

# নারী রাষ্ট্রের ভিতরে রাষ্ট্রহীন

†RvevB` v bvmi xb

NUbv Omvavi Y0, j ovBtqi bZb cKæ

Avmv` tMU evm ÷tcr| Lp mvariY Kvcto tgvov GK Kgrxex tqtq| eqm GKk/evBk nte| Zvi Df'k` I j 9T` Zvi m/zwZ AmZµg Kti bv| c0Zw` bKvi gtZvB evtm I Vvi Rb` j ovB Zvi | ZvB mKvj mto AvUUVi ci t`tk gvbyl i fvti GKw` tK tntj \_vKv em,tjvi GKwUfZ DVfZ crivB Zvi GB gn#ZP j 9T`| XvKvq B` vbx wmlUs mwffm evtmi t`SivZf` \_vKtj I tqtqUj A`%buzK Amvg` ZvtK tmB B`Qvi w`tk thfZ t`q bv| A`~Qb`~i wbg9 AmbevzhZv eiY Kti wbtqB Zvi GB Atc9T| KtqKwU evm 0gvnj v wU bvB0 etj Zvi mvgtb w`tq atj v Dnoiq Pij hvq| Gw`tk Nvci KulvI ZvtK mgvb e`½ Kti GwUq Pij | Avti KwU evm Avtm, GKB K\_v etj, Gevi tqtqUj etj I tV, 0GUV crevij K evm bv ?0 KbWv±ti i wei w`3wgukZ Reve, 0t` LtZ cvBtZtQb bv ?0 tqtqUj Gi tPtqI `p Mj vq etj, 0Amg crevij K` bv ? Zvntj Avgrti DVfZ t` b bv tKb ?0 Amg tZv Gt`tkiB bvMvi K, bwiK ? Gfvte mevB AvgtK DVfZ bv-w`tj Avwg Krfvte Awdtm hve ?

tqtqUj mv`vgtUv ntj I Zvi K\_v,tj v tgvfUB mv`vgtUv bq, Ab` AvU-` kwU evtmi gtZv tmB evmUj GK Mv`v atj v Dcnvi w`tq tqtqUj tK bv-wbtq GKB KviY t`wLq Pij hvq| tqtqUj gb Lvivc ntq hvq| t9T|vtf, `tL bwiK e`w`mEvi Acgvfb—tmU tevSv bv tMtj I tmB Lvivc j wUwU th tqtqUj GKvi \_vtK bv Zv tevSv hvq, hLb tqtqUj K\_v,tj v AtbK etov wRÁmv ntq Nj,tZ \_vtK Avgi gtb| K\_vUv Zvi bvMvi K Awakvti i c0Z cKæ0t0 t`q| tqtqUj wgvj tq hvq tmw`tbi Rb`, wKŠ`0crevij K0 kãwUj wj ½xq wbg9tK tm mvgtb wbtq Avtm, hv GZw` b AtbKuv AtPbvB wQj |

ivo` buZKfvte bvi-x-cj`I mevi mgvb Awakvi `xKvi Kij I ivt0f wewfbæKvhf9g, Abj tzi wj ½xq wgv w`0ev c0ZwbqZB GKRb bvi tK fievq—GB ivo`Zvi bq, Zvi Rb` itqt0 GK ivt0f gta` Avti K ivo`, GK cw\_exi gta` Avti K cw\_ex2| GKwU wfbæwgvwRK ivt0f03 wbtqgi gta`B ZvtK Pj,tZ nte| bvi-x 0Ni0 0evni0 Gi mt½ h9 ntj I tmB 0evni0 c0Z`qUj Krfvte Avti KwU mgZv At`wfbæcw\_ex`Zwi Kti Ges ivo`KZK Zv cKæxbfvte PwPZ I Abtgw`Z nq Zv t`LvB GB tj Lvi tK`iq RvqMv| bvi-x c0Kwivt0f Avti wczZ tevai GB `evi Zv `úo ntq I tV bvi-x wbtRB hLb ivo`KwVtgvj ga` t`tk c\_w K ivt0f Aw`Zj Awe`vi Kti, thwU gj ivo`e`v t`tk ZvtK `xi mwi tq ivtL Ges bvi-x ivo`e`v`vcbvi mt½ Zvi `Zj Abjfe Kti | ZvB GB c0t0i gj tSwK KtqKwU RvqMvq| c0gZ, ivo`Ges 0crevij K0 avi Yvi wj ½xq teva ; w0ZxqZ, GB `Btqi cvi `úwi K mæúK`Ges bvi-x wtkl aitbi c0ŠKZv ; tklZ, wKŠj Awak` i`ZcY`fievbi RvqMv 0Ni-evni0 c0Z`qi mt½ bvi-x GtRwY Ges bvi-x Kw`Z ivt0f tevai K Zvj tq t`Lv|

bvi-x iv0hxbZvi `i` thfvte

mtZi k0 kZtKi tkl fvtM Bejmtbi tbvivi Ni t`tk tei ntj I tmB tbviviK gwbtq wbtZ tLv` BDti vtcB AtbK ivR%wuzK Stoi tgvKtej v Kitz ntqt0 bu`Kvi BejmtK| tmB mgq fvi Ze tP bvi-x tZv wQj AtbK `xi i wclq| bvbv ZK`æZK`ev`-weti va, Dcwbtek-`faxZv, mgvRZŠ;abZŠ;`dvq`dvq` kfvM GZwKQj cil bvi-x mt½ ivt0f mæúK` AgvgvsmZ t`tk t0 Ges GLb chŠ-i tqt0| tewki fvm t9T`I cwi evi KwVtgvU tZ bvi-x-cj`I i mæúK`GLtbn wQjlv 0DcwbtekKvix- DcwbtekwZ04 Gi gtZv| cj`I c0lav`wfwEK cwi evi KwVtgvfZ bvi-x-cj`I i mæúK`P th mnbxq ifc ZvtZ bvi-x cwi Pq `bwZK Ges cj`I i cwi Pq Aw`R Ges Aek`B 9TgZvkuj x| gy`evRvi A`0wuzi dtj A`%buzKfvte bvi-x `vej x`nt`0, wKŠ`tmB bvi-x wK e`vcK At`0btRi Rxe tbi I ci wqšy ivLiz cvi t0 ? Aw`R gvby`tE bvi-x wfbæwv wPwZ

1. hwi I 0crevij K0 kãwU `k`gvbfvte tKrtbv wj ½xq cwi Pq enb Kti bv, wKŠ`ev`e At`B Zv wj ½xq Aege wbtqB tPZbvi gta` Ae`wb Kti | GuU c0KwuzK tZv bqB, eis Avti wczZ Ges GK cKæxb ev`eZvi ga` w`tq mnbxq ntq I tV|
2. GB wfbæcw\_exi teva bvbvfvte KvR Kitz cwi | KLtbn KLtbn Zv c0ZxKx wclqi gta`I PwPZ ntZ cwi | thgb bvi-x Rb` c`w teva tmB c0ZxKx AvktqiB GKwU wtkl ifc|
3. mgvRK ivt0f avi Yv GLvB hwi I ivo`Ges mgvRi avi Yvi gta` GK aitbi mNI`Zwi Kitz cwi, wKŠ`ivo`MVtbi kZ`Ges mgvR MVtbi ktZP gta` AvcvZ th cv`R` Zv AtbK mgq GB `B c0Zv tbi ga`Kvi AvStmæúK`P mgjfc| wtkl Kti, ivo`bvi tK t`Levi t9T`I mgvRK gZv`tkP Abjmi Y Kti msæv tbi mgZvi tevai K AMw` Kti B| ZvB GLvB 0wgvwRK ivt0f0 avi Yv Avbv ntqt0|
4. DcwbtekwZ Ges Dcwbtekwvix GB c0Z`q,tj v e`envi Kiv ntqt0 Avj evZP tgvæi (1973) 0Ktj vbi BRW Ges Ktj vbi BRvi 0-Gi avi Yv t`tk|

wbgw nqZ cwi eiti i qigZv Kwvrgvi mt½ bixi mautKp ecweK cwieZB AvbtZ cvi tQ, thLvtb bix Avq Ki tj I Zvi  
 I ci Zvi wqšy Ges cwi ewi K cwi gEj bixi Ae vb GLtbr ZZUv trvvtj v bq | ZvB mvgwMK fvt e ej v hvq th, cwi evi  
 KwvrgwUj mt½ bixi t vj vPj mautKq thLvtb GLtbr AtbK RvUj, tmLvtb ivtofi mt½ wgvvUi mautKqZv GLtbr AtbK  
 tii wcl q wtkl Kti, fvi Zxq Dcgnv tki bixtK wbtq tmfvte wPšv i i nZ AtbK mgq tj tMtQ | GB Dcgnv tki  
 bixi cñwU GtmfQ mgvR ms vti nvZ ati | Dwbk kZtKi i i " I ga chiq evsj vt tk (bvixi cñwU wQj GKwU  
 „i ZcY cñwU | mgvR ms vi wbtq tmB mgq th Zgj weZK q Lv t q, bixi cñwU tmB weZK q tK ev cto wcl  
 ivgtgnb ivq mZ vn wbevY Ges we vmi weaev wcl q cPj tbi gva t g mbvZbcšt i cPE weti waZvi mšlx nb |  
 wKš weti waZvi gv wU GZUvB kw vj x wQj th weUk Ges Jcwbtekk kwmktMvxl ZvtZ Rwtq cto | evwvj bix t i  
 AvaybK05 Kti Mto Zj tZB Zvt i Gi mt½ Rwtq cov, tKbbv ZLb tLv mgvR ms vi wbtq fvi Zxqv (cP0 I  
 (cñwZ0 GB t b fvtM w f3 ntq cto | cP cšt ev RvZxqZvev t i einweR | ev vB t i RM tZi mt½ fvi Zxq bixi  
 mautKqKgb nte, (Ni0 Ges (ewni0-Gi mt½ Kxfvte mgšq mtab Kitz nte tm gvgvsvi cñwZceP tmB mgqU | Zvt i  
 AtbtKB gtb Kti wQj b, (Ava vZvev x ms wZ0 nt0 tm mgqKvi fvi Zxq t i ms wZi gj K v, Avi Ava vZvev K wU  
 nt0 gj Z (bvixZmPK0) mZivis fvi Zxq bixtK wKqZB cw tgi Abm tY AvaybK Kiv hvte bv | ZvtK (AvaybK0 Kitz  
 ntj Kitz nte fvi tZi (a c w HwZn Abm t i | (mavi Y0 bixi Zj bvq GB bix nte (wkw qZ0, (cwi kmj Z07 Ges (Ni0 I  
 (ewni0-Gi gta ZvtK mgšq Kti Pj tZ nte | Zte bix tK ev w t q GB mgšq Kiv hvte bv (P t vcv vq 1994 : 30) |  
 fvi Zxq RvZxqZvev bixtK GfvteB t LZ etj, Jcwbtekk ivtofi mt½ Zvi tKv t b v0 Zwi nq wcl | hv I bix tK tK v  
 Kti GB mKj weZK Dc wZ ntj I GB weZtKp tUv w K wQj | cñwZ, Gw GKw tK bix Rv tbi mt½ RwoZ me  
 ai tbi ms vi th gj Z ivR wZK tmB cñw tK mvgtb wbtq GtmwQj, wZxqZ, Gw cPw j Z wZ ZŠ tKB Avevi bZb fvt e  
 Dc vcb Kti wQj, thLvtb bixi evB t i cwi mi l wba wY Kiv ntq wQj c j " l KZK | thRb cvej K RM tZ bixi Abp tek  
 c j t l i g tZv tMZ ntj v bv eis el t g i bZb bZb Rv j Aw e vi Kitz j w j bix | bix wK Zte ivtofi t tK l ivtofi  
 Kv tQ AvR w qZ ? b w k iv o e e vi ev B t i Zvi Ae vb ? Zte w k iv o a bix G t K Act i i g t L v g w L b w k cñZ0 v ? bixi  
 ivohxbZv teva w k t f w e k bv ivR w ZK ? hLbB ivohxbZvi K v ej v nq, ZLbB avi Yv Kiv nq th, gvby tevanq ivtofi  
 fL t E i ev B t i | Avevi tKv t b ivtofi k v m b e v t f t o t M t j w k s e v t k f w m n t q t M t j, nVv K t i B b w m i K t z i m s K U  
 Zwi nq | thgb mteK tmw f t q Z B D w b q b hLb t f t o t M j, ZLb tmLvbKvi t j v K R b GB ai tbi b w m i K t z i m s K t U i g t a  
 c t o w Q j | w K s i v o t q A e K w t g v i g t a b w m i t K i t K v t b a i t b i i v o h x b Z v i t e v a Z w i n t Z c v t i t K v t b i v o t q K v w t g v B  
 ev e A t z v t K v i K t i b v ev K i t Z P v q b v | t K b b v m K j i v t o f i B m i s w e a m b K f v t e R w Z, a g e y e l w j z t f t e e l g  
 c l k b b v - K i e v i A z x K v i v K t j l t e w k i f v m t q t t B D c h p A b j 1 / 2 t f t b w m i t K i A w a K v i n x b Z v i w e l q u i v o t o v i v P i P z  
 nq | G w c t i v q f v t e A b t g w Z l | A v i G i g v a t g B b i x i v o h x b Z v i t e v a w c e j f v t e D c j w a K t i G e s Z v i  
 A w a K v i n x b Z v i c l w U l m v g t b P t j A v t m | G B A w a K v i n x b Z v i K v i t Y i v t o f i g t a t t K l Z v i g t a R b f n q G K a i t b i  
 ivohxbZvi teva |

ivtofi wZzv : gv ebgv bix

ivtofi mt½ claw kxj mgvRi weti va LpB Kg RvqMvq | tKbbv, GKwU AvaybK0 RvZ-ivtofi fvebvq qigZvi Dcv vb t j v  
 ci ui weti vta bv w t q GKwU AcivUj nvZ ati qigZv tK Av t i v k v j x K t i | A v i G B R v U j w n t m t e B b i x t K t L e v i  
 mvgwRK gZv k i v o v i v A v t i v t c v n q | m K j t M v I m g v t R B b i x t K Z t Q K i v n t j I ( g v o t K E t a Y t j a i e v i G K  
 ai tbi AvZ mšwZ teva cPw j Z i t q t Q | hv I Ab vb cñw q Drcv tKi g t Z v B GB gv g i n g w s Z n t q l m s t b i l c i  
 Zvi KZŠ t tK ewAZ | t e w k i f v m t q t t B G B ( g v o i f t c i m t ½ b i x t K G K x f Z K i v n q | ( b v i x n t j v g v t q i R v Z 0 , w K s e v  
 ( m e v i B g v t e v A v t 0 0 ( w e t k l K t i e v t m b i x t K D Z 3 K i e v i t c t q t Z A c i v a t K L v t U v K i t Z ) — G B a i t b i e v K e e n v i  
 Kiv nq | Gfvte c j " l KZK bixi I ci w b h f Z b t K L v t U v K t i t L v n q G e s A c i v a t K n v j K v K t i t q v n q | ( g v o n t j v  
 bixi GKwU Pw i t | g v t K k v K i v g v t b B G B b q t h b i x t K k v K i v | m g v t R i b i x t K t L e v i G B w Z t e v a w A v t i v c p  
 nq, ivohLb GwU mg w b w e w f b o e t v m M h Y K t i | G g b w k h L b i v o i U t e w k i f v m t q t t B ( g v o - G i t g v o t K w b t R t K c w i P q  
 K i v q | 1947 m v t j t k f v t M i c i w e w f b o e t - c w i K v q t k f v t M i t h c z x k x Q w e w c k w m k Z n t q w Q j , Z v w Q j G K R b b i x i  
 t b n v t Z t U v t k — G K w U f v i Z G e s A b w U c w k w b | G B t e v t a i R b f Z L b t t K , h L b t t K M v U m R f v i Z x q  
 R v Z x q Z v e v t i a v i Y v q b i x t Z j i ( c P 0 f v e b w U w b t q A v t m b G e s Z v A v t b b b i x i m s w Z t K w K t i t L B | G B c w i t c t q t Z

5. AvaybKZv teva i GB ivR wZK mpmjo Zwi nq BD t i v t c i t i t b m v i c i t t K | GB AvaybK0 n l q v g t b B D t i v t c i g t Z v AvaybK0 n t q  
 l w | a v t b - A v t b , w P s e - t P Z b v q B D t i v t c t K t k b e t j t g t b t b q l  
 6. hv I (cñwZ0 I (cP0-Gi avi Yv tKv t b i v K t f s t M w j K Ae vb bq, w b w Z f v t e e j v hvq, GB t j v ivR wZK w e f w R b |  
 7. GB Dcgnv tki g m j g g a w e t E i D t b w - G i c i t t K B ( f t 0 , ( c w i k m j Z 0 G B k a t j v i m t ½ c w i P q | g Z v w k R A w f R v z A e k B  
 B D t i v t c q ( t R t U j g v b 0 G e s ( t j w W i a v i Y v t t K D w Z |

0t k0, 0gvZ:fng0i BtgR wbtq RbMfYi KvQ DcwZ nq| GB BtgRwU cieZxmgq 0gv0-G ifcvsWi Z nq| 0gv0, 0Rbbw0, 0gvZ:fng0 BZvKvi Dcvq t`tki Aege wbyZ ntj I GB Aege Ges bvxck0k0 gaKvi wWtj gv A\_0 iv0hxbZvi GB A`k` tevanUtk bvx Ame0vi Kti ivtofi Rtbfi c0g t\_tKB| th 0gv0tK i 0lv KiZ `vgv t0tj iv hf` hvq, tmB c0zxKx gv i 0lv tctj I ivtofi Avtiwcz hS0vi nvZ t\_tK i 0lv cvq wb awlZ bvxixv| Gt`i gta` AtpbKB 0gv0 w0tj b ZLb, wKs` ivtofi gZv`wK0 0gv0, hvfK \_vKtZ nte 0mZw0— GB exiv0bv gvtq` i m0z Avtcvm KiZ i wR nq wb| 071-G evsj vt`k iv0U `Zwi nevi ci GB be` 0gv0ifcx iv0U hf`x 0wZM0-bvix` i MhY KiZ A`0KwZ Rvbvq, hv ivtofi avi Yvq gv tKt`a \_vKtj I Zvi Av`tkP c0Z `ecixZ` c0k0 Kti | Avi ZLbB ivtofi avi Yv-fvebv I 0gvZ:fng0i gZv`tkP m0z GB mwZ`Kvi 0bvix0i GK KwZ msNI`0Zwi nq, hv ivtofi m0z bvxix Ae`v0bi wWtj gvtK c0v000Y Kti | t`k 0gvZ:fng0 A\_ev 0gv`vij`v00-Gi cwi Pq tctj I tmB iv0B 0exiv0bv bvxix` i A`0`-Zwi KiZ fj Kij bv| 0gv0 Pwi t`i m0z bvxix0vi GB mvgwRK `ewi ZvtK iv0` KvWtgv Dtc0lv tZv KtiB wb eis iv00q mxgvbvi Aw0zKZvq ZvtK bZbifc w`tq0| GB iv0` Ges mgvR tevanxbZvq AtpbK Ab` t`tk P0j tM0j b, AtpbK nwi t0q tM0j b, Avi hviv thZ cvitj b bv Zviv GB ivtofi mxgvb0ZB AvZ0Zv Kti wKsev A0MvPti t\_tK Zvt` i iv0hxbZvi c0k0tK mvgtb wbtq Avmtj b| Avi ZLb t\_tKB `i` ntj v ivtofi c0vb kZ0m0t0e 0cvej K0 ev 0RbMY0 k0wU i wj`0xq-wbi t00Zvi g0LvK| GwU i wj`0xq c0kvkfw0z NUtZ \_vtK wvrfb0vte Ges Gi K`vb`v0wU i agv0 0c0`l00tKB wbt` R Kti, thLv0b bvxix Aw`Zj c0qk0B A`0KZ ntq I tV|

bvixi cvej K-c0BtFU : wdti t`Lv

bvixi Ni, bvixi ewni, tKv\_vl wfb0cw\_ex wKsev tKv\_vl mgcw\_extZ bvixi j0vB| 0mj Zvbi `c0-Gi g0Zv bvixivR` c0Z0vi A0zKv0i bv-\_vKtj I bvixi 0Ni0-0ewni0-Gi mgS0q m0ab Kievi tP0v Zvi I ci ewwZ GK ait0i Pvc `Zwi Kij, thwU GZw` b Zvi KvQ Acwi wPZ wQj | evsj vt`k ivtofi ms0eavb tNwU Z bvxix-cj`ti mgZvbmZ bvxixK DrmwvZ Kij 0ewni0 c0Z`tqi m0z wbtRtK AvZ0` KiZ, wKs` cvej K cwi m0i cj`ti i m0z bvxix mgvb KvR Avmtj I ev`e t0tj Zvi `f gRvi, wfb0cw0mi, Aegj`vqb c0vZ aiv coj ; hv cvej K cwi m0i bvxix-cj`ti mgvb Aw0Kv0tK c0tqwmK A0`0`0Kvi KiZ GK ait0i t`vbgv fve `Zwi Kij | GB cvej K tevanU tKej RbtMv0xi gta`B mxgvex \_vKj bv, GwU wbg0Y Kij cwi mi | bvixi Rb` GB `0Z A\_ev w0-wefwRZ cwi m0i mPbv AtpbK cti | hw` I GB 0cvej K0 A0`0bvixi Nti i ev0ti i mvgwRK RMr0KB tevS0bv ntj v, wKs` cj`ti i Rb` Ggb tKv0bv cwi m0i i c0qvRb ntj v bv| tKbbv tm mKj mgqB 0cvej K0 K`vUvMwi tZ emew Ki0| GB 0cvej K0-0c0BtFU0-Gi mxgvbv Awba0wi Z Ges wKQ0v KwZ | tKbbv tKD 0c0BtFU0-Gi mxgvbvq Ae`vb Kti I 0cvej K0-Gi Ask ntZ cvti | ZvB bvxixK t`Levi GB w0-wefwRZ teva P`vtj tAi g0LvqL nq w0kI Kti DEi KvWtgvex` b vxixev`xt` i gva`tg| 0Ni0-Gi ev0ti 0cvej K0-i wbg0Y bvixi cwi w0tK Avi tmfvte wba0Y KiZ w`j bv, tKbbv bvxix GKUv mgq Zvi mg`-wKQ0K ivR0wZKfvte t`Lv kj` Kij | bvixi t`Lv, ivtofi mgbmZ Ges Ab`w`tk Kv00t0t` Amg Ae`v Z\_v cj`l0c0vb— bvixi wFZti GK gb`w00K msKU `Zwi Kti | GB Uvb0cv0t0i `vqfvi eivei bvixi I ciB eZ0q Ges iv00qfvte `vq GovZ ejv nq| bvxix Zvi 0PivqZ0 if0ci ev0ti thZ P0q bv| GB cwi w`wZtZ bvixi bZb ait0i c0sKZvi` Dcj w0 N0U| tmLv0b tm bv-g0, bv-ew`— GB Ae`v Lw0j tPvL t`Lv bv-tM0j I Gi Dcj w0 c0Z`K 0Ni0-0ewni0-Gi mgS0q Zvix eS0Z cvti | GLv0b tm A\_0wZKfvte `0ej`0, hvi dtj tm A\_0wZKfvte c0sK bvxix` i t\_tK c\_zK Ae`v0b, wKs` GLv0b Zvi LuPv 00v t`Lv0j I Avmtj Zv 00v bq| eis GwU GKwU bZb ait0i c0sKZv `Zwi Kti, thLv0b bvxix Av0, bvxixK t`Lv hvq 0ewni0 Gi cwi m0i wKs` Avevi ZvtK mntRB tbB Kti t`qv hvq Kv00t0t` |

c0BtFUvBtRkb Ae cvej K

bvix 0cvej K0-Gi `bwZK `we`vi ntj I Zvi Rb` GB 0cvej K0 cwi m0i `Zwi Kti t`qv ntj v c\_zK cw\_ex | ZvB cvej K-Gi teva tKv0bv0t0g wj`0 wbi t00` \_vtK bv| hvi dtj bvxix-cj`ti i mgvb wK0lv i K\_v iv00qfvte tRvi`vi Kiv ntj I we`vj t0q i t0t0 Qv0 Qv0xt` i Rb` c\_zK c\_zK wbgqKv0b| evsj vt`tk w0k0e`vj q\_ztj vtZ Av0Rv mh0`-AvBb ewiZj nq wb| tKv0bv tKv0bv w0k0e`vj t0q GwU AKv0Ri nt0t0, Zvi eU Av0`vj t0i w0wgt0q| wvrfb0cwvej K `v0b bvixi Rb` c\_zK I t0w0s i`g, bvixi Rb` ev0m Bw0t0i cv0k Atp0lvKZ Mig `v0b c\_zK w0t0i e`e`v c0vZ GKfvte 0c0BtFUvBtRkb Ae cvej K0tKB Bw0Z Kti | GgbwK bvxixK t`Levi t0tj agv0 Ab0k0mb, agv0 Av0t0i e`envi Ges wv0fj j GB t`Levi `0ZZvtK Av0v teMevb Kti Ges ivtofi b0wZnxbZvi c0k0K Av0v `u0 Kti | GB `0Z Ae`vi Kv0tY evsj vt`k iv0U i c0t0 w0wI mbt` mg\_0 t`qv m0e nq wb, c0lvS0i hv bvixi Rb` GK ait0i wbi vc0vnx0v `Zwi Kti | cwi ewi K Aa`vt`kl agv0 i wZb0wZtZ (hvi te0ki f0MB bvixi wect0 c000) cwi Pw0j Z nl qvq cvej K Ges c0BtFU Df0 cwi m0i bvixi c0Z `elg` c0KU nq|

8. bvixi GB gb`w00K c0sKZvi mPbv 0Ni0-0ewni0 Gi mPbv t\_tKB| mvgwRK gZv`k0Ges ivtofi mgbmZ Zvi GB gb`w00K c0sKZv `Zwi i t0tj AM0x f0gKv cvj b Kti |

bvixi GtRwY Ges...

GLb cKontZ cvti, Zvntj bvixi wK tKvfbv GtRwY tbB ? bvix wK Zv cOZtva KiZ cvitQ bv ? bvixi wK tKvfbv qIgzv  
tbB ? Ocvej K0-0c0BtFU0 thLvfbB tnvK bv tKb bvix Kxfvte Zvntj tmLvfb wJK \_vKtQ ? bvixK wK Zvntj mewKQytgtb  
wKsev wbtRtK gwbtq wbtqB Pj tZ nte ? Zvntj meKl tm tKv\_vq wMtq `worte ? Ocvej K0 Ges 0c0BtFU0-Gi mxgvbv  
\_vKK Avi bvb \_vKK, bvix Kxfvte Zvi GtRwY `Zwi Ki te ? AtbK\_tjv cKwAvgvt` i mvgtb| wj 1/2xq m=uk0b0ZfvteB  
qIgzvi m=uk0wntmte Pj GtmQ GB Dcgnvt` k Z\_v mgM0wKtRtoB ; tmUv th Xt0, th f1/2gva wKsev th ifcB PwPZ  
tnvK bv tKb| DEi-AvaybKZvev`xiv thLvfb etj tQb, qIgzv ntjv Rvtj i gtZv, wewfbwAc0wZ0w0K DcvtqI GwU wWmtKum0  
ntq DVtZ cvti, (thgb fvlv, tU· U, cfwZ), tZgnb GB qIgzvtK wewfbwvte P'vtj AI Kiv m=ae (dtkv 1984)| Avi bvix  
Zvi wR^cwi mi wKsev Ae`vb t\_tKB cvj Uv qIgzv PP0KiZ cvti | nqZ GUvtK tKvfbv eo ai tbi cOZtva ev cvj Uv  
qIgzv PP0wntmte AvfwvZ Kiv hvte bv| wewfbwMteIK (~U 1978)<sup>9</sup> t`wLqtQb, tQvtUv tQvtUv `bw`b Nubvi ga`w`tq  
gvb| qIgzvtK cOZtva Ki tQ| Avgvt` i t`tki bvixivl wKs` tQvtUv tQvtUv wewfbwNUbv l evZwPtZi gva`tg c0j  
wWmtKum0\_tj vtK P'vtj A Ki tQ| GLb Avertiv wRAvmv `Zwi nq, bvix wK Zte wfbwv0<sup>10</sup>-Gi gta` GtRwYi j ovB Ki te,  
bwnK GB GKwU ivt0f gta`B GB GtRwYi Rb` j ote ?

GB tj Lvi mPbv KtiwQj vg GKwU NubvtK DxZ Kti | GKRb bvixi cOZev` Ges iv0hxbZvi cKwbtq| Zvntj bvixi GB  
cOZev` tK Avgiv tKv\_vq RvqMv t`e ? wKsev GB cvj Uv cOZev` i/c qIgzvi PP0wK i ayGB cvUvZtbB \_vKte, bwnK GtK  
atiB Gi Avtiv kw<sup>3</sup>kj x i/c t`te 0Ni 0-0ewni 0-Gi mt1/2 mgStq wj B Gt`tki bvixiv ?

tRvev`v bvixi : c0ewUK, wKtI wPsk | wmvP0BwmtqUf, evsj vt` k-G KgPZ | zobaida\_76@yahoo.com |

9. `U Zwi KvtRi gta` t`wLqtQb, cOZ`wK cOZtvtai ai tbi i/cUtk | wZwb etj tQb, fvb Kiv, Pvi Kiv, wgv`v ejv, Pc \_vKv, cvj Uv  
evZwPZ Kiv— GB\_tjvl cOZ`wK cOZtvtai ai b ntZ cvti |

10. GLvfb wfbwv0`tfStMwj K At`0bq, AbfemZ At`0