

Zmwāqmi fy" meOwkwlzefwðri (1975-1985)

ES f; a0a0¹

pmwrf; t usOf;

(1975-1985) dEþftwifrs Owkwlrm;wif vlobmOp&Lurism;ull Oðpm; ay; a&;om;vmluum pmzwly&bwitm; b0t0dtjri! b0taw6 to! toðym? qifci fvlv&m;? oicefpmay;ponh qilvtsi faom tmalbm0ll a&mutmi fytaqmi &mü &þifaom? rx!qefaom tallumif; t&mwlluyif &ll&S f&S f? wllwES b;trþwifjylyð jzp&yirm;ull t0awtquif rñES fiobm0us , lwlveapvsuf Zmwāqmi fwlN ull ? Elw? ES/ll ullofyg; trit&mrsm;jzpluaom p%llurism;ull ouDi fmy&ð;aponh Zmwāqmi fy" meOwkwlrm;zelwð&mwif twwynmyll f;taejzi h tm;lyll f rx nloð f jci f? tEplwjc, lreð a&;om;jci f; twwynmrsm; t"luxm; tolyjki aemuballumi f jyeen? o&lyazmā&ent? zliqil &S f jyenf;ES h erlwjyoabm? erlwjylyloabmwllull x nloð f a&;om;jci f;ponh twwynmrsm;vnt; tolyjzefwð a&;om; vmluallumi f x i &ð;ap&ef Zmwāqmi fy" meOwkwlwpyl jzponh v, lwl f;om;apmcpN "a&f;ef; vS[ef jynāwmye?" (1984) Owkwlzefwðri twwynmyll f;ull avlvm wi jyxm; ygon/ aonicsuāOg[m&rm;/ /Zmwāqmi f p%llul tm;lyll ir? tEplwjc, lreðent? erlwjy/

ed get

(1975-1985) dEþftwifay; xE;f;clom r*ZifOwkwlrm;rs Zmwāqmi fy" me Owkwlzefwðri twwynmyll f;ull avlvmwi jyrnjzplygon/ x bllwifjy&mü jreðrmOwkwl ay;Oðpu jreðrmOwkwlq&mü ðrsm;\ Owkwlrm;wif jryluul vñtulu! tm;lyll irponh zelwðri twwynmrsm; tolyjum Zmwāqmi qifqāqmi a&;om;duonitull awll&ygon/ þpmwrf;wif (1975-1985) dEþftwif&ð r*ZifOwkwlrm;r Zmwāqmi fy" meOwkwlrm; teuf v, lwl f;om;apmcpN "a&f;ef;vS[ef jynāwmye?" (1984) OwkwlN zelwðritwwynm oabmull avlvmwi jyxm; ygon/

1/ Owkwlbabmw&m;

OwkwlES fywouf ynmis ftobow t"dyh, ftrðrsð zliqil uonitullawll& on/ ygarmuðrðri f;u ci ES f, N "allu; rlyj0i ES fit jcm;Owkwlrm;" ed getwif -

"Owkwl loni w&rn/ tm&lyellushr&ðl tcsufwpcsubay:wif p;pluEil favmuā tmi DwZmwttfwnx m;&rn/ pmzw0N pwtm&llull eulepñ qāqmi Eil &rnf..." (rðri f? Oð(ygarmu©)? 1965? 13/)

[koN Owkwlbabmw&m; t, Itquillazmjyxm; ygon/

' *elw&murl-

"t0elumv twollwif jzplysufci f; t jzptysulwpcðoni tallumif t&m wpcwnf;omvü jzpjci f; ta&;tom;ü oðionf; uplv pmsjci f;ponh wlonOwkwlN twwynmrl[lvnf, lqxm;on/ (wm&m (' *e)? 1970? 273/)

[lvnfaumi f?

¹ a' gufwm? wllzuygarmu? jreðrm p mXme? ' *llwuiðll/

tjynh 'kwf aelES hwwd aelwif0, loarh&v&f vnlyf &shvmllyd' apmcsp
(v, wofom;-)? 1984 Mb*kwf 96/)

[k ulvS ebonf pOul hrllobla&muivmlyd tcuttcrsm;ES h&i fql &yh Buikpm;&yhvuut tEpdwjc, href
zelw&xm;onf

ulvS ehtajmftjri &yh pbyh;a&;vmbfrijyulh-

“pwkvaelwif ulvS ei wprstulbn? av;axmi tolyjym;ay:wif
oabmaq;ji qd f;bwfwpda&;onf w&srDg;vhwf wof qd f;bwf ul
otji &ulr cswiq&ulonf

“a&refvS ei ojlzql?”

ul fql f;bwf ulunf ulvS elyhwjzpaē\ / ulvS efrEav;om; r [kwfyg?
rEav;wifvnt raeziyg/ olaomf vlrsm;u a&refygrs txiBudonf
qd frsm;ulunf wif a&refvuzu&nqf? a&ref rielwql?
a&ref; tallumiqd ponjzi h a&ref;trniul trsrst ch Muonf x&allumih
ulvS eluvnt; “a&refvS ep” qd f;bwf wifvuljci f; jzpf\ /” apmcsp
(v, wofom;-)? 1984 Mb*kwf 96/)

[k zofq&S f; jyum ulvS elb0tpyhf Buikpm;&ef uecb&yulh a&;om;xm;onf ulvS ei onf
& i f;Ebazmb&aygi f;oitquq& aumi f;raomallumi hrlumrlwif pOul hapsxli cifi loawgrsm;vmonf
apsxtraps;onhwaqfsm;u ulvS elul emnrtrac;Mubl cspElijzi h “a&ref;” [lac;Muonf
ulvS elatmifri vmonf poljzi h ulvS ebonf atmifri vmllyd (2)Eplumaomtcg ttrav;wplv
aqmuEh vmonf ojlztlvlyf rvlyf awmlb “a&ref;pwf” [k qd f;bwfwif pwlq& h zofv&stum
wjznf;jznf; Budyh;vmyulh-

“a&ref;onf aymwv&Tfwlonf? aps;0, lbrsm;ES h aemu&emuf
ajymi h jymi h ewwlonf x&allumih cifi loaygi a&ref; \ qd f;wof
0, lbrsm;onf , cizofv&pxm;aom pwlq& Budrsm;rsh a&ref;qd f; ay;vmrs
a&ref;avmuira&mit&awmlyg?” apmcsp(v, wofom;-)? 1984 Mb*kwf 97/)

[kvnfaumif?

“a&ref;pwlonf wplvxulwplv wpepxulwpepi ybudvm onf
ypinfyplvmonf 0, loyl rsm;vmonf a&ref;rbm;pk vuirvntatmif
a&mitMu&onf a&ref; \ pbyh;a&;onf ' h&wuf ovh w&v&lywulvmonf
a&ref;rbm;prh a&wv\ ai&wv/jzplvm Muonf rr, t\ vnlyf;rsh
a&qBuikBudES h vuirvnt vulaumlrsm;ES jzpaely\ txi;ojzi h a&ref;rsh
tcrswu, ha&ref;jzplvmonf vuywem&h&ul? tu&h&lu, bobul? a&vuf
pbyrsm;omru? a&rb;(3)acsmif;yi f; pluxm;vula&;onf , cifvul
yely&ao;ao;vnfr [kwf yg;wlv&ar;wlv&ES h Alu&Rjzpaelyd’ apmcsp
(v, wofom;-)? 1984 Mb*kwf 97/)

[k tEpdwjc, hrefxm;&m “a&ref;” rbm;pBudyh;csrfomv&yulh ojri vlu&onf ulvS ei onf
Op&pbudyh;wlvuivmojzi hatmuhjcv&wlb0i fri hlyd p&ulr oir&omajymi f;vlyvmyulh-

“ajrshuyi h rsm;i a&ref;om, mvmonf x&allumih a&ref;onf
wpaelvuzu&nf (3)cgaomulonf naea&muivufi b) mav; ply&rs
aeomxh fom&bnf ' t, m;pdu&ufvnt; vumum;rsc? pdu&ulr&ng

amrnyif a&ā&mi f' mwa i Or djcp fuav; \ r bawmu ES h s tx ufwef usoni [k
xi fmon i/ ” apmcspl (v, fwi f om; -)? 1984 lb *kw? 97/)

[lí vnfaumi f? a&fref; qđ h s azmubn f, lí wpiqi jye b&mi faom aps; ontrav; r, OMun ES h
ji pđ efr luy l uđ -

“tuđ uđ tđ k lwh ule zđ uđ rsvx m; Ođ aem? t&i (300) use lvm vnf
ule rtođ vđ evđ (100) yđ , lx m; yg Ođ aem? ” r, OMun f rsuđ awmi fuav;
y lvcw y lvcw lvy l f a&fref; uđ awmi f yef v l uđ on i/

“tđ ... & ygw, í r, OMun &, P’

a&fref; u aemuđ vđ nđ unđi v l uđ on i/ rđ e; r ES h cav; rsm; r&đ “a&mh ...
'đ i (100) vnf tođ vđ i f jye f, lx m; Ođ/ tpi uđ urđ upđ e; &đ ygbđ [J P’
apmcspl (v, fwi f om; -)? 1984 lb *kw? 97/)

r, OMunđ on i -

“trax mi f ysu f jpaom i vnf vđ on? ođ uđ on? toufu (27) Eđ p?
a&fref; Zđ rr, kđ nđ cav; (3) a, muđ i; jzpl í toufu vnf; Buđ nđ yđ
tom; rnf; & on h t x l wđ i ausm uđ aygu í rsm; yg v l uđ o; on i/ jy f y l y i f y i f
raewwđ on i yđ qđ \ / r, OMun i uawmh emr nđ ES h v l uđ t m i f
, Ođ onđ unđ on? tom; uav; jz l O i fae \ / oey f cg; azđ azđ ES h t p O f
tđ r v s y y j y i q i f x m; w w l o n i ” apmcspl (v, fwi f om; -)? 1984 lb *kw?
97/)

[lí rđ e; r ES h Ođ uđ Eđ f, Ođ i vnfaumi f?

“a&fref; wpa, muđ r, OMun i uđ t p uđ pđ f nđ yđ r, OMun f rvm vđ i f
arđ & on? r, OMun i v m vđ i f a y m & on? ule zđ i a i g r & a o; vnf upđ e; &đ
aemu l x y Eđ p q wđ i ay; x m; \ / r, OMun i nđ aom rsuđ wđ? l y l h aom
rsuđ Eđ uav; ES h aus; Zđ pum; qđ on i/ xđ r suđ wđ ES h xđ t l y l k on i a&fref; \
ton f; pđ i w pđ c v l uđ qđ e g v l y f, r f; y pđ Eđ \ ” apmcspl (v, fwi f om; -)? 1984
lb *kw? 98/)

[lí uđ v sđ eđ wpa, muđ b O i j r i t m u b j c v w l y đ y n m o w ES h r x đ eđ Eđ j z p l o j z i h c r f o m' P i r cđ Eđ j z p l u m
y i f u p đ u r s m; a j m i f; v l v m y l u đ p m a & o l u t E p d v j c, r r e f e n f o l z e w đ x m; o n i /

xđ bđ j z i h uđ v sđ eđ wđ pđ y đ n; a &; w j z n t j z n t; u s q i f v m o n i / pđ y đ n; y s u f j c i f \ t " d u
t a l l u m i f; i f j z p a o m t r a x m i a z m u j y e r l u đ u đ v sđ e f u d; v đ e r n y đ a e m u f q đ l o n i v n f;
t a & m i f; x đ f? r o m; p l o n i v n f r o m r, m j z p l v m y l u đ -

“a&fref; \ qđ l on i , c k t c g wđ i a p s; O, l o đ n; vđ i f v i r, m; & e f z p l
a e o n i u b m a w đ & o n i / r a u s r e y f p d v i w đ e l l u a o m r o m; p l r s m; u l o m
a w đ & o n i / M u m a w m h a & f r e f; \ q đ l wđ i O, l o đ n; v m \ / a & f r e f; r đ n t đ y p?
t đ y p? q đ l y p? j z p l v m o n i / a c g i f u r đ r v đ w p f t r f v đ y & r f; y w m j z p l v m \ /
a & f r e f; Z e đ r r, k u v n f; a p s; a & m i f; & o n h a i f r s m; u đ v p l v đ i f v p l o v đ
c đ, M u o n i / a & f r e f; u a w m h r, O M u n i u đ i a y; v l u f u r f; v l u f o k v l u p m; v l u f
E S h t u l e f t u s r s m; a e \ / x đ l l u m i h a & f r e f; p w l o n i v l y g; y g; í v m c l y đ a & f r e f;
\ pđ y đ n; a &; r đ n ' đ & u s o v l w & đ y l u s v m \ ” apmcspl (v, fwi f om; -)? 1984
lb *kw? 98-99/)

[k pma&;olu a&fref;vS] eN tjzptysuirsm;u tEpdwjc, lref;um tcswtquinf obmOusuf
, kwilvefwezmfjxm;&m tmabmbay:vi fVsygonf

x bNES h r, OMunbonf a&fref;xhSuh lxm;aom aifsm;ES h pwlqil fwnlyd pbyh;a&; tajcus
vmaomtcg ola, mutm;ES h jyebygi fob;avonf/ a&fref;onf pbyh;ysu&hu vlnf; t&uform;vkvk
jzp&avonf/ ynmowd tcl&om a&fref;onf cstrf;om' Piu t rdE t b l bOysutum
aemuqhrndwaex t &m rli f;&h o t jye vnf ajymi fa&avonf/

po t a&fref;w t &h o t jye byjymi fvm onh t c s e f u t pma&;olu -

“taemulbubaumif uif r s e&aom aev h buonf wjznf;jznf; e h f i v m \ /
r l u m r d ae o i f a w m r n f / a & f r e f ; o n f a e v h b u d u t a i ; M u n h e r d \ ” a p m c s p f
(v, kwilf;om;-)? 1984 lb *kw? 99/)

[kvntaumi f?

“vsh;orm; uph&N E h ; t h u d r s m ; o n f r v s f ; c s i f v s f ; c s i f v s f a e l u o n f /
vsh; t h u d r s n w a * s m u a * s m u j r n f s u i w a & h a & h v l y & h ; a e \ ”
apmcspl (v, kwilf;om;-)? 1984 lb *kw? 99/)

[li u h v S] e N t o u f t & g f t & t i f t m ; c s e l v m c s e l b o t v i f u g h a y m u c s e j z p y h t o d w & m ; & c s e l u
aemufusaelyjzpyh b o t m ; r m e l w t u g h a y m u c s e j z p y h w u t u t p m ; j y k j y q k m ; o n f r s n
y j y i f a y : v i f v s y g o n f /

x h a e m u f -

“a&fref;oufyi fwpicsubvluonf/ &h o a o m r s u f w t p h w i f j z p p o r s m ; u t j y e v n f
i j r i a , m i h e o n f ”

[k u h v S] e N a e m i f w j c i f t a w g r s m ; E S h t w l r h t t j z p t y s u i r s m ; t m ; j y e v n l o h o y l u t a z m f j x m ; & m
b o t o & a p y g o n f /

Owkwilt q h o w w i r i -

“a&fref;onf vsh;ay:ot rsublpicsubaOSi Munhluonf/
N h o l w u f m p o f u y p i n f ; v s h ; f w p p t w l u o m & h o m a & f r e f ; r o m ; p l o n f
& h j y e v m a o m t c g w i f v n f y p i n f ; v s h ; f w p p t w l u o m & h / a & f r e f ;
r s u f w t p h w i f r s u & n r s m ; & p o t f i v m \ / t a e m u l b o u f a w m i p g k w i f
a e v h u g f c h a v l y d ” a p m c s p f (v , k w i l f ; o m ; -) ? 1984 l b * k w ? 100/)

[li a e m i f a e m i f & a o m a & f r e f ; b o t v i f a & m i f u g h a y m u c h y l u t a z m f u s ; j y x m ; & m t m a b m f
a y : v i f v s y g o n f /

Owkwilt zelw d & m u p m a &; o b n f v l a v m u w i f j z p y s u f w w l o n h t j z p t y s u f u t t y t t v i r & d
t i d i c f u s t c s w t q u i n f n w i f j x m ; & m o b m o , k w i l v e l o n i u t l a w d & y g o n f /

x b t w i f y & m u p m a &; o l u t " d u z m w a q m i f u h v S] e N t a w g r s m ; ? Z m w a q m i f c s i f
t j y e f t v s h j y m p u m ; r s m ; j z i h v n f a u m i f ? t E p d w j c , l r e f e n f ; u t t " d u x m ; t o k i j y k u m t j z p f t y s u e s h
t i d i c f u s j z p a p & e f v l t y l o n h a e & m w i f a e m u l u m i f j y e n f ? z o f q k & s f j y e n f ?
o & h y a z m e n f w i j z i h v n f a u m i f z e l w d x m ; o n i u t l a w d e h l y g o n f /

p O w k w i l t p m a &; o b n f t m ; v h o d x a m i r s z e l w d u m O w k \ t z o E S h t y w i n h g w a t m i f
a &; o m ; E h l o n f [k q h y g r n f / O w k t p u t t 1 / 2 P O D v i f a & m i j c n E S h z i h O w k \ t a q u t O i f a w m r n h
a e v h E S h y w x m ; o n f r s n e h w f y o a u f w o a b m j z p & m E p l o u f z g f y i j z p y g o n f / O w k a c j i f p o l u l v n f ;

pmzwfvlul plwDipm;zg laumifatmif q&aqmif Etl faom? omlpw Etlqay;Etl faom? xrlay;vfl faom
acgif;pOjzpl&rlu OwkvwES h vluzubaom acgif;pOjzplonf[k, lqrdygonf/

x&lamumif pma&q&mv, lwifom;apmcp\ “a&ref;vS[ef jynlawmjye?” Owkwl onf
tmabmaumif;ref aygu&ajrmu&om? tcswtqurrl obmOus? toih kw&pb zelw&Etl faom
Zmw&aqmi fy"meOwkwl/vpyk jzplonf[k q&tsi fygonf/

lcll lcll oyoysuf

(1975-1985) cEspftwif; a&;om;clunonhOwkwl/rsm;wfl Owkwlq&mwlonf olwlaw? BuP
jri? ol lum; &onrsm;ul pmzwfy&bwftm; ay;v&om apwemES h tmabmlwpc&czih
a&;om;av&nygonf/ oml\ tmabmrsm;ul avlvmun&omtcg vlvto&omPfl z<&ap&ef
, O&us;or&ar&ap&ef tottjri? to&ynm? oic&ef;pmwpc&ck &, Etl &ap&eES h vl&abm obmOul
o&ri&ny? vlv&mu? vlv&miul aumifatmi? wlvu&atmif M&la&qmi&apv&icif apwemr&ejzih
a&;om;vmlunonh tmabmaumif;ref onhOwkwl/rsm;ulvnf; aw&nygonf/

(1975-1985) cEspftwif;x&lay;cl&om Zmw&aqmi fy"meOwkwl/rsm;ul avlvm un&omtcg
plwul; Of Zmw&aqmi rsm;r [kw&? ' d' r"v&lv&muO&ef;usi r&S vl&obmO p&tl&ur&sm; a&;zlvmlunonul
aw&nygonf/

pma&;owlonf olwlvijv&om tmabmlul ylyixi∋ap&ef tmabml&a&mu&atmif
y&la&qmi &mu Owkvl&zelw&rl tww&ynmrsm;jzpl&uaom jr&lyul? v&shulub&icif? tm;ly&rl xnl&of&icif?
t&epw&jc, r&ef;j&icif? vl&abm vl&obmOrsm;tm; Zmw&aqmi w&N ul&oyg; trlt&mwlv&jzih
azmj&jcif;sm;ul tol&jykv&suf zelw&yl&a&qmi&av&lonul avlvmaw&nygonf/

pma&;olv, lwifom;apmcp\ “a&ref;vS[ef jynlawmjye?” (1984) Owkwlw&fl vlonf
qif&&mr&Dpm"ejynp&v&maomtcg bOijri&bO&ar&w&lamumif? ynmow&tl&cl&umif &f ow&omP&ynmES h
x&ef&cyoi&lamumif;ul t"du Zmw&aqmiulv&S[eftm; yilw&ly&kum tmabm&ay;v&latmif tm;ly&rl
t&epw&jc, r&ef;j&icif;ul t"du tol&jykv&suf aemul&lamumif; jye&nf? o&ly&azm&nf? z&of&q&S&f;jy&nf
pon<w&ynm tol&jy&k zelw&ly& bOoic&ef;pm aumif;ay;xm;onul aw&nygonf/
bOto&bOow&f bOtm&ebi jzpx&ef&eft&xd tmabmaumi fay;aom Owkwl/vpyk i[k q&tsi fygonf/

pOwkwlbnf v&lpifaom Zmw&v&rf;ulq&v&tsionh tmabml&a&mu&atmif &h&h &S&f&S&f?
wlv&ES&x&cl&rd wifjxm;onf[k q&tsi fygonf/ jzpl&y&rsm;ul tcswtqurrl&ES h , kwlv&el&apum
Zmw&aqmi w&N ul&oyg; trlt&mwlv&ul ay;v&lap&ef Zmw&aqmi w&N taw&grsm;? ajympum;rsn;?
Zmw&aqmi bsi f;tjy&ftv&eft&cl&cpum;rsn;jzih ouDi&ly∋ apvsuf p&ru&z&g jzpl&atmif
zelw&wifjy&Etl onulaw&nygonf/

ppmw&rf;ygOwkwlul avlvmun&omtcg talumif;t&mt&aeES h rxt&q&ef
v&ofaomr&S &lpifaom talumif;t&mw&v&lyif Owk&ol apwemr&efu ylv&lv&suf pmzwf
y&cl&w&v&tm; vl&obmOw&ul o&apum Owkwl tww&ynmrsm;ES h ay;v&om tmabml ylyi&atmif
zelw&Etl onf[k q&tsi fygonf/

ed*kl

(1975-1985) umv&tw&f;w&fl tmabmaumif;cl&om Owkwl/rsm; a&;om;vm lunonulvnf;
avlvmaw&nygonf/ , if tmabmaumif;ref onh bOtottjri? bO&taw&to&ol
to&ynmpon&w&ul wifj&aom tmabmaumif;ref onh x&lv&mvOwkwl rsm;w&fl Zmw&v&rf;ul
p&ru&ap&ef Zmw&v&rf;qif&aqmif&rxul vl&obmO&t&zaumi&aom tmabml ylyif ay;v&laponh

Owkwlrsm; t jzpf tqiftwe; jri jri h zelwv mEi llyD jzplonful aw&&aomallumi h
 Owkwlrzelwritwwynm ydftm; jzi h wlvwufef oavmuf wlvwufmonfoabmu
 auseyzt; law&&ygon/

usrf; ulp m& i f

*t:/ (1989)/ *tm&Dipmjci/* pmay*sne, ? trsw(5)? 13-16/

apmcp(v, lwifom; -) / (1984? Mb*lw)/ *a&f&v&f ef jyn&wmyef ai&wm&D*
 trsw 290? 95-100/

vm&m(' *ef-)/ (1970)/ *pmyoabmw&m;? pmyaOze&?: pmyv&di; r(' k-Bur)* / &elulel etomwlu/

x i? armi / (1979)/ *Owkwlrwwynm/ Owkwlpwrf; rsm;? yx rwl* / &elulel pmyAtrme/

rdirif? O(ygarmu®)/ (1965)/ *ef gef allu; r&yo; i ES ft jcm; Owkwlrsm;? (w-Bur)* / &elulel &mjynipmtlywlu/ 5-18/