

riʃoDPN ausvufuAsmrs;rS"avp%Lubbm0 tzlaumifrsm;

avlvmsuf

ouEʃat;*

pmwrſtuſt

þpmwrſonf jrefmpmaye, fy, þ acwluAstu@vm JriʃoDPN ausvufuAsmrs;rS "avp%Lubbm0 tzlaumifrsm;}ull avlvwifxmaom pmwrſjzpygonf avlvn&m wſſ jrefmpmaye, fy, þ acwluAstu&m oabmw&menſemſmull tajccil riʃoDPf \uAstuaygiſcſyſS jrefmhusvufuAsmrs;rull tavlvmtjzpſ owtſvavlv wifyygonf þpmwrſullavlv&aom &n&g tsurſi q&mrifopNausvufay: xm&ſom apwenEſh jrefmhusvuf "avp%Lubbm0wull azmfxlwifyvſiſ jzpygonf þpmwrſwſ tceſ(1) riʃoDPN twlywſtuſt? tceſ(2)"avp%Luf obm0? tceſ(3) riʃoDPN ausvufuAsmrs;rS"avp%Lubbm0 tzlaumiſrsmull tceſi, ſmclum avlvwifxmygonf þpmwrſonq&m riʃoDPN ausvuf uAstuſullavlvmoſt wſſ taxmuſt uljzpapEſygonf

ed gef

þpmwrſonf q&mrifopN ausvufuAsmrs;rS "avp%Lubbm0tzl aumiſ rsmullb m a&ſcs, bvlvwifxmygonf acwprſpmayavmuull Obaqmibwllwſ wpoDygt0iſzpaoſ q&mrifopNpboſ rſcſpboſ Eſiſtſpboſullt&iſwnfum uAſm aygiſajrmuſmfpbi zlqtlbzpboſ txlojziſ ausvuf'owſſ zlqrlfum ausvuf a'owſſ Buijyitſhomamumih ausvufbſ ausvufbmwſtay: oH, mZOBuDrmonf ausvufelbiſaom uAstuſullnſ tajrmuſtjrmzlqtlbni xllusvufuAsmrs;wſſ jrefmwlik EſbuſrwEſzG f "avp%Lubbm0wull azmfxlwſtboſi þpmwrſonf riſoDPN uAstuaygiſcſy(1927cEſſrS 1994cEſſt wſſ)wſſygoſaom ausvuf uAſm rsmull tavlvmtjzpboſm a&ſcs, bvlvwifxmygonf avlvn&wſſ bmoſa& qſl&m "avp%Lubbm0tzl pbytha&qſl&m"avp%Lubbm0 tzl vrl&qſl&m "avp%Lubbm0tzl ſ acgiſp0i, (2)cſlum avlvwifxmygonf avlvwify &wſſ cEſſp0ftwſſ wifyxmjciſr[wſy/ tzllw&mrsmullpboſi a&ſc, wifyxmjciſ jzpygonf

* a'guiml uxdu? jrefmpmke? rliawuobliſ

1/ rīfōDPN twkyūwt uō

q&mrīfōDPN&efūlewf? uftitlulefHawmi bufur? emwmyb&ta&syi fwif tzukēonDvfyi? trd':rdvli 1909 cEfp azaznDg&Dv 10&uP AR [laeu arfzhi cbni arfci[EPa, muwf 'lwj ajrmujszpy] nrti, qH rñ EK Of[kom uavni trnszihx i&moni rerefmr[1]zponi i, emrnfrarmi kDejzpion¹

1916-cEfp tou(7)Efpceiwif uftitlulefH a&Lisi hauisifwif q&m Odziv[Nmuauisif ynmwpwibilumoni xhemuf 1920-jynEfpwif trdomausif? 1923-cEfpwif &efūlewf pfausif wuf&mutly] 1926-cEfp rwifwif t*kyifrefm tv, swf paumv&fpmar;yf pwlwzibtmisrifonif 1929-cEfp rwifwif q, swfpmar;yfuyxODibmom *Pxlzibtmisrif, klopmvauwifwufwuf&mut onif 1933-cEfpwif 02*Pxlwefif jrefmpmyxrtqijzh atmifribonif 1935-cEfpwif jrefmpm*Pxlwefif 'lwj tqijzh atmifribonif 1936-cEfpwif t*kyif Ellifhatmuþzlwuioif ynmawmboitjzplvnfaumi? 1938-cEfpwif vef elwuioif ta&wifEsh tme&ubmom&yfsm avlma&ausif ynmawmboitjzpf vnfaumi wuf&mutlonif 1938-cEfpatmuþzlwuioif rs pmay02H&bnif 1952-cEfpwif tar&uejynaxmifka, ;vfwuioif u bmonA'ymqnfylcbonif

1933-1935cEfpwif &efūlewf uoif jrefmpmXmetc&fylfensifjy? 1935- cEfpwif tc&jyfensifjyEsh wuioif hauisifwif jrefmpmtoif twifa&rñ? wuioifAR" bmonitoif twifa&rñ? aumvif*Zif jrefmpyif, fñmif *Eavmif*Zif, fñmif 1939-cEfpwif vuفاخmufuxu? 1942-cEfpwif 'lwj urappftwif ynmwifetfotif tboiflyif efoaqmifb? 1945-cEfpwif &efūle&blbmvifta&ay:wuioif jrefmp vuفاخmufuxu? 1946-cEfp wif uxu? 1948cEfpwif wuioif bmonjyeEsh pmtlyf xkwfa0a&Xme Xmer&Esh jrefmEllifblwoetoif *sre, fmwnif? 1961cEfp rwif(1) &ufs1962-cEfp arv(12)&ufxdjrefmpmKmeygaruEshwui&fpmtyfxkwfa0 jze& aumfwDui? jrefmEllifblifauif&fztzDif? 1962-cEfpwif bmonjyeEsh pmtlyf xkwfa0a& Xmermwñfrñ? 1968-cEfpwif pmwnfrñ;tjzprS tNifpm, l ynm& Xmeü ynm&t xlt&m& 1970-cEfpwif jrefmEllifblwoetoif Oui tjzplwmDef xrfaqmif cbni? 1971-cEfp ar(3)&ufwif ynm&t xl t&mfzjzprS tNifpm, cbni? 1975-cEfpS 1979-cEfpxd *yeEllifblqumif Ellifblbmonof wuioifwif {nh ygaru[©] tjpfaqmif&futbni?

1926-cEfpkif 'leif*Zif trs(71)wif]r&moifuAsmifpwifEifazifjicifcif onif uAsipmaywif&cpu pefReaysfarmi Deif Oft muoefwynif arC0efu&fiflulefH if pefReaysif uftitlulefH if uftitlulefawmi pkl pefu armi bDPf uftitlulefawmi pkl tv&tu armi bDPf ci&fif[hbaw]? pefaoifwif armi Deif houuavmif trnfsif uif ch luif *leif u0tsuif& Mifbif bmrif? 'D' hifpaommapmifsmifwif uAsmt ajrmuif trsif

¹ pññif 02 2005? 34/

a&omclonf² x̄l̄emup̄l̄b̄m̄t̄f &mȳl̄w̄n̄p̄ūw̄f 0̄l̄m̄ūōP̄m̄ t̄l̄m̄īf̄ūl̄
]av̄īj̄r̄w̄ū, f̄ q̄k̄l̄ a&l̄D̄īȳḡw̄l̄īf̄ōP̄} [k̄z̄q̄k̄m̄& Ēp̄t̄l̄ūb̄j̄īh̄]r̄īf̄ōP̄} }
 [h̄om̄ ūāv̄m̄īf̄r̄n̄f̄ūt̄h̄ b̄l̄n̄f̄ ūĀs̄? ȳl̄ī? Ōw̄k̄l̄ āq̄m̄īf̄ȳḡ? āōz̄ēf̄m̄t̄āj̄m̄ūf̄t̄r̄m̄
 a&omclonf³

q&m̄īf̄ōP̄N̄ x̄īf̄m̄āōm̄ p̄m̄āȳv̄ū&m̄m̄r̄f̄ ar̄m̄āc̄z̄l̄ūāv̄; ūĀs̄r̄m̄ (1940)?
 Oaj̄ȳn̄ĒS̄h̄ t̄j̄c̄m̄ūĀs̄r̄m̄ (1941)? p̄m̄āȳv̄m̄ū (1948) (āZ̄m̄*ĒS̄h̄)? w̄ūb̄l̄f̄ j̄r̄f̄m̄
 t̄b̄l̄m̄ēf̄ḡȳl̄f̄ (1952-1964)? ōl̄ȳl̄q̄l̄āc̄w̄p̄r̄p̄m̄ay (1955) (ōl̄ȳl̄m̄īD̄? āZ̄m̄*ĒS̄h̄)?
 ūĀs̄l̄ȳd̄ m̄, (1963)? (r̄īf̄, h̄ŌĒS̄h̄)? c̄l̄ōn̄f̄ (1965) (āZ̄m̄*ĒS̄h̄)? ȳēf̄ĒS̄h̄īp̄n̄f̄
 (1965)? j̄r̄f̄m̄p̄j̄r̄f̄m̄r̄ (1965)? ȳŌf̄r̄īk̄w̄l̄ (1968)? āc̄s̄r̄p̄īf̄ (1970)? t̄īf̄v̄m̄ūēb̄l̄
 t̄l̄l̄w̄l̄ (1974)? v̄l̄ m̄ r̄īf̄ūl̄ (1984)? r̄īf̄ōP̄N̄ūĀs̄m̄ȳḡīf̄c̄l̄f̄ (1997)? r̄īf̄ōP̄N̄
 Ōw̄k̄w̄l̄m̄ (2002) w̄l̄z̄p̄b̄n̄f̄ 1950-c̄ĒS̄h̄w̄f̄ 0̄P̄āūs̄f̄x̄īb̄l̄ 1962-c̄ĒS̄h̄w̄f̄ ōl̄ȳl̄b̄l̄
 && b̄l̄n̄f̄ 1984-c̄ĒS̄h̄w̄f̄ v̄l̄ m̄īf̄ūl̄p̄m̄t̄l̄ȳz̄īh̄t̄s̄k̄ōp̄m̄āȳb̄m̄ōn̄ȳēf̄ & ōq̄k̄c̄j̄r̄j̄f̄c̄īf̄
 c̄l̄ōn̄f̄

j̄r̄f̄m̄p̄m̄āȳv̄m̄ūw̄f̄ x̄l̄c̄l̄ēx̄ īf̄m̄āūs̄m̄ūv̄d̄ōm̄ q&m̄īf̄ōP̄f̄ (t̄oūf̄ 95) ĒS̄f̄
 ōn̄f̄ 2004c̄ĒS̄f̄ l̄b̄*l̄w̄v̄(15)&ūl̄ wē*ĒĒθ̄ēl̄ ēl̄ūf̄ 11;30em̄&D̄w̄f̄ &ēf̄ūl̄t̄l̄ tr̄w̄(18)?
 Ōb̄x̄l̄v̄īf̄l̄l̄r̄f̄? oaj̄ȳn̄l̄t̄l̄ ūḡ l̄v̄ēl̄ōn̄f̄ ūḡ l̄v̄ēl̄w̄f̄ Z̄ēl̄' :M̄ūn̄M̄ūn̄l̄ ōm̄-
 ŌP̄p̄l̄? Ōb̄x̄l̄āūs̄('v̄b̄ēf̄? t̄N̄l̄f̄p̄m̄Ēl̄f̄īl̄w̄n̄ōr̄w̄l̄? ōr̄ā':x̄m̄c̄l̄(ĒS̄f̄ōP̄)w̄l̄
 ūs̄&p̄t̄l̄ȳōn̄f̄

2/ "av̄p̄l̄ūb̄b̄m̄0

j̄r̄f̄m̄t̄ b̄l̄m̄ēw̄f̄ "av̄l̄ [h̄ōm̄ā0̄ḡ[m̄&ūl̄

"av̄l̄ē-x̄l̄p̄l̄ t̄āv̄l̄⁴

[l̄v̄n̄f̄āūm̄f̄? p̄l̄ūl̄[h̄ōm̄ā0̄ḡ[m̄&ūl̄

p̄l̄ūl̄Z̄, l̄l̄ē-t̄j̄ȳk̄t̄r̄l̄ t̄āv̄l̄ t̄ūs̄l̄⁵

[l̄v̄n̄f̄āūm̄f̄? ōb̄m̄0̄[h̄ōm̄ā0̄ḡ[m̄&ūl̄

ōb̄m̄0̄? ē-j̄z̄p̄l̄b̄āb̄m̄⁶

[l̄v̄n̄f̄āūm̄f̄ z̄l̄q̄k̄m̄ȳōn̄f̄

It̄l̄ q̄l̄āōm̄ "av̄p̄l̄ūb̄b̄m̄0̄[b̄n̄f̄r̄b̄p̄0̄b̄q̄ūf̄s̄īb̄l̄l̄ūāōm̄ ūl̄ ? Ēl̄w̄ ĒS̄f̄
 t̄j̄ȳk̄t̄r̄p̄l̄ūb̄b̄m̄ōr̄s̄m̄ōj̄p̄b̄n̄f̄ "av̄ĒS̄p̄l̄b̄n̄f̄ 'Ēl̄w̄/s̄ū&b̄n̄f̄ r̄t̄l̄r̄s̄\\"av̄l̄

² 'v̄b̄ēf̄? 2010? 14/

³ -, īf̄-? 13/

⁴ j̄r̄f̄m̄t̄ z̄l̄ 2008? 184/

⁵ -, īf̄-? 94/

⁶ -, īf̄-? 367/

om̄wib̄l̄om ōv̄l̄w̄l̄ aem̄f̄l̄ īt̄ m̄f̄ zēv̄l̄aēl̄m̄f̄ūl̄

]]wp̄l̄wm onft̄ a&;ūl̄s

r̄ [Og M̄n̄l̄un̄f̄ȳ;ygw̄h

&wl̄c̄p̄l̄ūl̄ōf̄avawm̄} ¹¹

[k̄l̄q̄k̄m̄on̄ jref̄l̄usv̄uf̄ &f̄av̄m̄f̄v̄h̄lt̄ v̄lȳf̄l̄wp̄q̄j̄h̄ arm̄&īf̄av̄m̄f̄Esh̄
ūf̄aw̄m̄f̄ūl̄v̄lȳw̄l̄ arw̄l̄m̄v̄r̄f̄ūl̄n̄f̄aum̄f̄? ōv̄l̄w̄l̄k̄m̄; ōq̄l̄v̄l̄m̄f̄
ūl̄n̄f̄aum̄f̄ aw̄l̄&ȳgon̄f̄

&f̄av̄m̄f̄v̄h̄w̄f̄ ōv̄l̄w̄l̄m̄ōl̄q̄l̄īf̄on̄ jref̄l̄w̄m̄, Ōbūsr̄l̄ "av̄l̄k̄l̄h̄
wp̄l̄ȳīf̄z̄p̄b̄on̄f̄ &f̄ȳl̄w̄f̄ōv̄l̄w̄l̄m̄ōl̄h̄v̄l̄ūl̄" *k̄ew̄&s̄l̄ p̄m̄aȳ0w̄f̄q̄h̄

a&st̄cḡu &f̄ȳl̄f̄sm̄ü &f̄av̄m̄f̄v̄h̄m̄f̄ v̄l̄sȳgv̄m̄uōl̄s̄mon̄f̄
tv̄l̄&f̄s̄ō'ḡȳl̄r̄s̄ap̄ēf̄ ōv̄l̄w̄l̄m̄ūl̄ wp̄l̄p̄ūw̄l̄f̄ tr̄s̄ū tōh̄
n̄h̄j̄h̄]ō} [k̄ [p̄at̄m̄ōl̄l̄ av̄l̄ūon̄f̄ ōv̄l̄w̄l̄b̄l̄m̄0, f̄
tōl̄h̄q̄s̄q̄lōj̄īh̄t̄ȳl̄f̄ q̄l̄w̄f̄]a0} [k̄q̄l̄īb̄l̄\ /]ō}r̄h̄ tr̄s̄
Ōl̄f̄īq̄l̄om̄ tōl̄p̄b̄on̄f̄ a&st̄cḡu ōl̄w̄aw̄m̄x̄ūtēf̄ ōv̄l̄w̄l̄ūl̄
q̄l̄v̄l̄q̄k̄&f̄m̄on̄f̄ ¹²

[k̄ az̄f̄ȳx̄m̄on̄f̄ &f̄ȳl̄f̄w̄l̄b̄l̄īf̄on̄f̄ M̄n̄&olt̄aygīf̄ Ēb̄ūl̄n̄Ēj̄c̄īf̄ūl̄
jz̄p̄aon̄f̄ tv̄l̄"m̄w̄l̄l̄b̄l̄w̄l̄ūl̄ v̄f̄ar̄m̄p̄t̄ūl̄v̄n̄f̄ ay:aygūv̄mapygon̄f̄ &f̄ȳk̄
tv̄l̄w̄f̄ōv̄l̄w̄l̄b̄l̄īc̄īf̄on̄f̄ b̄m̄ōm̄&ūl̄ajcc̄l̄ ay:aygūv̄maom̄ jref̄l̄w̄m̄
wp̄l̄ȳīf̄z̄p̄ȳgon̄f̄

q̄m̄rīf̄ōP̄b̄nf̄ Ak̄b̄m̄ōjref̄l̄w̄l̄ūl̄ tp̄0ft̄v̄m̄'av̄l̄h̄w̄f̄ wp̄l̄z̄p̄aom̄
&f̄ȳl̄t̄āl̄ūl̄m̄f̄ūl̄w̄f̄īf̄m̄w̄f̄ H̄lȳūl̄t̄ajc̄r̄c̄l̄j̄ ausv̄ūl̄'ō &f̄ȳl̄t̄cr̄f̄t̄em̄wp̄l̄f̄ūl̄
t̄ajcc̄l̄īf̄x̄m̄āl̄ūl̄m̄f̄ aw̄l̄&on̄f̄ ausv̄ūl̄'ō &f̄av̄m̄f̄v̄h̄b̄nf̄ jref̄l̄w̄m̄
, Ōbūsr̄l̄t̄pp̄t̄r̄f̄w̄l̄ ūf̄at̄m̄f̄aeao;on̄f̄k̄ , l̄ [ē&b̄nf̄ x̄l̄ūl̄m̄f̄jref̄m̄p̄
jref̄m̄[ēf̄ys̄ūl̄om̄ausv̄ū&f̄ȳl̄t̄āl̄ūl̄m̄f̄ūl̄ȳīf̄z̄l̄q̄k̄m̄on̄f̄

ausv̄ūūl̄p̄aom̄ q̄m̄rīf̄ōP̄b̄nf̄ ōl̄ausv̄ūūĀm̄w̄f̄ ausv̄ūl̄
el̄ut̄īf̄aw;ol̄m̄z̄p̄aom̄ t̄lēf̄arm̄īf̄acḡūb̄l̄ūl̄ rar̄tr̄v̄s̄k̄n̄b̄f̄ z̄l̄q̄l̄ x̄m̄on̄f̄
t̄lēf̄arm̄īf̄acḡūc̄f̄"av̄l̄b̄nf̄ H̄lȳx̄ūl̄ ausv̄ūl̄'ōw̄f̄ aw̄l̄&av̄l̄aom̄ "av̄l̄z̄p̄b̄nf̄
x̄l̄if̄ Ak̄b̄m̄ōjref̄l̄w̄l̄ūl̄w̄l̄f̄ ī , p̄0l̄uȳf̄, Ōlȳch̄om̄ p̄ūl̄n̄Ēl̄z̄f̄ f̄ aw;ol̄z̄p̄
on̄f̄

jref̄l̄usv̄ūl̄b̄l̄f̄aum̄f̄w̄f̄ ōl̄īf̄ōl̄ōm̄ūm̄f̄aeōC̄m̄aw̄f̄m̄Esh̄
q̄f̄0w̄f̄l̄v̄l̄l̄om̄ aus̄&f̄m̄ōl̄ 'g, um̄ 'g, l̄m̄r̄s̄t̄w̄l̄f̄ ta&f̄ȳgaom̄
tōl̄p̄b̄on̄f̄ ausv̄ūl̄ el̄ut̄īf̄aw;ol̄m̄ūl̄q̄f̄c̄t̄f̄ (1989) ūĀm̄w̄f̄

¹¹ r̄īf̄ōP̄P̄ 1997? 29/

¹² ew̄&s̄l̄ ' *k̄ 2011? 117/

wūwūwūwūwūwūwūf

błębłęfausmifū tlefarmi facguf¹³

[k]lqkmonf aus&mwifü , aełkuwif Mum&qjzpāom tlefarmi facgufcif"avh onf jrefmwif bmoma&ułtajccif ay:ayguvmaom "avþ½if obmōwpelyif jzphyoni"

apwemw&mxubēom jrefmwif wibni aełboeñwif qfcsuſciſtrł qf0wfyſciſtrł wmoſexłwp&yftaejzif owfśvunvlyfūif aqmi&guāvibnif ausvubaw&mwif t½P0D tlefarmi facgubllum&cęfū qfcsu&efyifqiflifonif wptšuvnif t½P1wvfcęfū oyvifvif iñif uav;rm,ltvif p̄p̄p̄p̄l Jrnif;ollif vifqfcsu&efyifqiflifonif q&mriſoDfbnf Ogwifcif(1936)uAsif oyvifvif iñif uav;jrnif;cęfū nif p̄EþDqfcsu&efyifqiflif

iñif uav;u p̄p̄p̄p̄

Oifayguſfijrnif

cęwelyDnifax&u

qfcsuſphv;/¹⁴

[k]lqkmonf elutisqfcsuſciſonf bmoma&ułtajccif ay:ayguvmaom jrefmwif "avþ½if obmōwpelyifzpbni ptzif o'gw&mwif vifpifxifum jykvlyfelaom ausvubif ausvubomwif apwempifxifum cęfū;zif aw& onf

qfcsuſhombcg qfawmiflcif błęmxifuyifonif oifawmif wiflifnif avmifvifavibnif]OgwifcifuAsif nif p̄EþDnf qfcsuſhombcg qfiflifxif p̄mDpmzsmqf0Daygiſuł qfawmif&eftwif tajcołacmifaxmufqfAsifli jyifqifeluyif

OfDaygiſułqfawmif

ołacmifaxmufiyif¹⁵

[k]lqkmonf jrefmh Obuſr, y, wif taiwaxmifaxmif? telwoif oifesh xriſOfDaygiſ jzljlazfazif błęmxifuyifyifZnfcifonf jrefmwif EþbułunEłp&m "avþ½iflyifzpbni xriſOfDaygiſ\toifitjiſułq&mriſoDfū a&cſſpiſpmiflyif

¹³ riſoDfū 1997? 177/

¹⁴ riſoDfū 1997? 55/

¹⁵ - , if-/

pa^mifz^hmx i^meaom xri^fple^blykuav;onf xri^fO^haygi^fyif jzpawm
onf jrefmh Obusrlwif xri^fO^haygi^fum tv^f ta>&ma&mu^bh
onf q^fxri^fc^lv^fO^haygi^fulb^bmwifonf pmxri^fcsu^f O^haygi^f
ulv^burbtmaur&onf¹⁶

[k z^blq^bkmonf xri^fO^haygi^fulajrt^bizt^buam au^mvu^mw^bom aw^Eif
onf q&mrifodPbmfausvu^f"av^bu^buazmuf&mwifausvu^ftaiutou^f
au^mvu^mobmow^blyi p^bz^blq^bkmjci^fjzpfbnf

jrefmvl^btv^bbnf tv^bget&mu^bom &u^b&mu^bo^bsmr [kw^b/ arw^b w&mjyn^b
p^blvx^bvn^bts^bvn^bfjzpfbnf r^btv^b aumi^blubl^bfr^borul^b r^btv^bp^bwnf&, bvh
r&ly/ ur^bol^b ur^bom^btmv^bap&ef tr^by;aovh &bnf xlt^bumi^bu^b Ogwi^bcs^b
ay:wif

tr^bu^bl^but^b0

o^bfw^banm^b &

rmygap ur^bom

atmu^bku^bel^bsm^b/¹⁷

[l^blq^bkmonf arw^by tr^b0jci^bonf Akbmonjrefmvl^b usi^bl^bav^bom
"av^bu^buivpt^bfjzpfbnf r^btv^b aumi^blubl^btxub0*? atmu^bft^btwif
aex^bl^buaom owo^bgtm^bu^b r^bES^bkywl ubl^bapv^bbnf ur^bol^b ur^bom^btmv^bu^b
usefrmc^bomapv^bbnf p^btz^bbnf bmoma&ultajcc^b arw^ban^bmy^brs^bww^bom
jrefmvl^b p^bvi^bsapwemulazm^byaeonhbmoma&"av^bu^buumi^bifjzpfgonf

q&mrifodP^b bmoma&q^b&m "av^bu^bubm0tz^bsmwif jrefmhausvu^f
&sfykt v^b? ae^b0fq^b0wif v^bES^b q^ficsu^f q^fuyav^bom "av^bu^buwl^b y^bif
ay:v^b p^braw^bonf x^byif tv^bys^bsmwif ajAmrnbf wnl^bly;í v^bav^bl^bumi^b?
tv^bvn^b&mwif o^blv^bu^bw^bsmu^f o^blv^bu^bl^bumi^b? r^btv^bl^baumi^brit v^bu^b ur^bol^b
ur^bom^bw^bly tr^by;aov^bl^bumi^b bmoma&"av^bu^buumi^brs^bu^bvn^b aw^bonf
bmoma&q^b&m"av^bu^b obm0tz^bonf NunE^bbsu^bpooub^b Akbmon
t&h^bwn^bif&ef tavltusi^bumi^brs^bvn^b ay:E^bl^bumi^b aw^bg^bgonf

3? 2/ p^bly^ba&:q^b&m"av^bu^bubm0tz^b

jrefmE^bl^bbnf v, f, m^bly^ba&:E^bl^bfjzpfbnf jrefmvl^b p^bly^ba&:q^b&m
"av^bu^buwl^bbnf tr^bntm^bzih v, f, m^bly^befc^bu^b tajcw^bns x^bsum^b v^bnci^bfjzp^b
onf q&mrifodP^bnausvu^fAsm^blwif p^bly^ba&:q^b&m "av^bu^bubm0tz^btz^bfjzp^b

¹⁶ ri^bo^bP^b 2010? 49/

¹⁷ ri^bo^bP^b 1997? 55/

v, f, m^lyf efcif "avþ^lubbm^l? w^lgvlyf efcif "avþ^lubbm^lowllaw^lon^l
x^ltz^lrm^l i, M^larmi^lbu^l (1934)? z^larmi^lvn^lD (1963)? &U^lurfa&u^larmi^lh^l
(1986) u^lAsnw^lav^lmaw^l&g^lyon^l

jrefm^lusv^lu^lewlb^lnf p^ly^lha&taejzi^l v, f, m^lyf efcifull t"ux^lm vlyf^lll
Muon^l au^lsvu^lejyn^ltr^lplon^l i, p^louyif v, f, mawm^l Bu^lyifc^l t&g f&muf
aomt^lcg v, f, m^lyf efcifbm r^lzv^lm^lyf eftjzp^l vlyf^lll Muon^l au^lsvu^lewb^l
v, f, m^lyf efcifDifylu^l&U^lurfa&u^larmi^lh^l (1986) u^lAsnw^l

x^lbn^lf x, b^ln^l aumu&tv^lon^lES^l

w^lubn^le, b^ln^l aumu&tv^lon^lES^l¹⁸

L^lqkmon^l v, f, m^ll^lysla&vlyf efon^l ou^lawm^lbu^lb^lmvlyf^lll&aom vlyf e^l
r^llvay/ p^ll^lyslonitc^l h^lpi ul^l w^ll^lajru^l x^lfi, u^lon^l aumu^lplu&on^l o^lE^lll
&i^lh^llvmc^lsw^l aumu&tv^llu&on^l aumu^lEl^lll w^li^lfyi^lbl^l&mu&ef v^lh^lfrsm^lji^l
w^lli^l, Mu&on^l w^li^lfyi^llw^l aumu^lE^lyg w^ll^lle, b^lue, l^l aumu&tv^lluav^lzi^l
vlyf efaqmi^lsw^lll t^lq^ll^lq^llyi^lyesp^lfaqmi&U^lu&on^l p^ltz^ll^lwp^lq^lih x^lfi, u^l
p^ll^lysl^ltr^lji^l tou^lar^lor^l a^llum^lijy^lav^lll om awm^lbl^l, b^lrmw^l vlyf efcifq^lll&m
"avþ^lubbm^lu^lrl^lq^lo^lll g^lyon^l

ausvu^l'ow^l ci^lefon^l v, b^lrmBu^lu y^llyesp^l vlyf efcifDif^l ü Ze^l
jp^lor^lci^lefon^l t^lfyet^lllp^llye^lsp^lam^l h^lra&w^lle&ww^lon^l x^lbbm^lu^lji, M^l
armi^lbu^l (1934) u^lAsnw^l

aer^livn^l0i^l r^lvn^lq^lir

r^lvc^li^lvn^l&l^l ar^livn^l rn^layg^l

r, b^ln^lxi^ll^lz^l l^lr, b^lu^ll^l b^ln^l

b, l^l, f^lb, l^ll^l? b, l^lebi^lw^l

y^lci^laxm^l aeygv^l¹⁹

L^lk z^lqkmon^l ausvu^l'ow^l r^lon^l, b^lrmBu^lu^l\ ausZ^l&S^ly^lszp^lon^l
rl^ll^lysl^lomrn^lszp^lon^l llBu^ly^lu^l r^lon^ltybu^lbm^lllbmwez^lll&b^ln^l ausvu^l
a'ow^lri^l r^ll^lum^lfr^lom o^lE^lygjzp^ll^latm^lri^lln^l v, f, m^lyf efcifbm t"u^l
p^ly^lha&tjzp^l vlyf^lll he^lnaom ausvu^lejyn^lll tem^lw^l&m^lscn^lll ar^ltr^ll^l
rn^lszp^lon^l x^lllum^lh^lrl^ll^lo^lfygu ae^lhra&f^lif v, lk^ll^lum y^lci^laxm^lu&on^l
tr^lmol^ll^l at^lcr^lp^lrem^lae^ltp^lut^ll^lw^l v, b^lrmBu^lon^l r^ll^ly^lon^l x^ll^lt^l vlyfrot^l
E^ll^lszp^laeon^l t^ll^lu^ll^lapm^l h^lra&on^l x^lll, b^lrmw^l Bu^lpm^ll^lfeu^lllu&aom b^l0

¹⁸ ri^lo^lP^l 1997? 297/

¹⁹ ri^lo^lP^l 1997? 297/

tajctaeull a&zlkmonf u/Pmouf zg နှမိန်းနောက် ပဲတွေ့န် v, f, m
vlyfeſulbm t"ntouaror̄ aLumis̄tjzp̄ vlyfuiMuaom aušvubefyelbwl
pbytha&q̄l&m "avþ/ubobmoullaznyEllaom tzlzp̄n"

awmiblv, brmwlwlf v, f, mlyfeſclbm yiyeſqif&bnf [lwāy/
v, f, mlyfeſclbm vrſc&Donsvn̄ ab;tE&m, fmlvbn̄ tceſoilyu
touſiſq̄lEllaomis̄u]i, f̄iarmiBuB̄uAsmwf

a&p̄oeſbeſ acsmiſulv̄n̄

q̄lxeſyifb̄l v, ylx̄l

owdiſuſl aqmif, l̄monf

u, ſyg&ſBuD ao&fm̄n̄²⁰

[k̄lq̄kmonf v, f̄monf artv̄eaygr̄monf arulutlaomaLumi h̄ touq̄lE
Muaom aušawmomyv, brmBuB̄m̄ra ra&wūEllaatmif rsmymv̄n̄ vlyfeſclif
otſcl̄l a&p̄oeſbaomacsmiſul touv̄jeſwul&oub̄l acsmiſulv̄n̄om tq̄lyif
v̄n̄ arulutru owdiſuſl vni touq̄lEllaibn̄ p̄tzlwlif ciyeſonf
ylx̄lumowdiſuſnaomaLumi hv, &f̄awmfeſwriſBuD, ſyg[koem̄pz̄ ſwl̄wn̄
aeaom ZeBwp̄a, muNc̄mcsuſulzlk̄k̄m̄ciſjp̄n̄ aušvub̄l aušvub̄m w̄l
vlyfeſcl̄l p̄menem̄vn̄om q̄m̄riſoD Pbn̄ r̄tub̄lyif aušvubefw̄tay:ü
p̄menp̄d̄l Muiemp̄d̄l u]i ts̄ſpmplv̄r̄m̄ouDifmatmif a&zlkmonf k q̄Eſygonf
v, f, mlyfeſcl̄l yiyeſqif&hom "avþ/ubobmoull ylyiþaznyEllaomtzlyif
jp̄fygonf

aušvub̄'owb̄l v, f, mulſuſeſvlyfeſulit"urllzv̄mplytha& vlyfeſtjzp̄
oabmx̄m̄um touar̄louub̄l om̄ig&faz&miſci touſ arſolm̄vn̄ ſbn̄
a&S, ciſu aušvub̄m̄biw̄lif v̄l̄l̄l̄tmenſv̄n̄ ob̄l "m̄yw̄l&efLumi h̄
&biw̄l̄tgr̄bitp̄oſyilv̄x̄m̄&onf &biol&biom̄w̄l om̄ig0rfpm̄t cuſt cjp̄fam̄tcg w̄l̄g
vlyfeſjzi h̄ touar̄baom armiž̄armiſonh̄tcg ig&f̄ixl̄uav̄l̄bn̄ v̄l̄jcw̄l̄tſeſl̄
ig&caſtſyelv̄mav̄l̄bn̄ x̄ltalumiſuHpm̄l̄ z̄armi k̄m̄yD(1963)uAsmwf

ncgiſaxmiſl̄ armiž̄armiſonf

&f̄awmfeſcmiſu jyeſl̄y²¹

[k̄lq̄kmonf wap̄raLumi ſarralumub̄lyiſyeſBuD̄l̄ om̄ig&faz&aom aušvuf
aew̄l̄ vlyfeſcl̄l̄ &nl̄'avþ/ubobmoullaw&lygonf

aušvub̄'oonf Mlyrſub̄l̄ om̄igr̄muſlihy;í tv̄g ſwub̄, f, I
rp̄maomuEſay/ aušvubefw̄gonfwb̄m &faz&rauRygv̄if &biol&biom̄ w̄l̄t w̄l̄f

²⁰ riſoDp̄ 1997? 53/

²¹ - , iſ-? 97/

[ဇူဂိုက်မြန် ပဲတေသာ အားမြတ်စွမ်း၎င် အံ၍ တရာ့တရမှုသီချင်း အရသာ
ပဲသိဒ္ဓနနာဂုဏ်သို့ အဖွဲ့အစည်းအား အောင် အား ပဲပောမှု၏ "အပါယံနှင့်
အောမြှေ့ နော်လှိုင်နှင့် အား မူလနာင်"]

ထိန္တယို ရတန်မာမှုနှင့် မူလနာင် လောက်မှု သိခဲ့မှု? သူ၏
လုပ်လိပ်စာပြန်ခေါ်မှု ပေါ်မြတ်ထိန္တယိုက အောင်လောက်မှု၊ အောင်လောက်မှု
အနေဖြင့်

တေဝါဒပါ

မူလိုင်လောက်မှု

အမျိုးသမာၤ အိမ္ဒာကို²⁴

[ဇူဂိုက်မြန် မူလိုင်လောက်မှု? မူလိုင်လောက်မှု ရနေရာလောက်မှု
အားလုံးအား မူလိုင်လောက်မှု ပဲပောမှု၏ "အပါယံနှင့် အား မူလနာင်၊
တရာ့တရမှု အဖွဲ့အစည်းအား အောင် အား မူလနာင်"]

အပါယံနှင့် အားလုံးအား မူလနာင် အောင်လောက်မှု၊ အောင်လောက်မှု၊
အပါယံနှင့် အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်²⁵ (1994)၊ အနေဖြင့်

အပါယံနှင့် အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်

အောင်လောက်မှု²⁶

[ဇူဂိုက်မြန် ရနေရာလောက်မှု၊ အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်၊ အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်
ပဲပောမှု၏ "အပါယံနှင့် အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်"]

အားလုံးအား မူလနာင် ရွှေကမာရွေးကြော် ပါ အပါယံနှင့် အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်
အောင်လောက်မှု၊ အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်၊ အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်

အိမ္ဒာကို²⁷

တေဝါဒလောက်မှု

အကိုနာလောက်မှု²⁸

အပါယံနှင့် အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်

အိမ္ဒာကို²⁹

[ဇူဂိုက်မြန် အိမ္ဒာကို၊ အိမ္ဒာကို၊ အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်၊ အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်
ပဲပောမှု၏ "အပါယံနှင့် အားလုံးအား မူလနာင်"]

²⁴ ရှိစွာပါ 1997? 234/

²⁵ -၊ အိမ္ဒာကို 143/

²⁶ ရှိစွာပါ 1997? 143/

&leqyjiszpbnf xlyiqif&Efgy;olyiszpap ema;&up&gu aiμtwuf ylyif
alumim&efvly/ tobtwuf acgi&vly&mrsp &ulvnfq&faurtxd 0lloefuh
vlyfufay;wwluonf pnsvlhlfwaoi ½lyi&uhlfwaoi ausvufynbwk
plvfxm&onf Efvlkg faumi&vbnf xplvfxmtvslzihjynbaom ausvuf'oof
Efvlkg & aeaysifg faumi&faoma' ojzpallumi&full ausvufewk plvbabmxm"avh
p½lunlfswpfg i haznfyaeigonf

jrefmhusvuf'o\ vberq∓babmxm "avþ½ubbmtz wbnf
ausvufkhusvufmwl jzlpitomonh ptv&i fapwemarwam w&mwlS ayguþn
vmaom "avþ½ubbmtz yifjzplgon"

National boy scouts

riſoðPΛaušvufuAſrſm̄rſ "avþ½Lubbm̄tžlumisfrſm̄ avlvmcsuþmwrſ
wif bmoſa& q̄l̄ &m "avþ½Lubbm̄tžl̄ pþyfr̄a& q̄l̄ &m "avþ½Lif obm̄tžl̄ vþh&;
q̄l̄ &m "avþ½Lubbm̄tžl̄ ſi acgiþp0f , frſm̄cūmaavlvmwiſyxmygonſ

bmo& q̄l̄m̄'avþ̄l̄ubbm̄t̄z̄r̄s̄w̄f̄ jrefn̄husv̄uñ&sykt̄v̄? aeþof
q̄f̄csuñq̄f̄suyñv̄l̄om̄ q̄f̄0w̄ft̄v̄? ponñavþ̄l̄uñum̄f̄ w̄l̄uñ yþ̄iðy: v̄f̄þ̄
awþ̄lygon̄? jrefn̄husv̄uñ'ow̄f̄ bmo& q̄l̄m̄ v̄lyfq̄miñḡ w̄l̄uñ tp̄0fw̄p̄l̄f̄
v̄lyfq̄miñuojz̄l̄vn̄? aušv̄uþ̄nf̄ apw̄emo'þ̄w̄m̄? arw̄iñw̄m̄w̄l̄ v̄f̄ñl̄m̄ae&m̄
[vn̄? q̄l̄ygon̄?

vrl&:q̄l'm'avþ%Lubbmotzlwbnf jrefnbusvun ¼Homjzlpiaom
apwemplvixm t vñll yþiþazmññxñEbnf AR bmo momodifsmýD AR \t qñtr
atmuñwif wpDES lvpDØ rmeñmerxmþbJ arwåw&mjzihaexlþquqñlunon apwem
o'gw&mjzlpif auðarfcisñlunon auşvun y&[ð"avþbnf av;pmzG f
jrefnlavlyiþzþbnf wpDES lvpDØ ¼fyiþuhñlwñwñom þvþ'mwESþpwemuñl vrl&
q̄l'm'avþ%Lubbmotzlwñwñfawþgyonf

tc̄syftmjzif ausvufuAsırsırs "avþ%ubbmötzırsıonf jrefməşvuf
a'owif , aeWıllıvutıllıem usıllıqjzpıom "avþ%wırırsıEh jrefməşvufı
ausvubmwlı pıvæeoabmxı "avþ%ubbmırısyifızpıyonf"

