



## ^vkrk mtMly\*% , d I`tuREkd dknæjh

i k ofurk ck f'ka:  
ds, e-l h- dknyst]dky gki y

ejkBh I kfgR; kr dknæjh gk okMe; izkj egRokpk ekuyk tkrks dknæjh okMe; kph I q okr Hkkjrke/; s 19 0; k 'krdkP; k mRrjk/kkã kl u >kyh- i kjãlthph ejkBh dknæjh vnHkkjE; okrkoj.kkr jeysyh vk<GrS i.k urj frps Lo: lk cnyu fL=; køj gks kks vU; k; vR; kpkj ds koi u g; kl kj [ks I kelftd iz u gkrkGys xsysys fnl rkr- ; kurjP; k i qhy VI; ke/; s eukjat uoknh dknæjh fuekZ k >KY; kps fnl u ; rs 1960 P; k vxknj dknæU; k fyfgY; k tkr gkR; k i jarq [kU; k vFkkZs 1960 P; k vxknj dknæU; k fyfgY; k tkr gkR; k i jarq [kU; k vFkkZs 1960 urj ejkBh dknæjh ok<hl ykxyh- nfy] xkfe.k] L=hoknh] vfnokl h g; kl kj [; k izkgkr u dknæjh us i qpk Vlik xkBySyk igko; kl feGrks

I kBRrjh ejkBh I kfgR; kr nfy] I kfgR; kpk izkg vf/kd I kfgR; kpk mn; gh I kfgR; i karkhy egRokph ?kVuk vkgs nfy] I kfgR; i karkhy egRokph ?kVuk vkgs nfy] I kfgR; kps ij.kk LFku MKW ckckl kgc vkæMdj vkgr gs fufobkni .ks ekU; >kksy vkgs nfy] I kfgR; ] I kfgR; d o pGoGhus ejkBh I kfgR; kyk Qkj ekBh nsxh fnyh vkgs nfy] y[kdkuh vkiY; k I ektk' kh] ykdthouk' kh I e]l gkm Hkysjys vutlko dFku dsys vkgr- gs djr vl kuk iR; {k thoukcyj k Hkk'kk jkg.kheku i kskk [k] I .kokj t=k : <h&i Fkk] i jã jk] vãkU/nk nonoLdh] g; kps o.ku dsys vkgs

MKW ckckl kgc vkæMdj g; kP; k urj nfy] I ektk >kyY; k ifjorZukpk osk nfy] dknæjh us ?krySyk vkgs MKW ckckl kgc vkæMdj g; kauh i kjãlthP; k dkGkr voyfcys I R; kxgkps /kks.k] i qks djkj] /kekãrjkph ?kksk.kk g; k ?kVuk dknæjhP; k v'k; : i kus ; m ykxY; k xkãkthP; k fopkj I j.khpk i Hkko] I kE; oknh fopkj g; k I okp i j.kke >KY; keGs ejkBh dknæjhr nfy] I ektthouk fpr gkm ykxys

I kBRrjh ejkBh I kfgR; kr uof' kf{kr >kysy nfy] ; pd] xkeh.k&'kgjh thoukph ryuk d: u 'kgjh ek.kl kph ekufI drk vkiY; k I kfgR; kr u vfo"dr d: ykxyk- g; k dky [kMkr dknæjhph i jã jk i q s us ; kps dk; Z v..kk HkkÅ I kB} 'kãjjko [kkr] ckçjko cksy] ds ko es]ke] ukens <I kG] Hkhol u nB} v'kkd OgVdj] 'kj.kdçkj fyçkG} ckçjko xk; dokM vkf.k ^edde i k&V nokps xkB.k} dkj ek/ko dkMfloydj v'kk I kfgR; hdkauh dsyh-

nfyR l kfgR; ke/; s ts dknæjh ys[ku >kys vkgs R; kps Lo: lk i kjä kfjd  
 ejkBh dknæjhi {kk osxGs vl Y; kps fnl w ; r- QMd& [kk&sdj g; kP; k  
 dknæjhl kj [kh : <] fujxkB] mdy] iæ vls l kpsn Lo: l nfyR dknæjhi {kk  
 c&xGh vkgs nfyR dknæjh iR; {k thoukukkokpk vfo"dkj ?kMors thou txrkuk  
 ; s kkÚ; k vuud l eL; k] <k&h] : <h] pkyh&jhrh fo"kerk] l f' kf {krkP; k onuk]  
 l kelftd l eL; k] i j ä j k] vKku] v&kU/nk] nfyRke/khy rk.kr.kko] tkr /kel  
 g; kl kj [ks iz u nfyR dknæjhr vkysys vkgr-

ejkBh l kfgR; kpk i&kg vf/kd xfreku o i&ko' kkyh dj.; ke/; s vuud  
 ys[kdkauh ; k&xnku fnys R; ke/; s ek/ko d&mfoydj gs , d egRokps l kfgR; d  
 Eg.kuu v&G [kys tkrkr- ek/ko d&mfoydj g; kauh nfyR dknæjhyk uok vk'k;  
 vk; ke nmu ejkBh dknæjhr eksykph Hkj ?kkryh- tkrhP; k ukok [kkyh i LFkfi r  
 y&dkP; k vU; k; vR; kpkjkps n' k&u d&mfoydj g; kP; k l kfgR; k&uu fnl rs ek/ko  
 d&mfoydj g; kauh vki Y; Lou&kkok&uu nfyR txkrhy l [k n&[kk&uk c&syds dsys  
 l kfgR; k&uu <kl Gr vl y& ; k e& ; k&u t&si kl ys ^eD&ke i k&V nokps x&B. k& gs  
 v&RedFku Eg.kts ys[kdkP; k thoukrhy , dk fof' k"V dky [k&/kph v&Redgk.kh  
 vkgs rj ^ns k&K&Mh\* e/k&u ep&zhry fxj.kh fxj.kh dkexkj&pa H&kofo' o dl s vkgs  
 gs nk[k&uu fnys rl p ^vukFk\*] ^Mkd\*] ^gkrkph ?kMh rk&/koj c&V\* ^, d g&srh  
 dkrGokMh\*] ^vkrk mtkMsy\* v'kk dknæÚ; k fyfgY; k- mi f {kr vl . kkÚ; k  
 tkrhrhy ek.kl kps tx fdrh Hk; kud vkgs ; k tkrhP; k iz uk&cr ek/ko  
 d&mfoydj Eg.krkr] ^tkr gh ek.kl kyk x&pMhl kj [kh fpdVsyh vl rs rh  
 R; kP; k jDrkrY; k is thr f&kuysyh vkgs v'kh [kar 0; Dr dsyh vkgs

^vkrk mtkmsy\* dknæjhr&u d&mfoydj g; kauh pe&dkj l e&tkps n&[k dFku  
 dsys vkgs pe&dkj l e&tkps n&[k] dFku dsys vkgs pe&dkj l e&tkps n&[k]  
 dFku dsys vkgs pe&dkj l e&tkps n&[k onuk gs brj l e&tki {kk f&kuu vkgs-  
 Lo%r&ps i k& Hkj.; kl k&h i kol kus x&jB.kkÚ; k ek.kl kps tx gk g; k dknæjhP&k  
 fo"k; Q&VD; k r&VD; kdurkukP; k Nrk [kkyh r&VD; k ogk.kk n&f'kr] x&Vkj&P; k n&Z&kr  
 dke dj.kk&; k v&f.k l á; kdkGh nk: P; k u' k& rjZ g&s k&; k ek.kl kps H&kofo' o  
 g; k dknæjhr foLrri . ks ek&/ys vkgs

Dknæjhpk uk; d l &khj uk&dhP; k fufeR&kus ejkBokM; k&uu d&sd.k H&k&xkr  
 ; s&ks dkj.k ^eg&j&pa i &ja fdrh f' k&ya rjh rs eg&j&p\* vl ofj"B l e&tkps  
 y&sd Eg.krkr- r&gk v'kk t& ; k fop&j&P; k y&sd&kl w nj tkoa Eg.kuu R; kua  
 d&sd.kkr ; s ; kpk fu.k& ?k&ryk ; f&ks v&Y; k&urjgh R; kyk c&p.k&jk tkrhpk iz u  
 l rkor g&rk- ^vkrk mtkMsy\* e/k&u l &khj v&f.k ufyuh g; k&ph i&edF&k of.k&syh  
 vkgs ^l o.k&uh mnkj H&f&edk ?k&ryh rjh nfyR&ps vki ki l krhy H&sn R; k&uk ekuf l d

*ik ofurk ck f'kas*

xykefxjhrw ePr glsÅ nr ukghr\* vl s MKW johanz Bkdij Eg.krkr- gs tjh [kjs  
 vl ys rjh ns[khy ; kph i kGeGs Hkkjrh; I LdrhP; k I aprkr : tyyh vkgr  
 vl s EgVys rjh pphps gks kkj ukgh- ; kr I q' kf{kr >kysyh i gkskeh fopkjkph fi <h  
 g; k nksu oxoxG; k erkP; k fi <hr I ak'kz gkrkuk fnl rks g; k dknæjhrw  
 vkrjtkrh; fookgkr dsys : i karj Eg.kts ys[kdkus , d izdks trh&tkrhrhy  
 HknHkko ukghl s Ogkor o I oz ekuotkr , dl ak Ogkoh g; k mnkRr grws dknæjhps  
 ys[ku dsys vkgs vkrjtkrh; fookgkpk iz u gk ejkBh I kfgR; kyk dkgh uohu  
 ukgh ijarw g; k dknæjhrw nfytr tkrh vrxr ns[khy Hkn vkgr- gk uok fo"k;  
 i Lnr dknæjhrw gkrkGyk vkgs

g; k dknæjhrhy I qkhj vkf.k ufyuh g; kauk R; kpcjkæj okl mo o R; kph  
 i Ruh ofurk g; kauk R; kP; k tkrhrhy ykdkauh fnyy; k euLrki kps o. kzu I tu  
 dj. kkjs vkgs g; kckr okl mo nð[kh eukus Eg.krks dh] ^ek>h i kj f' kdr gkrh  
 vH; kl kr gq kkj gkrh gs R; k eY; kauk c/koy ukgh- QVys R; kps MKGs rj] eY; kauh  
 ek>; k i kjhpk ?kkr dsyk\*\*- vki Y; k jkxkP; k Hkjr R; kus oBkjdu; kP; k ukokua , d  
 ckc Bkdu Eg.kkyk dh] ^vjs I kys ek>k dkaMekjk djrkgr] >kyh R; kph ekrh  
 rh\*\*] vl s Eg.krkrp I xGs oBkj dj pkjh cktuh /kkr ; su ?kjr ?kq w ykFkkP; k  
 vkf.k dkB; kP; k QVD; kauh okl mo pk vkokt dk; epk cn djrkr- ; kruw R; kauk  
 gks kkjk ekufi d=kl ] dkMek&; kps fp=. k 0; Dr gkrkuk fnl rs tj , [kknh 0; Drh  
 I ektkP; k fojkskkr tkr vl sy rj R; kph dk; voLFkk gkrs g; kps ; FkkFKZ fp=. k  
 dknæjhe/; s dsys vkgs

Hkkjr ns k vud tkr] /ke] Hkk'kk] ins k g; kauh tjh foHkxyk vlyk rjh  
 ns[khy ; khy ek. I kP; k eukrhy ek. kd dhps tru gkrkuk fnl rs I xG; kpk  
 'kkd vkojY; kuarj vCcktku ofurkyk Eg.krkr] ofurkgsu. Okl mo iokj esyk  
 ukgh- R; kpa I ksu >kyd rogk vkrk rñgh nð[k d: udk vkf.k vl kg; i .ka okVw  
 ?km udk- vktikl w rñgh nk'kkauk tkobz o eyxh I kkkG. kkj vkgr- Eg.kw vEgh  
 rñgkyk U; k; yk vkyks vkgr rogk rñgh vkrk vkeP; kcjæj pyk g; kruw R; kph  
 vl .kkjh ek. kd dh fdrh vkgs gs y{kk ; rj] rogk , d L=h ofurkP; k dkuktoG  
 tkmu Eg.kkyh] ck; tk] cja >kyd g; k ujdkruw r#; k efyua vkf.k tko; kua  
 rgyk ckgj dk<yd vkf.k r#kk tkobz ijD; k tkrhpk vlyk Eg.kw dk; >kyd  
 rks ek. kul p vkgj g; k I kj [; k okD; kruw tkrhi {kk ek. kl kps ek. kul i .k fedrh  
 egRokps vkgs gs y{kk ; rs gp ^vkrk mtkMsy\* ps ; 'k ekuk; yk gos , dk  
 vFkkZs ^vkrk mtkMsy\* gh dknæjh Xykcy >kyh vkgs

I qkhj vkf.k ufyuh g; kP; k fookgkyk R; kP; kP; k tkrhrhy ykdkauh fojksk  
 gkrk- gk fojksk jkx 0; Dr djrkuk xa; k ufyuhyk Eg.krks] ^ufyuh] dks kkdMs

xyh glrhl xà vl s Eg.krkp ufyuh okf?k.khl kj [kh porkGw R; kyk Eg.krs xà; k  
 dks k dß xyh\ dks k dß vkyh\ dks k dks kk' kh cksyr glrhl\ dks k dq kk' kh  
 gl r glrhl\ dks k dks kpk gkr /k: u xsyk ; kpk igkjk dj; yk rnyk bFka  
 cl oysya vkg; jà vl k [kMk l oky ufyuh xà; k' kh djrkuk fnl rs g; krou  
 frP; k tkrhr HknHkko fdrh rVLFkus ikGys tkr gkrs gs ; krou igko; kl feGrs

eql hl j xQjfe; k] dyd.khZ dVq; txnkGs gh ik=s l qkhjyk l kfk nrkr-  
 iMR; k dkGkr vk/kkj nrkr- l qkhjP; k yXukr fo|kF; kauh QVks oktoys l ks  
 dyd.khZ ofguhauk o/kpjyk iqi xPN o i:s fnyj xQjfe; kauh] l qkhjP; k cks/kr  
 vkf.k eprktHkkHkhua ufyuhP; k cks/kr l k; kP; k vaxB; k p<oY; k ik- eql h vkf.k  
 ik- xq ukFk dyd.khZ g; kauh l okuk pgk&ykMwfny l ekjalk vkuankr ikj iMyk gs  
 l oz l gdk; Z g; k dVq; kauh dsys ; krou jDrkP; k ukR; ki {kk ekuysyh ukrh JSB  
 vl rkr gs R; kP; k drhrw y{kk ; rs R; kph vl .kkjh l gdk; kph Hkkouk]  
 ek.kd dh] , dedkfo" k; hph vki nydh euyk HkkoY; kf' kok; jkgr ukgh-

okl mo iokj d/kh gh 'kkGph ik; jh u p<syk ijajkxr 0; ol k; d: u  
 l d kjpk xkMk pkyorks l d kj djkr vl rkuk ?kkr dkghgh deh u dj.kkjk  
 nd & kP; k enrhyk /kko.kkjk Lor% vf' kf{kr vkg; i.k vki Y; k euykauk f' k{k.k  
 ?knu ekBs Ognos v' kh vi {kk 0; Dr djrks okl mo cjksj R; kph iRuh ofurk gh  
 ns[khy g; k dknæjhe/; s vki yh Hkfredk dVdki .ks ctkorkuk fnl rs ofurk  
 vki Y; k vki Y; k l d kje/; s dks krhgh vMp.k ; m u nrk mRre jhrhus l d kj  
 ikjkmrkuk fnl rs fourk gh LoRk% L=h Eg.kou vki ys LoRo tirkuk fmnl rs  
 ijajkxr fopkjauk ukdkj .kkjh ; s kk& ; k l dVkauk u >prk rkB ekusus l kekjh trs  
 frP; k eukr f' k{k.kkfo" k; h rGeG vkg; Eg.kou rh Lor"p; k euyhyk f' k{k.kkl kBh  
 l o'ksi jh l gdk; Z djrs frP; k gkypkyhrw rh Hkkrh; L=hps ifruhf/kRo djrkuk  
 fnl rs , dnjhr g; k dknæjhrhy fL=; k ifjLFkrhyk >kp.kk&; k ukghr rj R; k  
 nq[kkyk nksu gkr d: u mH; k jkg.kk&; k vkgr- ; fky fL=pk iq "k l Rkd  
 i/nrhyk l eFk .ks l kfk nr thou txrkuk fnl rkr vkf.k Tj oGk vkyh rj  
 t' kkl rl s mRrj nnu okf?kuhl kj [; k porkGw mBrkr- ; k dknæjhrhy fL=; kP; k  
 ?kjph xfjch vl yh rjh ns[khy R; k ifjLFkrhyk u ?kkcjr l eFk .ks rkM nrkr-  
 ukjk; .k ikokjph ck; dks l d kjpk xkMk pkyo.kkjh] Hkpsus =Lr vl .kk&; k  
 euykP; k [kk. ; kph l ks dj.kkjh ifjLFkrhps Hkku Bou uo&; k' kh l Yyk el yr  
 d: u l d kj i:s us kkjh L=h Eg.kts ukjk; .k ikokjph ck; dks gks rh /kMvekl rjyk  
 Eg.krs vkEgh ck; dk pyhP; k ckgj dk; c?kr ukgh gs dcy i.k , d fnol py  
 i/vyh ukgh dh\ rP; k vaxkph vx gkrs dkyi kl w vkeP; k ?kkr Hkcdjhl kBh

i hB ukgh] jk=Hkj i kja jMr gksh r0gk r0gh R; kauk dk uk; ok<yr\ g; kl kj [; k cksy. ; krmu fL=Rokps n0[k o Li "VoDrs .k fnl u ; srks

g; k dkn0ejhph ukf; dk ufyuh g; k dkn0ejhrhy fL=; kps i frfu/khRo djrkuk fnl rs ufyuh I 0' kf{kr vl Y; kus fryk ckgjP; k txkpk vutlko gkrk Eg.kaup rh Lor%P; k l ektkrhy eynkauh f' kdys ukgh Eg.kau [kr 0; Dr djrs vkt tjh pe0dkj l ektkr cny >kkyk ul yk rjh Hkfo"; kr dk vl suk\ g; k l ektkus I 0kkjkos v' kh vk' kk 0; Dr djrs ufyuh gh i ja jkxr fopkjkyk ukdj.kkjh vkgs Eg.kau rh vki Y; k l ektkrhy xa; k' kh fookg u djrk I 0khj l kj [; k l 0' kf{kr o l jdkjh l or vl .kk7; k l : .kk' kh fookgc/n gkrs ; krmu frph /kkMI horh] fu.kz {kerk ngn"Vh g; kps n' kzu ?kMrs

gh dkn0ejh vu0d ?kVuk mi ?kVukP; kek/; ekrmu vkdkjkyk vkyh vkgs g; k dkn0ejhr v0kJ/nk] l .kmRI o] : <h&i ja jk] tki pk; r igko; kl feGrkr-cki v kgc gksukGdj vkf.k vkckl kgc ns ke0[k g; kl kj [; k 0; fDrfp=. krmu jktdh; yk0kph LokFkh0Rkh o <kachi .kk y{kkjr ; srks jktdh; yk0d u0 rs cksyrkr dirh ek= djrkuk fnl r ukghr ghp fLFkrh ; Fkhy jktdkj.kh yk0kph vkgs vkckl kgc ns ke0[k o cki v kgc gksukGdj g; k jktdkj.kh 0; fDrP; k f=. krmu okLrokrhy jktdkj.kkoj izdk' k Vkdyyk vkgs

vki yk l ekt trk] /ke] g; kP; k f0karhe/; s fi <; kufi <; k c0nLr jkg.kkj k vkf.k rp ; kx; o JSB vl s eku.kk&; k ekufi drps i 0kkoh o.kzu dkMfoydj g; kauh g; k dkn0ejhe/kau dsys vkgs trk] /ke] Hkk"kk] ins k g; kP; k fHkarh rks/w i kg.kk&; k ckgjP; k ek0dG; k vkHkkGkps n' kzu ?k0n bfPN.kk&; k ekstD; k fopkj0arkaukp ep Bjow cfg"dr dsys tkrs gs vktgh xteh.k thoukr tk.ko.kkjs fonkj d l R; i Fkep ek/ko dkMfoydj g; kauk ^vkrk mtkmsy\* dkn0ejhrmu ekany vkgs , dk fBdk.kh l 0khj E.krk0^uy] rw dkgh dkGth d: udks R; k yk0kph dkgh p0dr vl sy] i .k vkt uk mn; k rh p0d R; kP; k y{kkr ; bzy ex rs l kj foljrhy vkf.k , d fnol rs vki Y; k' kh cksyrhy iekua okxrh] vxa jk=>kkyh v0kkj >kkyk rjh i 0gk mtkMr; vkf.k izdk' k i Mrkp-\*\* vl k v' kkoknh n"Vhdksu 0; Dr dsyk vkgs

MkW ckckl kgc vk0Mdj g; kP; k l 0k"0z khy fopkj0ark okj l k ?k0nu l ektkP; k fodkl kdfjrk l 0khjus mpyysys ikmy Eg.kts ; Fkhy 0; oLFksyk ykoysyk l q 0 vkgs ufyuh l kj [; k L=hyyk Lohdk: u l 0khjus MKW ckckl kgc vk0Mdj g; kauk vfHki r vl .kkjk l erpk fopkj drhrmu nk[kowu fnyk R; kus Lor%ps yXu egkRek tkrhjko Qgys g; kauh l k0xryY; k ^l R; ' kkskd l ektkDr\* i/nrhus yXu l ekj0lk i kj i kMyk- l 0khj gk vk0Mdjh fopkj0ark i kb0d vl Y; kus R; kph gh dirh

*ik ofurk ck f'kas*

cksyD; k dk; ZDR; kã škk dirh' khy dk; ZDR; kph okVrs g; knu 21 0; k 'krdrkhy  
r: .k fi <hyk uohu l ans k fnyk vkg

^vkrk mtkmsy\* dknæjhp; k Hkk"kk fopkj dsk rj Hkk"kk l feJ Lo: ikph  
vkg dknæjhrhy Hkk"kk ik=kuq lk o id akud kj ; rkkuk fnl rs g; k dknæjhrhy  
cjkp Hkkx dkd. kkrhy jki ki j l kj [; k Hkkxkr ?kMY; keGs ^jktki jh dkd. kh\* 'kCnkpk  
okij dsk vkg R; keGs dkd. kh Hkk"kk l et.; kl enr gks ek/ko  
dkMfoydj gs Hkk"kk; k ckrhr l rdZ vl sys fnl rkr- R; keGs dknæjhrhy  
ik=kuq lk Hkk"kk vkysyh fnl rs g; k dknæjhrhy l dVkr vukš pkfjdrk dkBgh  
vkyh vl Y; kps tk.kor ukgh-

^vkrk mtkmsy\* ] g; k ukokuarj vl .kkjs mnxkj okpd fplg gs cjp dkgh  
l kku tkr g; k dknæjhp; k ukoke/kku ys[kdkus , dk u0; k igkVps Lolu  
l kdkjysys vkg l q khj vkf.k ufyuh g; kauh vki Y; k fookgkeGs tkrh 0; oLFkP; k  
fHkarhuk rMs iM.; kl enr gkby vkf.k Hkfo"; kr R; ki wkã .ks dkd Gu i Mrhy  
vl k v' kkokn 0; Dr dsk vkg

## I aHkZ %

- 1½ dkMfoydj ek/ko & ^vflerkn' kã fnokGh vd]1985 ^jktki jph Mk; jh\*  
i" B dz33-
- 2½ dkMfoydj ek/ko & ^vkrk mtkmsy\* i kll; wj idk' ku epbz ifgyh  
vkoRrh&2001 i" B dz120-
- 3½ r=š & i" B dz122] 31] 46] 120 b-
- 4½ gLrd] m"kk & ejkBh okM%e; kpk bfrgkl [kMi kpok] Hkkx& ifgyk ¼ Hkã k-  
jk- Jh- tks½
- 5½ dgyd. khz Jh- ek-& dknæjhp jpuk] mlešk idk' ku] Uxij vkoRkh ifgyh  
1975-
- 6½ QMds Hkkypnz & nfy l kfgR; % on. kk vkf.k fontg Jhfo | k idk' k i qkš  
vkoRkh & 21989-