

Tk; idk" ukjk;.k d ^IEi.k Økfu r* vkUnkyu e
ehfM;k dh Hkfedk dk eY;kdu



Iehr f}onh
"kk/k Nk=] i=dfjrk ,o tulpkj foHkkx]
ug : xke Hkkjrh fo"fofo [ky;] bykgkcn] m0i0

सारांश

LOrU= Hkkjr dk liuk doy dN ykxk d fgr lk/ku dk gh liuk cudj jg x;k Fkk] ckdh turk dh fLFkr e dkb cnyko vkrk ugh fn[k jgk Fkka xjhch vkj vehjh dk vUrj c<u yxk Fkka bfnjk xk/kh d ^xjhch feVkvk* d vk^ooku d lkFk lRrk e vku ij Hkh ble dkb l/kkj vkrk u fn[kk] mYV vf/kd fodfr;k fn[kkb nu yxhA df*k e dkb mYy[kuh; ixfr ugh gk ik jgh Fkh] vk [kxhdj.k d ckt n enh dk nkj tkjh Fkk] cjktxkj] egxkb ub Åpkb;k N jgh FkhA n" e fujk"kk dk egky 0;klr gk jgk Fkka xtjkr vkj fcgkj e Nk= fonkg ij mrj vk, FkA , l e fo[;kr xk/khoknh fprd vkj lktoknh fopkj d t; idk" ukjk;.k u n" e 0;klr vlrk" vkj Hk'Vkpj d fo:) ,d fu.kk;d yMkb dk ,yku dj fn;k vkj bl uke fn;k ^IEi.k Økfu r dkA IEi.k Økfu r d rth l n" e 4fo"kdj mRrj Hkkjr e½ Qyko vkj [kn d f[kyQ bykgkcn gkbdkV d puko yMu l 6 lky rd ifrc/k d ifr dy fu.k; d ifrmRrj e bfunjk xk/kh u n" e vkrfjd vkikrdky dh ?kk"kk dj nhA vkikrdky d uke ij n" d ukxfjdk ij vud ifrcU/kk dk Fkkik tku yxk] ehfM;k dk ijrU= cuku vkj ihr i=dfjrk dju dk etoj fd;k x;k] ml vkpkj lfgkvk e ck/kdj ifrcf/r fd;k x;kA iLrr "kk/k i= t; idk" ukjk;.k d IEi.k Økfu r vkUnkyu dh fLFkr;k rFkk bl vkUnkyu d ifji{; e ehfM;k dh Hkfedk dk eY;kdu d jrk gA

e[; "kcn &

vkUnkyu] tukUnkyu] t; idk" ukjk;.k] IEi.k Økfu r] fcgkj vkUnkyu] xtjkr vkUnkyu] bfunjk xk/kh] vkikrdky] i=dfjrk] ehfM;k] l ljf"ki] ykdrU=] lepkj i=& if=dk, A

1- t; idk" ukjk;.k dk IEi.k Økfu r vkUnkyu &
1.1 vkUnkyu dh i'BHkfe &

cgRrj ifji{; e n[ku ij Li'V yxrk g fd vktkn Hkkjr d bfrgkl dh lcl egRoi.k
 ?kVuk 1974&75 d fcgkj vkUnkyu d :i e ?kVh] tk ckn e lEi.k Økfur e ifjofrr gbA
 yfdu bl tukUnkyu d ihN d dkj.k ftru rRdkfyd jg mll Hkh T;knk yEc le; l n"n
 e iui jg tukØk"n l mit FkA bfnjk xk/kh dh ykdfi;rk de gkrh tk jgh FkA Hk'Vkpj vii
 pje ij FkA bfnjk xk/kh ij xgu "kk/k dju okyh dFkjhu Yd fy[krh g& ^Hk'Vkpj Qy&Qy
 jgk FkA c"kd ; dkb ub ckr ugh Fkh] ug: vkj "kkL=h d "kklu e Hkh bld vkjki yxr jg
 Fk yfdu bfnjk xk/kh d "kklu e rk ljdkj d iR;d dkedt e Hk'Vkpj u egkekjh dk :lk y
 fy;k gA**¹

nljh vkj enh] c<rh cjktxkj] vdkd"n Nrh egxkb vkj [kk] inkFkk dh deh vkfn u
 fey&tydj ,d xhkhj l dV mifLFkr dj fn;k FkA 1971 d nkjku ckXykn"n l vk, ,d djm
 "kj.kkfFk;k d ck> u vlu HkMkj [kkyh dj fn;k] l Fk gh ckXykn"n ;) d [kp u feydj fo"kk
 ctV ?kVuk mifLFkr fd;kA fon"kh enk Hk.Mkj [kkyh gk x;k FkA 1972&73 d o'kk e n"n d
 vf/kdrj fgLlk e Hk;dj l [kk iMk vkj [kk] kUuk dh Hkh"n.k deh gk xbj bld ifj.kkeLo:i
 mudh dherk e vx xba² xkeh.k ;k "kgjh xjhch ,o vkfFkd fo'kerkvk d eksp ij "kk;n
 gh dN fd;k x;k Fk vkj xkeh.k {k=k e oxh; rFkk tkrh; "kk"n.k e dkb deh ugh vk;h FkA
 vlrk"n mHkj d rRdkfyd dkj.k vkfFkd ifjLFkr;k e Li'V fxjkoV FkA l [k d dkj.k fo|r
 mRiknu Hkh ?kVu yxk vkj vk|kfxd oLrvk dh ekx de gk xba urh tk gvk& vk|kfxd enh
 rFkk cjktxkj e of)A 1973 e d[;kr ry l dV Hkh ink gvkA fo"o cktkj e dPp ry dh
 dher pkj xuk c< xba ifj.kkeLo:l [kkn ,o iVky;e mRikn dh dher e Hkhjh c<Rrjh gbA
 bli nljh oLrvk dh dher yxrkj c<rh pyh xb vkj lky Hkj e gh dherk e 22 ifr"kr
 dh of) gbA n"n d db fgLlk e vukt d fy, nx gku yxA³ 1972&73 e gh n"n d fofHkUu
 Hkxk e gMrkyk dh ygj pyu yxhA doy eEc e yxHkx 12000 gMrky gbA bldh pje
 ifj.kfr eb 1974 dh vf[ky Hkkjrh; jyo gMrky d :i e gbA ;g gMrky 22 fnuk rd pyrh
 jgh vkj vkf[kj e rkm nh xba etnj d chp Jherh bfnjk xk/kh dh ykdfi;rk vkj Hkh de gk
 xba

dkuu rFkk 0;oLFkk dh gkyr yxrkj [kk l d j 1974&75 d nkjku vkj Hkh [kjc gk xba
 gMrky] Nk=&in"ku rFkk tyl vdlj fgld gk mBr FkA db dkyt rFkk fo"fo|ky; yEc
 le; d fy, cn dj fn; x,A eb 1973 e mRrj in"n e ih, l h i f y l ½ u cxkor dj nh vkj
 Nk=k d vkUnkyu dk dpyu l euk dj fn;kA tc luk dk Hk tk x;k rk mud l Fk gb eBHkM
 e irhl flikgh vkj lfud ekj x,A vkfFkd] jktuhfrd rFkk dkuu 0;oLFkk dh fxjrh gb fLFkr
 l fucVu d fy, n< vkj Li'V urRo dh vko";drk Fkh] iJur ,lk gkrk fn[k ugh jgk FkA
 rhu egRoi.k lkekftd rcdk dk dkxl l vyxko c<uk ,d egRoi.k rFkk ub ifj?kVuk FkA
 tgg xjhc vHkh Hkh vueu <x l gh lgh bldk lFku dj jg Fk] ogh e/;ox c<rh egxkb rFkk
 Hk'Vkpj d dkj.k] /kuh fd l ku Hkfe l /kkj dh /kedh d dkj.k rFkk ithifr lektokn dh ppk]
 cd vkj dk;y [kkuk d jk'Vh;dj.k rFkk btjnkj fojk/kh dnekd dkj.k dkxl vkj bfnjk
 xk/kh l nj gV jg FkA⁴

1-2 Økfur dk vk°oku &

^tc e n"n d uktd LokLF; dh n"n dh leh{kk djrk g rk ;g dgu e e> dkb
 l d kp ugh fd ;g lc fxjr ufrd eY;k dk urh tk gA l kotfud thou dk dkb Hkh {k=} pkg
 og jktuhfr gk ;k ljdkj ;k f"kfkk ;k dkjckj] 0;kikfd lxBu ;k lkekftd lxBu & ,lk
 ugh g tk fxjr ufrd eY;k l vNr gkA**⁵ t;idk"n ukj;k;k dk ;g dFku rRdkyhu
 ifjLFkr;k d lUnHk e mud fopkj dk Li'V ldr FkA jfMdy áefu'V d vxLr 1972 d
 vd e dkxl d ifr mud nf'Vdk.k e Hkh vf/kd Li'Vrk fn[ku yxh FkA o fy[kr g& ^1971
 vkj 1972 dh Hkhjh pukoh thrk d ckon dkxl vkt [kk[ky <kp d vrfjDr vkj dN Hkh ugh

gA⁶ blh le; fofHkUu idkj d lkekftd] jktuhfrd rFkk vkfFkd IdVh dk nk tu vkUnkyuk u ,d jktuhfrd 0;oLFkk dk Lo:lk inku fd;kA xtjkr rFkk fcgkj e xVcnh dh f"kdj dXl ljdkj d f[kykQ ; vkUnkyu pyA

xtjkr vkUnkyu Lo; "k: gvkA el&nj e c<kRrjh d f[kykQ vgenckn vkj ekjoh d Nk= fonkg ij mrj vk, vkj ;g vkUnkyu vukt] ry rFkk vU; vko";d oLrvk dh dherk e rho of)] tek[kkj rFkk i"kkIfud Hk'Vkpj d f[kykQ tu&tu rd igp x;kA xtjkr vkUnkyu e t;idk" k dh dkb egRoi.k Hkfedk ugh Fkh] yfdu bl vkUnkyu u fcgkj vkUnkyu dh i'BHkfe r;kj dj nh FkhA⁷

fcgkj vkUnkyu dh "k: vkr t0ih0 u ugh dh FkhA ;g vkUnkyu Hkh Nk= vkUnkyu d :lk e "k: gvkA yfdu tYn gh bld lFk fcgkj dk tuekul [kn dk tMk gvk egll dju yxkA o'kk d Hk'Vkpj vkj d"kklu u jktuhfrKj ifyl rFkk i"kkIfud rU= d f[kykQ ,d vidV Ø/k Hkj fn;k FkA ,l e Nk=k u vkUnkyu d nk;j dk foLrr dju gr t;idk" ukjk;.k l vkUnkyu dk urRo dju dk vujk/k fd;kA t;idk" ukjk;.k] tk t0ih0 d :lk e ykdfi; Fk] u viu jktuhfrd lU;kI dk R;kxdj bl vkUnkyu dk urRo dju dk fu.k; fd;kA mUgku ^mIEi.k Økfr^m dk ukjk fn;k tk ^ml ijh 0;oLFkk d fo:) l?k" Fk ftlu gj 0;fDr dk Hk'V cuu d fy, etcj dj fn;k FkA⁸ dXl ljdkj d R;ksi= vkj fo/kkulHkk Hkx dju dh ex djr g, mUgku Nk=k vkj turk l dgk fd o ektnk fo/kk;dk ij R;ksi= d fy, ncko Mky] ljdkj dk Bi dj n] ljdkj dk;ky;k vkj fo/kkulHkk dk ?kjo dj] ij jkT; e lekukUrj tu ljdkj xBr dj vkj dj nuk cUn dj nA

t;idk" ukjk;.k u Hkh fcgkj l fudydj IEi.k n" k d Lrj ij Qy g, Hk'Vkpj vkj dXl ,o bfnjk xk/kh d fu'dklu dk ydj vkUnkyu lxfBr dju dk fu.k; fy;kA bfnjk xk/kh dk ykdrU= d n"eu vkj Hk'Vkpj d lkr d :lk e vc n[kk tku yxk FkA t0ih0 vc fu;fer :lk l ij n" k dk nkjk dju yx vkj fnYyh ,o mRrj Hkkjr d vU; fgll e tgg tul?k ;k lektokfn;k d x< Fk] ogk Hkkjh HkhM bdVBh dju yxA t0ih0 vkUnkyu u [kk lRkj ij Nk=k] e/;ox] 0;kikfj;k rFkk cf) thfo;k d ,d fgll dk 0;kid leFku gkfly fd;kA bl lHkh xj&okeiFkh ikfV;k dk ijk leFku iklr gvkA t0ih0 vkUnkyu d xj&lInh; :>kuk dh HkRluk djr g, bfnjk xk/kh u t0ih0 dk fcgkj ,o IEi.k n" k e viuh ykdfi;rk dh ijh[kk vxkeh pukok e dj yu dh pukrh nh tk Qojh&ekp 1976 e gku oky FkA t0ih0 u pukrh Lohdkj dh vkj mUg leFku nu okyh ikfV;k u bl mnn"; l jk'Vh; lg;kx lfevr d xBu dk Qlyk fy;kA bl le; ,lk yx jgk Fk fd bl eí ij Qlyk ykdrkf=d pukoh rjhd l gk tk,xk fd dku njvly Hkkjrh; turk dk ifrfuf/kRo dj jgk gA gkykfd ,lk ugh gvkA 12 tu 1975 dk bykgckn mPp U;k;ky; d U;k;ky;efr flUgk }kjk fn, x, ,d Qly u Hkkjrh; jktuhfr dk vpud gh ,d u, ekM ij [kMk dj fn;kA jktukjk;.k }kjk nk;j dh xb ;kfpdk ij Qlyk nr g, vnkyr u Jherh bfnjk xk/kh dk Hk'V puko vkpj.k e fylyr gku dk nk"kh ik;k vkj mud puko dk vekU; ?kkf"kr dj fn;kA bl Qly e ;g Hkh fufgr Fk fd vxy 6 o"k rd puko yMu d fy, o v;kx; ?kkf"kr dh tk pdh Fkh] lFk gh fd l h in ij vk lhu Hkh ugh gk ldrh FkhA⁹ blfy, mudk i/kkue=h cu jguk lHko ugh jg x;k FkA

bfnjk xk/kh u R;ksi= nu l budkj dj fn;k vkj lokPp U;k;ky; e vihy nk;j dhA bl chp Jherh bfnjk xk/kh dk ,d vkj jktuhfrd /kDdk yxkA 13 tu 1975 dk xtjkr fo/kkulHkk pukok d urht vk,A 182 InL;k d lnu e foi{kh turk ekp dk 87 LFku iklr g, tcf dXl dk ek= 75 LFku feyA vk"p; tud ;g fd turk ekp u mlh fpeuHkkb iVy d lFk xBc/ku ljdkj cuku e lQyrk ik;h] ftud fo:) Hk'Vkpj vkj d"kklu dk ydj ;g tukUnkyu "k: fd;k x;k FkA bykgckn mPp U;k;ky; d Qly vkj xtjkr fo/kkulHkk d urhtk u foi{kh vkUnkyuk dk fQj l txk fn;kA yfdu t0ih0 vkj foi{kh ikfV;k dk xBc/ku] Jherh bfnjk xk/kh dh lokPp U;k;ky; e vihy ij Qly vkj vxy vkB eghuk e gku oky

vke pukok d urht d fy, brtkj dju dk r;kj ugh FkA mUgku bl volj dk ijk Qk;nk mBku dk fu”p; fd;k vkj Jherh xk/kh ij [^]Hk’V rjhdK l gfFk;k, x, in l fpid jgu* dk vkjki yxkr g, mul R;kxi= dh ekx dhA bl eí ij ncko Mkyu d fy, mUgku jk’V0;kih vKUnkyu dk vk^ooku fd;kA 25 tu dk fnYyh e gb ,d jyh e mUgku ;g ?kk’k.kk dh fd bfnjk xk/kh dk R;kxi= nu d fy, ncko Mkyu d fy, 29 tu l ,d llrk g dk jk’V0;kih lfou; voKk vKUnkyu vkj tyl vkfn dk vk;kttu fd;k tk,xkA bl vKUnkyu dk vUr l dMk gt kjk vKUnkyudkfj;k }kjk i/kkue=h fuokl d ?kjo e gkuk FkA¹⁰ viuh jyh e fn, x, Hkk’k.k e t0ih0 u turk l vxg fd;k fd o ljdkj d dkedt dk pyuk vlHko cuk n rFkk ,d ckj fQj “k lL= lukv] ifyl cy rFkk ljdkj vf/kdfj;k l vihy dh fd o fdlh Hkh ljdkj vkn”k dk u eku vkj mu vkn”kk dk [^]xj dkuuh rFkk xj lo/kkfud** ekuA

1.3 vkrfjd vkikrdky &

Jherh bfnjk xk/kh dh rRdkfyd ifrØ;k 26 tu dk n”k e vkrfjd vkikrdky dh ?kk’k.kk d : i e lkeu vk;hA xk/kh “kkfr ifr’Bku d lfpo jk/kkd’.k }kjk 26 tu 1975 dh lcg rhu ct ogk Bgj t; idk”k ukjk;.k dk txk;k x;kA ifyl mUg fxjflrkj dju vkb Fkh] crk;k x;k fd n”k e vkikrdky yx dj fn;k x;k gA bfnjk xk/kh u lkeu; jktuhfrd ifØ;kvk dk fuyfer djr g, lfo/kku dh /kkjk 352 d rgr vkrfjd vkikrdky yx fd, tku dh ?kk’k.kk dhA iJur mUgku ;g oknk fd;k fd tl gh ifjflFkr;k ekdk nxh] ol gh lkeu; gkyr cgky dj fn, tk,xkA bl ?kk’k.kk u lfo/kku d l?kh; iko/kkuk dk c[kkLr dj fn;kA ljdkj u il ij dMh l l jf”ki yx dj nh vkj ljdkj d lHkh fojk/kk ij icnh yx nhA 26 tu dk rMd gh foi{k d l dMk ie[k urkvk dk vkrfjd l j{k ik/ku dkuu [^]eh l k² d rgr fxjflrkj dj fy;k x;kA fxjflrkj fd, x, yxk e t; idk”k ukjk;.k] ekjkt h n lkb] vVy fcgkj okti;h vkj pUn”k[kj tl dxli fo{kC/k “kkfey FkA db f”k[^]kk”kkL=h] i=dkj] VM ;fu;u urk rFkk Nk= urk Hkh ty dh lh[kpk d vUnj cn dj fn, x,A¹¹ fxjflrkj fd, x, yxk dk /khj&/khj NkM fn;k x;kA vud lkinf;d ,o mx&vfrokeiFkh lxBuk tl& vkj,l,l] vkuUn ekx] tkekr&,bLykeh rFkk ekvoknh dE;fuLV ikVh [^]e,y^{1/2} ij ifrc/k yxk fn;k x;kA ij vkikrdky d nkju fxjflrkj;k pyrh jgh] gkykfd T;knkrj fxjflrkj yxk dk dN fnuk ;k eghuk ckn NkM fn;k x;kA dy feykdj bu mUuh eghuk e ,d yk[k l vf/kd yxk dk fxjflrkj fd;k x;kA fxjflrkj fd, x, yxk e lekt fojk/kh yxk tl& rLdj] tek[kkj] dkycktkjh dju oky ,o tku eku xM Hkh cMh l[;k e “kkfey FkA

l ln fcYdy gh viHkkoh cuk nh xb FkA foi{k d dN cgknj l l nk dk ftUg fxjflrkj ugh fd;k x;k Fk] mud Hkk’k.kk dk cvlj cuk fn;k x;k Fk D;kfd mUg v[kckjk e fjikV dju dh btktr gh ugh FkA jkT; ljdkj ij Hkh dMk fu;=.k yxk fn;k x;k FkA rfeyukM e Mh,ed rFkk xtjkr e turk ikVh dh nuk gh xj dxli ljdkj dk tuojh vkj eksp 1976 e mud ijh rjg vKkdkjh gku d ckn c[kkLr dj fn;k x;kA mRrj in”k vkj mMh l d dxli e[;ef=;k dk ijh rjg fo”oLr ugh gku d dkj.k cny fn;k x;kA dxli ikVh ij Hkh dBkj fu;=.k yxk fn;k x;kA ikVh d vUnj vkrfjd tuokn dk Hkh deko”k ijh rjg dpy fn;k x;kA 1976 d vfre fgLI e lt; xk/kh d urRo e ;Fk dxli viu ekr lxBu l dgh T;kn egRoi.k cu xb FkA foKflr;k] dkuuk vkj lfo/kku l”kk/kuk dh ,d J[kyk }kjk dk;ikfydk d fØ;kdykik ij fu;=.k j[ku d fy, U;k; ikfydk dh “kfDr dk de dj fn;k x;kA

ukxfjd vf/kdkj dk ud lku igpkr g, tykb 1975 e Hkkjr l j{k dkuu vkj eh l e Hkh l”kk/ku fd;k x;kA uocj 1976 e lfo/kku d vk/kkjHkr ukxfjd vf/kdkjoknh <kp dk 420 l”kk/ku }kjk cnyu dh dkf”k”k dh xbA lfo/kku l”kk/kuk e U;k; ikfydk }kjk iueY;kdu dju d vf/kdkj dk lekr dj fn;k x;k] D;kfd ;g dgk x;k fd U;k; ikfydk xjhck d fy, fd, tku oky mik;k tl& [^]Hkfe l/kkj dkuu* vkfn dk ekfyd vf/kdkj dh l j{k d uke ij fojk/k

djrh gA ;g r; dj fy;k x;k fd lfo/kku l"kk/ku dju d lln d vf/kdkj ij dkb lhek r; ugh dh tk ldrh gA ekfyd vf/kdkj dk viR;{k :i l ncy cuku d fy, ml lfo/kku e lfufgr jkT; uhfr d fun"kd fl)kURk dk ekrgr cuk fn;k x;kA¹²

vr% vkikrdky u i/kkue=h d gkFkk e vlhe jkt dh; rFkk ikVh "kfDr ldfunr dj nh ftudk blrekY Jherh bfnjk xk/kh viU bn&fxn tV jktuhfrKk vkj vf/kdkfj;k dh enn l dj ldrh FkhA gkykfd lktfud 0;oLFkk vkj vu"kk lu fQj l dk;e gk tku d lFk vud yxk u jkgr egll dh] mUg yxk n" k dk v0;oLFkk vkj vjkt drk l cpk fy;k x;k gA i=dkj bUnj eYgk=k fy[kr g& ^yxkrkj gMrkyk] fojk/k in"ku] /kjuk vkj ifyl l >Mik d ckn lkekU; vkj 0;ofLFkr thou dh okil h dk T;knkrj yxk u Lokxr fd;kA de l de viU vkjfhkd eghuk e vkikrdky u Hkkjr e ,d ,lh "kkfr LFkkfir dh tk db o"kk l ugh n[kh xb FkhA¹³ lcl vf/kd Lokxr ;kX; dne Fkk& dherk dh fLFkr e ukVdh; l/kkja [kk] inkFkk l kfr lHkh vko";d olrvk dh dher e deh vkb vkj ndkuk e mudh miyC/krk c< xBA

vkikrdky dk vf/kd lohdk; cuku d fy, 1 tykb dk cgí"kh; 20 l=h dk;Øek dh ?kk"kk bfnjk xk/kh }kjk dh xBA bl dk;Øe dk yx dju dh xHkh dkf"kk" Hkh dh xb vkj dherk e deh] vko";d olrvk dh miyC/krk e of) rFkk tek[kkj] rLdjh ,o dj dh pkjh jkdu d i;k lk d dN "kh?k ifj.kke Hkh iklr g,A ijuR 20 l=h dk;Øe dh vUrjRek xkeh.k xjhck d mRFku l lEcfu/kr bldk ,tMk FkhA lep rkj n[kk tk, rk bl dk;Øe dk xkeh.k bydk l tMk fgllk cM Hk&Lokfe;k vkj /kuh fd lkuk ,o vlguHkfri.k vQl j"kkgh }kjk [kM fd, x, voj/kk d dkj.k BMk iMrk pyk x;kA ifj.kkeLo:i ;lfi bl dk;Øe u xkeh.k xjhck dk dN jkgr t:j nh ijuR ;g mudh ekfyd ifjLFkr e cgr gh de l/kkj yk ik;kA vkikrdky dh vykdfi;rk e of) dk ,d cgr cMk dkj.k lfo/kku l ij ,d "kfDr dUn dk fodkl FkhA Jherh bfnjk xk/kh d NkV cV lt; xk/kh d bn&fxn bl "kfDr dUn dk fodkl gvk Fkk tk dxl ;k ljdkj e fd lH Hkh in ij vlhu ugh FkA viy 1976 rd lt; xk/kh ,d lekukUrj lRrk d :i e mHkj pd Fk vkj ljdkj ,o i"kk lu d fØ;kdykik e viuh eth d vulkj glr{ki djr FkA tykb 1976 e lt; u viuk pkj l=h dk;Øe j[kk] tk "kh?k gh vf/kdkfjd chl l=h dk;Øe l dgh T;knk egRoi.k cu x;kA ; pkj l= Fk % foogk d le; ngt u y] ifjokj fu;ktu viuk, vkj ifjokj dk nk cPpk rd lher j[k] o{k yxk, vkj l{kjrk c<k,A lt; xk/kh >Xxh >kifM;k rFkk lMd] cktkj] ikdk ,o ,frgkfld Hkouk ij vo/k :i l cu eduk vkj vU; <kpk dk gvkdj "kgjk dk lkn;hdj.k dju d fy, Hkh dfvc) FkA¹⁴

lt; xk/kh d ncko e vkdj ljdkj u ifjokj fu;ktu dk etcrh l c<kok nu dk Qlyk fd;k tk db ckj cgr gh eueku] vo/k rFkk fujd"kk rjhd l fd;k x;kA le>ku c>ku vkj iykHku nu dh txg tkj&tcnLrh vkj ncko dk /khj&/khj vf/kd egRo fn;k tku yxkA ckn e rk vfuok; ulcnh yx fd;k tku yxkA >Xxh&>kifM;k mtkMu vkj vo/k <kpk dk fxjku dk dke Hkh ifjokj fu;ktu dh rjg gh pyk;k tk jgk Fkk ijuR mle vkj Hkh T;knk Øjrk vkj yikjokgh cjrj xb FkhA bl idkj neu vkj Hk;] Hk'Vkpj rFkk lRrk d n:i;kx d igy l py vk jg ekgky dk lt; xk/kh d fun"ku e pyk, tk jg vR;kpkjk u vkj Hkh cnrj cuk fn;kA 18 tuojh 1977 dk bfnjk xk/kh u vpud vkikrdky lekflr dh ?kk"kk dh] 16 ekp 1977 dk LorU= vkj fu'i{k puko g,A puko ifj.kke e bfnjk xk/kh d urRo okyh dxl ikVh dh djkh gjk gb vkj turk ikVh dh ljdkj dk xBu gvka

2. ehfM;k dh Hkfedk &

ehfM;k tc vU; lkekftd lLFkkvk d lFk vUr%fØ;k d jrk g rc ehfM;k&ln"kk dh mRifRr ;k miyC/k gkrh gA ;g ,d tfVy ifØ;k g ftle ehfM;k vkj lkekftd ljpuk d vU; rRo vud Lrjk ij vyx&vyx <x l ,d&n l j dk iHkfor d j gA ;g lf"yV ifØ;k

lkekftd&vfkFkd ifjflFkfr;k dh lkif{krk e lEiUUK gkrh gA bldk vFk ;g g fd ljdkjh ,tfl;k] jktuhfrd nyk] 0;kolkf;d dEifu;k] lkekftd legk vkj lkekftd vkUnkyuk vkfn d dk;k vkj ehfM;k d dk;k e ikjLifjd fuHkjr gkrh gA ehfM;k d ln"v vU; lLFkk, viu okrkoy.k d lUnHk e xg.k djr g vkj mlh d vu:i ifrfØ;k djr gA blfy, ftl okrkoy.k e ehfM;k dk mi;kx vkj iHkko ?kfVr gkr g mldk fo"y" k.k lkekftd ifjoru dh fn"kk vkj xfr dk le>u d fy, vko";d gj lFk gh ifjoru dk c<kok nu ;k jkdu e ehfM;k dh Hkfedk dk le>u d fy, Hkh vko";d gA¹⁵

okLro e ehfM;k viuh vUrfufgr vfHkij.kk d vulkj gh fo"v;OLr dk p;u vkj lEi" k.k djr gA blfy, ;g Hkh dgk tk ldrk g fd ehfM;k rVLFk vkj fuji{k ugh gkrk gA ehfM;k e ;FkkFk dk ,d cgr cMk fgLLk fo"v" :i l puk gvk vkj cuk;k gvk gkrk gA vr ehfM;k lekt d lFk viu lEcu/kk e i.k" LorU= ugh gA og fdlh u fdlh :lk e mu lLFkvk] 0;fDr;k vkj ifØ;vkv d iHkko vkj fu;=.k e dk; djr g tk tuer dk ekMu vkj cnyu d fy, ehfM;k dk bLreky dju e lFk gkr gA lpkj ek/;ek dk fodkl lekt e vfHk0;fDr dh vko";drkvk d vulkj gkrk gA vFk0;OLFkk vkj "kk lu ru= d :ik e ifjoru l lpkj ek/;ek d Lo:lk e Hkh ifjoru gkrk gA¹⁶ lpkj ek/;ek dh bl idfr d ifji{; e gh t0ih0 dh lEi.k ØkfUr rFkk vkikrdky d nkj e ehfM;k dh fLFkr dk n[kk tuk pkfg,A pfd ;g vkUnkyu e[; :i l mRRkj Hkkjr d fgUnh Hk"kh {k=k e Qyk o iHkkoh gvk blfy, ml oDr d fgUnh d lepkj i=&if=dkvk dh rDkyhu fLFkr o dk;"kyh dk foopu vfuok; gA

LorU=rk d rjUr ckn "k: g, lepkj i= ^{mfud tkxj.k} u viuh fuHkd i=dkfjr dh otg l n" dh turk e viuh txg cuk yH FkA lEi.k ØkfUr vkUnkyu vkj vkikrdky d ifji{; e n[k rk ;g lepkj i= viu i=dkjh; ekuM.Mk ij [kjk mrjr gA igy blu xtjr vkj fcgkj ØkfUr l lEcu/kr [kcjk dk egRo dh txg nh vkj fQj n" e cu jg fujk"kk d egky rFkk t;idk" ukjk;.k }kjk lEi.k ØkfUr dk urRo dju l lEcu/kr [kcjk dk tedj NkikA gkykfd vkikrdky d nkj e vU; lepkj i=k dh rjg nfud tkxj.k ij Hkh ifrcU/k yx Fk] yfdu blu ljdkjh ifrcU/kk ij rh[kh ifrfØ;k nh FkA 27 tu 1975 d vd e likndh; LFkku fjDr NkM fn;k x;kA Åij fy[kk& ^u;k ykdrU= ** ^u l l ykx< ^u vkj uhp fy[kk& ^u d lk;k "kkUr jg< ^u n[k vxyk it< ^u ¹⁷ tc cgr l lepkj i= ^u vxth d yxHkx l Hkh vkikrdky d x.kxu e yx g, Fk] rc tkxj.k u fuHkd vfHk0;fDr vkj lR; dh ifr'Bk dk ifjp; fn;kA ogh ^uvt* lepkj i= ftlu vktkn dh yMkb e c<&p<dj fgLLk fy;k] t;idk" ukjk;.k dh lEi.k ØkfUr vkUnkyu dk Hkji lFku fd;k Fk vkj tk viu dr0; e fy[krk Hkh g fd ^ugekjk dr0; cj dh cjb dk idV djuk gA gekjk dr0; l kotfud vf/kdkjk dh j[kk djuk g vkj gekjk dr0; l kotfud thou dk ifo= dj n" e ,drk vkj ihfr dk c<kuk gA¹⁸ mlu vkikrdky d fnuk e vkikrdky dk fojk/k fd;k] yfdu lepkjk rFkk y[kk ij ljdkjh l l jf"ki d pyr o y[k turk rd ugh igp] ljdkjh icnh l lEikndk d gkFk Hkh c/k FkA¹⁹

viu igy vd l gh dkx l lFkd i= dk ntk iklr ^ufgUnLrku* lepkj i= u vkikrdky d nkju bfnjk xk/kh }kjk il ij l l jf"ki ykn nu d fu.k; d ckotn viuh leLr i=dkjh; e;knkvk dk rkd ij j[kdj vkikrdky vkj bfnjk xk/kh d lFku dh [kcj NkikA vkikrdky d fojk/k e py jgh xfrfof/k;k rFkk t0ih0 vkUnkyu dh [kcjk dk bl i= u ;Fk lEHko ncku dk dke fd;kA ol rk vkikrdky dk ydj ik; l Hkh jk"Vh; lepkj i=k e Li"V lEi.k Hkko fn[kkb nrk g] ij fgUnLrku d rDkyhu i'Bk ij lEi.k d lFk vkikrdky d lFku dh fLFkr fn[kkb nrh gA vkikrdky dh ?kk" k.k d ckn fgUnLrku d 28 tu 1975 d vd dk e[; "kh"kd bfnjk xk/kh }kjk fn;k x;k oDr0; Fk& ^u t; idk" ukjk;.k d vkUnkyu dk n" d ckgj l iklRlgu**A bld uhp mi"kh"kd Fk& ^uHkhrj uDl fy;k] jk"Vh; Lo; lod l?k o ekDlokfn;k dk lFku*A blh fnu ,d nljk "kh"kd Fk& ^u l j n" e fLFkr lEku; jgh**] tcf

flFkfr bld myV FkhA bld vykok ij le; rd fgUnLrku v[kckj yxkrkj viuh likndh; d ek/;e l vkikrdky dh odkyr djrk jgkA²⁰

vkikrdky d le; i=&if=dvkv dh jhfr&uhfr Li'V djr g, i=dvj iekn tk"kh dgr g& ^bejtUl h d nkjku ,d ckr tk le> e vkb og ;g Fkh fd bl nkjku lcl igy fnYyh d jk'Vh; v[kckjk u ?kVu VdA tk {k=h; v[kckj Fk] mUgku ifrjk/k fd;k ;k dg bejtUl h dh gk e gk feyku e foyEc fd;kA ;g rk Li'V Fkk fd lHkh v[kckjk dh fnDdr Fkh fd mUg viu vflrRo dk cuk, j[ku d fy, Hkkjr ljdkj d fun"kk dk ekuu d vykok dkb jkLrk ugh Fkk] ojuk o v[kckj cUn gk tkrA ,l e flFkfr vkj [kjkc gkrhA vud v[kckj cUn Hkh g,] yfdu bejtUl h d ckn tc o fQj l [ky rk mUgku vkikrdkyhu T;knfr;k d ckj e [kc Nkik**A²¹ nfud ^uoHkkjr* dk Hkh vkjEHk l dxl dh rjQ >dko FkA i= u u dkg l nkLrh u dkg l cj dh uhfr dk vulj.k djr g, igy t0ih0 vUnkyu d nkjku lkeU; : i l vUnkyu dh [ckj ilkfjr dh] yfdu ljdkj d i{k dk Hkh lkeu j[kkA ogh vkikrdky d nkjku mlu "kk lu l cj eky ugh fy;kA i= d io lEiknd Jh xkfoUnyky okjk dgr g& ^ vkikrdky d le; lHkh lepkj i=k ij dMh utj j[kh tk jgh FkhA uoHkkjr ij Hkh fu;=.k dk i;k l FkA lepkj idk"ku l io fu;Dr "kk l dh; vf/kdkjh dk lepkj fn[kk;k tkuk vfuok; Fkk] yfdu uoHkkjr d lepkjk dk dHkh ugh n[kk x;k] mUg fo"ok l Fk fd uoHkkjr e ljdkj fojk/kh lepkj ugh idkf"kr gkxA²²

tgk rd /le;x* t l h ifrf'Br if=dk dk loky gA if=dk d rRdkyhu liknd MkO /keohj Hkkjr h u fcgkj vUnkyu dh i'BHfe vkj mld fujUrj c<r Lo: lk dk y[kk o fp=k d ek/;e l turk rd igpk;kA /le;x u xtjkr rFkk fcgkj vUnkyuk dk y[kk Qhpj] fjikrkt] ifjppk] lo{k.kk d tfj, Hkkjij opkfjd leFku fn;k vkj tuekul r;kj fd;kA²³ /le;x fy[krk g& ^vkt tc ik; lHkh ny vkj jktuhrK bl ;k mld Hk'Vkpj vFkok uhfrfogu voljokfnr e my> g, g] rc ykd"kkgh l lkeU; tu dk fo"ok l ijh rjg mB tk,] m l l igy gh l kotfud thou e "kf) dk 0;kid vfHk;ku NMuk furkr vko";d gk x;k gA fu"p; gh bl vfHk;ku e ogh lenk; vxok cu ldk g] tk vktknh d ckn Qyh Hk'Vkpj dh vej cfy l fd l h rjg cp ldrk gA lc d lc rk ugh] ij Nk=k vkj lekt d lcl cM nc&dpv oxk dk ,d cMk fgLIk vHkh Hk'Vkpj l vNr k gA bu nkuk d rkyey l pyu okyk vUnkyu gh vrr% eyHkr lkekftd&vkfFkd ifjoruk d 0;kid vfHk;ku dk : lk y ldrk g**A²⁴

vkikrdky yxu d ckn 29 tu 1975 d vd e vke[k dFkk d : lk e ejkBh i=dvj xkfoUn ryoydj u ^ednek] Qlyk vkj vc* "kh"kd e fy[kk& ^U;k;k/kh" k flUgk d Qly u lcl egROI.k ckr ;g mtkxj dh g fd n" k dh lokPp lRrk ij vk:< 0;fDr Hkh U;k;ky; }kjk nfMr fd;k tk ldrk g-----ble "kd ugh fd U;k;k/kh" k flUgk d fu.k; l bfnjk xk/kh d urRo dk ufrd /kDdk yxk g] bld vud ifj.kke lkeu vk,x**A²⁵ gkykfd l l jf"ki d nkj e vU; lepkj i=k d leku /le;x dk Hkh 0;olkf;d etcfj;k d pyr rVLFk : [k vf[r;kj djuk iMk] fQj Hkh /le;x u nlj lkdfrd rjhdK l viuh ckr j[kuh tkjh j[kkA rRdkyhu e[; mi&liknd vkj ckn e liknd cu x.k" k e=h crkr g& ^vkikrdky dh flFkfr ylx Fkh] vud i=dvj bfnjk xk/kh d leFku e >M ydj l l jf"ki dk leFku dj jg FkA mu fnuk eu Hkkjr h th dh vuefr l /le;x e ^xk/kh vkj efd;koyh* uked y[k fy[kkA og y[k D;k fy[kk vkj mle D;k dgk x;k g] bl ckr dk ikBd le> x,A db yxk u ty l e> fpfVB;k fy[kh vkj dgk fd reu viuh ckr dg nhA bl h rjg ,d y[k e eu : l h ØkfUr d ckn vf/kuk;doknh 0;olkf dh ppk djr g, dgk & flQ ,d ikVh d fy, vfHk0;fDr dh LorU=rk oLrr% vfHk0;fDr dh LorU=rk ugh gA vfHk0;fDr dh LorU=rk rHkh x.kdkjh gkrh g tc og lRRkk dh fuUnk e dh tk l dA** 17 viy 1977 d vd e vkikrdky vkj l l jf"ki d nkjku dh i=dvjfjrk d fo'k; e /keohj Hkkjr h fy[kr g& ^pfd ml le; vkrd d dkj.k] ikcfn;k d dkj.k pkjk rjQ lUukV k Fk--ge tkur Fk fd gekj t l gtkjk y[kd vkj i=dvj g] tk pkV

[kkdj pi cB x, g] mud eu e xgjh ?kVu gA fo"krkj ij vi{kkdr ;ok i=dkj tk bl
?kVu dk pipkj lg jg g] mlu lcdk ;g yxrk g fd ^vc rk nknj ckyg*A ikol d le;
dkfdyk dk eku gk tkuk gh J;Ldj gA tc vkok t ij yxh cfM;k dVxh rc viu Lrj vkj
e;knk e ckyx& tk lonu"kh ikBd Fk] o fcuk dg bl eku dk vFk le> jg Fk----A**²⁶

bl le; d ,d vU; ie[k lkrkfgd lepkj i= ^fnueku* dh Nfo lektokn
fopkj/kkj d ik'kd lepkj lkrkfgd dh jghA blu ykfg;k vkj mud fopkj dk dkQh ie[krk
l Nkik] ijr ml nkj d ,d vU; cM lektokn urk t ;idk"uk ukj; .k dk fnueku u T;knk
rjthg ugh nh] tcf d t0ih0 d urRo e xtjkr vkj fcgkj e "k: g, Nk= vkUnkyu u n" k d
jktuhfrd bfrgk l dh fn"kk cny nh FkA fnueku d liknd j?kohj lgk; Fk] ftudh Nfo
lektokn leFkd] bfnjk vkj dxl fojk/kh Fkh] ctoth bld i= e t0ih0 vkUnkyu dk T;knk
egRo ugh fn;k x;k FkA gkykfd 16 tu 1974 dk ^fcgkj vkUnkyu dk ;FkkFk* "kh"kd l fy[k
likndh; e vkUnkyu dk leFku fn[krk g& ^----fQj Hkh ftud gkFk lRrk g vkj tk turk dh
ugh] doy gder dh Hkk"kk le>u d vknh gk pd g] mudk eu bl vkUnkyu l bruk fopfy
gk pdk g fd lng gkrk g fd o bl le> ik,x ;k ugh] o bl doy dlh gFk;ku dk
ek;tky dg jg g**A²⁷ gk] t0ih0 vkUnkyu ij fjikV fnueku e vkikrdky d ckn gh T;knk
Nih gA njvly tc VkbEl ic/ku dk ;g yxu yxk fd vc bfnjk xk/kh dh lo"kfDreku lRrk
okil ugh ykVu okyh g rk fnueku dk jo;k cny x;kA t ;idk"uk vkUnkyu d ckj e mldh
fnypli c< xbA vkikrdky d ckn fnueku u 29 eb 1977 dk lEi.k Økfur ij ,d cMh jiv
Nkih] lFk gh t ;idk"uk ukj; .k }kjk Nk= ;ok l?k'kokfguh dk fy[k i= dk ^,frgkfld
nLrkot* d :lk e idk"kr fd;kA 26 Qojh 1978 d vd l i= u cuokjh dh ,d /kkjkokfgd
jiv dk idk"ku "k: fd;k] ftldk "kh"kd Fkk ^1974 e blh le;**A

tc i/kkue=h bfnjk xk/kh u n" k e vkikrdky Fkkidj vfHkO;fDr dh vktknh dk
ifrcf/kr dj fn;k Fk vkj lepkj ek;/ek ij l l j yxk fn;k rk opkfjdrk dk i'V dju oky
^fnueku* d i'Bk ij bld f[kykQ dkb mRrtuk ugh fn[kkb nhA bld cjdI bl nkj e
i/kkue=h bfnjk xk/kh vkj rc lRrk d lfo/kkuRrj dUn cu pd l t; xk/kh d c;kuk vkj nkj
dh [kcj fnueku e ie[krk ik jgh FkA vud yxk ekur g fd vkikrdky e fnueku dh Hkfedk
fujk"ktud jghA ml nkj e fnueku dh likndh; Vhe d ofj'B lNl; jg eg"oj n;ky
xxokj crkr g& ^tc bejtUlh yxh rk eu ik;k fd j?kohj lgk; dlkVh ij [kj ugh mrjA
ftl rjg o dVVj lektokn Fk vkj dVVj liknd gku dh mudh Nfo Fkh] ij mUgu ?kVu
Vd fn;A bfnjk xk/kh }kjk cykb xb likndk dh ehVx d ckn mUgu viu LVkQ ehVx e
ckdk;nk fgnk;r nh Fkh fd ^vc ge viuk jo;k cnyuk gkxk] ge bejtUlh dk fojk/k rk djuk
gh ugh g] cfYd bldk leFku Hkh djuk g**A²⁸ ;kfu fd vkikrdky ij fnueku dh opkfjdrk dn
gk xb vkj mld l?k'kh roj frjkfgr gk x, FkA tu] 1975 d ckn d vdk e fnueku u il
l l jf"ki yxku d vkfR; dk ifriknu dju oky i/kkue=h d c;kuk dk ie[krk l NkikA²⁸
vkikrdky d nkjku fnueku e fd l rjg dh lkexh Ni jgh Fkh bldh >yd 20 tykb 1975 d
vd e Nih ^jgr dh lkl* uked lo{k.k l fey tkrh gA ;g lo{k.k /kkjkokfgd :i e
idk"kr gv& ^tc fnueku loknnkrkvk l fiNy lRkg dgk x;k fd o viu in" k e vkikr
fLFkr d ckn nkek dh fxjkoV dk gky fy[k Hkt rk mUgu [kcj nh fd xgf.k;k jgr dh lkl
yu yxh g] ndkunj vkj ljdkjh depkh pkdUu g vkj deku oky i: "k [k" k gA**²⁹ 1977
pukok dh ?k'k.kk d ckn Hkh fjikV/k vkj vky[kk d ek;/e l Hkh fnueku u dxl o bfnjk xk/kh
dk i"klr xku tkj j[kk vkj pukok e Jherh xk/kh dh Hkkjh thr dh Hkfo';ok.kh dhA³⁰

rRdkyhu {k=h; lepkj i=&if=dkvk u jk'Vh; i=&if=dkvk dk gh vulj.k fd;kA gk]
,dckr tk egRo.k g og ;g fd {k=h; v[kckjk e vkikrdky dk vlj dkQh ckn e iMk vkj
vkikrdky d ckn Hkh o fu'i{krk l [kcj Nkir jgA bl nkj e {k=h; lepkj i=k u fuji{krk
dk Hkko Hkh fn[kk;A ^jktLFku if=dk* d liknd dfy" k u ,d l{kRdkj e dgk& ^vkikrdky

d ckn eu [kn viuh vk[kk l dN xkiuh; nLrkot n[k] ft le Li'V fy[kk Fkk fd ^jktLFkku if=dk* "k: e LorU= vkj fu'i{k v[kckj Fkk] ijUr ckn d fnuk e ^gkLVkby* gk x;k gA** o dgr g fd mUgku dHkh ncko e gkdj ugh fy[kk vkj tc vkikrdky yxk rk mUgku vKUnkyu l gVdj turk dh leL;kvk dk lkeu yku dh dkf"kk lepkjk }kjk djuk ikjEHk fd;k] bll i=dkfjrk Hkh gb vkj "kk lu dk /;ku ukxfjd leL;kvk dh vkj x;kA³¹ ^;x/le* }kjk t0ih0 vKUnkyu dk Hkjij leFku fd;k x;k vkj bejtUl ij Li"ky cyvu fudkyk x;kA n" k d ifri{k d urk e/ku; vFk"kkL=h ,o lektoknh fprd e/k fye; u nk Vd c;ku fn;k fd vkikrdky yxkuk bfnjk th dh rkuk"kkgh g vkj turk dk bld fo:) fonkg djuk pkfg,A jk;ij lldj.k d liknd ccu ilkn feJ u ,d dMk vxy[k fy[kk] ftldk "kh"kd Fkk ^Mh0vkb0vkj0 ;kfu MMk bfnjk :y* vkj ^ehl k ;kfu eVul vkQ bfnjk lkojfuVh*A fdUr cyfVu cVr&cVr gh ;x/ke dh fctyh dkV nh xb vkj ;x/ke d liknd vkj i=dkjk dk fxjlrkj dju d vkn" k tkjh dj fn, x,A e/in" k e ;x/ke il ij rkyk yx x;kA e/in" k l idkf"kr gku oky i= ^Lon" k u t;idk" k ukjk;.k d vKUnkyu dk leFku vkj vkikrdky dk fojk/k fd;kA³² Lon" k ij ifrc/k yxk fn;k x;kA bld lpydk dk ty e Mky fn;k x;k] buij ehl k d rgr Hkh dk;okfg;k gbA bld foijr ^n"kcU/k* u [kydj bfnjk xk/kh vkj vkikrdky dk leFku fd;kA mlu il lljf"ki ij ,d y[k ^vu"kklu io vkj y[kdk dk dr0;* idkf"kr dj y[kdk dk mud dr0; le>k,A³³ gkykfd ckn e vkikrdky dh T;knfr;k dk n[kdj i= u vkikrdky vkj bfnjk xk/kh dk fojk/k Hkh djuk "k: fd;k vkj tc u, pukok dh ?kk" k.kk gb rk [kydj vkikrdky vkj lljf"ki dk fojk/k in"ku Hkh fd;kA³⁴

1948 dk viu iFke vd e uhfr lEcU/kh oDr0; d vUrxr vej mtkyk fy[krk g& ^vej mtkyk* jk'Vokn] ykdrU= ,o lektokn d mu vkn"kk d fy, dke djxk tk gekj jk'Vh; vKUnkyu d rRo jg gA^ lEi.k ØkfuR vKUnkyu d nkju vej mtkyk u vKUnkyu d leFku e vud lepkjk dk idk"ku fd;kA t;idk" k ukjk;.k d urRo rFkk vKUnkyu d c<r Lo:l k dk ydj [kcj Nkih xb] lFk gh lFk bfnjk xk/kh dh ljdkj dk viu fu.k;k dh iu% leh{kk dju dk dgk x;kA 23 tu 1975 d likndh; dk ie[k y[k Fkk& ^;g jktufrd HkMb n" k e vx Qd nxhA²⁴ tu dk likndh; Fkk& ^tu ljj{kk nko ij^m] ;g y[k n" k e HkMd jgh fglk ij fy[kk x;k FkkA ,d vU; y[k Fkk& ^Hkkjr ,d ckj fQj pkjk ij**A 25 tu dk y[k g& ^ykdrU= nko ij^m] ftld vUr e dgk x;k Fkk fd ^tc U;k; ikfydk e fopkj py jgk Fkk rd l?k" k dk fue=.k lRrk/kkjh ny dh vkj l gh "k: gvk gA* bl nkj dh vU; [kcj tk vej mtkyk e idkf"kr gb g& ^pUn" k[kj o lFkF;k }kjk R;kxi= dh ekx] foi{k urkvk dh ?kk" k.kk& R;kxi= u fn;k rk n" k0;kih vKUnkyu] vc rk R;kxi= n n&"kkfrHk" k.k] D;k i/kkue=h bLrhQk nxh\] n" k e vkikrdky dh ?kk" k.kk] 27 tu l idkf"kr [kcj e [kcj dk llj dju d iek.k feyu yxr gA tl& vkrfjd minok l Hkkjr dh ljj{kk dk [krjk] jk'V dh v[k.Mrk d fy, dBkj dkjokb djuk t:jh] bll Hkh l" kDr dne dh t:jr % fi;jtu nk l e"kh] 29 tu dh [kcj g& lepkj i=k ij lljf"ki] vkikr fLFkr dk leFku lfgR;dkjk }kjk vkikr fLFkr dk leFku vkfnA³⁵ tkfgj g l" kjf"ki dk jx v[kckj ij p<u yxk FkkA

3- fu'd'k&

fu'd'kr% dgk tk ldrk g fd t;idk" k ukjk;.k d lEi.k ØkfuR vKUnkyu d ifj.kke fgrdkjh lfcr g,A Hk'Vkpjk] dky/ku] tek[kkj] rLdjh vkfn ij rRdkyhu le; e dMkb l yxke yxkb xBA c<rh egxkb dk jkdu e enn feyhA yfdu bu lcd fy, vkikrdky yxkuk ,d vfgrdkjh fu.k; jgkA ykdrU=kRed n" k e vkikrdky dk yxk;k tkuk mfpr ugh FkkA gkykfd lfo/kku e Hkh t:jr iMu ij vkikrdky yxku dk ftØ g yfdu bfnjk xk/kh d i/kkuef=Ro dky e n" k e yxk, x;k vkikrdky xj t:jh vkj [kn dk cpk, j[ku dk dne gh

ekye gkrk gA bld ifj.kke ?kkrd jgA bld fØ; kUo; u e Hkkjh ykijokgh cjrñ xb vkj n”k e rkuk”kkg dh egky cu x; kA

il ij Fkkih xb lIjf”ki l egky dk l/kju e dkb enn ugh feyh] mYV tuekul e xyr ln”k x; kA bl nkju il dh fLFkr vkj Hkfedk lkj utj Mkyr g rk ljdkj leFkd i=&if=dvk d vykok vkikrdky d igy rd dk ehfM; k t; idk”k ukjk; .k d vkUnkyu d lFk fn[kkb iMrk gA bl nkju bu i=&if=dvk u vkUnkyu vkj bld iHkok d i{k e egky cuku dk dk; fd; kA ; g rDkyhu i=&if=dvk dk gh iHko Fk fd lky Hkj d vUnj gh ; g tukUnkyu nf{k.k d jkT; k d d j d vykok dk NkMdj lEi.k Hkkjr e Qy pdk FkA Hk”Vkpj vkj d”kkl d fo:) n”k e fojk/k dk egky cuku e i=&if=dvk dh egrh Hkfedk FkA gkykd vkikydky d nkju il lIjf”ki d pyr yxHkx lHk lepkj i=&if=dk, o pkg ljdkj leFkd gk ; k fojk/kh] ljdkj d ifr lei.k dh enk e FkA lHk bfnjk xk/kh vkj mudh ljdkj dk i”kflr xku dj jg Fk] vkj foi{k dk lo/kkfud lhek e jgu dh lh[k n jg FkA bl i”kflr xku l tgg ljdkj Hke dh fLFkr e jgh vkj ml “kkl d Hk; kog : lk vkj n”k dh fLFkr dk lgh Kku ugh gk ldk] ogh n”k dk ukxfjd fujk”kk dh fLFkr e jgA mldk “kk”k.k gkrk jgk] yfdu mldh vkokt dk lkeu yku oky i=&if=dk, dkek e FkA vkikrdky gVr gh bld Rofjr vkj Økfrdkjh ifj.kke g, vkj 1977 e g, yd lHk pukok bfnjk xk/kh d urRo okyh dkl dh Hkkjh gkj gb vkj turk ikVh ljdkj dk xBu gvA

vkikrdky e ehfM; k dh fLFkr d fo’k; e ofj’B i=dj iHk”k tk”kh dk dFku egRo i.k g fd& ^iPPkh lky igy Ncch l tu dh lcg bfM; u ,Dlil d viu dfcu e cB g, e> yxk fd ,d v/kjh l jx e [kMk g vkj vk[k [kky j[k ; k cn dj y] bli v/kj d fn[ku e dkb Qd ugh iMxA l jx e pyrk tÅ rk dgk tkdj fudyxk bldk dkb vntk ugh FkA dgh fudyxk Hk ; k ugh bldk Hk dkb Hkjl l ugh FkA l jx g] v/kj g vkj tc rd lkeu l dN fn[krk ugh rc rd ; gh fBBd [kM jguk gA [kM jgA lFk i=dj Hk “kk; n viuh viuh v/kjh l jx e [kM Fk vkj dgh dN fn[k ; k gk rk gjdr e vk,] bldh irh{k e FkA³⁶

I UnHk&

- 1- tih % ,d thouh] Hk”V “kklurU=] vftr HkVVkpj;] okXnoh idk”ku] chdkuj] o’k 2009] i’B&156A
- 2- vktknh d ckn dk Hkkjr] fofiu pUnk] enyk e[kth] vkfnR; e[kth] fgUnh ek/;e dk; kUo; u fun”kky;] fnYyh fo”fo[ky;] fnYyh] i’B&329
- 3- ,etUl bu ilifDVo % fjiho ,.M pyt] lFpnkuUn flUgk] ykd idk”ku] iVuk] i’B&32
- 4- vktknh d ckn dk Hkkjr] fofiu pUnk] enyk e[kth] vkfnR; e[kth] fgUnh ek/;e dk; kUo; u fun”kky;] fnYyh fo”fo[ky;] fnYyh] i’B&331
- 5- ,ojheUl] tykb 1973 vd
- 6- jfMdy áefu’V] vxLr 1972 vd
- 7- tih % ,d thouh] Hk”V “kklurU=] vfer HkVVkpj;] okXnoh idk”ku] chdkuj] i’B 160
- 8- LVVleu] 10 viy 1974 e m)r] Qflu vkj- Ýdy] bfM; k t ikfyVdy bdkueh 1947&77] fnYyh] 1978] i’B&518 e mfYyf[kr
- 9- vkikrdky& fgUnh lfgR; vkj i=djrk] vejUn dek] “kek] lfgR; HkMkj idk”ku] bykgkcn] iFke lLdj.k 2011] i’B&32
- 10- ekjkt th n lkb l vkfj; ku Qyk l dh ckrphr] U; fjifcyd] Qflu vkj- Ýdy] bfM; k t ikfyVdy bdkueh 1947&77] fnYyh] 1978] i’B&544 e mfYyf[kr
- 11- vktknh d ckn dk Hkkjr] fofiu pUnk] enyk e[kth] vkfnR; e[kth] fgUnh ek/;e dk; kUo; u fun”kky;] fnYyh fo”fo[ky;] fnYyh] i’B&339

- 12- vktknh d ckn dk Hkkjr] fofiu pUnk] enyk e[kth] vkfnR; e[kth] fgUnh ek/e dk; kUo;u fun^{kk}y;] fnYyh fo"fo|ky;] fnYyh] i'B&340
- 13- bnj eYg=k] bfnjk xk/kh] ynu] 1989] i'B&173] 182
- 14- vktknh d ckn dk Hkkjr] fofiu pUnk] enyk e[kth] vkfnR; e[kth] fgUnh ek/e dk; kUo;u fun^{kk}y;] fnYyh fo"fo|ky;] fnYyh] i'B&344
- 15- ehfm;k d lkekftd ljdkj] Hkfedk] dkyjke ifjgkj] vukfedk ifcy^kl ,.M fMLVhc;VI] ub fnYyh] i'B&21
- 16- ehfm;k d lkekftd ljdkj] Hkfedk] dkyjke ifjgkj] vukfedk ifcy^kl ,.M fMLVhc;VI] ub fnYyh] i'B&11
- 17- fgUnh d ie[k lepkj i= vkj if=dk,&3] vP;rkuUn feJ] lkef;d idk^{ku}] ub fnYyh] i'B&180
- 18- vxy[k] vkt lepkj i=] lkj 11 vl< 1984
- 19- fgUnh d ie[k lepkj i= vkj if=dk,&2] vP;rkuUn feJ] lkef;d idk^{ku}] ub fnYyh] i'B&63
- 20- fgUnh d ie[k lepkj i= vkj if=dk,&2] vP;rkuUn feJ] lkef;d idk^{ku}] ub fnYyh] i'B&122
- 21- fgUnh d ie[k lepkj i= vkj if=dk,&2] vP;rkuUn feJ] lkef;d idk^{ku}] ub fnYyh] i'B&123
- 22- fgUnh d ie[k lepkj i= vkj if=dk,&2] vP;rkuUn feJ] lkef;d idk^{ku}] ub fnYyh] i'B&243
- 23- nljh vktknh] jkedekj Hkejj fgUn ikdV cDI ik0 fy0] ub fnYyh] i'B&63
- 24- /ke;x] 17ekp 1974] i'B&30
- 25- /ke;x] 29 tu 1975] i'B&1&2
- 26- fgUnh i=dkfjrk d M< lk o^k] /keohj Hkkjrh
- 27- fgUnh d ie[k lepkj i= vkj if=dk,&1] vP;rkuUn feJ] lkef;d idk^{ku}] ub fnYyh] i'B&235
- 28- fnueku] 4 tuojuh 1976
- 29- fnueku] 20 tykb 1975
- 30- fnueku] 13 ekp 1977
- 31- fgUnh d ie[k lepkj i= vkj if=dk,&4] vP;rkuUn feJ] lkef;d idk^{ku}] ub fnYyh] i'B&26
- 32- fgUnh d ie[k lepkj i= vkj if=dk,&4] vP;rkuUn feJ] lkef;d idk^{ku}] ub fnYyh] i'B&205
- 33- n^{kcU/k}] 27 tu 1975] 18 flrEcj 1975
- 34- n^{kcU/k}] 29 tuojuh 1977
- 35- fgUnh d ie[k lepkj i= vkj if=dk,&3] vP;rkuUn feJ] lkef;d idk^{ku}] ub fnYyh] i'B&294&297
- 36- iHkk^k tk^{kh}] tc rki edkfcy gk] jktdey idk^{ku}] i'B 96