Chapter - I

PRESSURE GROUPS IN PUNJAB AGRICULTURE

In the modern world politics revolves around the man - the political man as distinguished from the economic or the moral man. It considers man not as an 'isolated atom' but as a 'creature of groups'. Today, the problem is not 'man versus the state' but 'groups versus the state'. Therefore, groups have special place in every political system. In the post-behavioural period, their role has become more and more significant. Dayton says, "A study of democratic process of a country would not be complete unless necessary attention is given to its pressure groups, their objectives, the style and the method of their operations".¹

The impact of modernization of agriculture in the developing countries has given birth to the organised groups and their various demands. Demands and their acceptance need pressure groups which have become an integral part of the political-process. They attempt to re-enforce or change the direction of governmental policy without desiring to become the government.²

Every democratic process has some ways of articulating interests, claims and demands. The group theorists, take it for granted that the society is made of numerous groups living in interaction with each other. These groups make claim on the government and the government in return acts as an adjuster and the balancer of interests of social groups. The result is that each of the major social groups tends to associate itself with a distinctive interpretation of politics of ideology. Such groups have come to be known as pressure groups.

Pressure groups came into vogue in the early twentieth century. In recent times, in all democratic countries there has been a pronounced proliferation of 'Pressure Groups', owing to the rapid advancement of science and technology and the complexity of socio-economic life they have brought in.

The traditional political science dealt only with the legal, constitutional and formal institutions, but the behavioural and post-behavioural studies have brought a revolutionary change in the scope of political science by incorporating extra-constitutional and informal organisations like political parties and pressure groups. Political parties compete for the possession of governmental power in order to implement their programmes whereas pressure groups struggle to influence the government for their own advantages.

3. Arthur Bentley, David B. Truman, Peter Odegad V.O. Key etc.
In democracy, activities of pressure groups have become quite popular and therefore like political parties, they too have attained an institutional significance. Pressure groups have been designated by various phrases such as 'Organised Groups', 'Private Government', Anonymous Empire' and 'Lobbying'. They have also been known as 'Invisible Government' and 'Catalytic Agents'. In America the pressure groups have been considered the 'Third House of the Congress'.

Occasionally, pressure groups are interchangeably used with 'Interest Groups' and 'Attitude Groups'. The basic difference between the interest groups and attitude groups is that the attitude group has a subjective base whereas the interest group has an objective base. David B. Truman clarifies "An interest group is a shared attitude group that makes certain claims upon other groups in the society. If and when it makes its claim through or upon any of the institutions of government, it becomes a political interest group".

Though pressure groups are not different from interest groups, yet a distinction is drawn between them. In any society, there exists a number of interests of 'shared attitudes', some

7. It means uniformity in thought and behaviour of number of people.
are organised, whereas others are not. Therefore an interest group is a shared-attitude group that makes certain claims upon other groups in the society. For instance, trade unions are interest groups as they interreact with each other over questions like ceiling of working hours and remuneration, but when they influence the content of legislation by acting through or upon the institutions of government i.e., when they assume direct political significance, they become pressure groups.  

Encyclopaedia of social sciences defines and differentiates between the two concepts, "The pressure group is defined by its techniques and an interest group by its objectives. Whenever an interest group adopts the technique of pressure for the fulfilment of its objectives then it converts into pressure group". But in Indian political system, "It is very difficult to draw a line of distinction between an interest group and a pressure group because they convert themselves according to the need of the hour".  

The Dictionary of Political Analysis defines pressure group as an organised interest group in which members share common views, objectives and activities to influence government officials and policies.11 Expressing almost the similar view, Alfred De Gracia says, "A pressure group is a privately organised aggregation which attempts to influence public policy",12 but Allen Potter slightly differs with these views and claims that pressure groups are groups organised largely for political purposes, except governmental bodies and party groups in the policies of a state.13

N.C. Hunt describes pressure group as "an organisation which seeks to influence government policy without at the same time being willing to accept responsibility of public office".14 S.E. Finer explains that "All groups or associations which seek to influence public policy in their own chosen direction while declining to accept direct responsibility for ruling the country",15 are counted into the category of pressure groups.

Hence, a pressure group is generally understood as an organised group for promoting the interests of its members by influencing the specific issue or policy of the government, without being a part of it.

Classification of Pressure Groups

Western Pressure groups have been classified by Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., into anomic groups, non-associational groups, institutional groups and associational groups. Anomic groups appear through riots, assassinations, violent demonstrations and the like, while non-associational groups emerge from kinship, ethnic, regional status and class groups-articulating their own interests by various means. Institutional groups have their existence within such organisations as political parties, legislatures, armies, bureaucracies and churches. They are formal organisations composed of professions. The category of associational groups includes trade unions and organisations of businessmen or industrialists, which have specialised structures for serving their interests. Their basic peculiarities are open representation of their interests, a full time professional staff and procedures for advancing their claims and demands.

It is rather amusing to note that B.L. Fadia divided the Indian Pressure Groups into various categories such as:

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Broadly speaking organised interests operating in India are of two types i.e. Community and Vocational. The community groups are associations whose membership is drawn from the community (caste, tribal, religious, linguistic or ethnic), while vocational groups concern with functionally-economic interests, such as those of landlords, peasants, workers, trade unions or businessmen.¹⁸

In one of the pioneering studies on Indian pressure groups, Myron Weiner traces the main patterns of the development of organised interests and explains that it is the political parties which seek to organise pressure groups and try to gain control over them. Every important political party has its own trade unions and associations of peasants, students, teachers and people with similar interests. Sometimes pressure groups, especially of the community type,

¹⁸. Ibid.
tend to organise their own parties and contest elections in order to promote their interests.¹⁹ Myron Weiner's central theme is that the development of a legitimate and stable democratic infrastructure in India is contingent on the development of a bargaining culture,²⁰ but Robert L. Hardgrave feels that the plea for a bargaining culture of Pluralism only brings to the surface what is already a political reality.²¹

Pressure Groups and Political Parties

The political parties and the pressure groups obviously are extra-constitutional organisations. Though they overlap in several ways, yet there are points of differences. However, pressure groups differ from political parties by their aim which is not to capture political power but only to exert pressure. They also differ from parties in their membership which is often limited to one section of the society.²² Abraham Holtzman opines that the major distinction between the pressure group and the political party lies in the focal points of their attention.²³

²⁰. Ibid.
Eckstein has correctly remarked that pressure group politics represents something less than full politicisation of groups and something more than utter depoliticisation. It constitutes an intermediate level of activity between the political and apolitical. He further argues, when parties control pressure groups, they inhibit the capacity of pressure groups to formulate pragmatic specific demands and impart a political-ideological content into pressure group activity. On the contrary, when pressure groups control parties, their capacity to commit specific interests into programme having wider appeal, is more or less prohibited.

Similarly, Duverger vindicates that it is not the party system but the interest and pressure groups that exhibit the true nature of a political order. To be more precise political parties exhibit the general interest whereas pressure groups look up the specific interests.

Strategies of Pressure Groups

The pressure groups in India are quite different from their counterparts in the western world. They differ in their style, tactics, techniques and strategies. Considering the

25. Ibid.
temperament of the people, the legal and the constitutional framework of the nation, pressure groups forge different strategies to protect and promote their interests, which are determined by their own choice. Kochanek argues that in India the inter-relationship between the interest group and political process is more complex than that of western society.²⁷

The various modes of strategies followed by the pressure groups to mitigate their demands are the Petition, Propaganda, Strikes, Bandh, Dhamas, Rallies, Demonstrations, Lobbying, helping the political parties in elections, Gheraoes, Picketing, civil disobedience, violence, bribery, logrolling, etc. The most suited strategy is determined by the circumstances and the intensity of the problem at hand. The major techniques adopted by the agrarian pressure groups are generally Petitions, Press release, Dhamas, Rallies, Demonstrations, Gheraoes, Rasta Roko, Picketing, and civil disobedience.

'Lobbying' is the most common technique of the pressure groups. It means to influence the legislators in the lobby outside the legislative chamber. It means an attempt by individuals or groups to influence the decisions of the government. According to Edgar Lane "Lobbying means men acting to influence governmental decisions".²⁸ Stewart adds that

even the activities of pressure groups at the time of elections, in terms of support, rendered to candidates to fight electoral battles with men and material, are also part of lobbying. Apart from common lobbying, pressure groups resort to 'social lobbying'. As a matter of fact, social lobbying amounts to simple bribery. It has lost in recent times much of its glamour and social effect, although it has by no means disappeared.

The strongest weapon in the hands of pressure groups is propaganda. It includes manipulation of words, control of attitudes and the behaviour of number of individuals concerning a controversial matter. Gherao and Dhama are techniques to pressurise the high ups i.e. Politicians and Bureaucrates. In Gherao, a person is not permitted to leave the area till one concedes the demands of the agitators. 'Dhama' implies to sit in front of the office of the concerning authorities for forcing them to meet their demands. Strike is a common technique to pressurise the concerning authorities to meet the demands of the agitators to their satisfaction. Initially

these strikes used to be non-violent, but now these generally turn violent. \textsuperscript{32}

Myron Weiner opines that violences and mass movements have proved more effective in India than the normal bargaining method. "Only when public order is endangered by a mass movement, then the government is willing to make concessions, not because they consider the demands legitimate, but because they then recognise the strength of the group making the demand, and its capacity for destructiveness". \textsuperscript{33}

Every pressure group has alliances with one party or the other directly or indirectly. They invent and initiate the policies which the parties are unable to do themselves. \textsuperscript{34} Pressure groups also create a favourable atmosphere for their particular cause by appealing to the public through speeches, seminars, special articles, pamphlets, press notes and other means of mass media. They even stage plays in the streets to impress upon the genuinity of their demands.

The success of the pressure group depends upon the various factors. For instance, the socio-economic set up of the society; the nature of governmental set-up; the strength and standing of the pressure group; the financial resources,

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{32} Myron Weiner, \textit{Op. Cit.}, p. 11. \\
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 215. \\
\textsuperscript{34} Dayton David McKean, \textit{Op. Cit.}, p. 626. 
\end{flushleft}
the party linkage; the intensity of interest involved, and the nature of strategies adopted. B.L. Fadia feels that in India, apart from these determinants, there are some other factors such as violence, party linkages and the style of presentation of demands which determine the rate of success of a pressure group. 35

In Punjab various types of pressure groups have been operating, 36 but agricultural pressure groups have attained a prominent position in the state politics, especially after the advent of Green Revolution. The strategies adopted by them have been to resort to Dharna, Gherao, Jail Bharo, Rasta Roko, Chakka Jam, self-styled curfew, Kanak Bandh, Karja Bandh and Pind Bandh. 37 A type of civil disobedience has also been in fashion, during the period under study.

This study describes the origin, organisation and functioning of the agricultural pressure groups and attempts to make this contention more meaningful through an analysis of the peasant unions in Punjab as the pressure groups. These groups through various techniques and strategies safeguard the interest of the peasants in Punjab by countering the agricultural policies of the government that adversely affect them. As a result, these unions serve as channels between the government and the peasants.

37. The strategies adopted were indigenous in nature and were quite popular with the peasant unions of the state.
For a large majority of the people of Punjab, agriculture is a way of life. To say the obvious, they earn their bread and butter from agriculture. Till recently, the modernization of agriculture and its ways were quite alien to them. They are basically simple, frank, open hearted and hardworking people. Hardwork from dawn to dust is the known secret of the success of their lives. The tale of the 'sweat of the brow' of the peasants of Punjab is long and weary. Times have changed and the conventional crop growers have turned into commercial crop growers. Market orientation of agriculture due to modernisation consequently, brought them face to face with many difficulties.

Sheer hardwork and excellent involvement are the main reasons for the upliftment of any society, but when awards are not appropriate the human frustration starts creeping in. This is what exactly happened with the Punjab peasants. The entreprenueing peasants of Punjab did not bear these frustrations and organised themselves in the form of the pressure groups to get redress to their grievances.

The present study, pressure groups in Punjab Agriculture (1966-86) is an humble attempt to trace out the reasons of their frustration and emergence of pressure
As I come from the rural area of Punjab, the issue of peasant organisation always fascinated me. To study this issue of pressure groups of peasants, I have been lucky to receive the help, advise and guidance of my supervisor Dr. Iqbal Nath Chaudhary, Professor of Political Science and Principal, Panjab University Evening College (retired), Chandigarh, for which I feel highly indebted. His sharp sense of understanding and encouragement helped me to understand the various facets of the problem. I feel really fortunate in having him as my supervisor and appreciate his far sighted vision and dedication with which he planned the project.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. M.M. Puri, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, who despite his unending and untiring preoccupations guided me at all stages of my research.

I sincerely feel grateful to Dr. Khem Singh Gill, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana, who not only gave valuable suggestions concerning my research,
Among my family members, I am highly indebted to my old parents for their blessings and for allowing me to do my academic work inspite of their ailing health. My wife and my children showed immense patience and made as little demands on me as possible and created conditions congenial for me to complete my work.

(PREM KANWAL BAJAJ)
but also allowed me to use and consult the Library of Agricultural University, Ludhiana.

I must put on record my sincere gratitude to Dr. (Mrs.) Pushpa Chaudhary, Reader in Education, Panjab University (Retired); Dr. (Mrs.) Rashmi Sudha Puri, Reader, Department of Gandhian Studies; Dr. V.K. Mahajan, Reader in Economics, Department of Evening Studies; and Dr. Vijay Kumar Kataria, Senior Lecturer in Political Science, Department of Evening Studies, for their encouragement, words of wisdom and valuable suggestions which were needed to pursue the project.

I am also grateful to my colleagues Dr. A.C. Vaid, Senior Lecturer in Economics and Emanual Nahar, Lecturer in Political Science for their day to day help and technical advice in the writing of this thesis.

I sincerely feel thankful to the peasants and their leaders who were kind enough to answer my queries willingly and cheerfully during personal interviews.

My thanks are also due to the library staff of Panjab University, Agricultural University; Departmental Library of Political Science and Officers of various government departmental libraries whose attitude was quite helpful whenever I approached them.

Mr. Tarun Chugh deserves my special thanks for typing this thesis.
Green Revolution and Peasants' Problem in Punjab

"India, the world's second largest cereal importer in 1967 and widely considered a development planner, astonished the world by attaining self-sufficiency in foodgrain production during late 1970s. During the 1980s, its development experience was hailed as a model for poor African nations". 38

H.S. Witwar says, "The greatest progress of all time in agricultural development has not been in the U.S.A. It has been in the Punjab of India. Between 1965 and 1975, yields of rice and wheat, the two leading crops were doubled. The Punjab State has probably made more agricultural progress in the past ten years than other regions on the face of the earth of all time". 39 This spectacular transformation of Punjab agriculture has often been described as 'Green Revolution'. It is said that the Punjab Green Revolution had even excelled the 'Corn Revolution' of America. 40

The Punjab is known as an agrarian state which has made a remarkable progress in agriculture. "The fact that Indian Punjab was deficit in foodgrains by about 35,000 tons,

when India suffered from the pangs of partition. It made it difficult even for the most optimist to imagine that Punjab would ever rise from the ashes like a phoenix. The strides that Punjab has made in agricultural development, particularly after the adoption of seed-water-fertilizer technology, is reflected in Punjab farm output having increased at a compound rate of 5.4 percent per annum during a long period of 1966-80.41

The credit for this spectacular growth of Punjab agriculture does not go alone to the 'scientific and technological break-through', but also to the 'untiring endeavours' put in by the peasants of Punjab. "Punjab has been called the throbbing heartland of the green revolution. It is the richest agricultural state in India and the credit for this rightly, goes to the peasants by the dint of their hardwork".42 They converted this deficit state into 'Green Bowl of India', with a view to ameliorate their own socio-economic conditions.

"When development and modernization of agriculture takes place in a backward-feudal society, it makes tremendous organisational impact on the socio-economically dominant sections of that society. This organisational capacity

manifests itself in the form of various groups which work for
the furtherance of their own group interests". The
modernization of Punjab agriculture through 'scientific and
technological break through' and the 'untiring hardwork' by
the peasants, gave substantial rise to the agricultural growth.
This sharp rise in the growth of wheat and rice per standard
acre, paid the farmers good dividends in the initial years of
Green Revolution, but it could not be sustained in the
subsequent years. "There was a phenomenal rise in foodgrain
production which grew at about 14.7 percent per annum during
the Green Revolution upsurge period 1965-66 to 1970-71. This
growth rate plummeted to 3.5 percent during the period 1971-72
to 1976-77".44

It was basically due to the reason that in 1967-68, the
government had fixed the procurement price of wheat at ₹76
per quintal which continued to be the same up till 1971-72,
whereas the price of agricultural inputs had been on a sharp
rise, during this span. This decelerated the margin of profit
of the peasants. Such lack of incentives on the part of the
government disheartened the peasants and by 1971-72 the
agricultural growth rate started showing 'downward-trend'.

In 1972, Agricultural Price Commission (APC) recommended
the government to reduce the procurement price of wheat from
₹76 to ₹72. This added to the frustration of the farmers

43. T.R. Sharma, 'Fruit Growers Association: The role of
orchardists in H.P. Politics', ICSSR Seminar on Politics
of Pressure Groups in Punjab, Patiala: Punjabi University,
April 9-11, 1984, p. 5.
and they started organising themselves. This, indeed, was the objective base of the peasants' frustration in Punjab. The increasing prosperity experienced during the sixties seems to have encountered a reversal during the seventies. "The rates of return on the cultivation of wheat declined sharply from about 20 percent in the early seventies to a mere 4 percent during 1975-76. It improved to 12 percent by 1978-79, but could not regain the earlier level."  

While the costs of agricultural inputs had increased sharply, prices of agricultural output had not appreciated proportionately. As elsewhere in the country so in Punjab, the terms of trade moved against agriculture, during the seventies. Gill and Singhal attributes this to a deliberate policy occasioned by the failure to tax the surpluses created in agriculture in the wake of the Green Revolution. Due to the resisitence of farmers to taxation in agricultural incomes at par with non-agricultural incomes, the government according to them, tried the other means of turning the terms of trade against agriculture by reducing subsidies on inputs, which resulted in an increase in their prices.  

In Punjab there are all kinds of agriculturists i.e. big, middle and small landlords along with agricultural labourers, tillers and tenants. They all gained overall prosperity, but the fruits of Green Revolution had not been equally shared by all classes of the peasants. Nadkami observes that the problem was not that the peasants had not gained in the absolute term, but the actual problem was that they had not gained relatively to non-agriculturists, which they could observe closely.

The unremunerative prices; increasing rates of inputs; the squeezing margin of profit; and unresponsive attitude of the government had been some of the haunting problems of the peasants. With a purpose to find some solution to these problems, the peasants started organising themselves for seeking economic justice from the government.

The fragmented growth of the peasants' organisations started emerging in the 'various regions' of Punjab, particularly in the Malwa region (Ropar, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Faridkot, Bhatinda, Sangrur and Patiala). The other two regions Majha (Gurdaspur and Amritsar) and Doaba (Jalandhar, Kapurthala and Hoshiarpur) also joined the fray, later on.

The various peasants organisations, which started articulating and aggregating the interests of the agriculturists in general and the peasants in particular, were popularly known as pressure groups in Punjab Agriculture. They were namely Zaindara Union, Nabha (Patiala), Khetibari Union, Ludhiana, Zamindara Front, Gobindgarh (Patiala), Wahikar Dal, Amritsar, Doaba Jat Kisan Sabha, Jalandhar, Zamindara League, Hoshiarpur and Zamindara Union, Sangrur. Some of these farmers' organisations merged into a larger farmers organisation, known as Punjab Khetibari Zamindara Union (PKZU).  

Punjab Khetibari Zamindara Union functioned as a pressure group for seeking certain concessions for the farmers. For instance, Agitation for Electricity (1974); Single Zone for Wheat (1974-75); increase in the sugarcane price (1975); Bonus on Sugarcane (1977); Tractor Morcha (1977); Diesel Morcha (1978) and a Bijli Morcha (1979). The special feature of Punjab Khetibari Zamindara Union had been its open, receptive, coordinative and co-operative character other than its non-political one. It co-ordinated with the other states like Haryana; Gujarat; Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu to create a common front for pressurising the government for the genuine demands of the peasants. Ultimately, the various peasants' unions agreed to form an organisation at the national level. This led to the formation of Bhartiya Kisan Union in December, 1980.  

was to achieve the socio-economic justice for the peasants by maintaining its apolitical character.

The Punjab Wing of Bhartiya Kisan Union organised various agitations like Sugarcane Agitation (1980); Universal Tractor Agitation (1981); Bijli Morcha (1983); Governor Gherao; Kisan Rally; Kanak Bandh; Karja Bandh and Pind Bandh (1984). They tried to pressurise the government through these agitations. They also launched a campaign against corruption.

There has been some other farmers' organisations which enjoy the patronage of political parties e.g., Punjab Kisan Dal (Akali Dal); Kisan Wing (Congress); Punjab Kisan Sabhas (CPI and CPM). These wings have not served the cause of the peasants, rather they have served their own political motives. Earlier the communists had a strong base among the peasantry, consisting of agricultural labourers and workers in Punjab. They had organised several struggles for higher wages and anti-landlord issue but now they have been relegated to the background. Nadkami says, "With the development of agriculture on capitalist lines and with the rise of rich peasantry, the left parties have receded into the background". 53

The main focus of the apolitical peasants' unions had been on the agricultural price and other related issues, but

these have been taken up only at the regional level. They have been active on price issue from the viewpoint of securing reasonable prices for the peasants. In reality, it could not receive much official attention for a long time. The Agricultural Price Commission, set up to recommend support and procurement prices, was expected to be fair both to the peasants and to the consumers. However, the spur to peasants' lobby at the national level came mainly from the regional pressures, as there was a growing frustration among the peasants.54

Punjab - Physical Features

"Punjab is situated in the north-western corner of India, having an international frontier with Pakistan for more than 300 kilometers. It is flanked in the south by Rajasthan and Haryana, in the east by Himachal Pradesh and in the north by Jammu and Kashmir. The boundaries were drawn at the time of the partition of the country in 1947 when its size was clipped to less than half. Its size increased when 'Pepsu' was merged with it in 1956, but in 1966, it was reorganised on linguistic basis and its area shrank considerably."55

54. Ibid., p. 59.
PUNJAB
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
1966
Before the merger of Patiala and East Punjab State's Union (PEPSU) with Punjab, the state was left with an area of 37,461 square miles, and a population of 12.18 millions.\footnote{56} With the merger of PEPSU on November 1, 1956, the area of Punjab increased to 47,334 square miles, and population rose to 16.13 millions.\footnote{57} Just after a decade on November 1, 1966, a new state of Haryana carved out of its area, and in turn Himachal Pradesh got its share of hilly areas. Punjab was left with an area of 31,485 square miles and a total population of 13.55 millions.\footnote{58} Administratively, the state had thirteen districts in 1947, nineteen in 1956 and twelve in 1966. The following table makes it crystal clear.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Area (sq. miles) & Population (millions) \\
\hline
1947 & 31,485 & 12.18 \\
1956 & 47,334 & 16.13 \\
1966 & 31,485 & 13.55 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\footnote{56}{B. Dass Vij, Cooperation in Punjab, Jalandhar: Punjab Cooperative Union, 1959, p. 7.}
\footnote{57}{Ibid., p. 8. Also see H.R. Jain, Punjab Economy, Patiala: Jain Company 1964, p. 7. (Population rose to 20.3 millions in 1961. 1961 Census).}
\footnote{59}{Government of India, Census of India 1961 Vol. XII Part IA(i) General Punjab, p. 51.}
Table - 1.1

Geographical area, Population and the number of districts at various times in Punjab.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Geographical Area</td>
<td>37461</td>
<td>47334</td>
<td>31485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Districts</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Area in square miles
Population in millions.

Source: Economic and Statistical Organisation, Punjab.
Census of India.
Statistical Abstract of Punjab.

During the period under study, the state of Punjab had 3 divisions, 12 districts, 45 sub-divisions, 45 tehsils and 49 sub-tehsils. It had 118 blocks with 12,343 inhabited villages. Punjab is the fourth smallest state in the union of India. It is a land locked state and is situated between 29° and 32° north latitude and 73° and 77° east longitude. Its configuration is roughly triangular with apex toward north. The Ravi and the Sutlej marks its western boundary with Pakistan. The desert belt of Rajasthan touches its southern


districts and its northern part is bounded by Shivalik hills.

Three major snowfed perennial rivers, the Sutlej, the Beas and the Ravi flow through the state which have facilitated a network of the canals. The river Ghaggar also provides some irrigational facilities in Patiala and Sangrur districts. These rivers are not navigable. They do not fall into the sea. The Sutlej and the Beas are the important source of irrigation and power.

From the geographical and physiographical point of view, Punjab can be categorised into two regions, submountainous region and the Alluvial plains.

Submountainous Region

It is a narrow strip, six to ten Kms in width, consisting of the northern portions of the districts of Ropar, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur. It lies in the foothills of Shiwalik range. Many 'chos' (Hill torrents) are seen in the sub-mountainous part. The chos cause much soil erosion, thus rendering considerable areas unfit for cultivation. There are vast beds of sand alternating with loam and clay and a small proportion

62. Canals irrigate 40.3 percent of the total irrigated area of the state. They are namely, The Upper Bari Doab; Bist Doab; Sirhind Canal Makhu Canal; Nangal Canal and Shah Nahar Canal. Sutlej Yamuna Link Canal is still under construction. See H.S. Mavi and D.S. Tiwana, Geography of Punjab, New Delhi; National Book Trust, India 1993, pp. 83-84.

with extensive beds of loose gravel. The climate in the region is more temperate than in the central Punjab because of its submountainous-topography and nearness to the Himalayas. The main crops grown in the region are wheat, maize and rice. Due to poor physiographic situation, the agricultural productivity in this region is low.64

**The Alluvial Plains**

The Alluvial plains consist of mainly Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Kapurthala, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Patiala and Sangrur districts. These plains are composed of varying degree of clay, loam and sand. The region has sufficient sweet underground water fit for irrigation. A large number of shallow tubewells are installed. Due to alluvial soil and artificial irrigation, this is the most developed agricultural region of the state. The main crops of the region are wheat, rice, maize, sugarcane and pulses.65

South Western plains contain Ferozepur, Bhatinda, Faridkot and Sangrur districts. The Sutlej is the only important river which runs about 115 miles along the north western boundary of Ferozepur district. The sub soil water is generally brackish and unfit for irrigation. The rainfall is meagre and it is the driest region of the state. The region has a very hot summer, a moderate rainy season and a

dry but biting winter. There are frequent dust-storms. Sierozam and desert soils are found in this region. These soils are deficient in nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium. Salinity is a serious problem in this area. The principal crops grown in this region are wheat, cotton, gram, pulses and some rice.66

However, traditionally, the plains of Punjab have been divided into three regions i.e., Malwa, Majha and Doaba.67 The various districts, comprising these regions have been tabulated below.

**Table - 1.2**

**Traditional Division of the Plains of Punjab**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Malwa</td>
<td>Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Patiala, Bhatinda, Sangrur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Majha</td>
<td>Amritsar and Gurdaspur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Doaba</td>
<td>Jalandhar, Kapurthala and Hoshiarpur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** M.S. Randhawa, *Farmers of India.*

* The areas included are after the reorganisation of Punjab in 1966 and the submountainous regions from the districts of Ropar, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur are excluded.

66. Ibid., p. 5.
PUNJAB
TRADITIONAL REGIONS

Agro-Climatic Regions

Climatically, Punjab is a sub-humid to semi-arid region. The climate of Punjab is extremely hot in summer and extremely cold in winter. Its latitudinal and continental position has resulted in extremes of temperature conditions.68 Basically the state experiences three distinct seasons:

(a) **The Summer Season**: It lasts from April to June. The temperature rises up to 46°C. This is the harvesting season of wheat. Towards the end of summer, the south easternly currents of the summer monsoon coming over from the Bay of Bengal brings relief to the parched land.

(b) **The Rainy Season**: It is from July to September. The amount of rainfall in Punjab varies from 25 centimetre to 100 centimetres. The maximum rains are near Shivalik hills whereas the minimum are in the western side of the state. It is essential for growing 'Kharif' and the succeeding sowing of Rabi crops.

(c) **The Winter Season**: It extends from October to March. The highest daily range of temperature is during the month of November when the days are warm and nights are cold. In winter, the temperature drops as low as 2°C. Occasionally, at few places, it drops even

below 0°C. The cyclones bring some rains during winter, which are very valuable for the growth of winter crops.

Energy Resources:

Punjab has not been blessed by nature with traditional sources of energy like fossil fuels, petroleum, peat, shale and wood. Even the scope of further exploitation of hydro-electric resources is very limited. The demand for energy has been increasing at tremendous pace. The total consumption of electricity was 2116 million Kwh in 1970-71 and it rose to 9153 million Kwh in the year 1987-88. Thus there was an increase of about 432 percent.

The high yielding varieties of wheat and paddy which have ushered in Green Revolution in the state need much more intensive irrigation than indigenous varieties. They also require absolute command of irrigation at the disposal of the farmers to enable them to synchronise it with the application of fertilizers to suit the requisite set schedule. Thus more and more farmers are going in for individual tubewells.

69. Adampur in Jalandhar district occasionally experiences this temperature in the winter season.

Interestingly, in 1970-71 there were only 1.92 lac tubewells, whereas in 1980-81, their number swelled up to 6.10 lac, out of which 3.30 lac were diesel operated and 2.80 lac electric operated. In 1984-85 the demand for electric operated tubewells arose suddenly to 4 lac. Therefore, there was a great spurt in the demand for electric connection for agricultural use. The detailed data is appended below.

Table 1.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Diesel operated</th>
<th>Electric operated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>6.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>6.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


So, for the purpose of providing electricity to the state, the following hydel and thermal projects have been installed in Punjab.


Table - 1.4
Energy Available in Punjab, 1986-87

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Energy available in Units (M.U's)</th>
<th>Percent available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Common Pool Projects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bhakra Nangal Complex</td>
<td>2,181</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dehar Power Plant</td>
<td>1,374</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pong Power Plant</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3,953</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Own Projects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Shanan Power House</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. UBDC Power House</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. GNDTP, Bhatinda</td>
<td>2,268</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mukerian Power House</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Anandpur Sahib Power House</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ropar Thermal Plant</td>
<td>2,873</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6,766</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Punjab State Electricity Board, Annual Report.

The area of pre-partition Punjab had a power demand of 17 MW only. In 1980-81, it became 1130 MW, that is, an increase of 66 times against only 16 times for the whole country. The electric consumption by the agricultural sector is always on an increase. During the year 1970-71, the per capita power consumption in the agricultural sector in Punjab was 35 KWH, it rose to 191 KWH by the year 1986-87. The bulk

of the energy consumed in the agricultural sector is for the working of tubewells. Apart from tubewells, seasonal temporary connections are also provided to the farmers.  

In meeting her future needs, regarding hydro-power, Punjab will have to depend on the neighbouring states of Himachal and Jammu and Kashmir. The need for a nuclear power is also very clear.

**Forests**

The forests are one of the most important natural resources, but Punjab is deficient in forest areas. After the re-organisation, 1872 sq. kms of the forest area came to the share of Punjab, out of the 20,000 sq. kms. of forest in the composite state. At present 2603 sq. kms. is under forest which constitutes 5.17 percent of the geographical area of the state. In 1965-66 out of the total 1,872 sq. kms. of forest, 748 sq. kms. were state forests and 1,124 were private forests. In 1984-85 out of the total 2803 sq. kms, 1,347 were state forests and 1,456 were private forests.

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76. State Forests - Forests owned by Forest Department and Civil Authority.
77. Private Forests - Forests owned by Corporate Bodies and Private Individuals.
Most of the forest area is situated in the hills of Ropar, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur districts. But there was unchecked felling of trees and grazing of cattle resulting in deforestation of Shivalik hills, thus causing serious problem of soil-erosion which assumed serious proportions. The state government had to enact Punjab Land Preservation Act, 1900 to protect the soil from further erosion.

Therefore, forestation can be stepped up only through a massive programme of 'Farm Forestry'. It has been planned to augment the forest wealth in the state by persuading people to plant trees in their agricultural fields, along the boundaries of their holdings, edge of water channels, along village paths, in schools and other institutions. The physical achievements and targets under various afforestation programmes are quite encouraging, but it is worth mentioning that according to National Forest Policy, 33 per cent area should be under forest. So in order to restore ecological balance, there is still a need to bring more area under forests.

Land Usage

Just after the partition, the Punjab State had an area of about 23,007.6 thousand acres, out of which net sown area was 11,865.3 thousand acres, but with the merger of Pepsu, the total area of the state rose to 30,289 thousand acres and the net sown area increased to 17,794 thousand acres.  

After the re-organisation of Punjab, in 1966, the total geographical area left with the state was 5038 thousand hectares out of which 3803 thousand hectares were net area sown. In 1985-86, the total net area sown increased to 4197 thousand hectares. Thus, there was an increase of 7 per cent in the total net area sown in just two decades. The following table depicts the clear picture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Geographical area</th>
<th>Reported area</th>
<th>Net Area sown</th>
<th>Net area sown as percentage of total area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>5038</td>
<td>5031</td>
<td>3803</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>5036</td>
<td>5033</td>
<td>4158</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>5036</td>
<td>5033</td>
<td>4197</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Statistical Abstract of Punjab.

Thus, the maximum land is under the plough in Punjab. This also states the fact that there are no major physical barriers for cultivation in the state. Flat land surface, deep fertile soil, moderate rainfall, excellent irrigation facilities, mechanisation of agriculture and the enthusiasm...
of Punjabi peasants have collectively contributed to the increase in the cultivable land to the maximum extent. 

In short, Punjab is deficit in natural resources. It has virtually no minerals. The forests are also nominal. There are also no fossil fuels or oils. The other energy resources are also very limited. The rivers, sub-soil water, land and bracing climate are the only natural resources available in the state of Punjab.

Demography and Human Resource:

Punjab possesses excellent human material. Its climate is salubrious. The people are well fed, as per capita availability of food in the state is the highest in the country. Expectation of life at birth is also the highest. 83 In Punjab, 72.32 per cent population lives in the rural area and 27.68 per cent in the urban area. 84

Punjab is, comparatively, more densely populated. It comprises 1.5 per cent of the total area of the country but according to 1981 Census, it has 2.44 per cent of the population. The density per sq. km. is 331 whereas it is 221 for India as a whole, but in respect of density it stands sixth.

82. H.S. Mavi and D.S. Tiwana, OP. Cit., p. 88.
However, it is gratifying that Punjab has shown a lower growth rate of population than the All-India average in 1961, 1971 and 1981. According to 1981 Census, the population of the state was 1.67 crores as against 1.35 crores in 1971 and 1.11 crores in 1961. Thus, there was a total increase of 21.70 per cent in 1961-71 and 23.89 per cent increase in 1971-81.85

Out of the 72.32% total rural population of Punjab, 53.08% are male and 46.92% are female in the rural vicinity of Punjab.86 It is also interesting to observe that the declining trend of population is more persistent and sharp in rural area than in the urban areas. This shows that the rural population is more responsive to the ideal of family planning than the urban population.87

Out migration from Punjab has been larger than the migration into the state. Punjab has the highest per capita income in India,88 yet people choose to migrate to other parts of India or abroad in search of better economic opportunities. This testifies the dynamic and enterprising nature of the Punjabis who are always keen to improve their standard of living.89

85. Ibid., p. 38.
86. Ibid.
Agriculture is the predominant profession of the people of Punjab. In 1971, 62.67 per cent of the workers (42.56 per cent cultivators + 20.11 per cent agricultural labourers) were engaged in agriculture. In 1981, there was a small decline but still the percentage of the workers depending for their livelihood on agriculture was as high as 59.15 per cent (36.32 per cent cultivators + 22.83 per cent agricultural labourers). There was increase in agricultural labourers by 2.72 per cent which shows that the small and marginal farmers are also joining the ranks of agricultural labourers.90

The human element has an important role in agricultural development. Kusum Nair a journalist, travelled all over India from 1958-1960 to assess the role of the human element in rural development. In a number of states, she found contentment with the existing miserable conditions. In Punjab alone, she saw people who were enterprising and energetic, and she could discover no blossom in the dust. She noticed that the refugee farmers were more progressive and superior in techniques of cultivation as compared to the peasants of East Punjab.91

There are two main harvests in Punjab - The rabi (Hari) or the spring harvest and the Kharif (Sowani) or autumn harvest. The rabi crops are sown in October and November with harvesting period from mid-March to mid-May. The Kharif crops are sown from June to August and harvesting takes place from early September to late December.

**Rabi Crop (Wheat)**

The major rabi crops are wheat, Gram and Barley. Wheat among them is a principal food crop. The area under production of wheat in 1983-84 has been estimated 3123 thousand hectares amounting to 74.95 per cent of the total cultivated area. The area under wheat declined slightly to 3096 thousand hectares in 1984-85. The production of wheat increased from 5145 thousand tonnes in 1970-71 to 9419 thousand tonnes in 1983-84 and 10,193 thousand tonnes in 1984-85. The Punjab tops in yield per hectare among all the states. The average yield of wheat in the state was 3015 Kg per hectare in 1983-84 and 3289 Kg per hectare in 1984-85 as compared to 1458 Kg per hectare for the whole country. Ludhiana district has the highest wheat yield i.e. 3354 Kg per hectare whereas Hoshiarpur


93. Ibid.
PERCENT CONTRIBUTION OF WHEAT BY PUNJAB AND OTHER STATES TO THE CENTRAL POOL

(1967-68 TO 1986-87)

Source: Various Statistical Abstracts of the states for the period mentioned above
and Bhatinda have the lowest when compared with other districts. The index number of wheat was 41.44 in 1960-61 which increased to 224.09 in 1983-84 and 242.11 in 1984-85. Thus, the state has been contributing at about 60 per cent of wheat to the central pool, as is shown in Fig. 1.1.

Thus, Punjab contributed 59.76 per cent wheat in the central pool followed by Uttar Pradesh 18.99 per cent and Haryana 16.51 per cent. All other states of the country had contributed only 4.64 per cent in the national pool.

Rice is an important crop in Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Kapurthala districts. The minimum acreage under rice is in Bhatinda and South-Western parts of Ferozepur districts. During 1983-84, the area under paddy was 1482 thousand hectares which constituted 35 per cent of the total cultivated area of the state. In 1984-85, the area further increased to 1645 thousand hectares which was 38.85 per cent of the total cultivated land of the state. The total

production in the state increased from 920 thousand tonnes in 1970-71 to 4536 thousand tonnes in 1983-84 and 5057 thousand tonnes in 1984-85.\textsuperscript{96}

Rice is the number one crop of Punjab. The state tops in the average growth of rice in the country. As compared to 1851 Kg per hectare as the average yield of rice in India, Punjab had 3063 Kg per hectare in 1983-84 and 3073 Kg per hectare in 1984-85.\textsuperscript{97} Bhatinda, Ludhiana and Sangrur, the non-conventional areas top in average yield of rice per hectare. Index number of rice was 48.49 in 1960-61 which increased to 960.46 in 1983-84 and 1070 in 1984-85.\textsuperscript{98} The share of rice in the central pool in 1983-84 was 42.2 per cent. The details of the total per cent contribution of rice to the central pool by the various states is given in Fig. 1.2.


\textsuperscript{97} Ibid.

FIG. 1.2  
PERCENT CONTRIBUTION OF RICE  
BY PUNJAB AND OTHER STATES  
TO THE CENTRAL POOL  
(1967-68 TO 1986-87)  

Source: Various Statistical Abstracts of the States for the period mentioned above.
Punjab contributed 37.03 per cent of rice in the central pool from 1967-68 to 1986-87 followed by Andhra Pradesh 15.44 per cent, Haryana 10.45 per cent, 9.90 per cent by Uttar Pradesh and 7.76 per cent by Tamil Nadu. All other states of the country contributed only 19.41 per cent during this period.

Cotton

The Punjab State ranks third in cotton production amongst different states of India, followed by Maharashtra and Gujarat. The area under cultivation of cotton has been fluctuating. Due to which production has also been varying from time to time. During 1984-85, the production of cotton was 1280 thousand bales. The area under American cotton is on increase whereas the area under Desi cotton is on decline.

During 1983-84, the area under American cotton was 556 thousand hectares and area under Desi cotton was 94 thousand hectares. The highest area under American cotton was in Sangrur, the lowest in Amritsar. Its yield per hectare is about 57 per cent higher than that of the Desi cotton. 99

The basic reason is the high yield and high price of the American cotton. The yield of Desi and American cotton are constantly falling due to increase in areas of the American cotton belt and persistent attack of insects, pests and diseases.

In cotton, the state contributes about 15 per cent to the total production of the country. Ferozepur and Bhatinda both account for 69 per cent of the cotton area of the state. On the other hand, the districts of Ropar, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur account for only 1.5 per cent of the total cotton acreage. 100

Maize

The area under maize in Punjab has shown a downward trend from 555 thousand hectares in 1970-71 to 293 thousand hectares in 1983-84. It is because maize is not economically sound crop for the farmers and there are high risk in price and yield when compared with rice. Punjab ranks third in average yield of maize after Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. As compared to 1346 Kg per hectare for India in 1982-83, the average yield of maize in Punjab was 1830 Kg per hectare in 1983-84.

Other Crops

(a) Barley (Rabi Crop)

Barley gained no popularity in Punjab state. The average yield per hectare was highest in 1981-82 but in 1983-84 it showed a decline. Against all India 1299 Kg per hectare, the Punjab state had 1568 Kg per hectare in 1983-84.

Patiala and Ropar had the highest yield per hectare and Hoshiarpur had the lowest.

(b) Bajra (Kharif Crop)

The overall area under Bajra in Punjab had been on decline since 1970-71. It reduced to 45 thousand hectares in 1983-84. In the same year Faridkot achieved the top position per hectare i.e., 150 Kg per hectare whereas the Bhatinda had the lowest.

(c) Pulses (both Kharif and Rabbi Crops)

The main pulses grown in Punjab are gram, moong, mash (urad), massur, moth, peas, arhar etc. These are leguminous crops as these add fertility to the soil and hence occupy a vital place. But these are not more economical as compared to other crops. Therefore, these are grown generally on poor soils. The area under gram has been falling constantly since 1965-66. Other than grams crops have shown a slight increase over time. In 1960-61 the area under pulses other than gram had 65 thousand hectares whereas it increased to 103 thousand hectares in 1993-84.

(d) Sugarcane

It is a commercial food crop. The area under sugarcane was 133 thousand hectares in 1960-61 which fell to 128 thousand...

hectares in 1970-71 and 84 thousand hectares in 1983-84 but
the yield per hectare was recorded to be 61905 Kg per hectare
in 1983-84 against 55904 Kg per hectare for India. Generally
sugarcane is sown in all the districts, but Gurdaspur,
Jalandhar and Ropar are particularly known for this.

(e) **Oil Seeds**

The most important oil seeds grown in Punjab are
sesamum, groundnut, toria, mustard, tara mira, linseed and
castor. Toria and sesamum is grown in Amritsar and Gurdaspur,
whereas Groundnut is grown in Ludhiana. The total area under
groundnut was 174 thousand hectares in 1970-71 which came
down to 58 thousand hectares in 1983-84. Similarly, mustard
is grown in Ferozepur, Bhatinda and Patiala. Taramira in
Ferozepur and Sangrur and linseed in Gurdaspur.

(f) **Potato**

In case of potato, the yield per hectare in 1983-84 was
19588 Kg per hectare against all India 15206 Kg per hectare.
The state had third position after Gujarat (28255 Kg per hectare)
and West Bengal (20988 per hectare).

Punjab is the most prosperous state having patent and
dynamic human resource, which regularly contributes tangibly
to the central pool in respect of two major crops, namely wheat
and rice. Its climate is enviable and land enriched by natural
water resources.
Survey of Literature

Much work has been done so far pressure groups are concerned. Most of the scholars have focused their attention on 'Trade Unions', 'Students Unions' and 'Teachers Unions', but many scholars have not paid attention to the pressure groups in Punjab agriculture. Not many studies seem to have appeared that even describe in the form of simple narrative, the complex pattern with its complicated linkages into the socio-economic and political dimensions of the state.

Some of the studies do tell us about the prevailing problems of the agriculturists. For instance, Master Hari Singh's detailed and impressive account on "Agricultural Workers Struggle in Punjab" (1980) describes about the formation, objectives and achievements of Punjab Khet Mazdoor Sabha. He discusses the circumstances which led to the formation of the Sabha. His "Agrarian Scene in British Punjab" (1983) gives valuable information regarding the British rule and their role in destroying the village economy by ruining the cottage industries and artisans who were thrown into the rank of agricultural workers. The book 'Agrarian Scene in British Punjab' (1983) has been bifurcated into two volumes. The first part studies the structural and other changes, introduced by the Britishers, in Punjab, especially in the agrarian sector. The second volume with the title 'Punjab Peasant in Freedom Struggle' deals with the impact of colonial exploitation on the peasantry and their struggle for economic and political
emancipation through their participation in the freedom struggle.

There are number of books which deal with the peasants' struggle. Sunil Sen's, 'Peasant Movement in India - Mid-nineteenth and Twentieth century' (1982), deals upto the collapse of Naxalite insurgency in the 1970s. The author stresses on the fact that 'Peasant Movement' was quite scant in the Nehru era, flowed with renewed force with the formation of non-Congress governments in a number of states. Within the ruling class there was a new found sense of the importance of "the man behind the plough".

Sunil Sahasrabudhey's book 'The Peasant Movement Today' (1986) is a collection of various papers presented in a seminar. It is an attempt to examine the new farmers' movement taking shape in several states of India. The whole book is divided into four parts. The first two parts deal on 'accounts' and 'perspectives' made up of various studies by thinker, activists and leaders of the peasant movement. It brings into focus the new approach that the country is primarily divided into two parts, 'Bharat' and 'India'. The third part of the book deals with the studies done by some social scientists taking a critical view of the peasant movement. The Fourth part discusses about the science and technology capturing the essence of some entirely new work on 'alternative science' and attempts to relate such work with the on-going peasant movement.
M.V. Nadkami in his book 'Farmers Movement in India' (1987) makes specific study of three states i.e., Tamil-Nadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra. He stresses on the active role of the 'Peasant Movements' by the left-parties which he thinks has started retreating into the background.

Malcolm Lyall Darlings' 'The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt' (1978) is an acknowledged classic work. He explains the varying incidence of indebtedness in Punjab and examines the factors influencing such variations. He also probes the social institutions bearing upon indebtedness and their impact on the social and economic values in the rural Punjab.

Francine R. Frankel's, "India's Green Revolution, Economic Gains and Political Costs" (1971) is a famous book which focuses on Ludhiana (Punjab) West Godavary (Andhra Pradesh), Thanjavur (Tamil Nadu), Falghat (Kerala) and Bendwan (West Bengal). Frankel feels that Ludhiana district gave a lead in the Green Revolution in Punjab and has the maximum impact of it. The rich farmers of this belt gained the maximum whereas the middle and the medium hardly could gain any benefit. The landless labourers gained initially but later on they could not remain happy because of the acute Zamindara system and because of the callous attitude of the money-lenders. He further feels that Green Revolution increased the scope of industrial growth.

Himbadi Banerjee in his book 'Agrarian Society of the Punjab 1849-1901' (1982), begins with a general description of
agrarian society at the time of the annexation of the Punjab. The book fills an important gap left by the previous studies on the subject.

The pioneer works of M.S. Randhawa such as "Green Revolution - A Case Study of Punjab" (1974), 'Farmers of India' (1959) and 'Out of Ashes' (1952) give an account of the multidimensional problem of agriculture and the odds faced by the farmers, during and after the partition. He makes the detailed study of the miseries faced by the displaced cultivators. In spite of all these hurdles how the farmers started from the scratch and settled themselves with a unique courage and determination. He specially stresses on 'human element' which helped both in settling down the peasants as well as in making Green Revolution a success, in Punjab.

P.C. Alexander's 'Peasant Organisations in South India (1981) describes two powerful organisations in Kerala and Tamil Nadu. It opens our eyes to the emerging realities on the agricultural front. He discusses the social reasons and the conflicting interests which inhibit the growth of peasants movements.

G.S. Bhalla and G.K. Chadha have discussed the problems of the big landowners, small and marginal farmers and the landless agricultural labourers. Their book 'Green Revolution

A.S. Kahlon has given the steady growth of Punjab agriculture in 'Dynamics of Punjab Agriculture' (1966) and in his 'Modernization of Punjab Agriculture' (1984), has emphasised the modern agricultural machinery and its role in shifting subsisting farming from conventional crops to the commercial crops. Stanley Johnson's Green Revolution (1974) and Sudhir Wami and Tim P. Bayliss-Smith's edited volume 'Understanding Green Revolution's (1984) proves useful in understanding the multifarious problems of the peasants.

Pritam Singh's 'Emerging Pattern of Punjab Economy' (1983) clarifies some misconception about the gains of 'Green Revolution' and explains the reasons which widened the gap between the rich and the poor. Hunter Gay and Batrall Anthony's edited 'Serving the small farmers throws the light on the organisational aspects of the agriculture. One of the pioneer works of Kehar Singh makes an exhaustive study of the peasant organisations in 'Farmers' Movement and Pressure Group Politics' (1990). He
explains the various methods, styles and techniques adopted by the various peasant unions to influence the government.

The writings of researchers and scholars like S.S. Johal, Khem Singh Gill, A.S. Atwal and P.C. Joshi, S.S. Gill and others clarify doubts about the various aspects of agriculture. The publication of such writings in various journals and periodicals like 'Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics', 'Economic and Political Weekly', 'Mainstream', 'Yojna' and 'Seminar', help to examine the problem from different dimensions.

Hardgrove (Robert L.) in his book 'Indian: Government and Politics in Developing Nations' (1979) observes that officials in India regard pressure groups activity with distrust. Myron Weiner, 'The Politics of Scarcity: Public Pressure and Political Response' (1963) helps to understand the effective methods of functioning of the 'Pressure Groups'. He argues that violence and mass movements have proved more effective in India than the normal bargaining method. His another book 'The Politics of South Asia (ed), 1970 explains about the various classification of pressure groups. Myron explains two types of interest articulation in India - functionally specific economic interests, such as those of landlords, peasants, trade union business etc. and the interest organised around traditional loyalties to caste, tribe and community.

B.L. Fadia's 'Pressure Groups in Indian Politics' (1980) enlightens us about the various factors responsible for the
effectiveness of a pressure group in India. Dalip Singh's Dynamics of Punjab Politics' (1981) tells us that all types of pressure groups are prevailing in Punjab, but religious and political history has a vital role in conditioning them.

Almond and Coleman's 'Politics of the Developing Areas' (1970), constructs a theoretical framework for a comparative analysis of political system of all kinds. They have described the functions of interest articulation in terms of structural functional approach in the developing areas. Graham Wootan, The Politics of Influence (1963) has studied about the politics of British ex-servicemen's organisations from 1917-57. It also describes about the reasons for the emergence of pressure groups, the style of their growth, strength and weaknesses.

Frances G. Castles, "Pressure group and political culture" (1967) explains the group activity in the terms of the concept political culture. He examines the activity of pressure groups in different political system both in relations to their political culture as well as with a structural point of view. Similarly, J.D. Stewart, "British Pressure Groups" (1958) describes about the various activities of pressure groups with special reference to their parliamentary strategies.

Apart from this the various literature issued from time to time by the various peasant unions like Kisan Masley, Kisan, Wahikar Yuç, Zimindar Di Dunia proved useful in understanding the problems of the peasants of Punjab.
Purpose of Study

Agricultural environment of Punjab is tetrogeneous. It has landlords, owner farmers with medium, small, and marginal holdings along with tenants tillers and farm labourers. In contrast to the industrial and other sectors in the society, where trade unions have been a visible and significant feature, the categories of those engaged in agriculture have not been so well and permanently defined. At any rate, the organised agricultural groups do not seem to be effective, in defining or achieving their declared objectives.

Some groups of agriculturists in organised formations have started attracting increasing attention, especially after the reorganisation of Punjab. After the advent of green revolution, the nature of peasants' problems has undergone a dramatic change and the role of agricultural pressure groups has become more vital, particularly in the fast developing society of Punjab. The unique style of their functioning allured to take up the present study. Pressure Groups in Punjab Agriculture (1966-86). The Punjab being an agricultural state has variegated agricultural problems which are being highlighted by the various agricultural pressure groups. Therefore, the purpose of the study is;

- To study the formation, strength strategies and tactics at the extent of mobilisation done by these peasant organisations.
- To study the various peasant pressure groups in Punjab with special reference to Bhartiya Kisan Union.
- To arrive at some important empirical generalisation about the nature and working of these voluntary organisations.

Since most of the peasant organisations claim to be non-political, concerted efforts to be put in to critically analyse this statement. What benefits the rich farmers, have obtained out of these pressure groups? Did they use these unions as ladders to reach the power structure of Punjab politics or national politics? In addition, the study also discusses the following questions:

- What are the causes of the emergence of pressure groups in Punjab agriculture? When and where these groups were organised and who were those people (a particular section of the rural society) who came forward for this purpose?
- What has been the standing and strength of these peasant organisations along with their methods of operation, tactics and techniques?
- What linkage have these groups formed with the political parties? How far they have been able to maintain their non-political character?
- What has been their changing role, particularly with the modernisation and diversification of agricultural economy? How far these pressure groups play a pertinent role in the
Punjab politics in particular and in Indian political in general?

- What has been the selective effectiveness of the agricultural organisations or groups vis-a-vis the government of the day?

**Scope**

The role of pressure groups in Punjab agriculture, for two decades (1966-86), has been taken up as the scope of this study. There was a great upheaval in the peasants due to Green Revolution and the various peasant organisations had popped up during this time. The study has been confined to the organisations, functioning and characterisation of apolitical peasant organisations like Punjab Zimindara Union, All India Zimindara Front, Punjab Khetibari Zimindara Union and Bhartiya Kisan Union.

**Delimitation of Study**

The study seeks to base itself upon the aforementioned considerations arising in Punjab after its reorganisation on November 1, 1966. While drawing upon the antecedents of the state since Independence, the study concentrates only on the state's present boundaries. The study has been focusing on the non-political peasant organisations, which suffered from inadequacy, non-availability and partial half hearted maintained records. There may be a few other factors, other
than being presently analysed, which could not be included due to the strain situation of the state.

Methodology

As in all other cases, the study is based upon the primary and secondary sources available. Various research methods and techniques have been applied to understand the problem and their mode of operation. The peasant union's literature, the copies of their memoranda and resolutions passed by them have been analysed. The press notes of the unions; their various weekly and monthly publications; the sticking bills of the various unions; the scattered minutes of their various meetings and the records of their seminars have also been scrutinised. Personal interviews with the prominent leaders of the various peasant organisations have helped to understand the problem. Some seminars held by B.K.U. were also attended.

The books on agriculture, journals, periodicals, newspapers and publications done by the government, were consulted to understand the details of the problem. The various departments of Punjab Agriculture were visited to collect the data. Punjab Vidhan Sabha Debates and their publications who's who were also consulted.

The first chapter contains theoretical framework of the pressure groups and a brief account of the various agricultural problems of the Punjab peasants during and after
Green Revolution. The geographical and the demographical features of Punjab along with its human elements have also been dealt with. The purpose of study, methodology, scope, delimitation and survey of literature have been taken into account in this chapter.

In the second chapter, the historical, the economic and the political perspectives of the peasants' problems, have been traced. The reasons which consequently caused the emergence of pressure groups in Punjab agriculture have been taken up. The modernisation of agriculture and its impact on the peasantry has also been discussed in this chapter.

In the third chapter, the origin, the organisation and the objectives of various peasant organisations namely Party Front, Semi-official and Non-Political Peasant organisations have been focused. However, the main stress in this chapter has been on the non-political peasant organisations.

In the fourth chapter, the functioning of non-political peasant organisations like Punjab Zimindara Union, All India Zimindara Front, Punjab Khetibari Zimindara Union and Bhartiya Kisan Union has been taken up separately. The various tactics and strategies adopted by these unions from time to time, to pressurise the ruling governments, have been highlighted.

In the concluding chapter, the general assessment regarding the functioning of the pressure groups in Punjab
agriculture has been summarised. The role of pressure groups in the context of state politics and the extent of their success has been analysed. Lastly, the suggestions have been made to substantialise the role of pressure groups with an object to ameliorate the socio-economic conditions of the agrarians.