

k|t:kwf{ Psflwsf/ / k|t:kwf{ds lfdtf

C\$ @, @)^@

hfgsf/LKQ BRIFING PAPER

k|t:kwf{ug|/ c?nf0{lhlt cf^gf]kēlj sfod ug|kj|Q dfgj nufot k|j|sf ;d:t hljx;sf]Ps k|s[ts uof xf]. 8f|jgn]k|tkfbg u/3f]lj sf;sf]l;4f6t klg hljx; alrsf]k|t:kwf{ a9l ; lfdn]sd ; lfdnf0{k|t:yfkg ug|lgoddf cfwfl/t 5 . dfgj hljgsf]ljleGg klfx;, rfx]tof]/fhgllt, ;fdflhs rfnrng, k7gkf7g jf c6o sg]lfq xf]\toxfk|t:kwf{kd|v :yfg cf|63f]x65 . k|t:kwf{sf/Of g)gofFgofFj:t' / k4ltsf]lj sf; x65 / JolQm ; dfh / /fi6x]p6glt ub5 . k|t:kwf{]s;h0{zlQnjfg\agfp5 eg]s;3f]cl:tj g);dfkt ug{;Sb5 . To;h]k|t:kwf{ef]ts, ;fdflhs / cfly\$ lj sf;qm]sf]Ps dxlj k0f{/ cleGg klf xf]. o;};Gbeof of]hfgsf/lkqdf k|t:kwf{/ Psflwsf/sf ;DaQvdf lj j]gf ub]lghl lfqsf]k|t:kwf{ds lfdtf clej]4sf nflu k|t:kwf{]s:tf]eldsf xg ;Sb5 h:tf s/fx;df ljzb\rrf{ul/Psf]5 .

k|t:kwf{/ Psflwsf/

K|t:kwf{ug{Ps k|s[ts uof eP h:t}k|t:kwf{ug{gkg|l:ylt agfpg vff]g' / cf^gf]kēlj ;bf;jkf alg/xf]veGg]rfxgf /fv' klg k|s[ts uof g}xf]. To;h] k|t:kwf{ug{/ cf^gf]j r]j sf]/lff ughf0{Ps l;Ssf sf b0{kf6f xg eGgdf cTolQm gxf]h . cfly\$ lfqdf jr]j nf0{Psflwsf/sf ?kdf lng ; ls65 . jr]j sf];Defj gf geP k|t:kwf{x65 . k|t:kwf{/ Psflwsf/flds kj|Q cfly\$ k0ffnlsf klg cle] cE xg\ . To;h] k|t:kwf{/ Psflwsf/ Ps csf\$ lj /f]M dfq ge0{k|k/s xg\ . ljZj cyfGqdf ljleGg /fi6sf ;fy}7hf sDkglx;sf alr c6t/fi6e :t/df g}k|t:kwf{x65 eg]/fi6e cyfGqdf ljle] cfly\$ lfq; alr ;f]sf nflu k|t:kwf{x65 . lglZrt lfqleq klg ljle] pBflx;sf ;fy}k|ti7fgx;sf alr ahf/ / pRrb/sf]gfkmsf nflu k|t:kwf{x65 . cyfGqdf k|t:kwf{geP gofFnuflg cfpg] gofFj:tsf]lj sf; tyf gofFklj lwsf] yfngl xg] g}lyPg . cf]j isf/sf] hgg] cfj Zostf xf] eg] k|t:kwf{] hgg] klg cfj Zostf g}xf]. Psflwsf/n]ahf/ ; lglZrt ug\$;fy}bl3\$fnlg ;/lff k0fg ug]ljZj; Joj;folsf]xg]x6f k|o3 Joj;foln]To; lfqdf cf^gf]jr]j sfod u/L PsflwkTo hdfpg];kgf / rfxgf /fv3}x65 .

cyfGqdf k|t:kwf{/ Psflwsf/sf]cWboog

ahf/sf]dflwodaf6 ;f]sf]af8knf / kflj fbl cyfGqdf k|t:kwf{]l:yltn] cyfGqsf] kl/j t6sf]ult / lbzf lgb]zt ub5 . cyf:qsf]cWboogsf l;nl; nfd ; ah]k|t:kwf{/ Psflwsf/sf]cWboognf0{lg} dxlj lbPsf] kf065 . k|rlgsfnb]v g}cyf:qlx;n] ahf/df Jofk/lx;sf]Psflwsf/flds kj|Q /xg]ePsf]To:tf]kj|Qnf0{lgogqdf ug]kg| / Psflwsf/ l;hgf xg lbg gxg]s/f pNny u/3f 5g\ . sf]6nosf]cyf:qdf klg lzNksf/, Joj;fol / Jofk/lx;sf]z]f]ofaf6 cfd hgtfnf0{arfpgsf nflu /fhon] ug]kg]sfdx;sf]jOf6 5 -sf]6No, !((@_ .

k|t:kwf{f0{cfwlg cyf:qsf tyfslyt zf:qlo 1ftfx;n]kflj fbl jf ahf/ cyfGqsf] pbo / ;fdGtj fbl Psflwsf/flds kj|Qsf]c6To; E uf3f]kf065 . cfwlg cyf:qsf h6dbftf dflgg]P8d l:dyn]kflj fbl cyfGqnf0{zlQnx;sf]j t6g v]h eg3f 5g\ /pgsf];dRrf cWboog vhf k|t:kwf{]l;4f6tdf g}cfwfl/t 5 . k|o3 Joj;folsf]



SAWTEE logo text

k|t:kwf{g+!(#^^
@%\$ nD6Elg dfu{
afnj f6f/, sf7df8f]-g]kfn
kn]M (&&-!-\$\$!%*\$, \$\$\$\$\$#*
^ofS;M (&&-!-\$\$\$\$%)
0q]M sawtee@sawtee.org
j3; f06Mwww.sawtee.org

cf`gf] gfkrfnf0{ clwstd agfpg] rfxgdf g} klt:kwf\$] alp /f]kPsf] xG5 eGg] efj gf cfwlgs cyzf:qsf ;`sf ljrf/sx;sf] /x\$]f] lyof]. xg t P8d l:dysf] kVoft k'ts æ/fi6x;sf] ;DkIQÆ df vf; Joj ;fo; E ;DalGwt Joj ;folx;sf] ldnf@tfdf pkefQmfsf] zff]of xg ;Sg] ;Defj gfnf0{pgn]ljlel :yfgdf pNny u/\$]f]kf0G5 (P8d l:dy,@)# . t/ pgsf cgbfolx;n] eg] Psflwsf/sf] ;Defj gfnf0{ToIt w}]Wbfg lbPsf]kf0G5 (xdg nēL !(((\$) .

sfn{dfS; n]klg kFij fbl Joj:yfnf0{lfq-lfq alr / Joj ;fol-Joj ;fol alrsf] klt:kwf{ E ufF\$ 5g\ . pgsf] kVoft k'ts .kFij sf] t] f] efudf gfkrfsf] b/ sd xB] hfg] egf0 klt:kwf\$]l; 4fGtdf g}cfwfl/t 5 / cf`gf] csf] kVoft s[t bzGzf:qsf]bl/b]f (Poverty of Philosophy) df pgn]k]f; jh bzLqS k\$]f]cfnf]gf ub]kFij fbl Joj:yfnf0{ ;fdGtl Psflwsf/sf] cGto; E ufF\$ 5g\ . t/ kl5sf cy]j bx; rfx]dfS; {j f u} dfS; {fbl xg\ ; ah] :j tM vhf klt:kwf{xg]l; 4fGtnf0{ :jlsfg{g; s\$] / klt:kwf{nf0{k]f; fxx ug{tyf Psflwsf/ /f\$g ;/sf/af6 g}sbdrflng'kg]wf/Off /fv\$]f]kf0G5 . ljlel dhSx;df Nof0Psf Psflwsf/ lj/f]wL sfgGx;sf] tfls\$ cfwf/ klg oxl x] . ;fdGtof klt:kwf{n] s'zntf / Psflwsf/n] zff]of a9fp5 eGg] ;f]f0sf sf/Of g}w]h; f]cyzf:qln] Psflwsf/nf0{gsf/f]ds / klt:kwf{nf0{ ;sf/f]ds b]i6n] xG] u/\$]f] kf0G5 .

; fdGtl Psflwsf/ / ahf/ cyfGqsf]lj sf;

;fdGtl /fHo-k]ffnl cGtuē tTsfng o/f]k]hl dhSx;df lglZrt j:t'sf Jofkf/ Joj ;fo ug]JolQm jf ;dxx;sf] ;dfh jf luN8 xg]ub{of]. o:tf luN8n] slxn] /fHo-Joj:yfn]-/fhfn] k]f]g u/\$]f]clwsf/sf cfwf/df t slxn] k]f]nt rngsf cfwf/df sg}vf; sdsf nflu Psflwsf/ k]f]t ug]f0{To; ;dodf ;fdGto dflgGyof]. ol dhSx;df khftGq / kFij fbsf]lj sf; ; E; fdGtl Psflwsf/f]ds k]Q lj?4sf] cleofg ;~rfng ePsf lyP . ahfotdf gjf; zt]fAbl]v !* cf;zt]fAbl; Dd To; avtsf]/fHo-Joj:yfn] k]o lbPsf Psflwsf/ / To:tf Psflwsf/sf]cfd hgtfaf6 ePsf]lj/f]wsf]hdG cyzf:ql xdg nēL n]; lj:tf/ jOfg u/\$]f 5g\ (xdg nēL !(((\$) . ;g\!^() It/ ahfotl ;#baf/f vlgh kb]y\$]f] p]vggdf Psflwsf/ lbg ;Sg] /fhfsf]clwsf/sf]cGto ul/Psf] ;g\!&\$) df Psflwsf/ lj/f]wL sfgG ag\$]f]/ To; sf]s]l jifk]5 Psflwsf/lx;nf0{ ;#baf6 lgisfzg ul/Psf h:tf s]l pbfx/Ofx; k]fg ;lsG5 .

g]k]ndf klg /fHon]sg}JolQm vf; kl/jf/ jf ;dbfonf0{ Psflwsf/ lbg]k]fng /x\$]f] b]vG5 . /ffsfndf eG; f/ ;sng ug] vf; j:t'sf] cfoft-lgoff ug] / hldGbf/L

kyfdkrf\hluof Joj:yfkg ug]h:tf s/x; tTsfng ;dodf k]f]nt Psflwsf/sf Hjnt pbfx/Of xg\ . /ffsfnsf] ;dflktkl5 klg ;g\^) / &) sf bzsd f ;/sf/af/f nf0; l; lbg] cgdlt lbg] / /sf/n] t]f\$]f] d]qdf dfq j:t' p]k]fbg ug{kf0g]h:tf k]ffnlf0{ ;fdGtl Psflwsf/ k]Qsf]lg/Gt/tfsf ?kdf lng ;lsG5 . ;fdGtl /fHok]ffnlcf cln 7hf]dfqfsf]pBf] Jofkf/ ug{zf; ssf]cgdlt lngkg] / zf; sn]Psflwsf/ lbg]Joj:yfnf0{ ;fdGto g}dflgGyof].

ahf/ cyfGqsf]lj sf; / cfly\$ pbf/ls/Of; E; fdGtl Psflwsf/f]ds k]Qsf]cGto xB} uof]. kmn:j?k pBf] Joj;fodf vf; ;dbfosf JolQm; dfq ;m]lg /xg] / Jofkf/ Joj ;fo ug\$ nflu ;Q;lgx;sf]cglx; cfj Zos kg]k/Dk/fsf] ;d] cGto xg uof]. Psflwsf/, nf0; l; / sf]sf cfwf/df afF\$fx; :j tM ahf/af6 lj:yf]kt xg yfn]. klt:kwf{nf0{ :jlsfg]gofFgofFpBf] Joj ;fosf] :yfkgf xg uP eg]afx\ Pj +cfGtl/s ahf/df vkt xg] j:t' Pj +;]fx;sf gofFgofFcfk]t\$tf{b]v]g yfn]. o; /l ahf/ cyfGqsf] cfwf/ klt:kwf{g}xf] eGg] s/f k]ff]of t xB} uof].

klt:kwf{l:y]tsf cfwf/df ahf/sf]j ul\$ /of

cyzf:qlx;n] ahf/ ;Argfnf0{ Psflwsf/, c]nk]lwsf/, Psflwsf/f]ds / k]f] klt:kwf\$] ahf/sf ;kdf afB} u/\$]f] kf0G5 . t/ l; 4fGtdf elgP h:tf] k]f] klt:kwf\$] ahf/ c; e] / k]f] {Psflwsf/ ahf/sf] ;efj gf oyfydf gu0o g}5 . k]f] {klt:kwf\$ nflu j:tx;df k]f] of Ps?ktf xgkg] w}] q]t]f / laq]t]f Ps}yfn] hDdf xgkg] / ol b]f plQs}dfqfsf] ;Fgf xgkg] / Ps jf ;fg] ;d]sf q]t]f laq]t]f] ahf/df k]f] k]f] g] ;Sg]cj:yf xgkg] xG5, hg c; Dej g} 5 . lwt]k]qsf] v/lb laq]t] xg] lwt]k]q ahf/ , ljleGg j:t'sf]Innfdl xg]j:t' ahf/ h:tf ahf/nf0{ k]f] {klt:kwf{ds ahf/sf] ;aeGbf ghS /xg]dflgP t]klg o:tf ahf/df klg ;~;fg Jofkf/lx;sf] k]Zdf ljleGg cj/f]w v8f ul/g]ePsf]s]l 7hf Joj ;fol jf sDk]l]sf] afxNo /x\$]f] kf0G5 .

k]f] {klt:kwf\$] lj kl/t ahf/sf] ?kdf k]f] {Psflwsf/nf0{ lng ;lsG5 . k]f] {Psflwsf/ xgsf nflu To:tf] j:t'sf] ;xh klt:yfkg] ;Defj gf xg' xB}, q]t]f jf laq]t]f Ps dfq xgkb\$. sDk]b/ l]q]df df0q] ~6 pBf] afx\$ lj Zj Jofkl ?kdf g}Psflwsf/ ePsf] pbfx/Of lbg c; Dej g}xf]f . /fi6e jf :yfglo ?kdf eg] vfg]k]gl, ljBt c]k]t{ /h, oftfoft h:tf ;]fx; Psflwsf/f]ds ahf/sf ?kdf ;~rfng ePsf] kf0G5 . g]k]ndf klg ;/sf/l :j]fld]df /x\$]f] s]l cl3; Ddsf]6]h]k]f] ;]f jf clxn\$]f]lj Bt ;]f jf vfg]k]gl ;]f, k]f] nod kb]y{c]k]t{ jf ;f]n6 6]E Inld6\$]f] g} Jofkf/nf0{ o; sf] pbfx/Ofsf] ?kdf lng ;lsG5 .

/fHok(fffnl, Psflwsf/ / klt:kwf{

/fHo cfkth]Psflwsf/flDs Joj ; fo ; ~rfng u/ klt:kwf{
 xft] ; flxt u/ \$f c; Wp pbfX/Ofx; kfgp ; lsG5 . gkfnf
 g)s/f ug{x]eg]sxl jif{cl3; Dd r/fp agfpg]v xjfo{
 ofttfot; Ddsf Joj ; fo /fHo cfkth] ; ~rfng u/L
 Psflwsf/sf] :yfkf u/\$}xf]. clxn]klg ljBt, vfgkfgl
 h:tf cfwf/et ; jf ; /sf/sf] Psflwsf/df g} ; ~rfnt
 5g\ . ; /sf/ cfkth] Psflwsf/sf] Joj ; fo ; ~rfng ubf{
 slxn] klt:kwf{ kof{ agbth nufP/ t slxn] klt:kwf{
 ug{ ; Sg]jftfj /of agg glbP/ Psflwsf/ :yfkf ub5 .
 /fHo cfkth] ; ~rfng u/\$f] Joj ; fodf c?nf0{kj} ug{
 glbg]rng gkfnufot cGo dh5df klg /x\$]kf0G5 .

sltko cj:yfdf /fHon]cf^nh]dfq Psflwsf/ :yfkf ub5 .
 vf ; dX, sDkgl jf JolQm ljZ]nf0{ ; Af0f jf 5b lbg]
 h:tf sfoX; u/ /fHo jf ; /sf/ :jona]g}klt:kwf{
 xft] ; flxt / Psflwsf/nf0{k}o lbg] sfD ; d] ub5 .
 Psflwsf/ ljlel tl/sfx;af6 hGd65g\h; dNo]sxl kQv
 tl/sfnf0{ tn lj]j]gf ul/Psf] 5 .

/fHoaf6] Psflwsf/sf] :yfkf

; fdGtl Joj:yfdf /fHo; Qfn] Psflwsf/ lbg] kfnng eP
 h:t}clxn]klg sltko cj:yfdf /fHo :jona] Psflwsf/
 :yfkf ul/lbG5 . o; sf]HjnGt pbfX/Ofsf ?kdf kQ6,
 l8hf0g / kltlnlk clwsf/sf]btf{u/L lb0{lgZrt cj lw; Dd
 sg}JolQm jf sDkglnf0{/fHon] Psflwsf/ kfg ug{f0{
 lng ; lsG5 . o; sf]cltl/Qm sltko cj:yfdf /fHon]sg}
 k\$]f/sf]Joj ; fodf gofJolQm jf sDkglnf0{kj}zsf]cgbtl
 g]lbbg . w]h; f]o:tf]Joj ; fox;df ; /sf/ :jo+jf ; /sf/
 lgoGqt lgsfox;sf] ; m]gtf /xg]sf/Of ; /sf/n]c;sf]
 kj}z g} xg g; Sg]cj:yfsf]l; hGf ul/lbG5 . gkfnf
 o; sf]HjnGt pbfX/Ofsf ?kdf gGsf] Jofkf/df ; n6
 6]BEnf0{k}klt Psflwsf/nf0{lng ; lsG5 .

kfs]ts ?kdf g} ; ldt cfklt{

kfs]ts Psflwsf/ sg}vf; j :tsf] ; ldt pknAwtf sf/Of
 jf To:tf]j:t' cfklt{ug{cfjZos k]f/f/ lj sf; df nflu]
 vr\$ sf/Of pTkGg xG5 . pbfX/Ofsf nflu Ps}7p0f dfq
 vlgh kbfy{5 eg]To:tf]cj:yfdf To]:yfg h; sf]lgoGqOfdf
 5 p; \$f]kfs]ts Psflwsf/ sfod xg hfG5 . To:t}sltko
 cj:yfdf j\$llnks ; Argf tof/ ug{kbf{Hofb}vr{nflu]
 ePsf]klg Psflwsf/ hGdG5, h:t] x/\$ 3/df wf/fsf
 nflu ljleGg cfklt{t\$tf]kfgl]kf0k jf UofSf]kf0k
 jf lahhsf]tf/ k?ofpg ; Dej xG5 . xg t lj1fgsf]
 kQltaf6 ePsf]a]f/ 6]hknGsf]lj sf; af6 6]hknG ahf/df,
 ljBt k]f/Ofnf0{ljBt pTkfbg / cfklt{af6 cnlUof0f, /h
 ; jf ; ~rfng / /h 6]fs Joj :yfkf 5\$0f0lbg]h:tf klj lwsf]
 lj sf; n]o:tf]kfs]ts Psflwsf/sf]dfqf qndzll sd e0{
 ol ; j]fx;nf0{k}klt:kwl{agfPsf]5 .

pBful Joj ; fol ldnf]dtf]

sltko cj:yfdf sg}vf; j:t' jf ; j]f; G ; DalGwt
 Joj ; folx; Ps cfk; df ldnl l; l08s, 6k6, sf6h cflb
 u7g u/ Psflwsf/sf]lgdf ub5g\ . o:tf Psflwsf/df
 Joj ; folx;n]of t ahf/nf0{Pscfk; df ljeflht ub5g\
 of t ; eQm ?kdf dNo lgwf{Of ub5g\ . cGt/f6 ?kdf
 thsf]lgoff ug]dh5x;sf] ; u7g cfk\$ o:t}Psflwsf/flDs
 kj]Qsf] pbfX/Of xf]. gkfnleq]klg a; , 6s Joj ; fol,
 xjfo{ ; j]f kbfos nufot sltko lf]ut ; 3-; yfx;n]
 o:tf]lsl; dsf]Psflwsf/sf]lgdf ug{vfl]g]u/\$f kZ:t
 pbfX/Of kf0G5g\ .

sDkglx?sf] :j feflj s la:tf/ / lj no

sltko cj:yfdf s8f klt:kwf{sf/Of ; fgf / sdhf]
 cfklt{t\$tf; ahf/af6 aflx]b]hfg] / 7hf tyf zIQm DkGg
 klti7fgn]cf'gf]j r]j a9p6]n]hfg]cj:yf cfp5 . :yflkt
 klti7fgn]cf'gf]k]jzfnl x]; otsf]kQf ahf/sf] ; fdG6
 l; 4fGt ljkl/t uP/ b/fzokOf{dNo sfod u/ klg klt:kwl{f0{
 ahf/af6 x6fPsf] pbfX/Of kfgp ; lsG5 . o:tf]cj:yfdf
 gofFJo] ; folsf]kj}z alhf geP klg :yflkt klti7fgsf]
 k]jzfnl x]; otsf sf/Of pglx; klt:kwf{ug]cj:yfdf
 /xG5g\ .

Psflwsf/flDs ahf/df klt:kwf{

Psflwsf/sf] s/f ubf{kof{ ?kdf Psflwsf/sf cltl/Qm
 ahf/sf]w]}7hf]efu cf]6g]pTkfb] jf cfklt{t\$tf;nf0{
 klgl n0G5 . kZg p7s s]o:tf Psflwsf/jfnfn]klt:kwf{
 g}ub5g\ / cfkth]h]rfXof]To]ug{ ; S5g\ t <Psflwsf/-
 jfnfn]klg k]olf jf k/f]f ?kdf klt:kwf{ul//x\$ xG5g\
 o:tf] klt:kwf{lgDg k\$]f/af6 xg ; S5M

gj kj}zla6 cfpG ; Sg] klt:kwf{

olb sg}klg j:t' jf ; j]f lf]df hf] 5h]kj}z jf nufgl
 ug{kfgp]lgod sfgG ePsf]v08df gofFgofP]kfb] /
 ; j]f kbfos cfpG ; Sb5g\ / cfd hgtfsf]lxtlj?4 Hofbtl
 ug]Psflwsf/jfnf ahf/df l6Sg ; SbG . cjZo g}gofF
 cfpGsf nflu nufgl w]}cfjZos kg{ ; S5 / af6]s17g
 xg ; S5 . t/ ljZjdf gj kj}zln] :yflkt lgsfo jf
 sDkglnf0{klt:yfkf u/\$]c; Wp pbfX/Of 5g\hg lj sf; sf]
 lgod g}xf].

cfoftt j :t' jf ; j]faf6 xg] klt:kwf{

cf6tl/s ?kdf pTkfbg ; Dej gePd cfoftn]klt:kwf{lbG
 ; S5 . ljZjd}Ps dfq cfklt{t\$tf{ ePsf] pbfX/Of kfgp
 uf{x}knf{ . k] / ; /sf/n]cfoftdf kof{agbth nPsf]cj:yfdf
 klgl nfesf]dfqf w]}eof]eg]sfgGsf]ljkl/t uP/ klg
 j:t' / ; j]fsf]cfoft xG5 . To; h]j]fxo klt:kwf{af6 sg}
 klgl lf] kof{ ; /lft /xg ; SbG . kw/s xG5 t vfnl dfqsf].

gkfndf /fHo k0ffnlaf6 k0fg ul/Psf Psflwsf/sf sxl pbfx/of

gkfndf klg /fHo-k0ffnln]lglZrt JoIQm jf ; dxnf0{
Psflwsf/ lbPsf]jf Psflwsf/ h:t}Joq:yf u/L lbPsf]
kz:t pbfx/of kfg ; lsG5 . /offsfndf r/f0b]v
sk8f cfoft ugI Dddf 56 lbOGYof]. k-rfotsfndf
nf0; q; k0ffnlaf6 dfq ge0{vf; ; dxnf0{ kf; kf0
k0fg u/7 len6u06fsf gddf t]f] dh5sf pkef]o
j:tx;sf]ahf/df PsflwkTo sfod ug{lb0Psf]lyof].
clxn] klg a]f/sf] 6]hkn0g jf df0nsf] nf0; q;
lbbf sxl jif{Dd csfI:}f k0fosnf0{nf0; q; glbg]
kljwfg /flvghf0{/fHoaf/f Psflwsf/nf0{ kf]; fxg
ul/Psf] dfGg ; lsG5 . sltko cj:yfdf sg}vf;
; dxsf] ljsf; sf nflu jf vf; cfly5 jf euf]ns
lf0df nufgl cfsif0f ug5f nflu ; d] Psflwsf/
lbg' kgI cj:yf cfp5 . ljZjdf o;/L ; /sf/af6
Psflwsf/ lb0Psf kz:t pbfx/ofx; kfg ; lsG5 .

klt:yfkg ug] j :tx?; wsf] klt:kwf

gofF ptkfbs cfpq] jf j:t' jf ;]fsf] cfoft xg]
; Defjgf gePsf] cj:yfdf klg Psflwsf/jfnfn] cf^gf]
j:tsf]klt:yfkg j:tx;sf]cfklt;tf{E klt:kwf{ul//x\$]
xG5 . Uoffsf] klt:kwf{ bfp/f; E xg ; S5, kfp/f0ln]
lj:s6; E, ; 8s offtoftn]xjfo{offtoft; E, nfd]b/Lsf]
6]hkn0g] 0G6/g0; E klt:kwf{ul//x\$]xG5 eg] xhfsn]
sl/o/ ;]f; E klt:kwf{ub5 .

pkef]nfsf] wgsf nflu xg] klt:kwf

dfly pInlvt klt:kwf{gxg] cj:yfdf klg sg} klg
ptkfbs jf cfklt;tf]pkef]nfsf]wgsf lglDt klt:kwf{
ul//x\$] xG5g\ . pkef]nfn] ahf/df pknjw j:t' /
;]fx; dWo] roq ug{; Sb5g\ . h:t} offtoft ;]f Hofb}
dxEf] eof] eg] pkef]nfx; n] 6]hkn0g u/7 sfd rnfpg
yflN5g\ . lj b; ed0fdf hfgsf] ; \$f pkef]nfn] 6]hlehg
lsGg ; Sb5 . 3/ lsGg]sf] ; \$f uf8l lsGg] lg0f6 ug{
; lsG5 . o; cydf lgdf0f pBf]n] df0/ uf8l pBf]n]; E
klt:kwf{ul//x\$] xg ; Sb5 .

; fDoj fbl dh5x;df h:t}; a}Joq; fodf ; /sf/s}lgoGqof
xg] cj:yfdf klg sxl g sxl klt:kwf{t af5l /xG5 .
Psflwsf/jfnfn] klg h] rfx0f] hit xb; Dd rfx0f] Toxl
ug{; Sb5g\lsgls pkef]nfn] klg cit ePsf] v08df of
alxisf/ u5g\of j\$Inks cj:yf vf]5g\ .

ahf/df klt:kwf]dfq hfRg] lglZrt s; l klg agfpg
ufx]f kb5 . ; j]yd t sg j:thf0{Ps}k\$]/sf] j:t'
e] k;g uxg 5 . Ps}p2]osf nflu k0fu xg] ; a}

j:tsf] u0f:t/ Ps}x5g . ; a};]fk0fosn] Ps}k\$]/sf
;]f lbb5g\ . gkfndf g}Ps sk lrofsf] dNo ? % blv
krf; ?k0fE0f a9l kg{; Sb5 . To:t} sltko ptkfbsn]
t cf^gf]af08 sfod u/L To; sf nflu lkldod dNo ; d]
nufpg] u/\$f 5g\ . Pp6f ; fab jf bGt d-hgsf] af08
k0fu ug] ; xh csf] af08 k0fu ub5 . o; cydf
Pp6f af08 cfk]df Psflwsf/sf] ahf/sf ; kdf lng
; lsG5 .

klt:kwf{/ lghl lf0sf] ljsf;

gkfnnufot ; Dk0f{ ljZjdf Joq; foln] ahf/df cf^gf]
PsflwkTo sfod ug5f nflu e/dub/ k0f; u/\$f] kf0G5,
hg k]s[ts u0f g] x]. ; w}cfkm' rgvf] e0{ cf^gf]
klj]lws / Joq; flos lfdtsf] k0z0 dfk]t cfk]nf0{
klt:kwlE0f a9l ; lfd agfpg]f0{ts{ut dfGg' kb5 .
t/ sltko cj:yfdf lghl lf0sf Joq; foln] klt:kwl0f0{
; dft kfg]p2]on] sf0]n^a, l; l08s0, k0tj zfnl x]; otsf]
b?k0f]nufot c6o u}sf0gl 9uaf6 cf^gf klt:kwl0f0{
ahf/af6 lj:yfkt ugI / gofFcfuGtsnf0{ahf/ k]zdf
/ \$f nufpg] k0f; ugI u/\$f] klg kf0G5 . t/ s] klt:kwf{
lghl lf0sf Joq; folsf nflu jf ; dRrf lghl lf0sf nflu
xflgsf/s 5 t <

ljZj cyfGqsf] 0ltxf; xg] x] eg] hg dh5df a9l
klt:kwl{ ahf/ 5 Toxl dh5 ljsl; t ePsf] / To; }
dh5sf knd{ sDkglx; n] ljZj ahf/df cflwkTo hdfPsf]
kf0G5 . klt:kwf5f u? dflgg] df0sn kf0]n] cfhsf]
ljZjdf /fi6x; n] ge0{ knd{ sDkglx; n] klt:kwf{ ugI /
lj sf; sf] qndf vf; lf0df sfo{t o:tf ; km sDkglx; sf]
; dx g}xgkg] s/f cf]0f0f] vf; lf0leq xg] klt:kwf5f]
l:yln] g] To; lf0sf] ljsf; xG5 e] pIny u/\$f 5g\
(df0sn kf0, !(() . o:tf] klt:kwf5f] l:yln ePsf]
v08df Psftk] knd{ sDkgl / Joq; fol ; w}rgvf] /
kultsf nflu pBt /xg] pglx; sf alr gofF] jrf/ /
klj]lwsf] k]fx e0/xG5 eg] csf] k] klt:kwf{ E} ahf/
lgdf0f / lj:tf/sf] sfo{ klg e0/xG5 .

; sf/f]ds / gsf/f]ds klf

; fdfGotM ahf/ cyfGqdf klt:kwf]f0{ ; sf/f]ds /
Psflwsf/nf0{gsf/f]ds ?kdf lng] ul/G5 . ljZj sf k]0M
; a} dh5df Psflwsf/f]ds l:ylnf0{-; /sf/l Psflwsf/
ePsf] v08df afx\$ _ lgoGqof / lgodg ug] ; s] Dd
xtf] ; flxt ugI ul/G5 eg] klt:kwf]f0{ kf]; fxg ugI gllt
cjndjg ul/g] u/\$f] kf0G5 .

k;g p7b5 s] Psflwsf/n] ; w}g/fd] / klt:kwf] /fd]
kl/0ffd lbG5 t <o; sf] pQ/ TolQ ; xh 5g . ; fdfGotM
klt:kwf] szntf clej [4 ub5 . gofFj :t' / klq]nfsf]
lj sf; df ; xof] ub5 / ptkfbs] j clej [4 u/L pkef]nfsf]

lxt ub5 . To:t} Psflwsf/n] clfdtf / cszntfnf0{ k>o lb65 . blftdf xlf; cfp5 / pkefQmfsf] zrf0f xg hf65 . ljsf; sf] ult sd x65 . t/ Psflwsf/n] slxn] sfRl ; sf/fltds eldsf ; d] lgjfx ug{ ; Sb5 . Psflwsf/s} nfnrdf nufgl a9g ; Sb5 . ljsf; df ; xofu ldnb5 . pbfx/0fsf nflu j:t}sf] ljsf; sf nflu k66 lb6f gofFvfh / cflj:sf/nf0{ ; xofu ldnb5 . cfoftdf cj/fv v8f u/l lb6f b3leq To:tf j:t' pTkfbg klqmfdf nufgl j14 e0{gofF/fhuf/lsf cj ; /x; l; h6f x65g\ . To:t} kltnlk clwsf/ ; lglZrt u/l lb6f gofFl; h6f ug] klf; fxg kfp5 . Psflwsf/ Ps ksf/sf] ; /lff x] h; n] Joj; folx;nf0{ cem bQlrQ eP/ Joj; fodf nflu / Joj; foleq sfo\$zntf a9fpg clek/t ub5 .

; fwf/0ftof w]} pTkfbs jf cflkt&tf{ ePsf] cj:yfnf0{ kl:t:kwf{ds cj:yf dflg65 . s] w]} Joj; fol x6f kl:t:kwf{sf] cj:yf /xg/ To; lffsf] ljsf; x65 t <o; k7gsf] pQ/ Tolt ; xh 5g . 7hf sk8f pBfu :yfkf xgk} { w]} sk8fx; a1}alg] ub5] t/ sk8fdf kljwsf] ljsf; 7hf pBfu :yfkf xg yfnk15 dfq ePsf] x] . gkfn] s/f ug] x] eg] clxn] s] lff lffdf ; -; fgf s] sx; tyf ; fgf] cfsf/sf s] lff knd{x}sf] afxNosf sf/0fn] g} o; lffsf] pNnYo ljsf; xg g; s}sf] lj1x;sf] egf0 5 . To; h] ljsf; sf nflu kl:t:kwf{ rflx65 t/ Ps lglZrt cfsf/ klg cfjZos kb5 . lglZrt cfsf/ e6f ; fgf] Joj; fo rNg g; Sg] s/f ; a6f huhfx] 5 . cem ljZj Jofkls/0fsf] cj:yfdf t ljZj Jofkl ?kdf kl:t:kwf{ xg] ePsf] cfsf/sf] dxlf] cem a9sf] 5 .

To:t} ; dfg ; fgsf] cj:yf g/x6f tyfslyt kl:t:kwf{ ahf/ ; e6qnf0{ alnof] agfpgsf] ; sf sdhf] agfpg ; Sb5 . pbfx/0fsf nflu sg} Ps ; fdfgo ls; fgnf0{ eljiodf ; vf nflu5 e6g] yxf eof] eg] p; n] o; jifsf] cf'gf] pTkfbg ga] l hf0{/fv] cefj sf] ahdf a] l w]} gkfn] sdfpg ; Sb5 h] ls 1fgsf] cejdf a9l szn pTkfbs w/fzfol a6g ; Sb5g\ . f'gdf ; dfg ksf/sf] kxF gx6f ahf/df szn pTkfbsn] g} kndf l65 e6g ; ls6g .

; du6f e6g' kb{ ahf/ cy{6qdf Psflwsf/jfnfn] cf'gf] Psflwsf/sf] b?kofu ug] ; Defj gf ; w]/xg] x6f o; nf0{

gsf/fltds ?kd} xlf/65 . kl:t:kwf{x;n] olb ahf/df lgod; ut kl:t:kwf{ u/] eg] Psflwsf/jfnfn] b?kofu ug] cj:yf g} cfp6g . t/ kl:t:kwf{ kl:t:kwf{ eg} dfq klubg .

kl:t:kwf{kf]; fxg ug]; e6g

ljle] dh5x;df ; /sf/n] kl:t:kwf{nf0{ kf]; fxg tyf Psflwsf/ / k6Tj zfnl xg; otsf] b?kofunf0{/f\$g k16 kl:t:kwf{Da6w] glt tyf sfg6sf] th6fsf ; fy} To; sf] k6f] sf/l sfof] ogf nflu lgodg ug] lgsfo h:tf ; e6g v8f u/\$f] x65 . kl:t:kwf{ /fd] kl/0ffd lbg o; sf lgodx; k16 xg] sf] ; fy} ; lfd Pj +giklf /kpsf] ?kdf sfof] og ug] cfjZostf kb5 (ljZj a6 klj6g, !((#) . o:tf] /kfn] kl:t:kwf{kj 46sf nflu lgiklf tl/saf6 sfg6 lgodsf kngf ug{ nufpg] k6f; ug{ kb5, j o+g} pBfu, Jofk/sf] ljsf; sf] glt lgdf / ; -rfng ug] k{ nflu] xfg .

; fdfgotM kl:t:kwf{ Da6w] P6 lgodx;n] Joj; folx;n] vhf ahf/dvl l; 4f6tsf lj kl/t ldnf] tf] u/l dno sfod ug] ahf/nf0{Ps cfk; df af6g] gj -k] 3lsf nflu cj/fv x; v8f ug] k6Tj zfnl xg; otsf] b?kofu ug] h:tf u} sfg6l Jofkl/s lqmfnsnfknf0{ lgo6qf ug{ vfh6f] kf065 . lj sl; t dh5x;df kl:t:kwf{ Da6w] jf Psflwsf/sf] lgo6qf ; Da6w] lj zlf lgsfox; sfo{t /x65g\ . ol lgsfox;n] 7hf sDkgl jf sDkglx;sf] ; dxsf] ahf/ Joj x/ / Itgn] kl:t:kwf{ Da6w] P6

lgodsf] pNn3g u/] gu/\$f] cgludg ug] ub5gV pNn3g ug] 7hf kndf sDkgl dly sfg6l sf/jfxl ; d] rnf6g\ . o:tf lgsfosf] sf/jfxl} sf/0f 7hf 7hf sDkglx;n] cf'gf] Joj x/df kl/j t6 ug{ k/\$f] kl:t:kwf{nf0{ ; f'g k] fx ug{ k/\$f] jf sDkglx; g} 6qnf0Psf pbfx/0f kfpq ; ls65 . ljutsf s] l jif6f eldsfo cd] /sl ; ^6j6/ sDkgl df0qmf] ^6dfly ePsf] cg' Gwf / sfg6l sf/jfxl lgs} rrf6f lyof] . xnsf jifx;df kl:t:kwf{ ; Da6w] -h; nf0{ 66-lj /fv] klg e6g] ul/65_ sfg6n] lj zlfTM 7hf sDkglx;n] ug] c6o sDkgl] v/lb / sDkglx;sf] alrsf] lj nodf a9l Wofg lbPsf] kf065 . 7hf] sDkgl] cflwkTo xg hf6f Psy/ln] To; sf] rsf] lj/fv ug] u/\$f 5g\ eg] ; dy{x;n] o:tf 7hf lgsfoaf6 pTkfbgsf] u0f:t/sf] uof/66 xg] / gofFj sf; nf0{6} f kl] g] tsx; lb0{o:tf] cflwkTosf] 3dfp/ ; dy6 ug] u/\$f] klg kf065 .

sf]7sm@

ljZj ahf/df Psflwsf/

cflwgs ahf/ cy{6qdf ; /sf/n] Psflwsf/ lbg] jf l; l08s6, sf6h v8f u/] Psflwsf/ agfpg] k6ng sd x6} u0/x6f] kf065 . cj sDkglx;sf] ljno jf sDkgl] sf] lj:tf/af6 ahf/zlQma9g] / Psflwsf/ a6g] rng a9sf] 5 . ljZj Jofkls/0fsf] cj:yfdf ljZj Jofkl ?kdf g} sltko j:t' jf ; jdf s] l 7hf klti7fgx;sf] Psflwsf/ agsf w]} pbfx/0f kfpq ; ls65 . sDko6/ ; -rfngsf] s/f ubf{ ck/6E l; i6ddf df0qmf] ^6sf] Psflwsf/ g} 5 eg] x65 . 7hf ofq] fxs xj f0hxhf agfpgdf cd] /sfsf] af0E / o/fk] sf] Po/a; s} cflwkTo 5 . gkfnleq g} s/f ug] x] eg] klg ahf/df o:tf] 7hf] lx; ; f cflw6sf] pbfx/0f kfpq ; ls65 . lao/ ahf/df uf] vf at/lsf] Hofb} 7hf] cflwkTo /x6 eg] r/f6sf] ahf/df ; b{gkfn; 6 bffg ; lsg] cfsf] pTkfbs 5g .

kl't:kwf{DaGwl Joj:yfx; n] lj zifTM lghl lřđdf b]vg] Psflwsf/ftds kj [Qnf0{lgogqof ug{vřđb5g\ . t/ sltko cj:yfdf ; /sf/ cfkm} Psflwsf/ftds kj [Qsf] Břts xg ; S5 . lj zifTM u} klřftflGqs ; /sf/n] cfd pkeřđmřsf] lxtsf] Vofn ub5 eGg ; lsbđ . ; w} Psflwsf/ ; Dkl ; /sf/l lgsfo hgdvl xG5 eGg' ; /sf/af6 a9l ck]ff ug{ ; /x xf] . To; ř] kl't:kwf{DaGwl Pđ lgod, Joj:yfx; agřpř kl't:kwfřf0{kř] ; fxg ug] u/L / Joj ; fosř] lj sf ; lj:tf/df cj/řv cfpg glbg] u/L agřpg' kb5 . kl't:kwf{ ; lglZrt ug] řpř, vf; u/L ; /sf/l lgsfonf0{řofb} alnof] agřpř Toř] lgsfo g} Psflwsf/ftds kj [Qsf] dřđnod aGg klb5 . o:tf] cj:yfdf o:tf lgsfosř] sfd sf/jfxlaf6 pBřv Jofkř/sř] lj sf ; / lj:tf/df cj/řv v8ř xg ; Sb5 . ælg/lřssř] lg/lřof s; n] ug] eGg] kZg v8ř xg hřG5 . ef/tdf sřl j řfřl3; Dd nfu" ePř] Psflwsf/ / lg/řvřtds Jofkř/s Joj xf/ ; DaGwl Pđ, !(^((MRTP Act) nřf0{ 6řl j/řv lgs} s8ř sfgđ dřlgřvof] . To; sř] křřn] wř} ; Joj ; folx; n] Joj ; fosř] lj:tf/ ug{g; sřř] ařv oP/ ef/tařx/ Joj ; fo ; fg{ k/řř] / c; DalGwt lřđdf nufgl ug{k/řř] lyof] . o; řř sf/of ef/tař/f cřlyř pbf/lř/of; ř} kl't:kwf{DaGwl sfgđ Pj +Joj ; fodř 7hř] kl/j tđ e0{ To:tf lgoddf vřhřkřf cřPř] 5 .

sltko cj:yfdf ahř/df ; jtgq kl't:kwfřř] l:ylt aGg lbgřř] ; řř ; /sf/n] vf; lřđdf nufgl kř] ; fxg u/ř jf ; /sf/sř] ahř/ x:třřř sf/of ; sf/ftds ofřbřg klřř sřl pbfx/ofx; df křl{ Plzofř hřkřg, blřof sř] /of, třofjg, dnřzof cřb dhřřř] bř lj sf; nřf0{ lng ; lřG5 . xg t ol dhřx; df kl't:kwfřř] :t/ cřklj sl; t dhřx; sř] h:t} dřq ePř] egřf0 ; dř] gčřPř] xřđg (cřřkřřof ř Sof; k/ ; !((\$) . t/ ; /sf/n] kl't:kwfřř sřl xb; Dd u/řř] lřgogqofř] kl/ofđaf6 g} ol dhřx; sř] cřlyř pğltnřf0{ ; sf/ftds dřGg' kb5 .

gřřndř pBřv Joj ; fodř Psflwsf/ lřgogqof ug] sfgđ Joj:yf

gřřndř xřn; Dd Psls[kl't:kwf{kř] ; fxg ug] j Psflwsf/ lj/řv sfgđ geP kl' ahř/df xg] sltko Psflwsf/ftds kj [Qsf] lřgogqof ug] lřl; dsř klřwřgx; ePř sltko Pđ-sfgđ 5g\ . ol sfgđ Joj:yřn] lj zifTM Joj ; folx; n] cğlřt křřbf lng gkřpg\ eGg] p2řo /fvřř] křfG5 . pBřv Jofkř/nřf0{ lgodg ug] o:tf křř[tsř sfgđx; df lgsř; l křř/l lřgogqof Pđ @) !#, cřj Zos ; jř ; ~řng

Pđ @) !\$, vřB Pđ @) #, uřf:t/ tyf gřk třř Pđ @) #, sřnf] ahř/ tyf cGg ; fđřhs ck/fw tyf ; hřo Pđ @) #, pkeřřnř ; Ařof Pđ @) % \$ h:tř Pđx; kb5g\ .

ol Pđx; sř sltko klřwřgx; n] ; /sf/l lgsfo / :yřglo křř; gřf0{ cřtolws cřwsf/ lbPřř] křfG5 . ol cřtuř Joj ; folx; lj ?4 wř} sř/jfxl xg ; Sg] ; Defj gř /xG5g\ . ol sfgđ sř wř} klřwřgx; j:tk/s 5đg\ / Joj xf/df nřu" ug{g; lřg] lřl; dsř 5g\ . o:tf sfgđx; dřkřř ; /sf/n] rřxřđř hř] s} Joj ; foldřly cğř Zos x:třřř xg ; Sg] ; Defj gř ; dř] v8ř ePř] křfG5 . pbfx/ofř nřl sřnfřahř/ tyf cGg ; fđřhs ck/fw tyf ; hřo Pđ @) # e df nřutdf slt kl'tzt; Dd dğřkř lng křfGg] eGg] ; dř] třřřPř] 5 t/ nřut s; /l lřgřřf ug] křř 5đ . To:t} dğřkřř] kl'tzt třřř kl't:kwf{ds ahř/sř] l; 4řt lj kl/t xg hřG5 . kl't:kwf{ePř] ahř/df klřnřřN6 Joj ; fodř l5gř] 7hř] dřqřř] gřkř lng ; Sb5 t/ kl5 wřř] Toř] Joj ; fodř křř ul/ ; sřkl5 kl't:kwfřř6 gřkř b/df sdl xg hřG5 . To:t} sğ} dř] dl j:třř] ; l-řlt u/L l; hg gePř] ařđđř a9l dřnodř laqř ugřřf0{ ; fđřGg Jofkř/s sfo{ dřGg' kb5 . t/ laqř cęř v8ř u/řř] egl To:tf] ; l-řlřtsř lj ?4 sř/jfxl ug{ ; Sg] klřwřg lj leGg Pđx; df /řvPř] křfG5 . lj zifTM gřřnř Pđx; df sřđ cęř sřřf0{ eGg] sřđ cęř sğ cj:yfdf l; hřř u/řř] xř] h:tř sřřx; sř] křř Jofřof gePř] xřř j:tk/s lřofđ gřg] ; Defj gř wř} /xG5 . To:t} pkeřřnř ; Ařof Pđđř kl' o:tf sřl klřwřgx; 5g\ hř] ; fđřGg Jofkř/s sř] ř] / lj ?4 hřG5g\ . Ps

JoJ ; foln] třřřř] dřnosř cřwř/df cřř] Joj ; foldřly sř/jfxl xg ; Sg] klřwřgx; kl' sřl Pđđř /xřř] křfG5 .

cřlyř pbf/lř/of / kl't:kwfřř j [4

gřřndř ; g\ !(() sř] bzskl5 cřřřđđř pbf/jřb nřu" ul/of] . cřoft / lj břřl lj lgdo; DaGwl Joj:yfx; df pbf/lř/of xřř / eG; ř/sř b/x; sfd ul/b} nřřřř cřřt/l/s đřq xđ ařxđ kl't:kwf{ ; dř] a9řř] 5 . o; ař6 sřl lřđdf lgs} 7hř] křřt ePř] kl' 5 . lghl lřđřř] ; xh křřřř sř/of xřřf0{ ofřofřn] 7hř] křřřř] đřřof] wř} gořFařř / lj Qlo ; yřx; vř] lřgřř] ; jřř] :t/df ; wř/ ePř] 5 . gořřofřřřř sř/vřřř vř] xřřn lřđđř 7hř nufgl eP . wř} ; sř, Sofřk; / c:křřn Pj +gř] ; xřřř kl' vř] . o; n] ubř{ lřZro g} ahř/df pkeřřnřx; sř nřl pknřw j:t' Pj + ; jřř] ; wř Pj +uřf:t/df j [4

Sřřřřř #

kl't:kwfřř ; Defj t lj sřt

kl't:kwfřř] slxnřxl+ljsřt kl'g Nofpg ; S5 . pbfx/ofř nřl Pp6} hřnřf6 wř} JolQm] břřř/ř a6Nř vřřřř hřn g} lj gřz xG5 . Pp6} vřřřřđř wřř] đřřř đřřř{ đřřř g} ; đřřř xG5 . đřřř ; jř hğř/sř] cřtolws rřřřř sř/of křřřřř ; řřřř] lj gřz ePř] xřđn] wř} břřřřř 5řř . To:t} kl't:kwf{ahř/df ; řřř / cřn sdhřř Joj ; folx; wř; fol ePř] / lřgřř] dřnodř b0{ řř/ hğř Joj ; foln] đřř u/řř] kl'g wř} pbfx/ofx; křřg ; lřG5 .

ePsf] 5 . pbf/ls/ofs} sf/of sltko Joj ; folx₂ klg cf^gf] Joj ; fo lj :tf/ ug{ ; kmn ePsf 5g\ . klt:kwf\$] dfqf a9\$] 5 .

t/ lj ut sxl jif{otfsf]c; xh kl/l:yln]ubf{cyfGqdf kplt /flsPsf] 5 . sltko lfgdf afx₂ klt:kwf\$] cf^t/s ptkfbgnf0{lj:yflkt u/\$] 5 . o; sf sf/of klt:kwf\$] sltko pBf]nf0{?Uof agfPsf] / /fhuf/ldf kltsh c; / kf/\$]eGg]; dt ; lG65 . t/ ; duof xhf{gkfnfsf]cyfGqdf b]vPsf ; d:ofx₂ klt:kwf\$] sf/of eGbf klg c6o sf/0faf6 cfPsf xg\eGg] dflG65 . lj Zj a\$] Ps cllboogn] klt:kwf\$] :t/ sd ePsf dh\$xd df eGbf klt:kwf\$] :t/ dfly ePsf dh\$xd sf] hljg:t/ pRr ePsf b]vPsf] 5 (lj Zj a\$, @))# .

klt:kwf\$]cj:yfdf pBf] Joj ; fo ; wFrgfvf]/xg] cf^gf]pTkfbstj j]4sf nflu kof; /t /xg] cf^gf] nfut 36fpgsf nflu gofFgof klj lw kof] ug] cg; Gwfg ug] gofFclj:sf/ ug] ;]fsf]:t/df j]4 ug] h:tf s'/df tNnlG xG5g\ . klt:kwf\$]pBf] Joj ; fosf] lj:tf/ Pj+cfd pkefQnsf] lxt / cyfGqnf0{ pllttkh cu] / u/fpgdf ; xof] w'ofp5 . lgZro g]klt:kwf\$] g] JolQm ; yf jf /fHosf] sfo{ ; Dkfbgdf l56f] 5l/ffkg / ; wf/ Nofp5 . klt:kwf\$] xlg cj:yfdf lzlyntf a9\$ / sfo{ ; Dkfbgdf ; 'ttf cfp5 .

klt:kwf\$]cj:yfdf pBf] Joj ; fo ; wFrgfvf]/xg] cf^gf]pTkfbstj j]4sf nflu kof; /t /xg] cf^gf] nfut 36fpgsf nflu gofFgof klj lw kof] ug] cg; Gwfg ug] gofFclj:sf/ ug] ;]fsf]:t/df j]4 ug] h:tf s'/df tNnlG xG5g\ . klt:kwf\$]pBf] Joj ; fosf] lj:tf/ Pj+cfd pkefQnsf] lxt / cyfGqnf0{ pllttkh cu] / u/fpgdf ; xof] w'ofp5 . lgZro g]klt:kwf\$] g] JolQm ; yf jf /fHosf] sfo{ ; Dkfbgdf l56f] 5l/ffkg / ; wf/ Nofp5 . klt:kwf\$] xlg cj:yfdf lzlyntf a9\$ / sfo{ ; Dkfbgdf ; 'ttf cfp5 .

sf/f] f/lsf] ; Vof / klt:kwf{

; fwf/oftof Joj ; folsf] ; wof w}] ePsf] cj:yfdf ltlg₂ alr ldnf0]tf]sd xg] ahf/ klt:kwl{xg] / o; sf] thgdf ; ldt Joj ; fol dfq ePsf] v08df ldnf0]tf] e0{ ahf/df Psflwsf/ sfod xg] ; Defjgf a9l /xg]xG5 . t/ gkfnfsf] offtoft lfgdf cTolws Joj ; folsf] ; unlgtf /xGf/xGf] klg of] lfgdf ; a\$Gbf w}] l; l08s\$ k0ffnl nfu" 5g\ . 7hf 7hf sDkgl] Joj :yfkgn] cf^gf] sfo\$zntf agf0{/Vg g; s] klt:kwl\$] lgoGq0fdf lng] / Joj :yfkgn] g] k] / g] jf sDkgl 6f6 kN6g] ; Defjgn] Joj :yfkx₂nf0{ ; w'rgfvf] /xg] af]w tNofp5 . To; h]vf; lfgdf Psflwsf/ kfPsf;x₂n] klg klt:kwl{ahf/df h:t} sfd ul//x\$] xG5g\ . t/ o; sf] cy{s]Psflwsf/ agfpg lbP klg xG5 e1]x]t <of]eg] kSs}xf0g . Psflwsf/sf sf/of pkefQnsf] clxt ePsf c; w' pbfx/0fx₂ kfpG ; lS65 . Psflwsf/fTds ahf/df Joj ; fol clGtd cj:yf; Dd rgfvf]gxg]/ PSsf;l ; dft

g}xG5 . klt:kwf\$]l:yln]ubf{cyfGqdf kplt /flsPsf] 5 . sltko lfgdf afx₂ klt:kwf\$] cf^t/s ptkfbgnf0{lj:yflkt u/\$] 5 . o; sf sf/of klt:kwf\$] sltko pBf]nf0{?Uof agfPsf] / /fhuf/ldf kltsh c; / kf/\$]eGg]; dt ; lG65 . t/ ; duof xhf{gkfnfsf]cyfGqdf b]vPsf ; d:ofx₂ klt:kwf\$] sf/of eGbf klg c6o sf/0faf6 cfPsf xg\eGg] dflG65 . lj Zj a\$] Ps cllboogn] klt:kwf\$] :t/ sd ePsf dh\$xd df eGbf klt:kwf\$] :t/ dfly ePsf dh\$xd sf] hljg:t/ pRr ePsf b]vPsf] 5 (lj Zj a\$, @))# .

t/, sltko cj:yfdf Psflwsf/nf0{sfg0l ?kd} :jlsf/ ug]kg] xG5 . To:tf] cj:yfdf ahf/df cglrt sfo{xg] glbg tyf pkefQnsf] z]f]of gx] \e]sf nflu /fHo a9l ; j]4gzln xg' kg]xG5 . o; sf nflu /fHon]lgodg, sfg0 / lgodgsf/l lgsfo nufot tn plNnlvt sxl sfo\$₂ ug] cfj Zos xG5M

sf]7SM \$

klt:kwf\$6 lj sf; sf] ult tlj | xg]

lj Zj a\$}csf]c]llboogn]cyfGqdf klt:kwf{ ePsf dh\$df lj sf; sf] ult tlj | xg] / klt:kwf{ds ahf/ gePsf dh\$df lj sf; sf] ult ; dt l9nf]xg]b]vPsf]5 . of]c]llboogdf ; d]6Psf lj leGg kfF j6f tyfslyt kl/jt0zln cyfGqsf] c]llboogcg; f/ knd{ txsf] ptkfbstj / klt:kwf{ds lfdtdf dh\$df ePsf]klt:kwf{ds ahf/sf]l:yln] lgs}7hf]c; / kf/\$]xG5 . of]c]llboogcg; f/ knd{txsf]sfo{ ; Dkfbg; E klt:kwf\$]l:yln]sf] ; aeGbf a9l c6t/; DaGw xG5 . nufglsf] jftfj/0fdf klt:kwf\$]k0fj ; /sf/l lgsfodf xg] e]6frr/ / k]w' / ;]fsf] eGbf a9l ePsf] c]llboogstf\$]sf] egf0 5 (knljgf] af:6f] / hf]g] gfi; /, @))\$) .

JoJ ; fodf kj | zsf] ; xhtf

; jkyd Joj ; fodf kj | z ug{rfxgf /Vg] hf] sxl klg cfpG ; Sg] cj:yf agf0g' kb\$. xg t cfkM :yflkt ePk15 To]JoJ ; fodf c?n] kj | z gu?g\ eGg] rfxgf k]oM ; a\$] xG5 . gkfnf ;]sf] ; dlrt pkef] xf] \e] sf/of b]v0{l]j utdf ; j o+; /sf/n] klg Joj ; fodf leqg cj / f]w₂ v8f u/\$] s/f huhfx}] 5 . ev{ } :yfkf ePsf jf lj sf; sf]af6]df afd] ; g{nfu\$fx₂nf0{l]j Zj Jofkl klt:kwf{ v/f] pqg uxf] kg{ ; S5 . o:tf] cj:yfdf /fHon] lglZrt dfq / cjlwsf] ; /lfsf] k]ofelt lbg ; S5 / lbgkb\$ klg . t/ cf^t/s klt:kwf\$6 s; h]f0{ klg dQm ul/g' xG5 / Psflwsf/ ; bf ; j]kfsf nflu kfpG ; lS65 e1] efjgf cfpG lbg' xG5 .

kfs]ts Psflwsf/df lgodg k0ffnl

nufglsf sf/of, j:t' jf ;]fsf]k]k]t, pkn]wtf / k\$[tsf sf/of lgZro g} sxl lfgdf kfs]ts ?kdf Psflwsf/nf0{ :jlsf]kg]xG5 . pbfx/0fsf nflu vfgkfgl, 6]hkn]g, lj hhl h:tf s'/fx₂df ; jf-k0fos x/\$]n] 5\$]5\$] k]f'v' v8f ug{eg\$]axt\nufgl ug]kg]sf/0faf6 ; Dej gxg ; Sb5, To:t}Ps}7fp0f /x\$]vfglaf6 w]h] vlgh kb]y{lgsflng ; Sg] cj:yf /xG5 . o:tf] cj:yfdf To:tf] Joj ; fonf0{ lgodg ug]k0ffnl a1' h?/l 5 . t/ lgodg ug]k0ffnl cfk] klg Psflwsf/fTds k]Q ePsfn]To; df klg lgoGqof / ; Gthg ug] Joj :yf ldnfpg' kb\$.

lghls/0fd} klt:kwf\$] k]tj 4tf

klt:kwf{ePd] Psflwsf/l]n] klg cf^gf]sfo\$zntf a9fpg j]w' xg] ts{k]g w]h] lbg] u/\$] kf0G5 . t/ gkfnf Psflwsf/ ; Dk] lgsfox₂sf] Joj ; fonf0{klt:kwf{ 5f]B]bbf klg tl lgsfox₂sf] lfdtdf ck]ffs] ; wf/ xg ; s]g .

o; sf]Hj nGt pbfx/0fsf ?kdf ; b{6f}afsf\$] cfudgkl5
 hgsk/ r/f7 sf/vfgf jf gkfn 6f}afsf]sDkgl\$]l:ylt,
 lghl lqsf a\$;sf]cfudg kl5sf]k/fgf a\$;sf]blftf
 / lghl lqsf]cfudg kl5 zfxl gkfnl jfo' ; jf lgu\$sf]
 l:yltdf ; wf/ xg] t s/}5f}emj\ltgsf]cj:yf boglo
 xg uPaf6 k|6 xG5 . o;af6 kl:t:kwf\$]l:ylt eP/ dfq
 xBf]/xG5, To; sf nflu lfdtf / cfsf^Nf klg cfjZos
 kb5 eGg]k|6}xG5 . lghl xf] \jf ; /sf/L lqdf xf]
 Psflwsf/sf]e/df dfq afF\$] ; yfnf0{Psflwsf/sf]cGto
 xBf lgZro g}ufxf] kb5 .

pk; x/

; du\$] ahf/ cy{Gqsf]dVo cfwf/ g}kl:t:kwf{xf}. ahf/
 eg\$}pTkfb\$-pTkfb\$, lj qitf-lj qitf, qitf-lj qitf, qitf-
 qitf / pkefQm-pkefQm cflb alrsf]kl:t:kwf\$]ynf]xf].
 ahf/ cy{Gqsf] lj sf; / ahf/sf] lqnofzintfsf nflu
 kl:t:kwf{clt cfjZos 5 . kl:t:kwf{g}lghl lqnf]cf^gf]
 eldsf lgjfx ug{ ; Sb5 . t/ kl:t:kwf{f0{ k|} ; fxg ug]
 gfpBf /fHo jf ; /sf/n]Jo; ; fosf]lj sf; / lj:tf/nf0/
 /f\$g]lsl; daf6 wj}s8f sfgG, lgod / lgodg kOfnfl
 Nofof]eg]To; n]kl:t:kwf{f0{a9fj f lbbG, a? xtf]; flxt
 ub5 . kl:t:kwf{u/fpg]gfpBf ; /sf/L lgsfosf]PsflwkTo
 l; hGf xg lbPdf lj sf; sf] qnd /f]sG5 .

Psflwsf/sf]s/f p7bf w7h; f]bfif lghl lqnf0{g}nufpg]
 u/\$f]kf0G5 . t/ Psflwsf/ agfpgdf /fHo zlQm]lgs;
 dxTj kOf{ eldsf lgjfx u/\$f]kf0G5 / of] /fHo; Qfsf]
 Pp6f kOfv uOf g}xf]. /fHoaf/f lgoLqt / ; -rflnt

Jo; ; fon] cf^gf] lqdf ; w}Psflwsf/sf] j sfnt u/\$f]
 kf0G5 . lghl lqdf xf] \jf ; /sf/L lqdf, Psflwsf/sf
 nflu lb0g]ts\$;df ; fwgsf]b?kofu xg glbg] cfd hgtsf]
 lxtsf]Vofn /Vg] ahf/ cfk}df kOf{kl/is[gePsf] cflb
 kb5g\ . lj zifTm gofFJo; ; folnf0{k} z lbbf ePsf]nufglsf]
 ; bkofu gxb] cGto lq nufglaf6 al-rt xg] /fd]lgodg
 xg g; sl pkefQm 7lug] cflb ts{lb0G5g\.

gkfnf g}Jo; ; folx;sf] ; dx / ; w7gn] cf^gf] lqdf
 lj bz l nufglsf]/ sltko cj:yfdf t nufgl wj}e0; s\$fh]
 gofFcuft\$ssf]lj /fu u/\$f]xidl kfpBf; . /sf/L lgsfoaf6
 Psflwsf/sf]klfdf ; /sf/sf]rl/q g}cfd hgtsf]lxtdf
 sfd ug] e] h:tf ljrf/ /flvG5 eg] lghl lqsf
 Psflwsf/jfnfn] cfk}n] cfd pkefQmsf] lxtdf g} sfd
 ug]u/\$f] cf^gf] nufglsf] ; lldt ; /f0f dfq rfx\$] /
 gj -kj zlsf]cfudgaf6 pkefQm 7lug ; Sg]ts{Ing]u/\$f]
 kf0G5 . ; f}Psflwsf/sf]klfdf ts{sd}lbg]ul/P klg
 3dfP/ cf^gf] cflwkTo 7ls ePsf] ts{ ; /sf/L jf lghl
 lq b}af lbg] u/\$f]kf0G5 .

Psflwsf/ jf kl:t:kwf{Ps csf\$ kl/k's xg\ . ahf/
 cy{Gqdf kl:t:kwf{f6 g}Psflwsf/ hGdG5 / kl:t:kwf{
 g}Psflwsf/sf]cGto klg ub5 . /fHoJo; yfn]kl:t:kwf{f0{
 k|} ; fxg t ug]kb5 . ; fy}/fHoJo; yfn]kl:t:kwf{f0{
 k|} ; fxg ug] / Psflwsf/ cGto ug]gfpBf lj sf; df cj /fu v8f
 u/L lbg' xBj . :jR5, :jtGq / alnof]lgodg kOfnfl
 agfpg]gfpBf csf]Psflwsf/ hGdg lbg' xBj . lgodg
 kOfnflleq g}jf gllt sfgGsf] thGf ubf{g} pkefQm,
 pBdl-Jo; ; folsf]xs lxtsf] ; Af0f / ; du| ; Gthg sfod
 ug{ ; Sg] klf wfg /flvg' kb5 . ■

; Gbe{ ; fdul

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; fj tlsf]:yfkf ! ((\$ df blifof Plzofsf uY-; /sf/L ; yfx?sf] ; eQm kOf; af6 ePsf]xf]. ; fj tl pbf/l\$/of,
 ljZjJofkls/of / ljZj Jofkf/ ; w7g -8ANo6Lcf] ; lu ; DalGwt ljifo; :tx?df j sfnt ug\$ nflu ; DalGwt
 ; /f\$]jfnfsf]lfdtf clej [4 ug]p2]on]v8f ePsf]lqlo ; -hfn xf]. blifof Plzofnl /fi6sf !! j6f ; yfx?
 ; b:o /x\$] ; fj tln]kl:t:kwf{gllt tyf sfgGsf lj ifodf ; d] j sfnt ub{cfPsf]5 .

of] hfgsf/lkq ; fpy Pl; of jfr cg 6B, 0sf]f]dS; P08 0Gefo/fp6 -; fj tL_ sf nflu jhfotl cGt/fi6o lj sf;
 lj efu -l8Pkmc08L_ sf] ; xofjudf 8f- xP6t bj f8Laf/f tof/ kfl/Psf] x] . hfgsf/lkqdf l6KkOf] ; lxt cdNno ; emj
 lbgxg] 8f- kik/fh /fhs]0f\$]nf0{ ; yfsf tkraf6 xfb\$ wGoj fb 1fkg ul/G5 . ; DkfbgM clwj Qm wjz /Jdl .