

NUPEESINGGI NINGTAMBAGI KHONGJANGSING

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1. Bourgeois Nupeesinggi Khongjang

Bourgeois nupee singgi khongjangsi – matamgi (modern) nupee singgi khongjang ama oina – capitalist potthok puthokpagi machatna adudagi chonglakpa mayolni. Capitalism haibasina nupee amasung nupa gi marakta “mannaba” (equality) haibasi fangnabagidamak hotnariba kayasigi sellam (economics) yumfam sembadagi hendoktuna nupee gi khongjang hounanabagidamak safu kanna eensillibani. Capitalist potthok puthokpagi mawong asina, bourgeois khunnaigi hourakfam yumfam oiraduna, nupee sing amasung angangsingna potthok puthokpada mahei fangna saruk yajaramba khunnaigi fibhamsing adubu kang- khong chailhanbikhi. Hannangeigi khunnai – khunsemlakpagi mawongsing amasung tangkaksingduda oikhiba khunnai fibhamsingduna nupee singgi punshigi fibhamsing lepkhibani aduga nupa singgi makhada makhoibu namthabikhibani. Hannangeida nupee singna eemung- manunggi potthok puthokpagi makhal kayagi thouram thoudasing pangthokkhi. Adubu keithel- leikaising (town) thoraktuna maduda matamgi industry kaya lingkhatnarakpa asina makhoina yumda sujaduna potthok puthokpa ngamhallaktabadagi hendoktuna potthok puthokpada changgadaba louee- sing-oo gi (agricultural) potchangsing adusu fanghankhidre. Potthok puthoknabagi pambeising, engine, machine khutlaising faba hen-gatlakpa, aduga sellon sinbagi (economic planning) amasung scientific lousing sijinnabada hei- singbagi chang hen-gatlakpa asinachingba kayasina asigumba khanghoudana thak-kha onba asi oihallakpada maruoiba maram oikhibani. Bourgeois khunnaida oirakliba awonba asiga eeroimana khongfam naina nupee kanglup amasu thorakkhi. Nupee sing asina yamna ningthina mee kholladuna, makhoigi sak-ong bu wayel amasung khunnaida nupana namthabiriba asidagi ningtamba puraknaba, sak- ongsinggi marakta khennaba leitraba khunnai ama puraknaba kanna hotnarakkhi.

Bourgeois nupee singgi khongjang asina wayel- pathapta amasung khunnai meetyengda nupee su nupa ga chap mannaba fam/ meengchat fanghangadabani haiba pandam asi thanggatlakki. Makhoigi lamjingbisinggi wakhal di masigi pandam asi fangalabadi nupee singse suksoi soidana ningtamlagani haibasini. Masi achumba natte. *Suffragettes* sing asina meeyoibagi ningtamba amasung chap- mannaba meetyeng fangnaba natraga meenai loibagi machatna muthatpa haibasi bourgeois khunnai muthattrimakhei mapung faba ngamloi haibasi ooba ngamkhide, oorabasu ooba pamkhide. Bourgeois khunnai asidi senjao- lallonba singgi (capitalist) sendong fangnaba potthok puthokpa mawong amasung bourgeois amasung khutsu- meesinggi thak singsi taisinnaba yaroidaba thouongsingda yumfam oiraga sagatpani. Masina khunnai asibu namhattuna sijinnariba amasung palliba meeyoisingbu thak ama oina nakal amaromda leihallaga nakal amaromdana namhattuna sijinnariba amasung mathakta panpiriba meeyoisinggi thak ama namthaduna thambiribani. Nupee singna makhoigi ‘hak’ sing fangdaba maramna, mathakthongba amasung khudongchaba fangliba nupa singda henna oijaba fanghannabagidamak, ot neibiribani. Tasengbadi masi nupee singna nupee haiba tonganba sak-ong kanglup ama oirubana natte. Tasengbadi nupee

singgi oiriba fibham amasung makhoigi punshi- khongloi samba haibasi makhoina meeyoi thak ama oirubanani, palliba thak natraga panbiriba thak. Wayel pathapki lairixingda sak-ong singgi fam chap mannei haina eerabasu namhattuna sijinnabiraba amasung ot- neibiraba nupee singgidamaktadi, makhoigi thak ki nupasingna amasung makhoigi sak- onggi bourgeois nupa singga changdamnabada khunnai amasung meeyoibagi ningtamba mapung fana fangjadaba adugumna, makhoisu mapungfaba khunnai amasung meeyoibagi ningtamba mapung fana fangjade.

Nupee gi oiriba fibham asigi maramdi chatnabi chaokhat-hannabagi amasung hingnabagi changdraba yadraba potchangsing adu puthoknabagi pambeisingbu lannai-mapu naibagi machatna oiriba bourgeois khunnai asi khaktada thokpa khennaba thak ki muknaba (class contradiction) asinani. Namhattuna sijinnaribiraba thak ki nupee sing amsung makhoiga naknaraba ot-neirabasing – makhoina amom meeyoisinggi khwaidagi masing yamlaba kanglupsu oiri – asigidamak tasengnamakki mapung faba ningtamba amasung mannaba ama purakke hairagadi sotthahallaba thakki meeyoisingbu meenai oihanbagi machatna asigi hourakpham adu muthatpa tangaifade. Matangi potthok puthokpagi pambeisinggi mawong matouga chunnana meeyoising natraga apikpa mee sanggusinggi lannai mapot marul sing asi punna khunnai- pot oihallaba aduga khunnaina mapu oiduna potthoksingsi puthoklaba, madubu mannana meeyamda mathou tabagi matung eenna yenthoklaba amasung maheisingdu punna chamminnaraba matam adutada khennaba khunnai adubu muthatpa ngamgani. Asigumba sellamchat ki yaol amakhaktana henna nouba amasung khunnaigi awangba thak fangba ngamgani. Adugumba khunnai adukhaktada nupee singgi chaokhatchanaba amasung meenungsi gidamak toujaningba thabaksing ningtamna toujaba ngamgani. Sak-onggi khennaba thamba leitraba namhattuna sijinnabiraba meeyamgi ningthina sil langlaba yaol khongjang adu khaktana thak ki khongjang sagatladuna pandam asi fanghanba ngamgani. Thak ki khongjang asibu karimatta khanna neinadraba, nupa na hai-humna panbagi mayokta houriba nupee singgi khongjang asina nupee singgi ningtamba purakpa ngamloi.

Khudamsing amasung thengnarakpasingda yumfam oiraba scientific wakhallon asidagi pum-ol onnaraba mawong amada bourgeois nupee singgi khongjang asidi nupa singna yumbal da, leingakta amasung khunnaida henna khudongchaba fangliba adudagi nupeesingbu ning tamhangadabani haibasidagi haina lao khongbadagi hendri. Masi makhoigi awatpa haibaduni. Malemda houriba bourgeois nupee singgi khongjang khudingda awatpa asi lei. *Suffragettes* singna nupee gi ningtamba puraknabagi matangda chayet khoynetnaraba wahang kaya leiribasi khunnaisida nupee singna oirakliba kayasi mamut tana neinaduna khangnaba hotnade haibasi mayek sengna ooba fanghalli. Makhona khunnai neinabada bourgeois singna pamjaba bourgeois khunnai amagi meetyengdudagi yengbani. Makhoigi wakhal amasung thouong- thouramsi chatnaba yaroidabagi maramdi; nupee singbu meenaigum sijinnabagi thabaksi lannai lun-thum amasung masiga mari leinabasingdagi thorakpani haibasi puwarina eikhoida takpiri.

Nupana panba amasung makhoina nupee gi mathakta toubu ngamliba kayasi yeithekkani hairiba bourgeois nupee singgi khongjanggi maru oiba pandamsingdi: luhongnaba hainaba (contract marriage), luhongba amasung khainabada chap-mannaba hak fangba; nupee amasung nupa animakna machasing gi matangda chap- mannana hak fangba; nupee nupa animakki chap-mannaba lamchat pathap; nupee na magi lun-thum, khutsumal amasung tansinjaba marulsing sijinnaningba mawongda sijinnaba yabagi hak; tamjaningba *sil* tamjabada aduga touningba thabak toujabada ningtamba fangjaba; khunnaigi hiram khudingda nupee nupa animak chatningbada

chatpa amasung touningba *sil* toubada chap-mannaba athingba leitaba; leibak leingak amasung masigi masha oiba silfamsingda mapungfaba leingakki hak haibasi nupee singnasu fangba, amasung asinachingba kaya. Amom sak-ong singse laba sak-onggumna chap- mannaba mammal lei amasung hak lei haina pallibasi akhannana maruoiba wafamni. Adum oinamak, nupee bu meenai oina sijinnabasi kharakhei kok-hannabagi nattraga mutthatnabagini haiduna semdok-semjin (reform) khara chatna pathapki manungda puraknaba hotnariba asidi thoina kannaba ama oide. Tasengna hairabada, thak anembasingbu meenaigum sijinnaba machatna asi leibana, namhattuna sijinnabiraba singbudi masa amasung mathounabu yotlina punduna thambadu toktabana bourgeois khunnaida hinglibi nupee ayambagidi semdok-semjin kharasina kannaba amatta purakte. Bourgeois nupeesinggi khongjang asina mai pakpada mapung oina kannaba fanglibising adudi lun- thum marang kaiba, leingakpa amasung namhatliba thakki, sellamda awatpa athingba leitrabi nupee singduni.

Atonba thakpu meenaigum sijinnabagi machatna asina sak-ongbu meenaigum sijinnabagi machatna asi thok-hanba amasung henna tamthihanba taragasu *suffragates* sing asina nupee ayambabu meenaigum sijinnabiriba asigi mayokta lan houde. Khonggaonabiraba singna makhoigi meenai-mapusing amasung ot- neirabasinggi mayokta hourakkadouriba thak ki muknaba asi makhoina mayek sengna mamu yeithok-ee. Bourgeois nupeesinggi khongjang asidi makhong animak mara chetna bourgeois khunnaigi louri yumfanda thaduna thamlaga eehourakliba khutsu-meessinggi eehoudagi bourgeois khunnaibu kalhounaba hotnaribani. Makhoina hek hotnajaba haibabu nupasinggi khudongchaba peenabagidamak wayel- pathapki amasung khunnaigi yotli kayana punduna langda thambagum thamliba nupee singbu khajiktang komthok komsin yahannabagidamak bourgeois khunnaigi machatnada semdok semjin kharakhak toubani. Khutsu meesingna leingak chupli paisanduna nupee singgi ningtambabusu purakpa haina pandam thamliba yaol adubu *suffragettes* singna, makhoigi khongjangna hourakpa matamda kharamakheidi ooba fangkhiba adumak tung-eenna, makhoigi kuch lottabamakhei, akhaba meetyengga loinana aduga makhoidi kanagisu meechang natte haibadu oottabamakhei, mayek sengna athingba/ ayetpa thamkhibani. Matou asumna, bourgeois nupee singgi khongjang asidi nupee singgi ningtambagidamak lamyamba natte amasung ningtambabu pamjariba nupee singgi pandam adubu sougatpa khongjangsu natte. Masidi bourgeois thakki meeyoisinggi khongjang oikhi aduga oidunasu leigani. Masidi bourgeois singgi ningtambagilan da bourgeois singna feudal khunnaigi mapung oibasing amasung leingakpa kanglupsingbu chingtharaga makhoina leingakki chupli paihouba adugi aroiba mayol chonglakpa amani. Masigi pandamdi feudal lengakta hai-human pallambasingna netkhaibiraba amasung neikhaibiraba mayamsingdu feudal gi mayokta houriba lan aduda luchingduna puba yanaba wachum-pathap adubu wayellon da pathap ama oina masak khangkhibakhaktani. Hairiba wachum- pathap sing adudi *bourgeois democracy* asigi mapung oiba pathapsingduni. Masidi malemda leiriba mee khudinggi hak lei haibadu fongdokpagi matagam bourgeois khunnaida hingliba meeyoi khuding chap- mannei amasung chap- mannaba hak fang-ee haina wayel pathapta khangnabiba khaktani.

Wakhallon da laininggi thajabana mapung oikhiba tarataret suba chahi cha England gi bourgeois mapanggal sagatlakkhiba lamyانبasinggidamaktadi, malem gi meeyoibasinggi hak haibasidi laina/ ishwar na peebe khudol ni. Chahi chama leiraga France ta bourgeois singna feudal singgi matik magungi mayokta makhoigi mapanggal sagatkhiba lanthengdu thougatnaba lallong takpikhiba wangoolon subasinggi (philosophers) materialist world view gi matung eennadi, malemgi meeyoibasinggi hak haibasi khunnaida hingliba meeyoi khudingda pokpa amasung ee

marigi khennaba leitana saruk tamlamba mahousagi oiba hak ni. Masigi wakhallon anisida yumfam oiraga international bourgeois nupee singgi khongjang asina nupee bu khunnaida mannaba hak fang-hanba haibasi malem gi meeyoibasinggi hak amani, masidi lai gi khudolni, amasung masi mapanggal henna kanba nupa singna maoanggal sonjaba nupee singdagi mumbikhraba mahousagi hak ni haina laori. Socialist ki paojel amasung pukhatlakpa marei kayana safu henjillakpa matam adudakhaktani makhoina, tapna tapna mapungdi fadriba, makhoigi pandam asi nupee singgi honglakpa punshi mawong amasung sinfamgi feebhamda yumfam oi haina achumba pandam oina ootnaba hotnarakpase. Adubu bourgeois khunnai amadadi “democracy gi wachum-pathap” haina laothoklibadu tasengbagidi bourgeois singna hai- human panba yanabagi lambee ni aduga malem gi meeyoibasinggi hak haina hairibasingdu lun- thum marang kaibasingda henna khudongchaba peenabagidamaktani haibasi makhoina khangsinnade.

Bourgeois nupee singgi khongjang asigi hourakphamdi taramapal suba chahi- chagi athengba matamda *French Revolution* adudagini hairi.maamsigi akanba thoudoksingdugi nonglei- nungsit maraktuda, ningthina pullaba amasung muknabada chaona sarul yakhraba nupee singna amom haiba sak-ong singse yumbalda, khunaaida amasung leingakta *chap-mannaba* (equality) haibadu mapung fana fanghangadabani haiba pandamdu thanggatlakki. Olympe de Gouges ki matung eennadi asigumba pandamsi “nupee amabu fasigi sagaida kakhatpasi hak adu fanghanbanina, mahaksu leingak loisnggi *speaker* ama oibagi mannaba hak adu fanghanfam thok-ee” haiba wahei pareng asida chelliba nunggi oiba “malem gi meeyoibasinggi hak” haiba wahanthoksina oihallakpani. Yaol adubu kanjanabagidamak amasung mapung fahannabagidamak nupee singna, tasengnamaksu nupee mayam amana, katthokchakhrabasu amasung mai pakna hotnajakhrabasu meeyoibagi hak haibadu neepisinggi hak oikhide. Masigi khongfam asi oiraknabagidamak bourgeois khunnaibu nouriba capitalism aduna mapung fana yaol amada purakpa ngamkhide. Adugisu mathakta, capitalism adunasu nupee singgi hak haina hainaribasina malemgi meeyoibasinggi hak haibadu oigani hairibasi matik chade haibasi mayek sengna ootnababa bourgeois amasung khutsu- mee thaksinggi marakta mayek sengna khennahanba ngambagi changdu youhanba ngambasu oidri. Asiga chap mannana, bourgeois nupee singgi khongjangsina makhoina oisu oidaba kayabu oibaba sassinnaba yaoroi, maming oina tharabada; nupee haibasingsigi mapung faraba ningtamba purakpa.

Taramapal suba chahi chagi ahanba tangkakta France amasung Germany da thokkhiba revolution sing, England da thokkhiba leingak amasung khunnaigi muknabasing, aduga, maruoina, United States ta industry chaokhatlab North amasung feudal South anigi marakta thokkhiba meenai loiba machatna muthatnabagi matangda thokkhiba akanba lan asinachingba kayasigi matungtaba oina nupee bu chap-mannahan-gadabani haina ngang sakpa saknaibasing thorakkhi. Pandamsiga kabok kabok mari leiraba nupee lup kayana pandam asi thanggatnanabagidamak thoraknakhi. Germany amasung France tadi lamyamba kharana nupee singgi ningtamba khaktana nupee sinmee singgi punshigi fibhamsingbu fagat-han-gadabani haina laobasu hourakkhi. Adubu makhoina hotnakhisingse khutsu –mee thakki meet yengdagi thorakpa wakhallon oihanba natte, masidi pukningda faorakpa meeyoibabu tengbangninglakpa eethilduda yumfam oiraga lairarabi mache-machal singbu kharakhei tengbangningba faorakkhiba awangba thaktagi yengtharakpa meetyengni. Makhoina nupee singbu kouduna makhoi masana masagidamak makhoigi anemba thak adudagi lanthengnaraknabagidamak pukning thoughtpibadi pamkhide. France amasung Germany gi revolution singda – June 1848 ta Paris ta thokkhiba lantheng – sinmee singna khutlai paiba lanmee thak oina tarang tarang chongthorakkhiba aduda eekai khumnaningai masak oiraba

bourgeois singdi meepainakhrabani. Capitalism haibasida maung marei fana chaokhatlaklaba leipak khudingmakta, namhattuna sijinnabirabasing amasung namhattuna sijinnaribasing gi marakta thokliba thakki khennaba asidi saathina hen-gatlabani aduga khutsu meesingdi wakhal amasung thouna chokthaba naidraba, punsillaba amasung leingak- lousing leiraba yaol lanmee oina tasin khomjinnaduna sem saaba hounakhi. Bourgeois singna ahanbada yaolloising asibu makhoiromda chingsillaga thugainaba hotnarakkhi. Asumna yaolgi lanmee singbu yaolloidagi yaol pamdaba oihalli aduga aroibada yaol gi mayokta leiba kanglup ama oihankhi.

Bourgeois nupee singgi khongjam asina counter – revolution kanglup ama thorak-hannaba poramda achouba thoudang lou-ee. Khongjang asigi thakki mawong manat, ariba yahei wataga lottuna thamba yaadraba, henna mayek sengba hen-gatlakhi. Masi henna mayek sengna ooba ngamhanbasi maruoina khongjang asina khutsu nupee singbu ngaksenbibagi amasung meekhalda nupee singna saruk yahan-gadabani hairaga awangba thakki nupee sing khaktada kannaba peeriba thowong amasung meetyeng asidagi khangba ngammi. Tasengnamakkisu, achouba senjao (capital) na palle haibagi khangba ngamdaba mapung thitlaba mayai thakki amasung akhang ahei nupee singgi mathou taabasing amasung apambasing fangnabagi henna makhou pongna lao khongliba *suffragettes* singna khongjang asi hakchinna chatthahankhibani. Adum oinamak, masi khuding oidunasu bourgeois nupee singgi khongjang asi henna “monthaba” ama oirakkhi. Khongjang asina ariba lanna-paothokpa kayaga londinnakhi, aduga bourgeois thakki apamba thunghanba haiba pandamsina amom sak-ongsingba “chap- mannaba” fanghanba haiba pandamsidagi henna wangna thangatki. Nupee singbu meekhalda saruk yahan-gadabani haibagi lan da masana masabu katthokchakhiba US amasung England gi leingak muthatningkhiba *suffragette* singna tasengnamakkisu *suffrage* khongjang asigi thakki manat adu ootkhi, abudu makhoina manat adu hongdok-hanba ngamkhide. Makhoina leibak khudinggi nupee singbu mache- machal ni haiba eesei kaya sakcharabasu aduga ningtambabu kayamuk pamjakhiba taragasu, leibak kayagi bourgeois nupee singgi lup ayamba, matam khudingda mareibak kanbaga mari leinaba thabak ngakta toukhi, mareibak nungsibada ngaorabasu amasung mareibak nungsibana maram oiduna loilam sandokpasingna chahi mari henna chatthakhiba furup hatpangi (genocide) machatnadu sougatpa oina.

Russia gi khutsu- meesing na malemgi khutsumeegi yaol mai pakpangi kangsi khinglakpada, 1917 gi October Revolution gi nungsitna humladuna, capitalist, loilam amasung kabok- loilam (semi-colonial) leibaksinggi neihatpiraba amasung namhattuna sijinnabirabasingna madugi mayokta lanthengnanaba amasung makhoibu punsinduna thamliba yotlisingdu hoktoknaba chongthoknarakkhi. 1917 gi matungdadi, bourgeois nupeegi khongjanggi khwaidagi maru oiraba pandamdi nupeesingna makhoigi thakpu meenai oina sijinnariba amasung makhoigi sak-ongbu meenai oina sijinnariba adudagi nanthokpa ngamlaroidaba bourgeois khunnaigi machatna adubu ngak senduna kalhouba haibasini. Masi khudingse USSR da chatnariba leingak- pathap amasung socialist potthok puthokpangi mawong aduna khutsumeegi yaolna nupee singbu khunnai amasung meeyoibagi ‘mannaba’ hak haiba wakhallonsi cheda khakta eeba natte haina ootliba henna wangba makhalgi sellam amasung khunnai mawongsing adu puraklaba faobada toukhibani. Bourgeois nupee singgi khongjangna yaolgi khongjangna yaolgi mayokta toukhidaba hairagadi eeng tapna awonba puraknabagini haina semkhiba International Women’s League for Freedom and Peace haibasi mangaire. League asigi makokthongba luchingbasingdu lan houriba sinmee yaolloisingna suksoi soidana bourgeois khunnaigi machatnabu thugaiduna makhoina leingak- pallani haibasitabada masa nikpa faokhide. Makhoigi matou asigi hourakphamsu makhoina tasengna lan

pamjadaba, eeng tapna panbabu pamjaba amasung Russian Revolution na nupee singgi ningtamba purak-ee haibasi makhoina latnaba leitana khangba ngamkhiba asinani. Adum oinamak, League asidi bourgeois nupee singgi khongjanggi pisak piklaba saruk machete amakhaktani.

Ningthina sil-langlaba *feminism* gi yaol gi mayokta semgatliba mapanggal asi bourgeois mabemmasingna chungsannarakana leppa natte, masi lepkadabasi makhoina sinmee nupee kaya yamna makhoigi aralpa lamjing amasung pangthahanba ngamba safuna humduna puba ngambana oigani. Nupee sing asigi wakhalna pamjabasing amasung thouong thouda khuding khennaba sak-ong anigi marakta mukhainaba haibasida ngamnamak meetyeng tahanduna bourgeois khunnai asigi manungda semdok semjin khara touhannaba hotnabani, yaol ama puraknabagidamak khennaba thakki mayokta ningtam lan houbagi wafam yaode. Bourgeois nupeegikhongjangna meeyambu yaol haibasi chamamnahallaga yaol dagi natheiduna puthokpani. Masidi thouong thoudada *Social Democratic Women's Movement* haiba yaol pamdaba, hannagi machatna adugi manungda hongdok hongjin khara touraga tokpa, aduga karisu thoina khennade.

Khongjang asigi kannabasingbudi singthadana tokkadabasu natte. Capitalism haibasina pak sandorakpan bourgeois nupee singgi ningtambagi khongjang malem sin thungna sandorakkhi. Asia amasung Africa da leiba nupee masing kayabusu masigi kuyomsina yotsinkhi. Namthabiraba amasung neihatpiraba thak sing amasung mee kanglupsingna loilam sandokpa leibaksinggi capitalism gi mayokta eehou hourakpa khudignda, sinmee nupee sing kangaonaningai oiba manglan kyada thajahanduna makhoigi mabung – mapwa singna houriba yaolgi lan adudagi khamhouduna loilam sandokpasinggi capitalism bu kalhounaba hotnakhi. Khongjang asina magi nakalda meeyoi kayabu chingsilhou-ee. Senjaoda (capital) nonjagadabani amasung masida thajaba thamgadabani haiba para sandokliba mahei- masing tambibagi sang singsu (educational institutions) khongjangsida chaona saruk yai. Associations, trade unions amasung sinfam lup sing (professional unions) kannaba khajik- khajikti pee; aduga welfare association singna bourgeois yaningdaba wakhal amasung thouram paikhatkadasinggi makhong punsilli, machil melli. Masigi yamna hei singna semlaba sandok wa, eerang hounabagi potchaksing amasung masagi oina masa khangba mee lising lising henba panggala leije. Makhoibu khutnek oina sijinnaba yaanaba meeyam amasung lannai senning (reserve touraba) marang kaina kaithoklaba *sel-* thum amasung potlamgi khudongchaba fanghalli. Bourgeois nupee gi khongjangna kadaifaoba yaolgi mayokta leppage hairabada, bourgeois nupee singgi khongjang asidi yamna saathiraba amasung tamthiningai hoiraba counter- revolution force haina khangnariba asini. Masig keidoungeidasu yanaba ama purakpa oithokte, hotsu hotnaroidabani, samsu samnaroidabani. Malem gi khutsu meesinggi yaol asi mai pakna puraknabagidamak masibusu maithiba peegadabani. Puwari gi oihallakliba amasung oiriba panggalsingna yaol mai pakpa soidana oiba ngamgani haibasi takli.

2. Social Democratic Nupeesinggi Khongjang

Social democratic nupee singgi khongjangna magi khwaidagi mawong taringei puwari tangkakta masana masabu bourgeois nupee khongjanggi mayokta lepkhiba khutsumee singgi eehou ama oina ootchakhi. Masigi tangkak asida khongjang asina bourgeois nupee khongjangna tousinnakhibagum khunnai amasung meeyoibagi mapungfaba ningtamba adugi nupee pumnamakki chap- mannaba puraknaba hotnari haibasi wakhallon fongdokpada amasung paikhatpa thouongsingda ootkhi. Nupee gi wahang haibasi mapung- oiba khunnaigi wahanggi maruoiba saruk amani haibasi *historical materialism* gi mangalda makhoina ookhi. Thakki

muknaba amasung namhattuna sijinnabirabasing amasung namhatlibasinggi thaksinggi marakta thengnariba lan asina suksoi soidana nupee singgi mapungfaba ningtamba purakpa ngamgani haibasi makhoina khangkhi. Khutsu meesinggi yaolna – ningtambagi lan da—bourgeois khunnaibu leikha tahanduna socialism puraklabatangda wayel lairikta eeriba sak-ongsing chap mannabani hairiba loishang-wa asi faodattuna nupee khudingmak maka fanna satchaba amasung maromdom lepchaba meeyoiba oihanba ngamgani haiba wafamsina makhoigi thouram- thouda khuding lamjingkhi.

Bourgeois feminism dagi pumkhen khennaraba mawongda, khutsu mee nupee singgi khongjangsina nupa singgi khudongchabasing asibu muthatnaba nupa sak-ongsinggi mayokta khunnai machatnada semdok- semjin khara tounabagidamak khunnaida leiriba nupee thaksing amasung famsing khudingbu punsinnba kouba ngamkhide, kousu koukhide. Makhoina toukhiba haibabu, khwaidagi eehan hanbada khutsu mee nupee singbu khomjille, aduga makhoigi thakki mabung- mapwasingna khutsamnana lan hounaba takpi tambiba asini. Makhoina khunnaida leiriba thak khudingmakki namhattuna sijinnabiba nupee khudingbusu khutsumee singga loinana khutsamnaduna, potthok puthoknabagi pambeisingbu lannai mapu naibagi machatnasi muthattuna bourgeois khunnai thugainaba thakki lan houninnanaba koukhi.

Social democratic nupee singgi khongjangse waheida amasung thoungda yengluragadi khutsumee nupee singgi khongjangni haina eekaikhumnarugadaba matik chade. Magi pandamamasung thousil neinarubada masi eecham chamba semdok- semjil gi khongjang ama oire, bourgeois meekhal gi natraga bourgeois democracy gi akhannaba makhal amani. Masi Second International dagi meehun hullakkhibani aduga loilam sandokpasinggi lan pokkhairakpa aduda social democracy na khutsu meesinggi apambagi mayokta namthak toukhibada Second International ga eeroimana masisu marai chaithakhibani.

Khutsumee singgi amasung bourgeois nupee singgi khongjangsing asigi hourakphamdi chap mannei; capitalist potthok puthokpangi mawongna eemungda nupeesingna potthok puthokpangi ariba machatnadu thugaikhibadagini. Adubu, matung tabadadi bourgeois khunnaida nupee singgi marakta thakki muknaba/ yetnaba kaya henna mayek sengna hen-gatlakkhi. Sinmee thakki nupeesingna masagi marul leijade haibasina taklibasidi khutsumee nupee singna masa amasung magi eemung hingjanabagidamak henna kannaba amasung khutsumal fanggadaba thabak suba mathou tarak-ee haibasini. Asigumba thabak sufam hangdoklakliba matamgi potthol puthoknaba pambeising amasung fibhamsing, industrialization ga eeroimana lakkhiba sellamgi yaol nachingba kayasi thagatningaini.

Capitalism gi thawai oiriba “sendong” haibasi fangnanaba khutsumal matpibana henna lairahanbasina khutsumee nupee kaya factory singda thabak surunaba hoijinbikhibani. Khutsumee masingna sou saba henjillakpana khutsumal henna honghallaba ahongba nupee khutsu singbu henna sijinnaba haibasi capitalism pak-sandorakpadagi thorak-hanba natraga masigi khudam oiba asikhakta nattana capitalism na maka fanna satchaba fangnabagi changdraba yadraba potlam amasu oiribani.

Sel piduna thabak suhanba haibasina khunnaida nupee na nupa da *sel* gidamak ngaduna leijabadagi nanthok-halle, aduga mahaksu *sel* tanba meeyoi ama oinadi nupa ga chap- mannaba haibadu oijare. Adum oinamak, mahakna nupee ama oina sak-ongbu meenaigum sijinnabagi machatna koktriba

khunnaida hingba maramna, wayelga amasung wayel-lairiksingna mahakpu nupadagi hendok-handanaba punduna thamli. Asigisu mathakta, mana sendal lambida ning tamjaba khara fangbasigi mammal oina mahaknasu khutsu mee thak pu minaigum- sijinnabibagi khwadagi meenungsi leitaba machatna aduda masabu sinnathokcharabani. Masidi makhaktana naggadaba maraibak natte. Khutsu mee nupa singdi khutsumal hantharakpa khangbata nattana factory singdagi eenthorakpagi awaba nanglabani; khutsu meegi machadi sennaba watpana asi ana nanglibani; sinmee thakki meeyoi pumnamak lairabagi chang hen-gatlaklabani. *Scientific socialism* gi lousinggi mangal fangdriba sinmee singdi masi khudinggi hourakfam amasung oirakkadaba singgi matangda wakhal chamamnakhlabani. Capitalist singna namhattuna sijinnaraga khunnaida palliba asigi mayokta khudombi thinduna singnabagi mahut, makhoina khwaidagi namthaba amasung namhatpa mawonggi thabaksingsina makhoibu awaba tahallabani haina lounakhi. Makhoina industryda thabak puribi nupee khutsu singgi mayokta singnakhi amasung khutsu-nupee singda thabak piroidabani haiba wayelgi- athingba ama fangnaba taknakhi. Thainangeida nupee singna nupa singda ngaduna hinglamba machatnaduda amuk hanjillakkadaba pandam adu fangnaba hotnabada khutsu meegi taibangda sak-ongsingi marakta lan hounakhi. Sak-ong sijinnaduna thamnabagi machatna amasung thakki minaigum sijinnabagi machatna anisi naksinnana chayet khoynetnakhiduna khutsumee nupee sing awaba punshi marel amada hingkhibani.

Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier amasung makhoigi thung innaba *Utopian Socialist* singna amabasida manglan-gi meira amakhak chukhatlakkhibani. Khutsumee nupee singna meeyoilon-gi mangal kharakhei fangduna meekap thorakkhi amasung anouba afaba chap-mannaba ningtamba amasung marup sannaba (fraternal) khunnai amada makhoibu fattaba khudingdagi ning tamba fanggani haibagi pandam amakhak fangnaba tannaba hourakkhi. Makhoina tapna tapna punsinnaraktuna – bourgeois nupee singga faoba punsinnaraktuna – makhoibu industry factory nachingbada thabak suba thingjinba adudagi ngakpa hourakkhi amasung sinmee nupee singgi thabakki amasung hingbagi fibhamsing fagathan-gadabani haina laonarakkhi. Manglan amada yumfam oiba *utopian* khunnai ama punna sagatnaba amasung madugi maramda paojel sandoknanaba makhoiga wakhal tinnaba nupee-nupa khudingga punminnakhi. Adubu nupee-nupa khuding maning tamhallagadaba anouba khunnai ama purakpada changgadaba potlam khuding capitalism makhoigi mangda khinduna thambire haibasimadi makhoigi wakhalna lamba fangbagi wangmada leikhi. Anouba khunnai asidi nupee- nupa anina punna hourakkadaba thakki yaol khongjang adukhaktana purakpa ngamgani.

Asumna, khutsumee nupee singgi ningtamba puraknabagidamaktani haina hotnanabagi ahouba oina changsinkhibadu *socialist* natraga *social democratic* haina mingthonba yabasingdudagi karisu hanthaba natkhide. Makhoisidi *feminist, utopian, social revolutionary* amasung *social reformist* singgi saruksing amasung pandamsing mayal tuyallaba khongbu-lup amagi saklon loukhibani. Makhoi chap-chaba lup amagi leifam thokpa kayatsing leibakki amasung leibaksinggi thakta leikhide. England, France, Germany, US amasung atei mafamsingda karigumba matasingdana sellamgi aduga atei matamdana leingakka mari leinaba khollasing laodunata leikhibani. Karamba makhalgi khollaona chunnabage haibasi capitalist pot-puthokpagi mawongna pak-sanna chaokhatlakpa amasung masina leibak kayamarumgi puwari gi fibhamsingna thok-hallakpa yaba afa-fatta, maruoina bourgeois amasung khutsumee thaksinggi marakta thorakliba khennabasingduna lepkadabani; *bourgeois democracy* leikha tarakpagi matangda; aduga khutsumee singna yaol pamba thakki mee oina lousing leikhatlakpa, punsil- tasillaktuna thouram thousil paikhatlakpa amasung lan tounabagi mapanggal hen-gatlakpagi matangda. Asigumba

puwarigi tangkak asida oirakliba fibhamsing adugi maraksida *suffragettes* singgi khollaosing amasung pandamsing adudi ningtamba amasung mannaba puraknaba laoriba khutsu mee nupee singbu athuba matamda thakki lan thoihan-gadaba adudagi natheihoure. Nupee singgi hak amasung kannaba nupa giga chap mannei haiba wakhalsida thajaba thamduna khutsumee nupee singna makhoi masana thawai hakchang yaona saruk yadrimakhei amasung makhoigi wkhal matung eenna natrimakhei makhoigi thakki ningtamba purakpa ngamloi haiba wakhalsida hotnakhre.

Nupee singgi mapung faba ningtamba ama puraknaba lan aduda *First International* na khutsu mee singgi lamjingba amasung tmjaningai mawong ama oikhi. Nupee khutsumee singbu industry da thabak subada wayel-gi athingba thamnaba hotnakhibadu 1866 ki *Geneva Congress* na louthokkhi. Khutsu nupee bu thabak subadagi thingjinnaba pandam asi *rightist* kangbuda hairagana *English Guild Unionist* aduga *left* kangbuda hairagana *anarchist* amasung *Proudhonists* singna hannadagi thanggatlakhibani. Masigi pandamsi chatnaba yaroi haina yetthatpada *Marxist* na *dialectical materialism* da yumfam oiraga industry da thabak subi khutsu nupee singna yaol da achouba kannaba piba ngammi haibadu mayek sengna oottuna neinabaduna achouba thoudang loukhibani. Capitalism gi tamthiraba, yaolgi mayokta leppa thouongsing, namhattuna sijinnaba amasung namthabibana thallaba khunnai machatna aduna khutsu mee singgi thakki fibham sathina sokchalhallaklibadugi mayoktagi kanba ngamnaba wayel-pathap semgadabani haibasi *First International* na thanggatlakhibani pandamni. Union singna warep lounabagumna, masinasu capitalism leikha tahannabagidamak khutsu mee nupee-nupa punna thakki lan saruk yamminnabagi mathou taba leire haibadu ootkhi. *First International* gi *General Council* da nupee ama yaoba fangkhi. Sinmee nupee singgi *trade union* sing, khudam oina hairabada England da leiba khong-oop sembisingsinggi union amasun Lyons gi muga fee saabisingsinggi union na chingba kaya *First International* asida meeng chanduna napsinkhi. *International Working Men's Association* na Lyons gi muga fee saabisingsinggi union na houba strike amada mathouna leina amasung mai pakna saruk yaakhi. Lan thengnariba sinmee thakki oiba malem gi lup haibagi wakhal si sandorakkhi aduga masigi wakhalsina *petty-bourgeois* amasung khutsu mee thakki nupee kayabusu lamjingkhi.

Paris Commune bu sougatchakhibi saknairabising amasung thawaina pontha oikhrabi athoubisingduna makhoigi chap-mannanabagi hak amasung chap-mannaba mingchat fangfam thok-ee haina sagatkhi. Masigi yamna chaoraba amasung leibaksing sinthungna pukning sougatningaigi masak oiraba khutsumee singna leingak paisinnabagi thoudok asi thoktringeigi mamangda, Germany da *socialism* gi pandam makhada khutsumee nupee-nupa singna sil langduna ahanba apunba khongchat chatpaga thouram pangthokkhrabani. Crimmitschau (Saxony) textile amasung panngalna thabak suba sinmee singgi *trade cooperatives* singna konna *International Working Men's Association* gi chatna-pathap tu ngakna chatkhiba *Textile Workers' Union* gi mangjil thaba oina lingkhatkhrabani.

Lup ama oinadi *First International* machet tannakhre, adubu masigi mammal yamlaba puwarigi hiramsing amasung nupee singgi matangda loukhiba yaolgi firep amasung meetyengsingdi khutsu mee singgi marakta tungduna leihou-ee aduga masigi tung-eenba oina nupee-nupa kaya henna masing yamna thomjilhouba ngamkhi. Paris ta 1889 da semkhiba *Second International* bu semgatlakpa hourakhibani meepul-lup aduna masig khudamni. German delegation gi mahut sinduna *German Women Workers' Union* gi nupee mihut anidudagi amana nupee khutsu bu thabak

toubada athingba thambabu yaningdaba oina hunduna ngangkhi; *suffragette* khongjangbu chatnaba yaroi haina yetkhi aduga khutsubi nupee singbu sinmee thakna thengnariba lan sida punna thengnahan-gadabani haiba apambasi thanggakhi. Meepul-lup aduna masigi wafamsingsida yaningba fongdokpa oina thawai changna khubak khunakhi, adubu party sing amasung union singna wafamsiga mari leinana paikhatkadaba thabaksinggi matangda warep amatta loukhiba leite. *Second International* na thabak asi houdokpa nattraga thabak asida thabak asida lamjingba oina chongthokpa pamkhidabagi thouongbu masina mayek sengna ootkhi: khutsumee amasung nupee sinmee singna chap-mannaba amasung ningtamba fangnabagi thengnariba lan asiga khutsu mee singgi thakki lan asiga taisannahanba toukhide – wakhallonda amasung thousil da. Taisannahallamlagadi khunnai yaol ama puraknabagi mayek senglaba tengbang amasung khongjanggi mapanggal mapung marei fana fanglamgadabani. Masigi maru oiraba thoudangsidi *socialism* bu thajaba nupee singda oina eensinduna thambihoure.

Capitalist leibak khudingda mapung marei fana wakhallon tarabi nupee singsina pukning hakchang lupna amasung pukchel sengna *feminist*, *social reformist* amasung *socialist ideas* singna oihalliba charang- khoirangbana kang-khong chairiba adubu sengdoknaba hotnarakkhi; makhal kayagi lup singna machet taribadubu semgatnaba hotnarakkhi; amotpa kannadraba fibham amada taduna leiraba khutsumee nupee singgi eehoubu henna khumang chaosinba kannagadaba amasung mayek senglaba *socialist* nupee singgi khongjang amada onthoraknaba hotnarakkhi. *Social Democratic* nupeesingdi khongjang asi wakhallonda amasung thousil da *feminism* amasung *bourgeois reformism* dagi mayek sengna tongallaba ama oina ootladuna yaol pamba khutsu mee singgi lan theng adugi kannaraba saruk ama oina oohanba ngamkhi. Adudagidi nupee singgi matangda wahang kaya hangfam thokpadusu adumak thokcharakkhi. Nupee gi wahangsingsi khutsu meegi yaol na amasung makhoina panduna *socialism* purakpagi lambee hanggadouriba adukhaktana watemba ngamgadaba khunnai wahangni haina hujikti lounakhre. Germany gi *social democratic* nupee singna matou asumna tamjaningai oiraba “mawong” amasung lambee ama oina adumak lamjingkhre.

Hek ahoubada makhoina sinmee nupee singbu wayelna kunkhatpibagi matangda karamba chatnaba yaba thourang paikhatkadabano haibasida matam pumba kaithoktuna khannarammi. *Marxist* ki wakhallongi liklamdu kaidana, Zurich ta 1893 da pangthokkhiba *Second International* gi meepul-lup aduna matam aduda leiramba *feminist* echelni hairibadugi mayokta firep semkhi. Nupee singna meekhal da saruk yabagi matangda changda yadraba amasung chap- chaba fiduk (position) sembagi yenta- khotnabasi yamna manuk hakchinna khanna neinarammi. Awangba thakki nupee singbu meekhal da saruk yahan-gadabani haina wa sandoklibasi yahallasira? Khutsu meena houriba lan asida malem gi nupee singbu meekhal da saruk yahan-gadabani haina thanggatliba pandamsi thokthoklasira? Nupee singgi leingak- meekhalda saruk yahan-gadabani haibasiga nupee sak-ongsibu khunnaida mapung fana ningtamhan-gadabani haibasiga chap-mannei haina ootliba *suffragettes* singgi wakhalsibu achumbani haina yathoklasira? Masigi wafamsingsi macha tana sengdoknaba hotnarakpada *reformism* amasung *opportunism* (karam chaoba) gi mayokta mapan naidraba muknaba ama adumak thorakkhi. *Social Democratic* nupee khongjanggi *progressive* meehutsingna loukhiba houdokpagi thoudang amasung mangak kankhiba kayaduna Stuttgart ta 1907 da pangthokkhiba *Second International* gi meepul- lup aduda yaol sougatpa *Marxism* na meengchat oorong yungkhi haibasi ooba fangkhi. Thagat waheida hairagadi, *Social Democratic* nupee singgi khongjangbu *Second International* da karam chaoba

amasung *revisionism* ga mukhainabada *socialist* party singgi *left wing* gi khwaidagi mammal yamlaba panggala oikhi.

Sak-onggi khennaba leitana namhattuna sijinnabirabasing punsinduna sem samminnagadabani haiba thajabasimak ngakna chattuna, *Social Democratic* nupee khongjangna sinmee nupee singbu makhoigi sinfam punba marup singgi union singda pusallakkhi aduga thak khudingmakki khusumee nupee khuding makhoi makhoigi mareibakta leiriba *socialist party* singda pusinbirakkhi. Thouong asumna sinduna *Social Democratic* nupee khongjangna magi *International Integration* haiba pandamdu fangnaba hotnabada thengnakhiba khudong chadaba kayadu *Second International* gi kuyom manungda amasung masiga nakna chatminnaduna thengnakhi. 1907 da pangthokkhiba *socialist* nupee singgi ahanba *international conference* aduna German *Social Democracy* gi *Die Gleichheit* haiba nupee singgi chefong adu *International* kayat ama oirani haina warep loukhi aduga *International Secretary* ama khankhi. 1910 da Copenhagen da pangthokkhiba *socialist* nupee singgi anisuba *International Conference* aduda 8 March asi apunba *International action* pangthokpa nupit ama oina *International Women's Day* haina khangnaragani haina warepnakhi. Khutsumee nupee singgi fong fong saariba pandamsinggi matangdadi, khudam oina hairabada nupee singbu meekhal da yaohanba, asi khudingsi *bourgeois* khunnaigi mayokta thengnariba khutsu mee nupee-nupa yaol khongjanggi saruk oigadabani haina khangnare.

Mahei yallani khalluraba *Social Democratic* nupee singgi khongjangdu *reformism* gi chathatningai oiraba panggaldada chathatkhi haibasi loilam sandokpasinggi meehat- lan na ootthokkhi. Adum oinamak yaolgidamak henna thawai hakchang yaona hen-gatlaba punshi amadi thok-hankhi: 1915 da Berne da pangthokkhiba *International Socialist Women's Conference*. *Conference* asina khutsu meegi thakki wakhallon chenba nupee singbu koukhattuna malem gi khutsu mee thakki meeyoisnggi mari sagatlapka aduna namthak touriba *Social Democratic* party sing amasung union singgi mayokta thengnanaba thoujinkhi. *Conference* asina khutsu mee meeyamgi akanba yaolgi lanthengna *bourgeois* khunnaibu thak-kha olhannabagidamak ahanbada mee kanglupsinggi marakta hatna- sunariba adu lephanba mathou tariba adu fangnabagidamak thengnanaba haikhi. *Conferece* adu *Social Democratic* nupee khongjanggi masing yamdraba meeyoi kharana sinkhibani: machet suksoi soidana taragani haibagi mangjounana peeriba paojelni. *Second International* gi lamjing makhada ningthina lup ta tinkhraba *Social Democratic* Nupee ayambasingdi loilam sandokpa *bourgeois* singgi mama leibak ngak sennaba meeyoigi thakta ngamna kumthanakhre. Mareibakki akhuba pukchel amasung thouong singda makhoidi *bourgeois* nupee singga athoi ahen tannakhi. Makhoina khutsu mee nupee singgi mafamda loilam sandokpa singgi manglan sagatnabagi tounariba lan gi pandam amasung mawongsingdugi maramda lanna namthak toubiduna lanna lamjinglaga industry amasung khunnai punshi marelgi mafam khudingda namsanduna thambikhi. Tsarist Russia da thokhriba akhak arao amasung nonglei nungsitkum saathiraba khutsu- meesnggi yaol (Russian Revolution) adudi makhoina karisu tamjakhide; *Social Democratic* nupee singdi yaolloi meeyamna eehouraklibadugi mayakto *bourgeois* thakna kanbagi machatnadu kannaba *bourgeois* gidamak leptuna leirakkhi.

Social Democratic nupeesnggi khongjanggi khwaidagi fajarabani hairiba puwaridunasu makhoise kayam luna puthakhrabage haibadu mayek sengna takchei. Khongjang asidi *bourgeois* machatnasibu thugaibada saruk yararoidaba eecham chamba maminggita leiba *reform* khongjang ama oina leikha takhi; *Social Democratic* khongjangdi *bourgeois* bu sougatkhiani. Khutsu mee

nupee singbu meenaigi thakkum sijinnabibagi machatna chetsinhanba amasung yokkhatpada khongjangsina achouba thoudang loukhibani. *Social Democratic* nupee khongjanggi maraktagi kanagumba ama anina ngasi faoba *socialism* sougatpagi wa ngangee haibasi asengbani, adubu khongjngang asidi sinmee nupee singbu makhoigi thakna hotnariba yaol puraknabagi lan asida yaodanaba pukning hanthahanbagi thabaktu khaktani paikhatliba thabak haibabu. Makhoi khutsu- mee nupee singbu *socialism* amsung *communist* khunnai adu puraknaba lambee adukhakta younaba lamjngbiba leite; yaol purakpa aduga leibak chupli painanaba. Khongjangsina *capitalism* na mawong anida neihatpirabasingbu khunnai *reform* amasung *bourgeois democracy* da saruk yaduna eeng tapna *socialism* purakpa ngamgani haiba manglan-gi lang thaktuna pangthahallibani. *Reforms* amasung *democracy* gi lambee asidasu makhoi na masi khudingse akanba amasung ninghannadaba khutsu-mee singgi thakki-lan purakkadaba natte. Masi khudingse kheenaba thaksing totminnaduna chatminnabagi amasung themnaduna yanaba purakpaga mahei oigadabani haiba serannaba manglanda bhap sagat-handuna lanna lamjinglibani. Khutsu meegi yaol oiba khwaidagi machang oiba pandam asi thadoktuna *Social Democratic* khongjang asidi hujik matamgi khutsu mee singna thamliba pandamsing asigi maramdasu karigumba amatta mahut sinduna ngangba matik chadrabani.

Asigumba *Social Democratic* eechelsingse segaibana machi machida chafot chafotlaba *Second International* gi marum thupna 1925 Marseilles, 1926 ta Brussels ta pangthokkhiba *International Social Democratic Women's Conference* singna ootthokkhi. Masigi conference singsidi nupee sinmee singbu wayelgi ngak- senbibagi matangda hainigai leitana piklaba pandam khara 1919 gi Washington Conference na pukhatkhiba adugi kuyomdudagi henkhidraba conference singni. Ngasi faobada, masigi pandamsingsi thagat waheina seithaduna eenariba achouba capitalist leibaksinggi punna-leingak chupli paiminnaba leingaksing amasung England gi *labour* leingakna thunghallani haina ayabagi-che thokkhiba leitri. *Social Democratic* nupee singna masigi pandamsingsise meeyoibagi thadokpa yadraba hak ni haina yamna nonjana haijaba mawongda fanghannaba hotnabani. Masigumba firepsingna kadaifaoba kannabage haibasi English *labour* leingakki “thabakki mantri” (works minister) oikhiba Mrs Bondfield na meeyamna ootkhre. Leingak asigi asonbasi thouwong kayada ooba fangkhre; thabak fangdabasingda tengbangbagi matangda puthokkhiba khanna- wa amasung bills sing; *mines* singda oiriba thabak subagi fibhamsing; samtu industry da nupee lising kayabu namhattuna sijinnabiba amasung meenaigum toubiba machatnagi mayokta hourakkhiba akalba eehouda leingaksina lepkhiba firep, asinachingba kayada.

Social Democratic nupee singgi *international conference* singna nupeebu meekhalda saruk yahanbana nupeesingna meeyoibagi hak mapung fana fangba sakle haiba angka asi hotladuna *feminist* singna yenggadaba meetyengdudei neinei. Masigisu mathakta saruk yaribasingdu awangba thakki nupeesing khaktana meekhal yaohanba fanglabada penthoklaga tuminna potthaduna leithokpa ngamkhi. Makhoigi meekithi oibadu ataknana ootthokpagum, makhoi na liberal singga meekhalgidamak punminnaruba maramna, Belgium gi *reformist worker's party* da makhoigi meehutsingdu *clerical* singna thanggatlakpa nupeedugi mayokta leppu haibafaoba ngamjakhidabani. Loilam sandokpasinggi lan kayana oihallakkadaba khudongthibagi matangda *Social Democratic* nupeesinggi matousidi hainigai leitana eekaikhangdabagi masakni. Marseilles ta French loilam sandokpasingna chatthariba tamthiraba *Moroccan War* adu hunduna nganglakkadra haibabu tourakkhidre, maramdi France ki *reformist socialist* singduna lan dugi mayokta leikhide. Asigi mahutta makhoi na vabna sagatpa *Soviet Union* gi *red imperialism* haiba

asigi mayokta lao khong-ee aduga santi fangnaba khingjaribi khutsumee nupee singda “mamma singgidi meekhal khabada saruk yaanaba meekhal-che fanghangani” haiba manglan sagat-handuna thamkhi. *Social Democratic* nupee singgi khongjangsidi *League of Nations* na suksoi soidana santi purakkani, *capitalist* leingaksinggi *international* khutlai chang hanthanbagi *conference* na lebak masel muknaba hanthahan-gani amasung masiga mari leinaba meeyambu sendonggidamak namthak touba makhoi khudingna kannaba purakkani haibagi mondrangda taoduna leiba angaoba mayam pupham angao- sang amani. Matou asumna, masigi khutsu meesingna lengak- chupli paiba ahanba leingak amasung madugi socialist machatnagi mayokta chinthiba ngangliba, amasung namthak touriba mayamgi angao- sang amani. Leingak asigi yamna lukhraba santi puraknaba poramsing, tamjaningai oiraba *soviet* chatna pathap lingkhattuna nupee singgidamak meeyoibagi mapung faraba ningtamba fanghalliba aduga khudamga konnana taibangda chap-mannab haibadu anouba sellam amasung khunnai punshi sagattuna purakliba, asinachingba kayasidi *Social Democratic* singna karigumba lon amattada fongdokpagi mahut lottuna chin menkhibani.

Makhatana, loilam amasung kabok-loilam meeyamsingna loilam sandokpagi mayokta thengnariba adu sougatpagi oina “malemgi sougat wahei” amatta peekhibagi khudamsu ootkhide. Sinmee, loumee, kabok-*bourgeois* amasung nupee akhang aheisingna maibunana amasung thawai hakhang yaona loilam- sandokpagi mayokta thengnariba muknabada saruk yakhiba adubu sougatpibagi khudam ootkhide. *Social Democratic* nupee singgi khongjang asidi *bourgeois* gi khongjang oina ootthokchakhrabani. Magi tung-eeba fangnabagi lamjel tannabada, khongjang asidi sijinnaba wahei wata kharandangda *feminism* dagi khennakhibani, magi thouram thoungda natte. Khongjang asina nupee singgi wahangsingda nakhei sengna watemnaduna natraga chatnaba yaba thouram thourang paikhattuna amasung eehou sagattuna maga khutsamnariba leingak-sembada thawai yaoba party sing amasung union singbu lamjingkhide. Khongjang asidi achouba *bourgeois* singgi thouda eelliba lup singna sijinnaningba mawongda sijinnakhiba hanglai amani. Khongjang asina khutsugi mayokta chattharakpa thouram khuding tumil yengduna leithoktuna amadi “leingakki wakhal amasung meeyamgi sellamchat” haibasingsigi meengda “industrial peace” ga yanaba puraktuna khutsu mee nupeesinggi thakki wakhallbu tumfak tumfai chalhankhibani. Magi manungda pttha-pumthajarasu *Social Democratic* nupee singgi khongjangse mapanthongdadi yamna mapanggal leina mayai kana kankhatlakkhi. *Socialist International* gi 1928 gi Brussels Conference ta piba cheroldugi matung eennadi khongjangsiga samnaba party singgi nupee masing 915,000 oikhi; aduga *reformist union* singdi masing 1,687,000 sure haina chaotthokchakhi. Matam asidagi meesing masing yamna hen-gatlakkhi.

Mana hanna louramba fireptudagi pung-on onnaraba matouda, *Social Democratic* nupeesinggi khongjang asi meeyamgi khollaona humduna pukhidre, aduga leingaknasu fa-punba toukhidre. Leingakki loishangsingda chaona yaosanduna amadi khutsu mee nupeesinggi mafamdana khunnaigi kannaba thabak touri haiba ootnaba *social insurance* amasung *social welfare* gi thabak khara paikhattuna nakal animaktagi akanba sougat-tembang fangkhi. Makhoidi leingak-lup sing pullaga leingakpa leibasingda henna mara chetkhi – maruoina nupee singbu, meekhalda yaohallasingda. Yamna henna hotnaramlaba amasung hei-singlaba nupee wakhallon sandokpising amasung lup lingkhatpa heirabisngna makhoigidamak thabak paikhatpikhre, makhoina hannangeida fangkhraba meeyamgi thajababu lanna sijinnakhi, aduga makhoina fibhamsingbu mapung fana khangba amasung khutsumee nupee singgi pukchel khangba maramna makhoisingbu yamna laina namthak touduna lanna lamjingbasu ngamkhi. Makhoina yaol kidadagi yaolgi-

mayokta paikhatlakpa thouramsingbu mayamda achumbagum oohankhi. Masi khudingse khutsumee nupee singbu sendong khaktabu karam chaoba *monopoly capital* na meenungsi leitana palliba aduga khutsu meegi yaol changsinba hourakpa amasung yaolloi nupee singna *soviet union* da *socialism* lingkhatlaknaba thengnaba lan-gi lomba nairaroidaba khudamsingna mangda leplaraba matam aduda *Social Democratic* nupee singna paikhatkhibani. Nupee singbu ningtamba fanghan-gadaba khutsu mee singgi yaol da *capitalism* bu maru fukna manghannabagidamak sinmee thak ki marakta changsillakliba *reformism* bu muthatkadabani.

3. Communist Nupeesinggi Khongjang

Communist nupee singgi khongjang asi yamna tellagasu ningsingningai oiraba puwari ni. Meeyoibagi puwarigi khwaidagi maru oiraba tangkak amada khongjang asi chaokhatlakli amasung maru oiba thoudang kaya louri. 1917 da thokkhiba *Red October* haibasidagi houkhiba malem gi khutsu mee singgi yaol tangkak asida, meeyoibasinggi marakta thatlamba *sellam* amasung khunnai pal kaya thugaiduna anouba khunnaigi punshi ama semlakliba, potthok puthoknabagi pambeisingbu lannai mapu naibagi machatna adu muthatlaga *communism* na khunnai machatna ama oibagi channafam khanglibasi thagat ningaini. Asigumba khunnaida yamna sathiraba thak-kha onba ama laklibasi anouba henna thak wangba nupee lup, mapa-macha. Mama-macha gi leinariba mari amasung nupee khudingmakki mapung faraba ningtamba amasung chap- mannaba puraknabagi khwaidagi mathou takhiba fibham amani. *Communist* nupeesinggi khongjang asina masigi hainingai leitana ningthiraba pandam asi fangnabagidamak hotnagani amasung hotnadunasu lakli. Malem sin thungna *capitalism* na otpiraba amasung namhattuna sijinnabiraba mee kanglup khudingna masa masana pandam asi puraknaba hotnagadabani haibasi khangfam thok-ee. Makhoi khuding thakki-wakhallon ningthina leiraba khutsumee singgi lamjing makhada yaolloi lanmee soidana oirakkani. Anouba *bourgeois* singgi thakki mapanggal na huranbiriba amasung khongnetpiriba pak chaoraba sinmee nupee singbu pukning happiba haibasi *Communist* nupee singgi thouongni; aduga nupa sak-onggi touningbata toubu ngamba mapanggal na yotli thangduna punshinduna thambiribi khunnaigi thak pumnamakki nupee singbu meekap thok-handuna ningtambagi sintha asi paikhatnabagidamak khutsamnahanba haibasisu pandam amani. Wakhal ani thokna meenaigi langda thuhallabasingda malem gi yaol khaktana ning tambagi amatta ngairaba lambee ni haibasima pukning thougatpigi amasung thouong paibagi lamjing oihan-gadabani.

Communist nupee singgi khongjangna, *Social Democratic* nupee singgi khongjangna mamangda *Marxism* gi lambee da paikhatlamba adubu konnadi meenamamlaba, henna wanglaba puwarigi amasung wakhallon-gi lousingsing aduga chatnaba yaba thabak- thouramsingdu paikhatlakli. Adubu *bourgeois* khunnaigi thak naiba machatna, *sellamchat* amasung leingak-chupli gi matangda changsinnarakpa thouram- thoudada khongjang anisi suppul punminnana changsinminnaba yakhidre. Khongjang anisina wakhallonda amasung poramda tokhai tanaribasi nupee gi mapung faba ningtambasi *bourgeois* khunnaibu semdok semjin touraga (reform) purakkadra nattraga masi yamna mamut taba yaol amana purakkadabara haibasigi matangdani. *Social Democratic* nupee singgi khongjangdi *bourgeois* onkhrabana, maram aduna yaol bu pamdaba yaningdaba onkhrabana, 1914 dagi thoklakkhiba thoudoksingdagi mayek senglaba amasung macha khairaba para singbu khanglubasu pamkhidre. Masigi onna neinabada *Communist* nupee singgi khongjangdi loilam sandokpasinggi malem gi lanjao, Russia gi *revolution* amasung matung taba puwarigi thoudoksingdagi wakhallonda amasung lamchatta mammal wanglaba paokhum kaya

piri. Khunna chaokhatnabagi khongchatta thengnariba pal sing amasung lougadaba thoudang singgi maramda yaol pamba *Marxism* gi puwari-neinarol amasung masibu *Leninist* singna mawong maril chumna amadi leptana sijinnakhiba asida achetpa thajaba thambasina khongjang asigi lamjingsu oiri.

Communist nupee singgi khongjangna machi fongna ahouba naikhibasi March 1919 Moscow da pangthokkhiba *Third International* adugi appul-lup lingkhatkhiba duni. Malemgi khutsu mee singgi lup asiga *Communist* nupee khongjangga leinariba mari asina manung-mapal animakta khutsu mee gi yaol laknabagi damak khunnaigi oirakliba fibhamsi puwarigi oina mapung marei faraba tangkak youre haibadu ootthokkhibani. *Second International* dagi pukhen khennaraba mawongda *Third International* houdokliba *Congress* asidi nupee singda chap mannaba hak fanghan-gadabani aduga makhoisu lan thengnariba khutsu mee singgi marakta saruk yagadabani haiba pandamsida sougatli haiduna taramna khubaktamak khuraga penthokpa ngamkhidaba kangbuni. Mapal leibakki *Communist* nupee singdi matamdugi *Soviet Union* na thengnariba pungtong tongallaba pao-ee faonabagi aruba tanjaduna maram oiduna *conference* aduda yaoba ngamkhide. *Communist International* adugi ahanba congress aduna, Russian marup singna thanggatlakpadagi, yetnaba leitana nupee gi chap-mannaba adubu eekai khumnabaga loinana makhoise yaol gidamak thadokpa sukya yadraba maru oiraba panggala ni haibasida yanaraduna warep loukhi. “Nupee singna makhoigi mangda taduna leiraba thoudangsing paikhatpa ngamgani amasung malem gi khutsu mee singna mai pakpa amasung *capitalist* machatnabu pungmut muthatpa haibase simee thakki nupee-nupa animakna totna tinnaduna punna thengnaminnabagi tengbangdu khaktana oihanba ngamgani. Khutsu mee singna leingak-chupli paiba haibasi sinmee thak ki nupee singna meekup-nahum singna amasung thawai hakchang yaona saruk yarabatangda oithokkani” haiba wafamsingsi *Communist International* na chummi haina loukhi.

Masigi warepsingse loubu ngambagi chenkhriba “matik” aduna *Communist* nupee singgi khongjanggi chaokhatpa, pak-chaothokpa amasung safu asi oirak-hankhiba ngamkhibani, masina khongjangsiga *Communist International* amasung mareibakki saruk singga leinariba maridusu sagatpa ngamkhibani. *Second International* di wakhallonda amasung lup oina yengbada homdrak homdrak oiba kuyomgumbani, aduga magi wasaksing amasung lamjing poramna warep loubu amasung mapanggal ootpadagi henba karisu paikhatkhide. Magi luching makhada nattrabasu magi fiban manungda *Social Democratic* nupee singgi khongjang poklakkhibani. *Third International* di loilam sandokpasinggi tangkak aduda thokkhiba thoudoksingda tamjahoukhi. Magi mamangda houkhiba khongjangsinggi awatpa, kainathangda eekaibana mai puba ngammoidaba mawongda maithikhiba amasung namthaksingdudagi tamjahoukhi. *Communist International* di wakhallonda amasung lupki thouram thoudada yamna chetlaba lup amani. *Communist* nupee singgi khongjang asi *Third International* gi fibannungda sandorakpa amasung thabak toubu khakta nattana, masigi lamjing makhada thadoknaba leitana thabak tourakkhibani. Safu kanna haigatlakliba khutsu mee singgi matik magun leiraba malem gi lup ama oina, masina paikhatliba thabaksing amasung thengnariba lan khuding *historical materialism* da Lenin na poram yattuna paikhatkhiba thabaksingda amasung *Russian Revolution* dagi khanghoubasing amasung pathap singda yumfam oi. *Communist* nupee singgi khongjanggi maru oiraba pathap sing amasung pandam singsina kok amasung khut sijinnaduna thabak suribi sinmee nupee singna makhoigi thakki mabung mapwasingga loinana makhoigi ningtamba amasung chap-mannaba hak sing purakkadaba yaol adu puraknaba puwarina singthanahougadaba mapanggal ama sagatpa ngamnabagidamak leibak mayamgi apunba pathap amasung poram yatpaga mathou tahallakhi.

Communist International gi malem gi congress sing natraga masigi executive committee singgi meetin ga mari leinana pangthokkhiba malem gi nupee singgi meefamsing amasung khanna neinabagi thouramsingna mathakki pandamsingdu mai pakna mapung fahankhibani. Masig meefam singsida marup nupee singna thawai hakchang yaona amatta chitthadana saruk yakhi amasung padam-cherolsing amasung warep singda apam pamda mayek sengna fongdoknakhi. Moscow da 1921 da pangthokkhiba *Communist* nupee singgi anisuba *international conference* adudi *Communist* nupee singgi khongjangsigi maru oina changgadaba pathapsing, poramsing amasung thouram- thousinda oina neinarammi. Conference asida malem gi *Communist* nupee singgi khongjang changsinnabagi liklam yatpaga matangda khanna neinakhiba amasung warep lounakhiba asina khongjang asi kadaifaobada *suffragettes* singdagita nattana *bourgeois reformist* singgi *Social Democracy* amasung makhoigi nupee singgi khongjangdagi mayek sengna khennabage haibasi ootkhibani. Lannai pot mapu naibagi machatna asina sak-ong amasung thak-minnai loibagi machat singgi hourakfamni amasung potthok puthoknabagi pambeisingbu lannai mapu naibagi machatnasi muthattuna masibu khunnai punna mapu oirabatangda nupee singgi mapung faba ningtamba purakpa ngamgani haiba wafamsida yumfam oiraga *Communist* nupee singgi khongjanggi lamjing pathap semkhibani. Asigumba yamna safu kanba amasung maru oiraba khunnaigi khunnaigi thak naiba asi thak-kha olhanba haibasi lun suklei leijadabasing amasung khajik leijabasingna mana mana pokluba sak-ongdugi khennaba thamdana punna thengnaminnagadaba lan thengni. Khutsu mee singgi yaol purakkadaba thak ki lan adu nattanadi nupee singgi asengba amasung mapung faba ningtamba haibadu purakpa oithokte; nupee singna saruk yadri makheidi *capitalism* haibasi yeithaba ngamloi aduga anouba *socialist* ki machatna adusu safonglakpa khak oithokte.

Communism gi lambee da chattuna ningtamba puraknabagidamak khunnaigi awolba ama puraknaba khutsu mee singna lanthengnaduna mai paklaga makhoina leingak-chupli paiba tangai fade haibasi lamjing pathapna waroisinda khudombi thinduna taklibani. Nupee gidamak chap-mannahan-gadabani haibasida sougatpa oina wayel-pathapta ahongba purakpa, khutsu mee singgi fibham khara fagat-hannaba khunnai machatnada semdok-semjil khara toubu, khutsu mee gi mahutta *bourgeois* singna leingak-chupli paisinba asina chingba semdok-semjil kharasina ningtamba amasung chap-mannaba purakkani hairiba namthakna thallaba amasung leina chenba mahiktagi henna tamthiraba oithokpa yadraba mondrangsing asi *Communist* nupee khongjanggi lamjing-pathap singduna machet machet tana segaikhibani. Namhattuna sijinnabagi amasung minaigum sijinnabibagi machatna oiraba *bourgeois* gi khunnai amada machatna du khara semdok-semjil toubu makhal khudin segairaba feedu machi machida kanfot kanfot fotpaga thabak oina adumak leigani haibasi *Communist* nupee khongjanggi lamjing- wachum- wa singna fongdokkhrabani. *Bourgeois* khunnaina keidoungeidasu nupee gi amasung khunnaigi hangnariba wahangsingsida paokhum pikhiba leite. *Reform* haibasi communist nupee khongjanggi kham thengba pandam oiba yarei haina khakthatlaba matungda, makhoina sinmee nupee singgi punshida nungti numit khudinggi thengnariba amasung hangnariba aduga mari leinaba pandam kaya yatpikhibani, masina asigumba thak ki fibhamsinggi meeyoisinggi marakta mahei-masing amadi thousil-thouram paikhatpaga mari leinaba thabaksingda hakthengnana punminnabagi tanja amasu fanghankhi. Asigumba thabaksingsina lousing mangal fanghallaba mee singdudagi khang heiba, aningba amasung khangba kanbabu makhoigi nungtigi oiba amasung mapung fadaba pandamsingdudagi hendokna puthoraktuna khutsu meena leingak chupli paisinba amasung khunnaibu thak-kha onbaga pandam adomda mai olhanlakpa ngamkhi. Adudagi hendoktuna

paikhatliba thabaksingduna yaol puraknabagi damak makhoigi lanchanggi thouna mapanggal hen-gat-halli amasung poram fagat-halli.

Communist nupee kanglup haina tonganna semgatpigi wafamsimadi lamjing-pathapna chatnaba yaroi haina kakthatkhrabani. *Communist* nupee singna makhoi makhoigi mareibakta leirba communist party aduda chap-mannaba oifam thokpa fangbaga loinana chap-mannaba thoudangsu louminnagadabani; sinmee nupeesing amasung atei sinfamsinggi nupee singsu makhoigi khutsu mee amasung sinfam-meessinggi unionsing aduda punna nupasingga yaominnagadabani. Karigumba khunnaigi punshi mahinggi fibham kharada, aduga chaokhatpa watpana maram oiduna nupee-nupa puna lup lingminnabagi mathou taba amasung mapanggal hen-gatpa ningthina khangba ngamdrabasing dugidamaktadi, communist party na makhoibu matangi matung eenna makhoigi maipakpa thabaksingna awonba pujarakpa ngamhangadaba akhannaba poramsing amasung kayatsing sembiba mathou tai. Masigi poramsing amasung kayatsing asida kana kana yaohanduna semgadage – marup nupee nupa nadi henna khan-gatlagasu – haibasidi mafam matanga chunnahanba tai. *Communist* nupee khongjanggi mathou taba paotakti leingak khudingda leiriba *communist party* singna khutsumee sing amasung sinmee nupee singbu *capitalism* amasung *bourgeois* khunnaigi mayokta punna khonbagi pandam asi fangnabagidamak makhoigi marakta chungsinnaduna henna kenkhatpa thabak paikhatpa amasung mawong maril tana thouram- thousil langba haibasini.

Communist International gi ahumsaba malem gi apullup- meefamna masigi lamjing-pathapsingse chatnaba yare haikhre. Lup ta tillaba *Communist* nupee singgi malem gi conference sing amasung khanna neinabasingda, Berlin da anirak aduga ateina Moscow da pangthokkhibaduda, party gi maru oiba thouram-thourangsing, trade union, cooperatives amasung party gi mahei masing tambibagi wa kaya khannakhibadu lamjing pathap aduda yumfam oikhibani. Masigi mathakta, conference singsina awaba potlum kaya kokthong naba makhei nupee sing amasung khutsu mee nupee singgi meehutsingna mawong maril chumna meefam singda famminnahannaba amasung khanna neinaminnahannaba hotnakhi. Masina *communist party* gi wangmada leiriba sinmee nupee kaya ama party gi-khonba-paojel na chingsillaknabagi maru oiraba pambei amani, aduga amaromdana khunnai amasung kanglupki thabak singda makhoibu para tambikhibani. Asiga chap mannaba thoungda makhoina party yaodaba meeyam gi lup singda chingsinduna thabak paikhatnabagi firep louee, maruoina party gidamak meenungsi faobiba lup singda. *Communist* nupee singgi *national convention* singna khongjangsibu chap mannaba mawongda pukning thougatki, leibak adugi *communist party* na touriba aduga eeroina chap mannaba mawongda. 1921 dagi houraduna malem gi nupee singgi *secretariat* anina – nongchup lomgidamkna Berlin da aduga nongpoklomgina Moscow da – marannai leibaksingda houriba *Communist* nupee singgi khongjangbu amaga amaga mari samnahannabagi damak amasung *communist international* gi lamjing makhada chatnabagidamak hotnarakkhibani. Mangasuba malem gi meepul-lup tagidi makhoina *communist international* gi executive committee gi nupee gi section ama semnabagidamak loina punsinminnakhi. Masigi head quarter sing Moscow da leikhi aduga khutsu mee malem gi lup ki kayat amasung saruk oiba lup khuding punsinnakhi. Masina *communist international* gi *national section* singgi lamjng ‘mawong’ oinakhi.

Communist nupee khongjanggi maruoiba khongthang amasung tousil-thouramgidamak punna chatminnagadaba pathapsing sambasina malem mafam sin thungna thabak piakhatpada chetsilhanbasu henkhi. Aduga kongjangsigi thabak leptana changsinhanba amasung mapanggal

hanthahandabasu ngamhalli. 1921 da lamjingbi *Communist* nupee singna chak tangbana kham thengna waraba *Soviet Russia* bu tengbangbinaba haijarakpada, *capitalist* leibaksinggi nupee singgi pukningda Russiagidamak angamba tengbang piningba faohanba ngamkhi. Chahi khuding March 8 ta pangthokliba malem gi *Communist* nupee singgi numit asina *Soviet Union* da, *Capitalist*, loilam amasung kabok-loilam leibaksingda masing hen-gatlaklibi yaolli nupeesingbu punminnahana ngamkhi. Asigumba numit asina makhoida makhoi amaga amaga amasung makhoigi mabung-mapwasingga punminnana *communism* sagatnabagidamak malem gi oina apunba panggag sagattaba yade haibasi khanghankhi. *Third International* gi *national section* singna loilam sandokpasinggi lan tounaribaduna oihallakkadouriba khudong thibadugi mayokta; hanba leitraba amasung areppa lantheng ama thengnanabagidamak khutsu mee meeyambu amasung thak khudingmakki sinmee singbu kourakpa matam khudingda nupee singna mathouna areiba makhei puthoktuna yaol gi pandam fangnabagidamak amasung makhoigi ningtamba puraknabagidamak mang thana chongthorakkhi. *Bourgeois Social Democratic* singgi poramsing, natraga *Bolsheviks* ki mayokta chatthariba khonba-khollao amasung khutsu mee ahanba leingakpu namthanaba sellam thadatnaba hotnariba aduga loilam sandokpasingna lanmee thajinduna lan changlakliba kayasigi mayoktasu nupee singna mathouna leina chongthorakkhibani.

Makhoina makhoigi mabung-mapwasingna thengnariba lan singda saruk yarubagi maramda amasung makhoigi kan-thouba amasung chingnaba leitana thawaina pontha oikhibagi maramna, sinmee nupee singdi yaol gi tanglaba mammal ama oina puwarida mafam chaona kanduna thamhourabani: pungkang kangna ee chumkhraba, khunnaida amasung mareibak ama oina chaotharaba Bulgaria, Rumania amasung Yugoslavia gi meeyamsingna hourakkhiba land a; Italy, Poland amasung atei leibakta *fascism* amasung meeyot meeneigi mayokta hourakkhiba *industrial*, khunggal amasung *intellectual* sinmee singgi eehouda; Great Britain gi khoni pekpada sinjinnaba sinmee singgi (mine workers) akanba eehouda; loilam sandokpasinggi sagun toubada meenaigum neihatlaba China, India, Indonesia, Indo-China, South-west Africa amasung atei leibaksinggi sinmee sing, loumee sing, kabok-*bourgeois* amasung lairik laisu heibasinggi yaol eehouda; khutsumee nupee singgi amasung sinmee singgi matu singna tamjaningai fidam louduna houkhiba *strikes* amasung *lock-out* khudingda; khunnai- leingakki loukhatkadaba thoudangsinggi maramda, lairabasinggi leingak amasung chatna-pathapki hak singgi matangda chatthanakhiba hanba leitaba marei-marangsing amasung atei maramsingdasu nupee singna mangjil thakhibani. Nupee singna muknabada saruk yaningbana langtaknajaba amasung madugidamak pukning lepchaba asi makhoina maibunana saruk yaruba thoudok- thouramda malem gi oiba tengbang fangni haibagi wakhallonsina henna hen-gathankhibani. *Communist* nupee gi khongjanggi wakhallon gi yaol maru asi mafam khudingda mara taduna mayol chongba hounarakli.

Soviet Union da saruk yariba nupee marupsingna *Communist* nupee khongjanggidamak yamna mapanggag kallaba amasung ningthina hei-singlaba lanmee tenggol ama pibirabani. Makhoina tasengna piribasidi makhoigi meesing yamba aduga *Russian Communist party* gi lamjing makhada khutsumee na panba leingaktuna chap-mannaba fangba ngambagi mapanggaldudagi yamna hendokkhrabani: maramdi, leingak pubagi amasung khutsumee singna leingak-chupli paisalle haina laothokpa matam aduda makhoina mantiknarudunasu mapan naidraba adukki matik mammal wanglaba yaol lanmee gi oifam thokpa hei-singbadu purakkhi; *socialist* lingkhatpagi panggag sijinnarakpa matam adudasu makhoina chaona saruk yakhi; aduga khutsu mee amasung loumee meeyamsinggi sinmee nupee singbu meekap thok-hanba amasung mahei masing tambibagi thabak singdasu makhoina khutsamnana yaokhibani. Hoi, makhoina toukhibasingi ooraga *Communist* nupee singgi khongjangsina wakhal eekhan khandabida *soviet union* gi mpanda

tongan tonganba puwari gi fibhamsingda matou pangtamda tamluni haibadi yaroi; thengnakhiba kayasina kannaba para kaya tambikhi amsung lamjing pathap kayasu pikhibani. Seithabana loikham naidana ningthiraba ningtam lanmee singgi khudamsing kaya *Red October* da, *blockade* matamda, mapallamna landasillakpa amasung meechem-lan (civil war) amasung *social* sagatlakpa matamgi thouna faba athoubasing asinachingba khudamsingsina loikham naidraba yaolgi thouna amasung pukning thougatpigi eefut oina malem gi *Communist* nupee singgi khongjanggi mathou sangkhibani. *Soviet* leibak nattaba leibaksinggi *Communist* nupee singna kamdouna meeyoiba amana yaolgidamak thawai thakhibage aduga – henna luraba thoudang oina – kamdouna yaolgidamak hingkhibage haibase makhoidagi tamjagadabani.

Third International ga loinana *Communist* nupee singgi khongjangse malem sin thungna sandorakkhi. Masi Canada, US, Mexico amasung Central amasung South America, South Africa amasung Australia da khakta hingduna thabak paikhatkhiba natte; meenai nupee singgi marakta khwaidagi tamthina ospirabasingga pangkhak oiraba chahi lising lising henna *sellam* amasung khunnai punshi mahingna fajinduna thambiraba Near amasung Far East ki nupee singbu yaolgi wakhal chelhankhibani. Tasengnamakkidi masigi leibaksinggi marakta leibak kharadadi *capitalist* ki lallol eetik amasung yamna kanna potthok puthokpa hourakkhibana *bourgeois* nupee gi khongjang houhallakkhrabani. Khongjangsi singthaningai oiba changda mai pakna changsillakkhi. Adum oinamak, khongjangsigi *bourgeois* machatna amasung pandamsidi khanbu khannakhigumsi, khongjangsina meeyambu pukning eensinnaba amasung meekap thorak-hannaba thouram amatta paikhatpa ngamkhidabana khunnaigi manung hanjanna mara taba ngamkhide. Aduna khongjang asidi henna pak sandokpigi amasung awangba pandam sagatnabagidamaksu leigadaba thouna amasung safu khudingmak watkhi. *Soviet* haiba tarang tarang ngallaba thawan michak asi khaktana pandam adu khudombi thinduna taklaga mangda taduna leiriba lambee dubusu puthoktuna ootkhibani. *Communist* party singga mari leinana *orient* ki leibaksingda maru oina China da khutsu mee meeyambu, loumee nupee singbu amadi masing thingamdraba lairik heirabi amasung kabok-*bourgeois* nupee singbu aki akhang leitraba yaol lanmee oina chongthoraklaba *Communist* nupee singgi khongajang changsillakkhi. 1927 da malem gi *Communist* nupee singgi numitta Hubei haiba province adugi nupee singgi apullup- meefam achouba ama pangthokkhi. “Yaol haibasi khaktana ningtamba puraknabagi lambeeni” haiba laothok-cherol asiga loinana paikhatkadaba thouramsinggi thouram thousilsu yatkhi.

Communist nupee gi khongjanggi chaokhatlakpa amasung mai pakpasingsidi singthaningaini. Mai pakpasina mayai kaba nisha amadi oihalloidabani, masina thoudang henna hapkatli haibasi khanggadabani. Karigumba lup ta tinkhrabi lamyambi lanmee singna makhoina khutsumee meeyamgi marakta paikhatkhiba thabaksinggi chang asi malem gi *capitalism* na marai chaitharakpa aduga amaromdana yakairubabe leppa leitana mapung fagatlakliba malem gi khutsu meesinggi yaolna makhoigi mangda thamliba thoudangsinggi arum ayang amasung maru oibasingduda ondraduna makhoina makhoina fangkhraba pandam kharadudangda ollabadi *communism* gi kannabasi leiraroi. *Communist* nupee khongjanggi nupee amasung nupa meehut singna pot khudingmak makhoina oihanningba mawongda ooba yade, pot khuding masa masagi asengba fibhamduda oobigadabani. *Soviet Union* da khongjangsi chaokhattuna magi safu kaya leijarabasu, maru oiba hiram anida khongjang asi yamna sondam nadammi. Tasengnamakkisu *Communist International* gi *national section* singda maruoiba lamjingbasing amasung madugi makhada leiba kayat- lupsingdi khutsu mee thakki lan asida sinmee nupee meeyamna saruk yaba amasung makhoina saruk yaribagi puwari maramsingbu, mathou tariba amasung madugi mamalbu

mapung fana thagatpa ngamdri. Loilam sandokpagi *capitalism* na leingak-chupli paiduna panba amasung namhattuna sinjinnaba mafam khudingda, *Communist* nupee gi khongjangdi loilam sandokpagi *capitalist* sellamchat, leingak amasung khunnai machatna gi mayokta leplakkhi. Masigusu mathakta *bourgeois* amasung *social democratic* nupee singgi khongjangna akanba amasung mabuk sengdaba mawongda angam tansilakpasu leiri. *Communist* nupee singgi khongjangdi yamna nouri, aduga khangfam thoklaba puwari gi maramsingna, tonganba leibaksinggi *communist party* singgi maikaidagisu khongjanggi manungda asonba amasung soikhiba kaya leiri haibasi ooba fang-ee.

Asikhuding amasung atei fibhamsingna *Communist* nupee gi khongjang yangsin-gadaba amasung khangchao chaokhatkadabada athingba kaya thok-hallgasu khongjangse maning halhanbadi oithokte. Masigi onna teinabada, athingbasingsina khongjanggi areppa wakhalbu ootthoknaba amasung khwaidagi wangba changda mapanggal kankhatnabagidamak mei chubibagumbani. *Leninist* paorou paotaksinggi matengna, Lenin gi mamut tana sagatlamlaba wakhallonbu thagatchei, *dialectical materialism* gi pambei sijinnaduna khongjangsigi fibham amasung safubu neinaduna chatnaba yaba thouramsing mai pakna puthokkani. Tamjaduna, thabak paikhattuna amasung muknaduna *Communist* nupee khongjangna mangonda thengnariba apanba ayetpa khuding mai pakna namkhaiduna khongjang changsin-gani. Mana paikhatliba thouramsinggi magulna nupee singsu yaol gi amasung communism gi chap- mannana matik charaba panggala ni haina hairibasi mayek sengna ootkhigani. Yamna akhannana singthaningai oiba wafam amadi lup ta tillaba *Communist* nupee singna makhoigi wakhallon amasung thouram paikhatpada soikhiba amasung lankhiba khuding mapung fana mayoknaduna menkhatpa ngammi haibasini; yaolloi khutsu mee singgi maruoiraba party singgi *national section* sing lingkhatlakpaga sagonnaba asoibasing amasung awatpasingdu mayoknaduna menkhatnaba hotnabada *Communist* nupee singna thawai changna amasung hei-singna saruk yai. Khutsu mee na leingak-chupli paiba ahanba leingakna pukning thoughtningai oiraba khudam ama oina *Communist* nupee singgi mangda leppi. Masigi leingak asina magi leingak-pathapta nupee sak-ongsingbu chap-mannei haina hapchille, aduga yamna mara chetna mamma amasung machasinggi khudong chaba pibiba amasung atei anouba thouram kaya paikhattuna chap-mannaba asi sungsoi soidana fanghanbire. Meenungsi masak khangdraba loilam sandokpasinggi *monopoly capitalism* na pambei kaya sijinnaduna eeng-tappa leingak ama puraknaba fana hotnadunasu santi purakpadi oithokte. *Bourgeois* khunnai machatnabu leikha fangna tanthokkhinabagi damak yangna changsillakliba apunbagi panggala asigi safuna *Communist* nupee singgi khongjangsu humduna manglomda pukhatlakli.

Capitalist singna panba leingaksing amasung lam singgi lupta khonduna tillaba, yaol pamjaba amasung lan mayoknariba singga loinana, *Communist* nupee singgi khongjangsu *communism* puraknabagi maram ama oiribani haibasi khudam fangle. Khongjangsina khutsumee nupee singgi thamoibu yaolgi mayokta lepliba *bourgeois* amasung *social democratic* nupee singgi khongjangdagi lapna puthokkhinaba pukning sumhatkadabani. Khongjang ateisina makhoigidi meesing yamna helli haina napal kajaribasina makhoisi khunnaigi yaol purakkadaba amasung ningtamba purakkadaba kanglupni haibadi yaroi. Ningtambagi pandam adu fangnabagidamak puwaridasu khwaidagi henna kannahougadabadi khunnai chaokhatlakpagi maramdu yamna chumna hotpa amasung mathou tariba pukning amasung sinhabu khomgattuna wahang touduna neinaba haibasini. Asigumba thouwong singsidagi changdamnaraubada *Communist* nupee singgi khongjangsidi yaolgi mayokta lepliba khongjangsing, tasengna hairabada, *bourgeois* khunnaigi mapanggal oiribasingdagi, khwaidagi henna mammal wanglaba mapanggalni. Masi khangbasina

chatnaba yaba thouram-thousilsingga punsinnaduna takpi tambiraga *red banner* gi makhada khutsumee sing sinmee nupee singbu punsinhan-gadabani. Nupee khudingbu ningtamba purakkadouriba yaol adugi mai pakpado *Communist* nupee khongjangna saruk henna paikhattaba thabakti oihalloidabani.
