



j kpolb kf:fs;fl rpad;murpay;VL



kf:fs fNfmi dj J mj pfhuqfS k;

fhlj j pi f2000

, j a-20

"gz :l huti sary kplUf
ntwaphl;l k;
el j j pd tqfs i fJ
nraahk> mj wnfj puh
Nghuhl;l k; el j j pd
rej puNrfud
i fJ nraapwhqf;
, Jj hdhfFK; , tapdu
epahak;"
-rdj j pd; Fuy;

nj hl UK; mur gaqfuthj k!



nrawghLfi sAK; Ki dgghf
ei l Ki wggLj J fpdwJ. j kpkf:fs;pd;
Nghuhl l j j wF rpf:fs fhi l j j dNK
fhuz k; vdgg hf gpurrhuk; nraAK;
rej pufh>c z i kapy>mtuJ k; mtUfF
Kdda rpf:fs j i yi kf:spdJ k; murg
aqf:huthj NK tPl i yg; Nghuhl ;
l j j wfhhd tYthd mbj j sk; vdgi j
%b ki wffpdwhH.

nts;ggi l ahfNt J gghf:pf:fs k>
, UKG MAJ qfS k; gadgLj j p Nj H-
j yfs; ntyyggLf:pdwd. murpi d
t kHrpfFK; FuyfS k> vOj J ffS k;
vOJ gthfS k; eRf;fggLf:pdwdH.

Fwggfh>j kJ ml fFKi wMl rpfF j Rpu
Neub murpay; mrRWj j yhf fhZ k; ekJ
Nghuhl l i j Ak; ekJ Nj rj i j Ak; mojj ;
nj hogG nratj wfhd mi dj J tdKi w
toK i wfs k; fl l tpoj J tPl ggl Lssd.

, ej Aj j j j nty;tj wfhf NKYk;
rpqfs gi l fF gj j hapuk; Ngi u
j pul Ltj wfhd Maj j qfs; Gj pa
murhqfj j pdhy; nraaggLf:pdwJ. Nj rpa
murhqf k; mi kj J Aj j j j ntwwp
ngWkhW Nrh tpdj r moJ j qfs; mj pfuj J
tUf:pdwd. j Rpu , dthj pfNsh>

(nj hl Hrrp3MkgfFK)

Vyyh ml fFKi w muRfi sAK;
NghyNt> rpwpyqf:fh muRk; j d; mej pkf;
fhyj j py; mi dj J tdKi wf; fU-
t:rfi dAK; mj pfhuj J tj i j Ak; gmuNah-
fij J vj pHgGfi s ml ff j Rpu Kawrpay;
, wqf:AssJ. mj d; mj pfhuj J t>Mj pff
Mz pnti umWj nj wraf; \$baj hf j kpoB
tPl i yg; Nghuhl l k; tsHrrpfz L tUt-
j dhy>, gNghuhl l j j eH%yk; nraa
j kpo; d mojj gnrati j Nehff:NkYk;
xU mbi tj J ssJ. , j wnf d rpwpyqf:fh
murhdJ j hd; cUthff:pf:fnfhz l r l j
vyi yfi s j hz b> mur gaqfuthj

Nj rj j pd; Gj yt DfF mQryp!



<oj j kpuud; , yl ;

rpa tuyhwWg; gaz j ;
j py; ekNj rj j pd; Gj y;
t d; ekpyuh[d:pd; fU-
j pA; epi dTj j l kgj p
j J ssJ. , ej Gj yt-
DfFk; mt d; c wt p
dHfS fFK; j kpo; Nj r-
kkl l kyy rfy kf:fs k; j k; fz z R
mQrypi a nrYj J f:pdwdH. mt dJ
, yl rpa j j nj hl Htnj d ehk; Nj rkHf
c Wj pnhop vLj J f; nfhS Nthk;

l ej hk; gi l ahf:ptl l <g:rbg apd; <dr
nray; , J ntdgj py; l aj j wff:pl kpyi y.
gri rahapDk> eRkhapDk> rpf:fs murpd
ePl ggl l "j kpo" fuqf:spd; mggl l khd
J Nuhf nray; , J thfK; j B j J l d; j d
Nj rj j wffhf FuyfnhLj j pl l > j d; vOj ;
J f fi s j pdeNj hWk; mHggz pj j xU
Nj houpd; c api u , j ; J NuhffFKgy; gwj J
tPl J J. , ej nfhLi kff vj puh kdij.
Neak; nfhz l mi dtUK; %i y KLfFF-
nsqFk; FKwff; nfhej s j j dH.

Nfhi oj j dkhf nfhi y>vdw kughd
fz l z qfS l d; ehk; ek; vj pHgGfi s
nts;ggLj j pl y; kl l k; Nghj hJ. , ej
mff:pf:kqfs; mbNahL J i l j nj wagg
Ntz l k; , j wF vaj thfi s Kj ypy
J uj j pabff Ntz l k; \$l Nt> mkGfs
, lenj upahky; rpi j Ak; j pl l kpl l > nj sp
thd , yff nfhz l > wfdnt nraJ
tUtj d; nj hl Hrrpaf mi keJ tPl l
gLnfh i y , J. , dDKpdDK; nj hl ug
Nghf:pdw fUj J Ntli l apd; xU gFj p
, rnrayhFK; Nj rk; j dt:pojgi gAK; fz ;
fhz pgi gAK; dDKpdDK; gyggLj J tj d
%yNk , twwwF KbTf l l KbAK; mej
tpoggi g ekJ kf:fs; , gNghJ ngwW tPl ;
l dH. KdndgNghJ k; , yyhj thW kf:fs
FKwff; nfhej s j j f; nfhz buff:pdwdH.
kf:fs; kPhd Ntli l fs; KbtwF tUf:
dwJ. kf:fs;pd; Ntli l Mukgpf:pdwJ.
tuyhW j pUKGf:pdwJ.

Fuy:ti s newj j hYk; Fz Lfshy
rpi j j j hYk; rj j paj j pi d Gi j j J tPl
vj pufshYk> mthf:spd; Nj Henj Lf;
fggl l Kf thfshYk; xUNghJ k; KbahJ.
xU ekpyuh[d:pd; , uj j J spf:spy; , UeJ
Xuhapuk; FuyfS k; vOj J ffS k; Ki sj ;
J fnfhz NI , UfFK; vdgi j , dpt UK
fhyqfs; , thfS fF cz H j J k;

gz :l huty gLnfh i y:

tprhupffgg l Ntz bathmuRj j i ytp

, dndhUNj rj j j Mff:pf:kGrrnatJ vdgnj xU ghW hukhd murpay; FwwkhFK;
mgbapUf:f> Mff:pf:kff:fggl l ek; gmuNj rpf:spy; , UeJ ekktHfi s i fJ nraJ
, Oj J r; nrdW rpf:fs Nj rj j pd; kz z py; mi l j J i tj J tPl L> gpd; <uhapukNgi u Vtp
mbj J > vupA l bf; nfhi y nratJ rHtnj rNghHf:FwwkhFK; , J j hd; mthf:spd;
mfuhj pay; "GdHthotsj j y" MFk; c yf kdij hgkhdk; kWgbAk; , j i df; Fwj J f;
nfhssl Lk;

fhuZ fhj j hff:spd; murpay; j i ytp "nts:rrfj p:spd; nray;" vdgg hff; fhl b
j ggj J fnfh:spd:whH> vJ nts:rrfj p mtuJ Nj rj j j rNrhEj thfS j hNd , ej
, dntwaphf:fs; j i yt:pd; gi l ahl fsj hNd VwghLfi s frrj khf fz fhz pj j thfs;
mthf:spd; thfFfi sg; ngwWj j hNd , th muR mj pfhuj j j el hj j pf; nfhz buff:pd;
whH? nfhLi kfs; j i ytpuj j hba NghJ> mthf:spd; "MAJ k; j ujj j mfrfj p:fs"
vqNf Nghapd? rpf:fs gi l Ak> rpt:ypad:fs k; , i z eJ Nkwnfhz l > edF j pl l kpl L>
xOqfi kff:gg l , dmogNg , ej g: gLnfh i yfshFK; , t:thwhd , ufrpa \$l l , dwp
mojj ; nj hogG ntwrnrayfs; xUNghJ k; rhj j paggl hJ. Mapuj J nj hsshapuj J
l kgj j pvl byUeJ ekJ Nj rk; , ej mur gaqf:huthj j j > Ntli l ahl i y mDgtj J
tUf:pdwJ. mi l j j i tj J euNtli l el hj J tj py; , thfS; ehrrfS fF epf:uhd thfS;
, dntwrrrpej hej k; GwWNeahaf rpf:fs murpay; thj p:sp l k; , UeJ rpf:fs Fwwthsp-
S f; Fg; gut p j wNghJ rhj huz rpf:fs Fbkf:fs fF nj hwwpf:fnfhz l j Rpu k;

(nj hl Hrrp2MkgfFK)

ekfF Rj ej muk; fpi l j j

tpi l hy> ekNj rj j pd; murpay> r%f> Fwggghf nghUshj hu thotpd; mLj j fl i k; vdd? j wNgHJ <oj j kpi u c Yggpf; nfhz bUfFk; Kj di kahd Nfs;t pfsy; , J TnkhdwhFk; ek; Nj rk; xU khWk; fl i j j py; epwfpdWJ vdgj j c z Hej - tHfspd; Nfstp; J .

Mf fukkgG gi l fs; gbgbg- bahf tpi babffggL tPLk; Ml rpa j pfhuk; fpi l j j tPLk> mj d; gpdG ekJ murpay; Ki wi k vdd? ekJ nghUsh- j huk; vggb epi yfFk? guptHj ; j i dfs; vt; tHw mi kAk? kUeJ fS fFk; vupnghUf- S fFk> ekkhy; c wj j p nra; aggl hj mj j pahrpa gj l q; fS fF vqNf nrytJ? ehk; c wj j p nra j g z l qfi s vdd nra; J? g z gGofFk; vddhFk? Cj paqfS k> Xa; T+ j paqfS k> mqfFk; p fkhf ei l ngWk; nfHQreQr mgpt; Uj j pfs; vddhFk? rmpyqfh murpd; j aTk; c j tPAk; , dwp vdd nra; J? vdw Nfs;t p gueJ gl i k ffs; k j j pa; y; m z i k f; fhykhf J hf.f- yhfNt c s s J .

kpf eL l fhykhf ekJ Ra nghUshj huk; i f t l r; nraag; gl > nfhydj j t j j pd; fDk; gpdDH etnfhydj j t j j pd; fB; rmpyqfh ml fFKi wf; F s S k; i t f f g g l b U e N j h k; g p w f h y q f s p y > x d w i u j r h g ; j j j p w F k ; N k y h f n j h l H r ; r p a h d M f f u k g g A j j j j p d ; f B ; i t f f g g l S N s h k ; , i t f h u z k h f > e L l f h y j q f p a r ; U j j y ; e p i y f F e h k ; f l l h a g ; g l j j g g l L t e j s N s h k ; m u r p d ; e p t h u z k > f l d ; c j t p f s > n j h o p y ; t h a g G f s > n t s p e h L f s y ; , U e J m u r t q f r f s ; C l h f g z k ; n g w y > r m p y q f h m u r p d h l h f e k f F n t s p e h l L c j t p f s > G d H t h o ; T f s ; v d m i d j j k ; , t t i f j ; j q f i a l U g N g ! , e e p i y a r d ; r m p y q f h m u r p y U e J e h k ; g u p e J t p l l h y ; v j p h f h y k ; v d d t h F k ; v d w N f s ; t p a h d J > m j T k ; a j h H j ; j j j j p y ; t p l a q f i s v t ; t h w e i l k i w g g l j j g g l t j v d g J G u p a h e p i y a p y > k f f s p i l N a v o t J G u p e J n f h s ; s j j f f N j !

MwWykP c l y; kwWk; %i s c i ogG> twwhj tsq; fs> rHtNj rj J l dh d m u r p a y > n g h U s h j h u c w T f s > G y k n g a H e j p U f F k ; e k k t H f s p d ; % y j d q f s ; g w w p a g h i t f s ; m t w w p d ; r h j f q f s ; k f f S f F , d d K k ; c z H j ;

ekJ Fbaurpd; vj p h f h y j ; i j j p l ; l k p l y ; !

j ggl Ntz AssJ. G j p a m u R - U t h f p m J r H t N j r m q f P f h u j j j n g w W f n f h z l h y > V i d a e h L f i s g ; N g h y N t e k J R j e j p u e h L k ; j d f F N j i t a h d m i d j j g u p t H j j - i d f i s A k ; n r a j n f h s s K b A k ; v d w j d d k g p f i f k f f s p i l N a V w g l j j g g l N t z b A s s J .

j k p o j ; N j r k ; K O t i j A k ; X u z p a y ; , i z j j n j s p t h d v j p h f h y j i j N e h f f p , l L r ; n r y ; Y k ; g z G n f h z l n r O i k - a h d N j r p a j j i y i k c a H e j m H j j j j p y ; , d d K k ; t s H r r p n g w h j j d ; m w p F w p f s ; , i t . m j h t j > N g h u h l j j i j K d ; n d L j j t H f s > K d n d L j j f ; n f h z b U g g t H f s p l k ; c s s g w w h f F i w a h d J k f f s p d ; n j s p t w w e p i y f F g u j h d - k h d f h u z k h F k ; , J x U t j j j ; j j y > t p L j i y g ; N g h u h l j j j p w ; F k ; k f f S f F k ; , i l a p y ; f h z g g L k ; x U n t s p i a A k ; , J v L j j f ; f h l t j h f c s s J .

k f f s ; , t t h w h f , U e J t e j j w F k ; j w N g H J , e e p i y m j p f u j j p U g g j w F k ; a h H j h d ; n g h W g G ? l k g J t U l m D g t j ; i j f ; f l e j e k ; N j r p a t p L j i y N g h u h l j k h d J > , d W n t w w p a p d ; t p s i k g p y ; e p w F k N g H J > e k J k f f s p d ; c z H T k ; r p e j i d A k > v j p h f h y k ; g w w p e k g p f i f n f h s ; t N j h L > m j w f h d n j h l ; L u z j j f f e l t b f i f f s ; , g N g h j p U e N j m i d t U k ; n j h l q f l N t z L k ; V w f d N t , t t h w h d r p y e l t b f i f f S k ; r p y K d n d L g G f f S k ; v L f f g ; g l b U e j h Y k ; m t w w p d ; t p i d g ; g a d H j k f f i s , d D k ; N g H J - k h d s T g w w p f ; n f h s s t p i y v d g N j c z i k .

r p q f s , d t h j m u r p d ; m i d j j m j p f h u f ; f l i i k g G - f S k > m u r p d ; M f f p u k p g G g ; g i l f S k ; e k k z z p y ; , U e J J i l j n j w g g L k ; v d g j p y ; e k J k f f s p y ; k p f g n g U k ; g F j p a p d - U f F , g N g H j n j s p T k ; c W j p A k ; c s s J . r p q f s g i l f s ; j h k h f N t n t s p i a W k ; e p i y f F g b g g b a h f k h w p f n f h z b U f ; f p d w d v d g i j A k ; f z f f p y ; n f h z l h y > k f f S f F s ; c U - t h f t s H e j t U k ; N k w g b N f s ; t p f i s a p l L e h k ; M r r u p a k ; n f h s s K b a h J . k h w h f m j d ;

m t r u m t r p a j i j g ; G u p e J n f h s s N t z L k ; , u h z t m u q f p Y k ; m u r p a y ; m u q f p Y k ; m i l e J t U k ; n t w w p f i s g u p f i Q G H k h f V w W f ; n f h z b - U f F k ; e h k m i d t U N K , j w F K j d i k n g h W g N g w f N t z b - A s N s h k ;

k f f s ; m u r p a y ; r k p f i Q f ; f h f f h j j e p w f p d w h H f s ; c z i k a p y ; k f f i s m u r p a y ; k a g g l j j > m t H f S s ; c i w e J f p l f F k ; r f j p i a c z u g ; g z z > c R g g > m j i d n k d ; N k Y k ; t s H j n j L f f > k f f S f ; F k ; N g h u h l l m i k g G f S f F k ; , i l a p y h d c w i t c a p N u h l ; l k h f k h w w p a i k f f m i d t - U f F k ; f l g g h L c s s J . F w g g ; g h f > t p L j i y g G y p f s ; m i k g ; g w F c s s J . c z i k a p y ; , e ; j g g z p n r o g g h f n r a a g g l b - U f F k ; v d p d > , j j i d n t w w p f - S f F g ; g p d G ; e k J k f f s ; e k J m u r p a y > r % f > n g h U s h j h u v j p h f h y k ; v d g J J y h k g u k h - f N t m i d t U f F k ; G y g g l b - U f F k ;

e k J k f f s p d ; M o k d j p y ; m u r p a y ; c z H t h d J > m t H f - s h y ; J y y p a k h f n j h l L z u K b a h j t j j j p y ; f p l f f p d w J . , j i d n j h l L z u j j f f m u r p a y ; g u f i Q a h f T k ; e i l k i w t b t p Y k ; n f h z l t u N t z L k ; , J j h d h f N t e l e J t p L t - j p y i y . e j k h w w j j N g h u -

l j j j i y i k f s j h d ; V w g l j j N t z L k ; , q F j h d ; G u l r p a h s H f s > N g h u h l l r f j p f s p d f b d g z p m t r p a g g L f p d w J . , e j f ; f l g g h L e k f F k > t p L j - i y f f h f n r a w g l L t U k m i k g G f S f F k ; F O f f S f ; F k ; F w g g h f , d W t p L j i y g N g h u h l j j j j i y i k j h q f p t U k ; t p L j i y g ; G y p f S f F k m s t p w f j p f k h f N t c s s J .

, d i w a j p f f k h d f l i j j ; j p y ; k f f i s m u r p a y ; k a g g - L j j p N g h u h l j j j p d ; g h y ; n e U - f f k h f , i z g N g h k ; R j e j p u m u i f f ; f l b n a O g g T k > N k w ; g b m u r p a y ; f l i k f i s m u r p a y ; g u f i Q n f h z l m i d t U k ; j j j k j v y i y f s ; k w W k n r a w g u g g p D s ; e p d W M w w T k c l d b a h f K e d t U N t h k ; k p f r ; r p w a G u l r p f u f l r p a h f , U e j N g h j p Y k > , e j M j h u f ; f l i k - f i s j k p o k f f s ; f l r p a h d J j d J r f j p a i d j i j A k ; j p l b c W j p A l d ; N k w n f h s S k ; N j r t p L j i y a p y ; c W j p a h f e p w F k r f N g h u h l l m i k g G f f S k > m t w w p d ; K d d z p f S k > n t F r d m i k g G f S k > g w F O f f - S k > M w w y ; k p F m i d j j e g H f S k ; , W f f k h f , i z e J n r a y h w W N t h k ; g u e J g l l e k k f f s p d ; v y y h t i j k h d N f s ; t p f S f F k ; r e N j f q f S f F k c u p a g j p y f i s k p f T k ; n j s p t h f N t v L j j p a k G N t h k ; K j - y p y > , j w f h d t p t h j q f i s g y j s q f s p Y k ; j p w e J t p L - N t h k ; e k J g j j p u i f a h d J , e j t i f t p t h j q f i s A k f U j ; j g g q f s p g G f i s A k t h r f H f s p l k p U e J t u N t w w f f h j j p U f f p d w J .

J U K

gz l huty... 1Mk; gff nj hl Hrrp

ngwWtpi l j wF gpej pa c j huz k ; , J thFk; Ehwhapuk; gi l nfhz LekJ kz z py; "rl l Ght" gLnfhi y- fs; mdwhl k; ei l ngwW tUf pdwJ . l e j h k ; g i l n f h z L k ; n f h i y g g l f s ; n f h z L k > " r l l G h t k w w t " N t l i l f s ; e i l n g W f p d w d . t p r h u i z f n f d W k ; G d H t h o ; t p w n f d W k ; m i o j J r ; n r d W m i l j j t p l L r p q f s n f h i y n t w a h n f h z L m g g l l k h d , d N t l i l v d , d m o j n j h o g G f s ; n j h l H r r p a h f N k w n f h s s g g L f p d w d . , i t j h d ; r p q f s m u r p d ; M l r j j p w d ; v d p d > c z i k a p y ; t p r h u p f f g g l N t z b a J K j y p y ; m t t u r p d ; M l r j j i y t p a y y t h ? k W g b A k ; k W g b A k ; r e j p u r f H T k ; m t u p d ; g u p t h u q f S k ; A j j F w w t h s p f s h f e p w f p d w d . j k J F w w q f i s k i w f f > m t H f s h y ; m i k f f g g l j t p r h u i z f f O f f s p d ; v z z p f i f , e j M W t U l j j p y ; m t H f s f n f f z f f j n j u p a h j t p l a k h F k ; f z f h z h j g u n j r j j p w F n f h z l n r d W > v k k t H f S f F G d H t h o ; T m s j j y ; v d g j d ; c z i k a h d m H j j k > f l i k ; f l i k h f m t ; t g N g H j v k i k g L n f h i y n r a j j k J t O r j i j j ; j p j j f ; n f h s ; t j j h d ; , j d ; % y k h f j k f F v j p u h f j p U k g N t z b a r p q f s k f f s p d ; N f h g q f i s v k i k N e h f f p j p U g g p t p L t N j . , j p y ; N r h t p d j l ; M l r p a h s H f s ; , u l i l e d i k f s ; m i l e J t U f p d w d H .

(nj hl Hrrp 7Mkg gff k)

<oj j kphpd; murpay; tu-
 yhwpy; vej nthU j kpo; murp-
 ay; fl rpaK; rpaqfs murhqfK;
 mi ktj wF "egej i dawWg";
 gyggLj Jk; ti fapy; mj D-
 l d; \$l l z p mi kj j j pyi y.
 Kj d; Ki wahf> "<oj j kphpd;
 gmu j peji p" vDk; ngaUl d; <gp
 b.gp j kpo; kffs; kB Aj j g;
 gmu fl dk; nraJ ss rpaqfs
 ghrpr murhqfj j py; gqFj hu-
 uhfpaSSJ.

, ej 11tJ ghuhS kdwkh-
 dJ rpaqfs Nj r j j pd; murpa-
 ypy> mthfspd; gmuNghfF
 Nj rpa xUi kggih bd; xU
 ti fkhj phpahfpaS; sJ.
 vj phffl rpaahd A.vd; gp MS-
 qfl rpi a Mj hj j mi j gg-
 yggLj j tJ j kJ fl i knad
 gmuqfkhf mwptij j ssJ.
 rpaqfs Nj r j j pd; gmu j hd mu-
 rpay; fl rpa fshd Rj ej puf;
 fl rpa j i yi kapyhd gp.V>
 A.vd; gp N[. t.pga Mfpa %d;
 Wk; rpaqfs ghrpr j j gmuNah-
 fggj py; j kffpi l Naahd
 Kuz ghLfi sf; fl eJ Xuz p
 apy; i fNfhj j epwfdwd.
 ekkp hd Mf.fpkpGfF>
 ekkB NkwnfhssggL tUK;
 moji nj hoggG Aj j j j fF
 rpaqfs ghuhS kdwk; xNu
 Kfkfh nrawgLfpaWJ.

, j j i fa ghuhS kdwj ;
 j py; mi j j i yi kj hqFk;
 Aj j ntwp nfhz l > kffs;
 tpaNuhj > rpaqfs ghrpr MS q;
 fl rpa fF MI rpa i kj j pLk;
 gyj j j <gp.b.gp toqfpaS;
 sJ.

, j wfhf vdWkpyyhj Gj p
 dkhf> tpa r j j p kh d xU mi k-
 rrfk; rpaqfs ghuhS kdwj j py;
 c UthffggL LssJ . mJ j hd;

Nj r J Nuhfk; !



"j kph; tptfhu mi krrfk".
 , ej "j kph; tptfhu mi krr-
 fk;" t l fFfFk; fpa fFfF-
 kh d j hf c UthffggL LssJ .
 , j c UthffpaUggj d; fgl
 Nehffk; nj spthdJ . mbgg-
 i l apy> <oj j kphpd; Nj rpa
 gurri dffhd "j p t", ej
 j kph; tptfhu mi krrfFs;
 rpaqfs muR c s s l ffp t p Ls;
 sJ.

"Nj hj ypd; %yk; j kpokff-
 shy; [dehaf Ki wapy; nj hpT
 nraaggl Lss gmu j peji pahd
 <gp.b.gp apd; j i yi kapy; nraw;
 gLk; t l fF fpa fFfhd j kph;
 tptfhu mi krrfkj kphfspd;
 mi dj j gurri dfi sAK;
 f t d j j f; nfhs s k; j kphf-

S fnfd xU mi krrfj j j Na
 j hd; G j j hf c Uthffpa p-
 UfFk; epi yapy; , j wFNky;
 mthfS fF , ej mur fl l -
 i kggpy; v d d Fi w , Uff
 KbAk?" , J j hd; rej phf h
 c yFff nrhy; Yk; nra j p Nj r
 mui r] j hgg j p Lk; ekJ Nj r-
 j j pd; Kawr p fF mbkuj j py;
 i tffggL l Nfhl hp , J.

, ej rpaqfs ghuhS kdwj ;
 j p w fhd Nj hj ypy; <gp.b.gp.
 gqFgw wpaJ> t d Ki wi a
 gmuNahfij j fssthfFfshy;
 j dffhd ghuhS kdw Mrdq;
 fi s c Uthffp f; nfhz l j j
 ghuhS kdwj j py; rpaqfs ghrpr
 murhqfj j j gyggLj j p epw;
 gJ ahTk; mi j rpaqfs murpd-

Jk; Mj p f f r f j p f s p d J k; ek
 t p L j i y g; Nghuhl l j j j r p i j -
 f F k; j p l j j p w F g q f h s p a h f;
 f p a s s J .

, j d; kWGwk> <gp.b.gp.
 rpaqfs ghrpr murpdJ k; Mj p f f
 r f j p f s p d J k; j p l j q f i s
 K d n d L f F k; e h r f h u r f j p
 a h f n r a w g L f p w J . r p a q f s
 g h r p r m u r p d ; e l t b f i f f i s
 r h t N j r m u q f p y ; e p a h a g g L j ;
 J f w J . e k J N j r j j p d ; c d d j
 , y l r p a k h d j k p o B F b a u i r
 k W j y j j t p l L k h f h z m j p
 f h u g u t y h f f f U j j h f f j i j
 g y g g L j j f w J . r p a q f s m u R
 e k k B N k w n f h z L t U k
 m o j i n j h o g g G A j j j j p w F
 g f f g y k h a p U f f p w J . e k J
 N j r j j p d ; F u y h n a h y p f F k
 k f f s ; g m u j p e j i p f i s ; N g h u s p
 f i s m o j i n j h o p f f p w J .

<oj j kph; j kffhd j kpoB
 j hafj j j vdNwh j kJ rpe;
 i j apy; c Uthffp Kbej hfp
 t p l j j . , ej moji nj hoggG
 Aj j k; j kphfi sAK; rpaqfs
 ghrpr mui rAK; , UNtW eyd
 nfhz l ghrt p d u h f J y y p a k h f
 ti uaWj j ssJ . <oj j kphpd
 ez ghfS fFk; vj phfS fF-
 kpi l Na nj spthd NfhLfs
 fWggL l hf t p l j j . e k J N j r j ;
 j p d ; v j p h f s j m z p a y ; e p w -
 t h f s ; m i d t U k ; e k J N j r j ;
 j p d ; J N u h f p f s h t h f s ;

, ej Nj rgfj Nghuhl ;
 l j j py; "eLepi y" v d g j w F , d p
 , l k p y i y v d g j n j s p T . k f ;
 f s ; e y d i y ; m f f i w a s s
 m i d t U k ; N g h u h l l j j j
 M j h g g h !

- r p a h

nj hl Uk; mur...

1Mk; gff nj hl Hrrp

kj thj p f Nsh mi dtw k; xNu , yfF ekJ Nj rpa , Uggpi d
 , yyhnj hoggj hfnt c ssJ .

xUGwk> gmu fi Qahf ekNj r j j moji nj hoj fFk; fhu paj ;
 j py; muR <Lgl Lf; nfhz bUfi fapy> kWGwk; ekJ t p L j i y g;
 Nghuhl l j j pd; ntw w p f i s A k ; K d N d w w q f i s A k ; r f p f F k b a h j
 r p a q f s r p t p y ; r % f j j p d ; x U g F j p j d J , a y h i k f F t b f h y h f
 j k p o ; m u r p a y ; i f j p f s p d ; F U j p i a R i t g h H f f j ; n j h l q f p a S ;
 s J . m u R , a e j p u k ; j d J g q f p w F j p l l q f s ; t F j j > , j w F
 n t s g g i l a h f N t J i z n r a J s s J . 58k ; M z b y U e j e k J
 k f f i s N t l i l a h L t J j h d m t H f s p d ; m u r p a y h f , U e j
 t U f p d w j v d p d > , e j m o j i n j h o g g r p e j h e j k ; v d g j r p a q f s
 N j r k ; K o t J k ; C w i g N g h A s s J v d w K b t p w F e h k ; t U t j p y ;
 e p a h A k s s J .

xU j w n f h i y g N g h u s p j d d e j d p a d h f > m t H f s ; k z z p y >
 v j p u p f i s , y f F i t j j j h f F j y ; e l h j j k N g h j > r h j h u z
 r p a q f s k f f i s t p y f p N a h L k h W j d D a p H g m u p A k ; f i l r p
 N e u j j p Y k ; m w p t i j j t p l L k u z k i l f p d w h d ; m N j k z z p y ;
 m u r p a y ; i f j p f s h f > m t H f s ; " g h J f h g g y " m i l j j i t j ;
 J s s < o j j k p o H , U E h W N g i w r p a q f s k f f s p y ; , U e j j p u z l
 , u z l h a p u k ; N g H n f h z l F k g y h d j , y f F i t j j j h f F j y ;

el hj j p KggJ c a p h f i s g w j j s s J . , j j y ; t p L j i y
 m u r p a y f f k ; m l f f k i w m u r p a y f f k ; , i l a p y h d
 N t W g h l i l e h k ; J y y p a k h f m i l a h s q f h z K b f p d w J .

j kpoB t p L j i y g N g h u h l l k ; N k Y k ; K i d g G w W n t w w p i a
 n e U q f n e U q f m t H f S f f p i l a p y ; v k f n f j p u h d M g j j h d
 m z p r N r H f i f f s ; j p u k ; n g w W t U f p d w J . , j i d n g h U j j k h f
 e k ; N j r k ; v j p h n f h z l h f N t z L k ; x g g P l s t p y ; e k J N j r j j p
 D s S k ; t p L j i y g N g h u h l l j j p y ; N e u b a h f < L g L t H f s > g y N t W
 g q f s g g f i s n r a N t h h > M j u g N g h h > N g h u h l l j j j g ; g y g g L j j -
 N t h h v d x U m z p r N r H f i f N t W g h L f S f F k j j p a p Y k ; c U t h f p
 t U f p d w J . N j r j j p d ; e y d f i s g h j f h f F k ; N e h f f p Y k ; e k k P h d
 f h l L k p u h z b j j d q f i s m k g y g g L j j k ; t j j k h f T k ; e k J
 k z z p Y k ; k i y a f k z z p Y k ; g u t y h f e i l n g w W t U k ; n t F r d
 N g h u h l l q f s ; e k g p i f j U t d t h f c s s d .

J N u h f g g p u r t p d u h d x U r p w g F j p a p d i u j t p u > m i d j j g m u p t p
 d U k ; j k p o ; N j r p a e y d g h l g l > x u z p a y ; j p u s k ; , e j N g h f i f -
 a p l L e h k ; n g U k j K k ; j p l K k ; n f h s s K b f p d w J . , e j g N g h f i f
 N k Y k ; t Y g g L j j k ; t j j j j p Y k ; m u r g a q f u t h j j v j p h n f h z l
 K w p a b f F k ; t i f a p Y k ; n r O i k a h f T k ; g u f i Q a h f T k ; n r a w g -
 L t j > N j r a t p L j i y a p y ; c W j p a h f C d w p e w F k ; m i k g G f s p d J k >
 F O f f s p d J k > j k p o B j j p d ; x t n t h U g p u i [a p d J k ; N j r p a
 f l g g h l h f k ;

ekJ Nj rj j pd; xl L-
 nkjh j kffs; 80 tPj j wFk;
 mj pfkhd kffs; , ej Nj Hj -
 ypy; nguj hf mffi w fhl -
 tpyi y. j pUl L thfFfs; kw;
 Wk; Ki wNF Lfi s , i z j J;
 NehfFNthk; vdpd; 70 tPj j w;
 Fk; mj pfkhd <oj j kpoH gupf;
 i QGHtkhfNt Nj Hj i y epuh-
 fuuj J ssdH. , j py; xU mu-
 rpay; ntwwAk; murpay;
 gadghLk; ek; Nj rj j wF
 fl l j J ssJ. ek; Nj rpa
 murpay; \$Wfi s ehk; , j -
 wFs; \$HeJ ghHfF Ntz Lk;
 kffs; pd; , ej murpay;
 nkhopi a GupeJ nfhss Ntz ;
 Lk; j kffhd murpay; ntwwAk;
 cssi j ekJ kffs; nts; jg;
 gLj j pAssdH.

, dDk; xU gFj j kpo; kf;
 fs; j k; Nj rpa c upi kFsfF
 J Nuhfk; , i oj j thfS fFk;
 ghl k; Gfl bAssdH. NtW rpyH
 j kpoupd; FUj pay; eBj pf;
 nfhz bUfFk; MS k; murhq;
 fj j pd; kPhd ml qfh ntW-
 gi g nts; jg; j pAssdH. xU
 rpwGfj pcpdH j kJ j dggg l
 eydfi s mi leJ nfhss
 neUf; fkhdtHfS fF thf;
 Ffi s ms; j J ssdH. rpyH
 j kffSs c upi ki a xUehs;
 kl Lnk j ugg l ss mj pfhu-
 j j j k; t pUggggb gadg l j ;
 j pAssdH.

rhuhkrj j py; rpwpyqfh mu-
 Rffl i kggpy; j kffF vej -
 tj mffi wAk; fpi lahJ vd;
 gi j l ej py; ehdF gFj pekJ
 kffs; NeubahfTk; ki wKf-
 khAk; nts; jg; j pAssdH.
 vdgi j Fw; j J; nfhz l rpy
 murpay; gup; di dff tUNthk;
 40 tUl qfS fF gpdG KB-
 Tk; muRmi krrui tkl j j py;
 <oj j kpoH xUth mbi tj ;
 J sshH. mNj rkak> tsheJ
 t; pahgij J tUk; r; qfS Nrhtp;
 dprk; eB l fhyj j wF j kpo;
 rhayfi s c sNs rfi j J f;
 nfhsshJ vdgi hy> "j kpo;
 rfhf fi s" r; qfS murpd;
 mej uqf nrawghl L vyi y-
 fFs; i tj j pUf; fg; Nght-
 j pyi y.

60 fsp; ekJ j kpo; Nj rpa
 , affj j i yi kahdJ > md;
 i wa murpay; # oyp; murpay;
 ahg kwWk; rll vyi yfS f;
 Fs; xU murpay; j pti d f z L
 t pl yhk; vdw vj pghHggpy;
 mi krrui t nrdwJ > j hk;
 mqf; k; t f j j murhqf qfi s
 f t pof Fk; mst wF Nj rpa
 nrhui z i a Xut wNF dK; mJ
 ngw wUej J. Mdhy> , dW
 ekJ Nj rpa, affkhdJ > j dJ
 j i y t j pi a j hNd epHz -

apfFk; mst wF gykhfTk;
 epHz afukhdj hfTk; tsHrrp
 ngwWss NghJ > j kpf; fl r;
 nahdW r; qfS mi krru-
 i tapy; , l kngwWssJ .
 , twi w xggpl i hy> KddaJ
 murpay; tuyhwhf c ss mNj

ngHJ thd j hafj j j f;
 nfhz l K] yR; kffS l d;
 rkj J tkhd murpay; c wi t
 VwgLj j p , Uj ugGfFk; nghJ
 vj p; pahd r; qfS Mj pff rf;
 j pfi s , ej kz i z t pl L
 nts; pNaww , i z ej nrawgl

rpqfSj Nj Hj Yk>
ekNj rj j pd;
nraj pFS k!

rkak; gpdJ tuyhwWfGj gf;
 \$i l fFupaj hf; pdwJ .

j pUNfHz ki y khtl ;
 l j j py; , kKi w j kpo;
 fl r; pfs; vJ Tk; gup; j e;
 j j J tk; ngw Kbahky;
 Nghdi j r; Rl b f fhl b>
 j kpo; kffs; **murpay;**
mehi j fshffgg l S;
s j hf xU thj k; Kd;
 i t f fgg l f; pdwJ . , t;
 thj j j pYss fupri d
 xUGwk; , Uff> , J Kw;
 wpyk; j thwdthj khFk;
 c z i kapy; j kpo kff-
 s; pd; murpay; j wNghJ
 kpfTk; gykhd epi yapy;
 c ssJ. ekJ kffs;
 , gNghJ j hd; cyf mq;
 f p huj j j gngwW tU-
 f; pdwdH. ghuhS kd w
 gup; j epi j j J t j j pd;
 vz z pfi fg; gyj j pd;
 %yk; murpay; , yhgk;
 ngWk; fhyk; fhyhtj p-
 ahf; p KggJ tUl qf-
 S fF Nkyhf; t pl l J .
 ntWk; Nti ythagG-
 fS k> gj t p c aHTfS k>

Nfhl l hf; fS k; j kpo; Nj rpa
 murpay; myy vdw c z i ki a-
 Ak; ehk; gw; j f nfhss Ntz Lk;
 , ej gup; j epi j J t qfshy;
 , dWti u r; qfS FbNaww j ;
 j pi d vJ TNk nraa Kba-
 tpyi y. Vd; xU nghJ; rei j -
 i af\$ l j pUki yapy; j wff
 Kbatpyi y vdgi j nayyhk;
 kweJ t pl NI hkh vdd?

1977 wFggpd dH> r; qfS
 ghuhS kd w wFj ; nj upt hd
 j kpo; gup; j epi pfs; vtUNK
 , dWti uapYk; <oj j kpoupd;
 , i wi ki a> RaepHz a c upi
 i ki a t pl Lfnfhl hJ c aHj ;
 j jgg; j j thfS; , yi y. khwhf
 t wWj j s s; p; l f f; pdwHfS;

j pUki y Nj Hj y; KbTf-
 shy> j pl l kpl l r; qfS FbNaww;
 wj j pd; ghuJ huk; kpf; j J yyp-
 akhf nts; jg; j j ggl LssJ .
 mNj rkak> rej Hggthj murp-
 aYfF j kpo; Nj rpa , affj ;
 j wFs; , dNky; , l kpyi y
 vdgi k; nj spt hf ep& gpf; fg;
 gl LssJ .

Ntz Lk; vdw c z i k> j l bf;
 fogj J t pl Kbahj aj hHj ;
 j khf nts; jg; j j ggl LssJ .



mz prNrhfi fi a j i yfBhf
 khw w j d; pahd Nti y j j pl l k;
 ekJ Nj rj j wF mtrpak; vdw
 c z i k GyggLj j ggl LssJ .

ekJ Nj rpa murpay; vdgJ
 gz GuP papy; Ntwhf; t pl l J .
 r; qfS ghuhS kd w j j py; j kpo;
 gup; j epi j J t qfshdJ , dW
 c z i kahd mHj j j j py; ekJ
 Nj rpa murpaYfF t pNuhj kh-
 fNt nrawgl f; pdwJ . r; qfS
 murpay; ahgg; pd; 6k; j pUj j j ;
 j wF t pRthrgg; p; khz k; vLj j
 gup; j epi j J t qfNs , i t
 vdgi j ehk; kweJ t pl f\$ l hJ .

j pUki y epi y , t; th-
 nwd; pd; j wNghJ mkghi wapy;
 nj upNraaggl bUfFk; j kpo;
 gup; j epi j j kpoNj rpa murpa-
 Yf f hf xU thHj j j NaDk;
 NgRthH vd ehk; vj pghHggj w;
 fpyi y. khwhf> mth vkkPhd
 Aj j k> mtrufhy r l l qfS;
 vdg; twi w eBffTk; gyggLj ;
 j Tk; j d; fuqfi s c aHj J -
 ti j nraahky; t pl l hNy
 ngupat pl ak;

c z i kapy> , gbggl l
 gup; j epi j J t qfS; , y;
 yhi k vdgi j t pl , Ug;
 gNj <oj j kpo u mehi j -
 ahfFk; , di wa epi yapy
 mi krrH> gup; j epi krrH gJ -
 t pfs; vdgJ <oj j kpoUfF
 fpi l fFk; c upi kFNsh tha;
 gGfNsh myy. khwhf> j kpo
 Nj rpa , Ugi g moji nj hofp f
 t Pgg l Lss mwg , i uahFk;
 r; qfS murpdhy; eji Kk; ml f;
 fgg l tUk; <oj j kpoH> K] ;
 yRfS; ki yaj j kpoupd; tuyh-
 Wfi sg; Gul bdhy; , j i d
 GupeJ nfhss KbAk;

ngUk; vz z pfi fapyhd
 ekJ kffs; , j Nj Hj i y
 epuhfuuj J t pl i k; j kpo
 fl r; pfs; j kffs; Kl b
 Nkhj p, Uej nrhwg ekp;
 fi f fi sAk; , oeJ>
 , Uej nrhwg thfFf-
 i sAk; ntww; fukhf gup; j ;
 J fnfHz l i k: t l
 f; pof Fk] yR; kffs; J k>
 f; pof f; yss r; qfS kf;
 fsJ k; fz prkhd , d;
 i wa mgpyhi rfs; j w;
 NghJ ss muRf; fl l -
 i kgg; pDs; i kaqnfHz ;
 Lssj hy> mthfS; pd
 thf; f; s; gG t p; khdJ mj p
 c r r j j py; mi kej i k;
 Nghdw fhuz qfshy>
 , j ; Nj Hj y; KbTfshdJ
 , t t j k; mi kej j py
 Mrrupakpyi y.

vdNt> j pUki y gw; p-
 Nghat; pl l J > kl l f f s; gG
 gup; j epi j J t k; Fi we;
 J t pl l J > mkghi w fhg;
 ghwwgg l t pl l J vdw

khi a fi s t pl nl hoji J > r; q;
 fs fl r; pfs; j kpoBj j py; gup; j epi
 j J t k; ngwW t pl l d vdw
 myl l i y eWj j j p xU t j j ;
 j py; ekJ Nj rj j pd; murpay
 j pi rtop vJ nt dgi j nj s p
 thf fhl Lk; vyi yfNfhl hf
 , ej mDgt j j gbgpi d-
 ahf nfHz l ekJ Nj rj j pd
 c z i kahd murpay; t pl J -
 i yi a Nehf; p <oj j kpoH
 mi dtUk; Xuz p j us Ntz Lk;

f l ej fhyqfS; py; ekJ
 kffs; pd; murpay; gqFgwwy
 vdgJ > Nj Hj yfS; py; gqF gw;
 WtJ > mtww; pDI hf j kJ murp-
 ay; mgpyhi rfi sAk> Xus-
 t wF j dgg l l t pUG ntWg;
 Gfi sAk; nts; jg; j J t j khf
 mi kej pUej J . , ej t j j j py>
 Nj Hj yfS; py; gqF nfhS; t-
 nj dgJ kffs; pd; mbggi l
 c upi kahfTk> xUt j j j py
 kffs; j kJ mj pfhuj j j vg;
 Nghj htJ xU j l i t gad;
 gLj j p murpay; thj pFS fFk
 (nj hl Hrrp7Mkgffk)

Rkhh vOgJ tUl qfS-
fF Nkyhf ei l ngwWtUK;
gy] j B kffspd; Nghuhl l k
kE Lk; kE Lk; vOrRpfi s
fz L tUfPdWJ. mz i kapy;
nj hl qf ggl l " , duqg h" vdw
kffs; vOrRpahy> 160 fFk;
Nkwgl l vOrRpahsHfS k; rpw-
HfS k; rNahdir MffpukgGg;
gi l fshy; gLnfh y nraag;
gl LssdH. 4000 , wFk; mj pf-
khNdH gLfhak; mi l eJ ss-
dH. kE Lk; xU Aj j k; ntbF;
FNkhvdwgj l l k; k j j pafpF;
fy; epyTfPdWJ. gy] j B vOr-
rpahsHfS; j wNghJ mi y
mi yahf j puz L tUfPdWdH.
cyf k; mi dj j Ji wfsyK;
"tjaj j F" khwwqfi s fz ;
Lss Nghj pYk; gy] j B HfS pd;
epahakhd gurri dff j AT
fhz KbahJ j i yF dpe; j
epwPdWJ.

gpus j hdpa MffpukgG
fhyj j py; tpi j ffggl l , ej
Aj MffpukgGj pl l khDJ> Aj
muR 1948 , y; cUthffgg l l
fhyfl l j j py; , yUe; j kpf j ;
j B puki l e; j tUfPdWJ. cyf
Aj j k; Kbti l e; j J k; c yf
Vfhj gg j j p qf s pd; gpus hd
ghj j p khDJ gpus j hdpa mu-
rpl k; , Ue; j mnkupff murpwF
i fkhwpaj . , j i dj ; nj hl H-
e; j > Aj murpi d Nghrj j
tsHfFk; nghWgGk;
mnkupff murpd; trk;
tPl ggLfPdWJ. , uz ;
l hk; cyf Aj j k; KbT w;
wplUe; j , ej fhy fl l k;
vj pUkGj pUkhd , uz L
Kfhk fS f; fpi l apy;
gdgNghUffhd nj hl-
f; fkhfTk> i fj nj h-
opy> nj hopyEl gj Ji wapy;
vz j z xU Kffpa , l j j g;
ngWtJ khfTk; mi ktJ Fwq;
gpl j j f f j hFk; , j d; fhuz -
khf gy] j B g; gurri dahdJ
xU muG cyfg; gurri dahf
khwpaj .

Vfhj gg j j p qf s k; etnfh
ydgj j t qf s k; j ki k gygg-
Lj j pAk; epi yggLj j pAk; nfhs;
tj py> vz i z murpaYfF
neUqfpa Kffpa ghj j puk;
cssJ. mgNghJ k; , gNghJ k;
kj j pafpoffpy; CwnwLfFk;
vz i z tsj j pwF ngaus-
tpwF muG kwWk; kj j pafpoff
ehLfs; c upj Ji l ai t Nghy
nj dgl l hYk; , j d; ep[khd
Mj pffk; Nkwgb MJ pff muR-
fsp l Nk , Ue; j tUfPdWJ. , j-
wfh d xU fUtahfNt Aj
muri , ej MJ pff tyu-
Rfs; Nghrj j ghJ fhj j
tUfPdWd vdGJ tuyhwwy; gy
j li t epUgffgg l LtPl j J.

Aj murpi d , uhZ tuPpary;
gyggLj j p gpd; mj i dNa
fhuz khff; fhl b gpus hd
vz i z tsqnfhz l J k; xU
rpW vz z pfi fapyhd egh-
fi s nfhz l MS q; FOkq;
fi sAk; tyuRfs; ti sj j g;
Nghl Lfnfhz l d. ti sj j g;
Nghl Kbahj muRfs; kE Aj
murpi d gadgLj j p Mffpuk-
kpgi g Nkwnfhz l d. <uhf>
yggah Nghdw ehLfs; kPhd
MffpukgGfs; , tti fgg l ;
l Nj .

, ej gpdGy j j py; mz i kf;
fhy vz i z tpi yNaw;
wKk; mJ mnkupff> l Nuh-
ggpa kwWk; [gghd; Nghdw
ehLfs; y; VwgLj j p murp-
ay; kwWk; fLi kahd
nghUshj hu neUffbf-
i sAk; nfhz L ehk; kj pg;
gpl Lfnfhss KbAk;
VwfdNt mnkupffhtpd;
gpbFfs; epdWmj wF fl L-
gg l Lr; nrawgl Nt z bap
Uej muG ehLfs; rpy ty;
yuRfs pd; mOj j qfi s-
Ak; kE vz i z tpi y
c aHtpwF rkkj pffk;
epi yfF j ssggl d
vdGJ Fwpggl j j f f-
j hFk; , ej gpdGy j j py;
j wNghJ Aj muR kE Lk;
xU MffpukgG Aj j g;
gpl dk; xdj w Nehffpr;

fz bffj j auhf , yi y.
vt; thwapDk; Aj muR Nkw;
nfhz l nfhLi kfs; fhuz -
khf> mnkupffhTl Dk> Aj
muRl Dk; kpfTk; neUqfpr;
nrawgl l vfgg; j > Vkd> N[hH-
j hd> Nghdw ehLfs; y; mqF-
ss kffs; nfhlj j mOj j q;
fS k; murp; neUffbfS k;
mej muRfi s fplfplf f
i tj j s s d. ntsgg l lah-
fNt gy] j B HfS fF mi d-
j j Mj uTk; j Uk; epi yfF
, ej muRfS k; kwWk; , j yh-
kpa ehLfs; j ssggl Lssd.

tuyhwWl d; Fwpggl l stpwF
xggpl KbAk;
1948 , y; ekJ # oyp; xU
Gj pa r p q f s muR c Uthffk
ngWfPdWJ. mJ rf r % q f-
spd; MffpukgGpd; kE j dJ
mj p f hu q fi s fl i i k j j f
nfhs; fPdWJ. , ej ml fFk-
i w f S f F tyuRfs pd J k
gpus j pa tyuRfs pd J k
xj j i ogi ggngwWs s J .
, j wF xgghdj hfNt Aj muR
gy] j B j j Mffpukg j j >
kz z pyk f fi s KwwpYkhf
tPl bab j j i j nfhs KbAk;
NKYk; j kJ ml fFki w
nj hl uTk; epi yggLj j Tk
j wNghJ Aj MS qfl r p
ahdJ vj pfl r p al d; xU
Nj rpa murhqf j i j mi k
ffTk; Aj j gpl dk; nra;
aTk; Ki deJ s s J . , J
Nghdw epfo; T j wNghJ
<oj j kpoupd; c upi kg
Nghuhl l j wF vj puhfTk
fUfnfhz L tUfPdWJ.
, j wF Vfhj gg j p kwWk
gpus j pa Mj pff muRfs
c WJ i z nraAk; vdg-
i j apl L ehk; Mrrupaggl
Nj i tapyi y. mqF k j ;
j pafpoffpd; vz i z ts-
qfs; , qF nj ddhrpah-
tpd; kdj j > kwWk; , awi f
tsqfs; xNu NtWghL
ahnj dpy> Aj muR ngs-
j pf uPpary; xNu vj j -
diggpy; gy] j B k f;
fi s mthf s pd; ghuk;
gupa Gk pary; , Ue; j
ntspNawwpaJ. , qF
r p q f s muR mj i d
kpfTk; j pl l kpl L> gbg;
gbahfTk; vkfFs
c s s Kuz ghLfi s



gy] j Bk;
vOrRpAk;
gbg;gpi d fS k;

nry; ti j nj hl HGgLj j pg; gh-
ff KbAk; , eNehffpy; Aj
Nj rpa murhqf k; mi kg;
gi j Nehffp Ml rj j ; j i yth
guhF> Nj hyt; pS fF k j j p-
Yk> vj pfl r p f S fF mi ogG
tPl j j s s i k Fwpggl j j f;
fj hFk;

mnkupff muRk; , j wfh-
fNt j d; tPNI h mj p f huk;
nfhz LAj murpd; nfhi yfhu
el tbf i ffS fF , dW ti u
c WJ i z ahf nrawgLfPd;
wJ. mz i kapy; tuTss mnk-
upff Nj Hj ypy; kE Lk; j dJ
fl r p n t w w p a P l i t f f > mnkup-
ff Aj Aj j gpus f f s J k;
NfhB] tuHfs J k; xj j i ogG
mnkupff [dehaf; fl r p Nt l ;
ghsuhd my; NfhUffk; nrdl ;
l H Nj Hj ypy; Nt l ghsuhf
j wNghi j mnkupff mj pgupd;
ki dt p a h d ` pyup f p s p z l -
DfFk; mtrpagg l Lssi k-
ahy> xgGfFf \$ l Aj mui r

mnkupff fl wgi l fgg; kE
Vl d; Ji wKf j j py; Nkwnfhs;
sggl l j wnfhi yj j h f f j y;
mnkupff mui r f p y nfhss
i tj j s s J . f p s q l d; Neub-
ahfNt fskp wqf r tUk;
epi yi a gy] j B k f f s pd;
vOrRp Nj hwWtj j s s J .
u] ahTk; \$ l > mnkupff muR
j ddyk; rhHeJ Nkwnfhs S k;
xU j i ygg l r kh d r khj h d
Kawr p fi s f Li kahf fz ;
l dk; nraJ s s J . l Nuhggpa
Adpad; Aj mui r r h b Ass J k
Nj r q f s pd; x d w p a k; (l . e h .
r i g) Aj murpi d f z b j j
j Rkhdk; epi wNt w w p a Ugg J
mnkupffhtpwF xU mbahf
c s s J . Mf > mnkupff h j i y-
i kapyhd Gj pa c yf xOqf p
wF j wNghJ rthyfs; mj p f u p
j j s s i j gy] j B vOrRp
fl bak; \$ Wtj hf f Uj yhk;
Aj Mj p f f j j j ekJ # o-
yp; r p w y q f h murpd; , dthj

edF gadgLj j p f nfhz Lk
, ej fhupaj j j nraJ Kbj ;
J s s J . Mj p f f k; vdw r q f p
yp i a j d f f j j hNd Nghl Lf
nfhz l Aj mui r , dW mj p y p
Ue; j l d i d t p L t j j f
nfhs ti fawpahJ j Lkhwpf
nfhz bUffPdWJ. NKYk
NKYk; mur gaqfuthj j j j
ehLfpdWJ. , Nj epi yapyj hd
r p w y q f h muRk; j Lkhwpf
nfhz bUffPdWJ.

xUfhj j py; c ynfqFk
rj w p f p l e j f Li kahd ml f;
FKi w f F c s s h d k f f sh-
fTk; c yf p d; mDj hgj j j
ngwWfnfhz l k f f sh f Tk
Aj Hfs; t p s q f p d H . , dW c y-
f p d; k p f Tk; n t W g G f F k; f z l -
d j j p w F k; c u p a t H f s h f p A s s -
d H . , j w F x N u n a h U f h u z k
m t H f s p d; m u r p d; % H f f j j -
d k h d M f f p u k g G f ; n f h s i f -
f N s a h F k ; , e j M f f p u k g G f
(nj hl Hrrp7Mk g f f k)

ghy] j Bk;
(6Mkgffj nj hl H)

nfhsi fi a gyggLj j tj py; gupj hdkhf
mnkupf f muR gz k> mstww nj hopy;
El gk> j dJ t pNI h mj pfhuk>, uhZ t
cj t pfs; Mnyhri dfs; vdg twi w
j qFj i lawW msij j tej J. j wNghJ k;
msij j tUfjdwJ., ej Mj pfffnfhs;
i fi a Gj pa cyf xOqfpy; kpfTk.; yht-
khf eBj j f; nfhsS k; Kfkhf gy] j P
dj j pd; kB gyNtW mOj j qfi s gmuNah-
fij j 10 tUl qfS fF KdGrkhj hdj j pT
vdw ngaupy; Aj muRfFk; mj d;
Nkyj pfhhahd j dfFk; rhj fkh d xU
rj pi a j j j j J. j kffs; gytBggLk>
Kuz gl Lk; fhz ggl l gy] j B Nghuhl l
mi kgGfs> mdi wacyf#oypy> j tHff
KbahJ, ej nghwffFs; nj uej nfhz Nl
tBøj d. xU rpy Gul rpfumi kgGfs; kl Lk;
j kJ c l dghbdi ki a nj uptij j tpl L
fhj j pUej d.

Nghyjahd mej murpay; j RT, dW
mkgyggL l epwfdwJ. gy] j B kffs pd;
tpl Lfnfhl hj j Bkh d Nghuhl l k; j p f;
fggl l j pTpd; mj j i d Fi wghLfi sAk>
ghugl r qfi sAk> Mgj j hd gf.f qf-
i sAk> Aj > mnkupf f muRfs; pd; c z i k-
ahd nrh> g j j Ak; kWgBAk; J yypakhf
mkgyggLj j pAssJ.

rpqfsj ; Nj Hj y;...
(4Mkgffj nj hl H)

fl rpfS fFk; ghl k; gbggggj hfTk; \$l
mi kej pUej J.

dW ekJ murpayhdJ > vdNt ekJ
kffs k; rpqfs muRffl l i kggy; Ue;
J k> mj d; nrawghLfs; py; UeJ k; tpyf
epwfdwJ., ej gpdGy j j py; ekJ kffs py;
70 tPj j pWfK; mj pFkhNdh> el eJ Kbej
Nj Hj i yrupahd mHj j j j py; epufuj j s;
sdH., ej ti fapy; ekJ kffs; j hk;
murpay; c z HTI Dk; c upi kAl Dk; gqF-
gwWk; **Gj pa murpay; ntwwpl k;** xdW
epyTti j vLj j f fhl bAssdH. tuyhW
vj i dAk; ntwwpl khf, Uff tPltj pyi y.
, t; murpayntwwpl kh dJ fhj j p khf
epuggggl Ntz Lk; , dNwy> vj p f f s pd;
Mgj j hd t p f j j pDs; ek; Nj rk; tBj j g;
gl Ltpl f; \$Lk; KdNdhf; p teJ t pl l
kffs; tpi utpNy kWgBAk; gpdNdhf; p efu
eHggej p f f ggL tH.

J ti u j kJ mdwhl tho; Tl d; gpd;
dggpi z eJ t pl l Nj Hj i y epufuj j
t pl l gpd>, j wF c z i kahd khwwPhf>
mj i dAk; t pl ngWkj pahd gaDss

gz l hut y...

2Mk; gff nj hl Hrrp

j kJ “[dehaf Nj Hj y;” ntwwpfi s <oj j kpoupd; FUj p mUej p mtHfs;
nfhz l hl l Lk; mj d; xUgFj pi aj kmbi kt pRthrfS fFk; mUej j j ul Lk;
Gj j k; GJ kej pggj t p f s pd; fj fj ggd; kj j papy; k; rNfhj uHf s pd; , sQ# l Lf;
FUj pi antwwpaj; i yj j Bhtspghdkhf mUej p f; FJ f yj j f; nfhz l hl l Lk;
mtHf s pd; t p r hui z fs; xUGwk; c yf j j Vkhwwpfnfhz bUff> fhyk;
j dt p r hui z i ael hj j pti utpy; dJ j z l i di aj i y t p f f k; mtHf s pd;
rfhffS fFk; toqFk!

rpqfs ghrpr
(5Mkgffj nj hl H)

fi y>, yffpaqfs> Nghyp Ma; Tf s; Gj pJ
Gj j hf gi l f f ggL f pdwd. j pUkz i tgt-
qfs; c l gl j p w g t p o h i t g t q f s ; a h T k
, dW Aj j j j j j j p u g g L j j k ; f y h r r h u
i kaqfshf khwp tUfjpdwd.

rpwpyqfhtpyss j kpo> K] yR; Fb-
apUgGfs> t p a h g h u j s q f s > j k p o n k h o p
ghl rhi yfs; Nghdw, drRj j p f u g g
nraaggL t j m j p f u j j t U f j p d w J . m i k -
r r H f s ; n j h l f f k ; \$ y j j n j h o p y h s H f s
ti u j k J C j p a j j j j N e u b a h f A j j j j ;
j p w F t o q F k ; g z G m j p f u p f p d w J .
Aj j j j j p i d n t y t J v d w n g a u p y ; r p q f s
k f f s p d ; m i d j j [d e h a f c u p i k f s
g w p f f g g L f p d w N g h j p Y k > e h l i l A j j
epi yapy; i tggj hf \$wp fhl Lkphz bj ;
j dkhf ml fFki wfs; ei l ki wggLj ;
j ggl j Nghj pYk; mj i d r p q f s r % f k
Mj u j j r ; r f j j j n f h s S k ; m s t p w f r j j ;
j h e j k a g g L j j g g l L s s J . r p q f s r % f k
j t h e j r f r % f q f s f f v j p u h d f h o g ;
G f S k ; f i s n a l f f k ; F z h j p a q f s k
g b g g b a h f m j p f u j j t U f j p d w d . r h t N j r
m O j j k ; f h u z k h f r p q f s m u N r \$ l , e j
g h r p a m l f F k i w A j j j j j r w W j s H j j
epi d j j h Y k ; K b a h j e p i y i k r p q f s
N j r j j s ; t p a h g g j j t U f j p d w J . , W j p a h f
J h a r p q f s m u r h q f j j j m i k f F k
n t s p g g i l a h d K a w r p f S k ; m O j j q f -
S k ; v d m L f f p r n r y y y h k ;

j j i f a t s H r r p g N g h f f h d j t u y h w ;
w p y ; N k Y k ; G j p a t i f g u k h z q f i s A i l a
g h r p r t p i s T f i s t p i u t p y ; c U t h f F k
v d g i j A k > m j d ; g a q f u t p i s T f s h d J >
ekJ Nj rk; kwWk; ml f f g g L k ; r f N j r q ;
f i s J t k r k ; n r a a J b f F k ; v d g i j A k
c W j p a h f \$ w y h k ; m i d t U k ; f t d j j j
F t p f f N t z b a G s s p , J t h F k ; g h r p r k
v d g j t u y h w W M a t p w F u p a R t h u j a k h d
t p l a k ; m y y > r % f q f i s g B j j > m t w i w
c s S k ; n t s p a p Y k ; m u j j o p f F k ; , W j p a y
K O k d i j F y j j f N f v j p u h d n g U k
m r R W j j y h f k h W k ; e r R t p a h j p A k ; M F k ;
, J v e j t b t p y v q f p U e j h Y k ; K b T f l ;
l g g l N t z b a j h f p w J .

c y f g h r p r t u y h w W l D k ; g h r p r k ; g w ;
w p a r % f t p a y h s h f s p d ; m z i k a R l b f
f h l l y f S l D k ; n j h l h G g L j j g g ; g h h f F k
N g h J e k J N j r k ; x U x U g h r p r m r R W j j -
Y f n f j p u h f > m j i d t s H j j g ; N g h r p f F k
r p q f s m u r p w n f j p u h f N g h u h b f ; n f h z b -
U f f p w J v D k ; c z i k c W j p a h f p w J .
m t t i f a p y ; j k p o B t p l j i y g ; N g h u h l l -
k h d J r h t N j r t u y h w W # o y p y ; c U g n g w W
t U k ; g h r p r r f j j r N r H f f i a p d ; x U f z ;
z p i a r p w y q f h t p y ; c i l g g j w F m b j j -
s k p L k ; N g h u h l l k h f T k ; m i k f p w J . v d N t
r p q f s g h r p r m u R f n f j p u h f e k J k f f i s
k l L k y y > r f N j r q f i s A k > V d ; k h D l j ;
i j N e r p f F k ; r p q f s k f f i s A k > , d D k
c y f k h D l j j j A k ; v k J t p l j i y g
N g h u h l l j j j j p u k h f M j u p f F k h W k >
r p q f s m u i r N j h w f b f f K d t U k h W k
N f h U n t h k ;

t p l p

t p l p

Rgj j ph



"The Editor"
 BM Box 4002
 London, WC1N 3XX
 United Kingdom

**tupti l Ak; rqqfs ghrpr
 Mqj J!**

www.thamileelam.org
 info@thamileelam.org

gz l huti s "Gdht:hoT" epi yaj j pyek; i sQHfs; Nky;el hj j ggl l kUf ntwahl l j j pd;nfhLeJ auj j j Rkej gb 20tJ j kpoBk; gj j ppi fA+ hf c qfS l d; c i uahLfNwhk;

kpfTk;nfhej spghd fhyfl l j j pWFs; j kphfshd ehk;fhybi tj J sNshk; , dmoij nj hogGf;nfhsi fapd; mbggi l apy;11tJ rqqfs ghuhS kdwk;mi kffgg l S; sJ.

j kffpi l Naahd Kuz ghLfi s vvyhk;fl eJ>j kJ rqqfs murhqfj i j g;gyggLj J k; ti fapy; rqqfs murpay;fl rpfS;MS q;fl rpfF moij nj hogGnfhsi f- apy;xj J i ogG toqf Kd;teJ ssd. rqqfs murhqfj ; j py; j kpo>K] ypk; fl rpfS;gqNfwi j vej rqqfs murpayfl rAk;tUkgtiyi y. murhqfj j pWF xj J i ogG toqfTj hf A.vd;gp mwptij J ssJ. 10 ghuhS kdW Mrdqfi sf;nfhz Lss N[.t.pgp> ghuhS kdW j py; rqqfs ml ffggl l >Ruz l ggl l kffspd;Fuyhf j hd; nrwgl Ntz b , Uggi j GweJ ssptl l > j hd; murhqfj j pWF Mj uT j Utj hfTk;K] ypk; fl rpi a ntsNawWkgbAk;\$WksTff ghrpr rpej i dAk;nraYk; t;ahgg J tUfjdwJ. , ggbahf rqqfs fl rpfS;mi dj J k; Xuz pffS;teJ nfhz bUffpdwd. vj pffhyj j py;J}a rqqfs murhqfj j pWFhd mbj j sk; c Uthffgg l tUfjdwJ.

rqqfs ntF[dj sj j py;Nj rnantw \$hj kai l aj ; nj hl qfAssJ. gz l huti s gLnfi y. j wff;F&ukhd rhdwhFk; , i j naj pjj J ki yafj j py;ei l ngww Mhgg l j j pd;kB rqqfs nghyp] ;J gghf f p gmuNahfk; nraJ j kphfi s gLnfi y nra f p w J. mNj Neuk; ntwpnhz l rqqfsf;fhi l ahfs;Rj ej pukhf j kphfi s j hffp t d Ki wapy;<LgLfjdw; j kphfs;kB ntwahl l k; el hj j p rqqfs thfi s j z bffhJ> ki yafj j kpuJ gup j eij p d r e j p u N r f u i d g a q f u t h j j i l r r l j j j p y ; i f J n r a J s s J .

rqqfs ghrpr murhdJ mi dj J ml ffggl l Nj r q f - i sAk;gynfhsSk;epi y c UthfAssJ. , j wnfj puhf ml ffggl l Nj r q f s ; j k f f p i l N a x U i k g g h l L f F t u N t z b a t u y h w W N j i t c U t h f A s s J . < o j j k p h p d ; N g h u h l l j j y i k a h d t p L j i y G y p f s ; r q q f s g h r p r m u r p w n f j p u h f j h k ; N k w n f h z L t U k ; t B Q n r w p e j N g h u h l l j j p d ; k W G w k > r f N j r q f s h d K] y p k f s > k i y a f j ; j k p o U l d ; N j r p a x U i k g g h l b i d N k Y k ; g y g g L j j N t z b a m t r p a j j j f t d j j p w ; n f h s s N t z L k ;

gz l huti s apy; rqqfs murpd; , dntwpmffpukj j p w ; n f j p u h f n f h j p j n j O e J J z p f u k h f N g h u h l l k ; e l h j j p a j h y g L n f h i y f F s s h d k i y a f j j p a h f p f S f f j k p o B k f f s ; f l r p a d ; t B t z f f k !!!

t l m n k u p f f j ; n j h l H G f l F :
 300 Borough Dr.,
 PO Box 47032
 Scarborough, On.
 M1P 4ZP
 Canada

l Nuhggpaj ;nj hl HGf l F :
 "The Editor"
 BM BOX 6769
 LONDON
 WCI 3XX, U.K.
 Tel: 07041372064

rqqfs j sgj pAj j Nk vd;f pwhH!

Rej pphf murpd; Ntz Lj ypd; Nghry; NehhNt t p N l J J J t h ; j k p o B t p L j i y g ; G y p f s p d ; j i y t h ; j p U . g p u g h f u D l d ; N g r R t h h ; j j j e l h j j p d h h ; m z i k a p y ; V w g l l m t k h d q f i s A K ; f z l d q f i s A K ; r u p n r a A k ; N e h f f p Y k > a h o p y ; r p f f p A s s j k J g i l f i s k P L f n f h s s T k ; j k i k " r k h j h d g ; g h p a h f s h f " c y F F F f ; f h l l T k ; r e j p p h m u R N e h h N t J j j i u j k p o B j j p w F n r d W t p L j i y g G y p f s p d ; j i y t i u r e j p f f m D g g p i t j j J .

kWGWk> r p w y q f h g i l j j s g j p f s p y ; x U t u h d > g y f y y j h k ; N k w n f h z L s s , e j " g a q f u t h j m o g G " A j j j J f f r q q f s k f f s ; m i d t U k ; M j u T j u N t z L k > j k f F , e j A j j j i j j p u g g L j j , d D k ; V u h s k ; g i l f f y q f s ; N j i t g g L f p d w d v d g j j p i f g ; N g l b n a h d w p y ; \$ w p A s s h ; N e h h N t J j j h ; g p u g h f u d ; r e j p g e l e j x U r p y e h l f S f F s ; r q q f s g g i l j s g j p a h U t H , t ; t h W n j h p t j j p U g g j , t h f s J A j j n t w p i a A k ; , u l i l j j d j i j A k ; c y F F N f m k g y g g L j j p A s s J . g z l h u t y , y ; , u j j f f i w f h a K d N d A j j j j p w f h d k w n w h U m i w \$ t i y t p L j J s s h H r q q f s g i l j j s g j p

nts p g r R f f r k h j h d e h l f k ; M b a g b > e k J N j r j i j m o j n j h o p f f , u f r p a , u h Z t # o r r p f s p y ; < L g l L t U k ; , t h f s h N g r R t h h j i j f i s K d n d L f f g ; N g h f p w t h f s ? e k J t p L j i y g ; N g h u h s p i s m o j n j h o p g g j p Y k > e k J k f f i s , d g ; g L n f h i y n r a t j p Y k ; j B h j n t w p n f h z L s s , e j r q q f s g h r p r m u r p d ; N g r R t h h j j e h l f q f i s e k J k f f s ; , y F t p y ; e k g g N g h t j p y i y .

v t ; t h w h a p D k > N e h h N t r p w g G j ; J j u y ; t p L j i y g G y p f s p d ; j i y i k i a c j j p N a h f g H t k h f r e j p j j d ; % y k ; e k J N g h u h l l - k h d J > m l f f g g l L s s k f f s p d ; e p a h a k h d c h p i k f f h d t p L j i y g ; N g h u h l l k ; v d g j w f h d m q f p h u j j j g ; n g W t i j N e h f f p m b i t f f j n j h l q f p A s s J . , j i d n k d ; N k Y k ; c W j p g g L j j p f n f h s N t h k ; x d w d ; g p d ; x d w h f c y f e h L f s p d ; c W j p a h d m q f p h u j j j n t y N t h k ; , J e k J k f f s ; m i d t U k ; x U i k g g l L j p u s t j p y ; j q f p A s s J v d g i j k d j p y ; n f h s N t h k ;

g j p i d e j h t J M z L e p i d T

Nj hoH rej j pahH

g w g G		t l u k u z k ;
30		8
08		9
1951		1985

(j k g g g i s i s r e j j p a h H)

Nj hoh; rej j pahh; j kpoB t p L j i y g ; N g h u h l l j j p d ; K d N d h b f s p y ; x U t h ; j k p o ; , i s O h ; N g u i t > G j p a j k p o ; G y p f s > j k p o B t p L j i y G y p f s > j k p o B k f f s ; t p L j i y f o f k > j B n g h w p v d , t u J m u r p a y ; t h o T t h p t h d J .

j k p o B t p L j i y N g h u h l l j j p y ; k f f s ; N g h u h l l j j p w F K d D h p i k a s i j j k h f r p a t h j p

j h g d m f t h o t ; p y ; [d e h a f j j p w f h f v d W k ; N g h u h b t e j t h ; N g h u h l l j j p d ; M u k g e n j h l N l , e j p a M f f p u k p g g d ; m r R W j j i y j B f f j h r d j J l d ; R l b f f h l b t e j t h ; N r h r y p r j k p o B k ; v D k ; , y l r p a j j p w F j k i k m h g g z p J f ; n f h z l t h ;

f o f j i y i k a p d ; v N j r r h j p f h u j j j v j p h j j d h y ; c k h k N f] ; t u d ; g h p t h y ; g L n f h i y f F s s h d t h ;

[d e h a f j j p w f h d N g h u h l l j j p y ; t B k u z k i l e j v k k U e ; N j h o U f f v k J , j a m Q r y p f s ;

t b t l k a g - R a g e f e l a