

# নিরাক্ষা

১০০০০ টাকার ১০১০

বাংলাদেশ প্রেস ইনস্টিটিউটের গণমাধ্যম সাময়িকী

১৯৭৬ সাল থেকে



## সিগনেটের জার্মানি

- বঙ্গবন্ধু ও মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সশস্ত্র অধ্যায়  
দেশি-বিদেশি সংবাদপত্রে প্রতিফলন
- ডিজিটাল বাংলাদেশে নাগরিক সাংবাদিকতা : সম্ভাবনা ও শংকা



# নিরাক্ষা

207Zg msL`v : btfm`-Wtm` 2015



mshuv` K  
tgv. kun Avj gllvi

mnthvllx mshuv` K  
tgv. iwdKz` Bmj vg AvKs`

mnKvix mshuv` K  
vgRvbjv i ngvb  
kvtnjv Av`vi

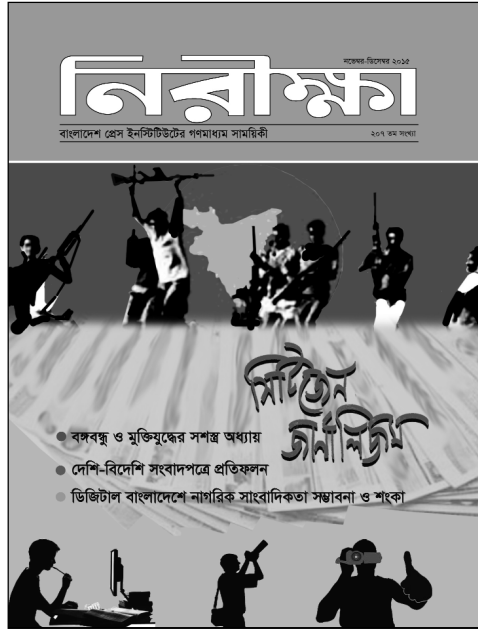
ik`i ubt`Rbv  
tgvvgb D`xb Lv`j`

ckukbv e`e`icbv  
mi`vi tgv. ti RvDj Kvi g

clz`te` K  
bjvbwvvi bjv

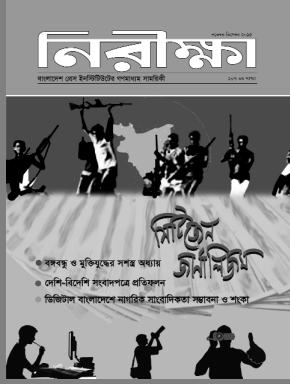
eivub mgstq  
mfvil P`'ivq  
m`qvR tgv. gbRvj` nK Lv

Kiv`uDuvi web`im  
kvn&gvv`\$ tMvj vg i ngvb



16B Wtm` gnvb weRq w`em| GKvEi mvtj i  
Gw`tb evOvj RvZi Povsl weRq ntqvQj |  
Avgiv tctqvQ `faxb t`k, `faxb mEv Avi  
jvj -mejRi RvZiq czvkv| w`k j`y knx`i  
AvZ`vM mv`RZv tctqvQ G w`tb| evOvj  
RvZi Rxe`b G w`bvU w`Pi `si Yxq ntq`vKte|  
Gevi G w`bvUtK mgvngvq Z`j` aivi cqv`tm  
w`bixv`vi 207Zg msL`vq HwZnvwmK 6-`dvi  
tNvl Yv mshuj Z e`zeUz` fvl Y, weRtqi cyZv I  
e`zeUz` gvp, gvp`h`xi SWOT Analysis, 7B  
gv`Pp` fvl`Yi tcv`vcU I ivR`w`ZK Zvrch,  
e`zeUz` gvp`h`xi mk`i; Aa`vtqi mser`c`f`  
c`Zdj b Ges Amn`thvM Av`v`jb t`tK  
`faxbZv BZ`vKvi w`elqevij i m`P`I c`Zte`b  
Z`j` aiv ntqvQ| w`mvUtRb Rvb`nj Rg  
mvsew`KZvq G`btQ bZb gv`lv| G msL`vq  
w`mvUtRb Rvb`nj Rg, w`mvUtRb Rvb`nj R`gi  
`enk` I RvZiq tcv`vcU, mgm`v I m`v`ebv  
Ges c`vMZ mvsew`KZv I w`mvUtRb  
Rvb`nj R`gi cvi`u`vi K w`b`f`Zv, mv`k` I  
`emv`t`k`i bvbv ZE`j I Z`v`vb tctqvQ| Avvg  
Avkv Kvi, G`t`lv w`elqB cvWk`i`iK AvKó.  
Ki`te Ges bZb-bZb aiv Yv w`tZ m`yg nte|  
G msL`vU mvsew`K mgvR`tK w`P`S`ti tLvi`vK  
tRv`M`vtj Avgv`i tPóv mv`R nte|

m|P|c|Î



6-`dv Ašīi K_v Avgv` i eŋvi `we tkL gvRej i ngvb	5	34	ৱৱRUj hŋ buŋhi K msewi KZv tgv. Avki vđž Avj g
ৱeRtqi cwi cYžv I ežeŪŋ gv tZvdvtaj Avtḡ`	11	38	buŋhi K msewi KZv tkL Av` biv dŋv`
ežeŪz gv hŋi mk` ;Aa`vq t` ik-vef` ik msev` cŋĪ cŋZdj b ৱePvi cŋZ tk Gg tmvenvb	14	41	ৱৱRUj ejsj v` tk buŋhi K msewi KZv m`ebv I ksKv mıBdž mvgb
ežeŪŋ AmnŋhuM Av` vj b t`tk `ŋabZv tgvbtqg mi Kvi	19	46	ৱৱŪRb Rŋbŋj Rg msewi KZvi MYZšqgb I bZk P`vđj Ā Kži Z-B-gl j v
gv hŋi SWOT Analysis ežeŪzbZZ; t` kŋcŋ I fŋjvev v` tḡ Rq Ki j b me eŋv tgv. i vdkž Bmj vg AvK`	22	48	Rbcŋi mi I buŋhi K msewi KZv mŋyB kgP
ežeŪŋ 7B gvPP fvi tYi ivR%buzK Zirch® MYgva`g-ıfıĒK GKıU ıe:ktıY nvi ab-Ai-i ik`	26	50	ৱৱRUj ejsj v` k I ৱৱŪRb Rŋbŋj Rg dvi in bvR mıEvi
Avŋgxi evZKj mq` BkuzqvK tiRv	28	52	Rbmsewi KZvi `kB ejsj v` tki cwi tŋy tZ Rbmsewi KZv W. tR`vrmıj ic
buŋhi K msewi KZv bıbv ARıbv K_v tgvıv. gvıvgjy nK	30	59	MYgva`g msev`
		63	ıcAvıE msev`

20<sup>gı</sup>  
UvKv

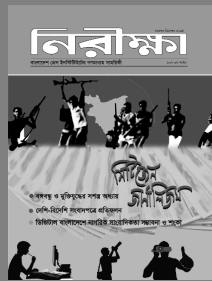


# নিরীক্ষা

207Zg msL'v  
b'f'f'f'-w'w'tm'f' 2015

m-p-c-i

ce°cwk'lt'bi b'vh''`wei K\_v ewj tZ  
tM'tj t'k'f'w'nZvi e'bvq l tRj-Rjy'tgi  
S'K j BqvB tm KvR KwitZ nB'te/  
AZ'f'Z Ggb A'tbK tRj-Rjy' f'y'w'evi  
ZK'w'i Avgvi nBqv'f'Q| g'y'w'e'f't'i  
t'vlqvq, mnKgx'f'i mü'gZvq Ges  
t'kevmxi mg\_#b tmme mn''Kw'evi g'tZv  
g'tbi ej Avj m&Avgv'tK `vb Kw'iqv'f'Qb/  
mv'to c'w'p t'Kw'u ce° cwk'lt'bi  
f'v'tj vevm'v'tK m'f'f' Kw'iqv Avg' GK'v'tR  
th-t'Kv'tbv Z'v'tMi Rb''c'Z Aw'Q| Avgvi  
t'kevmxi K'j'v'tYi Kv'f'Q Avgvi g'tZv  
bMY''e'w'3i R'x'e'tbi g'j-'B ev KZUK'Z  
gRj'g'f' kevmxi e'w'vi `wei Rb''msM'g  
Kivi t'P'tq gnr KvR Avi w'KQB Av'f'Q  
ewj qv Avg' g'tb Kw' bv| t' L'y c'p'v 5-10



e'zeÜzZvi Af'xó j'f'f'f' w'Q'tj b Aw'epj /  
Amn'thwM Av'f'v'j'tbi c'v'k'v'c'w'k c'w'k'lt'w'b  
k'v'mK l ivRb'w'ZK'f'i m'v'f' Av'tj v'Pbv  
P'w'j'tq e'zeÜzRbMY'tK l w'ek'evm'v'tK GB  
D'c'j'w'e'tZ w'b'tq G'tm'u'Q'tj b th, evsj v't'f'ki  
RbM'tYi g'y'3i Rb''mk'; msM'g'gi Avi  
t'Kv'tbv w'e'K'i t'bB| c'w'k'lt'w'b t'm'b'v'e'm'b'xi  
Av'v'g't'Yi R'ev'teB Av'f'v'j'tbi mk'; ce°  
i'ia'ntq w'w'f'q'w'j, hv w'eRq ARB K'ti'w'Qj  
g'y'RebMi miK'v'ti t'bZ'tZ; c'w'P'w'j Z bq  
g'v'tmi mk'; g'y'ht'x'i g'v'a'tg 1971-Gi  
16B w'w'tm'f'f' t' L'y c'p'v 19-21

e'Z m'isew'i Kiv n't'Q Av'tat'q'i w'e'P'ri K| Kx c'k'w'k'Z n'l qv  
D'w'PZ, Kx D'w'PZ bv tm w'e'P'ri'teva ev w'e'teK Aek'B  
m'isew'i K'f'i \_v'k'f'Z n'te| w'e'teK'teva KvR bv Ki'tj w'bqg l  
b'w'w'Z w'f'q K'v'D'f'K Ave'x Kiv hv'q bv| GRb'B W. iak'l qv\_°  
w'K'w'vi e'tj b: 'Ethics is obedience to the unen-  
forceable. Therefore, it is upto journalists them-  
selves—not governments or outside authori-  
ties—to set the standards for their profession  
(Butler, 2009). 0| 'b'w'ZK'Zvi P'v'tj Ä l w'e'ZK'KL'tbv t'kl  
nevi bq| Z'vB m'isew'i K'f'i A'by'w'w'i Z b'w'w'Z l w'e'teK D'f'q  
t'j Y w'f'qB m'isew'i K'Zv Ki'tZ n'te, t'm'Uv Abj v'Bb t'v'K Avi  
Adj v'Bb t'v'K| t' L'y c'p'v 30-33

c'ü'vMZ w'g'w'v'q'v th'Lv'tb mg'v't'ri l ci Z'j v't'f'k'Z \_'msM'h  
l w'e'Zi'Y K'ti, t'm'Lv'tb bv'w'w'i K m'isew'i K'Z'vq GB Kv'R'u  
w'bP t'f'k'Z \_v' RbM'tYi w'K t'f'k' Kivi m'j'h'w' i'tq'f'Q|  
evsj v't'f'ki t'c'f'v'c'f'U bv'w'w'i K m'isew'i K'f'i f'w'g'Kv  
Av'tj v'Pbv Ki'tZ t'M'tj Avg'iv kv'nev'M Av'f'v'j' b, iv'g'cvj  
w'e'y't'K'° w'e't'iv'ax Av'f'v'j' b w'K'sev iv'Rb n'Z'vi w'e'P'v't'i  
g'tZv w'K'Q'z'ndj Zv L't'j'R t'c'f'j l c'p'z e'Z'v w'K'S' L't'j'R c'vB|  
t' L'y c'p'v 48-49

## evsj v't'k t'c'f'h B'w'w' w'DU

3 m'w'K'0 n'v'Dm t'i w'w, X'v'Kv-1000

m'w'v'K K'Z'f' c'k'w'k'Z Ges t'g'm'm'°Avi t'R w'c'Üs G'Ü c'v't'K'w'Rs, 18/1, b'q'ic'eb, X'v'Kv-1000 t'f'k' g'y'Z

t'd'v: 9333403, 9330081-84, d'v: 880-02-8317458

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# সংগ্রহে রাখার মতো পিআইবি'র প্রকাশনা



যোগাযোগ

প্রকাশনা ও ফিচার বিভাগ

বাংলাদেশ প্রেস ইনস্টিটিউট

ও সার্কিট হাউস রোড, ঢাকা-১০০০

ফোন : ৯৩৩০০৮১-৪, ফ্যাক্স: ৮৮০-২-৮৩১৭৪৫৮

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ওয়েবসাইট : <http://www.pib.gov.bd>



Avgi weq t' kevmx fiv-terfbiv,  
Avig ce©cwk' lbevmxi eDvi `weifc 6-`dv KgmPx t' kevmx I  
¶lgZvmb `tji wefePbvi Rb` tck Kwi qmQ| kvstfite Dnvi mgvtj vPbv  
Kivi cwi eZ©Kvtqg `t\_x` i `vjv iv Avgi weiax Kzmv iUbn iia  
Kwi qvtQb| RbMtYi `jgbt` i GB tPniv I MjvMvj i mnZ t' kevmx  
mzviiPZ| AZxtZ ce©cwk' lbevmxi ubZvšl mnR I b'vh` `we hLbB  
DwvqtQ, ZLbB GB `vjv iv Ggubfite `n-`n Kwi qv DwvqtQb| Avgt` i  
gvZfvl vtK i vofiv Kivi `we, ce©cwk RbMtYi gvz-mb` GKk-`dv  
`we, hz-ubePb cövi `we, QvI-Ziax` i mnR I `f-e`tg uk¶v jvtfi  
`we, eivj vttK uk¶vi gva'g Kivi `we BZ`w` mKj cKvi `we gfa`B

99

ce©cwk' l' tbi b'vh` `we i K\_v evj tZ  
tMtj t' kt' inZvi e` bvg I tRj-Rjstgi  
Suk j BqvB tm KivR Kwi tZ nBte| ...  
mvtö cD tKvU ce©cwk' l' tbi  
fvj vevmtK mxf Kwi qv Avig GKvtR  
th-tKvfbv Z'vMi Rb` cÖZ AvmQ| Avgi  
t' kevmx Kj `vtYi KvQ Avgi gtZv bMY`  
eiv<sup>3</sup> i Rvxtbi gj`B ev KZUKZ



66

GB tkvl tKi `j I Zvrvt` i `vjv iv Bmjvg I cwk' l' b a'lstmi hohš;  
Avme©vi Kwi qvtQb|  
Avgi cÖlweZ 6-`dv `metZl GiutZgubfite cwk' l' b `B UKiv  
Kwi evi `jvrfmU Avt'ic Kwi tZtQb| Avgi cÖlweZ 6-`dv `metZ th ce©  
cwk' l' tbi mvtö cD tKvU tkvI Z-ewAZ Av'g mštbi Ašti i K\_vB  
cöZavbZ nBqvQ, ZvtZ Avgi tKvfbv m`n bvB| Letii KvMtRi  
tj Lvq, msev` I mfv-migvzi weitY, mKj tkvYi mqvRtbi wevZtZ  
Avig tMvUv t' kevmx Drmiv-DI'xbvi mvov t' vL'tZvQv ZvtZ Avgi cÖY  
mvmn I ešK ej AvmqtQ| mtefcvii, ce©cwk' l' tbi RbMtYi RvZxq  
cöZövb Avl qvq j m Avgi 6-`dv `we Abšgr` b Kwi qvtQb| dtj 6-`dv  
`we AvR ce©cwk' l' tbi RbMtYi RvZxq `metZ cwi YZ nBqvQ| G  
Ae`vq Kvqvg `r\_`ptkvl Kt` i cPvi Yvq RbMY weävš nBteb bv, tm wektm  
Avgi AvtQ|  
wKš` G- I Avig Rvb, RbMtYi `jgbt` i ¶lgZv Amxg, Zvt` i weE  
cPž, nmZqvi Gt` i Adžšl, gv Gt` i `kUv, Mjvi mj Gt` i kZvmaK|  
Gür eüjcx| Cgvb, HK` I msnvzi bvtg Giv AvtQb miKwi `tj | Avevi  
Bmjvg I MYZtšj t' vmb v qv Giv AvtQb AcvRkb `tj | wKš` ce©  
cwk' l' tbi RbMtYi `jgubi tejqv Giv mKtj GKtRvU| Giv bvb  
QjvKjvq RbMYtK weävš Kwi evi tPöv Kwi tēb| tm tPöv iia nBqv  
wMqtQ| ce©cwk' l' bevmxi ub`vg tmevi Rb` Giv BwZgta`B evni nBqv  
cwoqvQb| Gt` i nvRvi tPövZl Avgi AwaKvi mPZb t' kevmx weävš  
nBteb bv ZvtZl Avgi tKvfbv m`n bvB| Z\_vmc 6-`dv `we i Zirch`¶

# 6-`dv Ašti i K\_v Avgt` i eDvi `we

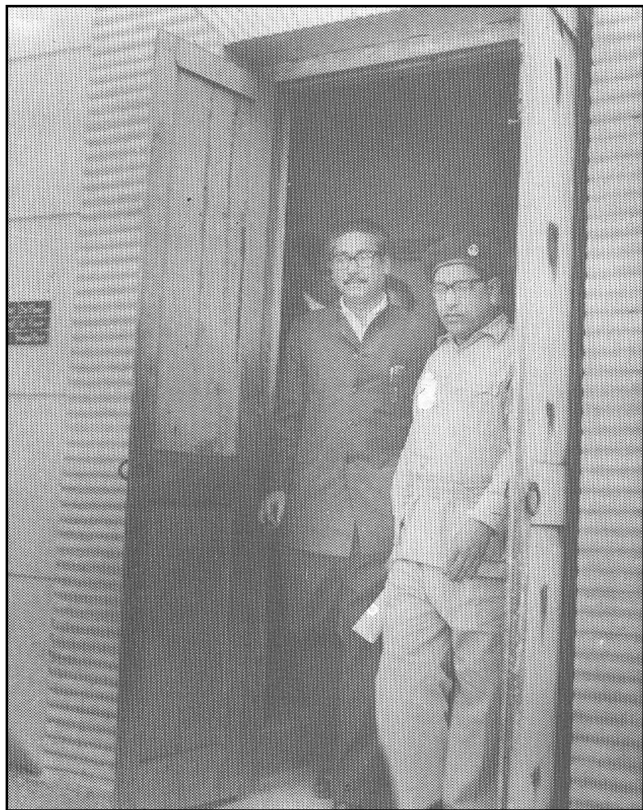
tkL gvRej i ngvb



nBqv 0t = U0 nI qvi m=9b cVtZ cVti, Zte ce^cmK^lbtK GBUKZ  
bvtgi ghP v w tZB ev KZf v GZ Gj vRR tKb?

3 bs `dv

GB `dVq Avwg gyt m=utK^ Bnu weKí ev Aèvi tbulF cÙle w qvUQ|  
GB `Bnu cÙlèi th tKvtrv GKiu MhY Kwi tJ B Puj te:  
(K) ce^I cuog cmK^lbt Rb^ `Bnu m=utY^c\_K A\_P mntR  
weibgqthM^ gyti cPj b Kwi tZ nBte| GB e^e^v Abyvti  
KvitiY tK^ i nvtZ \_vmKte bv, AvAwj K miKviti nvtZ  
\_vmKte| B AAjt i Rb^ `Bnu ^ZSj; 0t = U0 e^v/4 \_vmKte|  
(L) B AAjt i Rb^ GKB KvitiY \_vmKte| G e^e^vq gyt tK^ i  
nvtZ \_vmKte| wK^ G Ae^vq kumbZtSj; Ggb mibw^ 0 wearb  
\_vmKtZ nBte hvTZ ce^cmK^lbt gyi cuog cmK^lbt cvPvi  
nBtZ bv cVti| GB weavtb cmK^lbt GKiu tdlWitj w Rvf^  
e^v/4 \_vmKte| B AAjt `Bnu c\_K w Rvf^e^v/4 \_vmKte|



6-`dv tNvI Yvi ci cmK^lbt kumKtMvôx tKl gyReTK GtKi ci GK  
gvgj vi Rvtj Ave^ Kti| Ggub GKiu gvgj vq Av^j tZ hv^Qb wZub

GB `Bnu weKí cÙle nBtZ t^Lv hvBte th, gyttK mivmii  
tK^ i nvtZ nBtZ cÙlki nvtZ Amberi cÙle Avwg Kwi bvB| hv  
Avgvi wZxq Ae^vi tbulF MpxZ nq, Zte gyi tK^ i nvtZB \_vmKq  
hvBte| H Ae^vq Avwg 21-`dv cÙlèi tLjvtd tKvtrv msvwi k  
Kwi qvUQ, GK\_v evj v Pjt bv|

hv^ cuog cmK^lbt fivBiv Avgvi GB cÙlèi i mR bv nb, ZteB  
i^aycUg weKí A\_v^ tK^ i nvtZ nBtZ gyttK cÙlki nvtZ AmbtZ  
nBte| Avgvi p weklm Avjvc-Avtj vPvii gva^tg fy eSveng  
Aemvb nBtj Avgv^ i Ges Dfq AAjt i m=eari LwZti cuog  
cmK^lbt fivBiv GB c^tèi i mR nBte| Avgvi Zti i LwZti  
msL^Mvi ôZv Z^VM Kwiqv msL^v-mvg^ gmbqv j BqvUQ, Zvii wK  
Avgv^ i LwZti GBUKZKwi tB bv?

Avi hv^ Ae^vMvZtK gyttK cÙlki Gj vKvq AmbtZl nq, Zey  
ZvtZ tK^ a^ 9P nBte bv; cmK^lbt i Kvtvrb Amb^ nBte bv|

K^metBU cVtb wblj Fvi Ziq tK^ i th cÙle wQj, ZvtZ gyi  
tK^ i q wclq wQj bv| H cÙle tck Kwiqv weUK miKvi Ges H  
cÙle MhY Kwiqv KstMh I gvgj g j m mKtj B^ tKvi Kwi qvtQb th,  
gyttK tK^ i q wclq bv Kwi qvt tK^ a^ Puj tZ cVti| K\_vlv mZ^|  
ivôtg A\_@Avtb GB e^e^v i tK^ AvtQ| tK^ i e^tj cÙlki  
nvtZ A\_@mZ i vLv Ges GKB t^tk c\_K-c\_K w Rvf^e^v/4 \_vKvi  
bvRi wqvii eo-eo kw^kvj x ivtôf AvtQ| tLv gmkB hv^ivtôf  
A\_@mZ Pjt tdlWitj w Rvf^m^t^tgi gva^tg c\_K-c\_K t^U  
e^v^t^i 0vivi| GtZ hv^ivô^ a^ism nq bvB; Zvt^ i Avw^ R^ evbqv^ I  
f^wZqv cto bvB| AZ th kw^kvj x i v^ 0cZvc tmwftqZ BDbqb,  
Zvt^ i tK^ i q miKviti tKvtrv A\_@Sj ev A\_@dZi bvB| i^ay  
cÙlki miKviti A\_@ t^U w c^vew Kmgfni B A\_@Sj I  
A\_@dZi AvtQ| tK^ i q miKviti Avw^ R^ cÙqvRb Hme cÙlki  
gSj I gSj^ dZi w qvB wvUqv\_vtK| wY Avw^Kvi g^Zv t^tk I  
AvAwj K m=eari LwZti `Bnu c\_K I ^ZSj; w Rvf^e^v/4 e^v b AvtM  
nBtZB Pj vAvtQ|

Avgvi cÙlèi gg^GB th, Dctiv^ B weKí i wZxqv MpxZ  
nBtj gyi tK^ i ZE^earv \_vmKte| tm Ae^vq Dfq AAjt i GKB  
bKkvi gyi eZ^vrb thgb AvtQ tZgub \_vmKte| cv\_R^ i^ayGB nBte  
th, ce^cmK^lbt cÙqvRbxq gyi ce^cmK^lbt w Rvf^e^v/4 nBtZ  
BmynBte Ges ZvtZ ce^cmK^lbt ev mst^t^c 0XvKvô tJ Lv \_vmKte|  
cuog cmK^lbt cÙqvRbxq gyi cuog cmK^lbt w Rvf^e^v/4  
nBtZ BmynBte Ges ZvtZ 0cuog cmK^lbt ev mst^t^c 0j v^vni 0  
tJ Lv \_vmKte| c^vst^i Avgvi c^tèi wZxq weKí bv nBqv hv^  
cÙg weKí I MpxZ nq, tm Ae^vZl Dfq AAjt i gyi mntR  
weibgqthM^ \_vmKte Ges cmK^lbt HtK^ i cZ^K I w^k^ t^c  
Dfq AvAwj K miKviti mnt^wMvZvq GKB bKkvi gyi cPj b Kiv  
hvBte|

GKUZj vBqv wPst^ Kwi tJ B tevSv hvBte th, GB `B e^e^v GKiu  
MhY Kiv Qvov ce^cmK^lbt wblZ A\_@mZK gZi nvtZ nBtZ i qv  
Kivi Ab^ tKvtrv Dciq bvB| miv cmK^lbt Rb^ GKB gyi nI qvi  
I B AAjt i gyi gta^ tKvtrv c\_K wPy bv vKvq AvAwj K KvitiY  
mvKtj ktb tKvtrv weavtla I wfv^ wmvv bvB| gyi I A\_@mZ  
tK^ i q miKviti GLwZqti vKvq Avw^ mntRB ce^cmK^lbt A\_@  
cuog cmK^lbt Puj qv hvBtZtQ| miKwi -temiKwi cÙZvôb, wK^ -  
emw^R^, e^isK, Bbm^i Y I e^t^ wK wkbmgfni tnW Awdm cuog  
cmK^lbt Ae^v Z\_vKvq cÙZ wvubtU GB cvPti i Kiv Ave^vq MvZtZ  
Puj tZtQ| mKtj B Rvttb, miKwi t^U e^v/4 I b^vkvj e^v^mng^ I  
e^v^t^i tnW Awdm cuog cmK^lbt| GB tm^ b qv^ cÙZvôZ t0vU^ y  
GKLvb e^v/4 Bvni m^cÙZK e^vZvg gvl| GBme e^v^t^i  
w^t^cmRtU i vKv, tkqvii gmb, m^kDw^w gmb, wK^ -emw^R^ i Avq,  
g^v^dv I tkqvii gmb, GK K\_vq ce^cmK^lbt Avw^Z mg^ I Avw^ R^  
tj b^ tbi vKv evj Pti Xj v cmbi g^Zv GKvrb Zj^ t^k tnW Awdm  
A\_@ cuog cmK^lbt Puj qv hvBtZtQ, ce^cmK^lbt i Kbv evj Pti nBqv  
\_vmKtZtQ| evj Pti cmbi `iKvi nBtj wDel^tqj Lqv qv Zj^ k  
nBtZ cmb Zj^ tZ nq| Aemk^ cmb Zj^ t^k Rgv\_vtK| ce^  
cmK^lbt cÙqvRbxq A\_@ tZgub t^tKi wDel^tqj i gva^tg cuog  
cmK^lbt nBtZ AmbtZ nq| D0F Avw^ R^ tmwfs Zj^ t^k A\_@ cuog  
cmK^lbt B Rgv\_vtK| GB KvitiY ce^cmK^lbt K^mctUj di^tkb  
nBtZ cVti bvB| me K^mctUj di^tkb cuog nBqvUQ| eZ^vrb  
e^e^v Puj tZ \_vmKtj tKvtrv w b ce^cmK^lbt gj-ab Mvb nBte bv|  
Kvi Y tmwfs g^vBb K^mctUj di^tkb|

i^aycUvU-Ae-K^mctUj ev gyi cvPvi B bq, gyi c^mZtnZzce^  
cmK^lbt wZ^ cÙqvRbxq wRvbtmi w^Zv RbMt^Yi weKlZ  
cvUvix^ i `j^Rv mg^ li Rb^ vqx GB gyi e^e^v I A\_@mZ| Avwg  
5 bs `dvi e^vLiq G e^v^v^i Avil we^wizfite Avtj vPv  
Kwi qvUQ| GLv^t i^ayGBUKZevj qv i wL^Zv th, GB dvBU-Ae-  
K^mctUj eU Kwi tZ bv c^m^tj ce^cmK^lbt w^v^v^i wK^ -emw^R^  
GK cv-I AMh^i nBtZ c^m^te bv| Kvi Y Ae^vq gj-ab Mvov  
Dw^tZ cVti bv|



mnRzi nBte| mKtjB Rvttbb, A... Avbiv GLb utgB umzj U'v- ktbi w'k AvKp nBtZtQb| umzj U'v- ktbi bmxZtK mKtjB AvAKzi e'AvmbK I dj cth-ewj qv AwfInZ KwitZtQb| U'v- ktbi tdlw'itktbi Gvjv nBtZ AA'j i GLwZqvifj Kiv GB mtefeg I mefkl Aw\_R bmxZ MbtiYi cDg c'fjc ejv hvBtZ cvti|

m'i' vtg ubZ' cDqvRbxq `e` mieivn Kwiv qv Zvt' i Rxeb mlygg KwitZ nBtj Ges mtefcwi Avgt' i AwRZ wet' uk gy' i' qv ce' cwk' hbi nvtZ ce' cwk' lbtK uk' i' vqZ KwitZ nBtj Avgt' cD' hieZ GB e' v' Qiov DcvqvSi bVb|

5 bs `dv

GB `dvq Avng `ef' ukK emYR' e'vcvti ubgufc kimbZwSjK weartbi mgywi k Kwiv qmQ:

- (1) `B AA'j i `ef' ukK gy' Avtqi c\_z K-c\_z K umve i mLtZ nBte;
- (2) ce' cwk' lbtbi AwRZ `ef' ukK gy' ce' cwk' lbtbi GLwZqvif Ges ciDg cwk' lbtbi AwRZ `ef' ukK gy' ciDg cwk' lbtbi GLwZqvif vukte|
- (3) tdlw'itktbi cDqvRbxq wet' uk gy' `B AA'j nBtZ mgvbfvte A^ev kimbZtSj; uba'f' Z nviwmi gtZ Av' vq nBte|
- (4) f' kRvZ `e'w' webv i' te Dfq AA'j i gfa' Avg' mb- idZvnb Puj te|
- (5) e' emv- emYR' m'afU wet' tki m'z P' m'uv' tbi, wet' tk tUW wgb `ictbi Ges Avg' mb idZvnb Kwiv AvAKvi AvAwj K miKv' i nvtZ b' i' Kwiv qv kimbZwSjK weavb KwitZ nBte| ce' cwk' lbtK A\_ b'vZK ubvDZ gZznBtZ i' qv Kwiv Rb' GB e' e' v' 3 bs `dvi gtZvB AZ' vek' K| cwk' lbtbi 18 eQti i Aw\_R BvZv' fmi w' k GKUyRi ejvBtj B' i' Lv hvBte th:
- (K) ce' cwk' lbtbi AwRZ wet' uk gy' i' qv ciDg cwk' lbtbi uk' Mvoq iZjv nBqv' Q Ges nBtZtQ| tmb mKj uk' i' RvZ `te' i AwRZ wet' uk gy' tK ciDg cwk' lbtbi AwRZ wet' uk gy' ejv nBtZtQ|
- (L) ce' cwk' lbtbi gj-ab Mvoq bv DVvq ce' cwk' lbtbi AwRZ wet' uk gy' e' en' f' i' qZv ce' cwk' lbtbi bVb- GB AR' y' tZ ce' cwk' lbtbi wet' uk Avq ciDg cwk' lbtbi e' q Kiv nBtZtQ| GBfite ce' cwk' lbtbi uk' i' vqZ nBtZ cvti ZtQ bv|
- (M) ce' cwk' lbtbi th cvt' g' Y Avq Kti tmb cvt' g' Y e' q KwitZ cvti bv| mKtjB Rvttbb, ce' cwk' lbtbi th cvt' g' Y idZvnb Kti Avg' mb Kti mvariYZ Zvi Afa' k' i' l Kg| dtj A\_ b'vZi Atg' v' n' w' b' g' Avb'v' t' B ce' cwk' lbtbi Bbt' d' kb ev gy' t' c' v' m' z' g' v' t' j' m' i' q' v' R' t' i' g' t' v' j' w' m' q' v' B' v' t' Q' Z' v' i' dtj Avgt' i' ubZ' c' t' q' v' R' b' x' q' `e' w' i' v' g' Z' t' e' w' k' n' B' t' Z' Av' g' v' b' Kiv GKB w' i' b' t' m' i' ce' l' ciDg cwk' lbtbi v' t' g' i' Z' y' v' KwitZ B' GUv t' e' v' S' v' hvBte| wet' uk gy' e' E' t' bi v' q' Z' i' Ges A\_ b'vZK Ab' v' b' m' g' l' q' g' Z' v' t' k' i' q' mi Kvti i' GLwZqvif v' v' v' i' dtj B' Avgt' i' GB `y' Rv|
- (N) cwk' lbtbi wet' uk gy' i' w' z' b' f' i' t' m' i' f' i' m' B' AwRZ nq cvl nBtZ| A\_ P' cvl P' v' i' t' k' cvt' U' i' b' v' h' g' j' t' Z' v' t' i' K\_ v' Awew' LiPv' l' v' l' q' v' n' q' b' v' | dtj, cvl P' v' i' t' k' i' f' i' m' AvR uk' i' c' v' Z' i' e' emv' q' v' i' t' l' j' v' i' w' i' b' t' m' cvt' YZ nBqv' Q| ce' cwk' lbtbi mi Kvi cvt' U' i' P' v' l' v' b' q' S' y' K' t' i' b, w' k' S' P' v' i' t' k' i' cvt' U' i' b' v' h' v' g' v' t' Z' cvt' i' b' b' v' | Ggb A' m' g' A\_ b'vZ `v' b' q' v' i' Av' i' t' K' v' t' b' v' t' k' b' v' | hZ' v' b' cvl v' t' k' P' v' i' N' t' i, Z' Z' v' b' cvt' U' i' v' g' v' t' k' 15-20 UvKv| e' emv' q' v' i' v' t' g' P' u' j' q' v' h' v' l' q' v' i' m' v' t' - m' v' t' - Z' v' i' v' g' n' q' c' Avk UvKv| G' t' l' j' v' M' i' e' cvl P' v' i' x' w' P' i' K' v' j' i' v' l' q' v' Awm' t' Z' t' Q| cvl e' emv' q' v' R' v' Z' x' q' i' Y Kwiv cvl idZvnb t' k' mi Kwiv Avgt' E' Avbv Qvov Gi t' K' v' t' b' c' i' Z' K' v' i' b' v' B, G' K\_ v' Av' g' i' v' e' u' e' v' i' w' j' q' m' Q| G' D' f' i' t' k' Av' g' i' v' Av' l' q' v' x' j' m' g' u' s' m' f' v' i' Av' g' t' j' R' y' g' v' t' K' i' b' S' K' t' c' i' k' b' M' V' b' Kwiv q' m' Q' i' g' v' | c' t' i' t' k' i' q' mi Kvti i' m' v' v' i' t' h' c' y' R' c' v' i' Z' v' Av' g' t' i' t' m' Av' i' a' K' v' R' e' v' K' v' i' q' v' i' q' v' t' Q' b|
- (O) ce' cwk' lbtbi AwRZ wet' uk gy' v' b' th' i' a' y' c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' L' i' P' nBtZtQ Zv bq, Avgt' i' AwRZ wet' uk gy' i' t' R' v' i' th' w' e' c' y' cvt' g' Y wet' uk t' j' v' b' l' GBW Avm' t' Z' t' Q, Z' v' i' ciDg cwk' lbtbi e' q nBtZtQ| w' k' S' t' m' t' j' v' b' i' m' y' e' n' b' KwitZ nBtZtQ ce' cwk' lbt' b' K' B| H' Ae' v' i' c' i' Z' K' v' i' Kwiv cvl P' v' i' t' k' i' cvt' U' i' b' v' h' g' j' - v' t' Z' nBtj, Avg' mb- i' dZvnb mgv' b' Kwiv q' v' R' b' m' v' a' v' i' Y' t' K

6 bs `dv

GB `dvq Avng ce' cwk' lbtbi w' g' v' j' uk' q' v' e' v' c' v' i' w' g' v' j' U' w' i' i' q' v' e' m' b' x' M' v' t' b' i' m' g' v' i' k' Kwiv q' m' Q| G' `w' e' Ab' v' q' l' b' q, b' Z' b' l' b' q' l' 21- d' v' i' `w' e' t' Z' Av' g' i' v' Av' b' m' v' i' e' m' n' b' t' K' B' D' u' b' d' g' v' i' x' m' k' `e' v' i' n' b' t' Z' i' f' c' v' S' h' i' Z' K' i' v' i' `w' e' Kwiv q' m' Q' i' g' v' | Z' v' t' Z' v' K' i' v' n' q' b' b' v' b' e' i' A' ce' cwk' lbtbi mi Kvti i' Aaxb' B' i' c' A' v' i' e' m' n' b' t' K' G' L' b' t' k' b' i' A' a' x' b' t' b' l' q' v' n' B' q' v' t' Q| ce' cwk' lbtbi A\_ i' K' v' i' L' v' v' i' t' b' S' e' m' n' b' x' i' t' n' W' t' K' v' i' U' i' f' i' v' c' b' K' i' Z' t' G' A' A' j' t' K' Av' Z' e' q' v' q' Av' Z' u' b' f' f' P' K' i' v' i' `w' e' 21- d' v' i' `w' e' | w' k' S' t' k' i' q' mi Kvi 12 eQti i' Avgt' i' G' K' i' U' `w' e' l' c' i' Y' K' t' i' b' b' v' | ce' cwk' lbtbi AvAKvi cwk' lbtbi e' m' v' b' | G' U' v' t' K' i' q' v' K' i' v' t' k' i' q' mi Kvti i' B' b' v' z' K' l' i' v' o' t' q' `w' q' Z' i' | c' y' j' b' K' t' i' b' b' v' t' k' b' ?' c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' Av' t' M' e' v' b' v' q' m' g' q' l' m' s' t' h' v' m' v' u' k' t' j' c' t' i' ce' cwk' lbtbi e' v' v' b' n' Bte, B' v' i' b' w' k' t' k' i' q' mi Kvti i' Av' f' g' Z' ?' ce' cwk' lbtbi i' q' v' e' `v' ciDg cwk' lbtbi i' n' q' v' t' Q' G' g' b' m' s' N' v' z' K' K\_ v' k' v' m' b' K' Z' v' v' e' t' j' b' t' K' v' b' g' S' t' ?' g' v' l' 17 w' t' b' i' c' v' k' - f' v' i' Z' h' y' B' w' k' c' h' v' Y' K' t' i' b' v' b' Av' g' i' v' K' Z' w' i' a' c' v' q' ?' k' t' a' i' `q' v' l' g' u' R' P' D' c' i' t' Z' v' Av' g' i' v' e' v' P' q' v' w' k' t' Z' c' v' i' b' v' | t' k' i' q' mi Kvti i' t' k' i' y' v' b' w' z' K' v' h' Z' Av' g' t' i' t' K' Z' v' b' Kwiv q' v' i' n' l' q' v' t' Q| Z' e' y' Av' g' i' v' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' H' K' l' m' s' n' v' i' Z' L' w' z' t' i' t' k' i' q' v' e' e' v' i' t' k' i' q' mi Kvti i' n' v' t' Z' i' n' l' t' Z' P' v' B| m' t' z' - m' t' z' G- l' P' v' B' t' h, t' k' i' q' mi Kvi ce' cwk' lbtbi t' k' G' e' v' c' v' t' i' Av' Z' u' b' f' f' P' K' v' i' e' v' i' R' b' G' L' v' t' b' D' c' h' y' c' v' i' g' v' y' t' k' i' q' v' e' m' n' b' x' M' V' b' K' i' a' b' | A\_ i' K' v' i' L' v' v' i' t' b' S' e' m' n' b' x' i' `d' Z' i' G' L' v' t' b' i' b' q' v' A' v' m' t' y' | G' m' e' K' v' R' m' i' K' v' i' K' t' e' K' v' i' t' e' b' R' v' n' b' v' | w' k' S' B' v' z' g' t' a' A' i' L' i' P' t' o' v' U' l' v' t' U' v' A' t' k' i' q' v' Av' a' v' - m' g' v' i' K' e' m' n' b' x' M' V' b' K' v' i' Z' l' c' i' D' g' v' f' i' b' t' i' G' Z' A' v' c' i' e' t' k' b' ?' ce' cwk' lbtbi i' q' v' i' D' f' i' t' k' `Z' S' y' - Z' m' e' t' j' P' v' i' v' D' w' t' j' Z' v' i' t' k' i' q' v' i' q' v' i' Z' n' e' t' j' i' b' q' v' h' v' l' q' v' n' q' t' k' b' ?' H' m' e' c' h' k' e' D' E' i' b' v' | Z' e' y' t' k' i' q' v' e' v' c' v' t' i' A' A' t' j' i' n' t' i' f' c' Kwiv AvAKvi Av' g' i' v' l' P' v' b' v' | G' Ae' v' q' ce' cwk' lbtbi t' h' g' b' Kwiv cvt' i' M' v' i' e' v' n' v' t' j' B' Av' Z' e' q' v' i' e' e' v' i' Kwit' e, G' g' b' `w' e' w' k' Ab' v' i' q' ?' GB `w' e' Kwit' j' B' t' m' v' n' Bte t' k' t' v' n' Z' v' ?

G' c' h' t' z' c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' f' i' v' b' - t' e' v' b' t' i' t' l' `g' t' Z' Av' g' i' v' K' t' q' K' i' U' Av' i' R' Av' t' Q:

- GK. Z' v' i' v' g' t' b' Kwit' e' b' v' Avng' i' a' y' c' e' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' i' AvAKvi `w' e' Kwit' Z' i' Q| Av' g' i' v' 6- d' v' K' g' m' P' t' Z' c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' `w' e' l' m' g' f' i' t' e' b' i' n' q' v' t' Q| G' `w' e' t' k' Z' . n' B' t' j' c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' v' l' m' g' f' i' t' e' D' c' K' Z' . n' B' t' e' b' |
- `B. Avng' h' L' b' e' w' j, ce' cwk' lbtbi m' a' u' ` c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' c' v' P' r' i' l' `t' e' i' K' Z' . n' B' t' Z' t' Q' Z' L' b' Avng' Av' A' v' i' j' K' e' l' t' g' i' K\_ v' B' e' w' j, e' i' w' S' M' Z' e' l' t' g' i' K\_ v' e' w' j' b' v' | Avng' R' v' n' b, G' e' l' g' m' i' o' i' R' b' c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' v' `v' q' x' b' q' | Avng' G' l' R' v' n' b' t' h, Avgt' i' g' t' Z' v' `w' i' `c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' A' t' b' K' Av' t' Q' b' | h' Z' v' b' a' b' Z' w' S' K' m' g' v' R' e' e' v' i' A' e' m' b' b' v' n' Bte, Z' Z' v' b' e' i' w' S' t' Z' - e' i' w' S' t' Z' G' B' Avng' `i' n' Bte b' v' | w' k' S' Z' v' i' Av' t' M' Av' A' v' i' j' K' t' k' v' l' Y' l' e' U' Kwit' Z' n' Bte| GB Av' A' v' i' j' K' t' k' v' l' Y' i' R' b' `v' q' v' Avgt' i' i' t' f' S' t' M' v' j' K' Ae' v' b' Ges t' m' B' Ae' v' b' t' K' A' M' h' ` Kwiv q' v' A' A' t' t' v' e' K' e' e' v' P' v' j' v' B' e' v' i' t' P' o' v' P' u' j' t' Z' t' Q' | a' i' a' b, h' v' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' i' v' R' a' v' b' c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' b' v' n' Bq' v' ce' cwk' lbtbi nBZ, Z' t' e' K' v' i' w' k' A' m' y' e' a' v' n' B' Z' G' K' U' z' i' e' P' r' i' K' i' t' Z' b' | c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' t' k' i' q' v' e' m' n' b' x' i' w' z' b' w' l' `d' Z' i' b' h' v' ce' cwk' lbtbi v' v' k' Z, Z' t' e' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' t' g' v' U' i' v' R' t' t' k' Z' K' i' v' 62 UvKv' L' i' P' n' q' t' k' i' q' v' e' m' n' b' x' i' Z' Ges k' Z' K' i' v' 32 UvKv' L' i' P' n' q' t' k' i' q' mi Kvi' cvt' P' v' j' b' v' | GB G' K' z' k' Z' K' i' v' P' z' v' e' y' B' UvKv' c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' b' v' n' Bq' v' Z' L' b' L' i' P' n' B' Z' ce' cwk' lbtbi | Av' c' b' v' i' v' R' v' t' b' b' A\_ e' A' v' t' b' i' K\_ v' : m' i' K' v' i' Av' q' R' b' M' t' Y' i' e' q' Ges' m' i' K' v' i' e' q' R' b' M' t' Y' i' Av' q' | GB w' b' q' t' g' e' Z' v' b' e' e' v' i' q' mi Kvti i' t' m' v' v' Av' t' q' i' A' t' a' R' ce' cwk' lbtbi e' q' w' k' B, w' k' S' m' i' K' v' i' e' t' q' i' m' e' U' K' B' c' i' D' g' c' w' k' l' b' t' b' i' Av' q' |





071-Gi 3iv wltmæt `xN©24 eQtii RvZiq gypmsMötgi Povšl i/c bq  
 gvtmi i<sup>3</sup> qax gyphtx mweR mvdj ARB Kti | Avgiv ZLb weRtqi  
 0vicütšl gypewnbxi PZgZx tMii jv AvuqY weaY I cvKewnbx Gir b  
 Dcivqšl br t lL GKZidvfiče fvičzi weiax hy tNviYv Kti |  
 cwiK I b wegbewnbx cüög fvičzi wegvb NvU t jv GgbwK w wj š KvtQ  
 AvMöi wegvbt qI Ges ce<sup>3</sup>dtöUi AvMi Zj v wegvb NvU t Z AZwK PZ AvuqY  
 Pvj vq | gyphtx tK `Kti D<sup>m</sup>Z cwi w wzi cwi t cöf t Z i vöcuz ká w f w f  
 wMii I EaYz b tbZet` i m t ½ Riawi `eVK tkl fvičzi cävbgšy k t g u Z  
 Bw` iv MvÜx iv Z 10-30 wgvbtU mvi v fvičz Riawi Ae`v Rvni Ktib | iv Z  
 12-20 wgvbtU Bw` iv MvÜx GK teZvi fil tY `faxb eisj vt` tki cöZ cY©

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wKš weRtqi Avb` Qvictq tKej B gtb  
 cöwQj wctq tbZv e½eÜöj K\_v | ... weRtqi  
 tm w b t j v f Z m v a v i Y g v b t i t P v t L - g t L  
 t M š i t e i t h ` w B A w g t ` t L u Q, t m B i f c  
 w P i w e R t q i t M š i e g u D Z A v t j v t K D<sup>m</sup> w m Z |  
 `Rb nvičbvi te`bv m t E j l cöZ`K e v O w j i  
 g t L u Q j c i g c w i Z w B i n v m, h v A v t R v  
 A v g v i t P v t L i m i g t b t f t m I t v |



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mg\_ö e<sup>3</sup> Kti mvd Rmbtq t`b, 0AvR GB hy fvičzi hy wntmte l  
 AvZcKvk Kij | 0 c i w` b 4 wltmæt, gypRebMi miKvii A`vq i vöcuz  
 `mq` bRi aj Bmj vq Ges cävbgšy ZvRD I x Avntg` thš fite fvi Ziq  
 cävbgšy eiveti AvbšwmbK `xkuz ARB w Pw t j l b | w P w i g j - e<sup>3</sup>e  
 wQj, 0hiv Avgiv ci`ci AvbšwmbK K U % w z K m a u t K c ö k K w i, Zte  
 cwiK I b mvgwi K Rvšli weiax Avgv` i thš Ae`v AvwKzi mnRzi  
 nq | Awj t a f v i z m i K v i A v g v t ` i t` k Ges Avgt` i m i K v i t K ` x k u z  
 cövb KiaK | 0 Gi ciciB fvi Z cvöv AvuqY Pvj vq Ges 6 wltmæt,  
 tmvgevi, fvi Ziq mgq mKvj mto 10Uvq fvi Z miKvi `faxb I mvePšg  
 0MYcRvZšy eisj vt` kütK `xkuz cövb Kti | gypRebMi miKvi KZR.10B  
 Gucj `faxZvi tNviYcät MpxZ i v t o t b v g 0MYcRvZšy eisj vt` kÜDxZ  
 Kti t j v K m f v i A w a t e k t b B w` i v M v Ü x e t j b, 0eisj vt` k 0MYcRvZšy  
 eisj vt` kÜ b i t g A w f i n Z n t e | 0 f v i Z i q c ä v b g š y i G B e<sup>3</sup> z v i c i m K j  
 m` m` w o t g Z o j n l 0 v i b i g v a t g G B t N v I Y i t K A w f b ` b R v b v b | m k`  
 g y p h t x i i i a t k t k l c h š f v i z m i K v i I R b m v a v i t Y i f u g K v  
 K Z A v t E ` š i Y K w i |

gypRebMi miKvi I gypReewnbxi Rb` 7 wltmæt wQj GK wtkl w`b |  
 Gir b gypReewnbxi Ab`Zg cäv Ges 8wU tRj vi `wqZcöB wntmte Avgvi  
 tbZZfaxb AAj htkvi nivr`vi gš nq | htkvii meP DšEw j Z nq `faxb  
 eisj vt` tki cZvKv | tmw b gypRebMi miKvii tbZet` I gypReewnbxi  
 KgvÜri MYmn Avgiv weRqxi tetk `faxb eisj vt` tki k t a g y cölg gšvAj  
 htkvii cöek Kwi | Rbmvari Y Avgv` i weRqgvj` fvi Z Kti | tm Avb` -

weRtqi cwi cYzV  
 I  
 e½eÜöj gyp  
 tZvdvtqj Avntg`

Abvixi K\_v fvlvq cKvk Kiv hvq bvl Axtk gRebMi miKvii  
 mtz gReewbxi fz terSeySi K\_v etj b| GUv mivK bq| Avqt i  
 tnWtKivUf uQj Kj KvZv teBRW| Avig ubqvgZ gRebMi miKvii  
 mtz thvMthvM KiZvg| gtb cto tRbtij levbi K\_v| uzub  
 t iv sb Avqt i tUlbs w tZb| gtb cto tRbtij mi Kvi l kx w w  
 ai, huiv Avqt i mtz ubqvgZ thvMthvM Kti tKv-AwWfBU KiZb|  
 GLvtb Kvi l e w MZ LvgtLqwj i tKvbtv AeKvk uQj bvl mKtj B  
 uQj b mvsMMZ, cui Kvi Z Ges mly;Lj | mgMöersj vt ktk Pviu epr  
 AAj w f3 Kti ivR%omZKfite AMöhi gRebMi thvvt i ubtq msMWZ  
 uQj gReewbxi| gRebMi miKvii cävö tmbvciZ AvZvDj Mbx  
 l mgvbxv tZtZ;MMZ evsj vt k gReewbxi (GdGd) mtz GKt h  
 Kti cKewmbxK tgvKwejv KivB uQj gj-Z gReewbxi KvR|  
 gReewbxi Ab Zg cävö wtmte Avqvi wqtZ; uQj cveb, Kuvq,  
 htkvi, Ljv, dvi cy, ewi kuj Ges clvLvj x tRj v| tKL dRj y nK  
 gub fvbti q wqtZ; uQj ZrKvj xb PÆMög wWfKb| iv3vK fvbti q  
 wqtZ; uQj epEi gqgbmsn Ges wmi vRMÄmn GK weivU AAj i |  
 DEivÄj i wqtZ; uQj b wmi vR fivB| 9 gvtmi i 3 qv gRebMi h k  
 16 wtmte thir b weRq njvg, tmw b Avqvi miz B gvti tKvjt wdti  
 Gjvg| 18 wtmte Avig Ges kt x q fbZv Ave y iv3vKN Avqvi  
 fivB tvoj KPvti Kti XvKvq Awm| faxb evsj vt iki gwUtZ c vcy  
 Kvi | Pvi i k tm wK Avb, fvlvq cKvk Kiv hvq bvl cÜtgB QZU  
 wMtgUjvg ezeUöj mnaugyx ktxqv fiev telMg dvrj vZtböw gRe,  
 tKL nwmbr, tKL tinvbr, tKL ivtmj mn mevBtK thLvfb ew Kti ivLv  
 ntqUj ezeUöw evi tK tmLvfb| wKs weRtqi Avb Omctq tKej B  
 gtb coiQj wcbi fbZv ezeUöj K\_v| th faxb evsj vt i wMv  
 Ztj uQjvg ivRct; th evsj vi Rb ezeUöj MuzKxj fbZtZ; KvR  
 Kti uQj; cigvKw tZ tmB evsj vt k AvR faxb ntqUj| AvR Avqvi  
 nvbr vi g, faxb| weRtqi tm w b tjt vZ mvari Y gvbti i tPvL-gjt

tmSitei th wB Avig t tLw, tmB ifc wPweRtqi tMSiegnDZ  
 Avtj vtK D wMz| Rb nvi v bvi te br mtEj cÜZ K evöw i gjt  
 uQj cig cui ZuSi nwm, hv AvtRv Avqvi tPvLi migtb t f m l i v |  
 wKs weRtqi Avb Omctq tKej B gtb coiQj wcbi fbZv ezeUöj  
 K\_v| hvi mtz B t Lv nq, mKtj i GKB cKv özeUöj Kv\_vq AvtQb,  
 tKgb AvtQb, Kte wdi teb?0 ezeUöj gRebMi Rb me tti gRebMi  
 evöw i Nti-Nti tivRv ivLv, wtkl t vqvi AvtqvRb Pj uQj | ezeUöy  
 wnb weRq Acy gRebMi Pj vKvtj Atzveti ezeUöj dumi Avt k  
 ntqUj | t k faxb br ntj wtmte B ezeUöj K dummKvto Szvbr  
 ntZv| wKs Avqvi RvbZvg exi evöw i l ci fbZv Av vi K\_v| uzub  
 tZv Me Kti ej tZb, öZviv AvqvtK nZv KitZ cvti | wKs evsj vi  
 gvbvtK Ziv weta ivLtz cvite bvl l iv AvqvtK nZv Kitj j  
 gRebMi Rb nte 16 wtmte nvbr vi g, ntq weRq ARö Kivi  
 cti l Avqvi wbtRt i k faxb fietZ cui w b| Kvi Y, ezeUöZLb l  
 cui k tbi Kvi vMti ew | Avqvi cui cy faxbZv ARö Kti uQj tmw b,  
 thir b 072-Gi 10 Rvbgw evfiv Avb Avi Rb nvi v bvi te br  
 wbtq RmZi wZv Zvi tci faxb evsj vt tk wdti GtmuQj b |  
 cui k tbi Kvi vMti AUKvi cÜKvto wtmz ew Rxb  
 KvlutqOb evöw i RmZi wZv| wqvb qj x Kvi vMti uzub Krfite  
 Rxbhvcb Kti tOb, Krfite gRebMi Kti tOb me tti Zvi eYv  
 i t b uQjvg wqvb qj x Kvi vMti wRb MfbP nvex Avj xi KvQ|  
 Mfxi k vq wZPvi Y Kti GKUv etj uQj b, wqvb qj x Kvi vMti  
 wRb cÜKvto ezeUöj bqqm tPSt w tbi Kivb Kvi vRxbi K\_v|  
 ezeUöj gRebMi AvtMi w b tjt vi K\_v si Y Kti uzub Avqvi  
 etj uQj bN  
 Öersj vt k faxb nevi ci A 16B wtmte i 10 w b ci 26tk  
 wtmte ivtZ gRebMi w bvc t b mmi t q t b l qvi w b t k i c i c i B  
 GKUv UTK wbtq wqvb qj x Kvi vMti w t k hvB| Kvi v dUK Lj Zvi



cui k tbi Kvi vMti ezeUöw uQj b i vö t i n n t q, uQj b dumi Avmvgx| 1972 mtj i 10 Rvbgw wdti Gtj b faxb evsj vt iki tci l i vö t z wtmte | exi evöw i  
 mb iv GB clg ezeUöj MvW Ae Avri cÜvö Kti b





Dibk kô GKvĒġi 7B gvPp timġKvm<sup>©</sup>gg`vb (hv eZġvġb tmvni vl qv`P D`vb etj cwiwPZ) t`ġK wK weġKj 3Uv 2 wġubġU eġzeÜġi eRKġĒ D`Pwi Z nġjv tmB AvġevK` 0Geġġi msMġg Avġvġ`i ġvġi msMġg, Geġġi msMġg `ġaxbZvi msMġg|0 18 wġubġUġi tmB e<sup>3</sup>Zv cġġĒ wġjv ersjvi BwZnm, evOwġi BwZnm| G AvġevK` wK nVv-B D`Pwi Z nġqġj? Gi tġQġb cŪwZ wġj, msMġg wġj, i<sup>3</sup> Stġwġj eġevi, tmB evġvġet`ġKB| thw`b evOwġj eġġZ wġġLwġj th, tm evOwġj, ersjv Zvi fġlv, tmw`b t`ġKB cġwK`ġb tġġ0 hvl qvi cġwqv`i iġġ 1948-G ġvġġġ Avġx wRbwġ etj wġġj b: 'If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis and Sindhis first, and Moslems and

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0Awġg Kj KvZv tġKb, th tġvġbv t`ġk cġjvġZ cġi Zvg; wKŠ`Awġg Avġvi t`ġki tġvKġK hġ Kivi K\_v etj wġjvg, Zvġ`i tġġj Awġg tġv\_vq hie?0 dġ- Gi DĒġi etj b, 0ġm K\_v wK, GB 9 ġvm AvcbġġK Avcbvi t`ġki ġvġy Av`ri cġġK wġġġe t`ġġġ| Zvi v AvcbġġK GLb Cġġi i ġġZv ġġb Kġi |0

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Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to dis-integrate.' (The Magazine, 15 gvP<sup>©</sup>1971)| 7B gvPp AvġMB eġzeÜz Time-Gi msev`vZv Dan Coggin-tġ etj wġġj b, ġġġSvZvi Avġ tġvġbv Avkv tġB|

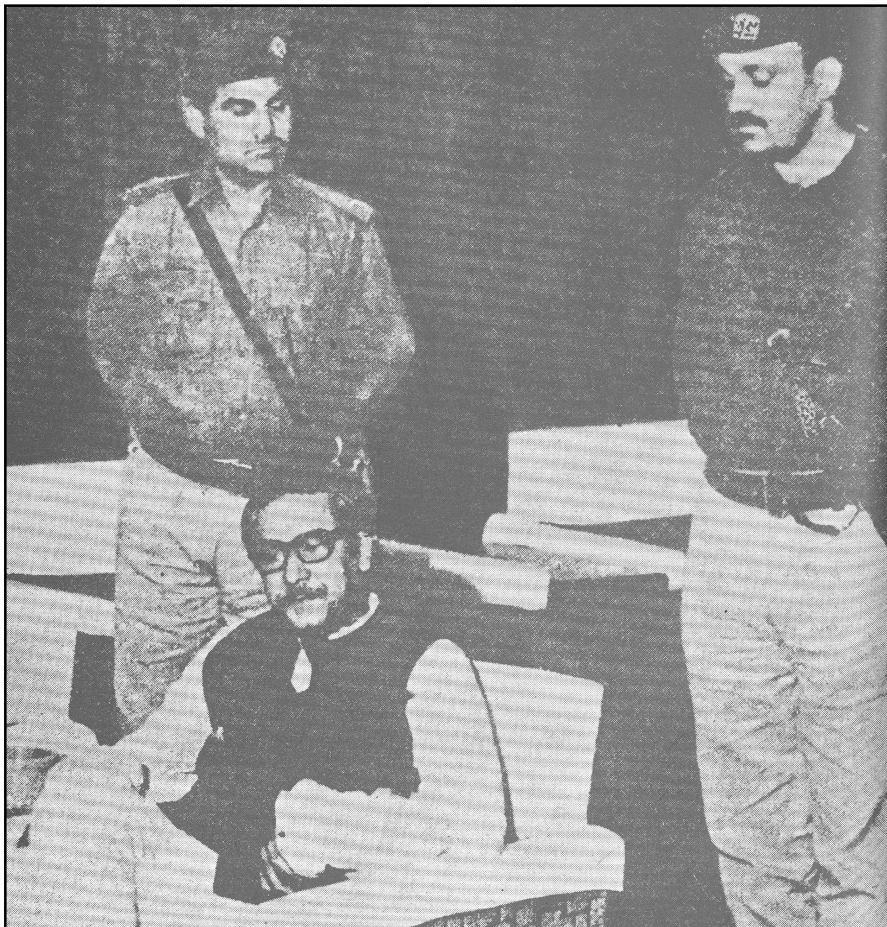
1ġv ġvPp`ġKB ivRġġ\_ i<sup>3</sup>cġZ AvġġKġi wġj nġv`vi cġwK`ġb ewġvġ| tRġvġġj Bqġwġv Avevi tNvġYv wġjv th, MYcwiġ`i` eVK emte 25ġk ġvPp tRġvġġj t`i`ġġiv KġĒ tġvġv tMġ, 0hZv`b Awġg tmbvewġv bxi cġvġ AvġQ, Awġg t`wġġ t`ġev wKfġġe cġwK`ġġbi ALġZv wġwġZ KġġZ nġġ0 eġzeÜġi 18 wġubġUġi e<sup>3</sup>Zvq tġġm wġġqġj H tRġvġġj i`ġġw<sup>3</sup>| wġwġfġġe mZ` nġqġj wRbwġi Avk<sup>3</sup>vġ| tRġvġġj i`ġġw<sup>3</sup> DĒġi eġzeÜzġġġg cġwK`ġb t`i Dġġġk etj wġġj b, 0ġġ`i Awġg kvġq`ġ Kġi t`ġev, ġġ`i nġwġMġġo emġZ evġ` Kieġ0

5B tġġġġvġi, 1966-tZ tġL ġvRe 6-`dv cġġe ġvġġġi Dġvcb Kġġb ivR%wZK`ġj i`evġK| cġwK`ġġbi tġġġwġU AvBqġġK G KġġwP wġPġj Z Kġi tZġġj| ersjv t`ġki`ġaxbZvi KvġRġi c`ġġc wġj Zv| 6-`dv cġġġe wġj evOwġj i`evġri`wġe Ges H cġġġe`ġaxbZvi msMġg GK bZġ ġġvġ tġq| ZLb t`ġKB tġL ġvReġK tġK`ġKġi ersjvġi ivRbwZ G\_ġZ`vġK|

7B ġvPp fġlvġi ci avġc avġc A\_P AZ`šġ`ġZMwZġZ Amġġi nġ ivRbwZ| ersjvġi ġvġy eġzeÜġi tmB HwZnmK tNvġYv Rb`thb`wN` cġġvġvg wġj Ges Zwi wġġ`Rbv ev`ġe iġġvšġġi Z Kivi Kġwġi kc\_ wġj| e`Z`ġaxbZvi msMġg Avġġġ nġ 7B ġvPp`ce`cġwK`ġb miKġġi cZġbi

eġzeÜzġ ġvġ<sup>3</sup>hġx`i mk`ġ;Aa`vq  
t`wK-wġġ`wK  
msev`cġġ cġwZdj b  
wġPvi cġwZ tġ Gġ tmvenvġb

mt\_ | weKí miKvi Pjtz\_vtk ežeUđi Avt`tk | mipej qB trivK ev  
 gšyuj qB trivK, Zv`vbišniZ ntvj BtWb meiš s t`tk avbgđ 32  
 b`fi | Qq`dv ZLb GK`dvi mslMđg ifc t`qN`raKvi t`tk  
 `raxbZvi mslMđg | ežeUđi tNviYv: ōtZivgt`i KvđQ Avgvi Abđiva  
 iBj, cđZ`K Nđi-Nđi`Mđto tZvtjv | tZivgt`i hv`wKQzAvđQ ZvB  
 wbtq kĀi tgvKwejv KĀZ nte | Rieđbi Zti iv`NviU hv-hv AvđQ  
 mewKQđi Amg hvr`ūgmK w`evi br-l cwi, tZivgiv eU Kti t`te | ōG  
 Avt`k mk`i mslMđgi Avt`k, hđxi cđiZ | 25tk gvp`AvtjvPbv  
 Amgwb tiđL tRbtij Bqvnqv KivPi Dđi`k`XvKv Z`vM Kti | 25tk  
 gvp`ga`ivđZi ci BwAvđi i qv`itj tmi gva`tg ežeUđi `raxbZvi  
 tNviYv tMj t`tki meP Ges mKj`tk gyp`hđxi Rb`Zwi n l qvi  
 wbt`R w`tj b ežeUđ `When the First shot had been fired,  
 the voice of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman came faintly  
 through on a wavelength close to that of the official  
 Pakistan Radio. In what must have been and sounded  
 like a prerecorded message the Sheikh proclaimed East  
 Pakistan to be the People's Republic of Bangladesh  
 (David Lashake, Pakistan Crisis, London, PP. 88-89) /  
 ežeUđi `raxbZvi tNviYiq Zwi`KĀE ejv n tqđj: 'Peoples are  
 fighting gallantly with the enemy for the cause of free-  
 dom of Bangladesh. Every section of the people of  
 Bangladesh are asked to resist the enemy forces at any  
 cost in every corner of Bangladesh. May Allah bless you  
 and help you in your struggle for freedom from the  
 enemy. Joy Bangla.' (The Statesman, Delhi, 27 March  
 1971).



evsjv`tk gyp`hđxi međabvqK ežeUđiKl gvrRej ingvđK 1971 mvtj i 25 gvp`ivđZ cwk`mb  
 nivr vi ewnrx avbgđi 32 bs emo t`tk ew`Kti KivP wbtq hvq

ežeUđi G Avt`tkB jđ jđ mvariY gvby A`Zđj wbtqđj  
 nivr vi ewnrx meišx | w`k jđ t`vK Rieb w`tqđj `raxbZvi  
 Rb` | 2 jđ vrixj w`AZ n tqđj nivr vi ewnrx nvtZ |  
 gvtP` cđ gw b t`tkB cwk`mb miKvi ce`cwk`đbi kvmb  
 ýgZv nmi tqđj | ežeUđi wđj b evsjv`tki GKtgemđZiqđtbZv |  
 gljvvr fimvbxđi gtZv tbZv tđb wbtqđj b ežeUđi tbZZj | 9B  
 gvp`Zwb cđb gq`vđb mekvj Rbmfiq ejđj b, Awej t`ce`evsjvđi  
 `raxbZv tđb tbqvi Rb` | gljvvr fimvbx tNviYv Ktib, ōgvRtei  
 wbt`RgtZv AvMgx 25 ZwiđLi gđa` tKvđv wKQzvb ntvj Amg tkL  
 gvRtei mt\_ wgtj 1952 mvtj i gtZv Zđj Avđ`vjb i iā Kie |  
 LvqvL tKD gvReđK Awekjm Kiteb bv | gvReđK Amg fđjv Kti  
 wPib... | ō (W. tgvv`đ nıbbıb, evsjv`tki gyp`hđxi BıZnim, c.,  
 288-289) | 12B gvp`1971 gqgbmđni mwmKđ nıDm gq`vđb  
 gljvvr fimvbx Aveđiv ejđj b, mđto mıZ tKwU evōvıj AvR `raxb  
 mveP`đg evsjv`k Mvđbi Rb` tkL gvRtei tbZđj HK`ex |  
 (ceP`k, 10B gvp`1971) | 26tk gvp`ežeUđiK tMBvi Kij nivr vi  
 ewnrx | Zwi tMBvđi eYđv ežeUđiR t`b 18B tdeđqwi 1972-G  
 msewı K David Frost-Gi mt\_ GK mıvıvKvđi, hv WNEW-TV  
 wdbBqK`đ t`k cPwi Z nq David Frost show-tZ | ežeUđejđj b,  
 ōcwk`đbi Kgvđv ewnrx tm i vđZ Avgvi emo wđi tiđLwđj | Zviv  
 AvgvđK tđi tđj Z hv` Amg emoi eBđi AvmZvg | Zte tđi tđj vi  
 ci ej Z Pıgcđiv AvgvđK Lđ KtiđQ | AvgvđK tđi tđj vi ARvđZ  
 Bqvnqv Lvđ Avgvi t`tki gvđđK Lđ KiZ | Zviv n`ZvĀ PıjvZ | ō  
 ōAvgv Kj KvZv tKb, th tKvđv t`tk cvj vđZ cvı Zvg; wKđ`Avgv Avgvi  
 t`tki t`vKđK hv Kivi K\_v etj wđj vđ, Zv`i tđj Amg tKv`vq  
 hve? ō dē- Gi DĒti etj b, ōfm K\_v wK, GB 9 gım AvcbvđK Avcbvi  
 t`tki gvby Av`i cđxk wntmte t`đLđQ |  
 Zviv AvcbvđK GLb Cđđi gtZv gđb Kti | ō  
 dē- wRÁmvı Ktib, ōAvcbvđK Zviv Kıfđe  
 tMBvi Kij ? ō DĒti ežeUđejđj b, ōAvgvi GB  
 emođZ Zviv tgvkbMvb w`tq`ıj Kti | Avgvi  
 tkvqvi Nđi l`ıj Kti | ō Zviv Pıvıv K t`tk  
 `ıj KĀZ`vđK | Amg Avgvi `đK`đ tđj tK  
 wbtq tkvqvi Nđi`vKđZ etj tei ntv Amm Ges  
 Zv`i evj tZivgıv`ıj eU Kđiv | Amg tZv  
 GLvđB AmđQ | Zviv Pıvıv K t`tk AvgvđK wđi  
 tđj | GKRb Avđmvi AvgvđK atı etj l`đK  
 tđi tđjv bv | ō Zvıci Zviv AvgvđK Avgvi  
 mg`l kixđi ev`đKi Kđiv w`tq gvđZ-gvđZ  
 tUđb wbtq tđZ`vKj | Amg Zv`i ejj vđ,  
 tZivgıv AvgvđK tđbto wbtq hvl qv eU Kđiv |  
 AvgvđK Avgvi cvBc Ges ZvgvK AvđZ`vı ev  
 `đi Kvđ t`tk G`ıjv wbtq Gđm | Zviv Avgvi  
 emoi mewKQz jđ Kti wbtq hvq | Avgvi  
 wRıvıv cđ me jđ Kti wbtq tMđQ, ZvđZ Avgvi  
 tKvđv`đL nqıv; wKđ`Avgvi 35 eđi  
 ivR`vıvZK Rieđbi th BıZnim WvqıvđZ  
 wđ tLwđj vđ, Zv wbtq tMđQ | Zviv Avgvi eBđi  
 Ges wKQz cđqvRbxq`ıj wbtq tMđQ | ō  
 (evsjv`k WKđđU, 2q fıj Dg, c., 614)  
 ežeUđiK cıđg cwk`đb wbtq hvl qvi  
 Lei miKvıv fđe ZLb t`qv nqıv | tR. Bqvnqv  
 26tk gvp`1971-G Rmđi Dđi`k ti wđi l  
 wđvđđZ GKwU fvlY t`b | ZvđZ wıvıv etj b,  
 23tk gvp`ıvR`vıvZK tbZviv gvRtei mt\_ K\_v  
 ejđZ hvq Avđm`ıj emı wđ tđ | Zviv AvgvđK  
 etj b, gvRe th KgvđP w`tđQ Zv t`tk botZ  
 i wR bb wıvıv | gvRe Pıv th, Amg mıgvıv K  
 AvBb Zđj tbqvi tNviYv t`B Ges ýgZv  
 n`ıđi Kvi | tkL gvRej ingvđbi AmđđwM



cmk-ib bitgi ivoiUi Kei LjovQj Bqinqv Lvb Ges Zvi cmk-ib ivR%owZK ciwgkZiviv 26tk givPP ci cmk-ib th chifq wltqQj tmLvb t-tK tdivi Avi tKivb c- uQj bvl evsjv t-ik raxbZvi Rb th gypHy iiantqQj ezeUbi WvTK tmLvb t-tK ucQzddivi Avi tKivb c- uQj bvl

KvqvB Bvibvkvbj 27tk RjvB 1971 Bqinqv Lvtbi GK mrvrKvi t-tK Rivbq, OgRetK kvNB ivof imZvi Rb nePri Kiv nfe, A-ur Zvi weifx gvgjv zwi KivR tkl ntj B| cvlKvi cy t-tK GK cOkE DEti Bqinqv Lvb Rivbq th, mvgwi K nePriKti nvtZ melqu i tqtQ| KvtrB tm ejtZ cvite bv th, Rivzq cwi lti i cUg AwatekTbi AvtM gvrete nePri ev Zui dum ntq hite wK-bvl tKvUgukfj Zui nePri nfe Ges cwi lti i AwatekTbi AvtM tm tetP vKte wK-bv, Zv Bqinqv Lvb Rivb bvl

G mrvrKvi t-tK GUV cwi vi tevSv hvq th, ezeUbi weifx tKvUgukfj nePrii chmb Pj uQj Ges nePrii th Zui dum i Kq nfe, Zvi wvDZ uQj |

Ziv AvM- 1971-Gi wDRDBtK tj Lv nq th, gvrete mvgwi K QvDvb wqv qmij i GKwU tRtj ivLv ntqtQ| gvrete GKRb Rivzq tZv t-tK knx ifcvshZi Z ntqtQb| tR. Bqinqv MteP mvt- Rivbq th, Zvi tRvrtj iv gvrete mvgwi K Av vjZ nePri Ges dum i Rb KivR Kti Pj tQ| tm iWR ntqtQ Ges nePrii KivR kvNB iiantel cvlKwUz gse Kiv ntqtQ th, G ctytci tptq f woi Avi tKivb KivR ntZ cwi bv Ges GtZ gypHy tK AvtM Kvb ct- vbtq hite| cvlKwUzK GKRb cmOg v tki KvbZK Rivb th, Bqinqv gwZag ntqtQ Ges tm Kx KitQ, Zv Rivb bv, GgbwK eStZl cwi tQ bv Zvi tmbvwnb Kx KitQ| tm gtb Kti th, tm KtqK jytK tgti tdtjZ cwi, gvrete ivof imZvi Acivta nePri KitZ cwi Ges GB Kti tm meikOz mqvavb KitZ cvite| GUV GKUv wqK cvlMj wq ezeUbtK dum w tj th cmk-ib mvgwi K ewnbx ev cmk-ib Kx nfe, Zv KvbZtKi G KvUv K vi gtaB tevSv hvq| ezeUbi th WvTK gypHy iiantqtQ Ges th ezeUbtK tR. Bqinqv metPq eo kIa etj gtb KitQ, Zui cvie gypHy i lci GZ vekv th, ZvK nZv Kitj I Zui t qv tZZ, evsjv t-ik raxb Kite, hv ezeUz7B gvpOetj uQj b| KivPoi GK m-uv K wDR DBtK etj b th, tKL gvrete WvTK cmk-ib gvpOetj mb gvi tMq| tKivb wQv GLb Av ZvK i yv KitZ cvite bvl cvlKvi H mslvtZl tj Lv nq th, Bqinqv we sz ntQ tm Kx KivR KitQ| tm cIZAv Kti tQ th, gvrete gitZB nte| wKs thir b gvreteK dum t te tmB w b cmk-ib i dum nte|

11B AvM- 1971 Bvibvkvbj tnivi wUeDb Rivbq th, AvZ kvNB tKL gvrete nePri Av vntel| Zvi nePri Ges dum t qvi K v AvtMB tNivYv t qv ntqQj| tKL gvrete nePri Kvb gypHy tK KvbZi Kti Ztj ml msMtG ezeUbi Ae- v b GZ cwi vi |

12B AvM- 1971-G v Bgm-Gi tKl gvrete fivM u kvR m-uv KvxtZ tj Lv nq th, tKL gvrete ingvbi tMvcb nePrii wvXvslAZ sl- tLRbK| ocmk-ib weifx hv Pmj t q hvl qv PvRU kZ A- v fmeK| G m-uv KvxtZ evj nq th, tKL gvrete GKvI e-uv wvb mgm v mgvartbi Rb- K v ejtZ cwi b, hvZ cmk-ib AvtM ev UvRwV bv nq| tKL gvrete GKvI e-uv, hvi Dci ce- cmk-ib RbMtYi Av v AvtQ| wKs hir gZzD t qv nq Zvntj Avj v Avtj v Pbi Av tKivb cKb Ivte bvl| ce- cmk-ib RbMY Zui Avt k tgb Pj tel| mg- l m-uv KvqvU cmk-ib avslivRbWzi lci tRvi w tqtQ Ges ezeUbi tBZtj lci Av v vcb Kti tQ| m-uv KvqvU cwi tkl evj ntqtQ, OAvgt i mKj tK mefZK tPov KitZ nte tKL gvreteK etvrtv Rb| o cmk-ib hv vtoi GKwU tMvxi AvfGZ uQj th, cmk-ib tK ALD ivltZ nte Ges tm KivRU cvtib tKej ezeUz ctivv fite Giv eStZ cwi th, ezeUzhr B'Qv Ktib Zvntj gypHy eU ntZ cwi Ges ZvtZ cmk-ib Av v Zj i yv crite| Aciv tK, hir ezeUz AvUKI v tKb Zey wZvb gypHy v t i Rb Avtj v KevZv Ges wZvb th Avt k t teb,

gypHy v v v ZvB tgb tte| th wRvbmU GB tMvX tKvbtZB tgb wbtZ cviuQj bv, Zv ntQ ezeUz raxbZv tNivYv Kti tQb, raxbZvi Rb hix Avt k w tqtQb| tmLvb t-tK Av Zui tCvrtv tKivb cKb DVtZ cvti bvl 1966 mvtj i 6- dv t-tK 1971-Gi 1 dv Zui ivR%owZK Rvtebi metPq eo mvdj | evOwv RvZi Rb metPq eo Pvtj A| 14-15B AvM- 1971-Gi Bvibvkvbj tnivi wUeDb Rivbq th, gvmKb wmtvU tKtbw, wvb wmtvU kiYv Pmve- KqvU tPqv gvb, ce- cmk-ib Pri w tbi mdi tkl bZb w wj tCvrtQb| ZvK Dv Af- v Rvrtv ntqtQ| ZvK Af- v Rb th Rbmgwq ntqQj, Zvt i nvtZ uQj cvlKwU hvZ tj Lv uQj : Okvsl gvby tKtbw vMZgU Ab v b cvlKv v tL v uQj : OgRetK etv l o, tKl gvrete ingv ce- cmk-ib Avl qvq j x tMi tZv| o ezeUbi gypHy v we p ntZ v tK Ges Zv AvtZ v tK cvl exi me RivqMv t-tKb|

17B AvM- 1971-Gi tnivi wUeDb w Lj, wmtvU tKtbw etj tQb th, cmk-ib mvgwi K ewnbx ce- cmk-ib MYvZv Pj v tQ| ce- cmk-ib tZv tKL gvrete ingvbi tMvcb nePri AvsRwZK Avtbi Av vYi cwi csk| mser- c l Rivbq th, ezeUbi nePri AvtMi mbvtn cmk-ib tKivb RivqMv Av v n qvi K v uQj | wKs Zui nePri ev Zui m- tU tKivb Lei tB| cvlKv Rivbq th, wmtvU tKtbw i gtZ gvrete GKvI Aciva ntQ th, wZvb wePtb wRtZtQb| H cvlKv AvtM tJ tL th, ivO Z AvMv wj wj tRvi w t q etj tQb th, tKL gvrete th Avtbi Aaxb nePri Kiv ntQ, Zv weUv Ges fvizzi Kv t-tK DEi w Kv i m f cvl qv| ZvK t qvtj w Kv it q wj Kiv nte bvl cvlKv tJ tL th, hir tKL gvrete dum t qv nq ev AvtM kiYv P fviz AvtM, Zvntj, fviz- cmk-ib hv tJ tM t tZ cwi |

tm tP- i wgtm MvUx tmvftqZ BDvqtb hlv l LvB RbgZ Mvbi Rb Ges tmvftqZ mi Kvi tK fviz, evsjv k l cmk-ib i mefkl ivR%owZK cwi w Z AvvZ Kivi Rb | wgtm MvUx Rivb, fviz evsjv tki j y- j y kiYv P AvMgtbi Kv itY th cwi w Z i mwv ntqtQ ZvZ fvizzi Ae v b vRvK ntq tMq| tmvftqZ tZv i evsjv tki gypHy Ges Gi dtj fviz- cmk-ib m- utK P AebvZ Z DfOM cKvK Kti b| tmvftqZ BDvqtb evsjv tK GKwU ivR%owZK mgvartbi lci tRvi w wQj, tKb v fviz- cmk-ib hix MycRvZSj Pxb Rivq cotj Zv tmvftqZ BDvqtb c y wbtZ eva Kite|

19tk tm tP- i 1971-G tZv v t-ik cKvKZ w v b K Avtqbtj Mb w Lj th, gvrete ingvbi nePri cmk-ib ctj AvZvZv i kvj nte Ges ZvtZ meKvi ivR%owZK mgvavb Am- e ntq DVtel| ezeUzth evsjv k- cmk-ib ivRbWzi GKRb cwb bvqK Zv GB DfOM t-tKb tevSv hvq| GB tMvX RivZ th, hir gypHy Pj ZvtZ cmk-ib Rqv v f i Avk LvB Kg, KvtrB Zvt i GKvI fiv v j uQj ezeUz tKL gvrete hir wZvb gypHy w t q mgm v mgvavb bv Kti ivR%owZK mgvartbi c- MhY Ktib Zvntj cmk-ib i yv cvq| cmk-ib tK i yv Kivi GKvI c- ZvB ezeUbi nePri eU Kti ZvK gypHy Kti Avtj v Pbi tUv tJ Avb| Zvi v fjt wltqQj th, Avtj v Pbi me c- eU n l qvZB ezeUz raxbZvi mslMtG Kti mKj mgm v mgvartbi Rb- tkl evOwv tetP v kv chsl hv Pmj t q hvl qvi Avt k t b l tm Avt k uQj gypHy ewnbx mltab- vqti| mgm v gqK cvlKv t-tK t Lv tMj th, gypHy ewnbx tMvi j v hix hZB mvdj j v f Kiti, cmk-ib ZZB gvi qv ntq DVtQ| wU wltq cUg wU ntjv th, gypHy ewnbx mvdj i KviY fvizzi tMvcb mrvqv Ges wZqvU ntjv ezeUbi nePri sz m- ubaKti Zui dum t qv| hir ezeUbi nePrii dum i Kq nq, Zvntj gypHy ewnbx ntZv g nte Ges tMvi j hvix fivUv cto hite Ges fviz GKvI tZv ZLb Av cmk-ib weifvax cPvi Yv Drmn crite bvl| cmk-ib eUz ivO t j v ivR%owZK mgvartbi K v ejtj l cmk-ib ZZv t b eStZ tcti uQj th, melqu ivR%owZK Avtj v Pbi tUv t-tK AvbK- i iYvZv mgvavb ntZ Pj tQ| iYvZv mgvavb eU Kivi c- wmtmte Zvii ezeUbi nePri Ges dum i KqB GKvI Dciq etj wvXvsl

tcQitQij | cwk`lb nivr`vi evmbxi tbZZ. mg`Kfite RibZ th, gyp`evmbxi tcQitbi kir<sup>3</sup> nt<sup>0</sup> e`zeUz e`zeUzRmeZ `vKtj gyp`hy Pj tZ `vKte| Atzeviti i tktl i gtmM MvUx weUk c`vbgšy GwI qvW<sup>0</sup> mt\_ i mt\_ mvjvr Ktib Ges esj vt`k t`tk AwMZ 90 j y ki Yv`K t`k cL`veZfbi evZeiY mpo Abji va Ktib| i gtmM MvUx cL`y fite ki Yv`cL`veZfbi K\_v ej t j l ctiv`fite esj vt`tki gyp`thv`vt`i ctj K\_v ej i Q t j b |

1 j v b t f a t 1971-G B`Uvib`vkbj t n i v i U l e D t b i t R`o m`u v`K A v t b P` e j k M t` i m t\_ m v j v r K v i t i Z u i G K c k k e D E t i t R. B q w n q v e t j b t h, u z u b h i r` t k L g y R e t K g y p` w t q c e`c w k`l b c v W b, Z i n t j t m L v b K v i t j v K B Z u i K i g t i t d j e l t R. B q w n q v f i t j v K t i b R i b Z t h, h i r` e z e U z K g y p` f` q, Z i n t j g y p` h y A v t i v Z i e` n t e G e s c w k`l b i c i v R q Z i m s Z n t e l t m h i r` Z v i u b i R i K v q w e k j m K i Z Z i n t j e z e U z i w e P r i G e s Z v i c i d u m i S y k Z i t K u b t Z n t Z v b v | w e t k j m K j i v o b v q e s t Z t c t i u Q t j b t h, e z e U z g y p` h y G e s e s j v t`k m g v`f e a K n t q t m t Q |

7 B w l t m a t 1971-G i j U b U v B g m`R v b q t h, i g t m M M v U x f v i Z i q t j v K m f i q G K f i l`Y R i b u b t h, e s j v t`k m i K v i e s j v t`k i R b M t`Y i m g u`Z m i K v i | f v i Z m i K v i M Y c R v Z S y e s j v t`k m i K v i t K`K u Z w t q t Q | u z u b e t j b, O A v g i v G L b w P s i K i u, G B b Z b i v t o f R b K t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i K\_v u l i g t m M M v U x i G B D t O M m n t`R B A b j g q |

h i r` t c Q i t b i w t K Z i v K i t b v h v q, Z i n t j t`L v h i t e, e z e U z i w e P r i i w e i a t`x t K e j i v o`t j v B t m`P r i n i r`Q j Z v B b q, 10 B A v M`- 1971-G B`U v i b`v k b j K u g k b A e R y i`- m n 214 u U A v S R`K Z K c a Z o b t R b r t j B q w n q v i K i t Q G K t U i j M t g t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i t M v c b m i g v i K w e P r i i D t O M c k v k K t i e t j b, A v`v j`Z i K v t Q t K i t b v u K O B t M v c b x b q | B`U v i b`v k b j K u g k b A e R y i`- t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i t M v c b m i g v i K A v`v j`Z w e P r i i Z i e`c a Z e r`R v b t`Q |

t W f W d e`- t k t`q m v j v r K v i t i e z e U z G K c k k e D E t i e t j b t h, t K v l`g u k`f j c u b R b m i g v i K K g R Z`P u Q j G e s Z u i w e i a t`x A w f`t h M u Q j i v o t`t n Z v, c w k`l b m i K v i i w e i a t`x h y K t i e s j v t`k o t K`- r a x K i v B Z`w`| m e g u U 12 u U A w f`t h M u Q j, Z v i g t a`6 u i k w`l n t`Q g Z z`D | e z e U z A v t i v e t j b t h, m i K v i Z u i K m g`f b i R b`G W t f i t K U w t Z P v q; u K S`u z u b Z v u b t Z A`K u Z. R i b u b, t K b b v u z u b e s t Z c v t i b w e P r i i u G K u u c h m b g j`K b u K | u z u b w e P r i K t i A b j i v a K t i b, G W t f i t K U t`i P t j t h Z, t K b b v t R. B q w n q v i v o c`a b v, c a v b m i g v i K A v B b c k v m K G e s u z u b B Z u i k w`l c v K v K i t e b G e s u z u b B A v`v j Z e i m t q t Q b | 4 v v w l t m a t w e P r i c e`i k l n q | t R. B q w n q v w e P r i t`K i A`f` t j. K t b j`G e s w e t M m W q v i t`i t W t K c v W b i v l q v j u c i u t Z G e s i v q t`q v i A v t`k t`b | Z v i v Z u i K d u m t`q v i u m`v i t`f t c l o v q, Z v i v Z u i K v i u t`y i K i t Q B K e i t L u o, u z u b u b t R i t P i t L Z v t`L b | e z e U z d e`- t k e t j b t h, f z e v e z e U z K R i b v q, f z e v t k y g Z v n`l s i K i v i A v t M t R. B q w n q v R i b v q t h, Z v i m e t P t q e o f z n t q u j t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i K b r i g t i t d j v | t m f z e v t K A v t i v e t j t h, y g Z v n`l s i K i v i A v t M Z i t K A b g u z t`q v t n v k t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i K i g t i t d j v i G e s Z i t K e j t Z t`q v t n v k t h, A t b K A v t M i Z u i t L B Z i t K d u m t`q v n t q t Q | ( e s j v t`k W K t g U m, u O Z i q L D, c., 617-619) |

t R. B q w n q v 1971-G i 3 i v A v M`- m e e l g c k v k`R i b v q t h, t k L g y R e j i n g v b i v o t`t n x G e s G i R b`Z u i w e P r i n t e | t m m i s e w`K t`i w R A v m v K t i, O t Z i g i v t Z i g v t`i A c i v a t`i m t\_ K x i K g e`e n v i K i t e`? ( ` W b, K i v P, 5 B A v M`- 1971) | A v M t`- i 9 Z u i t L G K u u m i K v i t c h t b t u U R i b r t b v n q t h, t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i K c w k`l b i w e i a t`x h y K i v i G e s A b`v b`A c i v t a i R b`G K u u w e t k l m i g v i K A v`v j`Z w e P r i n t e | 11 B A v M`- w e P r i A v i`c n t e | Z u i K 2 6 t k g u P` 1971 Z u i t L Z u i a i b g u i e v m f e b t`k t m B v i K i v n q ( ` W b, K i v P, 10 B A v M`- 1971) |

A v S R`K Z K c a Z u q v i w e i a t`x c w k`l b m i K v i R i b v q t h, t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i e`v`M Z A c i v t a i w e P r i t h c a u q v n t e, Z v c w k`l b m i K v i M a n`K t i b v ( ` W b, K i v P, 16 B A v M`- 1971) | c w k`l b i

i v o`Z A v M v k w n R i b v q t h, 2 m B i t n i g t a`c w k`l b i w e i a t`x h y K i v i A c i v t a t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i w e P r i n t e | w e P r i t K v`v q n t`Q Z v R i b r t Z i v o`Z A`K u Z. R i b v q ( ` W b, K i v P, 1 j v t m t`P a t 1971) | c`w i t m i`w b K j u d M v t i v i m t\_ 1.9.071 Z u i t L c k v k Z G K m v j v r K v i t i t R. B q w n q v R i b v q t h, t k L g y R e j i n g v b c w k`l b i R b M t`Y i k t a j

W t b i G K L e t i c k v k t h, 11.8.071 t`t k t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i w e P r i A v i`c n t q t Q | 20 R t b i m r y`M a Y K i v n t q t Q |

W t b i 20.10.071-G c k v k K i v n q t h, c`w i t m i j g t W i m t\_ G K m v j v r K v i t i t R. B q w n q v R i b v q t h, t m G K R b w e t`t n x i m t\_ K\_v e j t Z c v t i b v |

B i r f i b s`- v i, K i v P, 15.9.071-G t j t L t h, t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i w e P r i i w e i a t`x U i B e y b t j i i v q P e v S l I A v B b v b j n t e |

26.9.071 Z u i t L b`v k b j A v l q i x c u U`K L g y R t e i g y p`i`w e R i b v q ( i q U m`27.071) |

i q U m`5.11.071-G R i b v q t h, c w k`l b i 42 R b i v R b m Z i e`, t U W B D u b q u b`-, m i s e w`K, A v B b i e`, t j L K, Q i t, w e k j e`v j t q i A a`v c K G e s m g v R K g`t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i g y p`w e K t i |

B D i c A v B B m j v g v e r`t`k 18.12.071-G R i b v q t h, t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i w e P r i t k l n t q t m t Q | u K S`Z L b l i v q t`q v n q u b |

8.8.071-G i g t m M M v U x t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i w e P r i i, h v i A`n t`Q d u m t`q v i w e i a t`x w e t k j i v o c`a b t`i K i t Q c a Z e r`R i b v b |

w R w A v i 14.8.071 c w k`l b i m i g v i K R v s i K v t Q t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i w e P r i i w e i a t`x c a Z e r`R i b v q G e s Z v e U K i v i R b`A b j i v a R i b v q | 20.8.71 I q v i`q c m K v D i v j G K B c a Z e r`I A b j i v a R i b v q |

K g b t a j`c j`g`U w i A v t m m t q k t b i G K m f i q A v`f e l g t e j ( w e t U t b i f Z c e`c i i v o g s y) m i K v i t`i A b j i v a R i b v b, c w k`l b m i K v i t i l c i P v c c l o q u m K i t Z, h v t Z t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i w e P r i e U n q |

g w k`B w t b u i G B P c w m`e t j b t h, h i r`t k L g y R e t K d u m t`q v n q, Z i n t j w e t k j i v o`t j v c w k`l b m i K v i t`K N y v R i b r t e |

A v i e j a t M i c o`b c a Z u b i a G e s A v j A v B q v t g i m`u v`K K u l m g v K m y 20.9.071 Z u i t L e t j b t h, A v S R`K Z K m g v R G e s t R v U n i b i t c y`t`k, t j v i c y`t`k A w e j t`r`t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i w e P r i e U K t i Z u i K g y p`t`q v i`w e R i b v K |

e z e U z i Z`v K u Z w e P r i i w e i a t`x c u l e x e`v c x c a Z e r t`i S o l t v; G i G K g v i K v i Y u Q j t h, u z u b e s j v t`k i g y p`h y`x i g Z`c l z`K | u z u b k v i m i K f i t e A b g u z`Z`v K t j I Z u i b v t g B, Z u i W r t K B g y p`h y P j u Q j | w e t k j c l m i Z k u j i v o`t j v e s j v t`k i`r a x Z v i m g`f b G w t q A v t m G e s Z v i B A s k u n t m t e e z e U z i ( h u t k i g t m M M v U x b e`r a x i v t o f R b K e t j A w f u n Z K t i b) w e P r i e U K i t Z P v c m u o K t i, g y p`h y`x i m g`f b A v t i v M f x i f i t e G w t q A v t m |

c w k`l b K v i w v i t`k e z e U z i g y p`i c i w e t k j m e g n t j t h c a Z u u q v n t q u j, Z v t`k l t e v S v h i t e g y p`h y`x i m k`i A a`v t q Z u i A e`v b t K v`v q u Q j, K x u Q j |

t c b i s`- G i c w l K v`t`- U m B t K v 22.12.071-G t j t L O g y R e e s j v t`k i R b K G e s G U v A c w i K i b x q t h, u z u b Z u i R b M y t`K A b`t K i t b v c Z i v i u b t P u b t q h u t e b | O G K B c w l K v 4.1.072-G t j t L, O t k L g y R e e s j v t`k i A w e m s e w`Z t b Z v | O

L v Z i g i c w l K v A v j A v B q v g 10.1.072-G i m`u v`K i q t Z t j t L, O t k L g y R e j i n g v b t K e j g y`e`w`B b b, u z u b m`r a x G K u u i v t o f c a v b | O t k L g y R e j i n g v t b i c L`v e Z b c d v Y K t i t h, u z u b B G K g v i e`w`h u i y g Z v G e s A w a K v i A v t Q e s j v t`k i c a Z u b i a Z i K i v i |

I t q`- A t`- t j q u b ( c v`P 12.1.072-G G K m`u v`K r o q t Z t j t L, O e s j v t`k`r a x i v o`n t q t m t Q, t k t l i c w k`l b t`t k`r a x n l q v i`c a e v`e w q Z n t q t Q | A b`t K i t b v R i v Z i q t b Z v G B i K g b u U K i q f i t e G K`j h c a Z K j`- A e`v i g a`t`k y g Z v q A v t i Z c v i t Z v b v | O

t j L K: A w c j w e f i t M i m t e K w e P r i c u Z I M t e l K m t`- e z e U z i g R i b j i n g v b m`u w`Z



MYmsMtg| esjv vbi AtNml Z tcmfWU ezeUbi ubt fK Pj tZ vtK meWkQz meRvtj i mevck Amnthm Avf vj b GmMtg mTqUj GKwU RmZi gwP I GKwU t fki faxbZvi j t f m k j gwP h x i avi v q | Gevi Avgiv ezeUbi tbZtZ; cwi Pwj Z Amnthm Avf vj tbi NUbvcvrtni cUz AvtjvKcivZ Kivi tPov Kitev |

1970 mtji 7B mWtmf AbvZ nq cwk t tbi cUg mvari Y ubePb| RvZiq cwil t i cUg Awatekb AvnVb Kiv ntqUj 1971-Gi 3iv gwP RbMY Avkr KtiUj th, Zvi AvtM qgZv n t s i n te ubePZ RbcUzuvat i nrtZ| G cUfngtZ 1jv gwP XvKvq trvtUj cePvtZ Avl qvq x j x t M i c u j f g U m i c w U P m f v P j u Q j | t e j v 1:05 ugubtu teZvti cwk t tbi mvgwi K tcmfWU t Rbvtij Bqvnqv Lvb XvKvq RvZiq cwil t i Awatekb mWZ t NvhYv Ktib| Lei i t b B q j a QvI-RbZv ivRct\_ tbtg AvtM| RvZiq cwil t i Awatekb mWZ t NvhYvi cUzvt cePvt trvtUj i mvgb me f i i RbZvi Xj bvtg| t m L v t b G K R b v K r v m s e v i r K m t a j i b e z e U z t k L g v R e y i n g r v b 2 i v g w P X v K v q n i Z v j | 3 i v g w P m i v t f t k n i Z t j i W w K t b | B u Z n r t m i A v t j v t K m e P v i K i t j , K i v h 2 1 j v g w P t K B A m n t h m A v f v j b i i a n t q h v q G e s e z e U b i u b t f k t k c w i P w j Z n t Z v t K |

tRbvtij Bqvnqv i t Nvlyv i ayRvZiq cwil t i Awatekb mWZ i v L v i u b t R B t q v n q u b , c e c w k t t b i M f b P f i B m - A v W i g i v j G m G g A m m u b t K e i L v t K t i t j . t R b v t i j m v t n e R v v t K v w q Z j t q v n q | c w k t t b i A b v b c t f k l m i g u i K c k u m K u b h y K i v n q | N U b v r t g c w i P w j Z K i v n q m i g u i K m s N v t Z i v t K |

ezeUztKL gwRe QvI t b Z v t i t W t K faxb esjv QvI msMtg cwil MVtbi ubt R t b | uzub GK mevZtZ 6B gwP chS cUz v b mKvj 8Uv t t K m e K v j A e w a A a P e m n i Z i j c u j t b i u b t R t b | 2 i v g w P Q v I t b Z v i v w e k t e v j t q G K m f i q e s j v t f k i g u b P T L u P Z faxb esjv vbi cZvKv DtEjv b Ktib|

2iv gwP ivtZ Kviwd Rmvi Kiv nq | QvI-RbZv Kviwd f 1/2 K i t j t m b v e v n b x u j P j v q | K v i w d f 1/2 K w i Q v I - R b Z v - k i g K - K I K t m l v b t q N t e x i e v O m j A i a t i v e s j v t k f a x b K t i v o l e s j v t f k i m e P w e t f v f Q u o t q c t o | c w k t t b k u m K i v A e v O m j t i D v b v t j Z v i v w e f b e v t b e v O m j t i l c i n i g j v P j v q l A w M k v d N U v q | A b v t K t m b v e v n b x i u j e l P P t j | H i v t Z t m b v e v n b x i



7B gwP i m t K m g q v t b H u Z n m K f v l t y i c t i e z e U z a b g u d i 32 b a t t i v t w i e m f e b u l n t q l t v e v O m j i b Z b m K i v l 23 t k g w P t K G e m o t Z e s j v i c Z i v D o t Z v t K | G e m o t t K B m - d v t v c B g u g u b v i u n t m t e e z e U z a b t R b v i t Z b

uj tZ 8 Rb evOvj ubnZ nb | 3iv gwP ce t b i R b m f i q o f a x b Z v i B k t Z n i o c v K i v n q | D 3 B k t Z n i t e z e U z t k L g v R e y i n g r v b i t b Z t Z ; e s j v v b i f a x b Z v m s M t g P w j t q h v l q v i A v x K v i e 3 K i v n q |

3iv gwP t t K B A v b o m b K f i t e i i a n q e s j v t f k A m n t h m A v f v j b | 7 B g w P P H u Z n m K f v l t y e z e U z A m n t h m A v f v j t b i e v c k i f c t i L v t b | u z u b 10 - d v K g m P t Z Z v D t j L K t i b | G B K g m P i k b a t d v q B D u b q b t t K t R j v c h f q v i b x q A v l q v q x j x t M i t b Z t Z ; m e f i i R b M Y t K u b t q u z u b m s M t g c w i l M V t b i A v n V b R v b t j b | G B w t b B t j . t R b v t j u v v L v b t K c e c w k t t b i M f b P u b h y K i v n q | e z e U b i A m n t h m A v f v j t b i Z x e Z v i c w i t c m f t Z m e P v i c w Z m e G m m i K x u v v L v t b i k c M h Y A b o v b c w i P j b v K i t Z A f K v i K t i b | A m n t h m A v f v j t b i w b t j v t Z c U z i v a x k i g K - Q v I - R b Z v i l c i t m b v e v n b x w e f b e v t b u j P j v q | c U z v b k Z - k Z t j v K n Z v n q | c w k t t b i v w e f b e v t b e v O m j - A e v O m j v l a q D u b t q l m q c y , c v n v o Z j t Z A e v O m j t i n t Z c w k t t b m b i v A i Z t j t q | R b M t Y i w e i g t L 8 B g w P t e Z v i l t u j v w f k t b e z e U b i 7 B g w P P f v l y c P v i K i v n t j v | w e f b e v i r v o w Z K m s l M v b f a x b e s j v t f k i w e t Z t m l v b t q l m s w z K m s l M v m g r A b y c f i t e G u M t q A v t m | g a c s k , R v Z i q Z i e v x , e v g c s k u b e f k t l i v R v o w Z K j l m s l M v b t j v M Y Z w s K k u m b Z S j l w e v O b e n l q v i A w a K v i m n A v Z u b q s t Y i w e t Z v t j | 14 B g w P R v Z i q m s m t i m s l m m i o j t j v G K e v t K u g u j Z n t q A v l q v q x j x t M i c U z m g R v b v q G e s t c m f W U t K 25 t k g w P R v Z i q c w i l t i A w a t e k b A v n e b m v t c t q t k t a l c t f k A s e Z v i m i K v i M V t b i w e R v b v q | m b t i e v i v t K u d m i t q t b q v l u j e l P Y i N u b v i Z t s i R b e z e U b i w e i c U z Z v i v m g t b t b | e z e U z t k L g v R e A m n t h m A v f v j t b i R b m g v o u b u b t R v e j x v b K t i b | 1971 m t j i 15 B g w P t K t h b q v K g m P i i a n q Z v 35 u w e k u b t f k i A v K v t i c o E n t q U j | G u b t R t j v t K w e t k d Y K i t j t L v h v q , h v l 1 j v g w P t K e z e U b i u b t R A b y n t i t k c w i P w j Z n r O j , 15 B g w P t K c k Z c t q e s j v t f k i m i K v i c w i P j b v i w a q Z i e z e U z G e s A v l q v q x j x t M i n v t Z b b t l n t q U j | e s j v t f k A e w Z m K j m i K w i - t e m i K w i c U z o v b Z L b t t K c w k t t b m i K v t i i u b t R t K A M o n K t i e z e U b i u b t R t K B A q t i A q t i c y j b K i t Z i i a K t i l i a y c t f u k K m i K w i

Bi bq, cwk t t b t K t q m i K v t i i B i m g a l e z e U z t K B A v B m 1/2 t b Z v l i v o t a v b i f c M Y K t i Z u u u b t R g v b K t i P j t Z v t K | e Z G K w U m i K v i t f k i c k u m b , A v B b - k ; L j v i q v , c U z i q v , A v o w Z K K v h e g , c w i e n b e e v c f v Z w e l t q t h t h w a q Z i c y j b K t i , e z e U b i 35 u u b t R b v q H m e w e l q m g v o u b o f i t e D t j m L Z n q | t h g b 1 b s u b t f k e j v n t q U j , t K t q l c t f k t m t u U m i t q U , m i K w i l t e m i K w i A w d m , v q E k v m Z c U z o v b , n v t K v U o l e s j v t f k i m g l t K v U o K v P w i e U v K t e l G i O v i v G m e c U z o v t b i g v a t g c w k t t b m i K v t i i e s j v t k w e t i v a x K v h R j v c c w i c Y f i t e t i v a K i v m a e n t q U j |

3bs ubt fKN tRjv l gnKgv ckmK, cyj k ckvmbtK vbxq Avl qvq x j m m s M t g c w i l l t Q v t m e K e m n b x i m v t m n t h m Z v l m s t h m v c t b i g v a t g K v R K i v u b t R t q v n t q U j G e s G m e u b t R A v S h i K f i t e c w j Z n t q U j |

25bs ubt fK ejv ntqU, esjv t f k i e v s K m g r v f w e K K v h R j v c P w j t q h t e ; u K S t v U e v s K e v A b t K v t v b u K Q z g v a t g e s j v t f k i e v B t i A v c w o g c w k t t b U v K v c v v t v b h t e b v l e Z 35 u u b t R b v q v w e f b e L y l b m U w e l q G g b m p r s Z f i t e D t j m L Z n t q U j



1970 mrdj i 15 tdeqmi Rq ejsj v emnbx cZivkmn ngiQj Kti eZeUzk MMwAe Avri t`q| 23 givP`G GKB cZivKv XivKv mekte`ij tqi eUZj vq DfEij b Kti QvI msMg cwi I`

th, ejsj vt`tk mi Kvi cwi Pj bvi`wqZj Ges AviaKvi eZeUzi nitZ Pj Avtm| G ubt`R`tj v cKZct`q| uQj eZeUz`vZ Qq`driB ev`evqb| eZeUz`cD E ubt`Rvej x miv ce`ejsj vq A`qti A`qti cjb Kiv nq| e`Z, eZeUzi ubt`RKB ejsj vti me ckmibK, ivR`wZK, A`wZK, e`emvq-emYR`e`vsk-exgv BZ`w` KivR Pj uQj | cwk`tb mi Kvti i tKvtb Av`ZB ZLb uQj br | eZeUzi tbZtZj; cZivZ nqj Qj GKiu mgvstij mi Kvi | 15B givP`KtVvi mgvwi K chivq tcmWU tRbtij Bqnnqv Lvb XivKv Avtmbl Zvi mrd` Gtj b tRbtij Lvt`g trntmb ivRv, tRbtij nng` Lvb, tRbtij tLv`v` Lvb, tRbtij igWv Lvb, tRbtij cxiR`v, tRbtij Igi, GgGg Avntg`, iRwied` tPsaix` cdy mgvwi K AvjvPtu cdb KgrZf` icicic` tbZv tRW G fjev cwk`tbi` B Astki gta` tfstMij K e`earfbi Kvitj mSL`vMio kvmtbi ckmeteP` bq eij weez` w` tjb | e`Z GB weez`i gva`tg fjev`uoZB Avl qvix` xtmv` ubKU` qZv n` istii` weivaZv Ktib | icwMv` tbZv biq Avngb fjev`i GB weez` Aevsi I` biw`RbK etj gse` Ktib | Ab`v` ivR`wZK` j` I` ivRbwZie` fjev`i GB e`3te`i mgvtj vPbv Kti etj b, Bqnnqv Lvb Zvi K`vgfZv Pj tj cwk`tbi wefiv` Aubelh` Giv`tk iAvBG wegrtb ce`ejsj vq` mb` Aviv Pj tZ`\_vtK | wegibe` tii` wqZj tj v givP``tk mgvwi K emnbx MhY Kti uQj | GB w` b``vax ejsj vt`k`tk``q` QvI`-msMg cwi I``i Avnz Rbmfiq QvI`tbZviv` tNvl Yv Ktib, ejsj vt`tki RbMY GKgvI` eZeUz`kL gvr`tei tbZtZj; tgbt Pj te | tcmWU Bqnnqv Lvb tKL gvr`tei mrd` eVtKi Avtm tcmWU fezb mgvwi K Avdmviti` i mrd` i`x`v`i Avtj vPbv Ktib | 16B givP`XivKv Bqnnqv`gvr`e GKvst`eVK nq | eZeUz`Bqnnqv i`eVtK Df`q` t`j i tKvtb mivv`h` KivX Dcw`Z`uQj b bvl` eVK`tkI` eZeUz`kL gvr`e`v`tdi Gtm e`j`j` b, Av`v`j` b Pj`te, AmnthM Pj`te | 17B givP` tcmWU Bqnnqv mrd` eZeUz`kL gvr`tei` eVtKi ciB cwk``ub mgvwi K Pj` Zvt`i cwi Kiv`gmdK AMh`i` nI` qvi ubt`R` cvq Bqnnqv Lvtbi` ubKU` t`tk | GB w` tbi Avtj vPbv Df`q``j` B`^`Dct`ov`Z`\_v` mnKgv`n` Dcw`Z` uQj b | g`Z` Hiv`bB ejsj vt`tki fivel`r` ubaM`Z` nqj Qj cY`v` Avtj vPbv` eVtKi ci | tcmWU fezb tRbtij u`v` Lvb cdek Kitz Bqnnqv Lvb ZvtK e`j`j` b, uc`Z` nI` Oj` mk``; cZiv`ia Aubelh`nq I`v` evOvj` t`i` Rb` | RbMY eZeUzy` 7B givP` ubt`Rvej x KvhRi Kitz c`t`q` MhY Kti | 23tk givP`cwk``tb w` em ejsj vt`tk cZiv`ia w` em`int`te` cwj`Z` nq | GKgvI` K`v`ubt`g`u` I` tcmWU feb e`Ziv` meP` ejsj vt`tki giv`PI` LwPZ``vax ejsj vt`tki cZivKv DfEij b Kiv nq | eZeUzi emfezb QvI`tbZviv``vax ejsj vt`tki cZivKv

eZeUzi nitZ Ztj` t`q` Ges wZvbB` tmB` cZivKv DfEij b Ktib | 24tk givP`mq` bRi`q` Bmj`vq, ZivRD`ix` Avng` Ges W. Kvgj` trntmb tcmWU Bqnnqv Lvtbi Dct`ov`i` mrd`` QvE`v`v`q` GK` eVtK`ngj`Z` nb | Giv`tk P`EMg` e``ti` Ggwf` tmqvZ` Rvnr` t`tk`A``; Ljv`v`mi` weia`x` kigK` I` QvI`-RbZv` Aetiva Mto` tZvtj`b |` mg`c`j`mn` wef`b`e``v`tb` AevOvj` iv` tmbv`n`bri` mn`h`w`MZiv`q` evOvj` nZ`v` i`ia` Kti | ZivRD`ix` Avng`` mg`c`ji` I` Ab`v`b``v`tb` evOvj` nZ`v` i`ia` Kti | Rvrb | Rq`ec`ji` BrcAvi` e`v`Uvj`qb` 19tk givP``v` Pj`v`Z`A``Kvi` Kitz` cwk``ub` mgvwi K Rvst` wef`b`e``v`tb` BrcAvi` evOvj` RI`qub` I` Avdmviti` i` ubi``; Kivi` Rb` t`Mvcb` ubt`R` t`q` tmbv`n`bri` evOvj` Avdmviti` I`ci` Kov`bRi` ivL`v`n`j`v` Zvt`i` H`gvt`Z`v`i``; Kiv`n`j` cwk``ub` tmbv`n`bri` fiev`g`v`e`v`n`e`f`k`` qZ`v`nt`e`-` GK`v` t`f`te` cwk``ub` mgvwi K Rvst` t`KSkj` Aej``v`b` Kti | Pevs`AvNiv`z` n`bri` cwi` Kiv` b`v` wef`b`e``v`tb` tmbv` e`v`i`v`t`K` A`-evOvj` Avdmviti` i` Rvrbv`v`i` e`e`v`nq | tgRi` tRbtij Lw`g` trntmb` ivRv` I` ivl` di`qub` Avj`x`` Qv` trnij` Kp`v`i` Kti` meKiu` K`v`ubt`g`u` Mttq` weMw` Kgv`v`i` t`i` OAcv`tkb` mivP`v`BUO` KvhRi` Kivi` w` b`qY` Rmbtq` t`b | 25tk givP`AmnthM Av`v`j` tbi` 24Zg` w` b |` t`j`i` ci` eZeUz`kL` gvr`e` tbZe`; I` Kgr` i` hvi`-hvi` Gji`Kv` Pj` hvl`qvi` ubt`R` w` tjb | miv`v`b` GKaitbi`\_g`tg` fve` XivKv` weivR` Kiv`Qj | Giv`tk` Avt`Mi` w` bB` c`v`og` cwk``tbi` MYcwi` I` m`v`iv` XivKv` Z`v`M` Ktib | fjev` t`tk` hib | 25tk givP`fjev`-Bqnnqv` eVtKi` ci` fjev` misew` Kt`i` Rvrb, ucw`w`w`z` mSKUR`bK0 | tcmWU Bqnnqv Lvb 25tk givP`mU`v`q` tMvcb` XivKv` Z`v`M` Ktib | i`Ks` eZeUz` tKL` gvr`tei` Kiv`0` Lei`u` teik`qY` tMvcb`\_v`tkub | mU`v` 7Uvq` wegrtb` Avt`v`nt`Yi` ci`B` DBs` Kgv`v`i` G`tk`L`v`v`i` eZeUz`kL` Lei`Uv` cwm`tq` t`b | eZeUz`v`i` Afio`j` t`q` uQj` b` AvePj` | AmnthM Av`v`j` tbi` cik`v`cwk``ub` kv`mK` I` ivRbwZKt`i` mrd` Avtj`vPbv` Puj`tq` eZeUz` RbMY`tk` I` wek`v`m`f`k` GB` Dc`j` w`t`Z` ubtq` Gtm`uQj` b` th, ejsj` vt`tki` RbMY`i` gvr`i` Rb` mk``; msMtg`i` Av`i` tKvtb` weK`i` t`b | cwk``ub` tmbv`n`bri` Avug`t`Yi` Rer`teB` Av`v`j` tbi` mk``; ce`v`i` a`ntq` Mttq`Qj` , hiv` weRq` ARB` Kti` uQj` gvr`eb`Mi` mi` Kvti` i` tbZtZj` cwi` Puj`Z` b`q` gvt`mi` mk``; gvr`h`y`i` gva`tg` 1971-Gi` 16B` w`tm`f` | Gv`teB` eZeUzi` AmnthM Av`v`j` b``vax`-mve`f`sg` MYcRivZ`st` ejsj` vt`k` cZiv`i` gva`tg` Pevs`i` cwi` YivZ` j`v`f` Kti` |

tj LK: K\_v-mvwnZ`K, cdeuK I` ivRbwZie` mf: eZeUz`igRvbj` i`ngvb` m`uuv` Z

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 ntqUj b evsji tkl `faxb beve imivR-D`-t`šjv | weRq ntqUj gxi Rvdi  
 I Zvi mnihvMx`i | Zviv BstiR kumKt`iK evsji gmbt` emtq  
 tgvmtntei LvZvq ubtRt`i bvg wj ul.tqUj | GtZ Kvtag ntqUj `kZ  
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 ntjv | ceQ cWöG cWK`lbi gta` fšMwj K`fZ; 1100 gvBtj | GKgvI  
 agRq m`k` Qvor `B fL`di gvbti gZ-c, fvlv, ms`wZ. I RiebhvIvi  
 gta` tKvb HK`-m`k` uQj bv | `B fL`di A`öwZ I ivRbmZI uQj wfbö  
 BstiR kumb I tkvlY ntZ AvciZ gwP`i cL`vkvq G tMURmgj tK gvbly tgit  
 ubtqUj | wKS` cWK`lb cöZövi Ae`einZ ctiB `B fL`di gta` `elg` I

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kZ evav-wecWÉ DtcYv-AwZµg  
 Kti wZwb 6-`dv `metK RbMfYi  
 KvQvKwQ ubtq tMtQb | Zui A`g`  
 mvm, t`kfcö, Rq Avgt`i  
 nteBN G cL`q Ges t`tki  
 gvbti i fvTj vevmv ZwtK evi evi  
 gZzi gLvgvK Kti tQ wKS` wZwb  
 wQcv nbub |

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`emv`k` `úo t`tk `úözi ntq I tV | GK`QI kumb ygZvi gwj K ntq  
 cWöG cWK`lb kumKtMöx bvbvFite ZrKvjxb ce`cWK` lb tK VKvtZ `vtK |  
 PjtZ `vtK kumb I tkvlY | evOmj t`i gfb tYvf Avi AmtšI `vbr evatZ  
 `vtK | meöG AvNvZ Avtm Avgt`i filvi I ci | D`K GKgvI ivöfvlv  
 wntmte tNvlY Kiv ntj 1952 mitj etKi i`3 w`tq, cöY w`tq gvtqi fvlvtK  
 iyv Kitz nq | Gici AvNvZ Avtm wkyvi I ci | 1962 mitj GKUv meRbix  
 I MYglx wkyvi `metZ evOmj RvZtK Avf`vj tb ivRct` bvgZ nq | G  
 tclvvtU tktievsjv G tK dRjy nK, tnvmb knx` tmnvlqv`P, gljvbr  
 fimbv I Ziä` Avl qvqx j`M tbZv tKL gwRey ingvb AvciZZ cö`wK  
 `vqEkvmtbi `metZ tmv`Pri nb | 1954 mitj i hY`du mi Kvi MWZ nq |  
 wKS` cWöG cWK`lb kumK I tkvlKtMöx ubtRt`i ygZvtK wPi`vqx Kivi  
 jty` 1958 mitj i 7B A`zvei mgwK digibeTj ygZv tKto tba |  
 cWK`lbi mgwK kumtbi bvtU i`L`vZ tg. tRvvtij B`w`i wGRK  
 ygZvPZ I t`k t`tk weZwöZ Kti wdi gvkq AvBqy Lvb ygZvtK  
 cvKvtc`3 Kti tRtK etmb | 1954 t`tk 1971 mij chšI kumb I tkvlYi  
 weia`x G Avf`vj b PjtZ `vtK | BtZvgta` cWK`lb kumb I tkvlYi Kvi tY  
 `vqEkvmtbi `we`faxbZvi `metZ cwiYZ nq | Gfite evOmj RvZiqZver`  
 I gwP`htx`i tPZbv I gj`teva Zvi ntZ `vtK |

G Avf`vj b Pjgvb vKvKvtj tktievsjv I tmnvlqv`P BtšKij Ktib |  
 tmnvlqv`P BtšKvtj i cti tKL gwRey ingvb cöMwZ Avl qvqx j`M i  
 mfvcvZ wntmte Avf`vj tbi tbZZi; w`tZ `vtKb | gljvbr fimbvix tbZtZ;  
 b`vkbij Avl qvqx cWU` Aa`vcK tgvRiddi Avngt`i tbZtZ; b`vc Ges

gwP`htx`i swot wtköY  
 e½eÜzbtZZi; t`kfcö  
 I fvTj vevmv w`tq Rq  
 Kijtj b me evav  
 tgv. i wdkz Bmj vg AvKs`





S (kw <sup>3</sup> )	W (˘gʃZv)	O (mʃhM)	T (ugK)
1/ iKwZ- ubhZZ RbMY	1/ kmK tMvxi tKSkj	1/ fviZi meZK mg_θ, mivh I mnhwMzv	1/ cwk˘hb kmK tMvxi HK I ygZv ij av
2/ Avl qvqj j vM	2/ ce˘cwk˘tbi mKQz ivRbmZve˘t i tgmvtne I ygZvi Ask˘wriZ	2/ gyp˘hjk fviZ KZR gyp˘thv˘t i Avkt I cdk˘yY ˘vb	2/ 7g tbseni
3/ eʒeUz mivmx tbZZi I t˘ktcθ	3/ ce˘ cwk˘hb˘i agfFIEK ivRbmZi bvtg cwk˘tb es˘br I evOvj wbab	3/ fviZ KZR kiYv_θ˘i Avkt˘vb I cābqS˘Bw iv MvUx KZR gyp˘hjk i ct˘y wckj RbgZ Mvb	3/ cwk˘tbi mvt˘ MYPtbi mpeuK <sup>9</sup> mnhwMzv
4/ tktiersjv, tmvni qv˘P I gljvbr fimbri mkyv, Av˘k <sup>9</sup> AbjctθYv	4/ iyYkj I mpeaver˘x tkiYi cāZeUKZv	4/ tMθ wēUθ KZR ivBtj˘vb	4/ cwk˘hb ewnbx I Zvi t˘miv˘i bksmZv I MYnZ˘v Z˘v evOvj wbab
5/ QvI˘tbZZi I Avb˘vj b	5/ evBk cwi evi i gyp˘hy wēivax ZrciZv	5/ tmvftqZ BDūqθ KZR tcti Z 8g tbseni	5/ wU˘v Lv tNwL Z Oersjv gwi Pvb, gvbj PvB bvθ bmsZ I wbab KgfmP
6/ kkgK tbZZi I Avb˘vj b	6/ ckr˘v˘x wēikj AmnhwMzv I gyp˘hy-wēivaxZv	6/ Ab˘vb mgvRZmsK t˘tki mg_θ	6/ wY˘y, Lv˘vrie I gvbemθ˘hM BZ˘w

S (kw <sup>3</sup> )	W (˘gʃZv)	O (mʃhM)	T (ugK)
7/ eig ivR˘bmsZK j I ivRbmZKt˘i AskMθY	7/ evOvj i mbi˘j Ae˘v	7/ gyp˘hjk i ct˘y wckj RbgZ	7/ cwk˘hb˘i nZ˘v, bvi˘x ubhθZb, aIθ, Ryj vI -fciovl KgfmP BZ˘w
8/ gyp˘hjk i tPZbr I g˘teva Ges cāZt˘iva Kvhθg	8/ A˘j tMjvev˘e I im˘t i Afie BZ˘w	8/ wT˘ ewnbxi Acv˘tkb	8/ cdk˘yZ cwk nvbr˘vi ewnbx
9/ gyp˘ewnbx I Rqersjv ewnbx Ges Zv˘i ceθ˘wZ	9/ gyp˘j vj j vM, RvgvZ, tbrv˘t Bmjvg I tLjvd˘tZ i eYvxi ivRbmZ	9/ mgvRZmsK eivKi mnhwMzv I mg_θ	9/ cwk˘hb ewnbxi AZ˘vabK mgiv˘i
10/ BwAvi, cjk I evOvj tmbv m˘m	10. ivRivvi, Avje˘i I Avj kigtmi ZrciZv	10/ ˘vaxb ersjv teZvi tK˘˘ Abjθgvjv I eRKE (7B gvtPP fvIY)	10/ ey˘Rer nZ˘vKθ
11/ evOvj RmZi HK˘, t˘ktcθ I AvZ˘vM	11/ RvgvZc˘sk QvI˘ ivRbmZ I ZrciZv	11/ b˘x gvZKZv	11/ eR, moK, tmZl w˘i Kvi Libv aYsm
12/ mvaviY gvb˘j i AvZ˘vM I gyp˘hjk mnhwMzv	12/ b˘vkbj =θbU chU (GbGmGd)	12/ tMwi jv h˘tKSkj BZ˘w	12/ cwk˘hb negvb ewnbx I h˘y wēigib



EbmE˘i MYAv˘ vj tθ knx˘t i ˘θiY tkvK wguQj i tbZZi˘t b Kwe mvdqv Kvgij | Ab˘vb˘i gta˘  
ZLbKvi QvI˘t˘x tK˘L nvmv˘tKl t˘Lv hv˘t˘Q

wē˘k mivewi K David Frost-Gi cθkē  
DE˘i eʒeUzetj wQj b, “My qualification  
(Strength) is that I love my people. My  
disqualification (Weakness) is that I love  
my people too much” | eʒeUθi wQj  
RbM˘tYi cāZ AKwlg fitjvevm, t˘ktcθ I  
mivm | evOvj i Z˘vM e˘v hvte bv, Rq Avgr˘i  
nθeB-G cāZ˘q wbtq me Weakness I  
Threat-tK AwZ˘ug Ktiθb wZub | mKj  
tRj-Rjy, AZ˘vPvi-ubhθZb Avi gZ˘f˘qK  
D˘cyv Kti wZub RmZ˘tK PevsIwERtqi ct˘  
GwMq wbtq tM˘tQb | ˘vaxbZv Gtb w˘tqQb |  
ZvB wZub evOvj RmZi RbK | ˘vaxbZvi  
˘cāZ |

evOvj RmZi gyp˘i j˘t˘ Kvr˘ bRi˘j  
Bmjvg KweZv wj tL wē˘t˘n Kwei Dcwa jvf  
Ktiθb | wZub RmZ˘tK wKj fiv˘i KweZv I  
Mvb i˘wbtqQb | eʒeUθi Avnev˘t civaxbZvi  
wKj fiv˘tZ evOvj RmZ n˘tZ A˘j Z˘j  
wbtqQb | tklvna eʒeUz civaxbZvi wKj  
t˘t˘t˘tQb | cāZ˘v Ktiθb gyp˘ ˘vaxb mve˘f˘g  
ersjv˘k | Gw evOvj RmZi me˘t˘tq eo  
ARθ | wZub tNvI Yv KtiθbN θtZvgv˘i hvi  
n˘tZ hv AvtQ ZvB wbtq kI˘a tgvKwejv Kitz  
n˘t | gtb ivLevN Avgiv hLb gitZ wktLw  
ZLb tKd Avgr˘i i ˘vext ivL˘tZ crite bvθ |  
7B gvP˘1971 XvKwi t˘m˘tKv˘gq˘v˘t wZub  
eRK˘E tNvI Yv Kitj bN θGev˘i mSMθg  
gyp˘i mSMθg, Gev˘i mSMθg Avgr˘i i  
˘vaxbZvi mSMθg | Rq ersjv | 0

tj LK: hM˘mPē I mnhwMx m˘v˘v˘K,  
wAvBie







`k#Ki Pmn`v wK, Zv wekdiY Kti t`Lv, Avi Zvi Rb` Zvi `iKvi, l`qe tguw<sup>3</sup> mactK<sup>o</sup>aviYv| GbtMRtgU GmWU i`l`vKteb mvgmRK gva`g wbtq, wK aibbi Kycil qv huf`O Gme gva`tg| Gi evBti Zvi KVR`vKte, gvtK@S, BtfU cwi Ki bv Kiv BZ`w`-BZ`w`| evZ@Kt`qi meviB`vKtZ nte gme`caUdg`tc@WVKkb mactK<sup>o</sup>aviYv| c@Zovtbi mdj Zvq Giv c@Z`tKB nteb`q` wecyb Kg@| Avi ZvB musew`KZv tkLvtbvi c@Zovb` tjt`K Zvt`i wntj evm wbtq fvetZ nte| thme`q`Zv`vKv GtKert`i Riawi nteq DVte Zvntjv, gme`ugWqv t`v`wii tUuj s| Kb fvi tRY wgvWqvi avi Yvq GKB e`w<sup>3</sup> GKB Qvt`i wbtP Abj vBtb wj Lteb, ti wvi tZ KE t`teb, wUwfoi Rb` d@URmn c`v`KR evbteb| GgbwK Ggbl nteq cvfi, i`wS Avi GmWUstqi KVRi Kiteb tmB GKB e`w<sup>3</sup>| DcvE mslMh Ges cwi msl`vb Rvbvi`q`Zv, wekdi Yx`qZv|

GKuv mgq cwi Kvq mK@ kb wefM ev me gva`tgB gvtK@S etj hv wQj Zv nteq DVtZ cvfi AwltqY`wltfj ctgvU wefM hvi KVR nte Abj vBb e`e`lcbv, AwltqYi AvPiY wbtq mslMh Kiv DcvE wekdiY Ges Zvt`i mvt`B`Uti± Kiv|

MYgva`tgi emYR` Zvt`i`vKte figKv| musew`Kivl GKuv mgq nteq l`vteb c@Zovtbi ivR`AvnitYi gva`g| Zte wbdq musew`KZv bwiZ`bwiZKZvi K`v`fzj`wltq bq| GKB e`w<sup>3</sup> A@bK KVR Kiteb, A@bK`wqZj`cvj b Kiteb, ZvB tQvU nteq Avnte evZ@Kt`qi AvKvi| Zvntj`wK`musew`KZvq Kg`ms`v`tbi mshwM Ktg hufte? wclqvU GtKert`iB Zv bq etj B gtb Kiteb wekdiAv| KviY, musew`KZv Rvtb Ggb e`w<sup>3</sup>i KvtRi Pmn`v MYgva`tgi evBti l`vKte| ZvB

musew`KZv`wK`q`vi c@Zovb` tjt`wK`q`v`i`Zwi Kiteb KbtUuU tc@WDMvi wntmte, msev`gva`tgi Kg`wntmte bq`iay

tKgb nte AvMgxi evZ@Kt`qi KvtRi aib? KugDvbuU KbtUuU GmWUti KVR nte cvK`kR ev tkZvt`i Pmn`v wekdiY Kiv Ges Zvt`i Rb` KbtUuU`Zwi tZ figKv ivLv| Gme KbtUuU`vKte Z`l` msev`, Qwe, wfwl Ges eM| Avi Gme cY`ev AvBtUg gvbtl`i KvtQ tcl`Q t`qv ev Gi c`fve mactK<sup>o</sup>aviYv wbtZ ciU@v`wKc wbtq KVR Kiteb KbtUuU GmWU|

KbtUuU tKvtPi KVR wicvUft`i mvt`\_| Zvt`i cwi Prj bv l`ZEyeav| Avi AvtQ cwi Ki bv hufZ c@ZvU wicvUft`i ev K`vtgicvimb

D`Pgvtbi msev` cwi tekb Kti c@ZovtK mgx`Ktib| Gmtei gta` AvtQ, fvtjv AbvUvbx c@Zte`b, e`vL`vgj`K c@Zte`b, tWc`wicvU<sup>o</sup> fvtjv Qwe, fvtjv Dc`vcv| c@ZvU A`wvBbtgvU t`qvi AvtM Avi KVR mgwSi ci, KbtUuU tKvtPi c`vgk`eo figKv ivLte|

GbtMRtgU GmWU th`kR, cvK ev tkZvi Rb` c@Zovb KVR Kiteb, Zvt`i l`ci tKgb c`fve ivLte Gme KbtUuU Zv wbtq KVR Kiteb| bRi ivLteb mvgmRK gva`tgi w`tK| GQov evBti t`tK Avm v KbtUuU, tKvtv wclq wbtq weZK<sup>o</sup>Zwi nteq tmLvtb c@Zovtbi nteq figKv ivLv Zvi KVR| wef`bte`k`wY`tckvi gvbtl`i mtl`z mactK<sup>o</sup>ivLte tKvtv BtfU AvtqvRb ev mvgmRK gva`tgi mmlq`vKvi KVRUJ Zvi| AvMgxi evZ@Kt`qi tewk mmlq` figKv`vKte msev` mnKvi t`i;

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GKB e`w<sup>3</sup> A@bK KVR Kiteb, A@bK`wqZj`cvj b Kiteb, ZvB tQvU nteq Avnte evZ@Kt`qi AvKvi| Zvntj`wK`musew`KZvq Kg`ms`v`tbi mshwM Ktg hufte? wclqvU GtKert`iB Zv bq etj B gtb Kiteb wekdiAv| KviY, musew`KZv Rvtb Ggb e`w<sup>3</sup>i KvtRi Pmn`v MYgva`tgi evBti l`vKte| ZvB musew`KZv`wK`q`vi c@Zovb` tjt`wK`q`v`i`Zwi Kiteb KbtUuU tc@WDMvi wntmte, msev`gva`tgi Kg`wntmte bq`iay

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Zvi`wqZj`g`Z`c@ZvU msev`ev Ab`AvBtUg cwi eZ@`cwi eab, bZb Kti mvrvtbv, wef`bte`iaZcY`BtfU c@Zovtbi msev` cwi tekbvq wekdiZj`wbdZ`Kiv, tcl` ev wbdR`w`w`R`ciL`Kiv| Avi GLb thme KVR Kiteb wicvUft`i, d@UwMdv`i ev K`vtgicvimb, evZ@Kt`i`Kiv, Zv tZv`vKteB| Zte Gt`i c@Z`tKiB eo`wqZj`nteq DVte KbRyvi t`i (AwltqY) mSb Kiv| AvMgxi msev`gva`g A@bK tewk emYR`K c@Zovtbi cwi YZ nte| nqtZv ZLb l`bwiZ`bwiZKZv wbtq weZK`Pj`tZ`vKte|

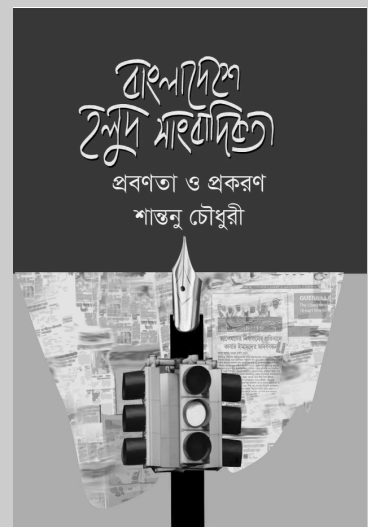
tj LK: cwi Prj K (evZ@), GKvEi tUuj wfkB

# wCvBweoi cKvkbv

thMvthvM

cKvkbv l`wPvi wefM  
evsj vt`k tcl`B Bbw`v`wDU

3 mmlK@ nvdM ti wW  
XvKv-1000





thvMthvMi tÿtÿ BvUvÿBU nÿ"Q weMZ kZvāxi meÿPtq iāZcY<sup>®</sup>  
 Ave<sup>®</sup>vi | BvUvÿBU I Ab'vb' AvābK cñhÿ<sup>®</sup> i eÿ'šj tZ NÿU tMÿQ ZZxq  
 wKÍ wecē hv wMvRvUj wecē bÿtg cwi wPZ | eZgÿv hM BvUvÿBU-wbFÿP |  
 BvUvÿBU gÿtbB Abj vBb tBU qmK<sup>®</sup> | msev' gva'g | GLb AwZgvÿvq G  
 cñhÿ<sup>®</sup> wbfÿP hv mīsew' KZvq 'āZMvZ GtbtQ | Abj vBb msev' gva'g Ges  
 mvgmRK thvMthvM gva'g mīsew' KZvK AskMhYgÿj-K, wq\_w' Gvÿgÿj-K I  
 RbgZ MVtb Avÿiv mīuq KtītQ | G bZb avivi gva'g AvR gÿtbÿ i  
 mvgmRK Rætbÿ Dbÿÿ' ewK K tÿtÿ | Abj vBb msev' gva'g Ges mvgmRK  
 thvMthvM gva'g ev' weKcÿÿ RÿM<sup>®</sup> nvevi gÿtmi 'ewK K bZb ōRbcwī mī ō

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gj-avivi msev' gva'g mīsew' Kÿ' i  
 mīvavi YZ Avÿaq mÿvKvix wntmte fvev  
 nq | wK<sup>®</sup> BvUvÿBU i eÿ'šj tZ th  
 mīsew' KZvi Avefÿe nÿtqÿQ tmlvÿb  
 i'aymīsew' Kÿ' i Avÿaq mÿvKvix ejv  
 hvq bv | mīsew' KZv GLb msev',  
 mīsew' K I bvlmī Kÿ' i (civK-'kR-  
 tkōZv) ejv ewK th<sub>5</sub> cōhvRbv



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(public sphere) | tKbbv, BvUvÿBU I mvgmRK tBU qmK<sup>®</sup> qv gva'g  
 wMvRvUj cñhÿ<sup>®</sup> Ges weÿkl Ktī 'ewK K mshÿ<sup>®</sup> weivRgvb wek'Rbcwī mÿi  
 bZb gÿvÿv thvM KtītQ (Zubair Khan, Gilani & Nawaz, 2012) |  
 Rvÿgÿb mÿvRweAvbx I 'vklbK nvevi gÿtmi ōRbcwī mī ō nÿ"Q ōFvPvÿÿ ō Ges  
 ōKvī wK KvgDibwū hv tKÿvÿb RvqMvq Ae'vb Ktī bv (Habermas,  
 1991) | Zvī avi Yvbÿvq ōRbcwī mī ō nÿ"Q mvgmRK Rætbÿ Ggb GK  
 tÿtÿ thLÿvÿb RbgZ 'Zvī nq Ges thLÿvÿb mKÿj i cōekwāKvī 'vK | G  
 Dbÿÿ' Rbcwī mī webgÿÿYi gva'g BvUvÿBU hv mīsew' KZvq bZb-bZb  
 aviv I aviYi (concept) Rbÿ' w' tÿtQ | Gi Kÿ' vÿY RbMÿYi mÿt  
 mīsew' K AwFavū hÿ' nÿtqÿQ | ejv nÿ"Q bvlmī K mīsew' K | Avi mvgmRK  
 thvMthvM gva'gmn Abj vBb gva'g bvlmī K mīsew' Kÿ' i Drcwī Z 'Z' ev  
 Avÿaq (tÿ- U, Qie, AwvI -wvWl, wPÿ, BbÿdMōd cÿvZ) Av' vb-cōvÿb i  
 cōuq nÿ"Q bvlmī K mīsew' KZv | G mīsew' KZvK ōtçōtdkbyj A'vÿgPvī  
 Rvÿvÿ Rg' ev ōtçō-A'vÿ Rvÿvÿ Rgōl eÿj | AskMhYgÿj-K mīsew' KZv,  
 ZYgÿ- mīsew' KZv, 'vaxb mīsew' KZv, tMvījv mīsew' KZv I bvlmī K  
 mīsew' KZvī gÿa' cÿo | Zÿe bvlmī K mīsew' KZvK mÿvZb ōKvgDibwū  
 mīsew' KZvō ev ōRbmīsew' KZvō (civic journalism) ejv hvte bv |  
 tKbbv, G 'gÿiÿbi mīsew' KZv Ktī tçk'vī mīsew' Kiv Avi bvlmī K  
 mīsew' KZv Ktī wMvRvUj bvlmī K | e'w<sup>3</sup>MZ I tçemvBU, eM, tçmeÿ I  
 UBvīmn mvgmRK thvMthvM gva'g, tÿjv bvlmī K mīsew' KZv PPrÿ gva'g |  
 eZgÿvÿb mKÿj aiÿbi gj-avivi mīsew' KZvi (msev' cÿ, tÿwvI -wvF,  
 Abj vBb msev' gva'g) Ab Zg A½ I Abÿ½ nÿ"Q bvlmī K mīsew' KZv I

**bvlmī K mīsew' KZv**  
**bv bv ARv bv K\_v**  
 tgvnv. gÿvÿgÿÿ nk





AtbK tÿtÿ Kivb/ KviY tKivb GKUv ni tcvU<sup>0</sup>fÿ nÿj ev  
fÿtÿv nÿj ZrvÿwYKfite `kR IB MYgva`gi I tgemn wefwb  
mvgmRK thvMthvM gva`tg cÿZvuvq Rvbvq/ ZvB wvUvUv  
msev Kÿÿi Rb` G `tÿi m`m Avek`Kiq/ me wgvÿ tÿq  
msev Kÿÿ nÿe GKUv AbjvBb cÿhvRbv tK`<sup>1</sup>

**mVKj kb I I tÿe U`wdK ew`tZ buMviK misewv KZv**

DEi BDÿi tci t`k Gt`wbqvi mefbaK cPvi Z`wbK (1857  
mvtj cÿZvöZ) tdmek tcr tLvjvi cÿi eQi 2011 mvtj i  
tmÿP`fi MhK msL`v 50 nivrvi wMq tcsQvq/ mvgmRK  
thvMthvM Rbucÿ G gva`guU KivRi fÿte `ÿZ e`envi KiZ  
cvi vq G mvdj` Avtm/ gÿY I AbjvBb Dfq ms`iÿYi Rb` G  
tcr AbvUÿKi fvgKvq AeZxy`nq/ tcr MhKiv jvBK t`q  
Ges cKvKZ AvBÿUÿgi Ici wefwb gšÿ` Kfÿb/ GtZ  
misewv K I cVVK`i gta` wgvÿ tÿvgj-K m`uK`Mto I tÿv/

**mvgmRK thvMthvM gva`tg cÿB Z` hPvB cÿvq**

AmsL` buMviK misewv K I mvgmRK thvMthvM gva`g/ gZvgZ  
Ges cÿZvuvq AMvYZ I eügmV K/ BvUv tÿtU nivrvi`-nivrvi` Y  
teik Z` I msev` cvl qv hvq/ Gi gta` fÿj Z` wgvÿ-vgvKÿZ  
Z` we`všKi Z` Kvi vBK Z` Dÿt`k cÿYv` Z` I bvbv  
Re`vK/ vekjMthvM` buMviK misewv K I AvekjMthvM`  
buMviK misewv tKi gta` cv`R` Kiv Kivb nÿq cÿo/ Ab`  
gva`gi msev` `ÿZ Kiv Kÿi wÿtÿ Zv e`envi i cÿYZv teik  
vK buMviK misewv Kÿi gta`/ AtbK Z`i Dm mVVK`vK  
bv/ Avev AtbK B`vKZfÿte fÿj Z` t`q A`ev Z`  
mVVKfÿte` sÿZvY KiZ cvÿi bv ev weLqv tÿtS bv/ Gme  
Kvi tÿ mvgmRK thvMthvM gva`tg mVVK Z` LÿR cvl qv Kivb/  
BDÿi wcvb Rvbvÿj Rg tmUvÿi i cwi Pij K DBj tDw i abÿUv  
eÿj b: In today's digital environment, where  
rumour and false content circulate, journalists  
need to be able to actively sort out true, authentic  
materials from the fakes' / weÿkI Kÿi tÿUv qvK`ÿZ weÿkÿ  
`ÿZB th tKivbv` Re Qvotq cÿo Ges Öj vBKÖ cvl qvi Avkvq  
AtbK G` tÿj v Kÿi vK/ tÿUv qvK`ÿZ weÿkÿ Z` hPvBtqi  
cÿvqv mnR bq/ Zte` yZv I w`tmv`msev` Drtmi Avb,  
vekjMthvM Zv, mZZv, GKB Z` wefwbRtÿbi KivQ hPvB Kivi  
ÿgZv Ges mVVK WkÿtÿUkb cÿvZi Ici Gi hPvBKiv  
cÿvqv wvFÿP Kÿi/ hvr I AbjvBb Z`i mVVKZv hPvBtqi  
mÿv` Ö tKivbv nvrZv tÿB/ Zte KZK` tÿj wvq Aek`B  
hPvB Kivi mgq tLqv i vLÿZ nÿe/ th I tÿe t`tK Z` wU  
msMh Kiv nÿQ Zvi h`v` KZÿy, Z` vZvi cwi vPvZ,  
I tÿte i thvMthvM b`f I wKivb, KivvBU vPÿ, I tÿemvBU  
AvçWU Kiv nÿq wK-bv cÿvZ. weLq Aek`B hPvB KiZ nÿe/  
mvgmRK thvMthvM gva`tg cÿB Z` hPvB Kivi tÿtÿ wÿtÿPi  
weLq` tÿj v Aek`B wePbvq AvbZ nÿe/

\* Zÿ`i DrcvE`j ev Dm m`uK`vöZ nÿZ nÿe/ th  
e`ir<sup>3</sup> ev cÿZvöZ Z` wU cvl qv tMÿQ Zvi tÿödvj hPvB  
KiZ nÿe/ Rvbvÿj ev L`vZ i tÿtQ wK-bv ešÿZ nÿe/  
\* mvgmRK thvMthvM wefwbv`g, Zvi wR` I tÿemvBU,  
tKiv cÿZvöZ mÿ½ RvöZ cÿvZ. Z` vPvZ KiZ nÿe/  
\* gj` Z` cÿvKvix vPvZ KiZ nÿe Ges Zvi  
vekjMthvM Zv hPvB KiZ nÿe/  
\* NUbv NUvi mgq m`uK`vöZ nÿZ nÿe/  
\* NUbvi` v` m`uK`vöZ nÿZ nÿe/ Gÿÿtÿ Mj g`vc,  
Mj Av` cÿvZi mvrh` tÿqv tÿZ cvÿi/  
\* mÿtU cÿE` Ab`v` Z` mVVK I h`v` wK-bv Zv ešÿZ  
nÿe/  
e`Z misewv Kiv nÿQ Avtÿqi wePv K/ Kx cKvKZ nI qv  
DvPZ, Kx DvPZ bv tm wePv tÿva ev wePv Aek`B misewv Kÿi i

vKÿZ nÿe/ wePv KivR bv Kij wvq I bmvZ w`tÿ  
KivDÿK Ave` Kiv hvq bv/ GRb`B W. iaklqv` wKvvi eÿj b:  
'Ethics is obedience to the unenforceable.  
Therefore, it is upto journalists themselves—not  
governments or outside authorities—to set the  
standards for their profession (Butler, 2009).  
/ bmvZv PÿtÿÄ I weZK`KLÿv tkl nevi bq/ ZvB  
misewv Kÿi Avvvi Z bmvZ I wePv Dfq tÿj Y w`tÿB  
misewv KZv KiZ nÿe, tmUv AbjvBb tnvK Avv AdjvBb  
tnvK/

**Öe` cÿUv tÿLK Zvi Ömisewv KZv  
AdjvBb- AbjvBb eB t`tK msKj b Kÿi tÿB/  
Z` mÿ**

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tÿLK: tWcÿj GvUvi (tgtU), tWvÿj`-vi, cÿ<sup>3</sup>b cwi Pij K (Mtel Yv I  
cÿkÿy), Bbv`-wDU Ae Rvbvÿj Rg A`vU KvgDvÿtKk/ Email: mahmud\_raj@yahoo.com



## fugKv

cöqvRb GKuU KivüDUvi Avi Zvi m½ BvUitBU msthM| eim,  
 musew KZv Kivi Rb GB h\_ó| Z\_cöhy³i mnthwMZvq cü\_exi th  
 tKvtrv cötšli, th tKvtrv mgtqi, th tKvtrv uelqgi Z\_ Abj vBb gva'tg  
 cKvk Kiv hv"Q| e"³MZ K'vrgivq tZvjv One wKsev aviY Kiv wfiwI  
 Avctj vW Kivi msthMI \_vKtQ| BvUitBU gva'tg cKvkZ Gme uelq  
 uelqgi tKvU Abj vBb MhK mgq I tfsMwj K`iZtK Rq Kti (th tKvtrv  
 mgtq, th tKvtrv vb t\_tK) Zv coZz I t\_LtZ cviQ| ItqemvBtU  
 cKvkZ uelqgi I ci `xibfite gZvgZ t`qv hv"Q, cKvkZ

99

öcöZ`K bvMni KB musew KÖ G  
 avi YvFK cüR Kti bvMni K  
 musew KZvi iia| ... iaZcY<sup>©</sup>  
 e"³B iaZcY<sup>©</sup>msev Bmý  
 musew KZvi (cüdgv atPi)  
 cövMZ Ggb uelqgi evBti uelqí  
 avivi musew KZv PPf bvg  
 bvMni K musew KZv



66

msev TawcY<sup>©</sup>ntj Zvi uelqgi gšb` Kiv I cöqvRtb wR`^I tgemvBtU  
 (eM) muVK Z\_cövb Kiv m=é nt"Q| RbMYtK uelqgiBmýZ mPZb  
 Kiv, RvMZ Kiv, cfiweZ Kivi KvRuU Kiv hv"Q| Mfo DVtQ  
 Abj vBbwfiEK uelqgiBvPöj KugDibU| BvUitBUi et šjz cövMZ  
 gj-avivi MYgva'tgi (msev cI, tiwI I tUj wfkbi) tckv`vvi  
 musew KZv PPf cvkicvk uelqgi jvf KtiQ Abj vBbwfiEK (tdmek,  
 UBvU, eM Mi gZv) Atckv`vi musew KZv| Abj vBb cüUdgt`hnb ev hivi  
 Gfiwe msev, One ev wfiwI cKvk (Avctj vW) Kivi ga`v`tg bZb avivi  
 musew KZv KitiQb Zvt`iKB ejv nq muUtrB Rvbij ÷ ev bvMni K  
 musew K| Avi cjin Kg<sup>©</sup>cüuqitK ejv nt"Q muUtrB Rvbij Rg ev  
 bvMni K musew KZv| GüU ömmUtrB wgvwqö ev bvMni K MYgva'tgi GKU  
 wöw`ö aib, thLvth MhKt`i Drcw Z AvtaqB cävB Aej`ab| GLvth  
 MYgvbšj i AskMhY wöw`öZ ntqitQ Ges RbMýYi KvQ bvMni K musew KZv  
 gj-avivi Amac`kij musew KZvi uelqí wntmteI Dcw`Z ntqitQ|  
 e`emwqK t`P`v, ggvdv jwMkiY, tkwY I wj ½ c`cMZZpn cPij Z  
 MYgva'tgi uelq`x hLb bvb Awfthw, tmmgq gj-avivi musew KZvi  
 uelqí wntmte uelqimxi bRi KvotQ bvMni K musew KZv|

## bvMni K musew KZv Ks?

bvMni K musew KZv öcvej KÖ, öAskMhYgj-KÖ, öMYZwišKÖ, GgbwK öw`-U  
 Ribw Rgö wntmteI cwi pZ| G musew KZvi avi YmU e"³-gubšj i  
 KgRvšj m½ m=ü,³| GLvth msev I Z\_ mslh, uelqgi Y I uelqgi Y  
 cüuqvg e"³ muuq fugKv cij b Kti, e"³ Drcw Z Avtaq öv vB

wvRUvj hNj  
 bvMni K  
 musew KZv  
 tgv. Avki vdz Avj g

cwi Pwuj Z nq bWmii K misewi KZv| cPuj Z misewi KZv I bWmii K misewi KZvi gta` cr`R` t`Lvtrv nq` QU ka` w`iq| cDguU ntjv 0Kvfvii s0, wDZxquU ntjv 0tkqvi s0| A`P` cPuj Z misewi KZvq tckv`vi misewi Kiv ubv 0 GKiu NUBvi cwi t`cPuj Z tmiU Kvfvii Kti, msev` Zwi Kti I Zvt`i AwltqYfK Rvbtvri` wqZjuU m`ubekti| bWmii K misewi KZvq e`w`3 tKvtrv`vqe`Zv t`tK bq eis` c0Yw` Z ntq Atb`i m`z th tKvtrv`w`lq Av`vb-c0vb Kti|

tckv`wii Zj misewi KZvi c0k`qY Qrov maviY RbMY AvaybK chny`i wewfbarwZvi e`enri Kti tKvtrv`w`lq t`ewkKfite weZiY KiZ cvi tQ| thgb th tKd B`0v Kitj B Zvi gnjv, ciov ev knii i wbePbx Lei Zvi eM ev AbjvBb tdivitg tcv`- Ki tQ| A`ev gj-aviyi MYgva`g Dtv Avm tKvtrv`mser` c0E Zt` hw` fjv aiv cto` tm` tjjv Ztj Avb Ges eM mWk Z` tcv`- Ki tQ cvi tQ| wbtRi G`jvKvq msnWUz tKvtrv` NUBvi Qwe K`itgvi aviy Kti AbjvBb Zv tcv`- Kiv wKsev tmB NUBvi w`w`w`i w`P` aviy Kiv ntj Zv BDwUDte Qrovi m`thm` Zwi ntq tQ| Gme KgRvBb ntjv bWmii K misewi KZvi KtqKiuU bgbv|

bWmii K misewi KZvi gj-Z AbjvBb w`fwiEK misewi KZv| eM Ges t`dmeK I UBwUti giZv mvgwRK thw`thw`mi m`BtU ga`w`iq Gi PP` nq| bDcweij K, wDRfvBb, DBwKubDR, tWtguU, ...`vW` w`t`vU` Aj f`tqtm, giB w`DR, ...`w`DRtccvi BZ`w` bWmii K misewi KZvi D`tj L`thm` KtqKiuU m`BU| evsjv`tk bWmii K misewi KZvi D`tj L`thm` GKiuU m`BU ntjv 0mU`Rb Rvbtv Rg WU tBU WU w`w`w`i (citizenjournalism.net.bd)| `f`arb msev` ev Z` cKv`tki I`qemvBU (Consumer Reports, the Drudge Report) w`Ksev AskMhYgJ-K (OhmyNews, DigitalJournal.com, Ground Report) I`qemvBtU thme msev`, Qwe ev w`w`w`i c0k`w`Z nq` tm` tjjv m`utk` bWmii KMY gZvgZ w`tZ cvi tQb I g`sb` Ki tZ cvi tQb, hv bWmii K misewi KZvi B Ask| DBwKm, w`w`w`i w`Uj t`-w`i tUj s` A`w`c`Kkb, d`Uv A`vU w`w`w`i t`qwi s` m`BU I U`z`m I bWmii K misewi KZvq e`eUz nq| bWmii K misewi Kti`i tKvtrv` tKvtrv`w`lq t`divKv`\_v`tk` v`bxq tKvtrv` Bm`y`K tK`-`Kti, tKvtrv` c0ZteKw`Ksev tKvtrv` knii i ubv 0 tKvtrv` Lei`tk tK`-`Kti| Aw`R` w`lq, tRUVi Bm`y` i v`RbmZ ev Ab`vb` Bm`y`K tK`-`Kti I bWmii K misewi KZvi PP`ntq`\_v`tk| KL`tv` KL`tv` bWmii K misewi KZv`K cPuj Z misewi KZvi gta` GKxfZ Kiv ntq`\_v`tk| RbM`Yi cv`vtrv` msev` I gZvgZ KivUwU e`ZxZ cPuj Z gva`igi I`qemvBtU c0k`w`Z ntZ t`Lv hvq|

0c0Z`K bWmii KB misewi K0 G aviy`K cyR Kti bWmii K misewi KZvi i`iaZ GiU gj-aviyi misewi KZvi w`cixZ tm`Z| gj-aviyi aiverav w`bqg w`Ksev`ewk0` bWmii K misewi KZvq givb nq` br| 0g` msev`B f`itjv msev`0, tm`-g`w`b-w`vBg msev`i Ab`Zg Dcv`vb, `iaZc`Y`e`w`3B `iaZc`Y`msev` Bm`y` misewi KZvi (c`w`0g`v` ad`P`i) cD`w`Z Ggb w`bq`gi evBti w`Kti aivvi misewi KZvi PP` big bWmii K misewi KZv| GL`v`b `iaZ`v`b givb| `iaZ`m`Kviti msev` w`ntmte Dcv`Z ntZ cvti| e`w`3 Zvi Aw`Kvi ew`AZ ntj Zv Ab`tK RvbtvZ cvti| Zvi c`q` RbgZ MvB KiZ cvti| bWmii K misewi KZvi ga` w`tq RbMY G`tK Ac`i`K Z` t`q, w`b`Riv Z` I gZ`w`bqg Kti| misewi Zvi m`bvZ aviv t`f0 bZb aviv` Zwi nt`Q bWmii K misewi KZvq| ntZ cvti GiU AvaybKZv`K Qw`o`g` DE`ivaybK misewi KZvi PP` thL`v`b e`w`3 Zvi w`P`st`fiev` I mgv`Ri Am`shw`Z Ztj aiZ cvti GKRb tckv`vi misewi`Ki giZv| t`w`w`i-tUj w`fkb w`Ksev msev`c`f`i cvZvq thme w`lq NUv Kti cPvi I c0k`v` nt`Q bv, tm` tjjv AbjvBb gva`ig c0k`v` Kti e`w`3 GKRb w`mU`Rb misewi K w`ntmte AvZ`c0k`v` KiZ cvti| cPuj Z MYgva`g thme w`lq Kg tmv`Pvi w`Ksev bxi e, mavi Y bWmii Kiv tm` tjjv c0k`v` Kivi m`thm` cvq bWmii K misewi KZvi ga`w`tq|

**Zw`EK aviyv**

w`w`w`i w`Uj chny`i AvMgb, w`tkl Kti B`Uv`tU I I`tq`ei Aw`e`vi misewi KZvi Rm`Z`ec`eK cwi eZ0 G`btQ| GiB gta` e`tj t`m`tQ

misewi KZvi aib I Aw`zK| h`y` ntq`0 bvbv`ew`P`| bWmii K misewi KZvi chny`i Am`shw`Zi m`z` Zvj w`g`v`tq w`Kv`jv`f` Ki tQ|

bWmii K misewi KZvi PP`I w`Kv`tki m`z` B`Uv`tU chny`i mivmii m`u`3| B`Uv`tU gva`g`K tK`-`Kti B` gj-Z GB ai`tbi misewi KZv Gw`lq Pj tQ| MZ kZ`tki c`Av`tki` k`K Av`m Kiv`uDUvi chny`i Avi mE`tii` k`K h`y` nq B`Uv`tU| i`ia` nq chny`i-w`b`f`P` Z` t`Kw`K thw`thw`m e`e`v`| Z` t`K tK`-`Kti B` cwi Pwuj Z nq e`emv-ew`YR, Mtel Yv, Zver c`u`exi M`w`Z-c0k`w`Z| givb w`b`tq`m`RZ nq Z` Drcv`vb, c0`l`u`q`Ki Y I w`Zi Y e`e`v`q| t`g`v`v`Bj t`div, giB`t`m`Pc, W`ieD W`ieD W`ieD (I`qvi`0`q`w`B I`tq) Gi gZ`v` w`b`z`-bZb Z` chny`i D`m`w`eb Z` I thw`thw`m e`e`v`q D`tj L`thm` cwi eZ0 w`b`q` n`w`Ri ntq`0| t`w`w`i-tUj w`fkb, msev`c`f`i giZv cPuj Z mKj MYgva`g`K GKb c`w`l`d`t`g`w`g`v` Z` Ki tQ B`Uv`tU| Qwe, M`w`c`K`m, Aw`w`i-w`f`R`y`q`v` Dcv`vbm` bvbv`w`i`K Av`taq w`w`w`i`R`U`j` d`ig`v`U` i`f`c`v`sh`i` Z` ntq`0 Ges B`Uv`tU`i` gva`ig Zv t`Lv, t`k`v`v` I` cov`h`v`Q| Z`v`B` At`b`K` MYgva`g` w`tkl`A` t`w`w`i-w`U`f` I` msev`c`f`i giZv B`Uv`tU`i`K`I` Avayb`K` MY`th`w`th`m`K`v`i`x` w`ntmte` w`P`y`Z` Ki`Z` P`v`|

MZ KtqK` k`K B`Uv`tU` AZ`S`l` c`f`v`ek`v`x` gva`g` w`ntmte Aw`ef`Z` ntq`0| GiU MY`th`w`th`m` I` MYgva`g` Rm`tZ` b`v`b`g`w`i`K` cwi eZ0 thgb etq G`btQ tZ`g`v` cPuj Z MYgva`gi Rb` e`u` P`v`tj` A`I` w`tq` G`tm`tQ| cPuj Z MYgva`g` RbMY`K` Z` t`i` ci` Z` w`tq` hvq| MYgva`g` hv` t`q, Zv`ZB` MYgva`g`K` m`sb`\_v`k`Z` nq| Aw`l`t`q`Y`i` c0`-Ac`0`b` i` w`lq` GL`v`b` Kg`B` fiev`nq| `k`R`-t`k`Z`v` i` w`b`R`i` giZv` Kti MYgva`g` Av`taq` ev`Qv`B` Kivi m`thm` t`b`B, gZvgZ` t`qvi` I` m`thm` GL`v`b` Kg| tKvtrv` msev` Am`Z` w`Ksev` w`g`\_v` g`b` ntj` Zvi w`c`f`i` e`e`e` Z`zj` aivi m`thm`I` Kg| RbM`Yi` w`R`-`Drcw`Z` Av`taqi` gj`-gj-aviyi MYgva`g` tZ`g`v` `ia`z`c`v`q` br| MYgib`y` Z`v`B` Gme MYgva`gi` Kiv`Q` At`b`K`U`v` n`v`-cv` et`av` MY`th`w`th`m` w`tkl`A` t`R`v`md` Av`i` W`ig`v`b`K` cPuj Z MYgva`gi` Ggb` ew`k`to`i` cwi`c`0`f`t`Z` tm` t`j`vi` Z` c`P`v`i`i` c0`l`u`q`K` e`v`L`v` Kti`t`Q`b` 0`c`j`e` g`t`W`j`0` w`ntmte (Dominick, 2009)|

MYgva`g`i` m`w`K` Z` R`v`v` I` R`v`b`v`i` th` Z`0`v`, MYgva`g` c0`ek`w`K`v`i`i` th` ew`bv, Zv` At`b`K`usk` ci`Y` Ki`t`Q` AbjvBb` gva`g` B`Uv`tU` cPuj Z MYgva`gi` w`K`i` gva`g` w`ntmte Aw`l`t`q`Y`i` Kiv`Q` Dcv`Z` ntq`0| e`enri` Kiv`iv` AbjvBb` gva`ig` w`eb` Li`P` Zwi` Ki`Z` cvi`0` e`w`3`MZ` I`qemvBU` ev` eM| w`f`w`e`v` I`qemvBU` t`tK` e`enri` Kiv`iv` Zvt`i` c0`q`v`R`b` Ab`j`v`q` B`t`Q` giZv` Av`taq` ev`Qv`B` Ki`Z` cvi`0| c0`k`w`Z` tKvtrv` msev` ev` Aw`w`i-w`f`w`w`i` Gi` c`f`i` ev` w`c`f`i` gZvgZ` w`tZ` cvi`0, g`sb`` Ki`Z` cvi`0| w`b`R`i` i` cv`ev` e`e`e` i`v`L`t`Z` cvi`0| W`ig`v`b`K` Z`v`B` GB` gva`g`K` 0`c`j`e` g`t`W`j`0` w`ntmte` Av`L`v` w`tq`0`b` (Dominick, 2009)| thL`v`b` Aw`l`t`q`Y` MYgva`gi` Kiv`Q` ew`\_bq, Zvi`v` w`b`R`i` i` giZv` Kti` gva`g`U` e`enri` Ki`Z` cvi`| Aw`Z` mavi`Y` g`v`bi` `q`Zv` w`b`q` B`Uv`tU` e`enri`Kiv`x` w`b`R`b` w`eb` Li`P` I`qemvBU` ev` I`qet`c`R` Zwi` Ki`Z` cvi`| w`b`R`i` t`Lv` w`lq` msev``Zwi` I` c0`k`v` Ki`Z` cvi`| Aw`l`t`q`Y` Zvi` B`0`v` g`w`c`K` tKvtrv` msev` ev`Qv`B, msev`i` w`U`t`g`U, Dc`v`c`v`v` ÷`v`Bj` I` Aw`z`K` w`K` Ki`Z` cvi`| A`P` GB` c0`l`u`q`i` ga`w`tq` GKRb` e`enri`Kiv`x` c0`k`v`K` (B`tj` K`U`b`K` cv`ej`v`i`v`i) w`ntmte` Av`Z`c0`k`v`K` Ki`Q| d`tj` 0`B`Uv`tU`i`K` m`w`Z`K`v`i` A`t`-`G`K`U` MYZ`w`S`K` gva`g` w`ntmte` w`ete`P`v`i` Kiv`nq| B`Uv`tU` e`enri` Kti` RbMY` Z` Rm`tZ` c0`ek` Ki`Z` cvi`| Zvt`i` gZvgZ, w`P`st, aviyv` c`u`ex`v`c`x` Av`vb-c0vb` Ki`Z` cvi`0| q`g`Z`v`v`b` givb` w`b`R`i` i` P`v`v`v, c0`q`v`R`b`K` At`b`i` mvg`t`b` Z`zj` aivi` ga`w`tq` w`b`R`t`K` q`g`Z`w`q`Z` Ki`Z` cvi`00` (Avj`g, 2010)|

bWmii K misewi KZvi c0`Aw`U` e`v`L`v` Kiv` ntq`0` 0`mvg`w`RK` cyR` Z`E`g` (tm`v`v`j` K`w`c`U`v`j` w`L`i`i) w`tq` G` Z`E`j` t`B`U` q`v`K` b`g`f`i, mvg`w`RK` w`ek`m` BZ`w` w`lq`K` GKxfZ` Kivi` ga`w`tq` mgv`R` m`thm`w`Z`v` I` mg`st`qi` w`K`U`I` Z`zj` aiv`nq| mvg`w`RK` cyR` Z`E`j`g`Z, `v`bxq` tKvtrv` `j` ev` m`sl`v`t`b` tKvtrv` e`w`3`i` m`u`3`Zvi` ga`w`tq` K`ig`D`ib`U`t`Z` eme`m`Kiv`x` Ab`vb`t`i` m`z` mvg`w`RK` m`u`k`-`w`c`Z` nq| GKRb` w`K`z`AR`b`i` Rb` mvg`w`RK` cyR` w`eb`t`q`m` Kti` w`K`S` tm`B

weibiqm KugDibulitK mgx Kti Ges Abt i l weibiqm AvMhx Kti iZvtj | Robert Putnam Zvi eB 'Bowling Alone' G Dctiv<sup>3</sup> weiqwUtK AbjvBb cctAi mt\_ mshy KtiitQb| wZub e vL v t b, mgvR cvi uwiK tmZzUb zwi bZb tgKmbRg ntjv B:UvibU| mgvRi wfbwfbet¶i wfbwfbegvbt¶i gta tmZzUb vcb Kti B:UvibU gva'g| B:UvibU mgvRK c¶R g¶Wj GKwU fiv¶j KugDibulit ZwiEK cuUdg<sup>3</sup>Zwi Kti thLvtb GKRb AvtiKRbtK bv t iLB ci ui w\_ ¶v Kti (Bentley, 2008)| bvlmK miewi KZv cu\_xi wfbwfbet¶i gvbvtK cvi uwiK gZwibgq I Z\_ Av v b- clvtbi mshvM zwi Kti t q|

**weKí avivi c¶qRbxqZv**

mgvR NtU hv lqv wfbwfbet¶i Ges Leti t cQzbi Lei bvbv KvifY gj-avivi c¶j Z MYgva'g D¶v Avtm bv| AwfthvM itqtQ, cwi Kv ev wUrf P v t b t j i g v j K i i G K t P w U q v g b v d j w ¶ e i v R % b m Z K c ¶ j c v Z g Z v , m i K v t i i w b q s y , A w a c Z t k w y i t ¶ P ¶ v , w e A v c t b i A w a k B Z w i b v b v K v i f Y m Z c k v k w c z n t u g j - a v i v i M Y g v a ' g | N U b v i M f x i j K t q \_ v K v A m j N U b w U c k v k K i t Z w a v t e a K i i Z v i o v g j - a v i v i M Y g v a ' g m v a i Y R b M Y t K e j M h x Z v e v t f i v t k w y | w g w l q v h v t q R b M Y i a y Z v t b q | R b M Y G L v t b w b ¶ j | R b M t Y i w b R ^ g Z c k v k i t K v b v m s h v M G L v t b K g | G g b m k m b v z b m i s e w i K Z v q b v l m i K t K w e t e P b v K i v n q m s e v c t Y i t f i v i n t m t e | c t i v ¶ f i t e A w l t q Y t K w e i u K i v n q w e A v c b v z v i K v t Q | o m v c a z K K v t j i K i t c v i u g v j K v b v I G K t P w U q v c e Y Z v M Y g v a ' g t j v t K A v t i v t e w R b i e g y K t i Z z j t Q | g w k b h y i v t o i m e e p r t i w i t + k b A c v i u i w k a v i P v t b j K u g D i b u l i t K k b m B b K t c ¶ i t u i w m B l e t j w t j b , A v g i v m s e v I Z \_ c w i t e k t b i e e m v K i t Z A w m b | A v g i v A v g v i t i f i v i K v t Q c Y w e i u I e e m v K i t Z G t m i Q | K i t c v i u w g w l q v i G g v b m K Z v i w e c i x Z w e K i w g w l q v i c ¶ q R b x q Z v A x K v i K i v t K v b v D c v q t b B 0 ( n K , 2 0 1 1 ) | g j - a v i v i M Y g v a ' g K x K v q v - t K S k t j - c k v i - c K i f Y A w a c Z K v i x w e k l t ¶ M h x , t j v i c ¶ j c ¶ v i Y v A w f t h b w j B \_ v t K Z v G W l q v w ¶ G m . n i g w b I t b i v q v P g w Z v t i O c ¶ v i Y v ( c e v i v i u i ) g t W t j o t u l t q t Q b | ( n v i g v b I P g w , 2 0 0 2 )

B:UvibU I AbjvBtbi Kj vYv Rb¶ t b l qv bvlmK miewi Kvq (c¶j Z MYgva'gi) Uc-wiDb clv tfto Askx wi tzi wfiEtZ msev zwi c¶uqv cwiPmj Z nq| msev zwi c¶uqv bvlmK Kiv AskMhY Kti| GB aibti miewi KZvi Avtaq Gi mbv I t f i v n t j v b v l m i K | G L v t b b v l m i K t K R v o r t b v g j - D i t k b q e i s b v l m i K t t K R i v i B n t j v A m j j ¶ | g j - a v i v i M Y g v a ' g i w e c i x Z B : U v i b U w f i E K w e K í a v i v i A m s l g v a ' g A v z c k v k K i t Q | h v i D i t k g b v d v A R b e v c f i e k i j i g n t j i t ¶ P ¶ v b q , e i s w e i v R g v m v g w R K - i v R % b m Z k w z e v t f t o m i g v R K c w i e z t b i R b K i R K i v ( n K , 2 0 1 1 ) | w e K í g v a ' g t j v g v a ' g I A w l t q t Y i g t a w g \_ ¶ v w b f ¶ t h v M t h v M v c b K t i | w e i f b e B m y Z A v t j v P b v - m g v t j v P b v I g Z v g Z c l v t b i m s h v M z w i K t i t q | w m q u t j 1 9 9 9 m t j w e k e m Y R m s v i m t s j b w e t i v a x A v t v j b t t K R b t b q m e o u g w e K í g v a ' g B u O u g w l q v ( A n d y m e d i a ) | G i c i m i B e v i c w i m t i n m R i n q w R t b U , t d q v i , w g w l q v P v t b j , K i t c v i u I q v P , I q v j g v U P q v P , K v D u i K v i t U m , g v v i t R v Y B Z w i i g t Z v A m s l w e K í g v a ' g | 2 0 1 0 m t j m i w e t k ; A v t j v o b m p o K t i D c w Z n q A Z s i k v a i w e K í g v a ' g R y j q i b A v t m t A i o D B w K u j K m o |

**m e t e v i o v i L j j t Q e M**

MZ kZvaxi GtKevti tklw tK B:UvibU RMtZ h¶ nq eM ev e i v M Z g Z c k v k I w b w b K v h R j v c w j w c e x K i v i I t q e m v B U | t h t K v t b v e ¶ M b v l m i K Z v i e 3 e , m g m v , w e i f b a m e l t q g Z i g Z Z j a i t Z c v t i | Z v t i A w f e i v 3 c k v k K i t Z c v t i | G i K g e i v M Z e M t t K i i a K t i t c k v M Z , K t i c v i u G g b m k w g w l q v w f i E K I w e l q w f i E K w e i f b a e m z w i n t Q m v B e v i c w i m t i | e ¶ M i D t j t h v M w e i k o n t j v ,

tKvtrv aibti m e v v b v O v o v B G L v t b Z \_ , m s e v w k s e v g Z i g Z c k v k K i v h v q | g j - a v i v i M Y g v a ' g A v g i v h v c v B Z v c l q m e t ¶ t B m e v v Z | b i v b i K g K v U o w K t i m s e v A v g v t i m i g t b n m R i K i v t b v n q | w k s e ¶ M i g v a ' g A v g v t i m i g t b D c w Z n l q v Z \_ t j v G t K e v t i B K u b i g | t t k i t h t K v t b v b v l m i K t h t K v t b v R v q w l q A e v b K t i A b j v B b g v a ' g w b t R i G K w U e M ( m v B U ) L j j t Z c v t i b | t h t K v t b v b v l m i K Z v i A v k c v k , m g v R e e v , c k v m b K A m z w Z , m i g v R K I i v o t q v q e x Z v , w e z m n t h t K v t b v w e l q A e j x j v q c k v k K i v i m s h v M c v t Q e M s t q i g a w t q |

2001 mtj h y i v t o m s y m n i g v j v c i t t K m v B e v i c w i m t i e ¶ M i m s l v e v c k e w x c i q | A v d m b v I B i v k h y x i c w i t c ¶ j t Z A m s l e m m v B U A v z c k v k K t i | w e t k j b i n g w g e v M Y e ¶ M i g v a ' g P j g v b w e t k j i v R b m Z , c w i t e k , m m s m Z v , A v u g Y , g v b e m a K v i B Z w i w e l t q w b t R t i g Z i g Z Z j a t i b | b i v b w e z K ¶ I m g v t j v P b v R t g I t v e M s t q i g a w t q | 2 0 0 8 m t j i G K R w i t c t L v h v q , e M v i t i A v t j v P w e l t q i g t a i t q t Q e i v M Z w e l q e v j R x e b h v c b ( 5 4 % ) , G O v o v i t q t Q c h y ¶ ( 4 6 % ) , m s e v ( 4 2 % ) , i v R b m Z ( 3 5 % ) , K i v u D u i ( 3 4 % ) , m z w ( 3 1 % ) , P j w P I ( 3 0 % ) B Z w i ( n K - 2 , 2 0 1 1 ) |

eMstqi t¶t bZb gv v h y n t q t Q e s j v q e M s | 2 0 0 4 m t j m e o u g K j K v z v q e s j v q e ¶ M i c ¶ j b i i a K t i b m k b v I t e v k l b r t g i Q R b e v O w j e M v i ( n K - 2 , 2 0 1 1 ) | e s j v t t k e Z ¶ v t b e s j v e M K u g D i b u l i t z t e k v i a f i t e B b v l m i K m i s e w i K Z v i P P P n t Q | B t z i g t a t e k u O z e s j v e M z w i n t q t Q G e s t R v t i t k v i Z v P j t Q | 2 0 0 5 m t j 1 6 w l t m e t e s j v t t k o m i g t r v q v B b o b r t g m e t P t q e o e M D t o v a b n q ( n K - 2 , 2 0 1 1 ) | G O v o v , D t j t h v M e s j v e M , t j v n t j v c l g A v t j v e M , w e i v w D R 2 4 W U K g e M , A v g v i e M , g y e M , m P j v q z b e M B Z w i | h y x i v a x t i w e P r i , b v i x A w a K v i , Z E y e a v K m i K v i e e v , m i K v i I w e t i v a x t j i w e i f b a m e l t q m g v t j v P b v B Z w i w e l t q b v l m i K i v Z v t i e i v M Z w r t q w i e v e ¶ M A v t j v P b v - m g v t j v P b v , w e t k d Y , g Z i g Z c l v b I g s b e K t i v t K |

2009 mtj i 25 t d e t q w i m s l w u Z w e i v A v i w e t t n i w b e M c v o v o j m e t P t q t m v P r i I A v c i w l U W | H v b m K v j 1 0 : 0 8 w g v t u A Y b b r t g G K R b e M v i i K v Q t t K e v Z P A v t m o w e i v A v t i m b k w e t t n , f q v e n t M v j v w o ( w k e w i q v , 2 0 1 0 ) | i a y z v b b q , e M v i v i w e i f b a m g t q A v t j v P b v I c h ¶ j v P b v i g v a ' g G w e P v i i Z v r c h , e Z ¶ v b A e v , w e P r i i w e i f b a m K w b t q c a z i b q Z g v b y t K m t P z b K t i Z z j t Q | e ¶ M B A w o a j w e t j w e g v b e i K i v i w m x t s i c t ¶ j - w e c t ¶ j b i v g Z i g Z M t o I t v | w e g v b e i t t K j j t b i g w z A c m v i Y , h y x i v t a i w e P r i Z i w s Z K i v , g v b e Z v t e a , m i g v R K A m z w Z , k x z v Z g v b y t i c v t k w o r t b v i R b A v t e b m n t t k i m s K u g q c w i w z t Z b v l m i K m i s e w i K i v e M t m v P r i n t Q | i f c c j i t m b i e v n b x i A v e m b w g v ¶ w b t q t h m g m v z w i n q , t m N U b v i A t b K t b c \_ K w n b x I y R v M t i g v b y t i n n v K i t i i w P I d t u D i v t Q e ¶ M | g j - a v i v i w g w l q v q t h m e w e l q D t v A v t m b G g b A t b K Q i e , w P I , t U , U , w f i w i D i v A v t m e i s j v e M K u g D i b u l i t Z | G g b f r t e R v z i q b v i x b m z , m g y ¶ c v l q v P j w P I , t k v i e v R v i , e g t j i D a y w z , m g m v g v q K i v R b m z i n j P j , w j Z g v b y t i t L - K t o i e y b v , m g v R - m s - w z - m f z m n b v b v w e l t q c ¶ v i Y v P j v t b v n q e M s t q i g a w t q |

**m i g v R K t h v M t h v M i m B U I b v l m i K m i s e w i K Z v**

m e c o z o b d w g w l q v o e v b z b g v a ' g w n t m t e A b j v B b f e t b A w e f l e n t q t o m i g v R K t h v M t h v M i e u I t q e m v B U ( t m m v j t b U l q w k s m v B U ) | m i g v R K t b U l q v k e d m e j A v t m 2 0 0 4 m t j | a x i - a x i G i c w i w e e w x c i q I P j y n q U B U v i , g v b t u m , t e e y n v B d v B G i g t Z v t e k u Q z m i B U | b v l m i K t i t a x b f i t e g Z c k v k i A b Z g c u U d g o w n t m t e K i v R K i t Q G m e m v B U | m e c o z w g k i , w j w e q v , m y i b , R W i b , e m i v B b , A v j t R w i q v , B t q t g b , g i t o v , t m s w A v i e m n g a c o t P i t k , t j v t Z t h M Y A v t v j b m p o n q Z i t Z Z \_ A v v b - c l v t b i c a v b e v n b w n t m t e K i v R K i t Q o b D w g w l q v w n t m t e L i z m i g v R K



Z... msMh I hvPvB-eiQvB Kti cöqvRbxq mF I chvYw`mn msev` cöZte`b AvKviti MYgva`tg cöKvK KivtK cPvj Z I cöZövbK A`\_© misewi`KZv etj | tckv`vi misewi`K Zwi` Rb` Ktj R-iekje``vj tq misewi`KZv covtbr n`0, cöky`yi Rb` Mto DvVtQ eu cöZövb; misewi`KZv covtj Lv tbBñ Ggb euRb KvR KiZ-KiZ ntq DvVtQb bvgKiv misewi`K | misewi`Kiv tckvMZ cöqvRtb tnwj Kpvi GgbwK tWtb chSle`envi KiZQb | GKwU msev` cöZövb Pvj vtZ cöqvRb cto`Q KZ- tKwU UvKvi | GZ Kgö`yi Zv, A\_© chv`p i e`envi, cöky`yN me webtqM Kti I A`tbK , iæZc`Y`NUbvii cöqvRbxq Qwe wKsev wFwMI dZUR msMh Kiv



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Rbmiavi Y hLb `^`^Ae`vb, mgq I tckvq t`tkI Z... I msev` msMh, cöqvRvZKiY I cwi`tekb KvR mµµqfvte AskMhY Kti ZLb ZvtK bvlMii K misewi`KZv ej v hvq | mst`y`c ej v hvq, 'Journalism of the amateurs' A`\_ A`ckv`vi` i misewi`KZv



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mæe nq bv | GLvtbB meP`Pq teik KvR AvmZ c`ti bvlMii K misewi`KZv |

Z... msMh, msev` wj Lb I cwi`tekb A`\_ misewi`KZv cöµqvq mgvRi th tKv`bv m`m` Ask wbtZ c`ti N bvlMii K misewi`KZvi GUvB gj- K\_v | tckv`vi gj-avivi misewi`KZv thLvB cöqvRbxq cömw`K Z... Qwe I dZUR msMh e`\_`nq, bvlMii K misewi`KZv ntZ c`ti tmLvB KvRi cöµqv |

bvlMii K misewi`KZv (Citizen Journalism)-tK öbvlMii Kö cZ`tq mæve`x bv ti`L Avtj vPbv Kij c`jiv mæebv wbtq cöµqvU Kgö`yq ntq I`v | mgvRi cöµqvU`Z Kgö`yq ntq DVtZ c`tib GKRb bvlMii K misewi`K | cö`extZ emev`mi``vbi tckv`tZ me gvb`y öbvlMii Kö bvl ntZ c`tib | ev`hvi v, Awfemx wKsev cövmx wntmte we`k`i wev`fbat``tk Ae`vb KiZQbñ Ggb gvb`j i msL`v A`tbK | Zvii mgq I`vb wev`Pbvq bvlMii K bb etU; wKs` Z... msMh I cPvi KvR me`Ae`v`ZB KiZ c`tib Ges Kti I Pj`tQb | D`vniY wntmte ej v thZ c`ti AvmKv wKsev ga`cö`P`i niRvi-niRvi gvb`y hviv w`wZkj Rretbi Avkvq fqj``Mö mvlMii c`\_ cwo w`tq BDv`v`ci wev`fbat``tk cwi`evi-cwi`Rb wbtq cwo Rgv`bvi``tmvniwK cövm Pj`v`Qb | gj-avivi msev`gva`tgi cöqvRbxq cPz` Z... Qwe I dZUR Avm`Q Awfemx`i e`eüZ tgv`vBj tdlv I U`ve t`tk |

h`xi Qwe I wFwMI dZUR, mvlMii DEj Rjiv`k`Z fimgvb Awfemxevx tbsKv, gZi tKv`j Xj cov, BDv`v`ci bvb mæv`t`sl`i`y`x`i` miv`\_S`y`K`c`y`ö`j`K`v`P`i` tLj v, A`\_ cöq cöZwU cteP A`tbK``j`mva` Qwe,

## bvlMii K misewi`KZv

tkL Av`bvb dvnv`

dZUR, eYb Avfevmt`i Kiv t`fK mivmwi wKsev Zvt`i e`euZ tmvm`vj wgvWqv t`fK msMh Kti cPvi KitiQ gj-avivi msev`gva`g| Gfite` Mq ct`i hvix GfKKRb Avfevmtl ntq DVtQb GfKKRb bvlMwi K misew`K|

**bvlMwi K misew`KZv**

GLb Zvntj bvlMwi K misew`KZvi GKUv msAv`wD Kivtbv thZ cvti| Rbmviavi Y hLb`^`^Ae`vb, mgq l tckvq t`fKl Z` l msev`msMh, cLuvRvZKiY l cwi`tekb KvR mluqfite AskMhY Kti ZLb ZvtK bvlMwi K misew`KZv ejv hvq| mstYtc ejv hvq, 'Journalism of the amateurs' A`f A`ckv`viti misew`KZv| fdeMn Ab`vb` tmvm`vj wgvWqvK m`u`3 Kti D`vniY w`tj eStZ mnR nte| AbjvBb l wvWUy gva`tg e`envi Kiv cLzvbqZ bvbv iKtgi KbtUu mieivn Kti PjtQb| e`w`3MZ wela Qovl tmvm`vj wgvWqvZ e`envi Kivixiv mgvR, cLztek-cwi`tek, ivRbmZ, tLjvavjv BZ`w` Avtaq mieivn Kti PjtQb| tmvm`vj wgvWqvZ` iazcY` tKv`bv e`w`3i e`w`3MZ Avtaq KLtbr- KLtbr ntq lVtQ gj-avivi msev`gva`tgi msev`i Dcv`vb wKsev msev`| Avevi Lg mvaviY tKv`bv gvb`i i mieivnKZ.tKv`bv wFwvI dZURl gj-avivi msev`gva`tgi Rb` ntq DVtZ cvti gnv`iazcY`msev` Dcv`vb| G c`ht`3` jlv D`vniY Lg c`hm`3k nte| RvwiZi RbK e`zeUztKL gvRej ingvbi bmvZ Kiv`u`Dvri weAvb w`tkIA mRie l qvR` Rq Zui fdeMk GKvD`bU gvtqi (c`hvbgs` tkL nvmvbv) tcvjv l vbe Kivi Que AvctjvW Kti`Q`j`b| gj-avivi msev`gva`g tm Que e`envi Kti msev` cwi`tekb KitiQ| mvaviY bvg bv Rivv gvb`i aviY Kiv wFwvI wP` KZ Acwi`v`h`msev` Dcv`vb ntZ cvti Zvi D`vniY ntjv 2013 mtj e`p`YemovqZ n l qv Utb`wv wFwvI wP`wvI| GLv`bB bvlMwi K misew`KZvi kw`3` vbmwZ| Utb`wv AvKw`3``j`h`M| Lg fivM`evb bv ntj U`v`w`k`bvj tKv`bv misew`K Utb`wv`tj Dcv`Z`vKvi K`v`bq| G weij dZUR mslMh Kitz cvtib Utb`wv`tj Dcv`Z` tKv`bv bvlMwi K misew`K|

bvlMwi K misew`K thgb gj-avivi Kbtfbk`bvj msev` gva`tg KbtUu mieivn Kitz cvtib, tZgub wR`^`cwi`mti c`h`y`i mrvqZvq Ask w`b`Z cvtib MY`h`v`M`h`v`M| thgb tKD hw` cwi`cuk`R tKv`bv msKU ev mgm`v`v`b`q` Zvi wR`^` eM ev AbjvBb fdrivtg t`j`L Zvntj l Zv nte bvlMwi K misew`KZv| gj-avivi msev`gva`tg c`k`w`k`Z tKv`bv msev` ev AwU`f`K`j` tKv`bv cwi`msL`v`b`MZ`f`z` ev c`y`cvZ`y`Zv`v`b`q` tKv`bv bvlMwi K Zvi eM`tj`L`v`j`L`K`i`j` tmvU nte bvlMwi K misew`KZv| gvb`i`K Rvrbv`v`i`Kvi Ggb tKv`bv Nubv Que Z`j` ev wFwvI Kti AbjvB`b` tcv`÷` Kti tmvm`vj wgvWqv`i` h`j`M th tKD bvlMwi K misew`KZv Kitz cvtib| fdeMk ev BDU`D`f`e`i` gZv` tmvm`vj wgvWqv`i` K`j``v`Y` bvlMwi K misew`KZv ntq D`v`i`Q` mnR l A`be`h`e`v`b`Zv|

**bvlMwi K misew`KZvi wQz`v`ni`Y**

Kbtfbk`bv`j` misew`KZvq evZ`M`h`K A`f` AwW`q`Y`v`f`K` thv`M`h`v`M`i` tkl c`h`S`| A`f` AwW`q`Y` GLv`b` v`b`v`e`| GB v`b`v`e` AwW`q`Y` mluq` ntq v`b`R`f`K` c`k`v`k` Kti GKRb bvlMwi K misew`K wntmte|

AvRtKi wvWUy c`h`y`i` h`j`M GKRb bvlMwi`Ki misew`KZv cLuvq AskMhY hZ mnR c`e`ZZ`w`j` bvl` tmB GbvjM h`j`Ml A`b`f`K` Amva` mvab Kti`Q`b| thgb, Ave`h`v`g` Rvcia`v`i` g`v`k`B` t`c`h`m`t`W`U` Rb Gd tK`b`w`O`f`K` n`Z`v`i` `k`` mvaviY GKvU` t`v`g`v`f` K`v`g`i`v`q` e`w`` Kti BvZvntm bvlMwi K misew`KZvi RbK wntmte cwi`wPZ ntq AvtQb|

XvKvi A`h`i` mrvf`i`i` ivbv c`v`Rv` wea`Y`-`l`n`l` qvi Nubv evsjv`k` tZv` e`t`U`B, c`j`v`v` w`e`t`k`| Avtjvob m`p` Kti`w`j`| GKvU` feb a`m` GZ` gvb`i`i` gZ`i` Nubv BvZvntm Avti Kiv cvl`qv` `y`i`| t`w`k`-`w`e`t` w`k` U`v`w`k`bvj` wgvWqv` w`b`i` c`i` w`b` ivbv c`v`Rv`i` Nubvq Lei` c`v`v`i` Kti`Q`| Nubv Nubv eu`c`i` gj-avivi msev`gva`g tmL`v`b` t`c`h`i`Q`f`Q`| w`K`S`` t`U`v`j` w`f`k`b` P`v`b`j``t`j`v` GKUv dZUR` c`l`g` t`f`K`B` L`y` e`envi` Kti`Q`| thL`v`b` t`L`v` hvq, AvZ`v`M`O`T` k`g`K`iv` Q`z`v`Q`w`d` KitiQ, AvZ`v`v` t`f`m` Avm`O`j` tmB K`v`v`K`v`v`v` dZUR` t`f`K`| GB` gnv`g`j`-`evb` dZUR`



bvlMwi K misew`KZvi avi Yv misew`KZvi Kbtfbk`bv`j` a`v`b`-`avi`Yv` l` P`P`q` cwi`e`Z`B` Avb`f`Q`| GKvU` msev``c`L`Z`v`t`b` GLb` i`ay`f`ckv`v`i` misew`Kiv` Kiv` Kiteb, GgbUv` bvl` ntZ` cvti`| eis` w`ekuj` msL`K` A`f`ckv`v`i` ev` bvlMwi`K` misew`K` ntq` thZ` cvtib` H` msev``c`L`Z`v`t`b`i` gj`-`e`w`k`O`



XvKvdi tKv`bv ZviKv misew`K aviY Kti`b`v`| aviY Kti`Q`j` b` Avgt`i` k`v`Y`R`v`q, Riebh`j`x` RR`w`Z` tKv`bv` k`g`K` fivB` ev` tev`b`|

epr` c`k`w`z`k` `j`h`M` tgvKv`ej`v`q` bvlMwi`K` misew`KZv` KZL`w`b` i`azcY`n`tq` DVtZ` cvti` Zvi` D`vniY` 2004` mtj` m`v`i`Z`j` 9.1` gv`v`i` f`ig`K`i`u` m`p` m`y`w`g,` hvi` Av`N`v`Z` B`v`v`b`k`q`v`i` e`v`v` Av`P`n`k`Ges` f`i`v`X`q` g`n`v`m`v`M`t`i`i` w`e``i`Y` DcK`j`-`q` G`j`v`Kv` Av`v`v`S`i`nt`q`Q`j`| gj-avivi MY`gva`g` m`y`w`g`i` msev``K`f`v`i` Kivi` Av`f`M`B` m`y`w`g` wea`Y`-`l` G`j`v`Kvi` t`j`v`K`R`b` v`b`R`f`i` t`g`v`e`v`B`j` t`d`v`b,` K`v`g`i`v` w`t`q` Que` Z`j` w`F`w`v`I` Kti` e`Y`v`m`n` w`e`v`f`b`e`v`P`g`v`j` t`b`U`l` q`v`t`K`q`k`q`v`i` Kti`Q` hv` gj-avivi msev`gva`tgi` c`L`Z`e`b` c`L`Z` l` c`k`v`f`k`i` c`h`v`b` A`e`j`-`b` ntq` D`v`v`i`Q`j`|

bvlMwi K misew`KZv`K` A`b`f`K` e`w`x`e`E`q` Av`v`v`j``b` i`f`c`v`S`i`i` Z`Kti`Q`b;` thL`v`b` w`e`v`O`b`f`v`te` b`q,` mgv`f`Ri` m`g`m`v` l` m`e`v`e`b`v`m`g`v`-`D`i`V` G`i`m`t`Q` avi` v`e`v`n`K` l` A`w`e`i`v`g` M`v`Z`Z`| thgb, w`g`k`i`x`q` bvlMwi`K` l` q`v`t`q`j` Ave`v`m`| Misr Digital (Digital Egypt) A`f` w`v`W`U`y` w`g`k`i` b`v`t`g` GKvU` e`M` cwi`P`j`v`v` Kti`b`| mgv`f`Ri` bvbv` m`g`m`v`v`z`v`b` Z`j` G`b`f`Q`b` Que` l` e`Y`v`i` gva`tgi`| tckv`v`i` misew`K` b`v` n`t`q`l` w`R`Z` v`b`t`q`Q`b` c`j`v`v`i`| Av`B`b`i` k`v`m`b` c`L`Z`v`g` v`z`v`b` i`azcY`Ae`vb` t`i`L` P`j`t`Q`b`| `B` c`v`j`k` K`g`R`Z`P`K`Z`R` G`K` e`v`m` W`b`f`v`i`K` t`c`L`v`b`v`i` G`K` Nubv`i` w`P`l` aviY` Kti` R`b`m`e`S`L` v`b`t`q` G`t`m` Z`v`f`i` w`e`P`t`i`i`

mawab Ktiitjib lqvtqj AveYim| Avgti hmcZ Rietbi cta  
cZiU \vdZiK AvFAZiq bMwi K miewi KZv KvtR AvmtZ cti |  
miKwi -temiKwi Avdtn bMz, Ae'e'vcbv, 'g'eni, Lt'  
digvij b tgvktv BZ'w' bvbv Aciva Avgti i tPvLi mvgtbB msNiuZ  
nq| Avgti hwi wbtRi i tgvBj tdbtK tKSkj e'eni KitZ iKUL,  
iv'lvvU, miKwi -temiKwi `dZti bMz'ZerRi i Aciva  
msNubKij xb wfiwI avi Y Kivi i aKwi, Avi tmBme wfiwI dZUR, One  
hw' tmw'ij wgvwq' wKsev gj-avivi tKvtv msev' gva'g dtn Kti t' qv  
hvq, Zvtj Kx iKg nte t'f'f' t' Lb|

gwkB h' i'vto' wDBqK'2001 m'ij i tmtD' qv m l qv' qUW  
tmUti fven mS'mx ngvji Nubvi AtbK msev' cZte' b One,  
eYbv mieivm Kti'Qb AtbK bMwi K miewi K|

mawabZKktj Avie wtk| wfb' t' tk miKv ietivax  
Rbwetyvfi Lei gj-avivi msev' gva'g tek 'iaz; mnKviti GmtQ|  
GgubZ gj-avivi MYgva'g bvbv wltq GtRUv tmU Kti 'vtK| Avie  
wtk| miKv ietivax MYAv' ij tbi tyt' Nubv NtUtQ D'tev| A' f'  
gj-avivi msev' gva'gi wbtRi i GtRUvKB c'f'w'Z Kti'Q m'avi Y  
gvb' i m'Bevi Zrci Zv| Av' vj bKvix Zi'Z- Zi'Z' m'v' bvbv eqm l  
tckvi gvbt' i v' wfb' w' m'ij wgvwq' Z GZ teuk tj Lvtj m' Kti'Qb  
th, gj-avivi MYgva'g msev' wltq e'v'v' Btq Z' e' c'f'w' tdtj' Q| Lei  
msM' l cwi tek' b tckv' vi Ges bMwi K miewi Kiv c\_ P'j' Qb  
GKmt' ; GtK Acti i l ci w' f' P' Kti'Qb, KvR Kti'Qb GtK Acti i  
cwi c'K w' t' m' t' e|

bMwi K miewi KZvi avi Yv miewi KZvi Kbt'fbk'ij a'v-  
avi Yv l P'f' cwi e'Z' AvbtQ| GKUL msev' cZ'v' b GLb i'ay  
tckv' vi miewi Kiv KvR Kiteb, GgbUv bvl n'Z c'v' t' | eis w'kvj  
msL'K Atckv' vi ev bMwi K miewi K n'q t' h'Z c'v' b H msev'  
cZ'v' b' g' 'w' k' o' | GgbB GKUL msev' cZ'v' b n'jv 'w' y'  
t'Kwi qvi Oh My News (In & gvB wDR) | Abj v' B'w' f' i' E'K G  
cZ'v' b' i 'k' o' n' t' o' 'Every citizen is a reporter', A' f' cZ'K  
bMwi KB GKRb w' t' v' U' f' | cZ'v' b' w' i' 40R' b' i' g' t' v' Kbt'fbk'ij  
miewi K i' t' q' t' Qb h' v' i' t' g' u' l' t' j' Lvtj' m' i' 20 k' Zisk Kti 'vtKb| e'w' k'  
80 k' Zisk Kbt'U' U' Av' t' m' w' d' j' 'y' c' v' q' k' i' Kiv t' t' k' , h' v' i' t' e' k' i'  
f' v' M' b' m' v' i' Y' b' M' w' i' K' | G' cZ'v' b' w' i' e' Z' v' t' b' c' t' q' 50,000 c' v' q' k'  
cZ'v' b' K' i' t' q' t' Qb, h' u' v' 'w' y' t' K' w' i' q' v' i' M' Y' Z' m' i' S' K' i' v' R' w' i' Z' P' P' f'  
c' v' q' v' q' , i' a' z' c' y' ' A' e' v' b' i' v' l' t' Qb|

bv Rvbvi dtj Atb'KB Ab' KtqKUL avi Yvi m'ij bMwi K  
miewi KZvtK 'w' j' t' q' t' d' t' j' b| KvgD'v' b' U' Rvb'ij Rg ev w' m' f' K (Civic)  
Rvb'ij Rg, t' K' v' j' v' t' e' v' i' w' f' Rvb'ij Rg A' ev tmw'ij Rvb'ij R' t' g'  
Kbt' m' P' , t' j' v' w' b' t' q' Ab' ' t' j' L' v' q' Av' t' j' v' P' b' v' Kiv n' t' e|

mskqmgv: MYgvt'K m'w' i' Kti Z' ' w' e' c' t' e' i' m' a' t' e' b' v' Amxg|  
Zte h' t' o' m' e' a' v' b' Z' v' A' e' j' a' b' b' v' K' i' t' j' w' t' Z' w' e' c' i' x' Z' n' t' Z' c' v' i' t' |  
gj-avivi msev' gva'gi miewi KZv P'f'q' th k' a' i' U' miewi K l ' k' R' -  
t' k' v' i' g' t' b' e' v' e' v' i' N' j' y' c' v' K' L' v' q' t' m' U' n' j' v' e' w' b' o' Z' v' | b' M' w' i' K  
miewi KZvi B' i' Z' e' i' P' K' m' a' t' e' b' v' i' w' e' c' i' x' Z' t' h' A' v' k' s' K' v' t' c' v' l' Y' K' i' v' n' q'  
t' m' U' e' w' b' o' Z' v' t' K' w' t' i' | g' j' - a' v' i' v' i' m' i' e' w' i' K' l' M' Y' g' v' a' g' Z' w' E' K' e' j' Z'  
P' v' b' t' h' , G' K' g' v' i' c' a' k' y' Y' c' o' b' t' c' k' v' v' i' m' i' e' w' i' K' i' v' B' o' e' w' b' o' f' v' t' e' o'  
miewi KZv KitZ c'v' b' | G' m' s' k' q' L' y' B' ' f' f' w' e' K' | Z' t' e' g' j' - a' v' i' v' i'  
miewi Kiv B' Z' U' K' z' e' w' b' o' Z' v' e' R' v' q' t' i' l' miewi KZv K' i' b' Z' v' w' b' t' q' l'  
c' k' e' t' Z' i' v' m' a' e' | t' c' k' v' v' i' Z' i' A' v' i' e' w' b' o' Z' v' G' K' w' e' l' q' b' q' l'  
t' c' k' v' w' i' t' Z' i' ' y' Z' v' q' A' v' g' i' v' t' m' l' c' i' o' g' v' A' t' b' K' m' s' e' v' ' g' v' a' g' Z' v' i'  
w' b' R' ^ A' ' w' i' Z' K' , i' v' R' ' w' i' Z' K' l' m' i' s' ' w' i' Z' K' ' t' ' P' A' b' j' t' j' w' e' k' i' m' s' e' v' l'  
Z' ' c' e' v' i' t' K' w' b' q' s' y' K' i' t' P' t' j' t' Qb| c' i' o' g' c' i' Z' i' b' q' Z' c' e' f' K' w' e' i' b' g' P' y' K' i' t'  
P' t' j' t' Q| G' K' t' c' t' k' l' w' e' K' Z' . e' v' ' e' Z' v' D' c' ' v' i' c' t' b' i' e' b' v' g' g' j' - a' v' i' v' i'  
m' s' e' v' ' g' v' a' g' i' e' u' v' t' b' i' |

bMwi K miewi KZvq msev' cZte' b' i' Y' Y' w' b' t' q' l' AtbK  
mgvtj vPbv i' t' q' t' Q| k' a' l' f' v' l' v' i' e' e' n' i' v' i' A' t' b' K' t' y' t' i' ' g' v' n' t' q' \_ v' t' K' |  
t' K' v' b' w' e' l' q' w' b' t' q' c' Z' t' e' b' n' t' Z' c' v' i' t' , t' K' v' b' v' i' t' K' v' b' m' s' e' v' g' j' ' t' b' B' ,  
G' U' v' t' e' v' S' v' i' m' v' g' \_ b' M' w' i' K' m' i' e' w' i' K' t' i' A' w' a' K' i' s' k' t' y' t' i' t' b' B' e' t' j'  
mgvtj vPbv Av' t' Q| Digital Journalist b' v' t' g' i' G' K' U' l' t' q' e' g' i' w' i' m' R' t' b' i'

maw' K' x' q' t' Z' b' M' w' i' K' m' i' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' ' g' v' i' K' , t' j' v' Z' t' j' a' t' i' o' b' v' M' w' i' K'  
miewi K' o' k' a' h' y' t' j' i' R' v' q' M' v' q' b' M' w' i' K' m' s' e' v' ' m' s' l' M' o' n' K' e' v' C' i' t' i' z' e' n'  
News Gatherer e' e' n' v' t' i' i' c' i' v' g' k' ' q' v' n' t' q' t' Q|

bMwi K miewi KZvq AvBub RvUj Zv tgvKvtejvi m' a' t' e' b' v' \_ v' t' K'  
teuk etj w' e' f' b' a' e' c' y' t' \_ t' k' e' j' v' n' t' q' t' Q| w' b' D' B' q' K' ' m' m' U' i' w' j' w' t' j' M' U' i'  
G' W' l' q' w' i' w' i' b' e' v' M' e' t' j' t' Q' b' , t' c' k' v' v' i' m' i' e' w' i' K' t' i' A' v' ' j' Z' m' s' u' v' s' i' S' u' k'  
t' g' v' K' v' t' e' j' v' i' m' a' t' e' b' v' t' e' u' k' \_ v' t' K' | c' a' Z' i' U' m' f' ' i' v' t' o' ' G' g' b' w' K' o' z' A' v' B' b'  
\_ v' t' K' , t' h' L' v' t' b' m' i' e' w' i' K' t' i' w' b' i' v' c' e' v' l' Z' \_ m' f' t' l' w' c' b' i' v' L' v' i' A' w' a' K' v' i'  
m' s' i' y' Y' K' i' v' n' q' | G' m' i' e' a' v' i' a' s' v' i' t' t' c' k' v' v' i' ' k' K' Z' . c' a' Z' v' o' t' b' i'  
miewi Kiv B' t' c' t' q' \_ v' t' K' b' |

cwi t' k' l' : g' j' - a' v' i' v' i' m' i' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' n' v' R' i' v' U' v' ' g' v' Z' v' , m' g' v' t' j' v' P' b' v' K' i' v'  
h' v' q' , A' v' t' Q' l' | k' Z' f' v' M' e' w' b' o' Z' v' l' t' c' k' v' v' i' Z' i' w' b' t' q' g' j' - a' v' i' v' i'  
m' s' e' v' ' g' v' a' g' K' v' R' K' i' t' Z' c' v' i' t' b' v' l' A' t' b' K' t' y' t' i' c' a' y' m' n' e' j' v' h' t' e' ,  
B' t' o' K' t' i' B' g' j' - a' v' i' v' i' m' s' e' v' ' g' v' a' g' t' c' k' v' w' i' t' Z' i' t' g' v' o' t' K' c' y' c' i' Z' ' g'  
miewi KZv Kti| miewi t' Ki w' b' R' ^ ' w' o' f' w' s' , m' s' e' v' ' c' a' Z' v' o' t' b' i'  
A' ' w' i' Z' K' l' i' v' R' ' w' i' Z' K' c' u' j' m' , m' i' K' w' i' b' v' b' v' P' v' c' , K' i' t' c' v' i' U' ' \_ v'  
B' Z' w' ' b' i' b' v' g' v' x' A' m' i' s' e' w' i' K' i' q' D' c' v' v' t' b' m' s' e' v' ' Z' v' i' g' j' ' n' i' v' q' l' d' t' j' ,  
miewi KZvi Am' a' e' t' K' m' a' e' K' i' v' i' k' w' i' t' K' ' w' e' t' q' i' v' L' v' i' t' K' i' t' b' v' c' \_  
t' b' B' | b' M' w' i' K' m' i' e' w' i' K' Z' v' i' A' w' b' e' v' t' ' K' w' i' t' K' D' c' j' w' a' K' t' i' g' j' - a' v' i' v' i'  
miewi K' , M' Y' g' v' a' g' i' K' Z' t' e' i' v' h' Z' t' e' u' k' b' M' w' i' K' t' i' m' i' e' w' i' K' Z' v'  
c' a' l' u' q' v' q' m' a' u' i' ' K' i' t' Z' c' v' i' t' e' b' Z' Z' t' e' u' k' B' m' s' e' v' ' g' v' a' g' n' t' q' D' v' t' Z' c' v' i'  
m' g' v' t' R' i' A' v' m' j' ' c' P' |

tj LK: mnKvix Aa'vcK, Rvb'ij Rg A' i' v' i' w' g' v' w' q' v' = w' i' w' R' w' e' f' i' M' ,  
R' v' n' v' z' i' b' M' i' w' e' k' t' e' ' i' j' q'

**iwAvBieoi cKvkbv**

thvMvthvM

cKvkbv l wPvi wfiM

evsj v' k' t' c' n' B' w' - w' U' D' U'

3 mmK' n' v' D' m' t' i' v' w'

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cÜvMZ mīsewī KZvi evBti hviv AvfQb A\_P msev` i m½ mīvwi vKtZ Pvb  
Ggb tjvKRbB wmwUfRb Rvbñj ÷ ev bvlmīK mīsewī K| Gaiṭbi Z\_`  
mīeivṭni ga` w`iqB bvlmīK mīsewī KZvi cPj b| Ab` K\_vq, GwUfK  
cwi cṭK mīsewī KZvi ejv thtZ cṭi | GKvRwU KītZ cṭib mīsewī KZvi  
KvR Rvbv ev bv Rvbv th tKvṭbv bvlmīK|

wmwUfRb Rvbñj Rg bvbv bvtg cwi wPZ| thgb MYmīsewī KZv,  
AskMñYgji-K mīsewī KZv, MYZmšK mīsewī KZv, tMwi jv l c\_ mīsewī KZv|  
Ae` wUv Ggb nṭqṭQ th, hviv GKmgq tkÜZv` kR/cvVK wQj Zviv Avī  
tmB mwi tZ vKtZ i wR bq| Zviv l msev` RMtZ wKQzGKUv FīgKv ivLṭZ

99

evsj vṭ` kmn cūv\_xi Dbz  
f`k\_ t\_j vṭZ bvbvfvṭe wmwUfRb  
Rvbñj Rṭgi KvRwU nṭ`Q|  
evsj vṭ` ṭk Rbeūj l tj Lvcov Rvbv  
tjvKRṭbi msL`v hṭ\_ó n l qvq,  
mīsewī KZvi GB bZb kvLwUj  
PURj w` cñvi n l qvi m`ṭebv cPž



66

Pvq| KLṭbv-KLṭbv gṭb nq, tckvRīex mīsewī Kṭi mīgve×Zvi RvqMvUkZ  
tPvṭL AvQž w` tṭq evšṭq w` tZ Pvq| GKvRUkZKṭi PzPvc eṭm vKṭQb bv,  
tKD-tKD KuZZ; fvMvFwM Kṭi wṭZ tdmēK, UBvṭi tQto w` t`Qb Z\_`-Qwē|  
GKmgq wQj, NUBv t`ṭL cwi Kv Awṭm mgvR-mṭPZb bvlmīKiv tclv  
w` tṭq RvbvṭZb tmK\_v| GLb tmBUkZmgq bó bv Kṭi wR `wqṭZ; msev`  
cwi ṭekb KīṭQb| Zṭi i cñvZōmbK tj Lvcov nṭqZvew tṭB, tṭB cÜvMZ  
tKvṭbv tUṭb wKsev w` Kubṭ` Rbv| A\_P Abj vBṭb Zṭi i DcwiZ evj ō| hvī  
dtj, eo-eo msev` ms`v t\_jv (wewewm, wGvGv) mīgwiRK MYgva`tgN  
tṭmēK l UBvṭi N wṭRṭi i Ae` w` wK ivLvi Rb` DvVcṭo tj ṭMṭQ| Ae` wUv  
`wṭqṭQ Ggb th, mīgwiRK MYgva`gB Abj vBṭb tṭZṭi RvqMvUv` Lj Kṭi  
tṭj ṭe|

eZṭv AvawK wēk; msev` emvṭR` meṭPṭq Avṭj wPZ wēl q wmwUfRb  
Rvbñj Rg| fweṭq Zṭj tQ bZb e`emvṭ` i l | AMR AṭṭK wēl qvUṭK tZgb  
cvÉv w` t`Qb bv| hvī l tKD-tKD BṭZvṭa`B G wṭq KvR KīṭQb|

evsj vṭ` ṭk Aek` Gi tQv vṭj ṭMṭQ| wēk l wēk l NUBvī wFwM Kṭi  
msev` gva`tg cvVṭbv, Abj vBb cwi Kvq em Pj yBZ`w` KvRKṭgP gṭa` mīgve×  
AvfQ| BvUvṭṭi mṭv` mīgwiRK MYgva`g tdmēK, UBvṭi, BDwUDe  
BZ`w` tZ PU Kṭi UvUkV NUBvī Rvbvb t` q Giv| Kg eqmiv GKvRwU mṭR  
Ges ZvovZwmo KīṭZ cṭi| BvUvṭṭi cñvi l wD wvWqvī (Avṭṭdv,  
tṭgvevBj tclvṭ AwWl-wFwM tīKwWš) wZ`bZb mṭṭvRṭbi dtj, msev`  
Av` w-cÜv, Z\_` cwi ṭekb mṭR nṭq hvṭ`Q| bvlmīKiv wṭRi ARvṭšB bīgU

wmwUfRb Rvbñj Rg  
mīsewī KZvi MYZšyqb  
l bZb P`vṭj Ä  
Kṭi Z-B-gl jv

wj ul.tq fdjtOb miewi tKi Zmij Kvq| ktLi etk cvWtVb wi tcvU<sup>9</sup> wetkl Kti WKZgUuni, tckv vi miewi KZvK gLvgg. w Kiv<sup>10</sup>]

hvi dtj, mvgwRK MYgva tg DEtviEi kv<sup>3</sup>kvj x figKv ubtq tdtj tQ Zviv| ZvOvov, AbjvBb cvWK-ml<sup>vi</sup> w K t tK tdmek Zz (eivj vt kmn wek<sup>3</sup>v<sup>3</sup>cx A vtj. v i w<sup>4</sup>stq tdmek wOZiq vtb, Mj GK b=fi) vKvq, me cwi Kvi AbjvBb fim<sup>8</sup>, AbjvBb cwi Kvi, GgbwK wUwfi AbjvBb fim<sup>8</sup>, tjjv Zvt i AvKl Yxq msev tjjv PURj w tdmek t qvi tPov Kti | G thb, AtNmZ kws<sup>3</sup>Y<sup>9</sup>msev -hy |

eivj vt kmn cwi exi Dbz t k, tjjvZ bvbvite wmuU<sup>1</sup>Rb Rvb<sup>9</sup> Rgti KivRuU n<sup>10</sup>Q | eivj vt t k Rbeuj I tj Licov Rvbv tjjvKRtbi msL v ht o nI qvq, miewi KZvi GB bZb kvLwU i PURj w chvi nI qvi m=ebv cPz | Zte aivc-avc GB KivRuU wbgggwK Kiv hvq | tm avi Yv w tqtOb ctpUvi Bbiv wDUi cPz b wmbqi GwUui Ges tNmZ AbjvBb MYgva tgi cv Kr. w= f AvDuls Zui tBj vt fb tjjv Ae wmuU<sup>1</sup>Rb Rvb<sup>9</sup> Rgti wbetU | Zui w<sup>3</sup>kvY t tK wclwU t L tjjv mntR tevSv hvte, Avgiv tKv vq AwO tKvb ct tMj mweRvite fvtjv dj cvl qv hvte :

1. MYgva tg Rbmavi tYi gZigZ AugsY Rubvbr: G ai tbi cPov cwi Kvi tjjv cvtKti cvZvq eu eQi ati Pj AvmtQ, ti wU tZ AtbK AvtM t tK Ges wUwfiZ n<sup>10</sup>Q |

2. wmuU<sup>1</sup>Rb Rvb<sup>9</sup> t t cWtVb Z msev vZvi gh<sup>9</sup> v w tQ KutR j wltbv: mvari Y bMwi Kti i MYgva tg msev ev Oie cvWtVbi cEYZv ev nvi eivj vt t k Kq | thUkzcvl qv hv<sup>10</sup>Q Zv mvgZ AvKv i e'envi n<sup>10</sup>Q cBtFu wUwfi P<sup>1</sup>vtbj tjjvZ | Zte Gt i AtbtKB e'wZugag<sup>9</sup> Oie ev dLUR cwi Kvi ev wUwfiZ b v w tQ eM ev mvgwRK MYgva tg tQto w t<sup>10</sup>Q |

3. gY Drm cZte b: cZte K ubtRi w tcvU<sup>9</sup> tjjv mvg msikw bMwi K miewi tKi Z msev gZigZ ubtq cZte tbi m t<sup>2</sup> Rto w tZ cvti | GgbwK RvqM wetkl ZvtK w tQb cZte b wU KivtVb | hv<sup>10</sup>vtot gZv ch<sup>9</sup> tZ GwU<sup>1</sup> t k, tjjv- thLvtb bMwi K miewi KZvi e'vck chvi NtUtQ- tmme t tK Gaitbi Abjv b n<sup>10</sup>Q |

4. bMwi K miewi K eM: bMwi Kti i miewi KZvq Rortvbi metPq mnR Dcvq n<sup>10</sup>Q cwi Kvi AbjvBb fim<sup>8</sup> Zvt i tjjv Rb AvsY Rvb<sup>9</sup> tVb | G cPov t k eiv hvq, cvtKti cvZvi Dbz ms i Y | GKivRuU cwi exi cLg tkiYi cwi Kvi tjjv Kti tQ tek AvtM t tKB, wewb<sup>1</sup>vite | eivj vt t k AbjvBb cwi Kvi tjjv wbggZ GKivRuU Kti tQ |

5. bMwi K-evUe msev vZvi eM : G ai tbi eM, cwi Kvi gvtvbtv tbi Rb bMwi Kti i mgtv tPv b I cksm cKvki m<sup>3</sup>h<sup>1</sup> w t q | GgbwK, Zvt i ga t tK MhYthwM GKRb mevi gZvtZi I ci wbf<sup>9</sup> Kti cwi Kvi cwi Pj b w tQ GKiv gsb cZte b w tZ cvti b | cwi Kvi cPvimsL v evortZ I gvtvbtv DfQ KivR AvmtZ cvti G ai tbi eM | mvari Yvite, GKRb cwi Kvi m=ur K cvtKti gZvtZi wUwfiZ GKivRuU Kti v tKb |

6. bMwi K miewi K wDR I tgemBU: G ai tbi I tgemBtU cji wUv bMwi K miewi K ev bMwi Kti i cvWtVb msev i wUwfiZ Zui | Guv m=ur Z nZ cvti wKsev Zvt i cvWtVb msev ueu m=urPvi Kiv nZ cvti A<sup>9</sup> Am=ur Zvite cKv nZ cvti | Am=ur Z gvtv evib I e'vki tYi Ab w fZ Ges e' w bZv m msev i hveZvq b wZgyv wewRZ nZ cvti | tmRb, AcimwK ev Am<sup>3</sup> wZcyZvi w KuU t L fij Kivi cLqvRb t tKB hvq | cwi Kvi wUwfiZ ev gZigZ Kj vtgi gZv GB ai tbi msev i vq wqZ cKv t k i vKtQ b v eiv hvq | wub I tgemBtU ev eM wj LtQb ZvB vq wqZ, Zte m=ebv t tK hvq wefc cLZw qvi | Zvntj t Lv hv<sup>10</sup>Q th, eM ukRvZi wclq tcv m=urPvi nZ Zv t tK w=ebv t tKB hvq | tmRb cPov MYgva g tjjv gZvB, eMmn mvgwRK MYgva g tjjv mi Kti i w K t tK gubUis Kivi cLqvRb i tQ | cLqvRb tmj d GwUwstqi | Zv msvZ I mmsmZv GovZ mrvh Kite | eivj vt t k G ai tbi eM GLtVb Mto I tVb | hv n tqtQ, Zv eiv hvq gZigZ wbf<sup>9</sup> wKQZ gY<sup>9</sup> Pp<sup>1</sup> eM |

7. bMwi K miewi K I tgemBtU Ovcv fim<sup>8</sup>: bMwi K miewi K ev bMwi Kti i evOv Kiv tjjv w tQ mBt<sup>1</sup> GKevi Ovcv AvKv i cwi Kvi Kiv hvq | wK cwi Kvi Rb GKivRuU L<sup>9</sup> mnR | Zviv Zvt i cwi Kvi Xto wewb<sup>1</sup> wefimn bMwi K miewi Kti i evOv Kiv ev tmv tjjv tjjv

g'wMwRtbi Av tjj, gj- cwi Kvi m t<sup>2</sup> evRti tQto w tZ cvti | cwi exi tKv tVb- tKv tVb t tK Gi cPj b AvtQ | eivj vt t k Zv fiebv ch<sup>9</sup>q i tqtQ |

8. bMwi K I tckvRiex miewi Kti i thS cPov cwi Puj Z cwi Kvi : Gwkvv B GKiv t k wY tKvi qv ch<sup>9</sup>Y Kti tQ m=ebv w tQ bMwi K miewi KZvK jvRbK e'envi w t<sup>2</sup>te cLZov Kiv hvq | OI hvq wDR<sup>10</sup> wbggZ wK | v v d w tcvU<sup>9</sup> I msev vZv Orov mrv<sup>1</sup> k Rto Zvt i 30 nrv<sup>1</sup> t i tawk bMwi K w tcvU<sup>9</sup> i tqtQ | Zvi gvtv cwi KwU i cZte tbi tenki fWb bMwi K miewi Kti i | Giv v d w tcvU<sup>9</sup> t i gZvB GKtVtM I B cwi Kvi n tQ KivR Kti tQ | Ovcv n t tM msev wU Rb hrmv<sup>1</sup> m=ebv t qv nq | bMwi K miewi Kiv ZvtZB Lk |

9. bMwi K I tckvRiex w tcvU<sup>9</sup> i cZte b w tQ I tgemBU: G ai tbi I tgemBU cwi exi AtbK t tK AvtQ eij gvtv nq bvl Zte, thme cwi Kvi AbjvBb bMwi K w tcvU<sup>9</sup> t i tjjv wbggZ Ovcv ev cPvi Kti tQ, Zviv GKivRuU Kti Z cvti mnm | I hvq<sup>1</sup> gZv cwi Kvi Rb GuU Kiv mnR | tZgbwU n tjj, nqZv t Lv hvte tKv tVb GKiv RuZvq ev AvSRwZK Bm<sup>1</sup> w tQ tckvRiex I bMwi K miewi tKi tjjv tKv v cvt<sup>10</sup> cwk<sup>1</sup> w= f AvDuls GgbwU gvtv Kti b | Zte AbjvBb tjjv LvtRvL v GZ tenk n<sup>10</sup>Q th, t Lv tMj eZ<sup>9</sup> w cEwU Ovcv nI qvi AvtMB Gaitbi GKiv I tgemBU Pjv n tQ tM |

10. DBwKubDR GbmBtKwUwfi Xto wDR I tgemBU: bMwi K I tckvRiex w tcvU<sup>9</sup> i w tQ I tgemBtU AvtK avc G tjjv, DBwK- GbmBtKwUwfi AvKv i wDR I tgemBU Kiv m=ebv, hvi w tcvU<sup>9</sup> I KvcGwUui DfQ bMwi K miewi K | DBwKubDRi GbmBtKwUwfi GfiteB Mto DvtQ- hviv gZv wj LtQb, Zvt i gta t tKB tKd b v tKd th tKv tVb w tQ Zvt i tjjv hvte gvtv wclq wK m<sup>3</sup> Kti b | Zte, GKivR mevBtK e' w bZv eRv ivLv cL wKZ |

Gevi Avm hvk, bMwi K miewi KZvi tCQ tbi K vq | tKv vq, Kvite Avi t n tjjv | GB miewi KZvi tKwLb GB kvLwU eivj vt t k wKgtZv Mto B I tVb | Zey eij tZ nq, Avgiv wclq wJ vq b v KLtVb | I vU i t k GKiv Bst<sup>1</sup> wK (wBij AeRvi fvi), wUwfi m tjjv i cLg t k GKiv AbjvBb cwi Kvi (XvKv wDR) Ges ch<sup>9</sup>Y wgt k gxi GwUgB wDR tPov Pjv tjjv, Gt t k bMwi K miewi KZvq tZgb mrov cvl qv hvq b v tZgb wKwZ nZ cvti w | hv I mclj Zvi Nubv AvtQ tek KwU | gRvi e'vci n tjjv, eivj vt k AeRvi fvi th mvg wmuU<sup>1</sup>Rb Rvb<sup>9</sup> Rgti w tQ Kj vq Pjv tjjv wUwfi Yv w t<sup>10</sup>Q, Zvi eQi KtqK AvtM, 1963- tZ Rbbv Z gwK<sup>8</sup> tcm<sup>1</sup> wU Rb Gd tKtVwU i nZvi wUwfi avi Y Kti Z tcvU<sup>9</sup> tjjv b GKRb mvari Y gwK<sup>8</sup> bMwi K | wZv tKwLb wUwfi -K v tjjv Zv avi Y Kti b | wub AvRtKi bMwi K miewi Kti i cEwU ev GKA<sup>9</sup> cv Kr. | MYZtj mZKvMvi gwK<sup>8</sup> hv<sup>10</sup>vtm wetkl wewb<sup>1</sup> t k Ggb e'wZugag<sup>9</sup> Nubv bMwi K miewi KZvK Rb<sup>1</sup> Kti Z mrvh Kti tQ | Zte, wUwfi m tjjv i tMvov w tK BvUv tU I wewb<sup>1</sup> tU wUwfi m=ebv tjjv (P<sup>1</sup>U e' , tgmR tew<sup>1</sup> wZ<sup>1</sup> w) chvi Ges AbjvBb cwi Kvi cY<sup>1</sup> vi Pjv nI qv wek<sup>3</sup>v<sup>3</sup>cx mvari Y bMwi Kti i n tZi bMwtj Gtm cto bMwi K miewi KZv | B v b v Kvtj, ga cP<sup>1</sup> i wewb<sup>1</sup> t k mvari Y gvbv i vR<sup>1</sup> wZK Av<sup>1</sup> i Zvi mvg Z m I Oie mvgwRK MYgva tg Owtq w tqtQ, hv tckvRiex miewi Kti i KivR mrvh Kti tQ | GRb m=urZ GKRb Avie bMwi K gibewaKvi cY<sup>1</sup> vi t tqtQ | Zte, Rb<sup>1</sup> wUwfi ccmn wetkl thme RvqMq GLtVb BvUv tU KivR Kti b v tcvU<sup>9</sup> wUwfi KivR Kti tQ b v Rv v ms<sup>1</sup> tjjv | tjjv wUwfi qv Mv m fti Zv m=ebv wKv G w tQ B v t v wUwfi M t eL Yv Pj tQ | GuU mclj n tjj, cY<sup>1</sup> v wcl BvUv tU c<sup>1</sup> v i Avl Zvq Gtm hvte, evote bMwi K miewi KZvi cwi mi |

GK K vq eiv hvq, eZ<sup>9</sup> w mvari Y bMwi Kiv mivmi Ae' v ivL tQb bMwi K miewi KZv Pjv nI qvi mgt<sup>1</sup> | Kivv- Kivv gZ, Guv tckvRiex miewi Kti i KivRuU t k cY<sup>1</sup> i j c w tZ mrvh Kti tQ | cwk<sup>1</sup> wUwfi, mvari Y bMwi K I GK ai tbi Z w cvt<sup>10</sup> Ob MYgva tg w tRi AskMhY w bZ Kti Z cvvq | cK<sup>1</sup> n tjjv, GB ai tbi miewi KZvq hviv w tQ wRZ Zvt i wUwfi wUwfi i Kvi tVb | wewb<sup>1</sup> v t eij tjjv I GKivRuU n<sup>10</sup>Q eivj vt t k | Rvbv gZ, KtqKwU temiKvi ms<sup>1</sup> v wek<sup>3</sup> v tjjv, ivRavx I ZYg- ch<sup>9</sup>q KivRuU Kti tQ, hv I cY<sup>1</sup> v wclq v Gt t k GLtVb cL wK ch<sup>9</sup>q i tqtQ |

tj LK: m=ur K, XvKwDR24WUKg



cL'vZ RvqBb`vkBk BqjM8 tnevi gym Zui Rbcwimi ZtEj BDti vci  
tcöyvcU t'LLtqfQb th, Aov`k`kZtK Kwd nvdR-fmj tbi gZv  
RvqMv` tju g9 AvtjvPbri tK`a ntq DfVnQj| mgvRi mKj tkövi  
tjuKRb tmLvtb ivtöi hveZiq weiq wbtq tLvj vtgv AvtjvPbv KitZ  
cvi tZv| Avi GB AvtjvPbri weiq wbaftYi tytI` iazcY®figKv ivLtZv  
tmmgqKvi msev`cI` tju| KviY, ZLb chSImsev`cI` mvariY gubtj i  
`iKwi weiq tjuvK cöab` t`qv ntZv| ZvOrov g9 AvtjvPbri gva`tg  
cöB mnxvshgr` gubv ZLb cwi Kvq wj tL cKvk KitZ cvi tZv| fm` tju  
wbta cieZ#Z cwi Kvq tju LvjtLi gva`tg| weZK®j tZv| meigtj GKU

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evsjv`tki tcöyvcU Avgiv t`LL,`xN®  
mgg chSIAvgv`i msev`cI` tju  
ivR%bwZK Avt`vj b-msMög QrovI  
mvgwRK bvbv ms`vfi` iazcY®figKv  
cij b Kti MYgubtj i Av`v ARB KitZ  
mÿg ntqWj | ... G tcöyvcU bvMwi K  
musew`KZv bigK gA MYgubtjK bZb  
Kti Avkver`x Kti Ztj tQ



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DrKö.Rbcwimi tmmgq`Zwi ntqWj | A`®, tmLvtb gubv th tKv`bv  
aitbi wqsfYi evBti t`tK` t`abfite gZvgZ cKvk KitZ cvi tZv Ges  
Zui wfiEz RbgZ`Zwi ntZv| Avi GB cjuv`cöuqv` iazcY®figKv  
ivLtZv msev`cI` wKs` cieZ#Z cwi t`SivZf` evovi mt½-mt½  
Rbcwimi ymZMInz`vK| msev`cI` cKvki LiP evovi mvt` mvt`  
weAvcb cKvki nvi hZ evotZ`vK Avi MYgubv ZZB`ti thZ`i iæ  
Kti| cwi Kv` tju axti axti weAvcb`vZv` i ci wbfPkvj ntq cto/  
dtj, Zv`i cty weAvcb`vZv` Z`v` ygZvZtj` weia`x` wMtg MYgubtj i  
cty msev`cKvk Kiv Avi mæ`nqbv| GfiteB AvtjvPbri weitq  
NvUzi dtj axti-axti Rbcwimi aysm ntq hvq| evsjv`tki tcöyvcU  
Avgiv t`LL,`xN®mgg chSIAvgv`i msev`cI` tju ivR%bwZK Avt`vj b-  
msMög QrovI mvgwRK bvbv ms`vfi` iazcY®figKv cij b Kti MYgubtj i  
Av`v ARB KitZ mÿg ntqWj | msev`cI` cKvkZ msev`wKsev Kjuv  
cto gubv AvtjvPbv KitZv| wKs` cieZ#Z evRvii tKvrbtj cto  
Avgv`i msev`cI` tju| Zvi PwiI nvi vtbvi cKvcmK MYgubtj i Av`v  
RvqMwU bô Kti tdtj | G tcöyvcU bvMwi K musew`KZv bigK gA  
MYgubtjK bZb Kti Avkver`x Kti Ztj tQ| A`tbtK GtK wti bZb Kti  
Rbcwimi`Zwi i`cæ` tLqB| Zv`i tmB`cæ`KZUv ev`emæZ` tm  
AvtjvPbv hvl qvi AvtM bvMwi K musew`KZv ej tZ Kx tevSvq Zv tRtb  
tbqv`i Kvi |

mnR K`vq ej tZ tMtj, cövMZ wgvWqvi mt½ h9 bv t`tK  
bvMwi Kt`i wBR Df`vM msev`msMh I cövi KivK bvMwi K musew`KZv

**Rbcwimi I  
bvMwi K  
musew`KZv  
mÿxß kg®**

etj | GB misew KZvtK weKí I A<sup>veiwf</sup> ÷ misew KZvi ejv nq | KviY, cÚvMZ ugwVqvq thme welq AvtjvPZ nq bv tmme welq Zzj Gtb mgyR cwieZ<sup>h</sup> figKv ivLvi m<sup>h</sup>hM GLvtb itqtQ | cÚvMZ ugwVqvq <sup>ibw</sup>cvVK-<sup>kR</sup>-tkÚZviv GLvtb msev`msMh t<sup>h</sup>K iiaKti weZiY chSf m<sup>u</sup>uq figKv ivLtz cvti | bqv gva`g ch<sup>h</sup>pi mnRj f`Zvi dtj bvMni K misew KZv Kiv A<sup>h</sup>bK mnR ntq tM<sup>h</sup>Q | GLb th tK<sup>h</sup>D Zvi Avtkcvtk msNvUZ tKv<sup>h</sup>bv NUbv cÚvMZ ugwVqvq cKvk n<sup>h</sup>lqvi AvtM mevB<sup>h</sup>tK Rmb<sup>h</sup>tq w<sup>h</sup>z cvti | GiKg ARm<sup>h</sup>D<sup>h</sup>viY AvtQ thLvtb mvgmRK thvM<sup>h</sup>thvM gva`tg tKv<sup>h</sup>bv welq w<sup>h</sup>tq e<sup>h</sup>vcKfite AvtjvPbvi ci cÚvMZ ugwVqvq welq<sup>h</sup>U w<sup>h</sup>tq w<sup>h</sup>tcv<sup>h</sup>U<sup>h</sup>Kti<sup>h</sup>Q | A<sup>h</sup>fr bvMni K misew KZvi gva`tg cÚvMZ ugwVqvq<sup>h</sup>K tKv<sup>h</sup>bv welq w<sup>h</sup>tq w<sup>h</sup>tcv<sup>h</sup>U<sup>h</sup>Kti<sup>h</sup>Z era<sup>h</sup> Kivi cvkvcnk H w<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>tq b<sup>h</sup>mwZ<sup>h</sup>ba<sup>h</sup>ff Kti<sup>h</sup> i<sup>h</sup> w<sup>h</sup>o Avk<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>Yi e<sup>h</sup>vcK m<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>M `Zwi ntqtQ | Zte A<sup>h</sup>bK m<sup>h</sup>webr<sup>h</sup> v<sup>h</sup>Ktj I bvMni K misew KZv w<sup>h</sup>tq Aw<sup>h</sup>ff<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>Ml Kg bq | D<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-Kfite f<sup>h</sup>z I we<sup>h</sup>am<sup>h</sup>Ski Z<sup>h</sup> c<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>pi gva`tg GK tk<sup>h</sup>vi g<sup>h</sup>by bvMni K misew Kti<sup>h</sup> c<sup>h</sup>z g<sup>h</sup>by<sup>h</sup> i Av<sup>h</sup>vi Rvq<sup>h</sup>M<sup>h</sup>U thgb bó Kti<sup>h</sup>Q, tZg<sup>h</sup>ub iv<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>tK GLvtb<sup>h</sup>l w<sup>h</sup>bq<sup>h</sup>S<sup>h</sup> Avt<sup>h</sup>vtci m<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>M Kti<sup>h</sup> w<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>Q |

cÚvMZ ugwVqvq<sup>h</sup>Z Avgiv y<sup>h</sup>gZvZ<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>šj evB<sup>h</sup>tii A<sup>h</sup>bK w<sup>h</sup>K<sup>h</sup>OB w<sup>h</sup>S<sup>h</sup> L<sup>h</sup>JR cvB bv | eis iv<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup> I evR<sup>h</sup>vtii P<sup>h</sup>im<sup>h</sup> v<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>Zv m<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>R w<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>ve<sup>h</sup> v<sup>h</sup>ubw<sup>h</sup>z Kivi Rb<sup>h</sup> cÚvMZ ugwVqvq w<sup>h</sup>bi<sup>h</sup>š<sup>h</sup> i K<sup>h</sup>vj<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>Z Kti<sup>h</sup> P<sup>h</sup>tj | A<sup>h</sup>fr, m<sup>h</sup>Z t<sup>h</sup>M<sup>h</sup>cb Kti<sup>h</sup> P<sup>h</sup>tj | GB Rvq<sup>h</sup>M<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>K bvMni K misew Kti<sup>h</sup> RbM<sup>h</sup>tYi ct<sup>h</sup>y t<sup>h</sup>K Kiv R Kivi c<sup>h</sup>z m<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>M itqtQ | bqv gva`g ch<sup>h</sup>pi we<sup>h</sup>tkl Kti<sup>h</sup> mvgmRK thvM<sup>h</sup>thvM gva`tgi mnRj f`Zvi dtj RbM<sup>h</sup>tYi gZv<sup>h</sup>g Z<sup>h</sup>v m<sup>h</sup>Z<sup>h</sup> cKvk A<sup>h</sup>bK mnR ntq tM<sup>h</sup>Q |

bqv gva`g ch<sup>h</sup>pi m<sup>h</sup>webr<sup>h</sup> i<sup>h</sup> ecix<sup>h</sup>Z m<sup>h</sup>gve<sup>h</sup>x<sup>h</sup>Zv<sup>h</sup> v<sup>h</sup>Ktj I bvMni K misew Kti<sup>h</sup> Zv cvk K<sup>h</sup>v<sup>h</sup>U<sup>h</sup>tq Kiv R Kivi m<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>Ml itqtQ | mvgmRK thvM<sup>h</sup>thvM gva`gtK w<sup>h</sup>ti<sup>h</sup> `Zwi Kiv th<sup>h</sup>Z cvti DrK<sup>h</sup>o. Rbc<sup>h</sup>wi mi | A<sup>h</sup>fr cÚvMZ ugwVqvq evB<sup>h</sup>tii w<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>tq RbM<sup>h</sup>tYi Bm<sup>h</sup>y<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>vtK m<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>b Gtb RbM<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>h</sup>tK m<sup>h</sup>Z<sup>h</sup> Rmb<sup>h</sup>tq t<sup>h</sup>q hvq GLvtb<sup>h</sup> | RbM<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>h</sup>tK Zvi Aw<sup>h</sup>aK<sup>h</sup>vi m<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>K<sup>h</sup>m<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>PZb Kivi cvkvcnk `we Av<sup>h</sup>vtqi Rb<sup>h</sup> j<sup>h</sup>ovB Kivi Ab<sup>h</sup>š<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>qvi Kiv R<sup>h</sup>U Kti<sup>h</sup>Z cvti bvMni K misew Kiv | Zviv mvgmRK thvM<sup>h</sup>thvM gva`gtK e<sup>h</sup>envi Kti<sup>h</sup> b<sup>h</sup>vb Rb<sup>h</sup> i<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>h</sup>Bm<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>h</sup>Z ZK<sup>h</sup>weZK<sup>h</sup>AvtjvPbv Kti<sup>h</sup> RbgZ MvB Kti<sup>h</sup>Z cvti<sup>h</sup>b | m<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>wi cÚvMZ ugwVqvq thLvtb m<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>Ri I ci Z<sup>h</sup>jv

t<sup>h</sup>K Z<sup>h</sup> msM<sup>h</sup>h I weZiY Kti, tmLvtb bvMni K misew KZiv GB Kiv R<sup>h</sup>U w<sup>h</sup>bP t<sup>h</sup>K Z<sup>h</sup>v RbM<sup>h</sup>tYi w<sup>h</sup>K t<sup>h</sup>K Kivi m<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>M itqtQ | eis<sup>h</sup>v<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ki t<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>v<sup>h</sup>ct<sup>h</sup>U bvMni K misew Kti<sup>h</sup> figKv AvtjvPbv Kti<sup>h</sup>Z tM<sup>h</sup>tj Avgiv kvnevM Av<sup>h</sup> v<sup>h</sup>b, ivgcj<sup>h</sup> we<sup>h</sup> y<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>K<sup>h</sup> a<sup>h</sup> we<sup>h</sup>ivax Av<sup>h</sup> v<sup>h</sup>b w<sup>h</sup>Ksev ivRb nZ<sup>h</sup>vi weP<sup>h</sup>vtii g<sup>h</sup>tZv w<sup>h</sup>K<sup>h</sup>Qzndj Zv L<sup>h</sup>JR tctj I c<sup>h</sup>z e<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>v w<sup>h</sup>S<sup>h</sup> L<sup>h</sup>JR cvB | mvgmRK thvM<sup>h</sup>thvM gva`tgi m<sup>h</sup>webr<sup>h</sup>tK Kiv R bv j<sup>h</sup>v<sup>h</sup>M<sup>h</sup>tq te<sup>h</sup>ki f<sup>h</sup>iM B<sup>h</sup>Uvi<sup>h</sup>tbU e<sup>h</sup>envi Kiv x<sup>h</sup> nij Kv, PU<sup>h</sup>z I A<sup>h</sup> i<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>h</sup>we<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>q w<sup>h</sup>tq e<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>v<sup>h</sup>KtQ | Zvt<sup>h</sup> i KvtQ i<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>h</sup>ntq DV<sup>h</sup>tQ t<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-f<sup>h</sup>vt<sup>h</sup>ve<sup>h</sup>mv, b<sup>h</sup>vqK<sup>h</sup>-b<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>Kivi tK<sup>h</sup>Qv<sup>h</sup>-K<sup>h</sup>iv<sup>h</sup>ub<sup>h</sup> | m<sup>h</sup>vi<sup>h</sup>v<sup>h</sup>Y GiKg w<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>tqi g<sup>h</sup>ta<sup>h</sup> W<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup> v<sup>h</sup>Kvi dtj tm ivRb<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>Z w<sup>h</sup>Ksev m<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>Ri i<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>Kv<sup>h</sup>bv w<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>tq M<sup>h</sup>fxi AvtjvPbv Kti<sup>h</sup>Z AvM<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup> n<sup>h</sup>wi<sup>h</sup>tq t<sup>h</sup>dj<sup>h</sup>Q | Gi ga<sup>h</sup> w<sup>h</sup>tq ci<sup>h</sup> ut<sup>h</sup>i g<sup>h</sup>ta<sup>h</sup> we<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>Qz<sup>h</sup>v

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0c<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>K bvMni KB misew K<sup>h</sup>o G aviY<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>K cv<sup>h</sup>R Kti bvMni K misew KZvi iia<sup>h</sup>l GiU gj<sup>h</sup>-avivi misew KZvi ecix<sup>h</sup>Z tm<sup>h</sup>z | gj<sup>h</sup>-avivi aive<sup>h</sup>zav w<sup>h</sup>bqg w<sup>h</sup>Ksev `e<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>ko<sup>h</sup> bvMni K misew KZiv g<sup>h</sup>vbv nq bv | 0g<sup>h</sup> msev<sup>h</sup> B f<sup>h</sup>vtjv msev<sup>h</sup> 0, tm<sup>h</sup>-g<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>b-<sup>h</sup>mvB<sup>h</sup>g msev<sup>h</sup> i Ab<sup>h</sup>-Zg Dcv<sup>h</sup>vb, i<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>h</sup>we<sup>h</sup> m<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>B i<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>h</sup>msev<sup>h</sup> Bm<sup>h</sup>y<sup>h</sup> misew KZvi (c<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>0g<sup>h</sup> ax<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>Pi) cÚvMZ Ggb w<sup>h</sup>bq<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>gi evB<sup>h</sup>tii weKí avivi misew KZv P<sup>h</sup>ff<sup>h</sup> b<sup>h</sup>vg bvMni K misew KZv

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`Zwi n<sup>h</sup>lqvi cvkvcnk Zvt<sup>h</sup> i<sup>h</sup> c<sup>h</sup>we<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>h</sup>g ami ntq hv<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>Q | dtj Avgiv AevK ntq tL<sup>h</sup>qvj Kvi, cÚvMZ ugwVqvq g<sup>h</sup>tZv mvgmRK thvM<sup>h</sup>thvM gva`g t<sup>h</sup>vl t<sup>h</sup>y<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>we<sup>h</sup>tkl GK<sup>h</sup>B Kiv R Kti<sup>h</sup> hv<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>Q | Gi GK<sup>h</sup>U eo Kvi Y n<sup>h</sup>tj<sup>h</sup>v<sup>h</sup>l te<sup>h</sup>ki f<sup>h</sup>iM B<sup>h</sup>Uvi<sup>h</sup>tbU e<sup>h</sup>envi Kiv x<sup>h</sup> thgb B<sup>h</sup>Uvi<sup>h</sup>tb<sup>h</sup>Ui m<sup>h</sup>webr<sup>h</sup> m<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>K<sup>h</sup>m<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>PZb bq, tZg<sup>h</sup>ub c<sup>h</sup>wi<sup>h</sup>vi f<sup>h</sup>ite R<sup>h</sup>vtb bv g<sup>h</sup>by<sup>h</sup> w<sup>h</sup>nt<sup>h</sup>te w<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>R<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup> i Aw<sup>h</sup>aK<sup>h</sup>vi m<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>K<sup>h</sup>P | bvMni K misew Kiv h<sup>h</sup>Z `z<sup>h</sup> GB ev<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>v Dc<sup>h</sup>j<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>a Kti<sup>h</sup> w<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>R<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup> i KZ<sup>h</sup> w<sup>h</sup>ba<sup>h</sup>ff<sup>h</sup>Y Kti<sup>h</sup> tm Ab<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>qv<sup>h</sup> Kiv iia<sup>h</sup>l Kite Z<sup>h</sup>v Rbc<sup>h</sup>wi mi `Zwi msM<sup>h</sup>tg m<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup> n<sup>h</sup>te, ZZB evote c<sup>h</sup>KZ<sup>h</sup>.m<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>v<sup>h</sup>R I Rbc<sup>h</sup>wi mi c<sup>h</sup>z<sup>h</sup>0vi m<sup>h</sup>webr<sup>h</sup> |

tj LK: c<sup>h</sup>f<sup>h</sup>vi K, thvM<sup>h</sup>thvM I misew KZv we<sup>h</sup>f<sup>h</sup>iM, PAM<sup>h</sup>tg we<sup>h</sup>kte<sup>h</sup> ij<sup>h</sup>q

**weAvBwe0i cKvkbv**

thvM<sup>h</sup>thvM

cKvkbv I w<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>Pvi we<sup>h</sup>f<sup>h</sup>iM

eisj<sup>h</sup> v<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup> k t<sup>h</sup>cn<sup>h</sup> B<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup> ÷ w<sup>h</sup>DU

3 m<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>K<sup>h</sup>0 n<sup>h</sup>vDm t<sup>h</sup>ivW

XvKv-1000



**umutRb Rubnj Rg ev bulmi K masew KZv**

umutRb Rubnj Rg mavaiY gubjli masew KZv| KviY GLvrb msev`msMh t\_k i iæKti Zv wekdi Y, ij Lb, aviY I tçØY GB mg`iKvR KitiQb ihub wZub GKRb cökuyZ masew`K bb| th tKvrb tckvi gubj mgvRi tKvrb wekl w K tjvKmæL Zzj aivi Rb` GKRb masew`iki gZv fiegKv ubtZ cvtib| ZvB GKRb umutRb Ribnj ÷ RbmavaiYi ga` t\_k Ggb GKRb, ihub ubtRB AMYx ntq MYgva`gi mivnth` RbMYtK tKvrb weqtq AewnZ Kivi çØvm Ktib| mavaiYZ thme msev`cØj Z masew`KZvi Avl Zvi gta` KvR Kti msMh Kiv mæe nq bv, Zv KLtbr-KLtbr AcØj Z Kvq`vq msMh Kti msev`gva`gi mivnth` gubjli KivQ tçØQ t`qv hqv umutRb Rubnj Rti gi gva`tg| GtK masew`KZvi MYZSyqbl ejv hqv umutRb Rubnj Rg fiel`tZ MZvbMzK masew`KZvi cwi c-iK ntq DVtZ citi| Zte tmRb` Pvb t`ktçØj, mPZb bulmi K hvi v Zv`i Avtkviki Nubv mæfU memgq lqumKenj vKvi tPov Ktib| Lei msMh Kivi AvtM Zvi mZ`Zv I Letii Drtmi wbfPthiM`Zv ubwØZ Ktib Ges Zvi ciB Zv tçØY Ktib| t`tki GKRb mPZb bulmi K Zvi mæL NtU hvl qv th tKvrb Ab`vq-Avbqg, AmigwRKZv ev Aciva Zvi gvtvctvbi gva`tg avi Y Kti çØvY`fc wgvwvqv cvvtj Ges tmUv hvPvB-evQvBtqi ci mivK çØvYZ ntj ZteB Zv cØvii Z ntZ citi| GB tÿtÿ bulmi K` wqZj; cjb Kitz wltq tKvrbv Kg AbjvM ev weivtMi ekeZP`nlqv DvPZ nte bv| umutRb Rubnj Rg thb tKvrbv Kg kIæZvi A`; wntmte e`euZ bv nq tmRb` hvPvB çØvqv`æQ I ubiçy nlqv çØvrb|

**bulmi K masew`iki çØvrbvq` Yiejx**

GKRb tckvRix masew`iki gZvB GKRb bulmi K masew`iki çØvrbvq` Aek`B ntZ nte GKRb wekeKevb bulmi K, th Ab`vtqi weia`x mRvM I mevK fiegKv cjb Kitz çØZ| GKRb masew`K nteb mZ`vstx I mZ`ev`x| G`tjv th tKvrb GKRb e`wæktli` YntZ citi| Gi Rb` tKvrbv çØvYtYi çØvrbv tbB, çØvrbv AvtQ` buzKZvi| masew`Kiv thntZz mgvRi tbiZevPK KgRvDi K\_v tjvKmæL Zzj aji ZvB` wvweKfiteB tmme` ytgP` m½ hÿ tjvKiv GKRb masew`iki Zv`i kIægtb Kti| ZvB masew`Kti` h`ó mivnm I mveavb ntZ nq| AtbK tÿtÿ Zv`i Rxeibi SæK wbtqI KvR Kitz nq| ZvB hLb GKRb mavai Y bulmi K masew`iki fiegKv cjb Kiteb ZLb ZvK Aek`B ubtRi I cwi evti mÿjyvi K\_v fievZ nte| mivnm Qvov mgvRi tbiZevPK Lei D`NvUb Kivi KvR mnR nevi bq| nqZvev mavai Y gubjli cvvtbv Z` I Que tckvRix masew`Kti` KivRi m½ Zzjbxq nte bv Zte Gtÿtÿ msev`Uvi` iæZj; KZUKZv t`LvUvB Avek`K| KZ wbcyfvite KvRvUv ntqQ Zvi tPtq wclqvri msev`gj` KZ tmUv t`Lv teuk Riawi| axi-axi Ggb Drmrvx bulmi K masew`K MYgva`gi Rb` wbfPthiM` m`-ev Drm ntq DVtZ citi|

**tckvRix masew`KZv ebvq bulmi K masew`KZv**

cw`exi weifbet`tk umutRb Ribnj Rti Drmrvx gubjli msL`v evotQ| mgvRi çØZ`wqZteva t\_k gubjli umutRb Ribnj Rti çØZ`SktQ| çØvYi weKviki KviY GvUv w`tb w`tb Avtvi mnR ntq hv`Q| bulmi K masew`KZv tckvRix masew`KZvi cwi c-iK ntq I VtQ, AtbK tÿtÿ thLvB Nubv Nuvv mgq Nubv`tj tKvrb tckvRix masew`K Dcw`Z tbB| tKvrb wekl Nubv NvUz t`tL ZvrvYwKfite tKvrb e`wæZvi Dcw`Z

evk`e`envi Kti NUBwUvi wPTMhY Kti Zv tKvrbv msev`gva`tg cwiMtg w`t`Qb| mavaiYZ tKvrbv mPZb e`wæZvi wefetKi Zvobiq`æDt`vM tKvrbv mgvRiRK Ab`vq ev Aciva cKvK Kivi Rb` bulmi K masew`KZv Ktib| AvtM th GvUv ntZv bv Zv bq| Zte Gi tKvrb`æKZ`bvq wQj`bv Ges KvRvUv GZ mnR Kivl thZ bv| bulmi K masew`KZv tckvRix masew`KZvi cwi c-iK ntj I Zvi çØZ`vck ev cwi c-sK KLtbrvB bq| CNN I BBC-Øi gZv eo eo msev`gva`g i agvI bulmi K masew`Kti` cvvtbv msev`wbtq GLb wekl Abçvib cØvi Kti| Gme Abçvib t`k`wek`k`kR`tkiZvii Que I msev`cvvB hv Lv AvKivYqv fite cwi teukZ nq| fiel`tZ Avgt`i t`tki bulmi K masew`KZvi cØj b evote Kvi Y Avgt`i t`tki çØZ`sIAAtj i msev`msMhni GvUv GKUv mnR Dcvq ntZ citi P`vtbj I msev`gva`g`tjvi Rb`| mavai Y gubjli GLb AvtM tPtq AtbK teuk mPZb Zv`i cwi c-wK Ae`v I ubtRi`i AvæKvi mæw`tK`AvRtKi wvRvUvj evsjv`tk çØvY` Mlg çhçq tçØQ tMq ZvB GLb t`tki çØZ`sIAAtj i tKvrbv mPZb gubjli PvbTjB Gtÿtÿ GvMtg AvmZ crite| Gi dtj masew`KZvi msAv LwbKvUv crite hite Zte çØvYZ I tckvRix masew`KZvi memgq`vKteB| Kvi Y



nqZvev mavai Y gubjli cvvtbv Z` I Que tckvRix masew`Kti` KivRi m½ Zzjbxq nte bv, Zte Gtÿtÿ msev`Uvi` iæZj; KZUKZv t`LvUvB Avek`K| KZ wbcyfvite KvRvUv ntqQ Zvi tPtq wclqvri msev`gj` KZ tmUv t`Lv teuk Riawi



masew`KZv tKvrbv mavai Y tckv bq| masew`KZv nt`Q mgvRi mgvRi Avqvb ntq mgvRtK cwi`ObævLvri GK gva`g| th Avqvb Qvov mgvR Zvi ubtRi tPvii mivKfite wbcyY Kitz citi bv masew`KZv nt`Q mgvRi mgvRi tmB Avqvb|

**bulmi K masew`KZvi MvYthiM`Zv**

mavai Y gubjli Lei hLb GKRb mavai Y gubjli cwi tekb Ktib ZLb Zv AtbK mgq RbmavaiYi KivQ teuk MvYthiM` I mste`bkxj nq| wekÿmthiM`Zvi w`K t\_kI bulmi K masew`KZvi MvYthiM`Zv w`tb w`tb evk`citi`Q| msev`th memgq tbiZevPKB ntZ nte Zv bq| GKRb bulmi K tKvrb`kçvq`v`tb teovtZ wltq tmLvBkvi gtbvig`tki`eYv Kti AtbK gubjli Rvbi AvMh`tK emi`tg ZzjZ citi| Zvi bZb-bZb Z`, Que I weeiY msMh Kti cvvtbv bulmi K masew`KZvi Ask ntZ citi| umutRb Ribnj Rti gi gva`tg GKRb mavai Y gubjli ntq DVtZ citi AtbK AmavaiY msev`i Drm| umutRb Ribnj Rg RbMY I msev`gva`g`tjvi gta`Ace` GK tmZæU hv AvRtKi wvRvUvj evsjv`tki` çæv`evqtbv GK Rj R`vsiD`vniY|



nŋq i 1v bZb wēlq| Aek` Gi MvB`kx, AvKvi Ges KvVtgrv ZLŋv t`Lv hŋvq b Kŋvtrv AvfBeZ| Rbmisew KZvi msAv wbgŋYi tPōv nŋq0 bŋvfvŋe| Sally J McMillan | Ab`vō Mte| KMY Rbmisew KZv m=utK` etj tObN ŪCivic journalism is about more than political campaigns... There are local initiatives that address socially and politically contentious issues such as race, relations, crime, education, community planning and economic development.0

ŪLeo Bogart` Bsti wR`Civic` kāwLi gŋa` wZbU wēkl kā LtR tctqtOb| kā wZbU nŋjv `city`, `civilization` | `civility` | Zui e3e` nŋjv mfZvi cv`civ nŋjv kni thLvtb gubv GKt| `fāxbfvte em Kti Ges e w3MZ thwMthtMi gŋa`g Zvi wēfBwāitbi wKŋv jvf Kti N thgb wK, mwnZ, A`ŋwZK wēbgb, gubwK gŋ`teva, Kj`vY BZ`w | Av G aŋtbi `fāxbZv I wKŋv ZvK mf` Kti tZvŋ hv Zv`iK` ah`kxj Kti, ci`ūiK m=ŋb t`LvtZ tkLvq Ges GfvteB mgŋRi w`wZKxj Zv i ŋv ciq| wKs` cŋq 100 e0ti teuk mgg ati MYgva`g, tŋv knŋi Av`ŋvR`wZK Rxb m=utK`Ggbfvte Z` Dc`vcb Kiŋ0 hvŋZ Kti wmfŋj w-Gi Dŋl`k` mwaZ nŋ qv m=ē bq| G`wŋgqg ati MYgva`g gubvK A`ŋwZi teovRŋj AvŋtK tŋLŋ0| wKs`Rbmisew KZv wēlqU Gme t`K teiŋq Gtm Rb`ŋ` msukō wēlq RbMYK wbtqmwZ Kti mgŋR Z`v kni Z`v t`tki mgm`v Kxfvte mgvaib Kiv hvq Zvi w`K-wb`Rbv`vō Kti| Avi GfvteB wmfŋj wK i ŋv Kiv m=ē| Leo Bogart-Gi gZ, GfvteB RbKj`vYi gŋa`g Rbmisew KZvi j`ŋ` AvRZ nq|0

Rbmisew KZv mŋwRK I ivR`wZK wēfBePj gub wēlqtKB teuk iZj`i q| ivR`wZK cPŋi MŋtZ tm Ave`vK bv| mgm`v mgvaib i ŋŋt| tm Rbgubj i AskMŋY wōZ KiŋZ Pŋq| Gi cKZ wēKv-k fŋg nŋ0 MYZwSK mgŋRe`v| gwKŋ hŋi vŋō AvfBe GB aviYwU wēKwZ nŋZ iY Kti MZ KŋqK`kKēvcx| cPŋj Z avii mŋw KZv tmLvbKvi MYZsŋK msnZ KiŋZ e`nŋj MYZwSK e`vK KvhRix KiŋZ MYgva`gi h`v` aib-Gi Abjvŋb t`Kb Rbmisew KZvi aviYwU wēKwZ nŋq0| mŋw KZvi GB avii cāvb Avŋq nŋjw Avcb kw3`K aviY Kivi cvkvcnk MYgva`g RbMYK Zv`i Rxbi lci wqSŋ cŋZōvq mŋvqK kw3` wŋtŋe KivR Kŋe| Rbmisew KZvi cŋ Kr.G cŋt½ etj tObN Ūf there is one nation that is control to public journalism, it's that journalists are members of the political community; citizens themselves, and not by standard to our public life. As members, they may have a particular role to play; and to be independent and trustworthy is certainly part of the role.0 4 A`ŋ bZb avii mŋw`c`wZtZ mŋw Kt`i nŋZ nŋe tKŋvtrv KŋgDŋbUli m`m` Ges tmB KŋgDŋbUli lci Zvi Av`wKxj t`K mgŋRi Dbqŋt BwZevPK fŋgKv MŋY Kŋe| wōv`ŋ KŋqKwU`ewkō`i wŋfŋZ Rbmisew KZvK msAvwZ KtiŋOb Edmund B Lambeth: ŪRbmisew KZv nŋjv MYgva`gi tmB aib hv wōv`ŋ KŋqKwU wēlqtK Abjvŋtbi tPōv Kti|0 Rbmisew KZv nŋjv N

- K. wēKf avii cvLvbgyL Abjvŋb|
- L. iZj` Abjvqx KgybU BmŋZ mŋw`-fv` wbgŋ|
- M. mŋw`-fv` i cKŋiY`vKte Rbgubj i B`Ōvi cŋZdj b|
- N. Bmŋm=utK`mgm`v wŋf` i gŋa` mēRbōv aviYv`Zwi Kiv|
- O. Rbgubj i wPšic`wZ ū`qŋg Kiv|
- P. Bmŋmgvaib i ŋŋt| Rbgubj i Avb eŋx Kiv| ejv hvq, RbmaviŋYi cZ`ŋ AskMŋYi wŋfŋZ Zv` i mgm`v AvZμg Kti Dbqŋt wōv`Z Kivi wēklwqZ mŋw KZvB nŋ0 Rbmisew KZv| Rbmisew KZvi cāvb`ewkō`i mŋv b tŋj Arthur Charity-Gi ŪJournalism ought to make it as easy as possible for citizens to make intelligent decisions about public affairs, and to get them carried out.0 GB Dŋr`wZtZ| Dŋj mZ msAv tŋjv AvŋtjvK Rbmisew KZvi KŋqKwU`ewkō`i mŋv b cvlqv hvq| cPŋj Z mŋw KZvi aib t`K Rbmisew KZvi aibK wPŋZ Kivi Rb`l GB`ewkō` tŋv iZcYŋ
- K. Mŋg I knŋi wēlq wēfBe`elg``iKŋiY|
- L. iZcY`KŋgDŋbU BmŋZ wPŋwZ mŋw`-KvVtgrv cŋi eZ`wēKf

- avii mŋw`-KvVtgrv AbjvY Kti mŋw`-Kwŋb Dc`vcb|
- M. Rbmisew KZvi tK`ŋe`ynte RbmaviŋYi wēfBwāitbi, aviYv ev wēlq|
- N. ev`eZv wēkŋY msukō RbMŋYi Ašfŋ|
- O. mŋw`-Kwŋb Dc`vcb i aib Rbgubj i B`Ōvi cŋZdj b Nŋvtrv|
- P. KŋgDŋbUli iZcY`mgm`v i ŋŋt| wŋtŋe cŋZōvq Ggbfvte KiŋZ nŋe thb H Bmŋ mgvaib i ŋŋt| MYgubv cŋqRbxq Avb ARŋ KiŋZ cŋt| cvkvcnk mgm`v mgvaib KiŋZ nŋj Kx KiŋZ nŋe tm wēlq i K-wb`Rbv`vKtZ nŋe|
- O. Z` Abjvŋtbi Rwi c|
- R. wōv`ŋ tKŋvtrv BmŋZ RbMŋYi gŋa` mēRbōv aviYv`Zwi i cŋPōv|

**Rbmisew KZvi BwZef**

cPŋj Z avii mŋw KZvK P`vŋj Ā Rwbŋq Rbmisew KZvi Awēfŋ NŋU gwKŋ hŋi vŋō wēklĀMY 1988 mŋj i gwKŋ i vŋōwZ wēfBe-cieZŋ mgŋK AvābK Rbmisew KZvi mPbŋj Mewŋtŋe wPŋZ Kti b| Gmgŋq tmLvbKvi cŋi eZŋKŋg GK`j mŋw K wbtR`i fŋgKvK tKj mŋw Kŋf cŋi eZŋKŋgDŋbUli mŋw m`m` wŋtŋe cvj b Kti b| Zv`i cŋi eZŋ fŋgKvi nvZ ati B AvābK Rbmisew KZvi D`ŋe|

ŪRbmisew KZvi wēKv gŋZ gwKŋ gŋjK i iŋq| wēk kZvāxi tkl w`K Gŋm GLvŋb A`ŋ gwKŋ hŋi vŋō mŋw`cŋ cvŋKi mS`v`v`ck gvŋvq nŋm tctZ`vK th, mŋw`cŋ Z`v MYgva`g maviY gubv i Rxbhvŋ Dc`vcb m=ŋvŋc e`ŋ Time Mirror cŋi Kvi 1994 mŋj cŋi Pŋj Z GK Rwiŋ t`Lv hvq th, 71 kZvsk gwKŋ wēkŋm Kti th, MYgva`g mgŋRi mgm`v Kxfvte mgvaib Kiv hvte tm wēlqU j`Ktq i vL| tŋvŋK`v, mŋw`cŋ cvK Z`v wŋf`k`Kŋi μgnwmgub mS`v`v` MYgva`g mgŋRi wPK`i mŋw KZvi Pj gub aviv wbtq fŋwŋq tZvŋj, hv i dj kŋZtZ bZb fvebvq teiŋq Avŋm Rbmisew KZvi aviYwU|0

wēfBe KviŋYi mŋ gwKŋ tŋj wŋkŋt Dbqŋg-K wēfBe BmŋZ w`ŋi Z AvŋjPbvi AcZŋZv Rbmisew KZvi wēKvŋi i ŋŋt| AtbKistk iZcY`ŋ tŋj wŋkŋtbi cŋZ gvŋwZwi 3 Avmŋ3 i KviŋY gwKŋt i`K ejv nq`TV Viewing Race`| Avi wŋfŋZ Dbqŋg-K wēlqU cŋi eZŋ wēfBe`uYŋi m`l wēbŋ bgŋ-K Abŋŋtbi AvMŋb t`Lv t`q| dŋj wŋf-wcŋ gwKŋbivl wŋf t`K gŋ wŋwŋ tŋq| ZLb gwKŋ mŋw Kiv tmLvbKvi RbMYK wŋfŋg Z`v mŋw`cŋ gŋx KiŋZ mŋPō nb| tmŋŋt| Ggb fvebv Dc`vcZ nŋq th, gwKŋ RbMYK wŋf I mŋw`cŋ gŋx KiŋZ nŋj ZvrchēY`KgybU Bmŋ, tŋvŋK cŋv`w`w` tZ nŋe| Z`wŋi t`kŋw gubv wēfBeRvZ, mgŋR, ms`vi I ms`wZtZ wēf`3 th, tŋjv tKŋvtrv Kŋm KgybU Avēi tKŋvtrv g`m KgybU| GB aŋtbi KgybU-tKw`KZv t`Kb Rbmisew KZvi wēKv Nŋtŋ0|

gŋZ 1990-Gi`kK t`Kb GB Rbmisew KZv wbtq AvŋjPbv i iŋ nq| MYgva`gi cvŋKi mS`v`v` μgnwmgub Muzi dŋj Rbmisew KZvi wēlqU 1988 mŋj i w`K GŋKēŋi mgŋt Pŋj Avŋm hLb Witchita Eagle-Gi m=ŋv`K t`wŋf m tŋm K cŋe Kti b th, RbmaviŋYi Rxb- mŋw mgm`v, tŋvŋK wēZ Kti Rbgubj i AskMŋY evŋtZ nŋe| 1990-Gi w`K wēlqU Avŋv Mfxi Zv jvf Kti wDBqK`wēkŋe`vŋtŋi mŋw KZvi cŋdmi tR tŋvRb-Gi ZwēK KvVtgrv wbgŋ Ges Zui cŋŋ tRvŋtŋv gZvZ Mŋtbi ga`w`ŋq| Gici 1994 mŋj Pew Charitable Ūf` Pew Center for Civic Journalism bŋgK ms`vi AvZŋKvŋtŋi ga`w`ŋq Rbmisew KZvi wēlqU AvŋjPbv tK`ŋe`ŋZ cŋiYZ nq| GB ms`v Rbmisew KZvi aviv AbjvY Kti maviY gubv i RxbwŋēK mŋw`-Kwŋb Dc`vcb i Rb`cŋ`vi tNvYv Kti| Gici Rbmisew KZvi aviw mgŋRwēAvb Robert Putnam-Gi mg`ŋ cvq| wZb 1996 mŋj `Bowling Alone` bŋgK GKwU cŋtŋ Rbmisew KZvi lci Zvi mg`ŋbi wēlqU w`ŋi Z AvŋjPbv Kti b|0

Avi GB cŋlŋq Rbmisew KZvi bZb aviv wŋtŋe mŋw KZvi i ŋŋt| AvZŋKvK Kti |

wg. Wŋj ej tObN ŪContemporary mainstream journalism is too often about means without ends; it is vitally concerned that citizens want and be willing to pay for news, but seems



**cwogv weŋk; Rbmisewi KZvi Ae`ub**

BwZnvtmi Anebvh`cŋuqv inttmeB Rbmisewi KZv cŋZov jvf KtiŋtQ| BDŋivc I AvtŋivKv weŋk Kti gmkB hŋivto` BtZvgia` G aitbi misewi KZvi Abkxj b iia nŋtqQ| Rbmisewi KZvi weŋqW μtg μtg misewi KZvi GKŋw bZb aviv inttme gmkB gjvŋK cŋZiŋZ nŋ`Q| bZb avivi misewi KZvi Abkxj b iia nŋtqQ Drm, `ib, mser`-Kvŋvŋv BZ`w` MZvbMŋZK I avivemK cŋŋcmZŋK AvZμg Kti; misewi KZv tckvi gnEj`we Kti | Z` Rvbtbvi gva`tg Rbgvŋv i tmevB G tckvi cŋvb j`ŋ | wKs` mser` evRvi-A`DwZi hŋM cwiYZ nŋtqQ cŋY | mser` Zwi nŋ`Q weAvcb vZvi B`Qv I `ŋ`ŋK cŋvb` w`ŋq| cŋWK` kR`tkiZvi weŋqW mser` Dc`lcb ev mser` mslMŋi mgq t`ŋK hŋ`Q DŋcmŋZ| Avi mZ`ŋK Aetnj v Kti mgŋR D`PtkŋYi `ŋ`ŋK i`ŋvi ActPov Pj iQ e` uboZvi agv Zŋ | mser` i` i`ŋŋŋ cŋZ. wqZ; KZ`ŋK Aetnj v KtiQb misewi Kiv| GB cŋZeUkZv `i`Kti `kR`tkiZv-cvŋiKi weŋqWŋK weŋPbvq Gtb Zv` i mvgmŋK Dbaq Z\_v meEki Kgrŋvŋ Zv` i mŋuqfite AskMŋY uboZ Kivi j`ŋ | gmkB hŋivto` `vbqfite Rbmisewi KZvi PPP`iia nŋtqQ| 1990 mŋj i w`ŋK NŋU G avivi misewi KZvi weKiv| tKej cŋZ.Z` Dc`lcb i gta`B mŋgZ br t`ŋK Nubv Kx, tKb NUj, Kxfite NUj, Nubw Rbm`uŋkZ` wK-bv, RbMŋYi AskMŋY Kxfite uboZ Kiv mae Ges RbMYŋK mae` Kti Nubv t`ŋK cwi`ŋY cvl qvi Dcvq tei Kivi cŋj cŋPov j`ŋ Kiv hŋq Rbmisewi KZvq| GK\_v ev j hŋe br th, gmkB hŋivto` G avivi misewi KZvi e`vck weKiv iia nŋtqQ | Aek` imLubKvi `vbq mser` cŋ` jv Kgyvŋw `ŋ`ŋK iaz; i`ŋq RbMYŋK mae` Kti Kxfite wefba` vbq mgm`v mgvab Kiv hŋq im weŋq w`ŋcŋU`Kti hŋ`Q cŋZvbqZB| cŋg weŋk cŋvŋcmK ZZxq weŋk RbtMvxi KvŋQI bZb gŋWj inttme AwefZ nŋtqQ Rbmisewi KZv |

**ejsv`ŋk Rbmisewi KZvi Ae`ub**

ejsv`ŋk G avivi misewi KZvi weKiv mae`ŋK`ejv hŋq, GLŋv Gi tZgb tKvŋv cŋZombK Kvŋvŋv wovqib| GLvbKvi MYgva`g` jv w`ŋcŋU`ŋq i`ŋŋŋ GLŋv chŋl`wQycŋcmZ; Kti | w`ŋcŋU`ŋq i`ŋŋŋ G`ŋk Drm, `ib, Nubv, mser`-Kvŋvŋv BZ`w` i cŋŋcmZ; iŋtqQ| A\_P G`ŋk AwaKisk gvbŋ cŋŋKN hŋi` i Dbaq Ovov t`ŋk cŋZ. Dbaq Amae` t`ŋk mvgmŋK Dbaq tKej ZLb mae nŋe hLb Dbaq Kgrŋvŋ Zv` i mŋuq AskMŋYŋK uboZ Kiv hŋe | Avi G`ŋŋŋ MYgva`gi iŋtqQ wekv fŋgKv| Rbm`uŋZvi cŋŋ` DVŋj Rbmisewi KZvi weŋqW mvgtb Pŋj Avŋm Anebvh`fite | hŋi` Rbm`uŋZ weŋq ejsv`ŋk i`wQy`wK cŋ-cŋl`Kv wefba` cŋZte` b cŋvK KtiQ | Zte uboŋo chŋeŋY Kij t`Lv hŋqŋ cŋvKZ cŋZte` ŋb KLbI DbaqgJ-K ev KLbI tKvŋv e`w` i mŋdŋj`i weŋq Dŋv Avŋm | Aek` cŋl`Kv jv KLŋv KLŋv cŋŋcvZgŋ cŋZte` bl cŋvK Kti | Zte GLŋv cŋZte` b` jv nq cŋŋj Z Kvŋvŋv AvŋvY Kti | GLŋv ejsv`ŋk MYgva`g` mser`-cŋZte` b` Zwi Kiv nq tKvŋv Nubv NŋU hŋl qvi ci, hvi Avj AŋbKvŋv e`ubol tKvŋv Nubv mslMŋZ nŋ qvi cŋe` ev th mgm`ŋK tK` Kti Nubw mslMŋZ nŋj v, RbmviavYŋK mae` Kti Kxfite Nubwŋi mgvab Kiv hŋqŋ mser` cŋ` G weŋq tZgb Dŋj`ŋhŋM` tKvŋv w`K`ubŋ Rbv`ŋK br | Mŋgcŋvb GB t`ŋk GŋKK Aŋj iŋtqQ GŋKK mgm`v Avŋv`i MYZŋŋ fŋel`r I t`ŋk Dbaq Gme mgm`v mgvabŋi lci AŋbKisk wbfŋKj | A\_P Avŋv` i t`ŋk misewi KZvq cŋŋSK weŋq cŋZte` b Kivi cŋYzV Kg | cŋŋZŋP`gvbŋ` i mgm`v Zv` i wŋŋmRZ Kti, Kxfite mgm`v mgvab Kiv hŋq im weŋq w` ubex` Kti cŋZte` b` Zwi Kiv Rbmisewi KZvi gj` KvR |

hLb mser` cŋ` wKsev tckv inttme misewi KZvi avivv ŋQj br ZLbI MŋgY gvbŋ i Z` Pwv` ŋQj | Mŋg-ejsv` jvKK\_v, avav, cŋv`-cŋPb, jvKmsMz, Drme-AvtqRb gvbŋŋK Z` i thŋMv w` Z | G` jvB misewi KZvi Av iŋc | wKs` AvavKvq cŋuqv` iia nŋ qv cŋjvŋv gva`g` iaz; nŋvZ` vŋK | cwogvKiY ev AvavKiKiYi gj` cŋvŋK inttme MYgva` Ges tckv` mi misewi KZv jvKvZ gva`gi RŋgMv` Lj KtiŋtQ | thŋZzewsj`ŋk tenki fŋM Aŋj B Mŋg; mŋzŋv Rbmisewi KZvi PPP` Ktiŋt nŋj MŋgY misewi KZv Riŋi |

Rbmisewi KZv ev KwgDŋvŋv Rvŋŋj Rŋgi avivv mŋv` wŋwŋv Av`ŋfŋtKumi avivv iŋtqQ uboŋo thŋMvŋhŋM | cvi` wŋK uboŋo

thŋMvŋhŋM KviŋYB Rbmisewi KZvi iŋcKi Avŋvŋv Ktiŋt tŋj Rbmisewi KZvi cŋvŋcmK wŋwŋv Av`ŋfŋtKumtKi ejS ubz nŋe | thŋMvŋhŋM cŋvZ`Z Awe`KZ.bZb gŋWj` jvi gta` wŋwŋv Av`ŋfŋtKum meŋaK iaz; enb Kti | mser` cŋ` ev misewi KZvi BwZnvtm Rbmisewi KZvi avivv bZb bq, cŋPxb | Zte wŋwŋv G`ŋfŋtKum be Awe`KZ. avivv Avŋv Awe`KZ. wŋwŋv Av`ŋfŋtKum avivv BwZevPK cŋfve cŋtŋQ Rbmisewi KZvq | Rbmisewi KZvi avivv thŋM nŋtqQ bZb gŋvŋ | Gi Pwi`I, MŋZ-cŋvZ, aib, j`ŋ` cŋvZi NŋUŋQ Avj- cwi eZŋ | Avi ZvB uboZ KtiB RbKvŋj iŋcKŋi AvŋK` vŋKub Rbmisewi KZv | evŋK Avi me cwi eZŋKj weŋq gŋZv cŋe` cŋe` tŋtQ Zvi gŋWj | misewi KZvi bZb avivv ev gZev` (ism)-Gi cŋfite Rbmisewi KZvi gŋWj NŋUŋQ cŋt cŋt cwi eZŋ |

iayth wŋwŋv Av`ŋfŋtKumi gŋZv BwZevPK cŋfveKi KviŋY Rbmisewi KZvi bZb iŋcKŋi cŋqRb cŋo Zv bq, misewi KZvi iŋŋŋŋ we` gvb wQZbZevPK cŋfve t`ŋK gŋ nŋ qvi j`ŋŋŋ KivRi iŋcKŋi wŋgŋY Acw nŋŋ` cŋR, bMŋK` K mser`, ga`we` tŋvYi Pwv`v, i vR`wŋZK DŋŋK` cŋvZi cŋZ mŋcŋZK mgŋq mser` cŋ` i tSuk` uo | G` jv Rbmisewi KZvi cŋŋ Avŋvŋv cŋZcŋŋ | Gme cŋZcŋŋK wR kw`ŋZ AvZμg Ktiŋt br cvŋj Rbmisewi KZv Zvi cŋZ.c` I MŋZ` ŋvB nŋvŋe | h\_vh` fite cŋZcŋŋK tŋvŋvŋv Kivi Rb` Rbmisewi KZvi GKŋw ubo` iŋcKŋi vKv` i Kivi |

**misewi KZvi mŋcŋZK cŋYzV**

th tKvŋv t`ŋk MYZŋSK e`v`ŋK mŋsnZ I meŋvŋfite mdj Kivi Rb` tm t`ŋk mKj tŋvYi gvbŋ i gta` mser` Z\_v Z` i mgeEb cŋqRb | kni, gd`ŋ, Mŋg uboŋeŋŋ mKj Aŋj i gvbŋ` iŋK thgb mgbŋfite mser` Rvbtbvi Riŋi, tZgb Zv` i `ŋ`ŋskw mser` i Dc`lcbI nŋ qv DŋPZ mg`wŋZi wŋe`ŋZ | mser` cŋ`ŋK mgŋRi m`ŋ` i gZ weŋbgq I AwfŋmsKŋU weŋq jv AvŋvPbv iŋŋŋ inttme MY` Kiv nq | mgŋRi me Astki mgv Dbaqŋi Rb` bMi I gd`ŋ ev Mŋtgi mser` Avŋvŋv I Dc`lcb cŋuqŋK Kitiŋt nŋe `elg`nxb | Zte ejsv`ŋk misewi KZv Z\_v mser` cŋ` i Dŋŋŋ Kij t`ŋK GB kZŋ Aetnj Z | Rbmisewi KZv iia t`ŋK ejsv`ŋk DŋcmŋZ | Rbmisewi KZvi mŋcŋZK mgq` jvi wŋŋŋ mŋKi ev Avŋvŋv tKvŋvŋv bq |

ejsv`ŋk i mser` cŋ` bMŋi AwacZ` j`ŋYŋq cŋq me RvZŋq Avi Avŋj K` wK, mŋvŋwK, cŋŋŋK, gŋmK ev Ab` th tKvŋv Pwi`ŋi cŋl`Kv cŋvKZ nq bMi t`ŋK | GLbKvi mser` cŋ` jvi cŋvKk weEki v bŋwŋi K | mser` i Uŋŋŋ Mŋc | bMŋi emm`v | Avi ev`eZv nŋj Avŋv` i mser` cŋ` i mŋsnŋM cvK kŋti | G Kviŋ kni Avi kŋtiŋ i Lei`Lei mKj aitbi cŋl`Kv ubi`k AwacZ` we`ŋi KtiŋtQ | A\_P GLŋv tenki fŋM gvbŋ i em bMŋi evBti Avi RvZŋq Avŋq wekv AstkB iŋtqQ Mŋtgi gvbŋ` i mŋuq AskMŋY I Ae`ub | mser` cŋ` jvZ cŋ`ŋ Aŋj Avi cŋŋSK gvbŋ i Dc`w`Z cŋqRb Avi iaz; Zŋbvq GKevŋB bMY` | mŋcŋZK eQi tŋvZ mKj mser` cŋ` i Kŋei tetŋQ weŋqKi fite | evŋKŋU Avŋv cŋvi RvZŋq` wKl` teiŋ`Q | cŋl`Kvi cŋmsL`v evori Zŋbvq Rbmisewi KZvi msl`v evŋvŋ | gj`Z cŋl`Kvi cŋvKk-mae`v` Kiv weAvcb Avi bŋwŋi K Pwv`v i K\_v gv`vq tŋŋ cŋl`Kvi Kŋei evov |

GLb chŋl`mser` gva`g` MŋgY wŋgŋe`ŋi tŋŋj K Pwv`v i tŋtq knŋi | ga`we` I D`Pwŋe`ŋi tŋSY cŋqRb tenk gŋvŋhŋM cŋq |

cŋq me tŋvYi me cŋl`Kv kŋti tŋvYi d`vkb, Lvevi, weŋv`b, tLjvavj cŋvZi Rb` Avj v` Kti weŋk wPvi I cŋZte` b cŋvZ aitbi mser` cŋ`tekb Kti | ŋZ` kŋti tŋvYi Zŋbvq wekv cŋŋSK RbtMvxi Lv` e` em`v, wKŋv, `ŋ`ŋi gŋZv tŋŋj K Pwv`v cŋŋYi e` ZvŋK cŋl`Kv jv Kgb iaz; t`q cŋŋSK gvbŋ i th KŋqKŋ nŋZŋMbv mser` cŋl`Kv` v` cvq Zvi gta` Lj, ivnRwv, al`ŋ, ubvŋZb cŋvZi gŋZv` Mŋvbi AwaK` me`v` j`ŋYŋq mŋcŋZK mgŋq GB wŋŋŋ iZgb tKvŋv cwi eZŋ t`Lv hŋqŋ | Mŋtgi gvbŋ` i Avŋv AŋbK mgm`v t`ŋK hŋq Aŋŋvŋ | cŋŋSK RbtMvxi mgm`v thgb AvŋQ tZgb AvŋQ mvdj` I | Mŋtgi mvdj` i mser` nevi nvi mgm`v mser` nevi nŋŋi Zŋbvq Avŋv bŋRŋ | Aek` mŋcŋZK eQi Mŋj vZ Dbaq misewi KZvi avivv cŋvi Nŋuq wQZRvZŋq` wK cŋSRbŋ i mvdj`ŋK Zŋj aitQ | GŋZ GK aitbi Avŋv ŋSuj K` t`Lv





Zte iyacöZer` bq, Zvt`i th tKvtbv mvdj` Ztj ati AbjcoYv` vtbi KivRuIi Kti` vtK|

msew`KZvi aib l c@YZvi ubieo Abjüvtbi AvtjvtK Rbmisew`KZvi ifcKti`i KivRtgv` wovqN

K. ejsjvt`tki mgvRK, ivR%buZK, A\_%buZK, cwi`tekMZ, mvs`uZK P`vtj Amgr` tgvKvtjvq misew`Kt`i miv`uqZv|

L. Bmjvbeipb l ubieo Abjüvb|

M. MÖgvY l bmti`i melq ubep`tbi t`qit`i `elg` `iKiy|

N. ev`bZv mekdt`y msikö Rbmt`yi ASif`p|

O. Z` Abjüvtb Rmi`c|

P. tdivKvm Mäc AvtjvPbv|

Q. mgm`v mgvartb`i` Kubt` Rbv|

R. cwi`eZb chfe`qiy cöZömbK A`ev AcöZömbK KivRtgv` Zvi|

S. mKj KvhPvtgi avivew`KZvi dtjvAvc cöZte`tb` ,iazmn` me`tePbv|

T. Z`-Drm mviavi` l msikö` tjvKRb|

U. t`cöZ: NUbv` ev`bZvi givweK` eYb|

V. givbtj`i ubR`^fvvq, fivbtZ, D`Pviti`y mtZ`i cwi`cY`Dc`vcbv|

W. NUbv`-ev`bZvi mvt`\_ RwoZ` tjvKRtbi KvQ` t`iKb mgvartb`i`i` Kubt` Rbv|

X. NUbvi` ukKvi` tjvKRtbi eÄbv, AmvqZj`AvZµg` Kivi` kw³, mivm` l tKSkjtj`i` lci` AvtjvKciZ|

Y. msev`-KivRtgv` Mto` DVte` misew`tki` ubR`^evZ`P`tcö`y`i` tKSkjtj`i` lci` wfvE` Kti`|

Z. msev`-Kivnbx` GKB` mvt`\_ e`-übo` Ges` AvathvMthvM` gj-K` nte|

ejsjvt`tki` teiki` fivM` AÄtj`i` givby` GLbI` cöSk| GmKj` Dbqbe`Ei` evBti` cto`\_ukv` Rbgvbtj`i` Dbqtb` cöqvRb` Zvt`i` GtKerfi` tfZi` t`iK` Zvt`i` Avtj` Mto` lVv` misew`KZvi` misew`KZvi` Avtaq` mekdt`y` Kti` tmB` misew`KZvi`B` cöZqgvb` nq` hv` Rbmisew`KZvi` ifcKt`i` ubgP`y` mrvqK| Dvj`uLZ` Rbmisew`KZvi` ifcKt`i` AbjvYKt`i` ejsjvt`tki` msev`c`i`k`i`i` wFZ` wovtj` mgvRK, ivR%buZK` Ges` mvs`uZK` A½tb` Rbgvbtj`i` gly` Ges` KE`-t` cöZfiv` l` nte` Ges` cöSk` RbtMvöxi` Riebgbv` Dbqtb` Z`\_v` RbKj` wY` mrvqK` fvgKv` cvj` b` Ki`te|

cw`exi` wkt`i`v`bz` AÄtj` msev`c`i`i` gZy` Lei` tkivb` hv`t`Q`| uKs` ejsjvt`tki` msev`c`i`i` wkt`i` cv`i` t`Q` bZb` e`v`b`i` w`tk| Aek` cYR` l` chp`i` mivPth`msL`v` l` w`v`vtgi` evosi` Ae`-v` t`Kej` XvKvq| w`kvtq`b`i` hM` GiKg` D`ev`mtZ` eo` th` tUKmB`N` GiKg` fivvi` mthvM` Kg| XvKvi` evBti` t`iK` cöKw`kZ` Avakisk` cwi` Kvi` GLb` ggt`Rvj`| Zte`-v`bxq` cwi` Kvi` `b`-kv` t`iK` w`t`Q` XvKv` t`iK` Aviv` SKgtK` RvZiq`-`ubK` ,tjv| thgb` tnvK, µgea`gib` cöPvi`msL`v` ASZ` etj` w`t`Q` cwi`Kimg`fai` cv`K` Puv`v` AvtQ|

ejsjvt`tki` msev`c`i`i` v`n`msM`tgi` Buznm` AvtQ| t`tki` givbtj`i` mKj` Avakvi` Avt`v`j`tb` msev`c`i`i` AMöx` fvgKv` cvj` b` Kti`tQ| mvs`uZK` mgq` thmKj` P`tj`Äi` gvt`vq`v` t`k` thgbN` wii` w`etgvPb, givbewakvi, mKymb` l` MYZs; bvi`x`-c`y`t`i` `elg` `iKiy, mgvwi`K` l` RvZer` cöZt`iva, cwi`tek` ms`qiy, Z`-Avakvi` cöZöv, `e`g`tj`i` Muzt`iva` BZ`w` mel`tg` msev`c`i`i` miv`uq` Ges` tmv`Pvi| Btj`Kv`ubK` gva`tgi` `y`st` meKt`ki` gvt`l` t`tk` msev`c`i`i` GLbI` ,iazc`y`Rbcw`i`mi| Z`-l` Avb` mgv`R` Gt`tki` c`-w`p`t`i` msev`c`i`i` kw³`kij`v` ubqvqK| uKs` msev`c`i`i` m`ut`K`q`ekw`Qym`b`n` `Zwi` ntq`tQ| msev`c`i`i` m`ut`K`GmKj` m`b`n` GtKerfi` Agt`K` bq| msev`c`i`i` gwj` Kivb, w`ecYb, cöZthvM`Zv, Avtaq, misew`Kt`i` b`wZKZvi` gvb, misew`Kt`i` teZb`-KivRtgv, w`Ävcb` BZ`w` cöYZv` chfe`qiy`i` wfvE`Z` GmKj` m`b`n` `Zwi` ntq`tQ| m`b`n`mÜvbx` GmKj` chfe`qiy` mgv`Ri` wfvf`be`f`ii` givby|

GiB` cwi`cöZ`Z` Lgy` tRvivi`v`v`ite` bv` ntj`l` ejsjvt`tk` cöPj`Z` misew`KZvi` ms`uZi` w`ia`t`x` mviavi`Y` cv`VKt`k`w`y` MZK`n`Z` i`ia` Kti`tQ| misew`KZvi` uk`f`vq` w`e`-v`q`ZubK` Ges` temi`Kwi` Dbqtb` ms`-v` chv`q` ejsjvt`tk` w`ek`i` misew`KZvi` ifcKt`i` Abjüvb` Ki`tQ| GB` Abjüvtbi` Buznm` Lgy` v`n`GK`\_v` ejv` hvq` bv, uKs` i`Pöv, tjv` b`v`v` b`v`q` w`Pv`y`Z` ntq`tQ` thgbN` ZYqj`-misew`KZvi, MÖgvY` misew`KZvi, Rbmisew`KZvi| th` b`v`tg`B` w`Pv`y`Z` Kiv` tnvK` bv` t`Kb, w`ek`i` GiKg` misew`KZvi` `k`ö` uKsev` ifcKt`i` Abjüvb` Ki`tZ` w`l`tg` ejsjvt`tk` misew`KZvi` w`e`-Z` Buznm` AÄj` ntq`tQ` Ges` Aw`evh`f`v`te`B`

Abjüvbx` Ges` w`-v`q`ZubK` uKsev` Mtel`tki` KivQ` cöZqgvb` ntq`tQ`N` ejsjvt`tk` Rb`-t`\_G` Ges` RbKj` v`y`g`x` misew`KZvi` mPbv` Ges` Gi` myúo` Aege` ubgP`y` NtU` tMto` `Bb` cwi`Kt` misew`tki` nvtZ| Giv` ntj` b` Ebiesk` kZt`ki` KivOj` nvi`bv`\_ Ges` w`ek` kZt`ki` tgvb`v`RvZDwi`b| e`-Zc`f`qiy, w`ek`i`Y` Kitj` t`Lv` hvte` h`y`i`v`to` Rbmisew`KZvi` mvs`uZK` `k`ö` Ges` cöK` cöqm` i`ia` nevi` AvtMB` KivOj` nvi`bv`\_ Ges` tgvb`v`RvZDwi`tbi` nvtZ` miZ`Kv`ti` Rbmisew`KZvi` ASj`qiy` Ges` ewj`qiy` `Bb` w`v`q`Z` ntq`tQ| tgvb`v`RvZDwi`b` ejsjvt`tk` bZb` misew`KZvi` ms`uZi` w`v`g`P`y` c`-ö`v| cöPj`Z` avivi` misew`KZvi` mgvex`Ziq` w`Zub` Dc`j`wä` Kti`w`tj`b` Ges` Gi` w`ia`t`x` w`t`RB` Zvi` mKj` A½v`Kvi` Ges` w`böv` w`b`q` GK` Ab`i`Kg` jöv`i`ia` Kti`w`tj`b| Ges` misew`KZvi` t`q`i` w`ntmte` t`e`f`Q` w`b`v`q`w`tj`b` MÖgvY` Rbc` Ges` tmBme` w`e`-Y`Rbc`i` b`v`v`e`f`M`P` cöSk` givby| GmKj` givbtj`i` Rieb` ev`-b`Zvq` Zvt`i` gly` l` KE`-t, kÄ` l` Kivnbx` eYb`vq`-úo` Kti` t`Zj`v`i` Rb`-w`Zub` GKRb` w`b`te`v`Z` mgvRKgP, bZw`EK` uKsev` Dbqtb`miv`uq`Rtbi` gvtZv` cöPj`Z` misew`KZvi` Rb`w`v`Q`b`v` l` `v`Bvi` K` mF` w`b`f`P`Zv` t`Q`to` Rbgvbtj`i` mvt`\_ w`g`tk` w`l`tg`w`tj`b| Zvi` Rieb`-w`ö, misew`KZvi` `k`ö, misew`KZvi` Zt`-i` kw³` m`ut`K`w`ek`ijm` Ges` mviavi`Y` givbtj`i` mgm`v` mgvartb` G`-tj`v`i` cöqm` Ges` Zvi` mvdj` ejsjvt`tk` Rbmisew`KZvi` cwi`Kt`i` w`ntmte` tgvb`v`RvZDwi`b`t`K` cöZöZ` Kti`| gw`k`ö` h`y`i`v`to` Rbmisew`KZvi` Buznm` Ges` Zvi` ifcKt`i` Abjüvtbi` tPöv` i`ia` n`l` qvi` AvtMB` tgvb`v`RvZDwi`b` ejsjvt`tk` misew`KZvi` ms`uZi`Z` GB` Nivv`v`K` cöZöZ` Kti`tQb|

Z`\_mF`

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## e`ibô misewî KZvi gva`tg RvZq`K GvMtg`vbb: w`úKvi

w`úKvi W. wkixb kvigb tPšajx e`ibô misewî KZvi l`wbtçy Z` cwi tektbi gva`tg t`k l` RvZq`K GvMtg`vbb msev` K g` i cŁZ Avneib Rvbtq`Ob l` MZ 13B btf`at RvZq` tçh Kve wj bvgZ`b evsj v`k tçWt`ij misewî K BDubq`bi (GKvstki) w`-ewl`R m`a`j`bi D`švabx Abq`v`b çàvb AwZ`i e`3Zvq w`úKvi G Avneib Rvrbv|  
w`úKvi etj b, i`ayefw`xq ev tRjv kni , t`j v`ZB bq, eis Dc`Rjv ch`q l` cŁZ`šAA`tj l` misewî Kiv KvR Kti hrt`Ob l` G misewî Kiv hrt`Z tckvMZ` w`q`Z m`g`v`te m`úv`b Kitz` c`v`ib Zvi Rb` Z` cŁZ` m`g`v`av w`v`b`Z Kivm`n t`k`-w`e` t`k Zv`i Rtb` cŁZ`y`i e`v` Kitz` n`e` l` w`GdBD`R`i m`fv`c`v`Z gbR`j`aj Avnmv`b e`j`ej i m`fv`c`v`Z i`Z; Abq`v`b Ab`v`b`i g`ta` çàvb g`š`i Z` Dc`f` óv BKej` tmienib tPšajx Ges w`GdBD`R`i g`v`m`i`Pe Ave`j` Rv`j` f`Bq`v e`3e` iv`Lb l` evsj v`k msev` ms`vi e`v`c`v`b cwi Pij`K Ave`j` Kvj`v AvR`v, w`AvBwe`i g`v`c`v`i Pij`K tgv. kvn Avj`g`Mxi Ges RvZq` tçh Kve i m`fv`c`v`Z kvdKz` ingvb Abq`v`b Dc`v`Z w`q`j` b l` (m`f` : Bt`Edv`K, 14B btf`at 2015)

### XvKv mve-GvWUim KvDw`Yj`i cŁZ`v`ewl`Rx

cwi eZ`Bk`j` w`e`k`i P`v`t`j` A` tgv Kv`ej`v`q misewî K`i w`el`q`v`w`EK` cŁZ`y` cŁq`v`Rb etj` g`š`e` Kti`q`b RvZq` msm`i` i w`úKvi W. wkixb kvigb tPšajx l` GKB m`š` w`Zv`b msm`i`q MYZ`š`K Av`iv` kv`š`k`x Kivi Rb` msm`i`q Kiv`p`g`k` RbM`Yi Kv`Q` e`ibô f`v`te Z`j` a`i`Z misewî K`i cŁZ` Avneib Rvrbv|  
MZ 7B w`l`m`at RvZq` tçh Kve wj`v`q`Z`b XvKv mve-GvWUim KvDw`Yj` (w`GvBw`m)-Gi 15Zg cŁZ`v`ewl`Rx i Abq`v`b çàvb AwZ`i e`3e` w`úKvi Gme K`v etj` b l`  
msMV`b`i m`fv`c`v`Z b`w`Q`v Av`3`vi tm`g`v`i m`fv`c`v`Z i`Z; Abq`v`b Av`iv` e`3e` iv`Lb çàvb g`š`i Z` Dc`f` óv BKej` tmienib tPšajx, RvZq` tçh Kve i m`fv`c`v`Z g`v`š` kvdKz` ingvb, Bt`Edv`K i f`v`c`v`B m`úv`K Zv`m`g`v`v` t`v`v`b, w`GvBw`m`i` m`v`i`Y m`úv`K Ave`j` Kvj`v AvR`v` ç`y` l` (m`f` : Kv`j` i KÉ, 8B w`l`m`at 2015)

### m`š`v`n`K w`Kvbi çàvb m`úv`K dR`j`y` ingv`bi M`š`i cŁKv`b`v` Drme

w`DBq`K` t`k` cŁKv`K`Z evsj`v` m`š`v`n`K óv`Kv`v`i` çàvb m`úv`K g`v`š` dR`j`y` ingv`bi w`Zv`w` eB`q`i cŁKv`b`v` Abq`v`b MZ 15B btf`at RvZq` tçh Kve Abq`v`b nq l` cŁKv`K`Z eB` w`Zv`w` n`q` ÓAv`j`v` Av`g`v`i Av`j`v` ó l` qv`b B`j` t`f`b`i l` ÓBQ`v`g`Zi ev`k`Ó l` Abq`v`b Av`j`v` p`b`q` Ask` tbb` çàvb g`š`i Z` Dc`f` óv BKej` tmienib tPšajx, mgKvj` m`úv`K t`Mj`v`g` m`v`i` l` qv`i, RvZq` tçh Kve i m`fv`c`v`Z kvdKz` ingvb, evsj`v`k` tçh

Bb`v`-w`D`š`Ui g`v`c`v`i Pij`K tgv. kvn Avj`g`Mxi, Kve t`j`v`j` n`v`d`R` l` misewî K Ave`j` Kvj`v AvR`v` i Abq`v`b m`Av`j`v` b`v` K`i`b misewî K g`Av`j`v` Bmj`v`g` l` (m`f` : mgKvj`, 17B btf`at 2015)

### gbR`j`aj` Avnmv`b e`j`ej` ntj`b B`i`w`f`i` çàvb w`e`f`x

misewî K gbR`j`aj` Avnmv`b e`j`ej` GK`k` t`Uj`v`f`k`b (B`i`w`f`i)-Gi çàvb w`e`f`x l` GvWUim-Bb`-w`Pd` ç` t`v`w`M` i` t`q`b`Ob l` Av`i` t`n`W` Ae` w`d`R` Av`Ú` Kv`i`v` Av`v`d`q`m`w`nt`m`te t`v`w`M` w`t`q`b`Ob iv`k` t`Pšajx l` MZ 29tk btf`at GK`k` w`v`f`i` b`Z`b e`v`c`v`b KZ`e`j` G` w`b`q`v`m` Pev`š`K`i`q`b`|  
Gv`i`K` g`v`j` Kv`v` e`j` n`q` GK`k` w`v`f`i` cwi Pij`v`q` G`Lb P`EM`t`gi` Gm` Avj`g` M`c` l` M`š`i` t`Pqv`i`g`v`b m`v`B`z` Bmj`v`g` G`Lb GK`k` w`v`f`i` t`Pqv`i`g`v`b l` G`Q`v`v` Ave`j`v` m`g`v` f`v`Bm` t`Pqv`i`g`v`b l` W. Ave`j`v` tmienib t`Mj`v`c` e`v`c`v`b cwi Pij`i`Ki` w`q`Z` M`š`Y` Kti`q`b l` (m`f` : mgKvj`, 27 l` 30tk btf`at 2015)

### w`š` w`v`f`i` D`š`v`ab

t`k`i` 26Zg w`v`f` P`v`t`j` w`š` w`v`f`i` D`š`v`ab Kiti`b Z` g`š` n`v`m`b`j` n`K` Bb`y` MZ 18B btf`at i`w`w`m`b` e`y`l`q`v`i` M`v`w`š`i` Drme ntj` D`š`v`ab Abq`v`b Av`q`v`Rb Kiv`nq l`  
Abq`v`b` t`M`Z` e`3e` t`b` w`š` w`v`f`i` çàvb w`e`f`x K`g`R`Z`P` Kv`R`x` D`i`d`x` Av`g` l` e`3e` iv`Lb cwi Pij`K Kv`R`x` R`v`n` n`v`m`b` çàvb AwZ`i e`3e` Z` g`š` n`v`m`b`j` n`K` Bb`y` etj` b, Av`M`g`v`t`Z` w`š` w`v`f`i` g`v`b`j`i` g`b`i` Av`K`v`k` w`š` Óv`te- G`g`b` Av`k`v`B` K`i`w` l` (m`f` : cŁ`g` Av`j`v`, 19tk btf`at 2015)

## evsj`v`k` Av`š`h`q`v`w`Z`k`j` t`k` mZ` l` e`ibô Z`\_B misewî KZvi w`f`i`É

mZ` KL`v`v` g`aj`v, KL`v`v` w`b`ó`z, Zv`i`c`i` l` mZ` e`ibô l` e`ibô Z`\_B m`w`Z`K`v`i`i misewî KZvi g`v` w`f`i`É l` thLv`tb` mZ` t`b`B, Z`\_i` w`b`f`p`thv`M`Z`v` t`b`B, t`m`Lv`tb` misewî KZvi v`k` b`v` l` K`v` t`j`v` cŁ`v`Z` w`e`w`K` misewî K Rb` t`m`b`i` l` P`v`t`j`v` t`d`v`i`i` msev` Dc`v`c`K` Rb` t`m`e` MZ 25tk btf`at BDub`f`w`m`w` Ae` w`j` ev`j` Av`Ú` evsj`v`k` (BDj`v`e)-Gi wj`v`q`Z`b Av`t`q`v`R`Z` G`K`K` e`3Zvq` G`K`v` etj` b l`

w`Zv`b` Av`i` etj` b, i` t` t`k` w`Zv`b Rv`b`Z`b evsj`v`k` G`K`v` w`i`v` t`k` l` w`K`š` w`b`i`Ri` t`P`v`L` t`L` l` t`M`j`v`b` t`h, evsj`v`k` Av`š`h`q`v`w`Z`k`j` G`K` t`k, thLv`tb` g`v`b`y` w`i`v` t`k` t`c`Q`b` t`d`j`v` š`Z` GvMtg` P`j`i`Q`|  
Abq`v`b misewî K Rb` t`m`b`i` t`M`š`ie`g`q` Aa`v`q` Z`j` a`i` e`3e` iv`Lb` BDj`v`e`i` t`e`v`w` Ae` Ú`v`v`-i` f`v`Bm` t`ç`m`t`w`U` W. Kv`R`x` Av`v`b`m` Av`nt`g` l` (m`f` : mgKvj`, 26tk btf`at 2015)

### misewî K t`Zv`q`v`e` Lub`š`K Av`R`x`eb` m`š`b`v`v`

t`k` misewî KZvi t`k`v`i` g`v`t`v`b`q`v`t`b` Abb` Ae`v`t`b`i` Rb` ÓAv`Zv`Dm` m`g`v`v` š`i`K` Ú`v`-Ó` w`e`w`k` misewî K t`Zv`q`v`e` Lub`š`K` Av`R`x`eb` m`š`b`v`v` ç`v`b` Kti`q`b l` MZ 22tk btf`at XvKv` w`e`k`v`e` v`j`t`q`i` Aa`v`c`K` t`g`v`R`i`d`i` Av`nt`g` t`Pšajx` wj`v`q`Z`b` Av`t`q`v`R`Z` Abq`v`b` Z`v`K` G` m`š`b`v`v` ç`v`b` Kiv`nq` l`

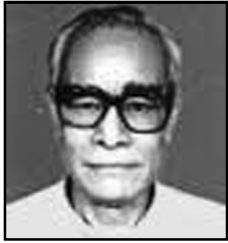
Abq`v`b` çàvb` AwZ`i` w`nt`m`te` Dc`v`Z` t`\_k` G` m`š`b`v`v` l` e`w`É` ç`v`b` Kti`b` XvKv` w`e`k`v`e` v`j`t`q`i` Dc`v`Pih`Aa`v`c`K` W. Av` Av`g`m` Av`t`i`w`b` w`v`i`l` K l` XvKv` w`e`k`v`e` v`j`t`q`i` MY`th`v`w`th`v`M` l` misewî KZvi w`e`f`i`M` G` Abq`v`b`i` Av`t`q`v`R`b` Kti`|

XvKv` w`e`k`v`e` v`j`t`q`i` t`Kv`v`a`y` Aa`v`c`K` W. tgv. Kv`g`j` D`i`t`b`i` m`fv`c`v`Z`i`Z`i` Abq`v`b` w`e`k`l` AwZ`i` w`nt`m`te` e`3e` iv`Lb` MY`th`v`w`th`v`M` l` misewî KZvi w`e`f`i`M`i` t`Pqv`i`g`v`b` Aa`v`c`K` g`v`d`R`y` ingv`b`| Abq`v`b` ÓAv`Zv`Dm` m`g`v`v` : G`K` K`w`Z`e`v`b` misewî K`Ó` kv`l`R` š`i`K` e`3Zv` t`b` w`Av`Bwe`i` m`š`e`K` g`v`c`v`i` Pij`K` Aa`v`c`K` W. t`k`L` Ave`j`v` m`j`v`g` l`

Abq`v`b` 2015` m`t`j`i` m`e`Z`K` m`š`b`v`v` c`i`x`y`v`q` Am`v`i`Y` K`w`Z`Z`i` t`K`w`Z` t`f`c` XvKv` w`e`k`v`e` v`j`t`q`i` MY`th`v`w`th`v`M` l` misewî KZvi w`e`f`i`M`i` ç`v`b` t`g`av`e`x` w`k`y`v`\_R`K` ÓAv`Zv`Dm` m`g`v`v` š`i`K` e`w`É` ç`v`b` Kiv`nq` l` (m`f` : mgKvj`, 23tk btf`at 2015)







**W. gKejvi ingvb**

~ubK msev`i mveK mnKvix m`uv`K Ges ubDwKevi weAvbx W. gKejvi ingvb MZ 28tk A±vei BšKvj Ktib (Bbwj jmn... iWRDb)| gZšKvtj Zú eqm ntqQj 78 eQi|

uZub XvKv vekje`vjg t`šK 1954 mtj c`v`eAvtb GgGmm

uWuM0 jvf Ktib| cti ubDwKevi wduR. -Gi lci ōBDubfwmŀ Ae ubD tgv šKv0 t`šK uc-GBPW uWuM0 ARŀ Ktib| uZub IvŀUi `šK XvKv vekje`vjg ikŷKZvi cvkvcvk ~ubK BšEdvšK mnKvix m`uv`K intmte KvR Ktib| cieZšZ 1977-079 mvj chš biBšRwi qŀi BDubfwmŀ Ae Kvj veŀi ikŷK intmte `vqZi; cij b Ktib| 1989 mtj t`šK wđi Avmvi ci msev`-G mnKvix m`uv`K intmte thvM t`b| 2014 mvj chš uZub GKB cti `vqZi; cij b Ktib|



**gxi AvdZve Dvib**

BšEdvK cwiKvi gd`š m`uv`K gxi AvdZve Dvib Avntg` Avi tbB| MZ 30tk A±vei ivRavxi gMevRvŀi ubR evmfešb uZub BšKvj Ktib (Bbwj jmn... iWRDb)| gZšKvtj Zú eqm ntqQj 74 eQi| cšxY msew`K

gxi AvdZve Dvib i Rbš ewikvj tRjvq| uZub 1972 mtj BšEdvšK thvM t`b| mn-m`uv`K, ukdW-Bb-PvR, gd`š m`uv`Kmn ~ubK BšEdvšKi evšP wefivM , iazcY` vqZi; cij b Ktib|



**tgv. vj qvKZ Avj x**

Ljyv t`šK cKvkZ ~ubK cešAj cwiKvi m`uv`K I evmŀi mveK cwiPvj K tgv. vj qvKZ Avj x ũ`tiŀM Avmvsŀ ntq MZ 28tk bšvš XvKvi GKŀU numcvZvtj BšKvj Ktib (Bbwj jmn... iWRDb)| gZšKvtj Zú eqm

ntqQj 67 eQi| gvšhxi mšMVK vj qvKZ Avj x tWBvj uŀeDšbi cKvkK I Ljyv wefivMq tčh Kve tŀWšikšbi mfvicvZi `vqZi; cij b Ktib|



**Ave`jvn Avj dviak**

ivRavxi KvKivBšj GK tectivqv UššKi Pvcvq gviv tMšQb misew`K Ave`jvn Avj dviak| MZ 12B uWŀmšv ga`ivšZ UššKi Pvcvq uZub Avnz nb| cviw`b 13B uWŀmšv` qvi numcvZvtj uZub gviv hib| dviakš Ki Mštgi emo crebri

teov DctRjvi exi kvj Kvq| uZub 2009 mtj Kvšj i KšE thvM t`qvi AvšM ~ubK mgKvšj i cšvb cšZte`K uŀšj b| uZub ~ubK hŀvšš cwiKvq| KvR Ktib| uZub RivZxq tčh Kve I uWAvi BDŀi m`m` uŀšj b|

মিডিয়া  
ও  
সম্প্রদায়িক

মেম্বার  
বনা

ক শক্তি  
দ্রাও

সামান্য সামান্য পক্ষ  
সহিংসতা পক্ষ

শেষ কোথায়?

শিব ভান্ডার মুসলমান পাকিস্তান  
Stop violence  
against Muslims  
as com

Myanmar Muslims

thvMšhvM

cKvkbv I wPvi wefvM

evsj v`k tčh Bbw÷ uDU

3 mviKŀ nvDm tiwW

XvKv-1000



