



# ଆଁ ଟିଚାଂଲଡ଼ ସଂକାମଳ THE LIBERATION TIMES



VOLUME NO: 14

July 15, 2022 Friday

ISSUE: 85



“ATHOUBA SINGNA KATTHOK-I, YAOLNA KHUMANG CHAOSILLI”

# YAOFAM TAKPA

THE LIBERATION TIMES JULY 2022 VOLUME No.14 ISSUE: 85

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# ING KUMJA 1891 DA MANIPUR NA BRITISH KI MAYOKTA THENGNAKHIBA LAN IREIBAK MANIPUR KANJANABAGIDAMAKNI

Ing Kumja 1891 da soknakhiba Anglo-Manipur (Kangleipak) lan da ireichasingna utpikhiba thouna lingjel amasung mareibak nungsibagi wakhallon adu ngasigi meerol eikhoida nouhounana ningsinghalli. Ima leibakki ningtamba ngaknabagidamak Manipur (Kangleipak) gi lanmee khujok kharakhakka matamduda khutkallaba British ka thawai pammuba leitana lanthengnakhi. Adugumba athoubasing adugi khudung induna ireibakkidamak thawai thaba ngamjaba amadi makhoigi mafamda ikai khumnaba utpa fangjaba asi malemgi meeoiba khunnaigi mangda eikhoi Manipur machasing (Kangleicha)gi chaothokchaningaini. Mamal yamlaba meeopoktagi ireibakki ningtambana henna mamal yammi haina loubu ngamkhiba eikhoigi athouba ipa ipusinggi kathokkhiba thawaising aduna mamal oiduna ngasigi furupki meerol asina hingduna leiba ngamjahouribani. Houkhiba chahi khara asida India leigakna makhoigi ningkha tamba fangkhibagi chahi 75 (1947-2022) mapung farakpaga mari leinaba thouram 'azadi ka amrit mahotsav' haina maming thonduna pangthokli. Thouram asigi manungchanna 'unsung heroes' haina mingthonba India gi ningtambagi ihouda saruk yakhiba aduga

leingakna semba puwarigi manungda hanna lachanhoudaba meeoi kayagi punsi wari nouhounana ithokpa amasung makhoigi matik mathounagi wari singbul India gi ningtam ihouda mapal naidraba khudol tamkhibani haina nouhounana masak taknaba hotnarakli. Masimak houjikki India leingak amasung masibu maion chumliba Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) na one nation, one people, one culture haiba leptana chattharakliba agenda adugi saruk amani.

18 suba chahichada Manipur (Kangleipak) da lakkhiba laining lambigi aonba amada lamdam asigi masing yamba Meeteisingna Hindu laininggi makhutta takhibadagi laining asiga sagonnaba meeramgi chatnabi kaya lamdam khunnaida changsillakpa houkhi. Matou asumna Manipur (Kangleipak) na nat amasung lainingga mari leinaba loilamgi cheitheng fangba houkhi. Ahongba asiga iroinana lamdam asi India gi saruk amani haina utnanaba lairik kayamarum iduna amasung nouhounana ithoktuna meeyamgi pukningda India gi saruk amani haina faohannaba hotnaduna lakkhi. Asigumba mityeng asi henna mapung fahannaba hindugi lairik 'Mahabharat' ki mateng louduna houjikki Manipur

(Kangleipak) haina khangnariba lamdam asi 'Mahabharat ki Manipur' aduni haina masak taknaba hotnaduna lakkhi amasung asigumba wakhal mityeng asida leingakna sougatpadagi achumbani haina louba meeoi kayasu leikhi. Mityeng asi 18 suba chahichadagi semgatlakpana 20 suba chahichagi ahanba tangkakta mapung marei fakhi. Adubu puwari haiba asi achumbada yumfam oibani. Manipur machasing asi Aryan singgi chada naodani amasung Manipur (Kangleipak) gi puwari asi India gi puwarigi saruk amani haiba mityeng asi India gi mapung oina Hindusinggi historian RC Majumdarna mahakki 'Expansion of Aryan Culture in Eastern India' haina mingthonba Ing kumja 1966 ta Imphalda pikhiba 'Atombapu Memorial Lecture' da houjikki Manipur (Kangleipak) asi Mahabharatki Manipur adu natte haina mayek sengna khudam changdamga loinana utkhrabani. Masimakna Manipur (Kangleipak) gi puwari asi India gi anganba puwarida lachandaba masagi top topa leechat amadi liklam ama leijarakpa leibak amani haiba mayek sengna takli.

18 suba chahichagi ahanba tangkakta Manipur (Kangleipak) na mating leiba leibak ama oiba ngamkhi. Geo-Politics ki ahongba asina maram oiduna ningthou Chingthang Khomba na British ki mateng lounaba hotnakhi. British singsu Bengal da makhoigi nouna semgatlaba khongdafam chetnaba hotnabada Manipur (Kangleipak) gumba leibak amaga mari leinabagi tangaifadaba leikhi. Adumakpu British amasung Manipur (Kangleipak) anigi marakta mari semnabagi 1762 gi September 14 gi yanache adu British ki maikaidagi

khudongchadaba maram leibana thabak oina pangthokpa ngamkhide. Awaba khudongthiba kaya mayoknarabasu Manipur (Kangleipak) na masagi ningtamba ngaktuna leiba ngamkhi. Chahi 7 chupna Manipur (Kangleipak) na Avagi khutta khuntaklurabasu British na piba matengga loinana Manipur levy lingkhattuna Avagi makhuttagi Manipur (Kangleipak) kanduna ningtamba amuk hanjinba ngamkhi. Manipur (Kangleipak) gi ningtamba asibu British amasung Burma gi marakta February 24, 1826 ta tounakhiba Yandaboo Treaty na sak khangkhi. British na Manipur (Kangleipak) gi maning tamba hanjinbada mateng pangbikhiba adugidamak Manipur (Kangleipak) na awang nongpok lamdamda khudongthiba tarakpa matamda hek ngamba makhei mateng pangduna toubimal khangba utkhi. British na Manipur (Kangleipak) amasung Burma ga manglamchattagi leinaba mari amasung British ki lamdam asomda thamliba mityenggi khal kaihanda naba haiduna Manipur (Kangleipak) da political agency gi office 1835 dagi hangdokkhi. Matamduda Manipur (Kangleipak) da British ki agent thamba asi houjikki matamda maningtamba leibaksinggi meehut (ambassador) thanabagumbani. Manipur (Kangleipak) gi oinasu matam matamgi matung inna British India da leibak asigi meehut tharammi. Manipur (Kangleipak) da British political agency lingkhatpagi khwaidagi maru oiba maram asi British amasung Manipur (Kangleipak) anigi marakta hannadagi houna leirakpa mari adu tung koina chatnanabagidamaktani.

Ing kumja 1891 gi Anglo-Manipur (Kangleipak) lan asi thoktringeigi

mamangda leibak anigi marakta chatnakhiba cherol amasung khutyek pinakhiba warolsingda Manipur (Kangleipak) na British ki makha polle natraga British ki makhada Manipur (Kangleipak) asi leire haina wafam amatta pankhiba thengnade. Ing Kumja 1891 gi Manipur (Kangleipak) amasung British ki marakta inakhiba yanachesingda leibak asina karigumba maong amattada British ki makha polle haina pankhiba leire amasung meekha ponbagi British ki mafamda चाहिगी oina loipot kabagi wafam leikhide. Chahi asimakki September thada Calcutta da fongba 'The Manipur War' kouba lairikki lamai 4 subada Manipur (Kangleipak) gi thak asi asumna palli- 'Apikpa fajaraba leibak asi India government ki makha pondaba lam amani. Leibak asina paramount power (British) ta keidounungda sel mayek ama faoba loipot oina pikhiba leire. Naksinnaba amasung tasengna hairabada British India na koisinduna leiba maramna mahakna matam chuppada British ka marup mapang oibagi afaba mari thamnaba hotnaduna lakkhi. Mahakki leibakki oiba thak asi India gi atei native state singdagi yamna henna fana lei. Inak khunbada maming chatliba Hyderabad na Manipur (Kangleipak) na fangliba ningtamba adugi 10 thokpagi manungda saruk ama faoba youna fangba ngamde amasung masi April 27, 1891 da British lanmeesingna Imphalda changlaktringeigi mamangda leiramba fivam aduni. Nepal amadi Afghanistan da leiriba ningtambagi thak adumak Manipur (Kangleipak) gisu leirammi'. British na Manipur (Kangleipak) faoduna chatpa tarabadi ningthoudagi ayaba lourammi.

Mathakki warolsing amasung thabaksing asina Manipur (Kangleipak) asi mapung fana ningkha tamlamba leibakni haibasida karisu yetnaningai leitre.

Ing kumja 1891 gi Anglo-Manipur (Kangleipak) lan gi matangda wafam kaya thorakli. 1) Manipur (Kangleipak) gi ningthou machasinggi marakta thajanaba watpa, 2) Ningthou machasinggi marakta fambalgi mikanaba, muknarakpa, 3) British ka mari sangna leinarakpana Manipurgi (Kangleipak) ningtambagi thak nemtharakpa, 4) Surchandra bu ningthou khuvamdagi louthokkhiba thouong adubu British na law na yadabani haina loubaba amasung adugumba law na yadaba thabaksing aduda chennaba Manipur (Kangleipak) gi ningthou machasinggi mathakta cheirak pigani haiba British ki firep amasung firep adubu thabakta onthoknaba hotnabada thorakpa muknaba. Anglo-Manipur lan da saruk yaruba mareibak ningba athouba kaya British ki khutsemgi law gi cheirak fangkhi. Lan da maithiba nanglaba furupta lan gi maral thangjinba haibasi malemgi oina mahousadagi chatthaduna lakpa leechat amani. Calcutta High Court ki Barrister Manmohan Ghose nattana India gi masak naiba luchingba natraga organization amattana British na 1891 da Manipur (Kangleipak) da chatthakhiba thouong adugi achum aran puthoktuna neinaba thengnakhidri; akanbana achumba sak-i hainaba adumak Manipur (Kangleipak) gi maraibakta takhi. British parliament ta Manipur (Kangleipak) gi maramda yetnakhibasing amadi British press ta

inarakkhibasing aduda mityeng thamlaba matungda British India leingakna Manipur (Kangleipak) bu makhoigi makhada hakthengnana thamduna leibak ngakpagi firep handoklaga nakoinaba maongda leibak ngakpagi thousil houdokkhi. Adubu British leingakki mayokta lamdam asigi meeyamgi ihou kaya uba fangkhi. Ihousing asi matam adugi British India leingakki mayokta houkhiba ihousingni. Ihousing asi British India leingakki interest ka Manipur (Kangleipak) meeyamgi aningba apambaga anigi marakta leiba khennaba amasung muknabadagi oirakpa maheini. Manipur (Kangleipak) meeyamna British India leingakka muknaba nattana Indian singgi interest ka muknaba natraga makhoigi liklam aduga chasin chusinnana chatpagi maram matam aduda leikhide. Maram aduna Manipur (Kangleipak) ga mari leinaba wafamsing India gi ningtam ihougi saruk ama oikhide aduga India gi ningtam ihougi wari asi matam adugi Manipur (Kangleipak) puwarigi saruk amasu keidounungda oikhide.

Ireichasing! Manipur (Kangleipak) asi malemgi anisuba lanjaogi achouba lanbung ama kumja 1942 dagi 1944 faoba oikhi. Lan asi Britain na luchingba allied forces ga nakal amadana Japanese lanmee amasung Indian National Army gi apunba khutpu anigi marakta soknakhibani. Pumnamakna khangnari madudi malemgi anisuba lanjao asi loilam sandokpa pamba khutpu anigi marakta soknakhibani. Manipur (Kangleipak) na South East Asia amasung India anigi langdaida leiba mafam ama oirubana malemgi anisuba

lanjaoda maikei anigi tunggi laibak lepkadaba lanbung oikhi. Yeknabagi yeknabadi eigi marupni haiba mityengda Indian National Army gi luchingba Subhas Chandra Bose na Japan gi mateng louduna India gi ningtamba hanjinnaba hotnakhi. Lan asigi saruk ama oina hannana Japan na khudum chansillaba Andaman Nicobar Ithat ta December 30, 1943 da Subhas Chandra Bose na India gi firal chingkhathkhi. Thoudok asi INA gi puwarida India leimaida makhoigi ningtambagi khongdafam sembani haina fongdoktuna lakli. Wafam asi nouhounana ningsingjabagi maramdi akhang ahei ahei apa saba khara amasung Indian ni haijaningba lamdam asigi meei khujok kharana kumja 1944 gi april 14 da Moirang da INA gi firal paihankhiba thoudok adu India amasung Manipur (Kangleipak) gi ningtam lan gi puwarigi saruk amani haina utnaba hotnari. INA gi mityengda Manipur (Kangleipak) gi leimaida khongdaba adu makhoigi khongjangda maru oiba thoudok ama oigani adubu mamangthakta panjakhre madudi lan asi mapung oina loilam sandokpa kanglup anigi marakta muknaba lan ni. INA su loilam sandokpada achouba thoudang ama louriba kanglup amagi meechang ama oirubana Manipur (Kangleipak) gi oinadi masida puwarigi oina thoidokna akhannaba mafam leite haina lou-i. Maramdi lan aduda British ki loilam leingak loiramba taragasu Manipur (Kangleipak) na Japan amasung INA gi anouba loilam leingak amaga amuk makha tana thengnarambagi oithokpa wangna lei. Japan amasung INA gi maikeida chaorakna Manipur (Kangleicha) macha 200 mukna

saruk yakhi haina cherol kharada panba thengnei. Makhoina ningtam landa saruk yabani haina loubu taragadi British ki maikeida yaokhiba Manipur (Kangleipak) gi meeyam adubuna karamba mingthol pigadouri. Fivamna, matamna amadi lammitlon gi saktamna Manipur (Kangleipak) na malemgi anisuba lanjaogi lanbung oikhi. Meeyamna manglam-chatta thengnakhidriba lan gi cheitheng nangkhi adubu lan asidi Manipur (Kangleipak) gi ningtambagi puwariga hakthengnana mari leinaba lan ama oikhide. Manipur macha ama oina lan gi thoudoksing adubu Manipur (Kangleipak) gi ningtam ihougi saruk ama oina uhannaba hotnaba asi yamna natei chadaba amadi mathong huktaba thouwong amani. Amaromda hairaga loilam leingakpu makha samthahannaba sougatpa wakhallon amani. Maram aduna chahi khudinggi April 14 da Moirang da India gi firal chingkhatpa, INA gi thouram pangthokpada Manipur (Kangleicha) macha singna haraona saruk yafam thokte. Masida nattana, ningthou Chourajit ki macha ibungo Barak tampakta pokkhiba Narendraji @Ranjit @Sana na mafamdudagi British tanthoknaba sepoy mutiny da saruk yakhiba adubusu Manipur (Kangleipak) na India ningtamnaba ihouda saruk yaba oina uhannaba hotnari. Matamdugi Manipur (Kangleipak) gi ningthou Chandrakirti di British ka afaba mari leinari haibasi puwarina lengdraba khudam oiri.

Eikhoi Manipur machasing (Kangleicha) houjiksi India gi loilam leingakki

cheitheng nangliba amasung cheitheng adudagi nanthoknaba lanthengnariba furup amani haiba matam leiba khibikta meeyamna kaobiroidabani. Maram aduna ireichasingna Manipur (Kangleipak) gi puwariga samnadaba, mari leinadaba thoudoksingda yumfam oiraga Manipur (Kangleipak) bu yelhoungeidagi India ga samnaduna lakpani haiba semjinba puwarigi liklam amada chattuna eikhoi India machani haiba thamaisillaba wakhallongi langda thudanaba cheksinminnasi. Ireicha pumnamakna eikhoigi pukningwakhalda India na maikoi kayadagi langoi chansinduna landarakliba asidagi meekup nahum singna leihouba tai natragadi apunba Manipur (Kangleipak) furupki tamba ngamdaba fivam ama oirakloi hainingai leite. Masi thoktanaba eikhoi khudingmakna sem saminnasi, lan thengnaminnasi. India na ningtamlakpa chahi 75 surakpaga mari leinana pangthokliba 'Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav' ka mari leinaba thouramsing Manipur (Kangleipak) da pangthokliba asidi ningtambagi mahutta eikhoi India gi meekha ponba amasung meenai naithanggi punsidu ningsingbani haibana henna chunagani. Houkhiba April 7, 2022 da India gi Home Minister Amit Shah na Hindi na furup khudingmakki longi mahut sinduna India gi amatta ngairaba lon oihangani hairakpasina India da khundariba furup khudingmak maru oina WESEA gi apikpa furupchasingda hainingai leitraba cheitheng ama piragani. UNESCO na Manipur (Kangleipak) gi lon (Kangleilon) asi mutkhibagi oithokpa leire haiba

wafam thamkhraba tangkak asida India na WESEA da Hindi bu namduna tamhallagani haibasi yelhoumeesingbu namthanaba hotnabagi anouba lallong amani. Ningsingba yai, British na loi chanduna machet-makai oina leiramba lamdam kayabu loilam leingakki fibannungda pusillaktuna semgatkhiba leibak ngasigi India na Hindu laining chatpa amadi makhoigi mapung oiriba lon Hindi namduna chatnahanningbagi aningba asi matam yamna kuire. Ing kumja 1885 da Indian National Congress semlakhibaga iroinana Hindu upper caste maru oina Brahmin singi khujil-thourang makhada Hindu singna luchingba leibak amagi ahakpa manglan amagi maru hunkhrabani. Maram asimakna Bharatta matam sangna khundaraklaba Muslim singna Hindu luchingbasinggi lounam adu khanglakpaga iroinana Congress ani thokna kaikhi. Ing kumja 1947 ta Kanglupki oiba yumfamda thonba leibak ani – Bharat amadi Pakistan semkhibani. Fivam asimak awang nongpok haibadi WESEA da khundariba mongoloid meei kanglupsingnasu racism gi oiba cheitheng chaona thengnaribani. India da lisang sitna chatharakliba Hindu upper caste singgi nationalism asina Hindu laining amadi makhoigi lonbu India apumbagi oiningli. Asigumlaba aranba amadi akhuba nationalism gi kanglon asina masagi lon, fijet-chakcha amadi khunnailon leijrakpa WESEA gi furupsingbu matam chuppagi oina temsingnabagi fivam laklabani, checksinningai oi.

Yelhoumeesinggi

iron-iyeksing

muthatnabagi akanba khongthang asi Hindutva gi saruk amani. WESEA da Arunachal Pradesh khak nattana Hindi asi lon ama oina school singda compulsory oide. Maramdi, WESEA gi yelhoumeesing masagi lon fijet-chakcha leije. Maningtambagi ikhou langliba WESEA gi furupchasingna India gi lanmeegi amadi cultural invasion asibu masak munna khang-i. Handak Hindi namduna WESEA gi school singda tamhannaba hotnarakliba asi democratic society amagi leifam thokpa hak adu matpani. Maningtamba leibak kayabu choikhom khomduna semkhiba India na ngasisu makha tana cultural amadi religious conversion gi lallong sijinnaduna loilamgi thabak kaya chatthari. Hindutva gi cultural nationalism asi loilamgi machak amadi machat kaya yaori. Mahei tamfam amadi iron-iyek khudum channingba kanglon asina ireichasingbu thamaiduna thamge hotnarakliba asi kumja 1949 da Manipur (Kangleipak) bu India na namduna lousinkhiba adumak makha chatharakpani. Malemgi mafam kayada right wing (kanglupki hakchinba wakhallon chenba) gi ihou kankhatlakliba asina meesing yamjadaba furupsinggidamaktadi yamnamak meepainigai oirakli. Khudam oina hairabada, WESEA lamdamda chahi khara asida achouba senfam thadaduna cultural amadi religious hegemony chathannabagidamak RSS sijinnaduna laining laisol mannadaba lamdam asigi furupchasingbu namthanaba kanna hotnari haibasi ireichasingna khangminnaba mathou tai. ■



# AONBA (REVOLUTIONARY) MEDIA GI WAKHALLON

1. Wahoudok amasung ngasigi media masak khangdokpa.
2. Revolutionary media gi anouba concept.
3. Malemgi revolutionary media singgi wafam .
4. Houjik oithokpa yaba media policy amasung aonba punsirol.
5. Tungda oirakpa yaba wakhall mityeng amasung waroisin.

## Wahoudok:

Kunmathoisuba chahichagi anisuba decade loisinkhiduna ahumsuba decade changsillakpa hourakpa asida ngasigi Manipur gi yawolgi saktamda ahongba lakpa asi meeyamda paotamba, amadi loina loinana mangda changsilliba aonba punsi asida meeyam yaohanba amasung aonba punsirol asigi akanba khongloi meeyamna oihannaba laknaba choaraba thoudang ama yaohanba pamba ifurupchasinggi mathakta tari. Ngasigi leikha tarakliba Manipur gi meechamsinggi punsigi akuppa warol kaya ama neinaba, senmitlon, leingaklon, khunnai amasung inat amadi malemgi oiba chengsillakliba global gi oiba saktamsingbu masak khangdoknaba hotnaba amasung ngasigi hingliba asi karino, kadai youna leikha tarabage amadi aonba pamba ihousi marai chaitharabara, marai chaithare haina louragadi kari toubai. Chaokhatli haina louragana changsillakliba maikai adugi mamai chumnaba hotnaba asinachingba warol kaya ama yamna kupna neinadaba yadaba matam youre haina thajajei.

Ngasigi matam asi Manipur gi yaolloisingbu amamamta oina khaidoknaba hotnaraga WESEA lamdam

asida lalhoulupsingga meeyamga samnariba mari asi matam pumnamakki oina thadatpa amadi lalhoulupsinggi marakta khara henna lakna fanaba yadaba kanglupsingbu sijinnaduna makhoigi ka henba sajatna meeyamda ki-tukatchaba pokhanba amadi hairiba thousilsing asigi mathakta meecham meeyambu yaolloisingbu yadanaba, makhoibu mateng pangdanaba, Manipur meeyamgi thammoida anouba lallong ama sinduna lalhoubasinggi mayokta chatthariba counter insurgency gi project oina lan asi meeyamgi thammoi amasung wakhalda lanfam oiba, meecham meeyambu themnaba hotnaba war in the heart and minds of people-‘W.H.A.M, project’ haina chattharakpa kuire. Maru oina ing kumja 2004 da meeyamgi democratic revolution adu namthakhraba matungda, India govt. gi Manipur da thamlamba hannagi wakhallon adu thadoktuna achouba aonba policy kaya ama chattharakkhre. Lanmeesingna nupisingda chatlamba sajat adu hongdogle hairaga, media bu nouna cultivate touduna, insurgency thengnanaba hotnabada local police amasung commando masing hengathanduna, police modernization haiduna lam asigi

ipachasingbu ningtambagi ichel asi singnahanba, lanmeena hanna chatlamba sajat adu local commando singda chathanba amasung anouba chaokhat lambelni haiduna sel thadaduna yum-kei sagathanba, jeep car loihanba amasung senjao paiba kanglup ama politics ki mapu oihanba, meeyamna makhoida thajahanba, thabak amadi hingnabagi matik mangam pairiba, matik mangam sijinnariba meeoisngda meechemgi punsi asi tangjahanbani, lolina loinana tangjaba punsi aduna kuisillaktuna meeyamda masagi punsi masana semjanaba lambel leirakhandanaba, adugumba wakhal amasung mityeng aduna meechemsingna anouba aonba punsi fidam thamjaba ngamhande. Asigumba khunnai saklon asi taraknaba hotnabada India gi Manipur policy asi yamna mai pakli haiba tai.

Asumna 'critical dependency' hainingai leitana sathina tangjaba punsirolda lupkhraba meeyam asibu ningtambagi yaolda amukyaohanba haibasi araiba natte. Paoche, media amasung local television na puba ngamba thoudang oidre, karigi hairabadi ngasi ngasigi media gi ichin inaosinggi wakhal, mityeng, sajat lichat, yamna kupna hanna neinaba changgani. Ngasigi media gi punsi amasung wakhallon neinabada eikhoina makhoigi meeoisng amasung paoche amamamgi senthok, newspaper production amasung distribution, makhoina hingbagi maong, inak khunba proprietor amasung editor singgi lamchat sajat, makhoina samnariba senthang puthokliba kanglup amadi hawker singgi politics amadi editor singgi marakta lamjel tannaminnabagi wakhal mityeng, leibakpu nungsiduna katthokpagi lamjel yaoraktaba, pumnamak

asibu macha khaina neinaraga makhoina Indian democracy gi freedom of the press haiba asi sonjaraga karamna makhoigi punsi sillibage haiba kupna hanna neinaba mathou tagani.

Irai laina hairabada makhoisu Oppress Class singgi manungda chinggani. Aduga makhoibu leingakki police amasung commando singna thina toubibada nattana naharol non-state actor singnasu thina toubi haibasisu asengbani. Manipur gi paoche amasung local television channel singda neinabada, meeyamgi aonba amasung ahongba wakhal mityeng amasung mannaba khunnai haiba asigi matangda makhoina wa ngangba amasung neinaba thengnaroi. Makhoina leingakki wayel kanglon amasung journalism gi ethics ni haiduna meeyamda pose touragasu, leingakki advertisement amasung sakkhangbiba haiba system asida yaoduna leiba tabani. Sel piriba, pija pithak touriba minister, official amasung police ki achou asang tinnabana masada kannaba fanggani. Aki akhang gi punsidagi khara henna safagani amasung politics touriba achouba meeoisngda naplaga makhoigi oijaba fanggani haiduna khannabana ayambani. Houjikti lanmeena themkhiba ngamle. Makhoigi achouba major general singna meeyam civil society ga tinnanaba hotnabada press na mateng piri amasung military civic action program sing yamna fajana cover tou-i. Hairiba pumnamak asina utpadi ningtam yaol asi maning hallakpa amasung India gi counter insurgency policy asi khumang chaosillakpagi khudamni.

Tasengna leibak ningba lup khara samnaba amadi makhoiga naknaba paoche

khara nattanadi Manipur gi media asi democracy gi panggalti haiba wahanthok hannanaba laknaragasu asengbadi makhoi asi democracy gi kannaba asi loujaraga leibakki ahongba maikaida leploidabagi wafam lei. Otpi neibiraba democracy gi institute oiragasu makhoigi rally chatpa slogan utpada makhoina yamna chamna iba oiragasu 'eikhoigi yeknaba leite, marup leite haiba konseng oina maikoi animakta yaojaroi haiba asi makhoigi manungda wakhal adu mapan thoklakpani. Adubu yamna kupna neinaragadi eikhoina khanggadabadi Antonio Gramsci haiba Italy gi revolutionary intellectual aduna ikhibada mee ayamba hingliba saktam asi achumbani haina sandokliba ruling class ki wakhal mityengda wahang hangdana achou asangna chummi haina sandokliba adutabu yaduna, haiba induna leibana ayambani. Aonba ahongba purakke haina khanba meedi yamde. Tasengbadi revolutionary oiba meeoida supnagi minority ni haibasi seng-i, Gramsci na haibada meeyamna capitalism gi makhada thengnariba punsirol asi ani thokna thengnei. Ayambana capitalism gi system makhada hingnaba hotnaba aduga awabasu adum puduna leiba. Aduna mangda leiriba system asibu masana tajaba system ni, matik mangam pairiba meeoisngna kari oithokpa yabage, karina oithokpa yadabge haibada achumbani haina louduna hingba ayambani. Atoppa punsirol amana yamna afa apun thengnarabasau hairiba achou asangna leppa firep asibu singnaba, system asibu macha khaina khaiduna aonba anouba ningtamba, afaba, mannaba khunnai puraknaba adugumba meeoi kanglupni. Hairiba chatthariba lichat sajat asigi mayokta meeyam apunbana ahongba

purakkadabani haiba wakhal asina chetna mara taraktuna chatliba system adubu singnaba amasung asigi mahutta asengba panggalti leiraba, meeyamgi system anouba ama puraknaba hotnaba kanglup amasu leigadabani haina Gramsci na thajarammi.

## **Revolutionary media gi anouba**

### **concept:**

Adu oiragadi eikhoina ngasi media gi khutlasing, houjik houjik fongliba paoche, television amasung journalism singda adu tangjaduna meeyamgi ahongba purakpa ngamgani thajaduna leigadara? Natraga anouba ahongba media gi khutlai sijinnagadara haiba asi yamna kupna neinabiba mathou tagani. Malemgi yaolloisinggi puwarida asengba yaol haibasi hannagi houminnarakpa mayamgi oiba wakhal mityeng asibu mayok yaduna anouba maongda malembu uba amasung meeyamna anouba malem asida pangthokkadaba thoudang adubu masak khangba amasung pangthokpa haibasini. Aduna revolutionary singdi minority oina hourakkani, aduga anouba wakhallon amasung mityeng asi sandoknaba laknabani adu oirabadi anouba thoudang asi yamna matam changna amasung leingak puriba meeoisngna yengthiba khangba taba, aduga otpi neibiba faoriba achamba meeoisngnasu thaoidana leiba asisu kangjinba amasung thengnaba tabani. Matik mangam paiba, leingakpa meeoisngna sandokliba achumbani hairiba mityeng asi thengnaba matam yamna changna hotnagadabani maramdi meeyamda meeyamgi mathakta palliba meeoisnggi wakhallonna palliba wakhallon oiribani. Hairiba wakhallon asi ahongbagi wakhallonna mayok yagadabani. Aduga hairiba anouba

wakhallon aduna politics yaojadaba, non-political oijaba meeoisnggi thammoi olhanba ngamdabani, asigumba politics khangjadaba, yaojadaba chamna hingjaba meeoisngda afaba punsirol lei haiba makhoina thengnariba punsirol asibu, makhoigi masagi experience ta masak khanghannaba hotnagadabani. Nouna honglakliba wakhal mityeng adu makhoigi experience ka chunajagadaba, adugumba mangal pinaba lanknagadabani. Makhoida anouba mangal uhanbada nattana, anouba mangal adu tannanaba yaohangadabani. Karina lallibano, lalle haibada nattana, kari tougadage haibasus fajana khanghanduna, fajana yaolgi lambida yaohangadabani. Aduna revolutionary singna mai pakkadoubasi, meeyam aduna makhoi masana khangna makhoi makhoigi thengnariba ahongba punsirol adubu uba amasung anouba yaol adugi principal sing, achumba firep, punsi amasung thoudang amasung changsingadouriba maikai amasung pangthokkadaba thouram mayam aduda asengba mari thamhanba ngamlaba matamda revolutionary yaolgi maipakpa haibasi oigadabani hairi.

Aduna aonba media policy haibasi anouba political theory amattani haina lounei. Supnagi paochesingda yaolloisinggi pao fongba, lanmee amasung leingakna aok athom tounabata asagi mayol chonghanba ngamba amadi makhoigi thengnariba punsirol adu achumbani haibasi khanghangadabani. Fuduna, namduna khutlai sijinnaduna (coercion sijinnaraga) makhoida ahongbagi lambelda chathanba yaroi haibasi eikhoigi puwaridasu khudam changdam kaya ama lei. Bolshevik revolution luchingkhiba Vladimir Ilyich Lenin gi waheida

newspaper haibasi supnagi collective propagandist ama oibata natte amadi collective organizer oigadabani. Nouna chaona sagatliba yumjao amagi akoibada building adu sagatnaba wagi ukhong, keirak, thouri amasung scaffolding aduni hairi. Paoche adugi akoibada sennariba lup aduna pumnamakki responsibility lougadabani. Maion gi firal paibada nattana, paoche adugi ikai khumnabagi wafam, organization adugi chatthariba punsirol amadi maithiba amasung fudekpa, namthaba matamgi nungaitaba depression adu khangduna nation aduna khutlai paiduna hourakpa ngamnaba loinagadabani hairi. Lenin gi 'what is to be done' haiba wareng adu hanna neinaba mathou tagani.

Puwari, senmitlon, punsirol khennarabasu, eikhoina hingliba punsi saktam asi tangjaba punsi, chayetnaba community singgi mari, eikhoigi khunnada anouba amasung political class ama thorakpa makhoiga yeknaba leibakki meehutsingga leinaba mari, chaokhatpaga namthabaga leinaba mari, eikhoina hingnaba hotnabada thokliba 'livelihood ki crisis', hakki wafam, nupisinggi anouba aonba mahei, makhoibu nouna lairik tambinabagi mityeng, malemgi oiba changsillakpa globalization gi ithil, nongpok thong hanglakpaga mayokta amasung anouba self-determination gi puwari, pumnamak asi macha khaina meeyamna khangba londa meeyamda achumba warol sengna tamba mathou tagani. Houjik houjikki leingakta tangjaba media sing asida thajaba thambadi ningba yamna kainingaini. Anouba media haibasi leingaklongi anouba ahongba political theory oihangadabani.

Araiba achamba thourangnadi oithokpa ngamgadaba mande. Chahi 60 muk asida honglakliba khunnaigi saklonsing asi kupna masak khangdokminnaba, mangda tariba thoudang asi meeyamga loinana faominnaba haibasi araiba wafam natte. Ngasigi Manipur gi media gi saktam asi eikhoina kupna neinaminnaba chang-i. Houjik leiriba paoche mayam asida revolutionary oiba ahongba punsirol, anouba wakhallon meeyamda anouba panggal haphangadaba e-pao sandokhanbadi wagani. Adubu ngasigi meeyamda makhoina thoudok marik chumna achumba meeyamda kannagadaba justice puraknaba amadi leingak, police amasung military gi wakhallonda tangjadanabadi thousil kaya ama khannaminnaba mathou tai. Ngasigi media gi strength asi weakness neinarabadi matungda ahongba media policy firep louba chumgani haina khalli. Hairiba wafam asi konna thamjaraga ngasigi oiba malemgi ahongba revolution ga loinaba media gi saktam khara khangminnaba fagadara khalli.

### **Malemgi revolutionary media singgi wafam:**

Mangda tariba ahongba media policy ama sakkhangjanaba laknaba amasung anouba wakhal mityeng amasung pogram paikhatnaba malemgi ahongba media singgi fivam neinabadi mathou tai haina khanjei laibak thibadi ngasi internet ki mateng louduna maru oina ningtam ihousingga leinariba maru oina East Timor amadi Vietnam gi revolutionary media gi maramda thibada pao fangba khara watli. Eikhoina special oiba arrangement khara touduna hairiba ihousing asiga loinakhiba paoche singgi warol, naha

oiriba lairik laisu loinaba young scholar singda thihanba chang-i. Ngasi cyber gi chahicha asidadi Egypt social media haiduna internet-cyber communication pangthokkhiba thoudanggi maramda yamna ngangnei. Adubu hairiba wafam asi Manipur gi kannaba leite. E-mail hacking toina toubu amasung phone tapping leibanina social media gi kannabasi fangba watli. Toubatabu Manipur gi web site singdi afaba thabak touri haiba thajei. International community singda human rights violence, civil liberty gi wafam, militarization gi wafam, human security gi wafam amadi international humanitarian law na chingbagi wafam makhoida toina interest toubu amasung mari leinaba pao thagathanba kannagani. Manipur gi website singda wayel kanglonna yaba maongda lam asigi self-determination struggle asi fajana lei haibasi khanghanba mathou tai. Eikhoina ariba revolutionary gi media gi paochesing - Russia gi ISKRA amadi PRAVDA, China gi People's Daily amadi French Revolution gi Lamui De People nachingbadi hanggatna yenguba ngamgadaba mande. Naha oiriba University gi researcher singna research touhallaga eikhoigi movement da kannagadaba machak louhanbadi fagani. Houjik houjikki oinadi eikhoigi mathou taribasi, ngasi eikhoigi meeyamna wakhal lousing thoktribasi, maru oina khungganggi amadi urban gi meeoisngna ahongba anouba wakhal amasung thabak pangthokpa ngamdriba asigi maram munna khannabada paoche amasung thagi journal sing asi pumnou nouba wakhal henna changhanba chumgadra khalli.

Vietnam gi revolution asigi asengba

wari eikhoigi meeyamda khanghanba kannagani. Vietcong gi matam kuina changkhiba protectorate war aduda, Vietnamese meeyamgi struggle aduna changsinkhiba maikeida ideology, diplomatic, organization, economic amasung military activities macha khaina meeyamda neinahanba kannagadara khanjei. Vietcong gi political struggle da makhoi Vietnamese singgi makhoi masagi oijaba meeoisinggi marakta changsingadaba struggle amadi yeknaba meeoisingda napchakhraba, makhoida tangjakhraba meeoisingda karamba struggle asinachingbagi masak khangdoknaba thijilhanba kannagani. Masida kokki wakhallonda revolution masak sengna neinaba amadi mobilization tounaba propaganda maong amadi meeoisingbu motivation piba, organization sinbada internal oiba meechamsingbu karamna revolution bu asengba lambel oina uhanduna makhoibu active oiba struggle machakoihanba haibasi yamna kupna neinahanba mathou tagani. Yeknabasinggi meechang changkhraba kanglupsinggi maraktasu karamna makhoi maselgi marakta leinariba nungainadabasingbu hengathanba, makhoigi yakada chatkhraba meeoisingbu eikhoigi asengba katthoklaba khongloi oihanba haibanachingba asisu achouba struggle oiri. Supnagi media mathantabu yengbagi wafamda eikhoigi struggle apunba asibu anouba mityeng hapkatnaba anouba hotnaba chang-i. Malemgi media neinabaga loinana ngasi ngasi self-determination gi wafamsingsu meeyamna neinahanba chang-i. East Timor, Kosovo, Kurdistan, Southern Sudan, Chechnya, Biafra, J&K, Baluchistan amadi atei malemgi oiba U.N. principle da self-

determination gi wafam asi, decolonization ihou loidribasinggi wayel kanglongi ayaba platform semduna meeyambu nouna mit panghanba chang-i.

### **Houjik oithokpa yaba media policy amasung awonba punsirol:**

Eikhoigi ningtam ihou asi puwarigi tangkak asida kadaida leiribage amasung khumang karamna chaosilhangadage haibasi yamna dispassionate amasung objective oiba maongda yaolloisingna meeyamga tuminna kupna sengna neinaminna, pao faodoknaduna asengba maikei thidokminnabadi yamna sangna changjarabasu, toudraba yadraba ihou ama oigani. Yamna laiba wafamdi natte, haibadi ngasi ngasigi hourakliba lairik khajiktang heiba amasung khara henna lairik heiba meeoisingna ngasi thengnariba punsirol asi yamna kupna economy, politics, culture amasung society gi honglakliba saktamsing asi yamna kupna manungda touriba socio-economic issue sing asi khangminnaba chang-i. Global economic force singna, haibadi corporate financial institute singna meeyamgi punsida chapkhairakliba, livelihood crisis, hingnaba hotnabada achouba awaba hengatlakliba, loina loinana anouba mayai thakki social amadi political class asina mit tanghanduna meetopta tangjaba wakhallonbu eikhoigi meeoisingbu atoppa punsirola sel amasung matik mangam sijinnaduna meechamgi panggal namthakhraba asi yamna mayek sengna meeyamda khanghanba chang-i.

Tangjaba (critical dependency) haiba phenomenon asi karigi oiraklibano haibasi khanghanba chang-i. Malemgi

oina tangjabagi punsirol neinaba Latin America gi intellectual sing Hans Singer amasung Raul Prebitch ki Dependency Theory haibasi kupna khanghanba chang-i. Paul Baran kouba economist asigi under-development ki analysis asi meeyamna khangnaba eikhoina wahanthok piba chang-i. Meeyamgini haiduna leiriba economist sing asidi supnagi India na state asigi economic policy bu mayamda sandoknaba leibani.

Eikhoigi namtharaba saktam asi mangal pinaba leiba natte. Tangjabagi wafamda araiba wari amatang makhada thamjari. Manipur da tribe community singgi blockade ta thokkhiba meeyam awaba takhiba amasung tampak asida hanjin hanjin thao fangnadaba, gas fangnadaba, oxygen watpa, potki mamal nongdol youkhiba asinachingba asidi meeyamna khangli adubu blockade asina India na silliba Manipur gi development ni haiduna sel thadabada kanana ojariba, kanana mangjariba masak khangdokpa ngamhalli. India gi industrial house singna sokpagi wafam neinaba yai, Ing kumja 2004-05 gi Manorama agitation adugi matungda Indian state asina Manipur da ahongba punsi ama oina, chaokhatpagidamaktani haiduna meeyamgi mapukning olhannabagidamak mathakta pankhiba W.H.A.M project ki manungda chaokhatpa mangal uhanaba angakpa fangna semgat sagatpagi senthang thadarakli. Manipur university central university oiduna building kaya sagatlak-i, lambi thong pakthok chaothoktuna, yum-kei thugaiduna compensation piduna anouba construction kaya sagathalli amadi leinungda sewage touduna chaokhatpagini haiduna angakpa

fangna thugaiba amasung amuk hanna semgatpa, infrastructure development ni haiduna Manipur da construction boom ama ing kumja 2004-05 tagi ngasi faoba chatthari. Eikhoina neinerude, Manipur city convention centre, assembly building kaya ama mit thaklaba semgat sagatpagi kumhei ama uhalli. Meeyamna nahanmakhei uramdaba chaohatpagi saktam asida material development na eikhoi chaokhatlagani thajaba faojei ayambana.

Aduga hairiba chaokhatpagi lamjel asida Indian industry business ti kamdouri. Semgat sagatpada changliba machak asigi maru oiba, steel amasung cement industry kamdouri. India gi steel factory singdagi nongmada metric ton chani chani amadi cement metric ton 500, asumna nungtigi truck 500 dagi tadana thajillakkhi. Hairiba blockade asina tha mari thabak asi lepkhibada India gi steel, cement amadi atei business singda kayam sokpage haibabu, nongmada crore tara taramuk mang-i haiduna India gi Jaiswal Steel Industries amasung Star Cement gi company official singna fongdok-i. Apunba numit 521 ni blockade toubada crore 1210 mang-i hairi aduga Assam gi ing kumja 2011-2012 gi deficit budget ta crore 1512 gi hisabta chammada 22 gi chang business sithei hairi. Adunadi tha marida crore 1210 mapanda chatkhragadi, chahi taret asida crore kaya mapanda chatkhibage amadi Manipur gi building amasung construction boom asida, leibakki potthok hengathannaba scheme yaodri. Agriculture fagatnaba sel thadadre, insurgency laksinnaba lambi thong semgatpa, building fajana sagatpa haiduna mit thakhallibasi, India

gi corporate company singgi sendong tannaba thourangni. Adungei USA na Iraq ta landasinduna, bomb thadaduna Saddam Husain gi regime tuhankhiba adu USA gi construction company amasung thao gi comparator singgi interest fagathannabagini. Amuk thugaiba amasung amuk semgatpa haibasi India gi inak khunba mayamgi WESEA lamdamgi chaokhatpada vested interest leiraba leingakpangi economy asida sellep mangba yadaba sendongda hengatnaba sinba thousilda meeyamna karimtta neinadana ya kathoktuna ngaktuna tuminna leiri.

Chaokhatpa haibasi supanagi material development natte, leibakki meeoisinggi, meeyamgi quality of life, hingnabagi punsirol mahao leihanba, matik mayai leihanba haibasini. Hairiba wakhallon asi loinadaba aduga chaokhatpa yamna mangjil thare haina langliba pumnamaksigi manungda sannariba huranba mayam asi meeyamda puthoktuna akiba yaodana investigation toubu ngamba Manipur gi media person ngasidi leitre. Leingakta napcharaga, tangjaraga amadi political class amadi police official singna ngangliba saklibasingbu wahang toudana supnagi report touduna leibanadi mating leiba media oiba yamna kuina ngamloidouri. Samna hairabada tangjaba haibasi matam kuina India na eikhoigi meeoisinggi chakkhao asi control toukhibani. Meegi chakkhao control toubu haibasi, mee adugi mind amasung brain control tou-i haibasi asengbani. Ei ngasi kari chani, kari thakkani haiba asi mapu amana lepkhibada eikhoina chumlabani haiduna wahang toubu ngamdana awaba adu khangduna leiba heinarakpa kuire.

Dependency amasung critical dependency haiba asi masak khanghanba amadi wana hingliba meeoisingda amukka henna yaolloisingna wahanba asi chumlibara amasung chumdabara haibasisu neinabiba mathou tare. Haibasi ngasi ngasi yaolloi singna panggall fagatlakpada isagi matik mangam asi sijinnaduna meeyamda yaolloisinggi wayel kanglon chalaibana hotnabada natte. Manungda parallel govt. ama chalairi haiba asi khanghandabasu yade, adubu revolutionary govt. ama haibasi mangda uriba chatliba govt. asiga sajat lichat mannafamdi thokte. Ningtamnaba hotnariba meeoisingna ningtamba fanglabagi maongda wayel kanglon sijinnabadi chumloi haina thajajei. Mating thudekpiraba leita laira, yamna wana chara tanjariba meeoida yaolloisingna nam haduna govt. amagi namfu matik mangam asi sijinnaduna mating leijadraba meeoisingda amukka henna thudekpirabadi, meechamsingna yaolloisingda nungsidaba, heinadaba thorakpada meeyamgi mateng watlakkani haibasi masana tajarabani. Eikhoi ningtamdriko haiba wahang asiga loinana meeyambu ningtam ihouda karamna yaohangadage haiba sajat lichat asiga loinana meeyambu otli neiriba matik mangamsingda resistance sagatpa ngamnaba revolutionary propaganda chang-i. Asigumba wakhallon asida revolutionary media karamna sijinnagadage haiba akuppa neinaba chang-i.

Houjik houjikki oinadi ngasigi media da revolution gi wakhall chelhannaba hotnabadi ngamgadoubasu mande, adubu ngasigi media na achumba pao pinanaba hotnaba asida sougatpiraga, asengba



democratic principal of journalism asibu mapanggal leihannaba paochesinggi fivam asi, makhoi masel neinaminnahanbadi chang-i. Naharol lalhoubasingna media freedom asibu singnaribamakheidi media fraternity asi makhoibu ngak selliba kangbu asida napsinba hengani. Aduga amuk makhoigi neutrality haibasi chumde, ahongbada sougatpada, aranba thengnabada mapanggal happiba amadi, democracy gi mapanggal kankhatpada meeyamda panggal pigadouba maongda media na kari role lougadage haibasi, makhoi masel neinahanbadi chang-i. Meeyamna ubiramgani, editor masel amaga amaga tinnaba yade, proprietor singgi mayokta makhoi wa ama faoba ngangba ngamde. Media house amatta internal democracy leite. Editor sing amattana leibakki wathok achouba amattada thawai hakchang yaona masana mangjil thana yaoba ude. India gi natraga foreign gi achouba ama lakpada unnaduna interaction touduna wahang touduna journalistic activism heiba yaode. Eikhoigi khunnaigi lairik heibasinggi marakta nariba laina asi makhoidasu adum marei. Naharol sougatpa manba veteran journalist singsu hurallamba adum thengnei, makhada thabak touriba meeoisingda otpa-neiba, thak khaidokpa, achou asang, mathak makha, hierarchy adum chatthei. Hangluragadi makhgi meeoisingdi thabak heiningde, machin thi, ahal laman masak khangde, discipline yaode haina khumgani. Haibadi all media establishment apunba India gi system asida chatpanina, meenai mapugi wakhallon adum chenbanina asengba

media organization onba ngamloi. Revolutionary media policy sinba haibasi pungtong tonganba, comradeship amagi makhada paoche culture ama chang-i, mamangeidadi leirammi houjikti yamna honglaba matamni. India gi corrupt and hegemonic institutional culture leiraba matamni.

Ngasigi nongmagi wari singbul semliba meeoisinggi thoudang amadi yamna wana suti fangjanaba chelliba meeoising asigi wakhallon yengluragasu yamna ningba kainingai oi. Kanagumba reporter amattana conference amada khannariba wafamsingdu lousinba ngamba yaode. Adu ngamba editor, senior journalist singsu conference amatta yaoba thengnade. Magi tongan tonganba wakhal mityengda heinajaduna ateina ngangba taningba yaode. Ngangnaribasingsu meeyamda machang oiba warol piba ngambasu watsillakle. Asumna khunnaigi leibak ningba magi magi masagi lannaigi oiba ningjaragasu, meeyam mannana collective solidarity amaga loinana, khennaba leitana amatta oina leibak nungsiba meeyam yamna tangsillakpa matamni. Reporter singna makhoina ijariba feature adubu, magi maming thonduna paocheda fongdoklaga meeyamna magi report adutabu pabi haibadu khanjabada nungaijaduna lei. Leibakki thokliba thoudok adugi ngasi igadouba nongmei kappa, kanana karamba matamda kanana kari haiba asinachingba technical oina pao piraga loire. Hairiba thoudok thokliba asigi khunnaigi punsirolda kari oiba social reality adu karino haibasi meeyamna

khangnanaba report semba ngamde. Bomb pokkhaibada Sangai Festival da makhong tattuna sikhiba meei aduna hinglingeigi fivam adu camera thabadamak khang-i, police su sokliba meeoida hanjin hanjin wa hangduna lei. Kanagumba amattana sokliba meei adu khudakta hospital da pubinabagi wakhal toude. Media nasu report touraga loire magi mathoudi haina khalli, police su kanana toubano khangbana kannei haina lou-i. Lam asigi meeyambu nungsibagi value, mamal asi yaoraktriba asi, matam kuina meenaigi punsirolda heinarakpangi fivamni. Meechamgi punsi, maru oina civilian population gi thawai asi conflict matamda yamna maru oi haina loudabadagi thorakliba wafamni. Yaolloi singna meeyamgi thawaida thamba mityeng, lanmee amasung police commando singna uribasiga chap mannarabadi ningtam ihouda yamna maning hallakpa nattana karisu oijaba fanglakloi. Maramdi meechamna lanmee, police ka naharolsingga amattani haina mapukningda khankhibada mangjagadouba asi ningtam ihoutani. Matang asida eikhoina malemgi morale and ethical principal of armed conflict asi UN gi international humanitarian law kaya amagi ngaklou chang-i, meeyamgi panggala amasung morale courage hengathanba chang-i aduna Manipur da ngasi ngasi protected area permit louthoktuna leiringei asida UN amasung international humanitarian law sakkhanghanba, eikhoigi conflict amasung self-determination asibu nungsiba meeoising yaribamakhei kousilhanduna

leibak asida international red cross changlakhanba mathou tagani amasung eikhoigi ningtam ihou asi hakthengnana field da khanghanba mathou tagani.

Eikhoina thengnabada East Timor gi president Gusmao na policy ahum Timor independence fangnabagidamak sijnnei. Ahanbada Timor gi armed struggle Fretilin asigi mapanggal kankhatnaba lejaba pambeina hotnei, anisubada armed struggle nattaba non-violent political amasung diplomatic political struggle asisu sijnnei, human rights amasung atei Timor gi meeoisinggi ningtam panggala kankhathannaba laknei. Ahumsubada, international attention laknaba UN amadi atei foreign country singda lobby kanna tou-i. Magi mateng piba Jose Horta bu international diplomacy touhalli. Armed struggle, Non-Violence political action amasung international diplomacy asi eikhoigi yaolloisingna marik chumna kachin koya youa khanbiba leitaba natte. Timor gi wafanga Manipur ga khennabadi leitaba natte. Timor gi oil amasung natural resource yamna leiba amadi Indonesian Govt. amasung military asi yamna panggala leitaba asinachingba factor kaya amana UN gi mityeng thuna changduna makhoigi ningtamba fangkhibani haibadi chummi principal ahum asigi kannaba, kannadaba yamnakupna neinabadi chumgani. Hairiba wafam asi media na neinahanbadadi oiroy, civil khunnaigi social amasung economic amasung political awareness asi kadaida leiribage haibasus kupna neinaba changgani. Aduna ngasi chatthariba, hingliba media establishment asigi

mateng louduna leibakki aonba, ahongba purrakpadi oithokloi. Pumnou nouba pumhong hongba, anouba wakhallon chenba anouba media chang-i. Adubu houjik 'repression' namfu-hafu, meeot meenei kanna leibanina, afa apun kanna leibanina wayel kanglongi oiba media nattana atoppa meeyamda ahongbagi media semgatpa matam chang-i amasung underground gi media amasung paoche chang-i. Mapan leibakta fonglaga yumda thajillaktuna laibak yengba ama, madusu nongmagi pao nattaba, tha thagi oiba chefong, leibakki armed struggle, mari leinaba ningtam lupsinggi thouna fana katthokkhibagi wari singbun amadi meeot-meenei touriba yeknabagi lanmeesingna chatliba sajat, ngamkhei mapanda yeknabagi meei amadi company singda chatthariba leibak asigi meeoisnggi punsi olhannaba hotnaba hidak langthak, kani amasung drug thajillakpagi wari amasung ngamkheida leiriba meecham tribal community singga yelhoumeega leinariba mari amasung ngamkhei ngakpa lanmee singna tribal khunnaida kamsinba hu, asinachingba kaya ama neinaba chang-i. Wari liba, pao tamba amasung ngamkhei amasung khunnaigi akoibada otli neiriba amasung khunnaigi meechamna thouna fana meeot meenei khangbagi wari singbun amadi akoibada leiriba meechamsingna thouna fana singthaduna pao yumda fanghannaba hotnaba kannagani, lammitlon (geography) taktuna ningtam lupki yaolloisingna masana masada tangjanaba hotnaba punsirol Manipur gi meeyamda khanghanba chang-i. Lou-u

sing-u, mapangi meeoisngga leinaba mari, pumnamak asi araiba revolutionary adventure ama oihanduna, Manipur gi naha oiriba generation da ahongba wakhal mityeng uhanba chang-i. Haibadi samlapna mapan lamdagi revolutionary press amana yamna chamba mawongda 'Freedom of expression' gi law chattuna meeyamda udaba tadaba pao tamba, khumang chaosilliba ningtam ihou adugi mangjil thana pangthokliba thourang kaya meeyamda uhanba chang-i. Haibadi samlapna mapan lamdagi revolutionary press amana yamna chamba maongda 'freedom of express' ki wayel kanglon chattuna meeyamda udaba, tadaba pao tamba, khumang chosilliba ningtam ihou adugi mangjil thana pangthokliba thourang kaya meeyamda uhanba chang-i, lalhoulup singna pangthokpa hotnakhiba, mai pakliba amadi pakkhidaba yamna nungsina meeyamda khanghanba chang-i.

Lalhoulup pumnamak leibak nungsiba ngaktani makhoigi mai pakkhiba, ningba kaikhiba, yeknabana laksillakkhiba pumnamak ngasigi puwari oina meeyamda makhoi present oire haibasi tattana faohanba chang-i. Yeknabagi intelligent na khangkhini haibagi security gi concern adu matik chana ngak sellaga isagi katthokpagi warising asi meeyamda khanghanba, awaba adu faohanba chang-i. Meeyamgi wakhal lapna honghannaba laknabagi mahutta isa isagi khudam changdamna meeyamgi mangthana luchingli haibasi isagi propaganda maong ama oina changyeng toubu yai, araibadi natte, adubu yaolgi changsilliba maikei

amasung revolutionary gi process asi meeyamda nouna khanghanba mathou tagadara khanjei, araibadi natte. Mapanda fongba pao amasung journal yumda tattana youhanba changlibasi, ngasi meeyamna uriba, tariba asi atoppa mami amasung ideology bu sandokna taduna leihanba thajabasing amasung achumbani haina sandokna leiba wakhal mityengsingduni. Hairiba mainstream media gi saktam asi singnaba haibasi revolutionary counter culture ama sagatpa mathou tabani, makhoiga lamba toubu warabasu eikhoigi ningtamba khongjel ama amasung wakhallon ama leibasi meeyamda toina leihanba amadi neinahanba chang-i. Meeyamna revolutionary experience asi masana khunnai hakthengnana faohanba chang-i. Mainstream media amadi lanmeena sandokliba meenambasing adugi asengba wari singbun adu eikhoigi oiba wari singbun oina press ta afongba pao amadi narrative oina khanghanba chang-i. Meesi meenana thallaba nungaitaba pao asigi mahutta eikhoina mai pakkhiba lanfamgi wari liba chang-i. Supnagi press statement thokpada nattana changsilliba revolutionary process amagi temporary oiba setback oijarabasu ihou asi leptana changsilliba maikei amani haiba meeyamda khanghanba chang-i. Aduna ngasi lottuna leinaba tarabasu landi lepte haibasi meeyamda toina faohanba, laining oihanba chang-i. Hairiba ichel asigi akanba propaganda toubu chang-i, araiba amatta natte. Khutlaigi panggalna yeknaba maithiba piba laknabada changliba machak asi yamna yambanina yamna senglaba senmitlon gi matengnadi

ngamloidabanina sel amasung resource leiba inak keirak khunba, meei official, govt. gi servent sing amadi contract chaona toubu meeoisnggi contribution loubu tari. Aduna mannaba khunnai purakkani haiba yaollupsingna mannadaba thak naiba, mathak thongba kanglupki mateng louri. Adubu oirabadi khunnai amadi khennariba thak asi karamna semdokkadage haibagi wakhal mityeng karamna changgani. Thainagi asengba classical communism gi ichelda senjao paiba, louyam chaba, bourgeois kanglupta lan taba haibadu mai pakkhibara. Madugi effect kari leikhi. Ngasigi capitalism mai pakna changsillakliba trend asi thingnaba mayok yagadara natraga capitalism na sougatliba inak keirak khunba mee pumnamak yeknabara, kanagumba leibakki economy da mateng fajana pangba bourgeois leitabara. Mannaba khunnaigi maikeida class war, yeknaba achouba military panggala amada lan taringeida, eikhoi khunnai manungda leiriba bourgeois amasung petty bourgeois kangluptasu lan changsinba chumbara. Mao Ze Dong gi wakhalda achouba yeknaba aduga yetnaba maridi antagonistic contradiction ni hairi. Aduga eikhoigi manunggi asidi non-antagonistic contradiction haibadi yamna taisinba yadana yetnaba nattaba, konna semdok semjin yaba kanglupni hairi. Makhoida yengba mityengga, taisinnaba yaroidaba meeoisngda yengba mityengga khennafam thokli. Adu oirabadi lam asigi thak khennariba meeoisnggi wafam asi temthoktringeida mamangda national democratic revolution ama changsinduna

chatthariba struggle aduda mateng panghanbagi ngaklou leitabara. Asigumba wafam asi eikhoigi lejariba chatthariba media na neinaba ngamgadaba mande. Punsinnabagi revolution karamna changsingani. Masibu ngasigi paochena neinaba kannaba meeyamgi panggal oihanba ngamgadoubu mande.

Aduna punnamak asi neinanaba hotnabada eikhoigi intellectual class asi kadaida leiribage kari role lourubage haibasi thidokfam thok-i. Ngasigi lairik laisu heiba meeoising, university, college nachingbagi ojasing yaolloisingna kari mityeng changli, karamna loinari amadi karamna loinagani, meeyamgi ihouda karamna yaohangadage haiba akuppa neinaba chang-i. Lairik heiba mee punnamak intellectual ni haibusu langani, aduga yamna tamluraga, mapanda doctorate degree fangluraba meei kaya amasu leibakpu nungsibadi faoraga achouba ahongba amada mityeng taba ngamdaba meena ayambani, lairik heiragasu revolutionary da changliba laisu adudi khangdaba nungsidabana ayambani. Ayamba professor, college oja, paochegi editor sing India ga taisinnaduna India gi democracy asida khara henba safaba democratic space ama loubana henna pamba meei ngaktani. Revolution da intellectual di chang-i aduga ngasigi revolutionary intellectual dileitri, karamna anouba lakliba wakhal toubu ngamba nupa nupi, mahei heiba meeoisingi yaolgi maikeida karamna chingsingani. Ngasidi India gi capitalism gi safuna anouba akhang ahei puthoklagasu democracy

haiba, individualism meei amamamtana punsinba, masagi individual amasung personel liberty bu ngaklou oigadaba, masana interest ngakpa adugumba political system da thajaba mayam asi nation amagi oiba, collective oiba thainagi apunba amatta oiba culture amasung patriotism da karamna chingsingani. Asigumba wakhallonda mityeng thadaba karamba paoche, journal puthokkani.

Mahei hejarabasu ojasingbu eikhoina yaolloigi mateng panghanba ngamde. Maramdi makhoi asi masana oppressed class ni haina loujei. Naharolna selkhaibada otpa neibiba yamna tou-i. Civil khunnaigi meeoisingna tinnaba ngamde, maramdi civil khunnaigi ihou yaoriba CSO singgi member singna makhoiga chahi mannaba, mapanda lairik tammuba meeoisingdi henna lairik hei haiduna chaothokpa mityeng pui, makhoina ngangba sakpa, mapandagi mari leinadaba theory, oiroidouba chatnaba yadaba warem purak-i kannade haina khalli, aduga lairik laisu heibasingnasu CSO singna touribasigi aranba kaya ui, hairurabadi ki, makhoi CSO singgi activism asida mahei amasung knowledge component yamna yaode, namfu hafuna helli, JAC khudingda CSO singga leinaba mari asi senganba ngamdaba, asi ana taraba meeoisingna yaol ihou yaoba ngamdaba x-gratia da hingdaba yadaba, govt. amasung police ki yakada tangjaba asinachingba, akup akuppa ithil kaya amana meeyamgi ihou mapung faba ngamkhidabagi wari yamna lei. Eikoina ihou houraga, maipakkhibana karambano, pakkhidabana karambano macha tana

emotion yaodana neinaba ngamde. Aduna thoudok khuding thengnadaba yadaba kaya thengnakhraga, maduna yaolgi panggal hapkatpa hapkattaba neinaba, achumba meikeida kari oiramba yabage, matungdana ihou adu magun hengathannaba kari toufam thokpage yamna dis-patient oiba maongda neinaba ngamde. Aduna changsilluriba movement pumnamak kannaba fangdragasu tunggi lousing oihounaba khannaminnaba ude haina khalli. Aduna one step back, two steps forward haiba Mao Ze Dong gi wafam adu khannaminnaba mathou tagani khanjei.

Ngasigi media policy ama semgatnaba hotnabada yamna objective oiba maongda ngasigi ching lamgi tribal community singgi asengba fivam kupna khangminnaba chang-i. NSCN (IM) gi Muivah bu India govt. na houjik kollu chapkhaibadouna chapkhairakpa asigi effect Manipur gi chingsang napomsingda karamna tari, resource fajana field da toubu chang-i. Irai laiba mari amatta natre, henna kanba backless kaya thorakpa yari, supnagi Meitei singgi ethnic-nationalism gi wangmada khara awangba thakki multi-ethnic nationalism karamna semgatkadage haiba wakhal mityeng anouba media na neinaba chang-i. Meiteigi majoritarian hegemony lei haina makhoina khallibasi khalhandanaba anouba policy program kaya changgani. Muslim gi wafamsu adu mangai, inou nouba kanglup nungsinabagi yamna chamba sentimental oiba chakcha heijanabagi mathakta awangba thakki inter-ethnic and inter-communal

solidarity puraknaba hotnabada pro-active oiba chang-i, media gi resource tougadaba hiram ngakta ngaire, aduga amuksu ching lamgi problem pumnamak sentimental oiba maongda approach toubu yararoi. Houjik houjikki sathiba socio-economic conflict amasung political issue pumnamak nouhounana pumnou nouba program policy semba changgani.

Aduna anouba aonba media thoraktringei mamangda eikhoina ngasigi media gi khongloi oiriba lamdamsigi media bu yamna nungsiba mityengna yengdaba yadri. Makhoida detect toudana 'No friend, no enemy' gi principal asi thadoktuna pro-people, pro-justice, pro-indigenous people destiny kupna neinabihanba co-ordination amasung mateng (help) oigani. International Red Cross pusilhannaba laknahanba kannagani, meeyamga tannaraga justice amadi human rights amadi nupi amasung anganggi protection amasung state ki meeot meenei mayok yahanbada mateng piba fei, leita lairagi matengda wayel kanglongi thongda justice purakhannaba pressure group oihanba mathou tagani. Govt. ga collaboration toubu amadi advertisement nibagi mahutta meechang meekhai naihandaba amasung meeyamgi movement asi mayek sengna international community singda marik chumna paodamhanbiba chang-i. Makhoina meeeyamgi ithilda yaode haiduna kihanba, namfu hafu toubibadi chumde. Media gi ningtamba ngaklaga meeyamgi ningtamba ihoubu ngakpa haibasi houjik media da madugi role louhanbiba chang-i. Yamna kupna ngasigi

media da kari policy thamgadage wafam mayam asi, atei atoppa wareng asina pandaba kaya amasu neinabiba changgani.

### **Tungda oirakpa yaba wakhal mityeng amasung wroisin:**

Eikhoina aonba punsirol amagidamak paoche, journal, television amasung ayiba che-chang thokliba asimak khannei, inakta mari leinaba tradition media haibadi sumang kumhei, isei nongmai, harao kumheigi machaksing asi aonba, mating leiba potthok oihannaba wakhal touruba ngamde. Houjik leiriba ariba media asidi mapan lamgi matou tamba, meenai oiba wakhallonda tangjakhiba kuire. Anouba sumang kumhei toubu, anouba isei sakpa, anouba jagoi saba, hannagi liklam asidagi pumhong hongdokpa anouba theme puba ariba sumang kumhei, historical dramada ariba lalhugi wari, leibakki meeoisinggi pikhraba sacrifice amasung award fangnaba iriba khorilol asi nattaba Africa, Vietnam amadi China gi revolution gi drama sing puthoktuna leibak meeyamda anouba wakhal piba chang-i. Ngasigi sumang kumhei, filmgi meeoisig sijinnaduna naharol singna afaba maikeida puraknaba hotnaruba pumnamak fail oigani. Maramdi ngasigi artist singdi tousinnaba heiraba, huranba heiraba kangbuna ayambani. Yaolbu mateng pangningba meeoi makhoigi marakta yaodaba natte, adubu makhoigi mafam pide. Hindi film thingduna Manipur gi afaba film puthoraknaba sembiruba adu Bollywood ki matou tamduna adum leiri. Asengba ahongba wakhal chenba ngamdabagi inatki

irang asi meenai oiduna adum leiri. Aduna anouba culture revolution amasu eikhoida mathou tari, film da eikhoigi ningtam ihou chahi taret khuntakpada Hirachandra nachingba guerrilla lallong sijinnakhiba matam adugi Awa gi makhada matik mangam paiba ningthou machasinggi politics amadi British ki mateng louduna amadi isagi panggall sijinnaduna ningtamba purakkhibagi wari singbun chang-i. Hannagi kanglup asi sijinnadaba thourang chang-i. Anouba artist, anouba film maker, dramatist puthokpa chang-i. Chinese opera na China gi revolution da mateng panghankhibagi wari neinaba chang-i. Ngasi India gi culture policy da meenai oiriba asigi manunggi wari amasung ahongba anouba revolution da mateng pangba ngamdaba, anouba inatki yaol amagi theory ithokpa changgani. Pumnou nouba aonba haibasi kupna hanggatna yengminnaba chang-i. Meeyamga khangminnaba chang-i, revolutionary ideology amasung direction adu ngasigi globalization na sathina ot-neiraba, chingthak chingkha pumnamak sathina neikhairaba punsirol asida WESEA gi yelhoumee sing apunba panggall semgatminnaba, isagi pumlaba khunnaibu anouba mating piba, adugumba wakhal mityeng thidoktuna nouhounana global gi self-determination gi punsirol asida awangba thakta malemda ikai khumnaba ngasigi irupchasingna nouna pangthokkadaba thoudang kupna khangminnaba chang-i. ■

# GLOBALIZATION DA MARXISM TUBA NGAMDE

Maxism gi mayokta leiba, meechangda leiba yai adubu chatthariba malemgi senmitlongi wathoksida Marxism khangdrabadi Battle of Ideology gi landa lanmee oiba ngamloi.

**M**alemgi meeyamgi kok manungda machahicha asida machin tumna haigatlakliba wakhallon mayamgi mameida kannna lamba tounariba Globalization manunggi Neo Liberalism amasung Privatization na Marxism inthuba ngambra natraga ngamdabra haibasi awai akhumni. Maram asina wafam asi neinaba haibasi meeyam amasung akhang aheising pumbana pamnaba wafam oibana eikhoinasu mot khara piba mathoi tai haina khalli. Masi neinaba nungainaba Globalization karino amasung Marxism karino haibasi khanglaba matungda karigi ngasi faoba Marxism mathou tari haibadu yengba chang-i.

Globalization asi akhang aheisingna maming yamna tholli madudi Globality, Globalony, Internationalization, Universalization, Westernization, Americanization, Transnationalization amasung Deteritorialization. Makhoising asigi tongan tonganba wahanthok asina Globalization gi afa fatta pumnamak sagonnaraga chatli. Isam samna Globalization haiba asida yengba yaribasi malemgi Nation mayamgi athingba mayamdu louthoknaraga senmitlon senmitlonda, leingaklonda amasung khunnailongi natnachingba pumba athingba yaodana akanba Tsunami gumba sinthungna sandoknaba asini. Masida malemgi keithel mayam lona punkhi athingba yaodana. Luribadi Manipur da Kasturi ga peruk yonbi ima amaga punbagumbani. Ngasisu ireibakki sana keithenda senjao paiba Non-Manipuri lalombasingna khamen asinba, makhal khudinggi insang napi peisa

tanminnasi haiduna nonganbadagi numit taba faoba yolhallaga sendongdu tangkhai yennabafao nattana saruk ahum thokpaga ama pibiraga nungaiminnasi, imung manung chaokhatchou haiduna keithel punbaga chap mannei. Haibadi houdongga uchiga lalon itik punbada ikhan khandana houdongga uchiga mannare haiduna haraoba uchi kupna yengdabagi maralni. Houdongna koichat chattuna uchi tannabada sarak tamba wabadu houdonggi machin mayada uchi mayam tumduna leiba houdongda kari oiramgani aduna Cuba gi Fidel Castro na haiba lei “Ei Globalization bu yaningdaba natte Imperialist na luchingba Globalization bu yaningdabagi wani”.

Ngasi ngasimaksu lam lamgi Economy Growth Rate wangle haijarabasu meeyamgi thabak fangdaba, thabak fanglamba mangkhiba amasung lairabagi leiyi khada leiba meeyamna masing asum asum hengatlakpa maramna malemgi chaokhattaba leibaksinggi meeyamna Globalization gi mathakta masing thingamdaba wahang mayam ama hangba hourakle. Loinana toina haiba hourakle Globalization na keithel mayam pullabasu malemgi meeyamdi lairaba inakkhunba haina mayek lana khaidoktuna pulhanba ngambagi mahutta cheikhal asi henna henna mayek larakli. Adunadi Marxism Class asi khaidokpadu ngasisu pop tari. Aduna Marxism gi Scientific Socialism amuk yengba tabani. Marxism haibasi Karl Marx ki wakhallonbuni. Masida Scientific Socialism haibagi maramdi wakhallon kaya



puthoklabasu thabak oina sijinnaba yadaba loinana yamna paring naina thabak paikhatpa yaroidaba loinana yamna paring naina thabak paikhatpa yaroidaba wakhallondi scientific oide hainei. Masimak thoktana loinamak panba yaba wakhallon madusu mannaba khunnai purakpada sijinnaba madubuni eikhoina Marxism kouriba loinana Class Struggle, Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism, Surplus Values nachinba Theory kaya puthoktuna ngasidi Lenin gi Russia, Mao gi China, Fidel Castro gi Cuba amasung Chavez gi Venezuela kaya ngallingeidagi ngasi faoba mathang mathang chattharaktuna khonggul liba amasung liklam inba leptri. Chummi matam matamgi magi magi lamgi leihaogi matung inna semdok semjin toujarabasu pumnamakki thawaidi Marxism karigi hundokte haibadu yengba yari.

Amukka henna maru oiribadi malemgi selgi keithenda Repression lakpasi Depression oirakpa yai haina afaoba Political Economist kayana mot piribasi chumgani maramdi senmitlongi wathok asi nongma nongmagi leptana malemgi leibak kayada sandokpa hourakli amasung masigi cheitheng fangnarakli. Adunadi eikhoigi meeyam pumba Political Economy khangdaba yaroi. Political Economy neinabada Marxism gi wakhallon manungda neinadaba yade. Maramdi Political Economy asi Marxism gi Component amani. Maramdi khunnai amagi senmitlon chaokhatpa haibasi Social Development gi yumfam amani. Yumfam adu thibada senmitlonga sagonnaba puwari yengbada Marxism tana Capitalist khunnai ama karamna lak-i haibagi Microscope thaduna yengba amasung pottu kupna chaothokhallaga taru taruna khangbagi mityeng lei amasung madugi maru Surplus Value ni haina Capitalist senmitlon gi liklam asi meeyamda tak-i. Hairiba wakhallon asina Capitalism na karamna meeyambu senmitlon amasung leingaklonda otli,

karamna lairaba Class inakkhunba Class haina khaidoklak-i, lairabasing maru oina sinmeesinggi Class na ihou sagatlak-i, adudagi puwari oihouragadaba loumee sinmeena power pairak-i amasung asigumba leibaksi fuktatlaga (Capitalism) loumee sinmeegi leingak mannaba khunnai Socialism lingkhatlak-i. Maram asina Marxism da maru oiribasi Marx ki Capital da punglup luptuna neinaba asini. Adubu Capital asi inou nouba kanagumba amana hekta paba amasung tamba yaroi maramdi madu toudrinei mamangda Socialism, Utopian and Scientific and the communist manisfesto neinaraba matungda Marx ki maru oiraba Surplus Value khangba hourakkani.

Aduna Capital padringeida amasung neinadringei mamangda Marx ki Pamphlet ani Wages, Price and Profit amasung Wage-Labour and Capital padaba yade. Masiga loinana Lenin's Karl Marx, Engel gi Karl Marx amasung Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx neinadaba yaroi. Masiga loinana mathang mathang yengdaba yadabasi Engels review of Capitalist and of Critique of Political Economy yengdaba yaroi. Khajiktangsi paraba matungda meei amana Marxist ki Science Political Economy amasung Surplus Value gi mawong matou khangba haibadi lairik tambagi ABCD... khangbagum Basic khangba houraklagani. Adudagi kanagumba amana magi Capital neinaba hairukhinu paba houre haina loubiro. Adubu yamna chamna paba lalli. Masida Marx na nongma masamakna ahanba French ki Transland da Capital gi matangda haikhiba lei madudi- "Science has no royal, and only those who are not afraid of tiring themselves by climbing its step pathways have a chance of attaining the clear light of its summits." Masina maram oiduna Fashion oina mahakki Capital neinaba yaroi amasung Marxism paba yaroi.

Adubu houjikti Europe, America amasung

atei lamsingda malemgi senmitlongi wathokka mari leinana mahakki Capital kanna panarakliba Bharat ki lupa lising 80 henna yolli hairibanina padabadi yaroi. Kanagumbadi Marx na Volume maridugi maru oiba maming Theories of Surplus Value haina mingthollaga fongba lairiktu yaona neinari. Amabu oirbasu amabu tourabasu padaba yadraba meeoidi ahanba Volume gi The Working day, Co-operation, The Division of Labour and Manufacture, Machinery amasung aroibada Primitive Accumulation nachingba chapter sing asi paraga capital ahanbagi apunba saruk padaba yai. Aduga anisuba amasung ahumsaba Volume da paba yaba Chapter singdi Engels na Victor Adler da March 16, 1895 ta iba letter da piba maru oibasingdu yengba yai madudi Volume anigi chapter singdi 1, 4, 7, 8 amasung 9 aduga Volume ahumda Chapter 1, 4, 8, 9,13-27, 37, 38 amasung 44-47 faobani. Aduga kanagumba lamsida paba pamba khara henna thiba amasung Scholar singgidi masi paba loiraga sukpa padaba yaroidabasi Engel gi Synopsis of Capital, Lenin gi What the Friends of the people are ni. Maramdi lairik ani asida Capital pabagi kannaba sugaina iri. Asidasu nattana Marx ki Political Economy gi asengba saktamdi Engel na iba Anti-Duhring gi Part ani asini. Lairik asi Political Economy gi maruoiba concept amasung karamna Mode of distribution of products depends on the mode of production haibasi fajana neinei.

Wafam asigi aroibada panba yabadi Engel amasung Lenin gi ayiba maru oiba article khara haibadi Engel gi the Housing Question, Lenin's Development of Capitalism in Russia, Characterization of Economic Romanticism amasung Lenin gi Article On the Agrain Question. Ayibasing asiga Capital Vol.1. Chapter 15 Section 10,

Chapter 25, Section 5, Chapter27-30 asiga mari leinei. Mathakta panjariba wafam mayamsi kanagumbana wahang kaya hangningli. Karigidamak pumnamaksi panaba hairibano amasung Capital yengbagi mathou taribano. Wahang sigi paokhum oina ayibana khanjabana houjik houjikki malemgi senmitlongi wathokta India gi fivamdi hannadagi meei lising nifu henna thabak macha machagi madom hingjaduna leiramba Tripura gi Garment Centre da thabak mangkhre. Houjik houjiksu furi figa, saun-gi potthok sajaba, sana lupa leitenggi pot sajaba sinsang macha macha kayagi meei lakh 20 da thabak mangkhibagi achouba cheitheng leiri.

Asidasu nattana chahicha 1991 dagi India leingakna lou-ubada thawai yaoraktriba loina-loinana Neo Liberal economy da mapangi Farm mayam changhanduna touningba touba yaduna loumee mayam ama makhoina hairingei touduna awaba nanglaba chara henbane amasung loan singba ngamdabadagi siriba meei masing yamle. Adu oirabadi lairik heiba, leingakpa, meeyamgi thabak touba amasung hakthengnana awaba tariba loumee sinmeesing pumnamakna pumnamaksi safanaba pumhong hongba khunnai ama puraksi hairabadi mahakki (Karl Marx) lairik madusu Political Economy ga mari leinaba khangdana karamna ahongba purakkani. Isam samna khunnaigi purakpa ahongba haibadi meemannaba amasung mannaba khunnaigidamakta nganggadouriba igadouriba, ihou kaya touribasi mimannadraba makhoi mayamgini. Adubu nattraba meei khujok kharagi thabakni madusu meeyambu otpa. Maram asina eikhoina touriba pumba kanagino haibasi khanglabadi anouba wahang mathou taramloi. ■

# INDIA GI MEEKHALNA MANIPUR MEEYAMDA PIRIBA CHEITHENG

Meeoibana khunthoraktuna khunnai Mama lingbadagidi akiba yaodana punna hingminnaba yanaba pambei thiduna lak-i haibasi malemgi akhang aheisingna yanaraba wafamni. Mapung marei faba khunnai ama leihanbada machu taba leingak pathap ama chang-i. Leingak pathap adugi matung inna meeyamgi pangal sijinnaduna meeyamgi apamba matung inna leibak ngakpangi mawong asina houjik faobagi oina khwaidagi faba leingakki maongni haina lounei. Meeoi amakhakna matam sangna meeyamgi panggal paisinduna thamba chumde. Panggal adu lanna sijinnaba yabagi oithokpa lakpangi chang wang-i. Madu sijinnakhibagi khudam kaya meeoibagi puwarida thengnakhre. Chahi lisangsitna pankhiba fattaba ningthou kayagi warisingna masigi mayek laraba khudamni. Maram aduna akaknaba matam kharagi oina meei ama natraga meei khutpu amada sijinnaduna meeyamgi apamba thungannaba hotnabada matam matamgi meekhal pangthokpangi tangaiwadaba lak-i.

Anganba matamda nongchupki leibak Greece ta meekhal pangthokpangi pomit kangduna makha tarakpada nongchupki leibaksingda meekhal pangthoktuna leingakki thabak pangthokpa houkhrbasu Manipur dadi ahanba oina loilam sandokpa British na Manipur thadoktuna chatkhraba matung ningtamlaba leibak amagi ahanba meekhal ing kumja 1948 da pangthokkhi. Adubu amuba maikhum uppa India na namduna Manipur bu makhoigi leiyat ngamkheida tinsinkhraba matungda matam sangna India gi sumangda fida thadana union territory

oina lakkhibadu kainathang ing kumja 1972 gi January 21 da mamingtagi oina statehood piduna India gi yamna tonthaba state ama oina sakkhangbadagidi India gi meekhalgi mami henna taduna makhoigi leingak pathapki makhada leiba meekha ponba leingak amagi masak henna henna mayek senglakkhi. Matam matamgi oina meekhal pangthoklaklabasu fambal lan toina tounabadagi ningthina leingak chatthaba ngamkhide. President rule thambagi thoudok kayarak hanna thokkhi. Matam sangna meekha ponduna leirakpana urumgi hawai matongumna chumna lepchaba ngamdaba Manipur gi mapangal kankhathannaba hotnabagi mahutta meeyamgi panggal lanna sijinnaduna lanaigi oijaba fangnaba hotnabana laining oibasinggi makhutta ireibak asi sinnabagi fivamda lakli.

Meehouroldagi leiminnaraklaba Manipur gi furupsinggi apunbagi fivam sagatpa, British na ching tam khaidoktuna chattharamba leingak loisinduna amatta oiba leingak leihannaba hotnaba, lamdamsigi leihao leiraba ching tamgi mafamsingdagi potthok puthoknaba tinjang kaijangdaba naharolsing semgatpa, iromdom lepchaba ngamnaba hotnagadabani, meekha ponna hingloidabani haiba maru oiba wafamsing samna mafei ama faoba khandana, potthok leitabanina India dagi niraga, makhoigi thoujal yaodanadi hingba ngamloi haiba toknga sandoktuna houjikfaoba leibak ngakli. Matam sangna Manipur bu namthanaba amasung machet machet thugainaba Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA), 1958 amasung Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act, 1960

semkhi. Houkhiba thoudoksing asigi tekchak pumnamak houjikki meerol asina fangli. Ngasidi malemgi meeyam pumbana lawless ni hairiba AFSPA 1958 na Manipur gi meei amatta marai kangba ngamhandabata nattana meeyamgi meeoiba amagi thadoknaba yadraba hingbagi hak faoba khonggaonaba, Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act, 1960 na meeyamgi apunbagi saktam sagatpa ngamhandana lam munnahanduna amasung khatnahanduna thamli. Masing yamba kangbuna pangal paiba haiba British ki utilitarianism gi wakhallonda yumfam oiba meekhalda masing yamjadaba Manipur gumbana kari toubu ngamgani. Ethnic minority pumbagi hak malemgi leibak kayana sak khanglabsu India gi constitution da mafam leite. Aduna tapna tapna achouba ngagi khayatta nga machasingna changkhibagum Manipur mutkhiba tabani.

Maromdom lepchanabagi ihou changsilliba asida khwaidagi kok chiklibasi India leingakni. Pendabadagi lakngam fangamdana hourakliba ningtam ihougi meiri asi yamna thuna mutthathoudrabadi lakngam fangamdraba lanmei oiraktuna leibak pumba chaklakpa yai haibasi India na khang-i. Aduna matam chuppada chaklakliba meiri asi mutthatnaba hotnadunata lakli. Ngasidi matam matamgi oina India na pangthokliba meekhal asina meeyamgi ningtambagi ihou asi mutthatnabagi khwaidagi faba khutlai/pambeu ama oina sijinnari. Laibak thibadi, matam amada namthabiraba leibak asigidamak thawaina pontha pibada akiba leiramdaba naha kaya India gi meekhalgi langda thuhanduna meekhalgi lalloi oina sijinnaba urakpa asini. Meekhal matungda lakkadaba leingakpasingna kari toubu ngamgani haibasidi meeyamna houkhiba thoudoksingdagi khangba ngamle. Ing kumja 1972 dagi Manipur da pangthoktuna lakpa meekhalda lairik laisu matik chana heiraba, mathouna leiraba meei kaya meekhalda

mai pakkhre, Chief Minister oikhre, minister kayasu oikhre. Adubu makhoigi maraktagi singthaningai oiba amakhaktang puthorak-u hairabadi puthokningai leite. Maramdi leibak ngakpa haibasidi leingak pathap amagi makhada chatthagadabani. Leingaklon aduda matik mangam amatasu leitana karamna lairik heiba, pukchel sengba, katthokpa ngamba meena karamna afaba leingak purakpa ngamgani. Karigumba ireibak asina ningtamba leibak ama oiramlabadi chahi na isang karaba Manipur gi leingak asi mapung faba yarabani. Adubu ngasisu san saduna chatpa anganggi thakta adumak leiri. Meekhal thengnadringei amasung yaodringeida masigi maram hanna thinaba hotnagadabani.

Houjik oiriba fivam asi chahi 50 gi matungdasu thoidokpa ahongba leikhiroi. Masigi maramdi leingak asiga eikhoigi meeyamga chunadabadagini. Ahanbada masibu semdokpa tai. Masi semdoktana meechem meeyam khaktada aranba tahanbadi chumloi. Meekhal matamda meechemda sel pamhanba amasung pijaba, yu pithakpa, drug pijaba, chakcha heijanaba, sel pinaba kanana hou-i. Masi luchingbagi maikhum uppasingna mothanbani, makhoina thokhanbani. Aduga amuksu, luchingbasing adusu leingak aduna semlakpani. Aduna leingak pathap hongdoktana afaba leingak leiba yaroi. Houjik leingakki oiriba fivam asi neinarakpada leiriba India leingak pathap asi sembada Manipur su yaokhibra haiba wahang asigi paokhum thibasuu chungani. Nakal amaromda, meehourodagi leiraklaba furup macha machasingda Naga, Kuki haiba mingthol pisinduna British na manghankhiba politics ki oiroidaba mangna Manipur thugainaba hotnabada meekhalna mateng pangli. Meei khujok kharada political party gi mingda Manipur thugainaba wakhallon sandokpa yahanba amasung sandokliba asi afaba natte. Masina apunba Manipur sagatnaba hotnabada achouba khurou oiraktuna taisinba yadaba

wafam oihallakpasu yai. Masigi mathakta Manipurgidamak thawai katke haina akiba yaodana chongthoknaramba naharol, ima ibel kaya meekhalgi langda thuduna makhoina sougatpa meeoigidamak e taba faoba yaore. Singjameigumba furup ningtam ihougi hourakfam oiriba mafamda meekhalgi khatna cheinanabada naharolsinggi hakchangdagi e tanakhibadu laina loubu chumloi. Aduna maikei pumnamaktagi yengbada Manipurgi oina meekhal haibasi meeyambu thamaihannaba khutlai nattana atei karisu oiroy. Meetopna langgoi chaisinduna leiraba lamdam asida meekhalgi wahanthok karino?

Leibakki mayokta wa ngangba nattana leiriba leingak asigi asoiba thinduna takpadi sedition natte haiba India gi judiciary gi koktonda leiriba Supreme Court ki wafam leina leina Manipur yaona India gi mafam kayada leingakki asoiba ngangluba saknairaba ahal oiraba ayibasing yaona paomee kaya Delhi Bandit ki union leingak amasung state singgi hanglai leingaksingna sedition amasung Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) pan panduna faraga jail da namsilli. Makhoisingdugi manungda masagi ariba laina leiba ahal oiraba saknairaba meei kharadi ningthina laiengbidabadagi jail manungda adum mapunsi lomkhibasu yaore. Houkhiba thada Tripura leingakna freedom of press singnaduna paomeesing mathong maram khangdana farubagi achouba wathok oiraktuna Supreme Court na paomeesing faba yaroi haiba wayel pikhrabani. India na malemda khwaidagi chaoba democracy chatpa leibakni haina claim toujarabasu leibaktugi citizen singna makhoigi awatpa amadi aningba apamba adu fongdokchaba faoba yadraba leibak asida chatnariba mamingta ngairaba supnam leingak asigi makhada pangthokpa meekhal asida Manipur meeyamgi tunglamchatki thajaningai karisu leite. Meerepsingna meekhalsida vote fangnaba hotnabada voter singgi pukning

pelhannabagidamak pambei ama oina meerepsingna hangliba election office sing asi mayaikaba chinjakki makol amasung mayaikaba chinjak fangfam oirakli. Masina houjik pangthokliba meekhal asina hannadagi mayaikaba chinjakta laichuduna laklaba meeoising adubu mayai kaba chinjakki ipakta luphanduna makhoi makhoigi mapunsi manghanbada nattana meekhalgi mingda meerepki yumda natraga makhoigi leikai leikaida hangliba meekhalgi office singda changlakliba mapunsida mayai kaba chinjak amukta sijinnajaktriba nouriba naha kayabu meeoibagi hakchang manghalliba chinjaksing asi punsigi ahanba oina sijinnaba heinahanduna naha oibagi matik mayai pumba lammakhangda thudekli. Makhoina pijariba mayaikaba chinjaksing asina furupki lan oiriba meeoising maru oina mamal yamlaba nahasing asigi punsi manghallibani haibasi khangna khangna natraga khangsinnadana meerepsing asina voter singbu houjiktagi houna fajillaga mayai kaba chinjak pija pithak touriba asi meekhal loiraba matung vote haidokpa faoba tougadouribani.

Meekhal haibasina power painabagi amatta ngairaba pambei oibana meekhalda mai paktuna power painabagidamak meerep oiribasing amasung makhoigi naknaba meeoisingna makhal kayagi crime touduna meeyambu aki akhang pokhalli. Crime touribasing aduna masak fana lottuna tourabasu kanana toubano haibadu irai laina hekta khangnabanina masina meekhal loikhraba faobada eikhoi maselgi marakta matam sangna nungsinadabagi tharum leihou-i. India gi meekhal asina lamdamsigi meeyamgi mahousagi meeoiba amagi masagi nongmagi toufam thokpasu nombagi lichat pumnamak kaothokhanduna suning nomningdaba, aremba chabagi heinabi amada lakhalli. Heinabi asina lakhatkhiduna meekhal loiduna vote haidoklaba matung fana kuiraba faoba voter sing mayumda

hanjingani khanghande. India gi meekhal asina tambibadagi voter oiriba meeyamna matik chaba chadaba thidana sel khwaidagi yamna yenba ngamba meerepta vote thadabata nattana vote su piroidaba meerep khudingmaktagi sel louba asina Manipur meeyambu meeoibagi lichat yaodaba meeoising oihalli. Masi India gi meekhalsina Manipur meeyambu manghan takhannaba silliba fattriba thousilsinggi manungda amani.

Houjik pangthokliba meekhal asina matam kayagi mamangdagi tanduna lakliba amadi fangfam thoklaba Manipur meeyamgi ningtamba haibadudi fanggadaba natte. India gi luchingbasing asina Manipur meeyamda ningtamba fanghanbagi wakhaldi lairadana makhoigi constitution gi makhada pangthokliba meekhal asina semba matam matamgi leingaksingna Manipur gi lam amasung meeyamgi apunbagi saktam, meeyamgi punsi manghanbata nattana meehourodagi laioikhraba eikhoigi ipa ipusingna makhoigi tunggi macha masusinggini haina thawaiga sinnaduna thambiramba mahousagi mamal yamlaba langei kaya, India gi parliament na semba colonial law na ayaba piraga, thugaiduna lonna amasung fongna Manipur gi wangmada leptana puthokli. Political party singna puthokliba meekhalgi manifesto singda Manipurgi lam, Manipur meeyamgi punsi kangadaba amadi meeyamna tung koina masagi saktam ngakna chaokhatpaga

loinana khuya tusitna hinghouba yaba wafam amatta yaode. Karigumba khara yaorabasu thabakta onthokloidaba houdongna nga charoi nattraga hingchabina mee chararoi haina sari sonbagumbani. Pangthokliba meekhal asi India gi oinadi yamna chaoba khujil thourangni. Makhoina meekhal asina pambei oiraga Manipur dagi India buna henna nungsiba meeyam ama puthoknaba, karigumba ngamlagana Manipur bu pumkao kaothokhallaba mapung fana Hindustani ollaba meeyam ama puthoknaba ngamjabi thakta matik mangam, pangal lousing pumnamak puthoktuna hotnari. India na houjik chatthariba meekhal asigi top toppa saktam amadi hannaga mannadaba maongda matam kharagi mamangdagi politics karino masak khangdaba criminal amasung crorepatisingna makhoina touruba sathiba maralsing adugi cheiraktagi nanthoknaba amasung makhoigi aronba lanthumsing adu lotsinba yanaba meekhalda yaosillaktuna makhoigi matik mangam amasung selgi mayaina voter oiriba meeyambu meekhalda leinaba hotnarakpa asini. Thouong asi India dada nattana Manipur dasu yousillakpa asina India gi meekhal asigi tamthiba keiningchit Manipur gi meeyamgi kok amasung leihaoda matam kuina leihoungani. Aduna pangthokliba meekhal asina Manipur gi yaifaba purakkani haina India na eikhoigi meeyamda khalhannaba hotnariba asigi ngaihak ngaihakki oiba namthakki thabak thouongsingda ningtambagi ikhou langliba Manipur meeyamna khak pangtharoidabani.

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**“The Liberation Times” Chefong asiga mari leinana Article (Wareng, Seireng, Wari Macha) sing thabiraknaba mayamda thamjari.**

--Publicity Department, RPF.

# NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY AMAGI MAIKEIDA MANIPUR

## WAHOUDOK:

Masagi puwarigi liklam leijaba, leingaklongi sakkhanglaba kanglon leijarakpa amasung malemda meeoi bagi anouba mahinggi yumfam oiriba democracy bu mai pakna changyeng toukhraba leibaksingna maromdom leppagi ithil amaga loinana hingjaba pammi haibasi yetnangingai leiroy. Anisuba malemgi lanjaona loirakkhibaga iroinana meekha pollamba leibak kayana ningtambagi lambida lakpa houkhi. Ing kumja 1945 da United Nations Organisation (UNO) lingkhatkhibaga iroinana Europe ki empire singna loi challamba colony singna maningtambagi lambida khongdarakkhi. United Nations semlakkhiba matam aduda masing yamlaba Non-Self-Governing Territories (NSGT) haibadi 'Masana Leingakchaba Fangdriba Leibak' kaya leirammi.

Anisuba malemgi lanjao loirakpada meeoi million 750 'masana leingakchaba fangdriba leibak haibadi Non-Self-Governing Territories (NSGT) oina leirammi. Meeoisung asi NSGT haina khangnaba leibak 74 da leirammi. Matam aduda malemgi apunba meesinggi 1/3 di NSGT leibaksingda leiramkhi. Kumja 1960 gi matungdadi NSGT gi manung channa leiramba leibak kaya 'de-colonization' haibadi malemgi leimaidagi loilam mutthatpigi khongthang matung inna maning tamba fangba hourakkhi. Malemgi leibak ayamba ningtamba fangnakhivadagi ngasidi NSGT gi masing asi hantharaktuna supnatagi meeoi million 2 romdamak NSGT

gi leibak 17 ta khundari. Ngasisu NSGT sing asi maningtamba leibak oiningbagi manglan leppa leitana mangli. United Nations nasu NSGT gi wafam asibu kumja 2030 faobagi manungda maningtamba pinaba hotnabagi pandam thamli. Houjik neinangingai oiribadi, NSGT oina sakkhanglaba leibaksingna 'masana mapung fana leingakchaba' ngambagi lambida UN gi makhada khumang chaosillakli haibasini. NSGT oina sak khangbagi khudongchaba asi karamna lougani amadi NSGT oiba fanghoudraba lamdamsingna UN gi makhada karamna 'masana leingakchaba leibak' ama oinabagidamak changsingani haibasini.

## NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY (NSGT) GI WAHANTHOK:

United Nations gi kanglon matung inna NSGT haibasi masagi oiba mapung faba leingak leijadriba amasung attoppa kanagumba leibak amana leingakliba adubu khangnei. Masagi oiba leingak leijadribasu hairiba NSGT oina sak khanglaba leibak adu malemgi leibaksingna amadi United Nations na masak khanglaba oiribani. United Nations gi kanglon matung inna NSGT oina sak khanglaba leibaksingbu yumbu oina ngakpi senbiriba leibak adu leingaklon sembagi loisangsingda mapung fana yaohangadabani. Hairiba ngaklousing asi piriba leibaksinggi mari leinaba paodam United Nations General Assembly gi Fourth Committee da chahigi oiba paodam yumbu oiriba leibaksingna pikhathalli. United Nations Charter gi Chapter

XI gi matung inna, ‘mapung faba masagi oiba leingak lingjaba ngamdriba leibaksingbu NSGT ni haina sak takli. United Nations gi kanglon asigi matung inna yumbu haibadi ‘paramount/metropolitan/administering power oiriba leibak aduna NSGT oiriba lamdam adugi khunnai, senmit, leingak amadi natki oiba yaifa thouranggi thoudang lougadabani haina fongdokli.

Adum oinamak, ‘paramount power’ aduna loilam leingak amagi saktam loubagi mahutta ‘assistant power’ haibadi ‘tengbang matik’ ama oina mathou pangduna marik chumba amadi tung koina chatnaba yagadaba NSGT lamdamsinggi chaokhat thouranggi thabak paikhatkadabani haiba wafam yaori. United Nations na NSGT singbu sak khangbibagi khwaidagi maru oiba maramdi NSGT singbu mapung faba masagi leingak leihanba haibasini. Kumja 1945 da United Nations semkhibaga loinana maning tamba leibaksinggi masing thoidokna hengatlakkhi. United Nations gi mathakta pankhraba Chapter XI gi matung inna ‘de-colonisation amasung self-determination’ gi pukning thougatnabagi pandam thamli. Self-determination amasung de-colonization gi pandam asi United Nations Charter gi Article 73 amadi 74 da mayek sengna palli. United Nations Charter gi Chapter XIII nasu leibak kayabu ‘Trust Territories’ ni haina sakhangli. UN semdringei matamdana ‘mandate territories’ haina League of Nations na sak khangduna lakkhi. UN Charter gi Article 86-91 da ‘Trust Territories’ sing asi administering state singna ngak sengadabani haina piri. Masi UN Trusteeship Council na thoudang louduna yengsingadabani haina palli. Ningshingba yai madudi, United Nations gi Chapter XI da United Nations General Assembly gi December 14, 1946 ta

loukhiba warep masing 66 (I) na malemda NSGT 72 lei haiba wafam laothokkhi. Kumja 1963 da malemgi oina maningtamba leibak oiningbagi ikhou langliba leibaksinggi wafam asibu wakheinaba United Nations na Special Committee on De-colonisation semkhi. Committee asi C-24 hainasu sakkhangnakhi.

United Nations gi puwarigi liklam ama oina kumja 1946 ta United Nationski member oiriba leibaksingna Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States punna chungsinnaduna leibak 72 bu makhoigi makhada leiriba Non-Self-Governing Territories oina laothokkhi. Kumja 1959 da leibak nipan maning tamkhi. Kumja 1963 da United Nations General Assembly na leibak 64 bu NSGT oina leiri haina laothokkhi. Kumja 1960 gi De-colonisation gi kanglon palladuna kumja 1960 dagi 2002 faobada NSGT 54 maromdom leppa leibak oirakkhi. Ngasidi malemgi meei million ani NSGT leibak 17 ta khundari amasung masana leingakchaba mapung faba leibak oijanabagidamak United Nations gi fambakta thabak kaya leptana paikhatli. Panba yabadi, NSGT pumnamakki apunba meesing asi Manipurgi houjik leiriba meesing asi youba natte. Maram aduna, leibak ama United Nations gi mityeng makhada maningtambagi lambida lakpa haibasi lamdamsing adugi meesinggi makha ponde. Masagi maningtamba puwari amadi meeyamgi leingak (democratic government) leijaramba Manipur gi oinadi malemgi meeyamna NSGT gi manung chanba amadi maromdom mapung fana leingakchaba leingak ama oihanba haibasi yamnamak maram chaba wafam amadi oigani. NSGT oina sak khanglaba amasung maningtamba leibak ama oibagi lambida United Nations na sak khanglaba leibaksinggi akuppa saktam adu makhagi table 01 asida piriba asumna neinaba yai.



**Table 01: List of Non-Self-Governing Territories:**

Territory	Listing as NSGT	Administering Power	Land Area (Sq. Km.)	Population
		<b>Africa</b>		
Western Sahara	Since 1963	UN 1990	266,000	597,000
		<b>Atlantic and Caribbean</b>		
Anguilla	Since 1946	United Kingdom	96	15,397
Bermuda	Since 1946	United Kingdom	53.35	64,054
British Virgin Islands	Since 1946	United Kingdom	153	31,197
Cayman Islands	Since 1946	United Kingdom	264	69,914
Falkland Islands (Malvinas)	Since 1946	United Kingdom	12,173	3200
Montserrat	Since 1946	United Kingdom	103	4519
Saint Helena	Since 1946	United Kingdom	310	5562
Turks and Caicos Island	Since 1946	United Kingdom	948.2	44,542
United States Virgin Island	Since 1946	United States	352	104,000
		<b>Europe</b>		
Gibraltar	Since 1946	United Kingdom	6.8	57,637
		<b>Pacific</b>		
American Samoa	Since 1946	United States	200	49,710
French Polynesia	1946-47 and Since 2013	France	3600	278,400
Guam	Since 1946	United States	540	168,485
New Caledonia	1946-47 and Since 1986	France	18,575	271,407
Pitcairn	Since 1946	United Kingdom	35.5	46
Tokelau	Since 1946	New Zealand	12.2	1647

Source: UN Secretariat 2020 Working Papers on NSGT and Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, U.N. (<https://www.un.org/dppa/decolonisation/en/nsgt>)

Mathakta piriba NSGT 17 ki manungda Pitcairn asina khwaidagi meesing yamdaba NSGT ni. Supnatagi meei 46 na khundaba ithat amani. NSGT sing asigi manungda United Kingdom na yengsilliba Gibraltar amadi Western Sahara haiba lam anisi maningtamba leibak amamam oibagi lambida yamnamak khumang chaosinna changsillakliba leibaksingni. Ningsingba yai, kumja 1963 da United Nations Special Committee na Western Sahara bu NSGT oina sakkhangkhibani. Spain gi makhada matam amada leiramba Western Sahara gi matangda International Court of Justice (ICJ) na ing kumja 1975 da advisory opinion ama United

Nations General Assembly gi Resolution 3292 gi maramda pikhi. ICJ gi advisory opinion nadi, Morocco amasung Mauritania na Western Sahara bu makhoigi saruk oina sakkhangbiyu hairakpadi lei haikhibani. Ningsingba yai, ing kumja 1884 da Spain na Western Sahara bu loi chankhi. Lamdam asi hannadi Berber tribe singna khundarambani. Ing kumja 1934 dagi Western Sahara asi Spanish Sahara haina sakkhangnaduna lakkhibani. NSGT oiraba Western Sahara asi de-colonisation gi akanba ihouna maram oiduna administering power oiriba Spain na Western Sahara bu kumja 1976 ki February 26 ta thadokkhibani. Spain na United Nations

Secretary General gi mafamda ayiba chero piraduna makha tana Western Sahara ga mari leinaba **'any responsibility of any international nature'** gi thoudang amatta 'administering power' ama oina louba ngamlaroi hairaduna Western Sahara bu maning tamjanabagi lambida pukchel chaona thadokpiramkhi. Spain na Western Sahara bu thadoktuna chatkhibagi maramsing neinaba tarabadi, United Nations na de-colonisation gidamak hakthengnaba firep loukhiba Western Sahara gi yelhoumee oiriba Sahrawi singna semkhiba lup – Polisario Front na lushingkhiba ihou amadi Morocco amasung Mauritania leibakki ngamkhei sandokningbagi karamba wakhaldu panba yai. United Nations General Assembly na ing kumja 1975 da loukhiba resolution gi matung tarakpa oina ICJ na Western Sahara gi matangda chahi ahum changna pikhiba 'advisory opinion' (13 December, 1974 amasung 16 October, 1976) na makhagi asumna thamlakkhi;

'The materials and information presented to it [the ICJ] do not establish any tie of territorial sovereignty between the territory of Western Sahara and the Kingdom of Morocco or the Mauritanian entity. Thus the Court has not found legal ties of such a nature as might affect the application of resolution 1514 (XV) in the decolonization of Western Sahara and, in particular, of the principle of self-determination through the free and genuine expression of the will of the peoples of the Territory.' [ICJ Reports 16 October 1975, 162]. Ing kumja 1990 da United Nations General Assembly na nouhounana warepnaduna Western Sahara gi wafam asi 'de-colonisation' gi wafamni haina malemgi meeyamda mapung fana masana leingakchaba leibak ama oihannaba wafam thamduna laklibani. Geneva Conventions gi Common Article 2 gi makhada lam amana lam amabu landaduna lousinba matamda 'armed resistance' piba ngamkhidaba lamdam singbusu occupied territory ni haina sakkhangba yai haiba wafam United Nations Charter na palliba '*jus ad bellum*' gi matung inna piri. Ing kumja 2004 da United Nations General Assembly, Security Council amasung International Court of Justice na ing kumja 2004 da Palestine gi lamsing asi 'occupied territory' ni haina sakkhangduna laklibani. Ing kumja 2002 da maningtamba

fangkhiba East Timor asi Western Sahara gum yumthangnaba leibak kayagi cheitheng nangduna lakkhi. Chahicha kaya East Timor hairiba leibak asi loilamgi matik mangam paikhiba Portugal na khudum chanduna thamlakkhiba lamdam oiduna lakkhi. East Timor na Carnation Revolution gi matungda maning tamle haina ing kumja 1975 da laothoklubada yumthangnaba Indonesia na East Timor da landaraktuna Indonesia gi 27 suba province ama oina lousinkhi. Malemgi civil society sing, Portugal amadi United Nations gi liching makhada Indonesia gi thoung asibu yaningdaba fongdoktuna lakkhi. United Nations General Assembly gi December 1, 1976, da loukhiba Resolution 31/53 na Indonesia na East Timor bu lousille haiba wafam adubu chatnaba yaroi haiba wafam thamlakkhi. United Nations General Assembly na ing kumja 1989 da warep asi amuk hanna firep louduna Resolution No. 33/39 [December 13, 1978] gi matung inna East Timorese singi Self-Determination gi wafam asi maram chai haiba wafam thamkhi. Asumna May gi cheichat 1, 2002 da United Nations General Assembly na East Timor bu NSGT gi list tagi louthoktuna ningtambagi lambida purakkhibani.

#### MASAGI MAPUNG FABA LEINGAK AMAGI LAMBIDA:

Mathakta neinakhraba wafamsing asina NSGT gi status fanglaba leibak ama oiba haibasi United Nations gi lamjing makhada maningtamba masana leingakchaba leibak ama oinabagi achouba lambi amani haibasi mayek yamnamak sengle. Khudam oina hairabada, athengba matamda maning tamba fangkhraba East Timor su NSGT oina sak khanglaba matungda mapung fana maning tamba fangkhibani. Nakal amaromdana, NSGT gi status fangba ngamhoudraba Palestinian singsu masagi oiba akanba ihougi matengna ngasidi United Nations gi fambakta achouba fida ama kanba ngamle. Palestine asi United Nations General Assembly gi Resolution 67/19 [2012] gi matung inna non-member observer status oina sakkhangkhibani. Adum oinamak, Israel na United States ki achouba matengna Palestine gi wafam asibu natheiduna thambana Palestine gi ningtambagi wafam asi ngasisu chaona muknabagi maram oiduna leiri. NSGT gi lam 17 amasung United Nations gi non-observer status

fanglaba leibak anigi oinadi masagi oiba mapung faba leingang amamam leinabagi lambida United Nations gi liching makhada lakpaga oithokpa chaona leire. NSGT amadi non-observer gi status fanglaba leibaksing asi Geneva Declarations 1949 gi matung inna maningtambagi machak leiraba amadi malemgi kanglonda muknabagi fivam leiraba leibaksingni. Manipursu muknabagi fivam asimak leiribani. Ing kumja 1949 dagi ngasi faobada masagi oiba leingang matpikhibagi wahoudagi ngasi faoba khutlai paiba resistance movement gi wathok leiraba lamdam amani. Manipur da houriba ningtam ihou asina United Nations na piba International Humanitarian Law bu ngakna ngasi faoba chatli. Hiram asida United Nations da ningtam yaollupsingna United Nations gi mafamda ayiba cheroi tattana piduna khanghanba ngamkhre.

International Humanitarian Law gi matung inna armed conflict natraga political conflict asi International Armed Conflict amasung Non-International Armed Conflict haina ani thokna khaidok-i. International Armed Conflict hairagadi sovereign country (ningtamba leibak) anigi marakta thokpa muknaba (soknaba lan) adubu khangnei. Hairiba muknaba lan asigi chang natraga thak haibamakti leite. Amaromdana, Non-International Armed Conflict hairabadi fivam ani leiba tai. Ahanbada, 'protracted armed violence' ama akanba mawongda leiraba, amasung anisubada – yamdrabada muknaba/ conflict adugi nak (side/party) amadi 'organised armed group' haibadi lup ama oibagi mapung faba kayat leiba oigadabani. Supchinna hairabada, Non-International Armed Conflict tadi akanba mawong-gi khutlai paibagi muknaba leigadabni. Masagi mapung faba ningtamba leingang leijaramba Manipur bu ing kumja 1949 da namlou lousinkhibana ngasi faoba khutlaigi muknabagi (armed conflict) asi leiribani. Masagi Sovereignty matpikhraba Manipur na India ga muknaba haibasi masana tabani. India na Manipur bu namlou lousinkhibana Manipur asi occupied territory ama oina hingli. The Hague Regulations, 1907, gi Article 42 gi matung inna occupied territory bu asumna hairi – 'a territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army..'

Maram aduna, International Humanitarian Law na piriba kanglon asigi matung inna Manipur da leiriba armed conflict asi International Armed Conflict amagi machatsu yaori. India na Manipur bu lousinkhibana asi United Nations na piriba kanglonsingbu khonggaonakhibana Manipur asi India gi saruk amani haibasi chatnaba yadaba wafam amani. Ngasi chatnariba meekhal amadi leingang asi loilamgi makhada leiba 'puppet regime' (hanglai leingang) ama oibana Manipur asi masagi Sovereignty matpiraba lamdam amani. Loinana, namlou lousinkhraba matung iramdama asida leiriba ningtam yaollupsingna Manipur gi Sovereignty asi ngasisu kanjanaba hotnaduna lakli. Masigisu mathakta, mapung oiba ningtam yaollupsingna punna maningtamba leingang amagi chap chaba kayat adu semgattuna 'organised oiba' maonggi ihou ama sagattuna khutlai paiba ihou (armed movement) asina International Humanitarian Law na piriba kayat amagi matung inna lakli. Maram asina iramdama asida leiriba armed conflict asi 'internal disturbance, riots, terrorism natragana criminal' gi oiba machat amatta yaode.

Manipur gi meeyamna United Nations na piriba kanglon asigi matung inna ningtambagi lambi asida laknaba kanna hotnaba tari. International Law da mityeng thamduna akhang aheisingna neinaduna meeyamsu Sovereignty mangkhraba iramdama asi kanba mathou tare. Right to Self-Determination asi malemgi meeyamna yanaraba ngasisu hingliba United Nations gi kanglon amani. Ing kumja 1990 da United Nations na 'the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples' gi 30 suba mapok kumon thouram pangthokkhi. Ngasisu ing kumja 2021-2030 asibu United Nations na marisuba 'International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism' haina pangthokkhi. Manipur na International Humanitarian Law gi fibannungda 'petition' pikhatpa amadi NSGT gi status asi iramdama Manipur dasu pibinaba akanba thabak paikhatpa mathou tari. ■

*THE LIBERATION TIMES JULY 15, 2022*



*Puthokpa:*

*Publicity Department, Revolutionary People's Front*

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