

## AvBþbi mv½xwZK e`vL`v\*

Gm Gg gvmyg wej-vn  
mnþhvMx Aa`vcK  
AvBb wefvM, RMbœv\_ wek!we`vjg, XvKv

A.

AvBb I mvwnþZ`i tgeÜb wbþq †Rgm †nvqvBþUi K\_vUvþKB Avgvi meþPþq †ewk gþb aþil †nvqvBU eþþQb, "c~Y@v½ Aþ\_© AvBb nþ"Q fvlv, Kvib GUv nþ"Q cov, †jLv I ejvi GKUv Dcvq Ges Gfvþe GKUv ms@<...wZ cwiPh@vi gva`g, cÖavbZ GKUv hyw³i ms<...wZ hvi wbR^ GKUv fw½g vþqþQ (†Rgm eþqW †nvqvBU, 1989) | KvþRB AvBb I mvwnZ` %œwi þKvþbv cokx bq| wKš' Avgvþ`i †þk GB `ywU welq Aviwk bMþii cokx wnþmþeB iþq †MþQ| G weÜ Zvþ`i †Pbvþe G Avgvi wek!vm| Avgvi e³þe` Avwg AvBbþK msMxþZi myþi evwRþq †LþZ PvB| msMxþZKI Avwg mvwnZ` gþb Kwil Lye †ewk weZþK© bv wMþq ee wWjvbþK mvwnþZ` †bvþej †`evi me©þkl NUbv Avgiv `šiy KiþZ cvwil

Av.

AvBbþK msMxZ msþhvþM †`Lv KwVb| G wbþq K\_v cvovi wec` AþbK| Kvib, Giv `yB †gi`i evwm>`v| Ges mvaviYZ AvBb wPš—Kþ`i KvþQ msMxþZi Bme\_j Av`...Z bq| ZvB Zvþ`i †Zþii 'Kíbv wb@cÖÖvY †`n nþq, iKþbv gi`i eyþK' †cPwM †jþM †jþM wPš—vi GKUv wbR^ fw½g %zix Kþi, hvþK Avgiv bvg w`þqwQ "w\_swKs jvBK G j`Bqvi" | 'So †hgb Rvþb (wbKl Kvþjv) AiY`þK ' AþbKUv †Zgwb KþiB Avgiv Rvwb AvBbþK| A\_P AvBþbi †ZiUvþK fxiY Kov GK †ivþ` †`qv `iKvil Avgiv †mUvþK ejþZ cvwi 'wjM`vj GbjvBþUþg;U' ZvB Zvi msMxZ myav `iKvil c-vþZvwbK aviYvq msMxZ nþjv %bwZK AvBb, me©RbxbZvi AvZþv| Avi VvKyj eþjb: "Aš—þi AvR †`Lþev hLb AvþjvK bvwnþi"

Avgvþ`i hyþM Avgiv GLb AvBþbi 'þmvk`vj nviþgvwb' LyuRwQ| ZvB AvBb I msMxþZi mþþÜi c<—ve 'nviþgvwbqvg' -G evwRþq †`Lv `iKvil AvBþbi Zvþþe-Gþjg hviv AvþQb Zviv †Rþb \_vKþeb AvBb e`vL`vi GKUv wbqþgi bvg 'nvþg@vwbqvm B>Uviwc«þUkb' | msNvZc~Y© GKvwaK ^vþ\_@i gþa` mþev©"P mgš`q Kþi AvBþbi GKUv HKZvb m...wó KivB GB B>Uviwc«þUwUf `...wófw½i j¶| msMxZ -Gi †ejvþZl GKUv B>Uviwc«þUkb AvþQ| Zvi bvg w`jvg, aiv hvK -wgDwRK`vj B>Uviwc«þUkb| wfbœag©x I `þii AþbK A\_©c~Y© kãþK KÉ^þii DVvbvvgv I Kvi"KvþRi gva`þg GKUv myþii HKZvb m...wó KivB msMxþZi Dþk`| K\_vUvi mg\_@þb Avgiv gþb gþb VvKyþii Mvb þZvgvi myþi myþi myi †gþvþZ' MvBþZ cvwil GB †h HKZvb, GB †h DPvUb - Gþ`i Dci fi Kþi AvBbþK mv½xwZK fvþe †PþL †Lþj ¶wZ wK? gþb gþb evRyK: "ej wK †Zvgvi ¶wZ, Rxeþbi A%\_ b`x, cvi nq †ZvgvþK aþi `ye©j gvbyl hw`|"

B.

Zþe ^xKvi Kwi welqwU b`xi Rþj gvþqi nwiþq hvlqv bvþKi †bvjK †LvuRvi gþZv| Avgvþ`i meþPþq eo AvBb msweavb| †mLvþb meþPþq eo msMxZ - RvZxq

\* c«ÜwU wevW j' WvBþR÷ AvþqvwRZ PÆM«vg wek!we`vjg AvBb Abyþ` AbywóZ GKwU †mwgbvþi (22 gvP© 2018) Dc`vvcZ.

msMxZ - "Avgvi ṫmṫbvi evsjv"i K\_v ejv AvṫQ| Ab" ṫṫki msweavṫb ṫZgbwU ṫPvṫL cṫo bv | Zvnṫj RvZxq msMxṫZi mvsweavwbK AvBwb e`vL`v wK nṫe? Zv wK G iKg bq ṫh, AvBwb I ivR%bwZK e`e`vq 'fvṫjvṫeṫm' I 'ṫmṫen-gvqv' w`ṫq Ggb GKwU ṫ`k Mov ṫhLvṫb ṫṫṫki e`bLvwb gwjb nṫj' ṫgvṫ`i 'bqb Rṫj' fvṫm, Avi myṫLi mgq 'c«vṫY evuwk' evṫR? gvbeZvi evwĒ-Rṫjvṫwb (enlightenment of humanism) w`ṫq Avgiv GKmvṫ\_ myi ṫgvjB- 'gwi nvq, nvqṫi |

GLvṫb e½eÜyṫK c«vmw½Kfvṫe Avbv ṫṫZ cvṫi| mv½xwZK I mvwnwZ`K w`K w`ṫq e½eÜy evOvwj RvZxqZvevṫ`i P~ovš— ifc`vbKvix| wZwb hw` iex>`«bvṫ\_i MvbṫK evsjvṫṫki msweavṫb RvZxq msMxZ wnṫmṫe ṫṫK...wZ w`ṫq mgvmxb bv KiṫZb Ges wgṫmm Bw`iv MvÜxṫK eṫj RvZxq Kwe KvRx bRi`j BmjvṫK 4 ṫg 1972 KṫKvZv ṫ\_ṫK XvKvq ṫdiZ Gṫb evsjvṫṫki bvMwiKZṫi bv w`ṫZb, Zvnṫj Avgvṫ`i 'evOvwj RvwZ`Ējv`i AvZṫ-Dcjwä Ac~Y© ṫ\_ṫK ṫṫZv| ṫṫKvh©, ṫh RvwZi fvĒvṫi bRi`j-iex>`«bv\_ AvṫQ, ṫm RvwZi mvs`«...wZK ṫĒjvi webvṫ ṫbB| cĀg msṫkvabx gvgjvq [63 wW Gj Avi (2011) 565] bRi`j- iex>`«bv\_ṫK evOvwj ms`«...wZi 'ṫmKyjvi AvBKb' wnṫmṫe Dṫj-L Kṫib wePvicwZ kvgmywṫb ṫPŠayix gwvbK| 'Pj Pj Pj' Avi 'Avgvi ṫmṫbvi evsjv' Qvov ṫ`kvZṫeva Kíbv Kiv KwVb| gwvK©b `vk©wbK gv\_©v b`ymeg Zvui "cwjwUKvj Bṫgvkb" (2013) eBṫq ṫṫLb: GKUv Mwie ṫṫki RvZxq msMxZ wnṫmṫe Mvlqv iex>`«bvṫ\_i 'ṫmṫbvi evsjv' MvbwU wekvj gvbeZvevṫ`i evZ©vevN Ges ṫmṫṫki ṫmŠ`h© I Mṫf©i avik"| Avi wkix mbwR`v LvZyb GB Mvṫbi c«wZ e½eÜyi fvṫjvevmvi GKUv c«\_g w`KKvi mvṫ w`ṫ`Qb Gfvṫe, " 1956 mvṫji GK mÜ`vq KvR©b nṫj c~e© I cwṫg cvwK`— vṫbi Rbc«wZwbwaṫ`i Rṫb` GKUv mvs`«...wZK Abyṫvb wQṫjv| ṫmB mÜ`vq iex>`« msMxZ MvBevi Rṫb` Avwg Avgwš¿Z nṫqwQjvṫ| ṫK GKRb Gṫm ejj ṫh ṫkL gywReyi ingvṫbi B`Qv gṫĀ ṫhb 'Avgvi ṫmṫbvi evsjv' MvbwU Mvlqv nq| cvuP`— eṫki cyiv MvbLvwb Avwg ṫmw`b ṫMṫqwQjvṫ| G Mvb Mvlqvṫbvi ṫcQṫb ṫh mywPwš—Z cwíKíbv wQṫjv, ṫm K\_v eySṫZ cvwiwb ZLb| ṫXi cṫi Dcjwä KṫiwQ weṫk Kṫi cwṫg cvwK`—vwbṫ`i KvṫQ 'ṫmṫbvi evsjv' i Rb` evOvwji fvṫjvevmvi K\_v Zyṫj aiṫZ ṫPṫqwQj gywRe| AZ AvṫMB evsjv Avi evOvwji fvebv Zvui gv\_vq wQṫjv| Ab`w`ṫK bRi`ṫji 'Pj Pj Pj' MvbwU iYmsMxZ wnṫmṫe 13 Rvbyqvwi 1972 gwš¿mfvi c«\_g %eVṫK ṫeṫQ wbṫqwQṫb e½eÜy|

msweavṫb ṫjLv AvṫQ Avgvṫ`i RvZxq dyj kvcjv| Zvnṫj Ggb ṫKvṫbv cwiṫek-AevÜe KvR Kiv hvq bv hvṫZ Kṫi cvwbṫZ ṫdvUv kvcjvi Aejoywṫ NṫU| ZvnṫjB wKŠ` GÜ«y wKṫkvṫii ṫ`kvZṫevaK GB Mvṫbi gq aiv hvṫe: "ṫ`cœ Avgvi/ KvRj cyKyj Zywg/ nvRvi kvcjv/ṫhLvṫb dyṫUṫQ AvR"! Avṫiv Mfxṫil fvev hvq| cwiṫek AvBṫb c«Rbṫvš—ṫi b`vcivqYZv bvṫg GKUv aviYv AvṫQ ṫhLvṫb cwiṫek I Dbœqb Ggbfvṫe KiṫZ nq h`vṫbv fwel`r c«Rṫṫṫi AwaKvi ṫyboe bv nq| ṫjvKwkix Gṫjb ṫjvṫv· GB GKB avivq mvs`«...wZK BKyBwUi K\_v eṫjwQṫjb Gfvṫe: "The dimension of cultural equity needs to be added to the humane continuum of liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and social justice" mvgvwrK b`vq wePvi wK AvBwb Avwdg ṫh ṫúk© Kiv hvṫe bv? ZvB AvBb I msMxṫZi jṫṫ mg\_©K eṫU, %ewi bq| ṫc-ṫUv eṫjb: msMxZ wkṫvi P~ovš— A\_© nṫjv Ggb cwiṫek I Avṫek m...wó Kiv ṫhLvṫb me gvbyl GKB myṫi MvBṫeb, Mí Kiṫeb, K\_v ejṫeb| ṫdiṫ`Šmx ingvb Mvṫnb: "ü`ṫq Avgvi myṫii Avṫek Qwoṫq w`ṫj ṫMv, ṫmwK Zywg bl, ṫMv Zywg bl"! Ggwv Kṫi GKUv mvgvwrK AvZṫv %Zix nṫej Kíbv Ki`b: QweṫZ weṫq evwoi

`...þk` c«\_þg bvqK-bvwqKv Zvici GþK GþK mevB myþi I Qþ` þhvM þ`b| Ggwb Kþi GB myav Qwoþq cþo meLvþb....meLvþb ....meLvþb|

GKUv Av`k© AvBb e`e`vi KvR nþjv þ`kþK Ggb GKUv mi`Bc- G þcŠuþQ þ`qv --- hvi bvg aiv hvK 'þmnbvi evsjv| wKαv 'wbZvB MÄ' ev 'wPjgvwii e`i' wKŠ' c«kœ nþ"Q þmnbvi evsjv nþe wKfvþe, 'wbZvB MÄ' hvliqv hvþe K`vgþb Kþi? wPjgvwi? gvþS gvþS gþb nq, Avgiv hw` Avgvþ`i RvZxq msMxZUvq I wVKVvK cvk KiZvg, Zvnþj Avgvþ`i i" LZ þK?! IB þh GKUv wKþkvix þgþqi Qwe wej þevþW© þkvf cvq: "K~vm dvBf cvk KþiwQ, GLb Avwg wmþ`, i" Lþe Avgvq þK" Kg AviWK?

C.

AvBb I msMxþZi c«avb þgjeÜb nþjv -- Aþf` Kíbví e`envi -- þgUvþdwiK`vj BDR| Aþf` Kíbví e`envi AvBbþK gvbweK Kþi , msMxZþK `i` c«eY evbvq| þhgb GKUv þjvKMvþbi K\_v G iKg: "þhgb wkgvþji Zyþjv evZvþm lþo þMv, Zywg þZgwb Dovl Avgvi c«vY" .... Ab` GKUv Mvþb AvþQ: "lþi þevevq þhgb `^cbþi `vþL, gþbi K\_v gþb \_vþK, Kvjv þmB `kv Avgvil þi"....wKαv jvþþbi MvbUv þLqvj Ki"b: "Pvuþ`i Mvþq Pvu` þþMþQ, Avgiv þþe Kiþev wK"! [mš—vb mæøev bvixi þcU c~Y© Pvuþ`i gþZv, ZvB ejv nþ"Q Pvuþ`i Mvþq Pvu` þþMþQ] A\_ev fveyb 'Gme þ`wL þKbvi nvU evRvi|

AvBþbl ifcK-Gi e`envi c«Pyil wePvicwZ nvweeyi ingvb msweavþbi c«`—vebvþK "w`K wbþ`©kK ZviKv" bvþg AvL`v þ`b| A\_ev `b`xi G Kyj fvþ½ IKyj Mþo GBþZv b`xi þLjv' MvbwUþK wZwb iwMKZv Kþi Avgvþ`i msweavb Nb Nb cwieZ©b Kivi mvþ` Zyjbv Kþi 1998 mvþj GK c«eþÜ þþLb "msweavþbi wmKw`—cqw`—"! þZgwbfvþe, RR mvnþeiv eþjb þgŠwjK AwaKvi hw` 'ü`q' nq, Zvnþj ivó« cwiPvjvbi g~jbxwZ nþjv 'kixi' | Pyw³ AvBþb `c«`—vebv' I 'M«nY' msµvš— BDwjvqvg Gbmb-Gi ejv ifcKwU G iKg: Av\_b RjvþþZ g`vP -eþ`i ms`úþk© evi"þ`i KwvV þhgb, Pyw³i þþþl c«`—vebvi wcþV M«nY KivUvl þZgb! mvþl AvBþb þgUvþdwiK`vj 'cvb' Gi e`envi Avgiv evsjv QweþZ c«vqk: þ`wL| 'lþi KY©dyjxþi, mvþlx ivwLjvg þZvþi".... G þZv cvwicvkw!©K mvþl bwxZi Rijš— c«þqvM| mvw`qv þPŠayix civM (2003) gvgjvq wePvicwZ Avãj AvwRR gigx wkix nvmb ivRvi 'gvwUi wcvÄiv' ev 'wK Ni evbvBgy Avwg k~þb`il gvSvi' Mvb `šiY Kþib| wePvicwZ AvwRR eþjbwb wePvþi msMxþZi þKvb `vg AvþQ| wKŠ' MvbwUi K\_v ZyþþþQb þZv!

GLb AvBþbi wek`vqb PþþQ| þaþq Avmv þRvqvþii gyþL GþK þiva Kiv hvþ"Q bv| jW© þWwbs Bsj`vþÜi AvBþbi Dci BDþivwcqv AvBþbi c«fve eySþZ Zvui weL`vZ 'BbKvwgs UvBW' ifcK e`envi KþiwQþjb| c«þdmi kvn Avjg GKevi wek`vqb eySvþZ eþjwQþjb "Kv½vwjbx mywdqv I gvBþKj R`vKmþbi gþa" c«wZþhvwmZvB wek`vqb"| AvBþbi MwZkxjZv eySvþZ wePvicwZ þeÄvvgb Kviþ`vþRv mivBLvbvq ivþZi Rb` Avk«q þbqv gymvwdi-Gi D`vniY þUþbwQþjb (Kviþ`vþRv, AvBþbi Dþašl, 1924)| AvBb I BKyBwU-i mæúK© eþþZ wMþq Aa`vcK Avmevb©vi (1933) `yB þm«vZavivi þmB weL`vZ ifcK: "" Uy w««gm þd~v mvBW evB mvBW, evU w`qvi lqvUvm© Wy bU wg½j|" `yB eÜyi Amg wcvwZ eySvþZ Avgvþ`i w`ji"ev Lvb Mvþnb: "þj jvBb eþn mgvš—ivj.... eþn mgvš—ivj"| cj-x Kwe Rwmg Dwíb `yB eÜyi gvþS 'þxib`xi' Aþf` Kíbv Uvþbb (iw½jv bvþqi gws, 2013)| þfviþeþvi AvKvþki Qwe GKRb gvwSi þPvþL Kwe Rwmg Dwíb þ`þLb Gfvþe: c~evjx Avmgvþb Lywj þKŠUvi I wm`yi, þKvb ev Kb`v ivOvq cš` nvcb I eÜy I þi" .... GB þh ü`q þQvqv

Aḡf Kíbv .... AvBb I mvwnZ'ḡK gvbweK KḡḡQ, ḡgvjvḡqg KḡḡQ, avivḡjv KḡḡQ, myḡḡjv KḡḡQ, ü`q M«vnx KḡḡQ|

D.

AvBḡbi Pwí AḡbK| GKRb ḡḡL (msm`), GKRb wgvjvq (AvBbRxex), GKRb ivq ḡ`q (RR), GKRb ivq ev`—evqḡb mvnvh` Kḡi (wbe©vnx)| msMxḡZi e`vcviwU ZvB| MxwZKvi ḡḡLb, myiKvi myi ḡ`b, wkíx cwiḡekb Kḡib, hšḡxiv cwiḡekḡb mvnvh` Kḡib! c«ḡqvM I cwiḡekb Qvov AvBb I msMxḡZi ḡKvb `vg ḡbB! Gjvb ḡjvḡv`ḡK Avevḡiv ḡ`vnbv gvwbl wZwb eḡjb: "ḡjvKwkíxiv nḡjb gvbyḡli DwKj"| wek|vm bv nq, Avgvḡi DwKj gywYḡK ḡ`ḡLb, "DwKḡḡi nḡḡḡQ Rvbv, mKwj ḡPvḡḡi KviLvḡḡḡi eÜy ḡPvḡḡi ḡPvḡḡi ḡeqvBlqvjv nq ḡi|"

E.

AvBb GKw`K w`ḡq ùwUKxK...Z ivRbxwZ| ZĒjveavqK miKvi msweavḡb ivLvI ivRbxwZ, bv ivLvI ivRbxwZ! msMxḡZ ivRbxwZ ḡbB GK\_v ejv hvḡe bv| wec-ex ivR%bwZK Mvb ḡZv ḡ`k `^vaxḡbi A`ḡ: "ḡgviv GKwU dyjḡK evuPvḡev eḡj hyx Kwi"| wKsev ivRbxwZḡZ wVḡK `vKvi gšḡ: "Rq evsjv eḡj Avevi evḡov..."| AvBḡbi Avw` Dm -- c«\_vMZ AvBḡbi Rḡḡ gvbyḡli Af`vḡm| mgvḡRi ḡZḡi| gvbyḡli ḡPZbvq| AvBb weÁvḡb hvi bvg --- 'ḡdvK&m wR`' ev gvbyḡli ḡPZbv (ḡnḡMj, 1801)| Avi ḡjvKMvḡbi RbḡUvl gvbyḡli ḡZḡi| kvn Avāy Kwig hLb eḡjb: M«vḡḡi bl - ḡRvqvḡ , wn`y-gymjgvb, wgvjḡq evljv Mvb Avi gywk©`x MvBZvg, AvḡM wK my`i w`b KvUvBZvg Avgiv .... !" GḡZv ḡmKyjvi wjM`vj wdḡjvmwd! ZvB AvBḡbi cwíivqvḡ KḡḡZ nḡj gvbyḡli KvḡQ dvqvi ḡḡḡZ nḡe %ewK|

I.

AvBb I msMxZ GK Aḡ\_© mgvbfvḡe c`©vbkxb| KviY Gḡi wjwLZ ifc -- ḡU·U -- ḡKejgví wKQy gvbyl ḡ`LḡZ cvq| ZvB `xḡ Avḡjv nḡq Gḡi ḡmŠ`h© wVKḡi ḡeḡivḡbvi K\_v| wKŠ` Zv nḡjv wK? G ḡZv nḡq hvḡ"Q Amn` my`i ev Amy`i| AvBḡbi I GKUv ḡmŠ`h`© AvḡQ, bv wK? fvlv %okjx I ḡmŠKh© AvḡQ| msMxḡZi gywiḡiv ḡmB ḡmŠ`h`© ḡ`LḡZ cvb| ZvB ḡKvḡbv RvwZ msMxZ wccvmy nḡj Zvi Avḡiv mwnòy nlqvi K\_v, AvBb gvbvi K\_v, AvBḡbi ḡmŠ`ḡh© AeMvnb Kivi K\_v| Avdḡmvm nq, ḡh RvwZi iex`«bv\_ Avi bRi`j AvḡQ, ḡm RvwZ ḡKgb Kḡi GḡK AcíḡK Rjvwjḡq f@ḡ Kḡi ḡ`q? ḡhLvḡḡ GKRb Av\_bḡK 'cikgwb' Kḡi, c«vḡY Rjvwjḡq, Rxeb 'c~Y` Kivi K\_v eḡḡḡQb, AvḡiKRb Rvnbvœvḡḡi Av\_ḡb eḡm 'cyḡ@úi nvwm' nvḡḡZ ḡPḡḡḡQb?!

AvBḡbi gvḡb hw` "wK ḡmœn, wK gvqvḡMv" nq, Zvnḡj Avmyb Avgiv msMxZ `i`x nB| Pwíw`ḡK wgDwRK nḡ"Q, Mvb nḡ"Q, msMxZ nḡ"Q bv .... me 'msMxZ' ḡhb 'Bw'ḡḡZ' ḡ\_ḡḡ ḡMḡQ| Zeyl Avgvḡi wbZvB MḡÁ ḡḡḡZ nḡe| wPjgvwii e`ḡi ḡcŠuQvḡZ nḡe| AveYvmDíxb Mvḡnb, "nvKvl Mvwo ZyB wPjgvwii e`ḡi ḡi|"