বাংলাদেশ
অর্থনীতি
সমিতি
সাময়িকী
২ ০ ০ ৭

evsjv‡`‡k MY-gvb‡li ¯^vaxbZvt
ivR‰bwZK-A_©‰bwZK †cÖ¶Z

কাজী খলীকুজ্জমান আহমদ*

†h KviY‡gvq we‡k-lY Kiv nq

evsjv‡`‡ki ivR‰bwZK-A_©bwZi PvjwPÎ we‡k-lY Kivi Rb¨ ÔDbqb gv‡b ¯^vaxbZvÕ AgZ¨ †mb c`Ë Dbq‡bi GB msÁv GKwU MnY‡hvM¨ KvVv‡gv (Sen 1991)| ¯^vaxbZvi gv‡b GB †h, bvMwiK fv‡e m‡hvM _vK‡Z n‡e Ges gvbl hv‡Z ¯^vaxbZv †fvM Ki‡Z cv‡i Zvi Rb¨ h_vh_ e¨e¯'v _vK‡Z n‡e| cvPwU †gŠwjK ¯^vaxbZvi K_v e‡j‡Qb †mb| G¸‡jv n‡jv ivR‰bwZK ¯^vaxbZv, A_©‰bwZK ¯^vaxbZv, mvgvwRK ¯^vaxbZv, AwZ`wi`‡`i Rb¨ mi¶vgjK wbivcËv, Ges ¯^"QZvi wbðqZv| c‡Z¨KwUi †¶‡Î chvß m‡hvM I h_vh_ e¨e¯'v _vK‡Z n‡e| Avevi †h †Kv‡bv GKwU `‡K NvUwZ _vK‡j Zvi weiƒc cfve Ab¨vb¨ †¶‡Î co‡e, ZvB Dwj-wLZ mKj ai‡bi ¯^vaxbZvi wbðqZv weavb Ki‡Z n‡e|

Ae¯'v Ggb n‡Z cv‡i †h, bvMwiK fv‡e ivR‰bwZK, mvgvwRK Ges A_©‰bwZK e¨vcK m‡hvM i‡q‡Q wKš' e¨e¯'v I cwµqv¸‡jv Ggb †h mvaviY gvbl †mB m‡hvM MnY Ki‡Z cv‡i bv| †hgb, evsjv‡`‡k cPwjZ ivR‰bwZK cwµqvq bvMwiK fv‡e mK‡jiB h_vh_ AskMnY Kivi K_v| wKš' cwZôvwbK KvVv‡gv, Kv‡jv UvKvi †`ŠivZ¥', ¶gZvi `vcU, ivR‰bwZK AmwnòZv, cKU mvgvwRK ˆelg¨ BZ¨vw` Kvi‡Y mvaviY gvbl KvhKifv‡e ivRbwZ‡Z AskMnY Ki‡Z cv‡ib bv; Z`cwi, Zv‡`i‡K mn¨ Ki‡Z nq bvbv iKg AwePvi, Drcxob, wbhvZb| Avevi cwicwkKZv Ggb n‡Z cv‡i †h, bvMwiK fv‡eB †Kv‡bv m‡hvM †bB, cwµqv MYgLx wK bv †mB ck AevšÍi| †Kejgv Î ¯^"QZvi wbðqZv weavb Kiv †M‡j mevi Rb¨ mgm‡hvM cwZwôZ n‡Z cv‡i| Z‡e gvbl hv‡Z mó m‡hv‡Mi mØ¨e¨envi Ki‡Z cv‡i †mB j‡¶¨ Zv‡`i `¶Zv ewׇi e¨e¯'v _vK‡Z n‡e| Avi ˆbwZKZv I mvg¨ G mKj cwµqvq Awe‡"Q`¨ _vK‡Z n‡e hv‡Z b¨vh¨ AwaKvi †_‡K †KD †hb ewÂZ bv nq|

* mfvcwZ, evsjv‡`k A_©bxwZ mwgwZ| evsjv‡`k A_©bxwZ mwgwZi ÔGKk kZ‡K evsjv‡`kt ivR‰bwZK-A_©‰bwZK †cÖ¶ZÕ kxlK cÂ`k wØevwlK m‡¤§j‡b mfvcwZi fvlY| XvKv, 8 wW‡m¤^i 2004|

hw` Gme ¯'vaxbZv gvbl mwZ¨Kvi fv‡e †fvM Ki‡Z cv‡i Z‡e Zviv mvgwRK weeZ©‡bi c‡Z¨KwU cwµqvq KvhKi fv‡e AskMnY Ki‡e e‡j Avkv Kiv hvq| Zvici I †`Lv hv‡e, wKQ gvbl kvixwiK-gvbwmK Kvi‡Y ev cvKwZK `‡hv‡M nVvr K‡i A¶g n‡q covq Av_-mvgwRK KgKv‡Û AskMnY Ki‡Z cv‡ib bv; ZvB †_‡K hvb AwZ `wi` Ges Amnvq| GKwU mô e¨e¯'v cPwjZ _vK‡j G‡`i msL¨v Le †ewk nIqvi K_v bq| G‡`i wbivcËv weavbK‡í c`‡¶c wb‡Z n‡e| A_vr G‡`i Rb¨ †eKvi fvZv, ÎvY weZiY, ¯'í †gqv`x Kgms¯'vbmn h_vh_ mnvqK e¨e¯'vi wbðqZv weavb Ki‡Z n‡e|

GLb †`Lv hvK Dch³ KvVv‡gvi wbwi‡L evsjv‡`‡k MY-¯'vaxbZvi ¯'i|c Kx?

A_%bwZK ¯'vaxbZv[1]

be¨-D`vibxwZi AvIZvq evsjv‡`k A_%bwZK I Ab¨vb¨ †¶‡Î †Rvi‡jvfv‡e ms¯'vi[2] K‡i Avm‡Q 1990-Gi `k‡Ki †Mvov †_‡K| G mKj ms¯'vi ˆe‡`wkK mvnvh¨-kZ wn‡m‡eB gjZ Av‡iwcZ| GB ms¯'vi¸‡jv ev¯'evqb K‡i A_%bwZK DcKvi †h †Zgb cvIqv hvqwb Zv wb‡æ c`Ë Z_¨w` †_‡K †`Lv hv‡e|

1990-Gi `k‡Ki gvSvgwS †_‡K evsjv‡`k RvZxq Drcv`b eQ‡i M‡o 5 kZvs‡ki wKQ †ewk Ges gv_wcQ RvZxq Drcv‡` 3 kZvs‡ki wKQ †ewk cewx ARb K‡i‡Q| Aciw`‡K ¯'vaxbZvi mgq †_‡K ga¨-1990 chš RvZxq Drcv`b cewx eQ‡i M‡o 4.8 kZvsk wQj| d‡j be¨-D`vi A_%bwZK ms¯'vi Øviv A_%bwZK cewx ZiwšZ nqwb| Aek¨ gv_wcQ cewxi nv‡i h‡_ó AMMwZ n‡q‡Q GB mg‡q Z‡e Zv N‡U‡Q gjZ RbmsL¨v ewׅi nvi h‡_ó cwigv‡Y K‡g hvIqvi d‡j| wKš AwZ wbæ gvÎvi gv_wcQ Avq _vKvi Kvi‡Y, G‡Z cewׅi nv‡i D‡j-L‡hvM¨ AMMwZi cil gv_wcQ Avq GLbI gvÎ 400 gwKb Wjv‡ii gZ| †fŠ‡MwjK AvqZb we‡ePbvq

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1. GB Ab‡”Q` Ges cieZx Ab‡”Q`mg‡n e¨eüZ Z_¨mg‡ni mÎ n‡”Q: Bangladesh Bank 2004; MoF 1999 and 2004; UNDP 2003 and 2004.

2. GB ms¯'vi¸‡jvi g‡a¨ i‡q‡Q me ai‡bi cY¨ Ges †mev I BDwUwjwU (†hgb wk¶v, ¯'v¯'¨, we`¨r, †UwjKwgDwb‡Kkb, cwb)-i †emiKwiKiY Ges G¸‡jv m¤úwKZ miKwi wbqšY wkw_jKiY; Ges miKvi‡K †QvU Kiv mn e¨vcK ckvmwbK ms¯'vi| G¸‡jvi g‡a¨ A‡bK ms¯'vi Avgv‡`i wb‡R‡`iB Kiv DwPZ, `vZv‡`i ejvi A‡c¶v bv K‡i—†hgb mkvmb cwZôv msµvš ms¯'vimgn| Z‡e `vZv‡`i Pwn`v Abhvqx A‡bK kZ ev¯'evq‡bi d‡j †`‡k mgm¨vi mwó nq †ewk †hgb KjKviLvbv eÜ Kivi d‡j Kgms¯'vb msKwPZ nq, hvi wei|c cfve c‡o `wi`‡`i Ici Ges †mevmgn mvaviY gvb‡li Rb¨ mnRj f¨ Kivi †¶‡Î †emiKwiLv‡Zi Ici wbfi Kiv hvq bv| GQvov ms¯'vi kZ¸‡jv me †`‡ki Rb¨ GKiKgB ev¯eZvi wfbZvi ¯xKwZ †bB| `vZv‡`i g‡a¨ hypocrisy-I i‡q‡Q| Dbqbkxj Kwl cavb †`kmg‡n KwlLv‡Z mgm¨v-mgvav‡b Ges `¶Zv ewׅ K‡í †¶Î we‡k‡l fZwK †`qvi c‡qvRb n‡Z cv‡i wKš GKwU mvnvh¨ kZ n‡”Q †h, †Kv‡bv Lv‡Z †Kv‡bv fZwK †`qv hv‡e bv| Ab¨w`‡K DbZ †`kmgn KwlLv‡Z wekvj AvKv‡ii fZwK †`qv—ïa gwKb h³ iv‡ó Gi cwigvY w`‡b 100 †KwU Wjvi| mvnvh¨ kZ Abhvqx bvbv ms¯'vi ev¯'evqb K‡i Avm‡Q Ggb 54wU †`k 1990-Gi Zjbvq eZgv‡b `wi`Zi Ges 21wU †`‡k 1990-Gi Zjbvq eZgv‡b A‡bK †ewk gvbl‡K ¶avZ _vK‡Z n‡”Q (UNDP 2003)| evsjv‡`‡k wK NU‡Q Zv GB ce‡Ü Av‡jvPbv Kiv n‡q‡Q|

evsjv‡`‡ki RbmsL¨v enr[3] Ges K‡qKwU Øxc I AwZ ¶z` ivó ev` w`‡j evsjv‡`k cw_exi me‡P‡q NbemwZcY †`k—cwZ eM wK‡jwgUv‡i G‡`‡k eZgv‡b 920 Rb gvbl evm K‡ib|

weMZ 8/9 eQi a‡i A_%bwZK cewׂi ewlK Mo nvi 5 kZvs‡ki wKQ Ic‡i AvU‡K _vKvi GKwU gj KviY GB †h, GKB †gqv‡` †`‡k wewb‡qvM AvU‡K Av‡Q RvZxq Drcv‡`i Ask wn‡m‡e 23 kZvs‡ki Av‡kcv‡k| †emiKwiLv‡Z wewb‡qvM wKQUv evo‡jI miKwi Lv‡Z cvq GKB cwigv‡Y K‡g hvIqvq †gvU wewb‡qvM ev‡owb| †`kR mÂqI weMZ 8/9 eQi a‡i RvZxq Drcv‡`i 18 kZvs‡k AvU‡K Av‡Q| we‡`‡k KgiZ evsjv‡`kx‡`i Øviv †cwiZ A_ h‡_ó cwigv‡Y ewׂi Kvi‡Y RvZxq mÂq Aek¨ wKQUv †e‡o‡Q| ˆe‡`wkK FY I Ab`vb weMZ K‡qK eQ‡i M‡o 150 †KwU gwKb Wjv‡ii gZ G‡m‡Q hv RvZxq Drcv‡`i 3 kZvs‡ki gZ|[4] we‡`kx miKwi wewb‡qvM Avm‡Q AwZ ¯^í gvÎvq| eQiIqvix ˆe‡`wkK wewb‡qvM G hveZ me‡P‡q †ewk cvIqv †M‡Q 2003 m‡b—Gi cwigvY wQj 43.2 †KwU gwKb Wjvi hv RvZxq Drcv‡`i GK kZvs‡kiI Kg|

Avevi cvq mKj Lv‡ZB i‡q‡Q wbæ gvÎvi Drcv`bkxjZv| Kwl (km¨, cïm¤ú`, gvQ) Lv‡Z Drcv`b 1990-Gi `k‡Ki gvSvgwS †_‡K eQ‡i M‡o 3.5 kZvsk nv‡i †e‡o‡Q e‡U, Z‡e Zv ZjbvgjKfv‡e GLbI wbP chv‡q i‡q‡Q, Px‡bi KwI-Drcv`bkxjZvi Zjbvq A‡bK Kg| Zvi Ici i‡q‡Q Avq e›U‡bi †¶‡Î wecj ˆelg¨| Avi GB ˆelg¨ †e‡oB P‡j‡Q|

Ic‡ii (A_vr abx) 20 kZvsk gvb‡li RvZxq Av‡qi Ask 1991/92 m‡b 44.5 kZvsk †_‡K †e‡o 2000 m‡b 55.0 kZvs‡k `wo‡q‡Q| Aciw`‡K wb‡Pi (A_vr `wi`) 20 kZvsk gvb‡li Ask 1991/92-Gi 6.52 kZvsk †_‡K 2000-G 4.97 kZvs‡k †b‡g †M‡Q| ˆelg¨ cwigvcK wMwb mPK 1991/92-Gi 0.344 †_‡K †e‡o 2000-G `wo‡q‡Q 0.472| †gŠwjK Pwn`vi b¨bZg cvc¨Zv we‡ePbvq †`‡ki cvq A‡aK gvbl `wi` Ges GKZZxqvsk AwZ `wi`| Avi gvbe-ghv`vi (A_vr †gŠwjK Pwn`vciY Qvov I wb‡Ri Av_-mvgwRK I ivR‰bwZK KgKvÛ Ges Dbq‡bi c_ wb‡Ri cQ›`gZ wbaviY K‡i †mB Abmv‡i KvR Ki‡Z cvivi) wbwi‡L G‡`‡k Av‡iv A‡bK †ewk gvbl `wi`|

`wi` Ges †Kv‡bvg‡Z `wi`¨mxgvi Ic‡i Ae¯'vbKvix gvb‡li AwaKvskB fwgnxb ev fwg-`wi`; Ab¨vb¨ m¤ú` I Zv‡`i †bB A_ev ¯^í Av‡Q Ges Kgms¯'v‡bi m‡hvM †_‡KI Zviv ewÂZ| MvgxY evsjv‡`‡k Avq I Kgms¯'v‡bi gj Drm fwg Ges †`‡ki wZb-PZ_vsk gvbl Mv‡gB evm K‡i| MvgxY Lvbvmg‡ni 55 kZvsk G‡Kev‡iB fwgnxb ev A_%bwZK we‡ePbvq fwgnxb| Av‡iv 31 kZvsk cwšK KlK| A_vr 86 kZvskB fwgnxb ev fwg-`wi`|[5] †`‡ki AwaKvsk gvb‡li

3. 2001 Av`gïgvix Abhvqx evsjv‡`‡ki RbmsL¨v eZgv‡b 13.5 †KwU| Z‡e 14.5 †KwU chš n‡Z cv‡i e‡j wKQ wfbgZI i‡q‡Q| GB ce‡Ü e¨eüZ †`‡ki †gvU RbmsL¨vi e¨envi i‡q‡Q Ggb me Z_¨ 2001 Av`gïgvix-wbfi| [4]

4. cKZ (Real) ˆe‡`wkK mvnvh¨ A‡bK Kg Ges eQi eQi a‡i K‡g Avm‡Q †Kbbv wRwbmc‡Îi `vg evo‡Q|

5. fwg gwjKvbv msµvš Z_¨ 1995/96 m‡bi| G wel‡q Gi †P‡q mv¤cwZK Z_¨ †bB| Z‡e eZgv‡b Ae¯'vi Av‡iv AebwZ n‡q _vK‡e e‡j aviYv Kiv hvq|

Ab¨vb¨ m¤ú` G‡Kev‡iB †bB ev AwZ ¯í Av‡Q †Kbbv Zv‡`i Avq Kg, mÂq †bB ev AwZ mvgvb¨ Ges mnRk‡Z FY cvIqvi m‡hvM LeB Kg| G Qvov I Zviv c‡qvRbxq Z_¨-ewÂZ| ¶` FY †`‡ki †ek wKQ `wi` gvbl †c‡q _v‡Kb Z‡e `wi`Zg 15 kZvs‡ki gZ gvbl ¶` FY cvb bv, †Kbbv ¶` FY cvIqvi Rb¨ †h cwigvY Rwg _vKv c‡qvRb Zv Zv‡`i bv _vKvq Zviv GB FY cvIqvi Dch³ we‡ewPZ nb bv| Z`cwi ¶` FY GKwU mvgwqK wU‡K _vKvi †Kškj gvÎ| GB FY-e¨e¯v †`‡ki `wi` I wcwQ‡q cov gvb‡li Rxeb gv‡bi †UKmB AMMwZ mvab Ki‡Z cv‡i Ggb Dbqb cwµqv Pvj Kivi †¶‡Î †Kv‡bv Ae`vb iv‡Lwb|

†eKviZ GZ e¨vcK †h Zv †`‡k cvß kgmg‡qi 40 kZvsk ev Zvi I †ewk †eKvi| Gi g‡a¨ wkwÿZ AwkwÿZ DfqB i‡q‡Q| MvgxY AKwlLvZ Ges kû‡i AbvbôwbKLv‡Z hviv ¯wb‡qwRZ (G‡`i msL¨v A‡bK) Zv‡`i Avq LeB Kg| GQvov I Av‡iv A‡bK gvbl hviv A`¶, Avav`¶ ev mvaviY Kv‡R wb‡qwRZ Zv‡`i gRwi/†eZb LeB ¯í| Kv‡RB †`Lv hv‡”Q †h, evsjv‡`‡ki AwaKvsk gvbl A_%bwZK cwµqvq G‡Kev‡iB ev h_vh_fv‡e AskMnY Ki‡Z cvi‡Qb bv Ges d‡j `wi` †_‡K hv‡”Qb, wcwQ‡q co‡Qb A‡b‡K| Aciw`‡K `wie Kiv nq †h, evRvie¨e¯v KvhKifv‡e mK‡ji Rb¨ m‡hvM mwó K‡i| wKš ev¯eZv GB †h, evRvi A_bwZi cKU cwZ‡hvMZvgjK ev¯eZvq, abxiv Ges ¶gZvevbivB me mgq Rqx nb, m‡hvM-mweav meB `Lj K‡i †bb| Ab¨w`‡K `wi` I `ej Rb‡MvôxGB cwZ‡hwMZvq AskMn‡Yi †hvM¨ZvB iv‡Lb bv, †Kbbv Zv‡`i Avq ¯í, Zv‡`i m¤ú` †bB ev LeB mxwgZ Ges Zv‡`i `¶ZvI †bB|

mvgwRK ¯vaxbZv

mvgwRK †¶‡Î K‡qKwU ¸i"ZcY we I‡q evsjv‡`‡ki ARb D‡j-L‡hvM¨| G¸‡jvi g‡a¨ i‡q‡Q: RbmsL¨v, wkïgZ¨ I gvZg„Z¨i nvi D‡j-L‡hvM¨fv‡e K‡g‡Q Ges wk¶vq we‡kl K‡i bvix wk¶vq h‡_ó AMMwZ n‡q‡Q| cvbxq R‡ji †¶‡Î, 1990-Gi `k‡Ki gvSvgwS chš bjKc-Gi gva¨‡g AMMwZ Ggb wQj †h, mgm¨wUi cY mgvavb cvq n‡q AvmwQj| wKš Av‡mwbK mgm¨v †`Lv †`qvq G‡¶‡Î AMMwZ e¨vnZ n‡q‡Q ïa ZvB bq, eis †ek wKQ A‡avMwZ N‡U‡Q| cqtwb®vk‡bi †¶‡Î Ae¯v LeB †kvPbxq; cvq 70 kZvsk gvbl ¯v¨m¤§Z cqtwb®vkb e¨e¯v-ewÂZ|

1990-Gi `k‡K eQ‡i M‡o gvÎ GK kZvsk cwigv‡Y (one percentage point) `wi`¨ K‡g‡Q| ZvB 1991/92-G †h 60 kZvsk `wi`¨ wQj Zv kvgK MwZ‡Z K‡g 2000-G `vovj 50 kZvs‡k| GKB nv‡i 2000 †_‡K G chš `wi`¨ K‡g _vK‡j Zv 2004-G n‡e 46 kZvsk| AvbcwZK nv‡i `wi`¨ GB cwigvY Kg‡j I msL¨vq (†gŠwjK Pwn`vi wbwi‡L) 2004 m‡b cvq 6.5 †KwU gvbl `wi`|

†`‡k e¨vcKfv‡e weivRgvb Ges µgeagvb mgvRwe‡ivax KvhKjv‡ci GKwU kw³kvjx KviY n‡”Q e¨vcK †eKviZ| †eKvi‡Zi Awfkvc-D™Z nZvkv (we‡kl K‡i wkwÿZ †eKvi‡`i g‡a¨), A‡bK †eKvi‡K gv`K, AmvgwRK KvhKjvc, Aciva I mšv‡mi w`‡K †V‡j w`‡q‡Q Ges

w`‡”Q| G‡`i A‡bK‡K bvbv KKg, `bxwZ I mšvm-Gi kw³kvjx ivR‰bwZK Ges AivR‰bwZK cô‡cvlKiv (godfathers) mn‡RB Zv‡`i `‡j wfwo‡q †bq A‡_i wewbg‡q Ges bvbv c‡jvfb †`wL‡q| GB cô‡cvlK‡`i n‡q Zviv Aciva K‡i, mšvm K‡i Avi cô‡cvlKiv _v‡K Avov‡j, aiv‡Qvqvi evB‡i| G K_v ejvi A‡c¶v iv‡L bv †h, †`‡k AvBb-k•Ljvi Ae¯v LeB bvRK| Rvbgv‡ji wbivcËvi Afve cKU| AvB‡bi kvmb wb‡q K_v ejv nq cPi, miKv‡ii †fZ‡i I evB‡i| wKš AvB‡bi kvmb cwZôvi †Kv‡bv e¨e¯vB †bqv nqwb| Z‡e `wi`, wcwQ‡q cov gvbl A_vr †h wekvj Rb‡Mvôx wew”Qb †_‡K †Mj ZvivB `‡fv‡Mi wkKvi nq †ewk K‡i| wePvi wefvM‡K ckvmb †_‡K Avjv`v Kivi wb‡`k mwcg †KvU K‡qK eQi Av‡M w`‡q‡Q, wKš KvRwU GLbI m¤úb Kiv nqwb|

†`‡ki e¨vcK gvbl mKj AMMwZ †_‡K wew”Qb †_‡K †M‡Qb| mvgwRK cwR AbbZ i‡q †M‡Q †Kbbv †`‡k miKwi-‡emiKwi mvgwRK-cwZôwbK KvVv‡gv, mgwšZ c‡Póvi aib I ¯i Ges ixwZ Av`k LeB AbbZ i‡q †M‡Q| World Economic Forum (WEF)-Gi The Global Comparative Report 2004-05-G †`Lv †M‡Q, †h 104 †`‡ki Ici Rwic Pvjv‡bv n‡qwQj †m¸‡jvi g‡a¨ cwZôwbK KvVv‡gv mPK-Gi wbwi‡L evsjv‡`k mewbæ ¯vb †c‡q‡Q|

ivR‰bwZK ¯vaxbZv

evsjv‡`‡k ivR‰bwZK cwi‡ek `wU cavb `‡ji g‡LvgwL Ae¯v‡b cvqkB DËß _v‡K| we‡ivax `jI miKv‡ii Ask| wKš evsjv‡`‡k we‡ivax `jmgn KLbI KvhKi Ae`vb iv‡Lwb ev ivL‡Z cv‡iwb| G‡`k memgq miKviB GKKfv‡e KvR K‡i Avm‡Q| GK_v e¨vcKfv‡e, GgbwK miKv‡ii Af¨š‡iI, ¯xKZ †h †`‡ki eo eo mgm¨vi KvhKi mgvav‡bi j‡¶¨ H mKj wel‡q miKwi I we‡ivax `j¸‡jvi g‡a¨ b¨bZg mg‡SvZv cwZwôZ nIqv c‡qvRb| wKš †mB j‡¶¨ †Kv‡bv AMMwZ KLbI nqwb|

G‡`‡k ivRbxwZ A_ I †cwkkw³wbfi| GLv‡b ivRbxwZi gj j¶¨ Rb‡mev bq eis e¨w³i, cwiev‡ii, †Mvôxi A_-weË I `‡ji cwZcwË ew×| GB ivR‰bwZK cwi‡e‡k Kv‡jv UvKvi gwjK A‡bK `bxwZevR ivRbxwZ‡Z †hvM`vb K‡i‡Qb| G iKg A‡b‡KB wbevP‡b wR‡Z GLb AvBb cYqbKvix e‡b wM‡q‡Qb| wbevP‡b A‡bK UvKv LiP K‡i Zv‡`i ¶gZv-‡gqv‡` Zviv Av‡iv A‡bK †ewk A_-m¤ú` Kw¶MZ K‡i †bb—NI I wewfb iKg `bxwZi gva¨‡g|

†`Lv hvq cvqktB ¶gZvq AwawôZiv Zv‡`i e¨_Zv XvKvi Rb¨ e³ZvevRxi Avkq wb‡q _v‡Kb| Rvjvgqx e³Zvq RbMY‡K eSv‡Z Pvb †h, Zviv †`‡ki gvb‡li Rb¨ AvcvY †Póv Pvjv‡”Qb Ges Zv‡`i mKj KgKv‡Ûi gj j¶¨ mvaviY gvb‡li mL I mgw× wbwðZ Kiv| Zviv we‡ivax‡`i‡K mgm¨v e‡j wPwýZ K‡ib Ges wb‡R‡`i Kv‡R AMMwZ I‡`i Rb¨ e¨vnZ n‡”Q e‡j †NvlYv †`b| wKš ev¯eZv n‡”Q: G‡`‡k mvaviY gvbl KLbI miKv‡ii Dbqb KgKv‡Ûi gj j¶¨ n‡q I‡Vwb| Kv‡RB AvR †`‡k `wi`¨, eÂbv, ˆelg¨ I wew”QbZv GZ e¨vcK I Mfxi| e¯Z ¶gZv I m¤ú‡`i †jvf G‡`‡ki ivRbxwZi gj wbqšK| GB †jv‡fi Kvi‡YB A‡b‡K ¶gZvevb‡`i

†Pjvq cwiYZ nb| †Kv‡bv Dch³Zv ev `¶Zv bv _vKv m‡ËI G‡`i A‡bK‡K ¸i“ZcY miKwi c‡` wb‡qvM †`qv nq| Ges Zviv Zv‡`i wb‡qvMKZv‡`i Zó Ki‡ZB m`v e¨¯— _v‡Kb Ges †mB g‡ZB Kvh m¤úv`b K‡i _v‡Kb b¨vq Ab¨v‡qi wePvi bv K‡i| Avevi ivR‰bwZK †bZe›`‡K cvqktB ej‡Z ïbv hvq †h, RbMYB mKj ivR‰bwZK ¶gZvi Drm| wKš‘ †hb‡Zb cKv‡i wbewPZ nIqvi ci wb‡R‡`i I wbR `‡ji ¯^v_©mw×i j‡¶¨B gjZ Zviv KvR K‡ib| Avi mvaviY gvbl †_‡K hvb Ae‡nwjZ| mvaviY gvbl ZvB `wi`¨ I AmnvqZ †_‡K †ewi‡q G‡m wb‡R‡`i Ae¯vi DbwZi j‡¶¨ KvR Kivi m‡hvM †_‡K ewÂZ _v‡Kb|

GB Ae¯vq †`‡ki mvaviY gvbl ivR‰bwZK cwµqvq KvhKifv‡e AskMnY Ki‡Z cv‡ib bv| Zviv B”QvgZ †fvU w`‡Z cv‡ib bv, cv‡ib bv Zv‡`i cwZwbwa wbevP‡b B”QvgZ AskMnY Ki‡Z, †h bxwZ KvVv‡gvq †`k cwiPwjZ n‡e Zv wbavi‡Y Ges Dbqb bxwZ I KgmwP MnY I ev¯evq‡b h_vh_ Ae`vb ivL‡Z| †Kbbv ¶gZv †jvfx †fvUcv_xiv A_ Qovb, fq-fxwZ c`kb K‡ib Ges c‡qvRb‡ev‡a mšvmx †jwj‡q †`b| MYZwšK gj¨‡eva Ges wewaweav‡bi †_vovB †Zvqv°v K‡ib Zviv| Kv‡RB mvaviY gvbl ivR‰bwZK cwµqvq KvhKifv‡e AskMnY Kivi m‡hvMB cvb bv|

mi¶vgjK wbivcËv

Av‡MB ejv n‡q‡Q †h, †Kv‡bv †`‡k hw` mweKfv‡e MYZš AbmiY Kiv nq Ges mvaviY gvb‡li Rb¨ ¯vaxbZvmgn wbwðZ Kiv nq Z‡e †mLv‡b AwZ `wi` Ges wech¯ gvb‡li msL¨v mxwgZ n‡e| G‡`i kvixwiK ev gvbwmK cwZeÜKZv _vK‡Z cv‡i ev †Kv‡bv cvKwZK `‡hv‡Mi Kvi‡Y Giv nZ`wi` n‡q co‡Z cv‡ib| G‡`i Rb¨ mi¶vgjK wbivcËv e¨e¯v MnY Ki‡Z n‡e| wKš‘ evsjv‡`‡k A‡bK gvbl nZ`wi`| Kv‡RB eq¯‹fvZv, m‡hvM-ewÂZ‡`i Rb¨ Dbqb KgKvÛ, Ges Kv‡Ri wewbg‡q Lv`¨ KgmwPi gZ †ek wKQ cKí _vKv m‡ËI A‡bK gvbl (GK ZZxqvsk n‡Z cv‡i) nZ`wi` Ges gvb‡eZi Rxeb hvcb Ki‡Qb|

¯”QZvi wbðqZv

evsjv‡`‡ki kvmbe¨e¯v bvbv mgm¨vÑAvµvš‘ h_v: `bxwZ, AcPq, AvgjvZwšK `xNm‚ÎxZv, mgš‡qi Afve, ¯RbcxwZ I ivR‰bwZK D‡Ïk¨gjK wm×vš MnY| ¯”QZvi Afve e¨vcK| mvaviY gvbl Rv‡bbB bv wKfv‡e bxwZKvVv‡gv wbaviY Ges wm×vš MnY Kiv nq| gZvgZ Z‡j a‡i bxwZ wbavi‡Y Zviv cfve †dj‡Z cv‡ib Ggb †Kv‡bv cwZôvbK ev cwµqvMZ e¨e¯v †bB| miKwi †mev cwZôvbmg‡ni KvhKjvc Zv‡`i ¯úk K‡i bv Ges †m wel‡q cwZev` Kivi KvhKi †Kv‡bv e¨e¯v †bB| Zv‡`i †Pv‡Li Avov‡j ¶gZvevbiv e¨vcK m¤ú` Kw¶MZ K‡i wb‡”Qb—`bxwZ, †hvMmvRm I Kv‡jvevRvix gva¨‡g| Revew`wnZvI Abcw¯Z|

GgZve¯vq ejv hvq, †`k ÔMYZwšK ˆ¯iZšÕ ev Ô^¯iZwšK MYZ‡šÕ-i gva¨‡g cwiPwjZ n‡q Avm‡Q| GB e¨e¯vq gwó‡gq ¶gZvevb‡`i ¯v‡_B Av_-mvgwRK I ivR‰bwZK wm×vš gjZ MnY Kiv nq Ges mvaviY gvbl _v‡Kb wew”Qb| evsjv‡`‡ki ev¯eZv GUvB|

Dcmsnvi

Dbqb gv‡b gvb‡li Av_-mvgwRK I ivR‰bwZK ¯vaxbZvi KvhKi m¤cmviY AgZ¨ †m‡bi GB `kb Aej¤b K‡i GB ce‡Üi mPbv K‡iwQ| †kl Ki‡Z PvB Zvi *Development as Freedom* eB-Gi me‡kl evK¨ DØZ K‡i: ¯vaxbZvi bvbv m¤vebvi ev¯e i|c`vbB Dbqb *(Development is a momentous engagement with freedom's possibilities)*| ¯vaxbZvi m¤vebv we¯i Ges eûgLx| ejv nq ¯vaxbZvi nvRv‡iv †gvnbxq i|c i‡q‡Q|[6] wKš ck n‡"Q: evsjv‡`‡ki bvbv mgm¨vq RRwiZ gvb‡li Rb¨ †Kgb K‡i ¯vaxbZvmgn wbwðZ Kiv hvq? ev¯‡e Zviv `vm bv n‡j I ¯vaxbZvi †Kv‡bv †gvnbxq i|‡ci mÜvb Zviv cvq bv| GB K_wU Dbqbkxj we‡ki cvq meÎB c‡hvR¨|

hw`I wb‡Ri Av‡jwKZ ¯v‡_B GUv Kiv DwPZ, ZeI evsjv‡`‡ki kvmK‡kYx Ges Ab¨Î ¶gZvevbiv Ggb e¨e¯vi ceZb Ki‡Qb bv Ges Ki‡eb bv e‡jB †`Lv hv‡"Q| wewa e¨e¯vUv Ggb nIqv DwPZ hv‡Z mvaviY gvbI mgm‡hv‡Mi AwaKvix n‡q wb‡R‡`i fwel¨r môfv‡e MVb Ki‡Z cv‡ib| AvR ev¯e AwfÁZv GB †h, we‡ki meÎB be¨-D`viZvev` abx I ¶gZvevb‡`i c‡¶ KvR Ki‡Q, `wi` I `ej‡`i Rb¨ bq hw`I `we Kiv nq †h, evRvi mK‡ji Rb¨B mdj e‡q Av‡b|

GUv cwi®wif‡e †`Lv hv‡"Q †h, ¯vaxbZvi ¯ú‡k mvaviY gvbI D¾xweZ n‡q wb‡R‡`i fvM¨ Mo‡eb Ggb m‡hvM eZgv‡b cw_exi cvq me Dbqbkxj †`‡ki miKvi mwó Ki‡Q bv, Ki‡e bv †Kbbv Zviv MYgLx AskMnYgjK MYZwšK miKvi bq| A_vr AgZ¨ †mb †hgbwU Pv‡"Qb †mfv‡e GmKj miKvi KvR Ki‡Q bv, Ki‡e bv| Ab¨w`‡K be¨-D`vibxwZi ¸i" wgjUb wdWg¨v‡bi aviYv AbhvqxI g³evRvie¨e¯v KvR Ki‡Q bv, mK‡ji Rb¨ m‡hvM mwó Ki‡Q bv| †`Lv hv‡"Q, be¨-D`vibxwZ-wfwËK kvmb e¨e¯vq Ges g³evRv‡i mvaviY gvbI KvhKifv‡e AskMnY Ki‡Z cvi‡Qb bv eis weivRgvb ev¯eZvq Zviv e¨vcKfv‡e ¶wZM¯ n‡"Qb| A‡bK Dbqbkxj †`k 1990-Gi `k‡Ki †Mvovi Zjbvq GLb `wi`Zi Ges A‡bK †`‡k ZLbKvi Zjbvq eZgv‡b A‡bK †ewk gvbI‡K ¶avZ _vK‡Z n‡"Q|

Ae¯vUv ZvB cKUfv‡e Dfq msK‡Ui| wKfv‡e wewfb †`‡k mvaviY gvb‡li Ges AvšRwZK cwigÛ‡j wcwQ‡q cov †`k¸‡jvi Ae¯v DbwZi c‡_ GwM‡q †h‡Z cv‡i? we‡ki w`‡K w`‡K be¨-D`vibxwZi wei"‡× cwZev` `vbv eva‡Q| msL¨vq Le Kg n‡jI ¸i"ZcY wKQ mvdj¨ AwRZ n‡"Q †Kv‡bv †Kv‡bv †`‡k| mv¤cwZK mg‡q GiKg GKwU mvd‡j¨i D`vniY †`qv hvq: weMZ b‡f¤i gv‡m MY‡fv‡Ui gva¨‡g Di"¸‡q‡Z GKwU mvsweavwbK ms‡kvab Avbv n‡q‡Q †h, cwbi cvc¨Zv GKwU gvbevwaKvi hv ivó‡K (A_vr Dch³ miKwi ms¯v‡K) wbwðZ Ki‡Z n‡e (Prentis and Richards 2004)|

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6. Aóv`k kZ‡Ki weL¨vZ Kwe DBwjqvg KvDcvi-Gi wb‡æv³ DØwZ w`‡q‡Qb AgZ¨ †mb (Sen 1992 P.298):
Freedom has a thousand charms to show
That slaves, howe'er contented, never know.

GB †h cwZev` `vbv evav‡Q Zv wK kw³kvjx n‡q RvZxq chv‡q bZb Av_-mvgwRK-ivR%bwZK e¨e¯'vi ceZb Ki‡e ev Ki‡Z cvi‡e? AvšRwZK chv‡q wK eZgvb patron-client m¤ú‡Ki ¯'‡j mvg¨-wfwËK AvšRwZKZv cwZwôZ n‡e? †h bZb e¨e¯'vi K_v ejv n‡"Q Zvi wfwË n‡e AskMnYgjK MYZš¿, b¨vq-wePvifwËK, Av_-mvgwRK-ivR%bwZK m‡hvM-KvVv‡gv Ges †mB †cÖw¶‡Z h_vh_ wewfb cwµqv, mK‡ji Rb¨ h_v‡hvM¨ Av_-mvgwRK-ivR%bwZK ¯'vaxbZv wbwðZKiY, Ges AvšRwZK cwigÛ‡j h_vh_ AskMnYgjK AvšRwZK cwZôwbK KvVv‡gv Ges b¨vq-bxwZwfwËK AvšRwZK m¤úK| G ai‡bi cwieZb NU‡eB GiKg fwel¨ØvYx GLbB Kiv hv‡e bv Z‡e Dbqbkxj wewfb †`‡k Ges AvšRwZK cwigÛ‡j Dbqbkxj we‡ki wec‡¶ be¨ D`vibwZi Kvi‡Y †h Ab¨vq NU‡Q, A‡bK gvb‡li IcI †h †evSv cwÄfZ n‡"Q, Ges A‡bK †`k †h wcwQ‡q co‡Q G¸‡jv Ggb ¸i"ZcY ev¯eZv hv Dwj-wLZ bZb e¨e¯'vi AvMgbx evZvB enb Ki‡Q GK_v Aek¨B ejv hvq|

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