

NUPEEGI NINGTAMBA AMASUNG KHENNADABA MALEM GI WAFAM!

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HARRY POLITT KI WAHOUDOK

Nupee oibisingna makhoina pamjaba pandam fangnabagidamak thouna lingjel fudoktuna hotnaba, makhoina eehou sagatpa ngamba amasung makhoida chelliba gusing houkhiba chahi cha da thokkhiba nupeegi khongjangsingna mayek sengna ootli. Adubu khongjangsingsida saruk yaaruriba nupee singna makhoina pamjariba amasung thamkhiba pandamsingdi fangba ngamdri. Masigi maramdi khongjang sing asibu lamjngliba wakhallonsingse Marx amasung Engel na “Puwari Khongchatpu” mayek sengna khanghanba ngamba adugumba wakhallon amattana lamjingkhide.

“Nupeesinggi Wahanggi” maramda tasengna khangba ngamgadabasi Marx, Engel aduga makhoigi makhada wakhallon samthahouba Lenin amasung Stalin na eerambasing khaktana oigani. Lairik asida scientific socialism gi wakhallon houdoklambasingna “Nupee gi Thakki” maramda eerambasingdu punna khomjillaga puthokli. Lenin amasung Stalin na Marxists wakhallon pathapsing mafam chana sijinnaduna socialism sagatpada thengnariba palsing namkhaiduna amasung “nupeegi thakki” matangda Russian Revolution gi mamangda amasung matungda hairambasingdu lairik asida puthokli.

Mannaba thabakki mannaba khutsumal haiba pandamse kumsigi Trade Union Congress asidasu amuka hanna walepnare. General Council amasung Labour Governmentna chahi taruk office ta pallafaobada khutsumee khongjang (labour movement) ki “pandamsi” fanghanba ngamdabasigi mayokta warep asi loubani.

Ngasi malem gi lanjao ani thokkhrabagi tungdasu eikhoigi pandamsi tanduna leiba mathou tariba aduga nupee singnasu makhoigi ningtamba talliba asina mayek sengna takli madudi, nupee gi thak waghannabagi changdraba yadraba pandamsifao fanggadabadu eikhoi sathina sotthari.

Nupeeoibisingna saruk yadrabada “sinmee singgi ningtamba” fangba suk-oi oithokte haibase eikhoina khangfam thok-e amasung eikhoigi thabak-thouramsing/ khanna neinabasingda masi khangna chatkadabani –masi nupa nupee animakna khangfam thok-e.

Stalin na hairi “meeyoibagi puwarida namthabirabasinggi achouba khongjang amattada sinmee nupeesing saruk yadana houkhiba ngamkhiba leite.” Amaramda eikhoinasu khang-e madudi simee

kanglupna mai paktuna socialism purakpa natrimakheidi nupee singgi asengba ningtamba purakpa oithokte. Eikhoina khanggadabadi leibak asigi meei tangkhaidi nupee ni. Makhoina yum konnaduna amasung mapal thoktuna khutsumal nemna thabak sudun sinfam ani touee; natragana kharabuna yumgi faklang marigi manungda yot-hing thangduna thambagum thambiri.

Lairiksi pabiriba nupasingda eina haijari: nupee singgi toubu ngamba kaya seithabidana leiriba aduga nupeesingda masibu fongdokchanaba ngamhandribasi amukta khandhabiyu. Nupee singna makhoigi thouna lingjel amsung toubu ngamba ootpasi ngatang-chaktangba/ kumkangba matamda khakta natte. Nutigi oiriba thabak thouramsida nupeesinggi akanba thabak su-nomba ngambagi thouna, semjin-khomjinba ngamba; aruba/ chayenaba matang kayada mayoknaba amasung leikhai tahanba ngambagi gun eikhoina youna khandjilludabana seithabidana leiri.

Karigumba eikhoina, sinmee singgi khongjang sagatpasida, mapan naidraba panggala nupee singda sagonnari haibasi khangbiduna, amasung makhoisu sinmisinggi ningtambagi lan gidamak lendrabani haina oobirabadi – lengdrabani haina oobibadagi hendoktuna saruk yahallabadi – “nupee singna sinfamgidamak” thengnariba awabasi koknabagi lambee da eikhoi changsillabani.

Aduga nupee singnasu sinmee singna houriba lan asi maipakpana makhoigi ningtambagi lambini ooba ngamlabadi capitalism muthatnabagidamak kananasu maithiba peebe ngamlaroidaba lanmi tenggol ama sagatpa ngamgani.

Lairik asi hairiba lan asigidamak khutlaini. Lairik asi kok hek loukhatlaga amuktada pathoklaga khumjanduna thamkhigadaba makhalgi lairik amadi oide. Masi matam matamgi matung eenna paariba meeduna channaba tangkak khallaga ouraigadabani. Awoibamakkisu Lenin na natraga Stalin na karigumba khara khongjanga mari leinana hairambadu sougatpige hairagadi Marx na capitalism gi kuyomda nupee singna oiriba fibhamgi matangda hairambadu ouraiba tai/ natragana Engel na *Yumbalgi Hourakpham* (the origin of the family) haiba lairiktuda hairambadu/ natragana Marx Engel animakna *Communist Manifesto* da hairambasing. Mawong asida khunnai yaol ourairabadi khunnaigi yaolsingda *Savagery* daga *Barbarism* amasung eikhoina ‘chaokhatlabani’ hairiba Capitalism gi “mannadaba khunnai” aduga socialism gi mannaba khunnai nachingbasinga eeroimana chentharakliba nupee singgi matam matamgi thak/ fibham mayek sengna khangba ngamgani. Asumna neinabatana eikhoi khudingmakna mara tapna panbaga, leibak ningtambagi amasung mannaba khunnai sagatpaga lansingsida anouba marup fangba ngamgani.

Harry Pollitt.

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PART I

NUPEE BU MEENAI OIHANBA

Nupeesingbu “tusolhalle” aduga nupana namthaduna thamlabani hainaribase mahousa lairembigi khtsem natte. Hainaribasigi onna-teinabada, anganba matamgi khunnaidadi nupee nupa mannarammi aduga nupee na eemungda amasung khunnaida maruoiba/ awangba thak oirammi.

Puwarigi khongchatta nupeena makhoiga sagonnarakpa “nupaga thong mannaba” ngambagi gusing amasung makhoigi ningtamjaba mangkhiduna kamdouna meekhaponba amasung nupaga thong mannaba ngamjakhidaba haibanachingbasi Engels gi yamna maruoiba *Yumbal, lanai luntum amasung leingakki hourakpham* (The origin of the Family, Private properties and the State) haiba lairik asida neinari.

“Potthok- pukhokpagi” thou-ongda honglakpa thouongsingduna masi oihallakpani haina mana ootli. Anganba matamgi louoo-sing-oobagi maongduda nupee singna eengkhol koiba aduga nupasingga saa tanba chatminnaba maramna “khunna semgatpada” makhoisu nupaga leng mannana saruk yarammi. Adubu saa-san loibagi chatnabi hourakngeidagidi nupa na saa-san gi mapu oiraktuna henna mapung oiba thoudang lourakkhi; aduga nupee na nupa ga tangjaba houraktuna nupa gi yum sennabi amasung meenai oirakkhi.

America gi afaoba anthropologist Lewis Morgan (magi 1877 da fongkhiba lairik *Ancient Society*) na thengnarakkhibaduda yumfam oiraga Engels na khunnaida meeyoibasinggi marakta leinariba mari amasung eemung-manunggi hourakfam mayek sengna ootli.

Eikhoina ngasi ooriba nupagi ee marigi mingda/ yumnak sagei ming louduna eemung- manung ama samtharibasina meeyoiba maselgi lengdra mari amasung mahousa lairembigi khutsemsu natte. Eemung- manung ama haibasi lannai pot lepsinbagi chatnabi amasung nupee singbu namthabagi chatnabisingga mari leinaba “khunnai gi fibhamda” oijarakpani.

Ngllingei matamgi khunnai kanglup ama haibasi *sagei* amana oi. *Yek* haibasibu eehan hanna thengnarakkhibi Morgan gi khangjaba matung eennadi *Yek* ama haibasi *sagei* mayamna tillaga sembani. Mamma amattagi macha amana mapagi mahutta mammagi *sagei* ming lou-e.

Ngllingeigi khunnai khudingda “sanggu luhongba” chatnarammi. Masigi mahutta nupa amana matu amakhak leiba natraga nupi amana mawa amakhak leiba makhalgi “matei-manao luhongba” chatnarak-e. Adum oinamak chada naodadi nupigi *sagei* ming adumak lounarammi – nupeena henna thak wangba khunnai, “mammagi hak”.

Asigumba “*sagei*” da yumfam oiba khunnai asi “lannai pot” lepsinnabagi chatnabi thorakpadagi kaitharakkhi. Machanupasingna mapagi maral-mathum du oijahouba pamnarak-e. Mapanasu machanupasingna maral-mathumsingdu puhouba pammi. Asumna “mapagi hak” na “mammagi hak” pu mahut sinkhi.

Masigi awonba asi, Engel ski mot matung eennadi “amom oibisinggi puwari laimaida achouba maithiba amani. Nupana yumgi yumburoi oirak-e aduga nupee buna namthabiraba thak amada thangthabiduna meenaigi mapok oihalli...eehan hanba oina meeyoi thak amabu ot neibase amomsingbu labasingna namthabibasiga eeroiabani”.

1. Nupasing, Nupeeing amasung Silyenba

Puwarina eikhoida takli madudi khunnai semgatpada amasung potthok puthokpada henna thouburel oiba meeyoiba ‘thak’ amasung khunna kanglup aduna suksoi soidana puthokliba potthok asu suppai paisilli. Nupee singnasu “poththokki” mapu oirammi hainariba matamdudadi “mammagi hak” leiba khunnai adudani. Masigi maram karino? Maramdi, adugamba khunnaidugi “potthok puthokpaga thouongdu” nupeena henna maruoiba thoudang loubu aduga thouram khuding makhoina pangthokpa oibanani. Adugumba khunnaiduda nupasinggi mathoudi umang wamangda sa-nga tanbani. Asigi matung taba matamdadi “mapaga hak” oiba, potthok puthokpaga henna maru oiba thoudang nupaga khutta takhiba matamdu oirak-e. Masigi awonbasi lakliba karigino? Maramdi, matam asida saa-san yokpaga chatnabina mapung oiba khunnaigi “potthok puthokpaga mawong” gi khunnai aduda ta, thouri-konggoi, thang- tennachingba henna panggal changna sijinnagadaba maruoiba “potthok puthokpaga khutlasing” oibana henna panggal leiba nupasingna henna maruoiba thoudang loukhi. (*Stalin, Anarchism or Socialism?*)

Senmitlamgi masa khudingda potthokki chang hen-gatlakpana – saa-san loibagi, louoo-sing-oobagi, yumgi khut-sa heibagi lamsingda – meeyoibada masagi mathou taba potthoktagi ka henna potthok puthokpa ngamna khutsu-panggal (labour power) hapkhi. Amaromda masina *sagei* amagi, *keiroi* amagi natraga eemung amagi meeyoina nutigi sufam thokpa thabaksu hen-gathalli. Masina hujikti anouba sinmee khara pusinnarakpa pamnarak-e. Lan haibasina makhoida apambasi kharadi thungankhi; lan gi lanfasingbu meenai oihankhi. Khutsuna potthok henna puthokpana lun hengatlakpa amasung potthok makhal henna puthoknaba hotnarakpana; adugumba puwarigi fibjam aduda silyenbaga ahanba chatnabi aduda meenai loibagi chatnabi adumak pusillakpa takhi. Eehan hanba silyenbaga chatnabi adudagi eehan hanba oiba khunnaise “thak” anithokna machete taba hourakkhi: meenai mapusing amasung meenaising; namhatpa kangbu amasung namhatpiraba kangbu.

Kamdouna amasung karamba matamdagi saa- san singdu *yek* ki lun natraga *sagei* gi lan oina punna apunbaga lun oirambadagi lanai yumburel gi makhutta tarakkhibano haibasi ngasigi meetyengdagi khangba ngamdre. Adubu masi maruoina khunnaida “thak” nainarakpa puwari tangkak aduwaida thorakpa machatna ama soidana oigani. Meeyoibana sanggu nainarakpa amasung potthok hengatnarakpana eemung-manungda yaol ama lakkhi. Punshigi mathou taaba pot khuding fangnaba hotnaba haibasi nupaga thoudang oirakkhi; masi fangnabagi potlam mahakna puthokkhi amasung pambeisingdugi mapu mahakna oikhi. Saa-san singdu mathou taba potthok puthoknabagi pambei oirak-e; nupaga mathousu lamsasingbu yumsa olhanba, makhoibu sennaba. Saa-san singdu magi oirammi aduga saa-san singduga khutsinnaduna fanglakpa potlamsing amasung meenaisingdugi mapusu mana adumak oikhi. Hingnabagi potlamsing fangnaba hotnabada fanglakpa ahel-apa (surplus) khuding nupa gi khutta takhi; nupeena masi sijinnabagi sarukti fangjakhi adubu mapu oibadi machet amafao fangkhide.

Ngllingei lanchaba (warrior) amasung saa-tanba oiringei matamdadi eemung-manungda nupana nupeedagi anisuba ‘thakta’ hanthana hinglambaduda adum penjarammi. Khara lemlap toubasinfamgum saa-senba oirakpa matamdadi nupana magi maral-mathumda napal kakhiduna masana masabu awangba ‘thakta’ eenkhatlaga nupeeabuna anisuba ‘thakta’ eentharak-e. aduga nupeeobisingdi wakatpa ngamjakhide. Eemung-manungda sliyenbana eemung-manungda nupanupee gi ‘lun’ su khaidoknarakkhi. Silyenba adu fibham kayada chatnarakkhi. Adubu eemung-manunggi wangmada silyenbada *sil* gi ahongba khara lakkhibana hujikti eemung-manungda nupanupee gi leinariba mari mathak makha onkhre. Ngllingeida nupee na eemung-manungda pallamba ngambagi maramsingduna onkhrabada – mana eemung-manunggi makup-matai yengsinbadagi hendokkhydrabada – hujikti maduna maram oiduna nupa na eemungda palle. Nupana hingnabagi potlamsing tansinbada nupee gi eemung-manunggi thabaksingbudi masing thabidre; nupa gi *sil* na khudingmakni khankhre aduga nupeegibuna maruoidaba pot-hapni khandokle.

Eikhoina masidagi khangle madudi nupeesingse khunnaigi potthok puthokpagi sinmee oihanduna natheiduna thamlaga emmung-manunggi lannai thabaktadamak sijinnaduna thamlikkeidi nupee oibisinggi ningtamba puraktuna nupa ga thak mannahanba haibasi suk-oi oithoklaroi. Nupeena mapal thoraktuna khunnaigi oiba potthok puthokpada yaoraba amasung eemung-manunggi thabaksidi magi aremba matamda pangthokpa thabakni haina khandoklaba matamdata nupee gi ningtamba purakpa oithokkani. Hujikti madugi matamdu oirakle. Hujikti anouba matamgi achouba kalkhana (industry) kayana “amomsingbu” khutsumee oina sijinnaba hen-gatlakle, pamsu pamnarakle. Mayam punna thabak suminnaba yaba kalkhana kaya lingkhatnaraktuna eemung-manunggi potthok puthokpagi khutsu asigi matamsu loisillakle.

Nupana yumda khwaidagi wa chatpa hek oikhibasina mahakki kusi touna panningbagi mayokta leiramba pal singgi aroiba pal adusu ningkhaikhrabani. Mammagi hak manghanduna mapagi hak yokkhatpa, aduga tamna tapna palleptaba-jura famdinnababu (pairing marriage) matei-manao yumbal na (monogamy) mahut sillakpasina nupagi kusi-touna-panba (autocracy) mayeksengna oohanbata nattana mara sangthahalli. (Engels, Origin of the Family... Ch IX)

2. Palleptaba-jura Yumbal (The Pairing Marriage)

Yumbal puwarina ootlibadi yelhoungida nupa-nupee *yek* amagi manungda achop-areng khangdana paktaknana amaga amaga haktinnaba/ famdinnaba pangyaada yaramba, matei-manao ama haina nainabagi mahut sanggu luhongba chatnaramba asi matamgi matung eenna toknarak-e. Eehan hanbada mamma amattagi machil-manao haktinnaba toknarak-e aduga akonbada naknara ee mari, *sagei* gi mari matanachingbasing charou mourounaba lepnakhiduna hannangeida chatnaramba sanggu luhongba haibasimak palleptaba-jura luhongba haibasina nupa amaga nupee amaga haktinnabagi ayaba pee. Adubu masina yumbalgi achetpa mari oikhide, mari asi haktinnabagi khakta oibana thadatningba matamda thadattuna nupa amasung nupee aduna tonganba jura semnakhibada athingba leite.

Yumbal puwarina eikhoida mayek sengna ootli madudi ngasigi eikhoina ooriba matei-manao luhongba (monogamy) haibasi chatnarakpada meeyoiba amagi haktinnaningbagi-khoirangba haibasina apikpa eethyl amakhak oikhibatani. Matei-manao yumbal chatnabi asi meeyoibana

chaokhatlakpagi matung eenna purakpa puwarigi tangkak amagi chatnabini haibasidi mayek sengna ooba fang-e.

Ngllingeigi yumbal makhalsingdudadi nupasingna nupee sukwat watlamde. Matamdudadi nupee tangbagi mahutta yamna honglammi. Adubu hujikti nupee tangmankhibana fangnaba koitan tannare. Aduna “palleptaba-jura yumbal” haibasi hek chatnarakpadagidi nupee faaba leiba hounarakle – paksanna sandorakpa lainagi khudamgum. Masi lainagi khudamkhakta oina oogadaba natte, yamna mayek sengna manung hanjanba makhalgi ahongba amani hainasu oogadabani. Asigumbasi thijan khomjanba amasung khanna neinabagi thabak touba McLennan haiba meeyoisina asigumba laina makhal amagi khudamgum sandorakliba nupee fangnabagi thouong makhalsibu “faaraga luhongba” amasung “leira luhongba”¹ haina ming thollammi.

Changchattadi, America gi Indian singdabu oirabasu natraga asigumba tangkakki atei mee furupsingdabu oirabasu, luhongba ama pangthokpada thou-sillibasi luhongdouriba mee anidu natte, makhoigi wadi ayambada eetan tannabiba jat natte. Thou-sillibasi makhoi makhoigi mamma singnani. Masak sukkhang khangnadaba meeyoi anidu asumna luhong-khongdongbagi haina singnei; luhongba matam yosillaklaba matamduda khaktani makhoisi mantiknakhre haina makhoina khangjarakpase. Luhonglamdaida nupana nupee gi *sagei* mari-mata singda khudolpot pee. Piriba khudolsingdu mamaromgi mari singdani, mapagi amasung mapagi mari-matingda natte. Piriba khudolsing dumaksu nupeedu loubagi mammal oina pibani. Yumbal asisu jura adugi maraktagi amana thugainingba matamda hektamak thugaiba yai. Adubu *yek* kayagi maraktadi, khudam oina Iroquois furupta, asumna “khainaningba matamda khainaba yaaba” asigi mayokta meeyamgi wakhal faonarakle. Karigumba yanadaba khara jura dugi marakta thoknarakpada *sagei* gi mari matingna watemnaba hotnei. *Sagei* na watemba ngamdraba matamdudadi khainaba yahalli. Khainarabada nupee na macha chennakhi aduga nupee-nupa anina atoppaga luhongnakhibada athingba leitre.

Palleptaba-jura gi eemung, masina sonmanba aduga tung koinadaba maramna maningtamjaba eemung ama mathou tahana natraga pamnahanba ngamhandabadagi hendoktuna, thainangeidagi sagonnarakpa *kanglup yumbal* (communistic household) ama haibadu thugaibire. *Kanglup yumbal* chatnarol haibasidadi eemung ama haibasi nupee singna panbani; matam adugi haktinnaba/famdinnabada athingba leitabagi chatnabiduna maram oiduna mapa kanano khangba ngamdabana, mama khaktabu eekai khumnaba maramna, nupeesingbu haibadi mamasingbu mapal naidana eekai khumnei.

Nupee singna panba

Taranipal suba chahi chagi “lousinggi mangal” hainaribadugi marakta thorakpa toknga singgi marakta khwaidagi nap chadaba tokngadi yelhoungeigi khunnaidadi nupeena nupagi minaini haibasini. Meeyoibana saa-ngagum hinglingeigi matamdasu aduga nunggi matam (stone age), meigi matam, amasung thang-ten gi matamdasu ningtambadagi hendoktuna eekaisu khumnarammi. Ngasifaobada palleptaba-jura yumbal chatnariba khunnasingda nupee singgi “saktam” karino haibasi chahi kaya *Iroquois Senecas* singgi marakta laining sandokluba Ashur Wright haiba meeyoisidagi tasi:

¹ *Marriage by capture and Marriage by purchase*

“Makhoigi yumbalgi chatnabigi maramdadi, eemung mayamna samba ‘Keiroi’ amada *sagei* kharana henna maru oirabasu, nupeenadi atoppa *sagei* singdagi nupa louduna yaong ilhalli...mahousana amomsingna yumburel oi... *Keiroi* amagi apunba *kei* amada potthokkhei punna hapminnaraga punna sijinnei. *Kei* da potthok haptaba maraibak leitaba natraga katal chuba mawa singgi punshidi awabagi masakni. Magi macha kaya lejarabasu natraga eemungdada magi maral-mathum kaya lejarabasu mabu mapot-machei yomhallga tanthokningba matamda yumdagi tanthokkhiba yai. Asigumba yathang ama eendabana magi henna khudong thiningai oi. Eemungduda panthaduna leibana magi nakong henna saningaini; aduna...mahak magi *sagei* da hankhiba taba; natragana, ateina tounabadouna, atoppa kharaga amuk sinnaduna anouba luhongbagi mari ama semkhiba taba. Nupee singna, atei mafamda chatnabagum, khwaidagi wa chatpa meeyoi oirammi. Karigumba matam amadadi makhoina aki-akhang leitana khullakpagi/nighthougi koktagi luhupfaoba huktoklaga mabu hanthaba “lanchabagi” thakta eenthabasu yao-ee”.

Kanglup Yumbal haibasi makhall amagi yumbalni. Yumbal asida nupee ayamba natraga khudingmak *sagei* amattadagi/ mannabadagi oiraga nupasingna atoppa tongal tongalba *sagei* dagini. Asigumba yumbal asina ngllingei puwari da nupee na yumburoi oiba amasung makhoigi wa chatpa khunnai adugi hourakpham oiriba “pot-yumpham” (material foundation) amani. Lamkoibasing amasung laining sandokpasinggi paodam matung eenna *savagery* amasung thang-ten gi khunnadadi nupa singsi thabakna mapum thit-halli hairiba wafamsina mathakta pankhribasingi onna teinana wahanthok piba natte. Mannadaba “hak-ong” (sex) anigi marakta *sil* yenba asi nupee na khunnaida fangliba famtholduna nattaba atoppa maramsingna leppani. Nupeesingbu ka henna thabak suhalli hairiba khunnaisingda, European singna nupee singbu eekaikhumnariba changsidagi henna eekai khumnabiba kaya leiri. Nap chadaba eekaikhumnabagi meengkousingtana khwang koiraba amasung thanggeisengna thabak-thouramdagi tamthoraklaba, ngasigi meetyengdagi chaokhatpa khunnaini hainariba khunnaisigi mabemma singse, tasengbagidi thabak kanbi *savagery* khunnaigi nupeesingna matam amada fangkhiba eekaikhumnabagi chang adudagi henna thak nemlabi ngaktani. *Savagery* khunnaigi nupee singdi makhoigi meeyamna asengba mabemma oina ekai khumnana ookhi amasung makhoigi lamchatsingdusu mabemma oibagi oifam thokpa lamchatni. (Engels, *Origin of the Family... Ch. II*)

3. Mammagi Hak Loisankhiba.

Anganba thang-ten gi matamdufaobada, lengdraba lun-thum haibadu leinaba yum, setna-eennaba fee-rol, leitenggi mawong maril ningthidriba leek-khuji-nanappi aduga chinjak tannaba amsung thong-thakpagi – hee, khutlai, achamba kol- leek nachingba kharasi khaktani. Chinjak haibadumak nongmagi suraga tanbani.

Hujikti pakthok sandorakliba “saa yokpa” mee kanglupsingna – Euphrates amasung Tigris turel singna konba lamda hourakpa Semites; aduga India leibakki turel mangana konba (Punjab) lamda khundaba, turel Ganga gi akoibada aduga Turel Oxus amasung Jaxartes gi nappagi tampakta taba Aryan – makhoigi sagolsing, leingoigi sahee (camel), saapang (donkey), san, yao, hameng, ok nachingbasingi loiraduna maral tansille. Hairiba lun-thum asidi kabok kaboktamak sennaraga maromdom chabok faba aduga sanggom amasung sa-jak (sa+chinjak) marang kaina thokpa lun-thum ni. Mamangeigi chinjak puthoknabagi pambeising tunghounahoure; sa- tanba haibasi toudraba yaadraba sinfam ama oirambadu hujikti harao kummeigi leiteng/ masanna ama oinarakle.

Adubu anouba lun-thum asi kanagi oibage? Hourakpadadi masi chingningai leitana *sagei* gi lun oirammi. Adum oinamak ‘lannai lun-thum’ haina saa-sun bu khomjinnabasi khara henna ngllingei matamdagisu soidana chatnaraklamlagani. Mosses gi matangda ahanba oina lairik eebani hairiba warengba aduna, (anganba matamgi) Abraham bu kanglupki khallakpa oibagi maramna saa-san singdu mari marul oibani natragana *sagei* gi chathang oibana *piba* fam gi fangfam thokpa oibana madu magi marul oibani haina khallamgadra haibasi tang taba ngamdri. Adubu mase ngasi eikhoina khangnariba lun-thum mapu nainabagi thouong asimakka chunnana oobadi yadri. Taseng-tasengba haibabu “puwari” eeba hounrakpa matam aduwaida sa-sanggusingbu yumbal gi makoksingna masa masagi marul oina loinarakpa heure. *Savagery* tangkakki khut-sa heibagi potthoksing, dhatuna sngba khutsu khutlaising, ake amougi potlamsing, aduga minainachingbasingsu loina mapu naire.

Hujikti minai loibagi chatnabi ama houdorakle. *Savagery* tangkakki anganba matamdadi minai amagi kannaba leiramde. Aduna America gi Indian amana maithiba piraba yeknaba amada chatpa lamchatka khara henna chaokhatlaba kangbugi lamchatka pumkhen khennei. Maithiraba lanfa singbu hatpa natraga *yek* ta tilhanbagi chatnabi hounarakle; nupee singbuna matu oina lousinba natraga makhoigi macha masu hinghoubasingga loinana yokpirammi. Masigi tangkak asida meeyoibagi khutsu-panggal aduna mathou taba chengja kharadagi henna *ahel-apa* potthok puthokpadi ngamlamdri. Adubu saa-san, dhatu-suba, fee-saba amasung louoo-sing-ooba hounarakpadagidi awonba kaya lakpa heure. Mamangeida nupee gi mammal hongbana matu ama eelai laina thiba fanglambadu hujikti nupee khutsinnabagi mammal leire amasung leiba natradi eelai laina thiba fangdre. Matou asumna saa-sansu eemung-manunggi lun oina lounarakpana aruba maram oiduna thabak sunnanaba ‘khutsu’ gi mamalsu sathina wangba hourakle. Saa- san senbagi mee henna mathou taraklammi; masigi maramgidamak masana masabu sennajabadagi hendoktuna masing thuna pokthokchaba ngamba yeknaba lanfasingbu thabakta sijinnaba tarammi.

Charolna lun-thum oijahoubagi chatna pathap (Law of Inheritance)

Lun-thum haibasi lannai eemung-manungda hek takhibadagidi aduga akaknaba machatna ama oina sougatnarakpadagidi palleptaba-jura- yumbal amasung nupeegi *sagei* da yumfam oiba khunnai aduda tamthiraba safu kayana yeiba hourak-e. palleptaba- jura yumbalna eemung-manungda anouba ahongba ama purakkhi.

Masina asengba mamma amaga khambrangnana asengba mapa sakpa ama mangda khinjinbikhi; ngasigi mapa haina eikhoina ooriba kayadagi henna matik mayai leiba amasung wa chatpa amagumna. Matamduda chatnaramba *silyen* pathap adugi matung eenna nupagi mathoudi chinjak amasung madu puthoknaba khutsu gi khutali fangnaba thi-humba haibasini. Maramduna nupana khutsu-khutlaising dugisu mapu oirammi. Nupee na eemung- manunggi nuti sijinnaba potkup – pottaising fangjahoubagum nupa na matei-manoa khainabada magi mapot- marulsindo puduna chatkhi. Maramduna, matam adugi khunnaigi chatnabidugi maung eenna, nupana anouba hingnabagi hourakpham oiriba saa-san, khara thengtharakpa matamda anouba khutsu- khutlaising, minai nachingbagi mapu oikhi. Matamdugi khunnaidugi chatnabi adumakna maram oiduna machasingna magi maraud “oijahoubadi” yaramde.

Charolna oijahoubagi matangdadi matamdugi chatna pathaptu sumaina touee:

Ahanbadadi, mamagi hak ki matung eenna – chathang- suthang haibasi mamagi ee marida khakta samtharikheidi – amasung ariba chatnabigi matung eenna, charolna oijahoubasi *sagei* amagi manungda khakta oibana, *sagei* gi leikhydraba amadagi oijahoubasi *sagei* gi mari matasing khaktanani. Nupa amagi marul se *sagei* amadagi hendok-hankhide. Mahakki mapot marul di toina maru oina/ mammal leina khannadabana, makhoisingdi thanggeisengbadi *sagei* gi khwaidagi naknabasingda sinnathoklammi – haibadi mamaromdi naknabad magi khwaidagi naknaba ee marida. Asiba nupa dugi machasingdo nupa gi *sagei* da tinde, mamma gida tilli. Machasingna mamma dagi oijahouee. Ahanbadadi machasingna atei ee marisingga oijaminnahouee. Akonbadadi “khwaidagi maru oibasinggi fangfam thokpa” haiba chatna pathapki matung eenna thanggeisengba machakhaktagi oijahouramgani. Machasingna mapadagi oijahoudabagi maramdi makhoi mapa gi *sagei* da oide. Mapagi maruldi magi *sagei* da adumak leihougani.

Asumna, nakal amaromda nupa na magi marul hen-gatlakpangi matik eemung amada nupa gi thaksu hupee gi thaktagi henna wangkhatna thanggatlakpa ngamlakkhi, aduga nakal amaromdana mahakki wangkhatlakpa thak asina pambei oiduna machasinggi hakkal da yelhounggeigi “charolna oijahoubagi” chatna pathap adubu thugainaba eethyl kaya semlakkhi. Chathang/ charol haibasina mammagi ee marida samthari makheidi mahakna hotnaribadu mai pakpangi wangmada oikhi. Mamma gi hak haibadu thugaidaba eeyamak yaakhidre, amasung madumak mahakna sinkhibani.

Amomgi hak-ongna maithiba nangkhiba

Masigi thouong asi ngasi eikhoina ooriba asigumna yamna luba thouong amadi oikhide. Maramdi, yaol asi – meeyoiba khunnaina thengnarakpasingda khwaidagi mayek laaraba amani – *sagei* amagi meeyoi amattada apalba amatta peeramdana purakpa ngamkhi. Loinamak hannagum adumak lenghandana leihanba yaabadouna toukhi. Eecham chamba “warol” amakhakna laba singgi charol singes makhoi makhoigi *sagei* dagi helhandaba ngamkhi aduga mapa oibasinggi *sagei* da machasingbu tilhankhibana amom singdagidi macha munbikhrabani.

Asumna amom gi ee marida charol samthaba amasung mamagi ee marida machasingna oijahoubagi chatna pathap adu leikha tahankhi amasung mamasinggi mahut laba gi ee marida charol samthahouba amasung mapagi ee marida machasingna oijahouba gi chatna pathapna sinkhi.

Kamdouna amasung karamba matamda chakhatle hainaba khunnaisingda yaol asi lakkhibano haibasi eikhoigi lousingna chap chana lamba fangde. Masi meeyoibana puwari eenadringei matangi tangkak amada thokkhibani. Adubu asigumba yaol ama thokkhi haibasigi matangdadi mammagi hak ki matangda fangliba warising, maruoina Bachofen na thijil khomjinbagi mahei, asina hendokna matik charaba khudamni. Masi kayam laina mapung faba yaol ama oikhibano haibasi America gi Indian furupsing neinaraga khangba ngammi. Eenak khunba hengatnarakpa amasung hingbagi marelda honglakpa (umanggi punsidagi loubuk lamhangda khundaba punshi oirakpa) aduga chaokhatpangi amasung laining sandokpana chingbagi anouba wakhallon gi eethyl nachingba kayana yaol asi oihallak-e. Missouri mee furup nipal gi manung da tarukti laba gi ee marida charol samthaba amasung oijahoubagi chatna pathap ngakle, aduga ani di hannagum amom gida. Shawnees, Miamies amasung Delwares singgi marakta machasinggi *sagei* ming mapagi *sagei* gina oibagi chatnabi ama hounarakle. Asumna mapa gi sageida tinbagi maramsu mapadagi machasingna oijahounabagini.

“Nupagi mahousagi serannaba wakhal! Pot singbu onthoknabagidamak ming onthokliba! Apambana meehul gi tanthada eethak oiduna, chatnabi namhatnabagidamak chatnabigi ahobada tainaba yaanaba chatnabi ngakliba” (Marx)

Masigi mahei oina fangkhibadi chamamnaraba pandamni. Chamamnabasibu kok-hanba ngamgadaba aduga kharamakheidi ngamkhibadi mapagi hakna mahut sinba haibasini. “Chaoraknana changchatta yengba meetyengnadi masi mahousana purakpa ahongba ama oinasu ookhi”. (Marx)

Mama gi oifam thokpabu leikha tahankhibasi malem gi puwarida amom sak-ongsingbu maithiba pikhibani. Nupana eemungdasu yaathanggi mapu oikhi; nupee gi mingchatpuna khonggaonaduna meenaigi punshida eenthakhre, nupa gi nupi-hakchang meehoubabu pelhannaba nupeena meenai oirakkhi amasung magi machasing poknanaba chabok- khutlai amasu oihankhi. Nupee gi mayeng tahallaba saktambu, maruoina Greek ki *heroic* amasung *classical age* haina khangnariba puwarigi tangkaksingda mayek sengna ooba fanglibasi, pumkok kokhanbagi mahut cheina kharadang mayeng tahannabagidamak hotnei amasung serrannana wahanthok peeri². Aduga karigumba matamsingda masibu kupsanduna thammi. Amabu oire amabu oire nupee bu namthaduna thambagi chatnabidudi muthatkhiba leite. (Engels, *Origin of the Family, Ch. II*)

4 Matei-Manao Yumbal

Nupi amana nupa amada mayum panba aduga nupa amana nupi amakhak matu oina louba makhalgi matei-manoa yumbal asi hannanasu ootkhraba, ngllingeigi amasung mayai oiba *savagery* matamgi ari anou sinnabagi tangkakta chatnaramba, palleptaba-jura yumbal haibadudagi thoklakpani. Masi thorakpasina chaokhatpagi mami tarakpagi khudam amani. Masi nupa na hai human panba haibasida yumfam oiba chatnabini. Masi chatnahallakpagi maramdi, mapagi *sageida* charol samthabagi matangda chagrik- chaga marei- nunglei thangdanabigini. Asigumba chatnabisi pamnaribagi maramdi machasingna konna mapagi hakchanggi charol oihouduna magi mapot singdugi mapu oihounabagidamaktani. Masina palleptaba- jura gi luhongbadagi khennaribase masidadi punshi- leipul henna chetna kisannei; matei-manoa anigi marakta kiriba kishi adu amana eerai laina thadatpa yade. Yaathang pathap ama oina hujikti nupa khaktana matei- manao gi leinariba maridu thadatpa ngammi amasung magi matu du tanthokkhibasu ayaba pee. Chatnabisina nupa amada atoppa nupee ga matu ngangnaba yabagi ayaba pee, amasung khunnai-pushi chaokhatlakpaga eeroinana mahakna asigumba ayabasi magi hak ni haina yokkhattuna lamchat kaamba sum hen-gatlak-e. (Napolean gi yaathang matung eenna mawa amana oktabibu mayumda pusillaktrimakheidi asigumba hak asi nupa da pee). Karigumba matu na thainangeigi haktinnabagi punshiroldu sougattuna madu hinggat-hannaba hotnarabadi, mahakpu henna tamthiba mawongda cheirak peebikhi.

Matusing amasung Meenaising

Asigumba makhalgi eemung- manungsinggi khwaidagi tamthiba mawongsi Greek singda thengnei. Makhoigi mee-lai-puwari (mythology) nachingbasingda lairembi singbu seithabadu yengluraga, Marx na haibagumna, nupee singna khara henna ningtamjaba amasung eekaikhumnabagi thoung eikhoina ooribasi ngllingei matamgi oigani. *Heroic Age* haiba Christ

² Heroic Age = c. 13 -12 century BC, Classical Age = c. 580 BC – 323 BC.

tagi mamang chahicha manga amasung mari aduwaigi tangkak adudadi nupee singes nupa gi namhatpana amasung meenai nupee singna thomjillakpana sathina neihatpiraba oina ooi. *Odyssey* haiba seireng-wareng duda Telemachus haiba nupa sina kamdouna mammabu tumil leihannaba hotnakhibano haibadu ningsingba yai. Christ tagi mamang chahicha nipal aduwaigi Greek ki seirangba Homer na nupee singse lan-ngambasinggi makhutta katpa aduga makhoina sijinnaningba mawongda sijinnaba loipot oina ootli. Famthon-gi matung eenna manchingpurelna khwaidagi masak matou fajabidu makhut challi. Ningsingba yabadi Homer na eeramba *Iliad* haiba seireng- wareng asida meenai nupee amagi wathokta Greek ki athouba Achilles amasung Agamemnon na ningai sangdanakhibadu sugaina neinari. Homer na maruoiba athouba ama panba khudingda lanfa-leishabi amaga fijang marumda amasung famungda haktinnabasi pallammi. Asigumba leishabi singsi Greece haiba lamduda pukhraga eemung amagi matu oinasu yokkhatli. Khudam oina Cassandra hairibasi Aeschylus haibaduda Agamemnon na yokkhatlammi. Makhoina fangjaba machasingsu napagi *sagei* tinduna oijahouba kharadangi yamdrbasu yamdana fangkhi. Khudam oina Teueer haiba nupasi Telamon na meenainupee ngangnaraga pokkhiba machanupani. Mahak magi mapagi meeng sijinnabagi hak adu fangkhi.

Yetnaba leitana yaanaraba matu amana nupana chatliba lamchat asigumna chatloidabani haina lounei. Yumgi matu haibasidi ee sengna nupa attoppaga haktinnadaba amasung haiba eenna leigadabani haina khannei. Tasengnamak *Heroic AgeI* haiba tangkak adugi nupee amada eekaikhumnabibagi changduna chaokhatpagi tangkaktagi helli. Adubu mawa amagi mafamdadi mahaksi nupagi yetnaba leitana yanaraba machasing amasung charol gi mammadagi karisu henna oikhide. Matu ama haibasi magi yum sennaba meesingdugi makokni, amasung pambu pamlagadi loinabi oina sijinnaningba mawongda sijinnaba meena nupeesingbu sennabi amani.

Matei-manao yumbal machatna asiga meenai loibagi machatna asi matam amattada oibana, masak matou fajabi naha oiribi meenaisingsigi mapu nupa khaktana oibana, matei-manao yumbal machatnasi hek hourakngeidagi nupana matu lonba yaba aduga nupeena mawa amadagi henba yadabagi machatna oina toure. Ngasifaoba lamchat asi hongba leitri.

Khara thengtharakpa matamgi Greeks neinasi hairagadi *Dorians* amasung *Ionians* hairiba me furpsingsigi khennabasi puthoktuna neinabasu yai. *Dorians* furupki matangdadi *Sparta* na mayek senglaba khudam amani. *Sparta* gida chatnaba luhongbagi mari asi mawong kharada Homer gi matamdagi henna liraba machatna amani. *Sparta* da chatnariba yumbal makhal adu *Sparta* gi leingak wakhallon-ga chunnana kharasu semdoklaba makhalti yumbal ni. Machatna aduda sanggu luhongbagi chatnakhak khara palleptaba-jura yumbal gi machatnana yansallap tou-ee. Macha poktradi matei-manao khainathok-e. Ningthou Anaxandridas (chaorakna 650 B.C.) ahanba matudu macha pokte haiduna anisuba ama louee aduga yum sennabi ani thammi. Matam asiwaida ningthou Ariston na matu animak mahei yandre haiduna ahumsubi louee aduga hannagi anidudagi ama eenthokkhi. Amalomda nupa machin- manaosingna nupi ama punna louninnabasu yaoee. Kanagumba marup amana marup amagi matudu sijinnaninglabadi makhoi punna yannaba amagi makhada adum sijinnaminbasu yaoee. Bismark na haibagi matung eennadi kanagumba amana matha-faba sagol laba ama purakladi mahak adu “leibak-macha or mareicha” (citizen) nattrafaobada mangonda matu sijinnahanba haibase leibak macha taba lamchatni haina lounei.

Schomann gi matung eennadi Greek ki wangulon suba (Philosopher) Plutarch (c, 46 – 120 A.D.) gi wareng saruk amada *Sparta* gi nupee amabu anamkanba nupa amakhakna magi mawada mabu amukta sijinnage haina themlibaduna nupee gi ningtamba khara lei haibasi ootpani. Oktaba

oktabigi lamchat, nupee amana mawa khanghandana atoppaga lonna mawa ngangnaba haibase sukta tanaramde. Amaromda lannai meenai loiba haibase, atei mafamda natrabasu makhoigi khwaidagi nungai yaifana pallingei puwari tangkak adu faobadadi chatnaramde. Maningtamba fangjadraha meenaisingdu makhoigi khwaidagi nungai lousang singda oina thamkhibana *Sparta* leibak- macha singdu manaisinggi matu sing meehougadabadagi ngakthokpa ngamkhi. Asigumba fibhamsingdagi *Sparta* gi nupeesingna Greece gi mafamsingdagi henna eekaikhumnana thammi haiba yai. *Sparta* gi nupee sing amasung *Athenia* gi mabemmasinggi marakta awangba thakki nupee sing khaktana ariba Greeks na eekaikhumnabaga loinana seithabada panbiriba; makhoigi wa khaktani aeebasingna eesilhoubada mammal lei haina lounakhiba.

Poron lonlaba thongsing

Ionians singdadi fibhamdu pumtong tongalli. *Athen* na masigi mayek laaraba khudam oigani. Leisabisingna moithap naiba, fee-saaba, fee- tuba amasung kabok kabok eeba paabadagi henna karisu tamnarude. Makhoi matam leiba khibikta eemungdagi mapal thok-hande amasung atoppa nupee singga nattana kanagasu loinaba fangde. Nupee gi ka haina yum amada topna thammi; dalal mathakta natraga khwaidagi maning thangbada. Asigumba nupee gi ka haibasi lamlanbana hek changba yaroidaba mafamda thammi aduga nupa singna yumda koirakpada nupee singna ka aduda changkhi gadabani. Meenai nupi amaga loinana natrabadi makhoi mapanda thorak-hande; eemungdasu makhoi thong ngakpana sennahanduna thammi.

Greek ki lila sannaba Aristophanes (c. 450 -385 B.C.) na lamchat oktabasingna changbada hanggoihannanaba Molosia gi hui loibagi wa palli. Amabu oire amabu oire Asia gi keithel-leikai (Town) singdadi nupee sennanabagidamak masa semdoklaba / athibam louthoklaba nupasing yumda loinei. *Aegean* eepakta leiba Chois haiba Greek gi eethat aduda, ngllabada Herodutus ningtoug matamduda, nupagi masa semdokpa amasung mapallamda thadokpa tounarammi. Wachsmuth gi matung eennadi masa semdokpa nupa loinakhibase sahing chaba thakmuk chaokhattaba tangkakki meeyoi khakta natte. *Euripides* haiba Greek gi lila sannabagi nupee amabu Oikourema haina kouee – haibadi yum sennanaba pot ama. Aduga macha pokpa amasung sennabagi mathakta, *Athenian* singidi nupeegi mathousi masi mangaire, mahaksi magi meenai nubisinggi makokni. Nupa gidi sanna-khotnaba amasung meeyamgi thabak thouram haibasina mathouni. Nupee singbudi masi yahande. Asigi mathakta nupagidi meenainubi yamnasu loirammi. *Athens* na khwaidagi ngahong – chahongna pallingei matamda “oktabi/ kasubi” khanbagi chatnabi leirammi. Madu leingaknasu sougatkhi. Asigumba oktabi khanbagi chatnabisina oiramba yai Greek gi nupee singna hei singba amasung matik magun leiramlibasi. Makhoigi lousing wangba amasung leitenggi chatnabina *Sparta* gi nupeena makhoigi lamchatki magunna *Classical Age* haiba tangkakki nupee singgi changchattagi henbagum hellamlibase. Adubu nupee amana asigumba gun leiba nupee ama oinabagidamak oktabi hanna oibagi chatnabisidi yamna thina ngangnangingaigi masaksu oikhi.

Asigumba *Athenia* gi yumbal makhal asi yumbal makhal amani haina *Ionian* khakta naatana Greek ki mayailam amasung loilamsingdasy sandoknarakkhi. Adubu thongngakpa fana thamdunasu, so fana lonsindunasu Greek ki nupee singna mawabu meenambagi khudongchaba kaya fangkhi. Maramdi, makhoi makhoigi matusingda nungsi ootpa eekaijaba nupa singdu oktabisingga mari thamduna eerang- falangda taoduna hinglammi. Adubu nupee bu eekai khumnadabagi mahei oina makhoi masana masabusu mammal hanthahanjakhi. Makhoi kaya amangthongda haktinnabagi tukkatcharaba lamchat machatna aduda lupkhi. Makhoigi lai/ ishwar singbu mammal

hanthahankhi amasung *Ganymede* haiba waridugi thoudokkum makhoi masana masabu mammal hanthahanjakhi.

Nupana Panba

Eikhoina thirubada thainangeigi khwaidagi leibak- macha taba amasung chaokhatpa meeyoisinggi matamdagi houraduna “Nupana Panba” haibasina “juradei hennadaba”, haibadi matu/ mawa londaba, makhalgi yumbal asigi hourakphamni. Masi lannai haktinningbagi- khoirangbagi mahei natte, masiga mari suklei leinade; maramdi, luhongba haibase hannagum khudongchabagi matung eenna panghong hongnarammi. Juradei hennadaba makhalgi yumbal asina, mahousagi yumbalda yumfam oidaba, khwaidagi ahanba oina sellamchatki feebhamda – lannai yumpot tanbana ariba, mahousagi apunbagi lun da maithiba pikhiba – yumfam oiba makhalgi yumbalni. Greeks khudingmakna wafamsi yamna maka lamna fongdok-e: juradei hennadaba yumbal asigi amatta ngairaba pandamdi nupana eemungda panba, aduga tunggi charol haibadu magi charolna oiduna magi lun-geigi mapu oihouba yanabagidamaktani. Asibu natlamdrabadi luhongba haibase potlum amani; pamge mammu pammoi tok-oo magi laising/ ishwarsing, leingak amasung apokpasingda toudraba yadraba thoudang kharasu leiribani. *Athens* gi chatna pathapki maung eenna nupasingna luhongba khakta nattana yamdrabada luhongbagi thoudang haiba khara pangthoktabasu yakhide.

Aduna juradei hendaba yumbal asina puwarida hek fonglakpa matamda machatna adu nupee nupa anigi marakta yaannaba ama purakpadagi oirakkhiba natte. Asengbadi tasengna tayonnabani. Juradei hennadaba yumbaldi sak-ong amabu atoppa amana supnam toubadagi chatnarakkhibani; machatna aduna puwarigi mamanggi tangkaxsingda amukta thokkhidriba makhalgi, sak-ong anigi marakta muknaba ama thorakle haibagi mayek sengba paojelni.

Marx na eeramba, fongbadi fongkhidraba, ariba khut-ee lairik amada asumna palli: “eehan hanba *silyenba* asidi macha poknabagidamak nupee amasung nupagi maraktani (tongannaba thoudang lounanaba)”. Marx ki waheisida yumfam oiraga asumna haiba yari; “puwarida eehan hanba oina ‘thak’ masel yeithatnabasidi juradei hennadaba yumbal machatnasida nupee amasung nupana oongkhatnabasiga chunnana thok-ee, amasung eehan hanba oina ‘thak’ tuhatpiduna ot neibasiga laba sak-ongna amom sak-ongbu tuhatpibasiga chunnei.

Juradei hennadaba yumbal si puwarigi achouba khongkap ama mangda thangbagumbani; adum oinamak masina mania loibagi machatna amasung lannai yumpot tanbagi machatnasiga yansinnaraga ngasifaoba chatnaduna leiriba khunnaigi machatna asidi manglomda khongkap ama thangba khuding tunglomda khongkap ama hanbaga pangkak oiraba, kanagumba kharabu laira-chudatnahanduna amasung kangaonahallaga kanagumba kharagi nungai yaifaba amasung chaokhatpagi pambei oiraba machatna amani. Masidi kakkhal nairaba khunnaigumbani; yetthatnaba amasung khennabana peek thallaba, hek neinabada mayek sengna ooragadaba khunnaini.

Oktabising

Palleptaba-jura yumbal amasung juradei-hannadaba yumbal machatnasingsi chatnarabasu thainangeidagi changdamnaba yaana haktinnabada ningtamlambagi machatnadu pungmut puthatpadi ngamkhide:

“Machil-manao adudagi mari-mata halengdana haktinnaramba kanglupsing nongma nongmagi mami samlakkrabasu thainangeigi luhongbagi machatnadi chaokhatparomda naksallakliba yumbal haibasida mutkhide...masina kainathangda *hetaerism* machatnada lupkhi amasung yumbalga sagonnaba amuba mamigum chaokhatpa tangkakki meeyoibagi tung koieen eennakhi”. (Morgan)

Morgan na khangjabagi matung eenna *hetaerism* haibasi, juradei- hennadaba yumbalga matam amattada hingliba; nupasing amasung luhongdaba nupeesingga luhongdana haktinnabagi machatna adubuni. *Hetaerism* haibasi chaokhatpaga tangkak adugi matam pumbada makhal awong kya thokna chatnakhi. Masina asum asum mara taraktuna kainathangdadi eefong fongna ‘kasubi khanba’ (oktabi) haiba machatna adu oirak-ee. *Hetaerism* haibasi kanglup yumbal machatnadagi hourakkhi, nupeena “ee-sengba gi” hak leijanabagidamak masana masabu sinnathokchabani. *Sel* gidamak masabu sinnathokchabasi ahanbadadi laining pathap amasu oirammi; madu *nungsi-lairembi* gi laishangda pangthoklammi amasung madudagi fangba *sel* duna laishanggi senfu da changkhi.

Armenia d alai *Anaitis* gi laishanda amasung *Corinth* d alai *Aphrodite* gi laishangda leiribi meenainubising, *India* gi laishangsingga sagonnaribi jagoisabisinggum, *bayanderes* haina khangnaribasing (Portuguese gi wahei *bailadeira* dagi thorakpa, haibadi jagoisabi amom), makhoi khudingsi angnba matamgi oktabisingni. Asumna “changjabase” ahanbada nupee khudinggi mathou oirambadu akonbadadi *maibee* sing khaktana nupee mayamgi mahut sinduna mathou pangthokkhibani. Atoppa mee furupsingdadi, *hetaerism* haibasi leishabi singbu luhongdringei mamangda haktinnabagi ningtamba peethokkhibatani – aduna masisu kanglup luhongbagi machatnadugi chatnakhakni, mawong amadabudi chatnahouraba. Lun- thumda mannadaba khunnai ama oirakpadagi – *savagery* tangkakki athengba sarukta – khutsu-thabakna machi machida thorakpaga eeroimana meenai-thabaksu thorak-ee. Aduga, matam asimaktada, masiga mari leinadaba eeya yaadabagum, maningtamba nupee singgi oktabi sinfamsu meenaisingbu namduna “changjahanbaga” eeroimana thorak-ee.

Matou asumna kanglup yumbalgi machatnaduna chatnakhak oina choakhatpa tangkaktasu chatnahouba asidi chaokhatpaga tngkak khuding machil ani longbagum, marol ani lonbagum, masana masada khaidatchabagum, mannadabagum machil ani long-ee; swaidana juradei hennadaba luhongba, aswaidana *hetaerism*, amasung khwaidagi saathiraba oktabi sinfam. *Hetaerism* haibasi atei khunnai loisanggumbanina; hannangeigi haktinnabagi ningtambasi nupa gi khudong chanabata yengduna yokkhatpani. Tasengbadi machatna asi eecham chamna chatnahanba natte. Masidi leingakpasinggi thakna haraona sougattuna thambani, chinbalthongdata hunduna ngangbani. Hunduna cheibiribasibusu nupee singgi mafamdani, mari leina nupa singbudi khak hunkhide. Oktabisingbu hanthana oobiriba amasung jat tahanbiribagi maramsu nupa ni, khunnaigi chatna pathap amamuk semlaga nupana amom sak-ongbu namthaduna hai human panba yanabagidamaktani.

Matuna masagi punshi hanjinna fangjaba

Juradei- hennadaba luhongba asimakna masada khenna amasu thorakli. *Hetaerism* gi eethak eerangna leitengliba mawagi nakalmaktada thouoiibidraha matu hingli. Kanasu nakal amattada masigi khennabasi thoklaga nakal attoppada thokloi hainingai leite, nupa amana heituppu tangkhai chathoklaga mapumdu lengdana makhutta yaoduna leibadi oithokte. Heituptu mapum kaidana

leigani haibasidi mawa khaktana khanbaga oigani. Matusingna henna ningthiba para tambidrifaojadi nakhoina asigumba wakhalda nungaitthokkhigani. Juradei-hennadaba yumbal amasung *hetaerism* anisina maram oiduna "ngangnaba" (adultery or lonna haktinnabagi machatna) haibasi khunnai- loishang (social institution) ama oirakkhi – ngangnababu fatte haina hullabasu, tamthina cheirak pirabasu masibu muthatpadi ngamkhide. Khwaidagi moral wangbada, machasinggi tang taba pari puri haibasi hannagumna mapagi *sagei* gi mingda oifam thok-ee haibagi thajabasida lepnare. Aduga thorakliba watemnaba ngamdraba khennaba kayasi koknaba Napoleon gi pathap, Article 312 na mayek sengna eeri: luhongduna meerollaba angang adugi mapadu – mawani. Masini chahi 3000 lom chatnaraklaba juradei- hennadaba makhalgi luhongbagi aroiba mahei.

Asumna juradei- hennadaba yumbal na magi puwarigi hourakpa machattu kaidana leiribagi maram amasung nupa khaki oiba hai-humna panbana nupee amasung nupa gi marakta thorakliba muknaba kayadu mayek sengna ootli. Amaromda masinasu amukka henna mayek sengna ootli madudi khunnai amagi khongchatta chaokhatpadi tangkak hek hourakngeidagi khunnaibu 'thak' naihanduna watemnaba ngamdraba amasung namthaba ngamdraba makhalgi yetnabasing amasung khennabasing mayek sengna thok-halli. Eina matangsida haijaribasi thainangeigi thoung amasung machatnagi matung eenna chatnaba luhongbagi punshi ngakna chatliba, adubu nupee na mawagi hai-humna panbabu temsingnari, adugumba juradei- hennadaba yumbalda thokpa thoudoksingdugi matangdani.

Luhongba khudingmak asumnadi thokkhiba natte. Khudam oina hairabada German gi thaksi-khasi naidabani hairiba meeoisingdugidi nupa na magi matik- mayaidu leingakta ootpa nattana eemungdadi ngamjade. Magi matik natte haiba khonggraosingdu matu gidi hak ni haiduna makhoina oina setli. Adubu, masigi sotthahoubase menkhat-hounaba, mahak masana masabu maraibak thiraba French amadagi, mangondeidi henna toina henna natei chatabatamak khara thengnariba meeyoi amadagi, henna mingchat wang-ee haina loujei.

Khara taphaba hai humna panba khutpan

Adum-oinamak, Greek singgida thokkhiba adugumna juradei hennadaba yumbalsi matam khudingda amasung mafam khudingda tamthina thokkhibadi natte. Malem bu khudum chan-gani haina mung mungjakhiba Roman singda, yamnamak henna ningthibamak nattrabasu Greek tagi henna wakhal chaokhiba makhoinadi, nupee singna ningtamba khara henna leihalli amasung eekai khumnabi. Roman amana khanjei madudi magi matu gidamak hingba amasung siba ngambagi thounadu khaktana nupeegi mari- leinabagi achetpa thajaba adu fangba ngammi. Adugisu mathakta, makhoigi khunnaidadi mawa na ngamba adugumna matu nasu khainaningbada khainaba ngammi.

Adubu juradei-hennadaba yumbal chatnarakpadi matangda neinarakpadadi German singgi matangda neinadaba yaade. Masigi maramdi German singse – makhoi lairamanbana maram oigani – palleptaba- juradei pangkhen khennabamak oidriba juradei- hennadaba yumbal machatna amagi tangkakta leirammi. Roman gi puwari eeba Tacitus (c. 50 – 120 A.D.) haiba nupa asina thamlamba khudam mangadagi eikhoina machatna asi khangba ngammi. Ahanbada, makhoina luhongbabu yamna thak wangna khallabasu – makhoina matu amana penjakhi amasung nupee amana masagi ee bu sengna ngakchakhi – saknaiba meeyoising amasung kanglupki purel, khullakpana

chingbasinggidi palleptaba- jura yumbal chatnaba American singgum ‘loinaba masing yambagi’ chatnabi leikhi.

Anisubada, mammagi hak mapagi hak na sinkhibasi yamna tenba matamda oigani. Maramdi mamaromgi mayamba/ manao – mammagi hak matung eenna laba gi khwaidagi naknaraba *sagei* mari – lengba leitana mapagi dagi henna naknaba mari- mata oina lounakhi. Masigi machatnasi American Indian singgi machatnaga yamna chunnei. Marx na toina haibagi matung eennadi makhoigi machatnasina eikhoigi thainangeigi matambu khangbagi khwaidagi maru oiba pambeini.

Aduga ahumsubada, juradei- hennadaba luhongbei machatnada nupana hai human panbagi pungkhen khennabada German singgi nupee singdi yamna wangna eekai khumnei amasung makhoidi meeyamgi thabak thouramda ymana mawa chatpasu oi.

Wafam kharasing asida Germans amasung *Spartans* sing yamna mannaba khara ooba fang-ee. Eikhoina mathakta neinakhrabaduni *Spartan* singsu palleptaba jura yumbal gi machatnadu pungmut muthatpadi ngamkhide.

Asumna matang asidasu German gi pumtong tonganba makhalgi chatnarol kharana malem gi chatnarolda machatna ama houdorakkhi. Roman gi leikha taraba taibangduda eetilfam oiraraba mee furup kayana anouba makhalgi juradei- hennadaba yumbal machatna ama houdorakkhi. Masina nupa hai humbase anouba fijangna leitengduna thainangeigi tamthiba machatnadagi khara henna thot nouba ama oina oohalli. Mapanthonгда nupee singgi fibham khara henna fagathalli, khara henna ning tamhalli amasung henna eekai khumnahalli.

Hujikti, juradei- hennadaba machatna asidagi karigumba fibham kharada – madugi manungda oiba yai, maduga khambrangnana oiba yai, madugi mayokta oiba yai – khwaidagi wangba lamchat- bebhar amakhak fangbagi mami ooraklibase: matamgi naitom haktinningbagi- khourangba, malemda mamangeida khangnakhidraba makhal ama.

Masigi anouba eethyl asigi tasengba hourakphamdi German singna palleptaba- juragi yumballonda hingna hingna machatna asida oiriba nupee singgi ‘saktam’ bu juradei- hennadaba yumbal gi machatnada yaribamakhei pansinbadagini. Masi singthaningai oiraba German gi lamchat- saajat amasung ngakningai oiraba ‘haktinlon’ dagi hek thorakkkhibadi natte. Masi chayet khayetnaraba juradei hennadaba machatnaduna oihallakpa palleptaba- juragi ningtamba adu nattana karisu natte.

Masigi onna teinabada, German singna khul honglakpagi khongchatsida, maruoina kha nongpok lomda *Black Sea Steppes* ki khulleptabba kangbuga koichatnaringeida, *Ammianis* na *Taifalians* (a city in western Soudi Arabia, situated to the south-east of Mecca in the Asir Mountains) amasung *Byzantine* gi puwari eeba Procupius (c. 500 – 562) na *Herculians* (Israel aduwaida) gi matangda fongdokpagum, makhoidagi sagol sijinnaba tamhoubadagi hendoktuna nattaba lamchatsingsu tamhouduna makhoigi lamchat- bebhar sathina leikha tahanjakhi.

Chivalrous Love (Koinaba)

Adubu juradei- hennadaba yumbal sina eikhoina khangba yumbal makhalsingsigi marakta matamgi hak-ong khoirangba gi hourakfam oiramba taragasu, yumballon asiga mari leinana thorakliba hak-ong khoirangba asi matei-manao apam- meehouba faonaba adukhaktani natraga

madudagi hende haibadi natte. Nupa gi khadang makhada chatnariba juradei- hendaba luhongbagi machatnana madu oithok-handabani. Puwarida saruk yariba ‘thak’ singda – haibadi leingakpa thaksingda – luhong khongdongba haibasi palleptaba jura gi luhongbagi machatnadudadi hongde, khudongchabagi fibham yenglaga mapa –mamasingna sinbiduna lak-ee.

Puwarida khwaidagi ahanba hak-ong khoirangbagi mawongdi pukninggi oiba eethilduni. Eethyl asi meeyoibagi hounasani haina khannakhi (yamdrabada masina leingakpa thak ki meeyoisinggi mafamda thoklurabadi). Masi khwaidagi wangba haktinnaningbagi eethylni – masina lamchat sembaniv—amasung masigi naitom hak-ong- khoirangbagi mawong, mayaioiba puwari tangkak matam aduwaigi nupee themba/ koibagi machatnadu thok-halli. Masina louna- leinabagi/ yumbaldi oikhide. Tasengbadi yumbalgi onna teinabani.

Masigi athoiba mawongdi *Provencals* singgi machatnadagi ooba fang-ee. Machatna asina nupee-nupa “ngangnaba” thok-halli aduga nungsibagi matangda eebe seirengbasingna “ngangnababu” sethaduna thagatli. *Provencal* gi nungsi – seirengsingdu *Albas* haina khangnei (*aubades* or nongallamdaigi eeseising). Makhoina lunglaba machu- machu gi leitengna ningthougi achouba famnaibasingna makhoigi nungsibisingga – atoppa nupa gi matu singga – famungda lennaduna leibadu seithaduna fongdok-ee. Mapanda thongngakpana sangduna lei. Thongngakpana numidangwai hek yourakpaga famnaibada kourakkani, maramdi mahak thunamak kanasu oodringeida nanthok-hougadabani. Kainaramdai gi tangkaktuna seirenggi matol lombasu oiri. Awanglomgi French amasung mammal yamlaba German singnasu nupee koinabagi machatnasingga eeroimana asigumba seirengsingsi pamjana yokkhatchei. *Eschenbach* ki ahal oiraba Wolfram na asigumba natei chadrabasinggi matangda hainingai leitana fajaraba *nongngallamdaigi eeshei* ahum thamlammi. Eigidamaktadi magi sanglaba akal- athougi seireng ahumdudagi masina henna pamjei. (Engels, *Origin of the Family, Ch II*)

PART II

CAPITALISMG I KUYOMNUNGBA NUPEESING

Industrial Capitalism gi tangkaksima nupee singgi khutsubu factory, mine aduga mill singda tamthina namhattuna sijinnabibaga loinana hangdorakhi. Nupeesing, aduga angangsing busu mammal hongba khutsu oina meeng chanduna chara henningchit changgi khutsumal peebea aduga meepainingai oiba fibhamsingda pungsing sangna thabak suhannaba namsinduna thambikhi.

Minungsi leitana nupeesing amasung angangsingbu namhattuna sijinnabibabu Engels amasung Marx na nungasuk nungjannaraba saktamse Engels na magi angunba lairik *Condition of the Working Class in England* 1844 da fongba aduga Marx na *Capital* da mayek sengna ootkhi. Makhoina makhoigi matamgi Great Britain da thengnakhiba kayadubu neinaduna madugi hourakfam amasung madugi afa-fatta neinakhi.

Britain da sinmee singgi eehoudagi namhattuna sijinnabibagi thouong kharadi muthatkhi. Adum oinamak Marx amasung Engels gi warolsing paruragadi “mannaba thakki mannaba khutsumal”gidamak lanthengnaba tasengnamak mai pakpa haibadudi oidri. Leibak asidasu nupeesing amasung leishabisingbu *capitalist* singna minungsi leitana namhatpiba leptana chatthari. Aduga Engels na 1844 da ootthokkhiba Britain gi mills amasung mines singda nupee amasung angang khutsusing na oiriba tujungningai oiraba fibhamsingdu ngasisu loilam amasung meekha ponba leibaksingda hongba leitana chatthari. Marx na Engels na ookhibagumna *capitalism* na sinmee thak ki meeyoi singgi *yumbal* punshibu thugaibiri. Aduga makhoina “bourgeois *yumbal*” gi meeyok meenei, masiga mari leinana thorak-halliba nupeebeu leikhatahanba amadi oktabi sinfam, amasung oida namthaksingbu ootthok-ee.

Adum oinamak eikhoina khanggadabadi *capitalism* na nupee singbu tamthina namhatlabasu nakal amaromdadi nupee singbu potthok puthokpagi thouongda chingsillaktuna makhoigi ningtambafi mabidumasu yatpiribani. Nupaga loinana sinmee nupee kaya masing thingamdaba thak ki lanhou asida chingsillakli. *Communist* singna hek hourakngeidagi *capitalism* leikha tanabagi amasung *socialism* puraknabagi lanhouda nupeesing yaodaba yade amadi makhoina lougada thoudangsing mayek sengna khangkhrabani. Masina nupee singgi ningtamba puraknabagi lambee ni; makhoina khunnai punshi amasung thabaksingda chap-mannaba thoudang lounanabagi.

1. Nupee singbu namhattuna sijinnaba

Thabak heena subadagi siba

June 1863 gi aroiba chayolda yamna pukning langtakningai oiraba warol “thabak henna subadagi siba” haiba amakhak London gi nungti chefongsingda fongkhi. Wafamdi yamna ming chatpa fee-tu- sang amakhakta yamna ningthiraba ming Elise koubi mabemma amakhakna neihattuna sijinnabadagi leikhidrabi masagi chahi 20 khakta ngairibi Mary Anne Walkley gi maramdani.

Mamangda toina ngangnakhiba wari amakhak nouhounana ningsingnahallakkhi. Nupee macha asi changchatta pung 16 makhai, aduga fee-tu-tha matamdadi pung 30, leptana thabak sukhi. Magi khutsu panggala hantharakpa matamda mangonda marak marakta pibiba haibabu masa tekkhatnaba *sherry, port, coffee* mangaire. Handakki matamdu Princess of Wales pu eekai khumnaba ootpa oina pangthokkadouriba *ball* aduda saruk yadouribi awangba thakki mabemma singgi makhal mathelgi fijolsingdu mikup amada tuba loidaba yadaba matamni.

Mary Anne Walkley du nupee 60 romga, nungsasor honnabagidamak marang kaina nungsiit fao fangdaba ka amada makhoi kunthra leiminnaduna, pung 26 makhai faobadi leptana thabak sukhi. Oopakna kakhal khairaga tumfam ka oihalliba eechil chinba makhul jurasingduda makhoina changduna ahing tummi. Khanduna yengsi, masina London gi khwaidagi fare hairiba mill amagi fibham oiribani. Mary Anee Walkley eerai numitta anaba houraga, Madame Elise gi mafamda khoisaonaba amatta hek thok-hallamdana, magi makhutta leiba thabak makhei loina sudoklamlaga, nongmaiijing numitta sikhi.

Mr Keys haiba yamna thengna asibagi famangduda yourakkhiba doctor duna *Cornor* gi *jury* duda sakhi oiduna haikhi “Mary Anne Walkley pikpana nungsiit nungsa changdraba ka amasa leihanbadagi amadi ka henna mee chinba ka amada henjinna thabak subadagi sikhibani.” Maduda *cornor* gi *jury* aduna doctor dubu henna fajaba para khara tambinabagidamak cherol ama thok-ee; madudi, “leikhidrabidu *apoplexy* (saoganba amasung pukninggi lainaga mari leinaba) haiba lainadudagi sikhibani; adubu henjinna mee chinba ka amada thabak henna subadagi magi masa henna sokchinkhiba oiramgani haibagi kiningai oibagi maramsu lei.”

Free traders singgi kayat saruk oiriba *Morning Star* na “eikhoigi angouba meenaising” haina tengthakhi. “Masagi mongfam touriba eikhoigi angouba meenaisingse matam ayambada makhol thoktana lemkhak oiraga sijej.” (Marx, Capital)

Mamal hongba Khutsu.

Nupee sing amasung chahi taragi makhagi angangsingbu mines singda thabak suba thingdringeigi mamangdadi *capitalist* singna fee thokpi nupeesing amasung leisabisingse makhoi makhoigi chatnabinabu yaragadi nupasingga loinana mine singda thabak subada sijinnanaba hotnarammi. Act adu chatnarabagi matung khaktadani makhoina machine da mityeng changlakhibasi. *Yankee* singna nung thugaibagi machine ama puthokkhrabani. *English* singna madu sijinnaningkhide maramdi makhoina khutsumal hongba khutsumee oina sijinnaba pamkhi. Makhoina ‘wretch’ haina khangnariba louoo sing-oobagi khutsu meesingse suriba thabaktagi kayam hanthana khutsumal pibage hairabada machine sijinnaba houbada *capitalist* singgi potthok puthokpangi achangba mammal sathina hen-gatkadouri.

England da karigumbada khongda chenba hee chingthok chingsin tounaba sagol gi mahut nupee oina sijinnari. Maramdi sagol amasung machine puthokpada changdouriba khutsu/mammal chaorakna khangnaraba wafamni. Aduga ahenba meesinggi maraktagi thorakpa nupeesing loiduna thabakta sijinnabagi mammal di sathina honglammi. (Marx. Capital: 1, IV, XV, 2)

Machine thorakpadagi hakchanggi panggala sijinnaduna thabak suba aduk hakna mathou taraktabadagi, hakchinggi panggala khara sonjarabasu, mapung marei faba hakchang oidrabasu,

khut sat hot nouba khutsu sing sijinnabagi pambei amasu oirakkhi. Maramduna, machinery sijinnaba *capitalist* singna eehan hanna fangnaba hotnarakpasi nupee amasung angang khutsu meesingni. Khutsu amasung khutsu mee mahut sinba yaba machine adu khanghoudana *capitalist* singgi liching makhada chahi amasung sak-onggi khennaba thamdana sinmee eemungsinggi khutsumee masing yamna thabakta chingsinnabagi pambei ama onkhi. *Capitalist* singgidamak thabak sudaba yadaba fibham ama oirakpasina angangsinggi sanna- khotnabagi fam adu munbibadagi hendoktuna eemung manunggi senmit fagatnabagi mingda yumda leijaramba khutsu singbusu khopchinbikhi.

Khutsugi mamalse mapung faba khutsumee aha lama hinghannaba hotnabada changba khutsu-matam adukhaktana lepte; masidi magi eemung adu challaibada changgadaba khutsu-matam aduna lepkadabani. Machine na khutsu-keithel da yumgi meeyoi khuding chingthoraklaga nupagi khutsu-panggal fimamalduna magi eemungda sara sandorakle. Asumna magi khutsu- panggall mayeng hanthahalle. Khutsu mee mari leiba eemung amagi khutsu-panggal leinanaba hotnabasina hannangeida yumgi ahal dugi khutsu-panggal leinanaba hotnabadagi henna mammal changba yai. Adubu numit marinigi khutsuna numit amagi khutsugi mahut sinkhre, aduga marigi ahenba khutsu aduna amagi ahenba khutsudagi hellibasi masing hen-gatlakpangi matik makhoigi mammal su sum sum hantharak-ee. Hujikti eemungdu hingnabagidamak mee marina khutsu oibada nattana *capitalist* singgi ahenba-khutsu hapkatle. Masidagi eikhoina ooba fang-ee madudi machinery na *capitalist* na meeyoibabu namhattuna sijinnabagi pandamdu henna mara chet-hanbadagi hendoktuna amaromdadi namhattuna sijinnabagi changdusu hen-gat-halli. (Marx. Capital; I, IV, XV, 13)

Angangsingbu namhattuna sijinnaba

Khutsu meesingga mari leinaba *factory* gi wayel- pathap si *factory*, *manufactory* nachingbadagi hendrimakheidi *capital* gi namhattuna sijinnabagi hak adugi mayokta eechem chamna thingjinbani haina louba yai. Adubu “yumgi-khutsu (home- labour) haiba wayel-pathap asigi matangdadi, mase mama-mapa gi hak ki mayokta (*patria potestas*) akanba safu amani haina ooba fang-ee. Thammoi thok- nouba *English Parliament* du khongthang asi louba ngamdaduna leirakpani. Adubu matamgi safusingda oopai leitabadagi masinasu matamgi *industry* na mahousagi *yumbal* gi sellam-yumfam (economic foundation) amadi maduga mari leinariba yumbal-khutsu (family labour) adu makhanda onthokpadagi hendoktuna mahousagi leiraklaba *yumbal* marisingbusu thadatle haiba wafamsi sengna laothokpa takhi. 1866 ki *Commission* gi thigat-paodam asumna hairi “sakhi mayamdagi yamna thamoi sokningai oiba khara ooba fangle madudi sak-ong animakki angangsingse makhoi makhoigi mama-mapa singdagi kanba mathou tariba asi youna atoppingdagi kanba mathou taba asi youna thengkhidri.” Angangsinggi khutsu bu, maruoina yumgi-khutsu haina khangnaribasibu hainingai leitana namhattuna sijinnabagi machatna asi lengdana leiraklibagi maramdi mama-mapasingna mathakta kanamattagi mityeng amasung athingba leitana anouriba charolsinggi mathakta kusi touna panba ngambadagini... machasingdu haptagi khutsu tannabagidamak machine amagum sijinnaba ngambagi hak asi mama- mapasingda fanghalloidabani. Angangsi amasung chahi nouribasingna, maramduna, makhoigi panggall bu mapung fadringeida leikha tahalliba amasung makhoigi lousing amasung maramchatpu mayeng hanthahallibasingdagi ngakthokchaba ngamnabagidamak leingakloisinggi mafamdagi wayel ama makhoigi mahousagi hak oina tanjagadabani.

Adubu mamma mapagi hak pu lanna sijinnabadagi *capitalist* singna hakthengnana natraga nakoinana angangsinggi khutsu bu namhattuna sijinnaba oihallakpa natte. Onna teinabada, *capitalist* ki namhattuna sijinnabagi thouongna mamma-mapagi hak ki sellambu humbuna pukhraga, makhoibu mapanggal lanna sijinnahanbaromda chang hanthahankhibadagi masi oiraklibani.

Ariba *yumbal* gi maridu *capitalist* machatna asigi makhada yamna tamthiningai amasung tukatchaningai oina ooba taragasu matamgi industry sina yumgi chekpal wangmada nupee singbu, chahi nouribasingbu, sak-ong animakki anangsingbu potthok puthokpagi thouongda sijinnaduna henna thak wangba *yumbal* amasung sak-ong singgi marakta leinariba marigi sellam-yumfam semlakkhi. Adum oinamak, makhoi makhoigi *yumbal* manat singse pullap pullaga neinabada puwarigi khongchatta tangkaksing oina ooba yariba ariba *Roman, Greek* amasung nongchuplomgi *yumbal* mawongsingda, *Teutonic-Christian* singgi yumbalduna khwaidagi mapung farabani natraga meeyoibagi ngamkhei nat amani haina pansinduna chang onba natraga waroisin piba nap chade.

Maromdom tapna sagatlakpa, tamthiningai oiraba, *capitalist* saklonda khutsumee singna khutsumee singgidamal puthoknaba thouongdugi nattaba, puthokpagi thouongdugidamak hingba aduga masina senja thumja amasung meenai loibagi machatnadu mayek sengna oohanba taragasu; punna sumin nomminnariba sinmee kanglup singsi tonganba sak-ongsing, tonganba chahising punminnarabanina chunnaba fibhamsingdadi masina meeyoibagi chaokhatpagi hourakfam ama suksoi soidana oifam thok-ee.

Mill singda nupeesing amasung angangsing

Machinery na nupeesinggi thabakpu henna mahut sinkhi haibasi henna kupsanna amukta khannasi. Machine na atei thabak makhei toukhrabana lung-naiba amasung fee saabagi mathou taba meeyoibagi maruoiba khutsudi atatpa lung samba mangaire. Masigi thabak asida tong-sagi panggall thoina mathou tadre, thot nouba anop-ating mapungfana mpungfana pangthokpa khutsasing oina mathou tare. Maram asina nupasingdi makhutta tong-sagi panggall henna leibana nupee sing amasung angangsingna thabaksida henna chunnare. Nupa singdi asigumba thabaksida mathou tadre haina eenthokle aduga nupeesing amasung angangsingna mahut sinkhi. Khut henna sijinnarakpagi matik, panggall leibada changgadaba snfamdu manil natraga eesinggi-panggall puthoknaba khutsuda oina sijinnare. Nupeesing amasung angangsingna henna hongba mamalda subadagi hendoktuna makhoinasu henna chunnabanina nupa gi sinfam makhoina sinkhre.

Spinning mill singda lung-sungbagi khutlaisingdo nupeesing amasung leishabisingna pumsup-supna paisinba thengnei; lung-sungbagi khutlaisingda (spinning mule) thabak subasingdu lung-sungbada yamna khang heiraba nupa ama, aduga lung-samba meeyoisingdi matam leiba khibikta angangsing natraga nupeesing, karigumbadana chahi taranipaldagina kunfaobagi manungda leiba chahi nouriba leibi nupeesing thabak suhalli; adubu makhoisi masagi chahi kunmathoi hek subadagidi sinfam asida leihandre. Lasing-kappagi machinery adudasu nupee khakta machi-machida khutlaidu (carding frames) sengdokpagi amasung maya fengbagi thabak sui. Masi khudinggi mathakta factory singna langchak louthok lousin-gi thabak tounanaba angang masing yamna thabak suhalli, madu khudingdu yengsinnaba nupa khara, steam engine singdu panna

mechanic ama, u-suba khara, pot-thangba khara asinachingba. Adubu mill gi thangeisengba thabak hairagadi nupee sing amasung angangsingna subani...

Nupee singbu asumna thabakta sijinnabasina *yumbal* da akaiba khudakta thok-halli; matusingna nungtigi pung 12 natraga 13 millda matam chinduna leiraba aduga mawasingnasu asigumba matamsi kadai kadaidano thabak suduna leithokkhrabada, machasingdi kari oirakkani? Makhoidi lamlakki napi hingchabidouna chaorakkhi; makhoibu angang-sennabisingda haptagi *shilling* ama natraga *pence* taranipal pithoktuna sinnaramlagasu makhoibu kamdouna thagonnabiramgadage haibasi eikhoina khallaga ooribani. Asina maram oiduna angangsingse khudongthiba nangbagi masing khanghen hellakpasi factory masing yamna leiba district singdana khit mahelle. Manchester gi asibagi maram thigat-lup na tha mapal gi ming pathok-ee; meina chaktuna 69 sikhi, 56 na eeraknabadagi, 23 na onthabadagi aduga 77 na ate maramdagi – punna 225 khudongthiba nangbadagi sikhi. Aduga asigumba factory si leitaba Liverpool dadi tha 12 da sathiba khudongthiba nangduna 146 sikhi. Masigi neinabasida khoni pekfamda (mines) khudongthiba nangduna sikhibasingdi thadrabani. Chefong *Manchester Guardian* na fongba cherol khudingda meina chakpadagi sibagi masing ama natraga amadagi hennadi pandana tokte.mamasingbu thabak suhanbadagi angangsing sibagi chang wangba hen-gatlakki haibasi masana mayek sengna ootchei, aduga asigumba leikha tabagi khudamsingsina chingnabagi wangmada mayek sengna taklabani. Nupeesingna angang pokpa/ unnaba numit humni natraga marini subaga angangdubu thanamlaga mill singda thabak surunaba hallak-e; makhoina numidanggi chakcha-matamda karigumba khara charunaba amasung machasingda khom illunaba taha taha karamba makhalgi khom amasung khuthak oiramgadage haibasi mayek sengna ooba fang-ee.

Lord Ashley na thabak suba nupee kayana pikhiba sakhi-wa (testimony) aduu hanna hanna pulli: “M.H. hairibi chahi kun surabisigi macha ani lei, angang apisak oiriba atonbadu khara hanba ahanduna sennahou-ee. Mamasina ayuk anganba pung 5 rom tarakpa khuding mill da thabak suba chatli aduga numidanggi pung nipal aduwai khudingda hallak-ee; nungthil chuppa magi makhomdu pathoktuna leibana mafi marol pumchot chotna lei.” “H.W. hairibi macha ahum chenbise ningthoukabagi ayuk pung 5 rom tabada chatkhi aduga thangjagi numidangwai romda hallak-ee; machasinggidamak mathou mangam pangthokkadaba yammankhibana nongallam dai pung 3 aduwai fao famung changba fangdana kupsu-kupnom tourammi; matam leiba khibikta kurol hurabini aduga adugumba fibhamda thabak suduna leibaduna maraibak thirak haibadu oikhi.” Mana haikhi “eigi khomsingsina eingonda hainingai leitana pakhatningai oiraba cheina piri, aduga eise khom chobanasu pumchot chottunata leirakhibini.”

Angangsingbu molhanduna lengdana thamba yanabagidamak mayai kaba hidak pijaduna thabagi mingchat thiningai oiraba machatna ama factory district singdadi chang yamna wanglakkhi. Manchester gi *registrar* makok adugi mot matung eennadi masigumba khunnai-machatna asina maram oiduna angangsingda masha-chingba natraga uchirai kaduna sinariba kayasigi hourakfam oigani. Nupee singbu thabakta sijinnabasina *yumbal* bu amasung masigi mathou tabasingbu pungmu muthatle, *yumbal* da yumfam oiba eikhoigi matamgi khunnai asida *yumbal* muthatpana mama- mapasingtada nattana machasingdasu tungdu-leitadaba amasung houna lonchat leikha tahanba oihalli.

Asumna khunnai thak-kha ollaba mari aduna sinmeesinggidi *yumbal* punshi mara chetpa sukngngam ngamhandabagum thokle. Pothaningai masak oidraba chamotnaraba yum amada, numidang ama lenbagidamaksu matik chadraba, ningthina semjindraba nong yuba, til kangna changbadagi ngakthoktraba, mee chinmanbanasu asengba nungsit fangdraba mafam aduda pukning maka lamna potthafam khangbadi oithokte. Mawana numit chuppa thabak surubagum matusing amasung pungkak chaoraba machasingdusu tongal tongalba mafamda sururibani; makhoina unnabasi ayukta amasung numidangda, yu khara thakningbagi mayaina mangaire; asigumba fibhamsida karamba makhalgi *yumbal* oirakpage? Adum oinamak sinmee nupa aduna *yumbal* dudagi nanthoktuna chatkhide, mahak eemungduda hingba tabani aduga masi khudinggi maheidi leppa leitana thokliba eemung-manunggi oongkhatnaba, marei-marang amasung khatna cheinaba kayana mama-mapasing amasung machasing pukning leitadana charangnana hingba haibasini. English ki sinmee meeyoisngda eemunggi thoudang meeraiba, maruoina machasing thouidaba kaya toimanna thok-hallibasi khunnaida leiriba khunna-sang(social institution) kayasinani. Aduga asigumba charangnaba amasung leibak macha tadaba safu kayasigi marakta sang gum hourakliba angangsingse akonbada afaba leibak macha taba masana oijarakkani haina thajaba thamli! Tasengbadi masana masabu penjahanba ngamlaba *bourgeois* singna sinmee nupasingbu apangba sibani. (Engels, *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*)

2. Bourgeois Yumbal

Communism amasung yumbal

Yumbal/ eemung-manung muthatpa? Karigumba awonba khara puraksi haina lao khongliba mee du fa *communist* ki thanggatlakliba wafamsida mei-hougani.

Hujik matamgi *yumbal*, bourgeois *yumbal* asi karida yumfam oiraga sagatlakhibano? Senjaoda, lannai kannabada. *Yumbal* sigi mapung faraba mawongdi *bourgeois* singgi marakta khakta leibani. Sinmee singgidi kang khong chairaba *yumbal* amasung oktabi sinfam thorakpanachingba asikhaktana bourgeois *yumbal* asi oihallakpa ngamkhibani.

Bourgeois yumbal asidi masi oiraknaba tengbang pambeising muthatkhidada mathannata mutkhighani, aduga senjao(capital) muthatkhidada hairiba animaksi mutkhighani.

Mama mapasingna machasingbu namhattuna sijinnabasi lep-hanba pammi haibagidamak eikhoibu nakhoina aralba oina oohannaba sillibra? Masi aralbani hairagadi lungjabasi thammoi sokna fongdokchari.

Mahei masing tambibada khunnai neinarolna *yumballon* neinabagi mahut sinba pambagidamak eikhoina meeyoibagi asengba marisingdu thadatnaba hotnare haiduna lanna paothokli/ hunbiri.

Nakhoina tamliba nahei nasingdudi! Madudi khunnai neinadabara? Madusu khunnaigi oiriba fibhamsinggi mahei-masing tamnabagi thoungduda yumfam oidabara? Masibu mahei loisangsingna khunnaida, hakthengnana nattraga nakoinana, safu piba nattabra? *Communist* singna mahei-masing tambibada anouba ama semduna khunnaida safu piba natte; makhoina toukhiba

haibabu mahei-masing tambibada “leingak chupli paiba thakki meeyoina” humduna makhoina puningba maikeida pukhinaba hotnariba asidagi kalhounaba amasung humduna punaba hotnaribagi machatna asi mathangga onthoknaba hotnakhibatani.

Bourgeois singna *yumbal* amasung mahei- masing tambibagi matangda, mapa-mama amasung machagi marakta leinariba senglaba meeyoibagi marigi matangda semjan sajinduna mayambu apangba sinanaba ngang saklibase hanggoiningai masak oirakle. Matamgi industry gi thouramsinga sinmee singgi *yumbal* marisingbu machet- machet tahallaba, amasung makhoigi machasingbuna lallon-eetikki damak mammal honglaba ayol pot aduga khutsu gi khutlai onthokpiraba thouong asida *bourgeois* singna hairibasingsi hennadum tukkatchaningai oirakle.

Nakhoi *communist* singna nupee khunnai ama eenou nouna semdouribra haina *bourgeois* punnamakna tattana lao khongli.

Bourgeois na magi matu se potthok puthoknabagi eecham chamba khutlai amakhak oina ooi. Potthok puthokpagi khutlaisingdi mayam punna namhattuna sijinnathokkadabani haiba asitamak magi manakongda happ; aduna mayam punna oiminnabagi potlum khuding nupee singna pugadabani haibasi nattaba waroisin ama mana peebe leite. Masigi asengba pandamdi nupee gi mingchatse leikha tahallaga pot puthokpagi khutlai olhankhigani haibasida magi chingnaba/nungnangba leite.

Bourgeois singna oidabana achumba saktuna, *communist* singna fongna amadi lupki chatna-pathap oina nupee khunnai ama semdoure, haina namthak touriba amadi masi aralbani haiduna asaobaga ootlibasidagi henba nokchaningba ama leite. *Communist* singna nupee khunnai ama sembagi mathou tade; masidi ningsingba thoktraba matamdagi leiraklabani.

Eikhoigi *bourgeois* sidi oktabsisingdagi thokthokkhro, makhoigi mamangda taduna leiraba sinmee singgi matusing amasung machanupee singnasu penba youdraduna makhoi maselgi matusingse themnaduna loinaraga nungaiba louduna leiribani.

Bourgeois yumbal haibasi tasengbagidi matu singdu punna oiminnabagi machatna amani. Aduna, *communist* singna asigumba meenambana kupsillaga thambagi mahutta eefong fongga nupeesingna mahut sinnaba hotnabasi mangaire hunduna ngangbigadabase. Makha tabadi, hujik matamgi potthok puthokpagi machatna asi hek muthatpada masigi machatna asidagi oihallakpa nupee khunnai – afongba amasung arotpa oktabisinggi khunnai – asisu soidana mutkhigani. (Marx & Engels, The Communist Manifesto)

Bourgeois yumbal

Hujik matamsida *bourgeois* luhongba ama pangthokpagi thouong ani lei. *Catholic* leibaksingda mama mapasingna hannagum makhoigi nouriba *bourgeois* machanupagidamak chunnaba matu ama thiba chatnei. Masigi maheidei *jura dei hennadaba luhongba* machatnaga *yumbal* da khennaba kaya leibadu mapung fana chongthorakpa asi mangaire. Mawaduna oktabi loinabagi heinabiduda taoduna leithokkhi, aduga matu na atoppa nupa singga mawa-ngangnahouee. *Catholic church* singna keidoubagi ‘khainaba’ haibasi muthatlibano haibagi maramsi sidadagi nattana lonna haktinnabasi kok-hannaba hidak leite haina thajabadagi oigani.

Protestant chatpa leibaksingdadi *bourgeois* gi machanupa amana magi thak ki meeyoising maraktagi pamjaba matu ama khanbagi chatna-pathap lei; *protestant* ki namthak, yamdrabada meegi apambada thingde haibadu ootnabagidamak oirasu, nungsinaba luhongbagi ayaba natraga nungsinabasing luhongbagi machatna kharadi yaoee. Masidagi mawa na oktabi-loinabagi lamchatse aduk hakna henmanba oide, aduga matuna attoppaga mawa-ngangnabasu kharakheidi hanthei.

Adubu luhongba mawong animak hannagi machatna adum oibanina, aduga *protestant* leibaksinggi nupa singse lamchat lubadabanina, khwaidagi natei chabani haiba thoudokkheidi changchat louragasu *protestant* ki *juradei-hennadaba luhong yumbal* gi maheisidi “domestic bliss” haina khangba heingam-sangamdabana nungai fam khangdaba *yumbal-khongloi* oiminnaba haibasini. Masigi luhongba mawong anisi mayek sengna ootpa ngambasidi matamduda fongba wareng – French ki warengna *catholic* lamchat ki matangda, aduga German warengna *protestant* ki matangda; German gidana nouriba nupaduna nupee du fang-ee; aduga French ki dana mawana magi sagi machising fangee. Anisida karambana henna fabano haibasi karigumbada wahang hangba yai. Adunadi French ki *bourgeois* na German warenggi amakpa kaya ootpasina eepai-houriba, aduga German gi lamchat naidabasingna French ki ‘lamchat-sajat’ lujadabasida pakhatliba. Adum oinamak, hujikti Berlin na malemgi ‘senjao’ tungfam oirabanina, German gi warengsingda makhoigi keithel-lam aduda lallol eetikki saruk ama oina chatnaraklaba oktabi loinabagi amasung attoppaga mawa ngangnabagi machatnasing adugi matangda thoina chingnaba leitana panduna eeba hounarakle.

Thoudou animaksi luhongba haibasi luhonghouriba khutpu anidugi thak ki anem-awang matung eenna lepnabani, aduna luhongba haibasimak natei chaba yengduna semba marini. Thoudou animaksida natei chaba- oijaba thibagidamak luhongbasina yamna jugot chadaba makhalgi oktabi khanba makhal ama oihanllakpani – karigumbada khongloi animak, adubu ayamba matamda nupee bu. Asumna luhongba nupee sina echam chamba oktabi amadagi khennaba haibabu madi khutsu gidamak thabak subi amagumna thabak machet amagidamak masadu sandokte haibasi mangaire. Adubu amuktada amasung matam pumbagi meenai oina yonthokpani. Natei chaba oijaba thibagidamak luhongba machatna asigi matangda wangoollon suba Fouriers gi wafamsi yamna chummi: “Grammar da oidaba anina awoiba ama oibagum, *yumballon* gi lamchat-sajat ki chatna- wachumdasu oktabi-oktaba anigi machatnana afaba lamchat- sajat ama oina oohalli”. Haktinnanabagi khourangba koknabagidamak nupee singga mari tamba oina thok-halle. Namthabiraba thak ki meeyoisingdadi masi khaktana pathap oidoure—masigi mari asi leingak loishangna yare haina laothoktabagi khennaba leite.

Adubu handakki machatna asidadi mahousa chatnarakkhiba *juradei-hendaba luhongba* machatnagi *yumbal* duna yumfam oiriba khudingdu humduna puthokkhre. Handakki machatna asidadi *juradei-hennadaba yumbal* amasung nupana hai humna panbagi machatnasing sagatlaknanaba tungsanba amasung oijahouba yaba lannai lun/ pot leitre; aduna nupa gi hai humna panbabu mara chet-hannabagi tengbang leitre. Madu oiraknabagi pambeisu leitre; nupagi hai humna panbabu hingduna thamliba *bourgeois* pathap asidi eenak khunba thakki meeyoisinggida oire aduga makhoina sinmee singbu sindok sinjin toubada masi sijinnei.

Bourgeois gi pathap asidi mammal tangbana, sinmee singna lairamanbana, sinmee nupa amasung matugi marida pathap asigi chatnafam leite. Makhoigidadi marannai amasung khunnai gi fibhamsingna firep oihalli. Hujiktigi hainingai leitana chaoraba industry singna matu singbu eemungdagi kouthoktuna khutsu- keithelda yollaga factory singda pusinkhrabanina aduga makhoibu eemunggi chara tanba khutsu onthokpikhrabana, sinmee singgi eemung manungda laba na hai-humna panbagi maram amatta thamkhidre—*Juradei-hennadaba luhongba* machatnadagi sandorakkhiba nupee singda tamthina otpiba machatna adu nattana. Aduna matei-manao anigi marakta laining lambee ga mari leinaba thoujalsing amasung meeyam mapugi thouja fana yamna khikladunasu, matei-manao ani fana yamna chetna nungsinadunasu amasung amana amabu thajaba thamnadunasu sinmee singgi *yumbal* se *juradei-hennadaba yumbal* gi chap chaba wahanthok adudi oidre. Adunani makhoigi mafamdadi oktabi changba amasung atoppaga mawangangnaba haiba *juradei-hennadaba yumbal* ga sagonnaba machatsingse mutsi mutsitamak oina mayek lana ooba fangdribase. Tasengbagidi matu gidi khainaningbada khainathokpagi hak adu nouhouna fangkhrabani. Mee anina pukchel tingnana chatminnaba ngamdrabadi makhoi ani khainathokpana fare lounei. Tellapna hairabada, sinmee singgi *yumbal* sidi waheigi khonthoktamak oiba *juradei-hennadaba yumbal* ni, puwarigi wahanthoktadi masi pumtong tongalli.

Eikhoigi wayel-subasing gi matung eennadi wayel-pathapna chaokhatlakpagi matik nupee singna wakatnabagi maram karisu leihoudrabani. Matamgi leibak macha taraba wayel-pathap machatnasina; luhongba ama wayelna ayaba oige hairabadi khongloi animak masa masana yannaraba mari oigadabani; aduga luhonglabada khongloi animak mannaba khongfamda lepminnaduna mannaba hak amasung thoudang fanggadabani pangthokminnagadabani haina. Wayel-subasinggi matung eennadi asigumba machatna asi matam khudingda ngakna pangthokminnarabadi nupee singna makhoigi pamjaba khuding fanglabani.

Masigi top toppa wayel mawonggi marei asimakni khunnaisida awonba khara khudakta purakkadabani haina khongliba *bourgeois republican* singna sinmee singbu makhoigi fam sida thanggatnaba hotnabada sijinnaribase. Khutsu-khullang (contract labour) ama sembada nakal animakna yannaminna chang-ee. Wayel-pathap na khutpu animakpu chemmida chap mannaba oina oohanbasina khutpu animak masa masana yannajaduna ‘khutsu-khullang’ ama sembani haina lounari. Thak khennabagi matik khutpu amadana “touba ngamba”/ “matic” henna piraga khutpu amana potlum pui—animakki asengba sellamgi thak—haibasidi wayel-pathapna neinarubagi mathou natte. Khutsu-khullanggi akaknaba yannaba matamdugi manungdadi khutpu animak hak chap mannana leifam thok-ee, nakal amana natraga amana masagi hak sinnathoktuna changjadrimakheidi (surrender) hak mannari haiba yai. Adubu sellamchat ki mari asina sinmee singna makhoida leijaramba mannaba hak aroiba makhaktufao sinnthoktuna changjakhrabani—masidasu wayel-pathapna karisu khanbiruba leite.

Luhongbagi matangdasu, wayel-pathapki khwaidagi awangba pathap adu faobana, khongloisingna cheda makhoi masana yana luhongbani haina hek soi bu tourabadi pumpel pellabagum louri. Wayel- shanggi lilagi wangmada punshigi asengba machatna karino amasung masa masana yanarabani haibasi kamdouna oirakkkhibano haibagi matangsi chatna pathapna amasung wayel subasingna yengsilluba mathou tade. Adubu khwaidagi chamba mawongda wayellon singbu changdamnabanasu asigumba makhal gi “masana yaaba” haina khangnaribasina kari oihallakpage haibadu wayel suba singda ootpa ngamgani.

Chatna-pathapki matung inna mapa-mamagi lun-thum bu machagi ‘oijaba’ saruk tamgadaba amasung machasingda oijahandaba yadaba leibaksingsidadi—Germany da, French ki wayel-pathap chatnaba leibaksingda amasung atei mafamsingda—machasingna mama-mapada lamal tonbani haina lounabagi matik luhongbadasu mama-mapagi ayaba yaodana yade. English wayel-pathap chatnaba leibaksingda, wayel-pathapki matung eennadi luhongbada mama-mapagi ayaba yaodaba yade haiba leitragasu, mama-mapana makhoigi marul mathum pithokningba meeda pithokkhibada athingba leite aduga makhoina pamlagada machasingda ‘oijaba’ piramdabasu yai. Masi oijaragasu nattraga masina maram oirambasu yai mama-mapagi ‘oijahouba’ kharadangi fanghougani thajaba thak singgi meeyoisingda luhongbada ningtamba fangbasi England amasung America dana France amasung Germanay dagi chang henba oide.

Luhongbada matei-manao anigi wayelda-mannaba asina nupee gi fibham henna fagat-hanba natte. Khongloi ani wayelda-mannadaba oiriba, mamanggi khunnai fibhamsingna eikhoida khudol tambiramlaba, nupee bu sellamda namthabagi hourakfam natte, sellamda nupee bu namthabana khongloi anibu wayel dasu mannahandabani. Ngullingeigi/ ariba *communist* khunnaiga (primitive communism) pangkak oiba yumbals singda, matei-manao mayam amasung makhoigi machasingna punna panminnaba *yumbal*, nupeesingna *yumbal* bu sennabagi thoudang loubadu meeyamgi mapan thokna toubu thabakka pangkak oibata nattana nupa singna chinjak puthokpagum khunnaigi oinasu mathou taba sinfam oikhi. Nupana panba/ nupagi *sagei* da charol tinba machatnagi *yumbal* (patriarchal family) chatnaba hourakpadagidi, madudagi hendoktuna *juradei-hennadaba luhongba yumbal* chatnarakngeidagidi ahongba ama lakkhi. *Yumbal* gi sunomba khuding meeyamgidamak pangthokpa thabak oina loukhidre. Masi khunnaigasusu mari leinahankhidre. Masi khunnai semgat sagatpaga mari leinahankhidre; nupee bu manai makok oina thambire aduga makhoina pangthokliba eemung manunggi thabak khuding lannai mathou oihankhre. Matamgi achou achouba industry sing lingkhatnadringeri matam du faobada nupee singna khunnai potthok puthokpada saruk yabagi lambee du hangbikhidre, aduga handak hangliba lambee asisu sinmee singgi matu singgi khaktani. Handak nupee singbu khunnai potthok puthokpada saruk yanabagidamak hangliba thong asisu mawong amani; mahakna *yumbal* ga mari leinaba lannai thoudangsing purimakhei mahak khunnai potthok puthokpada saruk yaba fangde aduna mahak *sel* tanba fangjade; aduga mana mapal thokpada potthok puthokpada yaoduna marul khara tanjaragadi mahak *yumbal* gi thoudang kharadangsu pangthokpa ngamhandri. Nupee na factory singda oiriba fibhamsimak atei hindak langthakki, wayel-pathapki amasung atei sinfamsingda oiriba nupee gi fibhamga chap mannei.

Matamgi matei-manaokhakki apikpa *yumbal* asi (nuclear family) fongna nattraga lonna matu singbu minnai yotlina punduna sijinnaba machatnada yumfam oiba *yumbal* ni, aduga matam gi khunnai asi asigumba eemungsingsina eerik amammam oiduna semba eepak amagumbani. Masigi ayamba khudamsingda, ateidamak nattrabasu eenak-keirak khunba thakki meeyoisinggi eemungda, mawa singna *sel* tanduna eemung thakpaga chatnabi leibana, wayel-pathapna magi akhannaba famthol nattraga khudong chaba pidragasu, mahakna eemungda hai-humduna panba haibasi masana taraba wafamni. Asigumba eemungsida mawana *bourgeois* haibadu oire aduga matu na sinmee. Industry na panba malem da sinmee singbu sellamda namthaduna ot-neibasi mayek sengna ooba fang-ee. Senjao lallonba thakki akhannaba wayel-pathap ki khudong chabasingbu muthatлага thak singbu wayel-pathap singna mannabani haina ootlibasina sinmee singbu otpi neibiba mayek sengna oohalli. Meeyamgini hairiba meeyam-leingak (democracy)

asina mannadaba thak singgi marakta leiriba khennaba amasung muknaba asibu muthatpagi mahutta thak singgi marakna lan thengnanabagi yumfam oina tholli.

Asigi chap-mannaba mawongda nupee- nupa animak wayel-pathapna chap mannaba hak fang-ee haina ootpasina, tasengbagidi matamgi *yumbal* da mawa singna matu singgi mathakta hai humna panbagi akhannaba machatna leptabana, makhoigi marakta tasengna mannaba khunnai ama puraknaba amasung madu puraknabagi lambee pibiribani. Masidagi eikhoina khang-ee madudi matu singgi ningtamba puraknabagi ahanba lambee di amom sak-ong khudingbu meeyamgi (public) industry singda puraktuna masagi sendal lambee oihanbibani. Masi oithoknabagidamak *juradei-hennadaba yumbal* gi eemungna khunnaigi sillam-sellam kaa(economic unit) ama oihallibasi muthatpa mathou tai. (Engels, Origin of the Family, Ch. II)

Bourgeois namthak

Eekui kuidringeida angoubasingna meenai yonthok yonsil toubasigi mayokta leibak mayamgi mangasuba apullup-meefam amakhak London da pangthokkhi.

Duchess, Countess, Bishops, Parsons, Rabbis, Police Officials nachingba achou-asang famnaibasing amasung makhal kayagi aton atasingbu tengbani haiba *bourgeois* wakhallon chenbasingna apullup-meefam asida masak mamai ootlei. Aduga ningthina sillaba taramna okpagi thouramsing amasung chakcha-heijannabagi thouramsing ngamkhei leitana pangthokkhi. Oktabi sinfamgi machatnagi fattaba amasung eekaifam thokpana chingbagi matangda fajaraba waram kaya ngamkhei leitana ngangnakhi.

Adubu ake amoutana leitenglaba *bourgeois* mihutsingduna “eehou ama puraknabagi” karamba pambei khara apullup-meefam aduda wa lepnaba ngamkhibage? Makhoina pamkhiba maruoiba pambei anikhaktudi; laining lambee amasung police ni. Makhoigi matung eennadi masi khaktana oktabi khanba muthatnabagi amasung oktabigi mayokta thamgadaba pambeisingni. Leipziger Volkzeitung haiba chefongdugi London gi paojelloiduna piba pao gi matung eennadi, English mihut amakhakti parliament ta oktabi lallonbisingbu hakchangda cheirak pinnanaba bill ama thajjinkhre haina yamna chaothokchakhi. Mahaktu oktabi khanbagi mayokta leplibana matamgi leibak macha taraba athoiba ama oina lounakhre.

Canada leibakki mabemma amakhakti police ki mathouni haibasida henna thawai changjei amasung nupee police singna “leikha tarabi” nupee singgi mathakta akanba meetyeng changnaba sougatkh. Khutsu hen-gat-hanbagi matangdadi thabak subu nupee singgi damak khutsumal hen-gat-hanba matik chade haina mana thamkhi. German gi amaiba (parson) amakhakti matamgi luntumda ngaobagi machatna (materialism) bu yamna saona hunduna ngangkhi. Magi wakhalda machatna asi pak sunna sandorakpana *palleptaba nungsi* machatna thorakpani.

Austria gi meehut Gertner na khunnaida oktabi sinfamgi hourakfam, sinmee thakki eemungsinggi awaba amasung apamba, angang khutsu namhattuna sijinnaba, penthokfam khangdraba yumlei keireigi fibham nachingba panduna ngangge hotnabada yaningdaba khollao mayam amana mabu makha tana nganghankhide. Amaromda meehutsingdugi marakta eekai khumnaningai oiraba meeyoi kayagi tamjaningai oiraba amasung ningthiraba wari kaya makhoi masel marakta leinarammi. Khudam oina hairabada, German ningthourel gi mabemma na Berlin gi

chabokpisingna meining kulliba shang aduda yengsinba lakkadourabada, eekaikumnabagi matik charabiduna luhongdabi mamasing oobada thamoï sokkadabadudagi kannanaba, ‘maram chadraba’ machasingdugi mamasingduna makhoi makhoigi makhutta khudop (luhongbagi) hukchinnakhi.

Masigi thoudaok sidagi famnaibasing—*bourgeois* apullup-meefam asida *bourgeois* namthakna tukkatchaningai oiba mawongda karamna pankhibage haibasi wayel toubā yai. Khadrakki tengbang amasung tolla tarabasingda police singgi karemnaba meenok punsinnaduna, famnaibasing amasung *bourgeois* singna yoklaga thamliba oktabising, oktabi sinfam gi mayokta lan thengnanaba warepnakhibani... (Lenin, Robochaya Pravada, July 26, 1913)

3. Socialism puraknabagi lan thengda Nupee sing

Nupee singna saruk yadrimakheidi mannaba khunnai gi yaol purakpa oithokloi.

Eikhoina nupee singbu meemang thok-handuna meeyamgi thabaksingda yaohandraba, leibak-cha (leibak + macha = citizen) lanmee da yaohandraba, leingak-punshida (political life) pusindraba; eikhoina nupee singbu eemunggi amasung chaksanggi nungsuk nungjannaba sirum narumba nungsit adudagi khainahandraba; asengba ningtamba haibadu fangba ngamloi, mannaba khunnai (*socialism*) di lairadana meeyam-leingak (*democracy*) haibadu fao purakpa oithokte. (Lenin, Letters from Afar, Letter III)

Marupsing, leibak ateisingdadi nupee singna meekap thokpase thengmanbana, sinmee- lanmee gi amom sarukki apullup-meefam (congress) asi karigumba mawong kharada aduk hakna achouba mai pakpa amani. Pak chaokhraba humang kangdana thabak suribi nupee sinmee singna saruk yadrimakheidi mannaba khunna ama puraknaba houriba yaol eehou (socialist revolution) asi mafam keidasu oithokpa ngamloi.

“Leibak macha taraba” leibaksingda (civilized countries), khwaidagi chaokhatlabani hairiba singdasu, nupee singgi oiriba fibhamsidi makhoibu “ateba minaisingni” haibasiba maram charaba fibham aduda hinglibani. Senjao-lallonba (capitalist) leibak amattada, khwaidagi ningtamba pirabani hairiba *republic* amattadasu, nupee singna mapung fana “mannaba” fangba ngamjadri.

Soviet Republic ki ahanba pandamdi ahanbamaktada nupee gi hak singda athingba peeribasing asibu muthatpani. *Soviet* leingakna *bourgeois* gi tukkatchaningai oiraba amotpasing, fu-cheiduna namthabagi amasung thamoï kaingai oiraba wayel-pathapki matousinggi hourakfam adubu maru fangna muthatlabani.

Ngasidagi chahi amaromsida eikhoigi khainaningbada khaina yabagi (right to divorce) wayel-pathap asi chatnarakli. Eikhoina chatna-che ama thoktuna luhonglaga pokpa machasing amasung luhongdana pokpa machasinggi marakta khennaba ‘saktam’ thamlamba, aduga makhal kayagi leingakki ‘ngamhandabasing’ adu muthatkhre. Atoppa leibak amattada asigumba mapung faraba ningtamba amasung mannaba asi nupee sinmee singna fangjadri.

Eikhoina khang-ee madudi sinmee thakki nupee singna chatnafam thoktraba pathapsinggi potlum punnamak puduna lakli.

Puwarida eehan hanba oina eikhoigi wayel-pathapna nupee singbu tonthahanba khuding humdok-hankhre. Adubu masi wayel-pathap khakki wafam natte. Eikhoigi keitthel-leikai (town) amasung factory leikaisingda wayel-pathapna piba luhongbada ningtamba asi mara chetsinna tarakli, adubu leibakki chidaida leiriba khunggangsingdadi ayamba matamda masi chemaida khakta leiri. Makhoida, *church* na sinba luhongbana ngamna chatnari. Masigi maramdi amaibasingna (priest) makhoibu humduna pubanani, ariba wayel-pathaptagidi asigumba lainaga muknabasina henna aruba ama oiri. Laininggi serannaba paothoksing yamna cheksinna thengnagadabani; masi thengnabasingna laining thajabasingda pukning sok-halluduna amangbasu kaya ama thok-halli. Masi thengnabasi paotak sandokpa amasung lousing peebagi pambeising sijinnaduna thengnagadabani. Masi thengnabada ayakpa/ akanba/ akhaba khol sijinnaragadi meeyamdu eikhoina khoisaonahankhiba yai; masigumba makhalgi khuthengnasida meeyamdu laining lambee gi matung eenna machet machet tannahankhiba yai; adubu eikhoigi panggali di lingjel mannabada lei. Laininggi serannaba paothoksinggi khwaidagi maru oiba hourakfamdi “lairaba” amasung “pangjabani”; eikhoina thengnagadabadi masigi lainasing asini.

Ngasifaobada nupee gi thak asidi tonmankhibana meenaigi thak ni haina kounari. Nupee singsidi yum gi heinaningdraba thabaksingna takkhaiduna thamli; mannaba khunnaina apikpa *yumbal* gi sellamchattagi khunnai sellamchatta amasung leibakpu khunnai punna suminnarabatangda, makhoibu asigumba heinaningdaba thabak singsidagi kanba ngamgani.

Adugumba matam adukhaktada nupee singse pumtha thadokpa amasung ningtamhanba oigani. Masi aruba thabak amani. Houkhraba ningtambagi khongchatsingda yaol ama maipakpa haibasi nupeesingna maduda saruk yabagi makha polli haibasi ooba fangkhre. *Soviet* leingakna nupee singna makhoigi sinmee gi oiba mannaba khunnaigi thoudang makhoi khaktana meekha pondanaba toubu poram khuding sillibani.

Ngasifaobada *republic* amattana nupee singbu ningtamhanbagi matik leitri. *Soviet* leingakna makhoibu mateng panggani. Eikhoigi pandamsidi kananasu maithiba piba ngamloi, maramdi maithiba piba ngamlaroidaba sinmee-thaksi leibak khudingmakta eehou hounarakli. Masigi eehousina maithiba piba ngamlaroidaba mannaba khunnaigi yaol khongchat hounarapabu mayek lana ootlibani. (Lenin, Speech at First All-Russian Congress of Women Workers, November 19, 1918)

Khwaidagi yamna tungsillaba sinmee thak

Meeyoibagi puwarida namthabirabasinggi ningtam eehou amatta nupee- sinmee singna saruk yadrabada mai pakpa ngamkhide.

Sinmee nupeesing, namtharaga otpirabasinggi marakta khwaidagi henna otpirabasing, ningtambagi eehouda saruk yakhidaba leite natraga yaodana leptuna leithokpa ngamkhide. Meenaisingna houriba ningtambagi ehousina, khanglibasi mangai, meeyamgidamak thawaina pontha oikhrabi amasung athoubi lising lising puthokkhrabani. Namhatpiraba loumee singgi ningtamba puraknaba eehouda nupee sinmee licha (lakh) kayana lanmee singgi marakta yaorakkhi.

Sinmee thakki yaol eehouda, namthabiraba meeyamsinggi khwaidagi kallaba ningtam eehougi firam marumda nupee sinmee lipun kaya saruk yakhi haibasida ngakningai karisu leite.

Malemgi nupeesinggi numit haibasi ningtam eehouse namthaba ngamloi haibagi khudam khakta nattana sinmee thakki ningtam eehougi ningthiraba tunggi lambi ama leira haiba takpiribani.

Sinmee nupeesing—sinmeesing amasung loumeesing—asi sinmee thakki khwaidagi chaoraba tungsanduna leiraba panggalmi. Masigi tungsillaba panggalmi asina leibakki meeyoi tangkhai amani. Khutsu mee yaol eehougi maraibak, sinmee yaol eehouna maipakpa nattraga maithiba, khutsu meegi panggalmi maithiba nattraga mai pakpa haibasi tungsillaba nupee singsina sinmee thakkidamak nattraga mayokta lan thengnabagi makha polli.

Maram aduna sinmeesing amasung masigi lamyamba lup, *communist party*, gi ahanba mathoudi *bourgeois* safu kayadagi sinmee nupeesing amasung loumee singbu nanthok-hannanaba akanba lan- thengnaba amasung sinmee nupeesing amasung loumee singbu leingak-mahei (political class) tambiba amasung khutsu meegi lamjing makhada makhoibu lup-khon touduna chingsallakpa haibasini.

Malem gi nupeesinggi numit asi nupee singgi tungsanduna leiraba khutsu singbu khutsu meegi maikeiromba chingsillaknanabagi pambei amani. Nupee sinmee singse tungsanduna leiraba panggalmi khaktamak oinasu oofam thokte. Sinmee thak singna achumba poram sillagadi makhoise *bourgeois* gi mayokta leppa sinmee thakki asengba lanmee oiba ngambata nattana oisu oigani.

Sinmee thakki anisuba amasung maru oiba thoudangdi nupee singgi tungsanduna leiraba khutsu daga sinmee nupeesing amasung loumee nupee singgi lanmee ama puthoktuna khutsumeegi mapanggalmi kallaba lanmee asiga khutsamnana manglomda changsinminnaba haibasini.

Malem gi nupee singgi numit asina sinmee nupeesing amasung loumee nupeesingbu sinmee thakki tungsanduna leiraba panggalmi oina leirambadagi khutsu meegi ningtam eehougi yamna mathouna leiraba lanmee oihallakpaga pambei ama oihangadabani. (Stalin, International Women’s Day, 1925)

Yoal da leishabi athoubi sing.

Wakchinggi eehou matamduda Moscow gi khutsu meesingna leingakki-lanme (state’s army) singbu kamdouna wakhallon olhangadage haibagi mahei/ lousing asi eikhoida hainingai leitana tambikhi. Khudam oina hairabada, December 21 da *Strastmaya Square* da thokkhiba thoudok aduda meeyamna leingakki-lanmee kanglup *Cossacks* singbu yomsinkhi, makhoida tinnasanduna amadi toro khondanaduna makhoibu themlaga hankhro haiduna thadokkhi. December 23 da *Presnya District* ta mee lising tara mukki marakta angangba firal puribi leishabi aniduna *Cossacks* singda tamna hotchillaga lao khongkhi: “eikhoibu hatpiyu! Eikhoina hingli makheidi firal asi suktha thadokloi.” Asigumba khollao kayana heinahandraba *Cossacks* singdo sagol tongduna hankhi. Mayamgi khollaona nilhouee “punshiyuko *Cossacks* sing!” Asigumba thouna fabagi amasung maringjel khabagi thoudoksingse khutsu mee singgi ningsing warida lomba naidana leihougani. (Lenin, Lessons of the Moscow Uprising, 1906)

Ningtambagi lambee da

Bolshevik ki wakhallonda amasung Russia gi *October Revolution* da mapung oikhiba amasung khwaidagi maru oikhibadi senjao-lallonbana panbagi machatna asida khwaidagi tuhatpiraba singbu leingaklon lomda chingsillakpa asini. Makhoise ningthou- leingak matamdasu amasung meeyam- leingak chatnare hairiba *bourgeois republic* matamdasu senjao-lallonbasingna tuhatpiraba, meenambiraba amasung sagun toubikhraba kangbuni. Senjao- lallonbasingna meeyambu asumna tuhatliba, asumna meenambiba, chumna suja nomjabagi maheibu hurallibase lam, factory sing amasung sinfamsingbu lannai mapu oirimakheidi chattheaduna adumak leikhigani.

Bolshevik ki mayek laraba ningthibadi, *Soviet* na leingak paibagi fajabadi *bourgeois democracy* gi khadrak amasung lounamsingbu meeyamna mayek sengna ootthokpa; lam, factory sing amasung sinfamsing lannai mapu naibabu muthatpa; amasung leingak-chupli asibu thabak suba amasung namhattuna sijinnabiramlaba meeyamgi makhutta paihanba asinachingbani. Meeyamsing asina leingak- chupli makhoigi makhutta paikhi, haibadi anouba khunnai ama sembagi thoudang makhoina loure. Masi aruba thabak amani; meeyamsingse senjao paibana panbagi tolla-taraba amasung tuhatpiraba ngaktani; adubu masi nattana khutsu-minai oihanbadagi, senjao paibasinggi meenai loibagi machatnadagi nanthoknaba lambee atei leite aduga leifamsu thokte.

Nupree singbu saruk yahandana meeyambu leingak-lambee da chingsinbadi oithokte; maramdi meeyoibagi saruk tangkhai oiriba amomsingse *capitalism* gi makhaa langgol-pupu aniduna thuduna awaba khanglibani. Sinmee nupree sing amasung loumee nupeesingse senjaona tuhatlabani; adubu asigisu mathakta, khawaidagi leibak macha tare (democratic) hairiba *bourgeois* gi *republic* asidasu makhoibu mwong anida tuhatpiribani. Ahanbada, wayel-pathapna makhoibu nupasingga mannahanba fanghandabana makhoise tothaba thakta thambire. Anisubada, khwaidagi maru oiba, makhoise eemung manunggi meenai loibagi machatnana namthabire. Makhoisidi khwaidagi maruoidaba, khwaidagi tukkatchaba, khwaidagi chokthaningai oiraba amasung khwaidagi heinaningdabagi masak oiraba chakshanggi thabaksingna, aduga *yumbal* gi sillamna naitom tahallaba thabaksingna nunthektuna thamlaba *yumbal* gi ateba-minaising haibadu oirabani.

Bolshevik na, *Soviet* ki yaolna malem gi lup amattana amasung yaol amattana matic leina toukhibagi saruk kaya heindokna nupree singbu tuhatpibagi amasung tontharaba thakta thambibagi hourakfam oiriba maru adumak fuktokkhrabani. Wayel-pathap ki mamangda nupeesing amasung nupa singbu mannadana oohannabagi machatna-lemkhak marik amattasu *Soviet Russia* da lemhoudre. Maruoina, yokkhattuna thamfam thoktraba, eekhai khumnafam thoktraba amasung minam- langna thallaba sak-ongsinggi marakta khennaba thamba, eemunggi hak khennana thamba, machagi matangda khennaba thamba asinachingbasingse *Soviet* leingakna pungmut muthatkhrabani.

Masi khudingse nupree singgi ningtamba fanghannabagi lambee da ahanba khongthang amakhaktani. Adubu *bourgeois* gi *republic* amattana, khwaidagi meeyamgi apamba touee haibadunafaoba ahanba khongfam asi faoba loubagi matic leikhide. Makhoina yamna aruba hak ni kairiba lannai lun-thum peisanbagi machatna asida akaiba thokkani kibadagi khongfam asi loubagi matic leikhidabani.

Anisuba amasung khwaidagi maruoiba khongthangdi lam, factory sing amasung thabaksingda lannai mapu naiba asigi machatnabu muthatkhiasini. Masi, amasung masikhaktana nupee singbu maru oidaba, lannai, eemunggi sellamchat adudagi achouba pak-sanba khunnai sellamchat amada puraktuna makhoigi mapungfaba amasung asengba ningtamba, eemunggi meenaigi machatnadagi ningtamhannabagi lambee adu hangdokpani.

Masigi ari-anou sinnabagi tangkak asi yamna luba amani; maramdi masi khwaidagi mara-chetlaba, heinabi oikhraba, maku thajinkhraba amasung chusannakhraba machatna adubu eenou nouba mawong ama sembani. Adum oinamak ari anou sinnaba asi houkhre. Khudingmak makhong lengba houkhre. Eikhoi hujik anouba lambee duda khong thakhre.

Malem gi sinmee nupee singgi numitta, malemgi leibak khudingmakta, sinmee nupee singgi masing thingamdraba meefam singda mamangda asimuk aruba amasung awaba nangkhidriba mapanngal kallaba asengba ningtambagi thabak paikhatlakliba Russia da eekaikhumnaba amasung sougatpagiwahei che kaya thanarakkani. *Bourgeois* lakna-wahei amasung ayamba matamda tamthiraba singna-wahei kayana pukning han-ganu haina pukningbu thougatpa wa kaya paomellakkani. *Bourgeois* na panba leibak amada henna “maning tamhallaba” amasung “meeyamgi wa henna” taba sarabadi, senjao lallonbaga gunda-khutpu na mathou pongna ngangba heli aduga sinmee singgi yaolgi mayokta henna tamthina maral langjabasu heli. Masigi khudam amakhakti, US gi meeyamgi wa tai hairiba *republic* asini. Adubu sinmee meeyoisngdi hanna mikap thokkhre. Senjao khoppasinggi lan sina kainathanggi America gi, Europe ki amasung chaokhatriba Asia gi tumluba, tangkhai tumluba, awonba pamdaba meeyamsingbu kainathangda pukning haplabani.

Malem gi mafam khudingda “oon” adu kaikhre.

Senjao khoppagi langgol-pupu dagi meeyamgi ningtamba, senjaogi langgol-pupu dagi sinmee sing, nupa sing amasung nupee singgi ningtamba asi thingba ngamdana malemda kakhatlakli. Pandam asi masing thingamdraba sinmee nupasing amasung nupee sing amasung loumee nupasing amasung nupee singna thanggatlakhibani. Adunani khutsu na senjao gi langgol-pupu dagi malem sin thungna ningtamba fanggadouribase. (Lenin, International Women’s Day, 1918)

PART III

MANNABA KHUNNAI AMASUNG NUPEESINGBU NINGTAMHANBA

Socialism gi mahei hairagadi nupee singgidamak mapung fana mannaba hak fangjabasini. Adubu masigi hak singse tasengnamak mahei ama oihan-ge hairagadi, masigi mannaba asi loishang-wa nattaba asengba mannaba oihan-ge hairagadi nupee singgidamakta akhannaba poramsing sinba houba tabani. Nupee singna afa apul yaodana potthok puthokpada amasung leingak leishemda, chatnabi punshida amasung khunnai thousil thouram khudingda yaoba taragadi mamma oibibu mateng oihannanaba mathou taba poramsi loukhatpa tabani. Nupee singbu mamma oibada tengbangnaba; khutsu tungsanjanaba yumsing, mahei sangsing, layeng sangsing, chabok sangsing, chayok sangsing, mapi lairik tamfam sangsing sabigadabani; nupee singbu leingak-lousing tambada tengbangbigadabani; makhoibu afa apul leitana awangba mahei tamfam sangsing, university sing amasung sinfam tambada tengbangbigadabani; makhoibu kannadaba amasung pukning hanthaningai oiba eemunggi potthi-potkum thabaktagi nanthok-hangadabani.

Masi khudingse *socialist Soviet Union* dadi fangkhre. *Socialism* bu sagatcharibi nupee sinmee singda mamangda leiriba lambee du ootladuna Lenin amasung Stalin na kayarak hanna hanna waram asida hanjinduna taklibani.

Amaromda *socialism* gi wahanthokti sak-ong anigi marakta henna nouba amasung asengba mari haibani, henna nouba amasung wangba *yumbal* gi punshi mapok amani. Engels na luhongbagi tunglamchat eeba matamda masi hannana ookhrabani.

Lenin na magi lairiksingda sak-onggi matangda *bourgeois* gi namthak khakta nattana afa apul leitaba nungsiba (free love) haiba *bourgeois* gi wakhallon adubu hunkhrabani, aduga *socialist* ki wakhalda *yumbal* amasung sak-ong marising karino haibasi sandokna takkhi.

Bolshevik party gi Central Committee na malemgi nupee singgi numitta, *Soviet* nupee singna fanglakkhiba pandambu ningsingladuna, fanglakkhiba pandamsingsina malem gi nupee pumbada eehousida saruk yanaba koubata nattana makhoi makhoigi mangda taduna leiraba pandamni haina ningthina haikhi.

I. Nupeesingbu mannanhanba

Nupaga hak mannanhanba

USSR da leiba nupee singdi sellamchatki, leingak thoudanggi, chatnabigi, leingak-lon-gi amasung atei meeyamgi thouram thoudagi hiram khudingda nupa singga chap mannaba hak pire.

Nupee singna masigi hak singsi suksoi soidana sijinnaba ngamjagani haibagi thajabasi nupeesingbu thabakki, thabakki khutsumal pibagi, potthaba amasung matam lenbagi, khunnai ngak senbagi amasung mahei masing tambagi hiram singda nupa singga chap mannaba hak

fanghalliba asina, amadi leingakna mamma amadi machagi apambasingbu kanbiba, leingakna achouba eemunggi mammasung luhongdribi mamasingda tengbang pibiriba, cha-pokpagidamak thabaktagi pottharingei matamdugi chap chaba khutsumal pibiba, amasung pak-sallaba chabokshang, nawa yok-sang, angang yok-sang singgi khudongchaba fanghalliba asina oihalli. (*Constitution of the USSR, article 122*)

Anouba leingak pathapki (draft) chaorakpa mawong adugi mangasuba top toppa saktamdi masigi lengdraba amasung manung hanjinba mannaba khunnaida yumfam oiba asini. Mannaba khunnaida yumfam oiba amasung amana amabu ngakpiba wakhallon asigi meetyengdagidi *bourgeois* leingak pathap asi kanglup ani thokna khaidokpa yai. Leingak pathap kanglup amana meeyamgi chap mannaba fangfam thokpa hak pu amasung mannaba khunnaida yumfam oigadaba ningtambabu eefong fongna fanghande natraga tasengnamak chatnahande. Atoppa leingak pathap kanglup aduna mannaba khunnaida yumfam oiba achum-wa singbu taramna yabire, aduga madugi sandok wasu sandokpire, adubu masigi mannaba khunnaida yumfam oiba hak sing amasung ningtamba singbu pungmut muthatnana athingba amasung apanba kayasu thamjilli. Makhoina leibak-cha (citizen) khuding leibakki warep loubada chap mannana saruk yagadabani haina ngangli adubu yum leifamgi, mahei masinggi amasung lun-thumgi arum ayang matung eenna athingba kaya piri. Makhoina leibak-cha khudingmak chap mannaba hak fang-ee hairi adubu makhoina marol londuna masi nupee singdadi chatnade natraga saruk kharatamak nupee singda chatnei hairi. Asinachingba kayani.

USSR gi anouba leingak pathapki chaorakpa mawong asigi athoibasidi masida asigumba athingba amasung apalba amatta yaoe. Pathap asigi damaktadi leibak-cha singse henna khudong chaba amasung hanthana khudong chaba haina khaidokte; asigidamaktadi leibak-cha khuding masa kxingba ngaktani. Leingak-pathap asina nupee sing amasung nupa sing, louree yumfam naiba amasung naidaba, lun paiba amasung paidaba, lairik heiba amasung heitaba haina khennaba thamduna makhoigi hak singbusu khennana ooba leite. Leingak- pathap asigi damaktadi leibak-cha khuding chap mannana hak fang-ee. Leibak-cha khuding khunnaida magi mingchat/ saktam naiba haibasi magi lun-thum gi chang, mareibakki hourakfam, sak-ong, loishang na natte. Magi mingchat amasung saktamdi magi toubu ngamba amasung khutsu na lepkadabani. (Stalin, On the Draft Constitution of the USSR, 1936)

Soviet Nupee khongjanggi thoudangsing

Eihakna Soviet Republic ta sinmee nupee singgi eehou asigidamak thoudangsing adugidamak chaorakpa khara haijaningee; *socialism* na ollaknabagi amsung masiga eeroimana hujik matamsida mamangthana chatnanabagidamak kanna hotnaribasingsiga mari leinaba thoudangsinggi matangda. Marupsing, *Soviet* leingakna hek hourakpa matamdudagi nupeesinggi saktam/ thakki matangda wahang kaya thanggattuna lakli. Eigi wakhal matung eennadi *socialism* lomda changsillakliba sinmee singgi leingak-khuding makki thoudangsi ani sui. Thoudangsigi ahanba saruk asidi changdamnaba yana lai amasung chammi. Masi nupa singga changdamnabada nupee singna tonthaba thakta thamliba ariba wayel-pathap sing aduga mari leinei.

Mamang- mamangeida, nongchup Europe ki ningtam eehousinggi meehutsingna chahi cha kaya changna asigumba matamga chunnadraba wayel-pathap singse muthatlaga nupee sing amasung nupa singbu wayel pathapki chap mannabadu sagatnaba pandam thamlakki. Adubu Europe ki

democratic leingak amattana, khwaidagi chaokhatlaba *republic* amattana pandam asibu fangba ngamkhidri. Maramdi, senjao-lallonbana panba lam gi lannai mapu naiba, senjao gi mapanggal amasung ngambabu ngaktuna thamba, mafamsingda nupa na henna khudong chaba adumak fangduna leigani. Eikhoina pandam asi Russia da fangba ngamkhibagi maramdi November 7 (October 25), 1917 asida sinmee singgi leingakna panba asinani. *Soviet* leingakna hek hourakngeidagi namhattuna sijinnabiba thoung khudinggi mayokta leigadaba sinmee singgi leingak haibasina pandam oiduna lakkhibani. Leingak asina loupu amasung senjao lallonba singna wana thabak sujabasingbu namhattuna sijinnaba amasung senjao na panba oihallakpada tengbanggadaba khudingbu leikha tana thugaiba haibasi masagi pandam oina tonganna thamlakkhibani. *Soviet* leingakki pandamdi khutsu mee singna lam gi mapu naihandana, factory sing amasung thabak singgi mapu naihandana, malem sin thungna, leingakki ningtamba lei hairiba mafamsingdudasu, khwaidagi wangba *democratic republic* chatnei hairibasingdudasu tasengna thabak suba singbu lairahanba amasung khutsu-minai oihalliba aduga nupee singbu manam manamgi mee-thoudangatana nambo oihalliba lannai mapu naibagi machatna asi yaodana makhoigi mapunshi sagatcharaknabagi fibhamsing adubu sem saba haibasini.

Soviet leingaksina khutsu mee singgi leingak ama oibana mahakna leirakngeigi ahanba tha kharasida nupee singga mari leinaba wayel-pathapta pung-ol ollaba yaol ama purakkhi. Nupee singbu namthaba thakta thamlamba ariba wayel-pathap amagi makhak amattasu *Soviet Republic* asida lemhoudre. Eina matangsida panjaribasi maru oina nupee singgi sonjabada khudong chaba louduna makhoi tonthaba amasung toina eekai khumnadaba thak ta eenthabiba wayel-pathap sing adugi matangdani. Eina panjaribasi khainabagi wayel-pathap, luhonglaga pokpa machsinggi matangda leiriba wayel-pathapsing, nupee amana macha yoknabagidamak mapa amagi mayokta wakatpa yabagi oifam thokpa asinachingbagi matangdani.

Swai matangsidani *bourgeois* wayel-pathapna, khwaidagi chaokhatlaba leibaksingdasu, nupee singgi sonjabada khudong chaba louduna makhoibu tonthanaba amasung eekai khumnadaba thakta eentanaba hotnei haina haifam thokpase; aduga masigi matangdani *soviet* leingakna khutsu meesinggi meehut singna khangduna leithokpa ngamdraba aranba ariba wayel-pathapsingbu amatta chitthadana thugairibase. Nupee singbu hanthaba thakta thamdaba, nungti numit khudinggi *yumbal* gi punshida nupee sing amasung nupa singgi marakta chap mannaba khunnai ama oibagi machatna ase *soviet Russia* da khakta nattana malem gi leibak amattada leite haibase karimatta haijinnaruba toudana eikhoina hujikti chaothokna haiba ngammee. Masina eikhoigi khwaidagi ahanba amasung maru oiba eethoudang ama oikhi.

Nakhoina karigumbada *Bolshevik* singbu yaningdaba lup singga thengnarabadi, natraga *Kolchak* natraga *Denikins* singna khudaba lam singda fongba Russia gi pao-che sing nakhoigi khutta thunglaragadi, natraga pao-che singgi wakhallonda chukhraba meeyoisingga nakhoina karigumbada wari sannarurabadi *Soviet* leingakna *democracy* khugaire haiba meecheise yamna toina taba fangani.

Soviet leingakki, *Bolshevik communist* singgi amasung *Soviet* leingakpu yokkhatcharibasinggi meehut eikhoibu *democracy* namhatle haina toina maral siri, masi khudam oina ootnaba hotnaribasina *Soviet* leingakna *Constituent Assembly* thugaire haibasini. Eikhoina asigumba maral thangjinba asida tattana piriba paokhumdi; lannai lam mapu naibagi machatnada yumfam oiba *democracy* amasung *constituent assembly*—machatna asi meeyambu mannahandaba, senjao

paibasingna mapu oiraga ateina makhoigi thabak suba amasung khutsu meenai oiba—asi kayasidi eikhoida mammal suklei leite. Khwaidagi chaokhatlaba leingaksingdasu asigumba *democracy* asidi meenai loibagi machatna adubu oohandanaba kupsan-fee amani. *Socialist* eikhoina *democracy* yokkhatchabadi khutsu mee sing amasung namthaduna otpirabasinggi fibhambu chingkhata haisi khaktagini. Malem sinba thungna meena meebu namhattuna sijinnabagi mayokta lan houba haibasi *socialism* na pangthokliba pandamni. Namhattuna sijinnabirabasing amasung atonbagi thakta thambiraba meeyoi singgi damak kannaba pibiba *democracy* gi kannabasing/ fajabasingdu eikhoina sougatli. Thabak sudaba singbu leingakki warepta saruk yahandrabadi, maduna asengba *democracy* ni. Thabak sudaba meedi mathibong chahalloidabani. Eikhoida aranba pibasingda paokhum piba oina eikhoina wahang hangli: leibak amada nattraga amada *democracy* haibasibu karamba mawongda chatnaribage? *Democratic republic* singda mee khuding chap mannare haina laothokle haibasidi eikhoina oore. Adubu meechem-wayel-pathap sing (civil laws), eemungda nupee singna oigadaba thakki matangda chatnariba wayel-pathap sing, amasung khainabagi wayel-pathap singda (divorce laws) khennabata nattana khongfam khudingda nupee singbu hanthana thambiri. Eikhoina hairi; masi khudingsidi *democracy* bu namhatpani, maru oina otpirabasingbu namhatpani. Nupee singse atonbani haina oohan-gadaba machet ama faoba wayel-pathapta haptaba asimaktana khwaidagisu chaokhatlaba leibaksingdagi saruk yamna henna *Soviet* leingakna *democracy* haibasi chatnaribani. Eina amukkasu hanna hairi, *Soviet* leingakna mahakki hinglakngeigi ahanba tha kharasida nupee singgidamak pangthokkhriba thoudangsing asigi saruk tangkhai youna leingak amattana amasung leingak-pathap sembasingna toukhiba leitri.

Tasengbagisu, wayel-pathap khaktana mapung fabadi oikhide. Eikhoina karigumba fibham amattada eikhoigi wayel-pathapna haibasi khaktana penthokpagi maramdi oide. Adubu nupee sing amasung nupa singbu chap-mannaba meetyengda uhannabagi karigumba khara toufam thok-ee khankhibadu eikhoina pangthokkhrere. Eikhoina pangthokkhriba kharasigidamak eikhoi chaothokfam thok-ee. Khwaidagi chaokhatlaba leibaksingda tounaribasi yengluragadi *Soviet Russia* da oiriba nupee singgi fibhamsidi ningthibana tamjaningai oiraba amani. Adubu eikhoina tattana sonjei; tasengnamakkisu, masi ahouba khaktani.

Nupeesingna eemung-manunggi thabaksingda thuduna leirimakheidi makhoigi fibhamsi afa apulna thallabani. Nupee singgi mapungfaba ningtamba haibadu fangnabagidamak amasung makhoina nupa singga leng-mannaba oihannabagidamak, eikhoigi khutta khunnai- sellamchat leigadabani, aduga nupee singna apunba potthok puthokpagi khutsuda saruk yahan-gadabani. Matamduda nupee singnasu nupasingga chap mannaba fam adu fanggani.

Masimakna nupee singse khutsugi pot puthokpagi chang, khutsu gi matam, thabaksubagi numit masing, khutsugi fibham asinachingbasingda nupaga chap mannagani haiba natte. Masina hairibasidi nupaga changdamnabada nupee singna sellamda namthabibagi fibhamduda thamlaroi haibani. Nakhoi loinamakna khanglibaduni, mapung fana mannarabani hairabafaobada, nupee singda eemung manunggi thabaksing loina namsinbibagi maramna makhoigi asengba fam di adumak namthahanduna thamlibani. Nupee singna pangthokpa thabaksingda eemung- manunggi thabak singna khwaidagi potthok leitaba, khwaidagi tamthiba amasung matam changna waba thabaksingni. Asidi kahendokna kannadaba amasung nupee singbu chaokhatnanaba tengbang sukpi pibidaba khutsu ni.

Socialist ki fajabasing fangnaba hotnabasigi lambee da eikhina *socialism* puraknaba lan thengnaba pammi amasung masida eikhoina nupee singgidamak sinfam kaya pak sanna hangdoktuna thamli. *Socialist* semgatpaga lam temnanaba eikhoi cheksinna sem sari; mannaba khunnai ama sembagi ahouba haibasimak, nupee singgidamak chap-mannaba haibadu fangkhrabana, kannadaba, hanjil hanjil subaba chokthaningai oiraba amasung potthok leitaba thabaktagi ningtamlabasingga khutsamnana anouba sintha asi paiminnaraba matamdudata oigani. Sintha asi eikhoigi matam chahi kaya changgani. Sintha asi athuba matamda mahei chaba fangloi amasung masigi maheisi mayek sengna chongthoktuna leibasuu oiroi.

Nupee singbu eemunggi thabaksingdagi nanthok-hannanaba eikhoina loisang, chakcha sanglen sang, nawa yok-sang, cha-senna-sang kaya lingkhatli. Asigumba sang- singsi semgat- sagatpaga thabaksingda nupee singna saruk yafam thok-ee. Hujik matam asida nupee singna eemunggi meenai punshi marelda hinglibasidagi nanthokpa ngamjanabagidamak tengbangliba asigumba sang si Russia dadi masing khara leire haiba yai. Masigi masingsi yammande, *Soviet Republic* na hujik hujik oiriba fibhamsingsina thabak asida yeikhai thin-gaibasuu nangli. Adum oinamaku, nupee singbu makhoigi eemunggi meenai fibhamdagi nanthokchaba ngamhalliba sang singsi natei chaba mafamsingdadi leppa leitana lingkhatnarakli. Sinmee singna makhoigi ningtamba pujarakpagum, chap mannaba mawongda nupee sinmee singgi ningtambabu nupee sinmee singna purakkadabani haiba wafamsi mayamda thamjari. Nupee sinmee sing masamakna asigumba sang singna chaokhatlakpasi oohan-gadabani; makhoina masi oiraknabagi hotnajaba adumakna makhoina mamangda senjao lallonbana pallamba khunnaina oiramba fam adudagi pum-ol ollaba awolba ama oirakpa ngamgani.

Ariba senjao-lallonbana panba khunnaigi leingak-lamchatta thenggainanabagidamak akhannaba para tamba mathou takhi; maram asidagi, khwaidagi chaokhatlabani amasung ningtamba sougatlabani hairiba senjao lallonba leibak singdafaoba, nupeena leingak lamchatta saruk yaba fangbasi singthaningai masaktu oikhide.

Eikhoigi thoudangdi leingak-lamchat asida thabak suba khudingbu saruk yaba fanghanbani. Lam amasung factory sing lannai mapu naibagi machatna, hek muthatpa mikuptagi, loupu singgi amasung senjao lallonbaga toubu ngamba mapanggalbu maithiba hek pikhibadagi, leingak leisebaga thoudangse chamle, mayek sengle amasung thabak suba meeyamna, thabak suba nupee singsu laina saruk yaba fangle. Senjao lallonbana panba khunnaidadi nupee singbu kayam tothana leihanbage hairabada nupa singga changdamnabada makhoina leibak-leingakki thouramda saruk yabase singthaningai masing oide. Masigi machatna matou asi hongdoknabagidamak thabak suba mee singna leibak panba haibasi mathou tai, aduga masi hek fanglabada leingakki khwaidagi maru oiba thoudangdi thabak subasinggi maraibak lepchanabaga mari leinabasingdu oigani.

Matangsidani nupee sinmee singna, lup ki amasing thak ki wakhallon chenba nupee sinmee sing khakta nattana, lup yaodaba amasung thakki wakhal eechel mak chendabasingsu, saruk yaminnaba mathou taribase. Masigi matangsida *soviet* leingak singna sinmee nupee singgidamak makhal kayagi thoudangda saruk yaranabagidamak thong hangli.

Soviet Russia da yaningdaba yeknaba kayana thomjinnarakpaga mayokta thengnabagi awaba matam kayasu eikhoina hakthengnakhre. Sinmee singna panba asigi mayokta lan singnarakkhiba kayadugi mayokta lan soknabada, chinjakki matangdana sendong tanbasinggi mayokta

thengnabada eikhoi sathina awaba amasung aruba kaya thengneu; maramdi meeyam, thabak subasing, thamoi sengna makhoigi khutsu na eikhoida tengbangnabagidamak chongthoknarakkhibagi meesing masingi mapung fana yamlaba oidri. Maram aduna *Soviet* leingakna lup yaodaba sinmee nupee singna achouba meeyoi kanglup ama oina tengbangkhibasadagi henba mammal leina loubu amatta leite. Makhoina khanganu madudi ariba *bourgeois* khunnaigi leingak machatnada saruk yanabagidamak yamna chgrak chahingnaraba makhal gi para tamdaba yakhide, aduga madudasu nupee singna changjaba fangkhide. Adubu *Soviet Republic* ta leingak machatnagi thouramsinggi maru oiba pandamdi loupu sing amasung senjao lallonbasinggi mayokta thengnabani, namhattuna sijinnaba machatnabu maru fukna muthatpani; masina *Soviet Republic* ta sinmee nupee singgidamak makhoigi asil-aranggi (management/ administration) hei singba ningthina sijinnaduna nupa singbu tengbangnabagi, leingak-leishem thouramda saruk yanabagi thong adu hangle.

Meeyoi lipun lipun bu humduna puba ngamgadaba lup ki achouba thouram sinba mathou tabagi mathakta, nupee singnasu hakthengnana saruk yaba ngamgadaba khwaidagi piklaba thouramsu mathou tai. Nupee singna lan-lakki fibhamsingda lanmee singgi mateng pangbaga mari leinaba thabaksing suba ngammi; makhoigi marakta eehou sagatpasu yai. Asigumba matam sidadi nupee singna yamna kanna saruk yagadabani, *fingang lanmee* singgi pukning happinanaba makhoigidamakta hotnabiri amasung yengsinbiri haibasi ootkadabani. Nupee singnasu chinjakki hiramasingda, chinjak yenthok yensin-gi, chinjak thong thakpa amasung yomsin-semjinbada, chakcha-sanglen- sang sing semgat sagatpada, hujik *Petrograd* ta pak sanna hangdorakliba asigumna mari leinaba thabaksingda saruk yagadabani.

Asigumba hiramasinggi thoudang singda sinmee nupee singna asengba meebu khomjin-sinnabagi fajabasingdu khangjin houee. Achouba changyenggi *enterprise* sing semgat sagatpada amasung masibu yengsin-sinnabada, masi mee amakhakta thabak oihandanana, nupee singna saruk yahanba mathou tai. Khutsu nupee singna masing yamna thabak asida yaodri makhei asigumba thabak singi mapung faba ngammoi. Chinjak yenthok yensin-gi thabaksida yengsin-sinnaba amasung pot cheibu eerai laina fanghanbanachingba thabaksing asida sinmee nupee singna henna chunnei. Asigumba thabak singi lup ta yaodaba nupee singnasu eelai laina toubu yaba thabakni, aduga asigumba thabaksina *socialist* khunnai ama sagatpada yamna chaoba matengsu oigani.

Soviet leingakna lam mapu naibagi machatna amasung factory sing amasung thabaksing lannai mapu naiba muthatpa asina lupta yaoba khutsu mee khakta nattana yaodabasingsu, nupa sing khakta nattana nupee singsu sellamchat semgatpasida ngamnamak saruk yahallabani. *Soviet* leingakna chattharakliba thabak asi nupee sing chamma chammagi mahutta licha-lipun kayana Russia sin thungna saruk yarabatanga henna khongjang yangsinhanba ngamgani. Madu oirabatanga mannaba khunnai sembagi thabakse mapung fana sagatle haibasi thajaba ngamgani. Madutana khutsu mee singna lam mapu amasung senjao lallonbasing yaodana hingba amasung leingak panba ngamle haibasi ootchaba ngamgani. Adugumba matamduda mannaba khunnai sagatpase asukki matik mara chetkhibana Russia gi *Soviet Republic* na atoppa leibakki yeknabasing amasung Russia manunggi yeknabasingbu kiningai maram amatta leiraroi. (Lenin, Speech at Non-Party Conference of Women Workers, 1919)

Emung manunggi heinaningdaba awaba thabakki mayokta

... Nupee singgi fibhamsi amukta khalli. Eikhoina leibaksi panba ahanba chahi asida hiram asigi matangda loukhiba thoudang chammaromsi malem gi *democratic* lup amattana, khwaidagi chaokhatle hairiba *bourgeois republic* ammattada chahi cha kayada pangthokkhiba leite. Seitharolda hairagadi nupee bu nupa singga changdamnabada tonthaba famda thamlamba natei chadraba wayel pathap adugi chekpaldugi chektum amatta lep-hallaga thamkhidre; khainaba yahandaba wayel pathap, khainabagi thouramda tukkatchaningai oiraba loisanggi thuokup thouchet sing, maram chadraba machasinggi amasung makhoigi mapasing thibagi chatna pathap, asinachingbasing. Eikhoina hiram asida pangthokkhibasingsigidamak lisinglak hanna chaothokchabagi hak lei. Adubu eikhoina ariba, *bourgeois*, wayel-pathap amasung loisangsing temkhaikhinabagi sem saba henjillakpa khudingda eikhoina anouba kuyom-kayat (structure) ama semnabagi lambee tamak semli haibasi mayek henna sengna ooba fanglakli; kuyom-kayat asimak tasengnamak saba mapung fadri.

Ningtamhannabagi wayel-pathap kaya laothoktunasu nupee singdi eemung manunggi ateba-minai (domestic slave) oiduna adum leiri. Maramdi kannadaba eemung manunggi thabaksingna makhoibu takkhai, khouri metkhairi, katan chuhalli, mammal leihandri. Chaksanggi amasung nawa-senna thabaksingna magi makhongda thourina punduna thambagum thamli; tamthina potthok leitaba, maru oidaba, pukning hanthaningai oiraba, katan chuhallaba aduga heinaningdaba potlum oiraba thabak kayada magi khutsu manghalli. Asengba nupeesingbu ning tamhanba, asengba *communism*, haibase sinmee singna lamjingba meeyamgi khongjang ama kannadaba eemung-manungda yumfam oiba sellamchat asigi mayokta houraklaba nattraga masibu yam pak-sanna achouba *socialist* ki sellamchat amada onthoraklaba matamduda oigani.

Eikhoina, *communist* khudingna *theory* da masida yetnaba leitrabasu tasengnamak masigi wahangsi kokta haptuna eikhoigi thabak thouramda thabal oina paikhatlabra? Tasengbadi, eikhoina masi toudri. Hiram asiga mari leinana chongkhatlakliba *communism* gi anouba mayol singse matic chana eikhoina yokkhatlibra? Masidasu eikhoina pukning sengna 'yokkhatte' haigani. Meeyamgi chakcha-sang, angang senna-sang amasung angang mahei tamfam-sang singse anouba mayolsingdugi khudamsingni. Achao aram oodraba, achao aramgi khon sijinnafam nattraba, tasengna senglaba echam chamba nungtigi pambeisingse nupee singbu tasengnamakki ningtamhanba ngamba, makhoigi khunnai pot puthokpa amasung khunnai punshida nupa dagi tonthahanbabu mayeng hanthahanba nattraga muthatpa ngamba pambeisingni. Asigi pambeisingse anoubadi natte, makhoisi pak chaoraba senjao-lallonbana (capitalist) na panba machatna aduda poktakhibani; adubu senjao lallonbana panba khunnaida makhoisi, ahanbada, yamna tangna thokpa pambeisingni. Anisubada, yamna maru oibani, makhoisi khwaidagi jugot chadraba makhalgi pot peisalfam, sel tongfam, huralfam amasung namthak toufam, nattraga khwaidagi faba sinmee singna maram chana yengthiraba amasung thouoidraba meeyamgi seba toubu saba *bourgeois* singgi lila sannafamni.

Eikhoigi leibaksida asigumba sang singgi masing sathina hengatlakli amadi makhoigi maramchatsu hongba hounarakle haibasida chingnaningai leitre. Eikhoina khangbasidagi saruk kaya henna nupee sinmee amasung nupee loumee singgi marakta sin-langba heiba yaori haibasida chingnaningai leite. makhoisingsigi marakta eikhoigi napal chaoba *intelligentsia* (lairik-heibasing) nattraga tangkhai munba *communist* (half backed communists) singna poram, machatna nachingbagi matangda ahei apa sariba, kannadabada wakatliba, warenda marei tounariba, thaksi-khasi yaodana ngangnabagi asonbasi leitraba matamga chunnana thouram thousil toubu ngamba

amasung sinmee masing lakngamdana khomjinba ngamba kayasu yaori; aduga asigumba thouram thousil gi lousingsibu lousin-gadaba kaya amasu hendokna yaori. Adubu eikhoina matik chana anouba mayolsing asibu yokkhatri.

Bourgeois singsida yengu! Kayada ningthijana makhoina makhoigi apambasingbu fangnabagidamak khonba ngamlibano? Yengu senjao lallonbasingna kamdouna makhoina “model enterprise” haina khangnabasibu makhoigi pao-che singgi chefong lipun lipun da thagat waheida eeribano; yengu *bourgeois enterprise* singgi ‘model’ singsibu mareibakki mingchat oiraba potsak oina onthoktuna ootlibase. Eikhoigi paonam-sangsingsina (press) khwaidagi afaba chak-cha-sang natraga nawa-yok-sang singbu seithabagi, nungti gi marei pukhattuna makhoi kharabu ‘model’ oina onthoknabagi potlumdi pude, sukpu hek pude haiba yai. *Communist* khutsu gi model na maram oiduna meeyoibagi khutsu kanjaba, potthok sijinnabasinggi khudongchaba fanghanba, potthok tungsanba, nupee singbu eemung manunggi meenai punshidagi ningtamhanba amasung lam tu lu nanba hen-gat-hanba asinachingba kayasi khunnai pumbagi, sinmee pumnamakki fanghanba ngamgani haibasi fongdoknabagi potlumse eikhoigi paonam-sang singsina pude, sukpu pude. (Lenin, A Great Beginning, June 28, 1919)

Nupee sinmeesing henna masing yamna meekhalda khanbiyu

marupsing, sinmee thakki meeyoibasinggi marakta *communist* singgi lupki mapanggal henna kankhatlakle haibasi Moscow Soviet ki meekhalsina ootle.

Sinmee nupee singna meekhalsingda henna chaona saruk yaba haibasi yamna maru oibani. ...sinmee nupee singna sinmee nupasingga wayel-pathapki mannaba fangba khakta nattana asengba punshidasu mannaba fangba haibasi eikhoigi pamjabani. Masigidamak, sinmee nupeesingna meeyamgi *enterprise* singda thouda- thousilgi thabak puba amasung leibak leingak-thoudada henna saruk yaba haibasi yamna mathou tai. Thouda thousil gi thabakta nupeena saruk yabasina nupeesingna yamna thuna heija singjaba ngamjaduna nupasingbu tankhatcharakpa ngamjagani.

Maram aduna *Soviet* ki meekhalda nupee sinmeesingbu, *communist* oibasingsu aduga lup ta yaodabasingsu, masing henna khanbiyu. Mahakna thammoi sengba sinmee nupee ama oiraba amasung thabak sindok sinjinda yamna pukning changna amasung maram chana toubu ngamgadaba oirabadi, mahak lupki meeyoi ama oiba oidabagi khennaba karisu leite—mabu Moscow *Soviet* ki meekhalda khanbiyu.

Moscow *Soviet* ta sinmee nupeesing henna yaohanba oisanu! Moscow gi sinmee sing ase ariba mannadaba khunnai, ariba *bourgeois* meeot meenei, nupee singbu otpibagi mayokta lanthengnanabagidamak amasung maipakpa puraknabagidamak thengnadouriba lan khudingmak sem sare haibasi ootpa oisanu.

Sinmee singgi mapungfaba ningtamba haibase nupee singgi mapungfaba ningtamba fangdrimakhei keidoungeidasu fangba ngammoi. (Lenin, February 21, 1920)

Nupee singbu leingak-lousing tambiba

Eikhoigi lup ki *central committee* na Russia gi sinmee nupeesing amasung loumee singgi apullup-meefam ama Moscow da pangthokkhibasi chahi manga farakle. Meeyoi lising amagi mathakna, sinmee nupee lipun amagi mathakta meehut oiduna apullup-meefam aduda tinkhi. Eikhoigi lup na sinmee nupeesinggi marakta touriba thabak-hourakpasinggi matangdadi apullup-meefam asimak yamna singthaningai oiba masak thokpa thabak amani. Apullup-meefam asigi mapal naidraba maheidi eikhoigi *republic* asigi nupee sinmeesing amasung loumee singgidamak leingak-lousing tambinaba thabak paikhatnanabagi yumfam ama thonbikhiba asini.

Kanagumba kharanadi lup nasu hannadagi toina meeyamgi, nupeesu yaona, leingak-lousing sandoktuna lakpanina apullup-meefam asidagi anouba ama purakpa leite haina khannarambasu yai, natraga yamna thunamak sinmee amasung loumeesinggi apunba khongbusing leirakkadourabanina nupee singgi leingak-lousing sandokpasi asengba kannaba leite haina wakhal sagatpasu yaoramgani. Asigumba wakhalingse tasengnamakkidi aranbani.

Ngasi sinmeesing amasung loumeesinggi makhutna leingak asi pairaklaba matam asidadi nupeesingda leingak-lousing sandokpa haibasimak khwaidagi henna maru oiba ama oirakle. Masigi maramse ei sandokna ootchage.

Eikhoigi leibakki mee masingse chaorakna 140 million oigani aduga masigi tangkhaidagi tadaba meeyoibasingdi maruoiba sinmee amasung loumee oirabi, sotthahouradbi, laira- chudatnarabi amasung leingak-lousing khajiktamak leirabi nupee singni.

Eikhoigi leibaksina tasengnamakki anouba *soviet* ki punshi chatpa houkhraba oiragadi, leibak asigi meeyoi masing tangkhaimuk oirabi nupeesingsina sotthaduna, chara chudatnaduna amasung leingak-lousing henn heigat singattaduna leiragadi eikhoigi chaokhatpasi khongthangda chingthadunata leigani haibasi asengbani.

Sinmee nupeesingna sinmee nupasingga khutsamnana leiri. Eikhoigi industry lingkhatpasi apunba thabaksingda makhoina nupasingga thabak suminnei. Asigumba apunbagi thabak thouramsida makhoina tengbangbi haibasi leingakki-bhab taraba amasung leingak-lousing leirabatangda mapung fana oithok-ee. Makhoina sotthaduna leiraba amasung chara chudatnarabadi, magi pukning fattabagi maramna oihanbadi nattaba, sotthahoubagi maramna, apunbagi pandamsida mang takpasi masak oigani.

Loumee nupeesingna loumee singga totna tinnaduna lei. Nupee singna nupa singga loina eikhoigi louoo-sing-ooba chaokhat-hannba mai pak-hanbagi amasung mahei marong yalhanbagi apunba pandamsigidamak pangthokminnei. Makhoinasu sotthahouba amasung pangjahoubadagi nanthokchaba ngamjarabadi pandam asi fangnaba ngamkhei leitana hotnajaba ngamgani. Makhoise masigi onna teinaba oikhibasu yai: matung tabadasu makhoise pangjabagi meenai oiduna leikhiba taragadi apunbagi pandam asigi mayokta athingba ama oirakpasu yai.

Nupee sinmeesing amasung loumee singse nupa sinmee sing amasung loumee singga chap mannaba khongfamda lepliba maning tamlaba leibak-cha singni. Eikhoigi *Soviet* amasung apun-khomjillup (cooperatives) singgi meehut khanbada nupee singsu yaoee aduga makhoibusu masigi thousil-loisangsingda meehut oina khanbiba yai. Nupee sinmeesing amadi loumee singna leingak-lousing yamna leirabadi eikhoigi *soviet* sing amasung apun-khomjillup singsi henna fajahanba,

mapanggal kankhat-hanba amasung mawong tahanba ngamgani. Nupee sinmee sing amasung loumee singna sonthana amasung pangjana leirabadi masigi thousil-loisangsingse sotthahanba amasung leikha tahallakpasu yai.

Aroibada nupee sinmeesing amasung loumee singse eikhoigi leibakki tunggi yumbi oiriba naharol singbu yokkhatchariba mammasingni. Angang amagi mathouna marousingda khurou chelhanba natraga eikhoigi leibakpu henna chaokhatparomda chingkhata ngamba mathouna marousing henna faba naharol eikhoida peebiba haibasi makhoida leire. Masi khudingse nupee oiribi amasung mamma oiribi amana *soviet* machatna asibu sougatlibra natraga amaibasing, lousal chabasing natraga *bourgeois* gi matung eena chatkhibra haibasigi makha ponbani.

Maram aduna, sinmee sing amasung loumeesingna anouba punshi ama semnabagidamak chongthoraklaba matam asida, ngasigi *bourgeois* sing asigi mathakta asengba mai pakpa haibadu pooraknabagidamak nupee sinmee sing amasung loumee singbu leingak-lousing tambiba haibase khwaidagi maru oiba eehan hanna paikhatkadaba thoudangni.

Aduna thabak suba nupee singbu leingak-lousing tambibagi yumfam ama thonkhiba ahanba nupee sinmee amasung loumee singgi apullup-meefam adugi kannabasidi haibagi loikham nairoi.

Chahi mangagi mamangda famkhiba apullup-meefam aduna lup ki ngasi ngasimakki thoudangdi anouba *soviet* punshi sagatpada nupee sinmee licha licha chingsinduna apunba sintha pangthokminnagadabani haina warepnakhibani. Industry yamna leiba mafamsingdadi sinmee nupee singna, makhoina sinmee nupee singgi marakta khwaidagi henna thengnaba henbagi matik bhap tabasu henba maramna, pandam asi fangnaba hotnabada henna maru oiba thoudang lougadabani haina lepnakhi. Mapung fagadaba kaya ama tasengna pangthokpa ngamdana leiragasu, chahi manga asida pandam asi fangnaba kannaba kaya ama toukhre haiba yai.

Ngasidi, apunbagi pandamsi fangnabagidamak lupki mathoudi loumee nupee lipul lipul chingsinduna *soviet* punshi asi sagatpangi thousil thoudada saruk yaminnaba haibasini.

Chahi manga kanna hotnakhibana loumee singgi maraktagi saknairaba meeyoi masing yamna puthokpa ngamkhre. Anouba, leingak-lousing leirabi, loumee nupee sing kaya ama hapchillakpana saknairabi lamjeengba ngambi loumee nupee singgi masing henba ngamgani haibasida thajaba thamsi. Masigi potlum asi lup na yamna thuna kok-hanba ngamba oisanu. (Stalin, On 5th Anniversary of First Women Worker's and Peasants' Congress, 1923)