

Structural Exclusion and Farmers Movement

Empirical Observations from Borderlands

Dawinder Kaur



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Dedication

To the People and Farmers of the border villages
Who are bravely struggling for their cause.

Acknowledgments

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Preface

India is celebrating the 75th years of independence of the country and highlighting its glories and success stories. But the people of borderlands who are the most sufferers of the effects of partition still are helpless to face numerous problems and remained stayed away from realizing the true spirit of independence. Since 1947, these people have been ignored by the governments as the priority of the latter is the security and integrity of the nation at all cost. Majority of the residents of the borderlands belong to villages and their occupation of farming and their agricultural land exist along with the International border. The non-cordial relations between India and Pakistan lead to the tight vigil of the security forces of the Government of India to secure its boundaries. Because of the security related developments followed by the government, the farmers are facing hardships for completing the farming activities. They cannot complete their occupational task by their own will as the farmers of the non-border villages of Punjab. This book highlights that how the border related structural and non-structural developments have impact on the different aspects of the lives of the border residents in general and farmers in particulars. Secondly in such a difficult scenario, no political powers that may be Center or state level could redress their temporary and permanent issues. Therefore, the farmers could avail only option of organizing and uniting to solve their problems.

As the process of farmers' movement is the part and parcel of the agrarian community in Punjab and they have memorable experience of struggles for redressing their issues. So this phenomena is discussed at appropriate length.

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Understanding the Basic Concepts: An introduction

Peasant movements are important variants of social movements. Conventionally social movements have broadly been perceived as organized collective mobilization to bring about change in the thoughts, beliefs, values, attitudes, relationships and major institutions in society, or to resist changes in any of the above structural elements of society, Touraine emphasized that social movements are characterized by the realization of historicity, by self-conscious awareness and collective identity. Social Movements grow around relationships of new social identity that are voluntarily conceived 'to empower' members in defence of this identity. By challenging the dominant assumptions of the social order, social movements develop new ideas that are fundamental to the process of human creativity. Allan Scott another social scientist discusses that social movements are manifested both for the articulation of common interest and a common identity. However, the resources mobilizations theorists highlight that the participation in the social movement is not guided by the sentiments, emotions and ideologies but by the logic of cost and the benefit of collective actions and the scope gratification of political and material interest of the participations. In Indian context, these have been the process of transformation of social movements from that of the intensive phase of radical action to institutionalization. (Dhangare 20)

Social movements are usually defined as organized groups of people mobilized from below in pursuit of goals that challenge the established order especially that of besides the dynamic of change; identity and interest a social movement also encounters the process of its own states and political parties running the state. By this definition the social movements are autonomous of the state and their goal is to change society or parts of it or other relations crucial to them. The social movements are based on and express social and other conflicts. They differ from local protest groups by being more permanent and also by their potential to appeal to groups of people beyond a particular reality. (Lindberg 98)

Social movements are type of group action. They are large informal groupings of individuals and organizations focused on specific political or social issues in other words, carrying out, resisting or undoing a social change. The term "social movement" was introduced in 1850 by the German

sociologist Lorenz Von Stein in his book entitled “History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present”. Modern Western social movements became possible through the education and increased mobility of labour due to the industrialization and the urbanization of 19th century societies. It is argued that the freedom of expression, education and relative economic independence prevalent in the modern western culture is responsible for the unprecedented number and scope of various contemporary social movements.

Several key processes lie behind the history of social movements. The process of urbanization which created large cities facilitated social interaction between scores of people. It was in cities where people of similar goals could find each other, gather and organize that those early social movements first appeared. In the same manner the process of industrialization which gathered large masses of workers in the same region was responsible for many of those early social movements addressing matters important to the social class. Social movements have been and continue to be closely connected with democratic political systems. Sometimes social movements have been involved in democratizing nations but more often they have flourished after democratization. (Sharma iii)

Social movements are usually comprised of groups outside of institutional power that use non-conventional methods (e.g. street marches, sit-ins, dramatic media events) along with more conventional ones (petitions, letter-writing, campaigns etc.) to pursue their aims. (Paul 603)

Social movements are change oriented political formations often using tactics such as different actions with loose and informal organizational structures. They are organized around ideas which give the individuals who adhere to the movement new forms of social and political identity. They have proved a new means of introducing new ways of thinking to political agenda. (McLean 499-500)

Social movements in the developing countries are manifested in different socio-political context. The anti-colonial workers, peasants and localized ethnic movements were the dominant forms with the diverse political connotations. The nationalist spirit was the most appealing force for the population in anti-colonial movement, while the workers and peasants’ movements were mostly organized along the lines of Marxian philosophy of class struggle. In the post-World-War II period, success of the workers and the peasants’ movements in China, Vietnam, Cuba and then Soviet

Union became the guiding force for the workers and peasants in the third world countries. (Shigaroy 5505)

Social movements are analysed in a quite different manner by various sociologists and historians. One approach is that of the resource mobilization theorists, for example, the work of Tilly, Oberschall and Jenkins. They focus on the ability of the movements to organize social and material resources in terms of organization, interests, concentrating on how movements are able to shape social and material organization, in terms of interests, resources, opportunities and strategies to account for large scale mobilizations. They view that social movements must be understood in terms of a conflict model of collective action and there is no fundamental difference between institutional and non-institutional collective action. Both entail conflicts of interest built into institutionalized power relations. The collective action involves the rational pursuit of interest by groups. The goals and grievances are prominent products of power relations and cannot account for the formation of movements. This depends instead on changes in resources, organization and opportunities for collective action. Success is evidenced by the recognition of the group as a political actor or by increased benefits. Mobilisation involves large scale, special purpose, and bureaucratic formal organization.

Social movements are continuously working on and articulating existing social relations and culture interpretations. They are not just expressions or representations of given classes or social groups or cultural configurations, they also create social conflicts, social relations and culture in a dialectical way. Social movements are composite phenomena comprising many social relations, world view and identities, about which there is a contrast negotiations. They are volatile and have challengeable structure. (Lindberg 98)

The term peasant movement consists of two concepts, that is, peasant and movement. The term 'peasant' and 'peasantry' in addition to their political usage have been used in social sciences for the description and analysis of types of rural society with reference to a wide range of geographical settings and historical periods. (Saul and Woods 103)

Peasant refers to the people and communities who are peasants. The peasant is a modern English term which comes from French and Latin terms referring to residents of an administrative district. In modern times the term has come to refer primarily to small- scale agriculturists who live in

villages and small towns in rural areas. The peasant communities are typically based economically on the cultivation of grains and other high yielding plant foods. The peasants typically produce their crop with simple technology in which the work is done by human labour and use of farm animals. Unlike the farmers who usually employ some labour to cultivate large crops primarily for sale in markets, peasants are typically small scale producers who consume much of each crop that they produce. (Kearny 195)

According to Oxford English Dictionary, peasant is one who works on the land either as a small farmer or as a labourers and one who relies for his subsistence mainly on the produce of his own labour and that of his household and forms part of a large culture and society in which he is subject to the political control of outside groups; also largely a rural labour. (Eliot 402)

The peasant is a generic term which denotes the people engaged in agriculture and related professions. Kathleen Gough attempts to define the term in more definite terms. She suggests that peasants are people engaged in agriculture or related production with primitive means and who surrender part of their produce to landlords or agents of state. This definition reflects the underdog position of the peasantry who has a relative subservience to the state or intermediary landlord. The peasant societies are not having monolithic character. There is large number of variations in terms of hierarchy, mutual relationship, organization and cultural level. As rural societies rooted in locality, they differ on all the above counts but more particularly in their relation with outside world and authority. As they are rooted in tradition, the peasant societies are essentially conservative. (Gough 3)

In sociological and social anthropological literature peasants are widely described as culturally unsystematic, unreflective, unsophisticated and the non –literati constituting the mosaic of the little tradition the incomplete and the part society with part cultures Politically they are found to occupy an underdog position and subjected to the domination by outsiders and unorganized and deprived of the knowledge required for organized collective action. In economic term they are identified to the small producers for their own consumption, subsistence and cultivators who produce predominantly for the need of the family rather than to make a profit. Historically, the peasants have always borne the brunt of extreme forms of subordination and oppression in society.

However, specific socio-economic conditions of their existence have largely shaped the role of the peasantry in social change and transformation. (Shagari 5508)

The first systematic attempt to define the concept of peasant came from Kroeber (1948). He claims that peasant constitutes part societies with part culture. They are definitely rural yet live in relation to market towns. They form a class segment of a large population. They lack isolation, the political economy, the self-sufficiency, but their local units retain much of their old identity integration and attachment to soil and cults. Later Firth found the term peasant primarily on economic referent and observed that his primary means of livelihood is cultivation of the soil. He also identified similar characteristics with other small scale producers such as fishermen, craftsmen and included in his conception and claimed they are the same social class as the agriculturists and often members of the same families. Redfield (1953) that clarified the word peasant points to a human type. There were no peasants before the first cities and those surviving primitive people who do not live in terms of the society are not peasants. According to him, larger society of which peasants are part is urban society. He also talked of great and little tradition for distinguishing the urban culture with peasant culture. Chayanov (1960) and Teodor Shanin (1966) take more or less similar stand on peasant family farm. In the Teodor Shanin's view, peasantry consists of small agricultural producers who with the help of simple equipment and labour of their families produce mainly for their own consumption and for the fulfilment of obligations to the holders of political and economic power. The produce from the farm meets the basic consumption needs of the peasant family and gives the peasant relative independence from other producers and from the market. He claims family farm is the basic unit of peasant ownership, consumption and social life. At the time of crisis the peasant households are able to maintain their existence by increasing their effort and reducing their consumption. (Gurusami 7-8)

According to John Duncan Powell, a peasant society is composed of settled rural peoples, engaged for the most part in agricultural production, whose productive activities and culturally distinct characteristics are influenced, shaped or determined to a significant extent by powerful outsiders. (Silverman 26)

The thinkers of Marxian tradition also present their views on peasantry. In the views of Marx, the small-holding peasants for a vast population, the member of which live in similar conditions but

without entering into manifold relations with one another. Their mode of production isolates them from one another instead of bringing them into mutual intercourse. The isolation is increased by bad means of communication and by the poverty of the peasants. Their field of production, the small holdings, admits of no division of labour in its cultivation, no application of science and therefore, no diversity of development, no variety of talent, and no wealth of social relationships. Each individual peasant family is almost self-sufficient. It itself directly produces the major part of its consumption and thus acquires its means of life more through exchange with nature than in intercourse with society. Karl Marx believed that as far as the peasant/ families who live under similar economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests, their culture from those of other classes and when there is merely a local interconnection among these small holdings peasants and the identity of their interests begets no community, no national bound and no political organization among them and they do not form a class. They are consequently incapable of enforcing their class interest through a parliament or through a convention. They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented. Their representative appear as their master, as an authority over them, and protects them against the other classes. He claimed that they are sack of potatoes, idiotic class, representing barbarism in the midst of civilization. (Soul & Woods 230)

Lenin and Mao differentiated the peasantry or agrarian classes in terms of means of production, labour exploitation on the basis of wage, usury, rent and market forces. Lenin and Mao's conception on peasant has differentiation in terms of means of production and exploitation served for theoretical formulation to identify various classes in the peasantry. Barrington Moore (1977) tried to look at the class of peasantry in terms of super subordination and subordination. (Gurusami 8-9)

Historically, peasants have had paradoxical social identities. In social science literature they have been depicted on the one hand as reactionary, conservative, awkward, homologous, incomplete part society and dependent and on the other hand as revolutionary, progressive, self- conscious, heterogeneous and self-sufficient social categories with the potential for autonomous action. These paradoxes have been emerged due to the diverse economic formations and social and political transformations those have taken place in these peasant societies. (Shigaroy 17)

Peasants in India broadly represent a vast mass of landless agricultural labourers, share croppers, tenants, poor artisans and small and marginal cultivators having a close social interface with the socially deprived, such as the scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, other backward classes and women. The so called 'outcastes' of the *varna* hierarchy is in the real sense from the core of the peasantry in rural-India. In the localized vocabulary, peasants are denoted by terms like "kisan", "krishak", "rotoytu", "chaashi", etc. more or less indicating cultivators who cultivate land with their own labour, and also the categories, namely, "adhiar" and "bhagchashi" (sharecropper and tenant) and "majdoor", ' collie", "patit", "krishi", "shramik", etc. agricultural labourers. These terms signify specific cultural connotations to indicate the marginalized and inferior status of Indian peasantry in Indian society. The age-old association between this lowest ritual status and low economic position has always provided basis for their socio-economic marginalization, political disempowerment. These peasants are a socially and economically marginalized, culturally subjugated and politically disempowered social groups who are attached to land to take out a substance living. (Shigaroy 5505)

The peasant in Punjab has a long history since 3000 B.C., the entry of Arians in this region. There was huge land and these people occupied it as per their requirement and they become the owners of this land. These people cultivated their land with traditional methods and techniques. With the passage of time the methods and techniques of agriculture has been changing. The peasants of Punjab are very hard-working, brave and healthy as well because of the geographical location, glorious history and congenial climate. (Singh 3-5)

According to Oxford English Dictionary the movement is an act or process of changing a situation. (Simpson and Weiner) The movement is a situation in which people change their opinion or way those they live or work or an occasion when something develops changes or happens in a particular way or direction. (Walter) The movement is a gradual development or change of an attitude, opinion or policy. According to the Collins Dictionary of the English Language the movement is an organized action of a group of people with especially religious and political ideology. In lexical parlance, a movement signifies an act or process of change in the position or perception of a particular situation. The change may be gradual, ideological and consequential. In this manner the

movement is the process of gradual change in the policy through the organized action by the people having common interests particularly the political or religious interests.

The peasant movement has been defined as any collective reaction of the peasants to their low status. The main purpose of such reactions is to bring about a transformation in the existing institutions to mitigate or minimize the problems associated with low economic and political status which are commonly found to be present simultaneously. Historically speaking, the agitations aimed at changing the land tenure system have constituted the core of peasant movements of the world, particularly in the early stage of development. (Panfday 60)

According to A.R. Desai, the terms peasant movement and agrarian movement refer to all kinds of collective attempt of different strata of the peasantry either to change the system which they felt was exploitative or to seek redress for particular grievances without necessarily aiming at overthrowing the system. (Desai 75)

Peasant movement has a specific connotation in the Indian context since farmers' movements have emerged as a different variety in recent years. At operational level, a peasant movement may be defined as an organized and collective effort of peasantry (subsistence and small producers, tenants, share croppers and agricultural labourers) to bring about change in the pattern of ownership, control and use of land, share of agricultural produce, wage structure, credit and institutional support system and in other aspects of socio-economic life that have subjugated them in agrarian society. (Shigaroy 18) Peasant movements can broadly be categorized as 'radical' or 'reformative', depending on their particular combination with ideology, form of mass mobilisation, and orientation towards change. Radical movements are those that use non-institutional mass mobilisation, guided by an ideology of rapid change in social structure, though these movements are short-lived, they may spread over a large geographical area. A reformative peasant movement in contrast, uses institutional mass mobilisation, is guided by an ideology of gradual social change, and tends to exhibit a longer life span. Peasant movements are not directly radical or reformative rather one may be an extension of another over a period of time. (Shigaroy 5507)

An institutional peasant movement is always initiated and guided by the peasant organization. Any organization formed by the peasants is a peasant organization, and this may include labour unions,

farmer associations and community organizations that are interested in advancing both the class as well as the production interests of the peasants. (Alexander 13) In a vast country like India there are not only regional variations but also historical and situational contexts. Since the issues arose in different peasant uprisings, their locality, caste and class composition varied, it is hazardous to generalize. (Vishavnath 118)

Generally, the peasants movement in India may be categorized as Pre-modernist and modernist movements in which the latter represents the transcendence of material and industrial values by a new set of post-material value. The peasant movements in India may be categorized into two categories on the basis of different issues in different time periods. These are as land to tiller peasant movements and remunerative prices peasant movements. The land to tiller was the slogan of the peasants' movement organized around the major contradiction in a land- lord dominated class-divided agrarian society. The basis of these peasants' movement was mainly the contradiction between landed and non-landed groups. There were number of demands of these movements like land-reform, rent reduction and place to stay (the demand for house plots).The peasants' movement since independence was of this nature and was organized by the land –hungry peasants, that is, landless labourers small tenants, and poor peasants pre-dominant in the mass base. The landed groups had to form counter organizations both in order to defend their interests and to wean off small and middle peasants from the influence of such radical movements. (Lindberg 99)

Since the late seventies the rural political scene in India has been dominated by another type of movement, that is, remunerative- prices type movements. These movements did not suddenly spring into existence and many of them are as old as organizations which have experienced renewed activities and recruitment. The remunerative prices movements have not acted only on the issue of agricultural produce but also on the price of agricultural inputs like fertilizers, electricity and terms of credits from state owned and state sponsored financial institutions. These movements articulate interests which are related to commodity producing peasantry, i.e. the peasantry which is not only producing commodities but which is also using commodities as inputs. The peasantry is now linked to a market where to a significant degree price formation is influenced by the state which regulates the conditions of reproduction of the peasantry. The condition on

which the new peasant movements act is therefore one between the state and the peasantry. It is the state which is seen as the main target of agitation and not the local land-lords as in the traditional type of peasant movement.

In this manner the old peasants' movement primarily acted on the contradiction between landed and land hungry groups and the new peasants' movement act on that between the state and the peasantry.

But the farmers' movement in the borderland in Punjab may be considered exclusively different from the pre-existing ones but it might be fall in the theoretical paradigm of the deprivation theory of social movement as the farmers of border villages have been deprived of the source of their livelihood that is agriculture land. Furthermore, the deprivation is of different type, permanent deprivation of the land because of the acquisition of the agricultural land for the structural developments like the creation of international border, establishment of border out posts, constructing of paths along with the international border for the movement of BSF, erecting of barbed fencing etc. On the other side they also been deprived of the free access to their agricultural land for occupational activities. No doubt the farmers faced relative deprivation as this section of the farmers are disadvantageous position as compare to their counterparts that is the farmers of non-border villages of Punjab due to their geographical settings.

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Review of Literature: An Analytical Approach

The social movements has a long history of existence since centuries though in different form and different objectives at different periods of time. The structure of society, political settings, discriminations on varied grounds and dissatisfaction of the people from the political regimes and social practices might be the principal causes of the social movements. The Commitment and determination of the participants, reaction from the political authorities and support of the public determine the success and achievements of particular movement.

Rao in his book attempts to analyze the different types of social movements such as peasant movements, Backward Classes Movements, Religious and Sectarian Movements, Tribal Movements and Women Movements. He also highlights the conceptual problems in the study of social movements. He emphasizes that the character of social movements as an instrument of social change is quite different from an imitative or emulative process of mobility and change. The social mobility and change brought by social movement are based on challenge, protest, confrontation, aggression and revolt as opposed to acquiescence, request, obedience and loyalty. The social mobility and change brought about by social movements lead to social transformation and change the traditional balance of power.

Puri and Judge in their study focus on the notions of society and social system which orient to view the behavior of actors as indicators of given internal process system maintenance. Political movements are clearly oriented to stakes relating to power, freedom and legitimacy. Social and Political Movements are related to specific issues like affirmative action for civil rights, formation of separate state or larger long term objectives of transformation of existing social and political order. Social movements often acquire regional character due to their confinement to local conditions.

Dhanagare examines some major instances of peasant resistance and revolt that occurred in different parts of India from 1920 to 1950. These movements present a wide spectrum in terms of their structural setting, class character and historical circumstances. He discovers the various kinds of social structure and historical situations which led to the peasant movements and revolts. On the basis of goals, ideology and methods of organizations, the author categorizes various peasants' movement as atavistic or restorative, religious or millenarian, social banditry, mass insurrectionist and liberal reformist movements on the basis of goals, ideology and methods of organizations. The study concludes that peasant revolts in India have been repressed more often than they succeeded in different phases of history.

Ranga in his study brings out the role of peasant struggle in Non-Cooperation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, Quit India Movement and the movements launched in various feudal states known as State's people's Struggle to either establish constitutional governments or abolish those feudal relics perpetuated by British Rule in India in its own interest. He strives to distinguish

the struggles which were essentially meant for reducing economic, social and political oppression in local areas exhibiting an immediate, unorganized and spontaneous character from the struggles which were politically directed and which attempted to unite, transfer and elevate them from the status of being limited purely sectional and economic or other grievances into the status of larger national struggle. He emphasized the need to organize the importance of peaceful struggles, satyagrahas, marches, conferences, meetings, processions, demonstrations, various educational and training programmes and the emergence of various institutions in contributing to the growth of peasant movements and elevating peasant consciousness.

Gough in his study examines the social movements which included peasant as the sole or main force, and where class struggle against those who extracted surplus from peasants led to armed struggle in due course. She challenges those scholars who underestimate the scope and significance of Indian peasant uprisings. She disagrees with those who consider that the relative non-development of peasant movements in India as compared to China was due to the existence of the caste system and the strength of bourgeois leadership against the landlords and the British and the pacifying influence of Gandhi on the peasantry. She endeavors to classify peasant revolts during the British period into five types of actions in terms of goals, ideology and methods of organization, i.e., restorative rebellions, religious movements, social banditry, terrorist vengeance and mass insurrections. She attempts to highlight the organizing abilities, revolutionary potential and solidarity of the peasants and their determined militancy in opposing imperialism and exploitative class relations.

Singha Roy in his article discussed about the reasons of emergence, transforming of the peasants' movement in the presence of colonial power and after independence in India. The peasants' movement during the colonial period underwent through the way of transformation because of the discriminative agrarian policies and the domination of the British by inter mediatory system of land tenure in many parts of country. After the independence the peasants' movement turned to new issues, strategies and techniques in response to the new policies and programmers of the governments which were the part and parcel of reconstruction. The social measures taken by the government changed the socio-economic and even demographic status of the peasantry in India. As a result of it the nature of peasants' movement has changed due to these compulsory

transformations. The peasant mobilization in the recent years were characterized by the active and frequent participation through meetings, strikes, demonstrations, voting and voting campaigns etc. The process of transformation of peasant mobilization had a crucial impact on the relationship of peasantry with the wider society. The radical peasant movements demolish the pre-existing structure of domination. The process of institutionalization of peasants' movement which started in the pre-independence period and got its final form in the post-independence period has instituted another form of domination.

Vishwanath in his article discusses about the conceptual frameworks of the peasant movement prevailing in the colonial India. The major problem with majority of the conceptual framework is that, it is very difficult to comprehend the reality. The realities relegated in peasant movement are different among the peasant movement existing in different times of history. It was also changing during the colonial rule due to the variations in economic strategies of the British government of different times. The peasant movements differ in terms of area, issues and their mass base and techniques. The peasantry in India is divided on the basis of caste, class and status. During the colonial period and later, there were dominant caste groups in many parts of rural India. Some of these dominant castes were jats, Rajputs and Gujars in North India, *patidars*, *rajputs* and *kanbis* in Western India. They owned large land holdings and had a dominant position in the respective area. The leadership in many peasants movement was provided by the dominant caste groups.

Desai in his book attempts to provide a panoramic view of tribal and peasant struggles in India during the colonial period. He endeavors to provide a perspective of the dialectical development of the agrarian movement in India during this period. He attempted to explore the dynamic nature of various movements that emerged, revealing the methods adopted, levels of involvement of various sections, types of alliances and conflicts, ingenious devices adopted for mobilisation, organizational innovations and changing nature of issues around which struggles were launched and the nature and types of leadership which emerged in the course of agrarian struggles.

Panday in his article discusses about the origin and functioning of peasant movements in India particularly at the local level. This study was conducted in the Unao district of Uttar Pradesh because of many reasons like the higher level of agricultural growth as compared to the other areas of Uttar Pradesh and because of the strong base of the peasant movement in this district. He

elaborately discusses a number of aspects related to the origin, functioning, methods and strategies of peasant movement in his districts. He divided the history of peasant movement into full phases. In each phase he discusses the nature of the peasants' problem, the methods adapted by the peasant movements to solve the respective problem and the outcome of their problems. He also compares the peasant movements and labor movements existing in India and analyses that these two kinds of movements have a number of similarities in terms of its origin, growth and nature. The peasant movements in India suffer from internal divisions on the basis of radical and moderate ideologies. The peasants' and labors' movements grow firstly in isolation which had geographically limited protests. Later on these movements turned into peasant and general movements. Later on they came into being as two separate movements i.e. for the landowning peasants and other for the landless agricultural workers due to the difference in their interests.

Lindberg in his article discusses about the structural response and collective identity formation of the new peasant Movements in India. In 1970's the new farmer's movement or farmers' agitation became very popular and they were the political forces in various states of India. These movements dealt with the increasingly commoditized agricultural economy. The governments regularized the agrarian economy by supplying many agricultural inputs. The farmers demanded lower prices for inputs like seeds, fertilizers pesticides, lower tariffs on electricity and water, lower taxes and debt waiver. In the same manner they demanded higher prices for their products of grains, cash-crops, vegetables, milk and so on. He discusses about the two important peasant movements of India, that is Shetkari Sanghatana (Maharashtra) and Bhartya kissan Union (Uttar Pradesh). But he discusses in detail the theoretical aspects of the origin development and organizational structure of the social movements. He presents the different points of view regarding the definition of social movement. The techniques and strategies and techniques adapted by the 'new Farmers' movement is also analyzed in his articles. According to him the peasant movements mainly stressed upon the demonstrations. (*dharnas* and *gheraos*), road blocked (*rasta rokko*). In some of the states the agricultural products were withheld from market. He divides the new farmer movements in the two categories i.e. land to the tiller type and remunerative prices movements. He analyzed that new farmer movements represent a major change in rural social mobilisation. No doubt, these farmers movement have some common features of the social movement existing in the world in the same period but this similarity is in form but not in content.

Huizer in his study considers the process of destabilization and deprivation of third world peasantry as a necessary condition for peasant protests and revolts. The creative use of existing or growing contradictions between classes has been one of the main forces behind the organization of strong peasant movements. He explains that peasant movements include all kinds of spontaneous type activities of groups of peasants which reacting to conditions or change in conditions, felt as oppressive and detrimental. Such movements have taken place in almost every country and it is apparent that repression of peasantry is fairly widespread. The most vigorous peasant movements did not occur among poor peasantries but in those areas where the process of modernization was not benefiting but harming the peasantry.

Desai in his study presents a panoramic, many sided vision of the volcanic struggles in agrarian India since independence. He asserts that the struggles developing in the agrarian areas of the Indian union, do exhibit certain features which are similar to those which prevailed during the British period. They fought for different objectives, for different demands, within different classes and against different types of state machinery. He describes about how the socio-economic changes which took place after independence based on certain postulates of development have brought about the reshuffling of the agrarian classes and shaping agrarian struggles of various types.

Singha Roy writes a well- researched work on radical peasant movements and their transformation in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. He views that there has been a high concentration of schedule castes, schedule tribes and other backward classes included in the peasant categories. He considers that because of this reason peasants are characterized socially and economically unorganized as social groups. The organizations of peasantry resulted in radical mobilization in the rural areas and have socio-economic transformation potentials. The author has made a comparative analysis of various movements in terms of their specificities. The sociology of movement is analyzed in terms of the transformation in cross cultural context, the process of formation of new identities and socio-political implications of transformation of these movements from radical to institutionalization.

Alexander in his book attempts to analyse the peasant movements in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. He focuses on the study of a number of labor unions, farmers associations and the changing agrarian relations in these areas. He examines systematically the causes of the emergence

of the peasant movements, the style and pattern of their leadership, the process of mobilization of the farmers and labourers and the area in which these movements have taken place. The author emphasizes that the potential scope for the mobilization of peasantry depends upon the solidarity of organizations. In India the solidarity of the peasantry is affected by their divisions on religious, caste and tribal lines.

Singha Roy in his article discusses about the empowerment of women in terms of their participation in the peasant movements in India. He starts from defining the basic concepts such as empowerment of women and the social movements or peasant movements. He analyzes that social movements and empowerment are both social process and orientation towards change and identified ideology and strategies as the basic components of these processes. The social and economic role of women in peasant society are structured by many factors like age, traditions, beliefs, values which relegated them to the lower social status. He expresses that peasants' movement cannot be sharply categorized as radical and yet form a line movements as one may be an extension of another over a period of time. But, the radical peasant movements promise greater scope for empowerment of women by ignoring the norms, values and institutionalized bondage. The reformative peasant movements provide limited potential for women's empowerment. He emphasizes that the grass roots mobilization envisages very limited potential for women's empowerment. In the process of mobilization peasant women have been perceived as beneficiaries of development schemes and not as change agent.

Munirathna and Manjushree in their study attempts to analyse the power structure and alignments of social classes which show the form of revolutionary potential of a class that contribute to change in India. They also investigate the nature and content of peasant discontent, resistance and revolts in India. They specifically focus on the participation of middle peasant in peasant uprisings and rebellions were alone considered along with the poor peasant without throwing any light on the rich peasant. They analyzed the five peasant revolts, i.e., Oudh revolt in 1857, Deccan Revolts in 1875, Punjab Revolts in 1907, Maplah Revolts between 1836 1921 and Telangana Revolt during 1945-51.

Dhanagare in his book discusses about the farmers movement in Western India particularly in Maharashtra during 1980-4-2004. He focuses on the peasant mobilization launched by the Shetkari

Sanghathan in Maharashtra on the contemporary issues of farmers like the remunerative prices of the crops. The Shetakari Sanghathan followed a new kind of strategies to mobilize the farmers like the protest through peaceful means and *gavbandi* (the officials and politicians were not allowed to enter the villages). In addition to it, Dhanagare focuses on the class character of the movement.

Gill in his article discusses about the emergence, ideology, strategy, techniques, mass composition, role and demands of the peasants' movement in the Green revolution belt of North-West India. In the recent years the Green-revolution belt of North West India consisting of Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh Witnessed a large scale mobilization under the banner of the Bhartiya Kissan Union (BKU). The Kissan Sabhas of the CPI and CPI (M) and other new organizations either got marginalized falling in the line with the BKU. He discusses about the three factors responsible for the emergence and growth of the farmer movements in this particularly region i.e. the long history of peasant struggle and combination of both objectively and subjectively favorable conditions for organizing and shaping the present movement. In the states of Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh the politicization of the peasantry was a common process in the late 1970s and the political power in this region depends on the support of peasantry. All the political parties accommodate the members from the commodity producing farmers. The green revolution became possible in this particular region due to certain reasons. Initially the green revolution provided good gains to the all category of farmers but gradually its benefits started declining due to the drawbacks of green revolution. The outcome of this process a reduction in the process was a reduction in the profitability of the rich farmer and can increase in the deficit of the poor cultivator. These circumstances lead to the mobilization of the peasantry. The farmers organization was closely linked withdrew the political parties but sometimes the farmer movements withdrew its support from the political parties due to the failure on the part of respective political parties in the accommodation of demands of the peasantry. The peasant movement under the banner of BKU has played an important role in the democratization of the mobilization process.

Mukherjee in his book examined the role of various peasant movements in Punjab during the freedom struggle. He calls the peasants as a working enigma whose fate was controlled by authoritarians. Their history is simultaneously a study of rebellion and of silent suffering, of collective action and of individualism, of the best of traditional culture values and of barbarism of

faithful continuation of centuries old farming practices and of ready acceptance of new technologies etc. The writer focuses on the issue of transformation of peasant consciousness its desirability, its necessity, its possibility and its modality. Her analysis about the process of their transformation remains weak and incomplete.

Master Hari Singh (1984) in his book studies the role played by the Punjab peasants in the anti-imperialist movement right from sixties and seventies of the century to 1947. The author focuses on the major peasant movements which were mainly religious and reform movement but contributed to Indian liberation struggle launched by Indian National Congress. He studies the Kook Movement, the Akali Movement, Babbar Akali Movement, Ghadar Movement, Parja Mandal Movement, Anti-Colonization bill struggle in this sense. He states that how these movements influenced the British government and compelled it to change their policies from time to time through legislation.

Gajrani in his book analyzes certain aspects of agrarian unrest and agrarian movement in Punjab during the last phase of the British rule in India. The reasons and tendencies which became responsible for the emergence of peasant mobilization during this period of time lay in the society. The social stature was meted with a lot of problems like communalism, backwardness of agriculture, low industrial development etc. In addition the policies of British government regarding the agriculture were very harassing and discriminative. The peasants mainly resented against the British taxation policies. The peasantry mobilized under different peasant organization and launched agitation through different techniques against the British government. The agrarian agitation 1907 against the land revenue policy was one of the examples of such mobilization. The agrarian unrest of this phase represented the national character and became the part and parcel of the liberation movement of the country. The political parties put their efforts to gain the support of peasantry for their political interests and some of these showed their political strength on the basis of peasantry.

Mohinder Singh discusses about the peasant movement in Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) from 1948 to 1956. He tries to explain how the peasants protested against the feudal structure which was responsible for depriving them of their proprietary rights. This movement which took the shape of mass movement after the growth of National Movement transferred into

militant peasant agitation after the year of 1937. He attempts to show that this movement was based on local problems confronted by the tenant and led by the local leaders and remained successful to compel the government to legislate the laws to provide the property rights to the tenants in 1953.

Singhal and Gill in their study discusses about the recent farmers' agitation in response to the development crisis of agriculture in Punjab. They asserted that green revolution resulted into the development and progress in agriculture for big and middle peasants but brought numerous problems for the farmers having less than five acres of land. The green revolution adversely affected the small and marginal farmers who constitute the largest number in the state and they are living under the great stress. There are so many disparities in terms of income between the big and small or marginal farmers. This development crisis has created an objective situation for the rise of peasant movement in the state. A number of peasant organizations have been trying to mobilize peasantry in Punjab on the issues resulting from this crisis and Bhartiya Kissan Union is prominent among them. The peasants of the union include many general issues pertaining to rural areas and some specific problems of small farmers. The Bhartiya Kissan Union which is an anti-political party organization marginalized the other mass organization such as Kissan Sabhas of CIP in the Punjab.

C.K. Lal in his article discusses about the borders in South Asia. According to him the borders in South Asia are not less rigid than anywhere else in the world. The fundamental contradictions among these borders are the geographical unity and distinctive identities. Almost all the South Asia is a battleground of assertive and competitive identities. All the countries in South Asia have been different inter-border problems like water problem, claims over land or boundary disputes, cross border infiltration, cross border roads problem, cross border trafficking, cross border links between insurgents and illegal trade etc.

Sekhon writes that the installation of barbed fencing on the Indo-Pakistan border has brought untold and countless miseries specifically to the small farmers of this region in Punjab. The farmers whose all pieces of land either went beyond fencing or got divided into two pieces on both sides have been severely affected. The recommendations of the various committees which were established by center or state governments for the systematic installation of fencing have not been

accepted. The governments remained unable to take any action to solve the problems of affected farmers. The farmers in the border belt are not enthusiastic and they are fed up with the false promises because Border Security Forces (BSF) and other agencies come in their way while taking decisions regarding land beyond fencing.

Himal Chand in his work generalizes that border areas as backward in terms of various growth parameters particularly the inadequacy of industries mainly because of their proximity to the international border districts. The proximity creates an atmosphere of constant insecurity which acts as a deterrent to large investment. Further unemployment breeds numerous other problems.

Sekhon in his article discusses about the plight of the peasantry in the border belt of Punjab. He emphasizes on the problems of the farmers having their land beyond the barbed fencing. This article has been divided into three parts. In the first part an overview of the border belt has been given in detail. The border belt falls in the radius of sixteen kilometre's after 1998 and earlier it was within the radius of eight kilometres. There are number of border villages which do not exist in real sense but are only mentioned in the official records. The residents of these villages have been shifted to other places away from the borders to avoid the complications regarding the respective location. The condition of the farmers of border villages whose land lies beyond fencing is very miserable as their whole life is controlled by the Border Security Forces. In the second part of the article the lacking of infrastructure lacking exists in the border belt are discussed. The residents of border belt are backward in comparison to the rest of population of the Punjab as the numerous schemes of the governments have been far from the reach of border people. In the third part of this article the reasons, process and impact of the installation of the barbed fencing has been discussed in detail. The peasants whose land lies across the fencing are the critical victims of the outcomes of the barbed fencing as they have been suffering from enormous problems regarding the agricultural operation which affects each and every aspect of their socio-economic life.

Bhalla and Chadha in their study attempt to analyse the impact of green revolution on the farmers of Punjab. They study the impact of the green revolution on income generation and income distribution and also levels of living of various categories of cultivating households in Punjab. They expressed that although the green revolution brought overall prosperity for the peasantry but the small and marginal farmers were not able to obtain output per acre than the bigger farmers.

These farmers are not in a position to earn adequate per capita income from crop production because of their small land base.

Devalle and Oberio in their study give the general description of peasant protests and subsequently seek to relate these generalities to the Babbar Movement. They analyses that spontaneity and limited time spans were the major characteristics of peasant movement prevailing at that time. They look at the historical background, social base, ideology, relations with the dominant Akali movement and the official attitude of the Babbars.

Gill discusses in his article about the continuity and change of the peasants' movement in Punjab. There are several rounds of mass mobilization of the farmers in Punjab in the post-Independence period. The mobilization of the farmers in state has always been the result of certain issues having distinct characteristics and nature. He discusses all the farmers' movement since independence. He focuses on the reasons of these movements, issues, ideology, strategies methods, techniques of mobilization and the achievements. These movements are PEPSU tenants struggle (1948-52), Anti-Betterment Levy agitation 1958-59 and the mass movement under the banner of Bhartiya Kissan Union (BKU) (1978-84). The fragmented characteristics of the peasant movement are also explained. The process of mobilization in Punjab is reviewed in the context of crisis due to national and global policies for the all the factions of BKU

The farmers of the state began to face the negative impacts in terms of the income from their occupation due to the process of opening of Indian agriculture to global trading system under WTO. The 1990's saw stagnating or declining agricultural productivity of crops except wheat in the face of rising cost of production. Incomes of the smaller and marginal farmers have declined unevenly in cotton belt of Sangrur, Mansa, and Bathinda districts. The farmers have to face numerous problems and they receive the little attention due to the weak farmers' movement This has given birth to phenomenon of farmers suicide since mid-1980s. There are the signs of s revival of farmers' movements in terms of continuity and as well as change. In this process the existing organizations have started the process of mobilization of the farmers.

Singh in his book studies the role of Punjab Khetibari Zimidara Union in 1980 as a pressure group to pressurize the government to fulfil the demands of peasantry. He analyses how the Punjab Khetibari Zimidara Union originated due to enormous economic, political and cultural reasons but

the significant among them were the effect of green revolution on the each section of peasantry in the North India. This organization has its organizational structure from the village level to the state level and at each level the representatives of union have well organized strategies to achieve its objectives. The funding of this union was very reasonably collected from the representatives, members, sympathizers at the hour of need. The maximum funding was managed by the state committee of the Union. The functioning of the union was very systematic and every block and district committee was supposed to meet at least once a month. The meetings of the district and state committees were very frequent and every farmer was free to participate in their meetings. The function of the union was democratic as each farmer could influence the process of decision making. The Union's strategies of pressure or techniques were the outcome of the unrest of farmers which included agitations, *dharmas*, (sit-ins) demonstrations and *gheraos*. The Union launched a number of agitations having different targets of its pressure and launched a number of *morchas*. The Bhartiya Kissan Union played an important role in the dynamics of Punjab politics. It remained successful to meet the rising expectations and aspirations of the farmers of Punjab. All the political parties consider the influence of the union, as significant.

METHODS AND SCOPE

This is primarily an empirical study largely based on the data collected from the villages of border area in Punjab located very near to the zero line. There are six districts, that is, Pathankot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Tarn- Taran, Ferozepur and Fazilka, nine tehsils and seventeen blocks in the border districts that cover the respective villages. A total of two hundred and seventy nine villages located in the six border districts of Punjab. A systematic random sampling method has been followed to select the villages and a total of thirty one villages have been selected from the six border districts Punjab. Out of the thirty one villages three villages have been selected from the district Pathankot, four from the district Gurdaspur, six villages from the district Amritsar, eight villages from the district Tarn-Taran, six from the district Ferozepur and four from the district of Fazilka. The villages for study have been selected on the basis on the number of villages having land beyond fencing. A total of ten respondents have been selected from each village. These respondents have been selected randomly from the farmers whose agricultural land locates very near to the international border. In this manner a total of three hundred and ten respondents were

interviewed. An interview schedule has been prepared for the purpose of interview. A pilot study is also conducted to test the interview schedule. In addition to it, the secondary sources such as books, journals and newspapers are also be part of the study to explain, examine and analyse the historical perspective of farmers' movements and to understand the basic concepts.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significant aspect of this study is that the topic under study has hardly been explored. The peasantry in Punjab has been passing through a crucial phase due to adversely affected global and national policies. The farmers in the border belt are compelled to suffer a number of additional problems regarding the agriculture operation and their access to their land. They have to face numerous problems to produce any crop in their fields due to the restrictions put up by the Border Security Forces. The farmers of border belt have no option but to face so many day to day problems due to their geographical location. The governments are focusing on the security of the country and to check all the illegal activities on the Indo-Pak borders but ignore the crises of the farmers resulting out of the security measures such as the installation of barbed fencing. The study highlights the political mobilization of the farmers of the border belt in Punjab. The compulsions and problems of these farmers oriented them towards the farmers' movement.

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Borders: Theoretical and Practical Observations

The term border can be understood from very different perspectives, and it may be the object of study in diverse scholarly disciplines such as history sociology, anthropology, archeology or political geography among many others. The first approaches to frontier and border research appeared in history-related subjects and date back to the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Supported by the emergence and spread of the social science, two events in modern history procured important inputs to studies about borders and marked a profound development in concepts and understanding of frontiers: the process of decolonization in the 1960s and the fall of the Berlin wall and the resulting changes to the geopolitical map of Europe. These two events shifted and created new borders- not only in the narrow sense of the term. (Chrzanowska: 2017:53)

The boundary line which separates one country from another or the frontier line is called border. The boundary serves to indicate the bounds and limits of anything whether material or immaterial. (Simpson and Wiener 3489) Borders are traditionally defined as international boundaries between nation states. Borders can alienate along natural divisions such as mountain ranges or rivers or they can be artificially created. The governments demarcate the significant portions or all parts of the border with actual makings such as fences, posts or border checkpoints. (Weigand 354)

Territorial borders may be peripheral element in the physical delimitation of states, however they are an essential component, to the actual state and that which it represents, as they have been for thousands of years. The delimitation, demarcation, reconfiguration and removal of borders has been present along the history of civilization, generally reflecting the socio-economic, cultural, religious and political context they emerge from, which gives them changing meanings, significance and purpose in each movement of space and time is something of what Jacques Ancel meant when he said borders were invested with a thousand realities. We find various examples of the setting up of borders all throughout history, such as the Chinese and Roman Empire that defined the limits of civilization, clearly excluding the Barbarians. (Lange 34:2012)

The evolution of the study and the discussion of the concept of border can be traced in the modern thinking in the birthplace of geopolitics with Friedrich Ratzel's conceptualization. According to his theory the border would constitute the outer layer of the state, just as the epidermis is the outer layer of a living organism. The Ratzel's theory is the integral part of his theory of state. According to him,

the state would be stronger if their core and borders maintained close ties, thus his concern for strategic boundaries. (Painter & Jeffery, 149)

In the modern world, borders can be easily recognized in all their aspects. Doubtless, the need to mark the ownership of an area or a zone of jurisdiction was not weaker in ancient societies than it is today. However, for practical reasons, such level of technology development at the time and the resulting limited physical possibilities, its realization may have different **aspects**.

Lord Curzon described the two kinds of boundaries-natural and artificial. Natural boundaries depend upon the physical features of earth's space. He also introduced the idea of frontier of separation and contact which was developed by other scholars like Fawcett and East. According to Fawcett one dominant feature of the frontier is the transition. The frontiers existed to safeguard and protect the state but also to allow the interaction between the populations of adjacent areas. (Prescott, 1965)

Events in 2011 such as the biblical exodus of refugees on the Italian island of Lampedusa or the decision of the Danish government to reinstate border controls have underscored the ongoing significance of borders in Europe. To date however, there has been little agreement in academia on what borders actually are and border studies remain under-theorized. The most prominent feature of the approaches relating to the border studies is the interdisciplinary of the subject. After the collapse of socialism the interest of different scholars of various disciplines like political science, international relations, sociology, anthropology, history and geography enhanced in the border studies. To this day, however, border studies remains a composite of many disciplines and has yet to yield a unified theoretical framework generally accepted by the diverse community of border scholars. (Sendhardt 21)

Territorial borders have existed for millions of years. Defined, removed and redefined, they accompany the history of civilization. In different movements of time and space, borders encompass a particular significance, meaning and purpose, reflecting the social, economic, cultural and political context that defines them and they end up conveying. In Europe, 20th century alone has seen remarkable changes in the concept and definition of border. In the beginning of this century, borders represented very clearly the end of the sovereignty of one state and the beginning of another, presenting themselves as a barrier to the free flow of goods, capital and people. The second half of this century, though brings forth the European Union, with revolutionary concepts of state borders, proposing that these should be permeable and therefore more symbolic. (Lange 54-60)

The borderline locations do not always lead to underdevelopment. As many borderline regions are known to function as gateway regions, having attained at least the average, or even higher levels of development. The development possibilities of border region depend upon primarily interstate relations. If relations are cordial, border regions become meeting points of different cultures, languages, ethos, that can help to establish trust between nations, leading to the emergence of gateway regions. On the other side, borders between hostile states are impermeable and the possibilities of conflicts frighten away the development project and potential investors and thus the economy of the region suffers. (Basci and Kovaes 154) A territorial dispute exists when one state challenges the recognized location of a border. Some of the best-known border disputes have been between India and Pakistan, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Israel and Lebanon, China, and Vietnams. The borderline locations do not always lead to underdevelopment. As many borderline regions are known to function as gateway regions, having attained at least the average, or even higher levels of development. The development possibilities of border region depend primarily upon interstate relations. If relations are cordial, border regions become meeting points of different cultures, languages, ethos, that can help to establish trust between nations, leading to the emergence of gateway regions. On the other side, borders between hostile states are impermeable and the possibilities of conflicts frighten away the development project and potential investors and thus the economy of the region suffers. (Basci and Kovaes 154)

National border are political constructs, imagine projections of territorial power. The terms borders and borderlands indicating the limits of social groups are as old as human history. Borders became markers in two ways. First, they revealed the territorial consolidation of states. Second, border became markers of the actual power that states wielded over their own societies. Leaders of the new states adopted the ambitious goal of making the state the dominant force in their societies, but to what extent could they really impose their jurisdiction on the people.

Territorial borders may be a peripheral element in the physical delimitation of states. In many cases it may be argued that pre-modern boundaries were not exact and well defined as today's. They would have been defined and then made known with a strong experience of the actual territory. They may not have been clearly seen and policed constantly, but they were there, defined mysteriously and respected scrupulously.

Modernity brings forth a new concept of political organization, centered on the state and national sovereignty. This narrative is largely legitimized by the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, that lays out international system of states, a new paradigm affirmed over previous ones, in which boundaries an important role to play in the definition of this new order.(Lange 35)

The different types of border regions may be categorized differently on the basis of geopolitical considerations. The alienated border lines are characterized by tensions of two sides' instability and insecurity due to the hostilities and the conflicting interests between two sides. Mutually cooperating border line areas signify stable and well established relationship across the border and integrated border areas have a strong and permanent stability along with this functionally merged economies and free flow of people and goods across the border. (Basci and Kovaes 152)

The borders are very critical to handle. There are claims and counter claims over land across international borders. Consequently, the border areas are most neglected in terms of infrastructure and economic development. People on both sides have to fight for survival. (Statesman 6) Borders are important to states both in actual and symbolic terms. In actual terms, border protects the state and its population from foreign intrusions and potential threats. Borders are often secured to prevent political attack from hostile neighbouring states or individuals. In symbolic terms, borders act as a clear indicator to neighbouring states that they should not interfere in the governing of territory beyond the border. A key component of sovereignty is territorial control as delineated by a state borders. (Weigand 355) A territorial dispute exists when one state challenges the recognized location of a border. Some of the best-known border disputes have been between India and Pakistan, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Israel and Lebanon, China, and Vietnams.

The borderline locations do not always lead to underdevelopment. As many borderline regions are known to function as gateway regions, having attained at least the average, or even higher levels of development. The development possibilities of border region depend primarily upon interstate relations. If relations are cordial, border regions become meeting points of different cultures, languages, ethos, that can help to establish trust between nations, leading to the emergence of gateway regions. On the other side, borders between hostile states are impermeable and the possibilities of conflicts frighten away the development project and potential investors and thus the economy of the region suffers. (Basci and Kovaes 157)

Borders create political social and cultural distinctions, but simultaneously imply the existence of networks and system of interaction across them. The drawing of borderlines and the creation of borderlands are the outcome of the establishment of modern states all over the world. The wish for well- defined, fixed boundaries was a direct consequence of the idea of exclusive and uncontested territorial state power that emerged in the nineteenth century. Jorge Bustamante has argued that from the perspective of national centers of authority, the borders between countries is a sharp line, an impenetrable barrier. But from the perspective of the border, borderlands are broad scenes of intense interactions in which people from both sides work out every day accommodations based on face to face relationships. (Band & Schendel 216)

When looking back at the recent history of border studies, one is immediately struck by its interdisciplinary. Following the collapse of socialism in central and Eastern Europe, interest in borders increased in various academic disciplines including political science, international relations, sociology, anthropology, history and geography. However, border studies remains a composite of many disciplines and has yet to yield a unified theoretical framework generally accepted by the diverse community of border scholars. Driving the renaissance of border studies were the effects of globalization and the end of the static West –East dichotomy after 1989. Globalization increased the permeability of borders. The ideas, goods, people and capital move across borders more easily than ever before. An extreme interpretation of these phenomena is Ohmae’s borderless world” where the state borders and state itself have become meaningless having withdrawn to make room for a world dominated by marketplaces. On the other hand, 1990’s also saw an increase in states and with them state borders. The multiethnic and multiregional states broke up, and ethnic conflicts led to violent wars in Yugoslavia. The European map became dotted with many new states and it seemed as if the importance of state borders has been reasserted. (Sendhardt 21)

The first two decades of the twenty-first century have witnessed important changes in the way borders are managed in Europe. While the late 1980s and 1990s were marked by borders across the continent becoming easier to cross, the early years of the 2000s were characterized by a double process of softening and hardening borders (i.e. simultaneous de-bordering and re-bordering processes, or even co-bordering). On the one hand, thirteen new member states have joined the European Union (EU) in the early 2000s. Most of them have also joined the Schengen Agreement through which participating countries allow border control free travel between each other. This development has not

just significantly changed the EU's territorial shape and external borders, but also meant a massive internal de-bordering. (Swenson 1) For a long time, the study of borders was focused on state borders as static ontological entities with predominantly physical features, but the past two decades have seen sea change in the study of borders. During the recent history of border studies, there has been a shift from the consideration of borders as mere geographical demarcations to a perspective that emphasizes the changing meaning of borders, different types of borders with different functions, and the social constructions of borders. The new perspective shifted the focus onto process-like and socially constructed qualities of borders. The ontological question of what a border is became gradually replaced by the question of how borders are socially constructed, thus shifting the focus from the border to the process of bordering. (Sendhardt 24)

A borderland is usually understood as the region in one nation significantly affected by an international border. Borders create political, cultural and social or cultural distinctions, but simultaneously imply the existence of (new) networks and systems of interactions across them.

The border region may be divided into different categories:

1. **Border Heartland:** Here the social networks are shaped directly by the border and dominated by its existence.
2. **Intermediate Borderland:** This kind of region always feels the influence of the border but in intensities varying from moderate to weak.
3. **Outer Borderland:** This region only under specific circumstances feels the effect of border.

The meaning and consequences of borders change over time, and historically the varying role and significance of borderland cannot be ignored. To highlight the temporal aspect of borders and borderlands we may use an organic metaphor with a long tradition in border studies that of the life cycle. We can distinguish five stages in the life cycle of borders.

1. **The Infant Borderland:** The first stage in the border life cycle is the infant borderland which exist just after the borderline has drawn. Preexisting social and economic networks are still clearly visible and people on both sides of the border are connected by close kinship links. National identities are still vague and undefined. Regional inhabitants can opt for a future on either side of the borderland. Some groups may cherish the hope that the new boundary may disappear. The border is still a potentiality rather than a social reality.

2. **Adolescent Borderland:** This is the next stage. The border now has become an undeniable reality, but its genesis is still recent and many people remember the period before it existed.
3. **Adult Borderland:** Social networks now implicitly accept and follow the contours of the border. Cross border social and kin relations may continue to exist but they become scarcer and are increasingly viewed as problematic.
4. **Declining Borderland:** This is the result of the border losing its political importance. New cross or supra border networks emerge often initially economic in character and these are no longer seen as threat to the state. The decline of borderland can be fairly a peaceful process: the border gradually withers away losing its importance for both neighboring states as well as for the population of the borderland.

7. Defunct Borderland: When a border is abolished and physical barriers between two sides of the border are removed. Border- induced networks gradually fall apart and are replaced by new ones that take no account of old divisions.

This developmental model of borderlands is not completely satisfactory because of its evolutionary and deterministic implications. But so far we have not found a better instrument to focus attention on how borderland change over time and to allow for comparative analysis of these changes. (Baud and Schendel 225)

Oscar Martinez suggested the four models to understand the borderland interaction.

1. **Alienated Borderlands:** In which routine cross border interchange is practically nonexistent, mainly due to animosity between the two sides of the border. Second, there are coexistent borderlands in which a minimum of cross-border exist, despite unfriendly relations between the two states. The third model is of interdependent borderlands in which the societies on both sides of the border are symbolically, leading to a considerable flow of economic and human resources across the border. Finally, when practically all barriers to trade and human movement are eliminated that is integrated borderlands. (Martinez. 8)

2. **The Quiet Borderland:** If state, regional elite and local population are knit into a coherent power structure in which tension is relatively low, the borderland likely to be peaceful. In these cases, territorial control by the state does not lead to major confrontations in the borderland, because the interest of three actors are taken into account at every step. All three welcome or at least accept, the creation and existence of the border, each for reasons of their own. If state, regional elite and local

people are knit into a power structure in which the state clearly predominates, the creation of a borderland is likely to be a relatively peaceful.

3. Unruly Borderland: When power structures are less coherent. Borderland unlikely to be quiescent. The state may dominate or have absorbed, a regional elite. But if neither state nor regional elite has establishing a commanding position over the local population, the borderland will be difficult to control. Local society proves to be unruly, resisting the new social and territorial boundaries and rules that come with them. The position of the local elites weakens because it is exposed as an agent of the state rather than a protector of local rights and concerns.

4. The Rebellious Borderland: In the case of rebellious borderland, a regional elite sides with the local population against a state that seeks in vain to impose its authority on border. The rebellion led by the regional elite, challenges state control over the borderland, ignores the new border, and attempts to establish a regional counter government. Such rebellions can be regionalist, separatist or irredentist in their objectives. (Baud & Schendel 227-228)

One conclusion can be drawn from the above discussion that in early 20th century border studies were firmly connected to a state centered perspective in the geopolitical world.

The phenomena of globalization brought about tremendous changes in the international politics in general and the functioning of the nation states in particular. The role of borders has also changed and likewise the scholars relating to border studies have modified their studies accordingly. In the recent times the idea of borderless world emerged as a reaction to the sudden spillover of traditional border from various angles from flux to governance. All the changes in the world order and its impact on borders led some authors to predict the end of the state and boundaries advocating de-territorialization. But on the other hand according to Passi (2003) borders could not easily vanish as they are much more than barriers or cleavages lines: they are cultural processes that are multilayered accumulated history and a deep inset struggle definition maintenance, protection and reconfiguration. They are not merely dependent on economic and technological process but are a human construction. Contemporary frontiers are not simply lines on maps they are increasingly understood as zones of mixing, blending, blurring and hybridizations. Agnew's (1994) discussion on territorial trap or Passi (1996) spatial socialization. (Lange 212)

The boundaries are dynamic and complex cultural processes. They are built by human processes and therefore become spatialized symbols and institutions that are produced and reproduced continually.

In this sense, borders are very contextual features –both historically and geographically. As such, it is impossible to draw out a general dominant theory that could apply to all borders.

South Asia as a post- colonial as well as post partition region has a lot to offer to those interested in geopolitical triad of bordering, ordering and othering. Several of these practices-that feed into and are in turn fed by boundary producing formal and popular narratives- continue to unfold on a subcontinent that eminently qualify as ecologically-geographically connected remains geopolitically partitioned, and are yet to be theorized. The Janus-faced nature of South Asian borderlands-the inward nationalizing inclinations entangled with the outward regional frontier orientations- are a stark reminder of the reality that is often overlooked: the history of mobility in this part of the world is much older than the history of territoriality. (Tripathy & Chaturvedi 173)

The geopolitical triad or triangle comes with a heavy price tag for the inhabitants of the sub-continent, especially for those communities whose homeland in the suddenly erupted borderland in the wake of 1947 partition of British India, which caused the death of nearly one million people and more than ten million were displaced. In South Asia hard border embody and represent political anxieties among neighbors. Likewise boundaries both mental and material –are indicators of socio-political divides between the people. In the South Asia, borders and boundaries effect the everyday life of millions in profound manner. South Asia borders are “agents of active politics. At times it is these borders that solely influence foreign and security policies of the states in South Asia. In South Asia, borders acquire a political shape and remain integral to domestic political discourses. To understand the criticality of these borders in South Asia we also need to explore, in a geo-historical perspective, how borders were created in the region. Borders are like human beings having histories that are region specific. As observed by Schendel and Maaker many of Asia’s border owe their existence to colonial state making and the violent history that this involved.

In South Asia most of the present day borders were demarcated by the British to overcome their security anxieties. These borders therefore are the result of war, conflict and victories while sometimes they were drawn as outcome of the diplomatic efforts and administrative convenience. In South Asia some of the colonial political themes are not only retained but also re-furbished. The cartographic anxiety that is quite visible in South Asia, can be described as a legacy of the British colonial rule.

Current national borders in South Asia are distinguished by two features: first topographic diversity and, second, the arbitrariness by which European Colonial powers delineated South Asian boundaries and imposed their notions of territorial state. The borders have been demarcated by unilaterally and artificially without considering preexisting ethnic, religious, linguistic, geographical, or economic conditions. As a result of these artificial created boundaries that engendered many territorial disputes and left large areas porous for a variety of irregular and illegal cross -border activities, the countries of the region have resorted to the construction of different types of barriers along their national borders in an attempt to resolve these problems. (Said 2) The geopolitical triad or triangle comes with a heavy price tag for the inhabitants of the sub-continent, especially for those communities whose homeland in the suddenly erupted borderland in the wake of 1947 partition of British India, which caused the death of nearly one million people and more than ten million were displaced.

In case of India we can see that how borders continue to play central role in contemporary national politics and remain a cause for concern and contestation both for the state and people. India's international border is the third- longest in the world, and she shares both her land and maritime borders with almost every South Asian country. Immediately after independence from the British colonial rule India had witnessed a violent partition. British India was divided into two countries, India and Pakistan. Not satisfied with partition, Pakistan expressed its discontent over the drawing of borders and to this date makes claims on the Kashmir. (Tripathi &Chaturvedi, 175)

The evolution of boundaries in the Indian subcontinent has a long historical legacy, which often has been a source of tension and conflict between neighbors. Like all boundaries in South Asia, India's boundaries are also man made. India shares 14,880 kilometers of boundaries with Pakistan 3323 kilometers China 3488 Kilometers, Nepal 1751 kilometers, Bhutan 699 kilometers, Myanmar 1643 kilometers and Bangladesh 4097. India's boundaries with each of its neighbors runs through a variety of ecological milieus, each with its own unique setting and associated problems. India Pakistan border areas are spread across extreme climatic conditions wherein the boundaries run from the hot Thar Desert in Rajasthan to the cold Himalayas in Jammu and Kashmir. (Kumar 2018) India has 14,880 kilometers of land borders running through 92 districts in 17 states and coastline of 5,422 kilometers touching 12 states and union territories. India also has a total of 1,197 islands accounting for 2,094kms of additional coastline. There are 51 Bangladeshi enclaves with an area of 7,110.02 acres in India and 111 Indian enclaves with an area of 17, 158.13 acres in Bangladesh. Barring Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Delhi and Haryana, all other states in the country have one or more

international borders or a coastline and can be regarded as frontline states from the point of view of border management. (Godbole 4442)

The rural population living in the areas on or near the borders of countries often face inequality in terms of access to better livelihood opportunities as well assured food and nutrition security. The challenges are further escalated because of their locations in high security zones where there is perception of threat or conflict. In spite of being part of the country, the development and prosperity of the rest of the country is not always reflected in these regions. While the reasons for such disparity can be many, there is need to take stock of the ground realities to develop strategies so that such regions can be included in the development agenda of the country and the world.

The rural population living in villages situated along the international borders of any country are marginalised due to their location. These border villages may not necessarily be in a conflict situation, but due to their location they are in a zone where security preparedness is high and the population is vulnerable due to the threat perception, restrictions in movement and sometime due to influences from across the border. The government of India views the population living along the international borders of India as their citizens who are equal stakeholders entitled to be part of the development taking place in the rest of the country. They are also viewed as a strategic asset to the country and an important element to maintain the border security. All out efforts are made to improve social and economic infrastructure to ensure that people of the villages along the international border continue to live there. However, coupled with insecurity may often lead to migration of the population. There is therefore a targeted intervention to address the specific needs of the region and initiative taken up to specially reach out, connect, support and empower such populations. The border areas of India are essentially home to rural farming communities, it is felt that supporting agriculture and rural development in such regions, particularly through the distance learning technologies, will result in leveraging growth without compromising security concerns. (Lahiri 1-4)

The Indo-Pak border came into being subsequent to the partition of country at the time of independence in 1947. A new nation named Pakistan came into existence. The border region of India with Pakistan spreads over 14 peripheral districts in four states of India. Baramula, Poonch, Rajori, Jammu and Kathua (Jammu and Kashmir) Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Tarn Taran and Ferozepur (Punjab), Ganganagar, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Barmar (Rajasthan) and Kutch (Gujarat). (Bala; Krishnan 1982, 44)

The Hindustan-Pakistan plan was announced on the 3rd June, 1947. A new entity called Pakistan emerged on the scene, carved out of India. Sind, North-West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.) and 16 districts of Punjab were to form the Western half of Pakistan. The remaining 13 districts of the then Punjab were to remain a part of India. (Randhawa 4) The partition of the sub-continent was marked by bloodshed and violence, resulting in a half million deaths and thirteen million migrations. The boundary between India and Pakistan is known as Redcliff Line which is marked by stones, bars, trenches and is crisscrossed by two rivers Ravi and Sutlej. This border is paradoxically one of the highly guarded borders in India. (Datta 13)

In case of our coastal border line, our territorial boundary is defined up to nautical mile. This zone is our sovereign territory and other countries have to take permission from India to entering this area. Contiguous zone can also attract punishment from coastal states. The exclusive economic zone (EEZ) extends from the outer limit of territorial sea up to 200 nautical miles. This is the zone where coastal states hold the right to natural and economic resources such as minerals, oil exploration and fishing. Ships of other countries can pass through this zone as long as they do not pose any threat to the coastal states.

India shares 3323 kilometre long and complicated boundary with Pakistan. The India-Pakistan boundary is categorised under three different heads. The first is the international boundary is also known as the Redcliff line. It is 2308 kilometres long and stretches from Gujrat to parts of Jammu district in Jammu and Kashmir.

The second is the line of control (LOC), or the cease Fire Line, which came into existence after the 1948 and 1971 wars between India and Pakistan. This line is 776 kilometres long and runs along the districts of Jammu (some parts), Rajori, Poonch, Baramula, Kupwara, Kargil and some portions of Leh.

The third is the Actual Ground Position Line (AGPL) which is 110 kilometres long and extends from NJ 9842 to Indira Col in the North. The LOC and AJPL has been a scene of constant tensions with border skirmishes and firing between the armies and border guarding forces of both countries. The LOC has been vulnerable to constant infiltration by foreign terrorists and Pakistani army regulars for long.

The border between India and Pakistan is the most sensitive of India's borders because of the dispute over Kashmir which started with its annexation in India in 1947. Since then the region has fuelled a bitter dispute between the two countries. In 1954, upon India's announcement that the accession of the region was final, the ceasefire line (CFL) established in 1949 that cuts through Kashmir, became the *de facto* border between the two states. Since then India has tried a number of measures to consolidate this annexation, including erecting fences to fortify borderline with Pakistan. Yet this area still represents the most militarily active border in India, having been the site of three wars and one near war. (Said 42)

The state of Punjab has approximately 553 kilometres of International border with Pakistan comprising districts of Pathankot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Ferozepur and Fazilka. Out of these 553 kilometres, 356 kilometres fall in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Tarn Taran. The border belt in Punjab consists of an area which falls within the radius of sixteen kilometres from the zero line. The radius of the border belt was extended from eight kilometres to sixteen kilometres by the centre and state government in 1998. In this way, a total of 1838 villages, ten towns and three districts headquarters (Gurdaspur, Ferozepur and Fazilka) with a population of more than 2.5 million (2 million in rural areas and a half million urban population) become part of the border-belt. Presently, the total area under the border belt is about nine thousand kilometres, which is about one sixth of the total area of Punjab. (Sekhon 2) Out of these 1838 villages fall in the border belt two hundred and seventy nine are located very close to the zero-line (International border). These villages are very close to the international border and are located within the radius of five hundred meters to three kilometres from the zero line. According to the official record, the number of such villages is two hundred and seventy nine but only two hundred and twelve villages exist in reality. The remaining villages have simply disappeared from the existence because of the numerous problems of the area. Such villages are called *Be-Cherag* (un-inhabited) or ghost villages. The residents of these villages fled away from the villages or settled in some other villages or cities because of the vulnerability of the area due to hostility with Pakistan. (Dawinder 3)

It is important to mention here that two rivers that are Ravi and Sutlej crisscross the Indo-Pak border and the residents are also helpless to face natural calamities like floods and changing course of the respective rivers. Likewise, they are vulnerable to double whammy, one is concerned with the border conflict and other with the natural disasters. The people living in these areas are subject to the

conditions imposed by the powers that may be the government or the Border Security Forces assigned with the responsibility of securing the international border. During the course of various measures of security of the border, the residents in general and farmers in particular experience countless hardships.

The formation of International border between India and Pakistan has deeply affected the life of the people, especially farmers living in the proximity of the border on Indian side. From the creation of the international border to its maintenance, structural development and security arrangements have been ever impacting the lives of the farmers living in the borderland. The agricultural land is lifeline of the farmers as it is the prime source of their income and being attached emotionally they hold and serve it as mother. They are having the ownership of the respective land for generations, but now the farmers of the border villages have lost their agricultural fertile land for the border related arrangements. (Dawinder 98)

There has always been continuous tension right from the very birth of the Pakistan. The formation of Pakistan has created a border problem for India which is of great magnitude and complexity. The relations between India and Pakistan remained non-cordial since 1947 and both countries have been continuously propagating against each other. The repercussions of this hate campaign of Pakistan find its manifestation in numerous border incidents big or small. (Chatterjee 29) Tensions and wars between the two have been serious and upsurge to Indo Pak wars in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999 reinforcing the sense of insecurity especially among the people living close to the vicinity. (Bala and Krishnan 48)

Not only at the time of actual occurrence of conflicts but whenever relations between two countries become tense or give rise to war like situation, the problems and the tensions of the people living in border region intensify. The state of Punjab has approximately 553 kilometres of International border with Pakistan comprising districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Tarn Taran and Ferozepur. Out of these 553 kilometres, 356 kilometres fall in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Tarn Taran. (Ajit 5)

Due to the hostile border region between India and Pakistan, there is a deep impact on the quality of life in surrounding villages. The India Pakistan border region is more risk prone apart from the usual risk determining parameters of the nearness to the International border. (Singh and Singh 4)

Rural areas are generally associated with lower levels of quality of life, lower levels of income and less improved infrastructure. These problems tend to get more aggravated in the areas adjacent to a hostile neighbour. Besides geographic handicaps, accessibility to services of general interest remains a big problem. Lack of transportation and communication, infrastructure prevents these areas from developing diversified capacities. The continuous tensions between the two countries and three open wars of 1948, 1965 and 1971, have made the people to live continuously under the threat of aggression and fear psychosis. (Michielid and William 198)

In addition to it, the Kargil conflict of 1999 and military stand off on border for more than one and half years in 2001 which took place after attack on Indian Parliament by the Pakistani trained terrorists, the continuous terror attacks in different parts in India by various terrorists groups operating from Pakistan have resulted in unending bitterness between the two countries. The terrorists' attack in Mumbai in November 2008 was another setback to the normal relations between the two countries. (Sekhon 3) The strained relations between the two countries have continuously proved to be major setback for the residents of border area and very recently majority of them had to migrate temporarily to safer places after the surgical strike by India. (The Hindu 5) This is a fear psychosis, problem of war phobia that a people living in a border belt and are facing. (The Indian Express 3)

In the forbidding environment, the farmers find it discouraging to till their fields. A number of limitations on the movement of the people have been put up after the erecting of fencing.

The fencing put up all along the border to check anti-national activities from across the border, make the routine farming activities hazardous. The probability of harvesting the crop is very low when mines are lying in cropped land. Even in the normal peace time's situation, the probability of success in crop cultivation may be low. If a part of or whole of the land of the owners of the land lies near or beyond the border fencing, the movement of people and machinery is allowed only for limited hours during the day time. The farmers who have land beyond fencing have multiple problems like limited time for farmers to till their land across the fence, limit of power connections, lack of canal water, time miss-match between power supply hours and costly labour (with less working hours) with the opening of border gates. (The Tribune 4)

The farmers have grudge that they have to undergo frisking at the hands of security forces in the area twice. This not only consumes a lot of their time, they get only four to five hours to work in their

fields. Eventually, their crop productivity decreases. On this account, the already poor peasants and farmers of border area have to suffer monetary losses. (Gupta 6)

In addition to it, the farmers of this particular region have certain setbacks on the social front also. The farmers having land beyond fencing face countless problems regarding the marriages of their sons and daughters and sometimes are compelled to make compromises. Massive deployment of forces along the border costs high to the border villages, sometimes there is loss of lives due to mine laying and other accidents. (Chari 12)

The Indo- Pakistan border is one of the most conflictual borders of the world and the borderlands are always compelled to face a variety of issues because of the tensions between two nations. The prime concern of the Indian government is to secure its boundaries but it is alleged by the residents of borderland that they are ignored and vulnerable to the policies adopted for securing the Indian international borders. The borderland exists in Indian Punjab is always prone to tension and normally face the consequences resulted because of the unfriendly relation between neighbour though it may be war or tension on one side and structural and security arrangements followed by the nation on the other. The routine cross border interchange is practically not only nonexistent but impossible, mainly due to animosity between the two sides of the border. The residents in the borderlands have been suffering from the socio-economic and political setbacks since the independence of the country.

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Farmers Movement in India with special reference to Punjab: A Historical Analysis

The peasants periodically raised up their voice against the lords and governments that imposed taxes and rent and other forms of uneven economic exchange. However, the potential for peasant rebellions and political organizing, in general, is often weakened by internal competition and distrust which is the result of struggle for scarce resources within peasant communities. Because of this reason, Karl Marx referred peasants as “potatoes in a sack” implying that they were too individualistically oriented to organize as revolutionaries. But peasantries have on a number of occasions been involved in large-scale regional and national rebellions and revolutions. For example, from 1524 to 1526 German peasants in Franconia, Swabia and Thuringia joined with impoverished town dwellers (many of whom were no doubt of peasant origin) to mount the “Peasant War” to redress exploitive relations with non-peasants (Kearney 195)

To Lenin, peasantry in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Russia was differentiated by the unequal patterns of landholding, income and by their contact with the market as well. Kautsky has highlighted the process of the dissolution of self-sufficient peasant households in the wake of penetration of capitalist urban industry, increasing rural and urban divides and the growing indebtedness and landlessness of the peasants in Russia. Antonio Gramsci has seen the peasantry in the context of Italy as a part of large socio-political order and not a discrete entity whose subordination can be broken through the alliance of workers and through the development of class consciousness.

As far as peasant movements in India are concerned there is little literature available regarding the ancient medieval period but as we reach the closing decades of the 17th century there are a large number of instances of peasant revolts against the governments. (Singh 5) There are several instances of lower class uprising in Mughal Empire in which mainly the poor peasants, the tax payers fought against the tyranny of landlords, the tax receivers or their police. In many of these peasant wars religious ideology provided a revolutionary force both in terms of motivation and organization.

Many of the peasant wars of this time were sharply resembled with the peasant wars of medieval Europe. (Dhangare 29)

The peasantry in the Mughal period was exploited and oppressed by the mediatory class that was of *jagirdars*. The emperor assigned the *jagirs* (feudal land) to the *jagirdars* (Managers of land) which were transferable, that is, the *jagirdars* could not get the permanent occupancy rights of the respective *jagirs*. The assignment and the transformation of the *jagirs* lied absolutely with the ruler. The *jagirdars* were liable to collect revenue from the peasants who were determined by the ruler but the *jagirdars* had the tendency to collect revenue in a large quantity which was mostly in the form of produce to get political patronage. The political patronage and recognition by the ruler was in turn useful for holding *jagirs* for more years. Therefore the *jagirdars* did not follow any policy for agricultural development and focused on to get immediate benefits by enhancing the revenue to unfavourable terms to the peasants at the cost of devastating or destroying the peasantry. The transfers of *Jagirs* were constant and unpredictable and the agents of *jagirdars* were not sure about their tenures. As a result of it they did not help the peasants in any way and behaved in an unsympathetic manner with the peasants. (Habib 364-365)

In the seventeenth century the agrarian system led to the exploitation of peasantry. The share of the tax collected from the peasants and the manner of its collection were very harsher. Most of the time the major portion of the produce of the peasants was collected as tax by the *jagirdars* and the peasants were hardly left with sufficient produce for their survival. The peasants who could not pay the tax due to any reason were maltreated and beaten mercifully. Frequently the peasants were compelled to sell their women, children and cattle in order to meet the revenue demands. In such a pitiable circumstances certain villages and areas went up in rebellion and refused to pay taxes. The villages which were protected by the forests and hills were more likely to defy the authorities. The peasants' protests during this time were isolated incidents and the intensity of distress varied according to the burden of revenue demanded. The two social factors that were caste and religious ideology of different sects helped to ignite and extend the scale of peasant uprisings during the Mughal period. (Habib 378-380)

The prominent among the peasant rebellions against the Mughals were those of Jats of the Ganga-Jamuna region from the 1660s to 1690s, and of the Satnami religious sect in Narnaul in 1672. (Gough) The rise of a class of intermediaries, who combined traditional authority with the new role of revenue administrator in the newly emerging power- structure, could be considered the most important development in agrarian relations in rural society under the Mughal rulers. (Dhangare 26) The real transformation of peasant unrest was probably brought about by the intervention of elements from the zamindar class that had their own motives in opposing the Mughal ruling class. (Habib 384) In some of the revolts against the Mughal power, peasants placed themselves under the leadership of local princes or land managers (*zamindars*) who rebelled because the imperial land revenue pressed so heavily on the peasants that there was little left for these local dignitaries. (Gough 392) In such revolts the local princes and *zamindars* secured the cooperation and support of their peasant cultivators. This type of rebellion increased in number after Akbar grew gradually more oppressive and persecuting and also during Aurangzeb in the seventeenth century. The example of this type of revolt was a series of famous Jat revolts with varying intensity and spread intermittently between 1669 and 1722 in the Agra-Dholpur region near Delhi. These revolts reflected only a struggle for power between the central authority and the intermediaries. The intermediaries were supported by the peasantry for having ethnic, caste and religious ties. (Dhangare 27)

In the eighteenth century the rapid expansion of Sikh and Maratha power and growth of *thuggee* bands (organized gang of professional robbers and murderers) in the heartland of the empire secured support from the peasantry suffering under Mughal revenue collection system. In the revolts of the Maomoria movement against the kings of the Assam valley and in South India, in the resistance of kallar (literally Robbers) tribespeople against the efforts of the rulers of Ramnad and Madura to extract taxes from them in additionally independent hill regions witnessed the peasant opposition to encroaching royal authority outside the empire. (Gough 5503)

The British occupation of India for nearly two centuries brought about profound changes in almost all sectors of the Indian society including the agrarian sectors. After securing the *diwani* rights of Bengal in 1765, the administrators of British East India

Company primarily worked to enlarge the company's revenue which was reflected in their land policy and settlements. (Dhangare 30)

The company administration followed a different kind of agricultural arrangements for the different areas for revenue collection due to its convenience and regional situations. In the permanent settlement of Bengal the *zamindars* were declared the full and permanent owners of the land. In the Northern parts of Madras and in the Oudh almost similar system was followed. The *zamindars* were the key link between the authority and the peasants. The permanent settlement was injustice to the peasants because it reduced them to a position of mere tenants on their own fields. The *zamindars* had to make nine-tenth of the produce to the company administration and be contented with the tenth. The defaulter *zamindars* that could not pay the revenue on the demands of administration were dispossessed and replaced with the new *zamindars*. The *zamindars* having been left free to make term with their tenants and therefore imposed a number of illegal taxes resulted in the oppression of peasantry. (Majmudar 18-21) The company administration has followed a different form of agricultural arrangements due to different reasons which is known as *raiayatwari* in certain areas like Madras and Bombay presidency. Under this system the landholders of land were recognized as its proprietors. The *raiayat* or landholder was a tenant of the state and paid revenue directly to the state. The assessment of revenue was fixed initially but in the Bombay presidency it was revisable periodically. The terms and conditions of the state to the *raiayat* were very hard and a result of it a number of them turned to be rent farmers, sub-tenants and share-croppers. Another kind of land settlement is called the *mahalwari* system. According to this system a village is considered unit of tenure and assessment. It was adopted in the United Provinces (excluding Oudh), Punjab and the central provinces. A number of villages inhabited by members of single caste, kinship, lineage or tribe and the cultivation on land was done on the co-sharing basis. (Sen 4-5)

The peasantry was the most suffering of the exploitation of colonial rule. The peasants formed the backbone of the civil rebellions which were often led by the *zamindars* and petty chieftains. This was true of the 1857 revolt. Another set of peasant's revolt took place on the religious, social reform and purification basis having their origin

from the peasantry and targeted the new *zamindars*, landlords, and money-lenders. In the end they clashed with British imperialism. (Chandra 25)

All the agrarian classes in India were distressed by the government's high revenue demands although the economic burden was greater on the lower strata of peasantry. Either the peasants (actual cultivators) revolted against these oppressors- the landlords and sometimes all the agrarian classes joined together and rebelled against the severe demands of the state. A series of tribal uprisings occurred in tribal regions during the first half of the nineteenth century. Among the major peasants revolt during that took place during the colonial rule were the mutiny of 1857, the Moplah rebellion of 1836 and 1896, and the Santal and Munda revolts of 1890. Towards the close of colonial rule two major upheavals took place. These were the Tebhaga movement in Bengal in 1946 and the Telengana uprising in Andhara in 1946-48. (Vishvanath 18) Besides these major peasants revolts there were seventy seven peasants' revolts during the colonial period smallest of which involved several thousand peasants. About thirty revolts must have affected several tens of thousands and about twelve several hundreds of thousands. In the big revolts like Indian Mutiny of 1857-58 the vast bodies of peasants fought or worked to destroy the British rule. (Gough)

The Santhal rebellion of 1855-56 was one of the tribal rebellions. It was a tribal unrest spread to Birbhum, Barikura, Singhum, Hazaribagh, Bhagalpur and Monghyr and was mainly directed against the money lenders, despotic British revenue system, usury practices and the zamindari system in India by the Santhal people. The main causes of this rebellion were the appropriation of land at large scale to recover the revenue dues and the land transfers to the urban money-lenders though the question of ethnic tribal identity which had been losing with the implementation of the policies of British authority was also become a guiding force for this. (Sen 3)

The discontent of the Indian farmers in general and the farmers of Oudh (Uttar Pradesh) in response to the revenue policies appeared during the mutiny of 1857. The liquidation of the landed aristocracy in Oudh U.P under the principle of British paramountcy was one of the most important and immediate cause of 1857 revolt. But the participation of the peasant masses in the revolt was either at the behest of their caste superiority or due to ethnic and religious royalties to their chiefs, *rajas* and lords.

The districts which were violent in 1857 uprising particularly all rural classes had been disturbed by the British land revenue policy and administration. During the 1840-1857 the transfer of land from the cultivating to non-cultivating classes of money lenders had increased to a great extent. In addition to it the evictions and imposition of levies and taxes by corrupt revenue officials had steadily originated and enhanced the tension. (Dhangare 36)

During the phase from 1857 to the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the national scene, the peasant movements continued to be sporadic. Their caste and community character also remained almost unchanged. Such revolts are the Pabna riots (1873-76), the Deccan uprising (Maharashtra) and the Moplah uprising. The peasants' position rapidly deteriorated due to exploitation by the intermediary classes like the landlords, the merchants and the moneylenders, commercialization of crops, destruction of handicrafts, exodus of bullion, creation of property rights in land and gradual increase in population. A significant feature of this phase is that the peasant movements could not secure proper leadership. After the revolt of 1857, the government of India adopted a policy of collaboration with the conservative classes such as landlords, princes and priests for the perpetuation of their empire in India. The peasants were deprived of the natural leadership of the local elites. (Singh 5-6)

There was certain shift in the nature of peasant resistance to the British rule after 1858. The peasants started to fight directly for peasant demands and against the government, the foreign planters and the indigenous *zamindars* and moneylenders. (Chandra 27)

The Deccan Riots of 1857 took place in Maharashtra in some parts of Pune, Satara and Nagar districts against increased agrarian distress. The British introduced *raiayatwari* system for revenue collection under which the landholders were directly responsible to pay the revenue to the state. In the same manner they sought credit individually from the moneylender. The *Vanis*, was a caste of merchants and money lenders who provided credit in the Deccan villages. The cultivators belonged to the caste *kunbi* which were numerically dominant caste in these areas and controlled the village *panchyats* before the introduction of new civil and criminal courts when they lost their traditional political power. On the other hand the revenue demands were very high and cultivators had to take credit to meet the demands of high revenue. The

poor *kunbis* suffered most due to rising cost of living, low wages; poor crop yields bad seasons and harvests, the agriculture depression and the increased revenue rates. The *Vanis* became very powerful economically and occupied the land of the defaulter *Kunbis*. Before the broke out of riots between *Kunbis* and *Vanis* certain rich *Kunbi* families launched constitutional agitation (social boycott of the moneylenders) because of the deteriorating agrarian relations in the western Maharashtra. The poor *Kunbis* followed the lead of the rich and middle *kunbis* for some time. In 1875 the riots of poor *Kunbis* broke out and spread over wide area. The government tried to suppress the rights forcefully with repressive measures. (Naidu 14-15)

The Indigo Revolt (1859) was an uprising of peasants against the Indigo planters that arose in Bengal. The Europeans had the monopoly on the Indigo cultivation in the certain areas of Bengal. The European planters forced the peasants to cultivate indigo under harsher terms and conditions. The sale of indigo was highly profitable to the planters and the terms under which the peasants had to grow it involved great losses for them. The peasants were compelled to grow indigo in place of other crops. The colonial government was sympathetic to the foreign planters. The peasant's revolt started in 1859 and a number of farmers denied to cultivate indigo and resisted the physical brutality and violence of the planters. (Natrajan 149-151)

The Pabna peasant uprising was the resistance of the cultivators against the lords of the lands in Bengal in Yusufshahi, Parganah, situated in the Serajunge sub-division of the district of Pabna during 1873-76. This movement conducted by a well- organized agrarian league named as Pabna Raiyat League created the conditions for the launching of similar agrarian movements in other parts of Eastern and Central Bengal in the decade. (Sengupta 179)

The Moplahs were poor, illiterate and unskilled peasants, landless labourers and colliers speaking Malayali language. They belonged to a mixed race originated from the Arab traders and local women. The Moplah revolts have occurred even before British took over control of Malabar in 1872. These revolts had their origin in land distribution rights and tenancy system. (Naidu 19) The Mapplia peasants of Malabar (North Kerala) were oppressed by the *jenmis* (landlords) through different measures. These peasants organized twenty two rebellions from 1836 to 1854. The agrarian

relations between landlords and poor peasants remained discriminative and exploitative in favor of the landlords instead of the numerous efforts of the contemporary rulers and Mappia peasant's discontent raising times and again due to this reason. During the period of 1873 to 1880 there were five major outbreaks in the Malabar against the tyranny of landlords. (Chandra 29) The colonial government had many rules through regulations related to the agrarian relations between 1887 and 1901 but had not touched the basic issue of land occupancy rights. The power struggle in this period benefited politically landlords but the condition of poor Moplas steadily deteriorated due to their political isolation. In this situation the rebellious activities of the Moplahs resumed. In 1896 another rebellion occurred in which the Moplahs killed the Hindu landlords, looted their houses, forcibly converted Hindus to Islam and burnt temples. From 1880 the government provided a number of educational and employment policies for their development. In spite of these facilities the pressure on land increased which resulted into the pushed evictions, rack renting, heavy lease renewal fees and poor compensation for tenants improvements to a peak level. The position of peasants in such a situation got poor and desperate. As a result it, Moplah rebellion occurred in 1921. The main grievances of the tenants were increase in rent and evictions. This rebellion was against the landlords and government. The agitations gave opportunity to Moplah peasantry to raise their economic grievances and distress and demonstrate their religious identity. (Naidu 21)

With the beginning of the 20th century, the Indian National Congress began to champion the cause of the oppressed peasants. It imparted a political significance a common cause with the nationwide freedom movement and anti-imperialist bias into every one of the struggles that peasants had to wage in order to free themselves from new imperialist impositions and machinations. Thus country wide campaigns were organized with nationalism as their dynamic and economic pressure as their propellers against the vicious indenture labour system, control labour in plantations, exploitation by European planters in India.

With the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the national scene an entirely new dynamic and political revolutionary tendency came to be imparted into peasant struggles. He familiarized the Kaira in Gujarat with the new weapon of Satyagraha,

an open non-violent organized, politically alive revolt against injustice in their struggle against the indigo planters and land revenue collectors respectively. He introduced the technique of first enquiring into the essential facts of the peasants' grievances and then formulating their demands. He believed in educating the peasants about nature and level of their problem and immediate demands, training them in the art of internal self-sufficiency. (Ranga 128)

Congress initiated the process of the redresses of the grievances and it formed various peasant committees in rural areas. However, the peasant movements initiated by the Congress were invariably restricted to seeking relief against the excessive rates of land revenue and were in no case directed against the *zamindars*. The Congress policy of safeguarding the interests of *zamindars* and landlords led to the emergence of independent class organizations of *Kissans* in rural India. The radical sections felt that to protect the interests of the *Kissans*, their own class organizations and leadership must be evolved. Consequently, the Kissan organizations came into existence in different parts of the country. The first Kissan Congress held at Lucknow in 1935 led to the formation of All India Kisan Sabha. The programme of the Kissan Sabha reflected the aspirations and needs of the entire peasantry in the agrarian India. The all India Kissan Sabha was composed of radical petty bourgeois individuals, within and outside the Indian National Congress. It was also supported and strengthened by Congress socialist party and later on Communist Party of India. A number of significant struggles were launched by the Kissan Sabha in different parts of the country during the initial period of their inception. The Telengana struggle (1946-50) was one of the important struggles launched by the Kissan Sabh. (Mehta 475)

The Telengana struggle started in 1946 against the feudal lords. It was a movement of peasants and labourers against the local feudal lords. The agitation led by the communists and became successful in taking over 3000 villages from the feudal lords and 10, 00,000 acres of agriculture land and this land was distributed to landless peasants. The communist party has increased its influence among the poor peasants, tenant-cultivators and landless labourers. The peasants' resistance and militant action against landlords and village officials were spread to the large area and was completely under the control of communists. (Dhanagare 488-493)

On the other hand in the same time the Tebhaha Movement (1946-1947) was led by the Bengal Kissan Sabha (BKS) and in the process of mobilization agricultural labourers, sharecroppers and poor peasants in the form of tenants of various category became the driving force against the *jotedars*, *zamindars*, moneylenders, traders and the British bureaucracy. It was a movement by the sharecroppers for securing Tebhaga (two- third share) of their produce for themselves. The sharecroppers demanded to reduce the share of *jotedars* (a class of rich farmers) who held superior rights of land) from one- half to one-third. There were successive crop failures from 1938-1942-43. There were numerous natural calamities like floods, famine and disease from 1941 to 1945. Although the economic condition of the bargadars (sharecroppers) were worsened because of these reasons but they had to surrender half of their produce to the landowners. In 1946 the BKS passed a resolution in Calcutta for Tebhaga according to which two-third of the produced crops would go the landlords. (Shigaroy 51-57)

The farmer movements have been led by political parties and non-political organizations. Before independence, many political parties organized farmer wings to enlist their support mostly for electoral purpose. The Communist movement took the lead during pre-independence period through Kisan Sabha movement in 1936. The other organizations are Bharat Krishak Samaj established in 1954 by Congress party, Bhartiya Kisan Sangh formed in 1974. It is affiliated with Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and a member of the Sangh Parivar. Some of the leading militant farmer organizations include Bhartiya Kisan Sangh set up in Rajasthan in 1978, Bhartiya Kisan Union started in U.P in 1979, Tamil Nadu Agriculturists Association commenced in 1966, Shetkari Sanghatana in 1982 in Maharashtra, Karnatka Rajya Rytha Sangha (Karnataka State farmers Association) in 1982 in Karnataka State, Bhartiya Kisan Sangh and Khadut Samanvay Samithi in Gujarat, Punjab Khetibari Zamindar Union in 1972 which latter on converted into Punjab unit of Bharatiya Kisan Union in 1980 and Fruit Growers Association in Himachal Pradesh in 1980. (Naidu 3)

The years since independence have seen agrarian struggles of enormous variety, arranging from the legendary Telengana peasant movement and the PEPSU tenants

movement which continued from the pre-independence years to the Naxalite movement in the late sixties and the new farmers' movements of the eighties. Interspersed in between were many lesser known struggles such as the Kharwar tribals movement in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar in 1957-58, the Bhils movement in Dhulia in Maharashtra from 1967-75, or the Warlis' struggle led by the Kashtakad Sanghatna headed by the Marxist Jewist Pradeep Prabhu since 1978. SSP and SPS launched a land grab movement in 1970, as did CPI. In Punjab and Andhra Pradesh, peasants protested against betterment levies imposed for covering costs of irrigation schemes, for better prices for crops and other similar issues. The Communist Party of India set up the first nationwide agricultural labor organization, Bhartiya Khet Mazdoor Union, in Moga in 1968. In Tanjore and Kerala, movements of agricultural labour and tenants took place, as did numerous others all over the country. (Chandra 421)

In the beginning years after independence India adopted planned economic development in 1951 and the model of mixed economy was adopted. There have not been any major peasant revolts, rebellions or protest movements except the Naxalite movement and the Land-grab movement in Bihar and UP that began in 1960's. The Naxalite movement is still continuing with its numerous internal ideological differences and factional trends in different parts of India. In the beginning the Naxalites started only to secure permanent occupancy rights for the *bargadars* (sharecroppers) in the Naxalbari sub-division of Jalpaigury district of West Bengal. In the present time the movement has spread practically over most of the major states of India. The Naxalites have been mobilizing the marginalized and oppressed people ranging from Adivasis (tribal), Dalits, bounded labourers, agricultural labourers and women whose voices remained suppressed so far. The Naxalite leadership gives call for a 'fight to the finish' and openly advocates the use of violence against the 'perceived class enemy'. On the other hand the Land-Grab movement was a short lived micro level process. It was a militant action programme in which participants forcibly took possession of lands they identified as the surplus land with absentee landlords above the land ceiling limit permitted by law. Neither of the movements brought any policy or institutional change. The Booda (gifting land) movement is another movement which is considered important in this period which was led by the Vinoba Bhave in Telengana during (1946-51). Vinoba Bhave received voluntary land

donations during his *Padyatra* (the long march) that started in Telengana district and later went to other parts of India. It was joined by his Ghandian followers. The Indian states passed the legislation for the distribution of Bhoodan land and the respective state governments constituted Bhoodan committees for supervising the act of land distribution. Besides these movements there was not any major movement in India during the 1952-1975. (Dhanagare 50-56)

There may be certain reasons for the factor which were resulted out mostly due to the efforts of the Indian state. The agrarian societies in India underwent a rapid process of transformation over the years. The state started a number of institutional measures through the five years plans to take the benefits to rural India especially to those engaged in land cultivation and the landless. Firstly the reform legislations were passed by the Congress government for the abolition of *zagirdari-zamindari* systems and for 'the land to the tiller' No doubt these legislations could not be applied evenly in all the states due to regional and structural reasons. Another major institutional measure introduced by the Indian government was the Community Development Programmes as part of the five years plans. A number of welfare schemes for improvement in rural literacy, education, health, agriculture, irrigation, rural infrastructure like roads, transport and electricity have been launched by the government. In addition to it a variety of cultural activities for villagers, both men and women were also implemented by the Block Development Officers. Although the Community Development Programme could not be successful to the expected level due to a number of shortcomings yet it remained successful to satisfy the needs of rural population to some extent. (Dhanagare 58)

At the time of independence, India was facing the acute food shortages. To meet the challenges of food sufficiency the Indian government launched what is known as the green revolution during the 1960's. It implied the introduction of high yielding varieties of seeds, extensive use of farm machinery, energized well irrigation and use of high doses of new chemical fertilizers and pesticides. All these measures were aimed at improving food production. The Green Revolution showed the rays of hope to the farmers and government of India both. No doubt the food production increased to the large extent but at the same time the farmers began to experience despair after

some time. The agricultural productivity increased remarkably but the agricultural profitability declined sharply. The farmers became increasingly dependent not only on the market but also on the government which practically had monopoly control over fixing agricultural support prices. This led to the shared frustration and collective discontent among the farmers. The social inequalities and the rural poverty were on the rise due to the mechanization and market dependency of the agriculture. In the background of these factors the new farmers' movements in India came into being. (Dhanagare 60-61)

The new farmers' movements in India began in the 1970s in the parts of Tamilnadu and Punjab. In the late 1970s they had emerged strongly in parts of Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh (particularly the west), Karnataka and Gujarat. The price and related issues became the focus of the process of mobilisation and rural agitation via non-party movements. These movements involved farmers rather than peasants. The farmers are distinguished on the basis of market involvement both as commodity producers and the purchasers of inputs. The farmers entirely depend on the market to sell their produce and purchase inputs required for the mechanized agriculture after the introduction of green revolution. In 1980s they became powerful force and employed the distinguish methods for mobilizing the peasants like *rasta rook* and *rail roko* (blocking of roads and rail), and *gavbandi* (refusing politicians and bureaucrats entry to villages). (Brass 55-56)

Dhanagare stated certain notable features of the new farmers' movement. Prior to the 1950 the peasants' movements primarily confined to the specific regions, districts or one or two states in India, the new farmers' movements mobilized support from all over India with few exceptions of Kerala, West Bengal and North-east. The new farmers' movements had uniform demand for cost-based agricultural prices for the farm produce and other related economic demands of the farmers like reduction in electricity tariffs, diesel prices, supply of subsidized seeds and fertilizers, loan waivers, removal of zone restrictions on the movement of farm produce to market outside the state etc. The pre 1950 movements of peasantry were against landlordism by the tenants or by the sharecroppers and landless labourers against landowners for denying them appropriate share of the produce or wages for their labour. The

leadership of the new farmers' movement came from among the farmers themselves and at least some leaders are intellectuals. They had the capacity to articulate the farmers' demands ideologically and also to justify them theoretically. (Dhanagare 61-62)

The first movement in the series of new farmers' movement started in early 1970s' in the Coimbatore district of Tamilnadu. The rich farmers in this area has turned to cash crops and their income dropped due to the lower prices of agricultural produce and rising wages of agricultural labour on which rich farmers increasingly dependent. The agitation was against the government under the leadership of Narayana swamy Naidu, the Tamilaga Vyavasayagal Sangham (the Tamilnadu Agriculturist Association (TNAA), the farmers' organization launched agitation in 1973. It demanded the reduction in the electricity tariffs. In the same time the mobilisation of farmers took place in Punjab, Haryana, and western part of UP under the banner of BKU (Bhartiya Kissan Union), a non-political farmers' organization. The main reason for farmers' discontent was the prices they received for their farm produce were far lower than the input prices. The farmers' movement in Karnatka in the early eighties was led by the (KRRS) Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sabha an organization based in Shimga (one of the districts in the state). The KRRS criticized the capitalism and imperialism which it considered responsible for declining the agricultural productivity in the Third World Countries. (Dhanagare 62-64)

The Shetkari Sanghatan launched a major agitation in Maharashtra for the remunerative prices for onion in early 1980'. The modern techniques of mobilisation like *rasta roko* (blocked the road) and *rail roko* (blocked railway tracks) have been adopted initially but latter on the farmers decided to withheld the onion crop from the market as a method of protest and the villages were closed to government officials and politicians (*gavband*). Shard Joshi gave a very simple and powerful slogan that is Bharat against India. Bharat is the indigenous name for India with the positive connotations while India is the westernized name symbolizing exploitation. These two terms used for the rural and urban- industrial populations respectively. Joshi himself stated that the real contradiction is not in the village, not between big peasants and

small, not between the landowners and landless but between the agrarian population as a whole and a rest of the society.

The mobilisation of the rural women was a remarkable feature of the Shetkari Sanghathna and formulated a women wing namely Shetkari Mahila Aghadi (women's front of the Shetkari Sanghatana). The main demand of the women organization is that women should have equal rights to land or property and there have been attempts to make farmers transfer a part of their land to their wives. (Lindberg 95-113)

HISTORY OF FARMERS' MOVEMENT IN PUNJAB

Punjab has strong tradition of organized mass movements since long. The peasants have been responding to the different kind of oppression and exploitation in their own way by resisting the contemporary authority to get rid of their crisis from time to time. The British government annexed Punjab in 1849. After the annexation of Punjab the colonial government introduced a number of policies and transformed the revenue system large scale to consolidate its power in the newly occupied area and to increase the income resources. No doubt the policy programmes of the colonial government resulted in the prosperity of the peasants to some extent but on the other hand these measures proved to be harmful for society of Punjab as a whole with the passage of time and in changing circumstances. (Singh 151-153)

The peasant movements in Punjab has had strong links with peasant movements at the national level on one hand and the democratic movement on the other. Historically, the peasant movement developed as a part of the national independence struggle. The movements that emerged in the colonial period did not directly link to the cause of peasants' resistance with a few exceptions. In the pre-independence period the peasants' movements in Punjab developed as a part of national freedom struggle. Some of these movements came into existence as a social reform and religious movements but came into confrontation with the imperial government due to its fear of losing vested interests. Many freedom fighters found it useful to work among peasants, mobilize them on their problems and integrate peasant struggles with the national independence movement. Going by the numerical strength and militant tradition, diverse elements came to be active among the peasants, some working with

nationalist perspective and others with a narrow perspective of attaining political power. The Unionist Party came to present the latter trend. (Gill and Sehgal 55)

The movements which emerged during pre-independence period in Punjab were mainly anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism. The Kooka or Namdhari movement was the first movement in this regard which contributed to the mobilization of the peasantry in the pre-independence period. It was founded by Balak Singh (1779-1862) of village Hazaro. Balak Singh was the son of goldsmith of village Sarvala (district Attock) who latter shifted his business to Hazoro. They were Aroras of the batra caste. Balak Singh had been inspired by the sermons of one Jawahar Mall who preached the virtues of poverty and denounced the rich as godless. Balak Singh chose one of his disciples, Ram Singh as his successor. Ram Singh was a carpenter and belonged to village Bhaini near Ludhiana. The Namdharis' headquarter shifted from Hazoro to village Bhaini. This movement was a movement basically of religious and social reform which emphasized on the protection of cow, giving up of worship of idols and graves and against female infanticide, early marriage, bride price and lavish celebration of marriages. Though this movement was started with the aim of socio-religious reforms but soon grew into a militant anti-Imperialist movement and thousands of improvised peasants and artisans came into its fold. The followers of this movement came almost exclusively from lower castes. Their own social and economic exploitation at the hands of rich and higher castes i.e., *zamindars/zagirdars* made the former critical of the beliefs and practices of the latter. Their opposition to the cultural influences of the British rule and boycott of the administrative apparatus was marked by greater emphasis on martial compositions of Guru Gobind Singh. That is why the movement came into sharp conflict with the vested ruling interests of the community and the new rulers. (Puri 14-15)

The slogans for struggle which were adopted by the Kooka Movement were quite familiar with the methods of national freedom struggle in the nineteenth century like non-cooperation, *swedeshi* and boycott of foreign goods, of educational institutions and government courts. The colonial government had been watching the growth of the Kooka Movement with suspicion and even interned Baba Ram Singh in his village. In 1871 the murder of some butchers involved in the slaughter of cows by some

fanatical bands of kookas in Amritsar and Raikot were punished with executions and public hearings. In 1872 a group of 150 kukas attacked palace and treasury of small Indian state of Malerkotla, even against the advice of Baba Ram Singh. As a result of it, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana had blown forty nine kookas from the cannon's mouth without any kind of trial. Ram Singh Baba was deported to Burma and died in confinement in 1885. The kookas played a glorious role in the freedom struggle and after the independence this movement has been supporting the idea of world peace and social progress and struggle to strengthen national sovereignty. (Singh 12)

It was in 1887 that the Punjab government first thought of colonizing the dry waste lands of Bari and Rechna Doabs. The colonial government took a number of measures to develop the agriculture in these areas of province. The government launched a scheme to convert the desert land into fertile land by providing irrigation like extension of canal and other infrastructural facilities. Over 20 lakh acres of desert land was converted into blooming farm lands. The colonizers were selected from congested districts of Central Punjab. The government started to get enough profit and by the end of 1906 the colonizers paid to the government over rupees seven lakh as net annual profit in the form of land revenue and water charges. The colonizers felt that they were the master of the land as they had been in the old settled districts. It was they who had cleared jungles and brought the land under cultivation through hard labour. The Punjab government on the other hand assumed that land in the colonies belonged to it and that the colonizers should be governed by different rules and more stringent conditions. (Singh 19)

The reclamation of desert lands by the extension of canal irrigation and other facilities for marketing agricultural produce proved fruitful and the peasants of Punjab started to enjoy the prosperity. But this prosperity brought a number of economic changes which changed the social set-up in Punjab. The price of land increased to the great extent and small farmers used to sell their land and the number of landless farmers increased. The natural calamities like famine of 1869 compelled the peasants to take loan to pay the revenue. In the decade of 1870s the Punjab witnessed the indebtedness which had never been known in the country before. In addition to it, the legal system

introduced by the British government favorable to the moneylenders and lawyers contributed to the impoverishment of the peasants. At the social level numerous malpractices were common among the peasantry of the province which further contributed to its impoverishment. (Singh 151-152)

In such a situation Punjab experienced serious agrarian unrest. Although the Punjab land tenure system was peasant proprietary in spirit, but nearly half of its cultivated land was cultivated by tenants-at-will who had to pay as much as fifty percent of the gross produce as rent. These tenants, share-croppers and poor landholders faced serious economic burdens. The increasing indebtedness among the poor cultivating classes and consequent transfer of lands to money-lenders had worsened the agrarian unrest and it threatened the political stability of the British rule. The British government passed *The Punjab Alienation of Land Bill of 1900* to improve the agrarian relation in the province. The government considered that this bill would prevent the transfer of land to non-cultivating classes such as money-lender, the value of cultivated land could be increased and the economic conditions of the cultivators could be improved. The act neither brought any substantial benefit to the peasants nor did it curtail the economic power of money-lenders. The legal safeguards also proved failed in preventing the transfer of lands from cultivating to non-cultivating classes. The professional money-lenders were replaced by the agricultural money-lenders who had substantial land but rented it out for cultivation to the needy tenants. They also supplied credit. These land-lords were getting richer as they could invest their surplus in buying more land. (Dhaangare 42)

The government of Punjab passed another bill in 1907 to tighten its control over the colonizers. The bill was passed on the assumption that the land under the canal colonies belonged to the government and the farmers were only the tenants. The main controversial provisions of this act were those which restricted the rights of the farmers to make wills and to cut tree on their land. This bill imposed certain fresh conditions on colonizers in addition to the previously existed conditions. The civil courts were explicitly barred from hearing the complaints of colonizers, interpretation of the colonization officer being the final word. The colonizers criticized the bill as unconstitutional and going against the previous contracts (which were finalized at the

beginning of settlement in the canal colonies) between them and the government, but the government of Punjab did not take any notice of the disturbed feelings of the colonists. (Singh 19-20) In addition to it the government made drastic increase in Upper Bari Doab canal water charges which caused dissatisfaction among cultivators of these districts. In addition to it, a new settlement of district Rawalpindi was made at higher rate of assessment. The most affected districts by these measures were Lyallpur (mainly colonized by the Sikhs) and Rawalpindi. The urban politician took the lead in organizing the protest meetings. In March 1907 the atmosphere of cities and colonies had become tense. A new song was on the lips of people *Pagri Sambhal O Jatta* (O Peasant guards your honor). The students of Khalsa College Amritsar staged a hostile demonstration at the farewell visit of the outgoing lieutenant governor, Sir Charles Rivaz. The protest meetings in bigger cities were organized by lawyers and members of Arya Samaj. A leading part was taken by Lajpat Rai, Sufi Amba Parsad and Ajit Singh of Bharat Mata Society and Pindi Das, editor of India. The fiftieth anniversary of mutiny was chosen as the occasion for a province wide protest. In some places, particularly Lyallpur the demonstration had to be dispersed by force. Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were arrested and deported to Burma. The authorities decided to reduce land and water taxes. (Singh 157-159)

These issues gave rise to the Punjab disturbance 1907 which was led by the Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh, the Uncle of Sardar Bhagat Singh. The first meeting of this disturbance began with recitation of a stirring poem- *Pagri Sambhal O Jatta* (O Peasant guards your honor). (Singh 19-21)

The next important movement that had far-reaching impact on the peasants of Punjab was the famous Gadhar Movement of 1914-15. The Gadhar means violent revolutionary change. This movement has its roots in the socio-economic, political and cultural arrangements. After the annexation of Punjab the colonial government took a number of steps for the agricultural development which simultaneously brought the harsh measures of exploitation and oppression. The economic distress among the peasantry of Punjab was very common. The new legislative acts added the sufferings of the peasants including the rigorous methods of collection of taxes from the peasants. Due to these reasons the indebtedness among the peasants increased to the

large scale and the peasants were compelled to sell or mortgage their land. The economic conditions worsened further during the first decade of twentieth century because of the natural calamities like famine, drought and epidemics. In such a critical situation the Punjabis did not have any option besides to migrate to other countries for searching better avenues for their livelihood. A large number of Punjabis had already migrated to foreign lands in search of employment. They had worked as watchmen, policeman and caretakers in the Malaya, Hong-Kong, Thailand, Sumatra, Shanghai and Manila. All these immigrants came mainly from five districts of Punjab and the largest number was from the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur. Above seventy five percent of these immigrants were Sikhs and about fifty percent were ex-soldiers who had served in British Indian Army. (Puri 18-20)

These migrants experienced the developed infrastructure and modern culture in Canada and North America which was entirely different from their native place. They realized the environment of freedom which transited them to the progressive attitudes. These migrants were earning to their satisfaction level but they were the victims of racial discrimination, insults and the threat of exclusion on the foreign lands. The white Canadian and Americans generally believed that they belonged to a superior and civilized race whereas Indians and other Asians were regarded as primitive and uncivilized who were 'half-devil and half-child'. To the white labourers, these dirty coolies were interlopers who posed a threat to their wages and jobs. The white labourers demanded the check on the immigration or the exclusion of these outsiders. The more threatening for these migrants were the government of Canada's well planned measures to exclude the Indians from Canada. Canada was a British colony and there were certain reasons behind the policy of checking the immigrants especially from the India. One reason was that since the hold of the British on the minds of the Indians was related to British prestige as a (superior) white race and not military force. The close familiarity of Indians with white labour was likely to cause a loss of that prestige. Another reason was that the British government wanted to check the Indians interactions with the socialist elements as the Vancouver was the home of socialist propaganda at that time. (Puri 125-130)

The Indian immigrants realized that the problems they have faced in the foreign land were due to their slavery of foreign government. The economic exploitation of the Indians at the hands of British was the root cause of India's poverty and backwardness. The Indians were slave in their own country and they could not expect the respect in the foreign countries. The primary objective was achieving freedom of the country by expelling the foreign rulers from India. This is possible only through by armed uprising and warfare. Lala Har Dayal one of the founding father of the Ghadar Movement explained in an article published in 1913 the things would change only when peasants got mobilized for the common cause because the peasants were the first victims of the discriminated policies. (Puri 143)

The Indian immigrants were organized under the organization named as Hindustani Workers of the Pacific Coast at Stockton. The party brought premises in San Francisco and began publishing a weekly paper named Ghadar (revolution) in Urdu and latter many other Indian languages, the largest issue being in Gurmakhi. Thereafter the organization came to be known as Ghadar Party. Within a few months the Ghadar began to circulate among Indian settlers in Canada, Japan, Philipines, Hong-Cong, China, the Malaya States, Singapore, Thailand, and Honduras, South and East Africa and other countries where Indian communities were living. Thousands of copies were sent to India. (Singh 174-176)

The agenda of the Ghadar was very clear in the articles published in the paper Ghadar. The literature of Ghadar showed that one of the most important sources of inspiration for the revolutionaries was the uprising of 1857. They demanded the complete independence from the British rule. The destruction of the colonial regime was necessary in order to create a new social and political order. The propaganda for this cause was open, public and loud. They believed in the revolutionary methods to achieve their objective of complete independence. In 1914 the incident of Kamagata Maru when the Indian passengers were not allowed to board on Canadian territory soared the tension among the Indian community living in the Canada and America. The Ghadar asked the foreign Indian community that they should take lesson from the past experiences and return to the villages and towns of Punjab to spread the message of Ghadar. They should fight to expel the foreigners from the country to escape all

their problems. On 4 August 1914 the Ghadar sounded the message that it is time to return to India for struggle for complete independence because at that time the British was in trouble due to the start of war between Germany and Great Britain. By the end of October 1914, eight ships carrying big group of Ghadarites had departed from the ports of Victoria and San Francisco. They were instructed to form secret societies and kill the Englishmen and their supporters. They also contacted Punjabi soldiers and to refuse to proceed on service to battle fronts in Europe. They started their revolutionary activities with the tremendous courage without the sufficient arms and funds and without a suitable apparatus of organization. The centre of activity was Punjab and the focus was on army units stationed in North-India. The Ghaderites gathered at public fairs of Diwali and Amavas at Sikh religious places like Amritsar, Nankana Sahib, Tarn-Taran and Muktsar and encouraged strongly the group of men to rise against the British. Some of them toured villages for preaching rebellion.(Puri 154-159)

They were the first to proclaim the aim of achieving complete independence and a sovereign democratic republic for their country. The government made unprecedented repression and 145 persons were killed or hanged, 306 sentenced to transportation for life and 77 to lesser terms of imprisonment besides 300 detained in jails with trial and 2445 restricted to their villages. Properties of all those convicted were forfeited. (Singh viii)

The Akali Movement was another significant movement which was related to the cause of peasantry. Though the main issues on which this movement was built did not directly concern with the economic survival or colonial repression of the peasant class but deeply related to their social existence and religious dignity. The peasants' class thought about the threat to religious and social values by the colonial officials through the managers of gurdhwaras (Sikh shrines) who were patronized by the latter. The Gurdhwaras (Sikh shrines) have been established since the time of Guru Nanak Dev and have been centers of social interactions for the Sikh community besides being religious places. Apart from the worship and religious ceremonies connected with births, baptisms, betrothals, marriages and obsequies there were free communiyy kitchen (*guru ka langar*) and school where children learnt the alphabets of *Gurmakhi*

(Punjabi language) and their daily prayers. It also became the *panchayatghar* where the elders met to settle disputes and deliberate on the matters concerned with community. These functions were performed in the smallest village gurdhwara as well as the biggest. The Sikh shrines (gurdhwara) subsisted on the contributions of local peasants and the bigger shrines received large sums of offerings during religious festivals. During the Sikh Raj the *sardars* (heads) of the *misl*s contributed to the Sikh shrines. During the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh the entire territory of the Punjab had been divided among twelve *misl*s. In history books written in Persian language, a Jatha has been described as *misl*). Thereafter Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Sikh princes assigned the large properties to the Sikh shrines. (Singh 194)

There were not any rules and regulations for the management of the Sikh shrines (gurdhwaras) and not any qualifications were prescribed for their caretakers. During the Mughal period the job of *Granthi* (scripture reader) was considered difficult and many important shrines were entrusted to the *Udasi* order that were not fully dedicated to Khalsa or Sikhism and usually were clean-shaven. Even after the Mughal rule these shrines continued to be managed by the *Udasi* (a sect in Sikhism) and the post of manager passed from father to son. The less important shrines were looked after by the men who wished to dedicate their life to prayer and the service of the community. After the occupation of Punjab by the British, new settlement was made and the properties and lands attached to the gurdhwaras were entered against the names of the *mahants* (existing managers of gurdhwaras who did or did not believe in Sikhism). In this manner the British officials attained the control over these Sikh shrines and the managers were entirely loyal to them. The colonial government had started to interfere in the matters of Sikh shrines. On the other hand the persons belonging to *Udasi* order started to attract the Hindu worshipers to the Sikh shrines and installed images of Hindu gods and goddess in gurdhwaras (Sikh shrines) premises. There were also some cases of misuse of the sacred Sikh shrines. (Grewal 46)

The Akali Movement began to liberate the Sikh shrines from the control of mahants. The Akali Movement proved to be one of the most powerful movements in modern India. The term Akali means one who believes in Akal, the timeless and the formless one (*Akal Murat*). During the Khalsa struggle for political power in the middle

decades of the eighteenth century designation were applied to the *jatha* which led the Dal Khalsa into battles. (Kapur 340)

The corruption and malpractices were common much before the launching of the Akali struggle in 1920 because of the lack of necessary awareness among the masses. Also there was the impact of a number of other forces of purification among the Sikhs like the Nirankari, the Namdhari movements at the internal level and the external forces such as the the rise of nationalism in the country, the propaganda of native press, the activities of the Ghadarite activities and above all the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh 1919 set the stage for the Akali struggle for reform. (Singh 172)

The Akali Movement showed the signs of democratic, anti-feudalism, and anti-imperialist consciousness among the vast masses of Sikh peasantry of the central Punjab. The central aim of this movement was that the gurdhwaras (Sikh shrines) must be managed by the popularly elected representatives of the Sikhs and not by the corrupt, feudal-style *mahants* or the government or its representatives. The movement began in 1920 and the jathas or group of volunteers was organized whose main task was to liberate the gurdhwaras from the control of the *mahants* and government appointed managers. In the beginning the reformers succeeded easily in getting the control of many gurdhwaras because the government had not any clear policy and were unaware about the strength of the movement. But as the movement proceeded it had to face tough reaction from the *mahants* accompanied by the colonial government especially from the mahants of gurdhwara Nanakana, the birth place of Guru Nanak Dev. About a hundred of Akalis who entered the gurdhwara peacefully were killed. This incident attracted the nationwide attention and after this, the movement started to be a part of anti-imperialist movement at the national level. It adopted the principle of non-cooperation which was the main propaganda of freedom struggle at that time and the boycott of British goods, liquor and setting up of *Panchayats* in place of British courts however there was emphasis on the non-violence as a strategy of the movement. (Mukherjee 32-33)

The other important events of this movement were the Key- affair in which the Akalis remained successful in getting the key of the *toshakhana* (treasury in holy place) and all the Akalis released arrested in this connection. In August 1922 the *mahants* of

gurdhwara of Guru Ka Bagh and Akalis confronted each other on the issue of the control of the land attached to the gurdhwara. The government arrested four thousands Akalis and then decided to order the beating up of *jathas* with lathis (wooden stickes). The police atrocities were of brutal nature but the Akalis faced heroically with passive resistance. Another big struggle took place at Jaito in Nabha on the question of Maharaja of Nabha. The Akalis believed that Maharaja of Nabha had been deposed because of his pro Akali sympathies. In all these struggles the Akalis showed the strength by non-violent methods and remained successful in fulfilling their demands primarily of liberating the gurdhwaras from the control of *mahants*. This movement had succeeded in mobilizing almost all the sections of Sikhs and in gaining the sympathy and participation other religious groups such as Hindus and Muslims. The main base of this movement was among the Sikh peasantry of Punjab including the princely states. (Mukherjee 33-34)

The government found the solution of the Akali problem and introduced the Sikh Gurdhwara and Shrines Bill in the Punjab legislative council. It was unanimously passed on 7 July, 1925 and accepted by the Akali leadership. On the successful passage of this bill, the Governor of Punjab made a declaration and permitted Akalis to proceed to gurdhwara Gangsar in Jaito to complete the interrupted *Akhand Paths* (complete recitation of the holy scripture of the Sikhs) on certain conditions. The remarkable mobilizations took place in this movement and about thirty thousand Akalis went to jail out of which the vast majority was peasants. The strength of the Akali *jathas* in early 1922 was 15,506 and out of this a total of 10,200 belonged to caste Jat (the major landowning caste of Punjab) and another 2,399 were menials (the non-landowning artisan and labouring castes). This number excluded the Princely States, South West and South East Punjab. The main strength of the movement was in the districts of Lahore, Amritsar, Sheikhpura, Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Lyallpur. In addition to it the princely states of Kapurthla, Patiala and Nabha included the strength of this movement. (Mukherjee 35)

The brutal and merciless beatings of Akali volunteers during the Akali movement convinced many a Sikhs that British had been deliberately supporting the mahants to retain control over the gurdhwaras. They considered it as a challenge to the survival

of Sikh faith. Many of these Sikhs were ex-servicemen and fought in the First World War from the British side. They expected the sympathetic treatment from the British to their community which was struggling for the gurdhwara reforms. They were disappointed to see that their community was ruthlessly beaten by the police led by a British officer. But the leaders of Akali Movement stuck to the non-violent method or passive resistance. A few of them decided that it was not a true Sikh conduct. Guru Gobind Singh at the time of creation of Khalsa had exhorted the Sikhs to fight against oppression, to protect religion and to uphold righteous causes. These Sikhs decided to resist the British by force. This radical outgrowth of the Akali movement resulted in the emergence of the Babbar Akali insurrection. (Kapur 341)

The Educational Conference was held at Hoshiarpur in March 1921. A number of prominent Akalis such as Mota Singh and Kissan Singh Gargajj joined and discussed the matter whether or not Akalis should take to arms. They argued that the *zafarnama*, a famous couplet approved to take up sword as the last resort. Mota Singh came from the family of Sikh patriots whose grandfather was a soldier in the Khalsa army and had fought against the British. He was an educated person and devoted his life to the cause of education among Sikhs. He was one of the founder members of SGPC (Shiromani Gurdhwara Parbadhak Committee), an institution to manage the religious affairs of the Sikhs. When he met the Kissan Singh Gargajj at Hoshiarpur he was also one of those who were disillusioned with the policy of passive resistance. Kisan Singh was a devout Sikh and served in the British army as Havildar Major. When he was in the army he severely criticized the British government for many events like the demolition of the wall of Gurdhwara Rakabgang in Delhi, killing of the passengers of *Kamagata Maru* at Budge Budge and the Jallian wala Bagh massacre. He was court-martialed and sentenced to twenty eight days imprisonment in military custody. Thereafter, he sought voluntary release from the army and joined Akali movement. In this manner the Akalis who did not believe in non-violent methods decided to proceed with armed struggle against the colonial government and its supporters who might be informers, toadies and even *mahants*. They believed in the radical policy of Sikhism given by the Guru Gobind Singh of armed struggle at the last resort for the righteous cause. Some of the members of Ghadar party included the ex-servicemen and radical Sikhs joined the Babbar Akali Movement. In the beginning the members of Babbar

movement started to mobilize the masses for armed struggle and the support of army was also enlisted for this purpose. They held numerous *Diwans* and meetings in the village. The government issued the arrest warrant against them on the information of their activities. As a result of it, they went underground and set up Chakarvarti jathas which started intensive agitation in the villages and called for violent struggle to overthrow the foreign government. The center of this movement was the Doaba region (the land lies between two rivers that is Sutluj and Beas) that covered the districts Hoshiarpur, Jullundhar and Kapurthla. The government informers, toadies and touts helped the police in harassing the common people and implicating even the ordinary Akalis in false cases and therefore the later were the targets of the informers. In a meeting held in the Hoshiarpur in August 1922 the name of Chakarvati jathas changed to Babbar Akali Jatha. A working committee of Babbar Akali Jatha was elected with the Kissan Singh Gargajj as *Jathedar* (leader of the jatha). Karam Singh Dalutpur had started a paper named "Babbar Akali Doab" in August 1922. The paper was cyclo-styled which was adopted as the official paper of Babbar Akali Jatha. The cyclo-style machine was called Udaru Press (mobile press) (Singh 132-134)

The Babbar Akalis have been struggling primarily for reforms in the management of gurdhwaras but gradually the nature of their struggle turned anti-British. Majority of them belonged to the small peasants' families and were ex-soldiers and became aware about the new ideas of world. They also got anti-imperialist feeling because of the indifferent attitude of the colonial government towards the Sikh community in spite of its loyalty during War. (Singh 60)

The Babbar Movement was confined to the Doaba region and realized the significance of the support of peasantry of this region to target the supporters of colonial government like the *zamindars* and *lambardars*. The peasantry of the Doaba region at that time had to pay the substantial part of their earnings as land-revenue to the colonial government. The peasantry was dissatisfied with the attitude of the petty functionaries such *zaildars*, *lambardars* and *patwaris* who were accountable for the collection of government dues in addition to the political right of the British government of extracting the revenue. The Babbars remained successful in this objective by their campaign at the village level and through the policy to challenge

the rural functionary of the government. It had become an important way to express dissatisfaction against the foreign rule and the government functionaries stopped reporting against them to the government. The strategy of striking the fear among the local functionaries remained successful and many of local officials wanted to resign.

The colonial government decided to suppress the Babbar Jatha and announced the awards for the arrest of prominent Babbars and arrested a number of members of Babbar Jatha. The government raided simultaneously 39 villages and arrested seventy one persons. In less than a month one hundred and sixteen members were arrested. The court judgment awarded death sentence to six, thirteen were imprisoned for life and another twenty three given extensive periods in prison. The Babbar Jatha gave orientation to the peasant movement which was expression of discontent against the economic grievances as well as the imperialism. (Devalle and Oberoi 158-160)

The left and socialist trend emerged in Punjab in the latter half of twenties. The *Muhajirs*, the nationalist youth, the Akali militants and members or sympathizers of the Ghadar party was introduced the ideas of socialism and left in Punjab. All these had the same objective of to organize the oppressed sections of society for struggle against imperialism and communalism. They demanded complete independence and the establishment of workers' and peasants' government in India. (Josh 238)

Like many other parts of the country, Punjab came under the influence of communist ideas after the Great October Revolution in 1917. The triumph of the socialism became the source of inspiration to the militant nationalists of Punjab who was struggling for the overthrow of the foreign rule. In fact the peasantry in Punjab was considerably alienated because of the oppressive policies of British government. The growing peasant discontent found expression in the origin of various anti-imperialist movements in the state. A large number of radical elements who were mobilized in these movements became the focal points of the communist movement in the Punjab. Militant nationalism of the peasantry provided the base for the spread of revolutionary ideas in Punjab. The guidance and help provided by the Russian revolution also played an important role in organizing various anti-imperialist forces. (Brar109)

In February 1915 the fifteen students from different colleges of Lahore left India for Kabul. They came to be known as *Muhajirs* (emigrants) who desired to fight Jihad

(holy war) for the freedom of India from the British rule. By this time M.N. Roy had founded the Communist Party of India at Tashkent. On their arrival in Soviet Union the emigrants joined the Roy's party and attended the training courses in Tashkent and Moscow in revolutionary warfare. After completing the courses they had made attempts to come back to India. On the way back to India most of them were arrested and tried in four successive Communist conspiracy cases between 1921 and 1924 in Peshawar. Those who had reached India successfully made contacts with the other communist groups in the country and played important role in the organization of Kirti Kissan Party and the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha in Punjab. (Josh 50-51)

The communist group at Lahore was formed by the Ghulam Hussain towards the end of 1922. He started communist newspaper named as *Inqilab* (revolution) from Lahore. *Inqilab* published the Urdu translations of a series of articles by M.N. Roy. The main function of the *Inqilab* or communist group was to recruit members into their circle and dissemination of the communist literature received from abroad. They made efforts to organize Labour and Kissan Party of Hindustan but colonial government arrested the prominent among them and they were not successful. In July 1923 *Inqilab* ceased publication but its publishers were attempting to obtain a foothold in the labour organization of Lahore. During this period their main activity was to recruit members for Labour and Kissan Party of Hindustan which was founded by Singaravelu on 1 May 1923.

In March 1913 when the Hindi Association of Pacific Coast of America was brought into existence, Santokh Singh was its founding member. He came under the influence of Marxist ideas and views about the Russian revolution with the help of fellow communist prisoners during his imprisonment at McNeil Island jail. He was imprisoned here for twenty one months by the American government under the pressure of British government into conspiracy case. In 1920 he considered of reorganizing the Ghadar Party. He emphasized that India needs social, political and industrial revolution. He advised the people to study the Marxian theory and learn about revolution. In January 1923 Santokh Singh was reported to have gone to Russia. On behalf of Ghadar party along with Rattan Singh he attended the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. (Josh 64-67)

The militant struggle which was launched by the Ghadar Party and Babbar Akalis created a new awakening among the youth in Punjab. A large number of educated youth young men were unsatisfied with the Gandhian technique of non-violent struggle and leaned towards the revolutionary terrorist movement. Bhagat Singh and his comrades organized the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in 1926 to mobilize the youth on the revolutionary lines. The young revolutionaries of Punjab established contacts with their counterparts in other provinces through the Hindostan Republic Association (1928). (Singh 114)

The Ghadar party realized the necessity of having an independent ideological paper in Punjabi. The paper named as *Kirti* was started in 1926 by the Ghadar party. The front page of this journal bore a picture in which *Kirti* was shown placing a garland of flower on the body of a dead hero. The *Kirti* emphasized the importance of organization of labour and on the revolutionary method for achieving the objective of freedom. The *Kirti* was not only a propaganda journal but a mobiliser and organizer also. It tended to organize the youth, workers and peasants around the journal. The *Kirti* management had decided to build an organization of the youth and had brought out a poster signed by Bhag Singh Canadian and Sohan Singh Josh. They were also making preparations to hold conference in the Jallian Wala Bagh from 11 to 13 April, 1928. The Naujwan Bharat Sabha formed by Bhagat Singh remained active only for short period from March 1926 to April 1927. By the efforts of Lahore communists and *Kirti* group, the Naujwan Bharat Sabha (NBS) was revised by the efforts of Lahore communists and *Kirti* group in April 1928. The main objective of the NBS was to establish a complete independent republic of the labourers and the peasants of the whole of India and to organize the labourers and peasants for this purpose. (Singh 241)

The *Kirti* group realized the need of a solid organization to achieve its objectives. Some held the opinion that the bigger task before them was the organization of workers. A total of ninety percent of the workers were peasants in Punjab. The workers' organization in Punjab primarily meant the organization of peasants. On 12 April 1928 a meeting was held in Amritsar at Jallianwala Bagh on the invitation of Sohan Singh Josh and Bhag Singh Canadian to organize workers and peasants. It was

unanimously resolved that a party named Kirti Kissan Party was to be established in order to organize the workers and peasants and those who attended this meeting would be its members. Sohan Singh Josh and M. A. Majid were elected secretary and joint secretary respectively. A five member committee was appointed to prepare the rules of the party. The agenda of this party was entirely based on the principles of Marxism like all means of production should be nationalized, land should be distributed among the cultivators, and the revenue should be reduced and should be proportionate to the production but in spite on the land, the wages of the industrial workers should be increased and the village panchayats should be reorganized to increase the representation of cultivators and other rural workers on the election basis. (Sing 91-92)

The spread of revolutionary ideas in the state alarmed the British government. In order to check the growth of the revolutionary movement the British administration adopted a repressive policy and number of revolutionaries were put on trial including Sohan Singh Josh in Lahore and Peshawar conspiracy cases and given severe punishments. Besides this the communists advanced their activities and on 10 February, 1933 a body known as the Rajsi Qaidi Chhuraao Committee (committee for the release of political prisoners) was organized for the release of 1914-15 (first Lahore conspiracy case) and to assist all political prisoners. The government had to yield under popular pressure and order the release of some of the revolutionaries. Sohan Singh Josh organized an anti-imperialist league in the Punjab after his release from jail. (Singh 116)

In September 1934 the government declared the revolutionary organizations or their branches as illegal and banned their activities. After the ban the individuals who were active in these organizations reorganized themselves under the banner of Punjab Kissan Qarza Committee in 1935. These *Qarza* (debt) committees combined agrarian agitation with communist propaganda. The main demands of communists during this phase were the cancellation of debts and assessment of land revenue on the basis of income tax. It also denounced the oppressive methods of the government, criticized the Congress for being the party of the capitalists and encouraged the villagers to establish Qarza (debt) Committees. In the latter half of 1935 the Communist Party of

India realized the need of the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces on the common platform for the common objective, that is, complete independence. The immediate task was considered to unite all the forces of the National Congress, the trade unions, the peasants' organizations and youth organizations. It was a practice of this new thinking which helped the communist party to build for the first time a real All India Communist Party with provincial committees in almost all the provinces. In May 1936 the Provincial Socialist Committee and Punjab anti-imperialist league (Josh group) agreed to merge in a single party known the Punjab Congress Socialist Party. The main demands of the party were complete independence, the repeal of all repressive laws and ordinances, the release of all political prisoners, the assessment of land revenue on the income-tax basis, the cancellation of agriculturists' debts, free education and abolition of native states. This party was also been supported by the Indian National Congress and Jawaharlal Nehru attended the congress of this party. (Singh 247)

The Punjab Kissan Committee was formed in 1937 and was affiliated to the All India Kissan Committee, the peasants' wing of the Communist Party of India. It became the provincial level organization which represented all the left groups in the province, the Kirtis, the Congress Socialist Party and the CPI (Communist Party of India). Baba Jawala Singh, a remarkable Ghaterite became the president of this Kissan Committee. The formation of Punjab Kissan Sabha gave big boost to the peasant movement in the period following formation of Congress ministries in majority of provinces and restoration of civil liberties. The peasant movements had been going on even before formation of the committee both in British and the princely states. The workers and peasants party, the *Qarza* Committee, the *Kirti* Party mobilizing them for the solution of their urgent problems and official communist groups had been agitating among peasants. (Mukherjee 133)

In this period, the Parja Mandal movement took birth in the East Punjab States formally in 1928. It was a reaction against 'double repression' resulting from colonial rule and autocratic regimes in the Princely states. The main focus of the movement was Punjabi Speaking areas of Patiala State the largest of all these states. After some time the movement spread over to other nearby states of Nabha, Jind and Malerkotla.

In the latter phase the movement spread to Faridkot and Kapurthala states as well. This movement was led by different sections of the society at different times. In the first decade of its emergence (1928-38), the movement was primarily led by rural based Akali leaders who had earlier participated in the Gurdwara Reform Movement of 1921-24. In 1938, an important section of the peasant leadership in the movement linked to the communist-led Punjab Kissan Committee, Amritsar, led a militant *Mazara* (tenant) movement against *biswedars* (landlords of the Patiala state). During this period (1938-39), the social base of the movement was broadened by the inclusion of pro-Congress urban (Hindu) professionals and businessmen. In 1945 the three constituents of the movement separated into three independent political groups that were Akali Dal, Praja Mandal and the Communists. (Dhami 98) In the first phase the movement aimed at ending autocratic rule in the states, defending democratic rights and liberties of the common people and improving the economic conditions of the people. The refusal of the release of Seva Singh Thikriwala from the jail was the immediate issue for starting the movement. He was an Akali leader who participated in Akali movement and was released by the Punjab government in 1925 but got arrested by the Patiala police. This movement got full support from the Master Tara Singh-Kharak Singh faction of the Akalis in Punjab. The Punjab Riasti Praja Mandal came into being on 17 July, 1928 and Sewa Singh Thikriwala was elected its president. The Riasti Praja Mandal was linked to the All India States' Peoples' Conference and its membership was open to any state subjects irrespective of religion, caste and community. The protracted agitation by the people of states especially the Sikh peasantry led to the release of Sewa Singh Thikriwala in August 1929. (Dhami 99-100) In the period of 1938-41 the Praja Mandal Movement leaned towards the radicalization. During this period this movement acquired its space in the urban areas of the East Punjab States. After the mid 1930's the leaders of Praja Mandal movement emphasized on the organization of Kissan Sabhas to uphold the issues of tenants. The tenants were struggling at that time against the landlords on the issue of *batai* (landlord's share of the produce). In this struggle the tenants were led by Praja Mandal leaders having communist orientations. But the tenants realized that their struggle against biswedari could not be carried out effectively unless they had their own organization. As a result of it the Muzara Committee was formed in early

1939 under the president ship of Narain Singh Bhadur. The main function of the Muzara Committee was to coordinate, guide and prepare propaganda on behalf of the tenant movement. The Committee and its leaders mostly functioned from outside the state and kept the agitation alive by posters, pamphlets and communications to the press. The leaders of Muzara Committee renamed it as the Kissan Muzara Committee identifying it with broader Kissan Movement. The “no batai” (no share in the produce from the land cultivated by the tenants) agitation of 1939 was conducted under the banner of Kissan Muzara Committee. The tenants gave the proper shape to their organization in the post-war period to struggle against the landlord. The all state Muzara Committee was established and new village and tehsil committees were also formed to strengthen the organizational base of the movement. The State Muzara Committee appealed for help to the other parties like the Praja Mandal, the Communist Party, the Muslim league and the Akali Party but due to the partition of the country and communal disturbance disrupted the organization of the peasants in this period. (Singh 36-38)

Peasants’ Movement in Post-Independence era

Punjab has seen several rounds of mass mobilization of farmers in the post-independence period. Each round had its own distinct characteristics and issues of struggle. Mass mobilizations of farmers have always been in response to specific issues and have left a distinct mark on the rural society. The first such mobilization was the PEPSU tenants' struggle during 1948-52. (Gill 2964) The PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab State Union) consisted of eight districts namely Patiala, Sangrur, Barnala, Bathinda, Fathengarh Sahib, Kapurthla, Mohindergarh and Kandaghat. The peasants’ movement in these areas represented the tenants and landlords grievances. This movement was led by Lal (Red) Communist Party of legendary comrade Teja Singh Swatantar. These areas controlled and administered by the erstwhile princes class before 1948. The semi-feudal agrarian structure was existed there in which the biswedars played an important role. After the formation of PEPSU the tenants’ problem became alarming and acquired different dimensions because of number of reasons. After independence the tenants had the single force to fight. Before 1947 they had to struggle against feudalism and imperialism. The power of the princes and

landlords got weakened after the formation of PEPSU, while the peasants' got strengthened. Secondly a large number of tenants migrated to Pakistan whose land was occupied by the landlords and refused any land to the tenants uprooted from Pakistan. The landlords began to evict the tenants forcefully because of the fear of favorable legislation to them by the Congress government. The tenants-landlords relations were based on certain unwritten code of conduct which neither the tenants nor the landlords were ready to follow. Because of these reasons the landlords and tenants' controversy got alarming. The government could not solve the alarming agrarian issues as it failed to legislate any law in this respect. (Singh 39-48)

The government tried to implement *Farman-i-Shahi* (order of prince issued before the partition regarding agrarian policy) which was denied by the landlords and well as the tenants. The forcible implementation of the *Farman-i-Shahi* led to clashes between the police and tenants and tenants remained successful to resist the landlord and police in the collection of *batai* and possessed the land. As a result of the initial success the movement broadened its base and a large number of occupancy tenants, tenants-at-will, poor peasants and other exploited sections in rural society joined it. The slogans on which this movement was based during this period were as capturing the land, resist the eviction and win the allies from among the anti-feudal sections. It was very clear that the peasantry was under the influence of Communist Party and therefore started a militant movement though in the beginning it preferred to avoid clash with the police. The police repression on the peasants, particularly the communists' workers was very common. A large number of them were implicated in the false cases. But these repressive measures making the tenants more determined against the government which was evident from their reaction of.

The government tried to suppress the movement with the help of police and failed as the peasants occupied the biswedari land forcefully. The government while warning against the illegal occupation of land could not prevent the peasants from doing so. The biswedars left the villages and fled to the cities to save their lives. Many landlords voluntarily surrendered all their land to the tenants. The government made efforts to resolve the issues of the tenants and set up two committees for this agrarian reform. The first committee was established in 1950 by the congress government and another

committee was set up in 1952. These committees recommended the abolition of the biswedari system the occupancy. In 1952 the government passed legislation and abolished the biswedari system and the land was given to the tillers. The tenants got the occupancy rights of the land without the payment of any compensation to the biswedars and landlords. This act also protected the tenants against the eviction. (Singh 49-58)

The second massive mobilization took place during 1958-59. This was known as Anti-betterment Levy agitation. This was in response to the imposition of a betterment levy by the Punjab government after opening of the Bhakra canal. The government increased water rates for irrigation purposes imposing heavy financial liability on the farmers. This movement was led by Kissan Sabha of CPI. This movement succeeded in the withdrawal of the Betterment levy. (Gill 2966)

After the launching of Green Revolution the farmers of Punjab were mobilized under the banner of Bhartiya Kissan Union. Punjab considered the heartland of Green Revolution as it was among the states where it was launched firstly to meet the challenges of the food shortage in the country. The Bhartiya Kissan Union was considered a non-political peasants' organization, though it had friendly relations with the Akali Dal known to be the political party of the Jat Sikh farmers and started by then prominent leader Master Tara Singh. Prior to the crisis in farm economy, the farmers of Punjab and Haryana were involved in political struggles, sometimes by the Praja Mandal Party and Kissan Sabha started by the CPI and CPI (M) and Kirti Kissan Union organized by the CPI (ML). The existing peasants' organizations such as Kissan Sabha of the CPI and CPI(M) and the newer one the Kirti Kissan Union of CPI(ML) had either become marginalized or fallen into line with BKU. It is the significant fact that no attempt has been made by the left and other non-left organizations to oppose the BKU on the issues related to the farmers. The resulting autonomy of the BKU enabled it to acquire and maintain the support from each and every section of peasantry. (Gill 195)

After the Green Revolution even the small farmers in Punjab had turned to commercial farming and had marketable surplus due to higher productivity. The main reason for the farmers' discontent was during 1978-80 period the gap between the

prices they received for their farm produce and the input cost for the production of produce. The prices they received for their farm produce were far lower than the prices they had paid for seeds, fertilizers and other agricultural inputs for the record output. Because of this reason the terms of trade between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the Punjab economy were completely upset and to the disadvantage of the farmers. In addition to it due to the short supply of diesel its fuel prices had gone up. As a result of it the tractor and other farm machinery became expensive and unviable from operation. The BKU started *morchas* and protest against the government and pointing out these difficulties but Akali Dal government was unable to give any relief to provide the farmers. (Dhanagare 63)

Bhartiya Kissan Union came into being on 20 December, 1980. It is the new name of Punjab Khelibari Zamidara Union. The Punjab Khetibari Zimindara Union came into existence in 1972 in response to the announcement of no change in the procurement price of wheat. This union has fought many agitations to uphold the various issues of peasantry. The BKU was organized with the efforts of farmers of Ludhiana. Of the eight prominent persons responsible for the establishing this organization two had a distinct political career. One of them is Baba Mohinder Singh Thind. He was one of the secretaries of the erstwhile Unionist Party of pre-partition Punjab. The second one is Partap Singh Kadian who was an Akali MLA. In the beginning the union had its influence in Ludhiana district and the adjoining parts of Patiala districts. But gradually during the various agitations it managed to organize units in different districts. The union has its units at four levels i.e, village, block, district and state. Since 1974 the union has been publishing its weekly journal Kissan Masley (farmers' issues) in Punjabi. The union highlights general rural demands such as creation of more educational, health and communication facilities in the rural areas, reservation for rural areas in services and in professional and other educational institutions, industrialization of rural areas, use of whole income of market committees and the share of rural people from octroi for development of rural areas. It puts forward a large number of demands of peasantry in general and the rich farmers in particular. They include remunerative prices of agricultural produce, inputs at concessional rates and allotment of more land to the farmers having less than ten acres of land, twenty five percent higher than the market prices for land acquired by the government for any

purpose, reduction of the prices of fertilizers, tractors, diesel, pesticides, insecticides, cement, steel and clothes etc, saving the farmers from the loot by improvement trusts and middlemen, getting representatives of Punjab Agricultural University (PAU) Ludhiana, nominated on the APC (Agricultural Price and Cost Commission), getting procurement prices fixed before the sowing season, getting interest free loan for allied agricultural activities, abolition of estate duty, wealth tax and betterment tax etc on agricultural wealth. It also demands old age pension at fifty eight years of age for farmers with land up to five acres and free education and scholarships for the children. In addition to it some general issues were being upheld by the union like abolition of smuggling, corruption, quota system, licensing system, inefficiency and ignorance, imposition on ceiling on income and property in non-agricultural occupations in terms of definition of a family as specified in Agricultural Land Ceiling Act of 1972 and better status of women in society.(Singh 111-124)

Though the programme of the union includes many general issues related to rural areas and some specific problems of small farmers, yet it has not taken up any such specific issues. Up to April 1981 the union fought seven major agitations which took up issues mainly related to the rich peasantry. These issues were anti-single state food zone (1974), power rate for electric tube wells (1974-75), increased water rates, increased water rates, revenue and commercial tax (1975), replacement of defective tractors (1977-78), diesel *morcha* (1979), sugarcane prices and related issues 1977-83), milk prices strike (1981) and agitation on procurement prices of wheat, tariff rates of electricity (1984) etc. This was because of the fact that the leadership of the union was in the hands of the rich peasantry. Most of these leaders have held elected offices in panchyats, bloc samities and cooperative institutions .Some of them have a service background. They represent the politically active and resourceful section of peasantry. Though the leadership was largely provided by the rich peasantry yet small and marginal farmers were also the members of the union. The union demonstrated the strength in different demonstrations with the participation of the poor peasants.(Gill 1729)

The mass movement was banned in Punjab during the June 1984 and February 1992 due to the terrorism and farmers' mobilization was also not allowed by the

government during this time. After the restoration of democratic process in the state in 1992 the process of mobilisation got revised. The BKU had split in 1989 in two major factions. One was led by Bhupinder Singh Mann and Balbir Singh Rajewal and another by Ajmer Singh Lakhawal. This split resulted out of the nomination of Mr. Mann to Rajaya Sabha by VP Singh government. During the 1989 and 1992 the Lakhawal faction became important but its President Ajmer Singh Lakhawal indulged in Akali factional politics and it boycotted the Punjab legislative Assembly elections in 1992. Consequently, the BKU further split in 1994 and BKU Ekta was born of the Lakhawal faction of BKU. BKU (Ekta) further split into two factions in 2003. One faction was led by Pishawra Singh Sidhpur and the other by Joginder Singh Ugrahan. The factionalism in BKU gave rise to its four factions, in the same ways as there are three Kisan Sabhas Controlled by CPI, CPI (M) and Pasla group of CPI (M). In addition to it there are three independent Left organisations named as Kirti Kisan Union (KKU) Kisan Sanghrash Committee (KSC) and Kisan Vikas Morcha (KUM). The subdivision of the farmers' movement into more than one and half dozen groups made it quite weak. It struggled against the withdrawal of free power to tube wells and the introduction of charges on canal water for irrigation without much resistance from the farming community. Except from small number of farmers in Tarn-Taran belt of Amritsar district, farmers had started paying electricity bills and irrigation charges. (Gill 2964)

The long period of non-mobilisation followed the split in the movement led to the fragmentation and marginalization of the organized movement. In this period the Indian agriculture was prone to the global trading system under World Trade Organization. There has been stagnation in the income of the farmers because of the low productivity and higher cost of production in 1990s. The condition of the farmers became miserable particularly in the cotton belt of Sangrur, Mansa, and Bathinda districts due to the rising debt and cost of production. This has given birth to the phenomenon of farmers suicides since mid-1980s. In the absence of organized farmers' movement, the farmers became alienated, frustrated and started committing suicides. In the closing years of twentieth century and afterwards the experience of struggle and working of new economic policies brought the farmers' organizations ideologically closer. The farmers' organization joined hands to struggle the

contemporary issues like timely intervention of FCI for market clearance of paddy, continuation of procurement under FCI and maintenance of MSP system of wheat, paddy and other crops. After a long period the left parties and groups began to lead in the process of farmers' mobilization. The farmers' organizations have struggled peacefully and demonstrate its resistance to the government against the anti-farmers policies. (Gill 1965)

To sum up the farmers mobilization is a perpetual phenomenon existing in the agrarian society of Punjab in one or another form. The nature and form of the mobilization of peasantry is always shaped by the socio, economic and political circumstances prevailing at different times in the social structure of Punjab. The peasant mobilization has passed through different phases and influenced policy programme of the government on one hand and got influenced to change its strategy according to the governmental activities on the other. Moreover, it is a continuous process though its intensity depends upon the nature of crisis or issues of peasantry in Punjab.

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FARMERS' MOVEMENTS IN PUNJAB IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES: MAJOR ISSUES

The agrarian society is facing serious crisis at the national, regional and local levels. The farmers in Punjab produced the food for whole India and made the country self-sufficient, but they did not get the deserved benefits. The countless issues have disturbed the socio-economic life of the farmers because of the low return from the agricultural produce and indifference from the concerned authorities. In response to the huge crisis the farmers in Punjab are compelled to mobilize on different contemporary issues but unfortunately they lack cohesion. The factionalism among the peasants' organizations weakens the mobilization process. The farmer's organizations are fragmented on the different bases. The peasantry in Punjab is generally the victim of different problems but additionally different sections of peasants are suffering from different kinds of problems due to their specific geographical location.

An Overview Farmers 'Organizations in Punjab

The country has of late been witnessing a loud spectacle of the farmer agitations compelling the attention of Indian polity to the ailments of agrarian sector. Farming has essentially become a debt ridden activity and the farmers barely managing to survive enduring the floundering state support as equally the erratic monsoon. Love to grow and celebrate the fundamental, to agriculture has now turned to the vocabulary of despair. Farming has become a narrative of growing pauperization of marginal and poor peasants, selling their land, slipping below poverty line and ending up as bonded labour. And in many cases, the punishing onslaughts of woes choke him up altogether. The narrative in Punjab has not been any different. Once a food bowl, the state has been feeling the pangs of agrarian crisis, the conflict and the tragedy of the past and the present, debt and poor prices year after year. The inputs for crops being manifold and the returns among the lowest in the world are making farming a loss making venture. The bumper produce does not necessarily mean good returns for farmers,

though India profited, but the gains have not been passed on to the farmer of Punjab state and the farmer has been left to fend for himself.

The government is not exactly unaware of the monumental neglect of the farming community, but it has been applying cosmetic measures to address the looming agrarian crisis than explicit measures that would excite the community. And the added pain is that the community fails to collect, gather, grow and speak up in unified voice.

There is no denying the fact that the agrarian crisis is national in dimension but it has regional and at times local character. Socio-economic, geographical, environment and at times political factors may be determinant equally or variably for the patchy performance of the sector. The experts are of the view that the intensive agriculture under the green revolution in Punjab had the fall out of environmental degradation and eventual deterioration of production in the absence of sustainable solutions.

The high yielding varieties of seed, fertilizers, insecticides and new machinery were used to get sufficient output from the fields. The farmers and the government were successful in securing the positive results in the first decade of the launching of the green revolution but steadily its adverse effects started to show up. The high production of food resulted in the food sufficiency but the farmers' income started declining due to the crippling disparity between input and output cost of the crop.

A committee was constituted under the chairmanship of R. S. Ghuman, an eminent agricultural economist which reported that the farmers in the state faced a loss of rupees 61,696 crore from 1966-67 to 2007-2008 as the minimum support prices of the crops were not attached with the whole sale price index. The farmers had to depend upon the loan to meet their necessities because the support prices of the crops particularly wheat and paddy could not meet even the inputs. The banks did not fix the maximum limit for achieving maximum target of providing loans by ignoring the economic realities of the farmers. As a result of it, the loan reached to 75,000 Crores out of which 60,000 crores was the crop loan. In addition to it, the farmers in the state depend upon the commission agents and it is estimated that a total of twenty two percent of the loan is taken from the commission agents who double as money lenders. The rate of interest of the loan from commission agents is much higher (18 to 36 percent) than the institutional loan (4 to 19 percent). In such a situation the ill-fated farmers are compelled to choose the way of suicides. According to the university

surveys conducted from 2000-2015 a total of 16606 farmers committed suicides. A total of eighty seven percent of the agricultural related suicides committed due to the burden of loan or inability of the farmers to repay the loan. A total of seventy six percent of the farmers who committed suicides belonged to the small and marginal farmer's category.

The recent socio-economic and caste census data reveals that sixty five percent of rural households are landless in the state. The facts suggest that farmers in state are either selling their prime agricultural land which indicates de-peasantisation in the state rural economy. Consequently, the peasants have been compelled to go to labour market for their earnings in most of the cases to non-agricultural sector. Due to the rising debt trap and decreasing land holdings because of the subdivision and selling of the land the number of peasant suicides has increased to the worrying level.

In the beginning the process of farming related suicides were confined to the cotton belt of Punjab consisting of Mansa, Sangrur, Bathinda, Ferozepur and Faridkot districts. The higher input prices for production of cotton and its damage by the harmful insects and the supply of duplicate insecticides deteriorated the economic condition of the farmers of the cotton belt and the farmers of this particular region are considered mainly the victims of heavy loans. But of late these assumptions have been negated as the farmers from the non-cotton belt districts like the Fathehgarh Sahib, Ludhiana and Gurdaspur are committing suicides. The stagnation and decline in the agrarian income remained unattended for lending to the last two decades which has led to the high indebtedness leading to agriculture related suicides.

The serious environmental degradation issues like the depletion of ground water, deficiency in micronutrients and deteriorating quality of air in the space of last five decades have frustrated the agrarian society as it has led to the enhancing of input cost of the farmers on the production of crop and thus challenging the survival of their occupation. The depletion and deteriorating quality of the ground water beyond its sustainability is worrying matter for the farmers in particular and public in general. The stubble burning in the harvesting season of paddy and wheat has increased the pollution in the air. It is yet another problem for the farmers as the government has put ban on the burning of stubble but without providing an adequate and economical method to the farmers. It requires an extra cost to manage the residue without burning.

The governments seem to have failed to support the farmers as it has not provided any concrete solution of their problems.

The problems of the farmers in Punjab are so glaring and the objective indicators show the worsening of the conditions. The solutions are not possible without the sincere efforts of the experts, government and the disadvantaged peasants.

In a democratic set up, the farmers could decide to keep quiet and stitch their own mouths at their own peril. The only hope in the face of despair and nightmare of the times is to speak up in one unified voice. It could lend their cause, the strength and urgency and let the issues be addressed holistically to meet the future needs of the country for food and fibre.

No doubt the farmers in Punjab have been mobilizing on a number of contemporary issues. But the efforts have proved futile in the face of the factionalism that plagues the mobilisation itself with discordant notes dissipating their energies in petty ideological, political and geographical issues rather than prime organizational concerns. A unified state level platform to represent the farming community like one mother organization to feel the pulse of suffering farmers and then offer the remedial measures to ameliorate their condition is the need of the hour. But that has been and is wishful thinking. The reality is far from encouraging.

The number of peasants' organizations which are vocal and claim to be genuine is more than twenty. Once the principal organization Bhartya Kissan Union has been divided and subdivided umpteen times, due to political, personal and geographical reasons. Quite far from raising a united voice, every farmers' gathering is a more an occasions of contestations than of consensus bringing in local, regional and even ideological issues to the fore.

Of late, the ending 2017 to be precise, some glimmer of the emergence of a unified voice from a national platform All India Kissan Sangharash Committee has been witnessed. A total of one hundred and ninety four peasant organizations all over India joined the same platform to strengthen the farmers' movement at the national level on the common issues like the complete waiver of the debt and the remunerative prices for their crops according to the report of Swaminathanan Commission. The All India Sangharash Committee (AIKSC), sort of an umbrella organization was formed in response to spontaneous struggles of farmers in different states like Maharashtra and

Madhya Pradesh for debt relief and remunerative prices and for securing their demands. The farmers of Punjab were very vocal partners in the meet.

However, the kisan unions in Punjab are an assortment of nomenclatures. There are eight factions of *Bhartiya Kissan Union* (BKU) i.e. *BKU Mann*, *BKU Rajewal*, *BKU Lakhawal*, *BKU Ekta (Ughran)*, *BKU Ekta (Dhakoda)*, *BKU Krantikari*, *BKU Sidhpur* and *BKU Kadian*. There are three *Kissan Sabhas* controlled by CPI, CPI (M) and Pasla group of CPI (M) and three leftist independent organisations namely *Kirti Kissan Union*, *Kissan Sangharash Committee* and *Kissan Vikas Morcha*. The *Kissan Sangharash Committee* is divided in two groups, one led by Satnam Singh Pannu and other by Kawaipreet Singh Pannu. Some of the peasants' organizations have constituted its separate units to function in specific areas on issues like the *Jamhoori Kissan Sabha* formed its units namely *Border Area Sanghrash Committee* and *Mand Bet Abadkar Committee* to function in border areas and *mand* areas in Punjab respectively. These areas have a number of additional issues including the general issues of the farmers of Punjab due to the specific geographical location. There are some independent peasants' organizations which are constituted by the farmers in certain areas like the *Pagri Sambal O Jatta*, *Kissan Sangharash Committee (Azad)*, *Border Area Kissan Welfare Society*, *Krantikari kissan Union Punjab* and *Doaba Sangharash Committee*. The *Pagri Sambal O Jatta* and *Doaba Sangharash committee* belong to the Doaba region but mobilize the peasants on all the general issues of peasantry including the local issues. The eight factions of *Bhartiya Kissan Union* have been working in the Malwa region in collaboration with certain other independent peasants' and labourers' organizations like *Kissan Sangharash Committee (Azad)*, *Doaba Sangharash Committee* and *Pagri Sambal O jatta*. There are certain agricultural labourers' organisations such as *Punjab Khet Majdoor Union*, *Krantikari Pendu Majdoor Union*, *Dihati Majdoor Sabha*, *Pendu Majdoor Union (Mishal)* and *Majdoor Mukti Morcha* etc. The independent left peasant organizations i.e. the *Kissan Sangharash Committee* (Kawalpreet Singh Pannu), *Kirti Kissan Union*, *Jamhoori Kissan Sabha* and *Punjab Kissan Sabha* are active in the different areas of Majha region. The *Kissan Sangharash committee* led by Satnam Singh Pannu has its influence in some areas of Malwa and Doaba like the Ferozepur, Faridkot, Moga, Fazilka, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur and Nawashahar including the whole Majha region.

Since Punjab has sort of feudal agrarian society, it is the middle and small farmers who mostly organize and run numerous *kissan* organizations. The fragmentations of various organizations impact not only the mobilisation but also the intensity of the assertion of the purpose vis-à-vis the gravity of the issues raised from time to time. The damage of the cotton crop due to the attack of insect white fly in the Malwa region in 2015, the implementation of the farm loan waiver by the government as promised loud and clear by the Congress party if returned to power, in 2016, are glaring examples of the indifference in general.

Farmers' distress is too big an issue for any party to ignore, especially the farmers' suicides. But even such monumental issues get side tracked due to their fragmentation and the conflicting attitude of the farmer's organizations. The introduction of Money Laundering Act, which addresses most of the chronic troubles of the farmers, could have worked as panacea for them. According to this act farmers should -have been provided interest free loans for agricultural purposes, all other loans to the farmers and poor labourers should have been provided at the interest of four percent per , strengthening of cooperative banking system to provide financial assistance to the farmers, the implementation of land ceiling act, in letter and spirit, direct payment for procuring their produce at the minimum support price (MSP), ex-gratia grant of rupees twenty lakh to the family of each farmer who committed suicide besides giving employment to one of their family member, release of rupees four hundred crore pending against the purchase of sugarcane by sugar mills, cancel the order of disownership of land adjoining the rivers owned by the peasants of respective areas, withdrawal of the bill of protection of public and private property act 2014, implementation of Swaminathan Commission report, the fixation of minimum support prices for all the crops, compensation for the damage of crops by natural calamities, the five thousand per month pension for above the sixty years of farmers and agriculture labourers, sixteen hour electricity supply for agriculture sector during paddy season, the five thousand compensation for not burning paddy stubble and no harassment of the farmers on this issue, permanent employment to the unemployed, prohibition of the auction of agricultural land for the recovery of loan, a ban on getting the signature from the farmers and labourers on the blank checks and stamp papers at the time of releasing loan by the governmental and non-governmental agencies, the availability

of agricultural inputs like seeds fertilizers, insecticides, pesticides and at the subsidized prices, and prohibition of drugs etc.

The issue of contract farming is very recent issue and the farmers' organizations like the *Bhartiya Kissan Union (Ekta)* and *Kissan Sangharash Committee* (Satnam Singh Pannu) have been mobilizing farmers on this issue. It is important to mention here that the present government has proposed to introduce the contract farming under the center Contract Farming Act. The farmers' organizations viewed that this act favored the capitalists who intended to grab the cultivable land of small and marginal farmers. The government tendency of ending the practice of announcing the minimum support price for crops will be fulfilled in this manner. It aimed at helping the corporate houses and is an unequal arrangement where farmers' products would be available to these companies at cheaper rates. The corporate houses are the modern day *zagirdars* who would ultimately grab the agricultural land.

There is a slight difference in terms of issues which are upheld by the different peasants' organizations like almost all the factions of *Bhartiya Kissan Union* collectively or individually focus mainly on the issues of complete waiver of the farm loan and the implementation of the Swaminathan Commission Report including the other general issues but certain independent peasants' organizations like the *Kissan Sangharash Committee* (Satnam Singh Pannu) mainly focus on the complete waiving of the debt of all the category of the farmers and farm labourers. These peasants' organizations generally concentrate on the local issues like the support of the farmers who are cheated by the banks, commission agents and property dealers, the lack of infrastructure, issues related to the erratic electricity supply during paddy season, any illegal occupation of the agricultural land of the farmers and the local environment related issues, corruption at the different places like revenue department, banks, opposition of the establishment of biomedical waste plant and any other such plant in the villages, lack of water draining infrastructure during the rainy season etc. The farmers organizations have also been joining hands with other public organizations to pressurize the government on certain issues which are not directly concerned with agriculture but indirectly affect them as members of society such the implementation of PCOCA (Punjab Control of Organized Crime Act). In addition to it the labourers' organizations have certain issues which are exclusively concerned with them like the

allotment of plots to the landless poor in the Punjab on free of cost, two hundred days work to the labourers' under the MNERAGA scheme, weekly payment to these labourers , complete waiver of the loan of the landless farmers and labourers' who are cultivating land on the lease basis, minimum three thousand old age and widow pension and its monthly release for the labourers' families.

The farmers' discontent is generally as intense as the intensity of different issues on the one hand and the strategy of different peasant organizations on the other. The peasants' organizations in Punjab share the mobilisation process at the national level on the common issues like the waiver of debt and remunerative prices of the agricultural crops etc. and the local issues of the farmers which may be slightly different are also upheld. All the popular methods of mobilisation such as the blockade of roads, railway tracks, *gherao* of the mini secretariats at the district, tehsil and block levels, presenting memorandums to the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, Members of Parliament, Members of Legislative Assembly and Deputy Commissioners, rallies and *dharnas* at the district and tehsil headquarters, mass arrest (*jail bharo*) etc.

At the local level the peasants' organizations adopt the methods of pressurizing the concerned local officials like block development officers and occasionally hold rallies before the police stations. They hold protest and block roads or railway tracks for limited hours or for one day but sometimes the rallies or *dharnas* (sit in) are prolonged for two or more days. The two days *dharna* by the *Kissan Sangharash Committee* (Satnam Singh Pannu) at the office of Deputy Commissioner Amritsar on 29 September, 2017 on the issues of debt waiver, employment for one member of the household (suicide related) and prohibition of drugs etc. was this kind of protest. There are also few examples of protest by peasants' organizations for a very long period on certain issues like the one *Kissan Sangharash Committee* launched a continuous protest against Narindera Paper Mill situated in the village Chabba, a village near Amritsar. The effluents of this mill flowed in the Chabba drain which affected about fifty villages. The *Kissan Sangharash Committee* demanded of closing Narindera Paper Mill. Ultimately the Pollution Prevention Board locked the mill after the *dharna* of six months.

The farmers' organizations in Punjab realized the significance of the participation of women in the effective mobilization and some of them have been making efforts to

constitute women's wing. It may be the impact of recognition of women farmers at the national level by the farmers' organizations and their participation in the process of mobilization in the farmers' Parliament held in New Delhi on 20th November 2017. The women of Punjab have been participating in rallies and *dharnas* in large numbers especially in the Malwa region. In the districts of Sangrur and Mansa the women from the suicide victim families have been regularly participating in the rallies and protests on the issues of adequate compensation and complete debt waiver of the families whose male or female member committed suicide due to indebtedness.

Extraneous to the overwhelming national agrarian predicament there is Punjab-specific border fencing problem which has drastically impacted the number of farmers who have lost free access to their holdings beyond the fencing and along the international border with Pakistan, due to security strategy. The fencing covers the Indo-Pak borders from Pathankot to Fazilka and the total productive land falling beyond the fencing is estimated to be twenty thousand acres. These luckless farmers have to face the rigors of the stiff attitude of the BSF in their farming activities with regard to the timings of the visit to the fields, the number of persons and the nature and size of the agriculture implements they carry to and fro. It is not ordinariness for these farmers but the punishing schedule that makes them marginalized and cries for attention.

The issues which have been bothering the peasants' and labourers' organizations in Punjab are countless. The major issues on which the peasant and labour organizations have been organizing and mobilizing the peasants and labourer's include:

1. Issues Related to Loan:

- I. The complete waiver of the loan of the farmers and agricultural laborers. In these days the issue of loan waiver is the central issues of peasants' mobilization as the majority of the farmers in state are under debt. The peasants' organizations have been demanding the waiver of debt persistently for a long period of time but suddenly the mobilization of the farmers on this issue got intensified after the announcement of Congress government for partial waiving of loan. The government announced the waiving of only two lacks rupees of loan of the small and marginal farmers.

- II. The farmers should be provided loan at the rate of interest of four percent.
- III. The rate of the interest for the loan taken from the banks and commission agents should be at par. It is important to mention here that the commission agents charge ten times higher rate of interest on the loan from the farmers.
- IV. There should be complete ban on the forceful occupation of the belongings of the farmers like tractor, trolley, motorcycles, scooters and livestock etc. at the failure of repayment of loan. The peasants' organizations demand that if the commission agents are found guilty of any exploitation of the poor farmers and heap miseries on them on the pretext of non-payment of loan by the farmers, his license should be cancelled and punished accordingly.
- V. The loan agencies cannot charge more amount of money than the principal amount as interest from the loaned farmers. The decision of Supreme Court regarding this provision should be implemented strictly.
- VI. The auctions of the agricultural land and the arrest of the farmers in case of failure of repayment of the loan should be banned.
- VII. The farmers' organizations also demand the introduction of Money Laundering act. According to this act the farmers should be provided interest free loans for agricultural purposes, all other loans to the farmers and poor labourers should be provided at the interest of four percent per year.
- VIII. The government should put ban on getting the signature on the blank checks and stamp papers from the farmers and labourers at the time of releasing of loan by the governmental and non-governmental agencies.

2. Issues Related to Farmers' Suicides:

- I. The farmers' organizations demand the adequate compensation for families whose members committed suicides. These organizations ask for rupees ten lakhs as a monetary compensation to such families.
- II. The government should waive the complete loan (institutional and non-institutional) of the suicide victim families immediately.
- III. The peasants' organization also demanded the government job for a family member whose member has committed suicide due to burden of loan or failure of repayment of loan.

3. Issues Related to the prices of agricultural crops and seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and insecticides:

- I. According to the recommendations of the Swaminathan Committee the government should fix the prices of all the agricultural crops by adding the fifty percent benefit above the input cost. It is important to mention here that the government appointed a committee named as Swaminathan Committee to suggest the measures to assess the plight of the farmers and to suggest the means to facilitate them. This committee recommended a number of recommendations but the government remained failed to implement these recommendations.
 - II. The minimum support price should be fixed for each farm crop including the fruits and vegetables. At present the government has fixed minimum support prices only for the wheat and paddy and the prices of all the other crops depend upon the market. The prices of these fresh crops come down with huge production. As a result of it the farmers have to suffer from big monetary loss. There are some local peasants' organizations like the Doaba Potato Growers' Association which specifically came into being to uphold the issues concerning vegetables and fruit growing farmers.
 - III. The seeds, fertilizers, pesticides insecticides and diesel for agriculture purpose should be provided at the fifty percent subsidy.
 - IV. The agriculture budget should be passed separately.
- 4. Issues Related to the Supply of Electricity:**
- I. The free electricity supply for the irrigation purpose should be provided continuously forever and it should be notified as such.
 - II. The domestic electricity supply should be provided at the rate of rupee one per unit.
 - III. The Punjab Electricity Corporation Board should be banned and the previous provision should be restored. The privatization and contract system for the employment in the Punjab Electricity Board should be ended.
 - IV. The landless poor should be given free power supply for domestic purposes.
 - V. The ban on the releasing of new tube well connections should be removed by the government.
 - VI. The farmers, who have applied for new tube well connections since 1990, should be released connections immediately.

- VII. The government should provide tube well connections on priority basis and free of cost to the farmers who have below five acres of land holding and do not have any tube well connection.
- VIII. All the farm houses should be provided the urban supply (twenty four hour supply) and sixteen hours supply should be ensured for the irrigation purposes.
- IX. The plan to increase the horse power load of the tube wells should be available for the whole year. It is pertinent to mention here that this scheme is available for the limited period in a year during the paddy season.
- X. The method of charging fine under act 2003 should be changed. The fines that have been charged should be reviewed and should be cancelled accordingly.
- XI. The management process of the Punjab State Electricity Board should be corruption free.
- XII. The hydro project should be established on the canals for the production of electricity at the cheaper rates than the thermal plants. In addition to it the ignored sources like the stubble of crops, remnants of sugar mills, human and animals waste material etc. can be used for producing electricity at the lower cost than the thermal plants.

5. Issues Related to Water and Irrigation:

- I. The provision of providing canal water without any tax should be continuous and the arguments of giving the management of canal water in to private hands should be rejected.
- II. The government should provide the portable drinking water to the people in the villages free of cost and the existing water rates on the water should be abolished.
- III. The infrastructure required for providing the canal water to the farmers to the sufficient level should be established and maintained by the government. The government should release more funds for this purpose and check the corruption prevailing in the irrigation department.
- IV. The illegal use of canal water should be checked by the government.
- V. The government should dig tanks to store and preserve the rain water for raising the ground water level of one hundred and thirty eight blocks which are declared as 'dark' because of the alarming decrease of their ground water level.

VI. The Riparian Act should be implemented to save the waters of state.

6. Issues Related to Revenue Department:

- I. The revenue department should provide the pass books to the farmers to check the corruption measures followed by the *patwari* and other revenue officials. These pass books should contain the map of the land, detail about the land and other records of land of the respective farmer.
- II. The records of revenue department should be computerized and available on the internet.
- III. The attendance of the *patwari* in the village should be compulsory and the *tehsildars* should visit the villages every month to dispose of the revenue related matters of the farmers transparently.
- IV. The list of governmental rates of the different kinds of revenue transactions should be displayed in the offices of *patwari* and *tehsildar* to check the corruption.

7. Issues Related to the acquisition of Agricultural Land:

- I. According to the decision of the Supreme Court there should be a ban on the acquisition of cultivable land of the farmers forcefully.
- II. The Land Acquisition Act which was passed by the Bhartya Janta Party government should be abolished.
- III. The land should not be acquired without the consent of the farmers.
- IV. The farmers should be paid double the price as compared to the market value for the acquisition of their cultivable agricultural land.
- V. The acquired land should be returned to the farmers if the project for which land was acquired is not established within five years.

8. Issues Related to the Conduct of Police:

- I. The misuse of the provision of 144 at the time of peasants' struggle should be prohibited.
- II. The Police Act which is introduced in the Punjab Assembly should be cancelled.
- III. The politicization of the police and police stations should be banned.
- IV. The fake police cases filed against the farmers and agricultural labourers during the struggle should be cancelled.

- V. The government should establish centre at the district level to tackle the atrocities of the police against the farmers or other marginal rural people.

9. Issues Related to the Society:

The peasants' organizations also focus on certain social issues which have been affecting the rural society in general. There are a number of social maladies which have been prevailing in the rural society of Punjab and perhaps equally responsible for the emergence of social and economic crises. Although all the peasants organizations could not give the due attention and lacks practical struggle on these issues but the demand drafts of some of them give adequate space to these. These organizations have also been organized and are mobilizing the rural people and peasants from time to time by different measures. The main social issues are:

- I. The common masses at the rural levels are to be organized on the issue of drug addiction. The peasants' organizations are trying to organize the people to struggle against the people who supply the drugs in the rural areas.
- II. The peasants' organizations have been trying to aware the farmers against the lavish spending on the different social ceremonies related to birth, marriage and death.
- III. Some of the peasants' organizations like Kissan Sangharash Committee Punjab have been mobilizing the farmers in Punjab on the issue of female foeticide.
- IV. The old aged and widow pensions should be doubled and released monthly.
- V. The Kissan Sangharash Committee Punjab is persuading the farmers to settle down their mutual conflicts at the local level in the *panchyats* to avoid the wastage of money and exploitation in the police stations and courts.
- VI. Some of the peasants' organizations have been educating the farmers to adopt the organic agriculture to avoid the effects of fertilizers, pesticides and insecticides.
- VII. The peasants' organizations also awaking the rural people about the superstitions.

10. Issues Related to the Women:

- I. The women should be given the equal rights in all the fields and any kind of exploitation against them should be checked.

- II. The free education should be given to the girls at the school, college and university level.
- III. The government should provide security to the women during traveling in buses and trains.
- IV. The women should be given government jobs on priority basis.
- V. The criminals who exploit the women in any manner should be punished severely.

11. Issues Related to Public Services:

- I. The privatization of electricity, medical facilities, transport infrastructures, and portable drinking water should be abolished. The governments should ensure the availability of these basic facilities to the people.
- II. The government should provide free education to the people up to the graduation level.
- III. The universities fees should be nominal and the needy students should be given scholarships and free books.
- IV. The law related to the writing and reading of Punjabi language in the governmental and non-governmental institutions should be implemented strictly.
- V. To develop the mother tongue Punjabi the government should establish the libraries at the village level containing the quality Punjabi literature.
- VI. The vulgar television channels, literature, and songs should be banned by the government.
- VII. The government should open the public educational institutions on a large scale.
- VIII. The government should open the veterinary hospital at the village level for the treatment of livestock.
- IX. The law which is formulated to check the pollution of soil, air, rivers, canals and drains by the industrial units should be implemented strictly.
- X. The government should make arrangements for the drinking water for all the villages in Punjab.
- XI. The link roads should be repaired and widened.
- XII. The main roads should be managed by the government itself and the toll tax which is collected by the private companies should be abolished.

- XIII. The government should open the farmers' service centre in the villages and the farmers should be provided all the required mechanical instruments required for agriculture at the nominal rates.
- XIV. To strengthen the cooperative system the committees of the farmers should be constituted at the village level. These committees should exclusively be constituted from among the farmers without any interference of the bureaucracy. A number of problems of the farmers can be solved and employment to the unemployed can be provided by this system.
- XV. The educated rural youth should be provided employment and until they are unable to get jobs be provided unemployment allowance by the government.

12. Issues Related to the Labourers:

- I. The landless and labourers should be given agricultural land by the government.
 - II. The labourers should also be compensated monetarily and also given employment to a member of their family at the time of acquisition of land of the farmers.
 - III. The landless labourers should be given ten *merlas* of plot to construct a house.
 - IV. The necessary commodities should be distributed through the public distribution system
 - V. The landless poor should be given the facility of *Shagan Scheme* and its amount should be increased to thirty thousand according to the election manifesto of Shiromani Akali Dal.
 - VI. The labourers should be given work for 365 days under the scheme of MNREGA and the pending dues should be released immediately.
- 13.** The strengthening of cooperative banking system to provide financial assistance to the farmers is another demand of all most of the peasants' organizations working in Punjab in the contemporary times.
- 14.** The implementation of Land Ceiling Act in letter and spirit. The government of Punjab decided the maximum limit of land is eighteen acres but this provision has not been implemented. This demand is put up by the left peasants' organizations and the labour organizations.
- 15.** The direct payment for procuring their produce at the minimum support price is another important issue which has been upheld by all the peasants'

organizations. It is estimated that about ninety percent of the produce especially the wheat and paddy is procured by the government agencies but the farmers get the payment through the commission agents with the deduction of 2.5 percent as a commission of commission agents.

16. The release of pending payment of the farmers against the purchase of sugarcane by sugar mills is concerns with the sugarcane grower farmers but this issue has been highlighted by all the peasants' organizations. The peasants' organizations demand the payment of pending money of the farmers immediately.
17. Almost all the peasants' organizations demand the cancellation of order of disownership of land adjoining the rivers owned by the peasants of respective areas since long time.
18. The government should provide rupees five thousand compensation for not burning paddy stubble and the officers should not harass the farmers on this issue.

The above said issues may be called the continual issues and the farmers have been struggling to resolve these from the years but there are certain spontaneous issues which emerged because of the immediate situations like the passing of farming laws in the union Parliament in 2019. As a result of this development the mobilisation of the farmers spread sparkly and involved almost the farmers from all the states of India.

The government of India enacted three contentious agriculture laws and announced that the objective of the government is to bring reform in the agriculture sector to enhance the income of the farmers. These laws were Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act, 2020; Essential Commodities (Amendment) Act, 2020; and Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Act, 2020. The farmers feared the laws would lead to the abolishment of the minimum support price guaranteed by the government on select crops, and leave them at the mercy of big corporates. On September 14, 2020 the ordinance is brought to Parliament and passed in the Lok Sabha. The farmers of Punjab opposed these acts as these were considered anti farmers or black laws for the agrarian sector in Punjab and India. The farmers' union warned the government of India to withdraw or cancel these otherwise they began the protest against the

government. But the government was determined to implement these laws. As a result of it, the farmers' protest started in Punjab. On September 24, 2020 the farmers of Punjab announced a three-day rail roko. (Blocked the railway tracks. On September 27, 2020 Farm Bills were given presidential assent and notified in the Gazette of India and became Farm Laws.

On November 25, 2020, after sporadic protests against the new farm laws, including a nationwide road blockade on November 3, farmers' unions in Punjab and Haryana gave the call for a "Delhi Chalo" (go to Delhi) movement. The Delhi Police, however, rejected their request to march to the capital city citing Covid-19 protocols.

On November 26, 2020 the Farmers marching towards Delhi faced great difficulties as the police tried to disperse them at Haryana's Ambala district. Later, police allowed them to enter Delhi for their peaceful protest and the farmers blocked all the main borders of Delhi for more than a year (378 days).

The Samyukt Kisan Morcha (SKM), an umbrella organisation of 32 farmer unions, on Thursday decided to call off its year-long protest at New Delhi's borders against three contentious farm laws which have now been repealed. After Prime Minister's historic announcement on November 19 to repeal the laws, both the Houses of Parliament cleared the Farm Laws Repeal Bill, 2021, on November 29.

To conclude the political mobilization of the peasantry in Punjab is the part of its continuity and taking place in response to the contemporary issues. But the peasantry never divided or fragmented ever before. The issues are numberless and the peasants' organizations are many but the methods and strategies are the same. The bases of division are less sectarian or ideological but more political and personal. The divide is also not very hard and sharp but many a time the different farmers' organizations struggle collectively on different issues. But the enactment of farming laws strengthened the unity of the farming organisations and consequently they got successful in fulfilling their major demand that is withdrawing the farming laws. The crisis of the peasantry seems unmanageable in these days and peasants' organizations may play a positive role by uniting and helping the crisis-ridden peasantry.

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The Tribune, January 25, 2018.

Borderland Farmers: Problems and Challenges

Quite evidently, the agriculture is the backbone of the socio-economic life of the farmers in Punjab but it is more or less a disadvantaged exercise in the vicinity of the international border in Punjab. The farmers cannot do the farming near the border of their own choice or need but have to do the binding of the BSF with regard to the access to their fields.

The formation of international border between India and Pakistan, has deeply affected the life of the people especially farmers having in the proximity of the border of Indian side. The sensitivity of the relations with Pakistan calls for eagle-eyed watchfulness on the part of the Border Security Forces which reflects itself in the severity of their attitude to the local farmers. The choppy relations with Pakistan, the more vehemence are the reaction of the BSF for the farmers.

More so, the farmers have to abandon their homes and hearts in the event of the possibility of war like situation. The natives have to suffer the innumerable ordeals of migration besides the loss of livestock at times. Yet another adversity that betel these less fortunate border farmers was the surge of terrorism across the state which has aided and abetted by Pakistan, called the extra vigilance on the border. The farmers had to bear the brunt and the BSF was underlying in their duty. Consequently, the border farmers were the big sufferers of the uneasy relations between India and Pakistan. The formation of International border between India and Pakistan has deeply affected the life of the people, especially farmers living in the proximity of the border on Indian side. From the creation of the international border to its maintenance, structural development and security arrangements have been ever impacting the lives of the famers living in the borderland.

As the farmers of the borderland have to face problems and challenges in different terms like the ownership and management of their agricultural land, undue restrictions in their daily lives and at the time of occupational activities and compelled to temporary and permanent migration because of the partition of the country (permanently), and due to the tension and war at the international border temporarily)

times and again. Therefore, the residents of borderland have been facing multiple challenges due to their geographical location that is international border. This chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly, the issues and problems which resulted out of the formation of international border are to be discussed. Secondly, the phenomenon of temporary and permanent migration are to be given and in the third part the perception of the farmers of the respective villages regarding different issues faced by them are to be explained.

Part 1

The agricultural land is lifeline of the farmers as it is the prime source of their income and being attached emotionally they hold and serve it as mother. They are having the ownership of the respective land for generations, but now the farmers of the border villages have lost their agricultural fertile land for the border related arrangements.

Table No. 1: Detail of the farmers whose land has been occupied by the government for different cause since the formation of Indo-Pakistan border

Land occupied	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Land occupied for the formation of LOC	06 (20)	03 (7.5)	14 (23.4)	21 (26.25)	08 (13.4)	06 (15)	58 (18.8)
Land occupied for establishment of border out posts (BOP,s)	02 (6.7)	02 (5)	03 (5)	07 (8.75)	03 (5)	01 (2.5)	18 (5.8)
Land occupied for the fencing	04 (13.3)	13 (32.5)	15 (25)	22 (27.5)	15 (2.5)	05 (12.5)	74 (23.8)
Land occupied for <i>dhusi bun</i> (embanking of river)	-	03 (7.5)	06 (10)	-	03 (5)	-	12 (3.8)
Land occupied for <i>dhusi bun</i> (embanking of	-	-	-	-	10 (16.6)	-	10 (3.3)

river) and fencing both							
Land occupied for LOC and fencing both	12 (40)	04 (10)	03 (5)	-	04 (6.6)	09 (22.5)	32 (10.4)
Land Not occupied	06 (20)	15 (37.5)	19 (31.6)	30 (37.5)	17 (28.4)	19 (47.5)	106 (34.1)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

After the partition of the country, the old Punjab divided in two part i.e. the Indian Punjab and Pakistani Punjab. The Redcliff line marked the international border and first task of the government of India was to establish international border physically on the ground and the land was the prime necessity for this purpose. The boundary commission whose chairman was Sir Redcliff, drew international border in an arbitrary manner in a short period. Even the affected farmers were not consulted before occupying their agricultural land. A total of eleven feet wide strip of the fertile land was occupied throughout the Punjab along with Pakistan for the formation of international border. As mentioned earlier the total length of Indo-Pak border in Punjab is five hundred and fifty- three kilometres. In this manner approximately one hundred and eighty- three hectares of land of the farmers was occupied without any legal terms or any other formalities. (Source: Documents for legal proceeding in the court 2016 by farmers' organization) The usurped land is still in the name of the owner farmers but they have lost their effective ownership and came under border related structures.

As the Indo-Pak border is one of the most conflict prone borders in the world and security is the prime concern of the government of India. For managing the border effectively, it is important to have better surveillance which is carried out by conducting regular patrols by the border guarding personnel. To house these border guarding personnel, to send regular patrols and to interact with nearby villages, border out posts (BOPs) have been set up all along the borders. Presently, the India-Pakistan border has seven hundred and thirty-five border out posts (Das 19). It is estimated by the farmers' organization working in the border area that there are more than one hundred and twenty BOPs in Punjab and approximately one *kanal* (a local unit for

measuring agricultural land in Punjab and there are eight *Kanals* in one acre) of agricultural land is occupied under one BOP. In this manner roughly six hectares of land has been encroached by the government for the establishment of BOPs.

It is important to mention here that the Border Security Force (BSF) is India's primary border guarding organization. It is one of the three Border Guarding Forces (BGFs) of India and was raised in the wake of the 1965 war on December 1965 for ensuring the security of the borders of India and matters connected therewith. So, the land of the farmers of border villages was also occupied by the governments for the BSF establishments and more than six percent of the farmers were deprived of the fertile land for this purpose.

The India Pakistan border has been witnessing increased trafficking of drugs from the Golden Crescent since 1983. Between 1983 and 1988, the amount of heroin seized increased from about 100kg to 3,029 kg. The outbreak of militancy in the mid-1980's in Punjab and the Kashmir militancy in the late 1980's are the important reasons of increasing the trafficking of illegal substances. (Das 9) Effective regulation of the movement of people and goods is the hall mark of the good border management. For this the government has to facilitate legitimate travel and trade, while at the same time preventing illegal immigration, smuggling and infiltration of insurgents and terrorists. Building barriers is an effectual means of preventing illegal ingress and egress of people and goods. In this regard, in the mid-80s, government of India decided to build fences along the Indo-Pak border to prevent the infiltration of terrorists and smuggling in Punjab sector. A total length of 462.45 kilometres has been fenced and floodlit respectively in the entire Punjab sector except some gaps in riverine areas. (Das, 48) The process of installing the fencing in Punjab was completed in 1990. It was a remarkable measure for the security of country and the government was successful to check the trafficking from the side of Pakistan but a large chunk of cultivable land of the farmers of border villages was taken over for this purpose. Data shows that a total of 23.8 percent of the farmers lost their agricultural land for erecting the barbed fencing. A total of forty four feet wide strip of agricultural land of the farmers is covered under the fencing and related structural establishments. In this manner approximately seven hundred and thirty- two hectares of agricultural land of the farmers of border villages has been occupied. Significantly, the acquisition of the

agricultural land for different border related arrangements is more than nine hundred and twenty- four hectares.

Table No. 2: Detail of the compensation received/not received by the farmers for the agricultural land acquired by the government for different purposes

Compensation For Land	Pathankot	Gurdaspu r	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Compensation Received for the land occupied for the creation of LOC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Compensation not received	06 (20)	03 (7.5)	14 (23.4)	21 (26.25)	08 (13.3)	06 (15)	58 (18.8)
Land not occupied	24 (80)	37 (92.5)	46 (76.6)	59 (73.75)	52 (86.7)	34 (85)	252 (81.2)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)
Compensation received for the land occupied for the establishment of BOP,S	-	-	-	02 (2.6)	-	-	2 (0.6)
Court Case has been filed by the farmers to get compensation	-	01 (2.5)	-	3 (3.7)	02 (3.3)	-	6 (1.9)
No compensation	02 (6.7)	01 (2.5)	03 (5)	02 (2.5)	01 (1.7)	01 (2.5)	10 (3.3)
Land not occupied	28 (93.3)	38 (95)	57 (95)	73 (91.2)	57 (95)	39 (97.5)	292 (94.2)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)
Compensation received for land occupied for fencing	-	03 (7.5)	-	-	03 (5)	02 (5)	8 (2.5)
No Compensation received	16 (53.4)	16 (40)	18 (30)	22 (27.5)	16 (26.6)	12 (30)	100 (32.3)
Land not occupied	14 (46.6)	21 (52.5)	42 (70)	58 (72.5)	41 (13.2)	26 (65)	202 (65.2)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)
Compensation received for the land occupied for <i>dhusi</i> (Embanking of river)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Compensation not received	-	03 (7.5)	06 (10)	-	16 (26.6)	-	25 (8.1)
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Land not occupied for embanking of river	30 (100)	37 (92.5)	54 (90)	80 (100)	44 (73.4)	40 (100)	285 (91.9)
Total	30(100)	40(100)	60(100)	80(100)	60(100)	40(100)	310(100)

Generally, the land is occupied by the government on the basis of legal norms and in turn the compensation fixed according to the land acquisition act of India. But many farmers were left high and dry as majority could not get compensation and others who got it were not satisfied because of comparatively lower evaluation as fixed by the government. Again a number of the farmers of the border areas did not receive any compensation for the land acquired by the government for the infrastructural development at the international border. A few farmers who lost their land for the BOPs, erecting fencing and embanking of rivers got the compensation through court after a long period of time.

Agriculture is the traditional occupation of the people in the rural areas in Punjab and agricultural land is the only source of their livelihood. The deprivation of the source of income caused irreversible changes in the lives of the farming community in the border villages. Their socio-economic status faced setbacks and they remained backward in different aspects of life as compared to their counterparts in the rest of Punjab. The agricultural land is considered sacred by the farmers in Punjab and its alienation ends up in social and economic distress for them.

The situation of the border belt became more complicated with the rise of terrorist violence in the state in late seventies. It took dangerous dimensions with the alleged involvement of Pakistan in supporting terrorism by imparting training to the terrorists and supplying deadly weapons to them. The government of India decided to check the illegal activities from the side of Pakistan. The government decided in early 1980's to fence the border to check the supply of weapons, narcotics and infiltration of terrorists into Indian Punjab. A high-powered committee was constituted by the government for this purpose. This committee recommended that the barbed fencing be set up within

the distance of five hundred meters from the actual line of control (international border). But the recommendations of this committee were not followed due to circumstances prevailing at that time. As the relations between the two countries were far from normal and regular incidents of firing from the side of Pakistan were common. It was not possible to work to install the fencing close to the actual line of control. Therefore, fencing was erected in a zigzag manner and at the distance between five hundred meters to three kilometres from the actual line of control (international border). As a result of it, large chunks of cultivable agricultural and fertile land of the farmers of border villages got locked between the actual line of control and fencing. The fencing covers the Indo-Pak borders from the district of Pathankot to Fazilka in Indian Punjab and the total agricultural productive land falling beyond the fencing is estimated to be more than eight thousand hectares.

The farmers of this particular region are the victims of the multiple problems due to the structural and non-structural arrangement made by the government and implemented by the Border Security Forces. But more particularly, in the present hour of time the installation of the barbed fencing to secure the indo-Pak border, created numerous issues for the farmers of this particular area. The fencing was installed for the security reason to check the infiltration of anti-national elements from the side of Pakistan but it turned to be the biggest problems for the farmers of border area as the agriculture operation in these areas come to be entirely controlled by the Border Security Forces. The government of India decided to erect the barbed fencing to make the Indo-Pak border secure and safe during the period of terrorism. As a result of it, about twenty thousand acres cultivable and fertile land of approximately of two hundred and twenty two villages lay across the fencing. The farmers of this region are very backward socially and economically. The land of a number of the farmers got bifurcated. The installations of fencing have adversely affected the socio economic life of the farmers. They are not allowed to work in their fields for the whole day as other farmers of Punjab do. In addition to it, they cannot go to their fields daily. They are allowed to work in their fields from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. daily officially and this time includes the body searching at the entry gates on entry and exit. Many a times the farmers enter their fields between 10-30 a. m. to 11-30 a.m. and at the time of exit they are called by the border security forces between 2 p.m. to 2-30 p.m. In this

manner they get only three to four hours for work. The farmers reach their fields in the noon time and it is very difficult to work at this time in the summer. Besides, there is no permission of growing any tree or to construct any room on the land beyond fencing and consequently, there are no means of shelter. In this situation it becomes very difficult to stay in the fields for four to five hours at noon in the summer season. The respondent from Basti Ramlal from district Ferozepur told us that a farmer got heart attack during the work time in his fields beyond fencing due to the intolerable heat and humidity in the month of August. Even in this situation the border security personnel took a lot of time to exit the affected farmer who died because of the lack of adequate medical treatment in time. The farmers cannot exit their fields before the time fixed by the border security forces. Many a times the farmers do not have long hour engagements in their fields but they have to stay in their fields up to the exit time.

Table No. 3: District wise detail of the land locked between International Border and Fencing (in hectares)

Name of the districts	Hectare
Pathankot	428.4
Gurdaspur	1044.8
Amritsar	1346.8
Tarn-Taran	1435.6
Ferozepur	1993.6
Fazilka	1790.8
Total	8,040

Source: Document provided by a farmers' organization for legal proceeding in the High Court.

Eventually, the agricultural land of approximately 11000 families belonging to two hundred and twelve villages got bifurcated and for some the whole agricultural land got locked within the international border and fencing. These farmers are primarily dependent upon the agriculture for subsistence and the installation of fencing led to restricted farming. They are entirely superintended by the BSF in terms of agricultural activities, which results in less care of the crops and hence the very low production from the respective land.

The primary outcome of the fencing for the farmers was that they lost the free access to their fields. Of course, there are entry gates in the fence to reach the fields beyond fencing but the entry gates do not open daily. This is because of the inadequate number of the BSF personnel at the border for checking at the entry gates. Besides, the gates remain close on Sundays and the days of festivals. The total number of entry gates for the farmers to enter their fields is two hundred and ninety four but only two hundred and seventy three are operational due to certain reasons. The gates which are operational are opened on alternate days. Obviously, the farmers have to face a lot of inconvenience. Moreover, the gates remain closed for many days in case of any tension on Indo-Pak- border or inclement weather be it rain or fog. No doubt, such factorization are for security concerns but they invariably become problematic for the farmers having land beyond fencing. A respondent from village Kakkar of district Amritsar narrates that he spread out the wheat seed in five acres beyond fencing to grow but border security forces called him back at 2 p.m. from his fields and the entry gate was not opened for the next five days due to the tension on the Indo-Pak border because of some untoward incidents. The wheat seed got damaged and the farmer suffered huge economic loss. Sometimes the farmers have to cover a distance of two to three kilometres to go to their fields as the gate adjacent to their fields is not opened and they have to reach their field by another gate lying at a distance.

Additionally, the farmers have to go through the rigorous security check at the entry gates at the time of the entry and exit of their fields. Their turbans are removed and many a times they are insulted with abuses by the border security forces. It is important to mention here that turbans are considered the symbol of dignity by the Sikh farming community in Punjab. They have to face strict body search and of all the things carried by them. Their lunch boxes, tea kettles and water bottles are thoroughly screened. Same is the case with the fertilizer bags, seed bags and agricultural implements. The farmers are asked to empty the fertilizer and seeds bags on the ground for a thorough search. The poor farmers have to fill the bags again which takes a lot of time. Even the tool kit with agricultural implements is not allowed. The checking of utility mechanisms like tractor, trolley and harvest combine consume painfully longer time. On an average about two hours are wasted for the checking of harvest combine at the entry gates. Therefore, no combine owner takes the risk of wasting precious time of harvesting the crop on the land beyond fencing knowingly,

because of the hazards of such a bravado. It is important to mention here that the farmers normally hire the harvest combine for harvesting their crops in Punjab.

Another issue of the farmers of border area is that the entry gates do not open daily. This is because of the lower number of BSF personnel. In addition to it, the gates remained close on Sunday and on the days of festivals.

The small and marginal farmers who have small holdings have to depend upon the bigger farmers for farm machinery to cultivate their land beyond fencing and majority of the farmers of this particular region belong to this category. The machinery has to register with BSF for its entry in the land beyond fencing. The few farmers who have land beyond fencing own the farm machinery and complete their own work primarily. The small and marginal farmers avail of the farm machinery afterwards. In such a situation the farmers have no option but to delay cultivating and harvesting process and suffer economic losses due to the damage to crops because of inclement weather or the attack of drummers (wild animals) from the side of Pakistan.

The farmers of border villages are not allowed to grow all kinds of crops as grown by the farmers in the rest of Punjab. The respondents told us that they are not allowed to grow crop that attain a height of more than two feet because of the security reasons as such crops provide natural shelter to the anti-national elements. They are allowed to cultivate wheat and paddy (only two crops) in the land beyond fencing. In this way the production from this land remains low which affects their income directly. The diversification of crops is necessary to maintain the fertility level of the land but this is not possible in this situation and the fertility level has been decreasing season by season.

Table No. 4: Crop Pattern in the land Beyond Fencing

Crop pattern beyond fencing	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Wheat & paddy	05 (16.6)	16 (40)	40 (66.7)	80 (100)	52 (86.6)	40 (100)	233 (75.2)
Only wheat	25 (83.4)	12 (30)	20 (33.3)	-	-	-	57 (18.4)

Vegetables and Pulses	-	-	-	-	8 (13.4)	-	8 (2.6)
No crop	-	12 (30)	-	-	-	-	12 (3.8)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

In this way the production from this land remains low which affects their income directly. The diversification of crops is necessary to maintain the fertility level of the land which is unthinkable in this situation. Generally, the farmers in Punjab grow several crops like paddy, wheat, oil seeds, sugarcane, maize, pulses and almost all kinds of seasonal vegetables. But the farmers of borderland in Punjab have no such a choice and majority of the farmers grow only wheat and paddy. Though the vegetables and pluses are exempted as these do not fall in restricted category but such crops required daily care which is not possible in the land exits along with international border.

The farmers have to carry identity cards while crossing the entry gates. These identity cards are issued by the BSF after the verification of a farmer by the concerned police station. According to the respondents the process of the issuing of the identity card is very cumbersome. A respondent from the village Chack Kalan of district Amritsar narrates that rupees twelve to thirteen hundreds are charged by concerned authorities to issue the identity card and they have to get it revived with the shifting of BSF Company.

The women belonging to the farming community residing in border villages got alienated from the source of livelihood of family that is agricultural land. Otherwise the women in the rural areas of Punjab are the part and parcel of the traditional occupation of the family that is farming. But the female partners of the farmers of border villages are helpless to support in the daily farming operations with their male counterparts. It is imperative to mention here that in the beginning years after erecting fencing the access of the women to the land beyond fencing was not possible because there is the provision of comprehensive checking of the farmers and their family

members at the entry gates to enter and exist their fields. But initially there was not any provision for the appointment of female BSF personnel at the border gates for the body searching of women farmers. The farmers unions like Border Area Kissan Welfare Society and Border Area Sangharash Committee which have been working to redress the issues of the farmers of border villages demanded to appoint the female personnel at the entry gates for the body searching of the female farmers and labourers. The major problem was faced by the women of the border villages who used to go to their fields for doing work in their field like the women of the Rai Sikh families of district Ferozepur. In addition the women farmers do not have male members in their families because of the only female child/children and death of the husband had faced problems as they were not banned to go their land beyond fencing technically but, because of the lack of structural arrangements they were unable to enter their land lying beyond fencing. The government decided to appoint the female border security personnel on the demand of farmers union in 2009.

Though the appointment of female staff at the entry gates remove the hurdles to go beyond fencing for the women but still they avoid to go their agricultural land because of the number of problem faced at the entry gates and in the fields. The female respondents narrates that prior to the installation of fencing their asses to their agricultural land were free and during the sowing and harvesting season they have supported the male members in work and many a times stayed in their field for the whole day. They had helped the male partners in the farming activities and also prepared refreshments over there. Presently no room and any other kind of shelter can be built at the land beyond fencing but before the installation of barbed fencing the women carried the necessities for preparing food in the afternoon and worked for the whole day in their fields. But the installation of the fencing proved major setback on the working pattern of the women. They could not work in their fields. As a result of it the sphere of their work restricted to the domestic level only and their working support in the fields also resulted into the economic loss for the family. As the female family members could not help in the farming activities, the farmers now have to depend fully on the hired labour which is available on higher rates in comparison the labour to the work on the land outside fencing. In this manner the women of border villages have been deprived of their right to work which resulted into the alienation

of the almost fifty percent of the population of farming families from their traditional occupation on the one hand and the economic loss on the other.

The women of farming community of border villages faced multiple problems after the installation of the barbed fencing at the international border in terms of their working support in the farming and their lives in general. The agricultural land which is the sole source of the income of the majority of the families of the respective areas and the installation of fencing has shifted the working pattern and the way of living of the farmers' families. These problems though primarily concerned with their access to their land but subsequently created so many issues which have impact on the socio-economic lives of the same. The women respondents from all the selected villages stated that before the installation of the fencing their lives were better as they were the part of the earning activities of the family. But after the year of 1988 their sphere of working got restricted to the domestic level and many a times they realized themselves helpless to take part in occupation of the family or to help the male members at the occupational level or economic platform. Majority (100 percent) of the women responded stated that the restricted access is the major problems for them.

The behaviour of the BSF personnel is another important issue with the farmers of border villages. The respondents resent that they are insulted by the BSF personnel at the time of searching and many a times they are abused. An old aged respondent from the village Chontra of district Gurdaspur stated that when he told his name Sucha Singh on the asking of BSF personnel, he was mocked "*Sucha Singh ke jhutha singh*" and he felt very humiliated. Another respondent from village Dall of district Tarn-Taran narrated that once the wheat crop caught fire in the land beyond fencing. After controlling the fire the BSF personnel insulted the farmers severely.

The lower number of BSF female personnel at the entry gates for the checking of women to enter the land is another problem for women of this area. The women of border villages narrated that the process of physical searching seems very tough and complex. The women from village Daoke stated that they have to inform to the BSF personnel at the respective entry on the previous day of entering their fields. Then the women have to wait for long hours for checking as the number of female BSF personnel is comparatively much lower in proportion to the number of entry. Gates. Many a times the male farmers have to carry and fro the female BSF personnel from

one gate to another. Above all, the women of rural areas feel very hesitant at the time of physical searching. So they normally avoid to go to the agricultural land.

There are the instances that a few of the women respondents have to go their fields for work. It is important to mention here that these women were the only earning hand in their family because of the death of their husbands. A women respondent from village Neshta of block Attari stated that she had to go their fields lying beyond fencing even before the appointing the female BSF staff at the entry gates as her husband died because of electric short while operating the tube-well. Her sons were minor at that time and she got special permission to go beyond fencing for the survival of her family. But she had faced multiple problems at the time of cultivation in the land beyond fencing. The sons of the lady did the body searching of her mother in the presence of BSF officials. Firstly, there was lack of any shelter and tree to take shelter in the extreme weather. Her children also went with her in the land across fencing as no adult member was in family to look after them in her absence at home. They have to face harsh weather conditions in case of heat, winter and rain.

On the other hand the presence of male BSF personnel with the farmers cultivating the land created problem for recreational activities for the women working in the land beyond fencing. But on the other hand she also appreciated the CEO (Chief Executive Officer) of BSF for giving her special permission to go beyond fencing.

It is interesting to know that women do not face the problems relating to the entry of their agricultural land only or in the fields but at the homes when the male members of the family went to the land beyond fencing for the farming activities. The farmers went to the land beyond fencing approximate at 10 a.m. and come back to their homes approximately between 3:30 to 4:00 p.m. The farmers are not allowed to exit their land before 2:30 to come back to their homes as mentioned earlier. Once they crossed the entry gate they got locked beyond fencing and cannot come back before the time fixed by BSF. Meanwhile many a times the women faced multiple problems in the absence of their male partners at home. A women respondent from village Mohawa stated that her father -in -law is suffering from chronicle illness and her husband is the only working male member in family. In case of any emergency she has to call to their relatives residing in the nearby village to manage her father-in-law or to meet any other emergency. Another respondent from the village Daoke narrated that male members of the families having land beyond fencing got locked by the BSF during

day time and the former have to face many challenges and problems in the absence of later.

Even the contact through mobile phone is not possible as the mobile network is not available along with the Indo-Pakistan border in the Indian side. The female members got fully disconnected from the male member when they went to the land beyond fencing for farming at the day time. As a result of it the women are helpless to contact the male members of family in case of any emergency.

The behaviour of the BSF personnel is another important issue with the farmers of border villages. The respondents resent that they are insulted by the BSF personnel at the time of searching and many a times they are abused. An old aged respondent from the village Chontra of district Gurdaspur stated that when he told his name Sucha Singh on the asking of BSF personnel, he was mocked “*Sucha Singh ke jhutha singh*” and he felt very humiliated. Another respondent from village Dall of district Tarn-Taran narrated that once the wheat crop caught fire in the land beyond fencing. After controlling the fire the BSF personnel insulted the farmers severely.

The farmers of border villages face the acute crunch of agricultural labour because of many reasons. The hired workers refuse to go beyond the fencing for the hassles of crossing the entry gate. Additionally, the farmers have to register the labourers with the BSF including the permission of the *sarpanch* (headmen of village) on a stamped paper. The labour charges are also higher for working on the land beyond fencing. The respondents from different villages stated that the labour charges for work beyond fencing are almost double as compared to the charges otherwise.

In the years of 2001-2002, there was a military standoff between India and Pakistan as a result of the attack on the Parliament of India on 13 December 2001. A total of thirteen people were killed including the five terrorists. It is alleged that the attack was conducted by the terrorists belonging to the Laskar-e-Taiba and Jaishe-e-Mohammed, Pakistan raised terrorist organizations. This incident led to increased tension between India and Pakistan and military standoff 2001-2002 between both the countries. Both the countries started massing of troops on their sides of border along with the line of control. The farmers of border villages of Punjab could not avoid the consequences of any tension or warlike situation on the border and they had to face numerous problems as the land mines had been planted in the agricultural land along the international

border. As a result, the land of majority of the farmers (97.4 percent) of border villages were turned into minefields.

Table No. 5: Farmers whose land was under mines

Detail of Land under mines	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Farmers whose land was under mines	27 (90)	38 (95)	59 (98.4)	78 (97.5)	60 (100)	40 (100)	302 (97.4)
Farmers whose land was not under mines	03 (10)	02 (5)	01 (1.6)	02 (2.5)	-	-	8 (2.5)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The probability of harvesting the crop is impossible when mines are lying in cropped land. Mining border is the final link in the security chain before offensive operation begins. The two countries which are not signatory to Ottawa Convention (1999), which seeks a complete ban on land mines, claim that “long unfriendly borders” and security concerns prevent them from being party to such an agreement. (Bedi 13) Though all of agricultural land was not under the mines but it was not possible to enter the land where the mines were not cropped and all the entry points were blocked due to mining. Therefore, the farmers could not enter their land for farming activities for one and a half years.

The farmers were in utter chaos because all the avenues of their earning a livelihood had been blocked and they had no option except to migrate to their relatives with their livestock. They suffered the indignity of being unwelcome burden on their kin and kith for a long period of time which largely resulted into their social and economic degradation. Socially they faced apathy and their relatives began to steer clear of the concerns, economically their losses were uncounted, losing livestock, crops and above all their dignity also. Several friendless and disconsolate farmers died in accidents while travelling to other places and some got injured seriously, many others lost their lives in mine blasts with the leftovers of mines after scanning by the army. The farmers from village Mohawa of district Tarn Taran narrates that two farmers got injured

seriously and lost their legs when they came in contact with the leftover mines, during agricultural operations afterwards.

Table No.6: Compensation for land under Mines (2001)

Compensation for land under mines	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Compensation Received	26 (86.7)	33 (82.5)	57 (95)	78 (97.5)	54 (90)	34 (85)	282 (90.9)
Compensation not received	-	05 (12.5)	-	-	06 (10)	06 (15)	17 (5.5)
Land was not under mines	4 (13.3)	02 (5)	03 (5)	02 (2.5)	-	-	11 (3.6)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The government provided the compensation for the land covered under the mines for the period of one and a half year but more than eight percent of the farmers who lost the access to the land because of the mine fields surrounding their holdings, were left high and dry with no compensation. These farmers too became migrant refugees in their own areas with no one to listen to them. . The location of these farmers compelled them to migrate to other places time and again because of war or apprehensions of war between India and Pakistan. Many a times they have to temporarily migrate because of the flood in the river Ravi and Sutlej during rainy season. The detail of migration of the farmers of border villages is as following:

Part 2

Permanent Migration:

It seems that migration has become the part and parcel of the lives of the people of the border area. They are the victims of the forced migration that may be temporary and permanent. Normally the people living in the respective villages do not want to reside but they have to live under the compulsions. Generally the farmers who have the agricultural land are helpless to reside in the particular area otherwise the people belonging to non-farming communities or do not possess agricultural land migrated permanently to avoid the hardships relating to the place. Moreover the farmers have to migrate times and again temporarily due to the apprehension of war or tension on

the Indo-Pak Border. An interesting fact is that many farmers' families in these villages migrated from Pakistan at the time of the partition of country.

Table No. 7: Migration from Pakistan to India during partition (1947)

Migration in 1947	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Migrated	-	-	5 (8.3)	20 (25)	15 (25)	15 (37.5)	55 (17.8)
No Migrated	30 (100)	40 (100)	55 (91.7)	60 (75)	45 (75)	25 (62.5)	255 (82.2)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Data shows that a total of 17.8 percent of the farmers of border villages migrated from the different villages of West Punjab to Indian Punjab. The number of migrant farmers from Pakistan to the villages of district Fazilka is highest, that is, 37.5 and the least (8.3%) in Amritsar district. All the residents who migrated from Pakistan settled in these border villages during the years of 1952-53 after the permanent allotments of agricultural land. There was a massive migration of the people living in the border villages after the partition of country. There was total destruction of houses and looting of the property by the forces, possibly on both sides. Our respondents from the village Rorawala of district Amritsar stated that the village was completely destroyed by the Pakistani forces and looted of all the belongings and material of houses. There was an orchard of mango trees in this village which were uprooted and looted away. The migrations in this period changed the demographic structure of the border villages as the people belonging to non-farming community did not return to the respective village even after the normalcy was restored. Our respondents from studied villages Solach and Chontra of district Gurdaspur narrated that people belonging to non-agriculturist community did not return to these villages even after restoring the normalcy.

Table No. 8: Migration from other villages of Punjab to border villages at different periods of time

Migration from Other Villages	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Migrated	-	-	9 (15)	10 (12.5)	6 (10)	5 (12.5)	30 (9.7)
Not Migrated	30 (100)	40 (100)	51 (85)	70 (87.5)	54 (90)	35 (87.5)	280 (90.3)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

This table depicts the detail of voluntary and internal migrations from the non-border villages of Punjab to border villages, especially to the villages which are very near the line of control. A total of 9.7 percent of the farmers of border villages migrated from other villages to the border villages. These migrations are found in the border villages of districts of Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Ferozepur and Fazilka. The number of such migrations is higher in border villages of district Amritsar as compared to other districts. Majority of the residents migrated to the border villages because the prices of agricultural land were lower as compared to the rest of Punjab. They sold their land in their indigenous villages at the higher prices and bought almost double agricultural land in the border villages. It is important to mention here that all these migrations took place before 1988. A few of the residents migrated to the border village Muthiawala of district Tarn-Taran due to the allotment of agricultural land by the then Prime Minister Mrs. Indra Gandhi to the Mazhabi Sikhs in 1975.

Temporary Migration:

Table No. 9: Temporary migration during the war in 1962 (India and China)

Migration during 1962 War	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Migrated	-	-	20 (33.4)	10 (12.5)	-	-	30 (9.6)
Not Migrated	30 (100)	40 (100)	40 (66.6)	70 (87.5)	6	40	280 (90.4)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table 9 shows the migration of the residents of border villages during Indo-China war in 1962. This war was confined to the Northern borders with China but few units of army were deployed on Indo-Pak border to handle any unprecedented situation from the side of Pakistan. Due to the deployment of army units the residents of these villages migrated to the safer places. According to this table a total of 9.6 percent of the farmers from border villages migrated from the border villages of districts Amritsar and Tarn-Taran.

Table No. 10: Temporary Migration in 1965 (Indo-Pak War)

Migration in 1965	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Migrated	30 (100)	40 (100)	51 (85)	74 (92.5)	54 (90)	35 (87.5)	284 (91.6)
No Migrated	-	-	09 (15)	6 (7.5)	06 (10)	5 (12.5)	26 (8.4)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table no. 10 shows the extent of migrations from the border villages during the Indo-Pak war in 1965. This data shows that majority (91.6%) of the residents of border villages migrated temporarily. During this period the villages of border area of district Tarn Taran were most affected during this war because the Pakistani forces moved into the villages from the side of Khemkarn. The respondents from the sampled villages narrate many tragic incidents of this period. One of the respondents from the village Muthiawala of district Tarn Taran explained that his uncle died in bomb shelling and eight buffaloes were killed. Another respondent of this village narrated that his house was burnt as a result of bomb shelling and the family was displaced for and the family was displaced for eight years. The situation was almost same in the districts of Ferozepur and Fazilka and the majority of the residents of all the border villages of both the districts had to migrate. Only the elder male family members stayed back in the houses in these villages and all the young male members, females and children migrated to safer places temporarily for a period of about two months.

Table No. 11: Temporary Migration in 1971 (Indo-Pak War)

Migration in 1971	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Migration	30 (100)	40 (100)	54 (90)	74 (92.5)	58 (96.7)	37 (92.5)	293 (94.5)
No Migration	-	-	6 (10)	6 (7.5)	2 (3.3)	3 (7.5)	17 (5.5)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table no. 11 explains about the migration of farmers of border villages during Indo-Pak war 1971. According to it majority of the respondents (94.5%) have migrated during this period. Many border villages of district Amritsar and Tarn Taran were captured by the Pakistani army and it is alleged that these were destroyed and looted by Pakistani army completely. The studied village Kalas of district Tarn-Taran remained under the control of Pakistan for four months and it was left as barren land after looted every structure and belongings of the villagers.

Table No. 12: Temporary migration in 1988 (floods in river Ravi)

Migration in 1988	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Migrated	30 (100)	40 (100)	20 (33.4)	10 (12.5)	60 (100)	40 (100)	200 (64.5)
Not Migrated	-	-	40 (66.6)	70 (87.5)	-	-	110 (35.5)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table 12 shows about the migrations of the respondents from the border villages in 1988 due to floods in the river Ravi, Sutlej and certain seasonal rivulets like Ujj and Jalalia. It is important to mention here that river Ravi and Sutlej flow very close to certain border villages. The river Ravi affects border villages of district Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Amritsar and river Sutlej affects the border villages of district Tarn Taran, Ferozepur and Fazilka. The seasonal rivulets like Ujj and Jalalia which enters in the territory of India from Pakistan in the area of Bamyal of district Pathankot, also affect the border villages of district Pathankot. Our data shows that a total of 64.5

percent of the respondents of border districts migrated to safer places due to flood. The number of migration is higher in the districts of Pathankot, Gurdaspur, Ferozepur and Fazilka and all the respondents from the border villages of these districts migrated to other places in 1988. The migration during 1988 from Amritsar district was limited and it occurred in two villages of block Ajnala, that is, Kakkar and Kot Razada. The river Sutlej affected the few villages of district Tarn Taran and there was migration only from only one village i.e., Muthiawala.

Table No. 13: Temporary migration in 1993 (floods in River Ravi and Sutlej)

Migration in 1993	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Migrated	20 (66.6)	40 (100)	20 (33.4)	10 (12.5)	25 (41.6)	20 (50)	135 (43.5)
Not Migrated	10 (33.4)	-	40 (66.6)	70 (87.5)	35 (58.4)	20 (50)	175 (56.5)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table no. 13 describes the migration from border villages during 1993 floods. It shows that a total of 43.5 percent of the farmers of border villages migrated due to flood. Majority of the people (56.5%) did not migrate as the intensity of floods was lower as compared to the floods of 1988. Therefore, the residents are also vulnerable to natural calamities.

Table No. 14: Temporary migration in 1995 (floods in river Ravi and Sutlej))

Migration in 1995	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Migrated	30 (100)	30 (75)	20 (33.4)	10 (12.5)	25 (41.6)	20 (50)	135 (43.5)
Not Migrated	-	10 (25)	40 (66.6)	70 (87.5)	35 (58.4)	20 (50)	175 (56.5)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table 14 shows the detail about the migration of the residents of border villages during floods in 1995. A total of 43.5 percent of the farmers of border villages had to migrate in 1995.

Table No. 15: Temporary migration in 1999 (Kargil War)

Migration in 1999	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Migrated	18 (60)	22 (55)	60 (100)	80 (100)	38 (63.4)	12 (30)	242 (78.1)
Not Migrated	12 (40)	18 (45)	-	-	22 (36.6)	28 (70)	68 (21.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table no. 15 illustrates the detail of migration from the border villages during the Kargil war in 1999. The rate of migrations during this period was very high and 78.1 percent of the farmers from the border villages migrated to the safer places at a distance from the border area. In the districts of Amritsar and Tarn-Taran the intensity of migrations was highest and all the respondents migrated from the border villages of these districts.

Table No. 16: Temporary migration in 2001 (terrorist attack on Indian Parliament and war like situation on Indo-Pak border)

Migration in 2001	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Migrated	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)
Not Migrated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table no. 16 presents the information about the migration of the residents of border villages in 2001 that is the year of the attack on the parliament by the terrorists. Our data shows that all the residents of border villages migrated during this period as the situation on the Indo-Pak border became very tense. The units of army were deployed on the border and mines were laid in the agricultural land in these villages. Majority

of the residents of border area stayed out of their homes for many months. The residents suffered huge loss as their household goods were damaged due to traveling from one place to another place. Sometimes they were insulted by their relatives during the long stay with them. They had to lose their livestock due to their displacement for long time. A few of them also stayed in rented home for one year in the towns away from the international border.

The farming is the main occupation of the community and so the agricultural land is of prime importance for the farmers of border villages. Unfortunately, they are unable to sustain themselves and are justly called “orphaned farmers”. They suffer the double whammy-one their land being fenced off, like cutting off the very umbilical cord that had been the source of their sustenance, and secondly the indifferent attitude of the powers that be to the plight of these “deprived” farmers. Instead of sharing the genuine loss of the affected farmers have to face the strict attitude of Border Security Forces with regard to access to their fields. Under the given scenario, it is no surprise that farmers of the border belt are highly disenchanted with their traditional occupation and they feel socially marginalized.

Part 3

Perception of the Farmers:

Table No. 17: Biggest problem of the border area farmers: A perception

Biggest problem	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Fencing	20 (66.6)	19 (47.5)	11 (18.4)	74 (92.5)	39 (65)	28 (70)	191 (61.7)
Opening of gates	10 (33.4)	12 (30)	31 (51.6)	6 (7.5)	11 (18.4)	-	70 (22.6)
Tension on the border			18 (30)				18 (5.8)
Crop damage by boars from the side of Pakistan	-	05 (12.5)	-	-	-	12 (30)	17 (5.4)
Double fencing	-	-	-	-	10 (16.6)	-	10 (3.3)
Land come under the flow of river	-	04 (10)	-	-	-	-	4 (1.2)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

A total of 61.7 percent of the farmers considered that their biggest problem is the barbed fencing and it is the root cause of other multiple problem. According to it, a total of 22.6 of the farmers the biggest problem is the opening of gates. A total of 5.8 percent of the farmers stated that their biggest problem is the tension on the Indo-Pak border. Some of the farmers from district Gurdaspur (12.5%) and Fazilka (30%) narrated that their biggest problem is the crop damaged by wild boars come from the side of Pakistan. It is imperative to mention here that these wild animals enter the Indian Territory from the side of Pakistan and damaged the crops of farmers at night time. According to 3.3 percent of the farmers of border villages the biggest problem is double fencing. These farmers belong to village Gajni of district Ferozpur. Initially all the agricultural land of this village lies beyond fencing because the fencing has been installed at the distance of almost two and half kilometres inside from the line of control. The farmers have to face countless problems which compels them to mobilize themselves and pressurize the government and BSF to shift the fencing to the side of line of control. Consequently, fencing has been shifted but the first fencing has not been removed and the farmers have to face double time checking. A total of 1.2 percent of the farmers' biggest problem is that, their agricultural came under the flow of river Ravi and they belong to district Gurdaspur.

Table No. 18: Responsibility for the problems of the farmers: A perception

Responsibility for the problems of farmers	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozpur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Centre Government	10 (33.4)	8 (20)	17 (28.4)	21 (26.3)	23 (38.4)	17 (42.5)	96 (30.9)
State Government	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Centre and State Government both	2 (6.6)	-	-	13 (16.2)	5 (8.3)	4 (10)	24 (7.8)

BSF (Border Security Forces)	18 (60)	32 (80)	43 (71.6)	46 (57.5)	32 (53.3)	19 (47.5)	190 (61.3)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Majority of the farmers (61.3%) of border villages consider that mainly Border Security Forces (BSF) are responsible for their problems.

The difference between the rate of lease, share cropping and the price between the land beyond fencing and outside fencing is another important issue of the farmers. The lease of the land lying beyond fencing is almost ten thousand less as compare to the lease of the land outside fencing. The respondents from the village Kakkar of district Amritsar stated that all the owners of land lying beyond fencing wanted to sell their land, but no one is ready to buy it.

Table no. 19: Difference of lease of land beyond fencing and outside fencing

Difference in the lease of land	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Faazilka	Total (%)
5,000-10,000	-	-	40 (66.6)	60 (75)	-	-	100 (32.3)
10,000-15,000	20 (66.6)	30 (75)	20 (33.4)	20 (25)	60 (100)	40 (100)	190 (61.2)
15,000-20,000	10 (33.4)	10 (25)	-	-	-	-	20 (6.4)
No difference	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Data shows shows the difference between the lease of land beyond fencing and land outside fencing. This data shows that there is a big difference. Majority of the

respondents (61.2%) responded that there is a difference of fifteen to twenty thousand per acre in the lease amount. The land beyond fencing is taken on lease by those farmers only who have means of irrigation beyond fencing and usually are big farmers and they dictate the offers. The difference in the lease is much higher in the village Bamyal of district Pathankot and village Rose of district Gurdaspur.

Table No. 20: Position of the famers before the installation of fencing: A perception

Position before the installation of fencing	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Good	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)
Bad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Same as present	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

All the respondents stated that their position before the installation of fencing was very good. Majority of the respondents from different villages said that there were not so restrictions for the agriculture operation before the installation of fencing. They had free access to their fields and they could grow any kind of crop. A respondent from village Rose of district Gurdaspur narrated the situation was normal on the border before the installation of fencing because there was no smuggling of synthetic drugs and other things as at present. Another respondent from village Chontra of district Gurdaspur told that they lived comfortably before 1988. The fencing has diminished their lives by ten years. They have to struggle for three to four hours daily on the entry gates to of their fields. Before the period of 1988's the situation on the border was comparatively relaxed. The boys from our village and Pakistani villages used to play *kabaddi*. There had no such kind of restrictions and the native people usually grazed the cattle on the banks of river Ravi which touches the line of control and presently lies beyond fencing. A respondent from the village Basti Ramlal of district Ferozepur narrated that their economic position was very good before the

installation of fencing as they had about forty five buffaloes but after fencing their whole holding of land lay beyond fencing and presently they could not afford even one head of cattle. The farmers cannot grow fodder on the land beyond fencing because they are disallowed to grow crops attaining a height more than three feet. In addition, it is not possible to grow fodder because of the uncertainty of opening of entry gates and comprehensive checking at the time of entry and exit of their fields.

Table No. 21: The position of the farmers if they live in any other village/town of Punjab: A perception

Perception about position of farmers if they live in any other village/town	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Good	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)
Bad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Same as present	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

This data shows that the people do not want to live in these villages but are living there under the compulsions as they cannot leave their agriculture land which is the only means of their livelihood. All the respondents felt that their position would be comparatively better if they were living in other villages or towns of Punjab. All the non-agricultural families have migrated to the other places but the farmers do not have such option because of the ownership of their land in these villages. The respondents from village Ladhuka of district Fazilka stated that their lives are at the mercy of Border Security Forces as they could not enter their own fields without the permission of BSF. The respondents from village Khemkarn of district Tarn-Taran narrated that the BSF labelled them as smugglers. The respondents from village Thehkalla of this district explained that the border touching villages lacked all the facilities available in the rest of villages in Punjab and that is the reason of their backwardness.

Table No. 22: Any political leader or political party promotes the interests of farmers of border area: A perception

Promotion of the interests of the farmers	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Our data shows the opinion of the respondents about the performance of political parties or political leaders regarding the solution to their problems or for promotion of their interest. The farmers responded that their issues and problems are not been taken into account by any political party or political leader. The respondents from different villages also claimed that only the leaders and activists of the farmers' unions seem silver lining to them in any critical situation during the farming.

Table No. 23: Main issue of the general peasantry: A perception

Main Issue of general peasantry	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
MSP (Minimum support price) of all the crops	19 (63.4)	26 (65)	40 (66.7)	66 (82.5)	35 (58.4)	24 (60)	210 (67.7)
Implementation of Swami Nathan Commission Report	08 (26.6)	10 (25)	20 (33.3)	14 (17.5)	23 (38.3)	13 (32.5)	88 (28.4)
Don't know	03 (10)	04 (10)	-	-	02 (3.3)	03 (7.5)	12 (3.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The perception of the farmers of borderlands on general issues is equally important because though they are suffering from specific hardships due to their peculiar location, they also share the issues of the farmers of non-border areas which are passing through crucial time. A substantial number of farmers (67.7 %) viewed that main issue of the farmers in Punjab is that there should be fixed minimum support price (MSP) for all the crops like wheat and paddy. According to the 28.4 percent of the farmers the implementation of Swami Nathan Commission Report was the main issue.

Table No. 24: Major issue of the village

Major Issue of Village	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Lack of availability of good education			10 (16.6)				10 (3.2)
Lack of medical/health facilities			10 (16.6)				10 (3.2)
Lack of good roads			10 (16.6)				10 (3.2)
Lack of road connectivity			10 (16.6)				10 (3.2)
Lack of public transport			10 (16.6)				10 (3.2)
All the above	10 (33.3)	40 (100)		70 (87.5)	40 (66.7)	40 (100)	200 (64.5)
Lack of portable water					20 (33.3)		20 (6.5)
Lack of draining raining water	10 (33.3)						10 (3.2)
River's flow is advancing towards the village	10 (33.3)		10 (16.6)				20 (6.4)
Lack of bridge on the defence drain				10 (12.5)			10 (3.2)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

All the studied villages have variety of issues among which the lack of facilities for good quality of education, adequate medical facilities, good roads, connectivity and public transport are very common. It is necessary to note that the position of the government schools of all levels like elementary, middle and higher secondary is considerably poor. Majority of the schools exists in border villages lack minimum required infrastructure like buildings, furniture, grounds, portable water, toilets and above all teachers. There are few private schools in this area but education is too expensive in the same which could not be availed by the poor farmers of these villages. Some of the villages have certain specific issues such as village Basti Bagicha Singh and Basti Ram Lal of district Ferozepur have no facility of portable water and village Bamyal of district Pathankot lacks any provision of draining rain water. In the same manner the river Ravi's flow has been advancing towards the village of Simbal district Pathankot and village Kot-Razada of district Amritsar. The respondents of village Dall of district Tarn-Taran stated that there was lack of bridge on the defence drain to reach their fields and they had to go to their fields through the drain. As a result of it the farmers suffered huge loss. Many a times their crops flown away during the time of carrying to home and agricultural instruments like tractors and trollies also affected due to the heavy flow of water in the defence drain during the rainy season.

Table No. 25: Major issue of Punjab

Major Issue of Punjab	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Drugs	18 (60)	20 (50)	39 (65)	48 (60)	45 (75)	26 (65)	196 (63.2)
unemployment	-	11 (27.5)	05 (8.4)	12 (15)	05 (8.4)	08 (20)	41 (13.3)
Problem of Law and Order	-	03 (7.5)	06 (10)	09 (113)	-	-	18 (5.8)
Corruption	05 (16.7)	06 (15)	06 (10)	08 (10)	7 (11.6)	06	38 (12.3)
Inflation	7 (23.3)	-	04 (6.6)	03 (3.7)	03 (5)	-	17 (5.4)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The table no. 25 shows the opinion of the farmers about the major issues of Punjab. The farmers of border area consider different issues as the major ones in Punjab but majority of the farmers (63.2%) believed that the issue of drugs was the major issue in the present hour. The respondents from the village Bhalewali Bhaini of district Fazilka stated that drugs were proving very dangerous for the youth of Punjab in particular and for society in general. The rest of the farmers considered unemployment (13.3%), problem of law and order (5.8%), corruption (12.3%), and inflation (5.4%) as the damaging factor of Punjab in that order.

Table No. 26: Impact of non- cordial relations between India and Pakistan on the life of border area farmers: A perception

Impact of Non cordial relations	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Bad Impact	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)
Good Impact	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The entire respondents narrated that non-cordial relations between India and Pakistan have damaging impact on the socio-economic life of the people of border villages. The respondents from village Mohava of district Amritsar stated that they had to face all the strictness as a consequence of any incident occurring at any place of Indo-Pak border. Other respondents from village Kakkar of block Ajnala and district Amritsar told us that non-cordial relations between India and Pakistan had worst impact on their lives and the residents of border village whose land lay beyond fencing are most impacted by this problem. The Border Security Forces would not open the entry gates for many days in case of any tension between both countries and the farmers could not look after their crops. Consequently their crops got damaged and they faced huge economic loss. Not only on economic front faced major setbacks socially also. The respondents from the village Dall of district Tarn Taran said that they were backward in each and every aspect of life as compare to the farmers of non-border areas of

Punjab because of their particular location and the residents from the other villages do not prefer to marry their children in border villages. As a result of it, they had to face a lot of problems for marrying their children and many times they would make compromises by marrying off their children to middle aged person or sometimes to a person who was already married.

Table No. 27: Issues between India and Pakistan should be resolved peacefully or by war: A perception

Method of solving issues	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Peacefully	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)
By war	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

All the respondents favoured peaceful methods of solution of issues between India and Pakistan. Majority of the respondents experienced untold sufferings during the war between two countries and suffered a lot of material losses. They are strongly against the war between India and Pakistan on issues and they wanted the solution of every issue by peaceful means.

Table No. 28: Agriculture: choice or compulsion: A perception

Agriculture: Choice/ Compulsion	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Choice	-	-	2 (3.4)	2 (2.5)	1 (1.7)	-	5 (1.6)
Compulsion	30 (100)	40 (100)	58 (96.6)	78 (97.5)	59 (98.3)	40 (100)	305 (98.4)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table no. 28 depicts the perception of the respondents about their occupation i.e., agriculture. In the present situation majority of the farmers of border villages (98.4%) do not do agriculture as a choice. They take agriculture as a compulsion because there

is no alternative option opt for them for earning their livelihood. Majority of the respondents stated that agriculture is the only means of their livelihood and they cannot abandon. In the present situation the general peasantry is under stress due to many problems of instability and low prices of crops, higher prices of inputs and burden of farming loan etc. The farmers of border villages are facing number of additional problems. These farmers are compelled to follow the conditions laid down by the Border Security Forces regarding the agricultural operation. One of the respondents from village Chontra of district Gurdaspur narrated that he likes to do labour on daily wages as compared to agriculture because there would be certainty of getting fixed money in return of the labour. There is no certainty of even a penny in return of agriculture work put in on the land beyond fencing. Another respondent from the village Basti- Ramlal of district Ferozepur stated that they cannot leave their land because there is no other option available for them except farming. The respondents from village Mohawa of district Tarn-Taran narrated that they were humiliated by the Border Security Forces daily and they considered it better to die than to go beyond fencing for agriculture operation. But they had to suffer the humiliations by the Border Security Forces for the survival of their families. Only 1.6 percent of the farmers said that agriculture was not compulsion but a choice.

Table No. 29: Major demand of border area farmers: A perception

Major Issue of Border Area	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Border belt should be categorized	24 (60)	32 (80)	48 (80)	69 (86.25)	43 (71.6)	28 (70)	244 (78.7)
Land beyond fencing should be acquired by the government	6 (20)	8 (20)	12 (20)	11 (13.7)	17 (28.3)	12 (30)	66 (21.3)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

According to our data majority of the farmers (78.7%) stated that border belt should be categorized according to the location of villages/area in terms of distance from the international border. The sixteen kilometres border belt should be divided into four parts in equal distance. The border touching villages should be placed in the category A and categories B, C and D should be assigned according to the distance from the international border. The facilities should be provided by the government on the bases of sufferings and hardships resulted out of setting of international border. The border touching villages deserved more facilities because they are most sufferers in this context.

To sum up the farmers of this particular region facing numerous issues and the rest of peasantry in Punjab might be unaware of these issues. The farmers of border villages be the victim of certain exclusive problems and their existence entirely depend on the external factors resulted out of national or international settings and controversies. The partition of the country has proved curse for them and they are getting punished without any mistake. They are the “orphaned farmers” as they are deprived of the free access to their ancestral agricultural land which is generally considered mother of the farmers in Punjab.

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Political Mobilisation of the Farmers of Borderland: A Saga of Continuous Struggle

Mobilization refers to the deployment of resources for purposeful action to achieve a specific political or social goal. The important resources include people (e.g. troops and security forces, voters, social movements) shared identities (e.g. partisanship, class, ideology, religion) material support (e.g. money to maintain a standing army and weaponry, comparing donations), information (intelligence and strategic plans, campaign and movement issue statements) and organization (level of military professionalism, network with other social or political groups, campaign volunteers (Marilyn 213).

According to Cambridge English Dictionary the mobilization is a process to organize or prepare something such as a group of people for a purpose. Mobilization may also be defined as an act of assembling and putting into readiness for war or other emergency. The mobilization is the action or process of mobilizing or rendering movable. The social mobilization means the organizing of some hitherto unused form of social energy to bring about changes within a society. The group by which a person acquires the collective control over the resources need for action. Mobilization flows from organization and determine the level and success of collective action. This basic process also applies to political and military mobilization. The political scientists analyse voting and interstate war, whereas sociologists place greater emphasis on the social qualities of mobilization through social movements and protests.

The level of institutional involvement distinguishes social from political mobilization. Mass social mobilization includes protest that pressures a government to institute or reverse a course of action. Rebellions, revolutions and nationalist movement lies at the extreme end of popular social mobilization and seek comprehensive social and political change that usually is accompanied by violence. Those actions often are respondent to with counter mobilization occurs in accordance with the prescribed institutional rules. The social movements are efforts by the government security forces and the military in contrast political mobilization equally successful in using the internet for using the internet for getting their messages to the public, building networks and mobilizing supporters. Karl Deutsch has defined social mobilization as

a process in which old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people became available of new patterns of socialization and behaviour. This erosion occurs with urbanization, commercialization and industrialization. He views these changes are necessary prior conditions for political mobilization which involves the induction of socially uprooted into stable new patterns of behaviour and commitments.

Social mobilization in UNICEF (United Nations International Children Emergency Fund) is a process that engages and motivates a wide range of partners and allies at national and local levels to raise awareness of and demand for a particular development objective through dialogue.

Mass mobilization (also known as social mobilization) refers to mobilization of civilian population as part of contentious politics. Mass mobilization is often used by grassroots based social movements including revolutionary movements but can also become a tool of elites and the state itself.

Political mobilization is defined as the actors' attempt to influence the existing distribution of power. A directional variables is introduced in order to define more precisely the type of relationship which develops between individual and parties. (Nedelman 183)

The farmers in Punjab have been following the way of mobilization and to redress their issues since centuries. Different political regime and socio-economic settings have given shape to the nature of farmers' movement at different periods of time. The different sections of the farmers are suffering from different kinds of problems due to specific geographical location. The farmers of border villages are victim of their specific location and are facing a number of additional issues. The farmers' organizations specifically working to mobilize the farmers of the border villages to resolve their issues.

The farmers had to depend upon the loan to meet their necessities because the support prices of the crops particularly wheat and paddy could not meet even the inputs. The banks did not fix the maximum limit for achieving maximum target of providing loans by ignoring the economic realities of the farmers. In such a situation the ill-fated farmers are compelled to choose the way of suicides. According to the university

surveys conducted from 2000-2015 a total of 16606 farmers committed suicides. A total of eighty seven percent of the agricultural related suicides committed due to the burden of loan or inability of the farmers to repay the loan. A total of seventy six percent of the farmers who committed suicides belonged to the small and marginal farmer's category.

The people in general and farmers in particular residing in the border area have been facing problems and issues since the partition of the country but the installation of the barbed fencing is the extreme level of this phenomena. Though the farmers struggle attained the organisational framework after the installation of barbed fencing yet they have been mobilising for redressing their issues since the Indo-Pakistan border came into being in 1947. During this time they have participated the organisational platforms which have been mobilising the farmers of Punjab in general.

The security developments that may be structural and non-structural which have been employing by the governments, affected the farmers of this particular area in a sever manner. The installation of the barbed fencing affected their occupation that is farming adversely. The returns from the fertile land decline to the critical level which may be depicted in their socio-economic and political lives. The installation of the barbed fencing changed their lives and they are compelled to face countless troubles. Unfortunately, the authorities could not take into account the miseries of the people in general and farmers of borderland in particular. The farmer organisations working in Punjab also could not support to them to escape their problems.

As a result of this, the farmers of border villages began to organise and mobilise all the farmers of borderland. In fact the farmers having agricultural land within the radius of five hundred meters to one and half kilometres from the international border are most affected from the border related developments. Therefore they led the mass mobilisation of the farmers of the respective areas.

The agricultural land of this category of the farmers locked within international border and fencing. The mobilization of these farmers is different from the mobilization of the farmers of rest of the Punjab as the issues of these farmers are altogether different from the rest of peasantry.

Historically the people of border area in Punjab are backward in each and every aspect of life due to various reasons. After the partition of the country these areas suffered major setbacks due to uneasy relations between the India and Pakistan and the focus of the Indian government on the security measures instead of human resources and infrastructural development of this region. The terrorism in Punjab has increased their problems to the large extent. The Pakistan has been supporting the terrorism in Punjab through all the possible ways. The government of India tried to check the illegal infiltration from the side of Pakistan by all the possible means. The installation of fencing is the part of this security process to check the illegal infiltration from the Pakistan.

A committee named Kapoor Committee was constituted under the chairmanship of S.L. Kapoor, the then chief secretary of Punjab to finalize the terms and conditions regarding the systematic installation of the barbed fencing. This committee recommended a number of recommendations for the systematic installation of the barbed fencing along with Indo-Pak border. But, unfortunately the recommendations of this committee could not be followed completely due to the contemporary circumstance because of the escalation of terrorism in Punjab. As a result of it, a hasty and a sort of zigzag installation of fencing carried out. Consequently, a large chunk of cultivable and fertile land of the farmers of the border villages got fragmented and fell beyond the fencing. The land beyond the fencing is under the complete control of the Border Security Forces. The farmers are the owners of this land but they cannot cultivate it freely by their own. The Border Security Forces put a number of restrictions in terms of access to the respective land. In addition to it, the entire process of agriculture operation is controlled by the BSF under the sever vigilance. The installation of fencing enhanced the problems of the farmers to a large extent which were already were the victims of their particular geographical location. The fencing brought untold miseries and hardships to the small farmers particularly to those whose landholding lies beyond fencing or got fragmented into two parts. This development gave the organised and structural form to the mobilisation process of the farmers.

The restrictions put up by the Border Security Forces are numerous in number and harsh in nature like the farmers are compelled to grow only two selected crops that is, wheat and paddy. It is important to mention here that wheat and paddy require less

care as compare to the other commercial crops like vegetables, oilseeds, maize and sugarcane and it is not necessary to go to the fields every day to look after these two crops especially to the wheat. Additionally the farmers cannot afford to go to their field times and again due to the restrictions of Border Security Forces. The farmers can work in their field only during the day time for limited hours, the entry gates generally open on the alternative days, there is ban on any kind of construction on the tube well, ban on the installation of new tube wells, ban on the planting of any tree in the land beyond fencing etc. No doubt the fencing was installing along with the Indo-Pak border for security reasons, but the residence of the border villages are the acute sufferers of the outcomes of the installation of the same.

The suffering farmers of these areas have been crying hoarse since the erection of the fencing all along the border which has aggravated their miseries all the more. In such a situation the governments remained unable to redress the problems of the farmers of border villages. As consequence of the uncaring attitude of powers that be, the affected farmers have forged themselves into different organizations and have mobilized likeminded bodies to lend their cause credibility.

There are number of farmers' organizations working in the Punjab to mobilize the peasantry on the contemporary farming related issues but the farmers of border region have specific issues because of their particular location. On the one hand they share the general issues of the peasantry related to the agriculture of Punjab and additionally have countless issues related to the daily agriculture operation on the other. The peasant organizations working in the Punjab could not mobilize the farmers of the border villages. They remained failed to include the farmers of this specific region in the process of mobilization due to the political and demographic reasons. In addition to it the farmers of border villages whose land lies beyond fencing have been struggling for numerous day to day issues like the opening of entry gates daily, restricted hours for working in the land beyond fencing, the harassment of the farmers having land across fencing by the Border Security Forces on the time searching on the entry and exist of their land, the provision of curfew in the area of five hundred meters outside the fencing at the night time etc. The issues and problems of these farmers could not become the part of the agenda of the peasant organizations working in the

Punjab and these farmers had no option besides to mobilize themselves into regional organizations to escape their problems.

In this situation the second high powered committee was constituted to suggest ways and means to minimize the sufferings of the people resulted out of the installation of fencing on the Indo-Pak border. The chairman of this committee was the chief secretary of Punjab and other members of this committee were the three Deputy Commissioners of the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Ferozepur, along with the Financial Commissioner (Revenue) Secretary Power and Irrigation, and also officials of Home Revenue, Public Works, Electricity Board, Rural Development and Panchyat etc. This committee suggested the following recommendations;

1. The payment of special inconvenience bonus at the rate of Rs. 400 per annum per acre to the farmers.
2. To adjust the timings of opening and closing of the entry gates to the convenience of farmers.
3. Ensured supply of electricity and canal water during day time.
4. Full payment to the farmers for their land acquired for fencing.
5. Allotment of land to the farmers having their total land across the fencing. This land would be used to grow fodder for the livestock. There is a no permission of growing crop having three feet height due to security reasons.
6. The district administration of each district would make arrangements for harvesting combines to harvest crops across the fencing.
7. The Home Ministry would be requested to issue identity cards to the farmers, including the male members of their families.
8. The process of issuing identity cards to the farm labour would be made simpler etc.

The recommendations of this committee were not followed in the same manner as of the previous committee formed before the installation of barbed fencing. The farmers were deprived of free access to their fields. Their occupation is entirely depends upon the mercy of Border Security Forces and they were denied of their fundamental right of carrying out of their occupation freely. The poor and marginal farmers have been

harassed and humiliated through different ways and they were unable to dare to raise their voice against the BSF because of their dependence on it.

The mobilisation of the farmers of the border belt was from within the masses without any outside interference. Two different farmers' organisations came into being though at different times but with same objectives. The methods and techniques of mobilisation of both these organisations varied to the large extent as per the propaganda of leaders of the organisation and the demands of the farmers.

Border Area Farmers' Organizations

There are number of Farmers' organizations working in the Punjab to mobilize the peasantry on the contemporary farming related issues but the farmers of border region have specific issues because of their particular location. On the one hand they share the general issues of the peasantry related to the agriculture of Punjab and additionally have countless issues related to the daily agriculture operation on the other.

The peculiar situation of these farmers compelled them to get mobilized to get their problems resolved. There are mainly two peasant organizations which have been mobilizing the farmers of this area. These named as Border Area Sangharsh Committee and Border Area Farmers' Welfare society. These two Farmers' organizations came into being to mobilize the farmers of the border villages on the issues concerned especially with them.

Border Area Sangharsh Committee (BASC): Origin and Structure

Border Area Sangharsh Committee came into being in 1996 specifically to mitigate the problems of the border districts, that is, Pathankot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Tarn-Taran, Ferozepur, and Fazilka. This organization specifically deals with those farmers of border districts whose land facing fencing pains and has grown into mass movement with various organizations joining it. This farmers' body is the unit of *Jamhoori Kissan Sabha* led by CPI (M) specifically to mobilize the farmers of border villages, but latter on various other organizations like *BKU Ekta* (Pishora Singh), *Punjab Kissan Sabha* (CPI), *Kul Hind Kirti Kissan Sabha* (MCPI) Layalpuri group and *Khetibari Vikas Morcha* led by Maghar Singh Kularia CPI (ML) Mann Group led by Sukhraj Singh of Harsha Chhina have lent their support to them. Though, the Border Area Sangharash Committee deals with the issues and problems of the farmers

of border villages but it also participates in the mobilisation of the farmers of Punjab on general issues in cooperation with almost all the farmers' organizations working in the Punjab.

The membership of this organization is open to all the farmers of border area. The first meeting under the banner of this organization was held at village Attari near Wagha border in 1996. In this meeting the farmers condemned the centre and state governments for ignoring the problems of the farmers.

The farmers of border villages responded enthusiastically to the forming of an organization. An ad-hoc committee comprising one hundred forty one members from the different border villages of the then three districts was constituted to prepare the agenda and demands of the affected farmers. The first state level convention of *Border Area Sangharsh Committee* was called in Amritsar to prepare the agenda of the organization in the late 1996. The state level headquarter of BASC is located in the office of CPI (M) Punjab at Amritsar.

The organisational structure of this organisation is of pyramid kind. It has its different working units at the four levels that is, Village, Tehsil, District and State. Though it represents the entire borderlands in Punjab but working more actively in three districts, that is, Amritsar, Ferozepur and Fazilka.

Village is the lowest level unit and exists in many villages of the border districts. The number of members is proportionate to the number of farmers having land beyond fencing. Normally the members vary from five to eleven. A president, a secretary and a cashier are elected among the members of village committee.

The second level of unit of its structure is tehsil. A total of two hundred and twelve villages in the border area of Punjab fall in nine tehsils. These are as Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Dera Baba Nanak in the district Gurdaspur, Ajnala and Amritsar in the district Amritsar, Tarn-Taran and Patti in Tarn-Taran district, Ferozepur in district Ferozepur and Fazilka of district Fazilka. The Border Area Sangharash Committee has units in all the tehsils. The number of members in tehsil unit varies from fifteen to twenty. The members of tehsil units are elected by the members of village units. The tehsil unit consists of a President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The remaining are executive members.

The Border Area Sangharash Committee has its district level unit in all the districts. These district units consists of twenty five to thirty members. Most of the members of district unit are office bearers and executive members of the village and tehsil committees in their respective district. Generally the politically active members at the lower levels become members in this level committee.

The state unit is the highest level and has it's headquarter at Amritsar. It consists of forty to fifty members who represent the tehsils and districts in the border area of Punjab. The state unit consists of a President, two vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer and executive members. Moreover this organisation is constituted on the basis of democratic principles and the participation of the stake holders is the prominent feature of it. All the leaders or activists are the affected individual of the border related problems and issues.

Border Area Kissan Welfare Society: It's Origin

The role of the existing organisations like Jamhoori Kissan Sabha is noticeable in the process of the origin of Border Area Sangharash Committee and therefore the outside support resulted in the beginning of the process of mobilisation. But on the other side, Border Area Farmers' Welfare Society is an organisation of the affected people belong to the border villages having agricultural land very close to the international border and beyond barbed fencing. Though the residents were facing hardships since the partition of the country but the structural developments at the international border by the Government of India during 1980's compelled the locals to get organise and mobilise to escape the unfavourable conditions. In the beginning the residents of the district Tarn Taran got organised and constituted different groups of nearby villages. The initiative for the formation of this organization was taken by the farmers of district Tarn-Taran having land beyond fencing. It is imperative to mention here that the district Tarn-Taran is the most affected district of the border area because the number of villages (one hundred and fifteen) having land beyond fencing of this district is the highest. The farmers of the border villages of this district are the major sufferers as the land of the majority of them lies across fencing or got fragmented due to the installation of fencing. There are the farmers from village Khemkarn of district Tarn Taran who has up to fifty, thirty and twenty acres of land beyond fencing. Some of the farmers of this village having fifty and thirty acres of land across fencing could

not cultivate their land for about seven years as the BSF did not allow them to enter the land. As a result of this, the fertile cultivated land turned into forest with wild and dense growth and terrorists began to take shelter and enhanced their anti-governmental activities.

The problems of these farmers brought themselves together and they decided to get mobilized on a single platform collectively. In the year of 1994 the farmers of village Khemkarn of block Valtoha and tehsil Patti held a meeting in the village and decided to call the farmers for discussion on their common problems. The affected farmers were called a meeting at the gurdhwara Gurusar located at Khemkarn. The farmers came from approximately twenty villages of the respective districts to discuss their problems. The farmers realized that there should be an organization of the farmers of border villages to fight against the policies of government and BSF to ease their problems.

Different suggestions came from the farmers about the nature, structure, methods and techniques of the farmers' organisation to achieve their objectives. Firstly most of the farmers were agreed on the direct mobilisation without any organisational platform and they favoured the blocking of the railway tracks and roads to get their demands fulfilled. On the other hand some of them were in favour of systematic and legal struggle against the BSF and government which should be led by the representative body of the farmers. They were of the opinion that Border Security Forces work under the supervision of the Home Ministry of Union Government and majority of the issues of the stakeholders are connected with these so the focus of their mobilisation should be the same. They suggested that they should struggle legally through court or support the affected farmers at the time of any problem faced during the agricultural operations. All the farmers agreed on this issue and decided to get organised under an umbrella of an organization for this purpose. One of these farmers Raghveer Singh presided over this meeting who belonged to the village Bhangala of the district Tarn-Taran. He had retired from the BSF in 1980 and has twelve acres of land beyond fencing and was an agriculturist. The farmers decided to organize the farmers of the other border districts and began this process enthusiastically. They started making announcements on the entry gates on the time of entry and exit of the farmers from their land by a loud speaker attached on a private cab. They constituted five different

groups for this purpose and covered almost all the villages of district Amritsar in three months. Then they approached the farmers of border villages of other districts of Punjab and included the activists and leaders from the different areas. Ultimately the farmers with common problems organized on the common platform and formed an union named Border Area in January 1995. It included the farmers from the all three districts, that is, Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Ferozepur. It is pertinent to mention here that at that time the border area of Punjab fell in the above mentioned three districts. The other three districts, that is, Tarn-Taran, Pathankot and Fazilka were carved out of district Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur in 2006 and 2011. An executive committee of eleven members was constituted and S. Raghveer Singh was elected as the state level president of this organization. The Border Area Kissan Welfare Society got registered on 18 October 1995 and its registered number is 870/95. Its state level headquarter is at Khemkarn. The membership of this organization is restricted to those farmers of border villages who have land beyond fencing and it is a non-political organization.

Methods and Techniques of Organisation

This organization has been mobilizing the concerned farmers since its formation through different ways such as meetings at different levels, sit-ins (*dharnas*) from the of entry gates to the Jantra Mantra Delhi not only on the issues of fencing but on the general issues also like the exploitation of the farmers in the grain markets by the commission agents and for fixing minimum support prices for all the crops. Though it has been practicing through all the possible ways of mobilisation but it has been mainly emphasized on the legal method for getting their demands fulfilled.

The Border Area Kissan Welfare Society has a pyramidal structure and it works through democratic manner. It has its units at the village, block, district and state levels. There are district committees block committees and village committee.

Village Committee is the grassroots level unit of the Border Area Kissan Welfare Society. There are about two hundred village committees throughout all the six districts of Punjab. The farmers of a village whose land lies beyond fencing are the members of the village committee. The president of the village committee is elected unanimously among from the members of village committee. He actively participates in the village level mobilisation and helps the farmers in case of any problem at the

time of entry at entry gates. The village level hold meetings and sit-ins (*dharnas*) are organized and presided over by the president. President and members from the village hold meetings with the BOP (Border Outposts) officials from time to time on different issues related to the agriculture operations. He also collects funds from the farmers of concerned village if required so.

The second level unit of this organization is block committee. The farmers of all the border villages falling in one block are the members of the block committee. The president of the block level committee is elected from among the members unanimously. The active members from the concerned block assisted the president in the process of mobilisation. A number of meetings are held at the block level by the president and other active members regarding the block level issues. They approached the affected farmers door to door to make them aware about the common issues concerned with them. The president and active members also hold sit-ins (*dharnas*) and protests on different issues concerning the farmers of the block. The block committee coordinate and cooperate with the other block and district committees.

The district unit of the union consists of the farmers of all the villages of the concerned district whose land lies beyond fencing. The president of the district committee is elected unanimously among the farmers from the farmer of villages of the respective district. He is generally a person who actively participates in the process of mobilisation at the village, block and district level. He arranges the meetings, protests and sit-ins (*dharna*) at the district level. He also coordinates with the other district committees and state committee from time to time. No doubt, he is assisted by the other farmers who are active members and participate in the process of mobilisation at different level like village and block level. The state unit is the highest level of the Border Area Kissan Welfare Society. This committee consists of eleven members including the president. The other office bearers are the vice president, general secretary, cashier, manager and seven executive members. In the present hour of time president of the organization belongs to village Bhangala of block Khemkarn tehsil Patti and district Tarn-Taran. The other office bearers are taken from the different areas of border area of Punjab.

List of leaders Of the Border Area Kissan Welfare Society

Table No.1: The detail of leaders/members of Border Area Kissan Welfare Society (1995) at the time of first meeting

Name	Designation	Residence
Raghveer singh	President	Bhangala
Milkha singh	Vice President	Ratoke(Tarn-Tarn)
Sudesh Kumar	General Secretary	Khalra(Tarn-Taran)
Parnam singh	Cashier	Khemkarn(Tarn-Taran)
Subeg Singh	Manager	Rorawala(Amritsar)
Jagir Singh	Member	Rosa(Gurdaspur)
Hari Ram	Member	Bhadurke(Ferozepur)
Banta singh	Member	Udharwala(Amritsar)
Paritam Singh	Member	Mehdipur(Tarn-Taran)
Massa singh	Member	Khemkarn(Tarn-Taran)
Dhola Mahi	Member	Bhadurke(Ferozepur)

The above mentioned two bodies work simultaneously on almost similar kind of issues. Normally the farmers' organisations in Punjab supported by political parties or vice versa but the farmers' organisations working in the borderland belt are independent politically as these are not supported by any political party on the one hand and not provided support to any political party. The sole objective of these organisations are to sought out the issues and problems of the farmers of border villages emerged due to structural and security arrangements. The leadership of the organisations do not belong to particular class but it belong to different category of farmers like marginal, small, medium, semi-medium and large. Moreover, majority of the leaders belong to caste Jatt as the farming community mainly belong to the same. No doubt the representation to other communities have also been given. In addition all the communities having land beyond fencing have the membership in these organisations without any bias and discriminations on the basis of caste, religion,

gender and any other. All the farmers' leaders have the powers according to their designation on the basis of democratic principles.

The membership status of the farmer organisations is interesting as both the bodies work on the same issues but there are difference in the number of members, areas of influence and techniques of mobilisation.

Table No. 2: Membership of farmers' organizations

Farmers' Organizations	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Membership of Border Area Farmers' Welfare Society	24 (80)	31 (77.5)	14 (23.4)	73 (91.25)	34 (56.6)	23 (57.5)	199 (64.1)
Membership of Border Area Sangharsh Committee	-	-	34 (56.6)	-	8 (13.4)	13 (32.5)	55 (17.7)
Membership of BAKWS and BASC both	6 (20)	9 (22.5)	12 (20)	7 (8.75)	18 (30)	4 (10)	56 (18.2)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The farmers of borderlands have membership of two organizations. All the respondents are the members of one or the other organization. A total of 64.1 percent of the farmers are the members of Border Area Kissan Welfare Society. The highest number of membership of this organization is found in the district Tarn-Taran. The percentage of the membership of the Border Area Sangharsh Committee is 17.7 percent. The highest membership of this organization is in the district Amritsar i.e., 56.6 percent. Some of the farmers (18.2 percent) have membership of both the

farmers' organizations. In this manner we can conclude that there is not any sharp divide between the two farmers' organisations in terms of membership.

Table No. 3: Nature of membership

Nature of membership	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Active membership	17 (56.6)	22 (55)	22 (36.6)	58 (72.5)	42 (70)	24 (60)	185 (59.6)
Passive membership	13 (43.4)	18 (45)	38 (63.4)	22 (27.5)	18 (30)	16 (40)	125 (40.4)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

According to this table a total of 59.6 percent of the farmers are the active members of farmers' organizations. The highest number of active members (72.5%) belongs to district Tarn-Taran which is followed by district Ferozepur with seventy percent of active members. Active members are actively participating in the process of mobilisation of the farmers of border area whose land lies beyond fencing. They take part in the meetings in the village, block, district and state levels. They also help the farmer to sort out the day to day problems regarding the opening of entry gates, behaviour of BSF personnel and any other problem concerned with agricultural operations. These members also collect funds from the farmers for the spending of respective organizations. A total of 40.4 percent of the respondents are the passive members of the farmers' organizations. The passive members do not participate actively in the functioning of farmers' organizations but only give funds voluntarily to these organizations. Some of these members file the court case for getting compensation for land occupied by government for the formation of line of control at the time of partition of the country and the installation of barbed fencing and they become the members of Border Area Kissan Welfare Society for this purpose. The farmer's bodies have been helping the concerned farmers for this cause.

Table No. 4: Reasons of being member of farmers' organizations

Reasons of being member of Farmers' organizations	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Problems regarding fencing	17 (56.6)	22 (55)	22 (36.6)	58 (72.5)	42 (70)	24 (60)	185 (59.6)
To put up case to get compensation for occupied Land	22 (73.3)	26 (65)	26 (43.4)	22 (27.5)	18 (63.3)	12 (30)	146 (47.1)
Apprehension of the rough attitude of BSF personnel	-	-	-	-	06 (10)	04 (10)	10 (3.2)
To get support of the farmers' bodies in case of allegedly fake police cases	-	-	03 (5)	-	-	-	03 (0.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Majority of the farmers (59.6%) get the membership of farmers organizations due the problems emerged after the installation barbed of fencing. The second number is of those farmers (47.1%) who become the members of Border Area Kissan Welfare Society to take the guidance and support to put up case in the court case to get adequate compensation for the land occupied for the line of control and fencing. A total of 3.2 percent of the farmers become the members of Border Area Sangharsh Committee to escape the harassment or to avoid the court cases. It is important to mention here that this organization help the farmers whose land lies beyond fencing when the BSF harassed them on the time of entry of their fields and on many other day to issues regarding farming . It is very interesting fact that five percent farmers of district Amritsar are the members of Border Area Sangharash Committee to escape from the apprehension allegedly fake police cases like smuggling.

Table No. 5: Year of joining farmers' organizations

Year of joining Farmers' organization	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn-Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
1994-1999	7 (23.4)	14 (35)	33 (55)	80 (100)	33 (55)	23 (57.5)	190 (61.3)
2000-2005	-	-	6 (10)	-	8 (13.4)	-	14 (4.5)
2006-2011	5 (16.6)	-	-	-	10 (16.6)	5 (12.5)	20 (6.5)
2012-2017	18 (60)	26 (65)	21 (35)	-	9 (15)	12 (30)	86 (27.7)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

According to this data majority of the farmers of border villages joined the farmers' organizations to be the part of organised struggle in the years of 1994-1995. The highest number of farmers who joined these bodies belongs to district Tarn-Taran. These farmers are the members of Border Area Kissan Welfare Society which originated in 1994. Majority of the farmers of the districts of Pathankot (60%) and Gurdaspur (65%) joined the Farmers' organizations during 2012-2017. These farmers became the members of farmers' organizations to file the court case to get compensation for the land occupied by the Border Security Forces for different purpose.

Table No. 6: Funding to farmers' organizations

Funding to Farmers' organizations	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Voluntarily funding to BASC*	-	-	06 (10)	-	14 (23.4)	14 (23.4)	20 (64)
Voluntarily funding to BAFWS**	16 (53.4)	23 (57.5)	20 (33.4)	57 (71.2)	24 (40)	-	140 (45.2)
Voluntarily funding to both BASC and BAKWS both	-	-	18 (30)	-	07 (11.6)	21 (52.5)	46 (14.8)
Leaders themselves support the union in terms of money	-	03 (7.5)	-	06 (7.6)	3 (5)	03 (7.5)	15 (4.8)
Do not pay fund to any Farmers' organization	14 (46.6)	14 (35)	16 (26.6)	17 (21.2)	12 (20)	16 (40)	86 (28.7)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

BASC*: Border Area Sangharash Committee

BAKWS**: Border Area Kissan Welfare Society

The organizations collect funds on the voluntarily basis. The funds are collected at the time of requirement of money. Some of the members (14.8) of organizations give funding to both organizations and they belong to districts Amritsar, Ferozepur and Fazilka. Some of the well –off leaders/activists support the union at the time of proceeding of court cases. The highest number (7.6%) of such leaders belongs to district Tarn Taran followed by district Gurdaspur. It is pertinent to mention here that usually the local leaders and members collect the food items like milk, tea and

chapaties from the concerned villages at the time of local meetings or sit-ins (*dharnas*) and a total of 28.7 percent of the members of do not pay any kind of fund.

Table No. 7: The role of leaders/activists in mobilizing farmers

Role of the Leaders/Activists	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn-Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Arrange and participate in meetings at the different levels	7 (23.4)	2 (5)	7 (11.7)	7 (8.75)	4 (6.70)	4 (10)	31 (10)
Take part in <i>dharnas</i> /Protest	4 (13.3)	4 (10)	4 (6.7)	-	3 (5)	11 (27.5)	26 (8.3)
Help the farmers at the local level in case of any problem	3 (10)	-	-	3 (3.75)	13 (21.6)	-	19 (6.2)
Organize the farmers by approaching them door to door	-	-	-	9 (11.25)	-	-	9 (2.9)
Motivate and help the farmers to file court case to get compensation for occupied land	-	7 (17.5)	-	11 (13.75)	-	-	18 (5.8)
All the above	6 (20)	9 (22.5)	11 (18.3)	39 (48.75)	22 (36.7)	9 (22.5)	96 (30.9)
Only give funds	10 (33.3)	18 (45)	38 (63.4)	11 (13.75)	18 (30)	16 (40)	111 (35.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Different kinds of roles are played by the leaders and activists to organise the stakeholders to resolve the problems. . Data shows that a total of 30.9 percent of the leaders and activists are playing a very active role in mobilizing the respective farmers. They arrange and participate in the meetings from the initial level of units to

to the state level. They also take part in the protest and sit-ins (*dharnas*) organized by to pressurise the concerned authorities, help the farmers at the local level to solve any problem make efforts to strengthen the organisation. Some of the leaders and activists take part only in one or another mobilizing activity. The highest number of farmers who are actively engaged in mobilizing activities belongs to the district Tarn-Taran (48.75%) which is followed by the farmers of district Ferozepur (36.7%). A total of 35.9 percent of the farmers do not take any part in any mobilizing activity but only pay the funds.

The Process of Mobilisation

The two Farmers' organizations named *Border Area Sangharsh Committee* and *Border Area Kissan Welfare Society* have been mobilizing the Farmers on the respective issues. Although these two organizations have originated specifically to mobilize the Farmers of border villages yet they were formed at different periods of time with a different process and by the different people. The mobilisation process of starts from the entry gates and reaches up to the Indian Parliament on the issues concerning the Farmers. These represent the entire peasantry of border area but the areas of influence of these organizations are different. The *Border Area Kissan Welfare Society* has its influence in almost all the six border districts and the local units of mobilisation exist in the majority of villages except the few. The villages where committees do not exist have been attached to the other village committees. Though these two farmers' organizations have been mobilizing the farmers separately but in the districts of Ferozepur and Fazilka both are working collectively. They hold joint meetings at the village, block, sub-division (tehsil) and district level. Majority of the leaders and activists of the peasant organizations in these districts belong to Communist Party of India (Marxist) and Communist Party India (Pasla group). The farmers' organizations working in the border area have also participated in the mobilisation process of the general issues. The *Bhartya Kissan Union Lakhawal* and *Border Area Kissan Welfare Society* opposed the exploitative conditions practiced by the commission agents at the time of marketing of crops and hold *dharnas* and *gheraos* in the grain markets located in the border area in 1996. As a result of this struggle the extra charges which were charged at the time of marketing has decreased to the rupees two from rupees three per quintal. These organizations filed cases in the court against

all the commission agents of border area and their records were summoned by the court to find out the irregularities in their transactions. The representatives of the Border Area Kissan Welfare Society also participated in the gathering held at the Jantra Mantra (Delhi) in 1997 and in the All India Conference of the farmers held at Punne organized by the BKU Lakhwall in 1998.

The farmers of the border area in Punjab have a variety of issues of mobilisation exclusively different from the rest of peasantry in Punjab because of their peculiar geographic location. The two farmers' organizations named Border Area Sangharsh Committee and Border Area Kissan Welfare Society have been mobilizing the Farmers on the respective issues. Although these two organizations have originated specifically to mobilize the Farmers of border villages but are formed on the different periods of time with a different process and by the different people. The mobilization process of these Farmers' organizations start from the entry gates and reach up to the Indian Parliament on the issues concerned with the Farmers of border area. These represent the entire peasantry of border area but the areas of influence of these organizations are different. The Border Area Kissan Welfare Society has its influence in almost all the six border districts and the local units of mobilisation exist in the majority of villages except the few. The villages where post committees do not exist have been attached to the other post committees. On the other hand the Border Area Sanagharsh Committee has its membership and local units of mobilisation in the some villages of district Amritsar, Ferozepur and Fazilka. Though these two Farmers' organizations have been mobilizing the Farmers separately but in the districts of Ferozepur and Fazilka are working collectively. They hold joint meetings at the village, block, and tehsil and district level. Majority of the leaders and activists of the peasant organisations in these districts belong to communist party Marxist and communist party Pasla group.

The process of mobilisation: The process of farmers' mobilisation in the borderland may be divided into two categories on the basis of nature of methods and techniques adopted by the farmers unions working in this area:

1. Political Mobilisation
2. Legal methods to resolve technical issues

The farmers' organizations mobilized the farmers on the common problems and pressurize the BSF personnel at the different level to solve their problems. The farmers which are generally the members or activists of one or other organization hold a number of *dharnas* (sit-ins) at the entry gates and in front of the Border Out posts. The respondents from the village Gajni of block Guru Harsahai and district Ferozepur stated that they held *dharnas* at the gates frequently to replace the fencing close to the international border. The farmers of whole village including the women and children hold *dharnas* at the entry gates daily for two months from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. It is important to mention here that the total land of this village (twenty two hundred acres) lies beyond fencing as the fencing have been installed at the distance of two kilometres from the international border. Ultimately they remained successful and the barbed fencing has been replaced to the near of international border. As a result of it, the land of the majority of the farmers of this village comes outside the fencing. The struggle of these farmers was led by the Farmers' organizations namely Border Area Sangharsh Committee and Border Area Kissan Welfare Society jointly.

The respondents from the village Kakkar of block Ajnala and district Amritsar told us that the BSF ordered the farmers of this village to cut the trees existed in the land beyond fencing and the farmers did so to fulfil the order. The BSF official denied the concerned farmers from lifting the wood of the trees from the fields. The farmers of this village held *dharna* on the entry gate. The BSF personnel compelled them to lift the *dharna* but they insisted on their demand of getting the wood of the cut trees. They have been sitting on the *dharna* up to 11.30 p.m. At midnight the concerned official ordered to open the entry gate and allowed the farmers to lift the wood. This *dharna* was led by the activists of village committee of Border Area Sangharsh Committee.

The farmers' organizations also support the farmers in case of any problem in the agriculture operation in the land beyond fencing. The respondents from the village Dall of block Bikhiwind and district Taran- Taran told us that the Border Area Kissan Welfare Society have been making efforts to build a crossing bridge on the defence drain. They explained that there is not any crossing bridge on the defence drain to reach the land across defence drain and barbed fencing. The farmers who have land beyond fencing or defence drain have to cover about four kilometres from one side to reach to their land for agricultural operation as the bridge lies in the area of another

village. The farmers prefer to go through the defence drain which becomes very problematic in the rainy season. Many livestock and tractors have been drowned and flown away due to the heavy flow of water in the defence drain. The activists of Border Area Kissan Welfare Society have collected funds from the villages belong to block Bikhiwind and build a bridge on the defence drain in the area of village Dall but the BSF demolished it with the help of JCB. The security personnel argued that the prior permission is necessary from the BSF headquarter (Bikhiwind) to build any kind of structure on the defence drain. The activists and leaders of the block committee and the concerned post committee of the organisation have hold number of *dharnas* in front of the headquarter office to get permission but remained unsuccessful.

The respondents from the village Kakkar of block Ajnala district Amritsar told us that we are the members of Border Area Sangharash committee and we hold *dharnas* at the entry gates frequently to pressurize the IPC post level BSF personnel and the company commander at the headquarter on different day to day issues. On the other hand they also support the famers of border villages in case of any problem related to the land beyond fencing. They narrated an incident of helping a Rai Sikh family of the village Saran Dev of block Ajnala and district Amritsar on the of occupation of its land by a politically powerful person. There is about ten acres of land belong to the forest department of union government which turned into forest due to the non-cultivation in it from the long period of time. Some of the poor families of the respective villages occupied this land and made it cultivable for agriculture by putting their hard work. This Rai Sikh family has been cultivating ten acres of land from the last ten years but the *Sarpanch* (headman of the village)of the respective village who belongs to the then ruling poltical party occupied this land forcefully in 2014. The members and activists of Border Area Sangharash Committee from the district and tehsil levels committees hold *dharna* and blocked the Amritsar Ajnala road in the support of affected Rai Sikh farmers. In this manner the farmers' organizations mobilize and organize the farmers of border area on any big or small issue related to them.

The mobilisation of these farmers at the local level escaped them from their problems as well as the apprehension of the rough attitude of security forces. The respondents of the village Lakha Hasli of district Ferozepur told us that before organising the

farmers on common platform some of the employees of security agencies harassed them on minor issues. There were frequent disputes between farmers and persons relating to security forces which often lead to man handling and physical torture of the farmers. But presently the leaders and activists come forward to resolve any controversy between the two parties.

The members of the post committee of Border Area Kissan Welfare Society supports the farmers comes under working field of the respective post on various day to day issues and helped the farmers at the time of problem on the entry gates. The respondents from the Village Bidhichand Chinna stated that since the farmers are getting organised under the banner of respective bodies the relationship of the farmers residing in borderlands got improved and turned to be friendly which led to congenial environment for the framers during farming activities. It also facilitates the organization of the farmers on the common platform to pressurize the BSF personnel and the government on the various issues.

The smuggling of drugs and weapons is a common phenomenon through this international rout and regular incidents of such kind of activities on the indo-Pak border many times turned problematic for the residents in general and farmers in particular. In case of finding any illegal substance from the respective areas the security forces and intelligence agencies investigate the farmers of concerned village or the farmers from whose land the above mentioned material found. The farmers stated that we are not allowed to go in our field from 2p.m. to 10 a.m. and how can we be the responsible for the smuggling which is generally taking place at the night time. One of the respondents from the village Bidhichand Chinna of district Tarn-Taran narrated an incident that twelve packet of heroine is thrown in his land from the side of Pakistan at the night time in October 2015. He went to the entry gate to enter his field in the morning and were unaware about any such activity. But the security personnel arrested him from the entry gate arrested and tortured him. Then he was released but could not allow to enter his agricultural land for two years for cultivation. Consequently the cultivable and fertile land turned into forest on the one hand and his family suffered from acute financial crisis on the other. The respective farmer has seven acres of land beyond fencing and his earning depended mainly on the land across fencing. The activists of Border Area Sangharsh Committee support the

affected farmer to solve the matter and pressurize the Inspector General and other BSF personnel on the matter and gave the surety of the concerned farmer. After the interference of farmer's organization he is permitted to enter his land for agricultural operations.

One of the respondents from the village Dall of district Tarn-Taran stated that he was warned by BSF on the time of entry to his field that he must come back at sharp 2 p.m. to exit in the year 2004. He was also accompanied by the labourers to work in field. On coming on the entry gate to exit at 1.30p.m to exit he is physically tortured. After two days he was searched from the home by the company commander and beaten harshly leading to serious injuries and got admitted in the hospital for treatment. Then the farmer's organization (Border Area Kissan Welfare Society) came forward to solve the matter and it decided to file the case against the concerned Border Security Forces personnel. The Inspector General headquarter Bikhiwind approached the activists of the respective organization to resolve the matter through compromise but they refused to do so. The Border Security Forces official called upon the *panchyats* from nearby six villages and the members of the concerned post committee of the organization. The security personnel gave assurance to the farmers that there would never be such kind of incident in the future. A number of other demands of the farmers were accomplished like the entry gates began to open daily and gave the permission of installing an underground pipes for the irrigation of the land beyond fencing.

The mobilisation of these farmers is not only restricted to the grassroots level but they have been pressurizing the centre and state governments on the concerned issues through the organised platform. They hold a number of *dharnas* at the tehsil, district and state levels and presented the memorandum to the sub divisional magistrates, Deputy Commissioner and Chief Minister regarding their demands. The members and activists also hold *dharnas* and arrange *kissan march* (peaceful protest by the farmers) from the respective border villages to the district headquarters and presented the memorandum of their demands times and again.

The leaders and activists of the Border Area Sangharsh Committee from the district committee Fazilka stated that they arranged a *paddle march* (walked on foot) from

their district level office Fazilka to the office of Deputy Commissioner. This march was of a distinctive type as about hundred farmers from different border villages of the respective district hold *Pedal march* (walked on foot) with fewer cloths on their body. In the same manner the district levels *dharnas* (sit-ins) and *pedel march* was arranged (walked on foot) by the district level committee of Border Area Kissan Welfare Society from headquarter of the organisation to the office of Deputy Commissioner Tarn-Taran to mobilize the farmers and to pressurize the government. The farmers arranged the *gherao* of Sub-divisional magistrates of tehsil Patti, Fazilka and Ferozepur on the issue of appointment of women in the Border Security Forces for the checking of females on the entry gates in 1996.

The farmers' bodies adopt each possible design to reach its destination, though it may be through the legal manner and political pressure by approaching to the concerned MLA's and MP's regarding their demands. They met with the Member of Legislative Assembly from the assembly constituency Patti that is Adesh Partap Singh Kairon and member of Parliamentary constituency from Taran Taran S. Major Singh Oboke to bring in notice their demands to their political representatives in 1996-97. They raised many questions regarding the problems of border area farmers in the respective houses. The Home Minister took a serious note of the problems of the farmers and assured a delegation to look into the matter thoroughly. By taking into action on the demands of peasant' organization and parliamentary questions the central government replied that the total compensation of the land under fencing has been sent to the state government and a committee has been constituted to look into the problems of the farmers.

The Home Ministry directed the BSF authorities through a formal order DO NO.1/17034/31/96-IS dated February 19, 1997 recommended the following provisions:

1. The entry gates will be opened from 8a.m.to 5p.m.
2. A committee named BSF Farmers' Coordination Committee will be constituted for the smooth coordination between BSF and farmers.
3. The border Security Forces will not create any problem for farmers and the farmers will be allowed to do agriculture freely.

The central government tried to solve the problems of the farmers but unfortunately these recommendations have not been implemented practically and remained on papers. The farmers presented the copies of this letter to the new appointed Inspector General (Border Range) Avtar Singh Aulakh but he did not take any notice to implement these guidelines. The farmers of border villages decided to hold gathering at the Khemkarn and to invite the Avtar Singh Aulakh. More than five hundred farmers including women from the border villages gathered here and requested him to implement the provisions contain in the letter. But he refused to do so and threatened the leaders of farmers' organization to suppress them.

The Home Minister of India under the government of National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government, Lal Kishan Advani visited the border villages in 1999 to get the first hand information of the problems of the farmers of border villages with the efforts of Adesh Partap Singh Kairon on the approaching him by the farmers' groups times and again. He visited the three districts of border area of Punjab. The villages Rannia Kakkar, Daoke and Dall of Amritsar district were visited by him. The representatives of the farmers made him aware about the different problems of the affected farmers. After realizing the problems of the farmers, the government announced rupees twenty five hundred per acre annually as agricultural inconvenience allowance. The respective farmers received this compensation for three years from 1999 to 2001.

Legal method to resolve technical issues: The respondents from the different villages narrated that they are helpless in terms of conditions and regulations put up by the Border Security Forces. These may be related to the entry or exit and during the farming engagements. The respondents narrated a number of incidents of harassing the farmers on different issues by illegal physical torture and illegal arrest. As a result of this, they have to choose the alternative of legal method and approached the High Court to find out the way to relieve their sufferings. In addition to it, the representatives of the farmers decided that though their temporary and day to day issues might be redress by the local authorities on putting pressure on the same through political mobilisation at the different levels but the permanent issues like the acquisition of agricultural land of the farmers as per legal norms which is used by the Border Security Forces and agricultural inconvenience compensation. After the detailed discussion with the farmers of different areas on this matter in the district

level meetings they decided to follow the legal procedure through court case. The representative bodies file a case in the High Court in 1996 under the civil Writ Petition No.954/96 for the violation of fundamental rights under articles 14,16,17and 21. This writ was entitled as Border Area Kissan Welfare Society through its president verses

1. Union of India through secretary, Home Department Government of India;
2. Director General Border Security Forces, New Delhi;
3. The Chief Engineer (Northern Zone) Border Fencing (C.P.W.D.), R.K. Puram New Delhi.
4. The state of Punjab, through its Chief Secretary, Chandigarh.
5. The Collector/ Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur.
6. The Collector/ Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar.
7. The Collector / Deputy Commissioner Ferozepur.

This case was filed for the proper acquisition of the agricultural land of the farmers used by the BSF along with international border and for the purpose of fencing and to resolve all other agriculture related problems. It is necessary to mention here that the BSF been using eleven feet (11 feet) wide strip of land of the farmers without the acquisition as per legal norms land along with Indo-Pak border for patrolling and on the forty four feet wide strip of land (44 feet) the barbed fencing is erected as security measure. The concerned farmers did not receive any compensation for this land because it has not acquired according to legal procedure. In addition to it, has also appealed that the agricultural land lies between the international border and fencing is not remained suitable for agriculture due to the hard restrictions in terms of the security of international border. This land should be acquired by the government or should take on lease. The Border Security Forces have presented its argument and has replied that many of the farmers of border area are involved in illegal activities and supported anti national activities directed by the neighbour country. They do not have any problem regarding agriculture on the land beyond fencing because the security forces properly supporting and coordinating them. The fencing is installed due to the security reasons and it was very necessary in terms of national security. The court dismissed this case on the ground of the argument of BSF.

After the dismissal of the previous case the farmers got disappointed but their efforts of getting justice could not stop. They hold a number of meetings at the district and state level to discuss this matter comprehensively. They realized that their demands are genuine related to their survival and the court cannot ignore them. We have to present their demands genuinely so that court can understand the ground realities of their problems. They decided to represent their case by themselves in spite of lawyer because the lawyer, which is not aware of the locational sufferings, cannot present their situation genuinely. Therefore, they decided to put the case in the High Court directly without the lawyer in 1998. The representatives of the farmers argued before the court that they do not have food in their stomachs and not any fodder for their livestock. Therefore, either let their case get admitted or provide the governmental shelter for their survival. Due to the direct representation the case of the farmers got admitted. But again it was dismissed by Justice K. Kannan dismissed in 2012.

The untiring efforts of the representative bodies of the farmers were stronger than the disappointment resulted out of their failure in courts times and again. They filed the court case under number Letter Patent appeal no.35 of 2012 in civil writ petition no.954/1996 entitled Border Area Kissan Welfare Society headquarter Khemkarn through its president verses

1. Union of India through secretary, Home Department Government of India;
2. Director General Border Security Forces, New Delhi;
3. The Chief Engineer (Northern Zone) Border Fencing (C.P.W.D.), R.K. Puram, New Delhi.
4. The state of Punjab, through its Chief Secretary, Chandigarh.
5. The Collector/ Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur.
6. The Collector/ Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar.
7. The Collector / Deputy Commissioner Ferozepur.

This writ petition was filed for the restoration of fundamental rights under articles 14, 16, 17, 19 and 21. The court decided after the long proceeding and scrutinizing the documents produced by the government that neither the government acquired the land according to law which has been using for the purpose of patrolling (11 feet) and installation of fencing (44 feet) nor any compensation is provided to the concerned

farmers. Justice Surya Kant also stated that the land beyond fencing is not suitable for agriculture and the government should acquire this land on the market value. The government produced an affidavit that it cannot acquire this land and the farmers would do farming on the same. During the proceeding of this case, honourable justice Shri Sanjay Kisan Kaul ordered rupees sixty five hundred per acre inconvenience compensation to the farmers on 10th of January 2014 which would be implemented retrospectively from 1.1.2014.

The court also ordered the composition of expert committee to find out real situation and problems regarding the agriculture operations on the land lies between the international border and fencing. This committee consisted of three members including the chairman named Dr GK Choudhary, the then Director of Wheat Corporation of India. The other two members were Dr Paramjit Singh, Director Punjab Agriculture University Ludhiana and Dr Gurdial Singh, Joint Director Punjab Agriculture Department. This committee was ordered to submit its report up to 14.3.2014. This committee visited to border villages randomly and discussed the problems with the farmers and BSF officials. This committee submitted its report on 28.2.2014 and compared the process of agriculture and income from agriculture land between beyond fencing and outside fencing. The committee observed that farmers have to spend 1.5 times more cost on production on the land lies between international border and fencing because of the unavailability of canal water, wild animal menace comprehensive checking and restricted agriculture operation. The unavoidable circumstances reduced their production and margins. This committee recommended rupees ten thousand per acre per year compensation to the farmers because of low production from the land beyond fencing due to restricted agriculture operations. The committee also attached this compensation with agricultural index .As well as the prices of agricultural crops will rise the compensation will increase simultaneously. On the recommendation of this committee the honourable justice High Court Shri Sanjay Kaul ordered rupees ten thousand per acre annually compensation to the farmers which is to be implemented from 1.4.2014. The court decided that fifty percent of this compensation would be given by the centre government and fifty percent by the Punjab government. The decision of High Court was challenged by the Union of India in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court decided on 10.10 2014 that

the decision of High Court is valid and it directed that this case would be resolved by the High Court within four weeks.

Unfortunately the government did not release any compensation to the farmers on the decision of court. The court has to issue the notice of ignorance of the decision of court to the government. Then the government issued this compensation in three instalments and the union government released rupees sixteen crores and twenty five lakhs for giving compensation to the farmers.

In the final decision on 20.5.2015 the honourable justice Shri Suria Kant having discussing the previous decisions comprehensively and accepting the affidavits given by the central government before giving the final decision. It is pertinent to mention here that this case was transferred to the bench of Shri Suria Kant after the transfer of Justice Shri Sanjay Kaul. The court decided that the special tribunals will be constituted under the session judges of the border districts. The court ordered the acquisition of the land which is under the control of security forces On the acceptance of the government to acquire the agricultural land of the farmers which has been used by the BSF for patrolling (11 feet), for the installation of barbed fencing (44 feet) and any other land which has been using by the BSF's illegally, the court ordered the acquisition of this land according to rehabilitation act 2013 up to 31 August 2015. In addition to it, the court also ordered to release all the pending compensation to the farmers up to 31 August 2015.

Though the court gave a number of orders to the government but because of the lacklustre attitude of the authorities left the farmers discontented. The governments did not bother about the decision of court and not any order of the court has been implemented. Therefore, the unfortunate farmers compelled to follow the previous method of pressurising the government. The activists and leaders of the farmers unions hold a number of meetings at the district and state level to discuss about the future road- map for future.

The representatives of the farmers presented memorandum to the Chief Minister Parkash Singh Badal at the Amarkot near Khemkarn on 9th of September 2015. The farmers were arrested here but released in the evening. On October 2015 the representatives of the farmers of border area presented the copies of the violation of

order of the court to the Chief Minister on the occasion of the *gurpurab* (birth ceremony) of Shri Guru Angad Dev Ji, the second Guru of Sikhs. In the same manner they presented the memorandum to the CM in Tarn-Taran. On 17th of December 2015 the conference of the farmers held at Chandigarh. The representatives of the farmers from border area also participated in this conference and raised the issue of violation of the order of court and of the delay in setting up special tribunal to solve the particular problems of the farmers. On 11th January 2016 the government demanded the period of one year in the court but the Kissan Union replied in the form of contempt of court. Consequently, the government declared that the special tribunal is set up under the chairmanship of the judge of session court Taran-Taran Shri Darbari Lal. The powers of High Court have been assigned to this special tribunal and the required staff has been provided by the session courts of the concerned districts. The tribunal has been working regularly and one hearing in one month in each district is arranged. The Tribunal has been scrutinizing the problems of the farmers of border area whose land lies across fencing. In addition to it the individual claims have been put up by the concerned farmers to acquire the eleven feet of land along with the international border used by the security forces for patrolling. In addition to the above agenda the tribunal will discuss on the following questions:

1. Whether the farmers have been frequently compensated at the rates (revised or to be revised) for the loss to be suffered by them due to restricted farming on the land lies between international border and fencing?
2. Whether the farmers are entitled to the said compensation from the year 1990 (as claimed by them) or the year 1998 as claimed by the government?
3. Whether the compensation amount so far assessed by the respondents has been disbursed to the farmers fully/partially?
4. Whether the farmers have been paid compensation for their acquired land in accordance with the Land Acquisition Law(s) namely, the land utilized for border fencing?

The farmer's unions presented certain demands to the tribunal through memorandum as following:

1. The collector rate should be considered three years back from the date of notification in the newspaper that is 15.9.2016 should not be taken back from the year 2013.
2. As per section 26 of The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition Act, 2013 there is a provision to consider the maximum market rate of the land situated in the adjoining village for the purpose of fixation of the market rate of the land to be acquired along with the market rate of land of the concerned village.
3. In the last three years the BSF has acquired some part of the land for some purposes from the farmers and have paid acquisition amount to them. Those rates should be considered for the fixation of the price of land to be acquired. The sad land has been acquired out of the similar part of land, which is going to acquire now. But the government official neither considering the rate of the same village nor the maximum rate of the adjoining village for the purpose of fixation of the acquisition value of land.
4. As the eleven feet wide strip of the land is adjoining with the border. As a result of it, the purchasing value of the land is very low as per section 26 (3) (a) the floor rate should be fixed as per explanation (para 4) of the concerned section.
5. One village should be considered one unit. A village cannot be divided into two units for the fixation of the price of the concerned land. It is important to mention here that due to wires, pillars installed by the governmental agencies the land of the abutting with border has been decreased but not due to the fault of the farmers . In this situation the rate of the whole village should be considered similar.
6. As per the Land Acquisition Act, 2013 a district price fixation committee should be constituted for the fixation of price of the land to be acquired.
7. The value of the land fixed by the Additional District Collector is not as per the provision of law and is very low. It should be reviewed as per the law.
8. As the honourable Punjab and Haryana High Court has issued direction to acquire the land as soon as possible, it should be implemented immediately after completing the required formalities. If there would be any delay or and all the

process will not according to the law, the Border Area Kissan Welfare Society resolve to agitate at the higher level and further will not allow the government agencies to use the land of the farmers for any purpose.

Majority of the demands of the farmers have been compensated by the Tribunal and it is working to implement these practically.

The continuous struggle of the farmers has been passing through the ups and downs but they remained successful to the large extent to meet their demands by one way or another. Their peculiar location resulted out of specific kinds of problems and grievances which could not be redressed by any the general bodies of the farmers. No doubt, their continuous and enthusiastic struggle relieved them from their certain problems but they always remained eager to get mobilized on one or others issues times and again. The farmers' organizations are the part and parcel for the mobilisation of the farmers of this area. The kissan union named Punjab Border Area Kissan Welfare Society has been approaching the ministers and high authorities to make them aware about the problems of the farmers of border villages. The representatives of this kissan (farmers) union met with the Union Home Minister Mr Rajnath Singh in May 2017 who has given the due attention to the difficulties faced by the farmers of border area. He also directed the farmers to present a memorandum regarding their problems to Raman Kumar, the Assistant Director General, BSF, Chandigarh, Punjab. The representatives of this union also presented a memorandum to the Chief Minister of Punjab through the Commissioner of Ferozepur on 4.8.2017. The demands which are mentioned recently in these memorandums are as follows:

1. The first demand related to the formation and implementation of uniform rules:

The kissan unions demand that there should be uniform rules and regulations for the farmers of borderland throughout Punjab. The affected farmers belong to the six border districts of Punjab. The cultivation on the land exists between the international border and fencing is governed by the rules and regulations imposed by the BSF and there should be uniformity of rules for all the six districts. The rules should be imposed according to the law and the BSF officers should not be allowed to impose self-formulated rules.

2. The demands concerned with the identity cards:

- i. The unions demand that the identity cards should be issued permanently on the basis of ownership of the land and not for fixed period of some months. It is necessary to mention here that the farmers having land beyond fencing are issued identity cards by the commanding officer to go beyond fencing for agriculture operation. But there is lack of uniform rules regarding the validity period of the identity cards and different commanding officers issued it with different duration.
- ii. The verification for identity cards should be made by BSF officials. As according to the existing provision the verification of the identification of the farmers is verified by the village *sarpanch* (Headman of village) firstly and then by the concerned police station. It is also verified by the G branch (intelligence branch).
- iii. The old aged farmers and women should be allowed to give entry pass to their labourers on the basis of their affidavit. According to the existing provision the concerned farmer have to get entry pass for labourers accompanied by him to work in his field. An entry pass is valid for only one day.
- iv. The identity cards should be categorized in different categories like:
 - a. Ownership identity cards;
 - b. Family members' identity cards;
 - d. Permanent lease holders' identity cards.
 - c. Labourers' identity cards;

3. The demand related to the entry gates:

The entry from the gates should be allowed daily including Sunday and Monday and the farming should be allowed for 365 days except in case of any emergency.

- i. There will be well established and well defined rules for entering the tractors, agricultural tools, harvesting combines and other equipment into the land beyond fencing.

- ii. There should be well planned system for entering of tractors into the farming area and the route of entry of tractor in the farming area should be constructed properly.
- iii. A total of thirty percent of the entry gates remained closed and the farmers have to face very difficulties. All the gates should be opened daily by following proper procedure.

4. The demands related to irrigation of land exist beyond fencing:

- i. As per the existing rules, canal irrigation is not available. There should be proper arrangements for irrigation of the land lies across fencing.
- ii. There should be proper arrangements for change of tube well machinery and engine, which are main source of irrigation.
 - iii. The permission process for the change of machinery should be simple.
 - iv. There should be proper rules for the irrigation by common motor whose land has been divided into beyond fencing and outside fencing.
 - v. There should be proper facilities for the installation of underground pipes for the irrigation of land beyond fencing.
- vi. There should be proper procedure for the installation of new tube wells in the land beyond fencing.

5. Demands related to sowing crops:

- I. As per the existing rules the farmers are not allowed to grow crops of height three feet and above. The farmers are also not allowed to grow seasonal and commercial crops. As a result of it, farmers suffered from huge economic loss. The kisan union demands that the farmers should be given adequate compensation for the fulfilment of this loss.
- II. In addition to it the rule of three feet height crop should not implemented on the land outside fencing. It is necessary to mention here that the farmers who have their land outside fencing along with the fencing, they are also not allowed to grow crops in their fields having height three feet and above.

6. The demands concerned with adopting dairy farming:

The farmers of border area cannot adopt dairy farming because of the cumbersome process of checking at the entry gates and lack of daily access to their land beyond fencing. It resulted into huge economic loss to the farmers. The kisan union demands adequate compensation for this loss.

7. The demands related to the wild boars:

The farmers also suffered huge economic loss due to the damage of crops by the wild boars enters to the fields from the side of Pakistan .The farmers are unable to check the entry of these animals due to the time bound entry in the land beyond fencing. In this situation there should be proper arrangements to check the entry of wild boars.

8. The demand of installation of entry gates on the basis of revenue records:

The entry gates are not installed as per revenue record and these are installed on non-route area. The farmers face many difficulties for approaching to their fields from gates. If the farmers try to use the way used by the BSF, it became the issue of tussle between the farmers and the BSF as the BSF do not allow the farmers to do so. So the gates should be installed properly as per the revenue records.

9. The demand of acquisition of the land according to law:

Besides the acquisition of the strip of eleven feet strip of land there is a huge part of land being used by BSF/government agencies i.e., land between the fencing areas, land used for installing O.P. towers, Naka Point, Border Out posts, border *dhussi* , and the land under the installation of cable etc. This land should be acquired by the government as it is not under the control of owner farmers.

10. The demand related to the application of curfew by the BSF outside fencing:

According to the rules there is night curfew within the area of 500 meters from the international border. But in practice the BSF has been imposing the curfew within the area of 500 meters from the fencing which is illegal. There should be strict guidelines in this regard that such kind of illegal activities must not be practiced.

11. The demand concerned with assigning the responsibility of the farmers in case of any illegal activity:

The farmers are allowed to go their fields within the time bound framework. In this situation in case any objectionable material or object is found from their fields in their absence then they should not be liable for the same.

12. The demand of the complete payment of annual compensation:

A total of ten thousand per acre per year compensation which is ordered by the court should be given to the farmers completely. The compensation for the year from 1.1.2015 to 31.12.2015 is pending which is to be given in September 2016. This compensation has been given to the few farmers. Some of the farmers have been given cheque which got bounce due to the lack of money in the concerned governmental account. In addition to the government has been providing nine thousands and two hundred compensation in spite of ten thousands. The farmers' union demands the complete and in time compensation to the affected farmers.

13. The demand of the annual compensation according to agriculture index:

The court ordered the annual compensation to the affected farmers according to the agricultural index. As well as the prices of agricultural crops will increase the annual compensation will also be increased. The compensation from 1.1.2016 is rupees eleven thousand per acre according to the agricultural index. But the government has been ignored the decision of High Court and do not paying this compensation to the affected farmers. The government should provide all the pending compensation.

14. The demand to complete the process of acquisition of eleven feet wide strip of land:

The High Court ordered the acquisition of eleven feet of land along with the international border belongs to the farmers of the border area and was occupied by the BSF for patrolling purpose. The notification to acquire to these four hundred acres (400) of land was published in different newspapers in September 2016. But the process of the acquisition of this land is not completed and the affected farmers could not receive the value of their land. The farmers' unions' demands to complete the acquisition process as soon as possible.

15. The demand of waiver of complete loan of the farmers of border villages:

The Punjab Border Area Kissan Welfare Society demands the waiver of loan of the farmers belonging to borderland. The representatives of the union explain that they have to suffer from huge economic loss due to the wars and tensions between India Pakistan times and again and the government should support them by waiver of their all the loan.

16. The demand related to electricity supply:

The Kissan unions demand the separate electricity feeders for the border area villages more hours electricity supply as compare to the rest of the farmers of Punjab. It also demands that new electricity connections should be released to the affected farmers.

17. The demand of categorizing the border belt into four categories:

The Punjab Border Area Kissan Welfare Society demands that the border belt should be categorized into four categories, that is, category A, B, C, and D on the basis of the distance from the international border. The villages which are very close to the international border and whose land lies across fencing should be placed in the category A and other three categories should be divided on the equal distance. The representatives of the unions claimed that the border touching villages are the most sufferers of the border related problems and because of this they deserve special facilities. The other categories also deserve facilities according to their location and problems came into being because of the settings of international border. The respective kissan union is also planning to put case in the High Court for the categorization of the border belt.

The Farmers' organizations working in the border area have also participated in the mobilisation process of the general farmers with the Bhartya Kissan Union Lakhwal on the issue of exploitation of the farmers in the grain markets during the marketing of their crop. The crop of the farmers is weighed as one kilogram less that is ninety

nine kg instead of 100. The commission agents rein advance by the farmers. The Bhartya Kissan Union Lakhawal and Border Area KISSAN Welfare Society opposed the exploitative conditions of the commission agents and hold *dharnas* and *gheraos* in the grain markets located in the border area in 1996. As a result of this struggle the extra charges decreased to the rupees two from rupees three. These organizations filed cases in the court against all the commission agents of border area and their records were summoned by the court to find out the irregularities in their transactions. The representatives of the Border Area Kissan Welfare Society also participated in the gathering held at the Jantra Mantra (Delhi) in 1997 and in the All India Conference of the farmers held at Punne organized by the BKU Lakhawal.

Annoyance of the Leaders and Activists of Farmers' Organizations: The members and activists of the farmers' organization stated that the authorities tried to oppress them by different ways to disturb the mobilisation process. Many a times the leaders and activists are threatened on minor issues. It is very common that the controversies between Border Security Forces' officials and farmers turned into man-handling and leading to the serious injuries to the farmers. Because of this situation the representatives of the farmers are restricted to enter their land beyond fencing for agricultural operation. The president of the Border Area Kissan Welfare Society stated that he has twelve acres of land beyond fencing but authorities banned his entry to his land for almost twelve year when he started leading the stakeholders in 1994. His identity card was snatched and damaged by the security forces official after getting misbehaved with him in 1999. He could not enter his land without the identity card and BSF refused him to issue new one. He was very helpless as his twelve acres of agricultural land began to turn into forest due to non-cultivation in it. Then he has to file the case in the high court (writ petition no. 13009/2000) under article 226-227 constitution of India. The decision of the court declared in 2011. The court decided that Identity card is the identity of the farmer for the agriculture operation on the land beyond fencing and the BSF do not have any right of depriving the farmer from this identity and ordered the government to issue the identity card to the concerned farmer. He received his identity card in 2011.

It is alleged by the farmers that the fake cases against the members and activists of this organization are filed. The respondents alleged that the security officials filed

bogus case against Shbeg Singh Rorawala who was the manager in the organization and actively participated in the mobilisation of the farmers. It is alleged BSF officials put illegal weapons in his land in the night and arrested him in the morning on the time of entry of his land. In another incident in July 2017, BSF put false case on the two farmers who are members of Punjab Border Area Kissan Welfare Society. The representatives of the union narrated that the BSF officials did not allow the farmers to go to the fields when they reached on the entry gate for farming operations. The farmers protested against the denial of access. The concerned officials warned the farmers to suppress them but the farmers continued their protest and the security forces filed case for the violation of rules and regulations. The union approached the higher BSF officials who marked the enquiry to DSP Bikhiwind in the concerned case.

In this manner the farmers have been facing numerous problems in the way of getting their issues resolved through mobilisation.

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Social and Economic Status of the Farmers: Reflections of Geographical Settings

The challenges and problem faced by the farmers definitely impact on the socio, economic and political life of the same. Socio-economic status deals with the basic variables concerning with the socio-economic status of the leaders and activists of the farmers who are the affected farmers of border villages of Punjab. According to Oxford Dictionary of English the word socio-Economic derives from social and economic factors that combine to provide an indication of a person's or a group's social situation or status. The word social or socio indicates the mutual intercourse, friendliness or geniality enjoyed or spent in company with others especially with those of a similar class or kindred interest. The word economics stands for the forms of economy. According to the new encyclopaedia of Britannica the term economy is concerned with the management of house. Economic means science of managing a household especially with regard to household expenses. It deals with the manner in which household is ordered and the rules which control a person's mode of living. As the process of mass mobilization began due to the setbacks to their socio-economic status resulted out of their geographical situation, different variables relating socio-economic status of the farmers of border area of Punjab are discussed.

Table No. 1: Age of Famers

Age (Years)	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Up to 25 (Years)	-	-	-	1 (1.25)	-	-	1 (0.3)
26-35	4 (13.3)	1 (2.5)	9 (15)	14 (17.5)	6 (10)	3 (7.5)	37 (11.9)
36-45	-	7 (17.5)	21 (35)	26 (32.5)	13 (21.7)	9 (22.5)	76 (24.5)
46-55	7 (23.4)	3 (7.5)	9 (15)	13 (16.25)	18 (30)	12 (30)	62 (20)
56-65	13 (43.4)	18 (45)	12 (20)	16 (20)	18 (30)	16 (40)	93 (30)
Above 66	6 (20)	11 (27.5)	9 (15)	10 (12.5)	5 (8.5)	-	41 (13.3)
Total	30	40	60	80	60	40	310

	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
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The farmers of the border villages are compelled to face countless challenges regarding occupational activities and the young aged farmers normally avoid to go their fields for agricultural operations because of the inconvenience. A large section of the farmers which do agriculture on the land exist beyond fencing or close to the international border belong to the age group of 36-65 years or above. The number of young farmers that is, of the age group of up to 25 years (0.3%) and 26-35 (11.9%) is lower as compared to the old and middle aged farmers. It is found that the young aged farmers do not like to go to the land to do agriculture in order to avoid the inconvenience and harsh conditions put up to follow the security measures.

Table No. 2: Caste of Farmers' Leaders

Caste	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Brahmin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khatri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arora	-	-	-	-	-	2.5)	1 (0.3)
Rajput	10 (33.4)	2 (5)	-	-	-	-	12(3.8)
Jatt	20 (66.7)	38 (95)	52 (86.5)	70 (87.5)	25 (41.6)	4 (10)	209 (67.4)
Ramgarhia	-	-	-	4 (5)	-	-	4 (1.3)
Kamboj	-	-	1 (1.7)	-	10 (16.7)	9 (22.5)	20 (6.5)
Ghumar	-	-	-	1 (1.25)	-	-	1 (0.3)
Lohar	-	-	-	2 (2.5)	-	-	2 (0.6)
Mehra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rai Sikh	-	-	5 (8.4)	-	25 (41.7)	26 (65)	56 (18.2)

Mazhbi	-	-	2 (3.4)	3 (3.75)	-	-	5 (1.6)
Total	30(100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310(100)

Though the majority of the participants belong to the caste jatt, dominant caste in Punjab involved in the occupation of farming but number of the farmers belong to other castes participated actively in the process of movement to redress their issues and problems. The proportion of the farmers belonging to non jatt castes is very lower as compare to the dominant section but as per their ownership of agricultural land their proportion is reasonable. It shows that the farmers of different castes having land beyond the barbed fencing or international border are taking part in the process of mobilisation. The concentration of the Jatt farmers is found in the three districts of Majha region that is Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Tarn Taran. The farmers of Rai Sikh community belong to districts Fazilka, Ferozepur and Amritsar. The Rai Sikh farmers in district Amritsar belong to village Kot Razada of block Ajnala. The farmers of caste Ghumar and Lohar belong to district Tran Taran. The Rai Sikhs and Majhbi Sikhs belong to the category of schedule castes in Punjab.

Table No.3: Religion of the Farmers

Religion	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Hindu	10 (33.3)	2 (5)	-	-	10 (16.6)	13 (32.5)	35 (11.3)
Sikh	20 (66.6)	38 (95)	60 (100)	80 (100)	50 (83.4)	27 (67.5)	275 (88.7)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The secular character of the mass movement of the farmers of borderland depicts from the religious composition. Though the Sikhs are in majority because of the demographic composition of population but the farmers of Religion Hindu are equally active and are participating to pressurise the government to address their issues. The majority of the farmers of Hindu religion belong to Malwa region, that is, districts

Fazilka and Ferozepur. The Hindu farmers of district Pathankot belong to village Bamial.

Table No. 4: Gender of Farmers' Leaders

Gender	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Male	30 (100)	39 (97.5)	59 (98.4)	76 (9.5)	60 (100)	40 (100)	304 (98)
Female	-	1 (2.5)	1 (1.6)	4 (5)	-	-	6 (2)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60(100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310(100)

The gender composition of the farmers' organizations' leaders seems discriminative as the number of female leaders is considerable lower as compare to the male leaders. It perhaps because of the lack of the access of the female farmers beyond fencing or close to the international border in Punjab. The female farmers who have land beyond fencing belong to district Tarn Taran, Gurdaspur and Amritsar. Some of them inherited land from their parents because they were the only child. Few others owned the land of their partners as the land transferred to their name by their in- laws after the death of their husbands. But it is very inconvenient for the female farmers to go to their land for agricultural activities as there is the compulsory condition of body searching for the farmers but there is lack adequate BSF female personnel. There was not any provision of appointing the BSF personnel for the checking of the female farmers and labourers but the farmers' organisation namely Border Area Kissan Welfare Society put a demand before the government to appoint female staff and the government appointed the female staff in at the entry gates for checking. But their number is comparatively lower and many a times the farmers have to face problems at the time of checking of female labourers and their female family members.

Table No. 5: Marital Status

Marital Status	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepu	Fazilka	Total (%)
Married	25 (83.4)	40 (100)	60 (100)	76 (95)	59 (98)	38 (95)	298 (96.2)
Unmarried	5 (16.6)	-	-	4 (5)	1 (2)	2 (5)	12 (3.8)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table 5 shows that majority (96.2%) of the respondents are married. The number of unmarried respondents is very few.

Table No. 6: Living in the Village

Living in the Village	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
By Birth	30 (100)	40 (100)	46 (76.6)	50 (62.5)	39 (65)	20 (50)	225 (72.6)
From 1952-53	-	-	5 (8.4)	20 (25)	15 (25)	15 (37.5)	55 (17.8)
Any other time	-	-	9 (15)	10 (12.5)	6 (10)	5 (12.5)	30 (9.6)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Though the majority of the farmers have been residing in the border villages in Punjab from the birth but the big sections of the famers have migrated from the other places. The first migration taken place at the time of partition and a number of farmers have been settled in these areas as the agricultural land has been allotted to them in the same. A total of 9.6 percent of residents migrated from the non-border villages of Punjab to these villages at different periods of time but before 1988. They migrated to these villages permanently buying land comparatively at the cheaper rates.

Table No. 7: Education Level

Education	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Not Literate	3 (10)	10 (25)	20 (33.3)	17 (21.25)	24 (40)	21 (52.5)	95 (30.6)
Primary	3 (10)	4 (10)	12 (20)	17 (21.25)	16 (26.7)	4 (10)	56 (18.2)
Middle	6 (20)	8 (20)	7 (11.6)	9 (11.25)	7 (11.7)	7 (17.5)	44 (14.1)
Metric	12 (40)	15 (35.5)	14 (23.4)	18 (22.5)	8 (13.3)	6 (15)	73 (23.6)
Secondary	5 (16.6)	2 (5)	5 (8.4)	13 (16.25)	4 (6.7)	1 (2.5)	30 (9.6)
Graduation	1 (3.3)	1 (2.5)	1 (1.7)	3 (3.75)	1 (1.7)	-	7 (2.3)
Post- Graduation	-	-	1 (1.6)	-	-	1 (2.5)	2 (0.7)
Any Other	-	-	-	3 (3.75)	-	-	3 (0.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Socio-economic status encompasses not just income but also educational attainment, financial security, and subjective perceptions of social status and social class. Socioeconomic status can encompass quality of life attributes as well as opportunities and privileges afforded to the people within society. As Joseph Chimombo pointed out education's role as a policy instrument, capable of instilling social change and economic advancement in developing countries by giving communities the opportunity to take control of their destinies, but the people in borderlands in Punjab in general and farmers in particular lagged behind in almost all these fronts. According to Census of India 2011 the literacy rate of the people in Punjab is 75.84 percent but the literacy rate of the farmers of border belt is 69.4 percent according to our data. The academic level of the farmers apparently lower in comparison to their counterparts of the rest of Punjab. Their lower income on the one hand and the lack

of sufficient infrastructure required for providing education on the other, might be the obvious reasons for their lower educational level.

Table No. 8: Occupation of the farmers

Occupation of the farmers' leader	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Agriculture	15 (50)	33 (82.5)	49 (81.6)	61 (76.25)	43 (71.7)	33 (82.5)	234 (75.4)
Agriculture & Dairy Farming	-	-	3 (5)	-	1 (1.6)	-	4 (1.4)
Agriculture/Commission Agent	1 (3.3)	-	-	2 (2.5)	2 (3.4)	-	5 (1.6)
Agriculture/ Trader/ Shopkeeper	-	-	-	3 (3.75)	-	-	3 (0.9)
Agriculture/Govt. Job	1 (3.3)	-	1 (1.7)	2 (2.5)	1 (1.6)	1 (2.5)	6 (1.9)
Agriculture/ Ex-Serviceman	2 (6.7)	6 (15)	1 (1.7)	6 (7.5)	1 (1.6)	-	16 (5.16)
Pujari in Mandir/ Gurudwara	1 (3.3)	-	-	1 (1.25)	-	-	2 (0.6)
Agriculture/ Labour	5 (16.7)	1 (2.5)	3 (5)	5 (6.25)	10 (16.7)	6 (15)	30 (9.6)
Only Labour	5 (16.7)	-	2 (3.3)	-	-	-	7 (2.2)
Any Other	-	-	1 (1.7)	-	2 (3.4)	-	3 (0.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The occupation of the majority of the people in Punjab is farming and the border villages are not exception to this general rule. The occupation of the 75.4 percent of the farmers is agriculture. The share of the farmers of this particular region in service sector is very low as the occupation of only 1.9 percent of the farmers is agriculture and job both. The number of farmers who have retired from job and presently are doing agriculture is more than double i.e. 5.16 percent from the contemporary job holders. The most shocking fact about the occupation of the farmers is that near about twelve percent (11.8%) of the farmers' occupation is labour. Out of it, 9.4 percent

farmers do agriculture and labour both to earn their livelihood and 2 percent exclusively depend on labour. This fact clearly presents the lower economic level of farmers of border villages.

Table No.9: Total land

Land in Acres	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Up to 1 Acre	3 (10)	-	-	1 (1.25)	3 (5)	1 (2.5)	8 (2.6)
1.1-2.5	3 (10)	4 (10)	5 (8.3)	5 (6.25)	6 (10)	17 (42.5)	40 (12.9)
2.6-5	6 (20)	10 (25)	8 (13.4)	11 (13.75)	10 (16.4)	10 (25)	55 (17.8)
5.1-8	9 (30)	7 (17.5)	15 (25)	16 (20)	8 (13.3)	-	55 (17.8)
8.1-10	4 (13.4)	7 (17.5)	7 (11.6)	16 (20)	8 (13.3)	3 (7.5)	45 (14.5)
10.1-12	-	4 (10)	4 (6.6)	6 (7.5)	2 (3.4)	2 (5)	18 (5.8)
12.1-15	3 (10)	2 (95)	6 (10)	7 (8.75)	5 (8.4)	7 (17.5)	30 (9.7)
15.1-20	-	3 (7.5)	2 (3.4)	6 (7.5)	3 (5)	-	14 (4.5)
20.1-25	-	2 (5)	3 (5)	6 (7.5)	1 (1.6)	-	12 (3.8)
26 and Above	2 (6.7)	1 (2.5)	10 (16.7)	6 (7.5)	14 (23.3)	-	33 (10.6)
Total	30 (100%)	40 (100%)	60 (100%)	80 (100%)	60 (100%)	40 (100%)	310 (100%)

Majority of the farmers in the border villages of Punjab belong to the categories of marginal, Small and medium. A large number of the farmers of small or marginal category of farmers (1-5 acres) belong to the districts of Fazilka of Malwa region. It shows that a large number of farmers of the border villages of the district Tarn Taran, Gurdaspur, Pathankot and Amritsar to the category of medium farmers (5-12 acres). Above thirty eight percent of the farmers of district Ferozepur belong to the category of large farmers (above 12 acres) and the number of farmers of such a category of district Pathankot and Fazilka is comparatively lower.

Table No.10: land beyond fencing

Land in Acres	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	%age
Up to 1 Acre	3 (10)	1 (2.5)	2 (3.3)	14 (17.5)	9 (15)	4 (10)	33 (10.64)
1.1-2.5	6 (20)	3 (7.5)	7 (11.6)	15 (23.4)	14	16 (40)	61 (20)
2.6-5	6 (20)	10 (25)	23 (38.4)	18 (22.5)	11 (18.4)	8 (20)	76 (24.6)
5.1-8	9 (30)	7 (17.5)	13 (21.6)	20 (25)	9 (15)	2 (5)	60 (19.4)
8.1-10	1 (3.4)	7 (17.5)	2 (3.4)	4 (5)	9 (15)	4 (10)	27 (8.7)
10.-12	1 (3.4)	4 (10)	4 (6.6)	4 (5)	4 (6.6)	4 (10)	21 (6.7)
12.-15	-	2 (5)	2 (3.4)	3 (3.75)	1 (1.6)	2 (5)	10 (3.3)
15.-20	2 (6.6)	3 (7.5)	1 (1.6)	-	1. (1.6)	-	7 (2.2)
20.-25	-	2 (5)	2 (34)	2 (2.5)	2 (3.4)	-	8. (2.5)
26 and Above	2 (6.6)	1 (2.5)	4 (6.7)	-	-	-	7 (2.2)

Total	30 (100%)	40 (100%)	60(100%)	80(100%)	60 (100%)	40(100%)	310(100%)
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A large section of the farmers of borderland in Punjab have land beyond fencing as mentioned earlier. The land beyond fencing varies from one acre to thirty five acres. All the leaders and activists of the framers movement in the border villages have their land beyond fencing.

Table No. 11: Household goods

House Hold Goods	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Car/Jeep	6 (20)	10 (25)	6 (10)	35 (43.75)	18 (30)	2 (5)	77 (24.8)
Motor Cycle/ Scooter	15 (50)	37 (92.5)	51 (85)	79 (98.75)	46 (76.7)	31 (77.5)	259 (83.5)
Mobile Phone	27 (90)	37 (92.5)	53 (88.3)	80 (100)	56 (93.4)	37 (92.5)	290 (93.5)
TV/Refrigerator	29 (96.6)	37 (92.5)	57 (95)	79 (98.75)	57 (95)	35 (87.5)	294 (94.8)
Washing Machine	11 (36.6)	22 (55)	30 (50)	62 (77.5)	25 (41.6)	14 (35)	164 (52.9)
Computer/Laptop	2 (6.6)	-	4 (6.7)	4 (5)	1 (1.7)	1 (2.5)	12 (3.8)

This table shows that the number of farmers who have a car or jeep is 24.8 percent and majority of the farmers (83.5 %) have two wheelers like motor cycle and scooter. It is found that television/refrigerator and mobile phones are the very common commodities and the percentage of the farmers having these is highest i.e. 94.8 percent and 93.5 percent respectively. A very few farmers of the border region (3.8%) have computers and Laptops. A total of 43.75 percent of the farmers of border villages of district Tarn-Taran have the cars or jeeps which is the highest number as compared to other districts.

Table No.12: Detail of Livestock (Buffaloes & Cows)

Number	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
1-5	22 (73.4)	20 (50)	25 (41.6)	45 (56.25)	35 (58.4)	21 (52.2)	168 (54.2)
6-10	-	5 (12.5)	18 (30)	17 (21.25)	12 (20)	5 (12.5)	57 (18.3)

11-15	-	1 (2.5)	9 (15)	4 (5)	3 (5)	-	17 (5.5)
16 and above	-	-	1 (1.8)	1 (1.25)	-	-	2 (0.7)
Nothing	8 (26.6)	14 (35)	7 (11.6)	13 (16.25)	10 (16.6)	14 (35)	66 (21.3)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Majority of the farmers (54.2%) have 1 to 5 cows or buffaloes. The number of farmers who have above 16 cows and buffaloes is much lower. A total of twenty one 21.3 percent of the farmers do not have any kind of livestock. The main reason for this is the locking of the land between the international border and barbed fencing. The respective farmers do not have free access to the land lies beyond fencing and it is impossible to bring fodder for the cattle from the land beyond fencing.

Table No. 13: Means of irrigation

Means of Irrigation	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Outside fencing	7 (23.4)	23 (57.5)	45 (75)	69 (86.25)	27 (45)	16 (40)	187 (60.3)
Beyond fencing	7 (23.3)	09 (22.5)	-	-	13 (21.7)	6 (15)	35 (11.3)
Outside fencing/Beyond fencing both	06 (20)	04 (10)	15 (25)	11 (13.75)	20 (33.3)	16 (40)	72 (23.3)
No. irrigation	10 (33.3)	04 (10)	-	-	-	2 (5)	16 (5.1)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

This data shows that majority of the farmers (60.3%) has means of irrigation outside fencing. The number of farmers who have the means of irrigation across fencing is comparatively lower (11.3 %). A total of 23.3 percent of the farmers have the means of irrigation on both sides, that is, outside fencing and beyond fencing. A few of the

farmers (5.1%) do not have any kind of means of irrigation. The land of such category of farmers of district Gurdaspur and Pathankot is located very near the river Ravi and comes under its flow when it changes its course in the rainy season. It is not possible to install any means of irrigation in this land. The farmers of district Fazilka whose land holdings are very small and located only across the fencing also do not have any means of irrigation.

Table No. 14: Detail of agricultural implements

Agricultural Implements	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Tractor	9 (30)	20 (50)	27 (45)	46 (57.5)	28 (46.7)	16 (40)	146 (47)
Tractor on sharing basis	6 (20)	5 (12.5)	3 (5)	7 (8.75)	10 (16.6)	-	31 (10)
Reaper/Combine	-	2 (5)	2 (3.4)	6 (7.5)	2 (3.4)	-	12 (4)
Not any Agricultural Implement	15 (50)	13 (32.5)	28 (46.6)	21 (26.25)	20 (33.3)	24 (60)	121 (39)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The agrarian process is entirely mechanised especially after the introduction of green revolution in 1970s. But still the major proportion of the farmers of borderlands do not have any agricultural implements. Normally, these farmers belong to marginal, small and medium categories of the farmers and they have to depend upon big and larger farmers. Data shows that the majority of the farmers (57.5%) of district Tarn-Taran and Ferozepur (46.7%) own tractors. The highest number of the farmers of district Ferozepur i.e., 16.6 percent have tractors on the sharing basis to cultivate their land. A total of 4 percent of the farmers have heavy harvesting agricultural implements like combines and reapers for multiplying their income.

Table No.15: Detail of land cultivated on lease/share cropping basis

Lease/Share cropping	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Land on Lease	4 (13.4)	10 (25)	11 (18.4)	11 (13.75)	6 (10)	7 (17.5)	49 (15.8)
Land on Share Cropping	3 (10)	-	1 (1.6)	-	-	0	4 (1.3)
No land on lease or share cropping	23 (76.6)	30 (75)	48 (80)	69 (86.25)	54 (90)	33 (82.5)	257 (82.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table 15 shows the detail of the farmers of border villages who cultivate the land on lease and share cropping basis. According to this table a total of 15.8 percent of the farmers cultivate land on the lease basis and number of the farmers who cultivate land on the share cropping basis (1.3%) is very low.

Table No. 16: Detail of land cultivated on the lease /share cropping basis beyond/outside fencing

Land Cultivated on Lease/ Share Cropping Beyond/ Outside Fencing	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Land on Lease/Share cropping beyond fencing	5 (16.6)	3 (7.5)	5 (8.4)	5 (6.3)	3 (5)	4 (10)	25 (8.06)
Land on Lease/Share cropping outside fencing	2 (6.7)	7 (17.5)	1 (1.6)	2 (2.5)	3 (5)	3 (7.5)	18 (5.8)
Land on lease or share cropping beyond fencing or outside fencing both	-	-	6 (10)	4 (5)	-	-	10 (3.3)

Not Any Land on lease or Share Cropping	23 (76.7)	30 (75)	48 (80)	69 (86.2)	54 (90)	33 (82.5)	257 (82.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

This data shows that a total of 8.06 percent of the farmers of border area cultivate land on lease or share cropping basis beyond fencing and 5.8 percent outside fencing. The number of the farmers taking land on lease or share cropping on both beyond or outside fencing is very low (3.3%) and they belong to district Amritsar and Tarn Taran. The number of the farmers of district Pathankot who take land on lease or share cropping beyond fencing is highest as compared to the other districts. In the border villages of district Pathankot the farmers lack the means of irrigation beyond fencing and majority of such farmers give land on lease to others few who have the availability of irrigation. The mode of payment of lease is also different in the Pathankot district as no money is paid in the form of lease but only two or three quintals of wheat is given for one acre of lease. In other districts there is a difference in the rate of lease (ten to fifteen thousand) between the land beyond fencing and outside fencing. The lease of land outside fencing is higher. The highest rent on lease in the village of Tarn-Taran district.

Table No. 17: Sale of land by the farmers

Sale of land	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Sale of land beyond fencing	-	06 (15)	02 (3.4)	03 (3.75)	08 (13.4)	04 (10)	23 (7.4)
Sale outside fencing	3 (10)	07 (17.5)	-	02 (2.5)	-	01 (2.5)	13 (41)
Sale outside and beyond fencing both	-	02 (5)	-	-	03 (5)	-	5 (1.6)
Do not sale any land	27 (90)	25 (62.5)	58 (96.6)	75 (93.75)	49 (81.6)	35 (87.5)	269 (86.7)

Total	30	40	60	80	60	40	310
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Our data shows that the number of farmers who sold their land lying beyond fencing is comparatively low (7.4%) than the farmers who sold their land outside fencing (41%). In fact nobody wants to buy the land beyond fencing in spite of the lower price as compared to the land outside fencing. A total of 1.6 percent of the farmers have sold their land both beyond fencing and outside fencing. The major reason of very low and no sale of land beyond fencing is the structural problems relating to cultivation of land.

Table No.18: Reasons of sale of land

Reasons of sale of Land	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Sold to pay loan	02 (6.7)	06 (15)	-	-	06 (10)	03 (7.5)	17 (5.7)
Sold for marrying Children	01 (3.3)	02 (5)	-	-	-	02 (5)	05 (1.6)
Sold due to lack of means of irrigation	-	04 (10)	02 (3.4)	-	-	-	6 (1.9)
Sold to sort out court case	-	-	-	-	02 (3.3)	-	02 (0.6)
Sold to buy land	-	-	-	05 (6.25)	-	-	05 (1.6)
Land Sold due to inconvenient location (beyond fencing and river)	-	03 (7.5)	-	-	3 (5)	-	6 (1.9)
Don't sale any land	27 (90)	25 (62.5)	58 (96.6)	75 (93.75)	49 (81.7)	35 (87.5)	269 (86.7)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

As given in the table they sold their land for different reasons like for paying loan of banks and commission agents, for marrying children, lack of means of irrigation, for sorting out court cases and the inconvenient location of the land i.e. beyond fencing and across the rivers. It shows that these farmers are unable to fulfil the necessities of their life and have to depend upon the loan.

Table No.19: Purchase of land

Purchase of land	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Purchase of land beyond fencing	-	-	09 (15)	02 (2.5)	04 (6.7)	01 (2.5)	16 (5.1)
Purchase of land outside fencing	-	03 (7.5)	04 (6.7)	-	02 (3.3)	-	9 (3)
Purchase of Land outside and beyond fencing both	-	-	-	-	--	-	-
Don't Purchase of any land	30 (100)	37 (92.5)	47 (78.3)	78 (97.5)	54 (90)	39 (97.5)	285 (91.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table 19 shows the detail of the purchase of land by the farmers whose land lies beyond fencing. According to it a few of the farmers (3.9%) purchased land across fencing. The highest number of farmers (11.7%) of such category belongs to district Amritsar.

Table No.20: Designation in the village panchayat

Designation	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Sarpanch/ Ex-Sarpanch	1 (3.3)	6 (15)	3 (5)	9 (11.25)	7 (11.7)	5 (12.5)	31 (10)
Member/ Ex-Member	3 (10)	4 (10)	8 (13.4)	10 (12.5)	3 (5)	4 (10)	32 (10.3)
Any Other	1 (3.3)	1 (2.5)	-	1 (1.25)	1 (1.6)	-	4 (1.3)
Not any designation	25 (83.3)	29 (72.5)	49 (81.6)	60 (75)	49 (81.6)	31 (77.5)	243 (78.3)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The farmers' leaders and activists are actively participating in the political process at the grass level. A total of ten percent of the farmers are the *sarpanchs* or *ex-sarpanchs* in the village panchayat and above ten percent (10.3%) are members or ex-members in the village panchayat. A few of them (4%) have also their participation in block *samiti* and *zila parishad* level institutions.

Table No.21: Political affiliation of the farmers

Political Affiliation	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Indian National Congress	03 (10)	04 (10)	13 (21.7)	16 (20)	19 (31.6)	14 (35)	69 (22.2)
Bhartya Janta Party	13 (43.3)	08 (20)	-	-	01 (1.7)	-	22 (7)
Communist Party of India	-	-	02 (3.3)	-	04 (6.7)	04 (10)	10 (3.3)
Shiromani Akali Dal	03 (10)	23 (57.5)	30 (50)	58 (72.5)	6 (10)	16 (40)	136 (43.8)
Amm Admmi party	05 (16.7)	03 (7.5)	09 (15)	03 (3.75)	10 (16.6)	-	30 (9.6)
Affiliated to any particular leader	6 (20)				5 (8.4)		11 (3.5)
Do not Affiliated permanently		01 (2.5)		01 (1.25)	10 (16.6)	06 (15)	18 (5.9)
Don't have any political affiliation	-	01 (2.5)	06 (10)	02 (2.5)	05 (8.4)	-	14 (4.5)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Though the problems of the farmers of borderland have not been addressed by any political party but they affiliated to one or another. A total of 46.1 percent of the farmers are politically affiliated to the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) and 22.2 percent to the Indian National Congress. Majority of the farmers affiliated to Shiromani Akali Dal Badal belong to district Tarn Taran which is followed by Gurdaspur. The Amm Admi Party is at the third number in terms of political affiliation of the farmers of border villages and 9.6 percent of the farmers are affiliated to it.

Table No. 22: Reasons of political affiliation

Reason of Political Application	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
From Generations	16 (53.4)	22 (55)	26 (43.4)	67 (83.8)	23 (38.4)	11 (27.5)	165 (53.5)
Good performance	05 (16.6)	11 (27.5)	09 (15)	02 (2.5)	12 (20)	17 (42.5)	56 (18)
Unsatisfied from both traditional parties	05 (16.6)	03 (7.5)	09 (15)	03 (3.7)	10 (16.6)	-	30 (9.6)
Subsidized goods and services	-	03 (7.5)	03 (5)	06 (7.5)	07 (11.7)	08 (20)	27 (8.6)
Any blood relation or Influence of local leader	04 (13.4)	-	07 (11.6)	-	03 (5)	04 (10)	18 (5.8)
No affiliation	-	01 (2.5)	06 (10)	02 (2.5)	5 (8.4)	-	14 (4.5)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

This table provides the information about the reason of being affiliated to any political party. A total of 53.5 percent of the farmers of border villages are politically affiliated to particular party as their families have been affiliated to the same for generations. A substantial number of farmers of such category belong to district Tarn-Taran. A total of 18 percent of the farmers have their political affiliation because of the good performance of a particular political party. A small number of farmers (9.6%) of border area affiliated to the third new party (AAP) because of their dissatisfaction with the performance of traditional political parties exist in Punjab.

Table No.23: Level of Awareness about different schemes

Schemes	Pathankot		Gurdaspur		Amritsar		Tarn Taran		Ferozepur		Fazilka		Total	
	Aware	Not Aware	Aware	Not Aware	Aware	Not Aware	Aware	Not Aware	Aware	Not Aware	Aware	Not Aware	Aware	Not Aware
National Agriculture Development Scheme	-	30 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	60 (100)	-	80 (100)	-	60 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	310 (100)
Central Storage Scheme	-	30 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	60 (100)	-	80 (100)	-	60 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	310 (100)
National and Security Mission	6 (20)	24 (80)	4 (10)	36 (90)	9 (15)	51 (85)	16 (20)	64 (80)	8 (13.4)	52 (86.6)	9 (22.5)	31 (77.5)	52 (16.7)	258 (83.3)
National Agriculture Insurance Scheme	12 (40)	18 (60)	9 (22.5)	31 (77.5)	21 (35)	39 (65)	26 (32.5)	54 (32.5)	11 (18.4)	49 (81.6)	10 (25)	30 (75)	89 (28.7)	221 (71.3)
Agriculture Technical Management Branch	-	30 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	60 (100)	-	80 (100)	-	60 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	310 (100)
Rural Seed Scheme	-	30 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	310 (100)
Agriculture Science Centre	-	30 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	60 (100)	-	80 (100)	-	60 (100)	-	40 (100)	-	310 (100)

This table shows the awareness level of the farmers of border villages about the different schemes related to agriculture launched by the government of India. According to this table very low number of farmers is aware of only one or two such schemes. Majority of them do not have any knowledge regarding the governmental schemes concerning agriculture.

Table No. 24: Awareness about MNREGA

Awareness and benefit of MNAREGA	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Awareness about MNAREGA	25 (83.4)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	32 (80)	297 (95.9)
Do not Know about MNAREGA	05 (16.6)	-	-	-	-	8 (20)	13 (4.1)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Table 24 gives the information of the awareness about Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005. This table shows that substantial number of farmers (95.9%) of border villages has awareness of this scheme. Few farmers of district Pathankot and Fazilka were not aware of this scheme.

Table No. 25: Benefited or not benefited from MNREGA

Benefited or not benefited From MNAREGA	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Benefited	07 (23.4)	06 (15)	06 (10)	-	-	-	19 (6.1)
Not benefited	23 (76.6)	34 (85)	54 (90)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	291 (93.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

Though the majority of the farmers belong to the category of marginal and small farmers and their earnings are not sufficient for their survival but few farmers (6.1%)

of border villages' attained benefit from this scheme. Majority of the farmers stated this scheme is not successfully running in their villages due to certain reasons. The respondents from village Kalas of district Tarn-Taran told that this scheme exists only in papers. The respondents from village Bamyal of district Pathankot told that we did work under this scheme but could not get wages as the funds were not released by the government.

Table No. 26: Level of debt

S. No	Amount	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total %
1	No Loan	13 (43.4)	6 (15)	16 (26.6)	14 (17.5)	8 (13.4)	8 (20)	65 (20.9)
2	Up to 25,000	-	1 (2.5)	-	-	-	-	1 (0.4)
3	26-50,000	3 (10)	1 (2.5)	1 (1.6)	-	-	-	5 (1.6)
4	51-1 Lakh	2 (6.6)	2 (5)	-	2 (2.5)	-	1 (2.5)	7 (2.2)
5	1 Lakh-2 Lakh	3 (10)	4 (10)	6 (10)	9 (11.25)	5 (8.3)	4 (10)	31 (10)
6.	2 lakh- 3 Lakh	3 (10)	5 (12.5)	5 (8.4)	14 (17.5)	3 (5)	4 (10)	34 (11)
7.	3 lakh- 4 lakh	4 (13.4)	5 (12.5)	10 (16.7)	6 (7.5)	6 (10)	4 (10)	35 (11.4)
8.	4 Lakh- 5 Lakh	-	4 (10)	6 (10)	7 (8.75)	5 (8.3)	4 (10)	26 (8.4)
9.	Above 5 Lakh	2 (6.6)	12 (30)	16 (26.7)	28 (35)	33 (55)	15 (37.5)	106 (34.2)
	Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

According to this table majority of the farmers (34.2%) have the highest level of loan that is, above five lakhs. The farmers of district Pathankot and Gurdaspur have lower level of loan as compared to the farmers of rest of the districts of Punjab. The farmers of Malwa region, that is, Ferozepur and Fazilka have the highest level of loan. A total of 20.9 percent of the farmers do not have any kind of loan. It is pertinent to mention

here that generally the formal financial institutions like banks and co-operative societies do not sanction loan on the land lying across the barbed fence. The farmers whose total land holding lies across fencing could not avail the loan from banks under such conditions. The crop harvesting certainty is also very low on such a land due to the perpetual tension on the Indo-Pak border due to of non- cordial relations between India and Pakistan. Consequently, the commission agents do not take risk of giving loans to these farmers.

Table No. 27: Sources of loan

Sources of Loan	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
No Loan	13 (43.4)	6 (15)	16 (26.6)	14 (17.5)	8 (13.3)	8 (20)	65 (20.9)
Bank	10 (33.3)	3 (7.5)	6 (10)	14 (17.5)	3 (5)	4 (10)	40 (12.9)
Bank and Commission agent	4 (13.3)	2 (5)	8 (13.4)	25 (31.25)	30 (50)	26 (65)	95 (30.7)
Bank/CA CS	-	20 (50)	25 (41.6)	25 (31.25)	11 (18.4)	2 (5)	83 (26.7)
Bank & Cooperative Society	3 (10)	9 (22.5)	5 (8.4)	2 (2.5)	8 (13.3)		27 (8.8)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

There are three kinds of sources from where the farmers of the border villages get loan that is, banks, commission agents and co-operative society. According to this table majority of the farmers (30.7%) got loan from banks and commission agents both. A total of 26.7 percent of the farmers get loan from banks, commission agent and cooperative societies. A total of 12.9 percent of the farmers get loan only from the banks. It shows that though the government has provided facilities to the farmers of availing loan from the formal financial institutions, yet the farmers are getting loan from non-institutional means i.e. commission agents.

Table No. 28: Reasons of getting loan

Reasons for getting Loan	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total %
No Loan	13 (43.4)	6 (15)	16 (26.6)	14 (17.5)	8 (13.4)	8 (20)	65 (20.9)
Agriculture Operation	11 (36.6)	24 (60)	28 (46.6)	18 (22.5)	15 (25)	16 (40)	112 (36.2)
Domestic Needs	3 (10)	5 (12.5)	2 (3.4)	15 (18.75)	18 (30)	4 (10)	47 (15.2)
Buy tractor	-	-	2 (3.3)	8 (10)	1 (1.6)	3 (7.5)	14 (4.5)
Buy Land	-	2 (5)	8 (13.4)	6 (7.5)	3 (5)	1 (2.5)	20 (6.5)
Installing Tube well	-	-	-	-	-	2 (5)	2 (0.7)
Dairy Farming	3 (10)	-	-	-	-	-	3 (0.6)
Construct House	-	2 (5)	2 (3.3)	13 (16.25)	4 (6.7)	2 (5)	23 (7.4)
Marriage of Children	-	-	2 (3.3)	6 (7.5)	3 (1.5)	1 (2.5)	12 (3.8)
Levelling Land	-	-	-	-	4 (6.7)	3 (7.5)	7 (2.2)
For any business	-	1 (2.5)	-	-	4 (6.7)	-	5 (1.6)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The farmers depends upon the loan for completing farming operations. The second major reason of getting loan is to fulfil domestic needs. Some of the farmers also take productive loan like buying land (6.7%) buying tractor (4.7%), for levelling land to make it cultivable and fertile (2.3%) for starting any business (1.6 %), installing tube well to irrigate the fields (0.7%) and starting dairy farming (0.6%). A total of 7.4 percent of farmers have to take loan for constructing house and 3.8 percent farmers get loan for marrying their children.

Table No. 29: Diverted loan other than agricultural purposes

Purpose for the diversion of Debt		Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total
Domestic Needs		6 (20)	9 (22.5)	7 (11.7)	8 (10)	10 (16.7)	6 (15)	46 (14.9)
Construction of House		-	2 (5)	-	-	-	1 (2.5)	3 (0.9)
Medical Treatment		-	-	1 (1.7)	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Marrying Children		-	2 (5)	2 (33)	-	-	2 (5)	6 (1.9)
No Loan		13 (43.4)	6 (15)	16 (26.6)	14 (17.5)	8 (13.4)	8 (20)	65 (20.9)
Not Diverted		11 (36.6)	21 (52.2)	34 (56.7)	58 (72.5)	42 (70)	23 (57.5)	189 (60.9)
Total		30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

The socio-economic level of the lives of the farmers of border villages can be depicted from the fact that they have to divert the agricultural loan to fulfil the necessities. The percentage of farmers who diverted the loan for non-agricultural activities is about 20 percent. In general they get loan for agriculture purposes but they have to divert this loan for the fulfilment of other needs like, the domestic needs, construction of house, medical treatment and marrying children. According to this table majority of the farmers (14.9%) divert their loan for domestic needs. A total of 1.9 percent of the farmers divert their loan for marrying their children, 0.9 percent for the construction of house and 0.5 percent for the treatment of any serious ailment of any family member.

Table No. 30: Debt defaulters

Details of Defaulters	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total %
No Loan	13 (43.4)	6 (15)	16 (26.6)	14 (17.5)	8 (13.3)	8 (20)	65 (20.9)
Defaulters	8 (26.6)	13 (32.5)	10 (16.7)	23 (28.7)	10 (16.6)	8 (20)	72 (23.3)

Not Defaulters	9 (30)	21 (52.5)	34 (56.7)	43 (53.7)	42 (70)	24 (60)	173 (55.8)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	300 (100)

Table 30 illustrates the details of the farmers of border villages are who are debt defaulters. The farmers who could not return their loan on time or even could not rotate the bank limits timely are declared defaulters by the banks. A total of 23.3 percent of the farmers of border region of Punjab are debt defaulters.

Table No. 31: Action against the debt defaulters by the banks.

Any Action Against the Debt Defaulters	Pathankot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Tarn Taran	Ferozepur	Fazilka	Total (%)
Notice Issued by the bank	3 (10)	-	1 (1.6)	7 (8.75)	3 (5)	4 (10)	18 (5.8)
Bank employees Approached to the House to Recover Loan	3 (10)	2 (5)	3 (5)	11 (13.75)	5 (8.4)		24 (7.7)
Notice issued by the Bank to Sequester Agricultural Land	-	1 (2.5)	-	2 (2.5)	1 (1.6)		4 (1.3)
Court Case by the Bank to Recover Loan	-	2 (5)	-	-	-	4 (10)	6 (1.9)
Not any action by the bank	2 (6.6)	1 (2.5)	2 (3.4)	3 (3.75)	1 (1.6)	-	9 (2.9)
Not defaulters	9 (30)	28 (70)	38 (63.4)	43 (53.75)	42 (70)	24 (60)	184 (59.5)
No loan	13 (43.4)	6 (15)	16 (26.6)	14 (17.5)	8 (13.4)	8 (20)	65 (20.9)
Total	30 (100)	40 (100)	60 (100)	80 (100)	60 (100)	40 (100)	310 (100)

This table shows the detail of the farmers of border area who are the defaulters and were unable to return the loan within a stipulated period of time and even could not rotate the bank limits timely. The banks have taken different kinds of actions to

recover the loan. Generally the bank employees approached to the houses of loan defaulters to recover the loan and above seven percent (7.7%) of the farmers of border villages come under this category. A total of 5.8 percent of the farmers have been issued the notice by the banks to recover loan. The banks have taken strict action against those farmers who are defaulters from very long period of time. A total of four percent of the farmers have been issued the notice by the banks to sequester their agricultural land and court cases have been filed by bank against 1.9 percent of the farmers to recover the pending loan.

The socio-economic profile of the farmers of border villages includes a number of aspects concerned with the socio-economic status. The farmers are socially backward and economically weak as their education level is very low and majority of them are marginal and small farmers. Not only had the size of the land holdings but the problematic location of the land has resulted in their poor socio-economic condition.

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CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMENDATIONS

The farmers' struggle a continuous phenomenon is persisting in the agrarian society in Punjab since centuries. The agrarian struggle began from the distant past and present in the present times but the structure and nature of this struggle was different according to the societal and governmental settings on the one hand and the nature of issues on the other. In the Mughal period the agrarian structure was traditional and the rulers collected the revenue through the middleman that was *zagirdars* or local rulers. The *zagirs* (feudal landlord) was assigned to the *zagirdars* and they were accountable to collect the revenue submitted to rulers. The assignment of rulers was not permanent but transferable and the basis of the assignment of the *zagirs* normally depended on the amount of revenue deposited to the rulers. The *zagirdars* preferred to collect more taxes as there was not any fixed limit of the revenue. The level and method of the collection of revenue was harsh as the *zagirdars* focused on the stagnation of their *zagirs* and did not pay any attention to the development of agriculture or the peasants. The peasantry was dissatisfied and rebelled against the policies of the *zagirdars*. There are numbers of instances of rural agrarian protest but the villages covered by natural shelter like hills and forest was the most rebelled. The intensity of the protest was varied according to the burden of revenue and nature of collection. The protest was suppressed brutally and forcefully by the then monarch rulers.

In the colonial period middle and poor peasantry was the most exploited and they rebelled against the authority time and again but their struggle lack the exclusive agrarian cause. The peasants' movement during this time was mainly focused on the religious and social reforms. The peasant movement was the part and parcel of the national movement on the one hand and the peasant movement at the national level on the other. The peasants' movements were very popular for national struggle against the foreign ruler. In the last decade the peasants' movement got institutionalized under the banner of Communist Party of India and the focused more on the agrarian issues.

The structural shifting in the agrarian society and political system contributed to the changes in the nature and structure of agrarian struggle after independence. In the

first phase there were certain struggles of peasants in Punjab against feudalism existed before independence but still not abolished because of the lack of the democratic structural arrangements in some states. The leaders of Communist Party of India supported and led this kind of movement for the equal distribution of resources that is agricultural land.

The introduction of new policy programmes for the agricultural development and food sufficiency for the country again shifted the process of mobilisation in Punjab. The new agricultural techniques and infrastructural arrangements gave rise to new agrarian issues on the hand the class of rich farmers on the other. The rich and middle class farmers started to lead the agrarian struggle by their own without the support or interference of any political party. The democratic polity and the emergence of new issues changed the strategy and technique of the farmers' movement. The peasants' organizations strengthened the process of mobilisation and all the sections of peasantry came under the banner of these organizations and their demands got political attention and space in governmental policy. This process could not sustain more than a decade and political aspirations of the leaders of the peasants' organizations led to the fragmentation and division in the peasants' movements.

In the contemporary times the farmers' movement is divided and fragmented and the number of peasants' organisations runs into more than twenty. The bases of division vary from geographic to political but lack the ideological or sectional criteria. The process of mobilisation is in progress from different platforms on more or less the similar issues. The agrarian issues are countless as the agrarian society is facing acute crisis but lack of single organization is the major weakness in the way of getting at destination. The process of peasants' mobilisation could not show the strength and majority of the issues remains stagnant without the adequate pressure of the peasants' organizations. As a result of it the peasants' organizations remained failing to some extent to help the farmers in overcoming their problems.

But the execution of the three farming acts by the union government of India turned the strategy and techniques of farmers' movement. All most all the farmers union got united on this issue and decided to oppose the agrarian laws commonly from the single platform. The protest started from the state level but gradually the farmers'

unions from all the states of India participated in the protest against the union government under the umbrella of All India Kissan Sanghrash Coordination Committee (AIKSCC). All the farmers unions participated collectively from the single platform under the national organisation to repeal these farming laws and remained successful in their objectives.

Extraneous to the overwhelming national agrarian predicament there is Punjab-specific border fencing problem which has drastically impacted the number of farmers who have lost the source of their existence and free access to their land holdings beyond the fencing and along the international border with Pakistan, due to security strategy. Since the partition of the country the people residing in the vicinity of international border have been paying the hard cost of their locational settings because of the establishing of border related structures including the line of control (LOC). The non-friendly relations between India and Pakistan and consequent security measures adopted by the government of India to secure its boundaries turned to be curse for the people of borderlands in general and farmers in particular. The farmers of this area began to face numberless problems after the erecting of barbed fencing along with international border in the Indian side. The fencing covers the Indo-Pak borders from Pathankot to Fazilka and the total productive land falling beyond the fencing is estimated to be twenty thousand acres. These luckless farmers have to face the rigors of the stiff attitude of the BSF in their farming activities with regard to the timings of the visits to the fields, the number of persons and the nature and size of the agriculture implements they carry to and fro. It is not the ordinariness for these farmers but the punishing schedule that makes them marginalized and cries for attention.

The government of India focuses on the security measures and ignores the people in general and the farmers in particular. The farmers are the victims of their particular location and the independence of the country proved a bane for them. The lives of these farmers depend upon the circumstances and there nothing certain for them. Neither their occupation nor the income, nor the peace of mind has any guarantor for them. The border conflict or political strife between the India and Pakistan shapes their lives in any direction. Majority of them stated though India is independent but we are the slaves of circumstances.

The may be called as the “orphaned farmers” as they are deprived of their existential source, that is, land. They are the owner of their ancestral land but they lack free access to it because of the structural arrangements carried out by the Border Security Forces. The agriculture is the backbone of their life but they cannot do it of their own will but they are directed by the Border Security Forces. They are backward socially, economically and politically. They could not attain good education because of the lack of resources and required infrastructure. Majority of them belong to the small and marginal category of farmers. The substantial number of these farmers depends upon the labour to earn their livelihood. They are unaware of the majority of the schemes of governments launched for the development of agriculture in rural areas and hardly any governmental scheme reaches to these farmers. On the social front also they have to make compromises for marrying their children.

The agriculture of these farmers is entirely directed by the external factors. As the Border Security Forces puts a number of restrictions on the agriculture operations and the productivity from the land is low. They have to depend on the loans to meet their basic needs and normally the banks do not approve the loan on the land beyond fencing. Consequently, they get loan from the non-institutional means that is commission agents. The exploitative terms and conditions of the commission agents further resulted into their deteriorated condition.

There was no option for these farmers except to organize and mobilize themselves as neither political powers central or state could count their miseries nor do any farmers’ organizations help them to find way out of their problems. The process was initiated with the efforts of local farmers and the members of farmers’ organization working in Punjab. No doubt, they had to face a number of problems to do this and it taken has a long time but steadily their efforts have proved fruitful and two farmers’ organizations came into being. Though the process of the organization started almost at the same time but the farmers organized under the two different farmers’ organizations at different times. One of these organizations was constituted in 1996 by the *Jamhoori Kissan Sabha* led by Communist Party of India, Marxist CPI (M) Pasla group. Later on other farmers organizations joined this organization and it became a mass movement. The second farmers’ organization came into existence in 1995 and was formed by the affected farmers.

There are not any ideological differences between these two organizations but they are mobilizing the farmers separately. These farmers' organizations were constituted by the farmers of borderlands without the support and interference of any political party. The membership of these organizations was restricted to the affected farmers. In the beginning the mobilisation of these farmers started from the village level but gradually the farmers from the entire border belt started taking part in it.

The farmers' organizations working especially in the border belt of Punjab are normally mobilizing the farmers of this particular region but also support the farmers' organizations working to mobilize the peasantry in Punjab on general issues. Many a times they participated in the protests started by the prominent farmers' organizations on the general issues.

The farmers' organizations working in the border belt are formed by the different people at the different times and working separately but this divide is not very sharp and in certain areas these are working collectively.

These organizations have been mobilizing the farmers of this particular area for the last two decades on the concerned issues. The issues are specific because of the specific situation of these farmers and totally different from the farmers in non-border areas. These especial issues arose due to the installation of barbed fencing for security measures. As the fertile land of the farmers of border belt was locked between the actual line of control and the fencing after the installation of fencing, they had to face countless problems in agricultural operations. The farmers were restricted by the Border Security Forces in terms of the access to their own field. The farmers faced the intensive searching at the entry gates and they were allowed to work in their field for limited hours which restricted the productivity level of the land which adversely affected the socio-economic status of the concerned farmers. Moreover the harsh and rude attitude of the Border Security Forces humiliated the farmers without any reason.

The farmers could not find any attention from the governmental authority on the one hand and farmers' organizations on the other and opted the way to organize and mobilize themselves. These are working continuously to sort out the problems of the farmers through almost all the possible strategies.

These organizations are newer ones and organized by the farmers having not any organizational experience but are organized democratically. These organizations constituted it units at the different levels and the leaders or members are elected unanimously. The units of these farmers' organizations have been constituted at the village, block/tehsil, district and state levels. The leaders, members and activists work at the ground level and approached the farmers door to door to strengthen the process of Mobilisation.

The leaders and activists work at all the levels and there is not and any sharp divide in terms of duties assigned to them by the union. They work collectively according to the circumstances and situations. No doubt the leaders and members from different units pay more attention to concerned units. Such as the leaders and members from the village unit normally organize meetings at the village level and also collect funds as required but they also participate in the meeting and *dharnas* organized at other level units from time to time.

The farmers' organizations have been working in the entire border belt but there are some differences in terms of their influence. The Border Area Sangharash Committee has its more influence in the districts Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Pathankot, on the other hand the Border Area Kissan Welfare Society has its more influence in the districts of Taran-Taran, Ferozepur and Fazilka.

The farmers' organizations working in the border villages do not have any fixed criteria of collecting funding for spending. The funds are collected on the time of requirement. In addition the few well off leaders and members spent money by their own on the court cases filed by the organization to get the problems resolved.

The strategies and patterns of the mobilisation of these farmers' organizations are different in spite the issues of mobilisation being the same. The Border Area Sangharash Committee focuses on the day to day issues and helps the farmers for daily problems. On the other hand the Border Area Kissan Welfare Society prefers the legal Mobilisation and approached the High Court to resolve the different issues of the concerned farmers. The process of mobilisation is not restricted to the local level only these organizations approached the Members of Parliament, Members of Legislative Assembly, Deputy Commissioners and the BSF officials and presented the memoranda of their issues. In addition all the possible technique of the

mobilisation like the mass arrest, *gherao*, *dharnas* (sit in), *padel march* etc have been adopted by these organizations.

The farmers of this area are suffering from a number of problems but the farmers' organizations showed them the ray of hope. Although the all the issues have not been resolved but the farmers got relief to some extent from certain problems because of their active Mobilisation. These farmers, organizations are the only means for the disposal of their problems and at the time of any crisis farmers organizations come forward to their help. One of the major achievements of these farmers' organizations is the change in the attitude of the Border Security Forces towards the farmers who were the victims of the harsh and rude behaviour of the latter. The government also appointed the female BSF personnel on the entry gates for the checking of female farmers and labourers on the demand of the farmers, organizations. The government announced the adequate inconvenience compensation for the farmers having land beyond fencing on the order of High Court. The farmers' organization filed the case in the High Court for this purpose. On the order of another court case the government announced the compensation for the land of the farmers occupied by the Border Security Forces for different purposes in the vicinity of international border. This land was occupied by the BSF without the proper acquisition procedure and the concerned farmers had not been paid any compensation. Above all the government announced the setting up of special tribunal for the disposal of their problems on the order of a case of the High Court filed by the farmers, organization.

In this manner the process of mobilisation of the farmers of border villages is continuous, active and regular. The agriculture is not just occupation for them but a way of life and they are continuously struggling to maintain it.

Is there any way for the farmers to come out of the present scenario? No doubt there are always scope to resolve the problems of the human beings by one way or another and the farmers of border villages are not exception to this rule. There are certain suggestions are as following:

1. The farmers themselves suggested the measures to escape their hurdles throughout the study and they stated that their occupation is entirely under the control of authorities and they are subject to follow the conditions laid

down by the security agencies. Therefore they are doing farming under the compulsions and not by choice. They stated that the government should acquire their land lying across fencing on the reasonable price or allot them agricultural land in non-border areas. Otherwise their subordination to the hard security rules and regulations would always disturb their occupation and lives.

2. The authorities may be helpful to support the stakeholders through the governance. The state must ensure the convenient access and congenial environment for working in the fields. The governments must take into view the impact of the rules and regulations on the day to day routines of the locals at the time of framing of policy programme regarding international border.
3. There is need to have a fresh look at the existing rules and regulations relating the farming operations to make it favourable to the farmers so that their economic drops can be covered.
4. It is mentioned that the barbed fencing is erected in zig-zag manner and because of this reason a large proportion of the agricultural land locked between international border and fencing. It is suggested that the fencing should be shifted along with the line of control (LOC)
5. The facilities regarding the farming like delivering of new tub –well connections to install new ones to irrigate the respective land.
6. The governments should avail new development schemes under the Border Area Development Programme (BADP) for the infrastructural development like road connectivity, portable water and communication connectivity etc. The government should also make arrangements for the checking of implementation of the respective schemes.
7. The existing institutions of health and education should be improved and provided adequate number of doctors, teachers and other required staff in the same to facilitate the people of borderlands who are otherwise very backward in all these respects. The government should also open the educational institutions like schools and colleges as the existing number of these is very lower as proportionate to the population.

8. The farmers and the people should cooperate with the officials of security agencies during the farming to ensure the security of the international border. In this manner, though the farmers of borderlands are vulnerable to their locational settings but their problems and issues can be addressed by the genuine representation and strong political will.

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The farmers' movement is not a novel phenomenon in terms of Indian agrarian society. No doubt the nature and character of the struggle to pressurise the government to redress the issues have been changing from time to time because of the changes in the regime and demands of the stakeholders. In the present hour of time, the farming community passing through crucial face and agriculture is not considered profitable occupation in most of the states. The issues and demands of the farmers more or less similar. The farmers of the borderlands share the problems faced by the non-border areas farmers in general but they are the sufferers of huge crises resulted out of their geographical settings. After 1947, the year of the freedom and partition of the country, the position of the border villages' farmers is most vulnerable to the crises India has been facing due to the unfriendly relations with the neighbour. The farmers' continuous struggle under the banner of unions is the life line for the latter.



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