

I; Ij g-gkfn / Knfg gkfnsf]; fenf/Ldf k\$flzt



j if{!, c\$ \*, h] @)^\$, sf7df08f}

O; C\$df==

!=; Dkfbslo

@=Ij Zn]f0f

#= ; Gbe{Ij Zn]f0f

\$= Gbe{I/fli6@ glIt

%=k†gfD/

^=afn dgfIj 1fg

&=; Gbe{

\*=ultlj lwX?

(=afnaflnsf ; DaGwl tYo==

## ; Dkfbslo M

### IzIffsf rgftlx?

IzIff dfgj hlj gsf]nflu ckl/xfo{ s/f xf]. IzIffn}hlj gsf]p27o, nlo Pj +pknaWlx, sf]kl/klt{ug{d2t klofp5 . hlj gsf]k}f{ u}klt ugkg]IzIff, of]s; h]f]nflu ; xh / ; /n xg]ub5 eg] s; \$f]nflu sl7g ; dt xg]u/\$f5 . h:t}lj sl; t /f6gf h6dg]afnaflnsfx, h; n]cfkm]f hlj gsf]k}f4dfg}hlj gckofjl IzIff klt u/\$f 5g\ t/ of]; lj wf j f clwsf/ lj Zj sf ; a}afnaflnsfx, n]kfPsf eg]5gg\ cem]lg lj Zj df sl/a ! s/f8 !) nfv afnaflnsfx, IzIffaf6 lj dv /x\$5g\ vf; u/l t}f]lj Zj sf afnaflnsfx, ef\$, /f, ul/al / k5f]kg h:tf ; d:ofaf6 ul; t /x\$5f]t k}f5g cj :yfdf IzIff klt ug{csf]rbf]lsf], kdf b]f kl//x\$5f]5 . of] cj :yf xfd]b]sf sl/a \$) kltzt afnaflnsfx, n]klg eflu/x\$5g\

slj if6]v gkfndf klg ; xfpbf]IzIffsf]gl]tsf]cj wf/0ffnf0{c^Nsf/ ub}; /sf/l tyf u}; /sf/l lf]af6 afnaflnsfx, nf0{plrt IzIff lbgkg]df6otfsf]lj sf; xg yfn\$5f]b]M5 . o; nf0{; sf/fds ; jftsf] kdf lbgkb5 . h; cg' f/ ; /sf/l tj /af6]5f]lnf0{lglNs IzIff k]fg ug{klt a4tf ; dt hgfPsf]b]M5 .

oBlk xfd]IzIff Joj :yfdf yk}sdlsdhf]l lj Bdfq /x\$5f]5 . ; eQm /fi6«3lo lj sf; lgof]uf/f k\$flzt dfgj lj sf; kltj bgn] /f]on] cgbfg lbPsf] IzIff lgn] vf; u/l ; dfhdf xg]fg] / alnof] j uhf0g] kmf0bf klofp5f]pNn] u/\$f]5 . kltj bgsf cg' f/ lk5l8Psf j u{Pj + dbfosc]IzIffdf vf; }kx]f 5g\ . ; fy}IzIffsf]n0{sg]klg ls; dsf]Joj xfl/s tflndsf]Joj :yf xg g; Sbf u0f:t/lo IzIffdf sdl b]M5f]5 . To; sf]; fy}:yfglo lj Bfno Joj :yfkdf ; Dfct k}fix, sf]afxNotfsf sf/0f dlxnf / lk5l8Psf j u\$5f]pkl:ylt xg]cj :yf /x\$5f]5g\ .

IzIff afnaflnsfsf]g}lu\$ clwsf/ xf]. IzIffn]afn>d 36fpg tyf nf\$ tGqsf]k]4g / lj sf; ug{d2t klofp5 eGg]df6otf lj sl; t ePsf]5 clxn]. t/ gkfndf cem]lg afnaflnsfsf]sh hg; Wofsf] \$) kltzt afnaflnsfx, To; dfly klg cem]aflnsfx, :sh hfgaf6 j|-rt /x\$5g\ To; afx\$ ; /sf/l IzIff glit tyf o; sf]lj Zj f; glotfdf sdl, IzIffsf] cfkm]f klg koflt tflndsf]cefj tyf plrt kfl/>ldssf]cefj df h:tf klf]x, n]ubf{u0f:t/lo IzIffdf ck]fifst a]f xg ; ls/x\$5f]5g\ . o; tf clwsf]lj Bfno x, df lj Bfyl]k]sf]; Wof clt g}Gog /x\$5f]b]M5 eg]; fwg / >f]sf]; dt cefj /x\$5f]b]M5 . ; fy}k]o\$ # hgf afns j f afnaflnsfsf ! hgf afns j f afnaflnsfn)% slff; Ddsf]k9f0 k]f ug{; ls/x\$5g\ hg cfwf/e't IzIffsf]Gogtd cfj Zostf ; dt dflg5 .

o; /l afnaflnsfn]alr]f k9f0 5f8gdf wf/0ffut / Joj xf/ut ; d:of sf/s ePsf]b]M5 xfd]b]sf . h:t} afnaflnsfx, cfkm]f cfdfafa' 3/df gxbf j f sfddf hf]bf ef0alxglsf]x]rfx ugkg]tyf pglx, nf0{3/sf]sfddf ; 3fpg' kg]h:tf ; d:ofx, n]ubf{ klg k9g hfg]afnaflnsfx, n]; dt cfkm]f uksfok] nf0{fd/L ug{; Sbgg\ To; sf]; fy}cfly\$ cefj klg afnaflnsfn0{IzIffsf]kx]af6 6f9f xg]kg]csf]k]f v sf/0fsf] kdf /x\$5f]5 . cem]Dd klg cleefj n] cfkm]f 5f]f5f]lnf0{ lj Bfnodf k7fpqsf]nflu cfj Zos kg]zNs, lsfasf] vr{ lj Bfnosf]8]sf]nflu vr{h6fpg ; Sg]l:ylt koflt /x\$5f]5g\ . cfly\$ cefj s}sf/0f olb 5f]f / 5f]l bj ]f0{ :shdf k9fpg g; s]f 5f]f5f]nf0{dfq}k9fpg]rng klg cem]sfod /x\$5f]5 . To; sf]; fy}lj Bfno hfgsf]af6f] afnaflnsfsf]nflu c; yllf xg' afnaflnsfsf]15f]lj j fx xg' 3/fo; l bfloTj a9l xg' afnaflnsfn0{lj Bfno hfgsf]nflu sd k]f; fxg xg h:tf s/fn]ubf{ klg afnaflnsfn0{IzIffsf]kx]af6 lj dv u/fPsf]b]M5 .

To; sf]; fy}IzIffsf]klg ; dfhsf kl/ToQm tyf sl07tx, sf nflu lj Zj :t Gofgf]j ftfj /0f lbg ; Sgkg]xG5 . afnaflnsfsf]JolQmTj lj Ifk / ltgsf cf6tl/s sl7gf0x, nf0{IzIffsf]aem] dfq ; s]lg ; d:of cfwf ; dfwfg xG5 . o; sf nflu kyd]M IzIffsf]afnaflnsfsf]lj Zj f; lhTg ; Sgk5{. pglx, glxRsrf0sg cfkm]f s/f /Vg ; s]g]l IzIffsf]afnaflnsfx, nf0{pglx, sf s/f /Vg hlxn]lg klnf]cj ; / lbgk5{/ cfkm]f c; n >f]f aGg hfgk5{. :j R5Gb Igle\$ / p6dQm eP/ IzIffsf]afnaflnsfsf]lj Zj f u]yl cyft \s07f v5lnb]hfg5 / qndz]pglx, sf]dg xNsf xb}hfg5 eGg]s/fdf dgf] flgssf]ts{/x\$5f]5 . s]xfdf]lj Bfno IzIffsf]clxn] Dd o; tf s/fx, df Wofg klofp5 ; s\$5f]5 < of]uDel/ k]gfQ/sf]vfhlldf ; a}IzIffsf]afnaflnsfx, cl3 a9g klg ; dosf]dfu alg; s\$5f]5 .





cfktsflng cj :yfdf k/ʃf afnaflnsfsF nflu  
tTsfn /fxt tyf k/fdz{; Jfsf nflu  
**afn xNknf0g !) (\***

sf7df08f} xTf8f Ij /f6gu/ kfV/f gkfnu-h

ægof"gfnsf]lgdfQf afnaflnsfsf]; fydf yfnfT

I; Ij g-gkf

## IzIff

zfGt IzIffsf]cj wf/Off

ufYl kVfg

åGå cfkntf g/fdfls/f xfØg . x/ʃ JolQm ; dX / ; dfhdf cfkntvfn]åGåx? e0/xʃ]xG5 . dxIj k0f{s/f  
åGåsf]; ~rfng s]s; / ug{j f åGåsf]Joj :yfkj j f ?kft/0f s]s; / ug[eGg]xf]. jf:tj df åGå/lxt ; dfh  
lg/; / cultzln xg]ub5 . ha xfdl oyfl:yltsf]kl/j tØ / lj sf; sf]s/f ub5f}. Toxf"t sg}g sg}vfn]åGå  
e0xfN5 . ; dfhdf Ij Bdfg cGt/Ij /fVx?nf0{; xl / l; hgzln 9aUn]; ~rfng ug{; Sof] eg]o; n]; dfhdf  
; sf/flds kEfj klg kfb5 . t/ ; dfhdf xg]ul/g]åGåx?n]lx;fsf]af6f]cLgfof]eg]o; n]; fdflhs Ij sf; sf]  
af6fjhf0{cj /fV klg v8f ub5 . To; h]åGånf0{zfGt k]§ tl/sfn]kl/rfng ug{xfdln]o; sf]cfwf/et dNo /  
dfGtfnf0{lbgf lbgkb5 .

zfGt IzIff lx;flj /fVl-; fdflhs ; xeflutfdf cfwf/t Ps l; Sg]l; sfpg]lj lw xf]. o; sf]dH p2]o g}  
; dfhdf leqtf; ; bEfj / ; xsfof]cfwf/df ; fdflhs Gofo, dfgj clwsf/ / lj sf; nf0{; æyfut ug{xif}. zfGt  
IzIffn]; dfhdf Ij Bdfg ; aYfn]zf]f0f, Ij eØ / c; dfgtfx?nf0{cGt o ug{clx;fsf]af6fjhf0{cl aUnsf/ ub5 .

afnclwsf/ ; DaGwl dxf; lgwsf]wf/f-@\* n]IzIff cfhg ug{kfpdg]k]o§ afnclwsf/sf]cfwf/e't clwsf/ xf]  
eGg]s/f pNnly u/\$f]5 . pk/fØm kij wfgcg'; / IzIff k]kt ug{afnaflnsfsf]clwsf/ sldtdf kfylds IzIff  
clgj fo{/ lgMNs u/fpg' /fhosdf]bfotj xf]. t/ pk/fØm dxf; lgwsf]wf/f-@( IzIff afnaflnsfsf]JolQm tj /  
afjAs lfdtsf]lj sf; tkm{lgb]zt xgkg} / ; lqmo j o:s hlj g latfg afnaflnsfx?nf0{tof/ ug{tkm{ df]hs  
dfgj clwsf/ k]kt cfb/ hufpg / afnaflnsfx?df cfkntf] / c?sf] ; f:st's / /fli6o dNox? k]kt cfb/sf]  
efj gsf]; DaG ug{k]m{nllft xgkg]s/f pNnly u/\$f]5 . IzIffsf]p2]o ; Dk0f{hgtfx? hflt, /fli6o / wfld§ /  
cfbjf; ldhsf dflg; x?alr ; denbf/l, zfGt, ; lxi0ftf, nPUs / ldqtsf]efj gfcg?k Pp6f :j tGq ; dfhdf  
p0/bfotj k0f{hlj gsf]nflu afnaflnsfx?sf]tof/l xgkb5 elgPsf]5 .

æzfGt IzIffæ eg]f]l; 4fGtx?sf]>vnf xfØg . of]Ps ; jfb, ; xsfo{/ ; bEfj df cfwf/t Gofo, kVlt /  
kl/j tØsf lglDt ul/g]l; Sg] l; sfpg]lj lw xf]. zfGt IzIffsf]dxIj åGå / ememu8fsf]ajfdf dfq}geP/  
afnaflnsfx?sf]lgldt lb0Psf]lgoldt IzIffsf]Ps c^N xg h?/l 5 . zfGt IzIffsf]cy{zfGt sf]lgldt kfygf  
ug{dfq}xfØg, a? cfkntf]JolQm t hlj g, kl/j f/ / ; dbfodf b]yfkg}; d:of / lj j fbx?nf0{Joj l:yt 9aUn]  
; dfwfg ug{k/kbf{k]qmf klg xf]. lx;f sg}klg xfntdf pkoQm af6f]xfØg eGg]s/f zfGt IzIffsf]; Gb]z xf].  
t/ ; dfhnf0{pGglt / kVltsf]af6fjf cufl8 a9fpq cGt/Ij /fVx?nf0{; xl 9aUn] / zfGt k0f{pkfox?af/f  
; ifng ug{k]b5 eGg]s/fnf0{zfGt IzIffn]kfyldstf lbPsf]xG5 .

zfGt IzIffsf]cj wf/Offn]kl/k/lj /fVl zlQm?alr s; \$f]lj ho j f k/fhodf eGbf kVlt / kl/j tØsf]  
kVfdf ; xcl:tIj jf ; xsfof]f0{kfyldstf lbG5 . zfGt eGg]s/f åGålj xlj kl/l:yltdfq}xfØg a? åGå / lj j fbsf]  
; dfwfgsf]lgldt cfk; l ; xof] / ; bEfj pVfg ug{Ps ; xeflutfdf s ultzln / ; sf/flds ; jfbf]k]qmf

klg xf]. zflgt lzlfssf sg}Ps j f b0\fn]/fhg]ts bz\sf]; jfxs xf\g . a? o; n]; sf/flds kl/j t\sf]lg]dt ; a\fn]; Defj gfx? / l j sNkx?nf0{cfkmgf]9f\sf vNnf ub\\$. M

x/\\$ ; dfhdf sg}g sg}k\sf]xG5, t/ ha; Dd åGå?sf]; dfwfgsf]lg]dt ; dfhn]cfkmg}vfn]pkfox? agfpb\g\ta; Dd åGå Joj :yfkg Ps rbf]lk\of{sf0{e0g}/xG5 . åGåx? ; fgf xf] \of 7hf, To; sf ; dfwfgsf]kl\qmoif jf:tj df p:t}p:t}g]xf]. km/s olt xf] 7hf åGåx?df 7hf-7hf /fli60\c\ft/fli60 zlQmx? ; m\lg /x\sf xG5g]eg]; fgf vfn]åGåx?df ; -; fgf ; d\g / zlQmx? ; m\lg ePsf xG5g\ hxf" Dd åGå ; dfwfgdf zflgt lzlfssf]el\dsf 5, Tof]c; fl\g dxTj k\of{xg}ub\\$.

; #f/sf l j le\g b\z / ; dfhx?nf0{l j Zn]f0f u/l x\sf]s\g}sg}Ps\sf]zsf]b]M65 eg]w\h; f] ; dfhx?df l j l j wvfn]efiff, ; :s[t, k/Dk/f / l j le\g hftfhtx?sf]cf-cfkmg}vfn]kl/ro / cl:t]j af\\$] a; \\$f]xG5 . hg ; dfhdf ; a}hghflt, efiff / ; :s[t]n]l j gfe\efj Pscfk; df ldn] a:g kfPsf xG5g\ jf:tj df tl ; dfhx? ; sf/flds / k\ltp\fdh xG5g\ t/ To; sf]l j kl/t cMk; \osx?sf]cl:t]j / klxrgfngf0{:j l sf/ gug\ cyft axdtsf]lgo\q0fdf j f cNkdt\sf]lgo\q0fdf a:g af\l b xg]; dfhdf åGåsf]l:ylt ; w\g/ hl6n xg]ub\\$.

dflyg}pNn\y ul/; s\\$f]5 ls zflgtlzlfssf p2]o / cj wf/0ff eg\\$f]; fdflhs l j sf; sf]lg]dt cfj Zos cfwf/e\et s\fx? Tof]>f\ h\g; \s\hftfht, ; :s[t / k/Dk/fx?; \u u\ff; \osPsf]xg ; Sb5, olb Tof]; sf/flds 5 eg]lagf lxRsr\fx6 To; nf0{l:j sfg{/ To; nf0{Joj xfl/s l x; fa\df ?kf\gt/0f ug\{xf]. zflgt lzlfssf]x/\\$ j:t\sf] :j?k / cl:t]j nf0{:j l sf/ ub\\$ . o; n]l; Sg]/ l; sfpg]s\sf eg\\$f]Ps lg\gt / ; xeflutfdh\ s\l qmof xf]e\g] s\fdf l j Zj f; ub\\$.

zflgt lzlfssf Ps ; sf/flds ; f\df cfwfl/t ; xeflutfdh\ s\l; Sg] l; sfpg] l j l w xf]. zflgtlzlfssf]cj wf/0ffleq vf; u/l zflgt, cg\l't, cf\l/s zflgt, ; xof\l ; b\efj gf; ; dfnff\gflds ; f\sf]f0{ clx\sf; ; fdbflos ; xof\l ; fdflhs / ; fdbflos Gofo, lbuf\j ftfj /0f / l j sf; clg åGå ; dfwfg h:tf s\fx? ; dflj i6 ePsf]xG5 . t/ zflgt lzlfssf laifoatx? ol s\fx?df dfq} ; lldt ge0{l j Bfnosf cf\krfl/s lzlfssf; \u ; DalGwt kf7\q\rdx?; \u klg ; DalGwt 5 . zflgt lzlfssf] df\l\bdx? j f ; fdullx?sf] s\sf ubf{ j f:tj df zflgtj fl6sf, c\ft/j Bfno ; f\ts l j lgdo, zflgt cleofg / lzlj/x? kg\{; Sb5g\ o; afx\\$, ; d:ofu\sf l f\g\?sf]hfgsf/l, :ynut e\p\of; ; xof\l x?sf]cfbfg-k\pfg / åGåk\ll8tx?sf]lg]dt ; xof\l cf\l b s\fx? klg kb\\$.

; Gbe{l j Zn]f0f

## Ij Bfno egf{cleofg / o; sf]; fy\\$tf

clxn] Dd klg sl/a !# k\ltzt afnaflnsf l j Bfno af\lx/ /x\sf]; /sf/l cf\\$8f 5 . u\}; /sf/l ; :yfx?n] ; f\h\lgs u/\\$f] t\yfa\\$nf0{ x\g\ x\eg] g\kfn\sf sh afnaflnsfx\ ; d\l\o] l j Bfno hfg] pd]sf Ps ltxf0 afnaflnsf lzlfssf] clwsf/af6 j\rt /l x/x\sf 5g\

p\q\m hfgsf/l g\kfn\sf a; a\\$f nflu lzlfssf]eg\]l j Zj Jofkl cleofgnf0{: fy\\$ agfpg lzlfssf]nflu l j Zj Aofkl cleofg\sf ; Gbe\sf hf/l k] l j 1\ktdf l bOPsf]xf].

l j 1\ktdf f/ ; g\!(( af6 z\z ePsf] o; cleofgdf yk} c\ft/fli60 ; h\fnx\z Pj + ; 3; :yfx\z sf] ; m\lg\sf /x\sf] 5 . o; l j Zj cleofgnf0{ g\kfn\sf k\efj sf/l t\l/sfn]

l j :tf/ ug\{lzlfssf; \u ; DalGwt, u\}; /sf/l -/fli60, c\ft/fli60 ; 3; :yfx\z ; /sf/l lgsfox\z, lzlfssf ; \u7g, ; \osQm /fli60\lo lgsfox\z, kqsf/ ; d\g u/l h\df @& j 6f ; 3; :yfx\z sf] ; m\lg\sf GCE g\kfn\sf u7g e0{l j le\g sfo\mdsf]cf\of\hgf ub\}cf0/x\sf] 5 . g\kfn\sf GCE sf]; \os\hgf afn>dlj ?4 l j Zj ofqsf]bl\l f0f Plzofnl ; l rj fnon] ul//x\sf] 5 . o; sf ; b:ox\z df PS; g P8, l; l j g g\kfn, s\g; g\g\kfn, Ph\z\ b l rN8g, lzlfssf kqsf/ ; d\g, \u\sf]n PSzg g\kfn, cf0Pncf]cf0Pkm; l8, lzlfssf l j efu, PdP; g\kfn, g\kfn /fli60 lzlfssf ; \u7g, knfg g\kfn, /l8, \z d 6' /l8, /udfs\ k\mp08\z g, ; f\g\o ldl8of, ; \p b l rN8g gj\ ; \p b l rN8g oP; ; \t\l u\sf; , oPgl8lk, o\j\sf] olg; \k\m oP; ; l g\kfn, leP; cf] g\kfn, l j Zj lzlfssf /

8ANFPknKL /x\$]f 5g\ l]j 1ktdf elgPsf]5, klo\$ z]fs ; qsf]z?df o; cleofg cgtuf l]j Bfno egf{cleofgdf klg ; ~rfng xb}cfPsf]5 .

klo\$ j if\$] clk]h dlxgfd] l]j Zj e/l dgf0g] l]j Zj Jofkl sfo{ktfxsf] ; Gbe]f gkfndf klg l]j legg hgr]gfdhs / k]f/flds sfo{qndsf] cfot]hgf u/l ; g\@))# af6 dgf0b}cf0Psf]5 . o; qnddf o; j if{ clk]h @# b]v @( tfl/v tbg; f/ @)^\$ ; fn a]fv !) b]v !^ ut]; Dd ; DkGg ePsf]5 .

o; j if{ adfgj clwsf/sf } kdf lz]ff] eGg] dh laifo / az]fs clwsf/sf]nflu hbf] eGg] l]j Zj Jofkl dh gf/fsf cfwf/df l]j legg sfo{qndx; th]f ePsf lyP . of] cleofgsf] klxn]f lbg kqsf/ ; Dd]hgsf] cfot]hgf ul/Psf] lyof] eg] @% clk]h @))& tbg; f/ !@ a]fv @)^\$ df l]j Bfno hfg gkfPsf afnaflnsfx;sf k]fdf lau r]y df0tl3/df -dfgj ; fa]h]f]k]f]g lyof] . To; sf] ; fy} glitut ?kd} klg afnaflnsfsf] lz]ffsf] clwsf/nf0{/fHo, gful/S ; dfh tyf /fhg]ts bnx?n]dVo kfylstfdf kfg{ kg] laifodf o; lf]sf l]j 1x? /

; /f\$]f/j fnfar Ps sfo{fnfsf] ; d] cfot]hgf ul/Psf]lyof].

l]j ut s]l j if]v dgf0b} cfPsf] of] cleofg lgZrok]g ; r]gf clea]4 ug{ ; km ePsf] dflg]5 . oBlk, o; n] hg ?kdf ; fy\$ kl/0ffd Nofpg' kb]of] Tof] eg] gkf0Psf] o; } lf]sf l]j 1x?sf] l]j Zn]ff] 5 . vf; u/l l]j Bfno egf{cleofgn] dh]sf] clwsf] efu cf]u6\$]f] u]dl]f ; dbfosf afnaflnsfnf0{ vf; } ; d]g g; s]\$]f] ubf; f] klg o; } cleofg rln/x\$]f] cj :yfdf ; f] h]gs ePsf] lyof] . To; sf] ; fy} cleofg dh]M s]b]l]o txdf dfq} ; l]dt ePsf]/ o; n] b]sf Ps ltxf0 afnaflnsf hf] l]j Bfno aflux/ 5g\ ltglx?nf0{l]j Bfnodf egf{s; /l ug] eGg] ; Gbe]f :ki6 glit / sfo{qndnf0{ Nofpg g; s]\$]f] ubf; f] klg b]vPsf] 5 . To; sf] ; fy} l]j Bfyl]f0{ l]j Bfnodf Nofpg' jf egf{ ug{ dfq} ; d:osf] lgbfg gx] ; Sb5 . dh s/f t pglx?sf] l]j Bfnodf lg/ct/tfdf w]fg lbg cem a9l cfj Zostf xf] .

afn ; /f\$]f/ 8\$;

afnclwsf/ ; DaGWL ; DkOf{hfgsf/Lsf nflu kfl]fs /]8of]klqsf

## afn rf]f/l

cf0taf/ ah]sl ^ b]v ^\$% ah] Dd /]8of]; u/dfyf PkmPd !)@ yf]nf]\$ d]fxh]f

cjzo ; Ggxf] \

; Gbe]Wlli6o glit

rfn"bzf]k~rj if]b /fli6o of]hgfdf lz]ffsf]k]f] wfg

lz]ff lf]sf] bl3\$fnlg cj wf/0ff / gf]of]hgf cj lwdf lz]ff lf]df ePsf] pknAwL / l]j Bdfg r]f]l ; d]nf0{ w]fgdf /fvl bzf]of]hgfdf lz]ff lf]sf dVo-dVo p2]o, glit / sfo{qndx; lgDgfg' f/ lgwf]f ul/Psf 5g\

p27o M

!= ; flf/tf, /flf/f0/, cfodhs / hlj gfkofjl cgfkrfi/s lzlf sfognd ; rfng u/l lj zjft lk5l8psf ; dbfo tyf dlxnfsf]hlj :t/ psf:g d2t klofpg]  
@= bzlj sf; sf] cfj Zostf cg'k u0:t/oQm lzlfssf]lj sf; / lj :tf/ ug]tyf u0:t/lo kfyls lzlfnnf0{ ; j { he agfpg]  
#= bzlj sf lglDt cfj Zos cfwf/e't tyf dlbdt/lo ; lkoQm k1lj lws hgziQm cflkt{ug}  
\$= bzlj sf; j fN0f lj sf; sf nflu cgt/fli60 kdf klt:kwt{ug{; Sg]tyf /fli60 cyfGqdf 6]f klofpg]blf hgziQm pTkfbgsf lgldQ dfgj ; zfwg lj sf; u/l ul/al p6dhgsf lglDt cfly\$ tyf ; fdflhs lj sf; ug{ lzlfnnf0{; zQm dfllbdsf] kdf pkofjl ug}  
%= u0:t/lo lzlfssf]kl/efiff / dfkb08sf]lj sf; Pj +kl/dfhg ub{; f]sf cfwf/df lzlfssf ; a}txsf lgsfonf0{ g]tj lng ; Sg]tN0f lhDd]f/l ; Dkg]/ o; sf]lgldt ; kl/j ]f0f, cgludg / dNofaSg k4ltsf] ; b0ls/0f ug\$ ; fy}; a}txdf lzlf0f cgdltkq Joj :yf nfu"u/l kfyls lj Bfno lzlfssf]Gojtd zNfs ofootf kdf0fkq tx / tflnd clgj fo{ug{kff/sf]lj sf; ug}  
^= ; a\$fnflu lzlfssf]; Gbedf dlxnf tyf ckfaNsfsf]nflu lzlfssf]cj ; /x]df kxlt a9fpg lj zjf Joj :yf ug}  
&= bzd df cfj Zos kg{; lfd, ; j n / cgzfl; t hgziQm tof/ ug{ojf kl/rfng tyf vjhsb lj sf; ug}  
afn ; /f\$ / 8\$;

kzgfQ/ M

kzgM afnaflnsfsf]lzlfssf]clwsf/ eg\$fs]xf]<

- Ogbfj tl pkjl  
sfeknf~rf\$, agkf .

lzlf kfpq' afnaflnsfsf] g} lu\$ clwsf/ xf]. afnclwsf/ ; DaGwl dxf; lgw !(\* ( df lzlf s:tf] xgkb5 eGg]af/ff ; d] pNny ul/Psf]5 . ; lkdf dxf; lgwsf] wf/f @\* / @ (n) kfyls lzlfnnf0{ lgMNs / clgj fo{ agfpkgk] x/\$ lgod sfggn] afnaflnsfsf] cl:tj sf] ; Ddfg /Vgkg] lzlf afnaflnsfdf ; d' bf/l, zflgt / ; lx0ftfsf]efj gf a9fpg] / JolQmj lj sf; ug{ vfnfsf]xgkg]h:tf s/fx?nf0{; d]f]5 .

o; y/l gkfnfsf]cfftl/s ; ljwfg @)^# n] klg afnaflnsfsf] lzlfssf] g} lu\$ clwsf/nf0{ afnaflnsf / bzlj sf] ejjiosf] ?kdf :j lsf/l afnaflnsfsf]nflu lzlfssf]clwsf/nf0{kfyldstfsf ; fy Joj :yf u/\$f]5 . cftl/d ; ljwfgdf df]ns xs leq afnaflnsfsf]lzlfssf]clwsf/nf0{kfvtfsf] ; fy Joj :yf u/\$f]5 . h; df afnaflnsfn]cfk] dft[efifdf cfwf/e't lzlf kfpq]xssf]Joj :yf u/\$f]5 . o; y/l /fHoaf6 sfgbdf Joj :yf eP adf]hd dfllbds tx; Dd lgMNs lzlf kfpq] xs xg] Joj :yf ul/Psf]5, eg] /fHosf]lgblzt l; 4f]tdf cflbjf; l hghflt / k5fl8 k/\$f]kl/Psf] ; dbfosf afnaflnsfsf] nflu lzlf, ; j f:Yo, cfj f;, vfb; k]tf / /f]huf/ldf lgIzrttfsf] nflu cf/lf0fsf] Joj :yf u/l cfly\$

tyf ; fdflhs {kn]lk5l8psf cflbjf; l hghflt, dwzl, blnt nufot l; df]tsf] ; dbfo tyf ul/alsf] /yfdlgsf dhb/ ls; fgsf] pTyfg ug{ glit /fHon]cj nDag ug\$, egl Joj :yf u/\$f]5 . o; l sfgbdf Joj :yf u/l afnaflnsfsf] lzlfssf]clwsf/nf0{kfyldstfsf] ; fy p7fpb]; a} afnaflnsfsf] lzlfssf] ; lgIzrttfsf] ug{ /fHosf] bfloTj / afnaflnsfsf] g} lu\$ clwsf/ xf]. afnaflnsfsf] lzlfssf] cfwf/e't clwsf/sf] ; lgIzrttfsf] nflu /fHoaf/f ; a\$fhflu lzlf cleofg cftut @)!% ; Dddf ; a]hf0{ ; flf/ agfpg] cleofgsf] ; fy ; /sf/ lzlfssf] nflu lj Zj Jofkl cleofg sfo]ndx?n] lj Bfno egf{ cleofg, lj Bfno :j fut sfo]nd dfkmf ; a\$]f] nflu lzlf To; df klg afnaflnsfsf] lzlfssf] g} lus clwsf/sf]nflu lgmofzln /x\$f]5 . o; l xbf{ afnaflnsfn] kfvtfsf ; fy lzlf kfpq' kb5 . of]pglx?sf]cfwf/e't clwsf/ xf].

kzgsf]nflu xfd]7ufgf M

afn ; /f\$ /, l; lj g gkf

OdjhMcwinpublication@gmail.com

*afn dgtlj 1fg*

## *pkjlf afnaflnsf / lj Bfno lzlf0f lj lw*

xfdf] dhlsleq cem ax' \os 3/k/l/j/f/df afnaflnsfx\_ pkjlf 5g\ silt 3/k/l/j/f/a/f t tl pkjlf ckkjht afnaflnsfx\_ knfog ePsf 5g\ zx/ ahf/sf ; 8sx\_ df cf0kujsf 5g\

k/l/T0Qm pkjlf tyf dfof-ddtf gkfPsf afnaflnsfx\_ dgleq lg/Gt/ bM/l /xG5g\ o; /l bM/l /xG5g\ dlb]s; \$f]cfstl/s zlqm k/j n 5 eg] p; n] lj blx u5{. oyfl:ylt; u kltsf/ u5{. pH08 afgl Joxf]f, r]l, c; Toj flbt / lgddtf h:tf u0fx\_ oyfydf ckkjht / k/l/ofus} k/l/0ffd tyf pkhx\_ xg\ . o; /l ldns\$ afnaflnsfx\_ ; dfhleq gsf/flds xG5g\ / o; ; dfhdf kltli7t ePsf xnf0{l; Nk6 ; flj t ug{ lh:sfpg, x0' x]fg agfpbg / cfmkt/ cfs[6 ug{ lg/Gt/ ; kdf nfluksb5g\ pkjlf dlb]sg}eg] ltglx\_ xlgefj gfn] ul; t xG5g\ / p0/f0/ ktgsf]af6fljt/ 3r]665g\ kmtM pbf; , lrgtt, Jolyt baf / emgAemg bM/vt aGb}hff5g\

o:tf cefj ujt / kll8t afnaflnsfx\_ zf/l/s ; kdf klg /fjl xb' ; jeflj s 5 . sf]6a4tf, clt; f/, chl0f/ ; clgbf h:tf /fjn] ; tf0Psf xG5g\ loglx\_ . zf/l/s ; u0ftfn] / sltdf dgf]u0ftf ; dt k]z u/\$f] xG5 . dfofddtfaf6 j1-rt / hf]vd kl/l:yltdf aftyf afnaflnsfx\_ kflom lbj f;j kgbz{ xg yf5g\ . lbj f;j kglt/ 8Ag\ df Joj ; flos ; lksf]lj sf; xb] / qmdzm o:tf ; j kgbz{ ; hlj gsf]jf:tlj stfl; t 8/fpg yf5g\ o:tf afnaflnsfx\_ df ; d:ofl; t ; fdgf ug{lx0dt ; hf]b}hff5 . o:tf afnaflnsfx\_ sf nflu hlj gdf /fdf-/fdf s/fx\_ l; Sg Tolt ; lhnf kb] .

afnkkgdf bM/cj ; /sf uylx\_ lj sl; t xgh] silt afnaflnsfsf] t lhgbulg]lj iffbd0 aGklg ; Sb5 . ; dodf dgf]f/l/s lrlst; f Pj +j ftfj /f ; wf/ xb' g; Sd]f o:tf l:yltsf afnsx\_ elj iofd ; fRr]rf], 8sf, xtof/f cfbl klg aGg ; S5g\

o:tf k/l/T0Qm / hf]vd l:yltsf afnaflnsfx\_ nf0{sg}JolQm ; yf jf lxt]l s; h] lj Bfnodf egf{u/f0 k9f0sf]Joj :yf ldnf0 lbbf / ; dfhsf cfo ; fdflo l:yltsf afnaflnsfsf ; fy /f] k9f0 ; ~rfng ubf{ ; d:of silt xb; Dd ; dfwfg xG5 t < o; k7gsf] p0/ dgf] flgs cfwf/df dfq vflg ; lsG5 .

xfdf] ; fdflhs ; Argfd ax' \os lzlfssx\_ cfmkt} cflys ; fdflhs b'fj :yfaf6 kll8t, kfl8t 5g\ / hflu/sf] afnbtf 7fg] lgwfl/t kf7aqnd tyf kf7ak:tssx\_ df c8sl/xG5g\ . :j flwg ; kdf ; f]lj rf/ ug{lj Zn]f0f ug{kmt b, ; lr / zlQm kflom lzlfssx\_ df 5g\ . silt lzlfssx\_ cfsnsf afnaflnsfx\_ sf] afgl Joxf]f b]y] lbg 5g\ ltglx\_ dlb]silt t a9l l/ ; fp5g\ klg . o:tf lzlfssx\_ ; fRr]egg] xf]eg] cfmkt} dfgl; s ; Gthg udfPsf l:yltdf xG5g\ . o:tf lj r/f lzlfssx\_ ; lj kgg afnaflnsfx\_ nf0{aemg / kffj sf/l ; xofu lbg ; Sb]g\

hf]lzlfssx\_ ; cfmkt} l:yltklt ; Gt]6 5g\ / afnaflnsfklt ; r] 5g\ ltglx\_ X]boblvg] afnsnf0{ dgk/fpg ; S5g\ / afnlk0 klg aGg ; S5g\ ltglx\_ afnaflnsfx\_ sf ; fdlxs tyf j0lQms l:ylt / ; d:ofx\_ sf af/dif lj rf/ lj dz{ ug{ ; S5g\ ; d:ofsf] ; xl ; dfwfg klxNofpg ; S5g\ / afnaflnsfx\_ nf0{ vzl agfpbg ; lfd xG5g\ o:tf lzlfssx\_ k] gg / hf]l/nf bM/G5g\ ltglx\_ cfmkt} nf0{ vzl, zflg / lg/fjl cg ej u5g\ . To:tf lzlfssx\_ ; cfj Zos lrgtf] ; tfpb] . lzlfssx\_ ; cfmkt} dfq] lsg < hf] ; s}dfg; klg olb p afnlk0 5 / s]fs]lx\_ ; t xf' vj ug{/Dg ; S5 eg]p; nf0{ cgfj Zos lrgtf / 8/n]; tfpb] / To:tfnf0{kflom X]bo/fu h:tf 3fts /flx\_ nfluksb5g\ . nfuf} ePklg l56f]lgsf]xG5 .

jefj tM lzlfssx\_ ; lrgtgzln lqmfzln / lj s]l xbkb5 . ; xl / /df0nf] xbk5{ . ; g]zln xbk5{ . lzlfssx\_ ; cfmkt} 5fq5fqfx\_ sf] ; jeflj s JolQm]sf] klxrgf ug{ ; Sgk5{ . o; sf nflu lzlfssx\_ ; d]f]sfj rflxG5 . xtf/ gu/lsg sfd ug{ ; Sg] w0{ lzlfssx\_ ; d]f]sfj rflxG5 . xtf/ ubf{sfd lau] ; S5 . sfd ubf{ t'; Gt} sg} kl/0ffd klg xtf/g' jf-5glo xb] . lzlfssx\_ ; f]lj rf/ k]ofP/ lg0f6df klg / cfmkt} lg0f6nf0{ /fd/l hflg klg hffg}k5{ . d]f]sfj sg s/f ; dft\$]f]5'/ To:df s; /l ; kmntf k]kt ug{ ; lsG5 eg]af/] ; r] ; f] / b]tf rflxG5 lzlfssx\_ ; d]f]sfj lzlfssx\_ ; cfmkt} JolQm]lj lf]k /

cfrf/ ; DaGwl ; d:ofx<sub>2</sub>sf] ; fdfGo Ij Zn[if of u/] ; GtI6 xg ldNb<sub>2</sub> . To:tf Joj xf/x<sub>2</sub>sf] k]s >f<sub>2</sub>x<sub>2</sub>sf] klg vfhlag ugk5{ / cfj Zos hfgsf/l Ingk5{. Ij s[tsf sf/0f kmhf k/kI5 lg/fs/0fsf pkoQm pkfox<sub>2</sub> kmhf kg{ ; S5g\ o; /l pkfo kmhf kfg{ / afnaflnsfnf0{ :gkk0f

af6fdf Nofpg' afnaflnsfk[tsf] dxfg\ lzIfslo bflotj xf].

k|ttl - zf/bf/d0f gkf

# ;**dGgt, ; d4, gof"gkf** !

kl/jf/, ; dbfo / /fi6df, dlxnf, k?ifalr xg]

eBefj x6fP/ dfq}; Dej 5 .

; dfg Joj xf/ cfh}yfnf}!!



; Gbe{

kl/jltf cj :yfdf afnaflnsf zflgt lfq xg  
laifos /fli6@ 5nkmaf6 hf/l]

ckln



bzsf] cfdh kl/j tgsf] nflu hgtfsf] ; lqmo ; xeflutfdf ; DkGg hgcfbbfhg-@ sf] ; kmnf kZrft Ps bzs ebf nfdf] ; z:q ågsf] cGto e0{zflgt :yfkgsf] klgmofsf] ; ?j ft[n]cf d gful/sdf yk}cf; f / e/f] f l; hgf ePsf]5 . elj ionf0{; Gb/ / ; bø agfpqsf nflu rflnPsf] klo\$ kl/j tgsfd sbdx?df ; dfhsf cfwf lx:; f cfu6\$ / lhj gsf] ; Dj Bglzn cj :yfdf /x\$ afnaflnsfsf laifonf0{klyldstfdf /flvg'kb5 ebg]; Gbe{f, Ps bzsebf nfdf] ; z:q ågsf] cGto ub{goff gkfnsf] kl/sNkgf ; fy ; DkGg axb\ zflgt ; enf]fdf pNn]vt afnaflnsfsf]clwsf/ ; DaGwl afbfsf]:d/0ub{ cGt/d ; Jwfg-@)^#df dfhs xs leq ; dfai6 afnaflnsfsf]xssf]:d/0f ub{

; z:q ågsf klfx?; fu cfj 4 afnaflnsf ; Dj Gwl kyl; l; 4fGt-@))& klt /fHoåf/f bzfqPsf kltj 4tfsf] :d/0f ub{ ; Jwfg ; ef lgj fgsf nflu k|tflj t cfr/; ktfdf afnaflnsfsf] kofu ; Dj Gwl pNn]vt kij wfgx?sf] :d/0f ub{

xfn}cgtl/d ; /sf/af/f lj wflosf ; #bdf k|t t ; /sf/sf] sfod|mddf lj Bfno nufotNff0{lx+fdQm zflct  
:ynsf ?kdf sfod ul/g§ eGg]abfsf]:d/0f ub{  
/fHon]cgdf§ u/\$f afnclwsf/ ; DaGWL ; eQm /fli6o 3lo dxf; GWL nufot cGo cft//fli6o tyf lf§lo  
dx; GML 3f]f0ff / k|ta4tfx?sf]:d/0f ub{  
tyf lautsf]åådo cj :yfdf klg ; /sf/, /fhg]ts bnx?, tTsfnlg lab§L klf nufotaf/f afnaflnsf  
zflct lf§ xg]eGg]dfgotf / afnclwsf/sf]; Af0f k|t bzf]Psf]k|tj 4tfx?sf]:d/0f ub{

æk/j lt{ cj :yfdf afnaflnsf zflct lf§ xg]eGg]cj wf/0ff ; Dj Gwl l; lj g gkfnaf/f @(-#) r§, @)^# df  
sf7df08f]f cf0f]ht /fli6o 5nkln sfod|mddf ; xeflu ePsf xfdl lj leGg lhNmfsf afnclwsf/sf] ; Af0f /  
k|wgdf lqmfzln /lxcfPsf ; 3 ; #yf, lgsfosf k|t lglwx?, l; #} /fli6o goff gkfn lgdf]fsf]; 3f/df cf0klu\$]f]o;  
3l8df b§ ; #fngsf] kdf cleef/f af§\$f kdf cf7 /fhg]ts bnsf s§b§ k|t lglwx?dfkmt ; Dk0f{bn tyf  
; /sf/ Pj d\cGo ; a} ; /f§f/j fnf, klf, lgsfo; fu afnaflnsf; DaGw lgDg laifox?df k|ta4tf hgfpfb] ; f§f]  
Joj xfl/s sfoffj ogsf nflu lj z§f kxn ug{xflb§ cg/]f ub§f].

!= zflct tyf kblgdf]f k|qrofsf ; fy}; du]/fli6o lasf; sf]k\$bfdf afnclwsf/sf]; j fnnf0{pRr kfyldstf  
lbg tyf o; qmddf afnaflnsfsf]; j f]Qd lxtsf nflu afn; xeflutsf]; lgZrttf ug{.

@= cf; Gg ; lj wfg; efsf]; Gb§df /fhg]ts :j fy§f nflu afnaflnsfsf]:j feflj s lasf; df awf kg]ul/ kof§  
gug{tyf cGo sb§lg glxt ;j fy§f]lg]t s; #]klg afnaflnsfsf]; j f]Qd lxt laki/t pglx?sf]kof§  
gug]; lgZrttf ug{Pj d\æfnaflnsf zflct lf§ xg]eGg]dfgotfnf0{; a}]; #sf/sf ?kdf lasf; ul/  
; f]cg?k Joj xf/ ug{.

#= ; a} /fhg]ts bnn] cfk]f 3f]f0ffkqdf afnaflnsfsf] lj ifonf0{ ; dfj § ug{ tyf ; lj wfg; efd  
afnaflnsfsf]cfj fh ; Gg]/ ; f]f0{oyf]rt dfgotf lb0g]; eGqsf]lgdf]f]ul/ goff ; lj wfgdf afnclwsf/  
; lgZrt ug{k|tj 4tf hfx] ug{.

\$= cfwf/e]t afnlz]ffnf0{clgj fo{/ lg]z]ls ug§f ; fy}To; nf0{u0f:t]l/o, hlj gf]kof]l / a]flgs agfpg,  
zflct lz]ff / zflct ; #sf/sf]lj sf; ug{tyf lj Bfnonf0{clj]5Gg ?kdf sb§lg lsl; dsf]/fhg]ts tyf  
; z:q sf/afxl / lx;fdQm zflct lf§f ?kdf 3f]f0ff u/l ; f§f]sfoffj og ug{tyf sb§lg axfgfdf  
laBfnosf]; hf? ; #fngdf cj/]f l; hg]f gug{.

%= Affnaflnsf dfly e0/x§f ; a]fn]zf]f0f, pTk]8g / b]o]xf/nf0{ cGt]o ug{ goff P§, lgod, glt /  
cfrf/; lk]fsf]lgdf]f] / ; f]f0{Joj xf/df ?kf]t/0f ug{tyf Hff]vd Pj dNaz]f kl/l:ylt]f afnaflnsfsf]  
l:ylt ; wf/ ug{pglx?nf0{; f]kl/l:ylt]f dQm ug{k|t/]f]ds, ; Af0ff]ds / ; fdflhs kg]Ps]s/0fnf0{  
kfyldstf lbg .

= afnd]ob/ 36fpg jf /f§yfd ug{/ afn:jf:Yo k]4§ ug{/fli6o cleofgsf] yfngl u/l ; f§f] lg]t  
lg]z]ls, clgj fo{/ ; xeflutsf]s ; jf:Yo ; jf pknAw u/fpg .

&= Affnaflnsfsf]lxt / clwsf/ ; Da4§ xg]gof" gkfn agfpg afn; he kl/jf/, afn; he lj Bfno, afn; he  
upf, afn; he zx/sf]cj wf/0ff lj sf; u/l To; nf0{Joj xf/df ?kf]t/0f ug{.

\*= Affnlj sf; / afnclwsf/sf] laifonf0{ dhk]flxs/0f ug{ #afnclwsf/ ; a]sf] ; /f§f/#sf] cj wf/0ffnf0{  
clusf/ u/l Joj xf/df ptfg{ /fli6o sfod|mddf / ah]df afnaflnsfsf nflu laz]f Joj :yf ug{tyf  
afnaflnsfsf ; Gbe§f lj Bdfg ; a}vfn]lj e]nf0{cGt]o ug{n]ls ; dfgtf / ; dfj §ls/0fsf]l; 4f]tnf0{  
Joj xf/df ptfg{.

(= afnaflnsfnf0{; z:q k]f]h jf ; d]x; fu sb§lg 9un]cfa4 gx§]; lg]zrt ug§f ; fy}xfn cfj 4 ePsf  
tyf ; z:q åGåaf6 k]l8t ePsf afnaflnsfnf0{kl/jf/s k]ld§g / ; fdflhs kg]Ps]s/0f tyf z]f]s  
lg]t/tf Pj d\hj g lg]f§df ; xof§ ug{.

!)= cnkq 5f8lPsf, ; / lft e08f/0f gul/Psf, o4sf qmddf kpfu e} la:knfg gePsf tyf hldgdf  
 la5df0Psf lj :knfs kbfy\$] Joj :yfkg tyf lglqols/0f ug{Pj +; f6 xg] hflvd Goqls/0f ; DaGwl  
 Jofks hgr}gf sfoqmd ; ~rfng ug{/ ; f6 kll8t afnaflnsfsf]lgMNs pkrf/df ; xofu ug{  
 #) r}g, @)^#, sf7df08f}

ए

परिवर्तित अवस्थामा  
 "बालबालिका शान्ति क्षेत्र हुन्"  
 राष्ट्रिय छलफल कार्यक्रम  
 २९-३० चैत्र २०६३

प्रतिवद्धता

सिविन नेपालद्वारा २९-३० चैत्र २०६३मा काठमाण्डौमा आयोजित "परिवर्तित अवस्थामा बालबालिका शान्ति क्षेत्र हुन्" विषयक राष्ट्रिय छलफल कार्यक्रमको निचोडका रूपमा देशका विभिन्न जिल्लाका बालअधिकारको संरक्षण र प्रबन्धनमा कियाइले रहिएएका सभ सम्प्रति निकायका प्रतिनिधिहरूद्वारा आज मिति ३० चैत्र २०६३मा देशका प्रमुख आठ राजनीतिक दलहरू राम्रक व्रस्तुत गरिएको अपीलमा उठाइएका विषयहरूमा हामी यस कार्यक्रममा सहभाग भएका आठ राजनीतिक दलका प्रतिनिधिहरूको गम्भीर ध्यानाकर्षण भएको छ । हामी हाम्रो दलका तकाढाट बालअधिकारको संरक्षण र प्रबन्धन गर्नेका लागि उक्त अपीलमा उठाइएका विषयहरूको लायोन्क्यग नर्त आवश्यक पहल गर्ने प्रतिवद्धता जाहिर गर्दछौं ।

राजनीतिक दल	प्रतिनिधिको नाम	हस्ताक्षर
१) नेपाली कार्यसङ्ग	मुर्लीकुमार सैमा खिल्लु	मुर्लीकुमार सैमा खिल्लु
२) नेकपा (एमाले)	शान्ता लालादी	शान्ता लालादी
३) नेकपा (माओवादी)	टीला ताला उला	टीला ताला उला
४) नेपाली कार्यस (प्रजातान्त्रिक)	प्रजातान्त्रिक	प्रजातान्त्रिक
५) जनमोर्चा नेपाल	दानबेहाम अमरी पौडेल	दानबेहाम अमरी पौडेल
६) नेपाल सद्मावना पार्टी (आनन्दीदेवी)		
७) नेपाल मजदुर किसान पार्टी		
८) चामसोचारी	तिमूर राज उपाधि	तिमूर राज उपाधि

afnx¶knf0g-g¶fn ; ~rfng ug¶k¶qmoф ; ?



sf7df08f} af; ÷t!sfnlg kl/l:y!tdf /x\$!f afnaflnsfnf0{  
t!sfn /fxt tyf dgf!j dz{ ; }f Pj+ ; A!f0f k!fg ug{ afn  
x!knf0g ; ef/De ul/g]ePsf]5 . lgmz!ls 6!hkrf! ; }f pknAw xg]  
pQm x!knf0gsf]gDa/ !)(\* /x\$!f]hfgsf/l cfh /fhwfglf cfot!ht  
Sfo!nddf lboPsf]lyof].

dlxnf afnaflnsf tyf ; dfhsNofOf d\$qfno, s@lo afnsNofOf  
; ldlt, l; l j g-gkfn, knfg gkfn tyf ; ø b lrN8g gjh] ; øQm?kdf  
cfotgf u/\$f]pQm sfogrrddf dlxnf afnaflnsf tyf ; dfh sl\$ofOf d\$ql v8saxfb/ l j Zj sdfr]øgof" gkfn  
lgdfQf ug{qrrddf afnaflnsfsf]laifonf0{kfyldstf lbgkg]atfpgeof]. pxfn]afnaflnsfsf]l j sf; / /lf ug  
s/f /Hon] lhDjf/l lbgkg]atfpgeof]. bzn] /hglts, ; fdflhs tyf cfly\$ ; d:ofnf0{ Joxfl/x\$fl]  
cj :yfdf afnaflnsfn]klg kl8f eflu/x\$fl]pxfr]atfpgeof].

sfo{nddf dlxnf afnaflnsf tyf ; dfh sNof0f dGqfnosf ; lrj k0ok}fb GofRfgjh}ædh{sf býf  
k/{f afnaflnsfsf hNbfaNbf ; d:ofsf af/dif sfo{fnfdf 5nkn ePsf] / o; af6 cfufdL lbgdf sf  
ug{; xofy xb]ck]ff ul/Psf]atfpgeof]. o:tf]; d:ofnf0{cfh}; dfwfg ug{g; s{kig qnd}ü)o; df ; sf/flds  
kl/j t{ ug{; lsg]atfpgeof]. g{kfnndf afnaflnsfsf]laifodf u}; /sf/l ; :yfn]u/\$f sfo{pNnýglo /x\$f]  
atfpgeof].

Sfoqnddf afnx]knf0g g]fn ; ~rfngsf] nflu ; /sf/l tyf c]o ; /f\$f/j fnfsf] e]dsf laifodf dlxnf afnaflnsf tyf ; dfh s]nof0f d]qfnosf pk; lrj Ct'fh e08f/ln] cj wf/0ffkq k]tt ug]eof]. cfk]f] cj wf/0ffkq k]tt ub{pxfh] g]fn nufot lj zj sf !%) e]bf a9l dh]sx?df x]knf0g ; ~rfngsf]nflu kxn / ; dg]o ul//x]\$f]5 . lj zj sf lj le]g b]x?df ; /sf/sf]:j f]dtj df /x]\$f] lg]z]s 6]nkrf] ; ]f dfkm] x]knf0gx?n] cfk]f] ; ]fx? k]fg ul//x]\$f] hfgsf/l lb]eof]. pxfh]15d]l /fi6«ef/tdf rf0N8nf0g 0lg8of kf]p08]g dfkm]b]el/ g]Pp6}x6nf0g !)(\* -bz gf] cf7\_ ; ~rfng xj nfu\$f]atfpgeof]. sfoqnddf knfg g]fnfsf /fli6@ lgb]s k] zsnf tyf ; ]b lrN8] gj {g]fnfsf sfoqnd lgb]s hut v8]fn)o:tf]6]nkrf] ; ]fn]hf]vddf k/]f afnaflnsfsf] p4f/ tyf /fxtsf]nflu c]ogt ; xof] ug{atfpgeof].

nf\$tflGqs clwsf/ eGgb}zIffsf]clwsf/



sf7df08f} af; ÷nf\$tfIgqs clwsf/ eGg} afnaflnsfsf] IzIffsf] clwsf/ ePsf] o; lfqsf cuj fx?n] atfpf 5g\ . df0tL3/ l:yt d08nfdf Ij Bfno hfg gkfPsf afnaflnsfx;sf kfdf lau rj -dfgj hlg/\_ kbfzg ul/Psf] sfoqnddf pQm s'/f atf0Psf] xf]. ;f] sfoqnddf afnaflnsf, cft/fli6@ ;hfnx; Pj + ;3; :yfx; IzIff; u ;DalGwt,u}; /sf/L -/fli6@, cft/fli6@\_ ;3; :yfx; ; /sf/L lgsfox; IzIfs ;u7g, ;eQm /fli6@3lo

lgsfox<sub>z</sub>, kqsf/ nufosf Ij leGg lgosfx?sf] pQm h<sub>h</sub>/ k<sub>b</sub>z<sub>g</sub> u/<sub>\$</sub>f xb\, lzlffsf] nflu Ij Zj Jofkl cleofgaf/f cfot\ht pQm sfoqnddf lzlf\ /fhod\ql df\gl; x/ f7f\y n] -\xfdf] lzlf\ gllt cem\lg cndnk0f{/x\\$f]/ o; sf] nflu 5\\$}gl\ Nofpgkg{atfpgeof]. ; fy}pxf\h]b\zsf]sh ah\sf]!^ kltzt lzlf\ nufgl ePtfklg of]cem\ Dd klg ck0f{/x\\$f]atfpgeof]. pxf\h]e\g\eo\]-\g\k\fn\df lzlf\sf]nflu cf\tl/s >f\sf] cltl/Qm c\o bft[gsfoaf6 7hf] ; xof\ ; d\ k\kt e0/x\\$f] atfpgeof]. t/ To; sf] Joj :ykgf x\ eg]; ls/x\\$f]5g\ .\.

; f]sfoqnddf lzlf\sf]nflu Ij Zj Jofkl cleofgsf g\k\fn\sf ; \fhs uf\yL k\yfgn\}ae\]nsf] lbgdf sb\}klg afnaflnsf lzlf\af6 j lg\rt xgxb\ . o; sf]nflu xfd\; a\k]k\ta4tf ug\kb\ . pxf\h]e\g\eo\]-\g\k\fn\sf] lgdf\ta; Dd ; ej 5g\ . ha; Dd afnaflnsfn] lzlf\ k\kt ug\gg\.\. pxf\h]gof" g\k\fn\sf] lgdf\ta; e\g\g\ afnaflnsfs]lzlf\sf]clwsf/sf]k\k\kt / ; lglZrtf; u u\; Psf]atfpgeof].

; f]sfoqnddf olg; k\k\sl /fli6\ k\l\glw lhl\og d\h; f\k\}alz\l\ df\gj clwsf/sf]cfwf/e\ t k\l ePsf]atfpgeof]. pxf\h]e\g\eo\] k\o\\$ afnaflnsfsfn] lgj f\w ?kdf kfpgkb\ . o; sf]nflu g\k\fn\df lq\o\z\ln Ij leGg lgsfox?n]xftdf xft ldnfP/ cufl8 a9\g\kb\ .

pQm sfoqnddf Ij Zj lzlf\sf /fli6\ lgb\z s lrhsdf/ >f\7n] -\g\k\fn\df l\j ut s\k\ j if\yv lzlf\sf s\k\ ; wf/ ePsf 5g\ . o\lk; a\} afnaflnsfx?n] :sh hfg kf0/x\\$f 5g\ . o; d\w\ klg aflnsf, afn>ldsx?sf]; \of eng\w\}/x\\$f]5 .\. pxf\h]lzlf\sf]; j fndf ; /sf/sf]gl\lt :ki6 gePsf]/ To; cg\ f/ sf\gl\lt klg gePsf]atfpgeof]. o; sf]nflu /f\h\on]d\vo lh\dd]f/L Ingkb\ .

; f]sfoqnddf aflnsf? euj tl yfkf/l\dnf af:s\}f tyf afns ; /f\h u/fuf0\} cfk\h] Ij leGg sf/0fn]ubf{:sh k9\ gkfPsf]atfpgePsf]lyof].

## afnof\ b\jo\xf/ lgo\q0f ug\; ~rf/ df\Wodn]Wofg lbgkg\}



l\Ps\]atfpgeof]. ; ~rf/ df\Wodsf]klg ; f\fl\hs bflo\j x\]ePsf]afnaflnssf]laifonf0{k\lg dx\j sf ; fy :yfg lbgkg\pxf\h]atfpgeof].

o; \l\ afn ; /f\\$f/ d-r g\k\fn\sf dxf; lrj Ij dnsdf/ yfkfn] ; ~rf/ df\Wodn]; r\}gf clea[4, 36gfsf]; f\h\gss/0f, laifos]cgludg tyf lgu/fgl, p\k\y\off tyf k\] ; fxg lbg]; Sg]atfpgeof].

sfoqnddf afn cfj fh\sf lgb\z s s\}f yfkfn]afnaflnsfd\ly ePsf of\ b\jo\xf/sf 36gf vf; ; f\h\lg\ s x\ g; s\\$f]atfpgeof]\. pxf\h]; f\h\lg\ ePsf sltko 36g\]df ; d\ ck/fw\lx?n]; Af0f kf0/x\\$f\h]kqsf/n]pglx?l\?4 snd rnfpkg\]atfpgeof]. ; f\h\ sfoqnddf gfcf]sf pk\Wof\ l\hoda\>f\7n]\~; ~rf/df\Wodn]gl\ltut ?kd\k\lg bafa l; h\ff ug\; Sg] ePsf]afnaflnsfsf]laifodf em\ \h\so\pg\ cfj Zos ePsf]atfpgeof].

# afnsnf0{oftgf

sf7df08f} af; ÷ wf/fsf] 66L kif]/lbPsf]  
eGb}Ps \* j if\$ afnsnf0{sf7df08f\$] afg]j /  
a:g] hfgsl Gofkgjh] hyfefjl s6kl6 u/l 3f0t]  
agfPsl l5g\ . s6kl6 kZrft afns dl5f  
cj:yfdf tTsfm al/ c:ktfnf] cfktsflng  
s1fdf klof0Psf] lyof]. afnsnf0{xft / sfhj]  
hyfefjl lxsffbf afnssf] cfvf, sfg /  
6fpsf]f uDe/ rfp klu\$] pkrf/df ; nlg  
lrlst; sn] atfPsf 5g\ . lrlst; ssf cg'f/  
afnssf]6fpsfsf]jffof efudf /ut hd\$]f] Ps  
dlxgfd; Dd klg pQm l:yltdf ; wf/ gcfP  
afnssf]dl:itisdf ; d] c; / kg{atf0Psf]5 .

36gfkZrft xfnnf0{ kl8slj?4 afnssl  
cfdf l6sfdf of ufwf/ln] sf7df08f} lhNnf  
cbfntdf dhsl Pjsf] s6lk6 dxn cftuf  
cfjzos lfltktl{/ sfqgl sf/afxlsf]nflu a\$fv  
!^ ut] d4f bfo/ u/\$l l5g\ . afnsnf0{ xfn  
l; lj g x]knf0gn]afnsnf0{dgf]j dz{: }f, :jf:Yo  
pkrf/ tyf sfqgl k/fdz{: }f pknAw u/f0Psf]  
pQm x]knf0gsf sfoqnd clwsf e/t clwsf/ln]  
atfpgeof].

; ~rf/ tfInd ; DkGg

sf7df08f} af; ÷l; lj g gkfnf ljeGg ljeufig lqmfzln hgziQm?nf0{ Ps lbg] ; ~rf/  
tfInd cfotkgsf ul/of]. pQm tfInd sfoqnddf ; dfrf/ nygsf]; fflgts / Joj xfl/s ; lk l; sf0Psf]  
lyof]. l; lj g hgziQm ljsf; sfoqndaf/f cfotkgsf ul/Psf] pQm tfInd sfoqnddf !# hgfn]  
; xeflutf hgfpf sfyP . sfoqndsf]; xlsls/0f l; lj g k\$ fzg ljeufsf sfoqnd clwsf ljdnsdf/  
yfkfn]ugEpsf]lyof].

; 8s afnaflnsfx?df ud ; 3y]bj{o{ g ; DaGwl sxl tYo

- ↳ l; lj gsf] clbog cg'f/ gkfnf sl/a %,))) ; 8s afnaflnsfx? /x\$]f 5g\ . h; dlb]  
sf7df08f}pklosfdf dfq)\$)) b]v ^)) sf]; Wfdf ; 8s afnaflnsfx? /x\$]f 5g\
- ↳ l; lj gn]; g@)) !df & 8s afnaflnsfx?df nfukbfy{tyf dlb/f ; ]gE sf]; DaGwdf u/\$f]  
clbogn]@% b]v () kltzt gkfnl ; 8s afnaflnsfx?n]sg}g sg}bj{o{ glsf]lzs]f/ xg]  
u/\$f 5g\
- ↳ gkfnf ud ; 3y]bj{o{ g ev{}dfq lelaPtf klg xfn\$]f clbog cg'f/ %!=& kltzt ; 8s  
afnaflnsfx?n]o; sf]kof] ug[u/\$f 5g\ h; dlb]!(& kltztn]lj ut @ aifb]v o; sf]  
kof] ug//x\$]f 5g\#\$=\$ kltztn]lj ut ! aifb]v kof] ug//x\$]f 5g\eg] @=&( kltztn]  
lj ut sxl dlxgb]v o; sf]kof] ug//x\$]f 5g\
- ↳ ud ; 3y]afgln]; 8s afnaflnsfx?df bj{o{ glsf]?k ln0; s\$]f]5 eg] o; sf]kof] shtsf  
?kdf ; d] kl0ft xg yfn\$]f]5 .
- ↳ r'f / /S; l glkpg]; 8s afnaflnsfx?n]klg o; sf]kof] ug[yfn\$]f 5g\

- o; sf kφfylustf{ ; 8s afnaflnsfx?sf cg' f/ o; sf] kφfylsf] c; /af6 Ij leGg vfn] ; d:ofx? bYf kg{ub5 . h; cg?k pglx?df cfld3ftl Joj xf/ bYglsf ; fy} ; fylx?alrdf ; dt cToGt}lx\*s / emu8fn':j ejf bYfpq]ub5g\
- clobog cg' f/ w]h; f]; 8s afnaflnsfx? nfukbfy\$]b]o{ g ud ; 3y]sfof6 ; ? ub5g\ clg Ij :tf/]cGo s8f lsl; dsf]nfukbfy\$]b]o{ gl xg kUb5g\
- afnaflnsfx?n]o; sf]kφfyl ugdf o; sf]pknlwtf ; :tf]dNodf hxfklg ; xh}xg' klg kφv /x\$]f]5 .
- ud ; 3y]b]o{ gn]dflg; sf]g; f / lbdudf k]olf c; / kfb5 eg] Ij leGg vfn]/f]x? ; dt lgDofpg]u/\$]f]5 .
- o; b]o{ gdf gnfu\$]f cGo ; 8s afnaflnsfx?df ; dt o; af/dif hfgsf/l ePsf]kf0Psf] 5 . h; dWb] \*% k|tzt o:tf ; 8s afnaflnsfx?n]cGo afnaflnsfx?n]ud ; 3\$]bY\$]f 5g\
- ud ; 3y]b]o{ gdf nfu\$]f ; 8s afnaflnsfx? cGo afnaflnsfx?af6 l; s] o; sf]kφfyl ug{ub5g\ . h; dWb] (%!= k|tztn] cfk]nf ; fylx?; u / && k|tztn]cGo ; fylx?af6 k]eflj t eP/ o; sf]kφfyl ub5g\eg]^)& k|tztn]blgs ud ; 3y]ub5g\

; #M:ylt k|tz]g, cfw/et tyf kfyls lzlff sfo\$]ig]fn ; /sf/, lzlff tyf v]hsb d]qfno / obj]sf]g]fn/l; Ij g/cf0-Pn-cf] / g]fn ckfE dx; 3/ s]bb] t]ofs Ij efu

## I; Ij g-g]fn / Knfg g]fn[sf]; fen]f/Ldf k\$flzt



I; Ij g-g]fn



Knfg-g]fn

; Dks{7yfgfM kf]a=g#\$&\$, /Ij ej g, sf7df08f}. OdjhMcwinpublication@gmail.com  
k]fV ; Nnfxsf/ M uf]L k]fg  
; Nnfxsf/x? M dfwj k]fg, tf/s lwtfn, ; IDgdf thfw/, ; j f] >]7, s]f/ e\$]f0{ /lZdnf zfSo  
Ij z]f ; xof] M z]e/fh kf]y/h, ; b]f/fo0f >]7, c~hgf k]fg, ; fu/ k]fg, ed/fh Itjf/L, blk]b|kl08t  
; Dkfbs M]jdnsdf/ yfkf