



cj "I Wv<sup>3</sup>vi : Avn<sup>6</sup>lv, M<sup>6</sup>tgi g<sup>6</sup>nj v, AZ w<sup>6</sup>kv<sup>6</sup>q<sup>6</sup>Z bv, Gf<sup>6</sup>vteB f<sup>6</sup>vte, Avmtj mevB Gf<sup>6</sup>vteB t<sup>6</sup>ctUi dvUv  
`vM<sup>6</sup>tK t<sup>6</sup>tl, Av<sup>6</sup>cvb w<sup>6</sup>i j v· nb|

Avj U<sup>6</sup>m<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>M<sup>6</sup>g tk<sup>6</sup>tl b<sup>6</sup>m<sup>6</sup>°n<sup>6</sup>vm<sup>6</sup>cv<sup>6</sup>Zv<sup>6</sup>tj ti v<sup>6</sup>MYxi mv<sup>6</sup>t\_ Av<sup>6</sup>mv AvZ<sup>6</sup>kv<sup>6</sup>tK w<sup>6</sup>R<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>Am K<sup>6</sup>tib, 0Dbvi Kx w<sup>6</sup>etq  
nB<sup>6</sup>tQ<sup>6</sup>?

AvZ<sup>6</sup>kv : bv, w<sup>6</sup>etq nq bvB|

b<sup>6</sup>m<sup>6</sup>°: t<sup>6</sup>cU dvUv tKb? ev<sup>6</sup>Pv nB<sup>6</sup>tQ?

AvZ<sup>6</sup>kv : bv, ev<sup>6</sup>Pv bvB|

b<sup>6</sup>m<sup>6</sup>°: ev<sup>6</sup>Pv bvB ZvB<sup>6</sup>tj t<sup>6</sup>cU dvUv tKb?

AvZ<sup>6</sup>kv : tKb? tKb Gme K\_v w<sup>6</sup>R<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>Am Ki<sup>6</sup>tQb?

b<sup>6</sup>m<sup>6</sup>°: b<sup>6</sup>vn<sup>6</sup>&t<sup>6</sup>cU dvUv tZv, A<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>bK e<sup>6</sup>fov e<sup>6</sup>fov dvUv, GRb<sup>6</sup> w<sup>6</sup>R<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>Am Kij v<sup>6</sup>g| mev<sup>6</sup>i tZv Avi \_v<sup>6</sup>tK bv,  
ZvB w<sup>6</sup>R<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>Am Kij v<sup>6</sup>g| D<sup>6</sup>vb (ti v<sup>6</sup>MYx) g<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>b nq Av<sup>6</sup>gvi l ci i v<sup>6</sup>M Ki<sup>6</sup>tQb|

AvZ<sup>6</sup>kv : bv, w<sup>6</sup>etq l nq bvB, ev<sup>6</sup>Pv l bv, Av<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>M 0<sup>6</sup>fnj w<sup>6</sup> 0<sup>6</sup>wQj bv tZv, nVv t<sup>6</sup>gvUv n<sup>6</sup>tq t<sup>6</sup>M<sup>6</sup>tQ ZvB dvU<sup>6</sup>tQ|

AvZ<sup>6</sup>kv e<sup>6</sup>moi bZb eD, c<sup>6</sup>ui ev<sup>6</sup>ti i 0<sup>6</sup>m<sup>6</sup>°y<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>0 i 0<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>t\_°w<sup>6</sup>Z<sup>6</sup>vb Zvi e<sup>6</sup>fov b<sup>6</sup>bv<sup>6</sup>f<sup>6</sup>mi mv<sup>6</sup>t\_ t<sup>6</sup>M<sup>6</sup>vb Av<sup>6</sup>tj v<sup>6</sup>Pbvq  
em<sup>6</sup>tj b| bb<sup>6</sup> Zvi c<sup>6</sup>Q<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup> i g<sup>6</sup>vb<sup>6</sup>l, i f<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>Kv<sup>6</sup>°q<sup>6</sup>x w<sup>6</sup>n<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>m<sup>6</sup>teB m<sup>6</sup>Z<sup>6</sup> R<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>teb Ges R<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>teb| GB Av<sup>6</sup>Kv<sup>6</sup>°q<sup>6</sup>lvq  
w<sup>6</sup>Z<sup>6</sup>vb b<sup>6</sup>bv<sup>6</sup>f<sup>6</sup>mi mv<sup>6</sup>t\_ Av<sup>6</sup>j v<sup>6</sup>c K<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>i R<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>Z P<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>B<sup>6</sup>tj b, Av<sup>6</sup>mtj Amy<sup>6</sup>° b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup>U<sup>6</sup>i R<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup>teb t<sup>6</sup>Kv<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>bv ANU<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup> N<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>U<sup>6</sup>tQ w<sup>6</sup>K  
bv| nqZ A<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>tevi kb ev G<sup>6</sup>gb w<sup>6</sup>KQyKi<sup>6</sup>tZ n<sup>6</sup>tq<sup>6</sup>tQ, ev<sup>6</sup>Pv P<sup>6</sup>tj Av<sup>6</sup>miQj ev Gi Kg w<sup>6</sup>KQz hvi Rb<sup>6</sup> b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup>U<sup>6</sup>i  
t<sup>6</sup>ctU dvUv `v<sup>6</sup>M n<sup>6</sup>tq<sup>6</sup>tQ| nqZ A<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>tevi kb Kiv<sup>6</sup>q b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup>U<sup>6</sup>i kix<sup>6</sup>ti 0<sup>6</sup>Z `Z<sup>6</sup>vi n<sup>6</sup>tq<sup>6</sup>tQ, GRb<sup>6</sup> b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup>U<sup>6</sup>i Amy<sup>6</sup>°  
n<sup>6</sup>tq co<sup>6</sup>tQb, GRb<sup>6</sup> Zvi U<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>bv R<sup>6</sup>i P<sup>6</sup>j tQ, GRb<sup>6</sup> t<sup>6</sup>Kv<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>bv Wv<sup>6</sup>°vi Am<sup>6</sup>tLi t<sup>6</sup>Kv<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>bv K<sup>6</sup>vi Y L<sup>6</sup>jR cv<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>Qb bv  
BZ<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup> BZ<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup> b<sup>6</sup>vb<sup>6</sup>bv w<sup>6</sup>KQj|

GB M<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>i i tk<sup>6</sup>tl c<sup>6</sup>0<sup>6</sup>E R<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>i i ga<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup>E b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup>tK w<sup>6</sup>eQ<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>bv t<sup>6</sup>\_tK tU<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>b D<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup>tq Zvi w<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>Ri e<sup>6</sup>fov tev<sup>6</sup>b w<sup>6</sup>R<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>Am  
Ki<sup>6</sup>tZ j w<sup>6</sup>M<sup>6</sup>tj b, 0<sup>6</sup>tZvi R<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup>teb G<sup>6</sup>gb t<sup>6</sup>Kv<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>bv NU<sup>6</sup>bv Av<sup>6</sup>tQ, thUv Aw<sup>6</sup>g R<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>b bv? ej , ej !!0

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\_vK<sup>6</sup>tZ c<sup>6</sup>ui, hZ<sup>6</sup>qY Av<sup>6</sup>gvi M<sup>6</sup>z<sup>6</sup>v tL<sup>6</sup>q l w<sup>6</sup>PrKvi bv K<sup>6</sup>vi (M<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup>j M<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>vR tZv `t<sup>6</sup>i K\_v), hZ<sup>6</sup>qY ch<sup>6</sup>°-Av<sup>6</sup>gvi  
Av<sup>6</sup>g<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>i kixi ev n<sup>6</sup>ve<sup>6</sup>ve w<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>tq Q<sup>6</sup>to t<sup>6</sup>°q<sup>6</sup> b<sup>6</sup>vb<sup>6</sup>bv g<sup>6</sup>se<sup>6</sup> i<sup>6</sup>tb \_g n<sup>6</sup>tq e<sup>6</sup>fm \_vK<sup>6</sup>tZ c<sup>6</sup>ui | ZZ<sup>6</sup>qY ch<sup>6</sup>°-Av<sup>6</sup>gvi  
f<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>j<sup>6</sup>v b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup> w<sup>6</sup>K, hZ<sup>6</sup>qY Av<sup>6</sup>gvi g<sup>6</sup>se<sup>6</sup> i<sup>6</sup>tb Av<sup>6</sup>g<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>i i w<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>R<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>i i kix<sup>6</sup>ti i K<sup>6</sup>ico<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>P<sup>6</sup>cto<sup>6</sup>i w<sup>6</sup>tK ZvKvB Avi f<sup>6</sup>me  
0AvR l obv w<sup>6</sup>KVvK wQj b<sup>6</sup>v0, 0<sup>6</sup>tKv<sup>6</sup>l w<sup>6</sup>KQz g<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>b nq t<sup>6</sup>°Lv h<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup>Qj 0<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup>K<sup>6</sup>se<sup>6</sup> g<sup>6</sup>se<sup>6</sup> i<sup>6</sup>tb cj<sup>6</sup>°t<sup>6</sup>i g<sup>6</sup>se<sup>6</sup> Kivi `ea  
K<sup>6</sup>vi Y L<sup>6</sup>jR cv<sup>6</sup>l q<sup>6</sup>i Av<sup>6</sup>Kv<sup>6</sup>°q<sup>6</sup>lvq G<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup> K l w<sup>6</sup>K Z<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup>K<sup>6</sup>tq t<sup>6</sup>°tL t<sup>6</sup>bB Av<sup>6</sup>cv<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>k 0A<sup>6</sup>f<sup>6</sup>° t<sup>6</sup>cv<sup>6</sup>vt<sup>6</sup>Ki b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup> Av<sup>6</sup>tQ w<sup>6</sup>Kb<sup>6</sup>0|  
\_vK<sup>6</sup>tj f<sup>6</sup>me l g<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>b g<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>b e<sup>6</sup>wj, 0<sup>6</sup>GBme t<sup>6</sup>gt<sup>6</sup>qi Rb<sup>6</sup>B AvR GB Ae<sup>6</sup>-0<sup>6</sup>| Avi al<sup>6</sup>°Yi ci Av<sup>6</sup>gvi aw<sup>6</sup>° b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup> i t<sup>6</sup>etP  
\_vK<sup>6</sup>vi w<sup>6</sup>K Av<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>° t<sup>6</sup>Kv<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>bv D<sup>6</sup>cv<sup>6</sup>q Av<sup>6</sup>tQ? Av<sup>6</sup>gvi h<sup>6</sup>vi aw<sup>6</sup>° n<sup>6</sup>tq t<sup>6</sup>etP Av<sup>6</sup>Q, Av<sup>6</sup>mtj Av<sup>6</sup>gvi w<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>j 0<sup>6</sup>4 i g<sup>6</sup>tZv t<sup>6</sup>etP Av<sup>6</sup>Q!  
g<sup>6</sup>vb<sup>6</sup>l tZv `t<sup>6</sup>, Av<sup>6</sup>gvi aw<sup>6</sup>° b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup> K<sup>6</sup>U<sup>6</sup>cZ<sup>6</sup>l bv|

<sup>4</sup> b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup>R<sup>6</sup>teb 0ANU<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>bi g<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>b K<sup>6</sup>°0 t<sup>6</sup>mlv m<sup>6</sup>gv<sup>6</sup>m<sup>6</sup>RK g<sup>6</sup>vb<sup>6</sup>l w<sup>6</sup>n<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>m<sup>6</sup>te Av<sup>6</sup>g<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>i i A<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>KiB b<sup>6</sup>vb<sup>6</sup> w<sup>6</sup>eb<sup>6</sup>°v<sup>6</sup>mt<sup>6</sup>gZ R<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>b Ges  
m<sup>6</sup>gv<sup>6</sup>R t<sup>6</sup>\_tK t<sup>6</sup>klvl e<sup>6</sup>tU| ANU<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>bi g<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>b Av<sup>6</sup>mtj b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup>kix<sup>6</sup>i i i<sup>6</sup>xZv j·Nb (t<sup>6</sup>mlv th<sup>6</sup>f<sup>6</sup>teB t<sup>6</sup>nvK bv tKb), b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup>  
l ci th<sup>6</sup>°b e<sup>6</sup>°ev<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>i i `v<sup>6</sup>M t<sup>6</sup>\_tK h<sup>6</sup>vl q<sup>6</sup>v ev b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup> P<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>i l ci Av<sup>6</sup>P Av<sup>6</sup>mv| n<sup>6</sup>tZ cv<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>i t<sup>6</sup>mlv al<sup>6</sup>°Y, th<sup>6</sup>°b n<sup>6</sup>q<sup>6</sup>i w<sup>6</sup>b,  
b<sup>6</sup>vi<sup>6</sup>x<sup>6</sup> esk-Rb<sup>6</sup> G<sup>6</sup>gb<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup>K Zvi w<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>Ri n<sup>6</sup>ve<sup>6</sup>ve-Xs-K<sup>6</sup>vR<sup>6</sup>K<sup>6</sup>vi evi b<sup>6</sup>vb<sup>6</sup>bv w<sup>6</sup>KQz w<sup>6</sup>b<sup>6</sup>tq i U<sup>6</sup>bv, A<sup>6</sup>v<sup>6</sup>tevi kb, tU<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>bn<sup>6</sup>P<sup>6</sup>to  
ev<sup>6</sup>PvL<sup>6</sup>vbv L<sup>6</sup>j v<sup>6</sup>m Kiv w<sup>6</sup>K<sup>6</sup>se<sup>6</sup> ANU<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>bi ev<sup>6</sup>P<sup>6</sup>t<sup>6</sup>K w<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup>K<sup>6</sup>tq iv<sup>6</sup>°vq t<sup>6</sup>etj Av<sup>6</sup>mv BZ<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup> BZ<sup>6</sup>w<sup>6</sup> b<sup>6</sup>vb<sup>6</sup>bv w<sup>6</sup>KQj|



Kiv, bvbvb thšb BwZ Kiv BZ'w' BZ'w') | cvkvcnk mgvR bvi x tek'v nŕq l Vv Lp LvUvLvUmbi wel q Zvl bql | t' Lteb al FYi wePvi tPŕq vŕqi Kiv gvj vq al R cŕŕi gj Zrovb vŕK GUv cŕyY Kiv th, awl Z bvi x al FK i ce'wi wPZ wQj | bvi x al FK i ce'cw i wPZ cŕyY Kivi gvŕbB nŕjv bvi x wDŕi cŕ' l tK cŕj ƒ Kŕi tQ | bvi x tcvkvKAvkvK, Pj Pj b wKVvK wQj bv | bvi x ŕthšb wj áyevŕNi gŕZv Amn vq cŕ' l tK AvK l v Kŕi tQ | wKsev al FYi wePvi tPŕq vŕqi Kiv gvj vq ŕK Lb al v NŕUŕQ, tKv vq NŕUŕQ, KZUv fŕqven gvŕvq wbcxob nŕŕq, bvi x gŕi tMŕQ wK bv, A'wmtW S j tm tMŕQ wK bv — G mg' -wel q fxl YB „i“ ZcY' nŕq l tV | ivZweŕi tZ al v nŕj teŕP vKv awl Z bvi x tK bvbvb mvgmRK cŕZŕvŕb (Gi gŕa' cw i evi AvŕQ, cŕj k cŕkvb AvŕQ, AvBb KvVŕŕv AvŕQ, mvgmRK tevSicov AvŕQ A\_ŕ e'w' t' tK ivŕ' bvbvb web'vŕm) bvbvb wKwmtŕgi cŕkŕe mŕŕjxb nŕz nq | fiveLvrv Ggb, ŕZng bvi x ivZweŕi tZ Nŕi teovl, fŕŕjv tŕŕŕqv wK Ggb Kŕi tQ | al FYi gŕZv AvBbKvVŕŕv i tKZ wbcxob evŕ' Ac i wbcxob nŕj tZv tKŕŕvb K\_vB bvb (thgb aŕib f'vRvBb'w j awl Z bv-nl qv, bvi x tcvkvK tUŕb wŕPto tLjv, gŕe' tQrov BZ'w' BZ'w') | cŕ' l w j mgvR i miz Kŕi i wbcxob K'vUvMw i QvP bvi x wbcxob AwFÁZv Abei ZB fvlvnb nŕq l tV | cvkvcnk bvi x wbcxob AwFÁZv tK Aegj vŕŕŕi Pŕvš-chŕŕq wŕŕq thŕZ mgvR i cŕ' l w j fivebv bvi x Rb' wŕv' w j ½q AvP i Y t' tK wbcxob wenkŕ bvi x KZUv `ŕi i wQj GB wŕŕq M i tŕŕ' eŕmb | GB wel tŕq v uŕ nŕz teŕk `ŕi thŕZ nŕe bv | 2000 mŕŕj i ŕngj wŕŕq ewabŕ NUbv wŕŕq thŕKŕŕvb GK cw i Kv ŕicv Lei avi wev nKŕŕŕe cŕo thŕZ cv i t j B cvK bvi x wbcxob i wePŕi i P v B Z Kŕŕŕe bvi x mvgmRK AvP i Y ewa wel qK bvbvb Avŕj vPbv R i w i nŕq hvq, t m u GŕKevŕi v uŕ t' l tZ cv i b | aŕib 2000 mŕŕj i cŕŕq Avŕj v i Rvŕŕŕŕi t' tK tŕe'qwi i msL v, t j v | cŕk wKZ GB Leti cŕ'w' t' cŕŕŕQ Bŕi wR beel' D' hcb evŕw j qvrv wK bv | fiveLvrv Ggb th, evŕw j mgvR ms' wZi bvi x wbcxob i evBŕi AvŕQb | GB wŕŕq ZKŕZ wK' Bŕi wR Abŕŕŕb Kx tcvkvK cv i D i P Z wQj, kwo bv wR Y, Avmŕj tK ewaŕi kwo aŕi Uvb w' t q wQj, Kx i K g fŕŕe ewaŕi mŕv' AwFŕŕŕ i vŕmŕj i K\_v nŕŕq wQj, t m B v i K Z i vŕm j Avmŕj Qwe i vŕm j wK bv, Avmŕj AwFŕŕŕ i v Avl qvqx mi Kw i v' t j i wK bv BZ'w' BZ'w' bvbvb wK Qj | t g v l v K\_v, bvi x wbcxob evŕ' Av i wevKŕ Avŕj vPbv i tK' v' P t j Avŕm | Awg ej e, GUv cŕ' l w j gZv tK P KvRKi evŕi i Ask, thŕv wbcxob i tK' Qv tK ŕgM Z K' vŕŕŕŕŕ Kivi iv' v' Zwi Kŕi | A\_v' th bvi x Avmŕj i v Z Nŕi i evBŕi vŕK, tPbv cŕ' t i al FYi tKvi nq, Zvi wŕŕŕq gb tKŕŕvb-bv-tKŕŕvb Lj ev ŕtLvUŕ wQj | wŕŕŕ Z Mŕŕŕj Av i Kx! Avmŕj tm bvi x Pw i wKVvK bvb wKsev t m bvi x tek'v cŕk v Z i ev tek'v | Zv nŕj tek'v Kx? tek'v Ggb GK Rb th UvKvi wevŕŕq wŕŕi kixi teŕP, tek'v Ggb GK Rb th i tŕq thŕZ Af' - t dtj tek'v wŕŕi gb P v q etj t k v q | t mŕŕŕŕ tek'v al v nq Kŕŕŕe? bv P Z tŕŕg tek'v tZv tNŕvUv Uŕŕb bv, ZvB bv? dtj ŕte'v i al v nq bv — GB mvgmRK ev' eZvi AvBŕi tPŕŕL miz Kŕi i al v NŕU i vŕZ i AŕKŕi | gj Z A tPbv gvŕl Aŕ' j gŕL al v Kŕi, Sŕoi i v Z al v Kŕi, Acni Y Kŕi al v Kŕi BZ'w' BZ'w' | e'm, gvj vq ZvB tek'v cŕyY Ki tZ cv i t j B gv j vgv j | Zv nŕj al v nŕq wQj wK bv GB wbcxob ev' eZv Qwctŕq bvi x mZŕŕŕi tK' Qv eŕov Avek' K nŕq v wŕŕq | gj Z tK P RvqMv wK S' al v NŕUŕQ wK NŕU bvb Zv bq, gj v wŕvUvb bvi x tek'v wK tek'v bql al R cŕŕi cŕ' l w j mgvR GZB kw' vj x th, Dbvi v GKŕŕe tKvi Kŕi B gvŕv bŕŕgb al v nŕŕŕQ, gvŕb al R i tŕŕŕQ | t k v q v th v ea GUv cŕyY Ki tZ Zvi v bvi x tK tek'v cŕyY Kŕi hvb | GB Avŕj vPbv Avŕiv v uŕ Ki tZ t' Lp Rqveaŕ Ges wV Gv j Dŕm i mŕv w' Z Mŕŕ' ŕGgeWw fŕŕŕŕŕ Y, K v g D b j v B v R s D B g' v b m t m' ŕ v j w U B b m i D\_ G i k q ŕ ŕ (Jayawardena, K., and De Alwis, M., 1996, (Ed), *Embodied Violence, Communalising Women's Sexuality in South Asia*, India, Kali for Women) Ges t i w t d v W' t K w j Ges t n v i m ŕ v w' Z M ŕ ŕ' ŕ D B g' v b, fŕŕŕŕŕ Y A'vU t g j cv l qv i ŕ (Radford, J., Kelly, L., and Hester, M., (1996) 1997, (Ed), *Women, Violence and Male Power*, Buckingham, Philadelphia, Open University Press) | Zvi evŕ' Avŕiv t' Lp Avgvi AcKwK Z 4\_ eŕ l P ŕŕel YvKvR ŕAwFÁZvq al v, eŕg w i K m i n s m Z v, bvi x R x eŕbi cŕpMŕŕŕŕ | mgvR i GB cŕj P P P R w e i m m ŕ q Avŕ' v j ŕbi bvi x i Ac i K i Y Ki tZ R v n v x i b M ŕ i i w b c x o K c ŕ ŕ l b v b v f ŕ e e' e n v i K ŕ i b | R w e i 2008 m ŕ ŕ j i m w b w e ŕ i v a x A ŕ v' v j ŕ b i m g q K v i w b c x o b c ŕ ŕ ŕ h h \_ e x k w' s t h ŕ K ŕ i b v f ŕ e A w f ŕ h w K v i x b v i x t e k ' v c w i P q c ŕ Z ŕ v K i v t c Q ŕ b D i V c t o j v t M | K v i Y t e k ' v b v i x m ŕ v \_ w K ŕ Z v B w b c x o b n q b v | A v i



Avdttmm Avgiv-mZxbvixiv GB ckkq:tv Lfj Lfj t`Lvi c0j AvKv-¶¶K AtbK mgq tRtZRtZ`  
`ngtq iML| Avgiv cjv Uv ckkKivi Zxe<sup>a</sup> AvKv-¶¶K AtbK mgq Mjv wUc awi | Avdttmm Avgiv  
0AcrcwexZvi0<sup>6</sup> mJ AR0 KitZ Pvb|

Avgvi MtelYvi bvix

0AwfÁZvq al¶0 MtelYvi K\_ BwZnvtmi GK bvix al¶Yi AvbgwmbK Qq eQi evt` cwiewii K  
c0t` i GK cj`¶li mvt\_ weevneÚtb Ave× nb| bvixi abx wczv bvixi Rb` 0Ni RvgvB0<sup>7</sup> GtbtQb|  
AvKvti BwztZ al¶Yi K\_v tRtB Ni RvgvB cj`l bvixi mvt\_ weevneÚtb Ave× ntZ i wR ntqtQb|  
Zvi cil bvixi cwiev¶i mePvBtZ etov` ¶w0Št, bvixi Zj tctUi dvUv` vM| awlZ bvixi gv c0qB  
Avdttmm Kti ejtZb, 0tkvov GK K\_v Avi t`Lv AvtiK wRwbm0| GwZGLvbvq etov ntZ \_vKv  
(al¶Ki) ev¶Pvi K\_v bvix hZB fj tZ Pvb, bvixi gvtqi Zj tctUi dvUv` vM wbtq AweiZ nv0uZvk  
bvixwUtK KktbvB Zvi AbvKw-¶¶Z mšwb entbi` šZtK we`šZ ntZ t`q w| j¶Ktq Qwctq ivLv  
al¶Yi tK`Qv Kwmb nqZ AveQv Sicmrvfite Rvvtbv hvq| AZxtZi wbcxobtK atiB 0bvixtK wbtq  
tePvtKbv0 Pj tZ cvti | bvixi AZxtK gj` ati bvix Avt`Š KvK wqtq Kite, Kite Kx Kite bv  
cwievii bvixi B`Qv Awb`Qvi E¶a¶mewKQv wKvK Kivi ¶lgZv ivLtZ cvti | wKŠ` K\_tbi bvix (GK  
mgq m`uk¶¶f0 hvte tRtbl) wbtRi gjL Zvi al¶Yi K\_v Ni RvgvB` vgtK ejtZ cvtib bv, ckkK  
KitZ cvtib bv, RvbtZ PvbTz cvtib bv 0`vgtZvtK tek`v fvtē wK bv0| Zj tctUi dvUv` vM t`tL  
hvTz tKD mšwb avit¶Yi K\_v eštZ bv-cvti, tmRb` wqtqi AvtM bvix kixi wKvK KitZ` jvB  
gvjvB Kti | weDwU cvj¶i wltq g`wvR tbq wKsev bvbvb w¶g e`envi Kti | K\_tbi bvix Rvrbv, Zvi  
Ni RvgvB` vgt wqtqi ci wbtRi thšbZvi Pwv`v tglvB wKB, wKŠ` bvix Rvrbv Zvi Zj tctUi mšwb  
entbi` vM, tKvtbv wKQfZB 0Ni RvgvB` vgti 0 wKQb hvq AvtM bv| 0Ni RvgvB` vgti` ¶ bvixi e`vcvti  
ckkKxb \_vKvi mvt\_ wbtRi m`Qj Zvi m`vB Kti Pjt b, wKŠ` bvixi Mt¶mšwb AvmtZ t`b bv|  
Ni RvgvB` vgt m`vB Kti tQb wK wKŠ` bvix Rvrbv, GB msmvti Zvi mšwbxbZvi tkKo Zvi  
AZxtZi al¶, Zvi tctUi dvUv` vM| mšwbxb thšbPP¶q Ni RvgvB` vgt bvixi c0Zw¶qvxb kixti  
mvt` tKej a`vaw`-Kti hvb| K\_tbi bvix tevTsb,` vgt Avmtj ZvtK tek`vB tftē titLtQb|

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<sup>6</sup> AcrcwexZv gvtb Avgiv bvixiv GtRvU wntmte thšbZvq cvt¶¶, AbwFÁ \_vKvi Af`vm Kti tbB| A`uk`  
t`tK bvbvfvte wv¶¶q \_vKvi Af`Zv`Zwi Kw| bvix thšbZvq Avb` cvq bv, cj`l cvq| G AvtiK  
gnveqvtbi gva`tg` itZ wltq| Avgiv ga`wetEi bvix AtbK mgq tftē wB, Avgvi thšbPP¶ bvbvb c0`  
Ac0t` i K\_v cwivfvte gjL ejv hvte bv| Avgiv Rvb, bvixi 0eK dtvU tZv gj` tctvU bv0, cvtQ cj`l wU  
tftē tbb Awg teuk Rvb! Avmtj Awg teuk ckkKwv gvtb ntjv Awg thšbZvi bvbvb wltq cj`l wj. GtRtUi  
gtZvB cvKv| ZvB Avgiv bvixiv Avgt` i cvt¶¶ thšb Af`Zvi mvt\_ Avbwmoi AcrcwexZv D`hvcb KitZ  
wKwL (GLvtb Awg Avbwmoi Avi wlj woi Zj bvgj K Avtj vPbv KitZ ewmb| Awg ckkKKitZ PvbwQ Kxvte Ges  
tKb 0Avbwmoi AbwFÁZv0 wtkl Z ga`wE bvixi thšbZvi Av` k`aib ntq l t¶v ev ntq DVtZ Prg|)

<sup>7</sup> K\_ BwZnvtmi bvix Rvrbv, Zvi` vgt cj`l wltq Zvi cwievii` wv`Ntii` cj`l etj B c0` Kti AvtB|  
cj`l wltq XvKvq ewo embtq w`tZ nte Ges wtt`tk cvvttv nte GB ktZ`cj`l wltq cwievii mšwZtZ bvix  
mvt\_ wqtqi AvtqRb Kiv nq| wqtqi AvtMB Ni RvgvB` vgti cwievitK XvKvi bZb ewotZ Dwltq Avbv nq  
Ges wqtqi ciciB K\_tbi bvixi` vgt c0vfm Pjt hvb| mgvtRi cffvekuj x avi Yvi mvt\_ mšwZ tjtLB bvix  
kji ewoi lci cj`l` vgti GB aiti mjeavev`x Av`mvgwRK wv¶¶ZvtK Ni RvgvB etj wv`0 Kti | Gi  
gvtb ntjv l B wtk0 cj`li tgi` E tbb Avi Kx|

Mtel Yvi gvScġ\_ Awig, Avgvi GKwaK mnthv×v bvi xeŪz GKv GKv Nti wbtRġ i Zj tġU Avqbiq Nji tġ Nji tġ † LġZ \_wġK| Avqbiq mvgġb bvbvfġte Nji tġ wġwi tġ wbtRġ i Zj tġUġK bZb Kġi † †L ivLv tKb Rmb cġqvRb ntġ cġo| Avgvi Mtel Yvi nvZ aġi Awig † LġZ \_wġK ŌAwig Kx mZx?Ō, ŌAvgvi tġtU wK dġUv `vM AvġQ?Ō| i i" nq Avgvi gġZv ŌKgvix bvi xi Ō AmZġZġi †K"Qv, Kvgbvi bvi x bv-ntġ I Wi †K"Qv|

Kvgbvi bvi xi †K"Qv

Ōweti ci tġtġiv GK AvaŪz tġvŪv nqŌ| Ōwġj LvB, kixi Kxfġte wK i wL ej Ō, ŌfcŌU b eŢQ bv!Ō| Kx cġŪvqġ tġŌU b bvi x kixġi hvq, Avi Kx cġŪvqġ ewoi mePvBġZ cvZjv kixġi i bvi xġi weti ci tġvŪv nq, Avgiv-ga`weġiv Avgvġ i hmcZ Rxe b t\_ġK GB mewKQB wKvVw wġġL tġB, †Rġb tġB| wKŠ`mġxj fvlvq Kvi Y\_ġjv cġKv tZv Kiv hvq bv! dġj Avgiv AveQv Kġi ewj , Vvntġ ewj , bvi x gntġ GB wbtġ Avgiv nwm ZvgvKv Kwġ | AtbKmgq eŪiv eŪgntġ eġm GB wbtġ K\_v Pj vPwġ Kwġ , bvbvb wKwntġi VvAv ZvgvKv Kwġ | tLvj vmv Kġi ej ġj , ŌP`vġUi cwb tġtU cotġ tg` nqŌ<sup>8</sup>— GB tmB Awemsev`x Kgvix kixġi i weti-cieZ<sup>9</sup>`kvi gġ tnZġi fvb! th K\_v Avgiv ga`weġi bvi xiv AvKġi BwġZ ewj , VvDġi ewj |

kixi tġvŪv fġġj v bv cvZjv bwm gvSwi ntġ tewk KvġRi , G wbtġ †Kvġvb `eġwġK wKsev Zj bvgġ K Avġj vPvi w`ġK gġbġvġm t`qv Avgvi KvR bv| bvi x kixi wbtġ th fvebv cġ`l wġj KweZv, wPġKj v GgbwK wġwQv ev cġbŌwġd ŌHuZnwmKfġte AvRġKi mgġġ Zwi Kġi tQŌ<sup>9</sup>, tm kixi tZv Ōbvi xi

<sup>8</sup> ŌP`vġUi cwb tġtU cotġ tg` nqŌ— GB cġv` wogweġi bvi xi fvlvq fxl Y mvej xġ , GgbwK Mġġi bvi x gntġ GLġvb GB K\_v tkvb hvq|

<sup>9</sup> mgvġRi Av`k<sup>9</sup>bvi x kixġi i wogwġ memgq GK bq, mgq aġi e`ġj tQ, JcwbteġK AwfNvġZ e`ġj tQ, wġwQvi wekRxbZvq e`ġj tQ, B-ms`wZġZ e`ġj tQ| tġvġv K\_v nġ"Ō, bvi x kixġi i Av`k<sup>9</sup>ewkġŌ i tPniv HuZnwmK wogwġ, cġfvekv x Avġbi cġve † Lvġbvi t`ġġi Avi wK! thgb aiv hvK, AvRġKi GB mġvġj vBU ev B-wġwQvi mgġġ fvi tZi wntġbvg bvwqKv ŌKwġi bvi wRġiv wġwvġ Ō wbtġ Avgvġ i gawġi Nti Pj vvbvb cġw Kvi weġbv`b cvZvq KZ bv Lei Ōrcv nġtġQ| Avevi aġi b wPj gwġi tZ wogweġi th KqŪv Ni -Mn`wġj tZ Awg Avgvi gvVKg<sup>9</sup>Kġi wQj vq (gvP<sup>9</sup>Gwġġ) 2009), tm me Nti bvi xi k<sup>9</sup>mg\_<sup>9</sup>kixi , tġvŪv ZvMow kixi eD wntġte fxl Y Kvgbvi | wPj gwġi i B KġqK Nti i gv-ewevv Kb`vi bv-tġZ cviv i`Mekixi wbtġ fxl Y `jwŌSwq \_vġKb| fġġj v tġZ cvġte, wZb teġv Lvte †Kej GB Rb`I Zviv Zvġ i Kb`vġ i knġi Nti i KvR KiġZ cġwġġ t`b| ASZ weti AvġM GKertġ i Rb` ntġ I | wPj gwġi i B wekŌ Ni \_ġj vi Rb` tġvŪv ZvMow bvi x Nti evBġi mgvb kġ w`ġZ cvġte, PzVġġi i KvR KiġZ cvġte GB avi Yv`Zwi Kġi | Avi GiKg tġvŪv Moġbi bvi xi wetiġZ thŠZKġi AtcġwKZ Kg jvġM| Avgvi mn-Mtel K BDġi wġqvb bvi x cġqB bvi x kixġi i GB †K"Qv i tġ ZvgvKv Kġi ej ġZb, ŌGLvbKvi bvi xiv GgwbZB bv-tġZ tġZ tKgb tmw` ntġ tġwġŌ Avi Mtel Yvi Z GK Nti i kvi wo Zvi m` weewnZ tŌġj eDġi cvZjv kixi † †L PzVġġi KvR KiġZ cvġte bv GB wbtġ cġqB nvŪZvġ KiġZb| Awg fveŌj vq, GB me ewev-gv Kb`vġ i Rb` weġkġ e`e`v Kiġj B tZv cvġib, Zvntġ tZv cġ`l wġj fvebvq tg` nġte, bvi x Kvgbvi ntġ DVġe! nvġġi bvi x, Kvgbvi bvi x! KLġvb i tġ tg` Rvġġ Kvgbvi ntġ nq, KLġbvġv tg` Rgvi dġUv `vM wbtġ AmZx ntġ nq| tġvġv K\_v ntġj v, bvi x kixġi i tKvb tKvb Mob mvgwRKfġte AvKv`ġvi tmŪv Awġġ KZ fġġj vġte bvi x kixġi tK mġeP P Drcv`b Avi cġi`rcv`ġb jwġvġv hvq, Kx Kx `ewkġŌ i bvi x kixġi tK mġeP tġvġv Kiv hvq Zvi I ci wġf<sup>9</sup> Kġi | bvi x kixġi i cY`KiY, cY`Kiġyi tKSkj , tġfġMi tKSkj mgq mgq e`j vq| tġwġj I tġwġj aġi e`j vq, wekŌ HuZnwmK tġwġj e`j vq Avi Zvi mvġ` Av`k<sup>9</sup>bvi x kixġi i `ewkŌ`I e`j vġZ \_vġK|

wBR`^kixi0 bv ev tK Rvfb nqZ bixiB kixi wKsev tK Rvfb Avgiv tKvfbv mgvRi gvb| B nqZ  
 cfi vcyi bixkixii GB mvgwRK wbgfYi evBti emevm KitZ cwi bv| tm kixi cj`lwj GfRbUi  
 tPvL bixkixi, tm kixii tKvfbv Astk`vM tbB, Pvgov gmy GgbwK Pvgovi UvbUvb we`wZ Di`i  
 mfwSj Aege chS`\_vKtZ nq| bixi Mob nte wbtUvj, cv nte tjvgnxb, Zvi UvcDeviUji Pj 0 etj  
 wKQz\_vKte bv| tgvUv autPi bixi wetq nZ etov K0| 0e`vqvg Ktiv0 GB Dct`k hZ bv  
 0PwKrmweAvtbi `w0tZ my`Zvi Rb`0<sup>10</sup>, Zvi PvBtZ tXi temk Kgvixi Av`k`kixii Rb`| mi`  
 tKvgi, mfwSj Lvov`b` Avi c`\_j wBZ`AR`bi Rb`| Zvi gvtb GB bq th, bix 0mfwSj 0 kixii  
 DEiwaKvix nZ cvi`teb bv ev Ggb kixi aviY KitZ Pvb bv ev PvBtj tmUv mgm`vRbK| th th  
 bixi kixi wK Av`tkP mgjfc bv ev hviv 0mgvRi Kw`qjZ kixii bix0 bb, Avwg Zvt`i c0t1/2  
 `w0 w`tZ PvBwQ| `j bixi gtZv th th bixi eK tZGb Dbz bq, Zvt`i l kixi wbtq bvbv gse`  
 i btZ nq| 0eK cvkvg mgvb, wKQz bvB0, 0wclDR0| hw` bix GKcvtk l obv cto `vtKb Zvntj gse`  
 Avtm 0GKcvk Kx ev` nq tMtQ bmkI0, 0wj Pi gtZv eKl0| Avi GB gse`\_tjvi A`\_qKvfbvfvteB  
 `w`i bv| bixitK gtb Kwitq t`q Avcbvi bixitZi `b` Avmtj wK cwRkfb tbB, Kvgbvi bixi  
 gtZv tbB| Avi Avgiv cj`lwj GfRvUiv Avcbvi kixi wbtq hvPvBevQvB Kivi qjZv i wL, 0bixi  
 kixi tZv Avgiv cj`lwj gvb|li, ZvB bv!0| Avevi th bix Av`k`kixii AwKvix ZvtK mgwMZ  
 Av`k`kixi Avi tm wbtq cj`lwj bvbv Kvgbvi bvbv gse`i btZ nq| bixi cQ` n`Q Kx n`Q bv,  
 bixi Lwi R KitQ Kx KitQ bv Gme wbtq fvebvi tKvfbv KviY bvB, PPF| bvB| cj`tli Kvgbv wbtq  
 Avgiv tKvfbv mgm`v bvB, bixi Kvgbv wbtq l bvB| c0kentjv Kvgbvi c0vPvj tkvbw wbtq bix Zvi  
 B`Qv Awb`Qv c0kvtki mfwM cvq Kx cvq bv| GB bvbv K`vevZf wfiZiKvi gj fvebvUv ntjv  
 bixkixi memgq cj`lwj fvebvi ciL ev hvPvBevQvBtqi wclq nq tlv| bixi kixi Zvi  
 mEvmtgZ bvbv gvctRvtKi wclq nq hvq|

Avgiv th th Z\_vkw\_Z 0mZxbvix0 0wetqi cti bixkixi0<sup>11</sup> wetqi AvtMB aviY Kw, Avgv`i tZv  
 gvbwM Uvbuct0tbi tkl tbB| GB bvbv NUbv i`tb i`tb Avgiv Avgv`i wEMZ ev GLbKvi `j Zvi  
 kixi wbtq k1/4vq `wK, 0cvtQ Avgvi kixi hw` Kvgbvi bv nq0, 0cvtQ Avgvi `j Zvi `vM t`tL AmZx

<sup>10</sup> wPwKrmweAvtbi gvtS mgvRi mKj web`vm mgZvfb weivRgvb| `u0 nZ t`Lp, Lock, Margaret, &  
 Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, , "A Critical-Interpretive Approach in Medical Anthropology: Rituals  
 and Routines of Discipline and dissent", in Sargent, C. F, & Johnson, M. Thomas, (ed), *Medical  
 Anthropology: Contemporary Theory and Method.*

<sup>11</sup> AvRtKi mgqt wetqi cti bixkixii aviYvi l teRvq cwi eZB nqtQ| c0qB mivUj vBU wUwftZ t`Lvq Kx  
 Kx e`envi Kitj gvb|Rb bixi eqm wbtq w0avq cto hvteb, `0gx Avevi `xi w`tk fxiY AvKv`qjv wbtq  
 ZvKvteb, cpi vq wetqi c0ve w`teb| fveLvov ntjv GB `e`w` e`envi bv-Kitj bixi `0gx bixi c0Z  
 D`vmb nq coteb| bix msmvi wJwKtq ivLiz me wKQz Kitteb GB aviYv cpi vq c0Z0v cvq| cvkvcwK  
 Avgiv bix wntmte tRtb tbB Avgiv bixit`i Rxeb memgtq bvbvfvte cj`tli gtbvi Atb e`euZ nZ nte,  
 ZvB kixixfvte Avgv`i wKvK`\_vKtZ nte| Avti fiv Avgv`i bixit`i KZE` `0gx thSbZvi `e` wntmte  
 wbtRtK hZew`tq gj`evb Kti tZvj| `0gx thSbgqZv th ch0qB `vKK bv tKb, `0gx cj`l th ch0qiB  
 AvKl`vq thSbgq cj`l tnwK bv tKb, GB wbtq c0ekiv (temki fivM) bixi AvqtEi evBti| evs vt`tki AtbK  
 cw`Kvq w0t`v b cvZvq etov etov tnWj vBtb wnw` wntbvi bwqKv`i tj vfbxq kixi wbtq 0wetq ev gvZtZi0  
 ci wntbvgv cZ`veZfbi l ci wDvri 0vcv nq| Avgiv cwo Avi Rwb grajx, KvRj Giv Kx Kx Kti tQ BZ`w`  
 BZ`w`| AvRtKi mgq bixkixii tmB Av`k`c0Z0vi mgq, hLb bix Avmtj mKj eqtm memgq bvbvfvte  
 tKej B AvMvMvov kixix bix, mi` tKvgi, my`i Mo`tbi bix, Kvgbvi bix|



Avcbviv bixi tctUi `vM t`tL AmZx fiveteB bv, wCR wCR!0 Avgiv Rwei th th wKfV\_P bixi tctU dlvU AvtQ Zviv mKtj GLtBv AmZx ntq hvqvb | wCR Avgvt` i 0AmZx0 tftte wa`vi w`teb bv | Avgiv cKuzi wei`tx `vortZ cwi bvb, hv l Avgiv Rwb 0bvix wntmte Av`kKixti i Rb` Avgvt` i cKuzi wei`tx `vortZ nq0|<sup>14</sup> Avgiv kixi wbtq e`\_0 Avcbviv Avgvt` i Ki`Yv Ki`b | bixi wntmte cj`lwj gZv`tkP KvtQ GB Ki`Yv c0\_BvB Kx Avgvi tkl MSe`?

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tktU, bvbvfvte | Zvi evt` Avgiv hLb tKvtbv tKvtbv bix (Ges cj`l) bixev`x ivRbmZi mvt` GKwZ nB ev thwMthvtMi iv`vLjR cvB, PU Kti atib tbqv nq Avgiv 0bixev`xiv tKej cj`l`tkB Kvi`tY-AKvi`tY kT` tftte wB0l Aek`B GUv KvtRi K\_v bv, GKfvte tKej cj`l`tk kT` tftte wbtq KivWgtvK cKuzZx ivLv, e`w3 i Aciva gbgvbmKZv wbtq `n0l tcljv bixev`x we`t` tJ Lvjt wLi GKgvT Kvr bq | 0bixev` ivR%wZK At`\_0cj`l`tk cKuzZx fvte Acivax tftte tbq0 GB cfvkvj x aviYv Avmtj bixev`tk ivR%wZK At`\_0tnq c0ZcbwKivi tKskj | Amg gtb Kwi, bixev`x covi bv GKUv gZv`k`Ges GKB mvt` ivR%wZK PPF, thUv Avgvt` i mgvR weivRgvb epEi AmgZv t`Lvi iv`v`Zwi Kti w`tZ cti | wj`xq AmgZv mgvRi tklw, eY` Z\_v epEi AmgZvi KivWgtvi mvt`\_B Rwtq tcvP`tq`\_vtK | Avi ZvB AmgZvi wj`xq web`vmtK Rvbtvsv ivR%wZK At`\_0bix-cj`l` GgbwK wRov, Ktqi BZ`w` BZ`w` bvbv wj`xq cwi P`tqi gvbtli wj`xq Ae`gtbi RvqMv `u0 Kitz P`q | citzi ci citzi wbcrob, i`xZvtK cKuzKitz P`q, fJgZv PPFK cKuz Kitz P`q |

cj`lwj gZv`k`bvixev`x bixi 0AivR%wZK cj`lwetivax Pwi`tI0 wbgvYtK Avtiv k3tcr3 Kitz cwi Kvi msev` wKsev ev`e Rxefti bvbv Nubvi eivtZ cB cB Kti t`wL`tq` t`q`th, KZfvte Avmtj bixvB Aciv bixi lci wbcrob P`jvq | fivLxv Ggb, 0tZvgiv bixivB GtK Atb`i tC0tb tJ tM`\_vtKv, Avgiv cj`liv Avi tKv`vq Kx Kijvg!0 mgvRi euj` cP`wJ Z K\_v 0bvixi mePvBtZ etov kT` bixi wbtR0 | Zvi gvtb, `v`gx`\_tK gvtb KviY`v`gx`i gv`tevb`\_xi tC0tb tJ tM`\_vtK, Awctm bixi mnKgf bvtg AwfthvM Aciv bixivB w`tZ`\_vtKb | cj`l` 0Amvq tePvivi mviw`b evBti evBti Kvr Kti Kvs`ntq hvq, Nti e`vcti gv`v Nvgvbi mgq tKv`vq Zvi0! Avi GB Kvi`tY tKvtbv GK cj`l`tk bixi wntmte evtm Zvi wbcroKmj f AvP`tYi Rb` agtK DVtZ tMj (memgq GgbB nq tmUv wKs`ejw0 bv) SwtKi KvtKi gtZv Avkctki cj`liv SwStq l`vB | evtm bixi Rb` msi w`fJZ wntU etm`\_vKv cj`l`tk DVtZ etj tJ nvrvtiv gse`i btZ cvB, hv gta` etov AskB bixi Avi cj`tli mgAwAki wbtq we`jc-ZvgvK Kti | cj`l`tk kT` fiev Avi cj`l`ti bixi`i cY` fiev GKB c0p`qvi Gw`K tmw`K | wCZwSjK mgvR Rb`tbqvgvT` cj`l` th th mjev cvb, tctq teTo l`vB, tmB mvgwRK c0p`qvi ga` w`tq etov nlqv cj`l` 0bvixi c0Z tgbt bv-tbv0l thtKvtbv wKQz`i`btj ev`t`LjB mvgwRKfvte wbtRt` i 0Acivaxi ch`tq` t`Ltz cvb0 | RbMZfvte wbtRt` i B`Qv-Awb`Qvi E`t`v`f`vM Kti Avm wj`xq AmgZvi`\_vtq 0At`d`0W0 etj Awe`vi Kti b | gtb Kti tbb, Avmtj ivR%wZK At`\_0bixev` Acivax wPbtZ wL`tq cj`l` RwiZi tC0tb tJ tM`\_vtQ | Lp` mntRB cj`lwj wMwtKv`w`j`xq wL`tq mste` bKj bixi ev`cj`l`tk 0cj`lwet0l`x0 bvg w`tq tclj b | GB ev`eZvq Avgvt` i mv`x`cj`l`v 0c`p`Rev` wbcvK hvK0— nvrvi evi GB t`w`w`b w`tj l` GKev l` etj b bv 0cZZSj`wbcvK hvK0 | hZ mntR cj`Rev`i wect`f`l` wvrtv hvq, ZZ mntR wCZZSj`k kT` fiev hvq bv |

<sup>14</sup> Pj`wZ fievq `wMnb PgovtK my`i Pgov etj | etov ntZ tMj bixi Avi cj`l` eqtmUkvtj i GB `B aifti gvbtli B Pgov dlvUz cti | wKs` ga`weE mgvR PgovtKw`K GB tmS` h`f`xZvi teva bvbvfvte bixixiti i lci B eZ`q | HuznmKfvte bixi Zvi teTo l`vtKl kixixfvte wqSj` Kivi `wqZj`wbtq Rb`q | c0KuzZK bixixitiK mvgwRK bvbv P`v`vi mvt`f`f`l` bvbvfvte wqSj` Kitz nq | Avgiv Rvctbi bixi`i cvtq tQvU R`zv`civi mvgwRK PPF K\_v gtb Kitz cwi | bixi`i etov ntZ nte wbcvSj` ntq, Avgvt` i `b` Stj cotZ cvite bv, Avgvt` i Zj`tctU `vM cotZ cvite bv BZ`w` BZ`w`; hvfZ cj`tli gwj Kivrax Avgvt` i GB kixti i tKvtbv Astk tKvtbvi Kg tUj bv-cto | Avgvt` i wbtUj ntZ nte, `wMnb, AwPonx ntZ

bvK Avgvi tPrL AvOj w`tq wRtAm Kiv DvPZ tKb tKej bvixkixi i dvUv vbtq GZ K\_veyZ?  
tKb bvixkixi i Di", "b" Avi Zj tctUi dvUv `vtMi A\_@Ges \_i"Zi GK bq? tKb bvixi Zj tctUi  
dvUv `vM Avi mZxZi GZ Rvotq tctPtq AvtQ? tKb tKej bvixi Rb" mZxZi GZ Ri"wi ntq cto?  
tKb Ges Kx Kx cduqvq Avgvt`i bvix`i Avmtj mg`-kixix mEvq evievi cduY Ki tZ nq UAvwg  
GKRtbi bvix, Avwg Avmtj GKRtbi bvi xD, UAvwg mZx, mZx Ges mZx?

AmZx Kivvob

tckvMZ mft GK BDtvcxq bvixi mvt\_ Avgvi emevm| Avgiv `B Zi"Y bvix Gtnb velq bvB hv  
vbtq vbtRi`i gvtS Avjvc Kivvob| wZbgvtmi Uvbn gvKtqP tKvtnv GK vetKtj Avgiv `Rb  
tm=nvDtr etm MtelYvi wictU@Kt=uvR KivQ, Qve Avctj wW KivQ| nVv Avgvi BDtvcxq mnKgP  
Bsti wRtZ `tLcKvk Kti etj DVtj b, UtZvgvi AvR KivR Ki tZ fxiY Kó ntqtQ, ZvB bv! Avwg  
GKUzAevK njvg| cduZv b hv Kvi AvRI Zv KtiwQ, GLtbn KivQ| Avwg Avgvi KivR \_vwtq `y Rvi  
Kvi Y Kx ntZ cvti RvbtZ AvMbx njvg| vet`wkbx eUzAvgvi `wó Zvi vbtRi j`vcUtci w`Ebi w`tK  
AvKI` Kti ej j, UGB tj vtKi mvt\_ Zug Kxfvte K\_v etj Q?0 Avwg IB tj vtKi mvt\_ K\_v bv-ej vi  
tKvtnv Kvi YB Ltr tcejvg bv| Kvi Y MtelK Avgvi IB tj vtKi mvt\_ MtelYvi velq vbtq K\_v ej tZ  
tgtvUI Amyeav nqvb| MtelZ cj"l Zvi Rxeibi bvbvb K\_v mnRfvtv AvgvtK etj tMtQb| Zvi  
PvbtZ etov K\_v cj"l w Avgvt`i MtelYvi \_i"Zcy@Z`"vZv| wei wó vbtqB Avwg Kvi Y RvbtZ  
Pvbjvg| vet`wkbx mnKgP cduZDEi w`j, Okixi t`tLv.. t`tLv bv tKgb.. Dcd! Avwg PgtK tMjvg|  
AvR mviw b Avwg th cj"tli mvtvrvKvi vbtqvQ, hvi mvt\_ Nfti wQ, hvi mvt\_ dmtj i gvtV cvkvcwK  
GKv GKv etm Avwg Pig `w-vbtq K\_v etj wQ, j`vcUtci w`Ebi Zvi B Qve (me cj"tli Dcw"vZ  
A`w`i wKsev me cj"lB wbcxoK, `gbgj K wKsev cj"tli mvtK tbnZevPK Kti t`Lv Avgvi KivR  
bv)| vet`wkbx eUz nvZ w`tq kigtKi ewj ó kixi i tcvk\_tjv AvgvtK t`vLq hv"Qb| Avgvi  
BDtvcxq eUai GK K\_v, UAvwg ntj GB tj vtKi mvtb tKvtnvfvteB MtelYvi KivR Ki tZ cvi Zvg  
bv, Amæe, Avgvi mgm`v ntZv| ...Avwg tZv AevK! Zug Kxfvte tivR= Kti v, Zug l tqU nI bv?0

Avwg Avgvi BDtvcxq eUai mvt\_ GB Kt\_vK`tbi BvZ nvtZ nvtZB Uvbjvg| wKs' gv\_vq velqUv  
tMt\_ tMj | Kvi Y LrtZ j vMjvg, Avmtj tKb Avwg cj"tli kixi i w`tK ZvKvB bv| tKb Avwg tftv  
tbB th, bvixi eK ZvKvtnv Avv cj"tli eK ZZUvB bv ZvKvtnv? MtelK Avgvi UbvZKZv(!) Ges  
Z`"vZvi mvt\_ MtelK Avgvi tkivcv`R` Mtel tZi D`vg etKi w`tK ZvKvtnv tftv evav ntZ  
cvti | nqZ Avwg ga`vetEi bvix wntmte kigtKi kixi t`LvUvB Okiv`Pi velq etj tftv vbtZ  
wktLwQ0 wKsev Avgvi Rb` kigtKi kixi ZvKvtnv Ok`vnm0 bv| wKs' bvix wntmte Avwg wK ga`veE ev  
D`PieE cj"tli kixi i w`tK Kvgbvi `wó vbtq ZvKvtnv mvgmRK wKv`v cvB? ckmKs' bvixi Kvgbv  
AvtQ Kx tbB tmlv bq| ckmKtjv mvgmRKfvte bvixi cj"tli kixi t`Lvi Af`vm Mto l`v Kx l`v  
bv wKsev bvix cj"tli w`tK ZvKvtnv mvgmRKfvte GB PP`mnRvZ wK bv? hv` cj"tli kixi t`Lv

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nte| Avgvt`i mZx`Qti`i c`P Zvi Pig bvrKZvmtgZ AUUz\_vKtZ nte| GBRb` ctqB Avgvt`i cvievi  
Avgiv bvix`i Rb` bvbvb UtQtj gvbn0(!) tLj vaj vtK eU Kti t`q| Avgvt`i MvtQ PotZ t`qv nq bv, Avi  
uj`y`j t`Sovt`Swo Avgvi bvixiv tZv bvbvfvte tmB etov nI qvi eqtm tQtoB GtmQ| Avgvt`i big ntZ nq,  
thgb Pigovi tcej eZvq tZgnb AvPi`y| thgnb KtE wbpntZ nq, tZgnb wbi`Eg ntZ nq thSbv`uqvq| Zvntj B  
tKej Avgvt`i msvi mLi nq, Avgiv Kvgbvi bvix ntq Dv| Avgiv bvixiv Avgvt`i w`j`xq cvi Pq Avi Zvi  
mvt\_ vbtUj kixi Avgvt`i mvgmRK Pvi t` bvbvfvte avitYi wKv`wi vbtq RtbwQ|

bvixi Rb` mnRvZ bv-ntq \_vtK Zte Zvi KviY Kx? mnRvZ ntj Avgiv-bvixiv wtklZ ga`wetEi  
bvixiv cj`tli w`tk ZvKvfbv wbtq tKvb ai`tbi mvgwRK wk`v cvB, tKgb Kti ZvKvfbvi Abtgv`b  
cvB?

GB c`kai: nvZ ati Avgvi DVvZ eqtmi bvbvb NUbvi K\_v gtb covQj | Awg Avgvi etov nl qvi  
mgtq eK tXtK ivLevi Rb` KwgtRi Dci KwU ctiwQj | AvgvtK bvbvfvte tkLvfbv ntqtQ Kxfvte  
I obv mvgj vtbv hvq, Kxfvte bvixiv Avl qvR Qvov Lvq, Kxfvte Avgvi bvixixi tndvRZ KiZ nq,  
Kxfvte Awg-bvix Avt`-Avt`-Avl qvR bv-Kti nuUe | GKUzKjRv ntq Mv Gwj tq emtj B nqZ tKvfbv  
bvix AwffveK Avgvt`i mgeqmx tevbt`i etj DVtZb, UvbUvb Kti etm0 | GKevi 13/14 eQi  
eqtm fvbt`i gtZv Awgl i`wU gvsm w`tq KuPv tcaqvR Lve, Avgvi GK AvZwqv ZvtZ agK  
w`tqQjtj b, Otgtqt`i tcaqvR tLtZ tbB0 | Awg mvt\_ mvt\_ wRtAm KtiwQj vg, OtKb tLtZ tbB,  
fvBqviv Lvq?0 AvZwqv DEi wQj, OtQtjt`i kixti tcaqvR Ptj, tgtqt`i tLtZ tbB0<sup>15</sup> gtb cto,  
Avgvi GK tevb extiv-tZi eQi eqm Aewa ZiZi Kti MvQ tetq DVZ etj c0qB AwffveKiv  
Otgtqgvbl0 MvQ t`tK cto tMjt Kx Kx ANUb NUtZ cvti tm wbtq K\_v ejtZb (cj`l wj mgtvR  
bvix Avi cj`l GB `B wj 1/2xq cwi Ptqi mvgwRK gvbtli Rb` wec` wksev vjwZi aviYv  
faveni Kgfvtw wfb0 cj`l tK kvtq`v KiZ tMjt thgb UgvBi t`qvi0 K\_v Avtm, bvixi Rb`  
gvBtii PvBtZ faveni bvixi Ici thSb thKvfbvi Kg AvpY Kiv, thgb ai`b iUbv, Z<sup>3</sup> Kiv,  
nqivw Kiv, alv Kiv BZ`w` BZ`w` bvbvb wKQ) | G Mti i gta` mevPvBtZ kw<sup>3</sup>kvj xwQj tKvfbv GK  
AwffveK bvixi tQvU tevtbi MvQ t`tK cto hvl qv Ges Zvi thSvbt` MvtQi Wvj RvZxq wKQz XtK  
hvl qvi mmetkl eY0 | e`m, GB exfrm eY0vi ci Avgvi tevtbi MvtQ Iv eU ntq tMj | MvQ t`tK  
cto gv\_v tdtU hvte GUv tevtbi MvtQ Pov eU Kivi gj KviY wQj bv | thSvbt` wKQz Xktj weivU  
mgm`v nte, GUvB wQj mevi etov fq | Avgvi gtb cto, Avgvt`i mvgtbB tmB cto hvl qv bvixi  
kixti `N0bvi Rb` Kx Kx mgm`v ntqQj, `vxi mvt\_ ZLtbv chS-Zvi Kx Kx mgm`v nq tm wbtq  
bvbvb Avtj vPv Pj wQj | Avgiv thSbZvi bvbvb wKQz tRtb PcvPvc etS wbtqvQj vg | IvLvtbi AtbK  
wktkvix eUz Avgiv bxi te etS wbtqvQj vg | Avgiv PcvPvc tRtb wbtqvQj vg thSvbt` wKQz Xktj B  
0Avgiv tkl, ZLb Ggb wKQz NUte, hvi PvBtZ gtb nq gti hvl qv fvjt v0 | Avgiv ga`wetEi bvixiv  
AtbK wKQz bvbvfvte wktL tbB, bvbvfvte bvbvb wKQz wktL tbqvi nvZ ati B bvixi I cj`tli `B wfb0  
wfb0RMr Mto I tV | tKD tKD AvcbvAvcbw mewKQzK `vfwek tftw wbtq Af`-ntq ctob, tKD  
tKD Po\_vai Lvb, tKD tKD teqviv itq hvb | Aw`ZMZfvte bvix ntq Iv Avgvt`i GKmwvi  
i`xZvi tKSkj tkLvZ \_vtK |

Avgvi Pricvtki cj`livi wK Gfvte wbtRt`i kixi wbtq bvbvb i`xZvmtgZ etov ntZ wktL t0? bwk  
eqtmUvi tKvfbv tQtj PU Kti Mvtqi Kvc0 bv-Ljtj Avgiv ewj, 0Zug wK tqtq bwk t0 | Avgiv  
ga`wetEi bvixiv tmB etov nl qvi mgq t`tK KZiKgfvtw Avgvt`i eK XvKtZ wkwL | Avgvt`i  
mvtj vqvi Kxfvte DPtZ DVte bv, Mvtqi KwgR tkvqvi mgq Kxfvte tUtb tkvqvi Af`vm KiZ nte,

<sup>15</sup> c0q GKhm AvtM Awg ga`weE tkiYi DVvZ tqtq wntmte GB gse` itb0j vg | mgtvRi c0vj Z fiebvq  
tcaqvR, imp G\_tjv 0kixi Mig Kivi Lvev0 | kixi Mig nl qvi gvtb Avmtj GKAt`0bvix wntmte wbtRtK  
DEB ev thSbZvq m1xq ntZ t`LtZ cvl qv | cj`l wj mgtvRi fiebvq bvixi thSbZv th cti v0 | Avi cj`tli  
Rb` th DEB nl qv LvU, tmUvB GtZ cpivq Drcw` Z ntZ t`Lv hvq | G KviYB c0vj Z fiebvq w`yweav  
`vxi gZi ci kv`gtZ tcaqvR imp Lvb bv |

Kua t\_#K Krfvte l obv evi evi cote bv GB vbtq bvbvb kvq`v fivzgv Avgiv bvbvbfvte wktL tMwQ| wks`etov ntZ ntZ GKRB cj`l wK wktL th Zvi tLvj eK thsbq Ges thsbq etj Zv tXtK ivLvi, thsbq etj j 3/4vi?16 GtrU At\_cj`l wK wktL ev tRtb tbq th Zvi eK t`tL tKtVb vix g` wQztfte vbtj Zvi m#yb Pj hvte? bmk cj`l wktL tbq GB cj`l wj fvevi mgvR tm eK wPwZtq nuUte KviY tKej vixi `wotZ Zvi m#yb Pj thtZ cvti bv, cj`tli m#yb vixi gtZv GZ VbtKv bq? cj`l wK wktLb th vixi`i ciwRZ KitZ ntj wZvb cj`l wntmte Vm Kti kvU`L`lj vbtRi tcsi`ltZji cgyY w`tZ cvtib?17 bmk GtrU wntmte cj`l mvgwRKfvte eKtLvjv thsbZv DctfVM Kivi wkvjv tctqtQb? bmk cj`l Rvttb cj`l wj gvz`tkP mgvR cj`tli thsbZv tftMi tKtVbi Kg 0qvgZvB0 vixi bvb?

Avi Avgiv-vixiv cj`tli kixi vbtq lB GKB!Kg `w`+ wkvjv mvgwRKfvte wktL`Z\_vwK| Avgiv Rwb, Avgv`i evc-fvB, m#uWkZ ev Avgv`i Pricvtki Am#uWkZ cj`liv Lwj Mvtq\_vk`Z cvti | `wi`^cj`l A\_Rto Lwj kixi\_vtk, kvR Kti etj Lwj Mvtq\_vtk, gwU KvU etj Lwj Mvtq\_vtk| Avgiv wktL tbB, tmUvK ctkwvi bv| tftte tbB cj`l A\_Rto, bvbv kixix Kto Lwj Mvtq\_vtk, G meB `vfwek| fwe bv lB GKB tkwYi vixi me#y Kvco ctiB kvR KitZ nq| lB vixi tZv gwU kvUQ, gvU kvR KitQ, bvbvb KwqK cwi kti kvR KitQ, vixi GZ kvco cti kvR KitZ Ko nq wK nq bv G vbtq Avgv`i tKtVb ctkv`tk bv| eis `wi`^vixi kixi kvco wKvK bv\_vktj Avgiv gvtSgta`wei`^nB| AtbK mgq Avgiv tftte wB, `wi`^vixi Avmtj Zvi bMzV w`tq cj`l tK c`j`i KitZ PvBtQ, mjeav vbtZ PvBtQ| Avi tmUv cj`l wj fvevi tKtVb wj tzi gvbtli kvUQB mjeavi gtb nq bv| Avi Avgv`i ever-fvB Nti Avgv`i mvgtb Lwj kixiB\_vkte, G vbtq tKD KLtbv tKtVb ctkv`Zvtj? vixi GB ctiw` thsbZvi ctkwYi c0Z gntZ`P`tj, c0Z K\_vq Pj| Avgiv-vixiv Nti Ges evBti, ev`te ev Kivq, wfrjyqwj ev bb-wfrjyqwj BZ`w` BZ`w` bvbvb cwi mti cj`tli eKti w`tk bv-Zvkvb mnR etj Rwb, wKsev cj`tli eK th thsbq tmUvB Avgiv wkuL bv ev vbtRi gvtSI `xkvi Kivi wkvjv cvB bv| AtbK mgq Avgiv ga`wetEi vixi cj`tli kixi t`tL Mv`\_jvtvivi fve Kti gse` Oto w`B, 0tbtUv gvbj Awg t`L`Z cwi bv, tKgb Rwb jvtM0| wKsev Awg ev Avgvi gtZv AmZx vixivB tKej wUrf c`q ev Pj`Z wdi`Z cj`tli kixi t`tL, 0t0t0|

wks`cj`l kixi`i `w`+ wcvixtZ Ni t\_#K evBti, iv`v`\_t\_#K evRvti, ev`e`\_t\_#K Kivq Gtnb RvqMv bvB thLvbt mvgwRKfvte vixi`i mvt\_ vixi kixix A`w`-bv-hvq| Avgiv ga`wetEi vixi wntmte Avtiv wktL tbB 0cwi evti i0 (ati tbq nq vixi Rb` cwi evi, Zvi Avcb Ni, Zvi kvUQi gvbj l RMr fxLY Avivtgi, fxLY `^Qt`i) gvtSI vixixixi vbtq bvbvb ivLXvK Kti thtZ nte| Avgiv-vixiv Rwb, 0cj`l gvbj tZv cj`l B0| Avgiv-vixiv Rwb, Avgiv Aw`Zj thsbq, ZvB Avgv`i B`Ov-Awb`Ovi E`at`^Avgv`i Dcw`wZgvB thsbq| Avi ZvB thtKtVbfvte thtKtVb

16 Zvi gvtb wks`GB bq th, Awg AvR`wZKfvte vixi-cj`l mKj wj`zq gvbj RbtK j 3/4vex ntq thtZ ej wQ| kvco civ DvPZ Kx DvPZ bv G vbtq ZK`Ki`Z GtmQ| Awg Avmtj ctkv`i`Z PvBtQ, tKb Ges Kx Kx mvgwRK c0uqyq vixi Avi cj`tli thsbZv Avi j 3/4vtevtai avi Yv Ggb Amgfvte wfbantq l v|

17 GB `we`u0 KitZ cWktK temk`+ thtZ nte bv| B`wbskvj evsj v wntbqv wKsev m`vtUj vBU wUrfi wnw` wntbgi Mvtb vqK bmkvK Rā KitZ c0q kixi`i cwi`taq kvU`^jej vbtq L`lj tdj tQ Ggb `k` bvbvbfvte t`L`Z cvl qv hvq|

cwi mti cj "l bixi kixi t Lij B DfEmRZ nte | cj "l Avmtj 0ew0, Avi Awig-bvix Avmtj 0gvw0  
BZw` BZw` KZ wKOB bv Avgiv wktL wbB | Avgvt` i tK cj "li mluqZv t tK ewPtZ wbtRi  
bvixkixi wKvK Kti tXtKXtK ivLtz nte | Avgiv-bvixiv AvMtMvovB Avmtj fVvRvBbv, Avgvt` i  
Avmtj Rxbt thsbZvi evBti Aci Avi tKvrbv Aw`Zj bvB | Avgiv tKvrbv Athsb m=uk`Z`YB  
eRvq ivLtz cwi, hZ`Y Avgiv tXtKXtK Pwj | bv-ntj Avgvt` i Rb` cj "l tZv Avi t tg vKte  
bv, tKvrbv m=utK` t`vnbZtZl bv | Avti fvB 0cj "l tZv vgtZ cvti bv<sup>18</sup> | ZvOvov mgvR Rvrb Ges  
gvrb 0cj "l t i GKvaUt` vl vK | 0 Avi ZvB bvix wntmte cj "li Abtgvw` Z mluqZv tVktZ Awig-  
bvix tK mZK`ntZ nte, ctiv` nte, bvbvb cwi mti Avgvi kixi tK i x ivLtz nte | Avi tmB  
A`uk` i xZv eRvq ivLvi `vq tKej Avgvi bvixkixi | Avgiv Rwb, 0Kvcj "l ZB Avgvi kixi  
cwe wKs` gb cwe bv0 — GB cluqvi nvZ ati Avgiv thsbZvi thtKvrbv chftq tgb bv-tbqvi  
tKvrbv wKQz NUtj (GgbwK AtbKmgq tgb tbqvi wKQz NUtj l) bvix wntmte wbtRi wbg`YvxbZvi  
mv` thvMvthvM LjR cvB | bvix wntmte wbtRtK t`vlv`vc KitZ wK, bvix wntmte thsbZvi Avb`  
LjR cvevi AvKv`Yv Avgvt` i j 3/4vi etj gtb nq, tek`v bvixi KvR etj gtb nq, bo bvixi KvR  
etj gtb nq | Avgiv thtKvrbv mZx vKtZ PvB | Gi gvrb ntj v, Avgiv PvB Avgvt` i thsbv`  
tKvrbv wKQz bv-XKk, tmUv thgb MvtQi Wvj tZgvb cj "li thsbv` | Avgiv wv0Z KitZ PvB thb  
Avgvt` i 0mZx` 0 A`Y Z vK, thb weti ci `vgxi mv` i tZ tMtj 0Avgvt` i e`cvZ nq0 | nv  
bvix Avgiv ZvB thgb etov nte nte t`SoSic KgvB, tZgvb Avgiv `fite ctiv` nte wKwL,  
tcvR bv-tLtz wKwL | Zvi mv` mv` wbtRt` i kixix i xZv wKsev A`uk`Zv eRvq ivLtz wltq  
thsbZv Dctfwm bv-Kivi mvgwRK `x`Yvq `w`Y Z nte DvW |<sup>19</sup>

bvixkixi i GB bvbvb hvPvBvQvBtqi ev`eZvq Avgiv wK bvix wntmte Rwb, RvrbtZ PvB ev Rvbi  
AvMh i wL wKsev KLtbv wK clwKwi, Kxfite bvix GtRvU wntmte cj "li mZxZtK wPtZ wKtete?  
Kxfite GtRvU At`cj "li 0i xZv0 ciL Kite ev Avmtj Kxfite cj "l tK ciL Kiv hvq? wKsev

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<sup>18</sup> Avti fvB 0cj "l tZv vgtZ cvti bv — Guv Avgvt` i ga`weE mgvtRi mePvBtZ Kov Abkumb | Avgiv  
ga`wetEi bvix wbtRt` i gntj thsbZv wbtq K\_v evvq GB K\_v bvbvrbv wktL wbB | cj "l kixixfite  
thsbqZv vgtZ cvti bv, GB ARvrtZ Avgiv bvixivl Avgvt` i m=umKZ cj "l thgb `vgx, tc0gi gvrb |  
wKsev Am=umKZ cj "li bvbvb tgb bv-tbqvi AvPiYtK `eaZv w`q hvB | i ayGuvB bv, Avgiv bvixiv bvbvb  
wKvrtgi wbcx0tbi KviY wntmte hLb wbtRt` i t`vlx fvetZ wK, Zvi l tkKo GB tevSicov | Avgiv bvixiv  
kixi wKvK gtZv tXtK ivLb bvB Ggb tcvkvtKi bvix tK tK0 gse` Kitj fite tbB 0wKB Avt0, t`Lv  
tKb0, 0tZvgt` i Rb` me bvix tK cj "l Ggb nvj Kv fite tbq | 0 wKs` Avgiv GKevi l fwe bv th, fvtjv Kico  
citj l gse` i bte nq | tK Kx Kico Kxfite cti tKgb AvPiY Kit0 tm mtei Etal`cj "l th  
KvrtgvMZfite bvixi thsbktgi gwj tKi gtZv AvPiY Ktib, Avgiv Zv fvetZ wKwL bv | Avgiv cj "li  
thsbZvi cbj ZvtK kixix ati 0me cj "l B kixixfite al`0 GB gnvqvtbi wFZ `Zwi Kti hvB | cj "li  
thsbZvi ActZtiva`Zv bvixi thsbZvi wv`0ZvtK wv0Z Kivi Ask gv |

<sup>19</sup> thsbZv DctfwmB 0bvixi YlgZvq0 ev 0gv` i GKgvT Dcvq0 — GB aiti e`e` wKs` Awg nvrRi KitZ  
PvBvQ bv, wKsev G aiti tKvrbv Kg Avek`K avYv Awg clZ0v KitZ PvBvQ bv | Awg thsbZv wbtq bvixi  
wbtRi wR`ev gv` wv`xS-tbevi YlgZv Avt0 Kx tbB, bwK bvbvrbv bvixi thsbZv cj "l wj fvebvi Av`tk`  
Avkuz cvq, tmv` tK ZvktZ ej wQ | Awg-bvix wktlZ ga`wetEi bvixi mvgwRK wKl`bi l ci `w0 w`Z  
PvBvQ | Kxfite bvix GtRvU wntmte cj "l wj mgvtR ctiv` thsbe` nte l Vvi mvgwRK wK`Yv cvq tmv` tK `w0  
w`Z ej wQ |

cj "tli mZxZi tevSvi Avt`S tKvtbv iv`v AvtQ Kx tbB? bwnK mgvR cj "tli thSbi xZv Awwe`vtii tKvtbvi Kg wk`vli c\_B bixi Rb` Zwi Ktiwb? bwnK cj "tli thSbZv Ges kixi vbtq Avgvt`i cKke Kivi Abf`vm bixi vntmte Avgvt`i ctiv`v thSbZvi dj vclj? bwnK bixi Ges cj "l mKtj i Rb`B mZxZi Avmtj KvtRi ev ev`e mKQz bv eis metkl Dti k`c`Yw` Zfvte vbugZ Ges Avtiwcz velq? Zvntj wK GB cKkeKiv Ri`wi bq th, GB metkl Dti k` Kvi Dti k`, GB metkl Dti k` Kx Kx c`u`vq bixi l ci Avtiwcz nq?

mgvtRi gubj vntmte Avgiv thgb bixixitii bvbvb A1/2K thSb etj vPbtZ wkuL, tZgub Avevi cj "tli kixitii bvbvb A1/2K AthSb tft`e vob Ges GB thSbZv-AthSbZvi teva mvgvRKfvte vbugZ, hv HwZnvmK Ges cwieZBkxj |<sup>20</sup> thSbZv-AthSbZvi tevtai Kg-tewk nIqvi KvitYB bixi Avf`AZvq GKB kixitii bvbvb Ati`i dUv bvbvb A\_`Zwi Kti | atib Di`, nuUzGmtei mt`\_ bixi thSbZvi miwmi thvMvthvM Atc`vKZ Kggv`vi | dtj Avgiv-bixiv Avgvt`i mvgvRK wk`vli vmi Rmb etov ntZ tMti Avgvt`i nuUi Pvgov dUvZ cvti | G vbtq Avgvt`i Kvgbvi thSbe`ntq l vi c`u`vq tQ` ct`o bv | `b` Gtm Avgvt`i dUv vbtq `fvweK fievb c`u`g av`v Lvq | `b` bixi thSbZvi KvtRi vRmb, thSbgq bixi Kvgbvi kixix A1/2, l tZ `vM cotj Avgiv BZ`Z teva Kwi | wKQz wKQz ga`we`Ei bixi Avgiv KLtbv KLtbv mvm Kti etj tdvj, `Uavgvi `b` l dUv AvtQ | wKs` AtbK mgq `b`i dUv vbtq Avgiv A`v`z fMvZ `vM, Ggb five thb kixi vB Avmtj teBgwv Kij! wKs` Zj tctU Gtm Avgiv vRk ntq hvB | Kvi Y Zj tctU dUv `vM th tKej ev`Pv tctU Avmtj B nq, GB wk`v vZv Avgiv cj "l wj gZv`tkP gubj iv bvbvbfvte wktL GtmQ, tRtb GtmQ |

GLv`b `i "Zc`Y`cKentj v GB th, tKb mgvtRi wk`v bixi Zj tctU dUvi Aci Kvi Y `tj vi K\_ v etj bv? tKb Avgiv mgvtRi gubj iv PU Kti etj tdvj bixi tcl dUv tKej ev`Pv tctU Avmtj wKsev bixi Zj tctU dUv `vMi Kvi Y vntmte tKej ev`Pv tctU AvmB GKgv` Av`k`ntq l tV? wKsev tKb bixi Zj tctU dUv vbtq mgvR gvZ`Zi GB metkl thvMvthvM tK GKgv` Av`k`etj tft`e tbq Ges tcl dUvi Aci mKj Kvi Y tK tRtZrZ tKej bixi gvZ`Zi gvS tPtc Gtb Aci m`veYv `tj vtK Lwi R Kti t`q? wKsev tKb bixi Zj tctU dUv `vM Avi ev`Pv tctU AvmvtK GKgv` Kvi Y vntmte cUzov Kiv Avi Aci mKj m`vevtK Lwi R Kiv t`qv mvgvRKfvte Ri`wi ntq ct`o?

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<sup>20</sup> GB avi Yv `u`o KtiZ t`Lp Avgvi mvtKvEi ch`qi AcKvKZ `vmm `c`v` avi Yv l Abkxj b : wevfbe cwigEti bixi Avf`AZvi `vZs`i | tKvtbv GKUv mgvR-ms`wZ t`tni tKvb tKvb Ask`K thSbR ej tQ, mgvtRi thSbZvi teva Kx i/c, thSbZvi mt`\_ h` ev weh` gh` vteva Kxi Kg, mgvR Kxfvte GB cwi mi tK vba`v Ki tQ, bvbvb cwi mt`i thSbZvi web`vm Kx Kx c`u`vq e`j vq— G meB vba`v Y Kti l B mgvtR bixi l cj "tli kixitii tKvb tKvb Ask t`Lv`bv hvte Ges t`Lv`bv hvte bv | bixi thSbZv tKej thSbKvtRi velq bq eis cwi t`ektbi velq, hvi gta` thSbZv GKUv mygq, O`gq, k`gq, `uk`gq, N`v`gq, Aw`Zi `e`^BZ`w` BZ`w` tPniv tbq | GB thSbZvi wek`o vbug`v c`u`vq mgvR-ms`wZ tft`\_ e`j vq, mgq atj e`j vq | thgb atib 90-Gi `ktK Avgvi MtelYvi MtelZ Kl v`g gv`mv cix`vli c`ekt`i Rb` dUv Zj tZ ntZv etj bixi wk`v `vLj cix`vq Ask tbqvi AbgvZ c`vb Ki Z bv | wKs` 2000-Gi ci t`iK GB AvBb e`tj tdjv nq | wk`v tevtW` Abt`v Z mb` cvl qvi Pwv`vq Kl v`g gv`mv Zvi c`PP`v avi Yvq e`j NUvq | Pwv`v Kl v`g gv`mv bixi `thSbgq g`t`K AthSb` Kti tZvtj |

cj“lwj mgvR bvxixi tK wqšfYi Rb` kixiU tK wKvKgtZv Rvb tZ Pvg, wbiL citLi gvtS ivL tZ Pvg Avi GB Zmw` t tKB bvxixi wbtq mgvR bvbv Av` k`Zwi nq| GB Av` k`Zwi Zwi mvt\_ bvi cpi“rcv` tbi tlgZv Avi tmB tlgZvK wqšfYi Kivi AvKv` tvi thvMvthvM itqtQ| Avi GB thvMvthvM wZzšj; KvWtgv wntmte cjtRev` x KvWtgv mvt\_ mnM wntmte KvR KitZ v tK| msnwzi GB HwZnmK m`úK` KvWtgvq bvx G tR:U At\_`cj“lwj G tR tUi wqšfYi v tK| bvi cpi“rcv` b Ges Drcv` tbi tjkw` DfqB cj“lwj G tR tUi Aaxb` w elq| GLb cktj v cjtRev` tKb bvxixi i GB wqšfYi cj“lwj fivbi mnM wntmte KvR Kti? cjtRev` bvxixi i wqšfYi KitZ Pvg ev wqšfYi mnM wntmte KvR Kti Kvi Y cjtRev` x mgvRKvWtgvq e`w`MZ gwj Kvbv AZ`š- Ri`wi w elq| Avi e`w`MZ gwj KvbvK wv`Z KitZ ntj `úo n l qv` i Kvi Avmtj bvi M tF`Avm ev`PvUv Kvi, mšw Kvi, gwj tKi wnk ktgtKi? GB c`k`e D`E`i m tB cjtRev` x KvWtgv cwi eZ`kxj AmgZv tK evi evi Drcv` b Kiv m`e nq, ktgi Amg P tui AweiZ Drcv` b tK wv`Z Kiv hvq| gvtb KvWtgvU bvi mšw tbi Rb`Drm m`úK` R t b wv`Z KitZ Pvg thb gwj tKi mšw gwj K nq Avi ktgtKi mšw ktgK|<sup>21</sup>

GB ev`eZvq cjtRev` x wZzšjK mgvR bvi kixi tK bRi`wii gvtS ivLv Avek`K ntq `wvq| wv`Z Kiv c`qvRb nq bvi thb Zvi thšbZv tK Avb` Dctfv tMi w elq wntmte fvetZ bv`ktL, D`hvcv bv`KitZ wktL| bvi Rb` thšbZv thb `i`ZcY`v t epi“rcv` tbi ev`eZv ntq `wvq| bvi wntmte Avgiv Avgv` i m`w`KZ cj` t i GK AvaU t`v l tK hZ mntR tgtb tB, ZZ mntR Avgiv Avgv` i bvi xR t b i bvbv thšb NUb tK `ea fvetZ cwi bv ev wktL bv ev fjtZl cwi bv| GB mvgwRK w`v i nZ at i B mgvRi At bK bvi gv`vq hM hM at i bvi cYz mšw av tY` (Aek`B`EK ev Kw t q cvl qv ev`Pv bq| GB mšw bvi w tRi kixi t tK Rb` t bqv, mgvRi `ea m`úK`P cj` t i mvt\_ `vKw i dtj Rb` t bqv `ea mšw) GB K\_v cvKv tcv` fvt tM t v tK| Avgiv -bvi x Avgv` i ctiv` t thšbZvi ev`eZvq cj` t i kixi i w` tK ZvKv tvi w`v v cvB bv, ga`wE bvi wntmte Avgv` i c`Zv` tbi c`k`Y Avgv` i t i wR` t` KitZ tKlvq|

bvi G tR:U At\_`cj“lwj cjtRev` x mgvRi Ac i bvbv ctY` i gtZv t hšb t fvtMi e` t ntq l t v, hvi w tRi m`v`qZv t mgvRi ev`vB tqi giw`Kw i Ask gv l | cj“lwj cjtRev` x mgvR bvi kixi i wqšfYi gva`tg bvxixi tK mgvRi Drcv` b Ges cpi“rcv` tbi hšj; Kti tZvj m`v`v` Zwi Kti | hšj c`Z`K Astki thgb tgi vZ` i Kvi nq, tZgvb fvtj v g` hvPvBv vB tqi l` i Kvi nq| bvi kixi i Gi Kg hvPvBv vB t j | bvi kixi hvPvBv vB tqi c`v`vq bvi t` i m`v`MZ c`v`Y KitZ nq, Amg tcv` v`v` vj t, Amg w tUj , Avgvi f`vRvBv AUU Av tQ, `p Av tQ, Avgvi `b` cj` t i g`v i t fZ t i ctiv` t fvt `v b Kti w t e, cj“lwj mgvR Avgv` tKbv th tZ ct i | Avgv` i bvi t` i tZv kixi x fvt AUU t tK t fivMev` x mgvR t vZv AvKl`v` KitZ nte ti fiv!

Amg AmZx bvi GKUv K\_v, cj“lwj mgvR h`v bvxixi tK tePv tKvb KitZ Pvg, Zte w t q w`ksev Z\_vKw`Z m`šjZi m`úK` cvZ tZ tM t j d` `w t q Avmtj B tZv ct i b | gvb m`v`B KitZ w t q d` `Av t b, Ggb Kti bvi mvt\_ mvgwRK fvt Ab t g w` Z tKv t b m`úK` Ave`x ntZ tM t j bvbv

<sup>21</sup> cjtRev` Avi wZzšj cwi eZ`kxj HwZnmK tPniv m`úK` `úo ntZ t` Lp : Heise, L.L., 1997, “Violence, Sexuality and Women’s Lives”, in Lancaster, R. N. & Micaela di Leonardo, (ed), *The Gender Sexuality Reader*, Routledge, GSR. Ges Walby, Sylvia, 1994, “Towards a Theory of Patriarchy”, in *The Polity Reader in General Studies*, Polity Press, U.K.

