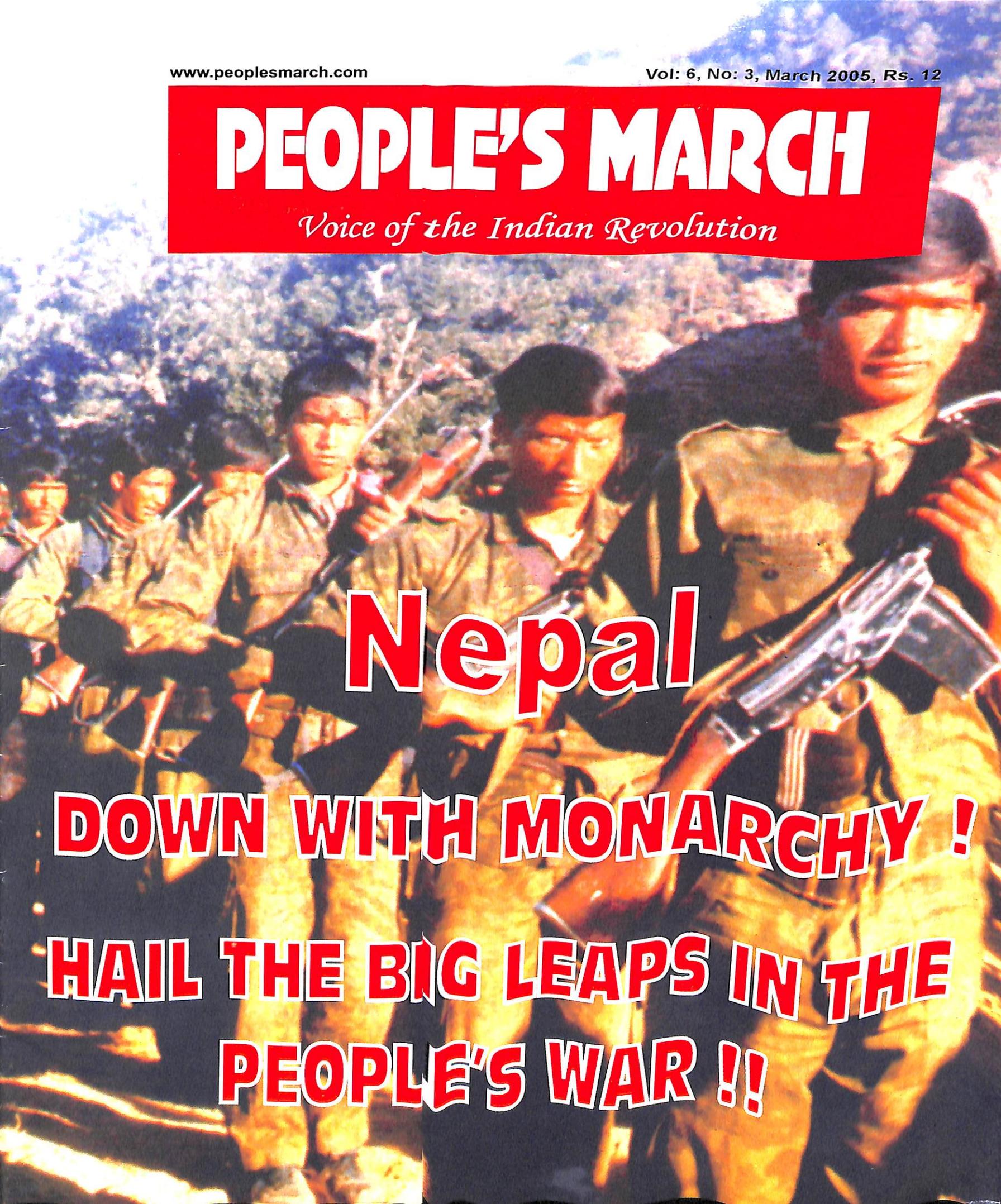


# PEOPLE'S MARCH

*Voice of the Indian Revolution*



## Nepal

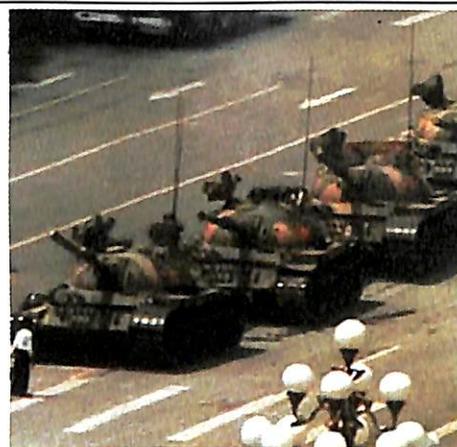
**DOWN WITH MONARCHY !**

**HAIL THE BIG LEAPS IN THE  
PEOPLE'S WAR !!**



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**On behalf of the Indian Worker's Association (Great Britain)**

Com. Sarwan Singh Bhart Asst. Secy. deposited cheques for 1,500 British pounds.

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 For subscription & donation for Punjabi People's March ..... 200 £  
 For Tsunami relief ..... 500 £

**Special Supplement on the occasion of International Women's Day**

**MARCH 8<sup>TH</sup> International Women's Day; 2005**

**Women ! Awake, Arise and Struggle**

**Campaign Against Patriarchy**

**I Will Take Revenge From My Place**

**Rape: As an Instrument of State Repression in Nepal**

**How Militarily Equipped are Women Guerillas?**

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## Widespread Enthusiasm for the new Party; Deep Fear in the Hearts of the Reactionaries & Revisionists

The oppressed masses from all over the country and the progressive groups and individuals, have enthusiastically hailed the formation of the new party — the Communist Party of India (Maoist). Particularly in those areas of revolutionary influence the Party formation through the merger of the erstwhile MCCI and PW has been widely hailed as can be seen in the report in this issue from Dandakaranaya.

The revolutionary ranks have particularly been inspired by this historic step on the soil of the great Indian people. The peasants, workers, tribals, students, women, dalits etc have finally seen the fulfillment of the long-cherished dreams of the fallen martyrs and leaders of the Indian revolution. Many of the other sincere revolutionary groups in India have also hailed this merger and have expressed their desire to unite with the main revolutionary trend in the country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and a revolutionary strategy and tactics. All longed for this day to put an end to the years of strife and divisions amongst the genuine Maoist revolutionaries of the country. All desired from the bottom of their heart a real proletarian party to lead the country to genuine freedom and for the liberation of the entire oppressed masses. The unification of the major two revolutionary streams in the country have rekindled a great hope in the minds of the masses and progressive forces, many of whom were disillusioned by the temporary set-backs to communism, with the reversals in the Soviet Union and China. All are confident that the new proletarian Party will learn from both the positive and the negative experiences of the past revolutions and will not repeat those errors that led to revisionist degeneration and capitalist restoration. All hope for another great beginning along the already blood splattered path of the Indian revolution. The seeds laid by the erstwhile PW and MCCI will no doubt take fruit in this long march towards freedom and liberation.

But, not only has the unity been welcomed by the people of the country, but also by those abroad, particularly the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces of the world, as also the vast expatriate working-class Indians based abroad. The Maoist parties of Nepal and Banglā Desh have warmly hailed this historic unification. So have numerous communist parties from

around the world. Prominent amongst those who have hailed the unity are the Communist Party of the Philippines, Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist, The Worker's Party of Norway (AKP), the Worker's Party of Belgium, The World to Win News Service, and The Anti-Capitalist Alliance of New Zealand. Indian workers' organisations from the USA, Canada and the United Kingdom have also sent their revolutionary greetings for this merger. Revolution in India, with its vast populace of over one billion, is a hope not only for the peoples of India and South Asia but the entire world people — for, all realize that a vast country, the size of India, if freed from the chains of imperialism could have serious implications on the international alignment of people's forces, tilting the balance against the imperialists worldwide.

On the other hand the reactionaries are panic stricken. Ever since the merger was announced the major pillars of the Indian establishment have been going on a tirade against so-called left extremism. They have been saying day-in-and-day-out that it is now the biggest danger to the Indian state. The first to begin the tirade was the ex-home minister and the megalomaniacal fascist, Advani. The theme was soon picked up by all. The Defence Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, has been repeating that *left-wing extremism is as big a danger to internal security as sectarian and communal violence*. The National Security Adviser, M.K. Narayanan, has been shouting like a mad-man about the dangers of left-wing extremism, saying several times that *“left-wing extremism is the biggest threat confronting the Indian State”*. He even went so far as to say that they have ISI links — something no one believes and not even said by the rabid RSS fascists. This man was also the special security advisor to the Prime Minister and has been an expert in the suppression of communists since the early 1970s. Since the early days he is said to have studied both the Soviet Union and China thoroughly and also recent developments in the communist movement. The new CRPF chief said that naxalism had to be eradicated as they have links with the mafia. The hysteria continues apace. Even the US gangsters warned *“unless steps are taken against left-wing extremism, US investments to India could be affected”*.

Finally, on Feb.5<sup>th</sup> the Home Minister has said that they have proposed the setting up of a Unified Command in *“naxalite-affected States on the lines of J & K and Assam headed by the Chief Minister of the State and having senior officials of the CRPF and the State police in it”*. This de facto means suspension of civilian rule and turning these states over to the para-military. The states earmarked for such bitter medicine are: UP, Bihar, MP, Chattisgarh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Jharkhand, AP and West Bengal. This is over and above the special task force mooted for all states and the Indian Reserve Battallian being raised specifically for this purpose. Already the STF has tasted blood by murdering a top leader of the CPI(Maoist) in Karnataka — the State Committee Secretary of the CPI(Maoist), Comrade Saketh Rajan. All these fascist steps are being taken with the direct backing of the revisionist CPI/CPM that is propping up the present UPA government.

But not only these open reactionaries, the hidden ones — the revisionists — have become panic stricken with this unity. Most, particularly the CPI(ML)Liberation, has been hysterical against this unity, throwing all kinds of accusations at the new Party. Quite naturally, as they fear they will lose their very relevance. The formation of this party to lead the armed struggle for the freedom of our motherland will help draw clear lines of demarcation between revolution and revisionism. Those sitting on the fence will be forced to take a stand — they must either welcome this new party, even if they are not able to join it due to their limitations, or else they will oppose it (or remain silent) and slowly drift into the revisionist quagmire.

But, history has shown that no movement can be suppressed, no matter what the level of the repression, as long as there is a genuine proletarian party in the country armed with a revolutionary political line, organised deep within the masses, and built in a revolutionary style, which keeps armed struggle as the central point on its agenda. No doubt the formation of the CPI(Maoist) in the country will help fulfill this role. It is with this expectation that the oppressed masses of the country are looking at this new formation. There is a renewed hope that it will fulfill the aspirations, so often betrayed by many a traitor to the cause of revolution. ■■

## Maad People Celebrate Formation of CPI(Maoist)

*{Reports are coming in from all over the country of the enormous enthusiasm being generated by the oppressed people of the country on hearing the news of the merger between the MCCI and the PW and the formation of the CPI(Maoist). The formation of a united proletarian party in the country has aroused the hopes and aspirations of the entire people of the country, particularly those within the progressive camp, desiring change. Here we print a report from the Maad area of Bastar in the region of Dandakaranya. }*

It was Oct. 15<sup>th</sup> early morning. The cadres were going about their morning chores. As usual, simultaneously they were listening to the radio. Suddenly they heard news: "the PW and the MCCI have merged to form the CPI(Maoist)". There was euphoria throughout the camp. Instant celebrations began.

It is ironic, one of the most backward people in the country trying to assimilate the most forward ideology in the world. For over half a century of this so-called independence the people in the Maad were completely ignored and lived practically in an animal-state with no amenities; not even clothes. It was only once the Maoists came, that they have developed and been brought to civilization. Not only that, they are now seeking to develop themselves by acquiring modern knowledge and Marxism. Of course, in 1910 the Maad Adivasis had risen in revolt against the British exploiters in the "Mahan Bhoomkal" rebellion. Though brutally crushed then for want of proper leadership, today they are rising once again. So the importance of the formation of the CPI(Maoist) and the increased strength of the people's army, the PLGA, was not lost on them.

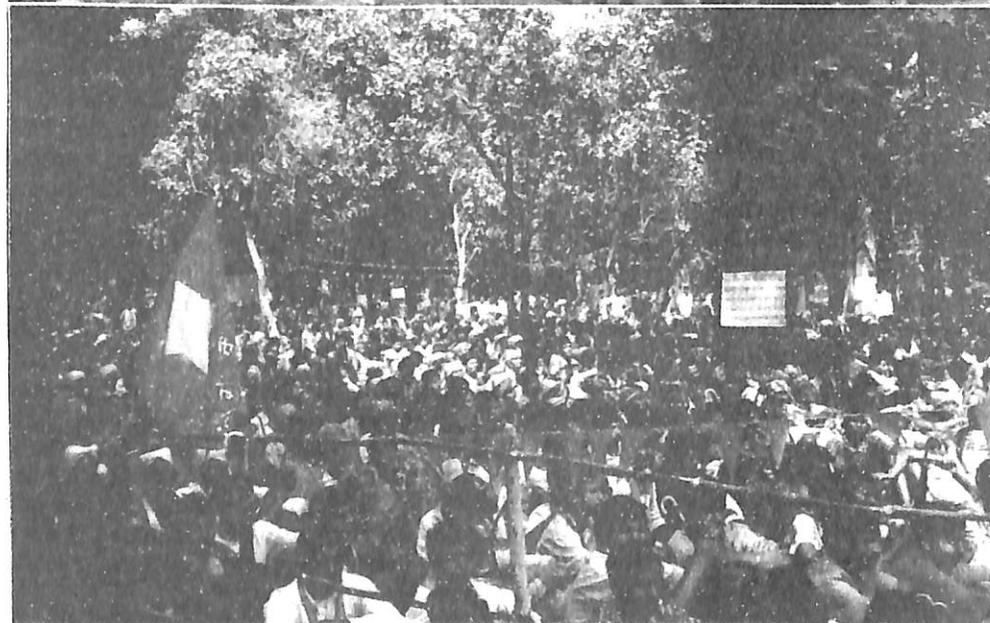
As soon as the announcement was heard a huge rally and meeting was organised in the Indravati Area on 19<sup>th</sup> Oct. 2004. Nearly 15,000 adivasi men, women and children turned out in their holiday best along with their traditional musical instruments. Speakers elaborated on the historic importance of the formation of the CPI(Maoist) and explained how it was bound to bring a leap in the Indian revolution. Since the name of both the Party and the army were new, slogans were repeated often to familiarize the people with the new names. The presence of the divisional team of the CNM in the rally electrified the atmosphere with their cultural performances. The highlights of these performances were the songs and dances of the Adivasi children aged between six and twelve.

In Daula area, as soon as the announcement was heard, they put up posters and banners in the villages and market place. Later when the call of the Central Committee (Provisional) was conveyed to celebrate the formation, during the week of Nov.7 to 13<sup>th</sup>, massive programmes were planned throughout

Maad division. Accordingly, big rallies were held in the Daula, Kohkametta, Paralkot and Indravati areas. A division level meeting was also held where people from all the areas converged for the celebrations. In total 12 meetings were held in which about 50 thousand people participated. Pamphlets were distributed and banners, posters were put up in large numbers in all the villages, market places and nearby towns. All these programmes ensured that the message of the campaign reached each corner of the Maad division and also the nearby towns.

The divisional CNM wrote a song for the occasion and hundreds of CNM team members gave performances in these meetings. They had red ribbons on which "CPI(Maoist) zindabad" and "PLGA zindabad" was written, which conveyed the message in a poignant manner.

Numerous journalists came and covered the events in a big way by giving photos, reports and interviews in the front pages of the local papers, which helped convey the message to the general masses of Chattisgarh. ■ ■



# Hail the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Initiation of People's War in Nepal! Down with the Monarchy!!

*(Based on Excerpts of information downloaded from the internet)*

February 13<sup>th</sup> of this year has a specific significance for the people of Nepal. It is the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the initiation of Peoples' War in the country under the leadership of the CPN(Maoists).

On this day ten years back the Nepalese stood up against 236 years of autocratic feudal rule of the monarchy with a great vision to free Nepal from all kinds of feudal and imperialist shackles of oppression, plunder and humiliation. Thousands of the best sons and daughters of Nepal have laid down their lives and attained martyrdom in the great process of the transformation of Nepal into a truly democratic republic.

The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) together with its Peoples' Liberation Army, has freed vast tracts of the country from the brutal rule of the king and his hangers on. The overwhelming majority of the Nepali people are actively involved in this revolutionary struggle to free the country of exploitation of man by man. Caste, religious, gender and regional domination and discrimination have to a large extent been eradicated in over 70% of Nepal that are under Maoist rule. Over the last few months, ever since the party has taken to the strategic offensive, there have been consistent attacks on the RNA (Royal Nepal Army). Also thousands of new recruits have gone for political training in the Maoist Base Areas (reported in the media as kidnaps of 1000 students and teachers!) and the party and people's army has been coming closer and closer to the heart of Monarchical power at Katmandu. Bandh calls, often for a week at a stretch, have continuously paralysed the country.

But, just as the people's forces were awaiting this historic tenth anniversary the genocidal King, Gyanendra, resorted to a political coup d'etat on Feb.1<sup>st</sup>, clamping an Emergency on the country and arresting the entire parliamentary political establishment. This was immediately after the call on Jan.31<sup>st</sup> by the CPN(Maoist) Central Committee for a three-day transport blockade on February 3, a two-day general strike on February 14 and 15 and an indefinite blockade of 16 industries starting February 22, to mark the anniversary of the people's war. The groups supporting the strike include the All Nepal Trade Union Federation-Revolutionary and the All Nepal National Free Student Union-Revolutionary. The Maoists said the strikes are being called after the government failed to meet

demands such as stopping labeling activists as terrorists and providing a list of missing colleagues believed to be held under summary detention. Over the last year the tempo of the peoples' movement, both armed and unarmed, for the setting up of a democratic republic has been gradually gaining momentum. In the urban areas it has taken the form of a mass upsurge. In the rural areas it has taken an armed form. The objective and subjective conditions born out of the great People's War forced the Gyanendra clique to come out openly by removing the stooges of different parliamentary parties.

The most notable political development in the last one year was the students' and youths' uprising against the monarchy as well as against the political stands taken by the parties they are affiliated to. Three years back when the internal and external reactionary forces eliminated King Birendra, the major political parties were lobbying for power-sharing with the palace. Much to their dismay, they were ignored by the palace which was thirsty for absolute power. Thereafter, these parliamentary parties were forced to come out in the street and express their wrath. It should be mentioned that the parliament was dissolved by that time.

But for the first time in the history of the political parties, youths in general and students in particular openly championed the cause of the Republican dispensation out-rightly defying their parties to which they were affiliated. Consequently, a radical section of the office-bearers of those parties made an attempt to uphold the just demands raised by the youth and the students. And in no time they got support from the majority of the rank and file as well as from the general mass of people. Thus, the bell of danger started ringing in the palace. Its echo, naturally, reached New Delhi and Washington D.C. too. **The above mentioned students' uprising gained momentum from June 2004.**

Together with this, workers' actions were also organized all over Nepal. The *Akhil Nepal Trade Union Mahasangh (Krantikari)* published a 11-point programme for the private and government owned factories and industries and demanded that they be implemented within a time frame. The 11-points had two dimensions — political and economic; the former demanding the release of their carders and the latter aiming at the

elevation of their working conditions. Following the scornful attitude of the ruling class towards their demands, the ANTUM (K) called an indefinite strike in selected industries owned by 'King' Gyanendra and other foreign MNCs. Instead of fulfilling the demands, the government tried to suppress it with repressive measures. The *Akhil Nepal Trade Union Mahasangh (K)*, then, announced a blockade of Kathmandu. The arrow hit the bull's eye. US, UK, India, France and Germany called for an emergency meeting and a joint statement was issued urging the CPN (Maoist) to remove this blockade. Some observers took this as a rehearsal for the final capturing of the capital.

In the meantime, some daring military attacks targeting the police and army posts took place in the Kathmandu valley itself besides the countryside which is already under the control of the New Power. These successful military strikes also acted to make the palace desperately attempt to crush the CPN (Maoist) using the maximum of brutality. In order to do that, he removed the buffer that he himself had created. This buffer, it should be mentioned, had always been a fake one and was never real, as it is often mistaken to be.

This process of polarization in the line of CPN (Maoist) and the shift to the strategic offensive was alarming for this coward clique led by Gyanendra who was always guilt-conscious for the heinous crimes they have committed against the people and against King Birendra's family.

The fascist King suspended several provisions of the Constitution, including the freedom of the press, speech and expression, the freedom to assemble peacefully, the right to privacy and the right against preventive detention. Even his own puppet Prime Minister and the deputy Prime Minister, the UML chief, Madhav Kumar Nepal, were put under house arrest. This is ironic as just a fortnight earlier these stooges had passed an additional \$18 million (an increase of 9%) in the military budget to crush the Maoists. He appointed a puppet ministry of 10, which included the former UML leader, Radhakrishna Mainali.

All parliamentarians who could be traced were arrested, the airport was closed, telephone lines and cell/internet connections were cut, the radio was told to only broadcast entertainment and no news, and the military took over all key centres of government. The press was gagged; all

editors were told to fall in line and the military was stationed at all press offices checking all the news being printed. Heavily armed soldiers were posted at the office of Kantipur, the largest selling daily in Nepal. The military also were stationed at the offices of Internet Service Providers to prevent access to the internet. And as the days passed, brutalities increased. The Sydney Morning Herald has quoted the Nepalese Bar Association's human rights project as saying that accusations of abuse and detention from all corners of the country have emerged. For example, at Pokhara in Western Nepal, security forces went into the Prithvi Narayan University and took 200 students into custody. When 59 students were released the next afternoon, after the university's campus chief intervened on their behalf, they claimed that they had suffered extreme torture.

Also on Feb.9<sup>th</sup> the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) reported that both the President and Secretary of the Federation of Nepalese Journalists (FNJ) had been arrested. The President, Mr. Dahal, was arrested as he was entering the UN office in Katmandu trying to seek asylum. The secretary, Mr. Nisthuri, was arrested from his residence. Both had vehemently condemned the Royal coup. The IFJ also reported that the BBC representative, K.C.Netra, has disappeared after being called to the Army barracks in Nepalganj.

The approach of the genocidal king is to detain the parliamentary opposition and to torture and kill Maoists or their sympathizers. Thousands have been detained and there is no trace of large numbers as all communications have been cut. Many of the parliamentary opposition have fled to India, others have gone underground.



### Indian Expansionists, Hands off Nepal

Immediately after the coup most countries except China condemned the action of the King. India too initially condemned the action, not from the perspective of democracy or an attack on it, but from the approach that this step may not be conducive to the ruthless crushing of the Maoists, whose reach is sweeping every corner of the country. The US too has a similar approach. By the time the contacts were revived with the new regime the Indian authorities were saying as much openly. On Feb.9<sup>th</sup>, at Bangalore the Defence Minister, Pranab Mukherjee said: "*Because of the porous border, there is a threat perception that once the Maoists exert more influence in Nepal, there will be an impact here. Our policy will be keeping*

*this in view..... We have a long-standing relationship with the RNA. That relationship stands*". The fact of the matter is that the talk of a threat to the internal security of India is a hoax; the reality is that the Indian ruling classes have huge economic interests in Nepal, and it is this that they want to secure. Traditionally the rulers of Nepal have always sought to play off the Chinese rulers to bargain for additional crumbs from the Indians. But Gyanendra himself has huge economic interests in India.

The Indian rulers, whether the BJP or the Congress, together with the US, have been the main external force acting to suppress the peoples movement in Nepal being led by the Maoists and propping up the Monarchy. Over the past three years they have provided Rs.450 crores of military aid to the Nepalese king. India has supplied huge quantities of automatic rifles, machine guns, mortars, mines and mine protected vehicles at concessional rates. More of the same was also planned. In particular New Delhi wanted the Nepal army to go on aggressive patrolling in rural areas and secure the Biratganj industrial zone and lines of communication. But, much to India's displeasure, this did not happen. India was also going to launch a pilot project to modernise the Nepalese police with special focus on counter-insurgency capabilities.

In fact just 10 days before the coup d'etat **Interior ministry officials from India and Nepal signed an extradition agreement which will now allow for the deportation of incarcerated Maoists arrested in India.** The treaty was signed at the end of two days of talks between home secretaries of the two countries in Delhi. A

### Revisionism turns Full Circle — Falls at the Feet of the Monarchy

Deuba was appointed again in June last year after the king's pro-royalist nominees, Lokendra Bahadur Chand and Surya Bahadur Thapa, failed to make progress in resolving the Maoist crisis. When the King's party could not effectively deal with the Maoists the King sort to ally all the parliamentary formations in a joint front against the Maoists. So, when Deuba was reappointed, he was asked by the king to form a government by trying to get into fold as many political parties as possible, restore peace in the country and start the process of holding general elections by March 2005. But, the largest political party in the dissolved parliament, the Nepali Congress, refused to co-operate. Some other smaller parties also cold-shouldered him. However, an unlikely combination, the right-wing National Democratic Party and the so-called left Nepal Communist Party (United Marxist-Leninist) and another small party decided to join the government. The extent to which the revisionists can go was clearly apparent from this step of total capitulation before the Monarchy.

joint communique giving details of the treaty was issued around Jan. 20, 2005.

## Maoist Offensive

Three days after the coup the Maoist called three-day Nepal bandh came into force. The call had been given before the coup. From Feb. 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> most of Nepal was paralysed. The Maoists have three major military commands: the Western, Eastern and Central with thousands of guerrilla fighters under their control. In addition the militia goes into lakhs. The masses have been effectively mobilised for the people's war. The media themselves recognise that the bulk of rural Nepal is in the hand of the Maoists.

It is they who hold the initiative in any military action. Maoist rebels, fighting to overthrow the monarchy, have organized frequent road blockades in the past four months causing fuel and food costs to soar in the cities. It is said that the main road from Katmandu to China has been blocked by the guerrillas. Besides, it is said that the major road artery of Nepal — the Mahendra raj marg, which runs across Nepal from West to East — is also in the control of the Maoists. Ironically this road was built by India. A report in the *Hindustan Times* (Feb. 3<sup>rd</sup>) says: "Besides, the Maoists have formed a nucleus unit of Nepalese speaking people displaced from Bhutan and living in the UNHCR-run camps situated close to the Eastern end of the highway. Further north in Falametar, the rebels ambushed an army patrol from Bhetetar. Stories of similar raids can be heard in neighbouring districts of Ilam. Transport operators complain that they cannot drive in Ilam without paying road tax to the Maoist parallel government.

*Residents speak of constant digging of bunkers in villages which some say is part of Maoist's proposed tunnel warfare". On Jan 20<sup>th</sup> over 30 Nepalese troops and police were killed by Maoist guerrillas in the east of the kingdom, the army said. The actual toll was in fact much higher.*

Opposing the Royal takeover, the Chairman of the CPN(Maoist), Com. Prachanda, called on all parties and civic society to join hands to overthrow the feudal autocracy. He also called upon the RNA ranks to revolt against the king.

In a statement issued on Feb. 1<sup>st</sup> com. Prachanda said: *The coterie of fratricidal, genocidal, corrupted and national betrayer Gyanendra Shahi, who staged the infamous Narayanahi Massacre under a deliberate design of imposing medieval feudal autocracy against the great Nepalese people — who are advancing for full democracy i.e. a republican system — has finally exposed its ugly face before the masses. Gyanendra Shahi, through his so-called royal proclamation at 10 O'clock this morning, is not only meagerly exercising to slander the entire parliamentary political parties and civil society, but also is exhibiting feudal fascist brutality of blood-bathe against the country and the masses. To talk of nationalism, democracy, patriotism and sovereignty by the one, who is a most infamous feudal clique in corruption, smuggling, killings and terror, cannot be anything other than a surprising show against Nepal and the Nepalese people.* The statement further said "The flame of the People's War will go on blazing till the so-called Royal Army that has been defeated in all the fronts with the great People's Liberation Army, under the

*leadership of our Party, is dissolved and the arms are surrendered to the People's Liberation Army. We especially appeal to the entire jawans and officers working under the so-called Royal Army to defy the so-called royal proclamation, which has come in the form of foreign reaction against the country and people, revolt from there and join unitedly with the People's Liberation Army in the great task of protecting own parents, brothers and sisters. Not the feudal clique of Gyanendra Shahi but the great Nepalese people will safeguard Nepalese independence and sovereignty, and geographical integrity."*

Then again on Feb. 4<sup>th</sup> after the successful completion of the 3-day Nepal Bandh against the Royal coup, Com Prachanda appealed: *On this crucial turning point of decisive battle between the autocracy and the republic, it is a historical necessity for all the pro-people political forces, civil society, intellectual community and all levels and spheres of people to advance united in this direction. With full responsibility and keeping to this historic necessity, our party has already called for the united front against the feudal autocracy. In order to make the broad united front effective, our Party appeals through this statement to the entire parliamentary Parties to form united fronts both at the central and local level and advance the movement ahead. Our party heartily appeals to all those pro-people's forces through this statement, to come forward to forge the united front both at the local and central level, as wherever and whatever becomes possible. Committed to the keen interest of the country and people, our Party humbly appeals to all pro-people forces, to come forward by all means by forging a united front above and below wherever and whatever is possible, by casting away their mutual misunderstandings, to create storms of movement against the autocracy. We would also like to clarify to all those concerned that we are utterly ready for the necessary sacrifice and flexibility from our side for this purpose.*

The King has been putting forward the proposal of talks with the Maoists to try and stab the movement in the back. The Maoists have rejected the fake offer. The fact that the genocidal king is enhancing repression not only on Maoists but also on sections of the parliamentary opposition makes all pretenses of talks ridiculous. On the contrary the Maoists have called to extend the Feb. 13<sup>th</sup> bandh into an indefinite strike for the overthrow of the monarchy. ■ ■



# On December 24, 2004, Maoists in China Get Three Year Prison Sentences for Leafleting

*{posted on the Monthly Review website}*

## A Report on the Case of the Zhengzhou Four

*John Mage*

When liberal writers Liu Xiaobo and Yu Jie were recently (and briefly) detained by Chinese police, there was a world wide chorus of denunciation. The liberal writers' endorsement of the U.S. aggression in Iraq made them even more heroic in the eyes of the Murdoch-dominated press. Not surprisingly, there has been no coverage whatsoever of a more egregious case of crackdown on dissent — because it is dissent from the left.

On December 21, 2004, four Maoists were tried in Zhengzhou for having handed out leaflets that denounced the restoration of capitalism in China and called for a return to the "socialist road." The leaflets had been distributed in a public park in the City of Zhengzhou on the occasion of the 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Chairman Mao Zedong. Two of the defendants, Zhang Zhengyao, 56, and Zhang Ruquan, 69, were both found guilty of libel, and each given a three-year prison sentence on December 24, 2004. The case has since generated a lot of expressions of solidarity in leftist circles within China. Postings to a leading leftist website in China in the last few days have set out an abridged translation of the incriminating leaflet, the commemorative piece titled "*Mao Zedong forever our leader,*" plus a commentary whose author went to Zhengzhou to show solidarity on the day of the trial on December 21. These pieces have been translated by our comrades at the China Study Group, who have asked that we post them here at the MR website. We are glad to do so, believing that a strong case can be made that the story of the left opposition inside China is the most important and least covered in the world.

### A Brief Account of the Case

In recent years, on the anniversary of Mao's passing on September 9, many people in Zhengzhou would gather before Mao's statue in the Zijinshan Square, to pay tribute to Mao's memory by laying wreaths or reciting poems. Each year there would be a massive police presence, which inevitably would lead to incidents of confrontation and arrest.

This year a crowd again gathered on September 9; the event was relatively peaceful, as no police was dispatched to forcefully disperse the crowd. A local

resident, Mr. Zhang Zhengyao, however, was taken into custody by plainclothes agents around 10:00 am, apparently because he was distributing leaflets whose contents were judged inflammatory or subversive in nature. What Zhang handed out were copies of a commemorative piece, titled *Mao Forever Our Leader*, specifically written for this occasion. On September 10, 1:00 A.M., Zhengzhou City Police took Zhang Zhengyao in handcuffs back to his apartment to conduct a search; they took away his computer, the remaining copies of the commemorative piece and other documents. Three other persons were implicated in connection with this case: Mr. Wang Zhanqing has been detained for allegedly arranging the printing of the leaflets through an acquaintance in a printer's shop; Zhang Ruquan and Ms. Ge Liying, wife of Zhang Zhengyao, were placed under surveillance; Zhang allegedly had penned the commemorative piece at the request of Zhang Zhengyao, and Ms. Ge was said to have posted it on an internet Maoist website, Mao Zedong Flag.

The incident went pretty much unnoticed, even among China's left circles. Zhengzhou has acquired a reputation as a hotbed of radical Maoism. It has seen some of the most militant labor protests and repeated clashes with police over Mao anniversary in recent years. Many activists there had experienced brief detentions, many more than once. This incident and related arrests were not considered a big deal, especially since Hu Jintao was believed to be more tolerant to dissent coming from the left. The authorities, however, decided to deal with them this time by the 'force of Law'. A trial was originally scheduled for December 14, the date later changed to December 21; initial charges of state subversion against them had been dropped; instead, they are being charged with a lesser crime: deliberately spreading falsehoods to damage other's reputation, and undermining social order and national interests. The news began to spread on left-leaning websites about the pending trial; many sites, when reporting on the case, also published the entire text of the commemorative piece. It is now becoming a sort of cause celebre on China's radical left. On December 21, the scheduled trial did take place, albeit in a closed session, and not open to public, as originally announced. Many people actually went on that day, some from other parts of China, to

attend the trial as an expression of solidarity, but were unable to get in. Only two defendants, Zhang Zhengyao and Zhang Ruquan were tried that day; both were found guilty, and each given three years on Dec. 24. The other two's trial date is yet to be set.

### What Kind of Signal Is This?

*{A commentary on the trial of Maoists in Zhengzhou — This report is posted on the website of the book-store/political-salon Utopia. Penned by Shao Jingyan}*

Today was an unusually cold day for the City of Zhengzhou, it snowed heavily, contrary to weather forecasts. But despite the daunting weather conditions, many people have come to the city of Zhengzhou, from all over the country, in a spontaneous response to the news of the trial of Maoists in Zhengzhou.

They come here, without orchestration or an agreed plan, but rather, out of the deepest sense of loyalty to a socialist republic, and most profound respect and love for their deceased leader and teacher, Chairman Mao Zedong, united by a common concern for justice, and a perception that what is at stake with this case is the fate of the socialist republic and of the people. They know that the outcome of this trial will speak volumes about the attitude held by the authorities of the city of Zhengzhou toward the banner and legacy of Mao Zedong. This case is a public litmus test for the Zhengzhou authorities: Are they sincerely following the instructions of our party center regarding the imperative need to "*hold high at all times the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought*"? The defendants in this case, Mr. Zhang Zhengyao, and other workers, have been arrested for no crime whatsoever other than an act in honor of the memory of Chairman Mao. As their trial began today, the informed people all over the world will be watching. Supporters in a position to do so have traveled to Zhengzhou to express solidarity. Many older workers in Zhengzhou braced the heavy snow to go to the court if only just to see these Maoist defendants in person. The trial held today, Dec. 21, only days from the 111<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Mao's birthday on Dec. 26, was supposed to be a public proceeding, but the intermediate court of Zhengzhou city without advanced notice had decided to hold it in close

## Mao Zedong Forever Our Leader!

— A statement in commemoration of the 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the passing of Mao Zedong

28 years have elapsed, since Chairman Mao left us. In the past 28 years, the reactionary forces headed by capitalist roaders within our Party have usurped the state and Party powers and divided up state assets among themselves. Meanwhile, they have been spewing deep-seated hatred and venom against Mao Zedong and his socialist legacy. They have done their utmost to attack and slander Mao Zedong, by the use of such tactics as concocting Party resolutions, issuing official documents or reports, and publishing articles and editorials in official news media; moreover, in their attempt to smear Mao Zedong, they have resorted to such low blows as "Democracy Wall" posters, rumors and innuendos, personal memoirs and interviews with foreign journalists.

But the great majority of Chinese people, accounting for more than 95% of the population, and in particular workers and the peasants will always stand by the side of Mao Zedong. Under Mao Zedong's leadership, to serve the people wholeheartedly was set out as the fundamental precept guiding the work of the Party, the government and the army. He had repeatedly urged all Party members and all the cadres always to take the mass line and stand on the side of 95% of the people; he emphatically stated that: "To take the mass line is a fundamental principle of Marxism." Throughout his life, he had fought for the liberation of the people, until his last breath.

From their direct experience, the Chinese people realized that Mao Zedong and they themselves were intimately bound together, in good times and bad, in victory and defeat: with Mao Zedong as their leader, Chinese people were the masters of the country, and enjoyed inviolable democratic rights. They lived a happy life, confident, optimistic and reassured of ever better days ahead. But after Mao Zedong passed away, the working class in China was knocked down overnight by the bourgeoisie; they are no longer the masters of their own country.

In this society of "Socialism with Chinese characteristics," money means power and social status. The wealth polarization has driven working people into abject poverty; as a result, they have lost their social status and all the rights they had enjoyed previously. They are no longer dignified socialist laborers; instead, they are forced to sell their labor power as commodities for survival: they have become tools that can be bought freely by the capitalists. Part of the working people work for so-called state-owned enterprises, but the term 'state-owned' actually means capitalist-owned because the entire state is owned by the

capitalist class. The laborers are no longer working for themselves; they are working to create surplus value for the capitalist class. Another part of working people have in effect become slaves for large and small capitalists. They suffer from even more cruel exploitation and oppression. In addition, hundreds of millions of workers and peasants have been constantly subjected to layoffs, and forced migration, living from hand to mouth, always on the march, looking for jobs, and struggling for mere survival. Labor has become the only means for the survival of themselves and their families.

Work is no longer a guaranteed right. As a result of the commercialization of education, health care, cultural activities, sports and legal recourse, they have been in effect deprived of the right to send their children to school, access to health care, the right to pension and other rights associated with old age, the right to participate in cultural, recreational and sports activities; and even the right to legal protection. Moreover, as a result of the waste of resources and environmental pollution caused directly by the rapacious development pursued by the capitalist class, the working people have even lost their right to healthy food, clean water and fresh air. Poverty has brought them untold suffering!

A line has thus been clearly drawn. Mao Zedong is the leader of the Chinese working class; he is the leader of over 95% of the Chinese people. The imperialist, revisionists and bourgeoisie and all the reactionary forces within and outside of China oppose Mao Zedong and hate him, while the people love him. The longer he has left this world, the more vehemently his enemies oppose him, the more profoundly, unshakably, sincerely and passionately do people love him. It is indeed laughable for those who oppose Mao Zedong and stand against the people to pronounce a verdict on Mao Zedong, which of course is categorically rejected by the people. The "Mao Zedong fever" that has occurred repeatedly in China over these years have eloquently refuted the two official "resolutions" purporting to pronounce a verdict on Mao Zedong. They are unacceptable to the Chinese people and to the people of the world.

Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin and the like call themselves the core, or chief architect of China's reforms, or the proud author of the "Theory of the Three Represents"; a close look at their performances and deeds will lead to the conclusion that they only represent the interests of imperialism, and the interests of the bourgeoisie. The historical practice and stark social realities of the past 28 years have opened our eyes and raised our class consciousness; the bourgeois elements

within our Party is the head and the backbone of the Chinese bourgeois class.

These are extremely selfish persons, stubbornly pursuing the capitalist road. They are much more sinister, ruthless, greedy, and devious than an average capitalist outside the Party.

Just take a look at what has transpired in a relatively short period of twenty plus years: the large and small capitalist-roaders in the Party and their family members have all become millionaires and even billionaires; who can deny that all their talks about socialism, and the "Three Represents", are outright lies. What they really want is capitalism, because only capitalism will bring them the greatest benefit. They are the enemies of socialism and the people.

We, however, must not forget that the CCP after all is a Party that had been founded and led by Mao Zedong, and one with a long revolutionary tradition. It is a Party that had carried resolute struggle against Khrushchev's revisionism, and had been tempered by the Cultural Revolution. And consequently, just as there are capitalist-roaders in the Party, there are certainly socialist-roaders in the Party as well, particularly at the grassroots level. Among the rank and file Party members and low-level cadres, the overwhelming majority are resentful of revisionist leaders within the party. They wish to see the Party change its current line and to revert to the socialist road. Some of them cannot tolerate it any more. They have stepped out to openly challenge the current leadership, but more people still find it safe for themselves or for their families not to speak their minds. We are convinced, along with the deepening of the revisionist clique's push for privatization, the class contradictions in China are bound to become more acute; and the masses will certainly intensify their struggle on ever wider scales. When development of contradictions and mass struggles nationwide reach a climax, the people within the Party, the government and the army who have understood the true nature of revisionism will wage a resolute struggle against it, and will rejoin the proletarian class ranks to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong and to resume the fight for socialism in China. As long as classes and the class struggle still exist in our world, Mao Zedong will remain alive, forever the leader of the oppressed and exploited classes. As the entire history of China's revolution has repeatedly shown, as long as the revolutionary people follow steadfastly the guidance of Mao Zedong, their struggle will surely advance from victories to victories. The struggle of the people is the unexhaustible source of our confidence and power.

session. The charge was also changed from 'subverting state power' to 'libel'.

People kept waiting and waiting outside of the court in a state of suspended animation; finally, the lawyer came to give a brief account. In particular, the people learned, Mr. Zhañg Ruquan had made a rousing statement, resolutely refuting the charge made against him and declaring, in conclusion, "I feel immensely proud of myself for being arrested for honoring the memory of Mao Zedong." When Zhang

Zhengyao was put into a police vehicle, to be whisked away, the crowd chanted aloud:

"Justice will be done"; "Truth will prevail!"; "Solidarity!" The police car was gone. But people still lingered on, voicing their indignation:

Who are the real criminals that are daily breaking the laws with impunity? Who is it on earth that are trampling the constitution underfoot? Why are they afraid of people paying tribute to Mao's memory? One person said angrily: these

evil, corrupt officials are lording over us and having a ball for now, but sooner or later people will get even with them! On September 9, an old worker was arrested before Mao's statue for an act in commemoration of the 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Mao's passing; On Dec. 21, a few days before Mao's 111<sup>th</sup> birthday anniversary, he and others were tried in secrecy. What kind of signal is this?

*Continued from page 11*

this case are poor persons who were picked up from among nearly a thousand peasants that had gathered in retaliatory protest against repeated acts of murder, arson, loot and rape let loose by the private army of landlords with the connivance of the local administration.

These peasant activists are part of the revolutionary masses who are waging a bold and relentless struggle against exploitation, casteism and communalism as part of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggles. They inspired the peasants

enmasse to rise above caste and communal considerations and mobilized them in the struggle against the divisive policies of the jotedars and mahajans.

**Interestingly the court which couldn't find enough evidence against the industrialists who hired killers to eliminate Shankar Guha Niyogi had found sufficient proof of involvement of these five persons from the mass of hundreds of people.**

In this exploitative and unjust judicial system, the peasant activists and revolutionaries are treated as criminals and murderers and sent to the gallows.

Whereas those poor peasants of the oppressed castes whose names figure in the FIR are portrayed as killers, those who are known anti-socials roam about freely, as do the capitalists who engage mercenaries to eliminate the trade union leaders. This is how the 'independent' and 'impartial' judiciary works in our country — to protect the interests of the poor peasants of the oppressed castes and classes against the ruling classes. True justice is in fact being meted out only in the people's courts in areas of revolutionary influence.

*Continued from page 13*

2004, has developed up to the point that a transition to the working-class offensive on a broad scale has been initiated. Nevertheless, we are still in a process of ferment on the basis of a relative calm, but the transition to a revolutionary ferment is being prepared rapidly.

### How is the fascist threat to be evaluated presently?

It is obvious that the failure of the proceedings to ban the NPD has encouraged the neo-fascists. In the elections in the states of Saxony and Brandenburg, the NPD and DVU have even won seats in the state parliaments. This can mainly be attributed to the fact that the media have built

up the neo-fascists as "*protest parties against the Hartz IV laws*". According to a poll conducted by *Infratest*, 84 per cent of the voters in Saxony voted for a neo-fascist party due to a supposed protest against Hartz IV and the government.

The neo-fascists are presenting themselves under the guise of an anti-capitalist image, with which they disguise their extreme hostility towards the working class. Social-fascist demagoguery borrowed from Hitler-fascism is at the center of their efforts to win new supporters. Actually, they are driving a wedge into the working class movement with their division between foreign and German people and they are being supported by the monopolies as a spearhead against revolutionary movements and workers' struggles. This is con-

nected to the attempt to forge a neo-fascist bloc. In view of the next general elections, this merger of NPD, DVU and some smaller neo-fascist terror organizations should not be underestimated.

For this reason, it is necessary that the antifascist struggle becomes a task of the day for MLPD and mainly for its youth league Rebell, as well as for the youth movement. The anti-fascist attitude of the people in Germany is still very pronounced on the grounds of their painful experience with the terror of Hitler-fascism.

*The working-class strikes at Bosch, Siemens, DaimlerChrysler and Opel, as well as the Monday demonstrations and the March on Berlin on October 3<sup>rd</sup> are examples of the growing tide of the working class struggle in Germany.*

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# Acquittal for the Murderers of Niyogi; Gallows for Poor Peasants of Bihar — A Travesty of Justice

*Krishna*

With the intensification of the people's struggles and deepening of the crisis for the ruling classes, the state machinery and its various organs are unable to continue with their impartial or neutral masks and their anti-people and pro-ruling class character is gradually coming out ever more crudely. Shedding their 'democratic' and 'neutral' appearance they are openly coming in defence of their class interests. One such institution is the judiciary which is being projected by the ruling classes as an independent and neutral institution that can protect the rights of the people. While all the other organs of the state are already exposed we are seeing the increased role of the judiciary to give legitimacy to the rule of the exploitative ruling classes. The recent judgments by the highest court in the country will clearly tell us whom it is defending.

On January 20<sup>th</sup>, in the Shankar Guha Niyogi case, the Supreme Court acquitted all the accused except Paltan Malla who pulled the trigger to kill Niyogi while he was sleeping in his house on September 27, 14 years ago. The apex court has given life imprisonment to Mallah and acquitted Moolchand Sha, Gyan Prakash Mishra, Avdresh Rai, Abhay Kumar Singh and Chandrakant Sha. It is a well established fact that all these accused are the powerful persons linked to industries such as Simplex, Kedia Distilleries, and the Bhilai Engineering Corporation. The motive behind this killing is also very plain and simple. It was his fight for the workers rights, notwithstanding his limitations, in the Bhilai region. The workers movement, then organized by Niyogi, was a threat to these local industrialists, hitting at their huge profits extracted from the ultra-cheap labour that made their production costs low. It is a serious blow to the family members, fellow activists of Niyogi and to all those who were patiently waiting for the last fourteen years hoping that justice would be done and the murders would be punished. They had so much faith in this judiciary that they kept the ashes of Niyogi to be immersed only after the culprits were punished. This judgement, like the numerous others before it, is yet another example showing that the struggling people cannot expect even an iota of justice from this judicial system.

In spite of his reformist methods of organizing workers and his deep-rooted economism, Shankar Guha Niyogi, through his CMM had built a strong workers union in the Chattisgarh area. He had organized

the workers in this area and led some militant struggles against the industrialists who were earning massive wealth by exploiting these tribal workers. The issues the CMM had taken up ranged from the fight for basic facilities like water and sanitation to tree plantation drives and campaigns against deforestation. In 1990, it started a major agitation demanding living wages and regularization of workers working on a contractual basis in the 120 medium and small-scale industrial units in this Bhilai region.

The profit minded industrialists thriving in this area didn't take these movements lightly and there were continuous attacks on the CMM activists to suppress the movement. Women workers were molested and threatened with rape, and many activists, including Niyogi received death threats. In early September 1991, a delegation of the CMM workers met the President of India and presented him with a memorandum signed by 50,000 workers protesting the attacks. It indicated a threat to him and other union leaders by industrialists in this area. Nothing was done. Finally on the night of September 27 1991, Shankar Guha Niyogi was shot dead as he lay asleep in his house.

The legal battle to punish the culprits went through many ups and downs. The sessions Judge found enough evidence against all the accused and the trial court sentenced them with the death penalty or life term and a fine of Rs 10 lakh each. In a reversal of judgment, the Madhya Pradesh High Court gave its judgment acquitting all the accused. And in the final judgment, after 14 years, the apex court ordered the life sentence only for one, the hired assassin Paltan Mallah, acquitting the industrialists who were, in fact, the main culprits that organised the murder.

**In contrast, in another judgment, the Supreme Court has confirmed the death penalty to four poor farmers from Bihar holding them responsible for the retaliation action by the exploited masses against the oppression and violence unleashed on them by the exploitative feudal classes through their privately organized armies in connivance with the state administration. They are Veer Kunwar Paswan, Krishna Mochi, Dharu Sinh and Nanhe Lal are convicted for the killings at Bara village in Gaya district of Bihar in which 35 men belonging to upper caste families were killed. In another case the Supreme Court also confirmed the death penalty on Shobhit Chamar, a dalit landless labourer from Bhabua district. He is also**

accused in the killing of upper caste landowner. Are they criminals? Are they hired killers of Capitalists or Landlords or did they act to settle their personal scores? No they were neither! They are the heroes that have emerged from the ordinary masses. What they had done was not for their selfish interests but for society at large. Their real crime, in the eyes of the establishment, was their sympathy for the ongoing revolutionary movement.

The popular perception about Bihar is the images of Crime, Corruption, Caste wars and sensationalized criminal activities. Behind these popular perceptions there is a bitter class struggle for liberating not only Bihar but the entire country. The exploited masses are being organized under the leadership of revolutionary parties and are asserting their right for better life and livelihood. Shaken by this assertion of the exploited masses the landlords started organizing their private senas or armys to suppress the masses. These senas have been carrying out the most gruesome acts of violence against landless labourers and dalits. The massacres carried out by them became regular feature in the Bihar countryside. In Bihar-Jharkhand more than 200 massacres took place in which more than 1000 oppressed people have lost their lives. In all these massacres the state and the administration has not been a mere spectator, but provided all the logistic support to the landed mafia. In not even one killing have the landlords, or their henchmen, been senteced by the courts. In the socio-economic context, the people of Bihar lost complete faith in the established order and did not believe that social and economic justice could be given to them through the existing judicial system.

In boldly reacting to the lawless acts of feudal landlords aggravated by state indifference, the condemned mass leaders did nothing more than what men of a heroic mould down the ages have done to respond to the cry of the oppressed and anguished humanity for justice.

The Bara action in which the four farmers are facing the death penalty, occurred on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1992. More than thousand people took part in this action. This violent retaliation of the masses had its roots in social oppression, economic deprivation and political failure leading to a search for a political alternative. The judiciary ignored this social reality and adopted a very narrow legalistic approach to the whole problem. All the accused in

*Continued to page 10*

## Condemn Brutal Attack on Prof. Geelani

What Democracy is this? In the very heart of Delhi's plush colony, Vasant Kunj, at 9.00 pm on Feb.7<sup>th</sup> Professor S.A.R.Geelani is shot four times, from close range and the killers escape; supposedly without a trace. All suspect the hand of the Delhi police in the attempted murder, who claim they only heard of the incident from the press.

Geelani had just got out of his car near the flat of his lawyer, Nandita Haksar, who he was visiting in connection with his case. After being shot he managed to reach Haksar's house who rushed Geelani to AIIMS hospital. He was unconscious and was operated on as his intestine had been ruptured at ten places. The police threw an armed cordon around Geelani and did not even allow his wife to see him that night, until the press intervened.

Geelani had been sentenced to death by the trial court in the Dec.13<sup>th</sup> 2001 Parliament attack case. After 23 months of incarceration and torture in jail and the police station he was finally acquitted by the Delhi High Court. But the Delhi police will not sit quiet; they have challenged the acquittal in the Supreme Court. Also they have been systematically harassing him — threatening calls, systematic trailing, abuse by hoodlums while traveling to college, had all become part of the daily

life of Prof Geelani.

His wife said, with tears in her eyes and the young 9-years old son by her side, that "*While this is the first time that threats have taken such an ugly turn, we have been complaining about the bullying and the fear that we have been living under. In fact while we haven't made any formal complaint till now, when my husband went to Goa last year he was followed and then we made a formal protest, but nothing came out of the complaint. The threats continued and today we are here.*" Geelani's counsel, Ram Jethmalani, said his client had expressed apprehensions about the threat to his life from the Delhi Police as far back as March 2004. Arundhati Roy, Nandita Haksar and a large number of human rights activists have accused the Delhi police of masterminding the attack, and have demanded a judicial enquiry into the incident. Some claimed that "*the police have been trailing him ever since his acquittal. They were there after him all the time, but they were not there when the incident happened.*" Even while he was in jail numerous attacks had been made on his life — with blades, knives and even poisoning — by hoodlums instigated by the police.

On the very next day of the attack, hundreds gathered outside the Delhi Police Headquarters and submitted a memorandum to the Home Minister and the

Prime Minister. Those present were social activists, human rights and civil liberties activists, and large numbers of teachers and students. Some of the organisations represented were, PUDDR, PUCL, DUTA, a large number of renowned intellectuals, and teachers and students from JNU, Delhi University and Jamia Milia Islamia. They shouted anti-police slogans, putting the direct blame on the police. The memorandum submitted demanded an independent judicial inquiry into the attack. It also demanded a White Paper on the Parliamentary attack case and the institution of a high-level judicial inquiry into the illegal practices of the Delhi Police's Special Cell. DUTA (Delhi University Teachers' Association), at its General Body Meeting on Feb.11<sup>th</sup> called for a "University Bandh" on Feb.12<sup>th</sup> against the murderous attack on Prof. Geelani.

Today, as the country slips deeper and deeper into the arms of the imperialists, particularly the US, the country is being turned into a hell hole where no one is safe from the mafia state. To prop up its carpetbagger economic loot, criminalisation is there in all spheres of the establishment — business, politics and the state machinery. Safety can only be secured through a counter force that takes on this goonda raj.

## Life Sentence to 5 Innocent Adivasis in Maharashtra

On Oct. 20, 2004 the Courts awarded life sentence to 5 innocent peasants from the Bhamragadh tehsil of Gadchirolli district. They were implicated in a false case involving the death of one policeman. Of the five one is a widowed mother of two little children.

They have been implicated as Naxalites and were arrested under the earlier TADA. Though lapsed, the earlier cases continue. They were ordinary peasants picked up from the area after the firing at the Lohari police station in which one policeman was killed. They were all from poor peasant families leading their hand-to-mouth existence through agriculture. The two young daughters of the jailed Chainni Mucca Pullo are now as good as orphaned.

After the firing at the Lohari PS vast number of peasants of Bhamragard district were implicated in false cases and many had to go to far-away Nagpur for their cases, at huge expense. This took place as far back as 1992. In the process they have been reduced to extreme poverty having had to sell their entire farm animals to bear the court expenses. Many are in a state of starvation. **Actually in 1992 due to conflict within the police forces itself firing took place when one policeman was killed.** A similar incident took place in Bhamragadh Police Station in April 2002. That policeman was immediately transferred. These incidents occur due to the unrest amongst the ordinary policemen as a result of the autocratic and arbitrary functioning of the top police officials with their juniors. Now, to hide their own shortcomings the administration has implicated five innocent peasants.

It is, in fact, such acts of harassment of the poor peasants of any region that result in increasing support to the Naxalites. The people are bound to feel that to excruciating poverty, for which nothing has been done over the decades, is being added the harassment of the establishment. Quite naturally to them the Naxalites come as a hope for a better future. There is utmost need for the people of the country to oppose such inhumane actions which is often worse than what occurred during the British Raj.

# Rising Tide of the Working class Struggle in Germany

*[Extracts of a report sent from Germany by the MLPD]*

*In October 2004 the Opel-strike moved into the focus of public interest.*

The seven-day Opel-strike was a landmark development in the class struggle in Germany. It was the interim climax in the development of a growing number of workers in the struggle against the government and monopolies. This development had started on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003. A qualitative leap occurred at the peak of the Opel-strike. This became clear in the following essential elements:

- The Opel-workers combined the strike with blockades of the plant gates and an occupation of the plant. That was an important guarantee for its effectiveness in the entire General Motors production in Europe. The combination of these three forms of struggle expressed the higher development of the class consciousness of the workers, namely that only rigorous class-struggle against the international monopoly of General Motors can push through their interests.

- By linking up the Opel-strike with the nationwide Monday demonstration movement on October 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>, 2004, the demand to withdraw GM's horror-catalogue combined with the demand "*Down with Hartz IV – We are the people!*" This means that the struggle for daily demands and partial slogans against the monopolies and the government was conducted in an offensive way and that the economic struggle was combined with the political struggle.

- In the course of the seven days, the struggle of the Opel-workers developed into a mass struggle, in which finally a hundred thousand participants joined together and millions showed solidarity in the framework of a Europe-wide day of action. The militant and class-conscious spirit of Opel Bochum passed over to the masses.

- The Opel-strike was the present climax of a growing tendency to break through the framework of the existing trade-unions. That occurred on the basis of a growing rejection on the part of the workers of the policy of class collaboration of the right-wing trade union leadership with the monopolies and the Schroeder/Fischer-government.

- The struggle was explicitly conducted with the acceptance of responsibility being taken by the youth. The unity of young and old as the motor of the working-class offensive became a characteristic of the strike and of the mass

demonstrations on October 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> 2004.

- The strike of the Opel-workers called into question the societal organised system of petty-bourgeois thinking and taboos customary of trade union strikes were broken. Self-confident and resolute action of the fighting workers determined the course of events. The forms of proletarian democracy which the workers developed themselves during the strike, like the open microphone, the ballots over the continuation of the strike organised during the shifts, the responsibility taken over for strike-tasks by the production units etc., were suitable to quickly develop the class-consciousness of those in struggle and to retain the initiative at any point of time.

- The entire militant opposition with significant forces from the working-class movement, the youth movement, the militant women's movement and the international solidarity and aid movement agreed on actively supporting the struggle. It mobilised all the forces and so was able to contribute decisively to the success of the strike, but also to protect it against attacks from the corporate management or by the state power apparatus.

- Finally, the style and method of the strike and its objectives gained broad solidarity among the petty-bourgeois intermediate strata, which are themselves coming more and more into contradiction to ruling policy. That was demonstrated especially by the impact that the strike had on journalists and in their press coverage which has continued to express sympathy till today.

**Six weeks after the end of the strike, the results of the negotiations between the corporate leadership of GM and the works council leadership were presented. These results schedule a radical cutback of 9,500 jobs as well as a decrease in wages of at least 15 percent and further means of exploitation. Isn't this a slap in the face of the Opel-workers who were fighting so impressively in October?**

There is no doubt that with this result of the negotiations, the reformist trade union leadership and the leadership of the corporate works council have completely gone down on their knees in the face of the General Motors plans. As a "*service in return*", GM has given a vague declaration of intent to maintain all Opel production sites in Germany for the time being and to refrain from "*dismissals for operational reasons*". But these are lies and deceptions.

It was already clear that Opel can't

close down any production site because that would require a certain restructuring of the production structure in Europe and would take at least two years. It is just grotesque to maintain that they are supposedly not planning to "dismiss for operational reasons", because this option is tied to the prerequisite that the workers must voluntarily vacate 6,500 jobs until mid-January and enter an employment service company. If the workers do not leave voluntarily, the "arbitration office" will be called, which can then order dismissals for operational reasons.

Furthermore, massive cuts in wages are being planned and other achievements gained in struggle are going to be attacked. A narrow majority of the works council – and that makes the scandal perfect – agreed to these measures on December 13<sup>th</sup>, 2004. The cliché of the "avoidance of dismissals for operational reasons" that was taxed more than enough by the reformists in the last years was completely perverted in this foul compromise. The workers themselves are given the responsibility for the decision whether such dismissals for operational reasons will take place or not.

## How will the class struggle develop further?

One cannot say that with certainty, because whereas the class struggle is governed by laws which are based on the capitalistic wage system, its concrete development depends on many not foreseeable factors and influences. At the same time, there is no doubt that in the past ten years a lot has happened in the development of class consciousness.

In the relative calm of the class struggle, a mix of a process of ferment, of agitation, destabilization and rebellion has visibly come to light, which seems in its overall development to be irreversible with view to the current economic and political background.

Already in 1996, the class consciousness of the workers arose on a broad scale in connection with the mass strike of 1.1 million workers against the cancellation of the continuation of wage payments in case of illness planned by the former Kohl government.

It is notable that in contrast to the 1980s and early 1990s, the class consciousness arising on a broad scale could not be pushed back in 1996, but instead, by the end of

*Continued to page 10*

# Expose, Resist and Defeat the Plans of UPA's New Offensive War On Maoist Revolutionary Movement!

## Regain Initiation Where it was Lost by Putting Stiff Resistance!!

*Arjun*

The 7<sup>th</sup> Asian Security forum meet was held in Delhi in the end of January 2005, which the U.S. Secretary of State, Condolizza Rice, attended and expressed her government's opinions on the political situation in Andhra Pradesh. It was the third time within the past few months for the US government to intervene directly in our own country's affairs. The 'Honourable' Defence Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, never dared to counter the American official; instead with a nervousness he utters that the problem of Naxalites does exist there, but it is under control. The same Defence Minister on 4<sup>th</sup> Feb issued a statement at Hyderabad that Talks should be continued in AP, but that the Naxal threat had increased, coming as a main danger to the internal security of the country.

Under the chairmanship of Mr. Sivraj Patil regular meetings of DGPs, security affairs committees, joint operational commands, internal security meetings, Naxal 'affected' state's CMs' meetings, together with his personal visits to the North-East, J & K, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Chhattisgarh etc. have been regularly taking place. The outcome of all these huge spurt in meetings, particularly after the formation of the CPI(Maoist) was to intensify the repression on the revolution. They said: a) the Naxalite problem was the main threat to the internal security of the country. b) the plan for the modernization of the forces along with special training. c) construction of roads as part of reforms, d) further coordination between the states, e) deployment of central forces on a permanent basis. f) newer and newer draconian laws to curb all the nominal rights which have been publicly pronounced g) and a war of vicious propaganda on the Maoists by utilizing all govt. resources.

Meeting after meeting, co-ordination between the states and their forces with Central forces are meant to crush the revolutionary mass movement. Company after company, battalion after battalion of central forces are being deployed. At the time of NDA rule, in the name of an 'Indian Reserve Force', a new para military organisation emerged in areas of higher levels of class and nationality struggles. A number of new battalions have been added to the existing structure of the para-military forces. After, the nine state's Chief Ministers met on 21<sup>st</sup> September, a new force comprising 50 Battalions — named as STF — is going to be formed exclusively

against the revolutionaries. All other preparations are geared to 'root out 'terrorism' (revolution) with the blessings of American imperialism.

The Congress has a long history of duplicity. While pretending to lead the anti-British struggle they served the British by seeking to diffuse the discontent and stabbing it in the back. Now, while sweet-talking of talks with Naxalites, they have made all preparations for even more brutal repression than even before. Not surprising, as the worst massacres of the people have gone on in this country under Congress auspices. Can one forget the butchery of naxalites in the early 1970s, or the genocide conducted against Kashmiris, Sikhs and the people of the North-East?

After assuming power the UPA at the Centre temporarily toned down the anti-Naxalite propaganda compared to the BJP-led NDA period. The May 2004 parliamentary elections changed the political atmosphere since the last few months in the method used, not any liberal approach in government policies. One alliance fell and another took charge. The NDA was thrown out of power and the UPA assumed office. The change of parties may have occurred, yet the general policies continue at the same pace. **Capitulation to imperialism, particularly the US, and increasing state violence, are the twin sides of a common policy of any government.** One can see the change in presentation of the problems, as well as the tone of the Home Ministers of India. Mr. Sivraj Patil replaced Mr. Advani. The Home Secretaries were changed too, the bureaucracy in the PMO and the men in the special cells too were transferred to appease the 'new' ministers, but the policies laid down by the imperialists are being implemented by the new bosses without any delay and interruption.

### All State Governments the Same !

Since the last quarter of 2003 till date, various states faced assembly elections and in April-May 2004 General elections were held. In this period propaganda and debate revolved mainly round the Naxal issues in nine states. In the 2003 assembly elections in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh, in the Andhra Pradesh assembly which was dissolved prematurely, and now in the current phase of the Jharkhand and Bihar assembly elections too, the Naxal issue has occupied center stage. When in power the BJP, as the leader of the NDA and now as the opposition party, has never paused to consistently launch an offensive

vicious propaganda war against the Indian Maoists. When resistance intensified in new areas after the May 2004 elections, like in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, North Bihar, Uttarakhand, borders of Chhattisgarh-Jharkhand, Bengal-Jharkhand and Orissa-Jharkhand, suddenly the Chief Ministers of the concerned states started a hullabaloo against the CPI(Maoist), which is spearheading the Indian revolution against all the dark forces of this country.

The 'Marxists' in Bengal deployed big contingents of the para-military in South Bengal and are now planning serious attacks in North Bengal too. In Jharkhand the deployment of forces and repression increased with a long term perspective. After the formation of the new states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, military equipment in their arsenals are soaring and new battalions with young recruits are being deployed in the battlefield. Mulayam in Uttar Pradesh too has stepped up the police attacks to high levels in the areas where Maoists hold sway. The Congress led state govt. in Uttarkhand has launched a campaign of terror in those regions of Maoist influence and is trying to crush the CPI (Maoist) when it is in its infant stage itself. As the movement gains momentum in North Bihar and the borders of UP-Uttarkhand, the Laloo-Rabri govt. is over active in deploying extra forces. The STF of Bihar has been regularly attacking selected targets of the Maoists' technical mechanism and on the leadership. The Orissa and the Madhya Pradesh governments are also planning various reform programmes and side-by-side sending new forces to the battlefield. The Maharashtra government too has been continuing the repression without any break particularly in the districts of Gadchiroli, Chandrapur and Bhandra.

In South India, the Karnataka govt. has now engaged its STF against the Maoists in the Western Ghats, which was engaged before against Veerappan. Lately they have murdered the State committee Secretary of the Karnataka Party and another. In Tamilnadu the fascist Jayalalita continues with her intense repressive policies, and it is over two years since the 26 activists, including two state committee members of the party are languishing in jail. A recent DGP's meet at New Delhi discussed about the deployment of the Indian Army in Dandakarnaya at a 'right time' to cordon off and attack the guerrilla bases there. In AP the truce broke down and the govt. unilaterally started attacks on the CPI (Maoist) and the CPI(ML)(Janashakti)

killing over 20 comrades in just a fortnight.

Yet, at this juncture stiff resistance has been going on from the side of revolutionaries forces against the government offensive. Actually, after the Parliamentary elections a song on talks was sung by various state govts to win over public opinion. In this background, statement after statement from various state govts. were released regarding talks. Later, opposition parties set out to voice in chorus for a central policy on the suppression of Naxalites. The sounds became shriller as the Maoists intensified their attacks with the actions in UP, Munger and Gaya (Bihar), numerous actions in Jharkhand and also DK. Even the ex-BJP President and fascist Naidu just escaped when his helicopter was blown up in Gaya. A full-scale debate started among the ruling classes irrespective of their party background with the core argument that there should not be further consideration on the Naxal issue, like allowing them for talks or open activity, when they are carrying arms. Laying down of arms became a central point from Nov. 2004 onwards. The RSS supremo, Shiv Sena Supremo, Jaya, Chandrababu Naidu, Navin Patnaik, Fernandez or Buddha, Munda, Ramon or Sonia, Manmohan, YSR, Jana, etc are all now singing the same song without any major difference. So it needs to be understood that the Centre and state government's, led by various ruling class parties, approach to their repressive policies are in essence same.

### **Need to Regain initiative where it was lost!**

When enemy forces are continuously adopting the method of cordon and suppression, new forms of repression, new tactics, advanced technology, superior equipment, training additional forces and a well oiled mechanism will give advantages to it in some battles or in its strategical offensive. Yet, the sharpening of contradictions among the ruling classes will weaken these advantages in its offensive war. However the Maoists will try to counter resist and improve its strength day by day. Mao said that, *"In any war, the opponents contend for the initiative, whether on a battle-field, in a battle area, in a war zone or in the whole war, for the initiative means freedom of action for an army. Any army which loses the initiative is forced into a passive position and ceases to have freedom of action, faces the danger of defeat or extermination."*

The path of revolution is protracted and the sustained guerrilla war is advancing in the guerrilla zones. And in all these zones the war has sustained for a long period but later faced an ebb in some areas, particularly in North Telangana since 1999. In

Maharashtra, particularly in the Gadchiroli, Bandara, Gondia areas movements are also facing continuous serious repression without any relaxation. In these areas guerrilla war has traversed a long distance and advanced with serious losses. In any guerrilla zone of India, under the leadership of the CPI (Maoist), the war of defence will obviously develop through seriously difficult conditions, with no sufficient rear area in the country till date (i.e. a Base Area), nor border countries to assist, as the people's forces are relatively weak and are facing the enemy's big forces. So in this adverse situation the initiative in some pockets has gone into the hands of the enemy forces. In those areas the initiative can again be regained by fighting with the enemy forces, and engaging them daily whenever the state forces enter the guerrilla zones. Generally, the political initiative will be retained in the hands of the Maoists because they are waging a just war against the system. To over throw this existing rule and establish an alternative, hundreds of battles would be fought before the capture of power through the final battles. All these battles are waged keeping the initiative, flexibility and planning in the hands of guerrilla forces and their party the CPI (Maoist). Here it is once again to be remembered that the principle of flexibility is to be adopted that alone can take the enemy by surprise. As Mao has said *"the nature of guerrilla warfare is such that the guerrilla forces must be employed flexibly in accordance with the task in hand and with such circumstances as the state of the enemy."* He also said, *"If the enemy forces in a certain place present a particularly serious threat, the guerrilla units should not linger, but should move off with lightning speed."*

In this type of zigzag war of guerrilla resistance, for a temporary period in some areas, the enemy forces may get the upper hand. In such places along with resistance, the people need to be consolidated in secret forms of organisation and mobilization. Here, people would have to be drawn back into the people's war, gradually stepping up guerrilla attacks to harass the enemy and beat them back.

### **Expose and Fight Back the Centre's and States' Offensive**

The ruling classes while trying to focus the debate on AP talks have been, in fact, gearing up fully to launch attacks in all areas simultaneously. On September 21, when the two major parties which were spearheading the Indian revolution, merged into a single party the ruling classes of India took it as a serious threat to the existing system. The World Bank and US foreign departments have since been pursuing the Indian government to

**follow a hard-line to tackle the problem. So the Home Minister, the Defence Minister, the PM and leaders and officials at the state level came to an understanding that it was high time to go all out and suppress the movement. So the guns of the state armed forces, para military forces started firing in AP and other areas.**

The situation in Nepal too broke the dreams of the Indian state. On the one hand it was forced to condemn the emergency, while on the other it was simultaneously gearing up its army to extend all logistical support to the King to crush the liberation movement of Nepal under the leadership of the Maoists. It is further trying to cut the relationship between the CPN (Maoist) and CPI (Maoist) and to minimize the impact of the war of liberation of Nepal on the Indian people.

Whatever be the tall claims of the UPA, within a very short span of time it is nakedly exposed before the Indian toiling masses that, in the final analysis, it serves the interests of imperialism, particularly US imperialism. Whatever mask it wears it will be temporary. The vanguard party of the proletariat needs to use all the weapons available to fight against the state, to mobilize the people against the state and to consolidate the gains of the movement so far achieved. There is urgency to reorganize its forces for the new battles, to propagate revolutionary politics in a larger way, and to intensify the war of resistance.

Different tactics no doubt, need to be adopted in different circumstances, considering the given specific conditions. But the aim of all these tactics is the same i.e. to advance the war, strengthen the three magic weapons, to establish bases and to extend the war to newer areas. The formation of the new party has had a positive impact on the revolutionary masses, which needs to be consolidated further without delay.

There is need to lead all the organized, unorganized spontaneous movements towards a single direction, and plan meticulously after studying the new first offensive of the UPA-led government. Whatever co-ordination there might be between the States and the Centre and whatever be the gearing up of the armed forces, this may temporarily affect the movement but the already achieved confidence of the people in the Maoists will help the revolution move forward fast towards progress. The rich experiences of the two erstwhile parties provide the grounds for such advance. So, the theory and practice of the past could once again sharpen the practice at this critical juncture. Otherwise that theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice alone amounts to grouping in the dark if the path is not illumined by the revolutionary theory.

# Fraud of the Employment Guarantee Scheme

Suman

The Congress is an expert at duplicity from the very days of its inception over a century back. It pretended to be anti-British, only to act as a tool of the British as a safety valve to diffuse the discontent. In AP it clamours about talks with the Naxalites and then shoots them down in cold blood. Now it talks of "Employment Guarantee" only to bring a Bill which does exactly the opposite, which is just a pretense of fulfilling its obligation in the Common Minimum Programme (CMP).

The CMP had said "*the UPA government will immediately enact a National Employment Guarantee Act. This will provide a legal guarantee for at least 100 days of employment to begin with on asset-creating public works programmes every year at minimum wages for at least one able-bodied person in every rural, urban poor and lower middle-class household.*"

With this purported aim, what has the Congress government now introduced, to be passed as an act later this month in the Budget session of Parliament? The *National Rural Employment Guarantee Bill 2004* was tabled in Parliament on Dec. 21, 2004.

Firstly, as mentioned in the CMP, there is in this Bill no universality for all the unemployed. It is highly arbitrary and will be applied only in those areas that are time to time notified by the government. In other words it may be applied in just one or two places in the whole of India and there is no necessity to make it applicable throughout India. This very clause can reduce this Act to a mere scrap of paper, which will more likely be the case given that the CPM-backed Congress government is speedily implementing the entire neo-liberal policies of the imperialists, which is totally against such expenditures.

Next, this Bill says that it will only be available for the extremely poor; i.e. those with a BPL card. Now, everyone knows that the BPL is a major fraud to dupe the masses from taking rations at

a lower rate. For example in the largest slum in Asia, Dharavi, Mumbai, there are just 151 BPL cards. So, in other words even if implemented it can restrict its use to a handful of people.

Thirdly, the wages to be paid under this EGS scheme will be arbitrarily decided by the government and the minimum wages will not be applicable. At present all other employment schemes are being paid (at least officially) at the minimum wages rate. For example, the *Food For Work Programme* and the *SGRY* (Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana) entail payment at the rate of the minimum wages fixed. In other words it will pay a pittance for labour used for their projects.

Fourthly, though the entire scheme was to be centrally funded, the present Bill seeks to shift the burden on the State governments, who anyway have no funds as most are bankrupt. It says the wage component will be paid by the Central government while the material cost and the expenses of running it will have to be born by the State governments. What with the government centralizing tax revenue even further, through VAT and other schemes, the States will be left with even less funds for such schemes. In that case they are never likely to get off the ground and the Centre will calmly absolve itself of its responsibilities.

**Finally, and worst of all, is the fact that the Bill proposes that all other employment generating schemes, at both the Central and State levels, wind up and merge into this new half-baked scheme. In other words all existing schemes will close down; and those that are universally applicable will now become targeted towards only the BPL; and those that are being paid at the minimum wage rate will now be paid at the arbitrary rates fixed by the government. This will finally achieve the virtual disbanding of employment schemes and what remains will be the use of virtual**

**slave labour for government projects!!!! This is exactly what the World Bank and IMF have been demanding for years but the governments have not been able to implement for fear of peoples' hostility to it. Overall, with this clause, the total spent on employment generating schemes, which have been coming down over the years, will now get drastically reduced.**

The neo-liberal regime in India is out to push the masses deeper and deeper into poverty using various types of smokescreens, as with the present EGS. Already in India, according to Utsa Patnaik ("*The Republic of Hunger*", *Social Scientist*, Sept-Oct 2004), if poverty in India is defined with respect of a calorie norm of 2,400 calories per capita per day in rural areas; then 75% of the rural population is "poor" as compared to 56% in 1973-74. To implement a universal EGS as proposed, it would entail an expenditure of just 1% of the GDP. But, on the contrary the government is raising a hue and cry about the so-called massive subsidies and has infact introduced a report to reduce them even further. Not a word is mentioned of raising resources from increasing taxes which have been cut drastically — particularly for the rich and big business. Meeting the deficit need not be met by merely cutting subsidies to the poor; it can also be met by raising taxes of the rich. Today the Centre's tax-GDP ratio is one of the lowest in the world and is going down continuously. In fact if the government was to raise the tax-GDP ratio to levels of what they were in 1990/91 they would be raising an additional Rs.30,000 annually which could cover many a welfare scheme. But this Rs.30,000 is an annual gift to the money-bags, who it does not want to touch.

The people of the country must vehemently oppose this new EGS scheme and demand universal employment guarantee at a living wage.



[We print a report sent to the magazine by comrade Saketh Rajan two months before his martyrdom. It was sent in name of his martyred wife (2001) com. Raji. Saketh Rajan is also Saki, the author of the path-breaking study into Karnataks history "Making History", printed in two volumes.]

## Arousing the Spirit of Rebellion

Just before reaching Kabbinala from Hebri in Udupi's Karkala taluk, a mud road branches off. It climbs the foothills of Karnataka's Western Ghats. Fallen trees and weeds cover the road. All that is visible is a narrow pathway in the jungle that appears like a divider on a well combed head. The ill-maintained road ends before a small temple at Durga.

A family of Shivalli brahmins own the temple. About two centuries ago one of the forefathers of the Bayar brahmins of Durga, called Yogeshwara, left Barkur which was their original home and made it to what is now called Yogeshwara Hill, just above Durga. He fetched an idol of the family deity, Durga, from Barkur. Yogeshwara has about 200 descendent families today. Many live in distant Bangalore. Some stay in America as doctors and software engineers. Now there are just two of their households that remain in the forests.

One manages the temple and the other lives at Sugethi in a homestead settlement just three kilometres off Durga. Both brahmin households have paddy fields and arecanut and coconut gardens. Semi-bonded labourers cultivate these lands for them today. The Sugethi family has about twenty acres of land including six acres at not too distant Nuji and the priest of Durga possesses ten.

Before the Bayars of Barkur came to Durga, Sugethi and Nuji, these forests were peopled by Male Kudiyas adivasis and Billava shudra families.

Four kilometres deeper into the forest and higher upon the hills from Durga is Mundane. Like so many other adivasi settlements, Mundane has no road. In the midst of terraced paddy fields stands a lone thatched mud house inhabited by the Male Kudiyas family of Bhoja Gowda. It has thirty six members, eighteen of whom are children born off six couples. The eldest of the married men is Bhoja Gowda and the rest of those married are his younger brothers.

Unlike the Bayar brahmins of Durga, history unravels itself through living memory of the Mundane Male Kudiyas and remnant oral lore. Bhoja Gowda's grandfather was a tenant for most of his life. He cultivated all the six acres at Nuji and remained landless till he died. Male Kudiyas feel gut-deep that lands owned by the Bayars of Barkur were former settlements of republican adivasis.

Bhoja Gowda's grand dad grew tired of cultivating the Nuji estate. Four decades ago he repaid his loans and quit serving the brahmins for good.

The Bayars fetched the Billava family of Ramappa Poojar from Bachchapu in the foot hills as their new tenant. In 1975 anti-tenancy legislation was passed by the Karnataka

government and soon after that Ramappa became the new owner of the Nuji settlement. But before long he died. As the Kannada proverb ran, the morsel in his hands did not reach his mouth. His grieving widow preferred to return to Bachchapu to live with her mother. And Nuji was left fallow without a happy cultivator.

The joint family at Mundane continued to swell. As Bhoja Gowda's brothers were married there were more and more mouths to feed. The paddy fields around the Mundane homestead were simply too meagre. Bhoja Gowda thought of his grand father's labours and that of his predecessors. As the grand son of a former tenant, he eyed the fallow lands of Nuji with the maximum desire a tenant could surmount.

He approached Ramappa's widow in order to buy Nuji in annual instalments and become the proud owner of the settlement.

But the Bayars beat the Male Kudiyas in the race. Before Bhoja Gowda could meet the Billava widow, Keshava Bayar had purchased the six acres at Nuji for twenty thousand rupees from her. Thus the brahmin descendants of Yogeshwara Bayar regained what they had lost and they asserted from their tile-roofed villa in Sugethi that they were landlords of Nuji as well.

But goddess Durga did not bless Keshava Bayar well, or else the malevolent Bhootas of adivasi and shudra lineage that live in her backyard had neutralised her spell. For more than a decade Keshava Bayar has left Nuji fallow. His children are educated and away. Nuji is a long trudge for his creaking bones and lone supervision. And tenants are detested because they may deceive him any moment and stake their claim. The untended coconut and arecanut trees planted by generations of Male Kudiyas and Billavas shed their fruit each year. They rattle their fronds as the winds blow, peering into the sky for a new future with their roots in a woeful welter of weeds.

The Durga temple is presided over by the goddess. As money and contributions have come, the priest has extended the goddesses courtyard. It has a Brahmathana with a Naga and also shows off a Yaksha and a Yakshi. The Bayar descendants of Yogeshwara visit Durga each year or they send their earthly offerings to the family deity from as far away as the USA. The temple shows off new granite walls, a square enclosure and tiles on the ground to aid the transcendence of the barefooted believers ambulating round the sanctorum.

There is nothing special about Durga and the daily and annual ritual that attends her in the courtyard. It is the archetype of any divine brahmin spiritual abode.

But it is the backyard of Durga Devi's residence that really counts.

"The backyard of the temple has grass

grown wild. At an edge and nearly merging with the mysterious forest where the Male Kudiyas reside, are three mud huts for the Bhoothas. Kallukuntige resides in one. Varthakallukuntige, the composite brother and elder sister, stay in the second. And the third, like the crowded Mundane household, has six Bhoothas: Maheshantaya, Duggalaya, Spatikanthaya, Panjurli, Domavathi and Kuppanjurli.

Bhoothas are spirits of peasant rebels of the middle-ages who were slain by brahmin and other upper caste feudal lords. Each year their spirits are appeased after their resurrection by individuals drawn basically from Billava, Male Kudiyas and Dalit families. Bhootha culture is essentially a shudra peasant tradition with little room in it for brahmins.

More than fifty adivasi families, and close to a hundred Billava families and other shudra caste families come with sacrificial chicken to the annual fair at Durga. While the brahmins try to steal the show as a Durga festival even by ignoring the blood in the backyard, the shudras and adivasis see it as the grand occasion to propitiate their Bhoothas.

In the backyard world of the spirits which predates the courtyard world of the goddess, chicken are sacrificed and Bhoothas are resurrected by *kola* dancers as late-comer brahmins watch from the fringe. Some brahmins are so disturbed by the malevolence of the adivasi-shudra spirits that they succumb to their power and even sponsor plebeians to sacrifice chicken to appease the devils in their name.

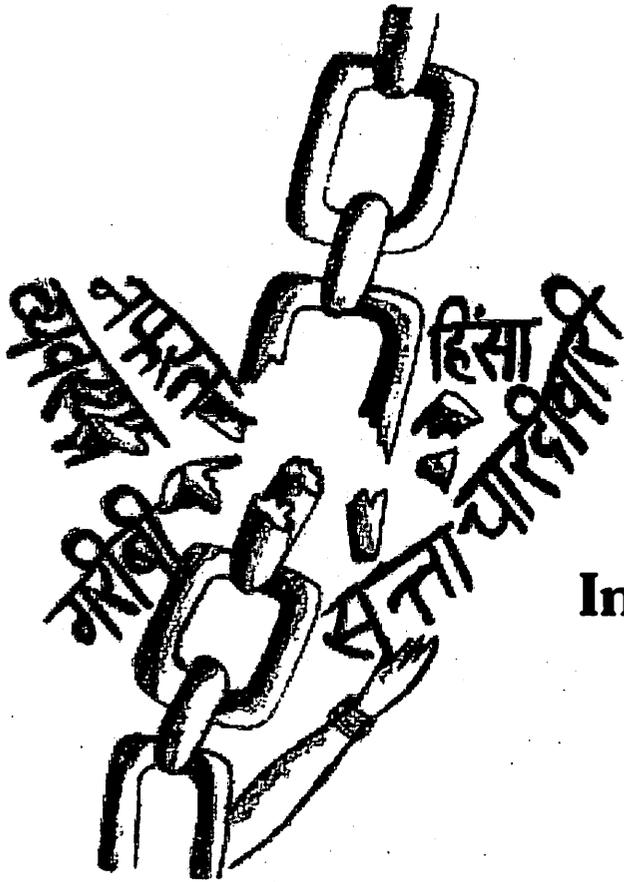
It is only after the worship, blood rites and *kola* dance of the resurrected rebel Bhoothas that the focus of the festivities shifts to the respectable courtyard and the brahmin priest sprinkles purificatory water and begins his ritual incantation.

Durga has an enigmatic characteristic. Does it belong to the brahmin landlords who rule in the courtyard or does it belong to the neglected backyard teeming with the rebellious spirit of toiler shudras and adivasis who seek their stake in the social order of things?

Alongside the worlds of the tenants and landlords and beside the worlds of the Male Kudiyas and Bayars is a divine courtyard for the respectable gods washed and worshipped each day and a crowded backyard for the wild insurgent spirits that spring to vibrant life each year one day.

As the *kola* dance begins this year round, the *chande* beat will carry a Naxal cadence. Will age-old tenants revive rebellion and tend the unattended gardens and fields of Nuji and save society from further decay?





## Special Supplement

on the occasion of

# International Women's Day

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### Editorial

## MARCH 8<sup>TH</sup> International Women's Day; 2005

This year International Women's Day is being celebrated in vast parts of the country in the backdrop of the formation of a genuine proletarian Party in the country — the CPI(Maoist) — through the merger of the two major Maoist streams in the country, that of the CPI(ML)(PW) and that of the MCCI. This merger also has enormous significance for even the oppressed women of the country, ground down by centuries of patriarchy, besides the other forms of exploitation and oppression.

Why is the formation of the CPI(Maoist) of such significance to the oppressed women? The reason is that it is the only a proletarian party and a genuine proletarian outlook that is able to fight the varied manifestations of patriarchy and male chauvinism thoroughly, through to the end, and root it out of the minds of the mass of people. In a country like India, which is sunk neck-deep in all the most obscurantist feudal values, to which has been added the growing wave of religious fundamen-

talisms, particularly of the Hindutva variety, the oppression of women and their exploitation has increased over the year. To this if we add the extreme commodification of women due the aggressive imperialist penetration of the country, women are being faced with worst of both the two worlds — semi-feudalism and imperialism. The extreme result of this has been the gigantic increase in number of 'dowry' deaths and the massacre of lakhs in infanticide and practices like amniocentesis. The result has been that the sex ratio has dropped lower than it has ever been — 927 women to every 1,000 men — and dropping as low as 793 in Punjab and 760 in the posh localities of South Delhi.

No doubt, this month all will be celebrating March 8<sup>th</sup>. But the celebrations of most others are a hoax. In the country all parties, except the Maoists, only play lip service to the real fight and uprooting of patriarchy. The main line parties have been responsible for actually sustaining all patriarchal values notwithstanding a

handful of women, like Sonia or Rabri or Mayavati at the helm of affairs, while the BJP-associated outfits vigorously promote it, in the name of upholding Indian tradition. The revisionist CPI/CPM-type parties prefer to compromise with existing values and traditions in the name of 'being with the masses', and so turn a blind eye to day-to-day practices of it and only take up issues that are extreme in their cruelty. While the feminists and the NGOs often do take up the issues of patriarchy and imperialist exploitation of women they seek to divert the issues by turning it into a female vs male phenomena rather than against the socio-economic system, which is at the roots of this evil practice.

While the most gruesome forms of women's exploitation is in rape (including custodial rape), 'dowry' killings, wife-beating, etc — all of which have become even more rampant these days — it also takes on more subtle forms resulting in the continuous humiliation of women in their day-to-day existence. Some of these

manifestations are: confining women to the home and preventing their participation in the social, political and cultural life of the masses; discrimination against the girl-child, non-payment of equal wages at the work-place, forced and early marriages, and numerous other forms of subtle discrimination.

It was the erstwhile PW and the MCCI who have totally eradicated the more gruesome forms of women's exploitation in those areas that they wield influence, and have been waging a systematic campaign against all forms of patriarchy and women's discrimination in their areas of work and even within the party. An example was a recent marriage in the heartland of feudal culture — north Bihar. Here a boy and girl who liked each other got married at a large social function in a village with party leaders giving speeches against patriarchy and the linking of the fight against patriarchy with the question of armed struggle and new democratic revolution. At this function there was no dowry, there were no elaborate expenses, there was no talk of caste equations, and there were no veils for the girl. There were sweets and food for

the roughly 1,000 gathered to celebrate the event and see this birth of a new culture; there were songs on women's liberation, there were an exchange of garlands and there was an oath taken by the boy and girl on the occasion vowing love to each other and to jointly continue in the revolution. In the speeches the party leaders spoke on the question of equality of women, of fighting patriarchy, of women to partake in the activities of the party — whether in the mass organisation of women and peasants, in the people's army or in the very party itself — on a fully equal basis as the men-folk of the villages.

This was just one example of the daily struggle that the new CPI(Maoist) is waging against patriarchy in all spheres of social and political interaction. That is why the merger of the two revolutionary formations and the formation of the new party has great significance for the emancipation of women in our country and it is hoped that the movement for women's liberation will also pick up speed as with the entire revolutionary movement of the country.

On the occasion of International Women's Day this year we are printing

articles on women in the Indian and Nepalese revolution. The two articles from Nepal are regarding rape as an instrument of the reactionary government to crush the people's movement and the initiative shown by women in the Nepalese Revolution. It also shows how bravely the women are facing this humiliation and how it is in fact firing their hatred against the enemy and thereby increasing their dedication to revolution. The two on women in the Indian revolution show how women can be no less than their male counterparts in military battle, and a case study of the campaign against patriarchy in one area.

It is clear from the above that the more the Party struggles against patriarchy within it the more women will join the revolution and also reach positions of leadership within it. The less it does so, by turning a blind eye to such attitudes, it will act to retard the recruitment of women and thus keep away half of society from the revolutionary process unfolding. We hope these articles from the battlefield through their examples help the process of breaking patriarchal chains in a highly regimented feudal ethos. ■ ■

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## Appeal for March 8 by the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist)

# WOMEN ! AWAKE, ARISE AND STRUGGLE

Do not ever think of committing suicide even in case of difficulties

**Join the revolutionary moment - Join the People's Liberation Guerilla Army  
in large numbers and March ahead to liberation**

## — A Bright Future Beckons You

*(Received through the Internet)*

This is the call of the revolutionary Maoist forces in India on the occasion of March 8, 2005 to all the toiling and oppressed women of India. The day signifying women's united struggle against inequality and exploitation, brought to the center stage of the world by the socialist women's movement in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century even today stands for women's struggle for justice despite all the attempts of the imperialist bourgeoisie to convert it into a consumerist women's day. For the toiling women of the world it is the day when resolves have to be built again and plans charted to get their due place in all aspects of social life and live with dignity. For women in India this year is especially significant.

The merger of the two powerful revolutionary parties, the CPI-ML (PW) and MCCI marks a leap in the development of the revolutionary movement within India. The revolutionary movement is a movement committed as much to the emancipation of women from the bonds of centuries old patriarchal oppression as it is to freeing India from the shackles of imperialism, feudalism and their agents the comprador big capitalists. The merger of these parties has meant a unified revolutionary movement spread in many parts of the country. It has also meant the emergence of a unified revolutionary women's movement in rural India. Hundreds of units of the revolutionary women's organizations Nari Mukti Sangh (NMS), Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangh (KAMS), Viplava Mahila Sangh (VMS), Nari Mukti Sangharsh samiti (NMSS) that function in the villages of Telengana and eastern Ghats, in the forests of Bastar and Gadchiroli, Sarguja, Giridih, Dhanbad and other districts of Jharkhand, in the plains and forests of North Bihar and Uttaranchal are already experiencing changes in the social environment since the growth and spread of the revolutionary movement in their regions. They have experienced the liberationist potential in the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) and are joining it in large numbers. This is a call to spread the women's movement with a revolutionary perspective to ever-newer areas.

The pro-imperialist policies of the successive Central Governments including the present UPA Government, its open support for globalization has led to the ever deteriorating condition of women in India — 50 % of agricultural laborers are women and most of them

are surviving below the poverty line. Even if we consider only the number of recorded crimes against women, records show that 80 cases of crimes against women are reported every day. The increasing destitution of women, especially in rural areas, and the increasing violence against women have revealed the hollowness of the Government's claim to have improved their conditions and "empowering" them. The stranglehold of big landlords over cultivable land, the neglect of agriculture by the Governments and the devastation of the natural environment has meant that the bulk of rural women are bearing the brunt of inflation, unemployment and drought. They are propertyless and powerless. The insecurity in their lives has intensified. The daily newspapers are full of stories of the kidnapping and sale of poor girls and women to pimps and procurers parading as employment agents. This is the cruel reality facing Dalit and Adivasi women. Gang rapes and public humiliation of women of lower castes by powerful landed interests and powerbrokers is the order of the day. On an average 3 Dalit women are raped everyday and 2 are killed daily. Their independent existence is not acknowledged and not acceptable, their right to marry a man of their choice denied by powerful caste panchayats. The number of couples desperately trying to challenge this authority in Haryana and Western UP are a powerful indictment of this feudal authoritarianism still strong in rural India. A culture is perpetuated such that women's physical existence is under attack. The declining sex ratio is but a stark statistical manifestation of this. Whether Tamilnadu or Punjab, traditional methods and modern technology have come together to deny the girl child the right to live. Breaking the economic, political and social hold of the powerful landed and commercial interests is the ONLY way out, the essential pre-condition to achieve substantial steps for the emancipation of the vast majority of toiling women, and this is what the revolutionary movement is doing.

The onslaught of globalisation and the invasion of the latest in electronic technology like digital cameras and mobile phone cameras have only meant further exploitation and entrapment of women in even more vulgar and sinister ways. Sex scandals have erupted in so many towns and cities that they are being considered almost routine. Prostitution rings for upper class customers when busted reveal only the tip of the iceberg. Girls from Delhi and Chandigarh sent to Surat and Mumbai and girls from Mumbai for customers in Goa and Delhi. Poor women from Orissa and Jharkhand, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh ensnared in increasing numbers into life-long bondage in the sex cages of Delhi, Mumbai and Kolkata. This sex slavery is but a part of the sex tourism being vigorously promoted by the imperialists under liberalization. The imperialists have ruthlessly pushed pornography on the internet and elsewhere, promoted decadent loose sexual norms through the media and sex tourism leading to the spread of AIDS and HIV positive cases. Lakhs of ordinary women in India too, as in Africa and elsewhere, are afflicted with this deadly disease, and fall victims of this imperialist policy. The imperialists then piously fund programs for AIDS while at the same time making essential drugs exorbitantly expensive and thus out of the reach of ordinary people through their WTO patent regime. The garment factories in Bangalore, Tiruppur, Delhi in India, in Thailand and China have become centers for the super-exploitation of women's labour by major MNCs and the big compradors. Lakhs of women, driven by hard economic conditions are suffering physical and sexual harassment to stay employed in these sweatshops. Imperialism, the worldwide exploiter of women's labor and degrader of her dignity has to be smashed to end this slavery. This is the task the revolutionary movement in India has set itself.

The Indian State and its wings – the judiciary and the police and para-military, military forces is maintaining and upholding this violence against women and the discrimination against them. The successive ruling parties have all, in one way or another continued to support the patriarchal State. The role of the State in the condition of women in a country is crucial, and this is what even a liberal organization like the Amnesty International has pointed out in recent reports. The State, hand in glove with conservative patriarchal ruling classes, has subverted every attempt of women to obtain justice. That in all the 18 sati mahima cases in Rajasthan courts the accused are acquitted and the State Government chooses not to appeal is enough for women to understand that justice cannot be obtained through these courts. While Bilkis Bano, victim of gang rape and witness to the murder of 17 people by the Hindu fascist hordes during the pogroms in Gujarat in 2002, is still valiantly struggling, three years later to get justice through the courts, scores of other Muslim women in Gujarat who suffered rape or torture in the same riots have been denied justice completely. The Gujarat State is fully responsible for this. If the State cannot subvert, it suppresses, as it tried to do in Manorama's rape and murder case in Manipur last year. It was the bold and collective struggle of Manipuri women and other sections that put the UPA Govt and the Army on the defensive. The police and the Armed forces are themselves perpetrators of atrocities on women. A DSP and his cronies rape a minor girl in Madhya Pradesh, police constables rape an arrested woman in custody, a minor girl in Kollam district in Kerala is gang raped in a military camp, are some incidents that reached the media. The cases of suppression of women in the political movement carries on. Manorama was raped and killed by army men after she was picked up on the suspicion that she was linked to the underground movement in the State. Latha a woman activist from Kurnool dist, AP was killed in a so called encounter. Unspeakable atrocities continue to be committed on ordinary women in Kashmir. The present authoritarian, patriarchal State, itself the perpetrator of crimes against women, must be changed, which the revolutionary movement seeks to do.

The development of the revolutionary movement in the country marks a great hope for women all over the country. Women too must move forward collectively, unitedly to demand what it theirs by right, to oppose the continuing atrocities and discrimination, to participate in the struggle for a new democratic society. If the women's movement moves forward hand in hand with the revolutionary movement for new democratic revolution only then the root causes of women's oppression can be smashed and concrete steps forward for the emancipation of women taken. Women's liberation can be achieved as part of the transformation of the entire socio-economic set-up. We learn this from the example of China. The mass of women gained substantially during the revolutionary war and after its victory during the period of socialism. They have faced setback and increased discrimination again due to the reestablishment of the rule of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Without women's own struggle all this is not possible. Struggles by women are breaking out. Most notable was the recent struggle of Manipuri women which shook the whole of India. Let the coming March 8 be celebrated with the resolve to build up women's mass struggles against injustice and this unjust order.

# CAMPAIGN AGAINST PATRIARCHY

## — A case study

*Bharati*

What is the meaning of the word patriarchy? This was the question to many in the squad before the campaign against patriarchy started in the ranks of then CPI(M-L)(People's War). The erstwhile PW took up this campaign as per the call of its Ninth Congress in 2001.

The members of the squad knew about patriarchy much before they joined the Party. They had painful experiences because of it. The women members, whether from the adivasi areas, the plains or the towns witnessed manifestations of patriarchy in one or the other form. They did not know the theoretical name for it.

Once the Party educated them in the origin and history of patriarchy and its casualties, it was enlightening both to the members and the leadership. Many came out with theirs and other's experiences during their up-bringing, relations within the parental family, the way of seeking bridegrooms, marriage, marital relationship and so on.

The Party certainly knew of the various forms of patriarchy but the campaign threw light on the minutest of things. As a part of dealing with the people in the villages, the sanghams, the militia and the party leadership came to know of the unequal and brutal attitudes manifested against women due to patriarchy. But now it was the voice of the flower. The buds in the homes blossomed into flowers in the Party.

Let us see how it happened in one squad area in one state.

The rectification against patriarchy was taken up within various levels of the Party and in front of the people. The members recollected their childhood, how they were with their mothers, sisters, and how they are with their spouses now. They also tried to understand the element of patriarchy in understanding women's issues, the women's movement and other such things.

It can be understood that the effect of the campaign went deep into the thinking of the Professional Revolutionary activists and made them realise the subtle nature of their attitudes. It was different for those who already knew about the term patriarchy and something about its origin and those who did not.

In the area to which this article is confined, one member of the area committee literally wept when he was remembering how he was with his mother. He is a student from an adivasi area and joined the Party after a series of incidents

during his work in the Radical Student's Union.

Another senior comrade felt very relieved after revealing what all he realised he did during his life in the house. He said that though patriarchy was not a new to him, coming out with his patriarchal attitudes in his family before he joined the organisation was like washing away the dirt. He admits that such attitudes did have an effect on his understanding even after he joined the revolution. Though there were occasional discussions and rectification of their attitudes this campaign was something different.

To the formally uneducated adivasi activists it was something different. They started from trying to remember the word patriarchy. Then they tried to grasp the history of it in the classes. They had a tough time in listening to the explanations starting from the primitive communist state, the various types of families, how private property came into existence, how it led to the subjection of women and to oppression and exploitation, and how it continued in the feudal social order and so on. When the class reached the present social order, they suddenly became the teachers. They told of the evil practices in their villages and as they were speaking out, realised what patriarchy was. After all, they knew patriarchy from their own experiences!

One adivasi male comrade who was with the squad for two years, said, "*Oh! Is this patriarchy? Then I can tell you a lot about how it is in our households.*"

For women comrades from adivasi backgrounds, the campaign was not only a realization, but also a new source of self-confidence. They certainly knew what they were doing when they decided to join the squad.

Yes. They were disrespecting the age-old customs. They are not following the old rules. They did not accept getting married through force at a young age. Perhaps they thought they were part of something new that came up because of the Party. But with education given in the campaign they understood how big an issue it was!

Patriarchy was not something expressed by their parents, brothers and elders. It was not limited to their society. They understood that child marriages, bigamy, wife beating are common to all spheres of the present society. They are not the only "backward" community. It has a long history. Fighting against patriarchy is fighting an institution. It is part of fighting

for a better society. It is part of Revolution.

After speaking about all practices in their society the women comrades started pointing out fingers to their colleagues. Some of the male comrades agreed that they put some of their women colleagues to embarrassment regarding marriage. They proposed soon after they got in touch with them. They should have taken some time to understand each other. Some agreed that they looked down on women comrades thinking they were incompetent, that they cannot carry large weight and that they are not on par with men in political understanding and other such things.

The women activists were not exempted from rectification. They were made to realise the patriarchy in women and how it manifests in their work as well. The main thing was that they have to come out of their inferiority take initiative in each and every aspect of their work. They need to shed the shyness in all aspects of their personality and behaviour, to take up the responsibilities of Revolution on a wider and deeper level.

The issues were serious. But the discussions did not go out of control. There were no prejudices and misunderstandings after the sessions were over. **Each and everyone realised that it is for the good of their own personality that they have to come out of the patriarchal attitudes in order to become a good revolutionary political worker.**

After the sessions amongst themselves, the squad went to the people. It educated them about patriarchy. It explained the manifestations of it in its varied forms and manifestations. It also explained that the sole responsibility for house-work to women is also patriarchy. Men tried to say they also get water from the river that they also look after the children and so on. But the women denied it angrily. These meetings were quite interesting.

In some meetings the villagers took oaths that they would struggle to eliminate patriarchy. The squad also invited criticism on them regarding their behaviour towards village women.

After all what had happened, one certainly felt happy about the campaign. But at the same time the campaign also suggests that this is not and should not be the end. It is only the beginning. The struggle against patriarchy should be a continuous affair at some or the other level, like the rectification of any of the other deviations. Only then the purpose of this struggle would really be served. ■ ■

# I Will Take Revenge From My Place

{This story of women in the Nepal revolution was received through the internet. Though late, we are printing it on the occasion of International Women's Day}

Bharat Kumari Regmi, aged 24, had been staying in Khursanibari of Narayan town, the District Headquarter of Dailekh, teaching in a local government-run primary school. She was raped by dozens of royal army force after they had surrounded the house where she was staying at around 4.00 am, on 27th December 2001. This mother of a five year old son was raped by them till she became unconscious. She was left naked with all doors and windows of the house wide open. It was only at eight in the morning that she realized that she was lying in a pool of blood. She refrained from telling the truth about the gruesome mass rape fearing that she may be ostracized by her husband and society. However, her husband came to know of the incident from others and instead of ostracizing her he started taking care of her all the more lovingly. She says it was because of this that she too started working in the organization. But what a dilemma! The husband Narayan Sharma, an alternate Central Committee member of the All Nepalese National Free Student's Union (Revolutionary) who gave so much love and who inspired her to work in the organization was killed by the royal army when he had gone to participate in the "New Leap Forward Movement" in Dolpa on 23 August, 2002. At that time Bharat Kumari had gone away for her treatment. Thus Bharat Kumari, the victim of mass rape at one end and sufferer at having her husband murdered at the other end has now decided to take revenge against all, by joining the movement. This is a presentation of part of her interview given to the representative, Mr. Gagan Sen of Janawaj weekly paper dated 6 March 2003.

**Question: Where and when did the royal army raped you?**

Ans: I was staying in my brother's place in Khursani ban. From there it was easy for me to go to school. On that date I was alone at home at that time. One local CID woman (who was given a cordless phone by the royal army) informed the royal army that my husband will be coming to meet me. At around 2:00 am at the dead of night about four dozen royal army men came and surrounded the house and searched for my husband, but they could not find him. Then after that they started molesting me.

**Question: Was there anyone you could recognize?**

Ans: I could not recognize any one amongst the royal army. However I recognized one Havaladar and one policeman I had seen them earlier many times. But I don't know their names. One of them was from the plains, who used to come often pretending to sell Marich. Another police was the one who had an injury in his hand due to a gunshot in the police raid in Rukum. Since I was so scared I could not look at the other's faces and could not count exactly how many there were.

**Question: How did this incident take place? Could you explain briefly?**

Ans: First of all the army searched my pillow, they found Sandipt's (husband's) photo. They burnt it. I said, "Whatever may be, this is my husband's photo why do you burn it?" Thereafter, one army man gave an order to rape me. They held me and pinned me down with their boot on my feet. In the first chance I managed to run away. One of them then hit my chest with his boot. From that blow I became dizzy and fell down on the ground. I was in a conscious state till six or seven men raped me. Thereafter I lost my consciousness. In the morning around 8 am I regained my consciousness. I was still bleeding. I did not have a single cloth on my body. The tyrants had even left the doors and windows of the house open. I slowly got up pretending nothing had taken place. But my brother had come to know of it. After knowing the incident my brother gave an injection to stop the bleeding. To my brother I said, "Please take me to your brother-in-law." My brother gave me advice not to go there because of my bad state of health. But I did not listen and kept looking for Sandipt and I got him. I did not tell Sandipt about the incident. I loved him a lot. I was afraid he may not accept me if he came to know of the incident. If he became alienated after knowing this incident then I thought I would lose everything. (Crying) That is why I kept the incident a secret for three months.

**Question: How did Sandipt come to know of the incident?**

Ans: Although I did not want to reveal it, someone who must have seen through the open door and they must have told him. Sandipt too heard the rumour and

continued to ask me. For a long period I avoided by saying it was not true. Even then he said, "You did not do it with your consent, you tell me." I told him the whole truth.

**Question: What kind of treatment was meted to you by Sandipt and his family after they had come to know of the incident?**

Ans: I realized I had a wrong impression about him. He accepted me. Infact he showered me with more concern and love after I told him all the events. He said revenge must be taken. For this he advised me to join the Party organization he made me enthusiastic. When sometimes I sulked he used to make me laugh. He used to say even if you cannot take revenge I will take it. But, he too has been killed by the enemy (Crying). I could meet his father only after having undergone treatment I have not met anyone.

**Question: How is Sandipt's father's treatment of you?**

Ans: His father said that you are not our daughter-in-law, you are our son. He said that you have now taken our son's place. He cares for me a lot.

**Question: Who arranged for your medical treatment?**

Ans: I became all the more ill staying with Sandipt. I had already come into contact with the Party organization. It was the party organization that arranged for my treatment. Now I am fit and am now working in the organization.

**Question: When did you hear of Sandipt's martyrdom (Narayan Sharma)?**

Ans: Most probably the party organization did not tell me immediately of the news because I was unwell physically and mentally. The news was finally relayed to me by a responsible comrade after I had reached my work place after having recovered from the illness. Infact, I had a faint haunch about it while undergoing the treatment. Later on a responsible comrade explained the whole incident in detail.

**Question: How did you feel when you heard of the martyrdom of com. Sandipt?**

Ans: We are human beings. Being a human being it is natural to have human feelings. I have feelings. Although I was mature ideologically even then I felt hurt, maybe because of inherent human feelings. I even fainted for four to five hours after

hearing the news. When ideology leads feelings it is necessary to understand why he was martyred.

**Question: How was your marriage solemnized?**

Ans: It was basically a love marriage but it was performed traditionally with our brother's approval.

**Question: In your opinion what is the appropriate solution for the pain inflicted on you, at one end by mass raping you by the enemy and murdering your husband at the other end?**

Ans: In reality, it is only through grasping correct ideology that can heal such a deep pain. For the sake of the Nepalese revolution, he continuously fought in favour of the proletarian class and gave his life for it's sake. In my opinion he was great. It is by following the bloodstained path left by Sandipt with ideology leading it and by not letting his bag and his gun fall on ground that my pain will be reduced. It is only through getting involved in the continuous revolutionary process that one can get liberated from the pain. I feel I have become emboldened. I may have some emotional problem but I cannot say that I will not be able to develop in the ideological field. I will take revenge from my place. The Vermillion wiped from my hair parting will see the red rays of the morning sun. I am very hopeful.

**Question: Throughout the country, there are many women family victims like you who have suffered similar pains. What message do you have for them ?**

Ans: First of all for those victims who are working in the party organization, I would like to tell them that they should not halt their steps from marching ahead be-



cause of some disillusion created by observing partial loss. Let us all be brave and let us go ahead to take revenge against oppression, repression and tyranny meted on us. Let us not look at our personal loss as a big loss. Let us look at the gains gained by our Party. Those of the family of martyred comrades who have not joined the organization I would like to say to them that those who gave their life for the sake of the nation and its people, they have certainly not

chosen the wrong path. We should not feel hopeless because children have been robbed of their parent's, or that the sister's Vermillion has been wiped off from the parting of their hair. We will repay our fighter's blood, with blood. The party has made big achievements. The blood shed of our near and dear ones have not gone waste. Let us follow the spirit of that blood. It is in that process that we can meet our martyred relatives. ■ ■

# Rape: As an Instrument of State Repression in Nepal

*{This report of women in the Nepal revolution was received through the internet. Though late, we are printing it on the occasion of International Women's Day}*

The Royal Nepalese Army, the last instrument of the state, is being mobilized to suppress the Maoist movement in Nepal. Suppression and repression are not a new phenomena in Nepal, especially after 1996, when the CPN (Maoist) declared the launching of People's War in Nepal. Before promulgation of emergency, the police force and Special Task Forces (STF) were used against the masses. However, after the promulgation of emergency, military rule has been imposed in addition to mobilisation of the above forces. Correspondingly the level of repression has increased manifold. What effect all these have on women is worth noting as they constitute the largest marginalised group who are fighting against the state in various capacities.

Universally rape has been used by various states as an instrument of repression directed against rebellious women; however, there is a cultural dimension to its use. In Iran during the Khomeini era, revolutionary women were raped before they were killed because according to their religious belief, virgin women if killed go to heaven. Hence, to make sure that they went to hell, they were subjected to rape before being killed. In Nepal, where virginity is worshipped in the form of Kumari Puja (the living Goddess of Nepal), virginity is valued as a symbol of purity, prestige and pride for unmarried Hindu women and hence, her family and community. Thus, the use of rape as an instrument of repression in Nepal is to make women culturally impure, frivolous, unfit for marriage, thus, shaming the whole family or community. With the influence of imperialist culture which thrives on pornography, blue films with all kinds of misogyny and sadomasochism messages, and intoxication with liquor consumption, all of which are made freely available for the reactionary armed forces, the political rape by the state has taken brutal dimensions. Thus, the very act of rape and its brutality represents how feudalism and imperialism reinforce each other to teach lessons to rebellious women.

In Nepal women, suspected to be Maoists or sympathisers of Maoists, have been marched nakedly in front of the public, subjected to repeated rape with all forms of sadistic torture on their private parts while in custody. There have been cases of rape committed on whole families whenever the armed forces go to the villages for

search operations. A typical such case is that of a family in Marinkhola of Sindhuli, where a sixty five years old grandmother, a thirty five years old wife and seventeen years old daughter were raped at the same time.

There is, however, a definite qualitative as well as quantitative shift in the way women are punished after the promulgation of emergency. The use of the Royal Nepalese Army on top of the already assigned police force, the STF, has made women subjected to not only mass rape but also brutal rape together with heinous killing. Today, women are brutally raped, with their private parts hacked and killed, and are deliberately displayed before the public for days in order to sensitize the killing. For example, on 10th April, 2002, a platoon member named Roza, who was twenty years old, was arrested in the morning. She was subjected to rape by fifteen armed forces, her dead naked body with tongue drawn out and tied with rope, both her breasts were cut, both her legs were torn apart wide open and a wide gash wound above her eyes were displayed to the public for three days. On the fourth day the Maoist combatants managed to get hold of her body and duly cremated it. Mass rape before the public has become common. All these are a deliberate strategy which has been adopted to send the message that women should not be sent to challenge the status quo and the present state. With the censorship of the press, curfew promulgated, the armed forces are having a field day torturing women and killing them.

It is often assumed that the reactionary state agency uses rape as a reward, a privilege for compensating for the rigorous lifestyle of the armed and police forces. However, rape as an instrument of repression has been deliberately and systematically used in any conflict, war, in order to achieve a tactical and strategic goal. Tactically, rape is used as a weapon to send the message to rebellious women that her place belongs to the home and also the message to her family and community that daughters should not be sent to rebellious movements, organisations, parties. Strategically, rape is used to bolster patriarchal values, sexist ideology in order to reinforce masochism in their men and feminize the enemy, thus, reinforcing misogyny. It also helps in brutalizing their men without

chances of being hit back, as women are generally trained to be docile and are least prepared for war. It also has a psychological advantage of healing the wounded and defeated ego, especially when the armed force is badly defeated by the revolutionary forces. Usually any successful armed assault by the revolutionary force is followed by search operations in the affected area by the reactionary armed forces that go about raping women, burning houses and looting properties. Lastly rape is considered safer as it is least reported, and even if reported hard to prove.

However, use of rape as an instrument of repression by the reactionary forces has negatively benefited the revolutionary forces. First of all, they are able to expose the sexist nature of the exploitative class-based state apparatus. Secondly, they are able to expose the hollowness of reactionary ideology whereby, they use brute physical force including the phallus as a weapon against the ideologically equipped revolutionary forces. Thirdly, they are able to channelise the fury of the raped victim, her family, community into a fighting force. Fourthly, the sense of isolation that is generated amongst the masses from the state apparatus after every such mass rape is in turn channelised into the mass-line, thus giving them security and a sense of belonging. Fifthly, such acts on women have helped in forging unity between struggling men and women to fight together against the state apparatus, thus making them more class conscious. Sixthly, such mass rape is making a mockery of 'virgin worship' in the form of "Kumari Puja" (the so-called living goddess) whose patron is the king, the head of Royal Nepal Army, thus undermining feudal culture. On top of this, the monolithic male structure of reactionary armed force, together with its crime on women, makes the masses gender sensitive which, in a long run has importance for the revolutionary women's liberation movement.

Lastly, for women, the deployment of the Royal Nepalese Army symbolises the force which represents the resurgence of the monarchical system, the hall-mark of feudalism and the number one enemy of the women's liberation movement. Hence politically they are all the more determined to fight against this feudal force.

■ ■

# How Militarily Equipped are Women Guerillas?

*Devika*

'War's unwomanly face' is the title of a Russian translation. But the practice of women guerillas in the ongoing People's War shows that war is very much in the nature of women. One kind of war is against the wishes of not only women but also the broad masses over the world. Another kind of war is the inevitable one that each and every member of the common masses is to wage, either with or without arms.

In fact women do war in their daily lives for obvious physiological, cultural, social and economic reasons. On the broader level they are making 'war' to counter 'war', hand in hand with the other oppressed sections of the masses. So war is not 'unwomanly'. It is either anti women, or, for and by women. The feelings of women guerillas in war shatter the myth of its 'unwomanly nature'.

Here are some accounts of women guerillas participating in war in Andhra Pradesh. When asked about their military experience, the women activists in the squads ranging from District Committee Members to Squad Members came out with their accounts in an emotional and self assured tone.

Most of the women comrades in extreme war areas meet with an encounter with Greyhounds, SSF or the district police, within a maximum period of six months of their recruitment. Their primary experience is quite valuable for them, because it enables them to shed doubts and makes them confident.

Let us start with the experience of a woman comrade of the DCM rank.

*I was in kitchen duty in a camp when the enemy encircled us from three sides. Initially I thought it was an accidental fire. I saw someone in civil dress coming out of the bushes near the kitchen. Mistaking them to be the villagers, I began calling to them. It was the enemy and they started firing on me. The bullets were buzzing all around me. I would have died if they hit me. The firing was rapid. I was shocked and stood still. It did not strike me that I have to fire. I took cover behind a tree only after the commander told me. I fired one bullet. Everyone retreated to a distance of fifty yards. I was struck in between the enemy and my comrades. Later I retreated in their cover firing.*

Another comrade of DCM rank said, *When I first saw the enemy I was not clear what to do. I only know that I have to fire when we see the enemy. I was on sentry duty and saw the enemy heading towards our den. The den was at a distance and I thought it was time to go to inform them. So I fired with the .410 musket. The police ran to the other side of the road and opened fire. Meanwhile my comrades started and*

*advanced by cover-to-cover firing. All of us retreated.*

A section commander in a Platoon says, *Four months after I joined the squad, there was firing. The police came very near and opened rapid fire with an AK 47. I thought I am going to die. The squad was scattered. There was no command. The commander alone fired two bullets. The police chased him. The bullets were shattering the stones. I was holding an 8 mm single round weapon. I thought a while, took cover and fired one bullet. The butt and the barrel bent and got stuck. So I was sure I would fall into the hands of the police. As I was thinking what to do if I fall, I remembered what I read in 'Jung' (the military magazine of the then CPI (ML)[People's War]). Accordingly, I thought I would remove the pin of my grenade and put it like a booby trap below my body. By that time the police firing stopped. They were loading their magazines. I took the chance and escaped by rushing.*

The experiences of these two senior comrades tell us that 'despite being women', as the bourgeois myth goes, they showed excellent presence of mind with no previous experience to count upon. They not only rescued themselves but also retaliated and confused the enemy. In the course of their increasing political understanding and having more and more such experiences, they developed to leadership level. They themselves commanded such firing incidents in the process.

Normally women are considered to be 'delicate' and 'fearing' any untoward incident. Perhaps it is so as long as they are in a certain social framework. Once they are out of it, we see that they are full of courage, initiative and have an unrelenting will-power. Here are some more instances.

The comrade who told the present account was sleeping when the police opened fire. She was the commander of the defense batch. She immediately woke up and gave the caution, for 'covers', as she put on her shoes. The defense batch advanced five to six steps and the police again started rapid firing. The police occupied the covers of the sentry and the defense batch in parallel positions. So the defense batch took positions then and there itself and started firing. Thus the whole team retreated safely.

*Three of our organizational squads were together on an occasion. I was the commander of the camp. The terrain was full of mountains. The police came and opened firing when I went to relieve myself. I immediately ran back and by that time everyone took cover and were firing. I too joined them. A police batch came in between the sentry and us. Another batch*

*went up the hillock from another side. The clamor mine with the sentry did not work. So the sentry batch retreated by firing in the opposite direction. I took the command and conducted the firing. First we made the leadership batch retreat. Later our batch retreated. Everyone retreated fast. I was left with another comrade. As we were retreating another police batch attacked from one side. So we started firing towards both sides and started retreating on to a big hill.*

This is yet another example of women commanding and protecting the whole batch.

With their extraordinary will-power and revolutionary zeal, women are breaking age-old convictions of the feudal society. In the following incident, it was later known that the police commented, 'we thought women could be got hold of easily. But despite being women they countered us courageously'.

In this incident the squad commander and one more comrade were having a bath. As she was washing her clothes they heard a sound. The second comrade was just about to remove her clothes. The commander told her to see where the sound was coming from. She enquired and the police responded with fire.

*I was in the stream below and my clothes were up on a branch. My kit, weapon and pouch were also on the top. I gave a caution to fire and was wondering how to take my belongings. First I managed to take my pouch and then took the weapon. I loaded it and started firing. This made the police go one step back. I saw that there is no chance to retreat since the stream was quite deep and slippery. I started to get down slowly and turned back to fire one more bullets. Meanwhile a bullet hit my hand and there was heavy bleeding. So I handed over my weapon to my comrades and retreated. The situation made me recollect the sacrifices of the heroic women guerillas. I understood the importance of sacrificing ones life for the sake of the people in the People's War. Though initially the situation made me apprehensive, I gradually mustered courage.*

The incident did not stop at this point. The police continued combings in various batches. The guerilla batch was going through a field after giving first aid to the commander's wound.

*We did not have proper covers and the police saw us. A village woman saw the police and cautioned us. Firing started. Though my hand was paining I fired two bullets. I could have fired more but my weapon got stuck. So I tried to retreat in a fast run and fell down. Later all of us got down into a stream and retreated.*

Speaking about an encounter in which

a senior comrade and three others were martyred, a section deputy commander of a Platoon gave the following account:

*Firing suddenly started and was rapid. As the firing started the three of us in the first group became one batch and opened fire. I continued rapid firing until the magazine in my rifle was empty. The police did not move an inch from the down position as we were firing. The comrades in the second group either fell or died because of the rapid firing. We were at a distance. We decided that it is not possible to protect our comrades. Moreover my magazine was empty. So I had to retreat.*

In yet another incident, the police saw the village youth who went to get water for the squad. They followed them and reached the den. Three policemen opened fire in a high kneeling position. One comrade near the sentry was injured.

Recollecting the experience, a comrade said, *'I loaded my sten but it got stuck. In fact all the comrades were sleeping and only three of us had to start the firing. I later realized that I did not remove the safety pin of the weapon. I removed it and fired and thus retreated. A police constable died in this incident.*

The patriarchal society sees women as mere tails of men. Here is an incident where a woman guerilla continued her fight in the people's war after she saw her husband die. The commander ordered the comrade to fire the clamor mine when the police opened fire on the place where the squad was resting. She tried in vain. She informed the same to the commander. The commander asked her to try again. She tried once again in vain. So she was asked to come back. As she was returning she saw her husband lying in a pool of blood. She was shocked and stood still for a while. There was rapid firing from the enemy and she fell down.

Later she managed to get up and retreat with the help of a comrade.

Malaria is a routine matter for the guerillas. For the women guerillas this is an added factor with their given biological routine. On one occasion the police gave a surprise when they reached the squad that was immersed in dancing with the villagers. They advanced in bending position. The women comrades in the squad courageously faced the situation and retaliated without loss.

Women guerillas were not only good at countering the enemy but also in attacking them. Here are some accounts of women who participated in raids. A woman comrade had a heavy discussion with her comrades before she was assigned reccy for a raid. Her colleagues were apprehensive of her identity, because of the short hair and other such things. It was her strong will that persuaded them to keep aside their doubts. The comrade was in the assault group in the raid. She did the reccy three times before the raid.

*We faced unexpected problems in the raid. The police were sleeping inside the building. There were glass pieces on the compound wall. There were two entrances. The bunker of the sentry post was on the other side. So we changed the plan on the spot. We managed to send one comrade up the wall and got the door opened. All of us went inside. We were ready with three mines in case the enemy got alert. We put three mines to the room where the police were sleeping and blasted them. The building collapsed. The jeep near the 'A' sentry post was destroyed. The police inside the building started shouting. Two policemen died and two more were injured. The policeman on 'A' sentry left his SLR and fled. We were slightly late in taking hold of the 'B' sentry and he opened*

*fire. So we lost the chance of seizing the weapons inside the building.*

The comrade adds, *Initially I was hesitant whether I could lead the assault group or not. This raid gave me the self-confidence.* Nine women guerillas participated in this raid.

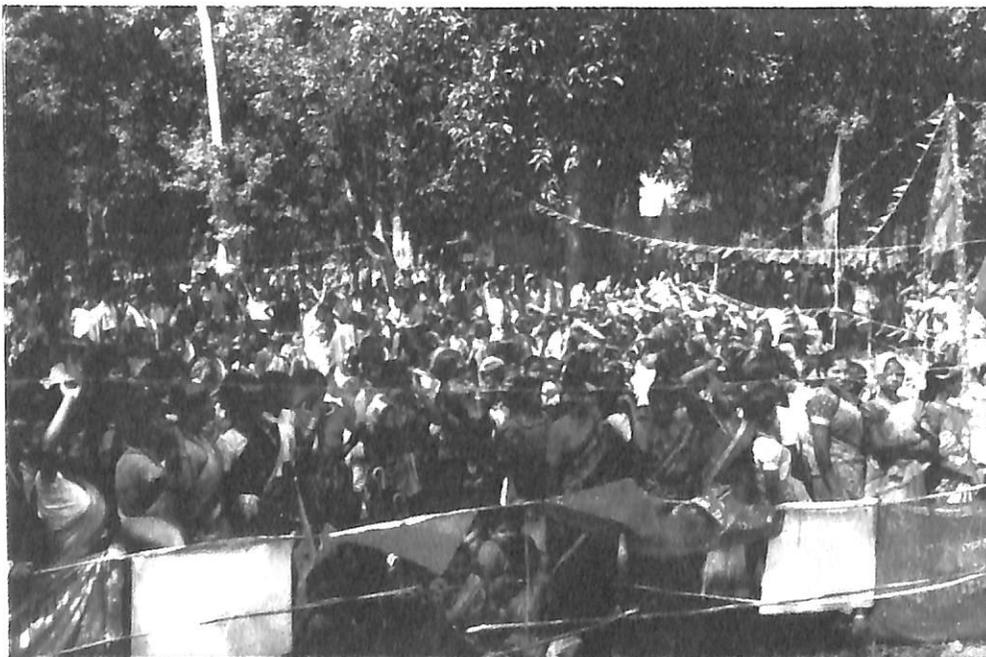
In another raid on a police station, there were fourteen women out of the total of forty. Two women were in the 'A' assault team and two in the 'B' assault team.

*I was in the 'A' assault team. We were to clear the sentry downstairs and the SI's room and destroy the communications. I was in the team for clearing the sentry. Our team opened fire and started the raid. We entered the station. We killed the sentry when he opened fire. We occupied the ground floor and tried to blast the mines we arranged. But they did not burst. As a last resort we got the mines from the sentry and blasted it. All the mines blasted at a time with a big sound. The vehicles were damaged. We took control over the station and seized as many weapons as we could. By that time we received information that additional forces were reaching the spot. So the whole team retreated at high speed on motorcycles. All the women comrades fulfilled their tasks with great enthusiasm in this raid.*

The same comrade was part of an opportunity ambush team in which five of the eight members were women. It was a sudden opportunity. The team blasted the mines already planted at the spot. A team even made a flank attack and hit the enemy. The comrade was part of the flank team.

These are only a few accounts of the participation of women in the ongoing People's War. These reveal not only the revolutionary spirit but also the military capability of the women.

As 'secondary citizens' in a semi feudal and semi colonial country like India, they get 'empowered' when they join the class struggle and the armed struggle. The empowerment is not merely because of weapons. It is because of politics, Revolutionary politics. There is a continuous struggle against all aspects of patriarchy, however subtly it may get reflected. This give confidence to the women to come out as equals with their male comrades. Unlike the revisionists who mostly seek to keep the women in their traditional role, either in the name of being over protective or by turning a blind eye to traditional customs that act to keep women in chains. With the deep feudal prejudices in India unless the women are encouraged to come out on equal terms with their male counterparts and away from their traditional roles patriarchy can never be thoroughly combated. The women interviewed here are a shining example of how women can come forward in the course of the revolution. ■ ■



*Continued from page 19*

proceeding in his duty to build a guerrilla zone with the perspective of Base Area in the Malnad region. It is not an exaggeration to say that he was the “brain and spine” of the revolutionary movement in Malnad. Under the guidance of MLM, he was meticulous in studying the concrete conditions in Malnad and drawing up a plan of action to achieve that task. He was not only the “brain” but also an activist, organizer, comrade-in-arms and the commander of the People’s Liberation Guerrilla Army. He was an astute student of Com. Mao in integrating with the Dalits, Adivasis and other oppressed masses. He adopted the Maoist style of functioning of leading the movement from the “field”. He was a good “teacher” and at the same time being a good “student” ready to learn from everyone.

As a true intellectual dedicated to the liberation of the people of India, particularly Karnataka, he adopted the Marxist methodology of understanding history from a historical materialist standpoint. He authored two volumes of “*Making History*” one of the most scholarly works in the historical study of Karnataka. While partaking in all the strenuous work of the Party and living a life in underground Saketh read profusely about Karnataka history. This resulted in his penning two volumes of “*Making History*”, the second of which was published barely a year back. As the Indian Express says “*and perhaps the only ‘extremist’ whose scholarly work is read in a university in the same state that shot him dead yesterday.....Parts of this work are now being taught at Mangalore University*”.

The first volume traced the history of Karnataka from the first signs of human habitation till the time of British conquest. It ended with the martyrdom of Tippu Sultan. The second volume traced the development of Karnataka history from the

time of British conquest in 1799 till the First war of Indian Independence in 1857. The third volume was to explore into the impact of British colonialism on Karnataka from 1858 to 1947. Though the third volume may never see the light of day, due to his pre-occupation with advancing the rural movement and armed struggle in Karnataka in the period before his martyrdom, the first two volumes are a brilliant example of the application of historical materialism to a study of past history of the country. In its depth of analysis and penetrating scientific approach it can be put on par with some of the writings by the renowned Marxist historian D.D.Kosambi.

With a flair and fluency in English and Kannada, the ability to sum-up the information in a systematic way with an ideological outlook, he wrote many articles in the party journals.

This heroic communist, who wielded The Pen & Gun with Equal Proficiency, will be remembered by the people of India for his two big contributions to the Indian revolution. First, it was he who, together with others, pioneered the initiation of armed struggle under communist leadership in the Western Ghats of Karnataka. Second, it was he, under the pen-name Saki, who has penned the history of Karnataka in his two volumes of “*Making History*” tracing the history of the Kannadiga nationality from the earliest of times to 1857.

His loss is an insurmountable blow for the party in Karnataka. But the path he showed, the path of sacrifice for the noble cause of establishing a New Democratic India towards building Socialism and Communism, will definitely inspire the party and the people of Karnataka. They are sure to emulate the dedication of Com. Saketh Rajan for the revolution and liberation of the oppressed masses and the determination in fighting the enemy in achieving that noble cause till his last breath.

Com. Shivalingu hailed from a middle peasant background in Sindhanur Taluk of

Raichur district. Inspired by the revolutionary peasant movement in Raichur, he joined the student organization in 1998. When the rural work in Raichur was withdrawn and shifted to Malnad in 2001, he readily accepted the party’s call to join the armed squad and discontinued his studies. A young revolutionary, at the age of around 25, he was a very active and determined fighter. Although he was new to the Malnad region, his hard work and dedication to the cause of revolution inspired the Adivasis and other oppressed masses of that area. Within a short period, he gained the confidence of the masses of Malnad and became an organizer. The hard terrain and the bloodsucking leeches did not deter him from the path of revolution. Though he was not much experienced in field craft and military techniques he was a valiant fighter and showed grit in the encounters with the enemy. He was the guard for Com. Saketh, when the incident took place. He laid down his life in the struggle to protect the life of the leadership and for the liberation of the oppressed masses. He was a well-disciplined guerrilla soldier ready to undertake any responsibility given by the party.

These two comrades upheld the glorious path shown by our beloved martyrs. They displayed the revolutionary firmness, courage and Bolshevik spirit in the face of the enemy’s onslaught. The red banner of revolt is reddened with the blood of these two martyrs. They cherished the noble cause where the exploitation of man by man and subjugation of the toiling masses under the yoke of imperialism, feudalism, capitalism and all other reaction will be buried permanently and laid down their invaluable life in the struggle to achieve this.

*Let us pay our red tributes and homage to our beloved martyrs by advancing the struggle in the path shown by them.*

*Let us fulfill the dreams of our beloved martyrs with more determination, hard work and preparedness to make any sacrifice in the struggle for building a guerrilla zone with the perspective of Base Area in Malnad.*

*As Com., Gonzala said, let us “Snatch the victory from the mouth of death”.*

*Long live Comrades Saketh Rajan (Prem) and Shivalingu (Arun)!*

*Hail the martyrdom of our beloved Martyrs!*

— Ravindran

Barely five days after his martyrdom a fitting reply was given when over 100 Maoist guerrillas stormed the police camp near the AP border in Tumkur district of Karnataka. In this strike seven SRP (State Reserve Police) from Karnataka were killed and some injured. The fascistic Congress Chief Minister said there “*will be no mercy*”. He immediately announced massive police operations in two regions of Karnataka — Malnad & the AP border area — involving a police force of 250 each. That too it is the most brutal of all forces, the STF (Special Task Force) which was used to kill Veerapan that is being pressed into service against the Naxalites.

## Hail the Heroic Martyrdom of Com. Saketh Rajan (Prem) and Com. Shivalingu (Arun) !

### Avenge the brutal killing of our beloved Comrades ! !

February 6<sup>th</sup>, 2005 is a most tragic day in the history of the revolutionary movement not only in Karnataka but also for the whole country. On that day, the people of Karnataka lost one of its brave sons; on that fateful day the Party, Communist Party of India (Maoist), lost one of its invaluable leaders and a fighter; on this day the revolutionary movement in Karnataka suffered a severe blow.

On receiving definite information about the movement of the squad and Com. Saketh from a notorious landlord and informer Shesha Gowda, and a Bajarang Dal goon, near Menasinahadya village of Koppa Taluk in the Western Ghats, about 80 policemen, led by Dy. SP Shivakumar, divided into four groups and reached that place from all directions around 1.00 am. At 6.00am, when the squad came out of the house, the blood-thirsty police thugs surrounded them and started firing. Although the comrades were surprised by the sudden burst of firing, the squad retaliated. But Com. Saketh Rajan and Shivalingu, who fought heroically for the liberation of the poor and oppressed till their last breath, fell to the bullets of the enemy. Other members of the squad retreated safely. The brutality of the killers was evident from the way the crime was committed. The back portion of the head of Com. Saketh was blown off. He was shot from a rifle at point blank range from behind. Com. Shivalingu was also shot in the stomach from behind. Yet, many intellectuals raised doubts about this 'encounter' considering that the police and CM conspired to dispose of the dead body without giving it to his comrades and even the mother. Serious doubts are that it was a fake encounter so as to hide the torture marks from the body.

Enraged by this gruesome murder the revolutionary masses, democrats and intellectuals expressed their strong protest. Suspecting foul play in the whole incident the Citizen Forum for Peace Initiative demanded re-post-mortem of the deceased, to stop the ongoing operation against the Naxalites in Malnad, and to conduct a judicial enquiry into the 'encounter'. They met the vicious CM, Dharam Singh, and requested him to hand over the bodies to

them. The liar CM promised to hand over the bodies but refused to stop the ongoing operation against the Naxalites. Even as the sympathizers and supporters began making arrangements for paying the last tributes and homage to the beloved comrades, the police stealthily took away the bodies from the mortuary and cremated them without the presence of the relatives or the sympathizers. True to his chameleon nature



**Saketh in college days**

the CM approved the cremation of the bodies by the police. As the news of the cremation leaked out the supporters and sympathizers, who were in the mortuary protested against this inhuman conduct of the police. Panicking by the growing anger of the revolutionary masses and the sympathy wave among the wider sections of the broad masses, and fear of exposure of their brutalities and conspiracy, the police conducted the cremation by using brutal force. More than 400 policemen were mobilized at the crematorium; and the cremation was completed by deception and at gunpoint.

Com. Saketh Rajan hailed from an orthodox upper caste, upper class background. His father was a Major in the army. Discontented with this inhuman social system and the hypocrisy of the rulers he was dedicated to the cause of the poor and oppressed since his student days. As reported in the Indian Express: His parents had expected him to become an engineer. But he dropped out of the B.Tech course

and chose to study literature instead. He then studied Mass Communications at the IIMC, New Delhi. As narrated by his college friend, Lingaraj Gandhi, and now professor at the Mysore University, "*Saketh read voraciously and widely. The book 'Wretched of the Earth', by Franz Fanon had an enormous impact on him.... I was confused, but he was beginning to make up his mind..... Then there was no looking back*".

Imbibed with the great ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and inspiration for the advancement of the revolutionary movement in AP, his compassion for the poor and oppressed transformed him into a dedicated revolutionary. He completely integrated himself with the revolutionary movement since 1983. Com. Saketh started as a student organizer and was one of the most committed Communist Revolutionaries of Karnataka. He played an active role in almost all struggles and built the party from scratch. To name a few he was in the forefront in exposing the expansionist designs of the Indian ruling classes in setting up of the Rare Earth Material Plant, at Ratnahalli near Mysore, where the enrichment of Uranium, which can be used for nuclear bombs, is produced. He played a leading role in thwarting the joint venture of imperialist and comprador ruling classes of Karnataka in setting up the "Japan Industrial Township" at Sattanur near Bangalore and the expansion of mining activities in the Western Ghats by the Kudremukh Iron Ore Company Limited (KIOCL).

In 1987, he was elected to the State Committee in the first state conference of Karnataka, and in the fourth state conference in 2000, elected as the state Secretary. He was the delegate to the 9<sup>th</sup> All India Congress of the erstwhile CPI (ML)(People's War) and was elected to the CC as an alternate member.

In his two decades of revolutionary life, he never wavered even for a moment. He creatively applied the ideology and party's political line to the concrete conditions of Karnataka. The revolutionary movement in Karnataka is still weak. But this did not deter Com. Saketh from

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