

## Souvenir

### **IRABOT DAY OBSERVATION, DELHI**

carry forward the democratic movement in Manipur  
towards development, peace and unity!



Thursday, 30 September 2010,  
Venue: Arts Faculty, University of Delhi  
Time: From 1.30 p.m. to 5 pm  
Organised by Irabot Day Observation Committee Delhi

## Irabot Day Observation Delhi Special Edition

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**Edited by: Malem Ningthouja**

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### Irabot Day Observation Delhi

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## IRABOT DAY

**How do we carry forward the democratic movement in Manipur towards development, peace and unity!**

Dear friends,

30 September has been widely recognised and observed as **IRABOT DAY** in Manipur to commemorate the birthday of comrade Hijam Irabot (30 September 1896- 26 September 1951).

Comrade Irabot, who had a humble origin as a destitute orphan, was a leading figure of the social reform movement and political agitations in Manipur in the 1930s and 1940s. He was not lured by the prospect of royal prerogatives and official facilities including the prestigious post of membership to the Sadar Panchayat Court that were being offered to him for having married a princess. He resigned from a government job and fought against the various forms of oppression under feudalism and British colonial rule. He endeavoured towards the promotion of cultural identity, sports, literature and journalism, and he was instrumental in the formation of reform organizations, students' federation, peasant union, women's organization and progressive party. By 1943 he was a confirmed communist and during his six years political exile till late 1946 he was politically active in parts of Assam. He was elected to the Manipur Assembly in 1948. Because of the extensive popular support for him, he was considered a threat to the ruling class who subsequently declared him a terrorist on 21 September 1948 before the formal inauguration of the Assembly. He went underground, carried out an armed struggle and died in the jungle in 1951.

Comrade Irabot spearheaded the movement to establish a Manipur that would be free from subjugation, oppression and exploitation. In the decades after 1951, Irabot's revolutionary line has not been encouraged nor his ideology adequately studied or promoted; although his works in the reform movement, anti-colonial struggle and democratic movement had been widely honoured and commemorated. There has been a lull, if not complete discontinuation, of the revolutionary initiatives that Irabot had taken up. The discontinuation is not an indication of the absence of the material premise for the revolutionary movement to carry on in Manipur. The discontinuation is largely the combined result of the

deliberate refraining from adopting the ideological framework of historical materialism to comprehensively address the conditions of Manipur, widespread ideological disillusionment generated by the left wing revisionists and the extensive counter-revolutionary works carried out by the right-wing opportunists.

The subsequent emergence of several liberation organisations would fully explain that since the time of Irabot until today the colonial oppression remains. However, most of the militant organisations remained ideologically inclined towards right-wing nationalism; they have adopted a racial approach to construing nationhood that has been gradually perverted into chauvinism and the perpetuation of communalism, largely uncritical of the political economy, and indifferent to the scientific interpretation on the national question in the colonial and semi-colonial conditions. To add further complication to the situation, several militant organisations using the cloak of revolution have been carrying out forced extortion from the common people, human rights violations and individual terrorism, thereby making the people confused between what is revolutionary and reactionary activity. In the overall scenario, as a result of the absence of a uniting progressive ideology and common political line among the oppressed peoples, the ruling class could play without restraint on the sensational issues of communalism, territorial questions, various forms of repressive and terror tactics, and other divisive tactics to promote sectarianism among the population and to divert attention away from the genuine democratic questions. The political process, therefore, remains anarchical and confusing to many and the revolution is delayed.

Against this backdrop, we are organising a programme on 30 September not only to commemorate the achievement of comrade Irabot and his political works, but also to have discussion focusing on the prevailing conditions in Manipur. We expect to have a discussion based on the scientific perspective to carry forward the movement towards development, peace and unity in Manipur and beyond. We, therefore, invite you to kindly attend the programme and share your perspective. Your kind presence is highly solicited.

Sd/-

Malem Ningthouja

**Irabot Day Observation Committee, Delhi**

## **Brief Profile of Comrade Hijam Irabot**

### **Hijam Irabot:**

- Born on 30 September 1896 at Oinam Leikai near Pishumthong, Imphal, Manipur.
- After his father's death, he moved with his mother to stay with his aunt Sougaijam Ongbi Ibeton Devi at Moirangkhom Sawaijam, Imphal. After his mother's death and his return from Dacca in 1915 he was sheltered in the house of Maibam Samden of Wangkhei, Imphal.
- He was known as Jana-Neta (Leader of the people) by the Cacharis, Simanta Prahari (Sentinel of the Frontier) by Hemango Biswas, AFOJI (elder comrade in Burmese or, comrade Ahal to the armed Manipuri red guards) by the then Burmese Communist Party.

### **Father's Name:**

- Hijam Ibungohal

### **Mother's Name:**

- Chongtham Ningol Thambalngambi of Hijam Leikai

### **Spouse's Name:**

- Rajkumari Khomdonsana, daughter of MK Chandrahas, elder brother of the then reigning King Churachand.

### **Schools attended:**

- Johnstone Higher Secondary School, Imphal (upto Class seven).
- Pugo High School, Dhaka, in present day Bangladesh (upto class nine). In 1915, he dropped out due to shortage of money and went to Agartala.

### **Literature & Journalism:**

- Editor, *Meitei Chanu*, a hand written magazine brought out in 1922.
- Author, *Saidem Seireng*, a text book purchased from him by the Manipur State Durbar on 4 December 1929 and prescribed as a textbook for the High School students of fifth class.
- Author, *Mohini*, a novel published in serialized form, from August 1931 in Yakairol monthly.

- Author, Dalil Amasung Darkhast Iba, printed in 1933.
- Founder General Secretary, Manipur Sahitya Parishad; 1937 and 1938.
- Author of a collection of poems, *Imagi Puja*, written in Shylhet jail, published in 1987.
- Founder cum editor, weekly *Anouba Jug*, from 13 April 1947 onwards.
- Author of *Lokmanya Tilak* (Biography), *Jaymati* (Drama), *Gomati* (play) and translated Bankimchandra's novel, *Krishna Kanter Will* into Manipuri – many of these are still in manuscripts.

#### Art & Culture:

- Acted in Bengali plays during the early period (1915-20).
- Acted in both male and female characters in early 1930s
- Played the role of Kumud in his first historical play in *Nara Singh* (1925).
- Played the role of Chandra Singh in *Areppa Marup*, social play of S. Lalit Singh,
- Played the role of Baladeva in the Manipuri version of the play, *Debala Devi*.
- Acted in Satee Khongnang.
- Founding member, Manipur Dramatic Union (MDU, established in 1931)

#### Sports:

- Played hockey, football, cricket, tennis and badminton.
- Encouraged *Sat-jal*, Manipuri martial art.
- Founder member, Imphal Town Club, a premier sports club in his time.
- Founder member, Manipur Sports Association.

#### Appointment:

- Member of the Sadar Panchayat Court; appointed on 1 April 1930 and resigned on the 17 March, 1939.

#### Organisational experience:

- Founder, Bal Sangha and Chatra Sanmelan while in Johnstone Higher Secondary School

- President of the Reception Committee of Manipuri Sabha, appointed in November 1933.
- Original member, Manipuri Mahasabha, in early 1930s.
- Founder member, Nikhil Manipuri Hindu Mahasabha, 30 May 1934 at Imphal (later on Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha). On 15 Feb 1939 the NMM was declared an illegal organization. On 7 January 1940, Irabot defected from the Mahasabha on matters regarding the non-agreement on physically supporting the Nupi-lan among its members.
- Founder of various organizations; Krishak Sabha Praja Mandal, Praja Sanmelani, Mahila Sanmelani, Youth League, etc.

#### Communist Background:

- During the Nupi Lan, that was broke out since 12 December 1939, Irabot was arrested on 9 January 1940 and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment for a speech delivered on 7 January 1940 at the Police Line Bazar. He was previously kept at the Imphal jail but shifted to Sylhet jail. In the Sylhet jail he came across Congress and Communist leaders. Irabot was released from the Sylhet jail on 20 March 1943. But he was not permitted to enter Manipur. He stayed in Cachar to work among the Manipuri peasants and also among the non-Manipuri ex teagarden workers. There he joined the Kishan movements. He kept in touch with the communist leaders and attended the first congress of the Communist party of India that was held at Bombay from 23 May to 1 June, 1943 as a special invitee from Cachar.
- In Cachar he organized cultural squads known as Swadesh Ganer Dal, which was later on incorporated in the Indian People's Theatre Association. He led a delegation from Cachar to the All India Kishan Sabha session held at Netra Kona in Mymensing District of Bengal. In March 1844, he went to Bejwada (Katakual Village) to join the Kishan Conference and stayed for sometime at the Bengal Communist Party office. The same year he went to Sylhet to join the annual session of the Surma valley provisional Kishan Sabha. Irabot was detained as a security prisoner in the Silchar District jail with effect from 15 September 1944 on the charge that he was a communist. He was released on 10 January 1945. After more than 5 years of political exile Irabot was given permission to stay in

Manipur for a week i.e., from 2 to 10 September, 1945. His request for an extension of his stay in Manipur was denied. He came back to Cachar and carried out peasants' movement. He was appointed General Secretary of the Cachar District Kishan Sabha and President of the Surma Valley Kishan Sabha. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Assam Kisha Sabha, the CPI Assam Provincial Committee, and the Assam Students' Federation. He contested in the 1946 election to the Assam Provincial Legislatures Assembly from the Silchar constituency as a CPI candidate.

- Irabot was finally permitted to enter Manipur in March 1946. In Manipur he organized a new party called the Manipur Praja Mandal in April 1946. He attended two sessions of the Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha before he was expelled from the membership of the Working Committee of the Mahasabha on the charge of being a member of the Communist Party of India. He attended the second congress of the CPI held at Calcutta from 28 Feb to 6 March 1948. The first Communist Party of Manipur was formed on 23 August 1948. In the June/ July 1948 election to the Manipur Assembly, Irabot contested and won under from the Utlou Constituency as a Krishak Sabha candidate. Before the inauguration of the Assembly, Irabot on behalf of the Manipur Praja Sangha and Manipur Krishak sabha called a meeting at the M.D.U Hall on 21 September 1948, to protest against the formation of Purbachal Pradesh, comprising of Manipur, Tripura, Cachar and Lushai Hills. A scuffle took place at Pungdombam when the Manipur Sate Police prevented a group of citizens who came to attend the meeting in which a police officer was killed on the spot. The Manipur state council declared the Manipur Praja Sangha and Manipur Krishak Sabha unlawful. The state officials declined to constitute an Enquiry Committee to investigate the Pungdombam incident. Irabot could not attend the first meeting of the Manipur Legislative Assembly held on 18 October 1948 because of the warrant against him. Irabot formed an underground Communist Party of Manipur on 29 October 1948 and carried out armed struggle against the government. He died on 26 September 1951 at the foothills of the Anggo Hills.

## **NMM Chinga Session Resolution 1938**

**Excerpt from resolutions passed by the Nikhil Hindu Manipuri Mahasabha at its 4<sup>th</sup> Session, held on 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1938 at the Chinga Hill Maiden, Imphal.**

**Resolution No 4:** This Mahasabha has deleted the word "Hindu" in the name of the this organization, Nikhil Hindu Manipuri Mahasabha, that it may become an all Manipuri Mahasabha.

**Resolution No 5:** This Mahasabha expresses its deep sense of sorrow at the incarceration of Rani Gaidinliew of our Manipur Hills who is still languishing in the Shillong Jail in the full bloo of her youth while all the political prisoners in Assam and many of them in the other Provinces have already been released, and the India Government as well as Local Authorities be approached for her immediate release.

*Note: Irabot was by then the President of the Mahasabha.*

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## **On establishment of a legislature in the Manipur State**

**Memo No 124, Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha 2.11.1939**

To,  
HHM of Manipur

May it please your Highness.

I on behalf of the Mabasobha Working Committee (MWC) beg most humbly and respectfully to submit in spite of palace office Memon No 1129 p-2-1, 5.5.39 following the Memon No 23 NMM of 31.1.39 & 61 of 6.5.39 in connection with the Mahasobha Resolution NOs 10.11 & 14 of its 4<sup>th</sup> Session and the MWC Resolution No 1 of 29.1.39. Your highness has fought shy of giving an interview to the deputation from the



WC quite against the spirit of the above Palace Office (PO) memo. Following the Mahasobha Memo No 63 of 8.5.39 the Private Secy. To His Highness sent PO Memo No 1160 p2-1 of 10.5.39 saying that the WC might submit in writing what the WC had to say in interview. As the matter are pregnant with grave questions requiring heart to heart, free & immediate discussions the WC insisted on your Highness's giving an interview though the Mahasobha Memo Nos NMH of 12.3.39 & 68 of 17.5.39. Since then the WC having been sending almost for every month here to for a reminder without being favoured with any response for your Highness. In the circumstances the WC whose creed in non-violence thinks it advisable being helpless to submit in writing what it has to say about the Mahasobha Resolution No 11 for establishment of a legislative in Manipur. I therefore as desired by the WC beg most humbly to submit herewith a rough outline of a legislature framed by the WC and approved of by the "Bebasthapok Sobha" of the Mahasobha for your Highness's kind perusal and necessary actions so that the legitimate rights of the people may be secured and the grievances redressed.

I have the honour to be your highness's most obedient servant

2<sup>nd</sup> November 1939

H. Irabot Singh

President, Nikhil Manipuri Mahasobha

### An Outline of the Legislature

1. As a preliminary step to responsible Government a unicameral legislature should be established immediately.
2. The legislature will consist of 100 members of whom not less than 80 will be elected and 20 nominated by His Highness. The life of the legislature will be three years to begin and five years thereafter.
3. The election should as far as possible be free from corruption and undue influence. Voting should be by ballot.
4. Any male subject of the state whose age is 21 years, who pays any kind of tax to the state in the case of illiterates or who is literate, will be an elector. No state servant can be elected as a member of the legislature

5. The election should be joint-electorate system and there should be no reservation of seats for any communities or interests
6. Any bill passed by the legislature will become law when it secure His Highness's approval. If His Highness has sufficient ground or grounds for withholding His Highness's assent, His Highness shall send it back to the legislature for reconsideration
7. The legislature will have the power to laws for all things and persons under the state jurisdiction and to amend, alter, cancel any law or to introduce any new law and regulation.
8. The annual budget of the state will be discussed and passed by the legislature. The legislature will have no hand in the civil list of His Highness which will be fixed in proposition to the revenue of the state.
9. At every new general election or when occasion arises His Highness will have to call upon the leaders of the largest party in the legislative, who will be appointed Chief Minister, three nominated by him & four nominated by His Highness will constitute. No one who is not a member of the legislature can be a minister. The Chief Minister will have a casting vote over and above his personal vote.
10. The ministers and the members of the legislature should be sworn in conformity to a respective prescribed form when they first take their respective seats
11. The Chief Minister and three nominated by him will have joint responsibility and other four ministers nominated by His Highness will have individual responsibility to the legislature.
12. The Chief Minister will allot different functions of the state to the ministers
13. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker will be elected by the members of the legislature when it will first meet and when occasion arises
14. When His Highness so please His Highness may address the legislative and may summon the legislature when it is not in session for urgent matters and His Highness can prolong the session
15. If any action of the ministers or any of them is deemed prejudicial to the public interest any member of the legislature can move a non-confidence motion. If it is found that 1/3 of the member present

is in favor of the motion the speaker will allow it to be discussed and put to the vote of the house.

16. Over and above the legislature will have the power of making interpellation and questions
17. The Chief Minister will get a fixed salary of Rs 150/- per month and allowance not exceeding Rs 50. The member of the legislature will get a salary of Rs 30 each month. The Speaker and the Deputy Speaker will get Rs 100 and 50 respectively.
18. There will be a secretariat consisting of five secretaries the first of whom will get Rs 80-5-100 and the others 60-4-80 per month.
19. A Constitutional Committee set up by His Highness will frame the elaborate Scheme on the above outline and create constituencies of the electorate.
20. No one should be allowed to vote in more than a constituency.

NB: Other reforms necessary for the state have been left as works to be done by the legislatures.

### Government's Secretariat

**Branch 4-12-39**

**Diary No 6157**

**Imphal 30/11/39**

My dear Mills,

Please refer to your D.O. No 4148 ES of the 29<sup>th</sup> November. The "demands of H Irabot Singh and his colleagues" are a fantastic absurdity in the present condition of Manipur. There has never been any form of democracy in Manipur and the clamour for it comes only from a very few. Probably you do not want a detailed examination of the proposals. I do not know what are His Highness the Maharaja's reactions to them. Some months ago His Highness asked the durbar to make proposals for reforms in the state. There were hard words between Macdonald and the durbar members before any proposals were sent to His Highness. Some of the suggestions were sound; but most of them were for changes in the

Constitution, which were not likely to help the people as a whole, rather than for much needed reforms in the administration, His Highness asked me to comment on them. I suggested that a few valuable administrative reforms could be made quite easily and that, if he wished to introduce any form of democratic government, the best plan would be to start with a municipality in Imphal, as a training ground for larger constitutional experiments later. His Highness was sick man at that time and took no action, because as he told me, he felt unfit for serious work. He is now in better health, though still not really well; but about six weeks ago his mother died, and that has prevented him from sitting down to work. Now he has gone away on a pilgrimage to Nabadwip for an indeterminate time. I have written to him today asking whether he intends to take my action on the durbar's reform proposals and I will let you know his reply in due course.

Yours sincerely  
Gimson

# Irabot's letter to the Manipur Assembly

18 October 1948

Today is the first meeting of the Assembly which the people of Manipur have long been demanding and eagerly longing. This is also the first day of Manipur to determine her fortune, and bring peace and prosperity by the people's representatives of both the Hills and the Valley of the state. This day would become a new chapter in the national history of Manipur; and its enthusiastic impression would be an indelible mark in our modern Puyas. On such a happy occasion, I feel sad and much depressed to realize that, there has not been any representative of Mao area, and the inability of the elected members of the Assembly who, of course, belong to the Manipur Krishak Sabha to attend the first sitting because of their confinement in the State Jail, and the warrants issued against them by the Manipur State Council.

Responsible Government is the only demand of all the people in Manipur. But at the time of the formation of Constitution Making Committee, Mr. Pearson had, in his own self-interest, appointed the valley members and the Hills representatives in an unofficial manner. This form of Responsible Government is nothing but the concocted result of the Constitution Making Committee which produced a well planned Pearson's Constitution Act. There is no provision of the civil rights of the Manipuri people in this constitution. There is no way out to see an actual Responsible Government without some amendments or commissions to the full text of the constitution. Nobody has the official authority except the Assembly if the Acts are to be amended for the benefit of the people.

During the interim period of Mr. Pearson's Night-Ministers there have occurred in Manipur Satyagrahas on the scandals of the Dominion flag, Gandhi Caps, amusement Tax, war compensation etc. The Mizos have played their roles; and in the revolutionary movement of the Mao Nagas three people have been killed during the encounter of Mr. Daiho's arrest. These incidents have been very clearly revealed by the Secretary of the Naga National Council (Kohima) in the Assam Tribune. We must realize this to be a very critical situation of Manipur in her transitional period of political development.

Some treacherous people have instigated the state authorities by supplying false information against the Manipur Krishak Sabha, which is

itself a peaceful body, and as a consequence, the Sabha has been declared an unlawful organization. In spite of repeated requests to constitute an impartial Enquiry Committee to investigate the Pungdongbam incident, the State authorities have turned deaf ears to it. A huge number of innocent peasants have been arrested and put in the jail without any trial. These peasants have been arrested and put in the Jail without any trial. These peasants have also been beaten up mercilessly and soaked in water for a complete night. The lathi charge on the unarmed public and the firing by the police are the evidences of an anti-democratic attitude of the government which have very responsibly welcomed a Fascist ruling and a Police Raj only to bring bad omen and upheaval in the country. The elected members of the Assembly who all wish to sacrifice for their mother country are hereby requested to discuss all these problems and bring an amicable solution in order to make a Golden Manipur. Please make the oath to suppress the Fascist leaning so that once again democracy can be deeply rooted in the limelight of a pure responsible Government.

In the first meeting of the Assembly top priority is kept on the passing of the Manipur State Legislative Assembly Rules, but these rules are framed according to the Constitution Act. Please do not take any available Rules in the light of your convenience –as there is shortage of provisions in the constitution, some deficiencies may, of course, come up.

Next to it is the formation of the Cabinet of Ministers. But since there is a lack of clause on the formation of a cabinet by a leader of the majority party, it has to be appointed. I humbly appeal to all the members, that appointment of ministers is a very serious matter and if any defect has been committed by mistake, nothing could be done by the Ministers concerned for a satisfaction to the Public's desire. So please do not consider about a particular man of a political party; and instead, a criteria can be made on the behavior, moral character, and administrative experience of the man whom the Assembly wish to appoint as minister.

Over and above this, the social conditions of Manipur should not be over-looked. A Plan to develop the mines and ores, the downtrodden and the underdogs of the society has to be taken up. Like other nations of the world we should preserve our ancient religion and the long stream of cultural traditions along with a sense of civic rights granted democratically. The majority of the Manipuri public are the peasant class and in order to



save their existence land revenues may kindly be reduced, arrangements be made to give land to landless people, to facilitate the peasants who often find inconvenience in their livelihood by making considerate Laws and to bring a peaceful harmony between the Hill people and the plainsmen, so that a Golden Manipur may come into existence. May God bless the new Assembly and our country? This will be my last humble appeal to you all.”

**Note:** *Irabot could not join the first opening session of the Manipur Legislative Assembly on the 18<sup>th</sup> October 1948. But he had somehow managed to circulate a handwritten letter to the Assembly members as his last message. Unfortunately this letter had not been read out nor was it mentioned about in the Assembly.*

## MANIPUR'S 1950 REVOLUTION REVISITED

*Professor Naorem Sanajaoba*

*In the significant revisit, the author holistically examines the local application in Manipur, of the Asian communist revolutionary movement in 1950-1951, the inauguration of post-independence Manipuri armed struggle of the Manipur Communist Party, that transformed qualitatively, along with the Manipur-specific national question which had been subverted by the communist party of the annexing power and, that had been taken all the more seriously by the post- MCP Manipur national liberation movements.*

In the conventional Manipuri revolutionary historiography, some of the historians are used to marginalise the role of the revolutionary party like the Manipur Communist Party (MCP hereafter) of which Mr. Hari or Jogeshwar i.e. Mr Hijam Irabot had been the uncontested supremo on the one hand, and the Red Guard Council (RGC hereafter) that had been the military apparatus with five red guard commanders that struck militarily at the post- annexation Manipur state and the Indian administrative apparatus from 1950 to 1951. The 1950 MCP revolution was undoubtedly aborted for many a reason- the inevitable and the erroneous.

Communist parties of administering Indian state (which some authors endorse as colonial power) make festive celebration in the state by projecting the revolutionary party supremo Irabot alias Hari (his clandestine code name) as the electoral mascot by totally and systematically blacking out his revolutionary militancy and his revolutionary path, with a view to once again aborting the ongoing, deep- rooted political militancy in Manipur and misleading the people by way of the subverting the political objective of the RGC.MCP profiling has been defiled and distorted by the political opportunists.

### REVOLUTIONARY FAITH

Once, ex MP of Congress- Laishram Jogeshwar wrote that Irabot remaining the party supremo, N.Binoy, Ng.Mohendra, Th.Boro and M.Ibohal were ‘riding on the crest of the revolution.’ In Manipur, honesty and truth had been the first casualty at the hands of the incorrigibly crooked politicians. One can fool the people for some time, not for all time.

Many a scholar has disingeniously projected the MCP supremo as a multitudinous or a multifaceted person lacking a defined and single-minded direction of a committed political philosophy. It could have been possible that despite their studying two three books of Mao Tse Tung purchased from Silchar, the RGC leadership was not ideologically mature barring the supremo's personal interface with Bengali speaking Marxians in Sylhet jail. The author would not revisit the hackneyed domain, and would love to address to two core issues- firstly, the centrality of the MCP armed struggle and secondly, the national question that the MCP had not literally addressed to.

Naturally, the MCP with its party supremo and the striking force- the RGC deserve the full credit for launching the post- independence armed struggle- the first ever in post-1947 Manipur in 1950. The front organizations had been outlawed before the revolution had been launched in no time. The Manipur State Council of sovereign Manipur by its resolution no.3 dated 21.9.1948 made the order: “\_, the Manipur State Council declared the above associations( read Krishak Sabha and Praja Sangha) to be unlawful under Section16 of the Manipur State Criminal Law Amendment Act,1948.”

In order to remove any confusion about the post-accession Manipur in 1947, the official letter of the dominion agent is cited. Dominion agent Debeswar Sarma replied to dictator E.Tompok Singh on 25 November, 1947 after three months of Manipur's accession to foreign state- India in August,1947, “Admittedly, Manipur is a Sovereign State.” Notwithstanding baseless and utterly whimsical opinions of diehard, biased individuals about the status of Manipur in 1947, the official position of the dominion agent as cited above is categorical, and the author had been following the official position of the dominion agent, in total disregard of the private exclamations of untrustworthy, and, half-baked scholars.

Pro-revolutionaries and radicals show admiration for the methodology, revolutionary tactics he had taken care of, whereas revisionists and bankrupt opportunists capitalize on his name by undermining, ridiculing and omitting his revolutionism. Worshipping a wrong god or, barking at the wrong tree? A leader or a revolutionary could be fully assessed, not in parts or piecemeal in order to suit the electoral market. At the same time, autobiography writers could do complete justice by covering the entire life span, not a chosen piece.

The author would be doing complete injustice to Manipuri revolutionary historiography, if he does not acknowledge the commitment of Manipur people in 1953 towards undoing the disputed Manipur annexation

and the subsequent post- MCP national liberation struggles that address fully to Manipur national question, which did not happen to be the cup of tea for the MCP in any sense of the term. The two major events are not inextricable, as we perceive of after considering the shifting political equations and agenda.

Definitely, certain confusions arose among the scholars due possibly to sentimental obsessions and lack of objectivity. The MCP had no business at all with the post- MCP armed national struggles in Manipur except that it has inaugurated the first primer of armed struggle for the liberation of the peasants and exploited Manipur people in 1950-1951, in conformity with the international communist movement led by the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) in a half-hearted way in Asia, while it had complete concern for Europe.

The author in his own humble way studied exhaustively strategic materials on CPSU, CPI of that era, published materials nearly all of them from Manipur, talked in 1992 to Ughor Debabarma (a contemporary of Irabot who led the armed struggle in Tripura ), late leader Soyam Shatradhari who told me fifteen years back that he would publish all the epistles and communications of late Irabot at his disposal, talked to a Meetei state committee septuagenarian leader of 1960s at Nongmeibung, RGC commander N. Binoy (alias Sunil in northern Manipur, alias Bipin in Southern Manipur) who single handedly collected 100 guns out of nearly two hundred guns for the RGC, L. Tiken of the RGC and also late Longjam Manimohon, who along with late Laishram Kanhai happened to be in the ranks of intermediate leadership of the MCP (not within the top decision-making 5 red guard commanders; reportedly the two did not take up arms) and studied strong refutations in 1996-97, made by late MP- Ngangom Muhindra, one of the top five red guard commanders in the millennium CPI souvenir.

The ideological format of the 1950 armed struggles had been based on 1) Defeat of Hitler and Japanese fascism in world war II (hence, Japan khurai thude-u song of Ms. Chandrakala; no chiding of the British colonialism, mark it please); 2) a new ‘constellation of class forces’; 3) post-war colonies launching “Armed Struggle against imperialists”; 4) Nehru's government denied freedom to Indian people; 4) National government id.est. Delhi government collaborates with Anglo-American imperialism; and hence, the launching the democratic revolution by the CPI in 1950. The afoji did operate within these parameters.

Some of the MCP analysts, who along with another couple of scholars, who the late CPI MP had referred to in his refutations, did little

source- verifications while jumping to Nongda hypothesis (cited by V.V.Rao and Gangmumei Kabui). Irabot epistles are yet to be published, made public by the custodian concerned, and we have to re-assess the MCP vis-a'-vis the CPI of the India-occupied Manipur after their publication. The author has no opportunity to read the unpublished Irabot documents, so far held up for unknown reasons for a long time, like many other scholars.

The writer does not think that the CPI leaders of occupied Manipur in the mid 1950s would have been appreciated in the unpublished Irabot epistles, as many of them surrendered after SP Palit's racist crackdown on PDA detainees (that matriculate coloured barbarian- looking gentleman was awarded IPS along with a reward -hunting Meetei officer for subjugation of Manipur people and the RGC), and disowned their MCP role and themselves too, for setting new agenda of political opportunism.

Cloak and dagger policy prevailed in the post- MCP CPI premises even by concealing for seven years, the news about the death on September 26, 1951, of Hari or Jogeshwar, who the BCP called as AFOJI ( elder comrade in Burmese or, comrade Ahal to the armed Manipuri red guards ). The foreign comrades called him peoples' hero or , Jana-neta (Meeyam luchingba in Manipuri free translation; the author has to look up a dictionary in order to decipher what a Jana actually meant).

Comrade Longjam Jyanendro of Kongba (whose elder brother possibly maintains his jottings in a small notebook of about 30 pages approx , about MCP and Irabot very privately) had to supply medicines and a few Akbar cigarette boxes, but comrade ahal missed in his most difficult times, the complete attention of the party to his deteriorating health. Afoji wrote to L. Jyanendro- "Eigee chaananaba hidak amatta leitre / Bismark Stomach powder nattaraga Maclean's Stomach powder Liklee Aneekhakata Leiraga peeraku." The supremo was in dire need of medicine for his last survival (the author may not be completely wrong to guess so) and the party with a huge network of activists missed the opportunity to give a chance to him to live a little bit longer, inspite of the inevitable personal differences.

A few good men could and might have existed by that time, inspite of capitalizing to-day his name for other purposes that Irabot would have not been comfortable with. Anyway, that was the past that nobody could alter. The full and comprehensive inside story has no space here and the author may be forgiven for the short shrift.

## CORE ISSUE I- ARMED STRUGGLE

A would- have-been congressman that afoji was at his first political stint, might not have been the harbinger of Manipur national question as much as the gen-next of post –MCP period, but had definitely been the political supremo of the RGC that inaugurated armed struggle for the liberation of the exploited in Manipur. International politics of the pre-and post-war period witnessed the communist polycentrism in the CPSU monolith to which the CPI belonged on the one hand, and Yugoslav or, Communist China specific communist configurations, which the CPSU looked with mistrust and communist realities, not necessarily Bernstein or, Rosa Luxemburg or, Trotskyite brands.

The CPI monolith had suspected afoji to have taken recourse to Titoist line in deviation of the CPSU monolithism and hence, the dubious self-criticism episode. Khrushchev had successfully mended the Soviet-Yugoslav ideological hiatus and in that context, Yugoslav –baiting lost its Stalinist ideological validity. The CPSU within had been a bundle of competing political theses including Zhadnov thesis that prevailed upon others in CPSU's expansion of communist ideology towards the east- particularly Asia. But for M.N. Roy in the 1920s and subsequently thereafter, India and the East might have missed a revolutionary experience; however, his over enthusiasm had overtaken Leninist objectivity of that age. The CPSU did not recommend its favourite, time-tested Bolshevik methodology, but recommended the then rising Maoist peasantry-led city encirclement armed struggle for Asia. Strategically, in the overall cold war situation, the communist targeted the end of what N. Lenin called imperialism and tactically, Mao Tse Tung's tested peasant rebellion, particularly after its crowning success in 1949, had been more suitable for non-European eastern question.

Zhadnov thesis that had been approved by CPSU leadership for resolving the eastern, Asian question had been clandestinely endorsed by Asian conference and the second CPI congress in Calcutta, 28 February to March, 1948 which bore an innocent façade exclusively for British consumption. The Asian revolutionary agenda had been set in Calcutta. (For details of Zhadnov thesis and CPI of 1947-1950, see N.Sanjaoba ed., Manipur Past & Present volume I, 1988, pp.246-252). The CPI had, therefore, endorsed Calcutta conference resolutions (read CPSU Zhadnov line, or 2nd party congress) for triggering off armed struggle in India, which included, in CPI perception, India-administered Manipur, Tripura and British-annexed Assam as well. The cliché like Indian annexation would supposedly perturb the

conscience of pandits and diplomats. The author, therefore, is put to task to clarify annexation issues.

In contemporary world, everyone is in the know of what annexation means to the polity after the world community rejected firmly any justification whatsoever- might be that of Kuwait in 1991, three Baltic states in 1939, East Timor in 1975, Montenegro, Kosovo, South Ossetia(2008 issues) and, many more- ad infinitum. Naturally, imperialists and colonizers — might be in capitalist or communist camps whatever – or, puerile local scholarship in Manipur or the region, ought not relinquish their hard-earned gobbling up mind-set. Without the pitch- black darkness around, even a candle, let alone the sun, loses its shine and significance; they have to be there to make and impute a sense to history, although they make no history. The dialectics goes on.

Notwithstanding Manipur annexation issue that is too simplistic, homely and familiar to us all, Sikkim annexation had been denounced by top echelons of India, who raise the human reason above native, embedded, inextricable prejudices of the broken psyche. What the MCP had not addressed to has been completely addressed by the new elites of Manipur with proven national and international performances. India has to be proud of them. Indian annexation of Sikkim in 1975 had been denounced by prime minister Morarji Desai, chief justice of India – M.Hidayatullah, Nani Palkhiwala, Nari Rustomji, A.G. Noorani, Minu Masani so and so forth- all the legendary personalities in the hall of fame, and also in the UN Human Rights Committee.(see Illustrated Weekly of India, May 13, 1984; April 21, 1985; July 1, 1984; and July 22, 1984, among others).

Chief Justice M. Hidayatullah's article – 'The Law' demolishes Indian annexation of Sikkim by Hidayatullah's own country India.(The Weekly, 22nd July, 1984, pp.42-45 and 62).Independent-minded scholars of history, diplomacy and law would appreciate the legal arguments, espoused against Sikkim annexation by chief justice (ret'd.) of India. With the setting up of universities in Manipur and the region, we are yet to evolve independent-minded, genuine scholarship, not the damp squip, and horrible, irrational logicians of the below- the bottom order. Manipur is in search of persons capable of exercising independent judgement on puzzling issues of the day. The author is yet to search for mighty scholars in Manipur and the NE region, many of whom would hang on the unjustifiable annexations, for their personal opportunism and gains.

Till the CPSU clandestinely mandated CPI through top secret channels to abandon B.T.Randive line( read CPSU line ) of armed struggle for India in mid-1950, which afoji Hari could not receive through CPI Assam unit while in Burma, the RGC did the armed struggle in Manipur valley in 1950-1951.

Former comrade Satindra Singh had noted the critical 1950 in this way:

“ Although Ranadive had been replaced by Rajeswara Rao, the communists were unable to formulate a tactical political line on their own. They continued to grope for light until Stalin (sic.CPSU boss) summoned S.A. Dange, Ajoy Ghosh, Rajeswar Rao and Basayapunniah to Moscow. From their hideouts, they traveled inognito to Moscow. According to well-informed sources, Stalin patiently listened to them, then ordered a map of India and asked them to show him the exact location of Telengana. When it was done, he angrily remarked: “ How could you think of organizing a guerilla revolt in an area which does not have a common frontier with any Socialist country ?” .Stalin then laid down the lines.” (The Illustrated weekly of India, January 9, 1977, p 15)

The CPSU, on the contrary, recommended that armed struggle would continue in other parts of Asia, including Burma that remained under sway of both the Soviet party and the CPC. This period has remained a puzzle to the rebels in Indo-Myanmar area of that period. A couple of works like-Charles B. McLane's 'Soviet Strategies in South East Asia', Geoffrey Fairbairn's 'Revolutionary Warfare and Communist Strategy'(1968), Jay Taylor's 'China and South East Asia-Peking's relations with Revolutionary Movements'(1976), C.P. Fitzgerald's 'China and South East Asia since 1945'(1975), Uma Shankar Singh's 'Burma and India'(1979) along with V.B. Sinha's 'The Red Rebel in India'(1968), Biplab Dasgupta's 'The Naxalite Movement'(1974), and M.N. Roy's 'India in Transition'(1971), among others, would possibly remove the confusion a little bit.

Confusion arose in the Manipur rebels about the two-pronged CPSU tactical line and even the Assam unit with its envoy to Manipur DOC – Uma Sarma and Basna was not fully informed, because the route from Stalin to party chief, Dange to party leader, then to Assam unit and further down to the remote foreign DOC hideouts in that period happened to be an unending political circumnavigation. Besides, the 1950 armed struggle had not been

supported by three top leaders viz., Ajoy Ghosh, S.A. Dange and S.V. Ghate for the simple reason that outside Telengana, Manipur, Assam and Tripura etc., Krishak sabhas or peasant organizations virtually did not exist in India and a civil war could not be triggered. B.T.Ranadive had to be ousted by Rao in the same way as Ranadive had ousted P.C. Joshi.

Heads rolled on and out in the CPI hierarchy, before parliamentary measures had been opted for in lieu of the revolutionary struggle that had been abandoned forever. Even violent Marxian class struggle or, Leninist anti-imperialism struggles have been literally cast out in the revisionist process; the house had been abandoned barring the imposing banner while rushing to the outhouse and mouth-watering slogans. The MCP had to rush in the queue.

The CPI had difficult times during Quit India movement while defending their pro-British political stand vis-a'-vis Gandhi-led independence movement. Tons of literature are available in defence of both sides. However, the CPI like the BCP ( both white and red flags) and smaller ones considered Indian independence as sham, and it had to take up armed struggle largely, for the independence of India, immediately after Indian independence.

In similar vein, the BCP et al did not consider Burmese independence from Japan in 1943 as proclaimed by Japan and the subsequent independence from the British in 1948 as the real independence. As soon as the party aborted their armed struggle, MCP too followed suit. The afoji did not quit the party, nor did he constitute another anti-CPI party to advance the supposedly Manipur nationalist cause that he did not address. However, his stature as the MCP party supremo that commanded the RGC is worthy of an historical space.

At the time when the afoji left for Burma by default in 1951, the Burmese communist insurgency was at logger heads and more complicated, because, in 1946, Trotskyite Thakin Soe split pro- Maoist ,Stalinist, all Burman BCP and formed the Red flag while, Thakin Than Tun and Ba Thienof BCP attended 1948 Calcutta conference. In March, 1948, BCP had started the armed uprising by way of implementing the thesis of H.N. Ghosal, CPI's delegate in Burma. Ghosal who in Burma had enunciated Zhadanov line in his pamphlet-'On the present political situations in Burma and Our times' was eliminated by Thakin Tan Tun a decade later , who in turn had also been liquidated, due to ideological reasons probably after some years-Ghoshal's support to general Ne Win, known for his Burmese way to Socialism.

In early 1950, BCP deputed two central committee members to Peking that militarily helped BCP and stood for liberation of Burma. In 1951, Burmese army cleared the BCP from fertile lands; BCP was prepared for negotiated settlement. India, on the contrary militarily and financially helped the Burmese government, which would enter into Indo-Burma agreements subsequently thereafter. In the most perplexed situation of Burmese insurgency politics, the afoji had no alternative than leaving Burma at the earliest without defining the next perspective in clear terms and 26 September, 1951 concluded the mission.

The rosy pictures painted by some writers about his Burma visit may not be fully true after considering the intra-insurgency feuds, interventions from China, USSR, and India, among others. The Manipuri afoji was small enough to bring to terms the irreconcilable forces, at a time when the BCP (white flag) Thakin Than Tun strictly followed the Cominform line- the Zhadnov approach, re-enunciated by Ghoshal.

The confusion about afoji acting under MCP directive or, his choosing a personal anti-CPI Irabot line did not arise at all, as the supremo had been deputed by the MCP at the eleventh hour, when Ng. Muhindro and Th.Boro, who had been deputed officially for Burma access had been arrested by police, and by default, the supremo had replaced the two. In a sense, the afoji left for Myanmar absolutely by default. One of the leading informants revealed to me that the arrest of the two had been pre-arranged, however, multi-source confirmation is yet to be made.

After the bitter, possibly enforced self-criticism of October 10, 1949, Irabot would have never gone against the party directive. Ng.Muhindra defended the said self-criticism as the routine socialist political culture; but unfortunately, the CPI in the entirety dared not take up a routine self –criticism repeat after they denounced armed struggle forever. The most misconstrued access of the supremo to Burma had actually been firstly to gain arms aid from Burmese insurgents, secondly, to move easily in liberated zone in Burma, as the party so directed.

The RGC striking force had 32 trained red guards, supported by about 500 village guards. Some writers had confused the 500 village guards as the graduated red guards. The red guards had struck upon the Manipur police, Manipur rifles and 4th Assam rifles. (see the author's article Hundred Guns Guerrilla war in 1949-1951 , The Freedom daily, 30.9.1996 & 1.10.1996 for details of the revolution) . In 1950, the inaugural armed struggle was considered to be an unprecedented event. Even today the CPI/CPM of India



had to fight out the Communist Party Maoists that sustain armed struggle in 15 more Indian states outside the NE region. The latter unwittingly snubs the anti-revolutionary CPI-CPM as opportunistic, reactionary, social imperialists comparable to their counterpart – the American imperialism.

In West Bengal, the Congress and the CPM in their own turn, in greatest show of anti-revolutionarism, had successfully exterminated several thousands of communist revolutionaries after 1971, mostly the brilliant students of the Presidency College. It could be recalled that Peoples' Daily of China, May 19, 1967 and June 27, 1967 had cited revolutionary struggles in India like those of Naga, Mizo and peasants revolutions in Darjeeling, among others.

Police commissioner Ranjit Gupta had recollected the 1970s: "When the CPI-M proposed that (sic. Ajoy Mukharji government) they would deal with the Naxalites politically, they meant violence and liquidation". (The Illustrated Weekly of India, April 21, 1985, p.41). The divide continues, possibly deeper. The author is yet to be educated if the present crop of CPI/CPM and their present day red- guards or, booth-capturing cadets of Nandigram style of to-day exactly implements what N.Lenin wrote, "Without a revolutionary theory, there cannot be a revolutionary movement." They are left to introspect themselves. From committed anti-revolutionism to silent no-revolutionism could have been the long march of the official communist parties of the day.

We are afraid if the afoji had been alive to-day like his Tripuri co-revolutionary Ughor Debabarma, he might have faced the same ideological fury of the communist extremists. He had seminal national aspirations within his bosom not outside, but that remained implicit in both letter and spirit. Legends are born out of forelorn graveyards in distant lands. We hope some of their learned members might have read their literature as much as I do.

The MCP or, CPI later on, had never denounced Indian annexation of sovereign Manipur nor, did it oppose the humiliating, servile D.O.C.(district status) of MCP under Assam unit of colonial CPI., unlike the socialist party or young socialist league or one of the two Congress factions in Manipur that strongly challenged the so called disputed merger of the country by a foreign power. That is why late MP Ng. Muhindra always like any other CPI members and the young ones too, who applauded one hundred national liberation armed movements elsewhere (see all party records without a blink) looked upon the national liberation organizations in Manipur as secessionist or terrorist outfits, unlike the CPSU veterans. Duplicity had been bequeathed to the successors to reprimand and frown upon liberation movements in the best political

tradition of social imperialism, very particularly in Manipur and the NE region as a perturbation to what guru Gowalkar in his imagined nationalism, calls akhandabharat.

The revisionist leaders had misread Manipur history for their post-facto political gains. They had no mistake in singing his master's tune in total disregard for CPSU's unrelenting, uncompromising struggle against colonialism and imperialism of all forms till 1991. For want of space, the morphology and anatomy of the RGC (estd. 3 March, 1950) revolution in 1950-1951 are not described herein. One had to admit that in that age that was a big event which no one could overlook even today.

### **Revolutionary Dynamics**

In spite of their inaugural adventurism that usually smacks of indiscipline, gross abuse of individual discretion in difficult times, the Red guards religiously complied with the script and manual, unlike the present day, mushrooming, de-humanised human clusters assuming revolutionary garbs, in pursuit of their ambiguous or, rather counter-revolutionary man slaughters, here and elsewhere.

It may be stated that the hundred of thousands of Maoists in China worked under the gospel of the Red book; even the Sicilian Mafias had their own manuals (text not flashed herein for want of space). Indian army is governed by Army Act, elaborate rules and above all, the 'Ten commandments' issued since 1993 (text with the author) to soldiers operating in the region. It might be recalled that the hero of French revolution- Robespierre had been guillotined by the French revolutionaries for committing excesses. Manipuri Red guards in 1950 did not literally step outside the script, notwithstanding the terror they let loose against class enemies.

The tactical manual- 'Course for the Cadres of the Shock Brigade' circulated by the CPI headquarter and seized by the government of India in 1950 had provided the elaborate instructions, which had been intended to reach the RGC command. The excerpts are:

### **PREFACE**

1. This Shock Brigade cadres' course is meant only for the cadres of the Shock Brigade.
2. This cadres' course is made, basing on the guerrilla principles and tactics as enunciated by Mao (sic. Tse Tung)

3. Everyday practical exercises on silent killing, night games on the last two days-one party attacking a police station...

5. The weapons dealt with here are the rifle, shotguns and ... handbombs. ... The guerilla activities mean the raiding of the police station, zamindar or jotedar's houses; ambushing police parties to annihilate and collect arms from them...

— The basic unit of a guerrilla force ,or the shock brigade as we call it, will consist of five

Or ten cadres including the leader.

### **EQUIPMENT**

There shouldn't be any particular badge or dress for the cadres, because...

### **RAID...**

**CONCRETE TARGETS FOR RAIDING** (...precise instructions to follow in details)

The full text of the manual has been exhaustive and hence, the basic excerpts only are highlighted while revisiting the memorylane of the communist terrorists of the 1950. A bulk of Mao's literature brought by air by a Manipuri student from Kolkata had been confiscated by the police.

Manipuri hillmen constructed guns from water pipes to provide for the equipments. Ex M.P. Ng. Muhindra, N.Binoy and Th.Boro imparted training to the members of the RGC at Keibi hillock. Interestingly, they called grenade as mukphu, bullets as kolom machin so and so forth. Irabot's code name changed annually. The supremo had sent from Burma, four guns, a type writer and gold bar. The RGC camps had been opened at Keibi, Modaipok, north and south Jiri. Kamong, Andro and Heirok as the strategic point. The RGC had created the revolutionary mechanism; however, the armed movement could not succeed in 1950.

### **CORE ISSUE II- MANIPUR NATIONAL QUESTION**

The party supremo afoji and the MCP had given more emphasis on the Manipur revolution in conformity with the CPSU guidelines, CPI mandate than on the issue of Manipur annexation. Official records available till date do not reveal tangible MCP's official vindication of Manipur national question during and immediate after the MCP 's aborted revolution. One need not reiterate the immense ideological thrust given by the leftists from Marx down

to Lenin down to Stalin, and then to Gorbachev, to the need for addressing national questions along with the colonial and economic questions. They did never encourage return of the nations to re-tribalisation, but established nations and nationalities could not be left to the cold unattended.

The CPSU had been consistent in directly fraternalising national liberation movements in a large number of colonial situations, particularly in the third world. The historic de-colonisation UN, GA resolution no. 1514 of 1960 had been proposed by the USSR and seconded by India. CPSU's fraternal party- CPI had espoused right of people to self-determination till 1951; CPI member Somnath Lahiri espoused right to secession of constituent states of India in the constituent assembly. How had the CPI chosen duplicity towards Manipur national question was enigmatic till 1953 and even beyond. It would be pertinent to cite that the CPI actively supported the right to self determination of Pakistan.

MCP was not honoured as a separate unit like Assam unit of the CPI, as it had been calculatively insubordinated to the inferior status of D.O.C.(District Organising Committee) by the CPI of mainland India, possibly as a logical sequel to the disputed Indian annexation of sovereign Manipur. The mainland CPI, unlike the CPSU had been showing its colonial behaviour even to MCP. The RGC that struggled for the emancipation of the exploited in Manipur was not sponsoring the armed struggle with a view to undoing the disputed Manipur annexation.

The de- annexation agenda is invariably the interwoven, clearly worked out contribution of the post-MCP gen-next and their organized rebellion or insurgency, which the government of India is yet to fully address to as on to-day . They wish to plough the political field with a re-set national agenda, that the MCP missed out for one reason or another.

Certain issues like "Purnadayitaysheel shashan" and "Swadhin Bharatkee Manungda Swadhin Manipur" of a 1946 civil society resolution had created more confusion than necessary. The first political demand of the left-oriented party had never transcended the accepted Indian question and it had been a domestic Indian political arrangement. Purbanchal matter or its repudiation whatsoever was absolutely India's domestic, internal affair. These petty matters, inflated as much as one can for diversionary purposes, do in no way distract the people and the movements from the major annexation imbroglio. The CPI demand was for a full responsible government within India, not a fair correction of the unfortunate annexation blunder. Some leaders

thrive on and capitalize at someone's big blunder, and the victim's agonizing pain. The beauty of oppression lies in the loss of vision and sensibilities.

Barring the Praja Mandal & Nikhil Manipuri Mahashbha meeting resolution, dated 5-4-1946 which, for records's sake, asked for independent Manipur inside independent India, holding plebiscite to decide the possible integration of Manipur with another Indian province, the MCP or its frontal organization did not ask for sovereign status of Manipur. The two major components are "within India" and "integration with another province within India." In the broadest sense of the term, it was made out to be intra- Indian political affair. No activist movement advanced or pursued the resolution at all. However, the revolutionary élan survived on the Manipur soil (for want of space, see the author's articles published in the Freedom daily 'Meetei State Committee', dt. 13 and 20 July, 1996; 'Buffer state ultimatum,' dt. 2 August, 1996...)

The RGC had never taken cognizance of even this resolution in private. Manipuri gen-next evaluated the afoji's benchmarks without any inhibition. Edit-page of Resistance weekly, 25 September, 1979 'Why Irabat failed' finds fault:"— Irabat underestimated the national contradiction between ... people of this region (sic. NE region comprising seven states) and the Indians." and "Iratat failed to understand the enveloping Indian colonialism".

### **NATIONALIST SEQUEL**

A major political consequence of the aborted MCP revolution led by the RGC in 1950 could be located in the resurgent armed struggle that took care of Manipur national question, unambiguously addressed by the enlightened and highly informed critical gen-next.

Surrenderers of the MCP had to join CPI. Charges of mutual betrayal and treachery had also been vigorously traded off between and among the ex MCP revolutionaries. One called the other as betrayer and the down the memory lane, the relic survives. Another important informant confided to the author that the afoji had been betrayed .Confirmations are being sought in more details. It might have been a vulgar tirade or, a bitter truth .The author keeps the statement open-ended. The relics of the trade off continued for long time. In 1952 election, the CPI had contested thereby keeping aside their revolutionary past like a mistaken romantic adventure.

The political by-products had been transformation of the red guards and the political supremo into the CPI in India-administered Manipur, eventual breakup of the CPM on the one hand, and the involvement of some of the

middle ranking MCP activists (not RGC command) initiating the Meetei state committee armed struggle in 1960s with very much ambiguous confederal political arrangement with the Nagaland independence movement, under the leadership of Wangkhei Tomba et.al (Tomba's diary had been recovered partially in 2007, some parts had been badly soiled), the grand initiative of Longjam Manimohon and Laishram Kanhai of the MCP in hatching after four precom. meetings held at the house of Ningthemmachha Priyogopalsana at the very outset, the United National Liberation Front, among others, and the eventual ripening of the Manipur review committee of mid-1960s to an hierarchical set- up incorporating young blood of that age.

Political assassinations like that of comrade Thokchom Bira due to the lingering post- MCP confusion and also due to complete lack of transparency in the working of the party had unfortunately occurred in Imphal decades after. Subsequently thereafter, the next phase of guerrilla war of the PLA (Eastern Region till 1990) and PREPAK took place in the valley in 1978-79 in operation day break, supposedly, heavier in tone, ideology and texture than that of the aborted 1950 MCP revolution, to be followed by the MPA guerrilla offensives thirteen years subsequently thereafter. The rest is the recent story vividly unfolding frame after frame ,before our own vision and sensibilities.

### **DIALECTIC**

The red guards revolution in 1950-1951 left a profound, indelible impact on informed Manipuri world view and onward progression of a composite, egalitarian history of the ancient Asian state. The colonial world view thrust from the top upon an unwilling Manipuri generation by way of mistaken political postulations of the administering power may not hold the future destiny of a people, committed to proven egalitarianism and equal friendly, national relationship in the community of nations. The MCP revolution remains a pathfinder in a re-defined, better articulated political landscape in the twentyfirst century.

**Source: Sent by the Authour via internet from his e-mail id naorem06@yahoo.co.in, on Saturday, September 20, 2008, at 7:56 AM. The article was widely published in several online journals and print journals.**