

গণতান্ত্রিক আন্দোলনে বাংলার নারীসমাজ :
পাঁচটি কেস- ÷ ডি (১৯৫২-১৯৯৪)

শামীমা নাসরীন
রেজিস্ট্রেশন নং-৩০৬
সেশন: ২০১০-২০১১

ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের এম.ফিল. ডিগ্রীর জন্য রচিত অভিসন্দর্ভ
GICJ-২০১৬

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ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ইতিহাস বিভাগ থেকে
এম.ফিল. ডিগ্রীর জন্য উপস্থাপিত অভিসন্দর্ভ

তত্ত্বাবধায়ক

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ইতিহাস বিভাগ

ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, ঢাকা-১০০০

গবেষক

শামীমা নাসরীন

ইতিহাস বিভাগ

রেজিস্ট্রেশন নং: ৩০৬

সেশন: ২০১০-২০১১

ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, ঢাকা-১০০০

KZÁZv ~Kvi

ÓMYZvšK Avf`vj tb evsj vi brixmgiR t cãDw tKm-÷wW (1952-1994)Û wktivbvtg Mtel Yv Kvh©
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ফিগকবি

এইসময় যেসকল রবীন্দ্র/ GB রবীন্দ্রী মতো ইবি তঁরাই আঁতু Zvi বইসমূহ I ফলমূল cwiPq, মিস-বই K thvMvthvM, bvbv ai tbi msugkŸ, MhY-eRŸ, Dlvb-cZb, Avi wef`in wece|¹ agI eY[©] ঊবেফকই MYgubtj i ivR%bWZK, A_ bWZK I mvs`WZK gub³ i Avf`vj bB MYZmsŸK Avf`vj b| `xN[©] mgq ati cwiPvj Z MYZmsŸK Avf`vj tbi PŸc weŸUK mvgŸR`ev`x kvmKtMvôx fvi ZeŸI P`f`axbZv tğtb ůbtZ eva`nq| Awe f³ fvi ZeŸI P`AwaKvi Av`vq, mvgmRK Aegub³, bvi x ůkyv we`li, RvZxq `f`axbZvi Avf`vj b Z_v tkvl tYi weiatx Avf`vj t b m`u³ ntqtQb bvi xiv| bvi x mvgŸRi kŸLj tgvPtb i Rb` t`kgvZvi kŸLj tgvPb cŸqvRb| GuvB ůQj bvi x Avf`vj tbi mPbv cte bvi x mvgŸRi tkMvb|²

fvi Zxq Dcgnv t`k MYZmsŸK Avf`vj tbi mPbv nq weŸUK -weŸivax Avf`vj b tK`Kti | G Avf`vj tbi mdj Askx`vi ůQtb bvi x| bvi x mvgŸRtK ev` w`tq evsjvi tKvb MYZmsŸK Avf`vj b mvdj` ARŸ Ki tZ cŸti br-GB K_wŸ evsjvi exi bvi x cŸZj Zv I qvŸi`vi cŸg D`Pvi Y Kti ůQtb| ůZvb ZuŸ wekŸm t cŸ_Z Kti ůQtb Avf`Zvrm tM³ ga` w`tq|³ weŸUK hŸM evsjvi K.I.K Avf`vj t b MŸgxY bvi x`i e`vcK Ask MhY j`y` Kiv hvq| i`ayAsk MhYB bq, Avf`vj b cwiPvj bvq, mk`j; msMŸtg, Z`M`xKvi, msMvb Mto tZvjvq evsjvi K.I.K bvi xiv k;Ljv, mnm I `pZvi cwiPq w`tqtQb| GKB m t½ K.I.K bvi xMY mvgmRK ůbcxotbi weiatx I weŸvbaeaitbi MYZmsŸK Avf`vj b cwiPvj bv Kti tQb|⁴ weŸUK Avgtj i JcibteŸkK kvm tbi msNvZcY[©] ivR%bWZK-mvgmRK-A_ bWZK cwi w`Zi Kvi tY RbM tYi gta` t`ki yvi Av`kŸR tM I tV| bvi x mvgŸRi ivR%bWZK m tPZbZv w`tq Mto tZvtj b weŸvbaeamsMvb| Gi gta` ůbWj fvi Z gŸnjv m tŸŸj b (1926), KstMh gŸnjv msN (1939), gŸnj g j M gŸnjv mŸgŸZ (1941), gŸnjv AvZŸi yv mŸgŸZ (1942), w`ygnvmfv gŸnjv mŸgŸZ, LŸvb gŸnjv mŸgŸZ cŸfŸZ. D t j L t h v M |⁵ weŸUK mvgŸR`ev`x kvmK tMvôx 1947 m t j fvi ZeŸI P`f`axbZv tğtb ůbtZ eva`nq Ges atg³ wŸfŸtZ t`k fiM Kti | gŸnj g msL`vMvi ôZvi wŸfŸtZ MvZ nq cwiK`vb| i i`æ nq ag³ b f³ ivRbWZ Avi m v`u³ vŸqK `v`v| tm `v`vq nvrvi nvrvi gvby gvi v hvq, ůbt`^nq j vL j vL gvby Ges AMvYZ bvi x AcgvbZ nq, m`Ÿj nvi vq |⁶ GB Pi g m v`u³ vŸqK cwi w`Z tgvKvtejvi Rb` gnvZŸ MvŸx GuM t q Av tmb| ůZvb ZrKvj xb gŸnj gj M- Gi tnv tmb t m vni v l qv`Ÿ m t½ t`Lv Kti b| gnvZŸ MvŸxi D t `v t M ôk v Ÿ t m b v ô b v t g GK W eo `j MvZ nq; eŸ bvi x t m B `t j Ask MhY Kti b| 1947 m t j i 1 t`tK 4 t m t P`t i A b y Ÿ Z nq `v`v weŸivax AmsL` wŸŸQj | 1947 Gi A t ± v e i g v t m K j K v Z v i w`ygtqiv cBvq ůbgŸŸ Kti gŸnj g t g t q t`i t K

Avi gnyj g tqtiv Ct` AvgšY Rvbrq un` ytgqt` i tK| Gfite un` ygyj g `gĀxi tPón Ptj |⁷ Gi cieZPmgqtq Amv`c` vqKZv I agbbitc¶Zvi `vteZ Mto I tV Avt` vj b|

weUk Jcubtekk kvtbi Aemvbi ci iia nj cwk`lbr kvtkt`i cĀZµqvkyj kymb e`e`v| cwk`lbr kvtkMY evlvi i RvZxqZv, ms`wZ. I Rxeb avivi Dcti AvNvZ nvtb| Zvi B weiax me`jxq fvlv msMġg cui l` i tL `wvq (1948 mtj Rbre kvgmj Avj g tK AvnĀvqK Ges Rbre Avāy gvrb tK hMY AvnĀvqK g tbrxZ Kti 28Rb m`m` wbtq evsj v tK ivófvivi ghv`v` vxi ctj me`jxq fvlv msMġg cui l` MWZ nq)| wki i yv mvgwZ, I qvix gnvjv mvgwZ I Ab`vb` mvgwZi Kgt`m`m`iv fvlv Avt` vj t b mµqfite AskMġY Kti w t j b| cvovq cvovq ōme`jxq fvlv msMġg cui l` ō vj dtj U weZiY Kiv, gnvj v t` i mfv Kiv, Zv t` i gta` mµK e³e` t cĀv t b v BZ`w` wQj Gme msMV t bi KvR| G Kv t R mi Kvi `gbbwZ D t c y v Kti teMg mvdqv Kvgj, Kvgi abvvi j v B j x, nvj gv LvZb, bi-Rvnb gjnk`, Avdmvix Lvbg I Av t i v A t b t K mµq fvgKv ti t L t Q b |⁸

1952-Gi fvlv Avt` vj b RbM t Yi gta` Av t j vob mµ Kti | ivófviv evsjv Kivi j t j` evlvi bvi xiv Z_v QvĀx mgvR Rxeb evRx ti tL Avt` vj t b S w t q c t o | i v R a i b v m n m i v t` t k fvlv i yvi KvR Kti t Q b w k v y K v, M v n Y x, K g t m n m K j t` i i b v i x | R x e t b i g v q v Z`v M K t i Z v i v b i b v t M i c b m f i r q A s k M ġ Y K t i t Q b | G g b w K 144 a v i v f 1/2 K t i g v Z f v l v q K _ v e j v i A w a K v i Z v i v A v`v q K t i w b t q w t j b | B i z n i m w e t k l Y K i t j t` L v h v q t h, 1952 G i f v l v A v t` v j t b Q v Ā t` i c v k v c v n k Q v Ā x i v m µ q f i t e A s k M ġ Y K t i b | w g u Q t j h v l q v, i v R c t` t k w M v b t` l q v, t c v = v i t j L v, t m e v, k u n` w g b v i w b g t b m n b i b v K v t R e v l v i b v i x i v w t j b m µ q | 1952 G i f v l v A v t` v j t b i w e i f b e c h i t q t h m e Q v Ā x m µ q f i g K v i v t L b Z v t` i g t a` m v d q v L v Z b, n v j g v L v Z b, i l k b A v i v e v P z i l k b A v i v t i Y y m v d q v A v n t g`, m v i v `Z d z, t m v d q v L v b, k i x d v L v Z b, A a`w c K v k v g m t y b v n v i, K v g i a b t b Q v, m v d q v A v j x, m j v B q v n w K g, m j v B q v W v j, b v t` i v t e M g, b i a b v v i K w e i, t i v t K q v g v n e y, m v d q v B e h n g, g g Z v R t e M g c ō j y D t j L t h M` | 1952 G i f v l v A v t` v j t b i G K w U , i a z c Y` w` K n t` Q Q v Ā x i v t K e j Q v Ā t` i e v t b Z v t` i w m x v š l K v h R i K t i w b e i s G B w m x v š l t j v t K g j` v q t b i g v a` t g Z v i v A s k M ġ Y K t i t Q b | 1952 m t j i 21 t d e a q v i t e j v 11 U v q X i K v w e k t e` v j t q i e U Z j v q 144 a v i v f 1/2 K i v e v b v K i v i t h w e Z K` P j w Q j m g t e Z t Q t j - t g t q t` i g t a` A w a K i s k t g t q i v B 144 a v i v f v l v i c t j y g Z w` t q u t j b | 144 a v i v b v f v l v i w m x v š l n t j D c w` Z Q v Ā x i v t j y t c t h Z | w m x v š l t g v Z v t e K 144 a v i v f v 0 t Z 10 R t b i G t K K w U ` j w e k t e` v j q P E j i t` t K t e i n t q k w s c Y` t k w M v b m n c w i l` f e t b i w` t K G w M t q h v t e | w g u Q t j A s k M ġ t Y i R b` w e i f b e a k y v c Ā Z ō v b t` t K A m s L` Q v Ā x i v G t m u Q t j b | w m x v š l A b l y q x c ō g I w Z x q ` j t e i n t j t M t U e` w i t K W t` l q v c v j k Z v t` i t M B v i K t i U t t K Z t j w b t q h v q | G m g q c v j k j w P v R` i i a K i t j t K Š k j M Z K v i t Y

cieZ[®] j Qv[†] x[†] i tbZ[†] Z[†] ; cvW[†] t[†] bvi w[†] x[†] š[†] nq | Qv[†] x[†] ` t[†] j i tbZ[†] Z[†] ; wQ[†] t[†] b m[†] yd[†] qv LvZ[†] b | Zui m[†] t[†] ½
 wQ[†] t[†] b i l kb Aviv ev[†] Pz m[†] yd[†] qv Avntg[†] , Aa[†] w[†] cKv kvgm[†] b[†] v[†] nvi , m[†] jvB[†] qv n[†] wK[†] g, n[†] w[†] j gv LvZ[†] b c[†] h[†] y
 w[†] ek[†] t[†] e[†] v[†] t[†] q[†] i Qv[†] x[†] tbZ[†] v[†] | Z[†] v[†] i A[†] t[†] b[†] t[†] KB c[†] y[†] t[†] ki j w[†] P[†] v[†] t[†] R[†] c[†] Av[†] nZ n[†] t[†] q[†] wQ[†] t[†] b | Av[†] t[†] v[†] j t[†] b m[†] u[†] q
 v[†] K[†] vi K[†] vi t[†] Y A[†] t[†] b[†] K b[†] vi t[†] t[†] KB K[†] vi v[†] ei Y Ki t[†] Z n[†] t[†] q[†] wQ[†] j | 1952 m[†] t[†] j i 21 t[†] d[†] e[†] t[†] q[†] v[†] i Qv[†] x[†] w[†] g[†] wQ[†] t[†] j , w[†] j
 el[†] t[†] Y[†] i ci g[†] n[†] j v m[†] g[†] v[†] t[†] RI Pig c[†] h[†] y w[†] q[†] v[†] i m[†] u[†] nq | 12 bs Afq ` v[†] m t[†] j t[†] b t[†] e[†] M[†] g m[†] yd[†] qv K[†] v[†] j ,
 t[†] e[†] M[†] g K[†] v[†] R[†] x t[†] g[†] v[†] n[†] vi t[†] n[†] v[†] t[†] m[†] b c[†] h[†] y t[†] i tbZ[†] Z[†] ; g[†] n[†] j v[†] i v m[†] g[†] t[†] e[†] Z n[†] t[†] q w[†] e[†] t[†] y[†] v[†] f K[†] t[†] i b | GK[†] u[†] w[†] b ` v c[†] t[†] e
 t[†] b |⁹

21 t[†] d[†] e[†] t[†] q[†] v[†] i c[†] t[†] i t[†] ke[†] w[†] c th MYAv[†] t[†] v[†] j b M[†] t[†] o l t[†] v Z[†] v[†] t[†] ce[†] c[†] w[†] k[†] t[†] t[†] bi w[†] e[†] v[†] f b[†] e[†] t[†] R[†] j vi Qv[†] x[†]
 l m[†] v[†] i Y b[†] v[†] i x[†] v AskM[†] h[†] Y K[†] t[†] i b | 21 t[†] d[†] e[†] t[†] q[†] v[†] i w[†] g[†] wQ[†] t[†] j , w[†] j el[†] t[†] Y[†] i c[†] h[†] y t[†] e[†] e[†] v[†] c[†] K c[†] w[†] i l t[†] i
 ev[†] t[†] RU Av[†] t[†] e[†] k[†] b g[†] j Z[†] v[†] e[†] i ` w[†] e[†] t[†] Z w[†] e[†] t[†] i vax ` t[†] j i tbZ[†] v[†] g[†] v[†] l j v[†] b[†] v Av[†] j[†] i w[†] k[†] ZK[†] M[†] x[†] t[†] ki m[†] v[†] t[†] GK[†] g[†] v[†]
 w[†] e[†] t[†] i vax ` j x[†] q g[†] n[†] j v m[†] s[†] m[†] m[†] Av[†] t[†] b[†] v[†] q[†] v[†] i v t[†] e[†] M[†] g Av[†] t[†] e[†] k[†] b t[†] t[†] K t[†] e[†] w[†] i t[†] q Av[†] t[†] m[†] b | ej v[†] e[†] v[†] u[†] j , f[†] v[†] l v
 Av[†] t[†] v[†] j t[†] b i c[†] h[†] y i w[†] K[†] U[†] v % Z[†] i x n[†] t[†] q[†] wQ[†] j Av[†] t[†] c[†] v[†] l n[†] x b c[†] h[†] y Z[†] k[†] j i v R[†] b[†] n[†] u[†] Z[†] i m[†] s[†] K[†] i t[†] t[†] K | ev[†] q[†] v[†] b[†] e[†] f[†] v[†] l v
 Av[†] t[†] v[†] j t[†] b t[†] t[†] ki b[†] v[†] i x m[†] g[†] v[†] t[†] Ri m[†] u[†] q f[†] i g[†] K[†] v[†] v[†] K[†] t[†] j | Av[†] RI Z[†] v[†] i c[†] w[†] i c[†] y[†] c[†] w[†] K[†] w[†] . t[†] g[†] t[†] j w[†] b | GB t[†] t[†] ki
 c[†] h[†] y Z[†] k[†] j Qv[†] x[†] m[†] g[†] v[†] t[†] L[†] t[†] U L[†] v l q[†] v g[†] i b[†] t[†] i R[†] b[†] Z[†] v MYg[†] v[†] t[†] j i R[†] b[†] m[†] s[†] M[†] o[†] g K[†] t[†] i t[†] o ` x[†] N[†] f[†] b Z[†] v i m[†] v[†] d[†] j ,
 e[†] v[†] Z[†] v, R[†] q Ges c[†] i v R[†] q Av[†] t[†] Q | Av[†] g[†] v[†] t[†] i g[†] t[†] v[†] t[†] t[†] k b[†] v[†] i x Av[†] t[†] v[†] j t[†] b i w[†] e[†] K[†] v[†] k MYZ[†] w[†] š[†] K | c[†] h[†] y Z[†] k[†] j
 Av[†] t[†] v[†] j t[†] b i w[†] e[†] K[†] v[†] t[†] ki av[†] i v i ev[†] B[†] t[†] i w[†] K[†] O[†] z[†] t[†] Z c[†] i t[†] i b[†] v | Z[†] v B f[†] v[†] l v Av[†] t[†] v[†] j t[†] b b[†] v[†] i x i f[†] i g[†] K[†] v[†] t[†] K b Z[†] b K[†] t[†]
 k[†] i[†] t[†] t[†] h[†] v[†] t[†] b[†] v Av[†] g[†] v[†] t[†] i K Z[†] e[†] |

1952-Gi f[†] v[†] l v Av[†] t[†] v[†] j t[†] b i c[†] w[†] i t[†] c[†] h[†] y t[†] Z Av[†] g[†] i v t[†] L[†] t[†] Z c[†] v B 1954 m[†] t[†] j i w[†] b e[†] i P[†] t[†] b h[†] y d[†] t[†] U i
 Af[†] Z ce[†] w[†] e[†] R[†] q | GB w[†] b e[†] i P[†] t[†] b b[†] v[†] i x c[†] h[†] y w[†] i n[†] t[†] m[†] t[†] e bi R[†] v[†] n[†] v b g[†] i w[†] k[†] , t[†] š[†] j Z[†] b[†] e[†] v[†] LvZ[†] b, e[†] i t[†] e[†] b[†] e[†] v[†] LvZ[†] b,
 e[†] i t[†] e[†] b[†] e[†] v[†] Av[†] n[†] t[†] g[†] , Av[†] t[†] g[†] b[†] v t[†] e[†] M[†] g, t[†] m[†] i j b[†] v ev[†] b[†] y i v[†] w[†] R[†] q[†] ev[†] b[†] y Z[†] d[†] Z[†] b[†] e[†] v[†] , t[†] g[†] t[†] n[†] i t[†] b t[†] b[†] v LvZ[†] b Ges
 m[†] s[†] L[†] v[†] j N[†] y m[†] e[†] u[†] v[†] t[†] q[†] i 3 R[†] b b[†] v[†] i x m[†] m[†] Av[†] B[†] b c[†] w[†] i l t[†] i w[†] b e[†] i P[†] Z n[†] b | t[†] m m[†] g[†] q c[†] h[†] y w[†] k[†] K c[†] w[†] i l t[†] i m[†] m[†]
 w[†] b e[†] i P[†] Z n[†] t[†] q[†] wQ[†] t[†] b t[†] b[†] w[†] j t[†] m[†] b , B[†] v | GB w[†] e[†] R[†] q b[†] v[†] i t[†] i Av[†] Z[†] w[†] e[†] k[†] t[†] m e[†] m[†] o[†] t[†] q t[†] q Ges b[†] v[†] i x v Z[†] L[†] b
 i v R[†] % w[†] Z[†] K g[†] R[†] v[†] t[†] U i m[†] t[†] ½ R[†] i o[†] Z n[†] t[†] Z v[†] t[†] K | 1955 m[†] t[†] j i b[†] t[†] f[†] e[†] t[†] i Av[†] B[†] b c[†] w[†] i l t[†] i w[†] b e[†] i P[†] t[†] b w[†] b e[†] i P[†] Z
 m[†] m[†] bi R[†] v[†] n[†] v b g[†] i w[†] k[†] , t[†] e[†] M[†] g i v[†] w[†] R[†] q[†] ev[†] b[†] y l t[†] e[†] M[†] g t[†] š[†] j Z[†] b[†] e[†] v[†] t[†] K c[†] h[†] y w[†] k[†] K m[†] i K[†] v[†] t[†] i i c[†] v[†] j t[†] g[†] U[†] w[†] i
 t[†] m[†] t[†] u[†] U[†] w[†] i w[†] b h[†] y K[†] i v n[†] q |¹⁰ 1966-Gi 6 ` d[†] v Av[†] t[†] v[†] j t[†] b l b[†] v[†] i x v e[†] v[†] j o[†] f[†] i g[†] K[†] v l ` w[†] q[†] Z[†] ; c[†] v j b
 K[†] t[†] i b | 1969 Gi MYA[†] f[†] y[†] l v[†] t[†] b i m[†] g[†] q m[†] i g[†] i K Av[†] B[†] b w[†] e[†] t[†] i vax Av[†] t[†] v[†] j b e[†] v[†] c[†] K Av[†] K[†] v i av[†] i Y Ki t[†] j 19
 R[†] v[†] b[†] g[†] v[†] i Av[†] t[†] v[†] j b K[†] v i x Qv[†] x[†] t[†] i D[†] c[†] i c[†] y[†] k j w[†] P[†] v[†] t[†] R[†] K[†] t[†] i | c[†] t[†] i i w[†] b 20 R[†] v[†] b[†] g[†] v[†] i X[†] i v[†] K[†] v o[†] j o[†] K[†] t[†] j t[†] R[†] i
 Qv[†] x[†] Av[†] m[†] v[†] k[†] i n[†] b |¹¹ Gi c[†] h[†] y t[†] e[†] l w[†] e[†] t[†] y[†] v[†] f w[†] g[†] wQ[†] t[†] j b[†] v[†] i x v m[†] u[†] q[†] f[†] i t[†] e Ask M[†] h[†] Y K[†] t[†] i b |

⁹ b[†] e[†] t[†] - h[†] y d[†] t[†] U - 1953 m[†] t[†] j i 4 w[†] i m[†] e[†] t[†] ce[†] w[†] k[†] t[†] t[†] bi 4 w[†] i v R[†] % w[†] Z[†] K ` t[†] j i m[†] g[†] s[†] t[†] q h[†] y d[†] t[†] U m[†] w[†] Z n[†] q | i v R[†] % w[†] Z[†] K ` j , t[†] j v[†] n[†] t[†] v Av[†] l q[†] i g[†] g[†] y[†] m[†] j g[†] j m[†],
 K[†] i l k[†] k[†] g[†] K c[†] w[†] i l b[†] R[†] i g[†] - B[†] - B[†] m[†] j i g[†] Ges MYZ[†] w[†] š[†] K c[†] w[†] i l 1954 m[†] t[†] j i w[†] b e[†] i P[†] t[†] b y[†] g[†] Z[†] v[†] m[†] b g[†] y[†] m[†] j g[†] j m[†] m[†] i K[†] v[†] t[†] i i c[†] Z[†] b N[†] U[†] t[†] b[†] v[†] i R[†] b[†] GB ` j m[†] v[†] b K[†] i v n[†] q |
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th gvbiEK tevta ZLtbv wZwb gvbtji ci tk `wvZ tPtqtQb, Zv tKej GKRb gnrRtbi ctjB mæ | tm gnEj gvbiq GKRb gvbthvxtKB | gvbhy Pj vKij xb mgta wZwb nvi tqtQb Zui gvbthvxt tQtj iag I Zui tvgx kixd BgvgtK | GB tkvK cieZP mgta Rvnbv v Bgvgti kwztZ cwiYZ ntqij | gvbhtxi ci wvfbæKvhtgti gva'tg wZwb gvbhtxi ghv cZÖvq wtrtK wbtew Z Ktib | 1992 mtj i 19 Rvbgvix ÖGKvEti i NvZK `vj vj wbgj- KvgwUÖ MvZ nq Rvnbv v Bgvgti tbZtZj¹⁴ t'ke'vcx MYmviyi, MYmgvtek, gibe eÜb, msm` AwfgtL hvIv, Ae'vb agRU gnmvgték BZ'w` KgmP cvj tbi ga' w'tq Avt'vj b telMevb nq | 1992 mtj 26 gvP© MYAv'vj tZi gva'tg tmvni v qv`P'D`v'tb GKvEti i bi NvZK tMvj vg Avhtgi HvZnmK wvvi i iæ nq | 1993 mtj 26 gvP©'vaxZv w'etm MYAv'vj Z eml RxtZ Rvnbv v Bgvgti tbZtZ MYZ`š KvgwU tNml Z nq | G Kvgk tbi tPqvig'vb wQtj b mydqv Kvgvj | wZwb 1994 mtj i 26 gvP©'vaxZv w'etm MYAv'vj tZi 2q eml RxtZ i vRct_ wkvj mgvteK Rvnbv v Bgvgti nvtZ RvZxq MYZ`š Kvgk tbi w'tcP n'tš Ktib¹⁵ 1993 mtj i 28 gvP© GKvEti i NvZK `vj vj wbgj KvgwU mgvteK cvj tki wbgj j wUPvRP wKvvi nb Rvnbv v Bgvgti¹⁶ wZwb Amy'nb, Gici Zui K'vYvi aiv cto | 1994 mtj i 2 Gicj wPwKrmvi Rb' wZwb hv'ivto'hv | Gici 1994 mtj i 26 Rly wZwb gZzeiY Ktib¹⁷ hvvcivax I ivRvKviti i wvPiti Avl Zvq Avbvi Rb' Zvü cPón wQj AZ`š Dtl thvM' | kw' Rbbx Rvnbv v Bgvgti hvvcivax' i wvPiti i `wvZ AfZce© Avt'vj tbi mPbv Kti wQtj b | hvi mdj cwi mgwß NtU ivRvKvi Kv' i tgj v Ges tgv Kvgvi ævgtvbi dvm Kvhtviti gva'tg | GB Mtel Yv Ktg©1952-Gi fvl v Avt'vj b t_tK i iæ Kti Rvnbv v Bgvgti wZti vavb-Kvj, 1994 mvj chšimgqKj wbtq bvi xi figKvK chaj vPbv Kivi cPón MhY Kiv ntqtQ |

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miv#vrvKvi `vb tctqtQ| GLv#b cvKv#v`vi evv#b KZ# m#v#v#gme`vcx ZrKv#xb ce`cv#K`#v#bi
brix mgv#Ri Dci th ee#Zv, v#b#Zv, `ckv#PK AZ`v#vi I nZ`vKvU msMvZ ntqtQ Zvi weeiY
i#q#Q| vKš` gyp`h#x AskMhYKvix brix`i figKvi weeiY Av#v`Z| gyp`h#x AskMhYKvix
brix`i i vR#v#ZK figKvi gj`vqb c#qvRb|

†dvi Kiv teMg i nPZ MŠ' fāxbZv msMōg I gnyh̄x bvi x| GB MŠU KtqKRb e^{iv}i m^{iv}šj Z cPóvq (m^{iv}Bd g^{iv}š A^{iv}kivd Avi m^{iv}x, b^{iv}g g^{iv}š tZŠn` Avj i agx, m^{iv}gqv Avdix bxcv) c^{iv}lv i a^{iv}MĀ, b^{iv}vqYMA t^{iv}tK 1998 m^{iv}tj cKvkZ nq| MŠU t^{iv}tj LK I Z^{iv} m^{iv}thv^{iv}viv gnyh̄x AskMh̄Yi g^{iv}ātg th Ae`vb t^{iv}tLqB Zv g^{iv}vqB Kivi tPóv K^{iv}t^{iv}Qb| Zte G MŠU gnyh̄x i m^{iv}veR `wóKiv t^{iv}tK g^{iv}vqZ b^{iv} n^{iv}tj I gnyh̄x b^{iv}ixi Ae`vb g^{iv}vq^{iv}bi c^{iv}igK c^{iv}vm w^{iv}nt^{iv}te w^{iv}PyZ Kiv hvq| fāxbZv msMōg I gnyh̄x b^{iv}ix MŠU b^{iv}ixi B^{iv}Zn^{iv}m c^{iv}M^{iv}tb m^{iv}vqK etj w^{iv}te nPZ|

GKvĒi i w^{iv}b^{iv}uj k^{iv}n` R^{iv}v^{iv}b^{iv}iv Bg^{iv}tgi W^{iv}tqix 1986 m^{iv}tj X^{iv}V^{iv}i m^{iv}Üb^{iv}x cK^{iv}k^{iv}b^{iv} t^{iv}tK cK^{iv}k nq| MŠ' t^{iv}tj L^{iv}Ki e^{iv}w^{iv}MZ w^{iv}b^{iv}ij w^{iv}c Z^{iv}tj a^{iv}v n^{iv}tq^{iv}Q| t^{iv}tj LK 1971 m^{iv}tj i 1 g^{iv}P^{iv} t^{iv}tK 17B w^{iv}W^{iv}t^{iv}m^{iv}† chŠ^{iv}h̄x i N^{iv}U^{iv}vej x^{iv}ij w^{iv}cex K^{iv}t^{iv}Qb| gnyh̄x w^{iv}el q M^{iv}tel Y^{iv}i Rb` G^{iv}U G^{iv}K^{iv}U m^{iv}vqK MŠ|

m^{iv}g^{iv}qv K^{iv}v^{iv}tj i GKvĒi i W^{iv}vqix MŠU X^{iv}V^{iv}i R^{iv}M^{iv}Z cK^{iv}k^{iv}Y^{iv} t^{iv}tK 1991 m^{iv}tj cK^{iv}k nq| MŠU t^{iv}tj LK t^{iv}t^{iv}ki t^{iv}fZi t^{iv}tK gnyh̄x t^{iv}tK c^{iv}Z^{iv}y Kivi A^{iv}w^{iv}ÁZ^{iv} m^{iv}k;Lj f^{iv}te e^{iv}Y^{iv} K^{iv}t^{iv}Qb| Z^{iv} W^{iv}q^{iv}i t^{iv}Z gnyh̄x b^{iv}ix m^{iv}g^{iv}t^{iv}Ri m^{iv}uq AskMh̄Yi w^{iv}PĪ Z^{iv}tj a^{iv}v n^{iv}tq^{iv}Q| GB MŠU G^{iv}K^{iv}R^{iv}b b^{iv}ixi gnyh̄x i m^{iv}g^{iv}K^{iv}vi A^{iv}w^{iv}ÁZ^{iv}vi f^{iv}Z| c^{iv}Z^{iv}y f^{iv}Z w^{iv}nt^{iv}te b^{iv}ix B^{iv}Zn^{iv}m c^{iv}M^{iv}tb i t^{iv}y^{iv}Ā G R^{iv}v^{iv}Z^{iv}q W^{iv}tqix AZ`Š^{iv} i a^{iv}Z^{iv}c^{iv}Y^{iv} A^{iv}g^{iv}t^{iv} i M^{iv}tel Y^{iv}q b^{iv}ixi h^{iv}w^{iv}cZ R^{iv}x^{iv}b Ges m^{iv}g^{iv}R I i v^{iv}R^{iv}b^{iv}w^{iv}Z^{iv}t^{iv}Z Z^{iv}vi Ae`vb m^{iv}ú^{iv}t^{iv}K^{iv}Av^{iv}tj v^{iv}K^{iv}vZ K^{iv}v n^{iv}tq^{iv}Q| G a^{iv}i^{iv} t^{iv}bi M^{iv}tel Y^{iv}q W^{iv}tqix G^{iv}K^{iv}U i a^{iv}Z^{iv}c^{iv}b^{iv}Dr^{iv}m|

1998 m^{iv}tj X^{iv}V^{iv}i w^{iv}D GR c^{iv}ve^{iv}ij t^{iv}K^{iv}Y t^{iv}tK Z^{iv}cb K^{iv}g^{iv}vi t^{iv}i gnyh̄x b^{iv}ix m^{iv}g^{iv}R MŠU cK^{iv}k nq| MŠU t^{iv}tj LK e^{iv}v^{iv}s^{iv}t^{iv} t^{iv}ki gnyh̄x c^{iv}vt^{iv} i c^{iv}v^{iv}k^{iv}c^{iv}w^{iv}k b^{iv}ix t^{iv}i AskMh̄Y, Ae`vb Ges w^{iv}b^{iv}h^{iv}Z^{iv}t^{iv}bi w^{iv}eei^{iv}Y w^{iv}tq^{iv}Qb| K^{iv}w^{iv} tg^{iv}n^{iv}i t^{iv}Q^{iv}v, m^{iv}sew^{iv} K t^{iv}m^{iv}ij b^{iv}v c^{iv}vi f^{iv}x^{iv}b, j^{iv}sd^{iv} b^{iv}v^{iv}vi t^{iv}n^{iv}tj b^{iv}v, R^{iv}v^{iv}b^{iv}iv Bg^{iv}g, g^{iv}v^{iv}tj K^{iv}v teMg, g^{iv}w^{iv}Z^{iv}qv t^{iv}Pš^{iv}ij I g^{iv}g^{iv}Z^{iv}vR teMg^{iv}m Ab`vb` b^{iv}ix t^{iv}i Ae`vb D^{iv}c`v^{iv}cb K^{iv}t^{iv}Qb|

M^{iv}tel Y^{iv}i m^{iv}g^{iv}K^{iv}ij I D^{iv}t^{iv}Īk`

b^{iv}ix B^{iv}Zn^{iv}m M^{iv}tel Y^{iv}q G^{iv}K^{iv} t^{iv}k thg^{iv}b m^{iv}b^{iv}Z^{iv}b D^{iv}c^{iv}v^{iv}Ēi e^{iv}v^{iv}B^{iv}i I Ac^{iv}Ų^{iv}ij Z D^{iv}c^{iv}v^{iv}Ēi m^{iv}Üv^{iv} K^{iv}i t^{iv}Z nq, t^{iv}Zg^{iv}b K^{iv}v w^{iv}b^{iv}ā^{iv} t^{iv}Yi t^{iv}y^{iv}Ā I m^{iv}b^{iv}Z^{iv}b c^{iv}x^{iv}w^{iv}c c^{iv}w^{iv} n^{iv}vi K^{iv}i b^{iv}ixi Rb` i a^{iv}Z^{iv}c^{iv}Y^{iv}K^{iv}ij m^{iv}x^{iv}g^{iv}vi m^{iv}Üv^{iv} K^{iv}v nq| GB M^{iv}tel Y^{iv}i m^{iv}g^{iv}K^{iv}ij 1952 m^{iv}tj i f^{iv}lv A^{iv}t^{iv} v^{iv}j b t^{iv}tK i i a^{iv}K^{iv}i 1994 m^{iv}tj k^{iv}n^{iv}x` R^{iv}b^{iv}b^{iv}x R^{iv}v^{iv}b^{iv}iv Bg^{iv}tgi Z^{iv}t^{iv}i v^{iv}ā^{iv}b^{iv}K^{iv}ij chŠ^{iv}| f^{iv}lv A^{iv}t^{iv} v^{iv}j b ce^{iv}e^{iv}v^{iv}s^{iv}vi m^{iv}vs`w^{iv}ZK I i v^{iv}R^{iv}%w^{iv}ZK B^{iv}Zn^{iv}t^{iv}m G^{iv}gb G^{iv}K^{iv}U N^{iv}U^{iv} b^{iv}vi c^{iv}f^{iv}ve G^{iv}t^{iv} t^{iv}ki c^{iv}ieZ^{iv}R^{iv} t^{iv}j i c^{iv}Ų^{iv}Z`K D^{iv}t^{iv}Ī t^{iv}h^{iv}v^{iv}M` A^{iv}t^{iv} v^{iv}j t^{iv}bi g^{iv}t^{iv} t^{iv} Lv w^{iv}M^{iv}tq^{iv}Q| f^{iv}lv A^{iv}t^{iv} v^{iv}j t^{iv}bi g^{iv}ā^{iv}tg ce^{iv}e^{iv}v^{iv}s^{iv}vi Q^{iv}v^{iv}x m^{iv}g^{iv}v^{iv}R Z^{iv}v b^{iv}vi m^{iv}g^{iv}v^{iv}R me^{iv}Z^{iv}K i v^{iv}R^{iv}%w^{iv}ZK A^{iv}t^{iv} v^{iv}j t^{iv}b m^{iv}uq f^{iv}te Ask Mh̄Y K^{iv}i, h^{iv}v Ae`v^{iv}n^{iv}Z t^{iv}tK gnyh̄x I gnyh̄x c^{iv}ieZ^{iv}b^{iv}Z^{iv}b i v^{iv}ó^{iv} e^{iv}v^{iv}s^{iv} t^{iv}t^{iv}ki e^{iv}v^{iv}s^{iv}vi

bvix mgvR Zvi ivRc₃ bvgv t₃K w₃R₃K weiZ iv₃Lwb| bvi xi BwZnv₃mi `w₃Kvb t₃K ZvB 1952 GKwU D₃j L₃thvM` mvj |

fvlv Av₃`vj tbi avivew₃KZvq 1954 mv₃j wbePb, 1966 mv₃j 6 `dv Av₃`vj b, 1969 mv₃j Am₃thvM Av₃`vj b Gici Av₃m 1971 mv₃j giᵑh₃x | 1971 mv₃j giᵑh₃x esj v₃`k `v₃xbZv jvf K₃i, GKwU Amv`u₃ w₃qK iv₃c₃Zw₃Z nq| w₃Kš' 1975 mv₃j e₃Z₃tkL giRej ingv₃tbi nZ`vKv₃Üi ci ivRbw₃Zi cU cwieZ₃ nq, iia₃nq mv₃u₃ w₃qK ivRbw₃Z| t₃sj ev`x Ackw₃i wei₃x Rv₃vbiv Bgvg 1992 mv₃j NvZK `vj vj wbg₃ KwgwU gva`tg Av₃`vj b M₃to tZv₃j b Ges 1994 mv₃j i 26 R₃y wZwb gZ₃eiY K₃ib| ivRbw₃ZK I mv₃gw₃RK c₃Zev` w₃tmte NvZK `vj vj wbg₃ KwgwU Mv₃b evsj v₃`tki Av₃`vj tbi BwZnv₃m GKwU bZ₃ gv₃v m₃sthvRb K₃i| tmB Av₃`vj tbi c₃j vav e`w₃Zj w₃tj b Rv₃vbiv Bgvg| wZwb n₃q D₃v w₃tj b `v₃xbZv I mv₃f₃sg₃Zj gZ`c₃ZxK| Zvi KÜ`↑ n₃q D₃v w₃tj mviv evsj v₃`tki `v₃xbZv c₃j kw₃i KÜ`↑| 1994 mv₃j Zvi gZ₃Z Rv₃Z ywb₃Ki Rb` g₃K `w₃tj I Zwi Av`k₃K mv₃t₃b GwM₃t₃ w₃t₃ hvl qvi kw₃ mĀq K₃i t₃Q| kw₃ Rbbx Rv₃vbiv Bgvg evsj v₃`tki bvix mgv₃Ri K₃t₃Q w₃f₃KZv I evj ōZvi c₃ZxK| evsj v₃`tki bvix mgv₃R₃K wZwb t`w₃t₃Qb mKj c₃ZK₃Zvi mv₃t₃b w₃Kfv₃te gv_v DPzK₃i `w₃t₃ vK₃Z nq| Zwi Rv₃ebKvj ZvB evsj v₃`tki bvix BwZnv₃m M₃telYvi Kvj m₃xgvg AZ`šl , i₃Zc₃Y₃ Avg₃v`i GB M₃telYwU mgqKvj ZvB 1994 mvj , Rv₃vbiv Bgvgi gZ₃ ermi chšl m₃xgve₃ K₃i w₃Q|

M₃telYvi D₃f₃k` n₃jv MYZw₃šK Av₃`vj tbi evsjvi bvix mgv₃Ri fvgKv Z₃j aiv| Zte M₃telYvi w₃tkl D₃f₃k` , t₃jv n₃jv wbg₃c :

1. 1947-Gi t`k fv₃Mi ci 1952-Gi fvlv Av₃`vj b t₃K iia₃K₃i cieZ₃w₃t₃q Amv₃u₃ w₃qK mgvR Movi MYZw₃šK Av₃`vj tbi bvi xi fvgKv AbjvÜvb Kiv|
2. 1971-Gi giᵑh₃x bvi xiv th w₃tkl Ae`vb ti t₃L₃Q Zv Abjveb Kiv|
3. Rv₃vbiv Bgvgi t₃Z₃Zj t₃sj ev` I mv₃c₃w₃qKZvi wei₃x th MYAv₃`vj b i w₃PZ n₃q w₃tj Zv wj wce₃ I e`vL`v Kiv|

M₃telYvi c₃wZ I Dm

bvi xev`x M₃telYvq c₃wZ wba₃i Z nq AbjvÜv₃tbi D₃f₃k`₃K tK>`a K₃i| AbjvÜv₃tbi D₃f₃k` t₃f₃` Dm w₃fbw₃nq, c₃wZ I w₃fbw₃nq| GB M₃telYvq t₃šw₃LK BwZnv₃m c₃wZ AbjvY Kiv n₃t₃Q| t₃šw₃LK BwZnv₃m c₃wZi g₃a` Rv₃ebK_v w₃lqK mv₃vrvKv₃i w₃tkl c₃wZ AbjvY Kiv n₃t₃Q| t₃šw₃LK BwZnv₃m i Pbv i w₃wfbw₃c₃wZ i t₃Q thgb-1. mv₃vrvKvi c₃Zw₃j w₃KiY, 2. c₃Zw₃j w₃ci w₃tkl Y, 3. mv₃vrvKvi c₃vbKvi x kĀ Pq₃t₃b fvl w₃wfbw₃EK w₃tkl t₃Yi c₃QvM, 4. m₃stē`bkvj w₃lq w₃tkl t₃Y

gtrbr%eÁmbK ZtÉj c0qvM, 5. wtkl Y`šZ msµvšlgb`hwÉK ZÉmgñi c0qvM Ges 6. RxebK_v
wElqK mrvyrKvi Gi wtkl c×wZ AbyriY c0wZ.

G mKj c×wZi gta` GB MtelYvq RxebK_v wElqK mrvyrKviti wtkl c×wZ AbyriY Kiv
ntqtQ| mrvyrKviti Rb` 140wU c0kmpñj Z GKwU c0kgvjv`Zwi Kiv ntqtQ| c0kgvjvi AvtjvtK
wbePZ 5 Rb bvi xi mrvyrKvi MhY Kiv ntqtQ| Zwt`i mµútk@c0kwnkZ Zt`i AcZjZv wetePbv
Kti Zwt`i wbePb Kiv ntqtQ| 1952 mtj fvlv Avf`vj b t`tk`0Rb bvi xtk wbePb Kiv ntqtQ|
Zuiv ntj b i l kb Aviv erPzGes W. nvi gv LvZb| 4 evi i l kb Aviv erPz mrvyrKvi tbqv ntqtQ|
c0Zevi 3 NvUv mgq w`tqtQb| W. nvi gv LvZb c0Zevi 3 NvUv mgq w`tqtQb| 2q Aa`vtq 1971
mtj i gny`h× Ask tbqv`Rb bvi xi mrvyrKvi tbqv ntqtQ| ggZvR teMg Ges Ktkb wewei mt`
4 evi mrvyr Kiv ntqtQ| ggZvR teMg wZw`b mgq w`tqtQb| Ktkb wewei mrvyrKvi GKevi tbqv
ntqtQ| mrvyrKviti wZwb 3 NvUv mgq w`tqtQb| cieZxPZ Ktkb wewe kmwi i xKfite Amy`_vKvi
Kvi tY tlvj Ni, mbyvMÄ Ktkb wewei wtkl c0tcvIK GWtfvtKU eRjy gwR` tPšajx Lmi ai mt½
K_v etj I Z` msMh Kiv ntqtQ| wZwb mbyvMÄ gny`hy PPP I MtelYv tKt`i AvnYvqK| 3q
Aa`vq i wPZ ntqtQ GKvÉti i NvZK`vj vj wbgP KugwUi AvnYvq Rvnbvivi BvgvtK wbtq| Rvnbvivi
Bvgv RweZ bv_vKvi Kvi tY 2q chñqi Drm t`tk Ges NvZK`vj vj wbgP KugwUi`0Rb m`tm`i
mrvyrKviti wfiÉZ Zvi Avf`vj b wj wce× Kiv ntqtQ| GB MtelYvq mrvyrKvi vZv bvi xtk`i
e³e`mgñi AvbYw½K Z` DcvÉ wntmte mgmgvqK c1 cwi Kv ci xymbi xýv Kiv ntqtQ| GQvovl
wElqvfiÉK wewfbæBtqi mrvh` tbqv ntqtQ|

mrvyrKviti Zwi L I mgq

i l kb Aviv erPz 4 evi mrvyrKvi tbqv ntqtQ| 2013 mtj RjvB gvñm 02-07-2013, 06-
07-2013, 10-07-2013 Ges 16-07-2013 Zwi tL mKvj 10Uv t`tk`0jy 1 Uv chñl 3 NvUv mgq
w`tqtQb|

Ktkb wewei 2013 AvMó gvñm GKevi mrvyrKvi tbqv ntqtQ| 04-08-2013 Zwi tL mKvj
10Uv t`tk`0jy 1 Uv chñl 3 NvUv mrvyrKvi tbqv nq| wKš wZwb kvi xwi K AmyZvi Kvi tY tekx
K_v ej tZ cviwQtb bv| GRb` Ktkb wewei c0tcvIK GWtfvtKU eRjy gwR` tPšajx Lmi ai
tUvj tdiwb mrvyrKvi tbqv nq| wZwb mbyvMÄ gny`hy PPP I MtelYv tKt`i AvnYvqK | wZwb
AvvvtK 07-08-2013 Zwi tL mÜv 7Uv t`tk 8Uv chñl, 11-08-2013 Zwi tL mÜv 7Uv t`tk 8Uv
chñl Ges 15-08-2013 Zwi tL mÜv 7Uv t`tk 8Uv chñl mrvyrKvi t`b| wZwb Ktkb wewe mµútk©
Ab`vb` c0kñi DEi t`b|

W. nwyj gv LvZ#bi KvQ t_#K 4 evi mvyvrKvi tbqv nq| wZwb 2013 mvtj tmtP#t gvtm mvyvrKvi t`b| 4 evi B mKvj 10Uv t_#K `gyj 1Uv chSl 3 NvUv Kti 05-09-2013 , 10-09-2013, 14-09-2013 Ges 19-09-2013 Zwi tL mvyvrKvi t`b|

ggZvR teMg wZbevi mvyvrKvi w`tqtQb| 2014 mvtj i Rvbgvwi gvtm Zui mvyvrKvi tbqv nq| cUg `jveri `gyj 12Uv t_#K we#Kj 5Uv chSl 5 NvUv Kti , H mgtqi wFZI wKQzmgq wZwb `gyj i bvgvR ctob Ges Lveri Lib| 3q evi `gyj 3Uv t_#K we#Kj 5Uv chSl 2 NvUv| Zwi L,tj v h_vmtg 02-01-2014, 07-01-2014 Ges 13-01-2014|

Rvnvivi Bgvg tetP bv_vKvq Zui tQvUteib Zvniug`v mvc`v I `jRb mnthvMx k`vgj x bvmixb tPšajx I %mq`v mvg n#Ki KvQ t_#K mvyvrKvi tbi qv ntqtQ| k`vgj x bvmixb tPšajx 15-08-2015 Zwi tL weKvj 4Uv t_#K ivZ 8 Uv chSl mvyvrKvi t`b| %mq`v mvg nK 17-08-2015 Zwi tL weKvj 5Uv t_#K ivZ 8Uv chSl mvyvrKvi t`b| Rvnvivi Bgvtgi tQvU teib Zvniug`v mvc`v 19-08-2015 Zwi tL weKvj 3Uv t_#K ivZ 8Uv chSl mvyvrKvi t`b| eWY e`v`i AbgvZ wbtq Z# i K_v tUcti KW#i ti KW Kiv ntqtQ Gici tmB ti KW i#b cUzuj w`Zwi Kiv ntqtQ| Zvici MtelYvi D#i#k`i mvt_ wgvj tq Awfm` f#U wj wce x Kiv ntqtQ|

Aa`iq wfvRb

GB MtelYwU gj-Z; wZbwU Aa`vtq iwPZ ntqtQ| Zte cUtg itqtQ fvgKv Ges cwitktl Dcmsvi |

cUg Aa`iq : 1952- Gi fvlv Av#`vj tbi mvt_ hy `jRb bvi xi fvgKv wbtq tKm-÷`wWw wfvEtZ iwPZ ntqtQ cUg Aa`iq| `jRb bvi x ntjb i l kb Aviv er`Pzi W. nwyj gv LvZb| G `jRb bvi xi ivR%bwZK Av#`vj tbi AskMhY t_#K i iæKti Zv#`i mvgwMK Rxebaviv m#utK©GB Aa`iq Avtj vPbv Kiv ntqtQ|

2q Aa`iq: 1971 mvtj gvy`h# AskMhYKvix `jRb bvi x thv#vi tKm-÷`wWw wbtq iwPZ 2q Aa`iq| GB Aa`vtqi `jRb bvi x ntjb Aviv evmx K#Kb weve Ges AciRb ggZvR teMg| GLv#b gvy`h# K#Kb wevei AskMhY Ges mvgwMK Rxeb aviv m#utK©eY#v Kiv ntqtQ| AciRb ggZvR teMgti KgR#eb, ivRbwZ I tmevgj-K KgR#v# AskMhYmn Zvi mvgwMK Rxebaviv m#utK©eY#v Kiv ntqtQ|

3q Aa`iq: GB Aa`vtq Rvnvivi Bgvtgi ivR%bwZK A#`vj b m#utK©Avtj vKcvZ Kiv ntqtQ| m#ut`wqK ivRbwZi wectj MYAv#`vj b Ges Zvi Kg#q Rxeb m#utK©eY#v Kiv ntqtQ|

MtelYv Ktg# mvgw#Zv

cĀZĪU M̄tel Yv K̄t̄ḡP̄ ĩKQy m̄x̄ḡv̄x̄Zv̄ _v̄t̄K̄| Avgvi M̄tel Yv-Kḡ@UĪ Aĵv̄`v̄ ĩKQybq̄| GLv̄t̄b
Avgvi M̄tel Yv K̄t̄ḡP̄ ĩKQym̄x̄ḡv̄x̄Zv̄ Z̄t̄j̄ aiv̄ nj̄ :

1. ĩw̄f̄b̄d̄MYZ̄m̄š̄K̄ Av̄t̄`vj̄ t̄b̄ c̄j̄ad̄ t̄`iĪ f̄īḡK̄v̄ īt̄q̄t̄Q̄ ĩKŠ̄`Avgvi M̄tel Yvq̄ k̄ḡḡv̄Ī b̄iixi f̄īḡK̄v̄t̄K̄
ĩb̄t̄q̄ Av̄m̄v̄ n̄t̄q̄t̄Q̄|
2. M̄tel Yv Kḡ@U t̄ḡš̄ĪLK̄ B̄w̄Z̄n̄m̄, `š̄Z̄P̄rīt̄Yi D̄ci ĩf̄īĒ K̄t̄i c̄wi P̄w̄ij̄ Z̄ n̄t̄q̄t̄Q̄| `š̄Z̄Īb̄P̄i B̄w̄Z̄n̄m̄
c̄b̄M̄P̄b̄ tek `j̄an̄ K̄v̄R̄| Z̄`vej̄x̄ ĩw̄P̄i B̄t̄q̄i R̄b̄` c̄q̄v̄R̄b̄īq̄ D̄c̄iĒ Āt̄b̄K̄ m̄ḡq̄B̄ c̄v̄l̄q̄v̄ ĩv̄q̄ b̄v̄
ĩw̄Ī Ḡ ē`v̄c̄v̄t̄i me īK̄t̄gi D̄t̄`ĪM̄ t̄b̄q̄v̄ n̄t̄q̄t̄Q̄| ḠUv̄ Ḡ M̄tel Yvi ḠK̄ĪU m̄x̄ḡv̄x̄Zv̄ ĩn̄t̄m̄t̄e
Avgvi K̄v̄t̄Q̄ ḡt̄b̄ n̄t̄q̄t̄Q̄|
3. m̄x̄ḡZ̄ m̄s̄L̄`K̄ t̄K̄m̄-÷ ĩw̄Īi m̄n̄v̄q̄Z̄v̄q̄ M̄tel Yv Kḡ@U c̄wi P̄w̄ij̄ Z̄ n̄t̄q̄t̄Q̄| Av̄t̄iv̄ t̄eĩk̄ m̄s̄L̄`K̄ D̄c̄īt̄Ēi
m̄ḡv̄n̄vi GB̄ M̄tel Yvi c̄wi ĩw̄t̄K̄ Av̄t̄iv̄ A_@n̄ K̄t̄i Z̄j̄t̄Z̄ c̄vi Z̄|

Z`ub`R

1. Avqkv Lvbg (m`úw`Z), g`hy w`tbi `Z (XvKv: evsj v`k g`nj v cwi I`, 2001), c., 5|
2. gvtj Kv telMg, evsj vi bvi x Avt`vj b (XvKv: w` BDwb f`wm t`c`n vj ug`t`UW, 1989), c., 68|
3. gvtj Kv telMg, c`₃, c., xi|
4. c`₃, c., 101|
5. c`₃, c., 109|
6. tLvkv i vq, msM`gi wZb `kK (XvKv: RvZxq m`w`nZ` c`Kvkbx, 1986), c., 69|
7. ti YPueZ, fvi Zxq Avt`vj t`b KwgDwb ÷ t`gtqi v (1940-1950) (Kvj KvZv: gbxl v M`š`j q, 1980), c., 89|
8. gvtj Kv telMg, c`₃, c., 132|
9. c`₃, c., 131|
10. c`₃, c., 139|
11. %wbK AvRv`, 21 Rvbgvwi, 1969, c.; 1|
12. j`ydi i ngvb (m`úw`Z), knx` Rbbx Rvnbvi v Bvgv `š`i KMŠ; (XvKv: Aemi c`Kvkbn ms`v 1995), c., 9|
13. c`₃, c., 69|
14. msev`, 20 Rvbgvix, 1992, c.; 1|
15. %wbK evsj v, 28 gvP, 1994, c.; 1|
16. %wbK Bt`EdvK, 29 gvP, 1993, c.; 1|
17. %wbK evsj v, 27 Rb, 1994, c.; 1|

cŭg Aa'iq

fvlv Avf`vj tb`Rb bvi xi figKv

fvlv Avf`vj tb hui v D t j L t h v M f i g K v c v j b K t i u Q t j b Z t i i g t a Ab`Zg i l k b Aviv er`Pz I W.nvuj gv LvZb | `Rb B ZLb uQ t j b XvKv vekle`vj t q i QvT x | i l k b Aviv er`Pz k B wefv t Mi 2 q e t l P QvT x Ges nvuj gv LvZb B s t i u R wefv t Mi gv o v i ũ m - G i QvT x u Q t j b | `Rb B 21 t d e a q v i , 1952 m v t j XvKv vekle`vj t q i Z r K v j x b K j v f e t b i m v g t b QvT m g v t e t k Ask u b t q u Q t j b | G B A a ' i t q f v l v A v f ` v j t b f i g K v i v L v G ` R b t b T x ` v b x q b v i x i m s M ũ g x Q v T R x e b , K g R x e b I e ' i w 3 R x e t b i A v t j v K c v Z K i v n t q t Q |

1.1 i l k b Aviv er`Pz

GB Aa'iq i l k b Aviv er`Pz G K v a K ` x N m v y v r K v t i i u f i u E t Z D c ` v c b K i v n t q t Q | u Z i b 2 , 6 , 10 Ges 16 R j v B , 2013 Z i m i t L c ũ Z w ` b m K v j 10 U v n t Z ` g y 1 U v c h S l 3 N s U v K t i M t e l K t K m v y v r K v i t ` b | 1952 m v t j f v l v A v f ` v j t b t h m K j b v i x A e ` v b t i t L u Q t j b Z t i i g t a i l k b Aviv er`Pz Ab`Zg | u Z i b 21 t d e a q v i x , 1952 m v t j f v l v A v f ` v j t b i c ũ g e ' i i t K W f 1 / 2 K v i x b v i x | 1949 m v t j i b t f a t g v t m u Z i b X v K v vekle`vj t q ` k B wefv t M f i u Z n t q u Q t j b | u Z i b m s ` u Z g b v u Q t j b | vekle`vj t q G t m u Z i b m v s ` u Z K P P P A e ' i n Z i v t L b Ges u Z i b b v U K , A v e u E , M v b Ges c ũ v i Z k j i v R b m u Z i m s t 1 / 2 h y n t q u Q t j b | H m g q n v e e y i n g v b t k j x (1996 m v t j i t K q v i t U K v i m i K v i c ũ v b) , t n v t m b u R j y i n g v b u m i l K x (R i v n v x i b M i vekle`vj t q i m i t e K D c v P v h P QvT m s M ũ g c u i l ` m f v c u Z I t m t u U v i u Q t j b , t m B c u i l t ` u Z i b I G K R b m ` m ` u Q t j b | Z u i v m e i v B c ũ v i Z k j i v R b m u Z K i t Z b | t m B m g q X v K v vekle`vj t q i A v g Z j v q (e Z g v b t g u W t K j K t j R) t h m e m f v n Z t m L v t b u Z i b u b q u g Z D c u ` Z ` v K t Z b | A t b K m g q t M v c b m f v n Z Ges u Z i b t m m e m f v q l Ask M ũ Y K i t Z b | i l k b Aviv er`Pz p f v t e e t j b , f v l v A v f ` v j b u Q j g v Z f i v l t K ` g u n g v q c ũ Z u o Z K i v i G K u U R v Z i q A v f ` v j b | Z v B u Z i b i v o f v l v A v R Z b v n l q v c h S l A v f ` v j b u U P v i j t q t b q v i g n v b t c ũ Y v A b g v e b K t i u Q t j b | t m B D c j u a t ` t K B u Z i b Z L b K v i c ũ Z e v ` x K ũ QvT m s M V b M Y Z m S K t c ũ M m f d u t h v M u t q u Q t j b | X v K v vekle`vj t q G t m u Z i b i v R v o u Z K A v f ` v j t b m u u q f i g K v t b q v i m t h v M t c t q u Q t j b |

`be` t- MYZmsK t c ũ M m f d u - i l k b Aviv er`Pz e t j b , M m R D j n K , A v j A v n r , A v e g v d i , I e r q j m L u b , n v e e y i n g v b t k j x , u R j y i n g v b u m i l K x , t g v n v e s m j Z i b , G m G g A v j x , A v a j v g u Z b , m g t q v A v j x , t m u d q v L u b , i l k b Aviv er`Pz m X v K v vekle`vj t q i c ũ v i Z k j i QvT - QvT x ` i m g S t q 1952 m v t j , M Y Z m S K t c ũ M m f d u M m V Z n q | G u i v o f v l v e i s j v A v i t q i R b ` A ` i q x m s M V b u Q j |

mrvyrKviti wZub etj b, ZLb AþbK mvguRK etav ueciE wQj | QvTxiv Gme Dtcyv Kti weifbæ
 wguQj, mfv Ges tMvcb mfiq Ask MhY KiþZb| wekæ`vj q KZey Zt`i ewn`vi Kti t`qvi
 fmxZ cðkð KiþZb| KZey QvTx`i covibv eU Kti t`teb GB gtg@AvffveKt`i uguK w þZb
 (G aiþbi tKvb Z_` cðvY cvlqv hvqub)| mewKQzDtcyv Kti Zuv mslMgx fivBt`i mvþ_
 ivRbmZtZ thvM w`tquQtj b| wekæ`vj tq th tMvcb mfv, tjv nþZv tmLvþb ivR%bwZK Ávbm=úbæ
 AímsL`K QvTx ht_ó mvearbZvi mvþ_ Ask MhY KiþZb| mydqv LvZb, t`we ivq l tivKqv LvZb
 mfiq Zt`i wR`^gZvgZ e`³ KiþZb| ZLb tqtq`i ntj QvTx msL`v wQj 35/36 Rb|
 wekæ`vj tqi teZb ewþtZl Zuv Avþ`vj tbi gva`tg cðZev` RvvtZb| GLvþb Gtm i l kb Aviv
 ev`PzetkI GKRB wkyK Øviv AbgðYZ ntquQtj b; wZub evsjv wefvMiw kyK W. ggyv\$` knx`jym|
 whub evsjvtK ivófvlv Kivi w`K wþ`Rbv w`tquQtj b Zui tj Lubi gva`tg| W. ggyv\$` knx`jym
 Øcwk`lþbi ivófvlv mgm`wð kxlR GKwU cèÜ i Pbv Ktib hv 1947 mvtj 29 RjvB `wK AvRv`
 cwíKvq cKwKZ nq| GB cèÜ wZub etj b t

ØKstMðmi wv`Ø wv`i Abkity D`cwk`lþbi GKgví ivófvlv iþc MY` nBtj Zvnr kgy
 cðv` MgbB nBte| BstiwR fvlvi weiat` GKgví hvþ GB th, Bnv cwk`lþb tWwvubqþbi tKvb|
 cð`tki Awævmxib gvZfvlv bq| D`P wectýl GKB hvþ cðhvR`| cwk`lþb tWwvubqþbi weifbæ
 AÁtj i Awævmx`i gvZfvlv weifbæ thgb-ckZz tej þx, cvÁvex, wvÜx Ges evsjv; wKŠ` D`c
 cwk`lþbi tKvb AÁtj i B gvZfvlv iþc Pvj ybq| hv` weþ`kx fvlv ewj qv BstiwR fvlv cwi Z`³ nq
 Zte evsjvtK cwk`lþbi ivófvlv wmvte MhY bv Kivi ctý tKvb hvþ bvb| hv` evsjv fvlvi
 AvZwi`³ tKvb ivófvlv MhY KiþZ nq, D`fvlv `vex weþPbv Kiv KZè`ó|¹

cwk`lþb kvmKtMvðx evsjv fvlv wbtq lohtš; wj B nj | D`Aviex niþd evsjv tj Lvi GKwU
 cðPóv Pj wQj | Aviex niþd evsjvfvlv wkyv`vþbi GB cðPóvi weiat` ceðsvivi fvlv ms`vi
 KiguU i m`m` W. ggyv\$` knx`jym 1950 mvtj i 4 Aþveí GKwU weewZ cðvb Ktib|² ZLb ÷`vú
 l gmb AWvi dtg`D`fvlvq úKgtZ cwk`lþb tj Lv`vKtZv| W. ggyv\$` knx`jym i tj Lubi Øviv
 i l kb Aviv ev`PzAbgðYZ ntquQtj b|

`ZPvi Y KiþZ wMtq i l kb Aviv ev`Pzetj b, th w`b wZub fvlv Avþ`vj tbi e`wv`tKW fv½tZ
 wMtquQtj b tmv`b wZub j`y` KtiwQtj b W. ggyv\$` knx`jym Zui cvtkB `wbtq AvtQb| Avi
 e`wv`tKtWi mvgþb cvj k e`þ wbtq etm AvtQ| e`wv`tKW fv½vi Rb` XivKv wekæ`vj tqi AvgZj vq
 QvT-QvTxiv AþbK AvtM t`þKB Dcw`Z ntquQj | i l kb Aviv ev`PzDtj l Ktib, cðtgB W. mydqv
 LvZþbi tbZtZ; Piriþbi GKwU `j e`wv`tKW fv½vi Rb` wMtquQtj b| Ab`iv w`i Kijtj Zuv wKfvte
 e`wv`tKW fv½tZ hvte| G Dcj tý AvgZj vq Zt`i GKwU mfv ntquQj | 1952 mvtj 27 Rvbsvwi

bmRgYjI tNvI Yv QvT mgvR tK fxl Yfite fivvμvš Kti Ztj uQj | wZwb tNvI Yv Kiti b th, 0D`@
D`B nte cwiK`tibi GKgvT ivofvI v0 | GB tNvI Yvi weiat x QvT mgvR c0Zer` Kti uQj | mfvi
ctiB wK nj i ayXvKv wekne` vj tqi gta` mfvi, ugvuQj Kti tZgb jvf nte bv | Avf`vj buv XvKvi
mg`l`z Ktj tRi gta` Qwo tq w`tZ nte | tm Rb` 4 tdeatvmi clyivq mfvi Zvii L uba@i Z nj | GB
Zvii LtK wNti XvKv wekne` vj tqi QvT xiv wefbae`z Ktj tRi QvT-QvT x`i Rtov Kti uQj b |
ivofvI v evsjv i`vetZ 4 tdeatvmi tmvevi XvKv QvT-QvT x`i weivU tkvfvrhvIv tei nq |³ GfiteB
Avf`vj tB QvT QvT x`i m`u` Kiv ntquQj | QvT QvT x`i m`u` Kiv ntquQj fvlv Avf`vj b tK Avti v
kw`kij x Kivi Rb` |

i l kb Aviv er`Pz Kiv nZ Rvbv hvq, mfvi Avtj vPvri gva`tg Zviv Dc j wa Ktib, i`agvT
XvKv kn ti Avf`vj buv mxgve x ivL t j B Pj te bv | c0` ke`vnc G Avf`vj b Qwo tq w`tZ nte | Zv bv
ntj GB Avf`vj b tRiv vtj v nte bv |

Avf`vj b h_vh_fite Pij v t b vi Rb` A_@msM0ni c0qvRbxqZv t`Lv t`q | umxvš t bqv nq
GKuv uJ t bi tKŠuvq KvMR tcaQtq fvlv Avf`vj b div u j tL mevi Kiv t`tK Pvuv mSM0 Kiv nte |
GLv t b c0Z`tK mvg_@Abjvqx Pvuv w`tquQj | GfiteB fvlv Avf`vj t bi mSM0g cwi Pij b vi Rb` div u
MVb Kiv ntquQj | wZwb etj b, 1952 mtj 20 tdeatvmi XvKv wekne` vj tqi AvgZjvq MYZvšK
tc0tM0mf d0U mfvi AvtqvRb Kti | mfviq umxvš t bqv nq th, tKvb RvZix q i aZcY`w t b Zt i
`ve`vl qv_ t j v we`hvi Zfite Dc`vcb Kiti Z nte | Gi gta`B tNvI Yv Kiv nj 21 Zvii tL AvBb
cwi l t`i mfvi Avtj Z nte | ZLb umxvš t bqv th, H w`b Zviv GKuv t g t g v t i Uv t g i gva`tg ivofvI v
tNvI Yvi `veUv Rvntq t`teb | 20 tdeatvmi mfviq umxvš nq th, cti i w`b 21 Zvii tL MYZvšK
tc0tM0mf d0U tmB t g t g v t i Uv g Uv AvBb cwi l t` tcaU t`teb | G i Kg GKuv umxvš t bqv mfvi tk t l
mevB P t j tM t j b | m0vi w`tK Rv t Z cvit j b 21 Zvii L tejv wZbuv t`tK 144 aviv Rvii Kiv
ntqtQ Ges GK gv t mi Rb` tkvfvrhvIv w b l x |⁴ ZLb Zt i gta` GKuv weZ t K P So etquQj |
MYZvšK tc0tM0mf d0U GZw`b chS (30 Rvbgvix t`tK 20 tdeatvmi) th Avf`vj b mSM0g Kti
Avm t Q, tm_ t j v me wed t j hvte | 144 aviv Rvii Kiti tKvb mfvi Kiv hvte bv | Zviv AvBb cwi l t` l
th t Z cvit te bv |

i l kb Aviv er`Pz mivjvrvKv t i D t j t Ktib th, XvKv wekne` vj tqi QvT xiv wefbae mfviq,
t g t q t`i tK wefbae`z, K t j R l wefbae c0Z0vb t`tK G t b AvgZjvq Rtov Kiti Z b; hv t Z evsjv
fvlvi Rb` th Avf`vj b i i a ntquQj tmuv tRiv vtj v nq | Gfite`z Ktj tRi t g t q t`i gta`
Rvii ZmE v, Rvii Y Ges tPZbv Qwo tq cto | 1952 mtj i 21 Zvii L mKvj t`tKB XvKv
wekne` vj tqi QvT xiv wefbae`z l QvT x c0Z0vb t`tK QvT x mSM0 i i a Ktib wekne` vj tqi

AvgZjvq Zv`i iK GKf` Ro Kivi Rb`| Ab`vb`f`i gZ i l kb Aviv er`Pz tewi`q cotj b QvTx
 msMh Kivi Rb`| tejv 10Uv/11Uvi w`tk msMpxZ QvTxQvTxmn wZvb AvgZjvq Dcw`Z ntj b| wZb
 U`K cny kmn GKUv Rxc ZrKvjxb XvKv wek`e`vj`qi tMtUi mvgtb `wotq wQj | wZvb GUv j`y`
 Kti wQtb th mgteZ QvTxQvTxiv `tj `tj fVv n`q wMtqQ| QvTx msMVKf`i mvf_ QvTxiv fVv
 Avt`vj b m`ut`K`Avjvc Avtj vPbv Ki`Qb- we`kl Kti we`ktj Zviv 144 aviv fv`te wK fv`tebv G
 we`lq wbtq K`v`v`v`mi gajy K`wUtb mgteZ QvTxQvTx`i gta` cP`U evMweZUv Pj wQj | H mgq
 mgteZ RbZvi mvf_ wZvb l`L`tb, me`j`xq ivofv`v msMog cwi l`i c`y`t`K Rbve kvqQz nK
 (wRb`K`vc gv`vq w`tq Avi Kv`jv tktivqvb cti) mKj`K e`Sv`Qb, 144 aviv fv` Kiv wK n`e
 bv| Kvi Y mvgtb we`Pb, GB we`P`bi cti kw`šcy`f`te fVv Avt`vj`bi `we`vl qv`tjv Av`vq Kiv
 hvte| kvqQz n`Ki Avcmew` g`b`v`ve ZrKvj b QvTxmgvR wKQzZB t`tb wbtZ cwi wQtb bv|
 `ZPvi Y Ki`Z wMtq i l kb Aviv er`Pzetj b, kvqQz nK`K H Ae`vq t`tL nvmv nwdRjy ingvb
 (L`wZgvb m`w`w`K) nVv ty`c tMtj b| GK nvZ w`tq kvqQz n`Ki Mjvi tktivqvb atj b Avi
 Ab`nvZ w`tq Zui gv`vi wRb`Uvc Q`b tdtj w`tj b Ges wZvb Z`K ej`tj b, GLv`b Zui tKvb K`v
 ejvi Av`Kvi tbB| tQvULv`Uv GKUv a`lav`li gZ n`q wQj Ges QvTxiv Z`K `ti mwi`tq w`tq wQj |
 Gici Zv`i gvtS XvKv wek`e`vj`qi ZrKvjxb DcvPvh`W. tgvqv`3/4g tnv`tb Gi m`1/2 W.R`v`Bi
 Dcw`Z n`q wQtb| Zviv AvMZ QvTxQvTx`i ej`tj b th, 144 aviv fv`v hvte bv| 144 aviv tK`
 Kti eo ai`Yi wec` n`Z c`ti | gj`Z; G Avk`v` t`K`B Zviv tmLv`b n`Ri n`q wQtb| QvTx QvTxiv
 ZLb `p msK`i ex wQtb, th tKvb fv`te B Zviv ivofv`vi Avt`vj b t`K wQvte bv, ivofv`vi `we
 Av`vq Kti B Qvte|

i l kb Aviv er`Pzetj b, QvTxmgv`Ri gta` `p msK`i i dtj tejv 12Uvi w`tk MvRxDj nK Gi
 (fVv `m`bK) mfv`wZ`Z; AvgZjvq cnyvq mfv`i`æ`nq| mfv` tktl MvRxDj nK kvqQz nK`K
 ej`tj b th, Zui 144 aviv bv fv`vi c`teUv QvTxmgvR wKQzZB gv`te bv| i l kb Aviv er`Pz`Z
 t`K ej`tj b, ZLb mevB D`E`RZ| cwi w`wZ mvgj`v`bvi Rb` gwZb`K ej`v nj wQzejvi Rb`| G
 cwi w`wZ`Z gwZb wQzej`tj b bv, MYZw`šK Dcv`q mKtj i gZvgZ PvB`tj b| wZvb Dcw`Z QvTx-
 QvTx`i c`k`e`Ki`tj b, Zviv wK Pvq? Zviv 144 aviv fv`te wK bv? Dcw`Z QvTx-QvTx mKtj ej`tj b,
 Avt`vj b Ki`teb Ges 144 aviv fv`te b| ZLb MvRxDj nK etj DV`tj b, th hvB Ki`k ev hZ K`vB
 ej`k` bi`aj Avngb mi Kvi KZ evi`æ` ti`t`L`Q Zviv tmUv t`L`teb| Zui (bi`aj Avngb mi Kvi) u`g`K`Z
 QvTxmgvR fq cvq bv| Zviv 144 aviv fv` Ki`teb Ges tKD ej`tj b 4Rb, tKD ej`tj b 5Rb Averi
 tKD ej`tj b 10Rb Kti `tj we`f`3 n`q 144 aviv fv`te b|

wZwb tittirivi cirk wi Kkvi tci wbtP Avtkq wbtqutj b | H mgq Zvi mvgtb w tq e'vcK uj
 Pj uQj, wZwb tKvb w tK hrtb eStZ cvi uQj b bv, tckZ.wi Kkvi cv wbi Dci Dtv jvd w tj b |
 jvd w tZ wMtg iv t Ges lmgvb Mwb mvtntei evoxi gvSLvfb KuluZvti i th teov uQj Zvi gta"
 Zui kmo AvUtK wMtgUj | wZwb etj b, nqtZv ev tmLvfb tKD Rxeb evPvtZ jvk tq uQj b, wZwb Zvi
 kmoUv Qmo tq w tq cOY evmPtq uQj b, tmB gnvb tjvKUri tLuR wZwb AvRI civub | Mwb mvtntei
 evmotZ cdek Kti t LtZ tctj b th AvtM t tK A tbtKB tmLvfb Gtm tQb | H cw w wZi gta"
 i l kb Aviv ev PzK GLvfb t tL mevB Ly AvZwZ ntq cotj b | mevB Ztk wbtq e' tntq DVtj b,
 ZLb ev Pz A tPZb Ae v, tKD GKRb W. Mmbi emoi wFZi t tK cvnb Gtb ZvtK Lvl qvtj b |
 tPZbv wdti Avmtj wZwb RvbtZ Pvb Kvi wK Ae v, tK tKgb AvtQb | Kvi Y H uj tZ Zvt i KZRb
 tetP AvtQb Avi KZRb gviv wMtg tQb ZLtbv tKvb wnmve tB | Mwb mvtntei emoi t tK wZwb
 gvBtKi tNvYv i b tZ cwr uQj b th, AvnZiv mevB XvKv tgvw tKj nvmcvZvtj AvtQb | Hw b mUvq
 tgvw tKj Ktj R tnv t t j i gvBK t tK tNvYv t qv nq, ciw b 22 tde qvii mKvj mvZUvq
 tgvw tKj Ktj R cO t Y knx` Qv t t i RvbvRv AbvZ nte |⁶

W.lmgvb Mwb mvtntei emoi t tK i l kb Aviv ev Pzj y" Ki tj b, XvKv wekt e` vj tqi evsj v
 wfv tMi wkyK gvb i tP S a j x Ly wPwS Z ntq iv t w tq hrt Qb | GB `k` tStZ GLtbv tM t AvtQ |
 wKvj 4/5Uvi mgq wZwb gvb i tP S a j x i mvt tnv t t j P t j Avtmb | tnv t t j mgv i AvRR t j b v XvKv
 wekt e` vj tqi tgvw tKj t tK wPwKrmvi e e v Ki tj b | Ztk tnv t t j i wKi atg ivLv nj Ges tm
 ivZ tmLvfb Ae v b Ki tZ ntj v, ivZw Ly Kto AvZevwZ Kti uQj b Zv wZwb tSi Y Kti b | Hw b
 Qv t x tnv t t j i A t b t K B tgvw tKj wMtg uQj b AvnZ t i t LtZ l wbtR t i cO w g K t v t mev
 wbtZ | tKej gv t m j v B q v W i j b i t g G K R b Q v t x tnv t t j u Q j b | H w b m i v i v Z g v B t K t N v Y v K i v
 n w Q j th, cP z j v k , g K i v n t q t Q | c t i i w b M v t q e v b v R v b v R v c o v t b v n t e | m e t i i R b m v a v i Y t K
 Ask M h Y K i t Z e j v n w Q j | M v t q e v b v R v b v R v i c i w e t y v f A v t v j b n t e t m B K v t N v m Z n w Q j |
 XvKv wekt e` vj tqi Qv t m n t m B R v b v R v q m i v k n i t t K n v R v i n v R v i t j v K A s k M h Y K t i |⁷

wKi atg i t q G t j v i b t Z i b t Z i l kb Aviv ev Pz kixi l gb t j v b L v i v c n t q w M t q u Q j v |
 tStZ P v i Y K i t Z w M t q w Z w b e t j b, A v R K v j K v i g Z t U w j t d v t b i t h v M v t h v M G Z t e k x u Q j b v | e v P z
 A v Z w q i v H m g q Z v i t K v b Z v R v b t Z c v i u Q j b b v | c t i i w b c w t K v i g v a t g A v Z w q i v X v K v i
 c w w w Z R v b t Z c v t i b | e v P z d e l v X v K v q P v K v i K i t Z b, m K v t j w Z w b Z u i t L u R w b t Z G t m u Q j b |
 G i c i B t W b K t j t R i w c O Y c i j d w R j v Z t b v L v Z b l Z r K i j x b m v s m ` A v t g b v L v Z b t n v t t j
 Z t K t LtZ G t m u Q j b |

e`k Dcnvi w`tqUQtj b| `v`vi ci mupq ivRbwZtZ Avtmb Zui tQvU PivPv| wZwb KstMh cnuU[©]
 KiZb Ges AmnthwM Avt`vj tbi Ask wbtqUQtj b| weUK weti vax Avt`vj btK Zui PivPv
 cjtvcvj fite mg_8 KiZb| wZxq wekhtxi mgq weUK weti vax Avt`vj tbi Rb` wks UvDb ntj
 mfvI tevm Ges kir tevm `RbB e³Zv t`qvi Rb` Avtmb| i l kb Aviv ev`PzZLb wks tj wv wks
 Mij m`z GU Kjt tR 4_9kYtZ cotZb| ZLb Zui PivPv Ztk m½ Kti tmLvtb wbtq wmtqUQtj b|
 cPÜ fitoi gta` Ztk DPzKti Ztj atiwQtj b hvZ wZwb Zvt`i tK t`LtZ cvb| i l kb Aviv ev`Pz
 etj b, 0ZLb Awig tQvU wQj vg| e³Zv eSvi eqml ZLb Avgvi wQj bv| Zey Awig mfvI tevtmi
 e³Zv eSvi tPov KtiwQj vg| mfvI tevm t`LtZ LgB myi wQtj b| Avgvi gtb ntqUQj GKRB
 t`ecjal `vaxZvi gS; tkvbt`Qb- 0K`g K`g evortq hvI, Lwtq MxZ Mtq hvI, wRbt`w n`vq
 KEG wK, KEG cvi jYvtq hvI 0 0| K_wlvi A_9ntjv, GKcv GKcv Kti AvMvi, Ljxi Mvb tMtq
 hvI, wbtRtK RmZi Rb` wejtq `vl, wbtktl Kti `vl | Gi dtj Zvt`i wki gbl mfvI tevtmi
 Abynix nl qvi tC0Yv cvq| weUK weti vax Avt`vj btK wNti Zui dzyAtbK KueZv wj LtZb|
 ZrKvj xb mgtq weUK weti vax Avt`vj tbi AtbK NUbv NUZ, Gme NUbv ev`Pz evortZ Avtj vPbv nZ
 hv tQvUtej v t`tKB i l kb Aviv ev`PzK cFweZ KtiwQj | ZvB wZwb MYZwšK Avt`vj tbi mupqfite
 AskMhY KiZ DrmwnZ wQtj b| i l kb Aviv ev`Pz `v`vi cwiveti mKtj iB weUK weti vax
 Avt`vj tbi c0Z mgv_8 wQj | wZwb Gi Kg ivR%wZK mPZb GKwU cwiveti tefo DfvwQtj b|

1.1.2 wkyv I KgRieb

i l kb Aviv ev`Pz `kke tKtUtQ wmtjtUi KzvDovq eveli evortZ| wZb eQi eqtm ev`Pz
 nvtZ Lwo ntqUQj Zui gvtqi KvtQ| Zui gv fij evsjv RivtZb| 4 eQi eqtm wmtjtUi KzvDov
 tij l tq c0Bgrix `zj ZvtK fuz`Kivtbn nq| `zj ZLb tgvU QvTx wQj 15/20 Rb | mmeTx `vm
 bvgK GKRB gwjv w`K K Zvt`i mg`lweq covtZb| ev`Pz wQtj b H `zj i GKgvT gwjv g QvTx|
 KzvDov we`vj tq c`Pc0v gvbn nZv bv| GRB` 9 eQi eqtm wks j vevs c0Bgvi `zj 3q tkYtZ
 Ztk fuz`Kiv nq| wZwb wks tQ PivPv I dzv evmvq _vKtZb| wJvi Dcti 82Uv avc tcwItq
 evmvq DVtZ nZ| dzzv wQtj b i yYkxj, ev`Pz `zj hvI qvi mgq gv_vq Kvco w`tq0 wKbv dzzv
 wJvi Dcti `wotq t`LtZb| ev`Pz KvtQ wclqU wQj AcQt`i | GKUzPvtLi Avovj ntj B wZwb
 gv_vv Kvco tdtj w`tZb| Qvdi mgq wZwb KzvDovq evortZ AvmtZb |

`zjZPvity wZwb etj b, eveli evoxi migtb weivU GK `wv wQj | wZxq wekhtxi mgq
 (1939-1945) weUK `mb`iv tmLvtb K`vú KtiwQj | G mgq wZwb ZZxq tkYtZ cotZb| Pivkwi i
 mfvI` Zui evel wQtj b emi kvj | i l kb Aviv ev`Pz `zj GK jvBb BstI Rx wj LtZ cvi tZb| fv½v fv½v

Bstí RxtZ K_v ej tZ cvi tZb| ev" PzZvú gvtqi íb t` Rbv Ablyvqx íPwí gva t`g íeílUK tmbv evnbnx
eivei AeinZ Kí tjb, Zúí gv evotZ GKv_v tKb| gvtqi `vex cKz cvto thb tKvb fíteB Av`lvv
Kiv bv nq| íPw tctq tgRi mvtne íb tRB Zú`i evotZ Avmtj b| c`í Avavj t_tK tgRi mvtne
Zúí gvtqi mt½ K_v ej tjb| íZúíb etj íQ tjb, K`v=úíU cKz cvto Kivi AbgnZ t`qv tnvK, Kvi Y
Zú`i cvmbi Lg c`qvRb | tgRi mvtne K_v í tQ íQ tjb, K`v=úíU cti mvi tQ tbqv nte| tKvb `mb`
Zú`i evoxi Kv tQ Gtm íei³ Kíte bv| Revte Zúí gv etj íQ tjb, %mb`iv mKvj 8Uv t_tK 9Uv chSÍ
cvmb íb tZ cvi te|

íkjs j veis c`Bgvvii `tj B í l kb Aviv ev" Pzc`í gK cvV m=úbæK t i b| Gici 7g tkíY
chSÍ covkly K t i b emi kv t j i t e Z v M x m i K v i x e v j K í e `í j t q | Zúí e v e v Z L b e m i k v t j i m v e -
t i í R ó í | G R b " í Z ú í b H e v j K í e `í j t q f i z ` n e v i m t h v M t c t q í Q t j b | í l k b A v i v e v " P z A ó g
t k í Y t Z f i z ` n b í k j s t j í W í K s m & M v j í í `j G Ú K t j t R | í k j s í Q j c i n v o x G j v K v , c v B b M v t Q i í b t P
e o e o c v _ t i i D c i Z ú i v e m t Z b | í U n d t b i m g q K t j t R i t g t q i v G t m `t j i t g t q t ` i K v t Q í e í l U k
k v m t b i K z j m = ú t K ` e j t Z v | t ` t k i í k í v e ` e ` v g _ v Z t j ` í e v t Z c v i t Q b v | h v i v B í e t ` í n K i t Q
Zú`i tK atí íb tQ t g t i t d j v n t " Q | c í v Z j Z v l q v t í ` v i , m h í m b , n i q ` v i v e t ` i í b h v g , í l e í v t g i
d v m m , G _ t j v m = ú t K ` Zú`i tK e j v n t Z v | G U v l A v t j v P b v n t Z v t h , í e í l U k t ` i n v Z t _ t K
í b t R t ` i t K g y K i t Z n t e | Zúí v m í v m t e v t m i A v t ` v j t b t h v M t ` e v i A v n í v b R i v t Z v | Z L b e v " P z
e S t Z c v t i í Q t j b , Ó K ` g K ` g e v o t q h v l , L y k t q M x Z M v t q h v l Ó G i A _ í G f v t e m í v m t e v t m i g S ;
Zú`i gv_vq XúK t q t ` l q v n t q í Q j t h b t ` t k i R b " Zúí v K v R K t i | í Z ú í b A v t i v e t j b , í n ` y g y n i j g
t g t q t ` i g t a " a g í q t f ` v t f ` í e l q u í Q j | í Z ú í b h L b A ó g t k í Y i Q v í x , Z L b í n ` y Q v í x A v i g y n i j g
Q v í x i g t a " G B t f ` v t f t ` i í e l q u í c v i ` v i e S t Z c v i t Z b | H m g q h v l í n ` y g y n i j g Q v í x i v
c i ` ú i t L v R L e i í v L Z G e s c i ` ú t i i D r m e _ t j v t Z A v m v h v l q v K i t Z v , Z e y t m B m = ú í U Z i
g t a " l G K a i t b i g u b v m K ` j y Z ; e R v q t i t L P j t Z v | g y n i j g Q v í x i v ` t ` Z x c R v q t h t Z b í K S ` í n ` y
Q v í x i v g n i t g i A b g v t b A v m t e b í K b v Z v e S t Z c v t i b v b | í Z ú í b A v t i v D t j l K t i b t h , H m g q
G K R b g y n i j g Q v í x K t j c v m b t L t j í n ` y Q v í x i v t m U v e ` e n v i K i Z b v | Z v i v e j t Z v , Ó A v g i v K j
Q v m o A v i Z B í b P t _ t K n v Z t c t Z c v m b L v l | Zú`i A v P i t Y G B A ` ú k ` Z v i í e l q u í í l k b A v i v
e v " P z K c x o v í Z | í Z ú í b G i c í Z e v ` K t i í Q t j b | t m v ` b Zúí ` u ó R e v e í Q j t h , Zúí K j e ` e n v i
t k t l Z v i v t h b K j a t q c v m b c v b K t i | m i Z ` K v i A t _ B e v " P z g t a " t Q v U t e j v t _ t K B c í Z e v ` x
g t b v f i v e K v R K i Z h v f v l v A v t ` v j t b l ` u ó f v t e j y ` K i v h v q |

í l k b A v i v e v " P z e t j b , t Q v U t e j v t _ t K B Zúí g t a " A v Z í g h í v i t e v a í Q j | t j í W í K s m M i j í í
`j G Ú K t j t R L v m q v , t b c i j x , L ó v b , g y n j g v b , b v b v a t g ` e t Y P Q v í x í Q j | A ó g t k í Y t Z e v " P z

GKv gnyj g Qvîx uQtb, tmiU Avgiv AvfMB tRtbiU| covi bvi nel tqI erPzewfbaei tbi %el tgi
K_v Dtb Ktib| tkiiYi KivR tkfI uZib ukfKtK t`LvZ tMj Ab` Qvîxi v ZvK gvbn Ki tZv|
uKŠ` tmB evav Dtcfiv Kti AvfMB Bsti Rx ukfKtKi KvtQ LvZv t`LvZb| G iKg GKUv gvbnmK
tRvi erPz gta` kke t`tKB KivR Ki Z etj uZib mvyvrKvfi Dtb Ktib|

i l kb Aviv erPzetjb, uelUK Avgvj Qvî I ukfKt`i gta` GKUv `t-Zj uQj | QvîQvîxi v
ukjKt`i kxv Ki tZv Ges fqI tcz| tj uW uKsm Mij m`z GÜ Ktj tRi me ukfKtB uQtb gnyj v
Ges un`yagfej x, mKtj B D`PukivZ uQtb| tmB mgqi cäv ukfKtKv cävZ ZvK erPzLgB
kxv Ki tZb| ZLb ukfKt`i tK Av`k`gfb Kiv nZ| tkiiY cixyiq Zui`vb 2q/3q/1g GiKgB
_vKZ|`yZPvi Y Ki tZ uMtq uZib Avtiv etj b, tmB mgq c`Pibtg Avtkciti ki tj vKRtbi gbfi v
tbwZerPK uQj bv, th hvi gtZv Pj tZv| un`y un`y i gZ Avi gnyj gvbn gnyj gvbt`i gZ Pj tZv|
tKD Ktiv atg`AvNvZ Ki tZv bv| Ün`ygnvmfv hLb cävZ ntv ZLb t`tK gnyj gvbt`i
Avj v`v Kti Nyv Kivi nel quU`i iæntjv| un`ygnvmfv 1882 mtj jvnti cävZ nq| GuU GKUv
fvi Zxq RvZxqZv`x ms`v| 1906 mtj GuU cävve mn me RivMvq uel`i jvf Kti| cävZvbuU
ivR%uZK KgRvD Qvovl un`yKigDvbuU ,tj vtK GKwîZ Kivi Rb` uel`i baeti mgyR tmevj-K
KgMvP cvj b Ki tZv| GB gnmfv uel`i jvf Kivi ci Ktm un`ygtqiv erPzK LgB hšp v`Z|
mivvY i ayGuU Qzqv, I Uv Qzqv Gme ej tZv| Ziv erPzK uRÁmv Ki tZv, t`z hvl qvi mgq
tm Lvl qvi AvfM Kivo cti tQ, bmk Lvl qvi cti | erPzej Z, tm Lvevi Lvl qvi cti Kivo cti tQ|
Kivo cti Lvl qvi Kiv m`ubakti Zv`i mt`_K_v ej tj, Ziv Amv ntq hvte, Avevi evmv uMtq
tMvj Ki tZ nte| GQvovl Zt`i evmv uMtq uKQzai tZ tMj Ziv evav u`Z| erPz fvlvq H mgq
h` cmk`vb bv ntZv Zvntj uZib GZ`t covi bvi Ki tZ cti tZb bv| i ayel tgi Kvi tY cmk`vb
ntq evzix gnyj gvbn tetP uMtquQj etj erPzgtb Ktib| gnyj gvbn Kgfyî Pivki tcj, evzix
gnyj gvbt`i gta` tj Lvcovi AvMh evx tcj uKŠ` cävveiv evzix gnyj gvbt`i kmštZ`_vKtZ t`q
ub| cmk`vb kvmKiv GtmB jYciv Avi x Kij, e`vck A`uZK`elg`Zix nj | erPzavi Yv
tcvY Ktib th, AtbK cixfvi tZi u`tq evzix i AvR G chf q AvmtZ ntqtQ| 1947 mtj 16
eQi eqm uZib g`uK cvk Ktib| Kj Kivv uel`i v`vj tqi Aaxb uctivRciv Ktj R t`tK gvbnEK
uefvM uZxq tkiiY tZ DEx`nb| ZLb evvYR`uefvM etj Avj v`v uKQzQj bv|

hLb hš fvi Z uQj, ZLb uRqvDj nK Avj Mo uel`i v`vj tqi DcvPih`uQtb| uZib etj b,
un` nte fvi tZi fvlv, Avi D`n`te cmk`tbi fvlv| uRqvDj ntKi GB e`te`i cävZ
Kti uQtb W. kun`jvn, Gbvgy nK evei, Rivv Rvtn`x cgy| tKv Rvzi Av`ZtK vej xb Ki tZ
Pvbtj Zvi fvlv Dci AvNvZ Ki tZ nte| cävve kvmK tMvix G Kivv Kti uQj | 4 tKv RbMtyi

fvlv AMñ Kti Zviv tNvlYv Kiti jv, GKgvî D`B nte cñK`lbi ivófvlv| GB tNvlYvi cñZevt`
RbMY weťŕvf Kiti jv| cñxY ñKŕŕme` W. ggv=š knx`jñ, ZiãY ñKŕŕK Avāy nK, gvndB Rvgvb
Rvtn`x cñŕy evsjv fvlvtK`ñKuz.`vbi ñelq cñi`vi fvte e`vL`v Kti b| KvRx tgvZñvi tñvmb, W.
Gbvgy nK, di iã Avntg`, Avej gbmj Avntg` GB `ñeťK Avti v tRvi`vi Kti ñQj b| Gi ci
XvKv ñekñe`vj tqi Kuzcq Qvî I Aa`vctKi Dť`vM 1947 mvťj 2 tñP`ñt Zg`ly gRñj m bvtg
GKñU mvs`ñZK cñZóvb MñVZ nq|

i l kb Aviv ev`Pz1947 mvťj evi kvťj i ñe.Gg Kťj řR fñZ`ñb| GLvťb ñZñb `ñññZb eQi
covi bv Kti b| H mgq c`Pcñv ñQj , tğtqi v kñmo ciťZv Ges gv`vq Kivco ñ`tq Pj řZv| ZLb GZ
mvťj vqvi KñvğřRi Pj ñQj bv| ñZñb ñe.Gg Kťj řRi tñv`÷ťj `vKťZb| Kťj řRi tQj tğtqiv ZLb
GKmvť`ťj Lvcov Kiti jv| tkñyi gvSLvťb GKUv c`P`vKťZv| GKcvťk tQj iv, Ab` cvťk
tğtqiv| mevBťK chñe`yťyi mñeavt`ñ` ñkyK emťZb gvSLvťb| kñś mñv tNvl bvtg GKRBb
gvñj v ñKŕŕK ñQj b, ñZñb MñYZ covťZb| evKx ñkyKiv mevB cñjñ ñQj b| ñelq ñfbae nI qvq H
gvñj v ñKŕŕKñKi mvť` ev`Pz tKiv m`úK`ñZix nqub| tKiv mvs`ñZK Abgñv ñj kñś mñv
Z`vi ñK Kiti jv| ZLbKvi ñ`ťb Kťj R ñKŕŕKñKi mvť` Qvîť`i GKUv `i-Z; Avi kñvi m`úR ñQj |
ñZñb etj b Kťj řRi me ñevťMB AťbK ñKŕŕK ñQj b| H mgq ñe.Gg Kťj řR cñq 100 Rb Qvî-
Qvîx ñQj b, Zñi gta` 2 Rb Qvîx , `ñRbB gñj gñb| 1947 mvťj ñe.Gg Kťj řR tKiv ññ`yQvîx
ñQj bv| Kvi Y ñKñŕZ ññ`yRbñMvñx ešťZ tcti ñQj b AvPti B t`k fñM ntq thťZ cvti; dťj Zñiv
mevB fviťZ Pťj ññtqñQj b| ev`PzcoťZb gvññek ñevťM| Zñi ñelq ñQj Bsti Rx, hñññe`v I
BñZñvñ| Kťj řR covKvj xb tKiv ñKŕŕK ðiv ñZñb cñññeZ ññub| Kťj řR covKvj xb ñZñb tKiv
mñMvťbi mvť`I hññ ñQj b bv Zey evsjv fvlvi Dci Mfxi lohtšj ñelqñU ñZñb ešťZ
tcti ñQj b| 1948 mvťj ñe.Gg Kťj řRi Qvîiv fvlvi cťŕ GKñU mfvi AvtqvRb Kti b, i l kb
Aviv H mfivq thñM ñ`tqñQj b| ñZñb GUVI Dťj ñ Kti b th, ñZñb Zg`ly gRñj ñmi mvť` Rñoz
ñQj b bv Ges KLťbv Kivveiy Kti bñb| Zg`ly gRñj ñmi m`m`iv XvKv ñekñe`vj tqi Qvîxt`i KvťQ
ťjvK cvvťZv, fvlvi e`vcvťi ñevťbaLei ñ`Z, G Lei ,ťj v GKUv tQj i gva`tg ev`PzťRťb ñbťZb|
H mgq Zñi cñi evťi D`ñfvlvi e`ñvi ñQj | m`ñśññi evťi i tğtqť`i c`vñññ ñKZve, `ñññi ñKZve,
ñZmññi ñKZve I tPšññ ñKZve covi GKUv ñi l qvR ñQj , Zñiv dñivññl coťZb| `ñZPviťY etj b,
ZLb ÷`v`ú I gñbAñññ dťg`D`ñfvlvq ùKğťZ cñK`ñb ñj Lv`vKťZv| ùKğťZ gvťb cñK`ñb
ivťóñ ùKğ| GB tñD Ae`ññZ `vKťj evñj x mñ`ñZ. ùgññKi gññl coťe etj ZrKvj xb ñe.Gg
Kťj řRi Qvîiv gñb Kiti jv| ñZñb etj b, H mgq Zviv Kťj řR Bsti ñR gva`tg coťj I fvtj v evsj v
RvñťZb| cixŕŕvq Bsti RñZ cñkññťZv Ges AťbťKB Abñjñ bx t`ñL t`ñL evsj vq DĒi ñ`ťZb|

LgUQtb, Dchý cvl fte Zvivi uogZ Ktib| t`ei G.U. evix muqfite Kl.K Avt`vj tbi mvt_ hý uQtb| 1952 mvtj fvlv Avt`vj tbi uZib Ask MhY Kti uQtb, uZib WvKmj tmtUvix uQtb| ZLb i l kb Aviv er`PzuQtb XvKv vekje`vj tqi `k u fvtMi uZix etl P QvTx| netqi AvtM Zvt`i mt½ tKvb cwi Pq uQj bv| Zte WvKmj tmtUvix unmvte er`PzZvK uPbtZb| i l kb Aviv er`PzDBg`vbm ti uwtWY tvt÷tj A_ u eZgvb tivtKqv ntj _vKtZb| G.U ewi i mshý nj uQj mij gjwn nj | WvKmj mg`lckvmbK Kvhpjg Pj tZv GB nj t_tK| ZLbKvi u`tb uetKj 5Uvi AvtMB tvt÷tj i cãvb dUK eU ntq thZ| mUvi ci tfZti i `i Rvl eU ntq thZ|

i l kb Aviv er`Pz kky uQtb BYtc±i Ae cny k| er`Pz cwi etii gZB RigRgv I PvKzvB uQj Zvt`i cwi etii Avtqi Dm| u`bvRctj cPz RigRgvi gvj K uQtb Zuv| 1950 mvtj fvg ms`vtii dtj Zvivi er`Pz `v`vi cwi etii gZ yuZM`nub| i l kb Aviv er`Pz1974 mvtj XvKv vekje`vj tqi BvZnm u fvtM t_tK GgG uWuAR u Ktib| uZib XvKv Avt`gqx`j, u Uj G`Aj m, AvuRgcj Mv m`j (LÚKvjxb) bRiçj GKvWvg, KvKuj nıB`j Ges Avtj gv GKvWvg BZ`w` u ufbmkjv cãZv`tb ukýKZv Kti tQb| 1991 mvtj uZib KgRxb t_tK Aemi MhY Ktib|

1.1.3 AvtZvcj uä

i l kb Aviv er`PzAvtZvcj uätZ etj b th, mgtqi e`ear`tb cwi eZ u Aek`atex| cte`i vRbnuZ uQj GKikg, eZgvb ivRbnuZ Ab`iKg| ZLbKvi mvt_ eZgvb mgtqi ugj AtbK Kg| uZib gtb Ktib th, agf`uEK ivRbnuZ Rivet`i Rb` t`q| agf`uEK ivRbnuZ uR ag`Qvov Ab` atg` Dcu`Z `Kvi Kti bv| hMi ci hM gvbly i AvvKvi t_tK gvblyK gvblyB ewAZ Ki tQ| 1948-52 ch`ce`svj vi gvbly fiveZv, Aviv ex I D`Kvi Avb kixtdi fvlv ZvB Gi cãZ GKUv`v`Zv uQj | hLb cuog cwiK`lxb kvMKMvõx uWK Kijtj b D` nte cwiK`ltbi ivófvlv, ZLb ce`svj vi gvbly uýß nq| ivófvlv D`ntj evlujx RvuzmEv Pj thZv| ce`svj vi gvbly D`P cvkvcvk evsjvK ivófvlv unmvte tPtq uQj | tKbbv gLi fvlvB hı` bv _vK avbavi Yv hı` cKvk Kitz bv civv hvq, Zvtj evlujx Rvuzi Av`Zi vejxb nl qvi Dcug nte| i l kb Aviv er`Pzetj b, uZib Bstj RxtZ covıbv Kti tQb uKŠ`hLb u`bRi fvlvi Dci Ges RvZix Av`Zi Dci AvvZ Kiv ntjv, ZLb uZib u`bRtK fvlv Avt`vj tbi u`te`b Kijtj b| `ZPvi Y Ki tZ uMtq uZib etj b, cwiK`ltbi mi Kvi x gvujv muugZ Avcl qv ms`vi cãZv`nq| ðcwiK`ltbi cãg cãvbgşx u qvKZ Avj x Lv`bi` uQtb telg ivbv u qvKZ Avj x| 1949 mvtj 22 tde`qvi Zvi tbtZi; mgvR tmevj-K KvR Kievi Rb` GB ms`v cãZv`nq| GLv`b cã`ugK uPvKrmv, u uclDıR tqtq I ukky`i mrvh` Kiv,

tmjvB Gi KvR BZ'w tmevgj-K KvR Kiv nZv0⁸ Gi weci:Z mydqv Kivgtji tbZtZj ce[®]
civK`lb givjv mivguz MivZ nZqij | GLvrb i l kb Aviv er"PzA#bK tmev gj-K KvR Kti tQb |

i l kb Aviv er"Pzetjb, 0Rvzi μvšj tMæ ivRbWZwe`iv hLb g_l _gto ctob XvKv
wekpe`vj tqi QvT-QvTxiVB ZLb Rvzi `caeI Avkv AvKv-Lvi gZ[®]cZxK nZq I tVb0 | RvZiq
BvZnvtmi hMmÜy#Y t`kevmxi wef`in Afy)vb Ges msmMtg tbZZj.vb Kti tMSitevD^{3/4}j cZvKv
mglyZ ivtLb QvTmgvR | gnvb fvlv Avf`vj b, ikjv Avf`vj b, DbmEti i MY-AfZ)vb Ges `vaxbZv
msMtg XvKv wekpe`vj tqi figKv RvZiq BvZnvtm mg^{3/4}j | 1952-Gi fvlv Avf`vj tbi c_ tetq
`vaxbZv AvRZ nq | i l kb Aviv er"Pzetjb, gvZf:ivi Rb` j t0, tm w`tbi i³ytqi tPZbv
t`tKB Avgiv Avgvt`i gvZf:igtk iyv Kitz tcti0, hvi dtj Rb#btqt0 `vaxb eisjvt`k | gnvb
GKk Avgvt`i tK ikL tqt0, gv_v bZ bv Kitz, Avtclvxb fite Ab`vq AZ`vPri Avi AwePvti i
weit# i tL `vofZ | jy` AvRZ bv nlqv chšI msmMtg Ae`inZ _vKte | gvZf:ig eisjvt`tki
ZrKijxb ce`isjvi Avcvgi RbZv wefkl Kti QvT-QvT, ga`weE tKivbx, KgPvix Avi ikjK meivB
GB msmMtg Kgf gVZg)vb i^{3v3} Avf`vj tbi `ryi gnvb GKk | GB msmMtg vbeofite h³ nZ
tcti vbtRtK ab` gtb Kti b i l kb Aviv er"Pz

1.1.4 gj`vqb

1952 mvtj i fvlv Avf`vj b gj-Z: i iæ Kti0tj b XvKv wekpe`vj tqi QvT-QvTxiV | cienvZPZ
Giv me`titi RbMtyi gta` Qvotq ct0ij | fvlv Avf`vj tbi XvKv wekpe`vj tqi QvT`i mvt_
QvTxf`i Ask MhY 0j AfvweZ | tm hM mivgWRK gj`tevtai tclytZ QvT-QvTxf`i m#uK`Le
bvRk 0j | QvT`i m^{1/2} QvTxf`i K_v ejv 0j vbtla , ctiti gva`tg K_v ej tZ nZ Zv bv ntj ,
10 UvKv Rvignvri e`e`v 0j | wekpe`vj tqi KZey tvt÷j t`tK tei Kti t`teb, AvffveKiv
tj Lvcor eÜ Kti t`teb Ggb AvksKv I evamecE tK Dtcyv Kti Ab`vb` QvTxf`i gZ i l kb Aviv
er"PzAvf`vj tbi Ask tbb |

i l kb Aviv er"Pz gta` tQvUtejv t`tKB AvZgh[®]vteva KvR Kitzv | Zvi gv 0tj b fixb
mivnmx | 2q wekht#i mgq Zt`i emoi mivgtb weUk %nb`iv K`v#u Kti0j | ZLb er"Pz gv Zvt`i
Kvt0 vPw w`tq Gi cZev` Kti0tj b | GtZ Kti tKvb `mb` Zvt`i emoi vbtU Gtm mei³ Kitzv
bv | Gi Kg mPZb gvbmKZv i l kb Aviv gvtqi KvQ t`tKB tctq0tj b | vZvb hLb `tj ctotQb,
ZLb w`ygtqiv ZvtK Ktj cvvb Lvlqv vbtq Ah_v mei³ Kitzv | ikjKtK AvtM LvZv t`Ltbv hvte
bv etj mei³ Kitzv vKš` vZvb G me vKQz cZev` Kti0tj b | tQvUtejv t`tKB Zvi gta`
AvZgh[®]v tevalv KvR Kitzv | vZvb hLb vks tj vW vKsm Mvj m` t`j 0tj b, ZLb Ktj tRi tqtqiv
vUdvtbi mgq `tj i tqtq`i Kvt0 AvmtZb, weUk kvtbi Kzj m#uK`QvTxf`i RvvtZb | mfvim

tertmi t`ktcŋ QvĪxt`i wfZi cñvwi Z Kivi tPón KiĪZb| Zui cwi evti I weĪUK weĪivax Avf`vj b
 m=útK©Avĵ vPbv nĪZv| GfvĪte ũZub ĩĵ Rieb t_ĪKB ivR%ŵwZKfvĪte mĪPZb GKRB gvbly ũnmvĪte
 Mto I ĪvĪQĪj b|

i I kb Aviv ev"Pž Ae`vb gj`vqb KiĪj t`Lv hvq th ZrKvj xb mvgwRK cwi ĩek ũQj cĪZKj-|
 eZgĪvĪbi gZ QvĪ QvĪxt`i ĩZtŪZ©eŪZ; ũQj bv ũKŠ' fvlv Avf`vj ĩb ZvĪ`i tm`ĪZ; evav nqub|
 Zui v cĪqvRĪb tMvĪcĪb mfv KĪi tQ ũmŪvśMĪĪYi Rb" tQĪj iv tMvĪcĪb GĪm tġtġt`i KĪvQ Ri ĩwi Lei
 tĪŪQ ũ ĩġtġQb| wekĪe`vj ĩġi QvĪxiv ĩġj ĩġj ũMĪq QvĪxt`i DrmvinZ KĪi tQb|

fvlv Avf`vj ĩb Ask MĪY Kivi Rb" QvĪxt`i evĪġtġtQb| AĪbK mgq ĩĵ cĪvb G KĪvR
 ZvĪ`i evav ũ ĩġtġQb ũKŠ' Zvi cil i I kb Aviv ev"PzweĪfbæĪKŠkĪj KĪvR KĪi tQb| ZrKvj xb
 mvgwRK tĪŪvĪctŪ ĩĵKĪj ĪRi QvĪxt`i gvbwmKfvĪte DrmvinZ KĪi tQb| ZvĪ`i evĪġtġtQb mgġi
 cĪqvRĪb ũKfvĪte AMĪhi nĪZ nq|

fvlv Avf`vj ĩbi Rb" AĪ_P cĪqvRb ũQj| fvlv Avf`vj ĩbi dvŪ Mvb KĪi ũZub Ges Zui
 mncvĪv PŪv msMĪĪ KĪi tQb| weĪwĪbĪa_vKv mĪĪĪj ũZub weĪfbæmfvq Ask ũbĪtġtQb| QvĪxt`i mĪ½
 GKmvĪ_ Avf`vj b KĪi tQb| GfvĪte i I kb Aviv ev"PzevawecĪĪ cvi KĪi QvĪxt`i ĪK mvgĪbi ũ ĪK
 AMĪhi nĪZ c_ cĪkŪ KĪi tQb| ũZub we.GW cvk KĪi KgRĪeĪb cĪek KĪi b, 1965mvĪj Zui weĪq
 nq Ges ZLb ũZub mvsmmi K KgRĪvĪĪ RĪwġq cĪob| ũZub ũQĪj b Av`kĪfĪĪK ivRbũwZĪZ wekĪmx,
 fvlv Avf`vj ĩbi cĪi Avf`vj b I msMĪĪg ũZub mg_Ū ũ ĩġtġQb| 1971 mvĪj ũZub gĪĪhĪ× mi vmi
 Ask tbbub ũKŠ' gĪĪhĪ×vĪt`i cĪi vĪyfvĪte mnthvMzv KĪi tQb| ci evĪZĪZ ũZub Zvi KgRĪeĪb e`Ī
 nġq cĪob| mgġi cwi eZĪb ivR%ŵwZK cŪ cwi eZŪ nq, ũZub Avi cĪĪ`yfvĪte ivR%ŵwZK KgRĪvĪŪ
 hĪŪ nbub ũKŠ' fvlv Avf`vj b I Zvi avivewĪKZvq ĩĪaxKĪi i Rb" weĪfbæRvZxq msMĪĪg I wecĪ
 tKĪ`K mfv I Abġvb I KĪhĪĪġ Ask tbb Ges ũbĪRi gZvġZ e`³ KĪi b| GK_v ej ĪZ ũĪav tbb
 th i I kb Aviv ev"Pzevsj vĪt`Īki MYZũŪK Avf`vj ĩbi GKRB mdj bvix tĪĪx|

Z_`ubf`R

1. %ubK AvRv`, 29 RjvB, 1947, c., 1
2. %ubK AvRv`, 4 A±±vei, 1950, c., 1
3. %ubK AvRv`, 5 tdegyvi, 1952, c., 1
4. %ubK AvRv`, 21 tdegyvi, 1952, c., 1
5. %ubK AvRv`, 22 tdegyvi, 1952, c., 1 I 3
6. wmi vRjy Bmjvg (m±úvñ Z), evsjv t`tki BwZnm 1704 t`tK 1971, (XvKv: evsjv t`k GnkqvmUK tmvmvBwU, 2000) c.; 460
7. e`ia`xb Dgi, cæ© evsjvi fvlv Av t`vj b I ZrKvjxb ivRbvwZ, (XvKv: RvZxq MŠ' cKkbv.1995) c., 323 I 324
8. gv t`j Kv telg, evsjv bvi x Av t`vj b, (XvKv: w` BDwb fvmwU tcn` wj ug t`UW, 1989) c.; c0, 3, c., 139|
9. i l kb Av iv erPz02-07-2013, 06-07-2013, 10-07-2013 Ges 16-07-2013 Zmi t`L mKvj 10Uv t`tK `gy 1Uv chŠ13 NvUv Kti mrvyvrKvi w` t`q t`Qb|

1.2 W. nwyj gv LvZb

fvlv Avf`vj tbi ga` w`tq hct`i mvmx c`tjyc `gnxgvq gnxgmsZ Ges cZwôZ ntqt0 Avgt`i gvtqi fvlv, t`Lqt0 GKwU `faxb ivt0f `creZv`i B GKRB ntj b W. nwyj gv LvZb| wZub 1953 mtj XvKv nekpe`vj q t`tK BstiwRtZ Gg, G wMw ARw Ktib| XvKv wZub nekpe`vj tqi QvTx ubertm (eZgub tivtKqv nj) _vKtZb| tivtKqv ntji bvg wQj Women Student's Residence (WSR)| wZub XvKv nekpe`vj tq GtmB fvlv Avf`vj b Avi KwgDwbó cvwU^o ivRbwZI mvt_ RwoZ nb| H mgq wZub nekpe`vj tqi weifbems`wZK Abgvtb Ask MhY Kitzb| BstiwR mvtZ` covi mgq Zvi wct` wkyK wQtb mtiqvi gyk^o, gubi tPšajx I tR`wZigq ,n wKzZv cty` wkyKMY| gubi tPšajx ctht` W. nwyj gv etj b, wZub ivRbwZI mst` h` wQtb| gubi tPšajx KwgDwbó cvwU^o Kitzb| 21 tdeqwi i cti 26 tdeqwi wZub ew` nb|¹ wZub Zv`i tK fxyfite AbgwtZ I DrmwZ Kitzb| W. nwyj gv etj b 1954 mtj h`dxU ubeptbi mgq mtiqvi gyk^o wettZ wQtb| hvl qvi AvtM wZub nwyj gv tK etj wttqwtj b th Zui `x byRvnb gjnk` ubeptb Kitz0, wZub thb t`Lvi`bv Ktib| wct` wkytKi DrmwZ nwyj gv ctjvcw` ubeptbi Kutr` tbtg wttqwtj b| gnyj gjxtMi cZtbi Rb` MYZwšK h`d`Ui ntq ubeptb Kti wQtb wgtmm mtiqvi gjnk`| wZub teMg kvgmb bnvvi gungytK ciwRZ Kti h`d`Ui ubeptZ mst`i cZwôZ ntqwtj b| H mgq c`vi c`vi Yvq nwyj gv LvZb I Zui mncvvt`i fvgKv wQj AMMY`|

nwyj gv LvZb QvTx msm` Gi m`m` wQtb| Zte cyjwk nqiwb i Rb` wZub tKvb ct` AwawôZ wQtb b bv| H mgq QvTx mst`i mn mfvwZ (wfwc) wQtb W. mwdqv LvZb| ivofvlv Avf`vj b, mvs`wZK gy^o, A`wZK gy^o, ivRwZK gy^o cfwZ. cvwK`ib wttvax Avf`vj tbi XvKv nekpe`vj tqi QvTx v Ae`vb tittwQtb|

nwyj gvi KvQ t`tK Rvbn hvq th, XvKv nekpe`vj tq Gtm wZub Rwdj` ivq, tLvk ivq,tgvnvs` tZvqrv, Igi mjZvb, Kwei tgv`dv Ges Awj Avnt`i mt` tMvctb ivofvlv Avf`vj tbi h` ntqwtj b| tivtKqv ingvb Kwei, jvqv mvgv`, ubew`Zv `vm cty` bvt`i mt` j`xq mst` Zui cvwPq ntqwtj | nekpe`vj tq fvw^onl qvi ci wZub tMvctb KwgDwbó cvwU^o mt` h` ntq hvb| GKRB `j`xq Kgpwmmvte `tj i QvTx`i gta` fvlv Avf`vj b I `j`xq c`vi Kvh^ovj vtZb| Ab`vb`i i gZ nwyj gvi `wqZ;wQj, `t` QvTx`i tK gvZfvivi ,iaz; m`utK`wkyv t`qv| wtk! I mg`tt`tk th ivRwZK msKU I `yRv Pj t0 tm m`utK`AwwZ Kiv| G mg`tKvR Zuiw Kitzb tMvctb| G Kutr`i Rb` Zv`i tK AtbK mvevte _vKtZ ntZv| `tj i ev`Pv`i Zuiw tKvfviteB eštZ w`tZb bv, th Zuiw KwgDwbó cvwU^o Abgvtb| Zv`i D`ik` wQj QvTxv thb ivofvlvi Rb` wctKwU, wgwQj Avi mfvq `Z`wZvite Ask MhY Kti| Gici Avtm 1952 mtj tdeqwi gvm| `wZPvity W.

nmvj gv etj b, 1952 mvtj tdeqvi gvmuU uQj cZer, cZtkva, Avtµvk Avi msMōtgi gvm| 20 tg tdeqvi wefKj 5Uvi w`tk Avl qvqx ggvij g jxtMi Awdm 94, bevecj tivvW me°j xq ivóFvlv msMōg cwi l`i GKuU `eVK etm| `evtK mfvcuZZ; Ktib Avej nvmkg| `eVK Pj tZ _vKvi mg tqB gvBK thvM mi Kvi x tNvl Yv cPvi Kiv ntZ _vtK th, XvKv tRjv tguRt÷U 20 tdeqvi t`tk 30 w`tbi Rb` kn`ti 144 aviv Rvni KtibQb| tiWVI i gva`tgI H GKB tNvl Yv cPvi Kiv nq| Gfvtē 144 aviv Rvni i dtj mgMōcwi w`uZi Avgj- cwi eZB t`Lv t`q| msMōg KvguUi H w`tbi `evtK 144 aviv cKvB eo ntq t`Lv t`q|² 144 aviv f½ Kiv nte uK nte bv GB ubtq KvguUi m`m`i gta` Zgij weZK°i ænq| AwKvskB 144 aviv f½i wefiwaZv Ktib| Gt`i gta` uQtb Avej nvmkg, Kvgia`xb Avgv, tnvfmb, kvgmj nK, tgvnr=§ tZvqrv, KvRx tMj vg gvney, Ave`ya mvgv` cQe| 144 aviv f½ bv Kivi ctj Gt`i gj- hv° uQj GB th, 144 aviv f½ Kij t`tk veksLjv I msKURbK cwi w`uZ mup ntZ cifti | GtZ Kti mivavi Y ubePb emvZj ntq hvevi mæbv t`Lv t`te|

mi Kvi 1947 mvtj i ci t`tk mivavi Y ubePb t`qub| GB cwi w`uZtZ ubePb hv` Avtiv ucuQ tq hviq A_ev Awbiv` ØKvtj i Rb` WZ _vtK, Zv MYZtšj ctj Ly nec¾bK| GQvor miv t`tk tKvb mvsMvZ ivR%uZK `j uQj bv| ivóFvlv msMōg cwi l`i tKvb mvsMvubK Kvvtgv c` ke`vcx Mto l`vub| GRb` 144 aviv f½RibZ cwi w`uZ tgvKvtejv Kivi Amæte`Zvi w`KuU Zuiv hv° wntmte Ztj atib| Avāj gvZb I Avij Avnr` 144 aviv f½i ctj hv° cōvb Ktib| Zuiv etj b th, 144 aviv Rvni Kti mi Kvi th cwi w`uZ mup KtibQ, ZtZ mi Kvni ubt larAvi KvQ buZ `xKvi Kij fvlv Avt`vj tbi tKvb AMWZ tZv nteB bv Dci š`Zv ašsm nte|³

me°j xq msMōg cwi l`i `evtK GB weZK°Pj vKvtj miv ggvij g ntj ŪXvKv vektē`vj q ivóFvlv msMōg cwi l`i -Gi l GKuU `eVK etm| tmB `evtK 144 aviv f½ Kivi umxvšl MpxZ nq| me°j xq msMōg cwi l`i mfv Pj vKvtj Zt`i tK vektē`vj q ivóFvlv msMōg cwi l`i umxvšl Rvntq t`l qv nq| ŪivóFvlv msMōg cwi l`i -1947 mvtj i Atæveti Zgij b gRuj m I ggvij g QvTj xMi Aí KtqKRb KgxP Dcu`uZtZ ivóFvlv msMōg cwi l`i MvZ nq| Avn`vqK ubePZ nb XvKv vektē`vj tqi Aa`vcK biāj nK fFvU tmb umxvšl K_v Dtj L Kti Avij Avnr` I Ave`y gvZb etj b th, vektē`vj q msMōg cwi l`i , i azB Avt`vj b cwi Pj bvi tyt` tenk; KvtrB Zuiv 144 aviv f½ mæutK°th umxvšl MhY KtibQb me°j xq cwi l`i tKI tm umxvšl MhY Kitz nte|⁴

²be` t- ivóFvlv msMōg cwi l`i - 1947 mvtj i Atæveti, Zgij b gRuj m I ggvij g QvTj xMi Aí KtqKRb KgxP Dcu`uZtZ ivóFvlv msMōg cwi l`i MvZ nq| Avn`vqK ubePZ nb XvKv vektē`vj tqi Aa`vcK biāj nK fFvU|

Mfxi i vîl chŚl GB weZK^Qtj uQj uKŚ GB umxvśl mĕĒl wekle`ij q msMĕg cwi lĕ i cÿ t_ĕK ejv nq th, 144 aviv f½ nĕ uK nĕ bv, Zvi ciw b 21 tdeĕqvi mKvĕj i wĕK wekle`ij ĕqi mfvĕZB Pevśfite ubaŕi Z nĕ| GB K_vi ci meĕj xq msMĕg cwi lĕ GB gĕgZ cĕKv Kiv nq th, ciw b wekle`ij ĕqi mfvq wekle`ij q msMĕg cwi lĕ i umxvśl Abĕvqx hĕ 144 aviv f½ Kiv nq, Zv nĕj meĕj xq ivófvlv msMĕg cwi lĕ i AwĕZ; wejĕ etj atĕ tbqv nĕ| 20 tdeĕqvi Zvi ĕLi GB ĕvĕK GKv umxvśl tbqv nq|

21 tdeĕqvi wekle`ij q Qvĕ mfvq meĕj xq cwi lĕ i cÿ t_ĕK kvgmĕ nK I KvRx tMvj vĕ gnev Qvĕ ĕĕ i ĕK meĕj xq msMĕg cwi lĕ i umxvślĕ weĕq AvevZ Kiĕb| tmB mĕĕ_ umxvślĕ eĕvLĕ Kiĕb|⁵ cwiKĕĕbi KvgDibó cwiU^ĕ ceĕ½ msvMvbK KvgU 20 tdeĕqvi ŕmeĕj xq ivófvlv Kgevilĕ i Avnĕĕb mvo vĕ b, mKj fvlvi mggh^ĕ I evsjĕK AbĕZg ivófvlv Kivi ĕveZ 21 tdeĕqvi cĕ keĕvĕ agĕU, ni Zvj, mfv I tkvfvhĕv Kiabĕ GB me tkvMvb mĕĕj Z mĕĕKĕv=ĕBj Kiv BĕZnvi cĕvi Kĕi|⁶

mĕvK mgĕq Qvĕxv evav Dĕcÿv Kĕi XivKv wekle`ij ĕqi AvgZj vi mfvq DcĕĕZ nĕZ cviĕe uKbv- GB weĕqU ubĕq 20 Zvi tL nvij gv LvZb Lĕ PĕśZ uQĕ b| Zvi ĕvqZ; uQj gĕvĕj g Mvj ĕĕ ĕĕ Avĕ evsjv evRvi Mvj ĕĕ nĕB ĕĕ i Qvĕĕĕ i ubĕq Avmvi | uZvb Avĕiv Rvbvb, ĕvĕĕĕĕĕ Aeĕvbi Z tĕtĕĕĕ i mĕĕKĕ AvbĕqZv uQj, KviY gdĕĕ kni t_ĕK AĕĕKB ZLb mĕ wekle`ij ĕq fĕZ^ĕ nĕĕqĕb gvĕ | nvij gvĕ Avĕĕva ĕvĕĕĕĕ i Qvĕxv iĕĕeb uKbv ev Zvi v mfv mgvĕk I vĕvQĕ hĕĕeb uKbv tm eĕvĕĕi Zvi hĕ_ó kskv uQj | mgmĕv mgvĕĕbi Dcĕv umĕĕe uZvb meĕĕg ĕvĕĕ iv telĕĕgi K_v uPśĕ Kiĕĕ b (ĕvĕĕ iv telĕg 1929 mĕĕj e_ ovq RbĕMĕY Kĕi b| evav Avĕĕj nvij g tPĕĕĕ tWĕĕĕ gĕRĕU uQĕ b| gv Avĕdqv telĕg| 1953 mĕĕj XivKv wekle`ij q nĕZ Bĕĕi RĕĕZ Gg, G ĕvĕ Kĕi b| uZvb fvlv Avĕĕĕĕ vĕĕ Ask MĕY Kĕi uQĕ b| Kĕei tPśĕĕ I gĕvĕi tPśĕĕ Zvi eo fĕv|) | uPśĕ Abĕvqx iĕĕB nvij gv GKRB ĕĕvĕ AvĕfĕĕĕK mĕĕ_ ubĕq DcĕĕZ nĕĕuQĕ b nvĕĕĕĕĕ ĕvĕĕ iv telĕĕgi evmĕq| ĕmLvĕb DcĕĕZ nĕĕ nvij gv Zĕĕ Avĕĕva Kiĕĕ b th, ĕvĕĕĕĕĕ i tĕtĕĕĕĕ ĕĕi i vĕ b AvgZj vĕ vĕvĕs-G mgĕZ nevi Rbĕ uZvb thb Zĕĕ i eĕvĕ GKv uPĕ vĕĕ tL ĕĕ b| nvij gvĕ K_v gZ ĕvĕĕ iv telĕg ĕvĕĕĕĕĕ i tĕtĕĕĕĕ ĕĕi i vĕ b AvĕĕZeĕ AvgZj vĕ vĕvĕs-G mgĕZ nevi Rbĕ uPĕ vĕĕ tL vĕĕ b| Zĕe uPĕ vĕĕĕĕĕĕ KĕR nĕvĕ KviY ĕĕi i vĕ b mKĕĕj gvĕ uZb Pĕi Rb wekle`ij ĕqi Qvĕ Qvov Avĕ tĕD ĕĕ_ tei nĕĕ b bv| mevi bvg AvĕR nvij gv LvZbĕi Avĕ gĕb tbB, Zĕe mĕdqv LvZb I tmĕdqv Lvĕbi bĕg Zvi gĕb AvĕQ| ĕĕZPĕĕĕY nvij gv etĕ b, Qvĕx msMĕni Rbĕ uZvb cĕĕĕB mĕĕuQĕ b evsjv evRvi ĕĕĕ | I LvĕKvi Qvĕĕĕ i iĕqbv Kĕi vĕĕq uZvb hĕv gĕvĕj g Mvj ĕĕ ĕĕĕ | G ĕĕĕ i Qvĕĕĕ i mĕĕ_ ubĕq uZvb mĕvĕvĕ AvgZj vĕ Gĕm mgĕZ nĕĕuQĕ b| uZvb

AvgZjvq Gtm t`Ltb th, wekpe`vj qmn Ab`vb` -Ktj tRi QvI-QvIxiv tmLvtb GKvKvi ntq tMfQ| AZtci MvRxDj ntki mfvcwZtZ; ZrKvjxb XvKv wekpe`vj tqi AvgZjvi mfv nq| mfvq wmvsl`ntjv th, Zuv cvk`lb miKvti Rvni KZ.144 aviv f1/2 Ki teb bv, mgteZ QvI-QvIxt`i gta`%a` P`iiæntq tMj | mgteZ RbZvi AwakvskB 144 aviv f1/2i ct`¶ AwfgZ e`3 Ki tj b|

21 tdeqmi tek mKvj t`tKB QvIiv XvKv kni wevfbæGjvKvq wctKwUs-Gi DfI`tk` Dcw`Z nq| bevecy GjvKvq wctKwUs`iiæKivi ci Avl qvqx gnyj g jxM, gnyj g QvIj`xM BZ`w` cvUj` hviv agf`tUi weia`x`wQj, Zv`i m1/2 wctKwUsi Z QvI`i bevecy GKUv msNvZgq cwi w`vzi mwó nq| wKŠ`Zv we`li jvf Kivi AvtMB QvImn mevB wctKwUs eÜ ti tL wekpe`vj tqi w`tK wcti hvq| mKvj 9 Uv t`tKB XvKv wekpe`vj tq mg`l kni t`tK QvI-QvIxiv Gtm mgteZ nq| Zv`i msL`æZ evotZ `vtK| Gmgq AmsL` cny k`k wekpe`vj q GjvKvq, wekI Kti ZrKvjxb Kjveftbi mvgtb tgvZvtqb Kiv nq| cny tki G mgvtek t`tL QvI`i gta` DfERbv ew`x` tctZ `vtK|`7

mKvj 10Uvi w`tK wekpe`vj q c0/2Y QvI-QvIx`v c0q cwi cY`ntq hvq Ges MvRxDj ntki mfvcwZtZ; wekpe`vj tqi AvgZjvq QvI`i mfv`iiæ nq| ce`mw`vsl` Abjvqx kvgmj nK I KvRx tMvjvq gvney mgteZ QvI-QvIxt`i`K 144 aviv f1/2 bv Kivi me`jxq msM0g cwi l`i wmvst`sl`i h_v`Zv eSvtZ tPov Kti b| wKŠ`G mgq 144 aviv f1/2 Kivi w`lq wbtq QvI`i gta` h`ó DfERbv t`Lv t`q| Af` wKQ`y`Yi gta`B G w`lq w`úo ntq hvq th, Dcw`Z QvI-QvIxiv me`jxq msM0g cwi l`i wmvst`sl`i we`i waZv Kti 144 aviv f1/2 Ki tZ ex`cwi Ki |`8

mfv`iiæ nevi ci, kvgmj nK I KvRx tMvjvq gvney Qvovl tgvnw`\$ tZvqrv I Lvj K tbl qvR 144 aviv f1/2 bv Kivi `ct`y` e3e` ivtLb| Ab`w`tK Ave`y` gwZb 144 aviv f1/2i ct`y` gZ cKvk Kti etj b th, Avt`vj btK GwMtg wbtZ tMj 144 aviv f1/2 Ki tZB nte| Avj Avnr` 144 aviv f1/2i ct`y` `vtKj I wZwb mfvq G w`lq tKvb e3e` ivtLwb| G m`ut`K`wZwb Avti v etj b th, wZwb 144 aviv f1/2 Ki tZ Pvb wKŠ` 144 aviv f1/2 Kiv wbtq Ggb tKvb weZK`iæbv nq hv`Z Kti me`jxq msM0g cwi l` Ges Avt`vj bKvi xt`i gta` HK` w`bó nq|`9

NvUv LvtbK mfv` Pjvi ci MvRxDj nK mfvcwZ wntmte e3e` ivtLb| 144 aviv f1/2vi Rb` mfv`i cy` t`tK wZwb tNvl Yv c0vb Kti b| 144 aviv f1/2i wmvst`sl`i Gfvte tNwM Z nI qvi ci QvI-QvIxiv DfERZ ntq 0144 aviv f1/2i nte0, 0ivofivlv evsjv Pvb0 BZ`w` tkwMvb w`tZ `vtK| GB mgq 144 aviv f1/2 Kivi cx`wZ wbaft`Y Kti w`i nq th, `k Rb Kti GK GK e`vtP QvI-QvIxiv tei ntq 144 aviv f1/2 Ki te| Ab`_vq mevB GKmt1/2 tei ntZ PvbTj Pvi w`tK wek;Ljv mwó nI qvi

m^otebr t`Lv w`tz c^oti | m^xvšl Abh^vqx n^weej i ngvb tkj xi tbZtZ; 144 aviv f¹/₂Kvi x`j w^o t^o t_oK iv`lq tei nq!¹⁰

Qv^oiv 144 aviv f¹/₂i c^otiZ tbqvi mgq Ges 144 aviv f¹/₂Kvtj Qv^o I c^oti^oki g^ota^o w^oKQy w^oc^ot^oKw^os nq| w^oKQy^oY Gfite Pjvi ci c^oti^o k nek^ote`ij q G^ov^oKvi g^ota^o mgteZ Qv^ot^o i w^o t^oK w^oUqvi M^ovm w^obt^oyc K^oti | Qv^ot^o-Qv^ot^oiv 144 aviv f¹/₂ K^oti t^oM^ot^oUi evB^oti t^oM^ot^o c^oti^o k A^otb^oK^ot^oKB t^oM^obiZvi K^oti M^omo^ot^oZ K^oti Xiv^oKvi evB^oti w^oKQz^oi- w^obt^oq t^oto t^oq| GKw^oU t^ogv^oUv i w^o k w^o t^oq c^oti^o k nek^ote`ij t^oqi t^oMU e^oU ivLvi t^oP^ov K^oti w^oKš^o te^ojev 12Uv t^o t^oK Qv^ot^oiv t^omB i w^o ki evav cvi n^otq`tj`tj t^og^ow^oK`ij K^otj R t^onv^ot^o÷tj i w^o t^oK t^oht^oZ _v^ot^oK| t^og^ow^ot^oKj K^otj R t^onv^ot^o÷j w^o ZLb w^oJ ZrK^ov^oj x^ob e^oe`vcK m^ofv fe^ot^obi (eZ^og^ovb R^oM^ob^o n^otj i) G^ot^oKe^oti K^ov^oQ^ov^oK^ow^oQ| t^og^ow^ot^oKj K^otj R t^onv^ot^oó^otj Qv^ot^o i m^osL`ve^ox^o i m^ot^o/₂ Z^oij w^og^ov^ot^oq P^ovi w^o t^oK t^ogv^oZ^ot^oqb K^oiv c^oti^o k m^osL`v^ol e^ow^o K^oiv n^ow^oQ^oj Ges D^of^oq w^o t^oK D^ot^oÉR^ob^ovl e^ow^o c^ow^oQ^o| GB c^ow^o i w^o w^oZ^ot^oZ t^og^ow^ot^oKj K^otj R t^onv^ot^o÷j G^ov^oK^ot^oZI Qv^o I c^oti^o k g^ota^o w^oev^oy^oB^of^oite BU^ociU^ot^oKj t^oQ^ow^oQ^o P^oj w^oQ^o| GK ch^oq c^oti^o k t^og^ow^ot^oKj K^otj R t^onv^ot^o÷j c^oti^o k Y mgteZ Qv^ot^o i D^oci K^ou^ot^o M^ovm w^obt^oyc K^oti | j w^oP^ov^oR^oK^oivi D^ot^oit^o t^onv^ot^o÷tj i w^of^oZ^oti c^ote^ok K^oti | Qv^ot^oiv ZLb c^oti^o k i w^o t^oK te^ow^o K^oti BU^ociU^ot^oKj Q^oó^oZ _v^ot^oK|¹¹ Gfite Qv^ot^o-c^oti^o k m^osN^oI^o P^oj v^oK^ot^oj te^ojev c^oq 3 Uvi w^o t^oK c^ow^o i w^o Z^oi tek A^oeb^ow^o N^ot^oU| GB mgq c^oti^o k i w^o Av^oB w^oR, t^oR^oj v g^ow^oR^ot^o÷U, c^oti^o k m^og^ov^oi t^oU^ot^oU^omn A^otb^oK D^oPC` c^oti^o k K^og^oR^oZ^oP^o I mi K^ow^oi Av^og^oj v NU^obv`tj w^oQ^ot^o b| c^oti^o k i m^ot^o/₂ m^ot^o/₂ Da^oY^oZ^ob K^og^oR^oZ^oh^ovl h^ot^oó D^ot^oÉR^oZ n^otq D^ot^ov^ob| Qv^ot^oiv w^oc^oQ^oznU^ot^oZ A^o t^oK^ovi K^oti, e^oe`vcK c^ow^o i l` fe^ot^obi w^o t^oK h^ovl q^ovi c^ot^o c^oti^o k i w^o t^oK G^ow^ot^oq Av^omi t^oP^ov Ki^ot^oZ _v^oK^ot^oj Z^oti i D^ot^oÉR^ob^ovl e^ow^o c^oq| G mgq c^oti^o k i c^oy t^o t^oK Qv^ot^o i t^oK`G^oKe^ovi m^oZ^oK^oK^oti t^oqv nq w^oKš^o Z^ov^oZ c^ow^o i w^o Z^oi t^oK^ov c^ow^o i e^oZ^ob^o b^ovl n^ol q^ov c^oti^o k K^ot^oqK ivD^oU d^ou^oKv`uj K^oti f^ow^oZ^oK^oi c^ow^o i w^o Z^oi m^oó K^oti | G^oici Qv^ot^oiv w^oc^oQ^oznU^ot^oZ t^og^ow^ot^oKj K^otj R t^onv^ot^o÷tj i t^okW^o t^ovi (GB t^okW^o t^ovi t^og^ot^oS Ges`B d^ol ch^oš^ol t^o l q^ovj c^ov^oKv, t^o l q^ov^otj i e^ow^oK Ask teov Ges Qv`w^oU^ot^obi w^oQ^o) g^ota^o Av^ok^o M^oh^oY K^oti | t^ok^ot^oWi t^o l q^ovj teovi`Z^ovi n^ol q^ov Av^ok^oQ^o Qv^ot^oB t^og^ot^oSi D^oci i t^oq c^oto| GB mgq P^ovr^oK^ovi K^oti t^oKD t^oKD e^ot^oj b th, c^oti^o k d^ou^oKv`uj Q^ot^o Av^ol q^ovR Ki^ot^oQ| Qv^ot^oiv GB K^ov t^okv^ovi ci`tj`tj t^okW^o t^ovi t^o t^oK tei n^otq t^onv^ot^o÷j c^oti^o k Y Q^omo^ot^oq c^oto | Z^oti i GK^oUv Ask t^oM^ot^oUi w^o t^oK G^ow^ot^oq h^ovq| GB mgqB c^oti^o k Av^ot^oi K`dv`uj e^ol^o K^oti | Ge^ovi Z^ovi v Qv^ot^o i w^o t^oK j^oy` K^oti B A^otb^oK ivD^oU`uj t^oQ^oto Ges t^omB`uj t^oZB tek w^oKQz^omsL`K Qv^ot^o n^oZ^ovn^oZ nq!¹²

t^oM^ot^oUi m^og^ot^obB GK^oR^ob Qv^ot^oi g^ov^oq`uj w^oe^ox nq| Z^oti K^o c^ov^ok^oZ^oP^o t^og^ow^ot^oKj K^otj R n^ovm^ocv^oZ^ot^oj c^ov^ovt^obn nq| Ave^oj ei K^oZ b^ovt^oq Av^ot^oi K^oR^ob Qv^ot^o 12 b^ovt^o t^okW t^o t^oK tei n^ol q^ovi mgq c^ovt^oq`uj w^oe^ox nb| w^oZ^ovb Z^ory^oY^ovr g^ow^oU^ot^oZ c^oto h^ovb Ges y^oZ`vb t^o t^oK f^oq^ovbK i^o3y^oiY n^otZ _v^ot^oK| Av^oZ^ovi^o 3

i³yi[†]Yi dtj mÜ^{vi} w[†]K nvmciZvtj Avej eiKtZi gZzNtU| G msNtI[©]Kg-[†]ewk AvnZ nb cÜq
IvU Rb Qv[†]| G[†] i AwaKvsktKB cÜ[†]wgK wPwKrmvi ci nvmciZij t[†]K tQto t[†]qv nq| GKRb
tmw[†] bB mÜ^v tej vq gviv hvb| 21 tde[†]qmi tZ wbtZi msL^v `wvq Pvi |¹³

21 tde[†]qmi tgmWtKj Ktj R tnv[†]÷tj i KvQvKvQ e[†]e[†]v[†]cK mfvi Awa[†]tekb thw[†]M[†]v[†]tbi Rb[†]
mfvi m[†]m[†]iv cwi l[†] fe[†]b hLb Dcw[†]Z wQ[†]tj b tmB mgqB Qv[†]t[†] i Dci [†]wj el[†]Y Kiv nq| [†]wj i
Avl qvR tmLvb t[†]KI tkv[†] hvq| [†]wj Kivi wKQ[†]Y ci Qv[†]t[†]iv tgmWtKj Ktj R tnv[†]÷tj cÜ[†]z[†]Yi
thw[†]†K cwi l[†] fe[†]b Aew[†]Z tmw[†]†K mgteZ nq| Gici cwi l[†] m[†]m[†]t[†]†K evBti tei ntq Avmvi
Rb[†] wPrKvi Kti Avn[†]v[†]b Rvb[†]t[†]Z [†]v[†]K| G mgq cwi l[†] i Af[†]Š[†]t[†]l[†] `vi[†]æ[†] nÆ[†]t[†]Mvj i iæ[†]nq| gv[†]lv[†]bv
Ave[†]†y i kx[†] ZK[†]©[†]Mxk [†]ux[†]Kvi[†]†K cwi l[†] i Awa[†]tekb [†]w[†]MZ ivL[†]t[†]Z Ab[†]t[†]va Kti b hv[†]t[†]Z Kti Z[†]uv
mKtj evBti th[†]t[†]Z cv[†]t[†]b| ax[†]t[†]†[†]bv[†] `E[†] l g[†]t[†]bvi[†]Äb ai bi[†]†j Aw[†]gb[†]t[†]K etj b th, Z[†]ui D[†]w[†]PZ
Zr[†]Y[†]Yv[†] tgmWtKj nvmciZij cwi[†] k[†] Kiv Ges cwi[†] w[†]Z m[†]u[†]t[†]K[†]cwi l[†] [†]we[†]w[†]Z t[†]qv| bi[†]†j Aw[†]gb
GB cÜ[†]t[†]e m[†]z[†] bv nl qvq [†]et[†]ivax c[†]y[†]xq m[†] m[†]MY tmw[†]†bi g[†]t[†]Zv Awa[†]tekb [†]w[†]MZ ivL[†]vi `we Kti b|
wK[†]S[†] bi[†]†j Aw[†]gb [†]et[†]ivax c[†]y[†]i `we AM[†]Ö[†] Kti w[†]t[†]Ri [†]we[†]w[†]Z w[†]t[†]Z i iæ[†]Kti b| c[†]w[†]t[†]ki [†]wj el[†]Yi
cÜ[†]Zet[†] cwi l[†] i Awa[†]tekb eR[†] Kti gv[†]lv[†]bv Ave[†]†y i kx[†] ZK[†]©[†]Mxk, Avej Kiv[†]vg kv[†]gm[†]v[†]b,
Av[†]t[†]bv[†]qv[†]iv LvZ[†]b Ges Avj[†]x Av[†]g[†] Lvb cwi l[†] fe[†]b Z[†]w[†]M Kti evBti Qv[†]t[†] i mvg[†]t[†]b Dcw[†]Z nb|¹⁴
tgmWtKj Ktj R tnv[†]÷tj i GKw[†] Kvgivq gv[†]BK eim[†]t[†]q Qv[†]t[†]iv Av[†]t[†]M t[†]KB e[†]z[†]v[†] Kiw[†]Q[†]t[†]j b|
[†]wj el[†]Yi ci Z[†]v[†] i tmB e[†]z[†]v[†]q [†]v[†]f[†]we[†]K[†]f[†]v[†]teB mi K[†]w[†]i w[†]b[†]h[†]Z[†]t[†]bi [†]wei[†]†x[†] Z[†]xe[†] f[†]vl[†]vq t[†]y[†]v[†]f c[†]K[†]vk
Kiv n[†]w[†]Q[†]| Ave[†]†y i kx[†] ZK[†]©[†]Mxk cwi l[†] fe[†]b t[†]K[†] tei ntq Avmvi ci Z[†]q[†]K tnv[†]÷tj i w[†]FZ[†]t[†]i
gv[†]B[†]t[†]Ki Kv[†]t[†]Q w[†]t[†]q hv[†]l qv nq| tmLvb t[†]K w[†]Z[†]vb Qv[†]t[†] i D[†]t[†]l[†]†k[†] e[†]z[†]v[†] Kti b|¹⁵

n[†]wj gv LvZ[†]t[†]bi Kv[†]t[†]Q G m[†]u[†]t[†]K[†]R[†]vb[†] hv[†]q th, w[†]et[†]kl Kti w[†]ew[†]f[†]bæ[†] [†]z[†] t[†]K Av[†]MZ Qv[†]t[†]ix[†]iv 144
aviv f[†]½ bv Kivi c[†]y[†] mfvi w[†]m[†]x[†]v[†]Š[†]U t[†]K[†]v[†]b[†]f[†]teB tg[†]t[†]b w[†]t[†]Z P[†]v[†]B[†]t[†]j b bv| Z[†]uiv D[†]t[†]Ä[†]w[†]RZ ntq DVj
Avi w[†]ek[†]†e[†]†y[†]†qi t[†]M[†]t[†]U cÜ[†]Z[†]t[†]ivaK[†]ix c[†]w[†]t[†]k e[†]mn[†]b[†]t[†]K e[†]†ov Av[†]½[†]y cÜ[†]k[†] K[†]t[†]j v| e[†]v[†]cK n[†]t[†]Æ[†]v[†]Mvj
i iæ[†]ntq t[†]Mj| m[†]w[†]Š[†]j Z l t[†]R[†]vi[†]v[†]t[†]jv cÜ[†]Zet[†] i dtj mfvi w[†]m[†]x[†]v[†]Š[†]cwi eZ[†] Kiv ntj v| Z[†]uiv w[†]K
Ki[†]t[†]j b, th t[†]K[†]v[†]b g[†]t[†] 144 aviv f[†]½ Ki[†]†eb| cÜ[†]qv[†]Rb t[†]ev[†]†a P[†]ri Rb P[†]ri Rb Kti w[†]gv[†]Q[†]j w[†]t[†]q c[†]w[†]t[†]k
e[†]w[†]i[†]†K[†]w[†]†K D[†]t[†]c[†]y[†]v Ki[†]†eb| w[†]m[†]x[†]v[†]Š[†]t[†]gv[†]Z[†]teK Dcw[†]Z mKj Qv[†]t[†]ix[†]iv cÜ[†]t[†]g[†]B [†]t[†]j [†]t[†]j tei ntj b|
cÜ[†]g [†]t[†]j w[†]Q[†] w[†]Z[†]bu[†] [†]z[†] t[†]K Av[†]MZ w[†]Z[†]b Qv[†]t[†]x (cvi[†]†j, tmZ[†]iv l b[†]ix) l n[†]wj gv LvZ[†]b| Av[†]Bb
Ag[†]v[†]b[†]K[†]ix w[†]nt[†]m[†]te cÜ[†]g l w[†]OZ[†]xq [†]j[†]†K c[†]w[†]t[†]k ev[†]v[†] t[†]qv[†]b| Z[†]te ZZ[†]xq [†]j[†]†K ev[†]v[†] t[†]q l Z[†]v[†]†i[†]†K
e[†]x[†] Kti M[†]w[†]†Z Z[†]t[†] w[†]t[†]q A[†]t[†]b[†]K [†]†i w[†]t[†]q t[†]Q[†]to t[†]qv nq etj n[†]wj gv R[†]iv[†]b| tg[†]t[†]†i Av[†]UK
Ki[†]†Z t[†]†L t[†]Q[†]t[†]iv D[†]t[†]Ä[†]w[†]RZ ntq c[†]w[†]t[†]ki e[†]w[†]i[†]†K[†]w[†]† D[†]t[†]c[†]y[†]v Kti tei ntZ [†]v[†]K[†]t[†]j v| c[†]w[†]t[†]k ZLb c[†]Ø[†]Ü
i Kg w[†]U[†]qv[†] M[†]vm O[†]q[†]t[†]Z [†]v[†]K, me[†]vi t[†]P[†]l g[†]ly R[†]ij v[†]t[†]c[†]rov Kti| K[†]ü[†]t[†]Z K[†]ü[†]t[†]Z Av[†]i t[†]k[†]w[†]vb w[†]t[†]Z w[†]t[†]Z

chŚÍ KgPZ uQtb| nvi gv LvZb RvZmstNi Dct` óv wntmte 2 eQi (1977-79) `wqZ; cij b Ktib| tMŠie`xB fvlv Avt`vj tb, XvKv wekpe`vj tqi GKRB Ziab QvTx wntmte cZ`yfrte Ask MhYi mshvM ntquQj nvi gv LvZbi| nvi gv LvZbi tefo I Vv, `kke, `Kki, wekpe`vj q Rxeabi bvbv `Z mti Rvgtb Zvii fvlvq wj wce x Kivi Rb` tmPst I A±vei 2013 tZ 5 `dvq GKU `xN`mivyrKvi MhY Kiv nq| mivyrKviti Dci wfiE Kti iuPZ tKm÷vwi bvbv w`K GB Mtel Yvq Dc`vcb Kiv ntqtQ|

fvlv Avt`vj tbi mgq XvKv wekpe`vj tqi 29 Rb QvTxi m½ uZib QvTx wbevfm (eZgvb tivtKqv nj) uKtZb| 29 Rtbi gta` Aí KtqKRb, wekI Kti tmwldqv Lvb, tivtKqv LvZb, tnvmtb Aviv RvY GgbuK uZib wbtRI KvgDwbó cvu`Ki tZb| uZib wefbaemv `wZK Avt`vj tbi m½ hY uQtb| tmB mgq bvbv mvgvRK mvgvexZvi gta` Zvii wefbaKvhpig cwi Pvj bv Ki tZb, mi wmi wefbaemfv I wguQj Ask wbtZb| wefbae`zj uMtq QvTx`i mfv I wguQj Ask MhY Doy KtZb|

nvi gv tMvctb ivR%wZK tbZvtbTx`i m½ t`Lv mivyr I wefbaei vR%wZK Kvfm Ask MhY KtZb| `ZPviY KtZ uMtq uZib etjb, Ktj R Rieb t`tKB uZib KvgDwbó cvu`Ki tZb| DttL, 1948 mti i tdequmi gvfm fvi Zxq KvgDwb÷ cvuP uZxq KstMh Kj KvZvq AbyDZ nq| ZLb cvuP mefgv 90 nrvri m`tm`i gta` evsj vt`tKB uQj 22 nrvri | Zvi gta` ce`evsj vq m`m` msL`v uQj 12 nrvriti Dcti|¹⁶ fvi Ze tI P`vaxbZvi Rb, evsj vi `vaxbZvi Rb, weUK wevavax ZrciZvi m½I uZib hY uQtb| nvi gvi Rb`fvg evtMi nvtUi ivR%wZK wfiE uQj mÿp| tmLv tb KstMh cvuP uQj tek k`kvj x| H mgq Zvi Pvpv m`úKq L`Kvi DvKj DÍxb tckvq uQtb GKRB DvKj, uZib KvgDwb÷ cvu`Ki tZb| %kke t`tKB nvi gv GB Pvpv vvin cfwvZ ntquQtb|

nvi gv LvZbi eveli bvg tgšj we Avāy i wng tkL Ges gv tqi bvg t`šj Zbtbmv| evel Kj KvZv Avj xqv gv`vni t`tK MhRtqU wMw cūB ntquQtb| uZib , iætUwbs `zj (eZgvb wcuUAvB) wkyKZv KtZb| nvi gvi `v`vi bvg j`vi Dj w, Mv`vj x tckvq wbtqumRZ uQtb| nvi gvi 3 Pvpv I 3 dzv uQtb, eo Pvpv cnyk evnbxtZ Pvkui KtZb, Ab` Pvpv nvb`z tkl Kti Rvgrgv t`Lvi bv KtZb| dzjv mevB MvYx| `ZPviY KtZ uMtq nvi gv etjb, uZib cūgw tK KstMhmi m½ hY uQtb cieZqZ KvgDwb÷ cvuP Av`tk`gy ntq uZib GB cvuPZ thvM t`b| evel cZ`yfrte ivRbwx KtZb bv Zte KstMh cvuP mg`_ KtZb| uZib cuUZ gvby uQtb, Avix I dvi mxtZ Zvi AtbK Avb I AwfÁZv uQj | cwi evtii mevB uQj ms`wZgbv| nvi gv LvZbi Pvpv`i Kwe Mvb, Rvvi Mvb, mvi Mvb I vutKi cūZ wekI AvMh uQj | tgšj we Avāy i wng tkL evoxi mevBtK

Môtgî gvbj i mvt_ i x fivl vq K_v ej tZ Dc t`k w` tZb Ges wbtR t`i gta` Bstî RxtZ K_v ej vi Rb` Drmw nZ Kî tZb | H mgq evtMi nU Ktj tRi Qvî iv Avtkcvtki Mîg_ tjtZ wewfbæemo tZ RvqMxi _vK tZb | Z t`i emo tZ I memgq GKRb Kti Ktj R Qvî RvqMxi _vK tZb | evox tZ dtej tLj v nZ, g`vMw Rb `Zix n tZv Ges wewfbæM t`i Avmi l em tZv | Z t`i evox t_ tK nvtZ tj Lv g`vMw Rb tei Kiv nZ, g`vMw RbUv wQj G tKev t`i c wî Kvi gZ, tQvU tQvU Kti tj Lv n tZv | Z v t`i evoxi mevB Ges Avtk cvtk RvqMxi iv wgtj c wî KviU tei Kî tZb | H mgq Z t`i c wî ev t`i tKD XvKvq Pvkwi Kî tZb bv, `jvfvB dKxi Rbve Avj x Kj KvZvq Pvkwi Kî tZb |

nvi j gvi v Pvi fvB I mvtZ tevB, wZb fvB `kkte gvi v M tqtQb, eZ g v t b mvtZ tevB I GK fvB | eofivB nvmKg tLj vajv I wkKvi wbtq e`_ t_ vK tZb wZvb g vU K cvk Kti bvb Zte, Kj KvZvq Pvkwi Kî tZb | cti wZvb Kj KvZvi Pvkwi tQto tcv ÷ gv ÷ v t`i Pvkwi tZ thvM t` b | tevB t`i gta` gvngy v tKej 8g tkôY chSî c t o i Q t j b | tgRtevB Rinvbiv c Pz eB covi bv Kî tZb | nvi j gv etj b, Lg tQvU eqtm kirP t` i Ôc t_ i `vexô -Gi m t 1/2 c w i w P v Z j v f K t i b ; k x t Z i m K v t j t i S t ` a e t m h L b f v B e B i U c o t Z b w Z v b g b t h v M w t q i b t Z b |

eBiu wQj wewUK weti vax, ZLbKvi mg t q eBiu cov wQj m u Y w b w l x | Ôc t_ i `vexô Zvi Rxb t K tek c f w e Z K t i t Q | nvi j gvi `jvfvB Kj KvZvq ivB Uvi m wewi s G KvR Kî tZb | Gi ci wZvb ÔAvRv`ô I ÔbehjMô KvR Kti wQ t j b | Zui `jvfvB Kj KvZv t_ tK Z t`i Rb` M t`i eB I wewfbæc t c wî K v c v v t Z b | wZvb Kj KvZv t_ tK teov tZ Avm t j A t b K M r i b v t Z b | nvi j gvi `jvfvB -Gi emo tZ GKUv w ekij j v B t e h i w Q j | nvi j gv `jvfvB Gi evox tZ tM t j H j v B t e h i t Z e B c o t Z b | G a i t b i c w i t e t k w Z v b e o n t q I t v b | w Z v b e t j b Z v i R x e b t K c f w e Z K i e v i t j t t ` j v f v B , P v P v D u K j D i x b I K t j t R i w k y K t ` i A e ` v b i t q t Q |

nvi j gvi bvbvi emv wQj `v`vi Mîg t_ tK 2-3 gvBj `ti c t Uvi c v o v Mîtg | Zui bvbvi wQj 7 t g t q I 3 t Q t j | bvbvi big tkL Avn s Avj x I bvbxi big j v j w e | bvbv wQ t j b R i g ` v t i i b v t q e | bvbv t j L v c o v b v R v b t j I w k y v b j v M x w Q t j b | nvi j gvi gv KL t b v ` t j h v b v b , e m o t Z B e v s j v c o v t j L v w k t L w Q t j b , t K v i A v b k i x d l c o t Z c v i t Z b | e o g v g v A v e ` j y e v i x l w Q t j b b v t q e , w Z v b ` k g t k ô Y c h S i c o v t j L v K t i w Q t j b | t g t R v g v g v k n x ` , w Z v b X v K v i A v j x q v g v ` i m v t_ tK M ô R t q k b w M w w b t q n v B ` t j w k y K Z v K i t Z b | t Q v U g v g v A v ° v m , B s U v i w g w t q U c v k K t i K v t j t i U G P v K w i K i t Z b | b v b v i c w i e v t i i t K D i v R % w Z K e v m i s ` w Z K A v t ` v j t b h y w Q t j b b v Z t e t g t R v g v g v X v K v t_ tK Z t`i emo tZ teov tZ Avm t Z b , X v K v i A t b K L e i I M r i b v t Z b |

nvi j gv Gg, G, cik Kivi ci 1955 mvtj 23-24 eQi eqtm Zui w t q n t q w Q j , ` t g x i b i g k v g m j y û ` v , c v i w K ` t b i n v q ` t e v ` K t j t R i i v o l e A v b w e f v t M i A a ` v c K w Q t j b | 1957 mvtj nvi j gv

LvZtbi GKgrĪ tqtq cĀijvebxi Rbƒ nq| cĀijvebx Gg.G Ges Gg.ue.G WMMĀ ARĀ Kti tQb| eZġvrb wZub KtqKwU temi Kvix wekĀe`vj tq (tWtdvWj, BDvb fmmuU Ae wj etj j AvUĀ, kvŠĪ gvni qvg) Aa`vcbv Ki tQb| wZub wġwqvtZ Dc`vcbv I KueZv AveġĒ Abġvrb Z`vi wK Kti b| k`i evnoi cĀt½ nviġ gv etj b, fvmj wQtb cġg e`vtPi m.Gm.uc Awdmvi Rbve ggvƒs` ggv| nviġ gv LvZb wQtb GKRB ms`wZgbv e`w³, `ŋxi cwi evi I mvs`wZK KgRvtŪi mvt` RnoZ wQj |

1.2.2 ikjvRieb

nviġ gvi `kke tKtUŪ Mġtg| Zui K_v etjZ tkLvi ci `iæ nŋwQj KueZv cvtVi PPĀ Ab`vb` er`Prt`i gZ wZub| Avb`Nb cwi tetk Zui `kkelU KvUtquQtb| `ŋj hvevi AvtMB evmiq Zui nvtZ Lwo nŋwQj | wZub `ŋj thtZb nvtZ Zvj cvZv wbtq , Zvj cvZvq wZub wj LtZb| tmb mgq gvni t`vqvZ wKbtZ cvl qv thZ| Zvi gġa` Kqj v I cwb wġwtq Kwj evbvtbv nŋZv| etġki KwĀi Kj g w`tq Zvj cvZvq wj LtZ nŋZv| cġg i ay`m KvUv Avi nwo cvwZj AvKġ Zvi ci I `ŋ` Rx tj vnv w`tq Zvj cvZvi Dci `teY`I e`ĀbeY`tj v wj tL w`tZb, tmUvi Dci `m w`tq wj LtZ nŋZv| hLb GB Zvj cvZvq eYġj v, evrbv, bvgZv ev kZwKqv tj Lvi KvR fvj fvte m`ubentZv ZLb Abġvrb Kti KvMR w`tq tj Lv Avi`cKi tZ nŋZv| GUvtK ejv nŋZv ŪKvMR aivŪ Abġvrb| `ŋj i KvMR aiv Abġvrb GKcvZv KvMR GK BwĀ mgvb fvR Kti I `ŋ` Rx cġtg wj tL w`tZb, Ūnemġj wni ingvbi i wngŪ, tmUv t`tL t`tL wj LtZ nŋZv| ŪKvMR aivŪ Abġvrb w`tb `ŋj wġwŪ wbtq thtZ nŋZv| KvMR, wġwŪ Avi GKUv iġcvi UvKv I `ŋ` Rx tK m`ŋbx wntmte t`l qv nŋZv| t`tL t`tL tj Lvi KvR m`ubentj I `ŋ` Rx tK UvKvUv t`qv nŋZv| Avi KvMŋR wemġj wni ingvbi i wng tj LvUv cwb tZ tdtj w`tZ nŋZv| Zvi ci t`tK AvbġvrbKfvte KvMŋR tj Lvi cġqv i iæ nq| hZ`Ī nviġ gv LvZtbi gtb cto, Zvj cvZvq AvKvAvwK Kivi cġg 5-6 gvm wġŋ` ev wki tkĀY Ges KvMR aiv i iæ t`tK cġg tkĀY wntmte MY` Kiv nŋZv|

nviġ gvi `ŋ` Riebvi hvĪv i iæ nŋwQj evt`Kvov cvov wġwŪ Bgvix `ŋj, `ŋ`Uv Zui eev Avġji wng tkL cĀZŪv Kti wQtb, Mġtg Ab` tKvb `ŋ` wQj bv| `ŋj 30-40 Rb QvĪ-QvĪx wQj, QvĪxi msL`v wQj 10Ū12 Rb| QvĪxiv mevB wQj ggvij g, AġbtKi bvg AvRI Zui gtb AvtQ, KtqK Rġbi mvt` AvRI fij m`úK`we`gvb AvtQ etj wZub Rvbvb| cġBgwi `ŋj wZub Kv m`u` chŠĪ cto wQtb, `ŋj tKvb gvij v wK`K wQtb bv| cvV` w`l q wntmte wQj, evsj v, Bsti wR, AsK Avi f`Mvj | `ŋj tQtb tqtqiv GKm½ covi bv KiZ| `ŋj i eYĀv w`tZ wġtg wZub etj b, `ŋ`Uv Ni wġtg wQj GKUv nj Ni, Ni wQj gvni `Zix| th `ŋj AvmZ bv ZġK aġi Avbvi Rb` eo Kvġmi QvĪt`i cvvvtbv nŋZv| kubetġi cvjvtbv cov etjZ nŋZv| `ŋjZPvi Y Ki tZ wġtg nviġ gv etj b Zġġ i Mġgi `ŋj mevB wQj ggvij g, GKUvI w`ycwi evi wQj bv| Zte cvtġki Mġgi tekxi fĪMB wQj w`y

cwi evi, GKNi ev`Ōyi nqZev uQj gyyj gvb | covi'bvq nviy gv fv'vj vB uQ'j b, `z̄ ntZv`Ō'fej v | mKv'j i'ayKqj vi Kwj w`tq tj Lv, tj Lv tkI ntj 12 Uvi mgq Ōw'j ntq thZ | c'iyiq eB ubtq weKvj tejvq `z̄j th'Z ntZv | A_ŕ `z̄j gvtbB mKvj tejvq tj Lv Avi weKvj tejvq cov | cŌBgwii `z̄j ZLb D`ŕ covb ntZv | wZub etj b, cŌBgwii wkyv`Ō'ŕi wef³ uQj, tjvqvi cŌBgwii (Gj wC) Ges Arcvi cŌBgwii (BDwC) | tjvqvi cŌBgwii gvtb cŌg t_ŕK PZZ^ŕkŌY | ZZxq tkŌY'Z wZub ewĒ cixŕv w`tq uQ'j b | ZLbKvi w`tb ewĒ cixŕv gvtb B'ŕ'c±i Gtm `z̄j e'fm cixŕv ubtZb | tmLvb t_ŕK tjvqvi cŌBgwii m'ub'abv Kti wZub ev'Mi niU kn'ti i `z̄j 4_ŕkŌY'Z fvZ^ŕntq uQ'j b | Kvi Y Zui tevbiv mevB kn'ti covi'bv Ki'Zb | ZvQov H mg'tq MŌ'tgi `z̄j t_ŕK kn'ti i `z̄j fij covi'bv ntZv | MŌg t_ŕK tntw tntw wZub AvovB gvBj `ŕi Aew`Z kn'ti i `z̄j th'Zb | A'bk mgq MŌ'tgi tjv'Kiv evav w`Z GB etj th, tgšj we m'v'ne tKb tg'tq`i `z̄j cv'v'eb | MŌ'tgi tjv'Kiv Ggb ūguk w`tZb th, tgšj we m'v'netK (Zui ever'tK) GKN'ti Kiv tnvK | ev`ŕe tgšj we m'v'netK GKN'ti Kti I ivLv ntq uQ'j | Zui ever etj uQ'j b th Ō tKvi Avb tKZv'eb tZv Av'Q th, tg'tq`i tj Lv cov tkLv'Z nq, tZviv ev'Uv gL^ŕ tZviv wK Rvbm!, tZv' i m'½ tZv Avng tL'Zci'tZ hw'Q bvŌ | nviy gvi eot'eb Kj KvZvi nvl ovq `z̄j PvKvi Ki'Zb! tmRb` MŌ'tgi tjv'Kiv Zui ever Av'āy i wng tk'tLi Dci tewk y'vB uQ'j b | tg'tq`K tKb PvKvi Kivi Abgn'Z t`b, tg'tq`i tK w'eq bv w`tq tKb `z̄j cv'v'eb! Gme Kvi tY MŌgeimxiv Zv' i emot'Z Lŕ Kg Avm'tZv |

W. nviy gv ev'Mi niU tRjvq g'bv'tgwnbx evij Kv we`vj t'q gva'wgK wkyv MŌY Kti b | g'bv'tgwnbx evij Kv we`vj t'q Mvb, AvewĒ, Av'fbq meB tkLv'tbv ntZv | we`vj t'qi w'ŕ'K b'tMb evey Ōviv wZub Abgn'YZ ntq uQ'j b | `z̄j i GKRB w'ŕ'K uQ'j b t'bzv'R m'ŕv'mP^t`i Abgn'ix | wZub 9g tkŌY'Z covKij xb H wky'KB Z'ŕK t'bzv'Ri g'tš; w'ŕ'Z Kivi t'Pov Kti b | wky'K t'bzv'Ri M' ej'tZb, w'ekI Kti Mv'Üxev' iv th Ab'vq Kti t'Q, gvb'tj i gv_vq emo w`tq ej'tQ, gnv'Z' Mv'Üxi Rq, Gme t'cŌy'icU eS'v'tZ t'Pov Ki'Zb | nviy gvi wky'tKi g'tZ, t'bzv'R m'ŕv'm P^a't k'tK `v'axb Kivi Rb` A'bk msMŌg Ki'tQb | tmB mgq nviy gv c'ŕ'z eB c'Ī cot'Zb | nviy gvi I e'w³MZ avi Yv m'ŕv'm P^a'emyKstMŌh t'bz'tZji t'P'tqI Av'ti K avc Dc'ti uQ'j b | wZxq w'ek'h'x' i mgq wZub Kj KvZv t_ŕK cwiy t'q cwiK`ŕb ntq Rvcv'tb P'tj hvb | Rvcv'tb w'ŕ'q Rvcv'tb`i m'v'w'w'Zvq w'ŕ'Uk't`i A'axb fvi Zixq b'v'kbij Av'ig^ŕ (Av'BGbG) w'v`y-g'yyij g mevB'tK ubtq GKUv t'cšR `Zwi Kti uQ'j b | wZub Av'ti v etj b, g'bv'tgwnbx i t'nw'gm'tUhmI KstMŌh Ki'Zb, wZub KL'tbv c'Kv'tk`i ivRb'w'Z c'ŕ'vi Kti bvb | nviy gv etj b, gva'wgK `ŕi c'w` w'elq uQj - evsjv, B'sti w'R, B'w'Zvnm, f'ŕ'v'j, `ŕ` I M'w'YZ | wZub g'bv'tgwnbx `z̄j covi'bvq fvj uQ'j b, Zui K'v'k 6-7 Rb w'v`yGes 6-7 Rb g'yyij g covi'bv Ki'Zb | Ab` K'v'm w'v`yQv'ŕ'xi msL'v uQj tekx | nviy gv etj b, Zui m'½ w'v`yQv'ŕ'xi i LŕB M'f'xi

m^uK^QJ | GLbl hviv tetP AvtQb Z^h i m¹/₂ m^uK^Qiq^hQ, ^uekl Kⁱ Kj KvZvq hviv AvtQb Z^h i m¹/₂ GLt^bv thv^hv^hM i t^hQ Ges GKai t^bi c^uvi ev^ui K m^uK^QAvRI ^ue`g^vb|

n^uvj gvⁱ KvQ t^hK R^vb^v hvq th, ZLbK^vi mgq c^hQ^uv g^vt^b u^Qj g^yj g^vb t^gt^qi^v eo n^tj N^ti i ev^Btⁱ hv^e b^v| hviv ev^Btⁱ t^ht^Zb Z^vi^v g^v_v^q K^vco w^h t^q P^j v^tdⁱv Kⁱ t^Zb| ^hZ^Pri t^Y u^Zub et^j b, Z^ui u^ch^u ^uk^yK^t i g^ta^h Ab^hZ^g u^Qt^j b, c^hf^v v^m B Ges g^uZ e^ve^y g^va^hg^K ch^hq H mgq g^tb^vt^gv^un^bx ^hz^j t^Kv^b g^yn^j g ^uk^yK u^Qt^j b b^v, me^vB u^Qt^j b uⁿ y^h n^uvj gvⁱ g^tb^vt^gv^un^bx ^hz^j t^hK 1947 m^vt^j t^hk ^ue^fv^tMⁱ mgq g^uu^K c^vk K^ti^b| g^uu^K c^vt^ki ci Z^vi u^bR ev^uo t^hK ^hAv^oi^B g^vBj ^htⁱ ev^tMⁱn^u c^hz^hP^h i^vq K^tj t^R f^uZ^hq^uQ^tj b| GB K^tj R 1919 m^vt^j c^hZ^uo^Z n^q | t^mB mgq c^hz^hoⁱv^q K^tj t^R t^gt^qt^h i Av^ev^mt^bi R^b t^Kv^b tⁿv^t÷^j u^Qj b^v| ev^uo t^hK^B c^vt^q tⁿt^u K^tj t^R hv^Zv^qZ Kⁱ t^Zb| Z^ui e^ve^v covⁱ b^vi Li^P u^be^fh Kⁱ t^Zb | u^Zub K^ug^Du^bo c^uu^QKⁱ t^Zb Ges Z^h i A^tb^K K^tj R ^uk^yK^I K^ug^Du^bo c^uu^Q Kⁱ t^Zb| ^hZ^Pri t^Y u^Zub et^j b, B^uvi u^gu^ht^qU c^vu^h u^el^q u^Qj t^cšⁱ b^uu^Z, h^uh^h u^e vⁱ ev^sj^vl B^štⁱ u^R| u^e.G t^Z u^Qj ev^sj^v m^vuⁿZ^h, B^štⁱ R^x m^vuⁿZ^h Avⁱ ^hk^h| u^Zub et^j b, K^tj t^R covⁱ mgq ev^g avⁱ i^v R^bu^uZ^tZ u^ek^hm^x m^vi^v Z^ui m¹/₂ j^MZ u^el^q u^bt^q A^tb^K Av^tj v^Pb^v Kⁱ t^Zb| b^vb^v ai^tbi e^Bc^h Avⁱ L^etⁱ i K^vM^tRⁱ Ask^ue^tk^l Z^hK u^h t^Zb, u^Zub D^rm^vuⁿZ n^tZ^b|

n^uvj gvⁱ et^j b, H mgq K^tj t^R t^Kv^b g^un^j v ^uk^hK u^Qt^j b b^v| t^Qt^j t^h i K^tj t^R g^un^j v ^uk^hK u^bt^qt^hMⁱ u^el^qu^u c^uu^K l^b Av^gt^j i g^vS^vg^uu^S u^Ksev t^kt^li u^h t^K i i^hz^hq^uQ^j | K^j v, g^vb^ue^K l u^eAv^b k^vL^v u^gt^j K^tj t^R n^vR^vtⁱ i g^Z Q^vl-Q^vl^x u^Qj | t^gt^qi^v m^Pi^vPⁱ K^tj t^R t^hZ b^v, u^Zub u^Qt^j b m^ue^Z u^QZ^hq A^{_}ev ZZ^hq e^vt^Pi Q^vl^x| H mgq hv^t i (uⁿ y^hg^tqⁱv) m^vg^{_}u^Qj Z^vi^v K^j K^vZ^vq P^tj t^ht^Zb| hviv cvⁱt^Zb b^v u^et^kl K^ti g^yn^j g t^gt^qi^v t^gu^K c^vk K^ti N^ti^B e^tm u^hK^tZ^b| Z^h i mgq u^e.G K^ht^m G^KR^bB u^Qt^j b uⁿ y^hAvⁱ ev^Kx me^vB g^yn^j g| n^uvj gvⁱ L^vZ^b 1949 m^vt^j B^uvi u^gu^ht^qU Ges 1951 m^vt^j u^uM^h c^um K^ti b|

1.2.3 Av^hZ^hc^j u^h

kⁱr em^h i AL^h f^vi Z m^ut^hK^uZ^ub R^vb^tZ^b l mg^{_}h Kⁱ t^Zb| 1947 m^vt^j u^Zub ev^tMⁱ n^vt^u u^Qt^j b| H mgq t^hke^vic^x A^tb^K ^hv^hu^etⁱv^h K^gR^vu^u m^sM^uu^Z n^tq^uQ^j u^Kš^h u^Zub G R^vZ^hq K^gR^vu^u R^uo^Z u^Qt^j b b^v| 1947 m^vt^j c^uu^K l^b f^vi Z b^vt^g ^hu^h i^vo^hn^j | ZLb c^uu^K l^tt^bi g^vb^h f^ve^j Z^vi^v i^vR^hu^ZK Ges A^{_}h^uZ^K g^uh^h c^vt^e| c^uo^g c^uu^K l^tt^bi R^bM^Y n^tj^v D^hP g^hv^h m^ub^h Z^ui^v u^ky^v x^yv^q, A^t_m^ut^h ce^hc^uu^K l^tt^bi Z^hb^vq A^tb^K t^ek^x m^gx^kv^j x| n^uvj gvⁱ et^j b th, c^uu^K l^b i^vo^h c^hZ^ovi ci c^uo^g c^uu^K l^bx k^vm^K t^Mo^x ce^hc^uu^K l^tt^bi D^{ci} t^kv^l Y i i^hz^hKⁱt^jv| ce^hc^uu^K l^b t^hK h^Z c^Y i B^vb^x n^te Z^vi u^msⁿ f^vM g^hv^dv t^bt^e c^uo^g c^uu^K l^b| G^fv^te t^h L^v hv^q u^ky^v, P^vK^vi

I Ab"b" me tytTB cuog cwk-lb ce-cwk-lbtk ewAZ KtitQ| iiaej ce@svj vi gubtj i fvlvi Dci Avµgb| hv ev0vij Rvzi gvZfvlvi Avf`vj tbi mizKvMvi | nvij gv etj b, 1952 mvtj i fvlv Avf`vj tbi mvt_ ubueofvte Rvz nl qvi KviY uQj ivR%wZK mEvl| wZvb Avtiv etj b, fvlv Avf`vj b t_tK iiaKti gnub gnyh chSlmKj Avf`vj tbi XvKv vekte`vj tqi QvT-QvT`i fvgKv Acvi mxg|

nvij gv gtb Ktib, agrq ibitc¶Zv ev tgj ev` GLbl tbB, ZLtbv uQj bv| wZvb etj b, gnyj gubt`i gta` KLbl mivú` vqK tgj ev` uQj bv| Zte_vKtj l tmlv uQj vbtRt`i gta` thgb gnyj gubt`i gta` mqv-mjmi melquw ue`gvb| Avevi w`j`i gta` misNvZKfvte mivú` vqKZvi e`vcvUv j`y`Yxq thgb w`ymgvR e`e`vUv `úZt Pvi uU tkYtZ wef³ Avi GB wfvM, tjtj v ntv-eitpY, ywq, `el` l ky`|

nvij gv etj b fvlv Avf`vj b iagrT Amvú` vqK l agrbitc¶B uQj bv eis GUv uQj v GKvU A_wZK gny`i `vex| KviY cwk-lb miKvi ZLbKvi cvU, Pvgov, avbmn Ab"b" iBvnb ctY`i msnfvM t_tK th Avq ntZv cUq meUKB cuog cwk-lb vbtq thZ, Gi mvt_ mvt_ Avevi iia ntvuQj fqvbk iKtgi msv`wZK AvMmb hv`l evlvjxiv eiveiB cwk-lb miKvii msv`wZK AvMmmbi weiaf`x evj ofvte iafL `wotqvQj, hvi eo ctvY 1952 mvtj i fvlv Avf`vj b| tmb fvlv Avf`vj tbi Ab`Zg wex W. nvij gv LvZb eZvub vR evno -78/wm Bw`fv ti wW, dvqMU, XvKv-1215 tZ Ae`vb KtitQb GKRB Kvtj i `v`x ntv|

1.2.4 gj`vqb

welUK wtvax `vaxZv msvMtg mPbvj Met_tKB esjvi bvixiv ivR%wZK msvMtg mvt_ mivqfvte mivú³ ntvuQj b| Zuv ivRct_, gq`vB, wguQj, mgvtefk Ask Mhb Ktib| ZrKvjxb mivgvRK Aetivtai Ktvi wvavbtla Dtcyv Kti bvixiv GvMtg GtmuQj b| w`ybrxt`i cvkvck gnyj g bvixivl welUK wtvax `vaxZv msvMtg mivq fvgKv cvj b KtituQj b| cievZ¶Z 1947 mvtj fvi Zel`fvM nq, cwk-lb Ges fvi Z vrtg `v`j ivtof mPbv nq| Gici iia nq cwk-lb i vofvlv vbtq Avtj vPbv| 1948 mvj t_tKB cwk-lb ivocavbMY D`KB cwk-lb i vofvlv Kivi Rb` cwi Kibv Kti| ce@svj vi QvTmgvR GB wvú`l tgub vbtZ cvtib bv, dtj iia nq fvlv Avf`vj b| nvij gv LvZb 1948 mvtj Ktj R QvTx uQj b| ZLb t_tKB wZvb G fvlv Avf`vj tbi wguQj Ask vbtq ctZev` RvbtqvQj b|

nvij gv LvZbi eiev uQj b GKRB AvvnbK Avbmú`vbgvby| nvij gvi cwi evi uQj ms`wZgbv| Zct`i evno t_tK ntvZ tj Lv cwi Kv tei nZ| wZvb tvU tejt t_tKB kirPt`i Oct`i `vexú` eBvUv m½ cwi wZ uQj b| wZvb AtbK `ti c_ evno w`tq Ktj tR thtZb| Ktj tR hivi ct_ AtbK

eÜž i emo uQj | eÜž i KvQ t_žK uZub uewfbæai#bi eB ubtq cožZb-GuU uQj GK cKvi Pj gvb jvBteŕi | Mŕgi gvb#i uefiwaZv mŕEi eev mšib# i AvabK ukývq ukývZ Kti uQj b | ž Rxeb t_žKB nuuj gv ukýK# i KvQ t_žK ivR%uZK uelžq DrmvinZ ntqiuQj b | uZub hLb B:Uvi ugiuWžqU ctob ZLb t_žKB KugDub ÷ cnuU#KižZb |

1948 mŕj fvlv Av#`vj b ubtq evŕMi nŕUi cwižek DEB uQj | G mgq uZub uewfbæaiuQj Ask ubtqiuQj b Ges GB Av#`vj b#K mg_# KižZb | 1951 mŕj ueG cv#ki ci XvKv uek#e`vjžq GgG covi Rb` Av#mb | GLv#b G#m uZub KugDubó cnuUi m#½ hŕ nb | fvlv Av#`vj b k#æntj, Av#`vjžb Qvŕ#`i cvkvcuk Qvŕx unmŕte ub#R#K k³ Ae`v#b `u Kivb | 1952 mŕj i 21 tdeqvi x A#bK Qvŕ-Qvŕ#`i mŕ_ 144 aviv f#ž K#ib | GB NUbv fvlv Av#`vjžbi BvZnŕm GKiu Dj L#h#M` NUbv | mvgvRK m#ve#Zvi g#`l uewfbæKiv#ig cwi P#j bv KižZb | KugDub ÷ cnuU#`j xq Kg#un#mte tKŠk#j fvlv Av#`vj b l `j xq c#vi Kv#P#j v#Zb | uZub ž K#j#Ri Qvŕ#`i ivR%uZK f#te DrmvinZ Kti uQj b | uZub ZrKvj xb mvgvRK t#ŕvc#Ui wfi#žZ uk f#te Qvŕ#`i c#uZk#j n#ž nq GB ukýv u žZb | uk f#te mvg#bi u #K AM#i n#ž nq, G m`ú#K uZub Qvŕ#`i AeivZ KižZb | 1952 mŕj 21 tdeqvi x#Z 144 aviv f#žvi c#ž QvŕxivB tekx ivq u žqiuQj | nuuj gv 1953 mŕj MYZvšK hŕd#Ui mg_#b#žgZvmb g#uj gj #Mi uei#x c#_#telmg bi-Rvuvb g#uk` Gi c#ž KvR K#ib | uZub Qvŕ-Qvŕ#`i msNex Kti ube#bx KgRv#ŕ Ask #bb | g#uj gj #Mi cZb NUv#Z m#ž nb | uZub evsj v#`#ki `vaxZv msM#ž Am#g ub#v l m#vumKZvi mŕ_ KvR Kti hib | Av#ui Kv# ev#qiuM#dKuj Bb#uUDU t_žK cKvukZ *The International Directory of Distinguished leadership 1997* b#gK M#š` W. nuuj gv LvZ#bi Rxeb e#i#š cKvukZ ntq#Q |

Z_`ubt`R

1. %ubK AvRv`, 27 tdeaqwi 1992, c., 1
2. umivRjy Bmj vg m`uvw`Z, eivjv`tki BwZnm, cŭg LĐ, (XvKv t eivjv`k GukqumUK tmvmvBwU, 2000), c.,455|
3. e`i`ai`xb Dgi, ce`ev0jvi fvlv Avf`vj b I ZrKvjxb ivRbmwZ, ZZxq LĐ, (eBNI necYx weZvb, PÆMŭg 1985) c.,254-261|
4. cŭ₃, c., 254-261|
5. cŭ₃, c., 254-261
6. e`i`ai`xb Dgi, fvlv Avf`vj b c`h`zt KwZcq `wj j, cŭg LĐ, (XvKv: RvZxq Mŭs' cŭKvkb, 1996) c.,313|
7. e`i`ai`xb Dgi, cŭ₃, ZZxq LĐ, c.,265|
8. umivRjy Bmj vg m`uvw`Z, cŭ₃, c.,457|
9. cŭ₃, c., 458|
10. cŭ₃, c., 458|
11. e`i`ai`xb Dgi, cŭ₃, ZZxq LĐ, c.,254-261|
12. cŭ₃, c., 284-292|
13. cŭ₃, c., 285-295|
14. cŭ₃, c., 300-306|
15. cŭ₃, c., 307|
16. Ávb PmeZŭ, XvKv tRjvi KwgDwb ÷ cwmŭP AZxZ hM, (XvKv : RbmwinZ' cŭKvkb, 1972) c., 104|
17. W. nmij gv LvZb 05-09-2013, 10-09-2013, 14-09-2013 Ges 19-09-2013 Zwi tL mKvj 10Uv t_`tK `gxj 1Uv chSf3 NsUv Kti mivjvrvKvi w`tqfQb|

ৱৱZxq Aa'vq

ৱৱaxbZv htyk ৱৱRb bvi xi figKv

1971 mvtj ৱৱaxbZv htyk Ziayt'i cvkvcvnc bvi xt'i figKv ৱৱQj AfbK| gyp hy welqK Avtj vPbvq bvi xt'i bvg tZgb , iatZji mvt_ DfV Avtmvb| Zth i KwZZ;ev Ae`v tbi K_v cKvk Kiv nq bv ৱৱKS' t`ktclgK gnvb bvi xiv, cya tli cvkvcvnc ৱৱtRi Rieb tK wecb tKti gyp htyk Ask ৱৱbtq ৱৱQtj b| gyp tgg cvnk ৱৱbcsr `vj vj e`ZxZ, mgMöevOvij RvWZ cvnk ৱৱtbi Jcib tcnkK kvmtbi huZvKj t`tk t`ktK gyp Kivi Rb" gyp htyk mupqfvte AskMöY Kti ৱৱQtj b|¹

ৱৱaxbZv htyk A`i nvtZ hy t`tt cvnk ৱৱbxt'i m t½ hy Kti tQb AfbK bvi x| Kvkb weve, Zvivgb weve, ৱৱwib evbygnZj, Avkvj Zv, i lkb Avivi gtZv AfbK bvi x mivmvi mxy htyk Ask ৱৱbtq ৱৱQb| cvnk ৱৱbx nivr`vi t'i , ৱৱij Kti tgti tQb| fvi tZi cüögeti tMveiv K`v t`ú mk`i cilk tY ৱৱbtq ৱৱQb AfbK bvi x| fvi tZ kiYv_ ৱৱkiet i Wv`vi, bvm©Ges t`Qv tmeK ৱৱntmte AmsL" bvi x hyvnZ gyp thv`v i kiYv_ ৱৱi tmev Kti tQb| ৱৱaxb evsjv teZvi tKt`i ৱৱkix ৱৱntmte Ask ৱৱbtq ৱৱQb AfbK bvi x ৱৱkix| Guv ৱৱQtj b htyk i tclöYv| t`tki Af`st i cvnk ৱৱbx nivr`vi evnrb, kvnsKigvU Ges ivRvKvi evnrbxi i`P tK D tcv tKti, Gt`tki Mlg-MtÄ I kn t i AmsL" bvi x gyp htyk i ct` t Kvr Kti ৱৱQtj b| Zviv gyp thv`v i Avktq ৱৱ tqtQb, Lv t`i e`e`v Kti tQb, A`ienb Ges j`ktq t i tL tQb, tMvcb msev` Avbv`tblqv Kti tQb| Ggb AfbK ARvbn bvi x AvtQb hviv ৱৱtRi me` ৱৱ`Z`m Kti KLtbn ৱৱtRi mstbtK, KLtbn ৱৱtK t`tki Rb" gyp thv`v i mvi tZ `va Kw t q ৱৱ tqtQb| A_P GB bvi xiv Zth i Ae`v tbi ৱৱKwZ. h_vh_fvte cvnb| gyp htyk i mgq wet`tk evsjv t`tki ct` t RbgZ MVtb Kvr Kti tQb AfbK bvi x| ৱৱKzmsL`vK bvi x Gt`y t i ৱৱbtew`Z cöY ntq wetkl figKv MöY Kti ৱৱQtj b| Zviv dtj th ARB evOvij i fiv t i miv`AZ ntqtQ Zv tKvb Astk Kg bq|² Gt`y t i byRvnb gjnk`, Wv. gvK`g bvmMö i Zv Avtgbv Avntg`, gvZqv tPšajx, gvtj Kv teMg, teex gl`y i bvg wetkl fvte D t j L t h v M | gyp htyk i `ct`y th tKvb figKvq AeZxY` ntZ hv l qv tZ Kg tekx Avmvs l n l qvi AvksKv ৱৱQj | Avi bvi xi t`y t i ৱৱQj kvv mvi Kfvte ৱৱbh`ZZ n l qvi AvksKv| G me S`ktK m t½ ৱৱbtql t`tki gyp i Rb" cya t`i cvkvcvnc AmsL" bvi x clöqvRbxq clökyY ৱৱbtq ৱৱQtj b| ৱৱK-ৱৱt`Rbv QvovB mk`i hymn ৱৱaxbZv msmötg Ask ৱৱbtq ৱৱQtj b Ges clöy Kti ৱৱQtj b th, gyp htyk i mKj tMši t e i Zviv l mgvb Asik`vi |³ A_P Zth i tmB tMši egq figKv m`yúófvte AvRI cvicY`l ৱৱ`mvi Zfvte DfV Avtmvb| G clüfig mgvb t i tL evsjv t`tki ৱৱaxbZv msmötg 2 Rb bvi xi figKv GLv t b Dc`vcb Kiv ntqtQ|

eisjv`tki `f`axbZv msMõtġ th mKj bvi xiv DġLthvM" fiġKv cvj b KġiġQb Zv`i ġta" Ab`Zg ġġZvR teMġ I KġKb weie| Ġġi i ġta" ġġZvR teMġ uQġj b tbĠx `vbxq| Ab`Rb KġKb weie uQġj b mk`ġmsMõtġ Ask ġbqv GK mvmx bvi x ġġġthv`v| ĠB Aa`vtġ `ġRb ġġġthv`v bvi xi Rġeb I fiġKv m`uġK`Avġj vPbv Kiv nġqġQ|

2.1 KġKb weie

Lvmqv m`uġ vtġi bvi x- KġKb weie| uZub 71 G eisjv`tki mk`ġmsMõtġ Ask ġbqv bvi x`i ġta" Ab`Zg GKRB| mgMõt`tki bi-bvi xiv 1971 mġġj cvKevmbxi AvġġY cġZġiva Kġi | G hġx ubw`ġ tKvb tġĠ uQj bv, uQj bv tKvb thvM" cġġyY| ZeycġY i ġvi ZvmM` I t`k i ġvi `ġ_` th thfġte tġġiġQ, hġ KġiġQ| KġKb weie uQġj b tZġub GKRB mk`ġġġthv`v| wekġi ġZ hġx uZub mġġqfġte Ask MġY Kġib| hġKġj xb mgġq Zui exi ZcY`Ae`vb GLġbv mġthv`v`i ġġL tkv`v hvq| KġKb weie `ġġxi bġġ Avġġ ġġR` Lvb, tMveiv K`vġuġi mġġvš`i ġx uQġj b| 1971 mġġj ġġġhġ `i i`enl qvi ci Avġġ ġġR` Lvb mġġġġi Avġġġ qv K`vġuġi Pġġ hġb ZLb KġKb weie GKv nġq cġob| tMveiv K`vġuġi Ae`vb mġġġMÄ tRġvi t`vqviv evRġi| KġKb weie `ġġġK LġġZ tei nġġ, cvġK`vbx`i KġġQ t`vqviv evRġi DEġi GKġU K`vġuġi aiv cġob | cvġK`vbx `mb`iv ZġġK tUsiv K`vġuġi ubġq hvq Ges ġġġevmbxi tġvK ġmġte mġ`n Kġi Zui Dci AġbK AZ`vPvi Kġi| Amn` kvġġi K I ġġbġmK hšġvq KġKb weie tġġevQġj b uZub Avġ tetP `vKġZ cvġġeb bv| tġvġvi ġmK Mig Kġi Zui kġġi i weifbġAsġk XġKġq t`qv nq, GLġbv iġq uMġqġQ tmB Amnbxq hšġv| K`vġuġi tġRi etġb, Zġġ mġZ" cvġPq ejġġ tetP hvġe| KġKb weie Rvbvb, Zui `ġġx cvġvex `mb" uKŠ' `ġġxi ZrKġj xb Ae`vb ejġZ cvġi bvb| uZub Avġiv etġb, AvġġPv Zui `ġġxi tLġR ubġq RvbġZ cvġi th uZub Avġġġ qv K`vġuġi AvġQb| cvġK`vbx AvġġP KġQ t`ġK KġKb weie Zui `ġġxi tLġR-Lei RvbġZ cvġi b|⁴

KġKb weie `ġġx cvġK`vbx`i nġq KġR KiġQ, GRb" KġKb weieġK cvġK`vbx `mbiv tQġo t`q Ges GKġU KġW`Kġi I t`q| ġġZ Kġi KġKb weie cvġK`vbx K`vġuġi, tġvġZ hvZvqvZ KiġZ mġġev nq| tm mgq KġKb weie ġġvKġv cvġK`vbx evmbxi Ae`vb Rvbvi Rb" cġġqvRb uQj GKRB bvi x ġġġthv`v| ZLb H ġġvKġv Avġmb tm±i Kġvġvi ġxi kI KZ Avġx| uZub KġKb weie NUBvġU tkvġbb Ges ZġġK LġR ubġq Avġmb| tmvm`ġmġte KġR j vMġbvi Rb" Avġvc Kġib Zui mġġ_| Ġfġte ġġġthv`v`i mġġ KġKb weie thvMvthvM nq| KġKb weie 5bs tm±ġi j ġġxġy K`vġuġi nġq KġR Kġib| cġġġ uZub ġġġthv`v`i tmev Kivi KġR cib, ci evZġZ ġġġthv`v`i mġġte KġR Kivi mġġvM cib|

cmlK`lbriv mlyvMÄ clek KtiUj AvMó gvM| AvM t`fK Pj Uj cmlK`lbriv`i cÜZtivai
 cÜZ| ZÜ`i c_ tiva KiZB Mfxi ivZ eR aYsm Kivi mÜvšfbq gY`thv×iv, GB`wqZ;cto
 KkKb weiei Dci| KkKb weie GB Acv`tkbK mdj Kivi Rb` Kj vMvQi tfj vq Kti tergv eviæ,
 A`i Ab`b` im` wbtq hvb| GKvB`xN`c_ cmo w`tq RvMqv tmZz KvQ tcÜQv| Zui wekl
 mstKZ tctq Ab` ct_ Avtiv GKRB gY`thv×v tcÜQ hvq wefRi KvQ| gvBb weÜvriY eR
 aYsm metPiq eo KuzZ; KkKb weiei| tmB GvKvq cÜq me,tjv tMvi jv Acv`tkb wZub mlyq
 Ges`iZcY`fvgKv tiLÜQtb| gY`thv×v`i mv_ tMvi jv Acv`tkb wZub Ask MhY Ktib|
 gneZcj, Kv`Mhqi hy, emivB, tUsiv wlvj vi hy, wjvBi cvtoi hy mn wekwi gZ hY wZub
 Ask tbb| ctbtivU mly hY Ask tbb| wZub A`mn tMvj veriæ etq GK`vb t`fK Ab`v`tb wbtq
 wMvqQb| cmlK`lbriv`i tMvj veriæ tMvctb tei Kti Gtb Kvj vMvQi tfjv Pwjtq gY` evnbxi
 KvQ tcÜQ w`tZb| Lvj vej, b`xlvj v, tStæSvo-me RvqMvq gY`thv×v`i mv_ hy KtiQb t`k
 kTægY Kivi Rb`|

mlyvMÄ thw`b hy nq, tmw`tbi fqven hY KkKb weie mvi vYvB wQtb gY`thv×v`i mv_ |
 cvK evnbxi K`vü Uj Ohqvi`wY w`qvÜ| tmB K`vüi Ae`vb tRtb KkKb weie Ptj Avtmb
 gY`evnbxi KvQ| wefbaK`vüi gY`thv×v`i wZub GKwZ Ktib| Zuci mevBk wbtq QÜ
 Ptjb, ct_ cto GKw kxY`b`x| Kvj vMv tKtU tfjv evbtq,`ÜRb wZvRb Kti cvi nb
 gY`thv×iv,`ÜfvM wef`n`q kTæK`vü`Lj Kivi Rb``Üv`K t`fKB Avµgb Ktib| GKw MÜ
 QÜ hvq wefRi KvQvKwQ, th eR wmtj tUi mt½ mlyvMÄK mshY KtiQ| gY`thv×iv mgqgZB
 tergv tgi` wotq t`b tmB eR, iia nq`Üv`K t`fKB gY`evnbxi AZwKZ AvµgY| GB Lei
 Qwotq cto gyZP`gta`| Lei tctqB wmtj U t`fK cvK evnbxi QÜ Avtmb, fv½v eR t`L Zviv wdti
 hvq| gY`evnbxi mt½ cvKevnbxi`Ü`ivZ I GKw`b mvgv-mvgub hy nq| GK chf`q cvKevnbxi
 tMvj veriæ tkI nq hvq, cvKevnbxi gY` evnbxi KvQ nvi gvbtZ eva` nq| Rqevsjv tkwlvb
 w`tq I tVb gY`evnbxi| KkKb weie GB w`tbi NUBwU Rvbtj b GBfvte, ÜAvgi v GK chf`q Rq evsj v
 tkwlvb w`tZ`vK Ges I t`i`K wNti tclw| GK`mb` nVir Kti AvgtK t`tL wPtb tdtj Ges etj
 I tV! GtZv tmB gvnj v! AvtMB Avgi v gtb nqUj GB gvnj v gY`evnbxi tj vKÜ|

gY`thv×iv wmtj tUi evi Kvdb eRwU Dvotq t`qvi mgq KkKb weie Dtv`L thvM` fvgKv cvj b
 Ktib| cmlK`lbriv`mb`iv hLb Lveri tLZ e`t` tm mgquU wZub gY`thv×v`i RvbtqUj b| GB eR
 Dvotq t`qv hy tKŠktj i GKw Ab`Zg w`K Uj| bt`f`st gvMmi w`tK wZub`BPI eüEi`v`tq
 cmlK`lbriv evnbxi nvZ aiv ctob, wbgÜ AZ`vPvi nq Zui Dci| GLtv ki`xti tmBme wbhZtbi`wM
 AvtQ|⁵

2.1.1 Rb#I te#o I W

KuKb weiei Rxeb Buznm tek Kia#| gvZm#xq Lvmqv cwi ev#i Rb# KuKb weiei cwi ewi K bvg- KuKvZ tnt#BZv, WwK bvg KuKd| wZvb 1948 mtj mlyvM#Ai wmgvt#li Kv#Q #b| GB# M#tg Rb#M#Y K#ib| Zui eveli bvg tbnv Ges gv#qi bvg `vtgwj wqZv| Zui Rg Pvl K#i wRweKv wbe#h K#Zb| Zui wZb fvB I `B# tev#| mevi eo tev# Kvcj, Gici `B# fvB D#nvi I fvebvB| fvB tev#i g#a" mevi tQvU GB KuKd| Zui Avb#vK wkyv M#Yi m#hvm nqib| R#b#i c#eB evel#K nvi vb| Zui hLb t`o eQi eqm, ZLb nvi vb gv#K, bixi Kv#Q wZvb eo nb| %kke t_#KB wZvb wZv gvZvi Av`i t_#K ew#Z| cwi ev#i i mK#j i tQvU etj, fvB tev#i Av`i Zui fv#MB te#k wQj | KuKb weiei eo tev# Kvcj wqZv Avb#v evnb#Z Kg#Z GK g#j gvb Kgv#vi #K w#q K#ib| eo tev#i m#% KvZj evox _#Kb KuKb weie| eotev#i D#`v#M ag#cwi eZ# K#i g#j gvb nb, Zui bZb bvg nq bi-Rvnb, P#j Av#mb mlyvM#A| mlyvM#A Zui cwi Pq nq evsjv evRv#i i knx`Dw#i #bi mt#_ Ges w#q nq Zvi mt#_B| cici 5wU m#sb Rb# w#q gviv hvq; cieZ#Z wZvb hLb A#tm#y, ZLb Zui `v#xi m#% gbgw#j b" nq Ges Zvj vK n#q hvq| Gici eotev#i `v#xi D#`v#M #tevm#j v K`v#u#i m#gv#li yx Av#jy g#R` Lub#K KuKb weie w#q K#ib| KuKb weie wQj b gv#v#K Ges kv#v#i Kfv#e wech#| tKvb g#Z Pj wQj KuKb weiei m#mvi | Zui GKwU gv# K#v m#sb, bvg- m#Lbv telMg|

2.1.2 GKv#i cieZ#R#ebh#cb

1971 mtj i 16 w#m#t evsj v#k `v#xb nq| evsj v#tki jvj -me# cZvKvi gv#v#i w#k| `v#KwZ cvq| g#v#thv#v KuKb weieiv cvb bv tKvb `v#KwZ| th w#y#K Q#tek w#q w#bi c#i w#b t`tki R#b" m#M#g K#i#Qb tmB w#y#ve#EB nq Zui Rxeb P#vi cv#_q| `v#xbZvi c#i Zui w#bi#i k `v#x Av#i w#t#i Av#mb| KuKb weie h# tk#l w#t#i Av#mb Zui w#t#i ev#ot#Z| KuKb weiei ev#o mlyvM#A tR#vi t`vqviv evRvi _v#vi j #x#y BDw#q#bi wRiv#vU M#tg, ev#v#j mgv#R Zui v#B nq bv| th tg#q cvKevnbxi n#Z aiv c#o w#h#Z n#q#Q Z#K tK t`te Avk#? ZvB t`k `v#xb n#l qvi ci KuKb weie t`vqviv evRvi D#tR#vi j #x#y BDw#q#bi wRiv#vU M#tg Av#jy Kvi g Gi K#vN#i i evi v`vq tg#q m#Lb#mn Avk# #bb| Zui GKgv# tg#q m#Lbv telMg#K w#qB i i#nt#q#Qj Zui `v#xbZv cieZ#m#M#g# Rxeb| G ev#o I ev#o w#t#y K#i w#t#i I tg#qi Rxeb#K ev#v#| Amnvq Ae`vq 1979 mtj i w#k GKB BDw#q#bi R#i Av#x tK w#q K#ib KuKb weie| evRv#i `#R#b i w#K gv#Q#i e`emv K#i fv#B w#b KvUw#Q#j b w#K#`mvZ AvU eQi Ni Kivi ci Avevi I Ni t#t#% hvq Zvi| ev#vi ZvM#t` j #x#y GKvB i w#Ki e`emv P#v#j #q hvb, GLv#b I e`_Zv| Z#e

minmx brix gny³thv^xv¹k 2010 mvtj RvZvq %⁶nbK Kv¹j iKÉ m³bbv t`q| eqtmi fvti byâ KkKb weie Rvbvb, tivM tkv¹k GLb wZvb KvZi, UvKvi Afvte vbqvgZ wPwKrmv Kiv¹Z cvi¹Qb bv|

2.1.4 Av¹Zvcj¹ia

gub¹mi Rxe¹b me¹Ptq eo tM¹Si¹tei we¹lq t`tki Rb¹ Z¹vM ¹ikvi Kiv| gnvb gny³h¹x GB fvgKv cvj¹tbi gva¹tg huiv GB Z¹vM ¹ikvi Kti¹Qb ZuivB tmB tM¹xi¹tei Ask¹v¹i | wZvb etj b gny³hy eisjv¹t`tki BwZnv¹tm , iaZc¹Y¹°vb Aw¹Kvi Kti Av¹Q| t`tki ¹axbZvi Rb¹ huiv hy Kti¹Q Zuiv mg¹tqi ci¹wyZ m¹š¹b| ivRvKvi, Avj e¹i, Avj -kvgm&Giv ¹axbZv we¹ivax I t`tki k¹Tæ| GB k¹Tæ¹ i we¹ia¹x i¹æL ¹wv¹t¹bvi Rb¹ KkKb weie bZb c¹Rb¹#K Av¹v¹vb Rvbvb| wZvb etj b, Avng ivRvKvi¹ t`i d¹um PvB| Gevi Z¹ti¹ i we¹ia¹x m¹bbv Zfvte hy Ki¹Z nte| gny³h¹x i mg¹q Zuiv tet¹P tM¹tj I GB h¹x Zv¹ i P¹ov¹š¹civRq w¹b¹w¹Z Ki¹Z nte|

KkKb weie Av¹tiv etj b, gny³h¹x i mg¹q w¹f¹y¹ki Q¹U¹te¹k gny³em¹nbxi Kv¹Q c¹vk¹ ¹l¹bx t¹mbv¹t`i Lei¹vLei t¹c¹š¹Q w¹Zvg| H mg¹q ivRvKvi Avj e¹i¹ t`i NY¹ ZrciZv I w¹b¹h¹z¹b t`t¹L¹u I m¹t¹q¹Q| ivRvKvi Avj e¹i¹ iv c¹vk¹ ¹l¹bx t¹mbv¹t`i t¹k ev¹z¹vj x¹ t`i we¹ia¹x t¹y¹w¹c¹tq Z¹tj t¹Q Ges gv¹by nZ¹v Kti¹Q| gv¹-te¹v¹t`i m¹bbv¹ Kti¹Q| tmB Acgv¹b, MYnZ¹v Ges t`tki t¹k¹ m¹š¹b¹t`i nZ¹vi c¹l¹Z¹tkva t¹qv¹i mg¹q G¹tm¹Q| ivRvKvi¹ t`i w¹P¹ri GLb mg¹tqi ¹we etj I wZvb g¹š¹b¹ K¹t¹b|

2.1.5 gj¹vqb

w¹ell¹Uk we¹ivax Av¹t¹v¹jb t¹tk 1971Gi gnvb gny³hy ch¹š¹ c¹l¹Z¹U msM¹tg c¹vat¹i c¹vk¹c¹vk¹ b¹vi¹xiv Ask M¹h¹Y Kti¹Qb| exi gny³thv^xv m¹bv¹gM¹t¹Äi b¹j¹Rv¹vb tel¹g I i¹td KkKb weie| t¹Q¹U¹te¹jv t¹tk ¹w¹i ¹Z¹vi Kv¹t¹Y w¹k¹y¹vi Av¹t¹jv t¹tk wZvb ew¹ÄZ| gny³ msM¹tg KkKb weie c¹l¹Z¹y I c¹t¹iv¹y¹fvte A¹t¹bK fvgKv ti¹l¹Qb| msM¹tg GB b¹vi¹x gny³h¹x i mg¹q m¹bbv¹ Ask w¹b¹t¹q¹Qb| t`tki ¹axbZvi Rb¹ GK¹U¹vevi I AZ¹v¹P¹ri I ¹tk¹v¹m¹t¹bi Kv¹Q gv¹v bZ K¹t¹ib¹| Rxe¹t¹bi Dci evi¹evi S¹uk M¹h¹Y Kti¹Qb| Zu¹i msM¹tg I h¹x i Pig mv¹_RZv 16 w¹vt¹m¹æ¹t 1971 k¹Tæ¹t¹mbv¹t`i Av¹Z¹mgc¹P| G¹t¹tki b¹vi¹x mg¹vR I c¹P¹ri gva¹g¹ t¹jv KkKb weie¹t¹k we¹w¹f¹b¹fvte m¹b¹v¹nbZ Kti¹Qb| iv¹o¹iq Ab¹gv¹t¹b gv¹bb¹q c¹h¹v¹bg¹š¹ tkL n¹v¹mb¹v KkKb weie¹t¹k exi c¹l¹Z¹Y t¹N¹v¹Yv Kti¹Qb| mi¹K¹vi RbZv e¹v¹t¹ki gva¹tg ¹w¹i ¹a gny³thv^xv KkKb weie¹t¹k 2010 mvtj 15 j¹y UvKvi Gd¹w¹Avi Kti¹ t¹l¹q¹ri c¹vk¹c¹vk¹ c¹v¹K¹vev¹xl w¹bg¹P¹ Kti¹ w¹t¹q¹Qb| 2006 mvtj fvi¹t¹Zi t¹mb¹vev¹nbx KkKb weie¹t¹k K¹j KvZvq ō¹t¹d¹v¹U¹DB¹v¹qvg ¹M¹g gny³h¹x Ae¹v¹t¹bi Rb¹ m¹bbv¹ c¹vb K¹t¹b| m¹bv¹gM¹Ä t¹R¹j¹vi t¹v¹qv¹i ve¹v¹R¹vi Dc¹t¹R¹j¹va¹b j¹z¹xc¹y BD¹vb¹q¹t¹bi w¹R¹iv¹M¹U¹ M¹tg Lv¹Bevi b¹xi c¹vt¹k KkKb weie Zu¹i w¹b¹R ew¹o¹t¹Z GK¹R¹b Kv¹t¹j i ¹v¹y¹x n¹tq tet¹P Av¹Qb|

Z'ib`R

1. *The Saturday Review*, USA, 22 May , 1971.
2. Kexi gure tgn`x, gure hy I bvi x, (XivKv: Bbw=DU di GbfvqibtgU GÜ tWfj ctgU, 2006), c.,83|
3. gurd`j nK , bvi xgure i ciw_KZ, (XivKv : w` BDubfvimU tcn` wj igtUW, 2007), c.,55|
4. tRveitq`v bvmwi b, gure h`x cveZ` bvi x, (XivKv: kã%j x 2007) c., 21,22|
5. tRveitq`v bvmwi b, cÜ, 3, c., 24|
6. %obK msev`, 16 wWtm` 2008, c; 1|
7. %obK RbKÚ, 25 wWtm` 1999, c; 12|
8. %obK RbKÚ, 25 wWtm` 2009, c; 1|
9. Kikb weve 04-08-2013 Zvwi tL mKvj 10Uv t`K` g`j 1Uv chSÍ3 NvUv mvyvrKvi w` tqtQb| wZub Amy`_vKvi Kvi tY Zvi c`tcvK G`WtftKU eRj`j gur` tP`ajx Lmi ai mft` tUij tdtb mvyvrKvi tbqv nq| wZub mbyvMÄ gure hy PPP I MteIYv tKt` i AvnYvqK| wZub 07-08-2013,11-08-2014 Ges 15-08-2013 mÜv 7Uv t`K 8Uv chSÍ 1 NvUv Kti mvyvrKvi w` tqtQb|

2.2 ggZvR teMg

1971 mij, gny³ h³ th bvi xi v we³kl Ae³ vb ti tL³Q³tj b, Z³ti³ i g³ta³ " ³si Yxq GKRB ggZvR teMg| ³axbZv Av³ v³ j³ t³ b³ uZ³ub e³zeU³ztkL gny³Rej ingv³ t³ bi L³ y Kv³ t³ Q³ t³ t³ K i vRb³ uZ³ K³ ti³ t³ Q³ b| gny³ h³ Z³ ui f³ u³ g³ Kv u³ Q³ j D³ 3/4 j | ggZvR teMg 1971 m³ v³ t³ j bvi x³ t³ i c³ y³ e³ m³ t³ b³ , i a³ z³ c³ y³ Ae³ vb i v³ t³ L³ b| c³ v³ K³ t³ b³ i RvZ³ xq c³ v³ i l³ m³ m³ (Gg.Gb.G) u³ n³ m³ v³ t³ e³ uZ³ ub ³ v³ u³ q³ z³ i c³ v³ j b K³ ti³ u³ Q³ t³ j b| uZ³ ub 1973 m³ v³ t³ j e³ v³ s³ j v³ t³ k RvZ³ xq m³ s³ m³ t³ i m³ m³ g³ b³ b³ z³ n³ t³ q³ u³ Q³ t³ j b| gny³ t³ h³ v³ x³ v³ u³ n³ m³ v³ t³ e³ e³ v³ s³ j v³ t³ k g³ u³ j v m³ u³ g³ u³ z³, b³ v³ i x³ c³ l³ u³ z³ m³ s³ n³, t³ b³ s³ K³ g³ v³ t³ u³ v³ G³ t³ m³ v³ m³ t³ q³ m³ v³ b Ges b³ v³ i x³ K³ E³ t³ t³ K m³ s³ y³ b³ b³ v³ j v³ f³ K³ ti³ b|

u³ e³ v³ f³ b³ e³ MYZ³ u³ s³ K Av³ t³ v³ j³ t³ b GKv³ Z³ v³ c³ k³ v³ k³ B ggZvR teM³ t³ gi Ab³ Z³ g³ e³ u³ k³ o³ | 1952 m³ v³ t³ j f³ v³ l³ v³ Av³ t³ v³ j³ t³ b XvK³ v³ Qv³ t³ i D³ c³ i u³ j e³ l³ y³ i c³ l³ z³ e³ t³ e³ t³ Y³ e³ m³ o³ q³ v³ i K³ m³ e³ t³ z³ Qv³ t³ i v³ u³ g³ u³ Q³ j K³ ti³ | ggZv³ t³ Ri P³ v³ P³ v³ z³ f³ v³ B Av³ e³ y³ i D³ t³ d³ i (e³ z³ e³ y³ b k³ i³ g³ k³ t³ b³ z³ v³) t³ b³ z³ t³ z³ i Qv³ t³ i v³ u³ g³ u³ Q³ j t³ e³ i n³ q³ | Qv³ t³ i v³ t³ i j t³ h³ v³ m³ t³ h³ v³ t³ M³ e³ v³ a³ v³ t³ l³ q³ v³ i R³ b³ t³ i j j v³ b³ t³ b³ i D³ c³ i i³ t³ q³ c³ t³ o³ | Qv³ t³ i v³ m³ t³ ggZv³ R³ I G³ K³ B Ae³ vb t³ b³ | uZ³ ub Qv³ t³ i v³ K³ v³ t³ j v³ e³ v³ R³ c³ v³ i t³ q³ t³ b³ |¹ 1958 m³ v³ t³ j i m³ v³ g³ u³ i K³ k³ v³ m³ b³ u³ e³ t³ i v³ a³ x³ Av³ t³ v³ j³ t³ b³ uZ³ ub Ask M³ h³ Y³ K³ ti³ b| 1962 m³ v³ t³ j n³ u³ g³ y³ i n³ g³ v³ b u³ k³ q³ v³ K³ u³ g³ k³ b e³ u³ z³ j Av³ t³ v³ j³ t³ b Qv³ t³ i x³ t³ M³ i K³ g³ x³ u³ n³ t³ m³ t³ e³ m³ u³ q³ f³ v³ t³ e³ m³ s³ u³ nb| Z³ r³ K³ v³ j x³ b K³ u³ g³ j u³ g³ u³ j v³ K³ t³ j t³ R³ i Qv³ t³ i x³ m³ s³ m³ t³ i (1965-66) c³ l³ g³ m³ n³ m³ f³ v³ c³ i u³ z³ u³ b e³ t³ P³ z³ nb| uZ³ ub K³ u³ g³ j u³ t³ R³ j v³ i Qv³ t³ i x³ t³ M³ i m³ n³ m³ f³ v³ c³ i u³ z³ u³ n³ t³ m³ t³ e³ Q³ q³ ` d³ v³ Av³ t³ v³ j³ t³ b m³ u³ q³ f³ v³ t³ e³ R³ i o³ t³ q³ c³ t³ o³ b| g³ u³ j v³ i Qv³ t³ i x³ t³ i g³ v³ t³ S³ Q³ q³ ` d³ v³ i c³ l³ q³ v³ R³ b³ x³ q³ z³ v³ e³ v³ l³ v³ i D³ t³ i t³ k³ uZ³ ub Av³ t³ g³ b³ v³ teM³ t³ gi t³ b³ z³ t³ z³ i m³ f³ v³ Ges u³ g³ u³ Q³ t³ j Ask t³ b³ | 1968-69 m³ v³ t³ j ce³ e³ v³ u³ k³ t³ b³ Qv³ t³ i j x³ t³ M³ t³ k³ x³ q³ K³ v³ h³ R³ i x³ K³ u³ g³ u³ j i m³ m³ nb| G³ M³ v³ t³ i v³ ` d³ v³ Av³ t³ v³ j³ b, 1969-G³ i MYA³ f³ y³ l³ v³ b³ m³ n³ gny³ h³ h³ v³ l³ q³ v³ i ce³ c³ h³ s³ i mg³ t³ Av³ t³ v³ j³ t³ b K³ v³ h³ R³ i f³ u³ g³ Kv i v³ t³ L³ b| 1969 m³ v³ t³ j G³ M³ v³ t³ i v³ ` d³ v³ Av³ t³ v³ j³ b P³ j v³ K³ v³ j x³ b G³ K³ u³ b c³ v³ j k³ XvK³ v³ e³ k³ t³ e³ v³ j t³ q³ i m³ s³ M³ o³ g³ i Z³ Qv³ t³ i Qv³ t³ i x³ t³ i D³ c³ i u³ q³ v³ i M³ v³ m³ u³ b³ t³ q³ c³ K³ ti³ | Z³ L³ b t³ k³ L³ n³ v³ m³ b³ v³, Z³ r³ K³ v³ j x³ b Qv³ t³ i j x³ t³ M³ i m³ f³ v³ c³ i u³ z³ Av³ a³ y³ i D³ d³ Ges Qv³ t³ i Qv³ t³ i x³ t³ i m³ n³ Av³ n³ z³ A³ t³ b³ K³ t³ K³ B ggZv³ R³ teM³ g Qv³ t³ i x³ t³ i K³ g³ b³ i t³ g³ c³ l³ u³ g³ K³ c³ v³ i Ph³ K³ ti³ b |² uZ³ ub 6 ` d³ v³ i 11 ` d³ v³ Av³ t³ v³ j³ t³ b m³ s³ u³ k³ o³ u³ Q³ t³ j b| 1969 G³ i MYA³ f³ y³ l³ v³ b³ i gny³ h³ y³ ch³ s³ i mg³ t³ Av³ t³ v³ j³ t³ b uZ³ ub AM³ y³ x³ f³ u³ g³ Kv c³ v³ j b K³ ti³ b| 1971 m³ v³ t³ j i 7 g³ v³ P³ e³ z³ e³ U³ z³ H³ u³ z³ n³ v³ m³ K³ f³ v³ l³ t³ y³ l³ D³ c³ i u³ z³ u³ Q³ t³ j b| ` m³ q³ v³ m³ i t³ R³ v³ t³ P³ s³ a³ j x³ i e³ m³ o³, g³ u³ i P³ v³ n³ i D³ t³ R³ g³ u³ j v³ t³ i m³ i g³ u³ i K³ c³ l³ k³ q³ y³ i c³ l³ u³ g³ K³ c³ v³ i Ph³ c³ l³ k³ y³ Y³ M³ h³ Y³ Ges u³ e³ v³ f³ b³ e³ t³ b c³ l³ k³ y³ c³ l³ v³ b K³ ti³ b| K³ u³ g³ j u³ K³ v³ u³ b³ t³ g³ u³ t³ u³ t³ t³ K³ u³ m³ M³ b³ v³ j t³ K³ v³ t³ i i t³ g³ R³ i e³ v³ v³ i c³ v³ j t³ q³ Av³ t³ m³ b| uZ³ ub G³ K³ u³ i v³ e³ v³ n³ b³ x³ M³ v³ b K³ i t³ z³ t³ P³ t³ q³ u³ Q³ t³ j b| ggZv³ R³ teM³ g 26 g³ v³ t³ P³ c³ t³ i K³ m³ e³ v³ q³ u³ b³ R³ e³ m³ o³ t³ z³ f³ v³ B, e³ v³ e³ v³, Qv³ t³ i j x³ t³ M³ i m³ m³, m³ v³ g³ u³ i K³ e³ v³ n³ b³ x³ i A³ e³ m³ i c³ l³ b³ i Q³ u³ t³ z³ Av³ m³ v³ t³ m³ b³ v³ m³ m³ t³ i u³ b³ t³ q³ t³ g³ R³ i e³ v³ v³ i t³ K³ e³ v³ n³ b³ x³ M³ v³ t³ b m³ n³ t³ h³ v³ m³ z³ v³ K³ ti³ b| ggZv³ R³ teM³ g e³ t³ j b, 10 G³ u³ c³ j 1971 m³ i j c³ e³ v³ m³ x³ gny³ Re b³ M³ i m³ i K³ v³ i M³ v³ z³ n³ q³ | H³ m³ g³ q³ ggZv³ R³ teM³ g f³ v³ i t³ z³ i Av³ M³ i z³ j v³ m³ v³ K³ o³ n³ i D³ t³ R³

RvZxq cwi l` m`m` wntmte Dcw`Z uQtb| ceA`Aj AvMi Zj vq gwnj v gyp`thv`v v weifbaeki Yv_x`
K`v`u` uMtq brix` i h`x Ask Mh`Yi tc`Yv h`uMtq`Qb| gyp`thv`v` i Zwj Kvfy` Ki Ymn Zv` i
m`yav Am`yav j`" ti`L`Qb Ges mgm`v mgvaib Kti`Qb| h`y`nZ` i tmev`vb Kti`Qb, ki Yv_x`
u`k`e`ti TvY weZi Y Kti`Qb| Gme Kvh`e`tg ggZvR teMg, gwZqv tP`ajx, gvtj Kv teMg, dmi`v Lvbg
mivKx, kvgm`b`vni B`Kv`mn c`g`y Ask Mh`Y Kti`b|³

`ZvPvi`Y uZvb e`j`b, 1971 mvtj i 2 gvP`XivKv wekte``vj q Kj vfe`bi migtb weivU mgv`tek
Abv`Z nq|⁴ ti`v`Kqv nj t`_`K uZvb G u`g`uQ`j Ask u`b`q`uQ`j b| u`g`uQ`j t`k`u`Mvb uQj - `vevsj vi gvb`y
A`_`i`ai, evsj`v`k `r`axb Ki, t`Zivri Av`g`vi u`K`v`b`v c`U`v, tgNbv, hg`b`v| u`c`u`U` bv XivKv? XivKv, XivKv,
`r`axb Ki, `r`axb Ki, evsj`v`k `r`axb Ki u`B`Z`v`v` | Qv`T`RbZvi wekvj mfvq t`k`u`Mv`b` j`" RbZvi
MMb we`vix Avl qivR| XivKv kn`ti`i weifbae`_`g` Ktj R t`_`K Qv`T`-Qv`T`x` i weivU u`g`uQ`j Avm`uQ`j |
RMb`e` Ktj`Ri u`g`uQ`j `r`axb evsj`v`k`i c`ZvKv nvt`Z Qv`T`j`x`M` tbZv bRi`aj Bmj`vg u`Ki`Y, g`A`i
u`_`K` c`e`k` Kti`b| WvKmj ZrKvj`x`b w`f`w`c` Av`m`g` Av`aj`y`ie` tmB` c`ZvKv`u` u`b`q` Kj`v`f`e`bi` Qv`T`
I`Vb| c`v`K`-`l`b`i` c`ZvKv`u` Av`_`tb` c`y`p`t`q` u`_`t`q` `r`axb evsj`v`k`i` c`ZvKv`u` D`E`j`b` Kti`b| Av`r`b`
tbZviv Dcw`Z uQtb| AmsL` Qv`T`-Qv`T`x` i mvt`_`uZvb t`k`u`Mvb `b`b|

7 gvP`ti`m`Kv`m`g`g`v`b (eZ`g`vb tmvni`v`l`qv`x`D` `vb) e`z`e`U`z` HwZn`v`m`K` Rbmfv`nq| g`A`i
migtb t`_`k`i` Kt`q`K` nvrvi brix` k`g`K, M`v`b`x, K`I`v`Y`x, Qv`T`-Qv`T`x, u`k`"K, ivR`%`u`Z`K` K`g`v`n` mgv`Ri
weifbae`_`t`i`i` gvb`y` Dcw`Z uQtb| GB Rbmfvq t`_`Qv`t`meK` w`m`v`te` ggZvR` teMg| `v`u`q`z`i` cij`b`
Kti`b|

0Gev`ti`i` msM`g` gyp`i` msM`g, Gev`ti`i` msM`g `r`axbZvi` msM`g`0|⁵ GB t`Nv`l`Yv` u`_`t`q` e`z`e`U`z`
t`k`L` gyp`Rej`i`ngvb `r`axbZvi` msM`t`gi` WvK` u`_`t`q`uQ`j`b| RbMY` t`h` hvi` gZ` c`U`_`z` u`b`j`| e`z`e`U`z`
Avne`v`b` m`v`o`v` u`_`t`q` `r`axb evsj`v`k` Qv`T` msM`g` cwi l` `tbZviv` 23 gvP`c`v`K`-`l`b` t`W` (Pakistan
day) Gi` weci`x`Z` `r`axb evsj`v`k` c`u`Z`o`v` Kti`b|⁶ t`m`L`v`b` ggZvR` teMg` Av`g`m`c`v`ti`t`W` Dcw`Z`
uQtb| kvgm`b`vni` B`Kv` c`ZvKv` enb` Kti`uQ`j`b| c`v`ti`t`W` mvj`vg` t`_`b` ggZvR, dmi`v` Lvbg` mivKx,
iv`k`v` Lvbg, t`k`d`v`x` m`v`n`v` mn` Av`tiv` A`t`b`K` brix`| Av`g`m` c`v`ti`t`Wi` ce`"t`Y` Av`b`g`v`b`K` f`v`te` eo`
c`ZvKv`u` D`E`j`b` Kti`uQ`j`b, gyp`thv`v`v` Kvgi`aj` Avj`g` Lv`b` Lmi`aj` mvj`vg` Mh`Y` Kti`b, `r`axb
evsj`v`k` Qv`T` msM`g` cwi l` `i` Pvi`t`b`Zv`-`b`ti` Avj`g` w`m`i`l`Kx, kvnRiv`vb` w`m`i`v`R, Av`m`g` Av`aj`y`ie` Ges
Av`e`_`j` K`z`y` g`v`L`b| ce`b`t`K` w`N`ti` nvrvi` nvrvi` Qv`T`RbZv` c`v`ti`W` Dc`f`v`M` Kti`b` Ges` Ki`Zwj`
t`k`u`Mvb, c`ZvKv` D`E`j`b` Gi` gva`t`g` me`f`y`t` Av`g`m` c`v`ti`W`t`K` Drm`v`n`Z` Kti`b| ggZvR` teMg` Mte`p`
mvt`_`e`j`b, Av`g`iv`B` `r`axb evsj`v`k`i` c`u`g` Av`g`m`e`v`n`b`x, ce`t`b` c`v`ti`t`Wi` K`E`K`v`l`qv`R` t`k`l`

Ab'vb'f' i m'f_ c'v'fi W' b'tq e'ze'U'z avbg'U' 32 b'af' emoi w' f'K hvB| t'c'h'K've, k'ine'M tgvo,
 m'vBY j'v'e'ti'U'ni, K'j've'M'v' b' t'c'w'it'q n'v'R'v' i n'v'R'v' R'b'Z'v 32 b'af' emoi'Z' w'it'q e'ze'U'z K'v't'Q
 c'v'fi'f'Wi c'Z'v'K'v n'v'f'f' K't'i'w'Q't'j' b| Av.m.g Av'ä'y i'e' m'n P'v' i' b'Z'v 32 b's' emoi M'm'o' e'v'v'v'v'q
 e'ze'U'z'w'f'W'P' m'j'v'g' t'b'l'q'v' i' R'b' A't'c'f'v' K'i'w'Q't'j' b| e'ze'U'z' n'v'f'Z' c'Z'v'K'w'U' Z'j' w' f'q'w'Q't'j' b' Av' m'g
 Av'ä'y i' e'm'n' t'b'Z'v'v'| avbg'U' 32 b'af' i' e'ze'U'z' emoi' m'v'g't'b' M'v'W'e'v'n'b'x' l' j'v'l' R'b'Z'v' i' c'P'U' w'f'o
 w'Q'j' | f'Z'P'v' i'Y' gg'Z'v'R' t'e'M'g' e't'j' b, 7' g'v'P'e'ze'U'z' f'v'l' f'Y'i' c'i' M'Y'A'f'j' v'b' N'f'U'w'Q'j' | G'B' A'f'j' v't'b'
 K'I.K, k'ig'K' G'e's' Q'v'l' R'b'Z'v' b'v'x' c'j'ad' f'K'D' K'v't'v' t'f'K' w'c'w'Q't'q' w'Q't'j' v' b'v'| c'Z'v'f'f'A'Ä'j' c'h'f'f' b'v'v'x'v'
 f'v'x'b'Z'v' i' c't'f'f' t'R'f'M' D'f'v'w'Q't'j' b| k'ni, c'v'o'v, g'n'j' w', M'ö'g'M'Ä' m'e' R'v'q'M'v' t'f'K' g'y'p't'h'v'x'v'v' h'j'x' h'v'q'|
 Z'L'b' g'v, t'e'f't'b'v' A_©'G'e's' M'n'b'v' w' f'q' m'v'n'm' h'w'f'f'q't'Q'b| w'ew'f'b'e'v't'b' f'M'w'j'v' K'g'R'v't'U' g'y'p't'h'v'x'v'v'
 n'v'w'R'i' n'f'Z'v'| b'v'v'x'v'v' Z'f'f' i' L'v'v'v' t'h'v'M'v't'b'v, Z'v' t'q'v, A'v'n'Z'f' i' t'm'e'v' B'Z'v'w' w' f'q' b'v'v'v'f'v't'e' m'v'n'v'h'
 K't'i'f'Q'b| w'Z'v'b' A'v't'v'v' e't'j' b, g'y'p't'h'x' i' t'P'Z'v'q' G' t'f'k'i' m'v'v'v'v' Y' b'v'v'x'v'v' A'e'v'b' t'i' f'L'f'Q'b|

f'M'w'j'v' f'v'q'v'f'W'©' w'q'Z'j' c'v'j' b'K'v'v'x' A'b'Z'g' e'x'i' g'y'p't'h'v'x'v' n't'j' b, gg'Z'v'R' t'e'M'g| e'v's'j' v't'f'k'
 A'v'l' q'v'g'x' t'v'Q'v't'm'e'K'v' e'v'n'b'x' M'v'b' K'v'v' n't'q'w'Q'j' | gg'Z'v'R' t'e'M'g' Z'f'f' i' g't'a'v' l' i' a'z'c'p'v'v'v' A'e'v't'b' K'v'R'
 K't'i'f'Q'b| g'y'p't'h'x' P'j'v'K'v'j' x'b' f'k'l' d'R'j'j' n'K' g'v'b'i' t'b'Z'f'Z'j' c'e'f'f'Ä'j'x'q' w'e' G'j' G'd' (g'y'p't'h'v'x'v'v' e'v'
 Bangladesh Liberation Force) G' w'Z'v'b' m'v'v'v'q' A's'k' M'ö'Y' K't'i'w'Q't'j' b| w'Z'v'b' w'e' G'j' G'd'
 c'e'f'f'Ä'j'x'q' c'w'i' P'v'j' b'v' c'w'i'l'f'f' i' m'm' w'Q't'j' b| K't'Y'P' G'g' G' i'e' P'x'd' A'e' v'v't'd'i' m'n't'h'v'w'Z'v'q'
 A'v'M'i' Z'j'v'q' w'e'G'm'G'd' (Border Security Force) G'i' t'n'w' t'K'v'v'v'U't'i' A'v'z'v'e'v'n'v' i' h'x' c'w'i' P'v'j' b'v'
 c'ö'k'f'f'Y' n'q| f'k'l' d'R'j'j' n'K' g'v'b'i' m'f'z' A'v'M'i' Z'j'v'q' w'Z'v'b' G' c'ö'k'f'f'Y' M'ö'Y' K't'i'v' b| w'e' G'j' G'd' G'i' c'f'f'
 t'f'K' w'Z'v'b' e'v's'j' v't'f'k' m'i' K'v't'i' i' m'f'z' t'h'v'M'v't'h'v'w' i' f'f'v' l' c'ö'q'v'R'b'x'q' Z'v'w'v' A'v'v'b' c'ö'v'b' K'v'v'v' w'q'Z'j'
 c'v'j' b' K't'i'v' b| A'v'M'i' Z'j'v'v' w'e'k'v'j' M't'o' w'e'G'j' G'd'-G'i' f'v'o'v' e'w'o't'Z' f'k'l' d'R'j'j' n'K' g'v'b' l' gg'Z'v'R'
 t'e'M'g' e'v'e'v' g'v'm'n' v'v'K't'z'b| i' a'z'c'p'v'v'v' t'v'v'c'b'x'q' m'f'v' l' t'h'v'M'v't'h'v'w' m'e' G' e'w'o' t'f'K'B' n'Z'| t'R'b'v't'j'
 G'g'G'w'R' l' m'g'v'b, t'g'R'i' w'R'q'v'D'i' i' n'g'v'b, t'g'R'i' L'v't'j' v' t'g'v'k'v'i' d' l' K't'Y'P' (A'e) k'l' K'Z' A'v'j'x' c'ö'j'v'
 t'm'b'v' K'g'R'Z'f'v' H' e'w'o't'Z'B' t'h'v'M'v't'h'v'w' i' v'L't'z'b| e'v's'j' v't'f'k' t'f'K' c'ö'q'v'R'b'x'q' L'e'v'v' L'e'v'v' G'L'v't'b'B' c'v'v't'b'v'
 n'Z'| w'e'G'j' G'd' G'i' c'ö'q'v'R'b'x'q' m'e' A_©'gg'Z'v'R' t'e'M't'g'i' K'v't'Q'B' i' w'f'f'Z' v'v'K't'z'v'| g'y'p't'h'x' P'j'v'K'v'j' x'b'
 K'v't'f'v'b' M'd'd'v'i' l' t'g'R'i' L'v't'j' v' t'g'v'k'v'i' i' t'd'i' w'ew'f'b'e'K'v'h'f'v't'g' w'Z'v'b' m'v'v'v'q' m'n't'h'v'w'Z'v' K'i'f'z'b| K'm'e'v'
 G'j'v'K'v'q' k'i' Y'v'x'f' i' g't'a'v' h'v'v'v'v' K'v't'v'v' v't'K'b'v'b' Z'f'f' i' t'ik't'v'b'i' e'v'e'v'v' K't'i'v' b| w'ew'f'b'e'k'i' Y'v'x'f'v'v'v'
 D'ö'y'K'i'f'Y'i' K'v't'R' gg'Z'v'R' t'e'M'g' A's'k' M'ö'Y' K't'i'v' b| t'f'k'i' A'f'f'f'f' i' w'b'h'w'Z'Z' g'v'n'j' v't'f' i' m'n't'h'v'w'Z'v'v'
 R'b'v'v' G'L'v't'b' L'e'v'v' c'v'v't'b'v' n't'z'v'| w'f'c'j'v'i' c'ö'Z'h'k'v' c'ö'v'Z' m'v's'e'w'v'v'v'v' K, A'w'b'j' f'f'e'v'v'v't'h'p' v'x' k'ig'v'z' t'f'M'f'v'i'
 f'f'e'v'v'v't'h'p' m'n't'h'v'w'Z'v'q' Z'v't'f' i' c'ö'q'v'R'b'x'q' m'e' e'v'e'v'v' M'ö'Y' K'v'v' n'Z'| e'v's'j' v't'f'k' f'v'x'b' n'l' q'v'i' c'i' b'v'v'x'
 c'v'e'v'v'b' t'e'w'v'c'ö'Z'ö'v' n'l' q'v'i' A'v'M' c'h'f'f' G' K'v'R' P'j' f'Z' v't'f'K| m'v'i' v'v' t'm'e'v' m's't'N'i' m'n't'h'v'w'x' m's'M'v'b'

Ktj tR B>Uvi ugwWtqtU fWZ[©]nb| 1962 mtj nvgÿy ingvb uk¶lv Kugktbi cÜZte`b emZj Kivi Avt`vj tB hÿ nb weavq BtWb Ktj R t_#K GBP, Gm, um cix¶lv w`tZ cvtibwb| ci emZPZ uZwb Kugj u gunj v Ktj R t_#K 1965 mtj GBP, Gm, um I 1967 mtj we,GÜcvk Ktib| we,G cik Kivi ci XvKv mekte`vj tq `kØ wefM Gg G KtM fWZ[©]nb| 1967-68 mtj ti vKqv ntj beMwZ QvTj xM kvLvi mfvbTx nb| uZwb 1968-69 mtj i ce[©]cmK`lb QvTj xM tK>`xq KvhrIx KugwUi m`m` nb| ggZvR teMg 1968 mtj XvKv mekte`vj tq `kØ wefM t_#K Gg, G wWwMÖj vF Ktib| 1969 mtj ivqi evRvi Mvj m` tÿ uk¶K wnmte Kg[©]Rxeb i iæ Ktib| 1970 mtj Kvqt` AvRg Ktj tR cFvI K wnmte thvM`vb Ktib| ggZvR teMg 1970 mtj cmK`lb RvZxq cwiI` m`m` (Gg.Gb.G) nb| 1971 Gi AmnthvM Avt`vj b I gÿ^h hÿ uZwb ,iæZcY[©]fugKv ivLb| Kvqt` AvRg Ktj tR cFvI K wnmte _vKvKvxb ggZvR teMg 1978 mtj Gj .Gj .we wWwMÖ AR[®], 1979 mtj G`WtFvKtU wnmte Gbtiv Wtgu Ges 1981 mtj evsjv`k mgÜgtKvU[©] G`WtFvKtU wnmte KvR i iæ Ktib| 1984 mtj evi KvDwYj Zui G`WtFvKtUi mb` `wMZ Kti t`q| cti uZwb XvKv uUPvm[©]Ulbs Ktj tR Dcra`¶ wnmte thvM`vb Ktib Ges 2004 mtj Aemi MhY Ktib| 2004 mtj evi KvDwYj Zui G`WtFvKtUi mb` `wMZv`k Zÿ Ges cÿvq uZwb AvBb tckvq hÿ nb|

ggZvR teMg MZ 12 gvP[©]2009 mtj RvZxq gunj v ms`vi tPqvi g`vtbi `wqZj MhY Ktib| uZwb gnvb `faxZv Avt`vj tB e½eÜztkL gÿRej ingvbi Ly KvQ t_#K ivRbWZ Kti tQb| gÿ^h hÿ uQj v Zui Dÿj t`thvM` Ae`vb| uZwb mZZv, wövn I Avšhi KZvi mt_ RvZxq gunj v ms`vi tPqvi g`vb (A%ZwbK)-Gi `wqZj AvRI cvj b Kti hv`Qb|

2.2.3 `faxZv cieZ[©]Rxebhcb

1972 mtj MYcwiI t`i m`m` (Gg.um.G) wnmte, ggZvR teMg evsjv`tki msweavb i Pbvq mnthvMzv I `¶i c`vb Ktib| evsjv`tki `faxZvi ci RvZxq ivRbWZ tZ bvi xi Ask MhY ewx tctqtQ| 1972 Gi msweavtbi 27, 28 avivq bvi xi mgZv wel qK wöqZv t`qv ntqtQ| 1972 mtj e½eÜztkL gÿRej ingvb gÿ^h hÿ ¶wZMÖI I wbh[®]ZZ gunjv`i cÿeñtbi Rb` wePviciZ tK, Gg tmvenv`ti tbZtZj bvi x cÿeñb tevW[®]MVb Ktib| ggZvR teMg bvi x cÿeñb tevW[®] m`m` uQj b Ges evsjv`tki cÜq me tRjvq wMtq hÿ ywZMÖI gunjv`i mnthvMzv Ktib| uZwb Kmev D`P evij Kv we`vj q I Kmev bvi x cÿeñb tevW[®] cÜZöZv| 1972 mvj t_#K uZwb evsjv`k gunj v mwgwZi m`m` nb| AvZKZ.Ktj R, tÿvZ tKvb c` mwó bv nI qvq ggZvR teMg Aa`vcK mwgwZi mvari Y m`uv`K wnmte 1992 mvj chŠwefbawel tq c` mwó Df`wMx fugKv cvj b Kti c` mwó e`v Ktib| wj M`vj GBW KugwUi tPqvi g`vb Ges eZ[®]vb mn-mfvbTx wnmte bvi x I mgvRi

Aefnuy Z gvbj i AwaKvi Av`vtq msMötg wbtqmRZ AvtQb | wZwb gyp`thrvxv `šzi qiv, gyp`thrvxv HK` cwil`i m`m`, cwi evi cwi Kíbv mwgwZ evsjv`k, tiWµm tmvmbiU evsjv`k, XvKv wekpe`vj tqi tiwRóW©MÖRtqU, XvKv wekpe`vq GjvgbvB A`tmvmtqkb Gi AvRxeb m`m` | `vaxbZv cieZx©AvšR©ZK A½tb wbtRtK RwoZ ti tLI ggZvR teMg t`tki Dbq`bi Rb` KvR Kti hv`Qb | 1972 mtj fvi tzi cRvZš; w`em D`hvcb Dcj tÿ wZwb ZrKvj xb A_šš giüg ZvRDw`b Avrvš`-Gi tbZtZ; i vóiq AwZw_ wntmte thvM`vb KtiwQtb | 1973 mtj A`÷ij qv BvUvi b`vkbvj KvDw`j Ae DBtgb Gi AvÁij K Kbdviti Y (wvWwb, A`÷ij qv) thvM`vb KtiwQtb | wZwb 1974 mtj ejtMwi qvi i vRavb, tmvwdqvZ AbvðZ wekkmš m`m`šj tb thvM`vb Ktib | 1999 mtj ZrKvj xb c`vbgš tkL nwmvbi tbZtZ; wvDBq`K©evsjv`k RvwZms`Ni m`m`fij i RZ Rqivš Abvðtb wZwb thvM`v`tqiwQtb | 1999 mtj wZwb RvwZms`Ni 52Zg Annual DPI/NGO Kbdviti Y wvDBq`K©thvM`v`tqiwQtb | wZwb 31 Zg I.A.W Inniennial Congress New York thvM`vb Ktib | 2001 mtj 23rd Triennial Conference A.C.W. W Hamilton Ontario, Canada tZ wZwb Ask MhY Ktib | G Qvov Kgm`f I tckvMZ KvitY wZwb wv½vcj, vBj vU, BivK, tmšw Avie, Bsj vU, c`vtj ÷vBb ágY Ktib | ggZvR teMg evsjv`tki gnvb `vaxbZv msMötg I gyp`htx AMŸx figKv cvj b KtiwQb | 1966-Gi Oq `dv Avt`vj tb, 1969- Gi MY Avt`vj b, 1970-Gi RvZxq wbePb, 1971-Gi gyp`hy Ges `vaxbZv meP`B Zwi AMŸx figKv wQj | eZgvb t`k MvB, bvix Dbq`b, A_ššwZK mgw`x c`fWZ t`f`f Zwi figKv j qYxq | i`agv 1971- Gi gvp` gym Ges gyp`htx i bq gv`mi K_v eYv`v Kij, bvixi Ae`v`bi K_v tkl nte bv |

2.2.4 AvZvcj wä

`šZPri tYi tkl ch`q ggZvR teMg etj b, gvbeZv, kmš I mvgwRK b`vq wPri cöZövi j t`q` GB fL`di RbMY gyp`htx Ask MhY KtiwQtb | gyp`thrvxv v GKwU mg`kvj x t`k Movi `ce t`tLwQtb, wKš` tm `ceAvRI AvRZ nqwb | wZwb etj b, gyp`htx i mgq hZ`tjv K`vú wQj AwaKvsk K`v`ú w`tqiw, tQjtgtq DfqtKB h`x i Rb` Döy KtiwQ | thLvtb thrvxv AvnZ Ges Amy` ntqtQb tmLv`tbB Q`U w`tqiw Ges wPwKrmvi e`e`v KtiwQ | ggZvR teMg Avtiv etj b th, hxt`f`f gwV ch`q A`bK KvR KtiwQ wKš` Kv`Ri h_vh_ `fKwZ. cvBwb | gyp`htx th mKj bvixv Ask wbtqiwQtb, Z`i m`wK Z` AvRI ARvbw | t`kevmx gv-tevbt`i exi ZcY©Ae`v`bi K_v RivtZ cvi`Q bv | be cRb`y gv-tevb, `v`x-bvixt`i exi Z; wbtq Me`eva Kitz cvi`Q bv | gyp`htx A`bK bvix cvKtmbv, i vRvKvi Avj e`i t`i Øriv wvhwZZ ntqtQb | RvwZ Zvt`i Øexi ½bv0 tLZve w`tqtQ | GB tLZve w`tq exi ZcY©Kvh`f`f`gi Aegvbbv KtiwQ | exi v½bv bv etj Øgyp`htx qwZMöf bvix0 wntmte Zvt`i Rxeb gv b i qvi e`e`v Kij A`bK fij nZ-G w`Kv t`f`te t`Lv`i Kvi | Avtiv

j 97 Kiv hvit'Q, GK tkivi gubly gny³hy bv Kti fgy gny³thiv^v tmtr Buznm weKZ. KitQ| gny³htxⁱ Buznm weKZ. Ktvi nt'ltiva KitZ nte| uzub etj b, e₃ovi tkictjiⁱ weaev cjni tqtqt`i wKfite m³nbZ Kiv hvq Zvi GKUJ cni Kibv Avgvi itqtQ|

ivR%wZK `faxZv AmRZ ntj I Avgvt`i A_wZK gny³ Avtmib| G t`tki AfaR RbtMwio bvitK Dbq³bi avivq m³u³ Kiv hvqub| Avgvi cZ`vkv nj, gny³htxⁱ Av`k³btq Zuv GwMtg hvK| gny³htxⁱ me³tiⁱ gubly Ask ubtq³Qj etj B, gny³htxⁱ GB vekij Rq m³e nqtqtQ| GB bixi 9lgZvqb, Dbq³ I gny³ AvRI Anw³oZ| ZeyAvgiv Avkver`x, gny³htxⁱ gZ `j-gZ-eY³bwefk³l gny³htxⁱ `ct97i bix- cjal Kta Kta wuj tq gny³htxⁱ tPZbtK Avei I w³itq AvbtZ civte³| RvZ GwMtg hvte Avtj vi ct_| bZb cRtb³ bix³ KvtQ ggZvR telMgi Kv³, Zuv cZ`tk hvi hvi RvqMv t³tk Kiv Kti hvteb ZteB m³g³MK fite Dbq³ m³e|

2.2.5 gj`vqb

ggZvR telMgi cni evi wQj cMwZkxj | uzub cni evni K cni gU³tj mgyR tmevq GKRB mtPZb e³u³ nmvte Mto I tVb| ever cZ`97fite ivRbmZtZ h³ wQ³tj b| tQvUtej v t³tk ever³ t`tL ivRbmZtZ Drmw³Z nqtqtQb| mgvt³Ri Kzs`viv`QbeAe`vtK uzub tKvbfite tgb ubtZ cvti bub| ZvB Qv³ R³eb t³tkB ivRbmZi mvt³ h³ nb|

RbMtYi Kj`vtYi j³97B ggZvR telMg RvZi RbK e³u³ c_ Abyri Y Kti `fax evs³ vi `ct³ tLb| uzub wQ³tj b GKRB msM³gx tbTx, Rxe³bi cZ³w `ti gub³ i Kj`vtYi Rb` msM³g Kti tM³Qb| 1952 t³tk 1971-Gi `faxZv Ges gny³hy I weRq chS³cZ`KuU Av³ vj b I msM³g Zui wQj m³u³q fvgKv| Zui j 97` wQj t`tki gny³| gny³htxⁱ bqgvm uzub mvd³tj`i mvt³ KivR Kti³Qb| AtbK m³nm gny³thiv^v `Zui Kti³Qb| gny³htxⁱ GKRB msMVK w³tmte Zui Ae`vb AtbK|

Qv³ Ae`vq uzub Amvq, `ty`³; ubh³ZZ, ubw³oZ³ i cvtk t³tk m³nv³ m³thv³MZvi nvZ ev³otq t`b| we³kl Kti bix³ i Av³Kvi Av`vtq eij o fvgKv ti³LtQb | uzub g³nv³ i AvBb I Av³Kvi m³u³tk³mtPZb Kivi j³97` kni I M³gmn mKj ch³q ubij m³fvte KvR Kti³Qb| w³R nv³Z Av³ R m³nvqZv, AvBx m³nvqZv, Mixe-`tLx³ i tmev m³nvqZv w³ tZ mtP³ t³tk³Qb| ggZvR telMgi Rxe³bi te³ki f³M mgqB we³fba³msMVb cni Pij bri gva³tg g³nv³ i Kj`vY I A_97v³RK Dbq³tb msM³WZ Kivi Kv³R ubtq³vRZ t³tk³Qb| bixi 9lgZvq³bi gva³tg Zv³ i Av³Z³Kg³is`vb m³o I `w³f³ Kivi j³97` KivR Kti³Qb| Gme Kg³Rv³U Aek`B uzub c³ksmvi `ve³vi | ggZvR telMgi `x³ m³g³v³RK I ivR%wZK Av³ vj³ b Ae`v³bi dj³k³ZtZB Rbtb³ tkL n³mbv Z³tk RvZxq g³nv³ ms`vi tPq³v³vb ct` c`vqb Kti³b| uzub RvZxq g³nv³ ms`vi tPq³v³vb w³tmte Kg³PZ t³tk

Rbfb̂x tkL nmbvi ewj ô tbZtZj Ges i vRbmZwe` e³Zj tgtni Avdñi vR PgnKi w`K wbt` Rbrq
t`ke`cx bvi x Dbqñbi j tñ` wbt`_Pñte KvR Kñi hv`Ob hv t`tki Kj`vY mvañbi Rb` Abñi Yxq
nñq _vKte/

Z`ub`R

1. tmij bv tnvtmb, ARq `vk ,B I ti vtKqv Kwei, mSMgk bvi x hM hM (cŭg LŪ), (XvKv evsj vt`k bvi x cŭvZ msN 1998) c., 194|
2. cŭ³, c., 194, 195|
3. tgvZvvi tnvtmb gvney, hxi` tbi K_v (XvKvt webq mwnZ` msm`, 2007) c., 41|
4. `wbK msev`, 3 gvP©1971, c.; 1|
5. `wbK msev`, 8 gvP©1971, c.; 1|
6. `wbK BtEdvK, 24 gvP©1971, c.; 1|
7. tgvZvvi tnvtmb gvney, cŭ³, c., 40, 41|
8. gvtj Kv teMg, gvP hM bvi x, (XvKvt cŭgv cKvkb, 2011) c., 146|
9. tmij bv tnvtmb I gvmÿ4vgvb, bixi ¶lgZvqb t ivRbmZ I Avf`vj b, (XvKvt gvI j v ei`vm© 2003) c., 22 I 23|
10. ggZvR teMg 02-01-2014 I 07-01-2014 `gy 12Ur t_ tK 5Ur chSf mrvyrKvi w` tqfQb|
13-01-2014 Zvvi tL `gy 3Ur t_ tK 5Ur chSf mrvyrZKvi w` tqfQb|

ZZiq Aa'iq

knx` Rbbx Rvnbvivi v Bgvig

evsj vt`tk `faxKvi Avf`vj b Ges `faxbZvi mvt_ Ruoq AvtQ AfbK bixi bvg| Zv`i gta` Rvnbvivi Bgvig Ggb GKRb gnib bix uQtb hui cZev`x tPZbv RbMYtK mSMWZ Kti uQj | `faxbZv evOjx Rvizi metPtq , iazcY[©]ivR%bWZK AR[®] WKŠ' GB evOvj Rvizi gta`B WKQz `f_#Št`x uQj hviv Kb`vZ nq AvtQ Zv`i Ktg[®] Rb`| Zviv ntjv ivRvKvi, Avj e`i, Avj kvgn, kmšl Kiguli tjvKRb, Giv cuog cWK`lbt`i cy nq evOjxt`i nZ`v, Niemo tcrovfbv l bixt`i Dci ubhPZb Kti tQ| BwZnvtmi cvZiq Zviv NwYZ l DtcwYZ nq AvtQ| GB ivRvKvi t`i Kvi tYB ubnZ nq uQtb Rvnbvivi Bgvigi `vix l mštb, Rvizi KvQ wZub GB NwYZ Ptmi vPvi tPtquQtb| RbZvi Av`vj tZ Zui GB vPviti AvtqvRb mv_R nq uQj , wZub nq uQtb meri ktxq| `faxbZvi `ctj Zui tmv`Pvi KE, Avgi Y mšMog Agi nq vKte| kvn G Gg Gm WKewi qv knx` Rbbx Rvnbvivi Bgvig `šik Mš' Djt l Kti tQb th, ev'vjx Rvizi Rxefti GKUv msKUgq mgq wZub gyp`ht`x i tPZvi cZxK intmte AviefZ nq uQtb| Zui mvtmi miz` Zjv tbB| cZctji cEj ciwug m`utK wZub mPtZb uQtb| ZvB tKvb cZcy c_ tiva Kitz cvtib| t`tki cZ fijevmvi KvitY wZub GKUv AvaybK, cMwZkij, agbitcy Ges `faxb evsj vt`tki Av`kmglyZ ivLvi Rb` Rieb DrmM`Ki tZ tcti tQb|¹

3.1 Rvnbvivi Bgvig

Rvnbvivi Bgvig cuog etzi gk[©]ver` tRjvi myicy Mtg 1929 mvtji 3 tg RbY MhY Ktib| 1942 mvtj iscy Mvj n vB`z t`tK tguJKzj kb (eZgub-Gm.Gm.um) 1944 mvtj iscy Kvi gvtKj Ktj R t`tK Bvivi wguWtqu (GBP.Gm.um) Ges 1947 mvtj Kj KvZvi tj wv teferb Ktj R t`tK v.G cvk Ktib| Rvnbvivi Bgvig 1960 mvtj wUPvm`tUibs Ktj R t`tK v.GW wWwM0 AR[®] Ktib| wZub 1964 mvtj djetBU `jvinkc btq hšivtoš K`wjt dmbqvi mvbWqvMv toU Ktj R t`tK mviUcttKU Bb GWzKkb wWwM0AR[®] Ktib| Ges 1965 mvtj XvKv vekje`vj q t`tK evsjvq Gg.G cvk Ktib| Rvnbvivi Bgvig GKRb wkyK, mwinwZ`K, mvgvRK, mvs`wZK l ivR%bWZK Kg[®] intmte cu wPZ| `faxbZv vevivax Ptmi Dlvb mvgwi K kmftbi KcgUKZvi dtj gyp`ht`x i tPZbv hLb J^{3/4}j` nivi wQj, wK ZLbB cbRvMi tYi `cae tK btq Aviefv NtU Rvnbvivi Bgvigi | RvgvqvZi mv`c0 wqK l d`vmm ÷ ivRbWZi vevit`x 1980 mvtj mv`c0 wqKZv l d`vmer` vevivax bWwv K Kigul MVtbi Ab`Zg Df`v³v uQtb Rvnbvivi Bgvig|² 1981 mvtji 25 tg evqZj tgvKv ivg c0tY GB Kiguli Df`vM vekij Rb mgvtek AvyZ nq| Wv. Avntaf`

ki xtdi mfivciZtZ; AbvZ mgvtefk knx` gvp`thvxi gv Rvnbvii Bgvg Zui e³Zv t`qvi mgq mgvtefk AvMZ gvp`thvxi mg`ti tkvMvb w`tZ _vfkB ōgvfMv tZvgvq K_v w`j vg, A`iAveri nrtZ tbe, gvp`thvxi nvmZqvi MfR^QDVf Avti Kevi ō| Rvnbvii Bgvgti e³Zuq mKj gvp`thvxi vfk mšlb mtrab Kti gvp`hxi A`xKvi ev`evqfbi AvvYvb Rvbvb|³

1981 mvtj i vōciZ wRqvDi ingvb Rvnbvii BgvgtK gvij v wvqK Dct`ōv Ki tZ tPtqutj b, wZvb Zv MhY Kti bvb| 1986 mvtj Gikv`i wei af` Avf`vj tbi mthvM wbtq RvgvqvZ Bmj vg msm` wbePfb 10w Avmb jvf Kti wQj Ges Zv`i d`vmo KvhRjvc ewx Kti wQj | ZLb mPZb ewx Rviev 2 Rly 1988 mvtj ō%fvPvi I mvcōwqKZv cōZti va Kvgwō MVb Kti wQj b| Rvnbvii Bgvg GB Kvgwōi m½ hŷ wQj b| Gwō wQj d`vmo RvgvqvZ Bmj vgxi wei af` wZxq chfqi Avf`vj b| ōivR%wZK `j` tj v ZLb Gikv`i %fvPvii wei af` Avf`vj b Ki tZ hZUv AvMhX wQj RvgvqvZ Bmj vgmn mvcōwqK kwi³ i wei af` Avf`vj b Ki tZ ZZUv AvMhX wQj b| 1991-Gi wbePfb RvgvqvZ MYZtšj mthvM wbtq ffrtU Ask MhY Kti wQj | ZLb Zv`i Pwi Ō DfbwPfb `wqZj wbtq GwMtg GtmwQj gvp`hxi tPZbv wvkv tK`⁹; gvp`thvxi msm`, bvmwi K Kvgwō I knx` cwi eviem⁹ MZ evtiv eQti tMj vg Avhtgi RvgvqvZ Bmj vgxi cbi af`vbi wei af` Avf`vj tbi GKwvK c`tŷc tbqv ntqutj | Zte bvbv KvitY metPtq tevk RYmgv_8 I MYtRvqi mŷo Kti tQ 1992 Gi KgfPx|⁴

1982 mvtj Rvnbvii Bgvg K`vYvti Avmšl nb| 1991 mvtj 29 wMtm^{af} RvgvqvZ Bmj vgx `j tMj vg AvRgtK `tj i Avgxi tNvYv Kti | giYe`wa K`vYvti m½ j ovB Ki tZ Ki tZ Ab` Avti Kiu j ovBtqi Rb` cōZ nb Rvnbvii Bgvg| evsjv`tki ivRbvwZve`ti A`f`wkvzi KvitY `vaxZv wviva Pp 71-Gi NvZK `vj vj ivRvKvi Avj e`it`i μgktDōvb ZvtK wvPij Z Kti Ztj wQj | Rvnbvii Bgvg, Avōh^{ms}MVvbK `yZiq agfō tgšj ev`x mvcōwqK tMvōx-gvp`hxi I `vaxZv wviva kwi³ Dōvbi wei af` gv_v DPzKti `wvjtj b|⁵ 1992 mvtj i 1 Rvbsvix Rvnbvii Bgvgti tbZtZ; 101 m`m` wvko GKvEti i NvZK `vj vj wbg⁹ Kvgwō MVb Kiv nq |⁶ iia nq evsjv`tk MYZwšK Avf`vj tbi GK e`wZμgag⁹ aviv| t`tki jvL jvL gvby kvgj nb GB Avf`vj tbi | GB Aa`vtq Rvnbvii Bgvgti tbZtZ; tgšj ev` I mvcōwqKZvi wei af` th MYAvf`vj b i wPZ ntqutj, Zv Zui `ōRb mnthvMxi mŷvrvKviti gva`tg Ztj aiv ntqutj | GB `ōRb mnthvMx ntj b msMVtbi mn mfivciZ knx` Rvqv k`vgj x bvmwi b tPšajx Ges Aci Rb msMVtbi bvi x wvqK m^{av}`K `mq`v mij gv nK| Zv`i e³e` wbt^{av}Dc`vcb Kiv ntj v :

k'vgj x bvmi b tPšajx 2002 muj t_čk GKvĚti i NvZK `vj vj wbgj⁶ KugwU mn-mfvciZi
 `wqZ; cij b KičQb| gwy⁷h⁸xi mgq wZwb evmv bs- 66, moK bs- 7G, aibgwU, XvKv-1209 G
 wQčj b| Zui `vgxi bvg Wv: Avj xg tPšajx (15 wWtm⁹ 1971 G Avj e`i KZR.Acüz nb Ges
 ZvčK ivčqi evRvi ea`fvgčZ wôžfvte nZ`v Kiv nq)| gwy⁷h⁸xi mgq Avj xg tPšajx I k'vgj x
 bvmi x b tPšajx wec`M`l gvblyčK Avčq č`b| Zui`i gta` GKRB wQčj b MYčRvZš¹⁰ evsj vč`tki
 A`vqx ivóč`avb `mq` bRi aj Bmj vg| wevfbegwy⁷thv¹¹vč`i tPvčL e`včUR w`čq čivMx mvrčq ivLv
 nZ Ges Wv: Avj xg tPšajx čti Zui`i A`gn wbi vč` RvqMvq tččQ w`čZb| Zui v A`¹² JI a msMč
 Kti wčRč`i Mmo Kti tMvčtb gwy⁷thv¹¹vč`i KivčQ tččQ w`čZb| GQvovI GKUv tMvčb nvmcvZij
 wQj thLvčb Avj xg tPšajx I Ab`vb` Wv¹³vi iv gwy⁷thv¹¹vč`i wPvKrmv KičZb| k'vgj x bvmi x b tPšajx
 D`qb D`P gva`vgK we`vj čq 36 eQi Aa`y¹⁴ wnmvče KivR Kčib wKš` we.Gb.wc mi Kvi ZvčK
 Ab`vqfvte Pvčzi PčZ Kčib| Gici wZwb I Zui KčqKRb mnKgp¹⁵ vgtj jvj gwUqvq ōD`ixcb
 we`vj qč bvtg GKwU D`P we`vj q čZōv Kčib| eZčvčb wZwb GB `čj i čavb wky`K wnmvče KgPZ
 AvčQb| mrvyrKvči wZwb etj b, tMvj vg Avhg wQj GKRB hvčivax, gwy⁷h⁸xi wečivax tvčK|
 gwy⁷h⁸xi wečty čwK`l vč tmbvč`i meiKg mnčhvMzv čm-B KčiwQčj v| evxRvex nZ`vi bvj
 bKčvI Zvi B`Zwi | evsj vč`tki bvmi KZ; čwi Z`vM Kči tm čwK`l vč bvmi KZ; MčY Kči | tMvj vg
 Avhg te-AvBvčfvte evsj vč`tk Ae`včbi gva`čg t`tki `vaxbZv I mvePšgčZi weič`x Avč`vj b
 Mčto tZvj vi tPōv Ki wQčj v|

1978 mvtj tMvj vg Avhg evsj vč`tk čček Kči | GKvĚti i hvčivax Ges čwK`l vč bvmi K
 tMvj vg AvhgčK 1991 mvtj i 29 wWtm⁹ RvqvčvčZ Bmj vgx `čji Avgxi tNvI Yv Kiv nq|
 ōRvqvčvčZi tčč weAvčZ Rvčvčv nq th, 1992-94 KvhRčvč i Rb` Aa`včK tMvj vg Avhg Avgxi
 wbePZ nčqčQb⁷ ōmsweavb j•Nb Kči RvqvčvčZ Bmj vgx Zvč`i tčZv čwK`l vč bvmi K tMvj vg
 AvhgčK `čji Avgxi tNvI Yv Kičj wečivax ivR%wZK `j Ges bvmi K mgvR ččZevč` tččU čto|

`wčK BčĚdvK čwI Kvi 31 wWtm⁹ 1991 G čKwKZ msevč` ejv nq th, ōI qvKvm¹⁶ čwU,
 Rvm`, mvg`ev`x `j, RvZxq čwU,¹⁷ tmvm`včj ó čwU,¹⁸ I mgvbx Kj`vY ms`v, QvĪ tčWvčičb, RvZxq
 QvĪ`j, QvĪj wM čf wZ. msMVčbi čy t_čk ejv nq weč`kx GKRB bvmi K t`tki GKwU ivR%wZK
 `čji čavb wbh¹⁹ nI qvi NUbv gwy⁷h⁸xi tPZvri čwi čš²⁰| mevi čy t_čk tMvj vg AvhgčK t`k
 t_čk ein`včti i Avvčv Rvčvč nq⁸ RvqvčvčZ tčZv tMvj vg Avhgčgi DĪ včb t`tki evxRvex mgvR
 DvčNčnq| Zui v 71-Gi NvZK `vj vj wbgj⁶ KugwU MVčbi Dč`vM tčb| mevB vgtj Rvčvčvč Bgvčgi
 tčZčZ; 101 m`m` wekó KugwU MVb Kčib|

Rvnbvii Bvgv uQj b Amxg mivmx bix| gyp hxy mi vmi hy bv nqI vZib gvbti k:Lj gyp i Rb" AvRxeb KivR Kti tMtQb| gyp hxy Kvtj ubR Nti t_k gyp thvxt` i mePZK mnthwMZv Kti tMtQb Ges hy Rtqi Abxc0 Yv hvtMtqQb | ubtRi mšltK DrmM©Kti tQb hxy i gq`vtb| Zti i evmMU tm mgq uQj gyp thvxt` i NvU| gyp thvxt` i knx` i agxi gv inmvte Rvnbvii Bvgv tK gv WrtKb| GRb" eyx Rxei v telMg mydqv Kvgvtj i c0ite GKgZ nb th, Rvnbvii Bvgv tK c0vb Kti NvZK `vj vj ubgP KvguU MvZ nte| GB t0ytZ 1992 mvtj i 19 Rvbgvix 101 m`m` weik0 0GKvEti i NvZK `vj vj ubgP KvguU MvZ nq| Rvnbvii Bvgv tK c0Z t`tki me0ti i gyp thvxt` i uQj Mfxi kxv| gyp hxy i mgq Zui cmi evti i AvZvM RvZxi GK tMšitei melq| 0knx` gyp thvxt` i agxi gv inmvte Rvnbvii Bvgv gyp hxy i mgq Rxebi c0U S0K ubtq wefbcvte tMvj vt` i mivnh` Kti tQb| ZLb t_kB vZib mKtj i kxv AR0 Kti uQj b0|⁹ 1992 mvtj i 11 tde0vix Rvnbvii Bvgv tK AvvYqK Kti gyp hxy i tPZbv ev`evqb I GKvEti i NvZK `vj vj ubgP RvZxi mgš0 KvguU MvZ nq|

mgš0 KvguU MvZ nevi ci Rvnbvii Bvgv tUKbv t_k tZv qv ch0QZU tem0tQb Ges Rbmavi Y I `j tK msMvZ Kti tQb | vZib KivYti Avvšl uQj b, kvi ixK AmYzv DtcYv Kti MYRvMi Y m0i Rb" v bivZ cmi k0 Kti tQb| GKv0K Rbmfv, ugvQj, gvbeeUb BZ"v` Kti GK mYp Avf`vj b Mto Ztj uQj b| wefbcvguUs Avj vc Avtj vPbv I cmi Kivri ci inxvšltbqv ntv 26 gvP©1992 MY Av`vj tZ tMvj vg Avhtgi wePvi Kiv nte| Rvnbvii Bvgv tK m1/2 Avtj vPbv G e`vcvti HK`gZ cKvK Kiv nq th, evsjv`tki th tKvb `vtb iv0tq, mvgvRK Ab0vtb ev wef`kx `ZvevM tMvj vg Avhg Dcw`Z `vKtj Zv eqKU Kiv nte| G e`vcvti mePZK I m0uq mnthwMZv `vtbi Rb" t`tki mKj ivR%0vZK, mvgvRK, miv`vZK, tckvRxei msMvb I e`v3e tMP c0Z I AvvYv Rvbub nq|¹⁰ tde0vixi GK Zvii L t_k MY-`vYi AvfHvb i i0nq| 50 v`tbi wFZi 20 jvL `vYi msM0 Kiv nq| i ay`vYi bq eU k0 Rxei gvby `vYi msM0 Kiv vt` i e3e` i tb uLcmB v`tqQb| Znvej msM0ni e`vcvti t`k I wef`tk gyp hxy i tPZbvq Ab0vYZ gvby gYnt`I PvUv t`b | Rvnbvii Bvgv tK nvmvii m1/2 t`Lv Kti Z0K ubgP KvguU m1/2 GKvZv cKvK Kti mB t`evi Abtj va Rvbtq uQj b| tKL nvmvri e3e` cto ej tj b 0Guv Avgvi KivQ ti tL hiv, Avig GKv tKb Ab`me msm` m`tm`i mB msM0 Kti t`e0 Gfite msm` m`m`i mg_0 Av`vq Kiv nq uQj | gv tPP c0g v`tk Rvnbvii Bvgv Zui KvtRi mY0vri Rb" RvZxq mgš0 KvguU GKvU v0qvni s KvguU MvB Kti b| G v0qvni s KvguU gva`tg tMvj vg Avhtgi wePviti i Rb" MY-Av`vj tZi KivR `0Z GvMtq ubtq vMtq uQj b| eZ0vb tmvnt`v qv`P D``vtb vKlv vPi štbi cvtk MY-Av`vj Z etm tLv v Ut`Ki

Dci | mKj wePri#Ki Dcw~wZtZ GB Av`vj tZi Kvh@ug AbybZ nq| mi Kvti i mg`levav AwZµg Kti 26 gvP©1992 mKij mvtø `kUvi gta` tmvn&vl qv`P D`vb Rbmgy`a cwiYZ nq| 12Rb wePri#Ki mgštq GB wePri Kih@nq|

tMvj vg Avhtgi weiatx wePiti i weiqmgn nj :

- 1| Awfhy tMvj vg Avhg wK 1971 mvtj i 26 gvP©_tK wWtm#t gvm chSl evsj vt`tki `faxbZv hyPjvKvtj cwiK`lxb nrbv`vi ewnbxtK cZ`y I ctivÿfite mnvqZv Kti 30 jvL ubi`;brix, cjad I wki nZ`v Ges `ÿj vL brix AcniY I al#Yi mnvqZv Kti hÿvciva Ges gibeZv wetivax Aciva Kti#Qb?
- 2| Awfhy tMvj vg Avhg#K 1971 mvtj i 26 gvP©_tK wWtm#t gvm chSl evsj vt`tki weifbæ`vrb Avj e`i, Avj kvgm MVb Kti Ges Zvi AbMZ i vRvKvi ewnbx w`tq cwiK`lxb ewnbxtK `ÿj vL brix#K AcniY Ges al#Y I kij ZrvnbRbK Aciva msMVb Ki#Z mrvh` Kti#Qb ?
- 3| Awfhy tMvj vg Avhg wK cwiK`lxb ewnbxtK MYnZ`vi D`vnb Ges cØi vPbv`vb Kti#Qb?
- 4| Awfhy tMvj vg Avhg wK Avj e`i, Avj kvgm ewnbx MVbKti Zvt`i w`tq gÿ#hÿx wj B gÿ#thv#vt`i ubixn cwi evi cwiRtbi I ci mk`;aÿsmhÁ cwiPj bv Kti#Qb ?
- 5| Awfhy tMvj vg Avhg wK evsj vt`tki bWmwi Kti`i gta` weØI I mrvsmZv Qovrbvi j`ty` atgP bvtg weKZ.e`vLv cØvb Kti ag#K i vR%bWZK nWZqvi wntmte e`envi Kti atgP bvtg jvL jvL gvby#tK nZ`v Kti#Q Ges GB t`tki wki`-ms`wZ#K aÿsm Kivi cØPóvq wj B ntq#Q ?
- 6| Awfhy tMvj vg Avhg wK Zuì wbr`^AbMZ ewnbx Avj e`i, Avj kvgm I i vRvKvi ewnbx w`tq jÿZivR, AwMmsthW Kti AmsL`Rbc` aÿsm Kti gibeZv wetivax Aciva msMVb Kti#Qb?
- 7| Awfhy tMvj vg Avhg wK cwiK`lxb nrbv`vi ewnbxi tgRi tRbvtij ivl digvb Avjxi m#½ Iohš;I PµvšI Kti GB t`tk 1971 mvtj i bt#t I wWtm#t gv#m Zuì AbMZ ewnbx Avj e`i I Avj kvgm#K w`tq enxRtex nZ`v Kti#Qb?
- 8| Awfhy tMvj vg Avhg wK 1972 mvj t`tK 1975 mvj chSl ce©cwiK`lxb cÿi#xvi KigwU MVb Kti evsj vt`tki mve#fsgZ;Ges `faxbZvi weiatx PµvšI Iohš;Kti#Q?
- 9| Awfhy tMvj vg Avhg wK MYZwšK evsj vt`tk d`vmev` cØZövi Rtb` cØvi Kih@Pwjtq gibeZv wetivax Aciva Kti#Qb?
- 10| Awfhy tMvj vg Avhg wK `faxbZv hy PjvKvtj Zuì AbMZ Avj e`i, Avj kvgm ewnbx Ges i vRvKvi ewnbx w`tq evsj vt`tk e`vcK MYnZ`v Pwjtq RNb`Zg gibeZv wetivax Aciva Kti#Qb?¹¹
MY-Av`vj tZi wePiti i w`b dixqvw` ctÿi 15Rb `ÿxi mÿy` MhY Kiv nq| Awfhy#i ctÿ MYAv`vj tZ ubhy` wQ#j b GW#fv#tKU tgv#t bRi#j Bmjvg| MYAv`vj tZ tMvj vg Avhtgi weiatx

AvbXZ AwfthvM cōwYZ nq| thtnZzMY-Av`vj Z GKwU cZmK Av`vj Z, GB Av`vj Z tKvb `Ūv`k KvhRi Kti bv tmtnZzAwfhŷ tMvj vg AvhgtK t`vlx mve`-ÍKti Zu Aciva gZŽ Ū thvM` etj Zu weiaŷ× Dchŷ e`e`v MōY Kivi Rb` evsjv`k miKviti i wBKU Abŷiva Rvrbv nq|28 gvP©1992 miKvi MY-Av`vj tZi 24Rb Ask MōYKvixi weiaŷ× ivóŷ`tnZvi AwfthvM Gtb gvgjv Ktib| MY-Av`vj tZi 24Rtbi weiaŷ× tKvtUP tMōZvni cti vqvbr wktivbtg 29 gvP©1992 `bK evsjv cwi Kvq cKwKZ msev` ejv nq- Rvrvbiv Bvgvgn 24 Rtbi weiaŷ× gvgjv `vtqi Kiv ntqtQ| Av`vj Z 24 Rtbi weiaŷ× tMōZvni cti vqvbr Rvix Kti tQb|¹² cieZŷZ nvBtKvUŷtZ Zuiv Rvvgb jvf Ktib| ōMY-Av`vj tZi mvdŷ`i ci Rvrvbiv Bvgv Avtiv AvZwvkvjmx nb| k³ nvZ wZwb Avf`vj tbi nvj atib| Amy` kixi wbtq evsjv`tki cZ`ší AĀtj GtKi ci GK wkvj Rbmfv Ktib | evsjv`tki meŷ Avf`vj tbi e`cKZv jvf Kti |¹³

jvtLv RbZvi c`hvĪvi gva`tg Rvrvbiv Bvgv 1992 mvtj i 12 GwĪ MY-Av`vj tZi ivq KvhRi Kivi `we msewJ Z `ŷi Kvj wv wbtq RvZxq msm` i gvbbxq w`úKvi, cāvbgŷĪ Lvŷj `v wRqv I weŷivax `jxq tbĪx tkL nwmvbi KvtQ tck Ktib| gvy`hŷ×i tPZbv jvj bKvix 100 Rb mvm` MY-Av`vj tZi ivtqi ctŷ mg_ŷ tNvl Yv Kiti Avf`vj tbi hŷ nq bZb gvĪv| %wbK msev` 13 GwĪ 1992 mvtj i cwi Kvq MY-Av`vj tZi ivq KvhRi Kitz wbgŷ KvgwĪi `we wktivbtg ejv nq-

gvy`hŷ×i tPZbv ev`évqb I GKvĒti i NvZK `vjvj wbgŷ RvZxq mgŷĪ KvgwĪi AvnŷvqK Rvrvbiv Bvgvgn 10Rtbi GKwU cāZwbwa `j MZKvj tivevi mŪ`vq msm` fetb cāvbgŷĪ, `úKvi Ges weŷivax `tj i tbĪxi mvt_ Avjv`v Avjv`vfiŷe mŷvrv Ktib| `ŷi Kvj wv tZ MZ 26 gvP©MY Av`vj tZ tMvj vg Avhgti weiaŷ× th ivq t`qv ntqtQ miKvi thb Zu Dchŷ e`e`v tbb GB wvltq Avnŷvb Rvrbv nq|¹⁴ GKvĒti i NvZK `vjvj wbgŷ KvgwĪi Avf`vj b μgvŷtq teMevb nŷQj | G cwi wZtZ weGbw miKvi 30 Rly 1992 mvtj msm` weŷivax `tj i mŷ½ PwĒ Kitz eva` nq| weŷivax `tj i 4 `dv `wei gta` itqtQ-

- (1) MY-Av`vj tZi Df`v`v`i weiaŷ× ivóŷ`tnx gvgjv cZ`vni |
- (2) Aa`vcK tMvj vg Avhgti wePvi |
- (3) weŷivax `tj i mŷ½ AvPvi AvPvi tŷ msm`xq I MYZwŷK i wZbwiZ Abvri Y|
- (4) MYZŷtK cāZōwbK ifc t`qvi j tŷ` G aitbi MYZwŷK ivRbwiZi cāμqv Ae`vnZ ivLv|

weŷivax `jxq tbĪx tkL nwmvbr miKvitiK 4 `dv PwĒ `ŷŷi i Rb` ab`ev` Rvrbv|¹⁵ 1993 mvtj i 26 gvP©MY-Av`vj tZi cŷg elēwZDcj tŷ AvtqmwRZ mgvteŷk gvy`hŷ×i tPZbv ev`évqb I

miryirKviti mijgv nK etj b, tMjvg AvRg evsjv`tki GKRb hycivax| 1971 mtji gyp`h`x cwik`l`bx mi Kviti i cy`ubtq evsjv`tk ibg` MYnZ`v Pjvq| cwik`l`bx %mb`f`i`K tMjvg Avhg meiKg mirvth` mn`thvMZvB Kti`Q|`Zv Avtiv etj b- eeP cwik`l`bx `mb`iv hLb miv t`kR`jo ubieP`ti ubi` ; RbMY`K nZ`v I ubh`ZB Kti`Q Avqv`i gv-terv`i B`Z b6 Kti`Q tMjvg AvRg I Zvi `j Rvgqv`Z Bmjv`x Zv`i i`ayng_`B Rvrvqub, ub`Riv D`v`Mx n`q Zv`i mt`/2 nv`Z nv`Z ugij`q GKB ai`bi Aciva Kti`Q| evsjv`tki ey`R`x nZ`vq| tMjvg AvR`gi mn`thvMZv`Qj |

evsjv`tki `faxZv msl`M`gi c`g t`K tMjvg AvRg `eti`vaxZv Kti`Qj | 1971 mtji AmgvB KvR mgvB KivB`Qj j`y` | 1978 mtj Amy`gv`K t`Lvi Abgv`Z ubtq evsjv`tk c`ek Kti tMjvg AvRg| Zvi D`i`k``Qj c`p`vq Rvgqv`Z Bmjv`g`K c`p`M`Z Kiv| GiB aviv`v`n`K`Zvq tMjvg AvRg`K 1971 mtji i 29`M`m`f` Rvgqv`Z Bmjv`g` `tj i Av`xi tNvI Yv Kiv nq| mijgv nK etj b `GKv`E`ti i Nv`ZK I cwik`l`bx n`v`v`vi ev`n`bxi c`avb mn`thvMx tMjvg AvRg`K `tj i Av`xi n`n`m`te tNvI Yv Kiv n`j t`m`v`b evsjv`tki `faxZv mve`P`S`g`Z`ji` P`i`k`I`a`i` J`x`Z` L`y` AevK n`t`q`Qj`vq|AvBb Agv`b` Kti Rvgqv`Z Bmjv`x cwik`l`bx b`v`M`i`K tMjvg AvRg`K `tj i Av`xi tNvI Yv Kivq `eti`vax i v`R`%`v`ZK `j mn`v`v`f`b`m`M`v`B Gi c`Zev` Kti |

3 Rvbgvix 1992 mtj evjvi evYx c`v`Kvi c`Kv`k`Z msev` Avl qvg`x`M ube`P`x Kugv`U`i m`f`vi c`f`te `cwik`l`bx b`v`M`i`K tMjvg AvRg`K Rvgqv`Z`i Av`xi tNvI Yv Kivq M`f`xi D`f`OM ub`v` , I t`y`v`f` c`Kv`k` Kti ej`v` nq, th g`y`Z`GKRb `et`k`x b`v`M`i`K GKv`U` `fax mve`P`S`g` t`tki i v`R`%`v`ZK msl`M`v`bi m`v`_ Rv`v`Z n`q c`to t`m`B g`y`Z`t`K t`tki mve`P`S`g`Z`K A`x`Kvi Kivi k`v`g`j` etj `ete`v`P`Z nq`|¹⁸ `faxZv `eti`vax cwik`l`bx b`v`M`i`K tMjvg AvRg`K Rvgqv`Z Bmjv`x `tj i Av`xi ube`P`Z Kiv`K` t`K` `Kti MZKv`j k`ub`v`i Rv`Z`xq m`sm`t` Z`g`j` ev`K`-v`e`Z`U`v` I `n`%` nq|¹⁹

GB Nubri c`v`i`c`v`y`Z` t`tki t`b`Z`v`b`xq g`y`p``th`v`x`v` , `k`i`x` , m`v`v`v`Z`K` , m`i`sev`K` I `v`v`f`b`e` t`c`k`v`R`x`e`f`i` c`f`Z`v`b`v`i`v` ugij`Z` n`j`b` GKv`E`ti i Nv`ZK `v`j`v`j`f`i` `v`e`i`a`x` H`K`e`x` c`f`Z`v`i`v`a` Av`f`v`j`b` M`to` t`Z`v`j`v`i` Rb`| G`f`v`te` g`y`p``th`v`x`v` I ey`R`x`x` mgv`f`Ri` m`v`v`Z`m`v`g` M`v`Z` n`j` `GKv`E`ti i Nv`ZK `v`j`v`j` ubg`P` Kugv`U`| t`e`M`g` m`v`d`q`v` K`v`g`j` R`v`v`v`b`i`v` B`g`v`g`f`K` GB` Kugv`U`i` c`avb` Kivi Rb` c`f`te` Ki`j` m`K`j` t`m` c`f`te` m`v`v`Z` t`b`| `O`m`v`P`I` m`g`q`O` c`v`I`K`v`q` `O`g`j`-`a`v`i`v`q` P`j`v`Q`O` t`j`L`v`q` R`v`v`v`b`i`v` B`g`v`g` etj b th- `U`Av`M`v`g`x` 26`g`v`P`1992 `faxZvi` 21`Z`g` ev`v`l`R`xi` v`b` t`m`v`v`i`v`l`q`v`x`D` `v`f`b` `v`e`i`k`O` b`v`M`i`K` I` Av`Bb`A`f`i` m`g`S`t`q` M`v`Z` c`Kv`k` MY` Av`v`j`Z` tMjvg AvR`gi` v`e`P`i` n`t`e`l`|²⁰ tMjvg AvRg`Z`v` Rvgqv`Z Bmjv`xi` d`v`m`v`v` i`v`R`b`v`v`Z`i` `v`e`i`a`x` R`v`v`v`b`i`v` B`g`v`g`f`gi` c`v`U`d`t`g`f`tki` RbMY`GKv`I`Z`nb`|

cwiK`lbr bvlmwi K I GKvĒti i NvZK #Mvj vg AvRg I Zvi mnthwMx mKj NvZK `vjvj`i
 wePti i `weZ 14u QvĪ msMVtbi AvnĪvtb kwn` Zvtni wj bvgZtb Rvnbvii Bvgvgti mfvciwZtZ;
 GK %eVK AbwZ nq| mfvq Rvnbvii BvgvgtK AvnĪvqK Kti gwphx-i tPZbv ev`evqb I GKvĒti i
 NvZK `vjvj wbg⁹ RvZxq mgšq KugwU MwZ nq|²¹ wbg⁹ KugwU MVtbi cti miv t`k t`K
 AKíbxq mg_ I mnthwMzv AvmUQj | Gfvte Rvnbvii Bvgvgti wekjm RtbwQj th, 26 gvP⁹Mvj vg
 AvRtgi wePti i Rb` MYAv`vj tZi KgmP⁹ Avgiv mdj KitZ cve| Rvnbvii Bvgvgti msvMvbK
 `yZv wQj, wbtRi KvRi mjav Rb` wZwb GKwU w÷qvii s KugwU MVb Ktib| GB KugwU gva`tg
 26 gvP⁹ AvtqvRtbi Rb` mKj KvR m`ubaeKti wQj b| ōtKvb&KvR KvRk w`tg wKfvte Av`vq Kti
 wbtZ nq tm tKškj wZwb fvj gZ iB Kti wQj b| GgbwK tkL nwmvbi Zwi tKvb Abtjva Dtcy^v
 KitZ cvtibwō|²² 26 gvP⁹1992 MYAv`vj tZi KvRtK mdj Kivi Rb` MY`ryi, wj dtj U, tcv÷vi
 Qvcvbtv, wefbaeZnwej MVb BZ`w` KvR `z MvZtZ Pj wQj | Rvnbvii Bvgvgti tkL nwmvbi m½ K_
 etj msm` m`m`i gZvgZI msMh Ktib|

mvj gv nK etj b, 26gvP⁹MYAv`vj tZi Kvh⁹g mdj Kivi Rb` wbg⁹ KugwU, wefbaeivR%wZK
 `j I Ab`vb` msvMvb, tjv cŌZwbqZ mfv I mgvtek KiwQj | Amy` ntqI Rvnbvii Bvgvgti wefbae
 mgvtefk e³Zv Ktib| 1992 mvj i 2 gvP⁹ w`wbK evsj wō cwi Kvq ōRvqvvtZi PmvsĪ bv iaL tj
 `faxbZv wecbanteō wktivbtg cKwKZ Leti ejv nq- GKvĒti i NvZK `vjvj wbg⁹ KugwU XvKv
 gnvm⁹ti i Df`vM tclKve PĒti GK MYRvgtqZ AbwZ nq| GLv⁹tb KugwU AvnĪvqK Rvnbvii
 Bvgvgti tMvj vg AvRtgi wePti i gva`tg HK`exfvte NvZK `vjvj`i cŌZnZ Kivi AvnĪv⁹ Rvnbvii
 MY RgtqZ tktI MYwUQj tei Kiv nq|²³ GKvĒti i NvZK `vjvj wbg⁹ KugwU mgvtek wktivbtg
 4 gvP⁹1992 egevi w`wbK evsj v cwi Kvq cKwKZ Leti ejv nq th- g½j evi evqZž tgvKivi vtgi
 `wyY tMtu tMvj vg AvRtgi wePti i `weZ AvtqvRZ nvrvi nvrvi gvby-Gi mgvtefk telg mvdqv
 Kvgvj, tkL nwmvbi I Rvnbvii Bvgvgti Ab`vb` msvMvb⁹ tZvii e³Zv Ktib| tMvj vg AvRtgi
 weifx Ges hycivtai wePti i Rb` mKtj e³Zv Ktib| e³Zv tktI weyvfKvixiv tMvj vg
 AvRtgi Kzcywj Kvmn wguQj wbtq kwn` wgv⁹ti hiv| Gfvte 26 gvP⁹ KgmP⁹K GvMtg t⁹bqv nq|
 mvj gvi KvQ t`K Rvnbvii h⁹q th, wZwb wbtR 26 gvP⁹MYAv`vj tZi mgvtefk Dcw`Z wQj b|
 Av`vj tZi cŌwK `eVK nvtKvU⁹fetbB etmUQj | Rvnbvii Bvgvgti `Bcvtk tmvdvq wePvi Kiv
 etmōb, mvgtbi tPqvti AwfthwMKvix, mvyx Avi AvBbRvixiv etmōb| GLv⁹tb misewi Kivi Dcw`Z
 wQj b|

Avl qvqjx tMi cĀZubwa Ave`jy iv34vKmn Zui mSMWZ `j ŪRvZxq mgšĀ KigūŪi Ab`vb`
 tbZviv tmvni vl qv`P D`vb P t j M t q u Q t j b Ges Z u i v e t j u Q t j b g Ā % Z u i n t j L e i c v W t e b |
 M m R D j n K M Y A v ` v j t Z i c Ū f i n g e ` v L ` v K i t j b | c Ū t g t M j v g A v R t g i w e i a t x t h m e A w f t h M
 A v b v n t q t Q t m m a u t K e j v n t j v | R v n b r i v B g v t g i c y _ t K M m R D j n K M Y A v ` v j t Z i i v q c t o
 t k v i t j b | i v t q i K u c w e P r i K g Ū j x i n v t Z u Q t j v | c Ū t g R v n b r i v B g v g I c t i A b ` v b ` m ` m ` i v m B
 K t i u Q t j b | G f i t e P e r s i n t q u Q j M Y A v ` v j t Z i H u Z n m K i v q |

mKvj mĀto `kUvi mgq tmvni vl qv`x D`vb t_ tK Lei Avmvi cti Rvnbri v Bgvgn mKj
 tbZv K g f v i l b v n b | t m v n i v l q v ` P D ` v b c w i Y Z n q R b m g t j q t m L v t b g Ā % Z u i K i v n t q u Q j Ū K
 w ` t q | t m ` Q v t m e K t ` i G K u Ū ` j M v t Q i Q v q v c t o t Q G g b G K R v q M v t _ t K t j v K m w i t q w ` t q R v n b r i v
 B g v t g i e m v i e ` e ` v K t i b | A b ` v b ` w e P r i K t ` i m t 1 2 u Z i b g v u t Z B e t m u Q t j b | P r i c v t k M v t Q M v t Q
 Z L b l g v B K e v a v n w ` Q j | m i s e v w K t ` i L y A m y e a v n w ` Q j R b m g t j q Q w e K ` t g i v e w ` K i t Z | w f o
 μ g t k e v o u Q j | i v R % w Z K ` t j i t b Z v i v l g t Ā i c v t k D c w ` Z u Q t j b | Ū A v l q v q j x t M i m v t R ` v
 t P s a j x , A v e ` j y R w j j G e s A v t i v K t q K R b G t m R v n b r i v B g v t g i m t 1 2 t ` L v K t i Z u i i m f i t b Ī x i
 G K u Ū u P w Z u i n v t Z w ` t q u Q t j b Ū |²⁴

gĀ uQj eĀeŪytkL gvRej ingv tbi 7 gv t P P f v l t Y i R v q M v q | g v B K K v R K i u Q j b v , Z L b
 w K K i v n j R v n b r i v B g v g i v q c o t e b m t 1 2 m t 1 2 t j v K g t L t m U v w i t j K i v n t e | e v t i v U v c v E u g u b t U
 R v n b r i v B g v g i v q c o v A v i a t K i t j b , e v t i v U v K u o u g u b t U i v q c o v t k l n j | m e t k t l e j v n q
 t h t n Z z M Y A v ` v j Z t K i v ` Ū v t ` k K v h R i K t i b v , t m t n Z z A w f h t j t M j v g A v h g t K A v g i v t ` w l m v e ` i
 K t i Z v i w e i a t x D c h t e ` e ` v M h Y K i v i R b ` e i s j v t ` k m i K v t i i w b K U A b t j i v a R i v w r ` Q | G u Ū u Q j
 g j - Z G K u Ū c Ū Z m K A v ` v j Z | G B A v ` v j Z A v B b n v t Z u b t q t K i v w e P r i K v h R t i i e ` e ` v K t i b v | 26
 g v P M Y - A v ` v j t Z i K v R m d j f i t e t k l n l q u i c i m i K v i R v n b r i v B g v g m n 24 R t b i w e i a t x
 i v o t ` t n x g v g j v ` v t q i K t i t M Ū Z u i c t i v q v b v R w i K t i w K S K t q K w ` b c t i Z u i v R w g b c v b | 1
 G u c j 1992 ` w b K e i s j v i e v Y x c w l K v q c K v m K Z m s e v t ` e j v n q t h , m y c t j t K v t U P n v B t K v U w w f k b
 t e Ā G K v Ē t i i h y i c i v a x R v g v q v t Z i w e Z u K Z A v g x i t M j v g A v R t g i w e P r t i i c Ū k e t P q v i g ` v b u g t m m
 R v n b r i v B g v g m n 24 R t b i R w g b g Ā j y K t i t Q |²⁵

M Y A v ` v j t Z i m d j Z i v R v n b r i v B g v g A v t i v A v Z w e k l m x n t q D V t j b | k n x ` i a g x i g v G f i t e
 i f c v s h i Z n t j b t ` k R b b t Z | G B A v t ` v j t b i A b ` Z g c a v b k w ³ K t b P R v g v t b i t b Z Z y a x b u b g f e
 K i g u Ū c Ū q c Ū Z i v b u g u Ū s , u g u Q j I m g v t e t k i g v a t g A e ` v n Z t i t L t Q P j g v b A v t ` v j t b i M u Z
 a v i v |²⁶ k v n e M P Ē t i i w e k v j m g v t e t k R v n b r i v B g v g u k t i v b t g ` w b K m s e v ` G i 1 R j v B 1992

mtj cKvkZ msef` ejv nq th, hycivax tMjvg AvRtgi weiaf` MYAv`vj tZi ivq KvhRi Kivi
 `vnefZ RvZiq msm` Awfhwivi mgvtefk Rvnbvii Bgvg etj b, 0MYAv`vj tZi ivq KvhRi bn l qv
 chSÍ Nti idi tev b|0 e³Zuq 14 A±vefi XvKvi gnmvtekmn mg²q KvguUi mvtó 3 gv¹mi
 KgmPr tNvl Yv Ktib| KgmPi gta` AvtQ tMjvg AvRtgi weiaf` MYivq KvhRi I Ab`vb` `vnefZ
 mivv t`tk mfvmgvtek, uquQj I MY`ryi Awfhib Ae`vnZ ivLv, 19 RjvB c0ZuU DctRjvq mgvtek
 I tNivl, 23 AvMó mKj tRjv tKt`^amgvtek I tNivl, 10 tm¹P² XvKvq c0Zubia m¹aj b Ges
 14 A±vefi XvKvq gnmvtekmn|²⁷

Gfivte Avf`vj tbi Muz Ae`vnZ `vtK| Rvnbvii Bgvg tNvml Z KgmPr Abjvqx GtKi ci GK
 KvhRig cwi Pmij Z ntquQj | 1993 mtj i 26 gvP¹MYAv`vj tZi c0g el¹WZ¹Dcj tÿ AvtqmRZ
 mgvtefk gv¹h¹xi tPZbv ev`evqb I GKvE¹ti NvZK `vj vj vbg¹ RvZiq mg¹q KvguU
 ch¹qumgKfivte GKvE¹ti kxl¹vbxq NvZK `vj vj I hycivaxf`i Aciva D`NvUtbi KgmPr tNvl Yv
 Ktib| teMg mvdqv Kvgvj tK tPqvi g`vb Kti 11 m`m`i Z`š KvguU tNvl Yv Kiv nq| 1994 mtj i
 26 gvP¹faxbZv v`etm MYAv`vj tZi 2q evml RxtZ BwAvbqum¹Bubw÷wUDtUi mvgtb ivRct`i vekij
 Rbmgvtek Abv¹Z nq| GB Rb mgvtefk Z`š KvguUi tPqvi g`vb teMg mvdqv Kvgvj Rvnbvii
 Bgvtgi nvtZ RvZiq MYZ`š Kvgk¹bi v¹tcvU¹n`šfi Ktib|Rvnbvii Bgvtgi tbZtZ; GKvE¹ti
 NvZK `vj vj vbg¹ KvguUi th Avf`vj b G m¹ú¹K¹mq`v m¹vj gv nK etj b th-

evsjv¹ t`tk RvqvqvZ v¹kuei d`vnm÷ m¹v¹c0v¹qK ivRb¹WZtK c0ZnZ Kivi Rb` hycivaxf`i
 vepri Ges Zvt`i mvgvRK I ivR¹WZKfivte vbg¹ Kivi Rb` Rvnbvii Bgvg th Avf`vj b iia
 KtiwQtj b, c¹lexi BvZnv¹tm GuU vej NUbv| ýgZvq hvevi Rb` bq A_P ýgZvq tK hvte tmUv
 vba¹fi tYi Rb` I gv¹bj i tPZbvq D`PZi gv¹v¹ek gj`teva c0Z0vi Rb` Ggb Avf`vj b mgKvtj i
 BvZnv¹tm t`Lv hvq bvl G Avf`vj b v¹bQK m¹gvR m¹v¹ti i v¹Ksev ivR¹WZK m¹v¹ti i Avf`vj b bq|
 evsjv¹ t`tki t¹c0v¹vtU Gi cwi va e`vcK I c¹five m¹yi- c¹hvix| Rvnbvii Bgvg Ges mn¹thv¹mx thv¹v¹v
 evsjv¹ t`tki m¹v¹vi Y gv¹bj i vepri teva Ges b`vq¹tevatK GKvU e`e`vi gta` c0_Z Kti GKvU
 Avf`vj b tK m¹iv¹ t`k e`vcx Quotq v¹ tqtQb| Zv n¹t`Q nZ`v g¹ly`Z; v¹eti vax Aciva Ges g¹ly`Z; v¹eti vax
 Aciv¹tai vepri m¹f`tevtai B cKvk|²⁸

Rvnbvii Bgvg ivRb¹WZv` wQtj b bv, A_P Av¹dh¹RbK fivte `f`v¹ m¹ú¹baGB bvi x ivRb¹WZi
 GKvU Agxgv¹smZ Aa`vq D¹tb¹WZ Kti ivRct` tb¹tg tMj b| KÉ Ges c`tÿc tgj vtj b mnm¹
 gv¹bj i m¹t¹/2| c¹v¹k Z¹tk ivRct` AvNZ Kij v| iv¹á Z¹tk iv¹á t`hx AvL`v w`j | Zely GB gv¹bj i
 t`tni K`v¹vi v¹btq ivRb¹WZi K`v¹vi `f` Kivi Rb` AvgZ¹jtó v¹mtqtQb| iv¹á v¹Av¹tbi m¹Avq

ntqUj, cti eUZj| 1945 mtj Rvnbv BvUv ugrUqtU cvk Ktib| Zvici Kj KvZvi tj wW teferb
Ktj R t_#K 1947 mtj we.G cvk Ktib| 1960 mtj XvKv uUPvUbs Ktj R t_#K cUg tkWtZ
we.GW wWwMöARö Ktib| 1962 mtj XvKv uekte`ij q t_#K Gg.G cvUq qv cvk Ktib| 1964
mtj dzeBU `jvi ukc tctq hyi vófi K`ij tdnbqvq mibwqvMv tóU Ktj R t_#K mUöUö#KU Bb-
GWzKkb wWwMöARö Ktib| hyi vófi Ptj hvb etj Gg.G cvUzcvk Ktib 1965 mtj |

Rvnbv Bvgtgi `v`v I bvbv uQtb mtrv`i fivB | Zti i Avv` ubevm cuöG etzi gyk`ev`
tRjvi Kvv` gnKgvi, eoTv`ubvi, my`icy Mötg| Rvnbvvi `v`vi bvg uQj`mq` dRjy`ingvb,
`v`v` bvmg#bvv ueve| Rvnbvvi 2 Piv 4 dzv eoPiv`mq` tiRv Avj x eigfi (eZövb gvqvbvri)
ivRavbx ti`zy knfi tRbvtij tció Avd#m PivKvi Ki#Zb| t#Sv Piv Avjy`nvB Kvv` gnKgvi knfi
wvrfj tKvU`PivKvi Ki#Zb| Zui eev uQtb wZb fivBtqi gta` tóU| dzjv mevB weevwZ uQtb|
1947 mtj t`k wefv#Mi ci Rvnbv Bvgtgi Piv dzjv gyk`ev`B t_#K hvb| Rvnbv Bvgtgi
bvbv`mq` AvZvDi`ingvb Af eq#m givv hvb| Rvnbvvi 5 tevb I 3 fivB| eo tevb t#ni#bvv
GK eQi eq#m givv hvb| Gici Rvnbv Bvgv| eo fivB`mq` I evq`y AvKei| wZvb XvKv
uekte`ij q t_#K BvZv#m Avv`I Gg.G cvk Kti BvUvGm Avd#m nb| PÆMötg G. Uö
G`v`mó`vU Kvgkvi wvrvte KZ`iZ uQtb| t#Sv fivB`mq` gvndv`b Avv`#s K`ij tdnbqv
BDvb fivvU t_#K Bv`v`bqvvi stq wWwMötb| wZvb KvWvq KgPZ t_#K tmLv#B emevm Ktib| tóU
fivB`mq` tgv`dv Kvgvj, PivUw`GKvD#U, j Ú#b covtj Lv Kti#Qb I tmLv#B KgPZ t_#K
emevm Ktib| Rvnbvvi t#Sv tevb Zvuv`v mivC`v XvKv uekte`ij q t_#K evsjv mivv#Z` Av#m I
Gg,G cvk Ktib| wZvb GKRb`kyK Ges tj`LKv| ZZxq tevb kvgm#vvi AvvRR we,G I we,GW
wWwMöARö Kti uQtb| wZvb evsjv`k I cvK`#bvi wevfbe`#j`kyKZv Ki#Zb| 4_#tevb D#s
mij gv`PmZx XvKv uekte`ij q t_#K BvZv#m Avv`I Gg,G cvk Ktib Ges we,GW wWwMöARö
Ktib| evsjv`k I cvK`#bvi wevfbeKtj`R`kyKZv Ki#Zb| Gfvte Zui fivBtevb mKtjB uQtb
`kv`yZ hv Rvnbv Bvgtgi Rieb`k#b cfvweZ ntqU|

1948 mtj i 9 AvMó kixdz Avj g Bvg Avv#t#i m#z Rvnbvvi we#q nq| `v`gx kixd
Bvgv tckvq uQtb Bv`v`bqv| kixd Bvgv I Rvnbv Bvgv `v`v`zi`# tQtb| 1951 mtj i 29
gvP`cUg m#lv kvdx Bvgv i`gx, 1954 mtj i 2 tm#P`#t uZxq m#lv mivBd Bvgv Rv`x Rb#MhY
Ktib| kvdx Bvgv i`gx 1971 mtj gv#h#x GKRb`tmvnm#m#m#j v thv`v uQtb| wZvb cvK`#b
tmbv`v`bxi nvZ av cto kvn`nb| `v`xvZv ci wZvb exi wevg Dcv#Z fivZ nb| Rvnbvvi
`v`gx kixd Bvgv#K wbgö`v`h#Zb Kti cvK`#b nivr`vi AvvZ Ae`vq gv#`t`q| weRtqi`ö`b
Av#m wZvb gZ`eiY Ktib| gv#h#x`i bvgv`m tKtU`Q Zui D#M, DrKÉv I Tv#mi gta`| GKvÉti i

ৱ' b ৱ' j tZ ৱ' Zib c0Zev`x fvlvq etj t0b, 0Bmj vtgi bvtg l iv hv Ki t0 ZtZ tLv`vi Avik chSf
tKtc Dfvt0| tLv`vi Ni gmmRt` XzK tKvi Avb tZj l qvZi Z gvby Lly, gvtqi mvgtb tQvU er`PrfK
teqtbU ৱ' tQ Lvtq tgti t0| eqtc0B t0tj i mvgtb gvtK teB3/4Z Kti t00|³³

gvtq hxi mgq Rvnbvrv Bvgtgi gabi gta ৱ' j t`ktc0 l `fxbZvi `c0 `ymgtq ৱ' Zib
gvtq hxi i bvbvrvte mrvh` Ktib| ৱ' tmt`fi eY0v ৱ' tZ ৱ' Mtq ৱ' Zib GK chf0q Dtl Ktib th,
0mrvv XvKvi tjvK GKB mt1/2 nvm t0 Avi Kti t0| `fxbZvi Rb` nvm ৱ' Ks' nvmUv ati ivLv hv t`Q bv|
GZ tek i t`3i `vg ৱ' tZ ntqt0 Kvbvi tmtZl nvm Wze hv t`Q| tftm hv t`Q0|³⁴ hv ৱ' Zib ৱ' bvj uc
ৱ' tmt`te eY0v Kti t0b Zui Wtqmi tZ| gvtq hxi G ৱ' bvj uc ৱ' Zib 1986 mtj 0GKvEti i ৱ' b ৱ' j 0
bvtg cKvk Ktib|

3.1.2 Kg9l mvmZ` Rxeb

Rvnbvrv Bvgtgi KgRxeb i iæ nq ৱ' kyKZvi gva`tg| 1948 mtj ৱ' Zib gqgbvmsfni ৱ' `vgqx
Mvj ৱ' nVB`zj mnKvi ৱ' kyK ৱ' nmt`te KgRxeb i iæ Ktib| XvKvi ৱ' t0Kxi ewij Kv D`P ৱ' `vj tqi
c0vb ৱ' kyK ৱ' nmt`te 1952-1960 mvj chSf KgPZ ৱ' t0tj b| ejevj GKvWwg ৱ' K>Uvi MvW0 `zj i
c0vb ৱ' kyK ৱ' nmt`te 1962-1966 mvj chSf KgPZ ৱ' t0tj b| 1966-1968 mvj chSf XvKv ৱ' Pvm0Ulbs
Ktj tR Aa`vcK ct` Pvkvi Ktib| XvKv ৱ' kte` `vj tqi AvaybK fvlv Bbv0UDtU LUKvj xb ৱ' kyK
ৱ' nmt`te KvR Kti t0b| 1960 mtj ৱ' Zib GWzKkbvj tevW0 c0Zibna ntq ৱ' mtj evm tmvgbvti c00g
cvmK`tbi tctkvqiti hvb| 0Mvj m0MvBW0 cvmK`tb DBtgbm&b`vkbij MvW0 tLj vajv, 0Aj cvmK`tb
DBtgy Gtmmtqkb0-Gi mt`_ Rv0Z ৱ' t0tj b ৱ' Zib| GQvovl XvKv teZvi l evsj vt`k tUvj wfk`tb
Ab0vb Dc`vcbr l cwi Pvj bv Ki tZb| 1960 mtj ৱ' Zib ৱ' UK KvDvYj j vBtefx gta` tm` ucqvti i
bvUtK Awfbq Kti ৱ' t0tj b|³⁵ IvUi `ktKi gvSvgnS mgta tj LK ৱ' nmt`te Rvnbvrv Bvgv AvZcKvk
Ktib| c0tg cwi Pq ৱ' j ৱ' ki mvmvZ`K ৱ' tmt`te| cti Ab0v` Kti t0b ৱ' t`kx mvmZ`| 1990 mtj
mvmvZ` Ae`v`bi Rb` tctqt0b, 0evsj v GKvWwg cj`vi 0|

Zui Dtl thvM` M0s` nj- ৱ' Ktkvi Dcb`vm MRK`0c (1968), Ab` Rxeb (1985),
exitk0(1985), GKvEti i ৱ' b ৱ' j (1986), RxebgzZ (1988), ৱ' PivqvZ mvmZ` (1989), e`Ki
ৱ' FZi Av`b (1990), bvUtKi Aemvb (1990), `0` tgiæ (1990) ৱ' b:m1/2 cvBb (1990), bq G gay
tLjv (1990), K`vYv`ti i mt1/2 emevm (1991) l c0v`tmi ৱ' bvj uc (1992)|³⁶ Zui GKvEti i
ৱ' b ৱ' j M0si Rb` ৱ' Zib metPtq tek cksvmZ ntqt0b| 0i`ayevsj vt`k bq, Bsj `vU Avtqvi Kvi
c0vi gva`tg l GKvEti i ৱ' b ৱ' j (of Blood and Fire) Avtj ৱ' PZ l cksvmZ ntqt00|³⁷ Aa`vcK
Avmbm`y`v`g`v`b Zui ৱ' j ৱ' LZ 0Rvnbvrv Bvgv Ges Zui ৱ' RÁvmv0 ৱ' betU Dtl Kti t0b th, 0GKvEti i

Z_`ub`R

1. j`ydi ingvb (m`u`w` Z), knx` Rbbx Rvnbvi v Bgvg `š`i KMŠ' (XvKv Aemi c`Kvkbv, 1995), c.,72|
2. c`0, 3, c., 9|
3. mvBvnnK bqvc` a`Yvb, 7 Rly 1981, c.; 8|
4. kvnni qvi Kwei, MYAv` vj Z I Rvnbvi v Bgvg (XvKv Pri aj` uc c`Kvkb, 2012), c., 17,18|
5. j`ydi ingvb (m`u`w` Z), c`0, 3, c., 182|
6. %`ubK msev`, 20 Rvbgvni 1992, c.; 1 I 8|
7. %`ubK evsj v, 30 W`f`m`f 1991, c.; 8|
8. %`ubK B`E`dvK, 31 W`f`m`f 1991, c.; 12|
9. j`ydi ingvb m`u`w` Z, c`0, 3, c., 9|
10. Zvnu`g` v mvc`v, knx` Rbbx Rvnbvi v Bgvg (XvKv; ev`zj x mgM`Rv` N`i, 2004) c., 101|
11. kvnni qvi Kwei, c`0, 3, c., 241, 242|
12. %`ubK evsj v, 29 gvP`1992, c.; 1 I 7|
13. Zvnu`g` v mvc`v, c`0, 3, c., 108,109|
14. %`ubK msev`, 13 Gw`c`j 1992, c.; 1 I 7|
15. %`ubK evsj v, 1 Rjv`B 1992, c.; 1 I 7|
16. %`ubK msev`, 29 gvP`1993, c.; 1 I 8|
17. %`ubK msev`, 28 gvP`1994, c.; 1 I 8|
18. %`ubK evsj vi evYx, 3 Rvbgvni x 1992, c.; 1|
19. %`ubK evsj vi evYx, 5 Rvbgvni x 1992, c.; 1|
20. m`P`T mgq, 6Rly 1992 c.; 6|
21. %`ubK evsj vi evYx, 12 `de`qvi x 1992, c.; 1 I 2|
22. kvnni qvi Kwei, c`0, 3, c., 147|
23. %`ubK evsj v, 2 gvP`1992 c.; 1 I 8|
24. kvnni qvi Kwei c`0, 3, c., 109|
25. %`ubK evsj vi evYx, 13 Gw`c`j 1992, c.; 1|
26. kvnni qvi Kwei, c`0, 3, c., 126|
27. %`ubK msev`, 1 Rjv`B 1992, c.; 1 I 12|
28. j`ydi ingvb (m`u`w` Z), c`0, 3, c., 68|

29. *cġ, 3, c., 86* |
30. *kvniv qvi Kwei, cġ, 3, c., 197* |
31. *%ubK msev`, 27 Rly 1994, c., 1* |
32. *j ydi ingvb (m=úvwi Z), cġ, 3, c., 163* |
33. *Rvnbvri v Bgvg, GKvĒti i w b, wj (XvKv: mÚvbx cĶvkbx, 2008) c., 69* |
34. *cġ, 3, c., 170* |
35. *Zvniġ`v mvc`v, cġ, 3, c., 101* |
36. *j ydi ingvb (m=úvwi Z), cġ, 3, c., 181* |
37. *cġ, 3, c., 10* |
38. *cġ, 3, c., 21* |
39. *cġ, 3, c., 88* |
40. *Rvnbvri v Bgvg tetP bv _vKvq Zui `ĴRb mnthvMx I tQvU tevġbi KvQ t_ġK mvÿvrKvi tbqv ntqġQ | Rvnbvri v Bgvġgi `ĴRb mnthvMx ntj b k`vgj x bvmi xb tPšajx I %mq`v mvgv nK | k`vgj x bvmi xb tPšajx 15-08-2015 ZvniġL weKvj 4Uv t_ġK ivZ 8 Uv chŚI mvÿvrKvi t`b | %mq`v mvgv nK 17-08-2015 ZvniġL weKvj 5Uv t_ġK ivZ 8Uv chŚI mvÿvrKvi t`b | Rvnbvri v Bgvġgi tQvU tevb Zvniġ`v mvc`v 19-08-2015 ZvniġL weKvj 3Uv t_ġK ivZ 8Uv chŚI mvÿvrKvi t`b |*

Dcmsnvi

GUv mȳúó th fvlv Avf`vj tb brix Ask MhY Qvov fvlv Avf`vj b cYzv tcZ bv| hv GB MtelYvKtgP`Rb brix fvlv`mubtki tKm-÷vW wtkdtyi gva`tg tei ntq GtmfQ| fvlv Avf`vj tbi dj kZtZ Avgiv t`LtZ cvB, 1954 mtj i hȳdU ubePb| GB ubePtb brix`i weRq Gi K_v nvi gv LvZtbi e³e` t_tK tei ntq GtmfQ| 1954 cieZP` 66-Gi 6`dv Avf`vj tbi brixiv ewj ô figKv I ,iæ`wqZ; cvj b Ktib| 1969-Gi MYAfj`v tbi mgq mvgwi K AvBb wetiav Avf`vj b Pig AvKvi aviY Kitj 19 Rvbgvii Avf`vj biZ QvT`x`i Dci cny`k jvWPvR`Kti| cti i w`b 20 Rvbgvii Avm` knx` nq| Gi cZet` wetyvf wguQj brixiv mupqfite AskMhY Ktib| 24 Rvbgvii ni Zvj cvj tbi mgq QvT`x ZiæAvntg` Kvjv cZvKv nvtZ cny`tki teobx tft½ GwMtg hvb| Gi ci Zvi wQtb nvrvi nvrvi brix-cjatl cēb gq`v tbi w`tk GwMtg hvb (Kwe mȳdqv Kvgvtj i 1969 mtj i e`w³MZ w`b wj wC)| tdeqvi tZ telg mȳdqv Kvgvtj i tbZtZ; gwnjv mSMtg cwi l` tkvK wguQj tei Kti| 1969 G mvgwi K kvmb wetiav Avf`vj tbi ci Avtm tkL gvt`ei AmnthvMi WvK| XvKv Ges XvKvi evBti t`ke`vcx brixiv tkL gvt`ei ingv tbi AmnthvMi WvK mvov w`tq wvfbekgP` cvj tbi gva`tg`vaxZv mSMtgi Rb` cZ` nZ`_vtKb| gvt`hxi cwi tZtZ t`ke`wic brix RvMi tyi GB tRvqi eBtZ` i iæ`Kti| G mgq t`ke`vcx brix RvMi tyi tRvqi Avgv`i gvt`hxi brix`i Amxg exitZi Abb``ovš`vcb Kitz Dōx Kti|

cviK`ib kvmk tMvōxi wectȳ fvlv Avf`vj tbi mSMtg AeZvY`ntZ hvl qvtZ Kgtenk Avmūš`nevi AvksKv wbnZ wQj| brix tyt` G AvksKv wQj tenk| Gme SdkK mt½ wbtq| fvlv Avf`vj tb cjatl`i cvkvcnk AmsL` brix AskMhY KtiwQj| G tyt` brix`i GKUv`ZŠ; A`wvgnRK I ivR`wZK tcyvcU wQj|`xN`KtqK`kk cvi ntq hv`Q A_P Zv`i AtbtKi Lei Avgv`i GLtbr ARvrv| Gt`i wbtq wtkl tKvb MtelYv ev tj Lvjt`L nquv| ZvB Zv`i tmB tMŠi egq figKv`úofite AvRI Dtv Avtmub| nqtZv Avgiv wKQz`b ci brix fvlv`wubKt`i Kvnbx Zv`i gly t_tK mivmii tkvbi mthvM nvi tq tdj tev|`vaxZv hxi ci 1972 Gi msweartb MYZŠ; I ag`itc`Zv`K mgvRZŠ; I RvZxqZv`i cvkvcnk ivtōf gj`wfiE` wmwite MhY Kiv nq| ag`fiE`K ivR`wZ wbnl`x Kiv nq| msweartbi 27 {(mKj bvmii K AvBtbi`wōtZ mgvb Ges AvBtbi mgvb Avkōj vtfi AnaKvix) I 28 [(1) tKej ag`tMvōx, eY`brix cjatl`f` ev Rb`v tbi Kvi ty tKvb bvmii tKi cZ` ivó`elg` cōk` Kmi teb bv| (2) ivó` I MY Rix tbi me`fi brix cjatl`i mgvb AnaKvi jvf Kmi teb]} avivq brix mgZv wv l qK wōqZv t`l qv ntqtQ|`vaxZv

DĒi Kvġj 1972 mġj RvZxq msmġ` Ges `vbxq BDġbqb cwi lġ` gġnj v Avmġb cġ`y ũbePġbi `vex Kġib gġnj v cwi lġ | 1975-Gi ivR%bġZK cU cwi eZġbi ci agġbfP ivRbġZ cġivq iia nq ũKŠ' Gi ũeciġZ AmvġcġvġqK l agġbitcġZvi kvġI ũQj Zrci |

evsjġ`ġki BvZnvġm 1952 mġj i MYZvġŠK Avġ`vj ġb bviġiv th fiġKv cvj b KġiġQb | Zv `ġġ tKm-÷vġvi gva`ġg Zġj aivi tPġv Kiv nġġQ | `ġRb bviġi tKm-÷vġvi ũeġkġY Kġj t`Lv hvq | `ġRb `ġġ ũfbġfġŠġMvġj K cwi gġġġj teġo DġvġQb | `ġRġb `kke t_ġK ũQġj b ũfbġcġKvZi | ũfbġfġte teġo l Vvi KviY ũQj ZrKġj xb mgvR, ms`vZ. l ivR%bġZK cwi ġek | ũeġUk l cwiK`ġb hġMi μvġŠKġj xb mgġġ Zġ`i teġo l Vv | `ġRb B AvZ KvQ t_ġK Dcġvġ KġiġQb 1947 mġj i t`kfvM | Gi ci ũeġfbġekġv cġZġvb ũv`y bviġi kvġv_ġ kb`Zv | ũeġKQZvġġj B Zġ`i gġa` GKaiġbi ũeġġKi ZvoY NġU | G t_ġKB Zġ`i cġvġZġj ivRbġZġZ mġvġ, n lqv | teMg tivġKqvi fiebvq ZvB ejġZ nq švġeK Avgvġ MġK Avgvġ`i cġZ.AebvZ t`LvBqv ũġZġQ----GLb DbvZi tPġv Kiv Avgvġ`i KZġ` | Avgvġ`i Ae`v Avgiv ũPŠġ b v Kviġj Avi tKn Avgvġ`i Rb` fġeġe b v | fġeġj l ZvġvZ Avgvġ`i tlvj Avbv DcKvi nBġebġ-(tivġKqv mvlvl qvZ tġġb, `ġ RvġZi AebvZ: gġZPġ, tivġKqv i Pbvġj x, XvKv: evsj v GKvġWgġ, 1973, c; 27, 28) Zviv `ġRbB ũeġġe`vjġġ Gġm cġvġZġj ivRbġZġZ mġvġ, nb | ũeġfbġekġv cġZġvb t_ġK Qvġx mSġh Kġi ivRcġ_ ũbġġ Avmvi tġġġI ũeġkl fiġKv ivġLb | eUZjvq mgġeZ Qvġ Qvġġ`i mġ_ ũbġġ 144 aivi fġvKiv ũġvQġj AskMġY Kġi ũQġj b | Zviv Dfqb tmv b cġjġki j vġPvġRġ mġvġb nġqũġj b | AvRI Zviv `ġġeġ`ġLb GKUv tkvl Ygġ evsjġ`ġki | Zġ`i tmB exi Zgq Kvġvbx Mġel Yv KġġZġj aiv nġġQ |

Avgiv 1971 mġj i gġġhġx i mgq l cġ`y Kvi bviġ`i eġj š fiġKv | GK`g mġvaviY bviġ t_ġK iia Kġi mgvġRi DPz`ġ chŠġme `ġiB bviġi AskMġY ũQj | gġġhġx Avgiv bviġġ t`vL cġbv`K, cġvgkġ, ũbqŠġK l mSġMġKi fiġKvq | ZvB evj nq th gġġhġx l bviġi Ae`vb AġbK | `ġġ tKm-÷vġvi gva`ġg Mġel Yv KgġġZ gġġhġx `ġRb bviġi Ae`vb Zġj aiv nġġQ |

1972 Gi mSġeavġb MYZŠġ l agġbitcġZvġK mgvRZŠġ l RvZxqZievġ`i cvkvcvġk ivġġġ ġj-ũfġĒ ũmġte MġY Kiv nq | agġfġĒK ivRbġZ ũbvġ x Kiv nq | ũKŠ' 1975-Gi ivR%bġZK cU cwi eZġbi ci agġbfP ivRbġZ cġivq iia nq | cġġġ cġeġmġvġi K kvġKġ`i cġġcġl KZvq Ges cġi ũbePġZ kvġK`ġi mġġhġMZvq ġġġeġv l mġvġcġvġq kvġ ivR%bġZK l mġvġRKfġte cġeġvġZ nq | Gi ũeciġZ AmvġcġvġqK l agġbitcġZvġ kvġI ũQj Zrci | cġeġZġZ GKvĒġi i NvZK l `vjvj ũbgġ Kġvġġi tBZġZ; agġbitcġZvġ Avġ`vj b iia nq | GB Avġ`vj ġbi tBZġZ; ũQj Rvġvġiv Bgġv | ũZvb GKvĒġi i NvZK `vjvj ũbgġ Kġvġġi mġfġcġZ ũġġte `ġxvZv DĒi Kvġj

cMwZkxj Avt`vj tb mly`wZ ARØ Kti wQtb | GKvEti wZwb mk`jhtx Ask tbbwb | wKŠ'GKRb gv,
 GKRb AvkØ`vI x wntmte wZwb gwy³htx i GKRb mvmx `mwbK wQtb | e`w³MZ Rxeþbi cvkvcwk
 wZwb weifbæbvi x mslMb I bvi x Avt`vj tbi mvt_ hÿ wQtb | IvUi `kK t_þK wZwb tj Lv tj wLþZ
 m³ú, nb | Rvnbvivi Bgvq wQtb weþeKevb, Amvavi Y e`w³Z; Ges gwy³ ht x i GKRb kwt`i
 Rbbx | wZwb wekØm KiþZb, hÿvciva gubeZvi weiaþ x Aciva, Gi ýgv þbB | hÿvcivax tÿj ev`xi v
 KLþv MYZþj ctÿ ev mntwMx kw³ ntZ cvi bvi | bZb cRb#K gwy³htx i tPZbvq DØy Kivi
 Rb` wbj m KvR Kti tMþQb wZwb | iayAvteþMi ekeZPntq bq, wZwb wekØm KiþZb be cRbþi
 itqtQ mætebv | GB cRb#K `wÿZ KiþZ nte gwy³htx i tPZbvq |

mweR Avtj wPbv t_þK GUv `úó th cjad ZwišK mgvR KwvtgvZ evsj vt`þki weifbæMYZwišK
 Avt`vj tb bvi xi BwZnm D³aj | evsj vt`þki BwZnvtm 1947 t_þK 1994 mvj chŠI weifbæ
 MYZwišK Avt`vj tb bvi xi v weþkl fvgKv cvj b Kti þQb | GB Mtel Yvq tKm-÷wMi gva`tg bvi xi
 mdj Zv I mxgie x Zvi wPÍ AsiKZ ntqtQ | Mtel Yv KgØ GKw`þK thgb Amv³cØ wqK tPZbvq weifbæ
 MYZwišK Avt`vj tb exi bvi xt`i Ae`vb RvbþZ mrvqZv Kiþe, Ab`w`þK Zwt`i Rieb-`kØ I fvebv
 cieZxcRb#K mZ`, b`vq, Ávb I Avtj vi ct_i cw_K ntZ DØy Kiþe |

mi Kv̄ti i cij ʔgʊvix tm̄µUvix I ɯdj ʔ tm̄Yi tevʔWʔ m̄m̄ ɯQ̄tj b| 1970 m̄tj m̄vavi Y ɯbeʔʔb RvZiq msm̄ i ḡɯɯj v Avm̄t̄b msm̄ m̄m̄ ɯbeʔʔZ nb| 1997 m̄tj 4 AvMó t̄Šj Z̄b̄m̄v gZ̄zei Y K̄tib| (kZ eQ̄ti evsj v̄t̄ki b̄vix, c., 61-62)|

tḡni āb̄m̄v LvZ̄b

1924 m̄tj t̄bvqvLv̄j x̄tZ RbʔM̄h̄Y K̄tib| ʔc̄w̄l̄K ɯbevm̄ t̄dbx m̄i Dc̄tRj vi k̄wi l̄v̄x M̄t̄g| ēvev-Lvb ēvni ʔ Av̄j̄ t̄M̄vdi v̄b ɯQ̄tj b h̄ʔ evsj vi m̄vteK ḡš̄x| 1948 m̄tj XvKv ɯek̄t̄ē ʔvj q t̄t̄K ɯe.G. Ges 1961 m̄tj Gj.Gj. ɯe. ɯM̄M̄ j v̄f K̄tib| 1954 m̄tj gq̄gb̄msn t̄t̄K c̄t̄ ɯk̄K c̄wi l̄ m̄m̄ ɯbeʔʔZ nb| tḡni āb̄m̄v evsj v̄t̄ki GKRb AvBbR̄x̄ ɯQ̄tj b| GQ̄vov ɯZ̄v̄b ɯeʔf̄b̄æmsM̄v̄t̄bi m̄v̄t̄ R̄v̄OZ ɯQ̄tj b| (evsj v̄t̄ki b̄vix P̄wi Z̄v̄eav̄b, m̄vC̄ v̄ R̄v̄ḡv̄b, c., 158)|

ē i āb̄m̄v Avnḡ

1924 m̄tj i 3 gv̄P̄Kj KvZiq RbʔM̄h̄Y K̄tib| ēvev ʔmq̄ Av̄j̄ ḡʔv̄w̄ i l̄ gv̄ ʔanq̄ v̄ gv̄nḡȳv LvZ̄b| 1963 m̄tj XvKv ɯek̄t̄ē ʔvj q t̄t̄K i v̄ōt̄ēAv̄t̄b ɯZ̄K ɯM̄M̄ j v̄f K̄tib| 1954 m̄tj K̄w̄qv AvBb c̄wi l̄ t̄t̄K AvBb c̄wi l̄ m̄m̄ ɯbeʔʔZ nb| 1967 m̄tj Avl qv̄gx j x̄M̄ ḡɯɯj v̄ kv̄Lvi m̄f̄v̄t̄b̄T̄x Ges cēv̄k̄l̄b Avl qv̄gx j x̄t̄Mi ḡɯɯj v̄ m̄v̄úw̄i Kv̄i ʔv̄q̄Z̄j cv̄j b K̄tib| ɯZ̄v̄b ḡv̄ʔh̄t̄x AskM̄h̄Y K̄tib| 1974 m̄tj i 25 tḡ AvR̄x̄eb m̄sM̄ḡx ē i āb̄m̄v Avnḡ gZ̄zei Y K̄ti Y| (m̄sM̄ḡx b̄vix h̄t̄M̄ h̄t̄M̄, 2q LÛ, c., 19-22)|

bj̄R̄v̄v̄b ḡj̄nk̄

1925 m̄tj i 22 tḡ ḡk̄v̄ēv̄ t̄Rj vi j v̄j t̄M̄j v̄ v̄bvi Āš̄M̄Z̄ Z̄vi v̄bMi M̄t̄g RbʔM̄h̄Y K̄ti Y| gv̄ t̄eM̄g LvZ̄ḡt̄b̄m̄v I ēvev t̄ḡv̄t̄ AvBq̄ t̄v̄t̄m̄b| K̄j KvZv̄ ɯek̄t̄ē ʔvj q t̄t̄K Gg. G. ɯM̄M̄ j v̄f K̄tib| 1954 m̄tj i ɯbeʔʔb msm̄ m̄m̄ ɯbeʔʔZ nb| 1958 m̄tj ɯZ̄v̄b R̄v̄Z̄m̄st̄Ni m̄vavi Y c̄wi l̄t̄i Aóg Av̄atek̄t̄b t̄h̄v̄M̄ t̄b| 1970 m̄tj Avl qv̄gx j x̄M̄ t̄t̄K m̄si ʔȳZ̄ ḡɯɯj v̄ Avm̄t̄b msm̄ m̄m̄ ɯbeʔʔZ nb| 1971 m̄tj evsj v̄t̄ki Āv̄q̄x mi Kv̄ti i áv̄ḡv̄v̄b i v̄ōt̄ Z̄ ɯm̄v̄t̄ē evsj v̄t̄ki c̄t̄Z̄ mḡ_ʔ Av̄v̄t̄qi t̄Póv K̄tib ɯeʔf̄b̄ǣt̄k̄ N̄t̄i | evsj v̄t̄ki b̄vix c̄M̄v̄Z̄ m̄sN-Gi mn m̄f̄v̄t̄b̄T̄xi ʔv̄q̄Z̄j cv̄j b K̄ti t̄Q̄b| b̄i-R̄v̄v̄b ḡj̄nk̄ 1j v̄ t̄m̄t̄P̄v̄t̄ 2003 gZ̄zei Y K̄tib| (m̄sM̄ḡx b̄vix h̄t̄M̄ h̄t̄M̄, 2q LÛ, c., 93)|

t̄m̄ij b̄v̄ēby

1926 m̄j 13 Āt̄v̄ei c̄veb̄v̄ kn̄ti RbʔM̄h̄Y K̄tib| gv̄- n̄v̄t̄Riv LvZ̄b| ēvev Lv̄b ēvni ʔ I q̄im̄xg D̄v̄i b Av̄nt̄ḡ c̄veb̄vi c̄t̄Z̄v̄OZ AvBbR̄x̄ I ʔx̄N̄v̄i b c̄veb̄v̄ ɯW̄v̄ōt̄ tevʔWʔ t̄P̄q̄vi ḡv̄b ɯQ̄tj b| 1949 m̄tj ɯe. Gm. ɯm. Ges 1961 m̄tj ɯe. GW̄ cv̄k̄ K̄tib| Aóg t̄k̄w̄ȳt̄Z̄ Aāq̄b Kv̄j x̄b ɯZ̄v̄b c̄M̄v̄Z̄k̄j Q̄v̄l̄ Av̄t̄ ʔvj t̄bi m̄v̄t̄ h̄ʔ nb| h̄ʔ d̄t̄Ui c̄t̄x̄ ɯn̄t̄m̄t̄ē AvBb c̄wi l̄ m̄m̄ ɯbeʔʔZ nb|

1970 mvtj i *ibePtb I b'itci c0_x'ntmte ibePb Ktib| gwphx mn MYZvšK Avf`vj tb Ask
ibttqOb|* 1983 mvtj i 26 *Rvbyvix tmvj bv evbygZzeiY Ktib|* (msM0gx bvi x hšM hšM, 1g LÜ,
c., 105-6)|

bv`i v telMg

*bv`i v telMg 1929 mvtj i 2 AvMó e, ovq Rb#MhY Ktib| eiev Avāy nvi g tPšajx tWcyl
tgvRtóU uQtj b| gv Avvdqv telMg|* 1953 mvtj *XvKv vekje``vj q t_#K Bsti Rx mivntZ` Gg.G civ
Ktib Ges 1955 mvtj XvKv vekje``vj tqB Aa`vcbv Kti Aemi MhY Ktib| uZvb fvlv Avf`vj tb
mivq Ask tbb Ges Kvi veiy Ktib| Kexi tPšajx Ges gixi tPšajx Zvi eo `B fiB|`rgx tMvj vg
uKewi qv| eZgvtb uZvb Aemi mgq KvUvb eB cto Ges evMvb Kti |* (msM0gx bvi x hšM hšM, tmvj bv
tnvmb I Ab`vb` (m=úv` Z), evsj vt`k bvi x cMvZ msN; XvKv, 1999, c., 52-54)|

W. mydqv LvZb

1931 mvtj i 15 *Rvbyvix jvj gubi nvU tRjvi AvvdZgvi x Dc#Rj vaxb `wY ewik
nvRvix(iebuMvix) M0tg, Rb#MhY Ktib|* 1952 mvtj *XvKv vekje``vj q t_#K Gg.G covi mgq uZvb
fvlv Avf`vj tb mivq fvtē Ask MhY Ktib|* 1953 mvtj *uZvb Gg.G. vM0 jvf Ktib|* 1961 mvtj
*XvKv vekje``vj tqi ukýv I Mtel Yv Bbv= uDU t_#K uZvb Gg.GW vM0 Ges 1965 mvtj hš i vtóí
KtjvivtWv vekje``vj q t_#K W±tiU vM0 jvf Ktib|* 1966 mvtj *XvKv vekje``vj tqi ukýv I
Mtel Yv Bbv= uDU thvM`vb Kti uQtj b|* (bvi x cMvZtZ XvKv vekje``vj q I ti vtKqv nj, c., 76)

mydqv Avntg`

1932 mvj 20 *btf=† XvKv Rb# MhY Ktib| eiev vPricvZ tgrt Beñig| gv- telMg
jydbtbQv|* 1950 mvtj *XvKv vekje``vj tq fivZ`nb Ges 1952 mvtj i fvlv Avf`vj tb mivq Ask
tbb| XvKv vekje``vj tq Bmjvtgi BvZnv mfvitM Aa`vcbvq ibttqvRZ uQtj b Ges evsj vt`tki
RvZixq Aa`vctKi` vqZ; cvj b KitiQb|* (msM0gx bvi x hšM hšM, 1g LÜ, c., 145-56)|

mviv`Zdž

*uZvb iscy Kvi gvB#Kj KtjR t_#K B>UvignvM/tqU cvkKti XvKv vekje``vj tq Bmjvtgi
BvZnv mfvitM fivZ`nb|* 1952 mvtj i *fvlv Avf`vj tbi GKRb KgxuQtj b| Kgxuñtmte uZvb
tcv=vi tjLv I`ž Ktj#Ri Qvix`i Avf`vj tb ibttq Avmv BZ`v` KvR Kitzb|* (evnvbē fvlv
Kb`v, Zžvi Avāym m=úv` Z)|

gvZqv tPšajx

1942 mvtj i 30 *Rly gv`vixcy knži gvZqv tPšajx Rb#MhY Ktib|`civK` ibeivm ucti vRcy
tRjvi bvvRicy`bvvi gvUfv½v BDvbq#bi gvngyKv`v M0tg| gv- bivRvnb telMg, eiev- gvndvib*

Avn=§ tPŠajx, tckvq cvj k Auidmvi | BtWb Ktj R t_#K ue.Gm.um cvk Kti 1963 tZ XvKv uekne`vj tq cOYue`v uefvfM Gg.Gm.um. tZ fuz`nb| BtWb Ktj R Aa`vqb Kvj xb QvI BDwbq#bi m#_ h# uQ#j b| 1963-64 m#tj QvI BDwbq#bi e`vbt#i tivtKqv ntj i wfiuc Ges 1964 m#tj WvKmy mvari Y m#uv`K ube#PZ nb| 1965 m#tj QvI BDwbq#bi u#av uef³ ntj tmwftqZ cŠk c`v#bj wmwte cwi uPZ Astk WvKmy uRGm guZqv tPŠajx tcm#WbU ube#PZ nb| 1962 m#tj t_#K 1971 chŠic#Zu MYZwŠK RvZxq Av#`vj #b #bZ`vbxq `wqZi cvj b Kti b| mBg RvZxq msm#`i gvbbxq Lv` I Kw.l.gŠxi c`I Aj sKZ.Kti b| eZ#v#b Avl qvqx j#Mi m#_ h# Av#Qb| (msM#gx bvi x h#M h#M, 1g L#U, c., 175-177)|

gv#j Kv teMg

gv#j Kv teMg 1944 m#tj i 3gvP#RbW#Y Kti b| e#v Av#j Av#RR Ges gv dnuig`v teMg| Zu# e#v BbKvg U#` i Auidmvi uQ#j b| tguUK cv#ki ci 1960 m#tj uZub BtWb g#nj v Ktj #R fuz`nb| 1962 m#tj uZub B#Uv ugwW#qU cvk Kti, e#svq Avm#G fuz`nb| Gici Gg.G I c#i uc.GBP.uv uW#M# jvf Kti b| QvI Av#`vj b t_#K i i# Kti i vR%uZK, mvs`uZK, MYZwŠK I gvbe#Kvi Av#`vj #b gv#j Kv teMg 1962 m#tj t_#K mu#q fvte h# uQ#j b| (msM#gx bvi x h#M h#M, 1g L#U, c., 180)|

kvgmly b#vvi B#Kv

1949 m#tj i 1j v Rvbgvvi g#Y#M# tRj vi imivR# Lv#_v#vi Avexi c#ov M#tj, b#vvi evot#Z RbW#Y Kti b kvgmly b#vvi B#Kv| e#v Av#j Md#`K`vi Ges gv m#udqv LvZ#| 1969 m#tj i, MYAf#v# Ges 1971 m#tj i g#v# g#h# Ask M#Y Kti b| G mgq uZub XvKv uekne`vj tqi QvI x uQ#j b Ges QvI j #M Ki #Zb| eZ#v#b uZub uewfb#mgvR #mevgj-K KgR#v# I g#nj v g#h# msm#`i m#% h# i #q#Qb| (msM#gx bvi x h#M h#M, 1g L#U, c., 229)|

dwi`v Lvbg mvKx

dwi`v Lvbg mvKx 1949 m#tj i 18 tm#P#f ei`bvq Rb#M#Y Kti b| e#v Av#j Av#j g, gv j#ydb b#vvi teMg| Av#j Av#j g mi K#vi P#K#i Ki #Zb| dwi`v Lvbg mvKx 1971 m#tj fvi #Z hvb Ges AvMi Zjvq uewfb#KgR#v# Ask M#Y Kti b| tM#j v #UB#s Gi c#k#Y ub#q#Q#j b| uZub eZ#v#b i vRb#Zi m#% h# i #q#Qb| Zu#`rgx g#ng#y# i ng#v tej vtqZ g#h# i mgq ue.Gj .Gd Gi #bvqLv# x tRj v Kgv#vi uQ#j b| (msM#gx bvi x h#M h#M, 1g L#U, c., 237)|

ukwi b evbyguZj

ukwi b evbyguZj 1950 m#tj i tm#P#f c#ev# tRjvq Rb#M#Y Kti b| e#v uek# i vRb#Zie` tgv#v#Š kv#Rv#v#b, gv i vRb#Zie` I m#teK m#sm` tm#j b# evby ukwi b evbyc#ev#

GWI qvW©Ktj tR Abvtm©fivZ©nb| GLvfb Aa"qbiZ Ae"vq cvebv tRjv kvLv QvI BDvfbqtb
mfvcvZ vQtb| 1972 mtj, mvevml/qvvi cvk Kti, "j vi kxc vbtq tmvvtqZ BDvfbqtb hvb| tmLv
t_k BvZnvtm Gg.G I GWfvY tKvm©m"vbaKti 1980 mtj, t`tk vdti Avtmb| vZvb GLbI bvi x
Avt`vj tbi mt_ RvZ| (msMvq bvi x hvM hvM, 1g LÚ, c., 258)|

Zvi vgb veve

1955 mtj Rb#MvY Kti b| "cvi K vbev m KvMvMg| Zvi vZv GKRb KI.K vQtb Ges gvZv
Kjmg vfvvE Kti RvveKv ARv Ki tZb| 1971 mtj i "vxbZv hvx vZvb mqvq fite Ask MvY
Ktib| 1972 mtj 426 Rb exicvZvKi GKRb vntmte gtbvbxZ nb| (evsjv`tki bvi x
Pvi Zvveavb, mvC`v Rvqv, c.,74)|

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 tgv³vdv Kvgvj, fvl v Avt³ vj b, m³vZ³vj k t³tk evqvb³ XvKv evsj vt³ k tKv-Acvt³ i W³F e³kt³mv³W³,
 1987|

tgRi (Ae:) i wdKž Bmj vg uc Gm um, GKvĒti i gny³hyx GMv³ti uU tm±ti i weRq Kvnbx, XvKv: BDib f³vm uU tch³ ij ug³tUW, 1991|

tgmevn Kvgvj I Ckvbz P³meZ³, bvtPvtj i KI.K we³t³ in mgKvj xb i vRbxwZ I Bj v³gĀ, XvKv: gny³hyx I evsj vt³ k M³teI Yv Bb³u³UDU, 2001|

tg³ni³ b³mvn tgi x, evsj vt³ tki ³va³xbZvi msM³g I bvi x gny³thv³xv, XvKv: b³vk³b³vj cveij tKk³bm, 2000|

tgtv Ave`jy AvDqij, evsj v³fv³vi BwZnm, XvKv: Avnt³±³ cveij vks nvd³m, 1983|

tgvn³v³±³ miv`z Avj x, i b³v³z³b³ 71 miv³vk³u³ epr h³x, XvKv: evsj v evR³vi, 2005|

tgmevn Kvgvj, Avm³v` I EbmĒti i Mb Afz³ vb, XvKv: weZ³Y, 1986|

tgnbv³ n VvKžZv, evsj vt³ tki gny³hyx ³š³zi c³vi³xi, AvBb I m³vij k tK³t³ i etj u³b 1996|

tgvn³v³±³ di n³v`, EbmĒti i Mb Afj³ vb, XvKv: RvZxq m³vn³Z³ c³K³vk³bx, 1989|

tgv³ b³v Kvgvj, miv³Z³P³vij k t³ t³K evq³vb³ XvKvt evsj vt³ k tKv-Ac³ti u³f e³ t³m³mv³Bu³ ij :, 1987|

i Zb j vj P³meĒ³(m³ú³v³ Z), fv³ v Av³t³ vj t³bi `ij j cĀ, XvKv: evsj v GKv³tW³g, 2000|

i wdKž Bmj vg, GKv³ d³ž³t³K ev³vt³ev etj, XvKv: BDib f³vm uU tch³ ij ug³tUW, 1983|

i wdKž Bmj vg (m³ú³v³ Z), m³š³ mg³ti ev³z³vij, XvKv: AvM³v³g³ c³K³vk³bx, 1999|

i e³v³ b³v³ w³te`x (m³ú³v³ Z), evsj vt³ tki HwZnm³K msM³g I gny³hyx: c³ú³m³z³K `ij j cĀ, XvKv: RvZxq M³š³ c³K³vk³b, 1998|

ti YvP³meZ³, fvi Zxq Av³t³ vj t³b KvgD³ib ÷ t³gt³qiv (1940-1950), K³vij K³vZv : gb³xl v M³š³vj q, 1980|

ti vt³Kqv miv³lv³ qvZ t³nv³t³mb, ³š³ Rv³zi AebwZ : g³vZ³P³ž, ti vt³Kqv i P³bvej x, XvKv: evsj v GKv³tW³g³, 1973|

j ydi i ngvb (m³ú³v³ Z), kn³x` Rb³bx Rv³nv³b³iv Bgv³ ³š³i KM³š³, XvKv: Aemi c³K³vk³b³v, 1995|

j ydi i ngvb w³Ub, evsj vt³ tki ³va³xbZv msM³g³ BwZnm, XvKv: mgq c³K³vk³b, 1992|

tj w³bb AvR³v`, EbmĒti i MYA³f³ vb: iv³±, mg³vR I i vRbxwZ, XvKvt BDib f³vm uU tch³, 1997|

kI KZ Av³v t³nv³t³mb, gny³hyx I bvi x, XvKv: I mgvb M³v³ c³K³vk³bx, 1999|

kvgm³y Avj g m³v³`, ev³z³vj x R³xe³t³ GKž, XvKv: K³vK³j x c³K³vk³bx, 1996|

kvgm³š³v³gvb Lv³b Ges K³j v³Yx t³Nv³l, MYm³z³xZ, XvKv: evsj v GKv³tW³g³, 1985|

kvn³w³ qvi K³uei (m³ú³v³ Z), GKvĒti i ³š³mn ³š³Z, XvKvt c³g c³K³vk, 1999, GKvĒti i NvZK `vj vj w³g³ Kvg³U|

kvn³xb Av³v³vi (m³ú³v³ Z), bvi xi GKvĒti i I h³x cieZ³K³ Kvnbx, XvKvt AvBb, kv³vij m tK³±³;

2001|

tkL nvdRj ingvb, evsj v`tki Af`tqi tcljvcl, XvKv: tRvrvKx cKvkbx, 1998|

tkL Avāy gvb, gyp h̄x h̄y i vR`i evl̄ij xi Ae`vb, XvKv: tR`vrYv crev̄ij kv̄m, ©1998|

miv`v Rvngvb, evsj v`tki bvi x Pvi Zv̄veavb, XvKv: evsj v`k tj vK msm`, 1998|

mivn`v telMg, h̄x h̄x bq gvm, XvKv: mivnZ` cKvK, 1996|

mivRj Bmj vg m`úw`Z, evsj v`tki BvZnm (cŭg LŊ), XvKv: evsj v`k GvKqvUK tmv̄m̄vBv, 2000|

mK̄qvi vek̄m, (m`úw`Z), evsj v`tki fvl v Av`vj b I Kj KvZvi msev` cĪ, XvKv: evsj v GKvWgx, 1985|

m̄dqv Kvgv̄j, GKvĒi i Wv̄tqix, XvKv: RvMvZ cKvkbx, 1991|

tm̄vj bv tnv̄mb, EbmĒi i MYAv`vj b, XvKv: evsj v GKvWgx, 1985|

tm̄vj bv tnv̄mb (m`úw`Z), msMŊx bvi x h̄M h̄M, XvKv: evsj v`k bvi x cMvZ msN, 1999|

nvmvb Av̄bv̄qvi, fvl v t`tk gyp h̄y, AvZvDi ingv̄tbi 7vU MĒ: cv̄t̄Ki m̄gKiY, XvKv: Fv̄x cKvK, 1998|

nvmvb nvdRj ingvb, GK̄k tdēqvi msKj b, XvKv: cv̄cĪ, 1953|

nvmvb nvdRj i ngvb (m`úw`Z), evsj v`tki `v̄axbZv h̄y: `vj j cĪ, XvKv: MY cRvZš̄ evsj v`k mi Kvi, Z` gš̄vj q, 1982|

úgv̄q̄ AvRv`, fvl v Av`vj b: mivnZ`K cUfvg, XvKv: v̄ BDv̄b f̄v̄m̄v̄ tcl̄h̄ vj v̄ḡt̄UW, 1990|

tnbv`vk, `š̄Zgq GKvĒi, XvKv: RvZxq mivnZ` cKvkbx, 1991|

j̄ydi i ngvb (m`úw`Z) knx` Rbbx Rv̄nv̄v̄v Bgv̄g `š̄i KMĒ, XvKv: Aemi cKvkbv 1995|

k̄v̄m̄i qvi K̄ie i, MYAv`vj Z I Rv̄nv̄v̄v Bgv̄g, XvKv: Pvī v̄j v̄c cKvK 2012|

Zv̄nv̄g`v mivC`v, knx` Rbbx Rv̄nv̄v̄v Bgv̄g, XvKv: evl̄ij x mgMŊRv`N̄i 2004|

tm̄vj bv tnv̄mb I gvm̄ȳv̄v̄v̄, bvi xi v̄vgZv̄q̄b: i vRb̄m̄Z I Av`vj b, XvKv gvl j v eĒ`vm 2003|

t̄gv̄Zv̄v̄v̄ tnv̄mb ḡv̄ēy, h̄y v̄ t̄bi K_v, K̄vj v̄ v̄ebq mivnZ` msm`, 2007

evsj v cĪ

Avj g ZvR telMg Q̄ie, ōgv̄p̄ h̄x i `š̄ZPvi YŊ, gyp h̄x beg tm̄i `š̄i v̄bKv, gyp̄ t̄h̄v̄x v̄ v̄eRq v̄ḡj b 2000, XvKv: c., 23-24|

Av̄ēȳt̄v̄t̄ t`tj̄v̄qvi tnv̄mb, ōgv̄p̄ h̄y I BvZnm v̄e f̄v̄MŊ, `š̄i b̄xKv, 1992, v̄eRq v̄ em msL`v, BvZnm v̄e f̄v̄M, XvKv vek̄je`vj q, c., 9-11|

MvR̄x̄Dj nK, GK̄k i msKj b 1980: `š̄ZPvi Y, XvKv: evsj v GKvWgx, 1980|

ৱ. G. i kx` I gwnDii`b Avng` (m=úw` Z), GKkzi msKj b, XvKv: eivj v GKvWgx, 1956|
 diRj v Av³vi tRvObv, 0`vaxbZv msMõt g bvi x mgvRi fvgKv0, eivj v`tk QvT BDibqb, tK>`k QvT x
 UG, 1993|
 iwdKz Bmjvg, 0`vaxbZv msMõt g XvKv vekte`vj tqi fvgKv0, tiveevi, 14 gvP©27 msL`v, 29
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AcKvKZ Avfm>`f`

eivj vi mgvR I bvi x t 1905-1947, uc. GBP. ৱ ৱৱMõi Avfm>`f`Mtel K Avtiwdb mjyZubv,
 Buznm vefiM, Rvrv/zi bMi vekte`vj q, mvfvi, XvKv, ৱ†m=† 2009|

eivj v`tki bvi x Dbq†bi aviv t 1947-1995, uc. GBP. ৱ ৱৱMõi Avfm>`f`Mtel K gxi Rvnx`v
 bvRxb, Buznm vefiM, Rvrv/zi bMi vekte`vj q, mvfvi, XvKv, Rly 2009|

7. Avcbvi eveli cwi evṭi i gvmK Avq KZ uQj ?
8. uwwfbreAvṭ`vj b, msMṭg (52, 54,66 ev 69) Avcbvi evel ev Avcbvi cwi evṭi i tKD (`v`v, PivPv, dzv, dz,yev Ab` tKD) i vR%buzK msMVb ev mvs`uzK Avṭ`vj ḡbi mṭ_ RuoZ uQṭj b uK bv? RuoZ _vKṭj Zvṭ`i mṭúK@e`wi Z ej ḡ Ges G e`vcti Zvṭ`i mṭ_ Avcbvi mṭúK@Kgb uQj tmUv ej ḡ| H mgṭqi Avcbvi eveli cwi evṭi i tKD XivKvq PivKvḡ KiṭZb uKbv? Kiṭj Zvi mṭ_ mṭúK@Kgb uQj Ges Zvi KvQ t_ṭK uK aiṭbi LeivLei tctZb|

kṭi Kḡ mṭúK@ Z`t

1. Avcbvi `ṭgxi bvg uK? KZ eQi eqṭm Avcbvi uetq nṭquQj? Avcbvi `ṭgxi Mṭgi emwo tKv_vq?
2. Avcib kṭi i emwoṭZ/`ṭgxi Kg@ṭj _vKṭZb? ue`wi Z ej ḡ|
3. H mgṭq Avcbvi `ṭgxi cwi emwi K Z`|

μ. Bs	bvg	eqm	mṭúK	vj ½	%emwK Ae`v	uKḡv	tckv

4. `ṭgx RmweZ AvṭQb uKbv?
5. RmweZ _vKṭj Zvi kvwi ixK Ae`v tKgb?
6. eZḡvṭb uZib uKQyKṭi b uKbv?
7. cṭe@Zib tKvb KgRvṭÜi mṭ_ hḡ uQṭj b uKbv _vKṭj ue`wi Z ej ḡ
8. uetqi cṭe@Zvi mṭ_ Avcbvi cwi uPZ uQj uKbv?
9. hwi` cwi Pq _vṭK Zṭe KZ w`ṭbi?
10. KZw`b cṭi Avcbvṭ`i uetq nq?
11. uetqi mgq Avcib tKvb tkbṭZ covi bv KiṭZb?
12. Avcbvi `ṭgx ev Zvi cwi evṭi i tKD uwwfbreAvṭ`vj b, msMṭg (52, 54,66 ev 69) RuoZ uQṭj b uK bv? RuoZ _vKṭj Zvṭ`i mṭúK@e`wi Z ej ḡ Ges G e`vcti Zvṭ`i mṭ_ Avcbvi mṭúK@Kgb uQj tmUv ej ḡ| H mgṭqi Avcbvi eveli cwi evṭi i tKD XivKvq PivKvḡ KiṭZb uKbv? Kiṭj Zvi mṭ_ mṭúK@Kgb uQj Ges Zvi KvQ t_ṭK uK aiṭbi LeivLei tctZb|
13. Avcbvi kṭi i tckv uK uQj? PivKḡRmwe nṭj KZ UvKv teZb tctZb|

8. *gry³hy Avt`vj tbi mvt_ hy³ uQtj b Ggb me L'vZbigrv ev Avtj wPZ e'w³e#MP mvt_ Avcbvi e'w³MZ thvMvthvM uQj uKbv? _vKtj ue`hvi Z ej ly|*
9. *uK Kvi tY ce³evsj v Rbmvavi Y 71 Gi gry³ Avt`vj tbi `ZtùZ³Fvte AskMhY Kti |*
10. *gry³Avt`vj tbi mivsew`Kiv ev msev`cI uK ai tbi figKv cvj b Kti uQj? ue`hvi Z ej ly|*
11. *gry³ Avt`vj tbi mgq Ab`vb` gva`g (ti wVI, tUvj wFkb) uK ai tbi figKv cvj b Ki Z ue`hvi Z ej ly?*
12. *1971 Gi Amn thvM Avt`vj tbi Avcbvi / bvi x mgvtRi tKvb figKv AvtQ uK ?*
13. *1971 Gi gry³htx Avcbvi / bvi x mgvtRi tKvb figKv AvtQ uK ?*
14. *gvm wFwEK/ mivmwi htx AskMhY ubtq Avcbvi figKv ?*
15. *1971 Gi gry³htxi ci ewZRvtj Avcbvi / bvi x mgvtRi tKvb figKv AvtQ uK ?*
16. *1971 Gi gry³htxi ci ewZRvtj Avcib tKvb tKvb mslMVtbi mvt_ hy³ uQtj b, uK `wqtZ; uQtj b Ges Gt¶tG Avcbvi KgRvU Ges figKv uK uQj ?*

- *ivR%wZK*
- *mvgwRK*
- *mvs`wZK*
- *tckvMZ*
- *bvi x mslVb Ges*
- *Ab`vb`*

Ab`vb` t

1. *wewfbwAvt`vj b, mslMvtgi dtj th `xax evsj vt`tki Rb¶nq tmB mcq:tj v ev`ewwqZ ntqtQ uKbv? nu ev br ntj ue`hvi Z ej ly|*
2. *tKgb t`k cZ`vkv Ktib ue`hvi Z ej ly? fweI`Z cRtb¶ KvtQ Avcbvi uKQyejvi _vKtj AbMhceR ej ly?*

GKvĒīīī NvZK `vj j vbgj Kugūi
AvñqK Gi mnthMh` i Dci
ckgij v

cŭg Ask (e^{w3}MZ)

- 1| Avcbvi bvg ũK?
- 2| Avcbvi WvK bvg AvtQ ũK bv? _vKtj ũK|
- 3| eZgūb ũKvbn|
- 4| `vqx ũKvbn|
- 5| Acbvi eZgūb eqm KZ?
- 6| `vaxZvi cteŹK Ki tZb?
- 7| `vaxZv htx AskMhY Kti ũQtj b ũK bv? nū/bv
nū ntj hy m^utKŹKQzej ũ|
- 8| `vaxZv htxi ci tKvb tckvq ũbtqũRZ ũQtj b?
- 9| eZgūb ũKQZKti b ũKbv Ki tj ũe `hwi Z ej ũ|

2q Ask

- 1| tMvj vg AvhgŹK RvgŹZ Bmj vgx `tj i Avgxi tNvl bv Ki vq tKb evsj vt`tk Rb ũetjvtei mŹcvZ nq?
- 2| 101 m`m` ũeŹkó NvZK `vj vj vbgj- Kugūi tKb Rvnbvi v BvgŹgi tbZtZjMũWZ nq?
- 3| meŹŹZŹmŹg NvZK `vj vj vbgj- Kugūi AvnevqK tKb Rvnbvi v BvgŹtK Ki v nq?
- 4| 1992 mvtj gŹhŹ tPZbv ev`évbq I GKvĒīīī NvZK `vj vj vbgj- RvZxq mgšŹ Kugūi Mũtb Rvnbvi v Bvgv Gi ũK ai tbi fŹgKv i vtLb Ges GB DŹĹk` mdj Kivi Rb` ũZũb ũK Kti ũQtj b?
- 5| MYAv`vj tZi ũePvti i ũb mKj ũePvti Ki Dcũ`ũZtZ ũePvi KvhŹtqũQj ũKbv? ũe `hwi Z ej ũ|
- 6| MYAv`vj tZ tMvj vg AvhŹgi ũei tŹx mŹbũv ó ũK ũK AvfŹthũM Avbn nq|
- 7| MYAv`vj tZ tMvj vg AvhŹgi ũei tŹx AvbxZ AvfŹthũM cŹmũbZ ntqũQj ũK?
- 8| MYAv`vj tZ ũePvti i ivq ũK nq? GB ivq KvhŹi Kivi Rb` ũK e`e`v tbqv nq?
- 9| Rvnbvi v Bvgv GKvĒīīī NvZK `vj vj Kugūi AvnevqK nI qvtZ ZrKũvj b mi Kvi tKvb e`e`v ũbtqũQj ũKbv? ũe `hwi Z ej ũ|
- 10| MYAv`vj tZi ivtq th MYAv`vj b msMũWZ nq Zvi tŹŹtZ mi Kvti i mŹ½ ũeti vax `tj i tKvb PŹŹ ntqũQj ũKbv? ntj ũK Zv ũe `hwi Z ej ũ|

- 11/ GKvĒġi i NvZK `vj vj KvguUi mgvteġk ZrKvuj b mi Kvi KZġ tKvb ubhġZb Kiv ntqūQj
 uKbv, ntj uK aiġbi? ZvġZ Rvrvbiv Bgvġgi Dci tKvb ubhġZb ntqūQj uKbv?
- 12/ MY Av`vj Z hvvcivaxġ`i weiġx tKvb Z`šKġiūQj uK bv? Kiġj Z`šKvguUi iitcvU
 i`ġqūQj uK bv? D³ iitcvU msivġB weeiY i`b|
- 13/ Z`šKvguUi cāvb ūQġj b tK?
- 14/ Rvrvbiv Bgvġ Gi weiġx ivóġ`ġnZvi gvgj v Kiv nq tKvb mġj Ges cĒ`vri Ki nq tKvb
 mġj |
- 15/ hvvcivaxġ`i weiġx cāvb msMġ Kivi Rb` tKD uK wfbagZ tcvl b KġiūQġj b? wfbagZ tcvl b
 Kiġj Kiv Ges tKb KġiūQġj b|
- 16/ NvZK `vj vj ubgġ KvguU Ges MYAv`vj Z Z_v GB Avġ`vj b m=úġK[©]Avcbvi e`w³MZ AwfgZ
 uK?