



c; n zf; g

G O O D G O V E R N A N C E

kl]klAnssf]k\$fg

j if{& c\$ ^

j žfv @)^^

April-May 2009



lušl knbfb} sgtfb}l, cfyn9wfsf afnallnsfx;

æ .yiglo txd f blnt, nghflt, dlxf, afnaflnsf, ckf, czQm lk5l8Psf ju{ ; zQms/0fsf nflu uflj ; sf]sh lj sf; ahšsf]!% kltzt ahš lb0gkg]egl ; /sf/n]xfn} uflj ; cgbfg sfo]j lw NofPsf]5 . t/ cfyn9wfsf clwsfz uflj ; df o; sf]k0f{ pln3g ePsf]5 .

A

uflj ; cgbfg sfo]j lw

j f: t} ul/Pg

; a}dNg]tTk/tf

lj sf; lgdf0fnf0{/fhgllts uf]lsf}kdf kofu ug]qnd al9/x\$fa]hf wgsšf, a9ldf]a sf afl; Gbfx;n]lj sf; lgdf0fdf /fhgllts bfpk} gug]k]ta4tf u/\$f 5g\

k[7- \$ df



clg dfq ; fy\$tf

gkfnl ; dfhdf blnt, hghflit, dlxfn, afnaflnsf, ckfu, czQmkI5 k/\$f ; dbfo xg\ eG]tVo ; fj hlgS :jls[t xf]. z]lfs, cfly\$, /fhglltsh:tf bl[6sf]fn]pglx; lgs} kI5 k/\$f 5g\ To; h]pglx;sf]; anlS/Ofdf /fhon]lj z]l Wofg lbgk5{eGg]dfu nfd] ; dob]lv pl7/x\$]l]yof]. tflS /fhoaf6 cfkx; x]kPsf]dx; ; pglx;n]ug{gkfpng\ Toxl eP/ :yfglo lj sf; dgqfnodfkrf ut jif]lv uflj ; sf]sh ah\$]dWo]!% kl]tzt ltg}; dbfosf]lxtdf vr{ug[kg]clgj fo{JoJ:yf; lxt uflj ; cgbfg sfolj lw NofPsf] xf]. t/ :yfglo txd] To; sf]sfof]og ePsf]5g . ; Gb / k9bf kZ;+glo nflu]t/ sfof]og gXg]ax; Wos gltlgbz;g tyf sfolj lwX;S}sf]ldf k\$of]of]klg . clxn] Dd cf]yn9bfSf upufp]df of]sfolj lwsf]dd{gk]g'o; sf]k]df of] xf].

sfolj lwdf clgj fo{JoJ:yf eg]klg cf]yn9bfSf uflj ; x;df o; nfo{clgj fo{df]gPsf] kf0b} . of]k6s klg efl]ts lj sf; lgd]of tyf ; fw/Of vr]df dfq]kfyldstf lb0{ah\$ 5\$of0Psf]5 . o; f]xg]df efl]ts lj sf; lgd]of nfo{dfq}; j f]k/L 7fGg]:yfglo /fhgllts bn, uflj ; kbflwsf/l tyf ah\$ afl; Gbfsf]k/ftg ; f] lhDd]f/ dfGgk5{. pglx;df efl]ts lj sf; ePkI5 ; a\$]l]xt xg]wf/Of kf0Psf]5 . sfolj lw c; km]tfsf sf/s kl] of]klg xf].

p2]o /fd]eP klg sfolj lwsf]of]JoJ:yf pNn3g xg]df cgludgsf]sdl bl]G5 . cgludg s; n] / s; /l ug]< pNn3g ePdf sf/afxl g}ul/G5 eGg]ej:tk/s qf; E b]y]pg ; lsPsf]kf0b} . xgt sfolj lw pNn3g ePdf uflj ; sf]cgbfg g]/fl]sg]JoJ:yf s]b\$] clwsf/lx; ; g]p5g\ t/ lj utdf klg o:tf gltlgodx; pNn3g xb}c]Psf xg]t/ sf/afxl ePsf]lj /n; lgp]sf]5 . To; y{of]sfolj lwsf]; km]tfsf nflu sfof]og / cgludgsf]kf6f]; an agf0gk5{. pNn3g ug]hfo{sf/afxl u/] b]y]pg ; Sgk5{. o; f]xg ; s]df dfq o; sf]; fy\$tf /xG5 . o; sf]; fy\$tf xg'eg\$]kl5 k/\$f ; dbfosf] nflu /fhosf]st{fo lgj f; xg' xf].

; Nnfxsf/
8f= >ls]of >]7
k\$fdldf zdf{
; DkfbS
s]df/ v8sf
sfosf/L ; DkfbS
; dg/fh kGt
; jfbfbtf
hfg]sf dg]fnl
lbgz l3ld/]
efiff
s]of]k] fb l/dfn
sf6g
vf\$g
JoJ:yfkg
lj iof]k] fb kf]v/h
; Hhf
clDasf s; l=

k\$fsz
c; n zf; g sfof]omd
kl]klans
k]ag]!\$#&
km]M \$^%\$!
(ofS; M \$^*)@@
uf]da4dfu{
cgl]dgu/, sf]df8f}
Email: gg@propublic.org
www.propublic.org

hfgsf/L rflxof]
xfdl s]l ojfn]
cgr]krf/s ; kdf ; u]7t
e0{c; n zf; g Sna
u7g u/\$f 5f; t/
o; sf]lq]n]fsnfk s; /l
; ~rfng ug{; lsG5 eGg]
af/]hfgsf/L gePsf]h]
cuf]8 a9g ; s\$]f 5g]f;
s]kof oy]6 hfgsf/L
u/f0lbg' xg cfuX ub5f;f;
n]ldf ykf / ; fy]x;
t/^bf-% ; v]



; Dks{u/L ; DkOf[hfgsf/L k]pg
; Sg'xg\$ -; + .

; :t]n]f\$]k]of]t gxf] \
c; n zf; gsf]k]n]ub c\$
l9n]u/L k9g k]P". klqsfn]
; d\$]f]sfunfo{ah] kfSof]xif
g lj :dft zlif\$]sf]; DkfbSlo
/ adn cgbfgdf clgoldttf,
ls; fgsf]cfq]n]zE zlif\$]sf]
; dfrf/n]:tJw agfof].
as]l]df JoJ; fols/Of /
of]qls/Of, ls; fgsf]

hljg:t/df ; k]Gt/OfE sf]
gf/f lnP/ bu] lhNndf
/f; folgs dn, alp, 9]fgl
tyf dn vl/b ug{cgbfg
lbg]h:tf ; /sf/L sfo]md
5 . t/ hgtfn]o; sf]nfe
lng ; s\$]f 5g]g\
s]l]h:tf]l]g]df klg o:t}
n]k/afxl ug]x]eg]ls; fg
/ g]k]nsf]c]fly\$;t/,
vfB; f]s]f]; \$6 lg]dtg]
; Defj gf lgs}5 .
To; h]Sg]klg
gl]tlgod tyf sfo]md
agf0bf To; sf]sfof]og
klfnfo{lj z]l Wofg lb0g'
cfj Zos 5, tflS tl
JoJ:yf]sf]; :t]n]f\$]k]of]t
gxf] \ c; km] gl]tlgod

tyf sfo]mdn]c]GttM
; /sf/kl]t g]hgt]sf]
clj Zj]f; a9g kl5 .
h]Of{efu]f/
s]gt]l]-&, cf]yn9bf
ah]6g k]pg s]ug]k5{<
d]h]slxn\$]xl" c; n zf; g
ah]6g k9g k]pg]u/\$f]
5' . t/ lgoldt ; kdf
cfk]n]g]7]l]g]df k]pg s]
ug]kn]f<
lgS; g y]f]; ; cd/k/-\$, kfry/
-y]f]; hl, c; n zf; g ah]6g
xh]sdf]krf lgoldt k]k]t ug{
o; sf]lj flif\$ ul]xsa]kt !%
?k]p]k]f]kl]nsnfo{eQ]n]gl u/]f]
j]f xdf] website www.
propublic.org af6 klg of]
klqs k9g ; Sg]xg\$. -; +



■ lbkz l3ld/

9j fgl cgbfgsf]/f; folgs dn
cfPk15 vrf^a]s; fg v'; l ePsf
5g\ lhNndf 9j fgl cgbfgsf]dn
cfPsf]; gk15 ; b/dsfd lbQm^h cfpog]
ls; fgsf]rfk lgs}a9\$]5 . l9n}
ePklg dn kfpbf ls; fg krf^a 5g\
/t65fsf ls; fg z kaxfb/ /f0h]c6g
k; nsf]e6bf lgs}; :t^hdf dn
kfpbfsv'; l ; gfpb]eg]æxfdl
ul/anf0{eg} ; /sf/n]k7fPsf]dn
kfpbf v'; l nfu\$]5 .Æ

csf{ls; fg b]lk}fb cfrfo{klg
sd v'; l 5g\ æ/f; folgs dn g}
k^hfu gu/l ux"v]l ugk/]klg ds}
afnlsf]nflu eg]dn cf0k^hof^h
lbQm^h lgj f; l pgn]eg]æux"lalup
klg ds}/fd[]xfhf h:tf]5 .Æ o; j if{
/f; folgs dn 9j fgl]nflu dfq
vrf^adf %) nfv @) xhf/ ?k^hdf"
ah^h 5\$of0Psf]lyof]. dk+/sf]bf] f]
; ftb]v g]lhNnf klvgk]dn
kn^hugsf]bf] f]; ftf; Dd klg gklbf
ls; fgx\ df/df k/\$f lyP . kj^h l
bu^hdsf ol ls; fgsf]kl8f c; n zf; g
/lBof]sfo^hnds]lj le6g c\$ tyf
c; n zf; g klqsfsf]@)^^ kn^hug
c\$df ædn cgbfgdf clgoldttf,
ls; fgsf]cfq^hzÆ zlif\$sf]:ynut
; dfrf/ ; fj h]lgs ul/Psf]lyof].
; dfrf/ ; sngsf]qndf k^hlv lhNnf
clwsf/l /fdk}fb l3ld/h]dn Nofpg
; Sbf]kxn ug[k]ta4tf u/\$f lyP .
h; cg; f/ s[]f tyf ; xsf/l
d6qfnodf ; d] kqrf/ ul/Psf]lyof]
-xg]k] \kq . oldf]q]xf]g, c; n
zf; g sfo^hnds]tk^hrf6 vrf^adf
dn k^hofpgsf nflu lj le6g lgsodf
bafa; d] lb0Psf]lyof].

c; n zf; g sfo^hnd; ùsf]
c^htj f^hdf s[]f tyf ; xsf/l
d6qfnosf k]Qm^h tyf ; x; lrj
8f=xl/ bxfn^h]klg 9j fgl cgbfgsf]
/f; folgs dnnf0{; dod}lhNndf
k^hofpgsf]nflu cfj Zos lgbz^hg lbg]
k]ta4tf JoQm u/\$f lyP . 9j fgl
cgbfg ls; fgnf0{; xlnot lb0Psf]xf]
ls; fgn]kn^h0bf gkfp To; sf]cfr>To

v f^hbf^a k^huf] dn v'; l eP ls; fg



g/xg]atfPsf 8f-bxfn^h]t]sf^h]s[]f
lj efusf of]hgf dxzf^hv k^hlv tyf
pkdxflgbz^hs lj hosdf/ dlnnsnf0{
lgbz^hg lbPsf lyP . lgbz^hgnuQ}
dlnnsn]l^hqlo s[]f lgbz^hgno
lj /f6gu/sf k^hlv Zofdl^hszf]
; fxnf0{t?6t}/f; folgs dn vrf^a
k^hofpg]Jo; yf ldnfpg eg\$^h lyP .
To; kl5 ; fxn]lhNnf s[]f lj sf;
sfo^hno vrf^asf k^hlv x/|b|>lj f: tj
tyf 9j fgl 7\$^hbf/ plkg /f0h]f0{t?6t}
dn lhNndf gk^hofP ; Den^htf e^h
ul/g]r^h]fjgl lbPsf lyP .
kl/Ofd:j z k kn^hug cl^htd xktfd}
\$) d]6\$6g /f; folgs dn
; b/dsfd lbQm^h kl\$^h]lyof].
r^hzsf]bf] f]; ftf; Dddf dnsf]kl/df0f
!#^ d]6\$6g kl\$^h]atf0Psf]5 .
æ; n zf; g sfo^hndnf0{w}w}z}
w6oj fbÆ lbQm^hsf ls; fg s[]f
cfrfo^h]6]hkn^hdf eg]æ; n zf; g
sfo^hnd]olt bafa glbPsf]eP s^hl
u/]klg dn lhNndf cfpb^h]yof].Æ
sfo^h]og txsf]l9nf; !tn]
; j {fw/Ofnf0{kg]dsf\$]pbfx/Of of]
36gfn]b]vPsf]5 . ; dod}va/bf/l
ug]xf]eg]o:tf 36gf ; lRrg]tyf
nllft j u^h]nfe kfp; Sg]tYo
k\$6 u5g\k]hc l3ld/. æ; n
zf; g sfo^hnd; fRr\$]gfdcg; f/sf]
sfd u/\$f]5Æ pgn]eg]. ■

; f^hg

gof"j if{@)^^ sf]cj ; /df c; n zf; g /lBof]sfo^hnd]æ:yf^hglo
hgtfsf]ugf; f]k^hvfgdGql; DdÆ lj ifos gof":tDe ; ? ug]ePsf]5 .
of]:tDedf efu lngsf]nflu tkf0^hef]u\$^h ; d:of tyf ugf; f c; n
zf; g sfo^hnd; dlf pknAw u/fpgk^h5 . ; s]Dd kl8ts}cfj fhdf ; d:of
/ ugf; f k] f/Of ug]xfdf]k^hof; /xg^h5 .
o; sf]nflu kq k7f^hbf ckn^hdf]; Dks{6]hkn^hdf j f d^hz^hOn gDa/ nVg
g5bfp^hgxf]hf .
tkf0^hef6 k^ht ; d:of tyf ugf; f x/\$^h dlxgfsf]cl^htd cf0taf/ c; n
zf; g /lBof]sfo^hnd tyf c; n zf; g dfl; s ah]6gdf ; djz^h ul/g^h5 .
o; /l k] fl/t sfo^hnds]l; 8l k^hvfgdGqlHohf0{pknAw u/fP/ ; d:ofs]
; d^hwfg v^h]g]k^hof; ; d] ul/g]5 .

ugf; f tyf ; d: of k7fpg]7]ufgf
Od]hM radio@propublic.org kn^hdfS; gDa/M)!-\$@^*)@@
c; n zf; g sfo^hnd, k]klAns, kf]j-g+!\$#)&, cgdgu/, sf7df8f}



■ **lbkž l3ld/žblu{vql
cfyn9ufdf**

e8f/]. ; b/d5fd cfyn9ufsf] & gDa/
j 8fl:yt 6fih xf]. Ps ; oegbf a9l
blntsf]of]a:tl aQldlgsf]clwof/f]ePsf]
5 . clwsfz JolQmIgf/lf/ 5g\ 6fihdf
Pp6f sjf, Tof]klg rfkf of / dflg;
b]žsf]; f]. . g t lahlh g t ; 8s g}
5 . ; b/d5fdleq]eP/ klg pk]ffdf
k/žf]of]a:tlsf]blMv oltdf dfq}; lldt
5g .

blMv / kl8fsf]eQmef]ulxž oxf"wx}
5g\ cfyn9uf ahf/sf xfhixž df
ef8f dfem]lgdñf gkfnl logðllo]
kl5g\ rf/ j ifçl3 kltsf]d[o' ePk15
kl/jf/sf]g]Tj ubžcfPsl pgsf]kfr
; 6tfg 5g\ hldg yf]ž}tyf cfodhs
; lksf]sdln]ef8f dfem]k/žf]pgsf]
egf0 5 . ætflnd kfP t t/sf/l vžl
ug{; Sy]xrhfæ clf/ glrgžl pgl
el65g\ ætflnd glnPsf]h]/fd] ž
t/sf/l nufpg cfpbž .Æ

xf] log]lgdñf:h:t}k5f18 kfl/Psf,
zfl]ofdf k/žf, pkllft, ptkl18t, blnt,
dlxnf hghflt, czQm=ckfæ,
afnaflnsf]; zQms/Ofsf]nflu sh
lj sf; ahžsf]!% klžtzt /sd
5bdfpgsf]nflu uflj ; cgbfg ; ~rfng
sfolj lw @)^^ n]Jož:yf u/žf]5 .
ufp"lj sf; ; lldt cgbfg ; ~rfng
sfolj lw @)^^ sf]kl/rod}sfolj lwn]
:yfglo :j foQ zf; g Pž, @)%% sf
l; 4fçt tyf gltxž nf0{kçfj sf/l žkn]
sfof]j og ug{uflj ; cgbfg sfoçndnf0{
of]hgfa4 ž kdf Jožl:yt u/fpg]p2žo
/fvžf]pNny 5 .

o; df cufl8 elgPsf]5 æfd]ufp"
/fd]lagcf]æ eg]gf/fsf ; fy hgtfnf0{
:yfglo ; j f / ; lj wdf ; xh kxž j [4
u/f0{hg; xeflutf hčfpg, :yfglo
lgsfonf0{hgrfxgfklt ; jhgzln /
hgpQ/bfol agfpg, uflj ; nf0{; an /
:j fj ndal agf0{; j f k] fxnf0{kçfj sf/l
agfpg tyf cfooonf0{kf/bzl{u/fpg]
sfožf nflu :yfglo :j foQ zf; g Pž
adfl]hd ufp"lj sf; ; lldt cgbfg
sfoçnd ; ~rfng ug{of]sfolj lw thčf
u/l nfu"ul/Psf]5 .Æ

cgbfg / fš

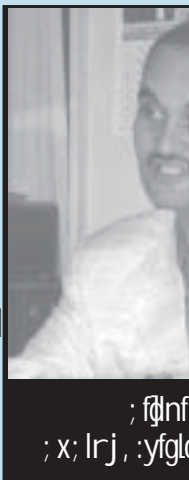
lj =; =@)! (; fndf yDsl-^, sf:sldf
hlçdPsf ; fçlnfn ; j žl lj sçbls [f
zf; g Jož:yf]af/žf hfgsf/ JolQm
xg\ xfn :yfglo lj sf; dçqfnosf
; x; lrj pgn]lghfdtl ; j fdf @&
j ifçf]cgež xfl; n ul/; sžf 5g\
pgsf ælj sçbls/Of / :yfglo lj Q
Jož:yfæ tyf ægkndf ; žlotf /
sfol]hd] f/l lgwf]Ofæ gfd s b0{
k'ts; d] kšflzt 5g\ uflj ;
cgbfg ; ~rfng sfolj lw lgdf] ug]
qndf dVo eldsf lgj fç u/žf
; j žl; ž ; f]sfolj lw / cfyn9ufdf
sfof]j ogsf]cj:yfaf/]ççtj fçf{
ln0Psf]xf].

æ:yfglo ; /sf/nf0{sfd ug{
; lhnf]xf] \eg] dfužžž; j ž k of]
sfolj lw Nof0Psf]xf] pgn]s/fsfglsf]
; ?d]eg]æuflj ; cgbfg Pp6f ; zt{
cgbfg xf]elç]s/f o; n]klg kl:6
ubž .Æ uflj ; n]; fçm:yfglo lj sf;
dçqfnonf0{kqrf/ ug]Jož:yf gePsf]

sf/Of p; sf wž}
ultlj lwsf]af/žf
dçqfno k]olf ž kdf
hfgsf/ gxg]pgsf]
egf0 5 .

cfyn9uf lhNnfsf
clwsfz uflj ; sf
kl/ibh]blnt, dlxnf,
hghflt, ckfæ,
pkll]f]tsf]; zQms/Ofsf]
nflu sfolj lwçg; f/
sh khlut ahžsf]!%
klžtzt ahž g5šofPsf]
lj ifo ; fl]wof]. tl
uflj ; sf lg0fç gx]l
çfçrfl/s ž kdf eçg ufx]kg]atf]pž}
pgn]o; sf]nflu kof]t cgludgsf]
vfrf]klg bžy].

ædž]çfçm]xžf{s]tko uflj ; df
rflx"sfolj lwn]tfžžg; f/ sfd ePsf
klg 5g\ pgn]eg]æahž 5šofP klg
To; sf]sfof]j ogsf]kçf]dxçj k0f{



; fçlnfn
; x; lrj ; yfglo

uflj ; cgbfg sf j f: t žul/Pg

j f: tf ul/Pg

sfolj lwdf n]vPsf Jož:yf eg]
cfyn9ufsf]clwsfz uflj ; df nfu"
ePsf]5g . :yfglo ufp"kl/ibh]ž sf
lg0fç xžf{nfl05 of]sfolj lw sfuhdf dfq
nfu"ePsf]5 .

kn]haf/l uflj ; sf]kl/ibh]o; j ifç@!
nfv %) xhf/ ahž lj leçg zlifçdf
lj lgof]hg u/žf]5 . o; dlwo]@! nfv
#) xhf/ ?k0f"lj sf; vr{5bdf0Psf]5
eg]afsl /sdnf0{; fwf/Of vrçkm{
5bdf0Psf]5 . uflj ; ; lrj sf]eQsf]
nflu \$& xhf/ ahž 5šofPsf]kl/ibh]

:yfglo txdf blnt, hghflt, dlxn

kl5l8Psf ju{; zQms/Ofsf nflu

!% klžtzt ahž lb0gkg]egl ;

sfolj lw NofPsf]5 . t/ cfyn9

k0f{pNnžg



Ssf xg; S5



dfnfn ; j bl
yfglo lj sf; dGqfno

xf].Æ
; zQms/Ofdf
ahð g5šofpg]
dfq xfðg,
pkfðm ; ldt
klg sfolj lwn]
lglb6 u/çg; f/
u7g gePsf]
af/ðf kžg
ul/of]. pgn]
o; af/ðf k]olf-
ck]olf ç kdf
cfkñk; n]klg
; lg/xšf]atfP .
ædGqfnon]:yfglo

lgsfodf clwsf/ / ; f] k7fpg hfð
lbg]xf] pgn]eg]æo; /l k7f0Psf]
clwsf/nf0{sfof]j og u/fpgsf]nflu
:yfglo gful/sn]kx/ðf/L ugk5{.Æ
lhj ; n]cfkñ'dftxtsf uflj ; n]
sfolj lwsf]sfof]j og u/]gu/šf]
cgludg ugk]g]/ olb gu/šf]kF0Pdf

sfof]j ogsf]nflu lgbžg lbgkg]pgsf]
egf0 lyof].

sfof]j lw sfol]j og gePdf To; nf0{
; wf/ ug]Joj:yf t 5ð lg egg]; afndf
pgn]eg]æolb sfol]j og gePsf]kF0of]
eg]lhj ; n]uflj ; sf]cgbfg lgsf; f
/fšg ; S5 .

t/ c6o dGqfnon]cfkñ'dftxtsf
sfof]nonf0{lPsf]h:t]u/L :yfglo
lj sf; dGqfnon]uflj ; nf0{lgbžg lbg
g; Sg]pgsf]egf0 5 . uflj ; df cfkñk
:jfoQ :yfglo ; /sf/ ePsf]h]:yfglo
; /sf/nf0{:yfglo gful/sn]g]lgoGqof
ugk]g]f pgsf]hfð lyof]. ; a)uflj ; n]
n]yfk/Lf0f ugk]g]xgfn]sfof]j lwsf]
pLnžg ePdf n]yfk/Lf0fsf]ahf uNtl
; dfltg]pgn]atfP .

; fy)w]h]sfof]j lwnf0{pLnžg
ul//xšf kF0Pdf eg]To; nf0{; wf/ ug{
glltut txd}; flrg]pgn]atfPsf 5g\
æcj Zos k/]dGqfnon]yk sfo{ug]Æ
s'/fsfglsf]la; f]ðdf pgn]eg]. ■

sfof]j lw g

dlxnfnaf, afnaflnsf, ckf, czQm
nflu uflj ; sf]sh lj sf; ahðsf]
gl ; /sf/n]xfn}uflj ; cgbfg
vn9wfsf clwsfz uflj ; df o; sf]
3g ePsf]5 .

sfof]j lwn]k5f18 k/šf-kfl/Psf
; dbfosf]nflu Ps k}f klg lj lgoftg
u/šf]5ð . sfof]j lwdf blnt, hghflt,
dlxnfn, afnaflnsf, ckf, czQm
lk518Psf ju{; zQms/Ofsf nflu sh
lj sf; ahðsf]!% kl'tzt ahð lb0gkg]
pLnžg 5 .

o; ð/L dhvs{uflj ; sf]o; j ifšf]
ufp"kl/ibb}ufp"lj sf; ; ldt cgbfg
; -rfng sfof]j lw @)^% n]Joj:yf
u/çg; f/ blnt, hghflt, dlxnfn ckf
czQm afnaflnsf, lk518Psf jušf]
; zQms/Of sfof]nfsf]nflu Ps k}f
klg ahð 5šofPg .

dhvs{/ kñhaf/Ldfq xfðg
cf]yn9wfsf %^ j 6f ufp"lj sf;
; ldt d]w]clwsfz n]uflj ; cgbfg
; -rfng sfof]j lwn]Joj:yf u/çg; f/sf]
ahð lj lgoftg u/šf 5ðg\
cf]yn9wfsf- & e8f/šf shaxfb/ gkfnl

/fHon]ls6fglsf ; fy sfof]j lwd}pLnžg
u/] k7fPsf]ahð; d] lj lgoftg
gu/šf]ðf cfZro{JoQm ub5g\
æ; b/dšfd g}/xšf]uflj ; df t 5lšPsf]
5ð]Æ pgn]eg] æhNnfsf]cç uflj ; n]
eng's]5šofpy]-<

dhvs{^ sf kbðaxfb/ lj Zj sdf{
blnt hghflt tyf lk518Psf lfnf0{
; dfgkflts 9un]k}f 5lšgk5{eg]
cfkñk; n]lgj ðg lbbf klg ; gj f0
gePsf]b]w]f]u5ð\ ækl/ibb}sf]ahf
lgs]kðf; u/šf lyof]Æ pgl e65gæt/
sfgg ldr}]5f8].Æ

dhvs{uflj ; sf lgj t]fg clwlf
k-raxfb/ tfdf^a klg lk518Psf ju{
lnu; ; dbfosf]; zQms/Ofsf]nflu
ahð g5lšPsf]l:j sf5ð\ ælj sf; sf
sfddf k}f 5šofpbf-5šofpb]To;
-; zQms/Of_ df 5ðg uof]Æ pgl yk5g\
æufpdf lj sf; ePk15 t ; ah]
kF0xfln5g\g .Æ

lsg ePg sfol]j og <

ut kñuugsf]clgt d xktf ePsf]ufp"
kl/ibb}a]sn]ahð g5šofPk15 kñhaf/L
uflj ; sf blntx; n]lj b]k] g]u/šf
lyP . æfd]f]nflu 5šofpgk]ahð
cç n]g]lnPk15 xfdl nf]ldu] lnP/
lg]sPsf xf] kñhaf/L- # sf kðaxfb/
lj Zj sdf{e65gæt/hf kf6kç Ps eP/
xfdlnf0{z]f]0f u/].Æ ; f]k] kl/ibb}
/xšf kñhaf/Ls}b]f]axfb/ yk]f klg
; zQms/Ofdf ahð g5šofPsf]/ To; n]
lk518Psf ju{z]f]0fdf k/šf]
l:j sf5ð\ ; /sf/n]o; af/]sfof]j lw
agfPsf]hfgsf/L g]gk]Psf]h]ahð
g5šof0Psf]pgsf]egf0 5 .

lhNnfsf l; :g]L / anda'u/l b0{
uflj ; ; lrj sf]lhðd]f/L j xg ul//xšf
kžnaxfb/ v8sf blnt hghflt tyf
dlxnfnufotsf ; dbfoaf6 :ki6
sfof]nfsf]dfu gcfPsf]h]; zQms/Ofdf
ahð g5šofPsf]atfP5g\ ædfu]gcfP
klg s]l ahð 5šofpgsf]nflu kxn
ubf{/fhgllts bnsf g]fxç ; xdt
ePgg]Æ pgl sf/Of b]yfp5g\æ; lrj
PSnf]h]s]g]k]f]ug{: S5 / <Æ

cf]yn9wfsf uflj ; sf ; lrj g0Cb]/f0{
rfn"cflyç j ifšf]ahð efi0f tyf



uflj ; cgbfg sfofj lw l9nf]cfpgh]
tf]sPcg; f/ ahđ Joj :yf ug{
g; lsPsf]atfp5g\ ah] d; f;te6bf
k5f18 sfofnd ug{kf0bđÆ pgl
pNny u5đ\æolb ; dod}sfofj lw
cf0lbPsf]eP sfofj og ug{; lhnf]
xg]lyof].Æ

dhvsđf tdf^a eg]/sds}
cejn]ubf{sfofj lwn]lglb76
u/đg; f/ 5đofpg g; lsPsf]
atfp5g\ o; j ifđlv uflj ; sf]
cgbfg /sd bđa/ j [4 xbf klg k}f
s; /L klđ < e6g]; afndf pgn]
lrQaenb]hj fkm lbPgg\ æufj ; sf]
k}faf6 ugk]w]}sfd lyPÆ pgn]
eg] æto; đ]ahđ klđ .Æ

ptf blnt lj sf; ; dđjo ; ldt
cfyn9ufsf pkfWof ; đfif lj Zj sdf{
eg]/fhgllts bnx; s}nfk/afxl tyf
pbf; lgtfsf sf/of blnt, hghft,
dlxnf, afnafnsf czQmckfufsf]
; zQms/ofdf ahđ g5lSPsf]
atfp5g\ sg]; lkdhs /
cfocfhđdhs tfnd; đ] gkfP/
ul/alsf]/vfdgl w]hgf /xđf]pgsf]
syg 5 . ah; sf nflu eg] ahđ
cfPsf]xf]p; đf]lfd; đ] 5lđg
glbPk15 s; /L loglx; sf]kđlt xg
; Snf / <Æ pgsf]kžg lyof].

:yfglo lj sf; clwsf/L s[0fk} fb
k8f; đl uflj ; n]sfofj lwsf]pNn3g
u/đf]af/đf cgle1tf kđ6 u5đ\
sfofj lwn]tfđg; f/sf]ahđ

s]5 sfofj lwdf <

*=^! -v_ khuttknđ]ahđaf6 lgDg lđx;df nllft xg]u/L dfusf]
cfwf/df of]hgfx; ; -rfng ug{sDtdf !% klztz; Dd /sd 5đof0
sfofnd ; -rfng ugk]gđ . o; /L lj lgoft /sdađ6 pkerQmsf]; lk
lj sf; ; /fhuf/L l; hđf, lfdtf clej [4 tyf ; đ; fwgdf kx' kžofpg]sfođf
vr{ug}; lsgđ . o:tf]/sdađ6 tn pNnyvt lđx;df ; -rfng xg]c6o
sfofnds nflu ; dk/s sf]sf ; kdf ; đ] /Vg ; lsgđ .

- ◆ dlxnf; ; zQms/of / lj sf; ; DaGwl of]hgfx;
- ◆ afnafnsf lj sf; ; DaGwl of]hgfx;
- ◆ blnt ju; ; zQms/of / lj sf; ; DaGwl of]hgfx;
- ◆ cflbjf; l=hghftsf]pTyfg lj sf; ; DaGwl of]hgfx;
- ◆ ckf+czQm ePsf JolQm; sf]; zQms/of; DaGwl of]hgfx;
- ◆ dw]l, dl:nd Pj -k58f juđf pTyfg; DaGwl of]hgfx;
- ◆ Hoj7 gful/ssf]; /lff; ; lj wf / lfdtf pkof; DaGwl of]hgfx;
- ◆ oj f ; zQms/of / v]hsb; DaGwl of]hgfx;

5lđgkđf hfđ lb}pgn]yk}æolb
ePsf]/xđ5 eg]xfdl cgludg
ugđ]Æ ahđ g5lSPsf]kfOPdf
; DkOf]uflj ; nf0{lnlvt lgbžg lbg]
klta4tf; đ] pgn]u/đf 5g\

pkfQm ; ldt df efua08f

ahđ lj lgoft ug]; afndf dfq xđg
pkfQm ; ldt u7g ug]qndf ; đ]
cfyn9ufdf sfofj lwsf]pNn3g ePsf]
5 . @)^% rž} @) ut]lhj ;
cfyn9ufn]uflj ; df k7fPsf]kqnf0{
xđ]xf]eg]; ldt sf]u7g
sfofj lwcg; f/ xđg /fhgllts
efua08fsf]cfwf/df ul/Psf]k}6
b]lv65 . ; f]kqsf cg; f/

sf]feGhof^a- sfnsf- knfk'; 8sdf
cWof gkfnl sfu] ; ; lrj Pdfn]/
sf]fWof Psls[dfc]f]b]sf kl]glw
/xg]egl pNny ul/Psf]5 . h; df
JolQmsf]gfd xđg kf6đ]gfd pNny
ul/Psf]5 .

o; đ/L Invvfhf-kfđnl engf]
ssgl ; 8sdf cWof Psls[
dfc]f]b] ; lrj gkfnl sfu] /
sf]fWof Pdfn]/xg]u/L k]tođ bnađ6
klztz dlxnf; lxt kfrhgfsf
b/n]!% ; b:olo pkfQm ; ldt /xg]
egl lg0đ ul/Psf]5 . o; n]
sfofj lwsf]!)@ gda/ bkndf pNny
ul/Psf]pkfQm ; ldt u7g ug]
Joj :yfsf]7f8f]pNn3g ePsf]5 .

o; /L u7g ul/Psf]pkEffQm
; ldt n]sfofj lwn]Joj :yf u/đf]
pkfQm ; ldt sf]lfdtf lj sf; Pj +
kžf; lgs vr{ug{sh nfutsf]tlg
klztz; Dd /sd dfq vr{ugk]g]
Joj :yfsf]; đ] pNn3g ePsf]5 .
; f3bf/-3f]fv]l ; đf-sf]feGhof^a
; 8ssf]pkfQm ; ldt sf
kbfwsf/ln]6lnkđ lanafktsf]
eQngl eg] dfq * & xhf/ / vfhf
vr{&} xhf/ e6bf a9l eQngl
lnPsf 5g\ ; fy}lhNnf eđof tyf
eQafakt klg b; f]xhf/ ?kđf"vr{
u/đf]:yfglo Ps JolQmatfp5g\
æsfgg t ; j {fwf/0nf0{dfq xđf pgl
l6kk0fl u5đw/fhgllts bnsf

सचिवज्यू, दलित, महिला र अपांडलाई
अनुदान छुट्याएको छ ?





sftfb]l cfln9ufsf dlnfx; ; 8s včb}

JolQmf0{t s]sfgg nflUyof]-Æ
:yfglo lj sf; clwsf/l k8f; ğl
cfknk; /fhgllts ; xdltsf]cfwf/df
sfo{ug[ePsf]h]bnlo ; xdltnf0{hfß
lbg]u/šf]atfp5g\ ælhj; tyf
uflj ; n]:yfglo ; /sf/sf]kdf sfd
ugkg]x65Æ pgl e65g\æo; sf]nflu
bnlo lgbžg cfj Zos 5 .Æ
gškf Pdfn]cfln9ufsf ; lrj
pkefQm ; ldlit u7g ug]; afndf
sfolj lwn]lglbč u/šf]JoJ :yf
sfoflj og ug{g; sšf]l: j sf5g\
æsfolj lwnf0{e6bf klg
Jofj xfl/stfnf0{xfdln]dxlj lbPsf

pkefQm ; ldlit u7gsf]JoJ :yf

- s_ uflj ; sf] sfofhon]j f lghn] tššf] JolQm j f ; :yfn] j 8f ; ldlitsf] ; xeflutdf ofhgaf6 k]olf kdf knf0bf kfpg]pkefQm]sf]Jofks e]hf u/f0{ofhgfsf]cgdf]lgt nfut, sfoflmsf, sfoflj og ug]gsfo / klqmf]sf] ; Da6wdf hfgsf/l u/fpgkgš .
- v_ uflj ; sf]sfofhon]o: t]pkefQm e]hfaf6 k]oš ofhgfsf nflu a]nfal]n} pkefQm ; ldlit u7g ugš . ; f] ; ldlitdf sDtdf ## kl]zt dlnf clgj fo{ xgkgš . o; sf cnfj f blnt, hghlt / lk518Psf j ux; sf] ; d] kl]lglw]j u/f0Psf]xgkgš . b0{j f b0é6bf a9l j 8fdf ofhg] ; ~rfng xg]ePdf c6t/ j 8f ; d6j o ; ldlit klg u7g ug{ ; lsgš . t/ o ; /l u7g xg] ; a} pkefQm ; ldlitsf]kl]lglw]j ePsf]xgkgš .
- u_ /fdl]hs kl/rfngsf dfl]odaf6 u7g ePsf ; dx, ; fdbflos ; :yf j f ; :yfx; sf] ; a]lgtfdf klg sfofnd ; ~rfng ug{ ; lsgš .
- 3_ b0{j f b0é6bf a9l uflj ; x; ldn] ; ~rfng ug]ofhgfd ; eQm pkefQm ; ldlit u7g ugkgš . ; f] ; ldlitnf0{ ; Dal6wt uflj ; n]cgdf]g ugkgš .
- a_ pkefQm ; ldlitsf]u7g / o ; sf]a]ssf lgof6x; pkefQm ; ldlitsf] ; lrj n] lnlt kdf /fVgkgš .
- r_ k]oš pkefQm ; ldlitsf]u7g / o ; sf]a]ssf lgof6x; pkefQm ; ldlitsf] ; lrj n] lnlt kdf /fVgkgš .
- 5_ nut 0l:6dš ubf{pkefQm ; ldlitdkm; ; ~rfng xg]cfofhgfsf nflu pkefQm ; ldlitsf]ldtf lj sf; Pj -kžf; lgs vr{ug{sh nfutsf]tlg kl]zt; Dd /sd JoJ :yf ug{ ; lsgš .

/fhgllts bnx; ; xdt
uflj ; cgbfg ; ~rfng sfolj lw
lj k/lt ufp"kl/ibdf ahš lj lgo]nt
ePsf]oyfy{fnf0{ ; Roifpg
cfln9ufsf /fhgllts bn tyf
; /šf]j fnfx; ; xdt ePsf 5g\
olx j žfv ! ut]c; n zf; g
sfofnd]cfln9ufdf cfofhgf u/šf]
5nkn sfofndf sfolj lwnf0{xax'
kdf sfoflj og ug{u/fpfg pglx;
; xdt ePsf xg\ ; f]5nkn
sfofndf gškf Pdfn]sf lhNnf ; lrj
o1/fh ; ğj f/ ; gklfnl sfu] sf g]f
/fdhl af:"t]hf, Psls] gškf
dfcf] flbsf g]f lgzft zdf; :yfglo
lj sf; clwsf/l s]fk] fb
k8f; ğlnufot :yfglo al4hlj tyf
kqsf/sf] ; xeflut /xšf]lyof].
uflj ; tyf lhj ; æ:yfglo
; /sf/Æ ePsf]h]hgtsf kl]lgw
/fhgllts bnn]eg]cg]f/ cfknk; n]
sfd u/šf]:yfglo lj sf; clwsf/l
k8f; ğln]atfPsf lyP . To; kl5
Psls] gškf dfcf] flbsf g]f zdf]
; #fl6ts kdf ; a]h] :jlsf/šf]
sfolj lwnf0{Jofj xfl/s kdf klg
sfoflj og ug{cfkn]kf6l{kl]ta4
/xšf]atfP . o; ğ/l gklfnl sfu] sf
g]f af:"t]h]n]sfolj lw ; a]h]0dfgbf/
eP/ sfoflj og ugkg]hfß lbP .
æof]xfl ; a]h]sfoflj og ugkg]xfl
Pdfn]sf kf6l ; lrj ; ğj f/n]eg]
æsfoflj ogsf qndf ePsf
sdhf]lnf0{ ; wf]kl]ta4tf
JoQm ubš]f]Æ ■

xfl; pgl atfp5g\ gklfnl sfu] sf
g]f /fdhl af:"t]hf eg]ufpd]a;]
u7g ugkg]pkefQm ; ldlit
; b/dsfd]a;] efua08f ubf{
lj sf; sf sfd nyfln; ePsf]
atfp5g\ æ; b/dsfd] a;] ; ldlit
u7g ubf{ufp] /fd]sfd xg
g; sšf]kSs]xfl; pgl e65g\æof]
l:yltnf0{lg?I; flxt ugkgš.Æ

Psls] gškf dfcf] flbsf lgzft
zdf]eg]sfolj lwsf JoJ :yfnf0{
; #fl6ts kdf ; jlsf/]klg
Jofj xfl/s kdf sfoflj og ug{s]xl
ck7df/f]cf0k/šf]atfp5g\
æclxn]sf]lj ifd kl/l:yltn]ubf{ ; Dk0f]
JoJ :yf sfoflj og ug{g; lPsf]xfl;
pgl e65g\æof]xfl/s sfoflj ogsf
nflu ; j bnlo a]sdf lgof6 u5f]Æ



Ij sf; Igdffdf ; a}dNg]tTk/tf

gffgfy lqtn÷-a9ldf]a_, wgs6f

kj{ }gfy tyf tof/llagf ; /sf/n]of j if{uflj ; cgbfg bfa/ j [4 u/k15 :yfglo:t/df kl/rfngdf ; d:of cfPsf]5 . Ps}k6s w}}ah6 cfPK15 lj Bdfg yf}}hgziQm]s; /L vr{ug] e6g]kl/ uflj ; sdf/lx}nf0{k/}sf] 5 . To; df klg hgkltlglwsf]cefj , csf] ; d:of xf].

ufp"lj sf; ; ldlf cgbfg sfofj lw- @)^% n]Jo;:yf u/}df]hd uflj ; cgbfgdWo]blnt, dlxfn, cflbjf;L, hghflt, ckfufufotsf] lxtdf vr{ug}g]elgPsf]5 .

; f}kcg;/ ufp"kl/ib}af6 klg ah6 lj lgo]fhg ul/Psf]5 . t/ ah6 sfof]j ogdf sl7gf0 cfPsf]uflj ; ; lrj x}n]atfPsf 5g\ a9ldf]a uflj ; ; lrj blufk}fb kf}y/}hn]ut j if{dlxfn / blnt ; dbfosf]nflu lj lgo]fht /sd vr{xg g; s}}k}k}h ePsf]hfgsf/L lbb}eg]æof]j if{k}lg oxl ; d:of x}fh h:tf]5 . Æ

sfofj lwdf dlxfnsf]nflu !% xhf/, blnt j u{p}yf}gd !% xhf/, ckfuf ; xof}y sfof]ndnf0{(\$) xhf/, v}hsb / ls/ft of}f Snanf0{#& xhf/ % ; o, cflbjf;L hghfltsf]nflu #) xhf/ ?k6f"lj lgo]fhg ul/Psf]5 .

To:t};j:f:Yosf]nflu #) xhf/, sdf/f/L, kbflwsf/L / pkef]nf ; ldltsf kbflwsf/Lx}sf]lfdtf clej [4sf]nflu #% xhf/ / ; xsf/L ; :yfsf kbflwsf/Lx}sf]nflu !% xhf/ / lz}lfd !) xhf/ ah6 lj lgo]fhg ePsf]ePsf]5 . t/ lj lgo]fht ah6 s; /L sfof]j og ug] c6of}h ePsf]kf}y/}h ; }fPsf 5g\ To; f]t sfofj lw lhj ; n]g}pNn}g

Ij sf; Igdffdf/fhglts uf6]sf] ; kdf k6f}y ug]qnd al9/x}sf]a}hf wgs6f, a9ldf]a sf afl; Gbfx} cfd; xdlf / ; xsfo{ug{ tof/ ePsf 5g\ cfk}k}f] ufp7fp}sf]lj sf; Igdffdf ; a}ldnl sfd ug]tTk/tf pglx}n]b}yfPsf 5g\

u/}sf]pgsf]cf/fk 5 . æhlj ; n] sl66gh] ; l % kltzt g}s6fPsf]5Æ

; fy}; f}kl uflj ; l:yt n6t}l v}fhaf6 afnj f, lu6l, 96f laqm e0/xbf klg To; sf]cf}dbfgl uflj ; n]gk}Psf] atf0Psf]5 .

sfof]j og sl7g

a9ldf]a sf k}f]uflj ; p}k}llof bnaxfb/ 0}a}yfd lj sf; of}fhg}x}sf] nfut lj j /of a6n}y g; lsPsf] atfp5g\ ænfut yxf gk}f}pbf pkef]nf ; ldlf g}3f6fdf k56} pgn] eg]. pgn]; ah}b}y]g]u/L of}fhg}sf] gfd, nfut, ; docj lw, kbflwsf/lsf] gfd, ; xof}y}b}t}fsf]gfd n}y} ; fj k}lgs 7fpdf ; f0gaf}f{/fVgk}g}f hf} lbP . blnt ; -hfn}f 18Nnl kl/of/n]blntx}n]cfk}k}f]nflu cfPsf]ah6 kl/rfngaf/]hfgsf/L gk}f/ ah6 ; bkof}y xg g; s}sf] atfPsf 5g\

ls/ft ofSyd rDn}a ufp"; ldlf c}llof lbnsdf/L lnda"uflj ; sf ; a} j 8fnf0{; d6} dlxfn ; -hfn agf0gk}g]atfp}5g\ æah6af/] dlxfn]klg ; æ7t cgludg ug{ ; S5g} pgl yk}5g\ /fli66



pgn]eg]æhals lgb}zsf÷sfofj lwdf)-& kltztdfq sl66gh] ; l s6fpg ; Sg]eGg]k}f]wfg 5 . Æ o; af/}f ufp"kl/ib}n]; d} cfk}Q hg}f0{ lhj ; df ln}vt kq}rf/ u/]klg sfof]j og gePsf]pgsf]egf0 5 .

hgdf}f}sf xl/ bg}f} blntx}sf nflu cfPsf]ah6 cfk}k}n]; -hfn g} ; lqm kf/L cgludg ug}k}g]cfj Zostf b}5g\ gk}fnl sfu} sf df}gk} fb 0}a}yfd blnt, hghflt, dlxfnsf]nflu cfPsf]ah6 ; xsfo}k}f} ; -rfng



ug[kg]atfp5g\ æufj ; df cPsf] ; fwg; ft ; bkof]usf]nflu /fhg]ts ; xdl t hõfpg ; ašf]kxn cfj Zos 5Æ gškf Pdfnšf ; x; lrj sOf{ 00; °n]eg]. Ps]s[dcf] fblsf ; lrj /fh]bšdf/ 0°yfd, ; 3lo lnDaj fg /fho ; ldltsf clwlf kOfšs/ tDkfkfn]klg lj sf; lgdffdf ; j lno ; xdltsf] cfj Zostf b]šf 5g\

otf, wgsđf lhj ; sf]Onsf g=# sf kl]j lws ; xfos j l/axfb/ e08f/L :yfgloj f; l Pj vfhgllts bnsf kl]t]glwx;sf]egf0kl]t pT; flxt ePsf 5g\ æof]hgfc;sf] uOf:t/lotfsf nflu cfk]t]krf6 ; Sbf]kOfT ug]Æ pgn]eg]. /fdgj dl dflj sf kç lr/-hljl eš/f0{ klg lj Bfnosf]k7gkf7gnf0{uOf:t/lo agfpg kOfTg ul/g]atfP . lj Bfnodf gful/s a8fkq agf0{/fVg] gj lglđf ej gsf]; fj h]gs n]vk/Lf0f ug] lj Bfno Joj :yfkq ; ldltsf] k]u7gsf]nflu cleefj s e]hf rf8} ug] j flifšf]; j kf/] lj Bfnosf] cf0Joo ; fj h]gs ug] d] kl]ta4tf hgPsf 5g\

; sNkkq hf/L

o; }lj ifoj :thf0{; dõ} c; n zf; g sfođnd wgsđf / c; n zf; g Sna lhNnf ; dGj o ; ldl t; ũsf]; 0Qm ; xsfođf a9ldf]ªdf rđ @& ut] ; fj h]gs ; G] f0 ul/Psf]lyof]. æ:yfglo lgsfosf]lj sf; lgdffdf uOf:t/lotf / hg; xeflutf slt Æ lj ifos ; f]; fj h]gs ; G] f0df ^ ab} ; fem ; fj h]gs kl]ta4tf sfođj ogsf]; sNkkq; d] hf/L ul/Psf]5 . ; G] f0df ufj ; sf sfdsf/afxlnf0{kf/bz]{agfpb} hj fkn]xtf / ; dfj z l hg; xeflutf j [4sf nflu /fhgllts bn tyf :yfgloj f; ln]kl]ta4tf hgPsf 5g\ ; G] f0df ; /sf/L sfofho, /fhgllts bn, ; 3; :yf / pkef]ni ; ldltsf kl]t]glwx;sf]; xeflutf /xšf]lyof]. ; fy}; sNkkqdf ufj ; cgbfg ; -rfng sfolj lw, ; fdlhs ; /lf

æ n zf; g sfođnd wgsđf / c; n zf; g Sna lhNnf ; dGj o ; ldl t; ũsf]; xsfođf a9ldf]ªdf rđ @& ut] ; fj h]gs ; G] f0 ul/Psf]lyof]. **A**

sfođnd sfolj lwsf]kf/bz/ t] n] sfođj og, of]hgf cgludg tyf Joj :yfkq ; ldl t u7g ug]; xdl t ePsf]5 . ufj ; n]x/š j if{ufpđf kl/ifbkZrft\Ps k6s ; fj h]gs ; G] f0 ug] ufp“kl/ifbk]lj lgo]hg u/šf lj sf; lgdffdf of]hgfc;df ul7t pkef]ni ; ldltn]of]hgfsf]; ? / of]hgf ; dflktkl5 cfd ; /šf/j fnf; dlf lj lgo]hnt ahõ / j f:tlj s vrđf/]; fj h]gs n]vk/Lf0f ug] ufj ; sf]sfofho / ufpđf ePsf c6o ; /sf/L sfofho; n] ; j]fk]fxaf/]gful/s a8fkq afš{/fVg] klg lgođf ePsf]5 . To:t} pkef]ni ; ldltx; n] ; -rfng ug]lj sf; lgdffdf cfo]hgfsf]nfut / ; do cj lw vNg] u/L ; f0gafš{agf0{/fVg] ufj ; df

ePsf ; /sf/L sfofho; alr ; dGj o ug] ufj ; df nllft u/L sfođnd; ; -rfng ug]lhNnf:t/lo ; 3; :yf / lgsfo;nf0{a9ldf]ª ufj ; leq ; -rfnt sfođnd;sf]cf]Dbfgl vrđf/];yfgloj f; lnf0{hfgsf/L u/fpg] pkef]ni ; ldltsf kbflwsf/L / blnt, dlxf, cflbj f; L hghfltnf0{ a7s ; -rfng, k]tj =lgj hg n]vg, clyš sf/fđf/ ; fj h]gs n]vk/Lf0f, cfd; ef ; -rfngaf/]; :yfut lfdt clej [4sf nflu pkef]ni hfuf/Of tflnd ug{ufj ; n]; dGj o ug] ; xdl t klg ePsf]5 . sfođndf c; n zf; g sfođnd]kšfzg u/šf] lhNnf kžf; g, lhj ; , dnfk]ž, lhNnf lzlf, s[lf, kz' ; j]f, 3/hufotsf sfofho;sf gful/s a8fkq ; xeful;nf0{lj t/Of ul/Psf]5 .

; /sf/L ; DklQ ; Af0fdf Pšoa4tf ufj ; df ePsf ; /sf/L ejgx; hlf0{ /xšf]sfođndf rrf{ul/Psf]lyof]. tl ej gsf]pkof] Pj + Af0f ug] /fhgllts bnx; n]kl]ta4tf ePsf] 5 . hlf0{/xšf]clt/Qmxhfs sfofho Joj l:yt ug] xhfssf] ; f0gafš{agfpg ufj ; n]; xof] ufj ; xdl t ePsf]5 . ; fy} ufj ; sf] ; fem ej gdf /xšf]Ps]s[dcf] fblsf]; f0gafš{tyf sfofho t]sf n x6fpg]; lrj 0°yfdn]j frf u/šf 5g\ ■

c; n zf; g klqsfsf]cg'/f]w
c; n zf; g klqsdf kšf]zt ; fdulx; tkf0f0{s:tf] nlfU5 < tkf0šf]; enj tyf kl]t]qnof xfd] nflu pT; fxsf s8l xg\ To; }x]fdlnf0{lgoldt ; enj tyf kl]t]qnof lbg'e0{klqsfsf]uOf:t/df lgvf/tf Nofpg ; xof] ul/lbg'xg cfux ubšf}; ; fy} ; fj h]gs lgsfo;af6 k]fx xg]; j]f tyf j :tsf af/đf klg cfk]t] ; sf/fltds j f cfnf]g]f]ds e]uf0 ; Dk]f0f ug{xg cg'/f]w ubšf}; o; sf] df]w]dn]; fj h]gs lgsfosf ; j]f; lj wf Pj +qnofsnfnknf0{yk hgpQ/bfol agfpg yf]}eP klg ; xof] kl]g; S5 . hg c; n gful/ssf]st]fo kl]g xf]. kgZr]ll akf7skqf tyf æhgtfsf]e]uf0Æ :tDesf nflu kqfrf/ ug]xg] dxfgfj x; d]llo]k]oš dlxgf Pshgfnf0{k/:s[ul/ Ps j if{Dd c; n zf; g dfl; s klqsf pkxf/:j; k kl]fg ul/gš .



kəfj udfpb} ; flf/ tf cleofg

z}axfb/ ehj=bfhv

/sf/n}b0{j ifleq lg/lf/ tf p6dhg ug]p2}ocg; k ; ~rfint ; flf/ tf cleofgsf]kəfj sf/ tf bfhvf lhNndf Gog kfOPsf]5 . ; flf/ tf slffdf ; xefulx; lgoldt pkl:yt gxg]/ slff klg lgoldt ; ~rfng gePsf]kfOPsf]5 .

c; n zf; g sfoqnd bfhvf / g}kn kqs/ dxf; } bfhvfn]u/}sf] cgludgf ; flf/ tf slffdf dlxf / blntx; sf] ; xeful tf pNny]glo / x}sf] eP klg lgoldt k9g cfp}x; sf] lgs} sdl bl]Psf]5 .

; flf/ tf slff ; ~rfngsf]lhDdf kfPsf : j o;} sx; lgoldt k9fpg cfp}u/}sf] 5gg\ slff ; ~rfngsf] ; do; ldf gtfl]sPsf]sf/ of klg clgoldt clloog-cllofk xg]u/}sf] xf]. st}axfg, st}lbp; f]t st} ah}sl k9f0 xg]u/}sf]5 .

kəfj sf/ l gxg}sf]sf/ of

To; f]t ; flf/ tf cleofgsf]cgludg ug]lhDdf kfPsf lg/lf}sx; klg lhDd]f/ l k/ f ul// x}sf] 5gg\ pglx; cfsnen}sndfq}cgludgf hf]u/}sf]k}f of k}hf k/}sf]5 . sg} klg ; flf/ tf slffsf]cgludg b0{ k6se6f a9l ePsf]kfOPsf]5gg . lg/lf of kl:tsfn]lg/lf}sx; sf] cgkl:yltnf0{kl:6 u/}sf]5 . ufj ; ; lrj klg slff cgludg ug{gcPsf] : j o;} sx; sf]u}gf; f]5 .

; flf/ tf cleofgkl}t cfsif} 3l6/x}sf]pbfx/of lgs}bl]Psf]5 . kj6l- ^ df ; ~rfint ; flf/ tf slffdf @% hgf ; xeful /x}sf]xflh/l eP klg lgoldt slffdf eg]k}r; ; ft hgdfq cfp}u/}sf]: j o;} sf lgd}f c}hl

atfp5g\ o; df @# hgf blnt dlxf ; xeful /x}sf]tYof} 5 . t/ pglx; lgoldt cfp}u/}sf] 5gg\ a; ?df @% hgf cPsf lyP} c}hl el65g\æclxn]k}r hgdfq}5g\} lh/l- # df ; ~rfint dlxf ; flf/ tf slffsf]cgludgf qmddf klg ; xefulx; sf]pkl:ylt sd kfOPsf] 5 . @) hgf lj Bfy}x; sf]gfd xflh/l

Nofkr}sf] ; }f x: tflf/ ; flf/ tf slffdf lgoldt hf]u/}sf]x; n]eg] c}k}f]z}l}fs lj sf; ug{ yfn}sf 5g\ pglx; c}k}f]gfd n}vg, x}x} clf/ k9g ; Sg]ePsf 5g\ Nofkr}sf] ; 6}dfdf gfd n}x}eP klg x: tflf/ ug]ePsf 5g\

/lh:6kdf eP klg slffdf eg]%=& hgdfq el6Psf lyP . cllofkgsf]lhDd]f/ l af}sf} : j o;} sx; ; flf/ tfkl}t rf; f]sdl xgdf ; xefulx; s}bf}f c}f}ofp5g\ a; w}cfpg; \elg/x}sf] 5f} ; flf/ tf cleofgs: j o;} s l; hgf 9sfn el65g\æ/ slxn}fxl}dfq} cfp5g\} csf{: j o;} s uaf/fd kf08]k6s-k6s 3/3/d}uP/ af}f}pbf klg ; xefulx; lgoldt

gcPsf]atfp5g\ ; fy} ; flf/ tf cleofgdg lg/lf/x; nf0{lgoldt ; kdf ; xeful u/fpgsf nflu : yfglo /fhgllts bn, ; flf/ tf cleofg ; ldt / al4hljlx; n]; xof] gu/}sf] : j o;} sx; sf]u}gf; f] /x}sf]5 .

otf, ; flf/ tf slffsf ; xefulx; eg]cllofkgsf] ; do cgsh gePsf]h] lgoldt slffdf hf]g g; s}sf] atfp5g\ 3/fo; l sdfs}h / v}l}k}tldf Jo: t xgk/}sf]n]; flf/ tf slffdf lgoldt ; xeful xg gk}Psf] atfp5g\ slff ; ~rfng xg] lgZrt ; do gtfl]sPsf]h]klg ; d:of cPsf] ; flf/ tf slffsf ; xefulx; sf] u}gf; f]5 .

; flf/ tf slffnf0{kəfj sf/ l agfpgsf nflu : yfglo lgsfon}rf; f] glbPsf]kfOPsf]5 . ; fy} ; flf/ tf slffsf ; xeful ePsf}x; c}k}h]k}fpg] ; }f; lj wf / sfklsndx; sf]af/}hf yxf gePsf]atfp5g\

kəfj sf/ l agf0g]

otf bf] f]r/ofdf ; ~rfng xg]/fli6@ ; flf/ tf sfoqndsf]cgludgnf0{ kəfj sf/ l agf0g]elgPsf]5 . bfhvf lhNne/ ; ~rfng xg]bf] f]r/ofsf] /fli6@ ; flf/ tf cleofgnf0{kəfj sf/ l, uOf:t/lo / pkn}awdhs agfpgsf nflu lhNnsf ; a}ufj ; nf0{ lgb}z; d} lb0; lsPsf]lhj ; bfhv}sf c}t}l/s n}yk/l}fs hublz cof}n]atfPsf 5g\ o; sf]nflu : yfglo /fhgllts bn, u} ; /sf/ l ; } ; }yf; u ; d}j o ug]lg0f6 ePsf] pgsf]egf0 5 .

To:t} ; a}ufj ; / gu/kflnsfnf0{ ; flf/ / lg/lf/ ; wof Plsg ug{d} kl/kq ul/Psf]lgldQ lhNnf lzlf clwsf/ l r}6o lg/f}hf atfp5g\ ; fy}cleofgsf]klxf]r/ofsf]sfoqnd ; ~rfngsf nflu pkn}aw u/fOPsf] ah}sf]xfn; Dd ePsf]vr}sf] lj j/of; d} lhj ; / lhNnf lzlf sfof}odf k} ug{: Dal6wt Jo}Qm tyf lgsfonf0{cfux} ul/ ; lsPsf] atfOPsf]5 . ■



c; n zf; g kltlgw=cfyn9uf

/sf/n]of]j ifllv ckfuf]nflu
 lb0g]egsf]df]; s eQf oxfsf
 ckfuf]k]Psf 5g\ cydGql
 8f-afa/fd e\$/f0h]knuug @ (ut]
 cfyn9uf lhj; sdf/f]nf0{lgbzg
 lbb}t]sfn ckfuf eQf lj t/Of ug{eg}
 klg pgsf]lgbzg nfu"ePsf]5g .
 t/ dGqlsf]cfbz sfoflj og
 gxgdf lhj; sdf/f]sf]dfq]bfll
 5g . s[lbh]t]f\$]f]eGbf lgs}a9l
 ckfuf ePsf]eQf lj t/Of ug{
 g; s\$]f]pglx;sf]egf0 5 . lhj; n]
 :yfglo lj sf; dGqfnodf ^ ; o ^@
 hgf ckfufsf nflu /sd dfu ubf
 @)^% df3 (ut]k7fP klg sg}
 ; bj f0 gePsf]:yfglo lj sf; clwsf/l
 s[0fk] fb k8f; gl atfp5g\ lj utdf
 kkt ePsf]&% j 6f sfdf \$
 ufj; sf ckfufsf nflu lbPsf]t/
 k]of ufj; df #) hgfeGbf a9l
 ckfuf ePsf]lj t/Ofdf ; d:of cfPsf]
 pgl pNny u5g\
 dlxnf lj sf; sfofnodf
 lhNnfel/sf xfn; Dd Ps xhf/ ! ; o
 %! ckfuf]kl/rokq lnPsf]tVof\$
 5 . o; cfly\$ j ifllv ; a)ckfufn0{
 eQf lbg]; /sf/l 3f]f0ffkl5 kl/rokq
 agfpgsf]; Wof al9/x\$]f]atfpg]; f]
 sfofnosl ; Tob]l clwsf/l el65g\
 asdf ; lldt ePsf]eQf lj t/Of ug{
 ufx]ePsf]5 . A

ufj; df klg ckfuf kl/rokq
 l; knl/; / eQf dflg]30rf]a9\$]f]
 5 . sfdfcg; f/ ahdf gxbf tl ; a}
 lgj hgx; lhj; df k7f0Psf]ufj;
 ; lrj x;sf]egf0 5 . lgb]zsfdf
 ufj; sf]cf]dbfglaf6 ckfufsf nflu
 eQf lbg ldlg]eP klg :yfglo
 /fhg]ts bnx;sf]; xdlf gxbf /sd
 5\$ofpg ; d:of ePsf]knhaf/l ufj;
 ; lrj oj /fh l3ld/]atfp5g\
 ; /sf/l egf0 sfoflj ogdf
 gcfbf ckfuf; ; f:tl eflg afllo
 5g\ knhaf/l- # sf 5qaxfb/ vqln]
 kfPsf]; f:tl o; sf]k]t]lada xf]. pgl
 @)!^ ; fnb]v bj }v\$ ckfuf eP/
 cf]5dfgdf 5g\ pgs! ^ j ifllf

ckfu eQf cfZj f; gdf ; lldt

5f]l laGbf vqlsf]klg bj }v\$ rf/
 j ifll3 ckfuf /x\$] tyf c6o ; Gtf
 klg ; fg}/x\$]n]uhf/f ug{sl7g

ePsf]5qsl kTgl ld>ldof
 atfp5g\ knlu7sf lj i0f bhl\$
 kl/jf/ g)ckfu 5g\ pgsf >ldt]s
 bj }cfvf knh k/\$f 5g\eg]b0{5f]l
 / Ps 5f]f klg ckfuf g}5g\
 lhNnfdf o; /l kl/jf/ g)ckfu xg\$]
 ; Wof sd 5g . knlu7- @ sf
 6\$axfb/ vqlsf]klg bj }uf\$ ud\$]
 5 . o; /l zf/l/s ; kdf czQm
 ePsf]nf0{; /sf/n]yf]eQf lbg]
 eg]klg pglx; sfuhl klqmf k/f
 ubf]x}fg ePsf 5g\ xktf]wfbf
 klg eQf gk]Psf pglx; sf nflu sxl
 ufj; n] eg]ckfuf]c]tolws rfk
 cfPsf]Ps ; ob]v kfr ; o ?kdf"
 j flif\$; kdf eQf lbg ynf\$ 5g\
 ayf]eQsf]nflu klg ckfuf;n]w}]
 ; f:tl efl]u/x\$ 5g\ xsk/ ufj;
 ; lrj gf/fof zfSo eg5g\edfgj lo
 lg0f6 u/\$f xf]; A ■

o:tf]5 Joj :yf
 ; /sf/n]; fdlhs ; /lff sfofj lw
 @)^% df k0f{; kdf ckfufsf nflu
 Ps xhf/ / cf]zsf ckfufsf nflu
 tlg ; o klt]dlxg lbg]Joj :yf u/\$f]
 5 . k0f{ckfu / cf]zsf ckfufsf]
 5g]f]sf nflu abf # -3_ :ki6 kf/\$f]
 5 . lhNnfdf ckfufsf]5g]f]sf nflu
 ; lldt u7g ug]tyf ckfuf ePsf
 JolQm; sf]; Wof lhNnf0{tf]sPsf]
 sf]feGbf a9l ePdf :yfglo lgsfon]
 cf]k]f]cfo; f]af6 yk u/l lbg; Sg]
 ; d] elgPsf]5 . t/ sf]feGbf a9l
 ePdf ; \$]f]lj j /Of eg]s[lbh]f0{
 lbgkg]pNny 5 .

sf/Of b]v]fpm cfbz
 ; /sf/n]sxl dlxgof]t lj leG
 k]ti7fgx; df u/\$]k]l lgolQm
 ; dfgk]ts Pj +; dfj zl gePsf]eGb}
 ; j f]r cbfntn]g]k]n ; /sf/sf
 g]p]df sf/Of b]v]fpm cfbz lbPsf]5 .
 g]k]n clw/f]hos]c]gtl/d
 ; ljwfg @)^# sf]wf/ f! n]
 ; lg]Zrt u/\$]dlxnsf]
 ; dfgk]ts ; xeflutf]clwsf/nf0{
 ; Ddfg gu/\$]f]eGb}@)^% r} @ ut]
 ; j f]rdf l/6 bfo/ ePsf]lyof]. k]l]
 klAns tyf dlxnfn]sf/ ; dX
 -j fug_ n]; @Qm; kdf bfo/ u/\$]
 ; f]l/6df k]v]gdGql klksdn b]xfn,
 k]v]gdGql tyf dlGqkl/ib\$]
 sfof]o, ; s]t tyf /f]ho kg; f]rgf

dfGql uf]k]n ls/f]tnf0{l] k]fl
 agf0Psf]lyof]. ; j f]rsf Gofofwlz
 cgk/fh zdf\$]Psn Ohnf; n]r
 \$ ut]lj kl]sf]g]d]df sf/Of b]v]fpm
 cfbz hf/l u/\$]f]5 .
 æ; /sf/n]o; cfbzsf]; Ddfg
 u/]f ca k]ti7fgx; df ul/g]
 lgolQm]df of]o dlxnfn]sf]sf]
 ; xeflutf ; lg]Zrt xg]lj Zj f;
 a9\$]f]5A j fugs] clwof /flugl
 pk]wofos]egf0 5 . k]l]klAns
 tkn]f6 clw]Qm]x; k\$]zdl]of zdf{
 /df kGt v/]h, slj tf k8] zldhf
 >]7 / j ; G]k] fb clwsf/l tyf
 j fugs]tkn]f6 /flugl pk]wofon]
 l/6 bfo/ ug]ePsf]lyof]. ■



c; n zf; g /l8of] sfoqndsf pTs [i6 lj rf/xž

■ ; efhgll cldasf sž l=

kf]kAnssf]k]tlt c; n zf; g /l8of]sfoqndcGtu[sf]Pp6f :tDe xf]ædlxgfsf]lj rf/ :tDeE. @)%& ebfžf6 ; ? ul/Psf] of]:tDedf >f]fxžn]c; n zf; g /l8of]sfoqndn]lbPsf]; d; fdlos lj ifosf kžgdf cfkngf lj rf/xž ; Dk]fOf ug]ub5g\ /l8of]lga6w kltoflutfsf žkdf klq lng ; lsg]o; :tDedf k]snf0{pTs[6tfsf cfwf/df c; n zf; g dfl; s klqsf Ps j if{Dd pknAw u/f0{k/:sf ul/b}cfPsf]5 . @)^% ; fnleq k] fl/t pTs[6 lj rf/xž s:tf 5gNt < k]tt 5 tl ; u]lt lj rf/xžll

j žfv / h]7- dlxgdf ; lj wfg ; efsf ; b:oa6 tkf0[s]ck]ff /fVgePsf]5 < e6g]kžg lyof]. h; df zfcf eš/f0{/ftdf6-@ l; Gwhl, o1dlt{ltldll; gf, rkkfgl-@, kfkf, wdfG6 lu/L, 6j/s8f-% bfrkf, ; lj g sf0/fnf, tf]kuf5L-* emkf / ; l/tf ltldll; gf, a8sf lbofn] % vff^n] pTs[6 lj rf/ k7Psf lyP . lj rf/ o:tf lyP M

/fhgllts, clyš, z]lfs clwsf/ lbg] u/L ; lj wfg n]vgk5{. ♦ b08xlgtfsf] cGtosf] nflu ; lj wfg; efd cfj fh p7fpgk5{. ♦ hg tfn] ef]vg kl//xžf lj leG ; d:ofxž ; d]wfgsf pkfoxž vff]b} clyš ž k]t/Ofsf]gofgof'of]hgxž cuf]8 cfpgk5{. ♦ lxhfžf]; #blo /fhgllts cEof; sf qndf bl]vPsf]kbnf]hktf / cf6tl/s

lvrtfglsf]; :sf/ casf ; ef; bxžn] abNvk5{. ; Eo tyf ; ; :sž ; :sf/ lgdf]fsf]nflu of]ubg kžofpgk5{. ♦ clxnžf]lgj f(g ; lj wfg; efsf]ePsf] xgn]; lj wfg n]v0/xbf Toxf'5nkn e0/xžf lj ifoxžnf0]nP/ cf-cfkngf dtbftf; dl f klvgk5{. cfkngf dtbftfxžsf]wf/Off s]5 Tof]nN/ ; lj wfg; efd cfj fh p7fpgk5{. ♦ e]6frf/, clgoldttf, l9nf; 'tl nufotdf :ki6 / 7f] bkrfxž ; lj wfgd}n]vgsf] nflu 'nlj a' ug]K5{. clxn]Dd ePsf lj leG lj bžl ; lGw; Dem]fxž olb /fli60 lxtsf]k]tsh 5 eg]To; nf0{ kg/fj nfžg ug]K5{. To; sf ; fy} g]kn klf /fi6«ePsf lj leG cGt/f{i6 dxf; lGw tyf cle; lGwxžnf0{Jofj xfl/s ž kdf sfof] og ug]K5{nflu ; lqno xgk5{. ♦ g]kn s]f kwfg bž xf]. To; ž] s]fnf0]Jo; fols/Of u/] o; žf6 oj f a]fhuf/nf0{/fhuf/L lbnfpg] ; DkOf] gful/snf0]qMzNs lz lff, ; jf:Yo lbg] sfgg agfpg]/ To; sf]kēj sfl/tfsf ; fy sfof] og u/fpg kx n ug]K5{. ♦ lj wfg; ef ; b:o sž]g sž]k6]cf cfa4 ePsf xgn] cfkngf] k6]cf pNn]v ePsf] 3f]f0ffkqsf k]ož abfxž sfof] ogdf ; lqno /xgk5{. ♦ klvgž clyš, gl]ts tyf ; fdlhs ž kdf lgs]ju6xfP/ dfq]kba6 aflx/] ; :sf/ tf]š]o; k6ssf ; lj wfg; ef ; b:on]cfkngf]5lj nf0{:j R5 /fVb} lhDd]f/lk]ž kbfj lw k/f ug]K5 e6g]x]fd]ck]ff /xžf]5 .

c; f/ dlxgf
/fhosf]x/ž tx / tk]sdf dlxnsf]## k]tzt ; xeflutf cem]lsg xg g; sžf]x]ff < e6g]kžg lyof]. h; df lgzf kf08ž, la3f{crn]:of^n, r]g ; fksžf, dlt]uf-\$ wgsb, ultf s]l, efjfa- # /m]kf, anb]k]fb kGt, d]g/fž emf/l s-rgk/ / /f]dsd/ nfd5fg]b] 3f6-@ tgsf]lj rf/ pTs[6 lyP . abfut ž kdf x]ff-
♦ /fhosf]x/ž tx / tk]sdf ## k]tzt dlxnf ; xeflutf cem]xg g; Sgdf bžsf]k/Dk/fut /fho; Of k]ffnl g} dVo sf/Of xf]. h; n]/fhosf]x/ž txd f k?ifj fbl ; f] g}xfal u/fPsf] 5 .
♦ dlxnf clwsf/ tyf pglxžsf] cl:tj nf0{:j lsgf]efj gfsf]lj sf; xg g; Sg' .
♦ x/ž /fhgllts kf6]eq dlxnfkl]t pk]lft efj gf /flvg' / pglxžnf0{ cfd; Ddfg / cf]d]ge' agfpg b] 0R5fziQm g]xg' .
♦ sfgg agfpg]t/ To; sf]; xl / kēj sf/L sfof] og ug]u/fpg] ; afndf ; /sf/L lgsfo pbf; lg /xg' .
♦ g]knl ; dfhd] lj Bdfg lkt[Qf]ds ; f] lj Bdfg /xg' . ; fy}dlxnf / k?ifsf]; fdlhs/s/Of klqnf d]lj e] /xg' .
♦ clwsf/df kl]šf dlxnf]n]g}## k]tzt cf/lf0nf0{Jofj xfl/s ž kdf sfof] og ug]u/fpgsf]nflu pNn]v ž kdf cfj fh p7fpg]/ bafadhs sfož ug]g; Sg' .
♦ ## k]tzt lb0g]t elgof]t/ o; ; u afleng]vnsf sfgg ; žf]vg klqnf b]ultdf cuf]8 a9g g; Sg' .
♦ clwsf/ k]kt lgsfodf a; žf dlxnf g]ž]n]klg 3f]f0ff u/]l5 lhDd]f/L ; lPsf]h:tf]Joj xf/ b]vpg'cyf\ sfof] ogf] l]qdf cfj Zos bafa lbg g; Sg' .
♦ dlxnf clwsf/sf af/ž j sfnt ug] ; :yfxž uf]uf]df klq g; Sg' .
♦ u]ld]of e]šf dlxnf]d]f r]žgfsf] cfj cem]xg' .



; fpg dlxgf o; dlxgdf nf\$axfb/ urh] xl/x/k/u9L- @ l; Gwhl; ;/z e\$, skNn\$- ! 8fbl; ; Todf]xg hfzL, tfg; g-
!\$ kfkfsf, blks/fh kf08] w/fg/fB; ; g; /l / nint a:g], /fglaf; - \$; v[n]k7fPsf]lj rf/ pTs[6 lyP . o; dlxgdf
kj {f#bsf]gfdff !) nvf ?kdf"lgsf; f lb0ghf0{tkf0{s; /L xg]k5 < eGg]kZg ; f]wPsf]lyof]]

- ◆ aGâsf ; dodf Wj :t ePsf eflts ; Argfx; sf]hl0f{cj :yfn]ubf{ ; fj e]h hgtfn]si6s/ hljg tyf csfn d[0[ú n18/x\$] ; dodf ; f#bnf0{/sd af8g' plrt lyPg .
- ◆ hgcfbfr]hg tyf t/f0{cfbfr]hgsf ; lxb kl/jf/ tyf 3f0t]x; n]/fxt / pkrf/ gkPsf]cj :yfdf ; f#bnf0{ePsf]5 .
- ◆ hgtfn]Ps k6 vfg gkP/ e]ef\$]a:g'kl'/x\$]cj :yfdf cfbfr]hgdfkr[; 8saf6 ; bgdf kYofPsf lf0x; lal; P/ u/\$] dgf]fql xf].
- ◆ k6]h0d kbfy\$]dNoj [4; ú} vfBfG tyf k6]h0d kbfy\$]

- cefj ; x] hgtfx; n]si6 ax]v/x\$]f ; dodf of]/sd lbg' dV{f xf].
- ◆ ; f#bnf0{!) nvf lbP/ bznf0{yk lj bzl C0sf]ef/df kf/l ul/a bznf]cyfGcdf ; d] c; / kf/\$] 5 . o; /l /sd afl8bf e]6frf/ xg] vt/f a9\$]f]5 .
- ◆ olt 7hf]/sd lj sf; lgdffsf sfdff vr{gu/} bzn lj sf; df k6]j kf/\$]f]5 .
- ◆ /f0ffsfnb]vsf]e]6frf/ ug]gllt u0ftfGqs cj :yfdf cf0kUbf; Dd klg ; wfg{grfxg]bnx; sf]e]6 glltsf]lg/Gt/tf xf]of].
- ◆ e]6 sd{f/l]sf]e]6 cfrf/0fsf] 9fs5fk ug]/fhgllts bnx; sf] nfrf/lkgsf]gdgf xf]of].

- ◆ hgtfsf]cdNo dtsf]gh/c6bfh u/} hgtfn]lbPsf]dtnf0{ dfulvfg]ef8f]agfpg]/fhgllts bnx; sf]s' :sl[; vhfcd e]6frf/sf]alp /f\$]f]xf].
- ◆ gSsnl lj sf; lgdffsf]cf8df g]f tyf sd{f/l]sf]:lj sf; ug] unt kj [Qsf]lg/Gt/tf xf].
- ◆ /sd lgsf; f e0; s\$]f]cj :yfdf o; \$]vr\$]f]kf/blz{f / pko]lutfaf/df rf; f]/Vb} emsensfpg' casf]lhDd]f/l /x\$]f] 5 . To; h]u0ftGqdo ePsf]gof" gkfnf0{gf/df dfq ; ldt g/fvl sfd u/} b]vfg o:t]k/Dk/fut af8l vfg]kj [Qsf]cGto ub]gof" ; f]af6 cl3 a9gk6 .

ebf] dlxgf- ufPafPaf xg]lj sf; lgdffsf sfdnf0{u0f:t/lo agfpg gful/s ; dfhn]s ; /L sfd ug{ ; S5 < eGg]kZg lyof]. o; af/ ; /j tlgu/- @ hf]fon 8fblsf k\$zaxfb/ zfxl, hgsNof0f pRrdflj xtl, gkg8f8f kfkfsf xl/k] fb cofh, kj f s3f{ @ vfl/of of]v]b/fh kf8h, dl't0uf- \$ wgsbfsf k\$[t ; fksf6 / k]ts ; fksf6 / e6vfrh-^ s/f0bl :of^hfsf nldl nfd5fgh]k7fPsf]lj rf/ k/:s[ePsf lyP .

- bznf] ; du]lj sf; df :yfglo lgsfosf]dx[k0f{eldsf /x\$]f] xG5 . :yfglo lj sf; lgdffsf sfof]Psflt/ :yfglo:t/d]/f]uf/l l; hg' xG5 eg]csf]kr[; du]/f16\$} cfly\$ lj sf; df 6]f kl5 .
- cfdhgtf; ú k]0lf ; /f\$]f/ /Vg] :yfglo lj sf; sfof]mddf cfdhgtfsf]; xof]u ePg eg]To:tf] sfof]mddf ; km ePsf]df]gbb] / dfGg klg ; lsb] . To; h] :yfglo lj sf; lgdffsf sfof]mddf{ u0f:t/lo agfpg gful/s ; dfhn] o; /L ; xof]u ug{ ; S5 .
- ◆ ; /sf/l lgsfoaf6 cfn]ufp"jf lf]sf]nflu lgsf; f ePsf]/sd kf/bzl{isl; dn]vr{ug{/ lj sf; lgdffsf]sfd u0f:t/lo agfpgsf]nflu :yfglo Jol0m; sf]

- Ps ; eGg u7g u/L lgoldt ; kdf lj sf; lgdffsf]/v]v] tyf cgludg u/} .
- ◆ :yfglo:t/df sfd e0/x\$]f]:yfgdf ; /f\$]f]jfnf gful/sn]rf; f]/fvl ah]fa]hdf 7\$]f/ tyf kl]j lwsx; nf0{; f]v]f] ug]u/} .
- ◆ lj sf; lgdffsf]sfdsf]; ?d]nut 0l:6d6, u0f:t/sf dfkx; sf] af/df hfgsf/l lnPk15 To; g; f/sf]sfd eof]ls ePg eGg]af/df cgludg u/} .
- ◆ e]g lgdff ePb]v l; d]6, jfn]f, 58sf]dfaf / kof]u ul/Psf]kfglsf] u0f:t/sf]af/df ; x/l lj sf; tyf e]g lgdff ljefun]k\$z g u/\$]f] kl:tsfcg; f/ 5 ls 5g egl cgludg u/} .
- ◆ ufPaf xb}u/\$]f]lj sf; lgdff olb

- u0f:t/xlg eof]eGg]nfu]f 7\$]f/ tyf ; /sf/l kbflwsf/lnf0{ sfof]m:ynd}Nofo{; fj h]lgs ; g]f0 sfof]m ; ~rfng u/}
- ◆ ufPaf sg]sl; dsf]lj sf; lgdffsf]sfd ; ? ePaf To; sf] af/df ; Dk0f{ufprh]f0{hfgsf/l u/fpgsf]nflu ufP"ehf, a]s u/L lj sf; sf]sfdff ; ah] ; w6l/ rgfvf]/xg cfux u/}
- ◆ xdf]ufP3/df xg]/ xb}u/\$]f] lj sf; lgdff xdf]cfkn]nflu xf] To; h]xdfn]; w6l/ rf; f]/Vg] ug]k5{.
- ◆ cfdhgtfn]:yfglo lj sf; lgdffsf]sfof]f0{of]xdf]sfof]m xf]eg] cfdfb]v g]To; } cg; ksf]Joj xf/ u/} /, olb clgoldttf ePsf]kf0Pdf jf zsf nfu]f lhNnf kzf; g sfof]o, clVtof/ b?kof]u cg; Gwfg cfof]u, c; n zf; g sfof]m tyf c6o ; ~rf/ df]mddf va/ u/} klg :yfglo:t/sf lj sf; lgdffnf0{ u0f:t/lo agfpg gful/s ; dfhn] ; xof]u ug{ ; S5 .



c; fh / sflts dlxgf M
c; n zf; g :yfkgsf] nflu gof"
; /sf/n] ugkg] dVo sfdx s]
s]xg< eGg]kZgdf zIQnk6l< #
; f/l5fk l; Gwhlsf >ls[Of ykfk,
l; 4k/ uflj; - ^ a}8lsf nldlk} fb
eš, ??- # 7hfkf]/f, uNdlst khg
1jfnl, vld- * kjgahf/
c3f{rflsf 7fs/ lgbf / s6f/l- (,
efh]pbok/ / lhnf jg sfofno
wglfss ldnqfn lu/l]pTs[6 lj rf/
k7fPsf lyP M

- ◆ hgtf, kl/j ž / ; do ; xfpbf] nštfGqs ; l;wfg lgdff u/l nfu"u/]
- ◆ ; /sf/df ; nlg JolQm< JolQmut : jfy{e]6frf/, gftfj fb-s[kfj fbaf6 69f /x]
- ◆ j] flgs eld; wf/ glt NofP/
- ◆ sfoQm<df hg; xeflutf, kf/blz{f, hj fkb]xtf, lj lwsf] zf; g; ; dfj žls/Of tyf ; dtf nfu"u/]
- ◆ /fHo ; lfd xg]vfnsf cfof]hgf Pj +sfoQm nfu"u/]
- ◆ blf hgziQm ptkfbg ug]vfnsf klj lw lj sf; u/]
- ◆ ; a]j u{wd{ hft, / effeffiInf0{ lj sf; sf]kx< ; Dd k}ofP/
- ◆ ; fgfltgf sdsf]nflu s[bd} wfpkgg]g]kfnlsf]afWotf x6f0{ lfg j f lhnfd]; dfwfg xg] Joj :yf ldnfP/
- ◆ lj Bdfg b08xlgtfsf]cj :yfsf] cGto u/]
- ◆ x[Of, lx;f, rf]L, 8s}L, anTs/h:tf cglts sfo[Pj + nfuKbfy{;]g, cf] f/k; f/h:tf sfo{/fšg ; /sf/n]hgtnf0{; r] kf/]
- ◆ /fi6e dfgj clwsf/ cfof]u, gful/s ; dfhnufot /fi6x]s ; ž; :yf; ū ; xsfo{u/]
- ◆ c; n zf; g :yfkgsf lfgdf pln]y glo ; xof]u ug]; ž; :yf / JolQmf0{k/:s[tyf yk k]l]; fxg u/] oj f a]f]huf/l ; dfwfgsf nflu ; lkdhscg/ f/sf]/f]huf/sf] Joj :yf u/]

dt; / dlxgf- 8fh/af6 xfDg hg>daf6 ufdlOf ; 8s lgdff u/fpgsf]nflu gful/s ; dfhn]s:tf]eldsf vlg ; S5 < eGg]lj ifodf ; žl klj lws lzlfno, lbfkon, 8f]lsf sfžnaxfb/ lai6, e/tk/- !) lrtjgsf czfšsd/ /fšfo, cfdrfš- ^ Onfdfs hj fnbf; /f0{dl't'uf- \$ wgs6fsf hlj gdfb] InDa"/ s6f/l- (efh]pbok/sf dfgsdf/l lu/l / th; fsdf/l lu/l] k7fPsf]lj rf/ pTs[6sf]sf]ldf k/šf]lyof]M

- ◆ ; dbfoleq lj leGg b]6sf]f, :j efj / sfo{fdtf ePsf dflg; x< xg] ePsf]h]To:tf dflg; x< dWb}f6 dhat ; u7g tof/ u/l hgr]gf huP/
- ◆ gful/s ; dfhleq}dh ; ldlit u7g u/l, cGo pk; ldlitx< lgdff ub} hfg]/ cf'gf]sfd lgoldt <kn]u/]
- ◆ ; 8s lgdff ubf{8fh/eGbf hg>d kof]u u}of]eg]:yfol ; 8s lgdff xg]h:tf hgr]gfdhs sfoQm u/]
- ◆ ; 8s lgdff ubf{To; sf]nfut, l6sfp / To; sf]jftfj /Oflo c; /nufotsf af/df :yfgloj f; lnf0{hfgsf/l u/fP/
- ◆ hg>daf6 ; 8s lgdff ubf{xg] kn]obfsf af/df cfdhgtf, /fhgllts bn, ; /sf/l lgsfo / cGo u}; /sf/l ; :yf ; ahf0{ hfgsf/l u/fP/
- ◆ :yfglo afl; Gbfsf]; xof]udf 8fh/af6 ; 8s lgdff ug]s/fsf] lj /f]u u/]
- ◆ pker]f ; ldlitdfkrf lj sf; lgdff]sf]sfd ug]af/df hfgsf/l u/fP/
- ◆ :yfglo:t/df ; fj flgs ax; ; ; fj flgs ; gj f0 h:tf sfoQm ug] / To; af6 cPsf]lgisif{clf/zM sfof] og ug]gful/s ; dfhn] ; DalGwt klfnf0{bafa lbP/ .
- ◆ hgrfxglj k/lT ufdlOf ; 8s lgdffdf 8fh/sf]kof]u ePsf]5 eg]gful/s ; dfhn]To; sf] lj /f]vdf lg/Gt/ ax; / 5nkm u/]
- ◆ ul/alsf]/yfdlg /xšf hgtfnf0{ :yfglo:t/df /f]huf/sf]cj ; / l; hgf u/]

k'; / df3f dlxgf- ; /sf/sf]; o lbg tkf0{f0{s:tf]nflf}< zlifšdf bds axdvl SofDk; sf s[Ofk} fb ltlD; gf, >luf# \$ bf'asf /lj nfn r]u/l, b]p/fnl- @ gj nk/f; lsf ; /h kl/of/, lqrGb]SofDk; sf >ls[Of ykfk / af]h'f- # uf]vslf lj dnf >]7n]pTs[6 lj rf/ k7fPsf lyP . pglx<n]; /sf/sf ; o lbgnf0{; sf/flds / gsf/flds bā}dNofšg u/šf lyP M

; sf/flds klfl

- ◆ ul/advl ah} lgdff xg' / To] ah} kl/t xg' ; sf/flds klf xf]. t/ of]ah}sf]sfof]j og ; /sf/sf]nflu kof r]gf]l klg xf].
- ◆ j tdfg ; /sf/sf]dVo ; km]tf egšf]/fh:j ; sng g]xf]. rfn" cflyš j ifšf]tlg dlxgdf nlo ln0Pcg/ f/sf]/fh:j c; hl ug{ ; Sg' ; /sf/sf]; km]tf xf].
- ◆ cGt/f]6e ; DaGw, l5dšl dhs; ūsf]; DaGwnf0{; Gtlnt / pRr /Vg]k}f; csf]; sf/flds klf xf].
- ◆ >dsf]dNofšg / Gogtd Hofnf lgw]f]Of ul/ghf0{klg ; sf/flds <kdf xg]k5{.
- ◆ ; /sf/sf]vr]df ldtJolotfsf] nflu cfrf/; lxtf nfu"ug{csf] /fd]klf xf].
- ◆ t/f0df cfGbr]hg/t lj leGg ; dx; ū j ftfšf]klqmf ; ?]ft ug{ klg ; o lbgleqsf]Ps pkn]aw xf].
- ◆ dlb/f laqm tyf /ž6/Ū6 Joj]:yt ug]k}f; nf0{klg ; sf/flds g} dfgk5{.
- ◆ :yfglo lgsfonf0{lb0b}cPsf]



/Ltf >ij÷cflyn9uf

cflyn9ufsf]Hofld/đf @) \$@ ; fndf
hl6dPsf zqm/fh ; fsl{h6dhft}
ckf u lyP . 3l; P/ lx8gkgItyf
3/sf]cfo; f] gePsf]vf; /fhuf/L
ug{; sžf lyPgg\ af6fđf dfu]
uhf/f uy].

t/ clxn]pgl c;sf]; fd'xft
k; f/] dfUgkgIcj:yfaf6 dQm
e0; sžf 5g\ lbgS}kfr ; o
?kđf; Dd sdfp5g\pgl . ogf06ž
ld; g 6'gkfnsf :s6 gfds 8fS6/n]
gkf]n cyf]žs c:ktfn sf7df8fđf
pkrf/ ul/lbPkI5 pgsf]hljgn]
sf]6]k]žf]xf]. sl/a ; ft dlxgfsf]
pkrf/kl5 pgl ; fdf6o lx88h ug{
; Sg]ePsf xg\ :j:f:Yo ; wf/kl5
c:ktfn]g]/f06/ r] fo/ už
hf]kf6ldf kfrdlxg]]; nf0s6f0
tflnd lbnfof]. tflnd; ũ]Pp6f
l; nf0 dl]; g kfp . clxn]pgl
; b/dsfdf sf]f ef8f ln0{
l; nf0s6f0 pBd u5g\

ækf} vLÆ z'qm/fh



pgsf]kf}v b]ž] ld; gsf
8f=Pl/s bu k/] /
yk tflndsf nflu
sf7df8f}k7fP . gf]dlxgf
tflndkl5 pgl clxn]lzlkl z]ldf
bf}f; ?j fn l; nfp5g\ pgsf]kf}vsf]
ufpufpdf Voflt hdžf]5 . ædfUgž
af6 Ondl
agžfđf pgsf]
hljgn]gof"
cj tf/ lnPsf]
:yfgloj f; lxž
atfp5g\ æđh]

cj tf/ g]lnPsf]h:tf]nfU5 klgÆ pgl
e65g\æhljgn]olt wž]kl/j tđ unf{
h:tf]nfuž]lyPg .Æ oBlk,
pkrf/kl5 ; fdf6o lx88h ugđf
; Sg]pgl atfp5g\ æt/ a;] sdf
ubf{ck7]f]xbž]Æ pgl e65g\
pgl /fhoklt eg]lgs}ugf; f]
/fV5g\ clxn]Dd cfknh]/fhosf sg}
lgsfoaf6 klg ; bf; otf gkfPsf]
pgsf]egf0 5 . cfknh]/fhuf/Ldf
; xof] ul/lbg uflj ; / lhj; df
u/žf]k6sk6ssf]cg/f]v ; g]f0
gePsfđf pgsf]ugf; f]/xžf]5 .

eGbf km/s

æPp6f 066/nu dl]; g dfUbf
lbPggÆ pgl e65g\
æckf u eQf klg
kfpSf]5ž .Æ
cj ; / kfp sg}g sg]/fhuf/L ug{
; Sg]pbfx/Of zqm/fhn]b]yfPsf 5g\
o:tf pbfx/Of b]yf0{cfknh]tyf
/fhosf]cfo; f]df ; d] ž]f kžofpg]
gful/s a6g eg]/fho ; fdf]hs
; ž; u7gxžsf]of]ubfg cfj Zos 5 .
oltn]dfq}klbž, ckf u ž; n]klg
pI; fx / cf6 b]yfpkg5{
zqm/fhh:t}. ■

e]6frf/ tyf dfgj clwsf/ xgglj?4
ph/L sxf"lbg]<

; fj h]gs kb wf/Of u/žf JolQm]cglrt sfo{e]6frf/
j f clVtof/ b?kof]u u/đf cfknh' ũ ePsf]kđf0f; d]ž
; n]lg /vl e]6frf/lj?4 sfo{t lgsfoxž df ph/L
lbgxf] \ To:t}dfgj clwsf/ xgg; DaGwl
ugf; fxž lgDg 7]ufgdf lbgxf] \

ph/L lbg]7]ufgf	
clVtof/ b?kof]u cg; Gwfg cfof]u, 6ufn, sf7df8f}-	kn]g]M \$\$\$)!%, \$ \$#(\$^@ knh]S; M \$\$\$)!@*
/fli6@ ; ts{f s]b]l; xb/af/ sf7df8f}-	kn]g]M \$@@&(^, \$@@%#! knh]S; \$@!^&)^
/fli6@ dfgj clwsf/ cfof]u, xl/x/ejg, n]ntk/	kn]g]M %%%^%(, %!)! ^ knh]S; M %%\$&(&#
; eQm /fi6ž žlo dfgj clwsf/ pRrfcoQmsf] sfof]o 5fpgl, sf7df8f}-	kn]g]M \$@*)!^\$ knh]S; M \$^&)&!@

Iđ]lo tyf lhlnf kžf; g sfoff]oxž
gla; ž; \gful/ssf]x]; otn]of]tkf0žf]
clwsf/ / st{fo klg xf].

