

mgvR wec̄tei aviv, AvajbK A_ŃmZi w̄bqgKvbb, ivR%b̄wZK kvmb c̄x̄wZ, mvs̄neawbK KvVt̄gv, w̄beP̄t̄Ki mveP̄f̄SgZ; BwZnm t̄PZbv, MYZw̄s̄K gj̄ t̄ev̄tai mvgw̄M̄K aviYv BZ̄w̄ w̄bt̄q GK w̄ekvj Gj̄vKv| Rbm̄vavīt̄bi Kut̄ai Dci Ḡ w̄qZ; Pw̄t̄q w̄ t̄j t̄Zv MYZš; GK AvKv̄Kmḡ Kí bvi B t̄_ t̄K hv̄te | Z̄te t̄Kv̄Uv̄t̄KB Lv̄t̄Uv K̄ti t̄ Lvi m̄t̄hv̄M̄ t̄bB, Kvi Y MYZš; i aB̄ GKw̄ k̄ā gv̄Ā |

MYZt̄š; ēw̄³ gw̄j Kv̄bv I mvgw̄RK gw̄j Kv̄bvi ḡx̄gsv̄m̄ c̄Ńqv̄Rb, ēw̄³ m̄Ēȳw̄bf̄j MYZš; (decocracy with indeividualism) Ges Rb̄ t̄_ w̄f̄P̄ MYZt̄š; cv̄_ R̄ P̄ov̄š-Kiv D̄w̄PZ, Aw̄Kv̄st̄ki kv̄m̄t̄b ms̄L̄vj Nj Aw̄Kvi w̄bav̄f̄ Z̄ n̄t̄Z n̄te MYZw̄s̄K c̄ŃZ̄Ńv̄bmḡq I ev̄ ev̄qb b̄x̄wZ ms̄Áw̄qZ n̄te, MYZw̄s̄K ivRb̄w̄Zi gj̄ t̄ev̄amḡn̄ v̄ax̄bZv, mgZv, RbM̄ti mveP̄f̄SgZ; ivR%b̄wZK `k̄Ń BZ̄w̄ Ńv̄iv m̄j̄w̄l̄ Ńfv̄te w̄t̄k̄w̄Z n̄t̄Z n̄te, cigZm̄w̄ŃZvi gvb̄ Ē m̄j̄beP̄Z n̄t̄Z n̄te, ¶lgZv̄q̄t̄bi c̄Ńk̄eiv̄ŃKv̄Vt̄givi mēŃi t̄¶Ām̄ḡt̄K w̄P̄w̄yZ K̄ti mevi Askx̄ w̄vi Z; w̄b̄w̄ŃZ Ki t̄Z n̄te t̄hb̄ mgv̄t̄Ri t̄Kv̄b Ask ew̄ÁZ Ges AbM̄ni b̄v _v̄t̄K| Amḡ t̄Mv̄Ńxi ḡt̄ā cigZm̄w̄ŃZvi c̄Ńqv̄M̄ b̄v n̄t̄j Zv A_Ńx̄b n̄t̄q c̄t̄o| cvi _w̄v̄wi K c̄Ń_ b̄x̄q ēw̄³ ev̄ t̄Mv̄Ńxi ḡt̄ā w̄eivRgv̄b m̄w̄ŃZv̄ (tolerance of like for like) A_ŃȲŃbq; Ac̄wi n̄v̄h̄Ńt̄j tolerating the unlike. G KvR̄w̄ AZ̄ š-K̄w̄b, Kvi Y ḠUvi m̄v̄t̄_ Āt̄b̄i Aw̄Kvi I m̄t̄hv̄t̄Mi c̄Ńk̄w̄ m̄w̄úK̄Ńj̄ |

MYZš; GKw̄ Aw̄b̄w̄ŃZ mi Kvi Kv̄Vt̄gv| Aw̄ K̄v̄t̄j i MbZš; w̄Ńj knīt̄K̄w̄ K Ges t̄_ t̄_v̄q̄x̄| w̄eskkZv̄ā̄t̄Z bZb Āt̄bK MYZw̄s̄K iv̄Ń c̄ŃZ̄w̄ŃZ n̄t̄j I ḡw̄Ńt̄ḡq K̄t̄qK̄w̄ ēZ̄x̄Z mē_ t̄j v̄B mgn̄Zš; ev̄ GK̄ j̄x̄q kv̄m̄t̄b ifc̄v̄š̄w̄ K n̄t̄q̄t̄Ń| MYZš; m̄w̄ú̄t̄K̄Āt̄bK A_Ńm̄Z̄w̄ē I ivR%b̄wZK-`vk̄Ńt̄Ki c̄Ńi mgv̄t̄j v̄P̄bv Av̄t̄Ń| MYZt̄š; w̄ekí eZ̄gv̄b cv̄_ext̄Z hv̄ Av̄t̄Ń Zv n̄t̄j v̄ GKbv̄qKZš; Kv̄t̄RB w̄ek̄v̄vc̄x̄ MYZt̄š; Rb̄ ms̄M̄Ńgi Z gvb̄j, mvgw̄RK c̄ŃZ̄Ńv̄b, gvb̄ew̄aKvi ms̄M̄v̄b I mi Kvi mḡt̄ni HKw̄s̄KZvi d̄t̄j Av̄R w̄KŃq̄gv̄b (standard) w̄b̄x̄w̄i Z n̄t̄q̄t̄Ń th̄_ t̄j v̄ Ńv̄iv c̄wi ḡvc̄ Kiv hv̄q t̄Kv̄b t̄_ t̄ki ivR%b̄wZK ēē_v̄ ev̄ kv̄mb ēē_v̄ MYZw̄s̄K w̄Kbv̄| Ḡ_ t̄j v̄ h̄_v̄m̄t̄ḡ t̄ (1) RbM̄bB ¶lgZvi mēŃq Aw̄Kv̄ix, (2) mveR̄b̄x̄b t̄fv̄Uw̄aKv̄t̄i i Aw̄t̄t̄K GK R̄t̄bi GK t̄fv̄U, (3) Kgct̄¶ 2w̄U ivR%b̄wZK `t̄j i Aw̄_Zi_v̄K̄te Ges M̄h̄Ȳt̄hv̄M̄ m̄j̄w̄l̄ Ń Kv̄j cici m̄j̄z̄ w̄beP̄b Ab̄Ńv̄b, (4) c̄ŃZ̄K̄Uv̄ gvb̄t̄li b̄v̄w̄wi K Aw̄Kv̄t̄i i t̄x̄k̄w̄Z _v̄K̄te iv̄t̄ŃŃ c̄¶ t̄_ t̄K, (5) RbM̄t̄bi mvgw̄RK I A_Ńw̄ZK K̄j v̄t̄Ȳ iv̄ŃŃq b̄w̄Z c̄Ńqv̄b (6) t̄bZZ; I mgv̄t̄j v̄P̄t̄Ki ḡt̄ā mḡš̄Ń I m̄w̄ŃZv̄, (7) v̄ax̄b w̄eP̄vi ēē_v̄, (8) mi Kvi I Av̄Bb c̄Ńqv̄bKv̄ix c̄ŃZ̄Ńv̄t̄bi c̄_K I v̄ax̄b Aw̄_Zi; (9) kv̄w̄š̄ēȲŃD̄cv̄t̄q t̄x̄k̄w̄Z w̄bq̄t̄ḡ mi Kvi c̄x̄w̄Zi th̄ t̄Kb̄ w̄enk̄ŃŃK̄ c̄wi eZ̄Ńt̄hv̄M̄ n̄t̄Z n̄te |

GLb Av̄gv̄t̄ i w̄eP̄v̄h̄w̄el̄q n̄t̄j v̄ ev̄sj̄ v̄ t̄ki MYZt̄š; Aē_v̄ I MYZw̄s̄K ēē_v̄i gvb̄ w̄K ? cigZm̄w̄ŃZvi t̄_ w̄K? ivR%b̄wZK ms̄_w̄Zi ch̄f̄q t̄Kv̄_v̄q? ivR%b̄wZK t̄bZ̄ēt̄; i w̄j Lv̄covi gvb̄ KZŪK? AvajbK K̄j v̄YKv̄ḡx̄ iv̄Ń c̄ŃZ̄Ńv̄q c̄ŃZ̄k̄ŃZi t̄_ w̄K ? t̄j i Af̄š̄t̄i MYZw̄s̄K P̄P̄Ń gv̄Ā v̄ w̄K? aḡŃfv̄lv̄-ms̄_w̄Z-m̄w̄c̄Ńv̄q-R̄w̄Z BZ̄w̄ m̄w̄ú̄t̄K̄R̄bMY I ivR%b̄wZK `t̄j i w̄ek̄t̄t̄mi ifc̄ w̄K? BwZnm t̄PZbv I A_Ńw̄ZK w̄ek̄t̄t̄mi aiY w̄K? Av̄ḡiv̄ w̄K D̄ct̄i ew̄Ȳ 9w̄U Av̄š̄R̄w̄ZK gvb̄t̄K m̄š̄p̄ Ki t̄Z c̄wi? ēw̄³ i B̄t̄gR̄t̄K Ńw̄ŃŃq ivR%b̄wZK `j v̄ax̄b̄fv̄te `w̄v̄t̄Z cvi t̄Ń w̄Kbv̄? ēw̄³ t̄_ t̄K Z̄t̄Ń K̄ti R̄v̄Z̄x̄q t̄_ t̄Ń I t̄_ k̄t̄c̄Ń AM̄Ńx̄ w̄Kbv̄? Av̄t̄eM̄ I w̄ek̄t̄t̄mi c̄wi ēt̄Z̄Ńh̄ȳ³

AMôwKvi cvq wKbv ? mšym, A_©l tckxkw³ RbM†Yi KvQ c`vbZ wKbv? Gme cØki wbtgñ
m`Ěi cØqvRb| Zvntj MYZšĚK gvcv hvte|

MYZšĚj gZ©ifcw n†jv ivó¹miKvi | miKv†ii ifc l Kwv†gv wK Zv wbx†Y K†i t`q GKwU
t`tk MYZšĚj Ae`v wKifc we`gvb| cØZwU miKv†ii GKwU `cœ`kØ, A_ŕwZK wekym l
c×wZ `v†K| Z`bmv†i Zvi KvĥĚVj x cwīPwvj Z nq| MYZwšĚK miKv†ii `wqZj cwīcY†fc
Zvi A_ŕwZK bxwZgvj vi Dci wbf†Kxj bq| wKš' Zey| A_ŕwZK g†Wj ivRwZK cØµqvi
mv†_ m`úK†ĥ³ Ges A_ŕwZK bxwZgvj vi ivRwZK cĥve Aek`B `†Kvh† A_ŕwZK `ewk†ó`i
mv†_ msthw e`ZxZ MYZšĚ; KvR Ki†Z cv†i bv| M†elYv t_†K t`Lv tM†Q GKB `vb l Kv†j
ivRwZK l A_ŕwZK `ecwēK cwīeZØ mwaZ n†q†Q cvkvcwK| a†i tbqv hvq G`wU cĥve
cvi `ūwīK, cĚ`†ġ Ges Zvr††wYK| e`w³, tMvōx, A_ŕwZK m`cØvq, tckwMZ m`cØvq ev tKvb
ag†q m`cØvq A_ŕwZK `†_† mv†_ ĥ³ `v†K| mZivs kvmb †ġZvi mv†_ Gme `†_©
cĚ`†ġf†te m`úwKZ nl qvi Kv††Y Giv ci `ú†i cĥveK wnmv†e wµqvKxj `v†K| H.J LaskiØi
fvlvq ejv hvq, c†Rev†`i bxwZ l MYZšĚj bxwZ†K mgch†q t†jv hvq bv| GKwU m†msnZf†te
`elg` eRvq ivL†Z P†q hv Ab`wU Abjfcf†te wejß Ki†Z cØym cvq MYZšĚ; Aek`B
c†Rev`†K ifcvšw Z Ki†e A_ev c†Rev` MYZšĚK `w†q ivL†e| gvbe BwZv†mi avivq
Avgiv kvmb †ġZvq e`w³, cwīewi, tMvōx, mgvR, RvwZ, ivó¹BZ`w††K t`†L Avm†Q| G kvmt†bi
Rb`B tbZ†Zj wbe†Pb cØqvRb| GLv†b AcwīvĥcØk w n†jv Kvi `†_©wbe†Pb? KviY k†gK l
gwj†Ki MYZšĚ; GKB mv†_ n†Z cv†i bv| `†_©Kvi, kvmb Kvi Ges †ġZv Kvi G_†jvi
ch††j vPbv cØqvRb| mgv†Ri tKvb tkbxi gwj Kvbvq ivó¹we`gvb Zvi g†vq†b Aek`B `iKvi |
RbM†Yi mweR `†_† K_v n†j MYZšĚ; l gvbew†Kv†i cØk w mgv†b P†j Av†m|

MYZwšĚK wbe†P†b t†fvU†i mve††šgZ†K `†Kvi Ki†Z n†e| RbM†Yi cĚ`†ġ AskM†hY n†jv G
wbe†P†bi kw³ kvj x kZ† cØk†††Q t RbMY Kviv? Zviv wK wK ivRwZK Kg†m`úv`b K†i? Zviv
wK Z†`i wbe†PZ cØZw†w†`i w†qš†b m†ġg? w†qš†b wK f†te? t`tk mveRbx† t†fvUw†Kv†i
`†KwZ Av†Q wKbv? G Aw†Kvi `vK†j Zv t†fvUvi iv cØqvM Ki†Z cv†i wKbv? wbe†P†b AskM†h
Kiv Ges bv Kivi ĥ³mgq wK? `vb, Kvj l cv†††† B†j ±ivj c×wZi cĥve wK? wbe†P†b
cØvīw†fhv†bi c×wZ l tKšKj wKifc? MY†fv†Ui ivRwZK Zvrch†K? RbM†Yi wj Lvcovi gvb
wK? wbe†P†bi weīwZKvj KZ? wbe†P†b ivó†q D†`v†Mi gv†v wKifc? G Qvovl wbe†Pb e`vcbv-
Z`vi wK-ch†††b, wbe†P†bi m†Zv, djvdj tNvlYvq w†††††Zv, wbe†Pbx bxwZgvj vi Ab†miY,
MYgva`g l ivó†bq†šZ gva`gmg†ni f†wKv, wbe†P†b A†_† e`envi, GK K_vq t†fvUvi Zwj Kv
cĥ†q†b t_†K i`i` K†i djvdj tNvlYv chŠ-me†††† thwM`Zv, `†ġZv l w†††††Zvi gvb c†iv
wbe†P†K cĥweZ K†i |

t`kR weP†i t`Lv hvq ivRwZK `†j i Af`š†i MYZšĚj m†Z cwīe†k tbB| mZivs t`tk
MYZwšĚK cwī†ek Pvl qvi c†† Z†`i ĥ³ tKv_vq? mšym l Kv†jv UvKv t`kwU `Lj K†i
w††††Q| Avgiv Rwb mš††mi ivRbxwZi l A_ØwZ `†B Av†Q| m†ġg ivRwZK `j_†jvi j`†
n†jv †ġZv `Lj, D††k` n†jv c†R msM†h, e`e`v n†jv wbe†Pb Avi tKšKj n†jv mšym- Kv†jv
UvKv - a†g† Ace`envi | wbe†Pb GZB e`qeú† n†q†Q th tKvb mr gvb| wbe†PZ nevi m†thwM

tbB A_ev vbePZ cōZvwa mr_vKtZ cvi te bv | dj Zt ivRbWZ AvR GK veivU SpKcY© |
jvFRbK e`emvq ifcVšW Z ntqfQ | G nxb KvRuU m`úbaeKi t j v AwZ tj vfx evzvj x awbK tMvōx |
mšym I Kv t j v UvKvi Kv t Q MYZš; civfZ | t`tki kvmb I vbqšY j tUiv cJR I mšytmi
Aaxb` | mZivs vbePb cōq A_ x b |

2001 mv t j i 1 A t ±vei Aóg msm` vbePb AbyōZ nt j v | ZĒveavqK mi Kvi vbePb cwi Pj bv
Ki t j v | eyoM½v b`xi A%ea D t`Q` cōuqvq mi Kvi vekjrm Ki t Z mġg nt j v | MYnv t i mi Kvi x
KgPvix e` t j i d t j cōkvmb mš;` I `wei ntq cot j v | vbePb Kv t j mv cō vqK kv³ Av`vi v
tct j v Ges Zv t Z Zviv vbhPZ t bi cvj v`i` Ki t j v | bZb mi Kv t i i ġgZv Mō t j Yi c t i wKQv b
g t b nt j v t`tk mi Kvi tbB | mšymx mv cō vqK tMvōx I ivR%bwZKfvte AvμgY`i` Ki t j v |
agġq msL`vj Nj Dci `xNRvj e`vcx eeP Avμkb me mg t q i mxgv nwi t q tMj | cōKZ NUb t K
A`xKvi I weMZ mi Kv t i i Dci t`vI Pwctq mi Kvi mōz kvmb t bi `vex`vi mvRvi tPōv Ki t j v |
d t j Acivaxiv fqsKifvte cō t j tct j v | Zviv meēKv t i i Aciv t ai gv t v t K Xxē AvKv t i `Z
MwZ t Z mvi v t`tk Qwō t q w` t j v | agġq msL`vj Nymn vbi x n RbMY Zv t`i abm`u` , Rxb-B¾Z me
nwi t q fvmgvb Rb t Mvōx t Z cwi YZ nt j v | A t b t K t`kZ`vM Ki t j v | eiv e t i i g t Zv vbhPZ b`i`
nt j v agġq msL`vj Nyw` t q, Avi AvR Zv Pj gvb i B t j v j Ny`i` vbeP t i mevi Dci | mšym I
mv cō vqK Zvi th fZ mi Kvi Kufā MōY Ki t j v GLb Zv t K bvgv t bv Avi m`e nt`Q bv |

mvsew`KKj I cōvi gva`g` t j vi mrmvnm I HKwšKZvi Ki t Y Ges Aeva Z` cōv t ni m t hv t M
mg`-vbhPZ t bi msev` vekbq cōvwi Z ntq tMj | G cōuqvq t`kf`š t i GK bvi Kxq AcivahÁ
msNwUZ nevi Kv t Y evwv t k; evsj v t`tki fvegvZ`ġ t b e t j v | c t i v t`k AvR mšytmi Ket j
e`x, gvbyl mš;` | Avgiv Rwb, mšym I MYZš;` β veci Zxagġ velq GKwU gZev`, Acivw
Aciva | Zv t`i KLbl mnve`vb nq bv |

MYZwšKfvte vbePZ cvj t gUvix mi Kvi c x wZ t Z kvmb _vK t e AwaKv t k i | msL`vj Nj
` t j P`_vK t e v bōZv Avi mi Kv t i i me KgġKšKj v b t q wRZ _vK t e mgMōRbM t bi ` t`msi ġ t Y |
MYZ t š j g j K_v nt j v e`w³ i mveġfšg t z i `xKwZ | G mveġfšg z i t f v UwaKvi cō t j ½ | tm
`vaxbfvte Zv cōqvM Ki t Z cv t i | wKš` t f v UwaKvi cōqv t Mi Rb` hw` agġq msL`vj N t K `βevi
Avi civwRZ msL`vj N t K Gkevi K t i kw`-tctZ nq Zvnt j t Zv MYZš;`_v t K bvō tmB m t ½
gvewaKvi I j wNZ nq | wePvi wefv t Mi `vaxbZv I AvB t bi kvmb GKwU vbePZ mi Kv t i i
Pwiv wK mb`cĪ wnmv t e KvR K t i | Zviv MYZš;` I gvbewaKv t i i I i ġ v KeP | th mi Kvi
m t e P P MYZwšK Pwi t avib Ki Zt meġaK gvbewaKvi v b wōZ Ki t Z cvi t e Zv meġaK mgv`Z
n t e |

m f`Zvi Aw`g` t` t` t`K cōwYK t j i g t a` th t` ōo cōZ t h wM Zv AbyōZ ntq P t j t Q Zv t Z eyx,
tgav, Ávb, hy³, vetePbv kv³ BZ`w` t Z gvbyl meġMōAe`vb Ki t Q | Ab`vb` cōYx t` t`K we t k l
`ewkó gwōZ cwi t e t k gv b t i Ae`vb v b wōZ Kievi Rb` vekġvcx gv b e t Mvōxi m t P Z b Ask
t Pōv Ki t Q m t š w RbK GKwU gvb v b a f t b | A e t k t i 1948 mv t j R w Z m s N m v e R b x b g v b e w a K v i
mb` t N v l b v K t i | g v b t i i g h P v i ġ v i ` t`_wZ b u U` w j j GK mv t`_ AZ`š-K v h R i f w g K v i v L t Z

cvti | G `wj j ,tjv ntjv the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. `†tki RbMYtK gvbewaKvtii wbdqZv w†Z bv cvitj AvR tKvb t`k†K mf` ejv hvq bv| evsjv`k G gvbewaKvi `wj tj i GKUv `¶¶i`vZv t`k| gvbewaKvtii `xKwZ AR¶bi c_ `yU t (1) RvwZms†Ni wZbwU `wj tj i c†Z AvbMZ` Ges (2) t`tki msweavb gvbewaKvtii ms`vcb| `wj tj i `¶¶i`vb Ges AvBb c†Yqb ht_ó bq; gvbewaKvi msi¶¶Yi eo kZ©ntjv mrwekjm, mw`Qv, AvB†bi Abkxj b, cwii cwk¶R Ae`vi mwVK gj`vqb, mvgwRK mg_¶, Aw_¶ thvM`Zv l e`e`vcbvi `¶¶Zv| fv†jv fv†jv eB µq K†i Avj gvi†Z eÜ K†i ivL†j thgb ÁbvR¶ nq bv, tZgwb G me mb` dvBj e`x K†i ti†L cw† Kvq weewZ w`†j gvbewaKvi c†Zw†Z nte bv|

Gme AvšR¶ZK mb` c†ZwU ivó miKvtii Rb` gvbewaKvtii Av†gvN `wj j ntZ cvti | G Qvovl wki, gvbwmK c†ZeÜx, ag¶q-RvwZMZ-fvlvMZ-msL`vj Ny kvixwi Kfvte A¶¶g, Aw` evmx RbMY we†kl AwKvtii `vex iv†L| bvix RvwZ ntjv cw_extZ me¶nr msL`vj Ny†Mv†x| Avgv†` i t`tk c¶i gvbewaKvi msMVb we`vqvb| Zv†` i c¶vtii t†¶q Kv†Ri cwii wa A†bK Kg| ZvQvov G ,tjv A†bK mgq ivR¶wZK tRvUfj³ msMV†bi fvgKvq AeZxY`_v†K| AvBb wbtm†`†n ivóM†n` wbgg ¶viv Avgv†`i†K kw³ l mg_¶ `vb K†i| wKŠ` G ,tjv ntjv Dcwii KvV†gv (superstructure), wKŠ` Avgv†`i gj KvV†gv (basic structure) ntjv Av_¶mvgwRK kw³mg¶| G me gj kw³†K RvMZ Ki†Z cvitj mgv†Ri BwZevPK cwieZ¶bi ga` w`th AM†v†v†K wbw†Z Kiv hvte| mvgwRK eúwa Kv†Yi Kv†Q gvb†li e¶x l msweavbK we†K civfZ nq| KviY - 0The Voice of the intelligence is soft and weak. It is drowned out by the roar of fear. It is ignored by the voice of desire. It is contradicted by the voice of shame. It is hissed away by hate, and extinguished by anger. Most of all it is silenced by ignorance” (Freud).

MYZ†šj e`_Zv, gvbewaKvtii wech¶mn eú c†mw½K mgm`v l mvgwRK ¶¶ D`vniY`†fc Avbqb Kiv m`e th ,tjvi wbi†L we†kl ch¶jvPbv l gj`vqb Kiv th†Z cvti | me ,tjv†K `wMZ ti†L iay`¶U w†q ms¶¶¶Bfvte Av†jvPbv KivQ| c†gZ t t†b w†Z nte AvB†bi kvmb l c¶R w†btqvM ci`úi w†f¶Kxj | c¶R tKvibfc AivRvMZvq nwi†q th†Z Pvq bv| c¶R w†btqvM PµvKvti bv NU†j mgvR KvV†gv t††½ cotel wbw†Z evRvi l cwii cY¶bivcEv e`ZxZ we†`kx c¶R tKvbµ†gB w†btqvM†Z nte bv| w†ZxqZ t AvR†Ki cw_extZ gvbewaKvi l Db¶b nvZ aivawi K†i P†j | e`w³MZ AwKvtii wbdqZv bv t†j tKvb gvb| B Zvi cY`kw³ l t`k†c¶ w`†q RvZxq AM†wZ†Z AskM†Y Kite bv| t`tki wki vqb, A_¶wZK AM†wZ, mgvR Db¶b, gvbem`ú` Db¶b, mvs`wZK weKvk, BZ`w` me¶¶†† gvbewaKvtii GK e`vcK fvgKv AvR meRb`xKZ w†l q|

Avgv†` i t`tk MYZ†šj Ae`v, wbe¶bx cwii tek l gvbewaKvi cwii w`Zi cwii “Qbæj`vqb Kievi mjeav†_©Avig w†tæv³ 20wU gše` Dc`vcb Ki†Z PvB t (1) msweav†K evievi m†kva†bi gva`†g MYZšj l gvbewaKvi cwii w`Z†K w†æj`x Kiv nt†q†Q, (2) wKQyivR¶wZK `j 1971 Gi

gy³h³xⁱ BwZevPK AR⁰ t^jv^tK t^bwZevPK avivq c^ewⁿZ K^ti gy³h³xⁱw^etⁱvax Ae⁻v m^yo^tZ
 Kv^hRⁱ f^vte AM^hig^vb, (3) ¶gZvi t^jv^tf AU eo eo ivR%^owZK `t^ji Av^tcvlKw^gZv
 ctiv¶f^vte gvbeZw^etⁱvax cwⁱw⁻wZ^tK m^vn^vh^h K^ti t⁰, (4) ŐGK Rb GK t^fvU⁰ GB t^kv^hu^tbi
 ewⁿtⁱ MYZš^tK g^j`vq^b l cwⁱPh⁰ Kⁱevi thMⁱZ^v ivR%^owZK t^bZ^tZ^j g^ta^h Ab^cw⁻Z, (5)
 ¶gZvk^jx ivR%^owZK `j m^gn BZⁱw^et^kl cv^{_}R^h e⁻Z^xZ m^gj ¶ⁱw^fm^vix ci⁻úⁱ t^kv^h jⁱZ `j
 Q^vov Avⁱ t^ew^k w^kQ^y b^q, (6) ivR%^owZK Av^kv^hLw^gw^kZ ag⁰M^Z avⁱevⁿnK^fv^te ag⁰U^Z,
 t^gš^jewⁱ Z^v l m^vc⁰w^qKZ^vt^k c^ej f^vte c^kq w⁻t^qt⁰, (7) iv^toⁱ BnR^vM^wZKZ^v e⁻Z^xZ th
 ci^kv^tj i t^kv^h Aw^fj^l ev M^še^h t^bB Z^r m^út^kQ^mt^pZ^bZ^vi Af^ve, (8) ¶gZvi c⁻q G ch^š-
 Aw^ef^š ivR%^owZK t^bZ^tZ^j t^kY^xM^Zf^vte Ges m^vs⁻w^ZK cwⁱP^tq j^gt^cb P^wi^hw^ek⁰,
 (9) c⁰Z^wu^qvi me t[¶]t^h c⁰q me `j m^gw^pš^vq t^bwZevPK^fv^te Aw^eo, (10) MYZwⁱš^k c⁰Z⁰v^b,
 gv^bew^aK^vi m^sM^vb l m^kx^j m^gv^tRⁱ m^sM^vb^mgⁿ t⁰vU^LvU K^gm^pxⁱ ewⁿtⁱ k³ f^wg^kv w^bt^q
 KL^bl m^vg^tb Av^mt^Z cwⁱw^b, (11) G t⁻t^ki wⁿ`yR^bt^Mv⁰x l f^viZ^tK GK^vK^vi K^ti t⁻L^v, ag⁰q
 l R^wZM^Z m^sL^vj N^h i Aw^aK^vi ew^ÁZ iv^Lvi g^tbv^fve c^ej, (12) t⁻k^tK ag⁰q l R^wZM^Z
 m^sL^vj N^hY^hKⁱY c⁰u^qv Ae⁻vⁿZ M^wZ^tZ w^e`v^gv^b, (13) cwⁱQ^bei^vR%^owZK K^gm^rP^x l t⁻k^tc⁰
 b^q eis K^vt^jvU^vK^v l m^šym ivR%^owZK ¶gZvi c⁰v^b n^wiZ^qvi, (14) ivR%^owZK t^bZ^tZ^j
 Ac^wiY^vg⁻w^kZ^v l An^ugK^vte^va Ges m^kx^j m^gv^tRⁱ e⁻Z^vq c^tiv R^wiZ Av^r f^tqi m^s-w^ZZ^tZ
 Av^uvš⁻, (15) t⁻t^ki ag⁰q m^sL^vj N^y R^wiZM^Z m^sL^vj N^y k^gR^xex-w^bb⁰et^MP^gv^b l b^vix w^ki iv
 f^tq m^s-w^Zi c⁰Z^h ¶ⁱ w^kK^vi, (16) m^šym l A[%]ea A^t-P^h K^vt⁰ MYZ^tš^j Z^wiE^k l c⁰t^qw^MK g^j
 ci^vf^Z n^tq^t0, (17) mi^kvi Av^šwⁱK n^tj m^sL^vj N^yw^hh⁰Z^bmⁿ th t^kv^b cwⁱw⁻wZⁱ t^gvK^we^jv Kⁱv
 m^še^h m^yZⁱvš⁻ P^j g^vb th t^kv^b L^vi^vc cwⁱw⁻wZⁱ c^t¶ⁱ w^er^fb⁰m^gt^q k^vm^kt⁻ i m^g-⁰ ev w^bw^j B^Zv^tK
 c⁰Z^w0Z K^ti, (18) R^bM^tYⁱ w^ei^vU A^št^ki D⁰v⁻gv^bw^mKZ^v MYZ^š; R^vZ^xq m^sn^wZ l m^vg^wR^K
 H^tKⁱ c^t¶ⁱ ev^a-t^fc, (19) m^vc⁰w^qKZ^v, m^šym, c^ej ¶gZ^wi^j á^v n^tj^v `ew^kó^hM^Z f^vte
 w^et^f-vZ^k, w^er⁰b⁰z^{ve}r^h, Aw^acZ⁻ev^h l Av^ug^tY^vi^xcK^l Z^vB G^h t^jv MYZ^š; l gv^bew^aK^vi
 c⁰Z⁰vi t[¶]t^h eo A^š-v^q Ges (20) mi^kvi Ges `j^xq ivR^bwⁱZi `k⁰, w^ek^lym l K^g¶K^šk^j t^kK
 GK^vK^vi K^ti t⁻L^vi g^tbv^fve MYZ^št^k m^veR^bx^b K^ti Z^j t^Z e⁻q^hl

MbZ^tš^j c^t¶ⁱ w^Zb^w eo h^y³ n^tj^v G^Uv gv^bt^l i gh⁰v ew^x K^ti t⁰, G^Uv avⁱevⁿn^fv^te m^vg^wR^K
 w^k¶ⁱvi c⁰E⁰ K^ti t⁰ Ges Z^v g^bl^h m^gv^rt^k MocoZ^vf^vte Avⁱl m^f-^hi Db^qt^{bi} j^t¶^hw
 i^fcv^šwⁱ Z K^ti P^tj^t0^l G K^{_}v t^gw^lg^yU^fv^te w^k th MYZ^š; R^bM^tYⁱ Á^vb^x l t^gav^ex Ask Ő^vi
 w^bq^wš^Z l cwⁱ c^y0^Z n^q b^v; Z^te c⁰¶ⁱj Z ivR%^owZK k^vm^b e⁻e⁻w^g¶ⁱni g^ta^h m^et^pt^q t^gav^ex l
 w^eÁ e⁻v MYZ^wiš^k e⁻v^l Av^giv R^wb, m^gv^rt^pZ^bvi gv^b Ab^yn^ti MYZ^tš^j gv^b, Aw^aK^vtⁱ i
 ch⁰q, gv^bt^l i gh⁰v, A^{_}w^owZK m^vd^j, m^vg^wR^K w^k0^vP^{vi}, R^vZ^xq m^s-w^Z- HK^h BZ^w w^ba^hi Z
 n^ql MYZ^š; l gv^bew^aK^vi ci⁻úⁱ M^fxⁱ f^vte m^úK^h¶³ | Z^vt⁻ i Db^qb, c⁰Z⁰v l w^eK^vt^ki R^b
 c⁰q^vR^b ch⁰ß m^gq, Ab^kj m^vg^wR^K Ae⁻v, m^hZ^e c⁰ym l avⁱevⁿnK P^p¶^h MYZ^š; l
 gv^bew^aK^vtⁱ i f^we^l-Z^tK w^ew^g¶^h Kⁱevi R^b c⁰q^vR^b ewⁿtⁱ ½ HK^hm^vab (unification) Ges
 A^š-t^h ¶gZ^vi c^pe⁰U^b (redistribution) `0^h K^vR m^wK^fv^te m^úv⁻ b Kⁱt^Z n^tj c⁰q^vR^b
 t⁻t^ki m^g- R^bM^yt^k Av⁻v^q Av^bl ivR%^owZK AU Av^tu^vk, ¶gZ^vi GK^hQⁱKⁱY l
 t^kw⁻ Kⁱt^hYⁱ c^xw^Z, m^vc⁰w^qK t^f-ew^x i M^Ux^tK t^ft^h mi^kvi l c⁰R^vZ^tš^j me K^gP^vi^xt^k GK
 w^bit^c¶ⁱ f^wg^tZ Ae⁻v^b K^ti m^gš^tqⁱ c^t- Av^mt^Z n^te^l `ew^pt^h i g^ta^h HK^h m^vab, t^jv^kwⁿZev^h

Ges D`vi RvZxqZvef`i wfvE`Z we%kK`tevta G RvwZ D0y Kiv #Mtj Avgiv cw_exi e`K
gh® vkxj t`k wmvte `wovZ cvi`ev| Avgv`i nvRv`iv tbwZevPK e³e` AvtQ, Zvi gta`l
Avkv wbtq Wallace Stevens Gi `j j vBb D`Pvi Y Kwi t

“After the final no there comes a yes
And on that yes the future of the world depends.”
(Wallace Stevens)