

grlpxl dl kcihrI ivc mli Apxl ieh qlj I dr^wsq pS krdw hli  
ij nli dyihridAII ivc pD j wgdw hlah grisK ies Aviz nli rlt sdn

sir Br dyisk  
Shxl girdAwr pbdk kmjtI  
pj isG swihbw  
ies vI acpI iDAwn dx

pD ^wl isAI vK ^wl sydynwkswhI dmwl ynqry ApxiAII nyhl hQ pw I ey  
qry q^q Akwl qy Aj Pr hvn krvwak vnl AII ny Apxy 'mldr' ibT I ey

## pD rqn &^r-eykhn I el kel imAwr Aqy gkvli mwp df hoxycwhldy hn ?

pD rqn j W&^r eykhn Wksjvl als kml Avwrf, apwDI, i^qwb l el j o" pD ^wl sI" vi lidqlj wdi hwy vwsqy  
kel vI mwp dlf, imAwr, gix ADwrg cok Fg AqyGtGt pppqIAII dw kel irkwrf hoxycwhldw hlyj Wnhll? ieh  
Aj dw sB qlvfwsvl bx kyswhmxAvieAw hly?

Aij hysiqkwr AqyAvwrf pD vI Wks nli nli nycwhldyhn Aqyiks nlihli nli nycwhldy? ieh isKw nli srj M ky  
ivcwrnw pkw hly[

i^qwb isr iehohnhli hoxycwhldyikatik ieh i^qwb qWrwj nlqk DVpD dl cpl tsI vnl I sMl mnstlkqdl I M dl  
ptql l el inkI yhn, ies l el ivvwdl hgeyhn[ ^wl swl i^qwb BwI, isG swihb, nvib, sI qnI kln vI rhy  
hn[ A-gysmij dyhr Kqr ivc iek ibhqrIn, imknqsl, Shxl qj svI Aqynvln kFj WAcBq kr dx vnl I  
ppqIAII el " pD ^wl sI" nIApxyrsTrI aQwn l el Apxkml bwSldAII nlsnmwinq krnw cwhldw hly[ ieh  
snmn iek imQl smI slmI doswl j Wcwr swl bwAd hoxw hI cwhldw hly[

Aij hyi^qwb iksjvl km vI lidqjy wycwhldyhn[ iel kln l el kln krm vnl ydw Aqyathoij hw hl hr kln krm  
vnl AII dw aqSwh vDwldw hly[ ij hVw iksjvl km nlcVldIAII kI Wivc I Yj waik dw iek qrIkw kwr hly[  
hr kln l el ieh Apxl ivrwsq nlsBw x Aqyals qymix krnw bhq hl j rth hly[ ij s kln pws Apxl mI k  
ivrwsq nhli hlah kln kdyl sldvl kwl qk Apxl siBAq dw ivkws nw kr skdl hlyqnyw hl sBw skdl hly[  
ij s smij AqyivAkql smI pws Apxl ivrwsq nhli, siBAqw nhli, als dw Apxw Afrw ieiqhws nhl, Apxl  
BwSw nhli Aqyien sBw dl sQwpql l el heyShld nhli ah iPr kln vI nhli hskdl[ ieh isK kln pws spwI  
ivcl IAW kml ivc pihl ADwrg Shxl srwweAw hly[ ien dl Aw Xwdgwr WbxnlAII cwhldIAII hn[

mI spSt krnw cwhldw hly ik ieh Xwdgwr w ausrn dw sI l p AwDink sI BwI bvc sB qI pihl W dws nyhl sI  
2004 ivc idqw hly[ ies adS l el dws nyGisq kIqI ik isG sBw l ihr qI I Kyvrqmn qk 'pDk' kuz l el

  
Shld hox vnl yhr iek Akwl I j Dydl Xwdgwr aisydyipF ivc, als dyipF dysihXg nli sIUI  
qWqybxwI j wvgI[

qlj yG1 Gwryj th 84 dl 25vI vrI gF qyidqw igAw ieh sI l p, iek bhq vfI Aij hw aprwl w  
sI l j oAj qk kel vI nhli kr sikaI sI[ j th 84 nli" qlj w G1 Gwry" GiSq krm qI bwAd  
ies dl " Xwdgwr" ausrn dw sI l p dws nyil Aw[ ies inimq pihl W Shxl girdAwr  
pbdk kmjtI nliPr q^q swihb nbnqIAII kIqIAII[ j d anI sI drbwI swihb ivcl yj th 84  
dyvl icnlmtwaxysrlkr idqyqW GSwxI kIqI ik pD vI n pDk sihXg nli qlj yG1 Gwryj th 84 dl  
Xwdgwr pitAII yivKyhl bxwI j wvgI[ ies vwsqy ipF FINTI smwxI ivKyfMhkl w  
zmln vI Krldl gel[ ies dw ptw sI l p AqyisDliq ivkisq krkyil Kq bD idqw igAw[

## vrgmn bxwIA gelA Xwdgr

j oXwdgr hix bxwIA gelA hn[ ien nleiqhwiskq dw pwx cV kyeik tirst pl s vj bxwieA igA h[ ien rwhl girmiq slkl p, girmiq siBAwcr, ivSvls Aqy^wl sydl pBsq dl cVb Aqysq hsql vj nrbmn nhk lq igA h[ ieW nw hox dw pMk kwn hl isDq Aqysk p dl kml dw irhw h[ ieh Xwdgr ij s S^s rwhl ikhw j ldw h[ ik bxIA hn ah pjl b srkr dl pMk h[ - mK mlk sl pkis isG bwdl [ my ien nwl kel vl j wq mnmtE nhk h[ ien nien dl isr& iesykr gizrl krky sl Akil q^q swihb vl , sl grlpD mhwrj rwhl iKqb 'pD rqn &^r eykln' 5 idslr nldx dw Al nn klq igA h[

ieh Avrf ien dIAI wel& twelm pppqlA dyADr qyhl ien nldq j skdw h[ cwr Xwdgr dIAI emrq KVIAskrwak l el nh[

ien vi k il iml ky opipqlA klqlA gelA hn ien Xwdgr qliel wv qyJwq murnl Aqys Akil q^q swihb, Smxl grdiAw rw pbDk kmjt AqygrlpD ^wl sw j l el bVI j nhl h[ myl rweymqibk Avrf dx dw Psl wais qlb Ad hl hox cwhld h[ hr ikatik Avrf "grlpD swihb" vl hwg, ies l el grlpD swihb j l dl ies inimq il Kq ivc rweyl xl vl AwSk h[ pDk ihq ivc ies midyq ien sBn sBQw vli gBirqw nwl isr j N kyicw krn dl l N h[ ies l el myl ieh vl rweyhlik h[ yes dl qirl^ Agypw l el j wv sl prkis isG bwdl dw l nli nqk j lvn h[ AwE aks qyek inrpK Jwq mrlqyqipr aks qlb Ad Psl krleyik ien nleh Avrf iml x cwhld h[ Wnh[?

1. ien Awpxryj nlqk j lvn dl ArBq 1947 ivc klql Aqy 1957 ivc kllgrs vl pD dyi^l & cxi V kySrlklql [ieh k l n(9)vr 1957, 1969, 1972, 1977, 1980, 1985, 1997, 2002 Aqy 2007 pjl wb ivDn sBw dyAqyek vr l k sBw dymbr cxyge]
2. k l cwr vr pjl wb dymk mlk iel w rhyn : 27-3-1970 qli 14-06-1971, dj l vr 20-6-1977 qli 17-02-1980, qlj l vr Prvrl 1997 qli Prvrl 2002, cQl vr mrc 2007 qli h[ Aj qk cl rhyn[
3. kldrl srkr ivc ieh mwrj l dsrel dl Bwrq dl srkr ivc Kqlbw VI Aqynihrl pwxl mlk rhyn[
4. ies qliel wv ieh iqhl vr pjl wb ivDn sBw ivc ivrDI iDr dyngw vi 1972, 1980, 2002- Prvrl 2007 qk rhyn[
5. ien grlhwnk k l j vth mksr Aqygrlgibl isG k l j mh igdVb hbxwieA h[
6. ieh Smxl grdiAw rw pbDk kmjt dl vrkly kmjt dyvl mbl br rhyn[
7. ien vi k l ivDn sBw nli Kq ivc idql Awpxl j wkwrl mqwbk ieh 'pjl wb, pjl bl Aqypl bl Aq l el 17 swl j l hvc vl sGrS krdyrhyn[

ieh ien dl k l pppql h[ ien dIAI ieh Skl pppqlA dyADr qyien bwrykel vi Psl w il Awj skdw h[ ies l el ieh inrpKw Aqyinrl pqn nwl vKxw j rhl h[ ien wj h[ Brpl sqll pppqlA dysmli k l ivc j d ieh k l sB k l krn dysmrQ sn qien ny "grlpD ^wl sw" l el Aqy" isKI" l el k l klq h[? AwE ies dl pix Cix krley:

sl bwdl 9 vr pjl wb ivDn sBw ivc j qrlrh ky4 vr mK mlk qyiqhl vr ivrDI iDr dynq dyqr qykel iek vi ivDn sBw dl Awpxl krgzrl Aij hl nhk idk skdyij s ivc ien " grlpD ^wl sw l el j w isKI l el" AQw "girmiq" dl cVb k l l el k l iek k l klq h[ h[ , ien dl pD ivrDI AqyisKI dynsl Gwq Krw dix vli IAI krrwetA bhq swrlAirkwrfy hn[ ij vj :

1. ien dymk mlk hldA h[ fjr rdw svml dw gl& apr j wxi SirlhieA[
2. inrkrl klf Amqsr ivc wpirA [ iesy hkm nwl pjl wb srkr dw j hzw inrkrl bwbynlbc kyl YkyigA[ isG Ajmqs r ivc 13 Ap 1978 nShld he[ k l k l k l k l q l gel[ ies qlb Ad bbel (h[ mlbel), iPr mD pbs ivc vi klf he[ ies nyAqies dydl dykbzyivc Smxl grdiAw rw pbDk kmjt nykwl nhk lq [ sgl frysrlsriKA Aqyshl qli dqlA gelA[
3. srs frysrd klf iesydykrj k l ivc hieA[ " pD ^wl sw" nli grlpD swihb j l nli isKI nli " Kf y bwy" nli Aqyrihq mirAwdw nli esydymlk mlk hldA vgwirA h[ nhk igA sgl aks dysmnlqr djh





- ਦਾਰਿ ies dl sih nl grrl swihbW dw rkib bx kyswhmxy AwieAW[ isG pjlb ivc, mbl el ivc Shld h[ k[ el kurvwel nhI[ klql gel[ sgl frysI[ sriKAw Aqy shI qW idqlA[ gelAW[
4. BinAWrw frysIdl iesy dy kurj k[ ivc j nimAW Aqy pPl q hieAW[ a[is ny "grrlgD swihb nIAgn Blt krky' Awpxw gD sqwpq klqw[ ies dl srkwr nykw nhI[ klqw[ sgl isGw qyhl kjs rij strf klqy Aqy ies nI[ srkwrI zmln qy frysI bxwaik dw hk idqw[ grrlgD swihb dl
  5. ies nyd[ DirlA[ nlpPl q k[ n hI Aqy grrlnnk swihb dyisDlq AqysIKl p nl m[ur mikwaik l el 'grrlnnk dy XhIvrstl' ivc a[is dysIKl p nIhl ^qm krvw ky a[is ivc 'siqqgrl rwm isG cAr' Kd bxw[ h[ qW j grrlnnk swihb dl nwnkSwhl sqw dysmnwqr, isKI nI[ k[ n vwl y pD ^wl sw nI^qm krvwaik l el, hr pkIAw Aqynw mikx vwl IAI[ m[ibq[ AqyklFypkyklqyj w[
  6. ies nyAqy ies dl pqnl ny frysIdl AwSbqS nIj nm idqw Aqy isK k[ dy iKI wP apDr k[ n l el K[ l C[ idql h[
  7. sl c[IAw nIKVw klqw hI Aqy Awpxyd l vi n[anw nImpl q kr irhw h[
  8. ivrsI isG vrgysID nI[ SKI dysmnwqr grrlvj nsQwpq kr irhw h[
  9. ies nyAwpxw bwplAwsw rwm bxw kyiek hr Brm isKI ivc pbw kr idqw h[
  10. sl rvl S[kr nI[ ies nyAiDAwqmk grrldl mwxqw dyidql h[
  11. iek hr d[ Dirl 'grrdy' nI[ prkws isG bwdl il Kq ivc 'Bgvn' GiSq krky a[is dyphw ivc mQw tjk ckyhn qya[is nIAwpxw rb m[ur ckyhn[
  12. ienI nyAwpxl swrl pwrtl dw ihpdkrn krvw idqw hI AqyihpDrm dl iek Sw^Wdy q[ r qyisKI dl Aqy isK Drm dl Bg pwwaik vl p[tl qndhI nl qryheyhn[ ij s dyqQ bl dysb[ q[ ienI dydl vl nI gdyij hyieSiqhwr hn, ij nI dl kdyvl q^qWdy j QdwrWnynts nhI[il Aw[
  13. ienI dl Aqy ienI dl sj l Kbl b[th smJyj Wdy FIfsW qyBIV dl plqpwI xw hyT sl drbw[ swihb dl nkl msqAixy vwl y swD ny s[trh ivc bxw[ hI Aqy a[is nhI hirmdr GiSq klqw h[ a[is dyies kurydl 'K[sl' ivc bwdl swihb nyas nIj wx dw rhw ivSb q[ rycw[ m[rgl krvw idqw h[
  14. swD elSr isG dygrlfh vj thx ngr klrqn inkI xyqy'sj xy Srikrvwegey hn[
  15. j d ieh sl m[urj l dywel pdw[ m[bl dl kbint ivc m[bl sn qW ienI k[ dl bjezql ieh krvwel ik pdw[ m[bl m[urj l nykVw p[swd l k qmnw kr idqw qy j d ienI dbw[ Kd djx l el ikhw qW a[is dyj vwb ivc pdw[ m[bl nyikh[ ik 'mry isr pr ml dl [ ies dybwvj l ieh mskrw kyais d[bl dl kbint ivc hl bTyrh[
  16. Kd Bwrg dyKqIbwVI Aqy 'ierlg[sn' m[bl h[lyheyienI p[blb dyphxIAW dymsl y p[blb dw nihrl k[ n AqyKqI smisAWV[vl kel vl iDAw[nhI idqw sgl p[blb dy j t izmldw[ l el m[urIP[ l yklqy[
  17. slDw[ dl Dw[ 25 Kd iqh vwr swV kyies msl ynhAbw[pr j d k[dr ivc m[bl sn a[is vkq ies sbDl iek l &z vl nhI[bl j[



18. Apxxl cwr vwr dl mK mql dl pwrl ivc sIVDn dl Dvrw 25 sbDI Apxx iek vwr vl nhlnkw klqw[
19. Apxydl vl lps Anhpir dymqysbDI ienll cwr vwr mK mql rih ky iq kyAqypJwb dIAW hix qk cikIAW gelAW 9 ivDn sB dIAW trml dymlbr mqynll wglkrvwaix vwsqyivDn sBw ivc ibl il Awaix dl j rAq nhlnklq GI Grrw isr& Anhpir dymqyl el hl hieAw h[
20. Bwrq srkwr ivc cwr vwr ienll dw dl sIUI srkwr ivc Sml hieAw BwSI iel wkyldyky nw pwxl, nw hF vrks Aqynw hl cflgVhpJwb n[
21. cwr vwr Bwrq srkwr ivc sIUI srkwr bxw kyAqcwr vwr hl mK mql b dyAprwDIAWnlkel sj wnhnidl vwsqy[
22. j th 84 ivc ienll Kd isK Pj IAW nlbtkw Cfx l el ikhw Aqys Drml Pj Inlsrkirl nkrl ivc nhnl Ysky[
23. sl kypI Aks igl nw gMsbD rKdyrhy isK nj vwn dw SryAm Gwx krn vwl ybdnw pI sIAW ij vgl grwvI , nIApxl inj l sriKAW ivc rK kyienm idbhrh[ sl iezhwr Awl m nndl dw mlbr bxwvieAw[ hix fl j l pl, pl Aks igl (ij s nyj thivc 12 isK nj vwn mrwve) nq iezhwr Awl m nndl dl itkt qyivDn sBw ivc il j waix dl iqAwrl ivc hn[
24. ies nyApxymK mql kwl ivc hl dj l pwqSwl dyj nm sQwn srwey nwgyw dy ieiqhwsk grdAwrw swihb dl zmln hVpn l el sl ismrnj lq isG mnw nll^ws Apxw Aks. pl. bxw kypJwb ivc sB qn pihl w " nkl l mklwbl w" bxwvieAw [ ieW nkl l mklwbl AW ivc isG dw Gwx krwiax dw AwrB Aqysrkirl Pbsl w qyisDwq sl prkws isG bwdl Aqyvrmwn Akwl l dl Amlqsr dypDn sl ismrnj lq isG mnw dl idmg dl kwF h[
25. sl Akwl q^q swihb dyswryhkmnwimAWnlies nyrd klqw h[ iksynll nlhnl mlnAW h[ ij s dl qwzv imswl srsyswD sbDI j wrl hey hkm nwmydl h[
26. pjwb dl j vwnl gwI n l el ies nyniSAW dl l q nj vwnl nll wel h[ anl nlpipqk pkyvl AqyisKI qnbymK hox vl pjrAW h[
27. sl Akwl q^q dyj Qdrw isG swihb Bwel girdy isG kwalkydy srkirl kwql WnAqyApxyhl dl dymnKI AiDkwr ivy dyBwel ^wl Vw dysrkirl kwql Wnbcwatl dw Awirhw h[
28. iesyadS dl pthql l el ies nyApxydl " Akwl l dl " dl isKI bxqr Aqy swiekI kql krw ky ies nlpJwbI pprtI pjwblAq dl Al brdw r bxw kypS kr idqw hieAw h[ qwj opJwb ivc isKI dw Aqy isK kbn dw ADwr Aqypihwx hl ^qm krw idql j wvij ij s l el ieh 'pjwbl kbn' dw nIArw bl kkr ckyhn[
29. hox hox h[ ies nyivrwsqy ^wl sw ivc 'pj ipAwirAW vi l pD ^wl sw dw l wieAw igAw inSw' qMvw kyaS dl QWA qyApxynwm vwl w pOr l gwax dl AprwDk krwvlel klql h[
30. ieh Awp AqyApxydl qnSryAm ihllurql irvij AqyDwrimk rsmw krw kyswq kr ckw hlyk ies dw hix pwXkln ihllqvw ivc h[ isKI ivc nhnl h[ ieh qwsqy & isKllngmrwh krn vwsqyhl kjsDwrl hlyhbx ckw h[ hix ieh isK ikvJ hlyienADwr qysl Akwl q^q swihb nll pihl w ieh swbq krw h[ pvgw[





31. sI Akwl q^q swihb nI nIacpw qf qyieh iDAw ivc rKxw cwhldw hlyk ieh bldw imQ kygrlgD swihb j I dl, sI Akwl q^q swihb j I dl AqygrlpD ^wl sw j I dl bjej ql krdw hieAw ienI nInlv idKwldw h[ ij s dyprqK prmx hn ik ieh grlgD swihb j I dl qwibAW qw kirsl Fw ky bTdw h[ ieh Akwl q^q swihb j I qyvl kirsl Fw ky bTdw h[ pjl ipAwirAW dyinSw nIFwA kyAwp Awpxw nwm il Kvwldw hlyqdj ybmnydjh DwrlAW nIAwpxw 'rb' mth kyaI dycrnw ivc bTdw qyJkdw h[



ienI ivcI kel vl midw dSx nhI h[ ies I el sI Akwl q^q swihb nIenI dw spStIkrn idqybg[ kel hk nhI bxdw ik ah ies nI" pD ^wl sw" vl Nj W isK k[ vI Nj W sI Akwl q^q swihb vl I kel vl iKqwb dx dl ihmwkq krn[ ieh alU dw hl PbsI w hwgw ij vI sI ismrnj lq isG mnw dynnw sI Arw isG srbrwh sI Akwl q^q swihb ny j nrl fwier nI il AwvI w bwg klf krn qlbwAd aI ds dl ies 'dS k[ dl sw' bdl yisrpwE dy kysnmwinq klqw sI[ ienI j Qdwrl nIieiqhs qlsbk I kw cwhldw h[ Aqyieiqhs ivc Awpxy nwm qykl k[ l g[ qfrnw cwhldw h[ mI bnpql krdw h[ ik ij vI sI prkws isG bwdl , aI dydl , aI ds srkwr Aqyais dl Smxl kmjtI ny^wl sw pD dl pg pryivc vgI kysitI h[amI hI j Qdwrl vl aI dygl w bx kypD ^wl synwI ieW hl nw krn[ ienI nIh rkx I el ^wl sw Kd AgyAwy AqyienI qQw smq kIqIAw gI WdyspStIkrn mI[ mI iksynI[ iKqwb dx dyIKI wP nhI h[ pr ienI dw iek pDk, girmiq Anrpb imAw Aqygk-Adw nIAq h[ hl cwhldw h[ Agr Aj dw isK siq[ rih igAw qBivK dl plVII ienI nI qy swI mI AwP nhI krgI[ PbsI w gr isKoqh fyhQ Aqyvs ivc h[ hBI w mwro..  
mI Pr ienI ADwrl qypD ^wl sw dl kcihrl ivc, hr iek isK Drm Aqy^wl syl el icpq DVydl dihl Iz qyieh AwpxI qlj I ptISn ies Aw nwl rKdw h[ ik Swied ieh j w g pvy, qykw kr gery]

siqkwr nwl dws,

imql; 2-12-2011

Aiqdr pI isG ^wl sqwnI swbkw Am.pl.

pDw, Smxl Akwl I dl ^wl sqwnI

j pI Gr, Bwdsnrf swhmxybs Awj swI , fukGr isDwI pitAwI w (pI 147001

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