later in the hearing described himself as "controlling" the service. The other KTV spokesperson in the same hearing told us that Jagjit Singh Jeeta "funds this channel, and there's a deficit of [KONFIDENTIAL] that he actually puts in from his personal businesses".

These representations were made prior to the change in directors and ownership of the Licensee the following month. However, within the *Prime Time* programme itself, Caller 2 referred to KTV as "your channel" when speaking with Jagjit Singh Jeeta. We also note that notwithstanding his personal involvement in two Rule 3.1 breaches by the Licensee, the Licensee had not terminated his engagement and did not propose to do so. We considered the fact that that it did not to be evidence that it was, in practice, wholly dependent on him.

Overall, we considered, in our Draft Revocation Notice, that notwithstanding the formal ownership arrangements of the service, the evidence suggested that Jagjit Singh Jeeta was its de facto controller by virtue of its financial dependence on him. We considered it likely that he would remain its de facto controller regardless of how it was formally owned and regardless of the constitution of its Board.

We noted that the Licensee had continued its pattern of rapid changes in compliance officers and lack of communication with Ofcom under Ms Bassi. The Licensee's senior management, despite the departure of one of its compliance officers and the illness of the other, and Ofcom's repeated communications emphasising the seriousness and urgency of the investigation, did not take any steps

to engage with Ofcom in relation to the investigation of the programme broadcast on 30 December 2021¹²⁰.

We also considered, in our Draft Revocation Notice, that KTV's history as set out above demonstrated that it did not keep its compliance officers, that its senior managers had, where relevant, consistently failed to handle its affairs appropriately when its compliance officers left, and that arrangements it had put in place to secure compliance consistently failed to do so. We also considered that we could not rely on assurances made by KTV about the appointment of third parties to improve its compliance processes, because previous such assurances had not been carried out or had not secured the changes needed to avoid a further Rule 3.1 breach.

In our Draft Revocation Notice, we set out our view that overall the Licensee's previous compliance history and its significant dependence on Jagjit Singh Jeeta could give Ofcom no confidence that the Licensee was capable of avoiding further serious breaches of the Code. Continuing to license it would put viewers and the general public at risk. In addition, continuing to license it in all the circumstances set out above would damage public confidence in the licensing regime. KTV surrendered its licence, so there was no need to revisit this conclusion in the light of the change of control which took place.

Convention rights

In considering whether it would be proportionate to revoke KTV's licence, Ofcom had regard to the Licensee's right to freedom of expression as enshrined in Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights ("ECHR"). Any limitation on the right to freedom of expression, particularly political freedom of expression, must be strictly considered. Any limitation must be prescribed by law, pursue a legitimate aim and be necessary in a democratic society. In order to establish that a limitation is "necessary", relevant and sufficient reasons must be provided to justify the restriction, the restriction must correspond to a pressing social need, and it must be proportionate to the aim pursued. We recognise that revocation is a major interference with freedom of expression, as it prevents the broadcaster from broadcasting and restricts the number of voices being heard and the range of programming available to audiences. Ofcom considered that the threshold for suspending and revoking a broadcaster's licence was therefore high.

In respect of Article 10 of the ECHR, KTV said Ofcom should place weight on the following factors in considering whether or not to revoke KTV's licence:

- the variety of programming it offers to the Sikh community, including religious and cultural programming, music, children's programmes, legal advice programmes, charity programmes, and tourism programmes;
- KTV is greatly valued by the Sikh community, and the Article 10 rights of its viewers "must be taken into full consideration". In support of this, KTV provided the letter from Dr Rai, which stated that revoking KTV's licence would represent a "great loss". The letter further stated: "Jeeta [is] a figure who represents freedom of speech within Sikhs and...speaks 'truth to power' or calls out Sikh leaders to put action where their mouths (words) are. Most Sikh media is hesitant to be critical of Sikh leaders as they fear loss of revenue or reprisals in other ways. He has uniquely been oblivious to that. His channel brings a perspective that can only strengthen the community as a free press does in any democratic polity. By challenging those

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¹²⁰ Email from Ofcom to KTV, 22 February 2022.

- who exercise power, he is speaking for the many who remain silent due to pragmatic reasons";
- KTV is the only channel in the UK which "offers a TV broadcast voice to those who support an
 independent Khalistan yet broadcasts the opinions of those opposed to Khalistan". It said it
 hosts a weekly programme called "Prime Time by Varinderpal Gill", who is anti-Khalistan and
 who, for example, recently had a debate with a Khalistani presenter Avtar Singh Khanda on 22
 October 2021;
- the presenter Jagjit Singh Jeeta has hosted programmes with and in support of the "Sikhs For
 Justice referendum" and the Sikh Ethnic Tickbox campaign by Sikh Federation UK,
 demonstrating the broadcaster's support for furthering Sikh issues by peaceful and democratic
 means; and
- it was proposing "in good faith" to introduce further wholesale improvements to its compliance if its licence is not revoked.

Ofcom acknowledged that the relevant material was broadcast on a channel providing a variety of programming to the Sikh community living in the UK and that if KTV's licence was revoked, its viewers would be deprived of the service.

While we note that revocation would nonetheless constitutes a significant interference with the Licensee's Article 10 right to freedom of expression, and that of its audience to receive the programming broadcast by KTV, we considered that a decision to revoke the licence would meet the requirements of Article 10(2), which sets out the circumstances in which an interference with the right to freedom of expression will be justified in that the interference is demonstrably being prescribed by law, in the pursuit of a legitimate aim, and necessary in a democratic society.

- KTV is not the only television service available to the Sikh community. There are five other Punjabi services licensed by Ofcom, of which four specifically target the Sikh community (i.e. Akaal Channel, Sangat TV, PTC Punjabi and Sikh Channel). Viewers also have available to them the internet, and radio services in Punjabi. The Communications Act 2003 and Code as set out above are the applicable law for the purposes of Article 10(2). All Ofcom licensees must comply with the Code, and are aware of these obligations.
- The legitimate aim pursued by the Act and the Code is to protect the rights of others, i.e. to
 protect audiences and the general public from harm by ensuring that content which is likely to
 incite crime and disorder is not broadcast. We consider this legitimate aim to be particularly
 acute in circumstances where the crime and disorder concerned represent a risk to public
 health, safety and security, as it does in the case of the current and previous breaches of Rule
 3.1.
- We were satisfied that it would have been proportionate and necessary to revoke the licence in this case. In the current circumstances, in which we had significant concerns about content broadcast that we considered incited crime and disorder, and which was broadcast despite previous enforcement action by Ofcom, revocation would have been a proportionate response to the pressing social need to protect broadcast audiences and the general public from content which incites crime and disorder, and therefore would be necessary in a democratic society.

Annex: Transcript

The programme opened with a monologue by the presenter, Jagjit Singh Jeeta, against a background of images of Jagmeet Singh, a Sikh activist arrested with his mother for supporting the US based secessionist group, Sikhs For Justice, with the caption:

"[In English] JAGMEET SINGH, THE ONE WHO FACED THE WATER CANNON DURING FARMERS' PROTESTS ARRESTED. KNOW WHY!".

In addition to this image, other images of Jagmeet Singh, his mother and a police report rotated in the background throughout the programme. The following disclaimer was also scrolled across the screen in English throughout the programme: "The views and opinion expressed in the following programme are those of the speakers or presenters so not necessarily reflect or constitute the views and opinions held by KTV". Two further captions were repeated on screen intermittently throughout the programme in Gurmukhi script which read:

- "A mother and son are being held captive as a result of various cases being lodged against them, under the pretext of [links with] SFJ¹²¹".
- "Are those [who have been] lobbying for Khalistan in foreign nations for the last 37 years using the 'Khalistan cause' for personal gain?"

The presenter's opening monologue was as follows:

Jagjit Singh Jeeta:

"Waheguruji Ka Khalsa Waheguruji Ki Fateh¹²². You are watching KTV, and I am Jagjit Singh Jeeta. The pictures shown behind me tell you the truth. When talking about the pictures, before 1984, Sant Baba Jarnail Singh¹²³ took control of the responsibility for the community in 1977. From 1977 to 1984 in that seven-year period. It is during that time when the attack on Darbar Saheb¹²⁴ happened. Since the time of Banda Singh Bahadur¹²⁵ and Hari Singh Nalwa¹²⁶, approximately after a century we finally had the next warrior. He is the one who led the community. When we mention the name Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, any man with bad intentions will lose courage just by hearing his name [laughing]. They cannot utter the name of Sant Jarnail Singh. I am talking about an ungrateful person or those who have ill will towards the community. But when the control was

 $^{^{121}}$ Sikhs For Justice is a US based secessionist group that supports the secession of Punjab from India as Khalistan.

¹²² Sikh religious greeting.

¹²³ Refers to Sant Baba (honorary title) Jarnail Singh, or Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, a Sikh militant leader who led the Sikh uprising in 1984 and seized control of the Golden Temple. Killed in the assault by the Indian military to regain control of the temple. A revered figure for those Sikhs who support Khalistan.

¹²⁴ Also referred to as the Golden Temple, the holiest gurdwara (place of worship) of Sikhism.

¹²⁵ 17th Century Sikh military leader, most notable for fighting battles against the Mughal Empire of India.

¹²⁶ 18th Century Sikh Commander in Chief of the Sikh Empire. He was responsible for expanding the frontier of the Sikh Empire to beyond the Indus right up to the mouth of the Khyber Pass.

in his hands in 1977. And then 1978 those 13 Sikh men were massacred. After the attack of 1978 the whole responsibility lands on his shoulders. And then he leads the whole community. Today we have millions of leaders. After the attack of the Darbar Saheb of 1984, I can say that after the martyrdom of Sant Baba Jarnail Singh, many leaders came to England, America, and Canada. There had been many [Sikh] organisations in Europe. They have made their name. But now I am telling this with faith in the Guru [points at the camera]. That now 2021 is coming to an end. I challenge anyone to come and face me and claim he or she has the power to follow in the footsteps of Sant Jarnail Singh [points and the camera and hits table]. One may be belonging to Taksal¹²⁷. Or from any other organisation. Although these people have tried to cash in on the name of Sant Jarnail Singh. I challenge you all, to come to the fore, we will carry out a lie detector test [points at the camera]. Do you have the courage to follow in the footsteps of Sant Jarnail Singh? You thugs have looted the community [points at the camera]. Because of the attack on the Darbar Saheb people filled their pockets but they do not have anything to show. Why did not Khalistan... Sant Baba Jarnail Singh said that the foundation of the Khalistan was laid when the Darbar Saheb was attacked. 37 years later, now where is that foundation? You tell me today. I want to ask from you today. I will take calls from you after 15 minutes. First, I will talk about some things then will take your calls. Tell me, did the people living abroad also use this situation in their personnel interest? People lost their lives in the struggle, starting with Bhai Amrik Singh¹²⁸, Jinda¹²⁹, Sukha¹³⁰, Bhai General Shabeg Singh¹³¹ and then the Sikh prisoners, and the Sikh militants. They martyred their lives. And there are Sikh men languishing in jails. Apart from these, you ask any person, who doesn't love his family? [Points at the camera] I am challenging all you Khalistanis, all of you from England, Europe, America and from Canada, let's go to Punjab. If you have the guts. All of you social media and Facebook users, you have nothing going for you. You would not get Khalistan on Facebook.

¹²⁷ Sikh religious seminary.

¹²⁸ Amrik Singh was the president of the All-India Sikh Student's Federation. He was killed alongside Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale during the Indian Army's operation on the Golden Temple on June 6, 1984.

¹²⁹ Jinda (Harjinder Singh Jinda) was a militant and a member of the Khalistan Commando Force. He was one of the two assassins of Arun Vaidya (Chief of the Indian Army during Operation Bluestar).

¹³⁰ Sukha (Sukhdev Singh Sukha) was a militant and a member of the Khalistan Commando Force. He was one of the two assassins of Arun Vaidya (Chief of the Indian Army during Operation Bluestar).

¹³¹ Shabeg Singh was an Indian Army officer who later served as a military advisor to Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. He organised the army of militants in the fortification of the Golden Temple, during Operation Bluestar.

When Sant Baba Jarnail Singh talked about Khalistan, when the government of Delhi came to Darbar Saheb, it was at that time that Khalistan was founded. I feel like laughing at you. Just tell me if you are the same as the farmers' leaders? Are you still in the same situation after 37 years? I remember words of Baba Alaa Singh 132. When reading history about Sikhs there comes a point at which Alaa Singh took support from the Muslims, also took support from the Marathas, he also supported the white foreigners, the British but also took support from other Sikhs. Now, when I read history, and for four to five days my health was not good, so I got chance to read history.

When I read, I found that there were two types of Sikhs, one like Baba Alaa Singh like the family of Captain¹³³. And the others are like Banda Singh Bahadur¹³⁴ who did not care about anything and made sacrifices. And now when I think about the current scenario most of the Sikhs are like Baba Alaa Singh. They say my business should remain safe and I should have good fame. My name should be on social media and also in Khalistan. Just tell me that when you say those big things and you want to take control in Punjab then why do not you go there? Just tell me what is your problem? You must go there. Those people who I am speaking to today¹³⁵, Jagmeet Singh¹³⁶ and his mother Jasveer Kaur¹³⁷, they were arrested, and they were blamed for being involved with the organisation Sikhs for Justice. Overseas we are glorifying the group Sikhs for Justice¹³⁸.

But who is going to support you on the ground?¹³⁹ This young man and his mother have been arrested. I know about this reality. No matter what stupid things these people say. [Raises voice] "Go on, we support you". The reality will be exposed in Punjab. Come, I will come with you. No one will accompany you. I declare this. Declare

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¹³² The first Sikh King of Patiala in the 17th century.

¹³³ Refers to Captain Amarinder Singh, an Indian politician, military historian and 15th Chief Minister of Punjab who was opposed to Khalistan.

¹³⁴ Banda Singh Bahadur was a 16th century Sikh warrior and commander of the Sikh (Khalsa) army. He fought battles against the Mughal Empire in India, until he was eventually captured and killed in 1716.

¹³⁵ Following the Licensee's representations received on 21 April 2022, Ofcom amended the translation which previously read, "*Today I am discussing*".

¹³⁶ Sikh activist who gained popularity for not moving in the face of Haryana Police's water cannons during the Farmers' Protests. He was later arrested along with his mother, Jasveer Kaur, for supporting the US based secessionist group, Sikhs For Justice.

¹³⁷ Mother of Sikh activist Jagmeet Singh who was also arrested along with her son for supporting the US based secessionist group, Sikhs For Justice.

¹³⁸ Sikhs For Justice is a US based secessionist group that supports the secession of Punjab from India as Khalistan.

¹³⁹ Following the Licensee's representations received on 21 April 2022, Ofcom amended the translation which previously read, "But who is going to work on the ground?"

this to Khalistanis. [Raises voice and points at the camera] If any leader declares that he will go there, I will buy the ticket. I will buy the ticket for ten other persons. Son, if you have the strength, instead of saying big things here, on social media. Because of you this boy has been arrested, his mother has been arrested, who is going to ask about her? The ones who were arrested previously, no one cared for them. People have been arrested for the last 37 years in the name of Khalistan¹⁴⁰. How many people remember them? You will use their name when you have a personal motive. You do not use it beyond that purpose. I have a problem; you are not concerned about the community [hits table and points at the camera]; you take the name of the community and are only concerned about your own selfish benefit [hits table]. You have no quality. No one is supporting you. Come in the morning, take lie detector test. I say that start the test from me and I will start your test. The community should question these men. We solve our purpose while sitting here. All the children and young people who talk about the community, all the people who stood against the Hindutva Modi government even that person Jagmeet Singh is also arrested¹⁴¹ [hits table]. His mother is also arrested. Just because our mothers aren't arrested means doesn't mean our mothers are good and we are also good. On Saturday and Sunday, they will talk about Khalistan. Oh, just think. Are you such kind of Khalistanis? I feel shame on you [points at the camera]. You think of your benefits only. [Raises voice and hits the table] 37 years ago, Sant Baba Jarnail Singh said that when Darbar Saheb will be attacked Khalistan will be created. Are you still at the foundation stage? Just tell me, you leaders, who are only concerned about your benefits, your name is linked with the with ISI¹⁴². You are referred to as pimps¹⁴³ of the ISI. You are labelled as puppets of ISI. You feed the whole world and today you are serving the ISI. [Points at the camera] I have a question. I know many things, but I won't say those things. It is sad that just by offering money you give greed to the innocent young people of Punjab and ruin their lives. From 1984, when Darbar Saheb was attacked, Manbeer Singh Chaheru¹⁴⁴ was organising the community. Where is Manbeer Singh Chaheru

¹⁴⁰ Following the Licensee's representations received on 21 April 2022, Ofcom amended the translation which previously read, "People from Taksal have been arrested for Khalistan".

¹⁴¹ Following the Licensee's representations received on 21 April 2022, Ofcom amended the translation which previously read, "All the children and young people who talk about the community, all the people who stood against the Modi government even that person Jagmeet Singh is also arrested".

¹⁴² Inter-services Intelligence (ISI) is Pakistan's intelligence agency.

¹⁴³ Translated from the Punjabi word "dallay".

¹⁴⁴ Manbir Singh Chehru was a Sikh militant leader who founded the Khalistan Commando Force, which carried out reprisal attacks on Indian officials following the Golden Temple attack. He was killed in a police encounter in 1986.

now? Where is his family? He organised the people across Punjab while touring on cycle. And what are you doing? You think of taking some funds from ISI. Today Sikhs are dishonoured with the name of ISI. [Shouts] Put your hands up, [hits table] and say you won't take money from the ISI. Say you won't take money [from them]. I have proof that people of Pakistan who are in Punjab and people of Punjab who are in Pakistan get 'packages'. I have proof. Because they are puppets of Pakistan in India [points at the camera] and puppets of Punjab in Pakistan. A package was also given for Ludhiana scam. Let me tell you one thing [points at the camera], whatever you want to do, let's go to Punjab, it is not that far. We live only once. Let's go to Punjab. You won't be able to acquire Khalistan using WhatsApp on your mobile. I challenge you all this morning [hits table], those creating dissension in England, [hits table] come with me in the morning [points at camera], Jagjit Singh Jeeta's name will be at the forefront, if you want to live in Punjab, [hits table] if you want to live in Khalistan, then my name will come before your name. With the faith of Guru, I declare I will buy the ticket for five to ten people [hits table].

But you do not have the strength. [Screen shows images of Jasveer Kaur and Jagmeet Singh, and an FIR¹⁴⁵] You are the reason for the arrest of the young people of Punjab, the mother Jasveer Kaur, and her son Jagmeet Singh. All because you are greedy for money. That innocent man has such a worthy life. You are not worthy. It's because of you they are being maligned. You do not have anything [points at the camera]; you are just the users of social media, but this boy and mother are of the community. [Raises voice] I want to explain to you that in 37 years since 1984 you have made millions of rupees, different organisations have made set-ups, made Gurudwaras. You all established your setups, but you do not have anything with you. I can say this with confidence [hits table]. You are involved in manipulating. You do not love anyone. Neither do you love the community nor the Guru. Because you wish bad things for each other. [Screen shows images of Jasveer Kaur and Jagmeet Singh] It is really sad. I request the young people of Punjab that please do not follow these fake people. They all are fake. They do not have anything with them.

[Hits table] I claim if I will lead then I will put my life at stake. I will not let the innocent son of mother got arrested. Come with me in

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¹⁴⁵ FIR (First Information Report) is a document prepared by police in South Asian countries, when they receive information about the commission of a cognisable offence. In this case, the FIR filed against Jagmeet Singh and Jasveer Kaur, was being shown on screen.

the morning. You, who speak big. You do not have the strength. Let us go to Punjab [points at the camera]. Do you have the strength? No, you do not have the strength. [Screen shows images of Jagmeet Singh and FIR; raises voice] Sant Baba Jarnail Singh has sacrificed his life, and Bhai Amrik Singh, Baba Thara Singh 146, Jinda, Sukha, Shabeg Singh, Beant Singh 147, Bhai Manjit Singh Khanowal. Bhai Rajinder Singh Mughalwal 148. He spent 33-34 years in prison.

[Shouts] Do you have the strength? Tell me if you have the strength of a single day. I feel sad when I hear about Khalistan. What do you have with you? Just tell me one thing, do you have social media with you? Give a call on social media to go to Punjab. Bhai Manjit Singh must be listening to me. I am asking you to lead the community. You have spent so many years in prison [hits table]. Rajinder Singh Mughalwal has spent [hits table]. Let us go to Punjab.

They talk big, these Khalistanis, or other organisations. Let us go to Punjab tomorrow [pats his chest and points at the camera]. I will buy the ticket tomorrow morning myself. I am saying that if you have the strength just call me and book your tickets [hits table and points at the camera]. Or do you want to get the sons of others killed? You got a mother arrested. What do you do here? Just post on social media and get praise. Just make statements about the Indian government and about the Punjab government. And then you want to eat pizza at the diner. I know you wanted to go and eat pizzas in the hotel. You wanted to go to big hotels. This is your comfort zone? Trapping the innocent people of Punjab? Where have those people gone who you used to say that they will do something. Go and find them. These are good Sikhs who made a good name for Sikhs in Farmers' Protests, you got them arrested. Just think about it. I am ready for jail. Let me tell one thing, all the leaders who are talking big right now, if you are arrested, I would spend money for you. I tell this with confidence. All those leaders who talk big, if you are arrested for six months, four months [hits table] I say with confidence [pats chest] that this Jeeta Singh will not ask for any money. Whether I have to spend fifty lakhs¹⁴⁹ or crore¹⁵⁰ I will spend it from my money. All the leaders from England, who are listening in America and Canada, just get arrested by Punjab police for a day in

¹⁴⁶ Sikh militant who carried out a series of violent reprisal attacks on Indian officials following the Golden Temple assault. Killed in a police encounter in 1992.

¹⁴⁷ Sikh bodyguard who assassinated Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984.

¹⁴⁸ Rajinder Singh and Manjit Singh carried out the murder of Sikh leader Darshan Das and two others in Southall in 1987. They were both sentenced to life imprisonment in the UK.

¹⁴⁹ Unit of measurement in the Indian subcontinent. 1 Lakh translates to 100,000 units.

¹⁵⁰ Unit of measurement in the Indian subcontinent. 1 Crore translates to 10 million units.

the name of Khalistan and I will pay you. I say this with the confidence in the world. You fake people, you get the youth, children and mothers of Punjab arrested. Do not you have any shame? I am sitting here. You keep chanting the slogan of Khalistan. It is illegal only in India. Can we shout slogans of Khalistan in India? Who can do that in India? Those who are influential. No one else can. [Hits table] Just tell me one thing, on what basis were Jagmeet Singh and his mother arrested? We talk big, we say, "we did this, we did that". You got his mother arrested. [Points at the camera] Get your mother arrested. Get yourself arrested and then think what's going on in the minds of those children. Those who have been in jail for the last two years. Four young men from Moga¹⁵¹ and then there are some young men who were caught with Khalistani pamphlets. And what are we doing about it? This is our short-sightedness. We say and compare it with Sant Jarnail Singh and say so many people were on hunger strike at the time as well. I feel bad about this. For our personal interest we are misguiding the youth of Punjab. [Points at the camera] And if you have the courage then tomorrow you should book your ticket to go to Punjab. I ask you to make a list. I will book tickets for ten people. Provide me with nine people and I will be the tenth man. Those nine people who are fiercely advocating for Khalistan, left right and centre, I will pay for their tickets. 152 I will be the tenth. With the grace of the true lord, I have done so much in the past, I will do it this time as well. No one listens to you in Punjab. The children are being arrested. That young man, Jagmeet Singh who was turning to face the directions of water cannon has been arrested.

The farmers' organisations, Balbir Singh Rajewal¹⁵³ could not even make a statement in the support of that man [raises voice and hits table]. He is trying to be the Chief Minister. The political front SSM, Sanyukt Samaj Morcha¹⁵⁴ which they have formed. Its head feels that he is going to become the Chief Minister. Rajewal is dreaming

¹⁵¹ A city in Punjab.

¹⁵² Following the Licensee's representations received on 21 April 2022, Ofcom amended the translation which previously read, "Those nine people should be the ones who support the movement for Khalistan"

¹⁵³ Balbir Singh Rajewal (also referred as Rajewal) is a farm union leader and politician. He is known for his active participation in the 2020 Farmers' Protests.

¹⁵⁴ SSM or Sanyukt Samaj Morcha (translates to United Societal Front) is an Indian political party founded by Balbir Singh Rajewal in December 2021. In January 2022, it announced its decision to contest the 2022 Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections.

of becoming a Chief Minister. It changed from SKM¹⁵⁵ to SSM¹⁵⁶. The name is the same and they have just added a K in place of the S. Do you not think you are being cheated? But on the other hand, I would accept that whatever I have seen on these channels after 2011 and in the outside world. At that time there was a movement run by Bapu Surat Singh Khalsa¹⁵⁷ to release all the prisoner Sikhs in about 2014-2015. I left my home in 2011, some people took loans from me. I would not like to mention the names of the channels. They took a loan of £7,000 from me. One of the men among them was a cheat. The one who took the loan from me. After that these prominent men came to my house. The way that they exploited me, only God knows this. Then KTV came into existence.

But when I think about this whole incident it feels sad to know how fake these people are. They are not at all afraid of God. They are baptised. This is what is happening in the community. You are being cheated; you are being blackmailed on the name of the community. But those who are the leaders of the community, have you asked them to come along. Listen to one thing from America to Canada, Europe, and UK, all those who are beating drums of Khalistan ask them to come to Punjab. They will not come. They will say that when Khalistan will be formed, then we they will come at that time. Before that time, you will get other people's sons killed. They have the support of foreign agencies. Now the fact is, the scandal that happened in Ludhiana, after that Gaganpreet's 158 episode, there is a rumour that ISI is supporting Sikhs. Let me tell you one thing, many of you will get angry hearing this, work is done in two ways. Our Sikh men, those who are sitting in Pakistan they are controlled by the ISI. You will have to believe this, but no one would have told you this till today because the problem with the leaders of those Sikh religious organisations is that they are stooges of those [ISI] who want to promote them. I agree that they supported Khalistan and they were forced to go to Pakistan.

According to me it would have been better if they were martyrs than have gone to Pakistan. All the sacrifices that Sant Baba Jarnail Singh and all the other warriors made was better. At least they did not

¹⁵⁵ SKM or Samyukta Kisan Morcha (translates to United Farmers Front), formed in November 2020, is a coalition of over forty Indian farmers' unions to coordinate non-violent resistance against the three farm acts initiated in September of the same year.

¹⁵⁶ Rajewal was one of the 40 founders of the SKM. The presenter is making a point that Rajewal broke away from the SKM, and a created a new political party called SSM (refer to footnotes 154 and 155).

¹⁵⁷ Surat Singh Khalsa is a civil and political rights activist from the Indian state of Punjab. He is currently in the public eye for a doing a hunger strike to protest against the illegal detention of political prisoners.

¹⁵⁸ Gaganpreet Singh was an associate of Sukhwinder Singh (Sukhi), a member of the Khalistan Commando Force.

become puppets of ISI. Now the same thing happens in India. RAW^{159} has a working relationship with Pakistan.

Both countries carry out bomb blasts in each other's country, I have proof that they give packages. The price of the package is fixed, that you will be paid a fixed amount for a particular job. This is how it works. There is no doubt in that. Now do not say that I am degrading the Sikhs those who are in Pakistan. I am not degrading them; they are already degraded because they do not have anything going for them. Because they are in their control, they will do as ISI says. Because nothing is in their control. I accept they made a big sacrifice but now they are sorted. As we say in English [speaking English]: "we have been sorted". The organisation cannot say this thing because they have links with them [ISI]. They do not have anything with them because I know the truth. I have proof too. The proof that I will present to you, goes a little like this. One of our young men, he is PHD¹⁶⁰, you would all know that all these people were against him. When that man was killed everyone was happy. We, these people, these leaders did not know that he had died but the Indian media knew that PHD had been killed.

Someone is making a phone call. I am sorry I will not be able to take your call. I wanted to tell you that we have been cheated. One of our young men and his mother have been arrested. I am okay, as I am sitting abroad. I can do a programme here and talk big. You will all praise me then I will get into my daily routine. What about the one who is arrested? Do you understand that young man's situation?

Now tell me does anyone realise the pain of Jagmeet Singh and his mother. You are putting videos and pictures up on social media. Oh, my son, just go and see Punjab for yourself. Just see what Punjab's police will do with you. What is going on with that boy and his mother? [Looks directly at the camera and points with his hand] All you Khalistanis sitting in England, America, and Europe, are you not ashamed of this? Your children are going through all of this and all you are doing is sitting and talking. If you want to get Punjab, let us go to Punjab. Let us listen to this call. I am very sad about this, very sad. I am unhappy with these institutions. I tell them, I am going in the morning, come with me".

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¹⁵⁹ RAW: Indian government intelligence agency.

¹⁶⁰ Refers to Harmeet Singh commonly known by his alias "Happy PHD", a Sikh militant accused of terrorism and murders in India. He remained as the Chief of the Khalistan Liberation Force (KLF) until he was killed in Lahore, Pakistan in 2020.

The presenter then moves on to take calls from listeners. A name and photograph of the first caller ("Caller 1") is displayed on-screen throughout the discussion:

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Let us see who the caller is. "Waheguruji Ka Khalsa, Waheguruji Ki

Fateh".

Caller 1: "Yes brother, Waheguruji Ka Khalsa, Waheguruji Ki Fateh".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Waheguruji Ka Khalsa. Who are you and where are you speaking

from?"

Caller 1: "I am [Caller 1] from Germany".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1]?"

Caller 1: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "First of all, just raise the volume [tells the producer]. In Germany.

different men have been arrested from there. There is news about a person named Jaswinder Singh Multani¹⁶¹ who is involved in the 2020 referendum¹⁶². But I want to know about the incident which has happened in Punjab, in Ludhiana. In that case a boy named Jagmeet Singh and his mother, and another person has been arrested. People from Germany are being connected to this. And then after that there is the name of Sikhs For Justice. What do you

want to say? What is the situation in Germany?"

Caller 1: "See Jagjit Singh. I can understand your feelings. I understand your

pain. You are concerned for the community. And there is no doubt

about that".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: [Screen shows images of Jagmeet Singh and FIR] "No one has been

arrested here".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Not arrested?"

Caller 1: "No one is arrested".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "It means that Punjab's police, intelligence are all telling lies on

social media".

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¹⁶¹ Member of the group, Sikhs For Justice, a US-based Khalistani secessionist group which is banned in India, but not proscribed in the UK.

¹⁶² A non-governmental referendum to decide whether Punjab state secedes from India, as a new independent state of Khalistan. It was initially scheduled for 31 October 2020, but was postponed due to the Coronavirus pandemic and voting has now been taking place since late 2021.

Caller 1: "No, you would also have known that the German intelligence..."

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Hmm".

Caller 1: "They keep an eye on every issue. They are not like Punjab Police

who will make meaningless arrests".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "They go to the root of the situation. That boy was called. He was

interrogated for fifteen to twenty minutes. Nothing illegal was found

from him nor did he perform any illegal actions".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Hmm. It means there was conversation with him".

Caller 1: "Another thing. No, that is very normal".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes, that is very normal. Yes".

Caller 1: "This has all been happening since the last two months. When there

have doubts about someone or they receive emerging information about them, they talk to that person. They talk for fifteen to twenty minutes or half an hour then they are released. Multani is not the first person who has been interrogated. Two months ago, the same

thing happened".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I have also come to know that even your brother was

interrogated".

Caller 1: "Yes. Referring to that incident, I can confirm they interrogated

many people. It is not a matter of today, it has been going on for the last two, three months. They give their complaints and German intelligence investigates the matter in accordance with those

complaints".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Hmm".

Caller 1: "This is not how it goes. Another thing you talked about Germany. Is

this the first time? Whenever this type of thing happens in India, like

a bomb blast or murder, is it the first time that foreigners are

blamed for it?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No".

Caller 1: "The main reason for this is, instead of conducting proper

investigations they try to blame either the Germans or England".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes brother".

Caller 1: "Those people won't admit to being guilty, and the case won't move

forward. The cases end up being marked as 'closed'. We all should

understand this. We should not be worried about this".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes. [Caller 1] I would like to know one thing from you. Do you want

to say anything else before I ask you any questions?"

Caller 1: "Yes, ask the question. Just ask".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1], one thing I wanted to know from you that it has been 37

years now. When we remember Sant Baba Jarnail Singh, he said that Darbar Saheb has been attacked and the foundation of Khalistan has been laid. Are you still at the foundation since last 37 years? Tell me one thing. Do not sugar-coat this matter. Are we still sitting at the base of Khalistan which was laid 37 years ago? What is

the progress on this?"

Caller 1: "See. True, you are right".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I wanted to know what the progress is? People want to know".

Caller 1: "See, people wanted to know what the organisations are doing. This

is what your question is?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No, no. I wanted to know. I want to know on behalf of the whole

community. What do you think about this?"

Caller 1: "You pose two questions. One question is in relation to organisations

related within the community, and the other is the community

itself".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "Are you talking about the community?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No, I am not talking about the community. It has been 37 years

since then. I remember the words of Sant Baba Jarnail Singh that Darbar Saheb has been attacked, Khalistan's foundation has been laid. Are we suspended in time? When will we move forward? What is the progress? You are very senior to me. Your position is also much higher [to mine]. I am not degrading you. But I want to know the answer to this question. I want to know from you. Many leaders

do not answer my questions. So, I want to know from you".

Caller 1: "I am ready to answer both of your questions".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Please go ahead".

Caller 1: "First of all, the community will carry out the work it needs to do. It

also depends on the leadership of the community. Our Sikh

leadership. Our leadership is Shiromani Akali Dal¹⁶³ and Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee¹⁶⁴. This leadership is comprised of sell-outs, what do you expect they are going to give you? All preachers, Sikh community leaders, and all other agencies they are sitting at the feet of BJP¹⁶⁵ You are talking about the foundation, the ones who have made sacrifices for the community also remember that foundation and are working to achieve it".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1] a question".

Caller 1: "The community will not benefit until the leaders do not perform

properly. There are four channels in England".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1] the question is. A very good question arises from this. In

1986 the Sarbat Khalsa 166 was called and at that time it was decided that Khalistan is the beginning of our Independence. We wanted

Khalistan".

Caller 1: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Even though we might lose our lives".

Caller 1: "Whatever happens, does not matter".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Whatever".

Caller 1: "At any cost, we have to pay the price of that decision".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Let me complete my question, [Caller 1] sir".

Caller 1: "Fine".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "It was pledged at that time, in 1992 that Khalistan is our objective.

After 37 years, some discussions have started today and people are

asking whether Khalistan is even required, yes, or no?"

Caller 1: "Fine".

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¹⁶³ Shiromani Akali Dal (Supreme Immortal Party) is a Sikh political party in Punjab, India. It is the largest and considered by many Sikhs as the most influential Sikh political party worldwide.

¹⁶⁴ Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) is an organisation in India responsible for the management of gurudwaras.

¹⁶⁵ Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is currently the ruling party in India, and is one of two major political parties, along with Indian National Congress.

¹⁶⁶ Sarbat Khalsa refers to the tradition of holding a mass gathering of Sikhs and their institutions, in times of conflict, to discuss matters of concern to the Sikh community as a whole. On January 26, 1986 a Sarbat Khalsa was held, and its committee passed a resolution in favour of the creation of Khalistan.

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I have asked you one question just logically and you understand it,

what is your take on it?"

Caller 1: "See".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Even after 37 years, they are asking people if Khalistan is required

or not? I want an answer as I am very upset because when I read

your history, which is not that old. Since 1977 after the

Dastarbandi¹⁶⁷ of Sant Jarnail Singh ji, and the martyrdom of 13 Singhs¹⁶⁸ in 1978 at that time, I read history of that time. I am not

going that far back. I found this in the book I read".

Caller 1: "Please give me time to answer, please give me time to answer".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Go ahead".

Caller 1: "Firstly, as we have agreed earlier that the foundation of Khalistan

was laid when the Golden Temple was attacked, right?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 1: "It can take less or more time to resolve a conflict and to make a

country because it all depends on leadership, right?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Undoubtedly".

Caller 1: "The leadership that was left behind, let me clarify this, the

subsequent leadership, the leadership of Badals¹⁶⁹, this was not a continuation of that initial leadership, this is the first point".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 1: [Screen shows images of Jagmeet Singh and Jasveer Kaur]

"Secondly, regarding your current leadership, one of my articles has

been published in the Monday newspaper".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 1: "I think, I am the first person who has reacted about the formation

of new political party which is based on political agitation. I may be the first person whose article has been published in [unclear] and

The Punjab Times".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

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¹⁶⁷ Turban-tying ceremony to signify one's initiation into the Khalsa (Sikh community).

 $^{^{168}}$ Singh, along with being a common name amongst Sikhs, also translates to "lion".

¹⁶⁹ Parkash Singh Badal served as Chief Minister of Punjab. His son later became Deputy Chief Minister and were pro government and against the creation of Khalistan.

Caller 1: "We, the leadership have embraced martyrdom in 1947 and even

before that, people have been offering martyrdom. Leadership cheated at that time and the leadership has cheated today as well. The title of my article is, "Those who fought for justice yesterday,

will today fight for positions [in the government]".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "Where they have gone? The same leadership, what is the reason

behind this?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1] sir, selfishness needs to be exposed. I do not think we -".

Caller 1: "One minute, please give me some time to complete. Let me

continue please. Right. I have written in the main heading that the people in the past who used to say that they were in favour of Khalistani rights and were demanding Khalistan would say that if you do not want to give us our rights then please distance yourself

from us. This voice was present in the Farmers' Protests".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "Where is that voice now? This was all planned to suppress that

voice and everything is now proceeding under a well-framed plan. Secondly, as you have asked me about Khalistan and today, I am

stating it very clearly on-air that when we recently went to

Switzerland and released our documentary".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 1: "I discussed the same topic there as well and they said, 'brother, you

are late to cast the vote'".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yeah".

Caller 1: "It was until 15:00, we were a bit late due to snow".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "What were you late for? One minute".

Caller 1: "They said you had to vote. I asked for what, they said for

Khalistan".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "What you were late for [Caller 1] sir?"

Caller 1: "Due to snowfall, we were supposed to release the documentary

which we played at 10".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes, yes".

Caller 1: "We were supposed to release the new poster at the UNO (Geneva),

> and we were late meanwhile the voting time finished. We got there late, and it was due till 3 pm only and we got late due to the snow".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yeah".

Caller 1: "They told all of us, that is about seven to eight of us were standing

> at the gate, including the people from France. They told me that we were late to cast vote for Khalistan, and we should have come

earlier".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Okay".

Caller 1: "I am going to give the answer to your question, and the same

answer which I have given to them, I am going to answer this on air

as well".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 1: "I said listen brother, we, our relatives, two of my maternal aunt's

sons were martyred".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Laughs] "Fine".

Caller 1: "I said that our families were martyred. Our father, mother, brother,

sister, relatives, in-laws have suffered a lot for months and years".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "We have been out of the country for the last 32 to 33 years".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "For every Khalistan protest and for any tragedy in Punjab, we

always lead the fight".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

"We are the one who grabbed Tytler¹⁷⁰ and all the others. [Jagjit Caller 1:

Singh Jeeta laughs] Are you still in doubt?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "True, the same has happened to me as well".

Caller 1: "Just because of votes, you are asking if we want Khalistan or not? It

is your way, right [crosstalk]"

¹⁷⁰ Refers to Jagdish Tytler, an Indian politician implicated in the 1984 Delhi riots which resulted in the massacre of 5000 Sikhs. He was later prevented from entering Germany after Sikh activists placed pressure on the German government.

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "One-minute [Caller 1] sir, the topic has now come to the point

where you have said that you feel my pain. I want to ask you one

thing, please speak the truth".

Caller 1: "Okay".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "37 years ago, in 1986, you pledged that we will, take Khalistan at

any cost, by sacrificing our lives, we will take Khalistan".

Caller 1: "Okay".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Points at the camera] "Either with the support of the community or

through the power of the gun, we will take it by hook or crook".

Caller 1: "Definitely".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Even after 37 years, I want to ask those who are making noise and

spreading propaganda: do you want Khalistan or not, [points at the

camera] yes or no?"

Caller 1: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "You, as leaders of organisations have passed 37 years and are old

now, do not you have any stand, and you are sitting quiet now? [Hits the table] After 37 years, they are asking you if you want Khalistan or not? Why you do not speak now? [Points at the camera] Why are your tongues tied now? Why you are sitting quiet, answer me".

Caller 1: "No, no, listen Jeeta brother listen, listen. It is my request".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No, no, firstly, come to this point, a question has been raised after

37 years if you want Khalistan, yes or no? I want its answer from

you".

Caller 1: "See, firstly, the answer which you are looking from my side has

already been answered".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Raises voice] "You can answer me [Caller 1] sir, I have discussed this

off the record with many people, but no one has the guts, no one is

ready to discuss. They feel their popularity will diminish. The

sisterfuckers are scared of their reputations. They are afraid to this

level".

Caller 1: "Jeeta brother, please listen to my other views, my opinion".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "You can give three, four".

Caller 1: "Our target is simple and straight, and we will not tell now whether

we will take it or not. You check with those who work in this field.

Let them work in the way they do it".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Nods] "No".

Caller 1: "Let them work in their way; they will be responsible for their deeds,

good and bad, not us".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Brother, Harminder Singh, listen one minute, please stop here.

Hello [Caller 1]. Harminder. Have you ever talked with Harminder

Singh Khalsa of Switzerland?"

Caller 1: "Definitely, we have talked. We, at night –".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "We will come logically to the point. Have you ever talked on this

current topic?"

Caller 1: "Definitely, we met him for two hours that night while coming back;

we have sat with him earlier and while coming back as well".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "See, [Caller 1] sir, he got angry with me and I apologised as well. I

said that you are our elder and we are your juniors. We may commit mistakes as we are junior to you. Then I asked him again, [raises voice] why are you quiet when our community is getting harmed? Our name is associated with agencies like ISI in Punjab, boys are being thrown into jails, why are you quiet? Why do you not come forward? We are being seen as affiliated with terrorist groups of the ISI. What do we have to do with ISI? We are feeding and helping the world with langar¹⁷¹ and we are now being associated with the ISI in

Punjab".

Caller 1: "Brother Jagjit Singh?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "This topic, this subject is very serious; I will tell you in a simple

way".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Smiles] "Then do something".

Caller 1: "Due to this topic, the Indian government gets irritated".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "We also feel the same and it is natural. If we hit them, they will hit

us back".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "In this case, we do not oppose anyone at first, as they have their

own system, that's how they want to approach it, however,

¹⁷¹ Open Community Kitchen for people of all faiths and backgrounds – a tenant of Sikhism.

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regarding the farmers' protests¹⁷², we have been telling you since day one that millions of rupees have been sent [crosstalk]"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Farmers' protests¹⁷³, [Caller 1] Sir, on 28th January 2021, you might

remember this, and now relevant questions will be raised. Both of us know that we have some conditions and guidelines which we cannot

cross, and it is true".

Caller 1: "Right, right, right".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Those who are intelligent have understood what we wanted to say.

Now, let's come to farmers' leadership, if you remember the Nishan

Sahib flag was raised on 26 January 174".

Caller 1: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "On 28th January, at Gazipur border, Sarvan Singh Pandher's 175 side

at Majha Centre stage, when BJP and policemen attacked. At that time Rajewal gave a big statement 176 not to go to that side".

Caller 1: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Instructions are issued from the Tikri border. The tents of our

daughters were torn, press reporter Mandeep Singh was arrested, and that journalist Jagjit i.e., Juggy Baba, so many things happened that day [inaudible]. Rajewal and his allies lost popularity. Majha

and Takait¹⁷⁷ rallies were fully highlighted on the 28th".

Caller 1: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "That was the day I telecasted the first programme and stated that

if you cannot fight, you should not come forward. We should not praise ourselves on a high note and let's move ahead. Afterwards, on the 28th, we telecasted first programme on KTV regarding the mindset of Rajewal that their thinking is wrong. People argued with us and today, they are blaming Rajewal that he is dying to attain more political power. What does [Caller 1] think about this? As you

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¹⁷² Following the Licensee's representations received on 21 April 2022, Ofcom amended the translation which previously read, "regarding the farmers' hue and cry".

¹⁷³ Following the Licensee's representations received on 21 April 2022, Ofcom amended the translation which previously read, "Farmers' hue and cry".

¹⁷⁴ Referring to 26 January 2021 when one of the participants at the Farmers' Protests hoisted a flag with a Sikh religious symbol at the Red Fort in India's capital Delhi.

¹⁷⁵ General Secretary of the Kisan Mazdoor Sangharsh Committee (Peasant Labourer Struggle Committee), an umbrella organisation of various farmers' organisations in India.

¹⁷⁶ See: Rajewal's remarks upset Haryana farmers, The Tribune, 29 January 2021.

¹⁷⁷ The presenter is referring to the protests against new farm laws, organised by the sons of Mahendra Takait, president of the Bharatiya Kisan Union (Indian Farmers' Union):

See: Farmers' protest: BKU leader Rakesh Tikait announces rallies in Delhi next month, India Today, 26 June 2021.

are a journalist, a Khalistani, a writer, a film maker, I want to know your views because you are very famous among people. What are the views of [Caller 1]? A year has passed since the 28th, and we will ignore the period before that day and will not speak about what happened before 28th January and we have fully supported them as this is a very pure holy agitation and only this pure holy agitation has won this rally. And what do you think about what they are doing today?"

Caller 1: "See as I have told you earlier".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "This is my last question to you sir".

Caller 1: "My article which was published on Monday in the newspaper,

please read that to understand my views. I said this on the very first day and I have written this in comments as well that the farmers should have made a pressure group, through which any party can get their work done by putting pressure. Now associations or only leaders should tell us what they have achieved and what they have received? They have received nothing because the bills which were yet to be passed were cancelled and nothing happened. I have written another thing which I want to share, though it is even more

bitter".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I would say you should. [Smiles] I have received a message from

Mr. Manjit Singh Khanowal¹⁷⁸ and he has shown lots of love to me regarding this discussion. If we talk about 23 years, he has suffered

and undergone much pain".

Caller 1: "He has sacrificed a lot".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Brother Rajinder Singh, Rajinder Singh, 34 years ago -"

Caller 1: "I had written a few words on Rajinder Singh, I had written an article

about Rajinder Singh also".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Smiles] "You know, Khalsaji¹⁷⁹, [Caller 1], sir".

Caller 1: "I have written about Mr. Khanowal in a bracket, I must write a

separate chapter on how much he has sacrificed in secret".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1], I want to tell you one thing that he is my brother as well.

Sometimes with Mr. Khanowal sir, our relationship is like son and father and like brothers as well [smiles]. Sometimes, we argue with each other, but we have very good relations, but by heart I look at him as an icon just like Jinda, Sukha, as he has made great sacrifices.

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¹⁷⁸ Reference to Manjit Singh, who along with Rajinder Singh Mughalwal, murdered a Sikh leader in Southall, UK.

¹⁷⁹ A word used to address the audience/viewers.

He has done many great things for the country. People become millionaires and become greedy for money, but these guys have made sacrifices, and this is a separate issue. They are the lucky ones as they made huge sacrifices, but they are emotionally attached as well. There are pictures of Jagmeet Singh running in the background along with Jasveer Kaur and they solely believed the words of Sant Baba Jarnail Singh, and they are always ready to sacrifice anything without thinking twice. The words spoken by Bhai Rajinder Singh Mughalwal, we cannot even imagine how to speak in such respectful

and dignified language, but I -".

Caller 1: "Brother Jeeta, please give me two minutes".

"Okay, I would not speak now". Jagjit Singh Jeeta:

Caller 1: "Firstly, I would say that I will end up by discussing a bit now".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 1: "Regarding brother Khanowal and brother Rajinder Singh, I will just

discuss one thing about brother Rajinder Singh".

"Fine". Jagjit Singh Jeeta:

Caller 1: "Many Sikh men went to meet Brother Rajinder Singh, Brother Gian

Singh Leel¹⁸⁰ went, I would say openly now".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 1: "When Gian Singh Leel went, he tried to help him for the sake of

humanity".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 1: "He said that I am no longer after these materialistic things and I

would not accept it and he did not accept it despite saying".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 1: "He said that when you were sitting in jail, Khanowal has also

helped a lot of Sikh men".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yeah".

¹⁸⁰ Gian Singh Leel received life imprisonment for assassinating former Shromani Akali Dal President Sant Harchand Longowal, for signing the Punjab Accord (1985) which was a peace deal between the Indian government and Sikh activists.

Caller 1: "You are helping while sitting inside jail. Today, when we are able to

help you by the grace of God, why you are not taking it?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Okay".

Caller 1: "He totally refused and said that you have come to meet me, and

this is more than enough for me. I will not take money and did not

take a penny either from anyone".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 1: "These are the sacrifices of the Singhs¹⁸¹".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Very big".

Caller 1: "These are very big sacrifices; many things are still hidden which we

want to expose. I want to write; I want to speak".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1] Sir, [smiles] I love the way of Rajinder Singh's brother

when he was about to go to the airport and the level of politeness, like Bhai Leel Singh has. God has blessed us for 37 years and may my next ten years be just like Brother Leel Singh. I loved the same thing about Rajinder Singh Mughalwal when he talked with so much love,

politely and I felt very emotional after that [crosstalk]"

Caller 1: "Brother Jeeta, the article which I had written about Bhai Rajinder

Singh had a heading that, "These souls are the guides of a

community, you can learn from these souls".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "You are absolutely right" [salutes].

Caller 1: "And second point I made which should not be skipped is about

What are the problems of farmers in farmers' agitation?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Okay".

Caller 1: "Their biggest problem is debts, next is alcohol and third is drugs".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "I have written in that, does any Baniya¹⁸² apart from Jatt¹⁸³, Sikhs

and labour class follow these things? Has any Baniya given up his life by hanging himself? Has any Baniya died after having alcohol? Are the children of Baniyas addicted to drugs? The fourth issue is about our youth's coming abroad. Are Baniyas' children coming

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¹⁸¹ In this context, "the Singhs" is a reference to Rajinder Singh Mughalwal and Manjit Singh Khanowal, who murdered a Sikh leader in Southall, UK.

¹⁸² Baniya is a caste from South Asia, consisting of moneylenders, bankers, and owners of commercial enterprises.

¹⁸³ A tribe based in Punjab and other parts of India.

abroad? Why do not they come? Who is responsible for that? We are asking the government and sectors about the prohibition on selling drugs. We do not take [drugs], our families do not take

[drugs]".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Okay".

Caller 1: "Why are our families dying and the rest of Punjab is not dying?

They take loans to purchase buffaloes but end up buying alcohol and drugs. Who is responsible for that? We ourselves are responsible, not the government. The government does not put these things in our mouth, you ask the government for facilities and they reply in return that they will first get a thousand crores tax from alcohol".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "And you are demanding prosperity [unclear]. The biggest portion

belongs to Jatt people, landlords and farmers who are having alcohol in the front of their bars and looking for pleasure".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Thanks a lot".

Caller 1: "If we are talking here and then say that we are speaking in the

favour of Government, who will look into it?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1] sir, we will bring you in the next two or three days for the

live programme and we will discuss this issue face to face. Today, you have discussed about a lot of nice things. Sometimes I look forward to debating with people like you, I do not like flattering at

all".

Caller 1: "Exactly, see, once again I would like to request this online in clear

words. The voting which is taking place for the Khalistan 2020 referendum has its own system and own way of working".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Okay, leave this topic".

Caller 1: "We are not opposing anyone, we are Khalistani and will fight for

Khalistan and will die for Khalistan".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1] Sir, they have a separate mission. You tell me one thing,

where would you like to have Khalistan? In Punjab, England, or

Germany?"

Caller 1: "See, we will take Khalistan in Punjab only".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No, no, do not give me explanation; just give me an answer straight

away that where Khalistan should be made, Punjab or Germany?"

Caller 1: "In Punjab obviously".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta:

"Thank you very much. It should be in Punjab; I am ready to take a ticket with you tomorrow morning. Unless and until you commit, I know you are my elder; you can do anything to me. Until we reach the motherland. It is alright we are content here as we have lived the life, our children have setup their businesses, our kids will eat good food. We came from Punjab in very miserable conditions. In fact, I came to your city, in Germany, with only three to four trousers. I had no idea if I would reach England or not, I never knew about sitting at this place. I believe, unless we support the people of that country in their country, there is no benefit of showing off, this is what I believe. I do not know if you agree with me or not".

Caller 1: "I am going to give you the answer".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Please give me an answer in a minute as I am getting many calls

and they are saying I have given too much time to you".

Caller 1:

"Let me give the answer as I would not be able to answer you again and again. Firstly, we were already told what you just said to us about two weeks ago by someone else; it's the exact same thing you are saying. We will go if you go; if you want to go you can go because you are not bound with us. We don't ask anyone when we have to go and do something, and it is as simple as that. Firstly, wherever one wants to go to do something, he can. Those who are sitting there like Daljit Singh; do they have lesser sense and pain than us? [Raises voice] Does Bhullar¹⁸⁴, Cheema¹⁸⁵, Dhami¹⁸⁶ and Mann¹⁸⁷ have lesser pain than us? They are doing their jobs wherever they can do it. At the same time, we are doing our jobs here. Now, we are not bothered about how it affects you outside. You were not able to stop Jagdish Tytler in England, Canada, and America. We stopped him here in Germany. We stopped Kamal Nath¹⁸⁸ in Germany, Belgium and after that in Switzerland. You could not stop him in India, and you are calling them anti-Sikh community and making him M.L.A".

¹⁸⁴ Devinder Pal Singh Bhullar is a convicted Indian Khalistani supporter, he was convicted for a 1993 Delhi bomb

¹⁸⁵ The leading Sikh representative body Akali Dal's website lists Daljit Singh Cheema as a leader.

¹⁸⁶ H.S Dhami is a leader of the Sikh party, Dal Khalsa (refer to footnote 193), see: Dal Khalsa writes to President, The Tribune, 13 April 2015

¹⁸⁷ Simranjit Singh Mann is the president of the Shiromani Akali Dal. In 1984 he resigned from his post in the police service to protest against the 1984 anti-Sikh riots.

¹⁸⁸ Kamal Nath is an Indian politician who served as the 18th Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. Sikhs for Justice has alleged Kamal Nath played a role in the Sikh riots of 1984, which resulted in the mass-murder of thousands of Sikhs. However, these allegations have not been proven in a court of law.

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1] Sir, you have to admit that the youth is getting arrested in

Punjab in your name and in Khalistan's name. What about their

future and their families?"

Caller 1: [Raises voice] "Not with our name, not with our name".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Khalistan. Look, look, [Caller 1] sir [crosstalk]"

Caller 1: "This is normal. Look sir, Jeeta brother, the first thing is that one has

to pay the price for his deeds, nothing will work without paying a

price".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Raises voice] "Why should the people from Punjab pay for it? One-

minute [Caller 1] sir, I would not".

Caller 1: "Those from Punjab will have to pay".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I do not agree with you on this whether you accept or not. You

mean to say that the youth of Punjab will have to pay who follow

your orders? Why not us?"

Caller 1: "They are not supposed to obey us. If they want Khalistan, Khalistan

is not our personal property".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "Why no one blames me? Why not me? Why not you and

others who outroar are getting arrested? We all are going around in our luxury cars worth crores, which is not fair. I do not agree with

you on this whether you accept it or not" [hits table].

Caller 1: "You please, calm down and put your temperature down. We are

not sitting here for this".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "No, it is not about raising temperature. This means

everyone is busy in his or her own ways. I am running my channel and other people are sitting in Canada, America. What about Punjab? [Points at the camera] Young men in Punjab are being roughed up, mothers are being insulted and we should let everything go. [Screen shows images of Jagmeet Singh and Jasveer

Kaur] This is not fair, [Caller 1] sir".

Caller 1: "Jeeta brother, please listen to me, please listen to me. From today,

all of us Khalistanis in Germany will stop speaking loudly about Khalistan like others who are sitting quietly in their homes and watching the show, we will also stop caring for that from today. Do

what you want or have to do, we are not favouring anyone".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "I do not have to; I am just asking you the question about

the youth who are being duped and trapped by following your

orders, who is liable for them?"

Caller 1: "We have neither duped anyone nor we are trapping them or

providing them with bombs".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "[Caller 1] sir, you are taking me the wrong way. What I

mean is who will accept liability for the young man and his mother? You tell me [Caller 1] sir. Let's imagine you and your mother are detained. I understand the era of 1984 and now after 31 years, they are detaining our boys and girls, that young man is innocent, he was

reported on in Delhi because of the water cannon".

Caller 1: "Jeeta brother, Jeeta brother".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 1: "The circumstances which you are talking about, even my mother,

was detained along with other family members by Sumedh Saini¹⁸⁹,

my brother was detained [crosstalk]"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "[Caller 1] sir, I agree with you, I have seen it in my

childhood, my clothes were removed, my father's turban was

removed, I have seen that. But give me an answer".

Caller 1: [Shouts] "Is this our sole responsibility? Only we should start the

topic, martyr our families also and then we get criticism from

others? Why?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No, no, [Caller 1] sir, do we have the responsibility for the youth of

Punjab or not?"

Caller 1: "This is our responsibility, to take care of them, and to give them

advice".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Thank you very much. This is what I expect from you because the

story of 1984 which belongs to Sant Baba Jarnail Singh and the story going on right now are completely different. We should move ahead with that topic in a diplomatic way. The rest is your choice as you feel happy. You know what I mean; I am feeling very upset as I am talking with the underground team in Punjab. As media, I do have underground connections which I do not expose, but I feel very

painful due to the wrongdoing with our mothers".

Caller 1: "I do respect your feelings, I understand your emotions, I understand

your sadness, and I understand your motives".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 1] sir, I do not have any hostility with any particular

organisation but feel really bad".

¹⁸⁹ Sumedh Saini is a former Director General of Punjab Police.

Caller 1: "No, no, I understand your emotions, your pain, and your tone of

voice; you are doing it because you feel pain. Why are the others not

doing it? There are many channels in the world".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Although our page is banned, [Caller 1] sir, our page is banned but

sixty to seventy people are still watching our channel live. This is our first live show since being banned after 1.5 months which is being watched by so many people. Otherwise, it could have crossed to 500, 700 to 1000 as it has been banned again in India [laughs].

Thanks a lot, [Caller 1] sir".

Caller 1: "See, I do understand this thing but anyhow I have taken so much

time already, you can plan this again any other day in future. I think you should speak the truth whether someone feels good or bitter about it. They may abuse you, curse you but you should not be

bothered".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I speak, and I have already spoken, and I am not working on it for

now. I have had a word with Khalsa sir regarding it and he made a sarcastic comment on my action and I said that I am a very small link in this network, but my duty lies in rallying each organisation. But now as I am observing the deception, the system, I may expose it slowly and steadily if the almighty allows, but the decision-making has to be done by you only, people in power who suffered in Punjab thirty-five to thirty-six years ago, and then, they reached here, I

mean, this is your responsibility".

Caller 1: "Jeeta brother, please do one thing, I am requesting you as you have

never objected to us. You always accept our orders; you are our

younger brother; we do respect you a lot".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I have never objected to you".

Caller 1: "Whenever you have time day after tomorrow or day after, we will

discuss openly about the future and what is actually going to

happen next. I might get time on the 1st".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Of course, yes. [Smiles and gestures to stop] Please disconnect the

call now as almost thirty to fifty people are in waiting for this call,

thanks a lot. This was our [Caller 1] sir".

Caller 1: "Okay. Thanks a lot".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "We normally have arguments with [Caller 1] sir as he is a person

with high spirits. I am going to say a very big thing regarding our Sikh men from Germany. Who is this person with high spirits? If I

talk about Resham Singh Babbar¹⁹⁰. Last time when he called, [he] showed high spirits while talking. See, we do not have enmity with anyone. However, I must say one thing that our name is being associated with ISI by intelligence agencies in Punjab, especially Sikhs' name. The entire credit goes to those who are working under the orders of the ISI and one more thing, I know but I cannot expose this. But if we discuss this frankly, I do have proof of this as well. Yes there is a call. There are Pakistani intelligence people sitting in India who arrange bomb blasts in India and vice-versa Indian personnel are present in Pakistan, this is the only way the system works. How we take that is all up to you".

The presenter then moved on to the second caller ("Caller 2"):

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "We have got a call, let us see where it is from. Greetings, who is

this and where are you calling from?"

Caller 2: "Waheguru Ji Ka Khalsa Waheguru Ji Ki Fateh".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Firstly, accept my apologies, the previous call took too long, almost

finished the programme, please accept my apologies. Yes please,

who are you and where are you calling from?"

Caller 2: "Brother, we are calling from the UK and the brother who was on

the previous call discussed very nice things. He discussed most of the things but, as you are saying that we should go there and talk. You look yourself brother; this is a matter of almost two days ago. There was a young man from Germany, the same city the brother was

talking from".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Fine".

Caller 2: "A case has been filed against him, a false case, and the German

media is showing that he was involved in a bomb blast. He was a PA [unclear]. The government and police have not arrested him either".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I want to tell you a thing, that [Caller 1], brother what is your

name?"

Caller 2: "[Caller 2], brother".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "[Caller 2], where are you calling from?"

Caller 2: "Brother I am calling from Coventry".

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¹⁹⁰ Resham Singh Babbar is alleged to be the head of the German branch of Babbar Khalsa, a proscribed terrorist organisation in the UK.

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Coventry, okay. [Caller 1], when I got to know about Jaswinder

Singh Multani¹⁹¹".

Caller 2: "Yes sir".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "ISI, there are no two ways about it. It has to be admitted that

Pakistani ISI has control of our people. There are no two ways, I can

give the proof even".

Caller 2: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Secondly, I had a chat with [Caller 1], his brother and four to five

more men were arrested in the last ten to fifteen days".

Caller 2: "Fine".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I am telling you off the record. Now if I talk on the record when I

talk about Multani".

Caller 2: "Okay".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "And it is also not possible that the Indian media is lying. Police

definitely have spoken to Multani, this I am telling you".

Caller 2: "The discussion has taken place, but their media is not showing that.

You just check yourself. Their media is saying that –".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Brother no, brother no".

Caller 2: "One minute, one minute brother".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Brother as I told you earlier, the work of the Indian media is to

defame us".

Caller 2: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Today, they have even changed their statements".

Caller 2: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "We were aware of it, but we did not show this in the news because

our people are sitting there, I had a word with them".

Caller 2: "I am not saying as above, if you say that we should talk by going

there, how can we go there and talk? [Shouts] Firstly, think of it,

where was Kartar Singh Sarabha¹⁹² from?"

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 ¹⁹¹ Jaswinder Singh Multani (also referred as Multani) is a member of the US-based secessionist group Sikhs For Justice. He was arrested in Germany for the alleged involvement in the Ludhiana bomb explosion in 2021.
 ¹⁹² Kartar Singh Sarabha a Sikh revolutionary who travelled from the US to fight against the British in the 1916.
 He was eventually arrested and executed for treason in 1920.

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Brother, give me an answer to one question first. No, no, no,

answer my question first. You are sitting here and shouting, do you

have any benefit?"

Caller 2: [Shouts] "You cannot go there to talk either".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "Brother, I am with you, why can't we talk? Simranjit Singh

Mann is there and talking about Khalistan. There is Dal Khalsa¹⁹³ and other similar people like Parwana¹⁹⁴, all of them talk about Khalistan over there. Why not? Let's not get that weak, buddy".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "I have one question as they have been talking about this

for so long. Listen to me, they go for voting, elections and raising slogans for Khalistan too. The young man, Jagmeet Singh, for whom you are airing this live programme, why he has been put into jail and

why not others, tell us the reason?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Let me tell you, the problem is this we need to understand the

system. According to you, wasn't Simranjit Singh Mann arrested? His

nails were plucked out".

Caller 2: [Raises voice] "No, it happened, it happened. Please talk about the

current situation".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Brother, what is your age?"

Caller 2: "I am 37 years old".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "37 years?"

Caller 2: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Do you know everything about Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann?"

Caller 2: "No, no, I know because I have been acquainted with him for ten to

fifteen years. I knew earlier as well that he was inside and had

resigned. I do have that knowledge".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Some discussions are for example this young man, a Singh, Jaggi¹⁹⁵

went from England".

Caller 2: "Yes".

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¹⁹³ Dal Khalsa is a Sikh organisation, based in Amritsar, with the primary aim of achieving independence for the Punjabi-speaking Sikh majority region in Northwest India through democratic means.

¹⁹⁴ Barjinder Singh Parwana is a Sikh preacher and the head of Damdami Taksal in Rajpura. He was arrested by Indian police in July 2021.

¹⁹⁵ Jagtar Singh Johal alias Jaggi, was arrested by Indian authorities for allegedly being involved in the murder of a Hindu nationalist.

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Now there is a difference between Jaggi's current opinion and his

previous one. When one takes responsibility, one changes. May God

bless".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "Same thing. You have now come to that topic yourself that

one changes himself. You yourself ask to talk by going there".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts and hits table] "Brother, I ask you to give me an answer to

one question that. Just reply this one question, this is not between you and me. See this case of mother and son. I went to Southampton for four days. Did you listen to anything regarding this on KTV?

There are many press reporters here, but do you know none of them

hosted any programme?"

Caller 2: "Nobody hosted any programme? We watch TV daily".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts and hits table] "Just tell me one thing. How many press

reporters are there? Does anybody host any programme? Nobody is even ready to talk on this issue my dear brother. They will discuss Rajewal and other useless things and praise them for the Farmers' Protests. They must raise their voice regarding the community but

none of them have guts".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "You are, of course, right here. See there is sacrilege there.

See the role of leaders of Farmers' Protests".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "I do face problems because of this. They raid my house

after every three days. Do not underestimate brother. Brother, do you know what the problem is? Please do try to understand me. Circumstances are different and those who are talking now must know the truth. Suppose I know it very well brother. 99.9% of youth

cases in India are fabricated cases".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "You mean, and you want to say, we must even stop talking

about Khalistan from the foreign soil. They will speak about this

from the foreign soil".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Why we should stop talking about this? What do you think? Should

we discuss Khalistan practically or just create a commotion".

Caller 2: "No, we are working practically only. What wrong has been done by

that boy? Tell me the fault of that person".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Thank you very much. Practical! Let me tell you one thing. There

are two aspects within this. You know what the problem with us is? One problem is that we are obsessed with highlighting ourselves and want fame. Most of the work must be disguised. [Points at camera] Brother, if you are wise, if you are wise enough, then you'll focus on

this point of mine. [Speaking English]: "We should work under the table, not in the media"".

Caller 2: "See, brother, nothing is possible without media nowadays".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Brother, you are saying same old things time and time again. Now

see the example of farmers. [Caller 2 interrupts but Jagjit Singh Jeeta continues talking] Farmer leaders say that when we highlight anything, the government takes action on it well in advance. The government finds a solution before our noise. Brother, [raises voice] why do you not understand that we must do action first and then protest 196. This is my point. There is a game of earning fame, and there is another game of working on the issue. See, I am least bothered about it. I want to add, [hits table] if you go to Punjab, do add my name among the persons who will accompany you. I will be the first to go to Punjab even before you land there. Book the ticket. No, I will book your ticket and also four to five persons of your group. You will book tickets of five or ten persons too. I will also

book tickets and we will go together".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "No, listen to me. Oh brother, just listen to my point. I am,

saying you go there but you do not utter a single word when you

land there".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "Thanks brother. What are you saying? Who said I do not

speak? Listen to me, tell me if we do not speak about Saints and about community on KTV. We speak on every topic. But there is a

system –".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "This is not the point. You continue to say that they are the

reason the youth has been arrested. This is wrong statement. But

you continue to say this".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Well, just reply to my one question. What is your profession?"

Caller 2: "Work, you know, we do every type of work here, mainly building

work".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Imagine yourself in the place of this boy. Then what would be your

reply".

Caller 2: "Which boy?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "The boy who is detained with his mother".

¹⁹⁶ Following the Licensee's representations received on 21 April 2022, Ofcom amended the translation which previously read, "Brother, [raises voice] why do you not understand that we must do action first and then make hue and cry".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "No, there are thousands of such boys. He is not the only

one. Hundreds of thousands of our boys have embraced

martyrdom".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Brother! No, no. Everyone feels the heat".

Caller 2: "You are saying only this person is detained. Where would those

mothers go whose sons have been killed?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "If we talk about Sant Jarnail Singh, he has taken the lead and died.

There are many examples like brother Amrik Singh [hits table], General Thara Singh [hits table], Baba Thara Singh [hits table], General Shabeg Singh [hits table], Jinda [hits table], Sukha [hits table], Satwant Singh [hits table], Beant Singh [hits table], General etc. All of them have embraced martyrdom. Not one fled the arena.

Today's leaders are all talk and no action".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "And what would you do by going there, then?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No, no, no dear, I want to add [to your point]".

Caller 2: "You said you will book a ticket, but my question is what you will do

after going there? You do not even utter a word after landing

there".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Why do we not gather two hundred thousand persons and go to

Punjab? We are just talking at random. Let us engage people my

brother".

Caller 2: [Raises voice] "What did this boy do? Just tell me what did he do?

Why he is detained?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "You will soon get to know what he did".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "And speak on the issue and tell me why he has been

arrested? Now you are saying go there and let us talk there. What did that person do, please tell us now? Explain it to me a little bit

else I will tell you in detail".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Listen to me. Listen to me. Hello, there are many things. If I speak

on this channel, you will come forward and start opposing and label

me as an opposing person [crosstalk]".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "No this is not about opposing anybody. We start pulling

legs of each other and confine ourselves to opposing one another".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "These foreigner people. Hello, hello brother please listen to me. In

Punjab, the biggest problem is poverty. The people sitting here on foreign land lure them by taking advantage of their poverty. The

service of religion should be free of cost and selfless. There must be an obsession for the religion. When it is proved at a later stage that those persons did that for some greed, what would be your answer my brother?"

Caller 2: "You are speaking on this issue".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts and hits table] "What will your answer be when it is proved

that work was done out of greed? Well, tell me one thing. When people sitting in foreign soil lure youth with false assurances that they will pay so and so money, what does it mean then? I just want to say what will happen if his greed is proved? I want to say the mother is also detained, what is the fault of the innocent mother?

Okay. That is fine".

Caller 2: "How can you say they are doing the wrong thing? Brother, it is said

that his mother is also detained. They are not the only one who

suffered, there are many examples like this".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Brother, hello, brother, just listen, I have seen all this in young age.

I have seen such things in my childhood. I was locked in jail for

fourteen to fifteen years. What are you saying?"

Caller 2: "Then, you yourself can feel the pain. Do you not?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "But I want to add one thing for you. Did you listen to the claims

made by police? Did you listen to their nonsensical statements?"

Caller 2: "See this case. They have said that they have arrested the person

from Germany who was connected to the Ludhiana bomb blast. He was questioned regarding this. That person was arrested from

Germany".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Well, hello, hello, just listen my brother, if I tell you truth, the

person arrested from Germany has been interrogated. I want to tell

you one thing".

Caller 2: "He was interrogated but he was arrested and they said that they

are taking him with them".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No. No. Suppose India is telling lies. But before that brother of

[Caller 1] was arrested. Four to five people were arrested. I had spoken to them. Then I did an analysis that these people were arrested from Germany. I myself asked them. They are like my friends. I asked them if there is a protest in India¹⁹⁷. They said it is not true. You know how the government is, if we are terrorists, they

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¹⁹⁷ Following the Licensee's representations received on 21 April 2022, Ofcom amended the translation which previously read, "I asked them if there is a hue and cry in India".

will put us behind bars immediately. Tell me one thing, who can match us, we make points with facts and figures. Give me any example of a person who talks about Sant Jarnail Singh like we do".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "Brother, you speak as per the thinking of Sant Jarnail

Singh. Here sons of mothers are ruined. What does Sant Jarnail

Singh say? He used to say".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "Brother, thank you very much [hits table] one aspect is

this. Whatever, I continue to speak, is meaningless [hits table]. There must be some person in Punjab who should take responsibility of those boys. Now take the example of Simranjit Singh Mann".

Caller 2: [Audio muffled] "It is okay to have responsibility, but it is possible

only if you have a government of your own".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Hello, Deep Sidhu¹⁹⁸, let us talk about Deep Sidhu. We continue to

talk in favour of the Farmers' Protests for one year. Everyone used to argue with me. When on the 28th, there were protests on the Singhu border¹⁹⁹ and other borders, I spoke about farmers' leaders for the first time then. All farmer leaders lodged protest against me and shouted against me. What happened today? The same Deep Sidhu said that he will fight cases against the boys. Where are those leaders today? Where is Lakkha²⁰⁰ and other persons who used to support these farmer leaders? [Shouts] They are all mum now. Deep

Sidhu will fight all cases against this boy".

Caller 2: "Brother you talk about Kisan Morcha²⁰¹. Leave that. Some were

marginal farmers with very small land holding of either two marla²⁰² or twenty farms. All were fighting to save their rights as the issue was connected with their livelihood. And now they talk about this".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Where are they now? [Laughs] Where is Rajewal and company

now?"

Caller 2: "This is what I am saying. We have suffered at every place including

Harminder sir".

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¹⁹⁸ Deep Sidhu (2 April 1984 – 15 February 2022) was a Khalistani supporter who was alleged to have been involved in hoisting a flag bearing a Sikh religious symbol at the Red Fort in Delhi, India.

¹⁹⁹ Following the Licensee's representations received on 21 April 2022, Ofcom amended the translation which previously read, "there was hue and cry on the Singhu border".

²⁰⁰ Lakha Sidhana is a Khalistani supporter who is alleged to have been involved in hoisting a flag bearing a Sikh religious symbol at the Red Fort in Delhi, India.

²⁰¹ SKM or Samyukta Kisan Morcha (translates to United Farmers Front), formed in November 2020, is a coalition of over forty Indian farmers' unions to coordinate non-violent resistance against the three farm acts initiated in September of the same year.

²⁰² Refers to a unit of land measurement used in India. 1 Marla is equivalent to 30.25 square yards.

"Brother, the problem with us is. See we have no problem with each Jagjit Singh Jeeta:

other but let me tell you one thing very clearly".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "No, thing is, it is not about the problems between us

> brother. You say, they are getting sons of mothers killed. Now where did Kartar Singh Sarabha came from? Where did Kartar Singh

Sarabha go? From where did the Singh Sabha movement start?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "Oh brother, no, please. Listen. Kartar Singh Sarabha went

to Punjab from America, why cannot we go? This is what I am

emphasising".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "We have history you know. Our history explains this does it

not? You say people sitting here are getting the sons of mothers

killed, this is wrong on your part".

"Martyr Udham Singh²⁰³ came here [to the UK] from Punjab. Hello, Jagjit Singh Jeeta:

listen. This is your history. This is something that I am saying to

you".

Caller 2: [Shouts] "You cannot speak by going there. And if we do not raise

our voices from here, then, tell me, where should we go to raise our

issues. They do not let us raise our voice".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Well. Listen to me first. Just listen to me. Our channel has been

> banned in India. No one lets our channel telecast in India. On what platform will you give your point? Just tell me this simple thing".

Caller 2: "They ban everything that talks about sovereignty and freedom. It is

not just your channel, they banned many like you".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Thank you very much. Then to your point regarding authority [hits

> table], if the people of Punjab aren't able to talk about it then where will they go? [Shouts] This is what I am saying to you. Friend just reply to my one question. There are so many channels being

> broadcast in England [hits table]. What is the problem with KTV [hits

table]? Why is KTV banned?"

Caller 2: "No, no. It is not just yours, there are many other channels which are

banned".

[Shouts] "Name me any other channel that has been banned. Okay, Jagjit Singh Jeeta:

fine you can directly watch the 2020 channel which is banned in

Punjab. But tell me one thing".

²⁰³ Udham Singh came to Britain to seek revenge for the Amritsar massacre where he shot and killed Sir Michael O'Dwyer at Caxton Hall in 1940. Udham Singh held Sir Michael O'Dwyer responsible for the massacre who at that time was the Governor of Punjab.

Caller 2: "You can see yourself. Their YouTube is banned, you are wrong.

Their Facebook and YouTube are not working".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Their YouTube plays, brother you are in illusion, only their Facebook

doesn't work. Their YouTube works fine. You tell me one thing. There

are many channels. We are also tied with the same rope".

Caller 2: "Those who want to see, must see. See, brother, just listen to my

point. I am saying only your channel and other Sikh channels, sorry we should not name anyone, we have so many Sikh media channels here, if those channels are broadcasting, so many people see them

and due to this they relish the information".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Sir, I am going to ask you one question. I am talking with you, and

by talking we are not shooting anybody. We are just doing a

dialogue".

Caller 2: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Tell me what is the fault in that? Just tell me brother. If you win the

argument with me, you are my brother. If you defeat me, you are my

brother. This is our brotherly discussion".

Caller 2: "No, we are not defeating anyone. We are just discussing".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Oh brother, just listen to me. We can even go off the record. [Hits

table] What wrong do we do with each other? What problem does

the government have with our discussion? [Hits table]"

Caller 2: "No, do not discuss the government".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "No, just tell me what the issue with the government is.

Why does the government ban KTV? KTV has been banned for the third time, friend. Tell us, what wrong we did, those in Punjab who aren't exposed to our point of view, then tell me, what impression they will get? So, tell me one thing, we want independent state there in Punjab, but they do not let our voice go there. The

governments have a problem, we cannot tell anything to our sons and daughters in Punjab. Those in England know it very well. You know it very well. People in the USA and Europe know it very well.

All those people know already. Why do not you know?"

Caller 2: "No. Listen to me brother. The media is sleeping wherever freedom

is discussed for example the 2020 referendum. This is a different thing; we are not talking on this issue. No other media even speaks

on this. No one is even speaking here. Sorry".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "A glass of water please. Brother, no one speaks on this issue here.

Just listen what is being done here. Hello. The 2020 channel came

just four to five months ago, right?"

Caller 2: "Yes, it is just two to four months old when it was started".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Did Jagjit Singh Jeeta promote this in Italy, Germany, Geneva from

UK or not? Access details were provided in USA. My nephew Pavi is sitting and listening, see there. Just one minute and listen to me.

Rana Singh. Do not say wrong".

Caller 2: "Now, listen to me brother, we have watched your channel for a

long time. But my point is, there is an entire Sikh media, there are

many channels which are streamed from here".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "But do not tell me the same thing and club me with them".

Caller 2: [Raises voice] "No, you are not the only person being blamed. Do not

take everything on you please. There are many other channels here

too".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Laughs] "Leave them. See, one thing, Now I want to say one thing,

how we are different? All others are streaming but why we are

banned in Punjab? All other channels are streaming".

Caller 2: "How many channels are there representing the Sikh media? This

money belongs to Sikh devotees. And these channels run with the

contribution of devotees".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Listen to my point here, let me tell you one thing first. I can give you

proof that I have a mortgage of around two to two and half million pounds regarding my homes. Take proof from me. I can provide my own proof. Take it from me but I cannot comment on anyone else. I have left my home in Southampton to sit in Birmingham, leaving my family and business behind. I can provide proof of that, but I cannot give proof for other people. I have nothing to do with anyone else. You can come in the morning and bring five to ten more people, I

will give you proof of the last seven years".

Caller 2: "No. Listen to me brother. I can accept whatever you say. We are

also in business and it is not possible to do every month".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "Oh brother, it is really very difficult. From last month to

last month, it has been three months since I am doing. I am very pained. But I do not say so. I understand we have only one life and it

will not return again".

Caller 2: "Anyway, you started a Sikh channel in order to spread the voice of

Sikhs to the world. But listen to one more thing".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Regarding time, Hello sir, I have given you enough time. Who else

will give you so much time? Your phone should have been

disconnected by now".

Caller 2: "Sir, we usually make no calls. We do not call channels".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Oh no, you are our brother, you can call at any time. We love each

other".

Caller 2: "Usually I do not call; it is for the first time I called you".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Are you happy or not? Have you been given enough time or not to

make your point?"

Caller 2: "No, no. Yes please".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Thank you. We will continue with this story".

Caller 2: "You have been discussing for ten minutes. But we talk on our

sovereignty, either there are elections or not, we talk on

sovereignty? Where our media is standing?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "See, there are institutions for elections. They are doing their work.

Good luck to them. KTV is doing its work, good luck. Akaal Channel is doing its work, good luck. Sikh Channel is doing its work, good luck".

Caller 2: "But brother the thing is, brother Mr. Jeeta, look at the channel

PTC²⁰⁴. Look at that. We see what it telecasts day and night".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "They do not share a link of the Gurbani telecast with anyone, my

brother. What we can do, they have taken the possession of best things from us. Listen brother. Let me tell you one thing. You please do one thing. When you have the time bring those people you were talking about here. Those one to two people. I will tell you what I did and what happened to me. I will tell my story and tell you how you would feel if put in the same position. We will have a discussion off the record and a discussion on this channel. Instead of making our discussion the talk of the town, I request you to please leave it here

now".

Caller 2: "Sure, do not worry".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No, no, sorry".

Caller 2: "Sorry my brother, thank you, thank you my brother".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Thank you, brother".

²⁰⁴ A Punjabi-language news channel based in Punjab, India.

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Jagjit Singh Jeeta:

"Brother KTV is a channel of the community. Let me tell you about our boy Jagmeet and his mother Jasveer Kaur, both have been arrested by the police. [Screen shows images of Jagmeet Singh and Jasveer Kaur] I understand this is a big problem for all of us. The problem with us is, we exaggerate everything either with joy or with grief. We boast that Sant Jarnail Singh has said that so many boys have been killed. Are you like Sant Jarnail Singh? Do you have the same status that Sant Jarnail Singh enjoys among Sikhs? Sant Jarnail Singh fought with seven countries. India's Indira Gandhi shivered from his name. After his martyrdom, she said he used to appear in her dreams, claiming that a person with a long beard around six feet tall would sit on her chest. Can you compare yourself with Sant Jarnail Singh? Can you become Satwant Singh, Beant Singh? Can you become Kehar Singh²⁰⁵? Can you become Sukha and Jinda? Can you condemn ISI or Pakistan? Do they not stand by you? Those who are playing in the hands of ISI and defaming Sikhs in the entirety of India and in the world. These are the same Sikhs who fed the world with langar in COVID-19 from USA to India, they are defaming these Sikhs in the world by playing in the hands of ISI. The followers of Guru Nanak did such a wonderful job, can you condemn it? I can say this by keeping a hand on my heart [hits his chest] that no one from ISI and Indian agencies can even dare to call Jagjit Singh Jeeta [hits table]. They cannot even send me a message. Can you do this? And I can prove it too [points at the camera]. I can tell you this as well [points at the camera]. When Harminder Singh Nihang²⁰⁶ Baba Mintoo²⁰⁷, the Jathedar²⁰⁸ - do you know about Harminder Singh Nihang? This person mobilised youngsters.

Please put the picture of Jathedar Harminder Singh Nihang on the screen please [asks the producer]. When after the death of Sant Jarnail Singh, it was said in the world that the Khalistan movement has been ended, this Jathedar Harminder Singh also known as Mintoo Nihang mobilised more than two thousand youngsters. He mobilised people for Gurjant Singh Budh Singh Wala²⁰⁹. Not only in Punjab, but he also mobilised in the entire world. Those who talk of

²⁰⁵ Kehar Singh convicted and executed for involvement in the assassination of the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi.

²⁰⁶ Ofcom understands 'Nihang' refers to armed Sikh warriors who formed part of the Sikh Khalsa Army. The Nihangs today continue to uphold the form and content of the Khalsa established by Guru Gorbind Singh in the 17th century.

²⁰⁷ Ofcom understands Harminder Singh Mintoo was the head of the separatist militant group Khalistan Liberation force from 2008 until his death in 2018.

²⁰⁸ Jathedar: An ordained leader who leads a 'Jatha' or community of Sikhs.

²⁰⁹ Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala was the chief of the Khalistan Liberation Force.

Khalistan, I cannot take their names, that would be wrong then. [Screen shows image of Harminder Singh Mintoo] This is the contribution of Harminder Singh Nihang. I can say it today, A turning point came in his life. My eyes weep even today. He suffered a heart attack. [Screen shows image of Harminder Singh Mintoo] When he suffered a heart attack, I spoke to two big leaders of England. I said I need £5,000 for his heart surgery. [Starts crying] No one gave us £5,000 [screen shows image of Harminder Singh Mintoo]. We talk of Khalistan. We talk of community and religion. The person was fighting for his life on a stretcher and his heart surgery was due [screen shows an image of Harminder Singh Mintoo]. No one gave money for his surgery. They were two big leaders of England. If I disclose their names, you will pull the hair off your head.

These are our true fighters and our hearts bleed for them. We talk of martyrdom after their death. Earlier in the show, one brother was fighting with me. I have many secrets in my heart, but I prefer to keep mum. Money was sent in the name of a non-resident and his heart surgery was conducted when he was lying on a stretcher, fighting for his life. [Screen shows an image of Harminder Singh Mintoo] Today we talk of Khalistan, friends, really wonderful. My heart is pained when I recall this. I have a whole list of names of the Khalistanis who died for Khalistan. It's very disappointing. There is a big contribution of Harminder Singh in the arrest of disciples of Sirsa head, haters of Guru Granth Sahib. There is this person who mobilised the youth for the dying Khalistan movement. And what was his end? Totally useless. [Wipes tears] I have seen so many socalled big leaders talking about Harminder Singh. That brother does not know much about this because they only know just the tip of iceberg. That is why I mentioned the incident. I challenge them to come online and participate with me in a live debate. I will expose everything, just talk to me. I feel the pain. These sons and daughters of Punjab are going to jail. I understand we are well settled here; we have everything good here. Our Khalistan is on Saturday and Sunday. From Monday to Friday, we do our business. Then our Khalistan is on Saturday and Sunday and then our business starts on Monday and we resume our work on Monday. Why do not we feel the pain? We understand those heroes were different, whose portraits are hanged on walls, who sacrificed their lives for a cause?

I salute to them [salutes] and we cannot payback their martyrdom [joins his hands together]. I also pay my respect to Sant Jarnail Singh who was offered big offers by the government, but he declined. Had he accepted those offers there would have been airlines on the name of Sant Jarnail Singh. Governments were bowed to the knees. [Raises voice] Can those who people who attacked, those people

who said this dare challenge people like Bal Thakeray²¹⁰? Come to his home in Bombay and sit on his chest and talk about religion? Do they dare come to Punjab? This is the grace of God. They are true sons of Guru Gobind Singh²¹¹. I do not [unclear] anyone. But when I read about Sikhs now, I was reading a book, there were two Sikhs, Banda Singh Bahadur and Baba Aala Singh, those Sikhs who belong to Baba Aala Singh's school of thought are those Sikhs who are opportunists. Those who make concessions and compromise. They made concessions with Mughals as well as with the Englishmen. We can also say that they also did with the Marathas and even with the emperors of the hills. They offered coins to Mughals as well. Baba Aala Singh belongs to Captain Amarinder Singh.

Second types of Sikhs are those Sikhs who belongs to Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, who love the Sikhs and Sikh community. They were ready to offer their life for Sikhism. Now, this second type is the type that gave their blood [for the community]. There are two types of Sikhs, the Sikhs you are seeing behind me in the picture [screen shows images of Jagmeet Singh and Jasveer Kaur] are followers of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur [points at the camera]. Majority of Sikhs have turned out to be Sikhs of Baba Aala Singh who think their purpose should be solved and also, they should get praise [claps hands]. There is no problem in that. Read history, you will come to know who Baba Aala Singh was and how he maintained his power. He maintained his power in every weather. You will also find out how Khalsa traditions were different from Baba Aala Singh. So, we are left with five to ten minutes, if anybody wants to call, he can do so as soon as possible. Let us listen to the call of Bahadur Singh from East London. I will pray to the Almighty, Punjab is facing a lot of challenges, today you can see, the Sikh detainees are languishing in jails. Rajewal has established his own party by looting the Sikhs of entire world. When I hinted about this, people got annoyed with me and threatened me. Rajewal will now establish his party with Kejriwal²¹². They have to fight elections together".

The presenter then took a further call, however, it did not proceed due to connectivity issues:

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Prabh Singh said a new call is received. Yes, let me see. Greetings. Hello, please close the volume of your television. Hello.

²¹⁰ A Hindu nationalist politician who founded the right-wing Hindu nationalist party, Shiv Sena.

²¹¹ Guru Gobind Singh was the last living Guru of the Sikh religion, succeeded by the Sikh holy text known as Guru Granth Sahib.

²¹² Arvind Kejriwal is the national convenor of the Aam Aadmi Party, a centre-left political party in India.

Brother, please close the volume of your television set and speak directly. Hello. Hello. Hello".

Caller: "Hello".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes please. Brother, please lower the volume of your television. Yes

brother, who are you and where are you speaking from? I guess the call is not going to connect. See, a lie is being told in Punjab. A police person is behind the blast. And thereafter, our children, sisters and

mothers are being rounded up and detained by the police.

The presenter then moved on to the final caller ("Caller 3"):

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Here is one call. Please, tell them to lower the volume of their

television set and then talk [tells the producer]. They have not stopped here; we do not know what other charges will be levelled on other brothers and sisters regarding their connection with Khalistan elements. They will also connect them with Pakistan. This is reality. This is something we need to understand. This must be understood by us that to what extent Indian police and Indian agencies go to defame us. People of Punjab are least interested about this. No one is talking about Sikh detained in jails. For them, this Rajewal and his

supports are everything".

Caller 3: "Hello, Hello brother, Greetings".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "What is your name, brother".

Caller 3: "Brother, my name is [Caller 3] and I am again speaking from

France".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes. Do you want to speak about brother Jagmeet Singh and

mother Jasveer Kaur?"

Caller 3: [Screen shows images of Jagmeet Singh, Jasveer Kaur and FIR] "Yes,

this is not a new thing for us. But we must think twice when Indian media and agencies talk about any person. But they must think

again and again while they speak about us".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 3: "Is it fine? Secondly, it is the responsibility of those leaders, who are

incompetent, those leaders who are appreciating the decision to

fight elections. Do not you think so brother?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Yes".

Caller 3: "And secondly, brother you were talking about the things few

> minutes ago that these people make a commotion. I mean, they want to lead and want let others follow them. I want to add here that where were you then, when Mr. Jaswant Singh Khalra²¹³ used

to identify them with his means".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Which year you are talking about?"

Caller 3: [Raises voice] "Brother, you recently said something about the

elections and talked about the people who make a commotion. I am

talking about them".

"Brother, I was a young boy of ten to twelve years at that time of Jagjit Singh Jeeta:

that incident. I am 1973 born".

Caller 3: "No. Where were you had been at that time?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I am telling you that brother Khalra had told me that Mr. Amarjeet

> Singh Khalra²¹⁴ will join us in a programme on KTV the day after tomorrow. He is the brother of Mr. Jaswant Singh Khalra, and the point is, how is it my fault if I was born after the incident took place?

What can I do?"

Caller 3: "No sir, no sir, why are you defaming the rest while sitting on

television?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Raises voice] "Why not brother? Why cannot I ask questions?"

Caller 3: [Raises voice] "Who gave you authority, tell me first? Who gave you

this authority?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Tell me now one thing brother. Tell me one thing, what is the

problem with you, what is your problem with the question regarding

Kartar Singh Sarabha USA?"

Caller 3: [Raises voice] "We do have problem if you do not want to do

anything".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Kartar Singh Sarabha from America. Hello, brother, listen to me.

> We have many martyrs in India. Our families suffered a lot. We cannot speak in this way off the record. What I want to say is -".

Caller 3: [Raises voice] "No, you say, people only talk here, they do not care

people living in Punjab. Let us go to Punjab".

²¹³ Indian human rights activist.

²¹⁴ Amarjit Singh Khalra was a former member of the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee, an organisation that is responsible for the management of Gurdwaras (Sikh places of worship).

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No brother, I say if we go to Punjab with two hundred to three

hundred thousand individuals. You and I also accompany them. Then the picture in Punjab can change. At least, two hundred to two hundred and fifty thousand people cannot be detained".

Caller 3: "No, you are not coming to my point. First thing is you are saying we

must go back to Punjab. People make hue and cry. What is the

actual problem? Tell me in detail. Yes, tell me clearly".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No, what is the point of making a commotion and raising your

voices?"

Caller 3: "Yes. Sometimes you make connections with the ISI. The same thing

you are saying again and again, what is the difference between you

and them?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "No. No, with ISI, the name of Sikhs is being defamed at

international level. This is my point and its very amazing. [Raises voice] Yes, brother please listen to one thing. PHD was killed. PHD was martyred in Pakistan. He was shot. Do you know who PHD

was?"

Caller 3: "See brother, I know everything. There is nothing like this. I am also

from the same field".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Well. Let me finish my point regarding PHD. PHD was killed. The

Singhs sitting in Pakistan do know about this. But the Indian media

found out first who killed him".

Caller 3: "Friend, I am talking on a referendum topic, while you are talking on

a different topic. We have just casted votes there".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Do not talk about those votes. I am talking about a different point.

Please, do not drag the issue of elections. I am talking about different point and you are talking on different things regarding

votes [interrupted]"

Caller 3: [Shouts] "No, just focus on your point".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "Listen, I had been promoting votes in your cities from last

four years".

Caller 3: "Yeah".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "You are talking about votes? What nonsense are you talking about

brother? Dedicated voting channels did not even exist at that time".

Caller 3: "Well, so if you had been preaching for four years, what went wrong

now? Why do not you support now?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "The point is, we are silenced now because people fight with us

when we go there".

Caller 3: "No, but [interrupted]".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "You do not even know about the topic and you are talking

about it on television".

Caller 3: [Indecipherable]

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "Why are you shouting at me? I did a show with them just a

day ago. Hello, just listen to me. On the 28^{th} I was hosting a KTV

show with six people, Deepinderjit, Rana etc."

Caller 3: "Prove it, just prove that point".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "Hello, brother just listen to me. Please listen to me, you

are in big illusion. Votes are on 31st. On the 28th I hosted a show of two hours with those six individuals. And what do you think why I

kept silent on the channel?"

Caller 3: "No friend, that was not my point".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "I know what your point of issue is. And now you want to

discuss 2020. I did not even talk about 2020".

Caller 3: "You should have talked about it now; You should talk at least".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "When did I speak about 2020? I did not even mention it".

Caller 3: [Shouts] "No, you were talking about it earlier. They are fighting

with each other".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Oh brother, just listen to me. You must have an agenda, my

brother. You just answer my one question. The Americans were given access to KTV for four years. Just ask them if they had access to KTV or not? It was running live for up to seven to ten hours continuously during the night. The channel was banned because of them. Not once, but two to three times. But you are talking on some

other track".

Caller 3: "I am talking on the same track, which you do not wish to join".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "No, you must come on the same track, you can discuss this

freely. So, come easily".

Caller 3: "If you have done live earlier, you had given access, what went

wrong now?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Because the problem is [interrupted]. Listen carefully. Listen in

detail".

Caller 3: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I did a programme with six people on the 28th".

Caller 3: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Promos ran for two months on this channel".

Caller 3: "Yes".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Prior to that there were three programmes conducted live at

night".

Caller 3: "Well. Yeah".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "I got late when the roof of our house collapsed on the 31st and my

mother suffered injuries. I sent a message at 11am that I will become late due to the problem in our house. The roof has

collapsed, and I started at three and reached at six. People swore at

me once I reached there".

Caller 3: "Well".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "If you are a great man and you have a big heart, then what about

my insult?"

Caller 3: "You just listen to me".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "You can enquire about my insult. Just listen to the

recording; this person has insulted you and you did not utter even a

single word".

Caller 3: [Shouts] "Just disclose his name".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "His name is Rana. Yes Rana who has left. All these people

are witnesses. When I had taken interviews of these four to five

people –".

Caller 3: "Friend. Oh, my friend, you are blaming that person".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "But friend, none of their teammates utter a single word. I

have been promoting them from the last four years".

Caller 3: [Shouts] "Friend. Oh, my friend, you are blaming that person".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: "Oh hello, just listen to me".

Caller 3: [Shouts] "What kind of person you are?"

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "Hello, they threaten me. They threatened me to teach me

a lesson".

Caller 3: [Shouts] "Threats to you! You are no like a king of Patiala who is

being threatened".

Jagjit Singh Jeeta: [Shouts] "No, those persons threaten me, I do not know whether I or

they are king of Patiala. They just threaten to see me. I am daring them to speak with me. Then I kept my mouth shut. Now tell me what your answer is? [Long pause] King of Patiala, I have seen many heroes like you. Everything will become crystal clear in due course. Everybody is playing his own politics. What pain is in your heart now? For four years I went to Germany, Belgium, many other towns, Italy, Switzerland to promote the programme, didn't I? Promotions ran for one and a half month prior to the voting day on the 31st. Deepinderjit can prove that the promotions were broadcast, did they not? I did four shows. Initially three shows in the first week and then the last one of two hours long on the 28th. Do you have less problems in your home that you're calling from France or wherever? If you have a problem in your house, do you solve it first or go there? When we reach there, people shouted at us. We did not say anything, we kept silent. If I have had said something wrong, then it could have been my fault. Fine, the person insulted me. But no one ever said that our person is wrong. Now you are labelling me as King of Patiala. [Laughs] I think you are King of Patiala. Now I have also come to know your limits. You had to go pass nonsensical comments about people who were not even named at the last minute. This is the best you can do? Is this all you can do? We are conducting a programme on a different topic and you are dragging it in some other direction. Where did Kartar Singh Sarabha go from Punjab from America? Where did martyr Udham Singh go? Who did Sant Jarnail Singh and other warriors fight for? Where did the people who got training from Pakistan fight? Punjab or somewhere else? Do not pass statements in the air like this. If you have any grudges just vent them out. You have my number too; you can call anytime. Do not talk in this way. King of Patiala. I am not a king of Patiala. I do not feel any need to become the King of Patiala. I do not know what the problem is with you. You are delusional if you think you will become big by your nonsense talk. There are fifty others like you here. If you have the guts, call and show your face to me. There are many crazy people like you.

Firstly, tell me one thing regarding ISI of Pakistan, are the people under its control in Pakistan or not? Tell me. Are people in Pakistan under the control of India's RAW or not? If you have the answer, then tell me. If you don't then tell me. Do you know the names of the

police inspectors who accompany Singhs wherever they go, the ones from Punjab who are sitting there with them? Don't they carry out bomb blasts in Punjab or not? What are you saying, my friend? Have some wisdom. Use your brain at least. Be a little wise. It is our duty to educate the people of Punjab. Nobody takes names over there. Nobody takes names. We are raising our voice overseas. We just create noise. I understand it will raise my level. Children are detained and so his mother. What was the fault of the mother? [Points at the camera] Was she also a Khalistani? Alright, the young man talked about community. He talked about Khalistan. He talked about Sant Jarnail Singh. Did the poor mother talk about it? She has been arrested. And you are ready for your tomorrow's shift and you will resume your business. My business will also resume. You are talking big. Whose responsibility is this? During his time Sant Jarnail Singh held the hands of his people. If anyone is in trouble, we hold their hands. So, thank you very much. Let me tell you one important point, those with 2020 affiliations, please do not call me in my programme nor I am interested in this. When there was no existence of your channel, I promoted it for four years. I have done a live telecast of Akhand Path²¹⁵ in Italy for sixty hours. I did three live telecasts of three Akhand Path from here for two hundred hours. Do not talk like that. Well, that is fine. They are our friends. We are doing our work, let them do theirs. But with me, on our TV, please confine to our topics on the programme. Thanks.

Let me take leave from you now. Everything is fine now, and I hope you will cherish your time. And last but not least, the person who was calling again and again from France, give my number to him so that he can talk to me and discuss any problems he might have with me. I will pacify him. You think you are so smart; you think your nonsense will make you reputable. Don't worry. The day will come. We are all here. I am here and you are also here. With God's grace, everything will soon become crystal clear. Many people came and many have gone. Thank you very much. Continue watching TV and let me take leave from you. Waheguruji Ka Khalsa Waheguruji Ki Fateh".

²¹⁵ Akhand Path is a continuous reading of the Sikh holy book: Guru Granth Sahib.