

ftldh icyuk Lo; Hkxoku u dh gk] ftl Hkxoku u [kn cBdj viu gkFkk l rjklk gk] Lo; fo/krk u ftld thou e jx Hkj gk] ftl tkuh tkugkj] f=dkyn'kh] f=Hkou ukFk u << dj fudkyk gk] ifrrioku ijekRek djudjkougkj u Lo; ftl J"B de djuk fl[kk;k gk] Hkxoku HkkX; fo/krk cãk u Lo; viuh y[kuh l ftldh rdnhj dh ydhj [khph gk] Kku lxxj u ftl Lo; vkdj d i<k;k gk] l;kj d lxxj Lo; iHk dk vikj l;kj ftl flfpr dj jgk gk] ojnkrk lo'kfDroku dk ojngLr ftld flj ij gk] ftld food dk Lo; c)'oj u tkxr fd;k gkA txfu;Urk uol'fV d jpf;rk ftldk [kn x: cuk gk] vkfn firk itkfirk cãk ckck ,o txnEck lJLorh dh N=Nk;k e ftldh thoup;k gk] lkj onk 'kkL=k dk Kkrk] egkohj Lo; ftldk ekyh gk] og vnHkr jpuk Hkyk dlh gkxh\ mldk o.ku ftlu Lo; Hkxoku dk viuh vk[kk l lfV dk jpr n[kk] gj de djr n[kk og vfr fo'k'k r fo'k'k] J"B r J"B fo/krk dh vuie dfr Fkh vknj.kh;k l rh nknh thA mudh dN fo'k'krk; tk geu dgh Hkh ugh n[kh vkj mudh bugh fo'k'krkvk d dkj.k 'kk;n ge cãkdekjh cu ojuk lUVj ij jgu d fy, geu lpk gh ugh FkA iJUr l rh nknh th dh vuBh icyuk u gekj t l ykxk dk Hkh ,d lefir cãkdekjh cuk fn;k A

1& vikj Lug& ;g geu mud thou e lp gkr n[kk fd Lug lc dN dj ldrk gA iRFkj dk Hkh fi?kyk ldrk g o thoui;Ur fcuk dkb cU/ku d Hkh fdlh dk Hkh ck/k dj j[k ldrk gA vknj.kh; l rh nknh th Lug dk nfj;k ugh] unh ugh vuUr lkr Fkh dkb Hkh gk NkV&cMk] vehj] xjhc Hkkb cgu] i<k fy[kk] vui<] xko dh c<h ekrk;] og fuLokFk Lug lc ij mMyrh FkA mud fy, lHkh lkuk o jktk gvk djr FkA dHkh Hkh dkb dgh l fcuk le; d fnu e ;k jkr e vk;k] vknj.kh;k nknh th u dHkh ; ugh dgk fd re bru le; D;k vk;\ nknh th fcuk fdlh dk txk; Lo; mBrh vkj xV [kkydj igy mll iNrh fd reu dN [kk;k g] og ckyrk nknh th [kk;k rk ugh ij ge dN [kk;x ugh] rc nknh th dgrh vPNk tkvk lkeu j[kdj gkFk ij /kk yk rc rd nknh th ge ykxk e l fdlh dk Hkh fcuk txk; [kn gh jlk b e tkdj rJUr dN cukdj ykdj Vfcy ij j[kdj vkj ml vkokt nrh fd vPNk ; FkkMk lk [kk yk fQj lk tkukA ,d Hkkb ftldk fnekx FkkMk gYdk Fkk nknh th d ikl vkrk Fkk fQj fucU/ku gku d dkj.k og dkQh fnu lUVj ij Hkh : dk Fkk og dgh l Hkh cf)eku ugh Fkk ij nknh th mldk Hkh jktk cvk dgrh Fkh mldk Hkh og mruk gh [;ky j[krh Fkh ftruk ge ykxk dkA ge lcg uk'r e gh pk; ihr Fk] uk'rk ugh djr Fk rk nknh th lcl igy gekj fy, pk; cukdj j[krh Fkh vkj ge << dj dgrh leu igy pk; fi;kA lUVj ij ftldk tk vPNk yxrk nknh th mld fy, og pht [kk l /;ku j[krh Fkh og dgh nlj lUVj ij gkrh rk ogk tc tkrh rk og pht y tkrh FkA

2& fo'kky ân;& fdlh u fdlh dk dl Hkh Bdkj;k gk ij nknh th u lHkh dk fny e 'kj.k fn;kA dHkh Hkh fdlh l ukjkt ugh gbA fdlh u mudk xyrQgeh e vkdj dN Hkh ckyk gk ij ok rJUr ml {kek dj nrh] dHkh fdlh dh ckr fny e ugh j[krh FkA geu n[kk xko dh ekrk; vkdj mud fcLrj ij cB tkrh Fkh ij nknh th dHkh fdlh dk dN Hkh ugh dgrhA dkb xjhc dlk Hkh dN fdruk yk;k gk og mldk ckck dk ifrfuf/k cudj mru gh Lug l Lohdkj djrH Fkh vkj ml fny l ;t djrH Fkh] Qdrh ugh FkA ,d ckj db ekrk; lLrk yu d pDdj e ekVh o dMh rjkb o ykdh yk;h FkA ge ykxk u dgk ; Bh d ugh g] ugh [kk;x rk nknh th dgrh] ckck u Hk tk g Bdkuk Bh d ckr ugh g] cpkj xjhc ykx g] fny l yk; gA

3& vuie R;kx& thou d fdlh Hkh nkj e mUgku bPNk; ugh j[khA ge ykx db ckj dgr Fk] nknh th ; pht Bh d ugh] vc vki bldk er ; t dj rk nknh th dgrh Fkh fd tk ckck

ge nrk g ge fny l ml Lohdkj djuk pkfg, geu ojKX; dk puk g u fd ekt eLrh dju
 dk thouA mUgku ,d ckj gekj iNu ij crk;k Fkk fd geu ftUnxh e dHkh viufy, dN
 Hkh ugh [kjhnh] u [kku d fy, u iguu d fy,] u vk<u d fy,A mUgku thou e viufy 'kjhj
 ij Hkh dN [kp ugh fd;k vkj dHkh diM il ugh fd; gkx] vxj fd l h cgu u dj fn; rk
 Bh d ugh rk o rg dj d fclRj d uhp j[k yrh Fkh ogh igu yrh FkhA db ckj gekj l kFk
 xko dh lokvk e xb ogk dkb lfo/kk, Hkh ugh gkrh Fkh fQj Hkh og ijk le; l kFk e jgrh
 FkhA db ckj rk mUg FkdkoV d dkj.k c[kkj Hkh gk tkrk Fkk fQj Hkh dkb l;kj l dgrk rk
 nknh th uk ugh djrh FkhA

4& bdkueh dk vorkj& t l k geu dgk fd mUgku viufy, dN ugh [kjhnh bl h idkj
 mUgku dHkh dN [kjc ugh gku fn; kA [kjc ph t dk Hkh vPNk cuk;k fQj [kn Hkh [kk;k vkj
 ge lcdk Hkh f[kyk;kA dHkh Hkh dN Qdk gk ge ;kn ugh vkrkA mUgku 'kk;n gh thou e
 dHkh fjd'kk fd;k gk] ge dgr Fk nknh th fjd'kk dj yr g] nj rd tkuk g rk og dgrh Fkh
 ugh ckck dk ;kn djr e rEg 'kkVdV jkLr l y pyrgh fQty il ugh [kp djuk pkfg,A
 fer0;;rk rk t l mud jx&jx e FkhA fnu Hkj e db fdeh0 og iny gh pyrgh FkhA 1996
 rd mUgku dkb nokb Hkh ugh [kjhnhA og dgrh Fkh fljnn e] iV nn e ckck dk Bh d l ;kn
 dj k] Bh d gk tk;xkA

5& ct km ifrHkk dh /kuh& flU/kh] fgUnh] bfXy'k dk mUg vPNk Kku Fkk vkj bfXy'k rk mUgku
 1989 e l h[kh Fkh ,d vfHk;ku e iV k cgu Fkh] nknh th Hkh mud l kFk Fkh mUgk l nknh th u
 bfXy'k l h[khA ml cgu dk nknh th u flU/kh fl [kkbA o vPNk xk Hkh yrh FkhA idk dyk e
 o fui.k Fkh ghA pkg nknh th dk dgh Hkh dHkh Hkh ckyu d fy, dkb dgrk Fkk o fcuk dkb
 dgkuh o mnkgj.k fn; fd l h Hkh 'kCn l 'k: dj nrh Fkh mudk 'kCnk ij vnHkr fu;=.k FkkA
 o fd l h Hkh 'kCn d vu:i nfl;k 'kCn cuk nrh FkhA o dHkh Hkh [kkyh ugh cBrh FkhA vxj
 dHkh lUVj ij :dh rk fnu e gh 17&18 ejfy;k i< yrh Fkh vkj mud ukVl cukrh Fkh vkj
 og mUg l kjh lokbVl ;kn Hkh jgr FkhA nlj Dykl t e tdkj fcuk n[k l kjk luk nrh Fkh og
 dkb dke Hkh Hkyrh ugh FkhA cyUn vkokt] dHkh dgrh Fkh vxj ekbd u py rk NmMkA fcuk
 ekbd d mudh ok.kh lcdk mex mRlkg e yk nrh FkhA

6& cgn ,fdVo ,o vyV& vkyL; rk nknh th dk nj nj rd N Hkh ugh l d kA mUgku dHkh
 Hkh dkb ckã.kh o lok/kkj h ugh j[kkA tcrd mud 'kjhj u l kFk fn;kA vkt rd le; ij
 'kk;n gh dkb igprk gk nj l gh igp ikrk g ij nknh th ge'kk le; l igy igprh FkhA
 fd l h Hkh ph t d fy, rjUr dgh l Hkh r;kj gk tkrh FkhA viuk dke rk QVQV djrh gh
 Fkh] og ge'kk nk ct mBdj ckck dk Hkkx Lo; cukdj 6 ct l igy gh r;kj gkdj Dykl e
 cB tkrh Fkh Aog tk dgrh Fkh og igy dj d fn[kkrh FkhA mUgku dHkh Hkh viufy dk c<k ugh
 le>kA iny fcuk fd l h dk l kFk o l gkjk fy, QVQV pyrgh FkhA bl fy, bykgckn dh
 eukjek nhnh mUg ge'kk Hkrio ;ok dgrh FkhA ge ykx dHkh vxj <hyk <kyh djr rk og
 Lo; og dk; dj yrh FkhA 80 o" k e mudk mRlkg n[kr gh curk FkhA mud mex dk n[kdj
 c<k e tk'k vk tkrk Fkh A

7& cPpk t l h l jyrk o fuek.krk& mUgku dHkh Hkh viuk vfHkeku ugh fn[kk;kA tk cMh
 nkfn;k u dgk] tgk tku dk dgk ogk tku d fy, rjUr r;kj gbA e/kcu e Hkh tkrh Fkh rk
 Hkh dkb l k/ku o lfo/kk dHkh ugh yrh FkhA ,d ckj nknh th d l kFk ij h cl Hkj dj ekrk;]
 Hkkb cgu ,d eyk e ge ykx db fnuk d fy, x; Fk rk ogk dkQh ykx FkhA nknh th ge
 lcd chp e gh ml h dej e lkrh FkhA ogh Hkk tu djrh Fkh tk ge l c djr Fk vkj tk nknh
 th Vkyh Hkh y x;h Fkh ok ge lcdk f[kykrh Fkh nknh th d jgr gh ogk ij ,d fnu ,d
 dejk [kkyh dj d [k l Qkb dj d u;k cM Mkyk x;kA db idkj dh dkQh l kjh Vkyf;k
 curh jgh] ml dej dh l kjh :ij[kk pt gk x;hA ge ey l vkdj n[k rk geu iNk ;

vk t pt D;k rk ge crk;k x;k dkb vkj vk jgk g rk geu ogk dh nhnh th l iNk fd
 ,lk D; \ rk mUgku bruh Hkkouk l dgk fd gekjh l rh nknh th rk nkrk g vkj Hkky nkrk g
 dN Hkh ugh pkfg, vkj bru fnu l lok dj jgh g vkj gel dN Hkh ugh pkgk] bud vku
 ij ge fuf'pUr FkA ge ey e fcth Fk vkj dN vyx l ugh dj ik;A nknh th dN Qhy
 ugh djrh] fdruh ckj nknh th u ge enn dh gA ge ykx jkr dk dHkh cBr rk dgr Fk
 nknh th ; okyk xhr lukb; rk nknh th rjUr luku yxrh Fkh] dkb fdruk Hkh dMh ckr dg
 ij nknh th mldh ckr fny e ugh j[krh Fkh rjUr Hky tkrh Fkh vkj ml {kek dj nrh FkhA
 fdlh l b";k] uQjr dHkh Hkh ugh fd;kA fdlh dk Hkh Dykl gk] nknh th lcl igy tkdj
 LVMV dh rjg cB tkrh FkhA

8& ,d cy ,d Hkjklk& ge ,d ekrk th crk jgh Fkh fd ,d ckj lUVj ij lc fMcc [kkyh
 gk x; Fk] dN Hkh [kku dk ugh Fkk ij nknh th u fdlh l Hkh ugh dgk vkj u gh pgj l
 fdlh dk irk iMu fn;k mlh yxu ok [k'kh l lkj lUVj d dk; djrh jgh mlh fnu ,d
 ekrk /;ku e xb rk ckck u ml og [kkyh duLrj fn[kk; rk og /;ku l mrj dj lh/k jlk b
 e x;h vkj tc mudk [kkydj n[kk rk nknh th d ifr mld eu e vikj J)k gk x;h fd
 ; egku R;kxh nfo;k gA geu dHkh nknh th dk fdlh l ekxr ugh n[kkA vkj e/kcu ;K
 ge'kk vx jgrk Fkk Aog viufy, dN ugh j[krh Fkh A tk Hkh gk e/kcu d fy, djuk gA
 e/kcu e nuk g vkj dkb fn[kkok ugh pipki nknh dkVt e tkdj vknj.kh;k cMh nknh th
 d gkFk e n vkrh Fkh igy ckck] e/kcu fQj dN vkjA ge'kk ckck dk gh vk/kkj cuk;k mlh
 dk Hkjklk j[kkA

9& lknxh dh ifrefr& nknh th d thou e dkb cukoVhiu o fn[kkok ugh Fkk mudh gj
 pht e lknxh FkhA Hkktu e Hkh lknxh dHkh Hkh nl pht ughA 1992 l rk o cl ,d ckj
 lcg nk jkVh lCth yrh FkhA cl fnu e nk ckj pk;] jkr dk ,d di n/k cl u dkb Qy] u
 dkb ryh Hkuh phtA tl fd n[kk x;k cpiu e ok ,l lekt e Fkh tgk [kku iku vfr
 fo"kk jgrk g ij nknh th d vUnj ;g tj k Hkh 'kkd ugh Fkk o fep elky rk ,d ne ;t
 ugh djrh FkhA o lcdh nknh Fkh D;kfd lcd fy, mudk fny [kyk FkhA lc mudk cyk
 ldr Fk fcuk dkb rke >ke d o flQ lok d fy, lefir FkhA

10& y[kuÅ dh 'kku& tk Hkh mud lfu/; e vk;k mudk ejhn cu x;k D;kfd mudk Lug
 gh ,lk FkhA pkg og dkb jkturk gk] /keurk] f'k{k tkr dh dkb Hkh gLrh gk lc ij mUgku
 vfeV Nki yxkb] fdlh Hkh dk;Øe e mUg Hky 5 feuV ckyu dk fey ij o tk ckyrh Fkh rk
 lkj Hkk"kk dk Qhdk dj nrh FkhA pUn 'kcnk e lcdk lkj n nrh FkhA y[kuÅ mudk de
 {k= cuk blfy, mUgku y[kuÅ d fdlh Hkh {k= dk ugh NkMkA fdlh Hkh ox dk ugh NkMkA
 y[kuÅ e nknh th d igy lHkh cMh nkfn;k dk Hkh vueky lg;kx jgkA lkdj ckck eEek
 dh ikyuk Hkh y[kuÅ dk feyh ijUr tk lok dk fclrkj gvk og l rh nknh th u gh fd;kA
 bl egk;K e mudh lFkh cuh] mud }kjk gh 1960 e fudyh lfe=k cgu] tk gj dne ij
 mud lkFk dne feykdj pyh vkj y[kuÅ d vkl ikl d xkeh.k bykdk dk ijekRe ln'k
 nu dk chMk viufy d/kk ij fy;kA ldmk xkok e lfe=k nknh u fnu jkr lok; dj d dHkh
 lkbfdy ij cBdj] dHkh [kn lkbfdy pykdj lok; djrh jghAlfe=k nknh ;Fkk uke rFkk
 de] o l rh nknh th dk cgr jliDV djrh FkhA dHkh tokc ugh nrh FkhA fcuk mudh vkKk
 d ,d dne Hkh ugh mBkrh FkhA lfe=k nknh ck/kyh gkdj Hkh [kn viuh yxu o ckck dh
 enn l c/ku dkV vkj ohjxuk gkdj fudy iMh lokvk iJA og [kn lojpr xhr]
 gkjekfu;e ctkdj cgr lUnj xkrh FkhA og ckck dh 'kk;jh bruh vPNh djrh Fkh fd luu
 oky okg&okg djr Fkdr ugh FkAl rh nknh th yxHkx ,d o"kk l chekj FkhA mudk cu dke
 ugh djrk Fkk ij mud vUnj bruk Lug ink gk x;k Fkk fd tk Hkh mud lkeu tkrk og vku
 dk uke ugh yrkA lcdk og Vkyh nrh vkj lkFk e ,d lc nrh FkhA ge tc Hkh tkr Fk]

nknh th nkMdj feyrh Fkh vkj ge rk og cgr Lug djrh FkhA cMk vk'p; yxrk Fkk fd
 fdlh dk Hkh og ugh igpkurh Fkh ij eEek ckck o cMh nknh th dk QkVn n[kr gh igpku
 trrh o dgu yxrh& nknh& ckck& eEekA vkj og vku Hkh ugh nrh NkV cPp dh rjg idM
 dj cMk l;kj djrh Fkh ftll ckj&ckj feyu dk fny djrk FkkA djhc 7 egu nknh th
 dkQh chekj jgh ij pgj l og dHkh chekj ugh fn[kh tc vk[k [kkyrh Fkh rk cMk l;kj l
 lcdk nf"V nrh FkhA 25 vxLr 2007 dk cMh nknh th u 'kjhj NkMk FkkA 25 vDVcj 2008 dk
 lrh nknh th u viuk ijuk 'kjhj NkM fn;kA geu igy gh crk;k lfe=k nknh dk lrh nknh
 th l cgr gh l;kj o Hkkouk FkhA mudh Hkh dkQh fnu l rfc;r [kjc Fkh ij bruh ughA
 lrh nknh th dk vfure lldkj djd ge ykx okfil luvj igp gh Fk irk pyk lfe=k nknh
 th u 'kjhj NkM fn;k tcf lfe=k nknh th dk fdlh u crk;k ugh Fkk fd lrh nknh th u
 'kjhj NkMk gA pfd lrh nknh th dk vfure lldkj 26 vDVcj 2008 dk yxHkx 3 ct fd;k
 x;k FkkA jkr rd fprk tyrh jghA 26 vDVcj 2008 dk 3 ct gh lfe=k nknh th u 'kjhj
 NkMk rk 27 vDVcj 2008 dk lcg gh tc ogk y x; Fk rc ogk dgh Hkh lQkb ugh FkhA
 l;kxo'k ogk d Lohij u ogh LFkku lQ fd;k ftl ij lrh nknh th d 'kjhj dk tyk;k
 x;k FkkA db ykxk dk eu Hkh FkkA nljh lcl cMh ckr ;g jgh fd ogk 'ke'kku ?kkV e vkt
 rd lok Hky db ykxk u dh ij ogk f'ko /ot nkfn;k u gh ygjk;kA fprk d nkuk vkj
 cjkcj e Vhu lV e vHkh f'ko /ot ygj jg gA vkt dkb fdruh Hkh vPNh ikyuk nrk gk ij
 ldkj dh ikyuk okyk dh dN ckr gh vkj g og fu%LokFk l;kj o viukiu fdlh e Hkh ugh
 feyrkA y[kuÅ e 'k: e rhu nkfn;k Fkh] Hkxorh nknh] fd'kuh nknh] lrh nknhA 25 vDVcj
 2008 dk y[kuÅ ldkj d Lug l [kkyh gk x;kA nknh th u ge lcd fy, cgr dN fd;k
 vkj ge ykxk l dN Hkh fy;k ughA ge mldk fjVu dj Hkh ugh ik;A nknh th d tku d
 ckn yxrk g fd ,d u Hkju okyh txg [kkyh gk xb gA gekjk ,d etcr vk/kkj pyk x;k
 gA ,lh vudj.kh;] vryuh; oUnuh;] ek ikdj Hkyk dku ugh viuh HkkX; ij xo djxkA nknh
 th ge vkid cgr gh __.kh g vkj lnk jgx] vkidh vlhe vudEik l gh vkt ge ;gk ij
 gA vkid fcuk gekj thou dk dkb cuk ugh ldrk FkkA ykfdd ek Hkh gekjh dkb de Lug
 ugh djrh Fkh ij vkid fu%LokFk Lug d vkx og cgr gh Qhdk gk x;kA nknh th ge rk D;k
 lkjk y[kuÅ gh vkidk __.kh jgxk vkj lfn;k rd jgxkA ,lh egku foHkfr] iuhr vkRek]
 Luge;h 'khry ân; okyh {kek'khyrk dh noh] fuek.krk o l jyrk dh vf}rh; gLrh] fo}rk dh
 ijkdk"Bk l ifji.k] lknxh ,o lE;rk] eerke;h ek vkidk ejk dkfV&dkfV ueu Lohdkj gkA

cãkdekjh leu cgu]
 vyhxt]y[kuÅ