

# evsj vř` k mpcłg tKvU<sup>©</sup> nvBřKvU<sup>©</sup>wef vM

(ř@úkvj Awi wRb`vj Rvi mWKkvb)

i xU wcwUk b bs 2577 /2009

Bb w` g`vUvi Ad t

Bnv evsj vř` k msweavřbi 102 Abř"Q` Abřvqx  
GKwU Avře` b cÎ ;

Bb w` g`vUvi Ad t

W . Gg, G, mvj vg

... ` i Lv` Kvi x

ebvg

evsj vř` k mi Kvi cř¶ MYcRvZšx evsj vř` řki  
K`weřbU wefvřMi mPe Ges Ab`vb`

... cřZev` xMYcř¶ |

Rbve gbwRj řgvi řm`, G`vWřfvřKU&

... ` i Lv` Kvi xcř¶

Rbve Gg, BbvřqZj i nxg, AwZwi<sup>3</sup> A`vUwYĐ  
řRbvři j , mř½

Rbve gř vdv Rvgvb Bmj vg, wW,G,wR

... 4 bs cřZev` xcř¶

Rbve řgvt gřmj "j nK řPřaj x, G`vWřfvřKU&

... 9 bs cřZev` xcř¶

Rbve L>` Kvi gvneř Dwř b Avnřřř` mř½

Rbve řgvt i "új Kř m Ges

Rbve bwmi Dwř b Avnřg`, G`vWřfvřKU&

... 11 bs cřZev` xcř¶

Rbve Gg, Awgi ĐDj Bmj vg

GwgKvm wKDwi qv

i bvb x t řg 20,21, 27, 28 I Rř 01,  
2009 Bs

i vq cř vb t Rř 21, 2009 Bs

Dcw` Z t

wePvi cwZ Rbve G,we,Gg, Lvqi "j nK  
Ges

wePvi cwZ Rbve ggZvR Dwř b Avnřřř`

wePvi cwZ G,we,Gg, Lvqi "j nK t

cUf wKv t

evsj vř` k mi Kvři i gř<sup>3</sup> hřx wel qK gřřYvj q KZř cKwKZ

evsj vř` řki mřaxbZvhřx ` wj j cÎ cřbi LÛ wmi R Mřřř 2004 mřbi

cþgŕŕKZ ZZxq L†Ūi cŭg cðvq gŕŕŕ evsj v†`tki ōcŭg  
 mŕaxbZv †Nvl Yvŏ eYðvi AvBbvbm %eaZv P`v†j Ä Kwi qv I tmB  
 mæúwKŒ Ab`vb` wb†`Rbv cŭðv Kwi qv AÎ i xU& tgvKvŕ gŕU `v†qi  
 Kiv nBqv†Q|

### m† cvZ I i`j Rvi x t

`i Lv`Kvi x Gg, G, mvj vg GKRB gŕŕŕ thv×v Ges tckvq  
 wPwKrmK| wZwb 1983 m†b tgvWwmb kv†`¿wC,GBP, wW, wWMk j vf  
 K†i b| `i Lv†`-eYðv Kiv nq th, GKRB gŕŕŕ thv×v I m†PZb  
 bvMwi K wnmv†e wZwb gŕŕŕ h†×i BwZnm mæ†Ū AeMZ Av†Qb| Zvnvi  
 Rvbvg†Z Bnv HwZnwmK mZ` th e½eŪy tkL gŕRej ingvb evOvj x  
 RvwZi Awemsew` tbZv wnmv†e 1971 m†bi 26 gvP® Zwi †Li cŭg  
 cŏ†i evsj v†`tki mŕaxbZv †Nvl Yv cŭvb Kwi qwQ†j b| wKŠ' mæcŭZ  
 2004 m†bi Rþ gv†m cþgŕŕŕŕ evsj v†`tki mŕaxbZv hþ× `wjj cÎ  
 MŠ' wmw†Ri ZZxq L†Ūi cŭg cðvq tgvRi wRqvDi ingvb 27 gvP®  
 1971 Zwi †L cŭg mŕaxbZv †Nvl Yv Kwi qwQ†j b evj qv eYðv t`wLqv  
 wZwb wewm†Z nb| Zrci, Zvnvi AvBbRxex gvi dr cŭZev`xMY ei ve†i  
 13Ð4Ð2009 Zwi †L GKwU Demand of Justice Notice Rvi x Kwi qv 2004  
 m†b gŕŕŕŕ MŠwU ev†Rqvß Kwi evi Rb` c`†ŕŕ c Mhb Ges th mKj  
 e`w³ evsj v†`k mŕóí BwZnm weKZ Kwi qv†Qb Zvnv†`i wei "†× h\_vh\_  
 c`†ŕŕ c Mhb Kwi evi Rb` Ab†i va K†i b (G`v†bKPvi ÐG)| wKŠ'  
 Zvnv†Z †Kvb d†j v`q bv nl qvq AÎ i xU& tgvKvŕ gŕU `v†qi Kwi †j  
 AÎ Av`vj Z evsj v†`k msweav†bi 102 Ab†"Q` Abm†i  
 20Ð4Ð2009 Zwi †L cŭZev`xMY ei ve†i wbæwj wLZ i`j Rvi x K†i t

“Let a Rule Nisi be issued calling upon the respondents to show cause as to why the impugned publication of June, 2004 edition of “History of Bangladesh War of Independence”, published by the Ministry of Liberation War Affairs, Government of Bangladesh, so far as it relates to the declaration of independence of Bangladesh at

Page 1 in 3<sup>rd</sup> Volume, should not be declared ultra vires and is of no legal effect and why a declaration should not be made to impose a ban on the distribution of the said publication and further to confiscate all publication/published editions in reference to the reprint of the said volume printed in June 2004 by the Ministry of Liberation War Affairs and directing the respondents to initiate necessary investigation followed by appropriate legal action against the perpetrators of the distortion of the national history of Bangladesh and also direct the respondents to provide the Hon'ble Court copies or photo-stat copies, duly authenticated, of all newspaper publications, published from 1<sup>st</sup> March to 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1971, from the office of the Director of Library and National Archives, Government of Bangladesh and/or such other or further order or orders passed as to this Court may seem fit and proper.

The Rule is made returnable within 3(three) weeks from date.

Requisites to be put in at once.

Mr. M. Enayetur Rahim, the learned Additional Attorney General, appears on behalf of the respondent-Government.

Let a copy of this Rule be forwarded to the learned Attorney General, Government of Bangladesh, immediately.”

c¶ MY I Zvnv†` i wj wLZ e³ e` t

28Ð4Ð2009 Zwi †L nj dKZ GKwU `i Lv†` † gva`†g Rbve tej vj †gvnv¤§` I †gRi i wdKj Bmj vg, exi DĖg, †K c¶ f³ Kwi evi Rb` Av†e` b Ki v nq| 3Ð5Ð2009 Zwi †Li Av†` k etj Zvnw` M†K h\_vµ †g 9 I 10 bs cĖZev` x wnmv†e c¶ f³ Ki v nq| 20Ð5Ð2009 Zwi †L nj dKZ GKwU Gwd†WwfU&gvi dr 9 bs cĖZev` x c†¶ Zvnvi e³ e` `wLj Ki v nq| 6Ð5Ð2009 Zwi †L nj dKZ GKwU `i Lv`-gvi dr Gg nwg` j wñ Lvb, exi cZxK, AĦ †gvKvĭ gvq c¶ f³ nBevi Rb` GKwU Av†e` b K†i b| wKŠ' `i Lv` Kvi x c†¶ 13Ð5Ð2009 Zwi †L nj dKZ GKwU Gwd†WwfUÐBbÐwi c†B gvi dr Bnv†Z AvcwĖ Dĭ vcb Ki v nq| Dfqc†¶ i ĩ bvbX A†Š- 13Ð5Ð2009 Zwi †Li GK Av†` k etj Rbve Gg, nwg` j wñ Lvb†K

11 bs cĭZev`x wnmvte cŋ fŋ Kiv nq| wZwb 27Đ5Đ2009 Zwi tL nj dKZ GKwU GwdtWwfU&`wLj Ki Zt Zvni e<sup>3</sup> e` Dc`vcb Kti b| 20Đ5Đ2009 I 1Đ6Đ2009 Zwi tL nj dKZ GwdtWwfU& wj gvi dr 4 bs cĭZev`xc tŋ e<sup>3</sup> e` `wLj Kiv nq| 20Đ5Đ2009 Zwi tL nj dKZ GKwU GwdtWwfU& gvi dr tm±i KgvŬvi m& tdvi vgĐGi c tŋ Bnvi tmtpu Uvi xĐ tRbvti j tj dŧUtb>U tRbvti j Gg, nvi "b Ai i wk` (Aet), exi cZxK, AĬ tgvKvĭ gvq cŋ fŋ nBevi Avte`b Kwi tj 21Đ5Đ2009 Zwi tLi GK Avt`k etj tm±i KgvŬvi m& tdvi vgtK 12 bs cĭZev`x wnmvte cŋ fŋ Kiv nq| Zvni Qvov, `i Lv`Kvi xc tŋ wef bœ Zwi tL nj dKZ mœúĭ K nj dbvgv `wLj Kiv nq| tgvKvĭ gvi i bvbxi tkl chŧq Rbve Gg, G, gvbœ 27Đ5Đ2009 Zwi tL GKwU Avte`bcĬ Ges 28Đ5Đ2009 Zwi tL nj dKZ Avi GKwU mœcĭ K nj dbvgv `wLj Ki Zt cŋ fŋ nBevi Rb` Avte`b Kwi tj Zvni bŵ\_fŋ i vLv nq Zte ivq cĭ vtbi cte° hw` Zvni v tKvb `wj j w` `wLj Kti b Zte Zvni weŧePbv Kiv hvBte ewj qv 28Đ5Đ2009 Zwi tL Avt`k cĭ vb Kiv nq| wKš'wZwb tkl chŧ-tKvb `wj j w` `wLj Kti b bvB|

11 bs cĭZev`x `i Lvŧ`-evYŽ wef bœ eYŮv Ges cĭ\_Ův AmxKvi Ki Zt Zvni GwdtWwfU Bb AcwRkvb gvi dr e<sup>3</sup> e` tck Kti b| ōevsj vt`tki mŷaxbZvhx `wj j cĬ Ō Mš' wmwĭ tRi 3q LtŬi cĭ\_g cŮvq gŷ` Ź weei Y th tgRi wRqvDi ingvb 26Đ3Đ1971 Zwi tL mŷaxbZv tNvl bv Kwi qvtQb Zvni `ŧó `i Lv`Kvi x wewmŧZ nBqvŧQb ewj qv Zvni `i Lvŧ`- th eYŮv Kwi qvtQb Zvni 11 bs cĭZev`x weâwšKi I Dŧĭ k` cŧYw` Z ewj qv AmxKvi Kti b| `i Lv`Kvi xi e<sup>3</sup> e` th e½eŬy tkL gŷRej ingvb 26Đ3Đ1971 Zwi tL mŷaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qwQŧj b Zvni cŋ fŋ GB cĭZev`x AmxKvi Kti b| wZwb eYŮv Kti b th Dcŧi v<sup>3</sup> Mšĭ 1982 I 2003 mŧbi gŷ ŧYi eYŮv th e½eŬy tkL gŷRej ingvb 26Đ3Đ1971 Zwi tL mŷaxbZv tNvl bv

Kwi qvWQtj b Zvnnv cŭgwbK `wj tj i Ašf® | Zvnnv H mgq chš-cŭB  
 Z\_` wfWĖK | tm mŕtŭ tKvb gšte`i cŭqvRb bvB | wKš' ci eZxŕZ  
 cŭB wbf®kxj HwZnwmK Z\_` I NUbvej xi Dci wfWĖ Kwi qv 2004  
 mŕbi gŕ`Z `wj j cŭĤ eYŕv Ki v nBqvŕQ | `i Lvŕŕ eYŕv th `i Lvŕŕ  
 Kvi x thŕnZŕ GKRb gŕ³ thvxv wQtj b tmBŕnZŕ 1971 mŕbi 7B gŕP®  
 Zwi ŕLi tNvl Yv Ges mŕaxbZv tNvl Yvi mZ`Kvi BwZnm mŕtŭ  
 AewnZ Ges ci eZxŕZ BwZnm weKwZ Ki Y mŕúŕK® AewnZ BZ`w`  
 eYŕv mŕtŭ 11 bs cŭZev`x Z\_`NwUZ cŭewj qv eYŕv Kŕi b th G  
 mŕtŭ Zvnnv Dcj wä I Z\_` `i Lvŕ Kvi xi e³ eŕŕK mg\_ŕ Kŕi bv |  
 `i Lvŕŕ 6 `dvq cŭĖ eYŕv mZ` bq ewj qv wZwb etj b th, D³ Mŕšŕ  
 1982 I 2003 mŕbi gŕŕY e`³ Z\_`w` ci eZxŕZ mŕŕkvabŕhvM` |  
 ZvnnvQvov, mŕaxbZv tNvl Yvq Bnv etj bv th tkL gŕRej ingvb  
 mŕaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qvWQtj b |

GwdŕWwfŕUi 9 `dvq eYŕv Ki v nq th evsj vŕ`ŕki mŕaxbZv hŕx  
 `wj j cĤ Gi 2004 mŕbi cbgŕŕYi 3q Lŕŭi 1g cŕvq eYŕv Ki v  
 nq th tgRi wRqvDi ingvb 26ŭ3ŭ1971 Zwi ŕL th mŕaxbZv tNvl Yv  
 Kwi qvWQtj b Zvnnv cŭgwbK `wj tj i Ašf® Ges ceZb gŕŕY, wj  
 mwVK wKš' meŕkl gŕŕYU ävš-Bnv AmŕKvi Ki v e`wZZ Zvnnv Ab`  
 tKvb gše` bvB | Avi I eYŕv Ki v nq th tgRi wRqvDi ingvb th  
 mŕaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qvWQtj b GB wmxvŕš-DcbxZ nBevi Kvi Yvej x D³  
 Lŕŭi 4\_`cŕvq ŕmŕaxbZv tNvl Yvt cŭZ`vqb KwgŕUi AwfgZŕ G eYŕv  
 Ki v nBqvŕQ (G`vŕbKŕvi ŭ1) |

`i Lvŕŕ 18 `dvq cŭĖ e³ te`i Revŕe 17 `dvq eYŕv Ki v  
 nBqvŕQ th `i Lvŕ Kvi x GB i xU& tgvKvŕ gŕ `vŕqi Kwi qv tgRi  
 wRqvDi ingvb th mŕaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qvWQtj b Zvnnv ZKŕex Kwi qv  
 RwwZŕK wef³ Kwi qvŕQb |

GwdŕWwfU&Bb AcwRkvb& Gi 21 `dvq tgRi wRqvDi ingvb  
 th evsj vŕ`ŕki mŕaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qvWQtj b Zvnnv mŕcŕŕŕ wKQŕ NUbv

eYḅv Kiv nq| wZwb cĳetZṿtj b th tkL gyRej ingvb 25Đ3Đ1971  
 Zwi tLi w`evMZ i vtĴ hw` ṃyaxbZv tNvl bv Kwi tZb Zte tmB msev`  
 26 ev 27 gṿtP̣P̣ %`wbK cWĴ Kv, wj tZ cĳẉkZ nBZ| fvi Z mi Kvi  
 KZĳ cĳẉkZ Bangladesh Documents Vol-II Gi ei vZ w`qv Avi I eYḅv Kiv  
 nq th 6Đ11Đ1971 Zwi tL fvi tZi cĳavbgšx wg̣tmm Bw`iv MvÜx  
 wbDBqK®' Kj ẉẉp̣v weḳẉe`vj tq cĴ Ę e³ Zvq etj b th tkL gyRe  
 tṂdZvi nBevi cti ṃyaxbZvi `vex I tV (G`vtbKPvi Đ2)|  
 GwḍtWwf̣tUi 22 `dvq Bangladesh Documents Vol -I Gi cĴZ  
 ei vZ w`qv eYḅv Kti b th evsj vt`tki Z`wbšb cĳavbgšx Rbve  
 ZvRDwĴ b Avṇtg` 11Đ4Đ1971 Zwi tL cĴ Ę GK teZvi fvl tY etj b  
 th tgRi wRqvDi ingvb GKwU cwi Pvj bv tK>`ª Mwoqv tZṿtj b Ges  
 tmLvb nBtZ evsj vt`tki ṃyaxbZvi cĴg tNvl Yv i wḅtZ cvb  
 (G`vtbKPvi Đ3 I 4)|

4 bs cĴZev`x, ṃwPe, gy³ hyx wel qK gšYvj q cĴĴ  
 20Đ5Đ2009 I 1Đ6Đ2009 Zwi tL nj dKZ `BwU GwḍtWwf̣U `wLj  
 Kiv nq|

1Đ6Đ2009 Zwi tLi GwḍtWwf̣tU eYḅv Kiv nq th mgMª wẹtḳ  
 1971 ṃtbi 27tk gṿP̣P̣ Zwi tL cĳẉkZ wef̣ḅeṃsev`cĴĴ tkL gyRej  
 ingvb KZĳ ṃyaxbZv tNvl Yvi msev`cP̣wi Z nq| msev`cĴĴ eYḅv  
 Kiv nq th GKwU ,B teZvi tK>`ª nBtZ tkL gyRe evsj vt`tki  
 ṃyaxbZv tNvl Yv Kti b| 26tk gṿP̣P̣ ṃyaxbZv tNvl Yv ṃẉúwKZ wef̣ḅe  
 weei Y D³ GwḍtWwf̣tU eYḅv Kiv nq Ges wef̣ḅe KvMRĐ`wj j w`i  
 ḍtUvḲwc msḥp̣ Kiv nq|

21Đ6Đ2009 Zwi tLi GwḍtWwf̣tU tRbṿti j wRqvDi ingṿtbi  
 ṃẉf̣ṃ ti ḲtẈP̣ weei Y wj wcex Kiv nq Ges tkL gyRe KZĳ  
 ṃyaxbZv tNvl Yvi msev`ṃẉlj Z wef̣ḅe cĴ ĐcWĴ Kvi ḍtUṿó`vU& Ḳwc  
 msḥp̣ Kiv nq|

c¶ M‡Yi AvBbRxx I GwgKvm wKDwi qv t

ZvuvQvov, %`wbK B†ĖdvK cŵĤ Kvq 29Đ3Đ2009 Zwi ‡L  
cĤvwkZ R%daK Rbve gCbj Avj g (G`v†bKPvi Đ5) Ges %`wbK  
w`bKvj cŵĤ Kvq 16Đ12Đ1998 Zwi ‡L Rbve Ave`j i v<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>v†Ki GKwU  
mv¶vrKvi (G`v†bKPvi Đ6) Gi ei vZ w`qv eYbv Kiv nq th  
m¶axbZvi c0\_g tNvl bv tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb c0 vb Kwi qvwQ†j b|

Rbve gbW Rj t gvi t m` , G`W t f v t K U , ` i L v` K v i x c t ¶ e<sup>3</sup> e`  
Dc` v c b K t i b | A c i w` t K Rbve L v` K v i g v n e p D w i b A v n t æ s` ,  
G`W t f v t K U , m t 1/2 Rbve i " u j K i j m , G`W t f v t K U , 11 b s  
c i Z e v` x c t ¶ e<sup>3</sup> e` Dc` v c b K t i b |

Rbve Gg, Bbv†qZj i nxg, AwZwi<sup>3</sup> A<sup>vv</sup>UwY†Rbv†i j Ges Rbve  
tgv<sup>-</sup>vdv Rvgvb Bmj vg, tWcYU A<sup>vv</sup>UwY†Rbv†i j , 4 bs c†Zev<sup>-</sup>xc†¶  
e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>vv</sup> Dc<sup>-</sup>vcb K†i b|

Avgt` i Avnev†b Rbve Gg, Awgi †Dj †Bmj vg, G`W†f v†KU,  
GwgKvm wKDi xqv wnmv†e e<sup>3</sup> e` Dc` vcb Ki Z t Av` vj Z†K mnvqZv  
K†i b|

$$\frac{1}{\sqrt{L}} \sum_{v=1}^L \left( \frac{1}{K} \sum_{k=1}^K \text{Tr}(\mathbf{C}_k^\top \mathbf{E}) - \frac{1}{e^3} \right)$$

Rbve gbWJj tgv i tm` , GvWt f v t K U t mshj<sup>β</sup> KvMRw` nBtZ  
` i Lv<sup>-</sup> Kvi x c t¶ Zvnyi e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>-</sup> Dc<sup>-</sup> vcb Kti b|

WZwb c0tg 1947 mfb fvi ZDcwK- vb m\axbZv j vtfi mgq  
nBtZ ce®evsj vi eÂbvi BwZnm, gvZfvl vi Avt>`vj b, m\qZkvmtbi  
Rb¨ m`xN® msMtg nBtZ gw³ htxi Dci bwZ`xN®e³ e¨ Dc- vcb  
Kti b|

Zrci wZwb eZgvb `i Lv† - ewYZ mvsweawbK †c¶ vcU I  
Ae<sup>-</sup>vb, 1971 m†bi 25 gvP<sup>©</sup> w`evMZ i v†Î evsj v† †ki m†axbZv

†Nvl Yv, Zrci eZx<sup>©</sup> NUbvej x, 10B Gwcġ Zwi †L gŵRe bMti †Nwl Z  
 mŵaxbZvi †Nvl YvcĤ (The Proclamation of Independence) Ges Zrci eZx<sup>©</sup>  
 mvsweawwbK Kvhp tgi cĤZ Avgv†`i `ŵó AvKI Ƴ ceƑ wbtē`b Kti b  
 th 1971 mti 26 gvP<sup>©</sup>i v†Ĥi cĤg cĤti RwZi wczv e½eÜy tkL  
 gŵRej ingvb evsj v†`tki mŵaxbZv †Nvl Yv cĤ vb Kti b| D<sup>3</sup> †Nvl Yv  
 10B Gwcġi mŵaxbZvi †Nvl YvcĤ mŵKZ nq Ges ci eZx<sup>©</sup>  
 evsj v†`tki msweavtbi cĤ vebvq I PZ<sup>⓪</sup> Zdmxtj Ašf<sup>®</sup> nBqv  
 msweavtbi Ask nq| dj k<sup>W</sup>W†Z, wZwb wbtē`b Kti b, 25tk gvP<sup>©</sup>  
 w`evMZ i v†Ĥ, 26tk gv†P<sup>©</sup> cĤg cĤti e½eÜy tkL gŵRej ingvb  
 evsj v†`tki th mŵaxbZv †Nvl Yv Kwi qwQ†j b Zvzv msweavtbi Ask|  
 mŵaxbZv †Nvl Yvi GBi fc mvsweawwbK Ae`vb e½eÜj nZ`vi eücti  
 1982 mti evsj v†`k mi Kvti i Z` gšŶvj q KZƑ cKwKZ I  
 gŵ`Z ōevsj v†`tki mŵaxbZvhjx `wj j cĤ ō M†š' mŵKZ nq| 2003  
 mti cpg<sup>®</sup>†YI Zvzv wj wcx \_v†K| 2004 mti Rb gv†m  
 evsj v†`k mi Kvi Gi gŵ<sup>3</sup> hjx wel qK gšŶvj tqi c†Ŧ R%bK AveŶvm  
 Avj x wgv, cKí cwi Pvj K, D<sup>3</sup> mŵaxbZv hjx `wj j cĤ cpg<sup>®</sup>†Y Kti b|  
 wKš' GBi fc cpg<sup>®</sup>†Yi ARnv†Z mŵaxbZv †Nvl bvi Zwi L cwi eZ<sup>®</sup>  
 Kiv nq| cpg<sup>®</sup> Z D<sup>3</sup> M†ší ZZxq L†Ūi cĤg cĤvq BwZnm weKZ  
 Kwi qv mᳵY<sup>©</sup> bZbfvte eY<sup>®</sup> Kiv nq th tgRi wRqvDi ingvb 27  
 gvP<sup>©</sup> 1971 Zwi †L wecx teZvi tK>` (PÆMŶg) nB†Z cĤg mŵaxbZv  
 †Nvl Yv Kti b|

ZvzvQvov, wZwb etj b th D<sup>3</sup> cĤg cĤvq GKwU cv`UxKv  
 msthvRb Ki Zt GKwU mᳵcY<sup>©</sup>bZb wKš' wg\_`v Z` eY<sup>®</sup> Kwi qv cpi vq  
 BwZnm weKZ Kiv nBqv†Q| D<sup>3</sup> cv`UxKvq eY<sup>®</sup> Kiv nq th 26tk  
 gvP<sup>©</sup>i v†Ĥ B tgRi wRqvDi ingvb 8g Bó te½j ti wR†gtŬi e`vUwj qb  
 Awdmvi, tRwml Ges tRvqv†`i †K GKwĤ Z Kwi qv mŵaxbZvi †Nvl Yv  
 t`b| weÁ G`W†fv†KU&g†nv`q tRvi vj fvte wbtē`b Kti b th tgRi  
 wRqvDi ingvb ZLb nq†Zv we†`Ūn †Nvl Yvi K\_v ewj qwQ†j b wKš'



Zvnvi gZji 23 ermi ci i agvî Zvnv†K ômvaxbZvi †Nvl Kô evbvBevi Amr D†i†k" cv` UxKvq 26†k gvP® Zwi †LB wZwb mvaxbZvi †Nvl Yv cô vb Kwi qvwQ†j b ewj qv wg\_`vf vte eYbv Kiv nBqv†Q| wZwb wbtē` b K†i b th GBi "c cv` UxKv mƳfweK mvavi Y w bq†g Kiv nq bvB, ei Â l ohšgj K f vte Kwi evi c†qvRb nBqv cwoqwwQj | Kvi Y 26†k gvP® evsj v†` †ki mvaxbZv w` em| mKj msvewwbK `wj j w` †Z 26†k gvP® evsj v†` k mvaxb nBqv†Q ewj qv eYbv Kiv nBqv†Q| côZ ermi 26†k gvP® mvaxbZv w` em Drhvcb Kiv nB†Z†Q| A\_P tgRi wRqvDi ingv†bi Z\_vKw\_Z mvaxbZvi †Nvl Yv nB†Z†Q c†i i w` b 27†k gvP® mÜ`vq| GgZ Ae`vq Zvnv†K 26†k gvP® Zwi †LB mvaxbZvi †Nvl K evbvBevi Amr D†i†k" 2004 m†b cbgƳ Ĭ `wj j c†i i 3q L†Ûi cô\_g côvq cv` UxKvi Avg`vbx|

wēĀ G`W†fv†KU g†nv` q wbtē` b K†i b th mvaxbZvi 33 ermi ci Dc†i v³ eYbv mœúYf vte m†Z`i Acj vc l wg\_`v| msweavb f ½ Kwi qv Amr D†i†k" D³ i "c weKZ BwZnm eYbv Kiv nBqv†Q ewj qv wZwb `vex K†i b|

### 11 bs côZev` x c†¶ cô Ĭ e³ e`t

11 bs côZev` x c†¶ Rbve i "ûj Kĩ m, G`W†fv†KU Zvnvi e³ te`i cô†g Shahriar Rashid Khan V. Bangladesh 49 DLR (1997) 133 tgvKvĩ gvi bwR†i i ei vZ w` qv wbtē` b K†i b th PZ\_®Zdwm†j ewYŽ wel qvw` msweav†bi Ask bq Ges tm†nZy mvaxbZvi †Nvl YvcĬ l msweav†bi Ask bq|

Dc†i v³ tgvKvĩ gvq Indemnity (Repeal) Act, 1996 (Act No. XXI of 1996 Gi %eaZvi ckeDl vcb Kiv nq| Dc†i v³ AvBb Øvi v The Indemnity Ordinance, 1975 (L of 1975) i wnZ Kiv nq| D†j Ĭ th, D³ Aa`v†` k Øvi v e½eÜy tkL gƳRej ingvb l Zvnvi cwi evi e†M® bksm nZ`vKv†Ûi wePv†i i c\_ 21 ermi hver i "x Kwi qv i vLv nBqwQj | D³

nZ`vKv†Üi wePv†i i c\_ mMg Kwi evi j †¶` Dc†i v³ AvBbØvi v  
 Aa`v†` kU ewZj Kwi †j Dc†i ewYZ tgvKv† gvwUi m† cvZ nq| D³  
 tgvKv† gvq Indemnity (Repeal) Act, 1996 †K %ea †Nvl bv Ki v nq| GB  
 c†½ i v†q gše` Ki v nq th D³ Indemnity Ordinance, 1975, msweav†bi  
 Ask bq, †KŠ' PZ\_® Z dwmj msweav†bi Ask bq Zvnv D³ i v†q ej v  
 nq bvB, ei Â D³ Z dwmj th msweav†bi Ask ZvnvB †bwÖZ Ki v  
 nBqv†Q| D³ i v†qi 67 ` dvq eYbv Ki v nq t

“67 Accordig to Mr. Korban Ali and Mr. Khondaker Mahbubuddin Ahmed, this Ordinance was made a part of the Constitution by paragraphs 3A and 18 of the 4<sup>th</sup> schedule of the Constitution. But it appears that neither the 4<sup>th</sup> schedule nor any other provision of the Constitution provides that this Indemnity Ordinance No. 50 of 1975 should be treated as a part of the Constitution. Rather, by paragraphs 3A and 18 of the 4<sup>th</sup> Schedule of the Constitution it was protected and continued as existing law in the category of “other laws” which were promulgated in between the period from 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1975 and 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1979. Since it was an ordinary piece of legislation being saved, protected and is continued under paragraphs 3A and 18 of the 4<sup>th</sup> Schedule of the Constitution, it can be amended or repealed by simple majority members of the Parliament.”

i ay ZvnvB b†n, Dc†i v³ tgvKv† gvi Awc†j i i v†q Avcxj  
 wefvM wewf bœ ` v†b PZ\_® Z dwmj †K msweav†bi Ask wnmv†eB eYbv  
 Kwi qv†Q (“4<sup>th</sup> schedule of the Constitution.”)| GgZ Ae` vq ‘Proclamation of  
 Independence’ msweav†bi Ask b†n Rbve i “ûj Kĩ j, G`W†fv†KU‡ Gi  
 GB e³ e` Zvnyi D† wcz Kvi Yvax†b mwVK b†n| ‘The Proclamation of  
 Independence’ Aek`B msweav†bi Ask |

AZtci , Rbve i “ûj Kĩ j, G`W†fv†KU‡ KZ‡ D† wcz e³ e`  
 th tkL gyRej ingvb KZ‡ 26 tk gvP® Gi c\_lg c††i th  
 m†axbZv †Nvl Yv Ki v nq bvB Zvnyi m†c†¶ wewf bœNUbvej x eYbv K†i b  
 I h³ D† vcb K†i b|

Zvnvi e<sup>3</sup> te<sup>2</sup>i mvi vsk wbašj fc t

00c0\_gZt cwwK<sup>-</sup> vb tmbvewnbx 25tk gvP<sup>®</sup>w<sup>^</sup> evMZ i vt<sup>1</sup> XvKv  
knđi tmbv Awf hvb Avi at Kwi evi Ae<sup>2</sup>ewnz cđi B tkL  
gvReđK tMđZvi Kwi qv K<sup>2</sup>v>Ubđgđ>U j Bqv hvl qv nq,  
KvđRB tKvb cKvi tNvl Yv cđ vb Kwi evi tKvb AeKvk  
Zvnvi wQj bv|

w0ZxqZt wZwb tNvl Yv cđ vb Kwi qvwQđj b Ggb tKvb Z<sup>-</sup>  
wj wce<sup>x</sup> bvB|

ZZxqZt fvi đZi ZrKvj xb cđavbgšx kđgwZ Bw<sup>2</sup> i v MvÜx  
6đ11đ1971 Zwi đL hđ<sup>3</sup> i vtđ<sup>1</sup> Kj w<sup>2</sup>q<sup>v</sup> wek<sup>2</sup>pe<sup>2</sup> vj tq cđ Ė  
GK fvl đY eđj b th tkL gvRe tMđZvi nl qvi ci  
m<sup>2</sup>vaxbZvi <sup>-</sup>vex DwVqvwQj, Zvnvi RvbvgđZ wZwb GLbl  
tKvb m<sup>2</sup>vaxbZv <sup>-</sup>vex Kđi b bvB ( evsj vt<sup>-</sup> k WKđg>Umđ 2q  
LŪ, cđvđ275, fvi Z mi Kvi KZK cKwkZ)| 00

wZwb Zvnvi e<sup>3</sup> te<sup>2</sup> eđj b th, tkL gvRe bq, ei Ā, tgRi  
wRqvDi ingvb th evsj vt<sup>-</sup>tki m<sup>2</sup>vaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qvwQđj b Zvnvi  
<sup>-</sup>wj wj K cđvY i w<sup>2</sup>nqvđQ| 26tk gvP<sup>®</sup> i v<sup>1</sup> 2.15 wgwbtU Zvnvi tbZđZ;  
8g Bó te<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>j ti wRđg>U weđ<sup>-</sup>đn tNvl Yv Kđi | Zrci mKj Awdmvi I  
wmcvnxđ<sup>-</sup> i đK GKw<sup>1</sup> Z Kwi qv wZwb m<sup>2</sup>vaxbZvi tNvl Yv t<sup>-</sup> b| ZvnvQvov,  
27B gvP<sup>®</sup> Zwi đL wece<sup>x</sup> teZvi tK<sup>2</sup>><sup>1</sup>, PÆMđg, nBđZ wZwb c0\_g  
m<sup>2</sup>vaxbZvi tNvl Yv cđ vb Kđi b| GB <sup>-</sup>vexi mđcđđ wZwb fvi Z mi Kvi  
KZK cKwkZ evsj vt<sup>-</sup> k WKđg>Um, c0\_g LŪ, cđv 284 Gi ei vZ  
w<sup>-</sup> qv 11B Gwcđ, 1971, Zwi đL cđv<sup>2</sup>mx evsj vt<sup>-</sup> k mi Kvđi i cđavbgšx  
ZvRDw<sup>1</sup> b Avnđg<sup>-</sup> GK teZvi fvl đY tgRi wRqvDi ingvb th c0\_g  
m<sup>2</sup>vaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qvwQđj b Zvnvi eYđv Kđi b| ZvnvQvov, weÁ  
G<sup>-</sup>wđfvtKUđ gđnv<sup>-</sup> q Rbve Gg, mvgmj nK wj wLZ Bangladesh in  
International Politics Mđšđ ei vZ w<sup>-</sup> qv eđj b th, 1977 mđbi 26tk  
wWđmđđ wRqvDi ingvb i vóćwZ wnmvte fvi Z mdđi tMđj fvi đZi  
i vóćwZ bxj g mÄxe ti wW ZvnvđK m<sup>2</sup>vaxbZvi c0\_g tNvl Yv<sup>-</sup> vbKvi x  
wnmvte eYđv Kđi b|

26tk gvP<sup>o</sup> i v<sup>t</sup>l we<sup>t</sup> n l m<sup>y</sup>axbZv tNvl Yvi th NUbv weÁ  
 G<sup>v</sup>W<sup>t</sup>f v<sup>t</sup>KU<sup>o</sup> g<sup>t</sup>nv`q eY<sup>o</sup> Kwi t<sup>j</sup> b H Zwi t<sup>j</sup>Li c<sup>t</sup>e<sup>o</sup> Z`wbšb ce<sup>o</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> vbevmxi m<sup>y</sup>qZ<sup>k</sup>vmb ev m<sup>y</sup>axbZvi Rb<sup>o</sup> tgRi wRqvDi i ngv<sup>t</sup>bi  
 tKvb Ae`vb wQj wK bv Ges tm m<sup>o</sup>š<sup>o</sup>Ü tKvb Z<sup>o</sup> Znvvi Rvbv Av<sup>t</sup>Q  
 wKbv c<sup>k</sup>oKwi t<sup>j</sup> wZwb wbi “Ei v<sup>t</sup>Kb|

Zrci, Rbve L<sup>o</sup> Kvi gvne<sup>o</sup> D<sup>o</sup>l b Av<sup>t</sup>š<sup>o</sup>, G<sup>v</sup>W<sup>t</sup>f v<sup>t</sup>KU<sup>o</sup> 11  
 bs c<sup>o</sup>Zev`x c<sup>t</sup>q Znvvi e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>o</sup> Dc<sup>-</sup>vcb K<sup>t</sup>i b| weÁ G<sup>v</sup>W<sup>t</sup>f v<sup>t</sup>KU<sup>o</sup>  
 g<sup>t</sup>nv`q Znvvi e<sup>3</sup> te<sup>o</sup>i c<sup>o</sup>tgB msweav<sup>t</sup>bi 102 Ab<sup>t</sup>“Q<sup>t</sup>`i Avl Zvq  
 nvB<sup>t</sup>KvU<sup>o</sup> wef v<sup>t</sup>Mi GL<sup>o</sup>Zqvi m<sup>o</sup>š<sup>o</sup>Ü Av<sup>t</sup>j vPbv K<sup>t</sup>i b| wZwb et<sup>j</sup> b th  
 mvavi Yfv<sup>t</sup>e msweavb ewnf<sup>o</sup> f<sup>t</sup>e tKvb AvBb c<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> Kiv nB<sup>t</sup>j,  
 tgš<sup>o</sup>j K AwaKvi f<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Kwi qv c<sup>k</sup>vmwbK tKvb c<sup>-</sup> t<sup>o</sup>q c Mhb Kwi t<sup>j</sup>,  
 AvBb ewnf<sup>o</sup> tKvb c<sup>-</sup> t<sup>o</sup>q c Mhb Kwi t<sup>j</sup>, GL<sup>o</sup>Zqvi ewnf<sup>o</sup> ev q<sup>o</sup>gZv  
 ewnf<sup>o</sup> tKvb c<sup>-</sup> t<sup>o</sup>q c hw<sup>-</sup> tKvb KZ<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> Mhb K<sup>t</sup>i b Z<sup>t</sup>e nvB<sup>t</sup>KvU<sup>o</sup>  
 wef v<sup>t</sup>M msweav<sup>t</sup>bi 102 Ab<sup>t</sup>“Q<sup>t</sup>`i Avl Zvq Bnvi Judicial Review Kwi evi  
 q<sup>o</sup>gZve<sup>t</sup>j c<sup>o</sup>xZ AvBb ev Z<sup>o</sup>K<sup>o</sup> c<sup>-</sup> t<sup>o</sup>q c A<sup>o</sup>ea tNvl bv Kwi t<sup>j</sup>Z cv<sup>t</sup>i b  
 ev ewZ<sup>j</sup> Kwi t<sup>j</sup>Z cv<sup>t</sup>i b| ZvnnQvov, Z<sup>o</sup>K<sup>o</sup> c<sup>-</sup> t<sup>o</sup>q c hw<sup>-</sup> mvavi Y b<sup>o</sup>vq  
 wePvi ewnf<sup>o</sup> nq (violation of natural Justice) ev Am<sup>-</sup>š<sup>o</sup> k<sup>o</sup> RwbZ nq  
 (mala fide) Zvnn nB<sup>t</sup>j l nvB<sup>t</sup>KvU<sup>o</sup> wef v<sup>t</sup>M Bnvi R<sup>o</sup>W<sup>o</sup>mqvj wi wf D q<sup>o</sup>gZvi  
 Avl Zvq Z<sup>o</sup>K<sup>o</sup> Av<sup>t</sup> k ev c<sup>-</sup> t<sup>o</sup>q c ewZ<sup>j</sup> Kwi t<sup>j</sup>Z cv<sup>t</sup>i b wKš<sup>o</sup> tKvb Z<sup>o</sup>  
 ms<sup>o</sup>vš-wel q m<sup>o</sup>š<sup>o</sup>Ü Z<sup>-</sup> š-Kwi t<sup>j</sup>Z ev we<sup>t</sup>ePbv Kwi t<sup>j</sup>Z cv<sup>t</sup>i b bv|

eZ<sup>o</sup>gvb tgvKv<sup>o</sup> gvi wel qe<sup>-</sup>š m<sup>o</sup>š<sup>o</sup>Ü wZwb w<sup>t</sup>e<sup>-</sup>b K<sup>t</sup>i b th  
 m<sup>y</sup>axbZv tNvl Yv m<sup>o</sup>š<sup>o</sup>Ü we<sup>o</sup>f b<sup>o</sup> c<sup>o</sup>q we<sup>t</sup>kl Kwi qv`i Lv<sup>-</sup> Kvi x l 11 bs  
 c<sup>o</sup>Zev`xi e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>o</sup> m<sup>o</sup>š<sup>o</sup>Y<sup>o</sup> weci xZ| th<sup>t</sup>nZy wel q<sup>o</sup>U Z<sup>o</sup> wf w<sup>o</sup>ĖK Ges  
 ci<sup>-</sup>ú<sup>o</sup> we<sup>t</sup>i vax tmB<sup>t</sup>nZy A<sup>o</sup> i xU<sup>o</sup> tgvKv<sup>o</sup> gvU i q<sup>o</sup>Yxq bq| Kvi Y,  
 i xU<sup>o</sup> tgvKv<sup>o</sup> gv Pwi w<sup>o</sup> Kfv<sup>t</sup>e GKwU msw<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> B wePvi Kv<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup> Z<sup>t</sup>e G m<sup>o</sup>š<sup>o</sup>Ü  
 t<sup>-</sup> l qvbx Av<sup>-</sup> vj t<sup>j</sup>Z tgvKv<sup>o</sup> gv nB<sup>t</sup>Z cv<sup>t</sup>i ewj qv wZwb w<sup>t</sup>e<sup>-</sup>b K<sup>t</sup>i b|

WZwb i xU& tgvKvĩ gwUi cŃ\_bv Astki cŃZ `wó AvKI B ceK  
wbte`b Kti b th Bnvi cŃ\_g Ask weŃPbv Kiv tMtj I wŃZxq Ask  
weŃi vaxq Z\_` wf wĖK weavq i xU&tgvKvĩ gvq weŃPbv thvM` bq|

evsj vt`tki mŃaxbZvhx `wj j cĤ MŃší ZZxq LtŮi 2q cŃvi  
3q c`vi vi cŃZ `wó AvKI B Ki Zt WZwb etj b This was crystallised by the  
process of distillation|

AZtci, WZwb 6Ń11Ń1971 Zwi tL Kj wŃqgv wekŃe`vj tq  
Bw`iv MvÜxi fvl tY tkL gyRe mŃaxbZvi WwK t`b bvB GB e³ e`  
Dl vcb Kwi tj ZvnvtK wRÁvmv Kiv nq th WZwb wbŃR wekŃm Kti b  
wK bv th tkL gyRe mŃaxbZv Pvtnb bvB| GB chŃtq Lunch recess nBqv  
hvq| Lunch recess Gi cŃi Znvi e³ e` Dl vcb Kwi tZ wMqv WZwb etj b  
th WZwb I tkL gyRe GKB Gj vKvi GKB we`vj tqi QvĤ wQŃj b Ges  
WZwb ZvnvtK NwbŃfvŃe RwbŃZb, WZwb wekŃm Kti b bv th tkL gyRe  
mŃaxbZv Pvtnb bvB|

WZwb Avi I wbte`b Kti b th evsj vt`tki mŃaxbZvi tŃĤ tĤ tkL  
gyRŃei tbZZj I Ae`vb tKnB AmxKvi Kti bv wKš' 27 tk gvP®  
tgRi wRqvDi ingvb mŃaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qwwQŃj b wK bv Zvnv j BqvB  
weZKŃ

## 9 bs cŃZev`xcŃŃ cŃ Ė e³ e` t

`i Lv`Kvi xi AvŃe`tbi cwi tŃŃŃ tZ Rbve tej vj tgvnvŃŃ`tK 9  
bs cŃZev`x wnmvŃe cŃŃ fŃ Kiv nq| WZwb 20Ń5Ń2009 Zwi tL  
nj dKZ GK GwdŃWwfU `wLj Kwi qv `i Lv`Kvi xi e³ e` mg\_b  
Ki Zt 26 tk gvP®1971 Zwi tL wK cwi w`wZŃZ mŃaxb evsj v teZvi  
tK>`^`vcb Kiv nBqwQj Ges wKfvŃe tgRi wRqvDi ingvb 27tk  
gvP® Zwi tL Kvj j NvU teZvi tKŃ>`^ wMqvQŃj b Zvnv eYŃv Kti b|  
DŃj Ĥ` th 11bs cŃZev`xcŃq GKBi Ńc `vex Kti b|

Rbve gbmj "j nK tPšaj x, G`vWt`fvtkU& 9 bs c0Zev`xc†¶  
 `wLj KZ Gwd†WwfU&I 1983 mtb cKwKZ 0m\axb evsj v teZvi  
 tK>`0 cƒ †K c0 Ě eYbv ei vZ w`qv wbtē`b Kti b th 9 bs  
 c0Zev`x 26†k gvP© cZj†I e½eÜy evsj v†`†ki m\axbZv tNvl Yv  
 Kwi qv†Qb ewj qv Rwb†Z cv†i b| AZtci, K†qKRb mnKgx©mn†hvtM  
 wZwb PÆM†gi Kvj j Nv†U Aew`Z ÷ yWI nB†Z 26†k gvP© mÜ`vq  
 m\axb evsj v teZvi tK†>`† wbgwZ Kvhµ g Avi x† Kwi qvwQ†j b|  
 G`vWt`fvtkU& g†nv`q etj b th, H mg†q c0†gB e½eÜy tkL gyRej  
 ingvb Gi m\axbZv tNvl Yv m†j Z mvB†KvóvBj Ki v fvl Y evi evi  
 cvW Ki v nB†Z \_v†K| ci w`b 27†k gvP© %eKv†j 9 bs c0Zev`x cWUqv  
 \_vbwq Aew`Z tgRi wRqvDi ingvbtK Kvj j NvU` teZvi tK†>`†j Bqv  
 Av†mb| 9 bs c0Zev`xi c† v†e Zvnvi mwnZ ci vgk©Kwi qv tgRi  
 wRqvDi ingvb teZv†i e½eÜy tkL gyRej ingv†bi c†¶ cbi vq  
 m\axbZvi tNvl Yv cvW Kti b|

### AwZwi<sup>3</sup> A`vUwY0†Rbv†i †j i e<sup>3</sup> e` t

Rbve Bbv†qZj i nXg, AwZwi<sup>3</sup> A`vUwY0†Rbv†i j, Dc†i v<sup>3</sup>  
 Gwd†WwfU Gi mwnZ mshj<sup>3</sup> KvMRw` I wewfbē cƒ K D†j E Ki Zt  
 wbtē`b Kti b th evsj v†`†ki m\axbZv i vZvi wZ ARZ nq bvB| 1949  
 mtb evsj v fvl v Av†>`vj †bi m† cvZ nB†Z wZwb gy<sup>3</sup> h†xi c0i x† chŠ-  
 gy<sup>3</sup> h†xi tc¶vcU eYbv Kti b| wZwb wbtē`b Kti b th, th tKvb  
 i v†ó† BwZnm Bnvi RbM†Yi wbKU AZ`š-†MŠi egq I gj`evb|  
 cW\_exi th tKvb RwZ Bnvi BwZnm Me©I gg†Zj mwnZ msi ¶Y Kti |  
 GB Global ClubG c0ZwU RwZ Zvnv†`i wbtR†`i mZ`Kvi BwZnm  
 An¼v†i i mwnZ Zyj qv awi †Z tPóv Kti |

wēÁ AwZwi<sup>3</sup> A`vUwY© 0†Rbv†i j gy<sup>3</sup> h†xi tc¶vcU eYbv  
 Ki Zt wbtē`b Kti b th 25†k gvP© w`evMZ i v†Ā 26 gv†P© c0g  
 c††i RwZi RbK e½eÜy tkL gyRej ingvb evsj v†`†ki m\axbZv

tNvl Yv Kti b| wZwb Zvnvi GB e<sup>3</sup> te'i mctq mswké mgtqi eûwea  
 msev`cî Ges KvMRcî Zvnvi GwdtWwf tUi mwnZ `wLj Kti b|  
 ZvnvQvovl evsj vt`k mi Kvi KZK 1982 mtb cKwkZ ôevsj vt`tki  
 m\axbZvi hyx `wj j cî ô m\pj Z Mšvej x Ges Ab'vb" eû Mš' nBtZ  
 cvV Kwi qv tkvbvb| wZwb Avi l wte`b Kti b th m\axbZvi ci GgbwK  
 tRbvti j wRqvDi ingvb wbtR ev Zvnvi Rxei kvql tKn G m\pÜ  
 tKvb cke Dî vcb Kti b bvB, wRqvDi ingvb wbtRI KLbl wbtRtK  
 m\axbZvi tNvl K `vex Kti b bvB| Dtj E" th wRqvDi ingvtbi  
 Rxei kvq wZwb hLb evsj vt`tki i vócwZ l cåvb mvgwi K AvBb  
 ckmK ZLb 1977 mtb m\axbZv msMtgi BwZnm i Pbvi Dtí tk"  
 Rbve nvmvb nwdRj ingvbtk wtkl fvi cûB KgKZ cî` wbtqvM  
 cûvb Kiv nq| cieZxZ tmB Dtí tk" GKwU Authentication Committee  
 MVb Kiv nq| Zrci evsj vt`k mi Kvti i Z\_" gšYvj q ôevsj vt`tki  
 m\axbZvhyx `wj j cî ô Gi 15 LÛ 1982 mtb cKvk Kti | Authentication  
 Committee D<sup>3</sup> Mší 3q LtÛ e½eÜy KZK tci Z evZ D×Z Kti b  
 Ges mKj cKvi Z\_" l `wj tj i Dci wbf Kwi qv wj wcex Kti b  
 th 1971 mthi 26tk gvP<sup>o</sup> e½eÜy evsj vt`tki m\axbZv tNvl Yv  
 Kwi qvQtj b|

weÁ AwZwi <sup>3</sup> A'vUwYDtRbvti j gtnv`q GwdtWwf U, wj i mwnZ  
 mshp KvMRw` l `wj j cî i ei vZ w`qv wte`b Kti b th D<sup>3</sup> Mš'  
 e½eÜy th m\axbZv tNvl bv Kwi qvQtj b Zvnv mwVK fvteB eYbv Kiv  
 nBqvQ| 2003 mtb D<sup>3</sup> MšwUi cpgf tY D<sup>3</sup> mwVK Z\_"B cûZdwj Z  
 nBqvQ| wKš' 2004 mthi cpgf MKvtj cZ"qb KwgwU nxb i vR%bwZK  
 Dtí k" Pwi Zv\_°Kwi evi j tq" m\úYwg\_v Z\_" cwi tek b ceK 1982  
 mthi gj cûgvY"Ki Y KwgwUi mwVK Z\_"Dwf wEK wmxvš-cwi nvi ceK  
 wRqvDi ingvb m\axbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qvQtj b GBi "c wg\_v l wf wËnxb  
 Z\_" gY Y l cwi tek b Kti b|

## GwKvm wKDwi qvi e³ e" t

Avgt`i Avnevtb Rbve Gg, Awgi DDj Bmj vg, G`WtfvKtKU, GwKvm wKDwi qv, Zvni e³ e" tck Kti b| wZwb wbtR GKRb gy³ thvxv wQtj b Ges 10B Gwcj Zwi tL cŃ Ě 'The Proclamation of Independence'Gi Lmbv cŃ jZKvi xt`i Ab`Zg wQtj b| m\axbZvi ci msweavb cŃqb KwguUi wZwbl GKRb m`m" wQtj b|

wZwb `i Lv`Kvi xc†¶i weÁ G`WtfvKtKU I AwZwi³ A`vUwYĐ tRbv†ij g†nv`tqi b`vq 1947 m†b fvi ZĐcwK`vb m\axbZvi mgq nB†Z Z`wbšb ceĐcwK`v†bi RbM†Yi eÁbvi Ges Zvnt`i msM†gi BwZnm eYĐv Kti b| 1947 m†bi c†e©cŃKĐm\axbZvi mgq tkL gyRej ingvb GKRb QvĤ tbZv wQtj b| tnv†mb knx` tmvni vl qv`xŃ nvZ awi qv wZwb i vRbxwZ†Z c†ek Kti b| m\axbZvi ci wewf bœ `vex we†kl Kwi qv evsj v fvl v†K i vŃfvl v Kwi evi `vex, m\qĚĐkvm†bi `vex, 6 `dv Av†`vj b c†f¶Z msM†g I tRj Rj †gi ga" w`qv tkL gyRe RvZxq tbZv wnmv†e AvšRwZKfv†e L`wZ ARĐ Kti b| wZwb etj b th cwK`v†bi Z`wbšb i vŃcwZ wdĭ gvkŃj AvBDe Lvb tkL gyRe KZK DĬ wcZ 6 `dvi `vexi Reve A†`j fvl vq cŃ v†bi ũgwK cŃ vb Kti b| BwZg†a" 1968 m†b AvMi Zj v I ohšĭgvgj v `v†qi Ki Zt ZvntK 1 bs cĥvb Avmvgx Ki v nq| Zvni wQj ci g AvZwēk¶m I `RŃ mvm| G,tK, dRj j nK, tnv†mb knx` tmvni vl qv`xŃ gvl j vbv fvmvb mK†j B AZ`š-eo gv†ci tbZv wQtj b Ges mK†j B tkL gyR†ei etqv†R`Ń wQtj b| wKš'evOvj xi RvwZ ĐmĚ†K (Bengali Nationalism) wZwbB RvM†Z Kwi tZ mg\_©nBqwQtj b| evOvj x RvwZi `vex Av`v†qi Rb" cŃZ c†` c†` ZvntK cwK`vb mi Kvi Gi mwnZ we†i v†a RovBqv cwŃ†Z nBqwQj | MfYŃ tgv†bg Lvb tRj vq tRj vq Zvni wei "†x gvĭj vi ci gvĭj v `v†qi Kwi qwQtj b| tbj mb†tg†Ūj vi b`vq wZwbl Rxetbi GKĐZZxqv†ki †l AwaK mgq tRj Lvbvq KvUvBqwQtj b| evOvj xi Rb" Zvni ci g



ggZ#eva Ges Zvni Amvgvb" mvsMVwbK ¶ gZv etj wZwbB tmB cġg  
 evOvj x RwwZtK HK"ex Kwi tZ mg\_°nBqwwQtj b Ges evOvj x RwwZi  
 meKvtj i meKb tbZvq cwi YZ nb| Zvni tbZtZj 1970 Ð71G  
 cwwK" vbi cġg mvavi Y wbePtb Avl qvgx j xM Z`wbšb cwwK" vbi  
 MYcwi l t` 169wU Avmtbi gta" 167wU Avmb j vf Kwi qv wbi ¼jk  
 msL"vMwi ôZv j vf Kti |

weÁ GwgKvm wKDwi qv 1971 mti gvP°gvtm cKwkZ BtEdvK  
 cwġ Kvi cġZ `wó AvKI b ceK wbtē` b Kti b th Bqwnqv Lvb 1j v gvP°  
 Zwi tL GK tNvl Yvq 3i v gvP°Zwi tL XvKvq Abp̄xZe" RvZxq msm`  
 Dt̄xvab Abp̄vb "wMZ Kti b| mti½ mti½ mgM° ce° cwwK" vb DĖvj  
 nBqv l tV | 2i v gvP°Zwi tL tK>` xq l cġt` wkK msmt` i Avl qvgx  
 j xM nBtZ wbePZ mKj m`m" tkL gyRetK th tKvb wmxvš- ev  
 c` t¶c Mhb Kwi evi Rb" cwi cY° AwaKvi cġ vb Kti b| 3i v gvP°  
 Zwi tL tkL gyRtei thtKvb wmxvtšt cġZ eva" \_vwKevi A½xKvi  
 Ki Zt Zvni v mKtj kc\_ Mhb Kti b| AZtci ce° cwwK" vbi  
 Avcvgi Rbmavi Y l mi Kvi x temi Kvi x KgKZġ ÐKgPvi xMY Zvni  
 wbt` K Abjviti Kvh° Kwi tZ \_vtK| cġt` tki mKj Kvhġej x,  
 e"emvDevwbR", AwdmÐAv` vj Z Zvni wbt` K Abjviti cwi Pwj Z nBtZ  
 \_vtK| 7B gvP°Zwi tL i gbv timtKvm° D`"vrb tkL gyRe GK  
 HwZnwmK fvl Y cġ vb Kti b| tmB mgq timtKv̄tm° cġšt` tk  
 cwwK" vbi cġvb tmbvcwZ tRbv̄tj j Avāj nwg` Lvb mqs Dcw` Z  
 wQtj b| tkL gyRe hw` m̄xv̄Zv tNvl bv Kti b Zte Kwg¶Uvj vq Aew` Z  
 m̄m̄¾Z wegvb ewnbx gūtZB ZvntK mn j ¶ j ¶ RbZv tevgvi  
 AvNvtZ wbwōý Kwi qv t` l qvi Rb" cġ ȳ wQj | GBi fc cwi w` wZtZ  
 tkL gyRe tNvl bv Kti b th ōGev̄ti i msM̄g m̄xv̄Zvi msM̄gō| tmB  
 gūtZ° nBtZ mgM° evOvj x RwwZ Ppvš- AvNvtZi Rb" gvbwmK cġ ȳZ  
 Mhb Kwi tZ \_vtK Ges GKB mv̄t\_ cġZ NvtZi Rb" l %Zwi nq| evOvj x  
 RwwZi Rxēbi H ci g μ wšKvj xb mḡtq wZwb Zvni t̄bZvi mwnZ

meḡûZ<sup>©</sup>AwZewnZ Kwi qvṭQb ewj qv weÁ GwgKvm wKDwi qv Rvbvb Ges  
avṭc avṭc wKfvṭe evsj vṭ`k mṗaxbZvi w`ṭK AvMvBqv hvBṭZwQj Zvnv  
AZ`š-AvṭeṭMi mwnZ gg<sup>©</sup> úkx<sup>©</sup>fvl vq eYḅv Kṭi b|

wZwb etj b th GBi fc cwi w`wZṭZ Bqwnqv Lvb ce<sup>©</sup>cwK`vṭb  
AvMgb Ki Zt ṭkL gṗRṭei mwnZ %eVK Kwi ṭZ eva` nṭqb| wZwb  
cwK`vṭbi c'avbgšḡṭZj c`tnj vq cḲ`vL`vb Kṭi b wKš' 6 `dvi  
wf<sup>©</sup>ḲṭZ msweavb cḲqb Kwi evi `vex nBṭZ GK Pj I wePj<sup>r</sup> nṭqb bvB|

wZwb etj b th, 25ṭk gvP<sup>©</sup>mÜ`vq e½eÜj Lei cvb th ṭKvb  
wmxvš-Mhb e`wZṭi ṭKB Bqwnqv Lvb XvKv Z`vM Kwi qvṭQb| AZtci  
wZwb mswk<sup>©</sup> mKj ṭbZvḌKgḡṭK cṭqvRbxq ci vgk<sup>©</sup>cḲ vb ceḲ XvKv  
Z`vṭMi wbṭ`Ḳ cḲ vb Kṭi b| G`wWṭfvṭKU&gṭnv`q wbṭRI Ab`Zg ṭkl  
e`w<sup>3</sup> whwb e½eÜj wbKU nBṭZ we`vq Mhb Kwi qv gṗ<sup>3</sup> hṭxi cḲ<sup>ṗ</sup>Z  
Mhb Kṭi b| cwK`vb mvgwi K ewnbx XvKv knṭi MYnZ`v`i`i` Kwi evi  
mṭ½ mṭ½ ce<sup>©</sup>cwi Kí bv Abmṗṭi e½eÜj Bó cwK`vb i vBṭdj ṭn I  
Ab`vb` `vṭb i wḡ Z I q`vi ṭj m tgmmb gvi dr mgM<sup>a</sup> evsj vṭ`ṭk Zvnyi  
mṗaxbZv ṭNvl Yvi evZḡ cḲ vb Kṭi b| ZvnvQvov, ṡwj `vb`wU G`vÜ wU  
Awdm nBṭZ e½eÜj cḲ Ḳ ṭNvl Yv ṭUwj Mḡg gvi dr meḡ ṭcḲ Y Ki v  
nq| GBfvṭe 25ṭk gvP<sup>©</sup>w`evMZ i vī nBṭZ 26ṭk gvP<sup>©</sup>mKvṭj i gṭa`B  
mgM<sup>a</sup> evsj vṭ`ṭk e½eÜj KZḲ cḲ Ḳ mṗaxbZvi ṭNvl Yv ṭcḲQvBqv hvq|  
Bó cwK`vb i vBṭdj ṭn Gi m`i `dZi wcj Lvbv Ges i vRvi evM`  
cṗj k j vBṭb meḲ<sup>©</sup>g Avμ gb`i`i` nq Ges Dfq `vṭbB cwK`vb  
mvgwi K ewnbx cḲÜ cḲZṭi vṭai mṗḡLxb nq| Dfq `vṭbB kZ kZ  
wmcvnx evsj vṭ`ṭki mṗaxbZvi Rb` me<sup>©</sup>cḲg mṭeḡ<sup>r</sup>P AvZṭZ`vM Kṭi b|

Zrci weÁ G`wWṭfvṭKU&gṭnv`q tgṭni cṭi i %e`bv\_ bvgK`vṭb  
cḲg evsj vṭ`k mi Kvi MVṭbi ṭcḲ|vcU I NUbvej x eYḅv Kṭi b|

10B Gwcḡ 1971 Zwi ṭL evsj vṭ`k mi Kvi KZḲ  
mvsweawwbKfvṭe ḡmṗaxbZv ṭNvl YvḲ ev ḡThe Proclamation of IndependenceḲ  
Rvi x Ki v nq| Aóg mṭṭkvabx tgvKvī gvi DxṗZ cḲ vb Kwi qv wZwb

etj b th D<sup>3</sup> mǝaxbZv tNvl bvcĬ B nBtZtQ evsj vt`tki cĬg  
mvsweawbK `wjj (BLD Special Issue, 1989, Para-44-46, Page -55)| H `wj tj l  
e½eÜy KZK 26tk gvP<sup>©</sup>Gi cĬg cĥti cĬ Ė mǝaxbZv tNvl Yv cpe<sup>©3</sup>  
l Abtgv`b Kti |

Zrci , wZwb wbtē`b Kti b th ōmǝaxbZv tNvl YvĬ cĬ B msweavtbi  
PZ<sub>L</sub><sup>©</sup> Zdmxj Øvi v Abtgw`Z l mgw<sub>L</sub><sup>©</sup> nBqv̇tQ| msweavtbi 150  
Abt`Q` PZ<sub>L</sub><sup>©</sup> Zdmxtj ewY<sup>©</sup> μ wšKvj xb weavbvej xtK mvsweawbK  
Abtgv`b cĬ vb Kti A<sub>ŕ</sub> mǝaxbZv tNvl YvcĬ l mvsweawbK mǝKwZ  
j vf Kti | ZvnvQvov, msweavtbi cĬ vebvi cĬtgB 26tk gvP<sup>©</sup> Zwi tL  
mǝaxbZv tNvl bvi K<sub>v</sub> eY<sup>©</sup> Kiv nBqv̇tQ| tmB avi vewwKZvq  
ōmǝaxbZvhx `wjj cĬ ō Gi 1982 ṁbi ġtY l 2003 ṁbi  
cbg<sup>©</sup> tYi ZZxq LtŪi 1g cōvq e½eÜy th 26tk gvP<sup>©</sup> mǝaxbZv  
tNvl Yv Kwi qv̇tQj b Zvnv wj wce x i wnv̇tQ wKš' cieZx<sup>©</sup> g<sup>3</sup> hx  
gšYvj q KZK 2004 ṁb cbg<sup>©</sup> tY ṫgRi wRqvDi ingvb 27tk gvP<sup>©</sup>  
Zwi tL cĬg mǝaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qv̇tQb ewj qv wj wce x Kiv nBqv̇tQ|  
Aek`æxi ṫc cĬæ DwVtZtQ th evsj vt`tki mǝaxbZv w`em wnmvte  
26tk gv̇tP<sup>©</sup> Ae`vb wK| ZvnvQvov, weÁ G`wWfvṫKU gtnv`q cĬæ  
Dl vcb Kti b th 1979 ṁbi Authentication Committee Avnwi Z e½eÜy  
KZK 26tk gvP<sup>©</sup> Zwi tL cĬ Ė mǝaxbZvi tNvl Yv mæúwK<sup>©</sup> mvŋ`  
cĬgvbw` wK wfWĖxb| ZvnvQvov, G mæútk<sup>©</sup> 2004 ṁbi ġtY wekym  
Kwi tj 10B Gwcj 1971 Zwi tLi mǝaxbZv tNvl YvcĬ , msweavtbi  
cĬ vebv, PZ<sub>L</sub><sup>©</sup> Zdmxj me wKQ<sub>t</sub>KB AmǝKvi Kwi tZ nBte| weÁ  
G`wWfvṫKU gtnv`q etj b th, wRqvDi ingvb wḃtRi tKvbw`b 26tk  
gvP<sup>©</sup> ev 27tk gvP<sup>©</sup> ev Ab` tKvb Zwi tL mǝaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qv̇tQj b  
ewj qv Avt`š`vex Kti b bvB, wKš' 2004 ṁb g<sup>3</sup> hx gšYvj q KZK  
cbg<sup>©</sup> Z KwċtZ cte<sup>©</sup> mKj Z` cĬgvbw` l ohšgj Kfvte  
AmǝKvi Ki Zt wRqvDi ingvḃtK mǝaxbZvi tNvl K wnmvte cĬZwōZ  
Kwi evi cĬμ qvi c`tŋ c wnmvte cĬg tNvl Yvi Zwi L 27tk gvP<sup>©</sup>

wj wce x Kwi qv Ges tmB m½ GKwU cv` UxKv Ryoqv w` qv 2004  
mþbi cþgþ Yi cZ`qb KwgU msweavb cwi cšx c` þ¶ c Mhb  
Kwi qvþQb Ges wg`v Z` cwi þekb Kwi qv cKvi vþš-evOvj x RvwZ Z\_v  
wekþvmxi mwnZ cZvi Yv Kwi qvþQb|

### cŰ wgK Avþj vPbv t

` i Lv` Kvi x Ges 7,9 l 11 bs cŰZev` xcþ¶ ` wLj KZ ` i Lv`  
GwdþWwfU&Ges Zrmshþ KvMRw` chþe¶ b Ki v nBj Ges c¶ MþYi  
weÁ G`vWþfvþKU& gþnv` qMYþK kþY Ki v nBj | ZvnvQvov c¶ MY  
KZK ` wLj KZ Mšw` weþkl Kwi qv gi ûg nvmvb nwdRj ingvb  
mþúw` Z 15 LŰ mþaxbZv hþx ` wj j cÎ chþe¶ Y Ki v nBj |

cZxqgvb nq th, MYcRvZšx evsj vþ` k mi Kvi Gi cþ¶ Z`  
gšYvj q evsj vþ` k mþaxbZv hþxi BwZnm wj Lb l gy` b cKÍ Mhb  
Kþi | Űevsj vþ` þki mþaxbZv hþx ` wj j cÎ ŰŰ ( ` wj j cÎ ) bvþg Bnvi 15  
LŰ wmw R cŰg cKvk nq 1982 mþb| Bnvi 3q LþŰi wkþi vbvg  
ŰgyRe bMi t cKvmbŰ| D³ LþŰi cŰg cþvq wbþšwj wLZ tNvl bv  
gy` Z nq t

## **DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**

“This may be my last message, from today Bangladesh is independent. I  
call upon the people of Bangladesh wherever you might be and with  
whatever you have, to resist the army of occupation to the last. Your fight  
must go on until the last soldier of the Pakistan occupation army is expelled  
from the soil of Bangladesh and final victory is achieved.”

[Message embodying Declaration of Independence sent by Bangagandhu Sheikh  
Mujibur Rahman to Chittagong shortly after midnight of 25<sup>th</sup> March, i.e early hours  
of 26<sup>th</sup> March, 1971 for transmissions throughout Bangladesh over the Ex-EPR  
transmitter ]

Bnvi Zwi L eYþv Ki v nq 26þk gvP, 1971 Ges mþ nBj  
evsj vþ` k mi Kvi , ci i vó gšYvj þqi ewwweK! cPvi wefvM KZK  
cKwkZ cy` Kv ŰesMeÜy` úxKmŰŰ|

2003 mþb Z\_ gšYvj q D³ `wj j cÎ MŠ' wmwî R cþgþ Y  
 Kti | wKŠ' cti i ermi B 2004 mþb GBevi gw³ hþx wel qK gšYvj q  
 Dcti v³ `wj j cÎ cþgþ Y Kti | D³ cþgþ YKZ `wj j cÎ i 3q  
 LtÛi 1g cþvq 1982 mþbi Dcti v³ tNvl Yv ev` w`qv wbæwj wLZ  
 tNvl Yv wj wcex Ki v nq t

tgRi wRqvi cġg mþaxbZv tNvl bv

Dear fellow freedom fighters,

I, Major Ziaur Rahman, Provisional President and Commander-in-Chief of Liberation Army do hereby proclaim independence of Bangladesh and appeal for joining our liberation struggle. Bangladesh is independent. We have waged war for the liberation of Bangladesh. Everybody is requested to participate in the liberation war with whatever we have. We will have to fight and liberate the country from the occupation of Pakistan Army.

Inshallah, victory is ours.

wemwgj wni i nġvbx i wng

wcġ mñhv×v fvBtqi v,

Awg, tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb, evsj vt`tki cġfkbvj  
 tcmþW>U I wj evti kb Awg° Pxd wñtmte evsj vt`tki  
 mþaxbZv tNvl Yv Ki wQ Ges hþx Ask Mñtbi Rb`  
 Avte`b Rvbw"Q| evsj vt`k mþaxb| Avgi v mþaxbZv hþx  
 tbtgwQ| Avcbvi v th hv cvti b mvg\_° Abhvqx A`i wbtq  
 tewi tq ctob| Avgvt`i tK hþx Ki tZ nte Ges cvwK`vbx  
 ewwñbx tK t`kQvov Ki tZ nte|

Bbkvj wñ, weRq Avgvt`i mþbwĊZ|

Bnvi wkti vbvg wQj Ōwecex teZvi tK>` (PÆMtg) nþZ wRqvDi  
 i ngvb KZK cġg mþaxbZv tNvl Yv, Zwi L 27 gvP°, 1971Ō| D³  
 cġg cþvq GKwU cv` UxKv mshþ wQj | D³ cv` UxKwU wbæi fc t

ŌŌ26tk gvP° 1971 i vÎ 2.15 wgwbtU (25tk gvP°  
 ga`i vtÎ ) ZrKvj xb tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb Gi tbZtZi 8g  
 B÷ te½j ti wRtgU wet` Ōn tNvl Yv Kti Ges tgRi wRqv

8g B÷ te½j ti wRtgþUi KgwŪs Awdmvi tj t KtY<sup>9</sup>  
 RvbRqvþK tMdzvi Kti b| Gi ci wZwb 8g B÷ te½j  
 ti wRtgþUi e`vUwj qb Awdmvi, tRwml Ges tRvqvbt` i tK  
 GKwŪ Z Kti mʘaxbZvi tNvl Yv t` b| mvþ\_ mvþ\_ `vbxq  
 i vR%bwZK tbZp<sup>9</sup> Ges cKvmþbi wewf bæ` þi i KgKZ<sup>9</sup>K  
 Zv Rvbvþbv nq| 00

Dcþi v<sup>3</sup> tNvl Yvi mŵ wnmvte wecex teZvi tK>`<sup>9</sup>; PÆMlg, eY<sup>9</sup>bv  
 Kiv nBqvþQ| wKš' msthvRxZ cv` UxKvi tKvb mŵ eY<sup>9</sup>bv Kiv nq  
 bvB|

Dþj E` th 2004 mþbi cYg<sup>9</sup>ŶKZ Mþší 3q LtŪi 2q cōvq  
 tgRi wRqvDi ingvþbi 28þk gvP<sup>9</sup>; 1971, Zwi tLi tNvl Yvi mŵ  
 wnmvte mʘaxb evsj v teZvi cPwi Z Abp̄vb gvj vi tUc ti KW,<sup>9</sup>28 gvP<sup>9</sup>  
 1971; w` tóUmg`vb, w` j 28 gvP<sup>9</sup>; 1971, eY<sup>9</sup>bv Kiv nq|

evsj vt` þki mʘaxbZv hʘx `wj j cŵ kxl K Mþš' mʘaxbZv tNvl Yvq  
 GBi fc tgšwj K cwi eZ<sup>9</sup> Avbqþb `i Lv` Kvi x whwb wbþR GKRB  
 gy<sup>3</sup> þhv×v ſjā nBqv Aŵ i xU& tgvKvŵ gwU `vtqi Kwi qvþQb|

cŒxqgvb nq th Z\_` gšŸvj q KZK 1982 mþb cKwkZ  
 evsj vt` þki mʘaxbZv hʘx `wj j cŵ (15 LŪ) cŪg ms`i Y `Z  
 wbtþkl nBqv hvq| D<sup>3</sup> Mþší KwcivBU wQj Z\_` gšŸvj þqi | Z\_`  
 gšŸvj þqi cþſl l AbgwZµtg nv° vbx cveſj kvm<sup>9</sup>2003 mþb D<sup>3</sup>  
 Mþš' wmwitRi GKwU cþg<sup>9</sup>Y cKvk Kti | D<sup>3</sup> cþg<sup>9</sup>ŶwU cŪg  
 ms`i tYi ūeū Kwc wQj | wKš' gy<sup>3</sup> hʘx wel qK gšŸvj q 2004 mþb  
 th cþg<sup>9</sup>Y Kti b Zvnn cKZcþſl cþg<sup>9</sup>ſYi bvþg cþðms`i Y wQj |  
 D<sup>3</sup> cþ ms`i tY tek KtqKwU RvqMvq Z\_`MZ fvl` cwi eZ<sup>9</sup> Kiv nq  
 weþkl Kwi qv mʘaxbZv tNvl Yv mspvš-Zþ\_` mᄁúY<sup>9</sup> cwi eZ<sup>9</sup> Avbqb  
 Kiv nq| mʘKZ gþZB D<sup>3</sup> cwi eZ<sup>9</sup> gy<sup>3</sup> hʘx wel qK gšŸvj þqi  
 Z`vbxšb cŪZgšŸi mfvcwZtZi MwVZ GKwU cŒ`qb KwgwUi ZZyeavþb  
 Kiv nq| evsj vt` þki mʘaxbZvi tNvl K l tNvl Yvi Zwi L `þB  
 evsj vt` þki RbMþYi Rb` AZ`š-<sub>5</sub> i "ZcY<sup>9</sup>

Avgi v cteB ewj qwQ th Avgi v wePvi KMY HwZnwmK bB Ges  
 BwZnm wj Lbl Avgv`i `wqtZi gta` cto bv| Zte msweavb I  
 AvBtbi i Y, mg\_b I wbi vcEv weavb Kwi tZ Avgi v kc\_ex|  
 mvefšg RvZxq msm` e`wZZ msweavtbi GKwU we`j tKn cwi eZb  
 Kwi tZ cvti bv| Kwi tj msweavb fti `vtq `vqx nBteb| tKn  
 msweavtbi eYbv cwi eZb Kwi tj Zvni cZweavb Kwi tZ I Avgi v  
 mvsweavwbKfvte `vqex|

mlyxbZv tNvl Yv I tNvl K cwi eZb mruK© 2004 mti cZ`qb  
 Kwgu GKwU AwfgZ c vb Kwi qvtQb| Bnv `wj j cI Mš'i 3q  
 LtUi 4\_© cōvq gw`Z nBqvQ| ZvnuQov, 11 bs cZev`x cti  
 `wLj KZ 27Đ5Đ2009 Zwi tL nj dKZ GwdtWwfU Bb  
 AtcwRkvti mwnZ GvttbKpvi Đ1 wnmvte mshp Ki v nBqvQ| Bnv  
 wbšji "c t

weMZ 9Đ6Đ2004 Zwi tL AbjôZ evsj vt`tki  
 gw³ hpx; `wj j I BwZnm wel qK Mš' cKvk cKti i  
 cZ`qb KwguUi mfvq cKti i Avl Zvq cbg`Ze` `wj j  
 Mš' mgtni wef bewel tq Avtj vPbv AbjôZ nq| Avtj vPbvi  
 GK chti gi ug nvmvb nwdRj ingvb KZK mruw`Z  
 evsj vt`tki mlyxbZv hpx; `wj j cI 3q LtUi 1 bs cōvq  
 gw`Z mlyxbZvi tNvl Yvq tkL gwRej ingvb KZK 25tk  
 gvtp ga`i vtZ tci Z wbtæv³ BwcAvi tgmRwU  
 chti vPbv Ki v nq;

"This may be my last message, from today Bangladesh is  
 independent. I call upon the people of Bangladesh wherever you might be  
 and with whatever you have, to resist the army of occupation to the last.  
 You fight must go on until the last soldier of the Pakistan occupation army  
 is expelled from the soil of Bangladesh and final victory is achieved.

mfvq cZ`qb KwguUi m`m'e` G gtg© gZ cKvk  
 Kti b th, Dcti v³ tNvl bwU Z`wf wEK bq Ges Gi  
 mZ`Zvi e`vcvti tKvb Drm LtR cvl qv hvqwb|  
 evsj vt`tki mlyxbZv tNvl Yv cti½ 1971 mvti i  
 tmtp šj Đbtf šti fvi tZi ZrKvj xb cāvbgšx Bw`i v MvÜx  
 hLb tkL gwRej ingvtbi gw³ i Rb` wekp`wmc cPvi Yvq

i Z wQ†j b tm mg†q wbDBq†K† Kj wᄁqv wekwe`vj †qi QvĪ wk¶ K† i GK mgv†etk 6B b†f ᄁ†i 071 Zwi †L wZwb etj b, “The cry for independence arose after Sheikh Mujib was arrested and not before. He himself, so far as I know, has not asked for independence even now; mᄁxbZvi WvK G†mWQj †kL gyRe tM†Zvi nl qvi c†i, Zvi c†eᄁbq| Avgvi Rvbn g†Z wZwb †Kv†bv mgq mᄁxbZvi WvK † b wb| 00 (Bangladesh Documents Vol.-II, Page-275, M/0 External Affairs, Govt. of India-1971, Bangladesh Edition, UPL, 1999.

mf vq mKj m`m`B Awf gZ e`³ K†i b th, †gRi wRqvi 27†k gvP071 Gi mᄁxbZvi †Nvl Yv mK†j B i †b†Qb| wel qwU we`wi Z Av†j vPbvi ci mᄁxbZvi †Nvl K wRqvi 27†k gvP071 mv†j i †Nvl YwU 3 bs L†Ūi 1 bs cᄁvq msthvR†bi c†¶ mf vq HK`gZ cŪZwôZ nq| G c†m†½ 11 GwCj 1971 cᄁvmx evsj v† k mi Kv†i i cᄁvbgšx ZvRyĪ b Avng` mᄁxb evsj v teZvi †K>`††K †gRi wRqvi mᄁxbZv †Nvl bv mᄁú†Kᄁ evsj v† †ki RbM†Yi D†Ī †k` th fvl Y † b Zv wb†ᄁ§ D†j Ǝ Ki v n†j v

“The brilliant success of our fighting force and the daily additions to their strength in manpower and captured weapons has enabled the government of the peoples Republic of Bangladesh, first announced thorough Major Ziaur Rahman, to set up full fledged operation base from which it is administering the liberated areas.” j ovBi Z Avgv†` i ewnbxi PgrKvi mvdj` Ges cŪZw` b Zv†` i kᄁ³ i m†½ Rbetj i ewx Ges` Lj xKZ A`i MYcRvZšx evsj v† k mi Kv†i †K, hv †gRi wRqvDi i ngv†bi gva`†g cŪg †Nwl Z nq, m¶ g K†i †Q cY¶½ Acv†i kbvj tem cŪZôv Ki †Z, thLvb ††K gᄁ vĀ†j i cᄁvmwbK KgKvŪ cwi Pwvj Z n†`Q00 (mĪ evsj v† k WK†g>Um; cŪg LŪ, cᄁv 284, fvi Z mi Kv†i i ci i vó` gšYvj q KZK cKwKZ) G c†m†½ Avi l D†j Ǝ K†i b th 1977 mv†j i 27†k wW†mᄁ† i vócwZ wRqvDi i ngvb fvi Z md†i tM†j Zvi mᄁsv†b Av†qvwRZ GK †fvR mf vq fvi †Zi ZrKvj xb i vócwZ bxj g mĀxe ti wÇ Zvi cŪZ kᄁv wbte` b K†i etj wQ†j b; “Your position is already assured in the annals of the history of your country as a brave fighter who was the first to declare the independence of Bangladesh. Since you took over the reign of government in your country, you have



earned wide respect both in Bangladesh and abroad as a leader truly dedicated to the progress of your country and the wellbeing of your people; GKRb mvmx gw<sup>3</sup> thvxv Ges evsj vt`tki mpxbZvi cŕg tNvl Yv `vbKvi x wnmvte Avcbvi gh<sup>9</sup> v Gi B gta` mpcŕZwôZ | flgZvq AwawôZ nevi cti RvZxq AMMWZ Ges RbKj `vtY wbtew`Z GKRb RbtbZv wntmte Ges evsj vt`tki evBti Avcbw Mfxi kkv ARB Kti tQb | ŕŕ ( Bangladesh in International Politics by M. Shamsul Haq, Page 96, Published 1993)".

cŕ`qb KwgwUi Dcti v<sup>3</sup> AwfgtZi mptfl 11 bs cŕZev`x ctf weÁ G`WtfvtKU&gtinv`qMY Zvnt`i e<sup>3</sup> e` cŕ vb Kwi qvtQb | Avgi v Dcti v<sup>3</sup> ŕmpxbZvi tNvl Yv t cŕ`qb KwgwUi AwfgZŕ Ges 27tk gvP<sup>9</sup> 1971 Zwi tL tgRi wRqvDi ingvtbi cŕg mpxbZv tNvl YvwU AZ`š- gtbvthvM l i "tZj mwnZ cv Kwi qvwQ | cŕ`qb KwgwUi `vex Abmvti hw` mpxbZvi tNvl K tgRi wRqvDi ingvb nBqv \_vtKb Ges D<sup>3</sup> tNvl bv hw` 27tk gvP<sup>9</sup> Zwi tL cŕ vb Ki v nBqv \_vtK Zvnt nBtj wbæwj wLZ mvsweawbK mgm`vi D™e nBtZtQ t

K) cŕgZt evsj vt`tki mecŕg mvsweawbK `wj j 1971 mti 10B Gwcŕ Zwi tLi 'The Proclamation of Independence' Ge½eÜy tkL gyRej ingvb 1971 mti 26tk gvP<sup>9</sup> Zwi tL th mpxbZv tNvl bv Kwi qvwQtj b Zvnt eYbv Ki v nBqv tQ, GB e<sup>3</sup> te`i mwnZ mvsNwl K nBqv hvBtZtQ |

L) wŕZxqZt 10B Gwcŕ Zwi tL gyRe bMi nBtZ cKwvZ Laws Continuance Enforcement Order Gej v nq th, 1971 mti 25tk gvP<sup>9</sup> Zwi tL evsj vt`tk th mKj AvBb ej er wQj Zvnt mpxbZv tNvl bvcŕ mvctctfl ej er \_vwKte | D<sup>3</sup> Order 26tk gvP<sup>9</sup> Zwi L nBtZ KvhKi nBte | wKš' evsj vt`k hw` 27tk gvP<sup>9</sup> Zwi tL mpxb nBqv \_tk Zvnt nBtj ckel tV th Dcti v<sup>3</sup> Order GKw` b ce`nBtZ wKfvte KvhKi nBtZ cvti |

M) Zxqzt 1972 mbi 11B Rvbpvi x cKwKZ cġg Provisional Constitution of Bangladesh Order, 1972, 1971 mbi 10B Gwcġ Zwi tL tNwl Z 'Proclamation of Independence' Gi Avl Zvq I avi vewwKZvq tNvl Yv Ki v nBqvQj | GB `BwU mvsweavwbK `wj tji mwnZ 27tk gvPġ tNvl bv mvsNwl K nBqv cto|

N) PZyzt Dcti e<sup>3</sup> Zwi tLi mwnZ msweavtbi cġ vebvi cġg evtK ewYz 1971 Lx÷ vti gvPġ gvpmi 26 Zwi tL mpxbZv tNvl bv DDDDDGi mwnZ mvsNwl K nBqv hvBtZtQ ;

cZxqgvb nq th msweavtbi 150 Abt"Qt` i Avl Zvq 10B Gwcġ i GB Proclamation mn 1971 mbi 26tk gvPġ nBtZ msweavb cZtbi Zwi L 16B Wtmġ, 1972, chS-mKj AvBb, D<sup>3</sup> tgqv` gta` chġ mKj ġgZv ev KZ mKj Kvġ msweavtbi PZy<sup>3</sup> Zdmġ i mvsKvj xb I A`vqx weavvej xi 3 Abt"Q` Abmvti mvsweavwbK fvte msi wġ Z |

GB tctġ vctU mgM<sup>3</sup> wel qwU `Bfvte chġeġ Y Ki v ctqvRb| cġgZt thtnZy 2004 mbi cbgġ tYi cZ`qb KwguU Bnvi AwfgtZi mctġ wKQy Z`MZ thS<sup>3</sup> KZv Dġ vcb Kwi qvtQb Ges 11 bs cZev`xcġ weÁ G`WtfvtKU&gtinv`qMY D<sup>3</sup> Z`vw` mxtK<sup>3</sup> we`-wvi Z h<sup>3</sup> ZK<sup>3</sup> Dġ vcb Kwi qvtQb, tmBtnZy 11 bs cZev`xcġ i Dc`wvZ GwdtWwfU Bb AcwRkvbm mKj ctġ i GwdtWwfU& I `wLj KZ KvMRw` msweavtbi Avtj vtK chġeġ Y Ges weġPbv Ki Y; wZxqzt 2004 mbi KwguUi AwfgZ Ges tmB AwfgZ Abmvti 2004 mbi gġ Ĥ mpxbZv hġx `wj j cġ MŠ'wmi tRi 3q LtŪi cġg cġvq ewYz Z` th 1971 mbi 26tk gvPġ I Zrci 27tk gvPġ Zwi tL tgRi wRqvDi ingvb cġg mpxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qwQtj b tmB eYbvi mvsweavwbK %eaZv weġPbv Ki Y|

## 2004 mṭbi cĬ`qb KwgwUi AwfgZ cĥ½ t

gi ũg nvmvb nwdRj ingvb KZK mṣúw`Z evsj vṭ`ṭki mṭaxbZv hṭx `wj j cĬ t 3q LṭŪi 1g cṑvq gṭ`Ĭ ṭkL gṭRej ingvb KZK 25ṭk gṭṭPṑ ga`i vṭĬ Z\_v 26ṭk gṭṭPṑ cĬ\_g cĥṭi cĬ Ĭ mṭaxbZv ṭNvl Yv 2004 mṭb cṑgṭ`Ĭ 3q LṭŪ ev` ṭ`l qvi hṭ³ wnmvṭe cĬ`qb KwgwU gZ cKvk Kwi qvṭQb ṭh ṭNvl YwU Z\_`wf wĬK bq Ges Bnvi mZ`Zvi e`vcvṭi Zvnvi v ṭKvb Drm LṭRqv cvb bvB| cĬ`qb KwgwUi AwfgZ G`ṭṭbKṑvi Ḑ1G eYṑv Ki v nBqvṭQ hvnv Dcṭi D×Z Ki v nBqvṭQ|

D³ AwfgṭZ evsj vṭ`ṭki mṭaxbZvi ṭNvl Yv cĥṭ½ 1971 mṭb 6B wWṭmṭṭj wbDBqvṭKṑ Kṭ wṭṭqv wekṭe`ṭvj ṭqi QvĬ ḐwKṭ Kṭ`i GK mgvṭeṭk fvi ṭZi ZrKvj xb cṑvbgṭṭ Bw`i v MvÜxi e³ Zvi wKq`sk D×Z Kṭi b| Dnv wbæi “c t

“The cry for independence arose after Sheikh Mujib was arrested and not before. He himself, so far as I know, has not asked for independence even now :mṭaxbZvi WvK GṭmṭQj ṭkL gṭRe ṭMḑZvi nṭ qvi cṭi, Zvi cṭeṑ bq| Avghi RvbvgṭZ wZwb ṭKvb mgq mṭaxbZvi WvK ṭ`b wbŌŌ (Bangladesh Documents Vol-II, Page-275, M/O External Affairs, Govt. of India-1971, Bangladesh Edition, UPL, 1999 (Aṭavṭi Lv cĬ Ĭ)

Bw`i v MvÜxi Dcṭi v³ gṭṭe`i cwi ṭcṭṭṭ ṭZ cĬ`qb KwgwU 1971 mṭbi 10B Gwcṭṭj gṭRe bMṭi ṭNwl Z wbæwj wLZ Proclamation of Independence ṭK wekṭmṭṭhvM` gṭṭ Kṭi b bvB ewj qv cĬxqgvb nBṭZṭQ t

### **THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE**

MUJIBNAGAR, BANGLADESH  
Dated 10<sup>th</sup> day of April, 1971.

WHEREAS free elections were held in Bangladesh from 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1970 to 17<sup>th</sup> January, to elect representatives for the purpose of framing a Constitution,

AND

.....

.....

WHEREAS instead of fulfilling their promise and while still conferring with the representatives of the people of Bangladesh, Pakistan authorities declared an unjust and treacherous war,

AND

WHEREAS in the facts and circumstances of such treacherous conduct Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of 75 million of people of Bangladesh, in due fulfillment of the legitimate right of self-determination of the people of Bangladesh, duly made a declaration of independence at Dacca on March 26, 1971, and urged the people of Bangladesh to defend the honour and integrity of Bangladesh,

AND

.....

.....

.....”

We the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh, as honour bound by the mandate given to us by the people of Bangladesh whose will is supreme duly constituted ourselves into a Constituent Assembly, and

.....

.....

.....

declare and constitute Bangladesh to be a sovereign People's Republic and thereby confirm the declaration of independence already made by Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and

.....

.....

We further resolve that this Proclamation of Independence shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26<sup>th</sup> day of March, 1971.

.....

.....

(A†av†i Lv cŦ Ė)

Dc†i eWYŽ The Proclamation of Independence G cwi - vi f v†e †Nvl Yv

Ki v nBqv†Q th 1971 m†bi 26†k gvP® Zwi †L e½eÜj tkL gWRej

i ngvb XvKvq m†axbZv †Nvl Yv Kwi qWQ†j b|

cĹ`qb KwgwU 1971 mġbi 27ġk gvP<sup>®</sup> Zwi ġLB mġaxbZvi  
 tNvl Yv nBqvwQj ewj qv gZ cĶvk Kwi qvġQb A\_ŕ evsj vġ` ġki gġ  
 msweavġbi cĴ vebvi cĴg Qġġi cĴg evġK`i wbaewj wLZ tNvl Yvl  
 Awekġm Kwi qvġQb ewj qv cĹxqgvb nBġZġQ t

ŲŲAvgi v evsj vġ` ġki RbMY 1971 Lġóvġāi gvP<sup>®</sup>  
 gvġmi 26 Zwi ġL mġaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qv RvZxq gġ<sup>3</sup> i Rb`  
 HwZnwmK msMġġgi gva`ġg mġaxb I mveŕfšg MYcŕvZšġ  
 evsj vġ` k cĴZŵv Kwi qvwQ; ŲŲ

GgbwK Zvnvi v tRbvġi j wRqvDi i ngvb KZĶ The Second  
 Proclamation (Fifteenth Amendment) Order, 1978 (Second Proclamation Order No. IV of  
 1978) Gi Second schedule eġj mġġkwaZ cĴ vebvq ewYŹ Zwi LwUI  
 AmġKvi Kwi qvġQb | mġġkwaZ cĴ vebvi 1g Qġ wbaei ġc t

ŲŲAvgi v, evsj vġ` ġki RbMY, 1971 Lġóvġāi gvP<sup>®</sup>  
gvġmi 26 Zwi ġL mġaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qv RvZxq mġaxbZvi  
Rb` HwZnwmK hġxi gva`ġg mġaxb I mveŕfšg  
MYcŕvZšġ evsj vġ` k mi Kvi cĴZwŵZ Kwi qvwQ; (Aġavġi Lv  
cĴ Ē)

cĹxqgvb nq th eġeŲġtkL gġRej i ngvb KZĶ cĴ Ē mġaxbZvi  
 tNvl Yv Awekġm Kwi evi wnmvġe 2004 mġbi cĹ`qb KwgwU Bw` i v  
 MvŲxi Dcġi v<sup>3</sup> 6ġ11ġ1971 Zwi ġLi gše` Ges ġgRi wRqvDi  
 i ngvbġK mġaxbZvi tNvl K wnmvġe cĴZwŵZ Kwi evi Rb` evsj vġ` ġki  
 hġKvj xb cĴvbgšġi 11ġ4ġ1971 Zwi ġLi fvl Y I Rbve Gg kvgmj  
 nK wj wLZ Bangladesh in International Politics (1993) bvgK cġ ġK i vŵcWZ  
 wRqvDi i ngvġbi cĴZ fvi ġZi Z` wbsb i vŵcWZi kĶv wġe` ġbi Dci  
 wbfŕ Kwi qvġQb |

Avgi v Dc†i eWYŽ c†ZwU gše"/e³ e" GLb Av†j vPbv Kwi e|  
 c†vbgšx Bw` i v MvÜxi fvl YwU 11 bs c†Zev` xi 27Ð5Ð2009  
 Zwi †L nj dKZ Gwd†WwfU Bb A†cwRkv†bi mwnZ G`v†bKPvi Ð2  
 wnmv†e msh³ Ki v nBqv†Q| cŽ`qb KwgwU Zvvn†` i Awf g†Z  
 wb†RivB eYbv Kwi qv†Qb th tkL gyR†ei gy³ i Rb` Bw` i v MvÜx  
 wekpe`vcx cPvi Yvq i Z wQ†j b|

D†j E` th 1971 m†bi 25†k gvP© Zwi †Li w` evMZ i v†Î  
 cwK` vb mvgwi K ewnbx Z` wbsb ce©cwK` vbevmxi Dci BwZnv†mi  
 RNb`Zg I bksmZg MYnZ`v (Genocide) Pvj vq| H i v†Î B tkL  
 gyRet†K mvgwi K ewnbx †MdZvi K†i Ges mswké mvgwi K Awdmvi  
 tg†mR cvWvq th ‘Big Bird is in case’ |

BwZg†a` †Rbv†i j Bqwnqv Lvb cwŌg cwK` v†b cŌ vb K†i b|  
 26†k gvP© Zwi †L Ki wP nB†Z cŌ Ě GK teZvi fvl †Y wZwb tkL  
 gyRet†K †` k†` ōnx AvL`wqZ Kwi qv Avl qvgx j xM†K teAvBbx †Nvl Yv  
 K†i b| 27†k gvP© Zwi †L The Dawn cwÎ Kvq cKwkwZ Zvnyi fvl †Yi  
 mswké Ask wbæi fC t (Bangladesh Documents Vol-I P-276-7):

“Sheikh Mujibur Rahman’s action of starting his non-co-operation movement is an act of treason. He and his party have defied the lawful authority for over three weeks. They have insulted Pakistan’s flag and defiled the photograph of the Father of the Nation. They have tried to run a parallel Government.

.....can lead to but one conclusion- the man and his party are enemies of Pakistan and they want East Pakistan to break away completely from the country.....”

(A†av†i Lv cŌ Ě)

Bnvi B avi vevwnKZvq 3i v AMv÷ , 1971, Zwi †L cwK` vb  
 Television Corporation G cŌ Ě GK mv¶| vrKv†i †Rbv†i j Bqwnqv Lvb  
 e†j b :

“President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan has said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the defunct Awami League, would be put on trial.

He said Sheikh Mujib was arrested for committing acts of treason and he would be dealt with under the law of the land.....

The President, who was asked what would be the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, said that the leader of the defunct Awami League had deviated from his electoral campaign in which he demanded autonomy for East Pakistan.

President Yahya said that after Sheikh Mujib got the mandate, he and a coterie of his people deviated from that aim and wanted secession. In other words, he said Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had committed “acts of treason, acts of open rebellion” and incited armed rebellion against the State.” .....

“How would you treat your criminal”, he posed a question to the foreign news media representatives present at the interview.

(Bangladesh Document, Vo.II Page 21).

(A†av†i Lv cŦ Ė)

GB cUf wƒgKvq Bw` i v MvÜx 8B AMv÷ Zwi †L we†k†i mKj i vó'  
cŦv†bi wbKU wbæwj wLZ Ab†i va K†i b t

## **MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS**

**August 8, 1971.**

Government and people of India, as well as our Press and Parliament, are greatly perturbed by the reported statement of President Yahya Khan that he is going to start secret military trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman without affording him any foreign legal assistance. We apprehend that this so-called trial will be used only as a cover to execute Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. This will aggravate the situation in East Bengal and will create a serious situation in India because of the strong feelings of our people and all political parties. Hence our grave anxiety. We appeal to you to exercise your influence with President Yahya Khan to take a realistic view in the larger interest of the peace and stability of this region.

(Bangladesh Documents, Vol II Page 28).

(Aṭavṭi Lv cŏ Ē)

9B AMv÷ fvi Zxq %eṭ` wkK gšx KZK cŏ Ē weewZi Ask  
weṭkl wḃæ eYḃv Ki v nBj t

“ Government view with grave concern press reports of President Yahya Khan’s statement that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would be “court martialled”, and that he could not say whether or not the Sheikh would be alive when the so-called Pakistan National Assembly meets. President Yahya Khan himself had, in one of his earlier statements, referred to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as “the future Prime Minister of Pakistan”. As the leader of the Awami League Party which won 167 of the 169 seats to the National Assembly from Bangla Desh and thus had a clear majority of votes in the National Assembly of Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman held a unique position as the acknowledged leader not only of East Pakistan, but of the whole of Pakistan. What happened after the 25<sup>th</sup> of March this year is known to the whole world. The denial of the verdict of the people and letting loose of military oppression and trampling of the fundamental human rights of the people of Bangla Desh stand self-condemned. Instead of respecting the verdict of the people and acknowledging Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the elected and undisputed leader of Bangla Desh, the Pakistan Government has launched a reign of terror and carried out a calculated plan of genocide, the like of which has not been seen in recent times. To stage a farcical trial against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is a gross violation of human rights and deserves to be condemned by the whole world.”

(Bangladesh Documents Vol. II Page 28-29)

H GKB 9B AMv÷ Zwi ṭL cwwK` wḃ mi Kvi GKwU ṭcŏn wi wj R  
cKvk Kṭi | Bnv wḃæi fC t

## **Trial For “ Waging War Against Pakistan”**

### **Official Press Note**

**August 9, 1971.**

“ Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of the defunct Awami League, will be tried by a Special Military Court for “waging war against Pakistan”and other offences, a Press Note issued by the Headquarters of the Chief Martial Law Administrator said to day (August 9).



The trial will commence on August 11 in camera and its proceedings will be secret, the Press Note said.

(THE DAWN, Karachi-  
August, 10, 1971)  
(Bangladesh Documents, Vol.II Page 21-22).

(A†av†i Lv cŦ Ē)

BwZg†a RvwZms†Ni gnvmpem n mgMª wek| mvgwi K Av`vj †Z  
†kL g†R†ei †Mvcb wePvi Ab†v†bi †b>`v RbvB†Z \_v†K| RvwZ  
ms†Ni gnvmpPe G mªú†K® 1OB AMv÷ GKwU †bvU† cwwK`†b  
mi Kvi †K cŦ vb K†i b|

15B AMv÷ 1971 Zwi †Li LA NACION, e†qb†m Gqvm® GK  
cŦZ†e`†b †j †L t

00The Secretary General of the United Nations, U-Thant, has warned that the secret trial for treason against Mujibur Rahman, absolute leader of East Pakistan can lead towards more serious consequences than the hurricane which devastated East Bengal last November and the subsequent cholera epidemic.

International observers agree with U-Thant. The 98 per cent gained by the Awami League in the last elections is an element they have taken into consideration to make their comments.....

.... In the meantime, Yahya Khan/s administration refuses to reveal even the place where Rahman is being sued. Their information only says that the trial is taking place “in some place in Pakistan”. (A†av†i Lv cŦ Ē)

(Bangladesh Documents, Vol.II Page 34 ).

†R†bf v` International Commission of Jurists 17B AMv÷ Bqwnqv Lv†bi  
wbKU wbæwj wLZ †Uwj M†g †cŦ Y K†i b t

“ President Yahya Khan,  
President’s House  
Rawalpindi.

World opinion is most apprehensive that military tribunal will sentence Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to death. Should this happen,

International Commission of Jurists respectfully urges your Excellency to show clemency, strength and wisdom by commuting sentence to prevent further escalations of violence, terror and suffering.....(Bangladesh Documents Vol. II Page 30).

MACDERMOT.

*Secretary-General*

(A†av†i Lv cŦ Ė)

(Bangladesh Documents, Vol.II Page 29-30).

†nj wmswK<sup>-</sup> ' World Peace Council mŵPevj q 2O†k AMv÷ wbæwj wLZ  
e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>2</sup> cŦ vb K†i t

**Appeal by the Secretariat, World Peace Council,  
Helsinki, to the Government of Pakistan.**

In complete defiance of all norms of human behaviour, and in utter disregard of world-wide public opinion, the Government of Yahya Khan in Pakistan is putting to trial Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the chosen leader of the people of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh). The trial is being held secretly, and no one knows what is being perpetrated by the militarist rulers of Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman allegedly is being tried for “waging war against Pakistan”. This, in fact, is a terminology taken over from British imperialist rulers of India in the old colonial days when hundreds of Indian patriots and freedom-fighters were tried, but not in secret, for “waging war against the King-Emperor,” and hanged.

In this, as in all their other actions of massacre and pillage, the Yahya Khan dictatorship has revealed itself to the world as imitators of imperialists and autocrats who have nothing but contempt for the people. The only fault of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who also fought against British alien rulers of India while Yahya Khan and his henchmen were loyally serving the British masters, is that the people of Bangla Desh gave his party 167 seats out of 169 in the first –ever general election held in Pakistan.

(A†av†i Lv cŦ Ė)

(Bangladesh Documents, Vol.II Page 35).

eb` ' Der Spiegel Bnvi 3Otk AMv÷ i c0Zte` tb tMvcb wePvfi  
 tkL gWRtei tMvcb wePvi mæ#Ü mcig tKv†UP wePvi cWZ kwd†K  
 D×WZ Kwi qv e†j t

A West-Pakistani military tribunal is deciding secretly the fate of the political leader of East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Judge Shafi knows it already;: “Of course he shall be sentenced to death.”

.....  
 Pakistan’s Head of State, Yahya Khan, anticipated Judgment. When a representative of the World Bank, Mr. Cargill, requested for a reprieve, the General declaimed: “ This person is guilty of high treason, he should come to the gallows. (Av†av†i Lv c0 Ē)

(Bangladesh Documents, Vol. II P-35)

cWk` †bi i vó\* Z AvMvkvnx 31 AMv÷ wbDBqK®  
 mvsew` KMY†K e†j b t

“Questioned about the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the Awami League in East Pakistan, Mr. Shahi said his trial started August 11 and should be over in another two weeks.

He said Sheikh Mujib had been charged with waging war against the State and incitement to rebellion and violence.”

(A†av†i Lv c0 Ē)

(Bangladesh Documents, Vol.II Page 23).

14B tm†P æj , 1971 Zwi †Li The Guardian, London cWl Kvq  
 wbæwj wLZ msev` cKwvkZ nq t

“Mr. Bottomley, Britain’s former Secretary of State for the Commonwealth, urged Governments to put pressure on Pakistan to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman when a conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association opened here today (Kuala Lumpur, Septempber 13).

He said Sheikh Mujib was the only person who could speak for the people of East Pakistan. He also gave a warning that there would soon be a famine there in which hundreds of thousands would die.” (A†av†i Lv c0 Ē)

(Bangladesh Documents, Vol.II Page 31).

ৱ` ৱজ ঠZ 18B তমত্ৰ ঞ্জি , 1971, Zৱৱি ত্ৰL evsj ব্ৰ` ত্ৰকি Dci AbjôZ  
AvšRñZK mfvq wbæwj ৱLZ cŕ ৱe cvm nq t

**“ The International Conference on Bangla Desh at its meeting today (September 18,1971) in New Delhi :-**

Condemns the trial in secret by a Pakistan Military Tribunal of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the beloved and undisputed leader of Bangladesh Desh and the embodiment of the aspirations of its people, on charges of “treason” for leading his party, the Awami League, to overwhelming victory in the first ever General Elections held in Pakistan in December 1970;

Appeals to the world public opinion and governments to bring pressure on the military Government of Pakistan to desist from this grave violation of all canons and laws governing civil liberties and human freedom recognised in all civilised communities; and

Urges the immediate and unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and other democratically elected representatives of Bangla Desh.”

(A†av†i Lv cŕ Ē)

(Bangladesh Documents, Vol.II Page 32).

29†k A†±vei 1971 Zৱি ত্ৰLi The Times of India  
cৱĤ Kvq cŔKৱkZ nq t

“ The Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, has deplored the detention of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman by the West Pakistan military junta and said that “no democratic party in Europe will tolerate it.”

(Bangladesh Documents, Vol.II Page 33).

†kL gৱR†ei †Mvcb ৱePvi Ges cৱK⁻ ৱb mvgৱi K Rvšvi cŔKZ  
D†Ĭ k⁻ mঞ†Ü mvi v ৱe†k† cŕZৱμ qv Ges Zৱnvi Rb⁻ cŔKZ DrKÚv  
AvswkK Dcj ৱäi Rb⁻ Dc†i i msev` , ৱj D×Z Ki v nBj |

Bnv Abm†Kvh® th cŕ\_gKfv†e mgM⁹ ৱek† ce® I cৱŕg cৱK⁻ ৱb  
mnKv†i GKK cৱK⁻ ৱb†K †` ৱL†ZB Af⁻⁻ -ৱQj | 1970 m†b AbjôZ  
cৱK⁻ ৱ†bi cŕ\_g mvavi Y ৱbe†P†b †kL gৱR†ei †bZ†Z† Zৱnvi `j

Avl qvgx j xM wbi ¼k msL`vMwi ôZv j vf Kti Ges wbePti cti  
 Bqwnqv Lvb tkL gyReþK cwK`vbi fweir cãvbgšx wnmvte  
 AvL`wqZ Kti b| wKš' ci eZxZ evsj vt`tk cwK`vb mvgwi K ewnbxi  
 bvi Kxq MYnZ`v, evsj vt`tki mÿaxbZv tNvl bv, tkL gyReþK tMðZvi  
 Ges t`k t` ðnxZvi AwfthvþM tMvcb mvgwi K Av`vj tZ wePvi, wetkl  
 Kwi qv tkL gyRtei fvM` mæþÜ mgM³ wekþeteKtK ZwôZ Kti |  
 BwZgta` evsj vt`tk Ae`vbi Z cwK`vbx mvgwi K ewnbxi Dci  
 gy³ thvxvt`i tPvi vtMvßv AvµgY µgvMZ ewx cvBtZ \_vtK Ges  
 Zvnvi v cPÜ Pvci gþL cto| cðgvÂtj Aew`Z cwK`vbx mvgwi K  
 ewnbx fvi Zxq ewnbxi mwnZ gþLvgyL Ae`vb j q| GBi fc  
 cwi w`wZtZ tkL gyReþK hw` wePviti i bvtg nZ`v Ki v nq Zvnv nBtj  
 evsj vt`tki mÿaxbZv msMvg tbZZi msKtU cWZZ nBZ Ges mÿaxb  
 i vó³ wnmvte evsj vt`tki Afj`q Avt`š nBZ wKbv Zvnv wQj tNvi  
 mþ`nv"Qbq Kvi Y tkL gyRtei cðZ mvi v wetkþi th mæšvþeva I  
 mnvbfwZ wQj Ges AvšRwZK fvte Zvnvi th MhbtþvM`Zv wQj Zvnv  
 Avi Kvnvi I wQj bv| cKZ cþ¶ gy³ hþx Zvnvi bvtgB nBtZwQj |  
 Dtj E` th evsj vt`tki wbcwôZ RbMþYi cðZ AKwî g mnvbfwZ  
 \_wKtj I 1971 mþbi Aþ±vei Ðbþf æj gvm chš- wetkþi tKvb i vóB  
 ZLbi chš-evsj vt`k tK i vóxq mþKwZ cð vb Kti bvB|

evsj vt`tki mÿaxbZvtK cwK`vb cð\_g nBtZB Bnvi Avf`št xY  
 wel q ewj qv `vex Kwi Z Ges G e`vcvþi cW\_exi AþbK t`k wetkl  
 Kwi qv Pxb, hþ³ i vó³ I ga` cðtP`i t`k mgþni mµq mnþhvMxZv  
 cðß nBZ | BwZgta` evsj vt`tki Af`šþi cwK`vb mvgwi K Rvšvi  
 mi vmi mnþhvMZvq cðZwôZ i vRvKvi, Avj e`i, Avj kvgm cþwZ  
 nZ`vKvi x ewnbx wbi xn RbþMvôxi Dci nZ`v, al Ð, i vnvRwb BZ`w`  
 ZvÜej xj v Pvj vBtZ \_vtK |

1971 mþbi Aþ±vei Ðbþf æj gvtm evsj vt`k GB tnb  
 AvksKvRbK I AwbwðZ cwi w`wZi gta` Aew`Z wQj | 2004 mþb ev

eZgvtb tmB f q<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>i cwi w<sup>-</sup> wZ Dcj wä Ki v mæe bq| wKš' ZLbKvi  
 NUbv cēvn I Amnbxq Ae<sup>-</sup> v e<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>S†Z nB†j Avgw<sup>-</sup> M†K 1971  
 m†bi AeYb<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>xq Ae<sup>-</sup> vi t c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> v c†U Zvnv wePvi we†ePbv Kwi †Z nB†e|  
 wPšw†PZbvq Avgw<sup>-</sup> M†K 1971 m†b wdwi qv hvB†Z nB†e|

GKw<sup>-</sup> †K ce<sup>o</sup> I c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>g<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>Ā†j c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>wK<sup>-</sup> v<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>b mvgwi K ewnbxi h<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>xst<sup>-</sup> wn  
 Ae<sup>-</sup> vb Ges c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>wK<sup>-</sup> v†bi c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>Z Pxb, h<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> i v<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> I ga<sup>-</sup> c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>P<sup>-</sup>mn eū†<sup>-</sup> †ki  
 m<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>µ q m<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>nv<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>h<sup>-</sup> Dmn†hvMxZv, Ab<sup>-</sup> w<sup>-</sup> †K evsj v†<sup>-</sup> †ki g<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> h<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>x, 1(GK) †KwU  
 ki Yv<sup>-</sup> x<sup>o</sup> GBi f c Pi g m<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>Uvcbe cwi w<sup>-</sup> wZ†Z f vi †Zi c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>avbgšx  
 evsj v†<sup>-</sup> †ki g<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> h<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>x i cUf w<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>gKv e<sup>-</sup> vL<sup>-</sup> v Kwi evi Rb<sup>-</sup> Ges evsj v†<sup>-</sup> †ki  
 Awemsew<sup>-</sup> Z †bZv †kL g<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>R†ei c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>Y i † v Kwi evi Rb<sup>-</sup> wek| RbgZ  
 Mwoqv Z<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>j evi D†† †k<sup>-</sup> we†k† wewf b<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>e †<sup>-</sup> †k āgb K†i b Ges  
 MYmsthvM Avi æ† K†i b| c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>Zxqgvb nq th Bnvi B Ask wnmv†e c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>Z<sup>-</sup> qb  
 K<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>gwUi Awf g†Z D†j w<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>LZ K<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> w<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>qv wek<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>e<sup>-</sup> vj †q 1971 m†bi 6B  
 b†f æ†i B<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> i v MvÜx fvl Y c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> vb Kwi qvwQ†j b| wKš' c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>Z<sup>-</sup> qb K<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>gwU  
 KZK D<sup>3</sup> fvl †Yi LwÜZ Ask gvĀ D†j † Kwi qv†Qb| D<sup>3</sup> Astki  
 m<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>wnZ fvl †Yi c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>gva<sup>o</sup> c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>V Kwi †j m<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>úY<sup>o</sup> wel qwU cwi<sup>-</sup> vi nB†e ewj qv  
 g†b nq| D<sup>3</sup> c<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>gvsk w<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>bæi f c t

“.....I am congratulated on my great majority. But it was nothing compared to the majority which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman gained in the election in Pakistan. It was a tremendous victory for him. And he is not an extremist. He was a moderate person.....But once the elections were won, apparently this came as surprise to the Government of West Pakistan and they wanted to find out ways of getting around these results.

Negotiations were begun. We were not in touch with either Sheikh Mujib or his party of East Bengal. We did not know what was happening. We read in the papers that there were negotiations. Later, much later, in fact only about a week before I started on this trip, I happened to meet somebody who said he was present at the negotiations. And, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March, they thought that they were coming to a settlement, may be not a satisfactory settlement but still something that could be worked out. But this period was in fact used

to bring troops from West Pakistan, and on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March a reign of terror was let loose.” (Aṭavṭi Lv cṮ Ē)

(Bangladesh Documents. Vol. II Page 273.

Dcṭi eṂYṢ fvl ṭYi mṁnZ cṲ`qb KṡgṂU KZṢ Dṭj ṂLZ Ṃbæj ṂLZ Ask Ṃbæi fç t

“.....the cry for independence arose after Sheikh Mujib was arrested, and not before. He himself, so far as I know, has not asked for independence, even now.”

Dcṭi fvl ṭYi Aṭavṭi Lv cṮ Ē (underlined )Ask, Ṃj cṂOṭj B cwi Ṃvi fṽte ṭevSv hvBṭe ṭh 25ṭk gvṭPṢ Ae`ewṁZ cṭeṢI cṭi Z`ṂbŠb evsj ṽṭ` ṭk mṁNṂVZ NUbvej x mṁṭṢÜ BṂṽ` i v MvÜx nqṭZv mi vṁwi I qṂKenvj ṂQṭj b bv| D³ fvl ṭb Zṽnvi e³ e` t

“We are not in touch with either Sheikh Mujib or his party.....”

“ We did not know what was happening”

Dcṭi v³ Asṭki mṁnZ cZ`qY KṡgṂU KZṢ Dṭj ṂLZ Asṭki gṭa` “so far as I know” Ask, Ṃj GKṭĀ cṽV Kwi ṭj cṲxqgvb nBṭe ṭh 25ṭk gvPṢ` evMZ i ṽṭĀ ṭkL gṂRe mṽaxbZv ṭNvl Yv cṮ vb Kwi qṂQṭj b ṂKbv ṭm mṁṭṢÜ ṭmB i ṽṭĀ e`Ṃ³ MZfṽte Zṽnvi RṂbevi AeKṽk ṂQj bv Ges nqZ mZ`B ṂZṂb RṂbṭZb bv| GB K\_vB Zṽnvi fvl Y nBṭZ cwi ù ṂUZ nBqv DṂVqvṭQ|

Bnvi mṁnZ Avgi v 8B bṭf ṁj 1971 ZṂwi ṭL News Week Magazine G BqṂnqv Lvṭbi c` Ē mṽṂṽṭ vrKvi hṂ` Zj bv Kwi Zṽnv nBṭj B mṽaxbZv ṭK PṂnqvṂQṭj b ev ṭK ṭNvl Yv Kwi qṂQṭj b Zṽnv AṭbKUvB cwi Ṃvi nBṭe t

“.....He organized and led an armed rebellion against the State .....There was no alternative but to suppress the rebellion. Any other government would have done the same thing. How can I now call that man back and negotiate with him? He is charged with waging war against the state and subverting the loyalty or the army.....” (Aṭavṭi Lv cṮ Ē)

(Bangladesh Documents, Vol II page 24.)

BnvB wQj cwK<sup>-</sup>vb mi Kv<sup>ti</sup> i mi Kv<sup>i</sup> x Ae<sup>-</sup>vb| Av<sup>õ</sup>hRbK  
nB<sup>tj</sup> I mZ<sup>''</sup> th tgRi wRqvDi ingvb GK Rb mvgwi K KgKZ<sup>9</sup> nI qv  
m<sup>t</sup>Z<sup>i</sup>l Zvnvi wei "t<sup>x</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup>vb mi Kv<sup>ti</sup> i KLbl tKvb Awf<sup>v</sup>thvM wQj  
bv| mKj Awf<sup>v</sup>thvM wQj tkL gyR<sup>tei</sup> wei "t<sup>x</sup> |

GKB f<sup>v</sup>te Bw<sup>^</sup> i v MvÜxi D<sup>3</sup> f<sup>vl</sup> Y nB<sup>t</sup>Z wRqvDi ingvb th  
27<sup>tk</sup> gvP<sup>©</sup> Zwi t<sup>L</sup> ev Ab<sup>''</sup> tKvb Zwi t<sup>L</sup> m<sup>y</sup>axbZvi tN<sup>vl</sup> Yv Av<sup>t</sup> Š  
c<sup>õ</sup> vb Kwi qvwQ<sup>tj</sup> b Zvnvl c<sup>Z</sup>xqgvb nq bv| ei Â c<sup>Z</sup>xqgvb nq th  
Bw<sup>^</sup> i v MvÜx Zvnvi D<sup>3</sup> f<sup>vl</sup> t<sup>Yi</sup> e<sup>u</sup> hvqMvq Ges Ab<sup>''</sup>vb<sup>''</sup> f<sup>vl</sup> t<sup>Y</sup> tkL  
gyR<sup>tei</sup> K<sup>\_v</sup> evi sevi D<sup>tj</sup> E Kwi t<sup>j</sup> I Ges evsj v<sup>t</sup> t<sup>ki</sup> m<sup>y</sup>axbZvi K<sup>\_v</sup>  
D<sup>i</sup> vcb Kwi t<sup>j</sup> I tgRi wRqvDi ingv<sup>t</sup>bi K<sup>\_v</sup> GKev<sup>ti</sup> i Rb<sup>''</sup>l tKv<sup>\_v</sup>l  
D<sup>tj</sup> E K<sup>ti</sup> b bvB| wRqvDi ingvb m<sup>u</sup>t<sup>K</sup> GBi<sup>fc</sup> wbi eZv c<sup>Z</sup>qb  
K<sup>w</sup>g<sup>Ui</sup> AZ<sup>yrkvn</sup>x Awf<sup>g</sup>Z<sup>t</sup>K ei Â w<sup>g</sup><sup>\_v</sup> c<sup>õ</sup>vbZ K<sup>ti</sup> | m<sup>x</sup>KZ g<sup>t</sup>ZB  
25<sup>tk</sup> gvP<sup>©</sup> w<sup>''</sup> evMZ i v<sup>t</sup>l, 26<sup>tk</sup> gv<sup>t</sup>P<sup>©</sup> c<sup>õ</sup>g c<sup>h</sup>ti m<sup>y</sup>axbZv tN<sup>vl</sup> Yv  
nBqv wQj | G m<sup>u</sup>t<sup>Ü</sup> tgRi wRqvDi ingv<sup>t</sup>bi bvg i ay 1971 m<sup>t</sup>bi 6B  
b<sup>t</sup>f<sup>u</sup> b<sup>tn</sup> 2004 mb ch<sup>S</sup>- Ab<sup>tj</sup> E<sup>''</sup> i wnj | 26<sup>tk</sup> gv<sup>t</sup>P<sup>©</sup> tN<sup>vl</sup> Yv  
m<sup>u</sup>t<sup>Ü</sup> f<sup>vi</sup> Z mn m<sup>vi</sup> v w<sup>et</sup>k<sup>i</sup> m<sup>sev</sup> c<sup>l</sup> G m<sup>u</sup>t<sup>Ü</sup> m<sup>sev</sup> c<sup>K</sup>vk  
Kwi qvwQj Zej Bw<sup>^</sup> i v MvÜx b<sup>t</sup>f<sup>u</sup> gv<sup>t</sup>m G m<sup>u</sup>t<sup>Ü</sup> A<sup>A</sup>Zv c<sup>K</sup>v<sup>t</sup>ki  
GKgv<sup>l</sup> Kvi Y wZ<sup>w</sup>b ZLb e<sup>x</sup> tkL gyR<sup>tei</sup> R<sup>x</sup>eb i<sup>¶</sup>vi Rb<sup>''</sup> nq<sup>t</sup>Zv  
wKQ<sup>u</sup> tK<sup>Š</sup>k<sup>tj</sup> i Avk<sup>q</sup> M<sup>hb</sup> Kwi qvwQ<sup>tj</sup> b| tkL gyR<sup>tei</sup> R<sup>x</sup>eb i<sup>¶</sup>v  
Ki vB wQj ZLb Zvnvi m<sup>te</sup>P<sup>''</sup> AMMY<sup>''</sup> w<sup>el</sup> q, Kvi Y R<sup>w</sup>eZ tkL gyRe  
e<sup>''</sup>ZxZ m<sup>y</sup>axb evsj vi m<sup>y</sup>axbZvi c<sup>t</sup>¶ Av<sup>Š</sup>Rv<sup>9</sup>ZK mg<sup>\_b</sup> c<sup>õ</sup>w<sup>B</sup> i<sup>fn</sup>  
nBqv c<sup>w</sup>oZ| Avi tgRi wRqvDi ingvb m<sup>u</sup>t<sup>Ü</sup> Zr<sup>t</sup>c<sup>¶</sup> v<sup>c</sup>t<sup>U</sup> wZ<sup>w</sup>b  
tKvb wKQj D<sup>tj</sup> E Kwi evi tKvb w<sup>el</sup> q ewj qvB g<sup>t</sup>b K<sup>ti</sup> b bvB ewj qv  
c<sup>Z</sup>xqgvb nB<sup>t</sup>Z<sup>t</sup>Q|

tkL gyRe m<sup>y</sup>axbZv P<sup>w</sup>nqvwQ<sup>tj</sup> b wK P<sup>v</sup>tnb bvB Bw<sup>^</sup> i v MvÜxi  
ci eZ<sup>x</sup><sup>®</sup> B<sup>w</sup>U f<sup>vl</sup> Y nB<sup>t</sup>ZB Zvnv c<sup>wi</sup> <sup>®</sup>wi nB<sup>te</sup>| evsj v<sup>t</sup> t<sup>tk</sup> 1971  
m<sup>t</sup>bi 16B wW<sup>t</sup>m<sup>u</sup> Zwi L w<sup>e</sup>Kvj t<sup>ej</sup> vq cwK<sup>-</sup>vb mvgwi K ew<sup>n</sup>bx



AvZmgcY Kwi evi ci Bw` i v MvÜx fvi tZi cvj tğtU wbæwj wLZ  
weewZ cŏ vb Kwi qvwQtj b t

**Statement By Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in Parliament  
On Pakistan Army's Surrender in Bangladesh  
December 16, 1971**

I have an announcement to make. The West Pakistan Forces have unconditionally surrendered in Bangla Desh.....We hope and trust that the Father of this new nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, will take his rightful place among his own people and lead Bangla Desh to peace, progress and prosperity .....” (A†av†i Lv cŏ Ě) (Bangladesh Documents Vol-II p-550-51) |

ZvnnQvov, 1972 m†bi 10 B Rvbqvix Zwi tL w` j xZ tkL  
gyRe†K GKwU Rbmfvq m†MZ m†vl b Ki Z t Bw` i v MvÜx etj b t

Welcoming the President of Bangladesh, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had promised freedom to his people and given it to them, India had taken a pledge to free Bangladesh, free Mujib and .....(The Indian Express, New Delhi-January 11, 1972) (A†av†i Lv cŏ Ě) ( Bangladesh Documents, Vol.II P-606) |

Dcti i eYbv m†vL`vZ | Dcti i fvl Y nB†Z Bnv - úófvte cZxqgvb  
nBte th tkL gyRe evsj vi RbMY†K m†axb evsj vi m†c†` LvBqvQtj b  
Ges wbŏq Zvnn 26†k gvP©Zwi tL tMdzvi nBevi c†eB | Kv†RB Bnv  
ej vi A†c†v i v†L bv th Bw` i v MvÜx 6B b†f†j Zwi tL Kj v†qv  
wek†e` vj tq we†kl tKškj MZ Kvi tYB cZ`qb KwgwU KZK DxZ  
e³ e` i wLqvQtj b |

D†j E` th 1971 m†bi gvP©gvm nB†Z w†m†j gvm chS-mgM†  
we†kj cŏq mKj i v†ŏi i vŏ c†vb l t†Z, vbxq e`w³ eM†tkL gyRe  
m††Ü Zvnn† i DrKÚv cKvk Kwi qv†Qb, evsj v††ki e`vcv†i Zvnn† i  
D` vi Zv l AvMh cŏ k† Kwi qv†Qb wKš' †KnB KLbl 27†k gv†P†  
ŏm†axbZv tNvl Kŏ m††Ü we`†† AvMh cKvk K†i b bvB ev GgbwK

Dtj ԷԼ Kti b bvB| 1971 mtb gԿ<sup>3</sup> hԿx Kvj xb mgtq ՊRqvDi i ngvb mսւտK<sup>©</sup> ՊekԵvmxi GB Պbi eZv cԻոտ½ 2004 mtb cԸ՝qb KԿgԿU GtKevti B ՊbԾԵ|

eԶeÜy tkL gԿRej i ngvb th mԿaxbZvi tKvb tNv Yv t` b bvB ei Â tgRi ՊRqvDi i ngvb mԿaxbZv tNv Yv KԿi qԿԿQտ b GB e<sup>3</sup> Էe՝i mg\_Գb cԸ՝qb KԿgԿU Zvnvտ` i AԿfgտZ hԿ<sup>3</sup> cԻոkԹ Kti b th, cԻԵvmx evsj vt` k mi Kvti i cԻԵvbgՏձ ZvRDԿի b Avnտg` mԿaxb evsj v ԷeZvi tK>՝՝ nBտZ 1971 mtb 11B GԿcԻ ZԿi տL tgRi ՊRqvi mԿaxbZv tNv Yv mսւտK<sup>©</sup> evsj vt` տki RbMտYi Dtի տk՝ cԻ Է Zvnvi fvl տY Dtj Է Kti b| D<sup>3</sup> KԿgԿU fvl տYi ՊbæԿj ՊLZ LԿÜZvsk Dtj Է Kti b t

“ The brilliant Success of our fighting forces and the daily additions to their strength in manpower and captured weapons has enabled the government of the peoples Republic of Bangladesh, first announced thorough Major Ziaur Rahman, to set up full fledged operational base from which it is administrating the liberated areas.”  
(Aտavti Lv cԻ Է)

Dcտi v<sup>3</sup> fvl տY tgRi ՊRqvDi i ngvb ԻannounceԻ KԿi qտտQb ej v nBqտտQ, ԻDeclareԻ ev ԻProclaimԻ KԿi qտտQb Zvnv ej v nq bvB| ZvnvQvov, announced ԻbyԻ ej v nq bvB, announced ԻthroughԻ ej v nBqտտQ| A\_Գr tgRi ՊRqvDi i ngvb KZԿ cԻԿԿi Z (announce) ej v nq bvB, tgRi ՊRqvDi i ngvտbi gva՝տg cԻԿԿi Z ej v nBqտտQ| cԸ՝qb KԿgԿU i agvԻ Dcտi v<sup>3</sup> LԿÜZvsk bv cԿoqv hԿ` mսւY՝<sup>©</sup> fvl YԿU ՊeԷԵԵԵԵԵ j BտZb ZԷe տ` ՊLտZ cԵBտZb th tkL gԿRej i ngvbB th mԿaxbZvi tNv bv cԻոvb KԿi qտտQb Zvnv cԻԵvbgՏձi fvl տYi cԻոտgB ej v nBqտտQ|

কন্য গণ্য তহবৎ i চাঁচ কঁকব বটে b Kwi qv ZvRDwí b  
 Avn#g` GBfvte fvl YwU Avi ঝ Kti b (Bangladesh Documents, Vol.I, page  
 282-286):

“Heroic and brave brothers and sisters of Independent Bangla Desh.

In the name of your President, Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Government of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, we salute you and pay homage to the departed souls of the martyrs who have sacrificed their lives in the defence of their motherland. They will shine in our memory as long as Bangla Desh exists, as long as a single citizen of Bangla Desh lives. Since the proclamation of indepfence by your leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, after General Yahya had on the midnight of 25<sup>th</sup> March ordered his Army to commit genocside on the peace-loving people of Bangla Desh, you have joined the rans of the immortals amongst the freedom fighters of history.

(A†av†i Lv cŃ Ē) |

Bnvi ci wZwb Zvnyi e³ Zvq evsj vt` †ki wewf bæ AÂ†j  
 cŃZ†i va h× mঝ†Ü e†j b t

“In the Sylhet/Comilla region, we have, commissioned Major Khaled Musharraf of the Bengal Regiment to take command of military operation in the region. The courage and daring of his force has already reduced the presence of the Pakistan Army to the Cantonments of Sylhet and Comilla where they will soon be liquidated by the closing ring of the Liberation Army.

In Chittagong and Noakhali we have commissioned Major Zia Rahman of the Bengal Regiment to take full command of operations. His heroic defence of Chittagong City against overwhelming odds, which included attacks from the air and sea, will take its place with the defence of Stalingrad in the annals of warfare. Today, thanks to his resistance Chittagong is still not secure in the hands of the enemy, whilst the whole of Chittagong and Noakhali districts, outside limited pockets of Chittagong town are liberated areas.

In the Mymensingh/Tangail area, we have commissioned Major Safiullah of the Bengal Regiment to take command of

operation in the region. He has liberated the major part of the area under his control and is ready to march on Dacca.

The three commanders have already met and prepared a joint plan of battle designed to mop up surviving pockets of resistance in their respective areas preparatory to a combined onslaught on Dacca.

In the South-West Region, we have commissioned Major Osman of the E.P.R. to take command of the Kushtia-Jessore zone, while Major Jalil has been given charge of Faridpur-Barisal-Khulna-Patuakhali Zone. After the historic victory of Kushtia, the Liberation force has already driven the Pakistan army out of the whole area and confined them to the cantonment of Jessore and parts of Khulna town.

In North Bengal A Unified Command is being set up from the force of Bengal Regiment and E.P.R. Our liberation force under the command of Major Ahmed have pushed out enemy forces from Rajshahi district. Major Nazrul and Major Nowazesh are laying siege to the hard pressed occupation army respectively in Saidpur and Rangpur. The Liberation force have already driven the Pakistan army out of the whole Dinajpur, Bogra, Pabna and Rangpur districts except the limits of cantonment areas and are ready for the final assault.

The brilliant success of our fighting forces and the daily additions to their strength in manpower and captured weapons has enabled the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, first announced through Major Ziaur Rahman, to set up a fullfledged operational base from which it is administering the liberated areas. Whilst the interim capital is located in the liberated area of the western zone, we have set up a regional seat of government located in the liberated area of the Sylhet/Comilla zone, which is delegated to exercise full administrative authority over all areas in the eastern regions." (Aṭavṭi Lv cŃ Ē)

Dṭj Ē" th tj t ṭRbvṭi j gxi kI KZ Avj xi mvṭṭ vrKvṭi cŃ Ē Z\_\_"  
 Abṃvṭi 11B Gwċĳ ṭgRi wRqvDi i ngvb Kvj j NvṭU wQṭj b bv, wZwb  
 3Oṭk gvP©Zwi ṭL i vgMo nBqv fvi ṭZ Pwj qv wMqwQṭj b| gxi kI KZ  
 Avj xi fvl vq (GKvĒṭi i i Yv½Y t kvgmṭi b ū`v ṭPšaj x )t

cġt GK Rb tm±i KgvŪvi wntmte Avcwb  
KLb wKfvte KvR ġ ġ " Ki tj b ?

Dt AvtMB etj wQ, cġg Awg tRbvġij wRqv  
mvġ\_ GK bġġ tm±ti tmġKŪDBbġKgvŪ  
A\_Ųr `ġ bġġ wntmte KvR ġ ġ " Kwi | 30tk  
gvP© ō71 Gi ci tRbvġij wRqv Avgvi mvġ\_  
Avi wQġ b bv| wZwb ivgMo ntq mxgvġšġ  
I cvġi Pġj wMġqWQġ b| KvġRB 30tk gvP© ō71  
Gi ci t\_ġK Dġj wLZ tm±ti i cġiv ewnbxi  
KgvŪ Avgvi nvġZ Gġm cġo| ōō

GLvġb Dġj E" th cġvbgšġ ZvRDwġ b Avgv` Gi gġ fvl YwU  
wQj evsj v fvl vq| fvi tZ cġKwġZ Bangladesh Documents G gġ` Ų  
Bsġi Rx fvl YwU wQj gġ evsj v fvl vq cġ Ē fvl tYi Abġv` | gġ  
evsj v fvl YwU 1982 mġbi gġ `wġ j cġġi ZZxq LġŪ (cġ8) Ges  
2004 mġbi cġbg`ġbi ZZxq LġŪi 8 cġvq gġ` Ų nBqvġQ| 2004  
mġbi cġġ`qb KwgwUi AwfgġZ (cġ4) ewYġ ZvRDwġ b Avgv` Gi  
ei vZ w`qv Zvni evsj v cġKv Ki v nBqvġQ| fvl tYi Bsġi Rx Abġv`  
cġKZ gġ evsj v fvl tYi mswkġ AskwU wbæi fc t

ōō mġaxbZv msMġġg Avgvġ`i G AfZce© mvdj`  
fwel`ġZ Avi l bZġ mvdġġ ġi w`kvi x| cġZw`b  
Avgvġ`i gġ<sup>3</sup> ewnbxi k<sup>w3</sup> teġo Pġj tQ| GKw`ġK  
thgb nvRvi nvRvi gvbġ gġ<sup>3</sup> ewnbxġZ thvM w`ġ"Q  
tZgwb kġġi AvZġ mgcġYi msL`v w`b w`b teġo  
Pġj tQ| Avi GKB msġM Avgvġ`i wbqšġY AvmġQ  
kġġi tKġo tbqv nwZqvi | GB cġ\_wgK weRġqi  
mvġ\_ mvġ\_ tgRi wRqvDi ingvb GKwU cwi Pvj bv  
tK>`' Mġo tZvġj b Ges tmLvb t\_ġK Avcbvi v  
ġ bġZ cvb evsj vġ`ġki mġaxbZvi cġg tNvl Yv|  
GLvġbB cġg mġaxb evsj vġ`k mi Kvi MVġbi K\_v  
tNvl Yv Ki v nq| ōō

Dcġi i AskwU cW Kwi tj cwi`wi fvte cġxqgvb nBte th  
evsj v fvl vq cġ Ē fvl tYi mswkġ Ask gġ tYi cwi etZ© Zvni v

ågvZ¶K Bstî Rx Abjev` cŕ vb Kwi qv D³ Bstî Rx Abjev` i bZjb  
 Kwi qv weâvšKi evsj v Abjev` gj` Y Kwi qv†Qb hvnvi mwnZ gj evsj v  
 fvl †Yi †Kvb wgj B bvB| gj evsj v fvl YwU `wj j c†Î i ZZxq L†Ûi  
 8g cŕvq gj` Ž i wnvq†Q| Zvnvi v mswké As†ki gj evsj v fvl YwU  
 gj` b Kwi †Z cwi †Zb| wKš' wK D†Î †k` Zvnvi v gj evsj v fvl YwUi  
 mswké Ask gj` Y Ki v nB†Z wei Z i wntj b Zvnv tevaMg` bq|

Zte gj fvl †Yi Dc†i ewYŽ mswké Ask nB†Z Bnv mġ úóí ftc  
 cŽxqgvb nBte th ZvRDwġ b Avng` Zvnvi fvl †Y †Kvb f†eB etj b  
 bvB th tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb wb†R mġaxbZv †Nvl Yv Kwi qwQ†j b ev  
 mi Kvi MVb Kwi qwQ†j b| GgZ Ae`vq ZvRDwġ b Avng` Gi ei vZ  
 w` qv 2004 m†bi cŽ`qb KwgwUi AwfgZ mᳵúYᳵ gbMov wQj ewj qv  
 cŽxqgvb nq|

2004 m†bi cŽ`qb KwgwU Zvnv†` i Awfg†Z cġvbgšx  
 ZvRDwġ b Avn†g†` i e³ Zvi LwŪZvsk we†ePbv bv Kwi qv hw` Dc†i i  
 D×Z Askmn mgM† tcŕvcU Ges D³ mᳵúYᳵ e³ ZwU we†ePbvq  
 j B†Zb Zvnv nB†j ġúóZB cŽxqgvb nBZ th ce`w` b 10B GwCġ  
 Zwi †L Proclamation of Independence G e½eÜj tkL gwRej i ngvb th 26  
 tk gvPᳵ Zwi †L mġaxbZv †Nvl Yv Kwi qwQ†j b Zvnv cġvbgšx eYb  
 Kwi qv wewf bœ AĤ†j i tmbv bvqKMY†K cġsmv Kwi qv Drmvn cŕ vb  
 Kwi qv†Qb, we†kI Kvnv†KI mġaxbZvi †Nvl K etj b bvB, ei Ĥ  
 cPvi K ewj qv†Qb| tcŕvcU Ges mweK wePv†i ZvnvB cŽxqgvb  
 nB†Z†Q|

2004 m†bi cŽ`qb KwgwU Gg kvgmj nK wj wLZ Bangladesh in  
 International Politics M†šġ D×wZ (c† 96) cŕ vb Kwi qv wØZxq hᳵ³  
 cŕ kᳵ K†i b th 1977 m†bi 27tk wW†mᳵġ wRqvDi i ngvb fvi Z  
 md†i tM†j Zvi mᳵᳵ†b Av†qvWRZ GK †fvR mf vq fvi †Zi ZrKvj xb  
 i vócwZ bxj g mĤxe ti wÇ ewj qwQ†j b t

“ Your position is already assured in the annals of the history of your country as a brave fighter who was the first to declare independence of Bangladesh.....”

ৱক্স' অব্ধিহঁ K\_v th evsj vt`tki Z`wbšb ci i vó' gšx  
tj LK Gg kvgmj nK fvi Zxq i vó'wZi Dc†i v³ e³ e" wb†RI  
wekym K†i b bvB hLb wZwb Zvnyi Mš' tj †Lb (c†31)t

“ On the basis of a message embodying the Declaration of Independence sent by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to Chittagong in the early hours of 26 March 1971 for transmission throughout Bangladesh, Major Ziaur Rahman, who had formed a liberation force in Chittagong, broadcast from Swadhin Bangla Betar (Radio) station, Chittagong, the historic “Declaration of Independence”.....” A†av†i Lv c† Ē )|

GLv†b D†j Ē Kiv c†qvRb th tgRi †Rbv†i j wRqvDi ingvb  
1975 m†bi 22†k AvMó Zwi †L evsj vt`tki c†vb tmbvcwZ c†`  
wb†qvM cvb| 1975 m†bi 7B b†f †† Zwi †Li †fv†i wZwb wb†R†K  
Chief Martial Law Administrator wnmv†e †Nvl Yv c† vb K†i b| weKvj tej v  
wePvi cwZ mv†qg i vó'wZ I Chief Martial Law Administrator c` MhY K†i b  
Ges tgRi †Rbv†i j wRqvDi ingvb Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator  
wb†qvWRZ nb| 1977 m†bi tg gv†m wZwb evsj vt`tki i vó'wZi c`  
Mhb K†i b Ges AvgZj wZwb H c†` wQ†j b| wKš' ¶ gZvi m†Yv®P  
Ae`v†b wKqvl KLbI wZwb wb†R†K m†xvZvi †Nvl K ewj qv `vex  
K†i b bvB| GgbwK 1977 m†b fvi †Zi i vó'wZ ZvnyiK m†xvZvi  
†Nvl K ewj qv c†smv Kwi evi c†i I wZwb Hi “c †Kvb `vex Zvnyi  
Rxe† kvq K†i b bvB| Bnv Zvnyi mZZvi wbwōZ cwi PvqK|

2004 m†bi c†pg† Ē `wj j c††i ZZxq L†Ūi 4\_©c†vq c†Z`qb  
KwgU Dc†i ewYZ wZbwU NUbvi wfwĒ†Z Awf gZ c†Kvk K†i b th  
e½eÜy tkL gyRej ingvb KZK c† Ē m†xvZvi †Nvl Yv Z`wf wĒK  
bq| wKš' Dc†i e³ Av†j vPbvi tc†††Z `úó††c c†Zxqgyb nB†e th

Dc̣ti v<sup>3</sup> wZbwU NUbvB Ac̣m½K I Aevš† A\_P cĹ`qb KwgwU i agvĹ  
 Dc̣ti ewYŽ wZbwU Aevš† NUbvi Dci wfwĒ Ki Zt 1979 ṃbi  
 Authentication Committee KZĲ 1982 ṃb cKwkZ `wj j cĹi ZZxq  
 L†Ŭi 1g c̣vq gw`Z 26†k gvP°Zwi †L †kL gwR†ei ṃaxbZv †Nvl Yv  
 i ayAwekȣmB K†i b bvB Zvnvi v GgbwK Proclamation of Independence †K I  
 D†cĹ v Kwi qv evj wLj `Zvi cwi Pq c̣ vb Kwi qv†Qb |

AZGe, 2004 ṃbi cĹ`qb KwgwUi Awf gZ th wRqvDi  
 i ngvbB me° cĹg 26 †k gvP° Zwi †L ev AšZ 27†k gvP° Zwi †L  
 ṃaxbZv †Nvl Yv Kwi qvwQ†j b Zvnv G†Kev†i B wfwĒxb | Z†e Bnv mZ`  
 th 27†k gvP° mŬ`vq wZwb e½eŬy †kL gwRej i ngv†bi cĹ nB†Z  
 evsj v†` †ki ṃaxbZvi †Nvl Yv cvW Kwi qvwQ†j b |

### wRqvDi i ngv†bi Rxeb eĒvš-t

†gRi wRqvDi i ngvb wj wLZ ōGKwU RwwZi RbŬ c̣eŬ nB†Z Rvbw  
 hvq th 1963 ṃb wZwb cwwK`wb †Mv†q`v wefv†M `vwqZi cvj bi Z  
 wQ†j b | `úóZ wZwb GKRB ṃy Ĺ †mbv KgKZŋ wQ†j b | Rbve  
 L>` Kvi gvṇe Dwi b Avn†g`, G`vW†fv†KU& Gi ci vgk° Abṃv†i  
 †Rbv†i j wRqvDi i ngv†bi Rxeb eĒvš† b w Pwnqv cvWvB†j Zvnvi  
 Rxeb eĒvš† GKwU mvi mstĹ c evsj v†` k mi Kvi c†Ĺ `wLj Ki v  
 nq |

D<sup>3</sup> Rxeb eĒvš-` †ó cĹxqgvb nq th wZwb 12 PMA Long Course  
 G mvgwi K ewnbx†Z thvM`vb Kwi qvwQ†j b Ges 1955 ṃbi 18B  
 †m†P †Ĵ Kwgkb c̣Ŭ n†qb | wZwb 1g Bó te½j ti wR†g†U 1959  
 ṃbi Rb gvm chŠ- Company Commander c†` Kgŋ Z wQ†j b | 1959  
 ṃbi wW†m†Ĵ gvm nB†Z 1964 ṃbi †g gvm chŠ- 200 Survey Section  
 G GS0-3 wQ†j b | 1964 ṃbi Rb gvm nB†Z 1966 ṃbi wW†m†Ĵ  
 chŠ- mg†q wZwb 1g Bó te½†j Adjutant / Company Commander  
 wQ†j b | 1967 ṃbi Rvbwvi x gvm nB†Z 1969 ṃbi GwcĴ gvm



ch<sup>§</sup>-wZwb PMA tZ Platoon Commander c<sup>†</sup> AwaôZ wQ<sup>†</sup> b| 1969 m<sup>†</sup>bi tg gvm nB<sup>†</sup>Z 1970 m<sup>†</sup>bi t<sup>†</sup> P<sup>†</sup> q<sup>†</sup> gvm Ges 1970 m<sup>†</sup>bi A<sup>†</sup>±vei gvm nB<sup>†</sup>Z 1971 m<sup>†</sup>bi gvP<sup>®</sup>gvm ch<sup>§</sup>-wZwb h<sub>v</sub>μ tg 2q Bó te½j | Zrci 8g Bó te½j 2<sup>nd</sup> in Command c<sup>†</sup> AwaôZ wQ<sup>†</sup> b| 1971 m<sup>†</sup>bi 26 gvP<sup>®</sup> Zwi tL wZwb c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> vb tmbve<sup>w</sup>nbx c<sup>w</sup>i Z<sup>w</sup>M K<sup>w</sup>i qv evsj v<sup>†</sup> k tmbve<sup>w</sup>nbx<sup>†</sup>Z t<sup>†</sup>h<sup>w</sup>M<sup>-</sup> vb K<sup>†</sup>i b (TOS: 26 March 1971) | g<sup>w</sup>³ h<sup>w</sup>× K<sup>†</sup>v<sup>†</sup>j wZwb 1971 m<sup>†</sup>bi Rj vB gv<sup>†</sup>m Z Force Gi Acting Commander w<sup>†</sup>b<sup>†</sup>h<sup>†</sup>³ n<sup>†</sup>q<sup>†</sup>b| m<sup>†</sup>axbZ<sup>†</sup>vi ci 1972 m<sup>†</sup>bi t<sup>†</sup>de<sup>†</sup>p<sup>†</sup>vi x gv<sup>†</sup>m ti wR<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>g<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>Ui Acting Commander n<sup>†</sup>q<sup>†</sup>b| 1972 m<sup>†</sup>bi t<sup>†</sup>de<sup>†</sup>p<sup>†</sup>vi x gvm nB<sup>†</sup>Z tg gvm ch<sup>§</sup>-wZwb 44 Infantry Brigade Gi Officiating Commander wQ<sup>†</sup> b| 1972 m<sup>†</sup>bi tg gv<sup>†</sup>m wZwb Army Head Quarters G Temporary Deputy Chief of Army Staff c<sup>†</sup> w<sup>†</sup>b<sup>†</sup>h<sup>†</sup>³ n<sup>†</sup>q<sup>†</sup>b| 1973 m<sup>†</sup>bi R<sup>†</sup>p gvm nB<sup>†</sup>Z A<sup>†</sup>±vei gvm ch<sup>§</sup>- wZwb Officiating Dy CAS c<sup>†</sup> w<sup>†</sup>b<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>q<sup>†</sup>wRZ wQ<sup>†</sup> b| 1973 m<sup>†</sup>bi 10B A<sup>†</sup>±vei Zwi tL wZwb Dy CAS c<sup>†</sup> c<sup>†</sup> v<sup>†</sup>b<sup>†</sup>wZ c<sup>†</sup>Ø<sup>†</sup>³ n<sup>†</sup>q<sup>†</sup>b| Zrci , 1975 m<sup>†</sup>bi 24<sup>†</sup>k AMv÷ Zwi tL wZwb evsj v<sup>†</sup> k tmbve<sup>w</sup>nbxi Chief of Army Staff c<sup>†</sup> c<sup>†</sup> v<sup>†</sup>b<sup>†</sup>wZ c<sup>†</sup>Ø<sup>†</sup>³ n<sup>†</sup>q<sup>†</sup>b| 1978 m<sup>†</sup>bi 28 t<sup>†</sup>k G<sup>†</sup>w<sup>†</sup>c<sup>†</sup>j Zwi tL wZwb t<sup>†</sup>j d<sup>†</sup>U<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>b>U t<sup>†</sup>R<sup>†</sup>b<sup>†</sup>v<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>i j c<sup>†</sup> c<sup>†</sup> v<sup>†</sup>b<sup>†</sup>wZ c<sup>†</sup>Ø<sup>†</sup>³ n<sup>†</sup>q<sup>†</sup>b Ges ci w<sup>†</sup> b 29<sup>†</sup>k G<sup>†</sup>w<sup>†</sup>c<sup>†</sup>j Zwi tL m<sup>†</sup>vg<sup>†</sup>wi K ew<sup>†</sup>nbxi P<sup>†</sup>v<sup>†</sup>Ki x nB<sup>†</sup>Z Aemi M<sup>†</sup>hb K<sup>†</sup>i b (SOD/SOS) | m<sup>†</sup>w<sup>†</sup>f<sup>†</sup> m<sup>†</sup> ti K<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>W<sup>®</sup> t<sup>†</sup>R<sup>†</sup>b<sup>†</sup>v<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>i j wR<sup>†</sup>qvDi i ngv<sup>†</sup>bi i vR<sup>†</sup>%b<sup>†</sup>wZK R<sup>†</sup>xeb m<sup>†</sup>q<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>Ü tevaM<sup>†</sup>g<sup>†</sup> K<sup>†</sup>vi t<sup>†</sup>YB t<sup>†</sup>K<sup>†</sup>vb eY<sup>†</sup>Ø<sup>†</sup>v b<sup>†</sup>vB|

Dc<sup>†</sup>i i eY<sup>†</sup>Ø<sup>†</sup>v nB<sup>†</sup>Z c<sup>†</sup>Ø<sup>†</sup>xqgvb nB<sup>†</sup>te t<sup>†</sup>h P<sup>†</sup>v<sup>†</sup>Ki x R<sup>†</sup>xet<sup>†</sup>b t<sup>†</sup>R<sup>†</sup>b<sup>†</sup>v<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>i j wR<sup>†</sup>qvDi i ngvb AZ<sup>†</sup>š- m<sup>†</sup>vd<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>j i A<sup>†</sup>waK<sup>†</sup>vi x| 27<sup>†</sup>k gvP<sup>®</sup> m<sup>†</sup>Ü<sup>†</sup>vq PÆM<sup>†</sup>vg<sup>†</sup> m<sup>†</sup>axb evsj v teZ<sup>†</sup>vi t<sup>†</sup>K<sup>†</sup>><sup>†</sup> nB<sup>†</sup>Z wZwb t<sup>†</sup>h GK<sup>†</sup>wU t<sup>†</sup>N<sup>†</sup>vl b<sup>†</sup>v c<sup>†</sup>w K<sup>†</sup>wi q<sup>†</sup>wQ<sup>†</sup> b Z<sup>†</sup>v<sup>†</sup>vl H<sup>†</sup>wZ<sup>†</sup>n<sup>†</sup>w<sup>†</sup>m<sup>†</sup>K<sup>†</sup>f<sup>†</sup>v<sup>†</sup>te m<sup>†</sup>xKZ |

Ab<sup>†</sup>w<sup>†</sup> t<sup>†</sup>K t<sup>†</sup>kL g<sup>†</sup>wRej i ngvb t<sup>†</sup>K<sup>†</sup>vb mi K<sup>†</sup>vi x ev m<sup>†</sup>vg<sup>†</sup>wi K ew<sup>†</sup>nbx<sup>†</sup>Z t<sup>†</sup>K<sup>†</sup>vb w<sup>†</sup> b P<sup>†</sup>v<sup>†</sup>Ki x K<sup>†</sup>i b b<sup>†</sup>vB| wZwb G<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>Kev<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>i B m<sup>†</sup>vavi Y R<sup>†</sup>bM<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>Yi K<sup>†</sup>vZ<sup>†</sup>vi nB<sup>†</sup>Z D<sup>†</sup>wVqv A<sup>†</sup>w<sup>†</sup>m<sup>†</sup>qv<sup>†</sup>Q<sup>†</sup>b Ges R<sup>†</sup>bM<sup>†</sup>t<sup>†</sup>Yi m<sup>†</sup>nR<sup>†</sup>vZ t<sup>†</sup>bZv

(Born leader) wQ†j b| Qvĭ Rxe†b wZwb Kwj KvZv`' teKvi tnv†ó†j \_vwKqv  
 Bmj wggqv K†j †R covi bv Kwi †Zb Ges gmwj g Qvĭ j x†Mi GK Rb  
 mwµ q †bZ, vbxq Kwg®wQ†j b| wZwb Qvĭ Ae` v†ZB tmvni vl qv` xP  
 †bZ†Zj cwwK` vb Av†` vj †b SwcvBqv c†ob| wZwb tmvni vl qv` xi  
 fvewkl` wQ†j b Ges cĖK 1947 Gi mgq nB†ZB GK Rb Zi "b  
 msMVK wnmvte cĖZwôZ n†qb|

### evOvj x RvwZi msw¶| B cĖ\_wgK BwZnm t

Zte cĖ†gB cĖPxb evsj v†` †ki Z\_v evOvj xi BwZnm I  
 m\axbZvi †c¶|vcU mst¶|†c Av†j vPbv Ki v c†qvRb Kvi Y GB  
 Av†j vPbv e`wZ†i †K 1971 m†b m\axbZvi Rb` evOvj xi AvKwZ Dcj wä  
 Ki v hvBte bv|

Lóce® PZ\_®A†ä fvi Ze†l P M½vb` xi tgvnbvq M½Fwx B  
 bv†g GK ci vµ gkvj x RvwZ emevm Kwi Z ewj qv cĖ`vZ  
 HwZnwmKMY gZ cKvk K†i b| GLb th fŁ†Űi bvg evsj v†` k  
 Lóce®mg†q tmB †` kB mpcwi wPZ wQj M½vFwx bv†g| H †` †ki  
 Awaevmxi vB evOvj x RvwZi ceñi x ewj qv HwZnwmKMY avi Yv K†i b|  
 M½vFwx i Ynw` h†\_i f†q †Kvb i vRvB GB †` k Rq Kwi evi mvm  
 K†i b bvB| wØMweRqx Av†j KRvŰv†i i %mb` j I GB †` k Avµ gb  
 Kwi †Z i vRx nq bvB| KwZŰvm, wWi †Wvi vm, c¶K® c¶wZ wMK  
 cwŰZ†` i tj Lbx†Z, óvte v I U†j wgi f†Mvj eĖv†š- Ges fwwR†j i  
 gnvKvte` M½vFwx †` †ki bvgwU D†j wŁZ nBqv†Q| wKš' Aóg kZvāxi  
 cĖ\_gv†a® Z` wbsb evsj v†` k GKwaKevi ewni vµ g†bi Ketj c†o|

cĖ`vZ HwZnwmK Aa`vcK gpbZvmxi gvgb Gi g†Z GKwU gvĭ  
 bi †Mvôx nB†Z evOvj x RvwZi DrcwĖ nq bvB| K†qKwU bi †Mvôxi  
 wgwj Z dj evOvj x| AwZ cĖPxb Kv†j , GBme bi †Mvôx †Kšgex nBqv  
 emevm Kwi qv†Q| ¶ŷ Ű ¶ŷ Ű †Kš†gi mgb†q MwVZ nBqwQj enĖi  
 †Kšg, thgbDe½, i vp, cĖ« c¶wZ| †Kšg †PZbv ci eZx†Z AvĀwj K

tPZbvq i fcvšwi Z nq hvnv GLbl engvb( evsj vř`k evOvj x gbm  
 i vóMVb l AvaybKZv)| AvbgwmbK Aóg kZvāx nBřZ Øv`k kZvāx  
 chš-cvj i vRvi v Gř`k kvmb Kři | Øv`k kZvāxřZ řmb i vRvi v  
 i vRZi Kři | Ā řqv`k kZvāxřZ ZyK® Lj WR esk i vRZi Kři |  
 Ā řqv`k řřřK řl vok kZvāx chš- Z`wbsšb evsj vř`k řyaxb  
 řj Zwbř`i i vRZi wQj | H mgřř řnvřmb kvnx Avgřj (1494ř1538)  
 řev½vj řō ev řevsj řō bvgwUi e`envi wQj Ges evOvj x RwwZi řPbv nq|  
 wKQKvj cvVwbř`i kvmbři ci 1575 mřb Z`wbsšb evsj vř`k řgvMj  
 řvgřřR`i Ašf® nq| AvKeři i mgq (1556ř1605) mgM® evsj v,  
 řmřev evsj řō břřg cwi wPZ wQj | 1717 mřb gřk® Křj Lvb evsj v, wenvi  
 l Dwol`vi řyaxb beve wnmvře kvmbKvh® cwi Pvj bv Kwi řZb|  
 evsj vi řkl řyaxb beve wmi vRDřř řj v cj wki j v° vevřM 1757  
 mřbi 23řk Rř Zwi řL ci wRZ nBřj evsj v řyaxbZv nvi vq Ges  
 ci eZx® 190 ermři i Rb` Břř R kvmbři Aaxb`-nq|

### cŮKřmřyaxbZvi (1947) BwZ nvm t

GLvřb Dřj E` řh M½vFwx Avgřj i cři řKvb cKZ evOvj x  
 evsj vř`k kvmb Kři bvB| Zře hvnvi vB i vRZi Kwi qwwQřj b Zvnvi v  
 mKřj B evsj vř`kři mwnZ GKxfZ nBqv wMqwQřj b Ges evsj vř`kři  
 řyaxbZv i řřřřB ewntkři mwnZ řx Kwi řZb| wKš' Břř R  
 kvmbKMřYi wBKU evsj vř`kmn řvi Zei® wQj GKwU Dcwbtēk gvĀ |  
 Aek` 1858 mřb AwaKZ řvi Zei® Břř R řvgřřR`i Ask řNvl Yv Ki v  
 nq| Břř R i vRřZi cŮg w`řK řvi Zeřl® gřj gvbMY RvZ`wřfvřb  
 l m` ev` kvnx nvi vBevi` řřřL Břř Rx řvl v wkwLřZ Pwnřj b bv wKš'  
 wn`y agřej řx řvi Zxqř`i Rb` Břř R kvmb wQj i vRvi cwi eZb  
 gvĀ | GB Kvi řY Zvnvi v kvmbKř`i Břř wR řvl v wkrřv Mřb Kwi qv

cĕvmb I wef bē tŋ tŋ μ gvbŋq AvaybKZvi w` tK AMmi nBtZ  
 \_wKtj b| Ab`w` tK gmj gvb RbŋMvōx ō` vi "j nvi ē I `vi "m  
 mvj vgō Gi evBti I th GK wekvj c\_w\_ex AvaybKZvi w` tK μ gk  
 Pj gvb Zvnv Dcj wä Kwi tZ e`\_°nŋqb Ges μ gkB wQvBqv cwoŋZ  
 \_wKtj b|

1885 mŋb wbwLj fvi Z KstMm cĕZwōZ nq| 1906 mŋb  
 XvKvq wbwLj fvi Z gmwj g j xM cĕZōv nq|

BwZgŋa` 1905 mŋb e½f½ nq| GB e½f½ gmj gvbŋ` i tKvb  
 `vex bv \_wKtj I GB e½fŋ½i dŋj PvKi x, wkŋ v I Ab`vb` tŋ tŋ  
 msL`v\_i " wnmvŋe wQjv mjeav Zvnvi v cĕB nq| wKš' wn`y  
 agŋej xŋŋ` i cŋj Avŋ`vj tbi gŋL 1911 mŋb e½f½ i` nq|  
 GKB ermi fvi tZi i vRavbx Kwj KvZv nBtZ w` wj tZ `vbwšŋ Ki v  
 nq|

hw` I gmwj g j xŋMi cĕZōv XvKvq Ges evsj vq gmwj g msL`vMwi ō  
 wQj wKš' tKvb w` bB tKvb evOvj xŋK gmwj g j xŋMi mfvcwZ ev mvavi Y  
 mæúv` K cŋŋ` wbeŋPZ nBtZ t` l qv nq bvB| ei Â evOvj x  
 gmj gvbŋ` i mŋ\_°gmwj g j xŋMi cĕZōvi cĕ\_g t\_ŋKB fvi tZi Ab`vb`  
 cŋŋ` tki gmj gvbŋ` i mŋŋ\_° Rj vÄj x t` l qv nBZ| GB e`cvŋi  
 evsj vi gmj gvbŋ` i tKvb AvZŋwbi Dcj wä l t` Lv hvq bvB|  
 Zvnvi v evOvj xi weci xŋZ AevOvj x gmj gvbŋ` i KZŋj I tbZZj webv  
 cĕZevŋ` üówPŋĒ I mvbŋŋ` Mhb Kwi tZ tKvbw` bB wQcv l nq bvB,  
 ei Â GUvŋKB mŋfwēK ewj qv gŋb Kwi Z| 1916 mŋb j vLŋbš c`v±  
 Ges 1932 mŋbi mvæcĕ wqK ti vŋq` vŋ` i tŋ tŋ GBi fc wei "c  
 AvPi Y bMŋvŋe cKvk cvq| evsj vi eÂbvi BwZnvŋmi tMvov cĒb  
 ZLb nBtZB Avi xŋ Kvi Y AevOvj xŋŋ` i Ab`vq I mŋ\_°ci `vexi gŋL  
 evsj vi tbZZj wPi Kvj msL`vMwi ō evOvj x gmj gvbŋ` i b`vqm½Z mŋ\_°  
 i ŋ vŋ\_°wQcv \_wKtZb, mæEZt nxbgb`Zvq fŋMŋZb| A\_P evsj vi

gṁj gvbṭ`i msL`vMwi ô ṭfvU mgM<sup>a</sup> fvi Zeṭlṭ gṁj gvbṭ`i mṭ<sub>g</sub><sup>°</sup>  
i Ṇṭ<sub>g</sub><sup>°</sup> e`eüZ nBZ |

1940 mṭbi 23 ṭk gvP<sup>°</sup> Zwi ṭL j vṭnvṭi AbṭôZ gṁwj g j xM  
Kbṭfbkṭb evOj vi cḁvbgšḡ G,ṭK, dRj j nK fvi ṭZi DĒi Ḑce<sup>°</sup> I  
DĒi cṡḐṭg gṁwj g msL`vMwi ô AĀṭj `ḔU mveṭfšg i vṭóṭ  
`vexṭZ GKṡU cṭṭe DĪ vcb Kwi ṭj meḥṡḡZ ṡṭg Zvṅv MṅxZ nq|  
BṅvB mṭeL`vZ j vṭnvi cṭṭe ev cṡK`vb cṭṭe| Bṅvi B mṡkḑ  
AskṡU ṡbæi ṭc ṭ

“Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the  
All-India Muslim League that no consitutional plan would be  
workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is  
designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically  
contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so  
constituted, with such territorial re-adjustments as may be necessary,  
that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as  
in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped  
to constitute “Independent States” in which the constituent units  
shall be autonomous and sovereign.” (Aṭavṭi Lv cṭ Ē)

hṡ I Dcṭi v<sup>3</sup> cṭṭe Abṁvṭi mgM<sup>a</sup> fvi Z eṭlṭ ce<sup>°</sup>I cṡḐṭg  
Aew`nZ gṁwj g msL`vMwi ô cṭṭ`k, ṡj ṭZ `ḔU mveṭfšg i vó<sup>a</sup> cṭZ ôvi  
`vex ṡQj ṡKš' AevOvj x ṭbZZi ci eZṭṭZ Zvṅv AmḡKvi Kṭi |

1946 mṭbi gvP<sup>°</sup>gvṭm fvi ṭZi 11ṡU cṭṭ`ṭk ṡbeṭPb Abṭṡvb nq|  
gṁwj g j xM cṡK`vb cṭZ ôvi `vexi ṡṭṡĒṭZ ṡbeṭPb Abṭṡvb Kṭi |  
GKgvĪ e½ṭ`ṭk gṁwj g j xM gṁj gvbṭ`i 119ṡU Avmṭbi gṭa` 116 ṡU  
Avmṭb wecj ṭfvṭU ṡbeṭPZ nBqv gšḡmfv MVb Kwi ṭZ mg<sub>g</sub><sup>°</sup> nq|  
Ab`vb` cṭṭ`ṭki gṭa` gvĪ ṡmÜj cṭṭ`ṭk GKṡU gvĪ Avmṭb msL`vMwi ôZv  
j vṭ Kṭi ṡKš' cvĀve, DĒi ḐcṡḐg mḡgvš- cṭṭ`k, ṭej ṡP`vbmn Ab`  
mKj cṭṭ`ṭk KṡṭMṡm msL`v Mwi ôZv j vṭ Kṭi , gṁwj g j xM ṭKvb cḑvi  
cḁavb` j vṭ Kwi ṭZ mḡcY<sup>°</sup>e`<sub>g</sub><sup>°</sup> nq| GBi ṭc Ae`vq AevOvj x gṁwj g

j xM tbZ<sub>ex</sub> e<sup>1/2</sup> evOvj x g<sub>mj</sub> gvbM<sub>tYi</sub> wecj tfvUwaKv<sub>ti</sub> i kw<sup>3</sup> Øvi v  
 mgM<sup>a</sup> fvi Z e<sub>tl</sub> ° g<sub>mj</sub> gvb<sub>t</sub> i m<sub>y</sub> ° i ¶ v<sub>t</sub> ° m<sub>tPó</sub> nq| WKŠ' evsj vi  
 g<sub>mj</sub> gvb<sub>t</sub> i f<sub>vM</sub> weo<sub>apv</sub> GB th 1946 m<sub>t</sub> b fvi Z mi Kvi KZK AvûZ  
 AšeZ<sub>Kvj</sub> xb gš<sub>mf</sub> vq tKvb evOvj xi n<sub>vb</sub> nq bvB| evsj vq g<sub>mj</sub> g  
 j x<sub>tMi</sub> wecj msL<sub>vMwi</sub> ôZv m<sub>t</sub> Z<sub>i</sub> K<sub>v</sub> we<sub>t</sub> bU w<sub>gk</sub> t<sub>bi</sub> m<sub>wn</sub> Z Av<sub>tj</sub> vPbv  
 mf<sub>vq</sub> evOvj x g<sub>mj</sub> gvb<sub>t</sub> i tKvb n<sub>vb</sub> w<sub>Qj</sub> bv| WKŠ' j v<sub>tnvi</sub> c<sub>l</sub> ve  
 D<sub>l</sub> v<sub>c</sub> t<sub>bi</sub> Rb<sub>v</sub> GK evOvj xi c<sub>l</sub> qvRb nBq<sub>wQj</sub> | GKB avi vew<sub>n</sub> KZvq  
 1946 m<sub>t</sub> bi Gwc<sub>j</sub> gv<sub>tm</sub> w<sub>vj</sub> t<sub>Z</sub> Ab<sub>yôZ</sub> g<sub>mj</sub> g j xM e<sub>v</sub> e<sub>v</sub> n<sub>vc</sub> K mf<sub>vi</sub>  
 m<sub>v</sub> m<sub>t</sub> i Kb<sub>t</sub> f<sub>b</sub> k<sub>t</sub> b w<sub>Rb</sub> ni c<sub>l</sub> ve l w<sub>b</sub> t<sub>l</sub> K Ab<sub>mv</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>nv</sub> t<sub>mb</sub> kn<sub>x</sub>  
 t<sub>mv</sub> n<sub>l</sub> vl qv<sub>x</sub> f<sub>vi</sub> Ze<sub>tl</sub> ¶ n<sub>β</sub> c<sub>l</sub> t<sub>š</sub> - n<sub>β</sub> U mve<sub>f</sub> f<sub>šg</sub> m<sub>y</sub> axb i vó<sub>v</sub> n<sub>vc</sub> t<sub>bi</sub>  
 j v<sub>tnvi</sub> c<sub>l</sub> v<sub>tei</sub> gj avi bv c<sub>vi</sub> eZ<sub>b</sub> mvab Ki Zt GKĐc<sub>wK</sub> v<sub>b</sub>  
 n<sub>vc</sub> t<sub>bi</sub> c<sub>l</sub> ve K<sub>ti</sub> b| ev<sub>1/2</sub> vj x g<sub>mj</sub> g tbZ<sub>ex</sub> GB c<sub>l</sub> v<sub>tei</sub> c<sub>l</sub> ej  
 we<sub>ti</sub> vaxZv K<sub>ti</sub> b Ges gj j v<sub>tnvi</sub> c<sub>l</sub> ve t<sub>v</sub> w<sub>Levi</sub> v<sub>ex</sub> K<sub>ti</sub> b| D<sub>nv</sub>  
 g<sub>mj</sub> g j x<sub>tMi</sub> tev<sub>ayB</sub> Awd<sub>tm</sub> f<sub>j</sub> µ<sub>t</sub> g i w<sub>Lq</sub> v Av<sub>mv</sub> nBq<sub>v</sub> t<sub>Q</sub> ewj qv  
 evsj vi tbZ<sub>ex</sub> t<sub>K</sub> wbe<sub>Ė</sub> Ki v nq| AZci, GKĐc<sub>wK</sub> v<sub>t</sub> b c<sub>l</sub> ve M<sub>nx</sub> Z  
 nq|

m<sub>ae</sub> Z ci eZ<sub>x</sub> t<sub>Z</sub> w<sub>b</sub> t<sub>Ri</sub> fj e<sub>y</sub> S<sub>t</sub> Z c<sub>wi</sub> qv 1947 m<sub>t</sub> bi 27<sub>tk</sub>  
 Gwc<sub>j</sub> Z<sub>wi</sub> t<sub>L</sub> t<sub>mv</sub> ni vl qv<sub>x</sub> m<sub>y</sub> axb mve<sub>f</sub> f<sub>šg</sub> evsj v c<sub>l</sub> Z ôvi c<sub>l</sub> ¶ GK  
 t<sub>c</sub> m we<sub>Á</sub> w<sub>β</sub> c<sub>l</sub> v<sub>b</sub> K<sub>ti</sub> b| wZ<sub>wb</sub> Z<sub>vnvi</sub> e<sup>3</sup> te<sub>v</sub> i t<sub>kl</sub> f<sub>v</sub> t<sub>M</sub> e<sub>tj</sub> b  
 (v<sub>j</sub> j c<sub>l</sub> t 1g LÛ, c<sub>t</sub> 24)t

“I have vsualised all along, therefore, Bengal as an independent state  
 and not part of any union of India. Once such states are formed, their  
 future rests with them .....

No, if Bengal is to be great, it can only be so if it stands on its own  
legs and all combine to make it great. It must be master of its own  
 resoursces and riches and its own destiny. It must cease to be exploited by  
 other and shall not continue to suffer any longer for the benefit of the rest  
 of India.....” (A<sub>t</sub> av<sub>ti</sub> Lv c<sub>l</sub> Ė)

Avi GKwU wee<sub>y</sub> Z<sub>t</sub> Z wZ<sub>wb</sub> e<sub>tj</sub> b (v<sub>j</sub> j c<sub>l</sub> t 1g LÛ, c<sub>t</sub> 30)t

“I still extend that invitation to all. I beg of them not to destroy Bengal, not to be blinded by wrath and prejudice, or consumed by their hatred for their fellow Bengalees but to look ahead and grasp this wonderful opportunity to make Bengal free and independent, master of its own destiny and its own wealth, capable of a free will to form unions and treaties and alliances with whomsoever it will, respected amongst the nations of the world, rich, powerful and a heaven for the common man.”

(A†av†i Lv c0 ¨E)

e½xq c0†` wkK gmwj g j x†Mi mvavi Y mᄁúv` K Avej nwkgl  
mᄁaxb mve†f Šg evsj vt` †ki c†¶ GKwU tciñ weÁwB c0 vb K†i b|  
ZvnvQvov, wZwb mvβvwnK 0wgj vZ0 cwî Kvq 9B tg Zvwi tL cpi vq  
mᄁaxb evsj vt` †ki thŠw³ KZv Zwj qv a†i b| 23 †k tg Zvwi tL ki r  
P>`ª tev̄m I Avej nwkkg hM†f vte mᄁaxb mve†f Šg evsj vi c0 weZ  
KvV†gv mᄁú†K© GKwU Pj³ mᄁ¶i K†i b| wKŠ' wRben, MvÜx,  
tb†ni ", c`vtUj c0L tbZet`i c0j AvcwĖi g†L mᄁaxb evsj v  
t`k `vc†bi c†Pón e`\_©nq|

GBfvte, 1947 młbi cłgvta® evsj vi Z`wbsb cłvbgšx  
 tnvłmb knx` tmvni vl qv`x, esMxq cłt`wkK gmwj g j xtMi mǎúv`K  
 Avej nwmg Ges kir P>`atevm młaxb mveřřšg evsj vt`k`vcłbi  
 wej ǎxZ cłPóv Kwi qvWQtj b wKš`tkl chš- Ge`vcvti wKQp Avi nq  
 bvB|

cwK<sup>-</sup> vb Avg†j evsj vi BwZ nvm t

AZtci , 1947 m†bi 18B Rj vB Zwi ‡L The Indian Independence Act (10 And 11 Geo. VI, Ch. 30) cvm nq Ges 14B AMv÷ Zwi ‡L cwkK<sup>-</sup> vb Ges 15B AMv÷ Zwi ‡L fvi Z m\axb nq|

cwK<sup>-</sup> vb mwoi c\_lg nB†ZB ceē<sup>2</sup>½†K eÂbvi wkKvi nB†Z nq|  
cwK<sup>-</sup> vb MYcwi l † ceē<sup>2</sup>½i m`m` msL`v wQj 44wU, Ab`w` †K  
AevOvj x m`m` msL`v wQj 25wU| wKŠ' evOvj xi v th Lvm cwK<sup>-</sup> vb x Zvnv

cŏvb Kwi evi Rb" ceē½tK wj qvKZ Avj x Lvb, Avāj KvBqg, tMvj vg tgvnvαš` cŏwZ AevOvj x gmj gvbŧ`i Rb" 6wU Avmb Zvnbŧ`i ei vei cwi Z`vM Kwi tZ nq| dj k`wZtZ MYcwi l t` ceē½i Avmb msL`v 38tk bwgqv Avtm, Ab`w` tK AevOvj x m`m` msL`v 31tk DbxZ nq| wKš' GB Z`vŧMi wewbgtq cwK`vŧbi cŏg tK>`xq gšxmfvq 17Rb gšxi gta" gvĭ `BRb gšx ceē½ nBtZ j l qv nBtj l ceē½ nBtZ tKvb cŏZev` l tV bvB|

Bnvi ci cwK`vb l gmwj g Dαšvi mŧt\_° ceē½evmxŧK gvZ fvl v cwi Z`vŧMi Rb`l cŏZ nBtZ nq|

1948 mŧbi fvl vDAvŧ`vj b l Qvĭ j xM MVtB tkL gyRe Avi l AŧbŧKi mwnZ AMbx fwgKv cvj b Kti b| GB mgq ZvnbŧK Dchcwi Kvi vei Y Kwi tZ nq| Avŧ>`vj tbi AwfthvŧM 1949 mŧb XvKv wekŧe`vj q nBtZ ZvnbŧK ewn`vi Ki v nq|

25tk tdeŧvi x, 1948 Zwi tL cwK`vb MYcwi l t` axti >`bv\_ `Ė evsj v fvl vŧK i vófv l v wnmvte ghŧ`v cŏvb Kwi evi `vex Rvbvb wKš' cŏvbgšx wj qvKZ Avj x Lvb, LvRv bwRgDwĭ b cŏL D³ cŏvŧei Zxe' weŧi vaxZv Kti b|

21tk gvP°, 1948 Zwi tL tgvnvαš` Avj x wRben XvKvq cŏĖ mαabv mfvq tNvl bv Kti b th cwK`vŧbi i vófv l v D`ŧnBte| 24tk gvP°GKB K\_v wZwb XvKv wekŧe`vj tqi KbŧfvŧKkb Abŧvŧb ewj tj Qvĭ t`i ga" nBtZ cŏg cŏZev` cŏZaŧwbZ nq Ges fvl v Avŧ>`vj b `v bv ewatZ Avi αtKti |

23tk Rb 1948 Zwi tL Avl qvgx gmwj g j xM cŏZwôZ nq| GB msMVtbi cŏg mfvcwZ gvl j vbv Avāj nvwg` Lvb fvmvbx, mαúv`K kvgmj nK Ges Ab`Zg hMŧ mαúv`K nb tkL gyRej i ngvb|

1948 mŧbi 11B tmŧP αŧ Zwi tL wRbeni gZj nBtj cwK`vb i vRbxwZtZ cŏmv` Pμvŧšŧ mPbv nq| 1951 mŧbi 11B tmŧP αŧ Zwi tL wj qvKZ Avj xi nZ`vi ci GB l ol tšj i vRbxwZ teMevb



nBtZ \_vtK | BwZgta" tMvj vg tgvnvş` A\_gşx nBqvQb | wZwb gj Z fvi Zxq AwWU G"vU GKvD>Um mwf¶mi GKRb Avgj v wQtj b | t`k wefv¶Mi mgq wZwb nvq`vi vevt`i wBRvg mi Kvti i GKRb KgKZ¶ wQtj b | t`k wefv¶Mi mgq wZwb cwK`vtb Pwj qv Avtmb | wZwb A\_gşx I Zrci wj qvKZ Avj xi gZji ci cwK`vtbi MfY¶ tRbvti j c` AwaKvi Kti b Ges LvRv bwRgwi b cavbgşx wbe¶PZ ntqb | tgRi tRbvti j Bm¶K>`vi gxR¶ cZi ¶v m¶Pe wnmvte wbtqvMcB ntqb | 1920 mtb gxR¶ weUk¶fvi Zxq tmbvevwnbx†Z Kwgkb cB ntqb | wZwb gvı 6 ermi tmbvevwnbx†Z Kg¶Z wQtj b | 1926 mtb wZwb tmbvevwnbx nBtZ Indian Political Service G thvM`vb Kti b Ges G"vteUvevt` mnKvi x Kwgkbvi c†` wbh¶ nb | wZwb 1947 mtb DcRwZ Gj vKvq mi Kvi c†¶ cwj wUK"vj G†R>U wQtj b | AvBDe Lvb m¶axbZvi Pvi ermti i gta" e"vUwj qb KgvUvi c` nBtZ tRbvti j c†` DbZ nBqv 1951 mv†j cwK`vtbi cavb tmbvcwZ c†` c†`vbZ cB ntqb | 1953 m†bi Gwc¶ gv¶m tMvj vg tgvnvş` MYcwi l† i msL"vMwi ô m`m"MtYi Av"vf vRb LvRv bwRgwi b†K cavbgşx c` nBtZ ei Lv` - Ki Zt Avi GK Avgj v tgvnvş` Avj x e, ov†K cavbgşx c†` wbtqvM c vb Kti b | tRbvti j AvBDe Lvb D³ gşxmf vq tmbvcwZ c`mn cZi ¶v gşx wnmvte thvM`vb Kti b | GB c†½ cwK`vb m¶c¶g tKvtU¶ wePvi cwZ Yakub Ali, J., (Asma Jilani V. Government of Punjab PLD 1972 SC 139). e†j b t

00This was the first constitutional mishap of Pakistan as Governor-General Mr. Ghulam Mohammad was only a constitutional head. He had to act on the advice given to him by the Prime Minister and under the Constitutional Instruments (Indian Independence Act, 1947, and the Government of India Act, 1935) he had no legal authority to dismiss the Prime Minister and assume to himself the role of a sovereign00

ZvnuQvov, cŃZi ǁ v mwPe cť BmťK> vi wgrŃ Ges cŃZi ǁ v gšx  
 cť AvBDe Lvťbi wbtqvťMi gvaťtg wmwfj cŃvmťb k;Lj v ewnbxi  
 wbtqvM Ges wbtqvMcŃB mi Kvi x KgŃZŃ I wbtqvM cŃ vbKvi x KZŃǁ  
 cť GKB e"³ wbtqvťMi cvwK" vbx legacyi cŃi ȳǁ

ťkL gwRe 1951 mťb cvwK" vbx MvZťšj Lmbv gj bxwZi  
 weťi waZv Kťi b| BwZgťa" 1952 mťb fvl v Avť" vj b Avi ȳnq Ges  
 21tk tdeťvi x weťkĵ BwZnvťm me" cŃg gvZfvl vi Rb" evsj vi gvbĵ  
 cŃY wemRŃ t" q| Bnvi cŃZevť ťkL gwRe Kvi vMťi Abkb Avi ȳ  
 Kťi b|

GBfvtē, cvwK" vbx mi Kvi evOvj xť i gvZfvl v Kwov j Bevi  
 lohťšj mPbv Kťi | GB cwi w" wZťZ evOvj xť i gťb Zvnt" i  
 i vR%bwZK fweĵ Z mȳťÜ cŃke DvVťZ Avi ȳ Kťi | cvwK" vbx wK mZ" B  
 cvwK" vťbi msL" vMwi ō RbťMvŃx evOvj xť i Avť" š cŃZwbwaZĵ Kťi |  
 evOvj xi v wK GLbĵ Bťi Rť i cwi eťZ" cŃŃg cvwK" vbxť i Awab" ť  
 evOvj xi v wK GLb cŃŃg cvwK" vťbi Dcvbťeťk cwi bZ nBj | hw" I  
 evOvj xť i tfvtUi kw³ źZ cvwK" vbx mwó nBqvŃj wKš' GLb wemťqi  
 mwnZ Zvni v Dcj wä Kwi źZ Avi ȳ Kwi j th cvwK" vbx mwóťZ th wmwfj  
 I wgwj Uvi x Avgj vť i Avť" š tKvb fwgKv wQj bv Bťi R kvmKť i  
 cwi eťZ" Zvni vB GLb cvwK" vbx i vR" kvmb Kwi źZťQ| GB mKj cŃke  
 ev½vj xť i gťb mZZ Avťj woZ nBťZ j wMj Ges evOvj xi v  
 AevOvj xť i mwnZ wbtRť i cv\_K" cŃZ cť cť Dcj wä Kwi źZ eva"  
 nBj Ges 19 ermi cťi i gw³ hťxi tmvcvb mwó Avi ȳ nBj | i³ mwZ  
 nBqv ceť½i gvbĵ Dcj wä Kwi j th Zvni v evOvj x, cvwK" vbx bq|

1953 mťbi 5B wWťmȳj Zwĵ ťL gvl j vbv Avāj nwg" Lvb  
 fvmvbx I Rbve G,ťK, dRj j nK GK hť weewZťZ Avl qvgx gmwj g  
 j xM I Kĵ.K kŃgK cvwU" mnťhvťM hť dŃU MvB Kwi evi wmxvš-cŃ vb  
 Kťi b| 1954 mťbi Rvbqvi x gvťm wbeŃPbx BmťZnvi wnmvtē 21 " dv  
 cŃxZ nq| Bnvi cŃg " dvB wQj th evsj v cvwK" vťbi Ab"Zg i vó

fvl v nBtZ nBte| 21 `dv QvÎ mgvR l mvavi Y RbtMvôxi gta`  
 cêj mvov tRvMvBtZ mŋ g nq| 1954 mti 8B gvP°Zwi tL AbŷôZ  
 wbePtb hŷ dU wbi sKk msL`vMwi ôZv j vf Kti Ges th gŋwj g  
 j xMtK evsj vi gvb| 1946 mti wbePtb 97% tfvU cŋ vb Kwi qwQj  
 ZvntK mæúY° cwi Z`vM Kti |

AZtci , G,tK, dRj j nK ceet½ mi Kvi MVb Kti b wKš'`ß  
 gvŋmi gta` tK>`ŋq mi Kvi 30tk tg Zwi tL ceet½ Ri "i x Ae`v  
 tNvl bv Ki Zt gšŋmf v f w½qv t` q Ges tPšaj x Lwj Kß¼vgvŋbi cwi etZ°  
 tgRi tRbvŋj BmKv`vi gxRŋK ceet½i MeYŲ wbhŷ Kti | wZwb  
 XvKvq AvwmqvB tNvl bv w`tj b th cwwK`vŋbi ALÛZv i ŋ vt`°wZwb 10  
 nvRvi evOvj xtK Lp Kwi tZI cŋ ŷ | wZwb Avi l ûgwk t` b th fvmvbx  
 t`tk wdwi tj ZvntK ,wj Ki v nBte| Dtj E`th H mgq fvmvbx wek|  
 kwš-cwi l t`i mŋšj b Dcj tŋ BDti vt c Ae`vb Kwi tZWQtj b|

BwZgta` 8B tg Zwi tL cwwK`vb MYcwi l` mŷ i 20 ermi ci  
 D`° l evsj vtK i vófv l v Kwi evi wmxvš- j Btj ceet½ cŋZevt`i  
 So l tV|

MYcwi l` BwZgta` mKj i vR%bwZK `tj i mwnZ gZ wewbqq  
 Ki Zt Lmbv msweavb cŋqb KvR mæúY° Kti wKš'ci eZx° Awatektb  
 tck Kwi evi Ae`ewnZ cteB tMvj vg tgvnæš` Ri "i x Ae`v Rvi x Kti b  
 Ges MYcwi l` f w½qv t` b| GB cŋt½ Yakub Ali,J. etj b (Asma Jilani)

“ By 1954, the draft of the Constitution based on the Objectives Resolution had been prepared with the assent of the leaders of the various parties in the Constituent Assembly when on the 24<sup>th</sup> October 1954, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad knowing full well that the draft Constitution was ready, by a proclamation, dissolved the Constituent Assembly, and placed armed guards outside the Assembly Hall. This was the second great mishap of Pakistan. ”

bZb gšŋmf vq AvBDe Lvbtk cŋZi ŋ v Ges BmKv`vi gxRŋK  
 mŋ vó gšŷvj tqi `wqZi cŋ vb Ki v nq|

MYCwii l` f w½qv w` evi Avt`k tgšj fx ZwGRwĩ b Lvb w mÜy  
 wPdšKvU®P`vtj Ä Kwi tj 1954 młbi 7B btf xj D³ Avt`k A%ea  
 tNvl bv Kiv nq| wKš' tdWwtij tKvU® Bnvi 1955 młbi 21łk  
 gvłP® i vtq MfY® tRbvłij KZš MYCwii l` f w½qv w` evi Avt`k %ea  
 tNvl bv Kłi | 18 ermi ci Asma Jilani Gi tgvKvĩ gvq cwK` vb mpcłg  
 tKvU® D³ i vqłK āgvZłK etj b |

BwZgła` 1955 młbi tdełvi x gvłm hł³ dU Kv hZ f w½qv  
 hvq|

hvnvnDK, tdWwtij tKvU® wbt`š Abmvti 31tg Zwii łL 2q  
 MYCwii ł` i wbełPb AbjôZ nq| GB wbełPłb tnvtmb knx`  
 tmvni vl qv` x® l Ab`vb`ł` i mwnZ łkL gylRel m` m` wbełPZ ntqb|

23łk Rłb Avl qvgx j xłMi GK mf vq łkL gylRłei Dł` vłM  
 cełłłzi Rb` młqZł kymb `vex Kiv nq|

cełłłzi cY® młqZłkvmłbi `vexłZ łkL gylRe GB mgq e`vcK  
 MYAvł` vj b Avi xł Kłi b| GB Dłł łk` wZwb wbtR łłKb ce®ełłł  
 AłUvbwg PvBł GB włłi vbvłg GKwU cy` Kv cKvk Kłi b Ges cełZx®  
 mvZ ermłi cełłłzi eĀbvi BwZnvm Zylj qv atı b|

Amj`Zvi Rb` tMvj vg tgvnvxš` QylU j BłZ eva` nBłj 1955  
 młbi 16 AMv÷ Zwii łL tgRi tRbvłij BmKv` vi gxR® A` vqx  
 MfY® tRbvłij wnmvte `wqZłfvi Młhb Kłi b| GB młłB łkl nq  
 Avgj v tMvj vg tgvnvxšł` i i vR%bwZK Rxeb|

MYCwii ł` i cłZwU Awatekłb łkL gylRe cełłłzi  
 młqZłkvmłbi `vex AZ`š- J Rmł fvl vq Zylj qv awi łZ Avi xł  
 Kłi b|

1955 młbi 25 łk AMv÷ Zwii łL AbjôZ MYCwii ł` i  
 Awatekłb łkL gylRe cełłłzi `vex l mł\_® i łł vł\_®GKB w` łb 19  
 evi tRvi vj e³ e` i vłLb| wZwb cełłłzi bvg cwi eZł Kwi qv ce®cwK` -  
 vb i wLevi cł vłei cPŪ wełi waZv Kłi b| wZwb łmB 1955 młbB GB

cđ`tki bvg 0evsj v0 A\_ev 0ce0vsj v0 i wLevi `we RvbwBqwQđj b|  
 wZwb cWđg cWk`vđbi Pvi wU cđ`k j Bqv GK BDwbU MVb cđ vđei  
 Zxe' weđi vaxZv Kđi b Ges Ki vPxđK GK BDwbU fđ Kwi qv cWk` -  
 vđbi i vRavbx `vbwšđi i Zxe' mgvđj vPbv Kđi b| wZwb eđj b t

“ Sir, you will see that they want to place the words “East Pakistan” instead of “East Bengal”. We have demanded so many times that you should make it Bengal (Pakistan). The word “Bengal” has a history, has a tradition of its own. You can change it only after the people have been consulted. If you want to change it then we will have to go back to Bengal and ask them whether they accept it. So far as the question of one-Unit is concerned it can come in the Constitution. Why do you want it to take up just now ? What about the State Language, Bengali ? What about joint electorate ? What about autonomy ? The people of east Bengal will be prepared to consider one Unit with all these things. So I appeal to my friends on that side to allow the people to give their verdict in any way, in the form of referendum or in the form of plebiscite. Let the people of Frontier say that they want one Unit. At the moment they say that they are against it. .... All right, if they are in favour let a referendum be held and let the people decide themselves and we will accept it.

As far as Karachi is concerned, there should be no referendum in Karachi because it is the Federal Capital ..... We have no right to take Karachi from the people of Karachi and from the people of East Pakistan. It belongs to us also as it belongs to other parts of Pakistan. We have spent so much money for its development. Why do you want to make another capital and spend hundreds and thousands of rupees and for which you will require at least 50 years.

For these reasons, I appeal to my friends “Zulum mat karo Bahi 00 (Do not be so cruel). If you will force it upon us then we have to adopt unconstitutional means. You must proceed constitutionally. If you do not allow the people to follow constitutional ‘means, ‘they will perforce’ adopt unconstitutional means. That is what has happened all over the world and it can be seen from the history of world. So I appeal to them: if you love

Pakistan; though unfortunately after the achievement of Pakistan, you are at the helm of affairs and those people who fought for its establishment are no more with us.

So, I will appeal to you, although you have got force at your disposal, that for the sake of Pakistan, for the sake of democracy, for the sake of humanity, for the sake of Quaid-e-Azam, go to the people, let the people give their verdict and we will accept it. (Aṭavṭi Lv cŃ Ė)

evsj vṭ` ṭki mṽaxbZv hṽx `wjj cĪ, cŃ\_g LŪ cṛv 431)

21ṭk ṭmṭṔ ṛṭ Zwi ṭL MYcwi l ṭ` GK BDwbU ewZj, 21`dv Ges AvĀwj K mṽqZṭvmb `vex Kwi qv ṭkL gṽRe e³ e` i vṭLb |

cwK` vṭbi Lmbv kvmbZṭšṭi mxwgZ MYZšṭi Ges MfYṔ ṭRbvṭi ṭj i nṭ` - wbi sKk ṽgZv b` - Kwi evi wec` mṛúṭKᵀṭkL gṽRe 22ṭk ṭmṭṔ ṛṭ MYcwi l ṭ` mveavbevYx DᵀPvi Y Kṭi b |

1j v Aṭṣveṭi i Awatekṭb MYZwšṭK kvmbZšṭi cŃqb, mṽqZṭvmb Ges MfYṔ ṭRbvṭi j ṭK mxwgZ ṽgZv cŃ vb Kwi qv wZwb msm` xq mi Kvi cŃZŃvi `vex Rbvṭb |

1955 mṭbi 22ṭk Aṭṣvei Zwi ṭL Avl qvgx j xṭMi KvDwYj Awatekṭb ŃAvl qvgx gṽwj g j xMŃ Gi bvg nBṭZ Ńgṽwj gŃ kĀ ev` w`qv RwZḂagᵀ wbeṽkṭl mKṭj i Rb` Avl qvgx j xṭMi Ńvi Aewi Z Kiv nq | D³ KvDwYj Awatekṭb ceᵀ cwK` vb Avl qvgx j xṭMi mfvwZ cṭ` wbeṽPZ nṭqb gvl j vbv AvĀj nwg` Lvb fvmvb Ges ṭkL gṽRej i ngvb mvavi Y mṛúv` K wbeṽPZ nṭqb |

GB i Kg mgtq 1935 mṭbi fvi Z kvmb AvBb gvi dr cŃwZ c\_K wbeṽPb c×wZi cwi eṭZᵀ ṭkL gṽRe hṽ wbeṽPb c×wZ cŃZṭbi `vex Rbvṭb |

1956 mṭbi 17B Rvbqvi x Zwi ṭL wZwb MYcwi l ṭ` i %ᵀ bᵀ` b KvḥṽP evsj vq gṽ` Z nl qvi `vex Rbvṭb |

gvl j vlv fvmvbx 15B Rvbqv x Zwi tL AbwôZ Rbmfvq 1956 mti cŕ weZ kvmbZš; mûtk® etj b th Lmov kvmbZš; cwk- vti wbhZZ Rbmavi Ytk kšLwj Z Kwi evi GK gnvl ohšj

1956 mti Rvbqv x gvŕm MYcwi l t- kvmbZš; wej msu vŕ- weZtk® Avej gbmj Avntg- ceZx® weMZ 8(AvU) ermti ceŕtzi eÂbvi BwZnm eYbv Kti b| wZwb etj b th weMZ 8(AvU) ermti tK>` xq mi Kvti i evŕRtU 237 tKwU 14 j ¶ UvKv NvUwZ \_vKv mtiZ| H mgŕq cwŕg cwk- vti 790 tKwU 67 j ¶ UvKv Li P Ki v nq wKš' H mgŕq ce® cwk- vti Li P nq gvŕ 42 tKwU 66 j ¶ UvKv hw` l H ermi ,wj tZ ce® cwk- vti tK>` xq i vRŕm| 168 tKwU 14 j ¶ UvKv cŕ vb Kwi qvwQj A\_ŕr H mgŕq ce® cwk- vti nBtZ 125 tKwU 50 j ¶ UvKv tKt>` ' A\_ŕr cKZ cŕ¶ cwŕg cwk- vti webv cŕZ` vti cvPvi nq| wZwb etj b (evsj vŕ tki mŕaxbZv hŕx `wj j cŕ t 1g LŪ, cŕ 459) t

“ .....the expenditure of the Central Government of Pakistan is not the income of the people of East Pakistan. It is one-way traffic. It comes from East Pakistan but does not go back to East Pakistan but is absorbed in West Pakistan. Therefore, gradually East Pakistan is going to be impoverished very rapidly.”

Avej gbmj Avntg- wnmve Kwl qv t- Lvb th ceZx® 8 ermti evsj vi gvb| RbcŕZ evrmwi K 1 UvKv 2 Avbv tK>` xq mi Kv nBtZ t\_tK cŕB nBqvQj A\_P cwŕg cwk- vti gvb| H mgŕq cvBqvQj Rb cŕZ 32 UvKv| Rbve Avntg- cKŕDŕ vcb Kti b (cŕ 460) t

“ Sir, you have heard so much of Bengal which was known in history as “ Golden Bengal” and which was said to be full of honey and milk. Where has it gone after the achievement of Pakistan ?”

Rbve Avntg- Avi l etj b th tK>` xq mi Kvti i th Avq Zvni cŕq mûYŕvB cwŕg cwk- vti Li P nq| ZvnvQvov, ce® cwk- vti

i Bvbx Avtqi I meUvB cWÖg cWk<sup>-</sup> vtb wkí ewbR<sup>-</sup> BZ<sup>-</sup>W<sup>-</sup> LvtZ e<sup>-</sup>q  
nq|

tkL gWRe Zvni e<sup>3</sup> te<sup>-</sup> etj b (21tk Rvbqvi x 1956) th  
evsj vi gvb| tmvni vl qv<sup>-</sup> x<sup>©</sup> dRj j nK ev gvl j vbv fvmvbx<sup>+</sup>K tfvU t<sup>-</sup> q  
bvB, Zvni v tfvU w<sup>-</sup> qvtQ 21<sup>-</sup> dvtK, 21<sup>-</sup> dvtK tfvU w<sup>-</sup> qvtQ ewj qvB  
Zvni v MYcwi I t<sup>-</sup> wbe<sup>®</sup>PZ nBqv<sup>+</sup>Qb| AZGe, 21<sup>-</sup> dvi wfw<sup>+</sup>E<sup>+</sup>tZB  
msweavb c<sup>+</sup>Yq<sup>+</sup>bi<sup>-</sup> v<sup>-</sup>ex wZwb Rvbvb| wZwb etj b th, tK<sup>+</sup> xq mi Kv<sup>+</sup>i  
i agv<sup>+</sup> c<sup>+</sup>zi<sup>+</sup> v, ci i vó<sup>+</sup> gš<sup>+</sup>Yvj q Ges g<sup>+</sup> v e<sup>-</sup>e<sup>-</sup> v i wL<sup>+</sup>tj B tK<sup>+</sup> xq  
mi Kv<sup>+</sup>i m<sup>-</sup>p nB<sup>+</sup>te| wZwb etj b th cWk<sup>-</sup> vtb AR<sup>+</sup>bi msM<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>g  
hvnv<sup>+</sup> i we<sup>+</sup> v<sup>+</sup>g<sup>+</sup> Ask Mhb wQj bv Zvni vB GLb cWk<sup>-</sup> vtb kvmb  
Kwi tZ<sup>+</sup>tQ| wZwb etj b ( vj j c<sup>+</sup> t 1g LÛ, c<sup>+</sup> 462Ð63)t

“Sir, I am only pointing it out to you. Sir, it is like this : there are two hands to the body of Pakistan. One is West Pakistan and the other is East Pakistan. They are making one hand strong and the other hand weak. Sir, this policy is wrong and will ruin the country. In the Central Government Services, those who form 56 per cent population are not getting 5 per cent share. The East Bengal people are educated, but they are not getting thier share. Sir, we do not blame the West Pakistan people. In fact we want autonomy for them also. If East Pakistan gets autonomy, the West Pakistan people will also get autonomy. We blame the ruling janta. These jagirdars zaminders, these big landlords and ruling janta of West Pakistan has suppressed the peoples’ opinion of West Pakistan. They are so much suppressed, they cannot cry, they cannot demand, but the people of East Paksitan are politically conscious. They challenge anybody and everybody. They challenge Mr. Fazlul Haq, Mr. Suhrawardy, Moulana Bhashani; they challenge their leaders. They tell their leaders “ You have done this wrong and we will not vote for you”, but they have been suppressed, persecuted and they have been economically ruined. They have no land; no shelter. But, Sir, we have nothing against the people of West Pakistan, but against the ruling janta, who have entered the Constituent Assembly through the backdoor, one who were not even in the District Board and have become Foreign Minister of Pakistan and such people want to speak



on behalf of the people of East Pakistan and say that the people of East Bengal support this draft Constitution. Sir, I have just come from East Pakistan and know the mind of the people there. I know that they have rejected this un-Islamic, undemocratic and dictatorial Constitution, and it cannot be accepted by the people of Pakistan, particularly the people of East Pakistan. These people are thinking that they will sit in Karachi like Mr. Pathan-he will never go back to East Pakistan; he is domiciled here. So these people are also thinking that they will earn some money and make a house here. They cannot go back because they are going against the demand of full regional autonomy which is the demand of the people. You can kill us, you can jail us. Sometimes we hear that our lives are in danger, but we are not afraid. We have been elected by the people on the basis of 21-Point Programme, on the basis of regional autonomy. They can betray but we cannot.”

AvZvDi i ngvb Lvb Zvnyi e<sup>3</sup> te” Avej gbmj Avn†g` †K D×Z  
Kwi qv e†j b (21†k Rvbt, 1956) ( `wjj cÎ t cĠg LŪ, c† 464)t

“ Sir, he said we are two geographical and economic units; we are two people; we have got two cultures; we have got two ideas; we have got two languages. All this had astounded these people. It has shocked them. I wonder if the injustice of the last eight years has shocked their conscience or not. Sir, they do not possess any conscience.” (A†av†i Lv cĠ Ē)

1952 m†bi fvl v knx` †` i m†i †Y I m‡\$v†b †kL gyRe  
MYcwi I †` i Awa†ekb gj Zex cĠ ve Awlbqv e†j b t

“ I beg to move that the House be adjourned today, the 21st February, in the memory of the martyrs who laid down their lives to the cause of getting Bengali as State Language.”

ZvnyQvov, wZwb Ki vPx I XvKvq cwwK` v†bi `BwU i vR†avbx  
`vc†bi `vex DĠ vcb K†i b|

1956 młbi 29tk tdeqvi x MYcwi l t` Lmov kvmbZš<sub>i</sub> wej  
 cvm nq| kvmbZš<sub>i</sub>evsj v l D`K i vódfvl vi gh<sup>o</sup> v t` l qv nq Ges  
 AšZ ZwĖKfvte nBtj l cĕ`k mgtni m<sub>v</sub>qZkvmbi m<sub>x</sub>Kvi Kiv nq  
 wKš' ceĕ<sub>1/2</sub>i bvg ce<sup>o</sup>cwK<sup>-</sup> vb Ki Y, mKj t<sub>q</sub> t<sub>l</sub> msL<sup>o</sup>vmvg" (parity)  
 m<sub>x</sub>Kvi bv Kiv, h<sup>o</sup> wbe<sup>o</sup>Pb c<sub>x</sub>wZ m<sub>u</sub>ú<sub>t</sub>K<sup>o</sup> tKvb w<sub>m</sub>xvš- bv j l qv  
 BZ<sup>o</sup>w<sup>o</sup> cĕk<sub>e</sub>knx` tmvni vl qv` x<sup>o</sup> l tkL g<sub>v</sub>Rtei tbZ<sub>t</sub>Z<sub>i</sub> Avl qvgx j xM  
 m`m<sup>o</sup>MY Lmbv kvmbZš<sub>i</sub> M<sub>n</sub>xZ nl qvi c<sub>o</sub>Zevt` MYcwi l` K<sub>q</sub> Z<sup>o</sup>VM  
 Kti b|

B<sup>-</sup> w<sup>o</sup> vi gxR<sup>o</sup>tK t<sub>c</sub>m<sub>t</sub>W<sub>o</sub>U wbe<sup>o</sup>Pb Kiv nBte GB Avk<sub>v</sub>t<sub>m</sub> wZwb  
 kvmbZš<sub>i</sub> m<sub>v</sub>q<sub>i</sub> Kti b| 1956 młbi 9B gvP<sup>o</sup> B<sup>-</sup> w<sup>o</sup> vi gxR<sup>o</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sub>t</sub>bi c<sub>l</sub>g i vócwZ wnmvte kc<sub>-</sub> Mhb Kti b| GBevi GKRB  
 wgwj Uvi x Avgj v i vó<sup>o</sup> c<sub>o</sub>avtbi `wqZ<sub>f</sub>vi Mhb Kti b| 23tk gvP<sup>o</sup>nBtZ  
 GB kvmbZš<sub>i</sub> Kv<sub>h</sub>Ki Kiv nq|

cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sub>t</sub>bi kvmbZš<sub>i</sub> c<sub>P</sub>j b nBtj l kvmK<sub>t</sub>`i `wófw<sub>2</sub> ev gb<sub>o</sub>  
 gvbwmKZvi cwi eZ<sub>o</sub> nq bvB| AZGe, gxR<sup>o</sup>i tbZ<sub>t</sub>Z mvgwi K l  
 temvgwi K Avgj vi mgwf e<sup>o</sup>vnv<sub>t</sub>i c<sub>o</sub>mv` l ohš<sub>i</sub> Pwj tZB <sub>v</sub>tK| Zvni v  
 KLB<sub>B</sub> msm`xq MYZš<sub>i</sub> Mhb Kwi tZ cv<sub>t</sub>i b bvB, i vócwZi kvmłbi  
 Av<sup>o</sup>Qv` t<sub>b</sub> GKbvqKZ<sub>B</sub> Zvnt<sub>t</sub>`i tekx cQ<sup>o</sup> wQj | wesk kZvāxi  
 ga<sup>o</sup>f<sub>v</sub>t<sub>M</sub> wek<sub>e</sub><sup>o</sup>vcx MYZš<sub>q</sub>t<sub>Y</sub>i tLvj v nvl qv<sub>t</sub>Z l Zvni v ga<sup>o</sup>h<sub>t</sub>Mi  
 gb<sub>o</sub>gvbwmKZvq Av<sup>o</sup>Qb<sub>e</sub>wQ<sub>t</sub>j b|

GBi "c i vR<sub>o</sub>bwZK cwi w<sup>o</sup> wZi g<sub>t</sub>a" 1956 młbi 12 B tm<sub>t</sub>P<sub>o</sub> q<sub>i</sub>  
 tnv<sub>t</sub>mb knx` tmvni vl qv` x<sup>o</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sub>t</sub>bi c<sub>Ā</sub>g c<sub>o</sub>avbgš<sub>x</sub> wbh<sup>o</sup> n<sub>t</sub>qb|  
 tmB mgq ce<sup>o</sup> l c<sub>w</sub>ōg cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sub>t</sub>bi g<sub>t</sub>a" A<sub>o</sub>b<sub>w</sub>ZK l PvKi x t<sub>q</sub> t<sub>l</sub> mn  
 me<sub>q</sub> t<sub>l</sub> ceZ<sub>o</sub>dc<sub>o</sub>gvb %el g<sup>o</sup> we<sup>o</sup> gvb wQj | tmvni vl qv` x<sup>o</sup> D<sup>3</sup> %el g<sup>o</sup>  
 ` t Kwi evi Rb<sup>o</sup> c<sup>o</sup> t<sub>q</sub> c j BtZ Avi x<sub>o</sub> Kti b wKš' c<sub>o</sub>ZwU t<sub>q</sub> t<sub>l</sub> B  
 AevOvj x Avgj vi v evav m<sub>w</sub>ó Kwi Z |

29tk tm<sub>t</sub>P<sub>o</sub> q<sub>i</sub> Zwi t<sub>L</sub> ce<sup>o</sup>cwK<sup>-</sup> vb AvBb mf<sub>v</sub>q c<sub>-</sub>K wbe<sup>o</sup>Pb  
 c<sub>x</sub>wZi cwi e<sub>t</sub>Z<sup>o</sup> h<sup>o</sup> wbe<sup>o</sup>Pb c<sub>x</sub>wZ wej cvk nq|

cwK<sup>-</sup> vb cĭZôvi ci 1956 mĭbi 14B Aĭ±vei meĉĭg  
XvKvq RvZxq msmĭ<sup>ˆ</sup> i Awaĭekb eĭm| H Awaĭekĭb hĭ<sup>ˆ</sup> wbeĭPb wej  
cvm nq|

ĭmB mgq ce<sup>°</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vĭbi cĭavb <sup>ˆ</sup>vex wQj mĭqZĭkymb|  
ZvniQvov, mĭaxb ci i vóbxwZi mĭcĭĭ RbgZ <sup>ˆ</sup>vbi ewaĭZwQj | 1957  
mĭbi tdeĭvi x gvĭm Avl qvgx j xĭMi KvMgvi x mĭ<sup>ˆ</sup>ĭj ĭb gvl j vbi fvmvbx  
eĭj b th mĭqZĭkymb cĭ vb Ki v bi nBĭj AvMvgx <sup>ˆ</sup>k ermĭi i gĭa<sup>ˆ</sup> ce<sup>°</sup>  
cwK<sup>-</sup> vb cwĊg cwK<sup>-</sup> vĭĭK Avmĭvj vgy Avj vBKg ewj evi Zvm<sup>ˆ</sup> Abf<sup>ˆ</sup>e  
Kwi ĭZ cvĭi | mĭ<sup>ˆ</sup>ĭj ĭb cĭ<sup>ˆ</sup> ve MnxZ nq th whwb Avl qvgx j xĭMi  
m<sup>ˆ</sup>úv<sup>ˆ</sup> K nBĭeb wZwb gš<sup>ˆ</sup> wKĭZ cwi ĭeb bi | AZtci, Avl qvgx  
j xĭMi Z<sup>ˆ</sup> wbs<sup>ˆ</sup>b mvavi Y m<sup>ˆ</sup>úv<sup>ˆ</sup> K tkLgyRe gš<sup>ˆ</sup>i c<sup>ˆ</sup> nBĭZ c<sup>ˆ</sup> Z<sup>ˆ</sup>vm  
Kĭi b|

GB i Kg mgĭq cwK<sup>-</sup> vĭbi ĭKĭ<sup>ˆ</sup>ĭ Dfq cĭ<sup>ˆ</sup> ĭki i vR<sup>ˆ</sup>bwZK  
fvOvMovi ĭLj v Pwĭ ĭZwQj Ges Bnvi cĭavb ĭLĭj vqvo wQĭj b gxR<sup>ˆ</sup>  
wbĭR| wZwb Zvni fweĭ<sup>ˆ</sup> Z ĭohšgj K Kvĭh<sup>ˆ</sup> wf<sup>ˆ</sup>Ė wnmvĭe wef<sup>ˆ</sup>b<sup>ˆ</sup>vĭe  
i vRbxwZex<sup>ˆ</sup> MĭYi mĭvg nvbi cĭPóvq i Z wQĭj b| GBi fc Ae<sup>-</sup> vq  
ceĉcwK<sup>-</sup> vbevmxi v Avkv Kwi qvwQj th 1957 mĭbi gvP<sup>°</sup>gvĭmi gĭa<sup>ˆ</sup>  
mvavi Y wbeĭPb AbĭôZ nBĭj i vRbxwZĭZ GKwU w<sup>-</sup> wZ Ae<sup>-</sup> v Avwmĭe|  
wbeĭPb Kwgkb cĭĭg ĭNvl Yv Kwi j th 1958 mĭbi gvP<sup>°</sup>gvĭm wbeĭPb  
AbĭôZ nBĭe| wKš<sup>ˆ</sup> ci eZx<sup>ˆ</sup>Z cĭi vq Zvni v Zwi L cwi eZ<sup>ˆ</sup> Kĭi |  
hvnv nDK, Dfq cĭ<sup>ˆ</sup> ĭki <sup>ˆ</sup>vexi gĭL 1959 mĭbi 15 B tdeĭvi x  
wbeĭPĭbi w<sup>ˆ</sup> b w<sup>ˆ</sup>Ė Kiv nq| BwZgĭa<sup>ˆ</sup> 15wU DcwbeĭPĭbi gĭa<sup>ˆ</sup>  
Avl qvgx j xM GĭKi ci GK 14wU DcĭwbeĭPĭb Rqj v<sup>ˆ</sup> Kĭi |

1958 mĭbi Aĭ±vei gvĭmi cĭĭg mĭvn | cwK<sup>-</sup> vĭbi gvbĭ gvĭ  
4(Pvi) gym cĭi AbĭôZe<sup>ˆ</sup> wbeĭPĭbi Rb<sup>ˆ</sup> Aaxi AvMĭn Aĭc<sup>ˆ</sup>ĭ gvb|  
i vRbxwZKMY wef<sup>ˆ</sup>b<sup>ˆ</sup> Gj vKvq RbmsĭhvĭM e<sup>ˆ</sup> - | GB mgq 7B  
Aĭ±vei i vZ 10ĭ30 wgwĭĭU i vócwZ gxR<sup>ˆ</sup> ti wWĭ ĭZ cĭ Ė fvl ĭb mgM<sup>ˆ</sup>  
cwK<sup>-</sup> vĭb mvgwi K AvBb Rvi x Kĭi b Ges msweavb ewwZj Kĭi b|

ZvovQvov, tK>`xq I c0t`wkK mi Kvi I AvBbmfv fwoqv t`I qv nq  
Ges mKj i vR%bwZK `j wbl x tNvl bv Ki v nq|

GB NUbvtK cwK`vtbi Pi g `thM ewj qv AwfwnZ Ki v hvq|  
GKB mgtq m\axbZv c0B cvk0Zx© t`k fvi tZ hLb `BwU mvavi Y  
wbePvtbi gva`tg MYZš; cU yUZ nBtZ Avi x Kwi qvtQ tmLvtb  
cwK`vtb tKvb mvavi Y wbePbB AbwôZ nq bvB ei s MYZtšj  
AcgZj NUvb nq| weMZ 9 ermti i vó' wnmvte Bnvi hvnv wKQy ARB  
wQj GK tNvl bvq Zvov mewKQy awj m`vr nq|

GB c0t½ Asma Jilani tgvKv gvq Yaqub Ali, J., etj b t

“ A National Assembly was yet to be elected under the 1956-  
Constitution when Mr. Iskander Mirza who had become the first  
President by a Proclamation issued on the 7<sup>th</sup> October 1958,  
abrogated the Constitution; dissolved the National and Provincial  
Assemblies and imposed Martial Law throughout the country;  
General Muhammad Ayub Khan Commander-in-Chief of the  
Pakistan Army, was appointed as the Chief Administrator of Martial  
Law. This was the third great mishap which hit Pakistan like a bolt  
from the blue......

On the 13<sup>th</sup> October 1958, Criminal Appeals State v. Dosso  
and three other connected matters came up for hearing before the  
Court.....

Delivering the majority judgment of the Court Munir, C.J.  
held that as Art. 5 of the late Constitution itself had now disappeared  
from the new Legal Order, the Frontier Crimes Regulation (III of  
1901) was by reason of Article IV of the Laws (Continuance in  
Force) Order, 1958, still in force and all proceedings in cases in  
which the validity of that Regulation had been called in question  
having abated the convictions of the respondents recorded by the  
Council-of-Elders was good.....

The judgment in State v. Dosso set the seal of legitimacy on  
the government of Iskander Mirza though he himself was deposed  
from office by Muhammad Ayub Khan, a day after the judgment  
was delivered on the 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1958, and he assumed to himself  
the office of the President. The judgments, in the cases Maulvi

Tamizuddin Khan; Governor-General Reference 1 of 1955 and The State v. Dosso had profound effect on the consitutional developments in Pakistan. As a commentator has remarked, a perfectly good country was made into a laughing stock. A country which came into being with a written Constitution providing for a parliamentary form of Government with distribution of State power between the Executive, Legislature, and the Judiciary was soon converted into an autocracy and eventually degenerated into military dictatorship. From now onwards people who were the recepients of delegated sovereignty from the Almighty, ceased to have any share in the exercise of the State powers. An all omnipotent sovereign now ruled over the people in similar manner as the alien commander of the army who has conquered a country and his “will” alone regulates the conduct and behaviour of the subjugated populace. Martial Law remained in force till the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1962, when in pursuance to a Mandate he had obtained by some kind of referendum Muhammad Ayub Khan gave a Constitution to the country. Under it he himself became the first President; revoked the Proclamation of 7<sup>th</sup> October 1958 and lifted Martial Law  
 .....(Page-220)

.....Mr. Iskander Mirza, and Mr. Ayub Khan had joined hands on the night between 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> October 1958, to overthrow the national legal order unmindful of the fact that by abrogating the 1956-Constitution they were not only committing acts of treason, but were also destroying for ever the agreement reached after 0laborious efforts between the citizens of East Pakistan and citizens of West Pakistan to live together as one Nation. The cessation of East Pakistan thirteen years later is, in my view, directly attributable to this tragic incident.....00

mvgwi K AvBb Rvi x nl qvq mgM<sup>a</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> v†b we†kl Kwi qv ce<sup>©</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> v†b f qven ` gb†wb<sup>-</sup> úxob bwggqv Av†m| gvl j vbv fvmvbx, †kL  
 g¶Re mn kZ kZ †bZv Kg<sup>®</sup> Kvi vi “x nq| Zvrv†` i Dci Pvj vb nq  
 AK\_” wbh<sup>®</sup>Z b|

BwZgta" 27tk A±vei Zwi tL gxRtK Acuvi Y Kwi qv AvBqe  
Lvb wbtRtK i vócwZ tNvl bv Kti b| Zrci wbtRB wdì gvkj c` Mhb  
Kti b|

AZtci, 1960 mti 14B tdeqvi x Zwi tL 0nv0 I 0bv0 mPK  
GK A<sup>TM</sup>Z Z\_vKw\_Z 0Av`v tfvU0 Abjvb Ki Zt BnvZ msL`vMwi 0  
tfvU j vf Kwi qv wbtRtK 0%ea i vócwZ0 ewj qv AvBDe D<sup>TM</sup>U GK `vex  
Kti b| BnvB wQj cvwK`vftbi Aštmyi kb" MYZtšj Pwi wî K %ewkó |  
1j v gvP© 1962 Zwi tL AvBqe Lvb bZp GK kvmbZšj cŸqb  
Kti b| `B cŸt`tki 80 nvRvi tgšwj K MYZšjt`i tfvtU i vócwZi  
wbePb nBte| GB wbePt b Rbmtyi tKvb mæú<sup>3</sup> Zv bvB| i vócwZ  
wbtRB meq Ges wZwbB meŸ gZvi gvwj K|

1962 mti tmtP qj gvtm wkŸv Kwgkb KZK `wLj KZ  
wkŸvbxwZ ewZtj i `vextZ mgM<sup>a</sup> ce©cvwK`vftbi Qvî mgvR Avt`vj b  
Avi æt Kti | 17B tmtP qj Zwi tL AvBqe Lvb KvRb ntj fvl Y  
cŸvb Kwi tZ tMtj Qvî i v GKthvtM wewf beftmMvb w`tZ \_vtK| AvBqe  
Lvb tKvb fvl Y cŸvb bv Kwi qvB cŸvb Kwi tZ eva" ntqb|

tkL gyRe 1963 mti Kvi vgj<sup>3</sup> nBqvB AvBqe Lvbi 1962  
mti msweavb weŸi waZv Ki vmn cŸZwU MYAvt`j t b mwµ q Ask Mhb  
Kwi tZ \_vtKb| 1964 mti Avl qvgx j xM cpi "¾xexZ nq Ges tkL  
gyRe Bvni tRvti j tmtµ Uvi x wbePZ ntqb|

1964 mti Rvbqvi x gvtm XvKvmn cŸt`tki wewf be`vtb `v½v  
Avi ætnBtj tkL gyRtei Dt`vftM MwVZ 0`v½v cŸZti va KwgwU0  
00ce©cvwK`vb i "wLqv `vovl 00 wkti vbtg GKwU gg© úkx©Bt`nvi cPvi  
Kti | GB Bt`nvi cPvti i Rb"l ZvntK tMdzvi nBtZ nq|

gvP©gvtm mggbv KtqKwU weŸi vax`j cŸBeq`t`i tfvUwaKvi  
i Ÿvi `vex Av`vtqi Rb" GKwU me©j xq msMvg KwgwU Mvb Kti Ges  
18 I 19 tk gvP© Zwi tL AbjôZ GK Rbmfvq gvl j vbv fvmvbx I  
tkL gyRe AvBqe mi Kvi I tgšwj K MYZtšj KtVvi mgvtj vPbv

Kwi qv e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>ˊ</sup> i v†Lb | ce<sup>©</sup>cwK<sup>-</sup> v†bi c<sup>ā</sup>v b t bZvMY Zvnt<sup>ˊ</sup> i Avte<sup>ˊ</sup> t b  
 etj b (ˊ wj j cĭ t 2q LŪ, cōv 216Ð217)t

ŌŌt<sup>ˊ</sup> kevmx f vBÐ†ev†bi v,

mȳ xN<sup>©</sup> ȳkZ eQi eUk mvg†R<sup>ˊ</sup> ev†<sup>ˊ</sup> i wei †x gi YcY  
 j ovB Kwi qv Avgi v th mȳaxbZv Z<sub>v</sub> AvZ ȳbqšȳw aKvi j v†  
 Kwi qvQj vg, AvR Qq eQi tmB AwaKvi nB†Z Avgi v  
 ewĀZ | Avevi tmB AwaKvi ȳQbvBqv j Bqv†Q GgbB GK  
 kvmK †kŶx hvi v † kevmt†K †fvUwaKvi j v†fi †hvM<sup>ˊ</sup>  
 ewj qv g†b K†i bv; ei s ŌŌMi ††f ovi ŌŌ mgZj<sup>ˊ</sup> ewj qv g†b  
 K†i | AvR we†kȳ ȳ†K ȳ†K hLb bvMwi K AwaKvi I e<sup>ˊ</sup>w<sup>3</sup>  
 mȳaxbZv cĭZōvi msMȳg µgk t mvdj<sup>ˊ</sup> j v† Kwi †Z†Q  
 ȳVK tmB mgq Avgv†<sup>ˊ</sup> i kvmKeM<sup>©</sup>† kevmt†K †fvUwaKvi  
 j v†fi A†hvM<sup>ˊ</sup> †Nvl Yv Kwi qv Pi g %mȳ vPvi x cšvq † k  
 kvm†bi e<sup>ˊ</sup>e<sup>-</sup> v Kwi qv†Qb |

RvZxq Rxe†bi GK msKURbK mwŬŲ†Y AvR  
 Avgi v Ae<sup>-</sup> vb Kwi †Z ȳQ | GKevi Avcbvi cwi ev†i i,  
 Avcbvi mgv†Ri, Avcbvi ††ki K<sub>v</sub> f ȳweqv † Lb |  
 mgv†Ri me†kŶx I me<sup>©</sup> †i AvR GK Pi g nZvk v Ges  
 i vR%bwZK I A<sub>ȳ</sub>bwZK ˊ†hŲM wei vRgvb | ȳbZ<sup>ˊ</sup> c†qvRbxq  
 ˊ†e<sup>ˊ</sup>w<sup>ˊ</sup> i AvKvkPȳx gj<sup>ˊ</sup> ewx†Z mgvR aȳstmi c†<sub>ȳ</sub> | bMi  
 i é nB†Z Avi ȳ† Kwi qv nvRv†i v i Kg U<sup>ˊ</sup>v I ewaZ  
 LvRbvi Pv†c † kevmti A<sub>ȳ</sub>bwZK tgi ˊˊ Ŭ AvR f ȳwOqv  
 c ȳoevi Dcµg nBqv†Q | Dbȳbgj K Kv†Ri bv†g †KwU  
 †KwU UvKvi Nj QovBqv ††k GK bvUKxq cwi ††ki  
 mȳó Ki v nBqv†Q | A ȳWb<sup>ˊ</sup>vȳ Gi hvZvK†j evKÐmȳaxbZv I  
 msev<sup>ˊ</sup> c†ĭ i mȳaxbZv cĭq j ȳ | MYZ†šj bv†g  
 GKbvqKZj AvR ††ki e†K PvcvBqv † I qv nBqv†Q |

f vBme, cwK<sup>-</sup> vb A ȳRZ nq RbM†Yi †fv†U | Avi  
AvR tmB cwK<sup>-</sup> v†bi RbMY†K †fvUwaKvi nB†Z ȳPi Z†i  
ewĀZ Ki vi GK RNb<sup>ˊ</sup> I ohšȳPwj qv†Q | Dnvi bRxi †Kvb  
mȳaxb I mf<sup>ˊ</sup> ††k bvBÐ Ggb ȳK ewUk Avg†j I ȳQj bv |  
AvBqȳ mi Kvi mȳs th K ȳgkb ȳb†qvM Kwi qvQ†j b, tmB  
K ȳgkbl mveRbx b †fv†U cZ<sup>ˊ</sup>Ų ȳbe†P†bi mȳcwi k  
Kwi qvQj | ȳKš<sup>ˊ</sup> mKj mȳcwi k MY<sup>ˊ</sup> vex D†cŲ v Kwi qv  
%mȳ vPvi x mi Kvi † kevmti cZ<sup>ˊ</sup>Ų †fvUwaKv†i i gva†g  
ȳbe†Pb Abȳv†bi e<sup>ˊ</sup>e<sup>-</sup> v†K ȳPi Z†i bm<sup>ˊ</sup>vr Kwi evi Rb<sup>ˊ</sup>

RvZxq cwi l t` i eZgub Awatektb AvBb cvtmi Pµvš-  
Kwi tZtQb|

th t` kevmx i vó<sup>a</sup> cwi Pvj bvi i m` thvMvBtZtQ,  
LvRbvDU`v thvMvBtZtQ, i vó<sup>a</sup> cwi Pvj bvi e`vcvti Zvt` i  
tKvb AwaKvi \_wKte bv, gZvgZ cKvtki AwaKvi \_wKte  
bv, Zvt` i t` l qv UvKv wKfvte Li P nq ZvntZI Zvnt` i  
gZvgtZi tKvb mthvM bvBtKvb mpxb t` tk G e`e`v  
Pvj tZ cvti bv| A\_P, eZgub mi Kvi D<sup>3</sup> AMYZwšK  
e`e`v t` tk Pvj j Kwi tZ PwntZtQb Ges ¶gZwenxb  
RvZxq cwi l` l cŕt` wkK cwi l` ,wj tK GK Zvgvmvq  
cwi YZ Kwi qv AwWb`vY ĐGi Øvi v t` k kvmb Kwi qv  
Pvj qvtQb|

mj xN<sup>o</sup>Qq eQt i i %mj vPvi x kvmtbi wbw` úó Avgvt` i  
gvtm AvR GB GKwU mZ`B mj` úó nBqv DvVqvQ th,  
nq` vmZi ei Y, bq mj p MY HK` I MY Avt` vj b Øvi v  
%mj vPvti i cŕZti vaĐGB`B e`e`v Qvov Avgvt` i Rb`  
ZZxq tKvb c\_ tLv v bvB|

Avgi v Rwb, MYHK` I` j¶ MYAvt` vj bB  
Avgvt` i c\_| Avgvt` i nZvk nl qvi wKQybvB| t` kevmxi  
MYZwšK AwaKvi cŕZôvq i<sup>3</sup> `vtbi AvZ` vtbi mgnvb  
HwZn` Avgvt` i iwnqvQ| ZvB Avgi v Rwb, %mj vPvi x  
kvmKetM<sup>p</sup> cŕZµ qvkxj l ohšj i`wLevi ¶gZv Avgvt` i  
AvtQ| mZi vs eZgub %mj vPvi x e`e`vi i vûg<sup>p</sup> nBtZ  
nBtj QvÎ, gRj, Kl.K, e`emvqx, ga`weĚ, PvKwi Rxex,  
AvBbRxex Z\_v mKj tkŔxi, mKj tckvi, mKj` j l  
gtZi gvtl i wbKU Avgi v Avte` b RvbvBtZwQ, mveRbxb  
l cŕ`¶ tfvUwaKvi Av`vtqi` vextZ wbqgZwšK` j¶  
MYĐAvt` vj b Mwoqv Zj p l AvMvgx 18B gvP<sup>o</sup> eævi  
mvi v cŕ` ke`vcx i v`vi tgvto tgvto mf v Abp vb l LŪ  
wgwQj ewni Ki`b Ges 19tk gvP<sup>o</sup>en` úwZevi cŕ` ke`vcx  
ni Zvj, Rbmfv l tkvf v hvÎ v Ki`b|

Avgvt` i AvR Ø`\_hxb fvl vq tNvl bv Kwi tZ nBte,  
mvefšg ¶gZv t` tki RbMtYi Dci b`- , tKvb e`w<sup>3</sup>  
ev tMwô wetktl i nvZ bq| wbf xKwPtĚ ewj tZ nBte,  
RbMtYi cŕ`¶ tfvtU wbeWPZ bq Ggb tKvb mi Kvi  
t` kevmx Mhb Kwi te bv| hZw` b Avgvt` i GB mveRbxb



tfvUwaKvi I cZ`¶ wbeP†bi MY`vex Av`vq bv nBte  
ZZw`b msMvg Pwj †Z \_wKte| 00

1964 m†bi Rp gv†m Avl qvqx j xM 11 `dv Kg†Px Dl vcb  
K†i | Bnvi K†qKwU `dv nBj eq`†`i tfvUwaKvi, ce<sup>®</sup>  
cwK`†bi m¶qZ†kymb Ges mvgwi K ewnbxmn †K>`xq mi Kv†i i  
Aaxb`n mKj gšYvj q I wefvMmg†ni D"Pc†` tgav Abm†i  
evOvj x†`i wb†qvM|

1964 m†bi 12B Rj vB Zwi †L mgM<sup>®</sup> ce<sup>®</sup> cwK`†b AvBDe  
mi Kv†i i wbhZ†bi wei "†x 0Rj g c0Z†i va w`em0 cwj Z nq|  
Hw`b cëb gq`†b tkL gwRe GKwU Amvavi Y e<sup>3</sup> Zv c†vb K†i b|  
Zvnyi e<sup>3</sup> Zvi c0i ††etj b t

00tmvbi evsj vi fvB†qi v Avgvi ! m¶axbZvi 17 eQi  
c†i Avevi RbM†Yi m¶axbZvi Rb` msM†g bvg†Z nteð  
17 eQi c†i Avevi †fv†Ui AwaKv†i i Rb` msM†g Ki †Z  
nteð 17 eQi c†i Avevi i vRe>`x†`i gw<sup>3</sup> i Rb` Av†>`vj b  
Ki †Z nteð GK\_v †Kvb w`b fvewb| wbR †`†k wb†R†`i  
mi Kv†i i wei "†xI weUk Avg†j i gZ RbM†Yi m¶axbZvi  
Rb` msM†g Ki †Z nte fvetj gb Avgvi wkD†i I †V| 00

wZwb Zvnyi e<sup>3</sup> Zv tkl K†i b GB fvte t

00fvBme, Kvj Avgvi †`k†`0wnZvi gvgj vi w`b|  
Avmvgxi KvV Movq wM†q `vovevi ce<sup>®</sup>g†Z<sup>®</sup>cë†bi GB  
Rbmgt`0 gv†S th Avkvð f i mv Avi `j gbxq c0Yvte†Mi  
ewnt cKvk †`†L tMj vg, ZvB Avgv†`i AvMvgx w`†bi  
GKgv† m†j, GKgv† cv†\_q| GB cv†\_q hv†`i Av†Q  
†Kvb kw<sup>3</sup> B Zv†`i MwZ†i va Ki †Z cvi te bv| RbM†Yi  
c0Yewýi mg†L bgi "ð tdi vDb hLb †U†K bvB, ZLb  
j ¶†KwU wbi bæ ef¶j tµvavb†j i mg†L G†`†ki  
¶ gZvmxbi vl wUKte bv| 00

17B tm†P †j wewf bæ Qv† msMVb 0Qv† w`em0 cvj b K†i |  
Qv† msMVb\_wj i Dci mi Kv†i i AZ`vPvi bvwgqv Avwm†j mw†šwj Z

weŋi vax `j 19 tk tmtP ɤj mgM<sup>a</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vtb ōRj g cŋZti va w`emō  
cvj b Kti |

1965 mti Gwcj gvtm Avl qvgx j xM cŋ | 1940 mti j vtŋvi  
cŋ vteŋi wf wĒtZ t`tk MYZšyqti `vex Rvbvb nq|

5B Rb Zwi tL b`vkbvj Avl qvgx cwU<sup>ŋ</sup> mfvg 14 `dv `vex  
Dl vcb Ki v nq| D<sup>3</sup> mfvg Ab`vb` wel qvej xi gta` wbaej wLZ Avnevb  
Rvbvb nq (`wj j cĪ t 2q LŪ, cŋ 256)t

ŌŌRbMtYi B`Qvi wei t`x PvcvBqv t`l qv GKwU  
AMYZwšK I %mji ZwšK kvmti t`k AvR wbw`úó  
nBtZtQ, `bxŋZ RwZi Aw`g<sup>3</sup>4vq ctek Kwi qvtQ|  
cŋRcwZ I mgvR weŋi vaxi v Zvnt`i Rxeŋbi Pi g mthvM  
j vf Kwi qvtQ, GK i vR%bwZK kmi `xKi I eyxewĒi  
`wei Zvi cwi tek gvbŋi gb AvR wŌavM<sup>r</sup>; tgšj K  
mŋaxbZvi AmxKwZ t`tki gŋj AvNvZ nwbŋZtQ Ges  
mt>`n I nZvkvi GK cwi teŋk mvgŋR`ev`x kw<sup>3</sup> mgn  
Avgvt`i Avf`št`xY e`vcvŋi n`ŋŋ tci mthvM j vf  
Kwi tZtQ|

b`vkbvj Avl qvgx cwU<sup>ŋ</sup> tK>`xq KvhbeŋnK msm`  
RbMtYi HK` , cŋ`kmgŋni mŋqZkvm, cwK<sup>-</sup> vti  
msnwZ, tdWvŋi j ai tYi cvj ŋg>Uvi x MYZšj eZgvb  
%mji vPvi x GKbvqKtZj Dt`Q` mvab I mgvRZtšj w`tk  
AMwZi mŋt`<sup>©</sup> mvgŋR`evt`i wei t`x msMtgi Dtŋ tk`  
wbŋRt`i tK, cwU<sup>©</sup> I RbMYtK msMwVZ Kivi Rb` cwU<sup>ŋ</sup>  
mKj m`tm`i cŋZ Avnevb RvbvBtZtQ| ŌŌ

AZtci , 14 `dv `vex Dl vcb Ki v nq| cŋg `dvŋZB cŋ`ŋ  
I cŋB eqt`i mveRbxb tfvUwvaKvŋi i wf wĒtZ bZb AvBb cwi t`i  
wbeŋPti `vex Rvbvb nq|

6B tmtP ɤj fvi Z I cwK<sup>-</sup> vti gta` meŋZŋK hŋx Avi ɤt  
nq| GB hŋx 17 w`b Kvj `vqx wQj | hŋxi mgq ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vb mɤúY<sup>©</sup>  
Ai wŋZ wQj | GB cŋ`tki Rb` mi Kvŋi i D`vmxbZv I %el g`gj K  
AvPi Y RbMY Avevi I eyStZ cwi j Ges 11 `dv ev 14 `dv







`we| wKš' tK>`xq mi Kvi evi eQti I  
 Avgvť`i GKwU `wel cti Y Kti b bvB| ce<sup>©</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> vb AwaKvsk cwK<sup>-</sup> vbx evm<sup>-</sup> vb| GUvťK  
 i ǁv Ki v tK>`xq mi Kvti i B %bwZK I i vóxq  
 `wqZij| tm `wqZij cvj tb Avgvť`i `vex Kwi tZ  
 nBte tKb? mi Kvi wbťR nBťZ tmB `wqZij  
 cvj b Kti b bv tKb? cwođg cwK<sup>-</sup> vb AvťM  
 evPvBqv mgq I mťhvM \_wKťj cti ce<sup>©</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> vb evPvb nBte BnvB wK tK>`xq mi Kvti i  
 AwfgZ? ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> tbi i ǁv e'e<sup>-</sup> nv cwođg  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> tbb i wnqvťQ Ggb mvsNwZK K\_v  
 kvmKbZǁv eťj b tKvb gťL? gvĭ mťZi  
 w`ťbi cvKđfvi Z hxB wK cǁvY Kti bvB  
 Avgi v KZ wbi "cvq? kĭ "i `qv I gwRǃ Dci  
 Z Avgi v ewPqv \_wKťZ cwi bv | tK>`xq  
 mi Kvti i t`k i ǁv bxwZ Kvht Avgvť`i tK  
 ZvB Kwi qv i wLqvťQ|

Zey Avgi v cwK<sup>-</sup> tbi HK" I mswnwZi  
 LwZi t`ki ǁv e'e<sup>-</sup> nv tK>`xq mi Kvti i nvťZ  
 i wLťZ PvB| mť½ mť½ GI PvBth, tK>`xq  
 mi Kvi ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> tbtK G e'vcvťi AvZwbfǃ  
 Kwi evi Rb" GLvťb Dchǃ cwi gvY t`ki ǁv  
 ewnbx MVb Ki "b| A<sup>-</sup>ǃ Kvi Lvbv<sup>-</sup> vcb Ki "b |  
 tbtđewnbxi `dZi GLvťb wbqv Avmǃ| Gme  
 KvR mi Kvi Kte Kwi teb Rwbv| wKš'  
 BwZgťa" Aí Li tP tQvULvU A<sup>-</sup>đk<sup>-</sup>ǃ w`qv  
 Avavđmvgwi K ewnbx MVb Kwi tZI cwođgv  
 fvBť`i GZ AvcwĚ tKb? ce<sup>©</sup> i ǁvi Dťi tK"  
 mZšǃ hxBZnweťj Pv`v DvVťj Zvl tK>`xq  
 i ǁv Znweťj wbqv hvl qv nq tKb? H me  
 cťkē DĚi bvB| Zey tK>`xq e'vcvťi AĀťj i  
 n<sup>-</sup> ǃǁc Kwi evi AwaKvi Avgi vl PvBbv | G  
 Ae<sup>-</sup> vq ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vb thgb Kwi qv cvťi Mwi ex  
 nvťj B AvZǃi ǁvi e'e<sup>-</sup> v Kwi te, Ggb `we wK  
 Ab`vq? GB `we Kwi tǃ B tmUv nBte  
 t`kť` ōwnZv?

G c<sup>h</sup>†½ c<sup>w</sup>ōg c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> vbx f<sup>v</sup>B†evb†` i  
†L` g†Z Avgvi K†qK<sup>w</sup>U Avi R Av†Q t

GK, Zvi v g†b Kwi †eb bv Awg i ayce<sup>©</sup>

c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> vbx†` i AwaKvi `vwe Kwi †ZwQ|  
Avgvi 6 `dv Kg<sup>m</sup>Px†Z c<sup>w</sup>ōg  
c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> vbx†` i `wel mgf<sup>v</sup>†eB i w<sup>n</sup>qv†Q|  
G `vex m<sup>x</sup>KZ nB†j c<sup>w</sup>ōg c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> vbx† v|  
mgf<sup>v</sup>†e DcKZ nB†eb|

`β, Awg hLb ewj , ce<sup>©</sup>c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †bi m<sup>α</sup>ú`

c<sup>w</sup>ōg c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †b c<sup>v</sup>Pvi I `εxKZ  
nB†Z†Q ZLb Awg Av<sup>Â</sup>wj K %el †g`i  
K<sub>v</sub>B ewj , e<sup>w</sup>³ MZ %el †g`i K<sub>v</sub> ewj bv|  
Awg Rwb, G %el g` m<sup>w</sup>óí Rb` c<sup>w</sup>ōg  
c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> vbx† v `vqx bq| Awg GI Rwb th,  
Avgv†` i gZ `wi `ō c<sup>w</sup>ōg c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †b|  
A†bK Av†Qb| hZw` b abZwš<sup>k</sup> mgvR  
e<sup>e</sup>-vi Aemvb bv nB†e, ZZw` b e<sup>w</sup>³ †Z  
e<sup>w</sup>³ †Z GB Amvg` `† nB†e bv ? wKš'  
Zvi Av†M Av<sup>Â</sup>wj K †kvl bl eÜ Kwi †Z  
nB†e| GB Av<sup>Â</sup>wj K †kvl †bi Rb` `vqx  
Avgv†` i †fš†Mw<sup>j</sup> K Ae<sup>-</sup>vb Ges tmB  
Ae<sup>-</sup>vb†K AM<sup>ñ</sup> Kwi qv th Am<sup>y</sup>fweK  
e<sup>e</sup>-v Pvj vBevi †Póv Pwj †Z†Q tmB  
e<sup>e</sup>-v| ai "b, hw` c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †bi i vRavbx  
c<sup>w</sup>ōg c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †b bv nBqv ce<sup>©</sup>c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †b  
nBZ, c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †bi †` ki ¶ v ewnbx†Z wZbwU  
`dZi B hw` ce<sup>©</sup>c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †b nBZ, Z†e Kvi  
wK Am<sup>y</sup>ea<sup>v</sup>Đm<sup>y</sup>ea<sup>v</sup> nBZ GKUy wePvi Ki "b  
| c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †bi †gvU i vR†m<sup>j</sup> kZKi v 62  
UvKv Li P nq †` ki ¶ v ewnbx†Z Ges  
kZKi v ew<sup>l</sup> k UvKv Li P nq †K>` †q mi Kvi  
cwi Pvj bvq| GB GKb kZKi v Pj vbeŸB  
UvKv c<sup>w</sup>ōg c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †b bv nBqv ZLb Li P  
nBZ ce<sup>©</sup>c<sup>w</sup>K<sup>-</sup> †b| Avcbvi v Rv†bb  
A<sub>w</sub>Áv†bi K<sub>v</sub>t mi Kvi x Avq RbM†Yi  
e<sup>e</sup>q Ges mi Kvi x e<sup>e</sup>q RbM†Yi Avq| GB  
wbq†g eZ<sup>g</sup>vb e<sup>e</sup>-vq mi Kv†i i †MvUv

Avtqi AtaK ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vtb<sup>i</sup> e<sup>ˆ</sup>q wKB,  
 wKš' mi Kvi x e<sup>ˆ</sup>tqi meUjKB cwo<sup>g</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> vtb<sup>i</sup> Avq| i vRavbx cwo<sup>g</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> vtb<sup>i</sup> Aew<sup>-</sup> Z \_vKvq mi Kvi x,  
 AvavĐmi Kvi x cŃZôvb mgn Ges we<sup>†</sup> kx  
 wgb mgn Zv<sup>†</sup> i mg<sup>-</sup> - e<sup>ˆ</sup>q cwo<sup>g</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> vtb<sup>i</sup> B Kwi tZ eva<sup>ˆ</sup> nBtZtQb| GB  
 e<sup>ˆ</sup>v<sup>†</sup>qi mvKj B cwo<sup>g</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vtb<sup>i</sup> Avq|  
 dtj, cŃZ eQi cwo<sup>g</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vtb<sup>i</sup> Avq H  
 Ab<sup>†</sup>cv<sup>†</sup>Z ewotZtQ Ges ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sup>b</sup> Zvi  
 tgvKv<sup>†</sup>ej vq H cwi gvb Mi xe nBtZtQ|  
 hw<sup>ˆ</sup> cwo<sup>g</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vtb<sup>i</sup> e<sup>ˆ</sup> tj ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vtb<sup>i</sup>  
 Avgv<sup>†</sup> i i vRavbx nBZ Zte GB me Li P  
 ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sup>b</sup> nBZ| Avgi v ce<sup>©</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sup>b</sup>xi v GB cwi gvb abx nBZvg|  
 Avcbvi v cwo<sup>g</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sup>b</sup>xi v H cwi gv<sup>†</sup>b  
 Mi xe nBtZb| ZLb Avcbvi v wK Kwi tZb  
 ? th me<sup>ˆ</sup> we Kivi Rb<sup>ˆ</sup> Avgv<sup>†</sup>K cŃ<sup>†</sup> wK K  
 m¼xY<sup>g</sup>vi ZngZ w<sup>ˆ</sup> tZtQb tmB me<sup>ˆ</sup> vex  
 Avcbvi v wb<sup>†</sup>Ri vB Kwi tZb| Avgv<sup>†</sup> i  
 tP<sup>†</sup>q tRv<sup>†</sup>i B Kwi tZb| A<sup>†</sup>bK Av<sup>†</sup>MB  
 Kwi tZb| Avgv<sup>†</sup> i gZ AvVi eQi ewmqv  
 \_wKtZb bv| tmUv Ki v Avcbv<sup>†</sup> i  
 Ab<sup>ˆ</sup>vqI nBZ bv|

wZb, Avcbvi v H me<sup>ˆ</sup> we Kwi tj Avgi v  
 ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sup>b</sup>xi v wK Kwi Zvg, Rv<sup>†</sup>bb ?  
 Avcbv<sup>†</sup> i me<sup>ˆ</sup> we gw<sup>b</sup>qv j BZvg|  
 Avcbw<sup>ˆ</sup> M<sup>†</sup>K cŃ<sup>†</sup> kKZvev<sup>ˆ</sup> x ewj qv Mvj  
 w<sup>ˆ</sup> Zvg bv| Kvi Y, Avgi v Rwb Ges wek<sup>†</sup>ym  
 Kwi, I me Avcbv<sup>†</sup> i nK&cvi bv| wb<sup>†</sup>Ri  
 nK&cvi bv<sup>ˆ</sup> we Kiv Ab<sup>ˆ</sup>vq bq KZ<sup>©</sup>| G  
 wek<sup>†</sup>ym Avgv<sup>†</sup> i GZB Avšwi K th, tm  
 Ae<sup>-</sup> v nBtj Avcbv<sup>†</sup> i<sup>ˆ</sup> we Kwi tZ nBZ  
 bv| Avcbv<sup>†</sup> i<sup>ˆ</sup> we Kivi Av<sup>†</sup>MB  
 Avcbv<sup>†</sup> i nK& Avcbw<sup>ˆ</sup> M<sup>†</sup>K ešvBqv  
 w<sup>ˆ</sup> Zvg| Avgi v wb<sup>†</sup>R<sup>†</sup> i nK<sup>ˆ</sup> we  
 Kwi tZWQ ewj qv Avgv<sup>†</sup> i m<sup>†</sup>\_<sup>©</sup>i



ewj †Z†Qb| wKš' Avcbvi v th wb†R†` i  
 n†Ki mv†\_ mv†\_ Avgv†` i nKŮvl LvBqv  
 †dWj †Z†Qb, Avcbv†` i tj v†K wK ewj †e ?  
 Avgi v i ay wb†R†` i nKŮvB PvB|  
 Avcbv†` i nKŮv AvZŮmvr Kwi †Z PvB bv|  
 Avgv†` i w` evi Avl Kvr \_wK†j ei Â  
 ci †K wKQy w` qvl †` B| `óvš-Pvb ? i bjb  
 Z†e t

- (1) cŮg MYĐcwi l †` Avgv†` i tg‡  
 msL`v wQj 44; Avi Avcbv†` i wQj  
 28| Avgi v B"Qv Kwi †j MYZwšK  
 kw<sup>3</sup> †Z †fv†Ui †Rv†i i vRavbx l  
 †` ki ¶vi m` i `dZi ce<sup>®</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> -  
 v†b Awb†Z cwi Zvg| Zvnv Kwi  
 bvB|
- (2) cwŮg cwK<sup>-</sup> vbx†` i msL`vi Zv  
 †` wLqv fvBĐGi `i `j Bqv Avgv†` i  
 44Uv Avm†bi g†a" 6Uv†Z ce<sup>®</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> vbx†i †fv†U cwŮg cwK<sup>-</sup> vbx  
 tg‡ wbePb Kwi qvwQj vg|
- (3) B"Qv Kwi †j B †fv†Ui †Rv†i i ay  
 evsj v†K cwK<sup>-</sup> v†bi i vófv l v Kwi †Z  
 cwi Zvg| Zv bv Kwi qv evsj vi mv†\_  
 D`¶KI i vófv l vi `we Kwi qvwQj vg|
- (4) B"Qv Kwi †j †fv†Ui †Rv†i ce<sup>®</sup>  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> v†bi mŮeavRbK kvmbZšj  
 i Pbv Kwi †Z cwi Zvg|
- (5) Avcbv†` i gb nB†Z tgRwi wU f q  
 `† Kwi qv tm `†j ávZZj l  
 mgZv†eva mŮói Rb" Df q AÂ†j  
 mKj wel †q mgZv weav†bi Avk†tm  
 Avgi v msL`v, i "Zj Z`vM Kwi qv  
 msL`vmvg" Mhb Kwi qvwQj vg|

Pvi , mŮZi vs cwŮg cwK<sup>-</sup> vbx fvB mv†nevb,

Avcbvi v †` wL†Z†Qb thLv†bĐ†hLv†b  
 Avcbv†` i `vb Kwi evi Avl Kvr wQj ,  
 Avgi v `vb Kwi qvwQ| Avi wKQß bvB `vb



ce°cwK<sup>-</sup> v̄bi gRj g RbM†Yi c†¶ K\_v ewj †Z  
 wMqv Avgvi evcĐ`v`vi gZ gj "weŸi vB G†`i Kv†Q Mvj  
 LvBqv†Qb, G†`i nv†Z j vÃbv tfvM Kwi qv†Qb, Avi Awg  
 †Kvb Qvi ? t`kevmxi g†b Av†Q, Avgv†`i bqbgy  
 tk†i evsj v dRj j nK†K Giv t`k†`Ÿnx ewj qvwQ†j b|  
 t`kevmx Gl t`wLqv†Qb th cwK<sup>-</sup> v̄bi Ab`Zg m̄bv,  
 cwK<sup>-</sup> v̄bi meRbgvb` RvZxq tbZv knx` m̄pi vl qv`x†KI  
 t`k†`ŸnxZvi Awf†hv†M Kvi vei Y Kwi †Z nBqvQj G†`i B  
 nv†Z| AZGe t`Lv tMj ce°cwK<sup>-</sup> v̄bi b`vh` `wei K\_v  
 ewj †Z tM†j t`k†`ŸnZvi e`bvg l tRj Rj †gi S†K  
 j BqvB tm KvR Kwi †Z nB†e| AZx†Z A†bK †Rj †Rj g  
 f†Mevi ZK†`i Avgvi nBqv†Q| gj eŸx†`i t`vl qvq,  
 mnKgx†`i mü`qZvq Ges t`kevmxi mg\_†b tmme mn`  
 Kwi evi gZ g†bi ej Avj w† & Avgv†K `vb Kwi qv†Qb| mvto  
 cvP †KwU ce°cwK<sup>-</sup> v̄bxi fvj evmv†K m†j Kwi qv Awg G  
 Kv†R th †Kvbl Z`v†Mi Rb` c†¶Z AwQ| Avgvi  
 t`kevmxi Kj v̄bi Kv†Q Avgvi gZ bMb` e`w³ i Rxe†bi  
 gj `B ev KZUjK? gRj g t`kevmxi evPvi `wei Rb`  
 msM†g Ki vi tP†q gnr KvR Avi wKQ† Av†Q ewj qv Awg  
 g†b Kwi bv| gi Ÿg Rbve knx` †mvni vl qv`x† b`vq  
 thvM` tbZvi Kv†QB Awg GÁvb j vf Kwi qvwQ| Zvi cv†qi  
 Z†j ewmqvB GZKvj t`kevmxi tL`gZ Kwi evi tPóv  
 Kwi qvwQ| wZwbl AvR ewwPqv bvB, Awgl AvR th†etbi  
 †KvVv eû wcQ†b t†wj qv t†c†p†Zi t†c†wQqvQ| Avgvi  
 t`†ki wc†q fvB††ev†bi v Avj w†i `i Mvq i ay GB  
 t`vl qv Kwi †eb, evKx RxebUjK Awg thb Zv†`i  
 i vR%bwZK l A\_†bwZK gy³ mvabvi wb†qvRZ Kwi †Z  
 cvwi | ŸŸ

GB Kg†mPxB evOvj x RvwZi RvwZmĖy cpRx†eZ K†i | cwK<sup>-</sup> v̄b  
 i v†ó† Af`š†i \_wKqvl evOvj x RvwZi GKwU c\_K Aw`Zi i wnqv†Q  
 Ges mZš\_i mĖv i wnqv†Q Zvnn c†g ev†i i gZ evOvj x RvwZ Dcj wä  
 Kwi †Z cv†i |

1966 m̄bi g<sub>v</sub>P<sup>©</sup> g<sub>v</sub>t<sub>m</sub> Ab<sub>y</sub>ôZ Avl qvgx j x̄tMi KvDwYj  
 Awatek̄b tkL g<sub>y</sub>Rej i ngvb Avl qvgx j x̄tMi mfvcwZ Ges  
 ZvRDwī b Avn̄tg` mvavi Y m̄x̄uv` K wbe<sup>9</sup>PZ nb|

wKš' Bnvi c̄ti B 7B R̄b 6 `dv w`em nB̄tZ Avi x̄t nq c<sub>w</sub>K<sup>-</sup> v̄b  
 mi Kv̄ti i c<sub>P</sub>Ū `gb l wbcxob| 6 `dvi c̄avb mg\_K %`wbK B̄tEdvK  
 c<sub>w</sub>ī Kvi c̄Kvkbv 18B R̄b 1966 Zwi t̄L ewZj Kiv nq|

AvBq̄e Lvb t̄Nvl bv K̄ti b th Āt<sup>-</sup> j fvl vq 6D`dv Kg<sup>9</sup>PI Reve  
 t` l qv nB̄te| 23tk R̄b i ex`<sup>a</sup> m̄½x̄tZi c<sub>P</sub>vi eR̄bi mi Kvi x wmxvš-  
 c<sub>P</sub>wi Z nB̄tj mgM<sup>a</sup> ce<sup>©</sup>c<sub>w</sub>K<sup>-</sup> v̄b Bnvi wei "t̄x Zxe<sup>a</sup> c̄iZev` l t̄v|  
 1967 m̄b tkL g<sub>y</sub>R̄tei wei "t̄x ḠtKi ci GK c̄i q t`o WRb  
 tdšR`vi x gvgj v ce<sup>©</sup>c<sub>w</sub>K<sup>-</sup> v̄bi wewf b̄e tRj vq `v̄qi Kiv nq Ges  
 wZwb μ g<sub>v</sub>MZ t̄M̄dZvi nB̄tZ \_v̄tKb|

18B Rvbq̄vi x, 1968 Zwi t̄L AvMi Zj v l ohš<sub>i</sub> gvgj vi c̄avb  
 Avmvgx wnmv̄te tkL g<sub>y</sub>RētK t̄M̄dZvi t` Lvb nq| c<sub>w</sub>K<sup>-</sup> v̄b c̄iZi ¶ v  
 AvB̄t̄b wZwb ce<sup>©</sup>nB̄tZB t̄R̄tj wQ̄tj b| ci eZx̄tZ H gvgj vq Zv̄nv̄tK  
 1 bs Avmvgx wnmv̄te Awf h̄j<sup>β</sup> Kiv nq Ges 1968 m̄bi R̄b g<sub>v</sub>t<sub>m</sub>  
 gvgj vi i bvb̄x Avi x̄t nq| 27tk Rvbq̄vi x 1969 Zwi t̄L i bvb̄x tk l  
 nq| wKš' 1969 m̄bi c̄i i x̄t nB̄tZB Qvī mgvR Zv̄nv̄t` i 11 `dvi  
 wfW̄t̄Z Av̄t̄`vj b Mw̄oqv t̄Zv̄tj Ges t̄dēp̄vi x g<sub>v</sub>t̄mi ḡt̄a` Zv̄nv̄ mvi v  
 c̄t̄`tk `ēi Mw̄Z m̄Āvi j vf K̄ti | mgM<sup>a</sup> c̄t̄`tk mKj Kv̄h̄p̄g  
 ni Zvj c̄iZev̄t` eÜ nBq̄v hvq| 15B t̄dēp̄vi x mv̄tR̄U R̄ui "j  
 nK̄tK nZ`v Kiv nq| 18 B t̄dēp̄vi x c̄t̄`tki wewf b̄e<sup>-</sup> v̄b t̄mbvew̄nbx  
 t̄gvZv̄tqb Kiv nq| i vRk̄vnx̄tZ t̄mbvew̄nbxi , wj t̄Z Wt mvgm̄<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>v̄nv  
 wbnZ n̄tqb| H i v̄t̄l B XvK̄vq Qvī ĐRbZv mv̄Ü` AvBb f̄½ K̄ti | ci w`b  
 AvMi Zj v gvgj vi ŪvBep̄v̄tj i c̄avb wePvi c<sub>w</sub>Zi evm<sup>-</sup> v̄b AvMe  
 m̄sthvM Kiv nq Ges wZwb weeZKi Ae<sup>-</sup> vq c<sub>w</sub>ōg c<sub>w</sub>K<sup>-</sup> v̄b cj vqb  
 K̄ti b| 21tk t̄dēp̄vi x mi Kvi AvMi Zj v l ohš<sub>i</sub> gvgj v c̄iZ`v̄nvi Kwi t̄j  
 tkL g<sub>y</sub>Remn mKj Avmvgx g<sub>y</sub><sup>3</sup> j vf K̄ti b|

AvMi Zj v gvgj v cĹ`vnti i ci 23tk tdeġvi x i gbv ti mġKvm<sup>©</sup>  
 gg`vġb GK Rbmfvq tkL gġRe msL`vmvg` bqġ Rb msL`vi wfWĒġZ  
 cġZwbwaġZj `vex Kġi b| Hw`b Qvġ ġRbZvi cġ nBġZ ZvntK  
 0e½eÜġ DcwaġZ fwl Z Ki v nq|

AZtci , tMvj tUvej %eVġKi ci eq`ġ tfvUwaKvi I cvj ġġg>Uvi x  
 mi Kvi cġZōvi `vex AvBDe Lvb gwbqv j ġqb wKŠ' cġġ`wkK  
 mġqZġkmb I GK BDwbU weġj vġci cġkġ cĹ`ġ tfvġU wbeġPZ  
 RbcġZwbwaMY mgvavb Kwi ġj B me PvBġZB fvj nBġe ewj qv wZwb  
 eġj b|

24ġk gvP<sup>©</sup> 1969 Zwi ġL mvi v t`ke`wc `eġi Avġ`vj ġbi  
 cwi ġcġġġZ AvBDe Lvb Zvnti wbġRi cġxZ 1962 mġbi msweavb  
 f½ Kwi qv RvZxq cwi l ġ`i w`úKvġi i cwi eġZ<sup>©</sup> tRbvġi j Bqwnqv Lvb  
 Z\_v mvgwi K ewnbxi wbKU cwk`vġbi kvmbfvi n`vŠġ Kġi b|

GB cġġ½ Yaqub Ali, J. eġj b (Asma Jilani)

“Towards the end of 1968, an agitation started against his despotic rule and the undemocratic Constitution which he had imposed on the country. The agitation gathered momentum every day and was accompanied by wide spread disturbances throughout the country. In February 1969, Muhammad Ayub Khan called a round table conference of political leaders for resolving the political issues which had led to the disturbance. A solution was near insight, when all of a sudden Muhammad Ayub Khan decided to relinquish the office of the President and asked the Defence Forces to .....

The Mandate given by the outgoing President to the Commander-in-Chief was thus to fulfill his constitutional responsibilities; to restore law and order; and to carry out his legal duty in this behalf.

Muhammad Yahya Khan, Commander-in-Chief, who had taken an oath, that he will be faithful to the Constitution of 1962 and to Pakistan, however, in disregard of his constitutional and legal duty by a Proclamation issued on the 26<sup>th</sup> March 1969, abrogated the Constitution; dissolved the National and Provincial assemblies and imposed Martial Law throughout

the country. This was the fourth great constitutional mishap which befell Pakistan in less than 16 years.” ( The underlinings are mine).

5B Wtmtaj , 1969 Zwi tL tmvni vl qv` xP gZj w` em Dcj tñ  
GK Avtj vPbv mfvq tkL gyRe ce©cwK` vb cġ` tki bvg 0evsj vt` k0  
bvgKi Y Kti b|

6B Wtmtaji i %` wbK BtEdvK cwl Kvi 1g cPvq wbæwj WLZ  
msev` cKwkZ nq ( 4 bs c0Zev` x KZK 210602009 Zwi tL  
nj dKZ GwdtWwf tUi 11 cPv)t

AZtci , G cġ` tki bvg nBte

0evsj v t` k0

00 Avl qvgx j xM cġvb tkL gyRej ingvb MZKvj  
(i µ evi ) XvKvq tNvl bv Kti b th, GLb nBtZ cwK` vġbi  
ceġAj xq cġ` kwi bvg nBte ce©cwK` vġbi cwi etZ©  
i agvġ 0evsj v t` k0|

XvKv nBtKvU© c0½tY tmvni vl qv` x© I tkti evsj vi  
gvRvi c0½tY tmvni vl qv` x© mñi tY AvtqWRZ GK  
Avtj vPbv mfvq e³ ZvKvtj tkL mvġne etj b, GK mgq  
G t` tki eK nBtZ gvbWpġi cPv nBtZ 0evsj v0 K\_vwUi  
meġkl wPyUjkl wPi Zti gyQqv tdj vi tPov Ki v nBqvġQ|  
wZwb etj b,

GKgvġ 00et½vcmvMi 00 , Qvov Avi tKvb wKQj vtġgi mġ½  
0evsj v0 K\_vwUi Aw` Zi LjRqv cvl qv hvq bvB| Avl qvgx  
j xM cġvb etj b, evsj v I ev½vj xi Awemsew` Z MYbvqK  
knx` tmvni vl `x© I tkti evsj vi c0Z I AgvR0xq AeÁv  
c0 wkZ nBqvġQ| e³ Zv gtġi AbwZ` ti wPi wb` 0q kwqZ  
tbZ0ti gvRvti i c0Z Bw½Z Kwi qv tkL gyRe etj b,  
evsj vi GB `j KZx mšvb AvR Amnvġqi gZ Avgvt` i  
gtLi w` tK ZvKvBqv AvġQb| GB `j tbZvi gvRvti i  
cvġkġ `vovBqv RbMtYi cñ nBtZ Awg tNvl bv  
Kwi tZW0AvR nBtZ cwK` vġbi ceġAj xq cġ` kwi bvg  
nBte ce©cwK` vġbi cwi etZ© i agvġ 0evsj v t` k0|

mgteZ tkôZgÛj x wecj Ki Zwj I nl aÿwb mnKvti  
tbZvi GB tNvl Yvi côZ Awf>` b Ávcb Kti b| 00

Zte GB tNvl bvi 14 ermi cte°25tk AMv÷, 1955, Zwi tL  
gmwj g j xM I Bmj vgcšx `j ,wj i cPÛ wefi waZvi gLl tkL  
gyRe cwK`vb MYcwi l t` ôce°evsj v0 bvg wej yBi wefi waZv Kwi qv  
ewj qvWQtj b (`wj j cÎ t cÛg LÛ, ct 431)t

“Sir, your will see that they want to place the words “East Pakistan”  
instead of “East Bengal”. We have demanded so many times that  
you should make it Bengal (Pakistan). The word “Bengal” has a  
history, has a tradition of its own. (Atavti Lv cÛ Ë)

ALÛ cwK`vbi cÛg I tkI mvavi Y wbePb t

tRbvti j Bqwnqv Lvb cÛ Ë 1970 mti 30tk gvP° Zwi tLi  
GK Avt`k etj cWôg cwK`vbi GK BDwbU wej y Kwi qv Pvi wU  
cft`k MVb Kiv nq Ges Bmj vgev` I tK>`xq kwmZ Gj vKv  
tdWvti j Gj vKv tNwl Z nq| GKB Zwi tLi Legal Framework Order (LFO)  
etj cÛB eq`ft`i mi vmwi tfvtU wbePti gva`tg 13 Rb gwnj v  
côZwbamn 313 Avmtbi RvZxq cwi l t` MVti tNvl bv t` l qv nq|

BwZgta` 1970 mti wWtmaj gvtm LFO Gi Avl Zvq ALÛ  
cwK`vb cÛg I tkI mvavi Y wbePb AbyôZ nq| Avl qvgxj xM 6  
`dv KgfmPxi wfWËtZ wbePb Kti b Ges ce°cwK`vb nBtZ 169wUi  
gta` 167wU Avmb j vf Kti | 30tk wWtmaj mi Kvi c¶ nBtZ  
tNvl Yv Kiv nq th RvZxq cwi l t`i cÛg Awatekb XvKvq AbyôZ  
nBte| wbePtb GBifc wecj Rqj vtfi ci tkL gyRe Zwnvi mKj  
msm` m`m`ti j Bqv 1971 mti 3iv Rvbqvi x i gbv timtKvm°  
gg`vb AbyôZ GK Rbmfvq ewmqv 6 `dv KgfmPx ev`evqti Rb`  
kc\_ evK` cvW Kivb| 1971 mti 4Vv Rvbqvi x Zwi tL cKwkZ

%`wbK BtEdvK cwÎ Kvq GB mæú†K°wb†æv³ msev` cwi †ekb Ki v nq  
(`wj j cÎ t 2q LÛ, c† 608Ð609) t

ÔÔ MYc†Zwbwa†` i kc\_

†kvl Ygß mLx mgv†Ri eÿbqv` Movi msKí

(óvd wi †cvU¶i )

gß kc†\_ `xß exi ev½vj xt` i wbe¶P†bvËi mvMh  
cËx¶|vi Aemvb NUvBqv evOvj x Z\_v cwwK` v†bi †KwU  
†KwU ewÂZ gvb†| i KvgbvÐevmbvi wcj m†R mævebvi  
Awbefb wkLv cR¶j Z Kwi qv c†YÐwc†q †bZv †kL gyRej  
i ngv†bi †bZ†Z; Avl qvgxj xM `j xq be wbe¶PZ RvZxq I  
c††`wkK cwi l` m`m`iv cË`q`pK†Ú MZKvj  
(i weevi )i gbv ti m†Kvm°gg`v†bi Awem¶i Yxq I AfZce°  
MYÐgnvmvM†i i tej vfwg†Z `rovBqv AÂ†j AÂ†j gvb†|  
gvb†| wei vRgvb Pi g i vR%bwZK, A\_¶bwZK I mvgwRK  
%el †g`i wPi Aemvb NUvBqv †kvl bÐgß mLx mgv†Ri  
eÿbqv` Mwoevi Cw`úZ KwVb kc\_ Mhb K†i b|

ÔÔ Avgi v kc\_ Kwi †ZwQ Ð

ÔÔ Avgi v RvZxq I c††`wkK cwi l†` Avl qvgx j xM  
`j xq be wbe¶PZ m`m`eÿ` kc\_ Mhb Kwi †ZwQ ci g  
Ki "Yvgq I meKw³ gvb Avj wvZvqvj vi bv†g ; Avgi v kc\_  
Mhb Kwi †ZwQ tmBme exi knxt` i I msMvgx gvb†| i  
bv†g, hvnvi v AvZwûwZ w`qv I Pi g wbh¶ZbÐwbcxob †fvM  
Kwi qv AvR Avgv†` i c†\_wgK weR†qi mPbv Kwi qv†Qb|

ÔÔ Avgi v kc\_ Mhb Kwi †ZwQ GB †`†ki Kl.K,  
k†gK, QvÎ, tgnbZx gvb†| i ÐZ\_v me¶kMxi Rbmvasi †Yi  
bv†g t

\* RvZxq mvavi Y wbe¶P†bi gva`†g GB †`†ki Avcvgi  
Rbmvasi Y Avl qvgx j xtMi Kg¶Px I †bZ†Zj c†Z th  
wecj mg\_¶ I AKÚ Av`v Ávcb Kwi qv†Qb, Dnvi gh¶v  
i ¶|vK†í Avgi v meKw³ wb†qvM Kwi e ;

\* Qq`dv I GMv†i vÐ`dv Kg¶Px Dci c† Ë mÿ úó  
MYi v†qi c†Z Avgi v GKwbôi "†c wekí - \_wKe Ges  
kvmbZ†š; I ev`e c†qv†M QqÐ`dv Kg¶Px wfwËK  
mÿqZkvmv I GMv†i v `dv Kg¶Px c†Zdj b NUvB†Z  
meKw³ c†qvM Kwi e;



\* Avl qvgx j x†Mi bxwZ, Av`k<sup>©</sup> D†İ k` I KgñPxi c†Z AwePj AvbMz` ÁvcbceK Avgiv A½xKvi Kwi †ZwQ th, AÂ†j AÂ†j I gvb†l gvb†l wei vRgvb Pi g i vR%bwZK A\_‰bwZK I mvgwRK %el†g`i wPi Aemvb NUvBqv tkvl bgp GK mJx mgv†Ri eJbqv` Mwoevi Ges Ab`vq, AwePvi we`yi Z Kwi qv mZ`, b`vq c†Zôvi Rb` wbi j m c†Póv Pvj vBqv hvBe ;

\* RbMY Ab†gww` Z Avgv†`i Kvhp†gi c†ZeÜKZv mwoi c†vwx th tKvb gnj I Aif k<sup>3</sup> i wei †x Avgiv c†j c†Z†iva Av†`vj b Mwoqv Zvj e Ges mvavi Y gvb†l i AwaKvi c†ZôvK†i th tKvbi †c Z`vM mKvi Ki Zt Av†cvmnxb msM†gi Rb` Avgiv me<sup>©</sup> v c†Z \_wKe| 00

MZKvj (ti veevi) weKv†j ti m†Kvm<sup>©</sup>gg`v†b Avl qvgx j xM `j xq 151 Rb RvZxq cwi l` Ges 268 Rb ce<sup>©</sup> cwK`vb cwi l` m`m` 60`dv I 11 `dv ev`evq†bi msKí tNvl bv Kwi qv kc\_ Mhb K†i b| Avl qvgx j xM c†v†b tkL gJRej ingvb Ab†v†b cwi Pvj bv K†i b| m†eZ cvj ††g>Uvi x MYZ†šj BwZnv†m GB ai†Yi MYkc\_ Mhb GB c†g|

†kL gJR†ei Wbcbv†k<sup>©</sup> RvZxq cwi l` m`m`MY Ges evg cv†k<sup>©</sup> c††`wkK cwi l` m`m`MY `vovBqv kc\_ Mhb K†i b| c†Z`†Ki evg nv†Z kc\_bvgv Ges Wbvnv†Z kc†\_i f w½†Z Dw`Z wQj | tbZvi m†½ mKj m`m` kc\_bvgv cv K†i b| kc\_ cv Kivi c†e<sup>©</sup> †kL gJRe tNvl bv K†i b Rbc†ZwbwaMY RbM†Yi mvg†b Rbmvari Y†K mv¶ x i wLqv kc\_ Mhb Kwi †Z†Qb| kc\_ Mhb mgvß nB†j wekvj RbZv Dj v†m dwUqv c†o| 00

11B Rvbqvix Bqwnqv XvKvq AvMgb K†i b Ges †kL gJR†ei mwnZ Av†j vPbv K†i b| AZtci, 17B Rvbqvix wZwb j vi Kvbvq cwL wkKv†i Mgb K†i b Ges Rj wdKvi Avj x f†Ævi evm f†b AwZ\_` Mhb K†i b|

Avl qvgx j xM 15B tde†vixi g†a` XvKvq RvZxq cwi l†`i Awa†ekb WvKvi mpcwi k K†i b wKš' f†Æv tde†vixi gv†mi †kl fv†M Awa†ekb WvKvi c¶ cwZ wQ†j b|

hvvv nDK, 1971 mþbi 13B tdeþvi x Zwi þLi GK þNvl Yveþj  
Bqvvvqv Lvb cwwK<sup>-</sup>þþbi kvmbZš<sub>i</sub> cŸqþbi Rb<sup>''</sup> XvKvq 3i v gvP<sup>®</sup>  
Zwi þL RvZxq cwi l þ` i Awaþekb Avnevb Kþi b|

16B tdeþvi x tkL gyReþK Avl qvgx j xM cvj ʔtg>Uvi x cwwUʔ  
tbZv wbeʔPb Ki v nq|

msev` cþÎ i fvl `` gvi dr gvP<sup>®</sup>gvþmi MY Afjÿl vb t

1971 mþbi 26þk gvP<sup>®</sup> evsj vt` k mþaxb nq| H mgþqi  
HwZnvwmK NUbvej x wK fvte avtc avtc AvMvBqv hvBþZwQj Zvvv  
avi vevwnKfvte ü` q½g Kwi evi Rb<sup>''</sup> AÎ Av`vj þZi wbþ` þk  
ðevsj vt` k AvKʔBfð nBþZ 1j v gvP<sup>®</sup> nBþZ 25þk gvP<sup>®</sup> chš- %` wbK  
BþËdvKmn l Avi l KþqKwU %` wbK cwÎ Kv Avbqb Ki v nq|

D<sup>3</sup> HwZnvwmK gvP<sup>®</sup> gvþmi NUbvej x Avgi v %` wbK cwÎ Kvq  
cKwvkZ msev` l cðZte` b nBþZ eYðv Kwi e| Bnv nBþZ 1971  
mþbi gvP<sup>®</sup>gvþm ce<sup>®</sup>cwwK<sup>-</sup>þb l Bnvi RbMþYi Ae<sup>-</sup>vb mæþÛ GKwU  
cwi<sup>-</sup>vi wPÎ cwi ù yUZ nBqv DwVte ewj qv Avkv Ki v hvq|

1971 mþbi 1 j v gvP<sup>®</sup>Zwi þLi %` wbK BþËdvK ` þó cÛxqgvb nq  
th Bnvi ce<sup>®</sup>w` b 3i v gvP<sup>®</sup>Zwi þL AbjôZe<sup>''</sup> Avmbæ RvZxq cwi l þ` i  
Awaþekþb thvM`vb Kwi evi Rb<sup>''</sup> cwðg cwwK<sup>-</sup>þb nBþZ RvZxq cwi l `  
m`m`MþYi XvKvq AvMgb Ae<sup>-</sup>vnZ iwnqvþQ| Ab<sup>-</sup>w` þK 6 `dv wf wËK  
Lmov kvmbZš<sub>i</sub> weþePbvi Rb<sup>''</sup> Avl qvgx j xM cvj ʔtg>Uvi x cwwU<sup>®</sup>  
Zvvvþ` i mfv Ae<sup>-</sup>vnZ i vþL| 28þk tdeþvi x Zwi L nBþZ wevwmmwmc  
wUg l B>Uvi b`vkbvj GKv` k wUþgi gþa<sup>''</sup> wµ þKU tLj v XvKv tóWqvþg  
Pwj þZwQj |

2i v gvP<sup>®</sup> Zwi þLi BþËdvK cwÎ Kv ` þó cðZqgvb nq th 3i v  
gvP<sup>®</sup> Zwi þL Avmbæ RvZxq cwi l þ` i Awaþekþbi AþcŸvq mgM<sup>†</sup> t` k  
Aaxi AvMþn AþcŸvi Z| t` þk GKwU Drme gLi cwi w` wZ  
we` gvb| cwwK<sup>-</sup>þþbi 23 ermþi i BwZnvþm cðg mvavi Y wbeʔPb

Abpvtbi cti RvZxq msmt`i Awatekb AbjôZ nBtZ hvBtZtQ,  
 cwk`vtbi GKwU MYZwšK kvmbZš; cMxZ nBtZ hvBtZtQ, wbcxwôZ  
 evOvj x GB cġg evti i gZ wbtRt`i fVM` Mwœvi mthvM cvBtZ  
 hvBtZtQ| GB mKj Avkv j Bqv GB t`tki Avcvgi Rbmavi Y hLb  
 Aaxi AvMtn Atcŋ vgvb ZLb nVvr Kwi qvB webv tğtN eRcvtZi b`vq  
 Aci vŷ 1t05 wgwbtUi mgq ti wWl cwk`vtbi wetkl Abpvtb cWVZ  
 tcġmtWt>Ui weewZtZ RvZxq cwi l t`i Awatekb Awbw` 8 Kvŋ i Rb`  
 `wMZ tNvl Yv Ki v nq|

XvKv tóWqvŋg Aaj ŋ waK `kK ci g DrmvtN l Avb>` mnKvti  
 wμ tKU tLj v DcŋfvM Kwi tZwQj | AwdmĐ Av`vj Z, nvUĐevRvi ,  
 `Kj ĐKŋj R, wekŋe`vj q meġ hvnvi hvnv Kvġ Zvnb mŷfwek fvte  
 Kwi tZwQj | XvKv kni kvš- mpmvb| meġ B thb Drmtei AvŋgR|  
 AwaKvi wdwi qv cvBevi GKwU wmo Avb>`Nb cwi tek| nVvr eRNvZmg  
 GB msevt` mKŋj mZtù žŋfvte i v`vq bwgqv Avŋm| tKvb tbZvi  
 WtKi Rb` tKn Atcŋ v Kti bvB| gŋtZB tóWqvŋg nBtZ `kKMY  
 ewni nBqv cto| tLj v Zvrŋ wBKfvte eÜ nBqv hvq| mKj `ŋi i  
 Avcvgi Rbmavi Y wetŋ vŋf dvwUqv cto| GBfvte 1j v gvP° Zwi tLi  
 w`cġhi 1t05 wgwbtU cwk`vtbi we`vq N>Uv ewRqv DwVj |

mgM° cŋ`k GB AcĲ`wkZ tNvl Yvq `wŋZ nBqv hvq| mwŋZ  
 wdwi qv cvBqvB cPŪ wetŋ vŋf wemŷfvŋtmi gZ dvwUqv cto|

GB cwi w`wZ mŋŋÜ 2i v gvP° Zwi tL %`wbK BtĲdvK cŵ Kvq  
ŋcġZevt` i vRavbxŋZ cPŪ wetŋ vŋf ŋkŋi vbvg wbtæv³ cġZte`b  
 cKwkZ nq t

ŋŋ eŋ cĲxwŋ Z RvZxq cwi l ` Awatekb Abpvtbi  
 gvĲ `Bw`b cŋe° MZKvj (ŋmvgevi) tej v 1Uv 5wgbtUi  
 mgq AvKwmŋKfvte RvZxq cwi l t`i Awatekb  
 Awbw` 8 Kvŋj i Rb` `wMZ tNvl bv Kwi qv cwk`vb teZvti  
 tcġmtWt>Ui weewZ cPvti i mŋ½ mŋ½ i vRavbx XvKv cPŪ  
 tŋ vŋf dvwUqv cto| tcġmtWt>Ui GB weewZ cPvti `j gZ

wbweŋkɪl mKj tkŋxi gvbɪl i tŋvɪf `vevbɪj i gZ  
 QovBqv cto Ges mZtùžʔvte knɪi mKj t`vKvbcvU  
 eÜ nBqv hvq| mi Kvi xðtɛmi Kvi x Awdm, e`emvq  
 cŋZôvɪbi KgPvi x, wkŋv cŋZôvɪbi Qvî ÐwkŋK,  
 Kj Kvi Lvbvi kŋgK Ges Av`vj tZi AvBbRxxwMY i v`vq  
 bvŋgqv Avɪmb| tMvUv kni weMZ 1969 mvɪj i  
 MYAf`l vɪbi b`vq mZtùžʔwŋQɪj i bMi xɪZ cwi YZ nq|  
 wkí Gj vKv, Kj Lvbv, AwdmðAv`vj Z Ges wewf bɛ gnj ✕  
 nBɪZ AmsL` mZtùžʔwŋQj evni nq|

XvKv evɪi m`m`MYl mZtùžʔ wŋQj evni  
 Kɪb|i vRavbxɪZ UvDb mwɪfŋ evml mZtùžʔvte eÜ  
 nBqv hvq|

wŋQj Kvi xɪ`i tPvɪLðgɪL tŋvɪf vbj cwi j wŋZ  
 nBɪZwQj | eRkɪú Zvnvi v tŋw`bx cKwɔúZ Kwi qv fɪɛv  
 l tkvl bweɪvax tkwɪvb `vb Kɪb| GB mgq XvKv  
 tóWqvɪg we,wɪ,wɪ,wɪ wUg Ges BvUvi b`vkbvj GKv`k  
 wUɪgi gɪa` Abpɪvi Z tLj v mZtùžʔvte fvw½qv hvq|

tóWqvɪg nBɪZ AvMɛɪj tɪzi gZ evni vMZ  
 μxov`kKMY i Ycŋ ž mwbɪKi b`vq j vVɪmvUvmn wŋQɪj  
 mvŋgj nBqv hvq| i vRavbxi wewf bɛ Gj vKvi wŋQj ,wj  
 Avl qvgx j xM cɛvb tkL gɪRej i ngvɪbi gL nBɪZ wɪt`k  
 j vɪfi Dɪɪ tk` gWZwSj ` tnvɪUj ceŋYxi w`tK AMɪi  
 nBɪZ \_vɪK| tej v 3 Uvi w`tK tnvɪUj ceŋYxi mɔɪLf vM  
 tj vɪK tj vKvi Y` nBqv hvq|

Dɪj ɛɪhvM` th tej v mvto 3Uvq tnvɪUj ceŋYxɪZ  
 Avl qvgx j xM cvj ɪtɪg>Uvi x cwUŋ %eVK Abpɪvɪbi K\_v wQj |  
 %eVK i i` nBevi cɛeB ceŋYx tnvɪUj Gj vKvq wZj  
 avi tYi VvB \_vɪK bv| GB mgq gWZwSj ` Gj vKvi wewf bɛ  
 fɛɪbi Qvɪ` `vovBqv nvRvi nvRvi gvb| tkL mvɪnɪei  
 wɪt`k j vɪfi Avkvq cZxŋv Kwi tZ \_vɪKb| %eVK tkɪl  
 msMvɪgi KgŋPx tNvl bv Ki v chŋ- RbZv ceŋYx tnvɪUj  
 Gj vKvq `vovBqv \_vɪKb|

BwZgɪa`B cɛb gq`vb GK mZtùžʔ Rbmɪt`ŋ  
 cwi YZ nq| GB mgql i vRavbxi wewf bɛ gnj ✕ Ges  
 kni Zwj Gj vKv nBɪZ GɪKi ci GK wŋQj cɛɪbi w`tK  
 AvwmɪZ \_vɪK|

cē tbi mZtùž<sup>©</sup> Rbmgt<sup>0</sup> Dī t<sup>0</sup> ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vb  
Qvī j xMi mfvcwZ bti Avj g wmi Kx, mvavi Y m<sup>0</sup>uv<sup>0</sup> K  
kvnRvnb wmi vR, XvKv wek<sup>0</sup>e<sup>0</sup> vj q tK<sup>0</sup> xq Qvī msm<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup> i  
mn<sup>0</sup>mfvcwZ Avtmtgt Avā j i e, mvavi Y m<sup>0</sup>uv<sup>0</sup> K Avā j  
Kī m gvLb, AvUI w<sup>0</sup>E<sup>0</sup>E<sup>0</sup>Ym<sup>0</sup>Ē<sup>0</sup>ti i MYAf<sup>0</sup> vti bvqK  
RvZxq cwi l<sup>0</sup> i m<sup>0</sup> m<sup>0</sup> Rbve tZvdvtqj Avng<sup>0</sup>, RvZxq  
k<sup>0</sup>gK j xMi mvavi Y m<sup>0</sup>uv<sup>0</sup> K<sup>0</sup>RvZxq cwi l<sup>0</sup> i m<sup>0</sup> m<sup>0</sup> Rbve  
Avā j gvb<sup>0</sup> c<sup>0</sup>g<sup>0</sup> fvl Y<sup>0</sup> vb Kti b|

GB wekvj Rbmgt<sup>0</sup> RvZxq cwi l<sup>0</sup> Awa<sup>0</sup>tekb<sup>-</sup> wMZ  
tNvl Yvi Zxe<sup>0</sup> c<sup>0</sup>Ē<sup>0</sup>ev<sup>0</sup> Āvcb Kti b| mgvte<sup>0</sup>tk Avl qvgx j xM  
c<sup>0</sup>avb tkL g<sup>0</sup>Rej ingvb KZ<sup>0</sup> tNwl Z Kg<sup>0</sup>m<sup>0</sup>Pxi c<sup>0</sup>Ē<sup>0</sup> c<sup>0</sup>Y<sup>©</sup>  
mg<sup>0</sup> Āvcb Kiv nq| wekvj Rbmgt<sup>0</sup> RbM<sup>0</sup>ti Awa<sup>0</sup>Kvi  
Av<sup>0</sup>vtqi Rb<sup>0</sup> eR<sup>0</sup>kc<sup>0</sup> Mhb Kti b|

mfvi wef<sup>0</sup>b<sup>0</sup>e<sup>3</sup> v<sup>0</sup> j gZ w<sup>0</sup>b<sup>0</sup>we<sup>0</sup>ktl RbMY<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup>K HK<sup>0</sup>ex  
nl qvi Rb<sup>0</sup> Avnevb Rvbvb| mfvt<sup>0</sup>ktl wekvj Rbmgt<sup>0</sup>  
w<sup>0</sup>g<sup>0</sup>Qj Kwi qv bl qvecj m<sup>0</sup> i NvU, Bmj vgcj, PKevRvi  
nBqv knx<sup>0</sup> w<sup>0</sup>gbv<sup>0</sup>ti Mgb Kti b| w<sup>0</sup>g<sup>0</sup>Qj Kvi xMY AvR  
(g<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>j evi) kn<sup>0</sup>ti c<sup>0</sup>Y<sup>©</sup>ni Zvj cvj tbi Avnevb Rvbvb|

AvK<sup>0</sup>w<sup>0</sup>m<sup>0</sup>K<sup>0</sup>f<sup>0</sup>vtē RvZxq cwi l<sup>0</sup> i Awa<sup>0</sup>tekb<sup>-</sup> wMZ  
tNvl bvi c<sup>0</sup>Ē<sup>0</sup>ev<sup>0</sup> MZKvj ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vb Qvī BD<sup>0</sup>w<sup>0</sup>bq<sup>0</sup>tbi  
D<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup> v<sup>0</sup>tM (g<sup>0</sup>wZqv M<sup>0</sup>c) GK we<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup>vf w<sup>0</sup>g<sup>0</sup>Qj ewni Kiv nq|  
Z<sup>0</sup>v<sup>0</sup>ni v evqZj tgvKvi i g c<sup>0</sup>½<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup>Y GK Rbmgt<sup>0</sup>te<sup>0</sup>tki  
Av<sup>0</sup>tqvRb Kti b| mf<sup>0</sup>vq l<sup>0</sup>ohš<sup>0</sup>Kvi x<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup> i P<sup>0</sup>μ<sup>0</sup>vš- c<sup>0</sup>Ē<sup>0</sup>znZ  
Kivi kc<sup>0</sup> Mhb Kiv nq|

Bnvi c<sup>0</sup>te<sup>©</sup> XvKv ev<sup>0</sup>ti i AvBbR<sup>0</sup>w<sup>0</sup>eMY w<sup>0</sup>g<sup>0</sup>Qj Kwi qv  
evqZj tgvKvi i g c<sup>0</sup>½<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup>Y mg<sup>0</sup>teZ nb| Z<sup>0</sup>v<sup>0</sup>ni v evqZj  
tgvKvi i g c<sup>0</sup>½<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup>Y kvn Aw<sup>0</sup>RRj ingv<sup>0</sup>tbi mfvcwZ<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup>Zj  
GKmf<sup>0</sup>v Ab<sup>0</sup>p<sup>0</sup>vb Kti b|

D<sup>0</sup>tj <sup>0</sup>thvM<sup>0</sup> th, MZKvj mKvj nB<sup>0</sup>tZ tcv<sup>-</sup> v<sup>0</sup>tMvj v  
Gj vKvi k<sup>0</sup>gKMY ō<sup>0</sup>f<sup>0</sup>Ē<sup>0</sup>vi f<sup>0</sup>w<sup>0</sup>gKvi c<sup>0</sup>Ē<sup>0</sup>ev<sup>0</sup> ō<sup>0</sup> kn<sup>0</sup>ti we<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup>vf  
c<sup>0</sup> k<sup>0</sup> Kti b|

BnvQ<sup>0</sup>ov, MZKvj m<sup>0</sup>Ü<sup>0</sup>v Ges i vtZl i vRavbxi wef<sup>0</sup>b<sup>0</sup>  
Gj vKvq we<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup>vf c<sup>0</sup> k<sup>0</sup> Ae<sup>0</sup>vnZ <sup>-</sup>v<sup>0</sup>tK| m<sup>0</sup>Ü<sup>0</sup>vq i vRavbxi  
wef<sup>0</sup>b<sup>0</sup> i v<sup>-</sup>vi tgv<sup>0</sup>to mZtùž<sup>©</sup> c<sup>-</sup>mf<sup>0</sup>v l<sup>0</sup> mgvte<sup>0</sup>tk Ab<sup>0</sup>ō<sup>0</sup>Z  
nq|

MZKvj weK<sup>0</sup>vtj kn<sup>0</sup>ti i me<sup>0</sup> k<sup>0</sup>wš<sup>0</sup>c<sup>0</sup>Y<sup>0</sup>f<sup>0</sup>vtē we<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup>vf  
c<sup>0</sup> w<sup>0</sup>k<sup>0</sup> nB<sup>0</sup>tj l<sup>0</sup> GK<sup>0</sup>t<sup>0</sup>k<sup>0</sup>xi K<sup>0</sup>tqKRb tj vK bvR w<sup>0</sup>m<sup>0</sup>tbgv

nŧj i wUŧKU KvD>Uvŧi AwMe msŧhvM Ki vi cŧvm cvq|  
BnvŧZ wmŧbgv nŧj i mvgvb" ¶wZ nq| Aek" cŧi  
Rbmnavi Y Av, b wbfvBqv tdŧj b|

BnvQvov, i vRavbxi ŧKvb ŧKvb Gj vKvq wevf be  
cŧZôvŧbi mvBb tevW® evsj v tj Lvi bxŧP Bŧŧi Rx tj Lv  
\_vKvq GKŧkŸxi AwZDrmvnx e"³ Bŧŧi Rx tj Lv gŸQqv  
tdŧj ewj qv AwfŧhvM cvl qv hvq|

Kgj vcŧi cŧZev` mf v

MZKvj mÜ"vq Kgj vcj BDwbqb 8 bs l qvW®  
Avl qvgx j xŧMi GK mf vq RvZxq cwi l` "wMŧZi Zxe'  
cŧZev` Ávcb Ki v nq| Rbve l qvŧi k Lvŧbi mfvcwZŧZ;  
AbŸôZ GB cŧZev` mf vq Rbve Avãj gwZb, Rbve  
mvdvŧqZ tnvtmb, teMg tnvmŧb Avi v AvmvdŧŸŸj v cŧjL  
gvbŧl i AvkvĐAvKv•Lv cŧZdj ŧbi gŧL AvKwmŸKfvte  
RvZxq cwi l ŧ` i Awatekb "wMZ ŧNvl bvi Zxe'wb>` v Kwi qv  
e³ Zv Kŧi b|

mf vq GKZv k•Lj v i ¶l v Ki vi Rb" Kgj vcŧi i  
Awæevmxŧ` i cŧZ Avnevb Rvbvb nq| mf vq wbZ"  
cŧqvRbxq` ŧe"i mi ei vn l gj" mŸfwæK i vLvi l wmxvš-  
Mhb Ki v nq|

wc,AvB,G

RvZxq cwi l ŧ` i Awatekb Awbw` ØKvŧj i Rb" "wMZ  
i vLvi msev` kŧŧYi Ae"ewnz cŧi B XvKv" wc,AvB,Gi  
mKj KgPvi x Rbmnavi ŧYi mwnZ i v"vq bwggqv Avŧmb l  
wet¶vf cŧ kŧ Kŧi b|

Av` gRx wgŧj i kŧgKŧ` i KvR eRŧ

RvZxq cwi l` Awatekb "wMZKi ŧYi cŧZevŧ`  
Av` gRx RŸwgŧj i kŧgKMY KvR eRŧ Kwi qv GK wekvj  
ŧkvfvhvŸ v ewni Kŧi |

cŧi weKvj 5Uvq Av` gRx dŸJej gvŧV Av` gRx RŸJ  
wgj kŧgK BDwbqb, wmwxi MÄ \_vbw Avl qvgx j xM l  
wmwx i MÄ \_vbw QvŸ j xŧMi Dŧ` "vŧM GK wei vU cŧZev` mf vq  
AbŸôZ nq| "vbxq Avl qvgx ŧbZv Wt Avãj gvŧj K mf vq  
mfvcwZËj Kŧi b| kŧgK ŧbZv Rbve bi AvnæŸ` Lvb, Wt  
bj "j û`v, Rqbvj Avŧew`b, Rbve bj ŧgvnvæŸ`, Rbve

tMvj vg gl j v, Rbve tgrvei K Avj x cöL mf vq e<sup>3</sup> Zv  
Kti b| mf vq cö vte Kvj wej x| bv Kwi qv RvZxq cwi l t` i  
Awatekb Avnevb Ki v ` vex Rvbvb nq|

Awatekb - wMZ i vLvq Mf xi ` jL cKvk Kwi qv  
tkL gRe etj b (BtEdvK cizte` b )t

ÐÐÐÐÐÐÐÐÐi ay msL`vj wNÓ `tj i tmw>Utg†Ui Rb`  
cwi l` Awałekb `wMZ i vLv nBqv†Q Ges Avgi v Dnv  
bxi te mn` Kwi †Z cwi bv| Bnvi Øvi v MYZwšK c×wZ cØq  
e`\_©nBqv†Q| cwi l` Awałektbi Rb` evsj v†` †ki mKj  
m`m`B XvKvq wQ†j b| Rbve f†Ev Ges Rbve KvBqg  
Lv†bi `j Qvov cwØg cwK`vbx mKj m`m`B Awałektb  
thvM w` †Z i vRx wQ†j b|

ÐÐÐÐÐÐÐÐ wZwb etj bt Avgvi `j Avgv†K th †Kvb  
wm×vŠ- Mhb Ki vi ¶ gZv w`qv†Q| wZwb etj b th,  
cvj ¶g>Uvi x cvwU¶ m`m`MY MZ Kvj MZ 3i v Rvbqvi x  
ti m†Kvm© gq`v†b th kc\_ MhY Kwi qvwQ†j b Dnvi  
cpi veŸ Kwi qv†Qb| (A†av†i Lv cŸ Ě)

DD

DD

2i v gv†P© XvKvmn cġ` †ki Ae<sup>-</sup>v mᄁ†Ü 3i v gv†P©  
%` wbK B†Ėdv†K wbæwj wLZ cġZ†e` b cĶvwkZ nq t

ni Zvj t Kvi wd D f ½ t ni Zvj Đóvd wi ‡cvU9 |

RvZxq cwi l t` i Awatekb `wMZ tNvl Yvi c0Zevt`  
 evsj vi mYwaKvi Avt>`vj tbi gnvbvqK Avl qvgx j xM c0avb  
 tkL gYRej ingvtbi WvTK msMvgx evsj vi i vRavbx XvKv  
 bMi x MZKj `` (g1/2j evi ) cPU MRfb dvwUqv cto|  
 mefZvK ni Zvj DKewj Z bMi x mvi v w` b thb wgwQj bMi xtZ  
 chewmZ \_vtK| `j gZ wbwefk t me0 ti i MYgvb t i GB  
 bRxi wenxb mwweK ni Zvtj i `i "b i vRavbxtZ MZKvj  
 GKw` tK PpvS-APj ve`vi mwó nq, Aci w` tK DbmEt i i  
 MYAvt>`vj tbi AwemYi Yxq w` b , wj i `SwZ tK gwb Kwi qv  
 w` qv i vRct\_ Rbct` bwwgqv Avtm Aw` nxb AŠnxb RbZvi  
 tmvZ | mvi w` b ct\_ ct\_ Aeva c` mÂvti Avi i vtÎ mvÜ``  
 AvBb Rwi nl qvi ci mvÜ`` AvBb j sNb Kwi qv tmB

Rbmgỹ 0 cġ q i vġġ i weġġ ġ eġ½vcmvMġi i Dbġġ  
 RbKġġ ġġ i gZB cġġ MRġb evi evi MġRġv DġVġZ ġġK |  
 Kvi ġdDi ksLġġ Ave x i ġġġ i XvKvq Cwá Z %btkġāi  
 ġ äZv f ġġ½qv, weġġ ġ Qvġ ġRbZv ġKej B MġRġv DġVġZ  
 ġġK mNb MRġb 0Rq evsj v0 Avi tmB MYKġÚi AġgvN  
 aŸwbi mġ½ GKvKvi nBqv evZvġm evZvġm teovBġZ ġġK  
 ġ j xel ġbi Avl qvR | MZi vġZ XvKvq ġKvġvq ġK NġUqv  
 ġMqvġQ Zvnvi mġVK Zġġ Rvbn bv tmġġ I knġi i  
 nvmcvZvj ġ ġġ ġZ eġġ Uwe x ġġ vġKi ġfo ġVKB RġġġZ  
 ġġK | gaġi ġġġ chš-NUbn ġġġ ġbnZ ġġ eġġ³ i j vk I  
 Abġġ AaġZwāK AvnZ eġġ³ i nvmcvZvġġ bxZ nq|cġi  
 nvmcvZvġġ Avi I GKRġbi gZġġ nq|tgVUKġġ,  
 MZKvj ġKi XvKv ġQġ cġġZevġġ GKġÚ, cġġZÁvq Aġfbġġ  
 ġġ bvB, gZ bvB,cġ I tckvi cvġġġ bvB, tkL ġġRġei  
 WġġK GK I Aġfbġ nBqv mgM³ XvKv MZKvj MYZšġ I  
 mġwāKvġi i ġ vexġZ ġġebxZ ū¼vġi MġRġv DġVqvġQ, 0ġġġxb  
 KġÚ RvbnBqv ġġqvġQ t mġwāKvġi i cġġke ġKvb Avġcvl  
 bvB |

ni Zvj Gġġ ġk eū nBqvġQ ġKš' MZKvj ġKB XvKvi  
 ni Zvġġ i ġKvb Zj bv bvB | mKvj nBġZB mZtū Zġvġe  
 mKj ġġ vKvbcvU, eġġemvq ġK>ġ, hvbevnb Pj vPj eū  
 ġġK | mi Kvi x temi Kvi x mġqZġkwmZ ġKvb cġġZôvġbB  
 ġKvb KgPvi x MZKvj KvġR thvM ġġ q bvB | ġUb I ġegvb  
 Pj vPj mġúYġvġe eū ġġK, i vġġq ġKvb hvbevnb Pġġ  
 bvB, Mvoxġwi Kkv ewni nq bvB | GgbwK ġQvUġLvU  
 cvbġwewoi ġġ vKvbl eū i ġnqvġQ | Avi mKj KvRKg®  
 tdġj qv nvRvi nvRvi ġvbġ j ġVġi W nvġZ bġġqv AġwmqvġQ  
 i vRcġġ | mKvj nBġZB i vRcġġ RbZvi Aġek0š-tmġZ  
 ġġ ġLqv mgM³ kni UvġKB ġġb nBqvġQ GK ġġwQj bMi x tmB  
 ġġwQġġ i ġKvb ġi i " bvB | ġKvb tkI bvB | ġKš' GKwU ġbwġ 0  
 j ġġġ AvġQ evsj vi mġwāKvi | mKvj 11Uvq ġekġeġġvj q  
 eUZj vq Qvġ j xM I WvKmj Avnevġb GK mġġekvj  
 Rbmgỹġ 0 mġó nq| mf vġkġġ i vRcġġ bvġġ mġwāKvi Kvgx  
 RbZvi ġġwQj | evġki j ġV, KvôLŪ Avi ġġ vnvi i Wavi x  
 tmB MYġġwQġġ i ġġ cġġ mġvġi AhZKġÚi eRŪ¼vġi tgwġ bx  
 Kġwġqv I ġV Avi ġAġāKZi ej > nBqv I ġV evsj vi  
 RbMġYi mġwāKvi ġ vex | ġeKvġġ evqZj tgVvġi i g Ges



cë þbl Rbmfv AbyôZ nq| mÜ`v hZB NbxzfZ nBtZ  
 \_vþK RbZv ZZB i vRc\_ Qwoqv wbR wbR Nti i w`þK  
 AMni nq| wKš' mÜ`vi cti AvKwmKfvte mgM<sup>a</sup> knþi  
 Kvi wdD Rwi nl qvi m½ m½ weŋj RbZv Avevi i v`vq  
 bvvgqv Avtm| tkwMvþb tkwMvþb Pwi w`K cKwðúZ Kwi qv  
 knþi B wef bæ cŋš- nBtZ AmsL`K wgwQj Kvi wdD f½  
 Kwi qv i vRcþ\_ bvvgqv Avtm| GB mgq wei vU XvKv kni th  
 MYKþÚi Avl qvþR Wyeqv hvq| Avi i vRcþ\_ GB wgwQj  
 Pþj Mfxi i wî chš- AwaK i vî wgwQj Kvi xþ`i  
 tkwMvþbi cvkvcwk ,j xi Avl qvR tkvþ hvq| Zte  
 nZvnþZi mwVK msL`v Rvþ hvq bvB|

MZKvj (g½j evi) mvÜ` AvBb Rwi i ci knþi i  
 wef bæ `vþb ,j wex nBqv cŋq Aa<sup>o</sup> kZ e`w<sup>3</sup> nZvnZ  
 nBqvþQ ewj qv temi Kvi x mî Rvþ hvq| MZKvj i vî  
 ,j xþZ wbnZ 2 Rb AÁvZbvqv e`w<sup>3</sup> i gZþ`n XvKv  
 tgwWþKj Kþj R nvmcvZvþj Avþv nq Ges ,wj wex 40  
 Rþbi AwaK e`w<sup>3</sup> þK GKB nvmcvZvþj fWZ<sup>o</sup> Ki v nq|  
 BnvQvov, wguþdvW<sup>o</sup> nvmcvZvþj l ,wj þZ AvnZ 4 RbþK  
 fWZ<sup>o</sup> l 1RbþK cŋ\_wgK wPwKrmvi ci Qwoqv t`l qv nq|

MZKvj mÜ`v mvto 7Uvq ti wWl þZ XvKv knþi mvÜ`  
 AvBb Rwi i K\_v tNvl bv Kivi cti l knþi i wef bæ  
 Gj vKvq Rbmavi Y mZtù þFvte i v`vq evni nBqv cto|  
 knþi i cŋq meŋ Rbmavi Y mvÜ` AvBb f½ Kwi qv  
 weŋj vþf dvwUqv cto| PZj`K nBtZ AwaK i wî chš-  
 weŋj vþf tkvfvhvî xþ`i wef bæ cKvi tkwMvþbi MRþb mgM<sup>a</sup>  
 kni Avþj woZ nBqv cto| gwj evM, bevecj, wUcj  
 mj Zvb ti vW, MfYþgU nvDmþi vW, wW,AvB,wU GwfwbD,  
 wRben GþfwbD, gwZwSj, wUKvUþj, m`i NvU, ZvZxevRvi  
 tcv`vþMvj v, bwi >`v, i vþqi evRvi, wbDgvþKŋ, tgvnvðš`cj,  
 Kvl i vbevRvi, i vRvi evM, eskvj BZ`w` Gj vKvi i v`vq  
 i v`vq weŋj vþf cŋ kŋ Ges weŋj vþf Kvi xþ`i Dci  
 ,j xel þbi msev` cvl qv hvq| mvÜ` AvBb \_vKvq Mvox l  
 Gðj`vþÝi Afvte AvnZþ`i nvmcvZvþj `vþvšþ wej wðZ  
 nq ewj qv Awf þhvM tkvþ hvq| ,wj wex Avgvb Dj wþ bvþg  
 GKwU 12/14 ermþi i tQþj XvKv tgwWK`vj Kþj R  
 nvmcvZvþj AwaK i vî cŋYZ`vM Kþi ewj qv cŋß Leti  
 Rvþ hvq|



AvMvgx 7B gvP<sup>®</sup>weKvj 2Uvq ti m†Kvm<sup>®</sup>gq`v†b Awg  
GK MYmgv†etk fvl Y`vb Kwi e|tmLv†b Awg cieZx<sup>®</sup>  
wb†`® cŃ vb Kwi e|

RbM†Yi cŃZ Avgvi Avnevb msMvg mksLj I kwš-  
cY<sup>®</sup> Dcv†q Pvj vB†Z nB†e| D"QsLj Zv Avgv†`i  
Av†>`vj †bi mŷ<sup>®</sup> ¶jYekwi †e Ges MYwe†i vax kw<sup>3</sup> I Zv†`i  
fvowUqv Pi †`i B mŷ†\_¶xvi Kwi †e|

3i v gv†P<sup>®</sup>GK Rbmfvq †kL gŷRe etj b (4Vv gv†P<sup>®</sup> B†ĖdvK  
cwĤ Kvq cKwkZ cŃZ†e`b wk†i vbv) t

ŃŃ¶ gZv n`vš† bv Kiv chš- Ki LvRbv

eÜŃŃ(óvd wi †cvU¶i)

RvZxq cwi l †`i Awa†ekb `wMZ i vLvi cŃZev†`  
†Nwl Z KgŃPx cvj †bi wŃZxq w`etm MZKj` (eævi)  
XvKvi HwZnwmK cēb gq`v†bi DĖvj Dĭg, wekvj  
Rbmgt`Ń D†ĭ †k` fvl Y`vbKv†j Avl qvgx j xM cĥvb †kL  
gŷRej ingvb weMZ w`†bi NUbvej xi cUf wgtZ wePvi  
Kwi qv Zgj Ki Zwj i g†a` mvgwi K mi Kvi †K Awej †æ|  
MYcŃZwbwa†`i n†`-¶ gZv mgcŷ Kwi qv e`vi v†K wdw qv  
hvl qvi Avnevb RvbvBqv Rj`Mæxi m†i †Nvl bv K†i b t  
evsj vi MY cŃZwbwa†`i nv†Z ¶ gZv mgcŷ Kwi qv e`vi v†K  
wdwi qv bv hvl qv chš-mi Kv†i i mwnZ mŷwaKvi Kvgx evsj vi  
gvb| Avi mn†hwMZv Kwi †e bv, †Kvb Ki ÐLvRbvl w`†e  
bv|

QvĤ j xM I RvZxq kŃgK j x†Mi thš\_ D†`v†M  
Av†qwRZ GB gnZx mgv†etk AvMhe`Kj Ahž  
†kŃZgŮj x†K mv¶x i wLqv Avl qvgx j xM cĥvb meŹZ†K  
Awnsmv Amn†hvM Av†>`vj †bi WvK w`qv mi Kvi xĐ†emi Kvi x  
PvKi xRxex†`i cŃZ wb†`® †`bt cŃi v†`k bv †`l qv chš-  
Avcbvi v AwdmĐAv`j †Z hvl qv eÜ i vLb| †eZvi  
†Uwj wfk b I cĤ cwĤ Kvi cŃZ wb†`® w`qv wZwb etj bt  
ŃŃhw` Avgv†`i e<sup>3</sup> e` weewZ, Avgv†`i Av†>`vj †bi  
Lei vLei cKvk cPv†i i Dci wewa wb†l a Av†i vc Kiv nq,  
tm wb†`® Avcbvi v j sNb Ki "bŃŃ|

fġAvDMst`i Dġġ k` wZwb etj b t 00MYZvwšK wbqġg  
cŲxZ GK kvmbZŠġ hw` bv Pvb, Avcbvġ`i kvmbZŠġ  
Avcbvi vB i Pbv Ki "b, evsj vġ` ġki kvmbZŠġ Avgi vB i Pbv  
Kwi e| 00

MYAwaKvi Avġ` vj ġbi mWZKvMvi HwZnwmK cĕ b  
 gg`vġb Qvġ j xM mfvcwZ bġi Avj g wmwġ Kxi mfvcwZġZ;  
 AbyôZ Rxeġbi me© ġi i gvbġġi GB gnwZ mgvġġk  
 fvi vµvš- KġŲ e³ Zv ġi i " Kwi qv Gevi Kvi Avġ` vj ġbi  
 mPbvcġe© mġwaKvi Kvgx ôth exi eŲj v AvZŲvŲwZ w` ġj bŲ  
 Zvrvġ`i cŲZ Mfxi kŲv Ávcb cŲmġ½ 7 ġKwU evOvj xi  
 weġġä KŲmġ ġK wbġRi KġŲ Zġj qv j Bqv Rj `MŲġi mġi  
 wZwb ġNvl bv Kġi bt 00evsj vi gvbġ LvRbv ġ`q, U`v ġ`q  
 i vóª Pvj vġbvi Rb`Đ Ųwj Lvl qvi Rb` bqġ ZvB, Mi xe  
 evOvj xi cqmvq ġKbv eġj ġUi `Ųi v Kvcġ ġġi gZ MYnZ`vi  
 cwi eġZ© Aweġ ġġġ tmbvewnbxġK wdi vBqv wbb evsj vi  
 kvmbfvi evsj vi wbeŲPZ MYcŲZwbwaġ`i nvġZ Zġj qv  
 w` b| 00

ce© ġNwġ Z KgŲPx Abġvqx ġkL mvġnġei GB  
 mf vġkġġ cĕ b gg`vb nBġZ GKwU MYwgwQġj i ġbZZġ;  
 Ki vi K\_v wQj | wKš' cġi GB KgŲPx cwi eZb Kwi qv wZwb  
 mgvġġk fvl Y `vb Kġi b Ges RbMġYi Avġ KZĕ` wbġ` K  
 Kġi b|

gŲgŲ ŲRq evsj vŲ ġkvMvġb gġLwi Z cĕ ġbi tmB  
 wekvj Rbmġġ ŲAvi emġšġ %eKwġ K mhġK mvġġ x i vŲLqv  
 ġkL gŲRe `β KġŲ ġNvl bv Kġi b, 00 cŲŲ Avgi v cŲŲ |  
`vbġei mġ½ msMvġġi Rb` thġKvb cwi bwZġK gv\_v cvwZqv  
ei ġYi Rb` Avgi v cŲŲ | ġZBk eQi awi qv i³ w`qv  
AvwmqvŲ, cġqvRbġevġa eġKi i ġ³ i M½v envBqv w`e|  
Zey mvġġ vr gZġi gġL `vovBqvġ evsj vi exi knx`ġ`i  
i ġ³ i mġ½ teCgvbx Kwi e bv|

wb>` vi fvl v Rvbv bvB

e³ Zvi ġi i "ġZB ġkL gŲRe eġj b, `ġL fvi vµvš-  
 gġb AvR Avwg GLvġb Avwmqv `vovBqvŲ | wZwb eġj b,  
 MZ i vġġ ĐMZ `Bw` ġb ŲeŲġj vKŲ nZ`v Ki v nBqvġŲ | Avwg  
 wbġR ġgwbMvġbi Ųwj i Avl qvR ġ wbqvŲ | GB nZ`vKvġŲi

wb>`v Kivi fvlv Avgvi Rvbn bvB| wZwb etj b, Mi xe  
 gvbŋli cqmva kwš- l kšLj v iŋv ewnbxi fi YĐtcvl b  
 Pŋj | Zvŋi i`wqZŋt`ki ŋvĐmvavi Y gvbŋli wei "t× Zvŋi  
 e`envi Kiv DWPZ bq| wZwb etj b, wbi`i RbZvŋK , wj  
 Kwi qv nZ`v Kiv Kvcj "l Zvi B kwgj | wZwb Awej tα kwš-  
 l kšLj v iŋv ewnbxŋK e`vi vŋK wdi vBqv j Bqv  
 MYĐcŋZwbwaŋi nvŋZ ŋgZv Zwj qv t`l qvi`vex Rvbnb|

Avgi v`vqx bwn |

t`tki eZgvb m¼U cwi wZi cUf wgKv weŋkŁb  
 cŋt½ tkL mvŋne etj b, GRb` Avgi v`vqx bBĐ GRb`  
 `vqx MYĐcŋZwbwaŋi wbKU ŋgZv n`všŋ evbPvj cŋvmx  
 lohšKvi x`j | wZwb etj b, tgRwi wU RbMY Avgvi  
 tcQŋb| wKš' RvZxq wmxvš- Mhŋbi tej vq Avgvi mŋ½  
 Avj vc Avŋj vPbv Kiv nq bvB| wZwb etj b, fŋÆv  
 cwi l t`i Aweatekb`wMZ Kwi qv APj ve`vi mŋó  
 Kwi qvŋQ| wKš' Zvi wei "t× A`i ai v nq bvB| A`i ai v  
 nBqvŋQ wbi`i kwš- Kvgx gvbŋli wei "t× | tkL mvŋne  
etj b, Awg Avevi ewj , Av, b j Bqv tLj v Kwi ŋeb bv| hw`  
Kŋi b, cyoqv fmŋ nBqv hvBŋeb|

gZŋi f q t`LvBŋeb bv

mswké gnŋj i Dŋl t`k` KŋVvi mZKŋvYx D"Pvi Y  
 Kwi qv tkL gwRe etj b, evsj vi gvbŋŋK gZŋi f q  
 t`LvBŋeb bv| kĬ"i mŋ½`ŋŋŋŋei mŋ½`ŋhŋŋMi mŋ½  
 tKvj vKŋj Kwi qvB Avgi v ewPqv AwQ| gZŋi mŋ½ cvÄv  
 awi qv, gZŋŋK eK cwZqv ei Y Kwi qvB Avgi v mŋwaKvi  
 Av`vq Kwi e| e³ Zvi GK chŋŋq wZwb kwšcYŋvŋe  
 Avŋ`vj b cwi Pvj bvi Rb` RbMŋYi cŋZ Avnŋvb Rvbnb|  
 wZwb etj b, D"QšLj Zv Aŋ`vj b wec`Mvgx Kwi tZ cvŋi |

Awemŋi Yxq mgvŋek

MZKj`Kvi cēŋbi MYmgj`³ wQj bvbv w`K w`qv  
 Awemŋi Yxq| wbaŋi Z mgŋqi eû AvŋMB mgM³ cēb

tj v†KĐtj vKvi Y" nBqv hvq| Avi mfv i i " nl qvi Av†MB  
 tmB Aw`ĐAŠnxb Rbmgt` i tmvZ wWAvBwU Gwf bj, wRben  
 Gwf bj, evqZj tgvKvi i g , GgbwK , tóWqv†gi Qv` chŠ-  
 mqj ve Kwi qv t` q| MZKj "Kvi GB Rbmfv i g†a" mgvtek  
 NwUqv†Q mKj `†i i gvb†l i | eqm, tckv, mvgwRK ghv, v,  
 tcvl vK cwi "Q` Avi tPnvi v Zv†` i hZB Awgj \_vKK, wgj  
 wQj | GKwU t¶†† nv†Z ev†ki j wV, j ¶" evsj vi  
 mwaKvi | t` wLqv g†b nB†ZwQj , evsj vi mwaKv†i i `vex  
 Avi ev†ki j wV evsj vi gvb††K mKj tf`v†f` we`Z  
 Kwi qv GK Kwi qv w`qv†Q|

†Kvi Avb †Ztj vqv†Zi gva`tg mgvtek i i " nq|  
 i i "†Z †K>`xq Qv† j x†Mi mvavi Y mœuv`K kvRvnb wmi vR  
 AvR (en`úwZevi ) nB†Z ci eZx°Pvi w`†bi Kg†Px †Nvl Yv  
 K†i b|

cŕ vevej x

mgv††k cŕ ve cvV K†i b †K>`xq Qv† j x†Mi `Bi  
 mœuv`K Gg, G, i wk` | GK cŕ †te kwŠ-I kšLj v i ¶v  
 ewnbxi , wj el †b wbnZ evOvj x fvB†` i we†`nx AvZ†vi  
 gvM†di vZ Kvgbv I †kvKmšß cwi evi e†M¶ cŕZ Mfxi  
 mg†e`bv Ávcb Kwi qv GB RNb" nZ`vKv†Ŭi cŕZ ev†`  
 cŕZ†i va Av†>`vj b Mwqv †Zvj vi Avnevb Rvbvb nq|

GK cŕ †te msM†gi Ask MhbKvi x kwŠ-I kšLj v  
 i ¶vewnbxi , wj †Z AvnZ exi evOvj x†` i evPvBqv i vLvi  
 Rb" m¶`evb evOvj x fvB†` i ew e`vs†K i ³ cŕ ††bi  
 Avnevb Rvbvb nq|

GK cŕ †te †kvl bnxb mgvR e`e`v Kv†q†gi Rb"  
 mgvRZwŠK A\_œwZ I w††Rvj MYZš; cŕZ ōvi gva`tg  
 Kl. KĐkŕgKĐi vR Kv†q†gi kc\_ Mhb Ki v nq|

GK cŕ †te e½eÜy tkL gyR†ei tbZ†Zi cY° Av`v  
 i wLqv Zvni mKj w†`R I Kg†Px†K h\_vh\_†v†e cvj b  
 Kwi qv msM†g Pvj vBqv hvl qvi wmxvŠ-Mhb Ki v nq|

me†kl cŕ †te `j gZ wbe†k†l evsj v†`†k cŕZwU  
 bi Đbvi x†K e½eÜy tkL gyR†ei tbZ†Zi msM†g Pvj vBqv  
 hvl qvi Avnevb Rvbvb nq|

Rbmfvq e<sup>3</sup> Zv Kti b WvKmj mvavi Y m<sup>3</sup>úv` K Avãj  
 Kĩ ĩm gvLb, tK>` ĩq Qvĭ j xĩMi mvavi Y m<sup>3</sup>úv` K kvRvnb  
 ĩmi vR Ges RvZxq kĭgK j xĩMi mvavi Y m<sup>3</sup>úv` K Rbve  
 Avãj gvb~~eb~~|

e<sup>3</sup> Zv c~~ĭ~~ĩt½ Rbve Avãj gvb~~eb~~ kĭgK mgvRtK Qvĭ  
 mgvtRi Kvta Kva ĩgj vBqv msMĭg Pvj vBqv hvl qvi Avnevb  
 Rvbvb|

kvRvnb ĩmi vR e<sup>3</sup> Zv c~~ĭ~~ĩt½ etj b th, hvi v Av, b  
 Rvj vq, j ĩcvU Kti Zvi v RbZvi msMĭgtK e`\_°Ki vi tPóv  
 Kwi tZtQ| WZwb etj b th, Bnv`i UvKv w`qv kws€Y°  
 Avt>`vj b evbPvtj i Kvtr bvgvtbv nBqvtr, thgb bvgvtbv  
 nBqvWQj 11 `dv Avt>`vj tbi mgq| WZwb GB me Pμvš-  
 Kvi xi Pμvš-Qvi Lvi Kwi qv tdĭj tZ RvMZ RbMtYi cĭZ  
 AvnŸvb Rvbvb|

ôôAvwg hw` bv \_vwKôô wkti vbtg Avi GKWU  
 cĭZte` b BtEdvK cĭĭ Kvq cĭKwkZ nq t (óvd ĩi tcvUŸi )

Avl qvgx j xM cĭvb tkL gĭRej i ngvb MZKvj  
 (eævi) cĕb gq`vtb GK wekvj Rbmgt` ĩ Dfĩ tk`  
 fvl Y`vbKvtj Zvni Abjcw`WZtZl wbfŸq mĭwaKvi  
 Avt>`vj b Pvj vBqv hvl qvi Rb` evsj vi RbMtYi cĭZ  
 Avnevb Rvbvb|

tkL gĭRe e`v\_vfvi vμvš-KtÚ etj b, ôônqtZv BnvB  
Avcbvt`i mvgtb Avgvi tkl fvl Y| AvMvgx i weevi  
ti mĩKvĩm° Avgvi e<sup>3</sup> Zv Ki vi K\_v| wKš' tK Rvtb, ĩm  
mĩhvM AvgvtK bvl t`l qv nBtZ cvti | ZvB AvR Avcbvt`i  
KvtQ Avi Avcbvt`i gva`tg evsj vi RbMtYi KvtQ Avwg  
ewj qv hvBtZwQ, Avwg hw` bvl \_vwK Avt>`vj b thb bv  
\_vtg|ôô AZ`š-axti axti wcĭ cwi Rtbi KvtQ Awšg evmbv  
cĭKvtki gZ te`bvi mĩi e½eÜj etj b, ôô evsj vi fvBtqi v  
Avgvi ÐAvwg ej wQ, Avwg \_vwK Avi bv \_vwKÐ evsj vi  
mĭwaKvi Avt>`vj b thb bv \_vtg, ev½vj xi i<sup>3</sup> thb e\_v bv  
hvq| Avwg hw` bvl \_vwK Avgvi mnKgxŸv AvtQb| Zvi vB  
tbZZj w`teb| Avi hw` tKnB bv \_vtK, Zej Avt>`vj b  
Pvj vBqv hvBtZ nBte| evsj vi Nti Nti cĭZwU ev½vj xĩK  
tbZv nBqv wbfŸq Avt>`vj b Pvj vBqv hvBtZ nBteÐ th  
tKvb gtj` evsj vi mĭwaKvi wQbvBqv AvwbtZ nBte|ôô

GB K\_v,wj ej vi mgq Avte†M evi evi tkL  
mv†nte†i KÚ Kwvcqv Kwvcqv DwV†Z \_v†K | Avi Zvi Revte  
cè †bi Rbmgỹ ò òRq evsj vi ò mNb MR‡b ì ay RvbnBqv  
t`q, fq bvB e½eÜy Avgi v cŦ Z |

4Vv gvP° Zwi †L AvRv` cwi Kvq wbaewj wLZ msev`  
 fvl` cKwkZ nq t

## AvRv`

4Vv gvP° 1971

### XvKv bMi x GK we†ù wwi Z AwMwMwi

XvKv bMi x GK we†ù wwi Z AwMwMwi | i v` vq i v` vq  
 Awj †Z Mwj †Z cvovq cvovq weŋjä RbZvi MMB we` vi x  
 KÚmj | Avevj ex Awakvi m†PZb gvb| tŋj v†f ti v†l  
 td†U cto c`e†R tewi tq G†m†Q i v` vq| bMi xi  
 NbemwZcY°Gj vKv, tj v ntq D†V†Q †Kvj vnj gLi | evm,  
 UvK, tgvUi, wi· v, mvB†K†j i PvKvM†j v ntq †M†Q `ä |  
 ce°evsj vi Awakvi ewÂZ mKj gvb| mKj k;Lj v fv½vi  
 kc\_ wbtq eRK†ú Avl qvR Z†j †QDi †³ i wewbg†q ntj l  
 tc†Z nte m†wakvi |

we†ù vi †YvgL evsj vD AwMwMwi td†U cto†Q MZ 1j v  
 gvP° `rcj t`oUvq| 1UvD5 wgwbtU tc†m†W>U Bqwnqv hLb  
 teZv†i 3i v gvP° AbjôZe` RvZxq cwi l†i Awatekb  
 `wMZ †Nvl bv K†i b ZLb evsj v t`†ki gvb| Zv†`i  
 weŋjä †PZbvi ewntcKvk†K tVwK†q i vL†Z cvi tj v bv|  
 evsj vi 7 †KwU gvb| 23 eQ†i i wbh°Zb Ges tkvl Y  
 t\_†K gw³ j v†f i AvKv•Lvq tfvU w`†q†Q Qq `dv†K ev½vj x  
 RbZvi `p wekym Qq` dv wf wĚK kvmbZš;cŦxZ ntj Zvi v  
 `xNŦ†bi tkvl b t\_†K gw³ j vf Ki te| wKš' tm Avkvq  
 ev` mva†j tmB me Kv†qgx m†\_ev` xi v, hvi v g†b K†i  
 Qq` dv wf wĚK kvmbZš;cŦxZ ntj tmvbi evsj v†K tkvl b  
 Ki vi Øvi wPi Z†i ntq hvte i "x | ZvB Pµvš-ĐPZj` †K  
 PµvšĐG†hb ev½vj x RwwZi m†wakvi †PZbv†K wPi Z†i  
 `äK†i t`qvi GK NY` cŦym| wKš- G c†Pón AZx†Z  
 tKvbw` b mdj nqwb| 1952 mv†j fvl v Av†`vj †bi ga`



w`tq th tPZbvi ntqtQ DtbW ce<sup>o</sup>mwaKvi AR<sup>o</sup>bi gta`  
 Zvi Pi g weKvk| ev<sup>1/2</sup>vj x RvWZi GB mwaKvi tPZbvi  
 fweL`r cwi YvZi Avfvm Kv<sup>o</sup>tgx m<sup>o</sup>v<sup>o</sup>xi v Dcj wä Kwi tZ  
 tcti wQ<sup>o</sup>tj b| ZvB 1952 mv<sup>o</sup>tj i 21tk tde<sup>o</sup>vi xtZ Zvi v  
 XvKv bMi xi i v`vq tb<sup>o</sup>tg G<sup>o</sup>tmwQj teq<sup>o</sup>tbU, e<sup>o</sup>`K, gvi Yv`i  
 wb<sup>o</sup>tq| tkvl Ki v GBme nvWZqvi e`envi K<sup>o</sup>ti wQj Avgv<sup>o</sup>t`i  
 ce<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>x evsj vi exi mšvb ei KZ, mvj vg, i wdK, RveYvi,  
 mvj vD<sup>o</sup>i xb c<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>Li Dci| Zv<sup>o</sup>t`i ZvRv L<sup>o</sup>tb i wÄZ ntqwQj  
 XvKvi Kv<sup>o</sup>tj v cxPXvj v i vRc\_| Zey tkvl K<sup>o</sup>t`i c<sup>o</sup>qvm mdj  
 nqwb| mvj vg ei K<sup>o</sup>tZi i<sup>3</sup> KwYKv t<sup>o</sup>tk Rb<sup>o</sup> wb<sup>o</sup>tqtQ GK  
 j <sup>o</sup> tKwU exi <sup>o</sup>mwbK| Zv<sup>o</sup>t`i K<sup>o</sup>tU mgm<sup>o</sup>ti aYvYZ nt<sup>o</sup>Q  
 wkKj fv<sup>1/2</sup>vi Mvb|

052 Gi c<sup>o</sup>qvm e`<sup>o</sup>nl qvi ci w<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> B f<sup>o</sup>R<sup>o</sup>t<sup>1/2</sup>zi gZ dYv  
 we<sup>o</sup>vi K<sup>o</sup>ti tkvl tKi `j 054 Gi Mbi vq<sup>o</sup>tK tQvej t<sup>o</sup>gti  
 wb<sup>o</sup>c<sup>o</sup>Y K<sup>o</sup>ti tQ, ewZj K<sup>o</sup>ti tQ 056 Gi kvmbZš<sup>o</sup>i Rvi x  
 K<sup>o</sup>ti tQ mvgwi K kvmb| Zvi ci l wei vg tbB| eü P<sup>o</sup>μ vtš-  
 gv<sup>o</sup>v wWw<sup>1/2</sup>tq evsj vi gvb| Gevi tctqtQ GK we<sup>o</sup>tkl  
 gl Kv| tfvtUi gva<sup>o</sup>tg Zvi v K<sup>o</sup>ti tQb m<sup>o</sup>thvtMi m<sup>o</sup>θ<sup>o</sup>envi |  
 ce<sup>o</sup>evsj vi 7 tKwU gvb| c<sup>o</sup>w<sup>o</sup>gv c<sup>o</sup>Ri c<sup>o</sup>Z`<sup>o</sup>q tkvl Y t<sup>o</sup>tk  
 gy<sup>3</sup> j vt<sup>o</sup>fi Rb<sup>o</sup> tfvU w`tq Rqh<sup>o</sup> K<sup>o</sup>ti tQ Qq `dv<sup>o</sup>tK|  
 ZvB AvR bZ<sup>o</sup>p P<sup>o</sup>μ vtš-tg<sup>o</sup>tZ D<sup>o</sup>tV<sup>o</sup>tQ tkvl K P<sup>o</sup>μ | tfvtUi  
 gva<sup>o</sup>tg c<sup>o</sup>Ü E RbM<sup>o</sup>tYi i vq<sup>o</sup>tK t<sup>o</sup>tk evbPvtj i Kwnbx  
 tkvl K<sup>o</sup>t`i NY<sup>o</sup> P<sup>o</sup>μ vš- Pj tQ| Zvi tbZZi w`t<sup>o</sup>Qb Rbve  
 f<sup>o</sup>Æv| c<sup>o</sup>Ütg 15B tde<sup>o</sup>vi x RvZxq cwi l t`i Awatekb  
 i i " Ki vi w`b avh<sup>o</sup>Ki v nBqvWQj | wKš' f<sup>o</sup>Ævi tM<sup>o</sup>qvZ<sup>o</sup>g  
 Rb<sup>o</sup>B tkl ch<sup>o</sup>š-Zv 3i v gv<sup>o</sup>tP<sup>o</sup>wc<sup>o</sup>Q<sup>o</sup>tq Avbv nq| Gevi l tM<sup>o</sup>  
 a<sup>o</sup>ti tQb wZwb Avm<sup>o</sup>teb bv| msL<sup>o</sup>vj wNô `tj i tbZv ntql  
 wZwb K<sup>o</sup>vq K<sup>o</sup>vq gvgvi evoxi Ave<sup>o</sup>vi LvU<sup>o</sup>t<sup>o</sup>Qb| f<sup>o</sup>Ævi  
 Rb<sup>o</sup>B tkl ch<sup>o</sup>š-tc<sup>o</sup>m<sup>o</sup>tW<sup>o</sup>U Awbw`<sup>o</sup> Kvtj i Rb<sup>o</sup> cwi l t`i  
 Awatekb `wMZ ti tL<sup>o</sup>tQb| Gi `wMZ Ki Y<sup>o</sup>tK evsj vi 7  
 tKwU Av`g mšvb AZxtZi Awf<sup>o</sup>ÄZvi Av<sup>o</sup>tj vtK mnRfvte  
 Mhb Ki tZ cv<sup>o</sup>ti wb| ZvB tc<sup>o</sup>m<sup>o</sup>tW<sup>o</sup>tUi tNvl Yv k<sup>o</sup>Z nl qvi  
 m<sup>o</sup>t<sup>1/2</sup> m<sup>o</sup>t<sup>1/2</sup> eva fv<sup>1/2</sup>v Rj Zi t<sup>1/2</sup>zi gZ Db<sup>o</sup>š RbZv  
 we<sup>o</sup>w<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> Bfvte i v`vq Qwotq cto| PZy`<sup>o</sup> K t<sup>o</sup>tk MYwgwQj  
 w<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> B tm<sup>o</sup>vZavi vi gZ wgwj Z nq tnv<sup>o</sup>tUj ceYxi Aw<sup>1/2</sup>bvq|  
 7 tKwU evOvj xi c<sup>o</sup>Ywc<sup>o</sup>q tbZv e<sup>1/2</sup>eÜy tkL gyRej  
 ingv<sup>o</sup>tbi wb<sup>o</sup>t`<sup>o</sup> K j vt<sup>o</sup>fi Rb<sup>o</sup> A<sup>o</sup>tc<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> v K<sup>o</sup>ti Awai AvM<sup>o</sup>n|

e½eÜy wmsnbv†` M†R© D†V †Nvl bv Ki †j b, fvB†qi v  
Avghi , I ohšj PZy` †K I ohšđ GB I oh†šj wei "†x i "†L  
`vovevi D†İ †k` Z`v†Mi Rb` c†Z n†q hvl |

i " ` 0 RbZv thb Zwß tcj bv| Zvi v Pvq wcb† tbZvi  
 KvQ †\_†K Avi I wKQj ` úó †Nvl Yv| †kL mv†ne weP¶ Y  
 i vRbxwZwe` †i gZB †Nvl Yv Ki †j bđ 48 NvUv ni Zvj 7  
 Zwi L †i m†Kv†m© Rbmfv| Zv†Z A†c¶ gvb RbZv Ljk  
 nj bv| Zvi v thb c††Yi AvKw•LZ Avi I GKwU ` úó  
 †Nvl Yv †kL mv†ntei KvQ †\_†K i b†Z †P†qwQj | wKš' †kL  
 mv†ne †Zv Avi KvPv i vRbxwZwe` bb th, Acwi c° mg†q  
 GKUv Av†eM c†Y †Nvl bv w`†q RbZv†K Ljk Ki †eb|  
 ZvB wZwb mgq w†q†Qb gvl j vbv fvmvb, Rbve AvZvDi  
 ingvb, Aa`vcK tgvRvd†i Avn†g`, Rbve bj "j Avgxb  
 c†L tbZ†` i mv†\_ Av†j vPbv K†i ev` e Kg†Px †Nvl bv  
 Ki †eb| eyx weteK m†úbe c†ZwU gvb| †kL mv†ntei  
 eyxgEvi cksmv K†i †Q c†K†U| wKš' RbZv \_v†gwb|  
 †kL mv†ne hv etj b wb Zvi v tkwMvb Zj j wgwQ†j wgwQ†j |  
 ce¶Yx †\_†K RbZvi fxo Ki †j v cè †bi w†` † j vf Ki j  
 Qv† tbZ†` i KvQ †\_†K| Zvi ci Pj †j v evqZj  
 tgvKvi i †g, wRb† GwfwbD, wbD gv†K† i v` vq i v` vq  
 Awj †Z Mwj †Z, cvovq cvovq mfv, wgwQj we†¶ vf,  
 Zvi ci 2i v gvP© m†hv© q †\_†K mhv© -GgbwK Mfxi i vZ  
 chš- RbZvi i " ` 0 fc †` Lv †M†Q XvKv bMi xi me¶ |  
 `††i i dv÷ © tMU Ges wewfb† `v†b wew¶ Bfv†e n†j v  
 , wj el †| evsj vi eû exi mšvb n†j v nZvnZ |  
 wek†e` `vj †qi eUZj vq AbjôZ nj HwZnwmK mfv|  
 me¶ B Qv† RbZv gwóexnv†Z kc\_ wbj m†waKvi AR†bi |  
 GKUv tnwj KPvi mvi w` b †fv† †fv K†i Do†j v XvKvi  
 AvKv†k| j wVavi x j ¶ j ¶ gvb| Zv†` i ti vl Avi tµ †ai  
 c†Kvk NUv†j v tnwj KPvi wUi w` †K| j wV D†P†q wPrKvi  
 K†i | Rvi x nj mvÜ` AvBb| wewfb† `v†b RbZv tkwMvb  
 Z†j wgwQj K†i f½ K†i †Q mvÜ` AvBb| Avi Ggb  
 cwi w` wZ†Z , wj ewl † n†q†Q wbePv†i | wgwQj Kvi x Qvovl  
 ew` †Z wbi xn bvi x†c†j "I † wk† i n†q†Q etj U wex| Gi  
 c†Zev` D†V†Q w` †K w` †K| †kL mv†ne Gi ewj ó c†Zev`  
 Rvbvevi Rb` tb†g G†m†Qb i v` vq| WvK w` †q†Qb,  
 m†waKvi AwR‡ bv nl qv chš- msM†g Pj †eB| 7B gvP©

ch\$- Awei vg ni Zvj cvj tbi Rb" wZwb Avnevb  
 Rwb tq tQb| Zvi eRK tU tNwl Z Avnevb mvov w` tq tQ 7  
 tKwU evOvj x| cYwc tZvi WtK AvR Zvi v Rxeb  
 w` tZl c tZ| tkvl K Pti k sLj fvOevi Rb" evsj vi  
 gvb| kixti i tkl i<sup>3</sup> we`y wemRb w` tZl Zvi v K tZ  
 bq| ZvB AvR w` tK w` tK WvK D tV tQ| tRv tMv evsj vi  
 gvb| Rv tMv, Avi vgtK nvi vg Kti tbtg Gtmv i v` vqD  
 tf t½ tdj mKj P v tŠt wkKo t|

(tkL mv tntei c t b Mg tbi  
 c t eGB wbeÜb wj wLZ | )

H mgq AvRv` c w t Kvq fvi c tB m x cv` K wQ t b tgvnv g` e` i` j  
 Avbv g Lvb| D<sup>3</sup> c w t KwU AvRv` GÜ cvej tKk Y wj wgtUW Gi c t  
 AvRv` tcn, tcv t i gbv, XvKv nB tZ tgvnv g` Kvgi` j Avbv g Lvb KZK  
 gy` tZ l cKwkZ nBZ |

4Vv gv tPp Ae` v m x tK 5B gv tPp B tEdv tK tRq evsj vi  
 Rq t wk ti vbtg wb x wj wLZ fvl` cKwkZ nq t (i vR%bwZK fvl` Kvi )

t gZvi` M bq, RbMYB th t` tki m wZ` Kvi kw<sup>3</sup> i  
 Drm, evsj v t` tki weMZ wZb w` tbi NUbvej x Zvnb  
 wbtm t` nfvte m c w bZ Kwi qv tQ| tA t` j fvl vi t  
 tgvKvtej v m w aKvi Kvgx wbi t` j msMvg c t g c t e Rqh p  
 nBqv tQ| evsj vi gvb t i` R t c t t q i g t L t` tki  
 c w t g v t j l g t b nq bZb Kwi qv wPŠ w fvebv i i`  
 nBqv tQ| t c m t W t U i t b Z, m t x j tbi t AvgŠ Y c t v L v b  
 Kwi qv m w aKvi msM t gi gnvbvqK tkL gyR t ei K t U th  
 c t q tNwl Z nBqv tQ,` j gZ wbe t k t l evsj vi gvb| Zv  
 Awf bw` Z Kwi qv tQ| AvMvgx Kvj t c m t W t U Bqvw nqv XvKv  
 AvMgb Kwi tZ cvti b e w j qvl tkv bv hvB tZ tQ|

exi ev½vj xi` R t c t i v t ai g t L` t b i g t a` B  
 ` M a w m qv c t o|` B w` b bv hvB tZB kni nB tZ mvÜ`  
 AvBb c t v nvi Ki v nBqv tQ| ce` w` b mvÜ` AvBb g p  
 w` tbi XvKv l thLv t b mvgwi K c t i x t` i Avbv tMbv, GgbwK  
 t t t t w e t k l j x e l b l Kwi tZ t` Lv wMqv tQ, MZKvj  
 tmLv t b w` evfv tM ev i w t Kv t j l kn ti mvgwi K c t i x t` i



`ðcvtq `wj qv mwaKvi Avt`vj tbi Kvtdj vtK j ¶ c t\_   
 AvMvBqv j Bqv Pwj qvtQ| e t j U I D`Z m½xtbi g t L   
 mwaKvi Avt`vj tK tRvi`vi Kivi gvb t m c t\_ c t\_ Zvi v   
 Mwoqv Zwj qvtQ `j S N` ðe`wi tKW0| mvgwi K c h i x t` i   
 hšhv tbi AM Mgb c0Z t i v t a i R b` c w \_ g t a` t K v \_ v l t M v U v   
 t i j e w M ` v c b K w i q v , t K v \_ v l e v m Ð U v K D e v B q v , A v e v i   
 t K v \_ v l e v t M v U v M v Q t d w j q v , B t U i t ` q v j Z w j q v A \_ e v   
 w e k v j w e k v j K s w K t U i P v c I t j v n v j ° i ` v c b K w i q v t h   
 e j n Z v n v i v M w o q v t Z v t j Z v n v t h b B m j v t g i B w Z n v t m i   
 0 L > ` t K i h t x i 0 K \_ v B m f i Y K i v B q v t ` q | d j k w Z t ` w L q v   
 g t b n B q v t Q 0 L > ` t K i h t x i 0 w b q t g B e v s j v i g v b j G e v i   
 C g v t b i c i x ¶ v q D E x Y ° n B q v t Q | A m t Z ` i w e i " t x m t Z ` i   
 A b ` v t q i w e i " t x b ` v t q i m s M v g t k l c h S - t h m v \_ K Z v i   
 m Y a v t i D b w Z n B t e Z v n v i A v j v g Z t h b m e f w e a Z |   
 A Z x Z w b q t g e v ½ v j x i m w a K v i A v t ` v j b t K w e c \_ M v g x   
 K i v i R b` K P µ x g n t j i K v i m w w R I t h w Q j b v Z v n v l   
 b t n | j j Z i v R , A w M e n s t h v M , ` v b x q Ð A ` v b x q n v ½ v g v   
 N U v B q v A i f k w ³ g v \_ v Z w j t Z c b v m c v B t j I m w a K v i   
 m s M v g x t ` i c e j Ð c 0 Z t i v t a i g t L X v K v b M i x t Z B w Z g t a`   
 Z v n v i t Q ` c w o q v t Q | g n j w q g n j w q m t P Z b Q v K g 0 I   
 t m " O v t m e K t ` i K t V i c h i v A i f k w ³ ` t w f m w Ü e v b P v j   
 K w i t Z m ¶ g n B q v t Q | d j Z t M Z K j ` k n t i m v g w i K   
 c h i v e v c w j t k i A v b v t M v b v b v \_ w w K t j I t K v \_ v l t K v b   
 j j Z i v R e v A w M e n s t h v t M i N U b v N t U b v B |

A t ` j S ¼ v i , k w ³ i A v ù v j b m e w K Q j g t L e v s j v i   
 g v b t l i n B q v t k L g y R t e i K t Ú c h t q c h t q t h m N b   
 M R 0 a y w b Z n B q v t Q , G t ` t k i A v c v g i g v b j t K Z v G g b B   
 c Z ` q x K w i q v Z w j q v t Q t h , A w d m Ð A v ` v j Z , K j Ð K v i L v b v   
 e ` e m v q x c 0 Z 0 v b , .. K i w c e o m v t n e t Q v U m v t n e n B t Z   
 i i " K w i q v g v q w c q b c h S - G K w U c 0 Y x l n w w R i v w ` t Z h v b   
 b v B | w ` b g R j Z v i K v t R h v q b v B , w i K k v A t U v Ð w i K k v ,   
 e v m Ð U ` w w i P v K v t N v t i b v B | G K w U g v l e ` w ³ Z t K w N w i q v   
e v O v j x i w P t E A v R G g b B A v t j v o b R w M q v t Q t h , Z v i   
w b t ` K e ` Z x Z e v s j v , c K w Z i G K w U ` e K I t h b A v i   
A v t ` w j Z n B t Z R v t b b v | m s M v g x e v s j v i A v c v g i g v b t l i   
K t Ú K Ú w g j v B q v c w j k I B w c A v i e w n b x i e v ½ v j x   
R I q v t b i K Ú I D " P w K Z n B q v t Q 0 R q e v s j v 0 t k w w v t b |

Avi tm mti i Abmi Y Rwmqvto mi Kvi x cPvi gva'tgl |  
 GKkvij th teZvi I tuuj wfk b wQj Rbmtyi bvmvji i  
 ewnti, MZ epevi nbtZ th `BwU gva'gl ORq evsj vi O  
RqMvib glwi Z | MZKvj nbtZ Oti wwi cwwK`vb, XvkvO  
tKej OXvkv teZvi tK>`O Avi OcvwK`vb tuuj wfk bO tKej  
OXvkv tuuj wfk bO ewj qv tkOZgUj xi tL`gtZ nwwRi  
nbtZto | Oevsj v I ev1/2vj xi e`bvMxwZB GLb Zvt`i cAvb  
 DcRxe` | mewKQy wvj vBqv wePvi Kwi tj t`Lv hvq, MZ  
 wZbw`tbi Avt>`vj b i vR%bwZK A1/2tb evsj vi gb I  
 gvbmtK GZw`tb GKmtI Mw\_Z Kwi tZ mng nBqvto |  
 ORRj fqO ev OAt`j fvl vqO AZxtZ th KU`vevBqv t`I qv  
 mae nBqvto, tm KU Gevi GKwU gvI tkwMvib glwi Z  
 ORq evsj v | O

GKB Zwi tL omsMvgx RbZvi cOZ tbZvi Awfb>`bO

wkti vbtg wbaej wLZ cOZte`b cKwkZ nq t(ovd wi tcvUfi)

Avl qvgx j xM cAvb tkL gyRej ingvb tkvl b I  
 Dcwbtekev`x kvmb Ae`vnZ i vLvi I ohtsj wei "tx i "wLqv  
 `vovBevi Avnevib mvov t`I qvi exi RbZvtK Awfb>`b  
 RvovBqv Zvnt`i thtkvb gtj mwaKvi Av`vtqi msMvg  
 Pvj vBqv hvl qvi Rb`cOZ \_vKvi Avnevb Rvovb |

MZKvj (en`uWZevi) GK weewZtZ tkL mvne  
 RbMYtK mti Y Ki vBqv t`b th, Pig Z`vM mxKvi Qvov  
 tKvb w`b tKvb RwZi gy<sup>3</sup> ARZ nq bvB weewZtZ wZwb  
 etj b t Ootkvl b I J cwbtekk kvmb Ae`vnZ i vLvi  
 I ohtsj wei "tx i "wLqv `vovBevi Rb`Avgvt`i WvtK  
 evsj vt`tki cOZwU bi Dbvi x wki th wecj mvov w`qvto  
 tmRb`Awg exi RbZvtK Awfb>`b RvovB | wekjevnx  
 t`wLqv i vLjK, evsj vt`tki wbi`QvI DkOgK RbZv etj tui  
 gtLI wK`j Š- mvnm I `pZv j Bqv Zvnt`i AwaKvi  
 ni tYi Pmvtst wei "tx i "wLqv `vovBqvto | O OAvgt`i  
 Avtcvl nxv msMvg RbZv th, fvti ni Zvtj i `i "b mP kZ  
 Amveav I Ktoi tgvKwej v Kwi qv Avt>`vj b Pvj vBqv  
 Avmqvto, Z3/4b`I Awg Zvnw`MtK Awfb>`b  
 RvovB | Aek`B gtb i wLtZ nBte, Pig Z`vMmxKvi Qvov  
 tKvb RwZB tKvbw`b gy<sup>3</sup> ARB Kwi tZ cvti bvB |

RbMY†K ZvB th†Kvb g†j " mᵛwaKvi Av`vqK†í msMᵛg  
Pvj vBqv hvl qvi Rb" cŕ ȳ \_wK†Z nB†e| 00

005B Ges 6B gvPᵀ mKvj 6Uv nB†Z `ȳj 2Uv  
chᵛ- ni Zvj Pwj te| ZvB wba ewYȳ wel qmgn ni Zvtj i  
Avl Zv nB†Z Ae`vnwZ t` l qvi c†qvRb t` Lv w` qv†Q|

(1)thme mi Kvi x l temi Kvi x Awd†m Kgᵀvi xi v GLbl  
teZb cvb bvB, i ay teZb `v†bi Rb" tmᵛwj weKvj  
AvovBUv nB†Z mvto 4Uv chᵛ- tLv v \_wK†e| i ay  
evsj vt` †ki AbpaŸ© 15kZ UvKvi teZ†bi tPK fv½v†bvi  
Rb" Dwj wLZ mg†q e`v¼mgn l Pvj y\_wK†e| †óUe`v¼†K G  
e`vcv†i c†qvRbxq e`e`nv chY Kwi †Z nB†e|  
†óUe`v¼†Ki gva`†g ev Ab" tKvb fvte evsj vt` †ki ewnti  
UvKv cvVv†bv hvB†e bv ti kb t` vKvb Ges Lv` " mi ei vnKvi x  
ms`nvᵛwj l GB m†hv†Mi m0`envi Kwi †Z cv†i |

(2) Avi l hnv ni Zvtj i Avl Zvq Awmte bv, tmᵛwj  
nB†Z†Q, nvmcvZvj l J l †ai t` vKvb, nvmcvZvtj i Mvox  
(G`vᵛ†j Ÿ), Wv³ v†i i Mvox, mvsev`K l msev`c†ŕ i Mvox,  
l qvUvi mvcvB, M`vm mvcvB, B†j KᵀwUK mvcvB, `vbxq  
tUwj tdvb Ges evsj vt` †ki wewfba tRj vi g†a`  
Uv¼†Uwj tdvb, `gKj ewnbx, SvoŸ vi , gqj vi AveRᵀvi  
Mvox|

6B gv†Pᵀ B†ĎdvK cŵŕ Kvq 0wWd`v†±v.0 wk†i vbv†g

wbaej wLZ GKwU msev` fvl " c†KwkZ nq t (i vR%bwZK fvl "Kvi )

mᵛwaKvi msMᵛ†gi DĎvj tRvqvi ev½vj xi gb l cŕY  
AvR Ggb Kwi qvB mqj ve Kwi qv w` qv†Q th, GKgvŕ cᵀvi  
gva`g Qvov c†` †ki tKvbl Kg†K†`B AvR Avi PvKv  
tNv†i bv|

t` ke`vcx mvavi Y wbeᵀP†bi ci `xNᵀ b AwZewnZ  
nB†j l mgm`vi ci mgm`v mᵛó Kwi qv kvmbZš;cŕYqb Z\_v  
RbcŕZwbwa†` i nv†Z ¶ gZv AcŸ wej wᵛZ Ki vi cŕZev†`  
ev½vj xi KZᵀ evsj vi Avcvgi gvbŕ B w` í Kwi qv j Bqv†Q|  
GB Kvi †YB MZ K†qKw`†b RvZxq cwi l †` i wbi sKk  
msL`vMwi ô `†j i cvj ¶†g>Uvi x cwUᵀ tbZv tkL gwRej  
i ngv†bi W†K mvov w` qv Zvnvi v Amn†hwMZvi gva`†g  
c†` †ki temvgwi K c†kmvbhš†K mᵛúŸ© weKj Kwi qv

w`qv†Q| MYH†K`i †mB `†f` c†Pxi †f` Kwi qv  
 m†fweK c†kmb e`e`v Kv†qg Ki v Avi m`e nq bvB|  
Rbc†Zwbwa†`i nv†Z ¶gZv mgwcZ bv nB†j I evsj vi  
Avcvgi gvb| †e½eÜj † nv†Z AvR GgbB ¶gZv Zvj qv  
w`qv†Qb th, Zvni wb†`R I c†E QK g†ZB †óU e`vsK  
nB†Z `i` Kwi qv mi Kv†i i mKj wefvM†K KvR Kwi †Z  
nB†Z†Q| Awd†mi KvR Kwi evi Rb` bq, †Kej teZb  
Av`v†qi Rb`B mi Kvi x, temi Kvi x Kg†K†`† KgPvi xi v  
Awd†m hvB†Z†Qb Ges †óU e`vsKmn mi Kvi x wefvMMvj †K  
ekse†`i gZB †kL mv†n†ei ûKg Zwgj Kwi †Z nB†Z†Q|  
 mi Kvi x cPvi gva`g ,vj i mj I MYg†x Kwi †Z nBqv†Q|  
 KvR eR† Kwi qv Awd†m Abcw`Z \_wK†j teZb KZ†bi  
 th †i I qvR c†`†k cPvj Z Av†Q, c†`†ki mKj  
 Awdm†Av`vj Z APj Kwi qv †`I qv m†Z†| KgPvi x†`i  
 Gevi Kvi Abcw`Z Kv†j i teZb KZ†bi `†mvm Kvni I  
 bvB|

†`†ki `†B Ast†ki g†a` †GK gv† tmZyewj qv cwi wPZ  
 th, wc,AvB, G KgPvi x†`i Amn†hwMZvi `i`b Zvni AvR  
 APj | wegvb e>`i †`wL†j g†b nq, cwi Z`v<sup>3</sup> †Kvb  
 †M†Kvj v| we†`kx †Kvb wegvb AvR Avi tm wegvb e>`†i  
 Av†m bv, Avm†Z cv†i bv,†Kvi Y wc,AvB,G KgPvi xi v †Kvb  
 c†q†UB Avi Kg†Z bb| wc,AvB,Gi wegvb AvR Avi  
 wba†wi Z wbq†g †`†ki `†B Ast†ki g†a` thvMv†hM i ¶v  
 K†i bv| eyKs Awdm, Bb†Kvqi x, wi †cwUŠ tm†Uvi meB  
 AvR wb`ä| Zeygv†S g†a` wc,AvB, Gi `†GKLwb wegvb  
 XvKvq Avm†Z†Q ev hvB†Z†Q| †we†kI e`e`vax†bB† Bnv  
 Pvj †Z†Q; wKŠ' tm e`e`v Kvni I Rvbv bv \_vKvq †Kvb  
 mvavi Y bvMwi †Ki c†¶ wUwKU msMh Kwi qv cw†g  
 cwK`†b Mgb m`e bq| Zeygv†S g†a` wc,AvB,G, wegvb  
 Avm†Z†Q†hvB†Z†Q, GK †k†xi hv† xi v XvKv Z`vM Kwi qv  
 cw†g cwK`†b hvB†Z†Qb, wKŠ' tm tmŠfvM`evb hv† xi v  
 †Kvb m†† wUwKU msMh Kwi †Z†Qb, wKfv†eB ev wegv†b  
 mgqmPx Rwbqv mgqgZ wegvb e>`†i nwwRi nB†Z†Qb,  
 Zvni eySevi Dcvq bvB| 2i v gvP†XvKvq Avmqv we†`kx  
 Uvb†RU c`v†m†vi XvKv wegvb e>`†i AvUKv cw†qv†Qb,  
 Kv†bKwUs dvB†Ui Afv†e w`†bi ci w`b ni Zvj RwbZ  
 Kvi †Y wegvb e>`†i Lv`vfv†e a†Kqv†Qb| wKŠ' AvŠRv†ZK



L`vwZmꝱúbe ms<sup>-</sup> v wcAvBG KZꝑ¶ GBme ŌwecbŌ hvÎ xi  
ZZꝑeavb ev \_vKv Lvl qvi e<sup>-</sup>e<sup>-</sup> vcbvi `vwqZjKl tegvj g  
wevmꝑZ nB†Z cwi qv†Qb|

Gw` †K me¶Z¶K ni Zv†j c†` †k tij tUb evm  
U<sup>-</sup>v xi l PvKv mꝱúY<sup>®</sup>eÜ \_vKvq MZ K†qKw` b hver XvKv  
nB†Z †Kvb cÎ cŵÎ Kv gdmj kni ev cŹ<sup>-</sup>š-AÂj †Zv  
`†i i K\_v, bvi vqbM†Äl hvB†Z cv†i bvB| teZv†i  
e<sup>-</sup>ZxZ Ab<sup>-</sup> †Kvb wbf¶†hvM<sup>-</sup> m†Î cŌ†` wkK i vRavbxi  
Lei vLei XvKvi ewn†i †cv†Q bvB|

†gvUK\_v, †` kevmxi cŌZ wbe¶PZ cŌZwbwa†` i  
`vwqZj cvj †bi AwaKvi cĶZ cŌ v†e AmxKZ nl qvq wbe¶K  
gŪj x AvR `†f<sup>®</sup> MYH†K<sup>-</sup>i gvi bv<sup>-</sup>; w` qv Gevi ŌA†<sup>-</sup>j  
fvl vi Ō GgbB Reve w` qv†Qb th,†kL g¶Re†i i ¶gZvi  
wcQ†b ŌwWDR†i Ō mxKwZ bv \_vwK†j l RbM†Yi g†bi  
gw>†i Zvi th mxxKwZ wgwj qv†Q Zvnb Zvnb†K cĶZ  
cŌ v†e evsj v†` †ki ŌwWd<sup>-</sup>v†±vŌ cĶvm†Ki gh¶<sup>-</sup>vq Awfwl<sup>3</sup>  
Kwi qv†Q| Zv, AšZt evsj vi e†K Zvi A½wj i wb†` R  
D†c¶v Ki vi gZ kw<sup>3</sup> ev ¶gZv †K>` †q mi Kv†i i †Kvb  
ms<sup>-</sup> vi B bvB cŌ†` wkK mi Kv†i i †Zv bvB|

7B gv†P¶ B†ĒdvK cŵÎ Kvq †Rbv†i j Bqwnqv Lvb 25†k gvP<sup>®</sup>  
Zwi †L RvZxq cwi l †` i Awa†ekb Avnevb Kwi qv†Qb ewj qv msev<sup>-</sup>  
cwi †ekb Ki v nBqv†Q|

Ōbi Lvb e†j bt AvBbZ †kL g¶ReB †` †ki kvmb  
cwi Pvj bvi AwaKvi xŌ wk†i vbv†g Avi GKwU msev<sup>-</sup> 7B gvP<sup>®</sup>Zwi †L  
cwi †ekZ nq t

j v†nvi , 6B gvP¶wekó KvDwYj gmwj g j xM †bZv  
Gqvi gvk¶j (Aemi cŌB) bj Lvb AvR GLv†b e†j b th,  
†kL g¶Rei i ngv†bi †` k kvm†bi %ea AwaKvi i wnqv†Q  
Ges ¶gZv n<sup>-</sup> vš†i i e<sup>-</sup>vcv†i mKj evav Awej †q| ` †  
Kwi †Z nB†e|†UW BDwbqb Kgx<sup>®</sup> e¶xRxex, QvÎ l  
i vR%bwZK Kg†` i GK wei vU mgv†e†k Rbve bi Lvb

etj b th, cwi l` Ktŋ 6ð` dv msp vš- mKj weŋi vŋai  
tgvUvgŋU wb®úwĒ mæe ewj qv wZwb wekŋm Kti b|

8B gvŋPŋ BtĒdvŋK Ōcwi l t` hvl qvi cŋæ weŋePbv  
Kwi tZ cwi, hw` Ō wkŋi vbvŋg wbæwj wLZ msev` cwi ŋewkZ nq t

(K) Awej tŋŋ mvgwi K kvmb cĒ`vnvi Ki v nq,

(L) mg`-tmbvevwnbxŋK e`vi vŋK wdi vBqv t` l qv nq,

(M) wbi`ŋ MYðnZ`vi Z`š-Ki v nq Ges

(N) wbeŋPZ MbðcĒZwbwŋt`i wbKU ŋŋ gZv n`všŋ Ki v  
nq|

ððevsj vi mŋwaKvi Avŋt`vj tbi gnvbvqK e½eÜj tkL  
gŋRej i ngvb MZKvj (i weevi) weKvŋj HwZnwmK  
ti mŋKvm® gq`vŋb mgŋek j ŋŋ j ŋŋ gŋ³ ðtmbvbx i eR`  
wbŋNŋ msMŋgx aŋYxi Zhŋvŋt`i gŋa` Rj`Mæxi mŋi  
Dcŋi v³ tNvl Yv Kti b| tcŋmŋWŋt>Ui Dŋŋ tŋk` tkL mvŋne  
etj bðŌAvcw b 25ŋk gvP® RvZxq cwi l t`i Awaŋekb  
WwKqvŋQb| AvŋM Avgvi GB me`vex gwbŋZ nBŋeð Zvi  
ci weŋePbv Kwi e, Awaŋekŋb thvM w`e wK bv | Ō GB`vex  
cŋY Qvov cwi l t` hvl qvi AwaKvi evsj vi RbMY AvgvŋK  
t`q bvB|

evsj vi mweK gŋ³ Avŋt`vj tbi ci eZx® tNvl bvKŋŋ  
BwZcŋeB tkL mvŋne 7B gvP®ti mŋKvŋm®fvl Y w`ŋeb ewj qv  
RvbvBqvQŋj b| tmB Abŋhvqx mŋwaKvi Kvgx j ŋŋ j ŋŋ tj vK  
e½eÜj wbŋt`K j vŋf i Rb` MZKj`Kvi GB mgvŋek  
thvM`vb Kti b| Avi tŋk wŋvbgŋLi j wVavi x tmB  
mŋwaKvi Kvgx Rbmgj`ŋK j ŋŋ` Kwi qv tkL gŋRe kc`β  
Kŋŋ etj b f vBŋqi v Avgvi, cŋŋZ nl | Gevŋi i msMŋg  
evOvj xi gŋ³ i msMŋg| i³ w`tZ Awg cŋŋZ | hw` Awg  
ev Avgvi mnKgx®vl WvK w`tZ bv cvŋi ð gŋ³ msMŋtgi  
cZvKv nvŋZ tZvgi vB AvMvBqv hvBl | wZwb etj b, ŌNŋi  
Nŋi Ō msMŋtgi`M® mevZŋK cŋZŋi va Mwoqv tZvj | gŋ³  
AvwmŋeB | Ō

RvZxq cwi l t`i Awaŋekŋbi Zwi L mæúwKZ  
tcŋmŋWŋt>Ui tNvl Yvi Dŋj E cŋmŋ½ wZwb G e`vcvŋi mŋ

msK†Ui Rb" †c†W>U Ges Rbve f†Æv†K `vqx K†i b|  
 wZwb Awf†hvM K†i b th, †Mvj gvtj i mʷó Kwi †j b f†Æv,  
 Avi ʷj x Pwj j evsj vi wbi xnÐwbi ʷi RbZvi Dci | wZwb  
 etj b, hLbB †`†ki msLʷvMwi ô RbMY A\_ʷr evsj vi  
 gvb| AvZ†c†Zôvq D†`vMx nBqv†Q, hLb Zv†`i nv†Z  
 wb†R†`i ev mgMʷ cwwK`v†bi fʷMʷ wbqš†Y fvi AwcZ  
 nl qvi m†hvM mʷó nBqv†Q, ZLbB Zv†`i Dci kw³ j Bqv  
 SvcvBqv cov nBqv†Q| wKšy†Kb ? KZKvj GB wbhʷZb  
 Pwj †e ? wZwb evsj vi gvb†l i Dci mvgwi K kw³ c†qvM  
 nB†Z wei Z \_vKvi Rb" mswkʷ gntj i c†Z Avnevb Rvbvb|  
 mgv†etk e³ Zv Kwi †Z `wvBqv eʷw\_Z m†i e½eÜj  
 RbZvi D†l†k" etj b, fʷB†qi v Avgvi , `†L fvi vµvš-g†b  
 AvR Awg Avcbv†`i mvg†b nwwRi nBqwQ| Avcbvi v meB  
 Rv†bb, meB tev†Sb| evsj vi gvb| gy³ Pvq, gvb†l i gZ  
ewP†Z PvqÐ AvZ† c†Zôvi AwaKvi Pvq| wZwb `†L  
 Kwi qv etj b, XvKv, PÆMvg, Lj bv, i vRkvnx, i sc†i  
 Avgvi fʷB†qi i†³ evsj vi gwU mqj ve Kwi qv †`l qv  
 nBqv†Q| wKšy†Kb? wK Abʷvq Avgi v Kwi qvwQj vg ?

evsj vi gvb| Avkv Kwi qvwQj Ð

Avl qvgx j xM c†vb etj b, KZ Avkv j Bqv G†`†ki  
 gvb| Avgv†K, Avgvi `j †K †fvU w`qv†Q| Zvi v Avkv  
 Kwi qvwQj RvZxq cwi l†`i Awa†ekb ewm†e, Avgi v  
 kvmbZš; %Zwi Kwi e, †`k†K mʷfʷv†e Mwohv Zyj e, gvb|  
 i vR%bwZK, A\_ʷbwZK l mvs`KwZK mʷwaKvi cvB†e| tm  
 Avkv c††Yi Rb" †Póvi Avgvi †wU wQj bvÐ †wU bvB|  
 wKš' Avevi l ohš;|

## 23 eQ†i i BwZnm

wēj ä K†Ú tkL mv†ne etj b, MZ 23 eQ†i i  
 BwZnm l oh†š; BwZnm, evsj vi gvb†l i eÂbv, AvZ†vb,  
 i³ `vb Avi gghʷ AvZbv†`i BwZnmÐ ev½vj xi i³ v³  
 Av†`vj †bi BwZnm| GB c††½ wZwb 052 mv†j i fvl v  
 Av†`vj b, 054 mv†j i wbeʷPb weRq bmʷv†Zi l ohš; 0  
 058 mv†j i mvgwi K kvmb Rvi x, 066 mv†j i QqÐ`dv

Avt>`vj b, 069 mvtj i MYDAvt>`vj b Ges Gevti i mwaKvi  
Avt>`vj tbi K\_v Dtj E Kti b|

t`vl wK Avgvt`i ?

tkL mvtne etj b, AvBqtei cZtbi ci Bqwnqv Lvb  
¶gZvq Awmqv kvmbZš, I MYZtšj cZtbi I qv`v  
Kwi qvQtj b| wKš' Zvi ci wK nBqvQ ? wZwb wRÁvmv  
Kti b, t`vl wK Avgvt`i ? wZwb etj b, 00tgRwi wU cwU¶  
tbZv wnmvte Awg 15B tdepx RvZxq cwi l t`i  
Awatekb WvKvi mpcwi k Kwi | wKš' tc0m+W>U fÆv  
K\_vgZ 3iv gvP©cwi l` Awatekb WwKtj b| ewj j vg, wVK  
AvtQ, RvZxq cwi l t` Avj vcDAvtj vPbv nBte| Ggbl  
Awg ewj qvQ th, cwðg cwK`vb nBtZ GKRB m`m`l  
hw` h³ m\$Z c0ve j Bqv AvMvBqv Avtmb, Dnv Mhb Kiv  
nBte| Zey Zvnt`i gb fti bvB| fÆv XvKvq Avtj vPbv  
tktl ewj qv wMqvQtj b, `ti vRv eÜ nq bvB, Avi l  
Avtj vPbv nBte| Zvi ci Awg gvl j vbv bi vbx, gvl j vbv  
gdZx gvngj cgtLi m½ Avtj vPbv Kwi qvQ| Zvt`i Awg  
ewj qv w`qvQ, evsj vi RbMY 6ð `dv l 11ð`dvi ct¶  
tfvU w`qvQ| Dnv cwi eZtbi ¶gZv Avgvi bvB| Gw`tK  
fÆv evsj vi gvb| tK Pigfvte Acgvb Kwi qv RvZxq  
cwi l` tK 0KmvB Lvbv0 ewj qv AvL`wqZ Kwi tj b, evsj vq  
Avmtj 0Wej wRw\$0 nl qvi gZ gše` Kwi tj b| RvZxq  
cwi l t`i Awatekb ewmtj tctkvqi nBtZ KivPx chš-  
ni Zvtj i fq t`LvBtj b| iay Zvnb bqð wZwb úgwK  
w`tj b tKvb cwðg cwK`vb m`m` XvKv tMtj Zvi gÜ  
cvZ Kiv nBte| Awg i vRx wQj vg, 35Rb cwðg cwK`vb  
m`m` RvZxq cwi l` Awatektb thvM w`tZ Awmtj b|  
wKš' Zey fÆvi tRt`i `vg w`tZ wMqv Awatekb gj Zex  
Kiv nBj | t`vl x fÆv, A\_P t`vl vi "c Kiv nBj Avgvi  
Dci ð evsj vi gvb| l i Dci | Awg kwš€Y© Avt>`vj tbi  
WvK w`j vg| msMvg i i " nBj ðkwš€Y©msMvg|

Avi GKwUI ,wj Pvj vBteb bv

Avl qvgx j xM c0vb cke tZvtj b, wKš' wK  
cvBj vg ? cvBj vg ,j x, wbhZbðgZ`j cti vqvbv| wZwb

etj b, evsj vi tkwl ZðewÃZ gvb| Abvnti \_wKqv t`k  
 i ¶vi A`i tKbvi Rb` th cqm v`qvQ, tm cqm vq tKbv  
 A`i c¶qvM Kiv nBtZtQ tmB evsj vi gvb| i B wei "tx  
 ÐZv`i wbePv`i cvLx wkKv`i gZ nZ`v Kivi Rb`|  
 mvgwi K ewnbxi Dt` t`k` tkL mvne etj b, Avcbv`i  
 `wqZ;t`k i ¶vÐ kÎj m½ hpx Kiv, evsj vi gvb| i Dci  
 nZ`vhÁ Pvj vBevi AwaKvi Avcbv`i bvB| e`vi vtK  
 \_vKb, c¶qvRbtevta ewntkÎ`i wei "tx hpx Kwi teb|  
 evsj vi gvb| i etK Avi GKUvl \_wj Pvj vBteb bv|

wKtmi tMvj tUvej ?

Avl qvgx j xM c`avb tMvj tUvej %eVtK thvM`v`b  
 m\$Z nBqvQ tjb evj qv tc`mW>U teZvi fvl tY th B½Z  
 Dtj L Kwi qvtQb Dnvi Revte tkL mvne etj b,  
 tc`mW>Ui m½ tUvj tdv`b Avj vc .Kvtj Awg ZvtK XvKv  
 AvmtZ evj | Awg evj qvQj vg, Avcb tc`mW>U, Avcb  
 Avmp, t`Lp, wKfvte gvb| i i³ j Bqv tnwj tLj v  
 Pwj tZtQ| t`wLqv wePvi Ki "b| wZwb etj b, wKtmi tMvj  
 tUvej , Kvi m½ ewme ? hvi v evsj vi gvb| i i³ wqvQ,  
 Zv`i m½ tMvj tUvej ewme ? ÐtKb? tkL gwRe etj b,  
 Awg tc`mW>UtK evj qv w`qvQ, knx`t`i i³ i `vM  
 i vRc\_ nBtZ GLbl i Kvq bvB| tmB i³ i Dci w`qv  
 nvUqv Awg tMvj tUvej hvBtZ cwi bv|

tMvcb %eVtKi ci

Avl qvgx j xM c`avb etj b, Awg tgRwi wU cwU<sup>®</sup>  
 tbZv, Avgvi m½ Avj vc bv Kwi qv, Avgvi m\$Z bv wqv  
 fÆvi m½ 5 N>Uv e`vcx tMvcb %eVtKi ci tc`mW>U  
 25tk gvP<sup>®</sup>RvZxq cwi l`i Aatekb WwKqvQb| teZvi  
 fvl tY wZwb Avgv`i Dci t`vl vi "c Kwi qvtQb| tMvj gvj  
 evavB tjb fÆv Avi \_j x Pwj j evsj vi gvb| i Dci |  
 cwi l`i Aatekb WwKv nBqvQ| wKš' Avgvi `vex  
 gwbtZ nBte|

i³ i m½ teCgvbx Kwi tZ cwi bv





tej v 2Uv 1OwgwbU nBtZ 3Uv 2OwgwbU chš- XvKv teZvti t`kvZtevaK m½xZ cwi tekb Kiv nq| 00Avghi tmvbi evsj v Awg tZvgvq fvj evm00Đ MvbwU tkl nl qvi m½ m½ tkl gyRei ingvtbi fvl Y wi tj i i " Kivi ceŋ| tb wekl KZŋi wbte`k 00RvZxq m½xZ 00 cwi tekb e`ZxZB AvKwmKfvte XvKv teZvti ZZxq Awatektbi mgwß tNvl bv Kiv nq| wekl KZŋi D³ wbte`ki c0Zevte` l tkl gyRei ingvtbi fvl Y wi tj Kwi tZ bv t`l qvq XvKv teZvti i KgPvi xMY mnthwmMZv Kwi tZ AmxKvi Kivq MZKvj %eKvj nBtZ XvKv teZvi tK>`U APj nBqv cwoqvQ|

c½Zt Dtj E` th, XvKv teZvti i wki xMY MZ 2iv gvP°nBtZ XvKv teZvti i mwnZ l mnthwmMZv Kwi qv RbZvi msMvtgi mwnZ GKvZv tNvl bv Kwi qvtQb|

mswké KZŋ XvKv teZvi KgPvi xt`i Kvtr thvM`vtbi Rb` Avj vcĐAvtj vPbv Pvj vBtj l AwaK i wŋ chš- tKvb teZvi KgPvi x Kvtr thvM`vb Kti b bvB Ges teZvi tK>`³ Pvj yKivi mæe nq bvB| tkl gyRei ingvtbi cY°fvl Y XvKv teZvti cPvi Kiv bv nBtj Zvnvi v Kvtr thvM`vb Kwi tZ mæZ bb evj qv Rvbw wMqvQ|

0Rq RbZvi Rq0 wkti vbtg Avi l GKwU msev` cKwkZ

nq|

Mfxi i wŋ tZ c0B Leti cKvk, mvgwi K KZŋ tkl chš- XvKv teZvi nBtZ tkl gyRej ingvtbi timtKvm° gq`vtbi c0 E fvl tYi cY° weei Y cPvti i AbgwZ w`tZ mxKZ nBqvQb| A` (tmvgevi) mKvj mvto 8 NwUKvq XvKv teZvi tK>`³ nBtZ tkl gyRejti i timtKvm° gq`vtb c0 E fvl Y cPvi Kiv nBte| evsj vi Ab`vb` teZvi tK>`³ nBtZ l Bnv i xtj Kiv nBte|

MZKj i wŋ tZ mvgwi K KZŋ Ges XvKv teZvti i ev½vj x KgPvi xt`i mwnZ mj xN°Avj vcĐAvtj vPbvi ci GB wmxvš- MhY Kiv nBqvQ| A` mKvj mvto 6Uv nBtZ XvKv teZvti i mƳfweK Abpwbw` l cPvi i i " Kiv nBte|



ôDĖvj ðDĭ vg Rj waz i ½ô wkti vbtg Avi l GKwU msev`

cKwkZ nq t (óvd wi tcvUŕi )

7B gvP° GKwU Awemŕe Yxq w` b| Abb`mvavi Y GB  
w` tbi HwZnvwmK ti m†Kvm° gq` vb| Awemŕe Yxq GB  
Abb`w` tbi ti m†Kv†m° evsj vi mŕwaKvi Av†`vj tbi  
gnvbvqK tkL gyRej i ngvb Ges Zvi wb†`K Kvgx mŕwaKvi  
%mwbK†`i msMŕgx m†sŕj b|

ômsMŕgx evsj v`jRq` xŕbZ| Kvnvi l Ab`vq cŕZ;  
gvwbqv tbi qvi Rb`, Kvnvi l K†j vbx nBqv, evRvi nBqv  
\_vKvi Rb` evsj vi gvb†l i Rbŕ nq bvBôð e½eÜj GB  
†ZR`ß tNvl Yvi B cbi veŕĖ Kwi qv evsj vi Aci v†Rq  
MYkw³ MZKvj (i weevi) ti m†Kvm° gq` v†b mŕweK gy³  
Av`v†qi B`úvZðKwVb kc†\_i` xwB†Z wcŕq tbZv†K thb  
`j ŠN` wb†`K cŕ vb Kti ôe½eÜj AvMvBqv P†j v Avgi v AwQ  
wcQ†b| ô Avi HwZnvwmK ti m†Kvm° gq` v†b Avengvb evsj vi  
evmšx mh°Avi D`vi AvKvk†K mvŕ x i wLqv MZKvj wbfŕK  
†bZv Ges exi RbZvi KÚmŕi GKB m†i aŕwbZ nBqv l †V  
hŕMðhŕMvš†, t`kð†`kvš†i i mKj gy³ ðwccvmy mf` RwZi  
ü`qevmbvi A†gvN gš; ôGev†i i msMŕg gy³ i msMŕg| ô  
aŕwb l †V j ŕ j ŕ K†Ú w` Mš- ôKvcvBqv ôRq evsj vŕ 7B  
gvP° ZvB evsj vi mŕweK mŕwaKvi Av†`vj tbi`jMŕ`j†  
c†\_i cŕ†š-GKwU AZj bxq mŕwZdj K|

MZKvj (i weevi) ti m†Kvm° gq` v†b mŕwaKvi Kvgx  
evOvj xi Xj bvvgqvŕQj| AvKv†i i wekvj Zv, Awf be†Zj  
Abb` gŕngv, Avi msMŕgx †PZbvi AZj %ef te GB  
Rbmgy` ô wQj bwRi wenxb| Avi tmB wekvj Rbmgy`†  
Av†i KwU j ŕ bxq w` K wQj nv†Z ev†ki j wVð K†Ú cŕ q  
i wŕi we†`ŕnx e†½vcmvM†i i mNb MRð| kZvāxi  
BwZnv†mi e†ŕ wej xb mŕaxbZv msMŕgx ZxZgx†i i ev†ki  
†Kj †`wL bvB wKš' MZKvj ti m†Kv†m° evsj vi  
mŕwaKvi Kvgx RbZvi nv†Z †`wLqvŕ ev†ki j wV| Avi  
tmB j wVi mgtek kãðMRð thb Kvgv†bi MR†bi B Reve  
nBqv MZKvj XvKvi AvKv†kðevZv†m fwmqv teovBqv†Q  
eüŕY| G†Ki j wV A†b`i j wV†Z †VvKvŕK Kwi qv Avi  
tmB m†½ e†R† wbKU nB†Z aŕwb Kwoqv tkwMvb w`qv  
evsj vi gvb† thb G†K Aci†K j ŕ` Kwi qv ewj †Z

Pwnqv†Q, 0eÜj †Zvgvi Qv†ov D†ØM mŹx² K†i v wPĖ  
evsj vi gwU `Rq LwU wP†b hvK `pĖ | 0

MZKvj ti m†Kv†m° j ¶ j ¶ tj v†Ki mgvtek  
NwUqwQj mvweK mŵwaKvi Av†`vj †bi cieZx° KgŵPx  
mᄡú†K° e½eÜj c\_ wb†`K j v†fi Rb`| AvwmqvQj  
cj bvi x, AkxwZci exðexv, KwPDwK†kvi, Zi "Y hēK,  
cwi YZ kŵgKĐRbZv| Zv†`i †Pv†LĐg†L wQj cŵZ†i v†ai  
AwMekLv, e†K e†K gŵ³, wccvmvi Rj š-wPZv| wKš' Zey  
Zvi v kvš- wQj, mshZ wQj ĐwQj e½eÜj gšg»  
tkŵZv| wbi xn| A\_P tmB RbZvB Avevi msMŵgx kc\_  
†Nvl bvq D"PwKZ nBqv DwVqv†Q gnv cŵ †qi DĖvj Rj wai  
gZ| ZvB†Zv, Avðh° GB †`k, Avðh° ev½vj xi gb l  
gvbm|

†ej v `Bwvq tkL gwR†ei mfv i i" nl qvi K\_v  
\_wK†j l wZwb g†Ā Av†mb †ej v 3Uv 15 wgw†U | wKš'  
Zey RbZvi g†a" A%eaĐAmwnòŹvi †Kvb j ¶ Y †`Lv hvq  
bvB| wbw`Œ mg†qi eû Av†MB bvi xĐcj "l wbwē†k†l  
RbZvi tmŵZ Avwmqv DcPvBqv cwotZ \_v†K Ges  
ti m†Kv†m° Dcj L†Ū| Avi Zv Rb†m†Z mqj ve nBqv hvq  
AwP†i B| eqm, †ckv, mvgwRK gh° v, †cvkvK cwi †"Q†`  
hZB Awgj \_vK†K, tm RbZvi g†a" Avðh° wQj nv†Zi  
ev†ki, j wV, K†Ūi tkwMvb Avi Aš†i i Aš†Zg j †¶"  
mŵwaKv†i i j †¶" |

†ej v wVK tmvqv wZbUvq mv`v cvRvgrĐcÄvexi ci  
(nvZvKvUv †KvU) gwRe †KvU° cwi wnZ e½eÜj g†Ā Avwmqv  
`wovB†j evsj vi exi RbZv eR° wb†Nv¶l Ki Zvwj l  
tkwMv†bi g†a" Zv†K Awfb>`b Rvbwq| †bZv g`y n`-  
Av†`vj †bi 0vi v RbZv†K Awfb>`b Rvbwq| Zvi †PvL g†L  
ZLb 7 †KwU gŵ³ Đ %mwb†Ki m†hvM" wmcvnmvj v†i i `j ¶  
†ZR`β KwVb" Avi msMŵgx kc†\_i `xw†Lj v Kwi †Z  
\_v†K|

†i m†Kvm° evsj vi gvb† †K cŵ†Yi Uv†b Wv†K| tm  
Wv†K mvov w`qv 1969Đi †de†vi x†Z ti m†Kv†m° evsj vi  
gvb† i wbwqv†Q GK BDwbU Avi c"wi wUi gZŹNvUv, 1970  
mv†j i 7B Rb i wbwqv†Q 6Đ `dvi Rqbv`, Avi 1971  
mv†j i 3i v Rvbwqvi x i wbwqv†Q 6Đ`dv 11Đ`dv ev`evq†bi  
0`\_hxb kc\_| Avi MZKvj l ti m†Kvm° gq`vb evsj vi

gvb| tK wbi vk Kti bvB| MZKvj ti mtkvm<sup>®</sup> gq`vtb  
 `rovBqv tkL gvrRe evsj vi gvb| tK WwKqv ewj qvtQb t  
 fvBtqi v Avgvi , mevZK msMtg kwi K nl | 7 tKwU  
 tkwl Z evOvj xi wej ja AvZwi AvZbv` tK wbtRi KtU  
 Zvj qv wqv tkL mvne tNvl Yv Kwi qvtQb, ōGevti i msMtg  
 g<sup>3</sup> i msMtg| Awg i<sup>3</sup> w` tZ cŕ Zŕ GB K\_wUi Øvi v  
 wZwb Zvi 2OwgbU e`vcx e<sup>3</sup> Zv mgvB Kti b| tkL gvrRe  
 hLb mRwZi msMtg i "cŕ Lv Zvi wbtRi Pi gZg Z`vMi  
 cŕ Z evYx tNvl bv Kwi tZwQj b ZLb Zvi KÚ Kvtc bvB,  
 \_vtg bvBdei s GK `j f k<sup>3</sup> i tRvti eŕRi ūvŕti i  
 gZB MwRqv DwVqvQ tmB gŕtZ<sup>®</sup> emŕŕ AvKvk nBtZ  
 we`vqx mthŕ Avtj vKi wk QovBqv cwoŕZwQj i gbvi cŕŕŕ  
 tbZv Avi RbZvi wki t`tkŕthb weavZvi Avkxeŕ | tmB  
 `j f j YwUŕZ 7tKwU ewÂZ gvb| i Awemsew` tbZvi  
 tmB msMtg i fcŕAci fc Awg t`wLwb KLŕbv AvtM|

mfv tkŕl meŕZK g<sup>3</sup> msMtg i th tKvb Z`vM  
 mKvŕti i msMtgx kc\_ `xŕ tkwMvŕbi ŕti Yj ti Yj Kwi qv  
 evZtm QovBqv w`qv mŕwaKvi ŕmwbKiv Nti tŕti `ŕ  
 wgwQj i c`Pvi Yvq i vRc\_ cKwŕúZ Kwi qv| 7B gvŕPŕ  
 ti mtkvŕtmŕ mgvtek thLvŕb tkl ŕ evsj vi mweK  
 g<sup>3</sup> ŕAvŕ`vj tbi Pi g Aa`vtqi tmLvŕbB i i" | ZvBtZv 7B  
 gvP<sup>®</sup> Abb`ŕAwemŕi Yxq|

Rbve kvnwi qvi BKej 1971 mŕbi gvP<sup>®</sup> gvŕm XvKvq cŕ\_g  
 tkŕxi g`wRŕóU wQj b| cwK`vŕbi tmbvŕŕvŕbi AwZ wbKUeZx<sup>®</sup>  
 `vŕb Dcweó \_wKqv tkL gvrRei fvl Y kŕY Kwi evi `j f Awf ÁZv  
 Zvnvi nBqvQj | Zvnvi fvl vq (e½eÜj tkL gvrRej i ngvb mŕi KMŕŕ1,  
 cŕ 214)t

ŕŕ 1971 mvŕj i 7 B gvP<sup>®</sup> ti mtkvŕtmŕ gq`vtb e½eÜj  
 HwZnwmmK e<sup>3</sup> Zv tkvbvi tmŕfvM" nŕqvQj | ZLb XvKvi  
 tWcyU Kwgkbvi G.wU.Gg. kvgmj nK Ges m`i Gm.wW.I  
 Gg. bj "¾vgvb AvgvŕK H mfvq Dcw`Z \_vKvi `wqZj  
 w`tqvQj b| ti mtkvŕtmŕ g`vŕbRvŕti i evmv wQj GKwU wUj vi  
 Dci | bxŕP wQj tNovi Av`vej | GLvŕb GLb cyj k  
 KŕUŕj i "g| Avgi v wUj vi Dci Ae`vb wbtq wQj vg|

ti m†Kvm<sup>o</sup> g<sup>o</sup>v†bRv†i i evmv t<sub>-</sub>†K K†qKwU Kv†Vi tPqvi  
 Avgv†<sup>o</sup> i emevi Rb<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> qv n†j v| wW.wm., Gm. wW.I Ges  
 Awg tmLv†b emj vg| bxtP wekvj RbZvi Xj | e½eÜy  
 gÂ t<sub>-</sub>†K e<sup>3</sup> Zv t<sup>o</sup> qvi Rb<sup>o</sup> Dcw<sup>-</sup> Z n†eb| wKQ¶ Y ci  
 t<sup>o</sup> Lj vg GKwU tLv†j v Rx†c GKRB wmwbi Awg<sup>o</sup> Awdmvi  
 Avm†j b| WvBf Ki wQ†j b GKRB AevOvj x Awg<sup>o</sup> K<sup>o</sup>v†P b|  
 wcQ†bi mx†U `ßRb A<sup>-</sup>avi x Awg<sup>o</sup> RI qvb| Gm.wW.I  
 bj “¾vgvb mv†ne Rvbv†j b GB e<sup>o</sup>w<sup>3</sup> n†”Qb cwwK<sup>-</sup> v†bi  
 Awg<sup>o</sup> me¶aBvqK, tRbv†j j nwg<sup>-</sup> | wZwbI G†m  
 em†j b GKwU Kv†Vi tPqv†i | A<sup>-</sup>†i Awg<sup>o</sup> I qvi †j mÐG  
 RI qv†bi v K<sub>-</sub>v ej wQj cvÄvex fvl vq| 19 wgwbtUi e<sup>3</sup> Zvq  
 e½eÜy tmw<sup>-</sup> b tNvl bv w<sup>-</sup>†j b, 00 Gev†i i msMvg gw<sup>3</sup> i  
 msMvg, Gev†i i msMvg m¶axbZvi msMvg00| e½eÜy tmw<sup>-</sup> b  
 Ab<sup>o</sup> †Kvb fvte m¶axbZv tNvl bv Ki †j Dci t<sub>-</sub>†K Gqvi  
 tdv†m¶ wegvb , wj el ¶ K†i j ¶ RbZv†K wbnZ  
 Ki †Zv| wZwb evOvj x RwZ†K Ggbfvte m¶axbZvi K<sub>-</sub>v  
 tkvbv†j b th RbZv wKb eßj , wKš<sup>o</sup> cwwK<sup>-</sup> vbx tRbv†j j  
 mv†ne wKQb Ki †Z cvi †j b bv| i vR%bwZK mfvi Long-hand  
 notes †bq, Gm.we. mveÐBÝ†c±i `ÐRb| tmB tbvU Attest  
 Ki †Z nq GKRB c0g tkØxi g<sup>o</sup>vwR†UU†K| wgwUs tkl  
 nl qvi mv†\_ `ßRb Gm.we. mveÐBÝ†c±i Attestation -Gi  
 Rb<sup>o</sup> Avgvi Kv†Q G†j v| Awg mZ<sup>o</sup>wqZ Ki j vg| ZLb  
 eß†Z cwi bvB BwZnv†mi Ab<sup>o</sup> GKwU “Magna Carta” Awg  
 mZ<sup>o</sup>qb m¶¶i Ki j vg| 00

cKZc†¶ B 7B gv†P¶ fvl Y GKwU Abb<sup>o</sup> mvavi Y fvl Y|  
 cw\_exi tk0 fvl Y, wj i g†a<sup>o</sup>B me¶k0|

i ay Zvnb bq| evsj vi RbMY Zvnt<sup>o</sup> i tbZvi wb†<sup>o</sup> R A¶†i  
 A¶†i cvj b Kwi †Z m†Pó wQj |

9B gv†P¶ B†EdvK `†ó cZxqgvb nq th 7B gv†P<sup>o</sup>tkL gwRe  
 KZK tNwl Z Kg¶Pxi wKQy†¶†† Ae<sup>o</sup>vnwZ c0 vb Ki v nq| 0GLbi  
 mgq Av†Q0 D<sup>3</sup> cw† Kvq wk†i vbv†g GKwU m¶úv<sup>-</sup> Kxq cKwKZ nq t

00MZ ci i XvKv ti m†Kv†m¶ HwZnwmK mgvte†k  
 e½eÜy tkL gwRe t<sup>o</sup> kevmx†K Zvni eû cZ<sup>o</sup>wkZ

c\_wb†`R `vb Kwi qv†Qb| ti m†Kv†mP fvl Y Qvovl  
 msev`c†Ĥ cĤ Ė GKwU `xN° weewZ†Z wZwb i vR%bwZK  
 cwi w`wZ AvbpcweK eYbv I e`vL`v cĤ vb, †cĤm†W†Ui 6B  
 gv†P† teZvi e³ Zvi KwZcq AmsMZ gše` I Amsj Me  
 Dw³ i Reve`vb Ges †`kevmxi D†Ĥ †k` `k`dv  
 0c\_wb†`R0 `vb Kwi qv†Qb| tmB m†½ wZwb †cĤm†W†U  
 KZK AvûZ RvZxq cwi l†`i 25†k gv†P† Awatek†b  
 thvM`v†bi KwZcq kZ† †Nvl bv Kwi qv†Qb| Zb†a`  
 mvgwi K kvmb cĤ`vnvi I tj vKvqĖ mi Kvi cĤZôv,  
 %mb`evwnbx†K QvDwb†Z cĤ`vnvi I Awej †x† †Mvj v, wj  
 e†Üi `vex cĤavb| †kL mv†ne kvMK†`i D†Ĥ †k  
 ewj qv†Qb, †`kUv†K Avcbvi v G†Kev†i aŸsm Kwi qv w`teb  
 bv, Ggb Ae`vi mŵó Kwi †eb bvĐ hvnv†Z Avgv†`i  
 ci`ú†i i gL †`Lv †`wLI eÜ nBqv hvq, GLbl ávZer  
 emevm Kwi evi m†thvM i wnvq†Q, tmB m†thvMU†K† Avcbvi v  
 wPi Z†i webó Kwi †eb bv Ges kw³ i Øvi v kvmb `xNŸi  
 Kwi evi †Póv Kwi †eb bv|

†kL mv†n†ei GB mZKevYx m†eP† †`k†c†g mÄvZ|  
 Rvbw hvB†Z†Q th, cŵĊg cŵK`v†bi mvavi Y gvb†l i  
 g†a`l GB wRÁvmv µ†gB cĤj I e`vcK nBqv DwV†Z†Q  
 th, eÜ i†³ i wewbgtq AwRŸ GB †`kwU†K i vR%bwZK  
 nVKwi Zv I I ohš\_i Øvi v Ges wbi`\_i gvb†l i wei`†x  
 †Mvj v, wj I `gbbxwZ Pvj vBqv wew`QbœKwi evi AwaKvi †K  
 Kvnv†K w`qv†Q| tmLvb nB†ZI AvR cĤj `vex DwV†Z†Q,  
 ceĤ†j GB Lp Lvi we eÜ Ki| nDK, mvgwi K kvmb  
 cĤ`vnvi I †kL mv†n†ei wbKU ¶gZv n`vš† Ki v nDK|  
 Gqvi gvk†j bj Lvb 6B gvP° j v†nv†i QvĤ Đk†gK  
 eyxRxexĐi vR%bwZK Kg††`i GK wei vU mgv†etk mej K†Ü  
 GB `vex DĤ vcb Kwi qv†Qb| Gqvi gvk†j AvRMi Lvbl  
 Zvnvi mvxcĤZK wewf bœ weewZ†Z Abj fc AwfgZB e`³  
 Kwi qv†Qb| MZ ci`i i †cĤm Kbdv†i †Ÿl wZwb ewj qv†Qb,  
 mvgwi K kvmb cĤ`vnvi I msL`vMwi ô`†j i wbKU ¶gZv  
 n`vš†B GB gŵ†Z† meĤavb KZĖ`| wZwb ewj qv†Qb th,  
 †kL mv†ne th kZ°Av†i vc Kwi qv†Qb, Zvnv meš†k b`vh` I  
 hy³ m½Z; e`Ÿ th Ae`vi mŵó Ki v nBqv†Q Zvnv†Z Bnvi  
 K†g wZwb Avi wK Kwi †Z cv†i b ? AmMi Lvb Avi I  
 ewj qv†Qb t kvmbZš\_i wPZ nq bvB ewj qvB mvgwi K kvmb

Pvj vBqv hvBevi tKvb h<sup>3</sup> bvB| t`ki ¶ vB Awg<sup>9</sup> gL`  
 `wqZ<sub>i</sub> Dnvi AwZwi<sup>3</sup> `wqZ<sub>i</sub> GgbwK ÔmsMwZi ¶ vi Ô `wqZ<sub>i</sub>  
 Ac¶I Dnv<sup>†</sup>`i Dci gvÎ wi<sup>3</sup> tevSv Pvcv†bvi B mgZj `|  
 Kv†RB Awg<sup>9</sup>K Kvj wej æ| bv Kwi qv Zvnt<sup>†</sup>`i wkwe†i  
 wdi vBqv tbi qv I mvgwi K kvmb cZ`vnvi Kiv KZ<sup>9</sup>|

Gme `vex I h<sup>3</sup> i mvi eĖv AbmKvh<sup>9</sup> e<sup>-</sup>žt AZx†Z  
 eû†¶† eûevi Ges MZ K†qK w`†bi NUbvej x†ZI  
 m†>`nvZxZfv†e cġwbZ nBqv†Q th, e†j U Øvi v, teq†bU  
 Øvi v, wbôj k<sup>3</sup> c†qvM Øvi v I wbh<sup>9</sup>Zb Øvi v mġwaKvi Kvgx  
 RbZv†K `gb Kiv hvq bv| Dnv†Z mgm<sup>ˆ</sup>v, RwUj Zv I  
 e<sup>-</sup>eavb e<sup>+</sup>xB cvq, nġm cvq bv| ms<sup>+</sup>ké gnj h<sup>ˆ</sup>  
 GZwKQj ci I Bnv bv e<sup>+</sup>Sqv \_v†Kb, Z†e Avi K†e  
 e<sup>+</sup>S†eb ?

mkm<sup>9</sup> ewnbx†K wkwe†i wdi vBqv tbi qv Ges ÔAwg<sup>9</sup>  
 i "j Ô Avi `xN<sup>2</sup>i bv Kivi wel †q Aemi cĖB Gqvi ġgvk<sup>9</sup> Øq  
 th Dch<sup>9</sup>wi `vex RvbvBqv†Qb, Zvnvi cwj wUK<sup>ˆ</sup>vj A\_\_<sup>9</sup>  
 Qovl mæeZt AwZwi<sup>3</sup> wKQj A\_\_<sup>9</sup>i wnvq†Q| mk<sup>-</sup>ġ ewnbxi  
 GKwU \_i "Z<sup>+</sup>Y<sup>9</sup> kvLvi GB cĖ<sup>3</sup> b AwabvqKØq DĖgi †cB  
 Rv†bb th, Awg<sup>9</sup> tUġbsUvB GKUv we†kl Kv†Ri I we†kl  
 ai †Yi | cġkvmb I i vó<sup>9</sup> cwi Pvj b Kv†h<sup>9</sup> Zvnt<sup>†</sup>`i  
 AwaKKvj RwoZ i vLv bvbw<sup>ˆ</sup>K nB†ZB A<sup>-</sup>†`wkZvgj K|  
 we†kl Zt eZġvb Nbvqgvb AvšRw<sup>9</sup>ZK cwi w<sup>-</sup>wZ†Z Dnv  
 tKvbµ†gB evĀbxq b†n| tmBRb<sup>ˆ</sup>B wegvb ewnbxi cĖ<sup>3</sup> b  
 cġvbØq GKUvbfv†e GB wel qwUi Dc†i c†t c†t AvNvZ  
 Kwi †Z†Qb th, kvmbZš<sub>i</sub> cġq†bi Rb<sup>ˆ</sup> A†c¶v bv Kwi qv  
 gv<sup>9</sup>k<sup>9</sup> ōj cZ`vnvi Kiv nDK Ges †gRwi wU `†j i n†<sup>-</sup>-  
 ¶ gZvc<sup>9</sup> Kiv nDK| wØZxq `dv mvgwi K kvmb Rwi i `ß  
 eQi c<sup>+</sup>Y<sup>9</sup> nBj | Bnv Aek<sup>ˆ</sup>B `xN<sup>9</sup> mgq| GLb hLb  
 RbM†Yi A†<sup>9</sup>µxZ A<sup>-</sup>ġI e†j U MYZwš<sup>9</sup>K AwaKvi Kvgx  
 wbi m<sup>9</sup> RbM†Yi e¶ B we<sup>-</sup>xY<sup>9</sup> Kwi †Z Avi æt Kwi qv†Q, ZLb  
 KZ<sup>9</sup>c†¶i I axi gw<sup>-</sup>†<sup>-</sup> e<sup>+</sup>Sv DwPZ th, kwš<sup>9</sup>c<sup>+</sup>Y<sup>9</sup>c†<sup>-</sup> kwš<sup>-</sup>-  
 I mġ<sup>-</sup>-c†t cĖZôv Kwi evi whwb k<sup>3</sup> i v†Lb Ges AvmMi  
 Lv†bi fvl vq GB ōŋf qvbK cwi w<sup>-</sup>wZi ōŋ Aemvb NUvBevi  
 whwb ¶ gZv i v†Lb, tmB meRbgvb<sup>ˆ</sup> bvqK e½eÜj n†<sup>-</sup>B  
 GB gġ†Z<sup>9</sup>¶ gZv n<sup>-</sup>vš† Kiv Aek<sup>ˆ</sup> KZ<sup>9</sup>| mKj mgm<sup>ˆ</sup>vi  
 Avī i vR%bwZK mgvav†bi BnvB GKgvÎ Dcvq| `ßwU  
 AĀ†j i gvb†I i āvZ<sup>9</sup>er emevm Kwi evi I BnvB mæeZt

meḥkl mṯhvM MZ AvUw`ṯbi NUbvej x`ṯó KZḥṯḥi Bnvl  
 Dcj wä Kwi ṯZ bv cvi vi ṯKvb Kvi Y bvB ṯh, 0ḥḡZv0  
 ewj ṯZ cḲZ cḥṯe hvnv eṢvq, Zvnvi KṯUṯḡ GLb Kvnvi  
 nṯṯ AvbṱwbK ḥḡZv n`ṯšṯ bv nBqv wḲṯZ cvi ,  
 wḲš' evKx meB nBqv wḲqvṯQ| RbMY Zvnvṯ`i mveḥḡḡgZ  
 Zvnvṯ`i B wbeḥPZ bvqK I cḥZwbwai gvaṯḡ cḥqvM  
 Kwi ṯZ Avi ṯḥ Kwi qvṯQ| Bnvi MwZcṯ ewj i eva mṱó  
 bvḐKwi qv GB 0ṯṯdBU q`vKḡcḥ ev msNwUZ ev`e mZ`ṯK  
 wbeḥvṯ` Awej ṯḥḡmḡKvi Kwi qv j I qvB wḲ weÁ RṯbwPZ I  
 `j`wkḂvgj K bq ? ḥḡZv fvj wRwbm, wḲš' ḥḡZvi `ḥḡI  
 AnḡKv AṯbK mgq wechḡqi Kvi Y nBqv `rovq | KvṯRB  
 ḥḡZvi `ḥḡI Dnvi Ace`envṯi i wei ṯx mswḲḲ mKṯj i B  
 mshZ I mZKḲ vKv KZḥṯ| RbZvB mKj ḥḡZvi  
 AwaKvi x gnvḡḡḡwbZ ḡvṯRwó| kvmKṯMvôx ev ṯh ṯKn  
 ṯmB cḂvcwbZ Aaxṯi i mḡṯḲL bZRvby| AZGe,  
 w`bḐḐḐPwi ZocvBqv j vf wḲ ?

AvmMi Lvb Zvnvi MZ ci`i i ṯcḥn Kbdvṯi ṯY Avi  
 GKUv AwZ ZvrchḥYḲ\_v ewj qvṯQb| wZwb ewj qvṯQb, ṯkL  
 mvṯne ṯ`kUvṯK GKÎ B i wLṯZ Pvb, wḲš' i vR%bwZK I ohš;  
 ZvnvṯK ṱḡB KwVbZi cwi w`wZ ḡḲL ṯVwj qv w`ṯZṯQ| |  
 AvmMi Lvb ṯṯKvb w`ṯK Bw½Z Kwi qvṯQb, Zvnv e`vL`v  
 Kwi qv ej vi cḥqvRb Kṯi bv| e`ṯṯcṯḥ, ṯ`kṯK GKÎ  
 i vLvḐbvḐi vLvi `wqZj GLb ḡL`Zt wbfḡ Kwi ṯZṯQ  
 KZḥṯḥi ci eZxḲ`Pvi Yvi Dci, Avi wbfḡ Kwi ṯZṯQ,  
 0msnWZ0i GZw`ṯbi 0ṯmvj ḐḡṯR>Uṯ`i I ohṯšj Rvj epv  
 cwi Z`vM Kivi Dci | MYZwšḲ mṱwaKvi ḐmsMḡḡ ṯhLvṯb  
 mvḡwMḲ I meḡZḲ i /c cwi Mḡ Kwi qvṯQ, cḥZwU Mn ṯhLvṯb  
 `ḲMḲ cwi bZ nBqvṯQ, ṯmLvṯb RbMṯYi fṯqvṯj ṯYi  
 cḥqvRb Kṯi bv| RbMY ṯmc\_ awi ṯel bv| ei s ṯkL  
 ḡṯRṯei wḐṯ`Ḳ RbMY mshḡ I kḡLj vi cṯ\_B Pwj ṯel  
 wḲš' Av, b j Bqv hvnvi v ṯLwj ṯZ Avb>` cvq, Zvnvṯ`i  
 Kvnvi I nVKwi Zvq Avevi hw`ṯKv\_vl Av, b j vṯM, Dnvi  
 `wqZj meḥṯk Zvnvṯ`i B enb Kwi ṯZ nBṯe Ges Dnvi  
 Aek`ḡḡex cwi Yvṯḡi Rb`I Zvnvṯ`i cḥṯ wḲṯZ nBṯel

cWpTk gvtpP ci tkL gWRtei mwnZ wgwj qv Avt>` vj b  
i i " Kwi eD cè tbi Rbmfvq gvl j vbv fvmvbx i tNvl Yv |

MZKvj (g½j evi ) cē tbi GK wei vU Rbmfvq Zgj  
 Ki Zvj l nl aYwYi gta AkwZci ex bvc tbZv  
 gvl j vbv fvmvbx tNvl bv Kti b t tkL gYRtei wbt`KZ  
25tk gvPp gta tKvb wKQy bv Kiv nBtj Awg tkL  
gYRtei mwnZ wgwj qv 1952 mvtj i bvc Zgj  
MYDAvt`vj b i i " Kwi e |

DDD  
 DDD  
 B†Ēdv†K cKwKZ Qwe`jó cZxqgvb nq th XvKv`'  
 tmtμ Uwi ‡qU, mpcīg †KvU® I nvB†KvU® RbkY`wei vb |

11B gv†P® B†ĖdvK cŵÎ Kvq 0RwZ m•N †m†µ Uvi x  
†Rbv†i †j i `vwq†Zj † Lv†bB †k† bq .....0 †k†i vbv†g  
wb†æv³ msev` cKwvkZ nq|

RbM†Yi m\axbZvDmsM†tgi gnvbvqK Avl qvgxj xM  
c0avb tkL gwRej i ngvb MZKvj (eæevi) GK weewZ†Z  
etj b t evsj v†`tki RbM†Yi B"QvDAwb"QvB AvR tkI  
K\_v| evsj v†`tki RbM†Yi bv†g Avgi v th wb†`R w`qwwQ  
tm†µ Uwi †qUmn mi Kvi x I AvavDmi Kvi x AwdmDAv`vj Z,  
tij I †q I e>`i mg†n Zvnv c0Zcwj Z nB†Z†Q|

RwZmsN tm†µ Uvi x tRbv†i j DÌ v»U evsj vt` k  
nB†Z RwZmsN KgPvi xt` i I Acmvi †Yi AbgwZ  
w`qv†Qb| mvgwi K ewnbxi tj vt†Ki v evsj vt` tk emevmi Z  
we†`kxt` i Rxeb I abÐmæúwĚI KZLwb wecbæ Kw qv  
Zyj qv†Qb GZØvi v tm†µ Uvi x tRbv†i tj i GB Kvhp†g  
Zvnvi B mxKwZ weaZ | tm†µ Uvi x tRbv†i tj i eSv DwPZ  
th, tKej RwZmsN ÐKgPvi xt` i Acmvi Y Kwij B  
Ge`vcv†i Zvnvi `wqZi tkl nBqv hvq bv| tKbbv, th  
ûgwK AvR D`˘Z nBqv†Q, tm ûgwK MYnZ`vi ûgwK | tm



ûgwK evsj v t`tki mvto 7tKwU gvbþli Rb` RvwZmsN  
mbt`i msi wŋ Z tgšwj K gvbewaKvi AmxKwZi B bvgvšþ |  
0gy³ i j þŋ` tcšwQqv mʎaxb t`tki mʎaxb bvMwi K  
wnmvte emevtmi AwaKvi ARþbi Rb` evsj vt`tki Avcvgi  
gvbþ meñcY Kwi qv tkl gûZ©chš-msMvg Pvj vBqv hvBtZ  
msKí ex | Zvnt`i GB D`P gþvej wetkþ mʎaxbZwcb  
gvbþ gvþi B tci Ybvi Drm | evsj vt`tki gvbþ Rvþb,  
BwZnvþmi i vq Zvnt`i B AbKþj | aŷsmKvi x hZ Aþ`þ  
mw³⁄⁴Z \_vKk bv tKb, tKvb kw³ B Avi Zvnt` MþK Ppvš-  
weRq nBtZ ewÂZ Kwi tZ cwi te bv | 0

12 B gvþPþ BþEdvtK AvtZ Nv0 wkþi vbvþg cKwkZ msev`wU

wbæi fc t

Ki vPx, 11B gvP0 Ki vPx wkí l ewbK mwgwZi  
mfvcwZ Avng` Ave`j wñ Awej þð | Df q AÂtj i gta`  
mʎfvweK ewbwR`K e`vw¼s mwvñ cbi vq Pvj y Ki vi e`vcvti  
e`e`v Mhþbi Rb` mi Kvþi i wbKU Avte`b RvbvBqvþQb |  
MZKvj tci mþW>U tRbvþi j Bqvwnqv Lvþbi wbKU tci Z  
GK Zvi evZŋq etj b th, ce°, cwK`vb nBtZ tj bt`b  
mæúY° eÜ nBqv hvl qvq cwðg cwK`vþbi e`emvwqKMY  
A\_þbwZK `j Rvi mæjLxb nBqvþQb | wZwb etj b th,  
Rvbgvþj i Acþ Yxq ŋwZ nBtZ Ae`vnwZ j vþfi Rb`  
Awej þð e`e`v AZ`vek`K nBqv cwoqvþQ | wZwb Avi l  
etj b th, Awej þð cðZKvi e`e`v Awej wæZ bv nBtj  
cwðg cwK`vþbi A\_þxwZ l eûj cwi gvþb ŋwZM`  
nBte |

wcwcAvB wbDR wcþ>Ui Afvte cwðg cwK`vb cwî Kvi Ktj ei  
nvm | (óvd wi tcvUñ )

XvKvq cðß Leti cKvk, cwðg cwK`vþb BwZgta`B  
wbDR wcþ>Ui Afve t`Lv w`qvþQ | Ki vPx 0Wb0 mn  
cwðg cwK`vþbi msev`cî ,wj i Ktj ei tQvU Kwi qv 14  
cðvi cwi etZ° gvî 4 cðvq Qvcv nBtZtQ | cñ½Zt  
Dtj EþhvM` th, cwðg cwK`vþbi msev`cî ð ,wj Lj bv  
wbDRwcðU wgþj i KvMR e`envi Kti | MZ 1j v gvP° nBtZ





XvKvq mKj mi Kvi x, AvavĐmi Kvi x AwdmĐAv`vj Z  
KgPvi x†`i Abɔw`nwZi `i`b eÜ \_v†K| Zte e½eÜj  
wb†`& Abɔvqx wewf bæe`emv | ewYR` cİZôvb wbw`& mgq  
Abɔvqx †Lvj v \_v†K Ges mɔfweK wɔq†g KvR Kg®P†j |

m\waKvi Avt`vj tb wbnZt`i Rb` tkvK Ges  
MYnZ`vi wei t`x t`v cKvk wnmvt`e MZKvj l i vRavbxi  
mKj mi Kvi xDt`emi Kvi x evmf`eb Ges mKj cKvi  
hvbvnt`b Kv`j v cZvKv e`envi Ae`vnZ \_v`K |

DD

DD

Avi GKU msev` 115 bs mvgwi K Avt` ketj 15B gvtPp gta`  
t` ki 1 v LvZi teZbfK temvgwi K KgPvi xMYtK Kvtr thvM` vbi  
wbt` R c0 vb Ki v nq| Ab`\_vq, PvKi x PjwZ nBtZ 10 ( k) ermti i  
Kvi v` U t` l qv nBte ej v nq|

14B gvP® Zwi ‡L AvRv` cŵl Kvq wbæwj wLZ msev` fvl .. cKwvkZ  
nq t

$$A \vee R \vee \neg$$

7 tKvwU evOvj x thLvb nB†Z AvR wb†` © Mnb K†i

Bmj vgvēv†`i KZĉŋ ŋ gZv n`vš† bv Kwi †j l  
wekəvmxi Kv†Q AvR w`ev†j v†Ki gZ `úó th, evsj vi  
kvmb ŋ gZv GLb Avi mvgwi K KZĉ†ŋ i GLŋZqv†i  
bvB| ei s 7 †KwU gvb†l i f vj evmvi kw³ †Z avbgwŪi  
32 bs moK GLb evsj vi kvmb ŋ gZvi GKgvî Drm  
nBqv cwoqv†Q|

nvRvi tPvL i vOvbx m†Z| GB moK nB†Z th wb†`R  
Rvi x nq evsj vi 7 tKwU gvb| GLb th †Kvb g†j ` Zvrv  
ev` evqb K†i B| Avi hvnvi wb†`R RbMY ci g kkvq I  
Ppvš-Z`v†Mi wewbg†q KvH†Ki x K†i wZwb nB†Z†Qb evsj vi  
gnvbvqK tkL g†Rej i ngvb| tkL g†Re GLb evsj vi  
g†<sup>3</sup> msM††gi Rxeš- c†xK| GB Rb`B avbgw†` tkL  
g†Rej i ngv†bi evmf eb GLb GKUy A†NvwI Z mi Kvi x  
m`i `dZ†i cwi YZ nBqv†Q| tnvqvBU nvDm ev 10 b††  
WvDwbs ÷ †U Gi gZ GB evoxwUi tKvb mi Kvi x gh†` v bvB

e†UÐ wKš' evsj vi 7 †KwU gvb†l i f vj evmvi i v†R'' GB  
evox GK Abb'' gh® vq cĖZwôZ |

wmGmwċŏi v †kL gyR†ei wb†`® cvj b  
 Kwi †eb

(óvd wi †cvU®i )

ŏŏ.wmGmwċ mwgwZ Ges BwċwmGm (Gw- wKDwUf Kvm  
l qvb) mwgwZi m`m`MY GK mfvq wgwj Z nBqv  
Rbmavi †Yi `vex `vl qvi cĖZ Zvnt` i cY®mg\_® `v†bi  
†Nvl bv Kwi qv†Qb Ges RbM†Yi wbe®PZ †bZv †kL gyRej  
i ngv†bi wb†`® Abhvx KvR Kwi evi cĖZk`wZ w`qv†Qb  
ewj qv XvKvq Gwċwċ cwi †ewkZ Le†i cĖKvk | mwgwZ  
`BwUi m`m`MY Zvnt` i GKw` †bi †eZb Avl qvgx j x†Mi  
mvnvh'' Znwe†j cĖ v†bi l wmxvš-Kwi qv†Qb | ŏŏ

15B gv†P® B†Ėdv†K ŏAmn†hvM Pw†j †e me†hvavi †Yi cĖZ  
†kL gyR†ei bq v wb†`® Őŏ wk†i vbv†g wb†æv³ msev` cĖKwċZ nq t

Amn†hvM Av†` vj b Ae`vnZ i vLvi AvnŸvb RvbvBqv  
 e½eÜy †kL gyRei i ngvb MZKj '' (i wei vi ) GK weewZ†Z  
 e†j bt RbM†Yi exi ZcY® msM†g AvMvBqv Pw†j qv†Q | mgM'  
 we†k | hnv i v gy³ Kvq Ges gy³ i Rb`B msM†g Kwi qv  
 Pw†j qv†Q Zvni v Avgv†` i `vex†K Zvnt` i wb†R†` i `vex  
 ewj qvB MhY Kwi †e | hnv i v kw³ i Øvi v kvmb Ki vi Pµvš-  
 K†i Zvnt` i wei "†x cĖZ†i v†ai `M®%Zqvi Kwi †Z KZLwċ  
 `p cĖZÁ l HK`ex nl qv cĖqvRb Avgv†` i RbMY Zvni  
 cĖgvb Kwi qv†Q |

AvR evsj v†` †k bvi xÐcj "l Ðwk'i wbe®k†l cĖZ`†KB  
 gv\_v DPj Kwi qv `rovBevi †hvM`Zv AR® Kwi qv†Q | hnv i v  
 fweqvQj kw³ gĖvi bMæcĖqv†Mi gva`†g evsj vi RbMY†K  
 `gv†bv hvB†e, evsj v†` k gvb | Zvnw` M†K ch® -Kwi qv†Q |  
 mi Kvi x PvK†i , Awdm l Kvi Lvbvi kĖgK, Kl.K l Qvĭ mn  
 evsj v†` †ki me® †i i RbMY AKŰwP†Ė RvbvBqv w`qv†Q th,  
 Zvni v AvZ†mgcŸ A†c¶ | v AvZ†ewj `v†b cĖZÁ v eÜ |

Bnv AZ`š-`†LRbK th, GgZve`nvql †Kvb †Kvb  
 Awe†ePK e`w³ mvgwi K AvBb wb†`® Rvi x Kwi qv temvgwi K

KgPvi xť`i GK AskťK `gvBqv w`ťZ PwnťZťQb| wKš,  
AvR HK`eÜ Avcvgi RbMY mvgwi K AvBťbi wbKU bwZ  
młKvi bv Kivi Rb` cŃZÁv ex|

KvťRB hvnť`i cŃZ mvgwi K AvBťbi meťkl wbt`k  
ť`l qv nBqvťQ Zvnť`i cŃZ Avgvi Abťi va Zvnvi v thb  
ûgwi mgťL gv\_vbZ bv Kťi b| evsj vť`ťki mvto mvZ  
ťKwU RbMY Zvnť`i l Zvnť`i cwi evťi i wCQťb  
i wnvťQ| Zvnw`MťK fq ť`LvBevi eZgvb cŃvm l  
evsj vť`ťki RbMYťK á`KwU Kivi cťPóvi gZB cŃZnZ  
Kiv nBťe| evsj vť`ťki gw³ i AvKvsLvťK wbgť Kiv hvBťe  
bv| Avgiv AťRq, Kvi Y Avgiv gZ`j Rb` cŃZ| Ges  
cťqvRb tevťa Avgvť`i fweł`r eskai iv hvnťZ młaxb  
ť`ťki młaxb bvMwi K wnmvťe młaxb l gh`vi mwnZ ewwPťZ  
cvťi Zvnvi wbŃqZv weavb Kwi źZ `p cŃZÁ| KvťRB,  
hZŋ b chš-Avgiv gw³ i j ťŋ` c`vcŃ bv Kwi e, ZZŋ b  
chš-Avgvť`i msMłg Avi l cťYŋ`ťg Ae`vnZ \_wKťe|  
Awg thťKvb AvZťZ`vťM cŃZ \_wKevi Ges tKvb cKvi  
kw³ cťqvM Kwi ťj Zvnv młve` mKj Dcvťq cŃZťi va Kivi  
Rb` RbMťYi cŃZ Avnevb RvbvBťZwQ|

e½eÜy tkL gwRej ingvb MZKvj (i weevi) evsj v  
ť`ťki AmnťhvM Avť`vj ťbi 35 `dv wbt`k Rvi x  
Kwi qvťQb| GB KgŋPx e½eÜj wbt`k ewj qv weťewPZ  
nBťe| bq v wbt`ťki gvaťg ceŃZx`mKj wbt`k l Dnvi  
e`vL`v mgn ewwZj ewj qv MY` nBťe| GB wbt`k A`  
(ťmvgevi 15B gvPŋ) nBťe wbt`æ wbt`kvej x cŃ Ě nBj |

mi Kvi x wefvM mgn t evsj vť`ťki meť tK>`łq l  
cŃť`wkK mi Kvťi i tmtμ Uwi ťqU l `Bi mgn Av`v  
mi Kvi x cŃZôvb młqZj kwmmZ cŃZôb nvBťKvU-Ges Ab`vb`  
Av`vj źZ wbæ ewYŹ wbt`k Abmvti ni Zvj cwj Z nBťe|  
wewf bœmgťq wbt`ťki th e`vL`v l wbt`k msμvš-Ae`vnwZ  
cŃvb Kiv nBťe, Zvnvl GB wbt`ťki Ask ewj qv MY`  
Kwi źZ nBťe|

OOwkŋ v cŃZôvb t

evsj vť`ťki mg`-wkŋ v cŃZôvb eÜ \_wKťe|

OO AvBb l kšLj v i ŋ v t

(K) †WcŷU Kŵgkbvi MY I gnvKgv kvmKeM°Zvnt` i  
 Awdm bv Lŷj qv AvBb I ksLj vi `wqZj cvj b Kwi qv  
 hvBteb| GB wbt` R KvR Kix Kivi Rb` c†qvRb nBtj  
 Dbqbgj K KvR mn Ab`vb` KvRI Zvni v Kwi teb| mswké  
 cKvmK I KZŷŷ Zvnt` i `wqZj cvj b I Kv†Ri Rb`  
 mswkéfvte Avl qvgx j xM msMvg cwi l†` i mwnZ Nwbó  
 thvMvthvM i ŷŷ v Kwi teb| Ges Zvnt` i mwnZ mnthwMZv  
 Kwi qv KvR Kwi teb|

(L) cŷj k wefvM AvBbDksLj v i ŷŷ vi `wqZj cvj b  
 Kwi teb Ges c†qvRb nBtj Avl qvgx j xM tm`Qv†meK  
 ewnbxi mrvh` Mhb Kwi teb|

(M) †Rj I qWŷ I †Rj Awdm mg†n KvR nBte|

(N) Avbmvi ewnbx h\_vi xwZ KvR Kwi qv hvBte|

OO e` i (Avf`š†xY b`x e` i mn) t e` i mg†n  
 cvBj †UR mn me†Kvi KvR nBte| Zte e` ti Rvnr  
 MgbvMg†bi KvR m†fvte Pj vBevi Rb` Awd†mi th  
 mg` - wefv†Mi KvR Kiv c†qvRb tmB Awdm, wj †Kej  
 †Lvj v \_wKte| wKš' wbhŷZb Kivi D†† †k` %mb`ewnbx  
 Pj vPj I i m` mi ei v†ni †ŷ†† mnthwMZv Kiv Pwj tebv|  
 Rvnr Lvj v†mi KvR we†kl Z evsj v†† †ki Rb` Lv` mvgMk  
 Avg` vbx Kiv Rvnr Lvj v†mi KvR `°ZZi Kwi †Z nBte|  
 e` i KZŷŷ e` i i é I bsMi i é Ges Avf`š†xY b`x  
 e` i KZŷŷ e` i i é I Ab`vb` LvRbv Av`vq Kwi †Z  
 cwi teb|

OO Avg` vbx t

Avg` vbx cY`evnx Rvnr Lvj v†mi KvR `°Z Kwi †Z  
 nBte| i é wefv†Mi mswké Awd†m KvR nBte Ges Zvni v  
 c†b`i Rb` wbaŷi Z Avgv†Zi cY°UvKv Av`vq bv Kwi qv  
 c†Y`i QvocÎ c†vb Kwi teb| Bni Rb` B÷ vY°e`w¼s  
 †K†c††i kb I B÷ vY°gv†KŷUvBj e`vsK wj wg†UW we†kl  
 G`vKvD>U Lŷj †Z nBte| i é wefv†Mi Kv†j ‡i MY wef bē  
 mg†q Avl qvgx j xM th wbt` R Rvi x Kwi teb, tmB wbt` R  
 Abmv†i ce° wj wLZ e`v¼ G`vKvD>U cwi Pj bv Kwi teb|  
 GBfvte th UvKv Av`vq nBte, Zvnr †K>` †q mi Kv†i i  
 wbKU j wMeKi v hvBte bv|

OO†i j l †q t

tij l tqi KvR Pwj te| Zte tij Pj vPtj i mwnZ  
mswké tij l tq Awdm, wj B tKej tLvj v \_vwKte| wKš ' %mb'' mvgš- MZvqvZ l i m' mi ei vtni mnthwMZv Kiv  
Pwj te bv| evsj vt` tki me<sup>o</sup> fi i Lv`'' km'' tc<sup>o</sup> tYi Rb''  
tij KZ<sup>o</sup> tK AMwaKvfi i wf wE<sup>o</sup> tZ l qvM<sup>o</sup> tbi e'e<sup>-</sup> v  
Kwi tZ nBte|

WvK l Zvi t evsj v t` tki gta'' wPwV<sup>o</sup> cÎ , tUwj Mvg,  
gwb AW<sup>o</sup> c f wZ Av` vb<sup>o</sup> c<sup>o</sup> tbi Rb'' WvK l Zvi  
Awdm, wj KvR Kwi te| wet` tk tc<sup>o</sup> Ze'' mKj cKvi tgj  
mwf<sup>o</sup> l tUwj Mvg mi vmi mské t` tk tc<sup>o</sup> Y Kwi tZ  
nBte| e'vsK, wj Ab<sup>o</sup> gvw` Z tUwj w<sup>o</sup> Uvi mwf<sup>o</sup> mi Rb''  
tmvg, g<sup>o</sup> j , ep l en<sup>-</sup> úwevi weKvj 3Uv nBZ 4Uv ch<sup>o</sup> -  
gvÎ GK N<sup>o</sup> Uvi Rb'' Avš<sup>o</sup> t Av<sup>o</sup> wj K tUwj w<sup>o</sup> Uvi P<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> bj  
tLvj v \_vwKte| Avš<sup>o</sup> t Av<sup>o</sup> wj K tc<sup>o</sup> tUwj Mvg cvVb hvBte|  
tcv÷ vj tmwf sm e'vsK l j vBd BÝ<sup>o</sup> t Y Pvj y \_vwKte|

O tUwj t<sup>o</sup> dvb t i ay<sup>-</sup> vbxq Ges Avš<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> tRj v U<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> sK  
tUwj t<sup>o</sup> dvb Pvj y \_vwKte| tUwj t<sup>o</sup> dvb e'e<sup>-</sup> v i t<sup>o</sup> Yvte<sup>o</sup> t Y l  
ms<sup>-</sup> vi mva<sup>o</sup> tbi Rb'' c<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> qvRbxq ei v<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> xi wel qwU Ae'vnZ  
\_vwKte|

ti wWl tUwj wfkb msev` cÎ t GB, wj Pvj y \_vwKte  
Ges MY<sup>o</sup> tAv<sup>o</sup> t` vj tbi mKj msev` Ges GB msp<sup>o</sup> vš- mKj  
wee<sup>o</sup> wZi cY<sup>o</sup> wee<sup>o</sup> i Y cwi tek<sup>o</sup> b Kwi tZ nBte, Ab'' \_vq GBme  
c<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> Z<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> b h<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> i v KvR Kwi tZ tQb Zv<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> i v Kv<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> h<sup>o</sup> mnthwMZv  
Kwi teb bv|

Lv`'' mi ei vn t Lv`'' km'' Avg` vbx, weZi Y,  
s` v<sup>o</sup> gRvZKi Y l c<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> qvRbxq<sup>-</sup> v<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> š<sup>o</sup> fi i wel q, wj tZ me<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> M<sup>o</sup>  
c<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> b'' w` tZ nBte Ges GBRb'' l qvMb, evR<sup>o</sup>, U<sup>o</sup> K c f wZi  
e'e<sup>-</sup> v Ki vi wel qwU<sup>o</sup> tKl me<sup>o</sup> t<sup>o</sup> M<sup>o</sup> c<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> b'' w` tZ nBte|

Ki tLvRbv eÜ t

(K) cpe<sup>o</sup> i wbt` kv t` l qv ch<sup>o</sup> -

(1) tKvb f wgi i vRm<sup>o</sup> Av` vq Ki v nBte bv|

(2) evsj vt` tk %Zwi j e<sup>o</sup> tYi Dci nB<sup>o</sup> tZ tKvb  
AveMvi x Ki Av` vq Ki v nBtebv;

(3) evsj vt` tk Drcw` Z Avbg` v<sup>o</sup> b<sup>o</sup> d<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> KPW<sup>o</sup> Zvg<sup>o</sup> tKi

Dci nB<sup>o</sup> tZ tKvb Ki Av` vq Ki v nBte bv|



(4) ZvZxi v tKvb AveKvi x Ki v bv w`qvB mZv µ q  
Kwi tZ cwi teb; wgj KZc¶¶ I wWj vi MY ZvZxt` i wbKU  
mZv 0bb wWDwU0 tCBW gj `` weµ q Kwi teb|

(L) Dc†i v<sup>3</sup> Ki LvRbv Qvov c†gv` Ki , nvU, evRvi  
tmZy I c¶Ki ev` tUvj Av`vq Ki v nBte Ges Dnv  
evsj vt` k mi Kv†i i G`vKvD†U Rgv nBte|

(M) bMi i émn mKj `vbxq Ki c† vb Kwi tZ nBte|

(N) Kv÷ gm wWDwU; G· mvBR wWDwU, tmj m  
U`v· mn mKj AcZ`¶¶ tK>`xq Ki Dhv Av†M tK>`xq mi Kvi  
KZK Av`vq Ki v nBZ Zv G¶¶ tY Av`vqKvi KZc¶¶  
Av`vq Kwi teb; wKš' Dnv tK>`xq mi Kv†i i G`vKvD†U  
Rgv; UŸdvi ev ti wgu nBte bv| GBfvte msMwNZ A\_®  
BóvY®gv†K®UvBj e`v¼ wj wgtUW I B÷ vY®e`wKs K†cv†i kb  
wj t G 0wetkI G`vKvD†U0 Rgv w`tZ nBte| GB e`vcv†i  
wb†`K t`I qv nBte e`v¼, wj tm me wb†`K Abmi Y  
Kwi teb| mKj Av`vqKvi x KZc¶¶ GB mKj wb†`K  
fwel`tZ th me wb†`K t`I qv nBte tm, wj ev` evqb  
Kwi teb|

(O) AvqKi mn cZ`¶¶ tK>`xq Ki mgn cbi vq wb†`K  
bv t`I qv chš-Av`vq Ki v nBte bv|

0RbM†Yi mwweK m¶axbZv AwRZ bv nl qv chš-  
msMvg Pwj tZ†Q, Pwj te†tkL gwRe0 wkti vbv†g Avi GKwU  
msev` cKwkZ nq t

evsj vi m¶axbZv Av†>`vj tbi gnvbvqK tkL gwRei  
i ngvb etj b, Avgvt`i msMvg m¶axb t`tki m¶axb bvMwi K  
wnmvte ewwPqv \_vKvi msMvg| RbM†Yi mwweK m¶axbZv  
AwRZ bv nl qv chš-G msMvg Ae`vnZ \_vwKte| evsj vi  
RbMY AvR HK`ex| GB HK`ex gw<sup>3</sup> wccvmj MYgvb| tK  
cw\_exi tKvb kw<sup>3</sup> B`vevBqv i wL†Z cwi te bv|

tkL mv†ne MZKvj (i weevi) mKvtj Zvnyi avbgwU`  
evmfetb b`vc c†vb Lvb Avāj I qwj Lv†bi m†½ 85  
wgbUe`vcx GK %eVK†k†I A†c¶¶ gvb mvsew`K† i m†½  
Avj vc Kwi tZWQ†j b| mvsew`K† i m†½ Rbve I qvj x Lvb  
etj b th, wZwb Avl qvgxj xM c†v†bi m†½ t`tki i vR%bwZK

mgm"v j Bqv Avtj vPbv Kwi qvtQb Ges Avi I Avtj vPbv  
Kwi teb| wZwb etj b, RvZxq cwi I`B nBtZtQ  
kvmbZwšK mgm"v Avtj vPbv mj vnvi Dchj<sup>3</sup> vb|

MZKvj mKvj mvto 9Uvq tkL mvtneti evmfetb  
i "xØvi Kt¶ b"vc cāvb I Avl qvgx j xM cāvtbi gta"  
Avtj vPbv i i " nq Ges Dnv cŃq 85 wgwbu awi qv Ae"vnZ  
\_vtK| Avtj vPbvKvtj cŃt`wkK Avl qvgx j xtMi mnØmfvcwZ  
I RvZxq cwi I t` Avl qvgxj xM cvj ¶tg>Uvi x cwŲ¶ tWc¶U  
tbZv %mq` bRi "j Bmj vg I `tj i tK>`xq mvavi Y  
māúv`K Rbve Kvgi "¾vgvb Ges cwŃg cwK`vb b"vtci  
mvavi Y māúv`K Ges tej ¶P`vb nBtZ wbe¶PZ RvZxq  
cwi I` m`m` Rbve MvDm e. tetRtÄv Dcw`Z wQtj b|  
%eVK K¶ nBtZ ewnti Avwmqv Atc¶ gvb mvsew`Kt`i  
mt½ cŃtg Rbve I qvj x Ges cti tkL mvtni K\_v  
etj b|

tcŃmtWt>Ui mt½ mv¶ vtZ i vRx AvwQ

R%bK wet`kx mvsew`K tkL mvtnetK cK Kti b  
Avcbw wK tcŃmtWt>Ui mt½ t`Lv Kwi tZ i vRx AvtQb ?  
Revte e½eÜycvè v cK Kti b, wZwb wK XvKv AvwmqvvtQb ?  
mvsew`KwU Reve t`bØ ŃbvŃ | tkL gyRe etj b, tm¶¶ tŃ  
wKfvte t`Lv nBtZ cvti ? Zte tcŃmtWt>U XvKv Avwtj  
Avwg Zvi mt½ mv¶ vtZ i vRx AvwQ| Avevi cK Kiv nq,  
ŃGe"vcvti wK Avcbvi tKvb kZ°AvtQ ?  
tkL mvtni etj b, ŃbvŃ tKvb kZ°bvB|

msMtg Pwj tZtQ, Pwj te

ŃŃAvi mgq bvBŃŃ wkti vbvgvq XvKvi cŃ Kv mgtn  
cKwKZ māúv`Kxq wbetÜi cŃZ GKRb wet`kx mvsew`K  
Avl qvgx j xM cāvtbi `wó AvKI ¶ Kwi tj , wZwb etj b  
Atc¶v Ki "b, t`Lp| Avgvt`i Avt>`vj b Pwj tZtQ|  
Avgiv GKwU m¶axb t`tki m¶axb bvMwi K wnmvte ewwPqv  
\_wKtZ PvB| RbMtYi mwweK m¶axbZv AwRZ bv nl qv  
chš-msMtg Pwj tZ \_wKte|

cw\_exi tKvb kw<sup>3</sup> B `vevBqv i wLtZ cwi te bv|

tkL mvtni Zvnvi AwZw\_ Lvb I qvwj Lvbtk Mvox  
chš- AvMvBqv w`qv m¶xq Kt¶ tdi vi ct\_ wet`kx

mvsew` KwU Avevi ZvntK GKwU cKwKwi tJ Avl qvgx j xM  
 cĥvb etj b, wbtRi tPvLBtZv t` wLtZtQb mgM<sup>3</sup> evsj vt` tk  
 meZK Awmsm AmnthvM Avt` vj b Pwj tZtQ| RbMY AvR  
 HK`ex| GB HK`ex gy<sup>3</sup> wccvmy MYgvb| tK cw\_exi  
 tKvb kw<sup>3</sup> B `vevBqv i wLtZ cwi te bv|

I qwj Lvbi e<sup>3</sup> e`

%eVK tkfI Rbve I qwj Lvb mvsew` Kt` i wKwU  
 etj b, Avgi v t` tki i vR%bwZK mgm`vej x j Bqv Avtj vPbv  
 Kwi tZwQ| Avgi v GtK Aci tK wPwbD GKbfvte Avgi v  
 wbhWZ nBqwQ| Avgvt` i Avti vl Avtj vPbv nBte|

tkL mvntei Rb` wZwb tcĥmWtUi tKvb evYx enb  
 Kwi qv AwbqvQb wKDbv cKw Ki v nBtj Rbve I qwj Lvb  
 etj b ōbv| Avg Kvnvi I tKvb evYx enb Kwi qv Awb bvB| ō  
 wZwb Rvbvb th, mĥ` tk tdivi ci tcĥmWtUi m<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Zvni  
 t` Lv nq bvB| Rbve I qwj Lvb etj b, XvKvq 10B gvP<sup>6</sup>  
 cĥ weZ tMvj tUvej %eVtK thvM` vtbi Rb`B tcĥmWtU  
 j Ūb nBtZ t` tk tdivi Rb` Zvni KvQ Ri "i x Zvi evZ<sup>9</sup>  
 cvVvBqwQtj b| Rbve I qj x Lvb etj b th, wZwb GKrb  
 cwK` vbx wnmvte ōcwK` vtbi fvex cĥvbgšxi ō m<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> t` Lv  
 Kwi tZ AwmqvtQb| 25tk gvP<sup>6</sup> RvZxq cwi I` Awatektb  
 Abpvtbi mĥvebv mĥúwKZ GK cĥkē Revte Rbve I qwj  
 Lvb etj b, Zvni `j B meĥg RvZxq cwi I` Awatektb  
 thvM` vtbi wmxvš- tNvl Yv Kti | wZwb etj b, Avgi v  
 cwi I t` thvM` vtbi cĥ cvZx, Kvi Y RvZxq cwi I` nBtZtQ  
 kvmbZwšK mgm`v Avtj vPbv I mj vnvi Dch<sup>8</sup> `vb|

0115 bs wbt`ĥki wei "tx mswkĥ KgPvi xt` i wetĥ vf wgwQj ō  
 wkti vbtg wbtæv<sup>3</sup> msev` cKwkZ nq| (ōvd wi tcvUĥ)

115 bĥj mvgwi K wbt`ĥki cĥZevt` MZKvj  
 (i weevi) t` ki ĥv wfvM PvKi xi Z temvgwi K KgPvi xi v  
 XvKvi i vRct\_ wetĥ vf wgwQj ewni Kti |

wetĥ vf Kvi xi v 115 bs mvgwi K wbt`ĥ Awej tĥ  
 cĥ`vnvti i `vex RvbvBqv tkwlvb cĥ vb Kti | Zvni v tkL  
 gyRtei wbt`ĥk 7 tKwU ev<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>vj xi mĥaxbZv ARĥbi Rb`  
 AmnthvM Avt` vj b Ae`vnZ i vLvi kc\_ tNvl bv Kti |



wgj gwj KMY GB AvksKv cKvk Kti b th, GB  
APj ve- v `i Kwi qv Df q c`tki gta" Aeva ewbR" Pvj y  
bv Ki v nBtj fwe l`tZ evsj vt`k Rvcvb l Ab`vb" t`k  
nBtZ c`qvRbxq e- i Avg`vbx Kwi te Ges dj k" wZtZ  
cwö g cwK- vti e- i wgj s wj eÜ nBqv hvBte l

dj b6 nBqv hvB†Z ‡Q

j vtnvti i GK Leti ej v nq th, evsj vt` tk ni Zvtj i `i "b dj  
Pvj vb w` tZ bv cvi vq j vtnvti kZ kZ gb dj bó nBqv hvBtZtQ|

DD

DD

0Amn†hvM Av†>` vj †b i weev†i i XvKv0 wk†i vbv†g GKwU  
msev` cKwkZ nq t

MYZwšĶ i xwZ Abhvqx RvZxq cwi l ʔ i msL ʔ vMwi ô  
tbZvi mwnZ ceʔy ʔKvb Avʔj vPbv QvovB  
AMYZwšĶfvʔe RvZxq cwi l ʔ i Awatekb ʔ wMZ ʔNvl Yvi  
côZevʔ e½eÜy tkL gyRej ingvb KZĶ AvûZ  
AwmsmÐAmnʔhvM Avʔ ʔ vj ʔbi wØZxq chʔqi KgŋPxi tkl  
w`em MZKvj (i weevi) mvdj ʔRbKfvʔe AwZewwZ nq|  
mʔwaKvi Av`vq Ges cwi ewZʔ cwi w`wZʔZ RvZxq  
cwi l ʔ i Awatektb thvM`vʔbi cĶke½eÜy ʔNwl Z b`bZg  
4 `dv kZ© gwmbqv j l qvi `vexʔZ MZKvj l i vRavbx  
XvKvq wewf bœQvĴ ÐkĴgKÐKweÐmvwnwZ ʔK wkí x cōZôvʔbi cŋ  
nBʔZ mf v Ges tkvf vhvĴ vi AvʔqvRb Ki v nq| GB mKj  
mf vq ôLô AÂʔj i mvgwi K cĶvmK KZĶ ʔNwl Z 115 bs  
mvgwi K Avʔ ʔki Zxe' mgvʔj vPbv Ki v nq Ges th ʔKvb  
D`vwbi gʔL kvwš€Yʔvʔe e½eÜj wbʔ ʔki mʔwaKvi  
Av`vʔqi msMʔg Pvj vBqv hv l qvi AwMekc\_ Mthb Ki v nq|

MZKvj msev` cÎ tçñ KgPvi x tdWv†i k†bi D†` `†M  
Av†qvRZ m†wKvi Kvgx tçñ I qvKv†` i GKwU wgwQj  
e½eÜy tkL gyRei i ngv†bi mwnZ Z` xq evmf e†b wMqv  
Zvnvi mwnZ mv¶ vr Kwi †j Zvnv†` i D†† †k` e½eÜy GK  
msw¶ ß fvl Y `vb K†i b| wZwb GB cñ†½ evsj vi



0A<sup>-</sup> i tevSvB Rvnr0 wkti vbtg wbæwj wLZ msev` wU cKwkZ

nq t

RvZxq wkws Ktciti kti Rvnr 00tmvqvZ00  
GKkZ 80 Ub A<sup>-</sup> k<sup>-</sup> i tMvj vevi " w bqv MZ g½j evi  
16 bs tRwUtz wfwoqvQ, Zte GLbl , Dnv Lvj vm Ki v  
nq bvB| Abj fc A<sup>-</sup> k<sup>-</sup> i 3621wU c`vtKU w bqv 00l m`vb  
GUi `vY00 Rvnr 1Obs tRwUtz wfwoqvQ, wKš' Dnv  
GLbl Lvj vm Ki v nq bvB ewj qv Rvrv wMqvQ|

15B gvP°Zwi tLi AvRv` cwÎ Kvq wbæwj wLZ msev`  
fvl " cKwkZ nq t

## AvRv`

evsj vi gvb| i aye½eÜj wbt` R B Mhb  
Kwi te

(óvd wi tcvUfi )

m̃yaxb evsj v tK>` xq QvÎ msMtg cwil t` i Avnevtb  
MZKvj tmvgevi evqZj tgvKvi i g c0½tY AbjôZ GK  
wei vU mgvtefk 115 bs mvgwi K AvBtb wbt` Rtk NYvf ti  
cZ`vLv ceK tNvl bv Ki v nq th, evsj vi gvb| GLb  
e½eÜj tkL gRrej ingvb e`wZZ Aci Kvnvi l wbt` R  
gwbqv Pwj te bv| mevB gũgũ Ki Zwj i gta` cZ`¶  
Awf hvb i i " Ki vi K\_v tNvl bv Ki v nq|

msMtg cwil t` i Ab`Zg m`m` QvÎ j xM mfvcwZ  
Rbve bti Avj g wmi Kxi mfvcwZtZj AbjôZ Rbmgtfk  
MnxZ GK cŀ vte cwŌg cwK` vb nBtz evsj vt` tki tci Z  
mKj %mb`tk Awej tæ| wdi vBqv j Bqv hvl qvi Rb` eZgvb  
evsj vt` k mdii Z tcm̃W>U Bqwnqv Lvbi w bKU `vex  
Rvrvb nq| mevB m̃yaxbZv Avt>` vj tbi chqwf wEK Kgmpx  
e`vL`v Kwi qv e³ Zv Kti b

00m̃yaxb evsj v tK>` xq QvÎ msMtg cwil t` i 00 m`m` Av  
kg Avãj i e, kvnRvrvb wmi vR l Avãj Ki jn gvLb|

Rbve Avkg Avãj i e weMZ `B mBvtn tmbv ewnbx  
KZK evsj vt` tki XvKv, i vRkvn, i scj , htkvi l Lj bvi  
AMwYZ wbi `i RbZvtK nZ`vi K\_v Dtj L Kti b Ges

mK•Lj I msNexfvte kÎ“i wei “t× Awf hvb Pvj vBevi  
Rb“ evOvj x g<sup>3</sup> thvxvt`i cĖZ AvnŸvb Rvbvb| wZwb etj b  
th, GBme nZ“vKvi x `tj i Pj vPtj i c\_ eÜ Kwi qv w`qv  
Zvnvi v hvnvtZ Gt`tki Lv` mævi msMh Kwi tZ bv cvti,  
tm mæútk© KvHKi x e“e`v g<sup>3</sup> thvxvt`i Mhb Kwi tZ  
nBte|

Rbve ie etj b, 00 mi Kvi KZK evsj vt`ktK  
wf tqZbvg, j vl m, KtæwWqv Avi wnti wkgvq cwi YZ Ki vi  
ûgwi `vZ fv½v Reve `vtbi Rb“ evsj vi gvb| me°vB  
cĖZ i wnvqtQ|

Rbve ie eZgvtb QvUtvMi Z evOvj x %mb`t`i  
Zvnvt`i Kvth°cpi vq thvM`vb nBtZ wei Z \_vKvi Avnevb  
Rvbvb| wZwb wbi xn RbMtYi mæúwË j ŸbKvi x  
`j KwZKvi xt`i Zrci Zv cĖZnZ Ki vi Rb“ RbMtYi cĖZ  
Avnevb Rvbvb| Rbve ie etj b th, mŸaxb evsj vt`k  
Kvtqg nBtj Gt`tki eK hvnvtZ evOvj x 22 cwi evti i  
Rb nBtZ bv cvti tmw`tk Zvnvi v mRvM`Ÿó i wLteb|

wZwb kÎ“Pµt`i mæútk© mZK°\_vKvi Rb“ g<sup>3</sup>  
msMvgxt`i Avnevb Rvbvb|

wZwb QvÎ msMvg cwi l t`i bvtg fqv Pv`v  
Av`vqKvi xt`i cŸj tki nvZ tmvc`°A\_ev mvRŸU Rûi “j  
nK ntj i ( BKevj nj ) KtUvj i “tg awi qv j Bqv hvl qvi  
wb t`K `vb Kti b|

Rbve ie etj b th, mi Kvti i th KqU A`;tevSvB  
RvnvR PÆMvg e`ti wfwo tZ e`°nBqv tQ Zvnvi v GŸ tY  
Pvj bv I Lj bvq wfwoevi tPóv Kwi tZ tQ| D³ A`;tevSvB  
RvnvR, wj hvnvtZ evsj vt`tki tKvb e`ti wfwo tZ bv cvti  
tmw`tk mZK°`Ÿó i vLvi Rb“ wZwb g<sup>3</sup> msMvgxt`i cĖZ  
AvnŸvb Rvbvb|

### *kvnRvnvb wmi vR*

msMvg cwi l t`i Aci GK m`m` Rbve kvnRvnvb  
wmi vR eZgvtb XvKv mdi i Z tcĖmtW>U Bqwnqv tK  
tmbvevnbx cĖZ`vnvti i `vex Rvbvb|

wZwb etj b, e½eÜy tkL gŸRej i ngvb Awej tæB  
GKwU RvZxq mi Kvi MVb Kwi teb eŸj qv Avgi v Avkv Kwi |



## *Avāj Kī m gvLb*

Rbve Avāj Kī m gvLb etj b, GK\_v AZ`š-`úóth,  
cŵōg cŵK`v̄tb Ae`vbi Z mi Kv̄ti i evsj v̄t`tki t̄q̄ t̄  
t̄Kvb AvBb Rvi x Ki vi GLwZqvi bvB|

16B gv̄tP̄ Bt̄Ēdv̄tK Ōm̄w̄aKvi msM̄vg I `yU K\_vō

Ges Ōbv̄bv c̄m̄½ō w̄k̄ti vbv̄tg m̄x̄uv`Kxq̄tZ w̄bt̄g<sup>3</sup> gše`Ki v nq  
(AvswkK)t

RbZvi Kv̄tdj v AvM̄vBqv Pw̄j qv̄tQ `β c` t̄q̄ c|  
w̄beP̄t̄bv̄Ēi Rxētb Rw̄Z hLb MYZt̄š<sub>i</sub> DĒi t̄Yi t̄m̄šf̄vM̄  
mh̄t̄K Aw̄f̄ev`b Rvb̄vBevi Rb` c̄t̄ yZ Mhb Kwi t̄Zt̄Qb, w̄VK  
Zb̄t̄Z<sup>3</sup> AKm̄w̄r Avevi t`tki i vR%bwZK f̄vM̄vKvk  
mgv`Qb̄ nBqv w̄Mqv̄tQ t̄Nvi Kò tḡtN| cŵōgv̄Āt̄j i  
MYw̄eti vax k<sup>3</sup> i Db̄t̄ c` Pvi Yvq Rw̄Z AvR th P̄v̄t̄j t̄Āi  
ḡt̄L w̄bw̄q̄ β, evsj v̄t`tki Avcv̄gi gvb̄| Zv m̄vb>`w̄P̄t̄Ē  
gv\_vq Z̄ȳj qv j Bqv̄tQ| w̄beP̄t̄bi Ab̄c̄w̄`w̄Zt̄Z Ges  
RbM̄t̄Yi m̄t̄PZbZvi Af̄v̄te AZx̄t̄Z th w̄bq̄tg RbMYt̄K  
cv̄t̄qi w̄bt̄P `vevBqv i w̄Lqv t`tki ēt̄K t̄j šn gvb̄tei kvmb  
I Kv̄t̄qgx m̄v̄t̄<sup>3</sup> t̄kvl b Kv̄t̄qg Ki v w̄Mqv̄tQ| w̄beP̄t̄bv̄Ēi  
m̄t̄PZb Rbm̄gv̄t̄R Gevi Zv Avi KLb̄l B m̄x̄ē bq̄| AZx̄t̄Z  
`vj vj ð dwoqv t̄k̄xi i vR%bwZK t̄bt̄Zt̄Z<sub>i</sub> m̄yeavev̄tai  
m̄thv̄t̄M t`tki i vRbx̄w̄Zt̄Z weāw̄š-Ges Rw̄Uj Zv m̄ȳó̄i th  
AeKvk w̄Qj AvR Avi Zv bvB| Kvi Y, w̄beP̄t̄bi ci  
RbM̄t̄Yi nBqv K\_v ej vi A\_ev RYM̄t̄Yi msM̄t̄g t̄bZZ<sub>i</sub>  
`v̄tb mi vm̄wi Aw̄aKvi eZ̄v̄Bqv̄tQ GLb RbM̄t̄Yi Av`vkx̄j  
Ges RbM̄t̄Yi Øvi v w̄beP̄Z c̄t̄Zw̄b̄at̄`i Dci |

m̄w̄aKvi Kvgx RbMY Ges Zvi c̄t̄Zc̄t̄q̄ i Aw̄RKvi  
GB Kbd̄t̄>Uk̄t̄bi mgM̄ evsj v̄t`k AvR RbM̄t̄Yi t̄l vj v Avbv  
mg\_ō I Avkxē c̄p GK ew̄j ó t̄bZt̄Z<sub>i</sub> w̄cQ̄t̄b  
KvZvi e>`x| RbMYB t`tki m̄vēt̄f̄šg q̄l gZvi Aw̄aKvi x,  
t`k Pw̄j t̄e Zvnv̄t̄ i B Bw̄½t̄Z, `Bh̄M ci evsj vi gvb̄|  
nv̄t̄Z K̄j t̄g Gevi Zv GB mc̄t̄gwbZ Kwi qv̄tQ| Zvnv̄t̄ i B  
k<sup>3</sup> t̄Z k<sup>3</sup> gvb, Zvnv̄t̄ i B etj ew̄j qvb nBqv RvZxq  
cwi l t̄`i w̄bi sK̄k msL`v̄M̄wi ô t̄bZv t̄kL ḡȳRei i ngvb th

c\_\_ wbt`k w` tZtQb, mi Kvi x temi Kvi x megnj B  
 mvb>`wPtE Zvnn gwbbqv j BtZtQb| tK>`xq mi Kvti i ,  
 GgbwK mvgwi K KZcti i wbt`kZ tKvb c\_B evsj vi  
 gvb| AvR Avi Pwj tZ i vRx bq| GK K\_vq RbMtYi  
 tbZv tkL gWRtei K\_vB AvR Avi bv nBtj l , evsj vt`tki  
 tPšnwí i gta` mteP AvBb|

e`zt AwRKvi GB KbdUkibi tkl dj wK  
 `rovBte, tm K\_v ewStZ AvR Avi Knni l Kó nBevi K\_v  
 bq| mvtó 7 tKwU gvbti i e³ e`B tkL mvntei e³ e`;  
 tkL mvntei e³ e` evsj vi Avcvgi gvbti B e³ e`|  
 Zvnnv`i fvj g>` l fweitzi `wqZi AvR Zvnnv`i B  
 `tÜ| wbePibi gva`tg mý úó i vq w`qvB RbMY tmB  
 `wqZi Znni `tÜ b`v`-Kwi qv w`qvQb| tm `wqZi wKfvte  
 cvj b Kwi teb, tKvb ct\_ wKfvte, wZwb Awb`QK nvZ  
 nBtZ RbMtYi AwaKvi Av`vq Kwi teb, Zv Zvi B weteP`|  
 RbMtYi tbZv wnmvte Zvi fwgKvi fvj gt`i Rb` GKgví  
 RbMtYi KvQB wZwb `vqx \_wKteb| mgvtRi Acivci  
 mKj gntj i `wqZi mksLj vi ga` w`qv tbZvi wQtb  
 KvZvi e>`x \_wKqv ÓAmjti i Ó wei`tx ÓAmjti i Ó G msMtg  
 Zvi n`tk kw³ kvj x Ki v|

### bvbn cñ½

e½eÜy tkL gWRej ingvb Ki ÐLvRbv etÜi th  
 wbt`k Rwi Kwi qvtQb, we`wi Z e`vL`vi Afvte KLbl  
 KLbl Zvnn Avl Zv ewnfZ tñ tñ l cñ³ nl qvi AwfthvM  
 Avgi v cvBtZwQj vg| tkL mvntei MZKj `Kvi wbt`k  
 Aek` Zvnn cwi`vi nBqv hvl qvi K\_v| wZwb ewj qvtQb,  
 GLb nBtZ cbi vq wbt`k bv t` l qv chS- Rwgi LvRbv,  
 j etYi Dci AveMvi x Ki l KvPv ZvgvtKi Ki Avi Av`vq  
 Ki v nBte bv Ges ZvZxi vl tKvb AveMvi x Ki bv w`qvB  
 mZv µ q Kwi tZ cwi teb| Ab`vb` hveZxq tK>`xq l  
 cñt`wkK Ki Av`vq w`tZ nBte, wKš' tm me tñ tñ  
 tK>`xq Ki eveZ hvnn Av`vq nBte Zvnn Avi tK>`xq  
 mi Kvti i G`vKvDtu Rgv bv nBqv ce© cwK`vbx `ßwU  
 e`vt¼i Óweti kl G`vKvDtuU Rgv nBte| Avgi v gtb Kwi ,  
 tkL mvntei GB wbt`k ci Ki ÐLvRbv etÜi cñk  
 Knni l gtb Avi Avl ZvNwUZ tKvb mskq \_vKv DwPZ bq|

O

O

O

GZw`tb t`Lv tMj cwðgvÂtj i ewYK mgcð vtqi  
 AvtZ Nvj wMqv†Q| cwðg cwK`v†bi tRšj tmi cðvtZ  
 evsj vi gvb†i i ôi³ Rj Kiv mæú†`i Ae`vbB th gL“,  
 Zvnn GLb nv†Z Kj tg ai v cwotZ†Q| Leti cKvk, cwðg  
 cwK`v†b Drcw`Z cY“ evsj vt`tk cvVv†bv mæe bv nl qvq  
 GB K†qKw`tbB tmLvbi Kj ÐKvi Lvbv, wj eÜ nl qvi  
 Dcµg nBqv†Q| e`vemvqx gnj Awej t†| ôAPj ve`vô  
 `†xKi†Yi Rb“ Pvc w`†Z `i i“ Kwi qv†Qb| evsj vt`tki  
 evRvi Qvov cwðg cwK`v†b KZUv Amnvq Zvnni cZ“¶  
 cgvY GZw`tbB cvl qv hvB†Z†Q|

17B gvP° Zwi †Li AvRv` cwl Kvq wbæwj wLZ msev` cðKwkZ nq

t

AvRv`

17 gvP°1971

XvKv nvB†KvU°evi mwgwZ

e½eÜj wb†`K B cvj b Kwi †eb|

(óvd wi †cvU¶i )

XvKv nvB†KvU°evi mwgwZ GK mf vq Avl qvgx j xM  
 cðvb e½eÜj tkL gyRej ingv†bi th †Kvb wmxvš-  
 Avšwi KZvi mwnZ Mhb Ges Zvnni eZgvb wb†`Kmn A`†  
 fweL`†Z evOvj x RvwZi D†††k“ Rvi xKZ th†Kvb wb†`K  
 gwbqv Pj vi meñæšZ wmxvš-MpxZ nq|

MZKj“ g½j evi XvKv nvB†KvU°evi mwgwZi mfvcwZ  
 Rbve Avmv`¾4vgvb Lv†bi mfvcwZ†Z; AbjôZ D³ mf vq  
 evsj vt`tki mv†o mvZ †KwU gvb†i mwaKvi msM†gi  
 mwnZ GKvZ†Zv †Nvl bv Kwi qv e³ Zv K†i b G`W†fv†KU  
 tgvdvLLvi “j Bmj vg, bewbeWpZ RvZxq cwi l` m`m“  
 G`W†fv†KU G,we,Gg bj “j Bmj vg, G`W†fv†KU Avbmvi  
 Avj x, G`W†fv†KU †Zvdv†qj Avn†æš` I G`W†fv†KU  
 Gm,†K, Gm bex cgvL|

mf vq Av†j vPbv cñ†½ G`W†fv†KU †Zvdv†qj  
 Avng` etj b th, wewfbæ gnj nB†Z AvR e½eÜj tkL  
 gyRej ingv†bi wb†`K l` vex mg†ni th fj e`vL`v Kiv

nB†Z†Q, AvBbRxex wnmvte RbM†Yi wbKU Zvnyi  
AvBbMZ e˘vL˘v cŃ vb Ki v Avi c†qvRbxqZv t˘ Lv w˘ qv†Q|  
GB cŃ†½ wZwb AZ˘š- ˘ úóf vte etj b th, ¶ gZv  
n˘ vŠ†i i c†k†Kvb AvBbMZ evav bvB|

mfvcwZi fvl †Y bewbe¶PZ RvZxq cwi l˘ m˘m˘  
Rbve Avmv˘ ¾vvgvb Lvb th tKvb Z˘v†Mi wewbgtq evsj vi  
gvb†l i m˘axbZv Av†˘ vj b†K Ppvš-j †¶˘ j Bqv hvl qvi  
Rb˘ c†˘ †ki AvBbRxext˘ i cŃZ Avnevb Rvbvb|

mf vq MnxZ KwZcq cŃ vte e½eÜy tkL gyR†ei  
wb†˘ †ki cŃZ cY˘ mg˘ Ávcb, evsj vi mvto mvZ tKwU  
gvb†l i gy³. msMv†gi mwnZ GKvZ†Zv †Nvl Yv l e½eÜy  
tkL gyRej i ngv†bi 4 ˘ dv ci †Y †Rvi ˘ vex Rvbvb nq|

mf vq MnxZ GK we†kl cŃ vte MY Av†˘ vj †b wbnZ  
exi knx˘ t˘ i AvZwi cŃZ kŃv Ávcb Ges knx˘ †i ¶ wZ M˘˘  
cwi evi etM¶ Rb˘ MwVZ Avl qvgx j xM mvnvh˘ Znwetj gß  
n†˘ - ˘ vb Ki vi Rb˘ c†˘ †ki AvBbRxext˘ i cŃZ Avnevb  
Rvbvb nq|

18 B gvP˘Zwi †L AvRv˘ cŃ K vq wbæij wLZ msev˘ msev˘ cKwkZ  
nq t

## AvRv˘

18B gvP˘ 1971

i †³ i A¶ †i Zvi v †j †L m˘axbZv

(i vRkvnx Awdm nB†Z)

i vRkvnx 12 gvP¶ weMZ 3i v gvP˘i vRkvnx †Uwj †dvb  
Awd†mi mvg†b mvgwi K ewnbxi , wj †Z AvnZ KwZcq  
e˘w³ †K gmwj g Kgwkk¶vj e˘v†Ki evi v˘ vq Rgv†qZ  
Kwi †j AvnZ†˘ i g†a˘ GK Rb wb†R i³ w˘ qv t˘ qv†j  
wj wLqv†Qb ŃŃ evsj v†˘ k m˘axb Ki | ŃŃ

AvnZ†˘ i i³ A¶ †i t˘ qv†j i Mv†q D³ †j Lv  
t˘ wLevi Rb˘ cŃ˘˘n nvRvi nvRvi †j v†Ki fxo nq|

BóvY˘e˘w¼s K†cv†i k†b Ki Mh†Yi  
e˘e˘ v

(óvd wi tcvUŋi )

e½eÜy tkL gŵRej i ngvþbi wþ`k Abhvx BóvY®  
e`vsŵKs Ktcŋi kþbi cŋZ`KwU kvLvq weþkl G`vKvD>U  
†Lvj v nBqv†Q| GB mg`-G`vKvDþU AveMvi x Ki , i éKi  
weµq Ki Ges Avg`vbx I i dZvbx Ki mn tK>`xq  
mi Kvþi i mKj cKvi cþi vŋ Ki Mhb Pwj †Z†Q| BóvY®  
e`v¼s Ktcŋi kþbi GK tcm wi wj †R Ki `vZvMY†K Ki  
Rgv t`l qvi mgq i é I AveMvi x BÝ†c±þi i mgw Ƴ I  
mxj †gvni KZ 5 Kwc Kwi qv ôPvj vbô Rgv t`l qvi Rb`  
Abþi va Ki v nBqv†Q|

19 gv†Pŋ B†Ēdv†K ôAwwg tkL gŵRe ej wQt G MY

weþù vi Y tgvkbMvþbl `ä Ki v hvBþe bv| ô wkþi vbv†g

wþæv³ msev` cKwwkZ nq t

e½eÜy tkL gŵRtei avbgwŪ`n evmf eb GLb  
gŵ³ Kvgx RbZvi Zx ƎŋĪ | mŵaxKvi Kvgx evsj vi gvbþl i  
AmnþhvM Avþ>`vj þbi avi vµ†g Avevj ex ewbZv  
wbweþk†l mgv†Ri meĉhŋ†qi gvbþl i tmLvþb thb Xj  
bvwgqv†Q| RvZxq Rxeþb eZŋvb mαKUÐmwŪÐŋ†Y i vóĉavb  
†Rbv†ij Bqwnqv I RvZxq tbZv tkL gŵRei i ngvþbi  
g†a` `ß `dv %eV†Ki ci ZZxq %eV†Ki tKvb mgq avh®bv  
nl qvq MYg†b wKQŪv wRÁvm RvMvq MZKvj †fvi nB†Z  
mŪ`v chŋ- DrmK RbZv cŋZwbqZ fxo RgvB†Z \_v†K  
tbZvi evmf eþb| kc\_`xß QvĪ hþK, bvm®, e`vsK KgPvi x,  
bvwms `Kj I K†j †Ri QvĪ x, UvK WvBfvi ÐÐ cƒwZ mgv†Ri  
wewf bœ `þi i msMŋgx gvbþl i wgwQj Avwmqv tbZvi cŋZ  
AKŪ Av`nv Ávcb Kwi qv cŋZ`vþb Zvñvi Avwkēv` Kvgbv  
Kþi |

mvi w`b awi qv Avbv†Mvbkvi x weþ`kx mvsew`K†`i  
 `wó GBme wgwQ†j i cŋZ AvKI Ð Kwi qv tbZv Av†eMfi v  
 K†Ū GK chŋ†q e†j b ; weþ`kx eÜj v, t`Lþ| Avgvi  
 t`tki gvbþl AvR cŋZÁvq wK AUj , msMŋg Avi Z`v†Mi  
 g†šj KZ D¾xweZt Kvi mva` Bnv†`i ti v†L ?

wZwb e†j bt Avgvi t`k AvR Rwmqv†Q, RbMY  
 Rwmqv†Q Rxeb w`†Z wkwlqv†Q| mŵaxbZvi Rb` Rxeb`vþbi

AwMe k c t \_ ` x B R v M Z R b Z v i G R x e b t R v q v i t K , c P U I  
 M Y w e t u v i b t K ` ä K w i t Z c v t i G g b k w <sup>3</sup> t g w k b M v t b i I  
 A v R A v i b v B | w e t ` k x m v s e w ` K t ` i D t i t k ` w Z w b e t j b t  
 t f v i 5 U v n B t Z i w i c h S - A v c b v i v t K e j G B ` k ` B  
 t ` w L t Z c v B t e b |

G t K i c i G K Z v n v i e v m f e t b m g v M Z  
t k v f v h v i x t ` i D t i t k ` m s w B f v l Y ` v b c m t 1/2 c Z ` q ` x B  
t N v l b v i g w <sup>3</sup> m s M v t g i c Z v K v A v i I D t a Y ° Z w j q v a w i q v  
G t ` t k i A v c v g i g v b t l i m v a x b Z v A v t ` v j t b i m e w a b v q K  
e 1/2 e U y e t j b , e v s j v i g v b | t Z v g i v N t i N t i m s M v t g i ` M °  
M w o h v t Z v j | A v N v Z h w ` A v t m , c i Z n Z K i , c v e v A v N v Z  
n v b |

w Z w b e t j b , m v Z t K w U t k w l Z D e w A Z e v 1/2 w j i  
 m w e K g w <sup>3</sup> A w R Z b v n l q v c h S - m s M v g A e ` v n Z \_ w K t e |  
 P i g Z ` v t M i w e w b g t q n B t j I A v g i v j t ` t c S w Q e B |

R b M Y t K m k s L j I H K ` e x \_ v K v i A v n Y v b R v b v b |  
 w Z w b e t j b , R b M t b i m w e K g w <sup>3</sup> A w R Z b v n l q v c h S -  
 A v t ` v j b A e ` v n Z \_ w K t e | m f v e m j f R j ` M x i m t i  
 t k L g w R e e t j b , e v s j v i g v b | 0 t Z v g i v P i g Z ` v t M i  
 c O w Z j B q v N t i N t i m s M v t g i ` M ° M w o q v t Z v j | h w `  
 A v N v Z A v t m c i Z n Z K i ; c v e v A v N v Z n v b | w Z w b e t j b ,  
 ` i K v i n B t j i <sup>3</sup> w ` t q B A v g i v ` v e x c i Z o v K w i e D Z e y  
 k n x t ` i i <sup>3</sup> e , v h v B t Z w ` e b v | w Z w b e t j b , ` v e x A v ` v q  
 K w i t Z n B t e | k w S e Y f v t e n q f v j D D D D b B t j m s M v t g i  
 ` M e c \_ a w i q v B A v g i v j ` n t j w M q v t c S w Q e |

b w m S ` K t j i Q v i x i v t k v f v D h v i v m n K v t i e 1/2 e U j  
e v m f e t b w M q v t c S w Q t j w Z w b 0 R q e v s j v 0 a Y w b w ` t q Z v n v t ` i  
t k w M v b I K i Z w j i R e v e t ` b | Z v n v i v m v a x b Z v i m c t `  
t k w M v b w ` t Z \_ w K t j t k L m v t n e e t j b , 0 t Z v g i v m v a x b Z v  
c v B t e 0 | c i Z w ` t b i g Z M Z K v j I w e c j m s L ` K t ` k x  
w e t ` k x m s e v ` m U v b x e v Z R x w e t k L m v t n t e i e v m f e t b  
M g b K t i b | t b Z v l m f K v t j i R b ` Z v n v t ` i m s t M t m S R b `  
m v ` v r K v t i w g w j Z n b | A v i G B t m S R b ` m v ` v r K v t i i  
m x w g Z m t h v M U K j B m 0 ` e n v i K w i q v R % b K w e t ` k x  
m v s e w ` K t k L m v t n e t K c k - K t i b 0 n g t f t A v w K X v K v  
A w m t Z t Q b ? 0 t k L m v t n e R e v e t ` b , 0 A v w g R w b b v | 0







AkZ ce<sup>©</sup>th Avt<sup>ˆ</sup>vj b AvR evsj vt<sup>ˆ</sup>tk P<sub>tj</sub> tQ Zvi  
 cZvKvi wbtP<sup>ˆ</sup> wotqtQb evsj vt<sup>ˆ</sup>tki me tkŲxi gvb|  
 Avt<sup>ˆ</sup>vj tbi wfZi w<sup>ˆ</sup>tq cwi<sup>ˆ</sup>wi ntq D<sub>tV</sub>tQ GB mZ<sup>ˆ</sup>th,  
 fq t<sup>ˆ</sup>wL<sub>tq</sub>, teqt<sub>bU</sub> D<sub>wP</sub>tq i<sup>3</sup> cvZ N<sub>wU</sub>tq evsj vt<sup>ˆ</sup>k Avi  
 kvmb Kiv hvte bv| evsj vt<sup>ˆ</sup>ktK m<sub>w</sub>waKvi w<sup>ˆ</sup>tZB nte,  
 bZp<sub>v</sub> et<sub>½vc</sub>m<sub>v</sub>M<sub>ti</sub>i D<sub>E</sub>vj MR<sup>®</sup> w<sup>ˆ</sup>b w<sup>ˆ</sup>b D<sub>E</sub>vj Zi ntZB  
 \_vKte|

AvR evsj vt<sup>ˆ</sup>tki kvmbfvi gj Zt Avl qvgx j xtMi  
 nv<sub>tZ</sub> Avl qvgx j xM c<sub>av</sub>b tkL g<sub>w</sub>Rej ingv<sub>tbi</sub> wbt<sup>ˆ</sup>RB  
 AvR evsj vi gvb<sub>t</sub>i i c\_| wbe<sup>®</sup>P<sub>tbi</sub> gva<sup>ˆ</sup>tg kwš<sup>€</sup>Y<sup>©</sup>wec<sup>e</sup>  
 msMV<sub>tbi</sub> <sup>ˆ</sup>pvš-<sup>ˆ</sup>vc<sub>b</sub> K<sub>ti</sub> wQ<sub>tj</sub> b evsj vi gvb| MZ m<sub>E</sub>i  
 Gi w<sub>t</sub>m<sub>q</sub>i gv<sub>t</sub>m| GKv<sub>E</sub><sub>ti</sub> i gvP<sup>®</sup>gv<sub>t</sub>m MYZwš<sub>K</sub> msM<sub>v</sub><sub>tgi</sub>  
 B<sub>w</sub>Znv<sub>t</sub>m Zvi v<sup>ˆ</sup>vc<sub>b</sub> K<sub>ti</sub> tQ<sub>b</sub> Avi GK<sub>wU</sub> bRxi w<sub>en</sub>x<sub>b</sub> <sup>ˆ</sup>pvš-  
 | Aw<sub>n</sub>sm<sub>ð</sub>Am<sub>n</sub>th<sub>v</sub>M Avt<sup>ˆ</sup>vj tbi gva<sup>ˆ</sup>tg Zvi v MY<sub>ð</sub>w<sub>e</sub>ti vax  
 kvmb<sub>ðe</sub><sup>ˆ</sup>e<sup>ˆ</sup>v Kv<sub>h</sub>Z m<sub>q</sub>úY<sup>©</sup> APj I e<sup>ˆ</sup><sub>ˆ</sub><sup>©</sup> K<sub>ti</sub> w<sup>ˆ</sup>tqtQ<sub>b</sub>,  
 t<sup>ˆ</sup>tki msL<sup>ˆ</sup>vM<sub>wi</sub> <sup>ˆ</sup>tj i wbe<sup>®</sup>PZ t<sub>b</sub>Zvi wbt<sup>ˆ</sup>rkZ c\_  
 m<sub>tev</sub><sup>ˆ</sup>Zfv<sub>te</sub> tg<sub>t</sub>b w<sub>t</sub>q Zvi v c<sub>gv</sub>b K<sub>ti</sub> tQ<sub>b</sub> th, %<sub>m</sub>i vP<sub>vi</sub> x  
 kw<sup>3</sup> i t<sub>P</sub>tq MYkw<sup>3</sup> c<sub>ej</sub> Zi I Kv<sub>h</sub>Ki | MYkw<sup>3</sup> i c<sub>iz</sub> hv<sub>i</sub> v  
 k<sub>kv</sub>x<sub>j</sub>, MYkw<sup>3</sup> i Af<sup>ˆ</sup><sub>ˆ</sub>q<sub>t</sub>K hv<sub>i</sub> v bZ g<sup>ˆ</sup><sub>t</sub>K M<sub>h</sub>b  
 K<sub>ti</sub> b, AvR<sub>t</sub>Ki evsj vi R<sub>w</sub>MZ RY<sub>M</sub><sub>t</sub>Yi HK<sup>ˆ</sup>ex Avt<sup>ˆ</sup>vj b  
 t<sub>t</sub>K Zvi v mg<sub>w</sub>PZ Avk<sub>ym</sub> I c<sub>Z</sub><sup>ˆ</sup>tqi evY<sub>x</sub> j vf Ki<sub>t</sub>Z  
 cv<sub>ti</sub> | R<sub>b</sub>Zvi tk<sub>w</sub>M<sub>tbi</sub> Avl qvR th D<sup>ˆ</sup><sub>ˆ</sub>Z i vB<sub>t</sub>d<sub>tj</sub> i  
 kw<sup>3</sup> tK we<sup>ˆ</sup><sub>x</sub>Y<sup>©</sup> K<sub>ti</sub> w<sup>ˆ</sup>tZ cv<sub>ti</sub>, evsj vi gvb<sub>t</sub>i i w<sup>ˆ</sup>tK  
 Z<sub>w</sub>K<sub>tq</sub> g<sub>p</sub> wek| AvR Zv wek<sub>ym</sub> Ki<sub>t</sub>Z cv<sub>ti</sub> b|

Avt<sup>ˆ</sup>vj bgLi i vRavbx XvKvq eZ<sup>®</sup>gv<sub>t</sub>b t<sup>ˆ</sup>tki  
 msL<sup>ˆ</sup>vM<sub>wi</sub> <sup>ˆ</sup>tj i t<sub>b</sub>Zv tkL g<sub>w</sub>Rej ingv<sub>tbi</sub> m<sub>t½</sub> Avj vc  
 Av<sub>tj</sub> vP<sub>bv</sub> P<sub>j</sub> tQ t<sub>c</sub><sub>m</sub>t<sub>w</sub>U Bq<sub>w</sub>nq<sub>v</sub> Lv<sub>tbi</sub> GB Avj vc  
 Av<sub>tj</sub> vP<sub>bv</sub>q wK dj vdj Zv <sup>ˆ</sup>ß GK w<sup>ˆ</sup>tbi wfZ<sub>ti</sub> B Rvbv  
 hvte| BZ<sup>ˆ</sup>erm<sub>ti</sub> Avt<sup>ˆ</sup>vj b P<sub>tj</sub> tQ Ges P<sub>j</sub> te| RbbvqK  
 tkL g<sub>w</sub>Rej ingv<sub>b</sub> AwZ <sup>ˆ</sup>úó fvl vq etj tQ<sub>b</sub> j ¶<sup>ˆ</sup> AwRZ  
 bv nl qv ch<sup>§</sup>- Avt<sup>ˆ</sup>vj b P<sub>wj</sub> t<sub>q</sub> th<sub>t</sub>Z nte| evsj vi  
 R<sub>b</sub>MY<sub>t</sub>K %Z<sub>wi</sub> \_vK<sub>t</sub>Z nte th tKvb Z<sup>ˆ</sup>vM m<sub>x</sub>Kv<sub>ti</sub> i R<sub>b</sub><sup>ˆ</sup>|  
 dv<sub>ˆ</sub> tbi D<sup>ˆ</sup>vm gvLv w<sup>ˆ</sup>b<sub>ˆ</sub>wj M<sub>w</sub>otq P<sub>tj</sub> tQ %P<sub>t</sub><sup>ˆ</sup>i M<sub>xl</sub> ¥  
 hš<sub>pvi</sub> w<sup>ˆ</sup>tK| t<sub>m</sub>B mv<sub>t</sub>\_ e<sup>ˆ</sup>vcKZi Ges A<sub>w</sub>aKZi msnZ  
 nt<sup>ˆ</sup>Q evsj vi m<sub>w</sub>waKvi Avt<sup>ˆ</sup>vj b| evsj vi me tkŲxi  
 gvb<sub>t</sub>i i K<sub>ú</sub> t<sub>t</sub>K GB D<sup>ˆ</sup>P<sub>vi</sub> Y t<sub>f</sub>t<sub>m</sub> Av<sub>t</sub>m t j ¶<sup>ˆ</sup> AR<sup>®</sup> bv  
 nl qv ch<sup>§</sup>-msM<sub>vg</sub> wei wZ t<sub>b</sub>B, Avgv<sub>t</sub><sup>ˆ</sup> i msM<sub>vg</sub> P<sub>j</sub> teB|

Avt`vj btK mKq Pwi tI A¶jbe Ges bvbvgwL ti tL  
 t`tki Rxeb cēvtni myfweK Zrci Zv Aek`B h\_v mæe  
 Pwj tq hvevi Dt`vM Mhb Ki tZ nte| cġgZt  
 Avt`vj btK cēvngvb I mksLj i vLvi myt\_® hv tZ  
 mvgwRK wbi vcĖv h\_vh\_ eRvq \_vtK Z¾b` Kv tqgx tMvōxi  
 avi K ðevnK Ges ūvDZ`i tkŲxi wect¶ RbMYtK  
 m`v mRvM I mµq \_vK tZ nte| wØZxqZt eZgvb  
 Avt`vj bġgLi Zvi gta`l t`tki Dbq̄b Zrci Zv hv tZ  
 h\_vmæe Pvj j i vLv mæe nq, hv tZ RvZxqZvev`x tPZbv I  
 Av`k°D¾xeb Ki vi gva`tg t`tki Drcv`b Zrci Zv ewaZ  
 ntZ cvti Z¾b` evsj vi msMvgx RbMYtK HKwšK I  
 KgKkj ntZ nte|

GKw`tK mwaKvi Avt`vj btK cēvngvb I Ae`vnZ  
 i vLv Ab`w`tK mvgwRK wbi vcĖv eRvtqi DtI tk` RbtbZv  
 tkL gyRej ingvb t`tki cġZwU AĀtj cġZwU gnj vq  
 Avl qvgx j xtMi tbZ tZj msMvg Kwgu MVtbi wbt`K  
 w`tqtQb| Lei cvl qv gvĪ mvi v t`tki BDwbqb Ges gnj ✱  
 wfwĖtZ msMvg Kwgu MwVZ ntqtQ Ges`vbxq kwš-i ¶K  
 I Avl qvgx j xM tmŲQv tmev`i mnvqZvq msMvg Kwgu  
 m`m`i v mpm gnj vq wbi vcĖv e`e`v AUJ i vLvi Dt`vM  
 Mhb Kti tQb|

GB e`vcvti beÐwbe¶PZ RvZxq Ges cġt`wkK cwi l`  
 m`m`t`i m̄ úo fwgKv i tqtQ etj Avgi v gtb Kwi | m̄  
 m̄ Gj vKvq RbMtYi Am̄eav I mgm`v`ixKi tY Zvi v  
 wbwōZB Kv hKi Dt`vM Mhtb mtpó ntZ  
 cvti b| mvgwRK wbi vcĖv, kwš-kSLj v i ¶v Dbq̄b cKí,  
 Drcv`b Zrci Zv BZ`w` t¶tĪ ŌKtcKwmwUō ev RwUj Zv  
 t`Lv w`tj RbMtYi Av`vkxj I wbe¶PZ e`w³ wnmvte tmB  
 RwUj Zv wbi mtb cwi l` m`m` eMB m̄ m̄ Gj vKvq KvR  
 Pwj tq th tZ cvti b| BDwbqb Ges gnj ✱ msMvg  
 cwi l` ūwj i ŌmvBW j vBbō t`l qvi e`vcvti Zvi v KvR  
 Ki tZ cvti b %ea ms`v wnmvte| evsj vi Avt`vj tbi  
 me¶abvqK tkL gyRej ingvtbi cġZwU wbt`K hv tZ  
 t`tki Rxeb cēvtni cġZwU avi vq mPj ntZ cvti, cwi l`  
 m`m`i v tm e`vcvti wbwōZfvte cġqvRbxq e`e`v Mhb  
 Ki tZ cvti b| GBfvte t`tki engvb Avt`vj btK  
 GKw`tK Kv tqgx myt\_® avi KðevnK I ūvDZ`i tkŲxi

Zrci Zv t\_tK mte<sup>9</sup>Zfvte g<sup>3</sup> i vLv hvq, Ab<sup>w</sup> tK t`tki  
 Dbq<sup>b</sup>DDrcv`b Zrci Zv tK Pvj y i vLv hvq Zvi m<sup>y</sup>fweK  
 Kvh<sup>u</sup>tg| t`tki msM<sup>g</sup>x RbMY eZ<sup>g</sup>vb Avt<sup>></sup>vj tb m`v  
 mRvM, m`v m<sup>y</sup>uq| t`tki wbe<sup>9</sup>PZ c<sup>0</sup>Zwb<sup>ae</sup>M<sup>9</sup>h<sup>w</sup> GB  
 mRvM<sup>0</sup>m tPZb msM<sup>g</sup>x RbM<sup>t</sup>Yi cvtk Gtm `wotq c<sup>0</sup>KZB  
 tme tKi f<sup>w</sup>gKv Mhb Kti b Zvntj Avt<sup>></sup>vj tbi  
 c<sup>0</sup>evngvbZvi Rtb<sup>w</sup> Zv nte L<sup>p</sup>B Kvh<sup>K</sup>i |

evsj vt`k GK AfZce<sup>9</sup>RvZxqZvev`x tPZbvq AvR  
 tRtM D<sup>t</sup>V<sup>t</sup>Q| GB tPZbv tK h\_vh\_ ijc w`tz nte Ktg<sup>9</sup>  
 m<sup>y</sup>waKvi AR<sup>t</sup>bi th P<sup>v</sup>tj Ä AvR ev<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>vj x R<sup>w</sup>Z Mhb  
 Kti tQ Ges tm P<sup>v</sup>tj Ä tmB R<sup>w</sup>Z AvR G<sup>w</sup>M<sup>t</sup>q P<sup>t</sup>j tQ, tmB  
 P<sup>v</sup>tj Ä <sup>w</sup>RZ<sup>t</sup>Z ntj ev<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>vj xi eZ<sup>g</sup>vb A<sup>w</sup>ns<sup>m</sup> Amn<sup>t</sup>h<sup>v</sup>M  
 Avt<sup>></sup>vj tK m<sup>0</sup>P<sup>w</sup>i t<sup>1</sup> A<sup>9</sup>Y<sup>0</sup>i vL<sup>t</sup>Z nte, Ae<sup>v</sup>nZ i vL<sup>t</sup>Z nte  
 Ges Gi c<sup>0</sup>Y k<sup>w</sup><sup>3</sup> tK Avti v evov<sup>t</sup>Z nte bZ<sup>p</sup> D<sup>i</sup> xcbvq|  
 GK\_v f<sup>t</sup>j tM<sup>t</sup>j Pj te bv|

21tk gv<sup>t</sup>P<sup>9</sup> B<sup>t</sup>E<sup>d</sup>v<sup>t</sup>K 0mZ<sup>w</sup>vM<sup>h</sup> Pwj tZB \_<sup>w</sup>Kte<sup>0</sup> GB

wk<sup>t</sup>i vbtg w<sup>b</sup>æ<sup>w</sup>j wLZ msev` c<sup>0</sup>K<sup>w</sup>kZ nq t

m<sup>y</sup>waKvi Avt<sup>></sup>vj tbi me<sup>9</sup>abvqK e<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>eÜj tkL g<sup>y</sup>Rej  
 i ngvb `pZvi m<sup>t</sup><sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> tNv<sup>t</sup> bv Kti b, evsj vt`k tK Ktj vbx  
 Kwi qv, evRvi Kwi qv i vLvi w`b ewm nBqv <sup>w</sup>Mqv<sup>t</sup>Q|  
 g<sup>y</sup><sup>3</sup> <sup>w</sup>ccvmy mvto mvZ tK<sup>w</sup>U ev<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>vj xi P<sup>p</sup>vš- <sup>w</sup>eRq<sup>t</sup>K  
 c<sup>w</sup>\_exi tKvb k<sup>w</sup><sup>3</sup> B c<sup>0</sup>ZnZ Kwi tZ cwi te bv|

tkL mv<sup>t</sup>ne MZKvj (k<sup>w</sup>bevi) Z<sup>v</sup>nvi evmfetb  
 tkvf<sup>v</sup>h<sup>v</sup>l v mnKv<sup>t</sup>i mgvMZ RbZvi D<sup>t</sup>l tK<sup>w</sup> fvl Y  
 w`tZ<sup>w</sup>Q<sup>t</sup>j b| c<sup>0</sup>Z<sup>w</sup> tbi gZ MZKvj l i vRavbxi <sup>w</sup>ewf<sup>b</sup>e<sup>v</sup> vb  
 nB<sup>t</sup>Z <sup>w</sup>ecj RbZv tkvf<sup>v</sup>h<sup>v</sup>l v mnKv<sup>t</sup>i tkL mv<sup>t</sup>nte<sup>i</sup>  
 evmfetb AvMgb Kti | Avi c<sup>0</sup>Z<sup>w</sup>U tkvf<sup>v</sup>h<sup>v</sup>l vq  
 AskMhbKvi x<sup>t</sup> i D<sup>t</sup>l tK<sup>w</sup>B tkL mv<sup>t</sup>ne ms<sup>w</sup>q<sup>9</sup> B e<sup>3</sup> Zv  
 t`b| MZKvj h<sup>v</sup>nvi v tkvf<sup>v</sup>h<sup>v</sup>l v mnKv<sup>t</sup>i e<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>eÜj evmfetb  
 Mgb Kti b, Zvnt<sup>t</sup> i g<sup>t</sup>a<sup>w</sup> <sup>w</sup>Q<sup>t</sup>j b BóvY<sup>9</sup> e<sup>v</sup><sup>w</sup><sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>s  
 K<sup>t</sup>c<sup>9</sup>ti k<sup>t</sup>bi Kg<sup>P</sup>vi x, b<sup>v</sup>kbvj e<sup>v</sup>s<sup>t</sup>Ki Kg<sup>P</sup>vi x, XvKv  
 c<sup>t</sup>K<sup>š</sup>kj <sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>e<sup>v</sup> vj tqi PZ<sup>l</sup><sup>9</sup> tk<sup>0</sup>x Kg<sup>P</sup>vi x, c<sup>0</sup>t<sup>w</sup> <sup>w</sup>kK  
 mi Kv<sup>t</sup>i i PZ<sup>l</sup><sup>9</sup> tk<sup>0</sup>x Kg<sup>P</sup>vi x Ges c<sup>0</sup>t<sup>w</sup> <sup>w</sup>kK mi Kv<sup>t</sup>i i  
 tm<sup>t</sup>Uj tg<sup>v</sup>U Kg<sup>P</sup>vi xe<sup>v</sup> |

e<sup>3</sup> Zv cñt½ tkL mvtne etj b, evsj vi RbMtYi  
 mweK g<sup>3</sup> AwRZ bv nl qv chŠ-mZ`vMh Pwj te| RbZvi  
 Dñi tk` wZwb etj b, Avt>`vj b fvUv cwofZ w`teb  
 bvðmsMvtg %k\_wj` Awmtj kî`cñ B k<sup>3</sup> kvj x nBte| wZwb  
 etj b, Avgvi Avi wKQB cvl qvi bvB|hv Awg cvBqwQ,  
 Bnvi tKvb Zj bv bvB| evsj vi gvbñl i wekym l fvj evmv  
 j BqvB Awg gwi fZ PvB| Avi Zvi AvtM evsj vi gvbñl i  
 g<sup>3</sup> PvB| wZwb etj b, hZ evavB AvmK, GB j ñ` ARñbi  
 msMvg Ae`vnZ \_wKte| wZwb RYMtYi cñZ kwšeYf vte  
 Avt>`vj b Pvj vBqv hvevi Avnevb Rvbvb|

21 tk gvP© Zwi tL AvRv` cñ Kvq wbæwj wLZ msev` cKwkZ  
 nq t

AvRv`

21 gvP©, 1971

evsj vt` k Avi evRvi nBqv  
 \_wKte bv|

(óvd wi tcvUñi)

evsj vi g<sup>3</sup> Avt>`vj tbi meñabvqK e½eÜy tkL  
 gñRej i ngvb MZKvj kñbevi AZ`š-`pZvi mwnZ tNvl bv  
 Kti b th, evOvj xi v Avi tMvj vg nBqv \_wKte bv| evsj vt` k  
 Avi evRvi wnmvte e`eÜZ nBte bv| hZw`b chŠ- bv  
 evsj vi 7 tKwU gvbñl i i vR%bwZK l A\_ñbwZK g<sup>3</sup> bv  
 Awmtj ZZw`b msMvg Ae`vnZ \_wKte|

PZL©tkñx KgPvi x BDwbqb kñgKi v MZKvj kñbevi  
 wgwQj mnKvñi e½eÜj evmfetb Mgb Kwi tj Zvnt` i  
 Dñi tk` cñ Ë GK mswñ B fvl fY e½eÜj Dcñi v<sup>3</sup> tNvl bv  
 Kti b|

e½eÜy etj b th, Avgi v ewPñZ nBñj gvbñl i gZ  
 ewPe; Avi gwi fZ nBñj exñi i gZ gwi e| wZwb RbMYtK  
 mñ•Lj fvte g<sup>3</sup> Avt>`vj b Pvj vBqv hvl qvi Avnñvb  
 RvbvBqv etj b, th`vex Avgi v tck Kwi qwQ Zvñv Av`vq bv  
 nl qv chŠ-msMvg Ae`vnZ \_wKte|

mfv l wgwQj

c0i tæ 4\_° tkŲx KgPvi x BDwbqtb i Df` tM evqZj  
 tgvKvi i g c0½tY Rbve bj Bmj vtgi mfvcwZtZj GK  
 Rbmfv AbjôZ nq| mfvg `p AwfgZ tcvl b Ki v nq th,  
 Avi Avtcvtl i j vBb bq| weMZ KtqKw` tb tmbvevnbx  
 KZK cvBKvi x nvti MYnZ`v Avtcvtl i i v` v wPi Zti eÜ  
 Kwi qv w` qvtQ| thtKvb Z`vtMi wewbgtq evsj vi  
 mpxbZvKvgx gvb| Avtcvl Kvgxt` i l ohšK c0ZnZ  
 Kwi te|

mfvg e³ Zv Kti b 4\_° tkŲx KgPvi x BDwbqb tbZv  
 Avj gMxi Kexi, Avāj gvbwb (BDwbqb m`m`), AvwRR  
 Dwī b, bj j Bmj vg l Avāj gvbwb (BDwbqb mæúv` K)  
 c0jL|

mfvtktl weŲj 4\_° tkŲx KgPvi xt` i GK Ri`i x  
wgwQj 00 mpxbZvi ctkæ Avtcvl bq00 00 mpxbZvi msMvg  
Pj teB Pj te00 cfwZ tkwlvb mnKvti e½eÜj evmfetb  
Mgb Kti |

0AwnsmĐAmnthvtMi 19Zg w`em AwZewnZ0

wkti vbtg Avi l GKwU msev` %`wbK BtEdvK cwl Kvq 21 tk gvP©  
 Zwi tL cKwkZ nqt (óvd wi tcvUŲi)

e½eÜj tkL gyRej i ngvtbi Avnevtb mvi v evsj vt` k  
 AwnsmĐAmnthvM Avt` vj tbi MZKvj (kwbevi 19Zg)  
 w`em AwZewnZ nq| th mKj Awdm tLvj v i vLvi Rb`  
e½eÜj wbt` K `vb Kwi qvtQb, tKej H .wj Qvov Avi  
mKj mi Kvi x, AvavĐmi Kvi x Ges mvgZjkwmmZ c0Zôvtbi  
KgPvi xMY AwdmĐAv` vj Z eRb Kwi qv kwš-l mksLj fvtē  
Awnsmv AmnthvM Avt` vj b Pvj vBqv hvBtZtQb|

MZKvj weKvtj tbševnbxi mvteK %mwbKt` i Df` tM  
 tK>` xq knx` wgbvti GK mgvtek KgvŲvi ( Aemi c0ß)  
 Rbve Rqbj Avte` xtbi mfvcwZtZj AbjôZ nq| mfvg  
 tbševnbxi c0³ b %mwbK tgmvm© AvBqe tnvmb, Gg, G,  
 tnvmb, tj t wmwī Kx c0jL e³ Zv Kti b| e³ vMY evsj vi  
 mwaKvi i Ųvi Rb` tmbvevnbxi ev½vj x %mwbKMYtKB  
 tKej evsj vt` tk wbh³ i vLvi Rb` `vex Rvbvb| mfvg  
 MnxZ GK cŲ vte evsj vt` k nBtZ Awej tæ| %mb` Acmvi Y  
 Ki vi `vex Rvbvb nq| Aci GK cŲ vte evsj vi 0gy³ Kvgx0

gvbɿl i mwnZ mweK mnɿhvwMZv Ki vi Rb'' tbš, wegvb l  
 ˘j ewnbxi cŏ³ b ev½vj x %mwbKɿ` i cŏZ Avnevb Rvbvb  
 nq| BnvQvov, mfvq tbš, wegvb Ges ˘j ewnbxi cŏ³ b  
 %mwbKɿ` i j Bqv evsj vɿ` ɿk GKwU mshʃ gɣ³ ewnbxi  
 KgvŨ MVɿbi Rb'' cŏ³ b mKj %mwbKɿ` i cŏZ Avnevb  
 Rvbvb nq| mfvq XvKvmn evsj vɿ` ɿki wewf bœ ˘vɿb  
 tmbvevnbx KZK wbi ˘i gvbɿ ɿK nZ˘v Ki vi Zxe' wb>˘ v Ki v  
 nq| mfvɿkɿl cŏ³ b tbšD%mwbKɿ` i GK ˘xN©wgwQj wewf bœ  
 c\_ cwi μ gb Kwi qv e½eŬj avbgwŨ˘' evmf eɿb wMqv Zvnvi  
 mwnZ mvŋ vr Kɿi b Ges Zvnvi tbZɿZi mwaKvi cŏZ ôvi  
 Rb'' tk l i ³ we>˘ y˘ vɿbi cŏZ k\*wZ ɿ` b| (Amgvß)

22ɿk gvtPʃ BɿĖdvɿK ŐAvɿ>˘ vj b Ae˘vnZ \_wKɿeŎ

wkɿi vbtɿg GKwU msev˘ cKwkwZ nq t

MZKvj (i weevi) weKvɿj tkL gɣRej i ngvɿbi  
 avbgŨx˘' evmf eɿbi mɔʃɿL mgɿeZ GK wei vU RbZvi  
 Dɿɿ ɿk˘ fvl Y˘ vbKvɿj tkL gɣRe eɿj b th, evsj v ɿ` ɿki  
 mvo 7 ɿKwU gvbɿl i AwaKvi cŏZ wŏZ bv nl qv chš-kwš-  
 cY©AwnsmĐAmnɿhvM Avɿ>˘ vj Z Ae˘vnZ \_wKɿe|

ɿkL gɣRe eɿj b, bxwZi cɿkœ ɿKvbB Avɿcvl bvB  
 Ges Avgvɿ` i fɣgKv AZ˘š-cwi ©vi | wZwb Rbmavi YɿK  
 ˘vex Av˘ vɿqi Rb'' Ppvš-Z˘vM mɿKvɿi cŏ ɿZ \_vKvi Avnevb  
 Rvbvb| tkL mvɿne RbMɿYi gɣ³ AwRZ bv nl qv chš-  
 kwšcY© Avɿ>˘ vj b Ae˘vnZ i vLvi Avnevb RvbvBqv eɿj b  
 th, eɿj UĐteɿqɿbUŎvi v KLbl mvto 7 ɿKwU ev½vj xi  
 ˘vexɿK ˘ ä Ki v hvBɿe bv| wZwb eɿj b, knxɿ` i i ³ ˘vb  
 e\_v hvBɿe bv Ges RbMɿYi Ppvš-weRq Aek˘B nBɿe|

ɿkL gɣRe eɿj b, Avgi v eŭ i ³ w˘ qvwQ Ges cɿqvRb  
 nBɿj Avi l Z˘vM mɿKvi Kwi qv AwaKvi cŏZ ôv Kwi e|  
 evsj vɿ` kɿK Avi l Kɿj vb x l evRvi i vLv hvBɿe bv| wZwb  
 , Re l weɿf˘ mʋóKvi xɿ` i mɔúɿK©mZK©\_wKqv Avɿ>˘ vj b  
 Ae˘vnZ i vLvi Avnevb Rvbvb| wZwb eɿj b th, mksLj l  
 HK˘ex msMɿg Aek˘B mvdj ˘ gwŬZ nBɿe|

mvi w˘ bB tkL mvɿnɿei evmvq eŭ wgwQj AvMgb Kɿi |

22tk gvP° Zwi tL BtEdvKmn msev` cÎ mgn ôevsj vi  
 mÿwaKvi ô bvtg GKwU wetkl msL`v cKvk Kti | BtEdvtKi wetkl  
 msL`vq Beþb Avbmvi ôtkL gyRe evsj vt` tk meġq ¶ gZvi  
 AwaKvi xô wkti vbtg GKwU cêÜ tj tLb | Bnv wbæi fc t

Awnsm I AmnþhvM Avt`vj tbi mvdj `gq 14k  
 w` tbi GB Avb`cY° gÿtZ° GKwU fvl` cô vb Kiv  
 cġqvRb hvþZ NUbv, tj v GKwU h\_vh\_ `wóþKvþb AvYqb  
 Kiv hvq| MZ c¶ Kvþj i gta` th me Kvþg AbÿôZ  
 ntqtQ, ZvtZ i vR%bwZK `k`ctUi Avgj cwi eZb NtUtQ  
 Ges mÿwaKvi Avt`vj tbi Rb` bZþ w` Mš- DþbWpB Kti tQ  
 Ges mvto 7 tKwU Awaevmx AaÿwL Z wetkġ GB Astki  
 kwš- I `vwqþZj côZ ũgwK cô vb Kti Avšt AvÂwj K  
 mæúþKġ e`vcvþi Avi GK avc bZþ AebwZi mPbv  
 Kti tQ|

GB wei vU i vR%bwZK Avt`vj tbi HwZnvwmK Zvrch°  
 GB NUbvþ tgi gta` wbnZ th, Bmj vgvevþ` Aew`Z GKwU  
 `i waMg` côZwbwazpxb mi Kvþi i KvQ t\_þK ew`Zj I  
 `vmþZj wbMo t\_þK| i vR%bwZK gy³ i Rb` GUv ntj v  
 GKwU Pi g i vR%bwZK msMtg| GKwU mæúY° GK c¶ Kvj  
 hver Bmj vgvevþ` Aew`Z mi Kvþi i Avt`kðwbþ` k  
 tKej gvÎ K`vUbtg>U, tj v e`ZxZ ce°cwK` vþbi tKv\_vl  
 KvR Kti wb|

Gj , Aþcbþnwqb Zvi weL`vZ ôôAvšRvġZK AvBbôô  
 bvgK cġ þK mveġfšgZþK mteġP KZġ¶ wnmvte  
 AvL`vwqZ Kti tQb Ges tmB mveġfšgþZj thðþKvb cw\_ē  
 ¶ gZv t\_þK mæúY° mÿaxb| mveġfšgþZj GB mveRbxb  
 mÿKwZ e`vL`vi etj tkL gyRei ingvb MZ 14w` b hver  
 ce° cwK` vþbi mvto 7 tKwU RbMþYi meġq ¶ gZvi  
 AwaKvi x|

þkL gyRej ingvb RbMþYi KvQ t\_þK %eafvte côß  
 mteġP ¶ gZv AvBbvþMfvteB cġqvM Ki tQb| ce°  
 cwK` vþbi RbMþYi mveġfšgþZj AvBbZt Abþgv` b wZwb  
 GB Kvi tY cô\_Ÿv Kti b wb th, wZwb GLþbv chš-Avkv  
 Kti b Ges Avšwi KZvi mþ½ tPóv Kti tQb hvþZ GKwU





, YMZ cv\_K" i tq†Q| f†Æv `xN° AvU ermi Kvj AvBqpe  
 Lv†bi K"weZvi mvsMVwbK c†Zfv mte†cwi Zvi wbtm℥\_Zv  
 I Amg mvmn Zv†K Zvi mgqKv†j i Kwnbxi bvqK K†i  
 M†o Z†j †Q| Zvi RbM†Yi m℥waKv†i i Rb" wZwb üó g†b  
 th kwi i xK wbh†Zb †fvM K†i †Qb ZvB Zv†K `vb K†i †Q|  
 Acwi mxg AvZxK kw³ | mWZ"Kvi mvapcj "I g"v\_ŷ  
 etj †Qb, 00mZ" Kvi †Yi Rb" hvi v wbh†Zb †fvM K†i Zvi vB  
 tmŠfvM"evb| 00

23†k gv†P° B†Ēdv†K 0AvR †\_†K Avgi v Avi c†³ b  
 bB 00 wk†i vbv†g wbæwj wLZ msev` c†KvwkZ nqt

†bZv I RbZvi mwnZ GKvZ†Zv †Nvl bv c†m†½  
 Aemi c†ß %mwbK, bvweK I %egvwbKMY|  
 wegvb, †bŠ Ges `j ewnbxi c†³ b %mwbKMY e½eÜj  
 tkL gwRej i ngv†bi Kg†mPx†K me†Z†Kfvte mdj Kwi qv  
 †Zvj vi Rb" MZKvj (†mvgevi) kc\_ Mhb Kwi qv†Qb|  
 MZKvj weKv†j evqZj tgvKvi i g c†½†bi Av†qvWRZ  
 wegvb, †bŠ Ges `j ewnbxi c†³ b %mwbK† i GK mwšwŷ Z  
 mgvte†k evsj v†` †ki mKj Aemi c†ß %mwbK†K wbR wbR  
 Gj vKvi Avl qvgx j xM msM†g cwi I ` Ges tm"Qv†meK† i  
 mwnZ mn†hvMZv Kwi qv e½eÜj tkL gwRej i ngv†bi  
 Awmsm Amn†hvM Av†`vj b†K mdj Kwi qv †Zvj vi e"vcv†i  
 AvZwb†qvM Ki vi Rb" Avnevb Rvbvb nql

Aemi c†ß tgRi †Rbv†i j Rbve Gg, AvB, gwR†` i  
 mfvcwZ†Zj Ab†ōZ GB mgvte†k K†Y° (Aemi c†ß)  
 I mgvYx, KgvŪvi Avte`xb, Gg, G, tnv†mb, gvngŷ bex  
 c†g℥ m℥waKvi msM††gi c†Z mg\_0 RvbvBqv fvl Y `vb  
 K†i b|

mfvi e³ v mvteK %mwbKMY etj b th, e½eÜj  
 †bZ†Zj evsj v†`k AvR th AfZce°HK" Mwoqv DwVqv†Q,  
 Bnv†Z c†³ b %mwbKMY Avi c†³ b wnmvte ewmqv \_vwK†Z  
 cv†i b bv| Zvnvi v Avi I etj b th, `xN° b mvgwi K  
 ewnbx†Z PvKi x Kwi qv Zvnvi v th AwfÁZv AR0 Kwi qv†Qb  
 Zvnv evsj v†` †ki GKwU gj "evb mšú` | e½eÜj †bZ†Zj  
 m℥waKvi AR†bi Rb" Zvnv†` i GB mšú` Kv†R j vMv†bvi  
 w` b Avwmqv†Q ewj qv Zvnvi v D†j Ǝ K†i b| Zvnvi v Zvnv†` i

Awf Á Zv†K Rbmavi Y†K cŭȳ Ges mksLj Kwi qv  
 Mwoqv †Zvj vi eˊvcv†i wb†qwwRZ Ki vi Rbˊ cŭ³ b  
 %mwK†`i cŭZ Avnevb Rvbvb nq| D†j Ǝˊ e½eÜj  
 AwnsM Amn†hvM Av†ˋvj †bi mwnZ GKvZ†Zv †Nvl bv Kwi qv  
 Avi l e†j b th, fwe l ˊ†Z e½eÜj hLb †Kvb Kv†R  
 Zvnvw`M†K WvwK†eb, Dnv†Z mvov †`l qvi Rbˊ Zvnvi v  
 cŭȳ |

Zvnvi v j ¶ˊ AR†bi Rbˊ †`tki Afˊš†i kwš-  
 ØksLj v Ges mvˊcŭ wqK mˊcŭwZ i ¶v Ges Drcv`b  
 eˊeˊv AeˊvnZ i vLvi Rbˊ mK†j i cŭZ Avnevb Rvbvb|  
 D†j Ǝ†hvMˊ th, RvwZi GB µvwšj †Mˊ cŭ³ b %mwK†`i  
 K\_v i wbevi Rbˊ evqZj tgvKvi i g cŭ½†Y wecj  
 RbmvgMg nq| Rbmavi Y gv†S gv†S nl ˊYwY Ges  
 Ki Zwj w`qv Zvnv†`i e³ teˊi cŭZ mg\_ˊ Rvbvb|  
 mf v†k†l Zvnvi v wgwQj ewni K†i b| wgwQj wU evqZj  
 tgvKvi i g cŭ½Y nB†Z i l qvbw w`qv †Kˋˊk knx` wgbv†i  
 Mgb K†i | Zvnvi v fvl v Av†ˋvj †bi exi knx`v†bi D†i †kˊ  
 knx` wgbv†i cYˊmvgwi K ghˊ v mnKv†i cˊúgvj ˊ Acˊ  
 K†i b| Bnvi ci Zvnvi v KPKvl qvR mnKv†i e½eÜj  
 avbgŬxˊ`evmf e†b Mgb Kwi qv Zvnvi mwnZ mv¶v†r K†i b|  
 %mwK†`i wgwQ†j i c†i vf v†M wQ†j b mv†eK †gRi  
 †Rbv†i j Gg, AvB, gwR` Ges K†Yˊ l mgvbx| evqZj  
 tgvKvi i g nB†Z i iˊ Kwi qv e½eÜj avbgŬxˊ`evmf eb  
 chš- mvi wU c†\_ Zvnvi v i vˊwi ˊˊB cv†kˊ D†ØwZ  
 RbZvB nl ˊwb Ges Ki Zwj j vf K†i b|

Ø7†KwU gvb| hLb HKˊex nBqv†Q ZLb `vex

Av`vq Kwi qv QvwœeŎ w†i v†v†g GKwU msev` cKwkZ nq t

MZKvj (†mvgevi) mˊq evmf e†bi mˊš†L Rgv†qZ  
 wecj RbZvi D†i †kˊ fvl YˊvbKv†j Avl qvgx j xM cˊvb  
 †kL gwRej i ngvb ˊˊB K†Ú †Nvl Yv K†i bt 7 †KwU  
 gvb†l i gw³ bv nl qv chš-msMvg AeˊvnZ \_vwK†e| Avgi v  
 wbŎqB Rqj vf Kwi e; eˋˊK, Kvgvb, †gwbMvb wKŎB  
 Rbmavi †Yi gw³ ti va Kwi †Z cwi †e bv| †kL gwRe  
 7†KwU ev½vj xi gw³ AWRˊ bv nl qv chš-†hØ†Kvb ZˊvM

mḵKvṭi cō Ẓ \_wKṭZ Rbm̄vavi ṭYi cōZ Avnevb Rvbvb  
nq|

MZKvj mKvj nBṭZB AmsL" wgwQj ṭkL gyRṭei  
evmfēṭb GṭKi ci GK AwmṭZ \_vṭK Ges evi evi B ṭkL  
gyRe ṭkvf vḥvGxṭ` i DṭĪ ṭk" msw¶| β fvl Y` vb Kṭi b|  
cṭZ`KwU wgwQj B RbZvi AwaKvi Av`vṭqi `β kcṭ\_ gLi  
wQj |

e<sup>3</sup> Zv cḥṭ½ ṭkL gyRe kṣLj v cY<sup>®</sup> cwi ṭetk  
Avṭ>` vj b Pvj vBqv ḥvl qvi cṭqvRbxqZvi Dci , i "Zi  
Avṭi vc Kwi qv etj b th, kṣLj vex msMṭg e`wZṭi ṭK  
Ppṽš-weRq ARḔ mṣṣe bq| wZwb etj b, ḥvnvi v evox evox  
ṭRvi Kwi qv Pvì v Av`vq Kwi qv teovq Zvnnṭ` i GB KvRṭK  
, Ūvgx Qvov Avi wKQβ ej v ḥvq bv|

ṭkL gyRe etj b t 7 ṭKwU gvb| ḥLb HK`ex  
nBqvṭQ, ZLb Awg Aek`B`vex Av`vq Kwi qv Qwwe| 23  
ermi gvi LvBqwQ, Avi gvi LvBṭZ i vRx bB| knx`ṭ` i  
i<sup>3</sup> e\_v ḥvBṭZ ṭ` l qv nBṭe bv; cṭqvRb nBṭj Avi l i<sup>3</sup>  
w`e| wKš' Gevi mṭ` ḐAvmṭj evsj vi `vex Av`vq Kwi qv  
Awbe| evsj vṭ` kṭK Avi Kṭj vbx l evRvi Kwi qv i vLv  
ḥvBṭe bv| mṭZ`i Rb" Avgi v msMṭg Kwi ṭZwQ; Rq  
Avgvṭ` i Aek`B nBṭe|

ṭkL gyRe `vex Av`vṭqi Rb" ṭhḐṭKvb Z`vM mḵKvṭi  
cō Ẓ \_vKvi Avnevb Rvbvb| ṭkL gyRe etj b th, ṭ` ṭk  
RbMṭYi mi Kvi Kvṭqg nBṭj Ab`vqfvṭe KvnvṭKI AvUK  
i vLv nBṭe bv| .

ZvnnQvov, 23 gvṭP<sup>®</sup> BṭĒdvṭK QvĪ msMṭg cwi l ṭ` i cwi Kwí Z  
evsj vṭ` ṭki cZvKvi GKwU Qwe gw` Ẓ nq|

24ṭk gvP<sup>®</sup> BṭĒdvṭK 071 Gi 23ṭk gvṭP<sup>®</sup> mj

Avgi v i ṭbwQ H, gv%<sup>f</sup> t gv%<sup>f</sup> t gv%<sup>f</sup> t wkṭi vbvṭg GKwU

msev` cKwkZ nq t (óvd wi ṭcvUṭi )

we¶|ä evsj vi eṭK Awmsm AmnṭḥvM Avṭ>` vṭj i DĒvj  
Zi ṭ½i AvNvṭZ AvNvṭZ HwZnvwmK j vṭnvi cō ve MḥṭYi  
mḥi K w`em 23ṭk gvP<sup>®</sup> MZKvj (g½j evi) wPi vPwi Z  
AvbṭwbKZvq Avi cwj Z nq bvB| evsj vi gw<sup>3</sup> Avi

mɸwaKvi Avt̤>`vj t̤bi i<sup>3</sup> Siv cUfɸgKvq ōmɸaxb evsj v  
 t̤`k t̤K>`xq QvĪ ĐmsMɸg cwi l t̤`i I mɸaxb evsj v t̤`k  
 t̤K>`xq kŋgK msMɸg cwi l t̤`i Wv t̤K MZKv t̤j i w`bwU  
 evsj v t̤`k e`vcx cŋZ t̤i va w`emŋ wnmv t̤e cvj Z nBqv t̤Q|  
 evsj v t̤` t̤ki i vRavbx XvKvq mi Kvi x temi Kvi x  
 febmgt̤n, evoxĐN t̤i, hvbevn t̤b Kv t̤j vcZvKvi cvkvcwK  
 MZKvj msMɸg cwi l t̤` cwi Kwí Z mɸaxb evsj vi cZvKv  
 DÇ xqb Ki v nq| XvKv kn t̤i mvgwi K Kov teóbx i  
 QĪ Qvqvq wegvb e>`i febwU t̤Z cwwK`v t̤bi cZvKv Dwo t̤Z  
 t̤`Lv hvq| msi wŋ Z Gj vKv t̤cŋm t̤W>U feb I cvU fe t̤b  
 cwwK`v t̤bi cZvKv wQj | GQvov i vRavbx i mKj mi Kvi x  
 febĐ evsj v cwi l t̤` feb, mɸcŋg t̤KvU<sup>©</sup>, nvB t̤KvU<sup>©</sup>,  
 tm t̤p Uvwi t̤qU, t̤kL mv t̤nei evmf eb, B>Uvi K w>U t̤b>Uvj  
 tn v t̤Uj, XvKv teZvi t̤K>`<sup>a</sup>, t̤Uwj wfkb t̤K>`<sup>a</sup> cŋwZ`v t̤b  
 Kv t̤j v cZvKvi cvkvcwK ōmɸaxb evsj vi ŋ cZvKv DÇ xqb  
 Ki v nq| MZKvj cŋZ t̤i va w`em cvj b Dcj t̤ŋ i vRavbx  
 XvKvi MYĐRxe t̤b MYĐAv t̤>`vj t̤bi mvM t̤i f i vKvUv t̤j i  
 t̤Rvqvi t̤`Lv t̤`q| QvĪ msMɸg cwi l t̤`i e`e`vcbvq  
 AvDUvi t̤óWqv t̤g mɸaxbZv Av t̤>`vj t̤bi AM%mw bK QvĪ  
 QvĪ xi v th ex t̤i wPZ KPKvl qvR cwi t̤ekb K t̤i b, mɸwaKvi  
 wccvmy nvRvi nvRvi bi bvi x Avb>` D"Qj wKš' eR K t̤Vvi  
 kc t̤\_i `j wZ t̤Z`xβ GK Ace<sup>©</sup> cwi t̤etk Zv nv Ae t̤j vKb  
 K t̤i b| evsj vi Zi "b t̤`i GB KPKvl qv t̤Ri ga" w`qv  
 MZKvj evsj vi AvKv t̤k evZv t̤m evsOvj xi v gvb t̤l i gZ  
 gwi evi I ewPevi AvZ t̤cŋZ` t̤qi th AwbeŋY mɸŋ i enb  
 Kwi qv t̤Q Zv nv AZj bxq, A`k`ce<sup>©</sup> Ak`ZcYŋ mKvj  
 nB t̤Z i vZ chš-XvKvi i v`vq exi evOvj xi AMwYZ wgwQj  
 i ay Kv gbv evmbv I AvKv•Lvi aŋwb t̤K cŋZaŋwbZ Kwi qv  
 wMqv t̤Q Aw ekŋš- Rj avi vi gZ| wgwQ t̤j wgwQ t̤j  
 mfvmw gwZ t̤Z RbZvi KÚ thb t̤Kewj ewj t̤Z Pwnqv t̤Q t

ŋi K t̤bv Mv t̤½ AvmjK

Rxe t̤bi eb`v D`vg t̤KšZjK

f v½ t̤bi RqMvb MvI

RxY<sup>©</sup>cj vZb hvK t̤f t̤m hvK

Avgi v i t̤bwQ H

gv%<sup>o</sup>f t̤ gv%<sup>o</sup>f t̤ gv%<sup>o</sup>f t̤ŋ

MZKvj wQj e½eÜj wb t̤`ŋk mi Kvi x QvUi w`b|

m̃vaxb evsj v t`k tK>`xq QvĪ msM̃vg cwi l` KZK  
 GB w`em Dcj tŋ M̃nxZ Kg̃mPx Ab̃hvqx MZKvj tfṽti  
 c̃fvZ t̃dix, knx`ṽbi gvRvi tRqvi Z, wewfb̃e mi Kvi x  
temi Kvi x evmf̃eb Ges c̃Zôṽtb m̃vaxb evsj vi cZvKv  
D̃Ėvj b, ADUvi tóWqṽtg Rq evsj v ewnbxi KPKvi qvR  
 Ab̃p̃vb Ges m̃vaxb evsj ṽt`k tK>`xq k̃gK msM̃vg cwi l`  
 KZK evqZj tgvKvi i g c̃½t̃Y Rbm̃fv Ab̃p̃vb Ki v nq|

c̃fvZ t̃dix

c̃Z̃ti va w`em Dcj tŋ MZKvj tfvi 6Uvq m̃vaxb  
evsj ṽt`k tK>`xq QvĪ msM̃vg cwi l̃t`i D̃t` t̃M c̃fvZ  
 t̃dix mnKṽti ÃwRgcj t̃Mvi ṽtb mgw̃nZ knx`mṽtR̃U  
 R̃ui j̃ ñt̃Ki gvRvi ṽt̃ 0̃m̃ṽaKvi Aṽt̃>`vj t̃b w̃b̃t̃Z wewfb̃e  
 knx`t̃i gvRvi tRqvi Z Ges tK>`xq knx`w̃gbṽti  
 c̃p̃úgvj ṽ Ac̃Y Ki v nq|

0̃m̃vaxb evsj ṽt`k tK>`xq QvĪ msM̃vg cwi l̃t`i 0̃  
 Avneṽtb c̃Z̃ti va w`em cvj b Dcj tŋ MZKvj tfṽti  
i vRavbx XvKvi t̃m̃t̃μ Uwi t̃qU f̃eb, nvB̃t̃KvŨ, i vRvi evM  
c̃vj k̃ j vB̃mn wewfb̃e mi Kvi x, Avaṽðmi Kvi x, t̃eðmi Kvi x  
c̃Z̃ôvb, evmf̃eb Ges ẽemv c̃Z̃ôvb, w̃k̃ŋ v c̃Z̃ôvb Ges  
 QvĪ vevmm̃g̃ni P̃pvq evsj v t̃t̃ki cZvKv D̃Ėvj b Ki v  
nq|

m̃vaxb evsj ṽt`k tK>`xq QvĪ msM̃vg cwi l̃t`i  
 Kg̃mPxi g̃ta` Ab̃Z̃g AṽKl̃b̃ w̃Qj mKvj 9Uvq AvDUvi  
 tóWqṽtg Rq evsj v ewnbxi Aṽb̃p̃w̃bK KPKvi qvR Ges  
h̃t̃xi g̃nov|

0̃Kgešv w̃bãŋi t̃Yi fvi Avgvi Dci Qvwoqv w`b̃0̃

w̃k̃ti ṽbṽtg Avi GK̃w̃U m̃sev` c̃K̃w̃kZ nq t (óvd wi t̃cvŨŋi)

w̃ẽŋj̃ä evsj vi t`k w`M̃t̃š- mẽZ̃ŋK g̃y³ Aṽt̃>`vj t̃bi  
 cUf̃w̃g̃t̃Z b̃qv Ãw̃½t̃K Ãw̃ef̃Z̃ t̃Z̃B̃t̃k gṽt̃P̃P̃ Ãw̃em̃ŋi Yxq  
 w`t̃b eb̃vi t̃m̃t̃Zi gZ m̃xq evmf̃ẽt̃b mgvMZ RbZvi  
D̃t̃l̃ t̃k̃ f̃vl Y`vbKṽt̃j m̃ṽaKvi Aṽt̃>`vj t̃bi mẽṽab̃ṽqK  
ẽ½ẽÜy t̃kL g̃yRej i ngvb c̃bi vq ẽt̃j b, 0̃Geṽti i msM̃vg  
g̃y³ i msM̃vg, hZw`b mṽtomvZ t̃K̃w̃U eṽ½vj xi mṽwẽK g̃y³  
 Ãw̃R̃Z̃ bṽ nB̃te, hZw`b GK̃R̃b eṽ½vj x ew̃P̃qv ṽw̃K̃te, GB

msMtg Avgvť`i Pwj teB Pwj te| gtb i wLteb, Kg  
i<sup>3</sup> cvťZi gvaťtg whwb Ppvš-j Ǳ Ǳ ARḖ Kwi tZ cvti b,  
wZwbB tmi v wmcvkvj vi | ZvB evsj vi RbMtYi cġZ Avgvi  
wbť` RḖmsMtg Pvj vBqv hvb, kšLj v eRvq i vLp, msMťgi  
Kgčšv wbaŋi tYi fvi Avgvi Dci B Qwoqv w` b| ō

tkL mvťne Zvnvi fvl tY Avi l etj b, evsj vi  
`vexi cġkē tKvb Avťcvl bvB| eū i<sup>3</sup> w` qwQ,  
cġqvRbťevta Avi l i<sup>3</sup> w`e, wKš' gw<sup>3</sup> i j tǱ Ǳ Avgi v  
tcšwQeB| evsj vi gvb| tK Avi ci vaxb Kwi qv i vLv hvBte  
bv| wZwb etj b, Avgi v mgm'vi kwšcY° mgvavb PvB|  
wKš' hw` Zv mḗe bv nq, mvťo mvZ tKwU ev½vj xi mḗaxb  
tťtki mḗaxb bvMwi K wnmvťe ewPqv vKvi j Ǳ Ǳ ARḖbi  
msMtg Avgvť`i Pwj tZB wKte| GB msMťgi cšv wK  
nBte Dnv AwgB wVK Kwi qv w`e, tm fvi Avgvi Dci B  
Qwoqv w` b| tkvl K ḖKvťqgx mḗ\_ēv` xt` i wKfvťe ch° -  
Kwi tZ nq Awg Rwb| wZwb etj b AZj bxq HK,  
bRxi wenxb msMťgx tPZbv Avi cksmbxq kšLj v tevta  
cwi Pq w` qv evsj vi gvb| cġvb Kwi qv w` qvťQ th, kw<sup>3</sup> i  
tRvťi Zvnvť`i Avi `vevBqv i vLv hvBte bv| KvK WvKv  
ťfvi nBťZ i vRc\_ Rbc` cweZ Kwi qv kni l kni Zwj i  
wewfbēw` K nBťZ ARmḗ RbZvi tmťZ cēwnZ nBťZ vťK  
e½eÜj evmfetbi w` tK| wgwQťj i ci wgwQj | mKvj  
nBťZ 10 NvUv mgťq 6wU gwnj v wgwQj mn AšZt 55wU  
tQvUeo wgwQj MZKvj tkL mvťnti e evm fetb AvMgb  
Kwi qv ōgnvb RwZi gnvb tbZvi ō cġZ AKŪ Av`vi  
cpi veŲĖ Ges msMťgi `RḖ kct\_i mḗǱ i i wLqv hvq|  
tmB wgwQťj i mgť` ō nvťZ nvťZ j wV ej Ǳ, e`K, tPvťL  
gťL gw<sup>3</sup> i `xβ Zvi "Y" Avi KťŪ KťŪ bq v w` tb be RwZ  
bZp tťtki weRq Mv\_v tKwU cġťYi AťgvN m½xZ ōRq  
evsj vŏi mNb gťš, MwRḖv MwRḖv DwVťZ vťK| tZBk eQi  
awi qv evsj vi `k w` Mťš-th cwwK` vbx cZvKv DwoqvťQ, th  
cwwK` vb w` em cvwj Z nBqvťQ, thfvťe mi Kvi x e`e` vcbvq  
mf vḖmwgwZ nBqvťQ Avi tmbme Abpťb i vRcť\_ḖRbcť\_  
AwaKvi ewĀZ MYgvb| Ǳ `vcv cvMťj i gZ ōcwwK` vb Avi  
mḗaxbZvŏ LjRqv teovBqvťQ, MZKvj tKi w` bwU Zvi  
Avemvb mPbv Kwi qv RbZvťK bemťhḖ bq vťj vťK bq v  
cZvKvi w` KḖwbť` Ǳk cġťYi Uvťb Uvwbqv wbqvťQ RwZi

f vM'' w b q š v e ½ e Ü j e v m f e t b | A v i e v g n v t Z e v s j v t ` t k i  
 c Z v K v D t a Ÿ ° Z y j q v W v b n v Z R b Z v i w ` t K e v o v B q v w ` q v  
 e v s j v i g j K U n x b m g t U m v t o m v Z t K w U g v b t l i A v Z w i  
 ` ú ` b t K G K t l R t o v K w i q v M w R q v D w V q v t Q b , 0 e v s j v i  
g v b | K v n v i l K i " b v i c v l b q | A v c b k w ³ i ` R q  
¶ | g Z v e t j B Z v i v g w ³ w Q b v B q v A w b t e | R q e v s j v 0 e v s j v i  
R q A w b e v h 0 |

M Z K v j A M w Y Z R b Z v e ½ e Ü j e v m f e t b M g b K t i |  
 Z b t a " w Q j Q v l j x t M i R q e v s j v e w n b x , U " w W v B e v i ,  
 m v B t K j t k v f v h v l x , g w n j v l Q v l x , K v i L v b v i k i g K ,  
 A w d t m i K g P v i x G e s A b " v b " w e w f b e t c k v i b v M w i K | R q  
 e v s j v e w n b x m k s L j f v t e t b Z v t K A w f b x ` b Á v c b K t i |

Z v n v Q v o v , 0 ¶ | g Z v n ` v š t l m v g w i K k v m b c Ź " v n v i

c ű t ½ 0 w k t i v b v t g G K w U m s e v ` c K w k Z n q t

M Z K v j ( g ½ j e v i ) m s e v ` c Ź Z 0 v b 0 G b v 0 K Z Ź  
 c w i t e w k Z G K m s e v t ` e j v n B q v t Q t h , e Z 0 v b i v R % b w Z K  
 m s K U w b i m t b i c t \_ c l g c ` t ¶ | c w n m v t e L p m æ e t G K  
 ` ß w ` t b i g t a " c e 0 l c w 0 g c w K ` v t b i w b e w P Z  
 c Ź Z w b w a t ` i n v t Z ¶ | g Z v n ` v š w i Z n B t Z h v B t Z t Q | G K B  
 m t ½ m v g w i K k v m b l c Ź " v ü Z n B t Z h v B t Z t Q | m v g w i K  
 k v m b c Ź " v n v t i i e " v c v i w U t K A v B b Z t w m x K i v i R b "  
 w e t k l Á c t q v R b x q A v B b c Ź q t b i e " v c Z A v t Q b |

A v R ( e p e v i ) A v M v g x K v t j i g t a " D c t i v ³ g t g °  
 t c ű m t W > U G K w U t N v l Y v K w i t Z c v t i b e w j q v M Z K v j X v K v q  
 t g v U v t g w U A v f v m c v l q v w M q v t Q |

w e k Z m t l c 0 ß L e t i c K v k A š e Z x j x b c k v m b  
 e " e - v w Z b g v t m i R b " K v t q g K i v n B t Z t Q | G B w Z b  
 g v t m i g t a " R v Z x q c w i l ` m " m " i v D f q c t ` t k c l t g  
 c \_ K f v t e , c t i t h \$ \_ f v t e k v m b Z w š Ź d g j v m v e " - K i v i  
 R b " e w m t e b | G B f v t e k v m b Z š j i w P Z n l q v i c i b q v  
 k v m b Z t š j A a x t b b q v m i K v i M V b K i v n B t e | D w j w L Z  
 c w i K í b v e v - e v q t b i R b " A v B b D c t ` ó v i v c t q v R b x q  
 A v B b v b M w e w a w e a v b B w Z g t a " B c Ź q b c Ź q m æ ú b e  
 K w i q v t Q b e w j q v g t b K i v n B t Z t Q | A v M v g x 2 5 t k g v t P p

g†a" mgm"vej xi mgvavb bv nB†j evsj vt` k AbwZwej †x|  
wb†Ri c\_ wb†R ewwQqv j Bevi mævebv Av†Q ewj qvl Rvbn  
wMqv†Q|

ôcô³ b %mwbK†` i GKvZ†Zvô wk†i vbn†g wbæwj wLZ GKwU  
 mæúv` Kxq cKvwkZ nq t

MZ ci`i ôevqZj tgvKvi i gô cô½†Y c†³ b `j tmbv,  
 bvweK l %egvwbK†` i GK mgv†etk mv†eK %mwb†Ki v mvZ  
 †KwU ev½vj xi mÿwaKvi msM†gi mv†\_ GKvZ†Zv †Nvl bv  
 K†i b| Zvnvi v etj b, Avgi v cô³ b %mwbKMY AvR Avi  
 ôcô³ bôô wnmv†e ewmqv \_wK†Z cwi bv|

mZ" mZ"B AvwRKvi GB me†Z†K msM†g ômv†eKô ev  
 ôcô³ bô ewj qv Kvnvi l Avi Aemi hvc†bi m†hvM bvB|  
 mKj †kôxi gvb| †¶ ZÐLvgvi, wkí wkí vqZb, evRvi  
 wecYx, Awdm Av`vj Z nB†Z i vR c†\_ bvwgqv Awmqv  
 ci`úi Kv†a Kva wgj vBqv mgZv†j AM†mi nB†Z†Q|  
 `ßÐPwi Uv wWwfkb j Bqv GB ewnbx bq, mvi v evsj vt` †ki  
 mvZ †KwU gvb| j Bqv GB MYÐewnbx| cô³ b %mwbKi vl  
 mvgvwRK †kôxMY %el g" ev `j MZ wewf bZv wemRb w`qv  
 GK KvZv†i kvwgj nBqv†Qb Ges enËi Rbmgnóí mwnZ  
 GKvZ†Zv †Nvl bv Kwi qv†Qb Bnv mZ"mZ"B mKj msM†gx  
 c†¶ B GKwU †cô Yvi wel q|

MYZvwšK i v†ó' ôe>` †Ki bj ô cðvb bq, RbMYB  
cðvb,ôe>` †Ki bj ô ¶ gZv Drm bq, RbM†Yi KÚB  
¶ gZvi Drm| wKš' tmB KÚ `ä Kwi qv w`evi Rb" ev†i  
ev†i %mPvi xi nt`-e>` †Ki bj D`"Z nq| tmB e>`K AwMe  
Si vq,RbZvi e¶ we`xY© K†i | ôAwkw¶ Z gL© D"QsLj  
RbMY MYZ†šj Abçh³ ô ôRwUj i vóxq wel q Abjavebl  
wm×vš-Mh†bi thvM"Zv Zvnv†` i bvBô| GBme hÿ³ †Z  
Zvnvi v ¶ gZv `Lj K†i Ges A†`j etj Awbw`ôKvj Zvnv  
Pvj vBqv hvB†Z m†Pó nq| e`žtc†¶, RbM†Yi GB  
Dw`¶ qvj v m†b†qvRZ MvwWqvbi vB Gwkqv AwdKvi be"  
m†axbZv côß †`k, wj †Z, `ß Pwi wU wew"Qbæe"wZµ g ev†`,  
côq me† Gh†Mi gL" mgm"v nBqv `vovBqv†Q Gme  
AÂ†j i vR%bwZK Aw`í Zv l w`wZkxj Zvi l tnZy cðvbZt  
Bnvi vB| A\_P RbM†Yi Dci MvwWqvbwMwi Kwi evi AwaKvi





Dc̣ti i msev` ̀tó cĹxqgvb nq th 23 gvP<sup>o</sup> Zwi tL ōcwiK<sup>-</sup> vb  
w`emō cwi Z nq bvB, ei Ā mgM<sup>a</sup> ceĀtj ōevsj vt`k w`emō cwi Z  
nBqṿtQ|

25tk gvtP<sup>o</sup> BtĒdṿtK ōevsj vi Dci tKvb wKQy  
PvcvBqv t`l qvi tPóv ei `vkZ Ki v nBte bvō wḳti vbvtg  
GKwU msev` cKẉkZ nqt (óvd wi tcvU<sup>o</sup>)

MZKvj (eævi) Avl qvgx j xM cĀvb tkL gyRej  
i ngvb Zṿnvi avbgwŪ<sup>-</sup> evmfeṭbi m̄s̄tL AvMZ AMwbZ  
gvḅṭl i Ḍṭi ṭk<sup>o</sup> e<sup>3</sup> Zv c̄m̄t̄½ etj b th, evsj vt`tki  
gvḅṭl i Dci tKvb wKQy PvcvBqv t`l qvi tPóv Ki v nBtj  
Dnv mn<sup>o</sup> Ki v nBte bv| tkL gyRe etj b, Avgvt`i `vex  
b`vh<sup>o</sup> l m̄j úó Ges Zv Aek<sup>o</sup>B gẉbqv j BtZ nBte|

MZKvj mKvj nBtZB AmsL<sup>o</sup> wgwQj tkL mṿṭnṭei  
evmvq Aṿm̄t̄Z i i<sup>o</sup> Ḳti Ges mŪ<sup>o</sup>vi ci ch̄s-wgwQj Avmv  
Ae<sup>o</sup>vnZ \_vṭK| bvi x, c̄j "l l wḳi w̄b̄w̄eṭḳṭl mgvṭRi  
mKj ṭk̄xi gvḅl GB mKj R̄½x wgwQ̄t̄j ki xK nb|  
Zṿnvi v `βK̄t̄Ū msM̄vg Ae<sup>o</sup>vnZ i vLvi msKí tNṿl bv  
Ḳti b| tkL gyR̄tei K̄t̄Ū K̄Ū w̄gj vBqv Zṿnvi v tk̄w̄vb  
t`b ōmsM̄vg msM̄vgDPj te Pj te| ō

mgteZ Rbm̄vavi t̄Yi Ḍṭi ṭk<sup>o</sup> e<sup>3</sup> Zv c̄m̄t̄½ tkL  
gyRe etj b th, evsj vi mṿto mvZ tKwU gvḅl AvR HK<sup>o</sup>ex  
Ges tKvb kw<sup>3</sup> RbZvṭK `vevBqv i wL̄t̄Z cwi t̄ebv| tkL  
gyRe etj b, Avgi v kw̄š̄eY<sup>o</sup>mgvavb PvB, wK̄š<sup>o</sup> Zṿnvi v hw`  
Zv bv PvB Ges RbMȲt̄K `vevBqv i wL̄t̄Z PvB Zv nBtj Zv  
cwi t̄ebv| AvkvKwi GB f̄j Kwi t̄ebv|

tkL gyRe etj b, th ch̄s- bv evsj t`tki mṿto mvZ  
tKwU gvḅl gy<sup>3</sup> cvBte, `vex Av`vq nBte, tm ch̄s-msM̄vg  
Pwj te| Avcbvi v k̄sLj vcY<sup>o</sup>v̄te msM̄vg Pvj vBqv h̄vb| wZwb  
Av̄t̄`vj bKvt̄j k̄sLj v i ̄l̄vi Dci mēaK , i "Zi Av̄ti vc  
Ḳti b|

tkL gyRe etj b, wKQy msL<sup>o</sup>K t̄j vK Avgvt`i  
msM̄vḡt̄K bm̄<sup>o</sup>vr Ki vi tPóv Kwi t̄Zt̄Q| Zvi v Avgvt`i ḡta<sup>o</sup>  
mv̄c̄Ō w̄qK t̄Mvj gv̄j evavBevi tPóv Kwi t̄Zt̄Q| Zṿnv̄t̄`i  
eū wKQy Av̄t̄Q Ges Zṿnvi v evsj vt`tk t̄Mvj gv̄j evavBqv

evbti i wcvv fvM Ask wbtZ Pvq| GB cñt½ wZwb  
 %mq` cti i NUbv Dtj E Kti b| tkL gRe etj b, Avgi v  
 mvto mvZ tKwU gvb| hLb HK`ex ZLb tKvb lohš;  
 Avgv`i `vevBqv i wLtZ cwi tebv| Avgi v hLb GKÎ  
 nBqvQ, ZLb lohš; e`°nBtZ eva`| tkL gRe etj b,  
 Avcbvi v thB lohš; Ki "b bv tKb Avcbvi v RbMtYi `vex  
 tVKvBtZB cwi teb bv, `vex Av`vq bv nl qv chS-msMtg  
 Pvj teB| cqvRb nBtj Avti v i³ w`e| knxt` i i³ e\_v  
 hvBtZ w`e bv| cvK`vb kw³ i wbKU gv\_v bZ Kwi e bv,  
 evsj vt`tki gvb| tK g³ Kwi qv Qwoe|

tkL gRe `vex Av`vq bv nl qv chS-msMtg Pvj vBqv  
 hvBtZ Ges thtKvb cwi w`wZi Rb` cŕZ \_wKtZ Avnevb  
 Rvbvb| tkL gRe AvKj Avnevb RvbvBqv etj b, hw` Awg  
 tKvb wbt`R bv w`tZ cwi Zvnv nBtj mvto mvZ tKwU  
 ev½vj xtK tMvj vg nl qv nBtZ i ¶vi Rb` Avcbvi vl `p  
 msKí wbqv msMtg Pvj vBqv hvBteb|

tkL gRe etj b tKvb e`w³ i wbKU Avgi v gv\_v bZ  
 Kwi e bv| Avgi gv\_v wKbvi kw³ Kvi l bvB| evsj vi  
 gvb|li i t³ i m½ Awg teCgvbx Kwi tZ cwi e bv| Awg  
 etj tUi mßLxb nBtZ i vRx AwQ, wKŠ' RbMYtK tMvj vg  
 \_wKtZ w`e bv| tkL gRe Kvtagx m`ev`x gnj KZK  
 evsj vt`kK tkvl tbi K\_v Dtj E Kwi qv etj b, Avgi v Avi  
 tKvb AvePvi mn` Kwi tZ i vRx bB, nq Avgi v gvb|li gZ  
 ewPqv \_wKe, bZjev ewPqv \_wKevi Rb` msMtg Kwi tZ  
 Kwi tZB gZ`y ei Y Kwi e| tkL gRe RbMYtK msMtg  
 Ae`vnZ i wLevi Rb` cŕZ \_wKtZ Avnevb Rvbvb|

tkL gRe etj b, Rq evsj vB \_wKte evsj vtK Avi  
 ¶q Kwi tZ w`e bv|

i vtqi evRvi gwnj v Avl qvgx j xtMi GK wei vU wgwQtj  
 AvMZ gwnj vt`i Dtí tk` fvl Y`vb cñt½ tkL gRe  
 gwnj w`MtKI msMtg Pvj vBqv hvBtZ Avnevb Rvbvb|

cŔZwU wgwQtj i Dtí tk` fvl Y w`tZ nq weavq tkL  
 gRtei fetbi t`vZj vq gvBK j vMvb nBqvQ Ges wZwb  
 t`vZj vq e`vj KwbtZ `rovBqv RbZvi Dtí tk` fvl b w`qv  
 \_vtKb|mKvj nBtZ Mfxi i wî chS- 32 bs ti vto th  
 aYwbwU gLi \_vtK Zv nBj ŔRq evsj vŔ |

0Avl qvgx j x†Mi e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>ˆ</sup> tkl Đ Awej †x†

tc̈m†W†>Ui †Nvl bv PvB0 wk†i vbv†g GKwU msev` cKwKZ nqt

eZgvb i vR%bwZK msKU wbi mbK†í Avl qvgx j xM  
c̈avb tkl gyRej i ngvb I tc̈m†W>U †Rbv†i j Bqwnqvi  
g†a` th mvavi Y HKgZ` c̈ZwôZ nBqv†Q tm HKgZ`†K  
ev`ewqZ Kivi Rb` i wPZ wek` Kgēšv j Bqv MZKvj  
(eævi) tc̈m†W†>Ui Dc†` óv I Avl qvgx j xM tbZæ†` i  
g†a` tcš†Y wZbN>UvKvj Av†j vPbv AbjôZ nq| Gi g†a`  
Avl qvgx j x†Mi c¶ nB†Z `ß N>Uvi wKQj AwaKKvj  
KgēšwU wek` fvte eˆvLˆv Kiv nq| KgēšwU Kgē†qvM  
c̈m†½ we†kl eˆvLvi c†qvRb bv nB†j Dc†` óv ch†q Avi  
Av†j vPbvi c†qvRb Av†Q ewj qv Avl qvgx j xM g†b K†i  
bv| m†KZ m†Z`i Av†j v†K msKU wbi m†bi Rb` Awej †x†  
tc̈m†W†>Ui c¶ nB†Z Avb̈pwK †Nvl bvB G¶ †Y GKgv†  
i vR%bwZK AMMwZ wetewPZ nB†Z cv†i ewj qv g†b Kiv  
nB†Z†Q| Gi eˆwZµ†gi A\_B nB†e mgq t¶ cY ev weKí  
cŦ yZ Mh†Yi bxwZ|

Rbve ZvRDw† b MZi v†† tc̈m†W>U fe†b  
tc̈m†W†>Ui Dc†` óv†` i m†½ 2 N>Uv 40 wgwU eˆvcx GK  
%eVK tkl tkl mv†ntei evmf†b wdw qv mvsew` K†` i  
m†½ Avj vc K†i b| Dc†` óv ch†q GB %eV†K Avl qvgx  
j xM tbZv %mq` bRi "j Bmj vg, Rbve ZvRy† b Avn†g`  
Ges W. Kvgvj tnv†mb Ges tc̈m†W†>Ui Dc†` óv  
wePvi cwZ wg. G,Avi K†b¶ qvk, tj. †R. cxi Rv` v, Rbve  
Gg Gg Avn†g` I K†Y¶ nvmvb thvM` vb K†i b| Rbve  
ZvRy† b mvsew` K†` i Rvbvb th, t` tki eZgvb i vR%bwZK  
m¼U wbi mbK†í evsj vi RbM†Yi c¶ nB†Z e½eÜy tkl  
gyRej i ngvb KZK D† wmcZ 4Đ` dv ce° kZ° ci†Yi  
wfWĖ†Z tc̈m†W>U KZK, wj gj bxwZ gwbbqv tbb| %eV†K  
Dnv Avgiv KvH†ix Kivi wek` cwi Kí bv tck Kwi qvwQ|  
GB eˆvcv†i Ppvšfvte Avgiv Avgv†` i e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>ˆ</sup> tck  
Kwi qvwQ| Gevi GB i vR%bwZK m¼†Ui mgvavb Pwn†j  
tc̈m†W>U†K m̄ úóf†te Zvnyi e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>ˆ</sup> cKvk Kwi †Z nB†e|  
0Rbve ZvRy† b Avi I e†j b, Avi mgq bvB| m¼U †v†bi  
KvH†ix Kgēšv Mh†Yi mgq Av†MB DĖxY° nBqv wMqv†Q|  
Av†j vPbvi m† awi qv Avgiv Awbw° 8Kvj S†j qv \_vwK†Z

cwi bv| Kvi Y wej ȡ| NwU†j cwi w<sup>-</sup> wZi gvi vZ†K AebwZ  
 NwU†Z cv†i | c<sup>ñ</sup>½μ tg Rbve ZvRy†i b Ø<sup>ˆ</sup>\_\_ħxb fvl vq  
 e†j b, MYAwaKvi c<sup>ñ</sup>Zôvi Av†ˆ`vj b Pwj †Z†Q Ges j ¶| v  
 AwRZ bv nl qv ch<sup>š</sup>- Dnv Pwj †Z \_vwK†e| t c<sup>ñ</sup>m†W†>Ui  
 Dc†ˆ`óv†ˆ`i m†½ Avl qvgx j xM tbZv†ˆ`i Avevi KLb %eVK  
 AbjôZ nB†Z cv†i Rwb†Z Pvl qv nB†j Rbve ZvRy†i b  
 e†j b, Avgv†ˆ`i e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>-</sup> tck nBqv†Q| G¶| †Y Avgv†ˆ`i  
 wb†ˆ`kZ Kg<sup>š</sup>v ev<sup>-</sup> evq†bi gvbwmKZv j Bqv Aci c¶|  
 hw<sup>-</sup> Avgv†ˆ`i e<sup>3</sup> †e<sup>-</sup>i e<sup>-</sup>vL<sup>-</sup>v we†k†b Mh†bi c†qvRb g†b  
 K†i b, Z†e Avevi %eVK n†Z cv†i |

ôgj ˆ†ev†ai Rq nDKô wk†i vbv†g GKwU mȡúv<sup>-</sup> Kxq

cKwkZ nq t

mwaKvi Av†ˆ`vj †bi DĖvj ÐZi †½ mgM<sup>š</sup> evsj v †ˆ`k  
 thb beRxe†bi c†Y ˆúˆ`†b D<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>xweZ nBqv DwVqv†Q|  
 ˆybqvi gvb| mv†o mvZ †KwU ewÂZ gvbvZ†vi Rq  
 HKwbbv†ˆ` ,MYk<sup>w3</sup> i cPŪ we†ùvi †Y nZevK nBqv  
 cwoqv†Q| wbi ˆ; RbZvi ˆ`Rq c†Y k<sup>w3</sup> Pj gvb  
 eˆ`KÐ†gwb Mv†bi k<sup>w3</sup> ˆ`ȡ PY<sup>©</sup>Kwi qv w<sup>-</sup>qv†Q| †kwl Z  
 RbZvi KsKvj mvi Aw<sup>-</sup>-cvRi , j xwex †ˆ`n Avi i †<sup>3</sup> i  
 dvêavi vq wPZ nBqv†Q| c<sup>ñ</sup>Z†i v†ai ˆ`†f<sup>©</sup> e<sup>-</sup>wi †KW| GB  
 e<sup>-</sup>wi †KW f<sup>w</sup>½qv c<sup>ñ</sup>Zwμ qvi cj vZb †Lj v bZ†bfv†e ˆi i “  
 Kwi †e, GB mva<sup>-</sup> Avi Kvi l bvB| ej vevûj ˆ, evsj v†ˆ`k G  
 †¶| †† Zvi v BwZnvmB †Kej mȡó K†i bvB| ˆybqvi  
 i vRbxwZ cvVwMv†i GKwU bZ† wk¶| vi l msthvRb  
 NUvBqw†Q| MYZ†šj w<sup>-</sup> b di vBqv hvq bvB, eˆ`†Ki j B  
 †Kej k<sup>w3</sup> i Drm bq| MYH†K<sup>-</sup>i cPŪZv tgwbMv††KI  
 nvi gvbvB†Z cv†i Ð evi sevi MYZwšK wbePb Ges  
 ZrcieZ<sup>š</sup> NUbv c<sup>ñ</sup>evn BnvB c<sup>ñ</sup>gvb Kwi qv†Q| mvgwi K  
 GKbvqKZ†K ci v†Z Kwi qv †ˆ`k†K c†i vq MYZ†šj  
 wdi vBqv Avbv mȡe, Ae<sup>-</sup>v†bi AvswkK mvd†j ˆi ci †Kej  
 evsj v†ˆ`kB AvR tm†¶| †† cwi cY<sup>©</sup>mvd†j ˆi w<sup>-</sup>†K AvMvBqv  
 hvB†Z†Q| tm w<sup>-</sup>K w<sup>-</sup>qv evsj vi GB mwaKvi Av†ˆ`vj b  
 cKZ A†\_B GKwU me<sup>š</sup>vcx wece|





cW\_exi BwZnvtm Gi bRxi cvl qv hvq bv| tmw`K t\_+K  
ej +Z tMtj GK\_vB ej +Z nq th, tkL gyReti i  
Av+>`vj b cwi cYfvte mvi v ct`tki mwweK Av+>`vj b|  
MvÜxRxi Av+>`vj tbi A+c¶v, gyRtei Av+>`vj b Gw`K  
t\_+K AwaKZi mvd+tj `i `vex`vi |

Aek" gnvZW MvÜxi wekvj e"³ Z†K †QvU K†i  
† Lv†bvi gZ bXPZv thb Avgvi bv nq, Zte `BwX h†Mi  
GKB ai †bi `BwU Av†`vj †bi Zj bvgj K wePvi Ki †Z  
WM†q GB K\_v, †j v ej †Z nq| we†kl K†i Avgvi cj vZb  
eÜy Rq cKvk bvi vqY `† t\_†K GLvbKvi Av†`vj †bi  
e"vcKZv nqZ c†i vc†i Dcj wä Ki †Z cvi †Qb bv| Zv hw`  
cvi †Zb Zvntj wZwb Avgvi m†½ wbðqB GKgZ n†Zb|  
Đ†gvnv¤\$` tgv`v†eYi , XvKv|

Dc†i ewYƧ tekxi fVM msev` fvl` eUj cPwi Z %` wbK  
B†ĖdvK cŵĬ Kv nB†Z D×Z Ki v nBj | H mgq D³ cŵĬ Kv  
mᄁúv` K ƵQ†j b Rbve gBbj tnv†mb Ges KvhibenK mᄁúv` K ƵQ†j b  
Rbve wmi vRyĭ b tnv†mb| cŵĬ KwU B†ĖdvK Mōc Ae cvej ‡KkÝ  
wj wg†UW Gi c†ŋ wbD tdkvb wĉUs tĉm nB†Z Rbve gBbj tnv†mb  
KZƆ cKwkZ Ges Av†bvqi tnv†mb KZƆ gw` Ź |

2i v gvP° nB†Z 25†k gvP° ch\$- cKwKZ msev` cÎ nB†Z th  
msev` l cİZte` b Dc†i DxZ Ki v nBj Zvnv A†nZK b†n| H mg†q  
cKwKZ msev†` i gva`†g ZLbKvi cwK` v†bi ceŲÂ†j i cKZ wPÎ  
cwi ù wUZ nBqv DwVqv†Q|

Dc†i ewYȚ msev` c†Î i fvtl`i gva`tg Z` wbbšb ce©cwK`-v†bi  
RbM†Yi wPŠvavi v I Ae`vb cwi ù yUZ nBqv D†V| th evOvj x  
gmj gvbM†Yi tfv†Ui k w³ mgMª fvi Ze†l © gmj gvb†`i mŷ\_©i ¶ v†\_©  
e`eüZ nBZ, cwK`-vb mŷó nBj wKš' cwK`-vbx mvgwi K Rvšvi ávš-  
bxwZi t c¶¶ †Z evsj vi gmj gvb†`i wbKU tmB cwK`-vb cwi Z`vR`  
nBj |



gy<sup>3</sup> h<sub>1</sub>x<sub>i</sub> c<sup>0</sup> vj l m<sub>1</sub>axbZv tNvl Yv t

2i v gvP<sup>©</sup> Zwi tL 0tmvqvZ0 bvtgi GKwU RvnrR PÆM<sub>1</sub>g tbše<sup>ˆ</sup> i  
c†Z½vq Av†m| Rvnr†R tMvj vevi “` A<sup>-</sup> i k<sup>-</sup> i wnqv†Q Rwb†Z cwi qv  
e<sup>ˆ</sup> ti i k<sub>0</sub>gKMY gvj Lvj vm Kwi †Z AmxKwZ Ávcb Kti |

1971 m†bi gvP<sup>©</sup> gv†m we†MwWqvi Gg Avi gRg<sup>ˆ</sup> vi PÆM<sub>1</sub>g  
mve††Rvbj gvk<sub>0</sub>j j G<sup>ˆ</sup>vWwgwb†óUi wQ†j b| gvP<sup>©</sup> gvm nB†Z 1971  
m†bi NUbvej x j Bqv we†MwWqvi gRg<sup>ˆ</sup> vi 1999 m†b GKwU mv¶| vrKvi  
c<sup>ˆ</sup> vb Kti b| 24†k gvP<sup>©</sup> Zwi L chš- NUbvej x m<sub>0</sub>†Ü Zvni e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>ˆ</sup>  
wbæi fc (GKvĖ†i i `†mn m<sub>1</sub>WZ, m<sub>0</sub>úv<sup>ˆ</sup> bvt kvnwi qvi Kwei, c† 33)t

001970ĐGi wbe†P†bi GK eQi Av†M t<sub>-</sub>†K 071ĐGi  
24†k gvP<sup>©</sup> chš-Aw<sub>1</sub>g PÆM<sub>1</sub>g B÷ te½j ti wR†g>Uvj  
tm>Uvi ĐGi KgvŪ<sup>ˆ</sup>vU l PÆM<sub>1</sub>gi t÷ kb KgvŪvi  
wnmv†e Kg<sup>ˆ</sup>Z wQj vg| 4Vv gvP<sup>©</sup> PÆM<sub>1</sub>g l cveZ<sup>ˆ</sup>  
PÆM<sub>1</sub>g gvk<sub>0</sub>j j G<sup>ˆ</sup>vWwgwb†óUi wbh<sub>0</sub> nevi Kvi †Y  
Avgvi thvMv†hvM wQj GKw<sup>ˆ</sup>†K Avl qvgx j xM  
†bZv†<sup>ˆ</sup> i m†½, Ab<sup>ˆ</sup>w<sup>ˆ</sup>†K wPd Ae Aw<sub>1</sub>g<sup>©</sup> ÷ vd  
†Rbv†i j Avāj nwg<sup>ˆ</sup> Lvb mn hZ DaŸZb Aw<sub>1</sub>g<sup>©</sup>  
Awdmvi wQj Đ mevi m†½| K†Y<sup>ˆ</sup> Gg G wR l mgwbl  
Avgvi ce<sup>©</sup>cwi wPZ wQ†j b| Zvi gva<sup>ˆ</sup>†g tkL gyRe l  
Avl qvgx j x†Mi Ab<sup>ˆ</sup>vb<sup>ˆ</sup>†bZv†<sup>ˆ</sup> i m†½ Avgvi thvMm†  
ˆwcz nq| GQvov tm mgq PÆM<sub>1</sub>gi Avl qvgx j xM  
†bZv Rûi Avn<sub>0</sub>š<sup>ˆ</sup>†Pšaj x, Gg Avi wmw† Kx, Gg G  
nvbeb, Avāj gvbeb (eZg<sub>0</sub>vb gš<sub>0</sub>),tgqi gwnDw† bmn  
Ab<sup>ˆ</sup>vb<sup>ˆ</sup>†<sup>ˆ</sup> i m†½ cwi Pq N†U|

c†nj v gvP<sup>©</sup> XvKvq AbjôZe<sup>ˆ</sup> RvZxq msm<sup>ˆ</sup>  
Awatekb gj Zwe tNvl Yvi ci mgM<sup>ˆ</sup> ce<sup>©</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup>†b  
D†ĖRbv evo†Z \_v†K| Gi B m† a†i cvP/Qq Zwi L  
i vZ wZbUvq tkL gyR†ei c¶ t<sub>-</sub>†K L<sup>ˆ</sup> Kvi  
†gvkZvK, Rûi Avn<sub>0</sub>š<sup>ˆ</sup>†Pšaj x Ges Gg Avi wmw† Kx  
PÆM<sub>1</sub>g Avgvi m†½ c<sub>0</sub>q GK N>Uv AwZ tMv†b %eVK  
Kti b| Aw<sub>1</sub>g tkL gyR†ei c<sub>0</sub>Z Avgvi cY<sup>©</sup> mg<sub>-</sub>b  
Ges Avgv†<sup>ˆ</sup> i ZrKvj xb mvgwi K c<sub>0</sub>av†b<sup>ˆ</sup> i K<sub>-</sub>v  
RvbvB|

2i v gvP<sup>®</sup> 0†mvqvZ0 Rvnr hLb PÆM†g †bv½i  
 Ki j , Awg †LvR †b†q Rvbvj g I B Rvnr†R †Kvb hvĭ x  
 Av†mwb, G†m†Q 7000 Ub AZ`vaybK A` †evOwj †` i  
 `gbv†\_®wgj Uvi x Acv†i k†bi Rb`| e` i †Pqvi g`vb  
 gi ûg Gg Avi †m†ĭ Kx†K Awg gvj Lvj vm bv Kivi  
 Rb` Ab†i va Kivi Rb` Ab†i va Ki j vg| ej j vg,0l B  
 A` ĭ Avgv†` i Dci e`envi Kiv n†Z cv†i |0 Awg  
 fvej vg Avgiv h` c†iv †` k `Lj Ki†Z cwi ,  
 Zvntj I B A` ĭ me Avgv†` i nv†ZB Avm†e|

2i v gvP<sup>®</sup>†\_†K 24†k gvP<sup>®</sup> ch\$7 22w` b, Awg  
 mKj cKvi †b†` K Agvb` K†i gvj Lvj vm eÜ  
 i vLj vg| †mbv c†vb nvwg` Lvb Qvovl †Rbv†i j  
 †U° v Lvb, †Rbv†i j †gUWv Lvb Ges Av†i v A†bK  
 DaŸZb †mbv KgKZ0 Avgv†K evi evi Pvc w` †Z  
 \_vKj | †gUWv Lvb e`w³ MZfv†e Avgvi m†½ †` Lv  
 K†i ej j , 0†h K†i B †nvK 2/1 w` †bi g†a` gvj  
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24†k gvP<sup>®</sup> †e†MwWqvi Avb†mvi x PUM†g Gj vKvi mve††Rvbvj  
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 Gg, Avi , gRg` vi †K GK e†` ĭ XvKvq Avbqb ceK M†ew` Kiv nq|  
 Zrci Zvnr†K cW0g cWk` †b †cĭ Y Kiv nq|

Bqwnqv Lvb 25†k gvP<sup>®</sup> Zwi †L †ba†i Z %eVK Kg†wP ewZj  
 Kwi †j Zvr†† †bK fv†e 27†k gvP<sup>®</sup> mvi v c†` †k ni Zvj †Nvl Yv Kiv  
 nq|

25†k gvP<sup>®</sup>mvi w` b XvKv kn†i i Ae` v †Qj \_g\_†g| A lull before  
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 †hv†M XvKv Qwo†Z†Qb|

cwi w` wZ AvP& Kwi †Z cwi qv †kL g†Re Avl qvgx j x†Mi  
 †bZ, vbxq e`w³ eM†K c†qvRbxq †b†` Kvej x c† vb Ki Zt AbwZvej †q;  
 XvKv Z`vM Kwi †Z †b†` K †` b|

†MđZv†i i c†e° i vZ 8Uvi w` †K †kL gŵR†ei m†½ mv¶| vZ cŰB  
 Ab`Zg †kl e`w³ wQ†j b mvsew` K AvZvDm mvgv` | wZwb Zv†nvi  
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 350)t

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 Kgx° Av†Q Zv†` i †K m†i co†Z e†j b| bv n†j l i v †Zv  
 G†m tg†i †dj †e|

Dwb ej †j b th, GKUv e`e` v n†"Q| e`wi †KW †` qv  
 n†"Q i v` vq i v` vq|

Awg hLb Nj wQ ` i Rvi w` †K, ZLb Dwb Avgvi w` †K  
 wd†i gv\_v wbPy K†i, Dwb †Zv tek j xŵ wQ†j b, ZvB Avgvi  
 w` †K gv\_v wbPy K†i ej †j b, hv†Z Awg i b†Z cvB|  
 ej †j b, AvB n`vf wM†f b BD BwŰ†c†Ű>U| bvD †Mv G`vŰ  
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 ewnbx Dcw`Z nBqv cŰ†gB Zv†nvi wŰZj f†bi DÇ xqgvb evsj v†` k  
 cZvKvi Dci kZ kZ i vDŰ , wj wb†¶| c K†i | Zrci †kL gŵRe†K  
 †MđZvi Kwi qv K`v>Ub†g†>U j Bqv hvl qv nq| ZLb| e†j †Ui AvNv†Z  
 ¶| Z we¶| Z evsj v†` †ki cZvKv weeY° Ae` vq Sŵj †ZwQj |

AZ†ci, 25†k gvP° w` evMZ i v†Ű wKfv†e mŵaxbZvi †Nvl Yv nBj  
 Ges †kL gŵRe wKfv†e †MđZvi nB†j b Zv†nv wmw† K mwj K wj wLZ  
 ‘Witness to surrender’ cŵ K nB†Z eYb Ki v nBqv†Q| †mB i v†Ű XvKv  
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wmwi K mwj K KZK wj wLZ 'Witness to Surrender' cy K wU cPxbtZj  
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cy K wUi eYbv `to cZqgvb nq th 1971 mthi tdepxi x gvthi  
 tkI w`tKB operational plan Blitz cLz Ki v nBqwQj | 27tk tdepxi x  
 nBtZ 1j v gvPZwi tLi gta` 2(`B) wU Bbd`wU`e`vUwj qvb wCAvBG  
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 Awatekb Awbw`B Kvthi i Rb`eU tNvl bv Ki v nq| tkL gRe 'non-  
 violent non cooperation movement' Avi x Kti b Ges cLtgB XvKv`  
 wCAvBGi evOwj KgPvi xMY Zvnt`i KvR eU Kwi qv t`q| tkL gRe  
 ce`cwK`vtbi 'absolute ruler' G cwi YZ nb|

ce`cwK`vtbi Ae`v mxtK`h\_vh\_ i vR%bwZK c`tq c j Bevi  
 ctkBqwnqv Lvb etj b th 'I have to think of my base. I have to think of West  
 Pakistan. I cannot destroy my base.' cZxqgvb nq th Zvni West Pakistan base  
 wVK i wLtZ wMqv wZwb cwK`vb aYsm Kti b|

7B gvtp` mKvj tej v cwK`vb`h` i vtó i vó Z wg dvi j vU  
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 tKvb mg`b cvl qv hvBte bv ewj qv RvbwBqv t`b|

Avl qvgx j xM 31 wU wbt`Kgvj v gvi dr ce`cwK`vtb Bnvi kvmb  
 Kvthqg Kti | i agv` 7wU tmbwbevm e`wZZ c`tki mi Kvi x  
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 exgv, wkí Kvi Lvbv `j Ktj R wekpe`vj qmn mKj cZôvb tkL  
 gRtei wbt`K cvj b Kwi tZ \_vtK| mvavi Y wKv`vi chS-

tmbvewnbxi w bKU Avek`Kxq gvj vgvj weµ q Kiv nBtZ wei Z \_vtK |  
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cĥ`tki GBi fc bvRK Ae`vq 15B gvP° Bqwnqv Lvb XvKvq  
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18B gvP° ‘Operation Searchlight’ cĥ jz Kiv nq | 23tk gvP°i agvĭ  
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RvZxq m½xZ ewRtZwQj | tkL gWRtei evmfeĥbl bZb cZvKv  
AvbᄁwbK fvte DwÇ qb Kiv nBqvwQj | XvKv knĥii meĥ cĥq  
cĥZ`KwU feĥb evsj vt`tki GKwaK cZvKv tkvfv cvBtZwQj Ges  
ōRq evsj vŵ aŶbxĥZ meĥ glwi Z wQj |

Bqwnqv Lvb AwZ mšĥb 25tk gvP° mÜ`v 7Uvq KivPxi  
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`ᄁ GKRb mvsew` K B>Uvi Kw>Uĥb>Uvj tnvtUĥ j j wqZ wQj b |  
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wmwĭ K mvvj tKi fvl vq mvgwi K Awfhvb l tkL gWRtei tMᄁZvi  
GBfvte Avi ᄁnq ( Witness to Surrender, P-75) :

Ō Thus the action had started before schedule. There was no point now in  
sticking to the prescribed H-hour. The gates of hell had been cast open.  
When the first shot had been fired, ‘the voice of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman  
came faintly through on a wavelength close to that of the official Pakistan  
Radio. In what must have been, and sounded like, a pre-recorded message,

the Sheikh proclaimed East Pakistan to be the People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

The full text of the proclamation is published in *Bangla Desh Documents released by the Indian Foreign Ministry*. It said, ' This may be my last message. From today Bangla Desh is independent. I call upon the people of Bangla Desh is independent. I call upon the people of Bangla Desh, wherever you are and with whatever you have, to resist the army of occupation to the last. Your fight must go on until the last soldier of the Pakistan occupation army is expelled from the soil of Bangla Desh and final victory is achieved. ( witness to surrender ) |

25th March 1971, Dhaka. The Daily Telegraph, London. The full text of the proclamation is published in *Bangla Desh Documents released by the Indian Foreign Ministry*. It said, ' This may be my last message. From today Bangla Desh is independent. I call upon the people of Bangla Desh is independent. I call upon the people of Bangla Desh, wherever you are and with whatever you have, to resist the army of occupation to the last. Your fight must go on until the last soldier of the Pakistan occupation army is expelled from the soil of Bangla Desh and final victory is achieved. ( witness to surrender ) |

## GENOCIDE IN BANGLADESH

### SOME EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS

#### “ HOW DACCA PAID FOR A ‘UNITED PAKISTAN’ ”

**Report by Simon Dring of Daily Telegraph, London.**

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, East Pakistan's popular political leader, was seen being taken away by the army, and nearly all the top members of his Awami League Party have also been arrested.

Leading political activities have been arrested, others are dead, and the offices of two papers which supported Mujibur's movement have been destroyed

But the first target as the tanks rolled into Dacca on the night of Thursday, March 25, seems to have been the students.

An estimated three battalions of troops were used in the attack on Dacca-One of armoured, one of artillery and one of infantry. They started leaving their barracks shortly before 10 p.m. By 11, firing had broken out and the people who had started to erect makeshift barricades-overturned cars, three stumps furniture, concrete piping-became early casualties.

Sheikh Mujibur was warned by telephone that something was happening but he refused to leave his house. “If I go into hiding they will burn the whole of Dacca to find me,” he told an aide who escaped arrest.

The students were also warned, but those who were still around later said that most of them thought they would only be arrested. Led by American supplied M-24 World War II tanks, one column of troops sped to Dacca University shortly after midnight. Troops tookover the British Council Library and used it as a fire base from which to shell nearby dormitory areas.

Caught completely by surprise, some 200 students were killed in Iqbal Hall, headquarters of the militantly anti-government student's union, I was told. Two days later, bodies were still smouldering in burnt-out rooms, others were scattered outside, more floated in a nearby lake, an art student lay sparawled across his easel.

The military removed many of the bodies, but the 30 bodies till there could never have accounted for all the blood in the corridors of Iqbal Hall.

At another hall, reportedly, soldiers buried the dead in a hastily dug massgrave which was then bull-dozed over by tanks. People living near the university were caught in the fire too, and 200 yards of sbanty houses running alongside a railway line were destroyed.

Army Patrols also razed nearly market area. Two days later, when it was possible to get out and see all this, some of the market's stall-owners were still lying as though asleep, their blankets pulled up over their shoulders. In the same district, the Dacca Medical College received direct bazooka fire and a mosque was badly damaged.

As the university came under attack other columns of troops moved in on the Rajarbag headquarters of the East Pakistan Police, on the other side of the city. Tanks open fire first, witness said: then the troops moved in and levelled the men's sleepgng quarters, firing incendiary rounds into the buildings. People living opposite did not know how many died there, but out of the 1,100 police based there not many are believed to have escaped.

### **Mujib's arrest**

As this was going on, other unitis had surrounded the Sheikh's house. When contacted shortly before 1 a.m. he said that he was expected an attack any minute and had sent everyone except his servants and bodyguard away to safety.

A neighbour said that at 1-10 a.m., one tank, an armoured car, and trucks loaded with troops drove down the street firing over the house. “Sheikh you should come down”, an officer called out in English as they stopped outside. Mujibur stepped out onto his balcony and said, “ Yes, I am ready, but there is no need to fire. All you need to have done is call me on the telephone and I would have come”.

The officer then walked into the yard and told Mujibur: “You are arrested”.

He was taken away along with three servants, an aide and his bodyguard, who was badly beaten up when he started to insult the officer. One man was killed- a night watchman hiding behind the fence of the house next door.

As the Sheikh was driven off-presumably to army headquarters-the soldiers moved into the house, took away all documents, smashed everything in sight looked the guarded gate, shot down the green, red and yellow “Bangladesh” flag and drove away.

### By 2 O’ Clock Friday

Fires were burning all over the city, and troops had occupied the university and surrounding areas.

There was still heavy shelling in some areas, but the fighting was beginning to slacken noticeably. Opposite the Intercontinental Hotel Platoon of troops stored the empty office of “The People” newspaper burning it down along with most houses in the area and killing the night watchman.

### City lies silent

Shortly before dawn most firing had stopped, and as the sun came up an eerie silence settled over the city, deserted and completely dead except for noise of the crows and the occasional convoy of troops or two or three tanks rumbling by mopping up.

At noon, again without warning, columns of troops poured into the old section of the city where more than 1 million people lived in a sprawling maze of narrow, winding streets.

For the next 11 hours, they devastated large areas of the “old town” as it is called, where Sheikh Mujibur had some of his strongest support in Dacca English Road, French Road, Nazira Bazar, City Bazar were burned to the ground.



“They suddenly appeared at the end of the street”, said one old man living in French Niar Bazar area. “Then they drove down it, firing into all the houses”.

The lead unit was followed by soldiers carrying cans of gasoline. Those who tried to escape were shot. Those who stayed were burnt alive. About 700 men, women and children died there that day between noon and 2 p.m. I was told.

The pattern was repeated in at least three other areas of up to a half square mile or more. Police stations in the old town were also attacked.

### Constables killed

“I am looking for my constables”, a police inspector said on Saturday morning as he wandered through the ruins of one of the bazars. “I have 240 in my district, and so far I have only found 30 of them- all dead.

In the Hindu area of the old town, the soldiers reportedly made the people come out of their houses and shot them in groups. This area, too was eventually razed.

The troops stayed on in force in the old city until about 11 p.m. on the night of Friday, March 26, driving around with local Bengali informers. The soldiers would fire a flare and the informer would point out the houses of Awami League supporters. The house would then be destroyed- either with direct fire from tanks or recoilless rifles or with a can of gasoline, witness said.

Meanwhile troops of the East Bengal Regiment in the suburbs started moving out towards the industrial areas about 10 miles from the Sheikh’s centres of support.

Firing continued in these areas until early Sunday morning, but the main part of the operation in the city was completed by Friday night-almost exactly 24 hours after it began.

One of the last targets was the daily Bengali language paper “Ittefaq”. More than 400 people reportedly had taken shelter in its offices when the fighting started. At 4 o’clock Friday afternoon, four tanks appeared in the road outside. By 4-30 the building was an inferno, witnesses said. By Saturday morning only the charred remains of a lot of corpses huddled in back rooms were left.

### Curfew lifted

As quickly as they had appeared, the troops disappeared from the streets. On Saturday morning the radio announced that the curfew would be lifted from 7 a. m. until 4 p.m. It then repeated the Martial Law Regulation banning all political activity, announced press censorship and ordering all government employees to report back to work. All privately owned weapons were ordered to be turned into the authorities.

Magically, the city returned to life, and panic set in. By 10 a.m. with palls of black smoke still hanging over large areas of the old town and out in the distance toward the industrial areas, the streets were packed with people leaving town., By car and in rickshaws, but mostly on foot, carrying their possessions with them, the people of Dacca were fleeing. By noon the refugees numbered in the tens of thousands.

“Please give me lift, I am old man” –In the name of Allah, help me”  
–“Take my children with you”.

Silent and unsmiling they passed and saw what the army has done. They looked the other way and kept on walking Down near one of the markets a shot was heard. Within seconds, 2,000 people were running; but it had only been someone going to join the lines already forming to turn in weapons.

Government offices remained almost empty. Most employees were leaving for their villages ignoring the call to go back to work. Those who were not fleeing wandered aimlessly around the smoking debris, lifting blackened and twisted sheets of corrugated iron (used in most shanty areas for roofing) to salvage from the ashes what they could.

Nearly every other car was either taking people out into the countryside or flying a red cross and conveying dead and wounded to the hospitals.

In the middle of it all occasional convoys of troops would appear, the soldiers peering—equally unsmiling—down the muzzles of their guns at the silent crowds. On Friday night as they pulled back to their barracks they shouted “Narai Takbir”, an old Persian war cry meaning “We have won the war”. On Saturday when they spoke it was to shout “Pakistan Zindabad—Long live Pakistan”.

### Fast-selling Flags

Most people took the hint. Before the curfew was reimposed the two hottest-selling items on the market were gasoline and the national flag of Pakistan. As if to protect their property in their absence, the last thing a

famimy would do before they looked up their house would be to raise the flag.

At 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon, the streets emptied again. The troops reappeared and silence fell one more over Dacca. But firing broke out again almost immediately. "Anybody out after four will be shot", the radio had announced earlier in the day.

A small boy running across the street outside the Intercontinental Hotel two minutes after the curfew fell was stopped, slapped four times in the face by an officer and taken away in a jeep.

The night watchman at the Dacca Club, a bar left over from the colonial days, was shot when he went to shut the gate of the club. A group of Hindu Pakistanis living around a temple in the middle of the race course were all killed apparently because they were out in the open.

Refugees who came back into the city, after finding that roads leading out of it were blocked by army, told how many had been killed as they tried to walk across country avoid the troops.

Beyond these roadblocks was more or less no-man's land, where the clearing operations were still going on. What is happening out there now is anybody's guess, except the army's.

Many people took to the river to escape the crowds on the roads, but they ran the risk of being stranded waiting for a boat when curfew fell. Where one such group was sitting on Saturday afternoon there were only bloodstains the next morning.

Hardly anywhere was there evidence of organized resistance. Even the West Pakistani Officer scoffed at the idea of anybody putting a fight.

"These bugger men", said one Punjabi lieutenant, "could not kill us if they tried."

"Things are much better now", said another officer, "Nobody can speak out or come out. If they do we will kill them-they have spoken enough—they are traitors, and we are not. We are fighting in the name of God and a united Pakistan."

(Despatch by Simon Dring of Daily Telegraph

London, In Washington Post.

March 30, 1971.)

DC†i i weei Y cV Kwi qv Dcj wä Ki v hvB†ebv th 0The gates of  
hell had been cast open' ( Siddiq Salik) ewj ‡Z 25†k gvP® w` evMZ i v†Î XvKv

kn̄ti i eṭK wK f q¼i ZvŪej xj v Pw̄j qvwQj | Bnvi mwnZ nvj vKl Lvb  
Gi evM`v` Avμ gY ev bv`xi kvn Gi w`j ✕Avμ gtYi mwnZ Zj bv Ki v  
hvB†Z cv̄ti |

wKš' 26†k gvP® mKv†j Ki vPx i l qvbw nBevi cŰ° v†j fṭÆv  
weṭMwWqvi Avi eveṭK e†j b t 'Thank God, Pakistan has been saved.' | GKB  
K\_v wZwb Ki vPx wegwb e`†i AeZxY®nBqvl e†j b | BnvB wQj GKRb  
kxl ° vbxq cvwK` vbx i vRbxwZweṭ`i evOvj x†`i mṣṭÜ AbjfwZ |

### gy³ hṭxi cŰi ṣṭt

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Avg†j i eĀbvi BwZnv̄m Ges mṽqZṭvm†bi msMṽg, Zrci av†c av†c  
wKfv†e mṽqZṭvm†bi `vex 1971 m†bi 1 j v gvP® Zwi L nB†Z  
Aeaw̄i Zfv†e mṽaxbZvi msMṽ†g chēwmZ nBj Zv̄nv Dc†i ewYṂ  
NUbvej xi gvi dr cŰ`¶ Ki v nBqv†Qj | GKB avi vev̄wnKZvq 25†k gvP®  
cieZṖ gy³ msMṽgl Aek`ṣvex wQj | GLv†bB tkL gyR†ei KwZZj |  
wZwb `ḐhṽM awi qv th msMṽg Kwi qv†Qb, Zv̄nvi wbwḐZ dj kḐZ†Z  
evsj vi gvbḐ gṽ†ZṖ g†a` mṭev®P Z`v†Mi Rb` cŰZ nBqv hvq |  
cw\_exi BwZnv̄tm Bnv GKwU Abb` NUbv | hṽ i v†ó† mṽaxbZvi hṭxi  
BwZnv̄tmḐ hṭx Ask Mh†Yi Rb` GBi "c mZ ù ṽZ° Av†eM j ¶" Ki v  
hvq bv | tmLv†b teZbfL wgwj wkqv hṽ Kwi qvwQj | wKš' evsj vi  
gy³ hṭx QvĀ, K.I.K, kḐgK mKj `†i i gvbḐ wbr Zwm†` `†j `†j  
gy³ hṭx Ask MhY Kwi qvwQj | `ḐhṽM awi qv Zv̄nw` M†K thfv†e  
gvbw̄mK fv†e cŰṽ Ki v nBqv̄wQj, GB Rbhṽ wQj Zv̄nvi B cŰZdj b |  
GB cŰ wZ Ki Y l gy³ hṭx hvBevi AšwbḥnZ Zwm` mṽó wQj tkL  
gyR†ei Amvavi Y Ae`vb |

GBevi 25tk gvp® w`evMZ i vÎ nBtZ ci eZ® KtqKw` b mgM<sup>a</sup>  
 evsj vt` tk mpxbZv hpx wKfvte we`vi j vf Kwi j Zvni msw¶ ß eYbv  
 c0 vb Ki v nBj |

wmî K mvij tKi cÿ K nBtZ Rlvb hvq th Kwgj nBtZ  
 PÆMvgMvgx ewnbx i fvcj we†R AvUKv cto| we†`0nxi v weRwU DovBqv  
 t`q| PÆMvg K`vUb†gU I bMi xi tekxi fVM AÂj Zvnt`i Aaxtb  
 wQj | cwK`vb tmbvewnbx i fcj weR Gj vKv 26tk gvp® mKvj 10  
 Uvq `Lj Kwi tZ cwi tj I Kgi v Gj vKvq cPÛ evavi mæ§Lxb nq|  
 tmLv†b h†x Zvnt`i tmbvbvqK mn eûmsL`K Awdmvi Ges %mwbK  
 wbnZ nq| 28tk gvp® t†vi 6 Uvq cwK`vb tmbvewnbxi Dc†i  
 cPÛ Avµ gb nq Ges eû msL`K Awdmvi I %mwbK wbnZ nq|

evsj vt` tki mpxbZv hpx `wj j cÎ t Gi beg LtÛ evsj vt` tki  
 wewf bœc0†š-26027 gvp® Zwi L I Zrci evOvj xt`i c0Z†i va h†xi  
 eYbv j Bqv evOvj x %mwbK†`i mv¶ vrKvi i wnqv†Q| D³  
 mv¶ vrKvi ,wj nBtZ evsj vt` tki gw³ h†xi c0wgK Ae`vi weei Y  
 cvl qv hvq| tekxi fVM mv¶ vrKvi ,wj B 1973 m†b j I qv nq|

XvKv kn†i Aew`Z Bó cwK`vb i vB†dj m Gi m`i `dZi  
 wcj Lvbv, i vRvi evM`' cÿj k j vBb, wgi cj \_vbv c†wZ `v†b cwK`vb  
 tmbv ewnbx 25tk gvp® i v†Î Avµ gb Kwi tj Z\_vq cPÛ c0Z†i v†ai  
 mæ§Lxb nq| we†kl Kwi qv evOvj x cÿj k ewnbx me† Zvnt`i ,wj  
 evi `` tkl bv nl qv chš-c0Z†i va hpx Pvj vBqv hvq|

†gRi Lv†j ` tgvkvi i d 26tk gvp® wmtj tUi kg†mi bM†i  
 Ae`vb Kwi tZwQ†j b| Hw`b mÛ`vq e†² Yewoqvq Aew`Z tgRi  
 kvdvqvZ Rwg†j i wbKU nBtZ XvKvi MYnZ`v mæ†Û Rwb†Z cv†i b|  
 wZwb Zvni 250 R†bi GK tKvæúvb %mwbK j Bqv mpxb evsj vi  
 AvbMZ` m†Kvi Kwi qv j tqb| Zvni %mwbKMY 0Rq evsj v0 tkwlvb  
 w`tZ \_v†K| 26tk gvp® i wÎ 12Uvq Zvni v e†² bewoqvi D†i tk`  
 i I qv bv t` b| Zvni ewnbx e†æ§Yewoqvq Ae`vbi Z tgRi kvdvqvZ

Rwgþj i ewnbxi mwnZ 27þk gvP<sup>®</sup>tej v 11Uvq wgwj Z nq| ZLþbv  
 ch<sup>§</sup>- Zvnvi v evsj vþ` þki Ab<sup>vb</sup> RvqMvq cwi w<sup>-</sup> wZ m<sup>þ</sup>þÜ AeMZ  
 wQþj b bv| e<sup>2</sup> Yewoqvi gnvKgv c<sup>k</sup>vmK c<sup>yj</sup> k Aq<sup>vi</sup> tj tmi gva<sup>tg</sup>  
 evsj vþ` þki mKj tRj v l gnvKgv c<sup>k</sup>vmKMþYi wbKU msev<sup>`</sup> tc<sup>Ø</sup>Y  
 Kti b th 4<sup>\_</sup> te<sup>½j</sup> ti wRtgþU m<sup>þ</sup>axbZv h<sup>þx</sup> Kwi tZtQ Ges  
 e<sup>2</sup> Yewoqv nBtZ wmtj U ch<sup>§</sup>-Gj vKv k<sup>î</sup> "g<sup>þ</sup> |

25þk gvP<sup>®</sup>Zwi tL tgRi kvdvqvZ Rwgj GK tKv<sup>þ</sup>úvbx %mb<sup>''</sup>  
 j Bqv e<sup>2</sup> Yewoqvq Ae<sup>-</sup>vb Kwi tZwQþj b| Hw<sup>`</sup> b i vZ 8Uvq 4<sup>\_</sup>  
 te<sup>½j</sup> ti wRtgþUi Pvi tKv<sup>þ</sup>úvbx %mb<sup>''</sup>mn tj . Kþb<sup>þ</sup> wLwRi nvqvZ Lvb  
 e<sup>2</sup> Yewoqvq Awmqv Dcw<sup>-</sup> Z ntqb| 26þk gvP<sup>®</sup>w<sup>`</sup> tbi tej vq evOvj x  
 Awdmvi l %mw<sup>b</sup>KMY XvKvq Ab<sup>y</sup>ôZ MYnZ<sup>''</sup>vi K<sup>\_</sup>v RwbtZ cvti b|  
 27þk gvP<sup>®</sup> mKvþj tj . Kþb<sup>þ</sup> wLwRi nvqvZ Lvbm<sup>n</sup> mKj AevOvj x  
 Awdmvi l %mw<sup>b</sup>Kt<sup>`</sup> i webvi <sup>3</sup> cvtZ e<sup>-</sup>x Kiv nq Ges evsj vþ` þki  
 cZvKv D<sup>þ</sup>Ëvj b Ki Zt evsj vþ` k mi Kvti i c<sup>Ø</sup>Z Avb<sup>þ</sup>MZ<sup>''</sup> m<sup>þ</sup>Kvi Kiv  
 nq| tej v AvovBUvq tgRi Lvþj <sup>`</sup> tgvkvi i d kgþmi bMi nBtZ  
 e<sup>2</sup> Yewoqv tc<sup>§</sup>QvBþj PZ<sup>\_</sup> te<sup>½j</sup> ti wRtg<sup>þ</sup>U l e<sup>2</sup> Yewoqvi g<sup>þ</sup>  
 Gj vKv Zvnvi wbKU n<sup>-</sup> v<sup>š</sup>þ Kiv nq|

26þk gvP<sup>®</sup> mKvþj m<sup>þ</sup>te<sup>-</sup>vi %mq<sup>`</sup> tMvj vg Aw<sup>þ</sup>þqv XvKvi  
 MYnZ<sup>''</sup> m<sup>þ</sup>þÜ RwbtZ cwi qv wZwb w<sup>m</sup>½vi wej wel wci Kgv<sup>Ü</sup> Mhb  
 Kti b Ges Ab<sup>vb</sup> 6Uv wel wctZ Aew<sup>-</sup> Z AevOvj x BwcAvi %mw<sup>b</sup>Kt<sup>`</sup> i  
 wbw<sup>-</sup> lq Kwi evi w<sup>m</sup>xv<sup>š</sup>-j tqb|

tgRi tK, Gg, kwdDj 1971 mþbi gvP<sup>®</sup> gvþm Rqt<sup>`</sup> ecþi  
 Aew<sup>-</sup> Z 2q te<sup>½j</sup> ti wRtgþUi tmþKÜ Bb<sup>þ</sup>KgvÜ wQþj b| 14/15B gvP<sup>®</sup>  
 , Re QovBqv cwoqv<sup>w</sup>Qj th D<sup>3</sup> e<sup>-</sup>vUwj qbþK wbi <sup>-</sup> ; Kiv nBte| D<sup>3</sup>  
 , Rþei wKQj mZ<sup>''</sup>Zvl wQj | 19þk gvP<sup>®</sup> tej v t<sup>-</sup> oUvq we<sup>þ</sup>MwWqvi  
 RvnbþRe Avei vi KtqKRb Awdmvi l 70Rb %mb<sup>''</sup>mn Rqt<sup>`</sup> ecj  
 i vRevoxþZ Avþmb| wbi <sup>-</sup> ; Kwi evi GKUv Avk<sup>¼v</sup> wQj weavq Zvnvi vl  
 m<sup>þ</sup>úY<sup>þ</sup>ftc c<sup>Ø</sup> <sup>þ</sup> wQþj b| we<sup>þ</sup>MW KgvÜvi c<sup>Ø</sup>mv<sup>t</sup> c<sup>þ</sup>ek Kwi evi

m†½ m†½ Lei Qwo†q c†o th evOvj x %mb`†` i wbi `i Kwi evi Rb`  
 XvKv nB†Z tmbvevwnbx Avwmqv†Q| d†j D†ĖwRZ RbZv Rq†`ecj  
 ti j μ wmsG GKwU gvj Mvox w`†q GK wei vU cĖZeÜKZvi mŵó K†i |  
 GB cĖZeÜKZv mi vBqv tdj v j Bqv Dcw`Z nvRvi nvRvi gvb†i i  
 mwnZ msNI °ev†a Ges we†MwWqvi Avei v†i i ũK†g ,wj el b Kiv nq  
 Ges RbZvi mwnZ LŪh†x P†j Ges tek K†qKRb gvb†i nZvnZ  
 nq| Gi ci e`vUwj qb KgvŪvi tj . K†b† gvm††K Rq†`ecj nB†Z  
 cĖ`vni Ki Zt tj . K†b† KvRx i wKe Dwĭ b†K tmB `v†b wbtqvM Kiv  
 nq| 25†k gvP°`†i we†MwWqvi gRg`vi e`vUwj q†bi mŵ†L e³ Zv  
 t`b| Zrci XvKvq cĖvb K†i b| 25†k gvP° i wĭ cĖq 12 Uvq  
 tRbv†i j wU° v Lvb tj t K†Y† i wK†ei mwnZ K\_v e†j b| 26†k gvP°  
 mKv†j gqgbwms†ni tKvŵvbx KgvŪvi bj ‐j Bmj vg Aq`vi tj tm  
 Rvbvb th nvRvi nvRvi gvb†i Zvnv†`i mwnZ thvM`v†bi Rb` AvnŶvb  
 RvbvB†Z†Q| 27†k gvP° mŪ`vq XvKvi nZ`vKv†Ūi Lei e`vUwj q†b  
 tcŠQvB†j D†ĖRbvi mŵó nq| tgRi kwdDj †† tj t K†Y† i wKe†K  
 wRÁvmv Kiv m†Z† tKvb w`K†wb†` † cvb bvB| 28†k gvP°mKvj  
 10Uvq mg`- DØZ A`†`i Ges hvbevn b j Bqv tgRi kwdDj ††  
 gqgbwmsn Awf g†L hvĭ v K†i b| Rq†`ecj nB†Z ewni nBqv  
 tPŠi v`vq tcŠQvBqv mKj Mvox†Z evsj v†`†ki cZvKv DÇ qb Kiv nq  
 Ges mK†j Dj ††m ŐRq evsj vŵ†kwMvb w`†Z \_v†K| Uv½vBj kn†i  
 c†ek Kwi †j Drdj -RbZv Zvnv†`i Af`\_bv K†i | wZwb GKw`†K L†k  
 wQ†j b Ab`w`†K wPwŠZ wQ†j b Kvi Y wZwb hv Kwi †Z Pwj qv†Qb Zvni  
 GKgvĭ kw`-gZj† Ū| Z†e RbZvi Drdj †v t`wLqv Zvni Drmn  
 nq| GB mgq GKRb Zvnv†K Rvbvq th tgRi wRqv bv†g GKRb  
 PÆM†g nB†Z evsj v†`†ki m†axbZv tNvl bv Kwi qv†Qb| Bnv†Z Zvni  
 mvnm wŦ, b, wĭ, b ewx cvq Kvi Y ZLb Zvni avi Yv nq th GB  
 Kv†R wZwb GKv b†nb, Avi I A†b†KB i wnvq†Qb| | Uv½vBj nB†Z  
 `†j tej v wZwb gqgbwms†ni c†\_ i l qvbw n†qb|

K`v†P b tgv t gWZDi i ngvb 25†k gvP° h†kvni tmbwbevm  
nB†Z 27†k gvP° gqgbwmsn tcŹQvb Ges BwcAvi ewnbxi mwnZ  
thvM`vb Kwi qv we†`ŉn tNvl bv K†i b|

m†e`vi G,†K,Gg dwi`DwŹ b Avn†g` gvP° gv†m BwcAvi Gi  
wm tKvᄁúvbxmn 2 bs DBs tnW†KvqvU†i gqgbwms†n wQ†j b| 25†k  
gvP°i v†Ź XvKvq w†j Lvbv, i vRvi evM BZ`w` `v†b Avµ g†bi Lei  
cvBevi ci 27†k gvP°mKvj tej v DBs tnW†KvqvU†i i tKvZ nB†Z  
A`k`Ź ewni Kwi qv tRvqvbt`i g†a` weZi Y Kwi qv t`l qv nq|  
Hw`b i wŹ mv†o 11Uvq AevOvj x %mb`i v Avµ gb Kwi †j mvi v i wŹ  
h†x P†j Ges 121Rb AevOvj x %mwbK gvi v hvq Ges 17Rb  
AvZ†mgc† K†i |

†gRi wP†i Äb `E 25†k gvP° Zwi †L nweMÄ Ae`vb  
Kwi †ZwQ†j b| 26†k gvP°Zvnvi v XvKvi ZvŬej xj v mᄁ†Ü Rwb†Z  
cv†i b | 27†k gvP°wZwb w†j U kŹ “g† Kwi evi Rb`c`†† c Mhb  
K†i b Ges weKv†j i w†c†j Aw†g†L i l qv bv K†i b| 31†k gvP°  
Zvnvi ewnbx k†g½j Avµ gb Kwi qv kŹ “g† Kwi †Z m†† g nq|

†gRi Gg, G, l mgvb tPŠaj x gvP°gv†m Pqvov½vq Ae`Z  
BwcAvi 4\_° DBs Gi AwabvqK wQ†j b| Zvi Aax†b 5wU tKvᄁúvbx  
wQ†j | Kv†c†j †† wZwb 24†k gvP°K†óqv kn†i Mgb K†i b|  
25†k gvP° wZwb K†óqv kn†i Ae`vb K†i b| 26†k gvP°†fvi tej vq  
kn†i cwK`vb tmbvewnbxi Unj t`wL†Z cvb| ti wWI †Z gv†† j  
Rvi x nBevi Lei Rwb†Z cwi qv Zr†† bvr i l qv bv Kwi qv tej v 1Uvq  
PqvWv½vq tcŹQvb| tcŹQvBqv Rwb†Z cv†i b th mKj AevOvj x  
tmbv†`i AvUK i vLv nBqv†Q Ges A`k`Ź wbi vc` hvqMvq i vLv  
nBqv†Q| wKqrKvj ci tbZ,`vbxq e`w³ e†M† mwnZ Av†j vPbv Ki Zt  
mKj mvgwi K l temvgwi K Kg†vi x†`i mgw†`e`v†v†i m†axb  
evsj v†`†ki cZvKv D†E†j b Kwi qv RvZxq Aw†ev`b cŹ vb Ki v nq|  
27†k gvP° mKv†j AevOvj x K`v†P b mv†`K wZbRb %mwbKmn



gvmwj qv wel wc†Z c†ek K†i Ges GK Rb wmcvnx†K AvnZ Kwi qv  
 cj vqb Kwi evi c†\_ Zvnvi MwZ†i va Ki v nq Ges tMvj v, wj †Z  
 K`v†P b mv†` K I Zvnvi m½xi v wbnZ nq| Zvnvi v K`v†P b  
 G,Avi ,AvRg †Pšaj xi mweK tbZ†Zi 30†k gvP®†f vi i v†Î Kóqv  
 kn†i i Dci w†g Lx Avµ gb Pj vq| tgRi tkv†qemn mKj  
 kÎ %mb` wbnZ nq| 1j v Gwc†j i g†a` Kóqv kni mαúYf v†e  
 g³ nq|

†ZŠwd KÐBÐGj vnx †Pšaj x gvP® gv†m †g†ni cj mvewWwf k†bi  
 GmwWl wQ†j b| 25†k gvP®i v†Î XvKvq RbM†Yi Dci tmbvewnbxi  
 Avµ gb mα†Ü Rwb†Z cv†i b| wZwb Zvnvi mv¶ vrKv†i etj b th H  
 mgq nB†Z wZwb Avi (cvwK` vbx) mi Kvi x KgPvi x i wntj b bv, wZwb  
 RbM†Yi Av†` vj †bi mwnZ GKvZ†Zv †Nvl bv Kwi †j b| H i v†Î B  
 †g†ni cj ÐPqvWv½v i v` vq tewi †KW& c† vb Ki v nq Ges  
 †g†ni cj ÐKóqv i v` vi cj f w½qv †` l qv nq| 26†k gvP® mKv†j  
 wZwb fvi †Zi b` xqv †Rj v c†vm†Ki wbKU GKwU c† tc†Y K†i b|  
 D³ c†Î i Abvj wc wZwb fvi Zxq weGmGd Gi tj . K†Yf Pµ eZxi  
 wbKU tc†Y K†i b| 2q c† wU ôAgZ evRvi ô I ôhMvš†ô cw† Kvq  
 wewf bœZvvi †L c†KwkZ nq| c†g c†Î i tc†¶ †Z Zvnv†K 29†k gvP®  
 teZvB wel wc†Z Awmevi Rb` Lei cvVb nq| Z\_vq Zvnv†K  
 evsj v†` †ki AvbAwdwmqvj `Z wnmv†e gh¶ v c† vb Ki v nq| Zvnvi v  
 Zvnv†K me©c†Kvi mnvqZvi Avkµm c† vb K†i b I 30†k gvP® mÜ`vq  
 PqvWv½v mxgv†š-†PsLv x †PK†cv†ô i A` †i fvi Zxq wel wc†Z Awmevi  
 Rb` Ab†i va Rvbvb nq| 30†k gvP® mKv†j wZwb PqvWv½vq Mgb  
 K†i b| wSbvB` †ni GmwWwcl gvneþDw† b Avn†g` I AvKm¶r  
 Pqvov½vq Dcw` Z n†qb| Zvnvi Rx†c ZvRDw† b Avn†g` I e`wi óvi  
 Awgi ÐDj Bmj vg wQ†j b| mÜ`vq Zvnvi v 4(Pvi) RbB fvi Zxq  
 wel wc†Z Dcw` Z n†qb| fvi Zxq c†¶ weGmGdGi D"Pc` `` KgPvi x  
 tMvj K gRg` vi I tj . K†bj Pµ eZx© Zvnv†` i †K Avšwi Kf v†e

Af`\_bv Rvbvb| cti i w` b t\_tK mvgwi K A`k`mi ei vn Ki v nBte  
 ewj qv Rvbvb nq| ZvRDwı b Avntg` I Awgi DDj Bmj vgtK tMvj K  
 gRg`vi Kwj KvZvq j Bqv hvb| Kwj KvZvi `g`g wegvb e`ti  
 GKwU mvgwi K tRU& wegvb Atc¶v Kwi tZwQj ewj qv tMvj K gRg`vi  
 RvbvBqwQıj b Ges`B GK w`tbi gta` H wegvtbB Zvnvi v w`j xZ  
 Mgb Kwi qwQıj b| BwZgta` ci eZx°c¶q GK c¶Kvj awi qv tZšwdK B  
 Gj vnx tPšaj x H wel wc nBtZ A`k`Mhb Kwi tZ \_vtKb| Zrci ,  
 teZvB wel wc gvi dr A`k`Mhb Kwi tZ b|

tgRi Ave`j nvij g AmnthvM Avt`vj b Pj vKvj xb mgıq  
 tMvcvj MıÄ QvU tfvM Kwi tZwQıj b| 25tk gvP° Zwi tL cwwK`vb  
 tmbvewnbxi wbgg nZ`Kvııi msev` cvl qvi mvı\_ mvı\_ evsj vt`tki  
 mıaxbZv msMıtg thvM`vıbi wmxvš- j tqb| wZwb QvU tfvMi Z %mwbK  
 I B wc Avi wmcvnxı i GKı Ki Zt 28tk gvP°tMvcvj MÄ \_vbn  
 nBtZ A`ı I tMvj vevı `` j Bqv 29tk gvP° htkvnti i nvig`c¶i  
 cwwK`vb tmbvewnbxi Ae`vıbi Dci Avıgb cwi Pvj bv Kti b|  
 30tk gvP° mKvj 9Uvq Zvnvi cıwı Ges nvig`cj Gj vKvi AmsL`  
 Qvı hıKmn htkvni knı cıek Kti b| 31tk gvP° Zwi tL  
 kııı c¶i hııı Z BıcAvi ewnbxi mwnZ thvM`vb Ki Zt wZwb hıx Ask  
 Mhb Kti b|

K`vtıb nwdRıı b Avntg` 25tk gvP° Zwi tL htkvni  
 K`wUbıgıU nBtZ 30gvBj `ti tKvUPı`cj I RM`xkcı Gj vKvq  
 Rıııı gta` Kvıj KwUf tUıbstq e`- wQıj b| dıj wZwb XvKvmn  
 cı`tki Ab`ı wK NUbv NwUqwQj Zvnv Zvnvi mııı° ARvbv wQj |  
 29tk gvP° tej v 12Uvi mgıq weıMwWqvi Ave`j ingvb `jııYx  
 Zvnvı i tK htkvni wııı qv AwmıZ eıj b| Hw`bııZ evı Uvq wZwb  
 Zvnvi ewnbxmn htkvni tıııZ Avımb| 30tk gvP° mKvıj  
 weıMwWqvi `jıııı 1g teıııı ti wRıgıııı e`ıııııı qıııK wııııı Kwi qv  
 A`k` A`ıMvııı Rgv Kwi qv Pweıııı wııııı nvıııı j tqb| wKš`

we†MwWqvi `j i vYx Pwj qv hvBevi m†½ m†½ evOvj x %mb`i v 0Rq evsj v0  
 aYwb w` †Z w` †Z A`yMv†i i Zvj v f w½qv A`j Bqv PZy` †K Ae`vb  
 j q| Ae vOvj x `ß e`vUwj qb %mb` Zvnw` M†K wZbw` K †\_†K Avµ gb  
 Kwi †j Zvnvi v tej v `ßUv ch\$- c0ZnZ K†i b| Zrci Zvnvi v  
 K`vUbtg>U Z`vM Kwi qv tPŠMvQvq GKwî Z n†qb| 30†k gvP© i v†î  
 `vbxq Rbm vavi †Yi wbKU nB†Z c0\_g Rwb†Z cv†i b th tgRi  
 wRqvDi i ngvb PÆMvg nB†Z we†`0n †Nvl bv Kwi qv†Qb Ges h†x i  
 Rb` mKj evOvj x %mb`†` i AvnYvb Kwi qv†Qb| Dcw` Z mvsew` KM†Yi  
 wbKU nB†Z wZwb Rwb†Z cv†i b th mgMª evsj v †` †k mYaxbZv hYx  
 Avi †nBqv†Q Ges Bó te½j ti wR†g>U I BwcAvi ewnbxi %mwbKMY  
 cwK`vb tmbv ewnbxi wei †x h†x Ask Mhb Kwi qv†Q| 31†k gvP©  
 mKv†j wZwb e`vUwj q†bi mKj %mb`†K mYaxbZv h†x thvM`v†bi  
 Rb` D™x K†i b|

gvP©gv†m K`v†P b tgv† Av†bvqvi tnv†mb %mq`cj tmbwbevtm  
 3q te½j ti wR†g†>Ui †KvqvU†i gvóvi wnmvte wbhY³ wQ†j b| 17B gvP©  
 Zwi †L e`vUwj q†bi Aq`vi †j m tmU& I fvi x A`j we†MW  
 tnW†KvqvU†i i wbqš†Y j I qv nq| 28†k gv†P© gŪj cvov nB†Z AvMZ  
 K`v†P b Avki v†di wbKU nB†Z †` †ki cwi w`wZ AeMZ nBqv  
 K`v†P b Avki vd†K GK U†K tMvj vevi `` w`qv gŪj cvov cvWvb|  
 31†k gvP© i vZ AvovBUvi mgq tMvj >`vR ewnbxmn GK e`vUwj qvb  
 %mb` 3q te½†j i Dci Avµ gb Pvj vq| Zvnvi v mKvj 10Uv ch\$-  
 Avµ gb c0ZnZ Kwi qv tmbwbevm Z`vM K†i Ges dj evox†Z Ae`vb  
 Mhb K†i | 1j v Gwc†j cveZxc†i Aew`Z tgRi kvdvqr  
 tnv†mb†K nZ`v Kwi qv evOvj x tmbvi v dj evox†Z Av†m|

†j t tgv† Ave`m mvj vg Zvnvi mv¶|vrKv†i Rvbvb th 26†k  
 gvP© mKv†j wZwb ti wWl †Z gvkYª j Rvi x nBevi Lei Rwb†Z  
 cv†i b| 27†k gvP© i scj nB†Z K`v†P b bl qv†Rm Avmqv `vbxq  
 Qvî DRbZv Ges cj vqbi Z evOvj x cYj k, B wc Avi I te½j

ti wR†g†Ui %mwbK†`i j Bqv GKUv ewwnbx MVb K†i b Ges wbKU` ,  
 \_vbw nB†Z i vB†dj msMh Kwi qv wZ` ʒ b` xi cv†o Ae`vb Mhb  
 K†i b| H mgq e†R cvi nBqv wKQy cwK`wb %mwbK AMmi  
 nB†j tgRi GRvRmn 8 Rb†K Zvnvi v nZ`v Kwi †Z m¶ g n†qb|

nwej`vi Rqbvj Avte`xb gvP°gv†m BwcAvi 10 bs kvLvi  
 i scj Wej myZ wel wc†Z nwej`vi c†` envj wQ†j b| 26†k gvP°  
 weKv†j Zvnvi v XvKvi wcj Lvbvi nZ`vh†Ái Lei cvb| VvKi Mvl †qi  
 9 bs kvLv Hw`b we†`ŋn K†i | K`v†P b bl qv†R†mi tbZ†Zi K†qKwU  
 †Kvᄁvbx wZ` ʒi cv†o Ae`vb Mhb K†i | 30†k gvP°nB†Z 4Vv Gwcj  
 chŠ- Z\_vq cŋZw`bB hƣx nq|

m†e`vi tgRi KwRgy† b gvP°gv†m BwcAvi Gi VvKi Mvl` ,  
 beg kvLvq Kg†Z wQ†j b| 26†k gvP°i v††B Zvnvi v AevOvj x  
 wmcvnx†`i Dci Avµgb Kwi †Z wmxvŠ- Mhb K†i b Ges tmB  
 Ab†vqx c`†¶c j B†Z \_v†Kb| wKŠ' wewf bœ Kvi †Y Zvr¶wbK  
 c`†¶c j B†Z bv cwi †j l 28†k gvP°i v† mv†o 10NwUKvi mgq  
 Zvnvi v we†`ŋn K†i b Ges Rq evsj v aŸbx w`†Z \_v†Kb| 29†k gvP°  
 mvi w`b †Mvj v, wj Pwj †Z \_v†K| 30†k gvP°tgRi tgvnvᄁ` tnv†mb  
 wbnZ nq Ges VvKi Mvl BwcAvi tnW†KvqvU†i k† "gƣ nq| Hw`b  
 weKv†j mxgvŠ-` †Kvᄁvbxmg†ni wmcvnxMY VvKi Mvl Rgv†qZ nq|  
 m†e`vi tgRi KwRgy† b e`v†Uwj qb†K c†Mwb K†i b Ges h†K†`i  
 mvghi K wk¶v cŋ v†bi e`e`v Mhb K†i b| 31†k gvP°Zwi †L wZwb  
 fvi †Zi 75 bs weGmGd e`v†Uwj q†bi KgvŪvi K†Yƣ e`vbwRx† mwnZ  
 thvMv†hvM K†i b|

bv†qK m†e`vi tgvnvᄁ` Avbmvi Avj x w`bvRcj BwcAvi  
 tnW†KvqvU†i KZē`i Z wQ†j b| 26†k gvP°mKv†j B Zvnvi v mvghi K  
 kvmb Rvi xi Lei Rwb†Z cv†i b| 27†k gvP°`ƣj tej vq Zvnvi v  
 †Mvj vel œ Avi ᄁ†K†i b Ges weKvj 5 Uvi g†a` AevOvj x wmcvnx†`i  
 nZ`v Kwi †Z mg\_°n†qb|

m̄te`vi Avi e Avj x gvP°gv̄tm w`bvRcj tRj vq eW̄i AvDU  
 tcv̄tó`wqZj Z wQ̄tj b| 26tk gvP°mKv̄tj Zvnvi v cēv̄t̄ cwwK`vb  
 tmbvev̄nbxi %ckwPK NUbvej x m̄x̄t̄ Rvwb̄Z cwi qv h̄x̄i Rb`  
 c̄t̄Z n̄qb| 29tk gvP° Zvnvi v wewf b̄wel wc̄t̄Z AevOvj x tmbv̄t`i  
 nZ`v K̄ti b| Bnvi ci Zvnvi v dj evox̄t̄Z AevOvj x tmbv̄t`i m̄wnZ h̄x̄  
 K̄ti b|

n̄vej`vi evmvi ZDj w̄ gvP° gv̄tm w`bvRcj 4 bs tm̄i  
 K̄Vevox̄t̄Z 8bs DBs Gi 0̄wm̄ tKv̄x̄v̄bx̄t̄Z`wqZj Z wQ̄tj b| 28tk  
 gvP°`̄c̄ti Zvnvi v AevOvj x B̄wCavi t̄i Dci Av̄µ gb Kwi qv m̄Ü`vi  
 ḡta`DBs Ges tm̄i tnW̄KvqvŪi`Lj K̄ti b| 31tk gv̄tP̄ h̄x̄  
 P̄tj Ges cwwK`vbx tmbvev̄nbx cvēZxcj P̄tj qv hvq|

L>`Kvi Ave`m m̄vgv` gvP°gv̄tm w`bvRcj̄i c̄vPMo`\_v̄vi  
 f̄vi c̄B̄ c̄j k Ādmvi wQ̄tj b| 25tk gv̄tP̄ ci ci B wZwb XvKvq  
 cwwK`vbx tmbv̄t`i Av̄µ ḡtbi Lei cvb| Zrci wZwb`\_v̄vi 5 Rb  
 AevOvj x w̄mcv̄nx̄t̄K w̄bi`i K̄ti b|`\_v̄v K̄`v̄x̄v̄tm ḡ³ ew̄nbxi  
 c̄k̄Y tK>`tL̄j v nq Ges`\_v̄vi i vB̄tdj ,w̄j Zvn̄t`i c̄t̄vb Ki v  
 nq|

m̄te`vi tgRi G, i e (wWGwW) gvP°gv̄tm w`bvRcj tm̄i  
 tnW̄KvqvŪi KZe`i Z wQ̄tj b| 28tk gvP°`̄c̄j tej v evOvj x  
 w̄mcv̄nx̄t̄i j Bqv wZwb Av̄µ gb Avi x̄t̄K̄ti b| 3 w`b c̄P̄U h̄x̄i ci 31  
 tk gvP°`̄c̄j tej v tm̄i ĀwabvqK K̄tȲ tKv̄t̄kx I Ab`vb`  
 Ādmvi MY dj evoxi w`t̄K cj vqb K̄ti Ges w`bvRcj kni`Lj ḡ³  
 nq| Zrci mē m̄yaxb evsj v̄t̄t̄ki cZvKv D̄t̄Ëvj b Ki v nq Ges  
 tRj L̄bv nB̄t̄Z i vR%bwZK e>`x̄t̄i ḡ³ Ki v nq|

K̄v̄t̄P̄b w̄Mqvm̄j̄i b tP̄šaj x gvP°gv̄tm bl M̄v B̄wCavi Gi 7 bs  
 DBs Gi mnKvi x DBs Kgv̄Üv̄ti i`wqZj cvj b Kwi t̄ZwQ̄tj b| 23tk  
 gvP°wZwb tgRi AvKi vg I K̄v̄t̄P̄b bex`t̄K evmvi Dci Zj vq  
 bRi e>`x i v̄t̄Lb| 24tk gvP°wZwb ĀwaKvsk A`̄M̄v̄ti i AevOvj x

c̄hi x̄t`i mi vBqv tm̄v̄tb evOvj x c̄hi x wb̄tqwwRZ K̄ti b| 26tk gvP<sup>®</sup>  
 tfvi tej vq XvKv t̄t̄K GK Rb evOvj x BwcAvi wmm̄b̄vj vi Zv̄nv̄t̄K  
 Rv̄bvq th Av̄t̄Mi i v̄t̄ cwwK̄vb tmbvew̄nbx i vRvi evM c̄j k j vBb I  
 wcj Lv̄bvq Av̄μ gb Kwi qv̄t̄Q| Bnv Rv̄wbqv wZwb wb̄t̄R wēt` Ōn Kwi t̄Z w̄i  
 K̄ti b| ci eZx̄Z Bqwn̄qv Lv̄t̄bi fvl Ȳi wb̄t̄Z cvb| Bqwn̄qv Lv̄t̄bi  
 fvl Y Ges mv̄gwi K wb̄t` R̄vej x i wb̄qv Zv̄nv̄t`i ḡta` t̄j v̄t̄fi m̄Avi  
 nq| Zrci wēt` Ōt̄ni `vevbj PZ̄j` K̄ QovBqv c̄to| BwZḡta`  
 m̄Üvq teZv̄ti tgRi wRqvDi ingv̄t̄bi K̄t̄Ú m̄v̄axbZvi t̄Nvi bv̄i wb̄t̄Z  
 cvb| Bnv̄t̄Z mK̄t̄j i ḡtb mv̄n̄t̄mi m̄Avi nq| bl M̄v I bl qveM̄t̄Äi  
 mḡ-BwcAvi t̄K wb̄R wb̄R t̄nW̄t̄KvqvŪt̄i GKw̄l Z Kiv nq| 28tk gvP<sup>®</sup>  
 m̄Üvq Zv̄nvi v ē, ov t̄c̄ŌQvb| 29/30 tk gv̄t̄P̄ i v̄t̄ cwwK̄vb  
 tmbvew̄nbx̄t̄K M̄t̄g hvBevi c̄t̄ Ḡv̄gēk Kiv nq| Ḡw̄t̄K i vRkvn̄xi  
 wb̄KUeZ̄ Av̄i vYx ti j t̄ók̄t̄bi wb̄KU 25 cv̄Äv̄tei GK t̄Kv̄x̄vb̄xi  
 m̄wn̄Z m̄x̄L h̄t̄x cwwK̄vb tmbvew̄nbx Q̄l f̄½ nBqv hvq| 1 j v Ḡw̄c̄j  
 evOvj x mk̄v̄ew̄nbx i vRkvn̄x kn̄ti i wb̄KU Aēvb M̄hY K̄ti b|

m̄tēvi Av̄j x t̄gv̄nv̄x̄ ḡw̄Kei ingv̄b mi Kvi gvP<sup>®</sup>gv̄t̄m m̄vi `vq  
 w̄Q̄t̄j b| 25tk gv̄t̄P̄ NUb̄vq Āt̄j Reve Āj̄ ḡvi dr w̄evi Rb̄  
 c̄Ōj̄ nb| wZwb vb̄xq ḡy<sup>3</sup> ew̄nb̄xi c̄av̄b nBqv GKw̄U ḡy<sup>3</sup> msM̄t̄g  
 K̄w̄ḡw̄U MVb K̄ti b Ges c̄j k, BwcAvi, Av̄bm̄vi, Qv̄l, Aāvc̄K  
 mev̄B̄t̄K j Bqv GKw̄U ḡy<sup>3</sup> ew̄nb̄x MVb K̄ti b| m̄vi `v K̄v̄t̄WŪ K̄t̄j R I  
 c̄j k GKv̄t̄W̄g nB̄t̄Z Āj̄ I t̄M̄vj vevi "̄ msM̄h Kwi qv Zv̄nvi v  
 i vRkvn̄xi w̄t̄K AM̄mi n̄t̄qb|

m̄tēvi t̄Lv̄ Kvi ḡw̄ZDi ingv̄b, exi wēμ g, bl M̄v BwcAv̄ti  
 `w̄qZ̄j Z w̄Q̄t̄j b| 26tk gvP<sup>®</sup> mK̄vj tej vq t̄KvqvŪt̄i M̄vW̄ K̄gv̄Üvi  
 ḡyRej ingv̄b ev̄sj v̄t̄k cZv̄Kv M̄vW̄ Aē Ab̄vi c̄Ō vb Ki Zt D̄t̄Ëvj b  
 K̄ti b| 25tk gvP<sup>®</sup> i v̄t̄ K̄v̄t̄P̄ b w̄M̄qv̄t̄mi t̄M̄vc̄b wb̄t` K̄ wZbw̄U  
 evOvj x c̄w̄t̄p̄t̄K Āj̄ n̄n m̄w̄¾Z i vLv̄ nq| K̄v̄t̄P̄ b w̄M̄qvm Zv̄nv̄t`i  
 ev̄P̄vi Rb̄ %Zi x w̄K̄t̄Z ēt̄j b Kvi Y Xv̄Kvi Aēv L̄p̄B Lvi vc̄| 27tk

gvP©Zvnvi v kvšʹnvi Mgb Ki Zt cwi w̄wZ Avq†Zi Av†bb| 30†k gvP©  
 Zvnvi v e, ov Avμ gb K†i b| 31†k gvP© AvevOvj x %mbʹi v i sc†i i  
 w̄†K cvj vBqv hvq| 1j v GwcĴ mKvj tej v nvwej `vi Avj x AvKei  
 Awwoqvj evRv†i Aew̄Z Ḡvgj bkb wW†cv `Lj K†i b| H wW†cv nB†Z  
 Zvnvi v 80 UvK Āk̄i e, ov j Bqv Av†mb|

nvwej `vi tgvnvʹd̄mDwī b gvP© gv†m PvcvB bl qveM†Ä  
 BwcAvi Gi 6 bs DBs G KZēi Z wQ†j b| 25†k gvP© evOvj x  
 BwcAvi t̄i wbKU nB†Z Ā†j Bevi tPóv nq wKš' bvbvb ARnv†Z  
 Zvnvi v Ā†Rgv t̄b bvb| 26†k gvP©w̄†bi tej v Zvnvi v PÆMvg tK>`  
 nB†Z BwcAvi Aq̄vi †j m gvi dr msev` cvb th XvKvq evOvj x  
 BwcAvi t̄i nZ̄v Kiv nBqv†Q| mǕvq `BN>Uv tMvj v, wj i ci  
 PvcvBbeveM†Ä cwi w̄wZ evOvj xt̄i Avq†Zi Av†m|

fvl v %mwbK MvRxDj nK gvP© gv†m e, ovq emevm Kwi †Zb|  
 25†k gvP© w̄evMZ i wī mvto 3 Uvq Lei cvb th cvwK̄vb  
 tmbvewnbx e, ovi w̄†K AvMvBqv Awm†Z†Q| Ggwc Wt Rwn`j  
 i ngvbm̄n wZwb tKvZl qvj x \_vqv Dcw̄Z nb| Bb†Uwj tRÝ e†Äi  
 Awdmvi gKej mv†ne Zvnv†K Rvbvb th Aq̄vi †j m gvi dr Lei  
 Awmqv†Q th tmbvewnbx i vRvi evM Ges wcj Lvbv `Lj Kwi qv†Q Ges  
 tmLv†b c†Z†i va h̄x Pwj †Z†Q| Gw̄†K Avi l msev` cvl qv hvq th  
 i scj nB†Z cvwK̄vbx %mbʹ e, ov Awm†Z†Q| MvRxDj nK Zvnvi  
 mv¶|vrKv†i etj b th kn†i i DĒ†i gwUWvj xt̄Z Zwor tewi †KW  
 t̄l qv nq| c̄j k j vB†b †UĀ tLvov nq| QvĀ RbZv l c̄j k  
 ewnbxi nv†Z meñvK†j ` AvovB WRb e>`K i vB†dj wQj | Dnv j Bqv  
 26†k gvP© mKvj tej v Zvnvi v cvwK̄vb %mbʹt̄i c†ZnZ K†i b|  
 cĴgw̄b nZvnZ nBqv Zvnvi v wdwi qv hvq| G m̄ú†K© GKwU etj wUb  
 ewni Kiv nq| MvRxDj n†Ki wb†Ri fvl vq ( `wj j cĴ, 9g LŪ,  
 c†484Ð85)t

0026tk gvtPp Aci vtý GKivgj nK mčb,  
 dRj vi ingvb (dj evox) Ges P>` b Gtm Lei w` tj v  
 th, Zvi v GKwU mvBtKv÷ vBj tgwkb thvMvo  
 Kti tQ| mZi vs etj wUb mvBtKv÷ vBj Kti wewj  
 Kiv hvq| etj wUti Lmov w` j vg| GK cvZvi  
 etj wUb mti i mgq kni Qovtbv ntj v| tnWj vBb  
 wQj v 00c0\_g w` tbi htx e, ovevmxi Rqj vft  
 cvPRb cvKtmbv wbnZ| 00 Gi ci wQj v GK meZK  
 htxi Avnevb| metktl wQj v e½eÜj tkL gwRej  
 ingvtbi wbt` R| GKUv K\_v ej tZ ftj tMwQ|  
 gwUWwj tZ hLb ewwi tKW w` tq wdti AvmWQj vg  
 ZLb ` Eevoxi mxtL Aqvi tj m Awdtmi GKRb  
 tj vK Wvt Rwn` j ingvtbi ntZ GKUv KvMR w` tq  
 hvq| tgimRwU i vtZ tctqWQj v etj Rvbvq| j vj  
 Kwj tZ tj Lv| hZ` i gtb nq evsj v ZRgv Ki tj  
 `rov tet 00GwU Avgvi tkl wbt` R| AvR t\_tK  
 evsj vt` k mYaxb| kÎ "%mb" Avgvt` i Avµ gb Kti tQ|  
 evsj vi gvb| th thLvtb AvQ, hvi ntZ th Am¹ AvtQ  
 ZvB wbtq i "tL `rovl | nvbv` vi ewnbxtK c0Zti va  
 Kti v| cwK` vbx `Lj `vi ewnbxi tkl "%mb" wUtk  
 evsj vi gwU t\_tK weZwoZ bv Kiv chS-Ges Ppvš-  
 weRq ARb chS-j ovB Pvwj tq hvte| 00 GB wbt` R wU  
 etj wUtb Rto w` tqWQj vg| etj wUtb Aek` Avgvt` i  
 Zi tdi q q wZi K\_v D tj E Kwi wb| Kvi Y,  
 ftewQj vg ZvtZ mvavi Y gvb| fq tctZ cvti |  
 Gi ci t\_tK c0Zw` b Avgiv etj wUb tei Ki Zvg|  
 Ggb wK cPj tMvj veóí gta`l mčb wWKtUkb  
 wbZ| KtqK N>Uvi gta`B etj wUb mvBtKv÷ vBj  
 tgwktb Qvcv ntq kni Qovtbv ntZv| 00

MvRxDj nK KZK wj wLZ Ges 1378 e½vtāi fv` 0 gvtm  
 (1971) cKwkZ 0Gevti i msMtg mYaxbZvi msMtg0 gw³ hYx Kvj xb  
 mgtq cKwkZ Ab`Zg c0\_g cY` K| cKvkK wQj mZ` Avb>  
 cKvkb, gj K k0M½vi vg cvj , gnwe` `v tcn, Kwj KvZvD6| D³ cY` K



e,ov kn̄ti i cĕwḡK cĕZ̄ti va mḥt̄Ü wbæwj wLZ eYḖv cvl qv hvq|  
( cṙvḖ 118 Aóg ms̄ i Y)t

00nvbṽvi cvK tmbvi v e,ov kni Avμ gb Ki t̄j v 26tk  
gvP°tfv̄ti | gvĴ AvUvkwU GKbj v, t̄vḖbj v e>`K Ges  
UḖUy tevi i vB̄tdj wbtq i “tL `vovt̄j v e,ovi ḡ³ tmbvi v|  
cP̄Ü gvi tL̄tq wCQy n̄tU tMj cvKtmbv|

27 gvP° I 29 gvP° cP̄Ü msN̄tl̄P̄ ci I cvKtmbvi v  
e,ov kni `Lj Ki t̄Z mḡg n̄tj v bv| 30 gvP° Zwi t̄L  
i vRkvnxi bl Mv t̄t̄K B,wc,Avi , Gtm e,ov ḡ³ thv×v̄t̄ i  
kw³ ewx Ki t̄j b| BwZḡtā tgRi bvRgj n̄tKi tbZ̄t̄Zj  
bl Mv gnK̄gvi cY°KZ̄j ḡ³ ewnbx MhY K̄ti t̄Qb| 31tk  
gvP°e,ov kn̄ti i I ci cvKḏwegvb ewnbx Avμ gb Pvj v̄tj v|  
wegvb t̄t̄K cP̄Ü tevgv el̄Y Avi t̄gwm̄bMvb Pwj t̄ql ḡ³  
ewnbx̄t̄K wCQy nUvb tMj bv| 31 gvP° w̄ evMZ i v̄t̄  
ḡ³ ewnbx cwḏg cwK̄vbx ewnbxi I ci cP̄Ü Avμ gb  
Pvj v̄tj b| tm Avμ gY mn̄ Ki evi ḡt̄Zv kw³ wKsev ḡt̄vej  
cvK%mt̄b̄i wQj bv| i v̄t̄Zi AÜKv̄ti Zvi v `\*Z cv  
Pwj t̄q i scj kn̄ti i QvḐwb̄t̄Z Avk̄q wbt̄j v|

1 Gwc̄j e,ovi ḡ³ ewnbx e,ov kni t̄t̄K 9  
gvBj `wḡ t̄Y cvKtmbv̄t̄ i Aw̄oqv K̄v>Ub̄t̄g>U Avμ gb  
Ki t̄j b| R½x wegvb t̄t̄K ḡ³ ewnbxi I ci cP̄Ü  
wegvb Avμ gY Pwj t̄ql cwḏg cwK̄vbx tmbvi v Aw̄oqv  
K̄v>Ub̄t̄g>U i ḡv Ki t̄Z mḡg n̄tj v bv| gvĴ 3 N>Uv  
h̄t̄xi ci ḡ³ ewnbxi nv̄t̄Z Aw̄oqv K̄v>Ub̄t̄g>Ui cZb  
n̄tj v| 56wU UvK tevSvB Āḑk̄i I tMvj vḖvi “  
ḡ³ tmbvi v `Lj Ki t̄j b| 00

e,ov h̄t̄x ḡ³ thv×v̄t̄ i AvZ̄v̄b c̄m̄t̄½ Ges c̄j̄ t̄Ki eYḖv  
mḥt̄Ü Zvnvi c̄j̄ t̄Ki ḡL̄et̄Ü (K̄v c̄m̄t̄½) wZwb et̄j bt ( c̄t̄13)

00 Zwi K, gvm̄j , wUUY AvRv̄ ḏt̄QvU t̄QvU ZvRv c̄Y,  
t̄k̄t̄c̄t̄gi J ¾t̄j “ `xw̄Bgvb| f̄v̄½v e>`K, UḖUy tevi  
i vB̄tdj wbtq i “L̄t̄Z wM̄t̄qwQ̄t̄j v cwḏg cwK̄vbx nvbṽvi  
`m̄j̄t̄ i | gUv̄ti i tMvj vq wK̄t̄kvi Zwi t̄Ki t̄n wQb̄f̄be  
n̄tq t̄M̄t̄j v| et̄j t̄U et̄j t̄U SvSiv n̄tq t̄M̄t̄j v gvm̄j ,  
wUUY AvRv̄t̄ i K̄wP t̄n, t̄j v| 00

thtnZy Dctiv<sup>3</sup> cȳ KwU 1971 mȳb mȳeZ AMvó gvȳm (fv`0  
gvȳm) gȳ<sup>3</sup> hȳx Kvȳ xȳ mȳúY<sup>©</sup>Awbwō Z mgȳq wȳ wLZ tmBȳtnZy Bnvi eYbȳ  
MȳnbȳhvM'' |

Dc̣ti v³ cȳ K ẹwẒti †K Rbve MwRDj nK ‘Bangladesh Unchained’  
bv†g Avi GKwU cȳ K tj †Lb| D³ cȳ KwU c̣g cKvk nq 1971  
m†bi wW†m᳚ gv†m| cȳ KwU fwgKv tj Lv nq Kwj KvZvq 8B wW†m᳚  
Zvwi †L| cȳ KwU cKvk K†i b Rqš-emy 93, gnvZ᳚ MvÜx †i wW,  
Kwj KvZv᳚| - úóZB m᳚axbZvi gvĪ GK mβvn c†e᳚ gw³ h᳚ hLb  
c†i v`†g Pwj †Z†Q ZLb Dc̣ti v³ cȳ KwU cKvwkZ nq| cȳ KwUi  
c̣†gB e½eÜy †kL gwRej i ngvb KZ᳚ wbæwj wLZ m᳚axbZvi †Nvl Yv  
DxZ Ki v nq t

*THE MESSAGE OF SHEIKH MUJIB*

*TO THE PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH*

ON THE NIGHT OF 25<sup>TH</sup> OF MARCH, 1971

PAKISTAN ARMED FORCES, SUDDENLY HAVE  
ATTACKED OUR COUNTRY UNDER THE COVER OF  
DARKNESS. THEY HAVE, TREACHEROUSLY ATTACKED THE  
EAST PAKISTAN RIFLES BASE, PIELKHANA AND RAJARBAG  
POLICE BARRACKS IN DACCA FROM ZERO HOURS ON  
MARCH 26, KILLING LACS OF UNARMED PEOPLE. THE EAST  
PAKISTAN RIFLES IN DACCA, THE POLICE AND THE PEOPLE  
ARE FIGHTING THE ENEMY FORCES STERNLY. LET THE  
WORLD KNOW OF THIS GENOCIDE. BRETHREN. TAKE UP  
THE ARMS WHICHEVER YOU HAVE. RESIST THE ENEMY  
FORCES AT ANY COST. MAY ALLAH BLESS YOU AND HELP  
YOU IN YOUR STRUGGLE FOR FREE DOM.

*'JAI BANGLA'*

cvebv kn†i 25†k gvP©Zwi †L cwwK<sup>-</sup> vbx %mb<sup>ii</sup> v c†ek K†i  
Ges i vR%bwZK †bZvDKwg†<sup>i</sup> †M†Zvi K†i | 27†k gvP© %mb<sup>ii</sup> v  
cwj k e<sup>ii</sup> v†K c†ek Kwi qv A<sup>-</sup> yMvi Zvnt†<sup>i</sup> vwbKU n<sup>-</sup> vŠ† Kwi †Z

ewj t̄j c̄wj k ewnbx Am̄xKvi K̄ti | Zrci Dfqc̄t̄ŋ c̄PŪ t̄Mvj v, wj  
 nq| 26 l 27tk gvP<sup>©</sup> Kvd<sup>©</sup> Rvi x \_vwKt̄j l h̄pK l Qvî i v t̄fZt̄i  
 t̄fZt̄i c̄ŋ̄jZ j Bt̄ZwQj | M̄t̄gi Kl. Ki vl %Zi x nBqvB wQj | Lei  
 cvBqv Zvnvi v `t̄j `t̄j kn̄ti i w`t̄K QyUqv Av̄tm| kn̄ti i t̄Uwj t̄dvb  
 G. t̄PÄ c̄vwK<sup>-</sup> vbx %mb<sup>-</sup>t̄i `Lt̄j wQj | wbi<sup>-</sup>ġ c̄ŋq 15 nvRvi  
 RbZv c̄Z<sup>-</sup>ŋ h̄jx bv Kwi t̄j l t̄Uwj t̄dvb G. t̄PÄ t̄Ni vl Kwi qv AvKvk  
 dvUv RqaŸwb w`t̄ZwQj | Zvnv̄t̄Z %mb<sup>-</sup>i v nZeŸx nBqv hvq| Gw`t̄K  
 c̄wj k l Qvî t̄i Av̄µḡtb Zvnvi v µgvb̄t̄q gvi v hvBt̄Z \_v̄t̄K|  
 c̄ti t̄Uwj t̄dvb G. t̄PÄ gy<sup>3</sup> ewnbxi nv̄t̄Z Av̄wmqv. hvq|

t̄gvRvddi Avn̄tg<sup>-</sup> wmi vRMÄ Gj vKvi c̄ŋZt̄i va m̄x̄t̄Ü et̄j b  
 th 25tk gvP<sup>©</sup>i vZ 1 Uvi mgq gnvKgv c̄kvmK kvgm̄i b(knx<sup>-</sup>)  
 msM̄vg c̄wi l<sup>-</sup> Av̄d̄tm Av̄wmqv c̄ŋZt̄i v̄tai Rb<sup>-</sup> c̄wj k Avbmvi ewnbxi  
 mKj A<sup>-</sup>ġ mi ei vn Kwi evi K<sup>-</sup>v et̄j b| 26tk gvP<sup>©</sup> QyU t̄f vMi Z l  
 Aemi c̄ŋB %mb<sup>-</sup>, c̄wj k, Avbmvi, Qvî RbZv mKj t̄K j Bqv gy<sup>3</sup>  
 ewnbx MVb Ki v nq|

kvnRv<sup>-</sup>c̄j Gj vKvi c̄ŋZt̄i va m̄x̄t̄Ü Ave<sup>-</sup>j i ngvb Zvnvi  
 mv̄ŋ vZKv̄ti et̄j b th 25tk gvP<sup>©</sup>w<sup>-</sup> evMZ i wî<sup>-</sup> ßUvi mgq kvnRv<sup>-</sup>c̄j  
 \_vbvi l w̄m XvKvq t̄mbv wēt̄<sup>-</sup>ŋ nBqv̄t̄Q ewj qv Lei cvVb| Zrci  
<sup>-</sup>vbxq t̄bZvKḡM̄t̄Yi mn̄thv̄t̄M ōkvnRv<sup>-</sup>c̄j m̄vaxbZv msM̄vg c̄wi l<sup>-</sup> ō  
 MVb Ki v nq| m̄x̄eZ 29/30 tk gvP<sup>©</sup>Zwi t̄L t̄kl ch̄S- msM̄vg  
 Pw̄j t̄q hvBevi Rb<sup>-</sup> e½eÜj wb̄t̄<sup>-</sup> k̄bvgv cvb| wZwb D<sup>3</sup> wb̄t̄<sup>©</sup> k̄bvgv  
 Ab̄ev<sup>-</sup> Kwi evi l ḡj̄ t̄Yi e<sup>-</sup>e<sup>-</sup> v K̄ti b|.

1972 m̄t̄bi 26tk gvP<sup>©</sup> Zwi t̄L %<sup>-</sup>wbK evsj v (Aab̄vj ß)  
 c̄wî Kvq c̄Kw̄kZ ōGKwU RvwZi Rb̄ŋ wk̄ti vb̄t̄g t̄j t K̄t̄b̄ŋ wRqvDi  
 i ngvb KZ̄K wj wLZ GKwU m̄v̄ZPvi Ygj K c̄eÜ nBt̄Z m̄vaxbZvi c̄l̄g  
 c̄ŋi m̄x̄t̄Ü Zvnvi wbRm̄i e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>-</sup> cvl qv hvq| | D<sup>3</sup> c̄ēt̄Üi t̄kl vsk  
 wb̄x̄ji "c t

00 Zvi ci Gtj v 1j v gvP<sup>®</sup> | RwZi wczv e½eÜy tkL  
 gyRej ingvtbi D`vË Avnevtb mvi vt`tk `i i" ntj v  
 e`vcK AmnþhvM Avt`vj b| Gi ci w`b `v½v ntj v|  
 wenvi xi v nvj v Kti wQj GK kwšeY<sup>®</sup>wgWQj | Gi t\_þKB  
 e`vcK tMvj thvþMi mPbv ntj v| GB mgþq Avgvi  
 e`vUwj qþbi Gbwml i v AvgvtK Rvbvj , cÛZw`b mÜ`vq  
 weskwZZg evj P ti wRtþtUi tRvqvbi v temvgwi K tcvkvK  
 cti temvgwi K UþK Kti tKv\_vq thb hvq| Zvi v wdþi  
 Avþm Avevi tkl i vtZi w`þK| Awg DrmþK nj vg| tj vK  
 j vMvj vg Lei wbþZ| Lei wbþq Rvbj vg cÛZi vtZB Zvi v  
 hvq KZK wbw`ð evOvj x cvovq wbePvti nZ`v Kti  
 tmLvþb evOvj xt`i | GB mgq cÛZw`bB Qvi KvnZ  
 evOvj xtK nvmcvZvtj fWZ<sup>®</sup>ntZI tkv bv hvq|

GB mgþq Avgvt`i KgwÜs Awdmvi tj dþUb`vU  
 KþYþ RvbRqv Avgvi MwZwewai l ci j ¶` i vLvi Rb`l  
 tj vK j vMvq| gvþS gvþSB Zvi tj vtKiv wMtq Avgvi  
 mæúþK<sup>®</sup> tLvRLei wbþZ `i i" Kti | Avgi v ZLb Avk¼v  
 Ki wQj vg, Avgvt`i nqZ wbi m³ Kiv nte| Awg Avgvi  
 gþbvfve `gb Kti KvR Kti hvB Ges Zvt`i Dþ`vM e`\_<sup>®</sup>  
 Kti t`qvi mæve` me e`e`v MhY Kwi | evOvj x nZ`v l  
 evOvj x t`vKvbcvtU AwMensþhvþMi NUbv µþgB evotZ  
 \_vtK|

Avgvt`i wbi `þ Kivi tPóv Kiv ntj Awg wK e`e`v  
 MhY Kie KþYþ (ZLb þgRi) kl KZI Avgvi KvþQ Zv  
 RvbþZ Pvb| K`vtþb kgþmi gweb Ges þgRi  
 Lvþj Kþ¼vgvb AvgvtK Rvbvb th, mþaxbZvi Rb` Awg hw`  
 Am³ Zþj þbB Zvntj Zvi vl t`þki gy³ i Rb` cÛY w`þZ  
 KÜvþeva Ki þeb bv, K`vtþb l wj Avntþþ` Avgvt`i gvþS  
 Lei Av`vb cÛvb Ki þZb| tRwml Ges Gbwml qvi v `þj  
 `þj wef³ ntq Avgvi KvþQ AvmtZ \_vtK| Zvi vl AvgvtK  
 Rvbvq th wKQy GKUv bv Ki þj evOvj x RwZ wPi w`þbi Rb`  
 `vtm cwi YZ nte| Awg wbi þe Zvt`i K\_v `i bZvg| wKš'  
 Awg wK Kti wQj vg, Dchþ³ mgq Gtj B Awg gL Lj e|  
 mæeZ 4 gvþP<sup>®</sup> Awg K`vtþb l wj Avntþþ` þK þWþK tbB|  
 Avgvt`i wQj tmUv cÛ\_g %eVK| Awg ZvtK tmvRvmþR  
 ej j vg, mkm³ msMþg `i i" Kivi mgq `Z GwMtq AvmtQ|  
 Avgvt`i me mgq mZK<sup>®</sup>\_vtKþZ nte| K`vtþb Avng`l

Avgvi mvt\_ GKgZ nb| Avgi v cwi Kí bv %Zwi Kwi Ges  
cŕZw`bB Avtj vPbv %eVtK wgwj Z ntZ i i " Kwi |

7gvP® ti mtkvm® gq`vtb e½eÜj HwZnwmK tNvl bv  
Avgvt`i KvttQ GK MhYwmMb`vj etj gtb ntj v| Avgi v  
Avgvt`i cwi Kí bvtK Ppvš- ifc w`j vg| wKš' ZZxq  
tKvb e`w³ tK Zv Rvbvj vg bv| evOvj x l cwwK`vbx  
%mwbKt`i gvtSI DtĖRbv µtgB Pi tg DVwQj |

13B gvP® i i " ntj v e½eÜj mvt\_ Bqwnqvi  
Avtj vPbv| Avgi v mevB ¶wYtKi Rb` m` + wbkym  
tdj j vg| Avgi v Avkv Kij vg, cwwK`vbx tbZvi v h³  
gvbte Ges cwi w`wZi DbwZ nte| wKš' `fM`RbKfvte  
cwwK`vbx t`i mvgwi K cŕwZ ntm bv tctq w`b w`bB ewx  
tctZ i i " Kij | cŕZw`bB cwwK`vbx t\_tK %mb` Avg`wv  
Kiv ntj v| wefbae`vtb Rgv ntZ \_vKj Amkm³ Avi  
tMvj vevi "` | wmbqi cwwK`vbx mvgwi K Awdmvi i v  
mt>`nRbKfvte wefbae M`vwi mtb Avmv hvl qv i i " Kij |  
PÆMvtg tbšewnbxi l kw³ ewx Kiv ntj v|

7B gvP®tówWqvttg BweAvi wmi tj dtUb`vU KtY® Gg,  
Avi tPšaj x, Avwg, K`vtP b l wj Avng` l tgRi Awgb  
tPšaj x GK tMvcb %eVtK wgwj Z nj vg| GK Ppvš- h³  
cwi Kí bv MhY Kij vg| tj t KtY® tPšai xtK Abti va  
Kij vg tbZZ| w`tZ| `w`b ci BwcAvi K`vtP b (GLb  
tgRi) iwdK Avgvi evmvq tMtj b Ges BwcAvi ewnbxtK  
mt½ tbqvi cŕve w`tj b| Avgi v BwcAvi ewnbxtK  
Avgvt`i cwi Kí bvf³ Kij vg|

Gi gta` cwwK`vbx ewnbxi mvgwi K Zrci Zv i i "  
Kivi Ppvš- cŕwZ MhY Kij | 21 gvP®tRbvtij Ave`j  
nvwg` Lvb tMj PÆMtg K`vUtgU| PÆMvtg mvgwi K e`e`v  
MhtYi Ppvš- cwi Kí bv cŕqbb Zvi GB mdti i Dtĭ k`|  
tmw`b Bó te½j ti wRtgU tmUvti i tfvRmfvg tRbvtij  
nvwg` 20 Zg evj P ti wRtgU KgwŬs Awdmvi  
tj dtUb`vU KtY® dvZgx tK ej j , dvZgx, mst¶ tc,  
w¶ cŕwZtZ Avi hZ Kg mæe tj vK ¶q Kti KvR Kitz  
nte| Avwg GB K\_v, tj v i tbwQj vg|

24 gvP®we†MwWqvi gRg`vi XvKv Ptj Gtj b |  
mŬ`vq cwwK`vbx ewnbx kw³ cŕqvtM PÆMtg e`ti

hvl qvi c\_ Kti wbj | RvnrR tnvqvZ t\_tK Am<sup>a</sup> bvgv**t**bi  
Rb<sup>o</sup>B e<sup>o</sup> ti i w<sup>o</sup> tK wQj Zvt<sup>o</sup> i GB Awf hvb|

c\_t\_ RbZvi mv\_t\_ NUj Zvt<sup>o</sup> i KtqK<sup>o</sup> dv msNI<sup>o</sup>  
GtZ wbnZ ntj v wecj msL<sup>o</sup>K evOvj x| mkm<sup>a</sup> msM<sup>o</sup>g th  
tKvb g<sup>o</sup>utZ<sup>o</sup> i i " ntZ cvti , G Avgi v ati B wbtqwQj vg|  
gvbmK w<sup>o</sup> K w<sup>o</sup> tq Avgi v wQj vg c<sup>o</sup>Ź | ci w<sup>o</sup> b Avgi v  
c\_t\_i e<sup>o</sup>wi tKW Acmvi tYi Kv**t**R e<sup>o</sup> -wQj vg|

Zvi ci Gtj v tmB Kvj i vZ| 25 I 26 gv**t**P<sup>o</sup>  
ga<sup>o</sup>eZx<sup>o</sup> Kvj i vZ| i vZ 11 Uvq Avgvi Kgw<sup>o</sup>Ŭs Awdmvi  
Avgv**t**K wbt<sup>o</sup> R w<sup>o</sup> j tbšewnbxi U**t**K Kti PÆM<sup>o</sup>g e<sup>o</sup> ti  
thtq tRbv**t**i j Avbmvi xi Kv**t**Q wi tcvU<sup>o</sup> Ki tZ| Avgvi  
mv\_t\_ tbšewnbxi (cwK<sup>o</sup> - vbx) c<sup>o</sup>hi x \_vKte Zvi Rvbv**t**bv  
ntj v| Awg B<sup>o</sup>Qv Ki tj Avgvi mv\_t\_ wZbRb tj vK wbtq  
thtZ cwi | Zte Avgvi mv\_t\_ Avgi vB e<sup>o</sup>vUwj q**t**bi GK**R**b  
cwK<sup>o</sup> - vbx Awdmvi I \_vKte| Aek<sup>o</sup> Kgw<sup>o</sup>Ŭs Awdmv**t**i i gtZ  
tm hvte Avgv**t**K MwW<sup>o</sup>w<sup>o</sup> tZB| G Av**t** k cvj b Ki v Avgvi  
c**t**Ź wQj Am<sup>o</sup>æ| Awg e<sup>o</sup> ti hw<sup>o</sup>Q wKbv Zv t<sup>o</sup> Lvi Rb<sup>o</sup>  
GK**R**b tj vK wQj | Avi e<sup>o</sup> ti ke<sup>o</sup>xi c<sup>o</sup>Źx<sup>o</sup>Ź vq wQj  
tRbv**t**i j Avbmvi x| nqZ ev Avgv**t**K wPi Kv**t**j i gtZvB  
m<sup>o</sup>ŹMZ Rvbv**t**Z |

Avgi v e<sup>o</sup> ti i c\_t\_ tei "j vg| AvM<sup>o</sup>evt<sup>o</sup> Avgv**t** i  
\_vgtZ ntj v| c\_t\_ wQj e<sup>o</sup>wi tKW| GB mg**t**q tmLv**t**b  
Gtj v tgRi Lv**t**j vK<sup>o</sup>¼vgvb tPšaj x| K<sup>o</sup>v**t**P b I wj Avng**t** i  
KvQ t\_tK GKevZ<sup>o</sup> G**t**mtQ| Awg i v<sup>o</sup> vq nvUwQj vg|  
Lv**t**j K Avgv**t**K GKUy <sup>o</sup> ti wbtq tMj | Kv**t**b Kv**t**b ej j ,  
Zvi v K<sup>o</sup>v<sup>o</sup>Ub**t**g<sup>o</sup>U I kn**t**i mvgwi K Zrci Zv i i " Kti tQ|  
eû evOvj xtK nZ<sup>o</sup>v Kti tQ|

GUv wQj GKUv wmxvš- Mh**t**Yi Ppvš' mgq| KtqK  
tm**t**Kt**t**Ŭi gta<sup>o</sup>B Awg ej j vg**oAvgi v we**t** Ŭn Ki j vg| Zy**g**  
tl vj kni evRv**t**i hvl | cwK<sup>o</sup> - vbx Awdmvi t<sup>o</sup> i tM**d**Zvi  
Kti v| I wj Avn**t**g<sup>o</sup> tK etj v e<sup>o</sup>vUwj qb %Zwi i vL**t**Z, Awg  
Avm**oQ| .****

Awg tbšewnbxi U**t**Ki Kv**t**Q wd**t**i tMj vg| cwK<sup>o</sup> - vbx  
Awdmvi , tbšewnbxi Pxd t**c**wU Awdmvi I W**B**fvi tK  
Rvb**j** vg th Avgv**t** i Avi e<sup>o</sup> ti hvl qvi <sup>o</sup> i Kvi tbB|

GtZ Zvt<sup>o</sup> i gtbtKvb c<sup>o</sup>ŹZw<sup>o</sup>qv ntj v bv t<sup>o</sup> tL Awg  
cvÄvex W**B**fvi tK U**t**K Nj v**t**Z ej j vg| f vM<sup>o</sup> f vj , tm

Avgvi Avt`k gvbj | Avgi v Avevi wdti Pj j vg|  
 tl vj kni evRvti tcštQB Avg Mwo t\_†K j wdtq tbtg  
 GKUv i vBtdj Z†j wbj vg| cwK` vbx Awdmvi wUi w`†K  
 ZvK Kti ej j vg nvZ Z†j v| Avg tZvgv†K tMdzvi  
 Kij vg| tbšewnbxi tj vtKiv G†Z weāvš-n†q coj | ci  
 gū†ZB Avg tbšewnbxi Awdmvti i w`†K i vBtdj ZvK  
 Kij vg| Zvi v wQj AvU R†b | mevB Avgvi wbt`k gvbj  
 Ges A`i tdtj w`j | Avg KgwŪs Awdmvti i Rxc wbtq  
 Zvi evmvi w`†K i l bv w`j vg| Zvi evmvq tcštQ nvZ  
 i vLj vg Kwj st†tj | KgwŪs Awdmvi cvRvgv c†i B t†wi tq  
 G†j v| L†j w`j `i Rv| w¶ cMwZ†Z Avg N†i X†K  
 coj vg Ges Mj vi × Zvi Kj vi tU†b ai j vg|

`ZMwZ†Z Avevi `i Rv L†j K†Y††K Avg evBti  
 tU†b Avbj vg| ej j vg, e>`ti cvV†q Avgv†K gvi †Z  
 tP†qwQ†j ? GB Avg tZvgv†K tMdzvi Kij vg| GLb j <sup>2</sup> x  
 †mbvi gZ Avgvi m†½ G†mv|

†m Avgvi K\_v gvbj | Avg Zv†K e`vUwj q†b wbtq  
 Gj vg| Awdmvi †i tg†m hvl qvi c†\_ Avg K†Y†  
 kl KZ†K (ZLb tgRi) WvKj vg| Zv†K Rvbvj vgB Avgi v  
 we†`Ūn Kti wQ| kl KZ Avgvi nv†Z nvZ wgj vj |

e`vUwj q†b wdti t`Lj vg, mg`-cwK` vbx Awdmvi †K  
 e>`x Kti GKUv Nti i vLv ntq†Q| Avg Awd†m  
 tMj vg| tPóv Kij vg tj dU`v†b>U K†Y† GgAvi tŠaj xi  
 mv†\_ Avi tgRi i wdtKi mv†\_ thvMv†hvM Ki†Z| wKš'  
 cvi j vg bv| me†Póv e`\_° ntj v| Zvi ci wi s Kij vg  
 temvgwi K w†v†Mi tUwj †dvb Acv†i Ui †K| Zv†K Ab†i va  
 Rvbvj vg| tWc¶U Kwgkbvi, c¶j k mpcwi b†Ub†W>U,  
 Kwgkbvi, wWAvBwR l Avl qvgxj xM tbZv†`i Rvbv†Z th  
 Bó te½j ti wR†gt>Ui Aóg e`vUwj qb we†`Ūn Kti †Q|  
 evsj v†`†ki m¶axbZvi Rb` h¶x Ki te Zvi v|

G†`i mevi mv†\_B Avg tUwj †dv†b thvMv†hvM  
 Ki vi tPóv Kti wQ| wKš' KvD†K cvBwb| Zvnn tUwj †dvb  
 Acv†i Uti i gva`†gB Avg Zv†`i Lei w`†Z tP†qwQj vg|  
 Acv†i Ui mvb†` Avgvi Ab†i va i ¶ v Ki†Z i wR ntj v|

mgq wQj AvZ gj `evb| Avg e`vUwj q†bi Awdmvi,  
 tRwml Avi tRvqv†`i WvKj vg| Zv†`i D†i †k fvl Y  
 w`j vg| Zvi v meB RvbZ| Avg m†¶†c me ej j vg Ges

Zvť`i wbť`Ř w`j vg mk`i msMťg AeZxY® nťZ | Zvi v  
meñşWZµťg üóPťĚ G Avť`k tgťb wbj | Awg Zvť`i  
GKUv mvgwi K cwi Kí bv w`j vg |

ZLb i vZ 2Uv tetR 15 wgbU | 26tk gvP®  
1971 mvj | i³ AvLťi ev½vj xi ü`ťq tj Lv GKwU  
w`b | evsj vť`ťki RbMY wPi w`b mñi Y i vLťe GB  
w`bwUťK | mñi Y i vLťZ fvj evmťe | GB w`bwUťK Zvi v  
ťKvbw`b f j te bv | ťKvĐbĐw`ĐbĐbv | 00.

PÆMťg` Bó te½j ti wRťg>Uvj tm>Uvťi KZē`i Z K`vťP b  
Gbv gj nK ťPšaj xi mv¶ vZ Kvi nBťZ PÆMťgi Z`wbšb Ae`v  
mşúťK® GKwU avi Yv cvl qv hvq | 24ťk gvP®Zwi ťL mKvťj i w`ťK  
ťRbvťi j Ave`j nvwg` Lv b (wml Gm cvwK`v b Awg®) Ges Ab`vb`  
tgRi ťRbvťi j MY tnwj K P vi thvťM PÆMťg Avťmb | Zv nvť`i mwnZ  
weťMwWqvi Avbmvi xl Avťmb | H mgťq PÆMťgi mveĐťRbvj gvk¶  
j G`vW¶gbťóUi weťMwWqvi gRg`vi mKvťj PÆMťg e`ťi  
wMqwQťj b | weťMwWqvi Avbmvi xl 0ťmvqvZ0 Rv nvR nBťZ A`ķ`i  
Lv j vm Kwi evi Rb` tnwj K P vťi thvťM e`ťi hvb | weKvťj  
weťMwWqvi gRg`vi Dcťi v³ ťRbvťi j ť`i mwnZ XvKv Pwj qv hvb |  
25ťk gvP® mKvťj tj t KťY¶ Gg, Avi , ťPšaj x (Pxd BÝUť±i ,  
BweAvi wm) mg` - A`ķ`i %mb`ť`i w`qv w`ťZ etj b | 8g Bó te½j  
ti wRťgť>Ui wKQy %mb` G`vW¶fvÝ cvwU®wnmvťe cťeB cvwK`v b Pwj qv  
wMqwQj | Zv nvť`i mg` - A`ķ`i Mvox Rgv w`qv hvBťZ nBqwQj |  
Lp Kg A`ķ`i Mvox Aewkó %mb`ť`i wbKU wQj | i vZ mvťo GMvi Uvi  
mgq 8g te½j t\_ťK K`vťP b gxi kl KZ Avj x Zv nvťK ťUwj ťdvťb  
BweAvi wm0i mKj Mvox Zv nvť`i Rb` cvVvBqv w`ťZ etj b Kvi Y  
Zv nvť`i Awab` mKťj B 0Gg wf ťmvqvZ0 t\_ťK A`ķ`i Lv j vm  
Kwi ťZ hvBťe | Bnvi wKQy cťi B K`vťP b Gbv gj Lei cvb th XvKvq  
AevOvj x %mb`i v c¶j k l BwcAvi Gi Dci nv gj v Kwi qvťQ Ges  
Zv nvi v weť`0n ťNvl bv Kwi qvťQ | ZLb tj t KťY¶ ťPšaj xi wbť`Ř



Abmvti ewK me A<sup>-</sup> k<sup>-</sup> evOvj x %mb<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> i w<sup>-</sup> qv t<sup>-</sup> l qv nq| Bnvi  
 ci ci B 20tej P ti wRtg>U B we Avi wm Gi Dci cPŪ Avμ gb  
 Kti | mvi vi vZ Avμ gb Pti Ges GK nvRvti i tekx evOvj x %mb<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> K  
 nZ<sup>-</sup> v Ki v nq|

27tk gvP<sup>©</sup> mKvtj Avl qvgx j xtMi GgAvi wmw<sup>-</sup> Kx ZvntK  
 PÆMtg wek<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> vj tq Kg<sup>®</sup> Z BwcAvi Gi KgvŪ wbtZ ewj tj wZwb  
 tmLv<sup>-</sup> b wMqv BwcAvi ewnbxtK msMwVZ Kti b| tmLv<sup>-</sup> b nB<sup>-</sup> Z PÆMtg  
 kn<sup>-</sup> ti wdwi qv `B<sup>-</sup> b tQvU LvU Acvti k<sup>-</sup> b Ask Mhb Kti b| Zrci  
 wZwb tdbx Mgb Ki Zt tmLv<sup>-</sup> b gw<sup>3</sup> h<sup>-</sup> x msMVb Kwi tZ <sup>-</sup> v<sup>-</sup> tKb|

tj d<sup>-</sup> U<sup>-</sup> b>U kg<sup>-</sup> tmi g<sup>-</sup> web tPšaj x gvP<sup>©</sup> gv<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> m 8g Bó te½j  
 ti wRtg>U Kg<sup>®</sup> Z wQ<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> b| KvβvB<sup>-</sup> BwcAvi Gi G<sup>-</sup> vmm<sup>-</sup> tU>U DBs  
 KgvŪvi K<sup>-</sup> v<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> P b nvi “b 22tk gvP<sup>©</sup> PÆMtg Avwmqv K<sup>-</sup> v<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> P b  
 Lwj K<sup>3</sup> v<sup>-</sup> gb, K<sup>-</sup> v<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> P b Awj I tj t tPšaj xtK j Bqv K<sup>-</sup> v<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> P b i wd<sup>-</sup> tKi  
 evmvq h<sup>-</sup> b| tmLv<sup>-</sup> b Avl qvgx j xtMi `B Rb t<sup>-</sup> bZ<sup>-</sup> vbxq e<sup>-</sup> w<sup>3</sup>  
 wQ<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> b| Zvnvi v mevB PÆMtg wek<sup>-</sup> e<sup>-</sup> vj tq Mgb Ki Zt tmLv<sup>-</sup> b  
 t<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> ki we<sup>-</sup> v<sup>-</sup> gb cwi w<sup>-</sup> wZ j Bqv Avj vc Kti b| 23tk gvP<sup>©</sup> K<sup>-</sup> v<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> P b  
 i wdK Zvnw<sup>-</sup> M<sup>-</sup> tK c<sup>-</sup> ū <sup>-</sup> wK<sup>-</sup> tZ etj b| 25tk gvP<sup>©</sup> we<sup>-</sup> tMwWqvi  
 Avbmvi x i v<sup>-</sup> vi tewi tKW cwi <sup>-</sup> vi Kwi evi Rb<sup>-</sup> Zvnv<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> i wml tK wbt<sup>-</sup> &  
 t<sup>-</sup> b| weKvtj K<sup>-</sup> v<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> P b i wdK<sup>-</sup> tK t<sup>-</sup> dvb Kwi tj wZwb etj b th wZwb  
 c<sup>-</sup> ū <sup>-</sup> Av<sup>-</sup> tQb| i vZ mvto 11 Uvq tj t K<sup>-</sup> tY<sup>®</sup> RvbRqvi wbt<sup>-</sup> & gZ tj t  
 kg<sup>-</sup> tmi g<sup>-</sup> web tPšaj x tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb<sup>-</sup> tK PÆMtg tcv<sup>-</sup> tU<sup>©</sup> wWDwU  
 Kwi evi Rb<sup>-</sup> Zvnvi wbt<sup>-</sup> & tc<sup>-</sup> ŠQvb| i vZ 12 Uvq tej P ti wRtg>U  
 BweAvi wm Avμ gb Kwi qv tj t K<sup>-</sup> tY<sup>®</sup> GgAvi tPšaj xmn eū msL<sup>-</sup> K  
 evOvj x %mb<sup>-</sup> nZ<sup>-</sup> v Kti | ci eZx<sup>©</sup> NUbvej x tj t kg<sup>-</sup> tmi g<sup>-</sup> web  
 tPšaj xi wbt<sup>-</sup> Ri fvl vq t ( wj j c<sup>-</sup> t beg LŪ c<sup>-</sup> t58Đ59)t

00GBU\_& te½j ĐG G<sup>-</sup> t<sup>-</sup> m i bj vg th mg<sup>-</sup> - cwwK<sup>-</sup> vbx  
 Awdmvi t<sup>-</sup> i tM<sup>-</sup> dZvi Ki v ntq<sup>-</sup> tQ| tgRi wRqvDi i ngv<sup>-</sup> tbi

wb̂`k GUv Kiv n̂q̂Q| tgRi wRqvDi ingv̂bi mv̂\_  
 Avgvi t̂Lv nq| wZwb ej t̂j b th GLb t̂\_̂K wZwbB  
 n̂"Qb êvUwj q̂bi KgŵŨs Awdmvi | wZwb Av̂i v ej t̂j b  
 th tMvj v, wj i Lei wZwb î t̂b̂Qb| G Lei tkvbi ci wZwb  
 êvUwj qb̂Gi KgŵŨs Awdmvi t̂j t K̂Ŷ RvbRqv mn  
 Ab̂vb̂ ĉŵg ĉŵK̂ v̂bx Awdmvi t̂ i t̂M̂Zvi K̂i t̂Qb|  
 ĉi l̂ î i mevB̂K tĝi t̂dj v n̂q̂ŵQj | Zvi ci tgRi  
 wRqvDi ingvb Avgv̂K êvUwj qb̂Gi mevB̂K GK  
 RvqMvq GK̂Ũ Z Ki t̂Z ej t̂j b| mevB̂K GK RvqMvq  
 GK̂Ũ Z Kiv nj | Zvi ci tgRi wRqvDi ingvb t̂Uŵt̂j i  
 Dĉi D̂V e³ Zv Ki t̂j b| wZwb ej t̂j b, ōōAvR t̂\_̂K  
 Awg Aóg te½j ti wR̂tĝt̂Ui KgŵŨs Awdmvi | Awg  
 evsj v̂` t̂ki m̂v̂xbZv ĥx Ask MhY Kivi msKí t̂Nv̂ bv  
 Kij vg| Ges Avgvi wb̂`k̂B mewKQj Pj t̂e| Avcbvi v  
 mevB Avgvi mv̂\_ \_vK̂t̂eb| GLb GLv̂t̂b \_vKv Avgv̂` i  
 Rb̂ ŵbi v̂ĉ` bq| Avgi v mevB Kv̂j j Nv̂t̂Ui ŵ` t̂K hve,  
 t̂mLv̂t̂b ŵM̂t̂q Avgi v mewKQj wi AM̂bvBR Ki e Ges  
 Avgv̂` i ci eZx̂ K̂ĝĉšv ŵbâi Y Ki e| ōō

K̂v̂t̂P̂b Gg Gm G f̂Bqv B we Avi ŵm Gi Awab̂ - GK̂U  
 t̂Kv̂x̂v̂bxi AwabvqK ŵQ̂t̂j b| 25̂t̂k gvP̂ ŵ`evMZ i v̂t̂Ũ ĉP̂Ũ  
 t̂Mvj v, wj i k̂t̂ā wZwb Rv̂ŵMqv l̂ t̂Vb| H mgq GK̂Rb nv̂ej `vi  
 cvj vBqv Aŵmqv Zv̂nv̂t̂K Rvbvb t̂h K̂v̂ŵUb̂tĝt̂Ui mKj evOvj x  
 %mb̂t̂K AevOvj x %mb̂i v nẐv̂ K̂wi qv̂t̂Q| m̂t̂½ m̂t̂½ wZwb evOvj x  
 nẐvi ĉŨẐt̂kva j Bevi Rb̂ K̂v̂ŵUb̂tĝt̂U Av̂μ gb K̂wi evi ŵm̂x̂v̂š-  
 t̂bb| H i v̂t̂Ũ B 8g Bó te½j ti wR̂tĝt̂Ui tgRi wRqvi m̂wnZ  
 thvMv̂t̂hvM K̂wi evi t̂Póv K̂wi qv̂l ê`\_̂nb| ci ŵ`b 26̂t̂k gvP̂  
 mKv̂t̂j 8g Bó te½t̂j t̂ĉš̂Qv̂Bqv Kv̂t̂i v mv̂Ũ vZ cvb bvB| K̂v̂t̂P̂b  
 i ŵd̂t̂Ki m̂wnZ thvMv̂t̂hvM K̂wi t̂j wZwb K̂v̂ŵUb̂tĝt̂Ui ĉwi êt̂Ẑ K̂wĝj v̂-  
 nB̂t̂Z P̂ÆM̂v̂t̂gi ŵ` t̂K Av̂M̂gbi Z 24 Gd Gd ti wR̂tĝt̂U ĉŨẐnZ  
 K̂wi evi ci v̂gk̂` t̂` b| weKvj 5Uvq wZwb Zv̂nvi t̂Kv̂x̂v̂bxi l̂ B̂ŵĉAvi  
 Gi GK̂U ĉŵp̂ t̂gv̂U 102 Rb %m̂wb̂K j Bqv 26̂t̂k gvP̂m̂Ũ̂v̂ 6 Uvq

Kıgı vq tçŞQvb| we†MwWqvi BKej kwdi tbZ†Zj GKwU ewnbx  
 PÆM†gi w`†K Awm†ZwQj | mÜ`v tıvqv 7 Uvq kÎ“i v hLb  
 tewi †KW mvd Kwi †Z e` - GB mgh K`v†P b fBqvi ewnbx Zvıv†` i  
 Avµ gb K†i | cŰq `ßN>Uv awi qv hıx P†j | 24 Gd Gd  
 ti wR†gt†Ui KgwŰs Awdmvi GK Rb tj t K†YŰ mn eûmsL`K  
 Awdmvi I %mwbK nZvnZ nq| we†MwWqvi BKej kwd cvıv†o  
 AvkŰ j Bqv cŰY evPvb | Kıgı vq hıx P†j wZb w` b| 28†k gvP®  
 wÎ gLx Avµ g†b gw³ thvıvı v mwi qv hvB†Z eva` nq| K`v†P b fBqv  
 etj b th Kıgı v hıxB gw³ h†ıxı cŰg hıx| GB h†ıx GdGd Gi  
 GKwU c†i v †Kvııvbx wbwŰy nBqv wMqvWQj | GB Z\_` cŰ vb  
 Kwi qvwQ†j b K`v†P b Rvdi Bgvq| ZLb wZwb D³ Gd Gd  
 ti wR†gt†U KgŰ Z wQ†j b | K`v†P b fBqv etj b th 26†k gvP®  
 †fv†i Zvıv†` i th we†` Űn Kwi †Z nBte Zvnv Zvıv†` i Av†b†KB  
 25†k gv†PŰ ga`i v†Î I Rwb†Zb bv|

tj t †Rbv†ij (Aet)(Z`wbsb tgRi) gxi kl KZ Avj x, exi  
 weµ g, 1981 m†b Zvnvi mvŰıvrKv†i etj b th 7B gvP® Zwi †L  
 hLb e½eÜy tkL gwRej i ngvb tıvıvı qv` x® D`v†b fvl Y w` tj b  
 ZLb t\_†KB evOvj x %mb`ıv wPşı Kwi qvwQj th mıaxbZvi Rb`  
 mevB†K SıcvBqv cwo†Z nBte| 15B gvP® wZwb 8g Bó te½j  
 ti wR†gt†U e`Űj nBqv Av†mb| 25†k gvP® i vZ 11Ű30 wgwbt†Ui  
 mgq Zvnvi v †Uwj †dv†b Rwb†Z cv†i b th XvKvq nZ`vKvŰ Avi ıı  
 nBqv wMqv†Q| evOvj x nZ`vKvŰ i i “ nBevi Lei w` qv mııeZ Zvıv†` i  
 wBKU cŰg †Uwj †dv†b Kwi qvwQ†j b PÆM†gi nvbıb fvb|

mıaxbZv †Nvl Yv cŰm†½ 1981 m†b tj t †Rbv†ij (Aet) gxi  
 kl KZ Avj xi e³ e` wıııııııı t(`ıj j cÎ t beg LŰ, c†120Ű21)t

ŰŰ c† evsj v†` †ki mıaxbZv †Nvl bv teZv†i KLb cPwi Z  
 ntq†Q etj Avcwb ej †Z Pvb ?

Dt GUv GKwU weZwKZ cĕ| teZvĭi mĭaxbZv tNvl Yv  
 thUv wbtq me mgq weZK<sup>o</sup> Pj tZ \_vĭK th tRbvĭi j wRqv  
 Kĭi tQb, bv Avl qvgx j xM t\_tK Kĭi tQb| Avgvi Rv bv  
 gĭZ mePvBĭZ cĕg teva nq PÆMĭg teZvi tK>^ ħ t\_tK  
 nvbĕb fvBĭqi KÚB tj vĭK cĕg ĭ tbwQj | GUv 26tk  
 gvP<sup>o</sup> 071 Aci vŷ `ŦUvi w` tK nĭZ cvĭi | wKš' thĭnZy  
 PÆMĭg teZvi tKĭ>^ ĭ tĕĕ K hšĭ Lp Kg kw<sup>3</sup> mᵛúbĕ wQj ,  
 tmĭnZy cj v t` kevmx tm KÚ ĭ bĭZ cvbwb| KvĭRB hw`  
 ej v nq, cĕg teZvĭi Kvi weĭ` Ŧnx KĭÚ mĭaxbZvi K\_v  
 D"Pwi Z nĭqwQj , ZvŦnĭj Awg ej e th PÆMĭĭgi nvbĕb  
 fvB tmB weĭ` Ŧnx KÚ| Zte GUv mZ` th ci w` b A\_Ŧr  
 27tk gvP<sup>o</sup> 071 tgRi wRqvi tNvl bv cPvĭi i ci B mĭaxbZv  
 hĭx .i "ZpY<sup>o</sup>tgvo tbq|

cĕ 27tk gvP<sup>o</sup> 071 tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb wK  
 cwi w` wZĭZ Kv j NvU Uŷwguvĭi msMwVZ wecĕx mĭaxb  
 evsj v teZvi tKĭ>^ ħ tMĭj b Ges mĭaxbZv tNvl bv cv  
 Ki tĭj b ?

cĕ 25tk gvP<sup>o</sup>071 ĭ vĭZ XvKvq nZ`vKvĭŦi Lei  
 cvl qvi ci B Avgi v PÆMĭĭg Avgvĭ` i Aaxb`  
 e`vUwj qbĭK nvĭZ wbtqwQj vg| Avgi v tĭ te t` Lj vg th,  
 bZp cvov K`v>UbĭgĭU cwwK` vĭb ewnbx wbqwsZ U`v¼  
 wQj | Avgi v wQj vg tl vj knĭi gvĭ `ŦgvBj `j tZĭ|  
 Avgi v t` Lj vg, Avgvĭ` i nvĭZ tKvbl U`v¼ wQj bv| Ges  
 tKvb Amkmĭ Avgvĭ` i A\_v<sup>o</sup> 8g te½j ti wRĭgĭUi nvĭZ  
 wQj bv| BwZcĭeB 8g te½j ti wRĭg>U cwwK` vĭb Pĭj  
 hvĭe eĭj AwaKvsk AmB cwwK` vĭb cwwĭtq t` qv nĭqwQj |  
 Avgvĭ` i nvĭZ ĭ ay wQj wKQy ĭ vBĭdj Ges Gj GgwR  
 ai tbi mĭ msL`K A`ĭ fvi x tKvbl A`ĭ wQj bv|  
 Avgvi mvĭ\_B tRbvĭi j wRqv Avj vc Ki tĭj b| Avgi v  
 Avj vc Kĭi t` Lj vg th Avgi v hw` tl vj kni weŵi s Gi  
 wfZi Ae`vb Kwi Ges tmB Ae`vq hw` U`v¼ Avĭm,  
 Zvnĭj Avgi v U`v¼ tVKvĭZ cvi e bv| Kvi Y U`v¼  
 tVKvĭbvi gZ tKvb A`B Avgvĭ` i KvĭQ wQj bv| U`v¼  
 t\_tK `ŦwZbUv tMvj v Qpĭj B Avgvĭ` i AĭbK %mb` gvi v  
 hvĭe| ZLb Avgi v wmxvš-wbj vg th, Avgvĭ` i H Gj vKv  
 t\_tK evBĭi Pĭj hvĭ qv DwPZ Ges wbi vc` `ĭ tZĭ t\_tK

tnW†KvqvU†i tem& evbv†bv DwPZ | G Qvov Avgv†`i  
 Aaxb`'†Rvqvbt`i kc\_\_ tbqv DwPZ | Avgi v tmvRv  
 cŁtg tMj vg Kvj j NvU | tmlv†b tfvi i v†Zi w`†K Avgi v  
 gvP°K†i tMj vg | ZLb Lp Kqvkv wQ†j v, Ges Avj wni wK  
 B"Qv tmw`b A\_ŕ 26†k gvP°, 071 ÐGi mKvj 8Uv wK  
 9Uv chš- Kqvkv wQj | Kvj j Nv†U tcŁ†Q Avgi v mevB  
 Kbdv†i Ý Kij vg | G†Z wKQy weWAvi Awdmvi Ges  
 †Rvqvbl wQ†j b | GB Kbdv†i †Ý wmxvš-†bqv n†j v th,  
 Avgi v wewf bœ`†j wef³ n†q PÆM†g i ¶vi Rb` cvwK`vb  
 ewwnbxi wei †x Avµ gb Pvj ve | Avgv†`i Avµ g†Yi gj  
 j ¶i`e`† wQj †cvU° Ges K`vUbtg>U | GB wmxvš-†bqvi  
 mgq Avl qvgx j x†Mi wKQy †bZp` Avgv†`i mv†\_ G†m  
 thvM w`†q wQ†j b | GB†Zv tMj 26†k gvP°071 Gi K\_v |  
 Hw`b Avgi v †LvRLei wbtq wQj vg †Kv\_vq wK NUwQ†j v |  
 Awg GK Lvbv Rxc wbtq cij v kni N†i †`Lj vg | Awg  
 hw` Unj †`qvi mgq AvM†ev†`i tgvto Avgvi Rx†ci I ci  
 GKwU Gj ÐGgÐwR evó°dvqvi G†j v | Awg †Kvbl cKv†i  
 Rxc N†i †q tdi Z tMj vg Ges †Rbv†i j wRqv†K  
 cvwK`vbx tmbvevwnbxi Ae`vb mæú†K° Aewnz Kij vg  
 Ges tmfv†e Avgv†`i `j †K wbtq wRZ Kij vg |

27†k gvP°, 071 g†b nq †Rbv†i j wRqv eš†Z i i"  
 Ki†j b th teZv†i GKUv †Nvl bv cPvi Kiv`i Kvi | H  
 Zwi †LB mÜ`vq Kvj j NvU U†ÝwgUvi t\_†K GUv Ki†j b  
 wZwb | tek K†qKRb Avl qvgx j xM †bZvl H mgq Lp  
 Zrci n†q D†VwQ†j b | Zv†`i g†a` wQ†j b c†dmvi  
 bj`j Bmj vg, AvZvDi ingvb Lvb Kvqmv, nvbwb fvB Ges  
 Gg, Avi, wmw† Kx | Zvi vl mæeZt wmxvš-wbtq wQ†j b th  
 ti wWl †Z e½eÜj c†¶ wKQy cPwi Z nl qv DwPZ |  
 Aci w`†K †Rbv†i j wRqv wK ej †eb Zvi GKwU Lmovl  
 cŁ †Z K†i wbtj b | 27†k gvP° 071 mÜ`vi ci PÆM††gi  
 Kvj j NvU U†ÝwgUvi t\_†K cPwi Z n0j †Rbv†i j wRqvi  
 (ZrKvj xb tgRi) fvl Y |

K`v†Pb i wdK Dj Bmj vg gvP° gv†m PÆM†g` BwcAvi  
 tnW†KvqvU†i G`wR†U>U c†` Kg†Z wQ†j b | 25†k gvP°i w† mvto  
 8Uvi mgq W. Rvdi Gi KvQ t\_†K Rwb†Z cv†i b th Bqwnqv

tMvc†b KivPx Pwj qv wMqv†Qb Ges UˆvsK j Bqv %mbˆiv XvKv  
 KˆvUb†g>U nB†Z ewni nBqv†Q| ivZ 8Ð45 Gi wˆ†K wZwb  
 Aqˆvi †j m K†j vbx i D†ĭ †kˆ i l qvbn tˆ b| tMLv†b BwcAvi Gi GKwU  
 cWUj wQj | Kˆv†P b i wdK tMLv†b wMqv Kˆv†P b nvqvZ I Abˆvbˆ  
 AevOvj x %mbˆ†ˆ i tM†Zvi K†i b| Gi ci wZwb Abˆ %mbˆ†ˆ i †K  
 nvij kn†i Awwm†Z ewj qv Z\_vq ivZ mvto 9 Uvq tcŠQvb| Hˆ v†bi  
 wZbwU AˆyMvi B Zvntˆˆ i cY© wbqš†Y wQj | ivZ 10Ð45 wgwbtUi  
 g†aˆ Hˆ v†b AewˆZ mKj AevOvj x %mbˆ AvUK Kwi †Z m¶g ntqb|  
 Zvni tcŰi Z mvstKwZK evZŰ Abjv†i mxgvš- Gj vKvq AewˆZ  
 AevOvj x %mbˆ†ˆ i †Kl mvto 9Uvi g†aˆB ci vfZ Kiv nBqv wQj Ges  
 Zrci evOvj x BwcAvi tmbvˆj .wj PÆMŷg Awfg†L i l qvbn K†i |  
 wZwb tij l †q wntj Zvni mˆ i ˆ dZi ˆ vcb K†i b| ZLb BweAvi wm  
 l 8g te½j ti wR†g†>U cŰq 2000 evOvj x tmbv wQj | ivZ 11 Uv  
 30 wgwbtUi mgq 20 evj P ti wR†g†>Ui %mbˆiv BweAvi wm Gi evOvj x  
 tmbv†ˆ i Avµ gb Kwi qv cŰq 1000 evOvj x %mbˆ nZˆv K†i | wKQy  
 msLˆK Awdmvi l %mbˆ Hˆ vb nB†Z cvj vBqv 8g te½†j wMqv AvkŰ  
 j q| Kˆv†P b i wdK hpx ˆ i iˆ Kwi evi wmxvš- W. Rvd†i i gvi dr 8g  
 te½†j †K RvbnBqv wQ†j b| H i v†ĭ wZwb nvij kni Ges PÆMŷg kn†i i  
 Abˆvbˆ Gj vKvi 500 AevOvj x %mwbK l Awdmvi MY†K wbi ˆ i  
 Kwi †Z cwi qwQ†j b| 26†k gvP© cwwKˆ vbx tmbvi v tbŠNwU t\_†K  
 AM†i nBqv nvij kn†i AewˆZ BwcAvi Gi Dci Avµ gb Kwi †j  
 Zvni v cŰZnZ K†i b Ges Zvni v wCQy nwU†Z evaˆ ntqb| BwZg†aˆ  
 Kŷgj ✱ ntZ tgRi evni PÆMŷgˆ tUwj †dvb Acv†i Ui †K Rvbnb th  
 Kŷgj ✱ nB†Z GKwU wei vU Kbfq PÆMŷg Awfg†L i l qvbn nBqv†Q|  
 GB msevˆ cvl qv gvĭ Kˆv†P b i wdK nvij kni nB†Z GK †Kvαúvbx  
 %mbˆ cwwKˆ vbnb evwnbx†K Aˆvαk Kwi evi Rbˆ cvVb| mvstKwZK evZŰ  
 Abjv†i KvβvB nB†Z Kˆv†P b nvi ˆ b, Kˆ evRvi l Abˆvbˆ ˆ vb nB†Z  
 BwcAvi evwnbx PÆMŷg Awwmqv tcŠQvB†j l Zvnwˆ M†K Kvj j NvU we†Ri

wbKU \_vgvBqv t`l qv nBtZwQj | Zvnvt`i ej v nBqwQj th knți  
 tKn bvB| GB Kvi tY Zvnvi v K`vtP b iwdtKi B wc Avi ewnbxi  
 mwnZ GKÎ nBqv htx Ask MhY Kwi tZ e`\_°nq| A\_P K`vtP b  
 iwdtKi BwcAvi ewnbx nvj kni Ges mgM<sup>a</sup>AvM<sup>h</sup>ev` ti vtWi ,i "ZpY<sup>®</sup>  
 `vb,uj `Ltj i wLqv kμ t`i Avμ gb μ gvMZ cġZnZ Kwi tZwQj |  
 wKš' D<sup>3</sup> B wc Avi `j ,uj i Afvte tbšewnbxi m`i `dZi Ges  
 tcvU<sup>®</sup>Gj vKv g<sup>3</sup> Kwi evi Rb` K`vtP b iwdtKi cwi Kí bv e`\_°nq|  
 26tk gvP<sup>®</sup>mÜ`vq ti j l tq wntj Zvnvt`i Ae`vtbi Dci kÎ "cŋ  
 cPŪfvte Avμ gb Kti Ges tbšewnbxi fvi x Kvgvb,uj l Zvnvt`i  
 Dci μ gvMZ tMvj v el Ÿ Avi x Kti | BwZgta` U`v¼ Avwmqv cto|  
 U`v¼ weaŸsmx A t`ġ Afvte K`vtP b iwdK Zvnvi m`i `dZi cwi Z`vM  
 Kwi tZ eva` ntqb Ges Zvnvi mKj BDwbUtK tKvZI qvj x \_v bv l  
 Zrci K`vUb tġtUi cġvtZ Ae`vb wbtZ etj b| m`i `dZi  
 cwi Z`vM Kwi evi mgq wZwb AvnZ ntqb| knți i DcKtÚ tcšQvBqv  
 BwcAvi Gi GK Rb wmcvnx mwnZ t`Lv nBtj wZwb Rvbvb th,  
 K`vUb tġtUi cġvtZ Zvnvt`i GKwÎ Z nBevi Rb` Zvnvi wbt`K  
 \_wKtj l Avi GK Rb Awdmvi BwcAvi %mb` t`i tK Kvj j NvU tmZj  
 w` tK j Bqv wMqv tQ| K`vtP b iwdK Rbve nvbw Ges W. Rvdti i  
 wbKU nBtZ Rwb tZ cvti b th tgRi wRqvDi ingvb Zvnvi BwcAvi  
 tmbvt`i Kvj j NvU tmZj w` tK j Bqv wMqv tQb| wZwb Dc ti v<sup>3</sup>  
 tbZvt`i Abti va Kti b th Zvnvi v thb tgRi wRqv tK Zvnvi  
 BwcAvi wmcvnx t`i Qvwoqv w` tZ etj b etj b hvntZ Zvnvi v knți  
 Avwmqv Zvnvi mwnZ htx thvM`vb Kwi tZ cvti | Z`vbmvti tbZvMY  
 tgRi wRqv l Ab`vb` Awdmvi Mti Yi mwnZ t`Lv Kwi qv K`vtP b  
 iwdtKi B wc Avi ewnbxtK Qvwoqv w` tZ etj b| wKš' tgRi wRqv  
 Rvbvb th tmbvevnbx cġMv tbi cti B wZwb K`vtP b iwdtKi mwnZ  
 thvM`vb Kwi teb| wKš' PÆMvg knți i j ovBtZ wZwb tkl chš-Avi  
 thvM`vb Kwi tZ cvti b bvB| BwcAvi %mw bK t`i Kvj j NvtU AvUKvtbv

bv nBtj tcvU<sup>®</sup> wegvbe<sup>˘</sup>i Ges tbšDewnbxi m<sup>˘</sup>i `dZi Avµ gb  
 Ges `Lj Kiv Zvnt<sup>˘</sup>i c†¶ mæe nBtZv| `vgcvov c¶j k j vBtbi  
 evOvj x c¶j kivi AZ<sup>˘</sup>š- mwnmKZvi mwnZ kÎ " %mb<sup>˘</sup>†<sup>˘</sup>i cĖZnZ  
 Kwi qvwQj wKš' kÎ †<sup>˘</sup>i µgvMZ Pv†ci g†L Zvnt<sup>˘</sup>i H<sup>˘</sup> vbwU  
 cwi Z<sup>˘</sup>vM Kwi †Z nq| 29†k gvP<sup>®</sup> mKvtj kÎ " %mb<sup>˘</sup>i v AvMtev<sup>˘</sup>  
 tiwW AwZµ g Kwi †Z m¶g nq| BwcAvi ewnbx AvMtev<sup>˘</sup> Gj vKv  
 nBtZ h× Kwi †Z Kwi †Z nvwj kni NwU†Z mwi qv Av†m | ZLb chš-  
 nvwj kni Ges tKvU<sup>®</sup> feb, GB `BwU<sup>˘</sup> v†b Zvnt<sup>˘</sup>i NwU mÿ p wQj  
 wKš' BwcAvi ewnbx AZ<sup>˘</sup>š- Amnvq Ae<sup>˘</sup>vi g†a<sup>˘</sup> h× Kwi †ZwQj |  
 GKw<sup>˘</sup> †K Zvnt<sup>˘</sup>i A<sup>˘</sup> k<sup>˘</sup> †Mvj v, wj i mi ei vn tkl ch†q, tj vKej l  
 Kwgqv Avm†ZwQj , tKvb bZb %mw bK thvM t<sup>˘</sup>q bvB, vbxq  
 Rbmavi Yl µgvb†q nZvk nBqv mxgv†š† w<sup>˘</sup> †K Pwj qv hvB†ZwQj ,  
 Ab<sup>˘</sup>w<sup>˘</sup> †K kÎ " %mb<sup>˘</sup> ewnbx†Z Ae<sup>˘</sup>vnZ fvte kw<sup>3</sup> ewx nBtZwQj | A\_P  
 BwcAvi ewnbx 25†k gvP<sup>®</sup>i wÎ nBtZ Ae<sup>˘</sup>vnZ fvte h× Kwi †Z Kwi †Z  
 Kvš- Aembæ nBqv cwoqvQj | 30†k gvP<sup>®</sup> mvi w<sup>˘</sup> b cwwK<sup>˘</sup> vbx wegvb  
 Avµ gbm cPŪ h× P†j | Gw<sup>˘</sup> †K BwcAvi ewnbxi tMvj v, wj l tkl |  
 Ae†k†l nvZvnt<sup>˘</sup> h× P†j wKš' kÎ †<sup>˘</sup>i msL<sup>˘</sup>wa†K<sup>˘</sup>i Kvi †Y tkl chš-  
 Zvnt<sup>˘</sup> v Zvnt<sup>˘</sup>i Ae<sup>˘</sup>vb cwi Z<sup>˘</sup>vM Kwi †Z eva<sup>˘</sup> nb| AZtci , kµ %mb<sup>˘</sup>  
 weKvtj nvwj kni `Lj K†i | tKvU<sup>®</sup> wnj wQj Zvnt<sup>˘</sup>i me†kl NwU |  
 cĖZw<sup>˘</sup> bB wewf bæw<sup>˘</sup> K t<sup>˘</sup>†K cPŪ Avµ gb nq| GgbwK U<sup>˘</sup>v¼ eni Øvi vl  
 Avµ gb P†j | wKš' cĖZevi B 3ORb BwcAvi %mw bK Zvnt<sup>˘</sup> cĖZnZ  
 Kwi †Z m¶g nq| 2i v Gwc†j Zvnt<sup>˘</sup>i tMvj v, wj tkl nBtj  
 Zvnt<sup>˘</sup> v NwU cwi Z<sup>˘</sup>vM Kwi †Z eva<sup>˘</sup> nq| tmBm†½ PÆM†g bMi xl  
 Zvnt<sup>˘</sup>i nvZQvov nq|

K<sup>˘</sup>v†P b nvi "b Avn†g<sup>˘</sup> tPšaj x gvP<sup>®</sup> gv†m KvβvB<sup>˘</sup> BwcAvi G  
 Kg<sup>®</sup> Z wQ†j b| 23†k gvP<sup>®</sup> K<sup>˘</sup>v†P b iwd†Ki wb†<sup>˘</sup> & gZ 8g Bó  
 te½j ti wR†g†Ui tg†m wMqv wZwb K<sup>˘</sup>v†P b Lv†j K¾vvgv tPšaj x,  
 K<sup>˘</sup>v†P b Awj Avn†g<sup>˘</sup> , tj t gvndRj i ngvb l tj t kg†mi gweb



tPšaj xi mwnZ K\_v ewj qv Zvnmw` M†K j Bqv cŰtg K`vtP b i wd†Ki  
 evmvq Zrci PÆMtg wek|e`vj tq GKRb Aa`vc†Ki evmvq Mgb  
 Ki Zt Avl qvgx j x†Mi K†qKRb tbZ, vbxq e`w³ i mwnZ t`†ki  
 me†kl Ae`v j Bqv Av†j vPbv K†i b| tmLv†b 8g Bó te½j I  
 BwcAvi Awdmvi t`i g†a` mg†SvZv nq th hw` AevOvj x ewnbx  
 Avµ gb K†i Zte mKj ewnbx GK†Ű cŰZ†i va Mwoqv Zvj te|  
 24†k gvP© wZwb KvßvB wdwi qv hvBevi c†e© K`vtP b i wdK Zvnt†K  
 etj b th wZwb BŸ†cK†bi bvtg cvÄvext`i A†`† dvqwi s wcb  
 A†K†Rv Kwi qv w`qv†Qb, K`vtP b nvi “b†K wZwb ZvntB Kwi †Z  
 etj b| ZvntQvov, wZwb `ßwU tKvW&I qvW© w`qv t`b| 25†k gvP©  
 w`evMZ i wŰ 10Uvi w`†K wZwb Lei cvb th 20ðevj P ewnbx te½j  
 ti wR†g>U†K Avµ gb Kwi qv†Q| BwZg†a` Gg Avi wmwŰ Kx Zvnt†K 2q  
 †KwWU Rvbvb| Zr¶ bvr wZwb j vB†b hvb Ges mKj AevOvj x Awdmvi  
 I %mb`†K wbi `† K†i b| ZLb i wŰ mvto 11Uv ev†R| i wŰ mvto  
 3Uvi mgq wZwb PÆM†gi c†\_ i l qvbw t`b| cŰ Ė mv¶ vrKv†i Zvnti  
 wb†Ri fvl vq (`wj j cŰ t beg LŰ, c† 63)t

0026†k gvP© Awg hLb PUMtg kni t\_†K  
 7/8 gvBj `†i wQj vg, ZLb t`Lj vg te½j  
 ti wR†g†Ui K†qKRb %mb` cwUqvi w`†K t`šov†Q  
 | Zv†`i wRÁvmv K†i Rvbj vg cvKewnbx  
 Avµ g†b K†i †Q Ges tgRi wRqvmn 8g te½j  
 ti wR†g>U we†`Űn K†i †Q| Zvi v cwUqv†Z GKwŰ Z  
 nte| Awg AM†mi n†j tgRi wRqvi mv¶ vr cvB|  
 Zv†K wRÁvmvev` Ki †j ej †j b, 00K`vtP b i wdK  
 kn†i h†x Ki †Q, Avgiv 8g B÷ te½j cwUqv†Z  
 GKwŰ Z n†ev Zvi ci Avevi kn†i G†m cvèv  
 Avµ gb Pvj v†ev| 00 Avgv†K Zvi m†½ \_vK†Z ej †j b|  
 Awg tgRi wRqvi m†½ t\_†K tMj vg| Gi ci tgRi  
 wRqvi Kgv†Ű KvR Ki †Z \_wK| 00

gj Z evsj vř` řki mřaxbZv hřx `wj j cĤ Gi weei řYi Dci wf wĚ  
Kwi qv Dcři ewYŽ evsj vř` řk 1971 mřbi 25řk gvP<sup>®</sup> I ZrcieZx<sup>®</sup>  
3 / 4 w` řbi Ae<sup>-</sup>v wKi řc wQj Zvnvi GKwU wPĤ Zřj qv ai v nBj |

cřeB ej v nBqvřQ řh Avgi v HwZnvwmK bB Ges gř<sup>3</sup> hřxi  
BwZnv m i PbvI GB i řřqi cwi mři i (scope) AvI Zvq Avřm bv| evOvj x  
gmj gvbř` i mř cwwK<sup>-</sup>vřb Pi g eĀbvi mřKvi nBqv wK Amnbxq  
cwi w<sup>-</sup>wZřZ Zvnvi v mřaxbZv `vex Kwi j Ges Zrci Operation Search Light,  
XvKv I Ab<sup>Ĥ</sup> msNwVZ MYnZ<sup>vi</sup> Ges ařsm hĀ NwUevi mgq Ges  
Ae<sup>ew</sup>nZKvj cři i cwi w<sup>-</sup>wZ weřkřb Kwi evi Rb<sup>vi</sup> ZrKvj xb mgM<sup>a</sup>  
evsj vř` řki AvbvřP KvbvřP weřf bœ<sup>-</sup>vřb mřaxbZvi Rb<sup>vi</sup> MYgvbřI i  
AvKwZ, Zvrř wK cĤZwř qv Ges Bnvi avi vewnKZvq wK  
cwi w<sup>-</sup>wZřZ The Proclamation of Independence Rvi x nBj Ges Zrci  
mveřbxb gř<sup>3</sup> hřx i řcvřwi Z nBj řmB mřekvj Avřj L<sup>w</sup>U mřřř řc  
Dc<sup>-</sup>vcb Kwi evi cřvm j I qv nBqvřQ gvĤ | Kvi Y 1970ř71 mřbi  
NUbvej xi cUf wřKv Ges gvP<sup>®</sup> gvřm D<sup>TM</sup>Z cwi w<sup>-</sup>wZ ů` qřg Ki Y  
e<sup>w</sup>Zři řK mřaxbZv řNvi Yv Ges cwwK<sup>-</sup>vřbi ceĀřj i bvMwi KMY wK  
řcřř včřU Ges wKfvře meřZřK gř<sup>3</sup> hřx SřcvBqv cwoqwQj Zvnv  
Dcj wä mœe bq|

Dcři i eYbvq 25řk gvP<sup>®</sup> w<sup>-</sup>evMZ i vĤ I ZrcieZxKvj  
KřqKwU w` řb XvKv, Rqř` ecj, eř<sup>2</sup> bewoqvmn, VvKi MwI nBřZ  
PĀMřg chř-meř Zvrř wK cĤZwř qv wQj MYnZ<sup>vi</sup> cĤZev<sup>-</sup> I  
cĤZřkva, Avi cwwK<sup>-</sup>vřb bq Ges mřaxbZv ARřbi `Rq msKí |  
25řk gvP<sup>®</sup> w<sup>-</sup>evMZ i vřĤ XvKvi Ae<sup>-</sup>vi weei Y cvI qv hvq Dcři ewYŽ  
mvBgb wřs Gi eYbvq| wKř' Zvnvi wQj LwŮZ wPĤ gvĤ | cřKZ NUbv  
wQj Avi I AřbK řekx řqven| gvbe mř<sup>vi</sup>Zvi BwZnvřm GKwU  
RNb<sup>vi</sup>Zg MYnZ<sup>vi</sup> cĤi řœř KřqK NwUvi gřa<sup>vi</sup> VwŮv gv<sup>-</sup>vq nZ<sup>vi</sup> Ki v  
nq nvRvi nvRvi wbi <sup>-</sup>i gvbe mřvřřK|

XvKv kn̄ti i ewn̄ti cŀ\_g cŀZwμ qv nq PÆMŋg kn̄ti | Bw̄cAvi  
 Gi ˘ vbxq G˘wR̄#U>U K˘v̄tP b i wdKj Bmj vg cwK˘ vb tmbvevnbxi  
 Avμ gb Avk¼vq 25tk gvP®Zwi tLi cteB Bw̄cAvi Gi wewfbæ AvDU  
 tcv̄t÷ Aew˘ Z evOvj x Awdmvi w˘ M̄tK Avmbæ msMŋg m̄x̄tÜ mZK®I  
 mveavb K̄ti b| XvKvi i v˘ wq U˘vsK ewni nB̄tZtQ Lei cvBqvB wZwb  
 i vZ 9 Uvi w˘ tK Bw̄cAvi Gi AevOvj x Awdmvi I %mwbK tM̄dZvi  
 Avi x̄t K̄ti b| GB tM̄dZv̄ti i ga˘ w˘ qvB wZwb evsj v̄t˘ k m̄x̄xbZvi  
 j t̄ŋ ˘ ḡy³ h̄t̄xi gnv mPbv K̄ti b| G f̄vteB wZwb wb̄tRi ARv̄tš-GK  
 BwZnm m̄wó Kwi t̄j b|

K˘v̄tP b nvi “b i vZ 10Uvq K˘v̄tP b i wd̄tKi evZ̄ cvBqv i vZ  
 mv̄to 11Uvi ḡta˘ KvβvB Ae˘ vbi Z mKj AevOvj x Awdmvi I %mb˘  
 e˘˘ x K̄ti b|

K˘v̄tP b i wdK ev K˘v̄tP b nvi “b ZLb Rwb̄tZb bv th tKvb  
 Avb̄pwbK m̄x̄xbZvi tNvl bv Av̄t˘ š nB̄te wKbv ev nBevi tKvb  
 c̄t̄qvRbxqZv Av̄t˘ š wQj wKbv | Zvnvi v Aek˘˘B weMZ gvmwaKKvj  
 awi qv gvbwmK c̄ŋ wZ j B̄tZwQ̄t̄j b, Ab˘˘vq KLbB mZ̄ù̄z̄f̄vte  
 ḡy³ h̄jx Zvr̄ŋ w̄bKf̄vte Avi x̄t Kwi t̄Z cwi t̄Zb bv| tgRi wRqvDi  
 ingv̄tbi gZ (ŀGKwU RwZi Rb̄ŋ) nq̄tZv ŀ7 gvP® ti m̄tKvm®gq˘ v̄tb  
 e½eÜj HwZnwmK tNvl bv̄ŀ Zvnv̄t˘ i w̄bKUI M̄xb wmMb˘˘vj ewj qv ḡtb  
 nBqv̄wQj thLv̄tb e½eÜj ewj qv̄wQ̄t̄j b th, ŀŀ.....tZvgv̄t˘ i Kv̄tQ  
 Ab̄ti va i Bj , c̄t̄Z˘˘K N̄ti N̄ti ˘ M®M̄to tZvj | t̄Zvgv̄t˘ i hv wKQy  
 Av̄tQ ZvB wb̄tq kÎ “i tgvKv̄tej v Ki t̄Z n̄te, ..... Awg hw˘ ûKg  
 w˘ evi bvl cwi .....Avgi v cw̄b̄tZ gvi tev|

.....Gev̄ti i msMŋg Avgv̄t˘ i ḡy³ i msMŋg, Gev̄ti i msMŋg  
 m̄x̄xbZvi msMŋg| ŀŀ

c̄Zxqgvb nq th, 25tk gv̄tP̄ tmB Kvj i w̄Î i t̄c̄ŋ v̄c̄tU bZb  
 tKvb ûK̄gi c̄t̄qvRbxqZv tKn ZLb t̄gv̄tUI teva K̄ti bvB| GB  
 Kvi t̄YB K˘v̄tP b Gg Gm G f̄βqv M̄fxi i v̄tÎ w̄b˘ ŀ f½ nBevi ci

K`vUb†g†U 20 tej P KZK evOvj x nZ`vKv†Üi NUbv i wbqv  
 K`vUb†g†U Avµ gb Kwi evi gZ wec` ¾bK wPšv Kwi †Z  
 cwi qvwQ†j b| GB Kvi †YB tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb hLb c†Z ½v e` †i i  
 c†\_ AvMvev` Ae` vb Kwi †Z†Qb ZLb th gµ†Z©K`v†P b Lv†j K¾vvgvb  
 Zv†v†K Rvbvb th 0K`vUb†g†U I kn†i mvgwi K Zrci Zv i i " K†i †Q|  
 eû evOvj x†K nZ`v K†i †Q0 Zrci wZwb we†` 0n Kwi evi wmxvš- Mhb  
 K†i b Ges e`vUwj q†b wdw qv Av†mb| †j t K†YŸ wRqvDi i ngvb  
 Zv†vi mv¶| vrKv†i ( `wj j cÎ t beg LÛ, c† 40) e†j b t

00Gi ci G†j v 7B gvP¶ e½eÛy m¶axbZvi WwK  
 w` †j b| ej †j b, hvi hv wKQy Av†Q ZvB wb†q c0 Ȳ nl |  
 N†i N†i `M© M†o †Zvj | 8g Bó te½j e`vUwj q†bi  
 Awdmvi i v G†K A`i Z†j tbevi AvnYvb e†j B g†b  
 Ki †j b| 00

GLv†b D†j E` th K`v†P b i wdK, K`v†P b nvi fb, tgRi wRqvDi  
 i ngvb ev K`v†P b fBqv mK†j B we†` 0†ni cwi Yvg m¶¶Û I qvwKenvj  
 wQ†j b wKš' Zvi c†i I PÆM†g hLb evOvj xi v Avµ vš-nBj ZLb Zv†vi v  
 †KnB bZb †Kvb 0ûKg0 ev 0†Nvl Yv0 Avwmevi K\_v wPšv| K†i b bvB,  
 Avkvl K†i b bvB ev c†qvRbl g†b K†i b bvB, Kvi Y cKZ m¶axbZvi  
 WwK ev †Nvl Yv Ges wb†` 8 7B gvP©Zwi †LB †` I qv nBqvwQj | †kL  
 gyRe 3i v gvP©nB†Z Zv†vi wewfbae³ Zvq nVvr D™Z †Kvb we†kl  
 , i "Zi cwi w` wZ†Z wZwb †Kvb wb†` 8 c0 vb Kwi †Z Acvi M nB†j wK wK  
 c` †¶| c MhY Kwi †Z nBte Zv†v evi evi mKj †K m¶i Y Ki vBqv  
 w` qvwQ†j b| Hi fc Afvebxq cwi w` wZ†Z wZwb nq†Zv †Kvb wb†` 8 c0 vb  
 Kwi †Z Amg\_©nB†Z cv†i b Zv†vl wZwb Rwb†Zb| GB Kvi †Y wZwb  
 mvgwi K Rvšv†K mRvM bv Kwi qv mKj †K c0YcY mZK©Kwi evi Avc0Y  
 c†Pón Kwi qvwQ†j b| cZxqgvb nq th tmB cwi w` wZ†Z mswk0 mK†j B  
 Zv†vi mZKZv evYx Dcj wä Kwi †Z cwi qvwQ†j b| GB Kvi †YB bZb  
 †Kvb wb†` 8 ev †Nvl Yv e`wZ†i †KB mgMª evsj v†` †k c0q GKB mg†q

m\axbZvi h\ Av i \t nBtZ cwi qwQj | GB Kvi tYB tKvb cKvi  
 w0av00>0 e`wZti tKB wRqvDi i ngvb wet`0n Kwi tZ cwi qwQtj b Ges  
 8g Bó te½j ti wRtg†Ui KgvÛ Mhb Kwi qwQtj b| GB Kvi tYB 26tk  
 gvP©Zwi tL wZwb evsj vt`k tmbv ewnbxtZ thvM`vb Kwi qv†Qb ewj qv  
 Zvni mvwfñ ti KtWwj wce x i wnv†Q wKš'wZwb evsj vt`k tmbvevnbxi  
 c0vb tmbvcwZ nBqv†Qb GBi fc tKvb gše` thš³ KfvteB tmLv†b  
 bvB| \_vwKtj ei Â nUKwii ZvB nBZ Kvi Y evsj vt`tki wewf bœ`v†b  
 Aew`Z Bó te½j ti wRtg†Ui tKvb e`vUwj qb ev BDwbU Zvni  
 tbZZ\axb wQj bv ev Ab` tKn Zvni tbZZ; KLbl MhYI Kti bvB|

GKB avi vevnKZvq ej v hvq th wmi vRM†Äi gnvKgv cKvmK  
 kvgmj b 25tk gvP©w`evMZ i wî 1 Uvq msMg cwi l` Awdtm Avwmqv  
 c0Zti v†ai Rb` c\j k Avbmvti i A`k`i RbMtYi g†a` weZi Y  
 Kti b| tg†ni c†i i GmwWI tZšwdK0B0 Gj vnx tPšaj x tg†ni c†i  
 c0Zti va Mwovq tZvtj b| e,ov kn†i MwRDj nK`vbxq Qvî  
 RbZvtK m†½j Bqv mk`i c0Zti va Avi \t Kti b| Zvni v tKnB bZb  
 tKvb wb†`†ki Avkvl Kti b bvB, A†c¶vl Kti b bvB| 7B gv†P¶  
 tNvl bv Ges gvme`wc e½eÜj AvnevbB Zvnt`i Rb` ht\_ó wQj |  
 GLv†b D†j E` th hš i vtó† tKvb Avb0wmbK tNvl Yv e`wZti tKB c0q  
 ermi waKvj m\axbZv h\ Pwj evi ci 1776 m†bi 4Vv Rj vB  
 Avb0wmbK Declaration of Independence tNvl Yv Ki v nq|

Dc†i ewYŽ mkm¹ c0Zti v†ai weei Y nBtZ cZxqgvb nq th  
 evsj vt`tki me¶ 26tk gvP©nBtZ cPÛ mk`i c0Zti va Avi \t nBqv  
 wMqvQj | K.I. K0k0gK0Qvî 0RbZv gw³ h†x i c0¶Z wnmvte mvgwi K  
 c0k¶Y MhY Kwi tZ Avi \t Kwi qv w`qwQj | 26tk gvP© mKvtj B  
 tZšwdK0B0 Bj vnx tPšaj x fvi Zxq KZ0†¶i mwnZ thvMvthvM`vcb  
 Kti b Ges 31tk gvP©nBtZB fvi Z nBtZ A`k`i mi ei vn Avi \t nq|  
 GB NUbv, wj B c0vb Kti th tkL gwR†ei 7B gv†P¶ e³ Zv l`xN©  
 gvme`wc AvnYvb evsj vt`tki mKj`†i i gvb†K m\axbZv AR†bi

Rb" g<sup>3</sup> h<sub>x</sub> Avi æt Kwi evi Rb" m<sup>3</sup>úY<sup>6</sup> gvbwmKfvte c<sup>3</sup>z Kwi tZ  
 cwi qwQj | evsj vi gvb| c<sup>3</sup>Y Kwi qwQj th Zvnt`i hvnvi hv wKQj  
 AvtQ Zvnt j BqvB Zvnti v g<sup>3</sup> h<sub>x</sub>i Rb" c<sup>3</sup>z | Zvnti v gnxi "n m`k  
 Zvnt`i e½eÜtK fvj evmvi w<sup>3</sup>b`k<sup>3</sup> m<sup>3</sup>fc wekKwe i ex`bv\_ VvKti i  
 Avk¼v I KI vNvZ ðmvZ tKwU evOvj xi tn g» Rbbx ti tLtQ evOvj x  
 Kti gvb| Ki w<sup>3</sup>b<sup>3</sup> AmZ" c<sup>3</sup>Y Kwi qwQj | Aek" e½eÜtK L g<sup>3</sup>Rej  
 ingvb 26tk gv<sup>3</sup>P<sup>3</sup> c<sup>3</sup>g c<sup>3</sup>ti tmB AeY<sup>3</sup>bxq fq¼i g<sup>3</sup>utZ<sup>3</sup> w<sup>3</sup>ti Ri  
 `wqZi I KZe" cvj tb e"°nb bvB, wZwb m<sup>3</sup>axbZvi tNvl Yv c<sup>3</sup>vb  
 Kwi qwQj b Ges ZvntK wNwi qvB evsj vt`tki gvb| i m<sup>3</sup>axbZv Kvgbv  
 mZ" nBqv I tV| we<sup>3</sup>tki BwZvntm Bnv GKwU Abb" mvavi Y NUbv|  
 GLvtbB e½eÜtK L g<sup>3</sup>Rej ingvtbi KwZZi|

### tgRi wRqvDi ingvtbi tNvl Yv t

`wj j c<sup>3</sup>t<sup>3</sup>i 2004 m<sup>3</sup>bi c<sup>3</sup>g<sup>3</sup>t<sup>3</sup>Yi 1g c<sup>3</sup>vi cv`UxKvq eY<sup>3</sup>bv  
 Ki v nBqv<sup>3</sup>Q th tgRi wRqvDi ingvb 26tk gv<sup>3</sup>P<sup>3</sup> Zwi tLB m<sup>3</sup>axbZv  
 tNvl bv Kwi qwQj b wKš' c<sup>3</sup>B mv<sup>3</sup> " c<sup>3</sup>gvbw` Zvnt mg<sup>3</sup> Kti bv|

m<sup>3</sup>axbZvi ci c<sup>3</sup>ti B 8g Bó te½j ti wRtg<sup>3</sup>Ui KtqKRb  
 Awdmvi mv<sup>3</sup>vrKvi c<sup>3</sup>vb Kwi qwQj b| D<sup>3</sup> mv<sup>3</sup>vrKvi ,wj i weei Y  
 `wj j c<sup>3</sup>t<sup>3</sup>i beg Lt<sup>3</sup>U cKw<sup>3</sup>kZ nBqv<sup>3</sup>Q Ges Dc<sup>3</sup>ti mst<sup>3</sup> t<sup>3</sup>c eY<sup>3</sup>bv Ki v  
 nBqv<sup>3</sup>Q|

D<sup>3</sup> mv<sup>3</sup>vrKvi ,wj tgvUvgvUfvte 1973 m<sup>3</sup>tb Mhb Ki v  
 nBqv<sup>3</sup>Q | ZLb m<sup>3</sup>axbZv tNvl Yv j Bqv tKvb we<sup>3</sup>ti v<sup>3</sup>ai Rb<sup>3</sup> nq  
 bvB| g<sup>3</sup> h<sub>x</sub>i mPbv j Bqv Awdmvi MY Zvnt`i w<sup>3</sup>Rm<sup>3</sup> Awf ÁZvi  
 mvej xj eY<sup>3</sup>bv w`qv<sup>3</sup>Qb| c<sup>3</sup>m½µ tg g<sup>3</sup> h<sub>x</sub> tgRi wRqvDi ingvtbi  
 Ae`vb m<sup>3</sup>ú<sup>3</sup>tK<sup>3</sup> Zvnti v e<sup>3</sup> e" c<sup>3</sup>vb Kwi qv<sup>3</sup>Qb| D<sup>3</sup> t<sup>3</sup> th 1973  
 m<sup>3</sup>tb wRqvDi ingvb mvgwi K ewnbx<sup>3</sup>tZ ZLb we<sup>3</sup>tMwQvi c`gh<sup>3</sup> vq  
 D"P c` " KgKZ<sup>3</sup> Ges mv<sup>3</sup>vrKvi c<sup>3</sup>vbKvi xMY wQ<sup>3</sup>tj b w<sup>3</sup>bæc` " KgKZ<sup>3</sup>|  
 Kv<sup>3</sup>tRB AmZ" K<sup>3</sup>ti m<sup>3</sup>tebv L<sup>3</sup>peB Kg wQj | mv<sup>3</sup>vrKv<sup>3</sup>ti i







00 Avgi v GKB m½ wQj vg Ges GKB m½B  
weñ ðn Kti wQj vg tRbvti j wRqvDi ingvbl  
 Zvi weewZtZ Dti Kti tQb t 00Avg weñ ðn  
 Kti tcvU° t\_tK wdti GtmB kl KtZi KvQ  
 Gj vg, Ges kl KZ Avgvi mv\_ nvZ wgj vti v| 00

tj t tRbvti j (Aet) gxi kl KZ mpxbZv tNvl Yv mæ#Ü wKQB  
 etj b bvB, weñ ðn mæ#Ü ewj qvtQb| ´úóZB cZxqgvb nq th,  
 26tk gvP°tkl i vti tgRi wRqvDi ingvbm tKnB 0mpxbZv tNvl Yv0  
 mæ#Ü tKvb wPšvB Kti b bvB| A\_P 33 ermi ci `wj j cti i 2004  
 mti cbg#Yi 3q LtÜi 1g cðvq GKwU cv`UxKv hš Ki Zt D³  
 Z\_vKw\_Z 0mpxbZvi tNvl Yv0i eYbv nVvr Kwi qvB wj wceX Kiv  
 nBqvQ|

`wj j cti i 2004 mti cbg#Yi 1g cðvq tgRi wRqvDi  
 ingvb wbti bvtgB mpxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qwQtj b ewj qv eYbv Kiv  
 nBqvQ wKš' NUbvi tcn vcU Ges c0B `wj j w` Zvnn mg\_b Kti bv|

tj t tRbvti j (Aet) gxi kl KZ Avj x, exi DĖg, Gi  
 mvñ vrKvti i mswk Ask (`wj j cti t beg LÜ, cðv0121) wbæi fc t

0027tk gvP° 071 gtb nq tRbvti j wRqv eStZ i i "  
 Kiti b th teZvti GKUv tNvl bv cPvi Kiv `i Kvi | H  
 Zwi tLB mÜ`vq Kvj j NvU UYwguvi t\_tK GUv Kiti b  
 wZwb| tek KtqKRb Avl qvgx j xM tbZvl H mgq Lp  
 Zrci ntq DtVwQtj b| Zvt`i gta" wQtj b ctdmvi  
 bj "j Bmj vg, AvZvDi ingvb Lvb Kvqmvi , nvbb fvB Ges  
 Gg, Avi , wmwĩ Kx| Zvi vl mæeZt wmxvš-wbtqwQtj b th  
 ti wWi tZ ezeÜj ctiñ wKQy cPwi Z nl qv DwPZ |  
 Aci w`tK tRbvti j wRqv wK ej teb Zvi GKwU Lmovl  
 c0Z Kti wbtj b| 27tk gvP° 071 mÜ`vi ci PÆMvtgi  
Kvj j NvU UYwguvi t\_tK cPwi Z n0j tRbvti j wRqi  
(ZrKvj xb tgRi ) fvl Y| 00(Atavti Lv c0 Ė)

tj t tRbvti j (Aet) gxi kl KZ Avj x, exi DEg Zvnvi  
mvŋ vrKvti 27tk gvP® mÜ`vi ci GK fvl Y cŋ vti K\_v ewj qvtQb,  
tKvb mŋaxbZv tNvl bvi K\_v etj b bvB|

K`vtP b gweb 27tk gvP® fvl Y mŋtÜ Zvnvi mvŋ vrKvti etj b  
(`wj j cÎ t 9g LÛ, cŋ 59)t

00 27tk gvP® mÜ`vi mgq tgRi WRqvDi ingvb  
PÆMŋg teZvi tKt>`^ tMtj b Ges fvl Y w` tj b| fvl tY  
wZwb etj b th Avgi v mŋaxbZv hŋx wj B AwQ| Avcbvi v th  
thLvtb AvtQb, mvgwi K l temvgwi K tj vKRb, thb  
Avgvt`i mvŋ\_ mnthwMZv Kti b| mevBtK A`i wbtq  
cwK`vb nvbv`vi ewnbxi wei "tx hŋx i i" Ki tZ ej tj b|  
wZwb wetkŋi kwšKvgx t`k, tj vi mnvh Ges mnthwMZv  
Kvgbv Ki tj b| t`kevmxtK mŋaxbZv hŋx mŋµ qfvte  
AskMhb Ki tZ ej tj b|

28tk gvP®mvi w` b Awg H fvl Y teZvi tK>`^ t\_tK  
cwo| 00

GLvtbl K`vtP b gweb GKwU fvl tYi K\_v etj b, tgRi WRqvDi  
ingvb mŋaxbZv hŋx wj B nBevi K\_v etj b wKš' wZwb wbtR tKvb  
mŋaxbZvi tNvl Yv cŋ vb Kwi qwQtj b Ggb K\_v K`vtP b gweb Zvnvi  
mvŋ vrKvti etj b bvB|

wK cwi w`wZtZ wKfvte Ges tKb tgRi WRqvDi ingvb cwUqv  
nBtZ Kvj j NvU teZvi tKt>`^ AwmqwQtj b Zvnvi GKwU weei Y  
tej vj tgvnvŋŋ, 9 bs cŋZev`x, 200502009 Zwi tL nj dKZ GKwU  
GwdtWwf tU cŋ vb Kwi qvtQb t

00 26tk gvP® cZjŋl PÆMŋg knŋi Gbv tqZ evRvi  
gkZvi x j tR etmB i bŋZ tctqwQtj b i v`vq gvBtKi  
tNvl bv| Mfxi i vtZ mvgwi K ewnbx AZwKŋZ nvj v  
Ki vq Avgvt`i gnvb tbZv eŋeÜj evsj vt`tki mŋaxbZv  
tNvl bv Kti tQb|

ti wWI wU wUdb Kti Rvbj vg, XvKv tK>`^ `Lj `vi  
Kewj Z, G Ae`vq eŋeÜj 7 gvP® wbtl avÁv Abŋvqx  
AvMtev` Awdŋm (teZvi feb) hvl qvi cKŋ l tV bv|

tmB gû†Z<sup>©</sup> XvKv teZvi tK†ˆ† 100 wK†j vqvU kw<sup>3</sup> i  
gaˆg Zi ½ cPvi h†šj m†½ cvj v w`†q PÆMvg tK†ˆ† 10  
wK†j vl qvU gaˆg Zi ½ cPvi hšj t\_†K KvD>Uvi tcØMvg  
A\_ŕ ev½wj †`i c†¶ e<sup>3</sup> eˆ cPv†i i ZvMˆ Abŕfe Ki j vg  
mZtù jZ<sup>©</sup>f v†e|

cŕ jZ c†e<sup>©</sup> nv†Z t††q hvB e½eÜj AvbŕwbK  
mŕaxbZvi tNvl bv wj d†j U††M†÷ Ubvi tgvk†b mvB†KvóvBj  
c×wZ†Z gw`Œ, Rvb†Z cwi, e½eÜj Av†Mi i v†G (25  
gvP<sup>©</sup> w` evMZ) Zvi evZŕi AvKv†i H tNvl bwU tçY  
K†i b, hvi wfWĖ†Z mKvj tej v PÆMvg kn†i i wewf bē  
mo†K gvBwKs n†qWQj| tmB Zvi eZŕi B Abŕv` GB  
tNvl bv wj wLZĐ

ŌŌAˆˆ i vĭ 12Uvq eeŕ cvKĐewnbx XvKv wcj Lvbv  
Ges i vRvi evM cwj k j vB†b AZwK†Z nvj v Pvj vq| j ¶  
j ¶ ev½vj x knˆ n†q†Qb| hŕ Pj †Q| Awg tkL gwRej  
i ngvb GB cwi w`wZ†Z evsj v†`†ki mŕaxbZv tNvl bv Ki wQ  
Ges mgˆ - we†k† mŕaxbZvKvgx t`k mg†ni KvQ t\_†K  
mvnvhˆ cŰ\_ŕv Ki wQ| Rq evsj vŌŌ

26†k gvP<sup>©</sup> 7.40 wgwbtU Avgvi t`l qv bvg mŕaxb  
evsj v teZvi tK†ˆ† D†xvabx Awatek†b Avgi v  
K†qKRb teZvi Kwg<sup>©</sup> wb†R†`i bvg D†j Ē bv K†i evi  
evi D<sup>3</sup> tNvl bv cĤwU cvW Kwi| Abŕvb Pvj vKvj xb  
l Lv†b Av†mb Avgvi ce<sup>©</sup>cwi wPZ PÆMvg tRj v Avl qvgx  
j xtMi tKvl vaˆ¶ Wv. Avej Rvdi| Zvi m½x tRj v Avl qvgx  
j xtMi mvavi Y mˆúvˆ K Gg, G nvbwbK wZwb Avgvi  
m†½ cwi Pq Kwi †q t`b| Gg, G, nvbwb e½eÜj  
mŕaxbZv tNvl bv cØm†½ wj wLZ e<sup>3</sup> eˆ cPvi Ki †Z Pvb  
wb†Ri bvg D†j Ē mn| Awg Zv†K Avgv†`i tK†ˆ†  
†MvcbxqZv i ¶ vi ZvM†ˆ wb†Ri bvg D†j Ē QvovB e<sup>3</sup> eˆ  
i vL†Z Ab†i va Kwi| wZwb `vex K†i b, `ç†i wZwb GB  
tK>ˆ† t\_†K wb†Ri bvg mn msw¶ Œ e<sup>3</sup> eˆ cPvi  
K†i wQ†j b| Awg ZLb ewj, hwˆ Zv K†i b, Z†e tmUv wQj  
PÆMvg tK†ˆ† GKwU wew¶ Œ Abŕvb| GLb Avgi v mŕaxb  
evsj v teZvi tK>ˆ† bv†g wbqwgZ Abŕvb cPv†i i D†ˆ vM  
wb†qwQ| kĬˆ c¶ thb Avgv†`i Aeˆvb mˆú†K<sup>©</sup> Lŕ  
mn†R avi bv Ki †Z bv cv†i, tm R†bˆB cwi wPZ bvg  
cPvi Ki †ZB PvB bv| Gg G nvbwb Avgvi Ab†i va i ¶ v

Kti b Ges e½eÜj Rewb†Z †Nvl bv wj wcuU bq, ei s  
Zvi Av†j v†K wj wLZ e³ e¨ cPvi Kti b|

Gw` †K 26†k gvP®` p†i Awg PÆMvg ti j l †q wewi s  
 Gi cvnvto Ae` vbi Z B,wcAvi KgvÜvi K`v†P b i wdKj  
 Bmj vg†K Ab†i va Kti wQj vg cPvi fe†b cvnvi v  
 tgvZv†q†bi Rb¨| wZwb K†qKRb mkm¹ wmcvB cvV†eb  
 K\_v w` †qQ†j b| wKš-c†i Zv KvhKi Kti b wb| ZvB tmB  
 mÜ`vq Kvj j NvU cPvi fe†b wbi vcĖv nxbZvq wQj vg|  
 i v†Ħ evmvq wd†i G†m tdv†b eÜp̄vÜet` i m†½  
 thvMv†hvM Kwi | GKRB eÜy P>` bcj vq Zv†ni tmvenv  
 etj b i wdKj Bmj vg K\_v w` †q†Q cvnvi vi e¨e` v †Kb  
 Ki †Z cvi †j b bv, eš†Z cvi wQ bv| wZwb †Zv K`v†P b|  
 Awg Zvi †P†q l c†i i †cv†÷ i GKRB†bi nw` m Rwb|  
 GKRB tgRi, Zte Zvi bvg Rwb bv| wZwb c†Z½v  
 e>` †i †bv½i Ki v cwK` wwb hpxRvnrR ōevei ō l †mvqvZ  
 †\_†K Am¹ Pvj v†bvi G`vmvBb†g>U wb†q †` ok %mb¨ mn  
 tnW†KvqvUv†i i evB†i Av†mb| Avi wd†i hvbwb| AvR  
 (A\_ŕ 26gvP® w` evMZ) i v†Ħ wZwb cwUqv \_vbvq Av†Qb|  
27gvP® cPvi eÜ ti †L Awg cwUqv hvB Ges tmLv†bB  
†c†q hvB tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb†K| wZwb Av†Mi  
mÜ`vq/i v†Ħ Avgv†` i Abp̄vb i †b†Qb Ges Drmn teva  
Kti †Qb| Awg Zv†K Zvi fvmgvb QvDwb Kvj j NvU ` vbvš-  
†i i cĦ ve w` †ZB wZwb mǻšwZ cKvk Kti b Ges cĦ †g  
Zvi %mb¨†` i 3wU j wi †Z hvĦ v Kwi †q †` b Kvj j Nv†Ui  
D†Ħ †k¨| c†i GKwU Rx†c `ŌRb K`v†P b m½x†K wb†q  
wb†Ri hvĦ v Kti b| cwUqv †\_†K Kvj j NvU chš- c†\_  
 AšZ 10 ` v†b wZwb kni †Qto Ni g†Lv kbRxwet` i  
 mvgtb Mwō \_vg†q Zv†` i Kg® †j wd†i th†Z etj b|

GB etj Afq †` b th `ß w` †bi g†a¨ cvÄvext` i  
 LZg Kti †`qv nte| Kvi Y Zvi vB Avgv†` i `kgb,  
 cĦZwU evK¨ †k†l wZwb D`® evKf w½†Z D" Pvi Y Kti bt  
 wVK Av†Q ?

†gRi wRqvDi i ngv†bi cvV†bv wmcvBMY `\*Z nv†Z  
 †UŸ L†o Kvj j Nv†U cvnvi vq wb†qwwRZ nb| cPvi fe†bi  
 GKwU K†ŕl tmB 27 †k gvP®mÜ`vq GKv†š- Kx g†b Kti  
nVr Kti Awg ewj Av"Qv †gRi mv†ne Avgi v †Zv me  
gvBbi ; AvcwB tgRi wnmv†e wb†Ri K†Ú wKQy cPvi Ki †j

tKgb nq ? K\_wU wQj wbZvš-i wmKZv| wZwb wbqWQj b  
 , i "ZpY° cŕ we wntmte| m½ m½ etj wQj b n`v wKš'  
 wK ej v hvq, ej b tZv ? Awg GK cvZv KvMR GwMtq  
 w` tqWQj vg| etj wQj vg t t` Lp, e½eÜj cŕ t\_†K  
 ej teb ? nüv wVKB etj tqb|Đ wb†Ri bvtgi tk†l Zxi wPy  
 w` tq wj tLwQj b t On behalf of our great national leader Bangabandhu  
 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman cŕZwU kã wZwbl D"Pvi Y K†i b Ges  
 Awg D"Pvi Y Kwi | Gfv†eB tj Lv ntqWQj e³ e`wU |  
 1981m†bi gvP°gv†m evsj vt` k teZv†i i KZŕ†ŕ i wb†` †k  
 Awg Avgvi mŕZ t\_†K hv wj wcx K†i wQj vg, G†Z  
 fvl v l kãMZ wKQj weâg NU†j l AweKZB i tq†Q|  
 thgb Đ

I, Major Zia, on behalf of our great national leader Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman do hereby declare independence of Bangladesh. Brutal Punjabi Army has suddenly attached on peace loving people. They have violated all the military rules and regulations. They are armed with 'So and so' ( mgi vt` j bvg ) war weapons. We have been united spontaneously to resist the military Junta, Insha-Allah, it will take not more than two days to uproot the barbarous raiders. Now we require arms and ammunitions from our friendly countries. Victory is ours, Kuda Hafez, Joy Bangla.

e`ŕ e½eÜy KZŕ evsj vt` †ki mŕaxbZv tNvl bvi  
 wel qWU 26 l 27 gvP° hv†` i K†Ú cPwi Z ntqWQj Zvi v  
 mevB ō†eZvi KÚō| GKRb wewkó teZvi KÚ wntme  
 tgRi wRqv 27 gvP° mÜ`vq Avgvi B Zvrŕ wbK cŕ †e l  
 cŕ`ŕ mn†hwMZvq Ask tbb|

G e`vcv†i 27gvP° `ŕ†i cWUqvq Zvi m½ Avgvi  
 t` Lv nevi ci t\_†K mÜ`vi cPvi fe†b AvMgb chš-  
 Zvi g†a` tKv†bv cŕ †Z Awg j ŕ` Kwi wb| wZwb wQj b  
 Avgv†` i g†a` 9g teZvi KÚ| Z†e j ŕ` K†i wQj vg,  
 KvKZvj xq fv†eB H mg†q GKRb tgR†i i KÚmŕ  
 AZ`š- mgqDc†hvMx ev mŕ†hvR` ntqWQj | e½eÜj  
 Abmvi x ev½wvj Awg Av†Q GUv wQj Avgv†` i  
 Rbmavi †Yi Rb` mvm mÂvqK | ōō (A†av†i Lv cŕ Ė)|

†ej vj tgvnvŕš` Zvnvi wj wLZ ōmŕaxb evsj v teZvi tK>` ō cŕ †K  
 GKB Z` cKvk Kwi qv†Qb|

Gevi t`Lv hvK wRqvDi i ngvb wb†R G mᄁ†Ü wK ewj qvwQ†j b|  
 1972 m†bi 26†k gvP© Zwi †L %`wbK evsj vq cKvwkZ Zvnyi GKwU  
 tj Lv nB†Z msKwj Z K†i Z`vwbšb tj t K†Yŋ wRqvDi i ngvb Gi  
 mv¶|vZKvi `wj j cÎ Gi beg L†Û cKvwkZ nBqvQj | 27†k gvP©  
 Zwi †L cŦ Ě fvl Y mᄁ†Ü wZwb ewj †Z†Qb (c† 44Đ45)t

ŦŦ.....ZvB kni tQ†o hvevi Av†MB wekǽvmxi  
 Kv†Q K\_v Rwb†q hvevi R†b` tgRi wRqv 27†k gvP©  
 mÜ`vq PÆMvg teZvi tK†`' hvb| teZvi tK†`†  
 Kgxŋv tgRi wRqv†K t†q Drdj -†q I †Vb| wKš'  
 wK ej tj j wZwb ? GKwU K†i weewZ tj †Lb Avevi  
 Zv wQ†o t†j b| wK Rvbt†eb wZwb wekǽvmx Ges  
 t`kevmx†K teZvi gvi dr ? Gw`†K teZvi Kgxŋv  
 evi evi tNvl bv Ki wQ†j bĐAvi c†bi wgw†Ui g†a`  
 tgRi wRqv fvl Y t`†eb| wKš' c†bi wgw†U cvi †q  
 †Mj | tgRi wRqv gvÎ wZb j vBb wj L†Z t†††Qb|  
 ZLb Zvi gvbwmK Ae`v eSvevi bq| weewZ tj Lvi  
 SŋKI wQj A†bK| fve†Z nw"Qj kãPqb, e³ e` tck  
 cŦwZ wb†q|

cŦq t`o N>Uv tgvmmw`vi ci wZwb %Zix K†i b  
Zvi tmB HwZnwmK fvl YwU| wb†RB tmUv wZwb  
 evsj v Ges B†i Rx†Z cV K†i b|ŦŦ (A†av†i Lv  
 cŦ Ě)

†h tKvb gvb`†Û ŦmᄁaxbZv tNvl bvŦ GKwU gvb†I i Rxe†b  
 m†eŋP †Mši egq NUbv| wKš' tj t K†Yŋ wRqvDi i ngvb 1972  
 m†b Zvnyi tj Lvq ev mv¶|vrKv†i tKv\_vl evsj v†`†ki mᄁaxbZv tNvl Yv  
 cŦ v†bi `vex K†i b bvB| t`†ki m†eŋP Ae`v†b Av†i vnb Kwi qvl  
 wZwb Zvnyi Rxeĭ kvq GBi fc tKvb `vex K†i b bvB| 1977 m†bi  
 15B wW†mᄁ† weRq w`em Dcj †¶ †i wWl Đ†Uwj wf k†b cŦ Ě e³ Zvq  
 †Rbv†i j wRqvDi i ngvb 1971 m†bi 27†k gv†P©Zvnyi fvl Y mᄁ†Ü  
 e†j b (G`v†bKPvi ĐGd, 01Đ06Đ2009 Zwi †Li Gwd†Wwf†Ui mwnZ  
 mshŋ ) t

0000000000GB cweÎ gû†Z® Avgvi g†b co†Q  
1971 mv†j i 27†k gv†P® K\_v tmw` b PÆM†gi  
Kvj j NvU teZvi †K>`' †\_†K Avgvi ej evi m†hwM  
n†qwQj | 000000000000000000

†i wWI Ð†Uwj wf k†b cŦ Ę fvl Y mꜣú†K®we⁻ wwi Z msev` ci w` b  
16Ð12Ð1977 Zwi †L The Bangladesh Observer G cĶvwkZ nBqwQj |  
mswk፩ AskwU wbæi fc t

“.....on this sacred occasion I remember the 27<sup>th</sup> day of March 1971 when I had the opportunity to speak to you from Kalurghat Radio Station. Today I ..... (A†av†i Lv c† È) |

wKŠ'wZwb GKev†i i Rb"l e†j b bvB †h wZwb m\axbZv †Nvl bv  
 w`qwQ†j b A\_ev wZwb m\axbZvi †Nvl K wQ†j b| Kvi Y wZwb wbðq  
 GBi fc `vexi evj wLj "Zv m¤‡Ü mRvM wQ†j b|

evsj vt`tki mvto mvZ tKwU gvbtl i ctf m\axbZvi WwK w`tz  
nBtj Zvnt`i wbKU Aek`B AvnevbKvi xi weMZ w`tbi fwgKv I  
Ae`vb, tbZZjI MhYthvM`Zv \_vwKtZ nBte| m\fwek fvteB t`k I  
wet`tk tgRi wRqvDi ingvtbi Z\_vKw\_Z m\axbZv tNvl Yv j Bqv  
tKnB gv\_v Nvgvq bvB| GgbwK evsj vt`tk Aew`nZ cwK`vb  
tmbvevwnbxi Bnv wetepbvi ctfqvRb gtb Kti bvB| Zvnvi v 'big bird in the  
case' Gi evwniti Ab`AtbK ev1/2vj x Awdmvti i tbZZ\axb gw<sup>3</sup> thvxt`i  
wei`tx μ gvMZ Avμ gb cwi Pvj bv Kwi tj I m\axbZvi tNvl K ewj qv  
KvntKI AwZwi <sup>3</sup> , i "Zj c0 vtbi ctfqvRbxqZv Avt`\$ Dcj wä  
Kwi qvtQb ewj qv cZxqgvb nq bv|

mKZ gZB tGRi wRqvDi ingvb 8g Bó te½j ti wRtg>Ui  
Second in Command wQtj b| 20 tej P ti wRtg>U hLb BweAvi wm Avμ gb  
Kwi qv nvRv†i i Dci ev½vj x %mwK wbab K†i ZLb c†Z½vi c†\_  
AvMtev† Aew⁻ nZ wRqvDi ingvb GB msev⁻ c0B nBqv wet⁻ 0†ni  
wm×vŠ-MhY K†i b Ges 8g Bó te½†j i NwwU†Z wdwi qv Avwmqv 250

Rb %mþb"i D<sup>3</sup> 8g Bó te½j ti wRtþgtþUi Command Mþb Kþi b Ges  
 Dcw<sup>-</sup>nZ mKj Awdmvi I %mwbKMY ZvnvþZ mgwZ c0 vb Kþi b|  
 Zvnvi mwnZ evsj vt`tki Ab"vb" c0þš- Aew<sup>-</sup>nZ evOvj x mvgwi K  
 ewnbx, wj i tKvbi "c ceZb ev Zvr¶ wbK thvMvþhvM wQj bv| GgbwK  
 PÆMvþg Aew<sup>-</sup>nZ KþqK gvBj `þi gi YcY hþx hþxi Z K"vþþ b i wdK  
 I Zvnvi BwcAvi ewnbxi mwnZ I Zvnvi tKvb thvMvþhvM wQj bv| H  
 mgþq Zvnvi wbþRi tKvb i vR%bwZK mswk6Zv wQj bv ev evsj vt`tki  
 mvavi Y RbMþYi mwnZ Zvnvi tKvb cKvi mæc,³ Zvi mv¶ "I cvl qv  
 hvq bv| ei Â KþYþ (Aet) I mgvbx Aemi c0ß %mwbKt`i mþ½ j Bqv  
 cþeß RbMþYi mwnZ GKvZþZv tNvl Yv Kwi qv wQþj b| GgZAe<sup>-</sup>vq  
 tgRi wRqvDi ingvb mþKZ gþZB GKRB axkw³ mæúbe mvgwi K  
 KgKZ¶ nBqv gvÎ 250 Rb %mb" j Bqv wKfvte wbR `wqþZ;  
 evsj vt`tki mvto mvZ tKwU gvbþl i cþ¶ Provisional President and  
 Commander in Chief of Liberation Army wnmvte wbþRþK tNvl Yv Kwi þZ cvþi b  
 Zvnvi thšw³ KZv tevaMg" bq| cKZcþ¶ Avþ`š GBi "c tKvb tNvl Yv  
 c0 vþbi `vex wZwb Zvnvi Rxeİ kvq KLbl Kþi b bvB ev Ab" tKnl  
 Kþi bvB| Zvnvi gZþi eû ermi ci Dþİ k"gj Kfvte GBi fc  
 evj wLj " `vex DÌ vcb Ki v nBqvþQ ewj qv cZxqgvb nq|

mþKZ gþZB H mgq c0³ b ce©cvwK<sup>-</sup>vþbi wbe¶wPZ Awemvsev`x  
 GKgvÎ I meþk6 tbZv wQþj b tkL gyRe| Zvnvi tbZþZþi cwi cY©  
 mþKwZ c0 vb Kwi qvB tj t Kþbþ wRqvDi ingvb %`wbK evsj vq  
 `šwZPvi Y gj K c6Ü Ges mv¶ vrKvi c0 vb Kwi qvwQþj b| Zvnvi  
 fvl YþKB MxY wmmB"vj ewj qv wbþRB AwfwnZ Kwi qvwQþj b| ZvnvþK  
 evi evi RvwZi RbK ewj qvþQb| tmþ¶ tÎ tkL gyReþK ev`w`qv wZwb  
 wbþRþK Provisional President ewj qv wKfvte tNvl Yv Kwi þZ cvþi b Zvnvl  
 hy³ Mvn" ewj qv gþb nq bv|

Dþj E" th 1979 mþbi Authentication Committee 1982 mþb  
 cKwkZ `wj j cþÎ i 3q LtÛi 1g cþvq tkL gyRe KZK 26þk gvP©



Zwi tLi cġg cġti tcġi Z mġaxbZvi tNvi Yv gġ` Ź Kti b| D³ LtŪi  
 2q cġvq mġaxb evsj v teZvi tK>` nBtZ e½eŪy tkL gġRej i ngvtbi  
 cġŋ tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb KZK mġaxbZvi tNvi Yv cPvi gġ Ź Kti b|

hġ i vtóŋ mġaxbZv hġt

hġ i vtóŋ mġaxbZv hġxi mwnZ evsj vt` tki gġ³ hġxi cUf wġKv  
 I hġxi tek wKQy wġj i wnvttQ|

DĖi Avtġwi Kvi wewf bæAsk Bsj `vŪmn BDti vcxq wewf bæ i vó`  
 `Lj Kwi qv i wLqv wQj | ceŋstK Bsj `vŪ 13(tZi) wU Ktj vbx i vó`  
 tl vok kZvāxtZ `vcb Kti | Ktj vbx fġ cġ` k, wġ μ gvb tġ weUk  
 mvg tR`i Ask wnmvteB mgw× ARB Kwi tZ \_vtK| i vRKxq tbš I  
 tmbv ewnbx cġ` k, wġ tK ewnAμ gb nBtZ i ŋv Kwi Z| cġt` wKk  
 wġj wkqv ewnbxI Zvnt` i mwnZ GKtĪ hġ Kwi Z| cġ` k, wġ  
 wb tRw` M tK weUk mvg tR`i Ask wnmvte MY` Kwi qv Meŋeva Kwi Z  
 Ges Bsj `vtŪi i vRvtKI cġwZxZ fvtē wb tRt` i i vRv wnmvte gvb`  
 Kwi Z wKš' `vbxq wel q, wġ tZ Zvni v mġqZ pkm tē wekym Kwi Z|  
 Zvni v wb tRt` i wbaŋi Z AvBb mf v, wġ tK Bsj `vtŪi nvDm Ae KgŸ  
 Gi mgKŋ gtb Kwi Z| th tñZy nvDm Ae Kg tŸ Zvnt` i wBRm tKvb  
 cġZwbwa wQj bv tm tñZy Bsj `vtŪ cġxZ AvBb mġtŪ Zvnt` i gta`  
 GKwU Pvcv tŋ vf we` gvb wQj | Abw` tK Bsti RMY Ktj vbx, wġ i AvBb  
 mf vtK wġDwbwmc`vj KZġtŋ i AwaK wKQB gtb Kwi Z bv| Zvni v  
 Bsj `vtŪi b`vq Bnvi Ktj vbx, wġ mġú tK° i vRKxq cvj ŋgtŪi AvBb  
 cġq tbi meġq ŋ gZv i wnvttQ ewj qv gtb Kwi Z| Ktj vbx, wġ gtb  
 Kwi Z th th tñZy i vRvi B"Qv Abmvti Ktj vbx, wġ tZ mi Kvi `wmcZ  
 nBqv tQ tmB tñZy Bsj `vtŪi i vRv Zvnt` i I i vRv wKš' Zvnt` i wbeŋPZ  
 msm` `vbxq wel q, wġ mġtŪ AvBb cġqb Kwi tZ ŋ gZvevb| Zvni v  
 gtb Kwi Z th Ktj vbx i tKvb msm t` i thgb Bsj `vŪ mġtŪ tKvb AvBb  
 cġqb Kwi tZ ŋ gZvevb bñ, Bsj `vtŪi cvj ŋgtŪi tZ gwb fvtē

Ktj vbx<sub>1</sub> wBm<sub>1</sub> tKvb e<sup>1</sup>vcv<sub>1</sub> AvBb c<sub>1</sub>q<sub>1</sub> Kwi tZ cv<sub>1</sub> bv<sub>1</sub> BnvB wQj  
Ktj vbx<sub>1</sub> wj i mwnZ Bsj v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub> w<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i gj Kvi Y<sub>1</sub>

ce<sup>0</sup> e<sup>1/2</sup> ev ce<sup>0</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> vbevmxi v Avt<sub>1</sub>gwi Kvi Ktj vbx<sub>1</sub> wj i b<sup>1</sup>vq  
wb<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>R<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub> i m<sub>1</sub>vqZ<sub>1</sub>k<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>b w<sub>1</sub>ek<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>m Kwi Z<sub>1</sub> GB v<sub>1</sub>ex nB<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>Z<sub>1</sub>B t<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>><sub>1</sub> xq mi Kv<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i i  
mwnZ Zvnv<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub> i w<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i m<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub> cvZ<sub>1</sub>

dv<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>Y<sub>1</sub> i mwnZ mBel<sup>0</sup> h<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>x<sub>1</sub> i mgw<sub>1</sub>B A<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>S- 1763 A<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>a w<sub>1</sub>e<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>k  
cvj t<sub>1</sub>g<sub>1</sub>U KZ<sub>1</sub>K Ktj vbx<sub>1</sub> wj i Dci Av<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i w<sub>1</sub>cZ<sub>1</sub> U<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub> I Ab<sup>1</sup>v<sub>1</sub>b<sup>1</sup> w<sub>1</sub>ew<sub>1</sub>f<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>e  
w<sub>1</sub>el t<sub>1</sub>qi Dci c<sub>1</sub>x<sub>1</sub>Z AvBb<sub>1</sub> wj j Bqv Ktj vbx<sub>1</sub> wj tZ w<sub>1</sub>e<sup>1</sup> g<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>b t<sub>1</sub>q<sub>1</sub> v<sub>1</sub>f c<sub>1</sub>P<sub>1</sub>U  
Am<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>S<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i i m<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>o K<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i | AvBb<sub>1</sub> wj Ktj vbx<sub>1</sub> wj i A<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>ae<sub>1</sub>vm<sub>1</sub>x<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub> i m<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>ax<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>Z<sub>1</sub>vq  
n<sup>-</sup> t<sub>1</sub>q<sub>1</sub> c e<sub>1</sub>wj qv Zvnv<sub>1</sub> v A<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>f<sub>1</sub> t<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>M D<sub>1</sub>l vcb K<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i |

GBi f<sub>1</sub>c i vR<sub>1</sub>%b<sub>1</sub>wZ<sub>1</sub>K Ae<sup>-</sup> v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>bi mg<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>q 1774 m<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>bi t<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>P<sub>1</sub> x<sub>1</sub>j g<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>m  
Ktj vbx<sub>1</sub> wj i c<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>Z<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>a mge<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>q c<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>g Continental Congress Gi GK m<sub>1</sub>f<sub>1</sub>v  
Ab<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>o<sub>1</sub>Z nq<sub>1</sub> D<sup>3</sup> m<sub>1</sub>f<sub>1</sub>vq D<sub>1</sub>l w<sub>1</sub>cZ<sub>1</sub> v<sub>1</sub>ex w<sub>1</sub>e<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>k mi Kv<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i i w<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>U nB<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>Z  
m<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>ea<sub>1</sub>w<sup>1</sup> I Qvo Av<sup>-</sup> vq Kwi evi g<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>a<sup>1</sup>B m<sub>1</sub>x<sub>1</sub>g<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>e<sub>1</sub>x v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub> | t<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>bi Kg  
m<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>ax<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>Z<sub>1</sub>vi v<sub>1</sub>ex ZL<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>l D<sub>1</sub>l vcb Ki v nq bv<sub>1</sub>B<sub>1</sub> | Z<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>e K<sub>1</sub>s<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>m Zvnv<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub> i  
v<sub>1</sub>ex m<sub>1</sub>x<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub> i vR<sub>1</sub>vi w<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>U Av<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>e<sup>-</sup> b Ges t<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>U w<sub>1</sub>e<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>bi Rb<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>Y<sub>1</sub>i w<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>U  
e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>1</sup> i v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub> | ZvnvQ<sub>1</sub>ov, w<sub>1</sub>e<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>k mi Kvi t<sub>1</sub>K A<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>f<sub>1</sub> h<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub> Ki Z<sub>1</sub>t GK<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>U  
Declaration of Rights t<sub>1</sub>c<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>Y K<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i | w<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>S<sub>1</sub>' w<sub>1</sub>e<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>k cvj t<sub>1</sub>g<sub>1</sub>U I mi Kvi  
mg<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>S<sub>1</sub>vZ<sub>1</sub>vi t<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>b c<sub>1</sub>q<sub>1</sub>k bv j Bqv A<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>%b<sub>1</sub>wZ<sub>1</sub>K I mvg<sub>1</sub>wi K v<sub>1</sub>gbb<sub>1</sub>x<sub>1</sub>wZ  
Av<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i v<sub>1</sub>c Kwi evi w<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>x<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>S<sub>1</sub>-M<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>b K<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i | t<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>B w<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>x<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>S<sub>1</sub>-Ab<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i t<sub>1</sub>R<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i j t<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>R<sub>1</sub>&  
1775 m<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>bi 19<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>k G<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>c<sub>1</sub>j K<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>K<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub><sup>0</sup> Ae<sup>-</sup> Z t<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>vj v<sub>1</sub>ev<sub>1</sub> t<sub>1</sub> i w<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>cv<sup>-</sup> L<sub>1</sub>j  
Kwi tZ w<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>qv c<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>g i<sup>3</sup> cvZ<sub>1</sub> nq<sub>1</sub>

6 v<sub>1</sub>dvi w<sub>1</sub>f<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>E<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>Z ce<sup>0</sup> cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>bi c<sub>1</sub>Y<sup>0</sup> m<sub>1</sub>vqZ<sub>1</sub>k<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>b m<sub>1</sub>x<sub>1</sub>wj Z ms<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>ea<sub>1</sub>vb  
c<sub>1</sub>q<sub>1</sub> Kwi evi v<sub>1</sub>ex cwK<sup>-</sup> v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>bi mvg<sub>1</sub>wi K Rv<sub>1</sub>S<sub>1</sub> MYnZ<sub>1</sub>vi gva<sup>1</sup> t<sub>1</sub>g  
DrcwU<sub>1</sub>Z Kwi tZ Pw<sub>1</sub>n<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>j m<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>ax<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>Z<sub>1</sub>vi v<sub>1</sub>ex<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>Z g<sub>1</sub>y<sup>3</sup> h<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub> Avi x<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>nq<sub>1</sub>

1775 m<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>bi 10<sub>1</sub>B t<sub>1</sub>g 2<sub>1</sub>q Continental Congress w<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>j v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>j t<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>qv k<sub>1</sub>n<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i  
w<sub>1</sub>g<sub>1</sub>wj Z nq<sub>1</sub> Av<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>j vP<sub>1</sub>bvi Ab<sup>1</sup>Z<sub>1</sub>g w<sub>1</sub>el qe<sup>-</sup> y w<sub>1</sub>Qj h<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub> w<sub>1</sub>el t<sub>1</sub>q h<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>  
c<sup>-</sup> t<sub>1</sub>q<sub>1</sub> c M<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>b | 1775 m<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>bi 15<sub>1</sub>B R<sub>1</sub>p K<sub>1</sub>s<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>m t<sub>1</sub>R<sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i j t<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>R Gi

Ministerial Army i wec†¶ Continental Army MVb K†i | D<sup>3</sup> tmbvevwnbxi cĕavb tmbvcwZ (Commander in Chief) c†` wb†qvM t` l qv nq K†Yſ RR<sup>©</sup> l qvksUb†K | wZwb GB mgq Ks†M†m fwwRſbqv K†j vbx i cĕZwbwa wQ†j b | dv†Yi wei “†x h†x wZwb we†Uk tmbvevwnbxi mwnZ cĕ†` wkK tmbvevwnbxi GK Rb KgvŨvi wnmv†e h†x AeZxY<sup>©</sup> nBqv wQ†j b | h†x wZwb wb†R†K GK Rb `¶ tmbvbq†Ki cwi Pq w` †Z cwi qv wQ†j b Ges K†Yſ c†` c†` vbwZ cvBqv wQ†j b | wKš’ h†x t†l i vRKxq tmbvevwnbx†Z wbqwgZ Kwgkb cvB†Z e`\_nBqv 1758 m†b wZwb Zvni Kwgkb cwi Z`vM K†i b | Zrci, fwwRſbqvi House of Burgesses G wZwb m`m` we†wPZ n†qb |

gvĪ 53 ermi eq†m cĕavb tmbvcwZi Kwgkb cĕß nBqv RR<sup>©</sup> l qvksUb 1775 m†bi Rb gv†m Zvni tmbvevwnbxi D†Ī t†k` i l qv bv K†i b |

ZLb l m†axbZvi wPšv mßB wQj | i vRvi wei “†x b†n ei Ā Ministerial Army †K cĕZnZ Ki vB ZLb Ks†M†mi D†Ī k` wQj | wKš’ tKvbi Kg mg†SvZvi cwi e†Z<sup>©</sup> i vRv George III 1775 m†bi 23†k AMv÷ GK Proclamation Ÿvi v K†j vbx wj †K we†` Ÿnx ewj qv tNvl bv K†i b |

GZw` b chš- GZ NUbvi c†i l K†j vbx i AwaevmxMY we†Uk mvg††R`i AšMž \_wKevi Rb` GKwU gvbwmK ZwM` Ab†e Kwi Z | we†U†bi Rb` Zvnt†` i GKwU emotional attachment KvR Kwi Z wKš’ GLb Zvni vl ax†i ax†i m†axbZvi w` †K aweZ nB†Z j wMj |

evsj v†` t†ki mvavi Y gmj gvbM†Yi t†v†Ui kw<sup>3</sup> mgM<sup>a</sup> fvi Ze†l<sup>©</sup> gmj gvb†` i m†\_i ¶ v†\_e`eüZ nBZ | evOvj x gmj gvbMYB cwwK` vb ARß Kwi qv wQj | A\_P cwwK` v†b Zvni vB cPŨ eĀbvi m†Kvi nq | GB cwi w` wZ†Z m†qZ†kvm b `vex Kwi †j MYnZ`v Avi †† nq Ges t†L gyR†ei t†Z†Zi evsj vi gvb | m†axbZv AR†bi Rb` gy<sup>3</sup> h†x Avi †† K†i |

1776 mþbi 15B tg KstMm GKwU bZb mi Kvi MVþbi cþŋ  
 wmxvš- Mhb Kþi | 7B Rþ fwwRðxqv cþ` þki Richard Henry Lee  
 mþaxbZv tNvl bvi cþŋ GKwU cþ we Dİ vcb Kwi tj KstMm Zvuv  
 MnxZ nq| mþaxbZvi tNvl bv Lmov cþ þ Kwi evi Rb` Zvrŋ wBK fvte  
 5(cvP) m` þm`i GKwU KwgwU MVb Kiv nq| gj LmowU Thomas  
 Jefferson cþ þ Kþi b| John Adams | Benjamin Franklin Zvuv mstkvab  
 Ki Zt 28þk Rþ KstMm tck Kiv nq| KstMm LmowU cþi vq  
 cwi eZð | cwi eab Kwi qv meñxwZµ tg cþ we cvk Kþi th, ‘that  
 these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.’ |  
 Zrci KstMm 1776 mþbi 4Vv Rj vB AvBb AvKvþi Zvuv Mhb  
 Kþi | State House G i wŋ Z GKwU N>Uv nBþZ N>UvaŸYx nBþj  
 wdj vþWj wdqvi RbMY eySþZ cvþi th mþaxbZvi tNvl bvi wej wU cvm  
 nBqvþQ| GB N>UvaŸbxi mwnZ þkl nBj 13wU Kþj vbxþZ weUk  
 AvwacZ`| Bnvi ci Pwj j dvþŸi mnvqZvq 5(cvP) ermi e`wmc  
 mþaxbZv hþx | Aek` Hw` b Declaration of Independence i agvŋ KstMmi  
 mfvcwZ John Hancock Ges KstMmi mwPe Charles Thomson mþŋ i Kþi b|  
 cieZx® GK ermi Kvj mgþqi gþa` Ab`vb` cðZwbwaMY mþŋ i  
 Kþi b|

cðq ermi vaxKvj hþx Pwj evi ci Second Continental Congress 13wU  
 Kþj vbx i hþ i vþóŋ mþaxbZv tNvl Yv Kþi | evsj vþ` þk gw³ hþx i  
 cði þðB mþaxbZvi tNvl Yv cð vb Kiv nq Ges `þ mBvn cþi  
 evsj vþ` þki RbMþYi wbeŋPZ cðZwbwaMY evsj vþ` þki MYcwi l þ` i  
 ŋ gZveþj AvbðwBK Proclamation of Independence tNvl Yv Kþi |

Bnv Avðh®nBþj l mZ` th hþ i vþóŋ Declaration of Independence  
 Gi 50(cÂvk) ermi cwZP cþe®Bnvi gj Lmov cþ þ Kwi þZ Kvnvi  
 wK Ae`vb wQj Zvuv j Bqvl weZK® l þV| hþ i vþóŋ þmšfvM` th

Henry Lee, Jefferson I Ab'vb" RxweZ tbZvMY Zvuv mWVKfvte  
wb®úwĒI Kwi tZ m¶g nBqvwQj b, Av`vj tZ AwmtZ nq bvB|

### RwZi wcZv t

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tgvuvxš, Avej Kvtkg mws`c ev tgRi wRqvDi ingvb hvuvi vB  
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j xM cĥvb Ges RvZxq tbZv nBevi `xN® K>UKvKxY®c\_ cwi µg  
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evOvj xi RwZ mZv ev Bangladesh Nationalism tK cwwK`v†bi Avei tY  
cpR¶Mi Y Kwi evi gZ `jtmvnmx KvR mvd†j i mwnZ Ges Ggb  
wbc†Zvi mwnZ wZwb Kwi tZ cwi qvwQj b th evOvj x RwZ t`o nvRvi  
ermi cti wbtRt`i RwZMZ mĒv, AvZĴgh® v I AnwgKv†K LwRqv  
cvBqvwQj | GB Kvi tYB 1971 m†b evOvj x RwZ i ay gvi Lvq bvB,  
AwZ Aí mg†qB i wLqv `wov†Zi cwi qvwQj | GB evOvj x RwZi  
wPšv tPZbvq, Abj†e mv\_Kfvte tkL gyReB DrKI Žv AvYqb Kwi tZ  
cwi qvwQj b| BnvB wQj Zvuv me¶kĔ KwZZi| GB Kvi tYB wZwb  
evOvj x RwZi gbgvb†m RwZi RbK Father of the Nation wnmvte Awaôvb  
j vf Kwi qv†Qb|

AvšRwZK A½tY mecĴg 1971 m†bi 16 wW†m¶j Zwi tL  
fvi Zxq cvj ¶tg†U fvi tZi cĥvbgšx Bws`i v MvÜx D"Pvi Y Kti b|  
wZwb e†j b (Bangladesh Documents, Vol-II P-550) t

**STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI IN  
PARLIAMENT ON PAKISTAN ARMY'S SURRENDER IN BANGLA DESH  
December 16, 1971.**

I have an announcement to make. The West Pakistan forces unconditionally surrender in Bangla Desh. The instrument of surrender was signed in Dacca at 1631 hours I.S.T. today by Lt.-Gen. A.A.K. Niazi on behalf of the Pakistan Eastern Command. Lt.-Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, GOC-in-C of the Indian and Bangla Desh forces in the Eastern Theatre, accepted the surrender. Dacca is now the free capital of a free country.

This House and the entire nation rejoice in this historic event. We hail the people of Bangla Desh in their hour of triumph. We hail the brave young men and boys of the Mukti Bahini for their valour and dedication. We are proud of our own Army, Navy, Air Force and the Border Security Force, who have so magnificently demonstrated their quality and capacity. Their discipline and devotion to duty are well known. India will remember with gratitude the sacrifices of those who have laid down their lives, and our thoughts are with their families.

Our Armed Forces are under strict orders to treat Pakistani prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention and to deal all of the population of Bangla Desh in a humane manner. The Commanders of the Mukti Bahini have issued similar orders to their forces. Although the Government of Bangla Desh have not yet been given an opportunity to sign the Geneva Convention, they also have declared that they will fully abide by it. It will be the responsibility of the Government of Bangla Desh, the Mukti Bahini and the Indian armed forces to prevent any reprisals.

Our objectives were limited-to assist the gallant people of Bangla Desh and their Mukti Bahini to liberate their country from a reign of terror and to resist aggression on our own land. Indian armed forces will not remain in Bangla Desh any longer than is necessary.

The millions who were driven out of their homes across our borders have already begun trekking back. The rehabilitation of this war-torn land calls for dedicated team work by its Government and people.

We hope and trust that the Father of this new nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, will take rightful place among his own people and lead Bangla Desh to peace, progress and prosperity. The time has come when they can together look forward to a meaningful future in their *Sonar Bangla*. They have our good wishes.

The triumph is not theirs alone. All nations who value the human spirit will recognise it as a significant milestone in man's quest for liberty."

(Aṭavṭi Lv cṭ Ē)

Dṭj Ḑ" th Bw` i v MvÜx 6Ḑ11Ḑ1971 Zwi ṭL cṭ Ē fvl YwU cṭ vṭbi  
gvĭ 40 w` b cṭi fvi Zxq cvj ṭṭgṭU Dcṭi v<sup>3</sup> weewZwU cṭ vb  
Kwi qwQṭj b|

1971 mṭbi 10B Rvbyvi x Zwi ṭL cvj vg wegvb e>` ṭi i vócwZ  
wf wf wMwi e½eÜy ṭkL gṭRej i ngvṭK Af`\_Ḑv Rvbvb| wZwb  
eṭj b (Bangladesh Documents. Vol II P-605) t

"It gives me great joy and pleasure to welcome Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to our country. This is an event which my government and the people of India have looked forward to.

You are the embodiment of the undying spirit of suffering and sacrifice in the cause of human liberty and human freedom. The emergence of independent Bangla Desh is itself a unique event in the annals of democratic movements in world history. You have truly been acclaimed the Father of the new Nation, Bangla Desh. The trust and devotion of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh reposed in you, have led to the birth of Sonar Bangla, and we have no doubt that it will come to occupy a pride of place in the comity of nation." (Aṭavṭi Lv cṭ Ē)

ZZxqevi ṭkL gṭReṭK RwZi RbK eṭj b Z`wbšḑ ṭj t  
KṭYḑ wRqvDi i ngvb| 1972 mṭbi 26ṭk gvP<sup>®</sup> Zwi ṭL %`wbK  
evsj v cŵĭ Kvq ōGKwU RwZi Rbṭ kxl K wj LbxṭZ gvP<sup>®</sup>gvṭmi NUbvej x  
eYḐv Kwi ṭZ wMqv ṭkL gṭReṭK wZwb `Ḑevi RwZi wcZv eṭj b  
(G`vṭbKPvi Ḑwf)|

wewkó AvBbRxe, i vRbxwZwe` I ṭj LK Rbve gl`ḑ Avng`  
Zvnvi ṭkL gṭRei i ngvṭbi kvmbKvj ō (1983) cḡ ṭK 10Ḑ1Ḑ1972  
Zwi ṭL ṭkL gṭRej i ngvṭbi mṭ`k cZ`veZḑ mṭṭÜ eYḐv Kwi ṭZ wMqv  
eṭj b t

ōō GK Rb gWvṭi U cwj wUwkqv Ges wj evṭi j  
ṭWṭgvµ`vU wntmṭe cwi wPZ ṭkL gṭRe gvbewaKvi I

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 eQþi i ci eQi, mn" Kþi þQb AeYþxq wþhþZb|  
 AmsL"evi Ges msL"vZxZ Kvi þY þkL gþReþK  
 Kvi vei Y Ki þZ nþqþQ Ges Rxeþbi mþókxj  
 mgq, þj vi wekvj Zg Ask wZwb KwUþqþQb  
 Kvi vf"šþi | RbMþYi GK Rb bþ" Z þbZv wnmvþe  
 wZwb Pþl tewotqþQb Mvg þ\_þK Mvgvšþ | th þPnvi v  
 GKevi þ`þLþQb tm þPnvi v mvi vRxeþb wZwb  
 þfvþj bwb Ges Zxŋ vax mþZkw³ etj þkL gþRe Zvi  
 kZ mnm¹ Kgxp bvg gþb i vLþZ cvi þZb| GZw` bKvi  
 weŋ þ, Rbwþq þbZv Ges cþq mvi vRxeb weþi vax  
 i vRbwZi gnvbvqK þkL gþRe i vótþZ Ges RwZi  
wcZv wntmþe Zvi mþRbAajwl Z wþR evmfþg  
 cŹ"veZþ Kþi b| 00 (Aþavþi Lv cþ Ė)

ZvovQov, wePvi cwZ Gg Gg nK Shahriar Rashid Khan V. Bangladesh  
 49 DLR (1997) 133 þgvKvĩ gvq Indemnity (Repeal) Act, 1996 (Act XXI of 1996) %ea  
 tNvl bv cþ½ A"vUYþþRbvþi j Zvovi e³ þe" e½eÜj þkL gþRej  
 i ngvbþK th Father of the Nation etj b Zvov wZwb i vþq eYþv Kþi b|

cþe DvþZ cvþi wK Kvi þY mKþj B þkL gþReþK RwZi wcZv  
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G cþ½ þj t þRbvþi j (Aet) gxi kl KZ Avj x 1981 mþbi  
 Rj vB gvþm cþ Ė mvŋ vrKvi wU cþYavbþhvM" | Bnv kvgmj ũ" v þPšaj x  
 wj wLZ 0GKvĖþi i i Yv½bþ Mþš' cþKwkZ nBqvþQ| msþkþ AskwU wþæi "c  
 (cþvþ296)t

00 cþt Gevþi ej þ mþaxbZvi tNvl K þK wQþj b ?

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 wnmvþe cþZwU evOvj x tmw` b nþq DþVwQj mþaxbZvi GK  
 GK Rb tNvl K| wKš' þK tmB gnvb þbZv whwb tmw` b Aš-  
i vþj þ\_þKl cþZwU evOvj xþK hþMþqþQþj b GB mvnm ?  
Kvi Avnevþb evOvj x tmw` b þcþqþQj mþaxbZvi þcþ Yv ?



7B gvP<sup>©</sup> 071 XvKvi ti m†Kvm<sup>©</sup> gq`v†b (ci eZxKv†j  
 tmvni vl qv`<sup>®</sup> D`vb) †K RvwZ†K m‡axbZvi WvK  
 i wb†qWQ†j b ? 26†k gvP<sup>©</sup>071 mÜ`v n†Z ci eZx<sup>©</sup> mg†q  
 PÆMv†gi gj teZvi †K†>`<sup>a</sup> wbi vc` `††Zj Kvj j NvU  
 UvYwgUv†i Ae`vb K†i hvi v m‡axbZvi K\_v ej †j b, wewf bœ  
 †Nvl bv cPvi Ki †j b, †K Zv†`i tmw`†bi †cØ Yvi Drm  
 WQ†j b ? Kvi c†¶ Zvi v cPvi K†i WQ†j b tm me †Nvl bv,  
 m‡axbZvi K\_v ? Kv†RB ej † †K Avgv†`i m‡axbZvi  
 `cwZ ? †K ev Kvi v †Nvl K WQ†j b, tmUv WK i agvÎ  
 AvbôwbKZv WQj bv ? GB AvbôwbKZvi weZ†K<sup>©</sup> Awig  
 Rwo†q co†Z PvB bv| 00

Dc†i ewYŽ e<sup>3</sup> e` mpe`vL`vqZ |

25†k gvP<sup>©</sup> i v†Î †kL gyRe †MdZvi nb| WZbw`†bi gv\_vq  
 Zvrv†K cwōg cwK`v†bi †Kvb GK AÁvZ `v†b i vLv nq| 25†k  
 gvP<sup>©</sup>i wÎ †\_†K Zvrv†K evsj v†`†ki †Kvb NUbvB Rwb†Z †`l qv nq  
 bvB| BwZg†a` Zvrv†i dwwmi Av†`k nBqvWQj | WZwb Rwb†Zb bv  
 Zvrv†i wcØ gvZfwg evsj vq WK nB†Z†Q, wek| RbgZB ev WK etj |  
 WKŠ' Zvrv†i WQj AwePj wekym I AUJ g†bvej | WZwb Rwb†Zb bv th  
 evOvj x RvwZ mvnm I AvZgh<sup>®</sup> vi mwnZ wb†Ri gvZfwg m‡axb Kwi evi  
 Rb` gi YcY Kwi qv h‡x Kwi †Z†Q| Zvrv†`i c†avb tmbvcWZ GK nvRvi  
 gvBj `†i AÁvZ `v†b WKŠ' Zvrv†i B bv†g Zvrv†i v Rxeb cvZ  
 Kwi †Z†Q|

GKwU `pe<sup>®</sup> †f†Ocov ôgv\_vq LvU en†i eoŀ †Kivbx g†bvevĚ  
 mᳵúbe evOvj x RvwZ†K gy<sup>3</sup> †hv×vq i cvŠwi Z Ki YB WQj †kL gyR†ei  
 me<sup>©</sup>†kØ KwZZj| WZwbB WQ†j b Zvrv†`i GK"QÎ †bZv| Zvrv†i bv†gB  
 gy<sup>3</sup> h‡x nBqvWQj GB Kvi †Y WZwbB WQ†j b me†kØ gy<sup>3</sup> †hv×v| GB  
 Kvi †YB Zvrv†K m‡MZ RvbvBqv 10B Rvbqv i x, 1972 Zwi †L Bw` i v  
 MvÜx Zvrv†i fvl †Y etj b (Bangladesh Documents, Vol. II Page 606) t

PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI'S SPEECH AT PUBLIC

MEETING AT DELHI TO WELCOME SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

January 10, 1972.

Welcoming the President of Bangla Desh, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had promised freedom to his people and given it to them. India had taken a pledge to free Bangla Desh, free Mujib and ..... She added, even when Mujibur Rahman was in a Pakistani jail, the young men of Bangla Desh were drawing inspiration from him to fight the military regime of Pakistan. It was due to his inspiration that people of Bangla Desh were able to fight so gallantly.

(THE INDIAN EXPRESS, New Delhi-January 11, 1972)."

(A†av†i Lv cŀ Ę)

Dc†i eŲYŲ BŲ` i v MvÜxi e³ Zv nB†Z Bnv ŲbŲŲ Zfv†e cŲi ~Ųi nB†e th e½eÜy tkL gŲRej i ngvb ZŲnvi t` kevmx†K mŲaxbZv Dcnvi Ų` evi th AvkŲm cŀ vb KŲi qŲŲQ†j b ZŲnv ŲZŲb cvj b KŲi qŲŲQ†j b ŲKŠ' 2004 m†bi cŲgŲŲ Ų `Ųj j c†Ųi ZZxq L†Ųi 4\_© cŲŲq 6Đ11Đ1971 ZŲi †L BŲ` i v MvÜxi e³ ZŲq LŲŲZvsk D×Z KŲi qv cŲŲqb KŲgŲU AŲfgZ cKŲk KŲi †Z PŲnqŲŲQ†j b th e½eÜy tkL gŲRej i ngvb KLbB mŲaxbZv P†nb bvB| ŲKŠ' ŲZŲb ZŲnvi mgMª Rxeb DrmM© KŲi qŲŲQ†j b cŀ†g mŲqZŲvm†bi Rb` Zrci av†c av†c mŲaxbZvi c†\_ evOvj x RŲZ†K ŲbŲŲ Zfv†e AvMvBqv j Bqv ŲMqŲŲQ†j b|

cŲŲqb KŲgŲU Aek` 27†k gv†P© c†e© tgRi ŲRqvDi i ngvb mŲaxbZv K†e PŲnqŲŲQ†j b tm mŲŲŲ mŲúY©ŲbŲc| D†j Ų` th, ŲZŲb cŲK` vb mvgwi K ewnbxi GK Rb ŲekŲ -AŲdmvi ŲQ†j b|

†h†nZy tkL gŲRe GKŲ` †K ŲQ†j b evOvj x RŲZmĚyi mŲv I RŲZi ŲcZv, Ab`Ų` †K mŲaxbZvi †Nv K Ges me†kŲ gŲ³ †hvxv tmB Kvi †YB nq†Zv evsj v†` †ki GK Rb cŀ³ b i vŲcŲZ ewj qŲŲQ†j b th ŲZŲb nvRvi eQ†i i tkŲ evOvj x|

AZGe, 11 bs cĭZev`x c†ŋ Dĭ wcZ e³ e` th Aĭ i xU& tgvKvĭ gwU†Z disputed questions of facts i wnqv†Q weavq Bnv i ŋ Yxq b†n, Dc†i ewYŹ mĭKZ NUbvej xi Av†j v†K Zvnv Mhb†hvM` b†n|

2004 m†bi cĭZ`qb KwgwU AwfgZ cĭKvk Kwi q†Qb th tgRi wRqvi 27†k gvP°Zwi †Li †Nvl Yv mK†j B ĭ wbqv†Qb|

Bnv mZ` th 27†k gvP°mÜvq tgRi wRqv e½eÜy tkL gyRej i ngv†bi cŋ nBqv mĭaxbZvi †Nvl Yv cvV (announce) Kwi qvwQ†j b| GB †Nvl Yv cv†Vi K\_v evsj v†` †ki Z`vmbšb cĭavbgšx ZvRDwĭ b Avn†g`I Zvnni 11B Gwc†j i fvl †Y cĭksmvi mwnZ D`Pvi Y Kwi qv†Qb|

e`Ź gy³ h†x i AwZ cĭi ††wb†Ri bvg D`Pvi b ceĶ mĭaxbZvi †Nvl Yv cvV Aek`B mvnwmKZvi KvR nBqvwQj we†kl Kwi qv H mg†q tgRi wRqvDi i ngv†bi cwi evi K`vUbt†gt†Ui g†a`B i wnqv wMqvQ†j b|

Z†e 11 bs cĭZev`x c†ŋ e³ e` th tgRi wRqvDi i ngv†bi †Nvl Yv ti wWl †Z kēY Kwi qvB mK†j gy³ h†x SvcvBqv cwoqvQ†j b GK\_v ĭ ay AwZk†qv³ B b†n, Bnv AmZ`I e†U|

e½eÜy tkL gyRej i ngvb ceĖZx°`ßhJM awi qv evOvj x RwwZi g†a` AvZ† m†PZbZv mĭó Kwi qvwQ†j b Ges gvbwmKfv†e cĭŹ Kwi qvwQ†j b, d†j 1971 m†bi 1j v gvP° hLbB RvZxq msm†`i Awatekb ewZj nBj ZLbB evOvj x RwwZ mĭaxbZvi Rb` cĭq mĭqsµ q fv†e cĭŹ nBj Ges 7B gvtP° fvl †Y evsj v†` †ki RbM†Yi wbeŋPZ cĭZwbwa wnmv†e cĭKZ c†ŋ mĭaxbZvi WvKB wZwb w`qvQ†j b Ges Zvnni Abpcw`wZ†Z wK Kwi †Z nB†e Zvnni I wbt`Ķ cĭvb Kwi qvwQ†j b| ĭ ay ZvnnB b†n, Zvnni GB mĭaxbZvi D`vĖ Avnevb I wbt`Ķ wZwb Zvnni cĭZWU fvl †Y evi evi cĭpi veyĖ Kwi †Z \_v†Kb| Dc†i i msev` c†ĭ i weei Y nB†Z wbwōZ fv†e Zvnn cĭZxqgvb nB†e| GB Kvi †YB 25†k gvP°w`evMZ i v†ĭ cwwK`vb

mvgwi K ewnbx hLb XvKv I PÆMvtg MYnZ`v Avi æt Kti ZLbB  
 evsj vt`tki wef bæ`v b gy³ hpx Avi æt nBqv hvq| Bnvi weei Y  
 Dc ti c0 vb Ki v nBqv tQ| H GKB gvbwmK avi vewnkZvq i vZ 9  
 Uvi gta` K`vtP b i wdK PÆMvtg, i vZ 10Uvi gta` K`vtP b nvi "b  
 KvBvBtZ Ges Avi I A tbtK evsj vt`tki wef bæ c0 tš- we t` 0n Ki Zt  
 gy³ hpx Avi æt Kti b| tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb hLb AvMtev` nBqv PÆMtg  
 e` ti i c t\_ wQ t j b ZLb PÆMtg K`vUbtgtU MYnZ`vi NUbv kEY  
 Kti b| Zrci, 8g Bó te½j ti wRtgtUi NwUtZ wdw qv Avtmb I  
 we t` 0n Kti b Ges gy³ hpx Ask Mh tbi Awf c0 q e³ Kti b| e½eÜy  
 tkL gyRtei 3i v gvP°, 7B gvP° Ges 24tk gvP° chŠ- Zvnvi wef bæ  
 fvl Y Ges mpxbZvi AvnYv tbi Kvi tYB evsj vt`tki mef GBi fc  
 Zvr¶ wYK c0 Z wµ qv nBqv wQj | tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb wb tRB mpxbZv  
 tNvl bv w` teb Ggb wPšv ev B"Qv \_wK t j 25tk gv tP° i v tÎ B wZwb  
 wbKueZ® AvMtev` ti wWl tók b nBtZB Zvnvi e³ e` c0 vb Kwi tZ  
 cwi tZb| mxfweK fvteB Hi fc tKvb wPšv Zvnvi \_wKevi K\_vl b tñ  
 Ges wQj I bv|

cKZc t¶ | D³ i v tÎ ev Ae`ewnZ cti evsj vt`tki mef  
 gy³ hpx Avi æt nBqv wMqv wQj ev tmB j t¶ mK t j c` t¶ c Mhb  
 Kwi tZ wQj | Operation searchlight th wKQ¶ tYi gta`B Avi æt nBte Zvnv  
 Avi æt bv nl qv chŠ- tKnB eyStZ cvti bvB| GgbwK tkL gyRel  
 mÜ`vq G, tK, L` Kv ti i tUj t dv t b Lei bv cvl qv chŠ- Rwb tZ  
 cvti b bvB th tRbv ti j Bqvwnqv XvKv Z`vM Kwi tZ tQb| Av t j vPbv  
 nqtZv e` \_° nBqv tQ, c t e° `B `Bevi gvk¶ j nBqv tQ, Zte mvgwi K  
 Awf hvb th MYnZ`vq i fcvšwi Z nBte, tmB Pi g mÜ`vq Zvnv  
 NY¶¶ ti I tKn avi Yv Kwi tZ cvti bvB| tkL gyRe Zvnvi Rxe tbi  
 GK ZZxqvsk mgq tR t j KvUvBqv wQ t j b| Gevi I wZwb tR t j hvBevi  
 Rb` c0 z wQ t j b wKš' GBi fc wbg® MYnZ`v th Avi æt nBtZ cvti

Zvny ZLb tKnB Dcj wä Kwi tZ cvti bvB| GKB fvte 25tk gvtpP  
 i vtî Zvnytk th mpxbZvi tNvl bv c0 vb Kwi tZ nBte Zvnyl ceŧý  
 Zvnyi Rwbavi K\_v bq| evsj vt` tki gvb| I RwbZ bv th H i wî  
 nBtZ MYnZ`v Avi ætnBte ev mpxbZvi tKvb AvbôwbK tNvl Yv Avt` Š  
 AvmtZ cvti | cKZ ctŧ| Hi fc AvbôwbK tNvl Yvi K\_v Hi fc  
 Pi g gûtZ®hLb ‘The gates of hell had been cast open’(Siddiq Salik) ZLb Hi fc  
 AvbôwbK tNvl bvi K\_v wPšv| tKn Kti bvB| H mgq `BhM awi qv  
 wetkl Kwi qv weMZ wZb mBvtn evOvj x RwZ mpxbZvi Rb` th  
 c0 yZ j BqvQj tmB Zvrŧ| wbK mnRvZ c0Zµ qvq gûZ® gta`  
 gy³ thvxvq ifcvšwi Z nq| GLvtbB tkL gyRtei cKZ KwZZi|

G Kvi tYB cvwK`vb mvgwi K ewnbxi GKRB Awdmvi wnmvte  
 25tk gvPw` evMZ i wî mvto 11 Uvq tj t KtYŧ RvbRqvi wbt` R  
 Abmvti hw` I tgRi wRqvDi ingvb PÆMŧg e` ti 0tmvqvZ0 Rvnytri  
 Dtî tkt` i l qvbn nBqvQj b wKš` i vZ AvovBUvq AvMŧev` Gj vKvq  
 hLb Zvnyi %mb`i v tawi tKW mi vBtZ e` - ZLb K`vtP b  
 Lvŧj KD¾vgvtbi wbKU nBtZ 20 tej P ti wRtŧtUi MYnZ`vi K\_v  
 i wbqv wZwb wet` ŧn Kwi evi wmxvš-j BtZ cwi qvQj b| `wj j ctî i  
 beg Ltû cKwkZ Zvnyi mvŧ| vrKvti wZwb ewj qvtQb (côvĐ40)  
 0Gici Gtj v 7B gvPŧe½eÛy mpxbZvi WvK w` tj b| ej tj b, hvi hv  
 wKQj AvtQ ZvB wbtq c0 yZ nl | Nti Nti `M®Mto tZvj | 8g Bó  
 te½j e`vUwj qtbi Awdmvi i v GtK A`i Zŧj tbevi Avnevb etj B  
 gtb Ki tj b| 0

cÛxqgvb nq th, K`vtP b Lvŧj K¾vgvtbi wbKU MYnZ`vi  
 msev` cvBevi m½ m½ wZwb cvwK`vb mvgwi K ewnbxi DaZb  
 KZŧŧi wbt` R Agvb` Kwi qv 8g Bó te½tj i NwUŧZ wdwi qv  
 Avmtj b Ges evsj vt` tki wewfbæ`v tb wew`QbæAe`vq Aew`Z evOvj x  
 mvgwi K ewnbx, BwcAvi, cyj k ewnbxi Awdmvi I tmcvnxMtYi b`vq  
 cvwK`vb mi Kvti i AvbMZ` cwi Z`vM Ki Zt gy³ hŧx thvM`vb Kwi evi

wmxvš- Mhb Kti b| 7B gvtpf fvl Y Zvni Rb" mKZ gZB  
 ŌwMbmMb"vj Ō wQj | wZwb ZLb| RwbZb bv th `Bw` b cti cUqv  
 nBZ tej vj tgvnvš` ZvntK Kvj j NvU teZvi tK>`'j Bqv hvBteb  
 Ges wZwb H teZvi tK>`' nBZ Zvni e<sup>3</sup> e" tck Kwi evi mthvM  
 cvBteb| wZwb th H mgq teZvti e<sup>3</sup> e" cŌ vb Kwi teb Zvni thgb  
 wZwb ceŧy RwbZb bv, tZgwb evsj vt` tki RbMYI RwbZ bv th  
 Avt`š tKvb fvl Y teZvi gvi dr cPwi Z nBte| ei Â ZLb mevB  
 AvZvi ŧv ev cŌZti va hŧx e" + mŧfweKfvteB 27tk gvP®Zwi tL  
 mŪ"vq hvnt`i ZLb ti wWI i wbevi gZ Aemi ev gvbwmK ckwš-  
 wQj tmBifc Lpe mŧ msL"K e" w<sup>3</sup> i tgRi wRqvDi ingvtbi e<sup>3</sup> e"  
 kēY Kwi evi tmšfvM" nBqvQj | Zte Zvni v Zvni GB e<sup>3</sup> e"  
 mKtj i gta" Lpe `\*Z cPvi Kwi qvQj b| H mgq tKvb tK>`kq  
 Command wQj bv| evsj vt` tki wewfbē" vtb Aew"Z evOvj x tmbvbx I  
 BwcAvi ewnbx gŧ<sup>3</sup> hŧxi cŌg w` tK wew"Qbe fvtēB cŌZti va hŧx  
 Kwi tZwQj b| wewfbēewnbxi gta" ZLb tKvb thvMvthvMI wQj bv|  
 GgZ Ae"vq teZvti tgRi wRqvDi ingvtbi e<sup>3</sup> te"i K\_v kēY  
 Kwi qv mKtj B Avkŧ -I DrmwvZ nBqvQj b th Zvni v GKvB hŧx  
 Kwi tZtQb bv, Avi I AtbKB hŧx wbqZ i wnvqtb| GLvtbB tgRi  
 wRqvDi ingvtbi e<sup>3</sup> e" cPvti i mvdj " wbnZ |

Aek" `B mBvtni gta"B AvbŧwbKfvte Proclamation of  
 Independence Rvi x nq Ges mŧaxb evsj vt` k mi Kvi MwVZ nq|  
 evsj vt` k mi Kvi KtYŧ (cti tRbvti j ) Gg, G, wR, DmgvbxK cŌvb  
 tmbvcwZ wbtqvMi gva"tg gŧ<sup>3</sup> hŧxK GKwU tK>`kq Command Gi  
 Avl Zvq j Bqv Avmv nq Ges wRqvDi ingvb mn mKj gŧ<sup>3</sup> thv×v  
 evsj vt` k mi Kvti i Aaxtb gŧ<sup>3</sup> hŧx Kti b|

## msweavb I Bnvi tkôZ;t

evsj vt`tki msweavtbi cōi t̃x̃ GKwU cō vebv i w̃nqṽtQ| gj  
msweavtbi cō vebv w̃bæi f̃c̃f̃ṽt̃e Avi x̃t̃nq t

00Avgi v, evsj vt`tki RbMY, 1971 Lxóvtāi gvP®  
gvt̃mi 26 Zwi t̃L m̃ṽaxbZv t̃NvI Yv Kwi qv RvZxq  
gy³ i Rb̃̃ HwZnw̃mK msM̃t̃gi gvã̃t̃g m̃ṽaxb I  
mvẽf̃šg MYc̃RvZš̃x̃ evsj vt`k c̃ôZwôZ Kwi qṽwQ;

Avgi v A½xKvi Kwi t̃ZwQ th, th mKj gnvb  
Av`k® Avgvt`i exi RbMYt̃K RvZxq gy³ msM̃t̃g  
AvZw̃b̃t̃qṽM I exi knx`w` M̃t̃K c̃ỗt̃YvrmM®Kwi t̃Z  
D™x̃ Kwi qṽwQj ðRvZxqZvev`, mgvRZš̃i MYZš̃i I  
ag̃bi t̃c̃¶̃ Zvi tmB mKj Av`k® GB msweavtbi  
gj bxwZ nB̃t̃e ;

Bnv mgvß nBqṽtQ t

0GZ0vi v Avgvt`i GB MYc̃wi I t̃, .....Avgi v GB  
msweavb i Pbv I w̃w̃æx̃ Kwi qv mg̃t̃eZf̃ṽt̃e MhY  
Kwi j vg| 00

GB cō vebwŨt̃Z msweavbwU Kvnvt`i Ges w̃K D̃t̃i t̃k̃̃ c̃ôYZ  
nBqṽtQ msweavtbi c̃ỗt̃gB Zṽnv eYb̃v Ki v nBqṽtQ|

evsj vt`tki msweavb autochthonous ai t̃Yi | K.C. Wheare Zṽnvi  
The Constitutional structure of the Commonwealth,1960, c̃ỗt̃Ü autochthony ẽ̃vL̃̃v  
K̃t̃i b t

“ Autochthony” in its most common acceptance is the characteristic  
of a Constitution which has been freed from any trace of  
subordination to and any link with the original authority of the  
Parliament of foreign power that made it. The aim is to give a  
constitutional instrument the force of law through its own native  
authority. A factual autochthony is generally achieved after a  
revolution.” [1989 BLD (spl.) para -51 page-60 nB̃t̃Z D̃x̃Z]|

c̣e<sup>o</sup>eY<sup>o</sup> Ki v nBqṿtQ th tRbṿtj Bqwnqv Lvb c̣l Ē Legal Frame Work Gi Avl Zvq 1970 ṃbi wẈṃj gṿm c̣wḲ ṿtbi c̣l\_g l tkI tK>`xq mvavi Y wbe<sup>o</sup>Pb AbjōZ nq| Bnvi AḅZg c̣avb Ḍī ḳ wQj th RbṂtYi mi vmwi wbe<sup>o</sup>PZ c̣lZwbwaMY c̣wḲ ṿtbi Rḅ GKwU msweavb c̣Yqb Kwi ṭeb| wKš' wKfṿte GB Ḍī ḳ ṃúYf̣ṿte ẹ\_\_<sup>o</sup> nBj Zṿnv c̣teB Aṿtj vPbv Ki v nBqṿtQ| Bnvi ci 26tk gvP<sup>o</sup> Zwi ṭL j j j evOvj xi i ṭ<sup>3</sup> i tṃṭZi gạ ẉ qv evsj ṿṭ k Rḅ Mhb Ḳti Ges GKwU i <sup>3</sup> v<sup>3</sup> g<sup>3</sup> ḥṭxi ci 1971 ṃbi 16B wẈṃj Zwi ṭL ṃvaxbZv j ṿf Ḳti |

22Đ3Đ1972 Zwi ṭL Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh Order, 1972 (P.O.22 of 1972) ẹtj evsj ṿṭ ṭki RbṂtYi c̣lZwbwaZ|Kvi x Ẓ ẉbṣ̌b ce<sup>o</sup> c̣wḲ ṿb nḄtZ wbe<sup>o</sup>PZ RvZxq l c̣ḷṭ ẉkK c̣wi ḷṭ i mKj ṃ ṃMY Øvi v evsj ṿṭ ṭki MYc̣wi ḷ ṿcb Ki v nq| D<sup>3</sup> MYc̣wi ḷ mṿto mvZ gṿmi l Kg mg̣ṭqi g̣tạ 4Đ11Đ1972 Zwi ṭL evsj ṿṭ ṭki msweavb c̣Yqb l ẉwaex Ki Zt evsj ṿṭ ṭki Aṿcṿgi RbṂtYi c̣ṭj Mhb Ḳti b| tḥtnZy GB msweavb evsj ṿṭ ṭki gṿj K Bnvi mvẹf̣šg (sovereign) Aṿcṿgi RbṂtYi Aẉfc̣ḷṭqi Aẉfẹẉ<sup>3</sup> Ges Zṿnṿṭ i ḄQv AẉḅQv Ges ṃc̣K c̣lZḍwj Z Ḳti tṃtnZy Bnv ṭ̣ ṭki ṃtẹP̣ l Aj •Nbxq AvBb| RbṂtYi tḳḅZj Ges msweaṿṭbi c̣lavḅ msweaṿṭbi 7 AḅṭQ̣ṭ eY<sup>o</sup> Ki v nBqṿtQ| Bnv ẉḅæi f̣c t

00 7 (1) c̣RvẒṭṣ̌j mKj j̣ gZvi gṿj K RbMY; Ges RbṂtYi c̣ṭj tṃB j̣ gZvi c̣ṭqṿM ṭKej GB msweaṿṭbi Aaxb l KẒẒj KvḥKi nḄte|

(2) RbṂtYi Aẉfc̣ḷṭqi ci g Aẉfẹẉ<sup>3</sup> i f̣c GB msweavb c̣RvẒṭṣ̌j ṃtẹP̣ AvBb Ges Aḅ ṭKvb AvBb ḥẉ GB msweaṿṭbi ṃẉnZ Amvg̣Äṃ nq, Zṿnv nḄṭj tṃB AvḄṭbi ḥZLẉb Amvg̣Äṃ c̣Y<sup>o</sup>, ZZLẉb eẉZj nḄte| 00

Dc̣ti ṿ<sup>3</sup> 7 AḅṭQ̣ṭ ṃx̣ṭÜ ẉePvi c̣wZ ẹ i j̣ nṿq̣ vi ṭP̣ṣ̌aj x



Anwar Hossain Chowdhury etc. V. Bangladesh (1989) BLD (spl.) ৩৬৮৬৭ গণ  
 ৯৮৬৭<sup>৩</sup> গণের কপি ব (চবি ৯৫২, চ ৬০)ত

“ On analysis the Article reveals the following :

- a) All powers in the Republic belong to the people. This is the concept of sovereignty of the people. This echoes the words of the proclamation “ by the mandate given to us by the people of Bangladesh whose will is supreme”.
- b) This exercise on behalf of the people shall be effected only under, and by the authority of this Constitution. Limited government with three organ performing designated functions is envisaged. In the Proclamation it was said the President “ shall exercise all the Executive and Legislative Powers of the Republic” “ till such time as Constitution is framed” and he will “do all other things that may be necessary to give to the people of Bangladesh an orderly and just Government. Hence separation of Powers emerges as a necessary corollary of designated functions;
- c) Supreme Law of the Republic. That points to supremacy of the Constitution because;
- d) Any law is void to the extent of inconsistency with the Supreme Law (i.e. the Constitution) which therefore contemplates judiciary;
- (e) Supreme Court with plenary judicial power for maintenance of the supremacy of the Constitution”.

৯৮৬৭ emti i l cte® Thomas Paine msweavb mঝ#Ü ewj qv†Qb t

“ A Constitution is not the act of a government, but of a people constituting a government, and a government without constitution is power without right ..... A constitution is a thing antecedent to a government; and a government is only the creature of a constitution (1792)(Quoted from Hilaire Bernett on Constitutional And Administrative Law, Fourth Edition, 2002, page-7).

( the underlings are mine).

Thomas McIntyre Cooley *Ō*A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations (1868)

bvgK weL`vZ MŠ' e†j b t

“A Constitution is sometimes defined as the fundamental law of a state, containing the principles upon which the government is founded, regulating the division of the sovereign powers, and directing to what persons each of these powers is to be confided, and the manner in which it is to be exercised. Perhaps an equally complete definition would be, that body of rules and maxims in accordance with which the powers of sovereignty are habitually exercised.” (De Capo Press, New York, 1972, cōv 2 nB†Z D×Z) |

GBi fC ZwĒK Ae`vb nB†Z Avgi v GLb we†ePbv Kwi e th,  
msweavb Kvnv†K e†j Ges Gi i “Zi KZLwb |

Professor K.C. Wheare *Zvnvi weL`vZ MŠ' Modern Constitution* (2q  
ms`i Y, 1996, cōvĐ1Đ5) †Z ōmsweavbō GBf v†e e`vL`v K†i b t

“The word ‘Constitution’ is commonly used in at least two senses in any ordinary discussion of political affairs. First of all it is used to describe the whole system of government of a country, the collection of rules which establish and regulate or govern the government..... What is more, this selection is almost invariable a selection of legal rules only. ‘The Constitution’, then, for most countries in the world, is a selection of the Legal rules which govern the government of that country and which have been embodied in a document.” .....What is more, in the United States, if an act of Congress or an act of any State legislature or of any other rule-making authority in the country, conflicts with the terms of the Constitution, it is void.”

msweavb m†eP AvBb Kvi Y Zvnv RbM†Yi B"Qv†K cōZ dŵj Z  
K†i | Alexander Hamilton G m†Ü The Federalist G e†j b t

“ No legislative act, therefore, contrary to the constitution can be valid. To deny this would be to affirm that the deputy is greater than his principal; that the servant is above his master, that the representatives of the people are superior to the people themselves;

.....the Constitution ought to be preferred to the Statute, the intention of the people to the intention of their agents.”  
(A†av†i Lv cŦ Ė) |

`ßkZ ermi c†e°hß i v†ó† mpcŦg †Kv†UŦ Justice William Paterson US Circuit Court, Pennsylvania †Z Vanhorne’s Lessee V. Dorrance (1795) †gvKvŦ gvq msweav†bi †kŦZ; mŦ†Ü e†j b t

“What is a Constitution ? It is the form of government, delineated by the mighty hand of the people, in which certain first principles of fundamental laws are established. The Constitution is certain and fixed; it contains the permanent will of the people, and is the supreme law of the land; it is paramount to the power of the Legislature, and can be revoked or altered only by the authority that made it. The life-giving principle and the death-doing stroke must proceed from the same hand. What are Legislatures? Creatures of the Constitution; they owe their existence to the Constitution: they derive their powers from the Constitution: It is their commission; and, therefore, all their acts must be conformable to it, or else they will be void. The constitution is the work or will of the People themselves, in their original, sovereign, and unlimited capacity. Law is the work or will of the Legislature in their derivative and subordinate capacity. The one is the work of the Creator, and the other of the Creature. The Constitution fixes limits to the exercise of legislative authority, and prescribes the orbit within which it must move. In short, gentlemen, the Constitution is the sun of the political system, around which all Legislative, Executive and Judicial bodies must revolve. Whatever may be the case in other countries, yet in this there can be no doubt, that every act of the Legislature, repugnant to the Constitution, is absolutely void.....” (John B. Sholley: Cases on Constitutional Law, page-26,27 nB†Z D×Z) (A†av†i Lv cŦ Ė) |

Marbury V. Madison (1803) †gvKvŦ gvq hß i vó† mpcŦg †Kv†UŦ c†avb wePvi cWZ John Marshall msweavb mŦ†Ü cŦkŦDŦ vcb K†i b t

“ The question, whether an act, repugnant to the Constitution, can become the law of the land,.....The judicial power of the United States is extended to all cases arising under the Constitution..... that a law repugnant to the constitution is void; and that Courts as well as other departments, are bound by that

instrument.”(cases and materials on constituted law By Professor John P. Frank, 1952).”

Fazlul Kader Chowdhury V. Mohammed Abdul Hoque PLD 1963 SC486  
 তগবকবী গবগ বেপি চম্ভ নবগ্ য় ি নবগ্ মসবেব মঝউ এত্ ব (চ 535)ত

“The fundamental principle underlying a written Constitution is that it not only specifies the persons or authorities in whom the sovereign powers of the State are to be vested but also lays down fundamental rules for the selection or appointment of such persons or authorities and above all fixes the limits of the exercise of those powers. Thus the written Constitution is the source from which all governmental power emanates and it defines its scope and ambit so that each functionary should act within his respective sphere. No power can, therefore, be claimed by any functionary which is not to be found within the four corners of the Constitution nor can anyone transgress the limits therein specified.” (আতব্দি লব চ 535) |

A.T.Mridha V. State 25 DLR (1973) 335, তগবকবী গবগ বেপি চম্ভ এ` ি “j  
 নবগ্` বি তপ্শায় x মসবেব মঝউ এত্ ব ( চ`বি ব 10, চ৳৳344) ত

“ ..... The Constitution is the supreme law and all laws are to be tested in the touch stone of the Constitution (vide article 7). It is the supreme law because it exists, it exists because the Will of the people is reflected in it.” (আতব্দি লব চ 535) |

Md. Shoib V. Government of Bangladesh 27 DLR (1975) 315 তগবকবী গবগ  
 বেপি চম্ভ ম্ভ ম্ভ ফÆবপি গব মসবেব মঝউ এত্ ব (চ`বি ব20, চ 325)ত

“..... the Constitution being the solemn expression of the will of the people, is the Supreme law of the Republic and all powers of the Republic and their exercise shall be effected only under, and by the authority of, the Constitution. This is a basic concept on which the modern states have been built up.”

মসবেব তক্ কবি Y Bnv RbM†Yi চ্গবR†b RbMY KZK ম৳ Ges  
 RbM†Yi B”Qv I Awf e”w³ ি চ্গZdj b |

GLv†b D†j Ǝ" th ZwĖĲf vte h³ i v†R"i i vYx GLbl mveƒfšg  
 I i v†ó† GK"QĲ AwacwZ Ges tKvbi "c e" wZµg QvovB i v†R"i  
 mK†j B Zvni cĲv| wKš' evsj v†`k i v†ó† RbMYB mveƒfšg Ges  
 t`†ki GK"QĲ gwj K| t`†ki i vócwZ, cĕavbgšx, "úxKvi I cĕavb  
 wePvi c wZmn cĲvZ†šj K†g°wb†qwwRZ mK†j B evsj v†`†ki RbM†Yi  
 tmeK| evsj v†`†ki mveƒfšg RbMY Zvnt`i GB meḡq ¶gZv I  
 tkĕZj Zvnt`i wbeṖPZ cĕZwbwa gvi dZ c†qvM K†i b| GLv†b D†j Ǝ"  
 th RbM†Yi cĕZwbwaMY wbeṖPZ wKš' mveƒfšg b†nb|

msweav†bi 150 Ab†"Q†` RvwZi µ wšj xb I A" vqx weavbvej x  
 mṡ†Ü wb†`Ĳbv cĕ vb Kiv nBqv†Q| 150 Ab†"Q` wbæi fct

00 150| GB msweav†bi Ab" tKvb weavb m†Zj| PZ<sub>L</sub>°  
 Zd†m†j ewYŽ µ wšKvj xb I A" vqx weavbvej x  
 KvhĲi nB†e| 00

µ wšKvj xb I A" vqx weavbvej x hvnv msweavb cĕZ†bi Zwi L  
 1972 m†bi 16B wW†mṡ†j Zwi †L we`"gvb wQj i ay tmB, wj i t¶††  
 AĲ 150 Ab†"Q` c†hvR" nB†e|

Dc†i v³ Ab†"Q†` i Avl Zvq PZ<sub>L</sub>°Zd†mxj cŲqb Kiv nBqv†Q|  
 gj PZ<sub>L</sub>° Zd†mx†j tgvU 17wU `dv msh³ Kiv nBqwQj| th†nZy  
 PZ<sub>L</sub>° Zd†mj msweav†bi 150 Ab†"Q` Gi Avl Zvq mṑ Ges  
 th†nZy D³ 17wU `dv 150 Ab†"Q†` i Avl Zvq cŲxZ Ges PZ<sub>L</sub>°  
 Zd†mx†j msh³, tmB†nZy D³ 17wU `dv msweav†bi A½v½xfZ  
 Ask|

mṡKZ g†ZB 25†k gv†PṖ w`evMZ i v†Ĳ 26†k gv†PṖ cĲg  
 cĕ†i evsj v†`†ki mṡaxbZv tNvl bv nq| tmB gŲZ° nB†Z we†k|  
 evsj v†`k i v†ó† i³ v³ Rb† nq| 1972 m†bi 4Vv b†fṡ†j  
 evsj v†`†ki msweavb wewaex I MnxZ nq Ges 16B wW†mṡ†j D³  
 msweavb cĕZ†bi m†½ m†½ MYcwi I `fw½qv hvq| wKš' 1971 m†bi

26tk gvp<sup>o</sup> nBtZ gy<sup>3</sup> hxxKvj xb mgtq Ges 1972 mthi 16B  
 wWtmxj Zwi L ch<sup>s</sup>-th mKj mvsweawbK `wj j v`x, AvBb cYqb Ges  
 AwdmDAvt`k mgn cŕ vb Ki v nBqvwQj Zvrv Abtgv`Z I mgw\_Z  
 nBevi cŕqvRb wQj | gy<sup>3</sup> hxxKvj xb evsj vt`k mi Kvi , Bnvi cwi Pwj Z  
 gy<sup>3</sup> hxx, gy<sup>3</sup> hxxKvj xb mgtq wef bœ t`tki mwnZ mœuv`Z Py<sup>3</sup> Ges  
 evsj vt`k I Bnvi mi Kvi tK AvšRvZK AvBtb MhbthvM` mxxKwZ cŕ vb  
 BZ`vw` wef bœ c` tŕ c, wj i l mvsweawbK mxxKwZ cŕqvRb wQj |  
 ZvrvQov, gy<sup>3</sup> hxx mvdj `RbKfvte mgwß Aš- evsj vt`tki mxxbZv  
 ARb cieZx<sup>o</sup> Kvth i vócwZ KZK cŕ Ē wef bœ Avt`k I c` tŕ c,  
 c'avbgšx I Zvrv gšxmfv, nvBtKvtU<sup>o</sup> c'avb wePvi cwZ I wePvi Ke,`  
 Ges wePvi wefvM, Ki vti vc BZ`vw` i vó cwi Pvj bv msu vš- wef bœ  
 wel qvw` I c` tŕ c mgtni mvsweawbK Abtgv`tbi I AvBbMZ  
 cŕqvRbxqZv wQj | GB Kvi tYB msweavtb 149 I 150 Abt`Q`  
 msthvRb Avek`K wQj | 149 Abt`Q` cPwj Z AvBtbi tndvRZ  
 Kwi qvtQ Ges 150 Abt`Q` Dcti ewYZ µ wšKvj xb I A`vqx  
 weavbej xi mvsweawbK Abtgv`b cŕ vb Kwi qvtQ | GBi fcfvte  
 evsj vt`tk i vtoí Af` tqi mgq nBtZ 1972 mthi 16B wWtmxj  
 Zwi L msweavb cēZŕbi ce<sup>o</sup>ch<sup>s</sup>- cYxZ mKj mvsweawbK `wj j ,  
 AvBb, Avt`k, c` tŕ c BZ`vw` µ wšKvj xb I A`vqx weavbej x PZ<sup>o</sup>  
 Zcwmth ewYZ 17wU `dvi Ašf<sup>o</sup> Ges tmB ei veti mœuYfvte  
 msweavtbi Ašf<sup>o</sup> I Ask | thtnZy D<sup>3</sup> 17wU `dv msweavtbi  
 AšMZ tmBthnZy msweavtbi 7 Abt`Q` I gj PZ<sup>o</sup> Zdmxth ewYZ  
 D<sup>3</sup> 17wU `dvi Dcti mœuY<sup>o</sup> fvte cŕhvR`|

cZxqgvb nq th 1971 mthi 10B Gwcj Zwi tL gy<sup>3</sup> hxx  
 Kvj xb evsj vt`k mi Kvi gyRebMi nBtZ AvbŕwvKfvte mxxbZv  
 tNvl bv Kti b | D<sup>3</sup> mxxbZv tNvl bv wbæi fc t

“THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

MUJIBNAGAR, BANGLADESH

Dated 10<sup>th</sup> day of April, 1971.

WHEREAS free elections were held in Bangladesh from 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1970 to 17<sup>th</sup> January, 1971, to elect representatives for the purpose of framing a Constitution,

AND

WHEREAS at these elections the people of Bangladesh elected 167 out of 169 representatives belonging to the Awami League,

AND

WHEREAS General Yahya Khan summoned the elected representatives of the people to meet on the 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1971, for the purpose of framing a Constitution,

AND

WHEREAS the Assembly so summoned was arbitrarily and illegally postponed for an indefinite period,

AND

WHEREAS instead of fulfilling their promise and while still conferring with the representatives of the people of Bangladesh, Pakistan authorities declared an unjust and treacherous war,

WHEREAS in the facts and circumstances of such treacherous conduct Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of 75 million of people of Bangladesh, in due fulfillment of the legitimate right of self-determination of the people of Bangladesh, duly made a declaration of independence at Dacca on March 26, 1971, and urged the people of Bangladesh to defend the honour and integrity of Bangladesh,

AND

WHEREAS in the conduct of a ruthless and savage war the Pakistan authorities committed and are still continuously committing numerous acts of genocide and unprecedented tortures, amongst others on the civilian and unarmed people of Bangladesh,

AND

WHEREAS the Pakistan Government by levying an unjust war and committing genocide and by other repressive measures made it impossible for the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh to meet and frame a Constitution, and give to themselves a Government,

WHEREAS the people of Bangladesh by their heroism, bravery and revolutionary fervour have established effective control over the territories of Bangladesh.

We the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh, as honour bound by the mandate given to us by the people of Bangladesh whose will is supreme duly constituted ourselves into a Constituent Assembly, and

having held mutual consultations, and

in order to ensure for the people of Bangladesh equality, human dignity and social justice.

declare and constitute Bangladesh to be a sovereign People's Republic and thereby confirm the declaration of independence already made by Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and

do hereby affirm and resolve that till such time as a Constitution is framed, Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman shall be the President of the Republic and that Syed Nazrul Islam shall be the Vice-President of the Republic, and

that the President shall be the Supreme Commander of all the Armed Forces of the Republic,

shall exercise all the Executive and Legislative powers of the Republic including the power to grant pardon.

shall have the power to appoint a Prime Minister and such other Ministers as he considers necessary,

shall have the power to levy taxes and expend monies,

shall have the power to summon and adjourn the Constituent Assembly, and

do all other things that may be necessary to give to the people of Bangladesh an orderly and just Government.

We the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh do further resolve that in the event of there being no President or the President being unable to enter upon his office or being unable to exercise his powers due to any reason whatsoever, the Vice President shall have and exercise all the powers, duties and responsibilities herein conferred on the President.

We further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations that devolve upon us as a member of the family of nations and to abide by the Charter of the United Nations.

We further resolve that this Proclamation of Independence shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26<sup>th</sup> day of March, 1971.

We further resolve that in order to give effect to this instrument we appoint Prof. Yusuf Ali our duly Constituted potentiary and to give to the President and the Vice President oaths of office.



PROF. YUSUF ALI  
Duly Constituted Potentiary  
By and under the authority  
of the Constituent Assembly  
of Bangladesh.

(Aṭavṭi Lv c\* Ē)

Dcṭi v³ mṽaxbZv ṭNvl bvcĤ evsj vṭ`k i vṭóí meĉl\_g  
mvsweawwbK `wjj |

e½eÜy ṭkL gṽRej i ngvb th 1971 mṭbi 26ṭk gvP° Zwi ṭL  
XvKvq mṽaxbZv ṭNvl bv Kwi qwQṭj b Zvnv Dcṭi v³ mṽaxbZvi ṭNvl bv  
cṭĤ i cṭ`vebvi l ô `dvq eYḅv Ki v nBqvṭQ| e½eÜy ṭkL gṽRej  
i ngvb KZK evsj vṭ`ṭki mṽaxbZv ṭNvl bv D³ Proclamation of  
Independence Gi PZ\_L° `dvq wbwō Zfvṭe mg\_ḅ l Abṭgv` b Kṭi |  
ZvnvQvov, Bnvi PZṽK `dvq mṽaxbZvi GB ṭNvl bvcĤ 1971  
mṭbi 26ṭk gvP° Zwi L nBṭZ KvḥKi nBqvṭQ ewj qv MY` nBṭe  
GBi fc wmxvš- cḅ vb Kṭi | thṭnZy e½eÜy 1971 mṭbi 26ṭk gvP°  
Zwi ṭL evsj vṭ`ṭki mṽaxbZv ṭNvl Yv cḅ vb Kwi qwQṭj b tmBṭnZy D³  
Zwi LB evsj vṭ`ṭki mṽaxbZv w`em|

GKB 1OB GwCḡ Zwi ṭL Laws Continuance Enforcement Order  
Rvi x Ki v nq| Bnv wbaei fc t

#### LAWS CONTINUANCE ENFORCEMENT ORDER

MUJIBNAGAR,

Dated 10<sup>th</sup> day of April, 1971.

I, Syed Nazrul Islam, the Vice –President and Acting President of Bangladesh, in exercise of the powers conferred on me by the Proclamation of Independence dated tenth day of April, 1971 do hereby order that all laws that were in force in Bangladesh on 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1971, shall subject to the Proclamation aforesaid continue to be so in force with such consequential changes as may be necessary on account of the creation of the sovereign independent State of Bangladesh formed by the will of the people of Bangladesh and that all government officials-civil, military, judicial and diplomatic who take the oath of allegiance to Bangladesh shall continue in their offices on terms and conditions of service so long enjoyed by them and

that all District Judges and District Magistrate, in the territory of Bangladesh and all diplomatic representatives elsewhere shall arrange to administer the oath of allegiance to all government officials within their jurisdiction.

This Order shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26<sup>th</sup> day of March, 1971.

SYED NAZRUL ISLAM  
Acting President.

(A†av†i Lv cŃ Ė)

Bnv evsj v†`k i v†ó† wŃZxq mvsweawbK `wj j | Dc†i v³ ŃAWŃi Ń G 1971 m†bi 25†k gvP° Zwi †L evsj v†`†k we` ``gvb mKj AvBb m†axbZv †Nvl Yv mv†c†† Pj gvb \_vwK†e ewj qv †Nvl Yv Kiv nq| ZvnnQvov, Dc†i v³ AWŃi 26†k gvP° Zwi L nB†Z KvŃKi nB†e| GB k†Z† Kvi Y nB†Z†Q th th†nZy 26†k gvP° Zwi †L m†axbZv †Nvl bv Kiv nBqv†Q tmB†nZy ceŃ b 25†k gvP° Zwi †L we` ``gvb AvBb, wj Pj gvb i vLv nBqv†Q|

evsj v†`†ki msweavb envj nBevi ci Bnvi 151 Ab†`Q†` i Avl Zvq The Laws Continuance Enforcement Order i wnZ nq|

msweav†bi AmvgÄm`cY°Kvh†u g t

c†eB eYbv Kiv nBqv†Q th 1971 m†bi 10B GwcŃ Zwi †L evsj v†`k i v†ó† mecŃg mvsweawbK `wj j ‘The Proclamation of Independence’ †Nwl Z nq| D³ `wj †j Ab`vb` wel †qi mwnZ cwi `vi fv†e †Nvl Yv Kiv nBqv†Q th e½eÜy tkL gwRej ingvb 1971 m†bi 26†k gvP° Zwi †L evsj v†`†ki m†axbZv †Nvl Yv Kwi qv†Qb| †`k m†axb nBevi ci, 1972 m†bi 10B GwcŃ Zwi †L evsj v†`k MYcwi l†` i cŃg Aw†ek†b m†axbZv †Nvl Yv c†`ve Avbqb Kiv nq| D³ Aw†ek†b me° mgwZµ†g c†`ve MwnZ nq th e½eÜy tkL gwRej ingvb 1971 m†bi 26†k gvP° Zwi †L evsj v†`†ki m†axbZv †Nvl Yv cŃ vb Kwi qvwQ†j b| msweav†bi c†`vebvi cŃg ev†K`B 1971 m†bi

26tk gvP©Zwi tL th evsj vt`tki mʌaxbZv tNvl Yv nBqvwQj Zvnnv eYᵇv  
 Ki v nBqv†Q| ZvnnvQvov, Penal Code Gi mstkwaz 123ᵇG avi vqI 1971  
 m†bi 26tk gvP©Zwi tL th evOj vt`k mʌaxb nBqvwQj Zvnnv ej v  
 nBqv†Q|

2004 m†bi `wj j cĤ cᵇgᵇY cK†i i cZ`qb KwgwU I  
 mveᵇKwgwUi mKj m`m`B AZ`š- Áwb, ʃYx I AwZ D`P wkw¶Z  
 e`w³ Zij Zvnnv v wbᵇqB 1971 m†bi ‘The Proclamation of Independence’ Ges  
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“The Constitution is the origin and measure of legislative authority. It says to legislators, thus far ye shall go and no further. Not a particle of it should be shaken; not a pebble of it should be removed. Innovation is dangerous. One incroachment leads to another; precedent gives birth to precedent; what has been done may be done again; thus radical principles are generally broken in upon, and the Constitution eventually destroyed.” (John B. Sholley : Cases on Constitutional Law, Page-26, 30 nB†Z D×Z )

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Lord Pearce msweavb f ½ mæ#Ü e#j b t

“If such Acts as these were valid the judicial power could be wholly absorbed by the legislature and taken out of the hands of the judges. It is appreciated that the legislature had no such general intention. It was beset by a grave situation and it took grave measures to deal with it, thinking, one must presume, that it had power to do so and was acting rightly. But that consideration is irrelevant, and gives no validity to acts which infringe the Constitution. What is done once, if it be allowed, may be done again and in a lesser crisis and less serious circumstances. And thus judicial power may be eroded. Such an erosion is contrary to the clear intention of the Constitution. In their Lordships’ view the Acts were ultravires and invalid.” (page-291F to 292A) (Aḡav ti Lv cŃ Ė) |

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nvRvi ermi cte<sup>®</sup>Bsj `v†Ūi i vRv mve†fšg wQ†j b| Zvnvi evK`B wQj AvBb| Zvnvi mvgvb`Zg wei "xvPvi Y i vR†`Ūn ewj qv we†ewPZ nBZ| King Henry VIII tK Church of England Gi cĥavb (Head of Church of England) ewj qv gwbbqv j B†Z AmxKvi Ki vq Lord Chancellor Thomas More tK 16 ermi Tower G Kvi v`Ū tfvM Kwi †Z nq Zrci Zvnvi wki †"Q` Kiv nq| evsj v†`tk RbMYB mve†fšg| mvsweawwbK c`waKvi e`w<sup>3</sup> eMĥn cRvZ†šj mKj KgPvi x RbM†Yi tmeK| evsj v†`tki RbM†Yi Awfc†qi Pi g l ci g Awfe`w<sup>3</sup> i "c nB†Z†Q evsj v†`tki msweavb| Bnvi cwi cws' th tKvb c`t¶ c MhYB nB†Z†Q Subversion of the Constitution Z\_v evsj v†`tki RbM†Yi wei "xvPvi Y Z\_v i v†óí wei "xvPvi Y ev Subversion of the State |

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## THE TIMES

Saturday March 27, 1971

No. 58,132 Price 5 P

### Heavy Fighting as Shaikh Mujibur declares E Pakistan independent

Civil war raged in the **eastern** region of Pakistan night after the provincial leader, Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, had proclaimed the region an independent republic. President Yahya Khan outlawed the Shaikh's Awami League and denounced the Shaikh himself as a traitor whose crime "would not go unpunished".

Political activity throughout Pakistan has been banned and total censorship has been imposed.

Official communications between East Pakistan and the rest of the world have been cut. The only news about the days's dramatic

developments came into clandestine radio bulletins broadcast from Dacca and from reports by travellers crossing into India.

The Press Trust of India, quoting reports from the East Pakistan-India border, said that Dacca, the capital of the eastern wing, had become a “battle-field”. It also quoted Shaikh Mujibur’s claim that West Pakistan troops had been surrounded by East Pakistan troops and police in six cities.

## **President says traitors must be punished**

Delhi, March 26-Shaikh Mujibur Rahman tonight proclaimed East Pakistan the Sovereign Independent People’s Republic of Bangla Desh, according to a clandestine radio report monitored near the East Pakistan border.

The Press Trust of India (P.T.I) published the report which was monitored at Agartala, in the Indian territory of Tripura, about 56 miles east of Dacca. P.T.I. said that the broadcast was not made by the Shaikh himself but by an unidentified announcer.

The broadcast said that troops of the East Bengal Regiment, the East Pakistan Rifles, and the “entire police force” had surrounded West Pakistan troops in Chittagong, Comilla, Sylhet, Jessore, Barisal and Khulna, and that heavy fighting was continuing.

It added that West Pakistan forces were hunting for Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, who was said to have gone underground after the fighting began.

The broadcast called upon the people of “free Bangla Desh to continue their movement for independence “until the last enemy soldier has vanished”. It said that the Shaikh was “the only leader of the people of independent Bangla Desh” and his command should be obeyed to save the country from “the ruthless dictatorship of West Pakistanis”.

President Yahya Khan said in a nationwide radio broadcast tonight that the Shaikh’s Awami League, which won an overwhelming majority of seats in East Pakistan in the elections for the National Assembly in December, would be completely banned.

He said that the Shaikh had flouted the authority of the Government and attacked the integrity of Pakistan. “This crime will not go unpunished”, he said.

He described the Shaikh’s action in starting his non-co-operation movement as “an act of treason. He and his party have defied the lawful authority for over three weeks. They have unsuluted Pakistan’s flag and

defiled photographs of the father of the nation. They have tried to run a parallel Government. They have created turmoil, terror and insecurity”.

His voice rising with anger, President Yahya declared that he could not allow “power-hungry despots” to destroy the country and play with the destinies of 120 million people.

Of his recent talks in Dacca with the Shaikh, he said: “His obstinacy, his obduracy and absolute refusal to talk sense lead to only one conclusion the man and his party are enemies of Pakistan. They want East Pakistan to break away completely from Pakistan.”

He assured Pakistanis that his aim remained the same “namely, the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. As soon as the situation permits, I will take fresh steps towards the achievement of this objective.”

Meanwhile, he said, all political activity throughout Pakistan would be banned, there would be a complete censorship of the press and a curfew would be imposed on Dacca and all other cities of East Pakistan.

The Press Trust of India, quoting clandestine radio reports from East Pakistan, spoke of heavy casualties in the fighting between East and West Pakistan armed forces and severe fighting was said to be taking place in Dacca and several other parts of the eastern region.

Reports in Calcutta said that at least 10,000 West Pakistan troops had landed at East Pakistan ports, bringing the total now in the province to about 70,000.

The reports said that the West Pakistan troops had arrested several hundred people and had taken up positions in strategic areas.

[The State Department in Washington said that Americans reaching the United States Congratulate in East Pakistan had reported that West Pakistan Army troops and tanks had spread through Dacca and “extensive firing, including the use of tanks”, was under way.]

The worsening in the Pakistan crisis began yesterday with reports that at least 35 people had been killed and more than 100 injured when troops machine-gunned large crowds in the Rangpur and Chitagong district on Wednesday.

Shaikh Mujibur had called for a general strike tomorrow in protest against the shootings.

He called on the President to halt all Army operations immediately.



President Yahya Khan had flown to Dacca from West Pakistan for protracted talks with the Shaikh in an effort to solve the crisis which was threatening to tear Pakistan apart.

They had been joined by Mr. Bhutto, the West Pakistan political leader whose left-wing People's Party won a majority of seats in the western province in the National Assembly elections in December.

Violence had also flared yesterday in West Pakistan, where a 10-hour curfew was clamped on the Punjab industrial town of Lyallpur after a day of clashes between left-wing demonstrators and police. At least 30 police were reported seriously injured in the textile centre about 80 miles from Lahore.

The clashes began when the People's Guards, the militant wing of Mr. Bhutto's party defeated an official ban and marched through the streets.

Reuter, U.P.I and A.P.

The Times cwl Kvq 27tk gvp® Zwi tL î tqv` k côvq wbaej wLZ  
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PAKISTAN ON THE BRINK OF WAR

East Pakistan yesterday exploded into violence and grave political drama. Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, the acknowledged leader of Bengali nationalism in the province, responded heroically to the Pakistan army's intervention with a call for residence and a declaration of independence. By contrast President Yahya Khan explained his decision to break off the constitutional talks and order the army into action as a move to bring the province under control. He spoke of the law and order situation “ returning to normal”, as if the authority of the army could soon be asserted whatever Shaikh Mujib and his nationalist following might do. Yet already accounts finding their way across divided Bengal speak of civil war. Though the situation is confused, it does seem possible that something like civil war might result rather than the speedy and effective police action for which Presidnet Yahya hopes.

If that were to happen it would be hard to predict what the outcome might be. In civil war, military fortunes are so intimately bound up with political decisions on both sides that any military analysis of the situation is bound to be tentative. Added to this is uncertainty about which side

particular units of the armed forces will take-and the extent to which there will be discontent within units at the side taken by their commanders.

It is to be expected that the main units of the Army in East Pakistan will remain loyal to the President. This is now a substantial force of about 70,000 men and it undoubtedly constitutes the predominant organized power in the province. Nevertheless, for some weeks Shaikh Mujib has been rallying the active support of the civil service and the police and there is good evidence that most members of the Bengali regiments will accept his orders. The Awami League has had its own "peace patrols" and "liberation committees" operating in the villages for some weeks. There is thus the basis for organized formations to operate in the name of the separatists and for a widespread seizure of control of the countryside and the villages.

The problem for the Army will be one of deciding what the decisive positions are and using its superior organized numbers to hold them. This must clearly include both ports and airfields to maintain supplies and reinforcements from West Pakistan. The absence of overflying rights across India is serious but not decisive, since the most important equipment must come by sea. Vast airlifts of significant quantities of military equipment are in any case beyond the resources of a country like Pakistan.

Where India will play a still more important role will be in her attitude to the official or unofficial provision of supplies to either side across the enormous frontier between India and East Pakistan. One must expect a studied detachment in the attitude of the government: but the militarily important fact will be what is allowed to happen as between Bengalis on either side of the frontier.

If there were to be prolonged fighting, the territory would be incredibly difficult for ground troops. East Pakistan is a mass of impassable waterways and will sternly resist any attempt to dominate with tanks and artillery. Air power, to the extent that it can be supplied and maintained, would have an undoubted psychological effect but this is always shortlived. On the other hand, the Army might hope to sustain much of the authority of the central government if it could identify a small number of decisive points and dominate them. The President's main hope then would be that a long guerrilla battle in the countryside might not prove to be in the character and traditions of the people.

Even if East Bengal were cowed for a time the demand for autonomy of some kind would not, therefore, be silenced. Yet the events of

the past few weeks may have shown how much any half-way house of autonomy is possible at all, given the geographical, cultural and political separation of the two wings of the country. When they first broke away from India to form a new country what united the two wings was the fact that both of them were Muslim areas of British India. But now an East Bengal has been proclaimed which would move towards a denial or a modification of that first assumption. This may be illustrated by the bargaining over autonomy of the past few weeks. One of the East Pakistani complaints has always been that they were denied the fruits of their own trade and of their fair share of the foreign aid allotted to Pakistan. Yet once their claim to manage their own trade is conceded then questions of currency, banking, taxation and such like all follow. Moreover since freedom to trade without interference from the central or federal government would mean for East Pakistan freedom to trade with India it would also follow in time that East Pakistan's relations with India could be pursued as the province thought fit. The reservation to the central government of defence and foreign affairs would soon be eroded and at the end of the road there would be only independence.

If any half-way house were possible the chances of finding it must now be discounted and President Yahya's optimism set aside. An independent East Bengal, divorced from the fact and the idea which created Pakistan, may eventually emerge. There are those in India who would regard this as a dangerous prospect. East Bengal has also spawned the revolutionary National Awami Party led by the Maulana Bhashani. Though the Maulana has lost his old eminence and the party is split into at least three groups there are those among them who look to China. If East Pakistan has been flung into a civil war that might go on for a long time then Shaikh Mujib's authority may also begin to ebb and the field would be open to the exponents of peasant guerrilla warfare as a way forward. If East Pakistan is to be a success as an independent state and not lapse into a morass of revolutionary warfare it needs to be launched while Shaikh Mujib still holds the country together.

Events have pushed Shaikh Mujib to his declaration of independence. Pressure within the army may have pushed President Yahya to action he would rather have deferred. Already all the questions of national identity with which Pakistan was surrounded at its birth will be echoing in the minds of those involved. And in India too. During the

gathering crisis there were effigies of Mr. Jinnah burnt in the streets of Dacca. No one can foresee where these emotions will lead.

1971 m†bi 27†k gvP® Zwi †L The Times cŵĪ Kvi Øv` k cÔvq  
Shaikh Mujibr Rahman : a symbol of Bengali resistance wk†i vbvg mn GKŵU  
wekvj Qwe Qvcv nq Ges Bnvi mwnZ wbæwj ŵLZ wk†i vbvg mn GKŵU  
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**Shaik Mujibur Rahman, now faces the crisis he has always  
feared**

**The making of a martyr**

Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, the East Pakistan leader who has called on his people to stand united against the Pakistan military regime, is a symbol of resistance. The greater part of the past 20 years of his life have been spent as a political prisoner. Today, as he leads East Pakistan through the most critical stage of its struggle, he can count on even more support than the 96 per cent of the election vote he won in East Bengal to make him the majority leader in all of Pakistan.

“Let the Army come and take me to prison,” he scoffed in a recent interview with me at his home in Dacca. “Look for yourself. I have nobody guarding me. They have all the guns. They can kill me. Indeed, they can kill my family. But let them know that they cannot kill the spirit of 78 million people. The people are behind me and they will die for their rights. They have shown it. Gunds will never silence the voice of the people of Bengal.”

The past three weeks have weighed heavily on Shaikh Mujibur. His battle has been on two fronts. The ardent hope that the Pakistan crisis could be settled within the framework of the democracy promised by the country’s general election compelled him to work tirelessly in the negotiations with President Yahya Khan. The call for Bengali independence which had infected the populace in the past month bringing province-wide civil disobedience in protest against the military regime pitted his political prestige and personal support against the challenging voice of the extremists within his own movement.

Indeed, it is ironic that the militay regime’s decision to use force in an attempt to impose a settlement in favour of the west wing in the Pakistan

constitutional crisis, may be the decisive blow which ends the concept of a united Pakistan. For Shaikh Mujibur, though representing the essence of Bengali nationalism, is undoubtedly a greater patriot than many leaders from West Pakistan who support the regime's latest militant stand.

Tall and engagingly handsome, Sheikh Mujibur, who is 51, looks like a successful businessman. He conducts his politics in the manner that is customary with the tribal leader in Islamic societies. His endurance, since the crisis began with the cancellation at the beginning of the month of the National Assembly, has been remarkable. Between constant sittings with his inner council of the Awami League, drafting policy and running the administrative affairs of the province, he has also played host to a stream of political leaders from West Pakistan who have joined in the efforts to find a solution to the crisis. On top of that, his house has been the rallying point for Bangla Desh nationalists.

"What I want is emancipation for my people". the Shaikh said, maintaining the policy he has hitherto taken, even in public rallies, of avoiding the mention of independence. "Let us face it- even when the British ruled India they did not tax us. They reaped the fruits of the land but they did not impose taxes on us. At the moment we are being treated by the West Pakistanis as a mere colony and a market place. We have our rights and these were underlined in the results of the elections. Only a few days after her election, Mrs. Gandhi was sworn in as Prime Minister. My election was last year but I am still waiting to be sworn in."

After an early mission school education, Shaikh Mujibur graduated from the Calcutta Islamia College just before partition. His political life dates back to the early 1940s when he was elected to the Council of the All India Muslim Students Federation and later the Muslim League. However, after partition he broke with the Muslim League which came to power in East Bengal and under which he had his first taste of prison for his association with the first Bengal Language Movement. He was to serve four other prison sentences under successive Pakistan regimes.

The event that marked the rise of Shaikh Mujibur to a position of power, and to the eventual undisputed leadership of East Pakistan, was his arrest by the regime of President Ayub Khan in 1966 under the defence of Pakistan rules. This followed soon after he first publicly stated his six-point programme for regional autonomy for East Pakistan. After spending 21 months in prison, the Shaikh was removed to military custody and became the principal defendant in the Argatala conspiracy case. It was alleged that

he had plotted with members of the armed forces to get East Pakistan's independence.

Strikes and popular demonstrations followed the Shaikh's arrest and continued throughout the trial, which lasted a year. He became the focal point for Bengali nationalism. There is no doubt that the trial itself, which ended inconclusively with the Shaikh's release and the political unrest it created in the country was a contributory factor in the downfall of the General Yahya Khan and his military regime.

To those who have watched the Shaikh closely during the past three weeks it has been obvious that he was not unaware of his formative political years and the hardships they imposed upon him. Indeed, there were those who have long been close to him, who felt that his constant reference to his prison years and the possibility of his death, betrayed an inner wish that he would not have to face what he had always feared. As he himself put it many times : " I am an optimist. I hope for the best, but I always prepare for the worst."

**Paul Martin**

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## FINANCIAL TIMES

No. 25,514

SATURDAY MARCH 27 1971.

### **Civil War after East Pakistan declares independence**

BY KEVIN RAFFERTY

**Civil war broke out in East Pakistan yesterday after Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared an "Independent People's Republic of Bangla Desh" (Bengal Nation).**

The Pakistani President, General Yahaya Khan, had earlier in the day declared the Sheikh a traitor, outlawed his party-the Awami League, which is supported by almost all the 75m. people of the Eastern region- and sent in heavy reinforcements for the Paksitan Army.

The position taken by the two men marked the final breakdown of the month-long efforts to find even an interim agreement to preserve the unity of Pakistan.

The true situation inside East Pakistan was unclear last night, as the Martial Law authorities had enforced strict censorship of all news. But reports monitored across the border in India spoke of heavy fighting and casualties in the capital, Dacca, and other towns throughout East Pakistan.

The State Department in Washington, for example, said it had learned that “extensive fighting, including the use of tanks, was going on in Dacca.

## **Uncertain**

Sheikh Mujib, who for the last month has been the de facto ruler of the people of East Pakistan, in a message relayed from an unknown place and monitored in Calcutta, earlier called upon his people “to resist the enemy forces at any cost in every corner of Bangla Desh.”

Mujib’s whereabouts were uncertain. Various reports said he had been arrested on Thursday night or that he had fled to India.

A radio station calling itself the “Independent Voice of Bangla Desh” said that he had gone underground.

This station broadcast the call for independence which was read for Sheikh Mujib. It added : “ Today the whole country is suffering from multiple injuries inflicted by military power and brutal killings. The revolutionary people of Independent Bengal have struck back.....The enemy is constantly using helicopters to bring reinforcements. Eastern Paksitan Rifles and other forces are engaged in fierce fighting with the army. If the enemy dares enter your town or village, hurl on them powdered red pepper, soda water bottles and sundry items. Use hand grenades if you have them.

“They are shooting to kill at sight. Thousands today died. This is unprecedented in world history. I therefore appeal to the world and particularly to our neighbouring states: please do not remain silent spectators to this diabolical carnage. Please move forward to help 75m. brothers of Bangla Desh.

“To the citizens of the world we appeal: Please come forward in the name of humanity to save and liberate the people of Bengal.”

Last night many people seemed to have defied the 24 hours curfew imposed on Dacca and other parts of Bengal, and reports of shooting came

from Dacca, the southern port of Chittagong and Rangpur to the north of the capital.

There are 600 British people left in East Pakistan, but there are no reports so far that any of them have been harmed.

## **Showdown**

President Yahya Khan arrived back in Karachi on Thursday night after 11 days of abortive talks with Sheikh Mujib in Dacca. On Friday morning the Army authorities flung out a flurry of new martial law regulations which showed that they had determined on a showdown with the Easterners.

In a broadcast President Yahya insisted that his aim was still to transfer power “to the elected representatives of the people.” He claimed that Sheikh Mujib had attacked the integrity of Pakistan and added : “this crime will not go unpunished.” He said that he could not allow “power-hungry despots” to destroy the country and play with the destinies of its 120m. people.

The finality of the break between East and West was illustrated with Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the popular radical leader of West Pakistan who won 85 of the West Pakistan 138 Assembly seats and who would have assumed civilian power in that Wing declared last night on his return to Karachi: “ By the grace of the Almighty, Pakistan has at last been saved.”

The new regulations include :

- 24-hour curfew with a warning that anyone breaking it would be shot on sight :
- Ban on all political activities and political speeches “either in the open or inside any premises”.
- All news and views on political developments or on the law and order situation to be censored:
- Government and semi-Government employees who have been taking part in the Awami League’s non-co-operation movement were told to return to work within 24 hours on pain of being tried by a military court:
- Banks were ordered to stop transactions and freeze accounts.
- Everyone, except diplomats and service personnel, was ordered to surrender firearms within 24 hours.



- Industrial strikes and lockouts were banned and schools and colleges closed.

These orders were decreed with such speed that their contradictions—such as between the curfew and Government employees reporting for work—were not explained.

It is surprising, though, that it took so long for East and West Pakistan officially to declare the breakdown.

The natural antagonisms and opposed interest of East and West came to a head in the general election in December last year. The East Pakistan based Awami League then won all but two of East Pakistan's 169 seats in a National Assembly of 313. This gave it an absolute majority, but without the right to exercise it.

An important factor increasing tension between the two regions has been the jealousy of the Easterners for the benefits which they saw accruing to the West.

The West has rich industries and its agriculture has prospered as a result of the “green revolution” and irrigation projects. The average annual per capita income in West Pakistan, for example, is £66, about one-third higher than that in the East, where 75m. people are cramped into a far smaller area.

The value of British investment in Pakistan is officially and conservatively put at £130m. but the figure is not broken down between the two wings. The jute trade between Britain and the East is worth about 15 m. a year. Sheikh Mujib himself appears to be aware of the need to safeguard these international economic links, and the main danger would probably come from a prolonged conflict.

The Pakistan Army is thought to have three divisions, about 70,000 men, in the East. Most observers are convinced, after the evidence of recent weeks, that the Easterners are behind Sheikh Mujib almost to a man—that the only way the Army can hope to hold “Bangla Desh” is by acting with such force as to cow the rest into submission. This is going to be far more difficult than it would have been immediately after the election.

One problem for the Army is that their supply lines are uncomfortably extended. Troops can only be brought in quickly by air.

Even the air journey from West Pakistan takes six hours—all overflying of Indian territory by Pakistan is banned and the troops will have to look to a hostile local population for their food and supplies.

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“NEW YORK TIMES

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1971

LEADER OF REBELS IN EAST PAKISTAN REPORTED SEIZED

Sheikh Mujib Arrested After a Broadcast proclaiming Region’s  
Independence

DACCA CURFEW EASED

.....

Troops Said to Be Gaining in Fighting in Cities-Heavy Losses Seen.

NEW DELHI, Saturday, March 27-The Pakistan radio announced  
today that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the nationalism leader of East Pakistan,  
had been arrested only hours after he had proclaimed his region independent  
and after open rebellion was reported in several cities in the East.”

Saturday Morning, March 27, 1971

## Civil War Flares as East Pakistanis

### Claim Independence

BY WILLIAM J. COUGHLIN

Times Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI-Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared independence for East Paksitan Firday as the long smoldering feud between the two wings of the Islamic nation flamed into open civil war.

A clandestine radio broadcast monitored here from a station identifying itself as "The voice of Indeppendent Bangladesh Desh (Bengali homeland)," said. "The sheik has declared the 75 million people of East Pakistan as citizens of the sovereign indepdndent Bangla Desh.

But the official Radio Pakistan announced today that Rahman was arrested only hours after he proclaimed East Pakistan Independence."

## THE AGE

27<sup>th</sup> March, 1971

### Dacca Breaks With Pakistan.

**From Australian Associated Press**

DACCA, March 26.- East Pakistan today delcared itself independent of the central Government in Karachi.

The declaration followed a broadcast by President Yahya Khan outlawing East Pakistan's dominant political party, the Awami League, and accusing its leader, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, of treason.

Indian radio monitors reported that Sheik Mujib made the independence proclamation from a radio station believed captured by his supporters from army authorities.

The radio station called itself "Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra (Free Bengal Radio Station).

## THE AGE

**Saturday Morning March, 1971.**

### Yahya's army elamps down on Dacca

The army took over Dacc Radio and all press, radio and television were placed under censorship.

Educational Institutions and banks were ordered closed indefinitely and bank accounts were frozen.

Wireless monitors in Calcutta said Sheik Mujib, in a special message, appealed to East Pakistanis to resist the enemy forces at all costs.

The monitors said the message was believed to have originated from a wireless transmission in either the port city of Chittagong or Chalna.

The message quoted Sheik Mujib as saying :

:Pakistani armed forces suddenly attacked the East Pakistan Rifles base at Pillkhana and Rajarbag, at Zero hours today, March 26, killing a lot of unarmed people.

“ Bitter fighting is going on with the EPR in Dacca and the police force. The people are fighting the enemy gallantly for the cause of the freedom of Bangla Desh (Bengali nation).

“Every section of the people of Bangla Desh must resist the enemy forces at all costs in every corner of Bangla Desh.

“May Allah bless you and help you in the struggle for freedom from the enemy.”

## **The Bangkok Post**

An independent newspaper

BANGKOK SATURDAY MARCH 27, 1971.

PAK NEAR CIVIL WAR

East Declares Independence

### **At all costs**

The agency said the fighting, pitted the West Pakistan dominated central army against the people of East Pakistan and the Provincial Police and paramilitary East Pakistan Rifles.

Wireless monitors in Calcutta said Sheikh Mujibur in a special message appealed to East Pakistanis “to resist the enemy forces at all costs.

## **THE TIMES OF INDIA**

**Bombay Saturday, March 27, 1971.**

**MUJIB PROCLAIMS FREE BANGLA DESH**

**Heavy casualties in civil war;  
Pindi troops surrounded  
in at least six cantonments**

**NEW DELHI, March 26.**

A “sovereign, independent People’s Republic of Bangla Desh” was proclaimed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today even as President Yahya Khan ordered the army to “fully restore the authority” of his Government in the turbulent easter wing.

THE DECLARATION, BROADCAST OVER “VOICE OF INDEPENDENT BANGLA DESH”. SAID: “THE SHEIKH HAS DECLARED THE 75 MILLION PEOPLE OF EAST PAKISTAN CITIZENS OF INDEPENDENT BANGLA DESH”.

.....  
.....  
Free Bangla Desh flags have been fluttering all over East Pakistan and millions of people led by the Awami League are ready to make any sacrifice to preserve independence.

In many towns, women poured into the steets in their thousands in support of pro-Rahman demonstrators defying the martial law orders. The freedom struggle seeped into the contryside too, with villagers in sevrsl places organising themselves into self defence groups with whatever weapons they could get hold of.

The villagers were reportedly fighting with all available weapons, including spears, lathis and “Ram Daos”.

Bangla Desh tonight appealed to the United Natioins and to Asian African countried to render it all assistance in its fight for freedom.

In a late night broadcast, Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra said: “ The liberation war now going on in Bangla Desh is part of the Afro-Asian countries movement for liberation from colonial domination.”

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NEWSWEEK, April 5, 1971.

### PAKISTAN PLUNGES INTO CIVIL WAR

The man and his party are enemies of Pakistan. This crime will not go unpunished. We will not allow some power-hungry and unpartriotic people to destroy this country and play with the destiny of 120 million people.

-----President Mohammed Yahya Khan.

Come out of your houses with whatever weapons you have. Resist the enemy forces at any cost.....until the last enemy soldier is vanquished, and save the country from the ruthless dictatorship of West Pakistanis.

----Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Until the very last moment, it looked as if the two proud men entrusted with Pakistan's destiny might still be able to avert a head-on clash. From the East Pakistani capital of Dacca came optimistic reports that President Mohammed Yahya Khan and Mujib as the leader of secessionist-minded East Pakistan is known-were about to reach a compromise. But then, with stunning suddenness, the pieces of Pakistan's complicated political puzzle flew apart. In the East Pakistan cities of Rangpur and Chittagong, federal troops poured machinegun fire into mobs of demonstrating Bengali nationalists. Swiftly, Yahya issued orders to his army to "crush the movement and restore the full authority of the government". In his turn, Mujib proclaimed East Pakistan the "Sovereign, independent People's Republic of Bangla Desh (Bengal nation)." And with that, Pakistan was plunged into civil war.....

With Jenkins and other foreign reporters expelled from East Pakistan, the world was left to the mercy of conflicting radio reports for its information. The official government radio in Karachi announced that the army had arrested Mujib. But a clandestine radio in Dacca, identifying itself as the Voice of Independent Bangla Desh, proclaimed that Mujib was still safe in his underground headquarters. Under his leadership, said rebel

radio announcer: “The people of Bangla Desh will shed more blood.....

POET OF POLITICS

When Sheikh Mujibur Rahman proclaimed the independence of Bangla Desh last week some of his critics declared that he was merely yielding to the pressure of his extremist supporters, seeking to ride the crest of a wave in order to avoid being engulfed by it. But in a sense Mujib’s emergence as the embattled leader of a new Bengal “nation” is the logical outcome of a lifetime spent fighting for Bengali nationalism. Although Mujib may be riding the crest of a wave, his presence there is no accident.....

.....Mujib can attract a crowd of a million people to his rallies and hold them spell-bound with great rolling waves of emotional rhetoric. “Even when you are talking alone with him, “says a diplomat,” he talks like he’s addressing 60,000 people. Eloquent in Urdu, Bengali and English, three languages of Pakistan Mujib does not pretend to be an original thinker. He is a poet of politics, not an engineer, but the Bengalis tend to be more artistic than technical, anyhow, and so his style may be just what was needed to unite all the classes and ideologies of the region.

A month ago, at a time when he was still pulibcly-refraining from proclaiming independence Mujib privately told NEWSWEEK’S Loren Jenkins that “there is no hope of salvaging the situation. The country, as we know it, is finished.” But he waited for President Mohammed Yahya Khan to make the break. “ We are the majority, so we cannot secede. They, the Westerners, are the minority, and it is up to them to secede.”

Two weeks later as the crisis deepened, hundreds of Bengalis crowded the yard and hallways of Mujib’s home in suburban Dacca, and puffing on a pipe. (“the only foreign thing I use”), he cheerfully spoke to them all. After addressing one enthusiastic gathering Sheikh Mujibur Rahman turned to Western newsmen and said: “ I have this sort of thing from 5 am. on. Do you think any one can suppress this spirit with machine guns ?” A few days later someone was trying.

**TIME Magazine April 5, 1971.**

**THE WORLD**

**PAKISTAN: TOPPLING OVER THE BRINK.**

.....

The army ordered a strict 24-hour curfew in Dacca, with violators shot on sight. But soon the Free Bengal Revolutionary Radio Center, probably somewhere in Chittagong, crackled into life. Over the clandestine sation, Mujib proclaimed the creation of the “Sovereign independent Bengali nation.” and called on its people to “resist the enemy forces at all costs in every corner of Bangla Desh.”

ZvovQvov, wKQKvj cte® h³ i vó¹ mi Kvi c¶¶ 70 `k±Ki tek wKQy classified `wj j v`x declassified Ki Z t RbM±Yi mg¶L Dg¶³ Ki v nBqv±Q| 1971 m±bi 26±k gvP® Zwi ±Li Hi “c GKwU declissified `wj ±j i d±UvKwC 4 bs c¶Zev`x mi Kvi c¶¶ 1Ð6Ð2009 Zwi ±Li Gwd±Wwf ±Ui mwnZ msh³ Kwi qv±Q| ZvovQvov, D³ `wj j wUi d±UvKwC wewf bœM±š¹ cKvukZ nBqv±Q| 1971 m±bi 26±k gvP®Zwi ±Li D³ `wj j wU wbæi “c (G`v±bKPvi ÐX-7 )t

**DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**  
**OPEERATIONAL INTELENGENCE DIVISION**  
**D1-2**  
**DIA SPOT REPORT**

**DATE 26<sup>TH</sup> March, 1971**  
**TIME : 1430 EST.**

SUBJECT : Civil War in Pakistan.

REFERENCE :

1. Pakistan was thrust into civil war today when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman proclaimed the east wing of the two-part country to be “the sovereign independent People’s Republic of Bangla Desh. “ Fighting is reported heavy in Dacca and other eastern cities where the 10,000 man paramilitary East Pakistan Rifles has joined police and privates citizens in conflict with an estimated 23,000 West Pakistani regular army troops. Continuing reinforcements by sea and air combined with the government’s stringment martial, law regulations illustrate Islamabad’s commitment to preserve the union by force. Because of logistical difficulties, the attempt will probably fail, but not before heavy loss of life results.



2. Indian officials have indicated that they would not be drawn into a Pakistani civil war, even if the east should ask for help. Their intentions might be overruled, however, if the fever of Bengali nationalism spills across the border.
3. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is little interested in foreign affairs and would cooperate with the United States if he could. The west's violent suppression, however, threatens to radicalize the east to the detriment of US interests. The crisis has exhibited anti-American facets from the beginning and both sides will find the United States a convenient scapegoat.

**RELEASED BY : SD/ ILLEGIBLE**  
**JOHN J PAVELLE, JR.**  
**Captain, USN DI-4/71564**

**PREPARED BY : JOHN B. HUNT**  
**Major, USA**  
**DI-4A3/25009**

David Loshak Zvrvi Pakistan Crisis (London 1972) cŷ ꝱK 25026 tk  
 gv†Pꝰ ga`eZx© i v†Î c0 Ē mŷaxbZv †Nvl Yv mꝰꝱÜ e†j b “on a wave length  
 close to that of Pakistan Radio .....the Sheikh proclaimed East Pakistan to be the  
 People's Republic of Bangladesh.”

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côZwbwa` t̃j i mṽt\_ Bmj vgveṽt` Ae`vb Kwi t̃ZwQ̃t̃j b| H mg̃t̃q wZwb  
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c̃k̃el DĖi wbæi f̃c c̃t̃35)|

“Then Sir, why did you arrest Sheikh Mujib on 26<sup>th</sup> March from his Dhanmandi Residence ?

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w̃Rm̃t̃Kv eṽM̃vl qṽZ& Kṽnv hv t̃m̃K̃Zv t̃nq̃| P̃t̃K g̃ĩṽt̃q  
t̃kL mve w̃K Aṽl qṽR Aw̃”Q t̃Z i v t̃cñQṽb Zv \_ṽ| And I  
had no option but to arrest him.” (Aṽgvi t̃KṽDAw̃W̃b̃k̃b̃  
Aw̃dm̃vi GKwU w\_° e`ṽŪ ti w̃WI G̃t̃b ej t̃j v m̃vi ĩ b̃b̃,  
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nṽt̃Z t̃`b̃| t̃m̃w̃U w̃Qj t̃

To the people of Bangladesh and also the world:-

Pakistan Armed Forces suddenly attacked the EPR Base at peelkhana and police line at Rajarbag at .00 hrs. of 2603-71, killing lots of People. Fierce fighting is going on with the EPR and police force in the streets of Dacca. People are fighting gallantly with the

enemy forces for the cause of Freedom of Bangladesh. Every sector of Bangladesh is 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.

“Joy Bangla”

Sk. Mujibur Rahman.

GwU ueû e½eÜy 25tk gvþP® Aq`vi tj m gva`tg  
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Kwgkbvi wQþj b| 26tk gvþP® cLg chti m½axbZv tNvl Yvi message  
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ðð.....m`vi VHF Gi Message GþmþQð Avcwþ ZvovZvwO  
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wj LþZ j vMj vg| ððPakistani Occupation Soldiers have attacked  
Rajarbagh Police Headquarters and Pilkhana EPR Headquarters. They are  
killing thousands of innocent Bengalees on the streets of Dhaka. Every  
Bangalee will resist the Pakistani soldiers at all cost with whatever he has. I  
appeal in the name of the People of Bangladesh to the people of World to  
come to thier rescue” tj Lv tkl nþj v| tUwj tðvbUvl bxi e  
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 Rbmavi Y Zvtf` i i³ w`tq Gtb w`tqtQ| Avgvtf` i  
 mvaZv msMtg AtbK w`b t`K i i` nq| Rbve `uxKvi  
 mvne, Avcbvi Rvbv AvtQ th w`k j q f vBt`evtfbi i t³ i  
 webgtq GB mvaZv Avgi v tctqQ| GB MYcwi ltf` i

m`m` wnmvte wbōB Zvṯ`i AvZṯZ`vṯMi K\_v Avgiv mḥi Y  
 Ki e Ges gtb i vLe| Avgvṯ`i gtb i vLṯZ nte, th i ṯ<sup>3</sup> i  
 wewbgtq Avgiv mḥaxbZv ṯcṯqWQ, tm i<sup>3</sup> thb e\_v bv hvq|  
 i<sup>3</sup> w`ṯqṯQ G ṯ`ṯki j ṯ j ṯ fVBṯṯevb, wni xn  
 Rbmavi Y| i<sup>3</sup> w`ṯqṯQ Gṯ`ṯki Kl.K, Qvṯ, kḡgK  
 eḥxRxeiv, i<sup>3</sup> w`ṯqṯQ G ṯ`ṯki RbMY, i<sup>3</sup> w`ṯqṯQ  
 mvgwi K evwnbxi fVBṯqiv, i<sup>3</sup> w`ṯqṯQ cyj k, i<sup>3</sup> w`ṯqṯQ  
 fṯce°B,wc,Avi, i<sup>3</sup> w`ṯqṯQ Avbmvi i v, ṯgvRvṯn`i v| i<sup>3</sup>  
 w`ṯqṯQ cṯZ`KwU ev½vj x, GgbwK mi Kvi x Kgṯvi i v| i<sup>3</sup>  
 w`ṯqṯQ GB mḥaxbZv msMṯṯg| wbōj eeṯ Bqwnqv Lvṯbi  
 Lvb tmbvi v th AZ`vPvi Kṯi ṯQ, Rj ḡ Kṯi ṯQ, Zv ṯ\_ṯK  
 evsj vṯ`ṯki gvṯṯevṯbi v chš- wb`vi cvq wb| j ṯ j ṯ  
 gvṯṯevṯṯK wbhṯZb Kiv nṯqṯQ| GB ci tmbvṯ`i AvPi ṯYi  
 BwZnm `ḡbqvi Avi ṯKv\_vl bvB|

AvR Zvṯ`i K\_v Avgiv mḥi Y Ki wQ, mḥi Y Ki ṯZ nq  
 Avgvi mnKgṯ mf`eṯṯ`i K\_v, hviv tmB MZ wbeṯṯṯb  
 wbeṯṯPZ nṯqWQṯj b| Zvṯ`i AṯbKṯKB e`x Kṯi wbggṯvte  
 nZ`v Kiv nṯqṯQṯ Zvṯ`i bvg| H cṯ vte i ṯqṯQ th cṯ ve  
 Awg Avcbvi gva`ṯg cwi l ṯ` tck Kṯi wQ|

ZvQvov GB ṯ`ṯki Rvbn ARvbn j ṯ j ṯ ṯj vK,  
 Avl qvgx j xṯMi j ṯ j ṯ Kgṯ mḥaxbZvi Rb` Rxeb  
 w`ṯqṯQb| mṯ½ mṯ½ Ab`b` hviv Avgvṯ`i GB msMṯṯgṯhvM  
 w`ṯqWQṯj b, `j gZ wbeṯṯkṯ hviv mḥaxbZvi Rb` i<sup>3</sup>  
 w`ṯqṯQb, knx` nṯqṯQb, Zvṯ`i Z`vṯMi K\_v KZÁZvi  
 mvṯ\_ mḥi Y Kṯi Avgvṯ`i fweṯ`r Kgṯcšv MhY Ki ṯZ  
 nte|

Rbve `úxKvi mvṯne, AvR mḥaxbZv Avgiv ṯcṯqWQ,  
 Gi mṯ½ mṯ½ Awg Pvi wU `ṯṯK mḥi Y Ki ṯZ PvB, th  
 `ṯṯK mvgṯb ṯi ṯL Avgvṯ`i ṯ`ṯki msweavb %Zix Ki ṯZ  
 nte| RvZxqZvev`, MYZšḡ mgvRZšḡ l agṯbi ṯcṯZv|  
 Avgiv MYZšḡw`ṯZ PvB Ges MYZšḡw`ṯZB AvR Avgiv GB  
 cwi l ṯ` eṯmwQ| Kvi Y, AvR Avgiv th msweavb ṯ`e, ZvṯZ  
 gvbṯl i AwaKvṯi i K\_vṯj Lv\_vKṯe, hvṯZ fweṯ`ṯZ ṯKD  
 RbMṯYi Rvbgvj wbṯq wQwbḡwb ṯLj ṯZ bv cvṯi| Ggb  
 msweavbB RbMṯYi Rb` tck Ki ṯZ nte| AvR GLvṯb eṯm  
 Pvi wU `ṯṯ Dci wfWḂ Kṯi Avgvṯ`i fweṯ`r eskai ṯ`i  
 Rb` Ggb msweavb i Pbv Ki ṯZ nte, hvṯZ Zvi v `ḡbqvi

mf" t`tki gvb#l i mvgtb gv\_v DPj Kti `wovtZ cvti |  
 Rbve `úxKvi mv#ne, Rvwi KvtQ Avgvt`i GKwUv eZ@`  
 i tqtQ, GKUv wei vU KZ@` AvtQ| Awg Avgvi eEZv eo  
 Ki tZ PvB bv| wKš' evsj vt`tki MYZwšK AwaKvi  
 Av`vtqi Rb" hvi v msMtg Kti BwZnm m#ó Kti tQb,  
 Zvt`i tmB BwZnm AvR RLvtb ch#j vPbv bv Ki tj |  
 Pj te| wKš' wetkl KtqKRb tbZvi K\_v m#i Y Ki wQ, hvi v  
 MYZtšj cRvi x wQtj b, thgb, tnvtmb knx`  
 tmvni vl qvi `x, tkti #evsj v G,tK, dRj j nK, ee# cvK  
 ewnbxi nv#Z wbnZ axti >`bv\_ `E| Avi Kj g Øvi v msMtg  
 Kti tQb tmB Rbve tZvdv3/4j tnvtmb# Avgvt`i gw#K  
 fvB| G#`i K\_v k#vi mv# Avgi v m#i Y Ki tZ PvB| m#i Y  
 Kwi 1947 mvj t\_tK AvR ch#-c#Z`KwU Avt#`vj tbi mgq  
 hvi v Rxeb w`tqtQb, hvi v Kvi vMvti Rxeb KwUtqtQb|  
 MYZšK G t`tki c#Zôv Kivi Rb" hvi v msMtg  
 Kti tQb, Zwt`i K\_v hw` m#i Y bv Kwi, Zvt`i BwZnm hw`  
 bv tj Lv nq, Zte fwe#`r eskai i v RvtZ cvi te bv GB  
 msMvtgi wQtb Kvi v wQtj b|

MZ eQi wbe#Pb ntj v| tmB wbe#Ptbi ce° t\_tKB  
 Avgvt`i Rvbv wQj th, evsj vt`k RbmsL`vq msL`vMwi ô  
 \_vKv m#Z| Zvi v Avgvt`i tK Ktj vbx Ges evRvi Kti  
 i vL#Z Pvq| i ay ZvB bq Zvi v Avgvt`i ms`KwZ | fvl vi  
 Dci AvNvZ Ki wQj, Avgvt`i bvMwi K AwaKvti i Dci  
 AvNvZ Kti Avgvt`i tK Ktj vbx Kti i vL#Z tPtqwQj |  
 Avgvt`i msMtg ZLb t\_tKB Pj wQj | Avgi v RvbZvg  
 msMgtK avtc avtc GwMtq wbtq th#Z nte| Gfvte msMtg  
 GwMtq AvR Pi g msMtg cwi YZ ntqtQ| 25tk gvPu  
 Zwi tLi BwZnm Avcbvt`i Rvbv AvtQ| tmBw`b ee# cvK  
 nvbv`vi ewnbx tKvb AvBb#Kv#b gvtb bvB| tKvb mf"  
 t`tk Zvt`i KvtRi Zj bv cvl qv hvqB bv| c#Z`K mf"  
 t`tk h#xi GKUv wbqg AvtQ| tKvbi "c | qwb# bv w`tq  
 AZwKZ Kvcj "tl i gZ evox Nti Av,b j wMtq, `#ai  
 ev"PvtK ch#-nZ`v Kti Zvi v GK RNb" j xj vq tgz  
 D#VwQj | AW#i w`tqwQj Avl qvgx j xtMi tj vK, hv#K cvl,  
 ZvtKB nZ`v Kti v, tKvbi "c `qv#gqv bvB| Zvt`i RNb"  
 KvR#Kvi evti i Ggb mg`-BwZnm Avgvt`i nv#Z AvtQ, hv  
 t`L#j wkDti DV#Z nq| Avgvt`i nv#Z GKRB

†Rbv†i †j i ˘ ˘ ŁZ Kiv KvMR aiv c†o†Q| Zv†Z Av†Q  
 j †JcvU Ki | GgbwK cvkweK AZ˘vPv†i i K\_vl Av†Q| ee<sup>®</sup>  
 Bqwnqvi tmbvevwnbx†K Amnvq I wbi ˘ ;mvZ †KwU ev½vj xi  
 Dci K†K†i i gZ †j wj †q †˘ I qv n†qwQj | tmbvevwnbx hw˘  
 h× †Nvl Yv Ki Z, Z†e Avgi v tmB h†x i †gvKwej v Ki †Z  
 cvi Zvg| wKŠ˘ Zvi v AZwK†Z 25†k gvP<sup>®</sup> Zwi †L Avgv†˘ i  
 Avµ gY Ki j | ZLb Avgi v e††Z cvi j vg th, Avgv†˘ i  
 †kl msM†g ˘ i ˘ “ n†q †M†Q| Awg I qvi †j †m PÆM†g  
 Rvbvj vg evsj v†˘ k AvR †\_†K m†axb I mve††fŠg i vó˘| GB  
 Lei c†Z˘†K †cŠwQ†q †˘ I qv †nvK, hv†Z c†ZwU \_vbvq,  
 gnKgvq, †Rj vq c†Z†i va msM†g M†o DV†Z cvi†i | tmB  
 Rb˘ c†qvRbxq wb†˘ †kl w˘ †qwQj vg| GB e˘vcv†i  
 AvZ†m†PZb n†Z n†e| †˘ kevnx Rv†bb GKB Zwi †L  
 †˘ †ki wewf bœ RvqMvq c†Z†i va Av†˘ vj b ˘ i ˘ “ n†qwQj |  
 GUv nvl qvi Dci †\_†K nq bvB| hw˘ †Kvb wb†˘ †k  
 bv \_vKZ, Z†e †Kgb K†i GKB mg†q, GKB g††Z˘me  
 RvqMvq msM†g ˘ i ˘ “ n†j v ? ĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐĐ

AZtci , MYcwi l †˘ i ˘ úxKvi MYcwi l †˘ i m†š†L wbæwj wLZfv†e  
 c†ve †ck K†i b t

Rbve ˘ úxKvi t GB nvD†mi mvg†b th c†ve wQj Zv  
 m†kva†bi c†i th AvKv†i i n†q†Q, Awg Zv c†o  
 †kvbw˘Q| m†kvwaz c†ve n†˘Q t

00e½eÜj Avnev†b I Avl qvgx j x†Mi †bZ†Zj  
 HwZnwmK m†axbZv msM†g evsj v†˘ †ki th wecex  
 RbZv, K.I.K, k†gK, QvĬ , h†K, e†×R†ex, exi v½bv,  
 c†Zi ††v wefv†Mi ev½vj xi v, mv†eK B,wc,Avi , cyj k,  
 Avbmvi , g†Rwn˘ I i vR%bwZK †bZv I Kgx<sup>®</sup> I exi  
 gy<sup>3</sup> †hv×vi v wb†R†˘ i i <sup>3</sup> w˘ †q Avgv†˘ i m†axbZv AR<sup>®</sup>  
 K†i †Qb| AvR†Ki w˘ †b evsj v†˘ †ki RbM†Yi †fv†U  
 h\_vh\_fv†e wbe†PZ evsj v†˘ k MYcwi l ˘ mk†wP†Ě Zv†˘ i  
 m†i Y K†i †Q|

1971 mv†j i 26†k gvP<sup>®</sup> e½eÜj †kL g†Rej i ngvb  
 m†axbZvi th †Nvl bv K†i wQ†j b Ges th †Nvl bv g†Re bMi  
 †\_†K 1971 mv†j i 10B Gw†j m†KZ I mgw\_Z

nṭqWQj GB mṭ½ GB MYcwi l` ZvṭZ GKvZṭZv cKvk  
Ki ṭQ|

mṭaxbZv mbṭ`i gvaṭṭg th MYcwi l` MwVZ nṭqWQj  
AvR tm mbṭ`i mṭ½l G cwi l` GKvZṭZv ṭNvl Yv Ki ṭQ|

GṭṭY GB cwi l` evsj vṭ`ṭki mvṭo mvZ ṭKwU  
gvbṭl i AvkvṬAvKv•Lvi tmB me gZ° Av`k°, h\_v,  
RvZxqZvev`, MYZšṭi mgvRZšṭi l agṭbi ṭcṭṭZv, gv  
knx`vb l exi ṭ`i mṭaxbZv msMṭṭg AvZṭZ`vṭM Dṭṭṭ  
Kṭi WQj , Zvi wfwḂṭZ ṭ`ṭki Rb` GKwU Dchṭ msweavb  
cṬqṭbi `wqZṭi MhY Ki ṭQ| ṆṆ

Dcṭi v³ cṬ ve MYcwi l ṭ` meṭṭṭṭZṭṭg MnxZ nq|

Dcṭi v³ cṬ ve mṭṭṭj Z msev` 1972 mṭbi 11B l 12 GwCṭ  
Zvwi ṭL evsj vṭ`ṭki wewf bṭe eṭj cṬwvi Z msev` cṭṭ cKwkZ nq|  
Bnvi KṭqKwU wbæi fc t

MORNING NEWS

Dacca, Thursday, April, 11, 1972

Independence Declaration approved

“The Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh in the first sitting of its  
opening session yesterday passed a resolution approving the Declaration of  
Independence by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 26 last year and its  
subsequent endorsement on April 10 1971 at Mujibnagar reports ENA.”

THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER

**DACCA TUESDAY APRIL 11 1972**

“During its deliveries for 2.45 hours (with a break of 20  
minutes) the House adopted resolution condoling the death of those  
who laid down their lives for liberation of Bangladesh. In another  
resolution, the House expressed its complete solidarity with the  
declararation of indepdnence made by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur  
Rahman on March 26, last year and subsequent approval of it by the  
grand assembly at Mujibnagar on April 12 last year.”



## %` wbK evsj v

XvKv, g½j evi 11B Gwcġ 1972

mṽaxbZv †Nvl bvi wb†` R

00e½eÜy etj b, nvbv`vi †`i Swctq covi Lei  
 †ctqB wZwb PÆM†g `j xq eÜ†`i Kv†Q †Uwj †dvb  
K†i mṽaxbZv †Nvl bvi K\_v cPv†i i wb†` R  
w` †qwQ†j b| nv†U DevRv†i, kn†i De>`†i meġ  
nvbv`vi †`i cġZ†i v†ai R†b` wZwb wb†` R  
w` †qwQ†j b| wZwb etj b, wZwb G e`vcv†i w`i  
 wbwōZ wQ†j b th wZwb hw` tetP bvl \_v†Kb Zeġ  
 evsj v†`k mṽaxb n†eB| mṽaxbZvi †Nvl bv meġ  
 cPwi Z bv n†j meLvb †\_†KB GK†hv†M gṽ³ msM†g  
 i i “ n†Z cvi†Zv bv etj wZwb D†j E K†i b| G  
 †`†ki gvbġ GB `†hvM I `†mgqtK thfv†e  
 †gvKv†ej v K†i †Q Zvi R†b` wZwb Zv†`i †K ab`ev`  
 Rvbvb| 00

## mṽaxbZv mb` Ab†gww` Z

%` wbK MYKÚ 11B Gwcġ, 1972

MYcwi l†`i cġg Awatektb e½eÜj 1971  
 mv†j i 26†k gvP® evsj v†`†ki mṽaxbZv †Nvl bv†K  
MZKvj (†mvgevi) AvbṽwbKfv†e Ab†gv`b Ki v  
nq Ges gṽRe bM†i MwVZ eZḡv†bi GB  
MYcwi l`†KI †mB mv†\_ Ab†gv`b Ki v nq| gṽRe  
 bM†i †Nwl Z mṽaxbZvi mb†`i cġZ MZKvj  
 cṽi vq cwi l` m`m`i v mg\_ḡ †Nvl Yv K†i b|

## %` wbK AvRv`

12 Gwcġ, 1972

MYcwi l†`i D†0vabx Awatektb  
 cḡvbgšxi e³ Zvi cY® weei Y



Going back to rare moments of history, Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said “I declared independence on March 26”. He said despite is being arrested the movement had continued under the leadership of Syed Nazrul Islam and Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed.....”

০০%` wbK evsj v ০০

kwbavi 19৭k Rvbqvi x, 1974

A\_০bWZK g৭³ i bqvi msM৭tgi WvK |

PvB tbZZi msMVb Av` k©

I wbtm৭\_Kg৭tĐ e½eÜj

০০wZwb etj b, GB m৭axbZvi msM৭g GK w`tb nq  
bvB| 25 eQti AvtM i i “| GB msM৭tgi gta` w`tqB  
Avl qvgx j xtMi μg| Avi hw` GB msMVtbi gZj` nq  
Zvl thb msM৭tgi ga` w`tqB Zvi gZj` nq|

wZwb etj b, cKZc†¶ GKvĒti i 7B gv†P᳚ Awg  
m৭axbZvi WvK w`tqWQj vg| 25tiki i vtZ mnKgxt` i G  
mঔú†K© wbt` R w`tqWQj vg| wZwb etj b, Zte Gi cŦ ৭Z  
wb†qWQj vg eû AvtM t\_†KB| cŦ ৭Z Qvov GKB mv†\_  
58wU gnKgvg cŦZti va Mto †Zvj v mঔe tnvZ bv| wZwb  
etj b, mvgvb` hv A`i †RvMvo Kiv mঔe n†qWQj ZvB  
weZi Y Kiv n†qWQj | ০০

%` wbK AvRv` Đkwbavi Đ19৭k Rvbqvi x 1974  
msL`v|

Avl qvgx j xM A৭atek†b e½eÜj  
†Nvl Yv|

7B gvP© m৭axbZv †Nvl bvi Zvwi L |

০RwZi wczv e½eÜj tkL g৭Rej ingvb etj b  
cKZc†¶ 1971 mv†j i mvZB gvP© tmvnđ vl qv` x© D`v†b  
evsj vt`ki m৭axbZvi †Nvl bv Kiv nBqv†Q| GB cŦm†½  
e½eÜj etj b wZwb mvZB gvP© ০০Gevti i msM৭g m৭axbZvi  
msM৭g, Gevti i msM৭g g৭³ i msM৭g০০ †Nvl Yv Kti

m\axbZvi WvK w` tqwQ\j b Gi ci 24 Ges 25tk gvPwZwb  
`j xq tbZv\`i m\axbZv h\ Pw\j tq hvl qvi wb\`k  
w` tqwQ\j b| wZwb Avi l etj b 58wU gûKgvq m\axbZv h\  
cwi Pvj bvi Rb` Kgvûvi ce®t\_`tKB wb\qvm Ki v nBqvwQj |  
hvi Rb` mvi v t` tk GKB w` tb cwK` vbx %mb`t` i wei "tx  
cûZti va h\ Ki v mæe nBqvwQj m\axbZv h\ nVvr `i i "  
nqwb 1948 mvj t\_`tKB m\axbZv h\ `i i " ntq avtc avtc  
weRtqi c\_` AMmi nq etj wZwb gše` Kti b|

Dcti v³ msev` , wj evsj vt` tki Avcvgi Rbmavi Y cW  
 Kwi qv\Qb| wKš' tKnB wØgZ cKvk Kti b bvB th e½eÛy tkL  
 g\Rej ingvb KZK cû Ē m\axbZv tNvl bv Z\_`wf wEK bq ev Gi  
 mZ`Zvi e`vcv\i tKvb Drm L\ Rqv cvl qv hvq bvB|

AZGe, Bnv wbwðZ fvte c\Zxqgvb nBtZtQ th e½eÛy tkL  
 g\Rej ingvb 1971 m\bi 26tk gvPwZwi tL th evsj vt` tki m\axbZv  
 tNvl Yv Kwi qvwQ\j b Zvnv m\VK fvteB 10 B Gwc\j i 0The Proclamation  
 of Independence0 G cûZdwj Z nBqv\Q|

Dcti µ wšKvj xb l A` vqx weavbvej x mg\ni mvsweawwbK  
 Ae` vb mæ\û Avgi v mvavi Yfvte Avtj vPbv Kwi qvwQ| G¶ tY 0The  
 Proclamation of Independence0 Gi mvsweawwbK Ae` vb mæ\û Avtj vPbv Ki v  
 nBte|

cfeB Avtj vPbv Ki v nBqv\Q th " The Proclamation of Independence0  
 evsj vt` k i vtóí me®cû\_g mvsweawwbK `wj j | Bnv h³ i vtóí 0 The  
 Declaration of Independence0 Gi mwnZ Zj bxq| Avtgwi Kvi 13 wU c\` tki  
 cûZwbwa0vi v MwVZ wØZxq Continental Congress D³ tNvl Yv 1776  
 m\bi 4Vv Rj vB Zwi tL cû vb Kti | Aek` Bsj `vû D³ Congress  
 Gi AvBbMZ Ae` vb l Zvnv\`i tNvl bvi %eaZv m\Kvi Kti bvB|

g\Re bMti cû Ē tNvl Yv wbePZ m`m`MY 0vi v MwVZ  
 MYcwi l` KZK cû vb Ki v nBqvwQj | D³ tNvl Yvi Avtj vtK l

গণগণতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণার ১৯৭১ সালের ১০ই এপ্রিলের প্রজ্ঞাপন এবং ১৯৭২ সালের ৩রা মার্চের প্রজ্ঞাপন দ্বারা বাংলাদেশের প্রথম প্রজাতন্ত্রের স্থাপত্যের আধার স্থাপন করা হয়েছে। এই প্রজ্ঞাপনগুলি বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণার ১৯৭১ সালের ১০ই এপ্রিলের প্রজ্ঞাপন এবং ১৯৭২ সালের ৩রা মার্চের প্রজ্ঞাপন দ্বারা বাংলাদেশের প্রথম প্রজাতন্ত্রের স্থাপত্যের আধার স্থাপন করা হয়েছে।

“Whereas by the Proclamation of Independence Order, dated the 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1971 provisional arrangements were made for the governance of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh”.

AZ tci , gj Order Gi cŉtgB ej v nBqvŉQ t

“Now therefore in pursuance of the Proclamation of Independence Order, dated the 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1971.....”

GBfvŉe 1971 mŉbi 1OB Gwcŉj i The Proclamation of Independence nBj Provisional Constituion of Bangladesh Order, 1972, Gi gj wfŉŉ|

ZvnvQvov, 1972 mŉbi 1OB Gwcŉj Zwi ŉL evsj vŉ`k MYcwi l ŉ` i Dŉxwabx Abŉvŉb mŉaxbZv ŉNvl bv cŉ vŉe 1971 mŉbi 26ŉk gvPŉ Zwi ŉL eŉeÜy tkL gŉRej i ngvb mŉaxbZvi th ŉNvl bv cŉ vb Kwi qvwQŉj b hvnv 1971 mŉbi 1OB Gwcŉj Zwi ŉL The Proclamation of Independence mŉKZ l mgwŉZ nBqvŉQj Zvnvi mŉnZ MYcwi l ` l GKvZŉZv cKvk Kŉi b|

AZ tci , 1972 mŉbi 4Vv bŉf ŉj Zwi ŉL MnxZ msweavŉbi cŉ vebvi cŉg evŉKŉB 1971 mŉbi 26ŉk gvPŉ Zwi ŉL th mŉaxbZv ŉNvl bv cŉ vb Ki v nBqvŉQj Zvnvi mŉKŉZ cŉ vb Ki v nq|

ZvnvQvov, msweavŉbi 150 AbŉŉQŉ` i Avl Zvq cŉ ŉKZ PZŉ Zdmŉj 1971 mŉbi 26ŉk gvPŉ Zwi L nBŉZ msweavb cŉZŉbi

Zwi L chS- mgq mxgv gta" Proclamation of Independence mn mKj Kvh®  
 Abtgv` Z I mg\_b Ki v nq| PZ\_L®Z dwmj i 3(1) Abt"Q` wbæi fc t

PZ\_L®Z dwmj

[150 Abt"Q` ]

003| (1) 1971 mv†j i 26tk gvP® nB†Z GB  
 msweavbDcëZ†bi Zwi †Li gta" cMxZ ev cMxZ  
 ewj qv we†ewPZ mKj AvBb, m\axbZvi †Nvl YvcÎ ev  
 th †Kvb AvBb nB†Z Avnwi Z ev Avnwi Z ewj qv  
 we†ewPZ KZ†Zj Aaxb Abj fc tgqv†`i gta" ch³  
 mKj ¶ gZv ev KZ mKj Kvh®GZ† vi v Abtgv` Z I  
 mgw\_Ź nBj Ges Zvzv AvBbvbjhvqx h\_v\_ƒv†e cMxZ,  
 ch³ I KZ nBqv†Q ewj qv †Nvl Z nBj |

Dc†i v³ e`e`vej x msweav†bi Ab` th†Kvb weavb m†Z†  
 msweav†bi 150 Abt"Q` Abmv†i KvhKi nq| GgZ Ae`vq Ab`vb`  
 weavbvej x I Kvh® xmn 1971 m†bi 10B GwcĴ , Zwi †L †Nvl Z  
 0Proclamation of Independence0 Ges D³ Proclamation G ewYŹ I mKZ Z`  
 th e½eÜy tkL gwRej i ngvb 1971 m†bi 26tk gvP® Zwi †L  
 evsj v†` †ki m\axbZv †Nvl bv Kwi qvwQ†j b Zvzv msweavb KZ†  
 Abtgv` Z I mgw\_Ź nq Ges AvBbvbjhvqx h\_v\_ƒv†e cMxZ, ch³ I  
 KZ nBqv†Q ewj qv mvsweavwbKf v†e c†ZwôZ nq|

GB c†ZwôZ mZ`†KB 1979 m†bi Authentication Committee mKwZ  
 c† vb Kwi qvwQ†j b|

evsj v†` †ki GK Rb c†Z\_Rkv AvBbRxwe, i vRbxwZwe` I tj LK  
 Rbve gl `y Avng` Zvnvi 'Bangladesh : Era of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman' M†Š'  
 'The Proclamation of Independence' m††Ü wbæwj wLZ gše" K†i b (c† 507)t

### “ *The Proclamation of Independence* ”

The Proclamation of Independence laid down the fundamental law  
 for the country in war. So it continued to provide the legal cover for all the

acts done by the government not only during the war period but also thereafter. The Proclamation became the fountain of law and the source of authority; it was the constitution of the country till the new constitution was made effective on and from December 16, 1972. The proclamation was made to handle a special situation. The main feature of the proclamation was that the governmental system was made Presidential and for strategic and popular reasons Sheikh Mujib was named as the President in the instrument itself and he was to continue as a President till such time a constitution was framed. War is always met by special laws to enable a government to handle the affairs of the state effectively. So it was nothing unusual that in the special circumstances power was concentrated in one hand, giving the president both the executive and the legislative powers. Besides this, the president was made the Supreme Commander of the armed forces with power to grant pardon, appoint a Prime Minister and other Ministers, levy taxes and expend monies, summon and adjourn the Constituent Assembly and do all things necessary to give to the people of Bangladesh “an orderly and just” government.

.....  
.....  
According to the Proclamation the elected representatives (MNAs and MPAs) constituted themselves into a Constituent Assembly and having held mutual consultations declared and constituted Bangladesh as a sovereign people’s republic. They thereby confirmed the declaration of independence already made by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 26, 1971. The reasons for justifying the proclamation were stated to be that after the free election held in the country for the purpose of framing a constitution Yahya Khan summoned the elected representatives of the people to meet on March 3, 1971 for the said purpose but the Assembly so summoned was arbitrarily and illegally postponed for an indefinite period and instead of fulfilling their promise, the Pakistan authorities declared an unjust and treacherous war. So the representatives from Bangladesh met and constituted themselves into a Constituent Assembly and declared independence.

.....  
.....  
However, once the Pakistan Army surrendered, the Proclamation gained significant importance both from a historical and constitutional point of view. After December 16, 1971 the Proclamation continued to remain

fully effective as the fundamental instrument of law for the country and the laws made thereunder were obeyed by the entire population. The Proclamation became a reality-it created a new nation on the map of the world.”

1977 mþbi mþaxbZv msMþtgi BwZnvm i Pbv cKí t  
mþaxbZv msMþtgi BwZnvm i Pbv `wqZj Rbve nvmvb nwdRj  
i ngvþbi Dci Acþ Ki v nq| Zvnvi wbþqvM weÁwßU wbæi fc t

cwi wkó

(GK)

[ The Bangladesh Gazette Part II, September 1, 1977, page 503]

**Ministry of Information and Broadcasting**

\*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\*

weÁwß

XvKv, 23þk AvM÷ , 1977

bs Z\_"/4BÐ25/77/41481ÐmþaxbZv msMþtgi BwZnvm i Pbv  
Dþí þk" %` wbK evsj vi c0³ b mæúv` K Rbve nvmvb nwdRj i ngvbþK  
Z\_ I teZvi gšYvj tq weþkl fvi c0ß Awdmvi cþ` 1977 mþbi 1j v  
Rj vB nBþZ Rbmþt\_©GK ermþi i Rb" Pþ³ wfweÉþZ wbþqvM Ki v nBj |  
2| Pþ³ i kZþbþvqx wZwb Zvnvi teZb I Ab"vb" mþeav`  
cvBþeb|

i vócwZi Avþ` kµ þg

Avāṃ tmvenvb  
DcÐmPe

mþaxbZv msMþtgi BwZnvm i Pbv cKí wU AvbþwþbKfvte  
ev` evqþbi Rb" nvmvb nwdRj i ngvbþK mi Kvi x fvi c0ß Awdmvi



চত্ ২৩৪৪১৯৭৭ জ্বি ত্ল ব্ভত্ভম চ্ভ ব্ভ কি জ ত্বেআ ব্ভউ ১৪৭১৯৭৭  
জ্বি ত্লে ব্ভজ ব্ভ ক্ ত্ভত্ভত্ভ চ্ভক্ভজ ন্ভ

জব্ভভভ, Writing and Printing of History of Bangladesh War of Liberation  
গি ব্ভ ব্ভজ ব্ভ ক্ মি ক্ভি ই জ্ভ গ্ভভ্ভ ক্ভ ক্ভজ্ভ Resolution গি  
গ্ভি দ্ভ চ্ভত্ভ ১৪৭৪১৯৭৮ জ্বি ত্লে ই জ্ভি ১৩৪১৯৭৭ জ্বি ত্লে  
ক্ভজ্ভ Authentication Committee ব্ভ কি ব্ভ ন্ভ

ম্ভভভজ্ভ ম্ভভ্ভ ভজ্ভ ন্ভ ই ব্ভি Authentication Committee ই দ্ভি  
terms of reference ব্ভই চ্ভ ব্ভ ত্ভ

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH  
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING, DACCA.

No. 51/2/78-Dev/10493(25), dated 13.2.1979

RESOLUTION

In partial modification of Resolution issued under No. 51/2/78-Dev/231, dated 18.7.78, Govt. have been pleased to reconstitute an Authentication Committee for the Project “Writing and Printing of a History of Bangladesh War of Liberation” with the following members :

- |    |  |           |
|----|--|-----------|
| 1. | Dr. Mofizullah<br>Pro-Vice Chancellor, Dacca University  | Chairman  |
| 2. | Prof. Salauddin Ahmed,<br>Chairman, Deptt. of History, Jahangir Nagar University                 | .. Member |
| 3. | Dr. Anisuzzaman,<br>Prof., Deptt of Bengali, Chittagong University                               | .. Member |
| 4. | Dr. Safar Ali Akanda,<br>Director, Insitute of Bangladesh Studies, Rajshahi.                     | .. Member |
| 5. | Dr. Enamul Huq,<br>Director, Dacca Museum.   | .. Member |
| 6. | Mr. K.M. Mohsin<br>Associate Professor, Deptt. of History<br>Dacca University.                   | .. Member |
| 7. | Dr. Shamsul Huda Harun<br>Associate Professor, Deptt. of Political Science,<br>Dacca University. | .. Member |
| 8. | Dr. K.M. Karim,  | .. Member |

Director, National Library and Archive, Dacca

9. Mr. Hasan Haifizur Rahman, .. Member-Secretary.  
O.S.D., History of Bangladesh War of Liberation Project.

2. The following shall be the terms of reference of the committee :

- (a) To verify, endorse and authenticate the collected data and documents to be included in the History of Bangladesh War of Liberation.
- (b) To determine validity and price of documents required for the committee.

M.A. SALAM KHAN  
Section Officer.

Dtj E" th D<sup>3</sup> Authentication Committee tkvb fBtdvb KwgwU wQj  
bv| Bnvi cZwU m`m" evsj vt`tki cxb, axgvb, I we`»  
BwZnvmwe` I epxRex| Zvnvi v mKtj B wbtfrvj mZ`vbmvbx  
wQtj b| mi Kvi Zvnvt`i mZZv I cAv mxtÜ wbwöZ nBqvB  
Authentication Committee tZ wbtqvM cÜ vb Kwi qvwQj | D<sup>3</sup> KwgwUi  
m`mMtYi b`vqbxwZ, Avb I wbi tc¶ Zv mxtÜ Avcvgi Rbmavi tYi  
we¶kl Kwi qv Z`wbsb mi Kvti i tkvbi fc wöav wQj bv| Zvnvi v  
mKtj B Av`vf vRb e`w<sup>3</sup> Eij wQtj b| Dtj E" th H mgq i vöcAvb I  
mi Kvi cAvb wQtj b tRbvti j wRqvDi i ngvb| Zvnvi wbtRi I e<sup>3</sup> e`  
wQj History cannot be erased |

evsj vt`k mpxbZv htxi BwZnvm cKti i cÜgvY`Ki b KwgwUi  
tPqvi g`vb KwgwUi gj Dtj k" I Kvhi Y mxtÜ Mtsi gLeÜ wbæ  
wj wLZ gše Kti b ( `wj j cÎ t cÜg LÜ, ct `ß)t

gLeÜ

evj vt`k mpxbZv htxi BwZnvm cKti i bqðm`m" wewkó  
cÜgvY`Ki Y KwgwUi Zid t\_tK GB `wj j msMtñi  
cKvkbv mxtK<sup>®</sup> `yU K\_v wbtb Ki wQ| G cKti i  
DrcwE I MVb, Gi gj Dtj k" I Kvhe xwZ mxtK<sup>®</sup>





cĹ`vcĹ Kwi wb| 1905 mvĵ i esMf sM t\_ĵKB cUf wġ  
msp vš-`wĵ j ĞZ\_`w` i mwbĕkb ĭ i" Kwi | Avgi v ġĵb  
Kwi evsj vĵ`ĵki ġy³ msMĵġi e`vL`vq GB ĭ i"i mxġwU  
evĵj `ewRĴ, cĹ`ŋ Ges hġ³ Mĵn`|

1905ĢGi esMf sM Ges Zv i`ĢGi ci 1940 mvĵ  
chš- ga`eZĲ G `xN° mgĵqi Avi tKvb `wĵ j G LĵŪ  
mwbĕk Kiv nqwb| Kvi Y 1911 t\_ĵK 1940 chš-GB  
fLĵŪ AbĵôZ mKj i vR%bwZK Avĵ`vj b mef vi Zxq  
ewUkweĵi vax Avĵ`vj ĵbi Ašf° wQj | 1940 mvĵj MnxZ  
j vĵnvi cĹ vĵe mZšĭ i vóġq mĒvi fĵc evsj vi cĹZôvi  
mĵvebv wbnZ wQj | Avi Zv DĹ vcb Kĵi wQĵ b  
evsj vĵ`ĵki B msL`v, i`Ģ RbĵMvôxi Awevmsew`Z ĵbZv  
G,ĵK, dRj j nK| 1946 mvĵj wbZvš-A%eafvĵe `j x  
Kbĵfbkĵb j vĵnvi cĹ vĵei th mĵĵkvabx Kiv nq, ZvĵZ  
evsj vi mZšĭ i vóġqi fĵci cĹĵK cwi nvi Kiv nq| 1947  
mvĵj fvi Z wefvM mĵúĵK°ġvD>Ue`vĵU b cwi Kí bv tNvl bvi  
ci mĵaxb l mvef fšġ evsj v cĹZôvi cĹPón nq, wKš' tm  
cĹPón e`\_°nq Ges thfvĵe cwmK`vb cĹZwôZ nq ZvĵZ  
mĵqZĵvmĵbi wel qwU mĵúYfĵc Dĵcwŋ Z nq| Gi B  
cwi YwZĵZ ci eZĲKvĵj evsj vĵ`ĵki RbMĵYi mĵĵL  
mĵqZĵvmb Z\_v mĵaxbZvi Rb` msMĵġ Kiv HwZnvwmK  
cĹqvRb nĵq t`Lv t`q| GB HwZnvwmK cĹqvRbĵK ġZ°  
Kĵi Zĵj ĵQ Gġb mg`-`wĵ j B G LĵŪ mwbĕkwZ nĵqĵQ|

cUf wġ msp vš-`wĵ j cĹ `ŋU LĵŪ wef³ | cĹġ  
LŪwU tkl nĵqĵQ 1958 mvĵj AvBqġ Lvĵbi ŋġZv  
`Lĵj i mgqmġġvq| GLvĵb Kvĵ wefvRb Kiv nĵqĵQ GKvš-  
B LŪ cwi Kí bvi cĹvmsL`vi mĵeavi `ĵK j ŋ` ti ĵLĢĵKvb  
weĵkl HwZnvwmK `ŋóĵKvY t\_ĵK bq|

cUf wġi tej vq th ai ĵYi `wĵ j l Z\_`w` Avgi v  
MhY Kĵi wQ tm, ĵj v nĵj v tMĵRU weÁwĴ, cvj ŋġĵ>Ui Kvĥ°  
weei Yx, tKvĵUŲ ġvġj v mĵúwKĴ wi ĵcvU° l i vq, Kwġkb  
wi ĵcvU°, i vR%bwZK `ĵj i KġĥPx l cĹ ve, Rbmfv i cĹ ve,  
Avĵ`vj ĵbi wi ĵcvU°, QvĹ`ĵj i cĹ ve l Avĵ`vj b,  
MYcĹZwµ qv, msev`cĹĹ i cĹZĵe`b, wewkó e`w³ eĵMŲ  
cĹġY` mgxŋ v l cĹÜ, i vR%bwZK cĹ, mi Kvi x wbĵ`Ĳ l  
c`ĵŋ c BZ`w` | mĵaxbZv hĵxi `wĵ j l Z\_`w` i tej vq  
msMĵni ai Y| we`ZZi nĵqĵQ mĵfweKfvĵeB| Kvi Y GB



XvKv wek|e`vj tqi c<sup>03</sup> b t c<sup>0</sup>dfvBm P`v†Yj i ,  
cL`vZ BwZnmwe` ctdmi gwdRj w Kexi GB  
c<sup>0</sup>gvY`Ki Y KwgwUi tPqvi g`vb|

KwgwUi m`m`i v n†j b t

Wt mvj vnDĭ xb Avng` , ctdmi , BwZnm wefvM, XvKv  
wek|e`vj q|

Wt Awbmj<sup>4</sup>vvgvb, ctdmi , evsj v wefvM, PÆMtg  
wek|e`vj q|

Wt mdi Avj x AvK>` , cwi Pvj K, Bbw÷ wUDU Ae  
evsj v†` k ÷ wWR, i vRkvnx|

Wt Gbvjj nK, cwi Pvj K, XvKv hv`jNi |

Wt tK, Gg, Kwi g, cwi Pvj K, RvZxq AvK<sup>0</sup>Bf m I  
MšvMvi |

Wt tK, Gg, gnmxb, mn†hvMx ctdmi , BwZnm  
wefvM, XvKv wek|e`vj q|

Wt kvgmj ũ`v nvi "b, mn†hvMx ctdmi , i vóŕeÁvb  
wefvM, XvKv wek|e`vj q|

Rbve nvmvb nwdRj i ngvb, m`m`DmwPe|

cK†í i Kgx<sup>e</sup>` wbw`<sup>0</sup> M†ší Rb` `wj j w` evQvB  
K†i c<sup>0</sup>gvY`Ki Y KwgwUi mvg†b tck K†i b| c<sup>0</sup>gvYKi Y  
KwgwU tm,wj wbf<sup>0</sup> I Mhb†hvM` wKbv Zv c<sup>0</sup>Lvb<sup>0</sup>c<sup>0</sup>Li f†c  
hvPvB K†i b| KwgwUi meñ<sup>0</sup>šZ wmxvš<sup>0</sup>v<sup>0</sup>hvx th mKj  
`wj j I Z` c<sup>0</sup>gvY` etj MnxZ nq, tKej gvĭ tm,wj B  
M†š' Ašf<sup>0</sup> Kiv n†q†Q| M†ší Rb` tckKZ `wj j w` i  
wKQy wKQy KwgwU bvKP K†i b, wKQy bZ<sup>0</sup> `wj j I Z`, hv  
M†ší DrK†l<sup>0</sup> Rb` tbnvr Ri "i x, Zv msM†ni Rb` w†`<sup>0</sup>  
t` b| cK†í i c<sup>0</sup> t†K Zv†` i GB w†`<sup>0</sup> h\_vmva` cvj b  
Kiv n†q†Q| Z†e G†<sup>0</sup>†ĭ A†bK mgq cKí†K tek `i fn  
mgm`vi m<sup>0</sup>Lxb n†Z n†q†Q| G†KB†j vKej bMY`, Zvi  
I ci `vfwek KvR tm†i wbZvš-`<sup>0</sup>c<sup>0</sup>c` `wj t†j i mÜ`v†b  
cK†í i Kg<sup>0</sup>†` i wngwmg tL†Z n†q†Q| Zeĭ Kg<sup>0</sup>† v t†m  
t†K†Qb Ges AvaKvsk t<sup>0</sup>†ĭ mdj n†q†Qb| Z†e msMh  
h\_vmg†q nq†Zv nqwb, A†bK mgq Mwotq tM†Q| d†j  
LŪwe†kl m†hvRb Aa`vq thvM Ki†Z n†q†Q|  
we†kl fv†e cUf<sup>0</sup>wg LŪ msKj†b GB cwi w`wZ cKŪ n†q  
t` Lv w`†q<sup>0</sup>Qj | D`vni Ym†fc ej v hvq th, 1905 mv†j i  
gj tM†RU weÁwBwU cvl qv hww<sup>0</sup>Qj bv| cUf<sup>0</sup>wg L†Ūi





kõg I wbi j m mvabv| Zvi v GB cKtí i Pvi Rb Mtel KĐ  
 %mq` Avj Bvggi i kx`, Avdmvb tPšaj x, kvn Avng`  
 ti Rv Ges I qwn`j nK| i agvî Pvkwi i `wqZi bqĐ  
 Mtel Yvi `únv I cKtí i KvRi mstM GKvZvZvq Zvi v  
 `wj j I Z`vw` msMtni KvR ntZ i i" Kti `wj j mgtni  
 msMh, evQvB, m`úv` bvi mnvqZv, tcñKwc %Zi xKi Y, g`Ÿ  
 ZËveavbDmelea KvR mxwgZ I msKxY® mgtqi gta`  
 m`úv` Kti b| GQvov mKgvi wekvm I i Zbj vj PµeZxi  
 kõg I wbôvi K\_v Dtj LthvM| cKvmwbK w` K t\_tK Ave`j  
 nvwg` i Mfxi `wqZteva Ges wbi mj Zrci Zv cKtí i  
 mfvweK Kvhpµg Ae`vnZ i vLtZ mrvnh` Kti tQ|

evsj vt`tki mpxbZv htx hvi v AvZvûwZ w` tqtQb,  
 hvi v wbhZZ ntqtQb, hvi v Z`vM mKvi Kti tQb, me`vcx  
 cZKj cwi tetk hvi v t`ktctgi `xcwKlv Agwj b  
 ti tLtQb, hvi v Avgvt`i Ktg` ct\_ cZ gútZp  
 tcŸ Yvmj fc Zvt`i mKtj i Dtj tk Mfxi kŸv I Avšwi K  
 KZÁZv Ávcb Kti mpxbZv htxi `wj j ctí i GB msMh  
 Avgiv t`tki gvbti i nvZ Ztj w`w"Q|

(Atavti Lv cŸ Ë)

nvmvb nvwd Rj i ngvb  
 m`úv` K

Dcti ewYŽ gLeÜ I fwgKv nBtZ cZxqgvb nBte th nvmvb  
 nvwd Rj i ngvtbi tbZtZi cKtí i Mtel KMY KZUv wbi j mfvte, wbôv  
 I Avšwi KZvi mwnZ Zvnt`i `wqZi cvj b Kwi qvtQb| Authentication  
 Committee Gi tPqvi g`vb I m`m`MY mKtj B cZ fvevb Ges m| mptq tî  
 wbtmt` tn evsj vt`tki tkŸ e`w³ Zi| Zvnt`i wbi tctq Zv I `q Zv  
 cKwZZ| Zvnvi v tKn tKvb wetkl i vR%bwZK `j ev gZv`tkp  
 Abmvi x wQtj b GBi fc AwfthvM tKn KLbB Dî vcb Kti bvB|  
 Mtel KMY Ges Authentication Committee Gi m`m`MY mKtj B m`úY®  
 wbi tctq fvtē Zvnt`i `wqZi cvj b Kti b|

## 2004 mþbi cþgŕŕ cĶí t

2004 mþbi cĲ`qb KwgwUi MVb mæú†K® `wj j cĲ wmw i †R  
 ōcþgŕŕŕt cĶKK\_bŏ G eYŒv Ki v nBqv†Q| D³ cĶKK\_b wj wLqv†Qb  
 Aa`vcK tgv† ti RvDj Kwi g, mfvcwZ, cĲ`qb KwgwU I cĶZgšx  
 gŕ³ hŕx wel qK gšŕŕvj q| cĲ`qb KwgwU MVb mæú†K® cĶK K\_†b  
 wbæwj wLZ weei Y cĶ vb Ki v nBqv†Q t

ŏŏ eZŕvb mi Kvi cĶí wUi mdj ev`evq†bi j †ŕŕ`  
 Gi mweĶ ZĲŕeavb Ges cĶwkZe` `wj j I BwZnvm  
 M†ší Z\_`w` wbi †cŕŕ I mVKfv†e hvPvB K†i  
 †`†ki mKj AĲ†j i cĶgwYK Z†\_`i weei Y msewj Z  
 e`ŕbŏ cYŕ½ `wj j I mvavi Y gvb†ŕ i cv†Vvc†hvMx I  
 tevaMg` K†i gnvb mŕaxbZvh†x i cĶZ BwZnvm MŠ'  
 cĶv†ki Rb` gvbxbq cĶvbgšxi Ab†gŕ` bŕ†g  
 †`†ki wewkó I ei†Y` e`w³ Z†`i mgb†q 9 m`m`  
 wewkó GKwU cĲ`qb KwgwU MVb K†i b| D³  
 cĲ`qb KwgwU†Z gŕ³ hŕx wel qK cĶZgšx mfvcwZ  
 Ges wewkó e`w³ Zj meRbve cĶdmi Gg gwbi "¾vgvb  
 wgT v, cĶdmi GgvRDĲ xb Avn†ŕŕ`, e`wi óvi  
 gBbj †nv†mb, Wt Kvgvj DwĲ b wmwĲ Kx, cĶdmi  
 wmi vRj Bmj vg, cĶdmi †K Gg tgvnmxb, cĶdmi  
 Avej Kvj vg gbRj tgv†k`, cĶdmi Rmxg DĲ xb  
 Avn†g` m`m` wntm†e `wqZj cvj b K†i b| mswkĲ  
 cĶí cwi Pvj K Rbve Aveŕvm Avj x wggv mwwPweK  
 `wqZj cvj b K†i cĲ`qb KwgwU†K mnvqZv K†i b| ŏŏ

cĲxqgvb nq th 1977 mþb nvmvb nwdRj i ngv†bi wb†qvM  
 Ges 1978 I 1979 mþb Authentication Committee Gi wb†qvM mi Kvi x  
 fv†e cĶ vb Ki v nq Ges weÁwß AvKv†i evsj v†`k †M†R†U cĶvk Ki v  
 nq|

wKš' 2004 mþbi evsj v†`†ki mŕaxbZvhŕx `wj j cĲ cþgŕŕŕbi  
 Rb` Dc†i v³ cĲ`qb KwgwUi AvbŕvwbK wb†qvM cĶ v†bi †Kvb weÁwß  
 †`Lv hvq bv|

1979 mþbi Authentication Committee Dcþi eWYZ cðµ qvq Avnwi Z  
 Mþel Yvi dj Abmvþi Zvntþ`i wBmþ weþePbvq 1982 mþb cKwKZ  
 `wj j cÎ wmw þRi ZZxq LþÛi cðg cðvq mþaxb evsj v teZvi  
 tK>`'nBþZ tkL gþRej ingvþbi ei vZ w`qv cPwi Z wbæwj wLZ  
 mþaxbZv tNvl Yv wbæi "tc cKvk Kþi b t

wkþi vbvg	mþ	Zwii L
mþaxb evsj vteZvi tK>`'nþZ	evsj vt`k mi Kvi ,ci i vó'gšÿvj tqi	26þk gvP®
tkL gþRej ingvþbi bvþg	ewnwrek! cPvi wefvM KZK cKwKZ	1971
cPwi Z mþaxbZvi tNvl Yv	cþ Kvd ððesMeÛj` úxKm `"	

## Declaration of Independence

ððThis may be my last message, from today Bangladesh is independent.  
 I call upon the people of Bangladesh wherever you might be and with  
 whatever you have, to resist the army of occupation to the last. Your fight  
 must go on untill the last soldier of the Pakistan occupation army is expelled  
 from the soil of Bangladesh and final victory is achieved.ðð

[Message embodying Declaration of Independence sent by  
 Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to Chittagong shortly after midnight  
 of 25<sup>th</sup> March, i.e. early hours of 26<sup>th</sup> March, 1971 for transmission  
 throughout Bangladesh over the ex-EPR transmitter]

mþaxbZvi Dcþi v³ tNvl Yv mæcþK®2004 mþbi cÛ`qb KwgwU  
 wbþæv³ gše` Kþi bt ððmf vq cÛ`qb KwgwUi m`m`eþ` G gþg®gZ  
 cKvk Kþi b th, Dcþi v³ tNvl YwU Z` wfwËK bq Ges Gi mZ`Zvi  
 e`vcvþi tKvb Drm cvl qv hvqwb| ðð

Dcþi v³ gše` cð vb Kwi evi Kvi Y wnmvþe Zvni v 6ð11ð1971  
 Zwii þL Bw>`i v MvÛxi GKwU gše`þK wfwË wnmvþe eYðv Ki v nBqvþQ|  
 GB hþ³ i Amvi Zv Avgi v cþeB Avþj vPbv Kwi qwQ| ZvntQvov,  
 2004 mþbi cþgþþbi 3q LþÛ 4\_® cðvq cÛ`qb KwgwU Avi l th  
 `þwU NUbv Zvntþ`i hþ³ i mþcþ¶ eYðv Kwi qvþQb Zvni l Amvi Zv  
 BwZcþe®Avþj vPbv Ki v nBqvþQ|

1982 mþb gj `wj j cÎ Ges 2004 mþbi cþgŕ Ĭ  
`wj j cÎ mþaxbZv tNvl Yv mæþÜ Zj bvgj K Avtj vPbv t  
GBevi `wj j cÎ i 2004 mþbi cþgŕ b wmw tRi ZZxq LtÛi  
1g cþvq ewYŽ tNvl YwU chēŕ Y Kiv cŕqvRb| tNvl YwUi weei Y  
Bstî Rx l evsj vq eYbv Kiv nBqvŕQ| 1982 mþb cKwKZ `wj j cÎ  
wmw tRi ZZxq LtÛi 2q cþv Ges 2004 mþb cKwKZ `wj j cÎ  
wmw tRi ZZxq LtÛi 1g cþv cvkvKwK gj Ŕ Kiv nBj t

1982 mṭbi gṛ ʾ			2004 mṭbi gṛ ʾ			
wkṭi vbvg	mṭ	Zwi L		wkṭi vbvg	mṭ	Zwi L
mṽaxb evsj v ṭeZvi ṭK>`ʾṭṭK ṭgRi wRqvDi i ngvb KZṬ mṽaxbZv ṭNvl Yv   *	mṽaxb evsj v ṭeZvi cPwi Z Abṽvbgvj vi ṭUcṭi KWṘ 27 gvPṘ 1971, w` ṭóUmgṽvb, w`j 27ṭk gvPṘ 1971	27 gvPṘ 1971		wecex ṭeZvi ṭK>`ʾ (PÆMṽg) nṭZ wRqvDi i ngvb KZṬ cṭg mṽaxbZv ṭNvl Yv	wecex ṭeZvi ṭK>`ʾ PÆMṽg	27 gvPṘ 1971
<b>DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE</b> Major Zia, Provisional Commander-in-Chief of the Bangladesh Liberation Army, hereby proclaims, on behalf of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the independence of Bangladesh. I also declare, we have already framed a sovereign, legal Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which pledges to functions as per law and the constitution. The new democratic Government is committed to a policy of non- alignment in international relations. It will seek friendship with all nations and strive for international peace. I appeal to all Government to mobilize public opinion in their respect countries the brutal genocide in Bangladesh. The Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is sovereign Government of Bangladesh and is entitled to recognition from all democratic nations of the world.				<b>DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (2<sup>nd</sup>)</b> Dear fellow freedom fighters, I, Major Ziaur Rahman, Provisional President and Commander-in-Chief of Liberation Army dp hereby proclaim independence of Bangladesh and appeal for joining our libearation struggle. Bangladesh is independent. We have waged war for the liberation war for the liberation of Bangladesh. Everybody is requested to participate in the liberation war with whatever we have. We will have to fight and liberate the country from the occupation of Pakistan Army. Inshallah, victory is ours.  2004 mṭbi gṛ ṭY evsj vq GKwU ṭNvl Yv cṬvk Ki v nBqvṭQ t wemwgj wni i vngvxi i wng wṭṭ mṭṭhv×v f vBṭqi v, Awg, ṭgRi wRqvDi i ngvb, evsj vṭ`ṭki cṭf kbvj ṭcṭmṭW>U I wj evṭi kb AwgṘ Pxd wnmvṭe evsj vṭ`ṭki		

		m̃yaxbZv tNvl Yv Ki wQ Ges h̃x AskMh̃tYi Rb̃ Avte` b Rvbw"Q  evsj ṽt` k m̃yaxb  Avgi v m̃yaxbZv h̃x t̃b̃t̃g̃wQ  Avcbvi v th hv cṽti b m̃vg_® Ab̃h̃vq̃x A`̃; w̃b̃t̃q t̃ewi t̃q c̃t̃ob  Avgṽt` i t̃K h̃x Ki t̃Z ñte Ges c̃w̃K` ṽbx ew̃ñbx̃t̃K t` k Q̃vov Ki t̃Z ñte  Bb̃k̃vj w̃, w̃eRq Avgṽt` i m̃ỹb̃w̃ō Z
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c̃Z̃xqgvb nq th Dc̃ti v³ 2004 m̃t̃b g̃y` Z̃ w̃eei t̃Yi m̃f̃  
w̃nm̃ṽt̃e ĩ ag̃ṽl̃ Ōw̃ec̃ex t̃eZvi t̃K>`̃; P̃ÆM̃vg̃ō eỸb̃v Ki v nBq̃ṽt̃Q| Ab̃  
Avi t̃K̃vb w̃eei Y c̃f̃ vb Ki v nq b̃vB| A\_P D³ L̃t̃Ūi 2q c̃p̃vi  
t̃Nvl Yvi m̃f̃l̃ i c̃Y® w̃eei Y c̃f̃ vb eỸb̃v Ki v nBq̃ṽt̃Q| 1982 m̃t̃b  
c̃K̃w̃k̃Z `w̃j j c̃l̃ w̃m̃wi t̃Ri Z̃Z̃xq L̃t̃Ūi 2q c̃p̃v Ges 2004 m̃t̃b  
c̃K̃w̃k̃Z `w̃j j c̃l̃ w̃m̃wi t̃Ri Z̃Z̃xq L̃t̃Ūi 2q c̃p̃v cṽk̃vc̃w̃k̃ g̃y` Ỹ Ki v  
nBj t

1982 m̃t̃bi g̃y` Ỹ			2004 m̃t̃bi g̃y` Ỹ			
wk̃ti vbvg	m̃f̃	Zwi L		wk̃ti vbvg	m̃f̃	Zwi L
m̃yaxb evsj v t̃eZvi t̃K>`̃ t̃_̃t̃K t̃gRi w̃RqvDi i ngvb KZ̃K̃ m̃yaxbZv t̃Nvl Yv  *	m̃yaxb evsj v t̃eZvi c̃P̃wi Z Ab̃p̃vbvgj vi t̃Uc̃ti KW̃, 27 gvP̃, 1971, w̃` t̃óUmg̃vb, w̃` j 27 t̃k gvP̃, 1971	27 gvP̃ 1971		m̃yaxb evsj v t̃eZvi t̃K>`̃ t̃_̃t̃K t̃gRi w̃RqvDi i ngvb KZ̃K̃ m̃yaxbZv t̃Nvl Yv*	m̃yaxb evsj ṽt̃eZvi c̃P̃wi Z Ab̃p̃vb gvj vi t̃Uc̃ti KW̃, 27 gvP̃, 1971, w̃` t̃óUmg̃vb, w̃` j 28 gvP̃, 1971	28 gvP̃ 1971

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE	DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (2 <sup>nd</sup> )
<p>Major Zia, Provisional Commander-in-Chief of the Bangladesh Liberation Army, hereby proclaims, on behalf of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the independence of Bangladesh.</p> <p>I also declare, we have already framed a sovereign, legal Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which pledges to function as per law and the constitution. The new democratic Government is committed to a policy of non-alignment in international relations. It will seek friendship with all nations and strive for international peace. I appeal to all Government to mobilize public opinion in their respect countries the brutal genocide in Bangladesh.</p> <p>The Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is sovereign Government of Bangladesh and is entitled to recognition from all democratic nations of the world.</p>	<p>I, Major Zia, Provisional Commander-in-Chief of the Bangladesh Liberation Army, hereby proclaim, on behalf of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Independence of Bangladesh.</p> <p>I also declare, we have already framed a sovereign, legal Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which pledges to function as per law and the constitution. The new democratic Government is committed to a policy of non-alignment in international relations. It will seek friendship with all nations and strive for international peace. I appeal to all Government to mobilize public opinion in their respective countries against the brutal genocide in Bangladesh.</p> <p>The Govenrment under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is sovereign legal Government of Bangladesh and is entitled to recognition from all democratic nations of the world.</p>

cŁxqgvb nq th, 1982 młbi gŷ ŦYi ZZxq LłŪi 2q cŕvi  
tNvl Yvi mŦ wnmvte ōmŷaxb evsj v teZvi cPwi Z Abŕvb gvj vi  
tUcŦi KW, 28łk gvP©1971; w` tóUmg`vb, w` j x, 28łk gvP©, 1971Ō  
eYŖv Ki v nBqvłQ| Bnv GKwU A\_cY©cKZ mŦ | 2004 młbi gŷ ŦYi  
ZZxq LłŪi 1g cŕvi mŦ ōwecex teZvi tK>`Ŧ; PÆMłvgŌ A\_ŕxb I  
A` úó| Dłj Ł` th 26łk gvP©Zwi łL , B teZvi tK>` ŦU Pvj y Kwi evi  
cŌi łŕŁ cŌłtg Bnvi bvgKi Y Ki v nq ōmŷaxb evsj v wecex teZvi  
tK>` Ō| `Bw` b cŦi ōwecexŌ kãwU ev` t` l qv nq| wKš' teZvi tKł>` ł  
bvg KLbB ōwecex teZvi tK>` Ō wQj bv| tNvl Yvi fvl wU tKv\_v nBłZ  
msMh Ki v nBqwQj Zvnvl łj Lv nq bvB| 1982 młb cKwkZ gj  
`wj j cŦł i ZZxq LłŪi 2q cŕvi cv` UxKv nBłZ Rvbw hvq th tgRi

W R q v D i i n g v t b i 2 7 t k g v t P P m p x b Z v t N v l Y v c v t V i g j K w c w U  
w b i v c E v i K v i t Y b o K w i q v t d j v n B q w Q j Z t e D ^ 3 t N v l Y v c v V w U  
t U c t i K W ^ I w t o U m g v b c w l K v n B t Z m s M n x Z n B q w Q j | w K s '  
` w j j c t l i 2 0 0 4 m t b i c b g P Y K Z Z Z x q L t U i 1 g c o v i w e e i t Y i  
Z \_ v K w \_ Z 0 m t 0 w U t K c K Z c t q m t e j v h v q b v |

GgZ Ae<sup>-</sup>vq cZxqgvb nq th `wj j cŧi 2004 mŧbi  
cpgj bKZ ZZxq LŧUi 1g cŧvq ewYZ ōŧgRi wRqi cŧ\_g mŧaxbZv  
ŧNvl Yvŧi weei Y Amgw\_Z mŧŧi Dci wbfŧkxj weavq cŧ\_wgK fvŧeB  
Bnv AMhYŧhvM

GB cñt½ Avi l GKwU wel q tLqvj Ki v cñqvRb th Dcñi  
ewYÇ òñNvl Yvò Gi cñi ðñBñi Rx f vñl “ ‘Dear fellow freedom fighters’ Ges  
evsj v f vñl “ òwññ mnñhv×v f vBñqi v ò evKñwU i wñqvñQ A\_P mñKZ  
28ñk l 30ñk gvñPñ tNvl Yvq GBi fc mññl b AbñwñZ |

ZvuvQvov, 27tk gvtP© Kw\_Z tNvl Yvi evsj v fvl . Avi xq nq  
 0wemwgj wni i vngvbx i wng0 w`qv Ges tkI nq 0BbKvj w0 w`qv wKš'  
 28tk I 30tk gvtP© tNvl Yvq tmBi fc tKvb eYbv bvB|

AZ tci , Dc†i D×Z 1971 m†bi 27†k gvP® Zwi †Li  
The Statesman, Delhi-March, 27, 1971 cŵĪ Kvq cĀKwKZ msev` wb†æ gŵ` Ū Ki v  
nBj (Bangladesh Document, Vol. I P-280-281) :

## “EMERGENCE OF BANGLA DESH

**BANGLA DESH DECLARES FREEDOM-RAHMAN'S STEP  
FOLLOWS ARMY CRACKDOWN- CIVIL WAR ERUPTS IN  
EAST PAKISTAN-AWAMI LEAGUE LEADERS GO**

## UNDERGROUND :

Press Report on March 27, 1971.

Pakistan's Eastern Wing, rechristened the independent State of Bangla Desh by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in a clandestine Radio Broadcast, was in the throes of a civil war on Friday with West Wing

troops resorting to force to regain control and the people, aided by the East Pakistan rifles and the police, resisting the attempt, reports UNI.

Heavy fighting was going on in Dacca, Chittagong, Sylhet, Comilla and other town, according to reports from across the border gathered by UNI bureaus in Shillong and Calcutta and correspondents close to the border in the eastern sector, Casualties were believed to be heavy.

Mr. Rahman and other Awami League leaders had gone underground, according to highly reliable reports received in Gauhati by PTI and UNI. A later reports said Pakistan troops went hunting for them but could not find them.

Speaking over “Swadhin Bangla” (Free Bengal) Betar Kendra, Mr. Rahman later proclaimed the birth of an independent Bangla Desh.

The declaration was made shortly before General Yahya Khan went on the air in the West wing to announce that the army had been instructed to reassert the Government’s authority in the East wing. He called Mr. Rahman and his followers traitors.

Mr. Rahman in his broadcast declared definitely: “ We shall not die like cats and dogs, but shall die as worthy children of Bangla Ma (Mother Bengal)”, adding, “The flag of Bangla Desh is flying in all villages of Bangla Desh”.

The broadcast said personnel of the East Bengla regiment, the East Pakistan Rifles and the entire police force had surrounded West Pakistani troops in Chittagong, Comilla, Sylhet, Jessore, Barisal and Khulna.

Heavy fighting was continuing, it said.

An announcer on the clandestine radio station evidently located in the northern region of East Bengal, said, “ The Sheikh has declared the 75 million people of East Pakistan as citizens of the sovereign independent Bangla Desh”.

The Broadcast called upon the people of free Bangla Desh to continue the current movement till the last enemy soldier was vanquished. It said Mr. Rahman was the only leader of the people of independent Bangla Desh and his commands should be obeyed by all sections of people to save the country from the ruthless dictatorship of West Pakistan.



Mr. Rahman in his broadcast asked the people to resist the enemy forces at any cost in every corner of Bangla Desh.

May Allah bless you and help in your struggle for freedom from the enemy he said.

### **Freedom at all costs**

Mr. Rahman said : “Pakistan armed forces suddenly attacked the East Pakistan Rifle base at Pielkhana and Rajarbagh Police Station in Dacca at zero hours on March 26, killing a number of unarmed people. Fierce fighting in going on with East Pakistan Rifles at Dacca.

“People are fighting gallantly with the enemy for the cause of freedom of Bangla Desh. Every section of the people of Bangla Desh are asked to resist the enemy forces at any cost in every corner of Bangla Desh. May Allah bless you and help in your struggle for freedom from the enemy. Jai Bangla”.

The first victim of the military crackdown in the province was Dacca Betar Kendra, the world's only source of news from East Pakistan. Troops seized the radio station early on Friday and announced a 24-hour curfew in Dacca and its surrounding areas.

When the radio came back on the air it announced itself as “Radio Pakistan Dacca” and broadcast 16 martial law orders.

All rights between Karachi and Dacca have been suspended and teleprinter links between the two cities cut.

At least 10,000 West Pakistani troops have landed at Chittagong and Chalna (Khulna district) during the last 24 hours. They arrived in the five ships and have since been dispersed to the three cantonments in Dacca, Comilla and Jessore. This brings the total number of troops in East Pakistan to 70,000.

(THE STATESMAN, Delhi-March 27, 1971.)

cZxqgvb nq th Dcti eWYZ 27tk gvP®Zwi tLi cWl Kvq .tgRi  
wRqvDi i ngvb mª#Ü tKvb e³ e" ev GgbWk tKvb Dtj EI bvB|

AZtci , 2004 m#bi cpg® Z `wj j c#l i ZZxq LtÜ 1g cðvq  
eWYZ gj fvl YWU we#ePbv Ki v hvK| c#eB Avtj vPbv Ki v nBqv#Q  
th 1971 m#bi 25tk gvP® i v#l 8g Bó te½j ti wR#gt>U %mb"  
msL"v wQj gv# 250 Rb| tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb H mgq Bnvi

Command Mhb Ki Zt weṭ`Ńn tNvl Yv Kṭi b ewj qv Zvnvi m½xq  
 Awdmvi MY Zvnvṭ`i mvṭṭ vrKvṭi ewj qvṭQb| Hi vṭi I ZrcieZx®  
 wewf bṭ mgṭq evsj vṭ`ṭki wewf bṭ`vṭb Aew`Z evOvj x evwnbx, wj  
 GK Bfvṭe weṭ`Ńn Kṭi | mṭKZ gṭZB GK ewwnbxi mwnZ Ab`  
 ewwnbxi ṭKvb thvMvṭhvM ZLb wQj bv| A\_ṭr tmbv BDwbU, wj hvi hvi  
 wbṭRṭ`i gZ Kwi qv weṭṭ Bfvṭe weṭ`Ńn Kwi qv wQj | H cwi w`wZṭZ  
 1982 mṭb cKwkZ gj `wj j cṭi i ZZxq LṭŪi 1g cṭvq ewYṂ  
 27ṭk gvP®Zwi ṭL ṭkL gyRej ingvṭbi cṭṭṭ tgRi wRqvDi ingvṭbi  
 tNvl YvwU nqṭZv AmṭfweK wQj bv ei Ā H mgṭq Bnvi GKwU cṭvi Yv  
 gj `I (Propaganda Value) wQj | wKš' 2004 mṭb cKwkZ `wj j cṭi i  
 ZZxq LṭŪi 1g cṭvq ewYṂ 27ṭk gvP®Zwi ṭL tgRi wRqvDi  
 ingvṭbi wbṭRṭK 'Provisional President and Commander-in-Chief of Liberation  
 Army' ewj qv tNvl Yv AmṭfweKB wQj Kvi Y wZwb RbMṭYi ṭKvb ṭbZv  
 wQṭj b bv, RbMṭYi wbeṭPZ ṭKvb cṭZwbwa wQṭj b bv ev RbMY ZvnvṭK  
 wPwbZl bv| | Provisional President wnmvṭe wbṭRṭK tNvl Yv Kwi evi  
 mg\_ṭb Zvnvi ṭKvb AvBbMZ AwaKvi ev GgbwK ṭKvb %bwZK  
 AwaKvi I Zvnvi wQj bv| Hi ṭc tNvl Yv cṭ vb Kwi evi mg\_ṭb Zvnvi  
 cṭṭṭ ṭKvb Legal instrumentl wQj bv| ZvnvQvov, ci eZx® 28ṭk gvP®I  
 30ṭk gvP®Zwi ṭLi fvl ṭY tgRi wRqvDi ingvb wbṭRṭK ŌProvisional  
 PresidentŌ wnmvṭe `vex Kṭi b bvB ev ci eZx® Avi ṭKvb w`bB GBi ṭc  
 `vex wZwb Kṭi b bvB| BnvṭZB cwi ®wi nBṭe th Dcṭi v³ 27ṭk  
 gvṭP® ŌtNvl YvqŌ ZvnvṭK ŌProvisional PresidentŌ wnmvṭe th eYṭv Ki v  
 nBqvṭQ Zvnv wRqvDi ingvṭbi gZṭi ci D™ṭeb Ki v nBqvṭQ| Avi I  
 Dṭj Ḑ th 27ṭk gvṭP® cṭi wZwb wbṭRṭK KLbl 'Provisional  
 Commander-in-Chief of the Bangladesh Liberation Army' `vex Kṭi b bvB| Ggb  
 wK Zvnvi mi Kvi x Rxeb eḐvṭšṭ GBi ṭc `vex Ki v nq bvB| ṭmLvṭb  
 ej v nBqvṭQ t 'Left Pak Army and joined BD Army (TOS: 26 March 1971)

Dtj 𐌺𐌹 th 25tk gvP<sup>®</sup> i wī i cte<sup>®</sup> wZwb tKvb mṽaxbZv tNvl Yv  
 Kwi tēb ev GgbwK weṭ 𐌹n tNvl Yv Kwi tēb GBi fc tKvb eYḅv ev gše<sup>ṽ</sup>  
 8g Bó te½j ti wRtgṭUi mvṽ vrKvi cṰ vbKvi x tKvb Awdmvi etj b  
 bvB| GBi fc tNvl Yvi tKvb cPvi Yv gj 𐌹 Z bvBB ei Â GBi fc GKwU  
 tNvl Yv mZ 𐌹B hw 𐌹 cPvi nBZ Zvnv nBtj Bnvi GKwU tbwZevPK  
 cṦve gṽ<sup>3</sup> hṭxi Dci Ges mnvbṽwZkxj i vó<sup>3</sup> wj i Dci cwotZ  
 cwi Z| GLvṭb mfi Y i wLṭZ nBte th 25tk gvP<sup>®</sup> evMZ i vī 9ḏ9t15  
 wgwbtUi gṭa 𐌹 PÆMṭg BwcAvi Gi K 𐌹vṭP b i wdK AevOvj x Awdmvi  
 I %mwbKṭ i wbi 𐌹; I tMḁZvi Ki Zt BwcAvi ewnbx j Bqv cṰZti va  
 hṭxi c 𐌹tṽ c j I qv Avi xṭ Kwi qvwQtj b| KvḅvBG GKB ai tYi  
 c 𐌹tṽ c K 𐌹vṭP b nvi fb i vZ 10ḏ30 wgwbtU j BṭZwQtj b| wKš' tgRi  
 wRqvDi ingvb i wī 11ḏ30 wgwbtUi mgq Zvnvi e 𐌹vUvwj qb KgvŪvi  
 tj t Kṭbṽ RvbRqv wbt 𐌹 k cvj b Ki Zt mKj %mb 𐌹 j Bqv PÆMṭg 𐌹  
 cṭZ ½v e 𐌹 ti Aew 𐌹 Z ṰṭmvqvZṰ RvntṭRi Dtī tk i I qvbn nBqvQtj b|

cṰxqgvb nq th 25tk gvP<sup>®</sup> w 𐌹 evMZ i wī ev 26tk gvP<sup>®</sup> nBṭZB  
 evsj vṭ 𐌹tki weṽf bē 𐌹vṭb gṽ<sup>3</sup> hṭx Avi xṭ nBqv wMqvQtj Ges evOvj x  
 mvghi K Awdmvi MYB tbZĒj cṰ vb Kwi tZwQtj b| tṽšfvM 𐌹ekZ  
 AwZDrmvnx tKnB 𐌹vex Kṭi b bvB th Zvnvi vl wbtRṭ i tK Provisional  
 President I Commander-in-Chief ewj qv tNvl Yv Kwi qvwQtj b| Bnv ej vi  
 Aṭcṽ v i vṭLbv th GBi fc tKvb tNvl bv cṰ vb tNvl tKi Rb 𐌹  
 evj wLj 𐌹 AvPi Y nBZ Ges RbMṭYi mṽṽṽL wZwb thB nDb bv tKb  
 Z 𐌹wbšḅ cwi w 𐌹wZṭZ nwwmi tLvi vK nBṭZb| Aek 𐌹 tKn wbtRṭK  
 Provisional President ewj tj ev wbtRi cṽ nBṭZ mṽaxbZvi tNvl Yv cṰ vb  
 Kwi tj I mste 𐌹bkxj tev xv RbMY Hi fc tNvl Yv e½eŪy tkL gṽRej  
 i ngvṭbi cṽ nBṭZB Ki v nBṭZṭQ ewj qv eṽSṭZb|

Ṱevsj vṭ 𐌹tki mṽaxbZv hṭx 𐌹wj j cĀ 0 wmwī R 1979 mṭbi  
 Authentication Committee i mwēK ZĒyeavṭb 1982 mṭb cĀg cKwKZ  
 nq| D<sup>3</sup> 𐌹wj j cĀ wmwī tRi ZZxq LṭŪi 1g cṰvq e½eŪy tkL

gyRej ingvṭbi 1971 mṭbi 26ṭk gvP° Zwi ṭLi mṭaxbZv ṭNvl Yvi eYḅv gy`Ḃ nq| 2q cḅvq 27ṭk gvP° Zwi ṭL e½eÜyṭkL gyRej ingvṭbi cṭṭṭ tgRi wRqvDi ingvṭbi mṭaxbZv ṭNvl Yv cvṭVi eYḅv gy`Ḃ nq| GB `wj j cĀ evsj vṭ`k mi Kvi Gi Z\_” gšYvj q cKvk Kṭi | D³ MŠ’ wmwṭṭRi Kwc i vBU wQj Z\_” gšYvj ṭqi | 2003 mṭb Z\_” gšYvj ṭqi cṭṭṭ nv° vbx cveij kvm°Bnv cḅgṭ Y Kṭi | Bnv gj 1982 mṭbi cKwkZ `wj j cĀ i ūeū cḅgṭ Y wQj | cṭi i ermi B 2004 mṭb `wj j cĀ wmwṭṭRi R wU `y cĀc” nl qvi ARṭvṭZ GBvi evsj vṭ`k mi Kvi Gi gy³ hyx wel qK gšYvj qḅGi cṭṭṭ AveYvm Avj x wgv, cKí cwi Pvj K `wj j cĀ wmwṭṭRi R wU cḅgṭ Y Kṭi b| GB cḅgṭ ṭYi Kwc i vBU gy³ hyx wel qK gšYvj ṭq wQj |

GB cḅgṭ ṭYi cḂ`qb KwgwUi mfvcwZ I gy³ hyx wel qK gšYvj ṭqi cĀZgšx Zvnvi ōcḅgṭ Yṭ cĀKK\_bō G evsj vṭ`ṭki mṭaxbZvhyx `wj j cĀ cḅgṭ ṭYi tcṭṭvcU eYḅv Kṭi b| cḂxqgvb nq th `wj j cĀ wmwṭṭRi LŪ, wj cḅi vq cKvṭki Rb” Z\_” gšYvj q GKwU cKí Mhb Kṭi | Aci w`ṭK evsj v GKvṭWgx ōevsj vṭ`ṭki gy³ hyx i BwZnm wel qK MŠ’ cĀqb I cKvkō kxl K GKwU cKí cĀqb Kṭi | AZtci, `BwU cKí GKxfZ Kwi qv ōevsj vṭ`ṭki gy³ hyx t `wj j I BwZnm wel qK MŠ’ cKvkō cKí wUi KvR ms⁻ K wZ wel qK gšYvj ṭqi Axb evsj v GKvṭWgxi gva`tg Avi ṭnq|

2001 mṭbi Aṭ±vei gvṭm gy³ hyx wel qK gšYvj q MwVZ nq Ges Rules of Business Abḥvqx Dcṭi v³ cKí wUi `wqZi D³ gšYvj ṭqi Dci b⁻-nq|

cḂxqgvb nq th, Dcṭi v³ cKṭi i cḂ`qb KwgwUi mwnZ Avi GKwU mveḅKwgwU AĀ 15LŪ `wj j cĀ cḅgṭ ṭYi Kvḥḡ g ZĒyeavb Kṭi wKš’ D³ 15 LŪ `wj j cĀ i AvBbMZ Kwc i vBU Z\_” gšḅvj ṭqi wbKU \_vKv mṭZi D³ Kwcḅi vBU ṭKvb& AvBbx `wj j eṭj gy³ hyx gšYvj ṭqi wbKU n⁻ všṭ nBj Zvnv tevaMg” bṭn|

ZvnuQvov, 2003 mþbi wWtmxj gvtm hLb Z\_ gšYvj q D³ `wj j cÎ wmw tRi GKwU cþgŸ Y mæúæKwi qvwQj ZLb gvÎ KtqK gvtmi gta` 2004 mþbi Rþ gvtm Avi GKwU cþgŸ tYi tKb cŸqvRb cwoj Zvni tevaMg` nq bv|

2004 mþbi cþgŸ YKZ `wj j cÎ chŸeŸ Y Kwi qv cZxqgvb nq th cKZ cŸŸ cþgŸ tYi ARjvtZ `wj j cÎ wmw R weŸkl Kwi qv Bni ZZxqLÛ cptms`i Y Ki Zt bZb Kwi qv tgRi wRqvDi ingvbtK evsj vt` tki mÿaxbZvi tNvl K wnmvte 1g cþvq eYŸv Ki v nBqvŸQ hw` I 1982 mþbi gj `wj j cÎ wmw tR Ges 2003 mþbi cþgŸ tY wZwb e½eÛy tkL gyRej ingvbtbi cŸŸ nBqv mÿaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qvŸQb ewj qv ZZxq LŸÛi 2q cþvq eYŸv Ki v nBqvŸQj | Avi I DŸj E` th D³ 2q cþvi cv` UxKvq eYŸv Ki v nBqvŸQ th tgRi wRqvDi ingvbtbi 27tk gvŸPŸ tNvl Yv cvŸVi gj KwcwU wbi vcËvi Kvi tY bó Kwi qv tdj v nBqvŸQj | mŸ wnmvte eYŸv Ki v nBqvŸQj mÿaxb evsj v teZvi cPwi Z Abþvb gvj vi tUcŸi KWŸ 27 gvPŸ 1971; w` tóUmg`vb, w` j 27 gvPŸ 1971|

GgZ Ae`nvq cZxqgvb nq th 2004 mþbi cþgŸ b/cþms`i YKZ ZZxq LŸÛi 1g cþvq tgRi wRqvDi ingvb wbŸRi bvŸg ev cŸŸ mÿaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qvwQŸj b ewj qv th eYŸv cKvk Ki v nBqvŸQ Zvni mŸcŸŸ Drm mŸ `wj j (source reference) wnmvte cKZ cŸŸ wKQß eYŸv Ki v nq bvB| GB tŸŸ tŸ mŸ wnmvte tKej 00wecex teZvi tK>` 00 DŸj wLZ nBqvŸQj | mŸ wnmvte Zvnu AmæcYŸ wKš-mÿaxb evsj v teZvi tKŸ>` i mswkŸ tKvb&`wj tŸj i wf wËŸZ H tNvl Yv hþ Ki v nBqvŸQ Zvnu DŸj E Ki v nq bvB| GKwU teZvi tKŸ>` Abþvb cPvŸi i tŸŸ tŸ A\_ev cPwi Z Abþvb mæúŸKŸ`ß ai tYi mŸ \_vKv mæe| cŸ\_gZt H AbþvŸbi wj wLZ script| wZxqZt cPwi Z AbþvŸbi avi YKZ tUc| GBLvŸb j ŸŸ bxq th cŸ\_g gyŸ tY DŸj wLZ tNvl YwUi Z\_ mŸ 00avi YKZ tUc 00 Ges 00w` t÷ Umg`vb 00 cwÎ Kvi cŸZte`b|

Abjovtbi script wbi vcEvi Kvi tY webó Kwi evi K\_v cv` UxKvq Dtj 𐌺  
 AvtQ| mȳi vs 2004 mti bi gȳ tY Dtj 𐌺Z tNvl YwU mȳaxb evsj v  
 teZvi tKt>`i Dctiv<sup>3</sup> `BwU Drtmi GKwU nBtZI msMnxZ bv  
 nl qvq GwU gj`nxb nBqvQ Ges gnvb gȳ<sup>3</sup> hȳxi `wj j cĭ Ašf<sup>8</sup>  
 nBevi Dchȳ bq ewj qvB mæeZ 1979 mti bi Authentication Committee  
 D<sup>3</sup> `wj j MhY Kti bvB| AwaKš' H mgq mȳaxb evsj v teZvi tKt>`  
 cwi Pvj bvi mwnZ RwoZ kã %mwbKMY tKnB cieZxKvtj tgRi  
 wRqvDi ingvtbi Hi fc tKvb tNvl Yvi K\_v Dtj 𐌺 Kti b bvB| mweK  
 wetePbvq 2004 mti bi gȳ tYi H tNvl YwUi tKvb mĭ Dtj 𐌺 bv  
 \_vKvq Ges mȳaxb evsj v teZvi tKt>`i kã %mwbKt`i Øvi v mgw\_Z bv  
 nl qvtZ tgRi wRqvDi ingvb Avt`š Hi Kg tKvb tNvl Yv t` b bvB  
 gtgB cĭZwôZ nq| dtj Bnv GKwU wf wĒnxb I Amgw\_Z tNvl Yvq  
 cwi YZ nBqvQ|

ZvovQvov, wRqvDi ingvb wbtR KLbB 26tk ev 27 gvP<sup>8</sup>Zwi tL  
 mȳaxbZvi tNvl K wnmvte `vex Kti b bvB|

### e½eÜj tNvl Yv t

thtnZytkL gyRtei 7B gvP<sup>8</sup> fvl Y tmbv ewnbx, BwcAvi , cȳj k  
 ewnbxi evOvj x m`m̄mn Avevj ex ewYZv mKj `ti i RbMYtK  
 mȳaxbZvi Rb` i agvĭ Abtcĭ Yv thvMvq bvB ev D<sup>TM</sup> Kti bvB,  
 mȳaxbZvi Rb` mKj tK Dbw` bv cĭ vb Kwi qwQj tmBtnZy 7B gvP<sup>8</sup>  
 fvl YwUi cY<sup>8</sup>weei b wbtæ cĭ vb Ki v nBj (`wj j cĭ t wØZxq LŪ, cōv  
 700B702)t

00e½eÜj 7B gvP<sup>8</sup> (1971) HwZnwmK fvl Y

(tUc ti KW<sup>8</sup>t\_tK wj wceX)

AvR `jtL fvi vµ vš-gb wbtq Avcbvt`i mvgtb nwwRi  
 ntqWQ| Avcbvi v mKtj Rvtbb Ges tevSb Avgi v Avgvt`i  
 Rxeb w`tq tPóv Kti WQ| WKš' `jtLi wel q AvR XvKv,

PUMvg, Lj bv, i vRkvnX, i scđi Avgvi f vBđqi i t³ i vRc\_ i wÄZ ntqtQ| AvR evsj vi gvb| gw³ Pvq, evsj vi gvb| evPđZ Pvq, evsj vi gvb| AwaKvi Pvq| wK Ab`vq Kđi wQj vg ? wbePđbi cđi evsj vt`tki gvb| mǎúYFvte AvgvđK I Avl qvgx j xMđK tfvU t`b| Avgvđ`i b`vkbi Gđmgwe- emte, Avgi v tmLvđb kvmbZš; %Zi x Ki đev Ges Gđ`tki BwZnvmđK Avgi v Mđo Zj đev| Gđ`tki gvb| A\_đxwZ, i vRbxwZ I mvs`KwZK gw³ cvđeb| wKš``đđLi mđ½ ej wQ evsj vt`tki Ki "Y BwZnvm, evsj vi gvbđli i t³ i BwZnvmđ GB i t³ i BwZnvm ggđđ gvbđli Ki "b AvZđv`đGđ`tki Ki "b BwZnvm, Gđ`tki gvbđli i t³ i vRc\_ i wÄZ Ki vi BwZnvm|

1952 mvđj Avgi v i³ w`đqWQ| 1954 mvđj wbePđb Rq j vf Kđi I Avgi v Mw`đZ emđZ cwi wb| 1958 mvđj Avqe Lv gvkđđ đj đ Rvi x Kđi 10 eQi Avgvđ`i tMvj vg Kđi ti đđLđQ| 1964 mvđj 6đ`dv Avđ`vj đbi mgq Avgvđ`i tQđđ t`i , wđj Kđi nZ`v Kiv ntqtQ| 1969 mvđj i Avđ`vj đb Avqe Lvi cZđbi cđi Bqwnqv Gđj b| Bqwnqv Lvb mvđne ej đj b t`tk kvmbZš; t`đebđ Avgi v tgđb wbj vg| Zvi ci AđbK BwZnvm ntq tMj , wbePb đnvj | tđmđW>U Bqwnqv Lvb mvđntei mđ½ t`Lv Kđi wQ| Awg, i ay evsj vi bq cwwK`vđbi tgRwi wU cwwUđ tbZv wnmvte ZvđK Abđi va Kđi wQj vg 15B tdeđvi x Zwi đL Avgvđ`i RvZxq cwi l t`i Awađekb w`đZ| wZwb Avgi K\_v i vLđj b bv i vLđj b fđđEv mvđntei K\_v| wZwb ej đj b, gvPđgvđm cđg mđvđn mfv nte| Awg ej j vg wVK AvđQ, Avgi v GđmgweđZ emđev| Awg ej j vg, Gđmgweđ gđa` Avđj vPbv Ki eđ GgbwK G chš- ej j vg, hw` tKD b`vh` K\_v eđj , Avgi v msL`vq tekx ntj I GK Rđbi gđZI hw` Zv b`vh` K\_v nq, Avgi v tgđb tbe|

fđđEv mvđne GLvđb XvKvq GđmwQđj b, Avđj vPbv Ki đj b| eđj tMđj b Avđj vPbvi `i Rv eÜ bq, Avđi v Awđj vPbv nte| Zvi ci Ab`vb` tbZvđ`i mđ½ Avgi v Avđj vPbv Ki j vg| Avj vc Kđi kvmbZš; %Zwi Ki đevđ mevB Avmb emb| Avgi v Avj vc Kđi kvmbZš; %Zwi Ki e| wZwb ej đj b, cwwđg cwwK`vđbi tgđđ hw` Avđm Zvntj KmvBLvbn te Gđmgweđ wZwb ej đj b, thth hvte

Zv`i tgi tdtj t`qv nte| hw` tKD Gtmgwe~~+~~Z Avtm  
tctkvqi t<sub>-</sub>tK KivPx ch~~S~~-tRvi Kti eÜ Kiv nte| Avg  
ej j vg, Gtmgwe~~P~~j te| Avi nVr 1 Zwi L Gtmgwe~~e~~Ü  
Kti t`qv nj |

Bqwnqv Lvb tcm~~t~~W>U wnmvte Gtmgwe~~t~~WtKwQtj b|  
Avg ej j vg, Avg hvte| f~~t~~U~~v~~ ej tj b, hvteb bv| 35 Rb  
m`m` c~~w~~Ög c~~w~~K<sup>-</sup>vb t<sub>-</sub>tK GLvtb Gtj b| Zvi ci nVr  
eÜ Kti t`l qv tnj , t`vl t`l qv ntj v evsj vi gvb~~t~~l i ,  
t`vl t`l qv ntj v AvgvtK| t`tki gvb| c~~i~~Zev` gLi ntq  
DVj |

Avg ej j vg, Avcbvi v kwš~~e~~Y~~F~~vte ni Zvj cvj b  
Ki "b| Avg ej j vg, Avcbvi v Kj Kvi Lvbv me wKQy eÜ  
Kti t`b| RbMY mvov w`j | Avcb B"Qvq RbMY i v`vq  
tewi tq cotj v, msMvg Pwj tq hvevi Rb" c~~i~~ZÁvex tnj |  
Avg ej j vg, Avgi v Rvgv tKbvi cqm v`tq A<sup>-</sup>; tctq~~w~~Q  
ewntk~~μ~~j Av~~μ~~gY t<sub>-</sub>tK t`ktK i ¶v Kievi Rb", AvR  
tmB A<sup>-</sup>; Avgvi t`tki Mixe~~ð~~`tLx gvb~~t~~l i wei "tx ðZvi  
e~~t~~Ki Dci nt"Q , wj | Avgi v c~~w~~K<sup>-</sup>vb msL<sup>-</sup>v, i "ð Avgi v  
evOvj xiv hLbB ¶gZvq hvevi tPóv Kti wQ ZLbB Ziv  
Avgv~~t~~`i Dci Swctq cto~~t~~Q|

Avg etj wQj vg, tRbv~~t~~i j Bqwnqv Lvb mvte, Avcw~~b~~  
c~~w~~K<sup>-</sup>vb~~i~~ tcm~~t~~W>U, t`tL hvb wKfvte Avgvi Mixtei  
Dci , Avgvi evsj vi gvb~~t~~l i e~~t~~Ki Dci , wj Kiv ntqtQ|  
wKfvte Avgvi gv~~t~~qi tKvj Lwj Kiv ntqtQ, wK Kti  
gvb~~t~~ tK nZ<sup>-</sup>v Kiv ntqtQ, Avcw~~b~~ Avmb, Avcw~~b~~ t`Lb|  
wZwb ej tj b Avg 10 Zwi tL i vDÛ tUej Kbdvti Ý  
WvKte|

Avg etj wQ , wKtmi Gtmgwe~~e~~mt~~e~~; Kvi m~~t~~½ K<sub>-</sub>v  
ej tev? Avcbvi v Avgvi gvb~~t~~l i i<sup>3</sup> w`tqtQb, Zv`i m~~t~~½  
K<sub>-</sub>v ej e ? cvP N>Uvi tMvcb %eVtK mg<sup>-</sup> - t`vl Ziv  
Avgv~~t~~`i Dci , evsj vi gvb~~t~~l i Dci w`tqtQb|`vqx Avgi v !

25 Zwi L Gtmgwe~~t~~WtKtQ| i tËi `vM i Kvq bvB|  
10 Zwi tL etj wQ, i t<sup>3</sup> cvov w`tq, knx~~t~~`i Dci cvov  
w`tq Gtmgwe~~t~~Lvj v Pj te bv| mv~~g~~wi K AvBb gv~~k~~Öj ð j ð  
withdraw Ki tZ nte| mg<sup>-</sup> - mv~~g~~wi K ewnYxi tj vK~~t~~`i  
e`vi vtKi wfZti X~~k~~tZ nte| th fvB~~t~~`i nZ<sup>-</sup>v Kiv ntqtQ  
Zv`i Z`š- Ki tZ nte| Avi RbM~~t~~Yi c~~i~~Zwbwai Kv~~t~~Q



¶gZv n`vš† Ki†Z nte| Zvi ci we†ePbv K†i t`L†ev  
Avgiv G†mgwe†Z em†Z cvi †ev wK cvi †ev bv| Gi c†e<sup>o</sup>  
G†mgwe†Z Avgiv em†Z cwi bv|

Avwg c†avb gšxZi PvB bv| t`†ki gvb†i AwaKvi  
PvB| Avwg cwi`vi A¶†i etj w`evi PvB th, AvR t\_†K  
GB evsj v†`†k tKvU<sup>o</sup> Ð KvPwi , Av`vj ZÐ†dŠR`vi x, wK¶v  
c†Zôvb Awb w`Š Kv†j i Rb` eÜ \_vK†e| Mi x†ei hv†Z Kó  
bv nq, hv†Z Avgvi gvb| Kó bv K†i tmRb` thmg`-  
Ab`vb` wRwbl ,wj Av†Q, tm,wj i ni Zvj Kvj t\_†K Pj †e  
bv| wi·v, Mi “i Mvox, tij Pj †eÐ i ay tm†µ Uwi †qU,  
m†c†g†KvU<sup>o</sup>, nvB†KvU<sup>o</sup>, RR†KvU<sup>o</sup>, tmwg MfY†g>U `Bi ,  
l qvc`v tKvbwKQy Pj †e bv| 28 Zwi †L KgPvi xiv wM†q  
teZb wb†q Avm†eb| Gi ci hw` teZb t`l qv bv nq, Gi  
ci hw` 1 wU ,wj P†j , Gi ci hw` Avgvi tj vK†`i nZ`v  
Kiv nq Ð†Zvgv†`i Kv†Q Ab†i va i Bj , c†Z`K N†i N†i  
`M<sup>o</sup>M†o tZvj | tZvgv†`i hv wKQy Av†Q ZvB wb†q kµ i  
tgvKwej v Ki†Z nte, Ges Rxe†bi Z†i iv`wNvU hv hv  
Av†Q mewKQÐ Avwg hw` ûKg w`evi bvl cwi , tZvgiv eÜ  
K†i w`†e| Avgiv fv†Z gvi †ev, Avgiv cwmb†Z gvi †ev|  
%mb`iv, tZvgiv Avgvi fvB, tZvgiv e`vi v†K \_v†Kv,  
tZvgv†`i tKD wKQy ej †e bv| wKŠ`Avi tZvgiv ,wj Kivi  
†Póv K†i v bv| mvZ†KwU gvb| †K `ve†q i vL†Z cvi ev bv|  
Avgiv hLb gi†Z wk†LwQ ZLb tKD Avgv†`i `ve†q  
i vL†Z cvi ev bv|

Avi th mg`- tj vK knx` n†q†Q, AvNvZc†B n†q†Q  
Avgiv Avl qvgxj x†Mi t\_†K h†j cwi mvnvh` Ki†Z †Póv  
Ki †ev| hvi v cv†i b Avl qvgxj xM Awd†m mvgvb` UvKv cqmv  
tcŠ†Q t`†eb| Avi 7 w`b ni Zv†j k†gK fvB†qiv  
thvM`vb K†i †Q, Ð c†Z`K wk†i i gwj K Zv†`i teZb  
tcŠ†Q t`†eb| mi Kvi x KgPvi x†`i ewj , Avwg hv ewj Zv  
gvb†Z nte| th chŠ-Avgvi GB t`†ki gw<sup>3</sup> bv n†"Q,  
ZZw`b l qvc`v U`v· eÜ K†i t`l qv n†j vÐ tKD t`†e bv|  
i b†b, g†b i vL†b, kµy wcQ†b X†K†Q, w`†R†`i g†a`  
AvZ†Kj n m†ó Ki †e, j †ZivR Ki †e| GB evsj vq Ð  
wn>` Ðgmj gvb hvi v Av†Q Avgv†`i fvB, evOvj x, AÐevOvj xÐ  
Zv†`i i ¶v Kivi `wqZi Avgv†`i Dci , Avgv†`i thb  
e`bvg bv nq| g†b i vL†eb, KgPvi xiv, ti wWl hw`

Avgvť`i K\_v bv tkvťb Zvntj tKvb evOvj x ti wWI tókťb hvťe bv| hw` tUwj wfkb Avgvť`i wbDR bv t`q, Zvntj tUwj wfkb hvťeb bv| 2 N>Uv e`v¼ tLv v \_vKťe, hvťZ gvb| Zvť`i gvBťb cĭ wbťZ cvi te| ce® evsj v t\_ťK cWĎg cWk`ťb GK cqmvl Pvj vb nťZ cvi te bv| tUwj tdvb, tUwj Mvg Avgvť`i GB ce® evsj vq Pj te Ges evsj vť`ťki wbDR evBťi cvVťbv Pj te|

GB t`ťki gvb|ťK LZg Kivi tPóv Pj tQĐ evOvj xi v eťSmťS KvR Kiťeb| cťZ`K Mťg, cťZ`K gnj vq Avl qvgx j xťMi tbZťZi msMvg cĭZôvb Mto Zj b| Ges Avgvť`i hv wKQj AvťQ, ZvB wbťq cĭZ \_vKb| i³ hLb w`ťqWQ, Avťi vl i³ t`ťev| GB t`ťki gvb|ťK gť Kťi Zj tev BbkvAvj w| Gevťi i msMvg Avgvť`i gť³ i msMvg, Gevťi i msMvg mľaxbZvi msMvg| Rq evsj v|

gl`j Avg` Zvni ‘ Bangladesh: Constitutional Quest For Autonomy(1979) Mťš’ Dcťi v³ 7B gvťP® fvl Y mđťÜ wbťæv³ gše` Kťi b (cť 229Đ230)t

“ Later in the evening of the same day I met him at his house. When I entered into his room he told me ‘I have done my duty, now you do yours’. He meant, he had given the call for independence also and there was nothing more he could do. He looked very exhausted and seriously apprehended that he would be arrested and finished on that day. Depsite all the contradictions, Mujib’s speech on March 7, gained historical importance. When the Bengalis finally entered the armed the struggle to liberate their country from the Pakistan Army his speech of March 7 inspired millions of youths to fight the war.”

e½eÜy tkL gľRej i ngvb th 1971 mťbi 26ťk gvP® Zvwi tL evsj vť`ťki mľaxbZv tNvl bv Kwi qwQťj b Dcťi eWYŽ Authentication Committee Zvnv evsj vť`ťki mľaxbZv hpx`wj j cĭ wmi R Mťš’i gLeťÜ eWYŽ AwZkq mZK® c`ťġc MhY Ki Zt cĭZôv Kwi qvťQb Ges cKwkZ Z` Øvi v cġwbZ nBqvťQ| Authentication Committee Gi GB

wmxvšš mwnZ wøgZ tcvl Y Kwi evi tKvb Kvi Y Avgvč` i wbKU  
cZxqgvb nq bv|

cZxqgvb nq th 7B gvP° Zwi tL e½eÜy tkL gŵRej ingvb  
ômŵaxbZvi WvKŌ w` qvQčj b Ges 26tk gvčP° cŰg cŋti wZwb  
ômŵaxbZvi tNvl YvŌ cŌ vb Kwi qvQčj b|

gŵ³ hčxi tčŋ vcUĐ BwZnvčmi Zvrch©t

GB i včqi cŋi tčB ej v nBqvčQ th Bnv GKwU eŵZµ gagx i xU  
tgvKvč gv| GB tgvKvč gvq evsj vč` k mi Kvčti i gŵ³ hčx wel qK  
gšŷvj q KZK cKwKZ ōevsj vč` tki mŵaxbZvhčx `wjj cŦŌ cčbi LŪ  
wmwi R Mčší 2004 mčb cbgŵŶKZ ZZxq LčŪi cŰg cŏvq gŵ` Ź  
ŋtgRi wRqvi cŰg mŵaxbZv tNvl YvŌ eYŵvi AvBbvčM %eaZv P`včj Ä  
Kiv nBqvčQ|

Dčti ewYŹ we`wi Z Avčj vPbv nBčZ Bnv cŰZwŌZ th 1971  
mčbi 27tk gvP° Zwi tL tgRi wRqvDi ingvb e½eÜy tkL gŵRej  
ingvčbi cŋ nBčZ mŵaxbZv tNvl Yv cŌ vb Kwi qvQčj b| Bnvl  
cŰZwŌZ nBqvčQ th e½eÜy tkL gŵRej ingvb 25tk gvP°w` evMZ i včŦ  
A\_ŵr 26tk gvP°i včŦ i cŰg cŋti Aq`vi čj m gvi dr mŵaxbZv tNvl Yv  
ceK tUwj Mčd, tUwj čdvb BZ`w` weŵf bčvčte wZwb PUMčtg tčŰ Y  
Kčti b| GB mŵaxbZv tNvl Yvi NUbv 1971 mčbi 10B Gwčj Zwi tL  
'The Proclamation of Independence' Gi Ašf® nq| cčeB e`vL`v Kiv  
nBqvčQ th wK msvweawčK cŰµ qvq Bnv msweavčbi Ask nBqvčQ|

Dčti v³ Genesis of the Constitution Ges msvweawčK e`vL`v mwVKfvčte  
ü` q½g Kwi evi DčŦ tč` gŵ³ hčxi cUfŵgKv Dčj wä Kiv cčqvRb|  
tmB Kvi čY cŰčg evŌvj x RwZi mswŋŦ cŰ\_wgK weKvk, cvK` vb  
i včŋŦ Rbŷ, 23 ermi e`wvc evŌvj xi eÄbvi mswŋŦ B BwZnvč Ges wK  
fvčte avčc avčc evŌvj x RwZ mŵaxbZvi w` tK AvMvBqv hvBčZwQj  
Zvnvi eYŵv, Zrci 1971 mčbi 1j v gvP°Zwi L nBčZ evŌvj x RwZi

`vex m¼qĖKvmb nBtZ wKfvte m¼axbZvi `vextZ cwi YZ nBj Zvnnv gvP<sup>©</sup>  
 gvþmi msev`cþĭ cKwKZ msev` gvi dr cwi`dU<sup>U</sup>Z Kwi evi cĭqm  
 j l qv nBqvþQ hvnnþZ m¼axbZvi Aeaww Z tNvl Yv l cKZ tNvl K tK  
 nBtZ cvti b tm m<sup>æ</sup>þÜ thb tKvbi “c w<sup>0</sup>av<sup>0</sup> (qualm) bv \_vþK | Zrci ,  
 25þk gvP<sup>©</sup> i wĭ nBtZ Ges H Zwi tLi Ae<sup>ew</sup>nZ cti evsj vt`tki  
 AvbvþP KvbvþP wKfvte mZ ù<sup>z</sup> f<sup>z</sup>fvte g<sup>3</sup> h<sup>x</sup> Avi æt nBj Zvnnvi GKwU  
 eY<sup>Þ</sup> cĭ vb Kiv nBqvþQ | Bnv AvcvZ `w<sup>ó</sup>þZ `xN<sup>©</sup>gþb nBtj l cKZ  
 NUbvej xi e<sup>w</sup>ß Avi l AþbK wekvj l we<sup>-</sup>wi Z | 26þk gvþP<sup>Þ</sup>  
 m¼axbZvi tNvl Yv Ges The Proclamation of Independence Gi cKZ t<sup>c</sup>ĭ v<sup>c</sup>U  
 Dcþi e<sup>w</sup>Y<sup>z</sup> BwZnm eY<sup>Þ</sup> e<sup>w</sup>Zþi tK KLB<sup>B</sup> Dcj wä Kiv m<sup>æ</sup>e bq |

i agvĭ cĭ MþYi e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>-</sup> weþk<sup>Y</sup> Ges msv<sup>ew</sup>awbK l AvBbvþM  
 e<sup>v</sup>L<sup>v</sup> cĭ vbB GB tgvKvĭ gvi Rb<sup>-</sup> h<sup>t</sup>\_ó bþn | GB tgvKvĭ gvi  
 weþkl wel qe<sup>-</sup>þ Avgvt`i gnvb g<sup>3</sup> h<sup>t</sup>x<sup>i</sup> wf<sup>w</sup>Ėgj Ave<sup>w</sup>Z<sup>z</sup> | gþb i vLv  
 cĭqvRb th GB g<sup>3</sup> h<sup>x</sup> evOvj x RvwZi tM<sup>š</sup>i e l meþk<sup>Þ</sup> AR<sup>Þ</sup> Ges  
 Avgvt`i msv<sup>ew</sup>avb wĭ k j ĩ knxþ`i i t<sup>3</sup> i AvLþi wj wLZ |

Aĭ tgvKvĭ gwUtZ i agvĭ AvBþbi cĭ<sup>æ</sup> RwoZ bþn | Bnv  
 cĭ MþYi gþa<sup>-</sup> `vtqi KZ GKwU mvavi Y tgvKvĭ gv bq | GB  
 tgvKvĭ gvi mwnZ RwoZ i wnnqvþQ g<sup>3</sup> h<sup>x</sup> l g<sup>3</sup> þhv<sup>x</sup>vt`i Rxeb  
 wbovb i <sup>3</sup> v<sup>3</sup> Ak<sup>9</sup> | KvþRB evsj vt`tki m¼axbZv tNvl Yv Ges tNvl K  
 m<sup>æ</sup>þÜ cĭ<sup>æ</sup> wbi mb Kþi g<sup>3</sup> þhv<sup>x</sup>vt`i m<sup>ó</sup> i v<sup>ó</sup> l Bnvi msv<sup>ew</sup>avb  
 weþk<sup>Y</sup> Kwi evi cþe<sup>©</sup> g<sup>3</sup> h<sup>x</sup> l Bnvi cUf<sup>w</sup>gKv Avtj vPbv Aek<sup>-</sup>  
 cĭqvRbxq wQj | GB Kvi tYB evOvj x RvwZi msv<sup>w</sup>ĭ ß BwZnm Ges  
 wKfvte ch<sup>q</sup>µ t<sup>g</sup> evOvj x m¼axbZvi `vi cĭ<sup>t</sup>š-DcwbZ nBj , m¼axbZv  
 tNvl Yv m<sup>æ</sup>úwK<sup>z</sup> msv<sup>ew</sup>awbK cĭ<sup>æ</sup> wbi mþbi cþe<sup>©</sup> Zvnnvi eY<sup>Þ</sup> cĭ vb  
 Aek<sup>-</sup> cĭqvRbxq nBqv c<sup>w</sup>oqv<sup>w</sup>Qj | ZvnnvQvov, ‘a page of history is worth a  
 volume of logic (Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes) |

## †Nvl Yv mᄁúwKᄇ cᄀᄀ Z\_`w` i mswᄁᄁ ᄀ mvi t

Avgi v HwZnwmK bB Ges BwZnm wj Lb Avgv†` i `wq†Zj g†a`  
 c†o bv Z†e Dc†i ewYᄇ NUbvej xi Av†j v†K cᄇxqgvb nq th 1971  
 m†bi 25†k gvPᄀ w` evMZ i v†Ĥ cwK` vb mvgwi K mi Kv†i i mvgwi K  
 Awf hvb Avi ᄁ†nBevi m†½ m†½B 26†k gv†Pᄀ cᄀᄁ cᄀ†i e½eÜy tkL  
 gyRej i ngvb Aq`vi †j m, †Uwj Mvd I †Uwj †d vb gvi dr mgM<sup>a</sup>  
 evsj v†` †k wZwb Zvnvi mᄁaxbZv †Nvl Yvi evYx tcᄀY K†i b| Mfxi  
 i v†Ĥ Bnv PÆM†g MnxZ nq| 26†k gv†Pᄀ cᄇj† nB†Z gvBKᄀvi v  
 PÆM†g kn†i GB †Nvl Yv cᄀwi Z nB†Z \_v†K Ges GB †Nvl Yvi  
 mvB†KvóvBj KZ Kwc meᄀ weZi Y Kiv nB†Z \_v†K th tkL gyRe  
 mᄁaxbZv †Nvl Yv Kwi qv†Qb| `ᄁj 2ᄀ2.30 wgw†Ui mgq Avl qvgx  
 j xtMi PÆM†g` †Rbv†i j tm†µ Uvi x Gg, G, nvbwb Kvj j Nv†Ui  
 †eZvi UvYwgUvi Pvj j Ki Zt meᄀᄀᄁ e½eÜy tkL gyRej i ngv†bi  
 tcᄀi Z mᄁaxbZvi †Nvl Yv wb†Ri bvg D†j ᄁ ceᄀ cvW K†i b| Z†e Bnv  
 GKwU Awbaᄀi Z Abᄀvb wQj | 9 bs cᄀZev` x tej vj tgvnvᄁ`  
 mᄁaxbZvi GB †Nvl Yv †eZv†i wbqwgZ Abᄀvb wnmv†e cᄀvi Kwi evi  
 c†qvRbxqZv meᄀᄀᄁ Abᄀe K†i b| wZwb PÆM†gi AvM†ev†` Aew`Z  
 cᄀvi †K>`<sup>a</sup> nB†Z Bnv cᄀvi Kwi †Z e`\_ᄀ nBqv Zvnvi K†qKRb  
 mnKgxᄀ mnvqZvq Kvj j Nv†U Aew`Z †eZvi UvYwgUvi wU cᄀi vq Pvj j  
 K†i b| AZtci, mÜ`v 7ᄀ40 wgw†Ui mgq bvg cᄀvk e`wZ†i †K  
 Avej Kv†kg m>`xc Abᄀvb †Nvl Yv K†i b| Bnv GKwU , ᄀ †eZvi  
 †K>`<sup>a</sup> wQj weavq wbi vcᄀvi mᄁ†\_ᄀ mswkᄀ mK†j B bvg cᄀvk e`wZ†i †K  
 e½eÜy tkL gyRej i ngvb KZᄀ mᄁaxbZv †Nvl Yv evi evi cᄀvi  
 Kwi †Z \_v†Kb| GB mgq Gg G nvbwb Dcw`Z nb Ges wb†Ri bvg  
 †Nvl Yv e`wZ†i †KB tkL gyR†ei †Nvl Yvi Av†j v†K wj wLZ e<sup>3</sup> e` cᄀvi  
 K†i b| cᄇxqgvb nq th tmBw`b mÜ`vq D<sup>3</sup> †eZvi †K†>`<sup>a</sup> Dcw`Z  
 cᄀq mK†j B †eZv†i e<sup>3</sup> e` i v†Lb|

teZvi tKt`' KgxMY wbi vcEvnxvZvq fMtzWQtj b GB Kvi tY  
 tej vj tgvnvq` ci w` b 27tk gvP° Zwi tL cwUqv \_vbvq Mgb Ki Zt  
 tgRi wRqvDi ingvbtk Kvj j NvU teZvi tKt`' j Bqv Avtmb| mÜ`vq  
 Zvni cŕ ve Abmvti tgRi wRqvDi ingvb e½eÜy tkL gyRej  
 ingvtbi cŕŕ GKwU tNvl Yv cv Kti b (1982 mŕbi `wj j cÎ t  
 ZZxq LÛ, cŕ2)|

25ð27 tk gvP° mgtq th mg - mvgwi K Awdmvi tgRi  
 wRqvDi ingvtbi mwnZ KgP Z wQtj b Zvnt`i gta` Z`wbsb  
 tgRi gxi kl KZ Avj x, K`vtP b Gbvgy nK tPšaj x, tj t kgŕmi  
 gyeb tPšaj x cŕŕ mvŕ vrKvi cŕ vb Kwi qvWQtj b (`wj j cÎ t beg LÛ)|  
 wKš' Zvni v tKnB tgRi wRqvDi ingvb th 27tk gvP° ev 26tk gvP°  
 Zwi tL wbŕRŕK 'Provisional President and Commander-in-Chief' `vex Kwi qv  
 mŕaxbZv tNvl Yv Kwi qvWQtj b Zvni Zvnt`i mvŕ vrKvti etj b bvB|  
 Ggb wK wRqvDi ingvb Zvni Rxeŕ kvq KLbl GBi fc `vex Kti b  
 bvB|

### mZ` BwZnvŕmi cŕqvRbxqZv t

Dcti ewYZ NUbvej xi Avtj vtK cŕxqgvb nq th mŕaxbZvi  
 tNvl Yv mŕútk° `wj j cÎ i 2004 mŕbi cpgŕŕKZ ZZxq LŕÛ  
 BwZnm weKwZ NwUqvŕQ| `i Lv` Kvi x cŕŕi weÁ G`wŕf vtKU& gŕnv` q  
 Avgw` MŕK Rvbvb th GBi fc BwZnm weKwZi NUbv eü Mŕš' cŕKwkZ|  
 weŕkl Kwi qv wZwb evsj v wcwWqv l weŕfbœ cvV` cŕ ŕKi bvg Kti b|  
 wZwb etj b th GB mKj BwZnm weKwZi gva`tg eZgvb cŕbŕŕK  
 evsj vt` ŕki BwZnm mŕŕÛ B"QvKZfvte fj Z` cwi ŕekb Kwi qv  
 Zvnt`i gbŕK wel v³ Ki v nBŕZŕQ| gy³ hŕxi wecŕŕ kw³ Zvnt`i  
 wbKŕU B"QvKZfvte evOvj x RwZi tkb ARb gy³ hŕx mŕútk°mŕúY°  
 fj Z` cwi ŕekb Kwi qv ci wRZ kÎ`i tkl tPóv wnmvte gy³ hŕxi  
 gnvbvqK mŕŕÛ weawš-QovBŕZŕQb| weÁ G`wŕf vtKU& gŕnv` q GgZ

Ae<sup>-</sup>vq BwZnm weKZKvi x<sup>+</sup>i wei "t<sup>x</sup> kw<sup>-</sup>gj K wb<sup>+</sup>t<sup>-</sup>kbv c<sup>0</sup>\_bv  
Kti b|

Dtj E<sup>-</sup> th, t<sup>-</sup>tki h<sup>+</sup>emgv<sup>+</sup>Ri gvb<sup>+</sup>l t<sup>+</sup>K Kj ymZ Ki Y mf<sup>-</sup>Zvi  
c<sup>0</sup>i x<sup>+</sup> nB<sup>+</sup>tZB Aci va ewj qv we<sup>+</sup>teW<sup>+</sup>PZ nBZ| t<sup>-</sup>tki c<sup>+</sup>KZ BwZnm  
Avcvgi Rbm<sup>+</sup>vavi Y mK<sup>+</sup>tj i wbKU AwZ w<sup>+</sup>c<sup>0</sup>q| Bnv Zv<sup>+</sup>nv<sup>+</sup>t<sup>-</sup> i Mte<sup>+</sup>p e<sup>-</sup> y<sup>+</sup>  
mKj t<sup>-</sup> kB c<sup>0</sup>YcY t<sup>+</sup>P<sup>+</sup>ov Kti wbR wbR t<sup>-</sup>tki mZ<sup>-</sup>Kvi BwZnm Mf<sup>+</sup>xi  
gg<sup>+</sup>tZj mwnZ msi q<sup>+</sup> Y Kwi tZ| tm<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>q<sup>+</sup> t<sup>+</sup> B<sup>+</sup>QvKZ BwZnm weKwZ h<sup>+</sup>vnv  
eZ<sup>+</sup>g<sup>+</sup>vb c<sup>+</sup>Rb<sup>+</sup> Z<sup>-</sup>v mgM<sup>+</sup> h<sup>+</sup>emgv<sup>+</sup>R<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>K wb<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>R<sup>+</sup>t<sup>-</sup> i t<sup>-</sup> k l i v<sup>+</sup>o<sup>+</sup> m<sup>+</sup>x<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>U  
GKwU avš- avi Yvi m<sup>+</sup>w<sup>+</sup>o Kti Zv<sup>+</sup>nv wb<sup>+</sup>> bxq l Aek<sup>-</sup> cwi Z<sup>-</sup>vR<sup>-</sup>|

eZ<sup>+</sup>g<sup>+</sup>vb t<sup>+</sup>q<sup>+</sup> t<sup>+</sup> c<sup>+</sup>Z<sup>+</sup>xqgvb nq th 2004 m<sup>+</sup>bi c<sup>+</sup>p<sup>+</sup>g<sup>+</sup>o YKZ  
`wj j c<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup> i ZZxq L<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>U<sup>+</sup>i 4<sup>-</sup> c<sup>+</sup>o<sup>+</sup>vq o<sup>+</sup>c<sup>+</sup>o<sup>+</sup>KK<sup>-</sup>bt c<sup>+</sup>Z<sup>-</sup>qb KwgwUi  
Awf<sup>+</sup>gZ<sup>0</sup> kxl K c<sup>+</sup>o<sup>+</sup>Z<sup>+</sup>te<sup>-</sup> tb wg<sup>-</sup>v AR<sup>+</sup>nvZ m<sup>+</sup>w<sup>+</sup>o Ki Zt 1982 m<sup>+</sup>bi gj  
`wj j c<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup> i ZZxq L<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>U<sup>+</sup>i 1g c<sup>+</sup>o<sup>+</sup>vq ewY<sup>+</sup>Z e<sup>+</sup>½e<sup>+</sup>Üj KZ<sup>+</sup>K c<sup>0</sup> E<sup>+</sup> m<sup>+</sup>yaxbZvi  
tNvl Yv ev<sup>-</sup> c<sup>0</sup> vb Ki Zt Z<sup>-</sup> t<sup>+</sup>j tgRi wRqvDi i ngvb<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>K m<sup>+</sup>yaxbZvi  
c<sup>0</sup>\_g tNvl K wnmv<sup>+</sup>te Dc<sup>-</sup> vcb Kwi qv BwZnm weKwZ NUvb nBqv<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>Q Ges  
eZ<sup>+</sup>g<sup>+</sup>vb c<sup>+</sup>Rb<sup>+</sup>, h<sup>+</sup>e mgv<sup>+</sup>R l evsj v<sup>+</sup>t<sup>-</sup>tki Avcvgi Rbm<sup>+</sup>vavi Y<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>K g<sup>+</sup>y<sup>3</sup> h<sup>+</sup>x  
m<sup>+</sup>x<sup>+</sup>ú<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>K<sup>+</sup>B<sup>+</sup>QvKZ f<sup>+</sup>v<sup>+</sup>te avš-avi Yv c<sup>0</sup> vb Ki v nBqv<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>Q|

1979 m<sup>+</sup>bi Authentication Committee Gi mwnZ w<sup>0</sup>gZ t<sup>+</sup>cvl Y  
Kwi evi c<sup>+</sup>te<sup>+</sup> 2004 m<sup>+</sup>bi c<sup>+</sup>Z<sup>-</sup>qb KwgwUi A<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>bK tekx weP<sup>+</sup>q<sup>+</sup> YZvi  
cwi Pq t<sup>-</sup> l qv D<sup>+</sup>wPr wQj |

### Dcmsnvi t

GgZ Ae<sup>-</sup>vq Bnv w<sup>+</sup>b<sup>+</sup>w<sup>+</sup>x<sup>+</sup>avq ej v hvq th evsj v<sup>+</sup>t<sup>-</sup>tki m<sup>+</sup>yaxbZv  
tNvl Yv m<sup>+</sup>s<sup>+</sup>µ vš- we<sup>+</sup>l t<sup>+</sup>q 2004 m<sup>+</sup>bi c<sup>+</sup>Z<sup>-</sup>qb KwgwUi Awf<sup>+</sup>gZ Z<sup>-</sup>  
wf<sup>+</sup>w<sup>+</sup>ÉK b<sup>+</sup>tn| Bnv c<sup>+</sup>KZ m<sup>+</sup>tZ<sup>-</sup>i cwi c<sup>+</sup>šx| Zv<sup>+</sup>nvQvov, D<sup>3</sup> Awf<sup>+</sup>gZ  
1971 m<sup>+</sup>bi 10B Gwc<sup>+</sup> Zwi tLi The Proclamation of Independence Gi  
mwnZ mi vmwi mvsNwl K weavq msweav<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>bi 150 Ab<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>"Q<sup>+</sup>t<sup>-</sup> i mwnZ l  
mvsNwl K |

GgZ Ae<sup>-</sup>vq 2004 mṭbi cĹ<sup>3</sup>qb KwgwUi Awf gZ (evsj vṭ<sup>-</sup>ṭki mṭaxbZv hṭ<sup>-</sup>ṭj j cĹ<sup>3</sup> t ZZxq LŪ,cṭ 4) evsj vṭ<sup>-</sup> k msweavṭbi mwnZ mvsNwl K eṭU| Bnv ṭKvb weṭi vaxq Z<sup>-</sup>NwVZ cĹ<sup>3</sup> (Disputed questions of fact) bṭn|

AZGe, 2004 mṭb gṭ<sup>-</sup> Ĺ<sup>3</sup> ṭj j cĹ<sup>3</sup> t ZZxq LṭŪi 1g cṭvq ewY<sup>3</sup> mṭaxbZv ṭNvl Yvi eY<sup>3</sup>bv msweavṭbi mwnZ mvsNwl K weavq ewZj ṭhM<sup>3</sup>|

GgZ Ae<sup>-</sup>vq cĹ<sup>3</sup>xqgvb nq ṭh 2004 mṭb cṭgṭ<sup>3</sup>YKZ evsj vṭ<sup>-</sup>ṭki mṭaxbZv hṭ<sup>-</sup>ṭj j cĹ<sup>3</sup> Gi cĹ<sup>3</sup>qb KwgwUi mfvcwZ I m<sup>-</sup>m<sup>-</sup>MY BwZnvm weKZ Kwi qvṭQb, msweavb cwi cṭš<sup>-</sup> BwZnvm ṭj wcex Kwi qvṭQb Ges mgM<sup>3</sup>evOvj x RwwZṭK weāvš-Kwi qvṭQb|

### Avṭ<sup>-</sup> k t

GgZ Ae<sup>-</sup>vqt

(1) evsj vṭ<sup>-</sup> k mi Kvṭi i gṭ<sup>3</sup> hṭ<sup>-</sup> wel qK gš<sup>-</sup>Yvj q KZK 2004 mṭb cYgṭ<sup>3</sup> Ĺ<sup>3</sup> 00evsj vṭ<sup>-</sup>ṭki mṭaxbZv hṭ<sup>-</sup>ṭj j cĹ<sup>3</sup> 00 Gi ZZxq LṭŪi 1g cṭvq 0ṭgRi wRqvi cĹ<sup>3</sup>g mṭaxbZv ṭNvl Yv0 wkṭi vbvṭg gṭ<sup>-</sup> Ĺ<sup>3</sup> eY<sup>3</sup>bv, The Proclamation of Independence Gi cwi cš<sup>-</sup> Z<sup>-</sup>v msweavb cwi cš<sup>-</sup> weavq A%ea ṭNvl Yv Ki v nBj | ZvnvQvov, D<sup>3</sup> ZZxq LṭŪi cĹ<sup>3</sup>g cṭvq cv<sup>-</sup> UxKvq 1971 mṭbi 26ṭk gṭP<sup>3</sup> Zwi ṭL ṭgRi wRqvDi i ngvb 8g Bó te½j ti wRṭgṭUi e<sup>-</sup>vUwj qb Awdmvi, ṭRwml Ges ṭRqvṭṭ<sup>-</sup> i ṭK GKwĹ<sup>3</sup> Z Kwi qv 0mṭaxbZvi ṭNvl Yv ṭ<sup>-</sup> b0 BZ<sup>-</sup>w<sup>-</sup> e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>-</sup>l msweavb cwi cš<sup>-</sup> weavq A%ea ṭNvl Yv Ki v nBj |

(2) ṭgRi wRqvDi i ngvb evsj vṭ<sup>-</sup>ṭki cĹ<sup>3</sup>g mṭaxbZv ṭNvl Yv Kwi qwQṭj b gṭ<sup>3</sup> hṭ<sup>-</sup> gš<sup>-</sup>Yvj q KZK 2004 mṭb cKwkZ 0evsj vṭ<sup>-</sup>ṭki mṭaxbZv hṭ<sup>-</sup>ṭj j cĹ<sup>3</sup> 0 Mšvej x wmwṭi ṭRi ZZxq LŪmn GBi fc e<sup>3</sup> e<sup>-</sup> ṭh mKj cy<sup>-</sup> K cy<sup>-</sup> Kv, Mṭš<sup>-</sup> ev MšḐLṭŪ gṭ<sup>-</sup> Ĺ<sup>3</sup> ev weeZ nBqvṭQ Awej ṭṭ<sup>-</sup> Zvnv evṭRqvḐ Kwi evi Rb<sup>-</sup> evsj vṭ<sup>-</sup> k mi Kvṭi i cĹ<sup>3</sup> wḐṭ<sup>-</sup> K cĹ<sup>3</sup> vb Ki v nBj |



(3) evsj vƒ` k mi Kvi evsj vƒ` ƒki mƒaxbZv ƒNvl Yv  
I gw<sup>3</sup> hƒx mƒúƒK<sup>©</sup> meĈKvi BwZnvm weKwZ `ƒ Ki Zt  
mVVK BwZnvm wj wceƒ Kwi evi c` ƒ¶ c MhY Kwi ƒeb|

AZGe, AÎ i xU& ƒgvKvĭ gwUƒZ Rvi xKZ i “j wU Li Pv e`wZƒi ƒK  
G`veĥwj DU Ki v nBj |

wePvi cwZ ggZvR Dwĭ b Avnƒg` t

Avwg GKgZ |

