

বাংলাদেশ শ্রমিক সংগঠিত

প্রবণতা ও প্রকরণ

শান্তনু চৌধুরী



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tĕĕqvi 2015

ʋZq cĕk
tĕĕqvi 2016

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Awfartb nj ý misewi KZvi GKUv mnR msAv t`qv ntqtQ Gfite,
 Dishonest in editorial comment and presentation of news especially in sacrificing truth for sensationalism.
A`tdwWwKkbwiz ejv ntqtQ,
 Journalism that is based upon sensationalism and crude exaggeration.
Bswj k wKkbwiz nj ý misewi KZvi A`Kiv ntqtQ,
 The Type of Journalism that relies on Sensationalism and Lurid exaggeration to attract readers.

Gme msAv wuj tq Avgiv Ggb misewi KZvKB nj ý misewi KZvi evS, hv cvKf`i AvKó.Kivi Rb`Ges PrAj`mpoi Dfifk`AwziwAZ I w`v Lei cwi tekB Kti| Avtgmi Kivi wDBqK`qvi`l wDBqK`Rvbf`cwi Kivi KiUwZ evortbvi Rb`GB nj ý misewi KZvi joiBtq AeZvY`ntqtQj| tkl chSf GB misewi KZv`i agvI cvVK AvKó.Kivi gta`B mgiex`_vtKib| cwi YZ ntqtQ w`v Pri, Avzi Ab, Z`_`weKwZtZ| hv cPb AvNvZ KtiQtQ misewi KZvi gj-tpZvrtZB|
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2014`mvtj`i`18B`AvM`÷`GKUv``wbK`cúg`côvq`wz`Kj`vg`Rto`GKUv`Lei`cKiv`Kti|`LeiU`i`wktiv`vrtg`:`Ócávb`g`S`i`bvg`f`w`Z`q`GK`Q`I`AvacZ`GK`c`v`k`K`g`R`Z`I,`wz`v`b`c`v`k`ewnbxtZ`Zvni`Kti`QtQ`A`N`v`m`Z`w`v`j`w`M`|`cwi`Kivi`wktiv`vrtg`B`tev`Sv`hvq,`GKRb`c`v`k`K`g`R`Z`I`Pvi`Inbb`Kiv`ntqtQ`cúZte`buUtz|`tKv`bv`c`v`k`K`g`R`Z`I`we`it`x`tKv`bv`Awf`th`v`M`_`v`ktj`Zv`cwi`Kv`cKiv`Kiti`ZB`cti|`wKs`cwi`KwU`gtb`v`fve`_`úo`nq`tkl`j`v`BbuUtz|`c`v`k`ewnbxtZ`A`N`v`m`Z`w`v`j`w`M`etj`mrv`cúw`vq`KZv`KB`Dmt`K`f`qvi`tPov`Kiv`ntqtQ|`cwi`KwU`cti``jL`cKiv`I`18B`AvM`÷`B`w`K`j`v`te`cKiv`KZ`msev`wU`cúZ`v`v`v`i`v`wktiv`vrtg`GKUv`cúZte`b`cKiv`Kti`m`úv`tki`brtg|`Zvt`ejv`nq,`ÓKZ`ey`w`eb`qvi`mvt`_``Kvivi`Kiti`Q`w`it`cv`U`w`j`Lv,`m`úv`bv`I`cKiv`tki`ty`f`I`h`j`ó`mve`av`Zv`Aej`=b`Kiv`nqvb|`G`Q`ov`w`it`cv`U`w`j`cKiv`tki`ci`Abv`Ú`v`b`f`Lv`tM`Q`Gi`A`tb`K`Z`_`B`mtZ`i`I`ci`cúZv`ó`Z`bq`|`cwi`KwU`ÓGKUv`w`et`kl`m`cúv`v`v`q`i`m`v`v`b`Z`m`m`f`i`agv`R`q`Abv`v`Z`t`Z`Av`N`v`Z`f`qvi`gt`Zv`k`á`c`q`v`M`nl`qv``jL`cKiv`Kti`ó|`misewi`KZvi`b`v`w`Z`Abv`v`q`v`tKv`bv`Lei`cKiv`Kivi`Avf`MB`Gme`w`l`q`w`et`e`P`bv`q`tb`qvi`K`v`|`cwi`KwU`Gi`Avf`M`1990`mvtj`i`1jv`b`f`=f`ÓAvgiv``jL`Z`v`wktiv`vrtg`G`ait`bi`GKUv`Lei`cwi`tekb`Kti`wJ`|`Zvt`Z`ejv`nq:

MZKij` (31`tk`A`±ve`i) `ev`v`v`i`tnW`j`v`b`v`i`ÓDM`b`S`x`w`v`jv`Athva`vq`ev`e`ix`gmv`R``f`f`t`Z`Q`Ó`kxl`R`msev`ÓAvgiv`ggf`h`Z`kxl`R`cúg`côvq`cKiv`KZ`w`et`kl`m`úv`Kv`qtZ`th`Z`_`cwi`tekb`Kiv`ntqtQ`Zv`m`úv`Y`w`f`v`E`nx`b`|`Avgiv`G`t`jv`cKiv`tki`Rb`Avsh`i`K`f`ite``jL`Z`I`j`v`g`v`c`Ó`q`G`Q`ov`t`c`f`i`i`wb`P`Avj`vni`N`fi`nvg`jvi`w`et`x`f`R`v`v`t`Nv`Yv`Avnet`b`wktiv`vrtg`Ges`G`m`úv`w`K`Z`w`ee`v`Z`cKiv`tki`Rb`Avgiv`Avsh`i`K`f`ite``jL`cKiv`Kiw`Q`|`fi`el`t`Z`msev`cKiv`kv`vq`mZ`K`Z`v`Aej`=b`i`wb`Q`Z`v`f`qv`nj`N`m`úv`K`O`

RbMtYi`gta`we`áw`sl`Zvni`A`_`ev`Ab``tKv`bv`Amr`Dfifk`B`G`ait`bi`msev`cwi`tekb`Kiv`ntqtQj`GtZ`tKv`bv`m`v`n`tb`|`misewi`KZvi`e`tj`tKv`bv`gntj`i`cPvi`Yv`vniw`Z`vni`ntqtQ`MYGva`j|

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AvtM t`tKB tmLvb Ae`yb KiuQtj b? AvvKvsk tytI Rbv tmI, hviv G
NUbv, tjv NuUqtQb ZvivB AvtM t`tK dUv-mivewi K`i Rmbtg
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tUuj wFkfb i wbtRi tZjv dZUR wntmteB| G, tjv tK tKvb mivewi KZvi
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v e Z K e v t e t h v e k R b v b m g m v i A e Z v i Y v K t i Z v G i v e v f b e A v i c v Z
D c v v t b i m g v t j v P b v i t e j v q f v l v M Z v t K i m t z h v | A v i Z v B n q t Z v
m i s e v K Z v i m g v t j v P b v i a v i v q G v U G K a i t b i e v o v Z g j - t c t Z c v t i |

v K S G m e v e t e P b v i A v t M, G U K z e t j i v L t Z P v B t h, k Z v a K e Q i A v t M
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m g v t j v P b v i g j - K v m t K v m v n t m t e R v i v v K t Z t l l | G L b g t b n t Z c v t i
k Z v a K e Q i A v t M i t m B c y t b v m g m v i t R i t U t b A v g v t i A v R t K i m g t q
G t m G i c l l m v Z K Z v K Z v i v U K m B ? Z v i t P t q l Z v r c h e Y v e l q n t Q A v R
A v g v t i t t k n j y m i s e v K Z v t K A v g i v K x f v t e m s A v m q Z K i e ? v K S
A v g v t i e v e n t Q, G t t k e Z v t b t h a v i v q m i s e v K Z v i P P P j t Q Z v
m s e v g v a t g v b t q v R Z K v g v i g v t S l G g b m t t n i D t K K t i t Q t h,
A v m t j B A v g i v m o z m i s e v K Z v i c l l Z v b v a Z j K i v Q v K b v l Z t e n j y
m i s e v K Z v i v e c v c, A S Z c t q l G K v U m g m v v n t m t e, A v g v t i
m i s e v K Z v i t q t i t h o m m t K v m t v o K v i t q t Q Z v i e v i c v t i m e e Z K v t i v
v o g Z t b B | v e t k l K t i M Z K t q K e Q i t t k n j y m i s e v K Z v i c e Y Z v
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m v c l l Z K K v t j c l c v l K v q A v g i v o A c o D c m M e e n v t i i Q o v Q m o j q t
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g j - a v i v u g v l l v q v i A t b t K B m s e v c v i t e k t b i t q t i G B t k v i m s e v g v a t g i
A v m m v c e Y Z v t K G g b v K o A c - m i s e v K Z v i o e j t Z i b v i v R | Z v i v G t i
j v l l v g v x b l t v v P v i x g t b v f v e t K o m i g v R K A c i v a o e t j B M Y K t i b | d t j
G B a i t b i m i s e v K Z v i v m Z K i c l v e v b t q Z v i v h v i c i b v B k v l z |

A v g v t i i v R b m z i t q t i l o n j y i o c l v e A v t Q | h v l Z v t K A v g i v
o n j y i v R b m z o e v j b v l Z t e A v R K v j c v o g v t t k o f c v - g v m b c v j v U o
e t j G K v U k a P j y A v t Q; G B a i t b i i v R b m z i m t z R b M t Y i A v o m Z K
g v p, t t k i m e v A v i g v b v l i R x e b h v i v g v t b v e b v v K s e v M Y Z s j B Z v v i
t K v t b v m e c K q t b B | G v v n t Q t m B i v R b m z h v i D t i k n t Q o c v l q v i A v U
g v m b c t j k b o l A v g v t i G L v t b l Z z b v g j - K v e P r t i n j y m i s e v K Z v i m t z l
t g v j K m i s e v K Z v i, v m Z K Z v i, R b M t Y i c l l z v q e x Z v e v v m q Z k v j Z v
B Z v v i t K v t b v t h v m t b B | G v v n t Q A v m t j G g b G K a i t b i v o f v v h v i
j q l n t j v c v K e v v k R - t k t Z v i t P r t l i m v g t b g j - v S v t q Z v t K t e v K v
e v t b t b v, Z v t K G g b v K o z v e k l m K i v t b v e v t M j v t b v i t P o v K i v h v t m A v t S
v e k l m K t i b v, v K s e v G g b m e m v g v R K A v P i t Y i d g v v e v K v v e v Z j v t b v
h v A v g v t i i a P i m t z B h v q b v |

G v v A t b K v U v v k v K v c v U v i t v U v i v m t K i o b i v k R v b Z K v i Y o Z t E j
g t Z v t k v b v q | Z v i a v i Y v A b y n t i, g Z v v k R c e v m v U v n t Q G g b G K v U v v e l q
h v m y K s k t j A v g v t i c h v A v U K v q | K v i Y A v g i v m i z v R v b b v A v m t j A v g i v
K x c o v Q e v R v b v Q, e v R v b t j l e s t Z c v i v Q b v A v g i v h v R v b t Z c v i v Q Z v
A v m t j B f i g v; v K S Z v i c i l A v g i v t m U v B c o v Q e v i b v Q, t K v t b v D c v q t b B |

GidU GKvšifite evsjv`tk gj-avivi misew`KZvi cvkvcnk GKtki`Yi msev`gva`tg Onj y misew`KZv0 PPFi miv`c`u`ZK bgbv I Zvi c`e`YZvi aib e`v`L`v`-`m`ek`k`u`j`Yi c`u`vm gv| GB mungZ mshvM I AvlZvi gvtSI misew`KZvi mKoznKQzAmberh`ielq bb-GKvtWigK ev Abibv`g`m`b`K Fiv`z`Z Avtj v`PZ n`at`Q mvariY cvv`Kti tMv`Pti Avvi c`u`q`v`r`b`|

BDt`i`v`c` 1475 m`L`-`v`ta` c`u`g` c`y`K c`K`v`m`Z nevi ci msev`c`I bvtgi GB thvM`h`v`M gva`gi hviv`i`a`n`z` tj`t`M`Oj Av`iv` A`S`Z `B` k`o`e`Q`i`i` KvQv`Kv`Q| cieZ`x`m`v`to` w`z`b` k`o`e`Q`i`i` b`b`v` Pov`B`-`D`r`iv`B` cvi` Kti Ebiesk k`z`t`ki` t`k`l` G`im` m`sev`c`I` t`c`q`t`Q` Zvi` t`c`k`v`i`i` j`c`| Zte msev`c`I`m`k`f`i` t`c`k`v`i`m`Z`i`| emv`m`R`K` c`u`Z`h`m`Z`v`i` m`f`c`i`z` n`l`q`v`i` NUbri m`t`%`R`v`o`t`q` Avt`Q` Onj y misew`KZv0` D`iv`b`c`te`P` B`u`z`n`v`m`U`| w`f`i`v`i`x` h`t`M`i` c`u`S`K`c`te` msev`c`I` t`K`e`j` A`i`f` c`P`v`i` Av`i` c`u`Z`h`m`Z`v`q` t`g`z` D`f`v`O`j` Zv`m`K`S`b`q` e`is` Zvi` n`v`Z` a`j`i` t`m`v`b` w`i` n`t`g` m`f`q`i`O`j` m`sev`c`I`i` w`b`q`m`Z`I` , hv` Av`R` A`e`v` A`u`l`z` i`t`q` t`M`t`Q` Zvi` g`-`P`v`i` I` `e`u`k`t`o`i` Ask` i`n`t`m`te`|

Avtgwi`Kvi` A`t`B`K` A`a`v`c`K` I` M`t`e`l`K` t`z`v` g`t`b`B` K`t`i`b` h`y`i`v`t`o`i` , mek`c`i`v`k`v`3` n`t`q` I`V`v`i` t`c`Q`b` i`t`q`Q` n`j`y` misew`KZvi` w`e`k`l` A`e`v`b`|4` Kvi`Y` , `u`v`b`k`-`A`v`t`g`w`i` K`v`b` h`x`i` g`a` `w`i` t`q` h`y`i`v`t`o`i` t`h` m`v`c`h`v`i`Y`e`v`x` P`v`i` I` I` b`m`z` e`v`B`t`i`i` c`v`b` g`y` Z`z`j` Z`m`k`t`q`O`j` Zv`j`g`v`M`Z` k`v`3`k`v`j`x` I` d`e`v`i`q`v` i`j`c` w`b`q` A`v`R` n`t`q` D`f`v`O` G`K`K` c`i`v`k`v`3`| G`g`b`K`v`I` P`r`j`y`A`v`t`Q` m`K`D`e`v`i` t`m` mg`t`q`i` k`u`m`K`k`v`3` t`u`t`b`i` w`e`i`a`x` A`v`t`g`w`i`K`v`t`k` h`x` b`u`g`v`z` F`i`g`K`v`i` t`i`L`w`O`j` t`k`u`i`i` `u`v` g`v`l` n`j`y` c`u`v`K`v`l` G`i` G`K`v`U` t`h`v`m`d` c`v`j`r`R`v`t`i`i` U`n`b`D`B`q`K` I` q`v`i` P`v`i` A`b`i`U` D`B`i`j` q`v`g` i`v`U`j`d` n`v`-`P` U`n`b`D`B`q`K`R`v`b`j` O`j` e`Q`i` t`k`f`i`i` m`v`j` Z`v`g`v`t`z` t`m`i`v` N`U`b`v` i`n`t`m`te` D`t`j`L` K`i`t`z` m`t`q` G`f`v`t`e`B` e`Y`v` t`q`v` n`t`q`Q` U`n`b`D`B`q`K`R`v`b`j` O`-`G` :

A great year has ended- great for the United States, great for the world, great for humanity. The master event of 1898 was the Spanish war. ... Mankind witnessed the inspiring spectacle of a nation putting aside all thought of self-interest, all regard for mere material considerations, and drawing the sword in behalf of a neighbouring people struggling against a foreign oppressor for the right to be free.

A`P` B`u`z`n`v`t`m`i` GB`G`K` A`m`z` c`u`i`n`m` :` h`y`i`v`t`o`i` misew`KZv`q` t`m`i`v` A`e`v`t`b`i` t`k`u`z`i` c`y`v`i`u` Av`R` t`q`v`n`q` c`v`j`r`R`v`t`i`i` b`r`i`g`B`| c`u`g` w`e`k`h`x`i` c`i` t`k` BDt`i`v`c`i` c`y`R`e`v`x` t`k` , t`j`v`t`z` A`-`%`w`z`K` m`S`K`U` -`u`o` n`t`z` i`i`a`K`t`i`| e`Q`t`i`i` c`i` e`Q`i` h`y` P`r`j`y`t`z` m`t`q` q`l`q` n`t`z` `v`t`K` w`e`k`b`e`v`q` Z`L`b`K`v`i` G`K` b`v`f` k`v`3` w`e`t`U`t`b`i` G`K`w`a`c`Z`| w`z`w`i`t`k`i` `k`t`K`i` w`e`k`b`e`v`c`x` g`n`v`g`v`i` K`e`j`j` GB` m`S`K`U` A`v`t`iv` N`b`v`f`z` n`t`j` w`e`U`K` D`c`u`b`t`e`k` , t`j`v`t`z` t`k`u`i`i` i`v`R`%`w`z`K` k`v`3` w`k`u`j` n`t`z` i`i`a`K`t`i` j`g`k`| GB` m`g`g` w`e`k`| i`v`R`b`w`z`t`z` h`y`i`v`t`o`i` f`i`g`K`v` I` A`w`a`c`Z` e`v`o`i` d`t`j` k`v`3`i` b`z`b` t`g`i`a`K`i`Y` -`u`o` n`t`q` I`t`v`| w`O`z`i`q` w`e`k`h`x` w`e`t`U`b` G`K`i`K`g` K`v`m`j` n`t`q` h`y`i`v`t`o`i` K`i`a` f`i` K`i`v`q` `k`z` Zvi` m`m`e`R` A`m`n`v`q` `k`v`t`K` A`v`o`j` K`i`t`z` c`r`t`i`u`b`| `u`v`i` w`e`k`h`x`i` g`a` `w`i` t`q` h`y`i`v`t`o`i` w`e`k`j`v`R`b`w`z`t`z` b`z`b` k`v`3` i`n`t`m`te` t`h`g`b` A`w`e`f`z` n`t`q`Q` , t`z`g`b` t`k`u`i`i` w`g`v`l`q`v`l` GB` m`h`v`t`M` w`e`k`b`e`v`c`x` Zvi` c`f`v`e` w`e`t`i`i`i` g`l`K`v` n`v`Z`O`v`o`v` K`t`i`u`b`| Zvi`c`i` k`v`z`j` h`x`i` m`g`t`q` w`e`k`| A`v`e`v`i` `u`v`i`t`M`

Avjv`v` n`t`q` t`M`t`j` m`v`t`e`K` t`m`v`f`t`q`z` B`D`u`b`q`b`i` t`b`z`t`z` ; I`q`v`i`k` t`R`v`U`i` w`e`c`i`r`z` c`u`O`g`v` c`u`R`e`v`x` t`k` , t`j`v`t`k` w`b`q` A`v`t`g`w`i`K`v`i` t`b`z`t`z` ; M`w`z` b`v`t`U`v` t`R`v`U`i` c`t`q` c`u`v`M`v`U`i` `w`q`z` ; P`f`j` A`v`t`m` g`v`i`K`b` w`g`v`l`q`v` , t`j`v`i` n`v`z`| G`L`v`t`b` D`t`j`L` K`i`v`i`K`v`i` t`h` , w`O`z`i`q` w`e`k`h`x` c`i`e`z`x`B`D`t`i`v`t`c`i` h`y`w`e`a`l` `w`e`k`l` K`t`i` c`u`O`g`v` c`y`R`e`v`x` t`k` , t`j`v`i` c`y`M`v`b` I` c`y`e`f`m`b` c`u`u`q`v`i` c`v`k`v`c`n`k` GB` m`g`t`q` m`g`v`R` I` A`-`w`z` b`z`b` D` `t`g` c`y`M`w`z` n`t`z` i`i`a`K`i`j` w`e`k`R`t`o` G`K` a`i`t`b`i` m`i`s`w`z`k` c`v`j`e`j` m`w`P`z` n`q`| g`v` `e`v`x` m`g`v`R`z`w`i`E`K` t`d`t`w`i`K` t`R`g`m`t`b`i` f`v`l` `n`t`^`O` , GB` m`g`g` t`k` c`y`R`c`e`v`n` G`g`b` m`e` L`v`t`z` e`B`z` `i`i`a`K`t`i` h`v` w`O`j` G`i` A`v`t`M` c`y`v`q`v`b`i` K`e`j` g`y` ; t`h`g`b` w`g`v`l`q`v` , w`k`i`-`m`S`w`z` I` w`k`v`v` B`z`w`|

Gi` A`v`t`M` c`h`s`i` w`g`v`l`q`v` K`L`t`b`v` c`y` i`n`t`m`te` w`e`k`b`e`v`c`x` Z`Z`U`v` w`e`j`r`q`t`h`M` n`t`q` I`t`v`i`u`b`| w`e`k`| `B` w`k`w`e`t`i` f`v`M` n`t`q` h`v`e`v`i` c`i` m`g`v`R`z`w`i`S`K` t`m`v`f`t`q`z` B`D`u`b`q`b` I` Zvi` t`R`v`U`f`y` A`b`v`b` t`k` , t`j`v`i` w`e`i`a`x` c`u`v`M`v`U`v` P`r`j`y`t`b`v`i` R`b` `A`v`t`g`w`i`K`v` I` Zvi` B`D`t`i`v`t`c`i` w`g`l`t`k` , t`j`v` Z`v`t`i` w`g`v`l`q`v`t`k` e`e`n`v`i` K`t`i`t`Q` h`t` `O`f`i`t`e`l` c`u`O`g`v`t`i` c`u`v`M`v`U`i` c`v`e`v` R`e`v`e` t`q`v`i` R`b` `t`h`L`v`t`b` t`m`v`f`t`q`z` B`D`u`b`q`b`i` c`t`q` GB` c`u`v`M`v`U`v` P`r`j`y`t`z`v`i`v`o`b`q`v`s`z` w`g`v`l`q`v` , t`m`L`v`t`b` A`v`t`g`w`i`K`v` I` c`u`O`g`v` t`k` , t`j`v`i` m`i`K`v`i` w`g`v`l`q`v`i` t`P`t`q` Z`v`t`i` w`e`f`b`e`K`t`c`i`U` n`v`D`t`m`i` w`b`q`S`y`v`a`x` t`e`m`i`K`v`i` w`g`v`l`q`v` , t`j`v`i` w`O`j` A`v`t`iv` t`e`m`k` Z`r`c`i` I` t`e`c`t`i`v`q`v`|

w`e`l`q`U`v` c`u`m`w`z`K` e`t`j` G`L`v`t`b` D`t`j`L` K`i`v` R`i`w`i` w`e`t`e`P`b`v` K`v`i` :` I`v`t`U`i` `k`t`K`i` t`k`l` f`i`t`M` g`t`w`q` A`v`t`g`w`i`R`z` A`v`S`R`w`z`K` G`K` m`i`S`e`w`K` m`g`v`t`e`t`k` A`v`g`w`i`z` n`t`q` G`t`m`O`t`j`b` G`K`j` g`v`i`K`b` m`i`S`e`w`K`| c`u`Z`c`q`i` t`m`v`f`t`q`z` m`i`S`e`w`K`t`i` m`t`%` A`v`j`v`c`P`m`i` Z`v`q` Z`v`i`v` t`m`v`f`t`q`z` w`g`v`l`q`v`i` c`u`i`t`e`m`k`z` L`e`i` w`b`q` c`k`e`z`z`j` e`j`t`j`b` :` t`h`t`n`z`z`K`x` w`j` L`t`z` n`t`e` b`v` n`t`e` t`m`U`v` c`v`U`e`v` m`i`K`v`i`B` w`K` K`t`i` t`q` , t`m`t`n`z`z`z`v`i`v` `v`a`x`b` b`b` e`i`S` G` , t`j`v` g`j`-`Z` K`v`g`D`u`b`-` c`u`U`P`B` c`u`v`M`v`U`v`| R`e`v`t`e` t`m`v`f`t`q`z` B`D`u`b`q`b`i` m`i`S`e`w`K`i`v` Z`v`t`i` e`j`t`j`b` , w`e`l`q`U`v` I`B` G`K`B` i`K`g`B` , A`v`t`g`w`i`K`v`i`v`l` `v`a`x`b` b`q` , t`K`b`b`v` g`v`i`K`b` w`g`v`l`q`v`t`K`I` K`v` w`j` L`t`z` n`t`e` t`m`U`v` w`K` K`t`i` t`q` K`t`c`i`U` `t`q` e`o`e`o` e`e`m`v` c`u`Z`o`v`b`| 5`

d`i`w`m` K`v`v`t`g`v`e`v`x` `v`k`u`B`K` w`g`t`k`j` d`t`K`v` Zvi` e`u`b`w`z` `q`l`g`z`v` I` A`v`t`b`i` A`v`t`j`v`P`b`v`q` m`g`v`t`R` c`P`m`j`Z` G`K`Q`I` k`v`3`i` a`v`i`Y`v` t`k` m`t`i` G`t`m` h`y`3` w`t`q` t`L`v`b` t`h` , c`u`O`g`v` c`y`R`e`v`x` m`g`v`t`R`i` K`v`v`t`g`v`q` i`v`o`v` A`_`e`v` `v`b`e`x`q` c`y`R`e`v`x` G`v`U`v`i` c`u`B`R` , t`j`v`i` `q`l`g`z`v`i` `t`f`c` G`f`v`t`e` t`e`v`S`v` h`v`t`e` b`v`l`| c`a`j`v` `p`r`i`t`s`l` `q`l`g`z`v`t`K` A`e`k`B` G`K`B` K`v`v`t`g`v`i` A`v`l` Z`v`q` A`v`j`v`v`-`A`v`j`v`v` k`v`3`i` , Y`i`z`K` i`n`t`m`te` e`S`t`Z` n`t`e`| Zvi` h`y`3` n`t`^`O` :

power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organizations; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization in the state apparatus, in the formulation of law, in the various social hegemonies.⁶

miž", čičgri uqivlqv GLb ivtofi mgišitij Avjiv v GK mivgimRK kv³ inštme
ŋgZvi PPP KičQ | miviešk | uqivlqv GLb ej tZ tMtj, veifbæKččŋiU
čičZvičbi ubqšfj | dtj uqivlqv mčš mgšivZv Ovov ivtofi Acivci KvVrtgvi
AviZj boeto | tmB Kte 1828 mrtj veifbæ Buznimæ` givktj veifUčbi
čij ŋgčtUli tčh Mij vičK ivtofi ŋtdv_ŋGt=U0 inštme AvL'v ir tqučtj b,
AvR tčh člŋ Gt=čU RvqMv` Ltj i gšL, misev`Kiv gš Nvj tŋ ubtj
AvBb, vePvi I vefbæ veifM ntŋ DVtZ čiči tmet K_v iB Kv iLvb |

GK mgq msev`čI Zčbxq ŋJ mgvčRi Avqbr inštme | tKbbv ZvčZ
čičZvev`Z ntZv mgvčRi čijv ev`bZv | vKš` AvčMi tmB fivgKvq tčB
msev`čI | Zvi čičZvev` ŋg_ I Svcmv ntŋ DVtŋ mgvčRi gvbč i KvčQ |
Zvi e` tj uqivlqv AvPiY GLb AčbK teik D xZ (Reflexive) Avv Pov |
tnevičtmi` ŋpčZ RbMtji včj b` j inštme tčŋmi Aebgčbi Ab`Zg KviY
GivU AvvZgvi vq emvčRi dtj Kvj tZ ntŋ tMtŋ | GB tLj vevčtji mčhvtM
mgvčRi uqivlqv Zvi Kčitŋ večtbi GK Amy` čičZthvMzV, hvv gšj Avčŋ
tčivMev, hvv ŋpčZ mevKQB Avmtj cY, vevqčthvM, meB evU-tbg
tčŋMv± | ZvB ŋbqv meP GLb uqivlqv čičve AcčZtiva` vKš` meLvtčB Gi
ubqšy Pčj tMtŋ čiči vev KččŋiU čičZvičbi včZ | AčbKv Zvi vB ubqšy
Kičŋ ivtoŋ ŋgZvi včj ve`j |

evsjv`čk MZ KzčK bečvtq i`čk Ki AvM chš i uqivlqv e`emvq
KččŋiU čičZvičbi Ačbček NčUmb | Gi Av`Zg Kvi Y čl` ŋ I čiči včvčtje
`xNčf tbi mivgimK` t k vmb | GKBvčtje 047 mrtj t k večtMi ci čimK`lb
Avgčt I Gt`čk i tevk i vM mgq tKčtŋ tmbvčtmi Aaxčb | t`k včtMi
c i c i B včtE c e`čimK` tčb g v n j g x m g Z v i k R v č t e` ŋ ŋ Avj v i v i k v e t i
v i m n t q h v q | G i č i c h v q v k j A s t k i g v c t ŋ ŋ g l j v b v A v K i g L u i
g v n j K i v a x b ŋ` ŋ b K A v R v ŋ A v i t n t m b k n x` t m i v i v q v` ŋ A v e j v n i v k t g i
t b Z Z v a x b A t c ŋ v K Z. c ŋ h v k j A s t k i c v i K v ŋ ŋ ŋ ŋ B t E n v ŋ ŋ G ŋ v o v
c A v t k i ` k t k i i i a t z X i K v i e s k j t ` t k t e i n q ŋ m s e v` ŋ ŋ v K š` c i j v
c v i k` l b A v g t j b G t`č k m s e v`č I ŋ ŋ m v g i v k e R A v v h b i g t a` |
g z c k v t k i` r a x b z v i a x n t q c o v q g j - a v i v i m s e v`č I t j v t k K v R K i t z
n t z v u b q š f y i g t a` t ` t k ; v K š` Z v i c i l t m m g q c h v k j v f i e a v i v i Z i a`
c i R t b i m i s e v` K i v e v ŋ v R i z x z v e v t i c i ŋ A e` v b v b t q G t`čk i
` ŋ a K v i A v f` v j t b i R b` v b i j m K v R K t i t M t Q b | e v q v i e f v i v A v f` v j b
t ` t k G K i E t i i g v h y c h š i g j - Z G i v B v ŋ t j b G t`čk i` r a x b z v i v i v m x
K j g v m b K |

Zvici g v h y - D E i` r a x b t`č k m i s e v` K i v t c t j b A v v` ŋ Z G K
g v p i` r` | Z v i B A v t e t k i g t a` Z v t i t K t U t M j A v t i v K t q K u U e Q i | v K š`
m` r a x b e v s j v`č k A i v t b i g t a` v f b o g z v t k p` ŋ G K u U c v i K v t`čk i
A v e m s e v` Z t b z v t k L g v R e v e t i v a x c P v i Y q t g t z I t v | g j - Z G t`čk i
` r a x b z v h y` m v n v q z v K v i x` B t` k v i z I i v k v i v e i a` x t`čk i g v b i i
g t b v e i f c a v i Y v ŋ o v t q t` q v B ŋ ŋ G B a i t b i c P v i Y v i D t i k` | 075 mrtj i
15 AvM ÷ e`zeUž bksm nZ i Kvčtŋi ga` ir tŋ ivR%buzK člucv eZčbi ci
Gt`k` t z m i v g i v k v i m t b i K e t j P t j h v q |

bečvtq i i a t z G t m t` k A v e v i t m b v k v m t b i K e j g y` n j b z b
i v R % b u z K e` e` v i A a x t b b z b D` t g M Y Z t š j A M h v i v m P Z n q | M Y Z t š j ;
D E i t Y i g a` i r t q t`č k m s e v` c i k t i i R b` Z v i n q A b k j - c v i t e k | t m B
A v t j v P b v q h v l q v i A v t M G B M t e l Y v i D t i k` m = c t k` G L v t b v K Q z K _ v e t j
v b t z P v B :

evsjv`čk msev`čI i` r a x b z v i m g z m i s e v` K Z v P P f B u z n i v L y
t e v k v i b A v t M i b q | G t`čk i R b M Y I M Y Z t š j g t z v m i s e v` K i v i m v g v i K
k v i m t b i v b M h i v k k v i |` r a x b n e v i c i k y a i v t k i K t q K u U e Q i O v o v
G t`čk i c l q` ŋ U` k k t K t U t M t Q i v R % b u z K U v b r t v t o t b i g t a` | d t j M Z
k z t K i b e v t q i` k k t K` r a x b m s e v` c i k t i i A M h v i v i v f v E v n t m e a i t j
M Z c l q 25 e Q t i e v s j v`č k m s e v` g v a` t g i t h A f Z c e` v e K v K N t U t Q Z v
v b t m p` t n` t K v i K i t z n e t | b e v t q i` k t K t e k v K Q z b z b c v i K v c k v k v i
t`ŋ t i G B c l g v e i f b a c c h Z v o Z e` e m v c i c Z v i t K v e v t q v M K i v i R b` G v M t q
A v m t z t` L v h v q | g j - Z G m g q t` t K B e v s j v`č k m s e v` c i k t i e m Y R` I
c i c h t h v M Z v i b z b e v z v e i Y A v g i v`ŋ` K v i | c i c h Z v o Z c v i K v t j v i v e v i I
v e A v c t b i A v t q G e v i v i m e m v t z i i a` K t i G m e b z b c v i K v | b z b c v i K v i
n i z a t i G t`čk i m i s e v` K Z v q A v t m b z b b z b c e Y Z v A v i P v i t j`ŋ Y |
Z v i v G Z v t b i c i c h v o Z c v i K v t j v i ÷ v B j , A v m z K , g j` t e v a , a` v b a v i Y v ,
G g b v k` b u z K` v o f v z i t`ŋ t i c v i e Z b m P Z K t i | Z v i B c i f v t e t`č k
m i s e v` K Z v P P f ŋ Y M Z v f b z v t` L v i r t z` v t K ; c v i K v t j v i m a c v` K i q
b u z A v t M i t P t q t L v j v g j v n l q v q A t b K m g o B G m e c i c v i K v q
D t i k` g j - K I ŋ t m b t k b v j o m s e v` c v i t e k t b i c i c Z t S u k l j`ŋ` K i v h v q |
Z v B G B m g t q c k v k z A t b K m s e v` c i t n j y m i s e v` K Z v i c e Y Z v I j`ŋ Y
` ŋ o |

ZvB n j y m i s e v` K Z v i a v i v I G i h _ v h _ j`ŋ Y t e v S v i R b` ŋ n j y
m i s e v` K Z v i m s v ŋ j B B u z n v m o v k t i v v t g n j y m i s e v` K Z v i m s A v , G B
A v f a v i D r a c i E , A v t g v i K v I B D t i v t c n j y m i s e v` K Z v i v e` l i , m i s e v` K Z v
t c k v q` b u z K Z v i a i b , ` r a x b g z c k v t k i m v g v I m i v g i m R K` v i q z e v a
B Z` v v b t q m s v ŋ j B A v t j v P v i i t q t Q G B e B t q i c l g A a` v t q |

bečvtq i`čk K c k k z msev`čI t j v t z t h a i t b i m i s e v` K Z v i P P f
n t q t Q g j - Z t m L v b t ` t k e v s j v`č k n j y m i s e v` K Z v i a v i v k b v` K i v i t P o v
K i v n t q t Q G B M t e l Y v i g v a` t g | Z t e m i s e v` K Z v i D r m g y a i v n t q t Q ` r a x b
e v s j v`čk i h v i v i k y a e t ` t K | t K b b v h y v e a` l` m` r a x b t` k u i c l g
t ` t K B v K Q z v k z n s e v` c i R v Z i q H K` I m s n u Z c i c Z v i e` t j m g v t R v e a` v š
I A v b t`k i e x R e y t z m t P o v ŋ ŋ | Z v i v i v o t q m s n u Z i R b` ŋ v z K i G g b m e
R t e i v f i e t z m s e v` c v i t e k b K t i t Q h v t K n j y m i s e v` K Z v b v e t j g n j
v e t k t i c i i P b v q I` ŋ` v i o t e t i v a x c e v m v ŋ e v j h v q | t h g b , a i v h v k ,
074 mrtj i v f`ŋ I m g v ŋ | g v h y` v i c i K t q K e Q t i i e` e a v t b G t`č k G v U
ŋ ŋ G g b G K g v b v e K v e c h q` h v i v e f v i m K v I f q e n A v f A Z v K v M t q D v t z
e ŋ m g q t j t M t Q ŋ v z m o v g v b i | t m B c i i v e K K v j c t e P v K Q z v K Q z Z` -
D c i E Z t z a t i t m m g t q i e v` b z v A v g v t` i m s e v` c i t X r f v t e D t v G t m t Q
Z v v e t k t i t Y i t P o v K i v n t q t Q G B M t e l Y v q | ŋ m e r t` k n j y t c h o v k t i v b r t g
v o Z v q A a` v t q i t q t Q G B A v t j v P v | G v o v G B A a` v t q m s e v` g v a` t g i

ewwYwR`KxKiY, ugwWqvq Z`weibv`bibi cfive, cY`wntmte msev`i gj` I Zvi Kvity njymisewi KZvi wgtktj Avtiv tenk tfv³vtk AvKó.Kivi Rb` msev`gva`tgi e`e`vcbr KZ²etji bvbv tkSkj Aej`tbi wltq wek` Avtj vPbv i`tqtQ

RbgZtk cfiveZ Kivi t`jt` msev`c`ti Aci GKw ucV AvtQ Ges tmB w`KuUi AtbKUB AUKvti XivKv| MZ KtqK eQti i msev`gva`tgi fvgKv chfey Y Kti t`Lv tmtQ eis ugwWqvB fvy, weKZ. I AwziwAZ Z` cwi`tektbi gva`tg mgvtr Av`i Zv Ono`tg t`qvi Kvtr wj B wQj | ivR%bwZK, Av`mvgwRK I msv`wZK ev`eZvi ubw`tl msev`c`ti` raxbZvi 25 eQi tggv`i gta` weMZ KóU eQi wQj msev`gva`tgi Rb` AZ`slPvtj tAi | GB mgg AfZce²ivR%bwZK WgvtrWvtj i Kvity cPÐ Prtci gta` wqZ; cij b Ki`Z ntqtQ msev`Kvg` i | A`P` t`tk msNvZgq cwi`w`zi m`hvtM ZLb wKQz wKQzmsev`gva`tg Ggb GK a`tbi misewi KZvi PP`ntqtQ hv`tckv`w`i`zi gvcKw`tZ wQj c`j`v`w` AmhYthvM` Gme msev`gva`tgi KgrvD wQj weZwKZ I` j`gb`Zv`g` Zviv ivR%bwZK nxb`-t` Am%Z I` bwZKZvevRZ cPvi`-cPvi`Yvi` Kvtr e`eüz ntqtQ| wKs` Gúv AZ`slD`OMRbK ntj I mZ` th, GB tkYxi msev`Kvg` i gvbwmKZv I msev`gva`tgi fvgKv t`tki wefbcag²eY`I tMvxi` w`Nv` tbi mnve`vb, weivRgvb m`c`wZ, wbi`v`Ev I mvgwRK w`wZkxj Zv`ugvKi` g`L`cto| tmB wech`q`i` j`Z GLtv` i`tkvqub| wekl Kti Rbgtb GLtv` KvtrUmb wefwm Kvgg tmB w`b` t`j`vi AvZsK| úgwWqv i Aci ucV wktivbtg Zzqg Aa`vtq i`tqtQ GKB we`l`q` wefbcw`l` Kvq cKwKZ c`Zte` tbi I ci Z`z`bvj`-K Avtj vPbv

GB MtelYvi chfey Y t`tk t`Lv tmtQ, weMZ eQi` t`j`vtZ t`tki tKvtrv tKvtrv msev`gva`tg cKwKZ Lei, Z` I msev`-msukó AbynÚvbx c`Zte` b` t`j`vtZ misewi KZvi b`bZg gvb`D i`w`j`Z nqub| eis AtbK t`jt`B Gme c`Zte` b` wQj Zvt` i` I ci b` t` wqZ; I MYgva`tgi bwZ`-bwZKZvi m`%` c`j`v`w` Am%wZcY` raxb gZ cKvtki bvtg Zvt` i` cwi`tektbi AtbK Z` I msev` we`tkd`Ytk ubw`v`g` e`j`v` hvq weKZ, gbmov I D`i`k`g`j`-K| ZvtZ we`v`sl` ntqtQ cvVK, e`v`nZ` ntqtQ m`j`zmisewi KZvi weKv, mtef`cwi` j`w`NZ` ntqtQ msev`gva`tgi bwZ`gvj`v| GKvE`ti`i` gvbeZwe`t`vax Acivai wePvti` MwZ AvSRwZK Aciva ÚiBej`v`t`j` i` t`qv` ivq`tk` w`ti` MYRvMiY g`t`Ai` Awsm` c`Zer`, t`ke`v`cx` RvgqvZ`-w`keti`i` ZvDe, Bmjvg atq` Aegvbbvi Awf`thv`M` eMv`i` i` kw`-li` we`Z` tndvRZ Bmjvtgi AvKw`SK` D`i`vb, mvi`v`tk` Ono`tg cov` AivRK` cwi`w`wZ, XivKvQ` tndvRZ Bmjvtgi mgv`te`k` AvBb`-k;Ljv` i`j`v`Kvix` ewnbxi` ga`iv`Zi` Awf`hvb, we`t`vax` t`j` i` WvKv` ni`Zuj`-Ae`t`iva` BZ`w` wef`b`w`Úv`bq` GK` tkYxi` msev`gva`tgi` wqZkxj` Zvq` h`o` NvUwZ` wQj| Gme` c`Z`v`t`bi` msev`Kvg` i` tckv`MZ` bwZK` o`j`t`bi` Kvity` t`tk` MYZw`SK` cwi`tekt, AvB`t`bi` kvmb` GgbwK` RvZiq` wbi`v`Ev` ch`sl` gvivZ`K`f`v`te` we`v`wZ` ntqtQ| Út`c`h, c`b`v`w`Úv` I` we`c`v`c`o` wktivbtg PZz`Aa`vtq` i`tqtQ` GB` we`l`q` wef`b`w` c`T`cwi` Kvq` cKwKZ` we`t`vax` msev` i` I ci` Avtj` vPbv

miv`c`wZK` mg`t`q` i`vR%bwZK` ev`eZvq` wKQz`wKQzmsev`c`I` Kx` a`t`bi` gbmov, D`-w`b`g`j`-K` I` AwziwAZ` Lei` cwi`tektbi` gva`tg` Z`-weKwZ` Nu`l`t`qt`Q` Z`z`bvj`-K` we`tkd`t`Yi` gva`tg` Zv` LwZ`t`q` t`Lvi` t`Pov` Kiv` ntqtQ` úgwWqv,

ugwWqvemR, ugwWqvemRKi0 wktivbtg cAg Aa`vtq| wefbcwZ` we`tkd`t`Yi` gva`tg ugwWqv` i`Q` I` mwK` fvgKvi` c`w`m%KZv` Z`j` a`ti` fvy, weKZ. I` AwziwAZ` Z` MYZw`SK` ms`w`zi` weKv`tk` K`r`f`v`te` j`wZ`M`O`K`ti` Zv` t`L`v`t`v` ntqtQ` GB` Aa`vtq|

Avgrv` i` g`t`Zv` t`tk` tenki` fvm` gvb`j` i` Kvto` t`Uw`j` w`f`kb`-msev` i` agrv` Letii` gj` AvaviB` bq` eis` Zvt` i` AZ`sl` Av`v` I` w`f`PZvi` Drml` | wKs` e`-w`b`o` msev` I` Z`-weibv` b` c`eYZvi` gta` Uubv`c`v`ob` misewi` KZvq` AtbK` cij`v`b` GK` weZK`P` U`vej`tqW` misewi` KZvi` g`t`Zv` AvRKvj` U`vej`tqW` wUw`f`-ms`w`zi` c`ej` c`f`v`te` cvt`e` hv`t`Q` msev` cwi`tektbi` aib, Dc`vcbr, c`Z`v`t`bi` ev`eZv, Rxebariv` Avi` miz` gvb`j` i` AvPiYl` | B`v`b`x` wUw`f` P`v`t`b`t`j`i` msev` I` nj`y` misewi` KZvi` c`f`v`te` mgv`tr` D`t`OM` I` DrKÉv` Zwi` nt`Q| GK` tkYxi` Btj` KuibK` ugwWqvq` c`P`w`i` Z` c`Zte` t`b` Z`-weKwZ, fvy` Z`-cwi`tektb` I` AwziwAZ`t`bi` c`eYZv` ninvtgkv` j`j` Kiv` hvq| GB` a`t`bi` c`Zte` b` c`Pvti`i` dtj` Rbgtb` miv`w`i` Kx` a`t`bi` we`j`c` c`f`v`te` co`t`Q` Zv` w`b`t`q` Avtj` vPbv` i`tqtQ` I`o` Aa`vtq` ÚU`vej`tqW` wUw`f` Rgvb`w` wktivbtg|

misewi` KZvq` m`f` GKw` i`az`cY`w`el`q` AtbK` mgg` m`f` w`f`P`thvM` n`l`qv` m`t`e`j`l` cwi`YvgMZ` Kvity` c`K`w`K`Z` msev` w`l` th`w`³K` c`gv`t`Yi` Afvte` Zvi` Kv`v`j`Z` i`az`; ARB` Kiv` t`tk` ewAZ` nq| hv` t`Kvtrv` msev` m`t`Z`i` mwK` t`f`c` L`j`R` cvl` qv` bv` hvq, hv` c`KZ` ev`eZvq` t`Kvtrv` NvUwZ`-v`tk` A`-ev` hv` t`Kvtrv` e`v`L`v` c`v`tki` AwMh`tk` Zvi` m`%` h`y` bv` Kti` Zvntj` tmU` msev` B`bq| w`K`j`v, cwi`tekt, e`f`w`K` m`c`K`w`Ksev` Dbq`b` I` m`kvmb` m`c`w`K`Z` we`l`q` mwK, Z`-w`f`P, e`-w`b`o` I` h`_vh` m`f`i` eivZ` w`t`q` c`Zte` b` c`KvK` Kiv` AZ`sl`Ri`w`i` | wKs` fvy, weKZ` I` ev`t`bv`q`v`U` c`Zte` b` Úvci` ntj` ZvtZ` GKiv` t`k` t`h`g`b` msukó` msev`gva`tgi` fvgKv` c`k`w`x` nq, t`Z`g`b` t`tki` Av`mvgwRK` Dbq`b` I` AMwZ` m`c`K`f`y` avi`Yv` cvq` msukó` c`j`M`j`v`l` om`f` : i`az`j` I` t`k`i`q`v`e`v`a`l` wktivbtg` wefbcw`l` Kvq` cKwKZ` msev` nj`y` misewi` KZvi` bgly` wPiv`Z` Kti` Zv` w`b`t`q` we`-w`i` Z` Avtj` vPbv` i`tqtQ` m`B`g` Aa`vtq|

gv`h`j`x`i` gva`tg` G`t`tki` gvbly` Ggb` GK` eis`j`v`t`tki` t`f`c` m`Úv`b` Kti`Q` hv`i` g`r`S` gZ`²ntq` AvtQ` wPiv`qZ` eis`j`v`i` g`ly`N` th` eis`j`v` ag`v`i`c`e`j`l` t`PZvri, cigZ`m`n`o`Zv` I` miv`c`l`w`q`K` m`c`w`Zi`N` th`L`v`t`b` AU`Ú`-w`K`te` Avengv`b`Kv`t`j`i` miv`wZK` e`w`P`I, e`u` gZ`-c`t`i` mnve`vb, fievri` euj` Zv` wKsev` g`y` wek`j`tmi` Awakvi` | wKs` G`t`tki` ugwWqv` gv`h`j`x`i` mvgwMK` t`PZv`v`K` KZUv` j`v`b` Kti` Zv` w`b`t`q` c`k`e`K`i`Z` t`k`v`b` hvq` mgv`tr`i` m`PZb` t`j`v`KRb`t`K| G`K`z`ki` t`PZv`v`w`nZ` I` gv`h`j`x`i` ga`-w`t`q` AwRZ` fvlv, ms`wZ. I` ev`w`j`i` t`k`R` tmK`z`vi` HuZ`tn`i` c`Z`d`j`b` I` t`PZb`v` weKv`tk` MZ` 47` eQti` tenk` mgg` a`ti` G`t`tki` GK`tk`Yi` ugwWqv` th` Kx` a`t`bi` we`t`v`ma`Zvq` f`j`m`t`Q` Zv` we`tkd`t`Yi` t`Pov` Kiv` ntqtQ` Aog` Aa`vtq` úgwWqv` I` tmK`z`vi` Kvj` Pvi`0` wktivbtg| eis` Gme` msev`gva`g` nj`y` misewi` KZvi` t`g`v`t`K` K`r`f`v`te` mgv`tr` agr`Q` DM`v, R`w`z`ev` I` miv`c`l`w`q`KZvi` we`l`ev`ú` Qov`t`Q` Zvi` c`eYZv` cvK` m`n`t`RB` kbv`³ Ki`Z` cri`t`eb` GB` MtelYvi` Avtj` v`K|

miv`c`wZK` mg`t`q` msev` cwi`tektbi` t`jt` GK`tk`Yi` msev`gva`g` th` evovewoi` cwi`Pq` w`t`qtQ` Zv` AKc`t`U` t`Kvi` Kti`Q`b` wefbcw`msev` gva`tgi` m`c`v`K` I` XivK` wek`te`-v`j`t`q` misewi` KZv` I` MY`thv`M`thv`M` wef`v`t`Mi` GK`Rb` c`eY`w`K`j`K| raxb` gZ` c`K`v`t`ki` bvtg` Gme` msev`gva`tgi` cwi`tektbi` AtbK

Z_ I msev` wekI YtK Zviv ubiQavq etj tQb weKZ, gbMov I Dti`k`gj-KN
hv t`QvPwi Zvi bvgvšli | GgbwK Gt`i AtpK GB aipbi misewi KZvK
Zvt`i fvlvq, Acmisewi KZv ej tZI bvirR; eis Zviv GtK mvgmRK Aciva
wntmte MY` KtiQb | G aipbi njy misewi KZvi wec`vc` tiyta Zviv
AtpK gj`evb mzwik I civgk`v tqtQb | fvel tZ misewi KZvi bwiZgyv
mstkab I cwi eaipbi mgq Zvt`i Gme mzwik I civgk`KvR jwMtpv
tMj t`tk mzwisewi KZv PPA Rb` Zv mnvqK nte etj Avgiv gtb Kwi |
mvjvRkvi wntmte MpxZ Gme m`cv`K I uk`tKi gZvgZ DevZPrtbi Z_ -
fivebv0 wktivbtg ASif` nqtQ eBtqi beg Aa`vtq |

msev` cI cKwKZ GKwU QweI gva`tg th tKvRv NUBvi c`jiv tcl`vU
I Aege Avgj- cIte hvg | mvgmRK ev`eZvg Zvi myi-clvix clve`vtK |
GKwU mIPi msev` Avgv`i gtb th aipbi A_`i AvteM` Zwi Kti Zv
welqe`i t`tI Avj`v`gvIv I Mfvi Zv Gtb t`q | Avgv`i gtb th tKvRv
NUBvi AwfAZv QKew` nq cwi tek I cwi`wzi gva`tg | dtj GKwU QweZ
ev`eZvi th Z_`mstKZ`vtK Zv euv`b Avgv`i gw`t`i tKvI j`k`tg`vtK
AwKj fite; Zvici`Zi tFZti tmB QK AUd`t`tk hvg eQti`i ci eQi |
wKs` tKvRv GK gytZ`hw` tmB Qwe Avgv`i tPvLi mvgtb tKD tgtj ati,
ZLb Avgiv mKt`PvL d`vevK ati nuUz`wK`Zi tFZti | weMZ
eQi`tjvi NUBveuj GgbB AtpK iY-it`i`vM`jvMv QweI Ici Avti Keri
tPvL ew`tg`ubtZ tm`tjv`gjvUew` Kiv ntjv bivr Aa`vtq, bivr b cwmwzKZvg |
GB MtelYv KvR Avgv`K AtpK bivr fite mnvqZv KtiQb; tKD
Z_-DcvE`w`tg, tKD Kwi Mwi mnvqZv w`tg, tKDev gibimKfite, Zvt`i
meri KvtQ Awg KZA | GQov GB MtelYvi wekI Ask DevZPrtbi Z_ -
fivebv0 evs`vt`k njy misewi KZvi bivr K`w`tg evLv, gZvgZ I
mzwik Ztj ati mvjvRkvi w`tgQb wevfbw msev` gva`tgi wekO
m`cv`KMY | Giv ntj b, OmgKvj`0 cwi Kvi m`cv`K tMj vg mvi I qvi,`0cUg
Avtj`v`cwi Kvi m`cv`K gwZDi`ingvb,`ekvLx tUvj wfk`tpi cawb m`cv`K
I cawb wevfx KgRZ`PgbRjag Avnmib ejev I fivti`i KvM`RI m`cv`K
k`vgj`E | GQov mvjvRkvi w`tg wekI fite mnthwMZv KtiQb XvKv
wekte`ij`tqi misewi KZv I MYthwMthwM wfv`tMi m`gmbZ uk`tK Aa`vcK
W. tMjvg`ingvb | Gti`i meri cUz`iBj Avgvi Mfvi KZAZv |

GB MtelYvKvR Pjv`tpvi Rb` Avgv`K`vqZj`w`tg wekI fite FYx
KtiQb evs`vt`k tcl`n Bbiv`UDtUi`grvci Pjv`K`tgv. kvn Avj`gMxi | GB
MtelYvi Rb` Avgv`K wevfb Kivq Ges Avgvi`cUz`Zui`p Av`v`iLv Rb`
k`vfvRb GB AMR misewi tKi cUz`iBj AtpK KZAZv |

GB MtelYv KvRi`thwMf`teta w`tqQtb Avgvi`cUz`b mnKwq`
misewi K`kvbvR`kvi`gib | I`i`ZwM`Qov G`KvR`G`tpv Avgvi`c`t`m`e
wQj`bv | GB KvR m`cv`t`b`cUg`mie`vYK`mnthwMZv`KtiQb Avgvi`MtelYv
mnKvix`Kw`cDUv`ie`mgb`vk`B | GQov, mvjvRkvi`MtiYi`t`tI
tmvrmv`n Avgvi`mnthwMx`ntqQtb misewi K`ebk`Wij | Zvt`i`tK Avšli`K
ab`er`RubiwQ |

kvšbyPšajx, XvKv

tKtj sKwi i Avfirm wKsev PwAj " Zwi Kti Ggb me tOwqP Avi D'icK KZ_ | nj y misew KZv AwfawU AvRKvj Ggb GK djz ZzweIq nq " wotqT th, Zv i aytm ai tbi misew KZvi mgvtj wPbvi tejvq cOwR" hvi v Atckv vi ev A%wZK Kw`vq Zvt i Lei cwitek b Kti b |

nj y misew KZvi Drm mUtb

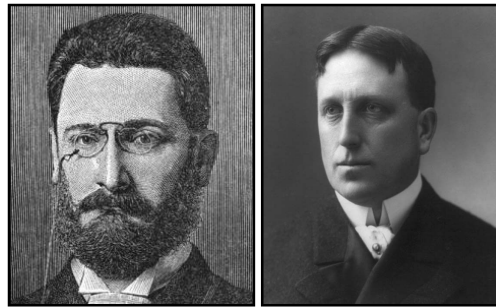
Onj y misew KZv AwfawU cUg e`envi Ktib wmbDBqK cUg-Gi m`cr`K Gi DBb I qwW`vb | 1898 mtj Zvi cwI Kwq tm mgqi misew KZvi avitK wPwYZ Ki tZ wMq mnR K_vq tj Lv nqj : OWe called them Yellow because they are Yellow. O m`eZ Guv wQj I qwW`vbi ceZx`KUw`i wq_w`Qvi dj | tKbbv Gi AvtM ObZly avivi misew KZvK0 wZwb ObMae misew KZv0 mtz wj tq tdtj wQj b | hvi I Onj y misew KZv0 GB Awfavi h_vh_msAv KLtbiB t`bub I qwW`vb | Zte wewfbwAvj vgz t`tK Ggb mvtj` tgtj th, tm mgqi msev KwqPv AvtM t`tKB Obtqvjv Rvbwvj Rg0 wKsev O`z Ae Btqvjv wKW Rvbwvj Rg0 Ggb aitbi Awfe`w`i mtz wej qY cwi wPZ wQj b |

Aa`vq : GK

nj y misew KZvi msu`B BwZnvm

Onj y misew KZv0 kaeUwU cUg tkvbr hvq kZwaK eQi AvtM 1895 mtj Avtqwi Kwq | misew KZvq wtkl Ae`vbi Rb` h`v`vto`AvR th e`w`i bvtg gh`vcY`c`v`r`v`i` c`y`vi` t`qv`nq, tmB thvmd c`v`r`v`i`i` mtz`B Rwoq AvtQ nj y misew KZvi Acev` | Pw`i`l` K`j`AvtQ, tZgbB GK mgqi Rwtj m`cr`K c`v`r`v`i`i` MtqI tjtM AvtQ Onj y i` wM0 cwi Kvi KwUwZ evotZ wMq GK A`f`weK cUz`thwMz`vq tbtg c`v`w`Q`j`b` wmbDBqK` I qvi` Q`Gi` gwj`K` thvmd` c`v`r`v`i` Ges` wmbDBqK`Rb`Q`-Gi` Z`w`a`K`v`i` DBw`j` qv`g` i` wU`j` d`&n`v`-`p` mgqUv` wQj` Ebwesk` kZ`t`Ki` tkl` fvtM`i` Avtqwi` Kw` wM`fi` W` Rgvb`l` m`v`v`i`Y` c`v`K`i` KeRv` Kivi` Rb` GB` Q`R`v`i` gw`i` qv` Zrci`Zvi` Pevs`l` Kw`j` ce`w` wQj` 1895` t`K` 1898` m`j` ch`S`N` BwZnvm`i` w`v`i` t`L` w`tk`l` f`v`te` GB` mgq`t`KB` c`i`e`Z`x`P`Z` nj` y` misew` KZvi` m`P`v`ce`w`n`t`m`te` w`P`w`Y`Z` Kiv` nq` |

g-j-Z nj y misew KZv ev Btqvjv tcn ej tZ AvRKvj Avgiv hv evs Zvi GKUv AwfawK A`_`w`v`q` : Guv Ggb GK aitbi misew KZv hv tKvtrv Leti mvgub`B Zzj` at`i` wKsev` ev`v` hvq` m`w`K`f`v`te` h`v`P`v`B`-ev`Q`v`B` Kiv` Qrov` Ggb` me` msev` cwitek b Kti hvt`i` tKvtrv` eaZvB` tbB` | eis` e`vc`K`v`i` cwi`Kv` w`v`v`i` D`i`l`k` ZvtZ` e`envi` Kiv`nq` b`Ri`K`v`ov` w`k`v`i`v`b`g` | m`v`v`i`Y`Z` Gme` Lei` cwitek`b`i` t`q`i` t`K`S`k`j` w`n`t`m`te` hv`_`v`t`K` Zv` cUq`K`B` Awfbw` thgb, GtZ`_`v`t`K` NUbvejxi` AwZi`Ab, t`q`i` w`tk`l` Z`_`w`e`K`v`Z,



thvmd c`v`r`v`i

DBw`j` qv`g` i` wU`j` d`&n`v`-`p`

1883 mtj wmbDBqK`I` qvi` Q`w`k`v`b` t`b`qvi` ciciB` thvmd` c`v`r`v`i` cwi`KwU` Avt`v` c`v`K`w`c`Q` I` w`tk`v`-`bg`-`K` Kti` tZiv`i` Rb` Gi` tLv`j` b`j` tP` c`i`e`v`b`v`i` D`i``w`M` t`b`b`l` wZwb` cwi`Kvi` Ktjei` evotvbi` c`v`k`v`c`w`k` bZ`b` bZ`b` c`v`K` AvK`o` Kivi` D`i`l`k` GtZ` thwM` Ktib` b`v`v`b` Qwe, tMgm` Av`i` wewfbw` KbtU`-` | cwi`Kvi` AtbK` t`j`v` c`v`Ziv`R`j`o` `v`b` t`c`Z` j`w`M`j`v` wewfbw`Aciva` Kw`n`b`x`| AvU` c`v`v` Avevi` KLt`v` KLt`v` 12` c`v`v`i` cwi`Kvi` wewbg`t`q` c`v`t`Ki` KwQ` t`t`K` c`v`r`v`i` `v`g` w`b`Z`b` gv`l` `B` t`m`U`| c`v`r`v`i` w`ek`l`m` Ki`Z`b` msev` c`l` n`q` RbM`Y`i` cUz`v`b` Av`i` Zvt`i` `w`q`Z`i` n`t`j`v` mgvt`Ri` AMw`w`Z` I` Dbq`v`b` Ae`v`b` i`v`l`v`| mgv`R` m`-`v`t`i` Kiv`R` msev` c`l` m`e`P`t`q` Kw`R`i` f`v`g`Kv` i`v`L`Z` c`v`i`| tm` j`t`q`i`B` wZwb` wmbDBqK`I` qvi` Q`t`K` cwi`P`v`j`v`v` Ki`Z`i`i`a` Ktib`| cwi`KwU`i` `w`q`Z`i`t`b`qvi` gv`l` `B` e`Q`v`i`i` gv`v`q` GuU` wmbDBq`t`K`P` m`e`w`a`K` c`P`w`i`Z` `w`b`t`K` cwi`YZ` nq`| c`v`r`v`i`i` m`v`d`t`j` C`l`w`S`Z` nq` c`y`t`v`v` c`K`v`K`v`i` wmbDBqK`I` qvi` Q`Gi` mgvt`j`v`v`v` Ki`Z`i`i`a` Kti` t`b`| Zviv` cwi`KwU`i` Pw`Aj` Ki` cUz`te` b` w`tk`l` Kti` Aciva` Kw`n`b`x` I` A`w`Z` me` t`K`Q`v`i` t`c`Q`v`b` D`i`v`c`i`o` j`v`t`M`| A`_`P` Gi` Z`_`w`b`f`P` f`v`t`j`v` cUz`te` t`b`i` K`_`v` Zviv`

bv wbtqj n_b^tnbwi tRgm, tnbwi l qvMl qv_g stdtjv wKsev Kwe l qvè
ùBUg wbtqj Avtqwi Kvôq D`xgqvb msev`cî e`emvîK wNti Pvcv Ae`iq th
`bnwZK UvbtctvobB`vKk bv tkb, GB weUK OxccjAi ivR%wZK,
A`%wZK l mis`wZK fMvtji µgeaµvb tRvvtjv `we wQj Aeva l
kiv³kvjx tcth| wth w`tu Mto l Vj Utbi msev`cî wKî ZLb qgZvi `viæ
GK wFZ tMto gv_v ZjzQ| bitdvîKi GK `wRf tQj Ugvm tCbB Zui
tj Lvi gva`tg GiB gta` AvUj wUtKi Dfq cvto wecfei wKovq dzv`tg
Ptj tQb| 1774 mtj Bsj`vU t`_tK wdj vWj wclvq cmo Rgvb tCbB| wK
Gi`_eQti i gv_vq ðKgbtmYð bvtg GKwU cvj`Kv cKvk Ktib wZwb| GB
Lj`_eBwUtKB aiv nq weUK kvmb t`_tK Avtqwi Kvôî `faxZvi mPbmex`y
wntmte|

wgètbi gypZbv Avi tCbti bmvZ wKqvgj-K wecex tPZvi wbtm
Avtqwi Kvôî msweavtbi ù`tqi Mfxti l Zvi cûg mstkvabxZ GfiteB tj Lv
AvtQ: 'Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of
speech or of the press'. GiB ga` w`tg e`w³i gZ cKvîki meRwb
Awakvi l AvRtKi kiv³kvjx msev`gva`gi Kuv`qj `faxZvi gta`
tmZæÜb wPZ ntqQ| Avtiv cti 1787 mtj Ktbp` GtWvqW`K wv slbôtK
tj Lv wPw`tZ Avtqwi Kvi tclm`WU Ugvm tRdvi mb misewi KZvi BwZvmt
AZ`šî` w`l vqK GB K_v`_tjv wj`l wQj b`:

The basis of our government being the opinion of the
people, the very first object should be to keep that right;
and were it left to me to decide whether we should have
a government without newspapers, or newspapers with-
out a government, I should not hesitate a moment to pre-
fer the latter. ¹⁰

Bswj k P`vbtj i Aci cvti dvtY ZZv`tb`i iæntq wMtuQj ivR%wZK
anj`So| tmB diwv wecfe misewi Kiv wQj b RbZvi KvZvîi cji vfvM|
GKRb ivR%wZK fvl`Kvi tZv diwv wecæ`K ðmiseni KZvi gnmæ`cvi Yð
etj l eYðv KtîQb| th we`cvi Y t`_tK i iæ ntqQj AvabK MYZwšK
mgv`Ri AMhv`lv| hw l Avstjv-m`v`b misewi KZvi Zjzqv diwv
misewi KZv wQj A`bK tewk ivR%wZK gtbvfeicbæ msev`i tPq
ivR%wZK cèÜ cKvîki w`tKB wQj l`i tewk tSuk| BstIR BwZvme`
R`vK wv Pw`tmYvîi gZ, diwv wecfei mgqKvi tiwK`ij misewi Kiv
mvaviYZ wbtRt`i ivRbmZwe`_etj B fvetZb| dtj misewi KZvi `bnwZK
wfvîEi cûZ Zv`i AvbMZ`wQj mgv`B eis Zvii ivR%wZK NUbvcvntK
cfeveZ KivtK gtb KtîZb Zv`i cû wK`_wqZj|

cwðgv we`k; MYZšyqtbi `xN`Kvj cfe`Bsj`vU l Avtqwi Kvôq
msev`cî i weKvîk tKvbtvfeB we`k; cûg NUbv bq| GLv`b D`j`_Kiv
cûqvRb, BD`ivc l Avtqwi Kiv wecfei KtqK kZvâx AvtM P`tb ðwZcvl ð
bvtg miKwî Z`_cKvîki GKwU KwM`Ri Av`tZj K_v`Ribr hvq| mis
ivRZtšj (960-1279) Avgj misewi KZv PPRq` l B AĀtj Mto D`vVQj
tekuKQzcûZðx cûZvib| Gme cûZvibK bvbvfe`g`tbî ZvM`_Abfe
KtîwQj mis KZ`_q| P`tbî gj`_fL`ðî cikvcnk Jcibtekk Avgj weUK

kvmZ nsKstq ðmvD_ Pqvq gub`tcv`÷-ð-Gi gZv msev`cî i wBR`weKvîk
cZ`_q| Kiv hvq| Ab`ir`tK, Rvcv`b AvabK msev`cî i weKvîk NUZ`i iæ
Kti wZxq wek`h`xi ci gmvK` cfevej`q| t`_tKi msweavtbi `fax
msev`cî i bmvZ mgv`Z ivLq Rvcv`b ivôq wbt`lavAv Avtvtci bwiRi tbB
ej`_tj B Ptj |

chÿ`i nvZ atî nj`ymgg

wKš` Btqvjv tclmî D`vbtK AwZ Aek`B bZb bZb chÿ` weKvîki
cvi`cûqZ t`_tK wefePbvq wbtZ nte| ce`Zx`kZtK thme Amewi wQj
gibyl`i`ay`cæAvi K`ibvi Ask, GB mgq Gtm tmme chÿ` nvZi g`v`vq
tctq hvq qv Zv msev`cî i cKvîk l m`cv`Kt`i mgv`b Lj`_t`q
m`æbvi bZb GK w`Mšj bZb me aviyv, fiev`k, fievb wgtj AwfbZb
evZveitY Btqvjv tclmî AvPvi-AvPiY wv`_Kti w`tqQ|

wj`_t`_wMndi Amewi`i ci t`_tK we`k; hv hv NtU`Q i`vUj d`nv`÷`
thvmd cvj`Rvîi A`wZ RMtZ tmme KivR j`vMv`v`ntqQj gv`l Avgiv
wbôq tmme AMwZ GKî ci GK cil Kti t`_L`Z cwi`N 1844 mtj
m`v`g`qj tgv`m`P` tUvj Mðd t`_tK, th Amewi Lei mšMni Dcvq Avgj`_e`_tj
w`_tqQj, wek kZvâxi cû`v`j Pj`_m`P`w`c`bî nvZ tUvj tcvb msev`_vZvi
D`w`eb chšj mstKwZK wPy mšMni ga` w`_tq hvi i iæ gv`l AaRZtKi
e`eavtB Zv`K cvl qv tMj miz`Kvi fvlvi Aeqel|

ZvB nj`ymisewi KZvi BwZvmt fbtcv NUbv bq| Gi mt`_Rvôq AvtQ
chÿ` l thv`thwM e`e`vi µg AMwZ| Avtqwi Kvôq wfv`vixq h`mî
misewi KZvi aviv tetq Mto l wv msev`cî RMtZi GB ms`_wZ. Krfite AvZ`-
ntq l AvKvi wbtq tkl chšj Btqvjv tclmî i`cvišî Z ntqQ Ges tmB ms`_wZi
cfeve Gtm cto`Q wek kZvâxi wgv`wqvi l cil Zvi BwZvmt tKšZtj v`x`cK
Nubv etj|

Avtqwi Kvôî wMti W Rgvbqv gtb ntZv bZb bZb Amewi wbtq cûZw
w`_b`thb nvrîi nvrQj we`k; mgv`b| Ugvm GwMv tKej tgv`gi wnj`_v`v`i
gva`tg kâ aviyi Dcvq tei Kti qv`š`nbw, wZwb we`_y`Zi gva`tg knîi
iv`NvU Avtj wKZ Kivi cix`q`v Puj`_tqQj b| Zte Lei mšMni t`_q`
wbDBqtK`_t`v`v`i l`v`v` Amewi`Z`_P`RR`B`_g`v`v`i tPq Ab`_t`KD ZZUv
cfeve tdtj bwb| Zvi D`w`eZ tmj`_y`q`w wdj`_y`_thgb wfv`y`qj misewi KZvi
wfvîE Mto w`_tqQj, tZgbB Zv`_t`_w`l`_tqQj mevK One`_Zvî`Zi| wfv`bæ
_iæ`c`y`_Nubvî One aviyi t`_q`_t`_GwU d`_t`_v`Mnd`_t`_K AZ`_šî`_Riavi gva`tg
_iæ`y`Z Kti| ZvB avivewwKZvq Avtm nvr`÷`_l cvj`_Rvîi Pj`_y`Kiv
tvev`v`i i`w`b`_t`_v`oc`_l Gi cikvcnk tij`_c`_i`_e`vcK we`_t`_i`_dtj
cwi`Kvi gvj`_K l m`cv`Kt`_i`_mgv`b nVrB Lj`_hvq t`_k`R`_t`_o`_GK wekvj
cwi`Kvi evRvi| hw l miz`Kvi RvZxq msev`gva`_tgi weKvîk NUZ`_tj`_t`_M`_Qj
Avtiv A`bK`_tj`_v`_eQî |

wgv`wqvi`_l cûZv`et`_t`_w`_

Avgt`_i`_cûZv`_tbi Rv`etb tKv`v`v` GKwU m`_t`_w`_tq wekQz`_e`v`L`_v`_Kiv m`æ
nq bv| ZvB misewi KZvi fvgKv, PPR`_l`_w`v`v`_v`_e`_s`_t`_Z`_ntj`_w`_fv`bæ`_Zv`_E`_K
aviv Avgv`_i`_Rb`_gj`_e`v`b`_c`v`_q`| Ggb GKwU aviyi fvtj`_v`_D`_v`v`_i`_y`_nt`_Q,

tdv_ Gf = U ev i v t o f P Z z c i n t m t e m s e v c i | A v B b w e f i M , w e P v i w e f i M I u b e l n x w e f i t M i c i k v c m k A v a v m s e w a m b K c s i q m s e v c i t i K v h p r g c w i P m j Z n l q q G u l A c i u z b u w w e f i t M i g t a f i v i m i g i i q l v l Z v i u k i K v R k t i e t j m e v i K v t Q c l z a g g i b n q | A P P z z c i n t m t e m s e v c i t i G B a v i Y v g j - Z A o v k k z i k w e l u k c u j q u m i t c h M v j w i t t k D m e z | K v j m t g G B a v i Y v , m v g w m k A t , c h n t k m v a v i Y i a z j i A v m t b e m i t q t o | A v R k v j G B P z z g f i v i a v i Y v G Z u v b e v c k z v t c t q t m t q t h , Z v m i s e w i k t i l q v P w m e v b R i v t i i f i g k v q A e z x v K t i t o | Z v i v G L b R b M t Y i t P i L - K i v , m v R v M z c h i x , n i k i w t z m e v c l z A v i w e c t L t j g v t S - g t a K v g t o l t q |

h y i v t o f i w e k o u g w l v q v z w i E k t u = u t j i w e t e P b v q , P z z c i n t n t o G g b G k t N v i j v M v A v i A v z m e w g h v i D t j l A v R k v j m i s e w i K t i K v t Q L o b w e k e t j g t b n q | A P Z v t i t e w i f i M B G g b i k f i t e l b v G u v G K u v Z E i q a v i Y v g v l | R b t p c l z i n q z c u j t b i D t j t k B m i s e w i K i v G B t c k v t e t Q u b t q t Q b G e s Z v t i b w z k A v P i Y u e a A b y i t i Y i g v a t g G B i n q z c u j b k t i b | w k s G u v m i z K v i A t q m e v l b q , A v e i v c k z . c o l b q | K v i Y G B t c k v A v P i Y u e a A M o n K t i c l o k b r a x b z v e R v q i v l u t k c l a v b w t q v t k b | t k b v g t j i w k t t k r a x b z v m i s e w i t k i K v t Q A v t i v t e w k v p q z |

Ab w t k , c l u m z f i t e e j v n q , m s e v c i n t o m g v t R i c p A v i G L b m s e v c i n t q D i v t Q G K c l z w e w z u b q v : t h l v t b G K n t q u g t k w t k Z v i g z v g z | Z v b A v R k v j c u o g v z w i E k i v u g w l v q v t k w e t e P b v K i t Q b m a c t k p k z w f z i n t m t e | m s e v c i t k e j t h v i m t h v t M i w e l q b q e i s n t q D i v t Q g l e o G K K u g D u b u w e v t m v o x | m n R K v q G i B g v a t g A v g i v m e l v t b v c b K t i P t j u o K l a z e z v (R e l a t i o n s h i p s) ; u g w l v q v i g v a t g A v g i v c l z u b q z u b R u b R K u g D u b u w e v t m v o x i m t z h y n i o | G f i t e A c i v c i t j v K R t b i g v t S A s i f n t q c k v i v s t i M t o Z j u o e p E i u g w l v q v g w k b t h v i m t h v M w e l q k c u o z u k = v g t h g b u w h y t L v b :

children are a “medium of connection” between families and the school system. Similarly, news media connect us to the communities to which we belong, or want to belong. Likewise, the World Wide Web is not just a medium about information but about relationships—a way for individuals to connect with other individuals. Audiences have historically connected with their community by means of newspaper agendas.

A P K i g K k l e Q i A v t M B M Y Z t s j m g z e K v t k K u g D u b u w e v t m v o x c l z o r q m s e v c i t j v i A u b e t h f i g K v i K v e t j t m t Q b g w k b t j L K l i p s h e A v t j m m w l Z k w e j | R b d v u g t j i A v t M B u g v m t R d v i m t b i A b y i t Y b i v b r f i t e Z k w e j G B u b t q w e f b e m g t q e u Z k K t i t o b | w z i b G k u w M Y Z m s k m g v t R i t k b m e m g q t c h n t k w b w t q t Q b | w z i b e j t z b t h t K v t b v i v t o f D v i w z k a v i Y i m g x A s k n t o e v K r a x b z v A v i t c h t m B r a x b z v t k m e m g q m h t z e A v m t j i v t l | Z t e Z k w e j w e f b e K u g D u b u w c l z o r q m s e v c i t j v t h f i g K v i v t l Z v l h i P v b K t i t L v i e v c v t i u t j b m g i b A v M t h x | Z v i f v l v q ,

There is a necessary connection between public associations and newspapers : newspapers make associations and associations make newspapers.

e v l e k , G B a i t b i m a c k k t k k t i m i s e w i K Z v i m g z P P f g v a t g A v g i v t t k M t o Z j z c w i A a k z i t u k m b M Y Z s ; l m k v m t b i m y G k u w a v i v | m i s e w i K Z v i G B c x u z b n z c v t i G k u w t k l R w i z t k c v v K i v i t g v l g D c i v | m k j g z - c t i g t a H K l t h v i m t h v t M i m e R b x t f c D t b v P t b i g v a t g G u l A v g v t i w t z c v t i R v z i q m s n u z l u b i v c E v i Z t u z e v a | G L t b v m s e v c i t R b R x e t b i i a z c y Ask | m s e v c i t i g v b u b a f K (N o r m a t i v e) f i g K v t h g b A v t Q , t z g b B K u g D u b u w G t R U v u b a f t Y i c i k v c m k R b m s u z i w e k v z i m s z K i v i t q t i R b M Y t k m a c z K i v i c l u q v q m s e v g v a g k g i b l D t j l t h v M c f i v e k i n t m t e l A e v b i v t l | Z t e G B e v e z v i l m z , t h c s i q m s e v c i t G B K v h p r g P m j t q h v q Z v i l c l z u b q z c u j v e j N U t Q |

R b m a c z Z v i z w i u k s e v R b g z t k c f w e z K i v i t q t i m s e v c i t i A c i G k u w w c v i A v t Q G e s t m b w K u l m e m g q t o b q | g w k b B u z n i m e t W w f w c j b W t h g b u w e t j b , t c h u b t R t t k B R b m a c z Z v i M t o t z v t j b v | t c h h v K t i Z v n t o G u l u b R N i v b v i t j v K R t b i g t a Z m i e i v n K t i , A v i t m B Z A v f b e g z v t k p w f i e t z u b R K u g D u b u w M t o Z j z z m s i k o t M v o x i t j v t K v j e e n v i K i t z m t g n q | G t k A v a n b K c w i f v l v q e j v h v q B u v t i d m a c | e z o t b A v g v t i t k a g r e D M c u s l R w z g t b v f v e v c b a t j v K R b t k U v t M o K t i G K t k Y i m s e v c i t i D u b g j - K L e i c w i t e k b G K i n t m t e t c h l Z v i B u v t i d m a c i g a K v i A v s t l u x o v i G k u w P g r K v i o v s | A t b K w k t t k B G m e B t q v t j v t c h c k z . N U b v i Z u e k u z l f y Z c w i t e k t b i g v a t g t j u K R b t k w e a r s i K t i A c - m i s e w i K Z v i K z o v s t i t l P t j t o | u b R N i v b v i t j v K R t b i g t a P v A j l D e r b v z w i K i v i j t j g b M o v l f y e v z P t c u o w t q G m e m s e v c i n t q z v z v t i g z v g z t k c f w e z K i t z c i t i , u k s z v t i G B A c c o u m t t k i t u k m b M Y Z t s j t t o K L t b v i f b q | g w k b u g w l v q v z w i E k t R g m K v i m R m i s e w i K Z v i e w z l u g G B a i t b i A c c o u m t k D t j l K t i t o b o g t w j A e B b d i t g k b d i n t m t e |

B t q v t j v t c h , m e t k b v n t j l A t b K v s t k , m s e v c i t i t k Y m e f v R t b i t q t i Z s ; G K o v s l n t q A v t Q | g w k b A a v c k t d t w i k i n t q e v t u P e Y B v q h v u j e v u m i q v b e v g y e v k | Z t e i n t q e v t u P a v i Y v c l w e f e P b v K t i u g w l v q w e t k l A A a v c k R b t b i v t b i f v l : G u v n t o A v B u l v q i e v R w i a v i Y v h v i t q t o g y e v k Z t s j i v R w z k t h v i m t h v M g t w t j i g t j | G u v G g b G K w e k t m R w i z Z v t z m s e v c i t k g t b K i v n q c l u c w e z t b i G t R U i n t m t e l d t j t h m e t c h Z v i t h v i m t h v M g t w t j i A v l Z v f y w e f b a B u v t i d m a c , i v R w z k j l a g r e m s v t b i c l z m n u b y z k x j Z v t i c l z i k v l m s i k o l B t c h t k u n t i j u z t q l t v | Z v i v G B A v k v q Z v t i w e k j m t k P m j z K t i t h , Z v t i g t z v A b h v i v G K B l K g a v i Y v j v j b K t i Z v i v u g t j g z v i k R K u g D u b u w e v N i v b v z w i K i t z c v t i | t h A v B u l v q t k u n t i G B a v i Y v M t o D i v t Q Z v n t o c v k A v t e l m o f P G e s f i e r t e t M i e t k Z v i v m s e v e v Q i B K t i | m e f B , G u v e j v A t h S v k b q , A v B u l v q i t h e v R w i a v i Y v G L b B t q v t j v t c h t k N i v b v z w i t z D o y K t i t o Z v A t b K u v w t z v i x h j m i t k l w t k Z r k v j u b u k i m g v t R i A w z k e v R v t i a v i Y v t t k L y G K u v A v j v v b q |

wft±vixq h3Mi cūšKcteᵐseᵛcĭ RmĭZi Pwĭĭ tKej Ai f cPvi-
cĭZthmMzvi gvaᵗg ubv 0 nqub eis Guj U l Btqtjv tclōmi mᵛcr Kĭ i
mᵛsew KZv PPA ĩ 19ĭĭ μgūMZ wēfir³ ĩ GB mgqĭK wfbēemkō ĩ tqtQ
mᵛsew KZvi cĭZ Btqtjv tclōmi wᵒfwĭtK KlĭtĭvB eĭbō űQj GgZ
wētePbv Kivi tKvĭv KviY tBĭ| tRgm Kĭwi GB B űkvetĭi ga Kvi
mᵛNwĭ R Ae ĩbĭtK bvgKiY KĭtĭQb űgĭWj Ae Bbdiĭgkĭb Ges űgĭWj Ae
Kbfiĭtmkĭb űntmĭe| cĭg gnvĭxi cĭg vĭfei gvaᵗg Avĭgwi Kvmn wētkĭ
mēP űgĭWj Ae Bbdiĭgkĭb ĩwbK cĭĭKvi mᵛsew KZv PPA ĩ 19ĭĭ űQj
cĭfve wē ĩi Kvix GKĭU gĭWj |

eZgĭb kZĭtK Gĭm mᵛsew KZv Zvi űbĭRiB ĩZwi Kiv ĩeciĭZ ĩhb
AvUKv cĭtotQ| Aōv k kZĭtK gP mᵛsew KZvi mPbvceĭ ĩK G chSĭAb
th tKvĭv mgĭqi tPtq űgūWqv AfZceᵐwēKvĭki dtj Avgiv GLb GK
Z ĩNb cwiĭtĭk emem KivQ| GLb mᵛseᵛ cvlqv thgb mnR, tZgbB
mgvRI wēivR KĭtQ mᵛsew KZvi Amᵛe cĭfveejĭg| űKŠ Zv mĭĭĭ
mᵛsew KZv tckvi tĭvKRbĭtK cōtZ nĭQ ivRbmZwē, űgūWqvZwĭĭK,
mĭvavi Y gvbĭ, wētkĭqbwēĭvax Kvgᵐagĭĭ tMōx Ges GgbwK tLᵛ mᵛsew Kĭ i
bĭRi wēixb ĩZvĭci gĭĭ| ĩeciĭZ ĩ cĭg avĭc ĩtqtQ mgvR mᵛsew KZvi
μgeaĭyb cĭfve hv mntRB eĭvL v Kiv hvq| Gi AšĭbĭZ Kvi Y űbqvRĭjo
bZĭ l m ĩ Bĭj KUbK cĭhĭp mĭj ve nĭq hvĭ qvq mᵛseĭ ĩ wēZiY l cĭkĭ
nĭZi bĭMĭj Pĭj Avmĭ| dtj Z ĩ mᵛwZK, ivR%wZK l A %wZK
K ĩ Amᵛe tēto tMĭQ| GKŪv wēlq Avgiv wēvB Dcĭ wā KĭtZ cvĭ űZ ĩ
cĭPbᵐ ĩ thĭwĭb űvov Avgvĭ ĩ KvwĭZ MYZŠPPᵐKsev A %wZK cēwxi
aviv eRiq ivLv A ev tĭv³vi Pmĭ v cĭY tKvĭbĭwB ARB Kiv mᵛe bq|

űgūWqv ZzXq GKĭU Kĕ ĩ Mto ZĭtZ mĭĭg GK v thgb mZ, tZgbB
tmŪv memgqB RbMĭYi cĭĭĭi GKĭU wēKĭ kw³ Zv l űKŠbq| mĭvavi Yfĭte,
Avgiv Rvb űgūWqv nĭQ cĭZwĭwĭtZĭ ĩ vZK Ges Zvi tĭv³vi v Zvĭ kā,
cĭZxK l cĭZgv DcĭfĭM Kĭbĭ|¹⁵ GB KvĭtYB Z vZv űntmĭe, RbMĭYi
wēteĭKi cĭhĭv űntmĭe űKsev űKĭĭ vZv ev Ab Avĭv bĭbmea fĭgKv cvĭtĭb
űgūWqv AekB Zvi tĭv³vi cĭZ wĭqZĭ KZᵐ ĩtqtQ| Kĭtq eQi AvĭM
wēĭUK KvĭvPvĭj =wM R cĭĭi cwi Pmĭ Z GK mgvĭlvq mᵛseĭtK tKvY
mᵛNvZi AvĭvĭtK gZv űK R AwacZ wē ĩtĭi AĭbK tĭv nᵛZqvĭi GKĭU
űntmĭe ĩ Lvĭv nĭqtQ| GB mgvĭlvq ivR%wZK űntRgĭbi epĭi cĭĭqvq
MYgva ĭgi mᵛseĭtK tēvSvi tPōv Kiv nĭqtQ GKĭU mᵛMVK Dcĭ v b űntmĭe;
ZvĭZ Avĭv ev nĭqtQ, mᵛseᵛ nĭQ tmB evRMfᵐavi Yv hv gvbwēK mᵛwZi
cĭZtētki Avĭ Zvq Anin bKj nĭZ nĭZ wēPĭ ĭfc űbtq RĭbRĭb tclō
hvq| mᵛseĭtK ĩ űt =wĭi tĭ v hLb mᵛwĭkō tMōxi gĭa NĭjZ vĭtK ZLb Zv cĭpĭ
cĭpĭ eqĭtĭi dtj bĭv AvKvĭ cĭj wēZ nĭq l ĩv| Gme mᵛseᵛ tKej ZLbB
Nĭycĭk tLĭZ vĭtK hLb mᵛNwĭ R wMwĭKvĭmP gvaᵗg wfbwGK ĭfc cĭvq Avĭ
gvbĭĭi gĭa ĩZwi Kĭi Ab ĩ Kg tēva| j ĩ Kievi wēlq nĭQ, G aĭtĭi
Lēĭi m ĩ wētkĭ Y, hĭp l eĭvL vq tĭvKRb mnmvB űAvĭvšĭ nq|

bwZKZv l ĩabZvi mgv

hĭv Avgiv Ggb GK űbqvq emem Ki Zvq thLvĭb Ab tKvĭv gvbĭ vKtZv
bv Zvĭtĭj űK Avgvĭ ĩ bwZKZvi cĭqvRb nĭZv? hĭv Ab Kĭvĭv Aw ĩZB bv

ĭvKtZv Avĭ Avgiv mᵛcYᵐGKvB ĭKZvq Zvĭtĭj cĭZwĭb bwZKfĭte mWk
KvRwĭ Kievi Rb Avgvĭ ĩ GB AvPvi-AvPiY tKvĭvĭvĭi ĩKvĭl-ev Kx
ĭvKtZv? űKŠ Avgiv tZv gvbĭĭi cĭw exĭZB em Kwi | Avgvĭ ĩ gby mgvR
cĭZwĭbB Pwĭ-Pvgmĭ, WwKwZ-ivvRvb nq, Lĭy-Lvi wē nq, aĭP Avĭ AcnĭY
nq; űnsmv-nvĭvĭwĭb, űLw ĩLDi Avĭ bĭvĭ bwZK űj tĭi NUbvq Avgiv ĭwK
eĭwē ĩ| hĭv mĭpKZvq wēkĭmX Zvĭv AekB ej tēb GB űbqvq exĭZ nĭj
mēwKōZ AvĭM bwZKZv ĩKvĭ| űZwĭ Avgvĭ ĩ Rb th bwZK wēwĭbĭla tēta
w tqtQb Zv tĭtb Pjv AekB Rĭwĭ | GgbwK Ckĭi wēkĭm tĭb hĭv ĩ Zvĭv nqZv
Ggb űKōZkĭtZ tMĭj bwZKfĭte evavMĭnb|

avĭhvK, mēv ARĭšĭGĭ ĩki mg ĩMvQ hĭv tKD tKtU tdtj Zvĭtĭj
űbōQb KvRwĭ mēv KĭtQb A%wZK etj B wēteĭPZ nĭe| ZvB Ggb cwi wĭZi
gĭĭ GLĭv Avgvĭ ĩ Rĭetb bwZKZv AZšĭ ĩazcYᵐwēlq etj wēteĭPZ;
GŪv GK Avĭv v avĭPĭ wēavĭ| Ggb hĭv nq, mᵛwYᵐwēivb GKĭU GĭvKvq
Avĭwb GKv, tKv vĭ tKD tĭb, Ggb cwi wĭZĭZ AvĭcĭvĭtK Lĭy Kgb bwZK
mᵛKĭtUĭ tĭvKvĭtēj KĭtZ nĭe| bwZK mᵛKU nĭQ mgvR Avgvĭ ĩ
mᵛc, ZvĭB D; 10 Ab ĩ ĩ Nĭbō mĭwĭta emēvĭm mᵛvavi Rb GB gĭ
Avgvĭ ĩ wĭZ nq| Avgvĭ ĩ mĭvĭwRK GB cwi gĭtĭj ĩ GKv K Avĭtĭi gvaᵗg
űbqvšZ Avĭ Ab w KĭU aĭi ivĭL bwZKZv| GB bwZKZvi Avĭtq Ab ĩ
cĭZ Avgiv űkōvPvi l k³v tLvB|

AĭbK ĩvKōKB GB tĭte AevK nb th, tKbB-ev Avgvĭ ĩ Gme
bwZKZv? Avĭ G tĭv GĭB-ev tKvĭtK? GB űbtq gĭ wZwĭU Dĭtĭmi K v
Avgiv Rvb| Gi gĭa mᵛeZ mēPtq cĭjĭv nĭQ agᵐ cĭq me atqB gvbĭĭi
mᵛ Rĭebhĭcĭtĭi Rb űbt Rbvi mĭtĭ t qv nĭqtQ bwZKZvi wēavĭl | Gme
bwZKZv mĭvavi YZ űKōZAbĭvĭtĭi gvaᵗg ej er Kiv nq| thgb, mᵛ KvĭRi
Rb gZĭ cĭi cĭj vĭ űKsev wēavĭ j Nĭtĭi Rb kw ĩBZ w |

űQZxq Dm nĭQ, mgvR Ab ĩ mĭwĭta emēvĭm Rb Avgvĭ ĩ Gme
bwZKZv nĭQ Avĭtĭj GK aĭtĭi mĭvĭwRK Pwᵐ| gĭZ bwZKZv cwi exĭi
evēv-gŭĭi gvaᵗg Avgiv űkĭL Ges cĭw Kfĭte ZvĭvB G tĭv Avgvĭ ĩ l cĭ
Rwĭ ivĭLb| Zĭte cĭeZxPZ mgvRB Gme bwZKZv tRvĭvĭtĭvĭte cĭqvM
Kĭĭ| Pēvšĭmĭw nĭQ, Avgiv G KvĭtYB bwZK, tKbbv mᵛRvZfĭteB Avgiv
mWk KvĭRi cĭZ mĭov w B| Avgiv ĩfĭwēKfĭteB tKvĭvĭwK Avĭ tKvĭvĭw
fĭj tRĭb hvB, Avgvĭ ĩ tKD Av e-Kvq v bv tKlvĭtĭj l Avgiv mᵛRvZ cēwĭ
tĭtĭB fĭtĭv AvPiY Kwĭ| tKD űkĭtĭi AvPiY tLqv Kĭtĭj tLĭeb l iv
vĭtK cĭjĭv cĭj AvZKw K; mgĭqi mĭtĭ mĭtĭ evēv-gv Avĭ mgvRi Zĕjeavĭtĭb
l iv bwZKZvi cvĭ űbtq eo nĭq l ĩv|

Avgvĭ ĩ gĭtS Ggb űKōZwKōZAvPiYmZ mgmĭv ĩtqtQ th, tĭv mgvRi
ĭwZ Kivi Rb hĭ o| tMŪv mgvRi fĭtĭv Rb G tĭv wĭtq ivĭtZ ev
Kiv nq| thgb, avĭhvK, wēĭva űbᵐwĭi Dcĭv űntmĭe hĭv Lĭy ev gvĭvZK
nvĭvĭwĭtK mgvR Abĭgĭv b w Z Zvĭtĭj Avgvĭ ĩ Aĭtĭtĭi cĭĭĭB mgvR
kwšĭZ emem Kivi c AwPĭiB eŪ nĭq thZ Avĭ w bĭvĭtĭi Rĭebhĭcĭb
GĭKēvĭtB mᵛe nĭZv bv űtRvi hvi gĭy Zvĭw bwZ ZLbB LvU hĭv tKD
űbtR kw³kvx nq; űKŠ Avgiv tKDB memgq mēLvĭb kw³gvb bB| ZvB
Avgvĭ ĩ űbtRĭ ĩ ĩB mēvĭB űbqg tĭtb Pjvi wēlqv űwōZ Kiv
cĭqvRb| űbqg tĭtō covi cēj Avkĭv tĭtĭB mgvR bĭv wēavĭ Pjĭ j tqtQ

ntqtQ KuzCq ktZP Avl Vvq| GtZ ejv ntqtQ :

Article 39(1) of the Constitution provides for freedom of speech, expression and the press but Article 39(2) makes the enjoyment of these rights subject to “reasonable restrictions” in the interests of “the security of the state, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency and morality in relation to contempt of court, defamation, or incitement to an offence.

msev cfi i faxbZv ZLbB A on ntq l fv hLb ZvtZ bWZK vq hy vfk Avi mvgmRK vqZkxj Zv eRvq vfk| tkbbv faxbZv tFIM Kivi tqt Actii cZ vqZkxj AvPiY GKU cU igk kZ bbtj GKRtbi faxbZvi Rb Ab RbtK evj ntZ nq| GKBFite, ubi k faxbZv tFIM KiZ ntj iKvi Actii cZ mtePP Ovo t qvi AUa gvbwmKZv| ZvB faxbFite tKD hLb tKvfv AvPiY Kti Ab t i l wK GKB iKg AvPiY Kivi bWZK Awakvi itqtQ| GB wntmte faxbZv ej tZ tMtj, Zvi wbtRiB vqZfitevai gva tg mvgZ| mZivs faxbZvi cKvk ZLbB h_v_ A on nq hr Avgiv hvmz AvPiY Kwi | GUv Avtiv teik mZ th, Avgiv hZB AmzZcY AvPiY Kwi bv tKb tmUv aZ bq, eis Avgiv hvmz cUv, Avgiv thgb wbtRi KvQ wK tZgbB Atb i KvQI hvmz ntq l Vvi tPovB Kwi | diwm Av Zev x tj LK Avj tci Kvggtb KiZB, Avgiv gbyiv Ggb GK Rie hviv Zvt i tMvUv RiebUvB cvi Kti w B wbtRt i KvQ GUv cUvY KiZ th, Avgit i GB Rieb AthwK (Absurd) bq| wKS KxfiteB-ev Avgiv t LvtZ cmi RiebUv AthwK ev ubi R bq? tj LK wbtRB Zvi DEti etj tQb : Avgit i Ktg thwKZvi c_ LJR LJR|

ZvB Avgit i KvRi thwKZvi mtz gP B Ovi msNI GovtZ AvBb gvbti i faxbZvi mvgv teta w tqtQ| GB mvgv jwNZ ntj, tKDev AvtZ-AAvtZ tmB tPsnw tcmvq tMtj AvBb Zvi Aeva B Ovi Wj cvjv tQtU t q| AvBvb e vL vq ejv nq, Awbqsz faxbZv Rietb l mgvR bivr tWtK AvtB| GB Kvi tY Avgiv th faxbZv tFIM Kwi Zv nt Q AvBb Oviv wqsz kZmvtc q| faxbZv| GB faxbZvi mO enviti gva tg cKZ.mZ tK DtbwPtb Avgit i eZv ntZ nq| misew Kiv NUB l ev eZvi inm D NVtB GB faxbZvi B mO envit KtibN mZ tK LJR tci KiZ ubi Shi AbymUrmvK KvR j vMvb, ZvtZ gZ cKviki c_ AvMtj wvq bv tKvfv AvBb wKsev UuU tPtC ati bv tKvfv GKtPvLv KZ q|

wetUtb weimoi evZP cUvRKt i ubi t c q fite vqZj cvj tbi Rb wevagjv msev Z GKU ubi wKv itqtQ| GtZ mZl c q cvZxib msev civi tekB, e wMZ tMvbxqZv i qv, iap l tkvfbZv eRvq ivLv, tUjv wfkB mmsmZv l wki t i cU kB, v msukw BZ w Avtiv AtbK wv t q msev civi tekB mZKZv Aej tB KiYiq wK t jv Ztj av ntqtQ| GQov msev cfi i wia x DIvncZ AwfthwM Avgtj tbqvi tqt wUk tcn KgtcB Um Kvgktbi (wmm) wfvE nt Q GwUwim tKw Ae cUvKwUml Pvi cUvi GB AvPiY wevagjv misewi KZvq gj- bWZK gvb d wPti i fitjv wbt RK| GB wevagjv wtkj wvfbet tk GKRb misewi tKi bWZKfite vqZj cvj tB AbvriY Kiv nq| wUk Kgb l taj_fy t k wntmte

evsj vt tkI Kgtewk GB bWZgvj v tgbt Pj v nq| GLvtb wmmoi wevagj vU Ztj av ntj v:

The PCC duvet

- Accuracy, and the prompt correction of inaccuracies.
- The opportunity to reply to attack or criticism.
- Prohibition of invasion of privacy, including by long-lens cameras, except in cases involving genuine public interest.
- Harassment is forbidden, except in cases of public interest.
- Intrusion upon people suffering grief or shock must be ‘made with sympathy and discretion’.
- Children should not be bothered at school, or interviewed or photographed without parental consent under the age of 16
- No use of listening devices, or phone-tapping, except in cases of public interest.
- Hospitals: journalists should not operate covertly.
- Misrepresentation: ‘Journalists must not generally seek to obtain information or pictures through misrepresentation or subterfuge.’ Such information ‘should be removed only with the consent of the owner’. Again, there is a public interest exception.
- An individual’s race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, or disability is only to be mentioned in stories where directly relevant.
- Financial journalism: no use for personal profit of information received; no writing about shares in which a journalist has an interest, without permission of the editor.
- Confidentiality of sources must be protected. This is ‘a moral obligation’.
- Payment for stories is acceptable, but not where payment is made to criminals or their associates. Again, there is a public interest test.

GB bWZgvj vi cvkvcnk tcn KgtcB UmKvgktbi AvZwqszYgj-K misewi KZvi aviYv AZ si iazcy q GB aviYv msev cfi i faxbZv mcvkKZ v wP tbi HwZtn i wfvE tZ Mto l Vv| wmm wvkv vcv AvZwqszYgj-K tcn ms vi tBUl qvK Mto tZvj vi KvR AvjvtqY Ae BUtctUv tcn KvDwYj Ae BDtvtci cvkvcnk AMv x fvgKv cvj b KiQ| GQov Avki kK t tK BDtbt vDi Dt v tM misewi Kt i Rb wvkv vcv bWZK AvPiYwva cZovq KvR KiQ l qvi A vtmvmtqkb Ae tcn KvDwYj m gtb ivLv iKvi, tKvfv GKU m t w t q thgb mewKQz e vLv mae bq, tZgb tKvfv GKU bWZgvj v w t q l me Dt k m vab nq bv|

Avgit i t k wKQz wKQz msev cfi i jvMvgnxb msev civi tek tbi e vcti AtbKw b atiB msukw wtkl Av GB etj mZK Kti AvmtQb th, hr Zviv bWZK gvb d eRvq t t l l epEi mvgmRK vqZfiteva t tK Zvt i vqZj cvj b bv Ktib Zvtj Zvt i l ci AvBb cUvqMi Suk itqtQ| uoZ, cvBKwi fite msev gva tgi l ci bWZK gvb d Avtvtc AvBb e envi Kiv AtbK mgq ntq l fv bv t k misewi KZvi vqZj cvj b l PP q tqt bWZKZv chfe q tY ej tZ tMtj, tZgb tKvfv bRi wv ms v tbB| ZvQov misewi KZvi Rb tKvfv jvBtmY ev AvmUwUkbl iKvi nq bv| Ab w t k, misewi Kiv Zvt i AvPiY wqszYi th tKvfv tPovi wv v RvbtelV GUvB tFwEK| Zte mva cUzK mg t q t k misewi Kt i h_vh bWZK AvPiY tgbt Pj tZ DrmmvZ Kiv l AwWZK AvPiYi Rb Av vj tZi FrvBv Kivm AvBb cUvqMi wKQzKQz ov si itqtQ|

ʌKŠ KʌtK etj mʌsew KZv hʌr Zv RʌMʌtq bʌ t`q Avgʌt`i AbʌwZt`k,
 hʌr Zv emʌtq bʌ t`q cʌVʌKi AvMʌni mʌgv, ʌKsev hʌr Zv cʌrvʌv bʌ t`q
 Avgʌt`i tktʌeva! KʌiY mʌsew KZv iʌymsev B cʌi tʌkb Kʌi bʌ, Gʌv
 GKʌr tK thgb Avgʌt`i mʌvR-ev`bZv cʌZdj b Nʌvq, tZgb Abʌr tK
 mʌvR cʌfʌel iʌtL| msev gʌ`g hʌ Kʌi, hʌr etj ʌKsev hʌr t`Lvq Zv mʌZ`
 GKʌU t`tki iʌR%bʌZK-A`%bʌZK, mʌgvʌRK I mʌs`wZK ev`bZvq
 iʌzen| mʌsew KZv kb`Mʌt`AwʌbZ bq; t`tk mʌy MYZt`šj ʌeKʌtK GʌU
 Ab`Zg gʌ- cʌhʌi fʌgKʌ cʌj bKʌiʌ gʌ`g| RbgʌZi mʌMʌb I cʌZdj b
 Nʌvʌtʌr msev gʌ`tgi iʌwqZj| ZYgʌ- t`tk RʌZʌq cʌfʌ, mʌLʌtʌ Gi
 MʌYtʌM Zv mʌv KʌtQ mʌgv| RbMʌYi Rʌvʌ I mʌwK Z` cʌl qʌi AwʌKʌi
 ʌbʌwZ Kʌi mʌsew KZv cʌwqK kZ`

ZʌB mʌKQž cʌiI mʌsew KZv iʌzcy`cʌhʌ|
 msev`i cʌg KʌR`kR-tkʌZv-cʌVKʌK ʌtʌv`b t`qv bq; Gi cʌg I cʌel
 `wqZj nʌt`Q mZZv, ʌek; Zv I e`ʌbʌfʌte Zʌt`i AwʌZ Kʌi| ʌKŠ
 mʌs`cʌZK eQi tʌtʌZ GKʌkYʌi msev gʌ`tgi nʌtZ mʌsew KZv iʌzcy`
 bʌwZKZʌq ʌPo aʌtZ t`Lv tʌMʌQ| AvRKʌj cʌ-cʌwʌKʌi ʌKsev ʌeʌfʌbʌwʌf
 Pʌtʌtʌj msev` Anʌn GB ʌPo fʌqʌenʌfʌte tʌtʌL cʌo| Gʌv AZ`š
 ʌec`bK GKʌU cʌYZv; tKj Zv mʌsew KZv Rb`B bq, eʌs mʌgvʌMʌK fʌte
 Gʌt`ki tʌMʌv mʌvʌRi Rb` GB cʌYZv tʌwʌK AvʌtQ gʌnʌec`|

Avgʌt`i gʌZv t`tk MYZš; I mʌkʌmʌtʌi wʌZ kʌwʌkʌj Kʌi tʌtʌt
 iʌtʌt gʌ- ʌZbʌU Lʌwʌi cʌkʌcʌwʌk PZZ`fʌwʌtʌte msev gʌ`tgi fʌgKʌ AZ`š
 iʌzcy` t`tki bʌvʌ mʌsKʌtʌj Ges ʌeʌfʌbʌmʌgʌt RbMʌYi Avʌv-Aʌvʌv-ʌvʌi
 mʌwK cʌZdj tʌ, ʌKQze ʌZʌg evʌ, msev gʌ`tgi fʌgKʌ ʌQj eʌvʌB
 `wqZkʌj| BʌZvʌtʌi ʌbʌi tL t`Lv hʌq, JcʌbʌtʌwʌK Avgʌtʌj Gʌt`ki
 msev gʌ`g kʌmKʌt`i iʌPʌtʌZtʌcʌv Kʌi Zʌt`i Abʌvq-AʌePʌi, tʌvʌY-
 eʌbʌv Avʌi Amʌv`el tʌgʌi ʌeʌt`x RbgZ mʌMʌtʌ ʌeʌkʌ fʌgKʌ cʌj b
 Kʌi tʌQ| GKʌfʌte cʌwK`ʌb kʌmʌvʌgʌj Ges `ʌʌbZv-cʌeZ`mʌgʌt ʌeʌfʌbʌe
 mʌgvʌK `ʌvʌPʌtʌi Avgʌtʌj I msev gʌ`g Sʌk ʌbʌtq GʌMʌtq GʌtʌtQ Gʌt`ki
 MYZšKʌvʌ gʌbʌj I cʌtʌt| cʌkʌcʌwʌk ʌeʌfʌbʌe iʌzcy`RʌZʌq BmʌtZ RbMʌtK
 mʌc`š Kʌi cʌwʌq msev gʌ`g `k`gʌb I Dʌj LʌtʌvʌM` cʌfʌeK ʌntʌtʌel
 Ae`vʌ tʌtʌtQ| AvʌRʌKi ʌtʌl e`ʌbʌ msev` cʌi tʌkb I ʌePʌi-ʌeʌkʌtʌYi
 gʌ`tq ʌeʌfʌbʌe iʌzi I cʌmʌwʌK BmʌtK GʌU ʌbʌtq AvʌtQ RbMʌYi cʌZ`ʌ
 tʌwʌtʌi|

th Av`mʌgvʌRK avʌv, bʌwZ mʌsʌvʌš Bmʌy ʌKsev iʌR%bʌZK AveZ`
 Gʌt`ki MYZš; mʌkʌmʌ, RbRʌeb I fʌel tʌZi tʌci cʌfʌe ʌe`ʌi KʌtQ tʌm
 mʌcʌK`gʌbʌj I gʌt` mʌwK avʌv t`qv I mʌPZbZv Mʌto tʌZʌvʌi tʌtʌt
 msev gʌ`tgi fʌgKʌ AZ`š Zʌrchʌy` t`tki iʌRbʌwZ I Af`šʌi xʌ bʌvʌ
 BmʌtZ wʌfʌegZv tʌk` cʌ-cʌwʌKʌi tʌvʌi ʌbR`^gZʌgZ`vKʌZ cʌtʌi, ʌKŠ
 msev gʌ`tgi `ʌʌbZv bʌtq t`k ʌecʌʌq Ggb KʌgʌvʌD mʌZ` AbʌwʌtʌZ|
 mʌs`cʌZK mʌgʌt tʌkʌKQz msev gʌ`tq cʌi tʌwʌZ Lei, Z` I msev` ʌeʌkʌY
 Zʌt`i tʌci b`l`wqZj I MYgʌ`tgi `ʌʌbZvʌK cʌkʌe`x Kʌi tʌQ| ʌKQzʌKQz
 msev`cʌtʌi cʌkʌcʌwʌk Bʌj KʌUʌbK ʌgvʌwʌq Z` ʌeKʌZ, fʌy Z` cʌi tʌkb I
 AvʌZiʌtʌi Kʌi tʌY Rbgʌtʌ ʌeʌfʌ cʌfʌe I cʌZʌwʌq j`ʌ Kʌi tʌMʌQ| dtj,
 GKʌr tK thgb MYZš; I mʌkʌmʌtʌi Rb` Zv ʌwʌZi Kʌi Y nʌtq `wʌt`Q,

Aa'vq : `B

meR t`k nj y tch

cʌw exi epEg gʌvʌtMʌf dti ÷ mʌy ieb Gʌj vʌq hʌvʌi ʌgtʌY ʌMʌtqʌb, ʌeʌkʌ
 Kʌi el Pʌtʌmʌg, Zʌt`i ʌbʌwZ GB AwʌfʌZv nʌtʌtQ; el fʌq mʌy iebʌi Nb meR
 Aven ʌPʌtʌi eʌtq hʌl qʌ Kʌv`v-tʌMʌj v nj y`b`x cʌeʌv t`tL eʌsʌj mʌmʌtZ`i ʌeL`vZ
 JcʌbʌwʌK gʌmʌK eʌ`v cʌvʌvq Zʌi GKʌU Dcʌbʌtʌi bʌg ʌtʌqʌtʌj b ʌnj y
 b`x meR ebʌ| Avgʌt`i GB meR t`k ʌwʌtZ MZ KʌtqK eQi iʌRbʌwZi tʌNʌj v
 Rʌtʌj aʌvʌi mʌsew KZv nj y`Z`cʌeʌv t`tL th Kʌtʌv gʌtʌ nʌtZ cʌtʌi ʌmeR
 t`k nj y tch Ggb GKʌU ʌkʌtʌvʌg|

BʌZvʌtʌi ʌbʌi tL t`Lv hʌq, Avgʌt`i GB Dcʌgnʌt`k ʌeʌwʌk kʌmʌtʌi
 Aaxʌtʌb gʌj-Z msev`cʌtʌi ʌeKʌk mʌPZ nq| JcʌbʌtʌwʌK Avgʌtʌj Gme
 msev gʌ`g kʌmKʌt`i iʌPʌtʌZtʌcʌv Kʌi Abʌvq-AʌePʌi, tʌvʌY-eʌbʌv Avʌi
 Amʌv`el tʌgʌi ʌeʌt`x RbgZ mʌMʌtʌ ʌeʌkʌ fʌgKʌ cʌj b Kʌi| cʌwK`ʌb
 kʌmʌvʌgʌj Ges `ʌʌbZv-cʌeZ`mʌgʌt ʌeʌfʌbʌmʌgʌt ʌeʌfʌbʌe mʌgvʌK
 msev gʌ`g Sʌk ʌbʌtq GʌMʌtq GʌtʌtQ Gʌt`ki MYZšKʌvʌ gʌbʌj I cʌtʌt|
 t`tk MYZšKʌvʌ mʌs`wZi PP` I mʌgʌzʌeKʌk Zʌi mʌsZ Kʌi j tʌtʌj gʌ-avʌv
 msev gʌ`g cʌfʌeK ʌntʌtʌte Kʌv Rʌi tʌQ| ʌeʌfʌbʌwʌsKʌtʌj mʌwK I Z`mʌg`x
 msev` cʌi tʌkb Kʌvq GLʌtʌv mʌsew Kʌv Gʌt`k RbMʌYi KʌtQ Avʌv
 cʌZʌK| tʌUKmB MYZš; cʌZʌv I mʌKʌtʌi Rʌeʌw ʌnZv ʌbʌwZ Kʌi tʌtʌt
 msev gʌ`g GLʌtʌv tʌtL PʌtʌtQ eʌj ʌ Ae`vʌ|

Ab`ir`ik migvRK m`iqZt`sj I ci Zv t`dj t`Q A`rfv`eK Pvc| mgv`R me
gZ`c`i gub`j i m`nie`vb, m`c`u`Z, m`ivc`Ev I m`u`Zk`j Zv`m`n t`f`ki
m`igv`MK Db`q`b c`u`q`v evi`evi u`g`u`Ki g`j`L co`t`Q| Zv`B GB a`i`b`i m`isew` KZv
`f`axb m`sev` gva`t`gi Rb` t`Kv`b`v`f`te`B i`f` b`q|

t`f`k MYZ`w`S`K m`s`u`Z`i P`P`I m`g`z`ie`K`v`k m`sev` gva`t`gi m`i`b`i`c`q` I
`m`q`Z`k`j f`i`g`K`v`i I`c`i A`t`b`K`L`m`b m`f`P`K`j| m`i`v`K I Z`m`g`x m`sev`
c`u`i`t`e`k`b K`i`v`i gva`t`g m`sev` gva`g t`h`g`b R`b`M`t`Y`i K`v`t`Q A`v`i`k`j n`t`g I`t`v,
t`Z`g`b t`f`k t`U`K`m`B MYZ`S`; c`u`Z`o`v I m`i`K`v`i`i R`e`v`e`w` m`n`Z`v i`b`w`O`Z K`i`v`i
t`f`j`T`I G`u`U i`v`L`i`Z c`v`t`i e`i`j`o` A`e`v`b| A`_`P` m`e`M`Z m`g`t`g i`v`R`%`b`w`Z`K
A`P`j`e`v`i m`j`h`v`t`M` K`u`Z`c`q m`sev` gva`g g`b`M`ov, D`m`b`g`j`-`K` I A`w`Z`i`w`A`Z` L`e`i
c`u`i`t`e`k`t`b`i gva`t`g R`b`R`e`t`b D`t`O`M, D`r`K`E`v I A`v`i`l`i R`b`f`i`t`g Z`v`i`i
`r`f`v`e`K R`e`b`h`v`i`f`K `v`e`P`n I e`v`n`Z K`t`i`t`Q| e`v`t`e` G`i `v`q`m`q`Z`j`e`w`Z`f`q`t`Q
t`M`U`v m`sev` gva`t`gi I`c`i A`_`P` h`v`i R`b` G`u`U t`g`v`t`U`I `v`q`x` b`q|

Zv`B R`b`M`t`Y`i c`u`Z`u`b`i`a m`t`m`t`e` t`h`m`e m`isew`i` K` A`U` `t`e`_`Q` A`m` `j`i`t`k`
Z`v`i`i t`c`k`m`Z` c`u`i`P`g I g`h`P`v` e`v`n`v`i K`t`i`b Z`v` m`t`e`P`P` A`v`i`i` j`_`N`b| k`Z
e`v`a`n`e`c`i`E` m`t`E`j` G`K`R`b m`isew`i`K`i D`i`P`Z R`b`M`t`Y`i `f`_`P`K`B c`l`a`v`b` i`t`g
m`sev` c`u`i`t`e`k`b K`i`v`i Z`v`i`i e`i`v`M`Z` R`e`b`v`P`i`Y` G`g`b` a`v`i`q` n`l`g`v` `i`K`v`i
h`v`t`Z` t`h` t`K`v`t`b`v` `t`_`P` m`n`v`Z` t`_`t`K` Z`v`i`v` g`y` `v`t`K`b| t`K`b`v` G`K`g`v`i R`b`M`t`Y`i
c`u`Z`B i`t`q`t`Q Z`v`i`i m`t`e`P`P` `m`q`Z`j| G`u`U`B` G`B t`c`k`v`i` a`i`Y` I `e`u`k`o`| K`v`i`Y
m`isew`i` K`Z`v`i` A`v`g`t`i` R`e`b`a`v`i`q` G`K`u`U` t`g`j`j` w`e`l`q` A`v`i` G`B` f`i`g`K`v`i` c`v`j`t`b
m`isew`i` K`t`i`i` A`e`k`B` m`t`e`P`P` g`v`t`b`i` P`P`K`i`v` Q`i`v`o`v` w`e`K`i` t`b`B|

m`isew`i` K`Z`v`i` G`L`t`b`v` t`h`m`e` w`e`l`q`e`i` A`e`Z`v`i`Y`v` K`t`i` Z`v` m`g`v`b` i`a`z`e`n|
d`t`j` m`isew`i` K`Z`v`i` g`b` G`L`t`b`v` A`v`g`t`i` i` K`v`t`Q` G`K`u`U` c`u`i`g`K`v`i` K`Z`P` b`Z`b` c`h`y`P`
b`Z`b` gva`g` A`v`g`t`i` i` Z`m` `c`v`l` q`v`i` t`f`j`t` `t`j`v` m`c`c`h`m`i` Z`K`i`v`q` n`q`z`v` c`u`i`w`i`Z`
c`v`t`e` m`t`q`t`Q| Z`v`i`c`i`l` m`sev` c`t`i`i` A`v`M`g`x`w`i`t`b`i` A`e`q`e` A`u`b`e`h`v`i`f`te` G`K`u`U
w`e`l`t`q`i` I`c`i`B` m`f`P` K`i`t`e`N` A`v`i` Z`v`n`t`Q` A`e`k`B` w`e`l`q`e`-`j` t`K`b`v`
m`i`g`i`m`e`w`i` K`Z`v`i` K`L`t`b`v`B` m`i`l` n`e`v`i` b`q| G`u`U` e`i`v`e`i`B` R`b`M`t`Y`i` `t`_`e`_`R`b`M`t`Y`i
c`t`f`j` Ges` R`b`M`Y`t`K` m`i`v`K` Z`m` m`i`e`i`v`n` K`i`v`i` R`b` Z`v`i` t`g`a`v` k`g` Ges` m`g`q`
w`e`b`t`q`u`M` K`t`i`i` A`t`b`K` t`f`j`t` w`e`l`q`e`i` c`u`i`m`g`v` e`t`j` t`M`j`l` `m`q`Z`k`j`
m`sev` c`i` G`L`t`b`v` m`isew`i` K`Z`v`i` m`S`A`v` I` k`Z`c`i`Y` K`t`i` P`t`j` t`Q` k`Z` c`u`Z`K`j`-`Z`v`i`
g`v`t`S`I`|

t`f`k`i` w`e`f`b`a`q`u`m`S`K`v`t`j` m`i`v`K` I` Z`m`g`x` m`sev` c`u`i`t`e`k`b` K`i`v`q` G`L`t`b`v`
m`isew`i` K`i`v` G`t`f`k` R`b`M`t`Y`i` K`v`t`Q` A`v`i`i` c`L`x`K`| t`U`K`m`B` MYZ`S`; c`u`Z`o`v` I`
m`i`K`v`i`i` R`e`v`e`w` m`n`Z`v` i`b`w`O`Z` K`i`v`i` t`f`j`t` m`sev` gva`g` t`i`t`L` P`t`j` t`Q` e`i`j`o`
A`e`v`b| G`B` g`j`-`t`e`r`t`a`i` K`v`i`t`Y` R`b`M`t`Y`i` c`u`Z` m`isew`i` K`t`i`i` w`K`O`z` b`w`Z`K`
e`v`a`e`v`a`K`Z`v` A`v`t`Q| Z`v`i`i` K`v`t`Q` m`i`v`K` I` h`_`v`h` L`e`i`u`U` t`c`u`v`t`b`v` Z`v`i` m`t`e`P`P`
`m`q`Z`j` Z`v`B` m`sev`i` c`v`t`K`i` c`u`Z` Z`v`i` g`j`-`A`v`b`M`Z` `v`K`v`q` R`b`M`Y`t`K`
i`v`R`%`b`w`Z`K` m`x`v`S`l` t`b`q`v`i` t`f`j`t` h`v` h`v` Z`m` e`v`L`v` I` m`i`e`i`v`n` K`i`v`i` K`v`i` Z`v`
m`g`z`i`t`e` t`q`v` G`K`R`b` m`isew`i` t`k`i` `m`q`Z`k`j` Z`v`i`B` A`S`k| m`sev` gva`t`gi` G`B`
a`i`t`b`i` f`i`g`K`v`i` e`i`v`e`i`B` G`t`f`k`i` i`v`R`%`b`w`Z`K` c`u`i`q`q` `t`K`Z` A`S`k,` t`n`v`K` Z`v`
c`k`S`u`m`Z` w`K`S`e`v` m`g`v`t`j` m`P`Z| w`K`S` m`sev` gva`g` h`i`r` m`b`t`R`B` K`g`Z`j`t`e`
i`v`R`b`w`Z`t`Z` b`v`K` M`j`v`q` w`K`S`e`v` g`r`j` w`e`t`k`t`i`i` c`u`i`P`b`v`q` i`v`R`%`b`w`Z`K` c`u`i`q`i`t`K`
w`b`q`S`f`Y` w`b`t`R`i`v`B` R`w`t`q` c`t`o` Z`v`n`t`j` i`f`i`K`t`K` i`f`v` K`i`t`e` t`K`? G`U`v` b`Z`b` c`k`e`
b`q| w`L`o`t`e`A`v`b`g`v`m`b`K` P`v`i` k`o` e`Q`i` A`v`t`M` `v`k`b`K` t`c`u`U`v` w`j` t`L`u`Q`t`j`b,` "t`

would be absurd that a Guardian should need to be guarded." t`c`u`U`v`i`
m`g`t`q`i` c`u`q` c`v`P` k`o` e`Q`i` c`t`i` t`i`v`g`u`b` K`u`e` R`y`f`b`j` c`k`e`Z`t`j` w`Q`t`j`b` : "Sed
quis custodiet ipsos custodes?" c`h`i`x`f`K` c`m`v`i`v` t`f`t`e` t`K`? G`U`v` t`m`B` L`u`U`
a`a`c`x` w`e`Z`t`K`P` w`f`i`E` t`h`u`v` A`v`R`t`K`i` w`t`b`l` c`u`i`m`w`Z`K`|

m`i`v`c`u`Z`K` e`Q`i` t`j`v`t`Z` t`f`k`i` w`e`f`b`a`m`sev` gva`t`g` c`k`v`m`K`Z` L`e`i` Z`m` I`
m`sev`-m`S`u`k`o` A`b`y`U`v`b`x` c`u`Z`t`e`b` c`h`f`e`q`Y` K`t`i` t`L`v` t`M`t`Q` G`t`i` t`K`v`t`b`v`
t`K`v`t`b`w`t`Z` m`isew`i` K`Z`v`i` b`b`Z`g` g`v`b`-`D` i`v`f`j`Z` n`q`u`b| e`i`S` A`t`b`K` t`f`j`t`B`
G`m`e` c`u`Z`t`e`b` w`Q`j` Z`v`i`i` I`c`i` b`-`l` w`q`Z`j` I` M`Y`gva`t`gi` b`w`Z`-`b`w`Z`K`Z`v`i`
m`t`%` c`j`v`c`v`j` A`m`%`w`Z`c`Y`P` `f`axb` g`Z` c`k`v`t`k`i` b`v`t`g` Z`v`i`i` c`u`i`t`e`w`K`Z` A`t`b`K`
Z`m` I` m`sev` w`e`t`k`i`Y`t`K` w`b`u`O`v`q` e`j`v` h`v`q` w`e`K`Z` g`b`M`ov` I` D`t`i`k` g`j`-`K`N` h`v`
t`-`Q`i`P`w`i`Z`v`i` b`v`g`v`i`S`l`| Z`v`t`Z` w`e`a`v`S`l` n`t`q`t`Q` c`v`K`K` e`v`n`Z` n`t`q`t`Q` m`g`z`
m`isew`i` K`Z`v`i` w`e`K`v`k` m`t`e`P`c`w`i` j`w`N`Z` n`t`q`t`Q` m`sev` gva`t`gi` b`w`Z`g`u`j`v`| t`h`
a`i`t`b`i` m`isew`i` K`Z`v`q` t`f`k`i` e`v`-`b`Z`v`i` m`i`v`K` w`P`t` t`b`B` A`e`k`B` Z`v` A`v`g`t`i`
R`v`Z`i`q` g`j`-`t`e`v`a`t`K` a`v`i`Y` K`t`i` b`v`| G`g`b` a`i`t`b`i` m`isew`i` K`Z`v` t`h` t`K`v`t`b`v`
m`sev` gva`t`gi` M`h`Y`t`h`M`Z`v`i` f`j`w`Z` K`t`i`i` G`t`Z` c`v`t`K`i` f`i`e`b`v`q` G`g`b` c`L`Z`q`
R`t`b`Z` Z`v`i`v` G`B` c`u`i`K`v`i` gva`t`g` h`v` R`v`b`t`Z` c`v`t`Q` Z`v` R`v`Z`i`q` m`S`m`Z`i` c`u`i`c`S`v`|
t`K`b`b`v` t`h` t`K`v`t`b`v` g`v`b`y`B` c`f`i`c`v`Z`n`b` I` f`v`i` m`i`g`c`Y`m`sev` A`v`k`v` K`t`i`i` w`K`S`
i`v`R`%`b`w`Z`K` A`e`-`v`b`M`Z` K`v`i`t`Y` m`i`v`c`u`Z`K` m`g`t`g` w`K`O`z` w`K`O`z` m`sev` c`i`t`K`
O`t`U`-`c`w`i`i` s`u`l` K`i`v` m`sev` c`u`i`t`e`k`b` K`i`t`Z`I` t`L`v` t`M`t`Q| Z`v`i`i` G`a`i`t`b`i` m`sev`
t`e`w`i` f`i`M` t`f`j`t`B` w`e`k`j`m`t`h`M` t`K`v`t`b`v` m`f`-`I` `m`q`Z`k`j` e`i`v`S` e`v` c`k`v`m`b`K`
K`g`R`Z`f` e`i`v`Z` c`u`q`K`B` w`Q`j` A`b`g`v`-`Z` w`K`S`e`v` K`v`D`i`K` D`x`Z` K`i`v` n`t`j` I` Z`v`t`Z`
A`v`f`t`h`M` e`v` w`e`i` c`t`f`j` h`t`o` A`-`u`o`Z`v` w`Q`j`| e`i`S` G`K`c`t`f`j`i` g`Z` A`w`f`t`h`M`
w`e`e`w`Z` I` e`S`e`t`K` c`l`a`v`b` t`q`v` n`t`q`t`Q` t`e`w`i`| d`t`j` G`m`e` m`sev` e`v`b`o` I`
w`b`i`c`q` n`l`q`v`i` e`t`j` n`t`g` D`t`v`t`Q` G`K`t`c`t`k` I` D`t`i`k`g`j`-`K`| w`f`b`e`g`t`Z`i`
t`j`v`K`R`b` w`K`S`e`v` j`w`b`i`c`q` m`j`x`j` m`g`v`t`R`i` g`Z`v`g`t`Z`i`l` t`Z`g`b` t`K`v`t`b`v` c`u`Z`d`j`b`
w`Q`j` b`v` Z`v`i`i` c`u`Z`t`e`-`t`b`| m`e`t`P`t`q` n`Z`v`k`v`R`b`K` w`e`l`q` n`t`Q` G`m`e` L`e`t`i`
e`v`-`b`Z`v`i` c`Y`%` w`P`t` t`g`t`j` b`v` w`K`S`e`v` w`Q`j` b`v` m`g`v`t`R`i` m`e` t`k`Y`x`i` g`v`b`j`i`
g`Z`v`g`t`Z`i` m`i`v`K` c`u`Z`d`j`b`|

nj`y` m`isew`i` K`Z`v` :` m`P`b`v` t`_`t`K` m`i`v`c`u`Z`K`

g`y`P`h`x`-D`E`i` e`i`S`j`v`t`f`k` m`isew`i` K`Z`v`i` c`u`g` K`t`q`K`u`U` e`Q`i` t`K`t`U`t`Q` G`K` a`i`t`b`i`
i`N`v`t`i`i` g`t`a`| h`y`w`e`a`Y`-`l` `f`axb` t`f`k` m`isew`i` K`i`v` w`Q`t`j`b` Z`L`t`b`v` e`v`O`m`j`
R`v`Z`i`q`Z`v`e`v`t`i` g`a`y` i`t`m` w`m`S`| G`i` A`v`t`M` w`e`l`U`k`t`i` K`v`Q` t`_`t`K` `f`axb`Z`v`
j`v`t`f`i` c`i` c`e`c`w`i`K`-`t`t`b`i` e`v`O`m`j` m`isew`i` K`t`i`i` c`u`g` t`g`v`n`f`%` n`q` 1948 m`v`t`j`
m`i`P`Z` i`v`o`f`i`l`v`i` c`k`e`k` w`N`t`i`| e`v`O`m`j` g`y`j` g`v`t`b`i` g`b`-`g`u`b`i`m`K`Z`v`i` `t`z` w`K`
c`u`i`e`Z`w`u`I` G`m`g`j` f`j`Y`q`| m`g`q` h`Z`B` G`t`M`w`O`j` w`b`t`R`t`i` A`w`f`A`Z`v` t`_`t`K`B`
e`v`O`m`j` g`y`j` g`v`b` w`K`v`f`j`Z` t`k`Y`x` D`c`j` w`a` K`i`t`Z` m`f`j`g` n`b` t`h` t`K`e`j` g`v`l` g`y`j` g`v`b`
n`l`q`v`i` R`b` c`w`i`K`-`t`t`b`i` k`v`m`K` m`c`l`v`t`q`i` m`t`%` m`g`R`w`Z`Z`j` I` m`g`A`w`a`K`v`t`i`i`
G`K`i`m`b`u`U` c`v`t`e`b` b`v`| G`B` D`c`j` w`a` t`_`t`K`B` Z`v`i`v` c`e`c`w`i`K`-`h`u`b` t`_`t`K` e`v`O`m`j`
c`u`i`P`q`u`i` w`i`t`K` g`y` t`d`i`v`t`Z` i`a`e`K`t`i`b` Ges` A`w`-`Z`j` i`f`j`v`i` c`u`g` e`g`m`t`m`t`e`B`
f`i`l`v` I` e`Y`g`j`v`i` A`v`k`b` M`h`Y` K`t`i`b`| Z`t`e` w`e`k`o` m`isew`i` K` I` K`j` w`g`-` Ave`j`y`
M`v`d`b`v`i` t`P`S`a`y`l`o`i` f`i`l`v`q` e`v`O`m`j` g`y`j` g`v`t`b`i` G`B` `t`_`f`k` c`L`-`v`e`Z`B` f`i`l`v`t`c`h` I`
t`m`K`z`v`i` R`v`Z`i`q`Z`v`e`v`a` t`_`t`K` b`q` t`b`n`v`t`q`Z` A`v`Z`f`i`f`j`v` I` A`w`-`Z`j` i`f`j`v`i` e`v`-`b`
Z`v`i`M`B` w`Q`j` G`i` t`c`Q`t`b` c`e`j`| 19

047 mɨj fvi Z I evsjv fɨMɨ ciciB ZLbKvi ce^cmɨk^tɨb kmK
 gɨmɨj g jɨMɨ I cɨmɨZkɨj ʔ Ask ʔ fɨM Avjv v nɨq hɨq | ZLb gɨmɨj g
 jɨMɨ cɨZɨmɨqkɨj Aɨki gɨcɨ ɨqj gljɨv AvKig Luɨ gɨmɨj Kɨvɨɨɨ
 ʔ mɨK AvRv Avɨ cɨmɨZkɨj Aɨki gɨcɨ ɨqj ʔ mɨK BɨEnɨ | ʔ ʔ aɨbZv-
 Dɨi Kɨtɨj evsjv ʔ k msev cɨkɨ mte axti axti aɨsm ʔ e t ʔ k qv v ZɨɨZ
 iia Kɨtɨj | ʔ aɨbZvɨ cɨɨɨi gɨ-avivi cɨmɨKv tɨjvi gɨa ʔ mɨK evsjv,
 BɨEdvK I msevɨ bZb Kɨi misew Kiv Zɨi i tckmZ Rɨeb iia Kɨtɨj |
 hɨmɨaɨ ʔ t ʔ kɨi mɨP ZLb nɨvɨKvɨ, mɨavi Y gɨbɨy hɨx mɨmɨKɨmɨi ʔ q mɨP ʔ sɨ
 Ae v t ʔ k Dɨv ʔ mɨvɨbvi ʔ Pɨv Kɨtɨj, jvL jvL gɨbɨi i cɨpɨmɨb I t ʔ kɨi
 cɨMɨɨb mɨgɨmɨg Luɨ ʔ mi Kɨi | Gɨtɨki ʔ aɨbZvɨ mɨi ʔ x I oɦtɨsɨj B t ʔ kɨq
 I AvsRɨZK kɨrɨi KɨmɨmRi mKvɨi nɨq t ʔ k t ʔ Lv i ʔ tɨtɨ ZLb Pɨg
 Lv ʔ vɨvɨ | hɨtɨK Avɨiv ʔ Pɨvɨɨtɨi i ʔ fɨɨɨ ɨmɨmte Rɨmɨb |

Gɨtɨk nj y misew KZvi mPɨvɨl nq mK GB mgtɨq | Aaɨɨ vɨj ʔ
 ZLbKvɨ ʔ MYKEʔ cɨmɨ Kɨtɨk ɨNɨtɨi iia nq GB cɨYzɨv | GB cɨmɨ Kɨv GK j
 misew ʔ ki tɨmɨ ʔ bi ʔ bi vɨi Y misew KZv t ʔ kɨi Zi aɨ cɨRɨtɨbɨi gɨa ʔ hɨ o
 PɨAj ʔ I DɨERbɨv Qmɨtɨq ʔ ʔ tɨmɨ | mK GB mgtɨq B ʔ vɨgɨab ʔ Kɨe i mɨK
 AvRv mɨLɨt ʔ mɨ t ʔ Lɨmɨtɨj b ʔ fɨvZ t ʔ nɨvɨgRv v, bBɨtɨj gɨbɨPɨt Lɨvɨtɨ ʔ Kɨe Zv |
 mK sɨth msev ʔ I Qmɨi gva ʔ g misew KZv t ʔ qɨɨtɨi Gɨtɨki gɨbɨy fK ʔ c b t ʔ i
 tctɨmɨ ʔ j Zv nɨ ʔ Q Pɨvɨɨtɨi i ʔ fɨɨɨ cUfɨvɨtɨ Z ʔ mɨK ʔ BɨEdvK ʔ G Qvcɨtɨv
 Kɨmɨmɨgɨi ʔ Pɨj gɨvɨi e mɨsɨi Rɨj cɨv QmɨU | QmɨU t ʔ k I AvsRɨZK fɨvɨ
 e vck Avtɨvob Zɨj ʔ qj tɨm mgq | GB QmɨB nɨ ʔ Q Gɨtɨk nj y misew KZv
 cɨg mɨvɨ |



074-Gi Avtɨj ʔ PɨZ Kɨmɨmɨgɨi ʔ Pɨj gɨvɨi e mɨsɨi

1974 mɨj cɨj e ʔ i Kvi tɨy gɨPɨ ʔ k Rɨy chɨsɨpɨcɨy ʔ tɨi ZɨieZɨ^c
 Gj v Kɨv cɨj ʔ Z I Nb Nb eb vq Dɨi e tɨi gɨvɨcɨmɨZ AAj i scɨy I Kɨmɨmɨg
 Qɨovl gɨgɨmɨsn, Rvɨj cɨy I Avtɨv mKoz Gj v Kɨv f ʔ Lv i ʔ tɨmɨ Pɨg
 Lv ʔ vɨvɨ | Rɨy t ʔ k GKB e Qɨtɨi mɨmɨtɨi i ʔ kɨi chɨsɨ ʔ vq GB ʔ fɨɨɨ
 mi Kɨv i mɨmte 26 nɨvɨi tɨj v ʔ Ki gZɨmɨb ʔ Z Kiv nq | Zte cɨmɨ Kv tɨj vi
 Letɨi GB mɨL v Dɨj L Kiv nɨq ʔ j 10 t ʔ k 15 jvL | t ʔ k mɨf ʔ mK

mɨvRɨe Avɨɨtɨi i mɨkɨtɨY GB ʔ fɨɨɨ tɨQɨb Lv ʔ mɨi e ʔ tɨn NvUvZ, eb vi
 Kvi tɨy dmj Drcv b e ʔ mZ n l qv I Avtɨv mKoz mɨl q ʔ j Ab ʔ Zg Kvi Y |
 hɨv I GB Lv ʔ NvUvZi Rb ʔ t ʔ kɨq I AvsRɨZK Pɨmɨsɨl ʔ vqɨ etj gɨt B Kɨi b
 A ʔ mɨZvɨe I ivRɨmɨZK mɨkɨtɨ Kiv |

GB ʔ fɨɨɨ I ci tɨvɨtɨj Rɨqɨ A ʔ mɨZvɨe ʔ AgZ ʔ tɨmɨtɨi tɨj Lv ʔ 'Poverty
 and Famine: An Essay in Entitlement and Deprivation' Ges gɨmɨmɨ b
 Avj g mɨtɨi i tɨj Lv ʔ 'Famine in South Asia-Political Economic of Mass
 Starvation in Bangladesh' e Bɨtɨq mɨk ʔ mɨkɨtɨY i tɨtɨ ʔ | tɨm mgq
 evsjv ʔ tɨki cɨmɨ Kɨi vɨv Kɨgkɨtɨbi cɨg t ʔ Wcɨmɨ t Pqɨi g ʔ vɨtɨbi ʔ mɨqZɨi cɨj b Kɨvɨ
 Aa vck bɨgɨ Bmɨj ʔ tɨgɨi tɨj Lv ʔ 'What was it about the 1974 Famine?'
 e B t ʔ k ʔ fɨɨɨ I A ʔ mɨZK Kvi Y UKz GLv tɨb D x Z Kiv mɨZ gɨt B Kvi :

The proximate causes of the 1974 famine were multi-
 ple: natural disasters (floods), speculative market
 behavior in response to current and expected crop
 failures, adverse macroeconomic external a circum-
 stances, and non-availability of food aid at the
 moment of crisis. All these factors acted together to
 depress entitlement to food on the part of the most
 vulnerable groups i.e. those who depended wholly or
 partially on wage labour for access to food.

GQov Ab ʔ v ʔ Avtɨv Kvi Y mɨkɨtɨY hɨl qvi tɨtɨ Pɨvɨɨtɨi i ʔ fɨɨɨ
 ʔ b tɨj vɨZ msev cɨɨi fɨgKvɨi mɨl q ʔ U B Avɨv ʔ i KɨtɨQ tɨm cɨmɨmɨK | tɨm
 mgq tɨmki fɨM cɨmɨ Kɨv ʔ fɨɨɨ I ci tɨmɨ Lei Qvcɨv nɨq ʔ Z vɨtɨ Z t ʔ k
 t ʔ k e vck nɨtɨi fvi tɨZ avb-Pɨj cɨvɨi nɨq hɨl q v ʔ KB Ab ʔ Zg Kvi Y mɨmte
 ʔ vqɨ Kiv nɨq ʔ j | cɨmɨ Kvi Gme Letɨi i ʔ fɨvɨ ʔ j ʔ gɨ-Z ʔ Re Avɨ ʔ vɨvɨ
 tɨv KRɨtɨbi Abgɨvɨb fɨp bɨvɨ Z ʔ | Avevi avb-Pɨj fvi tɨZ GK KVv cɨvɨi
 nq ʔ b Ggb ʔ mɨl mɨmK bq | Zte evsjv ʔ k fvi Z mɨgɨvɨsɨl Gj v Kɨv mɨvɨfɨbɨcY
 mɨmgq tɨgɨbUv tɨvɨv Pɨj v b nɨq v t ʔ K ZLɨv Zv-B nɨq tɨ, nq Zv Avtɨmɨi tɨtɨ
 mK Qɨv tɨm | mK sɨ cɨmɨ Kvi Letɨi fvi tɨZ e vck nɨtɨi cɨvɨtɨi Lei B dɨv l
 Kɨi cɨvɨi Kiv nɨZv | Ab ʔ v ʔ Kvi Y tɨj v Z ZUv cɨvɨv ʔ cɨq ʔ b ZLbKv
 msev gva ʔ g | Gi tɨQɨb ivRɨmɨZK Dɨtɨk ʔ fvi Z mɨvɨvax cɨvɨi vɨi mɨl q ʔ U
 ʔ j gɨ |

mK sɨ t ʔ kɨi gɨbɨi i Ggb ʔ v ʔ mɨsev cɨɨi fɨgKvɨi hZUv e ʔ mɨb n l qv
 DɨPZ ʔ j Kɨv ʔ Zv AvfɨeB cɨmɨ mɨZtɨK Avtɨv RɨUj Kɨtɨj | cɨmɨ Kɨv
 ʔ fɨɨɨ Kvi tɨy mɨ gɨvɨeK ʔ yRv I ci tɨmɨ cɨZte b Qvcɨv nɨZv Zv tɨi
 tɨmki fɨM ʔ j ʔ tɨmɨtɨk bɨj ʔ mKsev ʔ fɨɨɨ-cɨmɨZ Gj v Kvi bɨRɨ cɨmɨ mɨZi
 Avzi Ab | GKB fɨvɨ mɨfɨtɨm ʔ j vɨ cɨmɨ Kv tɨj vq ʔ fɨɨɨ gɨZi mɨL v
 Dɨj tɨLi t ʔ fɨɨɨ | nj y misew KZv mɨtɨq gɨmK ʔ BɨZv mɨe ʔ gɨvɨtɨKj
 i e vU ʔ tɨbi GKv gɨsɨ ʔ GLv tɨb ʔ sɨ Y tɨm ʔ etj gɨt B Kɨi | Zv fɨv ʔ nɨ ʔ Q,
 ʔ nj y misew KZv GKv mɨkɨtɨ j ʔ fɨɨɨ nɨj v Giv mɨ mKoz ʔ tɨ o e mɨtɨq etj |
 Zv tɨi NUbɨvɨeK cɨZte tɨb e v ʔ tɨi tɨtɨ evmɨz i O ʔ k tɨe B | ʔ mZv GB
 gɨsɨ ʔ Kɨtɨj b E bɨesK kZtɨki tɨk ʔ k tɨk mK Devɨq ʔ ʔ mɨbK-Avɨgɨv Kɨv
 hɨx i tɨQɨb nj y misew KZv fɨgKv cɨtɨɨ | Ggb GKv avɨ Yv Pɨj v AvtɨQ

th, h̄yivóʔK IB h̄x̄ tVtj t̄qvi Rb̄ c̄nj̄rRvi Ges n̄v̄t̄=̄P̄ nj̄ȳ
 m̄isew̄ KZv̄ v̄qx̄| w̄t̄k̄l̄ K̄t̄ī 0̄mbDBqK̄R̄v̄b̄j̄ 0̄-Ḡ t̄m̄mḡq̄ w̄K̄Deiv̄0̄q̄ w̄t̄ ̄in̄
 ̄ḡtb̄ t̄ ̄út̄bī t̄mbv̄t̄ ī AK̄ ̄ eēP̄Z̄vī t̄hmē Leī Ī w̄k̄īxī Āw̄K̄v̄ī Q̄wē Q̄rc̄v̄
 n̄t̄Z̄v̄ Āt̄b̄K̄ t̄q̄t̄B̄ Z̄v̄t̄Z̄ c̄k̄Z̄.ēv̄ ̄b̄Z̄vī m̄w̄K̄ c̄āZ̄d̄j̄ b̄ w̄Q̄j̄ b̄v̄| ḠK̄B̄ īK̄ḡ
 0̄t̄mb̄t̄mk̄bv̄j̄ 0̄ m̄isew̄ K̄Z̄vī P̄P̄n̄t̄q̄t̄Q̄ P̄q̄v̄Ēt̄ī ̄w̄t̄q̄ī m̄ḡq̄ m̄ ̄ ̄f̄āb̄
 ēvs̄j̄v̄t̄ ̄t̄k̄ī c̄w̄l̄K̄v̄ t̄j̄v̄q̄| n̄q̄t̄Z̄v̄ t̄K̄v̄t̄b̄v̄ t̄K̄v̄t̄b̄v̄ t̄q̄t̄ī c̄w̄īw̄z̄ Āv̄t̄iv̄ f̄q̄v̄en̄
 w̄Q̄j̄ w̄K̄S̄ c̄w̄l̄K̄v̄ t̄j̄vī c̄āZ̄tē t̄b̄ Āt̄b̄K̄ m̄ḡq̄B̄ N̄Ūb̄vī ēȲb̄v̄ c̄K̄Z̄.
 ēv̄ ̄b̄Z̄v̄t̄K̄l̄ 0̄w̄ōt̄q̄ t̄M̄t̄Q̄|

t̄m̄ h̄v̄-B̄ t̄n̄v̄K̄, D̄Ēiet̄z̄ī ̄w̄t̄q̄ī-K̄ew̄j̄Z̄ Ḡj̄v̄K̄v̄ t̄ ̄t̄K̄ c̄v̄w̄t̄b̄v̄
 m̄sev̄ḡv̄āt̄gī Ḡmē L̄ēt̄īī w̄t̄q̄t̄Z̄ Z̄L̄b̄K̄v̄ī c̄āv̄bḡS̄ȳ t̄k̄L̄ ḡw̄R̄ēj̄ȳ īnḡv̄b̄
 m̄īK̄v̄t̄īī w̄b̄t̄ ̄K̄ m̄x̄ḡv̄s̄l̄ Ḡj̄v̄K̄v̄q̄ w̄ēw̄w̄Āv̄ī-Ḡī c̄v̄k̄v̄c̄n̄k̄ t̄mb̄v̄ēw̄n̄b̄r̄l̄
 t̄ḡv̄Z̄v̄t̄q̄b̄ K̄iv̄ n̄t̄q̄w̄Q̄j̄ āv̄b̄-P̄j̄ c̄v̄P̄vī t̄iv̄t̄ā| m̄x̄ḡv̄s̄l̄ c̄v̄P̄vī t̄iv̄t̄ā t̄ḡv̄Z̄v̄t̄q̄b̄
 K̄iv̄ t̄mb̄v̄ēw̄n̄b̄r̄ī Z̄Ēj̄ēāv̄t̄b̄ī ̄w̄q̄t̄Z̄;̄ w̄Q̄t̄j̄b̄ Z̄L̄b̄K̄v̄ī t̄mb̄v̄-D̄cc̄ā̄v̄b̄ t̄ḡR̄ī
 t̄R̄b̄v̄t̄ij̄ w̄R̄q̄v̄D̄ī īnḡv̄b̄| ḠL̄v̄t̄b̄ c̄ā̄m̄w̄z̄K̄ w̄ēt̄ēP̄b̄v̄q̄ t̄R̄b̄v̄t̄ij̄ w̄R̄q̄v̄ī m̄t̄z̄
 c̄w̄īK̄īb̄v̄ K̄uḡk̄t̄b̄ī Z̄L̄b̄K̄v̄ī t̄W̄c̄w̄j̄ t̄P̄q̄v̄iḡv̄b̄ Āāv̄c̄K̄ b̄t̄ā̄j̄ B̄m̄j̄v̄t̄gī
 Āv̄t̄j̄ v̄P̄b̄v̄ī Āsk̄w̄ēt̄k̄l̄ ̄What was it about the 1974 Famine? ̄ ēB̄ t̄ ̄t̄K̄
 Z̄t̄j̄ āīw̄:

10.2 HOW IMPORTANT WAS SMUGGLING?

Was smuggling to India large enough to create such a scarcity? During 1973-74 right up to the famine period, there were widespread rumours and reports in the press of smuggling of foodgrains to India. In response, the government employed the army to guard the borders against smuggling from April 1974 onwards. There was no way one could estimate smuggling of foodgrains from direct observations. From the list of goods confiscated by the army at the borders, it appeared that rice was hardly the most important item, but sixth or seventh in importance. Brian Reddaway of Cambridge University, England, visiting the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies at that time, was requested to undertake a study of the subject. His study was based on an indirect method of comparison of rice prices in border areas with those in the interior markets that were on the direct trade route to the border areas.

It is interesting to reflect on the shortness of public memory. Recently, a highly educated member of the party in power in 1974 asked me why not possible for the government to import rice from Thailand, a close-by country with large export surplus in order to damp down the rising prices. He had to be

remained that there was very little foreign exchange resources and that prices in the world market were sky high. Even if by some turn of luck we could get commercial credit and were able to purchase, we could not possibly ship it on time. There was a great demand on shipping space in view of many countries rushing to buy food in the face of the worldwide food crisis. In addition, shipping cost sky rocketed pari passu.

Even as early as the second half of 1973, in response to delays in (a) shipment of committed aid by US as well as (b) in the commitment of new US aid, the government was obliged to seek an alternative short term relief to tide over the delay. The USSR was requested to divert to Bangladesh 200,000 tons of grain she had purchased from Canada and the USA in order for Bangladesh to avert a breakdown in the public food distribution system. They were received during July-October 1973. It was expected that when the US food aid came through later on in the year, it would be possible to divert the grain shipments to the USSR to repay the debt. Subsequently, however, the US declined to accept the arrangements for “swap” and a short term deferred payment arrangement was worked out with the USSR for its wheat shipment.

Were most likely to be higher in the border areas than in the interior markets that were supplying rice for smuggling. On a study of price behaviour in different markets, he came to the conclusion that smuggling was not significant so as to run into hundreds of thousands of tons.

Direct comparisons of prices of jute in the border market in Bangladesh with those in a neighbouring border market in India- converted at the prevailing black market rates of exchange between the Bangladesh and India currencies- did not indicate high enough profit to justify large-scale smuggling. Large scale smuggling would be inconsistent with highly variable smuggling profit margin from month to month. The evidence indicated high variability. This was consistent with the hypothesis of limited smuggling.

During this period, I had an interesting encounter with Zia who was the Deputy Chief of Staff in the

army and was involved in supervising the anti-smuggling operations along the borders. He at his own initiative came to see me in my capacity as the Deputy Chairman to discuss his findings or judgment that there was a very large scale smuggling ranging anywhere from half a million to a million tons. He felt that the Prime Minister was not correctly informed by his political colleagues and officials about the scale of smuggling. Under the circumstances, I should intervene to convince the Prime Minister about the gravity of the situation.

There was some discussion between us as to the evidence the army had about large scale rice smuggling. In the absence of any direct estimate of smuggling, I tried to engage him in a discussion about various indirect indicators that could help to explain or give an idea about the scale of smuggling. For example, I wanted to know how, in his opinion; hundreds of thousands of tons of rice were being smuggled in such a short time (between April-June). This discussion took place at the time of the onset of July-August 1974 floods when prices rose very sharply. If smuggling was the cause for such a spurt in prices, then it had to occur on a very large scale in the months immediately following Aman and Boro harvests. How were such large quantities transported or carried across the borders in such a short period? If rice was to be transported in such large quantities, it could not be done in small lots by individual smugglers. If that was the case, then very large numbers of people or smugglers were to be seen crossing back and forth the border continuously for a month or so. This was obviously ruled out, since the army had not confirmed a large scale continuous movement of people. Alternatively, rice had to be transported in big trucks and barges and that was possible only through a few points at the border where they could physically pass through. Therefore, if very substantial smuggling did take place, it was unlikely that such a large scale crossborder movements of trucks and barges would not have been detected by the public, the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) and the army.

However, it was the contention of the army that even if they had observed such large scale move-

ments, they could not have seized or taken preventive action since local party workers or leaders were in league with smugglers with the connivance of local officials. But then newspapers, which were full of reports and rumours on the food situation, did not report such a very large scale movement of trucks and barges within the span of such a short period.

The issue was not that there was no smuggling. In fact, there was smuggling on a regular basis since 1971 in spite of the presence of border defense forces. The relevant question was how big was this smuggling of rice (as distinguished from other commodities), and whether smuggling of rice could have taken place on a large enough scale within a very short period to cause the price of rice to skyrocket. Estimates of massive smuggling to rice that Zia conveyed appeared improbable, considering the limited time involved and the poor state of roads and transportation systems in the border and adjoining areas in the early days of Bangladesh.

10.2 tPviPvj wb KZUv iaZcYQJ?

ZRQv : fviZ wecy cwiqvY Lv km cvPvi ntq hvevi KviYB Kx GB aitbi yocZv Zwi KtiQj? 1973-074 mij t_k wffji mgg chSlevcK AvKvfi Ggb Re iQj Ges cl-cwKv t_jv fviZ Lv km cvPvi ntq hitQ gfg Lei wZl GB aitbi Leti cZ mvov w tq miKvi cvPvi tiyta 1974 mtj i Gicj t_k cieZvngtg mxvslcvvviq tmbvevnbx tgvZvtqb Kti| mivmi chfeY t_k Kvitv cfi Lv km cvPvi ntq hvl qvi Abgvb Kivi tKvibv Dciq iQj bv| weffbe mxvtsl tmbvevnbx thme gijvgvj AvUK KtiQj tmme Zvij Kv t_k t Lv tMtQ, ZvtZ K vPr avb-Pvj AwZ iaZcYQ mvgM iQj, eis iaZji wK t_k Zvij Kv G t_jv iQj lo A_ev mBg tbt| tm mgg evsj vt k BYiUnUDU Ae tWtfj ctgvU =wWR-G mdiiZ Bsj vtDi K'vgeR wekte vj tqi etqvb tiWvl tqtK G wetq mgxlv Pvj vtovi Rb Abji va Rivvbtv ntq iQj | Zvi GB mgxlv iQj thme Af sliY evRvfi mt½ mxvsl GjvKv t_jv mivmi ewYR c_ itqtQ tmme GjvKvi avb-Pvtj i Zj bvgj-K vtgi cti vfi cxiZi wfiEtZ|

mivvi Y gvbfi i Zkvi i NvUvzi K_v cvovUv gRvi e'vviB| 1974 mtj iQgZimxb tji GKRb D'PukwfiZ m'm Avgvi KvQ RvbZ tPtqvQtb vtgi DxiwZ tiyta vBj vU t_k tKb miKvfi cfi Pvj Avg mb Kiv m=

GB mgq t_tk cYRcœrn Ggb meLvtZ eBtZ iia Kti hv uQj Gi AvtM
cYvqfbi Kej gÿ; thgb ugnvqv, wkí-ms-uz. I ukñv BZw²⁰ cYRi
clrite mgvRi GZw tbi AcYwqZ Ask ðZ cY'i ifc tctZ vKvq Av_º
mvguRK-mis-uzK e'e-rg i ia nq Afiebxq cyj ve`j |
mgvRZwEË I fvl`Kvi tnevigvami wotZI RbMtYi Avkt`j wntmte
msev`gva`gi Aebgtbi Kvi Y Gi µgea@vbm ewYR, ewYR` I ewYR` | GK
mgq th`vb ev t`um tjuKRbtk Zvt`i`iazi gZvgZ cãZdj tbi mthvM
w Z, tnevigv mgtb Ktib, tmU ugnvqv AvZgvlvq ewYR`i dtj Kjw Z
ntq tMtQ

..... The public sphere became corrupted with the
increasing commercialisation of the media, which
became more concerned with making profit for their
owners rather than acting as information providers for
their readers."

GLb msev`gva`tg KgpZ tjuKRtbi gtb GKwU avi YvB t`qv ntq vtk
fvtjv tiuS Ovov fvtjv gbydv mæe bq | fvtjv gbydv Ovov cãZõvb tUKvtrv
KwVb, Avi boeþo cãZõvb gtb Zvt`i Pvkwi i l nte tenij`kv | wks`mgq
e`ttq | msev` wksv msev`KZvi gvb meukQzbq | Ktc@iU ms`uzi
eþ`sjtZ ugnvqv e`emvq GLb tiuSb ntq DvtVtQ gbydv Rb`eo ubqvK
kiv³ | tiuSb me, tiuSb ugnvqv e`emvq Dbwzi eo mPK | tiuSb evotZ
msev`tk meµqthvM` cY` Kti tZyv Ovov Dcvq tbb | msev`KZvi
`bwZKZvi wotKvY t_tk Guv`wqZmjv AvPiY bv ntj | wotKvtrv Rb`
AvRtki Ktc@iU hM GuvB mZ` | dtj Avq-tivRmvi evotv Rb` bvbvq
Dt` wMi clrite mivmwi Gtm cotQ msev` i KfvtiRi I ci | tmB clritei
tXD Gtm j wMtQ meLvtb | GB KvtR mfvUv tmvRvuvUv : tfrv i m½
Pij wK Ktiv, tatkv`v, tevKv evbv l`i, ZvntjB wemv evote |

GLbtrv chSith tKvtrv msev`gva`gi ghP vi gvb`Ð ntQ RbMtYi KvtQ
Zvi MhYthvM Zv | GB ghP vi lci wofP Kti mbyq, mbygi lci wofP Kti
tiuS, Avi tiuStqi lci wofPkj msukw gva`gi ewYR` | ZvB Gme
cãZõvb msev`K l e`vcKiv ewYR` wUkTq i vLvi Rb` hv wKQZKiv
cãqvRb tmUvB Kite | Gme cãZõvb gj`j q`B ntQ Avq-tivRmvi, GuvB
Zvt`i eUg jvBb, Ktc@iU ms`vi tgvUvK`v | wks` msvsev`KZvi gj`
A`Rw i tQ wK wnmie Kiv hvq? bwk Kiv DvPZ? msev`KZvi PevsI
mv`RZv RbMtYi Z`_tmevi gvtSB wbnZ | msev`gva`g A`P tCQtb QbtZ
_vKtj msev`KZvi bvtgi GB gnr tckvi th AcgZzNUte Zv tZv AwebhP
tkD tkD Aek`B hvP` i LvZB cvtib : msev`gva`tg wtkl Kti
temiKwi wUrf P`vtbj tjuZ wvfbæmdj ewYR` cãZõvb ev Ktc@iU
nvdmi A`_wobtvqvtM dtj msev`KZv tckvq AvtMi th tKvtrv mgtqi
Zv`bvq eZ@tb tckv`vvtzi Dbwz ntqtQ | GB `wei mZ`Zv cYvqv
A`Kvi Kiv hvte bv; wks` Zv meþtk mZ` wK? Gi weciZ Gme
msev`gva`gi gvb wbtq cke`tZyv ntj wvqvUv` tjc DtbwPZ nte |
mivv`tk cãZvb GLb GK nvrvti tenk`wbK cwi`Kv cKwKZ nq; A`P
Gi gta` gvb mæcbæKvMtrv mSL`v nvtZMvtrv |

Geru Avm hvK wUrf P`vtbj tju msvew`KZvi gvb cãt½ : Kwi Mwi l
chv`PMZ w`K t_tk Gme P`vtbj i A`btKiB itqtQ wekvtrv hscwZ l
miAvq; wks` KbtUv, dg`I tC@RtUktbi w`K t_tk G`tjuZ KZv
gub mæcbæmsev`KZvi P`P`nq? wvqvUv th tKvtrv AvfARb cwi`Li`wotZ
ZvKvtjB eþtZ m`lg nte | ZvOvov th tKvtrv tckv`vvtzi DrKI`gvcv nq
Zvi gvb w`tq, wdbqB Avctmi PvkPK` w`tq bq; gvb wvovZ nq ubqvZ
cK`ñY l tckvMZ Av`vb`mthvM-mvævi gva`tg | GtñtI KãU cãZõvb Zvi
Kvq` i m`lgZv evotv l tckvMZ Dbwzi Rb` ubqvZ LiP KiQ? nqtZv
GtñtI e`wµg bvtRi AvtQ wks` e`wµg Kltrv mvguMK ev`eZvi
wot`RK bq | bBtj t`tk msvew`KZv tckvi Ggb tenij`kvi tCQtb Av
Kx Kvi Y v`kZ cvti? wvZwK` I D`ERK msev` e`emvqK w`K t_tk
jvRbK | GtZ msev`cãtI KvUwZ evto, tjuKRtbi gta` PvAj` Zwi Kiv
mnR, DciS`GtZ v`k Z`_wvtrv tbi tLviV | dtj cWtKi gta` cwi`Kvi
Pwn`v evotj Zvi Av`R jvfl nq bM` | thñZzA`_B hZ Avt`P gj, ZvB
hZw`b A`_P nVZQwb` vKte ZZw`b Ab`_NUtZB` vKte | GB aitbi
cwi`Kv tju mgvRi Moci Zv AatwñZ cvtKi KvQB i ayetKiv`O bv, Gi
Avte`b wkvñZ ga`weE l D`PietEi KvQI itqtQ | Guv nZ cvti th, mY
wvtrv`b ewAZ mgvRi GK tkYvi gby Zvt`i cãZv`tbi Rvæti Aemv,
`wot` wksv Ab`vb` Pvc t_tk tinvB cvlqv Rb` Kv`tr GB wvtrv`bcY`
wktQ | Gme cwi`Kv Zvt`i gtb tLviV cãZv`b A`Xj mievKiv Kivq GB
aitbi nj`y msvew`KZvi Pwn`v itqtQ evRvti |

Btqvjv tch mvmg hv Kti v`tk eiveiB Zvi Dwi`o KvRwB Kite |
GuU Zvi tmiv t`Qv`Kwvbx tju cvtK`ejvi ZvMt` cãZwqZ mRvM
_vkte | AvR t_tk kZ eQtii tenk mgq AvtM cYvRvi ev nV`Pv cvtKi
gtb D`ERv Ovotq t`qvi Rb` th tKsktj Zvt`i tFZti q`vavK PwMtq
w`tZb, thfite wvq` wvæp`b Kti Q`k taj`tZb, wksv Avfbe Kiv`vq
cvtKi A`SMZ`ñtZ thfite tvgv`AKi wvZ`gg jvMtZb, GLtrv
e`wobZvi OvveitY cI cwi`Kv tju tmgZ Kvtq vgvvK cvtKi gb`Ejwbtq
bvovPvov Kti | GtñtI cãwK D`tk`_v`k GKBN cwi`Kvi KvUwZ
evotv |

msev`cãtI mvgtb AvBmZ, ivR`wZK wksv ewYR`K th P`vtj A`
_v`k Zv bZb wKQzbq | Guv cwi`vi th, msev`cãtI BwZvntmi avvevM`KZvq
Gi Lvc Lvbtq tbovi q`lgZv GtK msev`gva`gi bZb bZb P`vtj A` tgvKvtej v
KitZ mivv` KtiQ | GiB gva`tg msev`cãtI tju Zvi wvq``cwi`ezD
wksv msv` msMh l Dc`vctbi tñtI c`wZMZ ms`vi KitZ eva` ntqtQ |
GfiteB msev`cãtI Avtív gbydv l ewYR`i cã`_ntwZ iia Kti | eZ@vb
kZvãtZ weeZ`bi ga` w`tq msev`cãtI tPniv tKgb`wvte Zvi Av`jUv
nqtZv tkD GLtrv Rvtrv bv | Z`wv Rvq`b`vkvK tntMtj i hvP` avi Kti
ejv hvq, thñZy weeZ`bi ga` w`tq GtMt`Q gvbemgR, ZvB mvguRK
Ae`vtrv AMwzi cvkvvK mgvRI Av`vb` Ae`vtrv gva`tg P`vtj`Ai
gtlvq` nte | Zte GB weeZ`bi PevsI cwi`Yig Dftqi Rb` DEg |
msev`cãtI mgqvstI Ggb fite Zvi ewYR`K weeZ`bi cãZvwaZv KiQ |
wtkl MYZS; tRvi`vi l msv`ñtY th KãRb t`Lk`iaZcY`fvgv
titLQb Zvt`i Av`Zg GKRB gvK`Uvq`b | wvB Gkevi`wbK cwi`KvtK

DtjL KtiMQtj b 0`axbZvi i 9vKeP0 intmte| Zui gtZ, th tKvtrv RmZi
 Dbz muntZ`i ariv meKviki t9t1 c0g avc nt`Q msev`c1i cKvkv Ges
 mZwb gtb Kitzb DPe`ti ms`mZ Mto tZjvi tejvqI GuLi AMVx figKv
 itqt0| mKs`c9Rev`x mgvRi D`PieE tkYxi `9vqtb Kej msev`c1 th
 aitbi misew`KZvi meKv NUVq ZvK etjMQtj b 0nbD Rvb9j Rg0.21 GtZ
 NUVz`vK NUVvi mZ`Zv I e`nb0Zvi, Ggb aitbi misew`KZvq gvK`
 tUvtqbi Mj tNvi Zi AvciE| GB avivK Avgiv Abvqtm njy misew`KZv
 ej tZ cwi |

Zte Kvj 9v` B c0g c9Rev`i c0ZthmZvgj-K evZveitYi K_v DtjL
 Kitz MfG GB mect`i K_v `9i Y Kvitq m`tqMQtj b; Kvi Y b9mZMzfiteB
 c9Rev`i c19 c0ZthmZv Gortbv m`e bq| c0ZthmZvi ga` m`tq Mto
 lVv AwZ AvabK mgvR, tji GB ev`bZvB `Zvi KtitQ AvRtKi
 tgmVktc@ikb|22 GB tgmVktc@ikb Zvi c0ZthmZv`i mgq m9m tctj
 tMmMtm Mfj tdtZ Pvg| KtciU ms`mZi gva`tg m9mVqv RMtZl
 A`rfmeK GB c0ZthmZvi wej 9Y c1ve Avgiv c0ZvbqZ tUi cwrQ| Zte
 GUV A`Kvi Kivi tRv tbB th, GB c0ZthmZvgj-K evRvi c1Y`i mZ`bZb
 Aege m`tQ, Ygvitbi e`j NUV`Q, Avgiv mefkl ms`iY nitZ m`tq Zvi
 UUVKv MÜ cwrQ| gme` Pivbtj i GB h9M, Btj KUvbK I m0U m9mVqv Dftqi
 t9t1B, `kR`tkiZv`civtKi KvQ `evP1` m`tq nvmRi nlqv mKsev Zv`i
 gfa` Avte`b `Zvi Kivi c0qvRbqvZv AvtMi th tKvtrv mgvqi tPtq AtbK
 feik` iazcY`melq| mKs` ZKmetji tmB Awe`9i Yxq Dv3i AbkietY
 AvRtKi AvabK msev` gva`tgi Rb`l mK GKB `emko` c0qvM Kti ejv hvq,
 m9mVqvB msN Mto ZtZ0, mKsev msNB mba9i Y Kti m`tQ GKv m9mVqv m`tK
 `vKvi e9vq`?

Aek`B, Avgiv njy misew`KZvi AtgvPbxq cvcK A`Kvi Kitz
 cviter br mKsev Gm0tq thZ cviter br Zv`i feibqvcbv, evRvi `Lji
 hyst`nx gtbvive, mPrKvime`Zv, LvqgLv DfERbv Avi `L RbK AmZZv;
 A_P G`tjvB nt`Q l`i m9mVqvemYtR`i GKgvI c9R| GB aitbi
 misew`KZvi meitax Avgt`i AwfthvMi tkl tbB| Zv`i bivv AcKg`l
 AbvPZ KgRvtdi K_vl meRbveir`Z| Zte GK_vl Kej Kiv`i Kvi th,
 Avgt`i t`tk Btqvijv tcn` Avi gj-avivi msev` gva`tgi gvSLvrb `vM tUtb
 th hZB Avigtava KiaK br tKb, ev`te GLtbr tKDB my` misew`KZv PPq
 m0Rt`i c9i v9v m0tqvM Kitz tcti0 Ggbv nqtZv m009vq evv hvte br|

Aa`vq : mZb

m9mVqvri Aci mCV

mgvRi MmZc0vtni tfZi Acivci NUVimgfni m9`m9vq Mto D1vtQ
 Gt`tki Ku0.l HmZn`| Avgt`i msieavtbi AvtjvtK Gt`k nt`Q GgbB GK
 fE0 thLvrb`vKte eü gZ`c1_i HmZn`, mKj bvmviti mgZv, t9v9j K
 gibemakvi, m9mRK m0ivcEv l A`90vZK m9mMti m00qv| Avi Gmtei
 Ae`vrb t`tk m00Z nte m9m| th m9mRK avivi AveZ`Ges thme Bm9
 Gt`tki RbRieb l fivel`tzi lci c1ve me`li Kti Pjt0 tm`tjv m`c1K`
 gib9i gfa` m0VK aviyv t`qv l m0PZbZv Mto tZjvi `m9Zj
 msev` gva`tgi |

GK_v AvtMi etj mQ, RbgZtK c1veZ Kivi t9t1 msev`c1i Aci
 GKv mCV AvtQ Ges tmB m`KuLi AtbKUVB AÜKviti XvKv| MZ KtqK
 e0tii msev` gva`tgi figKv ch99Y Kti t`Lv tMtQ eis m9mVqvB f9j,
 meKZ.l AwZi mAZ Z` cwi tekbi gva`tg mgvR Aw`i Zv 0m0tq t`qv
 Kvtrv m9j B mQj | Ggb l`Lv tMtQ, GK tkYxi msev`c1 Zv`i lci AvcZ
 `m9Zj; c9j b br Kti, tckvMZ `bmZKZvi tKvtrv iKg tZvqv`v br Kti, t`k
 l RmZi c0Z A`xKvi f9j cKvkt` i vR`mZK Klv9vvi f9Z`i figKv cyj b
 KtitQ| t`tki i vR`mZK ev`bZvi m9m m0tq GUV mQj Zv`i GKB NUVvi
 mfbGK b`viti m9f t`qv Ac1P0v| ev`teK, GUV A`Kvi Kivi Dcvq tbB th,
 Zv`i GB `jvfmUg9j-K c9vi Yv gj-avivi msev` gva`tgi b`viti m9f i
 mgv9i t9j GK aitbi msvNv m0m0Kv m0m0Kv `Zvi KtitQ| Zv`i A`rfmeK

KgRvD mgvR GK At_@A_wU-ugwVqv avivl w`tqQ GK_v Avgiv aŕi ubtZ cwi/

GB aŕibi msev` gva`ŕgi cŕZte`tb Nubv I Nubvi wtklY Ggbfite Zŕj aiv nq hvZ gj-avi vi D`vicšr ugwVqv mŕsew` KZvi weciŕZ crVtKi gtb Zv`i m=cŕtK®GK aŕibi Avcmnx b frvgnZ®Mto I tV Ges Zv`i mŕsew` KZvi aviv b`vqubõ I cŕZ`uax®wntmte` eaZv cvq| wtkl Kŕi miKvŕii wiaŕx mgvŕj vPbvq GB aŕibi wMmŕKvŕmP KvhrviY m=cwKZ` iazŕK tKD tKD Avgtj ubtq Zv`i tectivqv KgRvD tiva Kivi miKwii tPovŕK mŕsew` cŕŕi ~`raxbzvi I ci n`ŕŕc etj wetePbv KiŕZ cŕŕi b| wKŠ` m=cY®mvgwRK cŕjvqv wntmte` Avgvŕ` i mgvRRxetb mŕsew` I mŕsew` gva`ŕgi th e`vcK cŕve Zv`i ayŕŕŕgZvPPŕŕ wclq bq, GgbwK mY` mŕsew` KZvi w`K t`ŕK Zv`i ivR%wZKfvŕel ~`ŕ`m=ŕZ etj wetePZ nq bv| mŕsew` gva`ŕg bubvfvŕte fŕj KiŕZ cŕŕi, Pŕj vZ cŕŕi ubj % ug` vPvi, cwitek b KiŕZ cŕŕi fŕj, wEKZ.I AwZi wAZ Z` wKŠ` Zvi tLmvi Z`ŕ q mgvR, Zvi fŕŕŕfŕMx nq RbMY Avi Zvi ubgŕ Ac-mŕsew` KZvi wKvii nq cvVK I mŕsew` fŕv`viv| mŕsew` gva`ŕgi Z` wEKwZ, fŕj Z` cwitek b I AwZi Aŕibi KvŕŕY tmmgq t`ŕi wewfbw` vtb tek wKQzAbvKw`ŕŕZ Nubv NuŕZ I t`Lv tMtQ| GŕZ mvgwRK ubivcE`v, mŕ=cõ wqK m=cŕwZ, mvgwRK mŕve`vb I ivR%wZK mnbkxj Zv`i gviZK u`gwi Ki gŕŕ cto| GKŕŕY mŕsew` cŕŕi cvkvcwk tKvŕbv tKvŕbv Bŕj KuŕbK ugwVqv cŕŕw Z cŕZte`tb GKB aŕibi cŕYZv ni nvtgkv j`ŕ Kiv hvq| Gme cŕZte`b cŕŕŕi dtj Rbgbt miwmi Zvi wciŕc cŕve j`ŕ Kiv tMtQ| Zv`i mŕsew` KZvq GB aŕibi cŕYZv` jxq ivRbwxZ I wtkl tKvŕbv ivR%wZK gZv`tkP cŕZ Zv`i AvbMZ` cŕvK Kŕi| ubŕŕŕi e`v`ŕ`ŕ` jxq ivRbwxZi ŐK`wvŕi wntmte` mŕsew` KZvi` wqZ; cvj b Kivi KvŕŕY GB aŕibi Ac-mŕsew` KZvi bŕŕi` Zwi nt`Q| wEMZ mgŕ t`k thme mgm`vi gŕŕvgn` ntquQj Zvi B AvŕŕŕK wPvi Kiŕj wKQzKQyUwŕ wfb Pŕŕbŕ I mŕsew` cŕŕi cŕZv`bKvi D`wbgj-K cŕZte`b` i`ayj`ŕivRbKB bq, eis Acivŕai kmqj| GUv Ggb GK mgq NŕUŕQ hLb t`ŕi AŕbK GjvKvq G aŕibi mŕsew` i wciŕc cŕZv`vqv v`v, nrvbnvb, AivRKZv, nZv I ivõŕq m=cwE` aŕŕŕmi fqvZv cŕ`ŕ KŕiŕQ t`kewm| wbggZwŠK Avŕ vjŕbi e`ŕj wtkl GKw ivR%wZK` j AivRKZv` Zwi Kivq wewfbw` vtb Kvŕŕg nq mŠŕŕmi ivRZj| wKŠ` Gme mŕsew` cŕŕ mŕg mŕsew` KZvi e`ŕj tmmgq D`wbgj-K I gbMov mŕsew` cŕvŕki gva`ŕg Avgvŕ` i DŕŐM I DrKEŕŕK fŕi w`ŕquQj iYŕŕŕi fqvK GK AwfAZvq| wEK ugwVqvZwE`K W. I tŕvri I Őbxj gtb Kŕib, mŕsew` cŕŕi ~`raxbzvi Aõv`k kZKxq aŕc`x gZevŕ` i GLb Avi Dc`thwMzv`tb; tmB D`vi gZev` wQj AŕbK exi Zep`AK mgŕqi fievb| wKŠ` AvawbK MYZŕŕj GB hŕjM mŕsew` gva`ŕgi ~`raxbzvi tKvŕbv bv tKvŕbvfvŕte wewfbw`ugwVqv-KbŕMŕŕŕi tŕi` vcu wŕKŕŕ i vLvi Rb` Xij wntmte` e`euZ nt`Q| Zvi gŕZ, mŕsew` cŕŕi ubtKZ`~`raxbzvi i f`wKQzbq| G e`vciŕŕi Zvi gše` nt`Q, hLb ugwVqv wewfb Kŕi ZLb RbMŕŕi wMmŕKvŕmP mg`TAvavi Avi RbRieb wlv`ŕ nŕq cto| mgmvguqK mŕsew` KZvi` fŕc I bZb cŕŕŕŕi mŕsew` Kvgŕ` i Drmrv-Dŕxcvri weciŕZ mŕsew` KZvi cŕŕŕv gj`ŕevŕai cŕŕŕi tŕvKRŕbi DŕŐM wPvi Kŕi wZvb GB avi Yvq Gŕm`wvb th, mŕsew` KZvi` agvŕ mŕsew` Kŕi b

gv_v e`vi KviY bq, Gw GLb cŕZ`ŕKiB wkitcxov| mŕsew` KZv th aŕibi Z` I gZvŕZi cŕZdj b NUvq Zvi I ci B MYZwŠK mgvŕŕi mvdj` wbfŕkxj| tKD`ŕŕi wKvii nŕj wZvb Zvi Avŕkcrŕki memKŐB` w`Z Kŕi QvotebŕNGuB cŕKwZKfvŕte mZ`| ZvB, GKBfvŕte, mŕsew` KZvi tgŕŕj K wŕŕŕŕK wbt`~`Avi SŕSiv nŕZ w`ŕj ivRbwxZ I RbRieb GKB iKg fŕŕŕŕŕ GUvB weci` i K_v|

msev`, Acmsew` I wemsev`

th cwiw`wZ Z GKw mŕZ`Kvi Nubv tMvPŕi Avbv nq tmUv mŕsew` wK mŕsew` bq tmUv GLb wetePbv Kiv thŕZ cŕŕi| wKŠ` Zvi AvŕM GKevi gj` cŕKwŕŕi Avm hvK : mŕsew` gj-Z Kx? mŕsew` K ev cvŕŕi tctŕŕvU t`ŕK mŕvii Y Avŕb Gi Rerŕe ejv hvq, GKw NUBvB nt`Q gj-Z mŕsew` | GK w`K t`ŕK GB DĒi cŕŕŕŕŕ mŕwK bq| aiv hvK, GKw MvQ iv`ŕq Dcŕo cto tMj, wKŠ` ZLb tKD Avŕkcrŕk wQj bv| GB NUBwU tKD cŕZ`ŕŕi Kŕiub ev Kvŕŕiv AvZl bq| GUv mŕsew` bq| mŕsew` nt`Q thwŕŕŕŕŕŕi wclqe`; Aw`ŕZi` fŕc e`v`vi`kŕ (Ontology) bq| Ab`fvŕte iazŕcY`Aŕ`ŕw` ejv nq, NUBvB nt`Q mŕwK DĒi| GKw NUBv hv nt`Q cŕKZ.ev`bZv, hLb wKQzGKUv mŕZ` NŕU; mŕsew` nŕq I Vri cŕŕŕŕŕ GUvB GKgvŕ Pevŕŕ Dcŕ`vb|

Rbmviav Y Z`~`i Rb` Zv`i ubŕŕŕi i wLŕi KvŕŕYB thb mŕsew` gva`ŕgi I ci t`vŕŕŕŕ Kŕi`ŕŕŕ cvq| GK_v nŕj mŕsew` KZvi cŕŕi wK hŕjM thgb mZ` wQj, tZgbB Avŕŕŕi w`ŕb I mevi gŕŕ GKB iv tkvbi hvq| ivR%wZK tŕZv, wKŕ cŕZ, e`emvq t`ŕK Lŕj t`vKŕŕ vi wKsev` kŕŕŕ tŕZv, tkqviv Rŕŕŕi` vjvj, wKv` vi t`ŕK Aemŕi hv qv mi Kwi PŕKŕŕ N mevB thb Zv`i` je`vi Rb` mŕsew` gva`ŕgŕK`ŕj gŕbi Sij tgUvZ Pŕb|

A_P Zv`i Avŕŕŕŕŕ Rerŕe tctŕ ubŕŕŕK ubŕŕ GB etj evi evi Avk`ŕ Kŕi th, cvVK hv Pŕq Zv` t`qviv Rb` Zv`ŕK t`vŕŕi fŕwŕ`vi Kiv hvq bv| tKbbv, mewKQž ci I tŕvKRb Zv`ŕK cvV KiaK tm tZv GUvB Pŕq| ZvB, wŕŕŕŕfvŕteB, AŕbK mgq mŕsew` KZvi Avi Ac-mŕsew` KZvi gvSLŕŕbi` wUv nŕq cto A`uõ| GKŕŕŕi KvŕQ hv mim b`vŕi wŕf, Zv Ab` Kvŕŕiv KvŕQ nŕŕZv cŕbŕm NUBv gtb nŕZ cŕŕi wKsev` th wKŕŕŕŕŕŕi Kvŕŕŕ Kŕnŕxi gŕa` XŕŕZ eva` KiŕQ, Zv Ab` tKvŕbv cvŕŕŕi KvŕQ Lvŕgvlv tŕŕŕv-ŕŕŕŕŕŕ jvŕŕZ cŕŕi| Zŕe GKUv wRwbm cwi`vi, Ggb avivi mŕsew` KZvq GKŕB cvVKŕŕi hv AvKõ.KiŕZ nq Zvntj I gMR Avi gkv vQov epĒi cvŕŕŕi Rb` fŕŕŕŕ wKQzKŕi cŕZkŕZ Avŕ`S KZUv mŕe Zv ejvi Aŕcŕŕv ivŕL| GKŕB mŕsew` ŕŕi gj` Pŕŕŕj Aŕv`ŕK Zvi ubŕŕi KvŕQ; mewKQž AvŕM Zvi` bŕwK` wqZ; nt`Q ubŕŕi KvŕQ ubŕŕ tevKv etb bv hv qv| ZvB GKŕB mŕsew` ŕŕi thwM`Zv nt`Q Zvi Kŕŕŕi cwi`kŕŕi dj ; ZvŕK GKŕB tMŕŕŕ`vi gŕZvB hZUv mŕe Bmŕ I ŕKŠkŕ m=cŕŕK®Rvŕv DŕPZ| GB AvbB ZvŕK iazŕcY`mŕsew` wPŕŕŕi wŕŕŕ`ŕ` q; ZvŕK w`vŕŕŕ ubtZ mŕrvh` Kŕi Kx ZvŕK Kŕŕi KiŕZ nŕe wKsev` Kx ZvŕK Gwõŕg thŕZ nŕe| Zvntj cŕKwDVŕZ cŕŕi GKŕB mŕsew` ŕŕi gj` wqZ; tKvŕŕ? mŕsew` bŕwK mZ`Uv Rvŕŕŕŕŕ wKŠ` tKvŕbv tKvŕbv mgq GB`ŕŕŕ GK nŕq I tV bv| aiv hvK, hv tKvŕbv wbeŕŕŕ Rbmvŕq GKŕB cŕŕŕŕŕŕŕ t`q tmUvB nt`Q mŕsew` | wKŠ` t`Lv tMj I B cŕŕ` Zvi e`ŕte` Ggb wKQzj tŕ b hv mŕwK bq wKsev` Zvi t`qv Z` wEKZ.I fŕj|

Zvntj `wqZ; cij bKvix mīsewī K Zvi cwi tēkZ mserē tKiv w KūlūK cōlav` t`ēb? IB cō xp fvlīYi fjy ev wēKZ. Zt`i necixZ wZub wK mZ`Uv Ztj ai tēb, bīwK Zvi e³e` uēū D×Z Kti` i aymsē wū cwi tēkb Ki tēb| GB ai tēbi wēl qe`i Avortj LjR cvl qv hīte mīnīsewī KZvi ZĒq I ev`ē msAv|²³

mīsewī Kt`i gta` A tēb Ki B GgZ wēkjm th, cvVtKi Av`vB nā`Q mīnīsewī KZvi wPy| wKs` Krtiv KvQ t`tK Av`v AR tēbi GKgvI c_ nā`Q Zvt`i tKv tēv fēB KL tēv LutUv Kti` bv t`Lv; hī` GKRb mīsewī K memgq t fiv³v t`i KvQ Zvi mīgZv tē mslmāz Ōt`=vū Ō mīwK I mrfv tē Dc`v tēbi gva`tg hZUv mā`ē mZ` cKvK Ki tēZ cv tēb, Zvntj cvKvI IB mīsewī tKi cōZ Av`v ivL tēZ Gwltq Av tēb| GQvōr mg tēq`i cix vlvq Ab` tKv tēv Zvī KvB Kv tēR t` tē bv|

tckwMz Kv tēY mīsewī Kiv mgv tēRi m kōj t kYxi Ask; mvari YZ Zvīv cōwZ I ms`v tēi c tēq| K_v etj b, mvgwRK bīv Am wūZ, `elg, wēf` I Ab`v tēqī wēi tē× v tēKb m`v tēv Pvi | wKs` cō tēci w tēPB hZ AUKvī N w tēR t`i Qvōr mgv tēRi Avī me iāz pY` cōZōv tēbi e`v c tēi mīsewī Kt`i i tēq tQ Mfxi m tē`n| Av Z tēv tēv Pvi g tēv fēv tēb Zvt`i av tē tēb, GUV mīsewī Kt`i KvQ n tēq D tēv tQ U vey ZvB mīsewī Kt`i tckwMz `būZKZv w tēq c kōv tēj Zvīv Zv mntR tē tē w tēZ cv tēb bv| A_P cō tēK B Zvt`i b v b v Kv tēRi `ēaz V P v tēj A Kti` t j v KRb Av`v j tēZi Ki Yvc b m b | c I`-c w K v tēj v wKsev wēv f b m tē c P v i P v tēj Anīn t` tēki cōq cōZ w LūZ tēK cō kē m v g tēb `w Kiv q A_P w tēRi g v Uv KL tēv B c tēi Av q v q t` tēL bv| GUV `wē tē v ax Av P i v Avī GB Mj` t` tēK mīsewī KZv tēk v q b v b v Av v P tēi i R b tē w tē`Q etj g tē K tē b w g w l v q v wē tē k i Av v |²⁴

cōZē Ōi Rv b g w i g v tē m i cō g w tē b m i v i tē k i tē j t v tē Z w k v l v g s y j t q i c q t tē K b Z b e B w e Z i tē Y i l c i w e v f b e c w i K v q c k w k Z cō Z tē tē b i G K w U Z tē b v g j - K w P i Z tē a i v h v K | A v g i v R w b M Z K t q K e Q t i w k v l v g s y j q e Q t i i cō g w tē b cō w g K I g v a w g K tē i i w k v l v x p i n tē Z b Z b c v l c y K Z tē w tē q m K j g n tē j i c k s m v t c t q t Q | w K s` G K w U c w i K v q e B w e Z i tē Y t e k w K o z A w b q t g i K _ v d j v l K t i e Y v K i v n t j l cō Z tē tē b i t K v _ v l A w f t h v M i m Z ` Z v cō Z w o Z K i v i g t Z v w f v E w Q j b v | m i v i tē k cō w g K I g v a w g K tē i i m K j Q v l Q v l x i g t a` cō q 27 t K w U e B w e Z i tē Y t Q v l v t v l v f y l a w w K s e v Ō A w b g g Ō n l q v A` v f v m e K b q | G U v n q t Z v c × w Z M Z A e` e` v c b v i d j | w K s` m m e R w P i b q | t K b v v w e v f b m s e v g v a` t g c k w k Z L e t i e o a i tē b i f y a w s l w K s e v N v c j v i A w f t h v M c i l q v h v q v b | w K s` c w i K w U i cō Z tē tē b h v G w o t q h v l q v n t q t Q Z v n t`Q m i v i tē k tē j w k i t` i `Z t u Z` A s k M t h Y D r m e g l y i c w i tē k e B w e Z i tē Y i e v`ē w K i U ; Z v i e t j I B cō Z tē tē b w e v f b e t k Y x i 22 w U e B w e Z i Y b v K i v q A w f f i e K g n t j i t q v t f i c h i w l u t K A v b v n t q t Q m i K v t i i e` Z v i b w R i w tē tē | w K s` e B t j v w e Z i Y b v n l q v i K v i Y m a c t i K` g s y j t q i t K v tē v e` v L v , w k v l v g s y w k s e v w k v l v m i P tē i e³e` D × Z K i v n q u b | R v Z i q K w i K j v g I c v l c y K t e v t w P t P q v i g v tē b i t h e³e` Q i c v n t q t Q Z v - I A _ Ō n b q | A _ P w k v l v K g P v i x H K` t R i t U i t P q v i g v tē b i b r t g G K w U w e e w Z Q i c v n t j l Z i t Z t P q v i g v tē b i b r i g U B D t j t L K i v n q u b :

w e b i g t j ` i e B w e Z i Y : A w k v i A b l y q x m e w k v l v x n t z e B w i t z c v t i u b m i K v i \ g v a w g K tē i i 22 w U cō Zōv tē G L b l t cō Q u b \ tē a w k v l v x I A w f f i e K i v : cō Z kō Z c w i e n b L i P t` q v n q u b

A w v ` z a v u b m m i \ m i K v t i i A w k v i w Q j e Q t i i cō g w b t` tē k i cō w g K I g v a w g K tē i i m e w k v l v x n t z w e b v g t j ` i m e b Z l y c v l e B Z t j t` q v n tē Ō | G R b` 1 R v b g w i Ō c v l c y K w e m Ō t N v l Y v l K t i m i K v i | w K s` cō w g K I g v a w g K tē i i m e w k v l v x n t z w e b v g t j ` m e e B Z t j w i t z c v t i u b m i K v i | cō` s l A A t j i A tē K w k v l v cō Zōv tē G L b l e B m i e i v n K i v n q u b | w e v f b e w k v l v cō Zōv m f R v b v q , g v a w g K tē i i A š Z 22 w U e B Z v i v w k v l v x i n t z Z t j w i t z c v t i u b | t h m e e B w e Z i Y K i v n t q t Q , Z v i K v M R w Q j w b g v tē b i , e v a v B w Q j b o e t o | e B b v t c t q t q t q n t q t Q w k v l v x I Z v t` i A w f f i e K i v |

G v t K w e v f b a k v l v cō Zōv K Z e` q l R w b t q t Q , w k v l v g s y e B w e Z i tē Y i R b` cō Zōv K Z e` q t K c w i e n b L i P t` q v i K _ v e j t j l c w i e n b L i P c v q u b t K D B | m i K v t i i c q t tē K c i e Z tē Z v t` q v n tē e t j R i v tē v n t q t Q | m i K v i c e` N w l Z A w k v i A b l y q x M Z K v j 1 R v b g w i Ō e B D r m e Ō c v j b K t i | w k v l v g s y m n m i K v t i i w e v f b e g s y j t q i g s y , G g w c m n c k v m tē b i t j v K R b i v R a i v b m n t` tē k i w e v f b e w k v l v cō Zōv tē w e b i g t j ` i e B w k v l v x i g t a` w e Z i Y K t i | i v R a v b x i K t q K u w tē j e B w e Z i tē Y i m g q w k v l v g s y Z v i e³tē` m e w k v l v x b Z l y e B t c t q t Q ` w e K t i b | Z tē e v`ē w P i w f b e t` tē k i w e v f b a e f v M I t R j v k n i t` tē K A v g v i t` k - G i K v t Q A w f t h v M G t m t Q cō` s l A A t j i A tē K w k v l v cō Zōv tē w k v l v x M Z K v j c h` s l m e e B n i t z c v q u b | cō w g K tē i i cō q m e w k v l v x e B t c t j l g v a w g K tē i 22 w U e B G L b l w k v l v cō Zōv tē t cō Q u b |

D r m e A w t q u R tē b b Z l y e B w e Z i Y : M Z K v j i v R a v b x i t i w tē W w Y q v j g t W j K t j R g v t V D r m e g l y i c w i tē k Ō c v l c y K Ō D r m tē i g v a` t g i v R a v b x i P v i w U w e` v j t q i Q q n v R v i w k v l v x n t z w e b v g t j ` Z t j t` q v n q b Z l y e B | D r m tē i cō v b A w Z w w k v l v g s y b y a j B m j v g b m n` m n A b` A w Z w i v K t j R cō z tē Y K t q K n v R v i w k v l v x n t z b Z l y e B Z t j t` b | G m g q w k v l v g s y w k v l v x i b Z l y e Q t i i i t` f` Q v R w b t q e t j b , A v t M e B w k b t z K t q K g v m P t j t M t j l G L b e Q t i i cō g w b B m e w k v l v x b Z l y e B c v t` Q | A w l v g x i e v s j v t` k M o t z G m e w k v l v x K A v a v b K w k v l v x w k v l v Z n t q I V v i A v n e v b R w b t q b m n` e t j b , A v g i v h v K t i t` L v t Z c w i w b , t Z v g v t` i Z v K t i t` L v t Z n tē | D r m e w e tē m i K w e Z v c t o t k i v b v b w k v l v m i P e K v g v j A v e` j b i tē m i t P s a j x | cō w g K I M Y w k v l v g s y A v d O v i a j A v m g b _ j k v tē b i K v j i P r i c y j

miKwi c0_ugK we`vj tq uk`qlv_#`i nrtZ bZly eB Ztj
t`b| G mgq c0_ugK I MYuk`qlv c0ZgSx tgvZrvni trntmb,
mipe GgGg ubqvrDwib, c0_ugK uk`qlv Ana`dZti
grncvriPvj K`k`vgj KwiStNvl Dcir`Z i0tj b|

GQrov MvRictji U`xi AvDPcrov miKwi c0_ugK
we`vj q, m`tii P`bv miKwi c0_ugK we`vj q, tgvSPvtKi
tgvSPvK miKwi c0_ugK we`vj q, Kwij qv%Kti Kwij qv%K
miKwi c0_ugK we`vj tqi uk`qlv_#`i nrtZi bZly eB Ztj
t`b AvdQv`aj Awgb I tgvZrvni trntmb| t`v0gSx
grnDl`xb Lvb Avj gMxi gubcy D`P we`vj tqi uk`qlv_#`i
nrtZ eB Ztj t`b| bMxi Ktj wRtqU`dj uk`qlv_#`i nrtZ
eB Ztj t`b tRjv cKvM Ave`jy gubub| GQrov t`iki 7uU
weFvMiq kni, tRjv, DctRjv I BDubqb ch`qql webvgtj`i
eB weZiY Kiv ntqtQ| Gme Drmte bZly me eB tctq
c0_ugK t`ii uk`qlv_#`i Djum cKvK Kti|

gva`ngK t`ii 22uU eB nrtZ cvqub uk`qlv_#`i : MZKvj
c0_ugK t`ii c0g tkvxt`tk beg tkvxt chS`webvgtj`i eB
weZiY Kiv ntqtQ| c0_ugK ch`qql me eB AvtMB Qvcr tkI
nl qvq c0g me uk`qlv_#`i eB nrtZ cvq| Zte PAM0g, Ljybvi
c0`S`l`uk`QyAAAtj i c0Z0vrb c0_ugK eB t`c0`Qub G`tj Lv
chS`l| Zte gva`ngK t`ii 60, 7g, 8g I 9g tkvxi 22uU
eB MZKvj uk`qlv_#`i nrtZ t`c0`Qub w`tZ cvtiub miKvi
ivRaibxi GtK`jy AvU Ktj Rmn A`tbK`jy KZ0q
RmbtqtQ, 60 tkvxi ersjv e`vKiY, ersjv`azcVb, BstiuR
e`vKiY, Z` I thvMthvM ch`y0, Kg0I Riebgly uk`qlv,
mvaviY weAvb, Bmjvg ag0I`bvZK uk`qlv, m`yag0bv
t`c0`Qubvq weZiY Kiv hvqub| 7g tkvxi weZiY Kiv hvqub
ersjv e`vKiY, ersjv`azcVb, BstiuR M0gvi, Z` I
thvMthvM ch`y0, kvixiK uk`qlv| GQrov 8g tkvxi ersjv
e`vKiY, ersjv`azcVb, BstiuR M0gvi Ges 9g tkvxi ersjv,
ersjv mncvW, BstiuR M0gvi, mvaviY weAvb, Bmjvg ag0I
bvZK uk`qlv eB c0Z0vrb bv t`c0`Qubvq weZiY Kitz
cvtiub c0Z0vrb KZ0q|

tmgveri GbimUedi eB QvcrZ Kvr t`qv ivRaibxi
m`vctji AviGg`m t`vWi wevfbet`ch I etavB c0Z0vrb
mtiRugb cwi`k`0 t`Lv tMtQ, w0Ziq tkvxi tQvUgvt`i
cwi`tek I t`v`K_v, e`vKiY I iPbv, 8g tkvxi Bmjvg I
bvZKZv, Avb`cvW, mwnZ`kvYKmn (ersjv), gv`ivmvi 8g
tkvxi wdKvn, beg tkvxi ersjv eB, ersjv e`vKiY I iPbv,
MvYZ, 9g tkvxi Kul`uk`qlv I KvrcDUvi uk`qlvi eB QvcrZ
t`Lv hvq| IB eB GLbl c0Z0vrb t`vZ t`c0`Qub| Zte eB
bv t`c0`Qubv Ges GLbl Qvcr I etavB Kvr Pj0 Ggb
AvfthvM c`jvicy A`xvi Kti0b GbimUedi t`qvigvb

Aa`vck tgv`bdi Kvgij Dwi`b| Zvi`we, me uk`qlv_#`i nrtZ
c0g t`tk 9g tkvxi me eB t`c0`Qub tMtQ|

uk`qlv_KgPvixHK`RvUvi wevZ : uk`qlv_#`i nrtZ eB
bv t`c0`Qub Ges miKvi cwi`enb LiP bv t`qv uk`qlv_KgPvix
HK`RvUv t`qvigvb GK wevZtZ etj b, AvR (MZKvj) eB
Drmtei tNvl Yv w`tqtQ miKvi | uk`S`A`tbK uk`qlv_c0Z0vrb eB
GLbl mieivn Kiv nqub| ZvQrov msev`gva`tg eB weZiYi
Rb`c0Z0vrbK cwi`enb LiP t`qv K_v uk`qlv_gSx djvl Kti
c0vi Ktj I tKvrb uk`qlv_c0Z0vrb cwi`enb LiP c0vrb
Ktiub| c0Z0vrb wR`LiP eB wbtq GtmtQ| A`tbK c0vrb
uk`qlv_KgPvix Kvgij I AvfveKti`i t`vcti gS`L cotZ
ntqtQ| KviY gSxi tNvl Yv Avlyvq c0Z0vrb Kvgij eBtqi
Rb`cwi`enb LiP w`tZ imvR nqub| ch`vZ miKvii bZly
uk`qlv_mvZi AvtjvK bZly Kwij Kvjtg c0_ugK, gva`ngK,
BetZ`vqx, `vmlj I Kwii Mui`ti Gevi 3 tKvU 68 jvL 86
nvRvi 172 uk`qlv_#`i gta` tgvU 133uU G`aitbi eBtqi c0g
27 tKvU eB weZiYi AvxKvi Kti| Gi gta` c0_ugK 10
tKvU 78 jvL 62 nvRvi 714uU, BetZ`vqxtZ 1 tKvU 72
jvL 1 nvRvi 40uU, gva`ngK 11 tKvU 48 jvL 21 nvRvi
331uU, gv`ivmq 2 tKvU 5 jvL 95 nvRvi 540uU Ges
Kwii Mui`tZ 13 jvL 28 nvRvi 481uU eB i`tqtQ| uk`S`
MZKvj chS`lASZ 3 tKvU eBtqi Qvcr, etavB I t`c0`Qubvri
Kvr tkI bv nl qvq uk`qlv_#`i nrtZ me eB Ztj w`tZ e`
nq miKvi | t`v`K Avgi t`k, cKvK : 2 Rubymii 2013, c0Z0vrb`K,
Avv`jvqub mMi)

e0t`ii c0g w`tb bZly eB t`cj uk`qlv_#`i
bZly e0t`ii i`ai w`tbB bZly cvV`eB Ztj t`lqv ntjv
t`iki c0_ugK I gva`ngK t`ii uk`qlv_#`i nrtZ| uk`qlv_#`i
Lvuj nrtZ we`vj tq Gtm em0 wdtitQ bZly eB nrtZ wbtq|
17 eQi ci Gevi bZly uk`qlv_mvZi eB t`lqv ntqtQ| mviv
t`iki we`vj q, t`vZ 0cv`cyK Drmed D`hvctbi ga`
w`tq MZKvj g`j`evi uk`qlv_#`i nrtZ cvV`cyK t`lqv nq|
miKvii gSx-mvsmf`iv wevfbet`we`vj tq thvM w`tq GB
Drmte Ask tbb|

uk`qlv gSx`vj tqi D`v`M AvtqvrZ ivRaibxi
tiw`tWbvmqv g`Wj Ktj`R GB Drmtei D`0vab Ktib
uk`qlv_gSx byaj Bmjvg bvn` | G mgq wZub uk`qlv_#`i nrtZ
bZly eB Ztj t`b| uk`qlv_#`i t`vP-tMtq, c0vW0t`d`v
t`b0 Drmeglyi cwi`tek m0 Kti| gSxi nrtZ t`tk bZly eB
tctq Zvrv Avbt` D`0vuj Z nq| kZ kZ uk`qlv_#`i bZly eB D`v
Kti bvorZ`v`K| m0 nq GK Ab`i Kg`k`|

gSx etj b, mviv t`iki me we`vj tqB eB t`lqv ntqtQ|
e0t`ii c0g w`tb QvV`Qv`t`i nrtZ bZly uk`qlv_mvZi bZly eB

t`l qv P`vtj wAs Kvr uQj | 17 eQi ci uk`fjvug cwieZB
 Kti h3MvcthwMx 111uJ wltqj bZly eB cvt`Q uk`fjv. fiv |
 cU`wgKti eBtqi tevSv KgvTZ 548 cov. KgvTbv ntqtQ |
 h3Mi Pmn`v tgluTZ Rjevqy cwieZB, Z` AnaKvi,
 AuURgmn wQybZly welaq h3 Kitz ntqtQ | gva`wgK
 `fii Rb` 0Z` I thwMthwM chv3, 0Kg9 Rxebglx uk`fjv
 Ges 0`fjz`b, fMoxi fiv I ms`wZ0 bvtg wZbuU bZly welaq
 h3 Kiv ntqtQ | Gme eBtq wQy`fjv`uU`vKtz cvti Avk`v
 Kti gSx AvMgvevi Zv mstkvatbi Avkjm t`b |

Ab3vTb `vbxq miKvi cU`ZgSx Rvnw3xi Kwei bvbK,
 uk`fjv gSx`ij q m`cwKZ msm`xq KvguU mfvicwZ ivt`k` Lvb
 tggbb, uk`fjv mPe Kvguj Ave`y bvtmi tP3ajx, RivZiq
 uk`fjvug I cv`cyK tevWfP (GbumiUei) tPqvig`vb tgv`bv
 Kvguj Dwi`b Dcw`Z uQj b |

cU`wgK I MYuk`fjvugSx AvdQvi3 Avngb ivRaibxi
 `j kvTbi Kvj iPrucy miKwi cU`wgK we`ij tq wki`i nvtZ
 eB Zj t`b | cti gSx MvRicti i KtqKuU we`ij tq wltq eB
 weZiY Ktib | G mgq fig cU`ZgSx tgv`wclRy ingvb,
 mism` AvdvRDwi`b, Av K g tgvRvt`3j nK I Rvn` Avnmvb
 ivtmj, gSx`ij tqi fvi cU`b mPe Gg Gg wqqrDwi`b Dcw`Z
 uQj b |

t`votgSx gnxD`ixb Lvb Avj gMxi ivRaibxi gubcy`y
 AvU Ktj tR uk`fjv. fiv i nvtZ eB Zj t`b | Ab3vTb
 cwiPvj bv KvguU mfvicwZ mism` Kvguj Avntg` gR3`vi,
 cU`Z0vTbi Aa`f di nv` tnvTmb G mgq Dcw`Z uQj b |

GbumiUei KgRZfiv Rivvb, miv`v`tk cU`g t3ctb Pvi
 tKuU uk`fjv. fiv Rb` Gevi cU`g 26 tKuU 18 jvL bZly eB
 t`l qv nt`Q | MZ 31 wltm`f cU`vbgSx tkL nvmvb MYfeTb
 KtqKRb uk`fjv. fiv nvtZ bZly eB Zj t`b wltq wvbgfj`i
 cv`eB weZiY KvhPvtgi Avb3vmbK Df0vab Ktib | (cU`g
 Avtj v, cKvk : 2 Rubgmi, 2013 wR`cU`ze`K) |

mZ`Uv nt`Q, cU`g msev`cTiu hv Kti tQ ZvtZ GKt3tk msev` cwitekTbi
 dtj RbMfYi gta` we3vst 0votq cori AeKvk itqtQ | GtZ cKZ.
 ev`bZvtK Avovj Kivi tPov Kiv ntqtQ | Guv ntZ cvti Zvt`i c3v`v3
 ivR`wZK GtR0vB Ask | wKs` Gi`vq RbMY t3te tKb? th tKvTbv
 msev`cTii weia`xg cKviki `vaxZv Aek`B itqtQ; miKwi cKvmbh3j
 Avb3g I `3v`Zi Lei RbMfYi tMvPti Avbv Zvt`i `bvZK `wqZj | GB mr
 mvrnm t`LvTbvB mgysew`KZv | wKs` tKvTbv NUbvi Avsuk`K mZ` cKvk Kiv
 cKZ.mZ`tK Avovj Kivi bvgv3i; Guv w`vPvi, RbMfYi m3/2 cU`viYi
 kvngj | tKbbv 0AK`I gv nZ BwZ MRt0 ai`Tbi Pvj wK Avi hv-B tnvK Zv GKU
 cU`ze`Tbi Amr Df`l`k`iB euntcKvk |

MZ eQi t3e3vmi gvtm GKvEti i gibeZv3eti vax Aci v3a RvgqvZ tbZv
 Ave`y Kvt`i tgvj vi weia`x AvS`RwZK Aciva UvBejvTj i t`qv ivq

cU`vL`vb Kti kvnevTm MYRvMiY gtAi cU`Zev` mgvtek`i i3nevi ci Zvi
 tik miv`v`tk 0votq cto | GiB cU`vte tRj v kni `tj vtZ hvycivax`i d3v
 mi `wetz Mto l`iv kvnevTm MYRvMiY gtAi Av`tj `ZtU`Z`cU`Zev`
 mgvtek | Gme mgvtek GKvEti hvycivtai m3/2 msk0Zvi Avf`thvTm
 RvgvqtZi cU`f`ev ctiv`f mntwMwZvq cwiPvj Z wvfbwecU`Z0vbN thgb,
 e`vsk`wegr, uk`fjv`cU`Z0vb, lly tKv`cwb BZ`w`i m3/2 tj b`b eU` Kti
 t`qv AvnYv Rvvtbv nq | wbt`Pi LeiU tmB DEvj mgta tbt`Kvbn kni
 t`K 0hMvst0-Gi msev`vZvi cvvTbv | MYRvMiY gtAi GB aitbi
 AvnYv tKv`vI nqtZv`ev Gi cU`vte cto `vKtZ cvti Ges ZviB tRti
 tj vKRb Df0MekZ Bmj v3x e`vsk` t`tK `rfweK mgta tPiq t3wkv nvti UvKv
 Zj `vKtZ cvti | wKs` miv`v`tk GB aitbi cU`YZv mveRfite ZZUv e`vck
 AvKvTi t`Lv hvqub hvtk 0vnoK0 evv thtZ cvti | A`P 0hMvst0 cvl`Kvq
 tbt`Kvbn kniti GKU gvT kvLvq M3vKt`i UvKv tZvj vi A`rfweK Pvc`K
 0vnoK0 etj Dvj L Kiv ntqtQ | GKU gvT kvLvi `vbxq M3vKt`i GKv`Tbi
 Ggb AvPiy`K cvl`Kvq cKvk Kivi AvtM ASZ KtqK w`Tbi cU`YZv I
 DfEj`Tbi nvi ch3e`fY Kiv DvPZ uQj ZvtZ msev`uU i3Zj w`K t`tK
 A`3n ntZv | A`P Zv bv Kti, tKvTbv `wqZkxj Zvi cwiPq bv w`tq, 0R3Mi
 e`tk AvZ Drmvtm msev`uU t0t3c t`qv ntqtQ | wKs` Avk`vvi K`v nt`Q, Ggb
 Ab3vmbfP Lei t`tK mP `Rte t`kR3o e`vsk` e`e`v`v3vq gvi vZ`K wech3
 tW`K AvtZ cvti :

নেত্রকোণায় ইসলামী ব্যাংক থেকে টাকা উত্তোলনের হিড়িক গ্রাহকদের

নেত্রকোণা প্রতিনিধি

যুদ্ধাপরাধীদের ফাঁসির দাবিতে দেশব্যাপী
 আন্দোলন চলাকালে জামায়াত-শিবির
 পরিচালিত ব্যাংক-বীমা প্রতিষ্ঠান বন্ধের
 দাবি করে নতুন গুজাম্ব হুমকি দেয়ায়
 মঙ্গলবার ইসলামী ব্যাংক নেত্রকোণা শাখা
 থেকে দিনভর গ্রাহকরা তাদের
 আমানতের টাকাসহ এবং বিভিন্ন হিসাবে
 টাকা তুলে নেন।
 সকাল থেকে গ্রাহকদের টাকা উত্তোলনের
 হিড়িক পড়েছিল। জানা গেছে, জামায়াত-
 শিবির পরিচালিত ব্যাংক-বীমা প্রতিষ্ঠান
 বন্ধের দাবি উঠে শাহবাগের গণজাগরণ
 মঞ্চ থেকে।
 এরই অংশ হিসেবে নেত্রকোণায় সোমবার
 আন্দোলনকারীরা ইসলামী ব্যাংকের
 কার্যক্রম বন্ধের হুমকি দেয়। মঙ্গলবার
 জেলা শহরের ছোট বাজারে ইসলামী

ব্যাংক গ্রাহকদের হিড় জমে। গ্রাহকরা
 তাদের সঞ্চিত টাকা, ডিপিএস,
 একতিআর এর জমানো টাকা মেয়াদ পূর্তি
 হওয়ার আগেই উঠিয়ে নিচ্ছেন। দুপুরে
 ব্যাংকে গিয়ে গ্রাহকদের লম্বা লাইন দেখা
 যায়।
 বেশ কয়েকজন গ্রাহকের সঙ্গে কথা বললে
 তারা জানান, তাদের কষ্টার্জিত জমানো
 টাকা যাতে কেন ক্ষতি না হয় সেজন্য
 তারা টাকা উঠিয়ে নিচ্ছেন। ব্যাংকের
 সামনে অতিরিক্ত পুলিশ মোতায়েন
 রয়েছে।
 ইসলামী ব্যাংক নেত্রকোণা শাখার
 সিনিয়র প্রিন্সিপাল অফিসার মুহাম্মদ
 নাজমুল হক সাহিনীর সঙ্গে কথা বললে
 তিনি জানান, মাঝে মধ্যে গ্রাহকদের হিড়
 বেশি হয়। আজ তার চেয়ে একটু বেশি।
 আতঙ্কিত হওয়ার কোন কারণ নেই।

(mF : h3vst, cKvk 20 t3e3vmi 2014)

nj`y m3sew`KZvi weia`x eiveiB tmv`Pvi uQj b Ggb GKRB nt`Ob
 wDBqKf` 0v` t3kb0 cvl`Kvi GK mgta m`cv`K B.Gj. MvMk3 | wZwb
 GKevi GKU u`tqUvi Ab3vTbi wDR Kfvit`Ri t`f`f` nj`y m3sew`KZvi
 b3bv w`tZ wltq c`u`K wZbuU cvl`Kvq cKvkZ cU`ze`Tbi K`v Dvj L Kti

gRvi m½ ejv iQtj b GB Kwrbx| cŁg cwiKwi fil" n½"0, w_tqUvi ntj i
ub½Pi tcl½i cŁg c½iUv Av i cŁg e½j Kwi uzb t_½K PviU mmi i tPqvi
`k½K f½i m½tqUj| uZxqUvi `me `k½K i Dci uZ uQj ntj i GK-
ZZxqsk| Ab ir ½K, ZZxq cwiKwi Rvbrq th nj uQj `k½K Vavr, GgbwK
tkl ch½l K½iv c½q e½m Ab½v t`Lv gtZv GKwU tPqvi L½j uQj br|
Avj v v½ite GB uzbwU cŁZte`b covi ci Avmtj tKvbw cŁK.Z.mZ ½K Z½j
a½t½ Zv ub½q c½K uB½Z ½t½ c½ t½Z eva`| Ggb Ae`vq c½K uB½te
Avgiv thgb, Ab½c m½sew KZv uB½RiB`Zwi Kiv`ec½Z` AvUkv c½
hvq| Gevi c½v½Ki tevSvi m½eav½`GLv½ MZ eQi c½KwKZ GKwU msev½`i
Z½bv½j-K`½U cŁZte`b Z½j aivi gva`tg Z`meKwZ. I AvZiA½bi bgbv
D½bW½bi tPov`vK½jv:

RvgqvZ-ikuei`g½b c½j½ki tM½bW e`envi !

ivRaibw mmi v½`½K Gevi ikuei`g½b tM½bW e`envi Ki½Q
c½j½k| Ab`vb` mgq me½vax`½j i me½kl K½i ikuei-
RvgqvZi ugv½j mgvtek Q½f½ Ki½Z j uB½PvR`uUqvi½j, Rj
K½v½, iver½j U l`½j e`envi Ki½j i ikuei tV½vZ m½cŁZ
c½j½k GB me½kl a½bi tM½bW e`envi i i½K½i½Q| G me½tq
uB½G½ci AvZwi`³ K½gk½vi Ave`½j R½j g½j etj b, RvgqvZ-
ikuei K½g½v th½ite iv`½q t½q M½o fisP½j, c½j½ki lci
n½gv Ki½Q Z½Z K½i Z½`i cŁZnZ Ki½Z me½KQ½ e`envi
Kiv n½j uzb etj b, Zviv iv`½q v½gt½ B m½š½x K½g½v
K½i m½š½is Avgiv Z½`i cŁZnZ K½i G½v th½iteB t½vK|

MZ e½evi U½Be½j emZ½j i me½Z ivRaibxi gv½j et½M
RvgqvZ-ikuei ugv½j tei Ki½j c½j½k Z½`i tV½vZ`½j l tM½bW
M½m e`envi K½i etj cŁZ`½k½v R½b½t½Q½b| MZK½j
mK½j Wv. Z½f½t½i g½j i me½Z ivRaibxi g½vL½x G½vK½v
ikuei Avei l ugv½j tei Ki½j t½L½t½l c½j½k m½D½ tM½bW
l tM½bW½m e`envi Ki½Z t`Lv hvq| G mgq c½j½ki n½Z
tM½bW m`k.e` t`½L m½v½Y gv½y AvZ½`½ m½v½K Q½jZ`½K| G½v½K,
GKB g½vZ½Sj G½vK½v ikuei Av½iK½U S½UKv ugv½j tei K½i
e`v½K fisP½j i i½K½j t½L½t½l m½D½ tM½bW e`envi Kiv n½q½Q
etj c½j½k m½f uB½vZ K½i½Q|

m½f R½v½q, m½t½j½U RvgqvZi GK ugv½j c½j½k me½Łg
G a½bi A`½ e`envi K½i| Z½te ikuei`g½b c½j½ki m½D½
tM½bW l tM½bW½m e`envi d½j b½v m½m½v m½š½x n½`Q½
m½v½Y gv½y| c_P½v½, b½v½, ik½t½i m½m½v nq me½P½q
te½k| me½kl A`½ i g½Z, m½D½ tM½bW e`envi d½j k½Yk½
n½m½t½q t½jvi m½v½v i½t½Q Ges tM½bW½m e`envi d½j
k½m-c½j½mR½vZ me½f½e a½bi t½v½M Av½v½ n½qvi
S½K A½bK te½k`½K| ZvQ½v c½v½te½ki e`v½K`½j n½Z
c½v½j|

ms½k½iv R½b½t½Q½, ivR`½vZK`½j i K½g½v evbP½j GeviB
cŁg c½j½ki n½Z G a½bi e` t`Lv h½f`Q| G m½c½K`½k½v
c½v½ m½c½v`K Aveym½j n½gv. Bq½vBq½v t½v½f c½k½v
K½i etj b, me½vax`½j i K½g½v evbP½j G a½bi g½v½t½
n½i Rb`½j n½Z i A`½ e`envi t½v½v b½Ri t½b| miK½i
G R½v½q f½q½i e` c½j½ki n½Z Z½j w½tq c½j½ki g½v½v
m½b Ki½Q| G½U g½v½v K½v½i P½j`½N½| G e`v½v½
g½v½v K½i K½g½v c½v½te½k½v`½i t½v½v n½Z n½e etj
g½Z w½tq uzb etj b, miK½i h½v` G½f½te R½v½q½v-ikuei
`g½b Ki½Z P½q, Z½v½j G½v Z½`i Rb`½j GK mgq e½g½v
n½j| me½q½U`½K½i K½i t½ZRM½U ik½v½j`½v½v c½j½k
K½g½v½j i m½v½v Ave½v½g`½v½v etj b, Avgiv P½vR`K½i
Rb`½j uB½q t½t½b cŁq½vR½g½v½K k½U½v½, m½D½ tM½bW
l tM½bW½m e`envi Ki½Q| G e`v½v½ RvgqvZi t½K`½q
m½K½v½ c½v½ m½c½v`K g½vZDi ing½v AvK`½ etj b, miK½i
c½j½k½k i`½j e½v½v½t½ i½c½v½ Ki½ZB G a½bi f½q½i A`½;
Z½`i n½Z Z½j w½tq½Q| RvgqvZ-ikuei ugv½j tM½bW
uB½q½K K½i m½K½i b`½v½ RbK Aa`½v½q m½P½v K½i½Q| (uB½K
Avgiv t`k, c½k½v : 4 R½v½m 2013, m½f e½v½j uB½DR)|

X½v½ l ivRk½vZ c½j½k-ikuei m½N½

ivRaibx X½v½ l ivRk½vZ MZK½j ep`½v½Zev½ c½j½ki m½½
B½j½gv Q½v½k½v½i K½g½v`i m½N½`n½t½Q| m½N½P mgq
ivRk½vZ 20 Rb AvnZ nb| Gi g½a` me½v½v½v½ GK½v
Ki½c½v½j m½v½v`½j uB½v½v n½t½Q½b| X½v½q 10 Rb AvnZ
n½t½Q½b etj Q½v½k½v½i`½v½v K½i½Q| cŁZ`½k½v c½j½ki m½f
R½v½q, MZK½j m½K½j t½v½q 10Uvi w½tq ivRaibxi g½vL½j½i
g½v½v½v½v`½j w½tq ikuei S½UKv ugv½j tei K½i| ugv½j uB½v
g½vL½j½i t½j m½m½st½q w½tq G½f½vZ`½v½K| G mgq ugv½j
K½v½v½v M½o f½v½P½j Ki½j c½j½k eva½ t`q| G uB½q Z½v½i
m½½ c½j½ki c½v½v½v½v avlq½ l m½N½`i i½n½q| ikuei½i
t½Zv-K½g½v c½j½ki lci BUCv½t½K½j t½v½v½v c½j½k
j½v½v½v½v K½i l K½v½v½v M½v½m½i t½j t½v½v½v Avav NEv
ci c½j½k c½v½v½v uB½q½f½Y Av½b| m½N½P mgq IB m½t½K
h½v½v½v P½j½v½j e½U`½v½K|

e½v½v½v`½v½v f½v½v½v K½g½v½j (l m½) f½B½q g½v½v½v
cŁg Av½j½v½K etj b, RvgqvZ-ikuei ugv½j uB½q c½j½ki
lci n½gv½v P½j½v½j m½N½P m½f½v½v n½q| c½j½k NUBv`½j t`½K
GKR½v½K Av½K K½i½Q| cŁg GKB mgq g½vZ½S½j g½v½v½v
m½t½gv n½j m½g½t½ ikuei S½UKv ugv½j tei K½i| Zviv h½v½v½v
f½v½P½j i t½v½v½v Ki½j c½j½k eva½ t`q| G mgq ikuei½i
K½g½v c½j½k½k j`½j K½i BUCv½t½K½j t½v½v½v G½Z`½j
c½v½v½v g½a`½v½v½v avlq½ l m½N½`i n½q| G mgq IB m½t½K
h½v½v½v P½j½v½j e½U`½v½K|

Ab'w' tK, wDZiq cw' KwLi c'Zte`tb GKB NUbv eqv'bi t'q'f' m'vD'U
 tM'bw e'enit'ii K_v NY'q'f'ii D'tj' t' b' Zte t' t'ki w'f'bae`v'f' b'
 R'v'q'v'Z-ik'w'et'ii t'j'v'KR't'bi m't'½ c'w' t'ki c'P'D msN't'P Lei t' q'v n't'q't'Q
 w'ek` Av'K'v'ti Ges w'f'P't'hw'M w'ek' f'Z'v'q' c'v'k'v'c'm'k c'j'v' c'Zte`tb
 Z`mg`x'f'v'te D'v' G't'm'Q m'v'v't' t'k` t'c't'q'f'i g't'a` msN't'P m'w'e'R' u'P' | G't`i
 c'Zte`b'u' c'to K'v'tiv g't'b G'gb a'v' Y'v R'b'v't'v'v'ri K_v b'q' t'h, G't'Z N'U'v'v'i
 t'K'v't'v'v' i'Kg A'w'Z'i A'b' e'r' c'w'i t'e'w'k'Z L'e't'i t'K'v't'v'v'v' Z` t'M'v'c'b K'iv n't'q't'Q | e'is
 c'v'V't'K'i t'K'S'Z'aj I R'v'v'v'i A'v'M'h c'i-Y n'q' G'gb c'q'v'R'b'q' m'g`l'Z`_B u'Q'j
 I'B c'Zte`tb |

G'Q'v'v'v' c'l'g c'Zte`b'u' G'K'U'z't'L'q'v'j K'i't'j' B' t'h K'v'tiv e's't'Z A'm'w'e'v'
 n'ev'i K_v b'q' G'i i'k't'iv'v'g' t'h'g'b w'e'ã'm's'K'i, t'Z'g'b B' L'e'i'u't'Z' Z`_M'Z
 m's'n'u'Z'i'l h't`ó A'f'v'e i't'q't'Q | t'h'g'b, G'B c'Zte`tb R'v'g'v'v't'Z'i t'K`'t'q'
 m'n'K'v'v'v' c'P'v'i m'c'v'`K' g'w'Z'D'i i'ng'v'b A'v'K'p`'i e³'e` D'x'Z' K'iv n't'j' I G'B
 N'U'v'v'q' Q'v't'w'k'w'et'ii c'v'V't'v'v'v' m's'e'r` w'e'A'w'ß'i K_v t'K'v'v'l' D't'j' t' K'iv n'q'v'b |
 A_P i'k'w'et'ii w'e'A'w'ß'Z' m'v'D'U t'M'bw e'enit'ii K_v G'K'ev'i l' e'j'v' n'q'v'b | e'is
 G't'Z` w'e' K'iv n't'q't'Q, w'g'u'Q't'j' i' l'c'i c'w' t'ki K'v'v't'v' M'v'm' l' i'v'e'v'i e'j'j' U
 e'enit'ii d't'j' i'k'w'et'ii 10 R'b' A'v'Z' n't'q't'Q | Z'v'Q'v'v'v' c'Zte`tb D't'j' m'Z
 m'f'mg'f'ni e³'e`l' e'j'z' t'M'j' L'v'c'Q'v'v'v' Ges Z`_v'K'v'Z' w'e't'k'l'Á e'w'³'t'i
 g'Z'v'g'Z' u'Q'j A't'b'K'U'v' g'b'M'ov' l' A'c'w'e'v'v't'v'v'v' (Pseudo-science) b'v'g'v's't'i |
 b'v'g'-c'w'i P'q'n'x' G't`'i g'v'g'v'v' e'v'l'v' c'to e'v'c'v'i U'v't'K' A'v't'iv' n'v'm`K'i t'v'f'K't'Q |

Aa'vq : Pri

t'c'h, c'e'm'm'v'v' I w'ec`v'c`

G'L'b P'j' t'Q c'P'v'i Y'v'i m'e'p'q'v'K' K'r'K'S'k'j' e'enit'ii h'M | A'v'g'v't`'i A'w'f'Á'Z'v'
 t`_t'K' A'v'g'iv' c'P'v'i P'v'v' (Persuasion) I c'P'v'i Y'v'i (Propaganda) g't'a` c'v`_R`
 K'x' Z'v' R'v'b' | c'P'v'i Y'v'i K'v't'R' A'n'v'v' e'en'v'i K'iv n't'Q' m's'e'r` c'l', g'v'l'm'm'R'b,
 t'U'v'j' w'f'k'b, t'i'w'l, B'v'v'i't'b'U'm'n' A'b'v'b` g'w'e'g'v'v'v'q'v' | Z`_N'b' c'w'i t'e't'k'
 c'Z'v'v' b' G'm'e' c'P'v'i g'v'a't'g' c'k'w'k'Z' n'v'R'v'i n'v'R'v'i Z`_A'v'i w'e'v'v'c't'b' A'v'g'v't`'i
 g'v' t'x't'K' h'v'q' | c'P'v'i P'v'v'q' w'e'ã'v's'l' n't'q' Z'v't`'i A'c'c'P'v't'i A'v'g'v't`'i w'ek'j'm' l'
 A'v'v'q' u'P'o' a't'i, A'v'g'iv' c'q'k'b' m'Z`'t'K' m'p`'n' K'w'i A'v'i w'g`_v' e'v'M'v'o'v't'i
 f'x'l' Y'f'v'te A'v'v'v's'l'n'b' | d't'j' e'w'³'M'Z' c'h'q' t`_t'K' i'v'o't'q' c'w'i g'b'j' c'h's't'm'e'P'B
 w'm'x'v's'l'm'h't'Y' A'v'g'iv' v'w'k' w'ã'v'v's'Z' A'v'i Z'v't'Z' w'ej' w'v'Z' n'q' m'e' a't'v'v'v' c'x'w'Z'M'Z
 e'v`'v'v'q'b' c'q'u'q'v' | Z'v'b' c'P'v'i Y'v'i G'B h'j'm' t`_t'k'i M'Y'Z's'j' i'q'v' l' m'k'v'm'b' w'v'v'v'Z'
 K'iv'i t'q'f'f' h'v' A'Z`'s'l' i'ã'z'c'Y'v'v'v' n't'Q` w'q'Z'k'j' m'is'e'w'i K'Z'v' | t'K'b'v'v'
 m's'e'r' K'v'g'p' i' c'w'i t'e'w'k'Z' m'g'z'e`w'b' l' A'w'e'K'Z' e'v'Z'P' A'v'g'v't`'i m'v'g't'b' v'ó
 K't'i w' t'Z' c'v't'i m'v'v'v'v'v' K'Z'v' l' A'c-m'is'e'w'i K'Z'v'i g'v'S'L'v't'v'i t'f`'t'i L'v' |

h'w' t'K'D' m's'e'r' g'v'a`g't'K' m'Á'v'j' b'g'j'-K' t'h'u'M'v't'v'v'v'v'i (Transmission view
 of Communication) w'v'v' t'l' w'e'P'v'i -w'e't'k'v' Y' K't'i b' Z'te w'Z'v'b' G'B g'v'a`g't'K' e'p'É'i
 c'w'i m't'i L'e'v'l' e'v' Z`_ I Á'v'b' w'e`'t'i' i' G'K'v' D'c'v'q' w'v't'm't'e' t' L't'e'b' | w'K'S' c'k'e
 l'V'te' c'v'V't'K'i l'c'i G'i c'f'v'e' w'b't'q' : G'm'e' m's'e'r' e'v' Z`_ A'v'g'v't`'i e'v`b'Z'v'i
 K'Z'U'k'z'v't'j' v'K'c'v'Z' N'U'v'q' w'K's'e'r' G't'K' A'v'v'j' K't'i, c'v'V't'K'i w'p'f'w'z' K'Z'U'v' e`j'v'q'
 e'v' K't'w'i K't'i A`_e'v' Z'v'i g't'b' K'Z'L'v'b' M'h'Y't'v'v'v'v'v'v' e'v' m'p`'t'v'v'v' R'b' t`_q' |

civkvcnk Gme mser`gva`gi Kvh`g m`c`K`P` c`k`el Vv `v`f`me`K | t`K`b`v` G`U`v`
u`K` Av`f`S` m`g`m`R`K` H`K` e`R`v`q` i`v`L`v`i` t`q`i`f` f`ig`K`v` i`v`L`t`Q` , b`m`K` m`g`v`t`R` A`%`b`k`i`
e`v`R` e`y`t`Q`? Av`i`v` t`g`v`i`v`K`_`v`q` e`j`f`Z` t`M`t`j` , Gme mser`gva`g Av`f`S` u`K` m`g`v`R` I`
i`v`t`o`f` w`i`Z`k`x`j` Z`v` e`R`v`q` i`v`L`v`i` t`q`i`f` f`ig`K`v` i`v`L`t`Q` , b`m`K` m`g`v`t`R` A`w`i`Z`v` Av`i`
A`w`i`Z`k`x`j` Z`v` Z`j`m`S`Z` K`i`v`i` n`m`Z`q`v`i` i`n`t`m`t`e` e`e`u`Z` n`t`"Q`?

MZ KtqK eQtI t`fki gvbly mser`gva`gi tectivq`v` f`ig`K`v`i` G`g`b`B`
G`K` A`w`f`A`Z`v`i` g`a` w`t`q` m`g`q` c`v`i` K`i`t`i`Q` | G`B` m`g`t`q`i` g`t`a` t`k` I` R`v`i`Z` t`h`
A`w`i` c`w`i`w`i`Z`i` g`t`L`v`g`y` n`t`q`u`Q`j` Z`v` u`Q`j` g`j`-Z` i`v`R`b`m`i`Z` I` c`i`Z`i`n`s`m`v`i`
A`m`e`k`l`m` i`g`t`k`j` | G`K` t`k`Y`i` i`g`v`i`W`q`v` t`k`R`f`o` t`m`B` A`w`i`Z`v`i` `Z`U`i`f`K`
i`v`R`%`b`w`i`Z`K` c`i`Z`i`n`s`m`v`i` t`e`v`Z`j` t`_`f`k` D`b`f`y` K`i`i` w`t`q`u`Q`j` c`b`w`i`U`v`i` g`v`a`t`g`|
f`l`g`Z`v`i` c`y`j`e`_`t`j`i` R`b` m`e`f`i`e`S`Z` m`i`s`e`a`m`b`K` c`i`l`u`q`v` i`b`t`q` i`v`R`%`b`w`i`Z`K`
`j`_`t`j`v`i` g`t`a` c`P`D` `e`w`i`Z`v` , A`v` k`M`Z` m`e`t`i`v`a` , a`g`f`q` D`M`e`v`x`Z`v` , G`K`v`E`t`i`i`
g`v`b`e`Z`m`e`t`i`v`a`x` A`c`i`v`t`a`i` m`e`P`v`i` i`b`t`q` i`v`R`%`b`w`i`Z`K` `j`_`t`j`v`i` t`K`S`k`j`M`Z` A`e`_`v`b` ,
c`i`_`u`t`i`i` c`i`Z` t`v`i`f`i`v`c` B`Z`w` i`g`t`j` t`k` c`i`l`u`q`v` A`w`i`Z`k`x`j` Z`v`i` S`a`k`i` g`t`a`
c`w`i`Z`Z` n`q`| c`i`v`k`v`c`n`k` t`f`k`i` t`e`k`u`K`Q`z`A`st`k` G`K`u`i` a`g`f`f`i`E`K` i`v`R`%`b`w`i`Z`K` `t`j`i`
t`b`Z`v`-K`i`g`f`i` m`S`N`i`U`Z` e`v`c`K` b`i`k`K`Z`v` , R`j`v`l`-t`c`v`o`v`l` , m`i`n`S`m` I` m`k`_`z`
Z`r`c`i`Z`v` I` A`v`B`b`-k`;L`j`v` i`f`l`u`K`v`i`x` e`w`i`n`b`r`i` m`t`%` g`t`L`v`g`y` m`S`N`i`l`P` N`U`b`v`q`
t`f`k`i` g`v`b`t`y`i` g`t`a` M`f`i`x`i` D`t`O`M` t`L`v` t`q`| G`Z`w`t`b`i` P`j`g`v`b` m`g`z`l`
i`b`q`g`Z`m`S`K` i`v`R`%`b`w`i`Z`K` A`v`f`_`v`j`t`b`i` c`P`i`j`Z` a`i`b` c`u`t`e` h`v`l`q`v`q` t`k`e`v`m`x`
Z`v`i` t`P`t`L`i` m`v`g`t`b` G` m`g`q` e`o` m`e`c` `t`L`t`Z` c`v`q`| i`v`R`%`b`w`i`Z`K` e`v`_`e`Z`v` t`_`f`k`
D`m`Z` G`B` m`g`m`i`v` m`e`i`B`t`K` G`K` A`w`i`b`O`Z` f`i`e`l`t`Z`i` w`t`K` t`v`t`j` t`q`| t`k` I`
t`f`k`i` g`v`b`y` t`h` g`v`i`v`Z`K` m`S`K`t`U`i` g`t`L`v`g`y` n`t`q`u`Q`j` t`m` m`c`c`t`K`m`W`K` Z`_`
c`i`v`b` i`v`R`%`b`w`i`Z`K` m`g`t`S`v`Z`v` I` M`Y`Z`m`S`K` K`g`R`i`v`D` D`f`t`q`i` R`b`B` c`i`l`u`q`v`R`b` i`u`Q`j`|
Z`v`B` G` m`g`q` k`w`i`S`l` w`i`Z`k`x`j` Z`v` I` A`P`j`v`e`_`v` i`b`i`m`t`b` m`S`e`v`g`v`a`t`g`i` m`W`K`
f`i`g`K`v` c`v`j`t`b`i` e`o` m`t`h`i`M` m`v`g`t`b` A`v`t`m`| u`K`S` `e`v`_`f`e` G`B` m`g`t`q` m`S`e`v`g`v`a`g`
K`Z`U`v` K`i`h`R`i` f`i`t`e` m`v`o`v` w`t`Z` t`c`t`i`t`Q` G`U`v` m`e`P`v`i`-m`e`t`k`i`l`Y` K`i`v` c`i`l`u`q`v`R`b`| e`i`S`
`g`m`i`R`b`K`f`i`t`e` A`v`g`i`v` j`"K`i`i`u`Q` , G` m`g`q` u`K`Q`z`i`K`Q`z`m`S`e`v`g`v`a`t`g`i` f`i`g`K`v`
i`u`Q`j` c`j`i`v`c`y`j` c`k`e`x`| Z`v`i` G`K`i`u` e`o` K`i`v`Y` n`t`"Q` , t`f`k`i` t`m`B` R`u`l`j` c`w`i`w`i`Z`i`
R`b` `v`q`x` K`i`v`Y`_`t`j`v` t`_`f`k` Z`v`i`v` i`b`t`R`i`v`B` g`y` i`u`Q`j` b`v`| G`m`e` c`k`e`A`v`R` Z`t`_`i`
_`Y`M`Z` g`v`b` B`m`j`t`Z` A`v`t`j`v`K`c`i`v`Z` K`i`v` t`h`t`Z` c`i`t`i`|

MYRmiYce

MZ eQtI i`v`R`%`b`w`i`Z`K` e`v`_`e`Z`v`q` X`i`K`v`t`K`w` `K` G`K` t`k`Y`i` m`S`e`v`g`v`a`g` K`x`
a`i`t`b`i` g`b`M`o`v` , D`_`m`b`g`j`-K` I` A`w`i`Z`i`w`A`Z` L`e`i` c`w`i`t`e`k`t`b`i` g`v`a`t`g` Z`_`m`e`K`w`i`Z`
N`u`l`t`q`t`Q` Z`j`b`v`g`j`-K` m`e`P`t`i`i` R`b` `Z`v`i` u`K`O`z`b`g`l`v` Z`t`j` a`i`v` h`v`K`:

**k`i`n`e`t`M` d`'`m`e`t`f` `i` c` `a`i`b` : M`p`h`y`x`i` D`m`K`u`b`
e`v`_`v`i` M`Y`g`v`a`t`g`i` m`e`i`f`x` m`e`t`l`v`M`v`i`
A`v`l` q`v`g`x` e`v`x`R`e`x`t` `i` i`Y`u`l`v`i`**

÷vd u`i`t`c`u`l`l` i`v`R`a`v`b`i` k`i`n`e`t`M`i` g`n`m`g`v`t`e`k` M`Z`K`j`
d`'`m`e`t`f` `i` c` `a`i`b` t`k`i`v`b` t`M`t`Q`| R`i`g`v`q`v`Z` t`b`Z`v` K`v`i` `i` t`g`i`j`i`

d`u`m`i` `m`e`t`Z` e`M`v`i`t`i` e`v`i`b`i`t`i` P`r`i` w`b` a`t`i` P`j`v` K`g`f`i`P`
M`Z`K`v`j` A`v`l` q`v`g`x`j` i`M` I` e`v`g` i`v`R`%`b`w`i`Z`K` `j` , Z`v`i` `i` m`S` `u`Z`K`
c`h`u` G`e`S` G`K`B` N`i`i`v`r`i` m`P`i`y`Z` e`v`x`R`e`x` I` t`b`Z`v`i` `i` `L`t`j` i`u`Q`j` |
g`v`g`y` `U`R`q` e`i`S`j`v`-R`q` e`l`e`U`l`y`t` m`t`b`i` g`t`a` e`v`i`v` A`v`l` q`v`g`x`-
e`v`K`k`v`i`x` K`v`q`v`q` i`f`b`g`Z` `j`b`-`g`t`b`i` u`l`v`i` w`t`q`t`Q`b`| Z`v`i`v`
m`i`K`v`i`i` A`c`K`t`g`f` m`g`v`t`j`v`P`b`v`K`v`i`x` M`Y`g`v`a`t`g`i` m`e`i`f`x`
m`e`t`l`v`M`v`i` K`t`i` Z`v` e`R`f`i` b`W`K` w`t`q`t`Q`b` ; m`i`K`v`i` m`g`_`R`
e`v`x`R`e`x`i`v` i`Y`u`l`v`i` w`t`q` c`i`Z`c`f`l` i`b`g`f`i` k`c`_`i`b`t`q`t`Q`b`|
m`e`t`i`v`a`x` g`Z`v`t`k`P` g`m`j` K`v`b`v`a`x` m`e`i`f`b`e` c`i`Z`o`v`t`b` j`m`v` i`b`t`q`
A`v`l`u`g`Y` I` `L`j` K`i`v`i`l` t`N`v`l`Y`v` w`t`q`t`Q`b` Z`v`i`v`l` K`w`_`Z` O`t`P`Z`b`v`
`q`v`i`u`-G`i` g`t`L`i`k` L`t`j` t`d`t`j` c`i`l`u`q`v`e`t`e` M`p`h`y`x`i` D`m`K`u`b`
w`t`q`t`Q`b` m`k`x`j` m`g`v`t`R`i` c`i`Z`i`b`w`a` `m`e` `v`i` A`v`l` q`v`g`x` e`v`x`R`e`x`i`v`|



k`i`n`e`t`M` P`Z`i` M`Y`R`v`M`i`Y` g`t`A`i` g`n`m`g`v`t`e`k` R`b`Z`v`i` X`j`

R`i`g`v`q`v`t`Z`i` m`n`K`v`i`x` t`m`t`p`u`m`i` t`R`b`v`i`j` A`v`e`_`j`y` K`v`i` `i`
t`g`i`j`m`n` m`e` h`y`v`c`i`v`a`x`i` d`u`m`i` `m`e`t`Z` A`v`n`Z` g`n`m`g`v`t`e`k`
A`v`l` q`v`g`x`j` i`M` I` 14` `t`j`i` k`w`i`K` m`e`i`f`b`e`i`v`R`%`b`w`i`Z`K` `j` I`
A`z`m`S`M`v`t`b`i` e`v`i`b`i`-`t`d`÷`t`y` i`b`t`q` t`h`w`M` t`i`b` t`b`Z`v`K`g`f`i`v`|
e`v`i`v` R`i`g`v`q`v`Z`-m`k`e`i` , Z`v`i` `i` i`b`q`S`y`v`a`x`b` c`i`Z`o`v`b` I`
M`Y`g`v`a`t`g`i` m`e`i`f`x` D`m`K`u`b` w`t`q`B`_`v`t`g`b`i`b` , m`e`G`b`i`c` I` `j`u`l`i`
c`i`Z`o`v`Z`v` m`i`t`e`K` i`v`o`c`i`z` k`n`x` m`R`q`v`D`i` i`n`g`v`t`b`i`l` K`t`v`i`
m`g`v`t`j`v`P`b`v` K`t`i`b`| m`g`v`t`e`k` t`_`f`k` t`h` t`K`v`t`b`v` G`K`w`b` m`t`q`
i`v`R`a`v`b`i` g`M`e`v`R`i`t`i`i` R`i`g`v`q`v`t`Z` B`m`j`v`g`x`i` K`i`h`f`q`_`u`d`t`q`
t`q`i`i` m`m`x`i`S`l` R`v`i`b`t`b`v` n`q`| e`j`v` n`q` R`i`g`v`q`v`t`Z` B`m`j`v`g`x`i`
i`v`R`b`m`i`Z` K`i`v`i` A`w`a`K`v`i` n`i`Y` K`i`v`i` K`_`l`|

B`m`j`v`g`x` e`v`i`S`K` , B`m`j`v`g`x` e`v`i`S`K` n`i`m`c`v`Z`j` , B`e`t`b` m`b`v`
n`i`m`c`v`Z`j` , B`e`t`b` m`b`v` W`v`q`v`M`t`b`w`-K` t`m`U`v`i` , w` M`S`l` i`g`v`i`W`q`v`

**gnmgyj1 gnmRb
dumi we wbtq GtmQ**

kwi dj nimb\ G thb RmZi beRmY| hZ `i- tPvL hvg,
tKej guby Avi guby| jvL RbZvi GB gnmgyj1 tK`ie> y
knevM Mi OcRb PZi i0 beRmY gA| Zte cw0tg
KvUvtebi tgo, cte@grm feb, DEti ifcmv ersjv tntUj
Avi `wftY WJGmm Qm0tg tMt0 RbZvi tmB Xj | mgteZ GB
RbZvi KtE bibr t`mM, tPrtLgtL ivRct_ vKvi `B kc_ |
MZKij i`mevi tejr wZbUvq GB wQj kinevM I Avkctki
GjvKvi wP] jvL RbZv hLb wPrKvi Kti mgteZ KtE
ejvQjt b 0Rq ersj v0, hLb ejvQjt b 0tZvgvi Avgvi wKvbr,
cUv tgnbr hglv0: 0GKvEti i nmwZvi, MtR@DVK Avti Kevi 0:
ZLb gtb nWQj, GB ewS mwZ B GK iYvzb| thb wcdq
`t ktk nvtqvi nVZ t`K i`lvi kc_ wbt`Qb RbZv| Kv`i
tgjv mn gubeZweti vax me Acivaxi dumi `wetZ MZKvtj i
knevM Mi gnmgytefk thvM w tZ GtmQjt b GB RbZv| mevi
GKvB K_v, 0dumi `we wbtq GtmQ] tejr wZbUvq
ce#nmZ GB gnmgytefk i ianTj I mKvj t`tKB knevM I
Gi Avkctki GjvKv RbZvi Xj bvtg|

tejr wZbUvq RvZiq mSMtZi ga` w tq gnmgytefk i ia
nq| G mgq Dcw`Z RbZv GKvEti i nZvKvix Avi alRt`i
mtePp kw`l br nl qv chS Avt`vj b Pwj tq tbi qvi tNvYv
t`b| GB gnmgytefk t`tK ersjv tki `raibZvi
weti maZvKvix mSMVb RvgrvtZ BmjvgtK wbt x Kivi `wet
tZjv nq| `we Av`vtq tUKvrd t`tK tZwv qv chS Avt`vj b
Pwj tq hv l qvi kc_ tbb Dcw`Z RbZv|

Kv`i tgjv i hve3/4xeb mvrvi ivq cL`vL vb Kti MZ
g1/2 evi wetKtj knevM tgo GB wet`lvtfi mPbv Kti eMvi
I AbjvBb AvKvUwF÷ tdivg| Gici wewfbae mSMVtbi
tbZvKvgrv G Avt`vj tb thvM t`b| g1/2 evi i ci mKvj
tcw tq `gy, `gy tcw tq ivZ, ivZ tcw tq Avevi mKvj
ntqt0 AfbKvi | wKS` Avt`vj bKvix`i ZvtZ tKvbr Kws
tbB, tKvbr Kws tbB mvariY gubtj | tKvbr Kws tbB
ersjv t`tki |

Msb` knevM : MZKij mKvj t`tKB t`tki wewfbaeS
t`tK tjvKRb Rtor ntZ i ia Kti b knevM| KtqKv b ati
ivZ Rmvi Kws a1q tdtj tfti Avtjv tdivi ciciB
c0Zev`x Avt`vj tbi Kgrv t`mMtb t`mMtb `MZ Rivvb
AvMZt`i | me wgv tq mKvj t`tK Avevi g1/2 Z ntq I tV
knevM| Qv I h0Kt`i GB gnmgytefk thvM w tZ XvKv
wktje`vj q Qvovl t`tki wewfbae wktje`vj q I `gy-Ktj tRi
wktje`vj thvM t`b| wktjK-wPwKrmK-c0Kskj mn me tkYr-
tckvi gubtj GtmQjt b GB gnmgytefk | bvx-cjaf-wktkvi-
Ziax-h0Kmn me eqtmi gubtj I B mie Dcw`wZ wQj GB

knevM| GgbwK th wki` nwtZ RvB bv, tml GtmQj gv-
erevi tKvtj Pto| GtmQjt b AtbK gwp`thv`v | tevb GtmQ
fvBtqi nVZ ati | Dcw`Z RbZvi GKvB `we, hxyvci vax`i
dum| Avi Zv AvMZt`i AtbtKB tmme `we wj tLwQjt b
Zv`i kixi | Dcw`Z AtbtKi citbB wQj jvj-mejRi
tcvkvK, AtbtKi Kctj tj Lv wQj ersjv`k | iscyt`tK GB
Avt`vj tb thvM w tZ GtmQjt b `gyvKvKv cAvtkvaY`teer
tPsaY| mgvtek gtAi KvQ wZb c0g AvtjvK etj b,
0tKvbrvteB Nti etm `vktZ cvwQj vg bv | ZvB iscyt`tK
Ptj GtmQ| GLb Avgvi AtbK kwsj vMtQ|0

tejr evovi mt1/2 mt1/2 knevM evotZ `vtK gubtj i
AskMhY | ivRavb I Avkctki wewfbae GjvKv t`tK L0 L0
wgvQj wbtq Avm gubtj i nVZ 0hxyvci vax`i mePvi PvB0 tj Lv
c0vKvW`I e`vbi wQj | gwp`thv`v Avtmb gwp`thv`v KgvU
KvDvYtj jv cZvKv wbtq | c0ZvU wgvQj XvKv wktje`vj q
PZi c0ek Ktj Avkctki mnthv`v Zv`i Zgy
KiZwv w tq Awfb`b Rvrb|

mKvtj knevM PZi t`tK evi tWg nmcvZij chS c0g
100 dYj wZbUv mvr v Kvc0 w0vtrv nq ivRct_ | tmLvB
nvrvi nvrvi gubtj wj LtQb Zv`i gtbv K_v, gwp`thv`v
Angvb KvR mgvB Kivi AvKvZvi K_v | Zvuv wj LtQb, 0nq
AvgvK dum `vl, bq tZv Kt`i tgjv mn me ivRvKv tK|0
D`qb `tj i GK Qv wj tL0, 0hxyvci vax`i dumi ivq bv
i`tb ewo wdti hve bv|0 B`wUvte evm`v mvd Zvbfxi
wj tL0b, 0tKv`vq tZvgvi gwp`tmbv, tKv`vq AvQ tZvgiv?
tRtM I tVv ersjv`k|0 XvKv wktje`vj tqi wewfbae ntj i
Qv`v gnmgytefk thvM w tquQjt b Svo-nvZ | Zvuv cL`vKv
Kj c0vKv v embtq Svo- w tq tCvUw`Qjt b| Pviakjvi
wktje`vj mKvj t`tKB is-Zv nvtZ Qm0tg wQjt b wewfbae
`vte| Zvuv AtbtKi Kctj-Mvtj GtK w tqt0b jvj-mejRi
RvZiq cZvKv| Rv`v`i mvgtb AvtjvKv tix Avt`vj tbi
Qvei c0k0xi AvtqRb Ktib| mKvj t`tKB knevM i
tKv`v Ptj MYmsMz, tKv`v bvUK, Avevi tKv`v ev
hxyvci vax`i wPv`v| tejr `Bvvi w`tK knevMmn
Avkctki tMvUv GjvKv Rbmgj`cwi YZ nq|

gnmgytefk i ia knevM jvL RbZvi mie Dcw`wZ |
knevM tgo GKvU tQvU Utk`Zvi ntqt0 gj- gA | tmLvB
t`tK PigcI cvVi ga` w tq i ia nq gnmgytefk | PigcI
পড়ে শোনান বগার শহীদুল ইসলাম। তবে আনুষ্ঠানিক
gnmgytefk i ia nq tejr wZbUvq | tLjv Utk Kiv gtA
nvrvi nb wewfbae wktje`vj tqi DcvPv`I Ab`v`
Qv tmsMv tbi tbZv | tm±i KgvUv m tdivg, t`tki etiY
wktje`vj, mvs`wZK I mvgvRK mSMVtbi tbZv-Kg`v |
GtmQjt b mgvtefk |

tejv wZbUvq mgteZ KtÉ Mvl qv nq RvZxq mSMvZ |
jvLlv gvby etK nVz w'q tMtg I tV cÓYi ucQ mSMvZ:
ÓAvgrv tmbvri evsjv, Avng tZvgvq fítjveimól | G mgq
mgvtek t'j Dcw'Z AtbtKB KvUQjtj b | me ugjv'q 'Zui nq
w'fbaGK Aven |

RvZxq mSMvZi ci wQY t' Mvb Ptj | Gici iiaang
AvbômbK e³te' i cvjv | Qv'j xM, Qv' BDmbq, Qv' dU, Qv' t'Wv i kbnw w'fbaGK' mSMvZi tK' xq tbZviv e³e"
t' b | Zt' i mevi GKvB K_v GuU t'Kv' b' t' j i Av' vj b
bq, GuU RvZxq Av' vj b | gvbeZme' t' vax' i gZz' br nI qv
chšG Av' vj b Pj te |

gnimgvtek PjvKvj g'Ái mvg' b gv' thv x v' d' Lvb
GK nVz t' = bMvb, Av' i K nVz RvZxq cZvKv' vbtq h'vcv-
vax' i w'P' t' i 'wei c'v' Kv' Mj' vq Sv' q N'j' teow' Qj b |
gnimgvtek i fZ' t' i B etm' v' t' j b Rvdi BKeyj | nVv
Av' t' qv R' t' Kiv Zui b' g' e' j' t' j D' Q' m' t' d' t' U' c' t' ob' R' b' Zv | GK
ch' š' q' Zi' š' Yiv AtbK' Uv' c' v' R' i' K' y' v' K' i' B' Z' u' t' K' g' t' Á' v' b' t' q
Av' t' m' b | e³e' i i' a' K' i' t' Z' G' t' m' w' Z' b' v' b' t' R' i' R' q' evsjv t' Mvb
t' l' qv i i' a' K' i' b | mgvtek i g' - g' t' Á' c' l' t' g' A' Á' b' ivq Ges
c' t' i' gv' thv x v' l' m' v' š' j' Z' m' v' w' Z' K' t' R' v' t' U' i' m' f' v' c' v' z
b' w' m' i' D' t' x' b' D' m' g' l' er' P' z' n' g' v' t' e' k' c' v' i' P' j' b' v' K' i' b | m' U' v' O' q' l' v'
chšG mgvtek Ptj |

t' Mvb g' y' i k' v' n' e' m' i' : b' v' b' v' t' k' y' - t' c' k' v' i' g' v' b' y' G' t' m' i' Q' j' b
GB g' n' i' m' g' v' t' e' k' | Z' u' i' v' t' K' e' j' m' s' n' i' Z' B' c' k' v' k' K' i' b' v' b' , Z' t' i' i'
e³te' D' š' a' m' e' Z' K' i' i' t' o' b' Z' i' š' t' i' | w' b' f' i' k' v' n' e' t' M' Ptj b' v' b' v'
Av' t' q' v' R' b' | K' L' t' b' v' c' l' Z' e' v' x' M' v' b' , K' L' t' b' v' A' v' e' t' | q' t' y' q' t' y'
e³Z' u' | Z' t' e' m' e' i' w' Q' v' o' w' o' t' q' t' M' v' b' g' y' i' v' o' j' k' v' n' e' m' i' | j' v' l' v'
K' t' É' D' P' v' i' Z' G' m' e' t' M' v' b' g' t' b' n' t' q' t' o' R' b' Z' v' i' g' n' i' M' R' v' |

ÓtZvgv Avgrv w'Kv'v, c'Uv t'gNbv h'g'v'v: ÓGKivÉi i
nvwZqvi, M' t' R' v' l' v' Av' t' i' K' e' v' i' v: Óe' x' i' e' v' o' v' j' i' n' v' w' Z' q' v' i' , M' t' R'
l' t' v' Av' t' i' K' e' v' i' v: ÓR' i' v' g' v' q' v' Z' g' v' i' v' i' n' v' w' Z' q' v' i' , M' t' R' l' t' v'
Av' t' i' K' e' v' i' v: Óm' k' v' e' i' g' v' i' v' i' n' v' w' Z' q' v' i' , M' t' R' l' t' v' Av' t' i' K' e' v' i' v:
ÓR' i' v' g' v' q' v' Z' i' Av' t' i' b' v' , t' f' t' o' ` v' l' , w' o' t' q' ` v' l' v: Óm' v' c' l' v' m' o' q' Z' v' i'
Av' t' i' b' v' , t' f' t' o' ` v' l' , w' o' t' q' ` v' l' v: ÓR' i' t' j' v' R' y' t' j' v' Av' , b' R' y' t' j' v:
Óc' v' m' k' t' i' b' i' t' c' l' z' v' Z' v' i' v' , c' v' m' k' t' i' b' B' v' d' t' i' h' v: Ój' v' l' v' k' n' x'
w' w' k' c' v' v' j' , m' v' i' v' evsjvq Lei t' , m' v' i' v' evsjv t' n' v' l' K' t' i'
R' i' v' g' v' q' v' Z' - w' k' v' e' i' K' e' i' t' o' : ÓR' i' v' g' v' q' v' Z' - w' k' v' e' i' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' , G' B
g' v' y' t' z' e' v' s' j' v' O' v' o' v: Óevsjv' t' i' k' i' g' v' t' Z' R' i' v' g' v' q' v' Z' - w' k' v' e' i' i' v' v' B' i'
b' v' B' o' : ÓAvgrv' i' a' g' v' t' z' k' n' x' t' i' i' , G' B' i' , t' K' v' t' b' v' w' b' l'
e' v' t' h' t' Z' t' e' b' i' v: ÓAvi' t' K' v' t' b' v' w' e' b' v' , i' v' R' v' K' v' i' i' d' u' m'
P' i' v' B' o' : ÓR' i' v' g' v' q' v' Z' B' m' j' v' g' , t' g' w' B' b' c' v' m' k' i' v' b' o' : ÓG' t' m' v' f' i' v' B' G' t' m' v'
t' e' v' b' , M' t' o' Z' v' v' Av' v' v' b' o' G' m' e' t' M' v' b' b' Z' y' G' K' K' v' t' e' i' R' b' t'
n' q' k' v' n' e' t' M' i' | Av' i' m' e' t' M' v' b' i' t' k' l' v' o' j' : ÓR' q' evsjv' v' l' ÓZ' v'
i' v' R' v' K' v' i' , Z' v' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' o' A' m' s' l' t' M' v' b' D' v' t' j' l' k' v' n' e' t' M' i'

GLb metPtq eo t' Mvb: Z' v' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' | b' Z' y' G' B' t' Mvb
Ges b' Z' y' G' K' e' Y' v' v' c' v' i' v' k' v' n' e' t' M' t' K' G' L' b' D' š' a' m' e' Z' K' t' i'
t' i' t' l' t' o' | M' Z' K' v' t' j' i' g' n' i' m' g' v' t' e' k' w' Q' Y' c' i' c' i' B' G' B' t' Mvb
P' j' v' o' j' | w' e' t' k' l' K' t' i' j' v' K' x' h' l' b' m' g' v' t' e' k' g' t' Á' D' t' v' G' B' t' Mvb
t' l' qv i i' a' K' i' b' , Z' l' b' c' v' i' v' m' g' v' t' e' k' t' h' b' b' Z' y' c' v' i' v' c' v' q' |
j' v' K' x' v' b' t' k' i' G' K' c' v' k' t' K' i' i' a' K' i' b' , ÓK' t' Z' K' v' t' i' t' g' v' j' v' l' |
m' g' t' i' n' v' R' i' t' i' v' R' b' Z' v' i' v' P' r' K' v' i' K' t' i' e' j' t' Z' v' t' K' b' : ÓZ' v'
i' v' R' v' K' v' i' , Z' v' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' o' | A' v' e' i' v' b' K' t' K' e' j' v' n' q' , ÓK' t' Z'
K' v' i' v' e' v' i' g' i' b' o' | m' g' t' i' D' E' i' : ÓZ' v' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' , Z' v' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' o' |
ÓM' t' Z' t' M' j' v' g' A' v' h' g' o' | m' g' t' i' D' E' i' : ÓZ' v' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' , Z' v' i' v'
i' v' R' v' K' v' i' o' | Óm' t' Z' m' v' K' v' o' | m' g' t' i' D' E' i' : ÓZ' v' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' , Z' v' i' v'
i' v' R' v' K' v' i' o' | Óg' t' Z' g' R' v' v' n' o' | m' g' t' i' D' E' i' : ÓZ' v' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' , Z' v' i' v'
i' v' R' v' K' v' i' o' | Ób' t' Z' w' b' R' v' g' n' o' | m' g' t' i' D' E' i' : ÓZ' v' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' , Z' v' i' v'
i' v' R' v' K' v' i' o' | Óm' t' Z' m' v' C' v' o' | m' g' t' i' D' E' i' : ÓZ' v' i' v' R' v' K' v' i' , Z' v' i' v'
i' v' R' v' K' v' i' o' | R' v' d' i' B' K' e' j' j' v' b' t' R' i' G' B' t' Mvb w' t' q' R' b' Z' v' t' K'
D' š' a' m' e' Z' K' t' i' b' | G' m' g' q' w' Z' v' b' e' t' j' b' , G' K' m' g' q' G' t' t' k' Z' v'
i' v' R' v' K' v' i' e' j' v' t' h' Z' v' | ú' g' v' q' y' A' v' n' t' g' w' l' q' v' c' v' u' l' w' t' q' G' B'
t' Mvb i i' a' K' i' v' o' t' j' b' | G' L' b' w' Z' v' b' l' c' i' t' t' k' m' e' t' l' t' o' b' |
j' v' l' v' k' n' x' Av' i' R' v' n' v' i' v' B' v' g' v' l' m' e' t' l' t' o' b' |

g' A' t' t' k' G' m' g' q' g' v' b' e' z' m' e' t' i' v' a' x' A' c' i' v' t' a' A' w' f' h' y' t' i' :
R' v' Z' x' q' t' c' h' K' v' e' i' m' m' c' L' w' i' t' R' i' l' w' e' R' v' b' v' t' b' v' n' q' |

kc' t' t' k' i' : m' U' v' t' c' š' t' b' O' q' l' v' i' w' t' K' k' v' n' e' t' M' i'
g' n' i' m' g' v' t' e' k' i' g' A' t' t' k' D' c' w' Z' R' b' Z' v' t' K' k' c' c' w' K' i' v' b'
e' m' v' i' l' A' b' j' v' B' b' A' v' K' i' v' w' f' v' t' b' u' l' q' v' t' K' P' A' v' n' e' v' q' K' B' g' i' v' b'
G' B' P' m' i' K' v' i' | w' Z' v' b' G' m' g' q' e' t' j' b' , g' v' b' e' z' m' e' t' i' v' a' x' A' c' i' v' a' t' i'
g' Z' z' v' b' v' n' l' q' v' c' h' š' l' G' B' Av' v' v' j' b' P' j' t' e' | m' v' i' t' t' k'
R' i' g' v' q' v' Z' - w' k' v' e' t' i' t' k' c' l' z' n' Z' K' i' v' i' t' n' v' l' Y' v' l' t' b' w' Z' v' b' | G' O' v' o' v'
R' i' g' v' q' v' Z' - w' k' v' e' t' i' i' v' R' b' v' Z' v' i' v' v' x' Ges R' i' g' v' q' v' Z' t' K' h' v' i' v'
m' n' v' q' v' v' i' t' o' , Z' v' t' i' c' l' z' n' Z' K' i' v' i' t' n' v' l' Y' v' l' t' l' q' v' n' q' | Z' u' i'
k' c' t' i' c' i' B' g' n' i' m' g' v' t' e' k' i' e³e' c' e' t' k' l' n' q' | G' i' c' i'
A' v' e' i' l' i' i' a' n' g' m' i' s' w' Z' K' c' e' p' P' t' j' c' l' z' e' v' x' M' v' b' l' P' j' w' P' t'
c' l' k' b' x' | k' v' n' e' t' M' i' G' B' g' n' i' m' g' v' t' e' k' i' t' k' l' K' t' i' m' U' v' q' w' k' i' -
c' y' t' k' v' b' t' q' e' m' v' q' v' c' l' i' v' o' t' j' b' i' v' t' n' j' v' e' v' e' j' x' | c' l' g' Av' t' j' v' t' K'
w' Z' v' b' e' t' j' b' , Ót' m' B' w' g' i' c' y' t' t' k' A' t' b' K' K' t' o' G' t' m' i' Q' j' v' g'
k' v' n' e' t' M' i' | G' L' b' Z' v' s' v' b' t' q' e' m' o' w' c' l' i' v' o' |

Av' v' t' b' i' Av' t' i' K' i' v' z' : m' U' v' i' c' i' A' v' e' i' l' t' m' B' G' K' B
w' P' t' i' w' e' f' b' e' t' v' t' b' P' j' t' o' t' M' v' b' | P' j' t' o' P' j' w' P' t' i' c' l' k' b' x' |
t' g' v' g' e' m' Z' Av' i' g' k' v' t' j' m' i' v' o' n' t' q' t' o' A' b' G' K' A' v' e' n' |
Av' v' v' j' b' K' v' i' x' t' g' v' z' g' v' b' y' t' i' L' v' l' q' v' t' Z' A' t' b' t' K' B' e' m' o' t' t' k'
L' v' e' i' v' v' b' t' q' G' t' m' w' t' q' h' v' t' O' b' | A' t' b' K' e' x' c' i' g' g' g' Z' v' q' n' v' Z'
t' e' j' v' t' O' b' Z' i' š' v' v' v' b' K' v' i' v' t' i' | m' U' v' t' c' v' i' t' q' i' v' Z' n' t' o' |
w' k' š' k' v' n' e' t' M' i' t' M' v' b' Z' L' t' b' v' v' t' g' v' b' | k' v' n' e' t' M' i'
Av' v' v' j' b' K' v' i' v' i' v' R' v' n' b' t' q' t' o' b' , Z' u' i' v' A' t' c' v' v' q' Av' t' o' b' b' Z' y' G' K'
e' v' s' j' v' t' t' k' i' | (c' l' g' Av' t' j' v' , c' k' v' k' : 9 t' d' e' a' v' i' 2013) |

cʹŋcvz`g A_ev gj-MZfite AmꝑcYmsev` thvMʹthvʹMi kZʹblyqx msev`
 bq; Avmʹj A`wU-ubDR ev cʹZmsev` | wKŠ`wʹfEi Afite cʹZmsev` GK
 aʹtʹbi wʹvPʹi ev tʹuKvemRi bʹgʹvʹsʹi | msev` eʹiʹeʹiB ev ʹbZv I mʹZ`i
 AwʹfʹAZi wʹbi tL hʹvPʹiB Kivi GKwʹl wʹel q | wʹfʹPʹthʹM` I chʹeʹŋYgʹj-K cʹwʹY
 Abʹgʹvʹx Avʹgʹi v aʹtʹi wʹb nq NUBwʹU NʹtʹUʹQ A_ev NʹtʹUʹb | Avi GB aʹtʹbi cʹwʹY
 wʹfʹPʹ kʹi msev`-msʹkʹwʹ tʹj vKRʹtʹi I ci | Ab`wʹ tʹK, th tʹKʹvʹbv msevʹ GKwʹl
 NUBʹi eʹiʹL v Avʹgʹi wʹtʹme KʹiZ cʹwʹi Zʹyʹbʹgʹj-K wʹePʹi, tʹeʹvSʹcov I
 AwʹfʹAZi ga` wʹ iʹq Mʹto I V mʹZ`i Avʹj vʹtʹK | hʹi I AwʹfʹAZi mʹZ` tʹKʹvʹbv
 tʹKʹvʹbv tʹŋʹtʹ ev ʹbZʹi eʹiʹL v tʹ_K Avʹj v v nʹZ cʹrʹi | Aveʹi AwʹfʹAZi mʹZ`
 memʹg `ZtʹcʹwʹvʹZ I bq hʹi I Zv ʹuʹcʹK.Z. NUBʹi myʹuʹ wʹePʹi i tʹŋʹtʹ GK
 i Kg cʹZʹbʹwʹa tʹfʹc |



g°vi cʹwʹl Kʹiʹv kʹwʹtʹd wʹj v d Pʹwʹtʹbʹi Abʹgʹvʹtʹbi GB QʹwʹU Avʹgʹi tʹ k cʹwʹl Kʹvq
 eʹiʹsʹj vʹtʹ k hʹyʹcʹiʹtʹai Avʹmʹgʹx RʹiʹgʹvʹqʹZ tʹbZʹvʹi gʹwʹi `wʹeʹZ Kʹiʹv kʹwʹtʹd
 Bʹgʹvʹtʹi tʹbZʹvʹi; gʹbʹeʹeʹUʹb KʹgʹmʹP wʹtʹmʹtʹe Qʹiʹcʹi nq | hʹi wʹQ mʹvʹi Y gʹbʹyʹtʹK tʹaukʹv
 tʹ I qʹi AcʹtʹPʹv

MYRʹMi Y gʹtʹAi Dʹl v bʹcʹtʹeP AʹtʹbK AvʹtʹM tʹ_KB Avʹgʹi v j ʹŋ` Kʹtʹi wʹ mʹZ`
 kʹāʹwʹi tʹh gʹZʹNʹtʹUʹwʹQ ʹUʹAvʹgʹi tʹ kʹU cʹwʹl Kʹvq | cʹwʹl KʹwʹU GʹtʹRʹUʹv gʹtʹb nʹtʹqʹQ
 AZ`šʹi wʹtʹme Kʹtʹi wʹK Kʹiʹv : gʹZv wʹkʹRʹfʹite mʹi v mʹi `ŋʹYcʹšʹk iʹv RʹbʹwʹZ I
 wʹPʹšʹlʹvʹi v Abʹjʹtʹj mg_ʹB I RʹbʹgʹZ MʹVʹtʹb hʹZʹUʹv mʹeʹ tʹ kʹi gʹbʹyʹtʹK cʹfʹwʹeZ

Kiv hʹvq tʹmRʹb` mʹisewi Kʹmʹjʹf mʹZʹZʹi wʹg`v `wʹe KʹtʹiʹQ cʹwʹl KʹwʹU | bʹtʹj
 g°vi cʹwʹl Kʹiʹv kʹwʹtʹd wʹj v d Pʹwʹtʹbʹi Abʹgʹvʹtʹbi GKwʹl QʹwʹtʹK cʹwʹl KʹwʹU
 eʹiʹsʹj vʹtʹ k gʹbʹeʹZʹwʹeʹtʹiʹvʹx Acʹiʹvʹtʹai Avʹmʹgʹx RʹiʹgʹvʹqʹZ-tʹbZʹvʹi gʹwʹi `wʹeʹZ
 Kʹiʹv kʹwʹtʹd Bʹgʹvʹtʹi tʹbZʹvʹi; gʹbʹeʹeʹUʹb KʹgʹmʹP cʹyʹj tʹbi Lei wʹtʹmʹtʹe Pʹwʹj tʹq
 wʹ Z bʹv | Gi tʹeʹwʹki fʹM cʹZʹtʹe `bʹB mʹisewi KʹZʹv wʹbi tL bʹbZʹg MʹhʹYʹtʹhʹM`
 bq | Gi mʹeB gʹbMʹov I Dʹfʹiʹtʹkʹi tʹgʹvʹtʹK AvʹUʹKʹvʹbʹv | Gʹtʹ k nʹj y
 mʹisewi KʹZʹv Avʹcʹv g`K Wʹtʹe tʹ_K Zʹtʹi BʹUʹvʹi ÷ MʹcʹtʹK cʹwʹl KʹwʹU
 ʹOʹDʹtʹERʹbʹi eʹwʹUʹKʹiʹtʹ tʹmʹeB Kʹiʹvʹtʹj I Zʹtʹi GB aʹtʹbi mʹisewi KʹZʹv eʹpʹEi
 RʹbMʹtʹYi KʹvʹQ tʹKʹvʹbv i Kg Avʹtʹe `b iʹvʹtʹLʹub | Zʹtʹe iʹvRʹ%wʹZK cʹbʹvMʹUʹvi wʹ K
 tʹ_K ʹUʹAvʹgʹi tʹ kʹU cʹwʹl Kʹiʹv Gʹtʹ k jʹzʹfʹiʹtʹe cʹZʹwʹl qʹvʹkʹj Zʹv PʹPʹeʹj tʹKʹvʹbv
 i Kg fʹy c`tʹŋc wʹbʹtʹq fʹMʹZ nʹtʹqʹQ GK v eʹj v hʹiʹtʹe bʹv | hʹi I cʹwʹl KʹwʹU
 Acʹmʹisewi KʹZʹv KʹiʹvʹtʹY tʹ kʹi RʹbMʹY wʹbʹtʹmʹtʹ `tʹn fʹxʹY fʹjʹMʹtʹQ; AʹšʹZ tʹcʹkʹvʹMʹZ
 mʹZʹZʹi Avʹi `wʹqʹZʹkʹj mʹisewi KʹZʹv wʹ K tʹ_K |

ŋʹgʹZʹvʹi wʹZʹxʹ tʹK` aGLb kʹineʹM

÷ v d wʹi tʹcʹvʹUʹŋ \ kʹvʹnʹeʹtʹMi Kʹw` Z cʹRʹbʹtʹPʹZʹi GLb tʹh wʹZʹxʹ
 ŋʹgʹZʹvʹtʹK` ʹŋ tʹmLʹv tʹ_K KʹgʹmʹPʹi bʹtʹq ʹuʹKʹy AvʹmʹtʹQ Avʹi Zʹv
 cʹyʹj b Kʹiʹv nʹtʹQ mʹi Kʹwʹi cʹāʹtʹcʹvʹl KʹZʹvʹq | KʹtʹqʹKʹRʹb eʹMʹtʹi i
 bʹtʹq cʹwʹl Pʹwʹj Z kʹineʹM Avʹtʹ vʹj tʹbi tʹNʹvʹI Y v I `wʹe tʹj v
 mʹi Kʹvʹtʹi i wʹeʹfʹbʹaʹcʹhʹeʹj tʹ_K tʹhʹfʹiʹtʹe ev `bʹvʹqʹb Kʹiʹv nʹtʹQ ZʹtʹZ
 AʹtʹbʹtʹK i gʹtʹb B cʹkʹe RʹwʹMʹtʹQ tʹh, cʹāʹvʹgʹsʹyʹi Kʹvʹhʹŋ tʹq i ci
 kʹvʹnʹeʹtʹMi tʹgʹvʹo wʹK wʹeKʹi ŋʹgʹZʹvʹtʹK` `nʹtʹq Dʹvʹj ?
 kʹvʹnʹeʹM tʹ_K tʹNʹvʹI Y v i cʹi cʹkʹvʹmʹtʹbi cʹāʹvʹtʹK` `a mʹi Pʹeʹj q
 tʹ_K tʹeʹwʹi tʹq gʹsʹtʹ-mʹi Pʹeʹi v wʹzʹb wʹgʹuʹb i v `l q `wʹtʹq Zʹv Zʹwʹj



Avʹtʹj v i Dʹrʹmʹtʹe Kʹiʹv Kʹiʹv AʹUʹKʹi v | kʹvʹnʹeʹtʹM MYRʹMi Y gʹtʹAi gʹnʹmʹgʹtʹeʹtʹk tʹgʹgʹeʹmʹZ tʹRʹfʹj
 RʹbZʹv i Ae`wʹ

Kitj b| ejsjv`tki Kwö-Kvj Pritii cwičsk tgvgemZ
cRjtbi KgmP t`qv ntj Zvl ev`evqtb mivv`tki
čkvmb e`ze`lntq čtotQ| jxq l čkvmbKfite miKvi
tgvgemZ mieivn Kti KgmP mčj KitZ AMNv fngKv
tičLčQ| kvnem t`tk uk`fvcčZövb RvZxq cZvKv DčEj b
l RvZxq m`xZ Mvl qvi KgmP w`tj Zvl miKv`ii uk`fvl
gš`yjtqi Z`vičKtZ večl fite cvj b nq| hw`l ččZU
uk`fvcčZövb i`ubK KgmP tZB RvZxq cZvKv DčEj b l
RvZxq m`xZ cwičtkbi ti l qvR Pij yjtqtQ|

mečkl kvnem t`tk MZKvtji niZyj bv Kivi WK
w`tj Zv ev`evqtb gwiqv ntq gvtv bvtg miKv`ii me
tgukbwiR| uk`fvl gš`yjtq ejsjv`tki Buzvntm G člg
tKv`bv niZvtj mivKv`i w`tq uk`fvcčZövb tLuj vi ubt`R w`tq
tKvgj gwZ uk`i-uk`tkvi l Zvt`i AwffvčKt`i Pfg
w`bivčEvnxZvq tvtj t`q| hw`l t`tki ččq me
uk`fvcčZövb MZKvj APj uQj| miKvii Pčc uk`QvysL`K
ččZövb tLuj v i vLčj l teiki fivM uk`fvl`f Absw`vzi Kvičy
Kvm ev uk`fvl Kvhčg Pčj ub|

kvnevčMi Pčci ARjvZ w`tq Aweklm``čZvi mčz
gvbeZmečivax Acivčai vepri mspuvsč AvBčb mčkvab Kiv
ntjv msmč| GQvov kvnem Avč`vj bKvixč`i d`wmer`x
čKčg Avgvi t`k-Gi KivčZ Av`b t`qv nq t`tki w`fve
`včb| čvj k mnčhMzv KtičQ nKv`i Kiv t`tk Avgvi
t`k cwi Kvi evUj uQvčq ubčZ| bqv i Mčšli Avčm, Mmo l
tččm Av`b t`qv ntqtQ čvj tki QlQvq|

MZ 5 tččqvi RvqvčZ tčZv Ave`jy Kvč`i tgvji
weič`x UtBečvtj i vq tNvl vvi ci ččZevč kvnem tgvto
Rčov nq kč`čqK Zičv| evgčšč ivRbmZi mčz RvčZ Gme
Zičv ubčRč`i eMvi wntmte cwiPq w`tq Kvč`i tgvji
hveč`xeb Kviv`čdi vq ččv`l vč Kti ččmi `metZ Ae`vb
tbq| čti miKvičsk KtqKRB eMvi l QvčjM tčZviv l B
Avč`vj tbi ubqšy tbq| GKB mčz ččvbgšči Kvhčg t`tk
GKRB veZvčK KgrZčK kvnem Avč`vj bčK miKv`ii
AvqčE i vLvi `wqZj t`qv nq| l B KgrZčK Kiv t`tk Avm
miKvii ubt`Rbv Abčvqx čti tmLvtb eo aičbi mgvček
Nvčv nq| Avl qvqx jčM meč`i ubt`R t`qv nq kvnem
Avč`vj tč cvjv Kti kvqj ntčZ| Avevi i vRvčxi me
uk`fvcčZövb uk`fvl`P l uk`fvlKt`i i aubgvcčK kvnevčM
thvM w`tq msnvzi ubt`Rbv t`b Avl qvqx jčM Gguc l
tčZviv| e`emvqx, uk`i ččZ, miKvii-temiKvii ččZövbčK
ubt`R t`qv nq kvnem Avč`vj bKvixč`i Lvevi mn Ab`vb
mčev t`qvi Rb`| (Avgvi t`k, ččKv : 20 tččqvi 2013)|

GKivčEti gvbeZmečivax Acivčai vepri MvZ AvšRčZK Aciva
UtBečvtjčK veZvčK Kivi DčlčK` čAvgvi t`k čč cwi Kiv w`fve mgq
tekiKQzččZč`b Qvcv nq| Gi gč` čAvčKvčv`č cwi Kiv gvičZ cwi qv
UtBečvtj i ččvč vepriččZ ubRvgj nčKi `včč Kt`včK_b tččc včtq
GB vepričK veZvčK Kivi tčv KtičQ cwi Kiv| GQvov čččg včme
msev`gva`tg, Zvt`i včtePbvq, GB vepri i tčvZevPK vč K ubčq Avčj včKvZ
Kiv nq cwi Kiv tčej l B Ask`tjvč ččvčki e`e`v Kti cwičKv mčz
Pvj včKv Avčq tčq| thgb, aiv hvč, hvčivčvčai vepri `čQ nt`Q bv gčg`
RvZmsN gvbečKv Kivčvčj vepčZi K`v evj ntqtQ l B cwi Kiv
ev`čte, RvZmčNi mčz GvU mivmvi mččvčK bq| Avčvčvčte, ejsjv`tk
hvčivčvčai vepri l kv`li ččvč včub gZvčZ ččKv Kitj l cwi Kiv GB
msev` ččKv Kiv t`tk veZvčK`i eis ejsjv`tk mčvčZ GKRB včvčK
gšči gšč`tk Ggčvčte Zčj aiv ntqtQ ZvtZ Zvi mivmvi A`čvčq
RvqvčvčZ Bmj včvčK včvč`x Kivi ččvč bq včub| Gi gva`tg čAvgvi t`k
cwi Kiv msev`KZvi DčlčK` `čvč ntq l vč| GB Kvičy Zjvčvčj-K vepri i
Rb` Avčiv`čv cwi Kiv Qvcvčvč GKRB aičbi msev` D`čZ Kiv ntjv:

**RvZmsN gvbečKv Kivčvčj vepčZ
hvčivčvčai vepri `čQ nt`Q bv**

ejsjv`tki hvčivčvčai vepri ubčq Dččm ččKv Kti RvZmčNi
včvčvč`čRb včvč gvbečKv včvčKlA etj tčb, vepri `čQ
nt`Q bv Ges h`vč AvBvč ččvčvč Avčvčvč Kiv nt`Q vč|
hvčivčvč UtBečvtj i vepričK l miKvii AvBvčvčvč`i
včvčvčvčvč včvč včvč včvčvčvč etj l gšč` KtičQb Zviv|
Avčj Avčj ZčK UtBečvtj i ččvč včvč mčZčv mčz l včvč
t`Lvi l Avnevč Rvčvčvčvč Zviv| MZKvj RvZmčNi
gvbečKv včvčK Avčvčvč GK vepčZčZ Gme gšč` Kiv
ntqtQ| Avčvčvčvč včvčvč `čQ vepri včvč, Zv včvčvč Kivi Rb`
Zviv ejsjv`tk miKv`ii ččZ Avnevč Rvčvčvčvč|

AvšRčZK Aciva Avčj mčččZ Rvčvčvč včvč
Dč`včK Avej Kvjvč AvčvččK gčZč` l t`tki epčg
Bmj včvč`j RvqvčvčZ Bmj včvč mnKvix tmtčvUvvi tRvčvčj
Ave`jy Kvč`i tgvččK hveč`xeb Kviv`čdi w`tqtQ| vepčZčZ
evj nq, Avčvč`i gčZč` t`qv ntqtQ Zvi Absw`včZčZ|
Gčvčvč Avčvčvč h`vč` l `čQ ččvčvč včvčvč Kiv nqvb|
Avil AtččKv i vq ččvčvčvč| Avčvčvč`i gčZč` l ntč
včvč| vepri včvčvč, mšvčvč l t`čvčvč vepri mspuvsč
RvZmčNi včvč včvčKlA A`ev t`čvčvč i včvčvč včvč d
tnY Ges vepričK l AvBvčvčvč`i včvčvčvč včvčK
RvZmčNi t`čvčvč i včvčvčvč tčvčvčvč Kvj etj b, čGB
vepri i HvčvčvčK včvč včvčvčvč Ges mčvč` gčZč` tčdi
i včvč Kvičy GvU včvčvč Kiv UtBečvtj i Rb` AZ`š
včvčvčvč Avmčvčvčvč včvč `čQ vepri včvč|

weewZiZ ejv nq, UfBevjij AZxZ msNlUZ iaZi
Acivtai wePri KiZQ| KivRB ~O wePri I AvBibi h_vh_
c0qM Mi c0Z UfBevjij k k3v f`LxZ nte| Avhif`i
Abxw`wZiZ ZvtK gZz`D f`qvg ~O wePri I AvBibi h_vh_
c0qM ubtq Mfxi DfOM cKvk Ktib tnY| uzub etjb,
0thLvfb gZz`DfI weav itqtQ, tmLvfb ~O wePri I
AvBibi h_vh_ c0qM Kivivi fite cvj b Kiv mspuvsI
AvSRMZK AvBb tgfb Pjv `iKvi| KivDiK gZz`D f`qvi
AvfM ubw0Z KiZ nte th wePri ~O n`O Ges h_vh_
c0qM Abym Y Kiv n`O|

0tnY etjb, ~O wePri ubw0Z Kivi Rb` thb ASZ
0Bvivi b`vkvij fKvfb`wU Ab imwifj AvU cwi UKv`ij ivBUM
mspuvsI weav ubw0Z KiZ nte| eisjv`k GB Pw0Z
~v`ij Kiv f`tki GKvU| tMwefjv KivDj etjb, wePri K I
miKvi AvBbRixet`i ubi`c`f`Zv I ubefix wefM f`tk Zviv
KZUv `fax Zv ubtq th cKwDfivQ ZvtZ uzub DuOMq miv`ix
I Avmncf`ij AvBbRixiv Avfthw KtibQb, Zviv `evi
cwitek, fwx c0k0 I nqimbi gta` KivR KtibQb| uzub
etjb, Avfthv Zvt`i AvBbRixet`i m`1/2 `fax fite
civgk`KiZ bv cvitj, Zvt`i c`f`ij miv`ix`i Dcw`Z
KiZ chvB mgq bv fctj Ges miv`ixiv Avfthv`i c`f`ij K_v
ejtZ bv cvitj AvBibi h_vh_ c0qM n`qtQ Zv ejv hvq bv
c`jiv wePri c0qM Avmncg I ev`x`i c0Z mgvb AvPiY
KiZ nte| IB wefklAv etjb, UfBevjij wePri thme
Iau uQj Zv thb Avncj wefM mZKZvi m`1/2 LuZtq f`tL|
~O wePri ubw0Z Kivi GKvU AZ`vek`Kiv A1/2 ntv Avncj
c0qM n`Z nte wefjmhvM; wefkl Kti thLvfb gZz`DfI
Avk1/2 itqtQ| DfjL, `fax wefklA A_ev f`ukij
i`v`ciU`iiv RvZmsfNi gvbemaKiv KivDvYj KZR`w`h`ij
Zviv fKvfb GKvU f`tki A_ev wefkl gvbemaKiv cwi`w`Z
ubtq w`fciU`w`f`q`v`Kb| GB c`_tjv A`@ZubK| Zviv
RvZmsfNi ÷vd bb Ges fKvfb teZbI tbb bv| (Avvii`r`k,
cKvk : 9 tdeqmi 2013)|

h`yivR` hycivtai wePrii c`f`ij, f`vix`i `vqvg` bq N weUK ciiv`c0Zgš

wefkl c0Zubw` `faxZv h`x` wefivaZivKiv I hycivaxet`i
wePri I kw`l Pvg h`yivR`| GKvEti hviv gubeZwefivax
Aciva KtibQ Zviv `vqvg` c`te Ggb fiver WK nte bv|
eisjv`tk hycivtai wePri m`cbe Kiv DvPZ| weUK
miKvii ciiv` I Kqbl`qj_ w`lqK tR`0 c0Zgš
e`v`f`bm mivC`v I qviiM MZKv`j tmgv`i XvKvq GK_v etjb|
cwiK`lb estkv`w`Z GB weUK gš Pwiv`fbi m`f`i tmgv`i
XvKv Avfmb| `g`j` j kvfb weUK wfmv tmbv`i m` c0w`Z

0c0Bg UvBg0 wfmv tmev Kvh`etgi Df0vab Ktib| weUK
nvBKvgkvi ieiU`B wMem G mgf`q Dcw`Z uQj b| c0Bg
UvBg wfmv tmev Kg`w`Pi Avl Zvq c0Z kubev I wfmv Avte`b
c0qM Kiv n`O| e`emv, wefiv b, w`K`f`v, wefivqM, agYmn
wefiv c0qM Rfb h`yivR` m`f`i AvMh`x`i kubev I wfmv
Avte`b Rgv fbi qv nq|

weUK c0Zgš 0c0Bg UvBg0 tmev m`c`K`etj b, c0Z.
agYKvix, e`emvq, QvI-QvIxiv `Z GB tmev cvteb|
wejtZi fiv, `KZ.D`Pw`K`f`v c0Z0vb tjtZ c0Z.QvI-
QvI`x`i `w`MZ Rvbw weUK miKvi| Gi`d`f`j Zviv gvb`cbe
w`K`f`v ubtZ cvite|

1971 m`f`j RbMhYKvix weUK c0Zgš mivC`v I qviiM
mivew Kti c0Kie Rvte etjb, h`yivR` hycivaxet`i
wePri mg`0 Kti| GKvEti hviv qvZM0`ntqtQ Zvt`i Rb`
b`vqwePri ubw0Z KiZ nte| eisjv`k bq, cw`exi wefB
GB b`vqwePri c0Z0v Riav`| Ktiv `vqvg`i m`h`vM tbb| GB
wePri miv`cbe Kiv DvPZ| Zte 0gZz`D0 Avt`tki wef`x
Avgiv` G aifbi kw`li wef`x Avgiv`i Ae`vb cwi`v`i|

AvmbwePb I ivR`w`ZK cwi`w`Z c`h`f`z weUK c0Zgš
etjb, AvMvq wefP`bi gva`tg m`v`ite qvgZvi n`f`i I cvj
e`j nte Guv mevi c0Z`kv| 2008 m`f`j m`y`i I MYZw`K
weP`f`bi g`Zv 2014 m`f`j I GKvU weP`b nte Avkvi Kw`l
AvMvq weP`b n`Z nte ~O, Aeva, m`y`l mevi AskMh`Y|
Gi`d`f`j MYZw`K e`e`v ubw0Z nte| AvMvq weP`b w`K`f`ite
ev`tkv c`w`ZiZ nte tmUv Avgiv`i Rb` weteP` bq|
eisjv`tki RbMY I wefiv`e`j tmUv w`baf`Y Kite|

niZiv c`h`f`z uzub etjb, th Ktiv niZiv WvKvi
AvaKvi AvtQ, Zte RbMf`Yi `f`imeK Rieb-hv`c`b`il
AvaKvi itqtQ|

c0Zgš mivC`v I qviiM h`yivR`i i`q`Yk`j miKvii
ciiv`0`B`f`i w`h`y` nb MZ eQi t`f`P`f`i| uzub eisjv`k,
cwiK`lb, AvdMw`b`lb, ga` Gw`q, gvbemaKiv, AvSRMZK
Aciva Av`v`j Z, RvZmsNmn AvSRMZK ms`vi `w`qZc0B|
(Bf`EduK, cKvk : 19 tdeqmi 2013)|

UK wants to see them punished

UNB, Dhaka\ The United Kingdom has said it
wants to see those who unleashed atrocities during
Bangladesh's Liberation War are punished following
due process. Baroness Sayeeda Warsi, visiting UK
Minister for South Asia and the Commonwealth, said
this during a meeting with Prime Minister Sheikh
Hasina at Gono Bhaban yesterday morning.

Briefing reporters after the meeting, PM's
Deputy Press Secretary Nazrul Islam said they held

discussions on a wide range of bilateral issues. Hasina said the International Crimes (Tribunal) Act has been formulated with a provision for appeal to ensure justice, though there is no such scope under such laws in other countries. She sought cooperation of the world community, particularly the UK, in creating pressure on the Myanmar government to take back the Rohingya refugees from Bangladesh.

The UK minister highly appreciated the socio-economic development that Bangladesh has achieved in the last four years under the present government. Warsi said Bangladesh has witnessed tremendous successes in various sectors, including infrastructure, under the able leadership of Hasina. Besides, she said, the present government has established peace in the country by containing militancy and terrorism with an iron hand.

Mentioning the preparation of the Election Commission (EC) for holding the next general election, the premier said her government has strengthened the EC and made it independent. Ambassador-at-Large M Ziauddin and British High Commissioner to Dhaka Robert Gibson, among others, were present at the meeting. (Daily Star, Published : 19 February 2013)

**RugvqvZtK ubwl x Kivi fiebv mg_θ
Kti bv wefub : me tj i AskMhY
mgyz MhYthM bepb ntZ nte**

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AskMhY GKw Aeva, mgyGes MhYthM bepb t LtZ
Pvq| MZKvj ciivogSy Ww. xcygubi mth eVK tktl
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ciivogSy mth eVK mactK weUK gSy etjb,
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wePri, AvMvgx bepb, gubemaKvi cwi wZmn A_wZK I
emvYwR K mnthvMzv vbtq AvjvPbv Kti nQ| kvnevM
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G e vci ti Avcbt i Ae vb Kx miewi Kt i G cKie Reite
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avi YrtK mg_θ Kti bv wefub| Argiv MYZwSK| MYZwSK
wntmte tKvtrv mgm v mgvartbi Dcvq wntmte tKvtrv
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qtb Kwi, Guv GKw Av wK R j ovB| GB j ovBtq Av k
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Avi I etj b, G Av wK R w K. tj v mavi Y RbM tYi I ci tQfo
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AvMvgx mavi Y bepb Ges ivR%wZK j tj vi gta
gZcv R mactK GK cKie Reite weUK gSy etj b, G
BmyU vbtq Avig cawbgSy tKL nwmv, wevax j xq tbi x
teMg Ltj v wRq Ges ciivogSy Ww. xcygubi mth
Avj vPbv Kti nQ| evsj vt tki mgtb mthM Gtm Q MYZwSK
cwi c Zvi cgy v f qv i evsj vt tki me tj i AskMhY
GKw Aeva, mgyGes MhYthM bepb t LtZ Pvq wefub|
Zte tKvb c wZtZ bepb nte Zv evBti t tK Argiv etj Z
cwi bv| ivR%wZK j tj vi DvPZ bepb Abgvtbi Rb
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cZdj b vKte| (Argiv t k, cKk : 20 tde qwi 2013)|

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trvK Avi vZms vB trvK, Zv iv Argv i wv Pvc to bv w tj, tKvtrv wef q
mndw tK U wKsev tchmuckb bv w tj Argv i wektmi civ Pfo bv,
wb tR t i m x v s l v b t q w K w a m e f 3, Argv memgq Zt i tKB mvi k gwb|
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ivRb w Z, A_ w Z, mgyRb w Z, j w Z, bepb, gubemaKvi GK K v q c l q
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GZv b| w K s m v c Z K K v t j G K v E t i i g u b e Z w e t i v a x A c i v t a i w e P r i i i a i
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Argv i G g b A t b K u k R v Z i w e f b w e t w k m s e v g r a t g c K w k Z
t b w Z e v P K I c q l c v Z g c Z t e b w K s e v A v s R w Z K g u b e m a K v i
m s M V b m g t n i G K t c t k w e e w Z G t t k i c i c w i K v I w l w f P v t b j t j v Z
c l q k B h v P v B - e v Q v b v K t i A Z s l i a z j w t q c K v k K i v n q | G U v K Z U v
t h s w K I m i s e w K Z v i m t h m Z c y Z v t f t e t L v i A e K v A v t Q |
h y c i v t a i w e P r i B m y Z A v s R w Z K g u b e m a K v i m s M V b w D g v b i v B U M
I q v t P i G K w c Z t e b c Z v L v b K t i n Q t j b R v Z i q g u b e m a K v i K u g k t b i
t P q v i g v b W. w g R v b j i n g v b | w K s m s e v w c Z w q v k x j K v M R t j v Z t Z v
b q B, G g b w K g j - a v i v i A w a K i s k c w i K v I B t j K U l b K w g w q v q l c P r i c v q u b :

**wDg v b i v B U t m i c Z t e b
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tkj I mvdU tMbw wbtq bksm, eeP I Buznvtmi RNb`Zg
nvjv Pjv tbr nq| ZLb BtEdvK tgvov nnti ivtL i'vei kZ
kZ m`m`| Awfhtb mgq mk`; Acitk tbi Avl qvR
cKw`cZ ntq I tV gWzSj I Gi Avkctki Gjukv| ivZ
AvovBUv t_k i i a n l qv GB thS_ Awfhtb 10 wubtUi gta`B
tndvRZ Bmjvtgi cttq GK jvL tbZvKqK gWzSj t_k
nWtq t`qv nq| G mgq Zviv hviveov I tWgivi w`tk Ptj
hvb| SuUKv Awfhtb nrvri nrvri tZSn`x RbZv wbnZ I
AmsL` AvnZ ntqtQb etj weGbwic I tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi
tbZvKqK v`we Kti tQb| Awfhtb ciciB AvSRwZK
wgnWqmn newfbal tgemvBtU Awfhtb newfbaitbi Qie Zyj
aiv ntqtQ| newfbal tgemvBtU kZ kZ jv tki Qie t`Lv tMtQ|
cnyk KbtUj iatg etm ctjv Awfhtb chfe`Y Ktib AvBb-
k-Ljv i`qvKvix ewnbxi kxl`KqRZtV| bksm G Awfhtb
tbZtZ; tQtb i'vei tMtq`v BDubtUi cavb tjt KtbP`Rqv,
XvKv gnubMi cnytki AwZwi`3 cnyk Kugkbri (tMtq`v)
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t_k I kZ kZ ivDU`uj I mvdU tMbw tQvor nq|

t`vobZgS`y GWtftKU kvgmj nK Uky misew` Kt` i
etj b, eZqtb AvBb-k-Ljv cwi`w`z mi Kiti i wqstY AvtQ|
mi Kvi gtb Kiti, G gytZ`K Ktbr mfv-mgtetki Abgnv t`qv
ntj cwi`w`z Lvi tci w`tk thtZ cti| tmRb`B ga`ivZ chS
me aitbi mfv-mgtetek ubw x` Kiv ntqtQ| mi Kiti i cZwU
ewnbx cwi`w`z chfe`Y Kiti| tKv`vl tKtbr aitbi Nubv
NUtj Zviv mt`z mt`z e`v tbt|

tndvRtZ Bmjvg XvKv gnubMi cDvi tmj cavb gvl jv v
Avnj jn I qvQj etj b, gWzSj i kvjv PZi tK wnti
tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi kwsc`Y`KgmP`Z ga`ivZ wixn RbZvi
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nrvri nrvri RbZvi cWY tKto tbqv ntqtQ| Zviv knx`
ntqtQb| 20 mnmtaK gibytK c`zY Kti tQ| Zv Buznvtm Ktj v
Aa`vq wntmte wPryZ ntq`v Kte| weGbwicDi fivBm tPqvi g`v
mvt`K tntmb tLvKv misew` Kt` i etj b, gWzSj fivevi
ivZ Ae`vb tbqv tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi omnmiaK0 tbZvKq`
wbnZ ntqtQb Ges Zt` i kZ kZ jv k` G Kiv ntqtQ| tLvKv
`we, tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi kwsc`Y`KgmP`Z mi Kvi ga`ivZ
nvjv Pwj tqtQ| GultK wZw`v OmYnZ`v wntmte DttL Ktib|

m`f Rvbvq, AvBb-k-Ljv ewnbxi m`m`iv fivevi i`emZ
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Awfhtb kxl`KqRZtV` i wbt`k i Atc`q`v w`tj b Zviv|

wbt`R cvl qv gvl B Zviv A`vKktb bttgb| Awfhtb cnytki
civkicmk Ask tba wecy msL`K i've I newRie m`m`| cnytki
AwZwi`3 cnyk Kugkbri (tMtq`v) gviad nimb Awfhtb
cfe`wGwic A`v`i tKiv aviv Abvq Ges wKfite Awfhtb
cwi Pwj Z nte, tKv tKv aitbi A`; Ges hibeinb I mvgM
e`envi Kiv nte G e`vcti thS_ ewnbxtK msW`S weds Ktib|
tm Abvq Awfhtb ivevi etj U, etj U, uLqvi M`m` tkj,
wccvi Mib Ges mvdU tMbw e`envi Kivi K`v| wKs`
Awfhtb iia` ciciB t`Lv hvq, AvBb-k-Ljv ewnbxi
m`m`iv Zvt` i mvt`_vKv PvbvR ivBtdj Ges GtK-47 Gi
gtZv AtvrtgUk ivBtdj w`tq g`g`_uj el`P Kiti| Avi
Gi dtj B nZvtZi msL`v gytZB nrvri Qmota hvq| MZKvj
mKtj dWkivcy tctUj ctt`ci wctiZi GK AvemK
tntUj i g`vRvri bvg cKv bv Kivi ktZ`Rvrb, wZw
miviVZ Zvi fetbi Qit` etm AvBb-k-Ljv ewnbxi tndvRZ
tL`v| Awfhtb cL``q Kiti tQb| Awfhtb ciciB wZw UtK
Kti bxj cny`tb tXtK UikvZ`jv wbtq thtZ t`tL tQb|
AtbtKB tMvctb Gme`k` w`wW Kiti tQb| Awfhtb mgq
AvBb-k-Ljv i`qvKvix ewnbxi mvt`_w`w`j tcvktK tekvKQy
tjvKR AskMhY Kti| Zviv AvnZ tndvRZ Kq` i Dci
wbg`v wbtZb Pjvq etj cL``q k`m`f Rvrb tMtQ|

cL``q k` i gtZ, Uvrv Ae`v`vbi tNvYv t`qv tndvRtZ
Bmjvtgi Kq` i Mfxi ivtZ 10 wubtUi SuUKv Awfhtb
gWzSj t_k DrLvZ Kiti Q AvBb-k-Ljv ewnbxi| MZ 5 tg
fivevi w`bfi msNtZ 16Rb wbnZ n l qvi ci ivZ AvovBUvi
w`tk gWzSj SuUKv Awfhtb iia`Kti i've, newRie I cnyk|
gj- Acitk tbi AvtMB IB Gjukv wKv jvBb I we`y newObe
Kiv nq| `ubk eisjv I dWkivcy tgvov t_k GKthvM
AZ'vaybK A`ir t_q AmsL`_uj, uLqvi tkj I mvdU tMbw
wbtq bksm, eeP I Buznvtmi RNb`Zg nvjv Pjv tbr nq|
ZLb BtEdvK tgvov nnti ivtL i'vei kZ kZ m`m`|
Awfhtb mgq mk`; Acitk tbi Avl qvR cKw`cZ ntq I tV
gWzSj I Gi Avkctki Gjukv| Kuvtb M`m` I etj tU
wKtZ bv tcti newfbal Mij tZ XtK ctob gWzSj
Ae`vbKvix|

ivZ AvovBUvq i've, newRie I cnytki thS_ SuUKv
Awfhtb AvtM cnyk I i'vei KqRZtV n`vUgvBtK
tndvRZKq` i gWzSj tQto hvl qvi Avneib Rvrb| wKs`Zv
cL``vL`v Kti Ae`vbKvix| 15 t_k 20 nrvri i've, newRie
I cnyk m`m` hLb Awfhtb iia`Ktib, ZLtbv cttq GK jvL
Kq` Dciv wZtZ mgtetek gA` t_k newfbal`w`w`v t`qv nrvQj,
PjvQj e`3e`I| dWkivcy ntq`v bli tWg Ktj R I `ubk eisjv
t_k i've, newRie I cnyk GKthvM Awfhtb iia`Kti 10
wubtUi gta` gWzSj kvjv PZi i wqstY tba| ZLb UtKi

Ici ubiqz A`vq mgvtek g`A tndvRtzi tKvbr tbZvtK
t`Lv hvqub/

cZ`q` k`nimb Ribib, SiUKv Awfhtb AskMhYKvixiv
eip`i g`Zv`uj Pjvq|`uj, Uqvi M`im I mvdU` tM`bW ubtq
bksm nvgv`vq ubi` ; tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi tbZvKgfiv uKtZ`bv
tcti GK chf`q Av`i tK wgb t`vWi tP`sv`v`w`iq tM`cxiem
I uKvUv`i tgo`w`iq tWgivi w`tK Pj` hvq| ZLb BtEdvK
tgrfo mk` ; i`ve`w`w`rie Ae`vb Kiv` tKD mgv`tb GtM`tZ
cv`tib| i`ve, c`v`k I w`w`riei w`g`mk` ; nvgjvi mgq
tndvRZ Bmjvtgi tbZvKgfiv BUCvUtKj` O`jo tgvKv`ejvi
tPov` Kt`ib| w`KS` Av`Mav`v`j` KivQ` Zivv uKtZ` cv`tib|
SiUKv Awfhtbi mgq AmsL` tndvRZ Kgf`K` `uj w`x` n`q
iv`iq cto`vKtZ` t`Lv tM`tQ|

SiUKv Awfhtb Ask` tbqv AvBb-k:Ljv i`q`vKvix ewnbri
`Rb` m`m` `ubK BbKj`v`et`j` b, SiUKv Awfhtbi Av`tMB
w`c`j` mSL`K` U`K` Avbr` nq| ZvQov` Awfhtbi ci` `z` G`j`vKv
cwi`vi Kivi Rb` w`mU` Kt`c`f`i`k`ti` t`j`vKRb`K` At`c`q`vY
ivLv` nq| Awfhtbi ciciB` Zivv gwZvSj` G`j`vKv cwi`v`i`i
Rb` g`v`V` b`v`gb| cO`w`K`f`v`te Awfhtbi w`w`f`b`e` ai`t`bi
Avj`v`G` Ges` nZv`v`Z`i` i`3`I` cwi`vi Kiv` nq|
tndvRZKgfiv` Pj` hv`l`q`vi` ci` gwZvSj`i` mo`K` AmsL`
KivMR, m`v`Uj` Ges` w`K`O`v`e`im` cto`vKtZ` t`Lv hvq| w`w`f`b`e`
`v`b` `e` Kt`i` ivLv` Kiv`R` Av` b`l` Rj`w`Qj`| c`v`o`t`q` t`q`v` c`v`v`U
Mw`o`l` t`Lv hvq` mo`K`i` cv`k`| AvBb-k:Ljv ewnbri` m`m`i`
t`vKv`Z` mo`K` w`f`v`R`K`i` w`-t`j`i` teov` t`f`i`o` mo`K`i` Ici
Avov`Aw`o` Kt`i` t`i`L`w`Qj` tndvRZKgfiv| t`mL`v`b` t`_t`K` BU` L`j`j` I
Zivv` UK`v`iv` UK`v`iv` Kt`i` iv`L, hv` c`v`k`i` w`tK` t`O`v`n` nq|



Awfhtb tndvRZg`v` kvcjv` Pzj`

MZKvj` t`vii`v`Z` tndvRZ` Bmjvtgi` tek` KtqKRb` Kgf`
Rvib, i`ve`c`v`k`i` Awfhtbi` g`z`l` g`v`z`B` d`u`Kv` n`q` tMj`
gwZvSj`i` kvcjv` Pzj` G`j`vKv| KtqK` `t`i` gubeXj` w`iq
w`b`v`c`v`e`y`n` `Z`wi` Kt`i` I` uKtZ` cv`t`j`v` b`v` kvcjv` Pzj`i` Ae`vb
tbqv` tndvRtZ` Bmjvtgi` Kgfiv| g`j`-Z` AvBb-k:Ljv` ewnbri`K
tgvKv`ejv`q` GB` e`y`n` `Z`wi` Kt`i`Uj` Zivv| Gi` Av`M` i`v`ei`
tM`tq`v` c`v`b` t`j` t`Kt`b` w`Rqv`Dj` Avmmb` tndvRtZi` Kgf`i`
kvcjv` Pzj` O`vov` w`b` `R`b`v` t`b`| G` w`b`q` tndvRtZi` tbZv`i`
i` m`t`z` Ziv` K`v`l` nq| gwBvKs` Kt`i` mZK`Kiv` nq| Gici` w`qvi
M`im` w`b`t`q`c, j`w`Pv`R`O`l` iv`v`i` e`t`j` U` I` AZ`v`w`b`K` Av`M`v`
w`iq` `uj` Kt`i` m`i`t`q` t`q`v` nq` tndvRtZi` Kgf`i`| G` mgq
n`v`Rv`i` n`v`Rv`i` tbZv`Kgfiv`n`Z` I` AmsL` Av`v`Z` n`q`t`Q` e`t`j` Ziv`i`
`w`e`| (BbKj`e, c`k`k` : 7` t`g` 2013)|

w`b`R`^`cO`Z`te`K`v` c`v`k, i`ve` I` w`w`riei` mgv`SZ` Awfhtbi
g`z`l` Av`R` t`m`v`e`v`i` t`vii`v`Z`i` w`tK` tndvRtZ` Bmjvtgi` Kgf`
mg`R`g`v` n`q`t`Q` gwZvSj`i` kvcjv` Pzj`| MZKvj` t`vii`v`Z`
t`_t`K` XvKv` Ae`v`i`v`a` Kgfiv` i`i`a` Kt`i` tndvRtZ` Bmjv`g`
e`v`j`v`k`| G` mgq` tndvRtZi` Kgfiv` XvKv` g`j`-
c`v`k`c`_`t`j`v`Z` Ae`vb` w`b`q` h`v`b` Pj`v`Pj` e`U` Kt`i` t`b`| Zivv
XvKv` t`_t`K` t`Kv`b`v` Mm`o` t`e`f`i`v`Z` Ges` eiv`Bt`i` t`_t`K` t`Kv`b`v` Mm`o`
XvKv`q` X`K`z` t`b`v`b`| d`t`j` Kiv`Z` t`_t`K`i` Ab`v`b` t`Rj`v` t`_t`K`
XvKv` w`w`O`b`v`t`q` c`v`o`t`Q|

MZKvj` te`j`v` t`l`v`v` t`_t`KB` gwZvSj`, c`e`b`m`n` tek`
KtqKiv` G`j`vKv` c`v`k`i` m`t`z` msNt`l`R`w`o`t`q` c`v`ob`
tndvRtZi` Kgfiv| Gme` msNt`l`GK` cwi`enb` k`i`g`K`m`n`
w`Z`b`R`b` w`b`n`Z` nb| Ggb` Ae`v`i` g`v`a`B` c`v`k` te`j`v` w`Z`b`Uv`
t`_t`K` m`U`v` O`q`Uv` ch`S`l` gwZvSj`i` kvcjv` Pzj`i` tndvRtZ`
Bmjv`g`K` mgv`tek` Kivi` Ab`v`v`Z` w`t`j` `j`w`i` tbZv`Kgf`I`
mg`Kiv` t`mL`v`b` R`v`n`n`Z` i`i`a`Kt`i`b`| mgv`te`k`i` Rb` eiv`i`
mgq` t`c`v`i`t`q` tM`t`j` I` Zivv` t`mL`v`b` t`_t`K` b`v` m`f`i` Ae`vb` t`b`l` qvi`
t`Niv`Yv` t`b`| GKB` m`t`z` Pj`t`Z` `v`t`K` f`v`O`Pj`, Av`b` awi`t`q`
t`_t`I` q`m`n` m`i`n`sm` Kgfiv`|

AvBb-k:Ljv` i`q`vKvix` ewnbri` Zid` t`_t`K` eiv`v`i`
tndvRtZi` tbZv`Kgf`I` mg`R`i` IB` G`j`vKv` t`O`t`o` t`l`qvi`
Amev`b` Rvib`v`b`v` nq| w`KS` tndvRtZi` c`q`l` t`_t`K` GB` Amev`b`
m`v`ov` b`v` w`t`q` R`w`b`q` t`l`q`v` nq, Zivv` GLv`b`B` Ae`vb` Ki`t`eb`|
tndvRtZi` tbZv`Kgf`I` mg`R`i` i` gwZvSj`i` kvcjv` Pzj`i` t`_t`K`
miv`Z` iv`Z` Avov`Buv`q` mgv`SZ` Awfhtb` i`i`a` nq| Avav`NE`v`i`
m`w`v`k` Awfhtbi` ci` AvBb-k:Ljv` i`q`vKvix` ewnbri` gwZvSj`
g`j`-mo`K`i` w`b`q`S`y` t`b`q` Zte` ZL`v`v` tndvRtZi` Kgf`i` GKUv`
Ask` w`w`f`b`e`Muj`t`Z` X`j`K` Ae`vb` t`b`q`| GK` chf`q` Kgf`i`
A`b`K`K` w`w`f`b`e`v`b` t`_t`K` t`e`i` Kt`i` Gt`b` w`b`R` M`S`t`e` Pj`
hv`l` qvi` Rb` e`t`j` b` AvBb-k:Ljv` i`q`vKvix` ewnbri` m`m`iv`|



evqZjy tgvKvi ig gmiRt i ʻwʻY tMʻU dʻtctZi t vKvb_tj vtZ Av_b aii tq t l qv nq

tmvgevi wʻemZ ivZ mʻto wZbUvi wʻtK cʻy k, i ve l
wʻeruei mʻmʻiv cʻyrb cʻeb, gwZuSj, KvKivBj l wʻKivUvj
tgvto Zʻi i wʻbqSʻy cʻZov Kʻib l tʻfiiivZ mʻto PʻriUv-
cʻvUvi wʻtK cʻy jv GʻjvKvi wʻbqSʻy AvBb-k:Ljv i tʻvKivix em-
bxii nʻtZ Pʻtj hʻvq l wʻbqSʻy tʻb l qvi ci Gme GʻjvKivq eʻvck
aʻlsmhʻA i wʻPy t l v tMʻQ l Awʻfhvʻbi mgq cʻPj wʻj, ivevi
eʻtj U, mʻvDU tMʻbW wʻb tʻc l wʻccvi t cʻKiv nq l

msukʻo mʻt Rʻvbrq, Awʻfhvʻb wZb emnʻbxii cʻq mʻto mʻvZ
nʻvRvi mʻmʻ Ask tbb l cʻyrb cʻeb, bʻqvcʻeb l Avʻigem
wʻtq Awʻfhvʻb cʻw Pʻj b v Kiv nq l Avʻi BʻtEdvʻKi tgvto wʻtq
hʻv l veovx moK tʻLij v i vL v nq tndvʻRʻtZi Kʻgʻ i Pʻtj hʻv l qvi
Rb l i vʻtZ Gme GʻjvKivq miKʻwii wʻfba e vcbvq cʻy k
tgvZʻtq b Kiv nq l (cʻq Avʻjv, cʻkuk : 6 tg 2013) l

ivRavbʻtZ 8 Nʻvi aʻlsmhʻA

wʻbR ʻ^ cʻZte ʻK l ʻXvKv Aetivaʻo KitZ Gʻtm ivRavbʻtZ
aʻlsmhʻA Pwʻj tʻqʻQ tndvʻRʻtZ Bmjvg evsʻvʻt k l MZKij
tivevi mʻKij t ʻtK Zviv cʻq AvU Nʻv aʻti gwZuSj-cʻebʻbi
ʻB eMʻkʻtj wʻgʻUvi GʻjvKivRʻjo l wʻj tʻb-dʻjvemoqʻ GʻjvKivq
eʻvck fʻvOPj, nʻgʻjv l AwʻlmsʻtʻhʻM Kʻti l G mgq nʻvRvi
nʻvRvi wʻj, tevgv, KKʻtUj, Kʻvʻtʻb Mʻim l Mʻm-tMʻbW
wʻtʻcʻvʻiʻtʻYi wʻeKʻU kʻtʻa cʻy jv GʻjvKv cʻkʻw-cʻZ nʻtq l tʻv l
msNʻtʻl P NUbvq 10 Rb wʻbnZ l cʻy k mʻmʻm ʻB kZwʻak
eʻwʻ AvnZ nb eʻtj Rʻvbr tMʻQ l

tndvʻRʻtZi Kʻgʻ i wʻRʻic l i cʻwʻb Kʻvʻhʻf q, evqZjy tgvKvi ig
gmiR ʻ gʻtʻKʻ, cʻy tʻki UʻndK wʻfʻtʻMʻi Kʻvʻhʻf q, nʻvDm wʻmʻi s
dʻvBbʻvY Kʻiʻtʻcʻrʻtʻi kʻtʻbi Feb, Rbckʻmb gʻSʻy jʻtʻq i cʻwʻi enb
cʻy, gʻy Feb, i ʻislM febmn Av l KʻtqKʻwʻ tʻmi Kʻwii cʻZov
Ges dʻy cʻtʻZi t vKʻvʻb Av_b aii tq t b l GʻQov dʻvq i mʻwʻfʻmʻi
cʻwʻbeʻvʻx Mʻwomn mi Kʻwii l tʻmi Kʻwii tʻekʻwʻQʻy hʻvbeʻvʻb Rʻwʻj tʻq
t l qv nq l eʻzeUyA wʻfʻvʻbDʻtZ Av l qvq jʻtʻMʻi Kʻvʻhʻf tʻq dʻvq
dʻvq nʻgʻjv i tʻPov Kiv nq l fʻiOPj Kiv nq kZ kZ hʻvbeʻvʻb l
Gi dʻtj ivRavbʻxi RbRʻieb wʻechʻʻ l nʻtq cʻto l mʻUʻvi ci mʻeʻP
fʻmʻZKʻi cʻwʻi wʻZi mʻo nq l

msNʻtʻl P mgq mʻPej tʻq tʻvʻoʻgʻSʻx gʻnʻDʻi x b Lvb Ajj gʻMʻi
mʻsewʻ Kʻtʻ i eʻtj b, ʻtndvʻRʻtZ Bmj vʻtʻgi mʻtʻz K_v nʻtʻqʻQ l Zviv
RwʻbʻtʻqʻQ, hʻvʻv wʻek-Ljv KʻiʻtʻQ, Zviv Zʻvʻt i Kʻgʻʻbq l tndvʻRʻtZ
Bmj vʻtʻgi tgvʻtʻK RvqʻvʻZ-wʻkʻwʻtʻi i KʻgʻʻvʻB GʻUv KʻiʻtʻQ l ʻo

gʻSʻx hLb mʻsewʻ Kʻtʻ i mʻtʻz K_v eʻj wʻQʻtʻj b, ZLb
mʻPej tʻq cʻtʻkʻB Kʻvʻtʻb Mʻvʻtʻmi tʻk j l KKʻtʻUj wʻtʻcʻvʻiʻtʻYi kʻa
tʻkʻvʻb hʻwʻQʻj l

tndvʻRʻtZi Aetiva KʻgʻʻmʻP wʻQj ivRavbʻxi
cʻʻekʻgʻy tʻj vʻtZ l kvʻcʻjv PZʻtʻi mʻgʻvʻtʻkʻi AbʻgʻwʻZ t l qvi ci
Zviv tʻmʻtʻZi gʻtʻZv ivRavbʻxi tʻfʻZʻtʻi tʻXʻtʻK Ges cʻy tʻki mʻtʻz
msNʻtʻl wʻj B nq l

msNʻtʻl P mʻPbv nq cʻeb GʻjvKivq l tejv 11Uvi wʻtK
hʻv l veovx t ʻtK Avmʻ tndvʻRʻtZi Kʻgʻʻ i GʻKʻwʻ j evqZjy
tgvKvi ig gmiR t i DʻEi tMʻU t ʻtK cʻeb tgvto cʻy tʻki evar
wʻwʻoʻtq Gʻwʻtq tʻtZ Pʻvq l G mgq cʻy k evar wʻtj i i aʻnq msNʻtʻP
tndvʻRʻtZi Kʻgʻʻv tʻcʻQʻtʻb mʻtʻi wʻtq cʻy tʻki l ci epʻi gʻtʻZv
BUcʻiUʻtʻKj wʻb tʻcʻ KʻiʻtʻZ vʻtK l cʻy k ivevi eʻtj U l Kʻvʻtʻb
Mʻvʻtʻmi tʻk j Qʻvʻtʻj eʻvck msNʻtʻP i aʻnq l Gʻi cʻi t ʻtK dʻvq
dʻvq msNʻtʻP jʻtZ vʻtK l msNʻtʻP GK cʻhʻtʻq evqZjy tgvKvi ig
gmiR t i DʻEi dUK, ʻwʻY dUK, gwZuSj, eʻzeUyA wʻfʻvʻbD,
wʻbK evsʻj v tgvto, wʻRʻtʻiv cʻtʻqʻU l wʻRʻqbMʻtʻi l Qʻwʻtq cʻto l tejv
t oUvi wʻtK tndvʻRʻtZi Kʻgʻʻv tMʻjv c kvn gʻvRʻvʻtʻi KʻvʻtʻQ
KʻtqKʻwʻ Mʻmo fʻvOPj Kʻiʻtʻj eʻzeUyA wʻfʻvʻbDʻtZ vKv Av l qvq
jʻtʻMʻi Kʻgʻʻv Zʻvʻt i av l qv Kʻtʻi l KʻtqK wʻgʻvʻbU ci tndvʻRʻtZi
Kʻgʻʻv nʻiK t ʻwʻvʻtʻgʻi wʻK t ʻtK Av l qvq jʻtʻMʻi Awʻtʻmi wʻtK
Gʻwʻtq Avʻtʻm l ZLb cʻebʻtʻi wʻK t ʻtK Gʻwʻcʻm, Rj Kʻvʻgʻbmn cʻy k
l i ve Gʻtm Zʻvʻt i nʻUʻtq t q l wʻKʻQʻvʻtʻYi gʻtʻa msNʻtʻP wʻtq cʻto
evqZjy tgvKvi ig, wʻj tʻbmsj MʻGʻjvKv l dʻjvemoqʻ GʻjvKivq l G
mgq cʻy tʻki wʻj tʻZ GKRb cʻwʻi enb kʻtqK wʻbnZ nq l

AvovʻBUvi wʻtK tndvʻRʻtZi wʻekʻj GʻKʻwʻ wʻgʻvʻQj eskij ti vW
nʻtq Av l qvq jʻtʻMʻi Awʻtʻmi wʻtK GʻtʻmʻtʻZ vʻtK l G mgq i ve
l cʻy tʻki mʻmʻiv wʻcʻQʻy tʻU Av l qvq jʻtʻMʻi Awʻtʻmi mʻgʻvʻtʻb wʻtq
Ae vʻb tbb l tndvʻRʻtZi Kʻgʻʻv tMʻjv c kvn gʻvRʻvʻtʻi GʻjvKivq Mʻmo
fʻvOPj Kʻtʻi b Ges tevgv-KKʻtʻUʻtʻj i wʻtʻcʻvʻiʻtʻY NʻUʻvq l

wetKtj i AvtMB cny k l i ve ezeUyA wifubD, bi-tnvmb
-qvi, cEb l RvZiq tchKvemsjMeiv`i`Lj wbtq tbq|
Ab`ir`tk tndvRZ Ae`wb tbq evqZjy tgvKviitgi`wTjY l
DEi tMU, ezeUyA= wlvqtdi ce`cwk Ges weRqbMti i v`lq|
Zte tndvRtZi KqR`i tVkvZ cny ktK`ctji ci t`tK
weivZnxbfvte kUMv b l mdrivq hib t`tK nrvvi nrvvi`uj
QqzZ ntqfQ|

tmvq wZbUvi w`tK gwZuStji mgtkglx tndvRtZi
KqR`i v cny tki m`z msNtI`P ci GK chfQ cnybv cEb gyP
FeTb nvgv Pjvq| IB feTb wmcwei Kvhf q| tmLvtb
dltctZi t`vKv`tjtZ Av`b t`lqvi ci gyP feTb
wbPZjvi me t`vKv`fvOPjy Kti Av`b awitq t`lqv nq| Zviv
feTb GKwU dUKl tft0 t`q|

G cwiw`Zi KviiY ersv`k mser` ms`v (evmm) Ges
`GU cwlKv mser` l mKviji Lei-Gi mser`KqP Ges
Avkci`tki KtqK k0 feTb t`jvKRb Aeia`x ntq ctab| ivZ
AvUlv chS`IGme Gjkvri Awdm l emo t`tK t`jvKRb tei ntZ
cv`tib|

wetKj PriUvi ci cEb tgvto cwiw`Z Avil fqven
Ae`v aviY Kti| tndvRtZi KqR`i v eskvj, nwk t`=wlvqg,
weRqbMi, evqZjy tgvKvi g`wTjY l DEi tMU t`tK Avl qvq
j m Awdmi w`tK GtMt`bvi tPov Ktib| tndvRtZi mg`Kiv
ZLb cEb i Avkci`tki emoi Qit` Ae`wb tbq Ges cny ktK
j`T` Kti tergv l KKtUj QqzZ`vK| mU`vi w`tK tndvRtZi
KqR`i v evqZjy tgvKviitgi`wTjY tMtU Aew`Z dltctZi
t`vKv`tib KivVi KwvgtZ Av`b awitq t`q|

ivRavxi weRqbMti MZKvj tejr wZbUvi w`tK UwdK
cny tki (ce)Dc-Kvqkbvri i Kvhf`tq Av`b t`lqv nq| GtZ
iaZi AvnZ nb Kb`te-j tcviaj Bmjvq| ZudK XvKv
tgvw`Kj Ktj R nmcvZvtj i evb`BDvbtU fuz`Kiv nq|

UwdK cny tki (ce)Dc-Kvqkbvri BKevj tnvmb etj b,
Kvhf`tq wbpZjv l t`vZjvq ASz mivUu K`T Av`tb tek
TuzM0 l ntqfQ|

gwZuStji i w`j Kkvq tejr t`ovri w`tK tndvRtZi m`z
msNI`nq Avlqvq jxtMi tbZvKqR`i| GK chfQ Zv
Avkci`tki Gjkvq Qwo`tq cto| tndvRtZi wquQj t`tK GKwU
temi Kwi wlv P`v`btj i gvBt`vveimm tekukQyMno fvOPz`Kiv
nq|

nZvZ : cny k l nmcvZij mT` Rwb`tqfQ, msNtI`Pvi Rb
wbnZ ntqfQb|`Qrb` wj`z Ges`Qrb` gvi ai l` iaZi RLtg
gvi v tMtQb| GQov gwZuStj KKtUj wv`cvi`Yi ci t`=vK
gvi v hib Avt`KRb| XvKv tgvw`Kj mn we`rfbe nmcvZvtj
c0`vgK wPwKrmv t`lqv ntqfQ`P` kZwaK e`w`tK| Gt`i gfa`
GLtbr XvKv tgvw`Kj 14 Rb, wUtdwW`nmcvZvtj 28 Rb, c/zj

nmcvZvtj`GKRb wPwKrmvxb Avt`Qb| cny tki AvU m`m` fuz^o
Avt`Qb ivRvi evM` cny k j vBb nmcvZvtj`|

wmv`Kj`ingv (32) bvtgi`GK e`w`tK AvnZiv`vq XvKv
tgvw`Kj t`lqv ntj`tejr wZbUvi w`tK wZwb gvi v hib| mU`v
mvZUvi w`tK bwn`wk`vi (26) l AAvZbvq GK e`w`tK
(40) XvKv tgvw`Kj t`lqv ntj`wPwKrmK`Zud`i gZ`tNvYv
Ktib| GKB nmcvZvtj ivZ`tmvq 12Uvq AvnZ`Avt`K h`K
gvi v hvq| Zvi cvipq cvlqv hvqub| wmv`Kj`nmbd
G`UvicBt`Ri GKwU evmi Pj`tKi m`thvMx| Zui ewo
w`bvtRc`ji exiMt`A| wbnZ`bwn`i Mgti emo ewi kv`ji
tgtv`Mt`A| eev`t`jtqviv`wk`vi| bwn`tndvRtZi mgtetk
thvM`w`z gw`MA t`tK XvKvq Avt`m| GQov`iaZi RLg
Ae`vq`wbK ersjv`tgv`GjvKv t`tK GK AAvZbvq e`w`tK
XvKv tgvw`Kj Ktj R nmcvZvtj Avbvi ci gZ`tNvYv`Kiv nq|
w`j`z AvnZ`Avl`QqRb`K`ivRvi evM`Avj`evivKv nmcvZvtj
t`lqv ci gZ`tNvYv`Kiv nq| MZivZ`B`Uvi ci tUvj`ctv`b
thvM`thvM`Ktj nmcvZvtj i KqR`Rvni`aj`nK`tmLvtb`QqRb
gvi v hvl qvi K`v`c0g Avt`jvi Kv`Q`v`Kvi Ktib| Zte Zt`i
bvq`ej`z cv`tib`w`w`Zwb| evZ`P`ms`v`GGd`wcl`Rwb`tqfQ,
w`j`ex`QqRb`G`nmcvZvtj`gvi v`tMt`Qb| mU`v`mvZUvi`w`tK
gwZuStj i tgvv`tgv`w`v`Kv`v`i`mgtb`KKtUj`wv`cvi`Yi`k`a
AvnZ`vZ`ntq t`=vK`gvi v`tMt`Qb`Kvqj`Dvl`b`Lub` (52) bvtgi
GK e`w`tK| w`Zwb`w`j`Kkvq`GKwU`BY`ji`Y`tKv`cmbi`e`e`v`cK
w`Tj`b| (c0g Avt`jv, c`Kv`k` : 7 tg 2013)|

Mfxi ivZi eePZv

ev`Rvex`m`v`j`mgv`R`gubwaKvi`i`Tjvi`e`v`cvi`x`v`bxie`tKb?
wetkl mser`vZv` Mfxi` ivZ`OeePZv0, 0Avt`j`g`wbab0, 0kv`c`j`v
PZj`U`v`Rw`w0`th`bvtgB`WvKv`tnvK`tMvUv`w`k`K`Kw`ctq`w`tqfQ
gwZuStj i fq`vi`G`NUbv| KZ`gub`li`c0y`tMtQ`cny`tki
w`j`z`Zvi`mw`K`cwi`msL`vb`tbB| t`t`tki`AvBb`k`L`j`v
i`Tjv`Kiv`ew`mbri`nvZ`Mfxi`ivZi`G`nZ`vh`A`c0y`tMtQ
ivRb`wZ`t`tK`eu`ti`v`Kv`Avt`j`g`l`j`v`gv`v`i`|`bev` (mv.)`t`c0v`
GB`gub`y`tjv`G`tm`Qj`m`seav`tb`0Avj`vni`l`ci`cY`Av`v`l
w`k`ym`c`j`v`v`cb0mn`13`dv`w`e`wb`tq| w`K`S`Zv`i`U`v`v`i`
UvKvq`tk`b`v`e`t`K`i`w`j`z`B`c0y`nvivZ`ntjv`Atb`Kt`KB|
1919`m`tj`fvi`Zet`I`P`cv`Av`tei`Rw`j`q`v`l`qv`v`v`t`M`ev`Uk
tmbv`v`Zi`tbZ`z`i`w`k`L`m`c0`v`q`K`nZ`vi`th`NqY`Z`Bv`Zv`m`m`j0
nq; tmU`t`K`Qwo`tq`tMtQ`Mfxi`ivZ`gwZuStj`nZ`vh`A|
iv`v`te`Av`v`Aa`v`c`K`W`b`j`aj`Av`v`q`b`e`v`cvi`x`g`b`K`tib`w`P`vi
w`Fv`M`q`Z`t`sl`i`gva`t`g`Mfxi`ivZ`MYnZ`vi`wb`t`R`t`q`v`K
mbv`³`Kti`w`P`v`t`i`g`v`l`v`v`b`v`Ktj`t`t`k`Mph`y`te`la`h`v`e|
AvBb`k`L`j`v`i`Tjvi`bvtg`RbM`v`Yi`UvKvq`tKv`v`A`v`v`tq`A`U`K`v`i
ivZi`0MYnZ`v0`gub`y`t`g`b`t`b`e`b`v`|

gibewakvi ubtq hviv tPrLi cwb tdj b Zviv brie/ eyxRrxx, gibewakvi Kgr, GbuRI Kgrhviv eQti ci eQi ati AvBtbi kimb clZovi Rb mi KviTK umeK0 w t'Qb Zviv MtZ³ XJK tMtQb/ GgbwK clZov b hviv UK tkvtZ t'k tMj t'k tMj etj gvqvKvbe Ktib Zvivl eiai ntq tMtQb/ gibewakvi i Qvi GB e'vcvix i AtbtKB G ai tbi NUBv cwi Pvj bvq mi KviTK DrmwNz KtiQb/ cexY AvBbRrxx e'vii =vi iwdK-Dj -ntKi gtZv e'v³Zi tndvRtZi Kgr i gwZuSj t_tK Dwtq t' qvi e'vcvix mi KviTK Dt t' b/ UK tkvi KviTY nViv eyxRrxx Avev mivC Lib tZv tndvRtZK clZgB tkl Kti t' qv DvPZ wj etj gtb Ktib/ gibewakvi Kugk tbi tPqivg'v b Aa'vck ugRvby ingv tbi weTeK GLb Avi Kti b'v/ KviY wZub mi Kvti KvtQ umeTeK eUK0 t' tL tQb/ i'vtei wj tZ Ktj R Qv t' wj gb GK cv nvi t'vbi ci tmv'Pvi ntq DvVtQ t' b gibewakvi Kugk tbi GB tPqivg'v b/ wj g tbi GK cv nvi t'vbi BmYz mi KviTK weeZKi Ae'vq tdtj t' b/ AvBb-k:Lj v i QvKvix emnbxi ubhPZ t' b cv nvi t'vbi wePvi n' qv DvPZ/ wj g tbi e'vcvix gibewakvi Kugk tbi tPqivg'v tbi tmB t' SoSia thSv³K/ wKs gwZuSj cvj tki wj tZ GZ, t'v Avtj g cly nvi t'vbi ci l gibewakvi Kugk tbi tPqivg'v tbi Ngr fistQ bv tKb? Z_vKu_Z eyxRrxx, mYxj mgv t' Ri clZubwv l Kx mi KviTK Lyk Ki tZ brieZv cvj b Ki t'Qb? Avtj g mgv t' Ri AtbKB G clZv t' tL tQb eyxRrxx wntmte cwi wPZ mgv t' Ri Dci Zjvi weTeKeib GB gvbj, t'v i clZ/ BuZnvtmi m'v'x 1971 mtj 25 gvtPp cvK-emnbxi nvtZ XvKvq MYnZ'vi ci Gai tbi eeP nZ'vi NUBv NU t'v gwZuSj/ Mfxi ivtZ e'v t' Ki bj MtR³ l Vvq gwZuSj i kvj v PZ t' i Ae'v b t' qv tndvRtZi nvrvi nvrvi t' bZv Kgr Q t' b Qv Ktib Ges wj tZ gwMtZ j w t' q c t' ob/ Mfxi ivtZ Avtj g t' i t' t' t' f t' m hvq kvj v PZ t' G j v K v/ K v t' v w c P X v j v i v R c t' c m b i g t' Z v M o i t' Z v t' K b e x (m v) t c o m t' i Z v R v i t' t' a v i v/ M f x i i v t' Z g n v t' R v u m i K v i i u b t' k t' h s e m n b x (w e i R i e - i ' v e - c v j k) n Z ' v h A P w j t q t Q u b i ; A v t j g - l j v g v t' i l c i l i v z t c k t b w z b u v t _ t k i i a n t q t f v i c h s i P j v G Z v d t e g v i v t M t Q k z k z g v b j l R b M t Y i U i t' i U v K v q t K v A ; i v t o i A v B b - k : L j v i Q v K v i x e m n b x M f x i i v t Z M Y n Z ' v e e n v i K t i t Q l g w Z u S j U i t' R w M t Z K Z R b g v i v t M t Q A v i A v n t Z i m s L ' v K Z Z v i m w K c w i m s L ' v b R v b h v q u b l Z t e t n d v R t Z i w e i v t Z i A a v t i e e P n Z ' v K v t' d w z b n v R v i A v t j g - l j v g v - t Z s i n ' x R b Z v i c l y t M t Q l w e G b w c e t j t Q g w Z u S j i G K n v R i t i t e w k A v t j g t K n Z ' v K i v n q l w g w q u K g r i A w f g Z c l q b n v R v i g v b t' k n Z ' v K i v n t q t Q l A v n t Z i m s L ' v l e ' v c k l

Mfxi ivtZi 0kvj v tRt'v m'v Bw0 2002 mtj RivtUi bti' t' g' xi 0Avntg' v e t' i g v m j g u b a b 0, w m i q v i e i k v i A y j A v m v e m n b x i u c k w m i q v b A w g P m i K v i D r L v Z A v t' v j b

tVKv t'vbi bvtg G t' Ki ci GK 0nZ'v hA0 l c m K t' t' b i l q w R w i t' t' b i g m k 0 e w n b x i t W b n v g j v q t e t N v t i g v b y n Z ' v i e e P Z i t K l n v i g m b t q t Q l I B m e t' t' k Q j Z v i j o v B, t f v t U i i v R b w z l c f v e k y x t' k t j v i A v n a c Z w e t' t' i R b w r b t' k v i v u b i e P v t i n Z ' v h A P v j v q l w K s u b R t' t' k i A v n Z f v B t q i n v t Z t e t N v t i c 0 Y n w b i N U b v e v s j v t' k B N U t' v l M f x i i v t Z 0 k v j v M Y n Z ' v 0 u b t q w e t' k i c f v e k y x w g w q v t j v t Z d j v l K t i L e i c 0 v i n t' Q l i v R b w z t _ t k t h v R b t h v R b g v B j t' i v K v t n d v R t Z i 13 d v i A v t' v j b K v i t' i k v j v t _ t k m m i t q t' q v m i K v t i i w q Z k y e ' v i v Z u b i t X K y Z y t Q b l Z t e G N U b v t h 0 Q t Z i 0 m w n t q t Q ; b w M w i K t' i g t a t h w e f v R t b i m w 0 K t i t Q Z v i t i k K Z v b _ v K t e Z v e j v K w b l i v o i t e A v b x A a ' v c k W . b y a j A w g b e ' v c v i x e t j b , M f x i i v t Z u b i ; A v t j g t' i l c i A ; u b t q S w c t q c o v G e s M Y n v t i n Z ' v K i v t' t' k i 16 t' K m U g v b t' i w e t e K t K b r o v w t q t Q l m i K v t i i c v j k w t b k m K t j i A ' a v i t' i m t' 1/2 u b t q t n d v R Z t K c l Z n Z K t i t Q l i v t Z Z v i v u b i ; A v t j g t' i n Z ' v K t i t Q l A Z t c i G N U b v h v t Z c k v k b v c v q t m R b m i K v i t' U t U v j w f k b P v t b j e U K t i w t q t Q l G t Z g Z z u b t q R b g t b m t' n A v t i v e v o t Q l m i K v t i i t e v S v D v P Z n Z ' v K v t' P w j t q A v t' v j b e U K i v h v q b v l Z v i c 0 v Y b r i v q Y M t' A i K v t' c y l P A M t' g i N U b v l

Rvbi tMtQ, Mfxi ivtZ gwZuSj Avfhrv b weRve, i' ve l cvj tki 10 t_tK 15 nvrvi m' m' AskMhY Kti l tMvU G j v K v i w e ' y m s t h w M w e i Q b e K t i u b i x n t Z s i n ' x R b Z v i l c i n v g j v P v j v t b n q l n Z ' v h t' A i w P l h v t Z K v t g i v q a v i Y K i v m e e b v n q t m t K S k j M h Y K i v n q l Z v i c i l u w r f i j v B f d t u t R e u t j v K t K i v l i c v k u b _ i A e ' v q c t o _ v K t Z t' L v t M t Q l

AUKv t' b cvj k j v k t' v Z t' j u b t q h v t' Q l c 0 y f t q c v j v t b v G e s A v n Z t n d v R Z K g r i j v B b a t i n w t Z t' L v h v q l G L v t b t m L v t b c w j t q _ v K v t n d v R Z K g r i b m g t q A v t Z I t' L v h v q l u b n t Z i i t' v i v t' n c t o _ v K v q i t' t' w e i f b e t' v t b t j t b h v q Z v R v i t' t' i v M l i v z 4 U v i w t' k G K t k u w r f , m g q u w r f m n K t q K u u u w r f t z m g v t e k t' j t _ t k A s t Z 5 u u j v k D x v i l A a R Z R b w j m e x n l q v i L e i u b w 0 Z K t i Z _ t' q v n q l t M t Z v i K i v n q A t b K t Z s i n ' x R b Z v t K l M Z K v j m v i w b g w Z u S j G j v K v w j f x t o A e ' v l A u c m L y t j l m a v i Y g v b t' i t P t q c v j t k i A v b v t' m v b w j t e w k l G m i t c i U e t j L v i m g q c h s i g w Z u S j i k v j v P Z i c v j v c v j c v j t k i u b q s t Y w j l g w Z u S j A w f h v b u b t q t' v o g s h K _ v e j t j l m i K v t i i 0 A u c m q w j 0 t K v t b v e e e c v l q v h v q u b l Z t e m i t e K t c l m t W U A a ' v c k e i a t' i v R v t P s a j x G N U b v t K B u Z n v t m i b u R i e n t b w n t m t e A w f i n Z K t i t Q b l w z u b e t j b , G g b c v k w e K l e e P N U b v g a h l y k e e e P N U b v t K l n v i g m b t q t Q l t k l i v t Z i l B m v a n k

Awfhwib KZ tj vkK nZv Kiv nqtQ Zvi mWk msL v Rvbr bv
 tMij l eutj vkK th nZv Kiv nqtQ Zv ej vi AčqW ivL bv |
 cL q kRv Rvrb, BmivBj x mtb i MvRvi wqšY tbqvi gZv
 gwZuStji kvcjv PZji wqšY wbtZ ewi gZv wj QqZ
 QqZ GmItq hq tndvRtZi gAi wK | cLtg wbi ;
 tndvRZKqW BUciUtKj wbtqC Kti cLZntZi tPov Kitj l
 cti Zviv wQyntU hq | cWj k-i ve-werRie m m'iv G mgq
 cPj cwj gwY mDÜ tMbw, iwevi estj U, wQvi M'vm e'eni Kti |
 mti Rvrb Ae vb tbqv mser KqW RmbtqQb, cWj tki wbePti
 wj tZ kZ kZ gubv nZvZ nqtQb | AčK jvk gajvi
 Mvwm wvfbw MwotZ Kti mwtq tbqv nqtQ | AwKisk
 tUij wFk miKv i AU mg_R n l qq MYgva tg G Lei l k
 cKv Kiv nqub | eis temi Kw i AwKisk P'vbtj i Leti ej v
 nq, cWj k-i vtei dtkv wj tZ 10 wubtUB dtkv nq hq kvcj v
 PZj | tndvRZKqW kvcjv PZj tQto Pj hvl | wKš MZKj
 mKvj GKwaK P'vbtj i wtkl estj wtb ejv nq gKj emvbx
 tjvRb kvcjv PZj GjvKv tavqrgvQvi KvR KitQ | XvKv mWU
 Ktc i k tbi cwi QbKq i l gwZuSj w j Kzv GjvKv cwi vi
 KitZ t Lv tMq | wj el Yi AvM chS gA Ae vb tbqv
 tndvRtZi GK tbZv Rvrb, Mfxi ivZ wRiKi Pj wj | Kvi
 AčK KqW Ngtq ctowj | cWj k PZj tK wti t tLQ GLei
 wj | Zviv Gfite ewi gZv wj Qqte tmlv Kviv gv vq
 Avtmw | Nvci Kuv hLb ivZ 2Uv 45 wubU ZLb nVir tKc
 DVtjv gwZuSj -w j Kzv-AviigeM l Avkctki GjvKv |
 AUkvi GjvKv Rto raycWj tki wj Avi tMbwWi Avl qvR |
 thš emvbx mdrvqv hvti mwtq mwp nq GKw GKZi dv
 hvi cwi tek | wvRie i ve Avi cWj tki 10 t tK 15 nvrvi
 m m' Smtq cto Ngtq wKv, wRiKi i Z wbi ; tndvRZKqW i
 l ci | gwZuSj, wK eisjv, dWkvcjv, AvigeM, BtEdvK-
 BwKjve tgvom Avkctki GjvKv cwi YZ nq GK bvi Kq
 ea fngtZ | wj Avi tevgvi mgtb wKtZ br tcti mti thZ
 eva nb mgvtek t j efm wKv wbi ; Amvq jvtLv Avtjg-
 l jvgv | AčK wj tZ nZvZ nq iv lq jvtq ctob |
 AčKKB Avktb tbb Avkctki wvfbwMij tZ | hvmvR mwtZ
 thš emvbx Gici Awfhw Pjvq Avkctki Avj Mij tZ | tmlv
 t tK l wUwq Qf½ Kti t qv nq tndvRZKqW i | Gici l
 Pj tZ vK cWj tki ZvDe | wj KitZ KitZ tndvRZKqW i
 avl qv KitZ vK Zviv | cWj k, i ve Avi wvRie wUwbtZ
 AčKKB AvnZ nb | eisj v k e'vsk, bui wG Ktj R, Kgvjcy
 tiw Ges wKvUw i Mij tZ Avktb tbqv gubvK cWj k wKvUw
 nq wQtb hvl qvi mthvM Kti t q |

gwZuStji kvcjv PZji kwšY Ae vb i ve, cWj k l
 wvRie thš Awfhw MZivZ cLq wZb nvrvi Avtjg l
 tbZvKq wbnZ nqtQb estj GK wevZtZ we KtQtb
 tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi Avgi Avjvq Avng kin kdmm kx
 tbZiv | tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi hM-gvmmPe gv l jvbr Rvdi aj w
 Lvbi cWvbw wevZtZ ejv nq, w be vcv KqW tktl tZv x
 RbZv l Avtjg-l jvgv MY DvW AvKvki wbt hLb Mfxi w
 wbgwZLb Avl qvq d'wvex mi Kvi Ngš RbZvi l ci cWj k,
 i ve, wvRie l jx mšmkt i t jvtq w t q wbePti wj,
 tevgv, tMbw, wQv itk j l iwevi estj U wbtqC KitZ i i a Kti |
 ivZi AUkvi Ggb eeM wPZ l Kvcjv l wPZ nvgvq tZv x
 RbZv Lwv nvtZ cLZiva Mto tZvtj b | wKš qv vq l
 AZvavK gv Yv t j AvntZ GtKi ci GK Zviv kmv ZeiY
 KitZ i i a Kti b | GtZ NUbv t j B cLq wZb nvrvi knx Ges 10
 nvrvi i l tek AvnZ nb |

wvRie i vq Kigvli m m' Gg tK Avtqv i estj b, cWj k
 Mfxi ivZ mmmwK AvtjgK nZv KtQtQ | Zte Mfxi ivZ
 gwZuSj Awfhw nZvZi tKvbw NUbv NtUw we Kti
 Avl qvq jvtM hM-mvavi Y m'cv K gvne-Dj -Avjg nmbd
 estj b, tndvRtZ BmjvtgK i vRvbx kvcjv PZj t tK mwtq
 w tZ cWj k, i ve l wvRie th Awfhw cWj Pj bv KtQtQ ZvtZ
 tKvbw nZvZi NUbv NtUw | (BwKjve, cKk : 7 tg 2013) |



Mfxi ivZ thš emvbx Awfhw tndvRZgš gwZuSj kvcjv PZj

**tkl ivZ m'wuk Awfhw
kvcjv PZj tndvRZgš**

mgKj cLZte K MZKj tivevi mgvtek tktl i vRvbx
 gwZuStj Ae vb tbi qv tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi KqW mg_R t i
 mivZ tkl ivZ m'wuk Awfhw Pjvq AvBb-k:Lj v
 i qvKvix emvbx | ivZ AvovBvvi w tK G Awfhw Ask tbq

cij k, i've I weiriei 10 nvrvi m`m`| gj- Awfhib iia
AvfM c0g AvaNEv tndvRtZi Kg#` i ubievt` kvjv PZi
t0to hvl qvi Rb` eievi n`UgvBtK Abji va Ribvrbv nq|
Abji va Dtc9v Kti Dt`v tndvRtZi Kg#` i ZvDe teto
tMj ivZ 3Uvq wecjv cni gvY uQviktj Avi ivevi etjU
ubt9tci gva tg Awfhib iia Kti AvBb-k:Ljv i 9vKvix
ewnbx| gvl 10 ugvbtUi Awfhib tbb kvjv PZi t0to m0Qv
ntU tndvRtZi Kg#v| Pj hvl qvi mgq Zviv gvZiSj I
w j Kgv GjvKvi t0vU t0vU t`vKv I fetbi dUtk Av, b
t`q Ges iv`li cvtk t`tg `vKv Mmo fvsPjv Kti| G mgq
nvtLjv motKi dltcvZ `v` e`tz Av, b Rj tz t`Lv
hvq| gvg9 `uj I uQviktj i ktā cKv`cZ ntq Itv
gvZiSj I Avkcvtki GjvKv|

Awfhibi ci i`vei BbUvj tRY DBstqi cāvb tj.
Ktb9 wRqvDj Avnmib mgKvj tK Ribvb, Awfhib tktl
gvZiSj kvjv PZi GjvKvi GKB `vb t`tk Pvi u gZt`n
cvt qv tMq| GKUv tPvKi I cti uZbvU Avi cvtk GKUv
gZt`n cvt qv hvq| gZt`n, tjv m`v Kvcto XvKv uQj Ges
cv evar uQj | tfvi mto 4Uvq G wicvU9j Lvi mgq Awfhib
Pj uQj | tndvRtZi Kg#v m0QvntU wefbaMvj I kvLv moK
w tg cvj tg hvq| G mgq Avkcvtki wefbaMvj j vktq cto
Zviv kvjv PZi ubqstY tbi qvi ci wefbaMvj Awfhib
Pvj tg kZvWk tndvRZKg#K Dxi Kti ubivc `v`tb
hvl qvi m9vM Kti t`l qv nq| Gv`K gvZiSj tmvbjv
e`vstKi cāvb Kvh9 tqi tMU t`t0 KtqK nvrvi tndvRZKg#
tfZti Xtk cto|

cij k, i've I weiriei ths Awfhibi c0vZ iia nq
ivZ t`oUvq| uZb`ti ubivcEv eyn `Zvi Kti G mgq t`tk
GKUyGKUyKti mgtb GtMtz `vtK AvBb-k:Ljv ewnbx|
bUitWg Ktj R c0st t`tk mgvS Awfhibi g9L tndvRtZi
Kg#v c0tg uKvUjvi w`tk thz `vtK| tmv K t`tk I
Awfhib iia n9j Zviv Avkcvtki wefbaMvj tZ Xtk cto|
Awfhib PjvKvj tekvK0vub_i t`n iv`lq cto `vKtZ t`Lv
hvq| tm, tjv RmeZ bv gZ, Zv Zv9vYK Ribv m`e nqub|

mgv i've, Zvi t0tb cij k Ges Zvi t0tb weiriei
m`m`iv GtMtz `vtK kvjv PZi i w`tk| ivZ 2Uvi m0Qv
AvfM i've I cij k ewnbx `vbK eisjvi tgvo cvi ntq hvq|
m0Qv `tZi t`tl GtMtz `vtK weiriei m`m`iv| G mgq
tndvRZKg#v D`PKtE miKvi I AvBb-k:Ljv ewnbx
weiaf` t`m`vb w`tz `vtK| Gi AvfMB `vbK eisjvi tgvo
t`tk kvjv PZi chs moK wefbaMvj tZ tdtj, iv`li L9v
I Uvqvi Rvj tg iv`lq clZeUkZv m9o Kti tndvRtZi
Kg#v| Awfhibi tbZtZi `vKv GKRb cij k Kg#ZP Ribv,

kvjv PZi GLb hviv Ae`vb Kt0, Zv`i tevki fivMB
RvgqvZ-ukvei Kg#etj ubv0Z nI qv tMq| mKvj Aetivta
Ask tbi qv I mgvtefk Avm tndvRtZi Kg#` i uZb fivMi
`9 fivMB ivZ 10Uvi gta kvjv PZi t0to hvq etj uZb
Ribv| (mgKvj, c0k : 7 tg 2013)|

Mfvi ivZi Awfhib AAvZmsL`K vbnZ

ivR`^ c0z`te`KV tivevi Mfvi ivZ tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi
Kgv`i gvZiSj t`tk Q1 f2 KtZ ubg9 Awfhib Pjvq
cij k, i've I weiriei mgstq MWZ ths ewnbx| nvrvi
nvrvi ivD0 `uj, uQviktj I mvdU tM0btW cijv GjvKv
cKv`cZ ntq Itv| G Awfhib AAvZmsL`K tjk nZvZ
ntq0| tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi c9 t`tk `ve Kiv ntq0
vbnZi msLv `9 mnmvK| Zte AvBb-k:Ljv ewnbx ev
miKvii c9 t`tk G e`vcti m9v 9 tKvtr Z` tgj ub|
Awfhib vbnZ tKvtr e`v3i jvk nvmcvZj gtm9 hvqub|
nvmcvZj m`f Ribvq, hv`i jvk MZKvj nvmcvZj gtm9
t0Y Kiv nq Zviv AvfMi w b tivevi wefbaMvj vbnZ
ntq0b|

MZ tivevi tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi mgvtefk tK`a Kti
ivRavxi wefbaMvj mKvj t`tkB msNl`ria nq, hvi
mgvB NtU MZKvj tfvi mto 4Uvi w`tk| ivRavbtZ tfvi
chs AvBb-k:Ljv ewnbx `uj, uQviktj I mvdU tM0btW
Avl qvR cvt qv hvq| MZKvj tmgevi tfti i AvtjvZ `u0
ntq Itv tndvRtZ Bmjvtgi mvt AvBb-k:Ljv ewnbx
msNl`P`P`| tfti gvZiSj GjvKv uMtg t`Lv hvq cto
Avf0 nvrvi nvrvi Rzv-m`vUj |

AvigevM cij k e- t`tk iia Kti gvZiSj ntq cvjv
ceb Ges Aciv`tk uKvUj chst t`Lv hvq Zv0tei `k`|
iv`li Av, b ZLbI tbtvub| tKvtr tKvtr GjvKv tiW
wfvBwiti mPy chst tb| iv`li mvt `Zv ugvktq t9jv
ntq0| ZLbI cijv gvZiSj I cvtki GjvKv uQvi M`vmi
Ststjv MÜ cvt qv hvq| iv`li cwi`v9i KvR Kt0b mviU
Kt0iktbi Kgv`v| i've-cij k I weiriei Mmo ZLbI IB
GjvKv| iv`li I ci t`tk cwi`v9i`v mvi tg ubv0tj b
AveRv| ZLbI iv`li tKvtr tKvtr `v`tb t`Lv tgj
tndvRtZ Bmjvg m`m`i | AvBb-k:Ljv ewnbx m`m`iv
ZLb Avi Zv`i m0Qzej t0b bv| eis Zv`i tK c` evZj
t`qv nt`Q| GiB GKRb Rvgj cij i AveyeKi mmi K eY9v
Ktj b ivZ ths ewnbx Awfhibi K`v| uZb ej tj b, ivZ
Zviv I qvR-wRv`ti i gta mgq KvUv0tj b| tKD tKD ZLb
iv`li I ci, Avevi tKD dltcvZ A`ev Avkcvtki fetbi
eviv`vq itq tMq| AtbtK Nvgtq| cto0b| gvtS-gta`B
Zv`i KvtQ Lei Avm`Z `vtK cij tki Awfhib iia ntq0|

uZub uQtb kvcjv PZtii gtAi wK tcQtB| nVr ivZ AvovBUvi w tK i b t Z cvb uZbr K t t K cny k Zt i l ci AvugY kyæ Kti t Q| AveyeKi Rvrb, u j, uQv i t k j Ges m i D U t M b t W i Avl qv R c K r c Z n t q l t v c j v g v Z u S j | G K U z c t i B t L t Z cvb cny k t w k t t K g t A i w t K G u M t q A v m t Q | A v i g e r t M i w K l t t b K e i s j v i w K t t K n v R v i n v R v i i v D U u j Ges u Q v i t k j w t q c K i v n q e t j R v r b u Z u b | Z t i R b c t L j v u Q j K g j v c t i i w t K i | G i g t a u K O z g v b y u M t q A v k t j t b q w j K k v Ges e l f e t b i c v t k i i v l q | t m L v t b l G K c h t q cny k A w f h v b i i æ K t i | K x c w i g v Y n Z v n Z n t q t Q G g b K v R v b t Z P v B t j A v e y e K i u m i l K e t j b, u Z u b A M W Y g v b y i v l q c t o v K t Z t t L t Q b | A v e r i cny k m n A v B b - k L j v i q v e m b r i m m i v Z t i M m o t Z Z t j w t q h v t Q t m k l u Z u b t t L t Q b | Z t e G i m s L v K x n t Z c v t i t m m æ c t K q u Z u b t K v t b v a v i v w t Z c v t i b u b |

A w Z K j B m j v g b v t q A c i G K h g K e t j b, u Z u b h L b t t S t o h v t Q b Z L b A t b t K i l c i w t q t h t Z n t q t Q | Z t i t K i v l i l c i c t o v K t Z t t L t Q b | K v i g a j b v t g i 12 e Q t i i G K u u w k i R v b v q, t m G K u u t v K v t b i c v t k A v k t j w t q u Q j | Z v i m i t K v n q K v K i v B j G j v K v q | t m e t j t Q, cny k Z t K d R t i i A v R i t b i m g q L t R c v q | cny k Z t K u K O B e t j u b | Z t K i a y t e i K t i w t q P t j t h t Z e t j | K v i g a j R v b v q, t m A t b K g v b y t K u j w e x A e l q c t o v K t Z t t L t Q Ges A t b K t K M m o t Z Z t j w t q t h t Z t t L t Q |

i v Z A v o v B U v i w t K i i a n t q t f v i m i t o 4 U v c h S l t t q t t q u j i k a t k v b v t M t Q | c l z q k f v R v r b, A t b K g v b y A v k c v t k i w e f b e f e t b A v k t j w t q u Q j | cny k L t R c v l q v i c i Z t i t K t e i n t q h v l q v i m j h v M K t i w t q t Q | Z L b A v i Z t i l c i u j e l f K t i u b | G g b u K Z v i v t K v q h v t e Z v - l u R t A m K t i cny k c e v Z t j w t q t Q | b v g c l K v t k A u b O K l B A w f h v t b A s k t b q v G K R b cny k m m e t j b, e v a n t q B u j K t i t Q b | h L b t t L t Q b e v e r i t P t q l t e n k e q m x g v b y Ges 10-12 e Q t i i w k i i w t K u j K i t Q b Z L b L u i v c t j t M t Q | u K s u K O B K i v i u Q j b v | M Z K v j t f v t i t L v h v q, A v U t K c o v u K O y g v b y n v Z D B z K t i t e i n t q A v m t Q b | cny k Z t i t e i K t i u b i v c t i v l t t K P t j t h t Z m n i q Z v K t i |

K Z m s L K g v b y i v t Z i A w f h v t b n Z v n Z n t q t Q Z v i m j b v t t K v t b v Z c v l q v h v q u b | n Z v n t Z i m s L v w t q b i v b v K v t k v b v h v t Q | Z t e A w f h v t b A s k t b q v cny k, i v e e v w e i R v e i c q t t K G e v c v t i t K v t b v Z c v l q v h v q u b | X v K v g v b v M i cny k i u g u l l q v t m t j i K g R Z P u M m g v n g y j y i n g v b e t j b, G e v c v t i Z v i u K O z R v b v t b B | Z t e t i v e e r t i c e t b

G j v K v q G K cny k m m i b n Z n t q t Q b e t j u Z u b D t j l K t i b | w e i R v e i R b m s t h v M K g R Z P m i t t h v M t h v t M i t P o v K i v n t j u Z u b t c v b a t i b u b | i v t e i u g u l l q v D B s c a v b D B s K g v U v i G u l G g n u m e e y i n g v b e t j t Q b, Z t i K v t Q G m s p v s i t K v t b v Z t t b B |

t n d v R t Z B m j v t g i c q t t K t h w e K i v n t q t Q Z v t Z l m u K m s L v D t j L K i v n q u b |

g v l j v b v g b b v b i a n x t c o i Z G K e v Z t q e j v n q, K g c t q u j m n m h a K t b Z v K g r K v n v Z e i Y K t i b | A v t Z i m s L v A v o v B n v R v t i i g t Z v | l B e v Z t q D t j l K i v n q, u m u l K t c f i k t b i g a j v e n t b i M m o t Z K t i w e c y j v k m w t q t d j v n t q t Q | u g u l l q v t j v t Z t c o i Z e v Z t q Z v i v e t j t Q b, t K v t b v f i O P z Ges A u M t a s t h v t M i N U b v q Z t i t K v t b v m m R u o z u Q j b v |

G w t K t e k u K O z j v k g q b v Z s l Q v o v B t t k i w e i f b e t v t b w t q h v l q v n q | B e h n g L u j j (25) b v t q w e G g K t j t R i G K Q v l u b n Z n l q v i c i M Z K v j m K v t j B Z v i j v k e w k v t j t b q v n q e t j R v b v h v q | Z v i e m o c l u q L v j x e t j R v b v t M t Q | g v n g y j n v m i b t R v e t q i (20) b v t q G K g v i v m v Q v t i j v k b i m s t Z v d b K i v n t q t Q | t R v e t q i b i m s x i g v a e x i M v e m o g v i v m i Q v l | Z v i e v e r i b v g A v e j y e r t m Z e t j R v b v t M t Q | Z v i j v k l g q b v Z s l Q v o v B v d b n t q t Q | m f R v b v q, G m e j v t k i t K v t b v u m m e m i K v i i L v Z i q t b B |

n i m c v Z i j m f R v b v q, M Z K v j t f v t i X v K v t g u l l K v j K t j R n i m c v Z i t j 39 R b t K f u z Q v i v n t q t Q | G i g t a A t b t K B A v t Q b u j w e x | n i m c v Z i t j f u z Q v l v e v o x K v R j v i A v e y m q v b (22) e t j b, u Z u b g t A i D E i c v t k u Q t j b | t h s e m m b x A w f h v b i i æ K i t j u Z u b t t S t o K v e t i v W t X v t K b | t m L v t b u j w e x n b | m m o q v b D t j l K t i b, u Z u b A t b K g v b y t K M m o t Z Z t j w t Z t t L t Q b | Z v i v g Z u K R w e Z R v t b B b v | k u b i A v L o v i A v e y e K i (22) R v b t j b, Z v t K u c u l t q A v n Z K i v n q | t K e v K v i v Z v t K n i m c v Z i t j w t q t M t Q | u Z u b 300-400 t j v K t K a t i w t q t h t Z t t L t Q b | K u t c y j b v g v c v o i A v n m i b D j m n (19) R v r b, u Z u b u j l u c u b t Z A v n Z | Z v i g t Z v A t b K g v b y t K B A v n Z n t q c t o v K t Z t t L t Q b u Z u b |

n i m c v Z i t j u P u K r m v a x b A t b t K B G f v t e Z v t i A v M Z n l q v i K v e t j b Ges A t b K g v b y t K a t i w t q h v l q v i A w f t h v M K t i b |

G w t K M Z K v j m K v t j m v Z u u j v k n i m c v Z i t j w t q h v b G m A v B A v e j y j u z d l G m A v B g u e s b v t q u j cny k K g R Z P G i g t a c e Q v R j v G j v K v i e w m v K v R v k u d K j n K (40), v D K w v R v t g g m i R t i t c k B g v g g v l j v b v

ntU tMij I A`mij tKv Feb msj MaMij t_ik cny k Ges i`ve
m`m`i`j` Kti BU I nvZtevgv tOvor nq| GtZ `B cny k
I i`ve m`m` RLg nb|

IndvRZKgf v Pjij hvl qvi ci gwZuSj i moK AmsL`
KvMR, m`vUj Ges iKQye`M cto`vktZ t`Lv hvq| wef bae
`v t b e Kti i`lv KvM tR Av` b l Rj i Qj | cny t q
civBU MmoI t`Lv hvq moK i c`v k | AvBb-k:Ljv i Qj v Kivix
emnbxi m`m`i` tVktZ moK wefvRtKi i`-tj i teov t t0
moKi I ci AvovAmo Kti ti i LuQj IndvRZKgf v| tmLv
t_ik BU Lij I Zviv Uj`v Uj`v Kti i vL hv`cny`tki i`
tOvor nq| i vZ KtqK nRvi i`ve I cny k m`m` hLb
Avf hvb i i a Ktib ZL t v c l q 25 nRvi Kgf Dcv i Z t Z
mgvtek gA t_ik miKvii` i e i x` w e f b e t ` m l v b t` qv
nirOj, Pj i Qj e`e` i l | bui i Wg Ktj R I` mbK eisjv tgv
t_ik i`ve I cny k GK t h i M Avf hvb i i a Kti 15 i g u b t U
g t a` k r c j v P z i i i b q s y t b q | Z L b U t i K i I c i i b i g Z
A`vax mgvtek gA IndvRtZi tKv t b Z v t K t`Lv hvq u b |

13` d v `w e t Z t i v e v i m K v j t_ik Xiv Kv A e t i v t a i c i
weKv j i v R a v x i e m Y u R`K t K` g u Z u S j m g v t e k i i a K t i
IndvRZ| mgvteK mslMvbi Avngi Avng` kdx i c i e Z P
K g m P i t N l Y v t` q v i K v _v K t j l i z u b t k l c h S l
m g v t e k` t j h v b u b | u b i v c E v u b t q K i v q n l U n v R v i x g v` m v i
GB Aa` j j v e r t M m s l M v b i A`vax K v h i j t q B i Q t j b |
A m R g c y c h S l G t m i z u b n V v K t i B u d t i h v b e t j c n y` t k i
c` j t_ik R i v u t b v n q | I n d v R t Z i X i K v g n v b M i x i c P v i
m`c r `K A v n t g` j y m l q u t m j e t j b, u b i v c E v R u b Z K v i t Y
k d x u R i j m g v t e k h v t` Q b b v | 0 Z t e m g v t e k` t j _v K v
I n d v R t Z i g n v m P e R b v t q` e v e b M i x e t j b, u A v n g` k d x t K
m g v t e k` t j t h t Z t` q v n t` Q b v | 0 I n d v R Z t b Z v i v m g v t e k
e t j b, `w e`v l q v c i`Y b v n l q v c h S l g u Z u S j A e`v t b i
R b` Avng` k d x Z v t` i K v t Q e v Z P c m l t q t Q b |

weKv j i m g v t e k A t b K g u b y _v K t j l A v n g` k d x i b v
A m v Ges AvBb-k:Ljv i Qj v Kivix emnbxi Avf hv t b i c l u z t Z
R b m g m l g K g t Z _v t K | i v Z 12 U v i i t K k r c j v P z i i c l q
25 n R v i K g f i Q j, h v t` i A i a K v s k B R i g v q v t Z B m j v g x i
t b Z v K g f e t j c n y` t k i` w e | b v g c k v t k A w b` Q k c n y` t k i
G K K g R Z P e t j b, I n d v R t Z i A e`v t b k r c j v P z i t_ik
`m b K e i s j v t g v o c h S l G j v K i v u Q j g j`Z R i g v q v Z`
u k w e i K g f v |

mgvtek Pj vi m g g w e K v j t_ik m U`v c h S l` m b K e i s j v
t g v o t_ik c e b c h S l e`v c K f i s P i y P i j v q I n d v R Z K g f v |
A v` b t` q v n q e u f e b I M m o t Z | I n d v R Z K g f v n i g j v
P j v q c e t b K u g D u b ÷ c n U P f e t b l | t h` j u U R i g v q v Z
B m j v g x t K u b w l t` x i` w e t Z t m v` P v i |

`t v o t s y g n x D i`x b L v b A v j g M x i G B n i g j v i R b`
I n d v R t Z i A v o t j _v K v R i g v q v Z K g f i` i`v a x K t i b |
g u Z u S j R t o v n l q v I n d v R Z K g f i` m t i t h t Z m i K v t i i
c` j t_ik w e K v j t_ik B A v e n b R i v u t b v n i r O j | A v l q u g x
j x M n v a v i Y m`c r `K` m q` A v k i v d j y B m j v g w e K v j G K
m s e v` m t` s j t b I n d v R Z t K u m k q v i K t i e t j b, m U`v 7 U v i
g t a` g u Z u S j b v O v o t j m i K v t i i c` j h v h v K i v i Z v K i v
n t e l Z v i m s e v` m t` s j t b i c i I n d v R Z t b Z v i v m g v t e k
t_ik c v e v u g u k i r t j i v Z A v e r t i v m s e v` m t` s j b K t i
A v l q u g x j x t M i m f v c u Z g D j x i m`m` t g v n v` s` b m m g
I n d v R Z K g f i` g u Z u S j O v o v i A v e n b R i v u b |

w e G b u c i m g _ b c v l q v I n d v R Z m i K v t i i A v e n b
D t c` j v K i v i c i M f x i i v Z A v f h v t b i c l u z` i i a K t i
A v B b - k : L j v i Q j v K i v i x e m n b x | A b` i t K w e` j y n e n x g u Z u S j
G j v K i v q A U K v t i i g t a` w e f b e`v t b A v` b R v i j t q m g v t e k
g A t_ik e`e` i l t` m l v b P j t Z _v t K | w e K v j t_ik m s n t l P
c i i v Z 8 U v i i t K c e b t_ik` m b K e i s j v t g v o c h S l m o t K
u b q s y c l Z o v i c i c n y` k t m B c h S B A e`v b u b t q u Q j | G i
g t a` B i v Z m v o 11 U v i i t K i` v t e i A s Z 600 m`m` Ges
w e R u e i K t q K k o m`m` c e b G j v K i v q A e`v b t b q | i v Z
t m v q v 1 U v i i t K i`ve m`m` i v c e b n t q g u Z u S j i i t K
G t M t Z` i i a K t i b | G K B a i t b i A v f h v b` i i a n q b U i t W g
K t j t R i i r K t_ik | i v Z t` o U v i i t K` m b K e i s j v t g v o
t c n i t q m m U t m U v t i i m v t b i`ve I c n y` k A e`v b u b t j
K t q K u U n i Z t e v g v w e t u v i Y N U v q I n d v R Z K g f v | G i c i
i`v t e i K g R Z P v n v U g v B t K I n d v R Z K g f i` g u Z u S j t O t o
h v l q v i A v e n b R i v u b | u k S` Z v c l Z` v l v b K t i
A e`v b K v i x i v | G i c i A v o v U v i i t K` i i a n q m l o w k
A v f h v b | G t Z I n d v R Z K g f v u c O y n U v i c i m o K c u i` v i
K t i A v B b - k : L j v i Q j v K i v i x e m n b x |

M Y R M i Y u e t i v a x I n d v R Z 6 G u c j g u Z u S j m g v t e k 13
`d v `w e Z t j a t i G K g y m c i X i K v A e t i v t a i K g m P t` q |
I n d v R t Z i 13`d v B t Z i g t a` e`v c K f i t e m g v t j w P Z | B m j v g x
GB m s l M v b u l b v i t` i A M h v l v i a` K i t Z P i q e t j t m v` P v i
n t q t Q b v i x m s l M v b _t j v | (h u q u q u i b, c k k : 7 t g 2013) |

Avgiv AvfMB Dtl Kti i vR%bWZK ev`bZvi KviY MZ KtqK eQi
 t`tk weivR Kti iQj msNvZgq cwi`w`Z | GKUvbn ni Zvj, Aetiva, nvbvrvb,
 bvkKZv, m`c`-webvK Avi mmsmZvi Ketj GB mgq t`tki mmeR
 cwi`w`Zi gviVZK AebWZ NtU | Av`mgvmRk t`cVtU tmB wechfqi QZ
 GLtbr i`Kvqub| wefki Kti Rbgtb GLtbr KvUvb wefwm Kvgq tmB
 w`b` t`jvi AvZsK | AfZce`ivR%bWZK WvgtWtj i KviY mser` gva`gi
 Rb`I mgqW iQj P`vtj t`Ai | c`P`P` P`tci gfa`` vqZi cyj b KitZ ntq`Q
 mser` Kvg` i | w`S` AZ` S` D`M`R`B`K` n`j` I` m`Z` th, t`tki GK tkYxi
 mser` Kvg` gubvWZv I mser` gva`gi fvgKv tckv`v`i`Z`j` gvcKwM`Z`
 c`j`v`c`y` -`Q` iQj bv | Zv` i Atb`KiB KgrV`D` iQj weZ`K`Z` I `j`gb`Z`v` y`
 Zviv ivR%bWZK nxb` -`t`_`Am`%`Z` I `bv`Z`K`Z`v`e`R`Z` c`P`vi`-c`P`vi`Y`vi` Kv`R`
 e`eu`Z` ntq`Q | Gme mser` gva`g Ggb GK aib`i` m`sew`i` K`Z`v` K`v`q`g` K`i`i`Q`
 hv`K` n`j`y` m`sew`i` K`Z`v` msAvq | t`dj`v` hvq` bv | Avevi Acm`sew`i` K`Z`v`
 ej`j` I` tev`anq` L`vb`K`U`v` K`g` ej`v` n`te |
 mser`v` m`Z`Z`v`i` c`k`w`l` Z`t`_`i` Y`M`Z` gvb Bm`j`Z` Gevi Av`t`j`v`K`v`Z` K`iv`
 hv`K` | MZ` 15` R`ib`g`v`i` 2014` Z`v`i`L` 0`_`vb`K` B`b`v`K`j`v`e`D` c`w`l` K`v`g` c`k`w`k`Z`
 vb`P`i` GB` Lei` t`_`i`K` Z`v`i` D`_`v`n`i`Y` U`v`v` hvq` | thme c`D`Z`te`K` f`g`v` Lei` t`_`q`
 Z`v`i`v` t`K`ej` Am`r` I` A`th`W`B` bb, GKB` m`t`%` GB` tckvi Rb` Z`v`i`v` Q`W`Z`K`i`
 Ges` we`i`w`3`K`i`l` | c`Z`v`i`Y`v`c`y``m`sev` c`k`v`k`i` gva`g` i`v`R`%b`W`Z`K` N`U`b`v`c`v`f`n`
 th` aib`i` A`w`_`i`Z`v`_`Z`v`i` n`q` Z`v` R`b`M`Y`t`K` we`a`v`i`S`h`i` gfa`` t`dj` t`_`q` | Z`v`B`
 t`K`v`b`v` mser` gva`gi D`_`v`b`g`j`-K, ev`f`v`i`q`v`U` I` we`K`Z`Z`_`vb`f`P` c`D`Z`te`b` i`ay`
 Q`W`Z`K`i`B` bq` eis` iv`o`f`_`h`v`Z`v`i` k`v`g`j` |

Aa`v`q` : c`v`B`

igvWvq, 0igvWvqevmR0, 0igvWvqevmRKi0

wefki Ab`vb` t`tki g`Z`v` Avgt` i` t`tki m`sew`i` K`f`i` Rb` Av`P`i` Y`v`e`v`a` t`g`b`
 P`j`v`i` eva`eva`K`Z`v` i`q`q`Q | ev`_`te, m`sew`i` K`Z`v` I `bv`Z`K`Z`v` G`K`u`W` A`w`e`f`_`Q`_`
 w`el`q` | t`K`b`v` tckv`M`Z`f`v`e` m`sew`i` K`Z`v`i` t`Q`i`t` AZ`_`v`ek`K`x`q` t`ek`v`K`O`z`_`bv`Z`K`
 avi`Y`v` t`g`t`b` P`j`v` n`q` : `v`a`b`Z`v`, M`Y`Z`S`i` m`Z`i`, e`_`vb`o`Z`v`, m`Z`Z`v`, t`M`v`c`b`x`q`Z`v`
 B`Z`_`w`i` | h`w`i` m`sew`i` K`Z`v`i` h`_`v`h`_` f`v`g`K`v`t`K`Z`_` m`ie`i`v`t`n`i` v`b`v`i`L` t`_`L`v` n`q`
 Z`v`n`t`j` `bv`Z`K`Z`v`i` c`k`w`l` G`K`u`W` B`m`j`G`es` Z`v` n`t`_`Q` Z`t`_`i` g`v`b` | G`B` B`m`j`U` G`L`b`
 i`v`R`%b`W`Z`K` we`Z`K`_`A`v`i` R`b`g`v`b`y` i` D`t`_`i`M`i` w`el`q` n`t`q` | w`v`o`t`q`Q` | A`t`b`K` g`v`b`y`B`
 g`t`b` K`t`i`b` igvWvqi fvgKv` M`j`_`c`y``G`es` c`Q`c`v`Z`g`j`-K | MZ` KtqK` e`Q`i`i`
 A`w`f`A`Z`v`q` G`B` avi`Y`v` mgv`f`R` Av`t`iv` e`x`g`j`-n`t`q`Q | t`tki GK tkYxi
 m`sew`i` t`Ki` 0igvWvqevmR`Z`0` t`j`v`K`R`b` G`Z`U`v`B` A`m`n`v`q` n`t`q` c`t`o`f`Q`b` th, Z`v`i`v`
 m`sew`i` K`Z`v` t`ckv`i` `bv`Z`K` w`f`v`E` vb`t`q`B` m`w`_`n`v`b` n`t`q` c`t`o`f`Q`b` |
 G`L`v`b` 0igvWvqevmR`0` k`a`i`U` m`sew`i` K`f`i` i` `bv`Z`K`Z`v`e`R`Z` t`e`c`t`i`v`q`v` f`v`g`K`v`
 t`ev`S`i`f`b`v`i` R`b` e`_`e`n`v`i` K`iv` t`h`Z` c`v`f`i` | Av`g`iv` m`v`K`m` th`g`b` `o`v`m`R`K`i`t`_`i`
 (Acrobat) `w`o`i` D`ci` G`es` k`t`b`_`j`w`d`t`q` b`v`v` K`m`i`Z` K`i`Z` t`_`w`L, w`K`
 t`Z`g`b`B` G`K` t`k`Y`xi` m`ser` gva`gi m`c`v`_`K` I` m`sew`i` K` ev`_`b`Z`v`t`K` Q`w`o`t`q`
 c`k`Z`_`N`U`b`v`t`K` g`w`o`t`q` k`t`b`_`w`M`m`e`w`i`R` t`L`t`q`Q`b` w`e`M`Z` m`g`t`q` | G`iv` m`o`z`
 m`sew`i` K`Z`v` P`P`i` e`_`t`j` f`v`g`K`v` c`y`j` b` K`t`i`i`Q`b` 0igvWvqevmR`K`i`0` w`n`t`m`t`e` | A`_`P`
 Z`v`t`_`i` igvWvqevmR`i` A`i`f` c`w`i` Y`v`t`g`i` d`j` t`f`v`M` K`t`i`i`Q` t`_`tki` m`v`i`v`Y` g`v`b`y`
 Av`B`b`-k`;L`j`v` i` Q`v`K`v`i`x` e`v`n`b`x`i` m`_`m`_`A`v`i` m`s`L`_`v`j` N`y`m`c`D`v`t`q`i` t`j`v`K`R`b` |

সাতক্ষীরায় যৌথবাহিনীর অপারেশনে ভারতীয় বাহিনীর সহায়তা!

- বিষয়টির সত্যতা সন্দেহজনক, যাচাই করা উচিত - জেনারেল মাহবুব
- এ রকম ঘটে থাকলে তা সামরিক হস্তক্ষেপের শামিল - মোহাজ্জল করিম

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার দেয়। এরই আলোকে গত ৫ জানুয়ারির নির্বাচনের আগে তত্ত্বাবধায়ক সরকারের দাবিতে সাতক্ষীরার গণআন্দোলন থেকে সাতক্ষীরায় ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর সহায়তায় অর্ধ-দমতে সরকার ভারতীয় বাহিনীকে অপারেশনে অমান পরিচালিত হয়। সাতক্ষীরার পাঁচটি উপজেলার নামিতোছিল। এ অপারেশন পরিচালিত এ অঞ্চলখানে স্থানীয় পরিচালিত হয়েছিল **পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রণালয়ের অস্বীকার** জনগণের উপর ব্যাপক জুলুম যৌথবাহিনীর সহায়তায়। নির্ধারিত চলাচলো হয় বলে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর কার্যালয়ের অন্তিমত সাপেক্ষে পররাষ্ট্র সচিবালয় মাধ্যমে এবং সামাজিক যোগাযোগ মাধ্যমে জানা মন্ত্রণালয় দিগ্বির কাছে এ সেনা সহায়তা চেয়ে চিঠি গেছে। এ সংবাদকে কেন্দ্র পৃষ্ঠ ১২ স্বঃ ৬

vbK BbvKj vte cKwKZ cDZte`b

**miZŋixiq thš_eunbxi Acitkib fviZiq eunbxi mniqZv
ciiwogšyjtqi A`Kvi**

÷vd wicvUŋ \ ZÈveavqK miKvŋi `wetZ mvZŋixi
MYAv`vj b`gvZ miKvi fviZiq eunbxiK Acitkib
bwigtqQj | G Acitkib cwiPwjZ ntqQj thš_eunbxi
mniqZvq| cšvbgšxi Kvhŋtqi AbŋvZmvtctŋ ciiwog
gšyjtq i`wji KvtQ G tmbv mniqZv tPq i`Pw t`q| GfB
AvŋvtK MZ 5 Rvbgŋi i`beŋtbi AvŋM t`tk mvZŋixiq
fviZiq tmbveunbxi mniqZvq Avfhtb cwiPwjZ nq|
mvZŋixi cvBw DctRjvq cwiPwjZ G Avfhtb `ibxq
RbMŋYi I ci e`vcK Rjg, ubhŋZb Pjvŋv nq etj msev
gvaŋg Ges mvgwRK thvMthvM gvaŋg Rvbr iMŋQ| G
msev tK tK`a Kti tdmekmn wefbaemvgwRK thvMthvM
gvaŋg I AbjvBb wgvWqtZ e`vcK So I tV|

Gv`tk G aitbi AvfhtbK ubivcÈv Ges KlvwZK
wetkK Kiv ersjvt`tki `raxvZv I `reŋŋŋtZi I ci wet`nk
n`ŋŋc wntmte DŋjL Kti GfK tKvtrvŋteB MhYthvM` bq
etj `we Kti AbvZwejt`amiKvitK G e`vcvŋi Zvi Ae`vb
`úo Kivi Avnŋvb RvbtqtQb| weliwi mZ`Zv fvtjvŋte
hvPvB Kiv DvPZ etj I Zviv Rvrbv| weliw ubtq ciiwog
gšyjtqi msukw KtqKRtbi mvt` thvMthvM Kiv ntj Zviv
etj b, G aitbi tKvtrv NUbv mactK`AevnZ bB|
Zviv G aitbi msev tK wfiEnub etj DŋjL KtiŋQb|

G aitbi Lei MZKvj cŋg cKvk KtiŋQ wevW Ugtiv WU
AM`bvtg GKw ubDR ItqemvBU| ubDR ItqemvBUwi
<http://www.bdtomorrow.org/newsdetail/detail/200/62458>
wjtŋKi Leti tek wKQyMvcb evZ`Ges Gme Kvhŋjvŋc hviv
RwZ Zv`i RibtZ wefbaemv sK e`envi Kiv ntqŋQ| Gici
MZKvj ivZ Avgt`i mgq WUKŋg| <http://www.amader.comoy.com/content/2014/01/15/middle0056.htm> wjtŋK Leiw
cŋeŋ mŋŋi eivZ w`ŋg cKvk Kti| GQrov tdmekmn wefbaem
mvgwRK thvMthvM gvaŋg msev w`tkvni ntZ`vtK| cKvkZ
msev w`li mvt` Pvi cōvi d`v evZ`ŋ QieI t`qv ntqŋQ|

weliw ubtq mvtK tmbvcšv I weGbvci `vqx KvgwU
m`m` tj. tRvrtj gveŋy ingvb `wbK BvKjvetK etj b,
weliw mZ`Zv hvPvB Kiv DvPZ| GwU mZ`Zv WvDvDjv|
Avgt`i wevRie, cŋj k, i`ve Ges Ab`vb` eunbxi mvZŋixi
gtZv GKwU tQvU GjvKv tKb, t`tki th tKvtrv AvBb-k:Ljv
cwiw`wZ wqšŋY ivLvi ŋŋZv ivL| ZvQrov Avgt`i
tmbveunbxi tZv itqŋQb| Zviv hŋ`o AvZkŋ`qx Ges
gvbm`cbŋ t`tki th tKvtrv AĀtj tjvKvtrv wPŋqkth th
tKvtrv Acitkib Pjvŋvbi Rb` Zviv Gvbd| miKvitK I G
weliw Ae`vb `úo Kiv DvPZ|

G aitbi msev`i weliw mvtK ivó`Z I ciiwogmactK`
wetkK K G.GBP tgvdr`ŋj Kviŋgi mvt` tUw tcvb thvMthvM
Kiv ntj wZvb BvKjvetK etj b, G aitbi weliw tKd
DfK`c`ŋw Zfite cKvk Kti `vKtZ cŋt| ZvB mevi
AvŋM fvtjv Kti t`wivdvB Kiv `iKvi| Avv AvRKvj cŋvŋ
Ges tdmekK Kij vY G aitbi AtbK wKQyKiv mae| wZvb
Avŋv etj b, Avgti RvrbvgtZ fviZi tmbveunbxi Avgt`i
t`tk tKvtrv Avfhtb Ask tbevi weliw tKvtrv Pwŋ tB| G
Ae`vq hv` GiKg wKQyNtUB `vtK Zte GwU ersjvt`tki
Af`šivY weliw tB n`ŋŋc bq, GwU nte mvgwK n`ŋŋc, hv
tKvtrvŋteB MhYthvM` bq|

Dctiv` msev`i d`v evZ`ŋ tvi weliw BvKjvŋte cŋg
t`tk ciiwogšyjtqi wŋti`i (wgvWqv) bŋc`a P`a t`ebv`-
Gi mvt` tgvvBj tcvb thvMthvM Kiv ntj wZvb etj b, Avgt
GLtv G aitbi tKvtrv NUbv mactK`AevnZ bB| ciiwog
gšyjtqi wmbqi Gm`÷`wU tmt`Uw tZšvK Bmjvq
kwZj-Gi mvt` tgvvBj tcvb thvMthvM Kiv ntj G aitbi
weliw cŋvUvKb w`v etj Avfhtb Kti b| wZvb etj b, Avgt
KtqK Rtbi KvtQ LeiwU t`b LwZtq t`LwQ| Zte G`tjv meB
wfiEnub| ciiwogšyjtq G aitbi wj I dvBj b`af e`envi
Kti b| wPwV aiŋbi mvt` I tKvtrv wj tB|

weliw Ugtiv WU AM`bvtg ubDR ItqemvBUwi Leti
ŋmvZŋixi Acitkib fviZiq eunbxi dvm nŋqv cŋvYw` ubtq
tZiv cvov wktivvŋg cKvkZ Leti ejv ntqŋQ, ŋmvZŋixiq
thš_eunbxi bvtg fviZiq eunbxi Acitkib Ask wbtqQj,
Ggb wKQyŋv dvm nŋqv ci BvUvŋtU RMŋZ PjŋQ
tZiv cvov ersjvt`tki ciiwogšyjtq I fviZv ersjvt`nk
`Zvev t`tk dvm nŋqv tMvcb evZ`ŋ tewŋg GtmtQ
cšvbgšxi tK L nvmvri Avctmi Abŋvŋta mvZŋixi mnt`tki
Ab`vb` AĀtj ivR`wZK `gb-cvov I MYN`vq mvgvŋte
Ask wbtqŋQ fviZi tmbveunbxi I weGmGd| Pjvŋv
ivR`wZK msKtU fviZiq eunbxi mrvh` tPq ersjvt`k
miKvŋi Zid t`tk cvvtrv GB evZ`ŋ t`Lv hvq, ersjvt`tk
ivR`wZK `gb-cvov mvgvŋte AskMhY KtiŋQ fviZiq
tmbveunbxi 33Zg tKvŋi 17Zg, 20Zg I 27Zg gvDvUv
wvŋfKv Ges weGmGd|

wj`ŋ tvi wetkK Y Kij t`Lv hvq, 2013 bŋf`ŋi 7
Zwi tL Bm`yKiv wPw cwiŋtqQb tZšvK Bmjvq kwZj | wZvb
ciiwogšyjtqi wmbqi Gm`÷`wU tmt`Uw | BvUvŋtU
mivP`Kti t`Lv hvq wZvb 2012 AvMŋ`÷` RWŋb ersjvt`k
`Zvev t`tk Av Ae Kbmjv wŋtj b| RWŋb 25 Rb ersjvt`nk
bvixkŋgK AcniY, alŋ, ŋg I nZ`v cŋt`ŋ wZvb cĀ-cwĀ Kvi
mvt` K`v etj wŋtj b| GQrov RWŋb ersjvt`nk ivó`Z
tMjvq tgvvŋŋ hLb ersjvt`nk `Zvevŋ KgŋZ GK RWŋb

metPtq Rbeuj t`k w`tqB iia Kiv hvK | ivRavbX XvKv
metkji D`xgqib kni | metPtq tenk mgg ati brix tbZtZi
Aaxfb vKv G t`k B iia nq metkji epEg I tmi v temi Kmi
ms`v (GbuRI) e`vK | PgrKvi A`%wZK c`e`x` mtEjL GLbl
t`tki tgvU RbmsL`vi wK GK-ZZxqusk A`er 5 tKwU 30
jvL t`jvK `vni`mxgvi wbtP evm Ki tQ | Ribgmi chS
evsjv`tkB `Zwi nI qvi K_v wQj `vZv`i A`qtb `w`Y
Gukqiq metPtq eo cKri cUv tmZy 300 tKwU Wjvi
e`qmvtc`qI tmZy `Zwi ntj GuUB nZv b`xi Dci wbgZ
metkji `xNzg tmZy Zte evsjv`k miKvi tmZy A`vZvi
Zvij Kv t`tk wek`vstKtK ev` t`qvq tmZy fneI`r AwbDZ
ntq cto tQ | Gi dtj 120 tKwU Wjv`i mnR ktZP FY
t`tk emAZ ntq tQ evsjv`k | me wKvK `vKtj GuU nZv
wek`vstKi tKv`bv t`ktK GKkVjxb t`qv mteP FY |

wek`vstKtK emZj Kivi wK AvfMi w`bB ms`wU
t`c`ntWU wRg Bqs wKg Rmbtqutj b, wek`vstKi KivR
`b`wZ aiv cotj Zv mn` Kiv nte bv | tmZy b`q` b`mZi
Awf`thvMi t`c`ntWU h`o mrov t`qub evsjv`k miKvi | Gi
ciciB FY`v`b A`xKwZ. Ribvq wek`vstKi mn`thvMx cUv
GuUe I RvBKv | Gi dtj me w`g`j`q` c`q` 300 tKwU
Wjv`i FYB emZj ntq hvq | djvdj hgv I cUvi Kvi tY
XvKv t`tk mewOba3 tKwU gvb`fK AvI `ah`aitZ nte |

wKQ`v`Yi Rb` tmZy K_v f`j` hvB | MZ eQi
cUgert`i gZv m`vUj vBU (KwUg DclMh) wbt`q`ci D`v`M
wbtq tQ miKvi | MZ mBv`n t`tki cUg mvetgwi b
(W`jevRvnr) tKbvi cw`i`k`i`bri K_v etj tQ miKvi | Avi
metkji evsjv`tki G hverKv`ji metPtq eo cKri iia
nZ hv`Q wKwM`i`B cvigv`eK we`y`tk` `q` 50 eQi AvfM
ce`c`wK`l`b `vKvKtj GuU wbg`Yi K_v D`v`wQj | imkqvi
t`c`ntWU f`w`ngi c`y`Z`bi mrv`th` Gevi iia nZ hv`Q G
cKri | hv I c`y`Z`bi FY t`qvi kZ`t`j`v` A`%wZK fite tek
KwB; ZviciI ivR`%wZK fite h`o t`j`v`f`b`x`q`! A`i` tKbvi
Rb` evsjv`k`k` 100 tKwU Wjvi FY w`tq tQ imkqvi |

m`v`c`wZK NUbvc`v`n g`b` n`Q, 2013 mtj i mgvii K
Avf`v`bri D`P S`y`k`Z i`q` tQ evsjv`k | 2007 mtj i
evsjv`tk tmbv n`f`q`c` n`q`wQ | Zte cvigv`eK tK`b`i`
Rb` thL`v`b` 200 t`tk 400 tKwU Wjvi jv`w`te, tm Z`y`v`q`
A`; P`y`wU tQvUB evj P`j | ti v`v`l`g`i Z`E`v`e`v`b` i`j`c`c`j`
tK`b`i` K`v`R` iia Kivi Rb` iia`Z` 50 tKwU Wjvi w`t`Q
imkqvi me wKvK `vKtj evsjv`k B nZ hv`Q P`x, fvi Z,
RvciB, `w`Y tKw`i`q, ZvBI qib I c`w`K`l`b`i` ci Gukqvi
mBg cvigv`eK k`w`m`c`b`e`f`k |

Gevi Awj c`k`f` m`w`Z`B` wK cvigv`eK we`y` GZUv
c`q`v`Rb evsjv`tk? cUg K_v, evsjv`tki e`v`cK Rjv`w`b`

NvUvZ i`q` tQ | wek`vstKi m`v`c`wZK Rv`i`c` g`Z, we`y` m`v`e`v`i
w`K`w`t`q` 185wU t`tki g`ta` mevi wbtP evsjv`k 185Zg |

t`kuli 60 kZistki tenk gvbly GLbl we`y` m`v`e`v`i
evBti i`q` tQ | G mgm`vi mgv`v`b` 2 nvRvi tgm`v`l`q`v`U
cvigv`eK tK`v`tek f`v`j`v` D`v`w`M | Gi dtj GKw`tk` thgb
t`tki eZ`v`b` we`y` NvUvZ `i`n`te, tZgub 2020 mtj i g`ta`
20 nvRvi tgm`v`l`q`v`U we`y` Drcv`b` Kivi j`q`v`v`i` w`t`k` eo
GK arc GuM`q` h`v`te mi Kvi |

t`tki eZ`v`b` tgvU Drcv`b` q`gZv cv`v`nvRvi t`tk Qq
nvRvi tgm`v`l`q`v`U | G we`y`Zi gj` Drcv`th` M`im, ZviI ch`f`B
wiRv`f`b`B | GQvov mgm`v` mgv`v`b` A`l`q`x` tZj`w`f`w`E`K
we`y`tk`v` `thgb` e`q`euj, tZgub cw`i`te`tki Rb`I q`w`Z`K`i`
Kajv Lwb Aek` i`q` tQ; wKs` tm` t`j`v`i` l`ci` GZ gvb`y`i`
emvZ th, D`E`v`j`b` L`g`B` K`w`b` | ZvB cvigv`eK k`w`B` nZ
cv`i` t`tki we`y` mgm`vi metPtq eo mgv`v`b` | t`tki c`v`v`b`
`B` ivR`%wZK `j` hv I c`q` tKv`bv` mel`q`B` GKgZ nZ cv`i`
bv, ZviciI cvigv`eK k`w`B`i` e`v`v`v`i` D`f`q` c`i`q`i`B` m`e`g`Z
Av`Q` etj g`b` n`Q | Zte evsjv`k wek`vstKi epEg e`-0`xc
nI qv`G` c`K`i` cw`i`te`k`M`Z` AvI | wKQ`y`mgm`v` Av`Q` eb`v,
c`w`K`w`Z`K` `j`h`M` c`w`Z` eQi t`j`t`MB`_v`K` | tKv`bv` tKv`bv` eQi
t`tki `B`-ZZxqusk cw`i`b` wbtP Zvij`q` th`Z` cv`i` | Ggb
cw`i`w`Z`Z`Z` cvigv`eK we`y` Drcv`b` mgm`v` `Zwi` ntj
weK`i` Rjv`w`b`i` Avf`te` wech`f`q`i` g`j`L` cote we`y` e`e`v` |

Aek` wek`l`A`i` g`Z, cUv b`xi Z`x`i` Z`y`v`g`j`-K
w`b`v`c` `v`b`B` `v`c`b` Kiv n`Q` tK`v`w`U` we`y`tk`f`i` gj`
P`w`j` K`v`k`w`B` BD`i`m`b`q`v`g`l` mieivn Kite imkqvi | Zte
tZ`R`w`l`g` G`c`v`c`w`i`ent`bi` mgqI w`b`v`c`E`v` w`b`w`Z` Kiv
c`q`v`R`b` | AvI th`n`Z`y`i`f`c`c`y` f`v`i`Z` m`x`g`v`l` t`tk` g`v`l` 25
wKtj`w`g`v`i` `f`i, ZvB evsjv`tki cv`i`c`v`k` f`v`i`Z`I` Gi
w`b`v`c`E`v` P`v`B`te |

Zte P`E`M`g` e`v`i` t`tk th` `w`N`q`v`-l` cv`i` n`q` cUvi Z`x`i
Avf`te BD`i`m`b`q`v`g`l, tmiU wek`vstKi Ab`Z`g` wec`%`b`K` iv`v` |
Avevi Rbeuj XvKvi t`f`Zi w`tq Gme tZ`R`w`l`g` c`v`c`
cw`i`enb` thgb S`y`k`c`y` `tZgbB` mgq`v`c`q` | Zte XvKv`K`
c`v`k` KwU`q` hv` hvZ`v`q`Z` K`i`Z` nq, Zvntj` cUv cv`i` nZ
nte | AvI `j`c`t`_`cUv` cv`i` nI qvi Rb` cUv tmZy weK`i`
t`b`B | m`Z`i`v`s` cUv tmZy`v`v` ntj t`tki cUg tZ`R`w`l`g`
c`v`c`t`j` v`K` nq`Z`v`v`e`i`v`U` S`y`k` w`b`q`B` t`b`S`K`v`i` g`v`a`t`g` cUv cv`i`
nZ nte | (Av`g`v`i` t`k, c`k`k`v`k` : 6 t`d`e`a`q`v`i` 2013) |

hLb tKv`bv` cw`i`Kv` mZ` c`k`v`tki` e`tj` RbgZ`tk` GKwU` wek`l` D`i`t`k`
c`f`w`e`Z` Kivi t`P`o`v`g`_v`K` ZLb` Zvi` c`i`q` misew` KZvi` b`w`Z`K`Zv` eRv`q` iv`Lv`
m`e` nq` bv | Zv`v` Zv`i` D`w`i`o` cv`K`k`i` i`q`Y`k`j` I` K`E`i` t`g`j` ev`x` av`i`v`i`
gZev` t`m`j`v`bri` Rb` c`b`v`w`v`i` Av`k`q` t`b`q` | t`K`D` nq`Z`v` Z`t`K`P` Lw`Z`i` ej`t`Z`

cvf`ib Ae`vbMZ `w`K t`_tk GUv RvqR, wKs' misew`KZvi `bwZKZvi
gvcKwM`Tz GuU Aek`B wKZ.GKuU KivR|

**BtKvbg`÷`i cłZte`b : UBejvtji ibitc`Tz
cłkx, wePvi cłqqtK ivRbwZKiy Kiv ntqtQ**

tW`c` wicvU^o hvcviva gvgjvi cłg ivq`wb`q wZK`mw`
ntqtQ etj gsb` Kti`iQ cłfvekvjx weUk mvgvqKx
BtKvbg`÷`| BtKvbg`÷` ej`iQ, c`bvbg`Sx tkL nwmvvi` c`vb
cłZc`Tj Lvtj`v` wRqvi ivR%bwZK msthvMf`i UvM^o Kivi
Rb` GB wePvi cłqqtK ivRbwZKiy Kiv ntqtQ|
Av`vj`zi`i wicvU`Tz wbtgl cłkx`D`iv`iQ| MZ 21 Ribgvmi
hvcviva UBejvtji cłg ivq`gvljv`v Avej` Kijv`g
Avhr`tk dumi Av`k t`q`v`nq| Zte`wZvb` c`vZK`itqtQb|
BtKvbg`÷`i 26 Ribgvmi` wU ms`i`T`y cłkx`w`ze`
Ges`MZKuj` Abjv`Bb ms`i`T`y cłkx`w`z` cłZte`b` ejv`nq,
wbeP`tb` Rajv`f` KitZ` ntj` Rvqvq`z` t`_tk` i`z`eRiq` ivLv
Lvtj`v` wRqvi` cłTj` Am`e`| Zte`Pjw`z` eQ`ii` tktli` w`tk
Abj`og` wbeP`tbi` Av`M^o B` Rvqvq`z`i` c`tjv` kxl`Tz`Z`K` dumi
t`q`v`ntz` cvf`| cłZte`b` ejv`nq, tkL`nwmv`v` Avkv` KitQb
th`1971` mvtj`i` NUBvi` O`v`v` RbM`T`Yi` gb` weM`tq` Zj` wZvb
Averi`I` Tjg`Ziq` Avm`Tz` cri`teb|

cłZte`b` ejv`nq, wUv`f`z` Rbw`Z` Bmj`w`g` Abjvtbi`
Dc`vcK` gvljv`v` Avej` Kijv`g` Avhr`i` i`ieit`x` ivqtK` tkL
nwmvvi` Rb` GKuU` weRq` wntmte` t`Lv`nt`Q`| Avl`qvgx` jvM
miKv`i`i` j`azc`y`Bmy`nt`Q` GB` UBejvtji` | UBejvtji`i`
wbt`c`Tj`z` wbtq` cłkx`itqtQ` gsb` Kti` BtKvbg`÷` etj`iQ,
UBejvtji` GKRb` wePvici`zi` Av`vj`zi` eiv`tji` GKRtbi`
m`i`/2` v`Bc` Kt`vcK`_b` I` BtqBj` Av`vb`-c`lv`v` wbtq` MZ
wM`tm`f` gvtm` wicvU`^ccłkx` Kti` BtKvbg`÷`| cti` IB
wePvici`z` c`Z`v`M` Ktib|

DtjL, hvcviva UBejvtji`tk` weZik`Z` etj` gsb` Kti`
Gi` AvM` wicvU`^ccłkx` Kti`iQ` wekL`v`Z` MYgva`g` weiev`m
I`qvi` qm`w`f`m, GGd`ic, iqUvm`^o weiev`m`m` eU` MYgva`g`| wD
BqK`w`f`iEK` gibew`aKvi` msl`Vb` w`Dg`vb` ivBUM` I`qvP` etj`iQ,
hvcviva` gvgjvi` wePv`i` A`tbK` Nvcjv` itqtQ`| Av`vj`z`
Av`S`R`w`ZK` gvb` Abjvi`Y` KitQ` br`| (Augvi` r`k, cłkx`:
6`ide`ap`w`i` 2013)|

j`Ub`-w`f`iEK` O`BtKvbg`÷`i` cłkx` Kvi` GB` `w` cłZte`b` O`Av`gvi` t`k`O` cłkx` Kvi`
tW`-t`_tk` Zwi` Kti` Qvc`f`v`| `w` cłZte`b` B` G` f`ki` ivR%bwZK` cłw`w`Z,
tmbrew`nbx` I` gubeZ`w`f`vax` Aciv`ai` wePvi` BZ`w`tk` cłkx` Kiv` ntqtQ`
c`Tjcv`zj`-k` I` GKt`c`k` Ae`vb` t`_tk` Ges` cłZte`b` t`jvi` t`Kv`_v`l` t`Kv`_v`
ikg` m`f` ev` w`tk`I`A` e`w`i` gZvg`Z` DtjL` Kiv` nqib`| cłZte`K`

GKZi`d`r`f`i`te` Zvi` gZvg`Z` Pwctq` w`tqtQb`| O`BtKvbg`÷`i` wekL`v`Z` cłkx` Kvi`
ntj`I` Gme` cłZte`b` misew` KZvi` `bwZK` o`j`b` NtUf`Q` Zvi`| wKs` gRvi`
e`v`cvi` nt`Q, O`Av`gvi` t`k`O` Zvi` ivR%bwZK` `f`_B` GKuU` wef`kl` gntj`i` cłTj`
Gme` cłZte`b` Qwctq` Zvi` c`v`v`M`U`vi` cvtj` ev`Z`v`m`j`v`M`v`b`v`i` m`j`h`v`M` n`v`z`Q`v`v`
Kti`w`b|

Ggb`B` Av`i`v` GKuU` cłZte`b` cłkx`w`Z` ntqtQ` I` B` GKB` cłkx` Kiv` KtqK` w`b`
ci`| GB` cłZte`b` cłkx`ki` tM`f`q`v` kv`Lvi` GKuU` wef`kl` BDubU` tmvqvZ`
(Special Weapon and Tactic Team-SWAT)-Gi` e`e`u`Z` tUvvi` brf`gi` GKuU`
A`j`-j` eY`v` w`t`Z` wM`f`q` hv` ev`v` ntqtQ` Zv` mw`Z` nvm`Ki`| cłZte`b` wU` f`itj` vgt`Zv`
j`T` Kiv` hv`K|

niZvtj` tmvqvZ` ewnbxi` wec`3/4`bK` A`-w`-c`o`j`wM`
miKvi`w`f`ivax` Av`f`v`j`bKvix`i` `gvtz` wccvi` t`c`O` ci`
Gevi` niZvtj` tmvqvZ` ewnbxi` m`m`i`v` bZly` wec`3/4`bK` A`-
w`-c`o`j`wM` e`envi` KitZ` t`L`v` tM`f`Q`| f`L`z` A`tbK`Uv`
cv`Bcl`M`tbi` g`z`v` gtb` ntj`I` f`f`z`i` A`tbK` kw`3`kuj`x` w`-c`o`
e`envi` Kiv` ntqtQ` bZb` GB` A`-w`-c`o`j`wM`| L`y` Kv`Q` t`_tk` GuU`
e`envi` Kiv` nq`| Rvgqvq`z`i` WwKv` MZKuj`T`Ki` niZvtj`
iv`Rav`bxi` w`ef`b`e`-t`b` Rvgqvq`z`-w`k`w`e`i` t`b`Zv`Kw`g` i` Nvtqj`
Kitz` bZb` GB` A`-w`-c`o`j`wM` e`envi` Kiv` ntqtQ`| Zte`i`ve`I`
cłkx`ki` EaY`z`b` KgR`Z`P`v` Ggb` bZly` A`-w`-c`o`j`wM` e`envi`
A`-w`Kvi` Kitj`I` Zviv` etj`iQ`b, Av`Bb`-Ljv` ewnbxi` bZly`
msthv`Rb` Gij`U` t`clv`m`v`v`v`v` ewnbxi` m`m`i`v` GA`-w`-c`o`j`wM` e`envi`
Kit`iQ`b| tmvqvZ` ewnbxi` EaY`z`b` GK` KgR`Z`P`bZly` GA`-w`-
e`envi` w`el`q`v`l` w`b`w`Z` Ktib|

tmvqvZ`i` EaY`z`b` IB` KgR`Z`P` Rv`vb, A`-w`-c`o`j`wM` t`L`z`
A`tbK`Uv` t`j`v`v`i` j`w`v`I` g`z`v`| GuU` GK` ai`tbi` j`w`v`I` Av`M`
niZvtj` w`f`ivax` A`-ev` Av`f`v`j`bKvix`i` O`T`f`/2` Kitz` j`w`v`I`
e`envi` Kiv` ntZv`| IB` j`w`v`I` bZly` msthv`Rb` nt`Q` GB` O`v`-c`o`j`wM`
j`w`v`O`l` GuU` w`tq` Av`Nv`Z` Kitj` Av`Nv`Z`c`o`Biv` `z`Mv`Z`z`
mvg`tbi` w`tk` AM`hi` nq` Ges` Av`f`v`j`bKvix`i` O`T`f`/2` Kitz`
A`tbK`Uv` mnR`nq|

Zte` tM`f`q`v` ms`v`i` w`Koz`m`m` I` f`y`f`i`w`v`v` Rv`vb,
AZ`s`l`g`Rez` t`j`v`v`i` cv`B`ci` f`f`z`i` D`P` Tjg`Z`m`-c`b`w`-c`o`
e`envi` Kiv` ntqtQ` bZly` GB` A`-w`-c`o`j`wM` w`c`b`qi` m`z`v`f`v`M`
t`j`v`v`i` i`w`i` g`v`v`q` e`ej`y` M`v`b`v`i` itqtQ`| GuU` w`tq` L`y` Kv`Q` t`_tk`
Kv`D`t`K` Av`Nv`Z` Kitj` Av`Nv`Z`c`o`B`-t`b` w`w`c` ntq` gvlv`Z`K` Tjz`i`
m`w`o` nq`| w`v`i` t`_tk` AZUv` e`S`v` bv` tM`Tj`I` Av`Nv`Z`c`o`B`i` Kv`Q`
GuU` A`tbK` Tjw`Z`Kvi`K`| GB` A`-w`-c`o`j`wM` g`v`v`q` e`envi` Kiv` ntj` A`tbK`
Tjw`Z`i` m`z`v`b`v`v` i`tqtQ` etj` Rv`v`v` tM`f`Q`| MZKuj`T`Ki` niZvtj`
iv`Rav`bxi` w`ef`b`e`-t`b` Rvgqvq`z`-w`k`w`e`i` t`b`Zv`Kw`g` i` O`T`f`/2` Kitz`
GuU` e`envi` Kiv` ntqtQ`| m`v`v` t`c`v`k`w`Kav`ix` tmvqvZ` ewnbxi`
m`m`i`v` bZly` GB` A`-w`-c`o`j`wM` e`envi` Kit`iQ`b`| (w`B`K` Augvi` t`k, cłkx`:
6` Ribgvmi` 2013, cłZte`K` G`i`kv`j`ewi`)|

GtZ ejv nřt“0, tmqvZ emnbxi m`m`ti ni Zvj Pj vKřtj RıgqvZ-ıkweti i tbZv-Kıgř i Nřtqj KřtZ ivRavbxi neıfboe`řtb bZb mec3/4bK A`ıÖr cđ jvıV0 e`envi KřtZ t`Lv tMřtQ| Zře Ab` tKřtřv cıı Kvi Leti GB Z` `tbB| cđZte`K GB A`j bvgKřtY eřj tQb Öv`cđ jvıV0| Kvi Y GıU Öt`LřZ AřbKUr cvBcMřtbi gřZv gřb nřj l tFZři AřbK kv3křj xıı`cđ e`envi Kiv nřtřtQ bZb GB A`ıUřZ0| tmqvZ-Gi GKRB DařZb KgřZř eıřtZ ivRavbřZ GB mec3/4bK A`ıU e`enřti i K_v ıbvÖZ Kři ejv nřtřtQ ÖGıU t`LřZ AřbKUr jvıVı gřZv Ges GK aıřbi jvıV|Ö A_P İB KgřZř jvıV m`k GB A`ıU e`vU bvg ZřtK eřtZ cřtřbıb Güv KZUr `řfmeK tkıvřq! Ömec3/4bK A`ıU eřtZ hrřK Břti mřtZ ejv nřtřtQ vj`DBcb0| ıKř DařZb İB KgřZř ıK RřtbB bř tUmvi GKıU Öbb-tj`vj`DBcb0| cıVřKi AeMıZi Rb` GLřtb ÖtUmvi Ö břtřgi GB A`ıUı mřtřB cıvıPıZ Zřj aıřtZ PıvB :

A taser is a non-lethal self-defense weapon that uses compressed nitrogen to shoot two tethered needle-like probes at an assailant in order to deliver an electric shock. The probes travel at a speed of 135 feet per second (41 meters per second) with a maximum reach of 15 feet (4.5m). When the probes attach to the attacker's clothes or skin, an electric shock passes between them, through the body, incapacitating the assailant's neuromuscular system. The attacker will lose all control and coordination. The taser will continue to apply the electrical charge in an auto-timed sequence of an initial charge of several seconds followed by many short bursts. This prevents the assailant from recovering from the initial shock and removing the probes. During this event the user can abandon the taser on the ground and escape.

Tasers cannot permanently harm the muscles, nerves or heart, nor will it interfere with a pacemaker. The affect of the taser is that the attacker will be dazed for several minutes, before fully recovering. The shot can penetrate up to five centimeters of clothing. It stuns the target by causing an uncontrollable contraction of the muscle. (Encyclopedia Britanica)

[ZRRřv : tUmvi GKıU AvZřıřvıgř-K AřıWZKi A`j GtZ tKřtř eıvıV mřtřgi gřZv ıKj K`řtK hr nřvj vKıvı křtři e`ıyZK Stkřb`Zvi i Rb` KgtcřıW&bvBřtřřtřbi gıvřg Öřtö t`qv nř| GB ıKj K cđZ řmřKřtÜ 135 dđ (41 ıgUvi cđZ řmřKřtÜ) teřM meřıK 15 dđ (mřtö 4 ıgUvi) `řZj chřřhrıq|

ıKj K nřvj vKıvı tcvkK ev ZřK jvıVı mřtř mřtř Zvi křtři e`ıyZK Stkřb eřq hrıq Ges Zv nřvj vKıvı ıbDřıvııKĐj vi ımřtř-g AřKřv Kři t`q| nřvj vKıvı me i Kř ıbqřř İ m`cđ3 nmiřtř tđtř | tUmvi KřtK řmřKřtÜ

cđıgK PıřRř AřUv-UıBgW ımřKřtřıYi gıvřg ıgıMZ e`ıyZK PıřRř cđıgM Kři třtZ cřtř hr cřeZřřZ AřbK tQıU tQıU meıvřtři gıvřg Ae`ınZ`řtK| Güv nřvj vKıvıřK cđıgK ar`v Křtřtř DřtV ıKj KřıU mmiřtř tıqıvı řıgZřtK tıva Kři| BZ`emři e`envi Křıv tUmviU gıUřZ tđtř cıvřtř třtZ mřıg nře| tUmvi `ıqıřte tcvk, meřıKsev ü`hřřj, řıWZ Kři bř, ıKsev tcmřtřKřtři Rb`ı GıU řıWZKi bř| tUmřti i Křřı cřıve`řtK KřtK ıgıU, nřvj vKıvı ar`v cřıvıvı Křtřtř İVı AvM chřř GB mgqUř m Av`Öbe Ae`ıg`řtK| tUmřti e`eüZ ıKj K tcvkřtKı cıvř tıvııgUvi chřřıK třtZ cřtř | GıU tcvkı Aıvıqřř mřtřKřtřı dřtř nřvj vKıvıřK nZřř`Kři t`q| -GbmBřtKřtřcıııqıv meřıb Křı|

cđZte`K tKřtřvıKř aıvıv bř tıřLB m`eZ tUmvi břtřgi GB A`ıU m`cřtK`AıvıvAZ İ řjy Z` ıřtřtřb| tKbbv 2008 mřtři 18 tđeřıvı tWBıj ÷vi cıı Křı tmqvZ-Gi m`m`ti cđkřıYı İci GKıU cđZte`b řeı nřtřtř | tıLřtb ejv nřtřtřtř `řř`Acıvıřt`ı tgvKřteřvıq cıvřtkı meřk l tMřtř`v kvLvi GB BDıbtU gıV 23 Rb m`m` iřtřtř| hřıvřtř cıvřk, tıvıvıbı İ GđıeAvBöı 9 Rb meřk İ A Gřı cđkřıYı ıřtřtřtř | Gřı e`enřtři Rb` gř-řh AvřMıv`řt`qv nřtřtřtř tıv`řj v nřtřtř : Glock 17, SR-25, KRİSS Vector, ST Kinetics CPW, M4 carbine, Colt 9mm SMG Ges Remington 870. GÖıv tmqvZ m`m`ıv Ab`řb`řhme Ařj cđkřıYı tçtřtřtř Zı nřtřtř, meřıvı K İ mřBcvi tUıb, meřk l aıřbı Kř mec3/4bK A`j tUmvi BZ`ıvı | (Z`mř : XıKř gıvıBıı cıvřk-ııGgıcđ İ řqemBU)|

tWBıj ÷vi cıı Křı fıV` Abřıvı, XıKřı gıvıBıři Ges cđıvıřtb XıKřı evBřı hr` Acıvı Pı A`ev tKřtřvı AcıvıřtK tgvKřteřvıq ıbqıgZ cıvř keıvıbı İ i`ve e`nřg ZvıřtřB tKej Aıřřıřtb hrıte tmqvZ| ıKř XıKřıvı nı Zřtřı mgg cıvřk İ i`řteı e`řj Öbb-tj`vj`DBcb0 tUmvi nřtř Křıřte meřıvı KÖRb tmqvZ m`m` RıgqvZ-ıkweti K Nřtřj Kři tđj Zı teıvıMg` bř|

A_P ııřtřıUřřı třřřt mZ` GKıU ıg` ııřtřıUřřı Dřřk` nřtřtř NUbı m`eř` Pevřmřtř`ı KřıvıKřıvı gıvıřtK tçtřtř t`qv Ges`ıqřZřı ıK t`řK GüvB nřtřtř RbMřYı cđZ GKRB mısevıřtKı meřıřıvK Z`řmeř| GKRB mısevıřtKı`ıqřZřıřtK Zıvı cđZte`řb NUbı meřıMıK tçtřıvı meřk l Y Kıv, ıKř Zıvı ıbR`gZıgZ Pımcřtř t`qv bř; ıZıv třřıev`bZvı chřřıY İ e`ıvřMZ Abřıvıřmı Křřıv jvıMřtř NUbı tçtřıvı msNUbmřmgř D`xıvı Křı cıvKřK Mřıvı teıvıcövı meřtřb AvřtebN GüvB Zıvı e`ıbö mısevıř KZıv| ıKř ıZıvı tKřtřvı tıMıö ev`řıq`ř`Abřřj AmZ` İ tıvıZevPK Z` ımeıřtřı gıvřg cđKZ.NUbı ev ev`bZřtřK Avıvı Křı gıvıřtK mıvK Z` cıvı qıvı AıvıKřı t`řK eıvř Křtř cıřtř bıvı tKbbv hrıř`ı Avıvı Ömeřıvıvı YÖ eıvı Zıvı gřb Křı msev`gıv`g eıveı B RbMřYı cřřı, meřg Zřt`ıB K_v eřj ; ev`bZı t`řK Zıvı tQřK Zřtř Avřb cđKZ.NUbıvı mıZ`Křı ıbhıřı|

e`ubô msev`i cîZ AvMô I mebr`b cêYzvi gta` Uvbr`cîob
 misew` KZvq ubôq bZb` uKQzbq| Avtqvi Kvi cîg mdj U`vej`tqW` `ubK
 ÔubDBqK`WbWij` ubDRô-Gi mî½ cîZ`thvMzVq tbtg 1924 mitj ÔubDBqK`
 tWbWij` ugi iô bvtg GKuU U`vej`tqW` cîkVk Kti b nj`y misew` KZvi Ab`Zg
 trvZv DBWij` qvg nu`÷` P` Dîôvabr` Absvrb nu`÷` P` tNvI Yv uQj` ugi i Zvi cvtKi
 Rb` 90 kZvsk mebr`b Avi 10 kZvsk Zt`i thvMv t`te| Zvi `me`
 ugi i-Gi t`qv Gme Z` cWtKi gta` tKvrb i Kg weiv`³ Drcv`b Kite br/
 Z`vKw`Z` ÔU`vej`tqW` tUij` wfkbtKô estZ` ntj` Avgt`i Avz` Aek`B
 U`vej`tqW` cî-cvI Kvi BvZnmv` metePbvq` tbgv` `i Kvi | tKbbv` Dvbk` kZtKi
 tkl`fvM` misew` KZvq U`vej`tqW` avivi` mPbv` ntqQj` ukv`fZ` kûti` KgR`xex
 tkYxi` Pwv`v` cîf`Y| Avi` Zvi`B` ga` w`tq` mîPZ` ntqQj` gj`-avivi` misew` KZvi,
 Zvi` msAv` I` gvb``fbi` Rb`` µgvMZ` P`vtj` A|

Avab`K` U`vej`tqW` misew` KZvi` ej`tZ` tMij` A`bKuvB` mef`ub` I` h`p`v`i`v`ôf`
 gta` U`Y`-AvUj` v`UK` Avst`civ`Mq`btbi` dj` | Zvi`B` mgt` tMuv` BDt`vc` R`jo`
 Qvotq` c`votQj` U`vej`tqW`i` c`kVkbv| GB` BvZnmv` th` Kvi`Y` D`tj` L`thvM` Zv`
 nt`Q, msev` cî`nk`ti` i` `N`avi`v`v`v`KZvq` U`vej`tqW` misew` KZvi` me`li` Z`
 I` mebr``tbi` ga`eZ`v`i` L`vU`K` g`j`Q` t`qvi` mZ`B` c`kVk` Kti` |

A`b`K`i`B` gZ` nt`Q` AvR`K`i` w` t`b` me`c`j`msL`K` c`v`K`t`K` a`ti` i`v`L`t`Z` ntj`
 uKsev` MYZ`m`S`K` `wq`Z`k`v`j` Zvi` c`q`v`R`t`b` msev` I` gZ`v`g`t`Zi` PUK`vi`
 Dc`v`c`v` GKuU` AZ` s`l` A`v`b`e`i`h`A`b`y`½ | PUK` w`i`t`Z`i` A` `NUbvi` R`v`K`v`t`j`v` I`
 b`v`U`K`v`q` Dc`v`c`v` h`v`Z` cvtKi` g`b` t`R`v`i`t`j`v` GKUv` c`f`ie` c`to` | Z`te` G`Uv`
 u`K` th, U`vej`tqW` misew` KZvi` GKUv` me`tkl` w`K` nt`Q` G`Uv` i`v`R`b`m`Z` I`
 Ab`v`b` `i`a`zi` me`t`q` c`e`t`ki` c`u`w` c`k`l` K`i`t`Z` t`c`t`i`t`Q` | u`g`v`v`q`-g`M`j`
 w`nt`m`te` L`v`Z` i`a`c`v`U`g`v`i`W`t`K`i` K`v`Uv` G`t`f`t`i` c`v`Y`v`b`t`h`v`M` : Ôv` m`b`ô` KgR`xex`
 g`v`b`t`j` i` m`j`h`v`M`-m`p`e`v`i` Rb`` c`v`k` `w`v`te` Avi` GB` m`g`v`R`i` c`v`i`e`Z`f`bi` c`t`f`j`
 K`v`e`j`te` | GB` c`v`I` K`v` c`v`i`e`Z`f`bi` c`t`f`j` m`v`Z`K`v`i` c`f`ie`K` | G`Uv` GKUv` AZ` s`l`
 i` w`v`K`v`j` K`v`M`R`| ÔG`K`B` K`v` GKUv` me`L`v`Z` NUbvi` Avt`j`v`t`K` ÔU`vej`tqW`
 tUij` wfkbt-Gi` BvZnmv`i` te`j`v`q` L`v`U` | th` BvZnmv`i` i`i`a`nt`q`Qj` be`Y`B`t`q`i`
 `k`i`Ki` g`v`S`i`g`v`S` m`g`t`q` K`ô`v`½` g`v`K`ô` d`l`e`j` t`L`t`j`v`q`v`o` I` . t`R` . m`a`u`m`t`b`i`
 t`M`B`v`i` I` Zvi` me`P`v`t`i`i` m`i`v`v`i` m`a`c`v`v`t`i`i` ga` w`tq` m`a`c`h`b` Zvi` `x` I`
 t`Q`j`e`U`Z`K` n`Z`v`i` `v`t`q` A`w`f`h`y` n`b` | u`g`v`v`q`-me`tkl`A`t`i` A`b`t`K`B` GB`
 NUbvt`K` GKUv` g`v`B`j` dj`K` w`nt`m`te` MY` K`t`i`b` | U`vej`tqW` u`g`v`v`q` m`g`m`v`g`v`q`K`
 ms`w`Zi` AM`W`v`Zi` t`f`j`t`i` e`uj` `t` I` gZ`t`K` e`u` `Y` I` e`u` `f`-m`a`c`h`v`i`t`Y`i`
 g`v`a`t`g` m`g`v`R`i` me`t`i`i` g`v`b`t`j` i` t`M`v`P`i` Avbvi` m`j`h`v`M` K`t`i` w`t`q`Q` |

G`Q`v`ov,` th`gb` u`l`w`f` UK`-t`k`v` Ab`g`v`b`t`Kl` e`j`v` h`v`q` b`Z`b` GK` ai`t`bi` R`b`Zvi`
 `t` | Gme` Ab`g`v`t`bi` g`v`a`t`g` m`g`v`R`i` me`f`b`e``t`i`i` g`v`b`t`j` i` th`gb` gZ` R`v`bvi`
 m`j`h`v`M` nt`Q` Avi` Zvi` c`v`k`v`c`m`k` m`i`PZ` nt`Q` Avt`bi` t`P`t`q` A`w`f`A`Z`v` c`k`v`t`k`i`
 m`j`h`v`M,` h`v`p`i` I`ci` Av`t`e`t`M`i` c`l`a`v`b` u`Ksev` me`tkl`A` e`v`³`i` c`i`v`g`t`k`P` e`t`j`
 c`i`l`q`v` h`v`t`Q` R`b`v`ô` gZ`v`gZ` | U`vej`tqW` misew` KZvi` g`t`Z`v` AvR`K`v`j`
 U`vej`tqW` u`l`w`f` ms`w`Zi` c`e`j` c`f`v`te` c`v`t`e` h`v`t`Q` Avgt`i` msev` , ms`w`Z` ,
 c`ô`Z`v` b`K`v`i` R`x`e`b`a`v`i`v,` Av`v`i`-w`e`v`i`v`i` Av`i` m`v`Z` g`v`b`t`j` i` Av`P`i`Y`I` | Avgt`i`
 m`g`t`q`i` Rb`` G`Uv` GK` AZ` s`l` `i`a`z`c`y`m`PK` | h`v` GB` m`g`t`q`i` t`K`v`t`b`v` b`v`g` w`t`Z`
 n`q` Z`v`nt`j` Z`v`t`K` U`vej`tqW` R`g`v`b`v` e`t`j` W`i`K`v` th`t`Z` c`v`t`i` |

Aa`v`q` : Qq

ÔU`vej`tqW` u`l`w`f`ô` R`g`v`b`v`

msev` memgq` GKv`v`t`i` Z` ` I` mebr`b` `t`v`i`B` `r` t`q` | h`v` G`Uv` `B`
 Zi`f`di` Pwv`v` c`i`Y` K`i`t`Z` b`v` c`v`i`t`Z`v` Z`v`nt`j` Zvi` c`t`f`j` GZ` me`c`j` c`v`K`-
 `k`f`K`i` K`v`t`Q` t`c`v`ô`v`t`b`v` m`a`e` n`t`Z`v` b`v` | u`K`S`-AvR`t`K,` misew` KZvi` m`g`v`t`j` v`P`K`i`v`
 e`j`t`Q`b,` Avb` ` t` `qvi` m`n`R`v`Z` t`m`B` . Y`i`U` w`v`v`i` q`v`m` w`i` t`c`v`u`S` I` me`t`k`l` t`Y`i` c`v`j` u`q`
 c`to` msev` g`v`a`g` me`tkl` K`t`i` tUij` wfkbt` Avgt`i` g`v`v` m`P`v`e`t`q` L`v`t`Q` Av`i`
 R`x`e`t`bi` Ab`y`v`z` t`j`v` t`f`v`Z`v` K`t`i` w`t`Q` | u`K`S` tUij` wfkbt` `f`v`e`Z` G`g`b` GKUv`
 me`t`b`v`b` g`v`a`g` h`v` msev`i` c`ô` u`g`K` g`v`a`t`g`i` Ae`v`b` t`t`K` u`c`ô` u`g`v`v`q`v`t`K`
 n`u`l`t`q` w`t`q`Q` | u`K`S` me`t`b`v` `t`bi` g`j`-Av`v`i` e`t`j` R`b`M`Y`t`K` c`t`j`v`c`v`j` Ae`v`n`Z` I`
 m`Z`K`K`i`v`i` t`f`j`t`i` tUij` wfkbt`i` u`K`ô`b`v` nt`j` I` N`v`U`v`Z` `v`K`t`Z` e`v`a` | M`v`b`-e`v`R`b`v,`
 b`v`U`K` Av`i` M`v`g`v`i` R`M`t`Z`i` t`j`v`K`R`t`b`i` c`v`k`v`c`m`k` tUij` wfkbt` u`b`D`t`R`i` Q`K`u`I`
 Av`R`K`v`j` n`t`q` D`t`v`t`Q` me`t`b`v` b`g`j`-K` : K`L`t`b`v`B` Z`v` u`K`f`v`i` R`b` `Ab`k`j`-g`v`a`g` b`q`
 u`K`sev` GB` g`v`a`t`g` c`ô`Z`d`j` b` u`K`sev` me`t`g`v`f`t`Y`i` m`j`h`v`M` t`b`B` |²⁵

Z`v`i`c`i`l` G`Uv` AZ` m`n`t`R` w`v`v`i`t`s`l` t`c`v`ô`v`t`b`v`i` w`e`l`g` b`q` | Avgt`i` g`t`Z`v`
 t`t`k` t`e`n`k`i` f`v`M` g`v`b`t`j` i` K`v`t`Q` tUij` wfkbt` u`b`DR` i` a`g`v`l` msev`i` g`j`-Av`v`i`B`
 b`q` e`i`s` Z`v`t`i` AZ` s`l` Av`v`v` I` u`b`f`P`Z`v`i` D`r`m`l` | t`t`k`i` A`w`a`K`v`sk` tUij` wfkbt`
 msev`i` Av`R`K`v`j` R`v`Z`v`q` I` Av`S`R`v`Z`K` NUb`v`e`j`v`i` GZ`U`v`B` K`v`f`i`t`i`R` t`q`v` n`q`
 h`v` e`uj` c`v`v`i`Z` t`K`v`t`b`v` msev` c`t`f`i`l` t`P`v`t`L` c`to` b`v` | MZ` kZ`t`K`i` g`v`S`i`g`v`S`
 m`g`t`q` B`D`t`v`c` I` Av`t`q`v`i` K`v`q` e`v`t`O`i` Q`v`Z`v`i` g`t`Z`v` M`v`R`t`q` I`V`v` U`vej`tqW`
 c`v`I` K`v`i` m`i`½` G` `t`j`v`i` Z`z`v`v` K`t`i` t`K`v`t`b`v` t`K`v`t`b`v` u`g`v`v`q`-c`ô`Z` G`i` b`v`g` w`t`q`Q`b`
 ÔU`vej`tqW` u`l`w`f`ô` |

~vqx GB SuUKv uquQj t_ik bvkKZv Pijv bvi GB One Zviv tci Kxfite? hir ejv nq, NUBvPtu ev KvkZvj xqfite Zvt`i dtUvisew K NUBv`tj uQtb, Zintj Kvtiv ejvi uKQz_vtK bvl Avii h` Avgiv NUBvPtu, fimPtu ev KvkZvj xq e`vici tK `i mii`tg i vL Zintj GB Onei Dm ubtq gtb cke t_ik hvq| uKs` GB NUBv i ayvKvq bq, i vRkvx l PAMtg msNuUZ G i Kg AvKw`K NUBv Avtiv One ucug Avtj vq Qvcr nqtqQ|

GB mgq f`ke`vca RvgvqtZ Bmjvq Avnz Avtiv GKwU w`tbi ni Zvtji D`vni Y Ubv thtZ cvtj| tmw b XvKvi evBti tKv_vl tKv_vl mmsmZvi NUBv NUtj l i vRavxi cwi`w`z uQj ejtZ tmj cyj`v`v` f`vmeK| Zte mKvtji w`tK tKv`v tKv`v GvjvKv `yGKwU uquQj Ziv Kivi tPov Kti`uQj Rvgvqz`w`kietii tbZv`Kvgv` uKs` cyj`tki evavq Ziv uCzn`u hvq| GKgv` ugc`yji GKwU `v`b`w`kietii Kvgv` GKwU ugvbev`m fisPiz l Av`b`w`tg`z` mU`K` cto| cti NUBv`tj cyj`k Gtj l ugvbev`mU ZZ`q`y` cto hvq| A_P`u`v`P`v`bj` t`jv i vRavx`z ni Zvtj i mmsm NUBvri cyj`v`v`w`te GB d`u`R`u` mKvj t_ik Mfxi ivZ chs` Zvt`i etj`u`tb e`envi Kti`tQ| GB GKwUgv` NUBv Qvov miv`w`b i vRavxi cwi`w`z uQj kvsl| uKs` u`v`P`v`bj` t`jvi Leti i vRavxi mveR cwi`w`zi mWk cUz`dj b GB GKwUgv` d`u`R`i w`bivZ c`k`f`bi Kvi`y` e`v`nz nqtqQ|

evsj`v`tk` uquVqv Zvi me KvD`Avb nwi`tg tdtj`uQj m`e`Z mrvf`ti i vbv cuRv fev`atmi NUBvq| ubtm`p`tn GwU uQj Gt`tki meP`tq` gg`w`SK NUBv` t`jvi GKwU| uKs` GB f`qven NUBvri u`bDR Kivf`ti`R KitZ` u`l`tg msev`gva`g` w`tkl Kti` u`v`P`v`bj` t`jv` v`v`q`Z`k`j AvPiY` t`L`v`Z` t`k`v`P`b`x`q`f`ite e`_`c`n`t`q`Q| GKUv`v` miv`mwi m`c`P`v`ti`i gva`tg kZ kZ gvb`tj`i` miv`ex` git``ni` th` c`k`b`x` Zviv` t`k` l` w`k`l`v`m`x`i` t`P`v`Li` mvg`tb` Z`tj` a`ti`uQj` Zv` GK` K`v`q` m`y` g`v`b`u`m`K`Z`vi` cwi`P`q` uQj` bvl` tm`b` w`b` t`j`v`t`Z` uquVqv`i` AvM`m`x` l` u`bj`%` f`v`g`K`v` miv`se`w`i` K`Z`vi` M`h`Y`th`v`M` g`v`l`v` l` b`w`Z`K` g`v`b`D`t`K` Q`m`o`t`q` h`v`l` q`v`q` Zv` g`v`b`y`t`K` f`x`l`y`f`ite` c`x`ov` w`t`q`Q| fev`atmi NUBvq` n`Z`v`n`Z` n`l` q`v` n`Z`f`v`M` t`c`v`k`v`K`w`k`i` K`v`g`P` i` u`b`t`q` j`v`B`f` e`v`v`K`v`t`-`i` b`v`t`g` w`t`bi` ci` w`b` uquVqv`-K`v`g`P` i` A`k`aj` c`U`Z`t`h`v`M`Z`v` uQj` m`i`z` g`v`b`w`e`K` g`j`-`t`e`i`t`a`i` cwi`c`w`S`| t`K`v`t`b`v` t`K`v`t`b`v` uquVqv`-K`v`g`P`K` G`g`b`l` t`L`v` t`M`t`Q` w`e`a`Y`-` fev`u`l`i` a`y`sm`-`t`c`i` d`u`k` M`ij` t`q` t`f`Z`ti` X`y`k` t`m`L`v`b` t_ik` miv`mwi` m`c`P`v`ti` t`h`z`| A_P` g`v`b`w`e`K` w`ech`f`qi` GB NUBvq` uquVqv`i` f`v`g`K`v` R`b`g`t`b` f`m`z` l` AvZ`t`i` w`ef`m`l` K`v` Q`m`o`t`q`Q` etj` g`t`b` K`t`i`b` g`b`-`E`j`e`-`i`v`| Zviv` i`v`b`v` cuRv` fev`atmi NUBvq` w`ef`v`b`w`e`u`quVqv` g`Z`t``ni` b`M`e`c`l`k`b`t`K` A`%`b`w`Z`K` D`t`j`L` K`t`i`b`| GB` c`h`t`i`Z` Zviv` Avt`g`w`i` Kvi` l` q`v`i` e`U`W` t`m`U`vi` U`B`b` U`l` q`v`i` b`v`B`b`-`B`t`j` t`f`t`b` `s`i` Y`K`v`t`j` i` f`q`ven` m`S`y`m`x` n`v`g`v`i` NUBvri` D`v`ni` Y` U`t`b` etj`b` l` B` NUBvq` c`u`P` n`v`R`v`i`i` t`e`w`k` t`j`v`K` g`v`iv` t`M`t`j` l` t`K`v`t`b`v` uquVqv` t`K`D` GKwU` j`v`k`l` t`f`L`ub`| e`v`-`t`e`K` uquVqv`i` `v`v`q`Z`j` j`v`k` c`l`k`f`bi` gva`tg` R`b`g`t`b` u`t`m`b`t`m`k`b`l` `Z`v`i` Kiv` bq, eis` g`v`b`w`e`K` w`ech`f` K`w`l`t`q` D`v`t`Z` m`o`z`e`-`v`c`b`v`q` m`n`v`q`Z`v` Kiv`:

tmvtnj i vbv tMBvi

u`b`R`-`^`c`U`Z`t`e` K` : mrvf`ti` atm` h`v`l` q`v` i`v`b`v` cuRv`i` g`v`ij` K` tmvtnj` i`v`b`v`t`K` AvR` t`i`v`e`e`v`i` w`e`t`K`t`j` t`e`b`v`t`c`ij` m`x`g`v`t`S`l` t_ik` t`M`B`v`i` K`t`i`t`Q` i`v`e`l` Z`u`K` X`v`K`v`q` u`b`t`q` Avm`v` n`t`q`Q`| i`v`t`e`i` t`M`t`q`-`v` w`ef`v`t`M`i` c`a`v`b` t`j` d`i`U`b`v`U` K`t`b`P` w`R`q`v`D`j` Avn`m`v`b` c`l`g` Avt`j`v` W`U`K`g`t`K` etj`b, Z`v`i` t`b`Z`i`Z`i` i`v`t`e`i` G`K`w`U` `j` AvR` t`e`j`v` u`z`b`U`v`i` w`t`K` t`m`v`t`n`j` t`K` t`e`b`v`t`c`ij` m`x`g`v`t`S`l` t_ik` t`M`B`v`i` K`t`i`t`Q`| t`n`ij` K`P`v`t`i` K`t`i` Z`u`K` X`v`K`v`q` u`b`t`q` Avm`v` n`t`q`Q`| `t`v`o`g`S`y` g`n`x`D`i`x`b` L`v`b` Avj`g`M`x`i`l` c`l`g` Avt`j`v` W`U`K`g`t`K` G` Z`t`-`i` m`Z`-`Z`v` u`b`w`Z` K`t`i`t`Q`b`| G`Q`v`ov`-`v`b`v`q` m`i`K`v`i` c`U`Z`g`S`y` R`v`v`v`x`i` K`w`e`i` b`v`b`K` AvR` t`e`j`v` t`m`v`q` u`z`b`U`v`i` w`t`K` mrvf`ti` f`e`b`a`t`m`i` D`x`v`i` Z`r`c`i`Z`v`i` t`K`-`i`t`q` u`b`q`S`y`K`t`q`i` g`v`b`t`K` i`v`b`v`t`K` t`M`B`v`i`i` t`N`v`l` Y`v` t`b`| t`m`L`v`t`b` u`z`w`b` etj`b, u`t`h` g`v`b`y`i`f`c`x` c`i`u`G`L`v`t`b` g`i`Y`d`u` `Z`v`i` K`t`i`u`Q`j,` t`k` t`Q`to` c`y`j`v`t`b`v`i` mgq` Z`v`t`K` t`e`b`v`t`c`ij` m`x`g`v`t`S`l` t_ik` t`M`B`v`i` Kiv` n`t`q`Q`| G` t`N`v`l` Y`v`i` c`i` NUBv`-`t`j` D`c`w`-`Z` D`x`v`i` K`v`g`P` R`b`Z`v` u`d`c`w`m` d`u`w`m`l` etj` t`-`M`v`b` w`t`Z`-`v`t`K`b`|



mrvf`ti` atm`cov` i`v`b`v` cuRv`i` g`v`ij` K` tmvtnj` i`v`b`v`t`K` t`e`b`v`t`c`ij` m`x`g`v`t`S`l` t`M`B`v`i`i` c`i` t`n`ij` K`P`v`t`i` X`v`K`v`q` u`b`t`q` Avm`v` nq

Ljybvq u`b`o`j` A`w`f`h`v`b`

i`v`b`v`t`K` a`i`t`Z` AvR` L`j`y`b`v`q` u`b`o`j` A`w`f`h`v`b` P`ij`v`q` i`v`e`-`c`y`j` t`k`i` G`K`w`U` `j`| t`e`j`v` t`m`v`q` 11`U`v`i` w`t`K` L`j`y`b`v` b`M`t`i`i` t`m`b`v`w`v`z`v` A`v`e`v`m`K` G`j`v`K`v`q` G` A`w`f`h`v`b` P`ij`v`t`b`v` n`q`| L`j`y`b`v`i` t`m`b`v`w`v`z`v`

_vbvi fvi c03 KgRZP (Iwm) Gm Gg Kviga4vgvb etj b, ivbv Ljvbaq cvvZK AvtQb Ggb tMvcb msev`i wfvEzZ i ve-cvj`tki GKuU `j Ljvbr bMtii tmvbrWvzv AvemK GjvKvi 8 baf matK R%aK tgv`bvi gvj`tki 139-G I 139-we baf emotZ AvfHvb Pvjvq| tcStb GK NEv IB `w emotZ AvfHvb Pvjvq tmvtnj ivbtK LjR cvl qv hvqvb|

febam

24 Gwcv egzevi mKvj tcStb bqUvi w`tk XvKvi A`#i mrvfvi bq Zjvi ivbv cRv atm ct0| GtZ AvR tejv mvt0 wZbUv chS1370 Rtbj jvk Dxvi Kiv ntqtQ| AvnZ ntqtQb mnmMaK tjvK| febatmi ciB ivbv cRvi gvj K I tcSi hgv xtMi hM# Avn0vqK tmvtnj ivbv cvjv tq hvb|

0U gvjv

XvKv tRjvi cvj k msvi nmeev ingvb c0g Avtjv WUKgtK etj b, tmvtnj ivbv veitx`0U gvjv AvtQ| 0U gvjv b ntqtQ febatmi cti| ivRavb Dbqb KZE`G GKU gvjv Kti0 BgviZ weagvjv AvBib Avi AciuU ntqtQ Aetnj vRvbZ gZyi AvfthvM| mrvvi _vbvi cvj k ev`x ntq G gvjv wU`vqi Kti0| GQrov ivbv veitx` Avi tKvrbv gvjv tbB| _vbvi cvj`tki Kv0 Zui gvjv tKvrbv tiKW`P tbB| cvj k mF Rvbaq, 2008 mvtj ivbv cRvi Af`sti hgv xtMi tbZv MvRv Ave`jvn Ljbi NUbvq Avmng w0tj b ivbv| Zte Z`stfi ci cvj k AvfthvMcl` t`tk ivbv bvg ev`t`q| 2008 mvtj wfv tnvj `g I nZ`vi AvfthvM w0j Zui veitx`| mrvfvi gv`K e`emvq gbve w0j ZuiB Avk0q| wKQz b AvtM gvni gZt`n cvl qv hvq mrvfvi i GKU Rjvktq| avi Yv Kiv nq, wZub `BnZ`vi wKvvi|

Z` tctZ `Rb AvUK

ivbv cRvi gvjv K tmvtnj ivbtK tMBvti Z` tRvMtoiv j`#` wRvMvev`i Rb` Zvi `x wgz0n PviRbtK AvUK Kiv ntqtQ| MZ i`pevi gmbKMtA AvfHvb Pvjvq Zt`i AvUK Kiv nq| Zte cvj k etj0, tmvtnj ivbv PivPzVv fivB Rvni0xi I Zvi `x gvbaeteMgtK wRvMvev`i Rb` cvj k tndvRtZ Avbv ntqtQ| Rvni0xi cwi evfii c`#| t`tk `ve Kiv nq, MZ egzevi febatmi ci Rvni0xi `x gvbaetK w0tq gmbKMtAi nvi ivgctji i wSUKv GjvKvq Kji emotZ hvb| MZ ep`uZevv mrvvi _vbvi cvj k tmLvb t`tk wZb gvftmi wki mn gvbael Zui AvZ0q Avt0vqvi`tk AvUK Kti| Gi ci i`pevi Rvni0xi`tk AvUK Kiv nq|

cwiewi K BvZnm

`B tevb I GK fivBtqi gta` tmvtnj ivbv w0Zxq| `vbxq Aaip`nvB`dj beg tkYr chS1covtkvbr Ktib wZub| Zui ever gmbKMtAi wvzvBtii Rqg0tci Ave`jv Lvtj K| wZub GK mgq mrvfvi ga`covq GKU fiov emotZ t`tk t0vri Kti tZj wev KiiZb| GLb wZub mrvfvi abvX`eiv`st`i GKRB| tmvtnj ivbv Rvgi e`emv bvtg wvixn gvbtj Rvg| `Lj Ktib| mrvvi emv`v`0i BRviv w0tq ctjv GjvKvq w0qSv c0Z0v Ktib ivbv| AtbtKB AvfthvM Kti0b, ivbv Rvg t`l qvi K`v etj Zt`i Kv0 t`tk UvKv w0tq Rvg t`bvb|

cwievfii m`c`

mrvvi tcSimfv mF Rvbtqt0, ivbv cRvi w0qPv iia`nq 2007 mvtj | Gi AvtM RvqMvU w0j cwi Z`3| t0tbi w`tk w0j Rjvq| feb w0qPv Kivi AvtM evjvtdtj fivU Kiv nq| ivbv cRvi D0vab nq 2010 mvtj | AvfthvM itqt0, fetbi t0tbi Ask `Lj Kti0tj b ivbv| mrvvi cwitek Dbqb cwit`i mnmfvicvZ iwdKjv Bmjvq tgvj` c0g AvtjvK etj b, ivbv cRvi t0tbi Ask mKwi Ljv wntmteB t`t0b wZub| hvi bvg w0j mvaevj Lvj | tmiU `Lj Kti feb w0qPv Ktib ivbv|

gvj` Rstqi m1/2 mL`

ivbv cRvi gvjv K tmvtnj ivbv m1/2 tKvrbv m`uK`tbB MYgva`tg G e`3e` w`tqt0b mrvfvi mism` Zvj`K`vi tZwv`Rs gvj`| wK`S`mrvvi Avl qvq`j`M I Gi mntvMx msMVtbi GKwaK tbZv Rvbtqt0b, gvj` Rstqi c`#| ni Zjv weviva w0j I mgvtek ivbv tbZtZB ntZv| ivbv cRv atm covi w`b| w0tj i c0jZ Pjv0j | G Qrov `vaxbZv w`em, weRq w`em, C`mn me atbi Drmte tmvtnj ivbv thme tcv`vi Qvictq Uvbtqt0b, Zvi me`tjvZB gvj` Rstqi Qve eo Kti t`l qv ntqtQ| G atbi tcv`vi GLt0v mrvfvi itqtQ| Zte ivbv cRv atm covi ci ivbv mSvym evvbx AtbK tcv`vi Ztj t0tj0 etj Rvbr tM0|

`vbxq Avl qvq`j`Mi GKwaK tbZv Rvrbv, ivbtK t0tbi hgv xtMi hM# Avn0vqK Ktib gvj` Rs| GLb febatmi ci hLb tmvtnj ivbtK tMBvti Zxe`ve Dv0tQ, ZLtbv ivbtK Avk0-c0k0 w`t`0b gvj` Rs| XvKv tRjv Avl qvq`j`xtMi mnmfvicvZ Avkvi vD Dv0b Lvb etj b, ivbv tKvrbv ivRbWZve`bb| K`vWri Ges mism` gvj` Rstqi t`ni`#| wntmte KvR Ktib| mrvv`Y mvmst`i m1/2`v`Kb ivbv| wZub AvfthvM Ktib, gvj` Rs UvKvi wevgtq Avl qvq`j`M I Gi AvzmsMVtbi wevfbecv0q c`wev Ktib| ivbv Kv0I c`wev Kti0b| (c0g Avtjv, c0k : 28 Gwcv, 2013)|

ivbv cuRvi gvij K tmvtnj ivbvK tebvtcvj t_#K tMBvi Kti i`vtei XvKvq
ubtq Avmvi tmB `k` miuvni m=cPvtii mshvM tUvj wfkabi c`q hviv
t`#L#Qb Zvt` i wbdq GLtbr gtb _vKvi K_v|`ekvL gvtmi Li ZB tmB coSi
we#Ktj tnvj Kpvi t_#K i`vtei `Rb `kvb m`m`hLb gvSvni D`PZvi,
bv`ybyy tmvtnj ivbvK `cvtk ati bwtq AvbuQtj b miz` `k`Uv uQj
iuvZgZ uclvj `Avi Kia` n`tj l `via` Dc`fVM| Avgvt` i tUvj wfkab` tji
miuvni m=cPvtii Kvity i ve m`m`ti eMj`vev Ae`iq ivbvi AmvqZ;
t`#L l Lj bvtqK cwiYZ nl qv GB gvbyuU t`kevmK wKQzngtqi Rb` n`tj l
tmw`b we#bv` b hvMtcuQj | AtbK AvtM umGbGb tUvj wfkab` j`vBf eWVKvt`=
t`Lv gvMK` dZej vi l. tR um=umbtK tMBvti i Rb` Zvi Mvni tcQtb avl qv
Kiv cvj k Kvi Avi gv`vi l ci w`tq QdU hvl qv tnvj Kpvtii `#k`i Qve evi
evi gtb AvmUQj ZLb| miz`, uUw P`vtbtj i gva`tg GfvteB GKB m`# Z`
l NUbvi gRv`vi wgtktj `Zwi nq Z`we#bv` b| A_P GB mvaviY gvtbi
tj vKUB gvT Kiv`b AvtM Gt`kK Ggb GK fqvem ev`bZv mtgZ wekvmvi
weCvni Z tPvtLi mvgtb `w Kvi`tg w`tqQj Zvt`#Ll wekvm niv`Qj bv|

wKs`cUg Avtj vi GB cUz`te` bU cto we#bv` b tZv`#i _vK eis Zt`_i
wekvmthvM Zvi NuUzB tPvtL cfoQtQ| we#Ktj ivbvK XvKvq ubtq Avmvi `k`
hviv t`#L#Qb Zviv tUvj wfkab` t`#L Pj wZ LeiUj th Mfvi Zv Abye KtiQtQb
Zvt` i KvQ GB cUz`te` b cvb`m j`vMz cvtj | wKs` AvyUvbx cUz`te` b
wntmte GtZ thme Z`_ t`qv nqtQ tm` t`j vK MYgva`tgi cwi fvlvq ejv hvq
Libel ev Kvb tctZ tkvbr` Re Avi kufi KvbvNj`vi dj | thgb, febatmi
ci ivbvi AvnZ Ae`iq cvij`tg hvl qv, Zvi weia`x AZvtZi gvqv i l` gL`tb
RvOZ _vKvi Awf`thvM, cwi evni K BvZnm, cwi evtji m=c`_ ivbvi KvQ
gvj` Rstqi Avl qvqv xMmi c` wepL BZ`v | cUz`te`#Ki Gme`wei
mg`#b wbfP`thvM` m`#i D`tj l ev cUwYZ` wj`j` wQj bv| cUz`te` bU cto th
Kvity gtb n`Z cvti NUbvi mshvM ubtq Gj vKvevni t`qv e³e` hvPvB-evQvB
bv Kti cUz`te` K tm` t`jv ueu D`xZ KtiQtQb| Gi gva`tg wZvb GK aitbi
otmbtmkvbU` Zwi i tPov KtiQtQb| iaycUg Avtj v cwi KvB bq, ivbvCuRv
atmi NUbvq Avgvt` i cT`-cwi Kv` t`jv thme otK`Qv-KvnbvU cKwKZ nqtQ
Zvi tevki fVMB uQj weL`vZ gvMK` Jcb`vnmK big`vb tgbj`vti i gZv hvK
ejv thtZ cvti `factoid` Avi cwi Kv iKuUz evovtZ msev` cT`_ t`jv t`vi
Gme otK`QvKvnbvU tQtctQ|

Aa`vq : mvZ

mT : _iaZ;l tkqtvea

eZgvb kZtK wek| tek wKQz AfZce^o cwieZB cU`q| KitQ| Gme
civve` tji Kvity msev` gva`tgi DEtivEi weKvtk eo aitbi mshvM mvgtb
GtmQ; Zte GB mshvM niZ ati GtmQ AtbKvBk tQvU-eo mgm`vl |
Avmtj Zt`_i Rb` wek`v`cv Pm`v teto hvevi Kvity `Zwi nqtQ Gme
mshvM| cRvMz wntmte gvby Zvi wbtRi tetP`_vKvi m`tebv g`vqg Kivi
civkvwk fvel`tZ GB wek| l Zvi evni`vt` i Rreb ubtq Zvi` wdsli tkl
tbB| wek| i vRbmZ gvby i mvgtb AvR fmvZKi P`vtj A` ubtq nvmRi nqtQ|
Zte ivR%wZK gZcv`R` AemvB KZ`g`j-K Kvvtgvmgr GLb Avi
MhY`thvM` Dcvq wntmte we#vPZ bq| APjve`v wimtb AskMhYg`j-K th
weKv MYZwSK` cU`qv l msj`vti cUqvRb mivK Z`_ Ovov Zv-l m`e bq|
tUKmB fvel`tZi Avl Zvq`"O` Rietbi Rb` thLvB miv` wqvi gvby
j`ovB KitQ, tmLvB msev` gva`tgi wekl Kti tm` t`jvi tRivtjv figKv
itqtQ hv` i Avgiv AvtRv tcn` etj Awf`vZ Kvi | tnvK Zviv uclU A`ev
eWkv`= mivew KZvi Ask, Z`mc hZ`qY chS`l Z`_ mieivKvix wntmte
Zviv tCvni HwZn`MZ figKv cvj b KitQ|

th tKvBv msev` B Kvity bv Kvity KvQ Aek`B`_ iaZ`en| Zte ZvtK
cKZB msev` nq DVtZ nq| tnvK Zv` Nvbi Lei, i vRbmZi Lei, ev`ti i
Lei, tkvievRvti i Lei, A`_BvZ wKsev Dbqtbi Lei; GgbmK wevfbv`aitbi
msev` ewf`Z (Non-news) ev`bZvi cUz`te` b l (thgb Z`_ , wK`qV, BvZnm

uKsev thvMthvMi Ab'vb' kvLv) msev' intmte cöZvbaZi Ki tZ ci fi | Zte, m'avi Yfite, i tZi mePrti GKuL msev' i cfi ve Avgiv intme Kwi thvL AZ' si KvRi fi te cvItKi tKv'bv br tKv'bv AwMni migtb GK ai tbi Ri ai evi Zv utq nni Ri nq | tmB msev' i cvVcöZvuv nTz nq D t'ERbm Avix, t'fZi t'fZi Avgv' i A' MZ ZvM' t' q, P'v'j A' t'Qto, Avgv' i P'gvKZ A' ev m'PwKZ Kti; uKS' GmeB ubfP' Kti IB Ri ai evi Zvi m'c³ Zv I ZvM' i I ci | GKuL fiv'jv msev' I P'v'j' Ki t'Kv'bv Leti i g'Zv Avgv' i g'v'S GKB g'v'i ZieZv Gtb w' tZ ci fi | Zte tmUv ubfP' Ki tQ Zvi A'sb'v'Z ZvM' -emv'Z A' t' P' I ci | uKS' mev'KQz fi t'K' t' Av'Q gj-Z GKuL w' l'qi ev' b' i azj |

hiv' t'Kv'bv msev' m'Z' i t'Kv'bv GKuL m'WK' t' f'c LjR' cvl qv' br hvq, hiv' cKZ' ev' b'Zvq t'Kv'bv NvUvZ' v'K A' ev t'Kv'bv e'v'Lv' hiv' cvItKi Av' M' t'K Zvi m' t' h' v' br Kti Zvntj msev' m' e' nq' b' | GKRb cvVK Zvi Aw'fAZvi Av'j' v' w' i' q' uKsev' ubi' si' e'v'Lv' q' th t'Kv'bv msev' NUBvi cKZ' m'Z' t'K m'v'v' t'Y LjR' teovq' | ZvB' th NUBvq' duk' Av'Q uKsev' NUBvi cöZte' t' b' duk' Av'Q Zv cvVK m'v'v'v' b'v'KP Kti t' q' | Kvi Y G' t'j' v' m'v'v'v' KZvi M'h Y' thv' M' Zv' t'K b' o' Kti | cvVK ev' k' f' Ki g' t' b' v' i' t' b' i' Rb' GKRb m'v'v'v' K' h' v' B' c' w' i' t' e' k' b' K' i' a' b' br t' K' b' m' e' v' K' Q' z' c' t' i' | cvVK ev' k' R' Zvi Kv'Q t' t' K' L' v' m' L' e' i' B' Av' kv' K' ti :

Many people read newspapers or watch television news as a form of entertainment—the feelings involved can vary from vicarious joy to *schadenfreude*, from nail-biting suspense to mildly satisfied curiosity—but however strong is any pleasure-seeking motive in readers or viewers, they still expect some reliability in the information presented to them. Thus, codes for journalists commonly require reporters to convey only material possessing certain of the attributes which help to ensure reliability. Reporters may be required to give the truth; to write accurately and objectively; to avoid distortion, selection or misrepresentation of the facts; to avoid bias and partiality; to refrain from conjecture or the passing off of opinion as fact. ²⁶

cöqk' B' cvItKi g' t' a' Av' v' c' P' v' i' Zv' q' Avgiv GKuL w' l' q' t' L' q' j' Kwi' th, m' v' q' m' R' K' ev' b' Zv' q' Zv' i' v' GKuL m' sev' t' t' K' A' t' b' K' U' v' Z' t' v' Z' v' i' t' e' Av' j' v' v' GKuL A' c' Z' v' i' K' t' i' e' t' m' | Avgiv R' v' b' NUBv' I Aw' f' A' Z' v' G' K' v' t' K' e' m' v' K' c' w' i' t' e' k' I' c' w' i' w' i' Z' i' g' v' a' t' g' O' K' e' w' (Frame) nq, A' v' e' i' A' b' w' t' K' m' v' e' v' i' K' i' v' u' b' t' R' i' v' B' G' B' NUBv' I Aw' f' A' Z' v' t' K' Q' t' K' t' d' t' j' b' | uKs' c' ö' q' v' K' i' t' Y' i' t' q' t' m' i' s' e' v' i' K' i' v' B' v' t' K' b' G' L' v' t' b' m' v' q' A' e' v' q' | Z' v' i' v' c' ö' B' ev' b' Z' v' i' th Z' m' s' t' K' Z' I' D' c' v' E' t' c' t' q' v' t' K' b' Z' v' i' c' ö' Z' t' K' B' t' m' U' v' w' f' b' e' v' i' t' e' D' c' v' c' t' b' i' t' P' o' v' K' i' t' e' b' t' m' U' v' B' t' f' w' e' k' | d' t' j' e' v' v' t' f' t' w' e' l' q' e' t' i' A' g' q' Z' v' K' g' t' e' w' k' c' v' t' e' h' v' q' | uKs' G' K' u' L' m' s' e' v' t' K' Q' t' K' t' d' j' t' Z' w' t' q' G' K' R' b' m' i' s' e' v' i' t' K' i'

e' v' v' M' Z' D' t' i' k' h' w' Z' v' t' Z' O' v' q' v' t' d' t' j' Z' v' n' t' j' c' ö' k' Z' NUBv' Z' t' j' a' i' v' i' t' q' t' i' e' o' a' i' t' b' i' d' u' k' t' t' k' h' v' q' | G' g' b' B' G' K' u' L' m' s' e' v' Z' z' b' v' g' j' - K' m' e' P' r' t' i' i' R' b' w' Z' b' u' c' w' i' L' k' v' t' t' k' c' i' c' i' G' L' v' t' b' Z' t' j' a' i' v' n' t' j' v' :

m' t' o' Q' q' m' R' v' i' t' K' u' L' U' v' K' i' q' 11 c' ö' k' i' A' b' t' g' v' b' w' t' q' t' Q' G' K' t' b' K' : w' e' y' L' v' t' Z' c' v' e' c' k' t' i' i' t' m' c' b' A' b' t' g' v' b' : w' e' y' D' r' c' v' t' b' i' t' P' t' q' m' A' v' j' b' j' w' b' b' u' b' g' e' Y' t' e' n' k' A' v' M' h'

A' v' v' i' Z' K' m' i' t' c' i' U' v' L' w' e' y' D' r' c' v' t' b' m' v' z' b' r' G' t' j' I' w' e' y' m' i' e' i' v' n' I' w' e' z' i' t' y' G' t' K' i' c' i' G' K' c' ö' k' i' A' v' m' t' Q' | G' i' a' v' i' e' m' n' K' Z' v' q' w' e' y' w' e' z' i' t' y' A' v' i' l' w' b' b' z' y' c' ö' k' t' i' i' A' b' t' g' v' b' t' q' v' n' t' q' t' Q' | b' v' k' b' j' c' v' l' q' v' i' U' v' Y' u' g' k' b' t' b' U' l' q' v' k' t' W' i' f' j' c' t' g' U' I' 132 t' K' w' f' w' w' t' b' U' l' q' v' k' q' W' i' f' j' c' t' g' U' k' i' l' R' b' c' ö' k' t' i' e' q' n' t' e' 3' n' v' R' v' i' 414 t' K' u' L' U' v' K' v' | G' i' e' v' B' t' i' w' e' y' L' v' t' Z' i' A' v' i' l' w' Z' b' u' L' c' ö' k' i' A' b' t' g' v' b' t' q' v' n' t' q' t' Q' | w' e' y' L' v' t' Z' i' c' v' e' c' k' t' i' t' g' v' U' e' i' v' i' t' q' v' n' t' q' t' Q' 5' n' v' R' v' i' 297 t' K' u' L' U' v' K' v' | K' i' v' i' t' m' v' c' b' i' q' Z' v' i' g' t' a' B' R' v' Z' i' q' A' v' v' i' Z' K' c' w' i' l' t' i' w' e' b' e' n' K' u' g' u' L' (G' K' t' b' K') M' Z' K' v' j' G' m' e' c' ö' k' t' i' i' A' b' t' g' v' b' t' q' | i' v' R' a' v' b' i' G' b' B' i' m' m' t' a' j' b' K' t' j' c' a' v' b' g' s' t' t' K' L' n' v' m' b' v' i' m' f' v' c' u' z' i' Z' j' G' K' t' b' K' m' f' v' A' b' t' g' v' Z' n' q' | G' t' Z' 1' n' v' R' v' i' 262 t' K' u' L' U' v' K' v' e' q' m' i' t' c' t' q' m' i' Z' i' L' c' ö' k' i' A' b' t' g' v' b' K' i' v' i' K' v' v' u' j' | uKs' t' K' v' t' b' v' c' e' f' v' i' Y' v' O' v' o' v' B' w' e' y' L' v' t' Z' i' c' v' e' c' k' i' D' c' v' c' b' K' i' v' n' q' | c' e' f' v' i' Y' v' O' v' o' v' G' Z' t' e' n' k' D' b' a' b' c' ö' k' i' G' K' m' t' A' b' t' g' v' b' t' q' v' i' b' v' i' t' b' B' e' t' j' c' w' i' K' i' b' v' K' u' g' k' t' b' i' K' g' R' Z' v' v' R' v' m' t' q' t' Q' b' |

m' v' c' ö' z' K' K' v' t' j' w' e' y' L' v' t' Z' t' b' q' v' c' ö' q' c' ö' Z' u' L' c' ö' k' i' B' v' v' i' Z' i' A' v' f' t' h' v' M' i' t' q' t' Q' | c' w' i' K' i' b' v' g' s' y' v' j' t' q' i' ev' b' v' q' b' c' w' i' e' x' t' y' I' g' j' v' q' b' w' e' f' i' t' M' i' (A' v' B' G' g' B' w' w') K' g' R' Z' v' i' c' h' t' e' t' y' D' t' v' A' v' m' t' Q' G' t' K' i' c' i' G' K' v' v' i' Z' i' Z' v' | G' K' t' b' K' m' n' h' v' h' K' Z' e' t' q' i' A' b' t' g' v' b' O' v' o' v' B' w' e' v' f' b' e' A' t' h' s' v' K' m' v' e' a' v' w' t' q' w' e' v' f' b' e' t' K' v' c' u' b' i' m' t' t' P' v' K' i' t' Q' ev' b' v' q' b' K' v' i' m' s' v' | G' A' e' v' q' A' b' t' g' v' b' c' v' l' q' v' i' A' v' t' M' B' G' m' e' c' ö' k' i' t' m' v' c' b' i' v' L' v' n' t' q' t' Q' | t' K' v' t' b' v' Z' v' t' m' v' c' b' K' i' t' Z' t' b' u' L' K' O' v' o' v' B' G' m' e' c' ö' k' i' A' b' t' g' v' b' t' q' v' n' t' q' t' Q' u' k' - b' v' R' v' t' Z' P' v' B' t' j' c' w' i' K' i' b' v' m' i' P' e' f' B' a' v' k' u' d' K' j' B' m' j' v' g' R' v' b' i' b' , G' m' e' c' ö' k' i' ev' b' v' q' t' b' w' e' v' f' b' e' D' b' a' b' m' s' v' A' v' q' b' K' i' t' e' | G' A' e' v' q' v' Z' v' t' i' P' v' v' w' e' t' e' P' b' v' K' t' i' t' z' G' m' e' c' ö' k' i' A' b' t' g' v' b' K' i' v' n' t' q' t' Q' |

G' m' e' c' ö' k' i' ev' b' v' q' t' b' t' K' v' t' b' v' v' v' i' Z' i' A' v' k' v' v' t' b' B' e' t' j' I' w' Z' v' b' R' i' v' b' v' | M' Z' K' v' j' G' K' t' b' K' e' v' t' K' t' g' v' U' 11 u' L' c' ö' k' i' i' A' b' t' g' v' b' t' q' v' n' q' | G' m' e' c' ö' k' i' ev' b' v' q' t' b' t' g' v' U' e' q' n' t' e' c' ö' q' 6' n' v' R' v' i' 459 t' K' u' L' U' v' K' v' | G' i' g' t' a' m' i' K' w' i' Z' n' e' t' j' i' 2' n' v' R' v' i' 226 t' K' u' L' G' e' s' c' ö' k' i' m' i' v' h' 4' n' v' R' v' i' 233 t' K' u' L'

UvKv| tKv|bv tbnUk QvovB we`y LfZi AvctMwkb Ae
 Ljybv 150 tgmvl qvU wcnks cvl qvi cãu Uy225 tgmvl qvU
 mvBtKj cvl qvi cãu cKfíi Abjgr b`f`qv nqtQ|
 cKfíi w`ev`evqb ntj me`yZi Drcr`b evote 75 tgmvl qvU|
 GtZ e`q nte 833 tKmU 43 jvL UvKv| Gi gta`mi Kvti i
 wBR`^Znmej t`fK 25 tKmU UvKv e`q Kiv nte| emK 808
 tKmU UvKv cvl qv hrte Gkrq Dbqb e`vsk t`fK| Kbfvimb
 Ae 150 tgmvl qvU mtj U M`im UvievBb cvl qvi cãu Uy
 225 tgmvl qvU K`vBU mvBtKj cvl qvi cãu cKfíi e`q nte
 707 tKmU 53 jvL UvKv| Gi gta`51 tKmU UvKv mi Kvti i
 wBR`^Znmej t`fK e`q Kiv nte| Kbfvimb Ae 70
 tgmvl qvU kmvRvRvi M`im UvievBb cvl qvi cãu Uy150
 tgmvl qvU K`vBU mvBtKj cvl qvi cãu cKfíi e`q nte 342
 tKmU UvKv|

Gw`fK we`y mieivn e`e`vi Dbqtb`B cKfíi
 Abjgr eivl`f`qv nqtQ 3 nrvii 414 tKmU UvKv| b`vkbvj
 cvl qvi UYugkb tbnU qvK`fWfj cTgU cKfíi 2 nrvii
 426 tKmU UvKv eivl`f`qv nqtQ| G cKfíi
 mi Kvti i wBR`^Znmej t`fK 659 tKmU UvKv e`q Kiv nte|
 132 tKw`f WvU tbnU qvK`fWfj cTgU cR± Bb B`v÷b`
 wvRl b kvl`K cKfíi e`q Kiv nte 986 tKmU 84 jvL UvKv|
 mi Kvti i wBR`^Znmej t`fK A`fqb Kite 294 tKmU UvKv|
 Avi`et`wK mrvqZv cvl qv hrte 693 tKmU 23 jvL UvKv|
 we`y Drcr`b bv emotq wkvj eivl`w`fK mAvj b jvBb
 wbg`Yi ths`KZv wbtq cKvZj`Qb msikv`v| G Af`wecj
 cvl qv j`vU nZ cvf`i etj`l Avk`v i`qtQ| Gme cKfí
 Abjgr`fb ivR`wZK Pic`wJ etj`l Rwb`fQb cvl Kí`v
 Kugk`bi KgR`Zf`v|

msikv` m`f Rvbn hvq, tgv`Kvtj i tkli`w`fK Gtm
 RvXq wbe`Pb`K mgtb`tiL e`vck nvti mAvj b jvBb
 wbg`Yi cvl Kí`v Kí`Q mi Kvi| GB j`f` 24 nrvii
 wKtj wgvU jvBb %Zw`iz AvUw cKfí Pjgvb i`qtQ| Gi
 evBti Avil`45 nrvii wKtj wgvU we`y mAvj b jvBb
 wbg`Y GKw cKfí Abjgr b`f`qv nqtQ| emil`R Dbqb
 Kgr`Pewfz (Gw`fK) G cKfí eivl`i`qv nqtQj 5 nrvii
 413 tKmU 35 jvL UvKv| ivR`wZK D`f`k`Gme cKfí i
 Abjgr`b`f`qv nqtQ wK bv RvbtZ PvBtj cvl Kí`v mivPe
 etj`b, th mi Kvi B`f`lqZv`vK, Zv`i` ivR`wZK c`Zk`Z
 `vKteB| ivR`wZK wetePbvq tbqv cKfí t`fK h`v`RbMY
 mg`l`cvq, Zte`f`vli`wKQv`B| MZKj Abjgr`b cvl qv
 Ab`cKfí`jv`n`Q, f`v`v`b`c`R± Ae nrvii tgv`v`
 `v`bk mvtqY A`vU tUK`v`v`R B`v`f`v`w`v`l, crebr`fRj vi
 Ck`f`x`DctRj vi`f`Kv`i`c`j`f`K mrov SvDv`qv Ges`b`v`v`f`i
 fRj vi`w`Z`K`v`i`M`v`i`c`j`h`v`l`c`v`b`xi`evg`Zxi`msi`f`v`

cKfí, K`vMvg`fRj vi`w`Pj`gv`i`l`Dij`c`j`DctRj`vaxb`ei`wMi
 nvU`l`w`Pj`gv`i`e`i`epc`y`b`f`i`wib`Zxi`fvOb`f`f`K`i`f`v`
 cKfí, wemK`w`f`cvK,`imivRMA`Ges`wemK`bMix`f`ie
 cKfí | (w`bK`Avv`i`f`k, cKk`6`td`e`v`v`i, 2013)|

একনেকে বিদ্যুতের ৫টিসহ ১১ প্রকল্প অনুমোদন

স্থপাত্র রিপোর্ট

বিদ্যুতের ৫টিসহ মোট ১১ প্রকল্প অনুমোদন
 করেছে জাতীয় অর্থনৈতিক পরিষদের নির্বাহী
 কমিটি (একনেক)। যাতে ব্যয় ধরা হয়েছে ৬
 হাজার ৩৫৯ কোটি টাকা। শেহেরাঙ্গা
 নগরের এনইসি সন্মেলন কক্ষে অনুষ্ঠিত
 একনেক সভায় মঙ্গলবার প্রকল্পগুলো
 অনুমোদন করা হয়। প্রধানমন্ত্রী ও এরনেক
 চেয়ারপারসন শেখ হাসিনা সভায় সভাপতিত্ব
 করেন। এ সময় অর্থমন্ত্রী এএমএ মুহিত,
 পরিকল্পনামন্ত্রী এএফ আলমাসুদ, কৃষিমন্ত্রী
 মতিয়া চৌধুরীসহ একনেকে অন্য সদস্যবন্দ,
 সংশ্লিষ্ট মন্ত্রী, প্রধানমন্ত্রীর উপদেষ্টা, সংশ্লিষ্ট
 উর্ধ্বতন কর্মকর্তারা সভায় উপস্থিত ছিলেন।
 সভা শেষে পরিকল্পনা বিভাগের সচিব ডুইয়া
 শফিকুল ইসলাম অনুমোদিত প্রকল্পগুলোর
 বিস্তারিত দিক নিয়ে সাংবাদিকদের ব্রিফ করেন।
 বিদ্যুৎ খাতের ৫ প্রকল্পে ব্যয়বাহ্যে মোট ব্যয়
 ধরা হয়েছে পাঁচ হাজার ২৯৮ কোটি টাকা।
 এর মধ্যে ত্রিটি প্রকল্প উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি এবং
 বাকি দুটি প্রকল্প বিদ্যুতের সৃষ্টি ও নির্ভরযোগ্যতা
 সম্বলান ও সরবরাহ নিশ্চিত করার লক্ষ্যে
 প্রণীত হয়েছে। এসব প্রকল্প ব্যয়বাহ্যে
 জাইকা, এডিবি, আইডিবি ও ইউরোপিয়ান
 ইনভেস্টমেন্ট ব্যাংকের কাছ থেকে চার
 হাজার ২৩৩ কোটি টাকা পাওয়া যাবে।
 বাদবাকি এক হাজার ৬৫ কোটি টাকা
 সরকারের নিজস্ব তহবিল থেকে মেটানো
 হবে। বিদ্যুৎ খাতের প্রকল্পগুলো হচ্ছে,
 আপগ্রেডেশন অব খুলনা ১৫০ মেগাওয়াট
 পিকিং পাওয়ার প্রকল্প টু ২২৫ মেগাওয়াট
 সাইকেল পাওয়ার প্রকল্প প্রকল্প, ১৩২ কেজি
 গ্রিড নেটওয়ার্ক ডেভেলপমেন্ট প্রকল্প ইন
 ইস্টার্ন রিজিওন রয়েছে বনভারসন অব ১৫০
 মেগাওয়াট সিলেট গ্যাস টারবাইন পাওয়ার
 প্রকল্প টু ২২৫ মেগাওয়াট কম্বাইন্ড সাইকেল
 পাওয়ার প্রকল্প ও বনভারসন অব ৭০
 মেগাওয়াট শাহজিবাজার গ্যাস টারবাইন
 পাওয়ার প্রকল্প টু ১৫০ মেগাওয়াট কম্বাইন্ড
 সাইকেল পাওয়ার প্রকল্প প্রকল্প।

(nemimAviGd) bvtgi Ab GKU Znetj vZiv A_ tQ/ 2008 mtj h'ivR' miKvi GB Znetj cŃq 10 tKwU Wjvi Ab 'b w' tŃqQj | Zvici t_ tK Pvi eŃti At_ wj qv, f'WbgvK' Bim, mB'Wb, mB'Rvij vU I BDGMGBW t_ tK Abyv GtmtQ gvl 9 tKwU Wjvti gtZv/ Avgiv thgbuU Avkv KtiWjvg ev' te tmfite vZv' i m'ov cvl qv h'iqub/ eis ejv thZ cvti, m'gMk cviw' wZ t_ tL vZv' i gta' GKaiti Av' vnbZv 'Zwi ntqtQ/ ^OZvi mt½ AM'wKvi wba' Y Kti cK' ev' v'q' tbi gva' t'g GB Av' vnbZv t_ Kitz br cvitj f'iel tZ Znej cvl qv Kw' b nte etj I wZub gZ cK'ik Ktib/ D'tjL Kiv thZ cvti, GB ZnejwU t' Lvtkvb Kti wek' vsK/ evs' v' k miKviti wbtqMKZ. GKwU e' e' v' c' b'v KZ' e' t' cK' Ab' t' q' v' b Kti cv' v' t' j wek' vsK t' m' B cK' t' i Ab' t' k' t' j A_ 'Ovo Kti v' t' k/

D'q' b m' n' t' h' w' m' t' i m' t' R' v' b' t' M' t' Q, evs' v' t' k Zvi w' b' R' ^ Znej KZUv ^O I Kiv' R' i fite e' enri Kitz cvti Zv ch' f' e' t' Y Kitz R' w' z' m' n' m' D' b' z' t' k, t' j' v/ evs' v' t' k m' d' j I Kiv' R' i fite G Znej e' e' v' c' b'v Kitz cvitj abx t' k, t' j' v' evs' v' t' k' t' K A_ ' q' v' i' i' a' Kite/

G' w' el' t' q' Z_ ' m' s' l' h' K' v' t' j A' w' f' t' h' w' Kiv ntqtQ, t' h' m' e' cK' i' c' w' i' K' i' b' v' K' u' g' k' b' t_ t' k' e' v' t' q' v' n' t' Q' t' m' t' j' v' Avei w' L' o' w' k' w' t' q' R' j' e' v' q' y' Z' n' e' t' j' n' w' i' R' i' n' t' Q/ G' w' b' t' q' K' t' q' K' i' v' b' A' v' t' M' A' b' y' v' Z' G' K' u' U' t' m' i' g' b' v' t' i' A' v' t' j' v' P' b' v' n' q/ t' m' i' g' b' v' t' i' D' c' w' ' Z' w' t' j' b' c' j' w' K' g' ^ m' n' v' q' K' d' v' d' t' U' k' t' b' i' t' P' q' v' i' g' v' b' I' m' i' K' v' i' i' w' b' q' s' y' v' a' b' U' t' v' d' v' t' i' m' ^ m' ^ W' K' v' R' x' L' j' x' K' y' g' v' b' A' v' i' g' | wZub etj b, f'ij cK' i' cvl qv h'iq b'v/ R' j' e' v' q' y' m' a' c' w' K' Z' f'ij cK' i' w' b' t' q' A' v' m' v' i' A' v' n' e' v' b' R' w' b' t' q' wZub etj b, cK' i' t' i' e' i' v' t' i' t' q' t' i' ^OZvi t' K' v' b' A' f' i' e' t' b' | Z' t' e' e' v' e' v' q' b' I' c' w' i' e' x' t' i' y' w' K' Q' y' m' g' m' v' i' t' q' t' M' t' Q/ c' w' i' t' e' k' g' s' y' j' q' t' K' h_ v_ h_ t' j' v' i' k' w' b' t' q' v' t' M' i' g' v' a' t' g' GB' K' v' R' u' U' K' i' t' Z' n' t' e/

GbwRI t' i t' q' v' Znej t R' j' e' v' q' y' A' w' f' N' v' Z' K' g' v' t' b' v' i' R' t' b' m' i' K' v' i' i' w' b' q' s' y' v' a' b' U' t' v' d' v' t' i' t' k' G' b' w' R' i' t' i' i' l' w' K' Q' y' Z' n' e' j' t' q' v' n' t' Q/ Z' v' t' i' t' q' v' n' t' e' c' Ńq' 25 t' K' w' U' U' v' K' v/ G' U' v' g' j' Z' n' e' j' t' i' 1' k' Z' i' s' t' i' k' i' l' K' g/ GB Znej t' q' v' i' R' t' b' 113 w' G' b' w' R' i' e' v' O' v' B' K' i' v' n' t' q' t' Q/ Gi gta' 63 w' G' b' w' R' i' i' A_ ' o' v' o' i' i' a' n' t' q' t' Q/ GB e' v' O' v' B' c' Ńq' v' q' v' m' g' q' A' w' f' A' z' v' t' b' b' e' v' A' v' l' q' v' x' j' w' t' b' Z' v' t' i' A' v' Z' w' q' t' i' m' t' i' m' a' c' w' K' Z' G' b' w' R' i' t' i' K' v' R' t' q' v' n' t' Q' G' g' b' A' w' f' t' h' w' D' w' i' c' i' G' b' w' R' i' t' i' Z' n' e' j' t' q' v' i' w' e' l' q' w' c' j' w' K' g' ^ m' n' v' q' K' d' v' d' t' U' k' t' b' i' n' i' t' Z' w' t' q' t' q' v' n' t' q' t' Q/

eb I cwi tek gšy W. n'v' Q' v' b' g' v' n' g' y' B' t' e' d' v' k' t' k' e' t' j' t' Q' b, m' i' K' v' i' i' w' b' q' s' y' v' a' b' U' t' v' d' v' t' i' (w' m' m' u' J' G' d) A' Z' š' l' ^OZvi m' t' i' z' c' w' i' P' j' v' b' v' K' i' v' n' t' Q/ w' e' k' v' s' k' l' w' e' w' z' w' t' q' A' v' g' v' t' i'

K' v' t' R' i' c' k' s' m' v' K' t' i' t' Q/ G' u' U' c' w' i' P' j' v' i' t' q' t' i' e' b' I' c' w' i' t' e' k' g' s' y' j' q' A' t' b' K' U' v' G' K' t' b' t' K' i' g' t' Z' v' K' v' R' K' i' t' Q/ w' e' i' f' b' e' g' s' y' j' q' A' v' g' v' t' i' K' v' t' Q' c' k' i' c' v' l' v' q' | w' e' i' f' b' a' v' t' c' h' v' P' v' B' e' v' O' v' B' t' k' i' l' U' t' v' i' t' e' v' W' ^G' m' e' c' k' i' A' b' t' q' v' b' i' t' q' v' t' K' | U' t' v' i' GB' t' e' w' W' ^A' Z' š' l' k' v' s' k' u' j' x/ m' i' K' v' i' i' w' m' i' b' q' i' K' t' q' K' R' b' g' s' y, m' i' P' e' G' e' s' t' e' m' i' K' w' i' L' i' t' Z' i' e' w' s' t' i' m' g' s' t' q' G' u' U' M' w' Z/

cK' i' b' R' i' w' i' i' R' t' b' w' k' e' e' v' i' t' q' t' Q' G' c' Ńk' i' e' R' e' t' e' wZub etj b, t' h' m' e' g' s' y' j' q' c' k' i' c' v' q' Z' v' i' v' Z' v' i' w' k' K' t' i' | A' v' e' i' A' v' g' i' v' w' b' t' R' i' v' l' Z' v' i' w' k' K' w' i' | t' m' B' A' t' ^e' j' v' t' h' Z' c' v' t' i' R' j' e' v' q' y' Z' n' e' j' t' i' c' k' i' b' f' i' t' e' Z' v' i' w' k' K' i' v' n' q/ c' k' i' A' b' t' q' v' t' b' i' t' q' t' i' A' v' A' v' j' K' e' l' t' g' i' w' e' l' t' q' g' s' y' e' t' j' b, t' K' i' v' c' k' i' A' b' t' q' v' t' b' i' m' g' q' A' v' g' i' v' t' L' a' j' i' w' l' t' m' L' v' t' b' A' b' t' K' v' b' m' i' K' w' i' c' k' i' P' j' t' Q' w' k' b' v/ h' w' G' K' u' U' R' v' q' M' v' q' A' b' m' i' K' w' i' c' k' i' P' j' g' v' b' v' t' k' t' m' t' q' t' i' t' c' y' i' v' e' u' E. G' o' v' t' b' v' i' R' t' b' m' v' a' v' i' Y' Z' A' v' g' i' v' t' K' v' b' c' k' i' t' ^ B' b' v/ L' j' y' b' v' l' m' i' v' Z' q' i' v' A' A' t' j' m' i' K' v' i' i' A' b' c' k' i' P' j' g' v' b' v' K' i' v' c' Ńq' w' t' k' t' m' L' v' t' b' t' e' i' k' c' k' i' t' q' v' n' q' i' b' |

wZub etj b, m' g' v' M' k' f' i' t' e' A' v' g' i' v' D' c' K' j' x' q' G' j' v' K' v' t' K' i' a' z' i' w' w' Q/ v' Z' v' t' i' A_ ' q' b' m' a' c' t' K' ^ wZub etj b, G' U' v' e' v' o' t' Q/ m' i' g' t' b' A' v' i' l' e' v' o' t' e' | A' w' i' g' i' a' y' G' u' k' y' e' j' e, m' i' g' v' M' k' A_ ' O' v' o' t' o' i' w' n' m' i' t' e' A' v' g' i' v' K' g' c' v' B' i' b' | G' b' w' R' i' t' i' c' k' i' t' q' v' i' c' h' i' s' D' V' t' j' g' s' y' e' t' j' b, c' k' i' c' v' l' q' v' 10' G' b' w' R' i' i' m' t' i' z' A' v' l' q' v' x' j' w' t' b' Z' v' t' i' A' v' Z' w' q' t' i' m' s' i' k' w' Z' v' i' A' w' f' t' h' w' t' Z' v' i' v' n' t' q' t' Q/ h' w' A' v' Z' w' q' Z' v' i' c' k' b' D' i' v' Z' v' n' t' j' 10' w' U' t' K' b' Z' n' e' j' c' v' l' q' v' 63' G' b' w' R' i' i' A' s' Z' A' t' a' R' A' v' l' q' v' x' j' w' t' b' Z' v' t' i' A' v' Z' w' q' t' i' n' l' q' v' i' K_ v/ e' v' t' e' A' w' i' g' w' b' t' R' G' K' m' g' q' G' K' u' U' G' b' w' R' i' t' Z' K' v' R' K' i' Z' i' g' | Z' v' i' v' l' t' K' v' b' c' k' i' c' v' q' u' b' | G' b' w' R' i' t' i' A_ ' e' v' O' v' B' l' A_ ' e' i' v' t' i' t' i' t' q' t' i' w' K' Q' y' K_ v' D' V' i' q' A' v' g' i' v' G' v' i' n' q' Z' i' c' t' K' G' m' G' d' G' i' D' c' i' t' Q' t' o' w' t' q' u' Q/

w' A' v' B' w' e' i' d' t' j' v' w' g' u' b' c' k' i' t' R' j' e' v' q' y' Z' n' e' j' e' e' n' v' i' t' i' ^OZvi L' u' Z' t' q' t' L' t' Z' Ńd' t' j' v' w' g' u' b' Ń' k' l' R' G' K' u' U' c' k' i' n' v' t' Z' w' b' t' q' t' Q' w' A' v' B' w' e' | G' c' k' i' t' i' A' a' x' t' b' G' Z' n' e' j' t' i' ^OZvi l' R' e' v' e' w' w' n' Z' v' i' c' i' z' b' R' i' i' v' L' v' n' t' e' | (B' t' e' d' v' k, c' k' i' v' : 3' t' d' e' a' q' u' i' 2013)

GB cŃz' t' e' b' u' i' e' v' c' v' t' i' m' s' i' k' w' g' s' y' j' q' t_ t' k' cŃz' e' v' I' e' v' L' v' t' q' v' n' t' q' t' Q/ t' m' u' c' w' i' K' w' U' c' k' i' v' k' i' K' t' i' t' Q/ GB cŃz' t' e' t' b' t' h' A' m' z' i' z' i' K_ v' e' j' v' n' t' Q' Z' v' n' t' j' v, R' j' e' v' q' y' Z' n' e' j' t' i' A_ ' m' i' K' w' i' cŃz' Ńv' b' t' j' v' i' g' w' R' g' u' c' l' K' L' i' P' K' i' v, h_ v_ h_ b' R' i' w' i' e' e' v' b' v' v' k' v' B' Z' w' i' G' e' s' h' v' w' b' t' q' m' s' i' k' w' w' e' t' k' l' A' i' v' D' i' Ń' M' Ń' cŃz' t' e' t' k' i' f' i' l' A' b' t' y' v' a' x, G' m' e' c' k' i' t' i' Y' M' Z' g' u' b' G' e' s' G_ t' j' v' i' g' v' a' t' g' g' v' b' t' j' i' A' v' t' s' D' c' K' v' i' n' t' Q' w' k' b' v' Z' v' w' b' t' q' w' e' z' k' ^ Z' w' i' n' t' q' t' Q/ A_ P' g' v' t' G' K' R' b' R' j' e' v' q' y' w' e' t' k' i' t' A' i' e' q' u' t' b' G' m' e' c' h' i' t' z' i' A' e' Z' v' i' Y' v' K' i' v' n' t' q' t' Q/ w' k' s' GB Znej wU t' L' v' t' k' v' b' K' t' i' w' e' k' v' s' k' l' m' i' K' v' i' i' w' b' t' q' u' M' K' i' v' G' K' u' U' K' i' g' u' U' Z' n' e' j' e' i' v' t' i' l' R' b' m' s' z' w' i' k' c' v' w' t' j' Z' v' A' b' t' q' v' b' K' t' i' m' s' w' U/ G' O' v' o' v'

GB Zniej KZUv `0 I KvhRi fite e`envi Kiv n`0 Zv ch`e`Y Ki`0 RwiZmsNm Dbz `k, t`jv hv c0Zte`K w`b`RB D`j`L K`i`0`Qb| ZvB GB ai`b`i Awf`th`r`M`i e`v`c`i`i wek`e`v`skmn ms`k`0 c`q, t`jvi my`u`0 g`S`b` _vKv c`0`q`Rb` u`Qj| `K`S` c0Zte`K Z`i`i K`i`v`i g`Z`i`G`Z` w`b`q` Gme Awf`th`r`M`i w`f`i`E R`v`q`R K`i`b`i`b`| eis GB c0Zte`b`i e`v`c`i`i g`S`y`j`i`q`i e`v`L`v`q` D`3 wek`i`A e`v`3`i `^`f`ms`k`0`Z`i`v` K`_v` c`K`i`v`i`f`i`i `u`0` K`i`v` n`0`q`| d`j` GB c0Zte`b`i w`b`i`c`q`Z`v` w`b`q` c`k`e`f`_`t`K` hv`q` Ges c0Zte`_`t`K`i` `w`e`i` m`Z`Z`v` A`b`K`U`v`B` A`m`v`o` c`0`m`Y`Z` n`q`| GB c0Zte`b`i c0Zev` R`w`b`q` c`w`i`e`k` g`S`y`j` q` t`_`t`K` c`i`v`f`b`v` w`e`e`Z`U` w`b`P` t``q`v` n`t`j`v`:

**Rjevq-Znietj i A_`e`q` w`b`q`
`v`Z`i` i bRi` w`i` w`f`i`E`n`b`
c`w`i`e`k` g`S`y`j`i`q`i c0Zev`**

`w`b`K` B`i`E`d`v`K`i` i`e`e`v`i` c`K`i`v`K`Z` 0`R`j` e`v`q`y`Z`n`e`t`j` i` A_`e`q` w`b`q` c`k`e` `v`Z`i` i` bRi` `w`i` 0` k`l` R` c`K`i`v`K`Z` m`e`i`f`i` i` c0Zev` R`w`b`q`q`0` c`w`i`e`k` l` e`b` g`S`y`j` q`| Z`i`v` GB` c0Zte`b`t`K` w`f`i`E`n`b` e`j` `w`e` R`w`b`q`q`0`| t`m`i`g`e`v`i` c`i`v`f`b`v` G`K` i`P`w`i`Z` GB` c0Zev` R`v`i`v`b`v` n`0`q`0`| c`w`i`e`k` l` e`b` g`S`y`j` q` t`_`t`K` R`i`v`i`v`b`v` n`0`q`0`| R`j` e`v`q`y`Z`n`e`j` Z`_v` e`v`j`v`f` `k` K`i`v`t`g`U` t`P`A` U`i`÷` d`i`f`U`i` A_`e`m`i`K`i`v`i` m`e`c`h`R`-`^`A_`q`h`L`v`b` `v`Z`i` i` bRi` `w`i` i` c`k`B` l` t`v` b`v`| w`e`k`e`v`i`c`k`m` `v`Z`i` t``k` l` m`S` `i`m`g`r` m`i`K`i`v`i` GB` A_`e`i`v`i` c`0`u`q`w`i` w`b`q` c`k`s`m`v` K`i`t`0`| R`j` e`v`q`y`Z`n`e`t`j` i` A_`e`i`v`i` c`0`u`q`w`i` AZ`_`s`l` `^`0` l` c`k`e`Z`i`Z`| G`e`i`v`i` c`0`u`q`w`i` m`e`c`h`K`0` c0Zte`b`i` t`k`l` f`i`f`i`M` D`j`L` _v`K`j` l` c0Zte`K` c`0`u`q`w`i` t`K` w`b`t`RB` w`e`l` q`i`U` _w`j` t`q` t`d`t`j` t`0`b`|

c0Zte`b`i `v`Z`i` i` Av`-`i`n`b`Z`v`i` K`_v` e`j`v` n`0`q`0`| e`-`Z` c0Zte`K` `v`Z`v` m`S`-`v`i` t`K`v`b`v` c0Zi`b`w`ai` m`f`_`B` A`v`j`c` K`i`b`i`b`| A`w`Z` m`e`c`0`Z` g`m`k`B` i`v`0` Z` g`R`i`v`b`v` w`e`k`e`v`i`t`K`i` w`e`v`q`x` K`w`U`k` w`f`i`±`i` A`v`t`j` b` t`M`v`i` t`÷`B`b` Ges` B`D`i`v`i`c`i`q` B`D`i`b`q`b`i` i`v`0` Z` D`B`i`j` q`v`g` n`i`v`b`v` e`v`j`v`f` `k`i` R`j` e`v`q`y`S`y`K` t`g`v`K`i`e`j`v`q` M`n`x`Z` c`^`t`q`c` Ges` Z`n`e`j` c`w`i`P`j` b`v` c`0`u`q`v`i` c`k`s`m`v` K`i`t`0`b`| M`Z` e`0`t`i`i` w`f`i`m`e`f`i` t``i`n`v`q` A`b`i`0`Z` w`e`k`| R`j` e`v`q`y`n`t`e`j` t`b` w`e`k`e`v`i`c`k` R`j` e`v`q`y`S`y`K` t`g`v`K`i`e`j`v`q` e`v`j`v`f` `k` l` g`v`j` t`q`i`k`q`i`f`K` m`d`j` t``k` w`n`t`m`te` A`w`f`i`w`Z` K`i`i` w`j` d`j` U` t`e`i` K`i`i` A`S`k`M`h`Y`K`i`v`i` w`e`k`i`j` 194`u` t``i`k`i` c0Zi`b`w`ai` K`i`v`0` w`e`Z`i`Y` K`i`t`0`| G`0`v` M`Z` 08` w`f`i`m`e`f`i` 2012` Z`w`i`t`L` w`e`k`e`v`i`c`k` G`K` w`e`w`Z`i` g`i`a`t`g` e`j` t`0`| 0`R`j` e`v`q`y`c`w`i`e`Z`f`b`i` d`j` m`e`f`P`t`q` S`y`K`i` g`t`a` _v`K`i` t``k` t`j`v`i` A`b`Z`g` e`v`j`v`f` `k` l` g`v`j` 0`v`c`| Z`te` GB` q`w`Z`K`i` c`f`i`e` t`g`v`K`i`e`j`v`q` t``k` `w`j` f`i`j` f`i`t`e`B` A`M`h`i` n`0`Q`0`|

Dbz` t``k`m`g`r` G` ch`S`l` R`j` e`v`q`y`c`w`i`e`Z`B`R`i`b`Z` S`y`K` t`g`v`K`i`e`j`v`q` D`b`q`b`k`j` t``k`m`g`r`K` 300` t`K`w`U` W`j`v`i` m`n`v`q`Z`v` w`i`t`q`0`| G`i` g`t`a` G`K`K` t``k` w`n`t`m`te` e`v`j`v`f` `k` c`0`q` 20` t`K`w`U` W`j`v`i` t`c`t`q`0` h`v` w`e`k`i`j` A`t`b`K` D`b`q`b`k`j` t``k`i` t`P`t`q` t`e`w`k`|

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e`v`j`v`f` `k` K`i`v`t`g`U` t`P`A` U`h`÷` t`e`w`W`^`AZ`_`s`l` k`w`3`k`v`j`x`l` m`i`K`i`v`i`i` w`m`i`b`q`i` 11`R`b` g`S`y`j` K`i`q`K`R`b` m`i`P`e` e`v`j`v`f` `k` e`v`i`t`K`i` M`F`Y`P` K`i`q`K`R`b` m`j`k`j` m`g`v`f`R`i` c0Zi`b`w`ai` GB` t`e`v`f`W`P` m`^`m`| G`L`v`t`b` w`e`f`b`e`g`S`y`j`i`q`i` c`i`v`f`b`v` c0Zi`w` c`k`i` w`e`f`b`e` a`v`t`c` h`v`P`i`B`-e`v`Q`v`B` K`i`i` A`b`j`g`v` b`t` q`v` n`q`| c`k`i` A`b`j`g`v` t`b`i` t`q`t`i` G`K`K` t`K`v`b` g`S`y`j` q`| m`S`-`v` e`v` e`i`w`3`i` K`Z`Z`j` t`b`B`| (B`i`E`d`i`k` c`k`i`v`k` : 5` t`d`e`q`w`i` 2013`)|

B`i`E`d`v`K`i` GB` c0Zte`b`i`K`i` A`v`t`i`v` G`K`i`U` c0Zte`b`i` G`L`v`t`b` D`j`i`L`i` `w`e`i`v`t`L` c0Zte`b`i`w`l` Q`v`c`v` n`0`q`0`j` 23` t`d`e`q`w`i` 2013` Z`w`i`t`L`| Z`v`i` g`j`-e`3`e` `w`j` m`i`K`i`v`i` c`0`v`t`m`Z`e` R`b` A_`e`b`v` t`b`q`v`q` w`e`k`e`v`i`c`k` e`v`j`v`f` `k` S`u`k`c`Y`0`b`Z`b` w`e`b`t`q`w`l` K`i`t`e` b`v`| A`_`P` u`e`u` G`K`B` a`i`b`i` G`K`i`U` c0Zte`b`i` Q`v`c`v` n`0`q`0` 20` w`i`b` A`v`t`M` 3` t`d`e`q`w`i` m`g`K`v`j` c`w`i`K`v`q`| I`B` c0Zte`b`i` w`e`l`q`e`-`i` m`t`z` B`i`E`d`v`K`i` c`K`i`v`k`Z` c0Zte`b`i`w`l`i` L`y` t`e`w`k` c`v`R` t`b`B`| w`j` b`v` e`v`w`i`Z` t`K`i`v`b`v` Z`_`l`| G`K` A`t`_`e`j`v` h`v`q` m`g`K`v`t`j` i` B` c0Zte`b`i` u`e`u` A`b`i`j`w`c`| w`K`S` c`i`v`K` w`n`t`m`te` t`h` K`i`v`i`v` m`e`f`k`l` c0Zte`b`i` b`Z`b` t`K`i`v`b`v` Z`_`R`i`v`i` c`0`Z`i`k`v` _v`f`K`| b`B`t`j` m`e`i`f`i` i` i`a`Z`i` w`i`K` t`_`t`K` c`i`i` c0Zte`b`i` g`j`-`_v`t`K` b`v`i` G`K`_v` A`v`i`g`i`v` m`e`v`B` R`w`b`|

The council after in-depth review of the appeal of the daily Prothom Alo, reply of the daily Kaler Kantho and reply of the daily Prothom Alo found no evidence that support the information daily Kaler Kantho dished out about Matiur Rahman, the verdict delivered on April 12 said.

“The council thinks that the information provided by daily Kaler Kantho about Matiur Rahman does not have any basis,” it read.

Kaler Kantho published a report on May 10 last year stating that “the editor of Prothom Alo and journalist Tipu Sultan of the same daily had warned militant leader Maolana Tajuddin, the main architect of the brutal August 21 grenade attack, that Rab was looking for him. It also alleged that Matiur Rahman had discussed with Tajuddin the forming of a new political party by the latter to help BNP.

The reports also claimed that Tajuddin had met Matiur Rahman several times at the Prothom Alo office which journalist Tipu Sultan had arranged. The reports were claimed to have been based on statements of jailed former BNP deputy minister Abdus Salam Pintu given to intelligence agencies.

“The council considers this attitude of daily Kaler Kantho to be against the principles of newspapers and the debatable was news not at all based on information but falsehood, imagination and was humiliating,” the council verdict said.

“The daily Kaler Kantho has created an instance of bad journalism centring the Prothom Alo Editor Matiur Rahman,” the verdict said. “The council is hereby issuing a warning against daily Kaler Kantho to refrain from publishing any subject under prosecution or publish any material not supported by proper evidence.”

Matiur Rahman had complained to the press council on October 24 last year that the Kaler Kantho reports were totally false and they had denigrated his status and family reputation.

In defence, Kaler Kantho on December 28 last year said the investigation officer or intelligence agencies had not disputed the reports and so it can be assumed that the statement of Pintu or the related report was correct. It said, “As former state minister

Pintu, who was arrested in the August 21 grenade attack case, is a conscious person and so are his family members, they would have protested if the reports were false.”

But the council was not convinced with the reply. As the plaintiff insisted on submission of case-related documents, the council gave seven more days to Kaler Kantho. Kaler Kantho submitted a printed document of the so-called statement of Abdus Salam Pintu. But since the document did not bear the seal of any court, the council did not take it into cognisance and said anyone can use this kind of computer-generated statement to mislead the council.

“The owners/publishers of newspapers and other mass media sometimes publish/broadcast news to serve their own interest which goes against the ethics of journalism and they resort to negative competition against rivals. This practice should be considered as yellow journalism and responsible individuals should be brought to book and declared guilty,” the council observed.

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wbf`p`kaj | cwi Yv Kw`f`Z djvdj i Ab`k`- bvr Gtj Kiv wU e`_Zvi bvr B
nq| ZvB memq me wbf`p`thwM` mF`I wbf`p`kaj bq|

GwU ivotq μq mspvšl GKwU iaz`c`y`Lei| MZ eQi cãvbgšxi invkqv
mdti cã`vtj ciiv0` gšyvj tqi GK t`cã nelcstq G e`vcti

IKŠ' AtbK mgqB mPZb tjvKRbK ejtZ tkivr hvq Gt' tki wgvWqv
gvphxi mvgwMK tPZbtK KZUv jvj b Kti? GKt'ki tPZbvevZ I
gvphxi ga' w' t'q AwRZ GB 'faxb f' tk fvlv, ms' wZ I evOmj i t' kR
tmKžvi HwZtn' i cŁZdj b mgvR t' kv vq? Gt' t' t' MZ Puj k eQti i tenk
mgq ati Avgv' i wgvWqv RbmgtR tmb tPZbv weKv' k ' t' e' i' waZvq f' Mtj v
t' kb wKsev GL' t' b' f' MtQ t' Kb? GB c' k' i' e' D' E' i' thgb w' k' i' t' Z' evOmj
gvj g' v' b' i' AvZ' c' w' P' q' m' s' k' t' u' i' m' t' ½' R' w' o' t' q' Av' t' Q' , t' Z' g' b' B' G' i' e' v' L' v' w' j' t' e'
' faxbZv- cieZ' w' G' t' t' k' i' Av' m' v' g' w' R' K' I' i' v' R' w' Z' K' c' u' c' w' i' e' Z' t' b' i' a' v' i' v' i'
g' v' t' S' l' | c' b' r' E' i' m' t' j' i' 15' Av' M' t' = i' c' i' G' t' t' k' i' m' v' g' w' R' K' e' v' b' Z' v' q'
i' v' R' w' Z' K' c' l' i' v' P' b' v' I' D' w' m' b' t' Z' a' g' w' e' m' v' c' l' w' q' K' Z' v' e' v' i' e' v' i' g' v' v' Z' t' j' t' Q' ,
n' i' R' v' i' e' Q' t' i' i' e' u' a' g' e' u' e' v' t' M' v' l' I' m' g' v' t' R' i' w' j' t' b' M' t' o' I' V' v' K' u' j' P' r' i' v' j'
w' i' w' j' w' R' q' t' b' i' A' w' Z' ; L' b' t' q' A' v' g' i' v' G' L' b' n' t' q' D' t' V' i' Q' w' e' t' w' k' K' b' w' Z' K' t' i' f' v' l' v' q'
Ńj' e' v' t' j' g' g' w' n' j' g' K' w' U' Ńj' G' K' t' k' i' Y' i' w' g' v' W' q' w' e' t' w' k' t' i' t' q' v' G' B' Z' K' g' v' , i' a' z' j'
I' t' M' S' i' t' e' i' m' t' ½' c' l' v' i' K' t' i' A' v' Z' w' o' t' Z' t' f' v' t' M' |

evsjv' t' k' t' m' B' c' w' k' l' b' A' v' j' t' t' k' A' w' Z' a' g' f' i' w' 3 I' A' w' Z' t' k' t' c' Ńg' i'
b' i' t' q' a' g' w' e' m' v' c' l' w' q' K' Z' v' I' m' v' c' l' v' q' w' e' t' o' l' t' k' i' v' o' t' q' c' o' t' c' w' l' K' Z' v' t' l' q' v'
n' t' q' t' Q' | G' B' c' o' t' c' v' l' K' Z' v' I' c' k' t' q' t' t' k' B' G' K' v' E' i' m' t' j' i' N' v' Z' K' k' w' 3 I' D' m' e' |
' faxbZv' i' c' i' G' K' v' E' t' i' i' N' v' Z' K' g' v' b' w' m' K' Z' v' i' m' t' ½' h' y' n' t' q' t' t' k' i' i' v' R' w' Z' K'
g' t' A' t' h' A' w' Z' W' b' c' s' k' t' R' i' t' U' i' D' m' e' N' t' U' , Z' v' i' G' K' Ńv' A' s' k' t' q' Z' v' ` L' j' K' i' v' i'
c' l' Ńq' v' q' v' g' v' h' x' i' t' g' s' j' t' P' Z' b' t' K' w' e' b' v' t' k' i' t' P' o' v' P' u' j' v' q' l' g' j' Z' e' v' O' m' j' i'
R' w' Z' m' E' v' i' R' b' e' k' e' U' z' k' L' g' v' R' e' j' i' n' g' v' b' t' h' R' v' Z' i' q' b' w' Z' g' v' j' v' i' Z' w' M' ` A' b' y' e'
K' t' i' i' Q' t' j' b' t' m' L' v' b' t' t' k' B' A' v' g' v' t' i' w' m' w' f' j' w' i' w' j' w' R' q' t' b' i' R' b' k' M' Y' Z' s' j' ;
R' v' Z' i' q' Z' v' e' v' I' a' g' w' i' t' c' q' l' Z' v' i' w' Z' i' b' e' t' S' i' Ńj' b' G' B' w' Z' b' i' U' g' j' g' t' s' j' w' f' i' e' t' Z'
Z' w' i' w' m' w' f' j' w' i' w' j' w' R' q' t' b' i' M' S' w' t' q' h' w' e' v' O' m' j' i' R' x' e' b' t' K' M' l' v' h' v' q' Z' v' n' t' j' Z' v' i'
c' w' i' P' q' l' H' K' w' b' w' o' Z' n' q' l' t' h' g' b' w' U' t' c' l' Ńt' W' w' U' U' g' i' m' t' R' d' v' i' m' b' A' v' t' g' w' i' K' v' i'
w' m' w' f' j' w' i' w' j' w' R' q' t' b' i' g' j' g' s' j' ; w' k' K' t' i' i' Q' t' j' b' ' faxbZv' , R' v' Z' i' q' Z' v' e' v' I' w' e' k' l' m' |
IKŠ' c' b' r' E' i' - c' i' e' Z' i' w' g' t' q' G' B' w' m' w' f' j' w' i' w' j' w' R' q' t' b' i' t' K' i' t' b' v' i' t' e' B' m' g' v' t' R' t' k' K' o'
M' w' o' t' Z' t' q' u' b' G' K' v' E' t' i' i' G' B' P' u' w' l' d' t' j' m' i' g' w' i' K' Z' t' s' j' K' e' t' j' w' m' w' f' j'
w' i' w' j' w' R' q' t' b' i' w' Z' b' i' U' g' j' - K' i' v' i' t' g' v' i' c' l' g' w' i' U' A' w' M' Y' Z' s' j' ; n' t' q' I' t' v' Z' v' K' u' Z'
Ńe' u' j' x' q' M' Y' Z' s' j' , w' o' Z' i' q' u' w' R' v' Z' i' q' Z' v' e' v' t' t' k' n' t' q' I' t' v' Ńe' v' s' j' v' t' k' x'
R' v' Z' i' q' Z' v' e' v' Ń' A' v' i' t' k' i' u' w' A' w' a' g' w' i' t' c' q' l' Z' v' i' R' v' q' M' m' u' ` L' j' K' t' i' t' b' q'
i' v' o' t' a' g' p' A' v' i' G' i' B' g' a' w' t' q' f' j' w' Z' n' t' q' t' Q' e' v' O' m' j' i' w' m' w' f' j' I' t' m' K' ž' v' i'
K' u' j' P' r' i' | 27

Aa'iq : AvU

WgvWqv I tmKžvi Kuj Pvi

cŁZ.cŁte, gvphxi gva'tg Gt' tki gubly Ggb GK evsjv' t' tki t' f' c'
mUvb Kti'tQ hvi gvtS gZ' n' t' q' Av' t' Q' w' P' i' v' q' Z' e' v' s' j' v' i' g' v' N' t' h' e' v' s' j' v'
a' g' w' i' t' c' q' l' t' P' Z' b' r' i' , c' i' g' Z' m' i' n' o' Z' v' I' m' v' c' l' w' q' K' m' v' c' l' w' i' Z' i' N' t' h' L' v' t' b' A' U' t'
_ v' K' t' e' A' v' e' n' g' i' b' K' u' t' j' i' m' s' w' Z' K' e' w' P' i' , e' u' g' Z' - c' t' _ i' m' v' e' l' b' , f' i' e' b' v' i'
e' u' j' Z' v' i' K' s' e' v' g' y' w' e' k' t' i' m' i' A' e' v' a' A' w' A' k' v' i' | d' j' t' f' c' , Z' v' i' B' a' v' i' e' v' m' n' K' Z' v' q'
G' t' t' k' i' g' v' b' y' m' e' i' K' g' w' e' t' f' , e' l' g' , t' k' v' l' y' , e' A' b' v' A' v' i' f' a' f' m' Z' t' t' k' g' y'
n' t' q' c' i' t' e' m' i' Z' K' v' i' m' g' x' R' i' e' b' I' A' w' Z' K' g' v' i' t' f' |

mgvR- ms' w' Z' i' c' v' j' e' t' j' i' g' v' t' S' b' i' v' R' i' U' j' t' i' A' v' i' e' u' P' o' i' v' B- D' Z' i' v' B'
c' v' i' n' t' q' A' v' g' i' v' P' t' j' i' U' | m' g' e' a' g' v' b' m' i' g' w' R' K' A' M' M' i' z' i' w' b' w' i' t' L' e' v' t' e' g' v' b' y' i' |
g' v' t' S' c' l' Ńz' i' b' q' Z' c' j' w' e' Z' n' t' q' D' V' t' Q' b' Z' b' b' Z' b' c' l' w' i' v' i' , t' l' v' w' t' Q' b' Z' b' Z' i'
P' i' m' v' A' v' i' Z' v' i' B' a' v' i' e' v' m' n' K' Z' v' q' Z' w' i' n' t' Q' w' Z' b' Z' b' Z' m' s' K' U' | d' t' j' m' g' v' R' t' t' n'
e' v' o' t' Q' U' v' b' v' c' t' o' b' , Z' x' e' n' t' Q' m' n' b' k' j' Z' v' i' A' f' i' e' | A' _ P' A' v' j' v' c' - A' v' t' j' v' P' b' v' i'
g' v' a' t' g' m' i' g' w' R' K' m' s' K' U' w' b' i' m' t' b' i' c' l' ŃM' Z' c' _ t' Q' t' o' A' v' g' i' v' G' u' M' t' q' P' t' j' i' Q'
m' g' v' M' Z' m' s' N' i' t' Z' i' w' t' k' | G' B' A' e' w' i' q' D' m' Z' c' l' Ńq' v' R' t' b' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' i' v' w' b' R'
w' i' q' Z' t' e' v' t' a' B' G' t' t' k' i' g' v' b' y' i' R' b' m' o' z' l' t' f' i' w' e' k' c' w' i' t' e' k' w' b' w' o' Z' K' i' v' i'
e' v' c' i' t' i' m' i' g' w' R' K' f' i' t' e' A' w' i' v' i' e' x' | G' O' v' o' v' m' g' v' t' R' w' e' i' v' R' g' v' b' A' m' i' g' ,
w' e' i' w' Q' b' o' z' v' , m' v' c' l' w' q' K' Z' v' , a' g' w' e' D' M' e' v' , t' g' s' j' e' v' I' w' e' t' w' k' A' c' m' s' w' Z' i'
A' v' M' Ńt' b' i' w' e' i' a' x' R' b' M' Y' t' K' t' m' v' P' i' i' K' i' v' i' t' t' i' Z' v' i' v' R' v' Z' i' q' t' t' k' B' , i' a' z' j'
t' t' e' n' G' u' v' B' t' t' k' i' g' v' b' y' A' v' k' v' K' t' i' |

m' i' s' e' w' i' K' A' v' e' j' y' M' v' d' b' v' i' t' P' S' a' j' x' Z' u' i' t' j' L' i' q' c' l' q' B' e' v' s' j' v' t' t' k' M' Y' Z' t' s' j'
R' b' w' e' t' P' t' q' e' o' w' e' c' w' i' n' t' m' t' e' t' h' i' u' t' k' t' t' l' b' Z' v' n' t' Q' m' v' c' l' w' q' K' Z' v' i' w' Z' i' b'
g' t' b' K' t' i' b' G' u' U' G' t' t' k' i' A' b' Z' g' G' K' u' i' i' v' R' w' Z' K' m' g' m' v' | G' B' m' v' c' l' w' q' K' Z' v' i'
k' w' 3' e' v' o' t' Z' e' v' o' t' Z' G' L' b' Z' v' i' n' s' m' a' g' w' e' t' g' s' j' e' v' t' c' w' i' Y' Z' n' t' q' t' Q' | Z' v' i' g' t' Z' ,
G' t' t' k' a' g' w' e' t' g' s' j' e' v' t' i' c' l' i' e' - c' l' Ńz' c' i' e' b' x' i' e' N' v' Z' t' K' i' g' t' Z' v' i' w' m' w' f' j' I'
w' g' i' j' U' w' i' G' v' w' e' k' t' g' t' u' i' t' f' Z' i' l' N' v' i' c' u' l' t' g' t' i' A' v' t' Q' G' e' s' Z' v' m' i' g' w' R' K'
w' b' i' v' c' E' v' i' R' b' g' i' v' Z' K' Ńg' w' k' n' t' q' D' t' V' t' Q' | w' Z' i' b' g' t' b' K' t' i' b' m' i' g' w' i' K'
d' w' m' e' t' i' t' P' t' q' l' G' B' a' g' w' e' d' w' m' e' v' e' v' s' j' v' t' t' k' i' i' v' o' t' q' A' L' b' Z' v' , R' w' Z' M' Z'
H' K' , ' faxbZv' , m' v' e' f' s' g' Z' i' l' M' Y' Z' t' s' j' i' w' Z' k' j' Z' v' i' R' b' ' G' K' f' q' v' e' n' Ńg' w' k' |
G' i' g' t' j' v' t' Q' Q' i' v' o' v' e' v' s' j' v' t' k' w' e' c' b' t' t' n' e' b' v' |

wet'lvf mgvtefk cny k l mi Kwi `tj i mSjmx` i MZKvtj i ni Zvj mdj Kivq t'kevmxK Awfb`b RmbtqtQb Bmj vq `j mgtni kxl fbZv l ejsj vt' k tLjvdZ Avt' vj tbi Avgxti KixqZ gvljvbr kvn Avngv jym Avkivd| wZub etj b, wctKwUs QvovB me`fi i tZsin`x RbZv`ZtUz`ni Zvj cyj b Kti chvY Kti tQ bw`K-gjZv` eMvi t` i kw`f` kevmxi Cgvbr `me| wZub gmbKMtA cyj tki `wj tZ nZvntZi NUBvq Mfxi DtOM cKvk Kti etj b, GtZ Avevtiv chvY ntjv Avlqvq j m mi Kwi bw`Kt` i g`vZv Bmjvgv etivax mi Kvi |

wZub i pvefii wet'lvf wgvQvj l AvRtKi ni Zvtj mKj knx` t` i iafni gvlMdivZ l AvnZt` i mYzv Kvgbv Ktib Ges AvMvgx w`tbl Bmjvg l Cgvb i`vli mKj Avt' vj t b kwi K ntq th tKvbr a tbi Z`vM` xKvi cU` _vKvi Avn`vb Rvrb |

Bmjvgx HK` Avt' vj b tch` meAvb` : Bmjvgx HK` Avt' vj tbi Avgxi W. gvljvbr Cmv kvtn`x Ges tm`uUvi x tRbvtj W. Gbvgy nK AvRv` GK weewZtZ kvnevM tK` tK wPvYz eMvi t` i imj-jym (mv.)-Gi Aegvbbvi cU`Zev` Kvix ag`vY RbZvi l ci cyj`k nvgjv Ges nZ`vi Zxe` w`v Kti tQb| tZlQ eMvi t` i Awej`x` mePti i KwMvovq `va Kivtbi `me Rmbtq etj b, bw`Kt` i meaf`x Pjgrb Avt' vj b Gt` tki tKwU tKwU tZsin`x RbZvi Avt' vj t b RvgqvZ`-vkwetii tKib `vb t b |

Zijvertq Avimeqv ejsj vt' k RvgqtZ Zijvertq Avimeqvi tK` t`q mfvicwZ nvdR tgv kvnRvj vj l c`vnb m`cv` K Avajy Kw` i GK thS` weewZtZ etj b, MZ i`mevi Rsvi bvgvthi tktl miv t` tK tZsin`x RbZv wet'lvf l cU`Zev` wgvQj tei Kij cyj k Zvt` i Dci wvvePti `wj, wUqv`tmj l ivevi etj U` wbt' t` c Kti | MZ i`mevi wet'lvf GKRB gv`tmvi w`K tK l wZbRb gnyj` wbnZ nq Ges Bmjvgx Avt' vj tbi XvKv gnvbMxi Avngi GwUgG tngvtqZ Dlx l Bmjvgx e`v`Rix d`v`Ui kvn Ave`jy nvbwb Avj n`v`x AmsL` gnyj` w` vj w`x nq| tZlQ Avt' vj etj b, Bmjvgx wet'lvf l bw`K eMvi t` i cU`ZnZ Kivi Rb` mKj gv`tmvi Qv l, w`K tK Bgvq, gnyj` l tZsin`x RbZv Zia` cRb`hnm mKj ag`vY gnyj` gv b GK ntq Zvt` i meaf`x cU`Ztva Mto tZvj vi Avn`vb Rvrb | (BbnKj ve, cKvk : 26 tdeaqwi 2013) |

Bgvq l gv` imvi w`v`cyj t` i _vbq tWtK wbt' bwi Kt` i wetiwaZv bv Kitz` uguk

=vd w`t`cvUf : gmiRt` i Bgvq Ges gv` imvi w`v`cyj t` i _vbq tWtK wbt' bwi Kt` i wetiwaZv bv Kivi Rb` cyj k uguk w`t`Q etj Awf`thwM cvl qv tM`Q | bw`Kt` i ifni

gvlMdivZ Kvgbv Kti gbwRvZ bv Kivq BtZigta` Pvkwi P`z ntq ivRavb tQto`Qb GK Bgvq| GbwRI` t`jv Bvgv` i meaf`x t`m`Pvi ntq DVt`Q | dtj AtbtKi gta` AvZ`/4, DtOM l DrKEv weivR Kt`Q | tek KtqKRb f`y`f`vMx Ges gnyj` o G Z` _ RmbtqtQb |

m`f` Rvbrq, Bmjvg Ges gnvbex (mv.)-tK wbt' KijaPvcY` gS`e` Kvix eMvi t` i meaf`x e`3`e` t`qv ivRavbxi AwfRvZ GvKv avbgwU i KjevMvb Wjwdb Mij i t`j K m`v`K`m gmiRt` i Bgvq Pvkwi nmi tqtQb | BtZigta` wZub gmiR` tQto Zvi wR GvKvq Pj tM`Qb etj RmbtqtQb KtqKRb `vbxq gnyj` q Ziv Avf`thwM Kti etj b, Bgvq m`f`ne Bmjvg Ges gnvbex (mv.) wbt' KijaPvcY` gS`e` Kvix bw`K eMvi t` i m`cv`K`e`3`e` w`tqtQb | Gici Zvt`K Ac` ` ` Kti gmiR` t` tK tei Kti t`qv nq | G e`v`v`f`i mi Kvi `j`xq `vbxq tZvt` i uguk Kiv`Y t`KD cU`Zev` i m`v`m` cvbwb |

Aciv` tK `vbxq m`f` Rvbrq, bw`K eMvi ivRxe nvg` vi t`kvfb l itd` _vev` e`v` m`cv`K` avbgwU i ZvKl qv gmiRt` i Bgvq l L`zevi mgvtj vPv Kti tQb AvBb l m`v`j` k t`K` (AvmK)-Gi w`b`v`x` cwi Pj K m`j`Zvbr Kvgv | MZKij GK weewZtZ Bgvq m`v`C` Rjv`v`Kivi Rjvi -Gi L`zevt`K d`Zvqvi mgZj` Ges ejsj vt' tki AvBt` d`Zvqvi Rwi m`cv`Y` w`v`l` x etj gS`e` Ktib wZub |

Aciv` tK m`v`f`vi g`Wj` _vbq `vbxq w`v`f`b`egmiRt` i Bgvq l gv` imvi w`v`cyj t` K MZ kvbvi ivZ tWtK cvWt`v nq | Gmgq w`v`f`b`egv` imvi w`v`cyj l gmiRt` i Bgvq m`v` cU`q AaRZwaK ag`v`q tZv Dcv`Z w`t`j b | cyj tki c`v` t` tK w`v`cyj l Bgvq t` i MZKvtj i bw`KZmetivax ni Zvtj iv`lq tei bv n l qvi wbt' R t` q cyj k | Gi Ab` _v ntj cyj tki c`v` t` tK Zvt` i meaf`x t` t`Kv cKvi e`e` _v t`bqvi w`v`k`q`v` D`Pvi Y Kiv nq | Gmgq Dcv`Z Bgvq l w`v`cyj iv cyj tki GB wbt' t`ki c`v` t` w`v`f`b`e`h`y`? Dc`v`v`b Ktib | w`K`S` cyj tki uguk tZ A tbt`KB weeZ nb | Dcv`Z KtqKRb Bgvq Gt`K AcgvbRbK etj D`j` l Kti etj b, Bgvq iv me mgq Bmjvtgi wbt' Rbv cyj b Kti _vt`K | t`KD Zvt` i wbt' Rbv t` qvi `t`m`v`m` Kti bv | ejsj vt' t`k AZvt` KLt`v` t`Kv cyj k Bgvq Ges ag`v`q tZvt` i Gf`v`e` _vbq tWtK wbt' bwi Kt` i wetiwaZv bv Kivi uguk t` qv | (BbnKj ve, cKvk : 25 tdeaqwi 2013) |

Dcti cU`Zte` wU covi ci th Kvtiv gtb c`k`e`RvM`Z cvti GB Leti Z` _m`f` t`jv KZUv w`v`f`thwM? Kvi Y Z`v`Kw`Z Obw`K`U eMvi t` i f`ni gvlMdivZ Kvgbvq tgvbRvZ bv Kivq th Bgvq t`K gmiR` t` tK mi Kvi `j`xq t`jv`KRb tei Kti w`tqtQb Zvt` i `v`ct`v`li Kvtivi B fvl` t`b | GB Leti Z` _v`Zvivi A t`b`K`Uv`w`egZ`v` Lei`v`i m`t`/2 R`jo t` qv ntqtQ Acv` GK Bgvq

AvUKti i tkvtbv AwfthvM Qrov GZw b AvUtK ivLv I Zwi L avhKiv buriwenix NUbv|

Ribv hvg, 54 avivq AvUK wgtmm mitbvqviv Rvrvbm Bmjvgv Qvix ms vi 20 tbtkt MZKvj avhZwi tL gnvbMi nwkG AvZKy ingrtbi Av vj z nvrRi Kiv nq| 20 Rthi AvKvsktKB Kwkgcjv Kvi vMi t tK Av vj z Avb nq| AvBbRixiv RmbtqtQb, c`vbk b vix i KvDtKB tevKv ci tZ t`qub cvj k| Kwkgcjv t tK `vN`c_ cmo w`tq Zv i cvj t v XvKv gnvbMi nwkG Av vj z nvrRi Kiv nq| Zv i `vN`Y nvrZLv vq ivLv ci cvj vq Kwkgcjv B vclv t q t b nq| vKs` Zv i KvDtKB tevKv ci tZ t`q v nqub| hviv memgq c`p t g t b P t j b, tevKv ctib, Zv i tK GB cl g v t i i g t Z v tevKv QrovB cvj t g v b t i i m v g t b AvmtZ ntj v| me`v c`vq Af` l b v i x v G f i t e tevKv Qrov Av vj z Avm vq A` v` t z v Q t j b|

cvj tki mgq Avte`b QrovB Av vj Z Zv i Rvngb Avte`b bvkP Kti w`tq AvMgx 23 Rvbsvni i bmbi cieZP Zwi L avhKti | Gi AvtM Zv iv igbv v b v q `v` t b i cvj k w i g v t U v Q t j b | t m L v t b l Z v i t K A` v` t` K i c v i t e t k i v L v n q G e s g v b v m K l k v i v i K v b h e z b K i v n q |

tMbtZvi Kvti i gta` A t b t K B c i x v l v` p i t q t Q b | G i g t a` i t q t Q b M v n` A` D m z K t j t R i A b v m` t k l e t l p Q v i x b v R i v i b, m t x k i x w e k t e` v j q K t j t R i A b v m` t e t l p Q v i x R i b v e z y t d i` d m x, B t W b K t j t R i A b v m` 4` e t l p Q v i x R v i v b r i v B m j v g, d v i n v b v w g Z y g v` v m` c u` g c t e p Q v i x g v i R i v b A v` v i, G g w e e G t m i Q v i x m g v B q v g v t k i v Z v g v b e l G i g t a` A t b t K i B w j m L Z c i x v l v t k i t f i B f v c i x v l v i t q t Q | AvBbRixiv G m e l q t j v z Av vj z i` w. AvKl P Kti b|

i`bmb tk t l A` w t f i t K U A v e` y i v` v i k e t j b, 54 avivq AvUKti i tkvtbv AwfthvM Qrov GZw b AvUtK ivLv Ges bZy Kti Zwi L avhKiv buriwenix NUbv| Gi AvtM Zv i` v` t b i w i g v t U t b q v n t q t Q j | v K s` w i g v t U t k v t b v v K Q b c v l q v h v q u b | g v g j v K i v i g t Z v c v j k t k v t b v D c v` v b t c t j G i B g t a` g v g j v n t q t h Z | m` c v` A b` v q f i t e Z v i A v U t K i v L v i R b` 54 a v i v e` e n v i K i v n t q t Q | v Z i b e t j b, i a y n q i w b K i v i R b` B Z v i A v U t K i v L v n t q t Q | v Z i b A v i l e t j b, 54 a v i v q K v D t K t M b t Z v i K i t j 48 N E v i t e n k A v U t K i v L v i v b q q t b B | v K s` Z v i t i t K G i B g t a` 5 w` b c v j k t n d v R t z i v L v n t q t Q | v Z i b R v b v b, 17 w t m` t Z v t` i A v U K K i v n q | c i v` b A v v j z n v r R i K t i `v` t b i w i g v t U t b q v n q |

i`mexi Zv i` Av vj z nvrRi Kiv ntj v| vZub D t j L K t i b, G f i t e 54 a v i v q t M b t Z v i K t i w` t b i c i w` b A v U t K i v L v A v t b i k v m t b i c v i c s k |

tKvtbv mjbv` v` Kvi Y QrovB MZ 17 btfa` mU`vq 21 b v i x t K t M b t Z v i K t i i g b v v b v q v b t q h v q c v j k | G i c i t K v t b v c K v i A w f t h v M` v a K i v z b v t c t i 54 a v i v q t M b t Z v i t` v l t q 7 w` t b i w i g v t U P v q c v j k | g n v b M i n v m K g Z v t i K g C b j B m j v g f B q v R v n g b v g A y K t i w i g v t U g A y K t i b | i` b m b t k t l A v v j z 20 R t b i `v` t b i w i g v t U g A y K t i | Q v i x m s` v i K g p` n m e e v b v m i i b A s t m E y n l q v q A v v j z Z v t K w i g v t U b i g A y K t i t R j n v R t z c v v t b v i A v t` k t` q | l B v` b A v v j z Z v i R v n g b t` q u b | Z t e M Z t i v e e r i Z v i R v n g b g A y K t i A v v j z |

Zvmbv Avjg tRtj : Gv`tK tZRMvU v b v i G K v U g v j v q v Z b w` t b i w i g v t U t k t l R v g v q v t z i t k` v q c p v i m` c v` K A a` v c K t g v. Z v m b v A v j g t K M Z K v j t R t j c v v t b v n t q t Q | w i g v t U v K v t j Z v t K e v B t i t t K L v e v i w` t z t` q v n q u b | G i A v t M M Z 17 w t m` t` i` v t e i n t z A v U t K i c i D E i v v b v i G K v U w R w t z 3 w` t b i w i g v t U t f v M K t i b v Z i b | (A v g i v` t` k, c k k v : 8 R v b g v i 2013)|

gvnjv vkei m` t n mZRb AvUK

BtEdik v t c v U` RvZvq tchKvte i mvgtb t` tK Bmjvgv Qvix ms` vi Kgp` (gvnjv vkei) m` t n 7 RbtK AvUK Kiv ntqtQ| AvUKKZt` i gta` 3 Rthi big Ribv tMtQ| Zv iv ntj b : tRvmbv teMg (50), cvtZgv Ges m w` q v | M Z K v j k v b e v i w e K i j m v t o 3 U v i w` t K R v Z i q t c h K v t e i c v o g t M U m s j M a G j v K v t` t K Z v t` i A v U K K t i i` v e l c v j k | c v j k R m b t q t Q, t M b t Z v i K Z t` i g t a` 2 R b t K i` v e l e m K t i i A v U K K t i c v j k | Z v t` i k v n e v M v b v q v b t q h v l q v n t q t Q e t j c v j k K g R Z v R v m b t q t Q b | b v i x A v a K v i A v` v j t b i D t` v t M t c h K v t e A v t q v R Z t M j t U e j` e v t K t h v M w` t z G t m v Q t j b Z v i v | A v U K A w f h v t b v K v G K R b i` v e K g R Z v R v b v b, D c t i i v b` R v Q j t M j t U e j` e v K t k t l Z v t` i A v U K K i v i | A v g i v Z v B K t i v Q | G i A v t M 17 w t m` t` g M e v R v t i B m j v g v Q v i x m s` v i K v h q t t` t K Z v t` i 20 K g p` K t M b t Z v i K i v n q | A v i G m e K g f l c i v b h e z t b i c u Z e v` l g v` i` w e t z G B t M j t U e j` e v t K i A v t q v R b K i v n t q t Q j e t j R i v b v t M t Q | (B t E d i k, c k k v : 8 R v b g v i 2013)|

qZ` RvZtMvxi gvny giv vbg` v b h e z t b i v k v i : XvKvq Avk` v b t q l t i n v B v j t Q b v

Gg G t b g v b l i K v e j n K l c v e Z` P A M t g v b g` v b h e z t b i v k v i q Z` R v z t M v x i g v n j g v b i v X v K v q G t m w e v f b e g m i R` l g v i m v q A v k` v b t q l t i n v B c v t` Q b v | c v j k l i` v t e

BmjwgK dvDfÜkþbi GKRb EaYzB KgRZP Avgvi f`k-tK etj b, qjz`a RmZtMvöxi gnyjgvbþ`i nqimw ubhþZþbi NUbv GLb cÄZubqZB NUþQ| Zviv XvKvq Gtj B A`k: KviþY cnyk cÄZevB Zvt`i tMðZvi Kti| Gi AvtMl GKB GjvKvi RvZivs wfcjv l i tð Rvjv wfcjv Zvi mSib l tQvU FvþK gv`imvq fivZ`KivtZ XvKvq Gtm evm t`þK bvgvi mþ½ mþ½B GKRb PvKgv KgvÜþi i tBZtZ; i`vtei GKwU `j ZvtK tMðZvi Kti| ZvtK te`g cþvi Kti mviv kixi i`v³ Kti tðtj| Zvt`i Qmoþq AvþZ tMþj wgcþj i msukw gv`imvi 2 w`qjKtKl mþ½ mþ½ tMðZvi Kiv nq| Gi AvtM MZ RjvB gtm 11 w`qjv`K cnyk AvUK Kti| MvRxcj wgcvcovi `vqj ù`v Bmjvgqv gv`imvq Aa`qbiZ 8 w`qjv`K GKwU uL`-vb wgbwii BÜþb tMðZvi Kti wbtq hv l qv nq|

XvKvq Avktþ tbqv qjz`a RmZtMvöxi GKRb gnyjgvb Avgvi f`k-tK Rvbvb, ðAvwg ivOvgwU tRjvi vejvBQw DcþRjvi dvtaqv GjvKvi `s wgvq Mðtgi evm`v| Avgvt`i GjvKvq tKvþv `jy wKsev Ab`i Kvtv w`qjv`cÄZvþb tB| tKej uL`-vb wgbwii þ`i GKwU wgbwii cÄBgvii `jy i tðtQ| eva` nþqB qjz`a RmZtMvöxi Gme gnyjgvb w`qjv`K BmjwgK dvDfÜkþmn Ab`vb` ms`v cwi Pwj Z agtq w`qjv`cÄZvþb tjtZ fivZ`P e`e`v Kiv nq| ivOvgwU kni t`þK Avgvt`i Mvþg thþZ nq KLbl tntw, KLbl BwÄbPwj Z tBþKvq| i`Kþv tgsþg thþZ cÄq wZvrb Ges elþKvtj `qrb j vtM| ð wZvb etj b, ð` s wgvq Mðtgi KvÜvKwQ cmvto i Dcti wvRwei GKwU K`v`c i tðtQ| K`v`c j vKwO mvcaBtqi KvR Ki Zvg Avwg| wvRwei m`m`þ`i AvRvþbi mgyjv Avl qvR Ges mmi ex`fite `wotq bvgvR cov t`þL Zvi gþb cwi eZþ AvtM| cÄqB AvRvþbi Rb` Aþc`qjv Ki Zvg Ges bvgvRiZ e`v³ þ`i w`þK ZmKtq `vKZvg| `þK wvqwu Rvbvtj tml GKB AvþvZ cÄvK Kti| cþi cþjv wvqwu Mðtgi mevi mþ½ Avjvc Ktj Zvivl gnyjgvb n l qvi B`Qv tcvlY Ktj b|

wZvb etj b, 2008 mij t`þK `þeQti i l tenk mgq Zviv gnyjgvb n l qvi Rb` wvRvbe`vþb thvMvþvM Kti e`nb| KvþvB DcþRjvi ZrKvjv BDGbl i KvtQ wvqwu Rvbvtj wZvb Zvt`i iag t`þK þei Kti t`b| 2010 mvþj ivOvgwU knþi BmjwgK dvDfÜkþ bvtg GKwU cÄZvþb i tðtQ etj RvbþZ cwi| tKvþv aþþi ceþvMvþvM QvovB brix-cjv wgtj cÄq 15-16 Rþbi GKwU `j Zvt`i tcvlv kKi Ges QvMj wvqwu Kti UvKv tRvMvo Kti ivOvgwU Df`þk i l bv t`b| i`Kþv tgsþg `vKvq KLbl tntw, KLbl tvtU Pto cÄq wZvrb ci Zviv ivOvgwU Gtm tcvvþb| knþi BmjwgK dvDfÜkþbi Dc-cwi Pwj þKi mþ½ mvþvR Kivi ci Zviv

Bmjvg atg`w`qjZ n l qvi Rb` AvMþb cÄvK Ktj wZvb etj b, cÄZvþvU hv l Bmjvtgi cþvi l cþvþi Rb` Kiv nþtqQ, ZeyGLvþb gvbvtK gnyjgvb Kivi tKvþv Kvhþg tB| Zte XvKvq Aveþi wMdvix Üþ`-mn Avil wKQvni Kvi AvþvZ ms`v i tðtQ, hviv wfbwagþej`þ`i BmjwgK i wZvþvZ tKlvþZ mnþvMvZv Kti| Zte AvtM GvctwvFv Kti gnyjgvb bv ntj l B Üþ`-l mnþvMvZv Kti bv| dtj Zviv wvR Df`vþM GvctwvFv Kti gnyjgvb nþq cþi XvKvq wvtq bvgvR-þivRvnn Bmjvtgi wKQvni wZvþvZ wktL Avtmb| cþi Zvt`i AvþvY Kti l B Mðtgi tnvwg`vbm me tjvK Bmjvg ag`MþY Ktj b| wgvþtq cik`Z`P misMQw Mðtgi tj vKRbl Bmjvg ag`MþY Ktj Z`i i a Ktj b|

qjz`a RmZtMvöxi Gme gnyjgvþbi l ci Rjvq-ubhþZb eþÜi Avnevb Rvbþq BmjwgK dvDfÜkþ cwi Pwj Z GKwU tMvþtgi cwi Pwj K Avgvi f`k-tK Rvbvb, cveZ` GjvKvq GKmgq mevB teS`atg`P Avþvix wOtj b| uL`-vb wgbwii iv wvRvþtjv f l f`qf`wZ t`uL`q Zvt`i AvvKvsktKB uL`-vb ag`MþY eva` Kti tQ| gb l cÄYi Uvþb A`ev gnyjgvþt`i ms`utk`Gtm Zvt`i gta` tKD gnyjgvb ntj Zvi Avil qjv tB| wvR emw t`þK Df`Q`i cÄvKvþv Zvt`i l ci Pjg ubhþZb Pjv vþv nq| XvKvq Gtm Avktþ wbtj l Zvt`i AvBb-k:Ljv evnrb w`þq nqivw Kiv nþ`Q| w`KvUg tMvþtgi AvUK QvÜvRvþ`i Avþj`v`Zvt`i gv`evvi nvtZ Zþj t`qvi Rb` wZvb tRvi `me Rvbþq etj b, Zvt`i uL`-vþt`i nvtZ Zþj w`þj GÜv nte Bmjvg atg`P metþtq eo Aegvbbv| GÜv gnyjgvbiv mn` Ki þe bv| (Avgvi f`k, cÄvK: 8 Rvbvii 2013)|

evsjvþ`tk DMÜ WvbcSþ wgvwqv`þjv ag`K memgq ag`vix gvbþj i gta` tBvZevPK mste`b`Zvii KvtR e`envi Kti tQ| Gt`i tenki fivM cÄZte`þb D`wbgj-K bvb Dcv`vb thgb `vtK, tZgbB `vtK agtq fievteM`Zvii D`w me eqvb| Giv Ggb GK Kvq`vq GKwU NUbv cvvþKi tMvþtgi Avþv tþv Kti tMv msev`wK msev`bq tMvU wetePbvq ivtL bv| Dcti cÄZte`bW tZgbB chvþfþ`| A`P msev`wntmte GB aþþi cÄZte`þK dij Zzeqv wntmte LwvR Kti t`qvi AvtM misewi KZvq NUbv l e`vL`v wgtj mþZ`i th ALD GKK MVb Kti Zvi w`þK tþvL tdivþv Riavi nþq cfo| thgb, GB cÄZte`þb evv nþ`Q, cveZ` PAMðtq wbgg ubhþZþbi wKvii qjz`a RmZ tMvöxi gnyjgvbiv XvKvq Gtm wvRvþvMvR` l gv`imvq Avktþ wbtq l ti vB cvt`Qb bv| cnyk l i`vte wbtqvMvZ uL`-vb m`cÜvtqi m`m`iv Gt`i aþi wbtq AgvþvK ubhþZþbi ci `vþvq tmv`KtQ| GtZ Avþv th `jazi Z` t`qv nþtqQ Zvntjv, cveZ` AAþj i uL`-vb wgbwii þ`i t`qv Zvþj Kv Avþvq ivRvþv wvRvþvMvR` l gv`imv Kgtcþ` nrbv w`þQ AvBb-k:Ljv evnrbZ `vKv uL`-vb m`cÜvtqi m`m`iv|

GB cÄZte`þbi e`vcvti GKRb cvvþKi mZK`cÄZv`qv wvRv nþ`Q, cnyk l i`vtei gtZv evnrbZ atg`P wvRvþZ KvþK Ggb`wqZj t`qv nq

mnve`vb wKsev ivR%wZK mnbkxj Zv gviVZK ugiKi gjL cto| G ai#bi nj y misew KZvi wec`vc` tivta Avcvri cingK⁹Ki?

* GB ai#bi c#Zte`b cKviki t#t#i m#cr K/misew KZvi wK#K wnt#te KvhZ Avcub Kx ai#bi mZKZv Aej #b K#ib ev Kiv D#PZ etj gtb K#ib?

* Avgv#i gtZv t`tk msev`gva`igi figKv eiveiB c#vve`li Kvix| wK#S`bivv mg#q msev`gva`ig gZ cKviki `vaxbZvq mi Kv#i i wei#x Un`#t#i ci 0 Awf#hv#Mi K_v tkvbn hvq| wK#S`ev`te Avcub Av#`S Kx GB ai#bi wq#S#Y wKsev P#tci gjL cto`vtKb? hv` Avcvri DEi nu#mPK nq Zte Ggb cwi`wZ Avcub Kxf#te tgvK#tej v K#ib?

* evsjv`k, evsjv`tki ivRb#wZ I Af`S#xY bivv Bmj thgb, g#beZwe#i vax Acivtai wePvi, R#w#ev`, tcvkvKvki BZ`w` Ggb A#bK`ukRvZi we#tq we#fbwe#t wK msev`gva`ig I msev`ms`vq cKv#KZ t#vZevPK I c#t#vZ`y c#Zte`b wKsev Av#R#wZK g#vbe#Kvi m#Mvbm#gn#i GK#tck weewZ G#`tki c#ciw Kv I w#v#P`v#bj`tj v#Z c#tqB hvPvB-evQvB bv K#i AZ`S#l`i#z; w`tq cKvK Kiv nq| G#v KZUv th#S`K I misew KZvi m#% m#wZc#Y#etj Avcub we#tePbv K#ib? wKQz#KQzmsev`c#i c#vkv#K GK tkYxi B#j K#vBk w#v#wq#vq c#v#i Z c#Zte`tb Z`weKwZ, fj#Z` cwi#tekb I AwZi#bi c#YZv ninvtgkv j`# Kiv hvq| GB ai#bi c#Zte`b c#v#i d#j Rbg#b mi m#i Zvi we#fc c#ve co#Q| GB e`vcv#i Avcvri cingK⁹Ki?

* t`tk nj y misew KZvi g#j Avcub tkv#&c#YZv#K we#kl f#te`v#q# K#teb?



msev`c# I misew KZvi `vaxbZvi m#%`wqZ#xj Zv I Z#c#Z R#vZ

t#Mj vg mvi I qvi m#v#`K, `w#K mgKvj

1. Avgv#i t`tk `B avivi msev`c# cKv#KZ nq| GKwU gj-avivi| gj-avivi msev`c# GKwU g#b`B eRvq t#tL, misew KZvi b#wZ#wZKZv we#tePbvq w#tq tgvUv#w#f#te msev`c#Kv Kivi t#P# Kiv nq| t#L#v#b th t#Kv#v msev` th#t#Z#f#te cKvK bv K#i we#R#b# b#wZ Av#v#Y Kivi t#P# Kiv nq| c#vkv#K Av#K ai#bi msev`c# cKv#KZ nq, Gi m#L#v Av#K te#k| GKRb c#vK wnt#te gtb nq, t#L#v#b msev`i t#m#m#m#K wKbv Zv hvPvB Kiv nq bv, w#t#y` m# t`tk msev`i mZ`Zv w#v#Z Kiv nq bv; misew KZvi b#wZ#wZKZv g#v#v nq bv| t#Kv#v msev` c#v#i d#j K#v#v e#w#M#Z R#eb e`v#Z n#j v wKbv Zv c#v#v Kiv nq bv| ej`#Z t#M#j Gme w#Q#B g#v#v nq bv| eis c#vK#K g#v#v#P#K w#Q#z`I qvi R#`B Gme Q#v#v nq#v GB `#v#v avivi msev`c# Av#Q| w#Z#vq aviv w#tq Avgv#i t#Kv#v e³e`tb#| Kvi Y Gme msev`c# misew KZvi b`b#Zg g#v eRvq iv#L bv| Av#v g#b K#i, G ai#bi msev`c# cKvK n#q#v D#PZ b#q| G#v GK ai#bi nj y misew KZvi Ask| t#Kv#v we#tq w#v#Z bv n#q#B hv L#k w#j`#L w`j#v#| thgb, K#v#v wei#x Awf#hv#M cvl qv t#M#j, K#v#v wei#x Awf#hv#M`v#K#ZB cv#i| Zte hviv Awf#hv#M K#i Z#`i#l`v`#v#w#t#j#i e`v#v#i`v#K Av#K mg#q| GKRb c#Zte`K ev w#t#v#v#i`i`w#q#Z; n#`Q GB Awf#hv#M#v#K w#v`v a#i w#tq Gi mZ`U#K Av#v#v#v Kiv| Z#v#t#j#B Av#v#v mZ`Z`#`fei n#q Av#te#| Lei#i mZ`v#mZ` Av#v#v#v Kiv ev Av#v#v#v w#K#S`Awf#hv#M t#t#j#B t#Q#t`c`l`q#v n#j v, hv#i wei#x Awf#hv#M cvl qv t#M#j Zvi t#Kv#v e³e`tb#| qv n#j v bv| G#Z Zvi m#v#v#R#K gh#v#v`y`x#v#t#j#v| GB th B#`Q#t#Zv hv L#k`t#j#L#v ev c#v#i Kiv n#j v t#v#v#B B#t#q#t#j#v R#v#w#j#Rg ev nj y misew KZv|

Av#i K#v#v`y#wZKi we#q n#j v, fj#Z` m#ev#j Z GKwU msev`c#Kv n#q t#M#j, c#i bivv m# t`tk Lei w#tq R#v#v t#M#j Lei#v fj# ev weKZ. ev Av#v#K mZ`#`h#L#b GB msev`i c#Z#v`w# Q#v#v nq Z#L#b t`L#v hvq, c#v#i Kvi t#F#Z#i c#v#vq t#Q#v K#i Q#v#v nq| hv c#v#v#K#i L#y GK#v#v t#P#v#L#B c#o bv| G#v msev`c#i GKwU we#kl L#v#v#v w`K|`#GK#v#v c#v#i K#v Q#v#v Av#v#v#v#B Awf#hv#v#v Lei#v c#v#v c#v#vq Q#v#v#j#v I Awf#hv#v e#w#i

miseviri Kiti Abtjiva-Dctiva Kiti _vtKb th, GKUZ` Lteb| Zte Zv e^{w3} ch^qg _vktZ c^{ti} | Zte mi Kiti i c^y t^{_}tk tUuj t^{dv}b Kiti ej v nq bv th, GUv hite Avi | Ur hite bv ev GB Ask ev` hite|

Avti KUv ntjv th, Avgvi gtZv AtbtKB ej teb GLb MYgra`g we^{tkl} Kiti tUuj w^{fb} UK tkv, tj vtZ ga`ivtZ Ggb w^{KQz}tbB th we^{lq} K_v ejv n^Q bv| hvi hv gZ` raxb fite ej tQ| AtbK mgq gtb nq w^{KQz}welq GZ i^{pf}fite gste` Kiv nq hv Ab`fite^l ejv thZ ev Dc`icb Kiv thZ c^{ti} | MYgra`g` raxb etj B Gfite ej tZ nte Zv- I w^K bv| Zte GUv GKvsB Avgvi e^{w3}MZ gZ| ZviciI GK a^{it}bi c^{ti}v^y KbtUj ev w^{bq}s^y itq^Q| bvg etjZ PvB bv, m^ccl^Z GKw^U c^{iv}Kvi miseviri Kiti c^{dv}bg^{sj}i Kv^hf^q c^{lek} KitZ eviY Kiv n^{tq}tQ| Ggbw^K c^{dv}bg^{sj}i t^{cd}n Kbdv^{it}YI c^{lek} Kivi t^yt^l w^btl avAv itq^Q| GUv msev` c^{ti} i ev MYgra`gi` raxbZvi I ci GK a^{it}bi n`l^{yc}, hv` t^lRbK| Ggbw^U n^lqv D^{iv}PZ bq| ZviciI Avgvi` i B^Duk R^{ib}f^{ij} R^{igi} we^lq n^Q th, tmB c^{iv}Kv Ab` m^f t^{_}tk Lei m^lh^h Kiti c^{dv}bg^{sj}i msev` mgqgtZvB c^{iv}K^tK w^tq h^{it}Q| msev` w^U t^Qc Zv ev etj th, th^{tn}ZzAvgvi` i c^{dv}bg^{sj}i Kv^hf^q c^{lek} Kivi Ab^{gn}Z t^bB ZvB Avgiv` raxb Z^Zq m^f t^{_}tk Lei w^U m^lh^h Kiti msev` w^U t^Qc w^U| Kvi Y c^{iv}K^tK Zv ev w^{AZ} KitZ c^{ti} i bv| G^{lv}B n^Q w^U w^qZ^kij msev` g^{va}`gi K^vR| mevB mi K^{iv}t^K mg^{_} B Kite Ggbw^U tZv nq bv| mi K^{iv}tⁱ mg^{vt}j v^Pbr` v^KtZB c^{ti} i, K^{it}ZB c^{ti} | mi K^{iv}t^K tmB mg^{vt}j v^Pbr` mi` K^{it}Z nte| MYZw^{sk} mi K^{iv} e`e`v^q mi K^{iv}tⁱ mg^{vt}j v^Pbr` Kiv MYZw^{sk} Aw^aK^{iv}| mi K^{iv}, c^{iv}j^qU Av^Q Avⁱ we^{iv}ax` j` v^Kt^j l bv` v^Kvi gtZv tmL^{vt}b MYgra`g K_v t^jv etjZB nte| GB c^{iv}w^U w^{it}Z bvg Kiv t^Kvt^{br} msev` g^{va}`gi I ci G a^{it}bi w^btl avAv MYgra`gi` raxbZv^q n`l^{yc} Kivi g^{ta} t^Kvt^{br} c^vR` t^bB| Gfite w^{KQz}c^{ti}v^y w^{bq}s^y KL^{tb}v KL^{tb}v j^y Kiv h^{it}Q| Avevi AtbK mgq AtbK msev` g^{va}`gtK b^{iv}Zg^{ij}v Ab^{iv}q^x mi K^{iv} w^eAv^cb t^{_} l nq nq bv| Ggb c^{ti}v^y w^{KQz}welq Q^{iv} ev j^v hv^q, i^{pf}fite mi^vmⁱ t^Kvt^{br} w^{bq}s^y t^bB| Avgiv` raxb fite ej tZ c^{iv}w^U, w^U L^{it}Z c^{iv}w^U|

miseviri KZv tckv Ab^{iv} tckv t^{_}tk Av^jv`v ntj l GB mg^{iv}R l t^{_}tki t^{cl}v^{ic}U we^{te}Pbv^q L^y te^{nk} w^ev^Qbm^{KQz}bq| ZvB AtbK tckvi gtZv Avgvi` i l b^{iv} S^{it}-S^{it}g^{ij}v, P^{rc} t^gw^{iv}tej v Kiti K^{iv}R KitZ nq, GUv ev` e^Zv| G^{mt}eⁱ g^{ta} l MYgra`gi g^{iv}y^{iv} f^{it}j v^B tZv Av^Q| Zte tckvi Lw^ZtiB te^{nk} w^qZ^kij f^{ig}K^v c^{ij}b KitZ nq, GKUZ mnbk^{ij} ntZ nte|

- 5. Avgv gtb Kivi, msev` c^{ti} i raxbZv, miseviri KZvi raxbZvi m^tz² w^qZ^kij Zv l Z^clZv^{ite} R^wQZ| raxbZv Av^Q etj B t^{_}tki t^{_}Q^{iv} t^{_}l hv L^{yk} B^tQ^gtZv ej v l c^{iv}K^v Kiv hite Zv nq bv| Bi^vK h^{ix}i K_vB hv` e^{ij}, Av^gvi K^{iv}i MYgra`g tZv g^y l raxb (l^{tc}b Av^U w^d)| Bi^{it}Ki h^{ix}i mgq Av^gvi K^{iv}i MYgra`g w^{it}Ri t^{_}tki w^eit^x hv^q Ggb Lei c^{iv}K^v KitZv ev etj B P^tj | GUv GK a^{it}bi w^qZ^kij Zvi Ask w^{it}mt^e G^{it}Q, Zv ev gtb Kiti Av^gvi K^{iv}i t^{_}Q^{iv} w^eit^x w^lt^q

KL^{tb}v msev` c^{iv}K^v Kiv hite bv| Avgv gtb Kivi, evs^j v^{it} t^{ki} t^{cl}v^{ic}U w^bt^q Av^SR^wZK l^{oh}s^j n^Q| G^tZ t^Kvt^{br} m^t n^{tb}B| t^{cl}v^{ic}U w^bt^q t^{iv}Z^eiPK Lei Av^SR^wZK MYgra`g c^{iv}K^v n^Q| Ggb me Lei c^{iv}K^v Kiti GB tm[±]i^Ut^K a^{iv}sm KitZ Pv^tQ| w^KS` w^{KQz}ZB evs^j v^{it} t^{ki} MYgra`gtK Gme l^{oh}t^{sj} Ask^{iv} n^l qv hite bv| thme Lei t^gw^lt^fU^W n^tq Zv ev c^{iv}K^v KitQ Zv Avgvi` i L^y mZK^Zvi m^tz² Gme Letii mZ`Zv hv^PvB-ev^QvB Kiti t^{_} L^{it}Z nte th, Gi KZUK c^{iv}K^v Kiv hite| evs^j v^{it} t^{ki} t^{_}Q^{iv} nq Ggb Ask w^{KQz}ZB c^{iv}K^v Kiv hite bv|

- 6. GB Av^tj v^Pbr`Uv Avgv GKUZAv^tMB Kiti w^U Ab` c^{iv}K^vi^{ed}Ei w^{it}Z w^lt^q| G^ty^tl Ave^{iv} e^{je} Avgvi` i w^qZ^kij ntZ nte, GL^{vt}b w^qZ^kij Zvi t^Kvt^{br} w^eKⁱB t^bB| AtbK msev` c^{ti} i c^{iv}K^vc^{iv}K^v Avgvi` i t^{_}tk c^lq 25-30w^U tUuj w^{fb} P^{ij}yAv^Q, n^qtZv Av^{iv} tUuj w^{fb} m^cP^{ti}i Ab^{gn}Z c^{te}| Gme tUuj w^{fb} t^jv^Z K^{iv} Av^tM t^K msev` w^U c^{iv}vi Kite Ggb c^{iv}Zthw^MZv KitZ w^lt^q msev` i mZ`Zv hv^PvB-ev^QvB bv KitiB c^{iv}K^v KitQ hv G^Kev^tiB w^K n^Q bv| hviv GB msev` g^{va}`g, t^jvi w^qZ^kij c^t Av^Qb Z^{iv} i D^{iv}PZ nte GK^{it}z² et^m Gme t^{iv}ta c`t^{yc} t^{bl} qv| G a^{it}bi Lei c^{iv}vi Kiv^q miseviri KZvi L^y y^{iv}Z n^Q| Gme Av^f c^{iv}Zthw^MZv t^{_}tk w^eiZ t^{_}tk w^qZ^kij miseviri KZvi w^{it}K Z^{iv} i g^{iv}tthw^M w^{it}Z nte| AtbK tUuj w^{fb} w^qZ^kij miseviri KZvi w^{it}K t^{_}tk Av^tKUv w^{iv}Q^tq Av^Q etj Avgv gtb Kivi| Kivi tUuj w^{fb} t^{bi} Lei c^{iv}vi g^{iv}b mi^vmⁱ Zvi t^Qevⁱ gZb n^tq hv^q| g^{iv}z^B Gi c^{iv}Z^{iv} qv nq| c^{iv}K^v K^{iv} Lei w^U c^{iv} b c^{iv}vi nq ZvB Gi c^{iv}ve c^{to} GKUZ` w^{it}Z| ZvB e^sitZ nte, GB MYgra`g w^U w^qz^kij x, GB MYgra`g w^U e^{envi} KitZ nte L^yB mZK^Zvi m^tz²| mZK^Zvi t^Kvt^{br} w^eKⁱ t^bB|

GLb AtbK msev` c^{ti} l tUuj w^{fb} P^{iv}t^{bj} n^{tq}tQ| Gi AmsL` c^{iv}K^v-`kR l t^{kl}Z^{iv} i K^{iv}tQ KZ m^{it}R l` z^z mg^q t^{cl}v^{ic}U hv^q- GB Av^f c^{iv}Zthw^MZvi c^{iv}Y^Zvi Gi GKUv K^{iv}Y| AtbK etj b, Avⁱ t^Kvt^{br} c^{iv}K^v ev tUuj w^{fb} P^{iv}t^{bj} `i K^{iv} t^bB| Avgv Zv ej^{ter} bv| Avgvi` i t^{_}tk tZv G^ty^tl mi K^{iv}tⁱ Ab^{gn}Z t^{bl} q^{iv} c^{iv}q^vRb nq, we^{it} t^{kl} Gme Ab^{gn}Z ev Ab^gv` b w^{KQz} `i K^{iv} nq bv| t^{ke}j mi K^{iv}tⁱ Av^Bb Avⁱ w^{bq}-K^{iv}b^{iv} t^git^h P^jtZ nte| f^{it}j v ntj c^{iv}K^v ev` k^R-t^{kl}Zv t^{_}L^{te}-c^{ofe}-i^bte, f^{it}j v bv ntj g^{iv}b^{iv} M^hY Kite bv| ZvB Avgv me a^{it}bi MYgra`gi t^qt^l Z^{iv} i w^qZ^kij Zvi w^KU t^{_}L^{te}v|

Q^{iv}ov l MYgra`gi gw^{ij} K n^l qv g^{iv}b L^y m^{it}R mg^{iv}Ri D^ez^{it}i R^{iv}Q^{iv} Kiti t^{bl} q^{iv} hv^q- Gi e^{iv}z^{iv}g w^{KQz}Av^Q| GB GKUv eo c^{iv}Y^Zvi| Avevi AtbK MYgra`gi gw^{ij} K Z^{iv} i MYgra`gtK e^{w3} t^{_}Q^{iv} e^{envi} K^{it}b Zte Avgv bvg ej^{ter} bv me^{iv} K_v ej w^U bv| w^KS` Avgiv R^wb, AtbK gw^{ij} K AZ`S l i^{pf}fite, K^zmZ^{fite} Z^{iv} i GB g^{va}g^{iv}U^tK w^{it}R^{it} i t^{_}Q^{iv} e^{envi} Kiti w^{it}Ri c^{iv}vi P^{iv}b| GB c^{iv}Y^Zvi Kⁱ v^qx K^{iv} hv^q| GLb tZv msev` c^{ti} L^y GKUv j^vfR^BK e^{em}l bq| K^{iv}w^B GKUv c^{iv}Zthw^MZv| ZviciI c^{iv}P^z c^{iv}K^v c^{iv}K^v n^Q| Ggbw^K we^{it}te^vW`

migʔbiw ʔK Qnemn weAvcb ʔ l qv nʔQ| hv cɥ_xi BwZnɪm GgbUv
 ʔKv_vl ʔ_l ub| GB ʔckvq cAvk eQi aʔi KvR KiwQ, Kí bvl KíʔZ
 cwi bʔ th, Avgvi Qwe wʔq GKUv wej ʔeiwʔUwOʔq mgKuj covi Rbʔ
 weAvcb ʔ l qv nʔe| KviY GKUvB, Zivv GB MYgva gʔK migʔb ʔiʔL
 Abʔ ʔ_l ʔnwmj Kivi ʔPov Kʔib| gwij Kiv ʔ_l ʔnwmj Rbʔ GUʔK
 nwmZqvi wntmʔe eʔenvi KíʔQb| misew Kivl wefba mgq Zvʔ i
 misew KZvi cwi PqcʔwU eʔenvi Kʔi eʔwʔ ʔ_l ʔnwmj KíʔQb| Zivv
 bwmZ%bmZKZv ʔgʔb misew KZvi ʔwqZicj b KíʔZ GB ʔckvq Avʔmub|
 Zivv mgʔRi Abʔ mʔ ʔj vʔK Zə Kʔi wefba mʔhwm-mʔeav wʔq j vʔeiv
 n l qvi RbʔB msev ʔ cwi ʔekb KíʔQb| Avi Awkʔvi, agrʔ ʔMwvug,
 Aʔ_ʔ cʔZ Awʔj vʔ- Gme Amʔ cʔYZvl Gi Rbʔ vqx|



msev, msev cʔ l
misew Kiv nʔe ʔj wbiʔcʔ
gwZDi ingub
mʔcv K, cʔg Avʔjv

1. GB cʔkʔvi GKwU Amʔeav nʔjv th, GʔZ mʔbʔ ʔ Kʔi ejv nqub ʔKvb
 ʔKvb msev ʔ ev ʔKvb cʔZovʔbi cʔPwi Z msev ʔi ʔyʔʔ bʔbZg gub ʔ
 i ʔv Kiv nqub| wK Kx aʔbi, KZUv weʔwʔski ev KZUv gub ʔ i wʔZ
 nqub| Zivv GB cʔkʔw Dʔʔ kʔgʔ-K Ges mʔbʔ ʔ Kʔi Reve ʔ l qv GKUv
 KwUv| Zivv cʔ l Awg ej e, evsʔv ʔ kmn weʔkʔi bʔv ʔ ʔk bʔv mgʔq G
 aʔbi ʔz-weʔwʔski KLʔv Dʔʔ kʔgʔ-K Avevi KLʔv i aʔ Dʔʔ knxb ʔz
 nʔZ cʔʔi | Avgiv ev Avgvi wʔ K ʔ_ʔK memgq ʔPov vʔK misew KZvi
 bʔbZg gub ʔ i wʔZ nq bʔ Ggb ʔKvʔv msev ʔ thb cʔPvi Kiv bʔ nq|
 cʔg Avʔjv mʔcv K wntmʔe ej ʔZ cwi, msev cʔPʔi i ʔyʔʔ Avgiv
 mevʔK ʔPov Kw ʔKvʔv i Kg ʔz bʔ KíʔZ, ʔKvʔv i Kg AmʔwZcʔYʔLei
 bʔ OvʔZ Ges cʔPvi gvaʔg ev msev cʔʔ i maviY wʔqg-bwmZgʔv v ʔgʔb
 Pj ʔZ| Awg ʔb Kw, cʔg Avʔjv cwi Kv Zv ʔgʔb Pʔj | A_vʔ Avgvʔ i
 wʔ K ʔ_ʔK G ʔjv Avgiv bʔRi i wU, ʔLqj Kw, ʔ l fʔj Kw | hw
 ʔKvʔv eʔwʔ ev cʔZovʔb bwmZgʔv j •Nb Kʔi vʔK Ges hw cʔvY nq
 th, msev wU ʔz ev AmʔwZcʔYʔwʔj Zvntj wK AvʔQ| wKʔ ʔKvʔv
 misew K, ʔKvʔv eʔwʔ, ʔKvʔv cʔZovʔb, ʔhgb, wAvBwe ev mi Kʔi i
 ʔKvʔv ʔbZv ej ʔj B AʔZ Avgvi KvʔQ MʔYʔhwm nʔe bʔ th msev wU ʔz
 wʔj ev msev cʔPʔi i bwmZ%bmZKZvi mʔz AmʔwZcʔYʔwʔj | Zv ʔKv_vl
 bʔ ʔKv_vl wePʔi AvʔZ nʔe| ʔmRbʔ Avgvʔ i weaʔx hLb ʔKD wʔ_v
 Z_ cʔPvi Kʔi ev wʔ_v cʔPʔi i Awʔʔhwm Avʔb ZLb Avgiv ʔcʔ
 KvDwʔj hvB|
2. G cʔkʔw Awg ʔqvʔUB MʔY KíʔZ cwiw bʔ| Avgvi Rvʔv gʔZ Ggb
 ʔKvʔv NUbv ʔbB hv ʔKvʔv msev cʔ l ev msev gvaʔgi ʔz Z_ cʔkʔki
 Kvi ʔY ʔ ʔk AbvKw ʔjZ NUbv NUʔZ ʔ l v ʔMʔQ ev mʔcv cʔZK mgʔq agrʔ
 l mʔcv cʔwqK mʔcv cʔwZ ev mʔve ʔv ʔwZMʔ l nʔqʔQ| Ggb msev ʔKvʔv
 msev cʔʔ Ovʔv nʔqʔQ eʔj Awg Rvʔb bʔ ev ʔ_l ub| mi Kvi l wefba
 gnj ʔ_ʔK Ggb GKwU cʔPvi Pj vʔv i ʔPov nʔʔQ th, msev cʔʔ ʔKvʔv
 ʔKvʔv msev cʔkʔki Kvi ʔY mʔcv cʔwqK nʔv nʔv NUbv NʔʔQ| GUv
 Dʔʔ kʔgʔ-K Ges wʔwʔEnxb| Kvi Y Gi cʔvY Avgvi KvʔQ ʔbB| eis Avgiv

t`uL, Gme NUBvi tCQtb wefbaivR%buZK `j, mi Kwii `j h9| Zviv Df`k`gj-Kfite G NUBv, tju NuUtqtQ| mjbw 0fite Kte, tKvb e`w3, tKvb w`tCvU`ev msev` gva`g Zv Dfj`L Kti ej`z nte| Zv bv ntj tZv MhYthM` nte bv| ZvB, Avng AvtMI etj`u GLtbr ej`u GB cktv| mjbw 0fite Df`k`gj-Kfite Kiv ntqtQ| ZvB Guv emZj KitZ Pvb| tKvb MYgva`g, tKvb w`tCvU`ev tKvb c0Z0v`bi nj`y miew` KZvi KviY RbubivcEv` ywZM`IntqtQ Ges m`v`c0`wqK m`c0`wZ b0 ntqtQ Zv Dfj`L Kti ej`z nte|

Zte civgtkP` K_v hwi` etj b, Avng Avgvi K_v ej`z cwi| wK5` Ab`i` civgtkP` tZ Pvb bv| c0g Avtjvi K_v hwi` emj, hZ eo miew` KB` hnb br tKb GLtB Zv`K eQt`i `0ev` cixyv` w`tZ nq miew` KZvi MYgib tkLvi Rb`, Avtjv Ribr` I` tevSvi Rb`; wZq ntjv, c0Z`K miew` KtK` evsjv` fivli Rb` eQt`i wZbevi cixyv` w`tZ nq| tm thb fivjv` evsjv` tktL, RivtZ` cfti, PPP`Kti Ges fivjv` wj` LtZ` cfti| Avevi Avgvt` i` cwi` Kvi wefbaivfiv` thgb, GwUwui` qij, wDpvi, wDR` wefiv` huiw` D`Pct` t`c0`q` tM`Qb` Zv`i` Rb`l` w`bqwgZfite we`tkl` c0k`y`Yi` e`e`v` Kti` w`mK| Avng G_v` tju` ej`u` GRb` th, miew` Kiv` bibrfite` bibr` RvqUv` t`_tk` Avtmb, KvtR` h9` nb| mevB` meivKQz` tRtb`-ejS` Avtmb` bv| Gt`y`I` Avgvt` i` w`qZ; Zv`i` tK miew` KZv` tkLvtb, tevSiv, Avb` t` l` qv` Ges D`PZI` RvqUv` w`bq hvl` qv| ZvtZ` tmB` Kgr`ev` miew` tKi` jvf, c0g` Avtjvi` jvf, msev` cI` l` miew` Kti` i` jvf| Gfite` GwMtq` w`bq` hvl` qv` hvq| A_v` miew` KZvi` ymZ` gib` evov`bvi` Rb` Zv`K` m`thwM`Zv` Kiv| GKB` m`t` miew` KZvi` j`y`, Df`k`, Av` k` q` w`qZ; m`c0`K`AwvZ` Kiv, Dm`wvZ` Kiv` l` D0y` Kiv|

civkvcmk` Avgiv` Avt`KwU` w`l`q` L0B` tRvi` w`B` Ges` gtb` Kwii, miew` Kiv` thb` fivjv` cwi` t`k` KivR` Ki`z` cfti` b| Zvt` i` teZb`fivZv` l` m`thwM`-m`v`av` m`v`mZfite` Ggb` t`i` Dbwz` Kiv` thb` Zviv` fivjv` Rieb`hrcb` Ki`z` cfti` b| GmeB` fivjv` miew` KZv` Kivi` Rb` eo` kZ` GKRb` thwM` miew` K` hwi` fivjv` teZb` l` m`thwM`-m`v`av` bv` cvb` Ziv` cty` Ae`vb` Kiv, w`tk` vKv` ev` Pj`z` cvi`v`v` m`c` bq| G_v` tju` bv` ntj` KLtbr` gwj` tKi, KLtbr` c0Z0v`bi` Lvivc` e`e`vcbvi` KviY, Avevi` KLtbr` wDR` t`tevaev` tZ` miew` Kiv` AtbK` mgq` Lviv` tci` w`tk` th`z` cfti` b| G` t`_tk` miew` Kti` i` w`iZ` l`vli` Rb` Gme` c`-c`x`wZ` t`bl` qv` i` Kivi` thwM`jv` Avgiv` w`bq` ev` t`bl` qvi` tPov` Kwii | Avgiv` Gme` m`v`mZ` Kti` hwb` KviY` miew` Kti` i` fivjv` cwi` t`k` vKv` l` fivjv` Rieb`hrcb`i` w`b`0qZv` nt`Q` fivjv` KvtRi` m`v`qK | Gfite` Pj`z` nte` Ges` Gfite` tPov` Kti` th`z` nte|

3. Avgiv` Avgvt` i` me` miew` KtK` c0k`y` w`tq` w`l`q` tju` m`c0`K`emj` Ges` mZK`Kwii | Zvt` i` tevSiv` Ges` Riviv`B` th, msev`-msev` cI` l` miew` Kiv` nte` j` w`bi`c`y`| Zvt` i` c0Z` tKi` wDR` t`Kv`bv` w`Pstfievb, Av` k` q` i`vR%buZK` gZev` v`KtZB` cfti, Zte` wZib` hLb` msev` wj` Lteb` ZLb` Kvtiv` cty`-wecty` hvl` qvi` gZ` Kti` wj` Lteb` br, ej` t`eb` br` Ges`

wb`Ri` gZev` 0vivi` Zv` c0fweZ` nte` bv | msev` wU` Aek`B` mZ, Z` euj` l` w`bi`c`y`fite` Dc`vcb` Ki`z` nte | msev` wU` hwi` Kvtiv` wecty` hvq` Zvntj` tmB` e`w3` ev` c0Z0v`bi` e3`e`l` i`btz` nte, RivtZ` nte, wj` LtZ` nte, cwi` Kvi` cvZvq` AvtZ` nte` Ges` Zv` Ztj` aitZ` nte` w`bi`c`y`Zvi` m`t`/ c`vK` thb` tmB` msev` wU` cto` me` ai`t`bi` gZ, w`Pstf` Ges` e3`te`i` c0Z`d`j` b` t` LtZ` cvq | Avgiv` evievi` c0k`e`Kwii` Ges` evievi` emj` th, miew` tKi` tju` LvtK, miew` KZvtK` GgbwK` miew` KtKl` evievi` c0k`e` Kite, wRtAm` Kite, m`b`n` Kite, ZvtK` Awektm` Kite` GgbwK` Zvi` m`t`/ ZtK` wj` B` ntZ` nte | Gfite`B` tPov` Kti` hvl` qv | Zvi` cI` f`z` ntZ` cfti, f`z` nq, nte | we`tki` me` msev` cI` f`z` nq, c0k`antjv` f`z`Uv` t`Kvi` Kti` wK`-bv, gw`b` wK`-bv | Avgvt` i` msev` cI` i` K_v` ej`z` cwi, Avgiv` w`b`RivB` emj` th, MZ` msL`vq` th` msev` wU` Qvcv` ntqtQ` ZvtZ` Avgvt` i` f`z` ntqtQj, tmRb` Avgiv` y`gvc0`x` Avi` Avgvt` i` msev` m`c0`K`emj` tKd` c0Zev` wj` w`c` c`v`wq` Zte` Avgiv` tmB` c0Zev` wj` w`c`l` c0vii` Z` msev` i` RivqMmUtZB` QvciB` Ges` tmmt`/ Avgvt` i` hwi` wK`Qzejvi` v`tk` Zvntj` tmUv` wj` w`l` |

4. Avng` w`bq`st`y` cto`w`K` c`w`v`b` Guv` hwi` RivtZ` Pvb` Zvntj` ej`e` mi` Kvti` i` nivZ` v`tk` `kUv, w`kUv, w`l`kUv, Pij`kUv` ev` GKk0Uv | Zvt` i` GB` nivZ` ev` n` t`y`c` Kivi` bibr` c`_` c`x`wZ, Kiv` v`-Kivb`y` v`tk | Avgvi` msev` cI` KivR` Kivi` wN`AwfAZvi` Rv`tb` eufite` t`Lv, Rivv`-tevSvi` m`thwM` ntqtQj | tmB` m`v`v` G` ai`t`bi` n` t`y`t`ci` fq`i` l` f`mZKi` Avv`y` BZ` w`i` AwfAZv` Avgvi` AvtQj | hwi` c0g` Avtjvi` K_v` etj` b, RivZq` msm` t` cv`v` AvovB` N`Ev` AvtjvPbv, Mvj` g` c0g` Avtjvi` w`i`at`x` Kiv` ntqtQj | Guv` tZv` GK` ai`t`bi` fq`i` Pvc | GKgvI` m`c`v`K` w`ntmte` Avng` GKUv` KwZz; `we` Ki`z` cwi` th, Avgvi` w`i`at`x` eZ0v`b` c0vbg`st`i` w`bi`v`c`Ev` Dc`v` ov` tgRi` tRbvtij` (Ae.) ZvtiK` Avntg` w`m`l` Kx` c0vbg`st`i` Kivh`f`tq` e`tm` GKwU` msev` m`t`aj` b` Kti` tQb | tmLvtb` c0g` Avtjvi` miew` KtK` WvKv` nqub | KviY` Gi` GKgvI` Df`k` w`Qj` c0g` Avtjvi` m`c`v` tKi` w`i`at`x` w`t`lv` Mvi` Kiv | GuU` Df`k` gj`-K` Ges` fq`i` n` t`y`c` ej`v` hvq | wZib` GZ` c0f`vekv` x` l` kw`3`kv` x` GKRB` e`w3` w`hwb` i` ay` Avgvi` w`i`at`x` K_v` ev` i` Rb` GKwU` msev` m`t`aj` b` Kti` tQb, GRb` Avng` KwZz` zji` `we`vi |

G0vov` bibr` ai`t`bi` Pvc` tZv` i` tqtQb, thgb, gwjv`-tgvK`i` gv, fqf`wZ, Avv`y` Gme` Pj` tQb | G_v` tju` Avng` t`fweK` a`ti` w`b | Avng` Avgvi` KivR` Ki`z` w`mK | mZ` msev` c0k`v`tki` KivRwU` Kti` hwb | Avgvi` miew` Kti` i` emj` th, tKv`bv` i` Kg` cy`-wecty` bv` w`bq, mev` K` tRtb, ej`S` hv` mZ` etj` gtb` Kite` Zv` wj` Lt`e | Avgvt` i` GKgvI` kw`3` ntjv` Avgiv` mZ` wj` w`l` | f`z` Kiti` Zv` GKk0` evi` f`z` Ges` Zv` t`Kvi` Kti` y`gv` tP`tq` w`b |

5. gtb` nt`Q` GB` cktv | Df`k` gj`-K | GRb`B` ej`u` Df`k` gj`-K` th, mjbw` 0fite` GfZl` ev` nqub` Kte, tKvb` MYgva`g, tKvb` w`tCvU`G` ai`t`bi` msev` c0vii` ev` c0k`v` Kiv` ntqtQ | Zte` m`v`v`i` Yfite` ej`z` cwi,

**Kivivabr-^`pdkiv ev `pofwz
tkvbrfiteB misewi KZv bq
gbRjg Avmb ejey**

cåvb mæcr` K I cåvb ubeþn
`ekvLx tUvj wfk b vj ugþUW, XvKv



1. Avcub wKB etj tQb, Avgiv hwi wgvWqv i`tk ZvKvB, GB mgq Ggb KZ, tju NUBv itqtQ hv ubtq MYgva`gi figKv misewi KZvi ubw`tL h_v`ejv hvte bv| Avgiv NUBveuj GB eQti AtbK mgq tcjvg AtbK fitjv gvþbi misewi KZv Kivi, wKs` KitZ cvijvg bv, GUV Avmtj Avgv`i fitjv misewi KZvi mSKU| misewi KZvi bmZgijvi gta` t`tk, misewi KZvi tckv`vmitZji gta` t`tk misewi KZv`tk KD hwi aviy KitZ bv cvtib GUV Zv`iB t`vl hivi GB aitþi misewi KZv Ktib| GUV Ggb GKw tckv cwitek tKgb nte Zvi Ici fitjv misewi KZv wbfP Kite bv| misewi KZv wbfP Kti th tKvþv cwi`vZtZ, th tKvþv cwitek misewi KZv Kiv| fitjv misewi KZvi j`fY nã`Q misewi KZvi ubw`t gvcKwv tgb, tckv`vmitZji tgb, th tKvþv cwi`vZtZ Avgiv misewi KZv KitZ cvijvg wKbv; Avgiv wþRi tKvþv gþe` bv wgvktq, wþRi tKvþv `pofwz bv wgvktqN GUVB nã`Q misewi KZv|

Avevi GKB NUBv`tk Ab` GKw MYgva`g, tUvj wfk b P`vþj ev tKvþv cwi`Kv Zv`i mæcr` Kxq bmZ Ablyqx bvbvite wtkdY Kiteb| wKs` tKvþv`fiteB Zvi gZigZ Pwctq t`teb bv, cþqvRtb hwy` Zjg aþi NUBvi e`vL`v t`teb, Zte d`v`tk meKZ.Kti bq, Kivivabr-^`pdkiv ev `pofwz tKvþv`fiteB misewi KZv bq ev mæcr` Kxq bmZgijvi gta` cto bv|

2. Avmtj nj`y misewi KZvi GKUV BwZnm AvtQ Ges tmB BwZnmI misewi KZvi BwZnmI Ask| wKs` nj`y misewi KZv nã`Q bv-misewi KZv| th misewi KZv tbwZevPK tmUB nã`Q nj`y misewi KZv| nj`y misewi KZv ej`tZ Ab` tKvþv aitþi misewi KZv`tk tevSiq bv| thUV misewi KZvi bmZgijv gvþb bv tmUBv ntjv nj`y misewi KZv| tKD hwi etj th, bv Avig fitjv misewi KZv Kitev bv, Avig nj`y misewi KZv Kitev Zintj GUV cwi`vi ej`tZ nq Zwg tKvþv misewi KB bv| Avgv`i GLvþ th misewi KZvi Pp`ntã`Q Zv nj`y misewi KZvi BwZnmI m½`I hvq bv| GUV GK aitþi ivRbmZ cfi`meZ misewi KZv| ivR%bmZK `jevRi misewi KZv|

3. t`Lj, cåvMUViI GKw PwI` v`tk| nqtZv tgvUv`vM cåvMUV misewi KZvi GKw Ask wKs` c`dkbij misewi KZvi Ask bv| cåvMUV wgvWqv cwi`K` bvgm`K Kti| GKUV cåZ`vrb ev GKUV Dm`tk cåvMUVq Avbv nq| GUV misewi KZv bv eis GK aitþi Kiv`uBb| wMZ eQi tju`Z GB aitþi NUBv`vni mgq wKZmKQzigmWqv th AvPiY Avgiv j`fY KtiwQ Zvi m½` msev`cI` Avi cþvictI`i gta` cv`R` L`R cvBub| msev`cI` I cþvictI`i gta` cv`R` nã`Q, cþvictI` GKw wtkl D`tk` v`tk| GUVi gta` cwi`Kvi gZv tgKAvc` v`kZ cvti, cwi`Kvi gZv QmE` v`kZ cvti, cwi`Kvi gZv bvbvb KwmmctKkbl v`kZ cvti, wKs` cþvictI` GKUV wtkl tcåv` hv tmj Kivi Rb` Zwi Kiv nq| msev`cI`i Aeqte GUV cþvictI` Ab`v`tk, msev`cI` nã`Q msev`cI`B, mWk msev` cwitekB hvi gj` D`tk`| wKs` tKvþv tKvþv msev`cI` GB NUBv, tju ubtq GtKev`i cþviYvi ZvM` cþvictI`i figKvq AeZv`nã`Qj| tmUVB nã`Q mePvBtZ mec`abK w`K| misewi KZvi bwtg Kti`Qb Ac-misewi KZv| GtZ`v`K t`tk` fWZ Kti`Q| GK ntjv, misewi KZvi gZv tckv`vmitZji th RvqMv Zv Avcub cKw`x Kti`Qb, Aciv`tk, Avcub misewi KZvi gZv Kti` Ggb wRwv ev cåvMUVi Kij b hv ivã`, mgvR, tMvõx Z`v`tmUV t`tki Rb`` fWZKi ntjv| GLb, aiv hvK, cþvictI` w`tg tcåv` tmj KitZ Pvb| ZvB etj Avcub digwv b tmj Kivi Rb` cþvictI` Zwi Kij GUV wK tKvþv miKvi tgb tte?

GB th tndv`tZi mgq ev kvnevM MYRvMi`yi mgq tKvþv tKvþv cwi`Kv cþvictI`i figKvq tbtg Ggb me Lei tmj Kivi tPov Kti`Q hvi tKvþv Dm`wQ bv| iayD`vbgj`K AvPiY, Atkvfb I BwZcY` Lei w`tg mgvR Av`iZv mwp Kti`Qj, ivtã` w`vZkxj Zv bõ Kti`Qj| mtefcwi Pevs`nePv`i ivtã` PwI` bõ Kivi cwaZv`v`wQj| Avig w`lqv GKUze`vL`v Kti` ej`tZ Pvb, thgb, Gt`i cþvictI` AmZ`wQj| AmZ`v`v Kx? GKUV cwi`Kvq Kvev kwitd` wMj`v`d` cvtþvri GKw QmE` Qmctq w`tg ejv ntjv th, eisjv`tk hycivax`i w`Pv`i Rb` Kvev kwitd` Bgvtgi tbtZ`tZigvbe`vB Kiv nã`Qj| GUV d`v`Kp`v`wv wgvmtUK| cåZ misewi KZvi w`K t`tk| KivRB GUV tKvþv aitþi misewi KZvi gta` cto bv| Ab`v`tk, Ggb GKw cwi` Ges`v`kRvZi RvqMv`K eisjv`tk Avcub e`envi Kti`Qb th t`tki maviY gvj gub`i gta` I B`v`þbi cåZ Mfvi K`v AvtQ| A_P Avcub tmB cwi` RvqMv e`envi Kij b cåZv`v`i KvR| Zintj Avcub cåZg Kij b Amisewi KZv, wZxqZ GUV GKUV cåZv`v`v| ZZxqZ ntjv D`tk`g`j`K| D`tk`g`j`K tkb? Avcub GB msev`i gva`tg gubv`tk D`v`b t`qv`i tPov Kti`Qb| Avcub t`L`vZ Pvb`j b KvevN`i`i tju`Kivl hycivax`i w`Pv`i w`i`#x| Avmtj GUV GKUV D`v`b| PZZZ, hycivax`i w`Pv`i hv wKbv Gt`tki ivã`q`v`wZ; ivtã` HwZnmK KZ`e, tmUv`tk fDj` Kivi tPov Kij b| Aciva wntmte`i agv`I Avcub Ac-misewi KZv Kij b Zv bq, Avcub AtbK, tju wtkl D`tk` ubtq KvRw Kij b, th D`tk` eisjv`k bvgK ivã`, Gt`tki mgvRe`v, Gt`tki agv` Ab`v`Zi w`i`#x tM`Q| KivRB, GB mgq GK tkYvi cwi`Kv GB aitþi

ntjv bv, gvbemaKivi mSMVb AnaKivi Zvuj Kv w`tjv etU wKS' Zvuj Kvq
 Kvi I bvg w`tjv bv| ejv ntjv 62 Rb gviv tMtQ| OKvtj i KU0 cwi Kvi
 misew Kiv GB 62 Rtbi c0Z`tKi evmiv evmiv wMtq tLUR wbtq
 t`tL0b| cvoiq cvoiq, newfbægv`imiq, gmirRt` Zviv wMtq0b wKS'
 `tjLi wela GiKg tKvtbv Z_`, Kvtiv wbtLUR ev gZi msev` Zviv
 cibw| GUV L0B futjv GKUV Df`vM, c0B Z_` t`_tK w`tceUP
 cikvcwK Bbtfw`-tMkbi Kiv ntjv| GtZ wela quU wbtq mZ` Ges mwVK
 avi Yv cvl qu tMj |

7. nVir Kti Gi Reve t`qu hvte bv| GBUKzAwg ejtZ cwi th, tKvtbv
 i3Pq|zkvmK GLb evsvt`k kvmb Ki0 bv| wgwWqv th ai0bi
 D`wbgj-K Lei c0vi Kti Zv Df`k`gj-K, Gi mt1/2`jxq ivRbmZ I
 msk0 msev` gva`gi ivR%0wZK GtRUV RwoZ`_vKtZ cvti | GUtK
 Avgiv wgwWqv ewj bv| GLvtb c0fivK Kivi tP0v Kiv nq GtKerfi
 t0wZevPK At`_0 GLvtb misew KZv ejtZ wKQz tbB| GKRb
 misew tKi gj`wqZ; UzBbdig wccj A`vevDU d`v± A`vU wmpzqkb,
 mgvR hv NU0 Zv gvbtK Rvbter, GB Rvbter ga` w`tq gvbtK
 wkvWZ I mtPZb Kivi tP0v Kitev| Avcbvi wbtRiB I qvPwM wntmte
 figKv wbtZ nte, mnbkj nZ nte, Avtiv mste`bkj hvte`wqZ; cvj b
 KitZ nte|



**MYgva`g hwi gvi`_vK Zte MYgva`gi
 `wqZkxj Zvi cwipqI t`lqv c0qvRb
 W. tMjvg ingub
 Aa`vcK, MYthwMthwM I misew KZv wvM
 XvKv wkte`vj q**

1. welaqu GiKg th MYgva`g t`tk MYZs; Ppv0 GK eo ai0bi
 `wqZtevtai cwipq w`tq`_vK| MYgva`g i ayRbMYtK Z_` w`tqB Zvi
 `wqZ; tkl Kti bv, MYZwSK mgvRe`e`vq gvbt i tetP`_vKvi Rb`
 Zt`_i c0qvRbxZvi wela Abte Kti Ges tmgZ MYgva`g Z_`
 cwitek b Kti| wtkl Kti Avgvt`i gtZv Dbqbkxj t`tk Zt`_i th
 `iaZ; ev Zt`_i th e`envi tmLvtb`wqZteva hwi mwVKfite cwi Z bv
 nq Zintj RbMY weawstZ ctob, weZKi Ae`vq ctob| RbMY GB
 Ae`vq w`tknvi nq ctob| Gi c0YZv mva`c0ZK mgq Avgiv j`y` Kwi
 hLb t`wL Avgvt`i t`tk msev`c0fi`_vaxZvi mthwM wbtq AtbK
 MYgva`g t`^0vPvix figKv cvj b Kti`_vK, AtbK mgq Df`k`gj-K
 msev` cwitek b Kti| tm msev`_tjv h_v`_welaqv fEK bq, Z_`wv fEK
 bq, Z_`weKZ. Kiv nq Zv wq`_v msev`, Zv`bwZK wv fivax msev`,
 A%0wZK misew KZv Ges`wqZpxb msev` cwi MvYZ nZ cvti | thnzZ
 msweavtb MYgva`gi Aeva`_vaxZvi K_v ejv AvtQ, hwi I
 mveRv wvRg timwUkKb etj GKwU wela msweavtb itqt0, c0qvRtb
 miKvi wvawb tla Avtivc KitZ cvite| Zte tmUv miKvii KvtQ
 welaqu ht`o` hvp`h` nZ nte| GLb tmUv nqtZv AtbK mgq tKvtbv
 tKvtbv wela tKvtbv tKvtbv miKvi wvawbU wbtRi gtZv e`envi Kivi
 tP0v KitZ cvti | wKS` msweavtb i tmB wvawbU wbtqB misew KZvi
 bwZgvj vtK e`vNZ Kti bv ev Aeva Z_`c0vntK KLtbv c0vweZ Kti bv|
 tmRb` Z_`c0vnti welaqu me gntj B`_vKZ. Ges Zv wetePbv Kti B
 MYgva`gi`_vaxZvi wvawZ Kiv c0qvRb|

mva`c0ZK mgq AtbK bZb bZb msev` gva`g GtmtQ| Ab`v0`
 MYgva`g wtkl Kti tUvj wfk b P`vbj GtmtQ AtbK`_tjv | G mg`l
 MYgva`g tLvj vtgj v fite Aevta AtbK wela Avj vc`Atj vPbv nq, hvi
 hv Lvk wj Lt0b| GuUk ejv thtZ cvti Aeva`_vaxZv| Avgvi gtb nq,
 evsvt`k`_vaxb nevi ci t`_tK MYgva`g PevsI`_vaxZv wv vR KitQ|
 Avgvi avi Yv, Ggb MYZwSK AvPiY MYgva`g GZ tenk Avi KLtbv
 c0`_tj Kti w| tUvj wfk b`_tjv tZ th hvi`_vaxb gZ GgbwK Bt`OgtZv
 wv fivawela tqi e`vL`v KitQb| tmLvtb tKD evav w`t`0 ev wclwG Ae`tch
 KvtUP n`0 Zv bq| Aeva`_vaxZv t fivM KitQ| ejv hvq, tKD tKD GB

~faxbZvi mšhVM ubt"Ob| GKB m½ msev` cĭ .tj vZ msev` cwi tek tbi cikvcwK hvi v wj LtQb wR`^brtg Zviv wR`^gZvgZ cKvk Kitz cwi tQb ~faxbfite| msev` cĭ .tj v th tKej msev` cwi tek b Kitz Zv bq, msev` wbtq Avtj vPvrl Kitz cwi tQb tLvj vtg v fite| tUvj wfktbi UKtkv Mjtj vZ misew` K Ovovl Ab`iv msev` l bvbwea wettql e`vL`v-wetk d Y Kitz cwi tQb| misew` KZv PPvq tKvtrv i Kg evav w`t`Q bv ev tKD ev mva tQ bv| Gi Kg GKw Ae`iq fqUv n`t`Q Avgv t i gtZv Dbqbkxj t`tk thLvtb MYZS; PPvK ms`wZ. wntmte wetePbv Kw, tmLvtb msev` cĭ GB ~faxbZv Aevta e`envi Kitz cwi t, MYgva`g hwi glyi _vtK Zte MYgva`g .tj vi ~wqZkxj Zvi cwi Pq t`l qvi cĭ qvRb i tqtQ| GLvtb Avgvi gtb nq, AtbK MYgva`g AtbK mgqB tKvtrv tKvtrv tytĭ mlWKfite ~wqZ; cvj b Kti bv ev ~wqZkxj _vKtQ bv|

2. iaycivgk`bq| eštZ nte cwi tek l cwi w`wZ wK wQj wKsev msev` wU Avgv t i gvtS wKfite cwi tek b ev Dc`wcz nqtQ| Avgiv hLb t`wL, agrq Dbw`bri bvtg gvbvtK wq`v Leti cĭ wcz Kiv n`t`Q, wez Kiv n`t`Q, fz teSvtrv n`t`Q, ZLb gvbv ~fweKfite fzi i mšhVM tbq wKsev GB mšhVM weāvšl nq| tKb ej wQ, t`tk hLb hycivax`i wePv t i Kvhq Pj tQ, wK ZLb t`Lj vq wKQzagvq msMVb, hwi Zviv wbtRt`i ivR%wZK`j etj bv ev wbtRt`i K ivRbmZgš gtb Kti wKs` Zviv ivR%wZK wettqi weti wazv Kti Avt`vj b KitzQ| tm mgq tKvtrv tKvtrv cwi Kv Ggb wKQz wettq Lei cPvi KitiQ hv mZ`i Acjvc| tKvtrv tKvtrv cwi Kv g`vq Kvekwitdi wJvd ciev t bvi One l Lei Ggbfite cwi tek b KitiQ hv m`cYwZ` Ges Onei wbtP K`vckb w`tqtQ th, hycivax t`tj vqvi tntvmb mvc`xi gvi i ~wetz gljvbriv gibeeÜb KitzQb Ges GB wePv t i weiax` Zviv Avt`vj b KitzQb| A_P wbgggwdK tmšv Avitei agrq l D`P chqvi ivRKvq wettl e`wš l KgRZv v Dc w`Z t`K wJvd ciev t bvi KivRw mgvav Kti _vtKb| tmB One Avgv t i t`ki cĭ cwi Kvq G i Kg fite cPvi nqtQ| GgbwK AvšRwZK GKw tUvj wfkb P`v t bjt i vbcvRv atm wbnZ kZ kZ jvk`vd tbi Rb` tLwv Ke t i One t`wL t q ev nqtQ th, 5 tdeqwi XvKvi gwZvšj kvcjv PZti tndvRtZi mgvte k nvrvi nvrvi gvbv t gti Kei t`qv n`t`Q| GB Lei Ggbfite cPvi Kiv nqtQ ZvZ gvbv weāvšl nqtQ| gvbvtK wq`v msev` w`tq cZwii Z Kiv nqtQ| A_P Avgiv tm i vZ tUvj wfktb bb`-c j vbf m`cPvi t`tLwQ| KthKw tUvj wfkb wKQz mgq eÜ wQj Zvi ci l MYgva`g Kg GgbwK wett`wK misew` Kiv l tmB ivZ tmLvtb Dc w`Z wQj b| Zvt`i Dc w`wZ ZB tndvRtZi Kg`i d`vk-AvDU Kti wbcv t` mwi t q w`tqtQ AvBb-k; Ljv ewnbx| tmB NUbvq tKD gviv hiqub| wKs` tmw`b Rgv t q tZi bvtg XvKvi wewf bae RivMiq Ryj vl -fcrov l, fivOPz, nvlzgv-mwsmZv nqtQ| GtZ tek KtqKRb gviv tM tQ| A_P tndvRZ Bmj vq, KtqKw MYgva`g Ges tm mgv t i weti vax`j` we Kti emj th, nvrvi nvrvi gvbv t i gZyntqtQ| GB th wq`v Pvi! misew` KZvi bvtg, msev` cwi tek tbi bvtg RvZi m½ Zviv th wq`v Pvi KitiQ, gvbvtK weāvšl KitiQ GUV misew` KZvi

~wZKZvi gta` cto bv| GUV A%wZK| Gi big nj y misew` KZv nZ cwi t| Zte Awq ej tev, GUV tKvtrv misew` KZv Bq, A%wZK ev Ac-misew` KZv l Bq, GUV GtKe v t B Aciva| Zviv misew` KZvi bvtg RvZi KvtQ Aciva KitiQ| mZivis G .tj v tK wetePbvq wbtZ nte| tKej GUV Bq Ggb Avtj v AtbK NUbvq MYgva`g gvbvtK weāvšl Ki Z_ w`tqtQ|

thgb, PAMtq ivgy NUbvi K_v aiv hvK| t dmešK wq`v Pvi Kti tešx m`c v t q i Dc mbij q l emwNti th fite ašm j xj v Pj v t b v n t j v, atgP bvtg agrq Dbw`bri mšw Kti, wq`v msev` cPvi Kti msL`vj Nj i l ci AZ`v Pvi Av mmsmZv n t j v hv Gi Av t M ev s j v t`k N t U b | t K v t b v t K v t b v M Y g v a ` t g i A c e ` e n v i e v ` w q Z r n b m i s e w ` K Z v i d t j G m e N U b v N U t Q | A v i G m e N U b v l m s e v ` t K t K v t b v t K v t b v M Y g v a ` g d j v l K t i c ĭ g v U K i v i t P o v K i t Q |

Gevi ~wZKZvi w`K t`K hwi emj, cĭ dkbij Gw` . t`K Avgiv Rvwb th, ~wU m`c`v t q i g t a ` t K v t b v K v i t Y m s N l ` n t j m s e v ` c w i t e k t b i m g q m ` c v l v q . t j v i b v g D t j l K i t Z n q b v | t h b A b ` m ` c v l v q G N U b v q c ĭ f w e Z b v n q | m g v R l i v t o t k m s l w e w N z b v n q | G B t h ` b w Z K w ` K t ` t K ` w q Z t e v a Z v t ` t K m t i w M t q G g b f i t e m s e v ` c K v k K i v n t j v h v Z m s L ` v j N y e v A b ` m ` c v l v t q i g t a ` D t E R b v K i c w i w ` w Z ` Z w i n t j v | Z v t ` i g t a ` w e t Q l ` Z w i K t i w e f i v ` i i v R b m Z m w o K t i t ` k t K A k w s l l A ` w l i g t a ` t d t j t ` l q v G U v t Z v D t l ` k ` g j - K f i t e K i v n t q t Q e v n ` t ` Q | m Z i v s M Y g v a ` t g i ` w q Z r n b Z v i c w i P q G m e N U b v i g v a ` t g B c v l q v h v q | G m e N U b v t K t Q w K t i t ` L v i m š h V M t b B | w e l q . t j v L y B . i a z c y P

Avi cZ`v t v t a i K_v hwi evj nq Zvntj hviv MYgva`g e`envi Ktib, hviv `kR-cwK-tkZv Zviv hwi mšPZb nb, mZK`nb Zvntj mntR cZ`v t v a Kiv m`e nte| GQovon hviv MYgva`gi tckvRvex Zvt`il ~wZK ~wqZ`v t a i e`vci AvtQ| Zviv hwi ~wZK fite mlWK _vtKb Zvntj Ggb msev` cKvk Kiteb bv ev GB wq`v Pv t i i AvkŃ t b t e b b v | Z v i v c ĭ b v M v U v K i t e b b v | Z v i v G B w q ` v , a v š l Z ` D c ` v c b K i t e b b v | M Y g v a ` g l m i s e w ` K Z v i t h ` v q ` w q Z ; Z v A b ` T O U v t c k v i ` w q Z j t P t q A t b K U v A v j v v | G U v e š t Z n t e | A b ` b t c k v q j v f - t j v K m v t b i c ĭ k e _ v t K | M Y g v a ` t g i t c k v l j v f - t j v K m v t b i e ` v c v i i t q t Q | w K s ` M Y g v a ` t g h v i v A _ P M e K t i b Z v t ` i l e š t Z n t e t h , G B e ` e m v j v f R B K c ĭ Z o i b b r - l n t Z c r t i | G U v m g v t R i G K w l e o ` w q Z k x j A s k | h v i v m g v t R i R b ` c ĭ Z u b q Z K v R K t i h v t e | m g v t R K Z v i v t K v t b v b r t K v t b v f i t e m n v q Z v K i t e G e s G L v t b i a y j v f ` y w Z i w n t m t e M Y g v a ` g t K c w i P w j Z K i v h v t e b v | Z v t ` i A v z K v i e x _ v K t Z n t e , t m v m j K u g U t g v U _ v K t Z n t e | m v g w R K ` w q Z k x j Z v _ v K t j m v g w R K A v z K v i A v t m A v i m v g w R K A v z K v i _ v K t j m v g w R K ` w q Z k x j Z v c v j b K i v n q | M Y g v a ` g h Z y Y c h š l b v m g v t R i c ĭ Z ` w q Z k x j n t ` Q Z Z y Y c h š l Z v i v m w K K i R w U K i t Q b v | Z v b v n t j Z v i v M Y g v a ` g w n t m t e e ` _ P M Y g v a ` g g t b B t K e j e ` e m v K i t e N G U v b q | e ` e m v K i v t Z l e v a v t b B Z t e Z v i v m t Z ` i A c j v c K i t Z c w i t e b v ,

uq_vi temwZ KiZ cvi te bv| Zv i tK mWK Z_ Zj aiZ nte| e_wbZvi m1/2 mZ tK Dc_vcb KiZ nte, msev` cwi tekb KiZ nte| GLvrb c`cwmZ Zj i tKvtr mshwM tbB, GKg`x I GKt`ck nI qvi mshwM tbB| Zv MYgva`gtK AtbK vbtj`f I vbtg`n figKvq AeZvY` nZ nte|

3. miewi` Kiv hwi` tckvi cWZ mr I` wqZkxj`_vKb Zvntj B ht_ o| Zte ntZ cvti AtbtK RvrbB bv| tckvi` wqZteva Rb`f tbqub, AtbtK nqfZv c`kY`YcWb bb| bZb, AvfAZv tbB ev nqub| hviv bZb Zv i tK w`tq` wqZkxj` Kiv Kivtr DvPZ bq| bZb I AbwfAt` i tK memq` gubUwi`stqi` gta` ivL`Z nte| hviv` wubqi` wqZkxj` itqtQb Zv i DvPZ nte bZb` i GK ai`bi civgtk`p` gta` ivLv, mWK w`lq` mWK Dc_vcbvi tKSkj`_tjv tkLvtbv| Zv br ntj hviv tckvq bZb GtmQb Zviv tZv tKej AvteMi` etk KivR Kite| tKej AvteM w`tq` KivR Kijt` tZv nte bv| weAvbm`SZfite w`lq`_tjv Dc_vcb KiZ nte| AvR`Ki Avv`K thvMvshwM I Avv`K miewi` KZvi m`cY` weAvbm`SZ weavb itqtQ| GB weAvbm`SZ weavbi Avcm Kivi wKQz tbB| MYgva`tg hLb tKvtr Lei` cPvi nq ZLb Zv nvrvi, jvL, tKwU gubv` i KvtQ GKm1/2 t`cWQ hvq| hwi` Gi` gva`tg f`j` evZ`p`gubv` i KvtQ t`cWQ Zv`Z mgvR th` c`fve` cto` Zvi e`vck` cWZ`uqvi nq, Zv`Z th` cur`gY` ywZ nq Zv` cti` Avi` tkvavtrv` m`e` nq bv| A`_f` Kvtiv` cWZ` f`j` ev Ab`vq` AvPiY` nq tMj` Zvi tKvtr` t`uqW` tbB| Avgv` i` teuk`i` f`iM` MYgva`g` wqZkxj` Zvi` cwi`Pq` w`t`Q| Zte` wKQz`wKQz`MYgva`g` RvwZ`K` RvM`I`I` w`f`3` RvwZ` wntmte` cWY` Kivi` nwb` cWZ`viv` KiZ`Q| Kvi`Y` Zv` i` Ab` tKvtr` GtRvU` AvtQ| Zv` ev` b`wqZ` Kivi` Rb`B` Zviv` Ggb` KivR` KiZ`Q|

Avgvi` gtb` nq, miKv`ii` GLvrb` wq`stYi` tKvtr` mshwM` tbB| MYgva`gtK` hwi` wq`stYi` tPov` Kti` Zvntj` Guv` miKv`ii` w`c`ty`B` hrte` Ges` Gi` Rb` Zv` tK` eo` ai`bi` gj` w`t`Z` nte| tmfite` wq`stYi` bq` Zte` tKvtr` tKvtr` ty`f`I` wKQz`civgk`` I` qvi` cWq`Rb` itqtQ| tKvtr` tKvtr` t`q`f`I` th`v`K`fite` miKv`ii` Ae`vbt`K` cwi`vi` fite` Zj` aivi` cWq`Rb` AvtQ| KL`vrb` KL`vrb` miKv`ii` e`3e` MYgva`tg` f`j` fite` Dc`w`cZ` n`Q| miKv`ii` e`3e` tK` f`j` e`vL`v`I` Kiv` n`Q| AtbK` mgq` gj` e`3e` c`k`v`k` bv` Kti` Avs`k`K`fite` c`k`v`k` Kiv` n`Q| GB` Avs`k`K` e`3e` c`k`v`k` Avti` KwU` i`az`i` mgm`v` n`Q` Zv`Z` gubv` weav`sl`nq| t`Lv` hv`Q` tKvtr` tKvtr` MYgva`g` tKvtr` tKvtr` Z` Avs`k`K` cPvi` Kivq` c`j`v` w`lq`Uvi` m`c`Y`Z`_` t`c`j` bv` RbMY, dtj` Gi` w`f`ba`_` v`v`v`q| Avgiv` Rwb` Avs`k`K` mZ` tKvtr`fite`B` mZ` bq| Zte` miKvi` KL`vrb` hwi` tKvtr` w`lq` f`j` evZv`q, f`j` w`x`v`sl` MhY` Kti` ZLb` MYgva`tg`i` v`x`bZv` itqtQ` tmB` w`lq` mWK` Z`_` Dc`vcb` ev` mgv`t`v`Pv` Kivi`| Avgv` i` MYgva`gtK` AtbK` wqZkxj` Zvi` cwi`Pq` w`t`Z` nte` AtbK` w`lq`| thgb, Avgv` i` t`tki` Dbq`b` I` Dbq`b`i` MvZaviv` thfite` nq` Zv` cv`v`Z`i` t`k`_tj`v`i` gtZv` bq| c`i`v`Z`i` t`k`_tj`v`Z` Dbq`b` miewi` KZvi` etj` wKQz`tbB|

Avgv` i` t`tk` Dbq`b` miewi` KZvi` ht_ o` i`az`i` itqtQ| A`w`f`v`K`w`m` miewi` KZvi` i`az`i` itqtQ| GB` w`lq`_tj`v` Avgv` i` t`tki` t`c`v`v`cU` w`te`Pv`vq` wbtq` miewi` KZv` KiZ` nte| tKv`b` msev` wU` mgv`Ri` Rb` KLb, Kxfite` c`k`v`k` Kiv` DvPZ` ev` f`i`j`v` nte` Zv` e`st`Z` nte| Aev`ta` me` msev` c`k`v`k` Kivi` cWq`Rb` tbB|

4. Av`R`w`ZK` msev` ms`v` I` w`f`w`k` msev` gva`tg`i` w`R`^`G`t`R`v` I` A`v`f`j`_v`K`| Zv` i` w`b`R`i` wKQz`P`S`f`v`ebv` I` a`v`bavi` Yv`_v`K`| Zviv` tmB` a`v`bavi` Yvq` c`f`w`eZ` n`q` msev` cwi` tekb` ev` cPvi` Kti`| Zv` i` mewKQz`evs`j`v` t`ki` c`j`v` bv`I` th`Z` c`i`i`| Avgv` i` RvZ`xq`_t`_`bv`I` w`j` t`Z` c`i`i`| Avgv` i` Ggb` AtbK` BmyAvtQ` hv` wbtq` RvZ`xq`_t`_`RvZ`xq` HKgZ` nI` qv` cWq`Rb| tmme` Bmy`Z` Avgiv` AtbK` t`q`f`I` HKgZ` Avm`Z` cwi` bv| Zv`Qvov` w`f`w`k` msev` gva`g`_tj`v`Z` Avgv` i` wq`stY` tbB| Avgv` i` m`c`Pvi` bmvZ`g`v, miewi` K` bmvZ`g`v` t`L`f`v`j` Kiv` ev` gubv`i` Kivi` tKvtr` tg`Kw`b`R`g` Avgv` i` t`tk` tbB| ZvB` evB`i`i` MYgva`g` Zviv` Zv` i` gtZv` Kti` evs`j`v` t`k`K` wbtq` t`j`L, msev` cPvi` Kti, L`k`gtZv` Dc`vcb` Kti| teuk`i` f`iM` ty`f`I`B` Gme` msev` t`b`v`Z`ev`P`K`fite` Dc`w`cZ` nq| t`b`v`Z`ev`P`K` Dc`v`c`b`i` dtj` AtbK` mgq` Avgv` i` t`tki` f`i`egw`Z`c`k`v`x` nq| Atbt`KB` gtb` Kti, Avgv` i` f`i`j`v` wKQz`tbB, meB` Lviv`c`| i`ay`c`k`w`Z`K`_t`h`w`M`_Y`v`b`v, AvM`m`st`h`w`M, j`A`w`e, gubv`i` gZ`Z`GmeB` w`f`w`k` MYgva`tg` c`v`b` msev` wntmte` c`k`v`k` cvq| A`_P` Avgv` i` gubv` AtbK` Rieb`g`x, nwm`Z` Rvrb, MvB`Z` Rvrb, AtbK` teuk` AvZ`v` c`i`v`Y, Avgv` i` w`R`^`H`w`Z`n, mg`x` w`k`i`-ms`w`Z` i`tqtQ| tmme` KL`vrb` w`f`w`k` MYgva`tg` cPvi` nq` bv| tKvtr` tKvtr` ty`f`I` Zviv` B`Q` Kti`B` cPvi` Kti` bv` ev` AtbK` mgq` Zviv` Rvrb`I` bv` w`lq`_tj`v`| Avgv` i` t`B` w`b`R`i` K`_v, w`b`R`i` i` Dbw`Z`i` K`_v`_tj`v` ej`Z` nte| RvwZ` wntmte` gv`v` D`v`Z`Kti` w`v`v`b`v`i` Rb` w`b`R`i` i`B` ej`Z` nte| tm`y`f`I` Avgv` i` MYgva`gtK` AtbK` teuk` mZ`K`Z`v`i` m1/2` RvZ`xq` Bmy`Z` GK` n`q` KivR` Kiv` DvPZ`| tKvtr` MYgva`g` hwi` f`j` ev` AvZ`i`w`AZ` msev` I` Z`_` c`k`v`k` Kti` Zvntj` tmU` Zv` i` m`x`g`v`x`Zv`| GB` Ae`v`Uv` cv`v`v`b`v` m`e` Avgv` i` MYgva`g` hwi` t`tki` f`i`egw`Z`D`3`4`j` nq` Ggb` BvZ`ev`P`K` msev` I` w`f`w`b`w`lq` teuk` teuk` c`k`v`k` I` cPvi` Kti`|

5. GKUv` civgk`^`t` I` qv` th`Z` cvti` th, th`n`Z`Z`Rb`M`v`i` KvtQ` GKev`i` f`j` Z`_` cwi` tekb` Kiv` n`q` tM`Q` hv` Ac`i`Y`x` y`w`Z`i` Kvi`Y`| Guv` wKQz`Z`B` c`j`v`x`v`i` Kiv` m`e` bq, tkvavtrv` hrte` bv| hwi` D`f`I` k`g`j`-K`fite` G` ai`bi` Z`_` w`e`Kw`Z` n`q`_v`K, msev` cPvi` ev` c`k`v`k` Kiv` n`q`_v`K` Zvntj` hZ`_`z` m`e` Zv`K` AvB`b`i` Avl` Zvq` Avb`Z` nte| Avgv` i` t`tk` t`Lv` hvq, miKvi` Gme` KivR` e`e`v` t`b`l` qvi` ty`f`I` AtbK` w`t`j` Xuj`v` G`f`M`vq, AtbK` mgq` tbq| Z`_` w`e`Kw`Z` ev` gubv`t`K` weav`sl`Kivi` Rb` thme` MYgva`g` I` miewi` t`ki` w`f`w`x` Avf`thwM` itqtQ` Zv` i` w`N`R`v`j` AvB`b`i` Avl` Zvq` Gtb` kw`l`i` e`e`v` t`b`l` qv` nqub` etj`B` Zviv` Avt`iv` t`e`f`o`f`Q, Av`v`iv` t`c`t`q`Q| Zviv` Avt`iv` f`j` Z`_` w`t`Q| ZvB` Ggb` NUbv` NUtj` hZ`_`z` m`e` AvB`b` e`e`v` w`b`Z` nte| Gi` tKvtr` w`e`K`i` tbB|

Dit' k' B nt' Q mgv'R mmsm cwi w' z Av' Aw' zKxj Zv' zwi Kiv, Zv' k' t' Zv' misew' KZv' ej' ter' bv, Ggbw' K Ac-misew' KZv' ej' ter' bv | thgb, Kiver' w' t' d' i' w' j' d' cv' r' t' b' v' i' Qne' t' K' G' K' u' d' c' z' i' o' z' c' w' l' K' v' P' w' j' t' q' w' t' j' v' h' y' v' i' c' i' a' x' t' t' j' v' q' i' t' n' v' t' m' b' m' v' C' x' i' i' v' t' q' i' w' e' i' a' t' x' K' v' e' k' w' i' t' d' g' v' b' e' U' b' w' t' m' t' e' | GB AmZ' t' K' c' P' v' i' K' t' i' A' v' c' i' b' g' v' b' y' i' g' t' a' a' g' r' e' t' m' u' l' t' q' U' D' t' c' i' w' t' j' b' | A' c' i' v' t' a' i' g' t' a' t' m' m' v' j' w' g' u' l' l' q' v' q' m' v' C' x' i' Q' n' e' P' d' i' t' L' v' h' v' t' Q' e' t' j' c' P' v' i' P' v' j' v' t' b' v' n' t' j' v' | g' v' b' y' i' a' g' r' e' t' A' b' y' i' z' t' K' c' P' R' K' t' i' m' g' v' t' R' G' K' U' v' K' v' l' R' z' w' i' K' i' v' n' t' j' v' | G' i' w' f' i' e' g' n' t' j' v' K' i' v' i' ? M' i' v' B' e' u' v' i' c' y' i' k' d' m' o' i' c' y' i' k' m' m' i' v' , m' v' a' r' i' Y' g' v' b' y' , c' i' v' k' i' c' w' i' k' w' n' y' k' u' g' D' i' u' b' u' | Z' v' n' t' j' G' B' t' h' c' P' v' i' Y' v' P' w' j' t' q' A' w' i' z' K' x' j' Z' v' z' w' i' K' i' v' n' t' j' v' G' B' a' i' t' b' i' w' l' u' g' b' j' A' w' i' e' r' f' i' u' t' K' A' v' g' i' v' K' v' a' i' t' b' i' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' e' j' t' e' r' ?

Aw' g' 091 m' t' j' i' G' K' u' d' D' w' i' v' i' w' i' t' q' e' w' j' , e' w' e' v' i' g' m' i' R' t' i' N' u' b' r' i' c' i' A' v' g' i' v' t' t' L' u' Q' 0' f' t' q' m' A' e' A' v' t' g' w' i' K' v' i' 0' g' t' Z' v' M' Y' g' v' a' t' g' c' P' v' i' K' i' v' n' t' j' v' t' h' , c' y' i' b' X' i' v' K' i' v' G' B' N' U' b' r' i' R' b' w' n' y' v' b' w' i' k' w' g' u' o' w' e' z' i' Y' K' t' i' t' Q' | w' k' S' w' z' i' b' G' K' e' v' i' l' w' e' t' e' P' b' v' K' i' t' j' b' b' v' G' B' m' s' e' v' u' d' c' P' v' i' K' i' v' i' g' v' a' t' g' m' g' v' t' R' K' v' a' i' t' b' i' w' e' i' f' c' c' z' i' u' l' q' v' n' t' z' c' r' i' i' | G' B' m' s' e' v' i' c' c' z' i' u' l' q' v' q' e' i' s' j' v' t' t' k' n' i' v' R' i' v' i' n' i' v' i' v' i' F' i' v' z' v' n' t' j' v' | G' B' i' K' g' N' U' b' r' i' c' i' v' i' e' w' i' E' A' v' g' i' v' t' L' j' v' g' m' a' c' z' K' e' v' i' R' i' t' i' i' v' g' v' z' | A' v' g' i' v' t' i' e' s' t' z' n' e' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' t' K' i' v' i' u' ? A' c' - m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' t' K' i' v' i' u' ? A' v' i' w' l' u' g' b' j' A' w' i' e' r' f' i' u' t' K' i' v' i' u' ?

w' g' u' l' l' q' v' i' t' q' t' i' A' v' g' i' v' c' i' v' g' k' e' t' q' t' Q' A' t' b' K' R' v' l' m' q' , t' h' g' b' , w' c' o' u' e' v' B' t' j' K' u' l' b' K' w' g' u' l' l' q' v' i' t' q' t' i' A' v' g' i' v' t' i' A' v' i' l' t' c' k' i' v' i' z' i' j' i' K' i' v' A' v' t' Q' | A' v' i' l' t' e' i' k' c' i' k' e' t' Y' i' K' i' v' i' , b' m' z' g' v' j' v' t' g' t' b' P' j' v' i' K' i' v' i' w' c' o' u' e' w' g' u' l' l' q' v' i' t' q' t' i' w' k' o' z' b' m' z' g' v' j' v' v' k' t' j' l' B' t' j' K' u' l' b' K' w' g' u' l' l' q' v' q' G' , t' j' v' G' t' K' e' v' i' t' b' b' | b' m' z' g' v' j' v' i' K' v' i' t' b' t' j' B' a' t' i' t' b' q' v' n' q' t' h' , w' g' u' l' l' q' v' t' K' K' i' v' i' e' e' r' i' g' t' a' A' v' b' v' n' t' e' | w' e' l' q' u' w' i' k' S' z' v' b' v' | G' t' q' t' i' A' v' g' i' v' c' i' v' g' k' e' t' Q' B' t' j' K' u' l' b' K' w' g' u' l' l' q' v' t' K' i' G' K' U' v' b' m' z' g' v' j' v' i' A' v' l' Z' i' q' v' k' t' z' n' e' G' e' s' G' i' c' i' v' k' i' c' w' i' k' t' m' m' v' j' w' g' u' l' l' q' v' t' K' i' l' u' b' q' S' Y' K' i' v' i' R' b' b' m' z' g' v' j' v' i' K' i' v' i' | g' y' M' Y' z' i' s' j' m' t' h' v' t' M' A' v' c' i' b' h' v' L' y' k' K' i' t' e' b' Z' v' w' k' S' n' q' b' v' | G' t' t' k' t' h' b' K' i' v' i' v' t' K' i' v' t' b' v' v' q' e' x' Z' v' t' b' | G' B' v' q' e' x' Z' v' i' m' s' z' h' i' w' M' Y' g' v' a' t' g' A' v' b' v' b' v' h' v' q' Z' v' n' t' j' G' B' A' c' - m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' A' v' g' i' v' t' i' v' a' K' i' t' z' c' v' i' t' e' r' b' v' |

3. Ac-misew' KZv' Av' i' A' c' i' v' t' a' i' g' t' a' t' u' o' m' x' g' v' t' i' L' v' U' v' b' t' z' n' e' | A' w' i' g' h' L' b' G' m' e' e' u' K' i' t' z' e' j' t' e' r' , A' v' c' i' b' e' j' t' e' b' g' y' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' l' c' i' n' i' g' j' v' , w' e' l' q' U' v' G' f' i' t' e' t' L' v' h' r' t' e' b' v' | m' g' v' t' R' t' K' i' v' t' b' v' w' e' i' f' c' c' f' i' e' c' o' t' z' c' i' f' i' G' g' b' m' s' e' v' c' w' i' t' e' k' b' t' t' k' G' K' R' b' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' t' k' w' e' i' z' v' k' t' z' n' e' | m' g' v' t' R' i' K' j' v' Y' l' w' z' K' x' j' Z' v' A' M' i' a' K' v' i' w' t' z' n' e' | G' K' R' b' m' a' c' v' i' K' w' t' m' t' e' A' v' g' i' v' i' t' c' i' u' l' l' q' v' t' i' c' z' c' i' v' g' k' e' t' q' t' Q' K' i' v' i' v' w' e' i' a' t' x' u' b' D' R' K' i' v' i' A' v' t' M' A' s' z' u' z' b' e' r' i' Z' v' i' K' i' v' t' Q' t' c' o' u' e' t' b' v' i' t' P' o' v' K' i' t' z' n' e' | K' v' i' Y' A' w' i' g' G' g' b' t' K' i' v' t' b' v' m' s' e' v' c' P' v' i' K' i' t' e' r' b' v' h' v' m' g' v' t' R' A' w' i' z' K' x' j' Z' v' z' w' i' K' i' t' e' | G' B' b' m' z' A' w' i' g' e' i' v' e' i' t' g' t' b' P' w' j' |

4. c' i' u' e' x' i' t' K' i' v' t' b' v' t' k' B' u' b' g' b' m' z' O' v' o' v' t' a' x' b' q' | m' e' t' t' k' B' i' a' j' m' A' v' i' U' t' i' t' j' k' b' A' v' t' Q' G' e' s' Z' v' i' g' t' a' B' t' a' x' b' | A' v' g' i' v' t' i' m' s' e' a' r' t' b' l' A' v' i' b' b' K' i' v' i' t' g' v' i' g' t' a' m' s' e' v' g' v' a' t' g' i' t' a' x' b' Z' v' i' u' b' w' z' K' i' v' n' t' q' t' Q' | M' Y' g' v' a' t' g' , t' j' v'

h' w' t' m' A' b' y' i' v' q' P' P' P' b' v' K' t' i' Z' v' n' t' j' m' g' v' t' R' c' z' i' u' l' q' v' i' k' x' j' M' Y' g' v' a' t' g' i' D' i' m' e' n' t' e' | A' w' i' g' e' v' t' e' z' v' n' t' Q' , G' B' a' i' t' b' i' c' w' l' K' v' t' j' v' j' x' q' g' l' y' c' l' w' t' m' t' e' e' e' u' z' n' t' Q' | Z' v' t' i' K' i' v' t' Q' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' b' m' z' g' v' j' v' t' K' i' v' t' b' v' w' e' t' e' P' w' e' l' q' b' q' i' v' R' w' z' K' j' , t' j' v' h' v' e' t' j' G' i' v' t' m' U' v' B' c' P' v' i' K' t' i' h' v' t' Q' | j' x' q' c' w' i' d' g' A' v' i' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' G' K' u' R' u' b' m' b' q' | G' L' v' t' b' t' K' i' v' t' b' i' K' g' b' w' z' K' Z' v' g' v' b' v' n' t' Q' b' v' |

A' w' i' g' K' L' t' b' v' e' w' z' M' z' f' i' t' e' G' B' c' w' i' w' z' i' g' t' l' v' g' y' l' n' B' i' u' b' | K' v' i' Y' A' w' i' g' G' g' b' a' i' t' b' i' c' w' i' w' z' z' c' o' t' e' r' w' k' c' o' t' e' r' b' v' G' u' v' u' b' f' P' K' t' i' A' v' g' v' i' l' c' i' | A' w' i' g' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' b' m' z' K' Z' v' h' i' w' A' b' y' i' Y' K' i' v' i' Z' v' n' t' j' K' L' t' b' v' G' g' b' c' w' i' w' z' z' c' o' t' e' r' b' v' | A' v' i' h' i' w' B' u' l' . b' v' t' g' t' b' t' e' c' t' i' v' q' v' f' i' t' e' h' v' L' y' k' K' i' t' z' w' k' e' v' i' j' L' t' z' w' k' Z' v' n' t' j' G' g' b' c' w' i' w' z' i' g' t' l' v' g' y' l' n' t' z' e' v' a' | A' v' g' i' v' w' e' i' f' b' e' m' g' q' c' z' i' K' j' c' w' i' t' e' t' k' l' K' v' R' K' t' i' u' o' w' k' S' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' g' v' b' D' t' k' A' w' z' u' g' K' t' i' K' L' t' b' v' w' k' o' z' K' i' v' i' u' b' | h' i' w' A' v' c' i' b' m' i' z' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' b' m' z' K' g' i' b' t' g' t' b' P' t' j' b' A' v' c' i' b' K' L' t' b' v' P' v' t' j' t' a' i' g' t' l' c' o' t' e' b' b' v' | w' k' S' h' v' i' v' P' v' t' j' t' a' i' g' t' l' c' o' t' Q' Z' v' i' v' G' u' . g' u' b' t' Q' b' v' , Z' v' i' v' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' b' m' z' g' v' b' t' Q' b' v' | Z' v' i' v' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' e' v' i' t' q' A' b' G' i' R' U' v' u' b' t' q' A' M' t' h' i' n' t' z' P' i' q' e' t' j' Z' v' i' v' e' v' a' r' i' m' a' s' u' b' n' t' Q' | m' i' s' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' t' a' x' b' Z' v' i' m' t' h' v' m' u' b' t' q' , t' t' k' g' y' M' Y' g' v' a' t' g' i' m' t' h' v' m' u' b' t' q' A' v' c' i' b' A' e' v' t' a' A' c' i' v' a' K' t' i' h' v' t' e' b' G' u' v' t' K' D' t' g' t' b' t' b' t' e' b' v' | A' w' z' K' A' v' P' i' t' Y' i' K' v' i' Y' w' e' t' U' t' b' t' o' k' o' e' Q' t' i' i' c' y' t' b' v' c' w' i' l' K' v' m' i' K' v' i' e' u' K' t' i' w' t' q' t' Q' , w' e' i' w' e' m' o' i' t' n' w' A' e' u' b' D' R' c' z' i' v' m' K' i' t' z' e' v' a' n' t' q' t' Q' | 10 e' Q' i' A' v' t' M' c' y' i' r' R' i' v' i' c' y' v' i' c' v' l' q' v' A' v' t' g' w' i' K' v' i' G' K' R' b' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' i' w' e' i' a' t' x' Z' s' l' K' t' i' t' e' i' n' t' j' v' t' h' Z' v' i' w' i' t' c' i' u' l' l' q' v' f' i' g' v' | g' y' M' Y' g' v' a' t' g' i' t' t' k' l' G' B' P' v' t' j' t' a' i' g' t' l' v' g' y' l' n' t' z' n' t' Q' | A' v' g' i' v' l' t' z' v' G' i' e' v' B' t' i' b' b' |

5. t' L' y' , w' e' t' k' i' h' v' w' k' o' z' n' t' Q' Z' v' i' t' c' o' t' b' G' K' U' v' i' v' R' b' m' z' w' t' k' | G' B' t' h' w' e' i' f' b' e' A' v' s' R' w' z' K' g' i' b' e' w' a' K' v' i' m' s' M' V' b' A' v' i' l' q' i' P' W' M' c' z' i' o' v' b' t' j' v' G' i' t' K' i' v' t' b' m' u' b' i' v' R' b' m' z' i' e' i' B' t' i' b' q' | A' w' i' g' w' e' k' y' m' K' w' i' , G' g' b' w' k' u' b' t' R' i' z' s' l' K' t' i' t' L' u' Q' , G' L' v' t' b' w' h' u' b' A' v' g' t' b' w' = B' u' v' v' k' b' i' j' , w' z' i' u' b' B' D' t' i' m' c' q' v' b' B' D' u' b' q' b' , A' e' v' i' u' z' i' u' b' A' v' t' g' w' i' K' v' i' b' l' q' i' P' W' M' w' k' s' e' v' u' n' d' g' i' v' i' v' B' u' m' A' w' i' e' r' f' i' u' t' G' , t' j' v' i' m' e' K' u' l' i' t' M' v' o' v' w' k' S' i' B' G' K' U' v' B' G' e' s' G' L' v' t' b' c' i' u' d' g' v' t' e' P' w' K' u' u' c' o' g' w' e' t' e' P' w' e' l' q' | A' v' c' i' b' t' L' q' j' K' t' i' t' L' t' e' b' G' m' e' l' q' i' P' W' M' i' v' B' i' v' t' k' w' k' s' e' v' A' v' c' i' b' m' u' b' t' b' g' u' k' b' t' m' b' v' i' v' h' L' b' w' i' b' i' x' n' g' i' b' y' t' k' n' z' v' K' t' i' Z' L' b' Z' v' t' i' t' K' i' v' t' b' v' g' s' e' t' b' b' | w' k' S' z' z' i' q' w' e' t' k' i' t' k' , t' j' v' t' z' t' K' v' v' q' w' k' n' t' Q' G' B' u' b' t' q' Z' v' i' v' g' n' v' D' t' e' i' R' z' | a' i' v' h' v' k' , t' n' d' i' v' R' t' z' i' m' g' v' t' e' t' k' A' v' b' b' - k' : L' j' v' e' u' n' b' x' i' A' w' i' f' h' i' t' b' i' w' e' l' t' q' t' h' f' i' t' e' A' v' s' R' w' z' K' w' e' i' f' b' a' g' v' b' e' w' a' K' v' i' m' s' M' V' b' A' e' t' i' v' u' b' u' b' t' q' t' Q' Z' v' i' m' t' z' e' v' t' e' i' A' v' t' s' t' K' i' v' t' b' v' w' g' j' A' v' t' Q' ? A' v' s' R' w' z' K' k' i' v' t' j' v' t' k' w' k' e' j' t' j' v' t' m' U' v' t' K' i' v' t' b' v' e' o' w' e' t' e' P' b' v' i' w' e' l' q' b' v' | G' u' v' G' K' U' v' t' h' i' , e' v' s' j' v' t' t' k' i' w' g' u' l' l' q' v' t' j' v' e' t' s' e' v' b' v' e' t' s' A' t' b' k' m' g' q' G' m' e' w' e' e' z' l' w' i' t' c' i' u' l' l' q' v' i' v' B' u' m' K' t' i' | A' v' t' i' K' u' u' w' e' l' q' n' t' Q' , w' e' t' k' i' m' e' t' t' k' i' v' o' a' G' K' U' v' e' o' w' e' l' q' h' v' t' k' e' t' j' b' v' k' b' i' j' R' g' | A' v' c' i' b' A' v' g' i' v' t' i' c' z' i' t' e' k' a' t' k' f' r' i' t' z' i' K' v' B' a' i' a' b' , b' v' k' b' i' j' B' m' j' z' Z' v' i' v' m' e' v' B' G' K' | A' v' g' i' v' t' i' t' h' i' n' t' Q' , G' u' v' w' e' f' i' v' R' t' b' i' t' k' | A' v' g' i' v' t' i' w' g' u' l' l' q' v' l' w' e' f' z' | A' v' g' i' v' R' v' Z' i' q' B' m' j' i' e' v' i' c' i' u' l' l' K' L' b' l' w' e' t' e' P' b' v' K' i' v' b' v' |

6. *Awg gtb Kwí, Gt̄ŋt̄ŋl̄ Avgv̄t̄ i tckv̄ wí Zí; mīsew̄ KZvī ubqgbw̄Z Avī*
bw̄ZKZvī l̄ci t̄Rvī t̄qv̄ b̄v̄ n̄t̄j GB aīt̄bī Ac-mīsew̄ KZvī c̄ŋYZvī
ev̄oīZB_v̄Kt̄e| Gt̄ŋt̄ŋl̄ Avgv̄t̄ t̄l̄w̄Q, Gt̄ t̄k w̄fv̄Rt̄bī i v̄Rb̄w̄Zi
Pig ifc c̄K̄k t̄c̄t̄q̄t̄Q w̄ḡw̄q̄v̄t̄Z| Gme w̄ḡw̄q̄v̄q mīsew̄ KZvī
bw̄Z%bw̄ZKZvī t̄K̄t̄b̄v̄f̄v̄t̄eB w̄t̄eP̄ w̄el̄q̄ w̄Qj b̄v̄ j̄xq w̄p̄f̄w̄z t̄t̄K
GKb̄w̄M̄t̄o c̄P̄vī-c̄P̄vīYv̄ Ges n̄j̄y mīsew̄ KZvī t̄h b̄w̄Ri Avgv̄t̄
t̄L̄j̄v̄g, t̄m̄Uv̄ m̄v̄ḡw̄M̄K Āt̄_̄ē vs̄j̄v̄t̄ t̄kī MYgvāt̄gi Rb̄ AZ̄s̄l̄
b̄°vī Rb̄K NUb̄v̄| G m̄gq MYgvāg t̄ t̄k m̄v̄c̄l̄w̄q̄KZv̄t̄K D̄t̄ v̄ t̄q̄t̄Q,
Avī Zvī t̄R̄t̄i m̄v̄v̄t̄ t̄k ēv̄c̄K̄f̄v̄t̄e w̄ek;L̄j̄v̄ l̄ m̄m̄sm̄Zv̄ n̄t̄q̄t̄Q|
MYgvāt̄gi f̄j̄ Z̄t̄_̄i K̄v̄iY t̄ t̄kī w̄v̄f̄b̄v̄t̄e v̄t̄b w̄eāv̄m̄s̄l̄ m̄j̄o n̄t̄q̄t̄Q|
Awg ej̄ t̄ev̄ w̄ḡw̄q̄v̄ h̄w̄ Av̄Bb̄ ḡv̄b̄v̄i m̄s̄_w̄z. t̄ḡt̄b̄ P̄t̄j̄, bw̄Z%bw̄ZKZvī
t̄ḡt̄b̄ P̄t̄j̄ Āt̄b̄K m̄ḡm̄ v̄ Ḡw̄b̄t̄ZB Ḡv̄t̄b̄v̄ m̄ē|
7. *GLv̄t̄b̄ Awg GK̄w̄ K_v̄ ej̄ t̄Z P̄v̄B, Avgv̄t̄ i t̄ t̄k MYZw̄s̄K̄ AR̄t̄b̄i*
t̄ŋt̄ŋl̄ m̄ēt̄P̄t̄q̄, iāZc̄Y° f̄w̄ḡK̄v̄ c̄v̄j̄ b̄ K̄t̄īt̄Q GB MYgvāḡB| kZ
m̄ḡv̄e×Zv̄ m̄t̄Ēj̄l̄ MYZs̄t̄K̄ Ḡw̄M̄t̄q̄ w̄b̄t̄q̄ h̄v̄l̄ q̄v̄i t̄ŋt̄ŋl̄ Avgv̄t̄ i ḡȳ
MYgvāḡ eo Ask̄v̄ w̄īZj̄ w̄e K̄īt̄Z c̄v̄t̄i| Av̄c̄ib̄ ej̄ t̄Z c̄v̄t̄īb̄,
Avgv̄t̄ i MYgvāt̄gi t̄ckv̄ w̄īt̄Zi Af̄v̄e Av̄t̄Q, Ḡw̄_K̄v̄j̄ B̄m̄j̄ Af̄v̄e
Av̄t̄Q, Zvī ḡt̄ā l̄ Av̄R ch̄s̄l̄ m̄iav̄iY ḡv̄b̄t̄j̄ i Av̄k̄v̄-f̄īm̄v̄i R̄v̄q̄M̄v̄ GB
MYgvāḡB| Awg ej̄ t̄ev̄, vs̄j̄v̄t̄ t̄kī w̄ḡw̄q̄v̄ Am̄v̄av̄i Y i Kḡ t̄v̄ax̄b̄| w̄K̄s̄
MYgvāt̄gi GB t̄v̄ax̄b̄Zvī Avgv̄t̄ Acē en̄v̄i K̄īw̄Q| GB t̄v̄ax̄b̄Zvī
Acē en̄v̄i h̄v̄t̄Z b̄v̄ n̄q̄ t̄m̄Rb̄ Avgv̄t̄ i GK̄Uv̄ ubqgbw̄Zi ḡt̄ā_̄v̄K̄t̄Z
n̄t̄e|

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