

WHERE DO WE STAND NOW?

Harjeshwar Pal Singh, Historian, Patiala

The stakes continue to rise as the farmers' agitation has entered the next stage after the farmers rejected the government proposals and announced a slew of measures to escalate the agitation including blockade of Delhi, and nationwide protests outside the offices of BJP leaders.

In the game of political chess, the farmers continue to hold the advantages and remain steadfast in their demand to repeal the three laws while the ground becomes shaky under the government's feet. This is due to a number of reasons:

1. The determination and steadfastness of farmers' agitation, and their fight for dignity, survival, self respect and identity has garnered unprecedented response nationally and internationally.
2. The peaceful nature of the agitation has ensured that the narrative continues to remain in the favor of farmers.
3. The protesters are undeterred at the Delhi borders despite the chilly nights. The number of people joining the border camps is rising on an everyday basis.
4. International diplomatic pressure, unmatched support from the diaspora, and unbiased section of the media has put the government on a hook.
5. The protesters have left the BJP troll army far behind in the "battle of narratives". Bollywood remained mute throughout. State sponsored troll attempt to portray "Ann-daata" as "Khalistani", "Tukde-Tukde Gang" etc. has backfired.
6. RSS's traditional instinct to retreat under pressure seems to be bulldozing the spirits within BJP ranks.
7. Economic agenda remains peripheral to BJP as compared to "Hindutva". It is noteworthy that they were swadesis once and catered to small traders, and even supported Indira's license permit raj in the early 70s.
8. There is real discontent in agriculture dominated, core BJP states - Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra.
9. Security concerns at Indo-Pak and Indo-China borders are rising because 80% of the Indian army has an agrarian background. The participation of army veterans has highlighted the much needed fact.
10. Opposition parties are now aggressively focusing their agendas against BJP and are threatening to join the agitation.
11. The agitation has gained tremendous support from the trade unions and transporters. This makes the base to escalate the agitation further.
12. In case the government resorts to large scale violent measures, the foreign investors will become wary of entering Indian shores thus hurting the corporate agenda for a longer time.

O Martyrs, to fulfill your cherished dreams, We will give our heart and soul



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On the other hand, if Modi government is still holding onto the shaky ground, it is because of the following reasons:

1. BJP doesn't want to risk the "strongman" and "pro-corporate" image of the PM.
 2. Corporate pressure remains strong on the government to allow them into the lucrative farming sector.
 3. The government hopes that ultimately, divisions, exhaustion or violence would help them to tide over this issue.
 4. Pro-corporate media analysts are provoking Modi to do a "Thatcher" on the farmers.
 5. A section of BJP thinks that they remain electorally invincible, and expects to recover the lost ground in the long run.
 6. The government has started a large scale campaign to convince people that the laws are lucrative to only the farmers; the PM is the star campaigner as usual.
 7. The government is trying to detour the issue via the Supreme Court to find a compromise.
- The next few days are going to be pivotal in this long and drawn "war of the titans" between the "state" and the "people".

EDITORIAL

We observed the martyrdom of Hind Di Chadar - Saviour of India - Guru Teg Bahadur on December 20. During the current times, while following the footsteps of Guru Sahib, farmers and farmworkers are showing up as the saviours of India. Sant Ram Singh martyred himself "against the state oppression and in solidarity with farmers and farmworkers." On the same day, we paid tributes to our departed compatriots in villages, towns and cities all over India.

The government is heartless, but the love for the protest and respect for the protesters among the masses is ever increasing. Cronies and moneybags of BJP government, corporates like Adani and Reliance are falsely advertising that the farm laws are in the favour of farmers. On the one hand, prime minister Narendra Modi sends pamphlets and organizes video conferences to perform the lip-service that he cares about the farmers and Sikhs, on the other, he condemns and labels the people's movement a conspiracy by the opposition parties.

Bhai Kaahoo Ko Dhaeth Nehi Nehi Bhai
Maanath Aan ||
Kahu Naanak Sun Rae Manaa Giaanee
Thaahi Bakhaan ||

O mind, one who does not intimidate others and does not cower before the tormentors, consider him a sapient human.

- Salok Guru Teg Bahadar Ji

Homage to the martyrs of the farmers protest.

- Kahan Singh, Dhaner, Barnala, 65
- Dhanna Singh, Khiali, Mansa, 45
- Janak Raj, Dhanaula, Barnala, 60
- Gajjan Singh, Bhangu, Ludhiana, 55
- Gurdev Singh, Atar Singh Wala
- Baljinder Singh, Jhamat, 32
- Gurjant Singh, Bachoana, 60
- Gurbachan, Bhinder Khurd, 80
- Lakhbir Singh, Lallianna, 57
- Rajinder Kaur, Ganghor
- Karnail Singh, Sherpur
- Gurmail Kaur, Chand Patti, 70
- Ajay More, Sonipat
- Sanjay Singh, Sonipat
- Kitab Singh Chahal, Ujhana, 60
- Mewa Singh, Khote, 48
- Lakhvir Singh, JharhoN
- Bhag Singh, Bhadowal
- Ram Mehar Singh, Channo
- Makhan Khan, Bhinder Kala, 45
- Gurmeet Singh, Kundala, 67
- Labh Singh, Safera, 68
- Gurpreet Singh, Safera, 22
- Sukhdev Singh, Dhandh Aana
- Deep Singh, Popna
- Baba Ram Singh, Karnal, 65
- Jatinder Singh, Fatta Malooka, 25
- Surinder Singh, Nawan Shehar
- Krishan Lal Gupta, Sangroor
- Balvir Singh, Amritsar
- Jasvir Singh, Karnal, 60

This list is incomplete

The PM went to Gurudwara Rakab Ganj Sahib pulling a mere public relations stunt. The kathavachak - the priest - was narrating the thesis of one of Guru Teg Bahadur Saloks: "If you don't work for the betterment of mankind, nothing can save you, not the pilgrimages and nor the holy books, nothing at all can save you. Kaal will find you." It felt as if the Divine Word was reprimanding the PM. Ignoring the sacrifices of protesters in this historic struggle, the PM and the central government are trying all kinds of tricks to not accept the farmers' demands. The commission agents are being subjected to income tax raids; the donations to the farmer unions were curtailed; farmers from other states were arrested on their way to participate in protests; official 'KisanEktaMorcha' Facebook page was blocked but resumed after internet outage. However, protesters are aware of such foxy moves by the corporates, and they would not be deterred by the government's threats.



THIS UPSURGE AND THE BALLOTOCRACY

Navyug Gill, New York

This upsurge proves that governance cannot be conducted at the point of a ballot any more than at the point of a baton. Electoral mandates are not the sole means to decide the future of diverse peoples with distinctive histories, economies and cultures. Only when democracy is reduced to an arithmetic tyranny are people compelled to demonstrate the creative power of their own numbers. This is indeed a global lesson for leaders elsewhere blinded by majoritarian clout.

ART OF FARMING

Jatinder Mauhar, Mohali

A hubbub started between four lads in our village square. The youngest had uttered something 'against' God. One stayed neutral and the rest two didn't like the utterance. Probably, they were cross about something else.

After a brief argument, the youngest chap left. Just then, the uncle of one of the two offended boys entered the square. He was a practicing Sikh who visited the gurdwara twice a day. The nephew complained about the guy who spoke 'against' God to his uncle. Uncle concluded in clear words, "leave it if he believes in God or not. Tell me, can anyone make furrows finer than him, or is there anyone who can work better than him in the entire village?"

That day onwards, a contest started between three lads about who could make the most even and finest furrows. My father would judge a village by looking at the furrows of its surrounding fields just by looking out the window of the bus, "what kind of village is this? Can't even make straight furrows.. all the boundaries are curved." The creativity, art and excitement of our youngsters are beyond the comprehension of the cruel laws. Their art has been honed over the centuries. That young, non-believer lad from

our village must have thought during some auspicious moment, "I am not even afraid of God...who the hell is this government!"

THE SCARS OF JOURNEYS

Swarajbir, excerpt from Punjabi Tribune

Punjab was wounded many times on the various journeys it undertook during the last century too. Its feet are pricked from the exile of Ajit Singh (Bhagat Singh's paternal uncle and one of the leaders of 'Pagadi Sambhal Jatta' movement), the hangings of Kartar Singh Sarabha, Harnam Chand (Nahma Fansiwala) and Rehman Ali. The incarceration of other Ghadrīs blistered its feet. The bullets fired at innocent and peaceful protesters in Jallianwala Bagh are still lodged in its chest, and the bodies dropping dead and those writhing in pain are fresh in its memories. The contusions from the torture of Akali movement protesters at the hands of rulers are still blue. The memories of gallows are imbibed in its consciousness where Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Udham Singh and others are hanging, even now. The partition of '47 impaled its heart, and the lives lost during the uprising of the 70s doubled its agony. The burns of the 80s tormented its body, and the massacres of '84 in Delhi and other cities stabbed its back. The helplessness of parents losing their children to drugs, and the woeful



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WHY KULVEER KAUR COULDN'T GO TO THE PROTESTS

Sangeet Toor, Tikri Front

Kulveer Kaur did M.A. in sociology. She poured her heart out to me. With a brown shawl wrapped around her head and neck, and sitting out in a temple courtyard in village Gharacho, she spoke to me from the heart.. It was difficult for me to look into the eyes of this 23-year-old girl. She wanted to pursue B.Ed., but due to reserved category student fee hikes, she couldn't continue her studies. After finishing up her M.A. through the distance education program, she helped her mother in the paddy fields this summer. On our meeting on November 25, she told me that she worked as a daily wage labourer now. "Do you go to the protests?", I asked. "We dalits are a political fraction without privilege to act on our wishes. People will 'talk' if I go." Her mother told me that they only allow their daughters out after much

consideration. "It becomes difficult to marry them off", she added.

Kulveer told me that she wanted to go to the protests, but she had witnessed her mother and other women participating in the Zameen Prapti Sangharsh Committee. They often had to visit police stations. Kulveer heard appalling accounts from them. "We possess only two things- aadhaar card and this body, and we don't even have full ownership of these," Kulveer's grandmother said.

To register their names in history, to mark their presence in a historical movement and then to return home for a decent life are privileges many of our sisters simply do not have. Their desire is their participation.

misery of families of farmers and labourers who took their own lives broke its spine.

The battered body of Punjab appeals the farmer leaders to stay united and to keep quelling the divisive agendas. Let's remind ourselves what the wise poet Shamsudeen 'Shams' said, "Our differences ruined us, O friend, that's why we're in anguish today".

IMPORTANT DECISIONS

Relay hunger strike will begin at all protest sites; 11-11 volunteers will go on the strike at a time.

December 23 will be celebrated as Farmers Day; citizens are urged to give up one meal to support the movement.

Haryana will be made toll-free from December 25 - 27.

The supporters of National Democratic Alliance (NDA) will be surrounded on December 26, 27 and they will be asked to pressure the government to repeal the three laws.

The citizens are urged to beat the plates while the PM will "speak from his heart" - "mann ki baat" on December 27.

FROM TIKRI'S KITCHEN

Navkiran Natt, Tikri Front

"Sister, when I first arrived here, I didn't even know how to knead dough. Now see how the rotis I am making are puffing up," a 23/24-year-old young man told me while handing me a warm roti, "they just aren't perfectly round yet."

"But brother, when will Modi agree to our demands?", another guy asked, sitting nearby forming dough balls.

"The day this one starts making round rotis," retorted a 45-year-old Bai - bro in Punjabi, while picking up a roti from the pan and applying ghee. Hearing this, everyone began to laugh.

"Yes, Bai is absolutely right", I agreed with him.

Bai continued, "dear, I used to go home at odd hours and wake up my sleeping wife to demand that she make a meal for five people. It didn't seem hard then. Now I know what it means to cook for five." Soon after, I finished the vegetables on my plate, and a 60/65-year-old Baba Ji served me more. And my friend from Delhi, who was sitting with me, asked Bai, "Can I take your photograph?" Bai replied shyly, "Take it, but please don't put it on Facebook. It would be a trouble for me back home if your sister-in-law sees it."

And there were guffaws again. Just like that, between jokes and hoots of laughter, they prepared rotis for 20-25 people. As I got up after finishing my supper, Baba Ji approached me and said, "I believe, revolution has arrived for you?" "Meaning?", I looked at him with questioning eyes. "Till now, the women used to serve food to the men. Look around, today we are doing the opposite and feeding you. Your revolution has arrived." I gave him a "56 inch" smile, and saying nothing more than a "Sat Shri Akal", I headed back to my trailer.

ADANI IN PUNJAB

Amanpreet Singh Gill, Tarntaran

Adani Group has been advertising that it has no interest in Punjab's agriculture and land, but the truth is that it has every interest in both. Its advertisement goes on to deny the fact that its feet are not planted on the land yet. The advertisement is full of lies.

Adani Group entered Punjab in 2005 by building 2 lakh tonne capacity silos in Moga. The corporation rents the silos to the Food Corporation of India (FCI) to use as storage. This affects the livelihood of a great number of grain traders, aarthiyas and porters. From the moment the produce leaves the farmer's trolley to the moment it reaches field depots in Bengaluru and Chennai, not one labourer is employed. This is the reason that Adani was able to transport 30,000 tonnes of grain from base depots in Moga and Kaithal to the rest of the country during the lockdown via their own trains and without needing labour. In 2016, FCI entered into another agreement with Adani Group to construct a 25,000 tonne silo at Kotkapura with an investment of Rs 35 crores.

After grain storage, Adani group showed immense interest in container handling in Ludhiana. In 2019, it acquired an inland container depot (ICD) at Kanech village near Sahnewal for Rs. 331 crores and labeled it under Adani Logistics Services. On June 25, 2020 the depot shut down and the customers were diverted to its Multi-Model Logistics Park situated at Kila Raipur. The park, spread across 77 acres, was constructed in 2017. The facility was a direct link between Ludhiana district and Mundra Port in Gujarat, also owned by Adani.

Punjab's electricity production and transmission has also attracted Adani Group's attention. The group has, as of now, supplied Punjab's thermal power plants with five lakh tonnes of coal. The way it is gaining lead in the world thermal coal market, Punjab's thermal power plants are bound to increasingly depend on the group. On November 24 of this year, Adani Power was contracted to supply 6100 megawatts electricity from 15 June 2021 to 30 August 2021 at the rate of Rs. 3.59 per unit for paddy irrigation in Punjab.

Punjab is dependent on Adani Group for solar power too. On November 8, 2016, Adani Green inaugurated India's largest solar power plant with production capacity of 100 MW in Bathinda. The investment was around Rs. 640 crores. It's difficult to understand why Malwa region's fertile and arable land was chosen for this project, when the venture could have been done on barren land. For the plant, 641 acres of arable land was taken under contract for 30 years from 270 farmers from Bathinda's Sardargarh, Chughe, Karamgarh and Balluana. It is clear that as the Adani Group expands its business in Punjab, it is going to further lease the land on a larger scale to plant its roots deeper.

On the contrary, as long as Punjabis remember their heritage, they can't be tricked by anyone into giving up their land. They won't separate from their motherland. India's people have witnessed how a company changes into 'Company Honourable'. The present farmers' movement is an evidence of struggle against the looming dangers of corporatisation of the land.





SUKHA'S SEVA AMIDST PIZZAS AND FOOT MASSAGERS

Navkiran Natt, Tikri Front

A lot of us have heard of Khalsa Aid's foot massager for aged protestors at Singhu Border. Such news reassert the magnitude of the protests. However, there are multitudes of smaller news and activities that illustrate the depth of the movement, something that's amiss from the mainstream coverage. One such news is of our muslim brother, Mr. Sukhha aka Mohammad Irshad. Irshad runs a small hair salon shop in Patiala. A few days ago, as I was walking through the protest mile at Singhu Border, I spotted a poster on a trolley in front of Ford Company's board. The poster read in Punjabi, 'In support of farmer's protest, muslim brother Sukhha aka Mohammad Irshad, hairdresser, Patiala, provides massages to aged protestors.' I saw Irshad bhai standing next to the trolley.

A black bag was placed next to him. From our conversation, I collected that it was his fourth day. "Even though I am a hairdresser, I decided against cutting hair since there's a huge number of Sikh protesters. But I wanted to serve, so I decided to offer a massage to the aged protestors who have been sleeping in the trolleys," he explained after I asked about the shift from hairdresser to massager. Another reason for his participation was his understanding that the farm laws are not just against farmers, and that ultimately common people will feel the burn. "If private companies start purchasing crops, then the market prices will shoot up and it will affect all of us. It is everyone's issue. Farmers stood up, we must stand with them to strengthen the movement," he told me. He stayed for three more days after our conversation.

THE NATIONWIDE FORM OF THE FARMERS' PROTEST

Mukesh Kulriya, Bikaner

me. He stayed for three more days after our co The farmers' protest against three farm laws by the Modi Government began in Punjab in summer 2020. In its current form at the Delhi borders, the protest has become a movement. Farmers from Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh are encamped at Delhi's Tikri, Singhu, and Gazipur borders. Farmers from Rajasthan and Gujarat are blockading the Shahjehanpur border located on the Rajasthan and Haryana state border. It is important to note that the Government and Godi media are trying to paint this movement as limited to Punjabi farmers. They are able to spin this narrative because, unfortunately, farmers from other states are unable to come out and register their discontent. It is the bitter truth of our times that our resistance is not simply noticed and responded to. Instead, it is ignored and maligned.

There are various reasons why this

movement cannot just be seen as limited to Punjab or to the three farm bills. Even before these three farm laws, the agrarian crisis in Punjab simmered after the green revolution of the 70s. The fantastical crop yield, crop cycle of wheat and rice, and corporatization of agriculture wreaked havoc on the farmers. Fertilization and pesticides intensive farming models also yielded cancer and other terminal illnesses. The cotton belt of Punjab commenced the 'cancer trains' concept.

Additionally, it is important to view this movement as a part of the series of recent farmer protests in various parts of the country. Farmer protests of 2017 in Rajasthan, 2018 in Madhya Pradesh, and 2018-19 in Maharashtra were the symptoms of our ailing national farming sector. Furthermore, the ill-managed nationwide lockdowns due to COVID-19 have created severe economic distress for daily wage labourers and farmers. The movement provided a platform to organize the resistance that was divided on the basis of state and occupation.

Furthermore, the early decision of the farmer unions to lockdown the toll plazas hit where it hurts the most - the corporate capitalism. The Ambani - Adani - Government nexus to loot the nation is directly affected by the 'loss' served at the hands of common people who were shelling out cents on an everyday basis to make the rich richer.

There has never been such a hazy line between the ruling party and the citizens as it exists now. The government is scrambling to find ways to discredit the movement but has been unable to do so. This is the same government that has successfully crushed resistance by building false propaganda. Finally, the Modi government is met with peaceful and resolute challengers - its own farmers.

In the words of Habib Jalib -
"The one who was on the throne before you, He too believed that he was the God"

1920-2020: A VILLAGE'S FIGHT AGAINST POWER

Sukhjinder Mahesari, Singhu Morcha

We arrived at the Gurdwara in the village Habri. Our convoy moved from Kaithal to Delhi via Panipat, and we stopped at Habri for langar.

We entered Haryana via Cheeka, Punjab. We could cover only 40 kilometers in one day because most of our time went into combating the violent assaults by the Haryana police. We were stopped five times on our way to Habri. Despite being hungry, we met the obstacles with courage. Most of the people in our convoy had eaten nothing since the morning tea. The members of the first trolley to stop at the gurdwara told the administrators, "Our convoy is travelling to Delhi. We want to eat". The night engulfed the day. By now, the villagers were ready for bed. Still, the priest made the public announcement, "Waheguru, Waheguru, Waheguru! A convoy is passing through our village. It is traveling to Delhi to join the protests against the black laws which were recently passed by our government. We have to prepare food for this convoy. Come, let us all convene".

The announcement on the speaker had barely ended when the villagers, both young men and women, started to pour in. They carried a keg of pickles, flatbread or rotis, a bucket of milk, a pot of kneaded dough, and a bowl of uncooked lentils or dal. At the gurdwara, the villagers and the members of the convoy were in high spirits. Within minutes tea, roti and dal got ready. In another few minutes, we were served food.

Meanwhile, one of the men began speaking, "This is Kartar Singh Jhabbar's village, the one who had freed the gurdwaras from the oppression of the mahants - the traditional clergy. He recognized and helped expel the members of our community who had secretly supported General Dyer (the British colonial officer responsible for the Jallianwala

Bagh massacre). He actively protested against the Rowlatt Act (the colonial laws that suppressed political struggles, like the UAPA and other laws passed by the Congress and the BJP). In retaliation, the Britishers condemned him to Kalapani (lifelong imprisonment at the islands of Andaman and Nicobar), and yet, he never lost hope. Now, once again our village is fortunate enough to have received this opportunity to join you in the protests against the ruling government. Rest assured, our victory is certain!"

Sitting on their tractors and trolleys, people raised the victory slogans. The headlights of the tractor leading the caravan penetrated into the dark of the night. And just like that, our people headed to Delhi.

THE INCREASING MAGNITUDE OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE FARMERLAWS

Chandrapal Singh, Ghazipur

Sanghis have been running a rotten propaganda to defame the ongoing farmers' movement against new agriculture laws. Farmers of Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand spoiled their plans by opening a front at the Ghazipur border. As soon as the farmers reached the Singhu Border, BJP and its media channels started to promote falsehoods and lies to label the farmers movement as anti-national. They didn't tire of labelling it everything from Khalistani to Naxalite to only-limited-to-Punjab.

Since the camp-in protest began at the Singhu Border, farmers of Uttar Pradesh started to gather at the Ghazipur border. At first, the Modi government's police tried to



stop them. Baton charge and water cannons were used. But farmers didn't budge. Accepting defeat, the police closed the border and farmers camped there. Farmers jammed the two roads leading to Delhi, and started discussing the further course of action. Ever since, the number of farmers participating in the protest at that border has soared. Now a stage has been constructed there. BKU's national speaker Rakesh Tikait, Kisan Sabha's central committee member D.P. Singh, Terai Organisation's Jagtar Singh Bajwa, Tejender Singh Virk, Uttar Pradesh Farmer Union's joint secretary Chandrapal Singh, leaders of various unions and honourable citizens are working on addressing and directing the protestors.

At various places, the police administration of UP and Uttarakhand has started to arrest the farmers coming to participate in the protests.

PALWAL: THE FIFTH FRONT OF FARMERS MOVEMENT

Akhilesh Yadav, Palwal Front

The Modi government has been constantly making anti-people policies by using the coronavirus pandemic as an opportunity. After bringing dangerous reforms in labour laws that would harm millions of labourers, the central government's disaster horse turned its direction toward farmers and their land. The Modi government would not have imagined that they could face such resistance. Now Modi and his masters, the corporates, are quaking in their boots. Hundreds of thousands of farmers are standing with determination on five roads leading to Delhi.

One of these five fronts is Palwal. Palwal seems weak compared to the news coming from the four other fronts. On 2nd December, farmers from Gwalior district's Dabra, Chinor, Bitharwar and Gohad tehsil in Bhind district started for Delhi on hundreds of vehicles. No one would have thought that they would last even 20 days. As the days are passing, farmers' courage and their resolve to win is getting stronger. Every day more and more farmers are joining in. All the support that pours in from the local public gives assurance that it will be difficult for the ruling faction to suppress this movement.



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SCENES FOR FIRST EDITION



SCENES FOR PUNJABI PDF





THESE LAWS ARE COMPLETELY WRONG

P Sainath

I am flattered by the Court bringing up my name – but this of course becomes an issue when and if the government actually approaches me on the subject.

If that happens, I would want to know how the government understands the rationale for such a panel: what is its mandate, what will it actually look at, what is to be its composition – will it be truly representative, what is its status (is the government bound by its findings)?

I would not want to be part of a death By committee.

The operative part of the APMC or the farm contracts laws – especially the OPERATIVE part – is barely four pages long. When the government says it is willing to make amendments to 12 of the 14 or 15 points of criticism the farmers have levelled against them, it is accepting how seriously flawed these laws are. It seems pointless to amend 80-90 percent of such fatally flawed documents (which many, including serious legal minds, are calling unconstitutional). These are sweeping bits of legislation by the Centre on what is, according to the Constitution, a state subject. Can you amend unconstitutional laws – no, you withdraw them. The greatest panel ever set up on farming, the one that produced the closest

thing to a blueprint for Indian agriculture for coming decades was the Swaminathan Commission (or more accurately, the National Commission on Farmers) report. The kind of expertise, talent and understanding that the panel had remains unrivalled. It worked for years- in thorough researching and in wide and massive consultations. And yet its reports lie untouched and undiscussed in Parliament for 16 years. It would be an excellent step if the Court advises the government to have that report discussed in Parliament and set up a panel to oversee its speedy implementation.

Since 2018, some of us have been lamenting that the crisis has gone way beyond the agrarian and has run berserk. We need a Special session of parliament to discuss the agrarian crisis and related issues. I believe that the need for this is greater now than ever before. Also, note that the farmers of this country too have been calling for a special session. If that happens, I believe India should inaugurate a practice in our parliament that is quite common in the legislatures of some democracies – a system of public hearings. Let those who have suffered the crisis most also speak for themselves on the floor of parliament in such public hearings.

I believe that the farmers are absolutely right in calling for the repeal of these three laws. Some of us have cared to give them a hearing. Going forward, if such a situation of my being invited to any such panel actually arises, I would listen to them again and then decide.

What is Trolley Times?

Trolley Times is a newsletter brought out by like minded people - writers, artists, activists in support of the Kisan Morcha. It is not the official mouthpiece of the Sanyukt Kisan Morcha.

Over 95,000 trollies are lined up in the crack of winter at Delhi borders, protesting over the farm bills. In this newsletter, we are trying to bring out protesters' stories to them while they are camped out at Delhi borders. Our intent, without malice and an ulterior motive, is to simply represent peoples' voices. In order to do so, we are reaching out to different writers and artists to seek their contributions. We are aware that partisan publishing representation can create rifts in the movement. Our team works round the clock to choose write ups that look beyond such differences and commit to the progress of current movement that is exemplary because of the unity of farmers, labourers and other sections. The newsletter is made to clarify the real news in the midst of fake news, printed in Punjabi and Hindi, this four-page humble beginning is written with hope and optimism. On the first page we will have briefs on the direction and the state of the morcha. Rest of the pages will contain writings, pictures and artworks by contributors.

Trolley Times is inspired by the historic mobilisation and able leadership of all the farmers and farmworker organizations. The morcha has provided vigour to the farmers and farmworkers of not only the Punjab-Haryana region but all over India. On the one hand, the organizations have empowered and organized people to create the mass politicalawakening, on the other hand, the leaders of the organizations have pressurised the ruling and opposition political parties to speak the language of people's welfare. It has brought hope to well wishers of solidarities and welfarist policies all over the world. The organizations' leadership has worked resolutely to tread the ideological differences between themselves and bring this united movement to a point where its ultimate conclusion is victory.

Workers: Gurdeep Dhaliwal, Navkiran Natt, Jassi Sangha, Surmeet Maavi, Ajaypal Natt, Jasdeep Singh, Thukral & Tagra, Narinder Bhinder

OH BHA!

Swami Antar Neerav

1
Look carefully
the colour of wheat, rice or millet grain
isn't much different
from the colour of the earth

We know how to make white cotton bloom
in the black soil

stop your tricks now.

2
kinnow
grows on thorny trees
and ripens in winters

Who are you threatening?

3
Buffalo has four teats
We spare two for calves
two, we milk for ourselves

Come! have langar with us.

Untitled

Pash

our blood knows a habit
it does not care for the seasons
nor for any congregations
it inaugurates the festivals of life
it begins to hum the songs of gallows

flowing and flowing
along the stones
the words get worn out
but the blood still sings
do you ever wonder
who shall appease the offended winter
nights?
who shall make the loveless seconds dance
on a palm?
it is blood alone that daily kisses the lips of
the flows
it is blood alone that leaps over the walls of
time
these festivals, these songs
are now too much for some—
the ones who until yesterday
used to practice swimming
in the quiet river of our blood

