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pmrs uEfi 2

"uæmiwæjre r mEfi h& k w& m; p& i r uawmh ajmz hawmht i r w e f w c e u t i w m a w G & y g w , ? t x t o j z i h u æ m i w h a w m u a v # u i f E f i h & ; t r a w l u a w m h t q & h ; q h t a j c t a e r f i y g ? E f i h & ; t r a w e y w o u f y d a w m h & s f s f a j m & i f w & m ; r # w r j y n j y n d O u æ m i w h o u r & b i v h a w m h t j g & D O H u æ m i j y m & y g w , ? b m j z p i v b q h a w m h t a j c c h v n a q m u i w h a w f r u u o l w h w & m ; c h v p e c h w i w & m ; c h [ m o j z p t s i w h & e a & e y a q m i & u t c f r & w m a w G / t r m ; ) u d e y g w , ? r o m ; p l a w e q e h a w G / r & t j a w m h t j a w m h o l w e u w & m ; & h q w m r f i n O p e n c o u r t j z p z h v w m a y d t j d w r & o t ? r & w h e & m r f i n t c k v w & m ; p & i w , f q w m u u t a j c c h t m j z i h b , m d w & m ; r # w a w m r f i n v ? r o m ; p l a w m i f v m a & m u f y d a w m h e m ; a x m i t c f r & s h b l q h a w m h p O f p m ; u n h a y d v ? "

'A b o ? ? q h w m e v w v y f y d w & m ; r # w w e w & m ; p & i r j z p a y : v m z h b , m h t a j c a e r d a w h t y g o v ?

"w & m ; r # v r a q m i & e u z h & e e h e w m w & m ; h t q i q i a y : r f i v h w n f o v d E f i h & ; p e p f u v h w n f y g w , ? E f i h & ; p e p f t a y : r f i t a j c c h d ' d v & m ; & h a w u v u y g a q m i & u r w h o a b m q h a w m h w & m ; & h u o e m o l I n d e p e n d e n c e C h a r t & z h w , ? o l e v & m ; u o e m o l v w i w f i v y v p e i t c o r , f q & i f t i r w e r s a u m i f w m a y d ' u a e u æ m i w h w & m ; & h a w u t j d w r & E f i a o ; b l a v ? "

vu& jre r mEfi h w& m; p& i a&; t a j c a e s i y w o u l t z e y a & e o d a t m i b e f u l q u b G f a r j r e f c i f j z p y g n ?



Efi h&; t u o f o m ; a [ m i f w o d j z p a o m u t e q h f r u m a o ; c i f u x h f - j r e r m e , p y b l a & m u B & l v m

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x h f E f i h & ; t u o f o m ; a [ m i f w o d j z p a o m u t e q h f r u m a o ; c i f u x h f - j r e r m e , p y b l a & m u B & l v m x u b a j ; a & m u B & l v m o n f [ b e y g n ? u t e q h f [ m ( 1 9 7 6 ) c e p i w G i w j u d f ( 1 9 8 9 ) w G i w j u d f ( 1 9 9 8 ) w G i w j u d f p p l a y i f / a x m i f ( 3 ) j u d u s h y d t i f p e f o & u E s f a & s h x m i f m ; r f i n ( 1 3 ) E p e d y g t u o f u s t h o l w o d j z p y g n ? x h f - j r e r m e , p y b l a x u b a j ; w r f a & h i f m & a o m t " u t a u m i f t & i f u u t e q h f u , c k w i h a j m j y g n ?

"Oya' r i m y & y a w e r w & m ; t E f i u s i h e w h o p f t p l e v u a t m u r f i n q u f y d a w m h r a e c s i f a w m h w y E f i h & ; t & q u i v y E i f , f a e & m v c u l a & c s , z h x u i v m w m y g u æ m i o u l v r f w a v # u r f h a w m h a x m i x h n a & m a x m i j y i f h a & m O y a ' r i m y & y a w G t r m ; ) u d a w e y g w , ? ( 8 9 - 8 9 ) w e f u u æ m e t w l w u b e f a z m q & i f o h s i f u v l i , f y g o h s i A u t e z r f u l y d a w m h w y w a v m u i w G f r i n o k u a o ' % c y p m u i w , ? w y w a v m u h e a w m h w u , m y i w h w & m ; c h t p p u a y : w , ? ' g a y r h t r u h y e j y i f a y ; b l ? t c k e x d u b e f a z m [ m a x m i x h n & h e w e f ? u h t m i m d i f q h a c : o h ; w , ? a e m u f a o q h a u m i f t a u m i f u m ; w , ? o e k t o b u l t r j r i f u b l ? q & m o e k x u t s u a w G h n ' % & m t a w G t r m ; ) u d e a o w , h a j m w , ? ' g a y r h w ' g w & m ; & h r a & m u b l ? b , b o r p p a q ; c f r & b l ? u l b u E f i O d o b q & i f v l a p s x h n o b i v t m a j m y d a w m h & u b o w t e w , ? o l e t w l u v l b , b o r s u s , i u s , j y e p e p p a q ; a w m a w G r & s b l ? ' g a w [ m u æ m h t j r i f r i n O y a ' r i m y & y a w a y d ' g a w u r i & w h t c g r f i x h n c g o d y d a w m h q u f y d a w m h a e c s i p o v r f & h a w m h w e x u i v m w m y g "

vu& j r n i w i f u p d y n ; a & / E f i h & ; / v r a & ; t a j c t a e a w u l v / < i f u , c k w i q u i v u b a j m j y g n ?

"(88) x u b q h y g w , ? ( 8 8 ) w e f u q e i w j y n f u d ( 7 ) u s y & w , ? q l v y o b m u l ( 6 0 ) y & w , ? t c k q e i w j y n f u d ( 7 0 0 - 8 0 0 ) & w , ? q l v y o b m u l ( 1 5 0 0 ) a v m u & w , ? ' g u e f a p s e f & e o a b m a y d E f i h w u m t a e t x m ; r f i a & m u æ m i w h A r m j y n & e t a e t x m ; u E f i h & ; / p d y n ; a & / v r a & ; t u e l v h x u b e y d c g w i l q & i f t m q d u t & i f u q & i f v u i v u m v & w , ? t c k q & i f t m q d l b u u t o h w [ m t & r f u s , f w , ? e t z u l r a x m u c h a w m h b l ? U N r f i n q & i f t c k r u m c i f u y l v i e h & ; a u m i p w i z h e ) u l t p m ; v m w , ? E f i h w u m q u b q h & ; / o b i f w r e c i f a w u v j y s u b e y d p d y n ; a & ; u v l t u y i w n i q h t a e t x m ; u l a & m u h e y d t j d w t a x a x G c w i e l u s a e w , ? E f i h & ; t a e t x m ; r f i v l



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"NLD... Pressure a-umi...  
Comment ray;si bl? olw...  
usi... (401) t& v\$wlv, M...  
w&m;&... t m%maygem?

'... ? tJav; enfenf&fatmifajmv...  
teu, ? p... t m%mqvm bmuiv?

"p... t m%mqvm tlycya&; t m%maygem? w&m;&...  
r [ wbl? tlycya&; u v\$wlv...  
ay;xm;wit m%? wv... if t p&acj faqmiaw...  
t m%?"

'... ? q... v\$wlv...  
tJ... bmjzplw?

"bmjzplw... t q...  
jywb... tJ... t m%mt& v\$wlv... (401) q...?"

'... ? uaem...  
w&m;p... ebywou...  
w&m;p... if' bph tpuwnf tjpay;wm rñ;w, av? rñ;v...  
t, blwublv?"

'... ? w&m;a&; u p...  
t, blwublv?"

'... ? w&m;a&; u p...  
jyev&m;p... rppaEgu

" Law of Top t& ajm& iawmhw&m;p...  
vufaw... rjzpeEbl?"

'... ? bmjzplw/vu&



'Dwlaway:ayguyapqllhqlayd jynbawfult oday; csiwblqEñ' Dt acáv;ull tJ Dt ac&frñ o&t a=umifull  
t "Uxm;ylawmh usaemwlvifycsiwme' Dt acáv;vlyjzplvm?"

"wu, lult &rfOrfomygw, ? a&v#uVlrppaEG' kuyylawmh' Du&plwlyfñ &G&CletelvlyEñlyap?  
urwblbuu wwEñ bavmufurwlylyay;Eñ lwt&mtm;vullurwlylyay;r, faygem?"

"oull' %jy&kwvlwlt acáv;rñ olv\$ajrmuvmw, lqvm=um;vlu&awmht &rfuOrfomwmayd  
usaemwlt aee?"

"urwa, muxwifr [ kwyp? ' Du&pd vy&ñ;awwlawG tm;v&ñ&ixfrñ urwblñ pEpp&vmy?  
tclpt ao;av;v\$vm;yd usv&v&Eñ'wu, h':pktcklyjtjreqhrarñvibv\$yppvurwluqawmifygw, ?  
vluvlv\$uqqawmifygw, ? tJbwif=um;&ifurtrsm;uDuOrfomrñy? urwlawGtm;v?"

pifumytl a0tz&m;sm;. cpm;csur; jzplyon? , ckhrppaEGv\$ajrmuvmontay: Orfomtm;&  
jzprbawfult rppaEGuvJausZtwipum; ajymjxm;ygo;on?

"usraxmifusaepOft wifaygem/ v\$ajrma&&t wufi OldfOef;uVpm;ay;=uwh trsd  
om;' Du&pd tz&syft z&if vluvli, ftm;vhwleILO wmo&v;uDrif;sm;ESñ urñht &y&yf rS  
owifrdD mXmerS;uDrif;sm;t m;vle&urult zuzurSOhfOefaqmi&Gufay; ae=uwh tz&pnf t m;vull  
usruaeusZtwi&lygw, fvajymcsifygw, ? ur' ae axmixlvwmwh tcefrñ  
&hrñqvlbwifaxmuávwmfsm;sm;vm=uygw, ? ulrifueñ lwtqvl aEfax&pne&vma&muluqlygw, ?  
tz&syf vluvli, ftulefv/ bb)uwl&tulefv Orfomtm;&pne& usru  
aEfax&pñ)uqvlwt z&syft z&ie&usmifom;acjfaqmif tuuDrifuEñ lwt axmuchtm;ay;ae=uwh  
jynbvlxlawGtm;vNESñ urwlexefrEñ aus&ñu &ño&ñom;awGtm;vNESñ urwlaumrS;rñe, f  
trsdom;' Du&pd tz&syf t m;vull DuaeausZtwi&lygw, M&urajym csifygw, ?"



ppaEES har;jrefcsuf

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t ife&axmifSjyelv\$vm;yd tceylf t wofrñyif owv\$frav;rppaEGull quobG far;jrefc&&lyon?  
Tar;jrefcsuf&Swc&ult&i&qlem;qifun&atmify? ulat;rSar;xm; jci jzplyon?

yxrqll usefma&t ajctae ajmajyay; z&jzplygw, ?

"aumifygw, ?"

'AbD? ? b, fwe fu v&v?

"tckwiáv;a&muvm? tckrSum;e&muvmwm? (1) em&D&ac:ajymw, ? v\$vyv?"

'AbD? ? b, M&vhr&ev\$way;vum? "owv(401) qlyd cificur&SuewlvawGtulefvlyg  
clifcsur&st yd v\$way;wmv&ajmygw, ? axmifull lwtajymvmy?"

'AbD? ? tckrppaEfaxmixfrñ b, fvmuávmufaeckv?

"(7) vausmaum? (7) vek(23) &u?"

'AbD? ? axmiu v\$way;r, lqvm jultvwm?

"robl? [ lvywlu axmiDipmvmaw&wmhajymvluo;w, ? (18) vjynhaerñ? (18) vjyn&v(10)  
vausmyluseawmhv, M&(4) vyllf (23) &u&e@ulv\$vr, ? (13) &u&e@u oJue&v(12) &u&e@ulv\$vr, M&  
xiw, ? 'y&bdw, ? jultv\$way;r, lqvmvlpvixfrñ bmrSr&lyd? wcljAlefpm;u(1) csuf&avmufrS(3)y&v?

OpD t&m&I oifoi fatmiuae ac:yDawmhrS ntrav;v\$wiywv v\$wiyqhwmh usruU bma=umimv\$wvmv/ b, Mv\$wvmvJar;w, ? (401) t&whusewvawUclifcuf&ayd wcpXv\$wvUwvmv tJ Mh\$ajmw, ? ajym-yDawmh axmi yU&Kcefuc:ofn;yDawmh axmi yU&Kcefrnaxmi yUJar;wmuU owv\$mwY&Uaw&Uw, ? axmi yUJar refee;pum; ajymw, ayd"

'AbD? ? bmaWajymvJaxmi yUJar?

"t uofOpD Xmerñ Eñ fi hawmft pñ&e yw boufyDawmh owv t uof, ol t uof, om;awU b, Mh\$ aumifatmi v\$yay;w, f bmnmayd"

'AbD? ? tJ Mh\$ajm-yDawmh um;e v\$Uy v\$vmv;? axmi fum;e v\$Uy v\$vmv;?

"axmi fum;r [ kvfot? owv v\$u pñ (3000) ay;yD in; yDawmh 'U v\$Uy v\$vmv? owv uU f wñ f um;e v\$iyay;v\$Uy v\$vmv?"

'AbD? ? awmawmhrm;rm;u axmi uv\$wiyq if rñ m; pawv qD jye fuw, ? rppaE fu rñ m; pñ qD jye a o; be t rñ m; 'U u a pñ t z e y u l v m a w v m b m a u m i m v ?

"uru rñ m; pawv azazararu ar f m o w u t a z t a r r & v l a e m u y l i r n p p a E q v m q l b m q l y g v, ? uru t z e y f t z o i f v l i, f w a, u f j z p a e w i t w u f t z e y u y l y l y g v, ? t J a w m h u s r u l y l q l i w l q u l u r t & i f m y f u r t u h w t t r a w l u r u l q l b m q l i w m y f r y l i y p l ?"

'AbD? ? t J a w m h w z u f u t n < k t a w ; y h r j u D E d i b o ; v m ; ? ' a u m i f r a v ; i g w l u o e m ; v l a x m i u v \$ w a y ; v l u w, ? v \$ w i v m e t z e y & h u l o f n ; w, q l y D a w m h t J D t ! d t a w ; a w a & m r p p a E f x n i r p o f p m ; b i v m ; ? b, M h \$ p w x h n & b v ?

"urajym-yDy a m v m ; ? u r a x m i f u l l ' U u a & p ñ r c s i f ' D k u j y e f m & r, h a e m y g v u s r a j y m w, ? u r t j y i f u m v u s r u l y t s i f i f o l w j e z r r, q l v m u s r o y g v, ? o l w t a p m j u D v \$ w v l a e m u j y e z r f v l u r w D i & r n y ? u r w t v j u l u r w q u i v y o n ; r n y l z r f r n a u m u r, q l i f t & i f u w n f u ' D t v l u t v l y g l ?"

'AbD? ? t c k v l v r a p l b l a x m i f u j y e f v \$ w i v m a w m h p a v i x h n O r f o m r d v m ; ? ' g r s [ k v f b, M h \$ j z p r d v ?

"b, M h \$ r j z p y g l ? a c : w e f u v l o w h c : v m v m y ? v \$ w a w m h l o w h j y e f v \$ w i v m y ? u m ; o r m ; u a r ; y g v, ? n t r a v ; w i v r a p l b e b m v j y e f v \$ w i v m w m v w l a c : w e f u v l o w h c : v m v m y ? v \$ w a w m h l o w h j y e f v \$ w i v m y ? u r b m a j y m v b r n v M h a j y m v l u y g v, ?"

'AbD? ? q l v m u a x m i u v \$ w i v m v p w x h n a y m i v m a w v O r f o m w a w r & b i q l v l a b m a y d

"r&yDyot? ? j r e f m E l i f i h ' U u a & p ñ & & ; w l u f t v e j u d r m ; y D a w m h t v l y f y l w l t " u t x m ; & q j z p l v h t e l v p l u l v \$ v a p c s i f w m y f u s r v \$ w i v m u l u s O r f r o m y g l ? t " u t e l v p k v s r f o m u s O r f o m r n y g l ?"

'AbD? ? t c a x m i f u l f u m v r n t q l & n ; q h t a j c t a e a w f p p a E j u k b i v m ; ? b m v l v q l w m h u e f r m a ; r a u m i f w l w a, m u f t a e e

"t J g v \$ w i y a & a e e a w m h o w a r h y D a w m h v b n ; y g v, ? e m & D w a v m u f u m o n ; y g v, ?"

'AbD? ? r p p a E f o r m ; a w m h r o b l ? t c k r p p a E f v \$ w a y ; w i t c e f r n t c l q p r e f E l i f i e z m r f e n I L O t p n i f t a o ; u s i f a e w, a y d v ? I L O & k z d t m ; a y ; r a w a u m i h v \$ w i v m w m v h a j y m & i v & w m a y d v ? ' g a y r h r p p a E f v \$ w i v m a y r h t " r r t v l y c l i f a p r a w G & h e j y e a w m h t " r r t v l y c l i f a p r e y w b o u f m a & e o D a t ; j r i l w b o m v h u e f a o ; w, a y d v ? t J D t a y ; r n r p p a E f b, M h j y m c s i m ? u l l u a w m h v \$ w i v m y a y d v ?

"t " r l y f t m ; a y ; u t h f a p v l v l u y d i w l w a w w i r u b l a e m f w l u y w t h e & w h E ñ f i h & ; t u o f o l t u o f o m ; a w f t m ; v h u l l u s e n f w a y g e m f t j r e f q h v \$ w a j r m u a p c s i f y g v, ? o l w e u e f r m a ; a e a & x l l a & ; ' l u a w f t m ; v a w G w l t w l o f o l u u s e n f w l t m ; v h u l l t j r e f q h v \$ w a j r m u a p c s i f y g v, ?"

'AbD? ? rppaEgulljyev\$way;vluw, qlvmeP xm;ygawmh t"rRlytllfaprawGyaysubñ;r, M&m  
pwlxñ b, Mñd , Hunm?

"uru olwuloyr, lb!?"

'AbD? ? bma=umifv?

"t ajyem&t vlywjc;qdjzpaevlyg"

'AbD? ? &ñjye&if rppaEgullaxmicslvh t m%myllaw&ersuEñsciqlaw&awmh b, Mñd olw&aw&if  
b, Mñd jzpf r vpwxfñ?

"olw&u b, Mñc:rvl txufu vju&aw& cllfapcsuft& vlyfuwmyav? t'lawmh  
urem;vntc&lv\$wEñlygw, !" ul hit ay: rw&m;vlyclaw&t ay: tCmww&m;rxm;onirppaEgizpnyon?

tpob

**yn&lu rppaEg t m; v&way;jcifulljullqll**

7/ Z&l/ 2006

rppaEg t m; ppft pl&bunryev\$way;vlujcif;uld < if taejzioullqba=umif; jrefmEñ fi H  
qll &mv&et cll&a&;txl;uld ipm;v\$ f rprwmyDh&lu , ae@=unmcsuiv&yfxlwjyevlu lygon?  
\*&Am+rle&aexlwjyevlu&aom < ifa=unmcsuiv&it "rRlyft m;ay; cllfaprul&cjifi ll&aom rppaEgull  
o&baumi f wD t jzpf c&ud; xm; ygn? x&t jyi f' g[ m ulvor\*vu&xmuft ax&x&t w&fa&; r; t A&m [ if'elom&D  
jrefmEñ fi H&; acgifaqmifsm; t w&f t r&om; jyevn&i&um;apa&; ES h' D&lua&p&it o&lu&ajymifa&; azm&aqmif rsm; ul  
t m; jzn&ay; &mv&l a&mu&ap onif [ kazmfyxm; ygn// x&t jyi f ue&&eaom Eñ fi H&; t uD&om; rsm; ul cji f sur&&  
csujci f jyev\$way; &eft w&ul jrefm ppft pl&u&vl arw&ll&y&cl&xm; y&ao; on// rppaEg ES h ywbufl or [ m  
et za' ot m%myll f rsm;. t "rRlyft m; ay; cllfaprul&at mi&at mi&ri&jri f w&m; p&Eñ c&aom yxrqll  
jrefmEñ fi H m; jzponif [ M&lazmfyxm; ygn// , if. t u&quft aejzih t m%myll f rsm; u < if w&ul rppaEg u  
&mZow&rajrmu&at mi&et f ajcmu&bñif [ k&yp&lyd w&elyev&m; p&ba=umif ES h (2005) c&E&x&ñyif or ul&xmics&a=umif  
yn&lu. a=unmcsuiv&l f azmfyxm; ygn//

tpob

**rppaEg jyev\$wv m jci f t ay: jynbñsm; Or&fajrmuDr&om jzpf**

7/ Z&l/ 2006

&efulew&ll f; aumr&s; r&le, fx&erEñ &ñr&s ow&ll&frav; rppaEg axmifujyev\$wv m on hit ay:  
t z&lyD&i&aw&bmr u omrefyn&baw&lyg t m; &Or&fom jzpa&=onif [ ko&ygn?, ae&reuyll fuqll&#fapsaw&  
vubu&nqll f rsm; rñ rppaEg t a=umif uyl Oll f z&ajymae=uw, Mñ t z&lyD&irsm; ES h omrefyn&baw&u , c&kl  
ajm jyxm; ygn?

"rppaEg jyev\$way;vluwme&yw&u&v&u&u&em&w&it irw&er&Or&fomw, ? ou&bll f&m t m%myll f t z&pnif ul  
'&vll v\$way;wm) ul&llw, ? bm jzpf v&v&awmh 'M&lyd refuav;wa, mu jyp&ru&t; v&ejci fe&lyr&ou&qll b&e  
t jyp&%&v&lu&wm&u&awmh Eñ fi Hvum t ae&v&lr&aumi f y&ob? wll jynft z&pnif t ae&v&lr&aumi f y&ob?"

"ppaEg v\$wv, qlvmut&um; yD v&aw&u aym&ae=uwmy? ppaEgull t m; ul&cp&uw, ? t ck&u&em&v&ob; v&mwll  
vubu&nqll f w&ll&aw&v&w&ll f u&awmh t &r&Or&fomw, ? rD D, mu em; axmif w&it c&g&ñ 'kw&  
a': at mi&et f p&un&v&lr&D D mu&ajm w&it o&ll t E&fav; ul v&ub&llw, ? 'U&av; rav; ul r&jri b&ayr&ob&ll& csu&aw&

Eññ&;&ywñtsuaw&wu, fuaw&v&y&aqmi&waw&[ m&cl&cl&f&rm&&w, &y&f&cp&fu&w&it&jyif&t&cbu&axmi&uae  
x&u&f&v&w&aw&mh&v&x&u&ly&ef&um;w&u&p&w&v&em;axmi&f&w&aw&mh&od&ft&x&i&j&u&ob&:-u&w, ? Eññ&orm;v&ll&cl&tsuf  
&ywñtsu&ab&/o&abmx&m;a&m&rs&w, m&bc&ou&:-u&w, &y&f&v&aw&u&t&pu&aw&mh&pmr&ww&ay&r&ww&f&aw&mo&av;  
at&mu&ar&hu&wm&t&cl&aw&mh&ol&u&ll&aw&aw&mf&t&x&i&j&u&u&ef&u&w, ? ob&jm&w&p&um;aw&u&v&|&S&f&&S&f&av;av;e&e  
v&G&f&v&G&f&v;e&e&Eññ&;&j&u&u&ob&us, f&us, f&p&um;v&w&aw&f&y&ob&e&e&ll&&S&f&&S&f&av;e&e&cl&cl&f&rm&j&ymo&ob;w&it&w&u&f  
em;axmi&v&w&it&f&ol&t&ol&um;&&if, k&unf&w, ? u&sem&v&u&aw&mh&v&u&aw&u&ll&aw&e&w&mq&h&w&mh&y& k&unf  
w&may&v&?"

"y&t&|&oe&y&f&i&f&em;w&ol&ur&ñ ' &ae&e&em;rn&v&mp&aj&ym&ae&=u&wm&t&rm;)&u&D&?&Or&f&v&b&mw, f&ol&u&v&ts&u&:-u&w, ?  
, k&u&|, k&unf&w, &y&f&?"

"ol&u&ll&v&w&ay;w&aw&mh&t&i&f&we&Dr&f&omy&v, ? j&u&ll&v&u&ll&w, ? x&it&wa':at&mi&q&ef  
p&k&unf&O&w&i&D&w&it&j&cm;Eññ&;&t&u&of&om;aw&v&|&v&w&ay;&i&f&y&h&um&i&f&w&may&f& w&ll&f&j&n&ft&cu&cl&aw&G&t&m;v&ll  
aj&yv&nb&ob;w&may&f&" r&p&la&E&f&ye&f&v&v&monit&ay: j&y&n&f&w&f&st&ze&y&D&i&aw&f&j&y&nb&ob;rm;. o&abmx&m; j&zp&y&gn?



**use&neonh&O&at&jri&E&ñ&Eññ&;&t&u&of&om;t&m;v&ll&t&m; v&w&ay;&e&aw&mi&f&q&ll**

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, cl&v&ll&p&la&E&f&ye&f&v&w&ay;v&ll&ob&nit&ay: uk&or\* &t&y&t&O&i&f&Eññ&w&um&)&u&ll&ob&v&ll&Eññ&;&t&u&of&om;  
r&ob;m;p&D&i&aw&u&v&|&v&u&v&Dr&f&aj&rm&u&ob; j&u&ll&ob&u&y&gn?

"Or&f&om&w&may&f& ol&ej&rm&ue&r&ma&;u&v&ra&um&i&/ r&cb&i&v&ll&%&v&be&w, f&q&h&w&mh& t&e&w&u&Or&f&omy&v, ?  
ow&i&f&um;=um;j&ci&f&t&e&w&it&&r&f&u&Dr&f&om&w, ?"

"p&la&E&f& v&w&v&mw, f&um;aw&mh&u&ll& f&u& w&t&m;Or&f&om&w&may&f& r&ef&u&av;v&j&zp&w, ? a&em&u&f&y&D&ol&  
E&v&h&a&m\* &w&v, m&be& us&r&w&e& ow&i&f&aw&G&t& =um;&w&may&f&em? v&aw&mh&r&jri&f&z&y&ob;? a&em&u&f&y&D&aw&mh  
r&w&m;axmi&f&sc&h&cm;&w&it&w&u&f& axmi&f&h&sn&w&ck&j&zp&ob;rm;rn&u&ll& p&ll&&Dr&f&w&may&f&em? a&em&u&f&v&cs&uf&  
r&w&m;zr&f&q&axmi&f&sc&h&cm;&w&mq&h&w&mh&t&rs&w&m;u&j&zp&ap&csi&f&w&may&f&j&ref&re&v&|&v&w&ap&csi&f&w&my?"

j&y&n&f&axmi&f&w&f&z&r&f&q&axmi&f&sc&x&m;a&om v&w&f&aw&mi&f&u&ll& f&pm;v&S& fa'gu&f&w&mo&ef;h&Dr&f. Ze&D  
a':ci&at&E&f&r&p&j&u&em;axmi&f&w&f&axmi&f&sc&h&e&a&om&v&w&aw&mi&f&u&ll& f&pm;v&S& fa'gu&f&v&ma&Z&mf&ri&arm&i&

. Ze&D&a'gu&f&v&ma':, k& k&ar&w&e& r&p&la&E&f&v&v&monit&ay: c&f&pm;cs&ur&f&m;j&zp&y&gn? y&t&f&e&st&ze&y&e&e&O&pe&f&arm&i&u&aw&h  
&ef&ue&ll&O&x&tr&e&ow&i&f&y&ob;nit&[ k&w&D& axmi(7)E&f&sc&xm; c&ba&om& a&& ae&O&at&jri&u&ll&|&j&ye&f&v&w&ay;o&i&ob&nit&[ k  
aj&y&gn?

"p&la&E&f&ru&ol&u Force Labour e&y&w&bu&f&w&may&f&em? a&em&u&f&v&cl&u ILO (95) n&v&mc&h&ñ&u p&la&E&f&t&re&e  
O&at&jri&f&it&ru&ll&t&w&w&v&ix&m;w, ? w&ix&m;aw&mh&t&cp&la&E&f&u& v&w&f&ob;rm;y&D&h&w&mh&O&at&jri&f&v&v&ob&i&f&v, &y&f&em?&  
p&la&E&f&v&w&v&w, f&q&ll&if&O&u O&at&jri&f&v&v&w&f&r, m&be, k&unf&w, ? b&mv&v&v&q&ll&ILO& r&ñ& t&r&v&u& ob&e&O&at&jri&f&e&u  
w&w&v&cl&q&ll&v&it&cu&aw&mh&p&la&E&f&v&w&v&mu&ll&O&u Or&f&om&w, ? ax&mu&f&ax&mu&f&w, ?" y&t&axmi&f&ob; axmi&f&sc&h&e&a&om  
O&at&jri&f& t&u&ll&a&q&mi&f&e&e&O&pe&f&arm&i&j&zp&y&gn?

x&et&jyif&r&p&la&E&f&ye&f&v&w&ay;ou&ll&ob&a':at&mi&q&ef&p&k&unf&t&y&t&O&i&f&Eññ&;&t&u&of&om;  
t&m;v&ll&v&ll&it&j&re&ob&j&ye&f&v&w&ay;o&i&f&um&i&f< i&f&w&e&O&u, cl&v&ll&u&v&e&f&aw&mi&f&q&ll&ob;rm;y&gn?

"v&w&ay;ze&aw&mh&aw&mi&f&q&ll&f&w&may&f&t&ck&v&v&v&ob&q&ll&w&mh&j&p&v&ra&um&i&f&w&mb&ll&w&may&f&t&e&f&w&v&u&aw&mh  
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t c&ft c&ft c&ft a&; ulhapmi fydwlit cguawmh usm; u l u p m; ov r s d v \$ way; aewmq h w m h u r w l t a e e u a w m h  
rar#i v i k m; a o; b l?"

"pplaEgulv\$wydwlit cguawmh usew h o d a t ; j r i v l p a & e o d v r i b e l w e o d o i j r i v l p o e f v o d w l e y t u  
(9) a, mu? olwlu v l t v l y o r m; u p e t l g a w l v \$ v o i l w, ? Eñ i h &; t u o f o m; a w g t m; v h c i f c u r & d  
v \$ v o i l w, l v o d u, l q w, ? a': p k t y g t o i ? ' g t m; v h w u r h v l e o a b m x m; y?"

a' gu f v m o e f i t f. Z e d a': c i f a t; / a' g u f v m a z m j r i h a r m i f. Z e d a':, k l a r e s h a & e o d p e f a r m i f w l e  
a w m i f q l t s u r s m; j z p l y o n ?

tpok

### pplaEftm; jyelvnlv\$way; jci f u l l u k d t m e e f j u l q l l

8/ Z e l / 2 0 0 6

v l y f t m; a y; c h i f a p o l r s m; u l l v & m; p o q d r j z i h a x m i f % f w e p f c g u s c l e & a o m r p p l a E g u l l  
a x m i b u r j y n i r j y e l v \$ w a y; v l u b o n i t a y; v l u v p o n u k q l y g a u m i f u k v o r \* t w l f a &; r s; c s y f u l k d t m e e f u  
, a e a j y m q l l u l y o n ? u k v o r \* x m e c s y i w n & m e, l a, m u i r l e t w l f a &; r s; c s y & h s x l w j y e f a o m a u n m c s u f w g f  
, c k v l a z m j y v l u j c i f j z p l y d u s e a e a o; a o m t j c m; Eñ i h &; t u o f o m; (1000) a u s m u l v l c s u t s i f v \$ w a y; & e f t w l u f  
p p f t p l e u h w m i f q l l v l u l y o n ?

t w l f a &; r s; c s y f t a e j z i h j r e f m t m % m y l l i r s m; u l l w l u w e f x m; w m u a w m h r p p l a E g u l l v \$ w a y; o v l r s d  
u s e a e o l a w f r s m; u l y g v \$ w a y; & e l x l u b o l e v \$ w a y; r s o m Eñ i h &; r l a v o o e n f e n f w l d w u f v m a y d  
t r s d o m; j y e l v n f o i l i r w f a &; q d e o d w n e l d f v r i r n ? t x l o j z i h a': a t m i f q e f p k u n f t a y:  
c r s v i x m; a o m c s y t s, l u e l o w r r s m; u l l t j r e q l l e w o r f a y; o i l o n f  
q h o m t c s u r s m; y g o i l o n f [ k u l k d t m e e f. a j y m c g l k v r s a u n m c s u r s a z m j y x m; y o n ? t v m; w l  
j r e f m Eñ i h & l l & m u k v o r \* v l e t c h i t a &; t x l u l l p m; v s f r p r v m y d h r s v n f, c k v l  
v \$ w a y; o n l i t a y: } u k q l a = u m i f, r e l a e u a = u n m c s u f w & y f x l w j y e f c h y o n ? \* s e a m r l e s a e  
x l w j y e l v l u a o m < i f a = u n m c s u f w f t " r l v l y f t m; a y; c h i f a p r u l l a c g i f i l r c h a o m r p p l a E g u l l  
o b a u m i f w o d t j z p t o u s x m; y o n ? x l t j y i f ' g l m u k v o r \* v u a x m u f t a x a x g t w l f a &; r s; t l a m [ i f e b m & d e  
j r e f m Eñ i h & d p o f t w l f t r s d o m; j y e l v n f i f u m; a p a & e p d l u a & p d t o f u l a j y m i f a &; a z m a q m i f a w l u t t m; j z n f a y; & m  
a & m u b a p w, l v l q l k m; y o n //

< i f t j y i u e & a e a o; a o m Eñ i h &; t u o f o m; r s m; u l l c i f c u r & c s u j c i j y e l v \$ w a y; & e f t w l u f j r e f m p p f t p l e u l l  
a r w l l & y c l k m; y g a o; o n // r p p l a E g e s j y w o u l l v l o r [ m e t z a' o t m % m y l l i r s m;. t " r l v l y f t m; a y; c h i f a p r u l l  
a t m i f a t m i j r i j r i f w & m; p e l l c h o m y x r q l l r e f m Eñ i h & m; j z p o n i [ l v n f y d n & d. a = u n m c s u f w f a z m j y x m; y o n ?

tpok

### rpplaEES hawoqlr; jrefcef (2)

7/ Z e l / 2 0 0 6

, r e l a e u r s t i f p e a x m i f a e j y e l v v l v m a o m r p p l a E g. a r; j r e f c s u f w c e u l l q u v u f x l w v \$ w a y; y g n ?  
a x m i f h a e & o n l i t a j c t a e r f p w l t y j i q l t & m b m v l a r; o n l i t a y: r p p l a E g u, c k v l j z y o n ?  
" u r a x m i f h p w l t y q l u u r r & w l t c e f r i t r e l w & m; b u l u a e v l u f y d a w m h x l u f q h y; w l l d o d e  
O u l k a w l u a t m u f h a e & y d a w m h r p p l a E g [ m r e b e w m y ? i g w l e m r e l w b u l u & y l v n f y d a w m h v l u x l u a y; r, l q l v h

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9/ Z&f/ 2006

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"Eñ fi lu;vufSwy woufyDawmhwnqDya' wck&ygw, ? Burma Passport Act vlc:ygw, ? 'Dya' xfrñ Eñ fi lu;vufSwy, zsubc&w, ? &kwofrc&w, qvwmrñ ry&yo? c&ðoñ;vmw, qvwm[ m Eñ fi lóm;aw&et ajccht cð lit a&;jzplygw, ? tJ'lawmh Eñ fi lóm;aw&et t ajccht cð lit a&;ud b, ft p&urSv&m;Oik&wofrc&w? tJ'lv c&ðoñ;vmcð luu t aEñi lit, Sufay;whc cguawmh bñjzplóñ;Eñ fi lóm;aw&et vlvjylyp&f&e&Oib&muvmwh Eñ fi lóm;wa, muful t a&;, Eñ cð fobamuñ aqmifóñ;w, ? a' guvmqvñ f x&foef [ m wñ f jn x u Eñ fi lóm;u k c u m w h t c e w e f u w & m ; O i f c u f m w m j z p l w , ? a' guvmqvñ f x&foef u Eñ fi lu;vufSwxkway; z h e m t w l u f O y a ' t & r x k w a y ; c s i f b t q & i f t J D t c e w e f p O u x l w r a y ; & r ñ j z p l y g w , ? v u & w n q D y a ' Eñ fi lóm;wa, muful Eñ fi lu;vufSwy, z s u Eñ f w h t p & r ñ a u n m c ð f & h u m i f v u & w n q D y a ' r ñ j y X m e f x m ; j c i f v H O r & b t ? ' U p e l y w o u f y D a w m h a' guvmqvñ f x&foef Eñ fi lu;vufSwuñ t p & u & k w o f r w , q v m w & m ; r o i b t v e u a e m f a j m c s i f y g w , ? "

xñ fa&eO u k r p l w m q t s d f a [ m i a v m u a w m h e t z u t c k v l y c h a y r h q & m ) u ð x & f o e f u a w m h j r e f m j n u l y e Eñ c & w , ? x ñ i t p & b u l u v l a v , m O l a y : u h w m i f w i & i f w i a y ; t h ñ j z p l w , ? e t z O y a ' a w [ m Eñ fi lvumOya' aw&awmrywoubt v < i f u a j y m o ñ ; c h y o n ? , c k v l y w p y l e z s u b o f f w , q v m u ð q & m ) u ð q v ñ f x & f o e f u ð l w h i w & m ; O i f r o & a o ; b t v e q l y o n ? j z p l o ñ e n f E s h j r e f m j n f y e a w m h r ñ h q & m ) u ð a w m h k i f w i r u j r e f m j n f o w & y m o w & & y u & r , m e t c k v l y m q b ñ ; c h y o n ?

"u a e m f w e u p [ m u a e m f w e m o m u a e m f w e y m y & r , ? b , f o l u r s u a e m f w e u p u l v l y r a y ; b t ? b , b r j y k r t r a y ð a u m u r a e u e ð a u m u l w t c e [ m a w m a v m u f y ð o w d r y g t r e w & m ; u h w m h r e w , m e a j m & r s j z p a w m h r , ? r ñ ; w ð p h u ð r ñ ; w , m e a j m & r s j z p r , ? "

tpol

rE V;wñ f t z k c y f s a ' p k a r ð e < y f u s f y r n i

9/ Z e f / 2 0 0 6

, c k v ( 1 9 ) & u a e e v f u a & m u a o m a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n f t o u f ( 6 1 ) E p j y n h a r f a e g f u s i f y Eñ f a & ; t w l u r E V ; w ñ f ; t z e s y f u , r e ð e u t x t ; t p n f ; t a 0 ; w & y l j y k v l y c h w , f v e o & y g o n ? w ñ f ; t z e s y f v l r \_ t a x m u f t u j y k t z ð i f a w G - u m ; j z w f t a & ; a y : t p n f ; t a 0 ; a c : y ð a r f a e g f u s i f y a & ; n < E ð f a q f a E f c h u w , m e w l f p n f t z ð i f a ' : O i f j r r u , c k v l a j y m j y g o n ?

" a q f a E y & e q h z w f s u a w l u a w m h u r w e z e ( 1 9 ) & u a e e ñ t r s t o m ; ' D u a & p d t z e s y f t a x a x g t w f a & ; r s ; a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n & k a r f a e e j z p l y g w , ? ' a r f a e e ñ u r w e t r s t o m ; ' D u a & p d t z e s y f t a x a x g t w f a & ; r s ; a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n u ð l w l i o y f y D a w m & i f x r ñ t m & k m ; y D a w m h r S w p l u r w r w a q m i & c u a v a q m i & c u f & w h Eñ f a & ; t u o f o r m ; u p u l u r w a z m u f s y d r s z e ( 1 9 ) & u a e e ñ u r w e l y f i e f w c k t a e e k a q m i & c u b ñ ; r , f q l y D a w m h q h z w f s u f c s y g w , ? t J ' l a w m h b , m h q m i & c u f v b k i f a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n & k a r f a e e ñ y Eñ f a & ; t u o f o r m ; r s m ; & k o m ; o r d r m ; u l y n m o i p & w r s m ; a x m u f y t , ? a e m u r E V ; w ñ f t w f r ñ & w Eñ f a & ; t u o f o r m ; r s m ; u l l a x m u f y h a - u ; r s m ; y h l a y ; o ñ ; r , f q l y D a w m h r S u r w e l u a e e q h z w f s u f ( 2 ) c k s y g w , ? ' g u a w m h a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n & k a r f a e e t w l u f q h z w f s u f E p & y i j z p l y g w , ? "

rE V;wñ f p n f t z ð i f a ' : O i f j r r j z p l y o n ? t v m ; w l r a u e w l f a w m i w f i ) u ð r i e , f t z e s y f u v l a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n f . t o u f ( 6 1 ) E p j y n h a r f a e g f u s i f y r , m e o y g o n ?

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u s a e m f w e t x l p & r r w h t a e t x m ; u l u s a e m f w e c p m ; & w , ? b m a = u m i f b m y k f r a w G e p & i t s u f s v l u f v m v  
t a e t x m ; u l u s a e m f w e t r f p & r f u y g w , ? a':a tmi qefpkunf i jynbawgt m; vHua&m/ ygvdi fawgt m; vHua&m/  
' r l u a & p d t i f t m ; p k a w g t m ; v H u a & m / o l u s e f r m a & ; e y w i o u f y d a w m h t u e f w u p & r f y e f & l w , ? t j g a = u m i h  
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o i l a w m f r , i v l u s a e m f w e t j l v k l q w , ? w d u s w h r e f u e l w h o w i f x e j y e f r a w G & r , i q d i f  
t r e u l t r e f t w i f o w h t c g f n w c s p & r f r a w v l a v s m u e l l i w , ? a e m u f v l m ; t y w h a w f a c : r a w f , i q r a w v l  
ajyaysmuEñ f , i v l u s a e m f w e t u a w m h l q w , ?" (88) rsd qufausmifom; rsm; t zlekywckzplygon?



a':atmiqelpuni usfma&;upP owifxkwjyebibvm;/ zlxm; oibvm;

11/Z&f/ 2006

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a':pESjywoufyd t"luwmOe&om tze&yloufuyg< ifowifull, c&e&idtwit usrxkwjyey;ao;onht wuf  
jynbaw&um;rñ p&ftrwlyh;yd xifritsuft r&rd&EShaOze&e-uqjzplygn? 'g[ m tm%&Sft p&vu&t muf  
Eñfi hvckñ jzpa&usowifp&qifr;u&umiciv&lyrsvf, biygvvm;? 'gr[ kwf urhodEA, fi&fcsrta&;q&SfwoD.  
usfma&; tajc taeu&jrefrmjynb&rm;ESht w urh;ju&wckmullrjzprae o&fay;oiw, M&rsvf, biygvvm;?  
x&h;r;ce&fsm;ull, ckwywfw&E&owif t p&t p&ft jzpl aq&fa&E&wif yoh;rñ jzplygn?

a':atmiqelpuni. usfma&; tajcaeESjywoufyd ppft p&burs&&/ tze&yloufuyg owifxkwjyetz  
w&e&q&fa&e&omfvnf 'A&B&t y&of Eñfi hvum owif r&D mwcs&E m 'bwifull aom-umae@naeylifuwnfu  
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a':atmiqelpuni Orfav&mv&t a&;ay:aq;Ogubr&ch&e&w, b&lv mull twnfy&kajymq&huygn? o&omfvnf  
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vu&v&f&rb&avmuf p&f&ra&eygw, ? ua&em&v&rb&om;pkq&mO&fzplw&ha' gu&lv m wif&S&Oif&v&l u&sa&em&v&rb&ra&eygw, ?  
a' gu&lv m v&l tck&u&D p&f r v&er&ao;yg&f? a' gu&lv m e&ra&w&ao;yg&f? 'gayrh bmy&jz&jz&pay&av/  
'lv&bwif-um;&wm&u&awmh w&ck&awmh x&tjcm;v&fzplwmy&v&e& sa&em&v&v& lqygw, ? t&awmh ua&em&v&v&  
trsm;u&D p&f r ygw, ? ua&em&v&v& u&aw&fa&/ tze&yf tze&f&i&aw&fa&/ trsm;u&D p&f r ygw, ?" tze&yf&jymc&f&y&f&v&  
wo&fzpl&O&jri&oe&f aom-umae@nylifu ajz-um;clj jzplygn?

O&jri&oe&f u , ck&v&f&st r, kw&rv&e&ajymaomfvnf o&abmxm;wif&rmaom tze&f&w&cs&u q&lv&# f  
x&bwifx&ub&h;v&#fa' gu&lv m wif&S&Oif&awmifa':pES&ha&e&O&f&bl&jz&pb&h;Eñ&bnht wuf b, bwiform;u&f&S  
rajymEñ&bl&v&cy&wif&wif jif&f&q&huygn? o&omfvnf x&h&e&naeylifu jref&mp&h&w&mc&ES&f&v&# f no&efaumif&usmf  
t&ce&f&v&mu&w&f tar&ue&Eñ&f&jcm;a&; O&e&ju&D&xmeuae , c&bwifull, ck&v&lxkwjyev&lyygn?

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'bwifull&fcm;twnfy&Eñ&f&lv&mu tawm&cu&fygw, ? 'gayrh 'lv&bwif-um;&wht ay: sa&em&v&v& t p&f&u  
tx&f&p&f&ra&umif&ajymv&fygw, f a':atmiqelpunift wuf v&lt y&w&h&q;Og ubr&t m;v&hull t&jre&q&h&v&f&ay;ze&e  
or&e&usfma&;/ v&h&e&h&;u&ll t x&t\*&p&lv&ze& jref&rm tm%&m y&f&aw&u&ll sa&em&v&v& ajymxm;ygw, ? 'gtjyif  
or&u&ts&v&f&v&ay;ze&v& sa&em&v&v& y&f&awmif&q&h&xm;ygw, ?"

t ar&ue&Eñ&f&jcm;a&; O&e&ju&D&xmeajymc&f&y&f&v&f&er&u&am&r&lr&Saom-umae&nae ae&of owif&pm&S&f&yt w&f  
owif&x&mu&fsm;. tar;u&ll ajz-um;oh;jci&jzplygn? tar&ue&f&burs, ck&v&lx&w&ajym t y&D&h < ifowif[ m  
ur&h&bwif&w&yl&jz&pb&h;yd/ x&bwif&u&yl Eñ&f&jcm;a&' D& h&w&f& \*lv&lv&bwif&fsm;r&sv&q&ih&jref&rmjynb&aw&u  
jy&f&um;clj&jzplygn?

" tck&v&yl jyniyowif&xmeaw&v&ae&y&awm&lr&S a&unmr&y&b&w&lv&p&aw&yg q&mO&e&ju&D O&bwif&S&Oif&e&v&yl  
e&D&e&uy&uyf y&f&h&aw&e&h&r&b&v&v&v& o&e&w, f&yg&em? tr&f&u&awmh y&f&e&w&y&w&v&u&f&f E&f&u&w&u&f&f 'g  
a':atmiqelpunif&e& usfma&;u&ll pp&aq;c&f&j&kxm;w, f&q&f&f 'gtm;v&h&u p&w&ts&f&om&w, ? tck[ mu  
a':atmiqelpunif&u&rb&om;pkq&mO&ef orm;awm&ju&jzplw&ha' gu&lv m O&wif&S&Oif&e&v&yl y&f&h&aw&e&h&r&f&f? tck&vcg





tJ h oewuif tJ h c f u t r u k w j e r , ? t J h u e u f [ m b m v ? t J h u e u f u c h v s w j c i f e a r w h w & m ; y ?  
i g w e u t p l & u i j e v m y r , m r a j y m b l ? j y n b e t m % m j y n b u l y j y e a y ; y g v e ' g y a j y m w m ? "

' A b o ? ' ? ' g u a w m e v i x k a w t y l l f a y d i a e m u p p i w y e e & [ e f o l c m a w l u h & m q & m ) u b b m a j y m c s i f y g v ?

" t b a j y m c s i f w m & h o ; w , ? t J g p p o m ; a w b v k e f a w b & a w b o l w e u l a w e v o r # E h i f j c m ; o m ; u  
b m a j y m v b q l & s ; w l u i v i l i u l i v i h c s w h a j y m a e w , ? i g w e u e n f e n f r c t s i b l ? b m v l v b q l w a r m a w e d v h n b l ?  
t a w m h v k e f w k e & w k e p p i w y f u A k v u b / A k v i r s ; / A k v i r s ; ) u b / [ A k v i c s y f u b u t p  
& s ; w l u i v i l i u l i v i h c s w t a j y m r c l y e a w m h t b v b y f i d a w m h p w q i f & v s y g v t J h a w m h E h i f j c m ; o m ; a w e u l i g w e u l  
t x i a o ; v y t x i a o ; a t m i a w m h r v l y u y e & y u y p k v e t b a j y m c s i f w , ? a e m u l y a w m h t b u b m a j y m c s i f v b q l i f  
b m o m a y i f p l u q & m a w m j u d r m ; u l l / q & m a w m j u d r m ; / t c k t a j c t a e [ m b , m l o h o y l y m b & m ; ? w u , m e  
q h a e v e i f q & m a w m b & m ; w l u v l O h i f O e f ; y d a w m h ' D t p h & u l j y n b e t m % m u l l j y n b o v u f x l j y e f t y f y g v e  
r a j y m o h b i v m ; b & m ; ? e t z u y a z m i v l q f u f e a u s e y a e v m ; b & m ; / t J h q f i u f f [ m o e f s f y g v m ; v l e  
b & m ; w y n a w m / t J h v a v # u t s i f w , ? ' g ? "

, c k v ( 1 9 ) & u f a ' : a t m i q e f p u n i . a r f a e v o l j r e f m j y n j y e y d q E l y & e f p p O h e a o m a ' g u i w m q v l l i x e f o e f  
j z p l y g n ?

tpob

q v l i x e f o e f j r e f m j y n i w l i O i f v m E h i f e , p y f w i r m ; w i f v l e h a ; w i f u y i

13 / Z e i / 2 0 0 6

a ' g u i w m q v l l i x e f o e f . t p d t p o f t a y : t m % m y l i r s m ; u t x l p l & r a e y d e , p y f w i r m ; r s r o i E h i f a t m i f  
v l e h a ; w i f u y i x m ; o n f [ k o d y g n ? y g r m u o [ m i f q & m ) u b q v l i x e f o e f u Z e f v ( 1 9 ) & u f a e  
j r e f m h D l u a & p a c j i f a q m i a ' : a t m i q e f p u n i a r f a e v o l j r e f m j y n j y e y d q E l y & e f y i q i f x m ; o n h t a y : e t z u  
< i f . E h i f i l u ; v u r s v u l l w & m ; r o i f a u n m c h y d o n h a e m u l , c k g w l i e , p y f r s w q i h j y e O i f v m E h i f a t m i f  
v l e h a ; w i f u y a e o n f [ k o d y g n ?

" { n p m i f a w m h w t m ; p p l v , ? e n f e n f & y & y f , s u f , s u f t o h - u m ; w m a y d v r f r a w e h p p l w y f u  
t f l w r f a p m i l v , ? v l e h a ; a w o w t m ; c s w , f v r f r o v l w t m ; p p l v , ? n b u f u m ; a y : u q i f w l t c g h a w m i f s p p l v , ?  
t " u u l w b a w l u h p p l v , ? "

" ( 9 ) a y g u f w a w e ( 1 0 ) \* w a w e D K B A \* w a w e t J h v h s p p l v , ? e , p y f y e f w l b a w e a m / v m w l b a w e a m u l l  
a w m a w m a v ; u h p p l v , ? "

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

b m a u m i f v l e h a ; w i f u y a e w , l q l v m u l l ?

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

" u u u n i u t r e f x l w x m ; w , ? e , p y f w i v l e h w & m ; O i f [ l w i v h x l u f a y g u a w l l o l w l a p m i a e w , ?  
a e v l i f y & l v , f a v ? " q & m ) u b a ' g u i w m q v l l i x e f o e f o n f v h e a u s & h r s m ; u h & h i u c f y d O i a & m u f v m E h i f o n h t w l u f  
v u l e f y l l i x d v l e h a ; w i j r < i b k m ; e f t x u f t r e f x l w x m ; a u m i f u l l b & m ; o h q l w m o e f u s & D e f x r f w o u  
a j y m q l b h ; c l y g n ?

q & m ) u b a ' g u i w m q v l l i x e f o e f j r e f m j y n i w l i O i f a & m u f v m r s p l l & t f o n h t w l u f e , p y f \* w i f  
r m ; v l e h a ; w i f u w x m ; o n h t a u m i f j z p l y g n ?

tpob



pmrsuEh 25

usaemw... waw... w, ? odtmifyefta&; lw, q...  
aemirw... t mif... weni... usaemw... oyw, ? 'g...  
v... y... o... , It... oabm... w... c... &... 'g Oya' t&v  
rwm;xm;yol? r... w... w, q... b... , utz... w... w... bma-umih  
pm&ifZ, m;awg pepwusxm; z... oway;&wmv? b... v... p... t a0;ac:y... ai... ut... r, q... w...  
ajmwmv? usaemawmh em;u... em;rvn... awmb? usaemw&m;&... av... w... c... 'Dt csu...  
t "uxm;w, ? c, upmr... Yu a&... aw... q... w, f... w... g"

jrefm... (80) &... v, form;rm; weni... z... fawmi... u... ay:  
tm%mylft qilqilu t... ai... axmit... aumif a... t mi... ajm... om; jci... jzplyon?

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woufwulefpluch&onitzi d(5) Odt wuf aemuqllt xlt, clwibfi

14/ Z&f 2006

axmif %woufwulefpluch&aom &eul/ urm&w... r... f... t... (5) Odt wuf  
aemuqllt xlt; t, clu... A [ w&m; &... , rae... w... v... a-umif; o&ygon?  
< ifw... t... aq... a... o... r... s... o... a&... w... f... c... j... i... jzplyon/ v... r... l... b... n... f...  
aemuwvavmu... b... r... n... i... k... t... z... y... a... &... s... m; u... ajm... ygon? u... t... i... a... u... s... h... t... w... l... t... v... r... e, ft... z... y... Du... k... O... b... j... r... i... h...  
tz... i... D... b... w... i... h... o... m... a... u... w... r... e, u... u... b... u... e... l... a... t... m... i... E... s... h... u... r... m... &... w... r... e, r... s... u... t... m... i... r... s... q... e... f... w... e... (5) O... d... u... l... (2004) c... E... s... p...  
'Z... i... b... m... v... t... w... l... f... u... z... r... f... q... d... c... h... y... / Z... w... i... v... (13) &... u... a... e... v... l... i... e... l... i... f... i... a... w... m... v... k... l... a... &... O... y... a' E... s... h... a... x... m... i... f... w... o... u... f... w... u... l... e... f... p... d...  
c... r... s... w... b... c... i... j... z... p... l... y... o... n... ?

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15/ Z&f 2006

flawmcefra&w... u... l... lawmfqElyrzil... h... t... i... t... i... p... e... a... x... m... i... w... u... f... z... r... f... q... d... a... x... m... i... c... s... x... m; a... o... m...  
u... k... &... v... i... f... a... u... m... i... t... w... u... f... t, c... l... u... A [ w&m; &... x... h... rae... w... i... b... o... f... v... l... u... b... n... i... [ k... o... &... y... g... o... n... ? w... u... l... l... a... w... m... f... q... E... l... y... &... j... z... i... h...  
axmi(7)E... p... t... s... x... m; j... c... i... f... o... n... i... O... y... a' E... s... h... r... u... l... u... f... n... b... o... n... i... t... w... u... f... j... y... i... q... i... f... r... w... u... j... c... i... f... j... z... p... l... o... n... i... [ k... t... z... e... y... a... &... a...  
O... j... r... i... a... o... m... i... f... u... a... j... m... y... g... o... n... ?

"(1950) jyn... e... t... a... &... a... y... p... h... t... u... O... y... a' t& (5-n) t& axmi(7) E... s... p... t... j... g... a... w... m... h... O... y... a' t& &... o... i... &... x... l... u... w... h...  
t... c... l... i... t... a... &... a... y... g... 'g... u... v... l... O... y... a' t& &... o... i... &... x... l... u... w... h... w... u... l... l... a... w... m... f... q... E... l... y... w... m... e... b... a... x... m... i... (7) E... s... p... t... j... y... p... a... y... ; w... m... u... v... l...  
O... y... a' e... n... d... r... s... n... l... v... m... u... l... t... j... t... a... y... r... s... u... s... a... e... m... i... w... u... O... y... a' e... n... d... w... i... t... w... u... f... l... u... p... l... u... w... i... f... y... &... w... m... a... y... g... " t... z... e... y... a... &... a... O... j... r... i... a... o... m... i... f...  
jzplyon?

u... k... &... v... i... f... a... u... m... i... t... o... n... i... f... y... d... c... l... a... o... m... (2004) c... E... s... p... f... u... a' : a... t... m... i... q... e... f... p... k... u... n... i... E... s... h... E... l... i... f... i... h... &... ; t... u... s... o... f... o... m; a... w... g...  
v... \$... v... a... y... a... &... a... w... m... i... f... q... b... E... l... y... r... E... s... h... a... x... m... i... f... (7) E... s... p... i... u... s... c... h... e... j... c... i... f... jzplyon?

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15/ Z&f 2006

jyn... y... a... &... m... u... f... r... e... f... r... e... m... @... r... l... u... a... &... p... d... i... f... t... m; p... l... r... m; r... s... a' : a... t... m... i... q... e... f... p... k... u... n... i... . arfae... t... x... l... t... r... s... v... i... f... y... r... s... m; u... s... i... f... y... &... e... f...  
p... p... o... a... e... y... y... g... o... n... ? , a... u... e... l... i... f... i... h... v... e... l... e... f... e... r... i... k... v... i... v... n... i... arfae... g... i... t... c... r... i... t... e... m; u... l... l... p... n... p... n... f... u... m; u... m; u... s... i... f... y... &... e... f... t... w... u... f... , c... l... u... w... n... i... f... u...  
j... u... l... w... i... j... i... q... i... a... e... u... y... v... l... p... o... d... y... g... o... n... ?

"vef efrkfn (17) & uae@naern pefmz&m;cs'fn a':atmiqefpkunf v\$wajrma&/ jrefmEfiht u\$du qulvub, yNEfi&/ jrefmjynlv\$wajrma&/ qawmifyf&vuarfae\*vmlyul usifyrnf jzplygw, ? tJ'fn EfiNvumr&m;plrm;&k a':atmiqefpkunf tckvtsyfs, fyDawmh wltfjynft wuft eplemchydawmhvyaewmub&tmit EfiNvumu odvmatmif Awareness jzpatmi&ami&urfnjzplygw, ? tJ'hemurn boma& acgifaqmirm;/ Alk c&pf, mee@r [mar' i'vlu acgifaqmirm;uae qawmifyfyklyrnf jzplygw, ? ae@nfi (12) em&urfnv vef efrkfn&lvh jrefmolo&sa&sn' r'lu&aplvkm;olrm;t z@ Friend of Burma EfiNjcm;om;rm;playgfi;ydawmh wem&lvwvqEjyrnfjzplygw, ? tJ'ydwlit c'fn (19)& uae@rnfvlomoem&bausmifwlfurfn q&awmDDwlu uae Odaqmifyd awmh EfiNbm;rm; v\$wajrma& t wuf qawmifyfyklyrnf jzplygw, ?" vef efrkfn vfi usifyrnf a':atmiqefpkunarfae@t pDof a=umif a'gulwmOifEfi fajmjc&eif jzplygn?

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15 / Zef / 2006

rE v;wltf/ awmifomrle, ft z&stft aejzih, ck(19) & uae@vifa':atmiqefpkunf. tou(61)Ejynarfae@fusyEfi& t wuf, ae@aw@qfaEfyvckjylycbnf [ p&ygpn? T ta=umifull rle, ft z&stf Ouk OdoejirifS, ckHajmijygn?

"a':pk& arfae@u saemwle, lu vuvsfr&raus&hawluzwv, ? aemufyDawmh a':pkt a=umif/ a':pk&P%&nuilvvlvlyajymr, fy@ aemufyDawmh a':pkt wuf a&xm;wluAsawv a':pkt wuf t&i'vlefu q&mwifwlvlyk'lvaw&whuAsawvzwfyr, ? yDawmh usawmh EfiN& t uDofom;awGt wuf olarfae@u \*P&jykt aee@rle, pnfult pm; aig(1) aomitv&r, ? rE v; a':Oifjirwlvquhy@ saemwle bouawmh a':atmiqefpkun&(61) Efpajrmuf arfae@ub, vlt cuft c&vlyrnyqwmulhajmcsi w, ? aemufyDawmh tJ'it c'fn a':atmiqefpkun&q&MOOifwif OdiwD/ EfiN& t uDofom;awG v\$way;zhqwmulv/ a':atmiqefpkunarfae@u saemwleawmifqit, ?" awmifomrle, ft z&stf Ouk Odoejirijzplygn?

tvm;wlr auwltf/ pukrle, ft z&stf rsvl a':atmiqefpkunf. arfae@fyklyrnf t pDof uall rle, ft z&stf mi, fuberhausrfS, ckHajmijygnf

"saemwle aee@pukrle, lu befjudausimrnf befjuduqqfuyr, ? q&fuyy&if saemwlvli, fwpk befjud&lvhaus&muil, bazmit jynft p&pubepDof;r, ? y&ifig (61) aumiv&r, fy@ telwD ouhay@ t "luawmh telw tckvtsyfs;ojzifzrqdckvEfiNjicf&e&wlt c'fn saemwle telwv\$wajrma& t wuf &n&g fyDawmh erlv&umif av; oabmrstyg!" uherhausrfS jzplygn?

raufnrle, ft z&stf uv arfae@ xrf t rsvlyklyrnf [ b&ygpn? "saemwle a':atmiqefpkunf arfae@y woulyDawmh saemwle qfaEfcuawfncgvilv saemwle q&fcslyvm &lv, fv? q&fcslyvm y&, ? uelwit yif uawmh t z&diaw& qfaEfwefy? aqfaEwlyt yif uawmh vu&EfiN& t ajct aet & uil rle, lu b, fv muixlv Efi rvl 'pawlu aqfaEfyf jyw&oyDof? arfae@awmh lyfnyq?" raufnrle, ft z&stf twofa&rS; OjriDD jzplygn?

raufnrle, ft z&stf uv pDof (15) & uae@vif jklyaeon hawqyulv, ae@OjriDD. aet rfn jklycbnf [ b&ygpn? < ifawqlywDf puk rifbt/ ewarmul rleop/ ponh rle, lawu t z&stf Dirn;vnfwub&mutuonf [ b&ygpn? aqfaEcbnrm;uHOjriDD u, ckHajmijygn?

"aqfaEg= uwlup&awm uawmh saemwle efule&hcsyfu HIV/AIDS oifwef/Ovsvifwlyg&em/ ovlvyaewhlyfifawulit m;uschit wuf &efule&hcsyfae pm&lpmwrfawf uel hawv 'fn, lvm yDawmh

rauGrle, lupyDawmh, avmuVYElrvl' lUpulb, avmufuhElrvbqWm/b, avmuVYElrvbqWmmul  
usaemwlaqfaEgZpV, ? 'g=umih' De&V/wjcm;rle, fawfna&m pulrifbl/ ewarmul rleopwlygWmHIV/  
AIDS epywoufVpm& lUpmwrfaWuEf lawuLaOisv, ? aemuVYDawmh usaemwVrle, avuEae b, avmuVx d  
' D&m\* epywoufVawmh t uhhay;ElrvbqWmawuLaqfaEgZpVygw, ?" OjriD jzplygon? TaqfaEgyWvGf  
rppaEgyeVwVmonlit ay: juDqXmucha=umif rsvwrfwi\* P%jycku w, Mv/OjriDdu ajym=um:cygon?

tpok

**&clft z&V OuKESpnitzDif t, kluc&llw&m; &lluy, ts**

16/ Z&l/ 2006

ppawaxmiwVfzrfqDaxmitsxm;aom &cljyné, ppawrle, ftz&V OuK p&S&E ESpnitzDif  
Opa tmi befo mwt wuf wifof faomt, kluc c&llw&m; &llua&m/ jyné, lw&m; &lluyg  
tqitqiy, tsVua=umifo&ygon? T taumifullrbm; pEShepylowOdu, ckWajmijxm;ygon?

"owlesvluVhijpf %lu p&itsubsyDwme&uaygif (60) twGf t, kVwifr, Vpajmw, ?  
tJg=umi&uaygif(60) twGfrfiwV, av? c&llul tJ dtwGfrfiowlu tre@usmw, ? owlu&Hw, ?  
aemuVlowVjyné, lUquwVw, ? jyné, friv&Hw, ? Opa tmi befo pUla&aeOpaV suVlyDawmh aemuV  
Opa& lUpUla&ae ciarmiV lUvlyw, ? owla [ lUwifr, ajymavmh owlu a& aeuljmw, ? ciAm; wVt JgpOfpm; e&  
A [ lUwifr iVl tJgt yjzpr, ? rwiyeV tJ Vajmw, ?" v&clonEpi ZMlv twGf wGzrfqDclkaom  
Opa& S&E ES Dpa tmi befo mwt wuf wifof faomt; rOifEl fi jcm; aiGa&miFO, rjzihp&suwVlyD axmi f  
(3) EpiqDcrsvGjci jzplygon?

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**ElilwumY qvllfx&foef axmuctlyfsm; jkVly&epPOf**

17/ Z&l/ 2006

a' guVmqvllfx&foef. aqmi& lUrrsm; ul t m; ay; axmuctbnft aeziht ar& luel \*syeft ygt Oif  
ElilwumwGf axmuctlyfsm; vly&epPOfxm; a=umifo&ygon? =opa= w; v&ElilwGf a' guVmqvllfx&foef ul  
axmucta=umif vufsva& xlp&aqmifyfsm; vlyclbnfrn, ae@yDqkohn; yU b&ygon?

"q&m)u&k vly&yawuVjrefrm t oVt Oif=um; xfrn usaemwVt m; vV lUlyDawmh ajmijyw, ? yDawmh  
q&m)u& vly&yula xmuclwht aee@wOpcsi fwOpcsi uae owlu& vufsvawuL usaemwVt kHay; w, ?  
tJ' vufsvawuL wv twGfrsn&El loavmuV plaqmi f; yDawmh & vmwlvufsvawuL t ulevhuL  
etzo&huwqifetzulyy; ? aemuVq&m)u& lUwV lUusaemwV Vaxmuctw, bQWmub& tmi folqulV  
rVwlvapmif ul yDawmh ay; y& t pbt pOaw& luygw, ?" =opa= w; vs-bmm; Office ' q& lUwV a' guVmjri t& jzplygon?

ppft p& . aEsnih; suf[ efv m; rrm; a=umih c&DpOfysufym; clrnqV # lvnf q&m)u&. vly&yf onf  
tv [ m \ t cOED rjzpe lU b [ lVJa' guVmjri t& lU, ckWajmijyoh; ygon?

"q&m)u& [ m jrefrmht a& epywoufVawmh wa, mutsivl vlyEl loavmuV vlyfy Elilw, bQWmmul  
q&m)u& oufojyElilw, ? q&m)u& lUoujuD&G ft y& kV juDawuawmi f vlyElilw, bQ& ifuseVwMi, f v&G f  
vVwft yll fawGt ulevhuV q&m)u& vV lUlyElilwht aet xm; r&lawGjzpfvmElfr, fVp lqw, ?" =opa= w;  
vs-bmm; Office ' q& lUwV a' guVmjri t& jzplygon?

tpok









a':atmiqefpkun&e uñ fa&;tw< kywñe a':atmiqefpkunf (1988) cluae 'luae@csefxd  
o&eñ uñp&et epemchydawmh vlyaqmitvñh vlyaqmitsuawñe, tZverñ&ñvñ Eñfiñb/ Eñfiñb;aw&e  
jrefmñt a&;uñwDipm;wñawñe&Sfvifajym=um;yd awmhquvufydawmh luae@u':atmiqefpkun&k (61)  
Eñajrmuñarfæ&çpñwñt wñuf (61) puñe&ñt fofufydawmhñg&Ojykygw, ?" -opa=w;vEñfiñ ppñ eñrñvñf  
jrefmjynñf ðñua&pñ&ñ&ñ; ylayñifaqmi&ñfñraumñfwñ(JACDB) uñpñyd) a':atmiqefpkunñarfæ&çt crñt em;uñ  
usñfyçñuw, ðño&ygn? Oa&myEñfiñwçjzpaom t \*ñveEñfiñwñfvñf, , reñe@paeaeñraerñ  
a':atmiqefpkunñarfæ&çt crñt em;uñusñfyçñgn? xñt crñt em;t a)umñfuñt \*ñveñt a)ç pñuñjrefmEñfiñb;rsñ;  
' ðñua&pñ&ñ;vyñ&ñ;rñtz&ñ Sa'guñwmOñfiñEññu, çkññajymjygn?

"uñsemñwñrae@u':atmiqefpkun&k(61) Eñajrmuñarfæ&çpñykyñuñveñ eñrñt aemubjrmuñyññfñ&ñvñ  
pñeñm;yd, m; Church Hall rñusñfyçñygn, ? (BDMA) ac:wñjrefmEñfiñb;rsñ; ' ðñua&pñ&ñ;vyñ&ñ;rñtz&ñ aemuf  
NLD(LA) aemufWomen of Burma(UK)/ Burma Campaign eñFriend of Burma Eñfiñjñm;om;rsñ;  
pñayñfyñawmhñv(120)avmuf wuñ&muñfygn, ? ' ðñuñ&muñvñt çrññ eñygn(1)uawmh t crñt em;zññvñpñyñawmh  
omñe&ñbñq&maemñOñDowñl uae Oñaqmñfyñawmh c&pñ, meñeñ [ mar' if bñomOñfñm;t ygt Oñf  
bñomñ&;acñifaqmñfñm;u a':atmiqefpkun&k (61)Eñajrmuñarfæ&çñ useñuseñrmmeñEñfiñt usñuñ  
o, ðñEññzñt wñuf quñvub, ðñEññzñt wñuf qñawmñfyñuñusñfyçñygn, ? za, mñfwñ(61)wññx&çfyñawmh  
qñawmñfyñuñusñfyçñygn, ? tñjñyñwñemuf uñsñf uñif rñeñf &çñf wññf &ñfom;uñ ðm;vñ fñm;uae wa, muñqd  
a':atmiqefpkun&ñarfæ&çñ a':atmiqefpkunñuseñrmñpñeñEñfiñt usñ o, ðñEññzñt wñuf toñoñ  
wñpñawmñfyçñygn, ? tñjñyñwñt çrññ Free a':atmiqefpkunñwñbñsñfuñt \*ñvñvñ&ñ/ Armvñ&ñ oñjñyñ  
The Naught aw;\*ñwtz&ñ uaeajzazmñygn, ?"

quñvufyd ' ðñbñpñuñm aemñOñEñññ jrefmñbñsñuñausñfñ&ñm qñrñrñvññfñt rñom;' ðñua&pñt zñyEññ  
vñabmñbñpñ ðñuñ&uñvñpñygn aemñOXmeçñvññuñrñsñ;yd a':atmiqefpkunñarfæ&çñt crñt em;uñusñfyçñgn?  
< if t crñt em;t a)umñfuñt zñyñ, ifñmyñfñyñbñvñwñawmñuñ ðm;vñ fOñbñomñfu, çkññajymjygn, ?

" ðñt crñt em;uñ uñsemñwñt " ðñuawmh a':atmiqefpkun&ñarfæ&çñawmñfyçñwññ [ muñ  
Oñwñfyñawmh usñfyçñwmyñ? ' ðñt crñt em;uñ aemñOñEñññ&ñmuf ArmEññfiñb;rsñ;/ ArmEññfiñb;rsñ;vñqñwñt çrññ  
rñeñwññf &ñfom;awñygn, / çñfñwññf &ñfom;awñygn, / Eññfiñb;rsñ;awñGñt m;vñ ' ðñt crñt em;uñ wuñ&muñfygn, ?  
wuñ&muñfygnawmh rñvñbñomñt vñuñyññqñawmñfw, ? a':atmiqefpkunñuseñrmçñfomapa=umñf/ aemuf  
aetñfñt us, bñorñt jrefmñvñwñajrmuñygnapa=umñf/ qñawmñfarwññyñbo=uygn, ? tvm;wñygn c&pñ, meñ  
bñomñOñfñwñvñl oñwñbñomñt vñuñf a':atmiqefpkunñvñwñajrmuñ&ñtwñuf qñawmñfarwññyñbo=uygn, ?  
tñjñemuf aemñOñEñññu a' oçñt rñorñwñOñzñpñwñBD Burma u rñpñvñsmu a':atmiqefpkunñeñyñwñbuñvñ  
a':atmiqefpkunñt a)umñfuñ aemñOñbñomñeñwñuñ&muñvñmwñ aemñOñEñññb;rsñ; rñvñaqñt m;vñ em;vññat mñf  
ajymñum;oñ;ygñ, ?"

tar&duñeñyññaxmñpñk u, ðñzñeñ, m;jyññe, ðñ qezepñpñuñrñvññf jrefmñtar&duñeñ  
tñrñorñm;r [ mñvñft zñpñpñyd) a':atmiqefpkunñ. arñeñt crñt em;uñz&, rñeñrññ, aeñusñfyçñv, ðñ  
o&ygn?

xñt wñzñeñt a)çpñuñjrefmñ ðñua&pñ&ñ;vyñ&ñ;orñm; Oñpñyñ/ zñeñf &ñpñxñrñ [ mñfçerññ usñfyçññf [ ko&ygn?  
Tñt crñt em;wññ jrefmEññfiñt uñofaxmñfñt oñpñwññf t uñof usñtññ&aom Eññfiñ&ñ; t uñofiol (5) Oñrñsñ/ < if wñ  
axmñwññf tawñt uññm;uñ a':atmiqefpkunñarfæ&çñpñomñjrefmñ rñorñaeç wñuñfajymñum;çññf [ ko&ygn?  
reñjzñwñuf xññEññfiñt a)çpñuñzñrñat ;ñ;rñpñpñyd/ a':atmiqefpkunñarfæ&çñt crñt em;uñ

Aeñaumñrñvññ usñfyçññf [ b&ygn?



u&D, m;Eñi\*yeEñi hae&mt Eñtjym;Y a':pkarfae< qlawmifybñ; usify

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jrefmñi ðu&pð&cgifaqmifa':atmiqefpkunf. arfae&uñ, ae@syEñi hae&mt Eñtjym;rñ , ae@vaeulefusi fyjyKlytçygn? \*syewñ ð&haom ' ðu&pð&;vy&ñ;olrsm; rS, ae@eupmapmwf f a':atmiqefpkunarfæat wu&n&G fyð \*wvrfy[ ac:aom ae&mrñ&ðñh-i ðfcrfa&;b&m;uñbñ;a&mu fyð qlawmifcññit a=umif uñwua&muñbñw0ðrs, cñwñajymjyçygn?

"' ðñ a':atmiqefpkunf wu&v (61) Eñpajrmu&arfæ&uñ \*wvrfyqñwñ hae&mrñ&ðñwñ 0ðEkwñcñwñ h-i ðfcrf;b&m;rñqlawmifr, / blef;uñuñqçfyuyr, ? t' ðt cseñrñ a':atmiqefpk =unfe&v uG Eñi h&;t uñom;aw&t m;vñat;at;crfcrfet jyiñ hae&xñ cñ&atmi&, faemuArmjynrñ&wñloef(50)ausñom vbm;aw&t m;vñu vñet cñwñit jynñit 0&yñawmñat;crfçñe&useñmçifjynñit h&ñ;a&muñqlawmifygw, ?"

xñt wñnaeyñ wñfa':atmiqefpkunf. arfae&t crf t em;wcuñ usifyçyñ / < ifyñ uñwua&muñvmonñ t rñrd a t muñvñawmñt rñwñ0jzpaom rñpñt &mr&mpluñs?

"rEñu zñvpyñ Eñi hñ usifyçwñ vñawmñt rñvñrñ; t pñf t a0;rñ (1990)a&faumuñyñt Eñi hñwñt rñwEñ0ð& urpum;ajymçyçygn, ? owñt ae&om;uñ;cuñwñ Armjyn&et ajc t aeuñt jñvñawmñt rñwEñ0ð&k ajymjyçuft & =um;0&wñt cseñrñawmñ a':atmiqefpkunf tygt 0i Armjynñolw&yñvñ [ mArmñi ðu&pð&; twuñuñ hit ouñy "merxm;bl)uñpñ;aqmif&uñaw, qñwñ usocçygn, ? t cñwñ olr&k arfae&ñ um, uñs fyçpñe&usifyae&wñ twuñ us t ae&orñenfyçygn, ? Armjynrñ (1990) a&faumuñyñv' ð&t nñ vñawmñuñ apmapmpñpñ usifyçawmñ a':atmiqefpkunf tygt 0if Eñi h&;t uñom;aw&t m;vñ vñwñajrmuñyñ vmr, Eñolr&k arfae&ñ um, uñs ð&t wñysm&ð pñ usifyEñi fyçpñe&urqlawmifyçygn, ? Armjynrñ pñrñwñ ðu&pð&çum;vmwñt xd \*syerñ a&muñawñ Armawñet wñ urvñuñvñuñuñpñ;0ñ;yg, ? vñ ajymjyçñ;çñif jzpygn?

reujzelwñvñ a':atmiqefpkunf. arfae&t wu&n&G fyðawmñ \*syerñ ð&haom Armrsm;playgifyð ZIDw' çaoñvñyñrñ;usifyrñf [ lo&ovñ uñ&D, m;Eñi hñ uñ&muñ&haom Armrsm; [ mvñ a':atmiqefpkunf. arfae&t wuñyçfñrñ&haom t vñyorm;wñyñomwçwñf pñ0;I awñqñqfaEñrñ;jyKlytçyð reujzelñawmñ uñ&D, m;vñawmñt rñwñ (60)ausñf [ mvñ vñawmñt wñf rñ ArmEñi h&;ES fywñouñyð owñfpm&ðfvifyñvñck usifyjyKlyrñjzpa=umif oñ&ygn?

tpob

rav;&ñ;Y a':pkarfae< yñt crf t em; usify

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t mqð hit zñi Eñi hñ jzpf jrefmñt rñçñif Eñi hñ jzpaom rav;&ñ;Eñi hñwñvñ a':atmiqefpkunf. (61)Eñpajrñarfæ&t crf t em;uñ rav;&ñ; NGO t zñrñ;ES hñjrefmñ ' ðu&pð& ðt m;prñ;playgifyð , ae@qlawmñuñvmvryñrñ usifyçygn?, ae@t crf t em; t aumif uñt zñyñ rav;&ñ;Xmecñ0uñ 0ðvñifu , cñwñajymjyçygn?

"rav;&ñ; vñet cñhit a&zñrñe(LRC) Labor store Center olwEñzñae&yñawmñ Armaw&t wuñuñ Sponsor vñfyð usifyay;w, ? usaemñwñ jrefmñt zñt pñfawñawmñ NLD (LA) &, / vñabmifopñ ðu&uñwñpyçwñ, / t vñyorm;t zñ, / Arm t zñt pñfu (3) çayç aemuf wñf & ifom;aw& awmñawmpñyçygn, ? rñf uñsi/uñif çñif wñf & ifom;t m;vñwñuñyçygn, ? t crf t em;uñwñuñ&muñvñwñrav;&ñ; NGO u t zñt pñfawñ&m/ Arm t zñt pñfawñ&m t zñt pñf t m;vñu t rñpñum;ajym=uw, ?

owhijmwll muawmha':atmiqefpkunipobwouyibawmhtmqd Ht zEt pnfawGua&m/ ukvor\*vLE&;  
aumipullawmifqEt wuf owlt ptt pO&w, qvwmuhijmoh;wm? wub&muivmwll t zEt pnfawG t aeeb  
rav;&n; t zEt pnfawG uae m w (4) em&Dñ usifyw, ?"



**tEñ trwrsm;ESha':parfae< qlawmifpum;ajym=um;**

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reujzelusa&muawmrnha':atmiqefpkunif. (61)Epfajrmuafae@t wuf tEñ EñifHSoZm)u&Bom  
v\$wawmft rwrsm;EShr [ wW\*Eñ w&n;at \*Eñwku argaeqlawmif; pum;rsn; ajym=um;vLuygn?  
tEñ EñifH uG M&blOejuicya [ miif tif&m\*Eñ ac;rvjzp/atmuiv\$wawmft rwiVjzpolreum\*Eñ'Abduh  
vubawqlyd a':atmiqefpkunif. (61)Epfajrmuafae@t wuf, ckwqlawmifpum; ajym=um;vLuygn?

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}udrm;wpe&v\$wft epemclrawe&ijnESubeygw, // usw&urhoulurh;om;t m;vhu a':atmiqefpkunif  
av;pm;wezixm;ygw, //a':atmiqefpkunif [ mcutwht [ etwm; t m;vkuat mijriphausmVñ;Eñifhijzpbvñ  
taumifqawllvyaqmiEñr, Murw&tm;vuar#vibe=uygw, ?'g=umifor&pw&quot;m;waw [ m  
urw&et w&e wmyg' v&ajym=um;oh;ypn? quivuydr [ wW\*EñD. ajr;vjzp/vu&f [ wW\*Eñazmi'a':&Sf.  
a\*yutz&ivjzpaom w&n;at \*EñSJa':atmiqefpkunif wuf, ckwlarfaeqlawmifpum; ajym=um;vLuygn?

"a':atmiqefpkunif aee&r=umr&ñ }udrm;w&at mijriraw&Bpa=umif usaemf qElykygw, ?  
a':atmiqefpkunif wllir=umciV&ajrmuivmyV or&Eñifbm;awGv&v&ajrmu&B;aqmi&uEñifov&ijrefmEñifluh  
O&aqmiray;Eñifz&vqlawmifvLuygw, // r [ wW\*EñD&k t=urfrzuw&entvrfaw&e wLuyDi&awh  
a':atmiqefpkunif jrefmEñifbm;aw [ m wae&usifatmiy&awqie&Brijzplygw, ?' v&ajymoh;ypn?

jrefmht a&t wuf tEñ t p&uhyv&exw&far;cefxw&jci/ Oejuicyqdpma&; jcifsm;vyaqmi&bnh  
twlft c&cgfaqmi/ txuiv\$wawmft rwi&&y\* &Buvl a':atmiqefpkunif. (61)Epfajrmuafae@t wuf  
tEñ jynfor sm; uñ pm; , ckw&ajym=um; vLuygn//

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tus, cy&cb0qi&e&ygw, //a':atmiqefpkunif aee&v&ajrmuz&et c&u&muigyD tEñ jynbaw&uñ pm;  
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&let u&wLuyDiraw&u&e x&u&ay:vmonhurh)ud. ywib&w&ckjzponif [ KUS Campaign for Burma t z&S  
O&atmi f i u ajymclygn?

jrefrmEñ fi ht rñom; ! @aygi f t p & Oe; u p c; syf O p e O i; u v l , ae@ a': at mi qe; p; u n f. v y & ñ & l e; u e a e & r r m; o n i j r e f r m j y n i o r m; . c l p m; a e & a o m & l e; u e a e & r r m; u l d v l m; r r m; . u l p m; j y k t r s v i t o m; y g j l h j y m q l b y g o n ? a e t r f t u s , e s y f u s c h e & a o m a': at mi qe; p; u n f v l j r e u j z e f o r & a r f a e e ñ E ñ i h y g i f ( 2 0 ) u v l a y g i f ( 2 0 0 ) c e f m t t j y i r x u b l o w l a k a e t t r a w f e n y l o w l u l b o w l w a e v m a e t r f t u s , e s y f u s c h u r ñ j z p l y g w , M v l C a m p a i g n f o r B u r m a t z u l w n á x m i b l C . J e r e m y W o o d r u m u a j y m j y c l y g o n ?



q v l i x e f o e f t m ; a v , m o f a y : w u c f i r a y ; o j z i h j r e f m j y n f j y e z p i

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q & m j u b a ' g u i w m q v l i x e f o e f u l l a v , m o f a y : w u c f i r a y ; & e f x l i f a v a = u m i f v l i f u l l p p f t p l l r s d t m ; a y ; c l b n f i t w l u i , a e & e l u e j y e q E j y r n f i t p d t p o z s u c k w , l v o & y g o n ? , a e e u a p m a p m r ñ e t z z d t m ; a y ; x m ; a o m a v a = u m i f v l i f r s v u r c l l j r e f m j y n f j y e f o ñ ; E ñ i h y g i f q & m j u b q v l i x e f o e f u l l l w l E S h < i f E S f i t w l u l y g o n ; d b l u l w l a Z m l v w l w l e s " x l i f t l , m ; a 0 ; u a e m l u l v u r c l b ? u a e m j y e l v m & w , ? o l w l e a w m h j y \ e m r & b l ? A r m t p l l u o l w l u l w i m l e i f B l a c k L i s t v l y r , q l v l v u r c l v m ? a e m u q l t a j c t a e u a w m h ' y ? "

" ( 6 ) e m & b a v m u f r ñ a v q y r ñ v l u l y g l v o b a w l t r m ; j u l a y g i "

x l i f t l , m ; a 0 ; a v a = u m i f v l i f u l l a r ; j r e f & m w o f i w m o e l u s w o D u , c l v h j y m j y g o n ? " u a e m l u l t a e e p j y \ e m b m r s r & y g l ? j r e f r m t p l l u w m ; j r p x m ; w l i t w l u c f i r j y k w m j z p l y g w , ? " v l h j y m q l b n ; c l y g o n ? q u i v u f y d j r e f m j y n f j y e t c f l l e f t w l u i x l i f E ñ i j c m ; a & ; X m e u l l o ñ ; a & m u a w m i f q b n f i t c g w c r f w e m ; j u l q l w e q l b y l u l l , c l v h j y m j y g o n ?

" x l i f t l , m ; a 0 ; u r e a e \* s m w a , m u h a j y m v m u E ñ i j c m ; a & ; O e j u d X m e u j z p z p l o l w l u j z p z p l c f i y c s u & r , l q & i f o l w l t a e e b o ñ ; c f i y r , l v o l w l u a j y m v m a y g i j y e j u l k p m ; w m a y g i E ñ i j c m ; a & ; O e j u d X m e e ( 9 ) e m & ( 1 5 ) a v m u f r ñ z e f q u i w m o l w l u v l w a , m u l v m w , ? o l w l e a w m h a v m a v m p o q & m j u d & & k m ; w l A Z m u l t o r s v j y k w , f a y g w l l i j y n f r & v l v l j z p o ñ ; w m a y g i b m v l v b j w p y l p z u b o r f a w m h t j l v l w a , m u l u l x l i f E ñ i f l e ñ i j c m ; a & ; O e j u d X m e u a o c s m a c : y l a w m p u m ; a j y m a e & w m a y g i x l q e f w r i u f f a y g i w l l i j y n f r & b o ñ ; p & m v r & d y w p y l v r & b E ñ i j c m ; a & ; O e j u d & h q l v m a o c c s m v s y j y i f q i x m ; w m w u , h u s u b a & a q m i l l e f e j u l a y g i q & m j u d u l l a v ; a v ; p m ; p m ; / a u m i f a u m i f r e f e f { n c h y l a w m h j r i u f u f u a w m h x l x l j c m ; j c m ; j r i u f f a y g i "

b e a u m u e t z o l l u l v s f ; y d q u b o g l a o m l v n f w p l v m & m t a = u m i f r j y e f o n f i t a y : q & m j u d u , c l v h j y m j y g o n ?

" t j g v l y w m o l w l e u a e m l u l w & m ; O i f t a = u m i f r = u m ; b l ? w & m ; O i f t a = u m i f r = u m ; a w m h u a e m l u a r ; w , ? b m a = u m i f u s a e m l u l l v l v l u b v h j y m y g u a e m t & d o ñ ; E ñ i t a t m i f u a e m t & d o ñ ; E ñ i l v l p m & l u p m w r f a v ; x l w f a y ; y g ' y l u a e m h a j y m x m ; w , ? A r m o l l u h y g i o l w l e b m r s j y e l b ? p u m ; v r j y e l b ? a w r & h y p u m ; r s a j y m b l p u m ; r a j y m b l a v ? a w r a w r l p u m ; r a j y m b l a v a w r o l w m h " , c l v j y e t e f r & a w m l o n f i t w l u c f i r ; c s u l u l v q & m j u b r s , c l v h j y m j y g o n ?

" v l e t c f i t a & ; z u b q l w m y l b , l v l s c l p m ; & y g l ? u l l l v l s i l w m u l l y l w , ? E ñ ; o l w l u l y w j u d j z p a e w m ? u a e m l u l b , l v l s q l j z w E ñ i b l ? o l e t a = u m i f o k m ; a w m h u l l r i n c l p m ; c s u l b m r s & b l ? ' y l " q & m j u d l m , c l v l t j i i f y , e l l a o m l v n f r j z p r a e A r m j y n f j y e f e f j u l k p m ; t h r n f i t a j c t a e u l v n f u l w l a Z m l v w l u , c l v l a j y m j y g o n ? " o l u a w m h g u l q u j u l k p m ; t h r , ? r j z p z p l v e n f e r a & m u a & m u a t m i f o ñ ; r , q l v m u l l x y f a j y m w , ? b , l v l s a & m u a t m i f o ñ ; & r v b l v m x y f t j u l k l w r , f a y g u a e m x i l y g w , f q & m j u d u r a & m u a & m u a t m i f o ñ ; z l e

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a=umuw, iqhwml vxlull tEenfeyl usaemlv&vly&awmlr, ? a':atmiqefpkunf jy\ emvl [ kwbt/  
qvll (x&foef jy\ emvl r [ kwbt? vlxly\ emy? vlvllfvwllf ull litw&ulu f rwlwy&y&r, ?  
b, blu, wiEllq&f&xbñ; unftl wuylu, wiEllf, fArmjynull t"yg, lu vlvllfvwllf u c&ft m; p&ft m;  
vxllyq vlygw, ? 'gy? tJ Dt w&ulu ci Asm; w&ji qifxm; ygv&ajmcsi fygw, ?"



**re, ft z& clyrñ; a':parfae< y&ñ; usify**

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ju&ly r&z&ly dawmh w&ulu&e&f w, ? w&ulu&e&f y& dawmh a':atmiqefpkunf c&f&ur&f& v&w&ajrmu&z&ly usaemlv&u  
awmif&qu, ?"

**xmO& yef**

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ajm jyygn?

"'Deefn usaemlv 0uK0at mi&&&m/ wifawu trrbtrt z&w&@o0%Vnaw&&m/ 'D'ua&pygv&@  
o0%Vnaw&fna&m/ t"ut m;jzih'a:at mi qefpkunif m -iifcrtwente feEli fi h&; jyk'lvawwh yk'lv/jzpw, ?  
'D'lyk'lv r'sul 'D'lt us, tkyxetof x m;jcif [ m roilawmi bt? 'D'p hEli fi ht wlv m'it us k'rb? t'J'awmh  
jrefmEli fi ht r'som; &i f u m; apha& / tr'som; p n'v h n'lv &w& t wlv q'lv &@if a':at mi qefpkunilv \$vay; yq  
a':at mi qefpkunel v u f u e w'v E l i fi h&; t u o f o m; a w'lv v \$vay; yq' bawmh r'som E l i fi h&; a j z & S f e n f j z p r, ? 'g = u m i h  
a':at mi qefpkunilv xetof x m;jcif [ m w&m: Oya' e' n'lv w'lv t j y i f w&m; r#v r e p & b l / r e l u e r y f & b l q'lv m u l l  
a':at mi qefpkunilv w'ajrmua&; t wlv q'lv yk'ujcif jzpygw, ?" 0p'm%Dif jzpygn?

'D'ua&pygv \$vay; yq o0%Vnyx'ljcm; cuf r'sm; ul 0uK0ola0. ul pm; 0p'm%Dif szwfyx m; ygn?  
"a':at mi qefpkunil. r'k'v m'tay g'f E s f j y n'p h o m (61) E p'aj r m u f a r f a e o 0 % V n' ? j y n' a x m i p'j r e f m E l i fi h a w m j u d r n  
x e f a w m u f v m a e w h = u, l w y d' l' o l u a w m h a':at mi qefpkunil jzpygw, ? o l k (61) E p'aj r m u f  
b o r s w i w l d f t x i z w i o e f; v m c l & w h c & d u d = u n' l r, f q k i f /  
o l [ m t r s m; j y n' b w l t u s t u h q m i & u E l i p e f & w l t & n f t c i f j y n' d a t m i f v h' j y k o i f, t j y g w, ? y d a w m h v u & t m; j z i h  
j y n' a x m i p'j r e f m E l i fi h a w m e' E l i fi b E l i fi b o m; w l t u s t u o, l y l c b j z p y g w, ? w e n t; t m; j z i h o l [ m  
j y n' a x m i p'j r e f m E l i fi h a w m j u d k o r l a u m i f w e m p i p p j z p y g w, ? a':at mi qefpkunil j y n' b v x & s u p k' h n  
v e f v e f q e f q e y f h e w h E s f q l w y f m' j r i y g w, ? E s f q l w m x m o p o f t r b i f & e k a r s u n' h e r f n y? E s f q l u E s f q l v h  
r a c: b l t r n e m r q l a w G a y; c i b o v b y; yq E s f q u a w m h t a r s y s u f y, b o n; r n r [ l w y d l? a & E s f q d b, r n a y;  
a r s v u b m a e r n? a':at mi qefpkunil m i i f c r f a & o r m; j z p y g w, ? i i f i i f c r i c r t t a j z & n a e o l j z p y g w, ? t'J'g = u m i h  
a':at mi qefpkunil w a, m u i (61) E p'aj r m u f a r f a e o n' f a & E s f q a r s & e p u d j y n' a x m i p'j r e f m E l i fi h w v n; o h  
v \$ f y a p o m; v l q' l e a u m i f a w m i f v l u f y g w, ?" 'D'ua&pygv d o 0 % V n' j z p y g n?

A [ t t r s t; o r d t z l u a w m h a':at mi qefpkunil. 0b a q m i f r a t m u l w i f t r s t; o r d x l w & y i v h  
u l h i t c o f i t a & t w l u f w l u y d i f u z h' E l a q m i x m; y g n?

"a = u n' p m w r f y g w, ? t e l u, l w e A [ t t r s t; o r d m; u a w m h j r e f m E l i fi h t r s t; o r d m; a e u l w i b o f w m a y g  
t r s t; o r d a w [ m r t w e f n & o i & x l u w i t c o f i t a & / r t w e f n & e w l e \* h r & m y g t c o f i t a & a w l u t o k s y d w i t c u a w m h  
t c k a & e a e r m; r m; r w r w j u d a q m i f y d a w m h & p e f o w l t j y n' p e f a q m i f t j y n' h p w l' m w c l l f m r t j y n' e p r w l k  
a c g j a q m i j z p w l a':at mi qefpkunil a & a q m i e n' f r i j y a e w l t c e f t c g n r d t p e f t p r i d u l l u l l, h u n' t j y n' e p  
v l u l l f u z h' v l w, l q l w l t a = u m i f a y g e m? E l a q m i w l t a e e w i l w p m w r f y g? p o f p m; = u n' l y a v? a r f a e q l w m  
a r f a e @ s f a w l u a e u l l w l l w u a & m u f y d a w m / o l a r f a e @ t c r t e m; u l u s i f y a y; & w m / b, f a r f a e @ v l f r q l  
j z p & r, h t p o f t v m w c k y q ' d t p o f t v m j u d u l l r & l e p a r f a e @ s f & l e p u s i f y & w h a r f a e g h a w q l w m b, f a v m u f s m;  
p w r a u m i f j z p p & m a u m i f r v? t a x e t x l a j y m a e p & m u l l v h w m l b? " A [ t t r s t; o r d t z d i a':v l h j z p y g n?  
, a e t c r t e m; . t x l j c m; q l u a w m h t u s, (7) a y / t & S n a y (20) c e f a o m t j z l a & m i f v y p w p f t c y l u l a y; w l f  
a':at mi qefpkunil w'ajrmua&; t wlv v u f v p l a q m i f y d c e f r w c k l v i f x e b o n; a t m i f z a & m i f w l l f d a w g  
x e f n < q l a w m i f c i f b j z p y g n?

"(7)ay/ay(20)ay g e m? t'J' f n W a l l p a n e j u d w c k y l y d a w m h a':at mi qefpkunil w u f t u o f u a e o a w g  
t m; v l a y g e m? t j r e q l y e l v n i v w'ajrmua p a = u m i f u l l a v; e u p h a w m i f q l w l y g n q l w h p m w r f a t m u f n  
t m; v l v u f s w x l u y g w, ? t z e y f t z d i f a w g t j y i f (88) r s t q u a u s i f o m; r s m; t j y i f w j c m; j y n' b o v x k v & y v h  
y o i c h u y g w, ? t'J' r e u f u w n f u X m e c k y f r h a y g e m? A R [ l a e t x d v m a & m u f u r s v x l z h t w l u f x m; a y; x m; r b y g  
u r w e t'J' u a e r s z a, m i f w l l a v; a w x e f n < w v, l & i l b w r f n v l a':at mi qefpkunil t j r e q l

jye/vnfv\$wajrmu/yapq/vp/wr/y/v/a' :a t mi qef/pk/unf' m w/y/l/a & i b w/r/f/c/s/v/q/y/lawmh/wu/a&mu/b/huygw, ?"

" t J l w k x m ; w r i u f u h r i v u l u m e p u s e m f t e l w u b w & w , ? O r i v O r f e n i y g w , ? a e m u l y D a w m h u n f u n E i r w , ? a e m u l w c g z a , m i f w l l a v ; a w G x e f y D a w m h o l w e ' M l t e l w D t w u l v u r S v a & ; x h y D q l a w m i f u w m j r i f w l t c g u a w m h w c e c e f r n u s e m l w l o a w & e t e m \* w l [ m t e l w y e a & m u l v m w l t c e f r n z a , m i f w l l a v t v i f a & m i f w l l a v i f v m r , i v e , k u n r w , ? " (88) r l q u f t z D i f w O E S h t z e s y M i , f w O D a j m j y o n ; j c i f j z p y g n ? a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n f v w a j r m u a & ; t w l u f v u r S w a y j i (1) a x m i a u m f & & E l i f i h & [ k l o j & y g o n ? v u r S w l l q l a w m i f y l t y D w l f , a e @ c r f t e m ; a e m u l q l t p D t p O f t j z p f & e l u e l w l f t z e s y f . y n m o i a x m u l y u ; a i G a y ; t y f j y k v y c h u y g n ? " u s e m l w l k t a x a x t w l f a & ; r s ; a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n f [ m v r t a x m u l t u r s m ; e z e m ; y D a w m h E l i f i h & ; k u n t s u a u m i f a q m i & l u j c i f e t u O f u s o n ; w l E l i f i h & ; o r m ; a w G u l r t w l w w E l i f i h e n f v r f a w e e a x m u l y h & r , ? E l i f i h & ; o r m ; a w & k a q m i & l u f a w u l t r l w r f w e l l x m ; & r , ? ' g l m t p O l w p l u f a q m i & l u z e q y D a w m h v r t ! e t h y g w , ? o & p a r f a e u l \* R % j y k a o m t m ; j z i l l & e l u e l w l f t a e e E l i f i h & ; t u O f o r m ; r o m ; p D i f a w f a u m i f o a u m i f o m ; r s m ; u l p m & i f a u m u l y D a w m h y n m a & ; a x m u l y h a w j y k v y c h u m t c q l i y O p t j u r f a j r m u f a & m u c h y l z p y g w , ? r o m ; p D i f a w m h (31) O b y g t J r o m ; p D i f a w f a u m i f o a u m i f o m ; u (52) O b y g w , ? w u b l v u a e t x u l u l y n m o i x m ; w l a u m i f o a u m i f o m ; u (16) O b y g w , ? r l w e f u a e (10) w e f t x u l u l y n m o i f u m ; a e w l a u m i f o a u m i f o m ; u (36) O b y g w , ? w u b l v e w u b l v t x u l u l a w m h w a , m u l u l a i u (3) a o m i f c A v m p m t k y u (1) ' g z i f a b m y i f w u l w u b l v t x u l u l a y ; y g w , ? r l w e f u a e (10) w e f t x u l u l a i u (3) a o m i f / A v m p m t k y u (1) ' g z i f a b m y i f r s m ; u l a y ; t y f y g w , ? t x l o j z i h a y g v ? r a e @ v a e e u r S t i f p e a x m i l u a e j y e l v w v m w h r p p l a E g u ' a e @ t u O f u s E l i f i h & ; t u O f o r m ; a w & p a u m i f o a u m i f o m ; a w G u l y n m a & ; a x m u l y h a i G (2) o e f w w y g D i c h w l t w l u l c e f e f a j c (19) o e f e y g a v m u a x m u l y E l i f i c h y g w , ? "

& e l u e l w l f v r t a x m u l y j k t z D i f j z p f w m a r f e , i v \$ v a w m u l l p m ; v \$ l v j z p l o n h O b v o i f a j m j y o n ; j c i f j z p y g n ?



**a' : p l t m ; c s u c s i f j y e l v w a y ; & e f I A t z k E s h ' D i l u a & p l t i f t m ; p k s m ; u a w m i f q l l**

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j r e f r m l l u a & p a c g i f a q m i a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n f u l l c s u c s i f j y e l v w a y ; & e f t w l u f v e f e f t a j c p l u f e l l i l l v u m v w l i d f c r f o m c h t z D u e s h t w l t z e s y D i r s m ; / (88) r l q u a u m i f o m ; r s m ; E s j r e f r m h t a & ; v y & n ; o r s m ; u w n d w ! w l x l a w m i f q l l u f u y g n ? , a e @ u s a & m u a b o m a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n f . (61) E s j y n t a r f a e e s h j r e f r m E l i f i h t r l o r d r s m ; a e @ v l f , c k l l a w m i f q l l u j c i f j z p y g n ? a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n f u l a e t i f t u O f c x m ; j c i f o n f (10) E s f a u s m l m y l z p o n h t w l u l T u p o n r n o b e r o i l a w m l o n h u p z p o n f [ k v w l i d f c r f o m c h t z D u r s a x m u l y x m ; y g n ? x l t j y i f p p f t p l & o n f u l l h a y ; x m ; o n l u w p u m ; r s m ; u l x r f o r f & e l v l t y l o n / ' D i l u a & p a z m l a q m i a & ; u l l O b w n f v y l a q m i f a e o n l q l o n f u l l j y o o n h t a e j z i h a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n E s l e l i f i h & ; t u O f o r m ; r s m ; u l l c s u c s i f j y e l v w a y ; o i f o n f [ l v l v e f e f t a j c p l u f e l l i l l v u m v w l i d f c r f o m c h t z D u a w m i f q l l k m ; y g n ? x l t w l t z e s y x y i w e l a c g i f a q m i f r s m ; / A [ l t r l o r d r s m ; E s h v l i , f t z D i r s m ; / (88) r l q u a u m i f o m ; r s m ; / j y n e , f w l l t o b o d r s t z e s y D i r s m ; E s h t w l ' D i l u a & p y g w d t y g t O i f w j c m ; t z e t p n f t o b o d r s l e l i f i h & ; j y \ e m u l l e l i f i h & ; e n f j z i h a j z & S f v l o n q l v # / a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n f u l l c s u c s i f j y e l v w a y ; o i l a u m i f , a e @ t z e s y l l c y f r n u s i f o n h a r f a e e t c r f t e m ; u l l o % v l r s m ; t o b o d a y ; y b D a w m i f q l l u y g n ?



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t&pmi&w&cl&E&J&on&h&6-O&D&x&S&t&rs&or&w&p&D&j&zp&ol&j&r&w&f, O&ac&mr&S&v&n&f, ck&h&y&D&i&e&f&q&h&z&w&cl&on&h< if. &n&&G& ts&u&f&u&ll, ck&h&aj&m&j&y&gon?

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x&et&w&ll& tar&uefyn&xmip&& z&e&O&e&f&w&G&f&v& a':atmiqefpkun&f. tou&f (61) E&sp&j&yn&arf&ae&q&law&mi&fy&D&t&cr&f&t&em;u&ll, re&ae&e&usi&fy&ch&y&gon? z&e&O&e&f&sn&&on&h&j&ref&m' ru&a&p&D& t&ift&m;pr&sm;y&lay&g&f&usi&fy&D&ci&f&j&z&py&D&a':atmiqefpkun&f. ar&fae&z&pa&om&j&ref&m&h&t&rs&or&ae&t&w&uf&T&t&cr&f&t&em;w&G&f& j&ref&m&E&ll&f&H&t&u&of&x&mi&w&f&it&u&of&us&cl&ae&om&E&ll&f&h&&;t&u&of&oa[ mi&f&a':ci&pe&f&u&, ck&h&aj&m&q&ll&y&gon?

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, ckvU +it&f&cr&f&a&;jrw&E&w&lv&O& u&G& lv&E&obn;onft ay: , ae& vUlyy&aqmif&ay;cb&lv  
(88)rd&qu&ausmifom;rm;t z&E&su&lv&u&du, ckvUajymjyofn;cygn?

" t bawmēy wouiydawm(1988)' rīlūa&pāvy&ñ;rj urñuwnfū qjzpwjzpuw, fayō t wlvwlvēu/vlycūayr, l mē t ouft &g fuñ [ rāwmi f rāwew, ? bmvlvqñ t bawmfvli, lawōt ay: rñ awmāwma v;em;vnr&lvj&ñlvjzpw, fayō ya' o&mzpw/ ya' o&mzi trt usi law&ñe-uwit ajct aerōrñ wu, lūlyñbōum;rñawljyñbawēawom;xōp m;wix l arēefarōri f om;wyg t aeeē u saemājmcsi lvmuawmh jynbawēawom;xljynbawēawom;xñt wōp m;yāe-ydawmh aemuqñxūbōu x d jynbawēawōt wae oñ;wh jynbōum;ujynbōeifom;yv t bawmēy wouiydawmh \*pōjykpum;ajm-u m; csi ygw, ? t bawmi [ m o&ōumvrñuwnfū Eñiñññfcrfa&t wūf t rwrōl [ m ajmavājm x&ōygw, ? iñfcrfa&uñt ifwef jrēwēwri f om;yō jynbōeifom;yō ' g-u miñv l t bawmfvē bōñ;jci f [ m saemāwēñiññawmhū, lwyōñ ak u bōñ;jci f yō/ saemāwē rē m qōp m;wōōygw, ? u, ā< u cōñ qawmi f&i jynbōwlv, l m t bawmfv, lwyōñ ak u bōñ;wit cōñ t bawmā rñv i fawmi f wēñiñññ iñfcrfa&t wūf oñ f oēy f dawmh qawmi fay;uyv t m;vññ u saemā r wññ yññ ygw, ?"

awmāz&m;av;ōa t miāz [ m saemāwēñiññ u l v p j rē m i t oñ t y w p oñ u < r m ;jz p ā o m a - u ; rññ u p r m ; t p t p o e s h t \* l v y p m y e s u r f m ; u i l ( 2 0 0 3 ) c e p i w e p m p p o w i f u a y ; c h o l v j z p y g o n ? a w m ā z & m ; a v ; . x l u b u n j z n q n r r m ; t a y : u a e m i w a e m ā o ' r i l u a & u l v p i t o i s \* p o j y k s w r w i b u b u s e p o r b m ; p e s h x y l w x y r d r e n f a u u y g a u m i f e s f a w m z & m ; a v ; a u m i f m o k w l v m ; y g a p a u m i f u l v j q e j y k q a w m i f v l u y g o n ?

tpol

aemā0 bm\* iññññ a' : pñaeē ESñj rē m i t a& ; aqñā Eñy l v & y l u s i f y

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aemā0 eñiñññ b m \* iññññ f & y z i w l v t cōñ t a& ; a z m i ā ' ; & s i r o p o y d a ' : a t m i q e p k u n i . a r f a e t c r i t e m ; E s h j r e f r m i t a & ; a q ñ ā E ñ y l v & y l u l , r e f a e u y l ; w l u s i f y c h y g o n ? x ñ t c r i t e m ; E s h y w l o u f y d u l l w l l w u ā & m u ā q a E ñ c h o m ' A b o D i f a w m l o m ; O p c i ā r m i D i f e s h a r ; j r e f j c i j z p y g o n ?

' A b o ? ' r a e u a q a E ñ y l u l b , b a w l w u ā & m u c h v ? a r f a e q u l l m b , m l u s i f y c l o v b l w m t & i q ñ a j m j y g t m

" ' a q ñ ā E ñ y l u l & m z u l w , ā z m i ā ' ; & s f u a e o ñ a q m i f u s i f a y ; w m j z p y g w , ? w u ā & m u c h w l b a w l u a w m h a e m ā o u a e j r e f m j y n v t cōñ t a & ; e ð r i l u a & p ā & ; u l l w p l u r w r w i a q m i & l u a e w h y k l v ā w & , ? y d a w m h j r e f m e ñ i f i t u o f o m ; a [ m i f a w g w u ā & m u c h v , ? p p a y g i v l ( 1 0 0 ) c e f a v m u & l v m a y g r e u y l i t p t p o l u b m v b q i f & m z u l w ā z m i ā ' ; & s f & e m ; r ñ & ð v l i f y i u l u r ñ u l v o r \* - v l t cōñ t a & ; & i f y i q l y d o l w l u a j m i f v l y c h u w , ? ( 1 9 ) & u a e u l l & f c s , f y d ' m l v y & w i t a - u m i f u a ' : a t m i q e p k u n i u l \* p o j y k s i v l o w l u a j m - u w , ? t j l u p u l a e m ā o r d d m a w l u p l v d i p m ; u - y d a w m h v m y d a w m h r e c o v e r v l y f u w , ?"

' A b o ? ' ' a e j z p y s u a e w h j r e f m e ñ i f i h & ; t a j c t a e a w l u l b , m l a q a E ñ c h u o b v ?

" A r m j y n f r s u j r e f m p p t p h & t a e e e E ñ i f i h & ; t m % m v u l v w r h t & d y t a , m i f r y b t ? ' r i l u a & p d t o g l u a j m i f a & ; u l t & d y t a , m i ā w m i f r y a o ; b t ? o l w l u w z u b w z e y a e w , ? ' m l u m v r s t r ñ E ñ i l w u m & ð t u l t n d y l w t y l w , q l w m u l w u ā & m u ā q a E ñ s f j y w h o a w l u a j m j y c h y g w , ? y d a w m r s a e m ā o e ñ i f i t a e e e A r m j y n e p d y n ; a & ; v l y a e w l u p a w l u o l o y z p u m ; a j m c l v h y k l v ā w l u a e m ā o t m % m y l l a w l u a w m i f q l v , ?"

' A b o ? ' w u ā & m u l v m w l a e m ā o v l t cōñ t a & ; t z a w l u a m / ' a q ñ ā E ñ c s u f t a y : r m w l y e r \_ b , m l l v ?

" o l w l u a w m h t m % m y l f t z e [ l v ā w m h c s u f c i f w l y e l v l e & b t a y g a e m ? ' g a y r h o l w l u i f w l l u A r m j y n f r i l u a & p d y & ñ ; r t z e u a w m i f q l v h w m i f q l s u ā w l u t a v ; t e u x m ; w , ? y ð i f o u b q l l m t p h x m e a w l u r % l a w e l a w e w l t c o s n ' p u m ; v l a w l u j y e a j m v r i m l e u s a e m i , h u n & y g w , ?" a e m ā o e ñ i f i h b m \* iññññ c r i t e m ; u l l u l l w l l w u ā & m u c h o m ' A b o D i f a w m l o m ; O p c i ā r m i D i f u l a r ; j r e f j c i j z p y g o n ?

tpol

**Eñi wumrñ usi fyonia' : pñrfae< yf t crf tem; rsm; aemu bquiwf**

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jynf yñiñt oðoðwñf raeu usi fychom a' : a t m i q e f p k u n f . a r f a e @ t c r f t e m ; r s m ; u i l w i f y v y g o n ?  
Forum Asia ac: xñi j v t cñ f i t a & ; t z E S h N C U B / F A C / N D D p o n h j r e f m h ð u a & p ð t i f t m ; p k r s m ; y l a y g i f y ð  
xñi Eñi b e a u m u r ð ð r ð n r a e u a r f a e g f t c r f t e m ; u s i f y c h o m ? xñt j y i f a' : a t m i q e f p k u n f y e l w a & ; t w u f  
e t z p p f t p k u l z d t m ; a y ; z ð xñi f e l l i j c m ; a & ; X m e u t p o m a & ; a w m i f q t b o n i [ k b & y g o n ? T u p E S j y w b o u t y ð Forum  
Asia t z b a j m c G & y k k v f c m v ð g u , c k v l & S f j y c h o m ?

"a' : a t m i q e f p k u n & (61) E p j y n h a r f a e t c r f t e m ; u i l r e u v (9) e m & ð r ð n u s r w l e p w i c h y g w , ?  
t r ð o r ð t z l a w ð j r e f m h ð u a & p ð t i f t m ; p l a w e ð N G O a w g t m ; v l xñi f e l l i j c m ; a & ; X m e a & S e u l  
v r f a v # u t s v u b l u y g w , ? t j ð r ð a' : p k v w a j r m u a & ; t w u f a w m i f q k m ; w l u s r w l e k a u n m c s u l u y ; t y c h y g w , ?  
[ k r p c m v ð g s a j y m j o ð n ; y g o n ? t v m ; w l b \* f v m ; a' t s f e l l i w g v n f t r ð o r ð r s m ; t z l e s y f ( j r e f m E ñ i ) u O b a q m i f y ð  
a r f a e g f t c r f t e m ; u s i f y c h o m ?

"b \* f v m ; a' t s a' o r ð n & a e w h w u b l v a u s i f o m ; a w l t r ð o r ð t z l e s y f ( j r e f m E ñ i ) t z ð i f t r ð o r ð a w l  
' ð u a & p ð v y & ð ; o a w g t m ; v l u p l y l a w m h a' : a t m i q e f p k u n f t a u m i f u l l o p z l a m t w u f u s r w l e t c r f t e m ; w c k  
j y k v l y w , ? a' : a t m i q e f p k u n f t y g t o i f r w & m ; o j i z i h z r f q ð c s y a E ñ i c h e & w h a c g i f a q m i f a w g v w a j r m u a p z l a m  
& n p t y ð a w m h i g t a u m i f (70) a u s m u l b \* f v m ; a' < c E ñ i f i l v w v y a & ; z c i j u ð & A r m e f a & S u e a w m j u ð r ð n  
o ð n ; v l y g w , ? b \* f v m ; a' t s w & m ; v l v a w m c s y a & S e u l c s v u f y ð a w m h a' : a t m i q e f p k u n i u t s u t s i f v l v a y ; y g  
Security Council u l t j r e q k a c : a y ; y g w i l l i f o m ; a w g y w h o y o l q i l a q a E ñ i u l t j r e q k a c : a y ; y g p o n i t m ; j i h  
a w m i f q t s u f a w l u b E ñ y c h u y g w , ? Y e l l o w C a m p a i n q l w h t a e t x m ; u l u s r w l e p w d i p m ; a p z l a m t w u f  
t o g a m i f q l f b w a w l u l l a q m i f y ð a w m h t r ð o m ; e ð t r ð o r ð t m ; v l p l a y g i f y ð a w m h c s v u q E ñ y u y g w , ?"  
t r ð o r ð r s m ; t z l e s y f ( j r e f m E ñ i ) b \* f v m ; a' t s X m e c f S a' : j r & m Z m v i f j z p l y g o n ? w & w f j r e f m e , p y a & S v r ð ð n v l  
j r e f m h ð u a & p ð t i f t m ; p l a w p l a y g i f y ð / r a e u a' : a t m i q e f p k u n & (61) E p j y n h  
a r f a e t c r f t e m ; u s i f y c h o m [ b & y g o n ?

"w & w f j r e f m e , p y r ð n & w h t z e t p n f a y g i p l e y ð N L D ( L A ) y g w h t z e t p n f a y g i p l e a' o w l r ð n & w h  
b e f u ð a u s i f w a u s i f r ð n a' : a t m i q e f p k u n f a r f a e t x r f t r s w i u l u s i f y y g w , ? e , p y a' o r ð n v l u l l a e w h  
v m a & m u l v l u l l a e w h A r m u l e b o n i r s m ; / y p m ; r s m ; u v l y g o i f y ð a w m h v l z g i r s m ; v l y g o i v s' g e t u y g w , ?  
' k v d t p ð t p o u a w m h u e a w m i v l e ð r ð n & w l A r m u v m w h t q i f & q l v a j m v l w h t v l y o r m ; a w a y g e m f u l e w i f u l e t s  
t v l y o r m ; (150) a u s m i (200) e l y g u l l u e a w m i v l e' g j y k y g w , ?" a & S v r ð ð n t c r f t e m ; t a u m i f O b a t m i a u s m a Z m  
a j m j y c i i f j z p l y g o n ?

t a r & u e f y n a x m i p k o g s i w e f p ð t a j c p l u f t m % m & S q e u s i a & ; v l k v w a j r m u a & ; t z S v l (218) j u r ð a j r m u f  
q E ñ y E S h a' : p k t w l u a r f a e g f t c r f t e m ; u l e t z p p o l l a & ð r ð n r a e u y i w l u s i f y c h o m ?

"(61) E p a j r m u f a' : a t m i q e f p k u n & k a r f a e t c e f t c g o r , r ð n u a e m i w l e (218) j u r ð a j r m u f  
t m % m & S p e p q e u s i a & ; / v l k v w a j r m u a & ; v y & ð ; r \_ q E ñ y u l l j y k v l y a e u w m j z p l w , ? a' : a t m i q e f p k u n f  
o u f a w m & a u s m & S z l u a e m i w l e t a e e a v ; e u p ð n q l r e a u m i f a w m i f a u m i f a z m j y t y g w , ? t a u m i f a w l u a w m h  
' ð u a & p ð & & ; t w u f a' : a t m i q e f p k u n f [ m o u p e p u l y r f v l a q m i b j z p l w , ? u k v o r \* t y g t o i f u r ð E ñ i f i h  
t o ð o u u a e m i w l e v l f j y n f ð u a & p ð & & ; t w u f a x m u c h a j m q l a e u w m a w g t m ; v l [ m  
a' : a t m i q e f p k u n & p i r w w l E ñ i f i h & ; O b a q m i f a u m i h j z p l w , ? t r ð o m ; ð u a & p ð t z l e s y & E ñ i f i h & ; O b a q m i f /  
a t m i j r i r e p u l l u t & y l w n b e a & ; [ m v l a' : a t m i q e f p k u n & p i r w w l O b a q m i f a u m i f j z p l w , ? w q u l x ð r ð n  
j y n f o w & y l w h t a e e ð ð u a & p ð i j u ð a' : a t m i q e f p k u n f t o u & S & y l w n b a y ; a e w h u m v t w l f r ð n



t vð' ejkuygw, ? b&m;ay:rñ usaemwlt pðt p0b0v&w;wly&bwaw&v vmuygw, ? pñpñum;um;yg/? y&bwfuawmh usaemwlt z0ifa&m t m;ay;=uwb0a&m t m;vñ (200-300) avmu&wvmayf?" rñukwrtle, ft z0kyfjykvlyfaomarfae&gt a=umif 0bvd0ajmijyc&eifjzplygn?

xlt wluçifjyné, ? Aefarmrtle, ft z0kyfu vlarfae&qlawmifyjykvlytlygn? "Eðivñfvlyygw, ? a':p0rfae&Eðivmylv, ? 'Eðivmylv, ? vlywhe&mrtñ rle, ft z0ib':, 00arqvm&lygw, ? t&iwlefuawmh axmiawb0maw&w, fay0 oluusefma&vñ0raumifb! olusefma&tEwm, l uifa':p0rfae&u/vlyvluw, ? qlawmifyay0 ocm(5) ygyiv, fay0 ae&qfuyiv, fae&vni(10)em&ðfñqfuyiv, ? aemuDw< kvz& l uelawmy&ð t jgydawmqlawmifwmay0 a&putswlt xhñv l a':p0rfae&v&ajrmuif Eñ ð t mif usef mEñ ð t mif t jgw&luusaemwlt vlybñ;=uw, ?" Aefarmrtle, ft z0kyDu&K 00aZmb0if jzplygn?

rau&wlt f/a t mif vHrle, ft z0kyfuawm&efusnf;ulef; aumif;w&urfnarfae&t xrt t rsvly0 jykvlyt0nif l qlygn? "a t mif vHrle&refusnf;ulef v, Ziausmif;w&urfnusif;yclygw, ? vlaygft; (60) aum&v mu&wuygw, ? t z0p0ly0 t vlyftraqmif t z0 t rðort z0 taxmuft ulykt z0 vli, ft z0 t z0p0bñ; ydawmlyygw, ? t j rñ bñ; uðqfuyiv ydawm&putsa': a t mif qe f p u n i & v & v & a j r m u f a p a = u m i f u l t r # t w r f a o i s l y g w , ? b e f j u d u v u s a e m w l t u l a ' : a t m i f q e f p u n i f v & v & a j r m u f a p a = u m i f a [ m a j m y g w , ? "

" b e f j u d w & m ; a [ m w m u a w m f a w m u m i f y g w , ? y Z m p y Z a e & m e h { w l t \* f v m r n i w l t H q l y d a w m h y Z m p y l a Z m f x l u b o l u y l a Z m j c i f o n j r w a o m r \* f v m r n i . v l e b e f j u d u w & m ; a [ m w , f a v ? t " d y g , f u a w m h u s a e m w l t v x l a c g i f a q m i f a ' : a t m i f q e f p u n i f m y a Z m x l u w y k k l v f q i c i f a = u m i h b e f j u d u y a Z m x l u w , ? u s i f y x l u w , f v t j l v w & m ; a [ m w , ? a w m f a w m f a v : a u m i f y g w , ? " a t m i f v H r l e , p n i t z 0 i r s m ; j z p a o m 0 0 p e f a r m i E s 0 0 r m % y l l w l a j m i j y c e i f j z p l y g n ?

a&e&çsmif;rle, f t z0kyf r usif yaomarfae&t xrt t rsvly0t a=umif u l rle, ft z0kyf ' Du&K 00vfriluT ubajmijyygn? "usaemwlt bñ; ju& aumif uðqfuyiv, ? qfuyiv ydawmh arfae&gt crf t em;rñ {n0n0awm rsm; v wuygw, ? wuy ydawm f n0n0awm f a w & v l a r f a e & q l a w m i f a v ; a w p u m ; a j m = u w , ? a r f a e & q l a w m i f r n a w m h a ' : a t m i f q e f p u n i f m t c k v l t u s o f t a y r [ l w l b e v & v l v w l y v l y b 0 r s t e b e u s a e m w l t c l u s a & m u i w l t o u ( 6 1 ) E p s o n i t o u i ( 1 2 0 ) w l l a t m i f u s a e m w l t z 0 k y u l l i l u a & p d r d s ; w e f a q m i f x e f ! a y ; E n i f y p q l y d u s a e m w l t q l a w m i f - u y g w , ? " 0 0 v f r i j z p l y g n ?

& s f j y n e , f a w m i f u d r l e s t z 0 k y 0 i r s m ; u a w m e t m % m y l l i r s m ; . w m ; q d c l r s n u l l p h & d r j y d u l l f t p p 0 E s u l l i y l y c h a w , f v r t l e , f t z 0 k y D u k a ' g u i w m a ' : o e f a i u , c k l a j m i j y g n ?

" ' r n u E p a , m u p / o k a , m u p / E p a , m u f w w f o l a , m u f w w f a v ; a , m u f w w a y g e m i u l l h t l y p l e u l l f u l l f t w l e u l l i y m y E n i f y g w , ? v l t r s m ; j u d p m l e & b t ? p l i f o w l w m ; = u a & m ? o w l w m ; E n i f a t m i f q l y d u l l h t p ð t p 0 b e u l l i v l y w b a b m r s t e y l b e f j u d a u s m i f o n ; w u f y d q l a w m i f w m w l e b l e m ; r d y a Z m i w m w l e y & v & v w m w l e s y n v l y l u w , ? u a e v l y i w , f r a e v l y i w , ? n v l y f t h r n ? b m a w q l a w m i f j z p l v b l i f u r w l e t m ; u l l a e & w l a c g i f a q m i f ' a c g i f a q m i u u r w l e A r m j y n b j y n b o m ; t u l e v l t w l y g u b t ? u r n u a w m i f t m ; a y ; a e w l a c g i f a q m i f u l l v f o i f y d t j r e f q l v s w i y d a w m r s t j r e f q l j y n b l v x k a w & v l ' a c g i f a q m i f w r s y l w u a t m i f r i r , f q l v m u l l c h c s u f t j y n & v l t w l u i v s w a y ; z 0 q l a w m i f w m y f u s e f m z l e q l a w m i f w , ? "

a':oefaijzplygn? tvm;werfqrle, ft z0ky0irms;uvla':atmifqepunfarfae&t xrt t rsvftjzpl qfuyiv&u, fvla':oefaiu ajmijygn?





a t \*si p b w i f r s m ; t & o & y g o n ? x t j y i f x i i o r f N G O t z ( 4 5 ) z l y g o i f a o m  
a ' : a t m i f q e f p k u n f v w a j r m u a & ; v y & s n ; r t z p u d u i d r f c s r f a & ; E A , l q & s f a ' : a t m i f q e f p k u n f u l  
j y e f v w a y ; & e f t w l u f l e t z u l w m i f q l u l u f y g o n ?

\* j e f v ( 1 9 ) & u a e o n f a ' : a t m i f q e f p k u n f a e e z p l o u b l e u k v o r \* v l e t c i f i t a & ; a u m i r & s i f t p m ;  
t o p a j y m i f v z p n f v l u a o m u k v o r \* v l e t c i f i t a & ; a u m i p d v l y i e f r m ; p w i f v l y a q m i f a o m a e v j z p l y g o n ?

tpob

**a' : p h r f a e < w l f < i f t m ; j y e f v w a y ; & e f E l l i l v u m r s a w m i f q l**

20 / Z e i / 2 0 0 6

e t z p p f t p l l t a e j z i h < i f ; w l e r w & m ; o n l m l y & y r s m ; u l l c s u f c s i f j y e f j y i f a y a ' : a t m i f q e f  
p k u n f u j y e f v w a y ; o i f a u m i f t a r & d u e f t p l l r s a w m i f q l u l u f y g o n ? j r e f r m h t r l u a & p l a c g i f a q m i f  
a ' : a t m i f q e f p k u n o n f o r . a r f a e e s m ; u l l t u o f u s b o j z i f a u m j z w a e & o n f r i n ( 3 ) ; u r f & l y z p o n f i t w l u f  
T j z p p o f o n i w & m ; r w r u i f r h o m v l y & y z p o n f [ k v l e l l i j c m ; a & ; X m e a j y m c o l y k l v f a & n i f r u a u m r w l u  
a x m u f y a o z e b n ; y g o n ? x t w l u a e ' g t p l l u v l a ' : a t m i f q e f p k u n u l t u s , e s y b o u w r f x y w l c b o n f t a y :  
y p l w i f a o z e f v l u f a y / c s u f c s i f j y e f v w a y ; & e f x y r l a w m i f q l u l u f y g o n ? o l r u l l j y e f v w a y ; & e f t w l u f  
E l l i l v u m t o l l f t o l l f u a w m i f q l e o n l u m ; r s , c k l l q u i v u z r f q d x m ; j i f o n f e t z p p f t p l l b u f s ' r l u a & p e s h  
v l e t c i f i t a & ; u l l a v ; p m ; r r & j c i f j z p o n f q l u l j y o & m a m u b o n i [ k v l u a e ' f e l l i j c m ; a & ; o e j u d y l v m r u a u ; u  
a j y m u m ; o n ; y g o n ?

A l v e o e j u l c s y f w e l l o v l u a w m h a ' : a t m i f q e f p k u n f t a e j z i h o r . ( 6 1 ) E s j y n h a r f a e u l l a e t f t u o f u s b o j z i h  
a u m j z w l a o m t a y : < i f t a e e s t c g c o b o p w i s u r b o n i [ k l q y g o n ? T u p l u l b , l m s v u r c e l l o n f i t w l u f  
c s u f c s i f j y e f v w a y ; & e f t w l u f r p l w m b v l u x y r l a w m i f q l b n ; y g o n ? q p z m v e l e l l i f i l \* s e a m r l e v f i  
, r e l a e e p w i f a y b u s i f y a e o n h u k v o r \* ~ v l e t c i f i t a & ; a u m i p d t p n ; f t a o ; t w l f r s n v l  
a ' : a t m i f q e f p k u n f . & p r f o w l u l c s u s ; a j y m q l c h - u y d / o r v w a j r m u a & ; t w l u f t p r ; i u l e f j u l t y r f - u z l e  
w l u i v e f w i f y c h u o n i [ k l o d y g o n ?

t x l o j z i f i t p n f t a o ; w u a & m u a e o n h e u e l l i j c m ; a & ; o e j u d t m q l v m y v y p e p f ( U r s u l a P l a s s n i k ) /  
v l e t c i f i t a & ; p l r f o l a w f z p f u a o m a y : v l q m \* s d l y h & e s h [ l e m \* s v e l e w l e t z l o i e l l i f i h t m ; v l u l  
o l a q m i w l u w e f o n ; j c i f j z p l y g o n ? A I P M C a c : j r e f r m h t a & ; v y & s n ; a e a o m t m q d h t r w f r s m ; t z l u a w m h  
a c g i f r m v b o n f e t z p p f t p l l u l u k v o r \* v l e l a & ; a u m i p l u a e t j r e f q h t a & ; , & e f a w m i f q l u l u f y g o n ?  
j r e f r m e l l i f i n ' r l u a & p l a & ; e s h y w b o u f y d o m w c r s w l u v a j y m i f v j c i f r & b v l l t m q d h t z l u v l b m r s l y f r a y ; o n f t w l u f  
v l e l a & ; a u m i p l u a e r s o m t a & ; , l a q m i & l u b i f w , l e A I P M C t z l u l Z a i d I b r a h i m u a j y m u m ; o n ; a u m i f  
a t \* s i p b w i f r s m ; r n a & ; o m ; x m ; y g o n ?

tpob

**a' : p e s h e l l i l l a & ; t u o f o m ; t m ; v l l v w a y ; a & ; v u f s v x l o b a y g i a x m i f a u s l l**

21 / Z e i / 2 0 0 6

Z e f v ( 1 9 ) & u a ' : a t m i f q e f p k u n f . a r f a e e w n f u p w i f c l a o m a ' : p e s h e l l i f i l l a & ;  
t u o f o m ; t m ; v l l v w a y ; a & ; a w m i f q l b n h p a y g i f v u f s v x l r u l t c k e b d q u i v l y a e q z p l y d / v u f s v f ( 1 5 0 0 )  
e d y g & a e y l l k v n f o d y g o n ? a y ( 2 0 ) / ( 7 ) a y y w l v n & t j z l a & m i f a o g l u d a y : w l f , c k l v u f s v x l l a w m i f q l u w m j z p l y d  
t z l e s y f y g w d i a w l t j y i f v r f o n ; v r f v m a w l y g o i f a m u f v u f s v x l c h u o n i [ k o d y g o n ? , a e ( 3 ) & u a j r m u a e o  
t a j c t a e e s h y w b o u f y d y g v a j y m c o l y k l v l u o j z p o l o p m % d i f r s , c k l l a j y m j x m ; y g o n f ?

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acg f; p d)pmom; uEfi h&; uEfi h&; en f; jz i b q fa EGEfi h& fa c g fa qmi b' :a t mi qe f; p u n f ES fi h&; t u o f o m; t m; v h  
v0 w aj r m u b e q E n j y g o n?"

a': a t mi qe f; p u n f ES fi h&; t u o f o m; t m; v h \$ w a y; a &; j y n b r s m; u h l w l i v u f s w a &; x l a w m i f q h o m  
v y & s n; r \_ t a = u m i f O b ^ m % O i f a j m j y o h; j c i f j z p y g o n? E d f i h &; u h e d f i h &; e n f E S h a j z & S f E d & e f t w l u f  
a': a t mi qe f; p u n f ES fi h&; t u o f o m; t m; v h u l w w a y; & e f t z e s y l b u l a w m i f q h e a o m l v n f p p f t p h & b u r s  
x l a w m i f q h r s m; u h t a v; x m; o n l y k r a w @ a o; [ b y g o n? , a e x k w i o w i f p m r f i a & m / , r e f a e u x k w a o c h o m  
o w i f p m r s; r s n y g t z e s y f. r h; , O f o n i r D g r s m; u h v u r c E f i l y g w D i r s m; E w l x l u a e u q j z p o n f [ k a o z e f  
w l u b l u a &; o m; a e q j z p o n f u b m j r i f a w @ e & y g o n?

tpob

**r lawmcefra& wull lawmqElycbl uk&ex&tm; jyelvway;**

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a': a t mi qe f; p u n f. a r f a e u r l a w m c e f r a & w u l l l a w m q E l y c h o m a n m i w l e f r k e, f s u k e x e f u h  
t m % m y h l a w l u j y e l v w a y; v l u f y m l o & y g o n? r l a w m c e f r a & r s z r f q d o h; y d u k e f x e f u h  
a u s m u l v l w m; p p a = u m a &; & h c e f o h c; o h; c y g o n? t m % m y h l r s m;. a r; j r e f c s u r s m; u h r n u b l y e h a j z c b n f q b n f u h  
u k e f x e f u , c k w h a j m j y g o n?

"b m & n & G t s u b e ' b q E l y w m u l v l y g o v l a r; c e f a r; w m u h u s a e m l u y g a r m u o d x e f o e f a y g e m /  
o h r l a w m c e f r a & S m y d q E l y w u p f [ m r j z p a j r m u l w t w l u a = u m i h q & m) u d = u m; w h t c g f n p w a u s e y f & a p z h t w l u f  
o k u h p m; u s a e m l v m a & m u f y l a w m h q E l y c j c i f j z p l y g w, l w h a j m c l y g w, ?"

t m % m y h l r s m; u a u m i f r e p h q u l q h a j m q h r; j r e f c h & l u E s u E l y p u f c i f r & b t v l o c k a o m l v n f  
c d e l u w d v u f s w a &; x l a w m i f E S h b m a = u m i f v u f s w a &; x l a y; c h o n q b n f u h u k e f x e f r s c k w l u q u h a j m j y o n?

"a': a t mi qe f; p u n f v 0 w a j r m u b &; t w l u f w u l l l a w m q E n j y c l y g w, ? a e m u b e m i f E d f i h a w m f t p h & u h  
t u n h i y u a p r, h t J l v q E l y r r s r i y k l y g o l? u w o e c h v u f s w x l y g w, l w h y g y g w, ? t u, l l o m u s a e m l t r a w l  
u s a e m l n l a w G t e m; r s n & f r a e b l; q k i f a w m h u s a e m l u t J l u w c D e c s u f u l v u f s w i r x h b l a e r s n y q  
t r u v D e f x r j z p a e w, ? o l e s u E h u v l u s a e m f a x m i f u r s u l p & f i w p w & w l t c g u s a w m h u s a e m l v l y p & m t v l y a w G  
t r s m; u d & h e w l t c g u s a w m h u w c D e t s u l l v u f s w i x h y d w e m u f t J l h a e (5) e m & D f i e, h j r c h S B e t w l  
a n m i w l e f r k e u h j y e l v m c l w m?" , c i u w u l l l a w m q E l y o r s m; E d f i h &; o r m; r s m; / N L D t z o i f a w u l l  
z r f q d & l u E s u a x m i t s h o m l v n f u k e f x e f u b m a = u m i f v w a y; v l u b v l t a r; u h w m h, c k w h a j m q b n; c y g o n?

"a x m u l v f a &; w y & e o r m o r w r & f e y & r f y w m E l l r w h a = u m i h j z p a e w l q u s t a w l v o u q l y g w, ? t J l v l  
v l u E h x u p d e i f r a w m l r w & m; z r f q d E l y p u a x m i t s w m r s t u t c a c w l t c l u m v l t c k e f r i n & h w m l o q h v h  
t a = u m i f a y q S B t & m & l u y l l o p h e u s a e m l u s f i y y g w, ? t c k v u e t p h & u b, j y n b u l l s r a w m l r w & m; z r f q d j c i f /  
c k y a E n i j c i f / & l u E s u j c i f r & h w m h b l a y q j y n b v x l u l t a u m i f q h u q h w, l q l w b a b m a y q" u k e f x e f u h  
t m % m y h l r s m; r s x l u b h a j m q j y e l v w a y; c h o m l v n f w u l l l a w m q E l y l z r f q d c k m; & a o m O y a' a u s m i f o m;  
u b u b e m i p w t z e s y m i, l u k e f v i f a u s p o n h o r s m; u h w m h j y e l v w a y; w m a r; c e f x l w i p & m j z p a e o n f [ k v l  
t u t w f r s m; u a o z e f a j m q h e u y g o n?

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23/Z&I/2006

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y, l&su&fxm;i&iv/ tenf&q&ll u&aemullr&sw&r&fu&av;/ pmw&r&fu&av;/ pm&ll&u&av;awmh ay;y&g? t j&ajymw, ?  
tcs&er&ay;y&g&ll&awmh& olw&eb, M&llr&su&aemull t&ck&ll ta=umifjyeb? z&efawmifur&llwm/ ull w&ll&lon& i&fa&m  
vub&ly&gv&m;robt? w&ll&armok hr&sm;uvl w&ll&jynlv&jyn&om;rs&m;ull t i&f w&ll&epmi&&ñuf&wm&ll? t cl&awmh  
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“a&omf- ull fit az tar&ll&su&om;e&u&ll lullv&r&fay:p&e&ly&px&m;w&ll&ob&mr&st&ay&g b, l&ES h&Ellibm;t ppf&Asm?  
wu, f&awmh& olw&e&u&aemull p&e&ly&py&ll c&of r&ll&ob? bma=umifv&q&ll&if 'Dt pl&&ull u&aem&ll&Ar&mjyn&lv&xl&u  
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wr&st&u&awmh q&m)ud&t ouft &g l&e&q&m)ud&yn&mt&&nft c&si&f/ olv \*P&e/ orm" t P&e&ly&w&fou&fy&awmh  
q&m)ud&v&ly&ll&v&f&ll&wa, mu&ly&gv/ 'M&ll&r&q&ll&cl&ll&r, f t u&O&f&u&si&ip&w&q&ll&f&u&ll l&q&ll&f&jzpr, ? 'gu&ll&f&cs, f&vl&ll&w&m  
p&lv&ira&umif&jzpr&lv&mt r&e&ly? y&ll&awmh& ol&ek ynm&y&aw&ll&ck&ll&u&fa&muf wu, ft ol&ll&rc&ll&be&ll&' v&ll&  
w&ll&jyn&r&wn&r-i&ll&jzpa&ew&ll&up&ll&ñ Oif&ly&aw&mp&aw;&r&ñ&ull u&aem&E&ajrm&w&v&ll&r&e&ly? wz&u&lv& t ouft &g f  
ull&r&ax&mu&f ol&zm&ol&at;at;v&lv&ae&ll&yg&v&u&e&ll&ib&Ellibm;aw&ll&' l&u&ll&=uy&ll&wn&f&u&ll&ole&ll& bl t epf  
em&cl&jz&S&f&r, l&qu&ll&t w&ll&a=umif&wu, E&f&E&ll&um&u&ll&u&aem&av;pm;r&v&mt r&e&ly&g 'g&=umif&v&ll&q&m)u&e&ly&w&bu&ll&e  
e\*ll&wn&fu p&lv&ira&umif&jzpr&lv, f wz&u&lv& t&r&f&u&ll&ve&ll&xm;av;pm;r&lv, ?” ull&ll&u&ly&gon?

w&ll&jyn&f. we&ll&jz&w&ll&om&ynm&&S&w&O&Ellih&hjzpb&ñ;&on&ht ay: b, M&ll&jym&jy&csif&gv&ll&bn&ht ar;ull&w&mh  
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jy&or, M&ll&ol&ua=un&mw, ? t j&g&ev&ly& Ellibm;wa, muft&jzpluae&y&ll&awmh& y&ll&pb&ñ;ov&m;? q&ll&w&mh  
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jy&o&E&ll&w&ll&t c&of r&v&r&f&u&awmh u&aem&ll&v&ll&e&ga&um&u&ly&g? u&aem&ll&v&ll&E&ll&ll&ñ&q&ll&if wy&r&aw&ll&uae Ellih&ll&w&mf  
t m%mu&ll&bf&ly&ll&w&ll&t c&of r&py&ll&jyn&ll&u&ly&gv&ll&ll&ua&p&e&ga&um&u&ly&ll&u&si&fy&ay;clw, ? t j&Dt c&e&ll&v&e&u&aem&ll&v&ll&  
Ellih&ll&bl Ellih&ll&om;aw&ll&t a&e&ll&e& r&ll&e&ob&abmxm;q&E&ull&x&ll&v&az&mf&jy&oc&ll& &clw, ? 'gay&r&h t j&ll&v' f&u&ll  
t c&e&ll&v&e&ll&xm;t o&ll&v&ly&ll&f&cl&ll&ob? t j&ll&awmh t ck&ll&ll&t ajct&aer&ll&v&ll&Ellih&ll&om;w&ll&f&ll&ix&ll&ñ& ajym&csif&ll&si&lv&h

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b, fvb, fykwazmfyoEñi w, iqwh t c@ht vrfawu@ ouq@ & m t m%myh lawu@ae  
wvwsu@unmay;zaumifw, ? usamw@ bmr vye@nrvyeb@vhw; jrpw@ya' awe@j) uhe&yd awmh  
c@jykvh Oya' r@av;awu@l usamw@um;csi w, f ocsi w, ? 'jynb jynb m;aw@ Eñi bEñi bñm;aw@ t aee@v  
ajmcsi q@tsi fwmaw@ wu, fu@ & i x E S V H x u q E h w & w e = u w m t r e f y ? t ' j a w u @ x l w a z m f y o E ñ i  
wht c@ht vrfawu@o@& z@ usamw@w@t yw, M@usambawmh & y@ajmcsi w, ? " q & m ) u d a ' q u i w m q v i l x e f  
x l i f E ñ i f i w u f E ñ i f i r j z p a e & o n h t a y : ( 8 8 ) r s d q u f a u s m i f o m ; r s m ; t z e S u l u @ u @ . t j r i j z p y g o n ?  
q & m ) u d q v i l x e f o e f b u f S w & m ; O i f & e l e f y e c @ B a t m i f u b a y g ( p l u ) u l t p m ; a q m i & C u b ñ ; r n f [ k a j m j y o ñ ; y g o n f

tpob

**awmiukwftzk cly t w f a & r f . q l f t m ; y w f e f t m % m y l f r m ; t r e k x l w i**

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jrefmh@ua&p@cgifaqmifa':atmiqefpkunf. arfae@Lulw@q@uc@jy/cuf&b@si@fyl qlyd&clifyné, f  
awmiukwftzk cly t w f a & r f . q l f t m ; y w f e f t m % m y l f r m ; r s w v y p & e f t r e f a y ; v l u f a = u m i f o @ y g o n ?  
pif u , p w h [ k t r n a y ; x m ; a o m a w m i u k w f t z k , f w b u f t w f a & r f ; u l i f a t m i f y l l q l i f o n h t x n a & m i f q l l u l  
reufzel (24) & u a e @ p y d w o y w & r n f [ k a w m i u k w f t a j c p l u i p p q i a & ; u g i u r \_ X m e c s y r f s ; A l l r f s ; c s y f r i p h u  
w & m ; O i p m x l w i d t r e f a y ; v l u j c i j z p o n i [ k u l i f a t m i f . r o m ; p D i r s m ; r s a j m = u m ; c l y g o n ? , c k l j z p l v m & j c i f .  
a e m u f c h t a = u m i f & i f r s n u l i f a t m i e s h t z e s y f w m O e & S b l r s m ; o n f y b c h o n h w e v m f a e @  
Z&V(19) & u a e @ v i l u s a m u c h o m a ' : a t m i q e f p k u n f . a r f a e @ L u l w c e f w e m ; u s i f y c h \_ a = u m i j z p o n i [ b @ y g o n ?  
awmiukwftzk, f v s v a w m i u l t p m ; v s f o b a u m b i l . a e t r i w @ l u s i f y c h o m x h t c r i t e m ; o l y & b w i ( 1 0 0 )  
a u s m i w u a & m u c h y d t x l p n i u m ; o ñ ; o n h t w l u i f r e , f t m % m y l f r m ; / p u c X m e r s ; r s m ; r s p i v q l a ' g o x l u m , c k l  
t r e k x l w i l u j c i j z p y l o n i [ k a ' o c h s m ; r s a j m y g o n ? A l l r f s ; c s y f r i p h . p m x l w i y g o m y l x l v y l f r s m ; u a w m h  
x p w h q l l o n i t r s m ; j y n b l u t t a e ñ i h t , S j z p a p o n h t w l u i p n i j i O y a ' y l r ( 9 - < ) E s h n < p e f a e o n ?  
p u b q v & B ñ z g f y p h r s m ; u l u b e f a & m i f o , r \_ v y a e o n h t w l u i y l r ( 2 1 - i ) E s h n < p e f a e o n ? x l a = u m i h z e v ( 2 4 )  
& u a e @ p y d < i f q l l u l y w & r n ? t c e b r y w l o q l w # i f y l r ( 7 4 ) t & j y i f y i f x e f e f t a & ; , l r n i [ l y g a = u m i f  
u l i f a t m i f . r o m ; p D i r s m ; u t a o ; p y & s j y c l y g o n ? < i f u p E S h y w b u l l u m , u l s i u l i f a t m i f u l  
q u b g f a r ; j r e f & e f ) u l t p m ; c h o m v n f o l [ m , c l a v m a v m q , f & e l e f r k e j d c & D o ñ ; a e q j z p f y d t z e s y f  
A [ k a c g i f a q m i f r s m ; / O y a ' a & ; & m u l r f ; u s i f o l r s m ; E s h a w e q k e f p p O f a e o n i [ k o @ y g o n ? x l a = u m i h  
t z e s y A [ a j m c G R y k l w O j z p b D j r i b e f u l a r ; u n o n h t c g v f , c k l q l l y w f c l j c i f o n f O y a ' a = u m i f t & r [ w l o l  
t z e s y f y g w d i r s m ; t a y : w r i f w u m t j y p & a e j c i f o m j z p o n i [ k w i y e c l y g o n ?

"usamw@m q@luyw@w, ? wu, fwrfoya' ulazmuzuw, q&if 'gawmh Oya' ulusamw@rajmcsib?  
'gair, fvu 'lupaw@ m Oya' aumift&r [ kwbe@' Mlt aumift & maweb@quEG fyawmh t hit ay:rn  
tajcclydlyw, qlwm/ 'gMOrvlyfoiwlup&yjzpiv, ? aemufyd pprfo@bavmuq&if ulrifatmiq@lu  
vilpif(3)vyllufwnfu pnyifv@pifaqmi@om;vw@o&w, ? oluoiwhht c&awgtm;vhu@/laqmi@xm;w, ?  
a< ugusev&@lv@o&w, ? t'lawmh'guklwazmfyoEñi 'ud@ m pnyibm, me, w@luf w@frñ t r m ; j y n b a w u l  
t E ñ m , j z p E ñ i w , q & i f b m a w @ t E ñ m , j z p l v m / p u b q v & B ñ z g f j z p a p w h t v y f t u l l q l w m u v b m a w & ? t j a w m h  
' g a w [ m O y a ' t & w u , M l t y m @ O y a ' t & w u , f a z m u z u m v y l w , q & i f w r s ? ' g s [ k w i r e f w r \_ t C m w  
w & m ; t a y : r n t a j c c l y a w m h N L D r v N L D u ' M l a r f a e @ a w u s i f y v l y w , q l w m u a w m h ' O y a ' u l t v b l p m ;

vly&musw, lveusemf vlyj oloyv&ygw, l' a':atmitqetpkunl. arfae&usifyrd awmitukwrtle, f  
w&uftw&fa&r&f; ulrifatmif. qltceftywvclv&u&onht ay: Ojribeel. wlyetsuljzplygn?

touf (40) Oefusift&g lom&ho;aom wbuftw&fa&r&f; ulrifatmifonl tze&vlyfief&sm;ul  
wuk up&ho&aqmivy&f&f;aeol jzponht jyif a' ow&f&f&lyftm; ay;up&f&sm;ul ILO tze&v  
wuk up&ho&uh&f&f;ay;clv&jzponht ko&yggn?

tpob

**t i f p e a x m i w f f Y O r f u l u a & m \* g j z p y f n ;**

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t i f p e a x m i x l w f f O r f u l u a & m \* g j z p y f n ; a e y d t r s d o r d t u s o f o m ; w c s q l v # f p l d r & o n h t a j c t a e  
& h e o n l [ k t r n r a z m v l b l a x m i D e l x r f w c s t a j m = u m ; c s u f t & o d y g n ? y d c l o n h t y w f A k [ t a e u  
t r s d o r d a q m i f a e p w i j z p y f n ; & m r s , c l v a x m i v e l y g u l p u j y e t e a e y l l v b y g n ? a x m i D e l x r f r s m ; t a j m  
t & q l v # f r v w l q w o n f i g a w e s u b < u f & m r s a e l O r f u l u a & m \* g w i f c j i j z p o n l [ b & y g n ? t r s d o r d  
t u s o f o m ; r s m ; t a j c t a e u t q l q j z p a e y d t u s o f o m ; ( 1 7 ) a , m u f . t a j c t a e r f n t o u f t E l l & , f p l d r & o n h  
t a j c t a e & h e o n l [ k l a x m i D e l x r f w c s t a j m j y c s u f t & o d y g n ?

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**u A m a & o m ; j z e k a O r E s h x m i u s e a o m v i , ( 4 ) O u l l j y e v \$ w a y ; & e f a w m i t q l**

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a' g i f r e u A m a & o m ; j z e k a O r j z i h a x m i t c k m ; & a o m y c l r e s v l i , f ( 4 ) O u l l j y e v \$ w a y ; & e f t w l f j y i o p f  
t a j c p l u f e , p n r j c m ; o w i f o r m ; r s m ; t z p ( R S F ) E s h j r e f m o w i f o r \* t z p ( M B A ) w l s e t z u l l  
, a e v l u w e f a w m i f q l v l u y g n ? a' g i f r e u A m a & o m ; < j z i h a x m i E p s f n f c r s v j c i f o n f p w f y s u p & m a u m i f o n l [ k  
( R S F ) E s h ( M B A ) w l e o w i f x l w j y e t s u r f n a z m f y x m ; y g n ? y c l r e s t z e & v l i , f u h t m i b e l / a t w t t l  
u e f j y l w m v l y f i e f y d f s f u l a t m i f a t m i o b / u e f p w m ; v u f b u & n f q d f r s u l a Z , s m a t m i E s h a q ; q d  
y e f & l v l y f i e f & s f u p e l v d l w l e ( 4 ) O u l l a' g i f r e u A m a & o m ; j z e k a O r E s h y w b o u f y d r w l v ( 2 9 ) & u a e v o f  
t m % m y l f r s m ; u z r f q d c j i j z p y g n ? x h e m u f a & a e i f n ; c o f r a y ; b l y c l a x m i f t w o f w o f w c g y w f p p a q ; c y g n ?  
, c l v ( 9 ) & u a e v o f i E l l f i h & ; y l f r ( 5 ) n / y e l l O y a ' / w & m ; r o i f t o i f E s h q u o b g f r / w & m ; r o i f e , p y j z w a u s m f p a o m  
y l f r s m ; E s h x m i f ( 7 ) E p f r ( 2 9 ) E p f t x d t o b o d c r s v l y g n ? < i f w l e ( 4 ) O u l l x r s u p e l v d l w o l w n f u l b m y c l a x m i w f f  
q u t s y f x m ; y d u s e f ( 3 ) O u l l p & i t s u b s y d y l c s i f t i f p e a x m i u l y h a q m i v l u b n l [ b & y g w , l' < i f w l e x f s t z e & y f  
v l i , f u h t m i b e l t w l f t , c l v i b o f e l l f e f r e l e , f t z e & v l r t a x m u i t u j y k t z e u q u l v u b a q m i & l u a e a u m i f  
r o m ; p E s h e d p y b l a w g a j m j y c s u f t & o d y g n ?

tpob

**r \* i q & m a w m b l e m ; j u d 1 E p j y n h q f f o w y l u l u s l u u q l b e m ; t e p & r \* i f a u s n i f w l u r f n**

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r \* i q & m a w m b l e m ; j u d y s l v e a w m r j c i f ( 1 ) E p j y n h q f f o w y l u l u s l u u q l b e m ; t e p & r \* i f a u s n i f w l u r f n  
, a e e u l u u s i f y c h u m i f o d y g n ? , a e q f f o w f t r h o y l u l q & m a w m f b l e m ; j u d u l u n f i l a v ; p m ; a o m ' u m /  
' u m r r s m ; / t z e & y o i f r s m ; ( 8 8 ) r d l q u a u s m i f o m ; r s m ; E s h E l l f i h & ; t u s o f o m ; a [ m i f r s m ; a w m a w m f r s m ; r s m ;  
w u b & m u c h u o n l [ k o & y g n ?

r \* i q & m a w m b l e m ; j u d [ m B u r m a U n d e r t h e B o o t p p z e y a t m u l u j r e f m j y n h q l b n l p m t y l u l  
b o m o j y e f E s h ( 1 9 8 9 ) c e p l w f i z r f q d c l l y d a x m i f ( 1 0 ) E p f c r s v l e t a y g n ? , a e q f f o w y l u l e l e l t a & g l l c < l l f s

ju&ztz0if(40) ausm t eduyvma&mufapmiunfcifrñ xljcm;aeonif[ kwua&mutbrsm;u ajymyon?  
, ciuqL/#f, ckl' rLu&plvLm;obawvua&munbyfsm;ute, bjrc&wt xtwyz&vmur&olapmiunfobnf[ k  
o&ygon? , ae&qf&fowlyr&pcifrñ ta&x yll{c< if}ul&ztz0ifsm; ' ñ emum; (2) pdjzifa&muivm-yd  
vrf&xylaw&f&nae&m, lxm;onif[ k uL fwl&jriaw&olrsm;uajymyon? vll&ka&;t ajct aet & qL/#f  
&wyz&ublvmoef, &rñjzpaomivnf, , ckl' ul&ztz0ifsm;rs&wyz0ifsm;uL lpm; wmoef, lvmjicif[ m  
xljcm;aeonif[ lqlygon?}ul&ztz0ifsm;qh&omivnf omref&yfom; aw&vm;/' yL ifom;owform; [ kvb&fsm;aom  
' AN/r&f;u)doef[ efa&fcs, lxm;onif&yDwv&kl&f wyz0ifaw&vm;qbnul&aoesm ro&bl [ ajymyon? , ckl'  
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r [ kvbl [ ll &euf&efEñif&ka&;t oñif&t Oñifu ce&f&oloy&euygon?

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vuf&f&cl&f&zw&v&ut&f&efA [ lw&m;&r&S&u&&q&ll&f&v&u&umif&ol&ygon? trul&um;em&ea&& aerp&onif&w&u&u&mi&h  
&u&&q&ll&f&v&u&umif&ol&ygon? kO&at:jrii t u&f&a&mi&h&&e O&pe&f&armi&u , ckl'ajymjygon?

"&H&ce&fu xy&ay;r, blw&u&ajymw, ? xy&ay;r, blw&mu v&mr, to\*kwv(17) &u&ae@uae (21)&uft w&f&f  
jy&ef&v&awm&h apmi&fy&q&ly&awm&h ou&f&q&ll&em&t, b&K&meu u&ae&mi&v&u&ly&ef&yd awm&h &H&ce&fu&ll Wanting List  
r&f&apmi&fy&q&ly&awm&h u&ae&mi&v&u&ly&ef&yd awm&h ow&ay;v&u&lv, ? t&f&yl t+i&f&f&pm;, b&f&w&h w&m;ol&u&O&ci&f&armi&f&t;u  
t+i&f&f&pm;, b&f&w&h w&m;ol&u&aw&u cay;&awm&h ol&x&ll&v&f&aw&ml&of? x&ll&v&f&w&h t c&u&awm&h&H&ce&fu xy&ay;w&may&f  
' &H&ce&fu xy&ay;awm&h t rac:pm&if&f&apmi&f&r, ? Z&M&f&x&f&ijy&ef&yd awm&h c&r, M&ou&q&ll&em&x&meu ajymjygw, ?" axmi(7  
E&f&csxm;ji&f&f&caom O&at:jrii ul&Z&M&f&v&u&lv&f&ijy&ef&yd awm&h &ay;&r&ni&f[ k ILO u et&zu&ll&ow&ay;w&u&lv&ef&xm;ygon?  
ILO . ow&ay;csu&x&u&lv&f&ay&f& u&ly&f&f&t w&f&f&f&ny&if y&cl&w&h f&t m%my&ll&f&sm;rs O&at:jrii ul&(8) em&u&um  
ol&jcm;ac:aw&e&onif&w&u&f&um&ci&f&O&at:jrii jy&ef&v&w&vm&r&ni&f[ kar&f&iv&ie&onif[ kv&O&pe&f&armi&u ajymjygon?

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pp&f&v, v&u&ajymw, ? yxru ol&em&ZOif aw&ay&f& ae&u&f&v&cl&u ol&eo' %f&cs&w&h [ maw&f&em/ b&ma&w&f&em/  
ol&v&f&a&mi&f&ts&aw&f&t m;v&ay&f& t&f&aw&u&ll&u&lv&h tao;pw&ar;w, ? ol&v& t&f&gu&ll&ajymjygw, ay&f& t&f&gu  
ol&e&f&ru&jy&ef&ajymv&may&f& ol&aw&awm&h LIO u n&v&mc&ly&awm&h S t&f&gu&ll&ac:aw&f&v, ay&f& t m;v&ar&f&iv&f&v&may&f&  
ol&f&w&h t c&u&awm&h O&u&ll f&w&h f&axmi&fy&ll&fu&aw&awm&h ol&v&v&l& ae&jyn&awm&f&uae/ t x&uf&uae&ay&awm&h v&h  
t&aj&zapmi&f&aw, f&w&h apmi&fy&awm&h O&at:jrii ul& v&f&ay;z&e&t q&ib&il&fy&gw&ll O&at:jrii ul&v&f&f&f&f&ef&ve&f&f&y?  
axmi&fu&wm&O&e&cl&f&K&v&aw&u&v&l& av;av;pm;pm; v&ll&v&vm;vm;ygy? ol&w&v&ar&f&iv&f&ae&u&wmy?  
t m;v&h&aj&ct&ae&t&ai&et&ou&f&u&awm&h v&v&r, h&t&ai&et&ou&f&f&z&pa&ew, ay&f&" O&at:jrii t u&f&aw&ma&q&mi&h&&e  
O&pe&f&armi&f&jz&pygon? O&at:jrii ul& azmi&f&awm&f&oa&us&f&r&S v, form;rsm;. pm;usu&f&ajru&ll&pp&r&x&r&f& [ mi&f  
t z&E&S&e, bjrc&pp&lv&yr&S&of&f, lxm;onif&u&P&E&f&y&w&bu&fy&f& ILO xHrr&fuebowifay; onif[ lqlyd t m%my&ll&f&sm;u  
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r&f&awm&f&op&f&uy&ajy;u&ll&gv&yl&u&ra&umif&axmi(3)E&f&f&q&d&cs&v&f&ic&f&ckm;&ol pma&q&m omc&ll([ ofw)ES&f  
q&m&r&lx&e&f&w&E&f&D&D u&f&E&f&v&w&ll&f&w&m;&H&u t u&of&en&f&iz&if&y, ts&v&u&onif[ ko&ygon? w&ll&f&w&m;&H&w&u&lv&w&m;ol&u&

a':ciarwilu t, blu, ckv (21) &uæeu y, ts vUjciijzplygon? yxrt}urft, blu{yV (21)&uæeu &rnfoifc&fw&m;&tu tuof enijziy, c&lonf[ k, ckv (21) &uæeu wifw&m;&Hqdxft, c&viobofcicif jzplygon? < ift, blu&ESiywoubuifd)a&& ae0dic&armi&ZmfS, ckv&Sfjygon?

" tckrE Vv;wifri&usaemlvuivlt cr&h&awmht "du tae&awmht zif&ay? yxrgm tae&et, ckv&m;&Hr&fi jypf,qd& &musi x&Hoya' yk fr (421)t& tuof,ente& yvyc&hwvjl w&m;Oya' e&rn&wht a=umif/ aemuft, ck&G&fq&w&w&m;c&e& t c&G&lt a&;ull uef&owfxm;&ma&muf wht a=umif/ t'j&a=umif&v& rE Vv;wifw&m;&Hr&fiyiqifur&v&fay;z&wzulu&v&ac:, h&awmh Epz&um;emc&G&ay;z&q&lyd t "duwif&ygw, ? c&&Hr&fi&v&ly, ckv&w, ? tuof&eyvyc&w, ? wzu&uwmi&f&ac:be&t ckwif&Hr&fi&v&wzulu&um;embf rac:be&wz&ubwfy, Mu&w, ? tyv&u&awmh&usaem&jymw, ? b, M&v&ta=umif&t&ma&w&v, M&v&w&w&m;&H w&ck&t&ae&w&m;r&w&r/ pm&ax&mu&fxm;r/ p&v&a&umif&ap&wem&G&q&w&w&m;p&f&ia&&e&raw&ay&v? t'j&w&m;p&f&ia&&k& raw&et&n&usaem&w&tr&on&aw&u&awmht a=umif&a=umif&aw&k& wif&v< ma&w&v, M&v&za&e& tr&aw&m;&k& aea&mif&cn&u&ri&v&tr, M&usaem&v&e& q&ygw, f&ar&h&vif&ha&eygw, M&usaem&aem&u&q& tyv&wft&ae&v&av&h&u&v&awmh&vif&u&w&myy? usaem&v&yi&qif\_wu&v&trE Vv;wifw&m;&H&u&awmh&usaem&t&ri&f&usaem&b&ab&mx&e& ru&h&ob&ix&i&ygw, ? t'j&awmh&ow&v&w&m;&H&uae tuof&eyv&v&u&w&v&Oya' e&rn&w, M&ow&v&q&v&u&f w, e&v&ygw, ? t'j&awmh&t&ru&v& rE Vv;wifw&m;&H&v&vt&uof&ente& yv&v&u&lygw, ?"

, ckv, c&N&U&aom&v&nf Oya' &x&mif&ob&ub&urs&unf&n&q&w&f< if. tr&on&E&D& onf t&j&yp&f& w&m;aov&v&ay;oi&b&n&ob&rs&jzplygon? x&=umif&wifw&m;&H&Sy, Mu&aom&v&nf w&m;&H&cy&ES&fit&x&t, c&kt&xd t&qif&qif&t, c&di&b&rnf[ kO&dic&armi&Zmf&S&aj&m&jy&ob&f&ygon?

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qif&w&kaom ulrif&t&mf t&z&v&v&f&e&rs;u&ll&qu&v&ya&q&mi&b&f&rnf[ b&j&ym&q&l

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a':atmi&q&e&unf. ar&ae&G&usif&ra=umih< if. qif&ce&ful&t&m%my&ll&rs;rs&y&v&v&ic&h&omf&v&nf < if&u&awmh Z&f&rav&mb&lt& z&v&v&v&f&e&rs;u&ll, cift&wif&fw&k& u&f&h& qu&v&yo&f&rs;rn&jz&pf&nf[ k&aw&mi&f&uk&v&f&ke, f t&z&v&v&w&buft&wif&a&&rs;u, ae&aj&ym&q&v&lygon?, ae&e&v&yd& o&qu&v&u&w&v&yp&e&f&t&m%my&ll&rs;u, re&ae&u&tr&e&kw&f&cif&ES&iywoubuif&ar&jre&f&of&t&wif&a&&rs; ulrif&t&mi&u, ckv&h&aj&ym&q&v&U&j&ci&jz&plygon?

"jyn&b&aw&v&e&qif&f& luf&v&plu&w&w&pf&fo&av&mu&uh&v&yd& aj&z&f&f&ay;E&h&z&et&w&uf&E&h&f&e&k& ta&&aw&f&rn y&oi&f&v&mc&h&w&h&t&ce&fu&wnf;u 'v&u&qif&aw&G&t&y&v&f&c&R, v& ax&mi&f&ur, v& om;r, m; r&ob&e&u&R, v& r&w&m;oj&zi&ow&j&zw&c&E&h&w, q&w&u&v&u&o&f&pm;x&m;y&om&jz&plygw, ? jre&f&em&E&h&f&v&u&a&pa&&t&w&uf&t&ou&v&aw&p&aw;/ b&O&aw&f&su/ 'luf&v&pl&e&iqif&ob&f&h;ch&u&w&m 'e&e' ;y&f 'v&u&a&pl&ob&u&aw&mf&om;aw&G&ch&u&w&ma&w&G&u&pm&if& usaem&v&v&av;w&qif&t&y&v&v&w&m[ m&pm&rz&v&av&ub&v&xi&w, ?" ulrif&t&mi&f&aj&m&jy&ob&f&j&ci&jz&plygon?

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