



gnudj msKj bMŠ` tj wLkV cwi wPZmn tm mgqKvi th KRtbi wbePZ tj Lv Qvcv nq, Zui v n`Qb—  
tivrKqv mvlvl qvr, wgtmm Gg ingvb, Lvqi`tbmrv, bttb@v LvZb we`wettbw` bx, Gg. dvtZgv Lvbg,  
i wRqv LvZb tPšajvYx, AvLZvi gnj `mq` v LvZb, kvgtmptbvrvi gvngj , gvngj v LvZb wmwil Kv, dvrJ Zb  
tbmv Ges mjdqv Kvgj |

2

MZ beYBtqi `ktKi gvSvgs, Rvbvrv gnuj-Gi KvRi i i`tZ, XvKvq Awg cUqB cUkE gtlvgwL  
nw`Qj vg— tKej eivwvj gnj gvb tj wLkVt`i i Pbi msKj b tKb Kiw Avgiv ? Guv FqvBK  
mrv`cUwqKZv | w`y tj wLkVt`i i tKb ASFŠ Kiv n`Q bv ? BZ`w |

G K\_v mwZ` th, eivj vt`tk bvir wlvqK PpPq mrv`cUwqMZ wfvRb Uvbi bwrI tbB ej tj B Ptj | cU\_Kr.  
eivwvj bvir wZb gnj gvb ev w`y— th atgPB trvb bv tKb, gtv`vqvti t`tt`i tni`tdi Kiv nq bv |  
KLtbv KLtbv t`kfvM-c`ep meFvi Zxq bvir`i i G`tt`i kwgj Kiv nq |

wKŠ`mwntZ`i t`tt`i wP`w wfbp

mgmvguqK mwnwZ`Kt`i tj LvcT hw`l mrv`cUwqMZ cwi Ptqi m`T Avj v`vfvte msKuj Z nq bv, ivotq  
cwi Ptqi wfvE`Z eivj vt`k l cUogevj vi tj LKt`i Dc`vctbi ti l qvR Dfqw`K t`tK GKikg Pvj  
itqtQ | Avi mwntZ`i BwZnm mrv`KZ eB,tj vtZ Avj v`v GKw Aa`vqB eivl`\_vtK ga`hM t`tK  
Dwbk kZtKi gnj gvb tj LKt`i Rb` | G Aa`vqU nqZ cUogevj v t`tK cKwKZ eBwU`Z tivMv-  
cvZj v, eivj vt`tki eBtq Atc`vKZ tgvUv | tmKvtj i Dfq mrv`cUvtqi tj LKt`i GK RvqMvqB wj  
wQj — Zui v eivj vfvvq mwntZ`PPKt`iQb (Bst`i R kvmtbi AvtMi mgqUvq, Zui v GKB t`tki ev GKB  
ivRvi Aaxtbi memgq wQj b bv) | agMZFvte Zut`i Rrebhvcv, tj Lvcov, mvs`wZK-ivR`wZK  
tPZbvi wfbzvi Kvi`Y mwntZ`i wlvq-wbePb l Dc`vctbi fwtZl cPi Zvi Zg`wQj | hvi tik  
LwbKUv ntj l Rvbvrv gnuj tj wLkVt`i tej vq t`L`Z cvl qv hvq |

Avgiv AeMZ th, tm ivR`wZK BwZnm trvK wK mwntZ`i BwZnm trvK MhY-eR`bi cij v Ptj  
AvwacZ`Kvixi mveavgwK | G cU`vqv vej xb n`q hvq tMvotK tMvot, Kve-tj LK-wk`i x | ga`hM t`tK  
t`kfvMce`chS-hui v mrv`cUwqMZ wfvRb l Aetnj vi wKvi , ej vevuj` Zui v gnj gvb |

BwZnm t`tK weZwOZ nl qv, bqZ mrv`cUwqMZ cwi Pq m`T Dc`wCZ nl qv— G thb Zut`i aivewv  
wbqWZ |

BDwGj t`tK hLb Rvbvrv gnuj-Gi eivj vt`k ms`iY tei nq, Zv AvkvZxZ mvov tdtj | Avtj vPbv-  
mgvtj vPbi eni t`tL tevSv hw`Qj , msKj tbi tj LvcT AvcbRtbi t`tE, t`vlt`wU gvR`v mnKvti  
eBwU`K eivj vt`tki cvK Avcb Kti wbtqtQ | G thb nwi`q tdj v AvZ`vqK AtbKw`b ci L`R  
cvl qv | Dt`vMwU mietkl cksmZ nq |

3.

1998 mtj i Rvbvrv gvtm Rvbvrv gnuj gnj gvb tj evm wbtq cKwKZ ntj l we`šZi AZtj nwi`q  
hvl qv tek K`Rb tj wLkV GtZ VvB tctqtQb | Zui v Awef`3 eivj vi Aetnj Z gvbl , gnj gvb wntmte  
Ges bvir wntmte | ZvB nqZ t`kvefvMi ci gnj gvb ivo`cwk`wb l AvRtKi eivj vt`tk Zut`i  
Aetnj Z nl qv tQ`cto w |

msKj tbi KvR KtZ wltq t`Lv tMj , GKRtbi tj Lv nqZ XvKvi eivj v GKvWgx jvBteli`Z cvl qv  
hvt`Q bv, Avgvt`i L`RtZ n`Q Kj KvZvi b`vkbj jvBteli`Z | Zvi ci t`Lv tMj , tmU RivRv`Ae`vq  
wntj U wKsev gk`verv`i tKvtrv AL`vZ cvwMvti gL`\_p`to cto AvtQ | tj Lv hw`l wj j , tj wLkV tK ?

A\_ϕ Kx Zui cwiPq ? wZwb tKv\_vq Kte Rtb#Qb, gviv tMtQb KLb ? tgvgeWi wguUguU Avtj vtZ etm whub mwnZ'PPP KiZb, wZwb tKgb gvbj wQtb ? Kx iKg wQj Zui e'w³MZ Rxeb ? Pvi t`qvTj i tPStKv cwi mi Zui tj Lvi DcRxe` ntj v Kxfvte ? tj Lvi tclYvB-ev wZwb tctj b tKv\_vq ? BwZnvtmi AÜKvi MfM#n ZLb niZto teovtZ ntqtQ| Avgvt` i cig tmsfvM` Rvibiv gnuclj-Gi KtqKRB we`SZclq tj wLKvi DEimwi Zvt` i KwiZ`Ges` gZ AvMtj GLtbr teP AvtQb|

GB GK\_ "Q tj wLKvi gta` tQvUtejvq mjdqv Kvgvtj i KweZv Ges tivtKqv Avgvt` i cvW` wQj | tivtKqv cñt½ tmLvtb tj Lv wQj , wZwb PncPnc tgvTgi Avtjv Rvuj tq ivZ tRtM tj Lvcov KitZb| th eqmUvq tj wTtkwStqi ARvntZ covtkvbi ivuMm t`tK Argiv AvcØY gv³ PvBVg, ZLb GKRB bvix tKb ivZ tRtM Zvl Avevi PncPnc Ges tgvTgi Avtjvq cotZb, Zvi gTg#vi KitZ cwi w| cvW`eB cØYZvMY GB Z\_` cwi tekTbi cvkvcmk tNvgUv t`qv, dj nvZv evØR civ, fvix eB nvZ `wotq \_vKv tivtKqvi Qwe Qwicq Avgvt` i thb fqB t`LvZ PvBtZb|

i wRqv LvZb tPšajvYxi ØPvlv KweZvi KtqKwU cOw³ nt`Q :

me mvaTKi eo mvaK Avgvi t`tki Pvlv  
t`k gvZviB gv³Kvgx t`tki tm th Avkv  
`axmP wK Brvi tPtq mvaK wQj eo ?  
cY` AZ nte bvtKv me Kwi tj l Ro|

`tj i tKvTbv GK KvTm GB cOw³gvj vi fvem#cñviY Avgvt` i KitZ ntZv| Kvi five m#cñviY Kti Avgiv cixvq baf cW`Q— Avgvt` i KvTiv Zv Rvbn wQj bv| Gfvte i wRqv LvZb tPšajvYx bvg-cwiPq nwi tq Avgvt` i cvW`eBtq RvqMv tctqQtb|

XvKv wekte`vj tq covi mgq Awig kvgmpbrnvi ntj i AvevmK QvTx wQj vg| bRi`j mwnZ` covi m#T Avgvt` i Rvbn wQj , nvexej w evnvi l kvgmpbrnvi `ß fvB-tevb, huf`i wotq Kwe bRi`j KweZv tetanQtb—

tK tZvgvt` i fvTj v ?

evnvi Avb \_j kvb \_j brnvi Avb Avtj v|

e`m GUKB|

kvgmpbrnvi ntj i Mv tNtI tivtKqv nj | 9 wWtm#f tivtKqvi gZiw tb eQi eQi wgvv` gnuclj ntZv tmLvtb| ARyKti tNvgUv w`tq tqtqiv ZvtZ kwi K ntZv| Argiv DmK w`tq, wgvv` tkTl Avj Lvj v-civ j #f`woi glj vbn mvtntei tivtKqvi i`tni gvMtdivZ Kvgbv Kiv t`LVvg|

wK tmB mgq we`vcxTvi evBti XvKvq bvix mSMVb\_ tjv tbKve Ltj tLvj v AvKvtki wTtP tivtKqvTK`wo Kwi tq w`tqtQ| mgqUv MZ kZtKi Avuki `kTki gvSvgnS| ZZw`tb XvKvq tivtKqvi lci KtqKwU Mtel Yvagr`eB Ges ØAetivaewmbxØ BstiwRtZ Abw`Z ntq tMtQ| t`Ltz t`Ltz tivtKqvi i`wWkvj i Pbvi Askw#tkl Pqb Kti A#bK A#bK tcv=-vi `Zwi ntj v| 1988 mvTj mvgnwi K ivóbvqK Gi kv` evsj vt`tki msweavTbi Aóg mstkvabxi gva`tg Øi vóðg`Bmj vgØ Rwi Kitj b, Avi Zvi clZev` tivtKqvi Qwe l evYx m#Tj Z tcv=-vi -e`vbi nvZ bvixiv ivRct\_ bvgTj b| atgP cñZómbKxKiTyi wei`tx` tivtKqv tmw` b Zvt` i KtÉ fvlv hYMtqUtb|

w`tb w`tb tivtKqv D`wmmZ ntqtQb| tmB cv`cØxtci wTtP Pvcv cto tMtQb GK mjdqv Kvgvj Qvov tivtKqvi mgmvgwqK Ges KwbØ tj wLKvivi| GK\_v mwZ` th, wZwb wQtb b bZb h#Mi cØZ# Ges GKvB GK KvEwi | Zui mnthwMx gwS-gvj w fvgKvq Avtjv Avtjv bvix wQtb, huiv nvZ `eVv Ztj wotq

cÖZKj tmiZ tVtj tVtj Zui mt½ Zxti gwU QfZ tPtqtOb| tm mgq tivtKqvi ct¶ thme bviX Kj g atinQitj b, Zut` i Ab`Zg wQitj b wgtmm Gg ingvb| ZvQvov wZub wR`^Xs-G tivtKqv D™weZ bviX wetq vj tL vj tL tivtKqvi gZavivq bve`Zv GtbwQitj b| tmw`bi cVtKi Av`v AR¶b tivtKqvi Abjvixt` i GB cpivevEi fvgKvl Kg wQj bv| *Rvbvrv gniçdj*-Gi tek KRb tj wLKv mvlvl qvZ tçtçwvi qvj `ç, AvAgvfb Lvl qvZxtb Bmj vg bvtçi msMVtB KvR KtiçQb, GgbwK tivtKqvi gZii ci Ges t`kfvMmi mgq chS† tivtKqvi `xNRmeZvi th te`x AvRtKi evsj vt`tk `Zui ntçtQ, Zvi mvt\_ tmme tj wLKv ev bviX Avt` vj bKvixt` i bvg Dçj tEi `we Ab`vh` nte bv|

cwK`vb mwõi ci, ce¶wi gjnj gvb mwinZ`eZxt` i RxebKvrvub wj wce× Kiv Ges Zvt` i iPbvi mÜvb I msM¶n tek AvM¶h-Di`xcbv t`Lv wMtqWQj | tmB Z`-Zvj vtKi c¶uqvq bviX mwinZ`Kt` i gta` Avgiv ZLb i ay AvVtiv kZtKi Kwe i wngtbrvK Dv AvmtZ t`wL| Avi mi Kwii cÖZövb evsj v GKvtWgxi RxebM¶sgjv wmwitRi `ß k wekRb tj LK-ep×Rexi cvtk *Rvbvrv gniçdj*-Gi gv¶ PviRb tj wLKv RvqMv tçtçtQb| Zui v nt`Qb— bitb@v we`wetbvw`bx, Gg dvçZgv Lvbg, kvgmþbvrvi gungy I gungy v LvZb wmwit Kv| Zvi gta` tivtKqv ev mçdq kvgy tBb etj Avçtmm Kivi wKQytB| Zut` i RxebM¶si mS`v AcZj bq| ev`ewk tj wLKvii 1986 mvtj `ii` nI qv evsj v GKvtWgxi cKri wUtZ 1996 mvj chS-ASfP nb w| ASfP nteb wKbv ej v KwWb| KviY RxebM¶s c¶qçbi Rb` th chWß Z` ` i Kvi, Zv tRvMvo KivB `jfn nte| G`evçvti A`Rwomn e`vcK Mtel YvcÜwZ cKri wU AvtQ etj çtç nq bv| Zte chwRj Zb tbrvK G wntmçei evBti B ivLçZ nte|

chwRj Zb tbrv gvi v tMçQb 1975 mvtj GB XvKv knçtB| BtWb Ktj tR tj Lvçov KtiçQb| Gg G wvwmÜvL Zui XvKv wekçe`vj q t`tK| Zvi ci BtWb Ktj tRi wçvçvç ntçtQitj b wZub| RxebM¶s i Pbvi Rb` Gt¶¶t Zt` i Afive GLb chS-nI qvi K\_v bq| Zvi I ci wZub wQitj b XvKv wekçe`vj çqi cÜg gjnj gvb QvT x| chwj Z MwYZ-G cÜg tkWtZ cÜg ntç 1927 mvtj me¶vi Zxq bviXt` i gta` wej `övs`-`vcb KtiçQitj b| tevi Kv bv çivi Kviçy XvKv wekçe`vj çq Avmv-hvl qvi ct` BU-cvUtKj I tLçtçQb| GKv GKv D`PwK¶vt` wçtj Z tMçQb| GZme e`vçvti hvi fvgKv gvBj çtKi çtZv, wZub evsj v GKvtWgxi RxebM¶sgjv q GLtbr RvqMv cvb w— G etov AvçthP e`vçvi |

cKçt i Avl Zvaxb bviXt` i RxebM¶s th KÖlvb t`tLwQ, ZvtZ çtç ntçtQ bviX wntmçe Zui v tK KZ fvtj v wQitj b, tmUv t`LvZB RxebKvçt i v c¶vçvZ KtiçQb| çj kÖvZtZ fvtj v fvtj v `Ycbv wçtj wçtç tmme bviXiv ntç DvçtQb GtK Atb`i hgR tevb| Kx Av`e-Kvq`vq, Kx `five-Pwiçt` i çgvstmi e`w³gvby wUtK Avi Avj v`v Kti tPbv hvq bv| GB c×wZtZ Avi hv tnvK chwRj Zb tbrvi Rxeb tj Lv hvte bv| ZutK bv tçj v hvte gjnj gvb Av`kçvixi tLçtç, bv ewav hvte Av`kçvixi Zxq bviX çtK| cÜvi evBti th teçtçvq Rxeb wZub hvcb Kti tMçQb, Zv wj wce× Kivi PvBtZ Avgvçt` i RxebKvçt i v, cKvçtKiv nqZ chwRj Zb tbrvK Kvçt i fçj tmiçZ Qçto tçtj t` I qvB m½Z çtç Kiçeb|

4.

tivtKqvi ce@Zi`th KRb evOwj gjnj gvb tj wLKvi mÜvb tçtj, Zut` i gta` AvVtiv kZtKi Kwe i wngtbrvç mevi AMR| Zui Kvtç`i cvEjç wç cÜq t`ok eQi ci 1955 mvtj Awe`vi Ktiç W. çnçS Gbvçj nK| wZub Rvbv— ÖAvgiv GB Awe`vçt weçkl AvkwsZ nBçvQ th, Avgvçt` i eZçv RvMitiYi w`ç evsj v mwinZ`i fivç Mtel KMY hv` Drmvnçt i t`çki wPi-Dçvççj çj x-KuUt i c¶x cvEjç wç Abjvçtç cE` nb, Zte Awak mS`vq bv nBtj I `ß PviRb c¶x çvç gjnj g gjnj v Kwei cvEjç wç Awe`vi KwitZ mg`çnBteb| Ó Gi 22 eQi ci, 1977 mvtj PvUMtqi AvtK Kwe i wngvi GKw çv` cvl qv hvq| 1986 mvtj Rvçtçtbrvi tek KuU çv` msM¶nZ nq PvUMu t`tK| msM¶nK-Mtel Kt` i çtZ i wngv I Rvçtçtbrv Dubk kZtKi cÜgvçtP Kwe| Zte Zui v ms`vi Avt` vj tbi tP¶nwi i evBti t`tKB Kve`PPP KtiçQb| Zut` i mwinZ`Kg`Qvcvçtçj bvMvj cvq w| Zvi ci Avtçb

