**恰尔肯德邦的部落妇女运动**

**——采访印共（毛）中央委员会布迪尼·蒙达( Budhini Munda)同志，{又名谢拉，萨布哈} (Sheela, Shobha)**

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**翻译：Telegram 人民战争-中文广播频道**

***提问1：您是“妇女解放协会”（Nari Mukti Sangh，简称NMS）的领导人。那么，请给我们讲讲恰尔肯德邦的妇女运动，以及创办妇女解放协会(NMS)的历史背景。***

**答：恰尔肯德邦的妇女与英国殖民统治者和后英属印度的买办封建统治者进行英勇斗争的历史由来已久。1857-1858年的桑塔尔起义（Santhal rebellion ）在印度历史上留下了不可磨灭的印记。**

**妇女在这场起义中发挥了积极的作用，并在向加尔各答进军的3万人中占了相当大的比例。她们参与了对敌人房屋的突袭，许多妇女在桑塔尔起义期间被杀或被捕。**

**在19世纪末由比尔萨-蒙达（Birsa Munda）领导的“蒙达起义”中，妇女也很活跃。比尔萨宗教的清教主义和复兴主义反对神灵崇拜(bongas)、喝米酒(haria)、giti ora(青年宿舍)、akhara(舞蹈场地)和强调两性平等，对作为武装战士参加起义的妇女产生了积极影响。**

**在20世纪60年代末和70年代末，妇女还大量参加了“恰尔肯德邦解放阵线党”(JMM)发起的运动。这些运动是为了夺取土地、收割稻谷和被放债人侵占的土地、收回抵债物品等。妇女还领导了反酗酒和反殴打妻子，以及反对猎杀女巫的运动。尽管开展了这些运动，但父权制仍相当强大，虽然不像在封建统治主导的平原地区那样强大。“恰尔肯德邦解放阵线党”的计划越来越倾向于将妇女训练成家庭主妇，教她们做家务，如烹饪、缝制、刺绣等等。因此，在过去的一个世纪里，妇女的政治参与并没有真正改善，殴打妻子、猎杀女巫、外部剥削者（dikus）的性虐待等现象仍然很明显。正是在这种历史背景下，“妇女解放协会”成立了。**

***提问2：您是什么时候建立妇女解放协会的？它是如何成为一个强大的妇女组织的？***

**答：妇女解放协会在20世纪80年代初开始活动，在革命的领导下，恰尔肯德邦的部落农民开始组织起来，反对拉杰普特族地主的封建压迫，以及森林部门官员和承包商的骚扰。它首先开始于吉里迪（giridh）地区，该地区的大多数农民属于桑塔尔部落。这是一个妇女组织，几乎所有的积极分子和领导人都来自桑塔尔、蒙达斯部落（adivasis-Santhals、Mundas）等。**

**妇女最初是在反封建斗争中被组织起来的。妇女在经济和性方面都面临着严重的剥削。他们只得靠微薄的食物补贴吃力地干12个小时，如果他们因为某种原因不去上班，地主的打手就会到他们家来，把他们拖去工作。拉杰普特族的地主不把部落民当人看。新婚的新娘不得不与地主共度第一夜。他们还将这些妇女中的一些人当做妾室。整个家庭，包括儿童，都不得不从事强迫劳动（bandhua majduri），言语辱骂也是例行公事和常见的。她们不能穿鞋，也不能坐在地主面前的椅子上。比哈尔邦农村是封建剥削的典型，正是在这种黑暗的条件下，包括妇女在内的人们在七十年代末开始觉醒。**

**部落妇女有双重负担。她既要参与家庭以外的生产，又要承担全部的家庭负担。她负责打扫卫生、做饭、洗衣，还负责照顾孩子，两个人都要分担取水和取柴。她在田里干活(妇女一般不耕种)，还在森林里觅食。她收集麻花种子，木头做燃料，树叶做盘子等。女人在这个季节也会收集肯杜叶(Kendu Patta，一种树叶类药材)。他们也制作绳子。他们甚至到附近的城镇做临时工。传统意义上，她们没有土地权利。**

**妇女组织者发言反对这种剥削，并将其组织起来。但她们也没有忘记农村中压迫妇女的社会风俗，以及家庭中男性至上的问题。起初，男人们反对妇女解放协会和妇女参与组织，后来，随着反对地主的农民运动发展起来，男女开始大量参加，他们的态度就逐渐改变了。他们可以看到妇女是如何被剥削的，妇女的抵抗运动也让他们大开眼界，妇女解放协会站稳了脚跟。言语辱骂完全停止了，现在他们被称为“Bhai”和“Behen”（兄弟、姐妹）。她们可以穿鞋，被邀请坐在椅子上！**

**随之而来的是与林业部门的斗争，主张部落民对森林（农产品）的权利。承包商（Thekedars）残酷地剥削了无辜的部落人民。女孩们还受到了性剥削。所有这些都在斗争中结束了。工资增加了。赢得了对森林农产品的生产权。**

**社会的变化并没有止步于此。它进入了穷人的家中。旧的风俗习惯改变了。特别是妇女在社会变革中的作用得到了充分的认可。现在，政治舞台向妇女开放。她们能很容易参加集会。现在，斗争地区的情况是，如果丈夫在“革命农民委员会”（Krantikari Kisan Committee），妻子就在妇女解放协会（NMS）。当一个人去参加会议时，另一个人就留在家里照顾孩子。**

**在妇女牢固确立了她们在社会中的角色之后，妇女解放协会开始广泛地着手处理'妇女问题'。整整一代人（或两代人）见证了农村的这种'Vaicharik Sangharsh'（意识形态斗争），它永远改变了这些地区妇女的命运。**

**从1997年开始，国家镇压变得更加严厉。但这只会起反作用，妇女解放协会比以往任何时候都要强大。它激发了女性的聪明才智和创造力，她们的领导素质也更加闪耀。**

**如果不提及巴克迪达（Bhakthida）同志，对妇女解放协会历史的简要介绍就是不完整的。这位老人在丹巴德地区（Dhanbad）工作，是妇女解放这就是为什么，每当要写NMS的历史时，第一批妇女运动领袖都会深情地纪念他，事业的坚定捍卫者。他带上了第一批年轻的女性组织者，并对她们进行了工作培训。他在村里的妇女和儿童中非常受欢迎，他一边走，一边把她们带入革命斗争。这就是为什么，每当要写下妇女解放协会的历史时，第一批妇女运动领袖都会深情地纪念他，并说他的名字必须被刻成金字。**

***提问3：妇女解放协会的组织结构是什么？***

**答：根据妇女解放协会宣言，其结构是这样的：在邦会议上选出一个“邦执行委员会”（称为Rajya Parishad）,一个由主席、书记、联合书记和财务主管组成的邦机构【称为“邦行政委员会”（（Rajya Karyakarini）】将从Rajya Parishad中选出。然后是“地区执行委员会”（Zilla Parishad），在地区会议上选出，并从执行委员会中选出一个地区机构。下一级，即 "分区委员会 "（Anchalik）也遵循同样的程序。(这包括城市/乡镇的街道或选区委员会或村委会）。) 这些委员会中至少有3个可以组成一个Anchalik委员会。如果至少有15名成员，就可以在基层会议上选出基层或基层单位。**

**目前，他们最多只能组建地区委员会，正在努力召开邦级会议，选举邦级机构和执行委员会。他们还希望组建一个中央执行委员会，将比哈尔邦、恰尔肯得邦、北方邦、北阿坎德邦、奥里萨邦、西孟加拉邦等地的妇女解放协会联合起来。**

**在基层（村）委员会和分区（Anchalik）委员会中，有不少是村里的妇女（兼职人员），但地区委员会的领导成员是全职人员，该组织的一名全职工作人员也领导着分区委员会。组织者和兼职人员构成了妇女解放协会的领导核心，是该组织的骨干力量，这些妇女致力于建立一个革命性的妇女组织，不仅在恰尔肯得邦，而且还要在全国其它地区传播革命妇女运动。**

***提问4：妇女解放协会处理了什么问题？它在哪些问题上进行了斗争？***

**答：如前所述，妇女积极参加了一切反封建斗争和反对丛林承包商（thekedars）的斗争。现在，让我们看看他们是如何解决妇女问题的。**

1. **童婚：在部落民（Adivasis）中，女孩不会在很小的年龄就结婚，但在一些地区，她们在13至15岁时就结婚了，在平原地区的非部落民和其他种姓中，这种情况普遍存在。在比哈尔邦的一些地区，有一种叫做 "Rasgaddi "的风俗（**译者暂未找到关于这种风俗的具体描述**）。女孩在9至12岁之间出嫁，但男孩只是在她的头上涂上朱红（sindoor），然后把她留在父母的家里。这就是俗称的初婚。等她长大后，比如18岁左右，再举行一次仪式，女孩被送到男孩身边。在初婚的时候，他们决定何时举行 "Rasgaddi"。女孩的家庭两次都要花很多钱。**

**妇女解放协会已经做了很多反对童婚的宣传，并营造了反对童婚的氛围。我们会事先得到关于童婚的报告，并处理这类事件，妇女解放协会的工作人员会前往那里，和他们进行长时间的讨论，说服这些要举行童婚的家庭，要让这个家庭知道，孩子这么小就结婚在身体上和情感上都是不好的。在说服并阻止这段婚姻后，他们会签订一份保证书，保证他们的孩子在9到10年内不会结婚。当他们想把孩子们嫁出去时，他们会征求妇女解放协会的同意。如果所有条件都得到满足，妇女解放协会就会立即给予许可。**

**多年来，妇女解放协会阻止了许多童婚，也进行了政治宣传。因此，在妇女解放协会影响力较大的恰尔肯得邦，童婚已经停止，女孩只有在18岁后才能结婚。即使在非部落民中，其结婚年龄也增加到18岁。但在比哈尔邦的平原地区，他们在这方面并不是很成功，但宣传工作仍在继续。**

1. **嫁妆和嫁妆相关的死亡/骚扰：嫁妆和与嫁妆有关的死亡/骚扰在部落民中并不普遍，但在非部落人群中却达到了前所未有的高度。骚扰妇女索取嫁妆，然后将其杀害的现象也很普遍。通常情况下，丈夫和亲属只是想把她赶走，与其他人进行第二次婚姻。**

**妇女解放协会做了很多反对送嫁妆的宣传，（宣传方式包括张贴海报、书写墙壁、集会、示威、歌曲、戏剧和村级会议)。当妇女解放协会知道一场婚姻是用嫁妆进行的，他们就会告诉对方“这在(NMS)地区是不允许的。”他们教育所有村民。新郎和他的父母会写一份保证书，表示他们不会接受嫁妆，以后也不会再要求嫁妆，他们会照顾女孩，不会以任何方式骚扰她。妇女解放协会还教育他们不要在婚礼上挥霍无度，如果他们同意，就进行 "shibir vivah”（节俭的婚礼）。**

**经过妇女解放协会的不断努力，现在的情况是没有人公开接受或赠送嫁妆。在妇女解放协会强大的地区，这种做法无疑已经减少了，但要完全消除这种恶习，还需要更多的努力来改变人们的态度，彻底改变社会的经济状况。妇女解放协会正在努力改变这一切。**

**当妇女解放协会得知一名妇女因嫁妆而受到骚扰或被赶出婆家时，就会召开“Jan Adalat”（公共法庭）会议。丈夫被传唤并被要求说出抛弃她的理由。通常情况下，我们得到的是一个蹩脚的理由。因此，公共法庭会与丈夫争论，反对他这样做。如果丈夫仍然坚持要离开她，人民法庭就计算她在丈夫家劳作了多少年，她应该得到多少钱，并列出她从父母那里带进丈夫家的所有物品，嫁妆金额也会计算出来。人民法庭告诉男方，妻子花了半辈子的时间为他服务，现在她这个年龄不可能轻易再婚，还有孩子，所以他应该把她应得的全部钱都掏出来。很明显，这个男人没有这样做。如果他有土地，公共法庭也会要求分出一部分土地给妻子。然后他会因为所有的错误行为而受到训斥。通常他会带他的妻子回去。他要写一份保证书，承诺好好照顾妻子。如果男方准备归还钱财或分一份土地，公共法庭会在满足所有条件的情况下允许他们离婚。通常情况下，女方只是想和他一起生活，只希望丈夫能 "改变"。所以妇女解放协会会尽量满足女方的愿望。**

**现在，在恰尔肯得邦妇女解放协会的强势地区，嫁妆骚扰已经减少了很多。如果一个女孩因为嫁妆而被杀，妇女解放协会将进行公共法庭审判（Jan Adalat）。有一次，丈夫不得不把嫁妆和5万卢比的赔偿金退还给女孩的父母。作为惩罚，他们通常会被要求写一份保证书，保证在没有妇女解放协会的允许下不会再婚。**

1. **节俭婚礼：妇女解放协会进行反对封建婚姻习俗和奢侈婚姻消费的宣传。受宣传影响的人们要求妇女解放协会进行Shibir Vivah（节俭婚礼），这里面没有嫁妆，这是一个所有人和亲戚的简单聚会，他们都吃了饭，并在公开聚会上举行了婚礼。新娘和新郎、群众组织领导人，当然还有妇女解放协会的工作人员，都会就婚姻和男女之间的关系，以及他们在封建社会中的情况和他们应该如何实现民主等问题发表讲话。新娘和新郎穿上新衣服，互相戴上花环，握手，吃糖果，婚姻就结束了。这样的婚姻让人们看到了在斗争地区出现的“新文化”，这无疑为女孩和她的父母省去了大量的费用和麻烦。当男孩和女孩彼此相爱或来自不同种姓时，他们会与妇女解放协会联系，并举行节俭婚礼（Shibir Vivah）仪式。**

**人民把妇女解放协会的成员当作自己的家人来照顾，妇女解放协会收到了很多参加婚礼的邀请。有趣的是，在恰蒂斯加尔邦，妇女解放协会直接告诉他们，他们不会参加接受嫁妆的婚礼，而在恰尔肯得邦，他们尽可能地参加婚礼，或至少向他们致以最美好的祝愿（sandesh）。**

1. **性骚扰、强奸 ：在妇女解放协会存在的地区，性骚扰和强奸事件有所减少，当强奸事件发生时，妇女解放协会将通过公共法庭进行调查，如果发现男孩来自贫困家庭，受到电视、电影等帝国主义文化的影响，如果他承认自己的罪行，就会对他进行严厉的警告，并释放。显然，面对公共法庭本身就是对这些男孩的一种很大的惩罚。如果强奸犯是个暴徒，或者以前就干过这种事，那么惩罚就很严厉。他将被殴打，剃光头，在头上涂上Chuna-tikka（石灰斑点），在脖子上戴Chappals（拖鞋）花环，并在村庄里游行示众，在严重的情况下，有时会被愤怒的群众砍断一只手或一条腿。**

**有一次，一个男孩与一个女孩发生了性行为。当他知道她已经怀孕5个月时，他逃走了。有人向妇女解放协会提出申诉，人们寻找这个男孩，并在两天内逮捕了他，并将他带到了公共法庭。男孩的父母向警方投诉。警察在公共法院进行裁决的时候出现了。妇女们质问警察--“我们没有报警，你们为什么要来？”你在这里没有任何意义！“。当警察说他们是来逮捕强奸犯的时候，妇女们只是说，‘你有什么证据表明他强奸了，快离开这里’，警察不得不离开了。这名男孩得到了她们的谅解，在没有任何嫁妆或祷告（poojas ）的情况下进行了节俭婚礼，并写了一份保证书，其中男孩表示他将在一生中好好照顾她。**

**1994年，在比哈尔邦，一位名叫米娜的女孩被强奸，引起了社会的大规模的骚动，尽管警察和政府试图保护来自地主家庭的男孩，但妇女解放协会确保了罪犯受到惩罚。**

**正如前面提到的，由于反封建斗争，地主对妇女的性剥削已经完全停止。在比哈尔邦和恰尔肯得邦，都有反对林区官员和承包商性剥削的斗争，其中一些人遭到殴打。现在，这也完全停止了。**

1. **反酗酒斗争和家暴:我们针对阿拉克酒（一种印度烈酒）进行了大量的宣传工作。部落民既酿造又销售阿拉克酒。在一些村庄，妇女解放协会对阿拉克酒商店和酿造中心进行了突击检查，并打碎了酒壶。在一些地方，他们甚至突袭了附近的一些商店，并摧毁了威士忌和白兰地酒瓶。但这场斗争的规模并不大，因此只在少数几个地区得到了控制，宣传活动正在进行——反对饮酒、酿酒以及由此导致的对妇女的暴力行为日益增多。有趣的是，在针对殴打妻子进行的公共法庭审理中，妻子被要求对不听话的丈夫进行殴打，这让他立即激动地站了起来，他向公共法庭保证会好好照顾她。但妇女解放协会还是会试图在夫妻之间尽可能友好地解决问题。在封建/部落社会，妻子大声说出或殴打丈夫会被认为是一个非常坏的女人，但当这件事在妇女解放协会通过公共法庭进行解决时，人们就会接受这一点。农村妇女参与政治活动增加了她们在家庭中的自尊，减少了对她们的暴力。**
2. **健康问题：农村和森林地区的公共卫生中心状况很差，人们从未在那里得到任何药物或适当的治疗。妇女解放协会已经开始着手解决这个问题，每年都会开展反对卫生部的运动和组织集会。特别是在季风期间，各种疾病蔓延，妇女解放协会每年都会在这个时候动员人们。人们集会到附近城镇的卫生部门办公室，举行示威/游行，直到官员同意他们在这样那样的日期到他们的村庄分发药品。由于这些斗争，要提供给孕妇的营养食品也得到了保证。流行病得到了控制，脊髓灰质炎等疫苗也得到了适当的接种。妇女解放协会还宣传政府在向富人和穷人提供医疗设施方面的双重标准。通过歌曲宣传，要求医生给穷人治病，很明显，一些医生因为拒绝给穷人治病而挨打。但妇女解放协会意识到，只有在进行斗争的时候，官员才会行动，而政府为穷人提供持续医疗服务的过程还没有开始。**
3. **一夫多妻制：妇女解放协会强烈反对一夫多妻制。以前，当一个男人想要为自己找第二个妻子时，不管是抛弃第一个妻子还是没有抛弃第一个妻子，都不会受到社会任何方面的反对。但妇女解放协会把它作为一个问题进行宣传和鼓动。在J公共法庭中，男人和他的第二任妻子都被绳之以法。并受到惩罚。公共法庭的人们反对一夫多妻制，但他们说：“这是不对的，一旦这样做了。我们能做些什么呢？“。如果可能的话，法庭会要求他们分居，并建议丈夫好好照顾他的第一任妻子。他们两人都在村子里被游街示众，相信这会阻止人们做这样的事情。但在这个问题上，他们更多地依赖于政治宣传，而不是煽动。**
4. **同工同酬：妇女解放协会发誓要争取的要求之一就是同工同酬。在封建的比哈尔邦-恰尔肯得邦，不用说，妇女的工资比男子低得多，因此掀起了要求增加工资的运动，并提出了妇女同工同酬的要求。现在，在妇女解放协会影响较大的地区，妇女获得同等工资，所有人的工资率也都有了很大提高。**

**10年前，采集每100片天都叶（Tendu Patta）妇女们只能获得4或5卢比，随着时间的推移，它增加到了50-55卢比。**

1. **迷信和巫术：落后社会的主要问题之一是大量迷信思想的盛行，使妇女成为最大的受害者。落后的村民，特别是部落民，都信奉巫术和鬼神。由于不了解产生疾病的科学原因，如果有人死亡或生病，他们会觉得是某个女巫做了什么，他们会去找Ojha（巫医），而巫医为了自己的利益间接指出一些妇女。然后，"受害者们 "就去殴打她，并且排斥她的家人，甚至杀死她。许多可怜的妇女都遭遇了这种命运，而这并不是她们的错。妇女组织自然要认真对待这个问题。许多宣传工作正在进行，每当他们得知有妇女被称为女巫时，就会举行公共法庭会议。巫医和责怪她的人被绳之以法。在妇女遭到殴打的情况下，她会被要求殴打那些折磨她的人。他们被要求支付受害妇女的所有医疗费用。妇女解放协会教育人们，在穷人中宣传这种迷信的背后是地主们的利益，还解释了产生疾病的医学原因(通常情况下，寡妇会成为受害者。为了没收她们的土地，剥削阶级开始进行巫术蛊惑，贫苦阶层的男人们也纷纷效仿，许多贫穷的寡妇以这种名义被杀害，她们的土地被没收）。早些时候，受害者曾经去找警察讨回公道。但警察经常以此为借口勒索钱财。现在他们已经不去了，转而向妇女解放协会寻求帮助。以女巫的名义杀害和殴打妇女的做法已不复存在。**
2. **森林保护：妇女们不仅抵制阻止采集林产品的森林承包商，还逮捕了走私柚木或协助走私的森林官员。妇女们守株待兔，将他们当场抓获。他们被打了一顿，并签订了一份保证书，保证不再做这种事情。运送非法砍伐木材的马车被妇女解放协会的妇女抓住。妇女解放协会自己担负起阻止这种走私的责任，并做到了森林保护。**
3. **8月15日和抵制选举：每年的8月15日，NMS都会去当地的学校，向孩子们宣传“假独立日”，孩子们抵制在学校组织的活动。他们甚至在可能的情况下挂起黑旗。有这么一件趣事：一个三年级的男孩受到妇女解放协会的启发，带领他学校的所有学生（包括他的学长）抵制活动。他们举行集会，高声呼喊口号。警察来了，逮捕了他们，每个男孩都被罚站在长椅上，并被打了一拳，警告他们不要再做这样的事情。而教会学校当局开除了这个领导学生的男孩！(他开始和妇女解放协会的成员一起活动，现在已经成为一个优秀的组织者)。**

**妇女解放协会抵制选举，因为他们坚信，人民的生活不会因为这个腐败的选举制度而改变，必须进行革命性的变革。因此，它就按照这样的思路进行宣传。在西孟加拉邦的一个村庄，妇女们受够了印度共产党（马克思主义）【简称CPM】的暴力主义（goondaism），她们不想让CPM候选人当选，想烧毁投票站。警察猜到有什么不对劲，于是拦住了这两名妇女。妇女们说，‘我们想投票，你们为什么不让我们投票’，然后冲进3个地方的投票站，把投票箱般了出来。前来参加竞选的候选人也被询问有关妇女问题的政策。妇女解放协会就是针对这个问题进行宣传的。**

注：8月15日（假独立日）：印度1947年8月15日宣布独立，但在这一时期，英国人乔治六世继续作为印度皇帝在位，蒙巴顿勋爵是该国的总督。尼赫鲁宣誓就任总理，但受英国总督的指挥，未经选举的印度民族主义领导人以英国国王的名义宣誓。英国陆军元帅领导着印度军队，英国任命的法官继续成为高等法院和联邦法院的一部分。直到1950年1月26日，印度在制定宪法生效后才摆脱君主制，转变为主权民主共和国。

黑旗：是印度反抗、示威的代表性旗帜。

印度共产党（马克思主义）【CPM或CPI（M）】：西孟加拉邦执政党之一，是打着共产党名号的修正主义政党。

1. **：庆祝三月八日劳动妇女斗争日：妇女解放协会99%的工作都在农村进行。但是，妇女解放协会的领导层非常清楚地意识到，没有知识分子和城市中产阶级的支持，它将很难继续存在下去。虽然他们没有安排任何组织者到城镇工作，但协会每年都会在大城市里坚定地庆祝三八节，并在城市居民中宣传其思想。因此，自1990年以来，比哈尔邦和恰尔肯德邦都在通过动员农村成千上万的妇女来庆祝3月8日。妇女解放协会和恰尔肯得邦·文化战线（Abhhiyan）的志愿者团队在村庄和城市开展了为期一个月的活动。3月8日举行公开集会。**

**自1997年以来，当局一直试图以各种方式阻止妇女解放协会在城市庆祝3月8日。但是，一心想要庆祝 "三八 "节的妇女解放协会妇女一直在克服所有的障碍，进行激进的斗争，并将3月8日确切地称为“劳动妇女的斗争日”，警方唯一能举出的理由是“妇女解放协会宣扬’毛主义共产主义中心‘（MCC）的意识形态”。妇女解放协会强烈谴责这一点，并在妇女是否有权庆祝国际妇女节的问题上向他们施压。她们有过这样的经历：没有得到许可，或者在最后一刻被取消了许可，或者他们被允许举行集会但最后被告知不能举行集会，如果没有其它原因，他们被要求在举行集会前至少停顿半小时，然后再进行集会。而警察则会趁机阻止来自农村的妇女解放协会的妇女来参加集会。**

**农村的妇女试图寻找各种方式进入城市，但警方确实成功地限制了人数。一旦她们进入城市，他们就会争先恐后地四散离开并按计划进行活动。现在，为了避免警察的干扰，妇女们在凌晨3点就被叫醒，所有的程序都提前了几个小时。等到警察发现时，已经来不及阻止了。妇女解放协会也有其他安排，在其它地方进行该计划，但到目前为止，他们还没有在3月8日使用这些安排。**

***提问5：国家对妇女解放协会（NMS）的镇压程度有多大？你是如何面对他们的？***

**答：从1990年开始，国家对这些活动人士的逮捕就开始了。公众集会开始受到限制。革命者在人民群众中能经得起镇压。同样，妇女解放协会的积极分子生活在人民当中，可以根据需要，秘密或公开地开展他们的计划。**

**虽然妇女解放协会从一开始就遭到一些镇压，但1997年是转折点。到目前为止，没有发生屠杀或交火事件，但妇女们经常被逮捕、酷刑、被记录在虚假案件中、在围剿行动中遭到殴打和审问。在许多地区，村里的妇女也被强奸了，这是针对党和游击小队/排的行动的一部分。在恰尔肯得邦，妇女被政府根据《防止恐怖主义法》（POTA）起诉（不过，除一名妇女外，其他妇女都已被释放）。在一些村庄，被捕妇女被游街示众，以阻止其他妇女加入党组织。**

**妇女们并没有接受这一切，妇女解放协会在组织妇女抵抗方面发挥了重要作用。妇女围攻警察并殴打他们的例子很多。在许多村庄，妇女（有时是全村人）围攻警察局，要求释放被捕者。在恰尔肯得邦的一个村子里，妇女们非常愤怒，她们逼迫警察舔自己的口水。有的时候，人们会在围攻警局的时候与警察交火。**

**在恰尔肯得邦，每当警察发动袭击时，部落民就会敲鼓(被称为“nagaara”)。听到声音后，所有邻村的人都会聚集起来抵抗警察。他们也随身携带弓箭，有时还会使用这些弓箭来对付警察，女人们会随身携带她们能拿到的任何家用工具，或者投掷石块。与这些激进分子的战斗让警方束手无策。在几乎所有的事件中，警察都被要求写一份保证书，在保证书上，他们为自己的恶行道歉，并承诺不会再来。事实上，在那之后，他们就再也没有进入过这些村庄了！**

**在妇女解放协会的领导下，有一些妇女进行英勇抵抗的事迹。在一个例子中，3,000名妇女进行了24小时的阻塞道路行动（ rasta roko），以此来反对警察的强奸行为。这些人轮流站岗。那个强奸犯警察被痛打了一顿。最终警察局长道歉了，并写了一份保证书，表示他们不会再这样做了。**

**恰尔肯得邦的一名妇女解放协会成员在2002年“三八”节活动中被捕，受到严刑拷打，政府根据《防止恐怖主义法》把她关进监狱，2003年获释。一些遭受酷刑和强奸的妇女已经回去了。但大多数人留下来，继续工作或至少支持该组织。**

**一些在恰尔肯得邦-文化战线（Abhiyan）工作的女孩也在3月8日的庆祝活动中被捕。他们被威胁说不要参加三八节活动。由于人们的压力，他们第二天被释放了。**

**1997年，妇女解放协会在安排六个地区会议时，警察试图阻止每一个会议。妇女解放协会已经做出了其他安排，在不同的地方举行会议。因此，当警察封锁了所有的道路并试图破坏会议时，妇女解放协会就完全按照自己制定的计划，转移到其它地区举行会议。他们还举行了大规模的游行。令警方更为恼火的是，协会到处都张贴了他们成功举办地区会议的海报！**

***提问6：在对协会内积极分子进行政治教育方面做了哪些尝试？你们出版了哪些书籍和杂志？***

**答：妇女解放协会非常重视对加入该组织的女性进行教育，让她们全职为该组织工作。由于许多妇女和年轻女孩来自贫穷的农民家庭，他们中的许多人甚至不识字。我们鼓励她们尽快识字。除了三本基本书籍外，还为她们开设了语法、地理、历史、马克思主义、20世纪世界革命史和新经济政策等课程。**

**以下是妇女解放协会的出版物：1.NMS ka Aahvan（妇女解放协会的召唤），2.Krantikari Nari Andolan ki Disha（革命的方向）。2. Krantikari Nari Andolan ki Disha（革命妇女运动的方向），3. 妇女解放协会宣言，4.Mahilaon ka Lal Sena Dal（妇女红色武装队）， 5. Chamakta Lal Sitara (闪亮的红星) 6. 6. Stree Swatantrata aur Communist Naitikata par Lenin ke Vichar (列宁关于妇女解放的观点和共产主义价值观对妇女的影响) 。**

**前三本书构成了妇女解放协会的理论基础。所有成员都接受了前三本书的教育。课程在委员会会议上公布，并进行联合研究。NMS没有自己的杂志，它的所有报告都发表在《Jan-Jwaar》杂志上(实际上，该杂志刊登了许多其他群众组织的报告)。**

**这三本基本书籍都强调了阶级斗争和妇女解放之间的关系。妇女解放协会的旗帜上有五颗星，分别表示--独立、民主、平等权利、妇女解放和社会主义。妇女解放协会坚定地站在社会主义妇女运动的阵营中。它强调，妇女运动需要马列毛主义的意识形态才能朝着正确的方向发展。它还说，在新民主主义革命胜利后，我们要争取社会主义，认识到即使在社会主义条件下，争取妇女解放的阶级斗争也必须继续下去。**

**有一次，一个名为 "Jago Bahan "（觉醒姐妹）的非政府组织（具有讽刺意味的是，该组织中只有男性。） 召集妇女解放协会参加会议，主题是‘消费主义与妇女，全球化和妇女“等等。妇女解放协会没有得到发言的机会。因此，他们通过唱歌来满足自己，这些歌曲描绘了他们的意识形态。实际上，它是一个外资机构组织。NMS邀请他们参加3月8日的妇女节活动，但他们没有出现。后来，他们采取了不与此类非政府组织结盟的立场。**

***提问7：在建立妇女解放协会的过程中，遇到了那些来自农村地区的困难？你们是怎么解决的?***

**答：早些时候，妇女解放协会的组织者不得不付出很大努力才能动员妇女。在村子里，男人不允许他们的妇女在晚上参加会议，而晚上是她们在一天的劳作之后唯一的自由时间。因此，妇女解放协会的组织者不得不采取一些方法，如召集男性参加会议，并谈论村里的一般问题。最后，会议以全村全体会议的形式结束。但妇女解放协会的组织者仍然能够宣传他们的思想。只有革命斗争形成的革命大氛围发展起来，妇女才能自己来参加会议。**

***提问8：目前有多少个地区组织在运作呢？您计划如何扩大组织规模？如何看待争取妇女解放斗争的未来？***

**答：一开始，妇女解放协会工作在三个地区开始--丹巴德、吉里迪和哈扎里巴格。后来，它扩展到杜姆卡、德夫加尔、贾姆塔德-戈达、萨赫布甘杰、博卡罗、兰奇、辛德加、东西辛格布姆、查特拉、帕拉穆、拉泰尔、洛哈达加、加赫瓦、古姆拉、科达玛。（Dumka, Devghar, Jaamthad Goda, Sahebganj, Bokaro, Ranchi, Simdega, East & West Singhbhum, Chatra,Palamu, Lathehar, Lohardagga, Garhwa, Gumla, Kodarma.）到目前为止，从村级到县级的妇女解放协会单位都已成立，我们正在组建一个邦级委员会。除此之外，我们还计划在比哈尔邦、北方邦、北阿肯德邦、恰蒂斯加尔邦、西孟加拉邦、阿萨姆邦、旁遮普邦、奥里萨邦、德里等邦组建妇女解放协会委员会。（Bihar, UP, Uttarakhand,Chattisgarh, West Bengal, Assam, Punjab, Orissa, Delhi）。**

**因此，通过艰苦的工作和革命的热情，通过坚信只有组织广大的贫穷农民和妇女才能改变妇女的处境，通过耐心和坚定的努力以及在实践中学习，妇女解放协会多年来不断成长。它随着革命运动在印度北部和东部的蔓延而发展壮大。但作为一个以农村为基础的组织，它在印度其他地区却鲜为人知。然而，妇女解放协会的组织者和领导层的目光远远超出了恰尔肯得邦的部落妇女。**

**只要封建和帝国主义对妇女的剥削继续存在，只要对妇女的歧视继续存在，只要妇女像牲畜和奴隶一样生活，只要妇女被剥夺经济和政治权利，为嫁妆被烧死。只要妇女被剥夺经济和政治权利，因嫁妆而被烧死，成为警察、黑帮和歹徒暴行的受害者，只要输出卖淫的女孩和男性统治的存在，就必须为妇女的解放（nari mukti ke liye）进行斗争，这是只有在国家建立社会主义的情况下才有可能实现的。即使在建立社会主义社会之后，也有必要建立妇女组织，这一点我们从列宁同志与克拉拉-泽金（ Clara Zetkin）的讨论中可以看出。**

**Movement of Jharkhand Adivasi Women – An Interview**

**with Comrade Budhini Munda (Sheela, Shobha),**

**Central Committee Member, CPI(Maoist)**

***Published in the form of an article in***

***People’s March, Volume 4, No. 10, October 2003***

***1. You are a leader of NMS. So please tell us about the women’s movement***

***in Jharkhand and the historical background behind starting Nari Mukti***

***Sangh (NMS).***

**A:** The women of Jharkhand have a long history of heroic struggles against

the British colonial rulers and the comprador-feudal rulers of post-British

India. The Santhal rebellion of 1857-58 has made an indelible imprint on

the history of India.

Women played an active role in that rebellion and formed a good chunk

of the 30,000 that set out to march to Calcutta. They participated in the

raids on the houses of the enemies. Many women were killed or arrested

during the Santhal hul (rebellion)

Women were also active during the Munda uprising at the end of the

19th Century led by Birsa Munda. The Puritanism and revivalism of Birsa’s

religion with its opposition to the worship of spirits (bongas), the drinking

of rice-beer (haria), the giti ora (the dormitory for youth), the akhara (the

dancing ground) and stress on equality between sexes had a positive impacton the women who participated as armed fighters in the uprising.

Women also participated in large number in the campaigns taken up by

the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) in the late 1960s and 1970s. Those

campaigns were for the seizure of land, harvesting of paddy and land

appropriated by the moneylenders, for recovery of pawned articles and so

on. Women also led the anti-liquor and anti – wife-beating campaigns and

campaign against witch hunting. In spite of these campaigns, patriarchy

remains quite strong though not as strong as in the feudal-dominated plains.

The JMM’s programme was more and more oriented to train the women as

housewives by teaching them domestic chores such as cooking, stitching,

embroidery etc. though the women have a role in the village councils no

role in the higher institutions that take real decisions. Thus political

participation of women has not really improved over the past century also.

Wife beating, witch-hunting, sexual abuse by outside exploiters (dikus) etc.

are still quite conspicuous. It was in this historical background that NMS

was established.

***2. When did you establish NMS? How did it emerge as a powerful***

***women’s organisation?***

**A:** NMS commenced its activities in the early 1980s. It emerged after the

tribal peasants in Jharkhand started getting organised under revolutionary

leadership against the feudal oppression of Rajput landlords and the

harassment of officials and contractors of the forest department. It first

started in the district of Giridih, a district in which the majority of the

peasantry belongs to the Santhal tribe. It is a women’s organisation in which

almost all the activists and leaders are drawn from the adivasis – from

Santhals, Mundas, etc.

Women were first organised in the anti-feudal struggles. Women faced

intense exploitation both economically and sexually . They had to slog 12

hours with only a meagre allowance of food. If they didn’t go to work for

some reason the goons of the landlord used to come to their homes and

drag them to work. The Rajput landlords did not treat the adivasis as human

beings. The newly wed bride had to spend the first night with the landlord.

They kept some of these women as concubines also. The whole family,

including children, had to do forced labour (bandhua majduri). Verbal abusewas also routine and common. They could not wear chappals, and they

could not sit on a chair in front of the landlords. Rural Bihar served as a

model of feudal exploitation. It is from the darkness of this condition that

the people, including women started getting awakened in the late seventies.

Adivasi woman have a double burden. She takes part in production

outside the home and the whole domestic burden is borne by her. She does

the cleaning, cooking, washing and also looks after children. Both share

bringing of water and firewood. She works in the fields (women don’t

plough) and also forages the forest. She collects mahua seeds, wood for

fuel, leaves for making plates etc. Kendu Patta is also collected by women

in the season. They also make rope. They even go to the nearby towns to

work as daily labourers. They have no right on land traditionally.

Women organisers spoke against this exploitation and organised women.

But they did not fail to mention the social customs among the peasants

which oppressed women and also about male supremacy at home. At first,

men opposed NMS and women’s participation in organizations. Later when

the peasant movement against the landlords gained momentum and as men

and women began participating in them in large numbers, their attitude

gradually changed. They could see how women were exploited. Women’s

resistance opened their eyes and NMS got a strong foothold. Verbal abuse

stopped completely and now they are addressed as ‘Bhai’ & ‘Behen’. They

wear chappals and are invited to sit in chairs!

The struggles against the forest department followed, asserting the rights

of adivasis on the forest (produce). The thekedars cruelly exploited the

innocent adivasis. The girls were in addition exploited sexually. All this

came to an end with struggles. Wages increased. Right to forest produce

was won.

The change in society did not stop there. It entered the homes of the

poor. Old customs changed. Especially the role of women in changing society

got full recognition. Now the political arena is open to women. They easily

attend meetings. Now the situation in struggle areas is such that if the

husband is in the Krantikari Kisan Committee, the wife is in the NMS.

When one goes to the meeting the other stays at home to look after children!

After the women firmly established their role in society, NMS began

**80**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***taking up ‘women’s issues’ extensively. A whole generation (or two?) has

grown up witnessing this ‘Vaicharik Sangharsh’ (ideological struggle) in the

countryside, which changed the fate of the women in these regions forever.

And changed the feudal thinking of men too.

Repression became severe from 1997. But it has only boomeranged

and the NMS emerged stronger than ever. It brought forth the ingenuity

and creativity of women and their leadership qualities have shone brighter.

This brief introduction of the history of NMS will not be complete

without mentioning Comrade Bhakthida. He was the mentor and father

figure for NMS. An elderly man worked in Dhanbad district and was a

strong defender of women’s cause. He took along the first, young women

organisers along with him and trained them in their work. Extremely popular

among the village women and children, he drew them into revolutionary

struggles as he went along. That is why, whenever the history of NMS is to

be written, the first leaders of the women’s movement remember him fondly

and say that his name has to be engraved in golden letters!

***3. What is the organisational structure of NMS?***

**A:** According to the NMS manifesto, the structure is thus: A State Executive

Committee (called Rajya Parishad) is elected in the State Conference. A

State Body comprising President, Secretary, Joint Secretary and a Treasurer

(called Rajya Karyakarini Committee ) is to be elected from the Rajya

Parishad. Then there is the district Executive Committee (Zilla Parishad)

that is elected in a district Conference and a district body is elected from the

executive committee. The same procedure is followed for the next layer

i.e., the ‘Anchalik Committee.’ (This comprises the street or ward

committees in the cities / towns or gram panchayats.) At least 3 of these

committees can form a Anchalik Committee. The basic or fundamental unit

is elected in a basic level conference if there are at least 15 members.

For now, they could form up to district committees only. The efforts to

hold a State Conference and elect a State Body & EC are on. They also

want to form a Central Executive Committee combining the units of NMS

in Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarkhand, Orissa, West Bengal etc.

In the basic (village) committees and Anchalik committees there are

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **81**village women (part-timers) but the leading district committee members are

whole timers and a fulltime worker of the organisation also leads the anchalik

committee. The organizers and PRs form the core leadership of the NMS

and are the backbone of the organization. They are women dedicated to

building up a revolutionary women’s organisation and spreading the

revolutionary women’s movement not only in Jharkhand but in other parts

of the country as well.

According to the manifesto, the Zilla Parishad should meet at least

thrice in a year and the Zilla Karyakarini Committee should meet at least

once in a month; the Anchalik Karyakarini Committee should meet at least

once in a month and the basic level units (committee) should meet at least

twice in a month.

***4. What issues did NMS take up? On what problems did it build struggles?***

**A:** As mentioned earlier, women took active part in all the anti-feudal struggles

and in the struggles against the jungle *thekedars* (contractors). Now, let us

see how they have been tackling women’s issues and problems.

**(i) Child Marriages:** Among adivasis, girls do not get married at a very

young age but in some areas they are married off by 13 to 15 years. Among

the non-adivasis and other castes in the plain areas this is widely prevalent.

And in Bihar in some districts there is a custom called ‘Rasgaddi’. A girl is

married off between 9 to 12 years of age but the boy just puts sindoor on

her head and leaves her at the parent’s home. This is popularly called first

marriage. After she grows up, say, at the age of 18 or so, again a ceremony

is conducted and the girl is sent with the boy. At the time of the first

marriage itself they decide when to conduct ‘Rasgaddi’. The girl’s family

has to spend a lot of money both times.

The NMS has done a lot of propaganda against child marriages and has

created an atmosphere against it. So they get prior reports of child marriages,

which are going to be conducted. The NMS didis go there and after a long

discussion convince the family that physically and emotionally also it is not

good for the children to get married at such a young age. The people get

convinced and stop the marriage. Then a bond is written that they will not

get their children married for another 9 to 10 years. And when they want to

**82**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***marry them off they ask the permission of the NMS. If all the conditions

are fulfilled then the NMS promptly gives the permission.

Over the years the NMS stopped many child marriages and carried on

political propaganda also. As a result, in Jharkhand where NMS is strong,

child marriages have stopped and girls are married off only after 18 years

of age. Even among the non-adivasis it has increased to 18 years age. But

in the plains of Bihar they could not achieve much success in this regard,

but propaganda work is going on.

**(ii) Dowry and dowry-related deaths/harassment:** The practice of

taking dowry is not prevalent among the adivasis, but it has reached an

unprecedentedly high among the non-adivasis. Harassing women for dowry

and later murdering her is also prevalent. Often, the in-laws and the husband

just try to get rid off her and have a second marriage.

NMS has done a lot of propaganda against giving and taking dowry.

(propaganda of NMS on any issue includes postering, wall writing, rallies,

demonstrations, songs, plays and village level meetings). When NMS comes

to know that a marriage is being conducted with dowry they go and tell

them that ‘this is not allowed in the (NMS) area.’ They educate all the

village people. A bond will be written by the groom and his parents that

they will not take dowry nor will they demand it in future and that they will

look after the girl and will not harass her in any way. The NMS also educates

them not to spend lavishly at marriages and if they agree conducts a ‘shibir

vivah’.

After continuous efforts from NMS now the situation is that no one

openly takes or gives dowry. But yet the give and take goes on clandestinely.

Definitely the practice has come down in the areas where the NMS is

strong but to completely eradicate the evil requires more effort at changing

people’s attitudes and a complete economic change in the society. And the

NMS is actively trying for both these changes.

When the NMS comes to know that a woman is being harassed for

dowry or is being thrown out of her in-laws house they conduct a jan adalat

(people’s court). The husband is summoned and asked to come forth with

the reason for abandoning her. Usually what they get is a lame answer. So

they argue with him against it. If he still insists on leaving her, they just

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **83**calculate how many years she has toiled in their house and how much she

should get for it and also make a list of all items she had brought into their

house from her parents and the dowry amount is also calculated. They tell

the man that she has spent half her life serving him and now at her age she

can’t remarry so easily, with the children and so that he should just cough

up the whole amount which is her due. Obviously, the man fails to do so. If

he has land, they demand a share in the land also. Then he is reprimanded

for all his wrongs. Normally he takes his wife back. A bond is written by

him promising to look after her well. If the man is ready to give back the

money or a share in land, some times a divorce is given to them. Usually

the woman wants to live with him and only wants him to ‘change’. So

NMS tries to fulfil the woman’s desire.

Now, in the Jharkhand NMS strong areas dowry harassment has come

down a lot. If a girl is killed for dowry, NMS conducts a Jan Adalat. Once

the husband had to return the dowry and also a compensation of Rs.50,000

to the girl’s parents. He is usually beaten up as a punishment and made to

write a bond that he will not remarry without the NMS’s permission.

**(iii) *Shibir vivah*:** The NMS conducts propaganda against feudal

marriage customs and lavish marriage expenses. People influenced by the

propaganda ask NMS to conduct a Shibir Vivah. In this there is no dowry.

It is a simple get together of all the people and relatives. They all have

meals and the marriage is solemnised in a public meeting. The bride and the

groom, mass organisation leaders and of course the NMS didis speak on

marriage and the relations between men and women, how they are in feudal

society and how they should be democratic. The bride and groom wear

new clothes garland each other, shake hands, eat sweets and the marriage is

over. Such marriages give the people a glimpse of the new culture coming

up in the struggle areas and have definitely saved the girl and her parents a

lot of expense and trouble. When the boy and girl love each other or when

they are from different castes, they approach NMS and a Shibir Vivah is

conducted.

The people look after the NMS didis as one of their own family and

NMS gets a lot of invitations to attend marriages. It is interesting to note

that in Chhattisgarh NMS tells them straight away that they won’t attend a

**84**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***marriage where dowry is taken, whereas in Jharkhand they attend the

marriages wherever possible or at least send them their best wishes (*sandesh*).

**(iv) Sexual harassment, rape:** Sexual harassment cases and rape

incidents have come down in NMS areas. When a rape incident occurs

NMS conducts a Jan Adalat. They enquire and if they find the boy is from

a poor family and has come under the influence of imperialist culture of

TV, cinemas and if he accepts his crime, he is warned severely and let off.

Obviously, having to face the Jan Adalat is in itself a big punishment for

such boys. If the rapist is a goon or has done it before then the punishment

is severe. He is beaten up, his head is shaved, *chuna-tikka* (spots of lime) is

applied on his head, a garland of *chappals* placed around his neck, and he

is paraded in the villages. Some times a hand or leg is cut off in serious

cases.

Once a boy had relations with a girl. When he came to know that she

was 5 months pregnant he fled. The girl had no father. A complaint was

lodged with NMS and the people searched for the boy and within 2 days

arrested him and brought him to the Jan Adalat. The boy’s parents

complained to the police. And they landed up just when the Jan Adalat was

going on. Women questioned the police - “we did not invite you, why have

you come? You have no work here!”. When the police said they came to

arrest the rapist, women just said, ‘what evidence do you have that he

raped, just get away from here’ and they had to flee. The boy was given a

piece of their mind and a *shibir vivah* was conducted without any dowry

or poojas and a bond was written in which the boy stated that he will look

after her well throughout his life.

In Bihar in 1994 when a girl named Meena was raped there was a big

agitation and NMS ensured that the culprit got punished though the police

and government tried to protect the boy from a landlord family.

As mentioned earlier due to anti-feudal struggles, the sexual exploitation

of women by landlords has completely stopped. In both Bihar and Jharkhand

there have been struggles against the sexual exploitation by forest range

officers and contractors and several of them were beaten up. Now this has

also stopped completely.

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **85(V) Anti-liquor struggles & wife beating:** Lot of propaganda work

was done against arrack. The adivasis brew as well as sell arrack. In some

villages NMS conducted raids on arrack shops and brewing centres and

have broken the pots. In a few places they even raided some shops nearby

and destroyed whisky and brandy bottles also. But this struggle has not

taken place in a big way, so only in a few areas it was controlled and

propaganda is under way – against drinking, brewing liquor and the increasing

violence on women due to this. It is interesting to note that in the Jan

Adalats conducted on wife beating, the wife is asked to give the unheeding

husband a beating, which immediately brings him to his feet, and he promises

the ‘*behenjis’* to look after her well. But the NMS tries to solve the problem

amicably as far as possible between wife and husband. In the feudal /

adivasi society a wife who speaks up or beats her husband is considered to

be a very bad woman, but people accept it when it is done in a Jan Adalat

conducted by the NMS. The participation of village women in the political

arena has increased their self-esteem in the family and reduces violence on

them.

**(vi) Health problems:** The public health centres in the villages and

forests are in a very poor state and the people never get any medicines or

proper treatment in them. The NMS has taken up the issue in a big way

and every year conducts campaigns and organises rallies against the Health

Dept. Especially during monsoons all kinds of diseases spread and NMS

makes it a point to mobilise people at this time every year. The people go in

a rally to the Health department offices in the nearby towns and hold

demonstrations/ dharnas till the officials agree that they’ll come to their

villages and distribute medicines on such and such a date. The nutritious

food, which was to be given to the pregnant women, was also ensured due

to these struggles. Epidemics were controlled and vaccines like polio are

being administered properly. NMS does propaganda also on the double

standards of the government in giving medical facilities to the rich and the

poor. Through songs, doctors are requested to give treatment to the poor.

Apparently some doctors were beaten up in Jan Adalats for not treating the

poor people. But NMS realizes that only when there is struggle the officials

are coming and a continuous process of treating the poor is yet to begin.

**86**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)*(vii) Polygamy:** NMS strongly opposes polygamy. Formerly when a

man used to get a second wife for himself either by abandoning the first

wife or without, there would be no opposition from any quarter of the

society. But NMS has taken it up as an issue for propaganda and agitation.

In the Jan Adalats both the man and his second wife are brought to justice

and punished. The people in the Jan Adalat oppose polygamy, but say “it’s

wrong, but once it’s done. What can we do ?”. If possible they ask them to

separate and he is advised to look after his first wife well. Both of them are

paraded in the villages in the belief that it will deter people from doing such

things. But on this issue they are relying more on propaganda than agitation.

**(viii) Equal wages for equal work:** One of the demands on which the

NMS vows to fight is equal wages for equal work. In feudal Bihar –

Jharkhand, it goes without saying that women are paid much less than men.

So there were agitations for increase in wages and the demand for equal

wages to women is also put forward. Now, in NMS areas women get equal

wages and the wage rates for all have also increased considerably.

10 years back they used to be given Rs. 4 or 5 for a sekda (100 leaves)

of Tendu Patta (Beedi leaves) over the years it increased to Rs. 50-55.

**(ix) Superstitions & witchcraft:** One of the major problems of a

backward society is the prevalence of numerous superstitious beliefs that

make women the worst victims. The backward villagers especially the

adivasis believe in witches and ghosts. Not knowing the scientific reasons

for illnesses, if somebody dies or falls ill they feel some witch has done

something. They go to the Ojha (witch-doctor) who for his own ends points

out to some women indirectly. The ‘victims’ then go and beat her up and

ostracise her family or even kill her. Many poor women have met such a

fate for no wrong of theirs. It’s only natural for the women’s organization

to take up this issue seriously. A lot of propaganda work is being conducted

and Jan adalat held whenever they come to know that a woman had been

named a witch. The witch doctor and the persons who blame her are brought

to book. In cases where she had been beaten, she is asked to beat the ones

who tortured her. They are made to pay all her medical expenses. On this

occasion NMS educates the people on the landlords’ interests behind

propagating such superstitions among poor people and also explains the

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **87**medical reasons for illnesses. (Usually widows become victims. In order to

confiscate their lands this witch business was started by the exploiting classes

and the men of the poorer classes also followed suit and many poor widows

were killed in this name and their land confiscated.) Earlier, the victims

used to go to the police for justice. But they used to demand money. Now

they have stopped going and look to NMS for support. The practice of

killing and beating women in the name of witches has come down

**(x) Saving the forest (*Jungle Suraksha*):** Women have not only resisted

the forest contractors who stopped them from collecting forest produce,

but they have also apprehended forest officials who were smuggling teak or

were assisting those who smuggle. The women lay waiting and caught

them red-handed. They were beaten up and a bond was written not to do

such things again. The carts carrying illegally felled wood were caught by

NMS women. NMS takes upon itself the responsibility of stopping this

smuggling and does *jungle-suraksha*.

**(xi) August 15 and boycott of elections:** Every year on August 15th

NMS goes to the schools in the areas and propagates among the children

about fake independence and the children boycott the function organised in

the schools. They even hoist black flags where possible. There is this

interesting incident of a 3rd standard boy, who got inspired by NMS ‘didis’

& led all his school students (including his seniors) to boycott the function.

They took out a rally shouting slogans on top of their voices. The police

came, arrested them and each boy was made to stand on a bench and given

one blow and warned not to do such things again. And the missionary

school authorities dismissed this boy for leading the students! (he started to

move around with the NMS didis and has now become a good organisor).

The NMS boycotts elections because they are of the firm opinion that

the lives of people are not going to be changed through this corrupt electoral

system and a revolutionary change is necessary. Hence it conducts

propaganda along these lines. In one village in West Bengal the women

were so fed up with CPM goondaism that they did not want CPM candidates

to get elected and wanted to burn down the polling booths. The police

guessed something was wrong and stopped the women. The women said,

‘we want to cast votes, why are you not allowing us’ and barged into the

**88**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***booths in 3 places and brought the boxes out. The candidates who come to

campaign are also questioned by the women on women issues. The NMS

just conducts propaganda on this question.

**(xii) Celebrating March 8th as a struggle day of toiling women:** 99

percent of the work of NMS is based in the rural areas. But the NMS

leadership is very conscious of the fact that without the support of the

intellectuals and the middle class sections in the cities it will be difficult to

carry on. Though they have not deployed any organizers to work in the

towns and cities, it determinedly celebrates March 8th in big cities every

year and propagates its ideology among the city dwellers. So since 1990,

March 8th was being celebrated in the cities of Bihar and Jharkhand by

mobilizing thousands of women form the countryside. A month long

campaign is conducted by volunteer teams of NMS and Jharkhand Abhhiyan

(the cultural front) in the villages and in the city. On March 8th a rally and

public meeting is conducted.

Since 1997, in various ways the authorities have been trying to stop the

NMS from celebrating March 8th in cities. But the NMS women with a

single minded purpose of celebrating March 8th have been overcoming all

obstacles by fighting militantly and have been literally celebrating March

8th as ‘the struggling Day of toiling women’. The only reason the police

could cite was that ‘NMS propagates MCC ideology’. The NMS strongly

condemns this and pins them down on the question of whether women

have a right to celebrate the International Women’s Day or not. They have

had experiences when permission was not given or if it was given it was

cancelled at the last minute or they were permitted to hold the meeting but

not the rally, if nothing else they are asked to stop for at least half an hour

before taking out the rally. And police stop NMS women from the villages

from coming to the meeting.

The village women try to find various ways to enter the city but the

police do succeed in limiting the numbers. Once they have reached, they

argue their way out and conduct the programme as planned. Now-a-days

to avoid police interruptions the women are woken up at 3 am and all the

proceedings are preponed by a few hours. By the time the police get wind

of it it’s too late to stop. NMS also has alternative arrangements made to

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **89**conduct the programme in some other place but till now they have not had

to use them for March 8th.

***5. What is the extent of state repression on NMS? How are you facing***

***them?***

**A.** From 1990 itself, arrests of the activists had started. Restrictions began

to be imposed on public meetings. Revolutionaries can withstand the

repression when they are among the people. Similarly NMS activists live

among the people and conduct their programmes secretly and openly

according to the necessity.

Though there was some repression on NMS from its very inception,

1997 was the turning point. Till now there are no killings or firings but

women have been arrested, tortured, booked under false cases, beaten up

during the combing operations and interrogated. In many districts village

women have also been raped as part of operations conducted against the

Party and the squads/platoons. In Jharkhand, women have also been booked

under POTA (though except for one woman all have been consequently

released). In some villages arrested women have been paraded to deter

other women from joining organizations.

The women did not take all this lying down and NMS was instrumental

in organising the resistance of women. Many are the instances where women

have rounded up the police and beat them up. In many villages the women

(some times the whole village) gheraoed the police stations to get the arrested

persons released. In one village in Jharkhand such was the anger of the

women that they made the police lick their own saliva! Some times there

were firings on people gheraoing the stations.

In Jharkhand the adivasis beat the drum (called *nagaara*) whenever the

police attack. Hearing it, all the people from neighbouring villages will gather

and resist the police. They also take their bows and arrows along and

sometimes use them. Women take any household implements they can lay

their hands on or else pelt stones. Many such battles with these militant

people have left the police helpless. And in almost all incidents, the police

are made to write a bond in which they apologize for their ill deeds and

promise not to come again. Indeed, they did not enter such villages after

**90**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***that!

There have been some heroic instances of resistance by women under

the leadership of NMS. In one instance, 3,000 women did a 24-hour rasta

roko against rape by police. The men stood guard. The rapist policeman

was fully beaten up. The DSP apologised and wrote a bond that they will

not do so again.

One Santhi of Jharkhand was arrested when campaigning for March

8th in 2002, severely tortured, booked under POTA, sent to jail and was

released in 2003. Some women who were tortured and raped had gone

back. But the majority stayed, continued to work or at least support the

organization.

Some girl children who work in Jharkhand Abhiyan have also been

arrested while campaigning for March 8th. They were threatened not to

give programmes. Due to people’s pressure they were released the next

day.

In 1997, when six district conferences of NMS were arranged, police

tried to stop each one of them. NMS had made alternative arrangements to

conduct them in a different place. So when the police blocked all the roads

and tried to disrupt the Conferences, NMS just went and conducted the

Conferences in the alternative places exactly as they had planned. Big

processions were taken. And to the ire of the police immediately posters

were put all over that they had successfully conducted their district

conferences!

***6. What attempts are made for the political education of your activists?***

***What books and magazines have you published?***

**A:** The NMS has given importance to educating women who come into the

organisation to work full time for the movement. Since many of the women

and girls who are coming are from poor peasant families, many of them are

not even literate. They are encouraged to become literate as soon as possible.

Then apart from the three basic books, classes are also being conducted for

the organisers on the following subjects like grammar, geography, history,

Marxism, and history of revolutions in the world in the 20th century and

new economic policies.

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **91**The following are the publications of NMS: 1. *NMS ka Aahvan* (Call of

NMS), 2. *Krantikari Nari Andolan ki Disha* (Direction of the revolutionary

women’s movement), 3. NMS Manifesto, 4. *Mahilaon ka Lal Sena Dal*

(women’s Red Armed Squad), 5. *Chamakta Lal Sitara* (Glowing Red Star)

6. *Stree Swatantrata aur Communist Naitikata par Lenin ke Vichar* (Lenin’s

views on women’s liberation and communist values).

The first three books form the theoretical base of NMS. All the members

are educated on the first three books. Classes are held and combined study

undertaken in committee meetings. NMS doesn’t have a magazine of its

own and all its reports are published in the magazine Jan-Jwaar (which in

fact carries the reports of many other mass organizations).

All the three basic books stress on the relationship between class struggle

and women’s liberation. The NMS flag has 5 stars in it which respectively

indicate – independence, democracy, equal rights, women’s liberation and

socialism. NMS stands firmly in the camp of the socialist women’s

movement. It stresses that women’s movement needs the ideology of

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to develop in the correct direction. It also says

that we should strive for socialism after the victory of the New Democratic

Revolution and realizes that even under socialism the class struggle for

women’s liberation must go on.

Once an NGO named ‘Jago Bahan’ (ironically it has only men in it)

called NMS to the meeting in which the topics were ‘consumerism & women;

globalization and women etc. NMS was not given a chance to speak! So

they contented themselves by singing songs, which depicted their ideology.

Actually it was a foreign-funded organization. NMS innocently invited them

for its March 8th programme but they didn’t turn up. Later they took the

stand not to go into fronts with such NGOs.

***7. What problems did you face from village men while starting NMS?***

***How did you resolve them?***

**A:** In the earlier days, the organizers of the NMS had to struggle a lot to

mobilize women. In the villages men did not allow their women folk to

attend meetings in the night which is the only free time they have after the

daylong toil. So, NMS organizers had to adopt methods like also calling

**92**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***men for the meeting and speak about general problems of the village. Finally

the meeting would end up as a general meeting of the village. But still NMS

organisers were able to propagate their ideas. Only after the general

revolutionary atmosphere created through the revolutionary struggle grew

could women come to the meetings on their own.

***8. In how many districts is it functioning at present? How do you plan***

***to expand the organisation? How do you see the future of the struggle***

***for women’s liberation?***

**A:** In the beginning NMS work started in three districts – Dhanbad, Giridih

and Hazaribagh. Later it expanded to Dumka, Devghar, Jaamthad Goda,

Sahebganj, Bokaro, Ranchi, Simdega, East & West Singhbhum, Chatra,

Palamu, Lathehar, Lohardagga, Garhwa, Gumla, Kodarma. Till now NMS

units have been formed from village level to district level and we are in the

process of forming a State level Committee. Apart from this we are planning

to form the committees of NMS in the States of Bihar, UP, Uttarakhand,

Chattisgarh, West Bengal, Assam, Punjab, Orissa, Delhi etc.

Thus, through hard work and revolutionary zeal, through a conviction

that women’s situation can be changed only by organising the mass of poor

and peasant women, through patient and determined effort and learning

through-doing has the NMS grown over the years. It has grown and spread

along with the spread of the revolutionary movement in North and East

India. But being a rural based organisation it is little known in other parts of

the country. Yet the organisers and leadership of the NMS have set their

sights far beyond the tribal women of Jharkhand.

So long as feudal and imperialist exploitation of women persists, so

long as the discrimination against women continues, so long as women live

like animals and slaves, so long as women are deprived of economic and

political rights, burnt to death for the dowry, become victims of the atrocities

of the police, mafia and goondas, so long as export of girls for prostitution

and the male domination exists – struggle has to be waged for the women’s

liberation (*nari mukti ke liye*) which is possible only with the establishment

of socialism in the country. Even after establishing a socialist society there

will be necessity of women’s organizations as we understand from the

discussion of Com. Lenin with Clara Zetkin