

ৱে G / ৱে Gm Gm ত্চÖMög

mgvRZËj - 3

mgKvj xb evsj vtf`k : mgvR I ms`wZ
Contemporary Bangladesh : Society and Culture

†Kvm†KwW - **BSO 4303**



mgvwRK ৱেÁvb, gvbwK I fvlv`g
evsj vtf`k DŠŠ³ ৱেক্তে`vj q
MvRxcj - 1705



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we G / we Gm Gm tcüMög

mgvRZËj - 3

mgKvj xb evsj vř` k : mgvR I ms`vZ

Contemporary Bangladesh : Society and Culture

tj LK

W. bwmg AvLZvi tnvmvBb
Aa`vcK, mi Kvi I i vRbmZ wefvM
Rvrv/xi bMi wekte`vj q

māúv` K

Zvbfxi Avn&nb
mnKvi x Aa`vcK, Gm Gm GBP Gj , evDwe

msřkvabx KwgwU

Aa`vcK Kvgi`j Avnmvb řPřaj x
AvnevqK

i Pbv%kj x māúv` K I řKvm®mgřqKvi x

Zvbfxi Avn&nb
mnKvi x Aa`vcK, Gm Gm GBP Gj , evDwe

mgKvj xb evsj vt` k : mgvR I ms`vZ

Contemporary Bangladesh : Society and Culture

(mKj `Z; evsj vt` k Dššš` wekpe``vj q KZK msivvZ)

cŭg cKvk : 2003

mBg cKvk : 2010

Aóg cKvk : 2011

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cņQ` cwi Kí bv I vWRvBb

gvmy gvngy gvj K

vPÍ v¼b

gvmy gvngy gvj K

Kfvi MŃnd.

Ave`j gvŃj K

AŃi web`vm I tçBR tj -AvDU

tgv. Avej Kvj vg AvRv`

tgv. RvKi"j Bmj vg mi Kvi

cKvkbvq

cKvkbv, gvY I weZiY wefivM

evsj vt` k Dššš` wekpe``vj q

MiRxcj - 1705

মুদ্রণ

ফরাজী প্রেস এণ্ড পাবলিকেশন্স

২৮/এ, প্যারিদাস রোড

ঢাকা-১১০০।

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cV wbt` Rbv

wcđg wk¶| v_x¶MY

evsj vt` k Dššp wekte`vj tqi mvgwRK weÁvb, gvbeK I fvlv`g cwi Pwj Z weG/weGmGm tcđMđtg Avcbvt` i tk`mZ Rlvw`Q|

mgKvj xb evsj vt` tk i mgvR I ms`wZ wetq GB cV`eBtq tgvU 11wU BDwbđU 45wU cV Ašfš nqtqđ| mgvR I ms`wZ cđtđ½ wj wLZ cV_wj Avcbvt` i cwi wPZ Ges cđZ`wnK Rietbi mtđ½ weRwoZ| ej v hvq mgvR emewmKvix I ms`wZi Abkxj bKvix wntmte G mKj wetq Avcbvt` i avibv mwđ nqtqđ| GtZ Aek` mgvR I ms`wZ Aa`qđbi wetq_wj cwi wPZ ntj I, Avcbvt` i cđK-Abgvđbi KviđY mgi`v`Zix nđZ cvđi |

cKZct¶| mgvR I ms`wZi Avšm`uK`Ges G_wj i mtđ½ RwoZ ivRbwZ I A_đwZi m`uK`mij bq, RwJ | ZvQov tkbwmZ, wj ½xq, RwmZM wefvrB mvgwRK-ms`wZK m`uK`wđ jK RwJ Zi Kti tZvtj | Dciš` mgvR I ms`wZ Acwi eZđxq wKQybq | GmKj t¶¶Ā AbeiZ e`j NuđQ Ges G e`j Pjgvb | ifcvišixj mgvRi BwZnm AvđQ | GB ifcvišii cđwqv tevsv hvq wefbcđkē vo Kivđbi gđa` w`tq Ges ZđĒi mrvđđ` | Avcbv chfē¶b Kij ešđZ cvitēb wKfvte ¶lgZv I `elg` mvgwRK m`uđK¶ Pnvi v cvđē t`q | nvj Avgđj mgvRweÁvbMY AwacZ`, ¶lgZv, JcubteikKZv, cđvZ` I AcvđvZ` t`tki m`uK`BZ`w` cđtđ½i Dci tRvi w`đQb | mtefcwi mgvRtK tk`^Kti th mKj msNvZ, đU mwđ nqtq bZb aviv`Zix nq Zvl Aa`qb Kiv Ri`ix |

mv`cđZK Kvtj mgvRweÁvbMY mgvR wetkđY mgvđj vPvi aviv`Zix KtiđQb Ges ZĒi`vo KtiđQb | evsj vt`tki MtelKMY mgvR I ms`wZ cđtđ½ wefbcđkēđi vcb KtiđQb Ges PjđPiv wetkđY KtiđQb | mgvRielqK we`v RvMwZK Avđj vPbv, wPšv-fvebv, ZK`weZK`mgđni Dci GB cV` eBtq `i`Zi Avđivc Kiv nqtqđ |

AvkvKwi mgvRwetkđYi ZweĒK hvđvi KwZcq `i`ZpY`w`tki msw¶B Dc`vcv Avcbvt` i ep`epĒEK cđwZđZ mrvđđ` Kite | Avcbvt` i KiYxq nđ`Q Avđiv Ri`ix cđkēđi vcb Kiv hv mgvR ifcvišii aib Abmđvđb Avb KgRvđđK mgx Kite |

mgKvj xb evsj vt` tk : mgvR I ms`wZ eBwU`ik¶¶Y c`wZi wK¶v_đ`i Rb` i wPZ nqtqđ | cPwj Z c`wZi eBđqi tPđq GLvđb cVmwgMđ wfbefvte Dc`vcv Kiv nqtqđ | cVmwgMđ Dc`vctbi G c`wZ gWđjvi c`wZ bđtg cwi wPZ | GLvđb cV`cđ`K GKmvt` cV`cđ`K I wK¶đKi fvgKv cvj b Kti | GtZ wK¶v_đ`i tk wK¶đKi mivmvi mrvqZv Qvov wđtRB covtkvbn KitiZ nq | G KviđY eBwUi wetqē`hZ`i m`e wđtR cto tevsvi DcđhVx Kti i Pbv Kiv nqtqđ | wK¶v_đ`i v hvđZ GB eB cto AwakZi mđj jvf KitiZ cvđi b tmRb` wđtP wKQv wđt`Rbv Zđj aiv nj :

1. BDwbđU ev Aa`vđqi wktivbvq fvgKv cto m`e` wetqē`wK nđZ cvđi tm m`uđK`avi Yv Ki`b |
2. cđtg cvđvi me`đjv Dđi`k` gđbđđhM mnKvđi cob |
3. Gici cV_wj v gđbđđhM mnKvđi cob |
4. cVtđkđi cvđwĒi gj`vqđbi cđkēđjvi DĒi t`I qvi tPđ Ki`b | me`đjv cđkē DĒi mwK bv ntj GB cVwU Avevi I fij Kti cob Ges cđkēđjvi mwK DĒi w`tZ tPđv Ki`b | Gici msw¶B I i Pbvđj K cđkēđjvi DĒi Rvbn AvđQ wKbv t`Lp, Rvbn bv`vKđj msikē-Ask Avevi I cob | GB c`wZ AbjmiY Kti BDwbđUi me`đjv cV tkI Ki`b |
5. tKvb Ask wđtR ešđZ bv cvđđj wJDđUwvi qvj tKđ`đi wJDUđi (wK¶đKi) mrvqZv wbb | Zđe gđb ivLteb Avcbv `i wK¶đđi GKRb wK¶v_đ`i GB eBwU Avcbvi metPđq eo wK¶K | ZvB GB eBwU evi evi cotēb Ges ešđZ tPđv Kiteb | Zvndđj Avkv Kwi cix¶vi Rb` AvcbvtK `wđšv KitiZ nđe bv | eBđqi tktI Avđiv covi Rb` wbe¶PZ Mđši Zwj Kv t`I qv nqtqđ |

tKvm`mgšđKvi x

Introduction

Awakvsk mgq evsj v`tki HwZnwmK cwiPq Rvbi t`q`i ivRv, ivR`kymb Avi h`kweM0ni Dci Avtj vKcV Kiv nq| G aitbi AvbPPP`t`tk evsj v AAtj i gvb`li i wltq Lp KGB Rvb hvq| cKZc`q gvb`li i wltq Rvb`Z ntj Rvbv c0qvRb Zv`i RxebhvIvi aib, A_0awZK m`uK, mgvR MVb, fvlv, ms`wZ BZ`w` | GB BDwb`Ui Avtj vPbvq evsj v AAtj i gvb`li i b%e`AmbK Dm, Av_0mvgwRK e`e`v, Drcv`b c`wZ, tkYxi weKvk, q`gZv m`uK, ivt0i aib I kvmKtkYxi MVb BZ`w` ielq A`f` n`q`q| t`f`Mwj K w` K t`tk c0Pxb Kv`j B evsj v AAtj b`xewvZ c`ij gwU 0v`v MvZ De` mgZj fig wnt`te Mto D`v| wewfb0RwZ`Mv0xi gvb| G AAtj emev`mi Rb` AvK0 nq| evsj vi Aw`evmMY At0j qv t`tk AvMZ Aw0K fvlv fvlx RbtMv0x etj Rvb hvq| evsj v fvlv I mvgwRK `t` web`v`m Avh` i c`ve c`o| Kw I e`emv ewY`R` evsj vevm`x mgw` AR0 Kti | evsj vi A_0awZK I mvgwRK e`e`vq e`vcK cwi eZ0 m`PZ nq Jcwb`enkK kvmbvg`j | fig w`f`EK AwfRvZ tkYxi I kni t`Kw`K Bst`wR w`k`q`Z ga`weE tkYxi weKvk N`U| evsj vi A_0wZ w`k` c`Rev` i m`z` h` nq| cieZ`f`Z c`wK`wbx kvmbvg`j c`0v`Z`i mvg`R`ev` w`f` c`Rev` x mgvR e`e`v Mto D`v| ewK Jcwb`enkK I c`wK`wbx kvmbvg`j evsj vi m`u` t`tki evBti cvPvi n`q hvq| evsj v`tki `v`xbZvi ci m`u` t`tki t`f`Zi abx tkYxi n`vZ c`v`fZ n`Z `v`K| Zte Av`R`wZK kw`mg`ni Dci evsj v`k i v`0i w`f`k`j Zvi m`uK Ae`v`Z Av`Q|

GB BDwb`Ui c`w`_w`j n`q` -

- ◆ c`w` - 1 : evsj v`tki gvb| I mgv`Ri Dm
- ◆ c`w` - 2 : Jcwb`enkK I c0K-c`Rev` x A_0wZi i fcv`st`
- ◆ c`w` - 3 : evsj v`k i v`0 i w`k`q`b
- ◆ c`w` - 4 : MYZ`i evsj v`tki kvmb e`e`v

evsj v`tki gublj I mgv`Ri Drm

Bangladesh : The Origin of the People and its Society

GB cvWU cto Avcwb RvbZ cvi teb -

- evsj vfwl RbtMvõx I evsj v fvlvi Drm
- cõPxb evsj vq A_`wZK Rxeb
- cõPxb evsj vi mgvR Kwv`gv
- kvmb e`e`vi ai b

evsj vfwl RbtMvõx I evsj v fvlvi Drm

*evsj v AA`tj wewfbaRwZ
tMvõxi gublj emwZ Mto
Ztj wQj | μgrštq RmZ
tMvõx, tj vi gta`
GKTxKiY ntqtQ|*

cõPxb evsj v AA`tj i tFšMwj K mxgvbv cõKwZKfvte wPwYZ ntq hvq| DEti i mxgvbv wba`Y Kti wngj q ceZ | `w`jYi mxgvbv wPwYZ Kti et`wcmMi | cwõtg tbcvj fUvbi cwnox AAj tFšMwj Kfvte cõPxb evsj v AAj tK c_K Kti | cte`epcY b`x, Mrtiv, Lwmqv, Rqwsq cwno Ges Avt v `w`jY j`wvB I AvivKvbi cwnox AAj mxgvbv wba`Y Kti | PZw`K GB `úo cõKwZK mxgvbv tFZti AvtQ mgZj fvg | mw`N`vj atj GB mgZj fvg Mto Dtv`Q wewfbae`xewwZ cwj gwU Øviv | cãvZ cUv, tgNbv, epcY, Kitzqv, fwmix b`x Ges Gme b`xi AmsL` kvLv DckLv cõPxb evsj vi fvg`K wetaSZ Kti`Q | cõPxb Kvj t`tKB b`x`w wewfbemgq MwZc_ cwi eZ` Kti`Q | b`xi BwZv`mi m`½ Rwtq tM`Q cõPxb evsj vi gublj I BwZv`m | tFšMwj K fvte wv`Ø cõPxb evsj v AA`tj wewfbae RmZtMvõxi gublj emwZ Mto Ztj wQj b | Zv`i fvlvi wQj wewa | μgrštq RmZtMvõx`w i gta` GKTxKiY ntqtQ Ges fvlvi e`j ntq GKw wv`Ø ifc avi Y Kti`Q | Z_wc eZ`v Kvj AtbK `j`RmZtMvõxi gublj evsj v`tki em Ktib hv`i wvR`fvlv AvtQ | cõPxbKvj G AA`tj th KtqKw gubeemwZi bvg cvl qv hvq tm`w nt`Q- tMši, cU, eti`ª, ivp, mw`v, Zvgw`B, mgZU, e`½, ev`½v I nwi`Kj v |

kvmbKtMvõx ckwmbK cõqRtb AtbKevi evsj v AAj tK LwUZ Kti`Qb | me`kl 1947 mtj fviZ wewf`mi mgq evsj v AAj tK w`LwUZ Kiv nq | GKw Ask fviZ I Ab` Askw cwk`wb ivt`i AS`f` nq | 1971 mtj cwk`wb AS`f` Askw wew`Obentq evsj v`k iv` MvZ nq | ivR`wZK mxgvbv wba`Yi dtj evsj v fvlv fvlx gublj Rb thgb evsj v`tki AvtQb tZgub evsj v`tki mxgvbv evBti I AvtQb |

b`e`vmbK Drm L`Rtj t`Lv hvq th cõPxb evsj v AA`tj i RbtMvõx tKvb ALÉ RmZ wQj bv | Aw`K ev tFw`MYB evsj vfwl RbtMvõxi cwip`qi cãv Drm | tFw`i`i Aw`Kvsk wQj b Kw Rxex | Zte AtbtK w`Kvixl wQj b, thgb- tKvj, w`fj, mwL Zvj, tnvq, gUv, mw`v | Avh` i AvMgtbi ci tFw`i`i m`½ Zv`i m`u`K`w`etivacY`ntq Dtv | Avh`v tFw`i`i MY`K Øv`lv`Ø Ges Zv`i fvlv`K`ØAm`ii`Ø fvlv etj AvL`wqZ Ktib | Dtj` th cõPxb evsj v Rbct`i tFw`i`i MY` th e`v`x mf`Zv Mto tZtj b Zv wQj Mõg tKw`K I Kw cãv | cõPxb tFw`i`i MY` j`v`j w`tq Pvlv`v`i`i` Ktib | avb Pw`li Dci Zviv`i`Zi` t`b | GQvov Kvj, te`b, tj ey cvb, bw`i`Kj, Rv`f`v, Kv`g`v`v, Rvg, Wvj, nj`j, mw`vix, tej BZ`w` I Pvl

tavcv, PÜvj, evDwi, em^o, tg_i BZ`w` | GQvov kvmKtMvöxi Ašf^o wQtb ivRv, ivR
cwi evi I ivR`ievⁱi KgRZ^oKgPvi xMY |

Aóg kZvāx ch^o-wefb^omkj wj mc I Ab`vb` Z_ t_žK mgv^oR GK aižbi gh^ovi t^of`v^of^o i
e`vcvⁱ avi Yv cvl qv hvq | j ^oYxq th Aw^o mvgw^oRK web`v^om RvwZag^o tkYx`žUvi w^of^oEžZB
t^of`v^of` Mto DžV | c^oPxb mgv^oR exUb e`e`vi Dci` i`Zi Av^oivc Kiv nžZv | w^oKŠ` mgv^oR
RwZ ežY^o avi Yv`_vKvq Ges D`P-bxP gh^ovi t^of`v^of``_vKvq Zv žviv exUb e`e`v c^of^owEz
nžZv | A_ž gh^ov w^of^obnl qvq exUbl Amg b^owiZi Dci c^ožw^oZ wQj | Zte c^ožB Džj`Kiv
nžqžQ th c^oPxb mgv^oRi gj j ^o wQj mKj žK c^ožqvRb tgUv^obvi gZ m^out` i thw^oMv t`qv |
wef^ob^oemž t_žK wZb aižbi gh^ovi t^of`v^of^o i K_v Rvbv hvq - žgnvEiž, žKw^ož I
ž^ov^of^owi bž | gnvEiMY nž`Qb mgv^oR c^of^ovekvjx abx K.I.K, K^ož^o nž`Qb m^ovaviY K.I.K,
f^ov^of^owi bMY nž`Qb mi Kvi x KgPvi x | mgv^oR mežPžq tekx gh^ovi Aw^oKvi x wQtb e`emvqx I
ewYKMY, ivR`ievⁱi KgRZ^oMY I ežP^oMY |

Aóg t_žK ž^oqv`k kZvāxi gž^o evsjv Ažžj mvgw^oRK`ž web`vm Av^oiv Rwžj nžq DžV |
ZLb ivR`ievⁱi KgRZ^oKgPvi x`i KžqKwž tkYxžZ fvM Kiv nq | K.I.K`i gž^o I
wef^ovRb Kiv nq hv c^ož^oQj bv | Aóg kZvāxi gž^o c^oPxb evsjv Ažžj e`emv ewYžR`i
mgw^o Kžg hvl qvq Kwž i` i`Zi ew^o cvq | džj Kwž žZ wef^ovRb m^ož nq | ivR`ievⁱi c^ožvmK
I tmeK (servant) GB`ž tkYx Kiv nq | tmeKMžYi gž^o A_žw^oZK Ae`vi w^of^oEžZ Av^oiv
KžqKwž Dc^owef^ovm Kiv nq | Av^oi Kwž tkYxžZ Ašf^o nb c^ožE I ag^ož e`w^oMY | GžZ
c^ožw^oZ ežP^oMY Ašf^o nb | w^oKŠ` Ab`vb` atžP m^ož^obxq e`w^oMY Ges w^ož^otkYxž^o K^ow,
m^ow^ow^oZ`KMY GB tkYxž^o nb | A_žw^oZKfv^ote GB tkYxž^oMY mi Kvi c^ožE Rwž I Aw^ož
m^ov^ov^o j v^of` Kžib | RwžžZ Drcv`žbi mž½ Rwžž`i AžbK^o wj tkYxžZ wef^o Kiv nq | c^ož
tkYxžZ wQtb Rwžj gwj KMY hviv Rwž exUb Kžib | wžZxq tkYxžZ gnv gnvEi I gnvEiMY
hviv m^ož^ombZ Ges Awž abx I abx K.I.K | ZZxq tkYxž^o wQtb K^ož^o hviv m^ovaviY K.I.K |
PZ^ož^otkYxž^oMYžK K.I.K evj nq KviY Gž`ižK Lž Až Rwž c^ožv Kiv nq wžžR w^oKsev
f^oMPvl Kivi Rb` | Zte Zviv ž^ož e`emv w^oKsev Kvi`w^ož^o wžžq^oRZ t_žK I R^owE^oKv w^ož^o
Kžib | c^ož^ož tkYxž^o wQtb f^ognxb I k^ožKMY | wef^ob^oAbv^ož^ož^o R^owžžMvöxi g^ovž RbžK I
GB tkYxž^o Kiv nq | GB tkYxžK žKvb ivR^ožw^oZK I mvgw^oRK Aw^oKvi c^ožv Kiv nq bv |
RwžZetY^o c^ožk^o Zv^o i Ae`vb wQj Rwž ew^of^ož I c^ožšK | j ^oYxq th G ch^ožq e`emvqx I
ewYK tkYxžK Avb^ožw^oKfv^ote žKvb`ž^o Kiv nq bv, hw I A_ž^ožEi gwj K n^ol qvi džj
Zv^o i Ae`vb Kvhž ZLb I D`Pgh^ovi wQj |

c^oPxb evsj vi abx I
`wi`ž`i e`eavb Zv^o i
R^ožb hv^ovq c^ožZclj Z
nq |

c^oPxb evsjvq abx I`wi`ž`i e`eavb Zv^o i R^ožb hv^ov t_žK tevSv hvq | wef^ob^oDr^om t_žK
`wi`ž`i D^ow^o Rvbv hvq (bx^ovi ižb ivq 1994)² ž^onv^ožv fvZv b^ow^ož Av^of^ovmž | g^ovžb
n^ov^ožZ fvZ žbB w^oKŠ` c^ožw^o b Awžw^o Av^ožmb | m^ovaviY K.I.žKi`ž b^ow`b Lv` wQj žAM^ovi
fvZZv MvBKv w^oNZZvž | g^ovžb m^ovaviY g^ovžž I Lv` wQj K^ov cvZvq težo t`qv ažqv DVv Mi g
fvZ I mž½ Mi`i`ž t_žK`žix w^o | abx K.I.žKi`ž b^ow`b L^ovevi wQj K^ov cvZvq težo t`qv
ažqv DVv Mi g fvZ, Mi`i`ž žai w^o, g^ovžQi g^ožov I cvUkvK |`wi`ž`i g^ovžž Ržbi`ž w^oK Lv` wQj
Mi g fvžZ kvK |

² Nihar Ranjan Roy, *History of the Bengali People*, Orient Longman Ltd., Hyderabad, 1994.

Avh⁹mgvR wZZwšK mgvR e`e`v cŰZŰv Kti | cŰPxb evsj vi weifbæDrm t`tk Rvbn hvq th
bviŕK j`zi gZ mgxkwj bx, gwUi gZ mnbkxj v I`ŕgxi cŰZ cwZeZv nI qvi wkŕlv cŰvb
Kiv nq| cŰ mšvb RbŕK „i“Zi cŰvb Kiv nq| abx etŕPYYMY eumeevn KiŕZb| thšZK
cvi qvi Rb` etŕPYYMY wbaetŕYP bviŕK weevn Kiv`ea gŕb KiŕZb| weaev nI qvŕK bvi xi Rb`
AvfKvc gŕb Kiv nŕZv Ges weaevŕK KŕVvi wbgq cvj b KiŕZ nŕZv| knŕi bvi xiv wkŕlvj vŕ
KiŕZ cviŕZb| knŕi bvi xiv Mvb I bŕŕi tckvq wbtqwrZ nŕZb| weĒkxj x cwi evŕii
bviŕ`i Awak c`ŕ cvj b KiŕZ nŕZv| wkš`wi`a tkYxi bvi x evRŕi I gvŕV KivR KiŕZ
cviŕZb| Zviv KwqK kŕgi KivRI KiŕZ cviŕZb| wkš`Zv`i AZUv c`ŕKiŕZ nŕZv bv|

Avh⁹ i cwi ewi K I mvgwRK AvBŕbi weciŕZ cŰPxb evsj vq Avh⁹ i cŕŕŕe bviŕ`i
m⁹ŰEi DEiwaKvi weIQ AvBb wQj etj Rvbn hvq| Ő`qvŕvMvŰ AvBŕb`x KZR`ŕgxi
m⁹ŰE DEiwaKŕii Rb` e`e`v Kiv nq|`qvŕvMv AvBb Avh⁹ i AvBbŕŕ bq| GwU
wgZvŕiv AvBb Őviv cwi Pwj Z| Rvbn hvq th`qvŕvMv AvBb cŰqM Kti cŰPxbKŕŕj AŕbK
bvi x`ŕgxi KvQ t`tk A`wbtq e`wkŕi I Kvi`wkŕi i KivR KiŕZb| AŕbK bvi x`ŕgxi
tckvq| wbtqwrZ nŕZb|

kymb e`e`v

cŰwZnwmKkvj t`tk evsj v AĀŕj i K.I.K mgvR Mŕg chŕŕq Ges wkKvi x mgvR UŕBe chŕŕq
msNex wQj | gvŕj Rŕbi AvbMZ` cŰvbZ wQj Mŕg cĀŕŕqZ I UŕBŕei cŰZ| AvBb k:Lj v
iŕlv Kiv, msnwZ`vcv Kiv, wePvi I kw`ŕ weavb Kiv meikQy wQj Mŕg cĀŕŕqZi`wqZi|
wLŕŕi Rŕbŕi ci wŰZxq I ZZxq kZvĀŕZ evsj v AĀj tgš`estki kvmŕbi Ašŕŕ nq etj
Rvbn hvq| tgš`estki ivRvi cŰZwŕa evsj v AĀj cŰkvmŕbi`wqZi cvj b KiŕZb|
tKšUŕŕi A`Rv`ŕ t`tk Rvbn hvq th ivRvi cŰZwŕa cŰKwZK`ŕhŕMi mgq ivR fvŰvi t`tk
K.I.KMYŕK Lv` I exR mrvnh` wŕZb| Zviv iv`wvU I cvj I wbgŕŕ KŕŕŕQb| cĀg kZvĀŕZ
evsj v AĀj`ŕ mvgŕŕRi Ašŕŕ nq| ZLb Avh⁹ i RŕUj cŰkvmŕbK I Avgj vZwšK e`e`v
evsj v AĀj cŰZwŕ nq| meŕŕŕq eo ivR%wZK BDwŕŕi bvg wQj Őŕŕŕŕŕ| Zvi bŕŕP wQj
KŕqKwU Őwekŕ, Zvi Aaxŕb KŕqKwU ŐgŰj Ő, Zvi Aaxŕb KŕqKwU Őweŕŕŕ| GKwU Őweŕŕŕi Aaxŕb
wQj KŕqKwU Mŕg Ges meŕŕa ivR%wZK BDwŕU wQj Mŕg| mvariYZ ivR cwi evŕii KvDŕKB
ivRv ŕŕŕ cŰvb wntŕŕe wŕŕŕ KiŕZb| cŰZwŕ Mŕg cŰkvmŕbK I wePvi weŕvMxq e`e`v wQj |
Mŕŕgi etŕP, ŐgnvĒiŐ I ŐKwŕŕMY Mŕŕgi cŰkymb I wePvi KivR cwi Pwj bv KiŕZb wksev ivRvi
cŰZwŕŕŕK mrvqZv KiŕZb|

cŰPxb evsj vi kymb
e`e`v meŕŕa
ivR%wZK BDwŕU wQj
Mŕg| gvŕj Rŕbi
AvbMZ` cŰvbZ wQj Mŕg
cĀŕŕqZ I ŕMŕvi cŰZ|

IŐ kZvĀŕZ e½ GKwU c`K I`ŕaxb ivR` wntŕŕe wŕR`ivR%wZK e`e`v Őviv cwi Pwj Z
nq| Gi gj wŕŕE wQj KwŕwŕŕEK A`ŕwZ| dŕj Kwŕ e`e`vcv ivŕR`i cŰvb KivR etj
weŕŕPZ nq| Aŕg kZvĀŕZ cvj estki kymb cŰZwŕ nq Ges Zviv PrikZ ermi ivRZi
Kŕib| cŕe`ivŕR`i cŰvb ev ivRŕŕK ŐgnwŕivRŐ etj AvL`wqZ Kiv nŕZv| cvj estki
kymbKŕŕj ivRŕŕK Őciŕgkŕi Ő etj I weŕŕPbv Kiv nq| Zvi gvŕb ivRv wQj b meŕŕP ŕlgZvKxj
cŕŕ Ges Ckŕii cŰZwŕa| ivŕŕq cŰZwŕaMY agŕŕ weIqw` I cwi Pwj bv Kŕib| cvj estki
ivRv ivRŕŕŕ b tešx agŕŕŕŕ Ges Zviv ciatg`mŕwĀz wQj b| Rvbn hvq th cvj estki
ivRZKŕŕj tešxag`I wŕ`ŕg`wŕŕK mgvb „i“Zi cŰvb Kiv nq| Ő`k kZvĀŕZ tmb estki
kymbvgŕj Avgj vZwšK e`e`v Avŕiv mšwvZ nq| tmb estki kvmKMY wQj b wŕ`yagŕŕŕŕ
Zŕŕ`i kymbvgj t`tk tešx agŕŕŕŕŕ cŰZ`eix AvPiY Kiv nq| Zŕŕ`i AZ`vŕŕŕi evsj v
AĀj i tešx atg`AbMZiv cŰq wŕwŕŕŕ nŕq hvq|

ivtRi c_K kimb e`v`ii" nI qvi ci t_tK mgvR `wi`^tkYxi K.I.K I fignxb tkYxi
`tL Kó epv cvq| mgvR RvZey@I tkYx Øviv weF³ nI qvq wbaey@I wbaetkYxi gvbl Rb
wbhZZ nb| ivtRi avhRZ LvRbvi Ptcl `wi`^tkYxi Rieb AwZó ntq DtV| etpY,
D`PweE I mgvRcuZt`i cÖZ `wi`^tkYx evn`Z AvbM`Z cÖk@ KitjI Zvt`i cÖZ
mWZ`Kvti i k`vi gtbvive I Av`v bó ntq hvq| `wi`^tkYxi eAbv I t`vtfi AbvY`Z tkYx
mPZbZv mWó Kti wbl Zte `wi`^tkYxi t`vtfi dtj GKwJ weKí avivi agv@ PPP`ii" nq,
hvi gj bWZ wQj gvbeKZv I mgZv (bxvvi Ab ivq 1994)³ | wbaetkYxi AZw`q agPP@ tKvb
RvZey@ev tkYx t`vtf` wQj bv|

1203-4 Lóvtã, evsj v AÂj gmnj gvb kvmKt`i Aaxtb Avtm| BLwZqvi Dwí b tgvnv`\$ web
eLwZqvi wLj wR bvgK GK AvdMvb evsj v AÂtj i wv`y kvmK j YtmbtK AwZ mntR
ciwRZ Kti GB AÂtj wbtRi AwacZ` cÖZwóZ Ktib| Gi cieZ`cuPkZ ermñi i I Awak
mgq evsj v AÂj gmnj gvb kimbvaxb wQj | GB mgqKvj tK evsj v AÂtj i mP`Y`M ej v Pñj |
gmnj gvb kimbvgtj , evsj v AÂtj i A`wWZK, mvgwRK I mvs`wZK DbwZi t`t`i we`\$qKi
AMWZ jvf Kti | tmb estki ivRZKvtj wv`y etpY tkYxi wbuco`b Gt`tki mvaviY
RbtMvóx hviv AwakvskB wQj wbaetkYxi, Zviv Pigvte wMvnxZ nWQj | evsj v AÂtj
gmnj gvb`i AwacZ` cÖZwóZ nevi ci, wbhZZ RbMY µgštq Bmj vtgi mKxZj Ovqvg
wbtRt`i mgc` Kti | Bmj vtgi mvg` I avZtZi bWZ cEj fite wbcwóZ RbMYtK AvKó
Kti |

gmnj g kimbvgtj evsj v fvlv I mwnZt`i cFvZ DbwZ nq| ga`htMi evsj v mwnZ` gmnj g
kvmKt`i cÖZ`q| cötcvI KZvq AZ`š-mg`kvj x ntq DtV| G OvovI gmnj g kvmKt`i D`vi
gtbvive GB AÂtj bvbvZi atg` mgštq I weKvk NtU| D`vi wPšvaviq evsj v AÂtj i
gvbl wv³ nq| gvbeZv I mvtg`i bWZ Øviv Abv`wY`Z ntq gmnj g htM GB AÂtj bvbv ai`bi
agv@ I mvgwRK Avt`vj b msMwZ nq| gmnj g kimbvgtj i Dtj L`hvM` w`K ntjv GB mgq
evsj v AÂj axti axti msMwZ ntZ `vtK| 1338 t_tK 1538 Lóvã ch\$-GB `ß kZ ermñi
evsj v AÂj mmsnZ ifc jvf Kti | Ges GB AÂj tgvNj kimbvaxb mpevn evsj v ev evsj v
c`k wmvte cÖZwóZ nq|

1757 Lóvtã mpevn evsjvi kimbvivi epUk mgvR`ev`x kv³i Aaxtb b`-nq| evsjvi
ZrKvj xb blque wmi vRt`šj w`tK ciwRZ Kti epUk B÷ BwUqv tKv`vuvx Gt`tk Zvt`i
ivRtZi mPbv Kti Ges Kvj µtg tMvUv fvi Ze`l` kvmK wmvte wbtRt`i cÖZwóZ Kti |

³ Nihar Ranjan Roy, *History of the Bengali People*, Orient Longman Ltd., Hyderabad, 1994.

mivsk

ersjv AAj b`xewmZ cij gmlU w`tq Mto DtvfQ| Gi cŰKwZK mxgubv Ab`vb` AAj t`tk
ersjvtK c_K Kti| cŰvbZ Rigi DePZvi KviŷY newfbæRmZtMvôxi gubj G AAjt emeim
KittZ Avtmb| Zvt`i gta` ubtMŰ, AwóK, `meo, gŷzvj, Avh,°cvi m` I AvdMvb gubj Rb
AvtQb| newfbæRmZtMvôxi gta` mgšŷ NtU| Zte ersjv AAjt i AwaKvsk Awm`evmx AwóK
RmZfzß| KwltZ ersjv AAj cŰPibKij t`tkB mgx uQj| Kwlt cY` wet`tkl i Bvbx ntZv|
Zte Kwimix ukf I e`emv emYtR` ersjv AAj mgw× ARß Kti| mj` BDtvc chš-e`emv
emYR` we`ZZ uQj| Avhŷ i AvMgtbi ci Zvt`i ms`Z fvlvi cŷvte ersjv fvlv ueKvk jvf
Kti| Avhŷ i AvMgtbi dtj ersjvi mvgmRK `t web`mI RmZeY°cŰv ōvi cŷvmeZ nq|
cŰvmubK e`e`iq Rulj Zv mŷó nq| Zte Mŷg meŷæ BDubU wntmte KvR Kti| Rig I m`ú`
eUtb `elg` uQj| ukš` cŰZ`K e`ir³ i tetP`vKvi gZ m`ú` cvlqvi AwaKvi uQj| tešx
agŷej`MY KZR Avh°ms`wZ ersjvq cŰek Kti| Avhŷ i eYeŰvi tPtq tešx`t i
gubezvev`x`kŷbi cŰZ ersjv AAjt i gubj AwaK AvKó nb| tešx atgŷ nekjmTK Zv v Aš-
ti jvj b Ktib|

cvṫwĒi gj ṽqb

ṽbeṽṽK cĕke

mṽṽK DĒṽi i cvṫk ṽJK (ṽ) ṽPý ṽ b -

- 1| ṽfṽi ṽ Kviv?
K. ṽbṽṽUṽ RṽZ L. AṽṽK RṽZ
M. gṽṽj RṽZ N. AṽṽRṽZ
- 2| ṽbṽj ṽLZ ṽKṽṽṽZ Aṽṽ i cṽṽe cṽo?
K. j ṽṽj ṽ ṽq Pṽṽṽṽ L. eṽṽmṽ eṽṽRṽṽ
M. mṽṽRṽK ṽṽ webṽṽm N. eṽṽ-ṽṽṽ
- 3| ṽKṽ RṽZṽMṽṽi cṽṽe ṽsj ṽq kni Mṽo DṽV?
K. gṽṽj L. Aṽṽṽ
M. ṽfṽi ṽṽ N. ṽṽeo
- 4| ṽfṽi ṽṽ i ṽṽṽi th mKj kṽ ṽsj ṽ ṽṽṽi Aṽṽṽ tm mKj kṽṽK ṽK ṽj ṽ nq?
K. cṽṽZ kṽ L. Aṽṽṽkṽ
M. ṽṽ kṽ kṽ N. ṽṽṽ kṽ kṽ
- 5| ṽsj ṽ Aṽj Kṽṽ ṽṽ ṽṽ ṽṽṽṽṽ ṽṽṽ?
K. 1203 L. 1400
M. 1302 N. 1000
- 6| ṽsj ṽ mṽṽṽZ iṽc j ṽṽ Kṽṽ
K. 1540 - 1640 Lṽṽṽ L. 1338 - 1538 Lṽṽṽ
M. 1240 - 1340 Lṽṽṽ N. 1120 - 1220 Lṽṽṽ

mṽṽṽṽ cĕke

- 1| cṽṽṽ ṽsj ṽi ṽṽR KṽṽṽṽZ ṽK Dṽṽ-ṽṽṽ ṽṽṽṽṽ ṽṽṽ?
- 2| cṽṽṽ ṽsj ṽi A_ṽṽṽṽZ ṽfṽi ṽṽ i Aeṽṽ ṽK aiṽṽi?

i Pṽṽj K cĕke

- 1| ṽṽṽṽ RṽZṽMṽṽi ṽṽṽṽi dṽj ṽKṽṽe ṽṽṽ x RṽZ eZṽṽ iṽc j ṽṽ Kṽṽṽṽ
Aṽṽ ṽPṽṽ Kiṽṽṽ
- 2| cṽṽṽ ṽsj ṽi ṽṽṽ eṽṽṽ ṽKṽṽ ṽṽṽ Aṽṽ ṽPṽṽ Kiṽṽṽ

e'emvi gbrdv e'ZxZ ivR^t_tK AwRZ wecj cwi gvY A_©Bsj v'fU to0Y Kiv nq| evsj v mjevn t`I qvbx Ges Ab`vb` AĀtj AwacZ` j v'fci ci tKv'úvbx tRvi ceR Awak nvti ivR^ Av`vq Kti| GK K_vq tKv'úvbx hK cwi Pij bv, `mb`emnbx I `M^e`e`vcbv, KgRZP KgPvi x` i teZb menKQj e`q vGUv'bv i Rb` c0qvRbxq A_©Dcgnv`k t_tKB msM0h Kti| ivR^; `pRZ Ges ej ceR Dcgnv`tki Awaevmx` i Kv0 t_tK Zviv A_©Av`vq Kti tbq| GUv'K GKZi dv j E`b ej v thtZ cvti| AZtci 1793 mvtj wPi `vqx e`v`vet`+ AvBb c0qb Kti Rvq`vi tkYxK fvgi GK`QI `vqx gwj tK cwi YZ Kiv nq| Rvq`vi t` i gva`tg Kul t`T t_tK wecj A_©LvRbv wntmte Av`vq Kiv nq Ges Bsj v'fU cvPvi Kiv nq| GQrov ZvZ wktf Ges Ab`vb` wktf wbtqWRZ Kwii Mit`i Dci tKv'úvbx AZ`vPvi I tkvIY Kti| ZvZx I Kwii Mit`i Dci tRvi Rei`w`-Kti Af gj` tKej Bsti R e'emvqxt` i Kv'Q cY` wep q Ki tZ eva` Kiv nq|

GB ch0q tKv'úvbx Av_©mvgwRK I c0kvmwbK t`T eo ai tbi cwi eZ0 Avbqb Kti w| Kvi Y j E`b, ivR^Av`vq I Af gj` cY` mtqi Rb` e`vcK cwi eZ0bi c0qvRb nq w|

w0Zxq ch0q (1813-1857) - JcwbtenkK kvmtbi w0Zxq ch0qK wki gj atbi hM ej v nq| G mgq Bsj v'fUi ewYK cPRcwZt` i mt1/2 wki cPRcwZt` i wetiva nq| BwZgta` 1768 mvtj Bsj v'fU wki wece-msNwUZ nq| Bsj v'fUi wki wecte Dcgnv`k t_tK j E`Z wecj At`P Dtj E`thvM` Ae`vb AvtQ| Bsj v'fU wki cwZ tkYx 0lgZvkjx ntq DVvi ci B÷ Bw0qv tKv'úvbx i GKtPwJqv ewYtR`i Awakvi ewZj Kiv nq 1813 mvtj| wki e`PR0v tkYx Dcgnv`k tk tkvI Yi c`wZ Bsj v'fUi A_0wZi cwi ewZ Ae`vi mt1/2 mvgAm`cD Y`Ki tZ AvM0h nq| Gmgq evsj v AĀj tK Kul DcwbteK cwi YZ Kiv nq|

1813 t_tK 1857 ch0
wki gj atbi hM evsj v
AĀj `vqx Kul DcwbteK
cwi YZ nq|

JcwbtenkK kvmeM^G mgq D`vi ewYR` bwxZ Abyni Y Kti| wki wecte i dtj Bsj v'fU th Drcv`b ewx` c0q tm evowZ Drcw`Z cY` Dcgnv`tki evRvi `Lj ntq hvq| GtZ ewJk wki gwj K tkYx GKtPwJqv fvtv j v fvb nq| D`vi bwxZi dtj evsj v AĀj t_tK e'emvqMY wbtRt` i cY` Bsj v'fUi evRvti wep q Kivi mthvM cvb bv| `el g`gj K i e`bwxZ c0vZ nq| GB bwxZi dtj evsj v AĀtj Drcw`Z e` Bsj v'fU i Bvbx Ki tZ ntj D`Pnvti i e` w tZ nq| Avevi Dcgnv`tki tfZti I GK AĀj t_tK Ab` AĀtj cY` wep mtqi Rb` wbtq tMjt i e` w tZ nq| Ab` w tK ewJk wki cwZMY hLb Bsj v'fU t_tK cb` Dcgnv`tk wep mtqi Rb` wbtq Avtmb ZLb Zvt` i tK tKv i e` w tZ nq bv| GB i e` bwxZi dtj evsj v AĀtj ZvZ wki, tikg, ckg, grwki, tj sn I KvP wki GtKevti aYsmc0B nq| GtKi ci GK wki KvVtgv aYsm nI qvq Kwii Mi MY M0gvĀtj wdti wMtq Kul wbfP ntq RxeKv wbe0h Kti b| GtZ Kul i Dci wbfPkj Zv ewx` cvq|

G ch0q JcwbtenkK iv0 Bsj v'fU t_tK cPRcwZt` i Dcgnv`tk wbtqM Kivi Rb` DrmwnZ Kti| Kul tZ ewYwR`KxKiY, iv`vAvU I thvMvthvMi Dbqb, LubR m`u` DfEj b, wKQy wki c0Z0vb Mto tZjv BZ`w` t`T JcwbtenkK iv0 gtbvthvMx ntq DfV| GmewKQy Kiv nq Dcgnv`k t_tK mnR I `0Z cY` i Bvbx Ges Bsj v'fUi wki RvZ cY` i evRvi RvZKi tYi mjeav`_0 GKB Dt`tK` AvBb I wePvi msPvS`wKQy cwi eZ0 Avbv nq| e'emvqK I A_0wZK t`T th wecj cwi gvY tj bt` b msNwUZ nt`Q Zv Ae`vnZ I mK;Lj ivLvi Rb` AvBb c0vZ nq| Bsj v'fUi cPRv`x ivt0f AvBb e`e`vi Avtj vK Dcgnv`tk AvBb ms`vi Kiv nq| Bsti wR wkv`v e`e`v Pij y Kiv nq| Kvi Y JcwbtenkK c0kvm we`Z

nl qvq Dcgnv`tki gvbtl i mt½ thvMvthvM cÖZwÖZ Kivi Rb` fvlv GKwU eo AŠivq wQj | ZvOvov cÖkvmibK I emvR` ms`vq AþbK KgPvixi cÖqvRb t`Lv t`q| BstivR wkvfZ Dcgnv`tki gvbtl Rb Öviv tm cÖqvRb tgvvþv nq|

ZZxq chfQ (1857-1947) - 1858 mvtj Dcgnv`tk eþUk mi Kvti i cÖZ`fj kvmb Pvj ynq| GtZ eþUk cþRcivZMY Dcgnv`tk cþR j wMekivi e`vcvþi DrmwvZ nb| Dcgnv`tk tij c_ wbgfY cþi A_`wvbtqvM Kiv nq| GQovov iv`wlvU wbgfY, WvK I Zvi e`e`v cÖZ`fj A_`wvbtqvM Kiv nq| e`vcK nvti eþUk cþRcivZMY Dcgnv`tk A_`wvbtqvM DrmwvZ nl qvq AþbK bZb tþjt DbnZ mwvZ nq| thgb Pv wkrí, Kqv v Lvb, RvrvR wbgfY, e`vsK e`emv, cvU wkrí BZ`w` | j fYxq th cþeP``jU chfQ th aþbi tkvly Pvj ywQj Zv GB chfQl Ae`vnZ `vtK| e`vcK tkvlyþi dtj Dcgnv`tk A_`wvbtqvM tgi`É tft½ cto| GgZve`vq wecj cwi gvY cþR j wMekivi mw`vš`cþivUvB eþUk JcubtevkK kvMKetMP mw`vš`t ej v hvq Dcgnv`tki Af`šþi Pvm`v mwö nl qvi Rb` cþR j wMenq wb eis cþR i Bvbx Kiv ntqtQ| j wMKZ cþR fvi Zxq cþR bq eþUk cþR| tm Kvity Kvþvgj i Bvbx I evRvti i mt½ m`wvKZ tþjt mgþn cþR j wMekiv nq|

G chfQ tkvlyþi Avti Kiv w`K `úo ntq DþV| Dcgnv`tki hþx Kti ivR` Rþqi Rb` I kvmbKvhw`cwi Pvj bvi Rb` th e`q ntZv Zv JcubtevkK kvMKY Dcgnv`tki gvbtl i ivR`^ t`þK wgvvZb| 1858 mvtj eþUk mi Kvti i cÖZ`fj kvmb cÖZwÖZ nl qvi ci B÷ BwUqv tKv`úvbx i tkqvi Ges FY Dcgnv`tki ivR`^t`þK tgvvþvi mw`vš`MþxZ nq| eþUk mi Kvti Dcgnv`tki kvmbKvhw`cwi Pvj bvi Rb` 700 j fY cvDÜ FY MþY Kþi| GB FYI Dcgnv`tki gvbtl ivR`^cÖvb Kti tkva Kþi| eþUk cþR j wMekivi dtj Dcgnv`tki gvbtl i FY Avtiv eþx cvq| thgb eþUk cþRcivZMY tij c_ wbgfYi Rb` th A_`wvbtqvM Kiv nq| Zv Dcgnv`tki FY wntmte t`Lvþv nq| Gfvt 1939 mvtj Dcgnv`tki gvbtl i FþYi cwi gvY `vovq 8,842 j fY cvDÜ| GQovov eþUk cþRcivZMYi j wMKZ A_`FY wntmte t`Lvþvi Kvity Dcgnv`tki gvbtl RbþK FþYi wecivZ cþi mý w`tZ nq| Gi A_`GB `vovq th eþUk t`i j wMKZ cþR hZ eþx cvq Dcgnv`tki gvbtl i t`qv mþ`i cwi gvY ZZ eþx cvq| Gfvt eþUk cþRi mý I j wMKZ cþRi gþvdv wntmte cþi A_`Dcgnv`k t`þK Bsj`vÜ cvPvi ntq hvq| Dcgnv`tki A_`wvbtqvM JcubtevkK ivóq Kvvtgvi mnvqZvq eþUk wdb`vY cþRi GKþPwUqv AwvZ` cÖZwÖZ nq|

1857 t`þK 1947 chŠ wdb`vY cþRi hþM Dcgnv`tk eþUk cþR j wMekiv nq| j wMKZ cþR FY wntmte t`Lvþvi Kvity Dcgnv`tki gvbtl RbþK FþYi wecivZ cþi mý w`tZ nq|

cwvK`vb ivtóf Aaxþb Af`šivY JcubtevkK tkvly JcubtevkK kvmb e`vq ivtóf mt½ A_`wvbtqvM Kvvtgvi m`úK`AþbKvstþk cÖZ`fj Ges `úo| GKvity JcubtevkK ivtóf tkvlygþK Pwi`T `úo ntq tþjt JcubtevkK ivtóf wei`tx tkvwl Z RbmaviY ivR`wvZKfvte cÖZevt` tmv`Pvi ntq DþVb| cþRev`x e`e`vq A_`wvbtqvM eÄbv I tkvlyþi Ae`v Avtiv RvUj | cþRev`x e`e`vq ivó`abx tkYxtK cþtvl KZv Kþi I tkvlyþi Ae`v eRvq ivtL| wKŠ` Zv mntR maviY gvbtl eþStq tkYx tkvly I ivóq tkvlyþi wei`tx Avt`vj b Mto tZjv mnR nq bv| JcubtevkK kvmb e`vq eþRfv tkYx ivtóf fYgZvq fvm`vex Kþi| JcubtevkK kvmb I eþRfv tkYxi gta``t`p msNvZ ntj RvZxq gþ³ Avt`vj þbi avivq ivR`wvZ cÖwvZ nq| eþUk JcubtevkK kvmb e`vq BstivR wkvfZ I cÖvZ`i avb avivq cp GKwU ga`weE eþRfv tkYx Mto DþV| JcubtevkK ivtóf kvmb e`vq eþUk kvMKY wKQy Qvo t`q| wKŠ` tkl chŠ-Dcubtek weþivax RvZxqZvev`x Avt`vj b tRvi`vi ntq DþV Ges 1947 mvtj Dcgnv`k wef³ ntq

fviZ I cwiK-^{vb} ivt^oi Rb^l nq | evsj v A^Åtj i ce^osk hv ce^osvj v bvtg cwi^oPZ uQj Zv cwiK-^{vb} ivt^oi mvt_ h^o nq |

1947 mvtj i ^oaxbZvi ce^och^oS-ZrKvj xb ce^osvj v uQj Kj KvZv e^oti i KvPv cvU I Kw R ^ote^oi c^ovrfvg | fviZ wefw^oi ce^och^oS- G A^Åtj tKvb fvix wkⁱ KviLvov Mto D^oVvb | 1947 Gi fviZ wefw^oi ci beMwZ cwiK-^{vb} ivt^oi GKw c^ok wntmte GB A^Åtj mvgwRK-A_^oWZK Dbq b m^oPZ nq | XvKv bZb c^otki ivRavb nq | c^owgK ch^oq ZrKvj xb ce^ocwiK-^{vb} ^obi c^oR j w^oMe Rb^o ch^oß m^othvM m^ojeav ev AeKvVtgv bv ^ovKvi ^oi^o b t^ok wefv^oMi dtj fviZ t^otK AvMZ gmj gvb e^oemvqx m^ou^ovq gj Z c^owg cwiK-^{vb} ^obi cv^oAve I w^oUzc^otk Zvt^o i c^oRi GKw eo Ask j w^oMeK^oti b Ges wkⁱ KviLvov Mto tZvtj b | c^owg^oA^Åtj c^oR j w^oMe gj KviY uQj AeKvVtgvMZ m^othvM-m^ojeav | Gi dtj cwiK-^{vb} ^obi c^owg^oA^Åtj Kj KviLvov Mto D^oV Ges ce^oAj tm me m^ojeav t^otK ew^oAZ ntq | ^ogk: cwiK-^{vb} ^obi ce^oA^Åtj i Dci c^owg^oA^Åtj i tkvl b c^oZw^oZ nq |

*cwiK-^{vb} iv^oa^oc^oZ^ovi ci
GKB ivt^oi KvVtgv
tFZti Jcib^ote^okk kumb
c^oZw^oZ nq |*

ew^oUk Jcib^ote^okk kumbvg^otj kumb I tkvl^oYi tK^o ^ouQj ^oteZ^o w^oK^oS^o cwiK-^{vb} iv^oa^oc^oZ^ovi ci GKB ivt^oi KvVtgv tFZti Jcib^ote^okk kumb c^oZw^oZ nq | cwiK-^{vb} ivt^oi GKw Ask (c^owg cwiK-^{vb}) tK^o ^o wntmte Av^oiKw Ask ce^ocwiK-^{vb} (eZ^ovb evsj vt^ok) tK tkvlY K^oti | evsj vt^otki cvU Av^oS^oR^oZK evRvi jvf K^oti Ges c^oPi ^oet^o w^oK^o gy^o jvf Kiv hvq | cwiK-^{vb} miKvi GB ^oet^o w^oK^o gy^o miKvix ^oti w^obgq K^oti | GB A_^oc^owg cwiK-^{vb} ^obi wkⁱ c^oZ^ovi t^oq^ot^o e^oq Kiv nq | cwiK-^{vb} miKvi c^owg cwiK-^{vb} ^obi e^oemvqx I Avgj vt^o i GK^ot^oP^oU^oqv^ofv^ote ^oet^o w^oK^o ew^oY^ot^oR^oi jvB^otm^oY c^ovb K^oti | w^oK^oS^o ^oet^o w^oK^o ew^oY^ot^oR^oi NvUwZ tgv^ovt^obvi Rb^o evsj vt^otki Dc^ow^oR^oZ D^oË e^oe^ouZ nq | c^owg cwiK-^{vb} ^obi wkⁱ c^oZMY evsj vt^otk c^oR j w^oMeK^oti b | Gme wkⁱ c^oZ^ovt^o evsj vt^otki k^ogKMY KvR K^oti b | w^oK^oS^o k^ogK^oti t^otK c^oKZ gR^ox t^oqv nq bv | Zvi gvt^ob c^owg cwiK-^{vb} ^obi wkⁱ gwj KMY evsj vt^otki m^ov k^og e^oenvi K^oti jvf^ovb nb Ges g^ovdv jvf K^oti b | wkⁱ t^oq^ot^o i GB g^ovdv evsj vt^otki Dbq^oti Rb^o e^oq nq bv | g^ovdv A_^oe^oq nq c^owg cwiK-^{vb} ^obi Dbq^oti | Gfv^ote c^owg cwiK-^{vb} I evsj vt^otki g^ota^o Aw^oacZ^oew^o Zv I Aa^o-^obZvi m^ou^oK^oc^oZw^oZ nq | evsj vfv^otk iv^ofv^ovi gh^ov v bv w^o t^oq D^oPK iv^ofv^ovi Kivi gva^otg mvs^o-^owZKfv^ote evsj vt^otki K^oti Aa^o-^ob Kivi t^oP^oov Kiv nq | ev^ovj xiv fv^otj v gmj gvb bq etj G A^Åtj i gmj gvb^oti i tnq Kiv nq |

cwiK-^{vb} iv^oa^oc^oR^ov^ox e^oe^ov c^oZ^ovi K^oti | evsj vt^otki Kw t^otK Av^oR^oZ D^oË cwiK-^{vb} iv^oa^o Av^omr K^oti | evsj vt^otki K.I.K mgvt^oR tRv^oZ^ovi gnvRbMY ^oqZvkjx ntq D^oVb Ges m^ovavi Y K.I.K^oti i Dci w^oh^oZb Pj^ovb | F^oYi ^ovtq RR^oZ K.I.KMY ax^oti ax^oti fv^ognxb K.I.K cwiYZ nb | w^oK^oS^o cwiK-^{vb} iv^oa^oA-Kw LvZ Kg^oms^o-^ovt^obi e^oe^ov K^oti bv | kn^oti I wkⁱ c^oZ^ovb Mto D^oV bv | dtj Kg^oms^o-^ovt^obi Afv^ote fv^ognxb K.I.Ki Ae^ov w^oviY ntq c^oto | cwiK-^{vb} miKvi Kw t^oZ bZb c^oh^o ^oc^oq^oM K^oti | D^oP dj b^okj exR, ivm^oqv^obK mvi, KxU^ovkK I tm^otiPi cw^ob c^okmK I abx K.I.KM^oYi w^oq^oS^ot^oY P^otj hvq | dtj abx K.I.K^oti i Drcv^o b ew^ox cvq Ges A^otb^otK Kw t^oZ ew^oY^ow^oR^oK Drcv^o b ^oi^o K^oti b | ew^oY^ow^oR^oK km^o Drcv^o ^obi dtj jvf nq Z^ov^oxb^oS^o c^owg cwiK-^{vb} ^obi wkⁱ gwj K I e^oemvqx^oti | Ab^o w^otk ^owi^o ^otkYxi K.I.K Kw t^oZ Drcv^o b e^oq ew^ox cvlqvq Av^oi Aw^ok nvti gnvRb I abx K.I.K^oti i Dci w^of^oPKj ntq c^oto |

¶lgZvkj nŧq DŧV| ejv hvq evsj vŧ`k ivŧo^a cŧg Aa`vtq tcwU eŧRŧqv tkYxi nvŧZB
ivR%ŧwZK ¶lgZv wŧj | evsj vŧ`k ivŧo^a Avgj vZŧŧK `eŧ Kivi tPŧv Kiv nq| cwk`vb ivŧoŧ
wei`t× tkwv Z tkYxi `xN^omsMŧŧgi cŧZdj b wntmte evsj vŧ`tki kvmbZŧŧŧ; ivŧoŧq Ab`Zg
gj bwwZ wntmte ŧmgvRZŧŧŧ Aŧŧf^o nq|

1975 mvŧj evsj vŧ`tki Avgj vZŧŧŧj mvŧwi K AskwU weŧ`ŧn Kŧi ivŧoŧq ¶lgZv `Lj Kŧi |
temvŧwi K Avgj vZŧŧŧj kw^okvj x nŧq DŧV| cwk`vb ivŧo^a Jcwbtekk Avgŧj GB tkYwU th
wecj ¶lgZvi Awakvi x wŧj Zvi Avŧj vŧK evsj vŧ`tk Zvŧ`i AwacZ` cŧpŧcŧZwŧZ nq|
eŧRŧqv tkYxi ivR%ŧwZK msMVb Mŧo Zŧj eŧRŧqv MYZŧŧ; cŧZŧvi tPŧv Pŧj | wKŧ`cKZ
¶lgZv mvŧwi K ewnbxi nvŧZB `vŧK| Aeŧkŧl eŧRŧqv tkYx ¶lgZvq wŧŧK `vKŧZ e`_nq|
Awki `kŧK mvŧwi K ewnbx mi vmi ¶lgZvq Avmbx nq Ges `xN^oRvj ¶lgZvq Avmbx `vŧK|
mvŧwi K ewnbx GKbvqKZŧŧ; cŧZŧv Kŧi | Avgj vZŧŧŧj tkYx kvmbŧi `eaZv cvl qvi Rb`
ivRbwZŧZ ag^oe`vcK nvŧi e`euZ nq| eŧRŧqv, e`emvqx tkYx AvŧRŧZK cŧRev`x
kw^omgŧni mŧ½ tRvU ewŧa| e`w^o cŧRi gZv`k^ocŧZwŧZ nq| msweavb t`ŧK mgvRZŧŧŧj gj
bwwZ ewiZj nŧq hvq| wei vŧoŧqKiY bwwZ MpxZ nq|

evsj vŧ`tk wŧi eŧRŧqvMY jvBŧmY, weŧ`kx gŧŧ, Rwg l e`vsK FŧYi Rb` ivŧoŧ Dci
wbfŧkxj | Avgj vZŧŧŧj kvmb`ŧj i AvbKj` tctj wKsev AvŧxqZvi mŧŧ G`wj cvl qv m^oe|
evsj vŧ`tk wŧi eŧRŧqv tkYx ht^o mpeavŧfvMx nlqv mŧZj| tekx weKwKZ nŧ`Q bv| wŧi
eŧRŧqvMY Avgj vZŧŧŧj mnŧhwMZvq wecj cwi gvY wŧi FY MŧY Kŧi FY tLj vcx nŧ`Qb| wKŧ`
ivŧo^a Zvŧ`i wei`t× tKvb KvŧRi e`e`v MŧY KiŧŧQ bv| beYBŧqi `kŧK GKwU cwi eZŧ j ¶Yxq
nŧq DŧVŧŧQ| wŧi eŧRŧqvŧ`i AŧbŧK ivR%ŧwZK `ŧj i m`m` nŧ`Qb Ges ivR%ŧwZKfvŧe
cŧfvekvj x nŧq DVŧŧQb| eo ivR%ŧwZK `j`wj l thŧnZi cŧRev`x A`ŧwZK e`e`vi cŧ¶
mZivis GB `j`wj l wŧi eŧRŧqvŧ`i `ŧ`i ¶v KiŧŧQb| Z`wvc evsj vŧ`tk wŧi weKvŧk eo
cŧZeÜK nŧ`Q Kw DŧE wŧi LvŧZ weŧbŧqvM bv nlqv| Kw LvŧZ wŧbŧqvRZ Awakvsk gvŧj
`wvi`^amxgvi bŧŧP evm Kŧib| Zvŧ`i mŧ ¶lgZv ewx cvl qvi Dci l wŧi i weKvK wbfŧkxj |

evsj vŧ`tk e`emvqx tkYwU
Avgj vZŧŧŧj i thvMmvRŧk
kvmb tMvŧŧZ cwi YZ
nŧqŧQ|

evsj vŧ`tk metPŧq tekx weKvK jvf KŧiŧQ e`emvqx tkYx| ivŧoŧ cŧŧcvlKZvq l
Avgj vZŧŧŧj mnŧhwMZvq bvbwea e`emv, Avg`vbx, iBvbx, dUKvemR, wKv`vix BZ`w`i
mŧŧvM cvŧPŧb e`emvqx gnj | wŧi Drcv`ŧb kŧgK Amŧŧŧŧl i SŧK `vŧK| wKŧ`e`emvŧq ŧm
aiŧŧi SŧK ŧb| evsj vŧ`tki A`ŧwZK e`e`vq ZvB ewYK cŧR AwacZ` we`ŧvi KŧiŧQ|
evsj vŧ`tki eŧRŧqv ivR%ŧwZK `j`wj ŧZ e`emvqx tkYxi cŧZwŧvZi AŧbK ewx tctŧŧQ|
beYBŧqi `kŧK RvZxq msmt` m`m`ŧ`i gŧa`l e`emvqx tkYxi cŧZwŧvZi tekx| evsj vŧ`tk
e`emvqx tkYwU Avgj vZŧŧŧj thvMmvRŧk kvmb tMvŧŧZ cwi YZ nŧqŧQ|

evsj vŧ`tk K.I.K mgvŧR tkYx `elg` cŧKU AvKvi aviY KŧiŧQ| fvg gwj Kvbv Kwŧŧv AZ`ŧ-
Amg| abx K.I.K l fvgvxb t¶ZgRjŧ`i gŧa` tkYxMZ e`eavb e`vcK ewx tctŧŧQ| fvgi
Drcw`Kv kw^ol weKwKZ nŧ`Q bv| `vbxq mi Kvi, cŧkvmb, AvBbx Kvŧŧv e`vsK BZ`w`i ivŧoŧq
e`e`vcv Kw l we`gvb Drcv`b e`e`v wUwKŧq ivLŧZ mnŧhwMZv KiŧŧQ| fvg ms`vŧi i
weŧŧq kvmbŧMvŧx Avŧŧi K bq| Ab`w`ŧK MŧgxY abx K.I.KMY cŧkvmbŧi AvbKj` mvi, exR,
KxUbvkk, ŧmŧPi cwv BZ`w`i e`emv Kŧi jvfev nŧ`Qb| Gŧovl abx K.I.KMY ivŧoŧ
cŧŧcvlKZvq e`emv ewYŧR` cŧR weŧbŧqvM KiŧŧQb| Mŧgvŧŧj abx K.I.KMŧYi KvŧŧQ fvgi
GKŧxKiY nŧ`Q Ges cŧRi cŧŧfev nŧ`Q| e`emvqx tkYx wntmte abx K.I.KMY m^ou` ewx

KitjI ivtōi tK`iq ųlgZvq Zvt`i AwmacZ` cōZwōZ nq w| `wi`a K.I.K tkYx
ivR%ōwZKfvte msMwZ bq| cōMwZkxj ivR%ōwZK `j ųj `wi`a K.I.Ki mgm`v, `vex `vl qv
Dl vcb Kti _vtK| wKŠ`ivtōi ųlgZv KvVtgvZ K.I.K mgvRi Pvc mwōKvi x fvgKv tbB|

cjRev`x A_ōwZK e`e`vtZ kigK tkYxi tUW BDwbqtb msMwZ nI qv AvBbm½Z Awakvi |
eysjvt`tkI Awakvsk wki KviLvbrq kigKMY tUW BDwbqtb gva`tg msMwZ| tUW
BDwbqtb gj Df`k` gwj K tkYxi m½`i KlvKwli gva`tg kigKt`i gRjx I Ab`vb`
b`vqm½Z Awakvi Av`vq Kiv| wKŠ`cwk`vbi mgwi K Avgj vZwšK kumb e`e`vq tUW
BDwbqtb Dci wbtlavAv Rwi Kiv nq| ersjvt`tk tUW BDwbqtb msMvB I kigKt`i
Avt`vj tbi Dci wbcxob wbfZb envj AvtQ| kigKt`i Dci cteP Rwi Kiv wbfZbgj K
AvBbl ej er AvtQ| kigKt`i Dci tkvly wbfZtbi gvIv AtbK epx tctqtQ| Awakvsk
e`w³gwj Kvbvaxb wki KviLvbrq `wbK AvU NvUvi `tj tPŠI NvUv chŠ-KvR KiZ nq|
Awakvsk KviLvbrq kigKt`i tKvb wbtqvMcI t`qv nq bv| Zvt`i tUW BDwbqtb Kivi Awakvi
tbB| tUW BDwbqtb Kivi tPōv Kitj gwj K cų kigK QvUvB Kti t`b| Mvgtōm
d`vix ųj tZ e`vcK nvti brix kų tkwI Z nt`Q| wki kigKt`i Dci tkvly wbfZtbi gvIv
Avtiv tekx| kni ųj tZ A`vqx kigKt`i msL`v AtbK hv`i tKvb msMvB tbB| Mn
kigKMY bvbvfvte tkwI Z wbfZz nb| Zvt`i I msMvB tbB| fvgntbi msL`v MōgvĀtj `°Z
epx cvt`Q| tųZgRjt`i gRjx AZ`š-Kg| A-KwI LvZ KvR bv _vKvq MōgvĀtj i gRjx
kigKMY AtbK mgq KvR bv tctq tekvi _vtKb| tųZgRjt`i tRvi vtj v msMvB Mto DfVvb|
cōMwZkxj ivR%ōwZK `j ųj kigKt`i `vex ivR%ōwZKfvte Dl vcb Ktib| wKŠ`ivōtq
ųlgZvq kigKtkYxi cōZwōwZ; tbB| eųRųq ivR%ōwZK `j ųj wki gwj Kt`i t`_i ųv
Kti| kigK tkYxi Dci ej cōqvM Kti I wett`i mwō Kti Zviv kigK tkYxtK `wettq
ivLZ mPō nq|

ersj vt`k ivtōi wkvqtb cųve

cteAvtj vPbv Kiv ntqtQ th epk Jcwbtekk kumbvgtj cwI KwI Zfvte ersjvi Av_ō
mgwiRK KvVtgv aYsm Kiv nq| Dcwbtek DEi KvZ I GB tkvly eU nq w| wōZxq
wkvx`ci Avtgv Kiv AwMōmx mgvR`ev`x fvgKvq AeZxv`nq| mgvR`ev`x t`k mgn bZb
`vaxbZvcōB t`k ųj tK Zvt`i wqšY ivLvi Rb` bZb Kvq`vq wbfPkvj Zvi m=úK`cōZwōZ
Kti| bZb ivō ųj tZ cvōvtZ`i b`vq AvaybKxKiYi I Dbqtb cwi Kí vaxb A_ōwZK
m=úK`cōZōv Kti| mYxNųvj aųi Jcwbtekk kwmKMY A_ōwZK-mvgwRK KvVtgv
th e`j NUvq ivR%ōwZK `vaxbZv jvf Kivi cil tm KvVtgv ej er _vtK| Dbqtb
bvtg mgvR`ev`x t`k mgn cwk`wb ivōtK ŐFtYi dvō`ō tdtj | ersjvt`tkI tmB ci
wbfPkvj Zvi A_ōwZK eRvq AvtQ| cųR i Bvbx, FY, Amg ewYwR`K m=úK`P gva`tg
mgvR`ev`x t`k mgn AwmacZ` cōZōv Kti| cwk`vbi b`vq ersjvt`k ivtōi
mgvR`ev`x t`k mgn Zvt`i AbMz kwmKtMvōxtK ŐKvqUō wntmte
tctq hvq| kwmKtMvōx wettkI Z Avgj vZšK AvaybKxKiYi evnK
wntmte wbaųi Z Kti cwk`vbi, I cieZxPZ ersjvt`tk, mgvR`ev`x
kw³mgn Zvt`i AwmacZ` cōZōv Kti|

ersj vt`tkI
ci wbfPkvj Zvi A_ōwZ
eRvq AvtQ| cųR i Bvbx,
FY, Amg ewYwR`K
m=úK`P gva`tg
mgvR`ev`x t`k mgn
AwmacZ` cōZōv Kti|

DbZ cjRev`x I mgvR`ev`x t`k mgn mgwi KxKiYi Dci tRvi t`q| mgwi K Avgj vZwšK
tkYxi cZ`ų A_ev cųvų cōavb` cōZōv Kti Zvt`i gva`tg mgvR`ev`x t`k mgn kumb
tkvly eRvq ivtL| cwk`wb ivtōi m½`i i` t`tKB gwKō mgvR`ev`x kw³ mgwi K Pw³ex
nq| cwk`vbi kumb e`e`vq mgwi K ewnbxi ųlgZv epx cvq| cwk`vbi kwmKtMvōx

mvgR`ev`xt`i tj Rp wntmte KvR Kti | AvSRWZK cRRev`i cFvte cwk`v`b cRRev`x
 A_`BwZ Pvjy nq | Gi cFvte ce`cwk`v`bi Kwł tZ fignxbZv I `wi`^`e`x cvq | teKvi Zi
 e`x cvq | abx-Mixe `elg`l evotZ `v`K | G A`Aj i gvb`li gtb gwK`B wetiavx g`bvfve
 Mto D`V | evsj v`tki g`h`y` Pj vKv`j I gwK`B h`i`v`o` ev`z`j`xt`i `vexi wetiavx Ae`vb
 tbq | evsj v`k `faxb n l qvi ci th tkYwU ivotq `I gZvq Avmxb nq Zvivi c`g w`tk gwK`B
 h`i`v`to`i m`z` eUz`f`vevcbewQ`j b bv | Zte AvP`ti B evsj v`tk mvgwi K Avgj vZw`S`K kvmb
 Ges mvgR`ev`x kw`i`i w`bq`S`y` c`Zw`o`Z nq | Gf`vte cwk`v`b kvmbvg`j i avivewwKZv w`d`ti
 Av`tm | evsj v`tki kvmbK`Mv`ox iv`to`i m`A`q I wewbtq`m Ges Avg`v`b I i Bv`bxi g`ta` dvi`v`K
 Kwgtq Avbvi Rb` `e`f`w`k`K FY M`h`Y AvM`h`x nq | w`K`S` `e`f`w`k`K m`v`v`h`i`i Dci w`b`f`P`k`j Zv
 mvgR`ev`x kw`i`i Dci w`b`f`P`k`j Zvi i`f`c cwi M`h` Kti | `v`Zv t`k m`g`n FY`v`bi m`z` k`Z`
 Av`i`v`c Kti Ges t`tki A_`BwZ cwi P`j bvi w`el`t`q b`v`K M`j v`q | Ggb me A_`BwZK Kiv`P`t`gi
 Rb` FY c`v`b Kiv nq th `w`j evsj v`tki A_`BwZi Rb` c`m`w`z`K bq Ges g`j`z` Rb`K bq |
 Z_w`c kvmbK`Mv`ox `I gZvq w`t`K `v`Kvi Rb` b`Z`R`v`b`w`z` Ae`j` `b` Kti | G`t`Z `e`f`w`k`K F`t`Yi
 A_`e`v`c`K AcP`q nq Ges Avgj vZ`S`i` `p`w`Z`ci v`q`b n`q D`V |

weklq`t`bi d`j
 evsj v`tki A_`BwZ`Z
 w`e`i`f`c c`Zw`m`u`q`v` co`t`Q |

weklq`t`bi d`j evsj v`tki A_`BwZ`Z w`e`i`f`c c`Zw`m`u`q`v` co`t`Q | ej v nq g`p` evRvi A_`BwZ`Z
 w`e`k`p`v`c`x c`R, c`Y, i`m`e`v, k`g I Z_` c`h`i`p`i Aeva w`e`P`i`Y n`te Ges Db`q`b n`te | w`K`S` t`Lv
 hvq th c`R I c`Y m`n`R m`A`j b nq w`K`S` k`g m`A`j b nq bv | Avevi Db`z` t`tki e`u`Rw`ZK
 t`Kv`u`v`b`x c`R I c`Y m`K`j t`tk Ab`c`o`k` Kti | Db`q`b`k`j t`k t`t`K c`R I c`Y Db`z`
 t`tki evR`v`i c`o`k` Kti bv | w`e`k`l`q`t`bi d`j abx I `wi`^`a` t`tki e`e`a`v`b e`x` cv`f`Q |

g`p` evRvi A_`BwZ`Z evsj v`k th me Kv`P`v`g`j I Ab`v`b` c`Y` w`e`f`k` t`t`K Avg`v`b`x Kti Zvi
 g`j` Avmj g`l`j`i`i` t`P`t`q` tekx aiv nq | Zvi g`v`t`b` over pricing Kiv nq | d`j evsj v`tki
 c`f`Y`i Drcv` b e`q` tekx c`to` hvq Ges w`e`f`k`x c`f`Y`i m`z` c`Z`t`h`w`M`Z`v`q` gvi Lvq | Gf`vte
 e`u`Rw`ZK t`Kv`u`v`b`x transfer pricing Gi g`v`a`t`g` evsj v`k t`t`K D`o`E` cv`P`vi Kti | G`K`u`U
 M`t`e`l`Y`v`q` t`Lv hvq th evsj v`tk Ae`w`Z` e`u`Rw`ZK J`l`a` t`Kv`u`v`b`x `w`j Avg`v`b`x `e` 194%
 ch`e`-over pricing Kti J`l`t`ai g`j` w`b`a`f`t`Yi mgq | GB ewa`Z` A`v` Avg`v`b`x LiP wntmte
 t`Lv`t`b`v` nq (R`e`v`B`j` i`w`ng 1983)¹ | Ab` w`t`K evsj v`k t`t`K i Bv`b`x Kivi mgq c`f`Y`i
 under pricing Kti | w`e`f`k`x t`Kv`u`v`b`x `w`j D`o`E` Av`l`m`v`r` Kti | A_`P` t`Lv hvq th evsj v`k
 h`L`b` w`e`f`k`x `e` Avgv`v`b`x Ki`t`Q Z`L`b` i`e`g`y`p` Kti w`K`se`v` Kwgtq w`t`q evsj v`tki evR`v`i
 w`e`f`k`x c`Y` w`e`m`t`q`i m`w`e`a`v` Kti t`q`v` n`t`Q | G`t`Z evsj v`tki evR`v`i t`k`x`q` c`Y` gvi Lv`f`Q |

w`e`k`l`e`v`st`K`i Dc`t` k`m`t`g evsj v`tk temi KvixKiY Kivi d`j Kvi Lv`b`v`w`j t`Z e`v`c`K k`i`g`K
 Q`u`l`v`B` n`t`Q | evRvi Db`y`p` Kivi d`j w`e`f`k`x c`f`Y` evRvi m`q`j`v`e` n`t`Q Ges t`k`x` w`k`i`
 Kvi Lv`b`v`q` Drcv` b e`v`n`Z` n`t`Q | mi Kvix Avq e`t`q`i mvg`A`m` w`e`a`v`b` Kivq f`Z`R`x` c`Z`v`n`vi Kiv
 n`t`Q Ges mvgw`R`K Lv`Z` e`q` m`z`v`P`b` Kiv n`t`Q |

w`e`k`l`q`t`bi d`j e`u`Rw`ZK t`Kv`u`v`b`x `w`j km`, exR, m`w`a` I dj g`t`j i Dci G`K`t`P`w`q`v` w`b`q`S`y`
 c`Z`o`vi` cv`q`Z`v`i`v` Ki`t`Q | evsj v`tki K`l`K`M`Y `x`N`R`j` a`t`i` exR msi`I`Y` Kti Avm`t`Q`b | w`K`S`

¹ Z.M. Rahim “ The Paradox of Low Profitability of Multi Nationals in LDC - A Case Study of Bangladesh”, *Journal of Management Business and Economics*, vol 9, No. 3, 1983.

wbR`^exR msi ¶Y eÜ Kti Zvt`i tk exR e`emvqx wksev GbwRI i Dci wbfP Ki tZ nt`Q|
eÜRwZK tKv`úvbx_wj i mt½ Amg Pw³ Kivi dtj evsj vt`tki gj`evb m`ú` tZj I M`vm
Awak nvti DšÉwj Z ntq wef`tk weµtqi gva`tg wbttkl ntq hvl qvi Avk¼v t`Lv w`tqtQ|

gwkB mvgR`ev`x kw³i evsj vt`tk mvgwi K Dcw`wZ Ges mµµq n`D t¶¶tci Dšitk`
evsj vt`tki mt½ wD-cw¶¶K mvgwi K Pw³ ÓnvbÜ `v¶¶wi Z ntqtQ| evsj vt`tki kvmKtMvõx
`eš`wkK Pvtci KvtQ KZUv bZRvby Zv GKwU D`vni Y t`tk tevSv hvte| evsj vt`k mi Kvi
GKwU wef`kx tKv`úvbxK PÆMóg e`ti Kb tUBbvi UvvgBvj wbg¶¶Yi AbgwZ c¼q w`tq
w`w`Q tj v| GB Kb tUBbvi wvvgZ ntj PÆMóg e`i A_¶wZKfvte aYsm ntq thZ Ges
Kb tUBbvi e`emv wef`kx`i Kw¶¶MZ ntq thZ| ZvQvov G UvvgBvtj gwkB tmbvewnbxi Aeva
c¼ekwaKvi _vKvq evsj vt`tki wbi vcÉv wevNæ` ntZv|

mvi vsk

evsj vt`k ivó`c¼Zóvi metP tq _i`Zc¶¶Y¶¶K GB th GB ivó`c¼Zóvi dtj Jcwbtekk
kymb tkvltYi Aemvb ntqtQ| eµUk I cwk`wb kimbvgtj th Jcwbtekk Drcv`b c×wZ
Pij yUj Zvi dtj evsj vt`tki gvbtI i KóvRZ DØÉ I c¶R t`tki evBti cvPvi nI qvi dtj
evsj vt`tk Abpqb I `mi`a`vqx ifc jvf Kti| evsj vt`k `rax ivó`mtmte c¼ZwóZ nI qvq
t`tk Drcw`Z DØÉ t`tki tfZti c¶Rcuz tkYxi nvtZ c¶RfZ nt`Q| t`kxq c¶Rcuz tkYxi
KZR c¶R t`tkB wevbtqµM nt`Q| evsj vt`k GLb nek| c¶Rev`x e`e`vi mt½ mivmwi h³ ntZ
cvi tQ| c¶e`Jcwbtekk kimbvgtj evsj vt`k eµUk I cwk`wbx kvmKtMvõxi gva`tg nek|
c¶Rev`i mt½ h³ wQj | c¶e`c¶Rev`i tK`a wQj evsj vt`tki mvgvbi evBti| evsj vt`tki
Ae`vb wQj c¼šK| evsj vt`k ivó`c¼Zóvi ci MógvÁj I knivÁj tkYxi weKvk `Z
NU tQ| Zte evsj vt`tk ciwbF¶Kxj Zvi A_¶wZ eRvq AvtQ| nek¼tbi dtj evsj vt`tki
A_¶wZi Dci weifc c¼Zµµqv cotQ|

MYZšjI evsj v`tki kvmb e`v
Democracy and Governance in Bangladesh

GB cvWU cto Avciub RvbtZ cvi teb -

- evsj v`tk MYZšj ceKZ©
- evsj v`tk MYZšyqtYi cōv`c`Zv
- evsj v`tk mkvmtbi mgm`v

evsj v`tk MYZšj ceRZ©

evsj v`tk HwZnvmKfite Dcubtekk kvmb I mvgwiK kvmb cōZwōZ wQj | tm KvišYI cvōvtZi ešRqy MYZšj KvhKi Kiv`šri | ZwiEkt`i gtZ tKej`^tkvmb bq,`^ZwšK gtbvfeI MYZšj kI`|`wqY Gukqvi t`k,uj tZ DchEwi`^ZwšK kvmtbi AwefEei gj KviY G AĀtj mvgšev`x mgvR e`e`vi Dt`Q` NwUtq MYZwšK cwi tek mwi cteB MYZšjDci t`tk Pmctq t`qv ntqtQ Dcubtekk kvmtbi dtj | cvōvtZ` hv nqub | mvgwiRK cwieZB, RbMtYi`wofwzi cwieZB I Zvt`i Av`mvgwiRK thvM`Zv epxi cteB Dcwi KvvtgtZ MYZwšK e`e`v Prcvbtvi dtj mjeavev`x tkYx Lp mntRB`^ZwšK kvmb Kvtag Ki tZ mŋlg nq MYZwšK tj evtm | Avi ešRqy MYZšj gta`B`^Zšj exR wbinZ`vtK | KviY GtZ bwiZ I Ktgp` gta``vtK we`+ e`eavb | thgb- AvBtbi tPvtL mKtj mgvb ejv ntj I tm AvBb hviv`Zwi Ktib I hv`i`v`Zwi Ktib Zviv mvgwiRK I A`šwZKfite mKtj i mgvb bb | Zte e`w³`všjI ivRšwZK mvtg`i tŋtĪ mKtj B mgvb | evsj v`tki b`vq Dbqbkij t`kmgŋ`elg` cōwZ I`wii`wbhšZ RbMtYi KvtQ MYZšj G 0`Zvi A`ŋt`Q gytgq mjeavev`xi kvmb tkvY Avi`wi`a I wætkYxi wbhEz hviv msL`vMwi ô |

cvōvtZi t`kmgŋni ešRqy`i b`vq evsj v`tki kvmtMvōx AviacZ`we`v`i m² Kvi`Kvh© AZUv AvqZi KitZ cvtiwb | dtj kvmb I tkvtYi tPniv ntq DtV wvZvšB bMq thgb evsj v`k ivó`gbgk gtWj AbmiY KitQ | KviY`xN© Jcubtekk kvmbgtj GLvtb msNwZ ntqtQ e`vcK tkvY | Avi tkvtYi c`wZ KLtbv kwšgq ntZ cvti bv | Zivov kvmtbi mjeavt`ewfbaMōtci gta`weft`i ivRbwiZ epx Kiv nq | ivRbwiZtZ mšym evmv eutā | GgZve`vq msnwZ`vctbi DĪtk`kw³kvj x ivtōi bvtg`gbgk ivótg bwiZ`vb cvq | G ai tbi mgm`v th cvōvZ`t`k mgŋ tbB Zv bq | Avtgwi Kvq Kōvšt`i I BDti vtc AvBwi kt`i kvmb Kivi tŋtĪ ej cōqvM Kiv ntqtQ | Z`vvc wbi ew`QbæmsMōtgi dtj cvōvtZ` kvmtbi th ms`wZ cōZwōZ ntqtQ Zv evsj v`tk KvhKi Kiv nq wb |

evsj v`tk MYZšyqtb cōv`c`Zv

evsj v`tk MYZšyqtb tŋtĪ gj cke`wU | GK`ivó`KZUKzubi t`cŋ |`vaxb | Gi A`ŋt`Q ivó`KZUKz Pvcgš | eZŋv evsj v`k`wii`š KvišY I gševRvi I mektqtb KvišY`vaxb fite wmxš-MōtY AcviM |`B. ivó`RbMYtK KZUKz`vaxbZv w`tZ ivRx | Gi A`

MYZtšj;eüZpew`Zv PPPKiv I RbMYtK `wi`a; eÄbv I tkvlb t_tK gy³ Kiv| GB `ß cöke
ersj vt`k AvšRwZK Ptci gjL Amnvq I Af`št+y P`vtj Ä tgvKvtej vq tek `p|

ersj vt`k MYZšyqtbi t¶t¶ KtqKwU chfe¶¶Y nt`Q -

ersj vt`k MYZtšj/ i A_°
`moqtQ ubeP¶bi
gva`tg Amb j vrf Kivi
cöZthwMZv/

- K) Dcwbtek Kvj t_tKB MYZtšj A_° moqtQ `vbxq I RvZxq ch¶¶q ubeP¶bi gva`tg
Amb j vrf Kivi cöZthwMZv| GB gj D¶t¶k`tK mvgtb ti¶L e`w³MZ, tMvöx I
`jMZfvte cöZthwMZv P¶j | cöZwbwZj A_°`uovq mwgZ ¶lgZv j vrf wKsev
ch¶¶qutg tenk ¶lgZv j vrf | wKš` cöZwbwZtK A_eY°Kiv I KvhRi ¶lgZv cöwB
GLtbn `i`Zj vrf Kti w|
- L) wbgwgZ, Aeva I wbi¶¶¶ ubeP¶b Abpövb Kiv MYZšyqtbi cövb welq ntq D¶v¶Q|
GLtbn ubeP¶bi gjL` D¶t¶k` nt`Q cöZwbw cö` Kiv| ubeP¶b gvtb th kvmb e`e`vi
bwZgvj vi Rb`I gZvgZ Rvbrtbn GwU GLtbn ersj vt`k `úo bq|
- M) MYZšyqtbi Rb` tfv¶Ui Awakvti i welqu `i`Zj tctqtQ Kvi Y tfv¶Ui Awakvi m`ú` I
w¶¶v Øviv mwgZ bq| mveRbx tfvUwaki cöZwöZ ntqtQ| wKš` m`ú`, w¶¶v I
thwvthv¶Mi t¶t¶ e`vcK`elg` weivR Kivq `vaxb fvte tfvUwaki cöqvM m`e nq bv|
- N) ersj vt`k Dcwbtek D¶iKvtj MYZšyqb ivó MVtbi t¶t¶ Awak gtvthwMx ntqtQ|
hw I GLv¶b RvZxqZvev`x Av¶`vj b ntqtQ Zey RbM¶Yi mvgwRK I ivR%bwZK
Awakvi I `vaxbZvi welq `i`Zj vrf Kti w| mšym I mwmZv ep× cvl qvq RbM¶Yi
Awakvti i `vex Av`vq evam¶¶ ntqtQ|
- O) MYZšyqtbi dtj kvmb e`e`vi m¶½ RbMYtK m`ú³ Kivi welq D`Pwii Z nt`Q| wKš`
MYZšyqtbi gj welq nt`Q RbM¶Yi Kj`v¶Y kvmb e`e`vi m¶úo A½xKvi | Gt¶t¶
ersj vt`k GLtbn wcuQtq AvtQ|

ersj vt`k MYZwšK cöZöwbKxKi¶Yi t¶t¶ mwgZ AwfÁZv ARB Kti¶Q|

- 1| mvgwi K ewnbx MYZtšj Rb` eo úgwK
ersj vt`k mvgwi K ewnbx 80 Gi `k¶K MYZtšj Rb` úgwK wQj | mvgwi K ewnbx
kvmbvgtj ubeP¶b e`e`v cöq tft½ ctowQj hv cpivq cöZwöZ ntZ mg¶qi cöqvRb|
- 2| cövbgsj/ ivó cövtbi fvgKv
KvhRi I cöZwbwZkxj MYZwšK cöZöwbKxKi¶Yi Dci m¶kvmb wbf¶kxj | Gi A_°
kvmb e`e`vq RbM¶Yi gZvg¶Zi gh¶v cövb I AskMh¶Yi e`e`v| ersj vt`k
MYZtšj AvbpbwKZv I KvhRwii Zvi g¶a` e`vcK e`eavb we`gvb| gšx cwi I `kwMZ
miKvi e`e`v MpxZ ntj I ev`¶te cövbgsj c¶j c¶kvmbK ¶lgZvi Awakvi x|
cövbgsji `dZi cPi Awj wLZ ev defacto ¶lgZv PPPKi¶Z cv¶i Ges cövbgsj
w¶Ri AbvbpwKfvte Awak ¶lgZv PPP Kti `vtKb| GtZ MYZwšK e`e`vi m¶z
ev`¶ evqb A¶bKvstK e`vnZ nq|
- 3| ivR%bwZK tbZtZj `vq×Zv
j ¶lxq th ersj vt`k Kwikgvi (H` Rvwj K ¶lgZv) Awakvi x tbZem°A¶bK mgq
m¶kvmbi j t¶¶ w¶Rt¶ i A½xKvti i Dci AwZwi`³ wek¶mx nb| Gfvte KLtbn KLtbn
RbM¶Yi Ae`v Dbq¶bi Rb` wKQy KvR Kiv m`e ntj I m¶kvmbi Rb` cöqvRbxq

ersj vt`k MYZwšK
cöZöwbKxKi¶Yi t¶t¶
mvgZ AwfÁZv ARB
Kti¶Q|

e'e~v cãZwõZ nq bv| Kwikgvi Awakvix tbZetM® Abpcw~wZtZ kimb'e~v
AMYZwšK I `pxŕZcivqb Ges e'w³~ŕ_©Pwi Zv_©Kivi w`tk Stk cto| ersj vt`tk
`pŕ miKvi MVtbi KviŕY tbZetM® ŕlgZvPiZ nI qvi fwiZ _vtK| dtj ŕlgZv iŕlvi
Rb`~ŕ_ŕšŕx gntj i Pwtc tbZeM®weirfbœmvgwiRK ivR%œwZK kw³ mgŕni ~ŕ_ŕi ŕlvq
eva`nb| mŕkymb cãZõvi Rb`cãZõvbKxKiY I MYZwšK ivR%œwZK PPPAvek`K|

4| ivR%œwZK `j mgŕni fŕgKv
ersj vt`tk ivR%œwZK `j mgŕni gta` MYZwšK PPP`pŕ| `tj i tbZtZji tŕŕtŕ thgb
AMYZwšK cãµqv we`gvb tZgnb `tj i tFZti tKv`j I weirfbœMôtci ~ŕ_ŕmxi
B`Qv cãarb`jvf Kti| `tj i m`m`ti gta` mŕkymtbi j ŕŕ I bwiZgvjv mŕtŕŕi tKvb
wkŕlv cãvtbi e'e~v tbB| ~fveZB `tj i m`m`tYi gta` mŕkymtbi j ŕŕ, Dŕtŕk`,
A½xKvi BZ`w` cãarb`jvf bv Kti e'w³~ŕ_© tKv`j, `pxŕZ `i"ZcY©GtRŒvq
cwiYZ nq|

5| bvMwi tKi mveŕŕŕŕgZi
MYZtšj gj wekŕm nt`Q RbMŕYi mveŕŕŕŕgZi wekŕm| ersj vt`tk GB wekŕm nwiŕtq
hvq KviY bvMwi tKi Awakvi cãkœmKtj mgvbfŕte Awakvi jvf t`tk ewAZ nq|
GQrov th tKvb mgq bvMwi tKi Awakvi jvÉZ nI qvi Avk½v _vtK| ersj vt`tk
ŕlgZv cãŕB wbfŕ Kti gj Z A_©mŕú` I kw³ cãqvŕMi ŕlgZvi Dci| weŕkI Z`wi`
RbŕMvõx ivõŕtq ŕlgZv t`tk eü`ŕti Ae~vb Kti| kimb'e~v ntq DŕV weEevbŕti
KivqZi| RbMŕYi tŕvŕŕi Awakvi _vtKtj I cãkymb, miKvŕti ej cãqvMKvix cãZõvb
I cŕvi gva`tg cŕŕve we~ŕvi Kivi Rb`gvb`Œ ntq DŕV A_© Gi dtj ŕŕwZMŕŕ nq
AvBŕbi kvmb| MYZšŕgtbi gva`tg AvBŕbi kvmb cãZõvi Rb`wŕŕfj tŕmŕvBŕŕi
kw³kvj x mŕMvB I Kvŕŕi fŕgKv GLbl ersj vt`tk Abpcw`Z|

6| MYZwšK cãZõvbmgŕni Kvŕŕwii Zv
ersj vt`tk µgvMZ MYZwšK cãZõvb mgn`pŕ ntq cotQ| gwšci wii I` kwŕwZ
miKvi cãZwõZ ntqtQ| wKš` AvBb cwii t` mŕkymtbi bwiZgvjv wbtq AvtjvPbvi
cwi eŕZ©Awakvsk mgq ŕlgZvi j ovB, `i KlvKw eo weŕq ntq hvq| GgbwK mŕm`
mgŕn I qvK AvDU Pŕtj I mšŕm gŕbŕŕve Awak nŕti cãkwkZ nq| mŕmŕ` cãkœEi
ceŕ gšŕt`i `vqexZv mŕŕi Kitz e`~nq| kvmb e'e~vi T`wŕ wePŕwZ tiva Kivi
tŕŕtŕ mŕmŕ`i Awatekbmgŕ Kvŕŕi fŕgKv ivLvi K_v| wKš`j ŕŕYxq th mŕm`I ntq
DŕV ivR%œwZK ŕlgZvi iYtŕŕtŕi b`vq thLvŕb`jxq I tMvõx ~ŕ_©Awak cŕŕve we~ŕvi
Kti| MYZšŕgtbi Rb`I kvmb e'e~vi `vqexZv mŕŕi Rb` AvBb cwii t`i
cãZõvbKxKiY ht_õ nq w| ZvQrov ŕlgZvmb I weŕivax`j RvZxq `i"ZcY©weŕtq
HKgZ` cãZõvi weŕtq wciŕtq AvŕQ|

7| wbeŕŕbx e'e~v wciŕtq cov RbŕMvõxi cãZwõvaz;
MYZwšK ivR%œwZK e'e~v cãZõvi Rb`wbeŕŕbx cãµqv mgŕni `i"ZcŕŕY©fŕgKv
AvŕQ| wbeŕŕtb bŕixi AskMŕY I cãZwõvatzji tŕŕtŕ GLŕbŕ ersj vt`k wciŕtq AvŕQ|
GQrov `wi` I wŕhŕZZ Ges wciŕtq cov RbŕMvõxi mŕwŕõK kw³ ewx Kti
cãZwõvatzji e'e~v Kiv cãqvRb| weirfbœG_wbK I ŕŕi` RwZŕMvõxi cãZwõvatzji
weŕtq AvBb Kiv cãqvRb| Zv bŕntj G mKj RbŕMvõx weirfbœŕte Avŕ`vj tbi
gva`tg tŕŕŕŕfi ewntcKvK NUvq hv mŕkymtbi Rb`eo mgm`v| wbeŕŕtbi Dci RbMŕYi

Av^{-v} e^{ux} cvl qvq RbM^tYi tfvU c⁰v^tbi nvi e^{ux} tctqt⁰ | wKŠ' GLt^{bv} wbe⁰P^tb
civRqtK mš^{ymx} KgR^vU e⁻ZxZ t^gt^b w^tZ cvit⁰ bv ivR[%]wZK `j ,uj |

ersj v^t `tk m^kv^mt^bi m^gm^v

c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ `vqexZv

Jcub^temK iv⁰a^e-v^q
Ab^{mi}tY ersj v^t `tk
c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ c⁰v^tbi Kiv
n^tQ AvBb-k;Ljv i q^v
Kiv/

Jcub^temK iv⁰a^e-v^q kvmb e⁻vⁱ c⁰v^tbi KivR wQj AvBb k;Ljv i q^v Kiv I Ki Av⁻v^q
Kiv | Kv^hZ c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ Kiv^vt^gvi GB ifc^uUB Jcub^temK DEi Kv^tj Db^qbk^{xj} t⁻k m^gtⁿ
Kv^hRi nq | g^jZ c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ RbM^tYi Kv^tQ `vqex bq | wKŠ' GKw Dci t⁻t^k b^xP ev 0Uc-
WvDb⁰ `vqexZvi c^xwZ 0viv GwU w^bq^wSZ | eZ^gt^b Db^qb Zj^wSZ Kiv c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ Ab⁻Zg
`wqZ;nl qvq Dcub^tet^ki Av⁻t^j m^vR^vt^bv c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ AKv^hR^wi Zv c⁰k^wkZ n^tQ | Gi c^fv^e
cot⁰ Mfb⁰Y Gi Dci | kvmb e⁻vⁱ w⁻ZwZi Ae⁻v^q c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ ivR^bwZ X^tK ctot⁰ |
`k⁰ wKsev Kv^tRi gZ^v t^kP `t^j m^{pe}aver^x wPŠ^v gv⁻v^{pro}v w⁻t^q D^tV | Ath^vM⁻ I `p^wZ
civ^q Avgj v^t i^tk i q^v Kivi Rb⁻ c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ t^fZ^ti c^xwZ `Zwi n^tq hvq | Ges men^kQj
D^ta⁰vR^bwZ `vb K^ti t^bq |

mi Kv^ti i q^vgZv w^tk[>] `iKiY

GKw c⁰Zw^oaZ^kxj mi Kv^ti Rb⁻ kvmb e⁻vⁱ c⁰Zw⁻ t⁻ c⁰Zw^oaZⁱ `vex K^ti | kvmb
e⁻vⁱ ,Yv⁻Y tev^Sv hvq t^m kvmb e⁻vⁱ KZUv kw^mZ Rb^tM^v0xi Kv⁰v^{kw}Q Ae⁻vb K^ti Zv
0viv | m^kv^mt^bi m^t½ ZvB w^tk[>] i^fZ kvmb, Kv^hRi c⁰Zw^oaZⁱ I `vqex c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ R^woZ |
Jcub^temK iv⁰a^e-v^q G⁻uj Ab^ov⁻Z wQj | Dcub^tek DEi Kv^tj I t^k `i^fZ q^vgZvi avi Yv
L⁰ GKUv e⁻j nq w^b | `vbxq ch⁰t^q I w^{ew}f^bo^eag⁰ eY⁰ I R^wiZi Rb^tM^v0xi Kv^tQ q^vgZv
w^tk[>] `iKi^tYi c⁰k^ov^vR^bwZw⁻ I Avgj v^t i g^ta⁻ HK⁻gZ⁻ c⁰Zw^oZ nq w^b |

w^ePvi w^ef^vt^Mi `vaxbZv

m^kv^mt^bi Rb⁻ w^ePvi w^ef^vt^Mi `vaxbZv AZ⁻vek⁻K | w^ePvi w^ef^vt^Mi `vaxbZv w^bf⁰ K^ti Zv^t i
w^tq^vM c^xwZ, P^vKi^x t^gq^v c⁻Y⁰Kivi w^bivc⁰v I f^vt^jv t^eZb I mthM⁻ m^{pe}avi Dci | w^ePvi
w^ef^vt^Mi `vaxbZv ⁻v^Kvi Kv^tY w^ePvi K^t i m⁰š^yb e^{ux} cvq Ges m^vaviY RbM^tYi Kv^tQ
w^ek^lmthM⁻ Zv AR⁰ K^ti | wKŠ' ersj v^t `tk w^ePvi w^ef^vt^Mi `vaxbZv c⁰Zw^oZ nq w^b |

q^vgZv c⁻K^xKiY

ZEMZ w⁻K t⁻t^k m^kv^mt^bi c⁰k^ov^vAv^tbi kvmb Ges q^vgZv c⁻K^xKi^tYi K⁻v Av^tm | wKŠ'
eZ^gt^b c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ th f^vte RbM^tYi m^we^R R^xeb hv^ct^b w⁻ Z n^tq t^mt⁰ I R^wUj Av^Kvi aviY
K^ti^tQ t^mL^vt^b G^me Z^tE^j Kv^hR^wi Zv Kg | q^vgZv c⁻K^xKiY i^wnZ nq K^viY AvBb c⁰q^b
q^vgZv c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ Kv^tQ n⁻v^ši Kiv hvq | AvB^mf^v AvZ^{wi} ³ AvBb c⁰q^b q^vgZv n⁻v^ši Ki^tZ
cv^ti bv | AvB^mf^v g^j b^wiZg^vv c⁰q^b K^ti hv c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ b^wiZg^vv c⁰q^tbi mgq Ab^{mi}Y K^ti
⁻v^tK | q^vgZv c⁻K^xKiY i^wnZ nq hLb w^ePvi q^vgZv c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ Kv^tQ n⁻v^ši nq | c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ
w^eP^ti i c⁰q^vM t⁰q^l μ^gwMZ w⁻ZZ n^tQ |

ersj v^t `tk c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ
RbM^tYi Kv^tQ `vqex bq/
c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ M^vw⁰Q^b

c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ m^t½ RbM^tYi w^{ew}Q^bz^v

ersj v^t `tk c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ m^t½ RbM^tYi w^{ew}Q^bz^v I m⁰š^u `w^{ew}j e^Ut^b RbM^tYi 0vi D^tb^vm^pZ bv
nl qvi t^cQ^t A^tbK K^viY K^vR K^ti | th^gb, ersj v^t `tk c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ e⁻vⁱ AvZ^{wi} ³ Avgj vZ^wŠ^K
Ges t^k `i^qKi^tYi c⁰Y^Zv t^ek^x | c⁰k^vm^tbⁱ w^bq^šY e⁻vⁱ AvZ^{wi} ³ k^w ³ k^vj^x Kiv nq |

cvtWĒi gj`vqb

be⁹³K cĕæ

mVWK DĒti i cvtk WJK (v) WPy w`b -

- 1| evsj vt`tk mvgwi K ewnbx MYZtšj Rb` ūgKx tKb?
 K. mvgwi K kvmbvgtj AvBb kĭ Lj v i qĭv ūi`Zi cvq bv
 L. mvgwi K kvmbvgtj wbePb e`e`v tft½ hıq
 M. mvgwi K kvmbvgtj Av_mvgwiRK Kivvgvi Dbqb nq bv
 N. mvgwi K kvmbvgtj e`emvqx tkYx j vfevb nq

- 2| evsj vt`tki ivR%wZK`j mg#ni cĕZōmbKxKi tYi gj mgm`v Wk?
 K. `j mg#ni At_P thWvb Kg
 L. `j mg#n tbZet`i Ōkwi kgvŌi Afve
 M. `j mg#ni gta` MYZwšK PpP`Pj
 N. `j mg#n bZb m`mMtYi `xqĭv MŌtYi ni Kg

- 3| evsj vt`tk qĭgZv c_wKxKi tYi tĭtĭ Wk nt`Q?
 K. AvBb wfvM, kvmb wfvM I wPvi wfvMi qĭgZv c_wK Kiv ntqtQ
 L. AvBb wfvMi KvQ tekx qĭgZv tK`tfZ nt`Q
 M. kvmb wfvMi KvQ tekx qĭgZv tK`tfZ nt`Q
 N. wPvi wfvMi KvQ tekx qĭgZv tK`tfZ nt`Q

- 4| evsj vt`tk cĕkvtbi `vqexZv Kvi KvQ?
 K. RbMtYi KvQ `vqex
 L. cĕvbgšgi KvQ `vqex
 M. wPvi wfvMi KvQ `vqex
 N. Ūc WDbŌ c_xZ Ōvi v Aa`b cĕkvb EaZb cĕkvtbi KvQ `vqex

msvĭB cĕæ

- 1| evsj vt`tk MYZwšK e`e`v cĕZōvi tĭtĭ wbePbi fvgKv Wkifc?
- 2| evsj vt`tk MYZšyqtbi cĕv`c`Zv wltq Avtj vPbv Ki`b|

iPbvj K cĕæ

- 1| evsj vt`tk MYZwšK cĕZōmbKxKi tYi mgm`v D`vni Ymn Avtj vPbv Ki`b|
- 2| evsj vt`tk mĕkvb cĕZōvi mgm`vej x Wk Wk? cĕkvb tKb MYwvQbĕ Avtj vPbv Ki`b|

mvgwRK msMVb
Social Organization

evsjv`tki mvgwRK msMVtb wetq, cwi evi I ÁwZ mꝑúK®.i"ZcY® GB mKj cŕZôv`b wꝑqvkxj eÜb mgvR`K msMVZ Kti | Gme cŕZôv`bi i xwZ bwxZ mgvR wbgg k,Ljv eRvq ivtL | thgb wetq thSb mꝑúK®K wloqšY Kti I cŕRbb`K `eaZv cŕvb Kti | cwi evi Aví xqZvi eÜtb Ave× Rbmgwô`K GKtÎ emevm, NwbôZv I mvrnPh®Ges A_`wZK mnthwMVZv cŕv`b DrmwvZ Kti | i³ mꝑúK® eewvK mꝑúK® eÜtb Ave× gvbyl Rb`K tK`ª Kti Mto Dtv h_ex ÁwZ `j | ÁwZ `tj i GKvÍ Zvi eÜb A_`wZK I mvgwRKfvte cŕZwôZ | wKš' j`¶ Kiv Ri`ix th wetq, cwi evi I ÁwZ mꝑúK®mgvR msMVtbi c_wK t¶¶ bq | Zvi gv`b Gme cŕZôvb epEi mvgwRK cŕuqvi Ask | thgb wj ½xq `elg` I tkYx `elg`tK ev` w`tq wetq, cwi evi I RwiZ mꝑúK®etkH Kiv hvq bv | agMZ I RwiZMZ cv_`R` cwi evi I ÁwZ `j`K wfbvte msMVZ Kti | mgvR cwi eZ`bi m½ m½ mvgwRK msMVtbi Gme cŕZôv`bi I e`j NtU |

GB BDwb`Ui cv_wj nt`Q -

- ◆ cv - 1 : weevn e`e`v
- ◆ cv - 2 : cwi evi
- ◆ cv - 3 : ÁwZmꝑúK®

Marriage System

GB civiU cto Avciwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- wetqi Df`ik`
- wetqi aib
- wetqi mvgwRKZv
- A_šwZK tj bt`b
- wj ½xq `elg`
- wetq I tkYx m`uK`

wetqi Df`ik`

wetq mvgwRK msMVtbi
 mevka`i`ZcY`
 cšZovb| wetq cwi evi
 MVtbi gj Drm| Avi
 cwi evi mgvRi gj
 GKK|

wetq cwi evi MVtbi gj Drm| Avi cwi evi nt`Q mgvRi gj GKK| G Kvi tY wetq mvgwRK Rxeb hv`vq meka` i`ZcY`cšZovb wntmte `fKZ| wnt`yagšZ wetqi Df`ik` wZbuU - ag` (religion), cRbb (progeny) I iwZ ev thšbZv (pleasure) | Zte G Df`ik` tKej D`P RvZi (high caste) wnt`f`i tejv cšhvR`| ejv nq th wšb RvZi i`f`i wetqi GKgvI Df`ik` thšbZv| KviY wšbRvZ wntmte i`f`i D`P ag`cij tbi thvM`Zv tbB| wetkIZ eibYMY thšnZi ag`cij b Kti b tmšnZi Zviv i`f`i mš½`eewwK m`uK`vcb Ki tZ cvt`b bv| Zte tKej thšb m`uK`vcb tbi Rb` i`a`bvixt` i`f`iK wetq Kiv th tZ cvt`| D`P RvZi wnt`f`i weevtni mgq AwMteK mv`lx Kiv nq| Mnx ag`nt`Q cj`I KZš Zvi `xmn cšZw`b šcAšvMš cšš4wj Z Kiv (KvcmWqv 1972)¹ | thšnZi cj`I ag`cij tbi `wqZi cšš mšZivs Zvi `x gZieiY Kivi ci hZ `*Z m`e`cšivq wetq Kti `x mnthvM ag`cij b KivB i`wZ| wKŠ`bvixt`i tejv Abjfc tKvb wšqg tbB| Avmtj bixi Rb` wetqB GKgvI agxš KZ` etj wetewPZ| thšnZi D`P RvZi wnt`f`i gta` wetq agxš I cweI mšZivs Zv Aj Nbxq Ges wPi `vqx etj wetePbv Kiv nq|

Bmj vq ag`šZ wetq GKiu cweI Pwš | Bmj vqx AvBb tgvZvteK wetq tZ bixi m`švZ tbqv Avek`K| bixi m`švZi tčš tZ cj`I I bixi Awffvekt`i Dcwi wZ tZ I `šRb mv`lx i mv`lx| MšY Kti Pwš m`šw`Z nq| GB Pwš wj wLZ ntj šKwebbvšv cšq b Kiv nq Ges mi Kvti i KvRx Awštm ti wRw`KZ nq| Avevi Pwš tšwLKI ntZ cvt`| gmj gvb`i KvtQ wetq agxš KZ` bv ntj I Zv šdi Rš ev Aek` Ki Yxq etj wetePbv Kiv nq| Bmj vqx kwi qZ Abšvqx thšb m`uK`vcb tbi AvBbMZ I agxš `eaZv tKej wetqi gva`tg ntZ cvt`| wetqi evBti thšb m`uK`K cvc KvR etj wetePbv Kiv nq| G Kvi tY gmj gvb mgvRi wetq agxš KZ` wntmteB cwi MwYZ ntqtQ|

evsj it`ki mgvR wetq tK esk i`lvi Rb` AZ`vek`K etj gtb Kiv nq| wetqi Ab`Zg Df`ik` mšvb Rb`vb Kti estki bvg i`lx Kiv| ejv nq mšv`bi gta` wZvqvZv tetP

¹ Kapadia KM, *Marriage and Family in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1972.

_vKb| wetqi GB Df'k'wJl agxq At_B e'euz nq| wetqi Rb' ZvB Ofvtj v0, 0cweT0 I
0mZx0 brix tLVRvi tP0v P0j | esk i'qV I ag'q'qvi Df'k'k' wetqi 'bwZK wfwE my p Kiv nq|
wetqi m½ m'úK'Avf0 m'úwEi DEiwaKvfi | wetqi gva'tg m'svb wetkIz cy' m'svb
Rb' vb Kiv A'wZK Df'k' | estki bvg i'qV Kivi m½ m½ estki m'ú' i'qV Kivi
KZ' etj wetepZ nq _vK|

wn>yI Bmj vg `B atgB wetqtZ mgZv c0Z0vi K_v ej v nq| Gi A_wetq nZ nte Ggb `B
ag' tMv0x, cwiewi K c`gh'vi gta' hvt`i Ae`vb GKB iKtgi | wn>y mgvR eY'c0v
_vKvi dtj GKB eY' tMvT'i gta' wetqi ti lqvR Mto DfV| Zte eú AmeY'wetqI Abj0Z
nt'Q| gmj gvb't`i gta'l mg gh'vi wetq 'i'ZcY' Avkivd AvZivd Ges gmj gvb't`i
wefb'wagxq gvRnvti gta' wetq mntR tgb tbqv nq bv| mgZvi w0qgW Awak c0qW Kiv
nq wfb'eatg' gta' wetqi tejvq| gmj gvb't`i gta' cy'IMY Avmgvbx wKZvtei Abjvix
ag'ej w't`i wetq KitZ cvtib, Zte Zv Kw'qZ bq| Gi evBti thgb wn>yI gmj gvb brix
cy'tl i wetq agxq gtZ nl qv m'ae bq| G mgm'v mgvav'tbi Rb' ewk kvmbvg'tj GKw AvBb
c0'Z nq| GB AvBb Abjviti cvl' cvlx tKvb ag'AbjmiY Ktib bv Ggb tNvYv w`tq Zvi
gvtb `BRb brix-cy'l wntmte wetq Kiv m'ae| ev`te t`Lv hvq th mgvR GB wetqi `KwZi
Rb' cvl' cvlx tKvb GK Rb'tK ag'wZ nZ nq| ASZct'q bvg e`j Kti gmj gvb ev
wn>ybvg M0Y KitZ nq| cy'tl i Zj bvg brix Aa`b nl qvq Awakvsk t'q't' e`tj i `wqZi
bixi Dci eZ'q| wetqtZ mgZvi wetqW abx I Mixtei wetqi t'q't' AtbK KovKw0 f'ite
ev`ewqZ nZ t`Lv hvq|

mvavi YZ wetq cwievi I Avl'xq`Rb KZ' AvtqWRZ nq _vK| mZivs wetqi cte'hw` tKD
tc0gi m'úK'm'w0 Kti Zvntj Zvt`i wetqi mgvWRK `KwZ mgm'vRbK nq cto| tc0gi
wetq Ges AvtqWRZ wetqi (arranged) gta' cv`R' Kiv nq| tc0gi wetq KvRx Awdtm wMtq
Pw'0ex nq Kiv m'ae| Zte KvRx Awdtm wMtq G a'itbi wetqtK wbi "rmvWZ Kiv nq|

wetqi Ab'Zg Df'k' mgvWRK m'úK'ewx Kiv| Bmj vg ag'gtZ estki w0Kwv'xq e'ZxZ
Avl'xqt`i gta' wetq nl qv m'ae| `ti i Avl'xq' m½ wetq ntj m'úK'Avtiv Nwb0 Ges we`Z
nZ cvti etj gtb Kiv nq| Zte tMv0xi evBti wfb'etMv0xi m½ wetq ntj bZb m'úK'
c0Zw0Z nq etj GUVB Awak M0Y'thvM' | wn>y ag'gtZ Avl'xqt`i gta' wetqi e'vcvti
wb'tlavAv AvtQ| 'qZvi 00 wKsev wetiva wggvsmvi Dcvq wntmteI `B c0Z0'0x tMv0xi gta'
wetq nq _vK| M0g t`tK kn'ti wetq m'úK'c0Z0vi c0Z AvM0h ewx tctqtQ| wetqi gva'tg
kn'ti i wkv'qZ I c0'f'ekvj x cwievti i m½ m'úK'vcb Kti M0gxY weE'kvj xMY 'qZvi Rvj
we`Z KitZ AvM0x nq _vKb|

wetqi Ab'Zg Df'k'
mgvWRK m'úK'ewx Kiv|

wetqi aib

wetqi eqm m'úK'mi Kvfi i AvBb nt'Q tqtqi 18 ermi I t0tj i 21 ermi eqtm wetq nZ
cvti | Gi tc0tb aviYv nt'Q GB th `v'úZ'Rxeb hvcb I th'sb m'úK'vc'tbi Rb' tqtqt`i
18 ermi ch' Atc'qV Kiv ev'Abxq| wK's' M0gv'Atj tqtqt`i FZmte (menstruation) 'i i"
nl qvi ci t`tKB wetqi K_v f'iev nq| Awakvsk t'q't' 12-14 ermti i gta' tqtqt`i Ges
18-20 ermti i t0tj t`i wetq t`qv nq| wkv'qZ ga'weE't`i gta' 0evj 'weevn0tK A'wZK,
Agv'w'ek wntmte t`Lv nq| M0tg c0'w'j Z aviYv nt'Q tqtq m'evw'j Kv (puberty) nl qvi ci
wetqi e'e`v Kiv wZv gvZvi Dci Avek'Kix ag'q' `wqZi gtb Kiv nq| ZvQvov estki B'4Z
(honour) i'qV Kivi Rb'l m'evw'j Kv tqtqtK `Z wetq t`qv c0'qvRb etj gtb Kiv nq|

M0gv'Atj e'j 'weev nq
_vK| kn'ti i wkv'qZ
gib' e'j 'weev'tK
A'wZK etj gtb Ktib|

wetePbv Kiv nq `wK tmš`h`meki`Zv, AwfRvZ`, AvbMz`, Nti i KvR cvi`wkZv BZ`w` | Avi cjt`ti i t`tt` wetePbv Kiv nq DcvR`gZv | j`i` i vLv nq thb cjt`i bixi tPtq tekx eqmx | wk`v`x`vq tekx nq | mv`cZK Kvj bixi DcvR`gZv weti Rb` evomZ`Y wntmte wetePZ ntj | cte`p` aviYv envj AvtQ | weti vm`vš (engagement) ntj ŪcvbPwbŪ Abpvtbi gva`tg mKj tK wgo`gt` Kivbv nq | weti AvtM ŪMvtq nj`y`Ū Abpvtb Awz m`ut`K`P` mKj gj`e`vMY nj`y` w`tq Avkx`P` Ktib | Mvtq nj`y` AbpvtbW GK w`tK agx`Mv`th`EY` Ab` w`tK Avl`xq`-Rb wgtj is tLj vq tgtZ Dtv GtK Avb`gq Kti tZvtj b |

weti `i` t`tK mKj Abpvtb Awz tMv`x | `i` `ivt`si Avl`xq`-Rb AskM`hY Ktib | Zte mKj Abpvtb bv ntj | weti Abpvtb mKtj i Dcv`wZ A`bKuv eva`Zvgj K | weti Abpvtb A`bKuv b ati P`tj | me wgtj Awz tMv`x | mgvtRi t`jvKt`i Rvbtbv | Lvl qv`vl qvi ga` w`tq weta mgv`wRK`-t`KwZ jvf Kti | M`gv`Atj Lvl qv`vl qvi eo AvtqvRb Kivi Rb` cŪZwbK mjeav bv`vKvq mgvtRi t`jvKRb GKt`i KvR Ktib | `ZRmc`i AvtqvRb Ktib | weta ZvB mgv`wRK Drmt`i b`vq ifc jvf Kti | kn`ti weta AvtqvRtbi Rb` Ni fivov cvl qv hvq Ges ewYwR`Kfvt`e Lvl qv`vl qv, mvRm`3/4v meWkQyKiv hvq |

A_`wZK tj bt`b

weti A_`wZK weta nt`Q tgvnivbv | th`SZK cŪvb | Bmjvg ag`gtZ weti Pw`3 m`uv`b Kvj cvl`xt`K A_`cŪv`bi A`1/2Kvi Kitz nq cvl`t`K | GB A`1/2Kvi Kwebbv`vq tj Lv`v`K | wK`S`th cwigvY A_`Kwebbv`vq tj Lv`v`K Zvi D`tj t`hM` Ask ŪDmj Ū ev cŪvb Kitz nq | Kweb`bv`vq D`tj t`Z Abv`vq A_`cvl`xt`K cieZ`t`Z Aek`B cŪvb Kitz nq | weti ci Ktbt`K t`b tgvni t`qvi weavb g`mj g mgvtR ag`t` fvt`e Avek`Kxq KZ`E` wmvte cŪZwbZ | GwU bixi A_`wZK | mgv`wRK w`bivc`Evi w`bŪqZv weavb Kti | eisjvt`t`ki g`mj g mgvtR t`b tgvni t`q`v`gxi Rb` Aek`KZ`E` ntj | ev`te A`bK t`tt`i Zv h`vh`fvt`e AbmZ nq bv | Gi d`tj t`Kej ag`t` weavbB j`Snb Kiv nq bv, eis bixt`i Zvt`i cŪc` Awakvi t`tK ev`AZ Kiv nq | ev`te tekxi f`vM bix GB A_`Pvb bv KviY Zvntj`v`uZ` m`ut`K`P`vtj`Ä`Zix nq | tgvnivbv cwigvY wba`wi Z nq cvl`c`q | cvl`x c`t`q | mgv`wRK | A_`wZK gh`p`vi Dci w`f`E Kti | abx tk`Yxi cvl`x c`q | tgvnivbv cwigvY A`bK tekx wj`wLZ i vL`tZ Pvb | cvl`c`q | tPtq cvl`x c`q | Av_`mgv`wRK gh`p`v tekx ntj cvl`Awak A_`cŪvb Ktib | GwU cY (bride price) t`qv Ges G ai`tbi weta`t`K Ūct`Yi weta`Ū ejv nq | `f`w`eK w`bqg nt`Q cvl`c`q | Kb`v mvRv`t`bvi Rb` `Y`j`1/2v mn hveZxq`e`w` cŪvb Ktib | Avi cvl`x c`q | cvl`mvRv`t`bvi t`cvk`K, Avs`w | Ab`vb`mi`Ävgw` cŪvb Ktib | Dci`S`cvl`x c`q | cvl`xt`K | `Y`j`1/2v mn Ab`vb`mi`Ävgw` w`tq`v`Kb | cvl`x th`tnZ`c`P`wZ w`bq`tg cvt`i evox A_`v`p` k`i`iv`j`tq` eim Kivi Rb` hvb, tm`tnZ`w`Qv`bvc`i mn w`bZ` cŪqvRbxq`e`w` t`qv | `f`w`eK w`bq`tgi g`ta`c`to |

weti A_`wZK weta nt`Q tgvnivbv | th`SZK | bixi`i`K tgvnivbv t`qv nq bv | cjt`iMYt`K th`SZK cŪvb eva`Zvgj K ntq hv`t`Q | th`SZK cŪvb e`-` ntj bixiv w`b`Z`t`bi w`Kv`ti cwiyZ nb |

`f`w`eK tj bt`t`bi ev`t`i th`SZK (dowry) weta`i fvt`e`i`Zc`Y` cvl`c`q | gj`evb`e`w` thgb Nwo, tiw`I, mvB`Kj, tUw`w`f`kb, A`mvev`c`i, Mv`ox BZ`w` Ū`vexŪ (demand) Kti`v`Kb | GQvov cvl`c`q | tgvlv A`1/2i A_`P`v`v`Ktib | A`bK mgq`Y`j`1/2v, R`ng | evox | cŪvb Kiv nq | Bmjvtg Ktbi e`ev`ei`t`K Ū`rnvgŪ ev e`envi`th`M` cŪqvRbxq A`mvev`c`i w` t`qvi i`w`Z c`P`wZ | wK`S`th`SZK t`qv ev t`bqv Bmjvtg w`bwl`x` ev Ū`nvi`vgŪ | wK`S`Kb`vi`c`w`i`K m`ut`i`Awakvi bv`vKvq w`v`y`mgvtR th`SZK cŪvi c`P`j`b`i`i` nq | w`v`y`mgvtRi Ab`K`i`t`Y`

তকয়ি মসুক

weirfbetkYxi gta wetqi m^uK^o ai tb cv_R cwi j w^lZ nq | mvavi Yfite M^otg tqtq^l i Ar eqtm wetq t^l qvi ti l qvR Av^oQ | Zte M^ogy^l `wi^l `a^l tkYx A_WZK P^ltc I mvgw^lRK w^lbvcE^lvi Afite Ar eqtm wetq w^l tq_vK | eZ^ovtb M^otg^oUm Kvi Lvbi P^lKixi m^lthwM n^l qvq e^u Aw^leev^lnZ tqtq Kv^lRi m^lthwM t^lctqtQ | Bmj^lvg atg^ow^l LZ I tg^lS^lLK f^lite wetq m^ub^oeKivi weav^lb i^ltqtQ | tg^lS^lLK f^lite wetq m^uv^l tbi m^lthwM w^lb^lq^l `f^l S^lM c^lj^l l KL^ltbv KL^ltbv G e^le^lvi Ace^lenvi K^lti | dtj w^l LZ f^lite weevn m^uv^l tbi Dci evsj^l v^l tk_u i^l Z^l Av^livc Kiv nq Ges wetqi w^lb^oUxKiY Avek^lKxq Kiv n^ltqtQ | weevn GK^lW mvgw^lRK P^lr^o ZvB Ab^lv^lb^l P^lr^o i b^lvq G^lW^l w^l LZ f^lite m^uv^l tbi Rb^l Bmj^lvtg w^lb^l R i^ltqtQ | Zey evsj^l v^l tk_u g^lm^lij g mgv^lR^l `wi^l `t^l i g^lta tg^lS^lLK wetqi i^lw^lZ c^lP^luj Z | A^lw^lZ tM^lv^lox I mgv^lR^ltK^l `vl qvZ K^lti Lv^l qv^ltbi mvg^l Z^lv^l i tbB | At^lbK mgq LiP ev^lP^lvtbi Rb^l tqtq^lK t^lQ^l ev^lox^lZ w^lb^lq tmLv^ltb K^ltj gv c^lto wetq t^l qv nq | G^ltK OtZ^lv^l v weqv^l ej v n^ltq_vK | `wi^l `a^l tkYxi wetq^lZI th^lS^lZ^lKi Pvc cot^lQ | th^lS^lZ^lKi `v^lext^lZ weevn wet^lQ^l I NU^ltQ | Zte tg^lS^lLK wetq^lZ AvB^lbx R^lW^lJ Zv Kg_v K^liv weevn wet^lQ^l mnR g^ltb Kiv nq | `wi^l `a^l tkYx^lZ tqtq^l i c^lbw^levn Z^lj bvg^lj K^lf^lite mnR | weaev wetq^lZI mg^lm^lv Kg | kn^lti ew^l evm^lxt^l i g^lta GK^lW Rix^lci dj v^ldtj t^l Lv hvq th 40% Gi tK^lv K^lw^lebb^lvgv tbB, 29% K^lw^lebb^lvgv Ki^ltj I m^lt^l i v^ll^lb^l bv, 20% R^lv^ltb bv K^lw^lebb^lvgv w^l tq_w K n^lte (gv^lb^lub 1985)² | ew^l evm^lxt^l i g^lta e^u weev^ltni c^lP^lj bl tek^ll

kn^lti i w^lk^lw^ll^lZ ga^lw^lE tkYxi t^lKD t^lKD `wi^l `a^l tkYxi wetq^lK m^lw^lK wetq etj g^ltb K^lti bv | Z^lv^l i avi Yv `wi^l `a^l tkYxi O^lw^letqi tK^lv w^lb^lqg tbB^o, O^lw^letq w^lKgZ cov^ltbv nq^lb^lv^o, O^lZ^lv^l i th^lS^lb P^lP^lq Ab^lv^lP^lvi f^liv^o, O^lP^lw^l i^ln^lx^lb^o, O^lA^lw^lZK^o BZ^lw^l | kn^lti i w^lk^lw^ll^lZ ga^lw^lE tkYx^lZ GK c^lw^lZ c^lZ^lw^letqi g^lZ^l k^oc^lu^lZ^lw^lZ | th^lS^l c^lw^l ev^lti i c^lw^l et^lZ^oGKK c^lw^l evi M^lV^lbi c^le^lY^lZ^l GB tkYx^lZB tek^ll | GKK c^lw^l evi M^lV^lbi gj Drm w^lnt^lte wetq ZvB Z^lv^l i Kv^lQ Aw^laK_u i^l Z^lc^lY^lnt^lq DV^ltQ | wetqi m^lKj w^lb^lqgK^lv^lbp cvj b, Av^lb^lp^lw^lb^lK^lZ^lv, th^lS^lZ^lK Ges weevn ew^ll R^lx cvj b BZ^lw^l w^lk^lw^ll^lZ I k^lu^lti ga^lw^lE tkYxi g^lta^l B me^lw^laK |

² Mannan MA, *A Study of Marriage, Divorce and Separation Among Slum Dwelling Women in Dhaka City*, Bangladesh Society for the Enforcement of Human Rights, Dhaka, 1985.

cvfWĒi gj`vqb

`be³K cĕæ

m³WK DĒti i cvfk WJK (v) WPy w`b -

1| cŕYi wetq WK?

K. cvĪcŕŕi tPtq cvĪx cŕŕi Av³mvgwRK gh³v tekx ntj cvĪ AwAK
A³cŕ vb Kti b

L. cvĪ cŕŕi gh³v tekx nl qvq cvĪx cŕŕi AwAK A³cŕ vb Kti b

M. cvĪ cŕŕi I cvĪx cŕŕi wmwve Kti wetqi LiP mgvb fvM Kti b

N. cvĪ cŕŕi tPtq cvĪx cŕŕi gh³v tekx nl qvq tKvb tj bt`b nq bv

2| Bmj vg ag³gtZ AbjōZ wetqtZ `x KLB `ŕgxK Zvj vK w`tZ cvfi b?

K. msmŕti ewbebv bv ntj `x hLb B`Qv Zvj vK w`tZ cvfi b

L. tŕgtqi ever-gv ivRx vKtj Zvj vK w`tZ cvfi b

M. `x Zvj vK w`tZ cvfi b bv, `ŕgx Zvj vK w`tZ cvfi b

N. Kwebbvvgvq `ŕgx `xtK Zvj vK t`evi ŕlgZv cĒ`cĒ Kiti j `x Zvj vK w`tZ cvfi b

3| Mŕtg tKb evj `weevn nq?

K. tŕgtq mvevj Kv ntj wetq t`qv agxĕ KZĕ` etj gtb Kiv nq

L. estki B³4Z iŕŕv Kivi Rb`

M. Mŕtg tŕgtq`i wbi vcĒvi Afive

N. Dcŕti i me³wj

4| w³bKv wetq WK?

K. Amg `B cŕŕi gta` wetq

L. thšZK nxb wetq

M. weaevi cŕweĒvn

N. `xi evoxZ `ŕgx vŕKb th wetqtZ

msuŕŕB cĕæ

1| wetqi mvgwRKZv WKfvte cvj b Kiv nq?

2| D`PtKŕx I w³b³ŕkŕxi wetqi gta` cv³R` WK aiti b?

iPbvj K cĕæ

1| wetqi cĒZŕvŕb WKfvte wj ½xq `elg` cĒZwōZ nq Avtj vPbv Ki`b|

2| eisj vŕ`tk wetqi aib WK iKg? Avtj vPbv Ki`b|

cwi evi
Family

GB cvWUJ cto Arcwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- AYcwi evti i avi Yv cvÖvZ` tKw` K
- cÖK Jcwbtekk Kvtj cwi evti i aiY wQj GKvbeZx`ev thš`
- Jcwbtekk kvmbvgtj Dcgnvt` tk cwi ewi K KvVtgvvtZ cwi eZß miPZ ntqtQ
- ersj vt` tk cwi evti i MVb weirfbrai tbi
- ersj vt` tk cwi evi KvVtgv tkYx m`útkP m½ hyß

cwi evti i avi Yv

cvÖvtZ` cwi evi gvtb AU cwi evi tmLvfb` vgx-`x Zvt` i AvevwnZ mšvbt` i wbtq GKtT eim

cvÖvZ` mgvR cwi evti i GKwU mnR msÁv cÖvb Kiv nq| cvÖvtZ`i mvgwRK ev`eZvq
 `vgy-`x | Zvt` i AcÖB eq` mšvbt` i GKtT GK Mjn emevm Kiv `vfwK | A_` cwi evi
 gvtb `vgy-`x Ges Zvt` i mšv | cwi evti i `ewkó` wntmte wbañi Z nq `eevwnK m`útkP gta`
 GKRb bvix | GKRb cj`I A_` vgy-`xi `ea thšb m`úK, cRbb Ges A_`wZK
 mnthwMZv | Gi m½ hyß nq cwi evti i mvavi Y Avev`j A_` Mj`vjx (household) |
 GmKj `ewkó`i Avtj vtK cvÖvtZ`i mgvR weÁvbxMY cwi evti i msÁv `vö Kivb | cwi evi
 nt`Q wetqi gva`tg mP Ggb GKwU mvgwRK `j hviv GKtT emevm Kti, mšvb Rb` vb Kti
 Ges A_`wZKfvte mnthwMZv Kti | G msÁv Abhvqx cwi evi gvtb AYcwi evi (nuclear
 family) | cvÖvtZ`i mgvR weÁvbxMY AYcwi evti i avi Yvi Avtj vtK cwi evi tk nekRbxb
 cÖZövb wntmte avi Yv Kti b | Zvt` i avi Yv cvÖvZ` | I AcvÖvZ` mKj mgvRb wetqi gva`tg
 `ea thšb m`úK`cÖZövb nq Ges i` m`útkP gta` wöKUZg A_` mšvb mšwZt` i m½
 GKtT emevm Kti |

cÖK Jcwbtekk Kvtj i GKvbeZx`cwi evi

ejUk kvmtbi cte`Dcgnvt` tk eü wZcÖvb | gvZmT`xq Ges `yUj msugkbnm weirfbrai tbi
 msNex msMVb wQj | G_`ij bvbwea mvgwRK | A_`wZK cwi wZi m½ Avšm`útkP dtj
 µgvMZ cwi ewZ` nWQj | ersjv AÄtj meñak cPwj Z wQj Pvi-cvP cRtbi GKvbeZx`
 cwi evi | GwU i` m`úK` gvb | Rtbi thš` ev tRvUex mvgwRK cÖZövb | Gi cÖvb `ewkó`
 wQj thš`Zv ev h_exZv | hw | i` m`úK`h_exZvq g_` fvgKv cvj b KiZv, GtZ hyß
 ntZv `eevwnK m`úK` tcvl`, AvT`xqZv | eÜZj | GB mKj cÖZövbtk AtbtK thš` cwi evi
 etj `vtKb |

gj m`úK`cÖZövb ntZv `i wLK ÁwZ (lineal kin) mT` thgb, `v`v-ever-tQj -bwZ Ges
 cwkR ÁwZmT` (collateral kin) thgb, `v`vi fvB, eevi fvB, PvpvtZv fvB | thš`
 cwi evti i AZ`vek`K `ewkó` wQj m`úEi thš` Askx`wi Zi (coparcenary) | m`úEi
 ZÉyevtbi `wqZj etqvtr`ö e`w`i KvTQ `vKtj | mKj cj`I tm m`úEi mn-DEi waKvix
 wQj b | thš` cwi evti i m`mMY GKtT emevm KiZb, Lvlqv `vlqv KiZb, agx` |

cwi ewi K Drme GKfT D`hvcb KiZb, mKtj i Avq mvaviY m`uEzZ webtqvM KiZb|
Zviv gpvdv GKfT tFM KiZb I mvaviY m`uEzZ t`K mKj aiZbi cOqvRbxq e`q KiZb|
Kwl wfWfEK A_`mZtZ ktgi Pwn`v ciYi t`fT thS_ cwi evi KvhRi cOZovb wntmte
,"ZpY`ntq DfV| Kwl i cvkvcwk wktf i thvMvb I e`e`vcbvi cOqvRb wglvbtvi Rb`I thS_
cwi evi KvhRi wQj | thS_ cwi evfii KZf KvtQB KZz; tk`xfZ wQj | thS_ cwi evfii
m`mMfYi Ae`vb `ivwqZ wQj (hierarchy) DaZb I Aa`bt`i gta`|

thS_ cwi evfii msnwZ Avbqbtbi Rb` KZfZji m`uK`ev`evqbtbi t`fT tek KovKwo Kiv ntZv|
mvgwRK m`uK`vctbi t`fT thS_ cwi evi GKwU BDwbU wntmte cOZovvaZi KiZv|
cwi ewi K wefiva wgvsmvql cwi ewi K wmxvSb Povs` etj wefep` wQj | me wgtj thS_
Aw`fZji gta` e`w`K Aw`Zi wejxb ntq hvq| thS_ `f`GZ cOj ntq DfV th e`w` `f`g`v`v
Pvov w`tq DVvi m`vbev Kfvi fite wbcvS`Z nq| mvgwMK mgvR e`e`vI thS_ cwi evfii
Aw`fZji ct`f wbcstKi fvgKv cvj b Kti | Zte thS_ Zvi cOZ AvbMfZ`i webgf`q m`mMY
jvf Ktib AvRxb wdvEv| th tKvb aiZbi A_`wZK m`uU, teKvi Zi, `w`f`f` I Amy`Zvi
tgvKtejv Kiv thS_ cwi evfii `bwZK `wqZi wntmte wewpZ ntZv| evj` wevtni dtj
cwi evfii tgtq`i `xNRvj fibtclvY, GgbwK teKvi RvgtB`i fibtclvY, ct`f i gZi ntj
Zvi weaev `x I m`svbt`i fibtclvb, Kb`vi weevn wef`Qf` A`ev weaev ntj Zvt`i
fibtclvY Ges Amy` I c`y`mKj m`tm`i fibtclvY thS_ cwi evfii m`u` w`tqB Kiv
ntZv| thS_ cwi evfii m`mMY w`f`vMhY wKsev Pvkixi Rb` knfi Ae`vb Ktj I Zvt`i
m`m`c` Lwi R ntZv bv| tKvb KviY wefivtai dtj thS_ cwi evi tft`z tMfj I mw`o ntZv f`z`
f`z` thS_ cwi evi | G`w`j ewaZ ntq eo thS_ cwi evfii cwi YZ ntZv| `vKv Lvl qvi e`e`v c`K
ntj I m`uEzZ c`KvKiY Lp GKUv NUfZv bv| thS_ cwi evi `Av`k`nl qvq `wi`a`tkYxi I
j`f` wQj G aiZbi cwi evi MvB| wKs`cAvbZ RbmsL`vMZ I A_`wZK KviY `wi`a`tkYxi
gta` eo thS_ cwi evi t`Lv thfZv bv| `wi`a`tkYxi gta` gZi nvi tenk wQj | wki I gvZ...
gZi nvi I tekx wQj | dtj eq`e`w`i mSL`v Kg nl qvq cRtbf`i Mfxi Zv `wi`a`tkYfZ Kg
wQj |

*cOj JcwbtekkK Kvj
eivj v AAfj mefak
cPj Z wQj Pri-cwP
cRtbf`i GKvbeZ`thS_
cwi evi | Gi Ab`Zg
`enk`o` wQj m`uEzZ thS_
Askr`mi Zi|*

JcwbtekkK Avgtj mwPZ cwi eZB

Dcgnv`tk eUk JcwbtekkK kvmK eM`c`kvmvbK, gZv`wK I A_`wZK t`fT bZb aviv
mw`o Kti| AwacZ` we`v`ii DfT`tk` JcwbtekkK kvmK tMv`x Dcgnv`tki tgs`vj K
cOZovbmg`n tft`z cv`v`fZ`i Avtjv`K cYM`vZ Kti| A_`wZK t`fT cP`Rev`
(capitalism), gZv`wK t`fT D`vi Zvev` (liberalism) Ges mvgwRK, ivR`wZK t`fT
mgZvi (equality) bwxZ cOwZ`Z nq| Gi dtj Rtb`f wfWfEzZ thS_ cwi evi f`B`nl qvi wbcf`g
D`vi Zvev` P`vtj A`Zix Kti| D`vi Zvev` w`f`v` t`q th GKRB e`w` `B`Ovq tKvb Pw`B`ex
nteb, tKej Rtb`f Rb` eva` ntq Pw`B`ex nteb bv| cv`v`fZ`i MYZw`SK bwxZ w`f`v` t`q th
GKRB e`w` KZ`et`f`i tbqv wmxvS webv cO`k`et`g`tb t`teb bv| wmxvS`i cOZ`hw` e`w`i
mg`B`_v`K Zvntj B KZ`et`f` wmxvS` MhY KiZ`Z cv`f`e| D`vi Zvev` i Avf`i Kwl w`K nt`Q
h`y`ev` (rationalism) i cv`v`fZ`i h`y`ev` w`f`v` t`q th mbvZb cOZ`ovb I cO`v` MhY`thvM`
nte bv hw` tm`w`j h`y`M`h`n` bv nq| cv`v`fZ`i gZv`k`GB w`f`v` t`q th tKvb wKQycwE` etj
Aj NYxq fivevi tKvb h`y`B`tbB| Awbev`f`v`teB h`y`M`h`n` bv ntj th tKvb cwE` etj wefepZ
cOZ`ovb h`y`B`nxb nl qvi KviY aYsm KiZ`Z nte|

Gfite mgw`ev` Gi weci`fZ` e`w` `fZ`sev` gZv`k`w`ntmte tNwl Z nq| thS_ `f`_P`e` etj
`vb cvq e`w` `f`_P`e`w`i gZvgZ, e`w`i Df`vM, e`w`i wmxvS` AM`v`Kvi cvq| e`w`i

abx tkYxi cwi evi

abx K.I.KMY thš_ cwi evti
_vKvi c¶|cvZx| abx
K.I.K eo cwi evi `xN¶ b
uUwKtg ivLtz cvtib Rwg
fVM bv Kti |

Mõtġ abx tkYxi Mpn`vj x_wj ewaZ I eo cwi evi MVtbi Dci tRvi w`tq _vtK| GB aiþbi
AvsukK thš_ cwi evi _wj mvgwRK ghP v jvf Kti | G_wj i mvgwRK I ivR%wZK wbi vcÉvl
AwaK | Gme K.I.KMY thš_ cwi evti _vKvi c¶|cvZx| abx K.I.þKi thš_ cwi evi `xN¶ b uUþK
_vtK Rwg fVM bv Kivi KviþY | Rwg fVM bv nl qvq weewwZ tQtj iv Zvt`i mšvbm AšZ
wczvi gZi chš thš_ cwi evti evm Ktib | Pvlvev`i KvþR mnþhwMZvi Rb` abx K.I.KMYþK
tcvl` c¶ Mõb KiþZ t`Lv hvq | AþK mgq abx Mpn`vj xZ `vqx KgPvix ivLv nq hviv thš_
cwi evti B evm Ktib | abx K.I.KMY `ieZx®Avl xq`Rtbi gta` `wi`ª Avl xqt`i þKI KvþR
mnþhwMZvi Rb` wbtq Avþmb | weevn weþ`Q` wKsev weaev nl qvi KviþY AþK bvix Zvt`i
mšvbm abx K.I.þKi Mpn`vj xZ GKþT emevm Ktib | abx K.I.KMþYi ewaZ cwi evti AþK
Abjw`Z m`m` _vtKb | wbtRt`i c¶ve, ghP v I ¶lgZv epxi Rb` abx K.I.KMY mšv wKsev
fvBt`i knþi tj Lvcov Kivi Rb` I PvKixi Rb` tçlY Ktib | knþi emevm Kiþj I RwgRgv
Awef³ _vKvq Mõtġi thš_ cwi evti Zviv A_¶cõY Ktib I bvbvfvte mrvh` mnþhwMZv cõvb
Ktib | Gfvte t`Lv hvq th Rwg thš_ cwi evti i GKvZvi cãvb Drm |

mvaviYZ DËiwaKvi eUþbi dtj Rwg fVM ntq LwÛZ I ¶liª AvKvi aviY Kti | wKš' abx
K.I.þKi t¶t¶ t`Lv hvq th Zvt`i wevfbæaitþi Avþqi Drm Ges bM` A_¶_vKvq Rwg
LwÛZKiY tiva KiþZ cvtib Ges tmuUþKB _i"Zj t`b | DËiwaKvi fVwvfwM ntq tMtj I Zv
thš_ ZvtK bm`vr Kti bv | Zviv GKB evoxZ cvkvcwk evm Ktib | fVwvfwMi ev`e A_®
AþK mgq `wvq Nþi i cvþk bZb ðPj v emvþv Ges Lvl qv `vl qvi c_ K AvþqvRb Kiv |
A_¶ abx K.I.KMY GKB Aw½bvq emevm, ci`útii mþ½ Nwbó thwMvthwM I mæúK®i ¶lv,
mrvh` mnþhwMZv Kiv, Drme GKþT D`hvcb Kiv BZ`w` bvbvfvte thš_ cwi evti i HK` i ¶lv
Ktib |

Zte Rwg AZ`š gj `evb nl qvq abx K.I.K Mpn`vj xZ msNI cKku ntq DtV | Rwg eUþtK tk`ª
Kti mþ`n I lohš `vbn evta | agx¶ AvBþb eUþb i wZ teþa t`qv AvþQ | Zeyþ`Lv hvq th
bvbwea Dcvþq Rwg I mæút`i Amg eUþb ntq _vtK | AþtK eUþbi cþeB Kvþiv Kvþiv
bvtg Rwg tiwRwª Kti t`b | AþK tQtj thš_ cwi evti Zvt`i Ae`vb tekx `vex Kti AwaK
Rwg MõY Ktib | AþK t¶t¶ abx tkYxi KZP wbtRi B`Qv I cQ` gZ Rwg eUþbi DBj
KiþZ cvtib hv`elg`gj K ntZ cvti | AþK mgq thš_ cwi evti i KZ¶ gZi ci Zvi `x
RwgRgv GKwZ ivLtz AcvIM nb | AþK mgq Rwg cwi gvY Kg ntj fVM evþUvqvivi ci
ex gv Zvi mšvbt`i ðviv wMpxZ ntq _vtKb | Avevi AþK mgq ga` eq` bvx Zvi `vxi
gZi ci thš_ cwi evti i tbZZj t`b | c¶ I ZwišK Pic wKQþv Kgvi dtj Zviv `vaxZv tFVM
Ktib Ges MõgxY mgvþR ¶lgZv PPPKtib |

`wi`ª K.I.K cwi evi

Mõtġ fvgxb `wi`ª K.I.Kt` i Mpn`vj xi MVb I weKvþk fvg wKsev gj `evb mæút`i tKvb fvgKv
tbB | GBme cwi evi AþK mšvb Rbþ vb KiþZ Pvb KviY mšvMY wevfbæfvte Avq DcvR®
Kti cwi evti Aþ_¶ thwvþ t`q Ges ex eqtm fib tcvly Kti | mšvMYB A_¶wZKfvte
gj `evb mæú` | t`Lv hvq Qq ermi t`þKB tQtj tġtġiv msmvþi Avq tivRMvi I MpnKtg®
mnþhwMZv Kti Mpn`vj xZ Ae`vb ivtLb | tQtj iv wæti ci I wKQþv evel gvi mþ½ _vtKb
Ges A_¶wZK mnþhwMZv cõvb Ktib | wKš` `wi`ª cwi evti Avq tivRMþi `elg` wbtq Lþ

wi`a cwi evti I GKfI
emevtmi Av`kKvR
Kti | wKŠ AwR m½Z
bv vKvq Zv mæ nq bv |

mnþRB weivtai mIcvZ nþZ cvti | GKfI emevtmi Av`kKvR Kti wKŠ
AwR m½Z bv vKvq Zv mæ nq bv | Zte wi`a cwi evti I AYcwi evi nI qvi mæebv ¶ixY |
weevnZ c¶MY AwKvsk mgq fVwfvM Kti tQvU fVBtevb I eev gvþK A_šwZK fite
mnþhWMZvi `wqZi cvj b Kti b | `wi`a Mn`vj xþZ Lp Nb Nb m`m`i Ašf¶ cwi evZ nq
Zv`i AwR Ae`vi m½ wj tiþL | thgb ermþi th mgq AwR Ae`v fvþj v`vþK tm mgq
th tQþj meþPþq tekx fvþj v Ae`vq v`vþK tmB tQþj tekx `wqZi cvj b Kti b | hLb AwR
Ae`v Lvivc v`vþK ZLb Mn`vj xi m`m`MY Ab` Mn`vj xþZ Lvl qv `vl qv Kti b A_ev wþRivB
c_K Mn`vj x`vcb Kti evPvi mšMöq Pvj vb |

knþi cwi evti i aib

evsj v`þk kni wj GLþv Móg tþK cfivcwi wewQbæbq | ejv nþq v`vþK th kni Dbz
nI qvi KviþY Gi RbmsL`v evx cvq wb eis Mötgi Ae`v AZwaK Lvivc nI qvi KviþY `wi`a
gub | knþi Awfvevb KtiþQ | GþK AþþK knþi i K.K mvgwRKxKiY ev peasantization
of cities I etj v`vþKb | knþi wæ ga`weE I `wi`a tkYxi gþa`I ewaZ Mn`vj x ev wga
Mn`vj xi aib t`Lv hvq | Móg tþK knþi AwfvevbKZ Mn`vj x wj þK AþbKv AYcwi evti i
b`vq t`Lvq | wKŠ`j ¶ Kitiþ t`Lv hvq th GmKj cwi evti i wbeo mæúKweivR Kti Mötgi
Avl xq`Rtbi m½ A_ev Zv`i gj Mn`vj xi m½ | G KviþY knþi i Mn`vj xi aib tevSvi
Rb` Ræbhvc b cæwZ ev mode of living t`Lv Ri`ix | Zvi gvþb tKej GKB`vþb emew
(co-residence) I GKm½ Lvl qv `vl qv (common kitchen) Øviv Mn`vj xi thS_Zv tevSv
hvq bv | thS_Zv AþbK mgq cæwZ nq mæúKØviv | Ges Mn`vj xi aib hvPvB Kiv hvq Gi
KvhRjvc Øviv functional unit wþmþe |

knþi wæga`weE I `wi`a
tkYxi gþa`I ewaZ
Mn`vj x ev wga
Mn`vj xi aib t`Lv hvq |

XvKv knþi Ggb eü Mn`vj x AvþQ hvþZ GKRb c¶I ev bvi x m`m` KvR Kivi Rb` XvKvq
v`vþKb wKŠ` Zv`i Avl xq`Rb Mötg evm Kti b | Mötgi gj Mn`vj xþZ Zviv A_çcØY Kti b,
Amj`Zvq cvþk v`vþKb Ges wþqwgZ thwþfvhM ivþLb | XvKvq emewKvþj I Zviv GKv evm
Kti b bv | nqþZiev Zviv Ab` tKvb AYcwi evti i m½ Ni fVw Kti v`vþKb A_ev KþqKRb
mnKgrwþj GKm½ tgþm v`vþKb | GB aiþbi Mn`vj xþK AYcwi evi ejv hvþe bv | knþi
emewKvix AþbK`vþx-mšvb cwi evti A_šwZK mrvh`, MnKtg`mnþhWMZv, m½U Kvþj
gvbwMk wbi vcEv BZ`w`i Rb` Móg tþK Avl xq`Rb`i Gþb ivLv nq | thme cwi evti bvi x
KgRæx AvþQb tmLvþb tQvU mšvþ`i h_vh` t`Lvþkvbv I gvbwMk weKvþki Rb` ex eev-gv
wKsev wþKvUv`xqþ`i wþtq Avm nq | knþi emewKvix AþþKB tQvU fVB tevþ`i wK¶vi
mþhM t`evi Rb` knþi wþtq Avþmb I GKfI emew Kti b | AþbK`vþx-mšvb cwi evi
knþi c_K fite emew Kitiþ I Mötgi evox I Avl xq`Rb`i m½ gvbwMk GKv Zv Abþe
Kti b | Zviv Avl xqþ`i cæZ`wqZi I KZ` cvj b Kti b Ges QvUþZ I Drme D`hvctbi
Rb` Mötgi evoxþZ hvb |

mþeçwi ivóþq Dþ`vþM mvgwRK wbi vcEv (security) e`v Kg | tKej wKQy PvKi xRæx
tcbkvb cvb I e`w³MZ Dþ`vþM AþþK j vBd BÝþiY cwi vM MþY Kti b | mvgwRK wbi vcEv
e`v e`vcK bv nI qvq Am`Zv, nVv gZi, PvKi xþZ QvUvB, `NØbv BZ`w` tgvKvþej vi Rb`
thS` cwi evti i eÜb wkw`j nþj I wþwKtq ivLv e`ZxZ weKí tbB | knþi PvKi xRæx`i Avþqi
cwi gvY Kg nI qvq Mötg emewKvix cwi evti i m½ AþþK thS` fite Kwl Drcv`b Kti b |
Mötg DrcbæKwl cY` thgb Pvj, Wj, tçqvR, imp BZ`w` knþi i evmvq wþtq Avþmb | mZiv s
A_šwZK Pvþci KviþYI cwi ewi K thS`Zv tþK wewQbæI qv mæ bq |

mvi vsk

GB cvtVi Avtj vPbv t_†K t`Lv hvq th cvōvtZ`i AYycviev†i i aviYv evsj vt`†k c†ivcvi
KvhRi bq| Jcubtekk Kumb Dcgnvt`†k mivmRK msMV†b eo ai†bi cvieZ† NUvq| ej v
hvq cjt†bv msMVb ,ij †K aŷsm K†i bZb i†c bZb f†te MVb K†i | c†K-Jcubtekk K†j
evsjv AĀ†j c†v†j Z †Qj Pvi cv†P c†R†b†i GKvbeZx†thš_ cvievi | Jcubtekk K†j
c†Rev` , mgZv, hv³ev` I e†v³ †Zšev†`i gZv`k†GKvbeZx†cvievi K†v†g†v†Z cvieZ†
Av†b| GKvbeZx†cvievi f†v†Z`i i" K†i | evsj vt`†k knivĀ†j AYycviev†i t`Lv hvq|
M†gvĀ†j Av`k†M†n†ij xi aib n†"Q evaZ ev Avs†kK thš_ cvievi | `††i`†K.I.K cvie†i I
GK†† emev†mi Av`k†K†vR K†i | †KŠ† Av†_R m†mZ bv_vK†vq `††i`†cvievi †g†a†i†bi n†q
_††K| kn†i emev†K†vix †b†ev††E†i cvievi ,ij i m†½ M†gvĀ†j emev†K†vix Av††xq †R†bi
m†úK††b††K†j Z†i |

cvfVvEi gj`vqb

`be`P³K cKæ

m^uWK DĒtī i cvfk WJK (√) wPy w`b -

- 1| AYycwi evti i MVb tKgb ntq _vtK?
 K. ever-gv I Zvt` i weewnZ I AweewnZ mšvb GKtĪ evm Kti b
 L. ever-gv I Zvt` i weewnZ mšvb I Zvt` i mšvb GKtĪ evm Kti b
 M. `ŋgx-`x I Zvt` i AweewnZ mšvb GKtĪ evm Kti b
 N. weewnZ fvBtqiv GKtĪ evm Kti b

- 2| Lvbv wK?
 K. emevtmi BDwbU
 L. m^uuĒ GKtĪ i vLvi BDwbU
 M. Ngvf^ubvi BDwbU
 N. Drcv`b I tfvtMi BDwbU

- 3| evsj vt`tki AYycwi evti m`m`M^utYi gta` m^utK^u ai Y tKgb?
 K. eqm wbe^uk^ul mKtj mgvb
 L. cj`l KZ^uGKbvqKmj f
 M. cwi evti w^uxvš M^uY c^uwZ MYZwšK
 N. bvi x-cj`l m^utK^umtg`i Dci cĪZwōZ

- 4| `i wLK ÁwZmĪ wK ai tYi?
 K. bvbv-gvgy-gvgtZv fvB
 L. `v`v-`v`x-`v`xi fvB
 M. `v`vi fvB-everi fvB-PvPvtZv fvB
 N. `v`v-ever-tQ^utj -bwZ

msw^uĪB cKæ

- 1| kn^uti cwi evti i aib wK MŋvĀtj i cwi evti i b`vq? Avtj vPbv Ki`b|
- 2| bvi x-cĀvb Lvbvi aib tKgb ntq _vtK?

i Pbv^ugj K cKæ

- 1| evsj vt`tki MŋvĀtj cwi evi I M^un`vj xi aib wKifc?
- 2| cĪK-Jcwb^uewK GKvbeZx^uhš_ cwi evti i MVb cĪvj x Avtj vPbv Ki`b| GB ai tbi cwi evi tKb cwi ewZ^u nq?

ÁwZ m`úK©
Kinship Relation

GB cvWU cto Avcwb RvbZ cvi teb -

- ÁwZ m`úK© aib cwieZBxq
- evsj v`k ÁwZ m`úK© msMVb cij "tli c`lavb"
- ÁwZ `tj i msnwZ `vc`b i xwZ bxwZ
- tMvóxi tRvUe×Zv i qiv Kivi c`uqv
- tMvóx I tkYxm`úK©

ÁwZ m`úK© aib

ÁwZ m`cK©K gvb`tli `RueK m`úK© mvgwRK I mvs`wZK wbg`Y wntmte msÁwqZ Kiv nq| mgvR weÁvxt`i gta` ÁwZtZji `RueK w KtK gY` wntmte ati wbtq Gi mvgwRK I mvs`wZK w K`uj tK tMSY Kti tdjvi c`YZv AvtQ| Gi dtj ÁwZ m`úK©Aa`qtb wetq, mšvb Rb`vb, cwi evi Mvb, gZi BZ`w` tK tK`^ Kti th KvVtgv Mto Dtv Zv c`lavb` cvq| Z`cwi ÁwZ m`úK©tK`K mSMVb wK aitbi mvgwRK mvs`wZK fvgKv cij b KtQ Zv t`Lv nq| GtZ ÁwZ m`úK©GKwU c`K cwi mi wntmte MY` nq hvq| wKŠ` ÁwZ m`úK© mgvR mSMVtbi c`K tKvb t`qI bq| wetq I cpi`rcv`b wev`Qb`vte tKej cwi evi I ÁwZtMvóxi w`lq bq| G`uj enEi mvgwRK c`uqvi Ask| Gi m`½ mvgwRK wev`bac`Zóvb h`| mZivs ÁwZ m`úK©K` `vcb Kiv c`qvRb mvgwRK cwi mti | ÁwZ m`úK© m`½ h` wj `xq m`úK© A`wZK c`uqv thgb fvg I m`úEi gwj Kvb`K ev` w`tq ÁwZ m`úK© wetk`Y Kiv hvq bv| c`Rev`x e`v mgvR th tkYx c`KxKiY NUvq tm jcvšti i m`½ ÁwZ m`úK©I ifcvi NtU| agx` I RwmZM wefvRb ÁwZtZK w`vte mSMVZ Kti| mvgwRK cwieZB ÁwZ m`úK© wfb`eA`^`v` Kivq| mgvRi wev`b`eA`^`v` I kw`uj i e`tj i m`½ m`½ ÁwZ m`úK©I e`j NtU|

evsj v`k ÁwZ m`úK© msMVb

evsj v`k ÁwZ m`úK©
wZm`xq (patrilineal),
wZ`wbK (patrilocal)
I wZZwšK
(patriarchal) |

evsj v`k ÁwZ m`úK©wZm`xq (patrilineal), wZ`wbK (patrilocal) I wZZwšK (patriarchal) | ÁwZ m`úK©wY`q GKwU eo c`kent`Q tKvb e`w` Zvi ce`Zx`cRb` Ges cieZx`cRb`i m`½ wKfvte m`úK©msMVZ Ki`te| G m`úK©wZ nZ cvti eev A`ev gvi gva`tg Ges c` A`ev Kb`vi gva`tg| Gfvte eskaviv (descent) wY`qi t`qI GKwU wj `xq m`úK© c`lavb` `wZ nq| tmU cij`I| eskaviv wYxZ nq BtMvi (wbtRi) wZv, `v`v I c` mšv`bi gva`tg| evsj v`k i q`i` RwmZ tMvóx gv`vBt`i gta` gvZm`xq esk avivi wbgq AvtQ| gvtqi gva`tg esk aviv w`ó n`j I G mgvR cij`I c`lavb` weivR Kti Ges m`úEi e`Ub I q`lgZv PP`Kti b gvtqi fvB| Zvi A`wK wZm`xq wK gvZm`xq `fUv esk avivZB cij`I AwacZ` weivR Kti| wZ`wbK wbgq Abymti tKvb estki cij`IMY wR Gj vKvZB emevm KtZ `vtKb Ges Zv`i `xt`i ewni t`tK wbtq Avmv nq| GKB wbgq estki tqt`i evBti Ab` estk wetq t`qv nq thLv`b Zviv emevm Kti b|

tMvõx e`e`vq ÁwZ
m`útk`msnuz `vcb Kiv
nq AvPi Y weagij v
cúqtMi gva`tg/

nq AvPiY weagij v cúqtMi gva`tg| BtMvi A_ŕ wbtRi Dctii cŕtbŕi mKtj k`vi cvĀ |
thgb eev-PvPv, gv-PvPx mg ghŕ vi ÁwaKvix| weewnZ bixi KvŕQ Zviv mKtj kŕi kŕi ox
ghŕ vi ÁwaKvix| tKvb PvPv ev gvgvi eqm BtMvi tPtq Kg ntj I Zviv k`vi cvĀ | BtMvi
wbR cŕtbŕi eqtm eo hviv Zvt`i m½l k`vi m`úK`_vtK| thgb BtMvi eo fvB I
KwRbMY| weewnZ bixi m½l `ŕgxi eo fvB I KwRbt`i A_ŕ fvi it`i m`úK` itZji I
k`vi | `ŕgxi tQvU fvB A_ŕ t`ei Ges `xi tQvU tevb A_ŕ k`wvj Kvŕ`i m½l m`úK`nwm
VvÁvi | tMvõx e`e`vq bixt`i gta` Rbŕ mŕt tMvõx m`m` Ges `eewnK mŕt tMvõx m`m`
gta` cv_ŕ` Kiv nq| GB ghŕ vi cv_ŕ` bb` I eDt`i gta` weŕiva mŕxó Kti| weewnZ
bixi kvi ox hw` I `eewnK mŕt tMvõxi m`m` Zey`xNŕuj evm Kivi dtj `ŕgxi tMvõxtZ Zvi
Ae`vb AŕbK `p| kvi ox memgq bevMZ eDt`i KvŕRi Lei`vix Kivq Zvt`i m`úK`
weŕivtai | Ab`w`tk kŕi m`úK`Zt`i m½l eDt`i m`úK` itZji I tŕtŕni Ges KLŕb
weŕivtai bq| eev gvi cŕZ AbMZ _vKvŕK agŕŕ KZŕ` etj weŕepbv Kiv nq| eev gvi
Avŕ k tKvb hŕŕ ZK`Qvov cvj b Kiv tMvõxi Ab`Zg `bwZK wŕŕv| weŕkI Z ex eqtm eev
gŕtK t`Lvŕkvbv Kivi Rb` mšvbŕ`i wŕi Kvj t_ŕKB wŕŕv cŕvb Kiv nq| esk iŕvvi Rb`
tŕtj mšvbŕK cŕvb` t`qv nq| eo tMvõx_wj ŕZ AŕbK tŕtj mšvbŕi Rbŕ`vb cŕqvRbxq etj
weŕepZ nq| Kvi Y Zv bv ntj tMvõxi AvKvi I ŕlgZv ŕgk wŕæMvgx ntq hvevi Avk`v AvŕQ|

tMvõxi tRvUe`xZv

tMvõxi cŕvb `ewkó` Gi tRvUe`xZv| GKB ce`cj`ŕli DĒimj`xMY i` m`úK`I `eewnK
m`útkŕ gva`tg GB ÁwZ `j MVb Kŕib| tMvõxi HK` iŕv Kiv GKwU cŕŕvq| ÁwZ
m`útkŕ gta` k,Lj v Avbqŕbi `wqZi AwcZ nq cj`I cŕvbŕ`i Dci | ŕŕ` thš` cwi evŕii
etqŕR`ô cj`ŕli c`ex nŕ`Q ŕgi`eŕŕŕ| ÁwZ `ŕji mKj thš` I GKK cwi evŕii cŕvb
cj`ŕli c`ex ŕgvZeŕiŕ| Aa`b cŕtbŕi Dci EaZb cŕtbŕi, Kwŕŕ`i Dci tR`ŕt`i Ges
bixi Dci cj`ŕli AwacZ` cŕZŕvi gva`tg tMvõxtZ k,Lj v Avbqb Kiv nq| ÁwZ m`útkŕ
gta` AvPiY wea I KZŕj ev`ewqZ nŕ`Q wKbv Zv Z`vi Kx Kivi `wqZi cŕgZ gj eŕx Ges
mweŕ fvŕe gvZeŕŕi | tMvõxfŕŕ cwi evi_wj i tPŕv _vtK GKB Gj vKiv emevŕmi | AŕbK
mgq cvkŕZx`Mŕg_wj ŕZi tMvõx m`úK`e`Z nŕq hvq| mvavi YZ GKŕt emevmKvix tMvõxi
gta` `pZvi mŕxó nq| tMvõx m`m`ŕ`i cvi`úwi K wŕŕvKj vtci tFZi w`ŕq tMvõxi GKŕv Zv
ew`x cvq| tMvõxi Ašfŕŕ m`m`MŕYi SMov d`vuv` I weŕiva tMvõxi tFZŕiB gvZeŕi KZŕ
wgvsmv nq| mvavi YZ mvvj ŕki gva`tgB ŕŕŕi mŕvvn nq| Zŕe tMvõxi gvZeŕŕi wePvi Kivi
ŕlgZv AvŕQ| wePvi Kvŕj gvZeŕŕi kwi ixK fvŕe gvai Kivi Ges AcgvbRbK Rŕv tclv
Kivi ŕlgZv AvŕQ|

tMvõx msnuzi Rb` weŕq `i`ZcY`Dcv`vb nlqvq tKvb tKvb gŕwvj g mgvŕR thgb DĒi
AwcdKvi t`kmgŕn, Bŕ`ŕbwkqvq I cwiK`vtb mgvšivj KwRb (thgb PvPvZv fvB tevb)
weevn AŕbKuv eva`Zv gj K Kiv nq| GŕZ weŕq e`e`vi Dci tMvõxi AwacZ` ÁwaK gvĀvq
cŕZwŕZ nq| Gme mgvŕR tMvõxi HK`I tekx| evsj vt`ŕk gŕj gvb m`ú`vtqi gta` mgvšivj
KwRb weevŕni cŕj b Lŕ GKuv ŕbB| Z_wc weŕqi w`xvš MŕŕY tMvõxi AwacZ` j`ŕ` Kiv
hvq| weŕqi m`úK`ŕbaŕŕŕYi tŕŕt tMvõxtZ Avj vc Avŕj vPvvi gva`tg w`xvš MŕxZ nq| Kvi Y
tKvb estki tŕtŕtK Avbv nŕ`Q Zvi Dci tMvõxi B¾Z wŕfŕ Kti| weŕqi ci bixt`i c`ŕ
cj`ŕbi Dci KovKwo Kiv nq Kvi Y tMvõxi Lv`vb bixi c`ŕcj`ŕbi Dci wŕfŕkŕj |

tKej AvPiY weagjv ev-evqb l wePvii gra'tg wqšY bq, tMvöxi HK" cÖZwöZ nq mrvnh" mnthwMZvi gra'tgl | Rb¥, AwkKv, weq, gZi GB RrebPtµi cÖZwU t¶t¶ tMvöxi KvhRi figKv AvtQ | mvZ gv¶mi AšmËy gwnj vtK tMvöx Drmtei gra'tg AvkxcP Kti | wki Rtbhi ci Dcnvi cÖvb Kti | weqti mgq bvbwea wePqvj (AvPvi l cÖv) cvj b Kti | weqti ci Kbvi RvqvBtK l c¶t¶i eDtk Ömvj vgxÖ cÖvb Kti | wki i mvgwRKxKi tY tMvöx KvhRi figKv ivtL | gZi mgq tMvöxi mKtj GKwZ nq wePqvj cvj b Kti, Rvbvhv, Kei l cÖBvq AskMöY Kti | gZt`n mrKvtii e`q fVmvfWm Kti enb Kti | ZvQvov gZi cwi evtii tkvK l ¶wZ AwZµg Kivi t¶t¶ tMvöx meÖKvi mnthwMZv cÖvb Kti | wekI Z weqti weLqW Dtj hthvM | c`K fite tmj vgx t`l qv Qvovl weqZ Abpöb, Lvl qv`vl qv l thšZK eve` th e`q nq Zvi wmvve Kti tmB e`q tMvöx m`mMY fVmvfWm Kti enb Ktib | th thš` cwi evtii weevtni mgq tMvöx mnthwMZv Kti Zv tmB cwi evtii Rb` ÖFYÖ etj wevePZ nq hvq | cieZxPZ tMvöxi Ab` cwi evtii weevn Abpötb mrvnh" Kti GB FY cwi tkva Kiv nq |

tMvöxi mrvnh" mnthwMZv A_¶wZK t¶t¶I KvhRi | GKvZvi eÜb A_¶wZK fite cÖZwöZ bv ntj Zv `p¶ nq cto | thgb tMvöxi abx K.I.KMY Zvt` i Rwg tMvöxf,³t` i gta` eMPvtli Rb` eivl Ktib | mvaviYZ abx K.I.KMY GB mrvnh" cÖBt` i msL`v ep`xi Rb` GKRBtK Aí cwi gvY Rwg eMPvtli Rb` w`tq Awak msL`K Avl xqtk eMPvtli m½ hy³ Kti `vtKb | tMvöxi m`m`i Afve AbUßbi mgq abx K.I.KMY FY`vb Ktib | abx K.I.tKi evortZ l RwgZ KvRi mthvM tMvöxf³ `wi`MYtk t`qv nq | abx K.I.KMY mi Kvi x cKvmb l cj xDbqßbi KvhPßgi m½ hy³ nl qvq Kw DcKiY, FY l KvRi mthvM ebUßbi ¶gZv cÖB nb | wbtRt` i tMvöxi gta` Zviv Gme mjevav eUßb AMöaKvi w`tq `vtKb | tMvöxi m`m`MY Rwg weµq Kitz Pvßj abx K.I.KMY tm Rwg µtq AvMöx nb wKsev tMvöxi tfZti B thb Rwg `vtK tm tPöv Ktib | Rwgi gwj Kvbv ¶gZvi Drm | Rwg gvZeYt`i l ¶gZvi wfvE | mZivs gvZeYi tMvöxi Rwg evßti hv l qv tiva Kivtk `wqZ; etj gtb Ktib | nVr tekx ktgi cÖqvRb ntj tMvöx ktgi thwvb w`tq `vtK | cÖKwZK `thvM tgvKvtej vq | tMvöxf³ iv ci `úi tk mrvnh" Ktib | Mn`vj xi `b`b KgrvtÜ thgb ivbæ mšvb j vj bcvj b, cwb Avbv BZ`w`tZ bvi xiv ci `úi tk mrvnh" Ktib | bvi xi Amy`Zvq, Aš`Ëy Ae`vq wKsev bvqi tMtj tMvöxi bvi xiv mnthwMZv Ktib |

tMvöxi HK" cÖZwöZ nq cwi `úi K mrvnh" - mnthwMZvi gra'tg | GKvZvi eÜb A_¶wZK fite cÖZwöZ nq |

tMvöx l tkYx mæúK©

knñi emevmKvixt` i gta` ÁwZ mæúK© p¶ | ÁwZ mæútkP tKvb Kivtgi gta` Zviv cÖeó bb tRvvtj vfvte | tMvöxi `wi`Avl xq`Rbt` i m½ knñi ga`weE tkYxi thvMthvM ¶lxY | Zte tMvöxi abx m`m`MYi m½ knñi ga`weEMy AvböpwbK thvMthvM `f gvlvq i ¶lv Ktib | MtgvÁtj ÁwZ mæútkP Dci MvZ tMvöx tkYx mæútkP gta` Ašcöeó | GB tkYx wef` ÁwZ mæútkP RvUj Kti tZvtj | abx K.I.K, eMP`vi K.I.K, ¶j`KJ K l fignxb gRjx ktgtKi Rb` tMvöx GK A_`enb Kti bv | tMvöxi gvZeYi Ges Ab`vb` abx K.I.KMY Mötgi ivRbxZi m½ hy³ | Zviv ¶gZv we`vtii Rb` ivR¶wZK mæúK© `vcb Ktib | figi gwj Kvbvi wfvE tZ mgvR th `ixKiY nq abx K.I.KMY tm `ixKiYi Ašf³ | tkYx web`vtm abx K.I.KMY EaZb Ae`vßb t`tk Mötg Ges Mötgi evßti BDwqb cwi l`i wePßb cÖZwöZvi gra'tg ¶gZvi cÖZthwMZvq AskMöY Ktib | Mötgi tfZti ¶gZvi cÖZwöZvq abx K.I.KMY tKv`tj i ivRbxZ PPKtib | tKv`tj i ivRbxZ tZ tKej ÁwZ mæúK©ht`ó

abx K.I.K, eMP`vi K.I.K, ¶j`KJ K l fignxb gRjx ktgtKi Rb` tMvöx GK A_`enb Kti bv |

bq| ÁwZ m=útkP wfwÉtZ gvZeYti i tK>`iq`j MwZ ntj l bvbwea m=úK^Ql AvbMtZ`i wfwÉtZ`tj i m`m` ewx Kiv nq| mZivs abxK.I.K eM^Pvl, FYc0vb, KvRi mthwM, mi KviX mthvtMi exUb BZ`w` tMvöxi evBti l we`Z Ktib| tMvöxi evBti eÜtZji m=úK^QcüZövi Dci gvZeYi tRvi t`b| eÜtZji m=úK^Qi Qvi Rb` A_`e`q Ktib l Dcnvi Av`vb c0vb Ktib| gvZeYi Zvi QlgZvi wfwÉtK kw³kvj x Kivi Rb` Ab`vb` c0vkvj x e`w³eM^P mt½`t`_P AvZvZ Mto tZvtj b|

abx K.I.KMY Kwil Drcv`tbi D0É l e`emvtqi gpbvdv e`q Ktib Rwig µq l mth`i e`emvq| Qiz`a l c0vSK K.I.KMY Afvtei Pwtc cto Rwig eÜKx ti tL FY MhY Ktib| Gme Rwig abx K.I.KMY Avl mvZ Ktib| GLvtb tMvöxi AŠFŷ³ Qiz`a K.I.KMY meŋaK QwZM0` nb| KviY tMvöx i xwZ Abjvvti Rwig weµq tMvöxi abx K.I.tKi KvQ KivB`tfweK| mZivs tMvöxi Qiz`a l`wi`a K.I.tKi Rwig tMvöxi abx K.I.K ev gvZeYti KvQ c0vxfZ nq| eM^Pvti t`Qit l t`Lv hvq th abx K.I.KMY tMvöx m`m`MYtK tekx eM^Pvl KitZ t`b bv| GKwJ Mtel Yvq f`vb evwB l GtiY (1977)¹ Djt l Ktib th tMvöx m`m`MYtK Rwig eM^Pvl KitZ w`tj Avl xqZvi KvitY eM^Pvl MY G Rwig K wbtRi Rwig gtb Ktib l gwj KtK Zvi Pwv`v Abjvqx dmj t`b bv| G KvitY abx K.I.KMY tMvöxi evBti K.I.KMtiYi KvQ Rwig eM^Pvti AvMöx ntq`vtKb| Rwig dmj AfaR cvteb GB ktZ`ivRx ntj B tKej tMvöxi K.I.KMY eM^Pvl KitZ cvtib| GKbfvte abx K.I.K th`f`gRjx t`b ZvtZ ivRx`vKtj B tMvöxi`wi`a gvb| Rb KvR tctq`vtKb| abx K.I.K th Pov mth` FY c0vb Ktib tmB mj w`tZ ivRx`vKtj B tMvöxi`wi`MY gvZeYti i KvQ t`tK FY cvteb|

ÁwZ m=útkP evBti tkYx
m=útkP Dci wfwÉ Kti
QlgZkvj xt`i AwacZ`
mjo nq| tMvöx m=úK^Q
ivR%wZK Dti`tk`e`eüZ
nq|

Gfvte Rwig e`w³MZ gwj Kvbn, e`emvtq e`w³MZ gpbvdv, PvKix tZ e`w³MZ DcvR0 M0gvÁtj A_`wZK Rxe`b gL` ntq DVtQ| ÁwZ m=útkP evBti tkYx m=útkP Dci wfwÉ Kti QlgZkvj xt`i AwacZ` mjo ntq tQ| M0gvÁtj fignxb l t`QZgRti msL`v ewx cvt`Q| tMvöx m=úK^QZvt`i KvRi wbcvEv w`tZ cvti bv| mZivs thLvtb KvR cvl qv hvq tmLvtbB Zviv QjtU hvq| abx K.I.KMY tkYx`t`_i Qlvq ktgi gRjx ewx Ktib bv wKsev eM^Pvti i kZ`cwi eZ0 Ktib bv|`wi`a gvb| KvQ tMvöxi gwj K l tMvöxi evBti i gwj tKi gta`cv`R`tbB| abx l`wi`a, gwj K l ktgtKi m=úK^Qwbaŋi Z nq Drcv`b m=útkP 0viv| Rvrvxi (1981)² Gi gtZ th gntZ`gvZeYi GKRb abx K.I.K l abx e`emvqx tm gntZ`QZvb Drcv`b m=úK^Ql KZŷji m=útkP thvMdj wntmte QlgZkvj x ntq Dtvb| Drcv`b m=úK^Q, mvgwRK m=úK^Ql KZŷji m=útkP Dci AwacZ` we`vi Kti tMvöx c0vb gvZeYi M0tgi tkvlY gj K QlgZv Kwvtgvi AwacwZ ntq hvb| tMvöx c0vb abx tkYxi AwacwZ wntmte M0tgi tkwL Z tkYxi Dci QlgZv PP^P Ktib| tMvöx m=úK^QivR%wZK Dti`tk`e`eüZ nq| gvZeYi MY cÁvtqtZi m`m` wntmte M0tgi mvgwRK Rxe`b wqšY Ktib| ag`c0vuj Z AvPiYwea l gj`teva abx gvZeYit`i cÁvtqtZi wnxvštK KvRi Kivq gZv`wK kw³i thvMv t`q| mi KviX c0vmb, cyj k, BDwbq cwi l` l ivt0i kvM tMvöxi mt½` abx gvZeYit`i m=úK^Q M0g ch0q Zvt`i kvmbtK Avt`iv kw³kvj x Kti tZvtj | Zvi A_`tMvöx M0gxY QlgZkvj xt`i GKgvl kw³i Drcv`bq| QlgZv PP^P aib t`tK t`Lv hvq th ersj vt`tk wczm1xq ÁwZ

¹ Arens Jand Beurden JV, *Jhagrapur: Poor Peasents and Women in a Village in Bangladesh*, Third World Publication, Birmingham, 1977.
² Jahangir BK, "Social Organization Process and Change: Bangladesh", *Journal of Social Studies*, No. 14 CSS, Dhaka University, 1981.

máúK®¶gZvi wfiÉ wntmte ,i"ZçY¶ wKš' A_¶wZKfvte máú`kvj x I mvgwRKfvte
gh¶vevb cwievi ,wj i gta" ^eewwK máúK®cŪZôvi ti l qvR RbwçŪ ntq DVtQ | t`Lv hvq th
Gi dtj ^eewwK máúK® ,i"ZçY¶ntq DfvtQ | KviY GB ai tbi ^eewwK máúK®i vRbwZtZ
e`vcK çfve tdjt | MŪgxY I RvZxq ivRbwZi cwimti Gaitbi ŪmæŪ`j Ū, ŪÁwZ`tj Ūi
tPtql kw³kvj x ntq DVtQ |

mvi vsk

wefbæmgv¶R ÁwZZ; wefbæfvte msMwZ ntq _vtK | evsj vt`tk çRb¶ Abmvti ÁwZZ; wbyŪ
Kiv nq | thgb wR er ŪBtMŪ Gi ever-PvPv Zvi Dçti i çRtb¶ Ges `v`v I `v`vi fiv Zvi I
Dçti i çRtb¶ | ŪBtMŪ Gi fiv wR çRtb¶ Ges fwwZRv Zvi çti i çRtb¶ | evsj vt`tk
ÁwZ máúK¶ `ßw c_ K eM®nt"Q i³ máúKŪ I weevn máúKŪ | evzvj x mgv¶R esk
GKwU h_ex `j | Gi m½ h³ epÉi ÁwZ `j wU nt"Q tMvôx | estk GK `i wLK thgb `v`v-
ever-tQjt i máúK¶K ,i"Z; çŪvb Kiv nq | tMvôxZ Gi m½ h³ nq çwK¶ ÁwZ thgb
`v`vi fiv tevb I Zvt`i mšvb, eevi fiv tevb I Zvt`i mšvb, wbtRi fiv tevb I Zvt`i
mšvb BZ`w | tMvôxi tRvUexZv i¶v Kivi Rb" tMvôxi Ašfß mKtj mtpó _vtKb |
cvi `úwi K mvinh" mnthwMZvi gva`tg tRvUexZv `p nq | Zte tMvôxi tfZti abx I `wi`
Avl xqt`i gta" máúK®`elg`gj K | ¶gZvkvj x abx K.L.K.M.Y tMvôx máúK¶K ivR¶wZK
Dtí tk" e`envi Ktib |

cvtWËi gj`vqb

`be³K cġæ

mWVK DËti i cvtk WJK (v) WPy`w`b -

- 1| wbtæi tKvb ¶i`RwZtMvôxtZ gvZmÎxq esk avi vi wbcq AvtQ?
K. Pvkgr
L. wÎcgv
M. gv`vB
N. mw Zvj
- 2| tMvôx msMvþb tKvb ai tbi mæúK¶K`i`Zj cŰvb Kiv nq?
K. i³ mæúK³
L. weevn mæúK³
M. i³ mæúK¶ weevn mæúK³
N. tKej wczmÎxq cji`IMþYi mþ½ mæúK³
- 3| ev½vj xt`i eskavi v wKfvte wby¶ Kiv nq?
K. wczmÎxq
L. gvZmÎxq
M. wczmÎxq | gvZmÎxq
N. `þ cRtþfi gvZmÎxq | wczmÎxq
- 4| wbtæi tKvb mæúK¶ weti vtai bq?
K. bb`-fvex
L. fvBt`i`xMY
M. t`ei-fvex
N. kji wo-eD

msw¶B cġæ

- 1| evsj vt`tk ÁwZ mæúK¶Kfvte msMwZ nq?
- 2| ÁwZ`tj i gta`AvPiY weevn gv v wKfvte msnwZ i ¶lv Kti?

iPbvj K cġæ

- 1| tkYx mæúK¶K tMvôxi tRvUexZvi Rb`ûgKx`tfc?
- 2| tMvôxi tRvUexZv wKfvte i ¶lv Kiv nq Avtj vPbv Ki`b|

Kwl KwVtgv
Agrarian Structure

Kwl Drcv`tbi m½ hy³ cŃZŃwbK e`vcbv Kwl KwVtgv Mto tZvtj | Kwl t_tK RweKv wbeñKvix gvby Rtbi AvŠtm=úK©Kwl KwVtgv i`ZcY@r K| GB BDwbtU evsj vt`tki Kwl KwVtgv Avtj vPbvq Ašf® ntqtQ Rvgi gvuj Kvbv, eMPv†li e`v, Kwl FY, Kwl cñy³, Kwl DcKiY I Kwl gRjx| evsj vt`tk Rvg tRvtZi web`vm t_tK t`Lv hvq th Awakvsk K.I.K ¶i`tRvtZi gvuj K hv`i cwiewiK tLvivKxi Rb` h_tó Rvg tbB| dtj A†bK K.I.K fVMPv†li Dci wbfP K†ib| fvgi gvuj Kvbv Amg Ges Lp Af msL`K abx I gvSvix K.I.K Awak Rvgi gvuj K| fvgix†bi msL`v µgvMZ ep× cvt`Q| fvgixb K.I.KMY abx K.I.†Ki Rvg fVMPv†li K†ib I t¶ZgRj wntmte KvR K†ib| fVMPv†li kZ`fVMPv†li c†¶ bq| Rvgi gvuj K Drcv`b e`tq AskMñY bv K†i I A†aK dmj jvf K†ib| cŃZŃwbK Kwl F†Yi m†hvM h_tó bv nl qvq AwZwi³ m†` gnrRbt`i KvQ t_tK FY wbtZ eva`nb `wi`K.I.K| fvgi b`vq Kwl DcKi†Yi gvuj Kvbv I Amg| D`P dj bkxj exR, Kwlg mvi, tm†Pi cwob I KxU bvkK BZ`w`i Dci `vbxq cŃvmK I abx K.I.KM†Yi wqšY cŃZwŃZ| MŃgxY mgv†R tkYx c_zKxKiY NU†Q| AvZwqZv, ¶lgZv KwVtgv I m=úwEi gvuj Kvbvi wfvE†Z abx tkYxi K.I.KM†Yi tkYxMZ Ae`vb `p nt`Q| Ab` w`tk wbt`KiY cŃµqv Zj wšZ nt`Q I `wi`ep× cvt`Q|

GB BDwbtUi cvW_vj nt`Q -

- ◆ cvW - 1 : Kwl Drcv`b c×wZ
- ◆ cvW - 2 : MŃgxY mgv†R Av_@mvgwRK m=úK©
- ◆ cvW - 3 : fvgi ms`vi
- ◆ cvW - 4 : K.I.†Ki i vRbxwZ I K.I.K Avtj`vj b

Kwl Drcv`b c×wZ
Modes of Production in Agriculture

GB cvwU cto Arcwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- Rvgi gwj Klvb e`vq eUb Amg
- eMvPvli kZfej x Drcv`b epxi mnvqK bq
- gRjx klgKt`i vbt`KiY epx cvt`Q
- Kwl DcKiY mnRj f` bq
- Kwl tZ AvajbK chv³ e`qeuj

Kwl Kvvtgv

evsj vt`tki Kwl Kvvtgv A_ev Kwl Drcv`b e`v terSvi Rb` Drcv`b c×wZ_wj Rvbn c0qvRb| Kwl Kvvtgv ej tZ Kwl Drcv`tbi c0Z0vnbK e`vcbvftKB terSvq| A_ Kwl Kvvtgvi mt½ hv³ wKQy c0Z0vb, wj wLZ I Awj wLZ vbcgvej x, mvqwmRK, ivR%awZK I A_ wawZK m`uK`hv fvgi gwj Klvb I fvgi e`envti i aib wbaftY Kti | Drcv`b c×wZ c0`qW Kvj gv. `thfite e`envi Kti tQb ZvB Avakusk MtelK e`envi Kti _vtKb| gv. © Drcv`b c×wZ ej tZ Drcv`b kv³ I Drcv`b m`uK`GB `yU Drcv`tbi mgšqtk ejsqtqob| gv. ©Gi gtZ- 0mvqwmRK Drcv`tbi c0uqvq gvbl Rv0Z nq KZK_wj Avbev` B`Qv wbitc`q wv`0 m`uK`K` Drcv`b m`uK`K` hv gvbtli `elwqK Drcv`b kv³ i wkvtki GKUv wv`0 chvqi Abjfc0 (gv. °1971 : 25)¹ | Drcv`bx kv³ i Ašf` n`Q GK, hš miAvq I chv³we`v, `B, fvg hv Drcv`tbi Dcvq I wZb, gvbtli i ktj | Drcv`b m`uK`h`Q Drcv`tbi c0uqvq gvbtli gvbtli wvkvkxj m`uK`K` evsj vt`tk Kwl Drcv`b c×wZ Avtj vPvbi wv`qetZ Ašf` nq- Rvgi tRvZ (land holding), Rvgi `ZftvM e`v (land tenure), gj ab, chv³, ktgi e`envi, FY e`v, wvfbetkYxi Kl.tKi gta` m`u` eUb, miKvix n`t`c BZ`w` |

Rvgi tRvZ

BvZnvfm Rvbn hvq th AvitZ evsj v AAtj Rvgi e`w³MZ gwj Klvb wQj bv| Kl.tKi wQj thš_fvte Rvg e`envti i Avakvi | Zte evsj vt`tk RvgtZ ivBqZ wntmte Pvl i Avakvi eU ce`ntZ Ptj AvmtQ| Rvg Pvlv` t`tk LvRbv tbqvi tilqvRI tek cjt`bv| GB Dcgnv`tk mgU tki kvn Keyj qZ I cvEv c0v`tbi gva`tg fvg Pvl i Rvg I fvgi Rb` t`q LvRbv wv`0 Kti t`b| eUk B0 BvUqv tKv`vbx evsj vi t`l qvbx j vtfi ci LvRbv Av`vtqi Rb` mte`P WvKKvix Rvg`vti i wKU 5 ermi I 1 ermi tgqv`x fvg e`v`v` t`l qvi tilqvR c0Z0v Kti | Jcubtekk kvMkMY 1793 mtj wPi`vqx e`v`v` c0Z0 Kti hvi dtj evsj vq Rvg`vix c0vi DrcwE NtU| wPi`vqx e`v`v` i cte`Rvgi cKZ gwj K wQj

Jcubtekk kvMkMY
KZR 1793 mtj wPi`vqx
e`v`v` c0Z0bi cte`
Rvgi cKZ gwj K wQj
ivBqZ ev Kl.KMY|

¹ Kvj `gv. m, 0A_Rv`i mgvtj vPvbi chv`½ Mšf` fvgKv0, gv. m Gt½j m i Pbv mskj b, c0g LÜ, w0Zxq Ask, c0wZ cKvkb, gt`v, 1971|

ivBqZ ev K.I.KMY | wŠ' GB et`vet`i ci Rwig`viMY wPi`vqx fivte fma`uE` t`fVM Kivi I ivBqZt` i KvQ t`tK LvRbv Av`vq Kivi AwaKvi jvf Ktib | Gi weibgtq Rwig`viMY eplK miKvi tK`vqxfivte wbw` e cwi gyY ivR`^c0vb KitZ eva` _vfkB | cieZiPZ Avtiv KtVvi AvBtbi dtj Rwig`viMY K.I.Kt`i Rwig t`tK Dt`Q` Kivi qIgzv jvf Ktib | Gfivte JcubteK K kvmbvgtj evsj vi K.I.KMY Rwig gwij K t`tK cRvq cwi YZ nb | D`Pnvti LvRbv bv w`tZ cwiq Ges fwig t`tK DrLvZ nl qvq AtbK K.I.K fignxb gRti cwi YZ nb | DEi JcubteK K Kvij cwK`vb miKvi 1950 mvtj Rwig`vix Dt`Q` I cRv`Zi AvBtbi gva`tg Rwig`vix c0vi wetjvc tNvI Yv Kti | Gi dtj w`yRwig`viMY t`kZ`VM Kti fvi tZ Ptj tMij Zvt`i tRvZ`w`j fVMPvix I `wi`a K.I.Kt`i gta` 33 GKti mrgv teta w`tq weij Kiv nq | Ab`w`tK gnyj gvb D0E K.I.K I tRvZ`vi hv`i gwij Kvbvq wekij tRvZ`w`j Zvt`i gwij Kvbv AcwiewZ` _vfk | Zviv cwievti Acivci m`tm`i bvtg Rwig`vix w`Rw`a Kti tbb | Rwig`vix Dt`Q` AvBtbi dtj evsj vt`tK GKw` msL`v Mwi o` qI` tRvtZi gwij K tkYx mjo` nq |

Rwig gwij Kvbv

1996 mvtj i Kw` i gvixi Rwig gwij Kvbv web`vfm t`Lv hvq th evsj vt`tki M0gvA`tj 66.18% Mn`vj x Rwig gwij K | 10.18% fignxb hviv RweKvi Rb` Kw` i DciB wbfP`kxj | j`qYxq th Kw` wbfP` Mn`vj x`w`j i 52.85% qI` tRvtZi (0.5 t`tK 2.5 GKti) gwij K | gvSvix (2.5 t`tK 7.5 GKti) Kw` tRvtZi gwij K 11.65% Ges eo tRvtZi (7.5 t`tK Dcti) gwij K 1.67% | qI` K.I.Kt`i Mo Rwig cwigyY 1984 mvtj wQj 2.26 GKti hv Avtiv Ktg 1996 mvtj `wvq 1.69 GKti | 1996 mvtj i Kw` i gvixi Abjvnti tgvU Rwig gwij Kt`i 49.11% c0ŠK K.I.Kt`i Rwig cwigyY GK GKti i Kg | gvSvix I abx K.I.K hviv tgvU Rwig gwij tki msL`vi 20% Zviv tgvU Rwig 59% Gi gwij K | evKx 80% qI` K.I.K 41% Rwig gwij K | mviYx-1 t`tK fvg eUtb`elg` j`qI` Kiv hvq | tevSv hvq th qI` K.I.Kt`i msL`v mgvMZ ep` tctj I Zvt`i Pvti Rwig evto w | Ab` w`tK gvSvix I abx K.I.Kt`i KvQ Rwig cAxfeb NUtQ | qI` tRvtZi Dci wbfP` Kti qI` K.I.Kt`i RweKv wbein Kiv m`e nq bv | ZvB Zviv abx I gvSvix K.I.Kt`i Rwig eM`PvI Ktib Ges t`qI`ZgRj wntmte KvR Ktib | qI` a` c0ŠK K.I.Kt`i Dci FtYi tevSvI mewaK nl qvq FY cwi tkvta e`_ntq Zviv Rwig weij Kti fignxtb cwi YZ nb |

qI` K.I.Kt`i msL`v mgvMZ ep` tctj I Zvt`i Pvti Rwig evto w | gvSvix I abx K.I.Kt`i KvQ Rwig cAxfeb NUtQ |

mviYx - 1 : evsj vt`tki Lvgi tRvtZi gwij Kvbv eUtb`i cwi eZB (1960-1996)

Ligviti i AvqZb	Ligvi tRvtZi msL`vi kZvsk (farm holding)				Ligvi Rwig AvqZtbi kZvsk (farm area)			
	1960	1977	1984	1996	1960	1977	1984	1996
t0vU tRvZ (0.5-2.5GKi)	51.6	49.8	70.34	79.87	16.2	18.7	28.98	41.18
0.5 Gi bxtP	13.1	5.5	24.06	28.45	0.1	0.5	2.74	4.48
0.5-0.99 GKti	11.2	10.4	16.37	20.66	2.3	2.1	5.08	8.51
1.0-2.5 GKti chŠ	27.3	33.9	29.91	30.76	13.0	16.1	21.16	28.19
gvSvix tRvZ (2.5-7.5GKi)	37.7	40.8	24.72	17.61	45.7	48.9	45.09	41.50
eo tRvZ (7.5 GKti i DtaP)	10.7	9.4	4.94	2.52	38.1	32.4	25.92	17.32

Drm : weieGm 1977, 1981, 2000 mb |

Rug tKbvtePv e`ZiZ Rug n`vši nq DĒiwaKvi, `vb I thšZK wntmte| evsj vt`k ivó`agvĒ
 DĒiwaKvi AvBtbi `xKwZ cŏvb KtítQ| Bmjvqx DĒiwaKvi AvBb tek Rulj hvZ wZb
 aiþbi DĒiwaKvi AšfĒ AvtQ - Askx`vi (share), Aemkóvsk fVmx`vi (residuaries) Ges
 `ieZx`eskai (distant kindred)| GB wZb tkYxi gta` Avevi 12 aiþbi Askx`vi, 19
 aiþbi Aemkóvsk fVmx`vi I 17 aiþbi `ieZx`eskaiMþYi DĒiwaKvi cŏBbi wbgg AvtQ|
 bvix mšvtbi tPtq cj`l mšvb `ß_Y tekx m`úwĒ DĒiwaKvi wntmte tctq _vtK| DĒiwaKvi
 AvBb Abhvqx bvixiv eved, gv, `vġx, cġ I Kb`vi m`úwĒi DĒiwaKvix ntZ cvtib| wKš
 KvHŽ t`Lv hvq th bvixt`iK m`úwĒi wtklZ Rug DĒiwaKvi wntmte bv wbtZ DrmwvZ Kiv
 nq| bvbv Kjv tKšktj bvixt`i DĒiwaKvi t`tK ewĀZ Kiv nq| c`Pcŏvi `iy bvixt`i
 ctġ Rug e`vcbv AmjeavRbK GB ARvntZ bvixt`i Rugi gwij K KvHŽ cj`lMYB ntq
 _vtKb| 1996 mvtj i Kul `i gvixtZ t`Lv hvq th cj`tl i gwij Kvbvq Rugi cwi gvY 96.52%
 I bvixt`i gwij Kvbvq 3.48%| Rugi gj` ewx cvlqvq `wi`f`i gta` DĒiwaKvi eUþbi
 dtj Rug Awak nvti LwŪZKiY ntq _vtK| abx K.I.KMþYi gta` Rug e`ZiZ Ab`vb` m`ú`
 _vKvq DĒiwaKvi eUþbi dtj Rugi LwŪZKiY Kg nq| evsj vt`tk Awakvsk tRvZ AmsL`
 ġiz`ġiz`LŪ LwŪZ Ges wewfbcē`vtb Qovtbb| LwŪZ Rug gj abNb I AvaybK cġy³ cŏqvMi
 ct_ eo Ašivq|

RbmsL`v ewx, `wi`a I eMþvtI i Rb` Rug Kg _vKvq Rugi gj` ewx cvt`Q| abx K.I.KMY
 Kul tZ AvaybK cġy³ thgb tmþPi Rb` cvl qvi cv`ú Avbvi dtj Zv` i DŪĒ Drcv`b ewx
 cvt`Q| Gi mt½ Zvj wgvj tġ Rugi gj` I ewx cvt`Q| ZvQovov Rug weĒvbt`i ġġZv I
 ghĒvi cŪxK| cŪZ`k ermþi GK i cŪZ dmj x Rugi gj` Qq_Y ewx cvt`Q| cŪšK Pvl xMY
 ġiz` RugtZ Drcv`þbi e`q enb Kþi RweKv wbeþn Ki tZ AcviM nI qvq Rug weµq Ki tZ
 eva` nb| AþtK tġZ gRj wntmte KvR KivB jvFRbK etj gþb Ki tQb| Gfġte Rugi
 gwij Kvbv t`tK cŪšK K.I.KMY Šti coþQb Ges abx K.I.KMþYi gwij Kvbvq Awak Rug NbxZ
 nt`Q| j ġġYxq th MŏgxY mgvtR tMvŏx `i`ZcY`nI qvq Rug weµq, eMþvtI, gRjx kþ mKj
 tġtġB K.I.KMY tMvŏxf³ cwi evi _wj i gta`B tj bt`b mxgve`x ivL tZ Awak AvMŏx ntq
 _vtKb|

eMþvtI

*abx K.I.KMY ġiz`K.I.þKi
 KvŏQ Pw³ wfiĒtZ Rug Pvl
 Ki tZ AvMŏx ntq _vtKb|
 eMþvtI i gva`tg AþaR
 dmj webv Li þP cvl qv
 Zv` i Rb` AþbK tekx
 jvFRbK|*

ġiz` K.I.KMþYi Rug Kg _vKvq RweKv wbeþni Rb` Zviv Drcv`þb mþeP kþ kw³ wbtqvM
 Ktib| dtj t`Lv hvq th ġiz` K.I.þKi Rugi GK i cŪZ dmþi Drcv`b abx K.I.þKi
 Drcv`þbi tPtq tekx| GtZ abx K.I.KMY ġiz` K.I.þKi KvŏQ Pw³ wfiĒtZ Rug Pvl Ki tZ
 AvMŏx ntq _vtKb| abx K.I.KMY Aek` ghĒvtevtai Kvity wbtRt`i cwi ewiK kþ Kul
 Drcv`þb wbtqvM Ktib bv| KwqK kþ bv KivþK Zviv ghĒvi cŪxK wntmte cŪZwŪZ Ktib|
 Gfġte hviv KwqK kþ Ktib Zv` i Dci hviv KwqK kþ Ktib bv A_ġ abx K.I.KMY ġġZv
 Pw³ Ktib| ZvQovov wmwve Kþi t`Lv hvq th Pw³ wfiĒK Pvl ev eMþvtI abx K.I.K Awak
 jvfevb nb| wbtRt`i Rug gRjx kþgK ōviv, gj ab LwŪtq I ZĒyeavb Kþi Pvl Kitj hv
 LiP nq eMþvtI i gva`tg AþaR dmj webv Li þP cvl qv AþbK tekx jvFRbK| GtZ mgqgZ
 gRjx kþ cvl qvi AwbŏQZv t`tK abx K.I.KMY i ġġv cvb Ges gj ab Ab`vb` A_ġix e`emv I
 FY cŏvtbi e`emvtq wewbtqvM Ki tZ mġġg nb| mtefcwi Awak msL`K ġiz` K.I.þKi KvŏQ
 eMþvtI Ki tZ w`tj ġiz` K.I.KMþYi Dci abx K.I.KMþYi wqšY cŪZŌv m`e nq| eMþvtI i
 Rb` AbKj Ae`v mwŏ ntj I cwi msL`vtb t`Lv hvq th meþaK msL`K K.I.K wbtRi Rug wbtR
 Pvl Ktib| Zvici hv` i Rug AvtQ Ges wKŪRug eMþvtI I Ktib Zv` i msL`v Dþj L`hvM`|

i'agvI eMPPvli Dci vbfP Ktib Ges vbtRi Rwg tbB Ggb eMPPvlt` i msL'v Zj bvgj Kfirte Kg| Zte cwi msL'v tb j YXq th gwij K I eMPPvli msL'v 1960 mvtj uQj 37.6% hv 1978 mvtj Ktg` vovq 28.1%| Ab` w` tK tKej eMPPvli msL'v 1960 mvtj uQj 1.6% hv 1978 mvtj epx tctq` vovq 7.4%| Gi A_`cŠK K.L.KMtiYi gta` hviv eMPPvli Ktib Zviv vbtRi Rwg vevu Kti i'ayemPPvli Dci I gRjx ktgi Dci vbfPkxj ntq cotQb|

eMPPvli Piv³ vevfbvairtbi ntZ cvti | (1) meŠaK cPuj Z Piv³ uU ōfMPPvli ō| GtZ vbw` ō mgtaqi Rb` Rwg gwij K eMPPvltK Rwg Pvl KitZ t`b Ges GtZ Drcv` tbi e`q` βctq` fM Kti tbevi K_v| uKŠ' eZgvtb t` Lv hvq th gwij K tKvb e`q` fM Ktib bv Ges eMPPvltK Drcv` tbi mKj e`q` enb KitZ nq| Drcv` Z dmj gwij K I eMPPvli mgvb` β fvtM fM Kti tbb| (2) uZix ai tbi eMPPvli e`v`vq eMPPvli x Rwg gwij K tK vbw` ō cwi gvY A_`A_ev dmj LvRbv vntmte Drcv` tbi cte`A_ev cti w` tq` v`Kb| Rwg tZ KZUKz dmj Drcv` Z ntj v Zvi Dci GB LvRbv vbfP Kti bv| (3) LvB Luj vnx vbtg th eMPPvli Puj yAvtQ ZvtZ eMPPvli x vbw` ō cwi gvY LvRbv gwij K tK cō vb Kivi ci Rwg Pvl KitZ cvtib| vbw` ō mgq Pvl Kivi ci Rwg gwij K tK tdi Z w` tZ nq| (4) `vqmj x vbtg th eMPPvli Kiv nq GtZ eMPPvli x gwij K tK FY vntmte vbw` ō cwi gvY A_`cō vb Ktib Ges FY cwi tKva Kivi ci Rwg tdi Z t` b|

`xNkVj hveZ fM Pvl e`v`v KivRi vKtj I eZgvtb gwij KMY bM` At_P vevbgtq eMPPvli KitZ AwaK AvMthx ntq DVtQb| abx K.L.KMtiYi aviYv GB th miKvi eMPPvlt` i tK Rwg gwij Kivvi AwaKvi cō vb KitZ cvtib| GB fM Z t` tK Zviv mbvZb eMPPvli e`v`v t` tK mti Avm tZ Pvb| mbvZb eMPPvli th Drcv` b e`q`, exR, mvi BZ`w` Ges dmj fM v fM Mi vel q uQj Zvi cwi ewZ ntq tM tQ gwij tKi ctq`| eMPPvli tK B eZgvtb Drcv` tbi mKj e`q` enb KitZ nq etj eMPPvli KZ Rwg tZ dm tji Drcv` b nvm tctq tQ| AwaK Drcv` tbi Rb` cō qv Rbxq gj ab, chy³ I DcKiY e`q` mvtc` nq qv eMPPvli t` i ctq` vevbgtq M Kiv m`e nq bv| GmKj Kvi tY eMPPvli KZ Rwg tZ Avajb KxKiY ev D`P dj bkxj exR I tm tPi cwb e`env t` i cwi gvY I Kg| th tñ Z D`P dj bkxj exR Pvl AwaK dmj Drcv` Z nq mZivs abx K.L.KMY eMPPvlt` i DrLvZ Kti vbtRi t` Z E`yavt b Pvl KitZ Drm vnx ntq DVtQb| th tñ Z Rwg gwij KMY eMPPvlt` i m t½ At_P vevbgtq Drcv` b e`v`vq AskMthY KitQb G Kvi tY AtbK Mtel K GtK cv Rev` x e`v`v `enkō` etj gtb Ktib| uKŠ' eMPPvli meiv KQy A_`ŠwZK tj b t` b bq| th gb Rwg cvl qvi Rb` eMPPvltK gwij tKi Rb` vev cwi ktgtK ktg t` I qv m n b v b v e a i v R Š w Z K Kg R v t ō m n t h v M Z v cō vb KitZ nq|

abx K.L.KMY bM` At_P vevbgtq eMPPvli KitZ AwaK AvMthx ntq DVtQb| Zte eMPPvli me uKQy A_`ŠwZK tj b t` b bq| eMPPvltK vev cwi ktgtK ktg I gwij tKi ctq` i v R Š w Z K mg` ō cō vb KitZ nq|

fignxbZv

ersj vt`k figi m t½ gvb tli m`uK`wYf`q fig gwij Kivv e`v`v Avti Kiu u`i "Zcy`enkō` n t`Q fignxbZv| 1977 mvtj i fig gwij Kivv Rixc fignxbZv msAvqtbi Rb` vZbu u`enkō` vPivY Z Kiv nq| cieZxPZ 1984 mvtj Avti v GKiu `enkō` AŠfŠ nq|

- fignxb 1 MōgxY M n`vj x hv t` i emZirFuv I Pvl i Rwg tbB|
- fignxb 2 MōgxY M n`vj x hv t` i emZirFuv AvtQ, Pvl i Rwg tbB|
- fignxb 3 MōgxY M n`vj x hv t` i emZirFuv ev t` 0.5 GK i chŠ Rwg AvtQ|
- fignxb 4 MōgxY M n`vj x hv t` i emZirFuv ev t` 0.51 t` tK GK GK i chŠ Rwg AvtQ|

Dtj t` th, Jcib t`enk K kvmb Kvtq tgi cte`ersj vq fignxbZvi tKvb m`v`v vov uQj bv Kvi Y ZLb figi e`v`v MZ gwij Kivv cō Zōvb KxKiY Kiv nq v b| ZLb vevu, eÜK, DBj, `vb,

cvṫWĒi gj ṽqḅ

ṽbeṽ³K cĳæ

mṽWK DĒṫi i cvṫk ṽJK (ṽ) ṽPý ṽ b -

1| KZ mṽṫj Rṽg`vi x cĳvi DrcwĒ NṫU?

K. 1857 mṽṫj

L. 1757 mṽṫj

M. 1793 mṽṫj

N. 1885 mṽṫj

2| KZ mṽṫj Rṽg`vi x cĳv Dṫ"Q` nq?

K. 1947 mṽṫj

L. 1950 mṽṫj

M. 1971 mṽṫj

N. 1969 mṽṫj

3| eMṽPvI e`e`vq dṽṫj i KZ Ask Rṽgi gṽṽj KṫK ṽ ṫZ nq?

K. `ḅ ZZxqṽsk

L. Aaṽsk

M. GK ZZxqṽsk

N. GK PZṽsk

4| LvB Lvj ṽmx e`e`vq gṽṽj KṫK ṽK ṽ ṫZ nq?

K. ṽḅṽ ṽ cwi gṽY dṽṫj

L. ṽḅṽ ṽ cwi gṽY LvRbv

M. gṽṽj ṫKi RṽgṫZ kṫ ṽ ṫZ nq

N. dṽṫj I kṫ ṽ ṫZ nq

msṽṽṽṽ cĳæ

1| abx K.I.ṫKi nṽṫZ ṽKfvṫe Rṽgi cṽÄxfeb NUṫQ Avṫj vPbv Ki "b|

2| fṽgnxbZvi `eṽkó" ṽK? fṽgnxbZvi dṫj MṽgxY A_ḅxwZṫZ ṽK ṽK mṽgm`vi D"ḅe nq?

iPbvṽj K cĳæ

1| Kṽl KṽWṽṽgv ej ṫZ ṽK teṽSvq? eṽsj ṽṫṫki Kṽl KṽWṽṽgvi `eṽkó" Avṫj vPbv Ki "b|

2| eMṽPvṫI i kZṽK? eMṽPvṫI ṽK aiṫbi cwi eZḅ mṽPZ nṫ"Q?

MōgxY mgv^tR Av_©mvgw^lRK m[±]úK[©]
Socio-Economic Relationships in Rural Society

GB cvW^lU cto Av^cub Rvb^tZ cvi ^{te}b -

- MōgxY mgv^tR we^rfba^tkYxi A_Š^lWZK I mvgw^lRK c_ KxKiY
- MōgxY A_Š^lWZ^tZ c^lRev`x e`e`v^l vb^tq weZK[©]
- Jc^lvb^tekK Drcv`b c[±]wZ
- MōgxY we^lEk^vj x^t i ^lqZv e^lv[±]tZ i^vtó^l f^lvgK^v

cŏK c^lRev`x I c^lRev`x Drcv`b c[±]wZ

K.I.K mgv^tRi i^fcvš^tii cŏk^{te}tj wbb K.I.K^t i tkYx c_ KxKiY ev Kw^ltZ c^lRev` weKv^tki ^lewkó^l w^lY^q K^ti b| cŏK c^lRev`x mgv^tR t_^tK c^lRev`x mgv^tR DE^lit^lYi t^lq^lt^l t^lj wbb w^lb^{te} Dc^lw^lcZ ^lewkó^lmg^ltni Dci ^li^lZ^lAv^livc K^ti b (tj wbb-1899)¹

cŏK c ^l Rev`x MōgxY mgv ^t Ri ^l ewkó ^l	c ^l Rev`x Drcv`b c [±] wZ weKv ^t ki ci MōgxY mgv ^t Ri ^l ewkó ^l
1 mg ^l ifcx K.I.K m [±] ú ^l vq	1 tkYx we ^l f ³ K.I.K mgv ^t R
2 cwi ewi K m`m ^l t ^l i mnvqZvq M ^l n ^l v ^l j xi Lv ^l t ^l i Rb ^l Drcv`b	2 gR ^l j x k ^l g ^l t ^l Ki mnvqZvq evR ^l v ^l i i Rb ^l Drcv`b
3 ^l g ^l t ^l xg ^l K K.I.K m [±] ú ^l vq I mbvZb ms ^l w ^l Zi cŏZ Av ^l b ^l MZ ^l	3 tkYx msM ^l tg`xb ^l MōgxY mgv ^t R I w ^l Pi vqZ K.I.K ms ^l w ^l Zi Aemvb
4 A_Š ^l WZ e ^l w ^l f ^l Z c [±] wZ ^t Z tkv ^l Y, tel ^l Mvi k ^l g, eÜK, gnvRbx m ^l j I ew ^l t ^l Ki g ^l j a ^l t ^l bi cŏ ^l av ^l	4 DŏE k ^l g Av ^l l mvr I cY ^l we ^l w ^l g ^l t ^l qi gra ^l t ^l g tkv ^l Y, eÜK, gnvRbx m ^l j I ew ^l t ^l Ki g ^l j a ^l t ^l bi we ^l j ^l ŏ
5 AmsL ^l ^l q ^l t ^l tRv ^l tZ Drcv`b	5 R ^l igi gw ^l j K ^l v ^l bi c ^l Ä ^l x ^l Feb I ^l q ^l t ^l tRv ^l tZi we ^l t ^l j vc m ^l vab K ^t i en ^l v ^l Kvi c ^l Rev`x Lv ^l g ^l v ^l i i D ^l m ^l e
6 MōgxY mgv ^t R m ^l gš`vmZ ^l jeÜb w ^l ú ^l t ^l K ^l v ^l t ^l K K.I.KMY f ^l g ^l x ^l K`e ^l LvRbv I k ^l g LvRbv cŏ ^l vb K ^t i b	6 tkYx c_ KxKiY ^l vmZ ^l jeÜb`i K ^t i I c ^l Rev ^l t ^l i Rb ^l Af ^l š ^l i ^l xY evR ^l vi m ^l ú ^l K ^t i UvKvq LvRbv cwi t ^l kwaZ nq

K.I.K mgv^tR A_Š^lWZK ^lt^lŠ^l cŏk^{te}w^lfba^tkYxi ^lei x mvgw^lRK tkY^ltZ we^lf³ n^ltq c^lto| Ave^li cŏZ^lw^l tkYx mg A_Š^lWZK ^lt^lŠ^lHK^lex v^lt^lK| GB cŏ^lμ^lqv^lt^lK tkYx c_ KxKiY ej v n^ltq v^lt^lK| m^lvavi YZ gv^l f^lixq mgvRZZ^lAb^lym^lt^li Drcv`t^lbi Dc^lv^lt^lqi gw^lj K^lv^lbi I Drcv`b m[±]ú^lt^lK^l w^lf^lv^lÉ^ltZ tkYx w^lba^lf^lb Kiv nq| ersj vt`k MōgxY A_Š^lWZ^tZ c^lRev`x e`e`vi weKv^t vb^tq M^ltel KMY we^lf^lbæ^lgZ t^lcv^lY K^ti b| Z^lte t^lgvU^lgv^lU^lf^lv^lte ersj vt`k^li MōgxY mgv^tR K^tqK^lu^l tkYxi Ae^lv^lb ^lú^lo n^ltq D^lv^lt^lQ G we^ll t^lq M^ltel KMY GK^lgZ t^lcv^lY K^ti b|

K.I.K mgv^tR A_Š^lWZK ^lt^lŠ^l cŏk^{te}w^lfba^tkYxi ^lei x mvgw^lRK tkY^ltZ we^lf³ n^ltq c^lto|

¹ Lenin VI, *Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Collected Works, 1899, vol. 3, Progress publishers, Moscow, 1972.

wewfbœtkYxi K.I.K

Rigi gwj Kivv eUb
e'e'vq Pig AmgZv
weivR Kivq meŋak
c_KxKiY NtU abx K.I.K
I gRjx ktgtKi gta'

evsjv' tki Môtg abx K.I.K, gvSvix K.I.K, ¶iz' a K.I.K I gRjx ktgK tkYx_wji gta'
c_KxKiY NUtQ| Rigi gwj Kivv eUb e'e'vq Pig AmgZv weivR Kivq meŋak c_KxKiY
NtU abx K.I.K I gRjx ktgtKi gta'| ejv hvq abx K.I.KMY cœj cZvckvjx| gvSvix
K.I.KMY wbtRt' i Rwig wbtRiv Pvl Kti tgvUvgvU ^Qj | ¶iz' a I cœŋK K.I.KMY Aí Rwig Pvl
Kti, eM¶vl I gRjx ktgi gva'tg tKvb iKtg cœy avib Ktib| fvgnxb gRjx K.I.K Rwig
nvivevi cil t¶ZgRj wntmte RwigK Avkto ati evPvi msMôtg wj ß nb| eM¶vl, eÜKx
FtYi e'emv, AvaybK Kw DcKittYi e'emv, t'vKvb, gRjz'vix, ivBmwgtj i b'vq tQvU
Kvi Lvbv, mi Kvix cZ'KgŋPxtZ wKv'vix BZ'w' bvbv A_Rix wewbtoqfM abx tkYxi GKwacZ'
cœZwôZ nq| weËkuj xMY Drcv' tbi DØË I bM' A_©cœvbZ Rwig µtq I FY e'emvtq
wewbtoqM Ktib| weËkuj xt' i GB wewbtoqfMi aib `wi` a tkYxi Rb' A-Kwl LvZ Kgŋs'vb
mwô Kti bv| Dciš' ¶iz' a I cœŋK K.I.KMY Zvt' i ¶iz' a tRvZ wemutqi Rb' abx K.I.KMttYi
tjvf I Pwtci gftL ctob| Gfvte abx K.I.KMttYi nvtZ Rigi c'AvFeb I ¶iz' a I cœŋK
K.I.tKi wbt' KiY NtU| mæú' kvj x I mæú' nxtbi `yU` eix' tj MôtgxY mgvR wef³ ntq cto|

abx K.I.KMttYi nvtZ Kw DcKiY I cœy³ I tK' xFZ nt'Q| chfß cwigvY fvtjv gvtbi
Mev'x ci, mbvZb Kw hšcwZ, AvaybK Kw hšcwZ, AvaybK Kw cœy³ BZ'w' i Dci
Zvt' i AwacZ' cœZwôZ nq| ewYw'R'K km' thgb AvL, cvU, ZvgvK BZ'w' abx K.I.KMYB
tekx Pvl Ktib| Ab'vb' K.I.KMY cwiewi K Lv' i thwMvtbi Rb' avb Pwtli Dci Awak
wbfPkj ntq ctob| abx K.I.KMY tmtpi Avl Zvax Rwig eM¶vl xt' i KvQ t_ tK tdiZ wbtq
wbtRiv Pvlvev' Ktib| GgbwK ¶iz' a Pvlxi Dci Pvc cœqM Kti Zvt' i Rwig eM¶vtli Rb'
MôY Ktib| GtZ eM¶vl xMY fvgnxb ntq gRjx ktgi Dci wbfPkj ntq ctob|
t¶ZgRj t' i cwikgK wbaftY abx K.I.KMY t' QvPvix ntq Dtvb| ktgi evRvi mwgZ
nl qvq I t¶ZgRj t' i gta' cœZthwMZv ewx cvl qvq gRjx wbtq `i KlvKwl i mthwM Kg|
eM¶vtl Amg eUb e'e'v I Pw³ ewZj Kiv Ges ktg Avl mvr ci`úi wativax tkYx `v`
DtbwPb Kti | A' fweK Pov mft' gnrRbx FY cœvb I Rwig eÜK ti tL FY cwitkvtA Amg_©
cœŋK K.I.KtK Rwig wemutqi Rb' Pvc t' I qv abx K.I.tKi Rwig gwj Kivv ewx i Dcvq| Avi
GB wbfZbB tkYx ØtØi Ab'Zg Kvi Y|

MôtgxY mgvwrK `i web'vfm
A_ŋwZKfite D'P
¶lgZvæubæabx tkYx
Avevi D'P ghP v mæúæ
esk tKšj tbi AwaKvix|

MôtgxY mgvwrK `i web'vfm A_ŋwZKfite D'P ¶lgZvæubæabx tkYx Avevi D'P ghP v mæúæ
esk tKšj tbi AwaKvix| Rigi gwj Kivvi mtt½ mgvwrK c` ghP v h³ ntq mgvR w` gvb
tkYx c_KxKiY tK `eaZv `vb Kti | Avl xqZv, tMvôx mæúK I DPw eskghP v e'envi Kti
mæú' kvj x tkYx MôtgxY ivRbxwZtZ AwacZ' we`vi Ktib| `wi` a nqv kvitY hviv bxPz
ghP vi AwaKvix Zvt' i KvRi c_ nt'Q evoxi ōgi `eYx, cvovi ōm` ō, Môtgi ōgvZeYi ōMttYi
cœZ AvbMZ' cœ k' | abx tkYx KZŋ `vbxq cœkvb, cvj k, BDwbqb cwil ` , ivR'wZK `j
knti i wewfbœcœZôvb BZ'w' i mtt½ thwMvtwM cœZôvi gva'tg Zvt' i ¶lgZv KvVvtg kw³ kvj x
ntq Dtv| GKB mtt½ abx I `wi` a K.I.tKi gta' AwacZ' ev'x I AvbMttZ' i mæúK cvKvfcv³
nq| `be³K (impersonal) evRvi e'e'v, cœZôwbK (formal) cœkvb I MYZwšK
BDwbqb cwil ` bZb aitbi gj `teftai K_v ejtj I G_wj tK `w` t' i ct¶j cwieZß mPbv
KittZ t' Lv hvq bv| Môtg chftqi e'w³K (personal), gftLvgtL (face to face) I `vZv-MôY Zv
(patron-client)-Gi mæúK tK' a Kti th tkYx c_KxKiY NtU, Dfq (cœZôwbK I
AcœZôwbK) ¶lgZv cwimti Zv ejer _vtK| cte° vZv ev c'vUb wntmte ¶lgZv PwP Rb'
Zvt' i tK eM¶vl, Kgŋs'vb, Aw_R mvrw', Lv' e'Ub, mthwM mjeav cœvb KittZ t' Lv

thtZv| axti axti `vZv-MthxZvi m³utK³, YMZ cwieZ³ mwPZ ntqtQ| D³P tkYx wntmte Mlg ch³q ³lgZv mjsnZ nl qvq Ges iv³ ch³ ³lgZvi thvMthvM we⁻Z nl qvq ³lgZvkj x tkYxtK wcZmj f (paternalistic) fmgKvq AeZxY³ntZ t`Lv hvq bv| Zte c₂KxKZ tkYx₂wj i tkvl K-tkwl tZi m³utK³Avovj Kivi Rb³ `vZv-MthxZvi gZv`k³ej er₂vtK|

tkYxKiY wbtq weZK³

evsj vt`tki MlgxY mgvtR tkYx wef³w³KiY che³qY Kti AtbK MtelK h³ c³vb Ktib th Kwl A₂mwZtZ c³Rev`x e⁻e⁻v we⁻vi jvf Ki³tQ| Zvt`i c³vb h³ nt³Q th evsj vt`tki K.I.KmgvR tkYx wef⁻ nxb mgmEv weik³o mgvR bq| tj wbtbi tkYx c₂KxKiY ZtE³i b³vq GLvtb mtPZb fvt³e abx K.I.K I `wi⁻ me³iv³ K.I.K ØØgj K Ae⁻vb MthY Ktib| wKŠ³ K.I.K cwiewi K Lvgt³i aviYvi e⁻vcK e⁻j NtUtQ| JcwbtewkK ivt³avi vevwKZvq evsj vt`k iv³o c³Rev`x e⁻e⁻v c³z³ov Ki³tQ| iv³o³q c³ptcvl KZvq K.I.K mgvtR abx tkYx I `wi⁻ tkYx h₂vtg tkvl K I tkwl Z tkYxtZ wef³ ntq cotQ| GB `wJ tkYx wecixZgt₂x ØØi Z `tj cwiyZ nt³Q| tevinv D³Ixb Lvb Rvrv³xt³i (1979)² gtZ evsj vt`tki `vaxbZvi ci Kwl t₂tK Drcw³ Z gj ab t`tki evB³ti cvPvi bv ntq Mlgv³Atj m³o ntq tmLvtbB AvenZ³ nt³Q| tkYx c³of⁻ ew³ tctq ØKj vK³t⁻i (abx I ³lgZvkj x K.I.K) ntZ th gj ab Rgv ntqtQ Zv Zviv c³Rev`x Kwl Lvgt³i webtqvM Ki³tQb| iv³o³q Kwl bxwZ abx tkYxtK mnthvM³Zv Ki³tQ cvl qvi cv³ú, exR, mvi, FY c³f³wZ Kwl DcKiY mnR ktZ³mieivn Kivi gva³tg| AwZDi ingvb (1986)³ Gi gtZ Drcv³tbi Dcv³tqi g³wj Kvbvi w³f³E³tZ tkYx `elg⁻ `ZtetM ew³ cv³t³Q| wZvb gtb Ktib gRj³x ktgi e⁻vcK wbtqvM Kwl tZ c³Rev`x Drcv³b m³utK³ eintc³Kivk| ZvOvov `wi⁻ I fmg³nxb K.I.Km³t³Yi m³t³ abx K.I.Km³t³Yi Drcv³tbi mvgw³RK m³utK³q weibgq e⁻e⁻v wecixZgt₂x `t³ P Bw³Z enb Kti| Rvrv³xt³i gZ wZvb| gtb Ktib th evsj vt`k iv³o³ kt³tK gj atbi Aaxb⁻ Kivi gva³tg tkYx c₂KxKiYtK Zj w³SZ Ki³tQ| MlgxY c³Rev`x tkYxi weKiv iv³o³q mnthvM³Zvi Dci w³f³kvj |

mgvR weAvbt⁻i
AtbtKB gtb Ktib th,
Kwl A₂mwZtZ c³Rev`x
e⁻e⁻v we⁻vi jvf Ki³tQ|

AtbK MtelK h³vi evsj vt`tki K.I.K mgvtR c³Rev`x Drcv³b e⁻e⁻v weK³vkZ nt³Q bv etj gtb Ktib Zivi³ GKgz th GLvtb tkYx c₂KxKiY `Z NU³tQ| Zvt`i gtZ evsj vt`tki K.I.K mgvtR JcwbtewkK c³wZ, c³OK c³Rev`x A₂ev Avav mgv³SZw³ŠK c³wZ weivR Ki³tQ| evsj vt`tki Mlgv³Atj Av³lxq m³utK³ Dci w³f³E³ Kti th mgvR msMVb I cwiewi K Kwl Lvgt³i Mto D³tV Zv Kwl A₂mwZtZ e⁻vcK c³f³ve we⁻vi Kti| esk I tMv³ox Awac³Z⁻ I Drcv³tbi Dcv³tqi Dci w³bq³ŠY c³z³ov MlgxY ³lgZv Kiv³vtg³ Mto tZvtj | Avey Av³aj v³ (1976)⁴ h³ c³ok³ Ktib th f³vgx-ivBqZ, gnvRb-LvZK, tcvlK- tcvl⁻ Gaitbi m³utK³uj K.I.K tkYx m³utK³ gta⁻I w³qvkvj³ vtK| tRd DW (1978)⁵ Gi gtZ Kwl A₂mwZtZ tkYx c³of⁻ w³qvkvj³ nt³Q m³ h³ gj ab I gnvRbx e⁻emvi Kvi³tY Ges gnvRbx FYB tkYx ØØi c³vb KviY|

mgvR weAvbt⁻i AtbtK
gtb Ktib th, K.I.K
mgvtR c³Rev`x e⁻e⁻v
weK³vkZ nt³Q bv| Zte
GLvtb tkYx c₂KxFeb
`Z NU³tQ|

² Jahangir BK, *Differentiation, Polarization and Confrontation in Rural Bangladesh*, CSS, Dhaka University, 1979.
³ Rahman A, *Peasants and Classes - A Study of Differentiation in Bangladesh*, UPL, Dhaka, 1986.
⁴ Abdullah A, "Agrarian Structure and IRDP : Preliminary Considerations", *Bangladesh Development Studies*, vol. VI, no. 2, BIDS, Dhaka, 1976.
⁵ Wood Geoffrey, "Class Defferentiation and Power in Bondakgram : The Minifundist Case", in Amirul Haque (ed), *Exploitation and Rural Poor*, BARD, Comilla, 1976.

weirfbœK.I.K mgx¶lvq MōgxY ivRbwiZtZ weĒkvi xt`i ¶lgZvi tjvf, Pµvš, wmsmZv I GK K_vq Zvt`i tkYx PwiĀ DtbwPZ ntqtQ| weĒkvi xMY tkYx, ghP vtfvMx `j I esk BZ`w` e¶M°cāeó ntq _vKivq GKwU Rulj ¶lgZv KVVtgv mjo nq| GB Rulj Zv e`vL`v Kti Rvrvzxi (1981)⁶ wj tLb th MōgxY ¶lgZv PP¶q m=ú0vq I tkYx KVVtgv GB ci`úi weivax KVVtgv `yUj HK` cāZwóZ nq| Aa`b esk_wj cēj esk Øviv tkwL Z nq| cēj esk_wj i`^Qj cwi evi_wj GKB m½ wbtRt`i Ges Aa`b esk_wj i A`^Qj cwi evi_wj tK m=ú0 vtqi bvtg KVVtgv i tFzi tkvLY Kti | GB tkvLY w¶qvkvj _vKvi KviY Kwl A_ØwZtZ c¶Rev`i weKvtki dtj MōgxY mgv¶R tgi`KiY NUtQ| GB tgi`KiYi GK w`tK AvtQ abx K.I.K I Ab` w`tK me¶viv K.I.K|

Jcwbtekk Drcv`b c×wZ

evsj vt`tki MōgxY mgv¶R tkYx c_wKviYtK AtbK MtelK Jcwbtekk Drcv`b c×wZ (colonial mode of production) Øviv e`vL`v Kti tQb| 1793 mvtj wpi`vqx e`v`vet`i gva`tg fvgtZ e`w³ gwij Kvbv cāZwóZ nq, fvg GKwU weµqthvM` c¶Y` cwiYZ nq Ges fvg t`tK Jcwbtekk kvmKMY wecj A_°ivR`^wntmte Avl mvr Kti | RwtZ avb e`ZxZ emwYR`K km` thgb ciU, Zj v, bxj Pvl nq| Kwl t`tK Drcw`Z gj ab MōgxY A_ØwZtZ weibqM bv ntq we`tk cvPvi ntq hvq| MōgxY wkí aYsm Kiv nq| Gfvte Kwl t`tK Dt`Q` ntq hvlqv gvbtli weKí Kgms`vtbi c_ bv _vKivq GKwU wbt`tkYxi Awefie NtU| Jcwbtekk kmbvgtj evsjvi MōgxY KivPvgtj i thvMvKvix wntmte Bsj`vtŪi c¶Rev`x Drcv`b e`e`vi m½ h³ nq| wKš` GB c¶Rev`x e`e`vi AbjØek evsjvi Mōtg weivRgvb cØK c¶Rev`x e`e`vtK cwi enZZ bv Kti wkj xFZ Kti dtj | MōgxY mgv¶R we`gvb Amg eUub e`e`v cØK AvKvi aviY Kti | Dciš` GKwU bZb f`tgx gnrRb tkYxi Awefie NUvq F¶Yi Rvtj `wi`^a K.I.Kt`i e`x Kti GB tkYxwU AwacZ` cāZwóZ nq| JcwbtekkZv weivax Avt`vj b I wv`yRvg`vi t`i tkvltYi wei`tx Avt`vj b wfbeivRbwiZi avivq cēwvNZ nI qvq MōgvĀtj i tkYx c_wKviYi weI qwU XvKv cto hvq|

cwK`vb ivó^a cāZōvi ciI MōgvĀj t`tK DØĒ Avl mvr Kti t`tki evBti cwōg cwK`vtb cvPvi Kivi aviv Ae`vnZ _vtK| cwK`vb miKvi c¶Rev`x c×wZtZ Dbqab Kvhpig Pvj yKti Ges evsj vt`tki MōgvĀj t`tK cvUmn Ab`v` Kwl c¶Y`i DØĒ `vbiš`i Kti | Ab` w`tK Rvg`vix cŪv Dt`Q`i ci wv`yRvg`vi t`i `j wfwl ³ nq gwj gvb tRvZ`vi I gnrRbMY| Mōtgi K.I.K mgv¶Ri `v`¶¶v Kivi Rb` tkvb e`e`v MpxZ nqwb| dtj ivótg tkvLY I `vbxq weĒkvi xt`i wbhPZtbi Pvtc cto MōgvĀtj c_wKviY Xx^a ntq DtV| Avi mviY K.I.KMY Rvg t`tK wbtRt`i tLvivKx thvMvo KtiZ bv tcti Avl mstKvPtbi bwZ MōY Kti `wi t`i gta` Rxeb hvcb Ktib| wKš` cwK`vb kmbvgtj I evlvj x RvZxqZvvt`i ivRbwiZ gj` ntq DVvi dtj MōgvĀtj tkYx tkvltYi weI qwU tMSY ntq hvq|

evsj vt`tki `vaxvZvi ci MōgvĀtj i Kwl DØĒ Avi t`tki evBti `vbišwi Z nt`Q bv wKš` t`tki tFZti Af`šixY JcwbtekkZvi (internal colonialism) Ae`v mjo ntqtQ| evsj vt`k ivtōf cØKZ ci wbfPkvj Zvi | evsj vt`k tK`^a wntmte weKwKZ ciŪvtZ`i c¶Rev`x t`kmgtni cŪšK t`k wntmte KivR Kti | mZivš we`kx mvvnh`cp evsj vt`tki miKvi

^a Jahangir BK, "Social Organization Process and Change in Bangladesh", *Journal of Social Studies*, No. 14, Dhaka University, 1981.

wet`kxt`i wbt`Rbvi Avtj vtK Awakvsk wmxvš MhY Kti _vtK| MōgxY A_ŠwZi m½ i vtōf mēukP GKB fvtē cwi Pwj Z nt`Q hvZ MōgvĀtj i Ae`vb cūšK| mi Kvix bvbwea bxiZi gva`tg MōgvĀj epĒi A_ŠwZK I mvgwRK tŋtī i m½ hš nq| wKŠ`kni, Avgj vZŠ, cŋR, cēw` I f`vgt`i cōZ i vtōf cŋcmZtZi `i`b MōgvĀj A_ŠwZK eUtb wcuQiq cto| ersj vt`tki cōq 90% gvb| MōgvĀtj emevm Ktib| 80% Kgms`vb nq Kwl tZ| i Bvxi 90% Kwl cY` I KvPvgj Mōtg Drcw` Z nq| wKŠ`t`Lv hvq th mi Kvix e`q eivt`i tŋtī tKej 15% Gi gZ Kwl i Dbq̄tbi Rb` t`qv nq| mi Kvix e`tqi wnsn fVM eivt` _vtK Ggb me LvZ hvZ kni _wj DcKZ nq| e`vsK _wj i tKej 11% Gi gZ Kwl FŋY webtqVM nq| Kwl LvZ e`w³MZ webtqVMi cwi gY tKej 11% Gi gZ| Gi A_ŠwZK tŋtī Drcw` Z DōĒ `vbsi nt`Q A_P Kwl Dbq̄tbi Rb` cjbwebtqVM nt`Q bv| `fveZB MōgxY A_ŠwZtZ Gi cŋve gvi vĪ K tbwZevPK|

kni, Avgj vZŠ, cŋR, cēw`, f`vgt`i cōZ ersj vt`k i vtōf cŋcmZtZi `i`b MōgvĀj A_ŠwZK eUtb wcuQiq cto|

D`vniY `tfc ersj vt`tki K.I.Ki nuofv½v kŋgi webgq Drcw` Z dmj Pvj i knŋi `vbsi weqW t`Lv thZ cŋti (tRbtmb 1987)⁷ | GKw Mōtg hZ Pvj Drcw` Z nq Zvi cōq IvU fvtMi gZ `vbxq evRvti weμq nq| evKx Pvj i wnsnfVM abx K.I.KMY wbtRt`i tftMi Rb` _vgRvZ Ktib| hZ Pvj `vbxq evRvti weμZ nq Zvi Awakvsk knŋi `vbsi Z nq| abx K.I.KMY Pvj i Lp mvgv` Ask gRjx wntmte cōvb Ktib hvZ tŋZgRjt`i tLvi vKx nq bv| dtj `vbxq evRvi t`tk Pvj i tμZv tŋZgRj I ŋi` K.I.K hv`i tLvi vKxi Rb` h`ó Pvj wbtRt`i Drcv` b t`tk Avtm wb Ges gRjx wntmte ewUZ nq w| knŋi m½ webgq mēukP` Ltj `úó nq th Mōg t`tk Drcw` Z hZ Pvj knŋi Avtm Gi webgq kni t`tk Mōtg wK ai`tbi cY` tōi Z nq| knŋi wki tŋtī Drcw` Z cY` μtqi Rb` Mōtgi `wi` K.I.Ki Aw_Š m½wZ tbB| Zte mi Kvi fZRxKZ Kwl DcKiY Mōtg tōY Ktib| wKŠ` GtZ Mōtgi mēu` kuj xMY DcKZ nb| GtZ GUvB cōxqgvb nq th MōgvĀtj wecj cwi gY Pvj Drcw` Z ntj I Ges ersj vt`k Pvj i BvbxKvi K t`tk cwi YZ ntj I, eUtb e`e`vi cwi eZB bv ntj Pvj i Drcv` K `wi` K.I.KMY tK Aaŋvi I Abvnti B w` b KvUvtZ nte| Kvi Y Pvj μtqi mvg_Švt`i tbB|

i vtōf fŋgKv

ersj vt`k MōgxY mgvR tkYx c`KxKiŋYi dtj th weĒkYx tkYwU DĒtivĒi ŋgZvevb ntq `wi` K.I.Kt`i cōZ wbhZbgj K fŋgKvq AeZxY`nt`Q ZvtZ i vtōf kvmK tMvōxi mg_Š AvtQ| D`vniY`tfc mi Kvŋi i Kwl ivRt`f bxiZ Dŋj E`hM`| AvBbZ 25 weNvi Dŋa`Rŋgi gwj Kt`i Kwl ivR`cōvb Kivi K_v| wKŠ` abx tkYxi gwj KMY bvbv Dcvtq Rŋgi gwj Kvbv tMvcb Kti _vtKb| t`Lv hvq th Kwl tZ hw` I DōĒ mōo nq Z_wic GB LvZ t`tk ivR` Av`vq 2% Gi b`vq| Kwl LvZ t`tk Drcv` tbi DōĒĒi Dci Ki Avtvc Kiv ntj GB A_ŠwZK Mōtgi mvaviY K.I.Kt`i Dbq̄tbi e`q Kiv mēe ntZv| Zv bv nI qvq abx K.I.KMY Zvt`i DōĒ gnvRbx mj, dwoqv, gRjZ`vix BZ`w` e`emvq wbtqVMRZ Kti mnŋR Awak A_ŠwZK DcVRB Ki tQb| Gme e`emv `wi` weŋivax Ges G_wj tkYx c`KxKiŋY mŋvqK wntmte KvR Kti |

MōgxY mgvR tkYx c`KxKiŋYi dtj th weĒkYx tkYwU ŋgZvevb ntq `wi` K.I.Kt`i cōZ wbhZbgj K fŋgKvq AeZxY`nt`Q ZvtZ i vtōf kvmK tMvōxi mg_Š

Kwl tZ cēw`i Rb` mi Kvix bxiZ `wi` t`i cōZKtj KvR Kti Ges tkYx c`KxKiY ewx Kti | D`vniY`tfc mi Kvŋi i D`Pdŋ bkxj exR (high yielding variety) PvtI i bxiZ Dŋj E`Kiv hvq| Ddkx PvtI i Rb` i mŋvqwbK mvi I KxUvbkK cōqvRb nq hv mi Kvi fZRx gŋj` mi eivn

⁷ Jansen EG, Rural Bangladesh : Competition for Scarce Resources, UPL, Dhaka, 1987.

Kti | wKŠ' cKvmtbi thvMmvrk abx tkbxi K.I.KMY Gme DcKiY wbtRt`i e`envti i Rb`
 `f gtj` jvf Ktib Ges G_{wj} i e`emvq wj B nb| GB bmxZi cfvte abx K.I.KMtiYi `B fite
 jvf nq| Ab` w`K `wi`^aK.I.KMYk Gme DcKiY Kvtj vevRvi t_{tk} Awak gtj` μq Ki tZ
 nq| Avil j`Yxq th tmPi Rb` n`Pwj Z cvuú I k`vtjv tgvkb `f gtj` cvl qv hvq Ges
 G_{wj} kqNb nl qvq `wi`^atkYxi tekx DcKvti Avtm| wKŠ'mi Kvi tekx gj`evb cRNB wC-
 wUDel tqj emvbtvi bmxZ MhY Kti tQ hvZ `et`wK mvrvh` ms`vi cfvte KivR Kti tQ| GB
 tmP e`e`v cRNB nl qvq mgevq MVb Kiv nq, hvi Dci abx tkYxi AwacZ` cOZwZ nq
 Zviv O Rj cfv tZ cwi YZ nb| mgevq gva`tg `wi`^aK.I.KMtiYi RwtZ cwb mieivn wqšY
 Kti Zvt` i tK Rwg weμtq eva` Kiv hvq| A tK t`L v hvq th, GB bZb Kwl cth³i
 dtj dmj e_w cvl qvq Ges Kwl tZ Kgm_v vb e_w cvl qvq abx K.I.KMY Zvt` i wqšYi
 c_wZ cwieZ³ Ktib| tmPi Avl Zvq eM_Pv tI Rwg Zviv wlv t_q wbtq wbtRt`i ZEveavt
 P_vtI i w_wvš MhY Ktib| Kgm_v vb e_w cvq etj Zviv Kwl gRjxi nvi Kwgtq t`b| Gfite
 bZb Kwl cth³i dtj `wi`^aK.I.KMY q_wZM⁰ nb| Ab` w`K Drcv`b e_w I gRjx Ktg
 hvl qvq abx K.I.KMY AwZwi³ jvf evb nb| bZb cth³ c₀qv tMi Rb` Awak A_p c₀qv Rb
 nl qvq `wi`^aK.I.KMY FtiYi Rb` abx K.I.KMtiYi Dci wbfP_{kj} nq c₀b| Zivov GB
 cth³ tZ cwi tek` wL Z nl qvi Kvi tYI `wi`^aK.I.KMY q_wZM⁰ nb| Rvbn hvq th i v_wqwbK
 mvi I Kivbv k_k Kvi tY Rwg I cwb wL Z nl qvq Dw^m t`i Rb_f I g_vQi cRbb bó nq
 hvq| GBme Dw^m I gvQ `wi`^aK.I.KMY webv gtj` msM_h Ki tZ cvi tZb| D`P dj bkj extR
 avtbi MvQ D`P Zvq te tU nl qvq Lo cvl qv hvq bv| GBme Lo `wi`^aK.I.KMtiYi Ni wqšYi
 Rb` I Mi`i Lv` wntmte e`eüZ nq vtK|

miisk

gv. xiq mgvRZtZ; Drcv` tbi Dcvtqi g_{wj} Kivv I Drcv`b m_wú tK_P wfv_w tZ tkYx wbatY Kiv nq
vtK| evs_v t`tk abx K.I.K, gvSvix K.I.K, q_i K.I.K I gRjx k_gK tkYx wj i g_ta` c_w K_iKiY NU tQ|
 me_wak c_w K_iKiY NU tQ abx K.I.K I gRjx k_gK tkYxi g_ta`| f_vgi g_{wj} Kivv e`e`v Amg Ges Aí
 msL`K abx K.I.K Awak Rigi g_{wj} K| q_i K.I.K c_wŠK K.I.KMY `w_i t` i Kvi tY q_i tRiZ ati ivL tZ
 cvt_b bv| abx K.I.KMtiYi nvtZ Rigi c_wfv_w Feb NtU Ges q_i K.I.K c_wŠK K.I.Ki wbt` KiY NtU| abx
 K.I.KMtiYi nvtZ Kwl DcKiY I cth³ I tK` t_fZ n_tQ| abx K.I.KMY Zvt` i D₀E Kwl DcKiYmn
 biv_wea e`emvq w_wbtqvM Ktib| Rigi g_{wj} Kivv m_t½ eo tM_vox I esk gh_v v h_y³ nq abx
 K.I.KMtiYi m_vgv_wRK gh_v v e_w cvq| Zviv B M_gxY G_{wj} U (q_gZv_{kj} x) Zviv M_gt_g m_vgv_wRK i_wZ bmxZ
 ev` evqb Ktib I wePri Kv_wc_{wi} P_{vj} bv Ktib| `vbxq c_wvmb I BD_wqb cwi t` M_gxY G_{wj} UMYB
 thvM_wthvM e_w Kti q_gZv P_PKtib| iv₀tq q_gZv Kiv_wgv_w m_t½ Zvt` i m_wú K_c c_wZwZ nq| Zviv
 mn_tRB iv₀tq c₀t_v KZv cvb| we_Ek_{vj} x I q_gZv_{kj} x tkY_wU `wi`^aK.I.Ki c_wZ w_hfv_wbgj K
 f_vgK_vq AeZ_v n_tQ| we_wfv_w K.I.K m_gv_vq M_gxY i v_wbm_w tZ we_Ek_{vj} t` i q_gZv_i t_vf, P_vvš,
 w_wsmZv A_w Zvt` i tkYx P_{wi} t₀ D_tb_wPZ n_tq tQ|

cvřVĚi gj`vqb

be⁹³K cĕæ

m^uVK DĚři i cvřk WJK (v) WPy w`b -

1| tKvb`B^u tK^uYi gřa` me^uK c_uKxKi Y NřU?

K. abxK.I.K I gvSvi x K.I.K

L. gvSvi x K.I.K I řř^aK.I.K

M. abx K.I.K I řř^aK.I.K

N. abx K.I.K I gRj x křgK

2| em^uY^uR`K km` Kvi v tekx Pvl Kři b?

K. c^uŠK K.I.K

L. gvSvi x K.I.K

M. abx K.I.K

N. K.I.K mgevq m^ug^uZ

3| evsj vř`tki`řaxbZvi ci Kwl t_řK Drcw`Z gj ab tKv_{vq} Rgv nř`Q?

K. w^uři c^uZř` i nřZ

L. abx K.I.K ev K^uj vKř` i nřZ

M. řvi řZ Přj hvř`Q

N. řvbxq c^ukmKř` i nřZ

4| D`P dj bkxj exRmn bZb Kwl c^uŹ³ e`envři i dřj Kgřs`vb em^ux cvq wKš`gRj x křgKř` i j vř nq bv tKb?

K. abx K.I.KMY w^uřRivB Pvl vev`i i` Kři b

L. abx K.I.KMY gRj xi nvi K^uřřq řdřj b

M. abx K.I.KMY Kg řj vK w^uřřqM Kři b

N. gRj x křgKMY knři Přj Avřmb

ms^uřřB cĕæ

1| evsj vř`tki M^ugxY mgvřRi tK^uY_{wj} WPyZ Ki`b| wKfvřte tK^uY c_uKxKi Y NUřQ?

2| c^uK c^uřRev`x I c^uřRev`x Drcv`b c^ux^uZi`e^uko` wK?

iPbvj K cĕæ

1| evsj vř`tki M^ugxY mgvřR tK^uY w^ufvř³KiY w^uřřq mgvřR w^uAv^uřř`i w^uZřK^u c^uav^u h^uř³ w^u wK wK? G w^uel řřq Avcbvi gZřgZ w^u Lp|

2| Jc^uvřřem^uK Drcv`b c^ux^uZ wK? evsj vř`tk M^ug I knři i m^uúK^u wKfvřte tKvl Yg^u K?

fiyg ms`vi
Land Reforms

GB cVvUJ cto Avrcwb RvbZ cri teb -

- fiyg ms`vii „i“Zi
- fiyg ms`vii HwZnwmK tcojvcU
- fiyg ms`vii cöZeÜKZv
- fiyg ms`vii „i“ZpY@el qvej x

fiyg ms`vi

fiygi mt½ gvbfl i m=útkP dtj th Drcv`b nq tm m=útk©cwi eZB AvbqbB fiyg ms`vi | A_@r fiygi mt½ gvbfl i, Drcv`b bvbwea kw³ i mt½ gvbfl i Ges Drcv`K wntmte gvbfl i mt½ gvbfl i th mKj m=úK©`wmcZ nq, fiyg ms`vi tmBme m=útkP cwi eZB NUvtbvi c`t¶lc|

fiyg ms`vii cöke_Y¶ (1956)¹ wbtæ Dc`wmcZ welq„wj i Dci „i“Zi cövb Ktib hv evsj vt`tki t¶¶t¶I cöhvR`|

- 1| fiygi gwij Kvbv I Zvi eUj|
- 2| Pvlvef` i kZ¶ thgb gwij Ktk t`q LvRbv; ivRt`† cwi gvY I c×wZ; cöKZ Pvlx I Rwgj gwij tki gta` Aew`Z ga` `Zi tfvwxt` i `ewkó; cRv` †Zji wbi vcEv I `wqZ; BZ`w` |
- 3| fiygi GKTxKiY A_ev weLÜxKiY|
- 4| Pvlvef` i msMVb| thgb mgevq, thš_ Lvgvi A_ev cwi ewi K Lvgvi BZ`w` |
- 5| Rwgj gwij Kvbv, Drcw` Z ctY`i Awakvi BZ`w` wqštY i vtó¶ fiygKv|

fiyg ms`vii „i“Zi

evsj vt`tk fiyg ms`vii cöqvRbxqZv ivRbxwZwe`, w¶¶we` t`tk`ii“ Kti mKj gntj `xKZ| G wel tq c¶¶i tj Lv tj wL thgb nt`Q tZgnb mKj mi Kvi fiyg ms`vii cöqvRbxqZv wel tq tgšwLK `xKviti w³ cövb Kti `vtKb| AvsukK fvte wKQywwQyms`wigj K bwwZl cöxZ ntqtQ| c¶¶Rev`x e`evq| fiyg ms`vi Avek`K| mgvRZwšK e`evq GwJ Avtiv „i“Zi enb Kti `vtK| Gi cövb KviY Drcv`b ep×| wöZxq KviY Drcw` Z ctY`i eUtb b`vq wePvi cöZöv| evsj vt`tk Kwl Drcv`b ep× Ki tZ ntj we`gvb fiygi gwij Kvbv I fiygi e`envi c×wZtZ cwi eZB Avbv Ri`ix| evsj vt`tk Rwgj gwij Kvbv thgb AmgZv wei vR Ki tQ tZgnb Drcv`b m=úK©wbh¶Zbgj K ntq DvtQ| GB Amg I wbh¶Zbgj K Ae`vq Kwl Drcv`b e`vNZ nt`Q I `wvi`ª ep× cvt`Q| ejv hvq Kwl tZ GK aitbi `weiZv wjtK AvtQ hv

eZgwb Kwl Kvwitgv,
Drcv`b ep× I eUtb b`vq
wePvi cöZövi ct_ eo
Ašivq| G mKj Kvi tY
fiyg ms`vii wel quUtZ
AMkaKvi t`qv cöqvRb|

¹ Thorner Daniel, Peasant Economy as a Category in Economic History” in T. Shanin (ed) Peasants and Peasant Societies, Penguin Books, Harmonds worth, 1976.

Jcubtekk kvmtbi djvdj | ersj vt`k ivó`we`gvb MógxY ųlgZv KvVtgvK wukŷtq ivLvi
Rb` Zrci | Kwl Drcv`tb `weiZvi gta` abx tkYxi KvŷQ Rwi tK` ŷFeb NUŷQ Ges cųRi
cŷFeb nŷ`Q | Gi dtj MógxY mgvŷR tkYx c`KxKiY `*Z NUŷQ Ges tgi`KiY nŷ`Q |
mŷeŷwi `wii`*Pig AvKvi aviY KŷiŷQ | GmKj KviŷY Kwl Drcv`b eŷx Kŷi wŷtŷrcv`ŷbi
mŷ½ mguŷZ mŷthvM NUŷtv cŷqRb | Zvntj Rwi t`ŷK Sŷi cov fŷgnxb K.I.K I
tŷZgRjŷ i Avq DcvRŷbi e`e`v nŷZ cvŷi | eZŷv Kwl KvVtgv Drcv`b eŷx I eŷŷb
b`vqwePvi cŷZŷvi cŷ_ eo Aŷivq | G mKj KviŷY fŷg ms`ŷŷi i wŷlqŷŷZ AMŷaKvi t`qv
cŷqRb |

HwZnwmK tŷŷvŷU

tgvNj kvmbvgŷj i cŷe`ŷ aiŷbi MógxY fŷg e`e`vcvbi K_v Rvbn hvq | cŷgZ: GK aiŷbi
Móg wŷj thLvtb K.I.K wŷtŷRi kŷ w`ŷq tLvi vKxi Rb` Pvlvev` KiŷZb | G aiŷbi ivqZx Mŷtgi
K.I.Kŷ i LvRbn w`ŷZ nŷZv bv | Zŷe RwiŷZ e`w`g gwj Kvbn wŷj bv | ivqZx Mŷtgi wŷtŷK I Z
nŷ`Q GB aiŷbi Mŷtgi Rwi`vix kvmb wŷj bv | wŷZxqZ: GK aiŷbi fŷg e`e`vcvbi K_v Rvbn
hvq ZvŷZ K.I.Kŷ PvlKZ Rwi Dci AwaKvi wŷj wKŷ`e`w`MZ gwj Kvbn wŷj bv | Zvŷ`iŷK
ivRvi Rb` Ki cŷvb KiŷZ nŷZv | cŷKZ K.I.K I ivRvi gvŷS wZb aiŷbi ga`ZŷfŷvM wŷj |
GK, Rwi`vi ev RvqMxi`vi hviv ivRvi cŷŷ t`ŷK Ki msMŷh Kŷi ivRvŷK cŷvb KiŷZb | `ŷ,
Móg cŷvb wŷhwb Móg cwi Pvj bvi Rb` dmtj i Ask msMŷh KiŷZb | wZb, mi Kvix KgPvix hviv
teZb wŷtŷte dmtj i Ask msMŷh KiŷZb | tgvNj kvmbvgŷj G e`e`vi tKv Dŷj LŷhM` e`j
NŷUwb, hw` I fŷg ivR`msMŷni Rb` Rwi`vi I RvqMxi`viŷ` i Dci cŷkvmbK Pvc eŷx Kiv
nq |

Jcubtekk kvmbvgŷj fŷg e`e`vcvq eo cwieZŷ Avbn nq | Gi dtj `ŷaxb K.I.KMY
Rwi`ŷŷi Dci wŷfŷKj cŷRvq cwiYZ nb | 1793 mŷtj wPi`vqx eŷ`vet`i gva`tg eŷUk
kvmbMY Bsj`ŷŷi Abjŷc fŷge`e`v ersjvq cŷZwŷZ Kŷi | Rwi`viMYŷK fŷgi gwj Kvbn
cŷvb Kiv nq Ges Zvŷ`iŷK fŷg n`vŷi Kivi I eŷŷK t`qvi AwaKvi t`qv nq | Rwi`viŷ`i
fŷgi gwj Kvbn wPi`vqx GB Aŷ`ŷth Zviv eskci`úivq fŷgi gwj K nŷZ cvŷteb | G
AwaKviŷi wŷlbgŷtq Rwi`viMY cŷRvŷ`i KvQ t`ŷK ivR`Av`vq Kŷi GKwŷ wŷw`ŷ cwi gvY A_ŷ
wPi`vqxŷŷe miKviŷK cŷvb Kiŷteb | K.I.K cŷRvŷ`i mŷ½ Rwi`viŷ`i m`úK`ntq hvq
wŷcŷxogjK | KviY ivR`Av`vŷŷi Rb` Rwi`viMY cŷRvŷ`i Dci wŷhŷZb Kivi, ej cŷqM
Kivi GgbwK Zvŷ`iŷK Dŷ`Q` Kivi AwaKvi cŷB wŷj b | Rwi`vi I Zvi GŷRŷUŷ`i wŷgŷ
AZ`vPvi, ivRŷ`ŷ Pvc, FŷYi tevSv I Zŷŷŷŷŷi Afŷŷe Kwl Drcv`b e`vnZ nq | cŷq cŷZ
ermi `ŷŷŷŷŷ gZŷi msL`v eŷx cvq | Zŷe eŷUk kvmb tMvŷx Zvŷ`i mg`ŷ GKwŷ `ŷ`ŷMvŷx
wŷtŷte Rwi`viMŷŷi gva`tg Jcubtekk kvmb msnZ Kŷi |

Jcubtekk kvmbvgŷj
wPi`vqx eŷ`vet`i dtj
`ŷaxb K.I.KMY Rwi`ŷŷi
Dci wŷfŷKj cŷRvq
cwiYZ nb |

Rwi`vix e`e`vq eMPvlŷ`i wŷivcŷv I Kŷi cwi gvY mŷw`ŷ bv `vKvq Zviv ųwZMŷ nq |
wŷfŷbŷAAŷj eMPvlŷMY Pvlŷi kZŷŷj ms`vi Kivi Rb` `vex RvbnZ `ŷKb | GB tŷŷŷŷŷ
wŷfŷbŷAvBb cŷŷŷŷi gva`tg eMPvlŷ`i 12 ermi chŷ Rwi Pvlŷi AwaKvi cŷvb Kiv nq |
Rwi`viŷ`i AZ`vPvi wŷcŷŷŷi wŷŷŷ` cŷZev` Dŷ wŷZ nŷlqvq Jcubtekk kvmbKŷMvŷx
Rwi`vix cŷvi Kvŷŷwŷi Zv wŷtq cixŷŷ Pjvq | 1940 mŷtj dŷDW Kwgkb Rwi`vix cŷv
wŷŷŷŷŷi Rb` mŷcwŷk Kŷi | eMPvlŷ`i tŷŷŷŷŷ Avŷ`ŷŷŷŷi tŷŷŷŷŷ 1947 mŷtj GKwŷ
Lmov AvBŷŷ fŷMPvlŷ`i dmtj i `ŷ ZZxqŷsk AwaKvi cŷvb Kiv nq | wKŷ` Zv ev`ewqZ
nq |

*cmK`vb kvmbvgtj
Rug`vix cL`v metj vc nq/
K.I.KMY mi vmi i vtot
cRvq cwi YZ nb/*

cmK`vb i vó^a cWZóvi ci 1950 mvtj ce^evsjvi Rug`vix `Lj I cRv`Z; AvBb cvk nq| GB AvBtb Rug`vtii gwij Klvb ewiZj Kti K.I.Ki fvg gwij Klvb cL`vóZ nq| Rug`vtii LvRbv Av`vtqi AwaKvi ewiZj Kti i vtotí LvRbv Av`vtqi AwaKvi Pjy nq, hvZ K.I.KMY mi vmi i vtotí cRvq cwi YZ nb| cwi evi cL`Z 100 weNv (33.3 GK) Avev`x Rug I emZ wFUVi Rb` mtePP 10 weNv Rug wov`^o Kti t`qv nq| Gi AvZwi³ Rug mi Kvix gwij Klvbq Pj hvte etj tNwL Z nq| ^aRwZtMvóxi fvg tKej Zvt`i wbtRt`i gta` n`vsi Kiv hvte| mKj nvU, evRvi, Rj gnvj mi Kvix gwij Klvbq Pvtj Avtm| gwLi bxtPi m^eut` e`w³ gwij Klvb i wNZ Kiv nq| tKvb Rugi evrmwi K dmtj i GK `kgvsk LvRbv wntmte avh^oKiv nq| Rug LvUZKi tYi Dci wbtlavAv Rvix nq GBfvte th tKvb Rug GZ ^antZ cvi te br hvi LvRbv GK UvKvi Kg nq| wmtj U AAtj bvbKvi bvtg GK ai tbi fvg`vm e`v Pjy wQj hvi dtj K.I.KtK gwij tKi RugtZ teMvi LvUtZ ntZv| GB AvBtb Zv ewiZj Kiv nq| At`^p wmbgtq Rug fiov t`qv ewiZj Kiv nq| eM^pvl tK gRjx ktg w`tq Pvti i mgZj` wetePbv Kiv nq| JcibteikK kvmbvgtj eM^pvl xt`i dmtj i `B ZZxqisk cvl qvi th `vex DÍ wcz ntq wQj, 1950 Gi AvBtb tm wltq tKvb wKQj Djt L`tbB| cmK`vb kvmbvgtj 1961 mvtj fvgi gwij Klvb mtePP 100 weNv t`tK ewotq 375 weNv Kiv nq|

1950 mvtj i AvBtbi tKej Rug`vix cL`v metj vtci wltq w Kvhrí nq| cL`tg 100 weNv I cieZx^z 375 weNv ch^s Rugi gwij Klvb w`i Kivi t^a t^a cPi cKvmbK `p^z I tRvZ`vi t`i Rvuj qwZ nI qvq GuU m^wK fvte Kvhrí Kiv hvq w| 1947 mvtj Pvlvev`KZ tgvU Rugi tKej 1% Rug D0E wntmte cvl qv hvq| GB D^xvi KZ Rugi AwaKvsk (60%) Pvlvev` thM` bq| D^xvi KZ Rug fvgxnb cwi evi cL`Z 0.32 GK i wntmte exUb Kiv nq| mi Kvix Lvm Rug exUtbi t^a t^a AemcúB mvgwi K KgRZ^z i cL`Z c^a wZz; Kiv nq| fvi Z t`tK AvMZ gnvj gvb D0v` t`i Rug cL`vtbi Rb` gqgbwstn emewKvix ^aRwZ tMvóxtK Rug t`tK Dt`^o Kiv nq| Lvm Rug cvl qvi Rb` mi KvitK tgvUv At`^z i A`^o t^a mj vgx^o wntmte w` tZ M0hKMY eva` _vtKb| AvBtb hw` I Djt L`AvtQ th tKej gvT K.I.KMYB Rugi gwij K ntZ cvi teb, GtZ Abjcw`Z f`^z vt`i Rug t`tK DrLvZ Kiv m^e nq w| cKZct^a tRvZ`vi MY Rug`vi t`i `j wFw³ nb Ges Zvt`i AbKity KwqK ktg eR0 Ktib I eM^pvl xt`i m^z cRvi b`vq AvPiY`i i` Ktib| Rug LvUZKi tYi Dci th wbtlavAv wQj Zvl Kvhrí ewiZj Kiv nq| mte^e cwi Drcv`b m^eutK^o tKvb cKvi cwi eZ0 AvbtZ GB fvg ms`vi e`^o hI qvq Drcv`b kw³ Db^z nq w| Ges KwL Drcv`tb `wei Zv enj _vtK|

*evsj vt`tk`^z vaxbZvi ci
25 weNv ch^s Rugi
gwij Kt`i LvRbv gl Kcd*

`vaxbZvi ci evsj vt`tk`^z 1972 mvtj fvg ms`vi c`^a t^a c MpxZ nq| GB AvBtb mKj etKqv LvRbv m^y mn gl Kcd Kiv nq Ges 25 weNv ch^s Rugi gwij Kt`i LvRbv gl Kcd Kiv nq| Lvm Rug tKej fvgxnb t`i gta` m^y vgx Qvov exUtbi w^xvš MpxZ nq| b`xtZ tRtM DVv Pi Rugi Dci b`xi cvtoi gwij Kt`i AwaKvi metj vc Kti mKj Pi Gj vKvi Rug mi Kvix wqstY Avbv nq| cte^o LvB Lvj vmx, eUKx FY tKej 15 erm^tii Rb` Kivi th w^xvš wQj Zv wkw`^j Kti 7 ermi Kiv nq| gnKgv g`wRt`^z tUi KvQ FY M0hZv Avte`b Kti 7 erm^tii cte^p gnvRtbi KvQ t`tK Rug Qvovtbi m^z hVM Kiv nq| cte^o wU evRvi BRvov t`I qvi th e`v`^v wQj Zv ewiZj Kiv nq| Gi cwi etZ^o e`emvqx I mi Kvix KgRZ^p mgstq cwi Pjy bv KwglU KvQ nvU evRvi cwi Pjy bvi `wqZ; AwcZ nq| fvg ms`vi AvBb ev`evqtbi Rb` h`^v e`v`^v bv _vKvq Zv Kvhrí Kivi ct` cL`ZeUKZv m^z nq| mi Kviti i fvg ivR`^o wefvM Ki Av`vtq me^o K Mvdj wZ Ktib I `p^z i Avktq tbb| 25 weNv ch^s Ki gl Kcd nI qvq abx K.I.KMY KVMRct^a bvg e`j Kti Ki dvmK t`I qvi I gl Kcd cvl qvi e`v`^v M0Y Ktib|

1983 mvtj fvg ms`vti i Rb` Kvgw MvZ nq, wKŠ' Zv AKvhRi nq| fvg ms`vti i Dci RbgZ MhYi wmxvšI KvhRi nq w| 1981 mvtj Rvgi AvBj Ztj t`evi Dt`vM tbqv nq wKŠ' cieZxPZ Zv ewwZj ntq hvq| 1984 mvtj fvg ms`vi AvBb I weaetj Lvm Rvg cpi`xvi Kti fvgxib`i gta` eU`bi e`e`v tbqv nq| Gw wQj t`tki wefbae`v`tb Lvm RvgtZ „QMŃg cŃZŃv Kti fvgxib cwi evi tK cpevM Z Kivi KvhRjg|

cŃZeŃKZv

ersj vt`k fvg ms`vti i HwZnvM K cUfvg t`tK t`Lv hvq th cAvk I lv`Ui `k`K wKQy Dt`vM MhY Kiv ntj I `faxbZvi ci tKvb Dtj E`hvM` ms`vi bwxZ MpxZ nq w| cAvtki `k`K Rvg`vix cŃv wejtj vci gva`tg fvg t`tK wefbaeA_P fvg LvRbv Avl mvrKvix tkYxK Dt`Q` Kiv nq| GKB Dtj tK` GB bwxZi MpxZ nq th, fvg tKej Kl.tKi Rb` hviv wbtRiv Pvlvev` Ktib| wKŠ' abx tRvZ`vi hviv eM`PvtI gva`tg wecj cwi gvY DŃE` tFvM Ktib I Abrcv` bkxj LvZ e`q Kti m`u` epx` Ktib, Zvt` t`K fvg t`tK DrLvZ Kiv m`e` nq w| fvg gvj Kt`i fvgi cwi gvY tNvIv t`qvi Rb` cPi mgq t`qv nq| cKvmtbi axi MvZi m`hvM MhY Kti fvg gvj KMY Rvj KVMRcI` Zix Kivi m`hvM cvb| Ab`w` tK 1947 mvtj tZfvMv Av`vj tbi cwi tCŃj tZ fV M PvtI kZ`cwi eZB` Kti dmtj i GK ZZxqusk Rvgi gvj KtK dmtj i LvRbv t`evi th mpcwii k Kiv ntqUj Zv GLtbv chS` AvBtb cwi YZ nq w| Zvi A`cwmK`vb I ersj vt`tki kvM K tMvŃx abx Kl.tKi tkYx`v`Ńi` fvg hZUv AvMhX`wi` KtI.tKi fvtM`vbq`b ZZUv AvMhX`bb| gwi bxtPi m`u` thgb LubR m`u`i gvj Kvbv ivtŃ, GB bwxZi KvhRwi Zv t`Lv hvq Mfxi bj Ktci cwi gvj Kvbv mgev`tqi Dci b` nI qv t`tK| fvg`RvZ tMvŃxi Rvg Zvt`i gvj Kvbvq ivLvi bwxZ cŃxZ ntj I mi Kvi Zv f`/2 Ktib| cŃgZ gnyj gvb DŃv` t`i` fvg`RvZ tMvŃxi RvgtZ cpevM b Kiv nq| wmtj tUi LvB Lvj vmt`i fvg`vmZi t`tK gv`i Rb` AvBb cŃxZ ntj I Pv evMv`bi Pv klgKt`i kge`x Ae`v t`tK gv`i Rb` AvBb cŃxZ nq w|

fvg ms`vti „i”ZcY`el q

MŃgxY A`BwxZtZ weivRgvb Drcv`b cxwZ I Drcv`b m`u`K`f` t`K fvg ms`vti i cŃk`wb`tæ Dc`wcz weiq „i”ZcY`

cŃgZ: Rvgi gvj Kvbvi cKq` cteP``vU cvtVi Avtj vPbv t`tK GwU`uŃ ntqQ th Amg eU`b e`e`vi Kvi tY Aí msL`K abx tkYxi nvZ tgvU Rvgi A`t`fKi tekx tK`x`fZ ntq AvtQ| i ay ZvB bq, abx tkYxi nvZ Drcv`tbi DcKiY I A`t`P I cY`x`Feb`vKvq Ges Drcv`b m`u`K`wbcxobjg K Ae`v weivR Kivq Rvg tK`x`f`etbi cEYZv epx` cvt`Q| fvg` fvg` tRvtZi gvj KMY`wi` I fvgZvkj x`i`vctUi Kvi tY Rvg nvi vt`Qb| GtZ Rvgi gvj Kvbvi Amg Ae`v tgi`KiY NUvt`Q| GB Ae`v wbi m`tbi Rb` A`tb`K fvg ms`vi Kti wmwj s e`e`vi gva`tg abx tkYxi nvZ t`tK Rvg wbtq fvgxib`i gta` weZi tYi mpcwii k Kti v`tKb| wmwj s ev Rvgi D`P mxgv teta w`tj B KwI Drcv`tb`weivZvi mgvavb nte bv| wmwj s teta Rvg eU`b Kij Avtiv AmsL` fvg` tRvtZi m`u` nte| Avi t`Lv hvq th fvg` tRvtZ AvaybK cxwZtZ Pvlvev` m`e` bq| eo AvqZtbi tRvZ`wjtZ U`i w`tq Pvl I AvaybK chY` cŃqvm m`e`| dtj GKwI mgravb ntZ cvti Rvgi wmwj s bv Kti eo tRvZ`wjtZ Drcv` bkxj Zv evot`tbi c`t`c MhY Kiv| GtZ`wi` Kl.KMYI gRjx klgK wntm`te DcKZ nteb| Avtj Klv mgvavb ntZ cvti wmwj s teta Rvgi gvj KtK fvgZciY w`tq DŃE` Rvg

fvg ms`vti i GKwI „i”ZcY`el q nt`Q Rvgi gvj Kvbv| Amg eU`b e`e`vi dtj Aí msL`K abx tkYxi nvZ Avak Rvg tK`x`fZ nt`Q|

fiugnxbt`i c0vb Kti fiugnxb mgevq mwguzi gva'tg Pvlvev` Kiv| GtZ Rugi LuUZKiY eU Kiv hvte|

WZxqZ: fiug gwj Kvbvi GKK qiz`nI qvi c0k0 qiz`RvtZi gwj Kt`i c0Ri Afvtei`ij0 Kwl DcKiY msM0h Kti wKgz RvgtZ c0qvm Kiv m0e nq bv| `f Avtqi`ij0 Avay0K hšcwZ e`envi Kivl mnR bq| Gt`qit` Drcv`b kw³i ep0 NtU bv| Drcv`b e`vnZ nq| c0Rev`x e`e`vi fiug ms`vtii j`q` n0`Q qiz`a Drcv`tbi cwi e0Z`ep0 Drcv`b PvjyKiv| ZvQvov qiz`a Rvg gwj Kt`i Rvg nvi0tbi c0muqv Rwi titL`wi`a K.l.ki fvtM`v0qbl mnR bq| fiug ms`vtii gva'tg qiz`a RvZ`uj GKwl Z Kti mgevq gwj Kvbv c0Z0v Kiti RvgtZ Avak Drcv`tbi Ae`v m00 nq| ZvQvov`wi`a K.l.ki`i Dbz` Kwl DcKiY I tm0Pi e`e`vi mgev0qi gva'tg e`vsK FY M0Y Kti Kiv m0e ntZ cvti|

ZZxqZ: GKB gwj tKi Rvg weifb0`vtb we`Z`vKvi c0k0 AtbK mgq t`Lv hvq th abx K.l.ki c0i Rvg we`Z`AA0j qiz`a qiz`a LtU wef³ n0q Qm0tq`vtK| GgZve`vq abx K.l.k eM0PvtI e`e`v M0Y Ktib| GtZ abx K.l.ki LvRbv Av`vq ntj I Drcv`b Kg nq| fiug ms`vi Kti Rvg GKt`xKiY Kiv c0qvrB| 1961-62 mtj GiKg GKlU D0`vM MpxZ nq w`bvRc0ji t`exM0A (Avj gMxi 1981)² | 175 gvBj AvqZtb we`Z`2,94,576wU LuUZ fiug GKt`xKiY c0muqv 1,03,209wU L0 RvgtZ Avbv nq| GtZ c0q 400 GKl evowZ Rvg cvl qv hvq hv c0e`Rugi AvBj wntm0e e`e0Z` ntZv| wKs` we`g0v Drcv`b m00K` Acwi ewZ`vKv Ges e`e`vcbv`ep` nI qvq GB D0`vMwU mvdj` AR0 Kti vb|

fiug ms`vtii GKlU
i`ZcY`elq Abjv`Z
fiug gwj K tkYxi

PZLZ: Abjv`Z fiug gwj K tkYxi c0k0 abx tkYxi K.l.KMY D`Pgh0vi c0ZxK wntm0e w0tRiv RvgtZ KwqK ktj w0tqvm Ktib bv| Avakvsk abx tkYxi Rugi gwj K eM0PvtI Ktib A`ev gRjx ktgK w0tqvm Kti Pvlvev` Z0Yeavb Ktib| GtZ t`Lv hvq th abx tkYxi nvtZ wecj` cwi gvY Rvg c0XfZ`vKvq wecj` cwi gvY RvgtZ Drcv`b nwm cit`Q| KviY we`g0v Drcv`b m00K` wi`a eM0PvtI x0K Pvlvev`i Rb` mKj e`q0vi enb Kitz nq| dtj Drcv`b ep0 Kivi Rb` AvZwi³ Drcv`b e`q I Dbz` ch0³ c0qvm m0e nq bv| Ab`w`tK abx K.l.ki LvRbv e`ZiZ tKvb e`q bv Kti Atar` dmj t0tq mš0`vtKb| GwU Zvt`i Abjv`RZ Avq| abx K.l.kM0Yi Rugi Drcv`tbi w`tK gtbv0vMx ntZ t`Lv hvq bv| KviY F0Yi e`emv, gnrRbx, evRvti bvbwea e`emv, c0kvm0tbi mt0`thvM0tvtMi gva'tg Kwl DcKiYi e`emv I wKv`vix BZ`w`tZ Zvt`i c0i g0v0v Avtm| Kwl i D00 I g0v0v Zviv Av0iv Rvg muq Kivi Rb` e`q Kitz AvM0x nb| GB tkYxi Atbt`K Avevi M0tgI`vtKb bv| Zviv kn0i emevm Ktib| GB abx tkYx hviv Rugi Drcv`tbi w0tRiv AskM0Y Ktib bv Zviv Kwl tZ Drcv`b nwm cvl qvi Rb``vqx| fiug ms`vtii j`q` n0`Z cvti Abjv`Z fiug gwj Kt`i D0`Q` Kiv| abx tkYxi Rvg gwj KM0Yi gta` hviv w0tRiv Pvlvev` Kiteb A`ev gRjx ktgK w0tqvm Kti Pvlvev` Kiteb Ges w0tRiv Z0Yeavb Kiteb tKej Zvt`i nvtZB Rugi gwj Kvbv`vKtZ cvti| Zvt`i tK Kwl Drcv`tbi eva` Kiv ntj Drcv`b kw³i cY`e`envi w0w0Z n0e| Abjv`Z fiug gwj KM0Yi gta` hviv w0tRiv Pvlvev` Kitz Pvb0eb bv Zvt`i Rvg M0Y Kti mi Kivi fiugnxbt`i mgev0qi gva'tg Pvlvev`i e`e`v Kitz cvti|

cAgZ: Drcv`b m00K` eM0PvtI mgm`v| we`g0v Drcv`b m00K` eM0PvtI Abjv`b0xj | KviY eM0PvtI c0vj Z kZ00v0x dmtj i Atar` Rugi gwj KtK c0vb Kivq eM0PvtI xi j`vf

² Alamgir MK, "Towards Lond Reform in Bangladesh "in Alamgir MK (ed) *Land Reforms in Bangladesh*, CSS, Dhaka University, 1981.

nq bv| ZvQvov gvwj K exR, mvi, tmP BZ`w` i e`q enb bv Kivq eMPPvixi Dci A_šwZK e`tqi Pvc AZ`waK| e`qfvi enb Kivi ci cōKwZK` thvM dmj nwb ntj eMPPvix gviV K` je`vq ctoB| gvwj K c`q t_`tK qwZciYi tKvb e`e`v tbB| Dciš` eMPPvli gva`tg abxKl.KMY eMPPvixi Dci A_šwZK ewfZ ivR%wZK Pvc cōqVM Ktib| fvg ms`v`ti Dti`k` nTZ cvti eMPPvli kZšejx ms`vi Kti tZfvMv Avf`vj tbi `vex Abjvqx dmj LvRbv GK ZZxqsk Kiv| fvgi gvwj KtK Drcv` b e`tg Askx`vi nl qvi Rb` e`e`v MhY Kiv thtZ cvti | Ab` w` tK eMPPvli Aj vFRbK nl qvq Ges Gi gva`tg abx tkYxi vohZb vbcxob Ae`vnZ _vKvq GB e`e`vi vej`yB NUVtbv thtZ cvti | qwZciY cōv`tbi ci eMPPvli vej`yB NuUtg Rwg gvwj KtK Pvlv`v` Kitz eva` Kiv thtZ cvti | A_ev eMPPvix` i mgevq MVb Kti Rwg Pvlv`v` i e`e`v tbqv thtZ cvti |

fvg ms`v`ti gva`tg eMPPvli kZšwzeZB Kti eMPPvixi c`q AvBb Kiv cōqvRb|

lōZ: gRjx kigKt` i b`v`h` gRjxi cōk` me`gvb e`e`vq abx Kl.KMY GKtPvUqvrvte vbae gRjx cōvb Kti kty tkvY Ktib| fvg ms`v`ti gva`tg Rvgi gvwj Kvbv I Drcv` b e`e`v cviwZš ntj Drcv` bx kv^β epx` cvte| dtj Kwl Drcv` b epx` tctj cyRev`x e`e`v envj titL gRjx kigKt` i cōkZ gRjx epx` Kiv mae` nte| fvg ms`v`ti gva`tg gRjx kigKt` i vbaeZg gRjx AvBbZ vbaFY Kti t`qv Avek`K| A-Kwl LvZ Kgm`v`tbi Rb` MōgvĀtj qiz` wki cōZōv Mto tZvj v`i Kvi | Kwl Drcv` tbi mt½ wktf i msthvM NUtj A_šwZK Dbq`tbi cvkvcmk Kgm`v`v mjo` nte|

mšgZ: Kwl DcKiY I gj atbi cōk` me`gvb Drcv` b mae`utK` abx tkYx FtYi e`emv I cōvm`tbi thvMvRtK Kwl DcKiY Avf`mvr Kivi gva`tg AvmacZ` me`vi Ktib| fvg ms`v`ti j`q` nTZ cvti c`R, exR, mvi, KxUvbkK, Kwl hšcwZ, tm`Pi cvwb BZ`w` cōvštZ fvgnxv mgevq` vj tK AMōvKvi cōvb Kiv| G e`v`v`ti mi Kivx cōk`vmb I e`vstKi Kvth`ejx vbaqštYi Rb` cōqvRbxq AvBb Kiv thtZ cvti | Ab` w` tK fvgnxv mgevq` vj i ivR%wZK mtPZbZv epx`i Rb` Ges thvMthvM` vctb` qZv epx`i Rb` Kgm`Px MōtYi cōqvRb AvtQ|

AōgZ: evRvi vevtiki cōk` eZgv`v` t` Lv hvq` th evRv`ti i Dci abx tkYxi GKtPvUqv vbaqšY cōZwōZ| ga`Z`f`vMx I dvoqv` i Rb` `wi`^a Kl.K Zvi Drcw` Z c`Y`i b`v`h` gj` t_`tK evĀZ nb| Avakusk mgq Af` gtj` `wi`^a Kl.KMY Mōtgi wfZti B abx Kl.KM`Yi Kv`Q dmj vevv` Kti t`b| Kwl Drcv` b epx`tK Aeva I vbowōZ Kitz ntj evRvi e`e`v Dbz` Kiv cōqvRb| tmB mt½ evRv`ti `wi`^a Kl.Kt` i cōkewakvi vbowōZ Kiv` i Kvi | Drcw` Z c`Y`i gj` nwmj ntj B Kl.K Avak Drcv` tbi Rb` Drcv` bx kv^β cōqVM Kitz DrmwnZ nteb| fvg ms`v`ti j`q` nTZ cvti cōqvRbxq AeKvVtgv thgb iv`v, hvbevnb BZ`w` Dbz` Kiv| ga`Z`f`vMx dvoqv` i DrLvZ Kiv cōqvRb|

begZ: Lvm Rvgi cōk` ivō` A`tbK Rvgi gvwj K hv Ae`eüZ AvtQ| A`tbK gtb Ktib Gme Lvm RvgtZ fvgnxv` i cpefmb Kitz B fvgnxv` i mgm`v` vimb nte| qiz`^a qiz`^a LtŪ Rvg vevZiY Kitz LuŪZ Rvgi Avrcv` bKxj Zvi cōk`et` tKB hvte| fvg ms`v`ti j`q` nTZ cvti fvgnxv mgevq` MVb Kti Lvm Rvg eivl` Kiv| tmB mt½ fvgnxv mgevq`K mnR ktZ`Kwl DcKiY I c`R mieivn Kiv| ivtōf gvwj Kvbvq A`tbK nvl i I Rj gvwj AvtQ| G` vj tZ cte` fvgnxv `wi`^a Kl.KMY vevvgtj` gvQ mslōh Kitz cvitZb| wKš` BRviv t` lqvi e`e`v Kivq Gmtei Dci abx Kl.Kt` i AvmacZ` cōZwōZ ntq`Q| fvg ms`v`ti j`q` nTZ cvti GBme ivōtq mae`ut` fvgnxv` i Avakvi cōZōv Kiv| ebvĀj I ivōtq gvwj Kvbvq AvtQ| ebvĀtj i Dci A_šwZKfvte eü gvbj vbf`Kxj | etbi cōKwZK Drcv` b c`wZi mt½ etb emevmKivx gvbj i mngšq cōZwōZ nq| etbi mt½ mae`uK` cōZōv Kti th mKj gvbj tetP` v`Kb Zvt` i

LvmRvg, Rj gvwj I ebvĀtj `wi`^agvbj I Avakvi cōZōv Kiv cōqvRb|

Ug Gm GBP Gj

DrLvZ Kivi cwi eZ[©]fig ms⁻vti gva^{tg} Zvt[`] i AwaKvi cãZõv Kiv cãqvRb| eZ[©]v^{tb}
mvgwRK ebvq^{tb} bvtg l e^{tb} e^wYwR[°]KxKi[†]Yi bvtg eb DRvo ntq hv[†]Q| fig ms⁻vti i
j ¶[†] ntZ cv[†] e^{tb} cãKwZK cwi tek i ¶[†]v Kiv|

mvi vsk

fig ms⁻vti me[†]Ptq „i[°]ZcY[†]“Q ivR[%]õwZK A^½xKv[†]i cãk[†] fig ms⁻vti Drcv[`]tbⁱ Dcvq
l Drcv[`]b m^uiK[°] ¶U[†]K m^weR[†]fv[†]e we[†]ePbv Ki[†]Z n[†]e| AwaKvsk mgg tQvU tQvU cwi eZ[©]
Avbv nq| gj mgm[†]vq Av[†]jvKcvZ Kiv nq bv| Kw[†] Drcv[`]tbⁱ Avgj cwi eZ[©] fig ms⁻vti i
j ¶[†] n[†]l qv ev[†]Abxq| GRb[°] cãqvRb ivR[%]õwZK A^½xKvi | cãv[†]m[†]bK Kv[†]v[†]gv[†]K cwi eZ[©] K[†]i
MYg[†]x Kiv Avek[°]K| ¶[†]gZvkvj x kv[†]mK tM[†]võx vb[†]R[†] i ¶[†]gZvq w[†]U[†]K _vKvi Rb[°] c[†]¶[†]c
M[†]hY K[†]ib| G Kv[†]†Y evsj[†]v[†]†ki tKvb miKvi[†]K Kw[†] Drcv[`]b e[†]x[†]i Rb[°] Kv[†]h[†]R[†]i D[†]°M
M[†]hY Ki[†]Z t[†]Lv hvq w[†]b| evsj[†]v[†]†k fig[†]nv[†]† i g[†]†a[°] Rv[†]g e[†]U[†]tbⁱ t[†]P[†]q[†]l eo cãqvRb, th
cã[†]v[†]qv[†]q K.I.K fig[†]nv[†] nb tm cã[†]v[†]qv e[†]U Kiv| fig ms⁻vti i gj j ¶[†] ZvB n[†]l qv Dv[†]PZ|

cv`WĒi gj`vqb

`be⁹³K cĕkæ

m^wWK DĒti i cv`k wJK (v) wPý w`b -

- 1| KZ mvtj tZfvMv Av`vj tbi tĕŕtZ Rwi gwj KtK GK ZZxqvsk dmtj i LvRbv t`evi mpcwi k Kiv nq?
K. 1940 mvtj
L. 1947 mvtj
M. 1943 mvtj
N. 1950 mvtj
- 2| cvwK`vbx kvmbvgtj GKRb Rwi gwj K AvBbZ mte^{PP} KZ Rwi gwj K ntZ cvi tZb?
K. 100 weNv
L. 25 weNv
M. 375 weNv
N. 300 weNv
- 3| ersj v`tk KZ weNv chŠ Rwi LvRbv gl Kad Kiv nq?
K. 100 weNv
L. 30 weNv
M. 25 weNv
N. 75 weNv
- 4| ersj v`tk tKv_vq Rwi AvBj Ztj w`tq Rwi GKtixKi tYi Dt`vM MpxZ nq?
K. Kwgj v+ tKvtZvqvj xtZ
L. gqgbmstni gy³vMvQvq
M. ivRkvxixi cvUqvq
N. w`bvRcjt i t`exMtÄ

msw^ŕ]B cĕkæ

- 1| fvg ms`vti Kwł A_ŒwiZi tKvb tKvb wel q AŠf⁹?
- 2| ersj v`tk fvg ms`vti i „i”Zj wK?

iPbv gj K cĕkæ

- 1| cvwK`vbx kvmbvgtj I ersj v`tk fvg ms`vti i wK wK c`t^ŕ]c MpxZ ntqtQ? Gme ms`vti i mvgve×Zv wK?
- 2| fvg ms`vti i gva`tg wKfvte Kwł A_ŒwiZi mwe^R ms`vi mvab Kiv hvq? Avtj vPbv Ki`b|

Kl.tKi ivRbwxZ I Kl.K Avf`vj b
Peasant Politics and Peasant Movement

GB cvWU cto Avcwb RvbZZ cvi teb -

- Kl.Kt` i tkYx mPZbZvi ai b
- evsj vt` tk Kl.K ivRbwxZi tcfvCU
- evsj vt` tk KtqKiu Kl.K Avf`vj tbi msuqfB cwi vPvZ

tkYx mPZbZvi ai b

ce@Zx² bs cvtV Avtj vPbv Kiv ntqtQ wKfite evsj vt` tk MlogY mgvR tkYx c_KxKiY NUtQ| tgi“KiY `uo ntq Dtv gRjx kq wbtqvMi tqtT| ZvQvov A_°dmj I kq wntmte abx Kl.KtK th LvRbv t`qv nq ZvtZl tkvtYi ai b `uo| gnrRbx Ftbi gva`tgI abx tkYxi AZ`vPvti RR# Z nq `wi`^ tkYxi Kl.K| tkYx c_KxKiY A_#bwZK t_tK mvgwRK m=utKp gta`I we`Z nt`Q| gv. #mi ZEj Abjvvti GB tkYx c_KxKiY `wJ Ae`vq _vKtZ cvti | GK, Avf we`Z tkYxi Ae`v (class in itself) Ges `B, Avf mPZb tkYxi Ae`v (class for itself) | mvariYZ cUg Ae`v t_tK wZxq Ae`vq DEitYi gva`tg tkYx c_KxKiY `p nq| wZxq Ae`vq wbuw` tkYx `v_Pqvvi Rb` msNex nq| ZLb Zviv Ae`v msnZ Kivi Rb` wKsev cwi eZfbi Rb` bvbwea KgRvtE RwoZ nq|

me#iv t`qZ gRjMY
cUzr` tbi Rxeb msMtg
abx Kl.KM#Yi m#z gRjx
wbtq we`i vta wj B nb|
wKs` t`qZgRjMY GLtbr
msMwZ kw`tZ cwi YZ
nbub|

evsj vt` tki MlogvAtj gRjx kltKtKi tkYx mPZbZvi K_v aiv hvK| gRjx kltKt` i gta` wevfbœaib AvfQ| tKD mvgwqK gRjx kltgK, tKD `vqx Avevi tKD `xN°mgtqi Rb` Pw`ex ntZ cvtib| Zvt` i tkYx mPZbZvi gta`I cv_# AvfQ| th mKj gRjx kltKtKi Af Rug AvfQ Zviv kltgK wntmte AZUv mPZb nb bv| abx Kl.tKi m#z Zvt` i cwb we`iva Rvgi gwj Kvbv mspvš| mvgwqK gRjx kltKtKi tqtT| kltgK wntmte mPZbZv ZZUv bvl _vKtZ cvti | thme gRjx kltKtKi tKvb Rug tbB Ges tKej gRjx kltgi Dci RweKv wbe#n Ktib Zvt` i tkYx mPZbZv tekx| GB tkYxi t`qZ gRjMYtK me#iv etj I AvL`wqZ Kiv nq| me#iv kltgKMY cUzr` tbi Rxeb msMtg abx Kl.KM#Yi m#z gRjx wbtq we`i vta wj B nb| AtbK mgq me#iv tkYxi t`qZgRjMY wgtj wmxvš wbtZ cvtib th wbuw` cwi gvY gRjx bv tctj Zviv KvR Kitb bv| Zvici c_K c_K fite gRjMY gwj KMYtK Zv Rvbvb| G aitbi NUbv cUqkB NtU| wKs` GUvtKI mw#sj Z mPZb tkYx we`iva ejv hvte bv| hLb me#iv t`qZgRjMY msMwZfvte GKtT abx tkYxi gwj Kt` i wei`tx gRjx wbtq `i Kl.vKw i msMtg wj B nb ZLb ZvtK mPZb tkYx msMtg ejv hvq| evsj vt` tk t`qZgRjMY GLtbr msMwZ kw`tZ cwi YZ nb w| tZfMv Avf`vj tbi AwfÁZv t_tK nvgRv Avj vfx (1965)¹ gtb Ktib th gRjx kltKt` i Avf`vj tbi gvSvix Kl.KMY tbZZjw tZ cvtib| wKs` evsj vt` tk mwef fite gvSvix tkYxi Kl.KMYtK t`qZgRj t` i `v_#qv mPZb wntmte t` Lv hvq bv|

¹ Alavi H, “Peasants and Revolution” in Miliband R (ed) *Socialist Register*, Monthly Review Press, Newyork, 1965.

ersj v`k abx tkYxi K.I.Kt`i tkYx ^_@msnZ nt`Q| MõgvĀtj bZb Kwł cby³i Abpčlek,
mi Kvix Dĭ`vM cj x-DbeqB KgmPx, cZ³KgmPx, BDıbqb cwi l t`i wbePb BZ`w tK tK`^a
Kti abx K.I.KMĭYi ¶lgZv msnZ ntqĭQ| MõgxY ¶lgZv KvVrtgvZ AwacZ` we`vĭi gva`tgI
tkYx ^_@i w¶Z nq| MõgxY ^iweb`vM Aa`bĭ`i Dci wbcıob wbh¶Zĭbi aib i ¶lv Kivi
gva`tgI abx tkYxi ^_@-úo ntq DĭV| ZvQov Mõtgi evBĭi D`PZi ¶lgZv KvVrtgv Ges
i vĭoĭ kvmK tMvõxi mĭ½I abx tkYx ¶lgZv m`úK³Mĭto Zĭj tkYx ^_@i ¶lv Kĭib| mi Kvĭi i
KibwZ, D0Ė Rıg AwamõY, Kwł cĭY`i gj` BZ`w` wmxvš MõĭYi t¶ĭĭ abx tkYxi ^_@
i w¶Z ntqĭQ| cĭkvmĭbi mĭ½ ^_@m`úK³-vcb Kĭi abx K.I.KMY Kwł DcKĭĭYi e`emv,
tmĭPi Dci KZĖ; Ki dvmK t`qv, tebvgr KvMR ^Zix Kĭi Rıg AwamõY tVkvĭbv BZ`w` tZ
mdj nb| cıj tki mĭ½ m`úK³-vcb Kĭi Zviv mšvix KgRvU t`tK tınvB cvl qvi mvdj`
AR³ Kĭib| ej v tĭtZ cvĭi i vĭoĭ kvmK tMvõx eĭRĭqv tkYxi mĭ½ MõgxY abx tkYxi ¶lgZvi
AvzZv Mĭto DĭvĭQ| Zviv ci`úĭi i tkYx ^_@i ¶lv`Zrci |

K.I.K ivRbvZi tč¶vcU

ersj v AĀtj K.I.KMY eĭUk JcĭbteĭkK kvĭmĭbi cĭe³ Avĭ`vj b Kĭi tQb Rıg`vĭi i LvRbv
Av`vĭqi wbh¶Zb t`tK evĭvi Rb`| LvRbv Av`vĭqi Rb` Rıg`vi j wVqvj evınbx w`tq wbh¶Zb
KĭtZv Ges Nieov Rıj tĭ w`tZv| ZLb K.I.KMY tRıvUex` ntq j wVqvj evınbxi mĭ½ j ovB
KĭtZb| JcĭbteĭkK kvmbvgtj wPi`vqx eĭ`vet`i gva`tg Rıg`vi MY Rıgi e`ı³MZ gwıj tK
cwi YZ nb| Ki msMõ Avĭvı wbh¶Zbgj K ntq hvq| wKš` Rıg`vi t`i mĭ½ eĭUk kvmK tMvõxi
^_@RıwZ`_vKıv Zv`i k w³ AĭbK`_Y eĭx cvq| Z`wıc JcĭbteĭkK kvmbvgtj eo aĭtbi
K.I.K Avĭ`vj b msMvZ nq| tZfvMv Avĭ`vj b Ggıb GKıU HıznwıK K.I.K Avĭ`vj b| eĭUk
kvmbvgtj Kwgdıwb cvU³Kĭi t`i msMvZ Kivi Dĭ`vM MõY Kĭi| wZwi tki`k tK K.I.K
Avĭ`vj b nq LvRbv, cRv`Z; K`vĭbj Ki, gıvRbx FY BZ`w`i wei`tx| Pıj tki`k tK
K.I.K t`i cĭvb j ovB wQj dmĭj i fıvMi Rb` j ovB|

cmK`vb iv³cĭZõvi ci eĭUk Avgtj MvZ ce³ersj v K.I.K mfv msMVbıU Kwgdıwb cvU³
mĭ½ wgtk hvq| 1957 mĭtj gj j vıv fımvbxi tĭZĭtZ; ce³cmK`vb K.I.K mıgwıZ MvZ nq|
cĀvk l IvĭUi`k tK K.I.K msMVĭbi m`mĭ`i gĭa` tkYmZ wfbz v j ¶ĭ` Kiv hvq| cĭe³
K.I.K msMVĭb K.I.K t`i cĭvb`_vKĭZv| wKš` cĀvk l IvĭUi`k tK ¶ĭ K.I.K, `wi`^a K.I.K l
t¶ZgRj MY Awak nĭtĭ msMVĭb AskMõY Kĭib| IvĭUi`k tK `wi`^a K.I.K t`i gj` vex wQj
Rıg, KvR, gRıx, Lv`, FY BZ`w`| 1950 mĭtj Rıg`vıx cĭv Dĭ`Q` ntj l MõgvĀtj
tRıZ`vi l gıvRbĭi wbcıobgj K tkvıY eĭx cvq| gj j vıv fımvbxi tĭZĭtZ; b`vkvj
Avı qvgx cvU³ZLb mıv t`tK K.I.K mıgwıZ msMVĭbi gva`tg K.I.K t`i msMvZ ntZ mıvıv`
Kĭi| IvĭUi`k tKı tkl w`tK ce³cmK`vĭb MY Avĭ`vj b`i`i` ntj weıfıbe`vĭb K.I.KMY
tRıZ`vi, gıvRb, BDıbqb KvDıYĭtj i tPqıv g`vb l tg`vı MY tK tkvı K l wbh¶Zb Kvıx wntmĭe
AvıgY KĭtZ`i`i` Kĭib| IvĭUi`k tKı tkl w`tK ce³cmK`vb Kwgdıwb cvU³(gv` fıev`x-
tj wıbev`x) fıvĭtZi bKkij evox Avĭ`vj b vıv cĭfıwZ nq| ZLb ersj v`tki wKQy wKQy
Gj vKvq K.I.KMY tRıZ`vi gıvRb, cıj tki wei`tx mk` msMõg cwi Pıj bv Kĭib|

cmK`vb iv³cĭZõvi ci
¶ĭ^a K.I.K, `wi`^a K.I.K l
t¶ZgRj MY`vex Av`vĭqi
Rb` K.I.K msMVĭb
AskMõY Kĭib|

ersj v`tki `vaxZvi Rb` gı³hıx Pj vKvĭj cmK`vbı kvmK tMvõx hLb MõgvĀtj nZ`v,
evoxNi j tĭ, dmj bó l aı ¶ KĭtZ`i`i` Kĭi ZLb K.I.KMY i`tL`vovb| gı³hıx mıııq fıve
K.I.K mıgvR AskMõY Kĭib| `vaxZvi ci t`tK axĭi axĭi cĭMıZkıj ivR%ıwZK`j`ııj i

mvsMvwbK kw³ Ktg hvq| MōgvĀtj K.I.Kt`i I mvsMvwbK kw³ `p̄ n̄tq c̄to| wKš' gRj x, KvR I F̄tYi `vextZ wewQb̄v̄te K.I.KMY Av̄`vj b K̄tib| Gi K̄tqKwU tKm msv̄B̄f̄v̄te eȲv̄ Kiv n̄tj v|

tKm ÷v̄v̄ : 1

tZfvMv Av̄`vj b

tZfvMv Av̄`vj t̄bi e`wB̄Kvj Pwj #̄ki `k̄t̄Ki `i`i` t_̄t̄K gv̄sv̄wS ch̄S| evs̄jvi K.I.KMY eM̄P̄v̄t̄i d̄m̄t̄j i `̄β̄ ZZx̄qv̄st̄ki f̄v̄M `vex K̄t̄i Av̄`vj b M̄to t̄Z̄t̄j b| tZfvMv Av̄`vj b c̄h̄v̄bZ eM̄P̄v̄t̄i Av̄`vj b n̄tj I Ḡt̄Z `wi`^a K.I.K I t̄q̄ZgR̄jMY AskM̄h̄Y K̄tib| q̄l̄z^a R̄wZ̄t̄M̄v̄xi K.I.K̄t̄i ḡt̄a` m̄v̄l Z̄vj̄t̄i G Av̄`vj t̄b e`vcK AskM̄h̄Y w̄Qj | tZfvMv Av̄`vj t̄bi D̄t̄j L̄t̄h̄v̄M` w̄ K n̄t̄Q b̄rix w̄t̄k̄l̄Z w̄K̄l̄v̄Ȳt̄i kw³ kv̄j x I R̄½x f̄v̄gKv̄| GB Av̄`vj b e`vcKZv I `xN̄^ov̄q̄t̄Z̄i R̄b` K.I.K Av̄`vj t̄bi B̄wZ̄n̄v̄t̄m `i`Z̄cY^on̄t̄q D̄t̄V| K.I.K̄t̄i `̄p̄Zv, HK`, msM̄ōgx t̄P̄Z̄bv I Av̄l Z̄v̄M̄j q̄Ȳxq|

Pwj #̄ki `k̄t̄Ki `i`i`Z
msN̄v̄JZ t̄ZfvMv
Av̄`vj b w̄Qj R̄w̄`vi,
t̄R̄v̄`vi ḡn̄v̄Rb,
ḡb̄v̄c̄v̄t̄L̄vi,
t̄P̄v̄iK̄v̄i ev̄īt̄i t̄k̄v̄Y
w̄b̄h̄f̄Z̄t̄bi w̄i`tx
Av̄`vj b|

hw̄ I d̄m̄t̄j i b̄v̄qm̄½Z eŪt̄bi `vextZ Av̄`vj b m̄sM̄v̄Z nq, Zeȳt̄ZfvMv Av̄`vj b t̄Kej A_̄w̄w̄ZK `vex Av̄`v̄t̄q̄i m̄sM̄ōg w̄Qj b̄v| ḠwU w̄Qj ḠK̄v̄av̄t̄i R̄w̄`vi, t̄R̄v̄`vi, ḡn̄v̄Rb, ḡb̄v̄c̄v̄t̄L̄vi, t̄P̄v̄iK̄v̄i ev̄īt̄i t̄k̄v̄Y w̄b̄h̄f̄Z̄t̄bi w̄i`tx Av̄`vj b| J̄c̄w̄b̄t̄ēw̄k̄K kv̄mK t̄M̄v̄x̄ GB m̄Kj w̄b̄c̄x̄ob̄K̄v̄īt̄i i q̄J̄K I c̄p̄t̄c̄v̄l K n̄l q̄v̄q t̄ZfvMv Av̄`vj b ēw̄Uk kv̄m̄t̄bi w̄i`tx I c̄w̄i P̄w̄j Z nq| f̄v̄īt̄Zi `̄v̄ax̄b̄Z̄v̄i `vextZ ēt̄R̄q̄v̄i v̄ZLb ēw̄Uk̄t̄i w̄i`tx Av̄`vj b K̄i w̄Qj | wKš' t̄mB R̄v̄Z̄x̄q̄Z̄v̄e`x Av̄`vj t̄b m̄v̄av̄i Y K.I.K ḡR̄t̄i i A_̄w̄w̄ZK ḡv̄³ i K_̄v̄ w̄Qj b̄v| ḡa`w̄eĒ, f̄`t̄j v̄K ēt̄R̄q̄v̄iMY ēw̄Uk kv̄m̄t̄bi Āēm̄v̄b P̄v̄b| wKš' t̄k̄v̄l̄t̄Yi c_̄ t_̄t̄K w̄e`t̄ k̄x̄` i Z̄w̄ōt̄q t̄K̄v̄b āīt̄bi A_̄w̄w̄Z c̄h̄Z̄w̄Z n̄t̄e t̄m w̄ēl̄t̄q Z̄v̄i v̄`ūōf̄v̄te w̄K̄Oy ēt̄j b w̄b| GB c̄w̄i t̄c̄h̄q̄t̄Z t̄ZfvMv Av̄`vj b m̄v̄av̄i Y K.I.K̄t̄i i A_̄w̄w̄ZK ḡv̄³ AR̄t̄bi Av̄`vj b|

ēw̄Uk kv̄m̄KMY w̄P̄i `v̄q̄x ēf̄`v̄e`t̄i ḡv̄a`t̄g R̄w̄`viMY t̄K R̄w̄gi e`w̄³MZ ḡw̄j K̄v̄b̄v̄i Āw̄aK̄v̄i c̄h̄v̄b K̄i v̄q K.I.t̄Ki Ae`v̄ t̄k̄v̄P̄b̄x̄q n̄t̄q c̄to| K̄t̄i i m̄Kj P̄v̄c K.I.t̄Ki D̄ci c̄to A_̄P eM̄P̄v̄l t_̄t̄K Z̄v̄i Av̄q L̄p̄ m̄v̄ḡv̄b`| d̄m̄t̄j i w̄Z̄b̄f̄v̄t̄M̄i `̄β̄f̄v̄M t̄R̄v̄`vi t̄K w̄ t̄Z n̄t̄Zv| `i ay Z̄v̄b b̄q t̄R̄v̄`viMY b̄v̄b̄v̄ āīt̄bi K̄i āīt̄Zv| t̄h̄ḡb, t̄R̄v̄`v̄t̄i i m̄t̄½ m̄v̄q̄v̄t̄Zi R̄b` Ūb̄R̄iv̄b̄v̄, t̄R̄v̄`v̄t̄i i aḡx̄q̄ D̄c̄v̄m̄b̄v̄i R̄b` Ūm̄j v̄ḡx̄l̄, t̄R̄v̄`v̄t̄i i ēiK̄b`v̄R ēv j w̄v̄q̄v̄j ēw̄m̄b̄x̄i R̄b` t̄eZb, t̄R̄v̄`v̄t̄i i t̄ḡt̄q̄i w̄ēt̄q̄i R̄b` D̄c̄n̄v̄i BZ`w̄ | d̄m̄t̄j i w̄m̄v̄e ēt̄S t̄b̄q̄v̄i m̄ḡq `̄β̄ ZZx̄qv̄sk i v̄L̄vi c̄i GB̄m̄e L̄i P̄v̄c̄w̄Z ēv̄e` Āw̄Z̄w̄i³ d̄m̄j t̄īt̄L t̄`q̄v n̄t̄Zv| Ḡt̄Z eM̄P̄v̄l x̄ h̄v̄ āv̄b t̄c̄t̄Zb Z̄v̄t̄Z w̄Zb P̄v̄i ḡv̄t̄m̄i t̄L̄v̄iK̄x P̄j t̄Zv| t̄R̄v̄`v̄t̄i i K̄v̄Q t_̄t̄K āv̄i w̄b̄t̄Z n̄t̄Zv ēv̄a` n̄t̄q| GB āv̄t̄i i m̄j w̄n̄t̄m̄t̄e w̄l̄, Y I w̄Zb, b̄ āv̄b t̄īt̄L t̄`q̄v n̄t̄Zv| K.I.K̄iv̄ āt̄i t̄b̄b t̄h̄ j ōv̄B Q̄īov̄ t̄R̄v̄`v̄t̄i i n̄v̄Z t_̄t̄K ēv̄P̄v̄i t̄K̄v̄b c_̄ t̄b̄B| tZfvMv Av̄`vj b t̄mB j ōv̄B|

tZfvMv Av̄`vj t̄bi t̄c̄h̄q̄v̄cU `Z̄ix nq 1937 m̄v̄t̄j c̄R̄v̄`Z̄i Av̄Bb c̄v̄t̄ki c̄i | ZLb t_̄t̄KB t̄R̄v̄`vi I ḡn̄v̄R̄t̄bi c̄Z̄v̄c Av̄B̄w̄m̄x̄ n̄t̄q hv̄q| K̄v̄iY R̄w̄`viMY w̄K̄Oy R̄w̄g t̄R̄v̄`vi I ḡn̄v̄R̄t̄i c̄Ēb t̄`b| ēw̄aZ q̄l̄ḡZ̄v̄i d̄t̄j t̄R̄v̄`vi I ḡn̄v̄R̄t̄i AZ̄`v̄P̄v̄i ēw̄x̄ c̄v̄q| 1939-40 m̄v̄t̄j K.I.KMY ēt̄K̄q̄v̄ L̄v̄R̄b̄v̄ ḡl̄K̄d̄ Av̄`vj b `i`i` K̄tib| Z̄v̄i c̄i `i`i` nq R̄w̄g`v̄t̄i i w̄i`tx L̄v̄R̄b̄v̄ ḡl̄K̄d̄ Av̄`vj b| 1940-43 m̄v̄j ch̄S nq f̄q̄¼i `̄v̄f̄q̄l̄| Ām̄sL` K.I.K ḡv̄i v̄ h̄v̄b ḡš̄t̄i | K.I.KMY ḡR̄Z̄ D̄x̄v̄i I j̄½i L̄v̄b̄v̄i R̄b` Av̄`vj b K̄tib| n̄v̄R̄v̄i n̄v̄R̄v̄i b̄v̄i x̄ m̄i K̄v̄i x̄ Āw̄d̄m̄ t̄N̄iv̄l K̄tib L̄v̄t̄`i `vextZ| GB `̄v̄f̄q̄l̄ m̄v̄ō nq K̄v̄iY w̄ēc̄j c̄w̄i ḡv̄Y L̄v̄` ḡR̄j

Kiv nq Rvġ`vi, tRvZ`vi I gnvRřbi Mj vřg| vřZxq nekřtřxi `mubKř`i Lv` thvMřtbi Rb` eřUk křmKMY GB Dř`vM MřY Křib|

KI.Kř`i vřt`řn`ii" nq DĒietř½ Ges řgk Zv mřiv ersj vř Qvotř cřo| eřUk křmKeM© cřj řki mřivřh` tRvi ceř Lv` `Lj Kři| KI.KMY msMřVZ nb| Zřiv `j řeta Rvġ t_řK dřj KřřUb| řm dřj Zřiv tRvZ`řti i řvřg bv řbtř vKřivYři Avřřbvř tZřj b| tRvZ`řti i řvřg t_řK Lv` `Lj Kři řbtř Avřřmb| KI.řKi Dci řřj cřj kř vřhřZb| řMřvi, gřivřU, evoxNi Rřj vřbv, vřixř`i Dci řřšb vřhřZb řřj| eřvřřb cřj řki řvřřZ AmsL` KI.K gZieřY Křib| vřhřZřti dřj KI.řKi HK` Avřiv řj p nq|

tZřvMř Avř`vj řb vřixř`i AskMřY řKej mřv I řgřQj řkřvřřb mřgřvř vřQj bv| Zřiv řgřj řkřvř evřnbx Mřo tZřj b| cřřZřU Mřřg vřixřv msMřVZ nb| Mřo tZřj b řUřv evřnbx, cřřZřiva evřnbx, vřix řřx evřnbx BZ`řw`| Zřiv Mřřg cřvřiv ř`b hřřZ cřj k Gřm avř bv řbtř řřřZ cřři| cřj řki mřvř Rřbv gřř kvř evřřřř Mřřg evřřřř mřvř Kiv gřř kZ kZ vřix Ni t_řK j řvř, řvoř, evř, Křřj, řKř`řj, ekř nřřZ řbtř řevřřř Avřřmb| Zřiv GKřř Rřřx AvřřgY řřj vř cřj řki Dci| tZřvMř vřřřřř evřřřř vřřřř t_řK Rřbv hřř řh cřj k evřnbx cřřvř řvřř vřQj vřixř`i AvřřgY| vřixřv řkř řřřř vřřřř cřj řki eř`K řřřř ř`b Ges cřj křK vřřřřř Křib|

tRvZ`vi, gnvRř vřQj vřixř`i cřřřř křř| GB řkřx křř` řbřřbi Rb` Zřv Zřiv mēřřř řbtřřv Křib| vřixřv Křř Křřř Křřřv křř ř`b A_P Zřiv b`řh` dřj cřvř bv| cřj "I ZřvřK mřřřř Zřiv řkřiv I eĀvři řkřiv| Ab`řřř tRvZ`vi gnvRř KZř řkřx řkřiv řkřiv| tRvZ`vi gnvRřiv gřb Ki řřř evřřřř vřř`i cřřřřřřř AvřřQ| GB mřřřřř Zřiv evřřřřř cřiv evřřř vřixř`i Dci řřšb vřhřZb řřj vřřř vřixř`i řřšb řkřiv řkřiv tRvZ`vi gnvRřiv dřřj i řřiv ceř řřřřř b`řvř b`řh` eřj řři řbtřřřř| GB vřcřřřř K Ae`vi Aevřřřbi Rb` vřkřivřřř řři řři Rřřx cřřřřiva Mřo tZřj b| Mřřg Mřřg AmsL` mřvřmř vřix řbZřj mřř nq| Zřř`i břg řj řLZ BřZřvřř Avřřřv`řb cřvř řb|

tZřvMř Avř`vj řb vřixř`i AskMřY vřQj e`řcK| vřcřřřř K Ae`vi Aevřřřbi Rb` vřkřivřřř řři řři Rřřx cřřřřiva Mřo Zřj b|

tZřvMř Avř`vj řbi avřevřřřKZřv ivRkřvři vřřřřř KI.K vřt`řn` nq 1949-1950 mřřj| GB vřt`řřni řj křř vřřřřř mřř vřj KI.KMY| gřřřř g řřM ZLb ivřřřřřřřřřř Avřřřř| cřj k I Avřř vřřřř vřixř`i řřiv Avř`vj bKřivř`i Dci vřhřZb I nZ`řj řj v řřj vřřř nq| vřřřřř i KI.KMY vřt`řn` Křib| Křiv tRvZ`vi gnvRřMY dřřj i vřbřřřřř řřř řvř `řvř Qvovř řAveř qevř ev řevř `řvř Křib| KI.KMY vř gřbřř Rvġ t_řK Dř`Q` Kiv nq| vřřřřř i vřt`řřn` řbZřj`řřbi Rb` Břj vřřřřřř břg gřbřřř i gřř gřř Qvotř cřo|

উৎস: Peter Custers, Women in the Tebhaga Uprising, Noya Prakash, Calcutta, 1987.

řKm ÷ řvř : 2

Lřm Rvġ Avř`vj b

1972 mřřj ersj vř`k mi Křiv Lřm Rvġ řřřřřř i gřř vřZřřřřř řřřřř MřY Kři| vřřř řřřřřř i cřřř Lřm Rvġ cřvř qv ev ři řbi řřřřřř b`řvř| cřřřř Avřřř j ovřřřř gřř řřř cřřřř

KiZ nq th Riqul Lvm Riq| KviY qgZvm=ubree³MY fqv`ujj`Zix Kti gwij Kvbv`vex Ktib| AvBbx jovBtq tRZvi cil fignxbiv Riq`Lj KiZ AcivM nb KviY tRvZ`viMY A%aafite Riq`Lj Kti ivtLb| tRvZ`vi`i gv`vbemnbx Riq cvniv t`q| miKvfi ciy k G t`f`f` fignxbt`i ct`f` KivR Kti bv| cvebvi vej Ki`uj qvi Lvm RiqZ 1957 mb t`k 300uL`wi`a`trtj cwi evi evm Kti AvmtQ| 1961 mtb 150 Rb vbtRt`i fignxb`vex Kti RiqulZ eMPrfI i Rb` Avte`b Ktib Ges AbgvZ cvb| wKs`Gt`i Avakisk abx I gvSvix K.I.K| 1962 mtb GKul`vbxq Lvm fig`j MWZ nq hvZ 472 Rb`i gta` 15 Rb tRvZ`vi I 15 Rb gvSvix K.I.K AvtQ| GB`j uL vbtRt`i`k fignxb`j etj`vex Kti Ges wPi`vqx et`vet`i Rb` Avte`b Kti| tRjv ckvMk Zt`i KvQ`k ermti i tmj vgx`vex Ktib| GB`tj i tbZemfK eMPrfI i AbgvZ c`vb Kiv nq| 1973 mtb Ovm fig`j`Gi cpivq Avte`b`i tcf`f`Z 261 RbtK mij vxi vebgtq et`vet`i KivMR c`vb Kiv nq| Gt`i gta` 199 RbtK Kvej qvZ c`vb Kiv nq| 1984 mtj fig ms`vi AvwB`v`Yi ci wZbuL c`f` cpivq Lvm Riqi Rb` Avte`b Kti- trtj`f`i Mtc, Kvej qvZ`vex`vi Mtc I tRvZ`vi Mtc| 1999 mtb 199 Rb`i Kvej qvZ emZj Kiv nq| BtZvgt` Kvej qvZ c`B 199 Rb Lvm Riq eMPrfI i Rb` c`vb Ktib fignxbt`i KvQ| Kvej qvZ c`Bt`i 900 veNv Riq fignxb K.I.KMY Pvl Ktib| wKs`dmj Kvlv vbtq mgm`v`t`Lv`q|

ersj vt`k LvmRiq
fignxbt`i gta`ieZi`Yi
wm`vS MpiZ ntj I
fignxbt`i ct`f` Lvm Riq
cvi qv eo ai`bi hf`xi
b`vq|

1992 mtj fignxb K.I.KMY I qvK`m`c`wLp mt`z`thvMthvM Kti| c`wL`vej Ki`uj qvi Avtkcrtki 14uL Mtgi fignxb I trtj`f`i vbtq Avf`vj b mSMWZ Kti| fignxb K.I.KMY wguLs-wguQj Kti c`Zev` Rvbv| tRvZ`viMY qgZv c`k`B Ktib| c`wLp K.I.K mvgvZ vej Ki`uj qvi fig eL`t`bi wm`vS`tbq| fignxb cwi evi c`Z 10-12 KvW Lvm Riq c`vb Kiv nq| fignxb cwi evi`uj Pvl ver` Kti| Ab`w`k tRvZ`viMY gv`vb emnbx w`tq dmj tKtu vbtZ Pvb| fignxb K.I.KMY Avf`vj b Kti dmj i`f`v Ktib| 1994 mtj cpivq fignxbt`i`k Avte`b Kivi Rb` ej v nq| ZLb 1200 Rb fignxb Avte`b Ktib hv`f`i gta` 800 Rb Avf`vj bKvix Ges 400 Rb tRvZ`vi I Kvej qvZi ct`f`| GB`B`ct`f`i gta` gvi vgwmi tj tMB`vtK| Avf`vj bKvi`m`Yi wei`tx`wg`v`gvj v Kiv ntq`Q Ges AtbKtK trtj` AvUK ivLv ntq`Q| GB me gvj v Pvj v`bvi Rb` fignxbt`i`t`o`j`f` UvKv e`q`ntq` tM`Q| AtbK gZei Y Kti`t`Qb|

miKvfi i wm`vS`vKvi cil fignxbt`i ct`f` Lvm Riqi`Lj cvl qv m`e`nt`Q bv| tRvZ`vi I abx tkYx Lvm RiqZ t`f`vM`Lj Ktib| miKvix ckvmb Zt`i`v`i`f`v`Kivi Rb` fignxbt`i bvbv`f`te`nqivbx Kti| fignxbMY mSMWZ ntZ cvitj Ges evgcSx ivR`%`wZK`tj i mn`thvMzv tctj Avf`vj b tRvi`vi nq| ZLb AvBbx jovB Pvj v`bvi m`e`nq Ges Lvm Riqi`Lj`tbqv m`e`nq| wKs`Lvm RiqZ`Lj eRvq ivLv I dmj Kvlvi Rb` memgq fignxbt`i msvMvbk k³ I HK`eRvq ivLv Ri`ix ntq`cto| ersj vt`k`i`v`f`Yv`Atj Pi fig`Lj vbt`h`trvZ`vi, fignxb I`cuj`tki`gta` mSNi`qj`tMB AvtQ|

উৎস : Kirsten Westergaard “Mobilization for Khas Land” in William van Schendal (ed) *Bangladesh in the 1990s*, UPL, Dhaka, 1997.

mivsk

ersj vt`k weĒkijx I `wi`^a tkYxi K.I.ĤKi gta" tkYxMZ e`earb DEtivĒi ep^x cuf"Q/
meñiv tŋZgRjMY cūZw`^tbi Rxeb msMŋg abx K.I.KMĤYi mĤ½ gRjx ŋbtq ŋetivta ŋj B
nb| FY, fiMPvi, Kwi DcKiY BZ"wi` ŋbtq ŋj^a I cūšK Pvlx`i mĤ½ I abx K.I.KMĤYi
`Ĥ[Ⓟ] msNvZ NĤU| ŋKŠ'G aiĤbi ŋetivatK mĤPZb tkYx ŋetiva ejv hvq bv| `wi`^a K.I.K
ŋKsev tŋZgRjMY hLb msMwZ fite GKĤĪ abx tkYxi gwiĤ KĤ`i ŋei"Ĥ^x `Ĥ[Ⓟ] Av`vtqi
msMŋg ŋj B nb ZLb ZvtK mĤPZb tkYx msMŋg ejv hvq| ersj v AAĤj i K.I.KMY AZxZ Kij
t[Ⓟ]ĤKB AZ" Pvi ŋbcioĤbi ŋei"Ĥ^x msNe^x fite msMŋg KĤiĤQb| epUk JcibteŋkK kvmbvgĤj
K.I.KMY th tZfivv AvĤ`vj b Mto tZvtj b Zv ersj v AAĤj i ŋewfbw`^ttb QnoĤq cto| GB
j ovBĤq K.I.ĤKi cĤŋ ŋKQy`^vex Av`vq Kivl m[Ⓜ]e nq| cwiK`^vbx kvmbvgj I ersj vt`k I
K.I.KMY ŋew"Qbtefite ŋewfbwmgq`^vex Av`vtqi AvĤ`vj b KĤiĤQb| Zte `wi`^a K.I.KMY GLb I
GKwU msMwZ kw[Ⓝ]ĤZ cwiYZ nb ŋb| cwiK`^vbx kvmbvgĤj cūwZkxj ivR%wZK`^j ŋj
K.I.KĤ`i msMwZ Kivi DĤ`^wM MŋY KĤi | GĤŋĤĪ glj vbv firmvxi bvg DĤj LĤhvM`^l

cvfVvEi gj vqob

be⁹³K cke

mVK DEti i cvfk WJK (v) wPy w b -

- 1| tZfvMv Avf`vj fb tkvb ¶i^aRvMZfMvöxi K.I.Kf`i e`vcK AskMöY wQj ?
K. PvKgv
L. gubcjx
M. mvd Zvj
N. i vLvBb

- 2| 1940 - 43 mtj eo aitbi `w¶¶i KviY wK?
K. ZLb dmj fvtj v nqwb
L. eb`vq dmj bó nq
M. e¶Uk weti vax RvZxqZiev`x Avf`vj bKvi wMY dmj AvUK Ktib
N. e¶Uk kvmKMY wZxq wekht`xi `mubKf`i Rb` dmj `vgRvZ Ktib

- 3| bvfPvtj i K.I.K weti`¶n tk tbZZ;`vb Ktib?
K. c¶Zj Zv
L. Kí bv `E
M. Kí bv PvKgv
N. Bj v wjÎ

msw¶B cke

- 1| Lvm Rwg wK? Lvm Rwg `Ltj fignxb K.I.Kf`i wK aitbi mgm`v tgvKvtejv KitZ nq?

iPbvj K cke

- 1| evsj vt`tk K.I.K mgvR tkYx mtPZbZvi Ae`v eY¶v Ki`b|
- 2| tZfvMv Avf`vj fb i`fjc e`vL`v Ki`b| tZfvMv Avf`vj fb bvi xt`i AskMöY tkGb wQj ?

mvgwRK - i web`vm
Social Stratification

mgtR wefbæetMP gvb|Rtbi gta`^enkó` I fvgKvi wfvEtZ wefvRb mjo` nq| GB me wefvRtbi wfvEtZ wefbæetMP gvb| i gta` Amg mæúK`Mto Dtv| `el`g`i Kvi`Y mæú` , c`fve, c`ZcwE, ghP`v, ¶lgZv c`fwiZtZ gvb| i c`ekwaKvi mgvb nq bv| mgtR `elg` gj K mæú`K`P wfvEtZ GKwU mvgwRK etMP Dci Avti KwU eM`K µtgr`P fite mvrvtbv nq| mvgwRK `el`g`i KivrtgvmZ ifcB mvgwRK - i web`vm| GB - i web`vtmi gva`tg wefbæetMP gvb| i ghP`v I ¶lgZv cwi`p nq| GB BDwbtu` evsj vt`tki mvgwRK - i web`vtmi Avtj vPbvq wj ½, c`ghP`v, eY`l tkYx wfvEK `elg` ev tf`vtf` Ašf` ntqtQ| evsj vt`tk wj ½xq `el`g`i Kvi`Y ¶lgZv, ghP`v I mæú` i c`kæbvix I cj`ti gta` cv`R` itqtQ| hw` I evsj vt`tki msæavtb RwiZ, ag` eY` wj ½ wbe`ktl mKtj i mgvb AwaKvi wbowZ Kiv ntqtQ| evsj vt`tk gjm`j gvb mgtR c`ghP`v tmvcvb w`y mgtRi gta` wµqvkvj eY`c`v wfvEK wefvRb t`tk c`K| eY`c`v wfvEK mvgwRK wefvRb e`w` i Rb` cwi Pq Øviv wbow` Ø ntq hvq Ges Zv cwi eZB` thvM` bq| mæú` i gwij Kvbvi wfvEtZ gvb| i gvb| wefvRb mjo` ntq Mto Dtv tkYx `elg`| mæú` kvj x tkYx mgtR mKj t¶t` AwacZ` we`vi Kti I ¶lgZvkj x ntq Dtv|

GB BDwbtu`i cW`wj nt`Q -

- ◆ cW - 1 : c`ghP`v tmvcvb
- ◆ cW - 2 : RwiZeY` i wefvRb
- ◆ cW - 3 : tkYx wefvRb

c` ghP v tmvcvb
Status Hierarchy

GB cvWU cto Avcub RvbZ cvi teb -

- c` ghP vi A_©
- ev½vj x gmj gvb mgvR c` ghP v wfvEK `ti i HwZnmK tclvCU
- c` ghP v wfvEK `i web`vtmi aib
- c` ghP vi `i web`vm I tkYx m`úK©

ghP v wfvEK `i web`vtm
GtKKU `ti GtKKU
ghP v tMvxi Ae`vb
_vtK/ m`stbi c`kK
DPzbxPzueF³
tMvxi, tj vB ghP v
tMvxi/

c` ghP v tmvcvb - mvariYZ A-BDtivcxq I c`K cPRev`x mgvRi `i web`vtmi Avtj vPbvq
c` tmvcvbK mgvRi K_v Dvj E-Kiv nq| G ai`bi mgvR ghP vi wfvEKZ `i fvM Kiv
nq| ghP v tMvxi `enkó` wPwYZ nq Zvt`i wetkl ai`bi Rxeb ixiZ Øviv| mvariYZ c`ZU
ghP v tMvxi Zvt`i mvgwRK thMvthvM wbtRt`i gta` mxgve× ivtLb| gv. ©A_`wZK `i
wefvRtbi Dci tRvi t`b| cPRev`x mgvR Drcv`bi Dcvq I m`úf` gvb| i c`ekwaKvi
wbYq Kti Zvt`i mvgwRK `i| gv. I t`qevi A_`wZK m`úwZi evBti mvgwRK m`sb
(honour) c`Bi Dci tRvi t`b| Zvi gtZ A_`wZK tkYx wefvRtbi tPtq ghP v wfvEK c`
tmvcvb wfbq KviY m`ú` Aeaww Z fivte ghP v ARtbi `Y bq| Zte tkl chS A_`wZK
¶lgZv I ghP v GKtI wgtj hvq| Avevi ghP v wfvEK `i web`vtm tKvb ghP v tMvxi KZR
m`úf` i cvno Rtov Kti Ab` tMvxtK tkvY Kiv nq bv| gv. I t`qevti i gtZ c`K wki h`M
tKvb tKvb tMvxi mvgwRK ghP v I `Zš Rxebaviv tfvM Ktib| Ges mgvR Zvt`i Ae`vb
m`úf`K©Zviv m`PZb| m`stbi c`kKDPzbxPzueF³ tMvxi `wj B ghP v tMvxi|

Dcgnv`tki w`y m`úúvtqi gta` th eY©c`v Pvj AvtQ Zv ghP wfvEK c` tmvcvtbi
D`vniY| cieZx©cvtV eY©c`v wbtq Avtj vPbv Kiv nte| eZgvb cvtV ev½vj x gmj gvb mgvR
ghP v wfvEK `i web`vm wbtq Avtj vPbv Kiv ntj v|

Jcubtekk kimbti
ce`_tK Dcgnv`tki
gmj gvb`i gta` PviU
ghP v wfvEK `i wQj
etj aviYv Kiv
nq|G_`wj nt`Q `mq`,
tkL, tgvNj I cvVb|

ev½vj x gmj gvb mgvR c` ghP v wfvEK `i : HwZnmK tclvCU - AtbtKi aviYv gmj gvb
mgvR tKvb `i web`vm tbB, KviY Bmj vg ag`mgZv wfvEK mgvR c`ZØvi Av`k©c`vi Kti|
Dcgnv`tki w`y m`úúvtqi gta` PviU c` ghP v wfvEK mvgwRK `i AvtQ| thgb etpY,
¶wq, `ek` I i`¶ G `i web`vm agxq wekvtmi m½ h` Ges cweI -AcweI aviYv Øviv
c`weZ| gmj gvb mgvR wK G ai`bi c` ghP v wfvEK `i tbB| Zte gmj gvb mgvR wfbq
ai`bi mvgwRK ghP vi `i AvtQ| G c` ghP vi `i w`yeY©c`vi gZ bq| Jcubtekk
kimbti ce`_tK Dcgnv`tki gmj gvb`i gta` PviU ghP v wfvEK `i wQj etj aviYv Kiv
nq|G_`wj nt`Q `mq`, tkL, tgvNj I cvVb| `mq`MY `vex Ktib th Zviv nhiZ tgvn`v`
(mt) Gi estki Ges tkLMY nhiZ Avjx (ivt) Gi estki D`iwaKvix| D`Pesqx w`jv
ag`swiZ ntq tkL Dcvw aviY Ktib etj I wefbceZ` t`_tK Rvbv hvq| w`æetY` w`jv
ag`swiZ ntq tgvNj I cvVb `if³ nb| GB PviU `if³ ghP v tMvxi gta` mvgwRK
thMvthvM wQj Ges Avš tMvxi wetql ntZv| GB mAuj tbi dtj `i web`vm w`yeY©c`vi b`vq

Abgbxq wefiv³Ki tYi ifc j vF Kti wbl | gmnj gvb mgvR Pvi wJ ghP v`ti mvgwRK mPj Zvi cPj b wQj | Gt`i gta` i wP-Ai wPi aviYv KivR Kti wbl | mvgwRK ghP v wefvRtbi tPjt agRq AbkvmbI wQj bv |

MtelYv t_tK t`Lv hvq th Dcgnvt`tki Dctiv³ Pvi wJ ghP vi`i ersj v AAjtj tZgb cFve tdtj wbl | 1872 I 1891 mtj i Av`gi gvi xZ ersj v AAjtj gmnj gvb`i gta` wefibe c`exavix I tckv wef³ mvgwRK`tii Dtj E-AvtQ | c`ex_{wj} i gta` wQj - MvRx, Lvb, gxi, tgvNj, cvWb, mi`vi,`mq` I tkL | tckv`vi`j_{wj} wQj -`i Rx, tavcv, aybqv, duiKi, nuRg, tRvj v, Kjy Kwii Mi, PbKvi I Kvnvix | 1901 mtbi Av`gi gvi xZ evlvj x gmnj gvb mgvRi wZbw`tii Dtj E-cvl qv hvq | G_{wj} nt`Q Avkivd ev D`P tkYx, AvZivd ev wba tkYx I AvRj vd ev cwZZ tkYx | GB wZb`tii gta` Avtiv Dc`tii mUvb cvl qv hvq | Avkivd`i gta` ghP vi w`K t_tK Ae`vb h_v_{vtj} mq`i ci tkL, tgvNj I cvWtbi | AvZivd I AvRjv`ti AŠZ cAvkwi gZ tckvMZ`j wQj etj AtpK Dtj E-Kti tQb | 1921 mtbi Av`gi gvi xZ Dtj E-Kiv ntqtQ th tckv`vi tkYxi gta` tenviv, tRvj v, Kjy wkvix eM³mgtni msL`v nrm tctqtQ | Ab`w`k igwi xZ Dtj E-Kiv nq th ersj vi gmnj gvb`i gta` cvWb,`mq`, I tkL`i msL`v ep^x tctqtQ |

evlvj x gj gvb`i gta`
wZbw ghP wfiEK
`tii Dtj E-cvl qv
hvq | Avkivd ev D`P
tkYx, AvZivd ev wba
tkYx, AvRj vd ev
cwZZ tkYx |

Dlok kZK chŠ ersj v AAjtj gmnj gvb mgvR D`P ghP v f³ wQj b AvkivdMY hviv cAvbZ: Avie, Bivb I AvdMvb`vb t_tK Avmv gmnj gvb`i DEimix | GB ghP v tMvxi cAvb`ewk wQj GB th Zviv KwqK ktg wbtqvRZ nl qv t_tK weiz`vKtZb Ges j vlvj w`tq wbtRiv Pvlvev`Ki tZb bv | Giv weEevbl wQj b | hviv KwqK ktg Ktib Ges`wi`^a Zvt`i cAvZ Avkivd ghP v f³ t`i`wofw² wQj tbwZevPK | mgvR AtpK Pj^a tckvRvex wQj b hviv gj Z DEiwaKvi mtI tckvq wbtqvRZ ntZb | Zvi gvtb evevi tckv cy`MhY Ki tZb | w^aym^au⁰vtql GB me tckvRvext`i ghP v Kg wQj | agfSwi Z nl qvi ci gmnj gvb mgvRi Gt`i ghP v cwi ewZ nq wbl | Giv nt`Qb AvZivd thgb ZvZx, tRvj v, tZj x, bwicZ,`wR³tavcv BZ`w | melbae`ti wQj b AvRj vdMY Zvt`i tK gtb Kiv ntZv tbsiv | Zviv tbsiv KivR Ki tZb | thgb tg_i, gqj v cwi³vi Kvix, tew`qv BZ`w | Zvt`i mt² Avkivd I AvZivd`ti i gvb | Rb tgj vtgkv Ki tZb bv |

Jcubtekk kvmbgtj cvovZ`i wkv³ e`vi Avtj vtK Dcgnvt`tki wkv³ e`v cwi eZB Kiv nq | ckvmbK KvvtgtK tXtj mvRvtbv nq | epUk kvmtbi ce³chŠ D`P ghP v f³MY Rvgi mt² h³ t_tK Ges ckvmbK wntmte m^avbRbK Ae`vtb wQj b | wKŠ epUk kvmbgtj gmnj gvbMY ivR³wZK PjgZv nvi vb | wPi`vqx et`vet`i dtj Rvgi mt² h³ t_tK I Zviv j v fevb ntZ AcviM nb | Ab`w`k epUkt`i PjyKiv wkv³, e`emvq I Pvkixi mt² h³ GKw bZb ghP vi`i m³o nq | Zviv GB cwi ewZ Ae`vq wbtRt`i tckv e`j Kti mvgwRK Ae`vb cwi eZB Ki tZ m³g nb | Zviv D`P ghP vi cZxK wntmte bZb bZb c`ex MhY Kti b | D`P ghP v kvj x`i mt² GB bZb ghP v kvj x`i`eewnk m^au³cAvZwZ nq | Gfite gmnj gvb`i mvgwRK`i web`vtm i`e`j NtU | gmnj gvb`i GB mvgwRK`ixKi tYi cwi eZB kvj Zvi Kvi tYB m^aeZ GKw cAvt`i Rb³nq, hv eZ³vtbI A_en | wMZ eQi Awig wQj vg tRvj v, Gevi ntqtQ tkL; Zte mgvRtbi eQi hw`gj` ep^x cvq Awig`mq` cwi YZ ne⁰ |

Dcwbtek DËiKvtj cwk`vb miKvi 1950 mvtj Rwg`vix cQv Dt`Q` Kti hvi dtj
evsj vt`k t`tk w`yRug`vi l tRvZ`viMY t`k Z`vM Ktib| D`P tkYxi w`f`i fvi tZ P tj
hvl qvi KvitY tm `vb,uj gjmj gvb eo tRvZ`vi t`i Øviv ciY nq| D`P tkYxi tRvZ`vi D`P
ghP vi Awakvix nb| Zviv D`P ghP vi c`ex MõY Ktib| GZØ`ZxZ bZb ivtõ³ckvmbKmn
weirfbet`f`i cP`i KtgP m`thvM m`võ nq| PvKix, wk`f`lv, kn`ti emevm ev`zvj x gjmj gvbM`Yi
Rb` ghP v AR`bi cwi mi m`võwvi Z Kti| 1971 mvtj evsj vt`tki `vaxbZvi ci
Aev`zvj xt`i cwk`vb Mg`tbi dtj cpi vq GKB ai`tbi m`thvM ep`x cvq| tckv l A_`wZK
Ae`v e` t`j i m`t`z m`t`z ghP v mPK c`ex e` j Kiv Mõgv`Åtj cwi wPZ cwi t`etk mnR bq|
kn`ti Awf`evm`tbi gva`tg c`ex e` j Kiv Zj bvgj Kfvte mnR|

esk ghP v gjmj g`i
web`vtm , i`ZcY`
Dcr`vb|

ev`zvj x gjmj gvb mgvtR ghP v wfv`EK `i web`vtmi ai b
evsj vt`tk gjmj gvb mgvtR mvavi YZ D`PesK, ga`esk l w`æesk GB wZb ai`tbi ghP wfv`EK
`i wBYQ Kiv ntq `vtK| esk ghP v gjmj g`i web`vtm , i`ZcY`Dcv`vb| esk ghP vi m`t`z
h`p A_`wZK c`Zc`wE, AvPvi e`envi , Av`e Kvq`v, Rxeb-hvc b c`xwZ, wk`f`lv, tckv Ges
ag`l mvgwRk i`wZbwZ tg`tb Pj v BZ`w` | esk ghP v GK cR`tb` ARB Kiv hvq bv| KtgK
cR`b` GKB ai`tbi ghP vi Awakvix ntj B esk ghP v `tKZ nq| ce`cj`f`li eskghP vtK
Drm wntmte a`ti wbtq tMvõxi mKtj ghP vevb ntZ cv`tib| wkS` tMvõxi tKD Lp` `wi`^a ntq
tM`tj tMvõxi Ab`vb` weEevb l ghP vevb`i m`t`z me`f`ly tj tM t`tk Zviv ghP v A`f`b`vL`tZ
mg`_nb| GKwU tMvõxl esk ghP v nvi`tZ cv`ti h`w` tm tMvõxi RwgRgv l m`võ` Ktg hvq|
bZb cR`b`l D`Pestki aviv m`võ Ki`tZ cv`ti A_`wE ARB, m`võbRbK tckvMõY l
Rxebhv`vq `bwZKZv l kvjxbZv Avbq`tbi gva`tg| G ai`tbi bZb estki ghP v c`jvZb
estki t`tq Kg| bZb l c`jvZb esk ghP vi g`ta` cv`_R` Kiv nq| eskaviv m`võ GKwU
Dcvq nt`Q D`Pestki m`t`z `eewwK m`võK`vcb| GtZ w`æ estki ghP v ep`x cvq wkS`
D`Pestki ghP v nwm cvq|

esk ghP v cKvk Kivi Rb` gjmj gvb`i g`ta` weirfbæc`ex Mõ`tYi ti l qvR Av`Q| bvtgi m`t`z
c`exi e`envi cZxKx , i`Zj`enb Kti| c`exwU e`w`³i ghP vi `i wbt`RK| Gme c`ex
`cw`l Km`f`l (patronymic) c`B| th ce`cj`f`li m`l a`ti esk l tMvõx m`võ ntq`Q Zvi c`ex
tMvõxf`³ mKtj e`envi Ktib| j`f`lyxq th evsj vt`tk mKtj i bvtgi m`t`z c`ex tbB| th
mKj e`w`³i bvtgi m`t`z c`ex tbB Zviv c`exnb estk RbMõY Kti`tQb| Zviv mvavi Y
gjmj gvb| Mõgv`Åtj Zvt`i ghP v `i Øm`v`v wntmte aiv nq| D`P ghP vkxj ØL`v`vbõ t`i bxtP
Zvt`i `vb|

bjeAvbMY evsj vt`tki weirfbæMõtg MtelYv Kti gjmj gvb`i ghP v wfv`EK `i wPv`YZ
Kti`tQb (evi`tZwP 1995, Av`i`wdb 1984)¹ |

GLvfb KtgKwU ghP v wbt`RK c`ex wbtq Av`tj vPbv Kiv ntj v|

¹ Bertocci Peter, “Community Structure and Social Rank in Two Villages in Bangladesh”,
in TN Madan (ed) *Muslim Communities of South Asia*, UPL, Dhaka, 1995.
Av`i`wdb tnj vj D`i`xb Lub, Øevsj vt`tki gjmj g`i web`vtmi aviv, *mgvR wbi`x`f`ly*, msL`v 14, mgvR wbi`x`f`ly
tK`³; XvKv wekpe`v`j q, 1984|

D`Pgh[®] v : tgvNj Avgtj hviv ivR`^msMh KiZb Zvt`iK ōgRg`vi ō c`ex t`qv ntZv| tmB t`tK gRg`vi c`exmU w`yI gnj gvb m`uō vtq Rwg wqšY I wmv i`ŋtYi tckvi m½ hj[®] ntq tMq| tgvNj Avgtj hviv Rwg e`e`vcbvi `wqZi`_vKtZb Zvt`iK ōtPšajx ō c`ex t`qv nq| tPšajx c`exmU w`yI gnj gvb Dfq m`uō vtq e`eüZ ntq _vtK| ōfBqv ō c`exmU tgvNj Avgj t`tK fvgi gvwj Kvbvi m½ hj[®]| ōgmI vbō c`exmU enr GjvKvi Rvgi gvwj tKi m½ hj[®]| aviYv Kiv nq th gmlvbMY Mi`i e`emv KiZb etj Zvt`i eo Rvgi cōqRb ntZv Mi` Pivtbi Rb`| ōKvRō c`exmU Acō Kiv ntZv `vbxq chŋq wePvi Kt`i Dci hviv cōvbZ weevn tiwRōKiYi KvR KiZb| ōtKivbō, ōgjuix ō GB c`ex wj miKvti i ivR`^wefvMi KgPvix`i tejv cōhvR` ntZv| wKŠ`tKivbx I gjuix c`ex bvtgi m½ e`eüZ nq bv| Zte evox wPwYZ Kivi mgq thgb, ōtKivbx evoxō, ōgjuix evoxō e`eüZ nq| ōL` Kvi ō c`exmU agŋq tbZvi Dcwa hviv cvim` t`tK ag`cPvti i Rb` Dcgnvt`tk Gtmōtj b| cvim` t`tk L` KviMY tōtj t`i Lrbv t`evi KvR KiZb| G KivRw ersj vt`tk wæ gh[®] vi | wKŠ` L` KviM½Yi ag`cPvti i KvrK Awak`_i`Zi cōvb Kti c`exmU D`P gh[®] vi c`extZ cwYZ ntqō| ōglj vbō c`exmU Zvt`iK t`qv nq hviv agŋq covtkvbv Ktiōb, ag`wel tō Avb ivLb Ges gmwRt` bvgvR covb| maviY tōsj fxt`i t`tK glj vbvi gh[®] v Dŋz ōdviqRō c`exmU t`qv nq Zvt`iK hviv Ebwesk kZvxtZ Bmj vtgi ms`vi I tkYx tkvY wetivax diviqR Avt`vj b Ktiwōtj b| maviYZ bvtgi m½ Gw e`eüZ nq bv wKŠ` evox I tMvōx wPwYZ Kivi Rb` e`eüZ nq|

gRg`vi, tPšajx, fBqv
BZ`w` D`P gh[®] v
wb`RK c`ex|

Gaitbi Avtiv KtqKw c`ex nt`Q- tRvqi`vi, cōgmbK, cvtUvqix, Zvj K`vi, Lvb, t`l qvb BZ`w` |

ga`g gh[®] v : maviYZ ōtkLō Dcvaxavi xMY ga`estki gh[®] vf[®] | hZ`i Rvbv hvq hv`i ce`cj`ti i c`ex wōj bv A_P A`_eE I gh[®] v ARō Ktiōb Zviv Xvj vl fite tkL Dcvax MhY Ktib| eZgvb Kvtj I hv`i bvtg c`ex tbB Zvt`iK wRAvmv Kiti Zviv wbtRt`iK ōtkLō etj cwPq w`tq _vtKb| ōBgvō c`exmU aviY Ktib avwR e`w[®]MY hviv gmwRt` bvgvR covb Ges e`w[®]MZ Rxtb agŋq Abkvb tŋt Pjt b| ōgviō c`exmU mdj wŋtKi tŋt cōhvR`| ce`cj`i wŋtKZvq AmaviY mvdj` ARō Kti`_vKtj`cwŋK mŋt AŋtK G c`exmU e`envi Ktib| ōtgj w, ōtgj fxt` G c`ex wj avwR e`w[®]i tŋt cōhvR` hviv ag`wel tō covtkvbv Ktiōb I mgvtR ag`PP[®] Ktib| ōKweivRō c`exmU `vbxq I tjvKR wPwKrmvq wbtqwrZ e`w[®]t`i m`šybRbK c`ex| ōtecvixō c`exmU e`emvi m½ hj[®] Ges `cwŋK mŋt e`envi Kiv nq|

hv`i ce`cj`ti i c`ex
wōj bv Zviv A`_eE I
gh[®] v ARŋbi ci
Xvj vl fite ōtkLō Dcwa
aviY Ktib|

wægh[®] v : w`y m`uō vtq ōAcwi`viō (defiling) KvRi m½ RwoZ _vKvq AŋbK gvb| tK ōAcwŋō (polluting) etj weŋPbv Kiv nq| w`y`i web`vtm Zvt`i `vb bxPz t`Lv hvq th Zviv bvbv aiŋbi KvR`ŋZv ARō Ktib Ges tmev (service) cōvb Ktib| ersj vt`tk Gme tckvq eü w`yGLt`v wbtqwrZ Avōb| AŋbK gnj gvb| Gme tckv MhY Ktiōb hv`iK gnj g`i web`vtm wæ esk aiv nq| tckv`vi Gme`tj i gŋa` Avōb-`i Rx, tavcv, aybqv, dŋKi, nvRg, tRvjv, Kjy Kwim, PbKvi, Kvnvix, wKvix, tZjx, bwcz, KmvB, ewŋÇ (tPvtLi`kj` wPwKrmK), tRtj, Kvgvi, mZvi BZ`w` |

Acwi`vi KvRi mstM
RwoZ`i wæ esk aiv
nq|

G mKj tckv`vix`tj i m½ D`P I ga` eskxq`tj i mvgwRK`iZi AŋbK tekx| A`_wZKfvŋel Gme tckv`vi xMY`ŋ| cōZw`b Gme tckvi gvb| Rŋbi m½ D`P I ga` estki gvb| Rŋbi tmev cōvb I MhYi Rb` thwMvthvM cōZwōZ nq| wKŠ` mvgwRKfvŋe

tckvRixMY Aa⁻b etj we^{te}rPZ| Zte GB Aa⁻bZv wⁿy mgy^tRi KvW^tgMZ DaZb - Aa⁻tbi jfc jvf Kti w^b| KviY Zviv we^rObe^fvte we^rFbe^Mt^g Ab^vb⁻ ⁻ti i g^vbl R^tbi m^t½ emevm K^tib| cv^{_R} ⁻úo n^tq D^tv ⁻eewⁿK m^áú^tK^P c⁰k⁰ D["]P I ga⁻ esk^xq^t i m^t½ w^bæ⁻ti i tckvRix^t i ⁻eewⁿK m^áú^tK⁰ag^rq⁰ f^vte w^bwl x⁻ bv n^tj I m^vg^vw^RK f^vte w^bwl x⁻ | wⁿy ⁻ i we^bv^tmi m^t½ cv^{_R} GB th g^mj g^vb m^gv^tR w^bwl x⁻ n^tj I ⁻eewⁿK m^áú^tK⁰n^tZ cv^ti | G^gb we^tq n^tj D^Pz est^ki t⁰t^j ev t^gt^q m^áú^tb n^vi^vte Ges Zvi t^Mv⁰x gh^P vⁿx^b n^tq co^te| w^bæ⁻ti i tckvRix^t i m^t½ D["]P I ga⁻ est^ki g^vbl R^b GK^t L^vl q^v ⁻vl q^v Kiv t⁻t^KI wei Z ⁻v^tK^b| tckvRix ⁻t^j i ⁻eewⁿK m^áú^tK⁰w^bR ⁻t^j i m^t½ n^q| th^gb Z^vZ^t i we^tq Z^vZ^t i m^t½, b^wc^tZi we^tq b^wc^tZi m^t½ BZ^w | ej^v hv^q w^bæ est^ki GBme tckvRix ⁻j ⁻w^j A^S:we^{ev}n (endogamy) i wⁱZ Ab^mi Y K^ti ⁻v^tK^b|

D^tj ⁻ th Gme tckvaviMY kn^ti Av^apbK c^hy³ e⁻envi K^ti A^{_}w⁰WZK f^vte j^vf^{ev}b n^tZ cv^tib| Gi m^t½ m^t½ Z^vt⁻ i m^vg^vw^RK gh^P v^l c^wi e^Z0 Ki^tZ cv^tib| th^gb kn^ti j^wU⁰ (fav^{cv}), t^mj^b I cvⁱj^{vi} (b^wc^Z) Gme e⁻emv j^vf^RbK| kn^ti i Gme e⁻emv^x D["]P est^ki m^t½ ⁻eewⁿK m^áú^tK⁰v^{cb} K^ti gh^P vi ⁻ i D^bw^Z Ki^tZ cv^tib|

w^bæZg gh^P v A["]Q^r ⁻j (untouchables) : g^mj^v g⁻ i we^bv^tm 0^tb^vsi v⁰ etj we^{te}rPZ Kv^tRi m^t½ h³t⁻ i gh^P v t^bB ej^tj^B P^tj | th^gb tg⁻i, g^qj^v c^wi⁰wi Kvⁱx, R^Zv t^mj^vB I c^wi⁰wi Kvⁱx| GB ⁻ti i g^vbl R^tbi t^{me}v M⁰Y Ki^tj I D["]P I ga⁻ est^ki g^vbl R^b Z^vt⁻ i m^t½ I V^{em}v, L^vl q^v ⁻vl q^v, we^{ev}n me⁰K^{vi} m^áú^tK⁰v^{cb} t⁻t^K wei Z ⁻v^tK^b| A^tb^tK t^Kv^b Kvⁱt^y Z^vt⁻ i m^áú^tk⁰Av^mt^j t^Mm^j K^ti c^we^l n^tZ P^vb| D^tj ⁻ th ev^sj^vt⁻ k t⁻t^K g^vbe m^áú⁻ i B^vb^xi K^gm^Pt^Z th m^Kj g^vbl we^t-^tk h^vb Z^vt⁻ i A^tb^tK^B we^t-^tk c^wi⁰wi c^wi⁰Ob^zvi Kv^R K^tib| ev^sj^vt⁻ k t⁻t^K h^vl q^{vi} m^gq^l cleaner wⁿt^mte Z^vt⁻ i w^bt^qv^M t⁻ q^v n^q| we^t-^tk Kv^R K^ti A^{_}D^{ci}R⁰ Kivi ci GBme cleaner t⁻ i c^wi⁰evi m^áú⁻ ej^x i Kvⁱt^y gh^P v D^bw^Z Ki^tZ m^ql^g nb|

gh^P vi ⁻ i we^bv^tm I t^kY^x m^áú^tK⁰

A^{_}w⁰WZK m^gw^x I esk gh^P v w^gt^j m^gw^RK Ae⁻vb m⁰ n^q/

ev^sj^vt⁻ k g^mj^v g gh^P vi ⁻ i I t^kY^xt^K KL^tb^v c^{_}K g^tb n^tZ cv^ti | th^gb ⁻eewⁿK m^áú^tK⁰ ⁻v^{cb}bi m^gq A^tb^K D["]P gh^P v^kj^j esk t^kY^xMZ Ae⁻vb g^vS^vi^x n^tj I gh^P vi Kvⁱt^y ⁻eewⁿK m^áú^tK⁰v^{cb} Ki^tZ cv^ti | w^KS⁻ m^vavi Y^fvte G^wU a^ti t^bq^v n^q th A^{_}w⁰WZK f^vte ab^x g^vt^b eskMZ f^vte^l gh^P v^kj^j | ⁻wⁱ ⁻ Ges Av^b0^qZ^v ej^x cv^l q^vq gh^P vi t^Pt^q A^{_}w⁰WZK Ae⁻vb^tK^B ⁻eewⁿK m^áú^tK⁰AM⁰na^Kvi t⁻evi c⁰Y^Zv j^ql⁻ Kiv hv^q| M⁰ge^vm^xi^{vl} Gai^tbi g^še⁻ K^ti ⁻v^tK^b 0^{Av}R^Kv^j h^{vi} ab t⁻š^j t^Zi Ae⁻v f^vt^j v Z^{vi} esk gh^P v^l f^vt^j v⁰ (evi^tf^wP 1970)² |

j^ql⁻Y^xq th A^{_}w⁰WZK m^gw^x I esk gh^P v w^gt^j m^gw^RK Ae⁻vb m⁰ n^q; t^Kej m^áú⁻ A⁻ev t^Kej gh^P v b^q| 0^Lv⁰ v⁰ ev D["]P gh^P v i^ql⁻vi R^b hv Ki^tZ n^q Z^{vi} g^ta⁻ gh^P v^kj^j x^t i f^{vl}v, L^vl q^v ⁻vl q^{vi} a^{ib}, A^wZ^w Av^cv^qt^{bi} a^{ib}, t^{cv}k^vK, ev⁰x^{Ni} BZ^w A^šf⁰ | D["]P

² Bertocci Peter, *Elusive Villages : Social Structure and Community Organization in Rural East Pakistan*, unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970.

ghP v gvtb 0B3/4Z0 i Qlv Kiv | 0B3/4Z0 Gi mt1/2 Awl R mvg_©Rw0Z | Rvrv1/2xti i (1979)³
gtZ B3/4Z i Qvi Rb` hv KiYxq Zv nt`Q- cwi evti i 0Lvl qv ci v0i w00qZv; cwi evti i
bvi xt`i 0c`0 i Qlv; evBti i AwZw_ t`i Rb` c_wK 0KvPvix Ni 0; evoxi bvi xt`i tMvmtj i Rb`
w0R`^cKj | mZivs B3/4Z i Qvi Rb` At_P c0qvRb | abx tkYx B3/4Z i Qvi Rb` Gme
c0ZxKx e`e`v wbtq _vtKb | `wi`^tkYxi cwi evti AwZw_i Rb` c_wK Ni ivLv wKsev bvi xt`i
evBti hvl qv eU Kiv mae bq | mZivs ghP vkxj `wi`^cwi evti i B3/4Z i Qlv Kivl mae bq |
Zvi A_©m0yb I ghP v AR0 I i Qlv Kivi Rb` th mKj `e` I tmev mtqi QlgZv _vKv
c0qvRb, Zv abx tkYxi AvtQ | Gfvte 0ghP v0 I 0ueE0 GKB tkYxi nvTZ cYxfZ nt`Q | Avevi
ghP v AR0bi Rb` m0ut`i evBti wKQy AvPiY wewa I Av`e Kvq`vi e`vcvi AvtQ | Gme
AvPvi AvPiY abx tkYxi ct`Qb cvj b Kiv mae | `wi`^t`QZgRj ev klgK tkYx Gme AvPiY
wewa cvj b Kti i wR tivRMvti i mSM0g Ki tZ mQlg nb bv |

M0gvA`jtj K.I.K mgvtR ghP vi wfvE`tZ mvavi YZ wZbwU `i t`Lv hvq 0Llv`vb0 0Mn`0 I 0Kvgj v0
(tPŠajx 1978)⁴ | GmKj ghP v `tii gta` gj`teva, `w0f1/2x, AvPvi AvPiY, Rxeb hvcb
c_xwZ c_wK | Avevi G ghP v `j_wj i Rvgi gwj Kvbn, m0u` I c0wZ0vnbK wKQvl c_wK |
Lv`vbt`i `enk0` nt`Q Zviv `xNRvj hvez Rvgi gwj K Ges Zviv abx K.I.K | Zviv RvgtZ
wbtRiv KvR Ktib bv; Pvlvev` Z`vi Kx Ktib | Zviv Rvg Pvl eMP vi wKsev Kvgj vt`i w`tq
Kivb | ZvivB Avak gvT`vq c0wZ0vnbK wKQlv jvf KitQb Ges wewfb0eA-KwI tckvq wbtqwmRZ
nt`Qb | Mn`iv Af Rvgi gwj K Ges Af wKQy b cte`Rvgi gwj K ntqtQb | Zviv wbtRiv
RvgtZ Pvlvev` Ktib | Kvgj viv fvgnxb t`QZgRj | GB ghP vi `tii mt1/2 M0gvA`jtj i tkYx
c_wKxKi tYi wj AvtQ | 0Llv`vb0 ghP vi Avakvsk abx K.I.K | Mn`MY gvSvix I w0e tkYxi
K.I.K | Kvgj viv `wi`^gRjx klgK |

knivA`jtj ghP vi `i wbaftY wKQlv I PvKixi `i "Zj AtbK | M0gvA`jtj K.I.Ki tejv tK KZ
AvtM t`tK Rvgi gwj K Zv ghP vi wbt`RK | kniti tK KZ AvtM t`tK wKwQZ I D`P
teZtbi ev m0ybRbK PvKix Ki tQb Zv ghP v wbi fcy Kti _vtK | cYRev`x e`e`vq ghP vi
Rb` Avtvi c0qvRbxq nt`Q tfvM i Avakvi | evRvti tfvM`cY` mtq Kvi KZ tekx mvg_©AvtQ
Zv w`tq ghP v wbafti Z nq | thgb D`P ghP vkvj xMY vej vmeuj evox wKsev GcvU`g tU
_vtKb, tekx `vtgi MvoxZ PtoB, Lvevi `vevi, tcvkvK D`Pgjt` muq Ktib, Nb Nb wet`tk
hvZvqvZ Ktib, wet`tk wetqi evRvi Ktib BZ`w` | wKQvi t`Q t`I t`Lv hvq D`P
ghP vkvj xiv Zvt`i msvbt`i c0BtFU wekte`vj t`q tekx A_©e`q Kti covb wKsev wet`tk
covb | Zvi gvtb D`PveEivB D`P ghP vi Avakvix ntq _vtKb | Avevi ZvivB ghP vi gvcKwW
weE 0vi v wbaftY Ktib |

M0gvA`jtj tK KZ AvtM
t`tK Rvgi gwj K Zv
ghP vi wbt`RK | kniti
tK KZ AvtM t`tK
wKwQZ I D`P teZtbi
PvKix Ki tQb Zv
ghP vi wbt`RK |

³ Jahangir BK, *Differentiation, Polarization and Confrontation in Rural Bangladesh*,
CSS, Dhaka University, 1979.
⁴ Chowdury A, *A Bangladesh Village. A study of Social Stratification*, CSS, Dhaka
University, 1978.

mvi vsk

ev0vj x gmnj gvb`i ghP vi `i web`im gmnj gvb`i Avkivd-AvRjvd eMRi tYi gZv`k0vi v
cFweZ ntqtQ/ mtefcwi Bmjvg atgP mgZvi gZv`tkP cFvte ghP vi `i ,uj 0AvbfngK
HK`0 (horizontal solidarity) `vcb Kti tQ/ GB `i web`im Dj =^ (vertical) `ti cwi YZ
ntZ cvti vb hv I Avkivd I AvRjvtdi gta`ie`i e`eavb ie`gvb/ G Kvi tY gmnj gvb
mgvRtK GKwU mgcKwZi (homogenous) mgvR etj cLxqgib nq/

ev0vj x gmnj gvb`i ghP vi `i web`itm un`yeY0vi AfbK Dcv`vb ie`gvb/ thgb DPz-bxPz
c0F, Astwevm Ges tckwfiEK tkYx/ Zey gmnj gvb`i ghP vi `i ,uj tK un`yeY0vi
Abjfc ejv hvq bv/ Kvi Y un`yeY0vi c0ZwU `i eEgj K c, agxq Abkymtbi mt1/2 hj3,
i wP-Ai wPi avi Yv c0KU, Dj =AvKv ti `ixKZ Ges `i ,uj i gta` c0vMZ mAij b tbB/ Zte
ev`te GB eY0vi AfbK cwi eZ0 NUtQ/

gmnj g `i web`itmi wfiE nt`Q esk ghP v ev kividZx/ G esk ghP v AfbK t9t1B Kvi wK/
gmnj g `i web`itm mPj Zv j 9Yxq/ m=0vq chq ghP vi `imgtn cv`R` i 9v Kiv nq/
Zte AfbK t9t1 Zv bgbxq/ e`w3MZ chq D`P ghP vkxj I abx tkYvi gta` thvMthvM I
`eevwnK m=0K`c0Zw0Z nq/ D`P ghP vkxj cwi evi A_0wZK fite `wi`ntq tMtj ghP v
nvm cvq Ges AfbtK ghP vi cLxK c`ex tQto t`b/ Ab`w`tk A_0E I m=0wEi gmnj Kivv
jvf Kti AfbtK D`P ghP vkxj etj `vex Kti b Ges c`ex avi Y Kti b/

gmnj g `i web`itm abm=0` I Riqi gmnj Kivv ,i`ZcY0figKv cvj b Kti/ A_0wZK Ae`v
cwi eZ0 Kti ghP vi Ae`vb cwi eZ0 Kiv hvq/

cvtVvEi gj`vqb

beEĖK cĕkæ

mVVK DĖti i cvtk WJK(√) wPý w`b|

- 1| c`ghP v wfvĖtZ`i uj i cv`R` WK fvte tekx tevSv hvq?
K. e`emvtqi m`úKØvi v
L. `eewwK m`útkP aib Øvi v
M. wkŋv Øvi v
N. A_ŋ m`ú` Øvi v

- 2| AvkivdMY wbtRt`i tK Kv`i DĖimix etj gtb Ktib?
K. K.I.K mgvR t`tK agŋwi Zt`i
L. fvi Zxq e`emvqx tkYxi agŋwi Zt`i
M. fvi Zxq eŋpY m`úØvq t`tK agŋwi Zt`i
N. Avie-Bivb-AvdMwv`vb t`tK Avmv gjmj gvbt`i

- 3| ev½vj x gjmj gvbt`i gta` hv`i bvtgi tktl c`ex tbB Zviv tkvb`i f,³?
K. Lv`vb
L. Mn`
M. Avkivd
N. AvRj vd

- 4| ev½vj x gjmj gvbt`i c`ghP v wfvĖK`i web`vtm tKvbwU Awak`i "ZcYDcv`vb?
K. agŋŋ PPP
L. wkŋv
M. m`útk`i gjmj Kvbv
N. esk ghP v

mswŋŋB cĕkæ

- 1| c`ghP v tmvcvb ej tZ WK tevSvq?
- 2| ghP v wfvĖK`i web`vtmi m½ tkYxi m`úKŋKifc?

iPbvj K cĕkæ

- 1| ev½vj x gjmj gvbt`i mgtRi c`ghP v wfvĖK`i WK wv`yeYØv Øvi v cŋveZ?
- 2| ev½vj x gjmj gvbt`i c`ghP v`i web`vtmi `enkó` Avtj vPbv Ki`b|

RwZeY[©] i wefvRb
Caste Stratification

GB cWwU cto Avclwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- eY[©]vi avi Yv
- eY[©]vi DrcwE
- RwZeY[©] mvgwRK wefvRb
- RwZeY[©] tkYx m^uK[©]

eY[©]vi avi Yv

eY[©]vi[©] mvgwRK
wefvRtbi "enkó" nt"Q-
Gi dtj e"i Rtb#
cwi Pq Øviv tMoxi
m`m`c` wba# Z ntq
hvq/

Dcgnv`tk mvgwRK wefvRb mwóí GKwU Dcv`vb nt"Q eY[©] etY[©] wfwE[†]Z gvb#l gvb#l AmgZv mwó nq| Avi AmgZvi wfwE[†]Z mwó nq mvgwRK -i web`vm| eY[©]wfwE[†]K mvgwRK wefvRtbi "enkó" nt"Q Gi dtj e"i Rtb# cwi Pq Øviv tKvb `j ev tMoxi m`m`c` wba# Z ntq hvq| Rb#m#t wba# Z `tj i gta` Lvl qv `vl qv, tgj vtgkv I m^uK[©]-vcb mvgv^x ntq cto| `eewwK m^uK[©]-vcb GKB etY[©] gta` msNwUZ nq| Ggb wK gvb#l i tckvl eY[©]cwi Pq Øviv wba# Z nq| Zvi gvb# GKwU wv`Ø etY[©] gvb#l Rb GKwU wv`Ø tckvf³ ntq _vtKb| agx^q Abkumb, wefv³ Ki#Yi gZv`k[©] tj vKvPvi Øviv GB eY[©] `tk Kv#Ki Kiv nq| eY[©] i gta` AwacZ`ew` Zv I Aa`bZv w^uqvkvxj _vtK| Gi Avtj vtK D`P-bvP wPwY`Z Kti eY[©] i gta` mvgwRK KwvtgvtZ `ixKZ Kiv nq| Gfite RbMZ eY[©] cwi Pq `vqx fite gvb#l Kti wefv³ Kti tdtj | eY[©]wfwE[†]K mgvR wUwKtq ivLvi e`e`vB eY[©]c^uv| eY[©]c^uv agx^q wekv#mi mt½ h# | GwU `vqx f`v`f` hv`j vtbv hvq bv| wv`y m^uØ vtqi gta` eY[©]c^uv Pvj yAvtQ| cØvb eY[©]Pvi wU-e#pY, ¶w#q, `ek` I i`¶ GB Pvi etY[©] `ixKi#Yi G#Kv#i b#P Avt# KwU eY[©]AvtQ| Zvt` i#K ØA"ØZØ ev ØA`úk`Ø etj MY` Kiv nq|

etY[©] DrcwE

cØPxbKvj t`tk Dcgnv`tk RbMZ eY[©] Øviv mgvR wefv³ wQj | et#Y, ¶w#q I `ek` etY[©] D#j E`cvl qv hvq cØPxb BwZv#m| Gi evBti Awakvsk gvb#l Drcv`tbi mt½ h# wQ#j b hviv KwqK k#g wbh# ntZb| ZLb k#g wefvRb `úo wQj bv| KwqK k#g ZLb cØvMZ fite wØgv#bi fvev ntZv bv| `ew`K h#Mi tkl fvtM eY[©]c^uv cØvZØwbK ifc jvf Kti | tm h#M AvbgywbK wLbce[©]2000 t`tk 600 mvj ch\$ we`Z wQj etj HwZvwmKMY gtb Kti b| tm h#M `wU `i`Zcy[©]cwi eZØ eY[©]c^uv wfwE[†]K mgvR KwvtgvtK c#MwVZ Kti | cØgZ: j v#j w`tq Pvl ver` i i` n l qvq KwU Drcv`b e`e`vq cwi eZØ Avtm| RvgtZ Drcv`b ew^x cvq| ci Drcv`tbi gva`tg| DØE mw#Z ntZ _vtK| mgvR DØE m^ut` i gwj KM#Yi AwacZ` m# p nq| ZLb t`tkB GB mg^x tkYwU i KwqK k#gi cØZ AeAv t`Lv t`q| m^u kvj wMY KwqK k#g t`tk wbtR` i weh# Kti b| G weh#³ Kti b| D`PZi gh#vi cØxK wnt#te MY` Kti b| wKŠ` mgm`v t`Lv t`q G Kv#Y th, RvgtZ Drcv`b Ges w#í ¶w#t Drcv`tbi cØi KwqK k#gi cØqvRb t`Lv t`q| KwqK k#gi thwvbtK Ae`vZ ivLvi Rb` Drcv`tbi mt½ mivmwi h# gvb#l RbtK PZL`eY[©]A_# i`eY[©]wnt#te wPwY`Z Kiv nq|

u0ZiqZ: Avh¹ i AwactZⁱ KvitY `ew KhtM eY^cu^v cpMwZ nq| Avh^v MvTeY^{1e}etq AZⁱwaK mtPZb u0tj b| tkZv^{1/2} Avh¹ Kòv^{1/2} Avh¹ i gta¹ cv¹ Kⁱ v nq| ZvQvov veRqx wnt¹me Avh^v ciwRZ Avh¹M¹Y¹K wbagv¹bi etj MY¹ K¹t¹b| Pvi etY¹ k¹g wefvR¹t¹bi mt^{1/2} Avh¹ i eY^cet¹0¹ h¹3 n¹tq eY^cu^v kw³kvj x jfc jvf K¹i | mL¹bce¹600 t¹-¹t¹K 300 mL¹vā ch¹S etpY¹ I q¹w¹qt¹ i gta¹ tkòt¹Z¹i j ovB Ptj | i¹ `e¹ ZxZ Ab¹vb¹ etY¹ gta¹ Ges Avh¹ Avh¹ gta¹ `eew¹n¹K m¹ut¹K¹P dtj A¹tb¹K w¹g¹k¹etY¹ Awef¹ NtU | mL¹òq PZ¹ qZvāx t¹-¹t¹K eY^c k¹g e¹-vi wfv¹EtZ web¹ m¹gvR KvvtgvtZ eY^c wefvR¹b K¹t¹vi fvte cv¹ Z n¹tZ ¹-vt¹K | Kvj μtg Kw¹ I w¹k¹í Drcv¹ b ep¹x cvq Ges kni bMi Mto D¹t¹V | eY^c k¹g e¹-vq mSL¹vj mNò m¹yeav¹fv¹M¹x D¹P etY¹ Awact¹ c¹u¹Z¹wòZ nq| Ab¹ w¹-t¹k mSL¹vMwi ò k¹g R¹xex m¹vavi Y gvb¹t¹i w¹b¹e etY¹ I `wi t¹-¹i Ae¹-vb cv¹K¹vt¹cv³ n¹tq hvq |

eY¹wfv¹ÈK ¹-i web¹vt¹mi gZv¹ w¹k¹È wfv¹È

eY^cwfv¹ÈK Amg wefvR¹b¹t¹K `eaZv¹ `vb K¹i agr¹È w¹ek¹l¹m | F¹t¹M¹ i K¹w¹n¹bx¹t¹Z R¹vbv hvq th g¹v¹bj m¹jo¹i K¹vtj Aw¹ cy¹ `t¹i LÜx¹K¹i¹t¹Yi g¹va¹tg we¹fv¹b¹æ¹g¹bet¹Mvòxi m¹jo¹ nq | Aw¹ cy¹ `t¹i g¹- t¹-¹t¹K Drcb¹æ¹ng etpY¹, `β ev¹u¹ t¹-¹t¹K q¹w¹l¹q, `β Di¹ t¹-¹t¹K `ek¹ Ges `β cv t¹-¹t¹K i¹ `q¹ m¹vgw¹RK Ae¹-vb w¹bw¹ è Kiv nq Rb¹ vt¹bi mt^{1/2} w¹g¹ t¹i t¹L | k¹i¹x¹t¹i D¹ct¹i Ask t¹-¹t¹K Drcb¹e etpY¹ I q¹w¹l¹q cvb mg¹vt¹Ri D¹P¹-vb | k¹i¹x¹t¹i bx¹t¹Pi Ask t¹-¹t¹K m¹ò `ek¹ I i¹ `q¹ cvb mg¹vt¹Ri bx¹Pz¹-vb | G¹fvte agr¹È Ab¹kvmb Ab¹jn¹vt¹i w¹n¹ y¹mg¹vt¹R μ¹tg¹v¹P m¹vgw¹RK ¹-i web¹vm M¹to D¹t¹V | μ¹tg¹v¹P P¹vi¹U etY¹ ¹-i web¹vm Av¹t¹v cv¹K¹vt¹cv³ n¹q i¹w¹P, A¹i¹w¹P, c¹w¹È-Ac¹w¹È Z¹vi av¹i Y¹vi dtj | Gi Av¹t¹j vt¹K P¹vi¹U etY¹ ¹-Y¹ Y¹ w¹bw¹ è n¹tq hvq | k¹i¹x¹t¹i c¹w¹È Z¹g Ask g¹- t¹-¹t¹K m¹ò etpY¹ w¹P¹v¹Y¹Z n¹q mg¹vt¹Ri c¹w¹È Z¹g Ask w¹n¹t¹me | Av¹i ejv nq et¹p¹t¹Yi ¹-Y¹ n¹t¹Q i¹w¹P, m¹Z¹, Áv¹b I Z¹cm¹v | n¹v¹Z t¹-¹t¹K Drcb¹e q¹w¹l¹q et¹p¹t¹Yi Z¹j bvq Kg c¹w¹È | q¹w¹l¹qt¹ i ¹-b n¹t¹Q i R A¹-¹ t¹Šh¹ex¹ h¹ Di¹ t¹-¹t¹K Drcb¹e `ek¹ i¹v c¹w¹È bq | `ek¹ t¹-¹i ¹-Y¹ n¹t¹Q i R I Z¹g A¹-¹ AÜK¹vi ¹-t¹Yi mg¹Š¹q | cv t¹-¹t¹K m¹ò i¹ `q¹ A¹i¹w¹P Ges Ac¹w¹È | Z¹vt¹ i ¹-Y¹ n¹t¹Q Z¹g A¹-¹ t¹Kej AÜK¹vi | c¹Āg eY¹P¹i g Ac¹w¹È I A¹-¹úk¹ w¹n¹t¹me w¹P¹v¹Y¹Z nq |

eY¹wfv¹ÈK Amg wefvR¹b¹t¹K `eaZv¹ `vb K¹i agr¹È w¹ek¹l¹m |

R¹w¹iZeY¹ m¹vgw¹RK wefvR¹b

i¹w¹P-A¹i¹w¹Pi av¹i Y¹vi m¹vgw¹RK fvte Ab¹kvj t¹bi we¹l¹t¹q cw¹i YZ nq | we¹fv¹b¹e etY¹ gvb¹t¹i mt^{1/2} tgj vt¹gkv v¹bv¹w¹ea we¹va w¹b¹t¹a I ð¹iv w¹b¹qvšZ nq | av¹i Y¹vi Kiv nq th¹ v¹qx A¹i¹w¹P tkvab Kiv hvte bv K¹vi Y Zv R¹b¹tt¹ c¹òB | A¹-¹v¹qx A¹i¹w¹P Ae¹-v¹ `b¹w¹b K¹iv K¹tg¹ dtj nq w¹k¹Š¹ Zv tkvab t¹h¹v¹M¹ | av¹i Y¹vi Kiv nq th¹ c¹lvb A¹i¹w¹P n¹t¹Q gZ¹i Ges k¹i¹x¹i t¹-¹t¹K w¹b¹M¹Z e¹-¹ th¹g¹- i¹ ¹3, c¹h¹te, avZ¹ j¹vj¹, bL I Pt¹j i Ask | G K¹vit¹Y mg¹vt¹Ri eR¹ I Z¹-¹3 c¹-¹v¹°¹ i Kiv, gZ¹ t¹-¹t¹ni mrK¹vi, iv¹-v¹N¹vU cw¹i¹°¹vi Kiv, gjg¹ cw¹i¹°¹vi Kiv BZ¹w¹ Ac¹w¹È K¹iv K¹ivi Rb¹ A¹-¹Q¹Z t¹Mvòxi D¹ci¹ `w¹q¹Z¹ Awc¹Z¹ nq | h¹vi G¹me t¹bsiv K¹iv R K¹t¹ib Z¹viv mg¹vt¹R N¹Y¹ w¹n¹t¹me w¹P¹v¹Y¹Z n¹tq hvb |

i¹w¹P-A¹i¹w¹Pi av¹i Y¹vi ð¹iv we¹fv¹b¹e etY¹ gvb¹t¹i m¹st¹M tgj v¹-t¹gkv I `eew¹n¹K m¹ut¹K¹ w¹b¹qvšZ nq |

`b¹w¹ b R¹eb hvct¹b i¹w¹P -A¹i¹w¹Pi av¹i Y¹vi we¹-Z nq | L¹vi `Zix m¹svš K¹vt¹R A¹i¹w¹P Av¹μš n¹tZ cv¹t¹i tm K¹vit¹Y D¹P etY¹ e¹-w¹MY¹ Z¹vt¹ i iv¹b¹ni we¹fv¹b¹æ¹g¹ Av¹b¹pv¹w¹b¹KZv ð¹iv c¹w¹È i¹v¹Lvi D¹-¹vm M¹h¹Y K¹t¹ib | w¹fv¹b¹e Y¹°¹ at¹g¹ e¹-w¹MY¹t¹K iv¹b¹ni c¹òek w¹b¹l x Kiv nq | cv¹b cvb K¹ivi mg¹q A¹i¹w¹P n¹tZ cv¹t¹i etj cv¹bi c¹È I cv¹bi Z e¹-w¹t¹K m¹K¹t¹j i ¹-ut¹k¹ ev¹B¹t¹i i¹v¹Lvi w¹bqg Kiv nq | G¹m¹Kj K¹vit¹Y D¹P¹etY¹ g¹v¹bj R¹b bx¹P¹etY¹ gvb¹t¹i mt^{1/2} GK¹t¹ etm Lvb bv | th¹Šb m¹ut¹K¹P g¹va¹tg A¹i¹w¹P n¹tZ cv¹t¹i etj we¹t¹qi e¹-v¹cv¹t¹i K¹vt¹vi w¹bqg cv¹Wj Z nq | GK etY¹ gvb¹ Ab¹ etY¹ mt^{1/2} `eew¹n¹K m¹ut¹K¹ v¹cb Kiv w¹b¹l x | A¹-¹ we¹t¹q n¹tZ n¹te GK¹B etY¹

gta | ^wnK ms-utkP gva'ig Ai'wP ntZ cvti etj DPzetYP gvb| bPzetYP gvb| i mt½
^wnK ms-ukG'uo'q P'tj b|

RwZeY^Q tkYx

eY^Qv wFwEK mvgwRK msMVtbi mt½ hP nq c'j "lvb'ug RbMZ tckv| Zvi gvtb eY^QwFwEK
wefvRtbi mt½ hP tckwFwEK wefvRb| mvavi Yfvte etpY nt"Ob Avbx, 'llw'q thv'v, ^ek"
e'emvqx I i' ^ KwqK k'igK| Zvi A_° v'v'q tckwFwEK wefvRb| RbMZ| c'j "lvb'ug GB
wefvRb Pj tZ _vKte| D"P etYP w'v' jv nt"Ob R'ug I k'm'i gwj K| i' i'v nt"Q f'ug k'igK|
kv' Ab'jvqx i't' i' tKvb abm'ú' w'tRi gwj Kvbvq ivLvi w'bgq tbB| h'w' Zvt' i' nvtZ tKvb
m'ú' _vtK Zvntj etpYMY agPP' c'q'vRt' tm m'ú' w'tq thtZ cvti b| ^ek"MY h'w' I
'll' Pvlx w'š Kvj 'ug Zvivi f'ug k'igK cwiYZ nb| Gfvte eY^QMZ I tckwMZ wefvRb tkYx
wefvRtbi ifc jvf Kti| D"P etYP etpY I 'llw'q abx I ga'weE tkYxf³ Ges ^ek' I
i' MY ^wi' ^tkYxf³| w'etkIZ kv'xq weav'tbi bvtg i' i'v 'vqx'fvte ^wi' ^tkYxf³ ntq
c'tob|

tkYwMZ Ae-^v vb cwi eZ^Q
Kti I eY^QMZ evav
AwZ'ug Kiv m'ú' nq
bv|

eY^QwFwEK wefvRb tkYxi gta' Ašc'leó ntj I w'ba'etkYxi i' t' i' c't' KL'tbv D"P gh'v'kxj
nl qv m'ú' nq bv| tkYwMZ evav AwZ'ug Kti h'w' KL'tbv tKvb i' ^ab'ú't' i' gwj K nb Zvj
Zvi c't' etYP evav AwZ'ug Kiv m'ú' nq bv| Kvi Y etYP wefvRb RbMZ| D"Pe'tYP gvb|
memgq w'ba' etYP gvb| tK nxb ^w'tZ t' tLb Ges gh'v' t' b bv| Zvi gvtb ^wi' ^t' tK gw³
t'c'tj I mvgwRK nxb Ae-^v t' tK w'ba'etYP gvb| i' gw³ i' D'cvq tbB| Ab' w' tK D"Pe'tYP
tKD thgb tKvb etpY ^wi' ^tkYxf³ ntj I ^wi' ^t' i' t' tK Zvi mvgwRK Ae-^v vb D'c'ti |
d'tj GKB etYP gta' D"P-b'p tkYx Ges GKB tkYxi gta' D"P-b'p etYP w'efw'be' t'j i
Aw'ef' NtU| GBme ^j ^uj Avevi w'tR' i' gta' gh'v' i' t' t' cv' R' Kti _vtK|

i' ^etYP gta' w'efw'be' t'ckvi wFwE'tZ Dc' j m'w' nq| Kvj 'ug G ai'tbi e'w' Dc' t'j i (RwZ)
Drc'w' NtU| thgb Kw' Mi tckvi Ktq'w'w' RwZ nt"Q Z'wZ, K'ugvi, O'q'Zvi, P'vgvi, K'v'w'w'i,
k'v'w'w'i BZ'w'w' | e'emv tckvi gta' Av'tQ MÜewYK, Z'v'w'w'j ewYK, ^Y'ewYK BZ'w'w' | tmev
tckvq Av'tQ b'w'cZ, t'vcv BZ'w'w' | GBme RwZ Avevi Ašt weevn i'w'Z cvj b Kti RwZ
cwi Pq msnZ Kti _vtK|

evsj v AĀtj eY^Qv

evsj v AĀtj RwZ
eY^QwFwEK wefvRb
c'w'Z'w'Z nq i'v'ó'q
c'p'tcvl KZvq|

evsj v AĀtj RwZeY^Q c'w'v wFwEK mvgwRK i' w'eb'vm c'w'Z'w'w'K ifc jvf Kti
Zj' b'vgj Kfvte AtbK t' i' t'Z| w'w'w'w' c'Āg t' tK ō'v' k kZvāx ch⁸ etpY' e'v' i' Aw'w'cZ"
Kvtj evsj vq Avh' i' RwZeY^Q e-^v w'ek'v' jvf Kti | evsj vi mgvR msMVb Avh' mgvR t' tK
^Zš _vKvq evsj vtK ō'cv'Ue ew'RZ t' k'ó w'nt'mte AvL'v t' qv nq (i'½j vj tmb 1997)¹ | ej v
hvq evsj v AĀtj RwZeY^QwFwEK wefvRb c'w'Z'w'Z nq i'v'ó'q c'p'tcvl KZvq| w'v' yag'ej w'x
^Bt' i' kvmb'gtj kvw'KMY fvi'tZi Ab'v'w' AĀj t' tK etpY't' i' AvgšY Rwb'tq w'tq
Av'tmb| kvw'KMY etpY't' i' f'ug' vb Kti b Ges mi Kvi x Pvk' i' t'Z Aw'w'w'Z Kti b| evsj v AĀtj
mgv'Ri i' w'eb'vm c'w'v'Z etpY I i' t' i' w'tq MwZ nq| i'v'ó'q 'll'gZvq c'w'v'Z e'emvqx

¹ tmb i'½j vj , evsj v' t' k' i' mvgwRK i' w'eb'vm, evsj v GKv'w'Gx , XvKv, 1997|

ersj vt`k DŠŷß nekŷe`ij q

tkYxi AwacZ`_vKtj l μtg μtg eipYMY ŋlgZv`Lj Ktib| axti axti RmZeY©wrfwĒK
mgvR KvVvtgvl mÿ p ntq D†V|

mvi vsk

eYŷŷwĒK mvgwRK wfvRb e`ir³i R†bŷi cwipq ōviv w`i ntq _v†K| dtj eYŷŷwĒK wfvRb
`vqxiŷc jvf Kti| eYŷŷwĒK wfvRb†K`eaZv`vb Kti agŷŷ nekŷm| iŷP-AiŷP, cwĒ-
AcwĒZvi ariYri dtj eYŷŷwĒK mvgwRK wfvRb cŷK†cŷ³ iŷc jvf Kti| A_ŷwZK
mvdj` ARŷ Kivi cil wæe†Yŷ gub†li c†ŋ D`P ghŷvkxj nlqv mæe nq bv| dtj
wæe†Yŷ gub†l`vqxfvte`wi`†kYxf³ ntq c†ob|

cvfWĒi gj vqb

be³K cĕæ

m³WK DĒti i cvfk WK (v) wPy w b -

- 1| wæ tkYxi i` t` i cĕŋ WKfvte D³P eĕYDĒiY mæe?
 K. A_ŋwZK Ae⁻v cwi eZĒ Kti
 L. D³P gh³ vi tckv MĕY Kti
 M. D³P wkŋv j vf Kti
 N. KLt³bv D³P eĕYDĒiY mæe bq

- 2| w³tæi eYmgt³ni gta³ Kviv KwqK kĕ Kti b?
 K. eĕpY
 L. ŋwĕ q
 M. ek³
 N. i³ a

- 3| eY³cwi Pq vqxfvte gvby tK wef³ Kti WKfvte?
 K. eY³cwi P³qi m³t³ tckvMZ wefvRb h³ nI qvq
 L. eY³cwi Pq RbMZ nI qvi Kvi tY
 M. eY³cwi P³qi m³t³ i wP-Ai wPi avi Yv h³ nI qvq
 N. eY³cwi P³qi m³t³ tkYx cwi Pq h³ nI qvq

- 4| e³v³ v³tK ōcvŪe ewRZ t³ kŌ ej v nq tKb?
 K. e³v³ v AĀtj Pvi w eY³bv vKvq
 L. e³v³ v AĀtj mgvR msMv³ Avh³mgvR t³ tK ZS vKvq
 M. e³v³ v AĀtj eY³cŪv bv vKvq
 N. e³v³ v AĀtj eĕpY³ i tK wfbwAĀj t³ tK Avbv nq etj

mswŋB cĕæ

- 1| eY³wŋĒK mvgwRK wefvRt³bi e³wkŌ wK?
- 2| eY³cŪv wŋĒK mvgwRK i web³v³tmi gZv³ wkR wŋĒ wK?

iPbv³ K cĕæ

- 1| Dcgnit³ tK RwiZeY³wefvRt³bi DrcwĒ WKfvte NtU? e³v³ v AĀtj WKfvte RwiZetY³ we³wZ NtU?
- 2| RwiZeY³KZ³ mŏ mvgwRK I A_ŋwZK wefvRt³bi eY³bv w b|

tkYx wefvRb

Class Differentiation

GB cvwUJ ctō Arcub RvbʒZ cvi teb -

- tkYxi cvi Pq
- evsj v`ki MōgvĀʒj tkYxi weKvk
- ga`weE tkYxi ʒlgZv we`vʒi i aib

tkYxi cvi Pq

tkYx ej tZ cāvBZ mʒúʒ i gwj Kvbi wfvEʒZ gvʒʒ gvʒʒ cv_ŕʒʒʒ tekSvq| mʒúʒ kvj xʒK D`PweE ev abx tkYx Ges mʒúʒ nxbʒK wʒæweE ev `wi`ʒ tkYx ej v hvq| wkS` mʒúʒ `vKv I bv `vKv tkl K_v bq| mʒúʒ tK tKʒ` Kʒi Mʒo DʒV ghP v| evRvʒi i mʒ½ mʒúʒK`Ges tʒvʒMi Awakvi w`ʒq wʒyʒZ nq ghP v| weEevbMY evox, Mvox, AvmevecĀ, tcvkvK, Lvevi `vevi D`Pgʒʒ` μq Kʒi Mʒo tʒvʒj b wej vm eūʒ Rxebl`i i` nq tʒvʒMi ms`wZ| abx tkYxi AvPvi AvPiY, a`vb aviYv, `wofʒx I GKK_vq Rxeb hvʒʒbi mevKQʒZ tkYx Pwi Ā cʒZdʒj Z nq| Gme wkQyweEnxʒʒ` i t`ʒK AtbK c_wK| weEevbMY ARB Kʒib cʒZōvnbK wkʒʒ| Zvʒ`i DŒĀ A_ŕwobʒqvM Kʒib wkʒ Kʒi KvLvb I e`emv ewYʒR`| wevʒvePvKāx I tckvq Zviv Awak nʒʒi wʒʒqvʒZ nb| Gfvʒe`Zix nq abx tkYxi ʒlgZv| abx tkYxi wʒʒvʒvebv, gj `teva BZ`w` A_ŕʒ Zvʒ`i gZv`k`mgvʒR AwacZ`ev`x gZv`ʒk`cwiYZ nq| gwj K wʒʒmʒe abx tkYx Kgʒʒ`vʒbi e`e`v Kivi I gRjx wʒʒʒʒʒʒʒʒ ʒlgZv cʒʒ nb| Zviv Aí gʒʒ` wkʒʒb tbb kʒgK tkYxi kʒʒ| MōgvĀʒj abx K.I.KMY DŒĀ A_ŕʒʒʒʒʒ wkʒʒb tbb ʒʒʒ`i cʒʒSK K.I.ʒKi Rʒg| fʒgnxb gvʒʒ RbʒʒK abx K.I.K eMʒʒʒʒʒ I Rb` Rʒg fʒov t`b Ges tʒʒZgRjʒ`i kʒʒ LwUʒq Drcv`b Kʒib| knivĀʒj cʒʒmb, mvgwiK ewnbx, mi Kvix I temi Kvix wkʒ cʒZōv, wkʒʒv cʒZōv meʒ abx tkYxi AwacZ` cʒZwōZ nq| Zviv AvBb cʒʒqY Kʒib, bwxZ wʒʒʒʒʒ Y Kʒib hv wʒʒʒʒ`i tkYx `ŕ`ʒʒʒʒ Kʒi| Zviv Kgʒʒ`vb Kʒib teKvi hʒKʒ`i Rb`| bʒwvea mʒeav cʒʒvʒbi Avkʒm w`ʒq Zviv `ŕ`ʒv`x mg_ŕ `j Mʒo tʒvʒj b| Gfvʒe abx tkYxi tKvb tKvb Ask ivóʒq ʒlgZv`Lj Kʒib| ivʒóʒi cʒʒcvl KZvq kni I MōgvĀʒj Zviv wkʒ gwj K, evYK, wkʒʒʒʒʒʒʒʒʒ PʒKāxRxe X I abx K.I.KMYʒK cʒʒcvl KZv w`ʒq `ŕʒ`P AwʒvZ Mʒo tʒvʒj b| t`kʒq abx I ʒlgZvkvj x tkYx AvšRwZK tʒʒʒʒ cʒʒRev`x kwʒʒ_wj i cʒʒcvl KZv jvf Kʒi| wʒʒʒʒ`i A_ŕʒ weʒ`kx cʒʒR LwUʒq Zviv gvʒʒvʒi cvnʒo Mʒo tʒvʒj b| Ab`w`ʒK`wi`ʒ K.I.K I kʒgK w`ʒb w`ʒb `wi`ʒZi nʒq ctob| mʒúʒ, ghP v I ʒlgZv cʒʒqvM Kʒi weEkvj x tkYx dʒʒ tdtc DʒV|

abx tkYxi wʒʒvʒvebv, gj `teva BZ`w` A_ŕʒ Zvʒ`i gZv`k`mgvʒR AwacZ`ev`x gZv`ʒk`cwiYZ nq| gwj K wʒʒmʒe abx tkYx Kgʒʒ`vʒbi e`e`v Kivi I gRjx wʒʒʒʒʒʒʒʒ ʒlgZv cʒʒ nb| Zviv Aí gʒʒ` wkʒʒb tbb kʒgK tkYxi kʒʒ| MōgvĀʒj abx K.I.KMY DŒĀ A_ŕʒʒʒʒʒ wkʒʒb tbb ʒʒʒ`i cʒʒSK K.I.ʒKi Rʒg| fʒgnxb gvʒʒ RbʒʒK abx K.I.K eMʒʒʒʒʒ I Rb` Rʒg fʒov t`b Ges tʒʒZgRjʒ`i kʒʒ LwUʒq Drcv`b Kʒib| knivĀʒj cʒʒmb, mvgwiK ewnbx, mi Kvix I temi Kvix wkʒ cʒZōv, wkʒʒv cʒZōv meʒ abx tkYxi AwacZ` cʒZwōZ nq| Zviv AvBb cʒʒqY Kʒib, bwxZ wʒʒʒʒʒ Y Kʒib hv wʒʒʒʒ`i tkYx `ŕ`ʒʒʒʒ Kʒi| Zviv Kgʒʒ`vb Kʒib teKvi hʒKʒ`i Rb`| bʒwvea mʒeav cʒʒvʒbi Avkʒm w`ʒq Zviv `ŕ`ʒv`x mg_ŕ `j Mʒo tʒvʒj b| Gfvʒe abx tkYxi tKvb tKvb Ask ivóʒq ʒlgZv`Lj Kʒib| ivʒóʒi cʒʒcvl KZvq kni I MōgvĀʒj Zviv wkʒ gwj K, evYK, wkʒʒʒʒʒʒʒʒʒ PʒKāxRxe X I abx K.I.KMYʒK cʒʒcvl KZv w`ʒq `ŕʒ`P AwʒvZ Mʒo tʒvʒj b| t`kʒq abx I ʒlgZvkvj x tkYx AvšRwZK tʒʒʒʒ cʒʒRev`x kwʒʒ_wj i cʒʒcvl KZv jvf Kʒi| wʒʒʒʒ`i A_ŕʒ weʒ`kx cʒʒR LwUʒq Zviv gvʒʒvʒi cvnʒo Mʒo tʒvʒj b| Ab`w`ʒK`wi`ʒ K.I.K I kʒgK w`ʒb w`ʒb `wi`ʒZi nʒq ctob| mʒúʒ, ghP v I ʒlgZv cʒʒqvM Kʒi weEkvj x tkYx dʒʒ tdtc DʒV|

evsj v`ki MōgvĀʒj tkYxi weKvk

JcbʒʒʒʒʒK Avgʒʒ wʒʒi `vqʒ eʒ`vet`i gva`ʒg Rʒg`vi MYʒK Rʒgi GK`QĀ gwj K Kivi dʒʒ evsj v AĀʒʒ i K.I.K mgvR w`ʒ vʒy Ae`vq cvZZ nq| Rʒgi Dci Awakvi nwiʒʒq, Rʒg`viʒ`i AZ`wʒK Kʒi i Pvc enb Kʒi Ges eMʒʒʒʒʒʒ i wʒʒʒZbgj K kʒʒʒ Kviʒy K.I.KMY μgk wʒʒ`nʒq tʒʒZ `vʒʒK| Ab`w`ʒK Rʒg`vi MY evUk kʒmKʒ`i cʒʒcvl KZvq K.I.Kʒ`i Dci wʒʒʒZb

uboxob Kti jvfevb nb| fviZ wefvfMi ci cwiK-vbx kvMK tMvõx KwL Drcv`b e`e-vq
cRv`x e`e-v PjyivfLb| K.I.K mgvR GKwU abx tkYx Mto tZvj vB wQj gj Df`k`| fviZ
wefvfMi ci Ges Rwg`vix Df`Qf`i ci wv`yRwg`vi, tRvZ`vi I abx K.I.KMfYi Awakvsk
t`kZ`vM Ktib| eWJk Avgfj i Rwg`vti i b`vq ivõ³ Rwg`vi etb hvq| fvg ms`v`fii bvtg
GKwU AvBb Kiv nq th cwi evi cõZ 100 weNvi tekx Rwg ivLv hvte bv| cfi GwU 375 weNv
Kiv nq| wv`y tRvZ`vi`i e`fj gmjgvb eo tRvZ`vi I abx K.I.KMY ¶lgZvkujx ntq
DfVb| tRvZ`vi MY Zv`i D0E A_`e`q Ktib fma`u`E µq I mf`i e`emvq| gnvRb`i
mf`i e`emv RgRgvU ntq DfV| ivtõf cõtcvIKZvq cj x-Dbqab Kgms`P, AeKvVtgv wbgW,
KwL FfYi e`emv BZ`w`fZ abx K.I.KMY A_¶Mie Kti wecj ma`ut`i gwj K nb| Ab` w`fK
¶iz` K.I.KMY, FfYi `vtq RRfZ ntq, KvRi Afvte Avrvfvi w`bhvcb Kti wot`^ntq hvb|
MõgvÅtj `wU tkYxi Ae`vb `uõ ntq hvq| GKwU abx K.I.K tkYx I Ab`wU fvgvxb I
t¶ZgRj tkYx| cwiK-vbx kvmbvgfj 1951 mvfj fvgvxtbi msL`v wQj 14.3%, 1961 mvfj
17.5%, 1968 mvj 20%|

cwiK-vbx kvmbvgfj abx tkYxi nvfZ A_¶wZK, mvgwRK I ivR%wZK ¶lgZv tK`fZ nq|
kvMKtkYx e`bqv`x MYZš cõZB Ktib| GfZ ce`cwiK-vtb 46 nvRvi e`bqv`x MYZšxi Rb`
nq| Giv ivR%wZK ¶lgZvma`ubf Giv ivõiq ¶lgZvi gj wfvE`| mZivs kvMK tMvõx e`bqv`x
MYZšx`i meekvi cõtcvIKZv cõvb Kti ¶lgZvi wfvE`K kw³kvj x Ktib| MõgvÅtj
GBme e`bqv`x MYZšx`i 81% wQj abx K.I.K| tRvZ`vi, abx K.I.K I gnvRb tkYx wgtj
MõgvÅtj GKwU be` abx tkYx mwõ nq hv ivõiq ¶lgZv KvVtgvv m½ hv³| Gf`i `jwZ I
AZ`vPvi AwZõ ntq DfV Mõtgi `wi` K.I.K tkYx|

Mõtgi Gj U etj
cwi wPZ abx K.I.KMY
AvZwqZv I AvbMfZ`i
gva`tg ivtõf kvMK
tkYxi ms`M ma`u`K
cõZõv Kti ¶lgZv PP¶
Ktib|

`vaxbZv DEiKvtfj evsjv`tk MõgvÅtj cRv`x e`e-v I tkYxKifYi aviv Ae`vnZ `vfk|
Aí msL`K abx K.I.fKi nvfZ Rwg c¶xfZ nq| Rwg tePvfkBv eü_Y eWx cvq| Zvi A_¶iz`
I cõwšK K.I.KMY t`bvi `vtq Rwg weWU KifZ eva` nb| 1972-73 mvfj fvgvxtbi msL`v
wQj 33%| eZgvtb fvgvxtbi msL`v 60%| Gi A_¶MõgvÅtj 60% gvbl gRjxi Dci
wbfPkj ntq ctofQb| A_P Mõtgi abx K.I.KMY Zv`i D0E A_¶kí LvfZ e`q KifQb bv|
wki LvfZ e`q eWx tctj Kgms`vb eWx cvq| abx K.I.KMY A_`e`q KifQb cõvbZ Avfiv
Awak Rwg µq I FY cõvtbi e`emvq| Gõvov dUKvewR e`emvtq| Zviv wbtqwmRZ nb| Gi
dtj ¶iz` K.I.fKi fvgvxb nqvi cõµqv Ae`vnZ `vfk| Avi fvgvxb t¶ZgRj`i A-KwL
LvZ Kgms`vb mwõ nq bv| MõgvÅtj KwL fZ D0E kigK mwõ ntj I Zv`i Awakvsk MõtgB
gmU Kvgto cto `vfkB| Avi GKwU Ask knfi i w`fK cv evovb Ktg¶ Df`k`| knfi I wki
weKwKZ bv nq qvq Zviv bivwea AcõZõvbK KgRvU wbtqwmRZ ntq `wi`te`vq Rxeb hvcb
Ktib| GKwU Rixc Rvbv hvq th XvKv knfi i 61% gvbl `wi`fxgvi bxfP emevm Ktib|
KtqK j ¶l gvbl emevfmi wivc` Avktj bv tctq iv`vq evm Ktib| evsjv`tk abx K.I.KMY
mi Kvix ckwmb I Dbqab cKf`i gva`tg mfhvM mjev ffvM Ktib| Mõtgi mgvR, cAvfZ I
BDwqab cwi l`i cwi mti Zviv ¶lgZv PP¶ Ktib| Mõtgi Gj U etj cwi wPZ abx K.I.KMY
Avl xqZv I AvbMfZ`i gva`tg ivtõf kvMK tMvõxi m½ ma`u`K cõZõv Kti ¶lgZv PP¶ Ktib|

evsj vt`tk ga`weE tkYxi ųlgZv we`vti i aib

evsj vt`tki K.I.K mgyR t`tk evOvj x gmyj gvb ga`weE tkYxi mjo ntqtQ| JcubtewkK kumbvgtj Rwg`vix cŵvi dtj ga`ZšfvMx tkYxi Awefųe NtU| GQrov Rwg`vi`i cEĖ cŵvi gva`tg tRvZ`vi tkYx mjo nq| GBme ga`ZšfvMx I tRvZ`vi tkYx ųQj MųgxY Gwj U hv`i mnthwMZvq eųJk kvmKeM°kymbKvh°cwi Pvj bv Ktib| GBme MųgxY Gwj Ut`i `enkó` nt`Q GB th Zviv ciwbųųkxj A_ų Zvt`i ųlgZvi Rb` eųJk kvmKt`i Dci wbųųkxj | eųJk kumbvgtj evOvj x gmyj gvb`i Avti KųU tkYx ųQj e`emvqx| Zviv ųQj b eųJk e`emv I emwR`K cųZųvbi KgPvix ev gmyj`x| GB e`emvqx tkYxųU ųQj ciwbųųkxj | eųJk kvmKt`i mnvnh` mnthwMZvq Zviv ųtK ųQj | eųJk bwiZi Kvity `řaxbųte e`emv emwR` Kitz bv cviųq Zviv A_ų MųKitzB Rwg ųtq I Rwg`vixi cRv`Zi ųtq| Rvbv hvq th cvU e`emv Kti GB tkYxųU tek jvfevb nq| GQrov 1943 mvjtj `wfųųi mgq eųJk`i cųvejųb Kti Pvj `vgRvZ Kti Zviv cųi A_°DcivRų Ktib| 1921 mvjtj XvKv mekte`'ij q cųZųv ntj tRvZ`vi gnrRb I gmyj`x tkYxi mšvMY e`vcK nvti BstivR ųkųjvf Ktib| GtZ GKųU BstivR ųkųjZ evOvj x gmyj gvb ga`weE tkYxi we`wZ NtU| Gt`i K eųRųv e`jv ntq _vtK|

cvwK`vb cųZųvi ci kni ga`weE tkYx ųn`ų`i cwi Z`³ mšvųE, e`emv I ųkt`i gwj K nb| bZb i vtšbMi vqb NtU Ges mi Kvti i weřbųefvřM Pvkix mjo nq| tckv`vix I e`emvqx ga`weE MY cřvekvj x ntq DtVb| Z`vbxšb ce°cvwK`vřb ųkt`i gwj Kvbv AevOvj xt`i nvřZB tekx ųQj | cvwK`vb mi Kvi ce°cvwK`vřb KųL LvřZi DųE ųkř LvřZ e`q Kivi tKvb Dt`vM MųY Kti vb| mi Kvix I temi Kvix Dt`vřM thme ųkř Mto DtV ZvtZ i vtšf cřtcvl KZv ųQj | Z`vbxšb ce°cvwK`vřbi cřRcųZ I e`emvqx tkYx ųlgZvxb gmyj xg jxM I Avgj vřšš i mř½ Nųbų mšvK°mjo Ktib| eųJk kvmKt`i cřtcvl KZvq thřte gmyj`x tkYx Mto DtVųQj, tm Kvq`vq evOvj x gmyj gvb cřRcųZ I e`emvqx tkYx Mto DtV cvwK`vřb mi Kvti i cřtcvl KZvq| Gi A_°evsj vt`tki GB tkYxųU `řaxb mEř vbřtq Mto DtVvb| Zviv ųQj ciwbųųkxj | cųgZ evOvj x cřRcųZMY wbųų KitzB cvwK`vřb cřRcųZt`i Dci Ges ųųZxqZ kvmKetMų gva`tg veř kx mvgřR`ev`x cřRcųZt`i Dci | Dtj E` th cvwK`vb cųZųvi ci kni tKų`K evOvj x ga`weE tkYxi KvřQ mbvřb ghų`v ev ųLw`vbų ų`i`Zi nvi vřZ _vtK| Gi `řj AvBbRřex, ųkųjK, ųPwKrmK, cųKškj x, e`emvqx`i vbřtq tckvRřexMY ga`weE tkYx ųnřmte ų`i`Zcy°ntq DtVb| cvwK`vřb kvmKetMų ciwbųųkxj cřRv`x e`e`vi cwi gųtj GB tkYxųU teř DtV|

cvwK`vřb kumbvgtj I
evsj vt`tk ga`weE
tkYxųU `řaxb mZy vbřtq
Mto DtVvb| GB tkYxųU
i vtšf kvmKtMřx I
`eř`ųkK mnvnh` mš`vi
Dci wbųųkxj ntq
meKřk jvf Kti |

`řaxbZv DĖi evsj vt`tk ciwbųųkxj cřRv`x e`e`v Z`vbxšb cvwK`vřbi e`e`v t`tk wřbce bq| evsj vt`tki A_°ųwZK e`e`v Avgj vřšš mnthwMZvq emYK cřR AwacZ` we`vi KtizQ| e`emv tųųųU ųkř I Kųl i tPřtq AtbK tekx gřvřv ARų Kitz mųųg nt`Q| KųL Drcv`řbi DųE ųkt`i weřbřqřM bv nř qv Ges MųgřĀř Awakřsk gvbřti ųq ųlgZv nřm cvl qv ųkř meKřtki mšvřv ųřY ntq tMřQ| Avi cųšK t`k ųnřmte evsj vt`k cwiYZ ntqtQ veř kx cřY`i evRřti| evsj vt`tki mi Kvi ciwbųųkxj nř qv eųRwZK tKvšvřx ųj i `ř`ųųų Kti Přtj tQ| tgvųgřvřte evsj vt`tki ga`weE tkYxi gřa`wZbųU `i ųPřyZ Kiv hvq (e`i`řxb Dgi 1995)¹ | D`P`ři Ašřš AvřQb ųkř I Kj Kvi Lvřvi gwj K,

¹ Dgi e`i`řxb, evsj vt`tki ga`weE I mis`wZK cwi`wZ, cř e`cřevj kvm°XvKv, 1995|

côtcvIKZvq teto DVřQ/ ga^{we}E tk^Yxi gta^o e^oemvqx tk^YmlU kvMKtMvôx wntmte cöZôv
tctqřQ/

cvřVvEi gj`vqb

řbe⁹3 K cĕæ

m^oWK DĚři i cvřk wJK (v) wPý w`b |

1| gřmjⁱ x Kvi v?

K. abx K.I.K tk^Yx

L. řRvZ`vi

M. mi Kvi x cöZôvřbi Kg^Pvi x I e^oemvqx

N. FřYi e^oemvqx

2| cv^oK⁻vbx kvmbvgřj ⁻vbxq chřq řh kvmb e^oe⁻v Kvřqg nq Zvi bvg wK?

K. BDw^oqb cwi I`

L. Móg cĀvřqZ

M. e^ojbqv` x MYZš

N. Bmj vgx MYZš

3| evsj vř`řk w^okři weKvřki m^oæbv řKb řřxY nřq řMřQ?

K. w^okři FřYi mřhvM Kg nI qvq

L. KwI Drcv`řbi DĚĚ w^okřři we^obtqvM bv nI qvq

M. FY řLj v^oxMY FřYi A⁻řdi Z bv ř` I qvq

N. w^okřři i DcřhvMx Kvřvřvřj i Afve ⁻vKvq

4| ga^{we}E tk^Yxi m^o¼U wK Kvi řY m^ow^o nř`Q?

K. Zvř`i ⁻řxřZ Kivi mřhvM Křg hvř`Q

L. Zvř`i Kgřis⁻vb nř`Q bv

M. Zvř`i cĕKZ Avřqi cwi gvY Křg hvř`Q

N. Zvř`i řfvMew^o Zv w^owKřq i vLvi řhvMvb Křg hvř`Q

msuřřB cĕæ

1| řk^Yx wK?

2| evsj vř`řk ga^{we}E tk^Yxi Pwi ř wK ai řbi?

iPbvřj K cĕæ

1| evsj vř`řki MógvĀřj tk^Yx wefvRřbi ^oewkó^o Avřj vPbv Ki`b |

2| evsj vř`řk ga^{we}E tk^Yxi weKvř Avřj vPbv Ki`b | i vóřq řřgZvi mř½

GB řk^Yxi m^oúK⁹Kiřc?

Gm Gm GBP Gj

MôgxY ƒlgZv KvVtgv
Rural Power Structure

evsj vt`tki MôgxY mgvƒR tkYx c_KxKiY NUtQ, th wel tƒ cteAvtj vPbv Kiv ntƒtQ| t`Lv hvq th Drcv`tbi Dcvq, DcKiY, cƒhƒ³ memKQy abx tkYxi KJKt`i nvZ tK`ifeb NUtQ| KwI Drcv`tbi D0E e`emvtq weibƒqvƒMi gva`tg, Rwg µq I gnvRbx mƒ`i e`emv Kƒi abx KJ.KMY mƒú` eƒx Kƒib| abx KJ.K I ƒjgnxb tƒZgRjƒ i tgi“KiY `úó ntƒ DƒVtQ| tkYx weƒ³ MôgxY mgvR KvVtgv i mƒ½ RwoZ MôgxY ƒlgZv KvVtgv| `elg`gj K Drcv`b mƒúK`MôgxY Gwj Ut` i (ƒlgZvkj xƒ i) A_ƒwZK I ivRƒwZK ƒlgZvi Dm| MôgvÁtj AcŒZömbK I cŒZömbK `ß chƒq ƒlgZv PPP ntƒ `vƒK| AcŒZömbK chƒq MôgxY Gwj UMY mvgwRK i xwZbxwZ I ag`cŒqvƒMi gva`tg wePvi I mvi k Kvƒpƒg cwi Pvj bv Kƒib| Môg cÁvtƒZ ƒlgZv PPP gva`tg MôgxY mgvƒR Gwj UMY vbqšY cŒZöb Kƒib| cŒZömbK chƒq miKvƒi cƒvmb I BDvbqb cwi I` ƒlgZv KvVtgv wntmte wƒqvƒkj | `vbq chƒq cƒvmb Gwj Ut` i cƒtƒvI KZv cŒvƒbi gva`tg MôgxY ƒlgZv KvVtgvƒK Avtƒv kw³kj x Kƒi tZvƒj | MôgxY weÉkvj xMY `vbq miKvƒi cŒZöb ev BDvbqb cwi Iƒ` `ƒMvöx wntmte ƒlgZv PPP Kƒib| ivƒó ƒlgZvmb kvmK tMvöxi mƒ½ ZY.gj chƒqi `ƒMvöxi ƒlgZvi AvZvZ Mƒo DƒV|

GB BDvbƒUi cvW_wj nt`Q -

- ◆ cvW - 1 : `vbq ivRbxwZtZ MôgxY Gwj Ut` i ƒjgKv
- ◆ cvW - 2 : `vbq mi Kvi e`e`v
- ◆ cvW - 3 : `vbq chƒq cƒvmbK ƒlgZv KvVtgv

vbqx ivRbxwZtZ MōgxY Gwj Ut` i fvgKv
Role of Rural Elites in Local Politics

GB cvVilU cto Avclwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- MōgxY Gwj Ut` i `tfc
- Gwj Ut` i fvgZvi Drm
- fvgZv PPF aib
- fvgZvi fvimvg` i fvi gZv`k

MōgxY Gwj U

mvgwRK Rxtbi wevfbaetfjti Av_mvgwRK `el tgi KvitY AmgZv mjo ntq _vtK| GB AmgZvi wbt`RK wntmte BstiwR ŪGwj Ū0 kãwU D`PZi tkYxi f`vq ev D`P mvgwRK tMvõxtK tevSvbtvi Rb` e`eüZ nq| Gwj UMY ivRtbowZK Kvhm`m`uv`b Ktib, fvgZvi Awakvix nb Ges fvgZvi Ūviv AvbxZ mthvM myeav tfvM Ktib| A_`bowZK m`ut`i w`K t`tK Zviv D`PZi tkYxf` Ges ivR%bowZK w`K t`tK KZfZi Awakvix ntq _vtKb| wbtRiv msL`v j wNó ntj I Gwj UMY msL`v Mwi tõi Dci KZfZi I kvmb cõZõv Ktib| ersj vt`tki Mõtg Ggb wKQy e`w` AvtQb hviv mgvR D`P ghP`v jvf Ktib Ges AZ`š cdfvekij x ntq _vtKb| GB me MōgxY Gwj UMY Mõtgi Av_mvgwRK Ae`vq mef`c`fjv jvf evb nb Ges msL`v Mwi ō Mōgevxi Dci AwacZ` we`vi Ktib|

fvgZvi Drm

ersj vt`tki MōgxY mvgwRK Kvvtgvi m½ I ZtcõZfite RwoZ MōgxY fvgZv Kvvtgv| Avi MōgxY mvgwRK Kvvtgv Mto Dtv Kwl Drcv`b e`e`vi Dci wfvE Kti| mZivs MōgxY fvgZvebt`i tK ev Gwj UMYtK wPwYZ KitZ nte Kwl Drcv`tbi DcKitYi gwj Kvbv, Drcv`b c`wZ I Drcv`b m`ut`K`P tcf`fjZ| fvgZv Drmwi Z nq Drcv`tbi DcKitYi gwj Kvbv I wqšY t`tK| Drcv`tbi c`vb DcKiY fvg| MōgxY mgvR fvgB c`vb gj ab| fvg AZ`š gj`evb m`u` Ges GwU mxwZ| mZivs GB gj`evb m`ut`i gwj KMY D`P ghP`vi Awakvix nb| `vfwKfvteB fvgi gwj Kvbv A_`bowZK I ivR%bowZK fvgZvi Drm| fvgi gwj Kvbv GZUVB Amg eEb e`e`vi Dci cõZwõZ th Lp mntRB abx, gvSvix, fji` K.I.K I fvgnxb K.I.Kt`i wPwYZ Kiv hvq| mgvRi 5% abx K.I.K I 20% gvSvix K.I.K cõq 80% Rvgi gwj K| fvgi GB tK`xfeb thgb µgvMZ ep` cvt`Q tZgwb fji` K.I.Kt`i fvgnxtb cwYZ nI qvi nvi I ep` cvt`Q| abx K.I.KMtiYi Kwl Drcv`tbi DõE mjo nq hv Zviv fvg µtqi Rb` mef`ak e`q Ktib| tKej Awak fvgi gwj K nI qvi KvitYI abx K.I.KMY MōgvAtj D`P ghP`v jvf Ktib| Jcubtekk kumbvgtj ersj vt`tk th Rwg`vix cõv Pvj yKiv ntqQj Zv DËi Jcubtekk cwK`vb kvmbvgtj AvBbZ vej β Kiv nq| wKš` Rwg`viti`i m`yb, AwacZ` I fvgZvi Kwmbx vej β ntq hvq w| abx K.I.K Rwg`vi bv ntj I AtbK Rvgi gwj K| Mõtgi `wi` I fvgnxb K.I.Kt`i m½ Zvt`i m`ut`K`P aib Rwg`viti`i b`vq|

MōgxY Gwj UMYtK
wPwYZ KitZ nte Kwl
Drcv`tbi DcKitYi
gwj Kvbv, Drcv`b
c`wZ I Drcv`b
m`ut`K`P tcf`fjZ|

fvgi gwij Kvbvi m½ hj³ Drcv` tbi DcKi†Yi gwij Kvbv l cħy³ i aib| mbvZb DcKi†Yi gta` j v½j , thvqvj , nv†j i ej` BZ`w` abx K.I.K†` iB tekx AvtQ| bZb DcKi†Yi gta` P†li Rb` U†±i , cvlqvi wUjvi , tm†Pi Rb` cvlqvi cv±ú , wWc wJDe†tqj BZ`w` abx K.I.KMY mn†RB thvMvo Ki†Z cv†ib| Kw†Z bZb cħy³ D`P dj bkxj exR , mvi , KxUbvK BZ`w` mgqgZ cŃB†ZI abx K.I.KM†Yi AMŃaKvi Av†Q| miKvi fZRx g†j` th bZb Kw† cħy³ mieivn K†ib Z†Z abx K.I.KM†Yi cŃekwaKvi meŃaK| KviY Zviv tkYxMZ Ae`v†bi Kvi†Y Lp mn†RB `vbxq ch†qj cŃvmKM†Yi m½ `†_P m±úKŃto †Z†j b|

abx K.I.KM†Yi ¶lgZvi Av†iKwU w` K n†`Q MŃgvĀ†j ZvivB cŃi bM` A†_P gwij K| Kw† Drcv` tbi Z†` i cŃi DŃĒ m±ú nq etj Zviv DŃĒ dmt†j i we†b†q A†_P gwij K nb| ¶lgZvkj x l ¶lgZvn†bi gta` e`eavb `úo n†q D†V c†R l k†gi e`eavb m±ú ga` w` †q| thgb abx K.I.KMY Kw†Z Z†` i cwi ewi K k†g e`envi K†ib bv| Zviv Drcv` b Z`vi Kx K†ib| abx K.I.KMY Rvq eM†Pvl K†ib wKsev c†R we†b†qM K†i l gRjx k†g LwU†q Kw† Drcv` tbi w†b†qM RZ nb| Zvi A_©abx tkYxi Drcv` K w†m†te cwi Pq gj Z c†R we†b†qM| Ab` w` †K Awakvsk K.I.K w††R†` i Rv†Z cwi ewi K k†g e`envi K†ib Ges gRjxi we†b†q k†g we†q K†ib| Gfv†e KwqK k†g †_†K w††R†` i we†QbœKivi ga` w` †q abx tkYx Z†` i A_©wZK mvg_© gh† v l ¶lgZvi ew†c†Kvk NUvb| A†_P gwij K nl qvq Ges cŃvmKM†Yi m½ m±úKŃto †Z†j vq abx K.I.KMY Av†q†m MŃg ch†q exR , mvi , KxUbvK BZ`w` i e`emvq wj β nb| Zviv mi Kvi x D†` v†M AeKv†v†g w†b†qYi m½ RwoZ bvbwea e`emvq RwoZ nb| †QvU †`vKvb , ¶z` w†k† Kvi Lvbv BZ`w` †¶†† l Zviv A_©we†b†qM K†ib| we††K l Z abx tkYx Z†` i A_©FY cŃv†bi e`emv†q LvUvb| G†Z cŃi g†v†v thgb jvf Kiv hvq , †Zgwb `wi` tkYxi Dci w†qŠYl cŃZwŃZ Kiv m±e nq| A†_P gwij K w†m†te weĒevb tkYx mŠvb†` i w†¶v cŃvb K†ib Ges bvbwea A-Kw† †ckvq l kn†i P†K††Z w†b†qM RZ K†i gh† v l ¶lgZv ew†x i cŃvm cvb|

MŃgxY Gwj U†` i A_©wZK ¶lgZvi GKwU eo w` K n†`Q m±ú†` i gwij Kvbv| Mi` , gw†l , QvMj , nvn† gj Mx , eo †Mvqvj Ni , Mi` i Mvox , tŠKv , gUi mvB†Kj , wi` v , f`vb BZ`w` m±ú†` i gwij Kvbv A_©wZK cŃZcwiĒi cwi Pq enb K†i| evox†Z wJDe†tqj l w†R` ^c†K†i , c_ K KvPvi xNi , `vj vb l wU†bi Ni , ti w†l , †Uw† wfkb , Avmeve c† `Y†g †v†i BZ`w` Gwj U†` i c_ K K†i| †cv†K cwi `Q` , Lvl qv `vl qv , Aemi , we†bv` b me w†gw††q Rxebhv†vi aib GB cv_ R`†K Av†iv `úo K†i †Z†j | A_©l m±ú†` i gwij Kvbv Avevi gZv` †k† m½ hj³ n†q Gwj U†` i AwacZ` ew†x K†i| abx K.I.K†` i evoxi bvi xiv Awak c`v`cvj b K†ib| KviY Gi Dci Gwj U†` i ŃB¾ZŃ w†f†P K†i| bvi xiv cwb Avbvi Rb` ev Ab` Kv†R evoxi ev††i hvb bv| Gwj U†` i evox†Z Kw† KvRmn Ab`vb` Kv†Ri Rb` bvi x k†gK w†b†qM Kiv nq hv†` i KvR Z`vi Kx K†i b weĒkvj x cwi ev†i i bvi xMY|

A_©l m±ú` e`eüZ nq weev†ni mgq thŠZK cŃv†b| Kw† ew†fŠ m±ú` cŃi `vKvi Kvi†Y weĒkvj x†` i DĒi waKvi exU†bi mgq Rv†Rgv tekx fVM n†q LŃ weLŃ Kg nq| m±ú` exU†b w†b†q fv††q fv††q SMov d`vmv` Kg nq| weĒkvj x cwi ev†i i bvi xiv weev†ni mgq cŃi thŠZK cvb| m±ú†` i m½ hj³ GBme Av†iY w†b†qY K†i Ńm±ú†bŃ l ŃB¾ZŃ Gi gZv` k† GB Ńm±ú†bŃ l ŃB¾ZŃ mg†R AvKw ¶lZ w†m†te cŃZwŃZ nq w†Š` Zv ARŃ Kiv `wi` †` i Rb` m±e nq bv| GB `j` f† m±ú†b l B¾Z†K †K` ^K†i MŃgxY Gwj U†` i AwacZ` ew†x cvq|

MögxY Gwj Ut`i ghPv I QlgZvi mvgwRK Drm cävZ cwi ewi K HwZn` I esk ghPv | AZxZKvj t`tK cÖB HwZn`i KviY AþK evox mšybRbK bvg ev c`extZ fwl Z nq | thgb, t` I qvb evox, tecvix evox, tPšajix evox, wgvv evox, mi Kvi evox, tPqvi g`vb evox, cxi evox, BZ`w` | HwZn`MZ fvtē cÖB mšyb esk ci`úivq wUwKtq ivLvi ga` w`tq cšve cÖZcwE eyx cvq | esk ghPvi m½ AwR Ae`v fvtjv ntj AwmacZ` mjo nq | tKej esk fvtjv ntj Mötg fvtjv gvbl wntmte` xKwZ tctj I QlgZvkjx wntmte` xKwZ jvf Kiv hvq bv |

cšvekvj xt`i AwmacZ` cÖwgKfvtē wbfP Kti Ni I Mn`vjxi Dci wqšY cÖZövi ga` w`tq | cj`I ZwšK gZv`tkMšni ÖKZÖ nb GKRb cj`I | bvi x-cäv Mn`vj xtZ DcvRÖKvj bvi x Mn`vj xtZ cÖavb` we`vi Kiti I Mšni evBti evoxZ, estk, tMvöxtZ cšve we`vi Kivi mšhvM tbB | Mn`vjxi cj`I KZš`i gta` wZwb evoxi I tMvöxi cäv e`wšZ cwi YZ nb hvi AwR QlgZvi cvkvcwk tbZtZi` Y AvtQ | tbZtZi` Yvejxi gta` eqm, eyx, wKšlv, hš cÖkÖ, wePvi Kivi Avb, civgk`vb, tMvöxi HK``vcb, thMvšhvM, mjev cÖvtbi gvbwKZv, mg`B Av`vtqi` Y I cÖqvRtb ej cÖqvMi kwš BZ`w` cÖavb` cvq |

i³, eewwK mšúK[©]eÜZ; cvZvtbv mšúK[©]Gmtei wfiEšZ MögxY mgvR th Avl xqZvi eÜb mjo nq Zv MögxY Gwj Ut`i QlgZvi kwškvj x wfiE wntmte KivR Kti | hw` I esk I tMvöx wCZKtj i gva`tg mjo nq Z`wmc weEkvj xt`i gta` gvZKj Ges eewwK mšúK[©]ij tKI DšwšZ Kiv nq | Avi GB we`Z Avl xqZvi Rvj RweZ ivLvi KvšR mšvebx kwš wbtqvM Kti weEkvj x Gwj U cwi evšii bvi xMY | wefbae cwi ewi K I mvgwRK Drmte, cvešb, Amj`Zvq, Rbš, gZitZ thMvšhvM, Dcvi tcÖY I Lv` weZitYi ga` w`tq Zviv mšúK[©] wUwKtq ivLb | t`Lv hvq th abx cwi ewi D`P ghPvkj, weEkvj x I knš PvkixRix cwi evšii m½ eewwK mšúK[©]vcb Kti b | Gfvtē MögxY Gwj Ut`i Öj šf nvZÖ`Zix nq | KviY wefbae i tbi cÖqvRb tgUvtbv mn QlgZv PpvP Rb` GmKj mšúK[©]e`eüZ nq | AþK mgq QlgZvi cÖZÖxt`i m½ eewwK mšúK[©]vcb Kti wešiva wgvsvm Kiv nq |

i³, eewwK mšúK[©]eÜZ; cvZvtbv mšúK[©]Gmtei wfiEšZ th Avl xqZvi eÜb`Zix nq Zv MögxY Gwj Ut`i QlgZvi wfiE wntmte KivR Kti |

QlgZv PPF aib

A`šwZK, mvgwRK, gZv`wK I ivRšwZK Ae`v QlgZvi AbKj Ae`v mjo Kti | wKš` GKRb MögxY Gwj U QlgZvkj x ntq Dtvb QlgZv PPF ga` w`tq | QlgZv PPF cäv j`I` n`Q wqšY cÖZövi I AvbMZ` ARB | wqšY I AvbMšZ`i cvi`úwi K w`qv ga` w`tq Gwj UMY ÖAwffveK mj fÖ fvgKv cvj b Kti b | QlgZvkj x e`wš Mn`vjxi ÖKZÖ, tMvöx I cvovi Ögy`eYö, mgvšRi ÖgvZeYiö I Mötgi cAvtqtZi m`m` wKsev ÖMög cävö Gi c` ARB Kti b | Mn`vj xtZ Zviv cj`I ZwšK gZv`k`cÖqvM Kti` x I Ab`vb` bvi xt`i Dci wqšY cÖZövi Kti b | cvRev`x gZv`k`cÖqvM Kti Zviv mšúK[©] i GK`QI gwj K ntq Dtvb | fvg, A`ÖI KwI Drcv` tbi DcKitiYi gwj K wntmte Drcv` b mšúK[©]Gwj Ut`i wqšY cÖZövi nq | eMš Pti I Rb` Rwg cÖvb, KwI DcKiy thgb j`všj, Mi` BZ`w` avi t`qv BZ`w` i gva`tg Zviv AvbMZ` ARB Kti b | QlgZv PPF mešPtq KvšRi Dcvq nš`Q FY cÖvb I Kgš`vb | Amnvq`wi`a K.I.KMY Gwj Ut`i KvQ t`tK FY MšY Kti b Ges mgqZ cwi škva bv KitiZ cvi tj Ges mš I Avmtj i cvnvo Rtg tMšj Gwj Ut`i m½ AvbMšZ`i eÜtb Zviv Avex nb | Mötg abx Gwj UMYB gRjx ktgi wbtqvMKvix nl qvq fvgvxb gRjx kšgKt`i Dci Zvt`i AwmacZ`

MögxY Gwj Ut`i QlgZv PPF cäv j`I` n`Q wqšY cÖZövi I AvbMZ` ARB |

c0Zw0Z nq| mi Kvix c0kvmtbi mt½ Gwj Ut`i `v_MZ AvZvZ c0Zw0Z nI qvq KwI DcKiY, cjxDbqcb KgfPxi mthvM myear I A-KwI LvZ KvR exUtb Gwj Ut`i AwacZ` c0Zw0Z nq|

M0gxY Gwj Ut`i qIgzv PPf fvgKv wbcxobj K ntq DfV c0ZthwMZv I AvbMZ`nxbZvi Ae`vq| weEkvjx Gwj Ut`i Ab`Zg j`qI` Zvf`i D0E wembtqvM Kti fvg mq Kiv| GfZ c0SK PvlxMY Zvf`i UvMfU cwiYZ nb| bvbvfvte Rwg wepqtqi Rb` c0SK Pvlxi Dci cIve we`vi I c0Abv Kiv nq| AtbK mgq FY cwi tkvta e`_ntj c0SK Pvlx `f gtf` Rwg wepqt Kitz eva` nb| Zvi tPtqI KvhRi c`wZ nt`Q Gwj U KZR Rwg I evox eUK titL FY c0vb| `wi`a KI.tKi m`u` `Lti j Rb` Ges fvgnxbt`i m`v kty e`envi Kivi Rb` AtbK mgq ej c0qvM Kiv nq| M0gxY Gwj UMY cte0j wVqvj ewnbx0 tcvlvi Rb` mrcwi wPZ w0tj b| eZ0vfbI j wVqvj ewnbx AvtQ Zte Zvi tPtqI KvhRi nt`Q Gwj Ut`i AwikZ 0gv`vb ewnbx0| Gwj Ut`i e`w3MZ c0Zi qIvi tPtqI Zvf`i qIgzvi c0ZxK wntmte gv`vb ewnbx `ea ntq DfVtQ|

এলিটদের মতবিরোধ ও স্বার্থের দ্বন্দ্বকে কেন্দ্র করে কৌন্দলের রাজনীতি সক্রিয় হয়ে উঠে।

`wi`a tkYxtK Drcxob I DrLvZ QvovI tckx kw3 e`euZ nq Gwj Ut`i c0ZthwMZvi Kvi tY| fvg, m`v kty, wKv`vix, BDwbqcb cwi I `wbePb, mgvR AwacZ` BZ`w` wbtq Gwj Ut`i gta` Ptj qIgzvi j ovB| M0tg tkv`tj i ivRbxwZ qIgzv PPf GKwU cwi wPZ t`qI | Gwj UMY wBR` mg_R `j Mto tZvtj b| gj `j wU tQvU Ges GfZ m`m` AšfP nq AvI xqZv I AvbMfZ`i wfvE`Z| GwUB Gwj tUi c`qI j ovKv`j | Zvici A`w0wZK, mvgwRK I ivR%0wZK m`u`Kf wfvE`Z GKwU mg_R ewnbx tbZvi c`qI KvR Kti `vtK| M0tg RwgI AvBj wbaP Y, Lvm Rwg `Lj, b`xi BRviv, wKv`vix, A-KwI LvZ KvR, weevn, mvgwRK AvBb Kvbcb c0qvM BZ`w` bvbwea weI q wbtq Gwj Ut`i gZwefiva I `vt`P 00 mjo nq| GmetK tk`Kti tkv`tj i ivRbxwZ m`u`q ntq DfV, hv gvi vgwI, nZ`v, al P, wQbZvB I mšvmx KgRvE chS NUvq| t`Lv hvq th Gme msNtI`tbZetMP mg_R wntmte `wi`a KI.KMYB ci`utii mt½ wefiva I gvi vgwI tZ wj B ntq c`ob| wefiva w0`u`E ntj tbZem`nvZ wgj vb Zvf`i qIgzv PPf tKSkj wntmte| wKŠ` `wi`a tkYxi ci`utii wefiva`K Zviv wRBtq ivtLb mg_0 I AvbMZ`tK kw3 kvjx Kivi tKSkj wntmte|

গ্রামের বিচার ও সালিশ ব্যবস্থা এলিটদের ক্ষমতা চর্চার উলেখযোগ্য ক্ষেত্র।

M0tgi wePvi I mwj k e`e`v Gwj Ut`i qIgzv PPf Dfj E`hvm` t`qI | evox, tMv0x, cvov, mgvR I M0g chf`q wePvi Kvh`mgvav Kivi gva`tg Gwj Ut`i cIve, ghP v I qIgzv ep`x cvq| Gme wePvi Kvh`cwi Pwj Z nq c`Pwj Z gj `teva, mvgwRK i wZbxwZ I agr0 AvBb Abjvvti | wePvti i ga` w`tq cji`I ZwiSK gZv`k0I agr0 gZv`k`cpi`rcwI Z ntq mgvR wbsYKvi x gZv`k`wntmte wUtK `vtK| M0tg c0q c0ZwU eo mgvRi wBR`^gmwR` AvtQ| M0tgi Gwj UMY gmwR` cwi Pvj bv KwgUj m`m` nb, tgSj fxt`i mt½ mnthwMZvi m`u`K`Mto tZvtj b Ges AtbK mgq tgSj fxt`i Lv` I teZb Gwj UMY w`tq `vtKb| gmwR` I gv`tmvq agr0 w`qIvi Dci Zviv `i`Zi c0vb Kti b| M0tg wePvi mfvi gva`tg tkvb bvi xi wei`tx dtZvqv c0vb I `wi`a tkYxi AvPvi AvPiYtK AawgR wntmte AvL`wqZ Kti kw` c0v`tbi t`qI` Gwj Ut`i atgP e`envi tgv`q A` wntmte KvR Kti | abx I `wi`a e`w3i wefivtai t`qI` M0tg wePvi abxt`i c`qI I `wi`a `i wec`qI m`u`w` Z nq| t`Lv hvq th GKB ai`tbi Aciva Kivi Rb` abx I `wi`a `i gta` `el g`gj K w`xvš MpxZ nq| abx Gwj Ut`i gta` `v_MZ 00 `vKtj I Gwj UMY weEkvj xt`i tkYx `v`qI qIv Kti b| tkYx `v`cwi cšx tkvb w`xvš M0Y Ki tZ t`Lv hvq bv| thgb, t`qI Z gRti i wba` cwi kigK, eMfPvtI i `el g`gj K kZ`F`Yi Pov m` i nvi, e`vsk F`Yi A`AvI wv, tmfPi cwB GK`00I fvt e`envi, mi Kvix wbgP KvR Mg AvZ`wv

BZ`w` cÖkæGuj UMY KLtbv`wi`^ tkYxi c¶vej`ab Ktib bv| bvix wbfPZb, tRvi ceR Zvj vK, bvixi DEİwaKvi eÄbv BZ`w` wettql Guj UMY bvixi c¶vej`ab Ktib bv|

Mög ch¶qi wewfbaöZövfb Guj UMY AmacZ` cÖZöv Ktib| Mötgi gmwR` I gv`imv KvguU, -g` cwi Pvj bv KvguU, evRvi cwi Pvj bv KvguU, cj x-Dbqab mgevq KvguU, mi Kvix Dt`v¶M MvMZ İvY weZiY KvguU BZ`w` tZ Zviv AšfP nb| mtefcwi MōgxY ¶lgZv KvVvtgv I Guj Ut`i tbZZi wUwKtq ivLvi Rb` ivtōi mg_ß AvtQ| Avmtj evsj vt`k ivōi`wi`^ tkYxi Dci abx tkYxi kumb I tkvly ejer ivtL| Mōg ch¶q we`Z c¶j k ewnbx, AvBb Av`vj Z, Avgj vZŠ I wewfbae Dbqbgj K cÖZöv Mötgi weEkvj xt`i -¶_öi ¶lv Ktib| c¶j k I cÖvmKMtYi m½ Guj Ut`i wbeo mæúK`cÖZöv nq| -vbxq mi Kvi e`evq BDnbq cwi İt`i wbePtb MōgxY Guj UMY cÖZövZv Ktib| hviv wbePZ nb Zviv ivtōi cōtcvl KZvq Avtiv ¶lgZvkj x nq Dtb| hviv wbePZ nqZ cvtib bv Zviv MōgxY Guj U wntmte BDnbq cwi İt`i gva`tg ewEZ ivōi q mthwM mjevq fvM emvb| ivR`wZK`j`uj i Kvhpitg MōgxY Guj UMY msuköZv Mto tZvtj b| mtefcwi MōgxY weEkvj x tkYxU ivtōi A_ßKtj` cp nq| evRvti Dci c¶ve we`vi Ktib Zviv mæ` ewaZ Ktib I c¶xfZ Ktib| ivtōi kvmK tMvōx ¶lgZvq wtk`vKvi Rb` MōgxY abx tkYxi ¶lgZvebt`i Dci wbfPkvj nq cto| MōgxY abx tkYxi wbtRt`i -¶_Pwi Zv`Kivi Rb` ivtōi kvmK tMvōxi cÖZ AvbMZ` I mg_ß cö vb Ktib|

Mög ch¶q wewfbae cÖZövfb Guj UMY AmacZ` cÖZöv Ktib|

¶lgZvi fvimvg`i ¶lvi gZv`k`

cÖkeDİ wcz nqZ cvti th Mötg`wi`^ tkYx tkB mgwMZfvte wbfPZb I wbcxobKvix abx tkYxi wei`tx`cÖZev` Ktib bv| Guv`uo th Mötgi abx tkYx hviv Kgms`vbKvix Zvt`i m½`wi`^ fvgnx b ¶lgZvj t`i mæúK`tkYx mæúK`P b`vq| wKŠ`KvhZ Mōg ch¶q GB mæúK` tKej tkYx mæúK`bq| KviY GB mæúK`P gta` KvR Ktib wbfPkvj Zv, AvbMZ`, Avl`xqZv, AvrfFevKZi, gvb mæyb teva, Av`e Kiv`vi mvgwRK ixwZbwZ BZ`w`| MōgxY abx Guj UMY`wi`^ tkYxt K A_ßwZK Ktg`wbtqm Ktib A_ßwZK -¶_Av`vq Ki tZ cvtib| wKŠ` Zviv Rvtbb tkvly Gj K Av`mvgwRK e`ev`xN¶ b wUwKtq ivLtZ nq tKej ej cÖqvtMi gva`tg Zv mnR bq| ejv hvq tkvly Gj K e`ev`K -xN`vqx Kivi Rb` Guj UMY`wi`^ tkYxi m½ A_ßwZi evBti bvbwea cōtcvl KZvi mæúK`P`vcb Ktib| Guj UMY`wi`^ iK Afvte mgq Lv` I A_ö`vb Ktib| Zviv teKvit`i Rb` PvKixi e`ev` Ktib| kni thwMthwM cÖZöv Ktib| wewfbaewettq Z` cö vb Ktib| Amy`Zvq wPwKrmvi e`ev` Ktib| tqtqi wettqZ mrvh` Ktib| c¶j tki Svgtj v t`tK I ¶lv Ktib| Gme mrvh` mntwMZvi gva`tg MōgxY abx Guj UMY`wi`^ i Kvq Ö`vZv0 ev Öc`vUö wntmte wPwyZ nb| Avi ÖMthxZv0 ev ÖKvqU0 wntmte`wi`^ i`wqZi nq hvq abx`vZv tMvōxi cÖZ AvbMZ` cö kß| Zvi gvtb ¶lgZvkj xMtYi gZv`k`nt`Q`ju t¶t¶ mgvb gtbvthwM nq ¶lgZvi ÖntRgub0 cÖZöv Kiv|`ju Dcvtq tntRgub cÖZöv nq| GK, A_ßwZK tkvly I`ß, Av`mvgwRK cōtcvl KZv| GB`vZv-MthxZvi mæúK`P Avotj Xvkv cto hvq tkYx mæúK`P GB tntRgubi Ae`v tevSv hvq hLb GKRB`wi`^ K.I.K tkvlyKvix abx Guj Ut`i m½ cwi wPZ nl qvi KvitY Me`Abfe Ktib| th abx Guj U ZvtK evoxi evBti Rzv ti tL Nti XKtZ etj b, Zvi evortZ`vl qvZ tL tZ`wi`^ K.I.K Mefeva Ktib| mgqgZ gRj x cö vb bv Kitj`wi`^ klgK gtb Ktib gwj K gRj x`tZ ftj tMtQb| gRj x tPtq Zviv te-Av`ex KitZ Pvb bv|

tkvly K e`ev`K`xN`vqx Kivi Rb` Guj UMY`wi`^ tkYxi m½ A_ßwZi evBti bvbwea cōtcvl KZvi mæúK`P`vcb Ktib|

wbhZbgj K tkYx m^utK^p m¹/₂ `wi`^aki^gtKi gZv` k^ht^o K^wb k^tgi w^ebg^tq ti^vR^Mvi e^wx
Kiv| Zv^t i w^psv `elg^gjK Ae^{vi} g^ta^o w^kf^vte abx K.I.KM^tYi KvQ t⁺tK A^ow^oZK
Avb^oMZ^o jvf Kiv hvq, tm tP^ov Kiv| 0gh^pvevb e^w3^tK gvb^o Kiv^o, 0eo gvb^tli m¹/₂ te-
Ar^o ex bv Kiv^o, 0^ovZvi c^hZ KZ^oA^o _vKv^o BZ^ow^o tev^tai bx^tP Pvcv c^to hvq `wi`^atkYxi
t^qlvf| Gfv^te Aw^oacZ^oev^ox tkYx I Ab^oMZ tkYxi gZv` k^oM^ogxY ^qlgZv KvV^tgv^tK w^oU^ow^oK^tq
i^tL| we^oE^oK^ovj x G^ouj U I me^oh^oiv K.I.K m^oP^oi^ov^oPi c^oK^ovk^o we^ot^oiv^ota w^oj B n^oq c^otob bv| GB fvi^omv^og^o
b^oo n^oq hLb abx K.I.KM^ot^oYi AZ^ov^oPvi I w^obc^oxob AZ^ow^oaK e^wx cvq| ZLb gv^tS g^ta^o `wi`^a
K.I.K^otkYx we^ot^o t^on M^ot^oR^oD^ot^oVb|

mvi vsk

M^ogv^oA^ot^oj we^oE^oK^ovj xMY ^qlgZv P^oP^og ga^ow^o t^oq G^ouj U e^otj `xKZ nb| abx tkYxf^o G^ouj U^o i f^oig,
Drcv^o t^obi DcK^oiY, A^o,^om^ou^o I D^oP ch^oq^o ^qlgZvi m¹/₂ m^ou^oK^oAv^ot^oQ| Ab^o w^o t^oK f^oig^onv^ob
`wi`^at^oqZgR^ojMY me^oh^oiv tkYx| Zv^t i k^og e^oZ^oxZ te^ot^oP _vKvi t^oKvb Ae^oj ^ob t^obB| G^ouj U I
me^oh^oiv tkYxi m^ou^oK^oDrcv^o b m^ou^ot^oK^ow^obnZ| Z^o_w^oc t^oLv hvq th, GB `B c^ot^oq^oi m^ou^oK^o
t^oKej tkYx m^ou^ot^oK^o g^ta^o w^oq^ovk^oxj bq| tkYx m^ou^ot^oK^o g^ta^oB w^of^ob^oai^ot^obi m^ou^oK^ow^oq^ovk^oxj
_v^ot^oK| G^o,w^oj n^ot^oQ `vZv-M^oh^oxZvi m^ou^oK^o, Av^oixqZv I Av^ob^oM^ot^oZ^o i m^ou^oK^o abx G^ouj UMY ag^o
mv^ogv^ow^oRK i w^oZ^obnZ BZ^ow^o i Dci w^obq^oS^oY c^oh^oZ^oov K^ot^oi gZv` w^ok^oR ch^oq Aw^oacZ^o we^ovi K^ot^oib|
A^o_w^ooZK I gZv` w^ok^oR Df^oq t^oq^ot^oI Aw^oacZ^o c^oh^oZ^oov K^ot^oi G^ouj UMY ^qlgZvi tn^ot^oRgv^ob c^oh^oZ^oov
K^ot^oib| ^qlgZvi fvi^omv^og^o e^oRv^oq i vLvi Rb^o Aw^off^ov^oeK mj f Av^oPi^ot^oYi t^oK^oskj Ae^oj ^ob K^ot^oib| G
Ae^oiv^oq G^ouj U I me^oh^oiv i g^ta^o tkv^oLK I tkw^olZ w^ont^om^ote `jMZ (collective) 0:0 m^oP^oi^ov^oPi N^ot^oU
bv| Z^ote e^ow^o3^oMZ ch^oq AbeiZ tkw^olZ tkYxi gv^obj R^ot^obi t^oq^olvf c^oK^ow^ok^oZ nq|

cvfVvEi gj`vqb

`be⁹³K cĕæ

mWVK DĒti i cvfk WJK (√) wPy w`b|

- 1| ŐGwj Uf` i j ^{af}nvZŐ ej tZ wK tevSvq?
 - K. Gwj UMY abx nI qvq my`f`i AwaKvi x nb
 - L. Gwj Uf` i AfbK Rvq _vKvfk tevSvq
 - M. Gwj Uf` i AfbK A_©_vKvfk tevSvq
 - N. Gwj UMY m^{au}kvj x I ¶lgZvkj x nI qvq i vtof cĕvmb I kvkK tMvŏxi m½`_ŧ© m^{au}K⁹Movi ¶lgZvfk tevSvq

2| MŏgxY Gwj UMY tKb Drcv`tb cwi ewi K ktg e`envi Kti b bv?

- K. Gwj Uf` i kwi i xK kv³ Kg
- L. Gwj Uf` i cwi evfi ktg t`evi gZ gvbfli msL`v Kg
- M. Gwj UMY KwqK ktgi e`envi tK Agh⁹vKi gtb Kti b
- N. Mŏtgi gvbj Pvb bv th Gwj UMY KwqK ktg wbtqvmRZ nb

3| Gwj Uf` i cwi evfi bvi xiv tKb tekx c`Pcvj b Kti b?

- K. Gwj Uf` i cwi evfi i bvi x`i evoxi evBti hvI qvi cĕqvRb tbB
- L. Gwj Uf` i cwi evfi bvi xiv Kms`viv`Obæ
- M. Mŏtgi mvavi Y bvi xiv Pvb bv th Gwj Uf` i cwi evfi i bvi xiv evBti hvK
- N. bvi x`i c`Pcvj tbi m½`cj`ti i m⁹ib RwoZ Ges Gwj Uf` i ŐB¾ZŐ bvi xi c`v© cvj tbi Dci wbf⁹ Kti

4| Mŏtg evoxi bvg wKtmi cĒxK?

- K. wk¶vi cĒxK
- L. evoxi KZ¶ bvg Abyvfi evoxi bvg t`qv nq
- M. esk gh⁹vi cĒxK
- N. my`i A_ey⁹kã Őviv evoxi bvg t`qv nq

msw¶B cĕæ

- 1| `vZv-MŏxZv m^{au}K⁹K? MŏgxY Gwj Uf` i ¶lgZv Pp¶q Gi`i`ZjwK?
- 2| Gwj U wK? ersj vt`tk MŏgxY Gwj Uf` i cwi Pq wK?

i Pbvj K cĕæ

- 1| MŏgxY Gwj Uf` i ¶lgZvi Drm wPyZ Ki`b| Gwj Uf` i ¶lgZvi Drm wK i`aß A_ŏwZK? wtkH Ki`b|
- 2| Mŏg ch¶q Gwj Uf` i ¶lgZv wKfvte eRvq _vfk? Gwj Uf` i ¶lgZv i¶vi I mevivi`i tetP _vKvi tKŠkj Dtj E-Ki`b|

cāvb ntZb| Zvt`i ivR%awZK I cākmmbK KvtrI AšfšB wQj Mōtgi evBti ųlgZvkj x`i m½ thMvthvM i ųlv Kiv Ges Ki Av`vq Kiv| Mōg mfvi cāvb KvR wQj mvgwRK k,Ljv eRvq ivLv I weṭiva wggysmv Kiv| GQov Mōtgi mṣú` msMōh Kti iv`vNvU, cj , Kqv BZ`w` `Zix Ges Kj `vYgj K KvR mṣúv`b Kiv ntZv| Mōtgi fvg, b`x, ebvĀj , Lvj , wej BZ`w` mṣúṭ`i mṣz e`e`vcvbl cĀvtqṭZi `wqZi wQj | Zvi grtb A_ṣṣṣṣ, cākmmbK I wePvi mṣṣṣ mKj weIq cwi Pvj bv Kivi tųųĀ Mōg cāvb I cĀvtqZ wQj `ṭaxb| tgvNj kvmbvgṭj Ki Av`vqKvix cĀZōvb wntmte cĀvtqZ ,i`Zij vf Kti wKŠ` AvBb k,Ljv i ųlvKvixi fvgKv wKQṭv Leṅq|

MōgxY `ṭqZkvmṭbi GB Aw` e`e`wU i eo aiṭbi ifcvišI NṭU JcwbṭemK kvmbvgṭj | eṭUk kvmbi GKk ermṭii gṭa`B MōgxY `ṭqZkvmṭbi e`e`v wbuōy` nṭq hvq| KviY eṭUkiv th Rwg`vix cṰv Pvj yKti Ges Rwg`viṭ`i GṭR`UMY fvg ivR`^Av`vtqi Rb` th wbhṫZbgj K e`e`v Kvṭqg Kti Zvi m½ MōgxY `kvmZ I mṃgṣZ e`e`vi tKvb wj tbB| 1870 mṭj eṭUk kvmKMY `vbxq mi KviṭK cāZōvbK ifc cṰvb Kti | Gi dṭj tRjv cākmK cvP m`m` wewkō cĀvtqṭZi gṭvrbqb `vb Kti | eṭUkṭ`i cāvb Dṭi k` wQj `vbxq chṫq AvBbk,Ljv i ųlv Kiv| cĀvtqZ Mōtgi cvnviv`vi ev tPŠk`vi wṭqvM KiṭZ cviṭZv wKŠ` eiLv` KiṭZ cviṭZv bv| tRjv cākmK th tKvb cĀvtqZ m`m`ṭK eiLv` KiṭZ cviṭZb| Gi dṭj tKṭ`i cākmṭbi wṃšY eṭx cvq Ges cĀvtqṭZi Aw`R ųlgZv I Kj `vYgj K KvRKg`Aej ṣ nq| 1885 mṭj AṭbK wj Mōg (12 eMṃvBj Gj vKv) wṭq BDvbqb MvZ nq| BDvbqb KvgwUi wbeṫPZ 9 Rb m`m` mṃwZ cwi gvY Dbṭbgj K KvR cwi Pvj bv KiṭZb wKŠ` AvBb k,Ljv i ųlvYṭeųṭYi `wqṭZi wQj tPŠk`vix cĀvtqZ| axṭi axṭi JcwbṭemK kvmKMY Ggb GKwU `vbxq mi Kvi e`e`vi Kwṭgv `Zix Kṭib hv MYZwŠK `emkō` emRZ Ges hvi Dci tK`ṭq cākmṭbi cY`AwacZ` eRvq `vṭK| BDvbqb KvgwUi Dctii `ṭi gnKgv KvgwU Ges Zvi Dci tRjv tew`MVb Kivi dṭj cākmṭbi e`e`v `ixKZ nq Ges tKṭ`i wṃšY e`e`v cvKṭcv` nq| j ųlvYx th `vbxq chṫq ųlgZvkj x tbZemṫK ųlgZvq wUṭK `vKvi Rb` cākmṭbi m½ thMvthvM cāZōv, cākmṭbi `ṭ`i ųlv Kiv Ges Zṭe`vi nI qv Avek`K nṭq Dṭv| cṭeṅvi cṰvRb wQj bv| A_ṭwZK tųųĀ Rwg`viṭ`i GṭR`Uṭ`i t`šivI eṭx cvq Ges evRvi weKwKZ nI qv e`emvq I grmj`x tkYxi Awefṫe NṭU| dṭj MōgvĀṭj ivR%awZK I A_ṭwZK tųųĀ ivṭoi kvmK tMvōxi m½ mṣúK`vcv Kti ga`Zṭfvmx tkYx ųlgZvkj x nṭq Dṭv| Ab` w`ṭK `vbxq kvmb e`e`v t`ṭK RbMY wew`Obṭṭq cṰo|

ব্রিটিশ শাসনের একশত বৎসরের মধ্যেই গ্রামীণ স্বায়ত্বশাসনের ব্যবস্থা নিশ্চিহ্ন হয়ে যায়।

Dcwbṭek DĒi Kvṭj cvwK`vṭbi mvgwi K kvmK tMvōx th `vbxq mi Kvi Kwṭgv `Zix Kti Zv eṭUkṭ`i Kvṭgv QvṭP Mov| Dci š`eybqv`x MYZš tNvi Yv Kti th `vbxq mi Kvi MvZ nq tmwU e`e`üZ nq tK`ṭq mi KviṭK wbeṫPZ Kivi j tųųĀ| dṭj `vbxq mi Kvi nṭq hvq tK`ṭq mi Kvṭii ųlgZvq `vKvi nwwZqi `ṭc| cākmṭbi KgRZMṭYi AwZwi` cṫve I Lei`vixi KviṭY `vbxq mi Kvi `ṭaxbṫe weKwKZ bv nṭq Avgjv wṫṫ nṭq cṰo| mi Kvi Avgj vMY `vbxq mi Kvṭii thṭKvb wṃvš emZj KiṭZ cviṭZb GgbwK wbeṫPZ m`m`ṭKl eiLv` KiṭZ cviṭZb| `vbxq mi KviṭK A_ṫṭbi Rb` mṣúYṫe wṫṫ KiṭZ ntZv cākmṭbi Abvṭbi Dci | Gi A_ṫvōṭq kvmK tMvōx ųlgZvq wUṭK `vKvi Rb` wṫṫKj nṭq Dṭv `vbxq chṫqi cāZwṃaṭ`i Dci | Avi `vbxq cāZwṃaMY ivōṭq mṣú` AvniY I jṫṫbi Rb` wṫṫKj nṭq Dṭv ivṭoi kvmK tMvōxi Dci | cvi`wui K `ṭ`i ųlv GB mṣúṭKṫ dṭj MōgvĀṭj D`P I ga`g tkYxi fvg gwj KMY ivōṭq cṰcvi KZvq ųlgZvkj x `ṭ`MvōṭZ

cwiYZ nq| ewJk Avgjtj m^o ga[~]Z[~]fV[~]Mx tkY[~]U Av[~]PtiB Av[~]tiv dtj tdtc D[~]tV| Drcv[~] tbi tP[~]tq ga[~]Z[~]vK[~]x ev[~] vj vtj i fvgK[~]vq Z[~]iv Aw[~]k j v[~]ferb n[~]l qvq Kw[~]l Drcv[~] b e[~]vnZ nq|

evsj vt[~] tk[~] vbxq mi Kv[~]ti i q[~]gZ[~]vi t[~]fc

evsj vt[~] tk[~] th[~] vbxq
mi Kv[~]i e[~]e[~]v c[~]uZ[~]noZ
nq Z[~]vtZ vbxq
mi Kv[~]i tk[~] c[~]uZ[~]ombK,
c[~]kvmbK I Aw[~] R[~]f[~]te
tk[~] KZ[~] mbqSY K[~]iv
nq|

v[~]axbZ[~]vi ci evsj vt[~] tk[~] c[~]uZ[~]u mi Kv[~]i e[~]tj i m[~]½ m[~]½ vbxq mi Kv[~]i Kv[~]vtgvi cwi eZ[~] m[~]vaZ ntqtQ| w[~]K[~]S[~] mKj mi Kv[~]i tKej gv[~]l Kv[~]vtgvmZ cwi eZ[~] mvab K[~]ti tQ| vbxq mi Kv[~]ti i Kv[~]tQ q[~]gZ[~]v n[~]v[~]si K[~]ti vb Ges Aw[~] R[~] v[~]axbZ[~]vl c[~]u vb K[~]ti vb| 1973 mvtj GK[~]u BD[~]vbqtB 3u[~] l qv[~]w[~] t[~]k 9Rb vbe[~]PPZ m[~]m[~] vbtq BD[~]vbqb cwi l[~] MwZ nq| tPq[~]ig[~]vb l f[~]vBm tPq[~]ig[~]vb BD[~]vbqtBi t[~]f[~]U[~]vt[~]i t[~]f[~]U[~] vbe[~]PPZ nb| 1976 mvtj GKRb vbe[~]PPZ tPq[~]ig[~]vb, 9 Rb vbe[~]PPZ m[~]m[~], 2 Rb g[~]t[~]vb[~]xZ v[~]ix m[~]m[~] l 2 Rb g[~]t[~]vb[~]xZ K[~]l[~]K m[~]m[~] vbtq BD[~]vbqb cwi l[~] MwZ nq| 1980 mvtj GKRb M[~]g c[~]avb l 2Rb v[~]ix mn 11 Rb m[~]m[~] vbtq M[~]gev[~]xi m[~]g[~]Zi w[~]f[~]v[~]t[~]Z M[~]g mi Kv[~]i MwZ nq| 1983 mvtj GKRb vbe[~]PPZ tPq[~]ig[~]vb, 9Rb vbe[~]PPZ m[~]m[~] l 3Rb g[~]t[~]vb[~]xZ v[~]ix m[~]m[~] vbtq BD[~]vbqb cwi l[~] MwZ nq| v[~]vb ch[~]q D[~]tj t[~]h[~]v[~]M[~] cwi eZ[~] Av[~]bn nq D[~]c[~]t[~]R[~]j v cwi l[~] MV[~]t[~]bi g[~]va[~]tg| GKRb vbe[~]PPZ tPq[~]ig[~]vb, mKj BD[~]vbqb cwi l[~] tPq[~]ig[~]vb, 3 Rb g[~]t[~]vb[~]xZ v[~]ix m[~]m[~], D[~]c[~]t[~]R[~]j v ch[~]q Kg[~]PZ c[~]kv[~]mKMY l m[~]gev[~]q m[~]g[~]Zi tPq[~]ig[~]vb t[~]k vbtq D[~]c[~]t[~]R[~]j v cwi l[~] MwZ nq| tPq[~]ig[~]vb vbe[~]Pb v[~] n[~]l qv ch[~]q GKRb mi Kv[~]ix c[~]kv[~]mK D[~]c[~]t[~]R[~]j v vbe[~]PPZ Aw[~]dm[~]vi w[~]nt[~]te v[~]w[~]Z[~] cvj b K[~]ti b| 1995 mvtj BD[~]vbqb cwi l[~] v[~]ix m[~]m[~] M[~]t[~]Yi vbe[~]PPZ v[~]el q A[~]sf[~] nq| vZ[~]bu[~] l qv[~]w[~] t[~]k GKRb v[~]ix m[~]m[~] m[~]iv[~]mi t[~]f[~]U[~] vbe[~]PPZ nb| GK[~]u BD[~]vbqb cwi l[~] vZ[~]Rb vbe[~]PPZ v[~]ix m[~]m[~] v[~]t[~]Kb|

evsj vt[~] tk[~] i mKj mi Kv[~]i vbxq mi Kv[~]i MV[~]t[~]bi c[~]o[~]vtj MYZ[~]svqtBi c[~]uZ[~]kvZ w[~]tj l Kv[~]h[~]q[~]t[~] vbxq mi Kv[~]i tK[~] X[~]KiY l Avgj vZ[~]svqtYi w[~] tK t[~]vtj t[~]qv ntqtQ| hZ[~] wj vbxq mi Kv[~]i MwZ ntqtQ Z[~]iv tK[~]vb[~]JB m[~]vaviY gv[~]bt[~]li c[~]uZ[~]v[~]vaZK[~]vix c[~]uZ[~]vtB cwi YZ ntZ cv[~]ti vb| vbxq mi Kv[~]i tk[~] c[~]uZ[~]ombK, c[~]kvmbK l Aw[~] R[~]f[~]te tk[~] KZ[~] mbqSY K[~]iv ntqtQ| thgb BD[~]vbqb cwi l[~] i Kv[~]h[~]ej x A[~]t[~]B[~]K[~] wj wj w[~]ce[~] v[~]K[~]tj l Kv[~]h[~] GB c[~]uZ[~]vtBi Kv[~]t[~]Ri cwi va m[~]vgZ ntq c[~]to| BD[~]vbqb cwi l[~] m[~]vaviYZ th me Kv[~]R K[~]ti tm[~] wj nt[~]Q- Ki Av[~]vq, Av[~]Bb k[~], L[~]j v i q[~]lv, Rb[~]g[~]Zi vbe[~]U[~]xKiY, i[~]v[~], c[~]j, K[~]vj f[~]U[~], c[~]Ki v[~]bg[~] l ms[~]vi, n[~]U ev[~]Rvi e[~]e[~]vcbv, c[~]Ki c[~]ptLbb l grm[~]Pvl, m[~]u[~]U[~]c[~]t[~]KU c[~]u vb, M[~]v j v[~]M[~]vtbv, o[~]o[~] vbi mb, Ku[~]ji w[~]k[~] Db[~]qb, Rb[~]mbqSY Kg[~]PPx ev[~]evqb BZ[~] w[~]| G[~]Q[~]ov v[~]er[~]f[~]b[~]e[~]v[~]f[~]vt[~]Mi Ab[~]t[~]iv[~]ta BD[~]vbqb cwi l[~] m[~]u[~]U[~]c[~]t[~]KU c[~]u vb, FY M[~]h[~]xZv mbv[~]3KiY, T[~]vY Kv[~]R, w[~]Kv[~]vi vbtq[~]M BZ[~] w[~] Kv[~]R K[~]ti v[~]t[~]K| GmKj Kv[~]t[~]Ri aib t[~]tl c[~]z[~]xqgvb nq th M[~]g[~]v[~]A[~]tj i Drcv[~] b ew[~] l Kg[~]ms[~]v[~]b m[~]jo[~]i b[~]vq i[~] Z[~]c[~]Y[~]Q[~]K[~]vt[~]R vbxq mi Kv[~]i RbM[~]t[~]Yi K[~]j v[~]vtY fvgK[~]v iv[~]tl bv| Z[~]wc m[~]vaviY gv[~]bt[~] vbxq mi Kv[~]ti i c[~]uZ[~]ombK mbqSY[~] ej tq X[~]tK c[~]to[~]tQ|

vbxq mi Kv[~]ti i Dci iv[~]o[~]iq mbqSY

vbxq mi Kv[~]i c[~]kvmbK t[~]q[~]t[~] tk[~] KZ[~] mbqSY nq| vbxq mi Kv[~]ti i Kg[~]R[~]vt[~]Ei Z[~] c[~]kvmbK Kg[~]RZ[~]M[~]t[~]Yi Kv[~]t[~]Q tck Ki[~]tZ nq Ges tk[~] i[~]q c[~]kvmb vbxq mi Kv[~]ti i w[~]nv[~]S ew[~]Zj Ki[~]tZ cv[~]ti| Ggb[~]wK vbxq mi Kv[~]ti i vbe[~]PPZ c[~]uZ[~]v[~]vt[~]Kl tk[~] i[~]q mi Kv[~]i Ac[~]miY Ki[~]tZ cv[~]ti| i[~]ayZvB bq, th tKvb vbxq mi Kv[~]ti i c[~]uZ[~]vt[~]Kl tk[~] i[~]q mi Kv[~]i ew[~]Zj tNvlYv Ki[~]tZ cv[~]ti| Aw[~] R[~] q[~]gZ[~]vi w[~] K t[~]tl Kl vbxq mi Kv[~]i v[~]q[~], h[~]w[~] l Av[~]B[~]v[~]vt[~]M Ki Av[~]vtqi q[~]gZ[~]v vbxq mi Kv[~]ti i ntZ Av[~]tQ| tk[~] i[~]q mi Kv[~]i Av[~]tqi Drm l e[~]tqi LvZ Ges Ab[~]vt[~]bi

cwi gvY meWKOywbw`θ Kti t`q| `vbxq miKviti evfRU tK>`iq miKvi Abtgv`b Kti Ges
tK>`iq cĀkmb AwWU Kti _vtK| `vbxq miKvi tK>`iq miKviti KvQ t_tK Dbq̄tbi Rb`
Abjvb tctq _vtK WKS`Zvi cĀB AtbK kZ`ci tYi Dci wbfP Kti |

ersj vt`k `vbxq miKvi cĀZōvtK kvMk tMvōx wbtRt`i ivR%wZK `P_Pwi Zv_`Kivi Rb`
e`envi Kti | tKt`^`qZvq Avmxb `P_`tMvōxi mg_θKvix wntmte ZYgj chq̄q `P_`Mvōx
mjo KivB `vbxq miKviti ivR%wZK Df`k` | AtbK mgq MYZwšK I `qZi kvmtbi avi Yv
AšfP Kiv ntqtQ| thgb Mōg miKvi I DctRjv cwi l t`i MVb| DctRjv c×wZtZ `vbxq
chq̄q cwi Kíbv MōY I Dbq̄b Kvhp̄rg ev`evq̄tbi MYgt_x `enkó` D×Z ntj I Zv mvgwi K
kvMk tMvōxi `P_`Pwi Zv_`Kivi Rb` e`envi Kiv nq| Mōg miKvi I kvMk tMvōxi Mōg
chq̄qi q̄lgZvi Drm wntmte e`eüZ nq| Gfvte ivóiq Df`vM `vbxq miKvi cĀZōvtbi
ivRb%wZKiY ntqtQ I Avgj vZtši kw³ ep× Kiv ntqtQ| Gme cĀZōvtbi gva`tg MōgvĀtj i
gjo`tgq weĒkvj xt` i nvfZ cP̄i mαú` Kq̄xMZ ntqtQ|

ersj vt`k `vbxq
miKviti kvMk tMvōx
wbtRt`i ivR%wZK
`P_`Pwi Zv_`Kivi Rb`
e`envi Kti |

mvi vsk

`vbxq chq̄q cĀkmb, Dbq̄b I bwiZ wbarPYx weI qvej xtZ RbMtYi AskMnYgj K e`e`v Mto
tZij vb q̄lgZv wefK>`iKi tYi gZv`kP JcwbteWk kvmtbi cte`ersjv AĀtj `vbxq `qZi
kvmb e`e`v wQj etj BwZnvtm Rvbr hvq| cieZxPZ JcwbteWk kvMkeM`cĀkmb I AvBb
k_Ljv i q̄lvi Rb` `vbxq chq̄q tKt`^`i Dci wbfPkyj GKw KvVtgv Mto tZvtj | tK>`iq
miKviti Dci wbfPkyj GKw cĀZōvb wntmte `vbxq miKvi GLtbr ejer AvtQ| GtZ
MYZwšK wefK>`iKiY NtUub| `vbxq miKvi e`e`vq̄ wbeP̄tbi e`e`v AvtQ| ivtōf kvMk
tkYx `vbxq miKvitiK ivRb%wZKiY Kti ivR%wZK Df`k` nwmj Kti _vtK|

cv#VvEi gj "vqb

be⁹³ K ckae

mVK DEti i cvtk WJK (v) wPy w` b |

- 1| Jcwbtekk kvmtbi cte⁹Mog chiq th kymb e'e`v wQj Zvi bvg wK?
K. BDwbqbw cwi I`
L. BDwbqbw KvDwYj
M. Mog mfv
N. Mog mi Kvi

- 2| tKvb mtj BDwbqbw chiq `vbxq kvmb e'e`vi KvWtgy cZwZ nq?
K. 1958 mtj
L. 1972 mtj
M. 1885 mtj
N. 1982 mtj

- 3| cwK`vb kvmbvgtj MwZ e⁹bqv`x MYZtsi cawb Dti k" wK wQj?
K. Mog Dbqbw
L. Rb Kj "Ygj K KvR
M. tK`iq mi Kvi tk wbe⁹PZ Kiv
N. tRjv cwi I` tk wbe⁹PZ Kiv

- 4| eZ⁹v⁹tb BDwbqbw cwi I` KqRb wbe⁹PZ bvi x m`m` AvtQb?
K. 2 Rb
L. 3 Rb
M. 4 Rb
N. 5 Rb

msw⁹B ckae

- 1| Jcwbtekk kvmtbi cte⁹evsj v AA⁹tj tKvb ai tbi `vbxq kvmb Kvhr i wQj?
- 2| evsj vt` tk `vbxq mi Kvi wKfvte tK`iq mi Kvti i Dci wbf⁹kxj?

iPbvj K ckae

- 1| `vbxq mi Kvi I `vbxq `vqZj kvwZ mi Kvti i gta" cv`R" wK? evsj vt` tk tKvb ai tbi e'e`v ej er AvtQ?
- 2| `vbxq mi Kvi e'e`v weKvtki HwZnwmK tcv⁹v⁹U Avtj vPbv Ki "b |

vbvq chq ckmmbK qgZv Kvvtgv
Administrative Power Structure at the Local Level

GB cvWU cto Arcub RvbtZ cvi teb -

- ersj vt`k ckmmbK e`vq tk`iqKiY bwiZ AbjniY Kiv nq|
- ersj vt`k ckmmb e`v AwffveKmj f I MYwevQbæ
- ckmKMY MgxY Gwj Ut`i cfe ej q t`tk gš`vktZ e`nb

ckmmbK meK`iKiY

MögvÄtj miKvti mthvM-mjeav eUtbi Rb` ckmmbK Kvvtgvi „i“ZcY©fvgKv AvtQ| Dbqbgj K Kgmpx MthYi dtj ivóhtsi Ask wntme ckmmbK Kvvtgv Awak qgZvkj x ntq DvtvQ| Avmtj Dbqbgj ckmmbK ntZ nte MYgtj| wkš`DEi JcubtenkK Kvtj mó ersj vt`k ivtó`cQgZ cwk`vb I wZxqZ epuk JcubtenkK kvmK tMóxi DEimix GKU ckmmbK Kvvtgv weivRgvb| ersj vt`k ckmmbK Kvvtgvi KvtQ qgZvi mgvtek NtU AwZ mntR| ckmmbK e`v ntq Dtv KZp`ÄK| ersj vt`k Pig`wi`i tclq`tZ qav, Acpó, e`via, AvktnxbZv, ubi qIi Zv cfwZ`ixKiY ivótg Dtv`vtM ckmKMY tk`te`tZ cwiYZ ntq hvb| MögvÄtj Kwl Drcv`b epw, chp`n`vši, wktíi veKvk, TvY weZiY, wq`v ve`vi meKQ`tZ miKvti AskMthY Aek`vex ntq cto| Avi miKvix m`u` eUtbi I miKvix bwiZ ev`evqtb ckmKMY cšj cZvckvj x Gwj tU cwiYZ nb|

ersj vt`k ckmmbK Kvvtgvi kvtl`AvtQ tk`iq miPevj q| GtZ wevfbægšYvj q I wefvM bwiZ wbañY I Kgmpx cZ`te`qI tbi`wqZ; cvj b Kti`vtK| maviY ckmmb, Rbmev mi eivn I Dbqbg KgRvU ev`evqZ nq wefvM, tRj v I`vbn chq| Zte wefvM, tRj v I`vbn chq| ckmmbK Kvvtgv tk`iq chq| gšYvj q I`Bi mgtni ctq| KvR Kti|`vbn chq| miKvix ckmmbi mgšq mvañbi Rb` „i“ZcY©ntq Dtv| GKU`vbn t`tk cQ 2 j q 45 nrví RbmsL`vtK tmev c`vb Kiv nq| wevfbæatbi Dbqbg KgRvU I tmev c`vbtbi Rb`cQ cZwU Mthg miKvix gvVKg`MY KvR Kti b hv`i m½ Mogevmx mi vmi hš|

ersj vt`k ckmmbK wqštYi gva`tg tk`iKiY bwiZ AbjniYi dtj RbMY Dbqbg KgRvU t`tk wevQbentq cto| bwiZ wbañY I ev`evqtb t`qI tbi Dci t`tk bxp ev top - down cxwZ KvR Kti| Dci t`tk`Zix bwiZgvj v`vív cwiPwj Z Dbqbg KgmpxZ RbMthYi AskMthYi mthvM tbB| RbMthYi c`vbn fvgKv ntq hvq miKvix bwiZtZ mg`b c`vb| GtZ RbMthYi Drmn`tg hvq| Avgj vZwšK Gwj Ut`i Dci Zvt`i wbf`Kvj Zvl epw cvq| ckmKMY wR wR wefvMí D`Pzi KgRZMthYi KvtQ Ges mte`pP chq mswk`gšYvj tqi KvtQ`vqex`vtKb| RbMthYi KvtQ ckmKMYi`vqexZvi tKvb AeKvk tbB| ckmmbi KvR m`utK`gZvgZ cKvtki mthvM RbMthYi tbB| GgZve`vq RbMY w`ún ntq cto| Avi GB bxi e wbf`qZvtKB m`šZ etj atí wbtq miKvix KgRvU`eaZv cvq| ckmKMYi w`K t`tk hš`c`vb Kiv nq th Zvív c`k`qYc`b,`q I wekLÁ| Dbqbtbi Kgmpx Zvt`i KvtQ ckmmbK KvR, th KvtRi we`tq Zvt`i chp`Ávb AvtQ| mZi vs Dbqbg we`tq RbMthYi

ersj vt`k ckmmbK
wbqštYi gva`tg
tk`iKiY bwiZ
AbjniYi dtj RbMY
Dbqbg KgRvU t`tk
wevQbentq cto|

cġeDl vcb Zv` i KvQ AewAZ | mPivPi Ggb aviYv cġvk Kiv nq th RbMŕYi chŕB Ávb
tbB Ges Zivv bv eŕSB cġeDl vcb KiQ | cġvmKMY gtb Ktib RbMYŕK mŕWK ũbŕ`R
cŕvb Kiv Zv` i KvR Ges cġvmŕbi KvŕR mnŕhŕMZv cŕvb Kiv RbMŕYi KvR | th cġvmb
RbMŕYi AskMŕYŕK AhŕPZ nŕŕc gtb Kŕi Zvi tbZŕZi RbMŕYi Rb` Dbŕbgj K KvR
mŕú`b mvdj` etq Avŕb bv |

cġvmŕbi MYewQbzv

Mŕtg mŕaviY gvb | cġvmŕbi ũbqgKvbp fŕtj vŕŕe bv Rvbvi Rb` cġvmKMŕYi mŕ½ mŕWK fŕe
thŕMŕthŕM mŕó KiŕZ AcŕiM nq | cġvmŕbi ŕ` K ŕŕK ŕ` Lŕj ŕ` Lv hvq th cġvmKMY AvBb
k„Lj v i ŕŕvKvix I Dbŕb Kg`ev`evqbKvixi fŕgKv cyj b Kŕi | GB `ŕ aiŕbi KvŕRi Rb`
`ŕ aiŕbi cġkŕY cŕqvRb | ŕKŠ` cġvmKMYŕK AvBb cŕqvMKvix ũntŕte RbMY ŕŕK ewQbz
KŕiB`Zix Kiv nq |

Mŕtgi mŕavi b gvb | i
mŕ½ cġvmŕbi thŕMŕthŕM
mŕm`vRbK nŕj I Mŕtgi
weĒkŕj x, gvZeŕi,
e`emvq tkYxi mŕ½
cġvmŕbi mŕm`úKŕMto
DŕV |

ŕ` Lv hvq th miKŕŕi weŕfbewefŕM GKB aiŕbi KvR mŕú`b KiQ | GŕU NŕU miKŕŕi
weŕfbewefŕM c„KxKiY Kŕi ŕŕj ŕŕZŕŕj` weŕŕM mŕó Kivi KvŕŕY | thgb Kŕl miÁvgŕ` I FY
weZiŕŕi Rb` GKŕaK weŕŕM AvŕQ | Gaiŕbi KŕqKŕU weŕŕM nŕ`Q weAviŕŕe, weŕKŕe I
weGŕŕŕm | `ŕi` RbMŕYi cŕŕc Gme weŕŕŕi ŕfbŕZv eŕS mŕeav Av`vq Kiv`ŕmŕa` nŕq cŕo |
GQov GKB weŕŕŕi gŕa`I cġvmŕbK KvR weŕkŕxKiŕŕi Dŕŕŕk` weŕŕŕZ Kiv nq | ŕKŕb
GKŕU KvR Kivi Rb` GKRŕbi mŕ½ thŕMŕthŕM KivB hŕ`ó bq | GKŕU cYŕ% KvR Av`vq
Kivi Rb` KŕqKŕU `ŕŕi thŕMŕthŕM Kiv cŕqvRb | Mŕtgi mŕaviY gvb | i KvŕQ Avŕe`b Kivi
cŕŕZ, cġvmŕbi `be`ŕB KZv cŕkŕ mŕm`KŕyAŕPbv eŕj teŕa nq | MŕgxY RbMY th mŕgvŕRK
KvŕŕgŕZ evm Kŕib Zv ALŕŕZ | thgb GKRB e`ŕŕK FY, mvi, exR, KŕUŕbK BZ`ŕ
mŕMŕni Rb` weŕfbewefŕM KŕgŕZŕŕ `ŕŕi weŕfbewbqg AbŕŕiY KiŕZ nq | Mŕtgi gvb |
gŕLvgŕL mŕúK`vcŕb Af` | Mŕtg gvZeŕiŕ` i mŕ½ mŕaviY gvb | i mŕúŕKŕ gŕa` ũbŕZb,
ŕkŕY `vKŕj I thŕMŕthŕM aiŕb mnR, mij | cġvmŕbi ũbqgKvbp, cŕZŕŕbK cŕŕek I
cġvmKMŕYi AvŕiY Mŕtgi gvb | i KvŕQ AŕPbv, RŕUj, `ŕi I `be`ŕB K nŕqŕi KvŕŕY
`ŕeŕa` nŕq DŕV |

Mŕtgi mŕaviY gvb | i mŕ½ cġvmŕbi thŕMŕthŕM mŕm`vRbK nŕj I Mŕtgi weĒkŕj x, gvZeŕi,
e`emvq tkYxi mŕ½ cġvmŕbi mŕm`úKŕMto DŕV | Mŕtg KgŕZ cġvmKMY ũbŕŕŕ` i ŕkYxMZ
Ae`ŕŕbi KvŕŕY MŕgxY mŕú`kŕj ŕ` i mŕ½ `ŕŕ` mŕúKŕMto ŕZŕŕb | cġvmKMŕYi
AŕaKŕk knŕi i ga`weĒ I D`P ŕkYxi Gŕj U ŕZgŕb Mŕtgi weĒevb I ŕŕgZŕkŕj xMYI MŕgxY
Gŕj U | GB `ŕ Gŕj U Mŕŕci gŕa` mnŕRB `ŕ` mŕúKŕMto DŕV |

cġvmK I MŕgxY Gŕj Uŕ` i `ŕ` mŕúKŕ

Mŕg chŕq mdj fŕe KvR Kivi Dŕŕŕk` cġvmKMY MŕgxY Gŕj Uŕ` i `ŕ` mŕúKŕ `ŕ` Pŕŕv Kŕi
ũbŕŕŕ` i Ae`vb `p Kŕib | miKŕix Dŕ`ŕŕM Mŕg chŕq FY, Kŕl DcKiY, ŕvY, A`mŕŕŕŕ
hv ŕKŕyeivŕ Kiv nq ŕm me mŕŕhŕM mŕeav MŕgxY ŕŕgZŕkŕj xMY cġvmŕbi thŕM mŕŕŕk mnŕR
ŕŕŕq hvb | dŕj Mŕg chŕq KgŕZ cġvmKŕ` i mŕ½ Mŕtgi weĒevbŕ` i mŕm`úKŕMŕxi nŕq
DŕV | ejv hvq gŕŕŕj q ŕŕK ŕi` Kŕi Mŕtgi `ŕ` mŕúKŕ chŕ`vZv ŕMŕxi mŕúKŕe`Z |
cġvmŕbi ga`Zŕq G mŕúKŕŕeŕo nŕq DŕV | gŕŕŕj q `vZv ũntŕte cġvmŕbK weŕŕŕK
mŕú` eŕŕŕbi Dŕŕŕk` `vb Kŕi | cġvmKMY MŕixZv ũntŕte Zv MŕŕY Kŕib | Mŕg chŕq cġvmb

`vzv wntmte MōgxY weĒkuj xti`i GB m=ú` `vb Kti | MōgxY weĒkuj xMY MōixZv wntmte Zv Mōiy Kti b | Avevi MōgxY weĒkuj xMY `vzv wntmte GB m=ú` mvaY MōgevmtK `vb Kti b hviv MōixZv wntmte Zv Mōiy Kti | RivZiq chĕqi kvk tMvōx `vbxq chĕqi cĕkvtbi gra`tg mĕthvM mjeav eUv Kti mi Kvĕi cōZ `vbxq chĕqi qĕgZvkvj xti`i AvbMZ` ARB Kti _vtK | Gfvte eUv e`vi gra`tg mi Kvĕi cōZ mg`B ep`x tctj mi Kvĕi qĕgZv w`wZkxj nq | Ab` w`tk cĕkvtbiK e`v mviZv MōgxY qĕgZv KvVtgvK wUvkĕq ivtL Ges kv³kvj x Kti | Avi MōgxY qĕgZvkvj xMY ivtōf kvk tkYxi Rb` tfvU Av`vq Kti b, kvmtbi ct`q m=šyZ Av`vq Kti b Ges RbMĕYi weĕivaxZv `gb Kti b |

ivōtq m=ú` I mĕthvM mjeav eUvbi GK"QĪ qĕgZv jvf Kti Mōg chĕqi cĕkvtbiKMY `ĕwZcivqY ntq DĕVb | `ĕwZ m=ē nq Kvĕi th m=ú` Zviv eUv Ktib Zv `y`cōc` I mwxgZ | mvi, exR, KvUvkvK, tmĕPi mjeav, FY BZ`w` fZRx cōB gtj` weZiY Kiv nq | G mKj mĕthvM cvlqvi Rb` cōZthvMi msL`v AĕbK | mZivs cĕkvtbiKMY evonZ Avtqi c` mĕg nq | GB mĕthvM e`envi Kti cĕkvtbiKMY Ny Mōiy Ktib I e`w³MZ `ĕ`D`vĕi wewbgĕq weĒevb`i gĕa` m=úb eUv Ktib | Gfvte `vbxq qĕgZv KvVtgv I cĕkvtbiK KvVtgvĕi thvMvRĕk ivōtq m=ú` weĒevb tkYxi GK"QĪ AvmacZ` cōZwōZ nq | Mōtgi `wi`^tkYx Aw`R A`^Qj Zv I thvMĕthvMi Afvte cĕkvtbi mĕ½ G aiĕbi `ĕ`P tj bĕ b KiĕZ Amg`q dtj ivtōf m=ú` t`ĕK `wi`^tkYx ewĀZ nq | tKej MōgxY qĕgZvkvj xti`i mĕ½ `vzv MōixZvi m=úK`vcĕbi gra`tgB `wi`^tkYx ivōtq m=ú`i mwxgZ fvM tctZ mg`ntZ cvĕi | Zvi A`MōgxY qĕgZvkvj xti`i Dci wbfPZv t`ĕK `wi`^tkYx tewĕq AvmĕZ AcviM nq | Kvĕi Mōtgi abx tkYxi wbeo m=úK`cōZwōZ tKej `vbxq Avgj vt`i mĕ½ bq, ivtōf mĕ½ | ivtōf qĕgZv I m=ú` fvmfvwm Kti fvm Kti th kvk tkYx, Zvt`i mnĕthvM kv³ Mōtgi weĒevbMY | RivZiq kvk tkYx I `vbxq weĒevbMY ci`úĕi i`ĕ`i qĕgZv | GB `ĕ`P wbfPkvj Zv I eÜbB ivtōf I qĕgZvi Drm |

ivōtq m=ú` I mĕthvM mjeav eUvbi GK"QĪ qĕgZv jvf Kti Mōg chĕqi cĕkvtbiKMY `ĕwZcivqY ntq DĕVb |

mivsk

evsj vt`k mi Kvix cĕkvtbi AvgjvZmšK gĕbvfĕei KvĕiY DbqB KgĕPx ev`evqB mgm`vRbK ntq cto | epUk JcubĕemK cĕkvtbi Av`tj Mvb Kivi dtj cĕkvtbiK KihZ AvBbK, Ljv i qĕgZv i AvBb cĕkvtbiK m=šv wntmte weĕepbv Kiv nq | GB gĕbvfĕxi KvĕiY RbMY t`ĕK Gi wewQbZv `i Kiv `jma` ntq cto | Z`m cĕkvtbiK MYgĕx bmvZ I MYDbqB KgĕPxi mĕ½ hĕ³ Kiv ntq _vtK | Gi A`cĕkvtbiK GKw`tk AvBbK, Ljv i qĕgZv KiĕZ nt`Q I Ab`w`tk DbqB KgĕvÜ ev`evqB KiĕZ nt`Q | wKš`GB `ĕ` aiĕbi Kvĕi Rb` `ĕ` aiĕbi cĕk`qY cĕkvtbiK | GB `ōZ figKvq AeZiy`nl qvq cĕkvtbi I RbMĕYi m=úĕK`P t`ĕĕĕ RvUj Ae`vi m=š nq | cĕkvtbiKMY t`ĕK AvBb cĕkvtbiK wntmte RbMY t`ĕK wewQbe Ktib cōZ Kiv ntq _vtK | wKš`DbqB Kvĕi Rb` cĕkvtbiK weĕk aiĕbi `y | DbqB KgĕP Rb` RbMĕYi `vex I AvKv qĕgZv ciĕYi gĕbvfĕe _vKv Lp Ri`ix, hv cĕkvtbiKMY t`ĕb | t`Lv hvq th mi Kvix KgĕZmĕYi AĕbĕKB Mōtg wMĕq ZYgĕ chĕqi RbMĕYi mĕ½ KvR KiĕZ AvMōx bb | GB AvMōh I Gij U gĕbvfĕe cĕkvtbiKMY t`ĕK Lp mnĕRB Mōtgi `wi`ĕ`i KvQ t`ĕK `ĕi mviĕq tdtj |

cvfVvEi gj vq

be⁹³ K cke

mVK DEti i cvfk wJK (v) wPy w b |

- 1| evsj vf` tk vbxq chiq ckm¹bi c¹vb Kiv wK?
- K. Rb Kj vY wvOZ Kiv
- L. wi`¹KI.tKi m¹/₂ m¹uK¹to tZvj v
- M. mi Kvfi i AvBb c¹qvM Kiv
- N. abx KI.KM¹Yi m¹/₂ m¹uK¹to tZvj v

- 2| evsj vf` tk vbxq ckmKMY Zvf` i KvRi Rb` Kvi KvQ` vqex?
- K. vbxq RbMY
- L. abx KI.KMY
- M. BDvbq cwi l`
- N. wR wR wfv¹Mi D¹PZi KgRZMY

- 3| Mtgvb¹bi w¹vS tKv_vq MpxZ nq?
- K. BDvbq cwi l` KZR MpxZ w¹vS tK¹ iq mi Kvi tK AewZ Kiv nq
- L. vbxq chiq ckm¹ w¹vS MhY Kti tK¹ iq mi Kvi tK AewZ Kti
- M. tRj v cwi l` KZR w¹vS MpxZ nq
- N. tK¹ iq mi Kvi w¹vS MhY Kti vbxq ckm¹ l BDvbq cwi l` tK ev` evq¹bi Rb` AewZ Kti

- 4| wtai tKvW evsj vf` tk ckmwK KvVt¹vi kx¹l Av¹Q?
- K. tK¹ iq m¹Pej q
- L. RvZxq msm`
- M. i v¹ciZi `dZi
- N. wPvi wfv¹M

msw¹B cke

- 1| ckmwK tK¹ iqKi Y ej tZ wK tevSvq?
- 2| Mtgi `wi`¹mvavi Y gvbl tKb ckm¹bi m¹h¹vM m¹ev Av` vq Ki tZ Acvi M nb?

iPbvj K cke

- 1| vbxq chiq ckmKM¹Yi m¹/₂ Mtgy Gwj UM¹Yi m¹u¹tK¹ aib Avtj vPbv Ki "b |
- 2| wK wK Kvi tY evsj vf` tk ckm¹ MY wew¹Qbntq cto? Avtj vPbv Ki "b |

Beliefs, Rituals and Religion

cōpxbKvj t̥tk̥ ev̥Pvi cōqv̥Rtb̥ evsj̥ v̥ AĀt̥j̥ i̥ gvb̥l̥ m̥Üvb̥ Kt̥i̥t̥Q̥ Aw̥Z̥ cōK̥Z̥ k̥w̥³̥ i̥ Drm̥ Ges̥ Av̥v̥ v̥vc̥b̥ Kt̥i̥t̥Q̥ c̥wi̥w̥P̥Z̥ c̥K̥w̥Z̥i̥ k̥w̥³̥ i̥ Dci̥ | gvb̥l̥ met̥P̥t̥q̥ tek̥x̥ Rvb̥t̥Z̥ t̥P̥óv̥ Kt̥i̥t̥Q̥ Z̥vi̥ w̥b̥t̥Ri̥ ṽR̥weK̥ l̥ Aw̥l̥ K̥ ṽlg̥Z̥v̥t̥K̥ | tet̥P̥ v̥K̥vi̥ Dcv̥q̥ w̥nt̥m̥te̥ gvb̥t̥l̥ gvb̥t̥l̥ m̥ṽúK̥ṽvc̥b̥ Kt̥i̥ A_ṽR̥ t̥R̥v̥Ue̥x̥ n̥t̥q̥ emev̥t̥mi̥ c_ L̥t̥R̥ t̥ct̥q̥t̥Q̥ evsj̥ veim̥x̥iv̥ | GZme̥ k̥w̥³̥, ṽlg̥Z̥v̥ l̥ m̥ṽú̥t̥K̥P̥ m̥ṽṽj̥ b̥ N̥t̥U̥t̥Q̥ Z̥v̥t̥ i̥ w̥P̥S̥v̥av̥iv̥q̥ | evsj̥vi̥ cōK̥w̥Z̥K̥ c̥wi̥ t̥et̥k̥, Drc̥v̥ṽ b̥ e̥e̥v̥q̥ l̥ t̥R̥v̥Ue̥x̥Z̥v̥q̥ M̥to̥ D̥t̥V̥t̥Q̥ evsj̥ veim̥x̥t̥ i̥ wekl̥m, cōv̥ l̥ Av̥P̥vi̥ Ab̥j̥v̥b̥ | Gme̥ wekl̥m̥ l̥ cōv̥ Z̥v̥t̥ i̥ aw̥g̥R̥Z̥v̥ w̥bg̥ṽ Kt̥i̥ | Z̥v̥t̥ i̥ K̥v̥t̥Q̥ at̥g̥P̥ A_ṽh̥v̥ w̥K̥Q̥y̥m̥j̥, L̥j̥ l̥ m̥w̥K̥ Z̥vi̥ gvb̥ṽ E̥ | evsj̥ veim̥x̥t̥ i̥ wekl̥m̥ we̥w̥f̥b̥æ̥c̥ō̥w̥Z̥ō̥mb̥K̥ ag̥ṽth̥gb̥ te̥S̥x̥ ag̥, w̥ṽy̥ag̥, B̥mj̥vg̥ l̥ w̥L̥b̥ ag̥ṽv̥iv̥ c̥f̥w̥e̥Z̥ n̥t̥q̥t̥Q̥ | evsj̥ v̥ AĀt̥j̥ B̥mj̥vg̥ ag̥ṽc̥ṽvi̥ Kt̥i̥ b̥ m̥p̥x̥ m̥vḁK̥M̥Y̥ | B̥mj̥v̥t̥gi̥ m̥vg̥ṽ ev̥Y̥x̥ ṽvi̥ v̥ Av̥K̥ó̥ n̥t̥q̥ G̥ AĀt̥j̥ i̥ gvb̥l̥ ag̥ṽw̥i̥ Z̥ nb̥ |

ag̥ṽZ̥w̥E̥K̥M̥t̥Y̥i̥ g̥t̥Z̥, at̥g̥P̥ m̥v̥av̥i̥Y̥ av̥i̥Y̥v̥ GB̥ th̥ ev̥e̥ c̥w̥ex̥ GK̥ Aw̥Z̥c̥ō̥K̥Z̥ R̥M̥t̥Z̥i̥ Ask̥ | ag̥ṽg̥vb̥t̥l̥ i̥ m̥t̥½̥ Aw̥Z̥c̥ō̥K̥Z̥ R̥M̥t̥Z̥i̥ th̥v̥M̥m̥l̥ v̥vc̥b̥ Kt̥i̥ | m̥j̥ó̥K̥Z̥ṽ m̥t̥½̥ w̥g̥j̥ t̥bi̥ g̥vḁt̥g̥ gvb̥l̥ Av̥ḁw̥l̥ K̥ k̥w̥³̥ t̥Z̥ D̥³⁄₄̥w̥e̥Z̥ n̥q̥ | G̥t̥Z̥ gvb̥l̥ k̥w̥S̥ l̥ w̥b̥iv̥c̥E̥v̥ j̥v̥f̥ Kt̥i̥ Ges̥ t̥c̥ō̥gi̥ Ab̥j̥v̥i̥Z̥t̥Z̥ w̥ṽ n̥q̥ |

wekl̥m̥ ej̥ t̥Z̥ tev̥S̥v̥q̥ R̥M̥Z̥ l̥ R̥xeb̥ m̥ṽú̥t̥K̥ṽg̥vb̥t̥l̥ i̥ av̥i̥Y̥v̥ (world view) | G̥t̥K̥ R̥xeb̥ ṽk̥b̥l̥ ej̥ v̥ hv̥q̥ | wekl̥m̥ gvb̥t̥l̥ i̥ m̥t̥½̥ Aw̥Z̥ cōK̥Z̥ k̥w̥³̥ i̥, c̥K̥w̥Z̥i̥ l̥ gvb̥t̥l̥ i̥ m̥t̥½̥ gvb̥t̥l̥ i̥ m̥ṽú̥t̥K̥P̥ Aw̥f̥Ḁ̄Z̥vi̥ dm̥j̥ |

wekl̥t̥mi̥ ev̥e̥ i̥fc̥ cōv̥t̥bi̥ R̥b̥ṽ gvb̥l̥ th̥ m̥K̥j̥ Av̥b̥j̥v̥mb̥K̥Z̥vi̥ Av̥t̥q̥iv̥R̥b̥ Kt̥i̥ Z̥v̥B̥ cōv̥ ev̥ Av̥P̥vi̥ | Drme̥ D̥ṽ hv̥cb̥ t̥tk̥ Av̥P̥vi̥ c̥w̥K̥ | Drm̥te̥ cōZ̥w̥n̥K̥ R̥xe̥t̥bi̥ K̥g̥R̥v̥E̥ c̥ō̥av̥b̥ṽ cv̥q̥ | w̥K̥S̥ Av̥P̥v̥t̥i̥ v̥t̥K̥ ag̥ṽṽ M̥v̥ṽth̥ṽ | c̥w̥E̥ Z̥vi̥ Ab̥j̥v̥i̥Z̥ | Av̥P̥vi̥ Ab̥j̥v̥t̥bi̥ c̥Z̥x̥K̥ ṽi̥Z̥; Ḁt̥b̥K̥ tek̥x̥ |

GB BD̥w̥t̥U̥i̥ c̥w̥ṽw̥j̥ n̥t̥ṽQ̥ -

- ◆ c̥w̥ - 1 : evsj̥ v̥t̥ṽ t̥ki̥ we̥w̥f̥b̥æ̥g̥ṽ
- ◆ c̥w̥ - 2 : evsj̥ v̥q̥ B̥mj̥vg̥ at̥g̥P̥ c̥ṽvi̥
- ◆ c̥w̥ - 3 : evsj̥ v̥t̥ṽ t̥ki̥ we̥w̥f̥b̥æ̥g̥ṽ Drme̥

evsj vt` tki weifbæag®

Different Religions of Bangladesh

GB cVWU cto AvCwb RvbZ cvi teb-

- Bmj vg atgP gj bwiZ
- wv` yaTgP gj bwiZ
- wLb atgP gj bwiZ
- teSx atgP gj bwiZ
- cKwZ cRvi gj bwiZ

Bmj vg ag®

Bmj vgtK kwSi ag®
 ejv nq| Bmj vgx
 `vKwKMYi gtZ
 mwKZPev Avj wai
 KvQ Avl mgcPYi ga`
 w`tg gvb| kwS jvf
 Kti |

Bmj vgtK kwSi ag®ejv nq| Avi ex Bmj vgO kAw GtmtQ Omj vgO hvi A_®kwS I Omj gO hvi A_®mgcY t_tK| Bmj vgx `vKwKMYi gtZ mwKZPev Avj wai KvQ Avl mgcPYi ga` w`tg gvb| kwS jvf Kti | Gi dtj gvb| Avj wai KZR mo RMtZi mKj wKQj mt½l kwSgq mawK`vcb Kitz cvi | GB Kvity gmj gvbMY ci`uti i mt½ t`Lv ntj Omj vgO ev kwS weibgq Kti _vtKb| Bmj vg ag®ej vMYtK gmj gvb ejv nq| gmj gvb nl qvi Rb` cUgZ Avj wai B`Qvi KvQ mawYvte mgcY Kiv I wZxqZ GB Av`kOvi v Rxeb cwi Pwj Z Kiv cUqvRb| wbtRi RxeTb mKj KvR Avj waiZ mgcPYi Av`kOv`eqb Kti axti axti GKRB weklym mwZ`Kviti i gmj gvb cwi YZ nb| ZLb ZvtK OfgwgbO ejv nq|

nhi Z tgvnvS (mt) Bmj vg atgP cEZR| wZwb 570 wLbvtA Avitei g°v bMxtZ RbWbY Ktib| a`vbgMae`vq wZwb Hkx evYx jvf Ktib| g°vevmt`i KvQ wZwb cPvi Ktib th Avj wai GK Ges AwZxq| wZwb Qrov tKvb cftz tbB| wZwb Avtiv cPvi Ktib th Avj wai gnvY`evb Ges gvbTli kwSi Rb` cUqvRb nt`Q cvc KvR cwi Z`wM Kti cy` ARB Kiv I gnvY`evtbi KvQ Avl mgcY Kiv| Zv bv ntj gZii ci hLb gvbTli cpi`I vb NUte ZLb Avj wai cy`evYt`i cji`Z Kiteb I cvct`i kw` t`teb| nhi Z tgvnvS (mt) Avtiv etj b th wZwb Avj wai tCti Z cji`I Ges GB Hkx evYx cPvi Kivi Rb` wZwb Aw`o ntqtQb| g°vevmtMY weifbæat`e-t`exi cRv tQto GtKkiet` weklym Kitz Pvq wv| Zviv gZii ci cpi`I vtbl weklym `vcb Kti wv| DciS` nhi Z tgvnvS (mt) AvµgtYi wKkvi nb| dtj wZwb g°v tQto gw`bvq wnhiz Ktib| gw`bvq eim KivKvj xb wZwb Awakisk Hkx evYx jvf Ktib Ges Bmj vg ag®cPvi Ktib|

Bmj vg ag®gtZ Avj wai wbtRtK gvbe ifc e`3 Ktib bv A_ev AeZvi wntmte AwefZ nb bv| tm Kvity weklym Kiv nq th tgvnvS (mt) gvb| Ges Avj wai I gvbTli i gvTS wZwb gva`g wntmte KvR KtitQb| wZwb Hkx evYx gvbTli i KvQ tCStQ w`tqtQb hv tKvi Avtb wj wceX Kiv ntqtQ| Zte tgvnvS (mt) Hkx evYxi th e`vL`v cUvb KtitQb Ges th w`K wbt`Rbv cUvb KtitQb Zv OmwntO wntmte gmj gvbMY Abmi Y Kti _vtKb| tgvnvS (mt) Gi Dct`kvej Omw`mO wntmte wj wceX Kiv ntqtQ| gmj gvbMYtK Otkvi AvbO I OmwntO Avtj vtK Rxeb

cwi Pvj bv Kivi wbt`R c0vb Kiv ntqtQ | tKvi AvbtK 0m`vqvZ0 ev mr ct_ cwi Pvj bvKivx Mš' wntmte wekym Kiv nq |

Bmj vg atg°gj wekym mvZwU | Avj wa GK I me°kw³gvb | tdtikZvMY Avj wa I gvbtl i gvtS gra'g wntmte KivR Ktib | Avj wa gvbtl i gy³i Rb` AtbK bex cwm'tqtQb Zte tgvnvš` (mt) meflkl bex | tKvi Avb Avj wa tcl0i Z agMš' Ges Aci wZbwU tcl0i Z agMš' nt`Q Zvl ivZ, Rej I BwAj | mwó RMtZi fvtjv I g` Avj wa wbaflY Ktib | tkl wePvti i w`b Avj wa cvc-cfY'i wePvi Kiteb | tkl wePvti i w`b Avj wa gvb | tK cpi`³/4meZ Kiteb |

Bmj vg atg°p c0vb wekym 0Zi w`0 ev Avj wa GKZev` | GB atg°p c0vb evYx 0jv Bj vnv Bj w`0 A_ fl Avj wa e`ZxZ tKvb Dcvm` tbB | G wekymti m½ 0m`uYzv0i aviYv hy³ | Avj wa GK Ges Zui tKvb kixK ev Askx`vi tbB | mZivs wekym Kiv nq th Avj wa m0 wek' e'p'v0i Zui m½ GKvI | GKB fite wekym Kiv nq th gvbtl i Rtbfi cteP`kv, Rtbfi ci I gZii ctii`kv GKB avivevwnKZvq Ašfß | wekym Kiv nq th cKwZ I AwZ c0KZ wefivR` bq | gvbtl i kwi ixK, `bwZK, thšw³K, bw`wbK I Ava`wI K w`K mgn Lu0Z bq | eis G mewKQyAL0 gvbe e`w³Zi wbgfY Kti | Bmj vg ag°gtZ gvbtl gvbtl tKvb cv`R` tbB, mKj gvb | mgvb | Gfite mwóRMtZi mewKQjK 0mgM0 wntmte wekym Kiv nq |

ইসলাম ধর্মের প্রধান বিশ্বাস 'তওহিদ' যা আলাহর একাত্ববাদ।

Bmj vg ag°tK 0tmvRv c_0 ev 0mivZj tgv`wKg0 ejv nq | ag°PPfl t`ftI wbgg Kivbp I AvPvi Abp0vb AvtQ | ag°PPfl cwpwU Aek` cvj bxq weavb AvtQ, hvK Bmj vtgi cwp`w`ejv nq | G_wj nt`Q Cgvb, bvgvR, tivRv, hvKvZ I n³/4 | Cgvb nt`Q wekym`vcb Kiv th Avj wa e`ZxZ tKvb Dcvm` tbB Ges tgvnvš` (mt) Avj wa tcl0i Z ivmj ev bex | e`w³MZfite`w`bK cwpvi, mgw0MZ fite mBvtn c0Z`i`mvi I wekl Abp0vbi mgq gmj gvbMfYi bvgvR covi weavb AvtQ | bvgvR I c0`0vi ga`w`tq Avj wa KvtQ AvI mgcY Kiv nq hvi dtj gtb cweI Zv Avtm | Avix igRvb gvtm gmj gvbMY GK gym tivRv ivtLb | w0w`0 mgq e`vcx Zviv Lv` I cvbxq M0Y t`tK weiZ`v`Kb Ges KAfvm cwi Z`vM Kti wbtRt`i`i`w`KifY gtbw0tek Ktib | gmj gvb`i`gta`m`u`kvj`MY ewl`R` Avq e`tqi wnmvtei wfvE`Z w0w`0 wnmve Abjvvti`wi`f`i`gta`hvKvZ weZiY Ktib | ejv ntq`v`K th,`wi`f`i`c0Z`qv`c0kflbi Rb` hvKvZ c0vb Kiv nq bv | hvKvZ c0vb Kiv nq Avj wa mš0 I wbtRt`i`cwi`i`w`xi Rb` | GtZ m`u`e0vbi KZ0`cvj b Kiv nq | g°vq cweI Kvev kixdtK tK`³Kti j`fl j`fl gmj gvbti GKtI n³/4 eZ cvj b Kiv thš_Zv I mvgt`i`c0ZxK | GB AvPvi Abp0vb wetkji b0v0 AA`tj | gmj gvbMY GKtI I t`v`v`f`f`j GKB Df`tK` GKB a`tbi i`wZ cvj tbi ga`w`tq wbtRt`i`AšRMtZi cwi eZ0 mvab Ktib | GtZ wetkji gmj gvb`i`gta`tmšv`0 I avZZ`eva RvM0Z nq |

tKvi Avtb Db0`bwZKZv ARflbi Dci tRvi t`qv ntqtQ Ges GtZ b0v0wea AvPiY wevai D`j`AvtQ | Bmj vg ag°gtZ cvc nt`Q`bwZKZvi 0j b | c0Z`K e`w³ Zvi wbtRi cvtci Rb``vqx | mtePP cvc nt`Q 0mkiK0 ev Avj wa GKZ`K A`flKvi Kiv Ges KvD`K ev tKvb wKQ`K Zui mgZj`Kiv | 0mkiK0 AgvR0xq Aciva etj wetewPZ nq | Ab`vb`bwZK Aciva AvI`i`w`x I c0`0vi gva`tg L0b Kiv hvq | Bmj vg atg°AvI`i`w`xi Rb` cwpwU c_ Aej`wb Kivi wbt`R`AvtQ | 0ZvKI qv0 nt`Q Avj wa c0Z`f`w³ c0k0 I KZ0`cvj b | Avj wa mš0i Rb`mrKg°Kiv`K 0BLj vm0 ejv nq | Avj wa B`Qvi Dci Av`vfvRb nl qv nt`Q 0Zvl qv`j`0 | 0mei0 nl qv gvtb`ah0viY Kiv | 0tkvKi0 nl qvi A_°Avj wa c0Z`KZAZv cKvk Kiv |

Bmj vg atg^oAvZ^{vi} i^wxⁱ Rb^o cYR^oby wek^olm Kiv nq bv| gZi^o cieZ^o Ae^otfK AvBbx
`wotKiv t^otK wePvi Kiv nte etj wek^olm Kiv nq|

Bmj vg ag^oK cwi cY^oR^oxb e^oe^ov^o wnt^omt^oe wek^olm Kiv nq|
R^oxb e^oe^ov^o wnt^omt^oe
wek^olm Kiv nq|

Bmj vg ag^oK cwi cY^oR^oxb e^oe^ov^o wnt^omt^oe wek^olm Kiv nq| ag^oAvBbtK Avj w^o AvBb etj
wetePbv Kiv nq, hv^otK Okwi qv^o etj | mvgwRK R^oxb k^o,Ljv i^oq^olv Kiv I gvb^ol tK KZ^o
cvj tb eva^o KivB Okwi qv^o AvBt^obi Dt^ot^ok^o | Bmj vg AvBb I `bwZKZv Ges AvBb I atg^o gta^o
cv^oR^o Kti bv| tKD kwi qv AvBb cvj b bv Ki^otj Zv kw^othvM^o Aciva I cvc etj wetePbv
Kiv nq| Bmj vg ag^oAvBt^obi c^oavb Drm tKvi Avb I mp^own| Ab^o `u^o Drm nt^oQ OBRgv^o I
Ok^oqvm^o | gmj gvb wePvi KMY AvBt^obi tKvb wel^otq HK^ogtZ^o t^octiQvtj ZvtK OBRgv^o ej v nq|
Avi Ok^oqvm^o nt^oQ atg^o Avtj vtK tKvb wel^otqi th^osw^oK e^ovL^ov c^ovb Kiv hv AvBb wnt^omt^oe MY^o
nq|

Bmj vg ag^oej w^ot^o i gta^o AwZ^o t^oqert^o wek^olmt^o i m^opx aviv AvtQ^o | m^opx^o i ag^o wek^olm GB
th Avj w^o mt^o½ gvb^ol i m^oEvi wej xb NUvtbvB c^oKZ ag^o Zvt^o i gtZ c^ow^oexi m^ou^o I t^ofVM
wej vm gvb^ol tK `vmt^oZ; Ave^ox Kti Ges G^owj tK eR^oB Kivi ga^o w^otqB Avj w^o mt^o½ GKv^ol Zv
jvf Kiv m^oe nq| m^opx mvaK^o i gtZ tKej gv^ol ag^o w^oqgKivb^o I AvPvi Ab^opvb cvj b
Kti mw^oZ^oKvi ag^ocvj b m^oe bq| Zvt^o i wek^olm GB th, Avj w^ovtK fvtj vte^otm I Kvgbv evmbv
cwi Z^oVM Kti Avj w^o mt^o½ Av^ol vi w^og^o b NUvtbv mw^oZ^oKvi ag^o

w^o yag^o

w^o yag^oGKiu c^oPxb ag^o fvi Zxq Dcgnvt^o tK Gi Drcw^oE Nt^oU | Oag^o k^oaw^o ms^oz^o Dai qwZ^o
t^otK Gt^omtQ hvi A^og^ovb^ol hv w^oKOyat^o i v^oL, enb Kti I i^oq^olv Kti | A^ow^o ag^ogv^otb tmB
mKj AvBb-Kivb^o, KZ^o, b^ovqbw^oZ I `qv^o w^oq^olv hv gvb^ol cvj b Kti v^otK | `xN^oKvj hveZ
w^o yatg^oAt^obK ag^oZw^oE^oK, `vk^ook, `bwZKZv gj K, mvgwRK I m^ov^ow^oZK c^oov^ovt^obi m^ows^oj b
Nt^oU^o | w^o yatg^o Ab^oZg `ewk^oo^o nt^oQ ag^o w^ote^o O Gi Ab^okvmb t^ogt^o Pj v | GQvov R^oxb
hvct^obi bvb^owea t^oq^olv thgb, Lv^o M^ohY, weevn, gtZi mrKvi BZ^ow^o tZ we^owea w^oqg cvj b Kiv
nq| ag^o w^oqg Ab^ovxq D^o h^ow^ocZ nq we^ofb^oec^ov I AvPvi Ab^opvb | mvgwRK msMV^otb R^owZ
eY^oc^ov cvj b Kiv nq|

প্রাচীনকালে ভারতে
বসবাসকারী মানুষজন
প্রধানত প্রকৃতি পজারী
ছিলেন।

c^oZ^ow^oE^oK^oM^ot^oYi Aw^oe^ovi t^otK w^oL^ob ce^o3,250 t^otK 2,750 m^ov ch^o fvi Zxq Dcgnvt^o tK
emevmKiv gvb^ol R^ot^obi ag^oPPP^o wel^otq Rvbv hvq^o | aviYv Kiv nq th tm mgq gvb^ol c^oavbZ
c^oKwZ cR^ovix w^oQ^otj b | t^oeZv wnt^omt^oe wke Ges Zui w^oq^o ci^o Mi^o cR^obxq w^oQ^o etj Rvbv hvq^o |
GQvov ZLb we^ofb^oec^oMvQ-MvQvj x, Dw^omc RM^ot^oZi t^oex I bvM-bvMvbx^o cRv Kiv nZ | w^oL^ob ce^o
1700 m^otj i w^o tK fvi Zxq gvb^ol Rb we^ofb^oet^ov^o ev ag^om^o½xtZi gva^otg ag^oPPP^oKi^otZv etj
Rvbv hvq^o | G^owj Oviv gj Z^o w^oZ Mvb ev msKxZ^o Kiv tevSvq^o | ax^oi ax^oi G^owj msiw^oq^oZ nq
Ges Ote^ot^o w^o w^oce^ox Kiv nq | Pviw^o Ote^ot^o i^o bvg nt^oQ- O^oF^ot^oM^o; O, Omgte^o O, OAR^ote^o O I
O^oA^ote^o O | F^ot^oM^o t^otK KtqK ai^ot^obi c^oKwZ cRvi wel^otq Rvbv hvq^o | G^owj nt^oQ Aw^oq^oB^o
(So), Elv, mh^og^ovi^oZ (evq) I tmvgv (GK ai^ot^obi MvQ) w^oL^obce^o500 m^otj i w^o tK ag^oPPP^o
we^ofb^oec^oZ^ovb, w^oqgvej x I g^oš weKvk jvf Kti etj Rvbv hvq^o | w^o w^oatg^o Ab^oZg `ewk^oo^o
nt^oQ cYR^oby wek^olm | R^oxbtK R^oxb P^oμ ev Omsmvi^o O ej v ntq v^otK | GtZ gvb^ol i f^oVM^o Zvi
Ok^og^o Oviv w^oba^oni Z nq | G P^oμ t^otK O^otg^ov^oQ^o jvf ev g^ow^o m^oe nq Zcm^ov, a^ovb I thvM
mvabvi gva^otg^o O^otg^ov^oQ^o jvf Ki^otZ tKD e^o w^ont^omt^oe ZvtK cieZ^oR^obt^o gvb^ol w^oKsev ci wnt^omt^oe

cw_extZ AvmtZ nte| A_ŕ wv`yag®gtZ Avfvi mt½ cigvfi vjgjb mæe| wks' gvbfl i AvZw cwii x bq etj cigvfi mt½ vjgjb mæe nq bv| G KvitY Rbŕ Rbŕštii mvabri cŕqvRb nq| Dcubl` (cweT Mš) t_ŕK th mvavi Y aviYv cvl qv hvq Zv GB th ōe²v0 nt"Qb GKgvI gw³ `vZv| gvbfl i agmavbi Dŕf k" nt"Q eŕvi mt½ GKvI nI qv|

wv`yag®fMevŕbi ōAeZviō ifc AvMgtbi aviYv AvŕQ| Kw_Z AvŕQ th weòz wefŕbœifŕc Awefŕ nb| wLbce®600 mtj i w_ŕK evmŕ`e bvtg GKRb wKŕŕK G avivq wKŕŕv `vb Kŕib| agMš ōfMeZ MxZvō ev cŕŕi m½xZ iwPZ nq| gnvKve` ōgnvŕviŕZō AeZviŕ`i bvbwea Kwmbxi Dŕj ŒAvŕQ| weÄi Aci AeZvi nt"Qb Kò|

wv`yag® Ab`Zg
`emkó` n"Q cŕŕŕbŕ
wekŕm|

wŌZxq I ZZxq wLbŕvā wv`yag® wefŕbœixwZ bxwZ Avŕiv cŌwZōwbK ifc jvf Kŕi| gbj agŕŕ AvBb kvŕ` AŕbK wbbq Kvbŕ wj wce x Kiv nq|

wv`yag® fŕ³ev`x mvaKMY 1000 t_ŕK 1800 wLbŕvā chš mgqKŕtj ag®PPŕ bZb aviv cŕZB Kŕib| `eòe agŕŕj æMY cŕvi Kŕib th fMevŕbi mt½ gvbfl i mæúK®tcŕŕgi I fŕ³i | Zviv Avŕiv cŕvi Kŕib th gvbfl i Avf v tm tcŕŕg Avŕ`wŕj Z nq Ges fMevb mvov ŕ`b| GKB avivq `PZb` (1484-1527) cŕvi Kŕib th KòŕK wekŕm Kiv I Kŕòi bvg Rc KivB ag®PPŕ Rb` hŕ_ō|

Lióag®

hxi wLŕŕŕi cŕvi Z agB wLbŕag® ŕRi"Rŕtj ŕgi teŕ_j nŕtg hxi RbMhY Kŕib| hxi i Rŕbŕi mgq Kŕtj hvRK I kvMŕ`i wefŕvI vq ō tgmqvLŌ ejv ntZv| weŕtgmqvL kãwJ MŕK fvl vq ōwLŕumō wntmte Abŕ` Z nq Ges Bŕŕi RŕtZ Christ wntmte e`eüZ nq| gŕmj gvbŕ`i KŕtQ hxi wLb nhi Z Cmv (Avt) bŕtg cwI wPZ| hxi wLŕŕŕi cŕvi Z evYx cweT Mš ōevŕŕeŕj ō wj wce x Kiv nq|

wLbŕag® weKŕŕki mt½ Bŕ`x atg® mæúK®AvŕQ| wLbŕbMY wekŕm Kŕib th nhi Z gmv (Avt) -i cŕvi Z ag®I wbbqveŕxi avivevwnKZvqB wLbŕag®Awefŕ nq| Zŕt`i gtZ wLbŕag®cŕeŕ agŕŕ wekŕm I PPŕŕ cwI cYŕv GŕbŕQ| LióvMY wekŕm Kŕib th nhi Z gmv (Avt) Ckŕi i tcŕŕi Z evYx cŕvi Kŕib Ges wLbŕag® Ckŕi i tcŕŕi Z evYx| G KvitY wLbŕbMY evŕŕej wntmte Old Testament and New Testament `ŕŕŕK wŕwŕj tŕq cvI Kŕib|

wLbŕag® cãvb wekŕm GB th Ckŕi wŕŕŕŕK Ges wŕŕŕi B"ŌvŕK hxi wLŕŕŕi gvaŕtg cKŕk KŕiŕQb| Ckŕi K Kíbv Kiv nq kvkZ I Abš Ava`wZK mËŕ wntmte| wLbŕag® `emkó` GŕKŕŕev`| Zŕe Ckŕi i ŕŕq ifc AvŕQ| Ckŕi i gŕa` wZv (Ckŕi) cŕŕ (hxi) I cigvZŕi wjgjb NŕU| GB atg®gvbŕj tK` wK I Ava`wŕŕ K mËŕi mgšŕq wntmte aviYv Kiv nq| gvbŕj Zvi cvcMŌ Zvi KvitY Ckŕi i Ki"Yv jŕŕf ewÄZ nq| hxi wLbŕŕ Kŕŕi i cŕŕ Ges Ckŕi i ŕŕq ifc i GK ifc wntmte wekŕm Kiv nq| wLbŕag® gtZ hŕk-wLŕŕŕi gvaŕtg Ckŕi gvbe ifc Awefŕ nb Ges ZvB hxi wLŕŕŕi Hkŕi K I gvbweK `Yveŕx Awewŕŕbœifc jvf Kŕi| gvbŕfl i Aw` cvŕci KvitY (Av`g I nvl qvi `Mŕŕ_ŕK cw_extZ AvMgb) Ckŕi i mt½ weŕ`ŕ` NŕU| hxi wLŕŕŕi Awefŕŕei dtj tm weŕ`ŕ` `i nq| KvitY hxi wLŕŕŕi mt½ Ckŕi i cŕwŕŕb NŕU| wLbŕbMY wekŕm Kŕib th gvbe RwZi Aciva I cvc LŪb Kivi Rb` Zŕt`i cŕŕ t_ŕK hxi

mlb gZj eiY Ktib| mlb agej ɔt`i gta` Atbtk weklm Ktib th hxi mlb cbRaeZ nteb| Gi ci weklmMY Abš ml I cvcMŃMY Abš kw` tfvM Kiteb| mlbaggtZ Ckji tctg I hxi i tctg gvbtli mvdj` wbfP Kti| thgb hxi mlb Ckji i tctg DŃk ntqutj b Ges wZwb mgMŃgvbeRwZi Rb` tctg weZiY KtiQtb| Ckji tctg I gvbe tctgi aviYvi dtj mlbvbMY mlbagfK AvšRŃZK ageej gtb Ktib| G KviY agePviKMY agecPvti I tmev gj K KvR wbtqvRZ nb| mlbvb wgbvixMY wkvjv I `v` tmev KgŃPx MŃY Kti vtK|

mlbatgP cŃvb weklm GB th Ckji wbtRtk I wbtRi B`QvK hxi mltoi gva`tg cKvk KtiQtb|

tešxag

mlbce563 mtj i KvQvKwQ tKvbtv GK mgq wmxv`tMSZg tbcvtj i Kwjve`tZ RbWŃY Ktib| ivR cwievfi RbWŃY Kiti I ivRZi I maut`i cŃZ Zwi AvKIŃ wQj bv| tQvU tejvq wZwb mvsrwvi K wel`tq D`vmb I wPšvgMewQtj b| exKvtj i Ae`v, e`vwaMŃ gvbj, gZi I mbwxi Rxeb wmxvt`P gtbvRMtZ cŃve tdtj | RxeŃbi Ńq, Kó I AwbZ`Zv Aetj vKb Kivi ci msvt`i cŃZ wmxvt`P Abxv Avtiv teŃo hvq| GKRb mbwxi Avb Ašt`Yi gvš wZwb Avb` i mŃvb cvb| Zvi ci GKw`b wmxv`msmvi Z`vM Ktib| wZwb K`QZv mvab Ktib I KtVvi Zcm`vq wbgMenb| Zvi ci KtVvi Zcm`v tQto ga`g cšv Aej ɔb Kti avbgMenb| avtbi gva`tg wmxv`wmxj vf Ktib Ges ŃtewaŃ ev Avb ARŃ Kti ŃekŃ bvtg cwivPwZ j vf Ktib| tMSZg efxi cPwi Z agB tešxagP

efxi gtZ cŃYx gvfi i B Rxeb aviY`tLK i | tftMi B`Qv t`tK ZŃvi RbŃ ZŃvB`tLi KviY|

tešxatgP gj wfvE nt`Q Pviw mtZ`i Dcj wä| Pviw mZ` nt`Q- 1. gvbe Rxeb`tLgq 2.`tLi gj KviY ZŃv 3. ZŃvi webvK Kti gvbj`tL t`tK gwP j vf Kti 4. ga`g c_ Aej ɔb Kti gwP j vf mae Ges ga`g c_ nt`Q AŃwŃK gvMŃP efxi gtZ cŃYx gvfi i B Rxeb aviY`tLK i | tftMi B`Qv t`tKB ZŃvi RbŃ nq| mZivS ZŃv`gb Kivi gva`tgB Riv, gZi, tkvK,`tL BZ`w`i Dckg NUvtbv mae| ex ga`g c_ Aej ɔb Kivi Rb` Dct`k t`b| ga`g c_ nt`Q`B Aš i ga`eZr`c_ | GK Aš nt`Q KtVvi mvabv I mewKQycwi Z`vM Kiv Ges Ab` Aš nt`Q Kvg tmttZ Mv fwmvq t`qv| AŃwŃK gvMŃP AšfP nt`Q- cĀAv (mg`K`wŃ, mg`K msKí), kvj (mg`K evK, mg`K Kg, mg`K RweKv) mgwa (mg`K cŃZŃ mg`K`šZ, mg`K mgwa)| cĀAv jvtfi Rb` hv wKQyeRŃ Kiv cŃqvRb tm`uj nt`Q- g` Kg, wmsmv, Pwi, thšb e`wPvi, wgv`v fviY, PKvj, KŃzevK, e`v evK, tj vf, cŃZwmsmv, avš aviYv| kvj ev m`vPvi ARŃ KitiZ ntj mZ` K_v ejtZ nte, fvi KvR KitiZ nte Ges mr RweKv Ńviv Rxeb hvcb KitiZ nte| mgwa j vf KitiZ ntj cŃqvRb Bw`t mštgi cŃPŃv, agfK`šiy ivLv I wPteĀi GKvMŃv j vf Kiv| mvaviY fite tešx agej ɔt`i ageŃ RxeŃbi gj wfvE cĀKvj AbjmiY| GB cĀKvj nt`Q- cŃYx nZ`v bv Kiv, Pwi bv Kiv, e`wPvi bv Kiv, wgv`v K_v bv ejv I gv`K`e` MŃY bv Kiv| wfvŃMYtK (hiv ag`mvabv Ktib) `kkvj AbjmiY KitiZ nq| Zvt`itK Dctiv` cvPw kvj Abjmit`Yi mt`Avtiv cvPw kvj thvM KitiZ nq| G`uj nt`Q- weKvtj tftvRb t`tK weiz`vKv, bZ` MxZ eRŃ Kiv, mŃMŃx`e` e`envi bv Kiv, D`Pmb e`envi bv Kiv I tmvbw ifcv BZ`w` e`envi bv Kiv|

efxi gtZ GKgvI KtgP gva`tgB gvbj Zvi RxeŃbi cwieZŃ NUvtZ cvfi |

efxi Ab`Zg evYx nt`Q- gvbj wbtRB wbtRi fiv` wqšv| Zvi gtZ GKgvI KtgP gva`tgB gvbj Zvi RxeŃbi cwieZŃ NUvtZ cvfi | mKj cŃYxi RxeŃK ex gj`evb gtb Ktib| Zvi evYx nt`Q- me`Rte`qv- Awmsmv cigag`I Rxe nZ`v gnvcvc| efxi Dct`kvejx cwj fvlvq ŃwŃwUKŃ G`uj wce`x Kiv nq| ex hP` I Avt`vcj wätZ weklm Ktib| wZwb Zvi wkvjvtKI hvPv bv Kti MŃY Kiv AbjPr etj gtb Ktib|

tešx atg® mvie` AmbZ, `tL I Abvfvq wekym| tešx atg®Avfv ej tZ w`i wKQytbB| G atg®Atj swwk kw³tZ wekym `vctbi weq tbB| `tLi tnZiZðv t_tK cwíY j vtfi Rb` RbVšti wekym Kiv nq| efxi gtZ Kvg, tFvM, Zðv BZ`w` t_tK gw³j vtfi Rb` RbVšti i mvabvi cðqvRb ntZ cvti| Aetkñl Zðv m`úY`lqcðB ntj I tfvMí B`Qv mgvß ntj `tL tkl nq| ZLb gvbl wbeF j vF Kti| wbeF j vtfi ci gvbtli wK `kv nq tm weqtq cðkKi vK ey Aths³K etj wePbv Ktib| wbeF j vtfi Rb` ey agfK tfj vi b`vq e`envi Kivi K_v etj b| efxi gtZ tfj vifcx agfK enb Kiv Aths³K|

cKwZ cRv

ersj v`tki ¶i`RwZtMvöxi gvbl Rñbi Añtk cKwZ cRv Kti _vKb| cKwZ cRvi Ab`Zg aib nt`Q ceey`IMYtK cRv Kiv| D`vniY`fç Lwmqv`i K_v ej v hvq| Zviv wekym Ktib th gZ e`w³i Avfv kw³kvj x| Lwmqviv gZ ce`cj`l`i Rb` cvntoi cv`t`k Lvevi tiñL Avfmb| ZvQvov wñRt`i tKvb cðqvRtñb mnvqZvi Rb` Zviv ce`cj`l`i `ñiY Ktib Ges Abpñtbi AvtqvRb Kti ce`cj`l`i Rb` Lvevi w`tq _vKb| cKwZ cRvixiv wekym Ktib th, tKej RweZ gvbl bq, cKwZi meiwKQj Ges GgbwK Ro e`iI Avfv AvtQ| Iivl I mvl Zvj iv mhK cRv Ktib| Iivl iv Avtiv wekym Ktib th Móg, Mn`vjx, km` Ges ebnÁtj i Avfv AvtQ| gvbtli mñ I mgwxi Rb` Zviv G mKj Avfv Dñt`k` cRv Ktib| ivReskiv cvnvo, b`x I ebnÁtj i Avfv Dñt`k` AN`wte`b Ktib| Lwmqviv cv`t`i kw³tZ wekym Ktib Ges Avc` evj vB``i Kivi Rb` cv`i e`envi Ktib| cKwZ cRvix`i Añtk cðv cRv Kti _vKb| gvbcjxiv mvc Ges mvc tMv`xq cðvYtK kðv Ktib Ges Lvevi t`b| mvl Zvj iv Mi`tK cRv Ktib|

cKwZ cRviMY wekym Ktib th cKwZi me wKQj GgbwK Ro e`iI Avfv AvtQ|

cKwZ cRvix`i Añtk hv`tZ wekym Ktib| Zviv gñb Ktib cKwZi tKvb e`i hñ` tKvb wektl _Y _vK Zvntj tmB e`w e`envi Kti gvbl I tmB `tYi AwaKvix ntZ cvti ev DcKvi tctZ cvti| mvl Zvj t`i gñ` Kw_Z AvtQ th nvtmi wWg t_tK cw`exi mw³ ntqtQ| Iivl iv wekym Ktib th wWtgi tFZti cðv j`v wqZ _vK| wWg nt`Q AštmÈv bvixi b`vq, th GK mt½`yU Avfv aviY Kti| GB wekym t_tK AvPvi Abpñtbi gva`tg wWg e`envi Kti Zviv mšvb j vtfi Rb` cð`v Ktib| cKwZ cRvix`i Añtk th e`i Kvgbv Ktib Zvi AbKiy bvbwea AvPvi Abpñb Kti _vKb| thgb eyó Kvgbv Kti Iivl iv `j`teña cwbñZ wñRb, cwb wQvov I bZ` Ktib| PvKgviv eyó Kvgbv Kti e`vtoí weq Abpñb Ktib| Zv`i wekym GB th, thñtñZi e`v0 Rj R cYx, tmñZi e`vtoí mñLi Rb` cKwZ eyó `vb Kite| gjisiv MvñQi kw³tZ wekym Ktib| `eewnK Rñtbi wec` Avc``i Kivi Rb` Zv`i Añtk t0tj wKsev tqtqi weq cte`vñK MvñQi mt½ weq t`b| MvñQi Ai f kw³ ¶wZ mvab KiñZ cvti GB fñq Zviv ga` ivñZ I ga` `çñi MvñQi KvñQ hvl qv t_tK wei Z _vKb| cKwZ cRvix`i Añtk `tcewekym Ktib Ges `tce A`LjR tei Ktib| Zviv `tce wñt`R tñtñ Rñb cwi Pvj bv Ktib| thgb gMiv aviYv Ktib th mv`v tKvb wKQy dj, cvntfo Pov, b`x cvi nI qv `tceñ` Lv fñtj v ¶Y| wKŠ`fv½v Kj mx, jvj iñtqi tKvb wKQyI µ` bi Z KvDñK `tceñ` Lv Ai f j ¶Y|

Ai f kw³i cñve t_tK evPvi Rb` cKwZ cRviMY e`v MñY Kti _vKb| mvtci `skb t_tK mý`nI qvi Rb` Zviv I SvñK WñKb| I Sv gñši tRvñi `skbKvix mvcñK tWñK wñtq Avfmb Ges `swkZ e`w³tK mý` Kti tZvñj b| cKwZ cRviMY wekym Ktib th, Akj tKvb

WkQyt_t_K i Qlv cvl qvi Rb" I mcdj j vtfi Rb" c0Yx DrmM©Kiv c0qvRb| D`vniY`tfc
Mvfv` i K_v ej v hvq| Mvfviv Amy`Zv I wec` Avc` t_t_K evPvi Rb", fvfv v dmj cvl qvi
Rb" Ges tMvxi wivcEvi Rb" c0Yx DrmM©Ktib| PvKgviv wekvm Ktib th hv` yetj I Ai`f
kiv³t_K e`envi Kti gvbl t_K Amy` Kiv hvq I QlvZ mvab Kiv hvq| GmKj QlvZ t_t_K i Qlv
cvl qvi Rb" Zviv hv` Kti i gtš wekvm Ktib|

mvi vsk

Bmjvg atgP gj wfvE GKtkjev` | gmjgvbMtyi cavb KZE" nt"Q Avj wri AvbMZ" `Kvi
Kiv I Ziv KivQ Avl mgcP Kiv| w`yag©gtZ Avl v Awbkj | KgQ mvabri gva`tg Avl vi
m½ cigvivi wgv b NtU_vtK | Avl vi cweTzv Avbqtbv Dtl tk" w`yag©cbRfbv avi Yv
AvtQ| wLb atgP gj evYx nt"Q Ckfi i wZjev wczv Ckfi cvl hxi I cigvivi wgv b| wekvm
Kiv nq th hxi i gta" Ckfi AwefZ nb| tesx atgAvl vi bivq Ckfi i avi Yv tbB| tesx atg©
wekvm AvtQ th tfvM wj avi Kvi ty Zov RvMZ nq Ges gvbtli Rieb `tLgq ntq Dtv|
tesx atg©mvabri gj wK nt"Q Zovtk `gb Kiv I `tL t_t_K cwi ty Y jvf| tesx atg©
cbRfbv wekvm Kiv nq| ckwZ cRviMY ckwZ tctgK| ckwZi wbgg Kivbtv m½ Zviv
gvbtli Riebtv mwsj b Nuvb| ckwZ cRviMY B"Qv ci tyi Rb" ckwZi kiv³t_K ekrfZ
Kivi tPov Ktib| G Dtl tk" Zviv wvfbwAvPvi Abpov cvj b Ktib|

চব্বিশের গল্প

বিশ্বের কল্প

মব্বিক ডিগ্রি চব্বিশের (✓) প্যাপার

- 1| Bmj vg agPPH Rb" Aek" cvj bixq weavb Kqiu?
K. mvZuU
L. GKiuU
M. cvPiuU
N. wZbuU

- 2| wv`yaggtZ @AeZvi @ Gi A_@K?
K. fMevtbi cJ
L. fMevb wefbcifc AwefZ nb
M. gnvfvi tZi Kvi wbK Pwi T
N. ivgvqtbi Kvi wbK Pwi T

- 3| @mj g@ ktai A_@K?
K. kwš
K. Z`vM
L. mgcP
M. AR@

- 4| Bmj vg atgP c@vb wekym wK?
K. AvLj vK
L. ZI nx`
M. mei
N. tkvKi

মসৃণের কল্প

- 1| tešx ag@ej @Mtyi KvQ kvj i _i"Zi wK?
2| cKwZ cRv ej tZ wK ešvq?

ইপবের কল্প

- 1| Bmj vg atgP wekym I agPPH wefbcw K Avtj vPbv Ki "b|
2| wv`yatgP weKvk I wefbcwewktó"i Dci Avtj vKcvZ Ki "b|

evsj vq Bmj vg atgP cPvi
Spread of Islam in Bengal

GB cWwU cto Avcwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- evsj v AAĀtj Bmj vg atgP cPvi
- gñj gvb mgvĀR tkYx wefvRb
- AZw`ġev` I evDj atgP cġve
- agxġ cpi "34xeb Avġ`vj b
- Dcwbġek I tkYx tkvI Y weġi vax msMġg

evsj v AAĀtj Bmj vg atgP cPvi

ইসলাম ধর্মের সাম্যের বাণী বাংলা অঞ্চলের কৃষক সমাজের দরিদ্র মানুষজনকে আকৃষ্ট করে।

evsj v AAĀtj i gvbġi i mġ½ Bmj vg atgP thvMġthvM cġZwġZ nq mBg I Aóg kZvġġZ |
 Ave ewKMY ZLb ewYĀR'i Dġġġk" evsj vġġki DcKj eZxġAAġ mgġn Avġmb | ġeewNk
 mġúġKġ gvaġġg Zvġ`i AġġġK ġvqfġte emevm KiġZI "i" Kġib | GKv`k tġġK ġv`k
 kZvġx chġ cxi , ġġek I mdx mvaKMY Avġmb | Zviv evsj v AAĀtj i wevfġeġvġb emevm "i"
 Kġib | Gme mvaKMY cġvbZ cvi mġ, evM`v` I AvdMwġvġb tġġK Dġi fvi Z nġq evsj vġġk
 cġek Kġib | 1201 mġġ gñj gvbġ`i KvġQ tmb estki tkI kvkK j ġġY tmġbi ci Rvq
 NġU | Gi dġġ evsj v AAĀtj i kvmb ġġgZv gñj gvb kvkK tMvġxi nġZ Pġġ hvq | ZLb tġġK
 evsj vq gñj gvb mvaKMġYi AvMgb Avġi v evx cvq |

evsj v AAĀtj i K.I.K mgvĀRi gvbġ Rbġġ Bmj vg agġAvKó Kġi | AġġK `wi`ª K.I.K hviv
 cġKwZK `ġhvġ I abx K.I.Kġ`i AZ`vPvġi AwZó nġq DġvġQġj b Zviv bZb agġcwi Pġġi ġġa"
 ġġi mġvb Kġib | Bmj vg atgP mġġġi evYx Zvġ`iġK eġvcKfġte AvKó Kġi | mġeġcwi
 K.I.KMY A_ġwZK `wiġ`ġi cvkvcwk Amy`Zv, eġAv, tkvK, `ġL-Kó BZ`w` tġġK ġġi Rb"
 gñj gvb cxi `ġġekt`i mġvġa" Avġmb | gñj gvb mvaKMY K.I.K mgvĀRB emevm Kġib etġ
 K.I.ġKi hġYv I `ġRvi Abġvġzi Askx`vi nb | SvodK, cvbġcov, ZveR BZ`w` w`ġq Zviv
 wPvKrmv Kġib | mvaKMġYi D`PgvġMġ Ava`wġġ K ġġgZv, cġveZ Kivi H`Rwġ K `ġġZv,
 mnR Rxbhvġv I e`vb`Zv K.I.K mgvĀRġġK ġġi | `ġġ`ġġ gvbġ Bmj vg atgP wġġZ nb |

Bmj vg atgP mġ½ t`kxq ms`wZi mgġġ

Bmj vg agġMġY Kivi ci evġġjx gñj gvbġ`i Awġ wekġm, AvPvi AvPġY, cġv BZ`w`ġZ Lġ
 GKUv e`j NġU wġ | KviY atgP AvbġwġZKvi tġġq Ava`wġġ KZv AwġK `i"Zġi cvq | AġġK
 BwZnvmġe` ġġb Kġib Avġwġ K wekġm I ms`wZi mġ½ Bmj vg agxġ wekġġmi mgġġ NġU
 (syncretization) (ivq 1984)¹ | GwU NġU KviY evsj v AAĀtj mdx mvaKMY agġcPvi Kġib |
 mdx AZw`ġev` (mysticism) Gi ġġ `kġ nġ`Q mġvġK fġġvġetm Avġ mgcġ KiġZ nġe |
 mġvi cġZ tġġB ġġ agġ mdx `kġbi mġ½ agġwġ Z gñj gvbġ`i Awġ wekġġmi tKvb Awġj

¹ Asim Roy , *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1984.

tbB| mdx mvaKMY Aviv cPvi Ktib th`itek ev AvDij qvMY mōvi AbMh cōB Ges tm
KviY Zviv gvby Ges mōvi gta` thvMvthwMKvix gra`g wntmte Kvr Ktib| Gi dtj ersj v
AĀtj cxiť i cōZ fir³ cōkō agrē Rxeťb „i“ZcY⁹ntq DťV| ersj v AĀtj cPxbKvj
ť_ťK emevťmi dtj eskvbytg th RxebvPvi evlvj xiv DĒiwaKvi mťĪ j vf KtiťQb Zv cvj b
Kti I bZb ag⁹cvj b Kiv m⁹e ntq DťV| agšwi Z ntj I evlvj x mgvťRi avivennKZv I
RxebhvĪv cōVj xi e`vcK i`e`j NťUwb|

agšwi Z ni qvi cil
evlvj xť i DĒiwaKvi
mťĪ cōB RxebvPvi
cij b Kiv m⁹e nq|

gynj gvb mgvťR tkYx wefvRb

agšwi `wi`^a K.I.KMYťK bZb cwiPq wťj I mgvťR we`g vb tkYx `elg` wmbib nq bv|
MōgvĀtj gynj gvb K.I.Kť i gta` DŲzbxPz wefvRb wQj Lp `ťfweK| A_šwZK I ivRšwZK
ŲlgZvi wfEťZ D”P tkYx I wbæ tkYx wefvRb KvhŲi wQj | GZŲZxZ ghP vi wfEťZ
Avkivd, AvZivd I AvRjvd `i web`vm „i“ZcY⁹ntq DťV| mvaviYZ knťi emevmKvixMY I
abx K.I.KMY wťRť iťK mvgwRK I agrēfvte Avkivd ghP vi AwaKvix etj `vex Ktib|
ersj vi MōgvĀtj i K.I.KMYťK wbæ ghP vi AvZivd etj AwfwnZ Kiv nq| Avkivd ghP vi
AwaKvixMY AvZivdť iťK agrē wekym I PPŲ w`K ť_ťK AwkwŲZ I AŲKvix”Qbæetj
weťPbv Ktib| AvkivdMY `vex Ktib th Zvť i Aw` wbevm ersj v bq KviY Zviv Aviet` i
eskai| agrēfvte Zviv Bmjvťgi mwK Abjvix etj `vex Ktib| dvi mx I D`ŲfvľťK Zviv
wťRť i fvlv etj gtb Ktib| ivRšwZKfvte Zviv kvmKťMvōxi mť½ m⁹umKŲ|
A_šwZKfvte GB tkYxwU ab m⁹ú` I cťve cōZcwĒi GKPŲĪ ŲlgZvi AwaKvix| Gfvte
mvaviY `wi`^a K.I.K mgvťRi gynj gvbť i mť½ D”P ghP vi weĒevb tkYxf³ gynj gvbť i `i Zi
`úó ntq DťV|

agšwi `wi`^a K.I.KMbtK
bZb cwiPq wťj I
mgvťR we`g vb tkYx
`elg` wmbib nq bv|

Bmj vg ag⁹ bvbwea Ava`vĪ ev`

ersj v AĀtj i K.I.KMťYi Rxebťevťa GK wPi šb ō`ťLŲ I Ųkb`ZvŲ Kvr KiťZ ť`Lv hvq| Gi
eintcKvk NťU cj wMwZ, tjvKMwv I cēv` cēPťb| thgb, Ųb`xi GKj fivť½ I Kj Mťo GB
ťZv b`xi ťLj vŲ| G`ťL tera mgvR e`e`vi ťkviY, eĀbv I AZ`vPvi wbcxob ť_ťK mP|
Dcgnvť ťk gynj gvb kumbvgťj ivRšwZK-A_šwZK I mvgwRK mvs`wZK Rxeťb m⁹ú` kvj x
I D”P ghP vkxj ť i AwmacZ” AŲb⁹vťK| mvaviY gvbť i `ťL Kó I hšYv Ktg bv| K.I.K
mgvťR AZxw` qevť i `kō e`vcK cťve we`vi Kti | GB agrē wekľťmi gj evYx nt”Q- Rxeb
Avb`gg I ťLnxb nťZ cvťi | ťfvMev`x wj ávi KviťY `ťL hšYv`Zix nq| ťfvťMi B”QvťK
`gb Kiťj Rxeb Avb`gg ntq DťV| AZxw` qevť` wekľmx ntq DťVb tkwml Z tkYx| mgvťRi
D”P-bxP wefvRb I RwnZ wefvRťbi wei”ťx Zvť i wekľm GK aiťbi cōZev` | evlvj x`wi`^a
K.I.KMY Zvť i AšwbnZ eĀbv I hšYvi wMmp A_šwLťR cvb evDj atg⁹ ersj v AĀtj
mvaviY gvbť I gtb evDj ag⁹e`vcK cťve we`vi Kti | mvgwRK wefvRťbi wei”ťx jvj b
dKxi Avl qvR Zťj b|

mgvťRi D”P-bxP
wefvRb I RwnZ
wefvRťbi wei”ťx
AZxw` qevť` wekľm GK
aiťbi cōZev` |


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RvZ tMj RvZ tMj etj
GmK AvRe Kvi Lvbv
mZ" c_ tKD bq i vRx
me t`mL Zv bv bv bv

hLb Zng fte Gtj
ZLb Zng mK RvZ uQtj
mK RvZ nev hvevi Kvtj
tmB K_v tKb ej bv

etbY PÚvj Prgvi gP
GK Rtj tZ mevB i mP
t`tL i tb nq bv i mP
RgtZv KvtKI t_vte bv

tMvctb th tek`vi fvZ Lvq
ZvtZ RmZi mK qmZ nq
j yj b etj RvZ Kvti Kq
G ág tZv Avi tMj br/

```

agvq cpi 3/4xeb

1757 mvjt cjvxi ht× civRtqi ci gmnj gvb`i ivR%anZK qjgZv `pē ntq ctob | gmnj gvb Guj UMY, tbZem,mi Kvix PvKi xRtex I tmbvewnbxi AnaKvsk PvKi xPiZ ntq ctob | dvi mx i e`tj mi Kvix Kvhpūtg Bstī mR fvlv Pvj nq | gmnj gvb`i mvgwRK ghP vl qjbanq | B÷ BūQv tKvūvbv fvg e`v cwi eZB Kti mPī vqx et`ve` Kvtqg Ktib | Rugi`vi MY mvavi Y K.I.Kt`i KvQ t_ tK B`QvgZ LvRbv Av`vq I Rwg t_ tK Dt`Q` Kivi AnaKvi cōB nb | Rwg`vi t`i mg_ R Dc` Zt`fvMx `j mjo nq thgb, cEwb`vi, Zvj K`vi BZ`w | gnrRb bvtg Avti Kwū `j mjo nq hviv K.I.Kt`i Rwg eUK ti tL bM` A`FY wntmte cōvb Ktib | K.I.KMY LvRbvi UvKv thvMvo Kivi Rb` gnrRbt`i Dci wfpkxj ntq ctob | GZme `v`fvMx `tj i tkvl Y I Drcrotb AwZó ntq DtV mvavi Y K.I.Ki Rxeb Ges Zviv me`vš ntq ctob |

evsj v AĀtj AnaKvsk Rwg`vi I ga` Zt`fvMx Ges gnrRbMY uQtj b wv` ym`ú0 vqfz | wv` y Rwg`vi MY KZR gmnj gvb ivqZMY A`%anZK I mvgwRK fvte AZ`vPvii Z nb | ZvQvov wv` y Rwg`vi MY wvfbv Abpvūbi Rb` evonZ LvRbv avh`Ktib th`uj tK ŌAveI qvi 0 ejv nq | Gi gta` Ab`Zg nt`Q- kfxKiPv, ^cZv KiPv, i_ KiPv, `MfcRv KiPv | wv` y Rwg`vi MY Zvt`i Rwg`vi xtZ Mi` RevB wvūl × Ktib | GtZ gmnj gvb ivqZMY Mi` cvj b Kti th mjev tctZb Zv t_ tK ewĀZ nb |

epUk JcūbteukK kvmKMtYi Kwū ewYvR`KvKi tYi dtj gmnj gvb K.I.KMY AZ`vPvii Z nb | B÷ BūQv tKvūvbv Kgpvi xMY Rwg`vi t`i KvQ t_ tK Rwg et`ve` wbtq bxj Pvl `i i` Kti | gmnj gvb K.I.KMY tK bxj Pvl Ki tZ eva` Kiv nq | bxj Pvl i kZ`K.I.Ki ct`q | bv vKvq Zviv Bstī R gmnj tKi KvQ t_ tK AwMō A`wb tZ eva` nb | A`cwi tKva Ki tZ bv civq FtYi `vtq Ave× ntq bxj Pvl i t`tt` Zviv fvg`vfm cwi YZ nb |

Jcubtekk kumb I Rugg`vit`i AZ`vPv`i RR`Z I AatcuZZ gnyj gvbMYtK cpi`3/4meZ Kivi Rb` agx` ms`viev`x Avf`vj b`i`i` nq| Gmgq Avite ms`viev`x Avf`vj b`i`i` Ktib tgnv`\$ web Avaj I qvne (1703-92)| Zvi bvgvbmvti Avite ms`viev`x Avf`vj b` I qnvex Avf`vj b` bvtg cwi`PwZ jvf Kti| GB Avf`vj tbi gZv`k`Oviv cfvmeZ nb fviZi kvn I qvuj Dj` (1703-62)| wZvb Bmjvg ag`thfvte PPKiv nt`Q Zvi mgvtj vPbv Ktib Ges kwiqZ Abjvqx cKZ Bmjvg Abjviti AvnVb Rvbvb| 1818 mvjt i w`tK`mq` Avng` kwn` (1786-1831) I`mq` BmgvBj kwn` (1782-1831) Zvi Kvq tgnv`\$i` qv Avf`vj b` i`i` Ktib DEi fviZ| GB ms`viev`x Avf`vj b` mvaviY gnyj gvb`i` gta` e`vcK mrov RvMvq| Bmjvgx ms`viev`x Avf`vj b` metPtq mdj Avf`vj b` Mto Dtv ce`esjvq nvrX kwiqZ Dj` (1781-1840) tbZtZj| nvrX kwiqZ Dj` gZi ci Zvi tQj tgnvmb Avj`xb Avng` (`y`y`gqv) (1819-62) divvqRx Avf`vj tbi tbZZi t`b| Zvi Kvq tgnv`\$i` qvi ms`viev`x b`wZ Abjviti Kti cuog esjvq ZxZigxi (1782-1831) MY Avf`vj b` Mto tZvtj b|

Jcubtekk kumb I Rugg`vit`i AZ`vPv`i t`tK gpi` Dti`tk` `wi`gnyj gvbMYtK cpi`3/4meZ Kivi Rb` agx` ms`viev`x Avf`vj b`i`i` nq|

Dcubtek vetivax msMog

Dcgnit`tk Jcubtekk kumb cuZwOZ ni qvi ci D`P tkYxf`\$ un`MY eJk kumKtMvxi AvbKj` jvf Kti tGZv cuZovq gtbvthvMx ntq ctob| Avi D`P tkYxf`\$ gnyj gvbMY BstiRt`i Kvq bWZ`tkvi Kti tKvb iKtg vbtRt`i tkYxMZ Ae`vb ati ivLvi tPov Ktib| Ggb`wk Bmjvgx ms`viev`x Avf`vj b` Ovivi D`P tkYxi gnyj gvbMY AZUv cfvmeZ nb vb| eis ejv hvq`ti mti`_vtKb| KviY ms`viev`x Avf`vj b` Rugg`vi, tRvZ`vi, gnrRb, e`emvqx tkYxi AZ`vPv`i vohfZtbi wei`tx cwi`PwZ nq| D`P tkYxi gnyj gvbMtiYi AtbtKi tkYx`_GtZ wevNz nq Ges Zivi tkYxMZfvte Avmvs`nb| ejv hvq D`P tkYxi gnyj gvbMY eJk AwacZ` tgbt bqvtkB tkq gtb Ktib|

esjvi K.I.K kigk mvaviY vbcwvZ gvb| Jcubtekk kumtbi wei`tx i`tL`vovb| miv esjvq`Ztuzfvte cuZer`, cuZtiva I msMog Mto Dtv| BstiR kumKt`i wei`tx cu`g MYK.I.K vet`in msNwJZ nq dKxi mbvmt`i tbZtZj| GB vet`in 1763 t`tK 1800 mvj chS`vqx nq| weL`vZ gmvj b`e` Drcv`bKvix Zstevqt`i e`wki` aystmi cuZer` nq| jeb wki` t`tK j`f`tbi dtj vet`in nq| m`oxc (1766), gqgbvmsn (1787), htkvni- Lj bv (1781-1796), iscj (1783), evLiMA (1787-1792) AAjt K.I.KMY vet`in Ktib Rugg`viti tkvY I BstiR kumtKi wei`tx| gqgbvmsn cMj csk` bvtg L`vZ MtiV I nvrst`i vet`in 1825 t`tK 1882 chS`vqx nq| Rugg`vi I bxj Kiti`i wei`tx ZxZigxi mk` msMog cwi`Pvj bv Ktib 1830 mvjt | esjvi wevfbvAAjt bxj vet`in lvU j`t`li Awak K.I.K AskMhY Ktib|

Bmjvgx ms`viev`x KMY eJk`i Aaxb` fvi Zel`K O`vi -Dj`-nvi eO`etj AvL`wqZ Ktib| Zvi gvtb gvZ.fvg weagx`i Ovivi Avmvs`ni qvq eJk kumKt`i wei`tx tRnv` tNwL Z nq| ms`viev`x Avf`vj b` Dcubtek vetivax Avf`vj tbi ifc jvf Kti| Rugg`vi, bxj Ki, gnrRbt`i tkvY I Drcv`tbi wei`tx tmv`Pvi ni qvq vbae`tkYxi gnyj gvbMY e`vcK nvti vet`in AskMhY Ktib| divvqRx Avf`vj tbi tKm`v`wW Dc`wvZ ntj v|

Bmjvgx ms`viev`x KMY KZK wevJk kumKt`i wei`tx tRnv` tNwL Z nq|

tKm ÷ vW : 1

divqRx Avf`vj b

0divqRx0 ktai A_0diR0 ev Avj vai Avf`k cvj b| nvRx kwiqZ Dj vai tgšuj K ms`vfi i Ašfš uQj diR m0útk0Avb `vb| hviv diR cvj b KitZb ZvivB divqRx| wZwb Avj vai kwiK nl qvi gZ KvR wbtla Ktib thgb cxi cRv, Kei cRv BZ`w | Bmj vg Abbtjgw`Z KvR bv Kivi Rb` wZwb Dct`k t`b thgb gnitg tkvK Kiv, MmR-Kujj c0k` Mvlqv BZ`w | kwiqZDj va cxi-gjx` c0v ewwZj Ktib| KviY GtZ c0fz-ftZ`i b`vq m0úK0 c0Zw0Z nq| wZwb D`v`-mvMti` ev wk0K-uk0v_x`k0 e`envi Kivi K_v etj b| wZwb cvc tgvPti Rb` ZI ev Kiv, Abzvc Kiv I mZ` b`vtqi ct_ Pjvi kc_ M0hYtKB ht_0 gtb KitZb| ZI evi fvlv uQj evsjv| kwiqZ Dj vai ag0ms`vi K.I.K I ktjRex gvbti atg0 cwiYZ nq| wZwb Bsti Rt`i wei`tx tRnv` ev ag0h0 KivtK gmj gvbti i KZ0 etj tNvl Yv Ktib| nvRx kwiqZDj va 1781 mvtj gv`vixcj tRjvq RbM0hY Ktib| m0eZ wZwb GKRB tRvjv ev ZvZxi M0n RbM0hY Ktib| Avwi eQi eqtm g`vq n04 KitZ hvb| tmLvtb wZwb I qrvvex Avf`vj tbi mt02 cwiwPZ nb Ges Aviev fvlvq cwi0Z` AR0 Ktib| 1820 mvtj t`tk tdivi ci wZwb GK`j WwKvZi nvtZ ctob| me wk0Qynwi tq wZwb WwKvZ`tj i mt02B t`tK hvb Ges Zvt`i mt02 ag0vbtq Avtj vPbv Ktib| WwKvZiv Zvi wkL`Zj M0hY Ktib Ges ZvivB ag0c0vti i ewnbx MVb Ktib|

kwiqZDj va XvKv I dui`cj tRjvi M0tg M0tg Nti ag0Z c0vi Ktib| ag0ms`vfi i mt02 mt02 wZwb wkL`t`i A_0wZK I Ab`vb` tkvlY wbcx0tbi Kej t`tK g0 Kivq mtP0 nb| K.I.Kt`i gta` kwiqZDj vai e`vcK c0ve ct0 Ges K.I.Kt`i msNexZv I KgPvAj` m00 nq| GtZ Rvg`vi tMv0x I abx gmj gvbMY GKw0Z n0q kwiqZDj va tK weZv0Z Kivi Dt`vM M0hY Ktib| Rvg`vi, bxj Ki gnrRbt`i mt02 Zvi wetiva evta| weifb0evte wZwb w0MpxZ nb| Z_wc c0vi KvR Pvj tq hvb|

1840 mvtj kwiqZ Dj vai gZii ci Zvi t0tj `y0y0qv divqRx gZev` c0vti i `wqZj M0hY Ktib| wZwb I Aí eqtm n04 Ktib| wcti Gtm Rvg`vix tkvlY I wet`kx kvmb Dt`Q` Kti `0axb ivR` c0Z0vi cwi Kí bv Ktib| kwiqZDj vai ag0x0 msM0gtK `y0y0qv `0axbZv msM0gti ct_ cwi Pvj bv Ktib|

*divqRx
Avf`vj bKvi.MY m0`yl
gmj vgvb Rvg`vi I
bxj Kit`i wei`tx mk`
msM0g`i`i` Ktib|
Bmj vgv ms`vi ev`x
Avf`vj b tkYx msM0tg
ifc jvf Kti|*

`y0y0qv M0tg M0tg Nti c0vi Ktib th me gvb| mgvb| Avj vai `j0bqv Ki avh0Kivi AwaKvi Kviv tbB| KviY Rvgi gmj K Avj va, tKvb gvb| bq| `y0y0qv tNvl Yv Ktib th e`w0MZ e`envfi i Dt`tK` esk ci0úvq Rvg`Lj Kti ivLvi AwaKvi Kviv tbB| wZwb tZBK aitbi Ki w`tZ mvMti`t`i wbtla Ktib| Rvg`vi I bxj Kit`i hvfZ Ki w`tZ bv nq tmRb` wZwb K.I.Kt`i miKvix Lvm RvgtZ w0tq emevtmi wbt`R t`b| `0axb ivR` c0Z0vi Dt`tK` `y0y0qv M0tg M0tg wePvivy q c0Z0v Ktib| M0tgi ex K.I.tKi Aaxtb wePvi KvR cwi Pvj Z n0Zv| ce0evsj vtK weifb0envj K ev AA0tj fivM Kiv nq| c0Zw0 AA0tj Lj xdv ev c0Zwb0a uQ0tj b| Lj xdvMY divqRx`i GKw0Z ivL0Zb| wkL`t`i KvQ t`tK P0v Ztj tK`0q Znvej M0VZ nq| tKv_vl tKvb K.I.K w0MpxZ ntj GB Znvej t`tK m0v0h` Kiv n0Zv| GKw0 kwi0kvj x jw0qvj ewnbx M0VZ nq| Rvg`vit`i AZ`vPvfi i wei`tx i`tL `v0vtbvi Rb` jw0qvj ewnbx e`envi Kiv n0Zv|

`ÿywgqvi msMôg uQj Rwg`vi I bxj Ki†`i wei`tx| Zvi cwi Kíbv K.I.K†`i g†a` e`vcK DÍxcbv mjo K†i | un`y K.I.KMYI `ÿywgqvi tbZ†Z; msMôg AskMôY K†ib| GB msMôg µgk dui`cj, weµgcj, Lj bv, PweYk ciMYvq we`wZ jvf K†i | `ÿywgqv kw³kvj x msMVb Mto tZv†b| th tKvb mgq Zvi tbZ†Z; cÁvk nvrvi un`ygmj gvb K.I.K Rwg`vi bxj Ki†`i wei`tx j wV nvtZ j ovB Ki†Z c†Z uQ†j b| Rwg`vi -bxj KiMY `ÿywgqvi wei`tx HK`ex nb| K.I.KMY†K kw† t`evi Rb` Rwg`vi iv bksm c_ Aej †b K†ib| thgb K†qKRb K.I.†Ki `wvo GK†I tetta bvtK gwi †Pi ous Xuk†q t`qv nq| Gi c†Zev† `ÿywgqvi j wVqvj ewinbx I K.I.KMY Rwg`vi† i m=úwÉ I KwW aYsm K†ib| Gfvte weifbwe`v†b tkYx msNI`Pig AvKvi aviY K†i | Aet†k†i `ÿywgqv†K tMôlZvi Kiv nq Ges 1862 mvtj wZwb gZeiY K†ib|

Drn : `mq` Avgxi`j Bmjvg, ersj vt`k I Bmjvg, RvZxq Mês`cKvkb, XvKv, 1999|

mvi vsk

Bmjvtgi cpi`xetbi Rb` ersjv AA†ji ms`viKMY th evYx c†vi K†ib Zv wbtm†`†n agr†| Zviv c†vi K†ib th w†R†`i Ae`v cwieZB K†Z ntj me†Mô w†R†`i agr† wekjm†K `p K†Z nte| atg† gj aviv Abmi†Yi Rb` Zviv Avn†vb Rvbvb| tKvi Avb I nixm Abm†i Rxb hv†bi K_v etj b| m†e gmjgub w†m†e Bmjvtgi wbgg Kivb mW/Kfvte t†b Pjvi Dci Zviv tRvi t`b| agr† P††q thmKj A`bmj wvK w†lq X†K c††Q Zv cwi Z`wM Kivi Rb` Avn†vb Rvb†bv nq| Gfvte gmjgub†`i g†a` HK` `vcb I Ab`vtqi wei`tx Av†`vj b Mto tZvj vi kw³ AR†bi Rb` ag†K tK`†e`†Z w†tq Avm†v nq|

ersjv AA†j Bmjvgx ms`vi ev`x Av†`vj b tkYx msMôg i/c jvf K†i | c†æDÍ wvZ n†Z cv†i th ersjvi gmjgub†`i g†a` hLb D`P-bxP t†`v†f` weivRgub ZLb `wi`a gmjgub K.I.KMY tKb ms`vi ev`x Av†`vj †b kixK nb? D†j L` th Bmjvgx ms`vi K I divqRx Av†`vj †bi tbZv nvrRx kw†qZDj w Avie esk`wZ Avkivd `if† uQ†j b bv| wZwb uQ†j b Môg RbMôY Kiv Awk††Z I ††z`K.I.K| Zvi tQ†j `ÿywgqv† GKB `if† uQ†j b| ZvZvxi Rxe†bi c†g f†M feN†i I c†Zev`x gub| w†m†e cwi wPZ uQ†j b| ms`vi ev`x Av†`vj †bi tbZem`m†v†v†Y K.I.†Ki `if† n†qvq Ges Môg emevm Kivq Zv†`i e³e` m††RB `wi`a tkYxi gmjgub†`i K††Q MôY†hM` n†q D†v|

cvfVvEi gj`vqb

be⁹³K cke

mVK DEti i cvfk WJK (v) wPy w`b|

- 1| Avi tei Bmj vg agx⁹ ms`vi ev`x Avf`vj tbi bvg wK?
- K. kwi qZx Avf`vj b
- L. Zwi Kvfg tgvn⁹ qv Avf`vj b
- M. divqRx Avf`vj b
- N. I qvnx Avf`vj b

- 2| ZxZgxi c⁹vZ Kv`i wei`tx mk`msM⁹g cwi Pvj bv Kti b?
- K. w⁹ym⁹u⁹vq
- L. Rv⁹vi I bxj Ki
- M. Bst⁹R kvk
- N. cxi -dKxi

- 3| nvRx kwi qZ Dj w⁹ tK wQ⁹tj b?
- K. Rv⁹vi
- L. Bmj vg atg⁹ cxi
- M. w⁹ym⁹t⁹l x gmj gvb tbZv
- N. divqRx Avf`vj tbi tbZv

- 4| evsj v AA⁹tj Kvi v Bmj vg ag⁹c⁹Pvi Kti b?
- K. Dj vgvMY
- L. mj Zvtbi `i evti i ivRKg⁹Pvi vMY
- M. mpx mvaKMY
- N. tmbv⁹nbx

msv⁹B cke

- 1| evsj v AA⁹tj i gmj gvt`i Rxe⁹tb AZw⁹tev` I evDj atg⁹ c⁹ve m⁹ut⁹K⁹
- Av⁹tj vPbv Ki`b|
- 2| Jc⁹bt⁹vk kvmbvg⁹tj th Bmj vg agx⁹ ms`vi ev`x Avf`vj b`i`i` nq Zvi D⁹t⁹tk`
- wK wQ⁹? Kvi v GB Avf`vj tbi tbZZ⁹t`b?

iPbv⁹j K cke

- 1| evsj v AA⁹tj Bmj vg ag⁹c⁹Pv⁹ti i t⁹c⁹v⁹cU Av⁹tj vPbv Ki`b| ev⁹z⁹v⁹xt`i Av⁹Pvi
- Av⁹Pi⁹t⁹Yi m⁹1/2 Bmj vg atg⁹ wK ai⁹tbi mg⁹s⁹q N⁹tU?
- 2| UdivqRx Avf`vj b agx⁹ c⁹pi`^{3/4}xeb w`tq`i`i` n⁹tj I Zv Bst⁹R kvmb I Rv⁹vi -
- bxj Ki -gnvRb⁹t`i t⁹kl⁹t⁹Yi wei`tx tk⁹Yx msM⁹tg cwi YZ nq⁹| divqRx Avf`vj tbi
- `⁹fc e⁹vL⁹v Ki`b|

C`j Avhnv Z`vMi Drme| mWóKZfí vb`fK mKj wCq e` Ggb wK vb`RtK DrmM`Kivi
Rb` cŮZ _vKvB C`j Avhnvi gg`K_v|

C`j wdzI

C`j wdzI gmnj gvb`i GK Abwej Avb`v`rme| ōC`j wdzIŌ A_`Fv½vi Avb` | `xN`GK
gvm ōmqvgŌ ev mshg mvabvi ci vb`Ri cEYÉ `g`b KZKv`n`q ōti vRvŌ ev Dcevm fiv½vi
mgq gmnj gvbMY GB Drme Kti _v`Kb| ōwdzIŌ A_`vb Avi C`j wdzI gvb`v`bi Drme|
A_`f KtVvi msh`gi dtj th gvbexq _Yvej xi weKvk NtU`Q Zvi dj kŌwZtZ mshgx gvb|
gibe Kj `v`Y Avcbv`K wej t`q t`evi Avb` Dc`fVM Kti _v`Kb|

C`j wdzIi mshgx
gib| gibe Kj `v`Y
vb`Rt`i wej t`q t`evi
Avb` Dc`fVM Kti
_v`Kb|

nhiZ tgvnv`š (mvt) wRix wZxq mv`j wmqvg cEzB Kti| Bmj v`gi Awef`f`ei cteP
Avi te tivRv ivLvi cŮj b wQj | Gi Ava`w`l K e`vL`v GB th Llevi | cvbxq eR`B Kivi dtj
Dcevmx kwii`ixK fvte `p` n`q cŮb| wicy`gb Kti DcevmxMY kwii`ixK wboqšY j`v`fi
D``M tbb | Zviv cvc Kg`eR`B Kti Z`vMi g`š `w`jZ nb Ges Av`vi i`w` j`v`f eZx
nb| wekym GB th kwii`ixK fvte `p` I gvbwmK fvte cwii`ix n`q Avj w`i Ki`Yvi Rb`
wb`ew`Z cŮY n`j Zui Ki`Yv j`v`f Kiv hvq|

igRvb gvm wmqv`gi gvm Avi wmqv`gi tk`l Av`m Avb`v`rme C`j wdzI | GB Ct`i Avb`
Av`iv KtqKwU Kvi t`Y _i`ZcY`Ų| igRvb gvtmB tKvi Av`bi Hkx evYx cŮg bwrj nq| c`nj v
igRvb nhiZ Be`nxg (Avt) cŮg evYx j`v`f Kti| 6B igRvb nhiZ gmv (Avt) Gi cŮZ
BwAj | 18B igRvb nhiZ `vD` (Avt) Gi cŮZ ōRejŌ bwrj nq| Gme HwZnwmK NUbvi
dtj Kj `v`Yi gvm wntmte igRvb gvm Dtj E`thvM` |

C`j wdzIi Avb` abx `wi` `w`bwe`fktl Dc`fVM Kivi Df`f`k` m`c` weZi`Yi weavb Av`Q|
igRvb gvtm hvKvZ | wdziv cŮvb Kitz nq| mw`AZ m`c`i ewl`R wnmve Kivi ci agv`
wewa tgvZv`eK Gi GKwU w`w`Ų Ask hv weZiY Kiv nq ZvB hvKvZ| `PQj cwiev`ti mKj
m`tm`i c`Ų| t`fK w`bav`f Z cwigvY Llevi A_ev mggtj`i A_`vb KivB wdzI |

C`j wdzIi w`b mKvj t`fKB Drme`i` nq| cvK cwe`l n`q, bZb | cwii`vi tcvkv`fK
mw`Z n`q, AvZi tg`L mKtj t`Lv mv`jv`Zi Rb` cŮZ nq | gmmR` | gq`v`b AbjŌZ nq
mgteZ bvgvR | cŮ`Ų| Av`xq-`Rb, eU`zevUe mKtj wgtj GKt`l wdi bx-cv`tqm, Rf`
t`cvjvl mn bvbv iKg m`y`f`yLlevi Dc`fVM Kiv Ct`i we`kl AvKI`Ų| igRv`bi mgq wmsm-
tŌl, t`j v`f-j`vj mv wboqšY Kivi th Abk`j b gmnj gvb bvi x`cj`l Kti _v`Kb ZviB ewn:cKvk
NUvi K_v C`j wdzIi t`f`v`f`nxb mvgw`RK Drmte| C`j wdzIi Avb` Drme Bmj vg
atg`p`mvg` | g`I`xi cZ`xK|

kte eivZ

kte eivZŌ Drmew j vBj vZj eivZ bvtgl cwivPZ| Gi A_`eiv`Zi iw`l ev fVM` iRbx|
15B kvevb Zwi`tLi ivZtKB gmnj gvbMY ingtzi ivZ etj MY` Kti _v`Kb | Zv`i wekym
G iv`Z Avj w` gvb| mn cŮZwU mŌ cŮYx | Dw`m`i Rxeb | RweKv GK eŌti i Rb` w`bav`Y
Kti| wekym Kiv nq th G iv`Z Avj w` gZ e`w`i Av`v`K t`v`h`tLi kw` t`fK gw`š w`tZ
cv`i| m`Zivs RweZ Av`xq `Rtbi `wqZ; n`tPO gZt`i Rb` cŮ`Ų Kiv|

kte eivtZi AvPvi Abpvtbi Ašf³ nřPQ cwi®vi cwi PQbZv, Lv` weZiY, Avtj v Rvj vtbv I cŃ_Ńv| ermtii AveRŃv` i Kivi Rb` Ni evox cwi®vti gtbvthvM t`qv nq| cŃvuj Z wekym GB th cweĪ` vtbt dtkZv Avtm| mviv w` b aři Pťj i`wU I nvj řv mn bvbv i Kg wgwó RvZxq Llevi`Zixi KvR| Gme Llevi hř mn`Zix Kiv nq I Avj vni bvtg AvĪ xq-`Rb, eŪz-evŪe, cŃZteKx I`wi`g vbył t`i gta` weZiY Kiv nq| gmmR` I gvhvti GB Llevi tcfřYi ixwZ AvtQ| cŃvuj Z wekym GB th tkl wePvtii w`b cŃLi mhřKiy t`tk i řlv Kivi Rb` Gme`vb Kiv i`wU QvZvi gZ Qvqv nřq mrvh` Kite| GB w`b mŪvtejv gnyj gvMY tMvmj Kři cweĪ t`řn ivtZi cŃ_Ńvi Rb` cŃZ nb| ivtZi thřKvb mgq tdkZv evoxZ cŃek Kitz cvři Avi ZLb Nřgtq vKv`řřM`i j řY| cŃvuj Z wekym GB th ivtZi tKvb GK mgq cŃYx RMr I DřwZ RMr Avj vřK řmR`v Kři vřK| ZLb hw` gvbył I thřM`vb Kitz cvři Zvntj cŃ_Ńv MřxZ nl qvi mřebv tekx| mviv ivZ aři gmmRt` I evoxZ bvgvR cov nq| bexi Dři`řk``iř cvV I tKvi Avb řZj vl qvZ Kiv nq| mviv ivZ aři PZw`řK Avj vni bvg ařvbZ nq|

kte eivtZ gnyj gvMY
Hkři K Avtj v Křvbr
Křib|

kteeivZ AbpŃZ nq cwi®vi ivtZ| Abpvtbi gj j řY` nřPQ Hkři K Avtj v Křvbr Kiv| cŃvuj Z wekym GB th cwi®vq wePQvi Z Avtjvi gZ Avj vni gvbe RxeřK cŃvuj Z Kiteb| Avj vni Ki`Yv cŃř nj gvbył cvc t`tk cřY, wgv v t`tk mZ` I Ab`vq t`tk b`vtqi cř_ AvMgb Kite| GB wekřmi cŃZdj b NřU kteeivtZi mŪvq evox Ni Avtj vřKZ Kiv I ewZ mřvvi Abpvtb| wkiř`i Rb` G ewZmřv AZ`š Avbř`i| Avj vni Ki`Yv jvřfi Rb` gnyj gvMY tivRv ivtLb| mviv ivZ aři Zviv Akř wemRŃ Kitz Kitz mřvKZř Dři`řk` AvĪ mgcř Křib|

gniig

ŃgniigŃ ktăi A_Ń k| gniig gym I G gvřmi`k ZwiL bvbwea HwZnvmK NUbvi Rb` BŪ`x, wŃvb I gnyj gvMY i KvtŃ Ńi`ZcYř cŃvuj Z wekym GB th gniig gvřmi`k ZwiL A_vř AvivřZ Avj vni cŃYx RMr mřv Křib Ges GB w`řb Bmřvdřj i wřvvi đřKvři cwi_ex ařsm nře| nhiZ bn (Avt) Gi mgq ařsmř K eb`vi Rb` tšKvřivnY Kři th eivPvi mřMŃg Pťj , AvivřZ Zvi Aemv nq| nhiZ gmv (Avt) GB w`řb Zwi kĪ` tđi AvDbřK civ` Křib I ařgř weRq řNvlbv Křib| Kw_Z AvřQ th nhiZ Beřxg (Avt) GB w`řb RbMřY Křib I GB w`řb Beřxg Zwi kĪ` bgi`ř`i AvMkvŪ t`tk gř nřq mZ` cŃZwŃZ Křib| Avřiv ejv nq th GB w`řb nhiZ Cmv (Avt) RbMřY Křib I Ckři KvtŃ cŃZ vMgb Křib| GQvov nhiZ AvBqř (Avt) GB w`řb ti vMgř nb| GB w`b nhiZ BDbřn (Avt) gvřQi tcv t`tk Dřvi jvř Křib| GB w`řb cŃg nhiZ gnyř (mvt) Gi KvtŃ wReřCj Dcw`Z nb hvi đřkŃZřZ wZvb beřřZ jvř Křib| G mKj KviřY Kviejvi ggřřK NUbvi ce`chř gnyj gvbt`i KvtŃ Aviv wŃj Avbř`vrme Kivi w`b|

wřngřřm LřŃ
agřřj řřMY hři` LřŃřK
řři Y Křib I mKři i
Rb` i ř Křvbr Křib|

AvivřZ nhiZ řgvnřř (mvt) Gi t`řnř I nhiZ Avjx (ivt) Gi cř Bgv řnvmBb kvnř`Z eiY Křib| cřnjv gniig t`tk`kB gniig chř Bgv řnvmBřbi cwi evi cwi Rb I mřx mv_xMY Kviejvi gi`řřgtZ gZi mřř hř Křib| Llevi I cwbi Afřte GřK GřK mKřj gZi gřL cwZZ nb| Zey Bgv řnvmBb Bqvřř`i`řřkmřbi cŃZ AvbřMZ``řKvi Křib w| wZnb Ab`vq I AvePvtii wei`řx gv_v Dřř Kři Aařgř wei`řx ařgř Rq řNvl Yv Křib| Bqvřř`i wbt`řř řnvmBřbi wkiřPŃ` Kiv nq|

মোহররমে ইমাম হোসাইনের
বীরত্ব গাঁথা স্মরণ করা হয়।

eZgub Kviejvi HwZnmK NUBvi `šitY weifbæAvPvi Abpvtbi gva`tg tkvK cKvk Kiv
nq| gmnjgvbMY Aviiivi w`b tivRv ivLv agxq KZ` etj gtb Ktib| mpxæ mæc`vqfz
gmnjgvbMY Aviiivi w`b tivRv ivLb, cwb Kg e`envi Ktib, wgv v` gvnwdtj i AvtqvRb
Ktib, wgmukbt`i wfZi Lvevi weZiY Ktib I Kviejvi NUBv `šitY Kti bxi`te AkjmemRb
Ktib| wkv mæc`vqfz gmnjgvbMY Aviiivi w`b Mfxi tkvK cKvk Ktib| Avnvi, w`v,
cubxq Z`vM Kti tgnii g I AviiivZ Zviv KPQ mvabvq eZx nb| Aviiivi w`b weifbæ`v
mgteZ nq Zviv h`xi Awfbq Ktib| AtbtK AwZwi`3 tkvtK Qvi w`tq wbtRi kixti qZ
m`v Kti i`3v`3 nb| Bvgv tnmvBbtK wect`i w`tb m`vnh` Kitz bv cvivi ggfe`bv cKvtki
cZxK wntmte Zviv i`3 Sivb| Onvq tnvmb0 Onvq tnvmb 0 ie Ztj f`3iv gvZg Ktib|
Avi tmB mt`1/2 wbtRt`i eK PvcovtZ PvcovtZ Zviv AvnZ nb| GB AvPvi Abpvtb Zvt`i eK
fiv Amn` hšbvi cZxK | Bvgv tnmvBbtbi gvRvti AbKtiY 0ZmRqv0 `Zix Kiv nq| G
0ZmRqv0 enb Kti wgvQj tei nq Ges Kw Z Kviejvq GtK mgvnZ Kiv nq|

AviiivZ gmnjgvbMY agxi Bvgv tnmvBbtbi exiZi Mu_v `šitY Kti MweZ nb| Zviv atgp
cZvKv DtPP Ztj aivi cZkZ t`b | Zte Bvgv tnmvBbtbi Ki`Y gZji tkvK Zvt`i K
teKx ArcZ` Kti |

w`v`f`i c`vb agxq Drme

`MfRv

`MfRv w`v`f`i c`vb Drme| ermti `xvi G cRv Abpvtbi cPj b AvtQ, emš I kirKvtj |
emšx `MfRv Aw` i`wZ nq I evsjv`k mn fvi`Zi DEivAtj kvi`xq `MfRv Rbwct nq
DtV| w`v`y aggtZ `Mf GKRb kw`3gqx t`ex| meRv`3gvbtbi gvbe gwZ`wntmte kw`3gqx
t`extK ifcwqZ Kiv nq| `MfKj `vYgqx wntmte KLtbv AwefZ nb cveZx, Egv I AbæYf
wntmte| Avevi KLtbv `Mf f`q`i ifc aviY Kti Kvj x, PwU wntmte AwefZ nb| tcšiwYK
Kwnbx gtZ `Mf wbtRi kw`3i mt`1/2 mKj t`eZvi kw`3 wgvj tq AZ`vPvi gvnvmj`K ea Kivi
Rb` AwefZ nqQ`j b| Kw_Z AvtQ th wZwb gvnvmj`K wZb evi ea Ktib| thevi wZwb `k
nvtZ A` aviY Kti h`x Ktib - tmB `kfrv gwZ`ZB wZwb cwRZ nb|

mZ`h`M ivRv mj_ emš Kvtj G cRvi cPj b Ktib| t`Zv h`Mi iveb emšx cRv cvj b
Ktib| iveYi AZ`vPvti hLb gvbemgvR RR`Z ZLb ivgP`^t`ex `Mf `šitYvcænb|
iveY etai Rb` ivgP`^K kirKvtj `MfRvi AvtqvRb Kitz nq | Amgtq GB kvi`xq
cRvtK ZvB ejv nq AKvj tevab |

kvi`xq `MfRvq gvnvmj eaiZ `kfrv `Mf mt`1/2 Avtiv KtqKRb t`e-t`exi gwZ`vcb
Kiv nq| Zviv mKtj `Mf c`j I Kb`v -j`q, t`^Zx, Mtbk I KwZ`R | j`q`x mj_-mgw`vb
Ktib I t`^Zx `vb Ktib we`v, epx, m`1/2xZ I wki | wnw`vZv wntmte Mtbk I tmbvcwZ
wntmte KwZ`R weL`vZ| Zviv cZ`K cOYxi wctV Avmxb nb| `Mf evnY wmsn, j`q`xi t`cPv,
t`^Zxi m`v nvm, Mtbtki gwK I KwZ`K ki gqi |

শক্তিময়ী দর্গা দেবী
মানুষকে অন্যায় প্রতিরোধে
প্রেরণা যোগায়।

KtqKu avtc `MfRv Abj0Z nq| kir Kvtj i`K-c`q`i I ox mU`vq `MfK KvgtbvertK`
AvnYvb Kiv nq| GtK ejv nq tevab| t`exi AvMgtbi ci mBgx, Aogx I begxtZ t`exi

wLhngvm GKwU Avb`vrmel | G Avb` cKwKZ nq cwi evi cwi Rb, Av'xq l eUzevUtei cbiq`b, Dcnvi l KwWweZiY Ges chwB t'fvtRi gra'tg | Kw_Z AvtQ th tmBvU wbtKvj vm wLtoi Rb'Dcj t'q wki't`i gta' Dcnvi weZiY Ki'tZb | wLhngvfm Dcnvi weZiY GLb GKwU wetkl cUv | G Dcj t'q OmvsvKR0 bvtg GKwU Kvi wbK Pwi T m'p ntqtQ | wki'iv wekvm Kti th jvj tcvkvK cti l nwi'tYi MvortZ Pto msvKR Avtmb l wLhngvm wU' bxp Dcnvti i ev-ti'l hvb | tmSfvM' ev 0_w jvK0 Gi D't'k' eot`i gta' l Dcnvi Av'vb cUvb nq | Gme Av'vb cUvtbi eo w`K ntPQ KwWweZiY | cUvMZfvte wLhngvm t'fvtRi cAbv AvKI' Qj i'Kti i Sj mvtbv gv_v | Gi cwietZ'ezgvtb cwitetkZ nq Sj mvtbv UwK' gi Mx | t'fvtRi Ab'Zg AvKI' ntPQ wetkl fvte cU'Z Kiv wLhngvm t'KK0 |

wLhngvm GKwU Avb`vrmel | G Avb` cKwKZ nq cwi evi cwi Rb, Av'xq l eUzevUtei cbiq`b, Dcnvi l KwWweZiY Ges chwB t'fvtRi gra'tg | Kw_Z AvtQ th tmBvU wbtKvj vm wLtoi Rb'Dcj t'q wki't`i gta' Dcnvi weZiY Ki'tZb | wLhngvfm Dcnvi weZiY GLb GKwU wetkl cUv | G Dcj t'q OmvsvKR0 bvtg GKwU Kvi wbK Pwi T m'p ntqtQ | wki'iv wekvm Kti th jvj tcvkvK cti l nwi'tYi MvortZ Pto msvKR Avtmb l wLhngvm wU' bxp Dcnvti i ev-ti'l hvb | tmSfvM' ev 0_w jvK0 Gi D't'k' eot`i gta' l Dcnvi Av'vb cUvb nq | Gme Av'vb cUvtbi eo w`K ntPQ KwWweZiY | cUvMZfvte wLhngvm t'fvtRi cAbv AvKI' Qj i'Kti i Sj mvtbv gv_v | Gi cwietZ'ezgvtb cwitetkZ nq Sj mvtbv UwK' gi Mx | t'fvtRi Ab'Zg AvKI' ntPQ wetkl fvte cU'Z Kiv wLhngvm t'KK0 |

Drmtei `n utj`oi gta' l Abv'vtbi Mv'v'`eRvq ivLv nq | AtbK mgq G w`tb wki't`i t'k KvtVi weQv'vq Lt'oi Dci i'tZ t`qv nq | GtZ Zviv hxi wLb th `wii't`i gta' Rb'WbY Kti wQ'tj b Zv Ab'v' Kti | mtev'w wLhngvm GKwU wj' t'vrmel |

teS'x` i agx' Drme

ex cwY'v

et'xi Rb', ex'Zi jvf l cwibe'v jvf ev gZi Dcj t'q ex'cwY'v D`hwicz nq | et'xi Rxe'tbi GB wZbvU `i'ZcY'NUbv NtU GKB mg'tq | evsjv el'`Axii `ekvLx cwY'v GB ex' cwY'vi w`b | teS'x at'g' cU'Z'fKi bvg Avm'tj ex' bq | 0ex'0 A_`Avbx e`w`3 | Zvii bvg wv0v` Ges est'ki bvg t'MS'Zg | wv0v'`P R't'b' ci ciB fivel`0vbx Kiv nq th GB wki' i Rb' `yU weci'xZ ag'c't`_i m'v'ebv AvtQ | Pvi wU wPy wbt`R Ki'te th wZvb GKRB t'k0 w'q'K nteb |

ex' cwY'v'vq ex', ag' w'f'q'zm' Ni Avk't' Kvgbv Kiv nq |

wv0v'`P wczv wQ'tj b GKRB abv'X' kvmK | wczvi kZ evav `vkv m'tZil wmv`Pvi wU wPy t`L'tZ cvb - ex' gvby, Amy'Zv, gZy l av'g'gvb Fw | cU'g wZbvU wPy t`tL wZvb hS'Yvq KvZi nb | Fw i A'sub'0'Z cigvb` j'q' Kti wZvb Aw'f'fZ nb | Mfxi iv'tZ t'Novi w'tV ml qvi ntq wbi't'k' ntq hvb wmv`P` Avb At's't'Y wZvb a'vbgMenb | a'vbgMeAe`vq fq, cU'j vfb me wKQ'f'K wZvb Rq K'tib | Aet'ktl `ekvLx cwY'v'vq ex'Zi jvf K'tib | hS'Yv, `tL l `y'Rvi cw'ex t`_tK `ti `vKvi Ava'wZ'k Avb jvf K'tib ex' | GB Avb c'v'tii ci Avk' ermi eq'tm cwibe'v jvf K'tib `ekvLx cwY'v'tZ |

ex' cwY'v D`hwicz nq agx' l m'gvw'RK Drme AvK'iti | Drmtei w`b mK'vtj cwi ev'ti i bvi'x, c'j`l, wki' mK'tj teS'x g`xti mg'teZ ntq et'xi D't'k' k'x'vN`w'te`b K'tib | et'xi D't'k' L'vei, dj l ew'Z w'tew'Z nq | Zvi ci t'bvq nq w'w' ki'Y0 A_`f' wZbvU Avk't' Kvgbv | mK'tj w'tj t'kw' etj b - ex'v'v `f'Yvs MPOw'g - a'v'v `si Yvs MPOw'g - m Nvs `si Yvs MPOw'g | A_`f' 0Aw'g ex', ag' w'f'q' `i Avk't' w'v'PQ0 | g`xti ag'Av'tj v'Pbv Ab'v'0'Z nq | mK'tj w'tj c'Axj cU'v'v K'tib | A_`v' cw'vU Av'Pi Y weia c'j b Kivi cU'Z'Av K'tib | G_wj nt'PQ- cU'Yx ea bv Kiv, gv`K`e' t'v'eb bv Kiv, Pvi bv Kiv, w'v`v K_v bv ej v l e'w'f'v'v bv Kiv | mg'teZ cU'v'v l agx' m'v'x'tZi ci Ab'v'0'Z nq m'gvw'RK K'k' w'v'bgq | weK'vtj c'bi'vq mK'tj g`xti mg'teZ ntq ew'Z R'j'v'v | g`xi mn cU'Z N'ti cU'x'ci Av'tj v R'j'v'v nq | g'tb g'tb mK'tj cU'v'v K'tib-cU'x'ci Av'tj v th'gb A'U'Kvi `i K'ti tQ t'Z'v'v et'xi Av'tj v'tZ thb me cvc `i ntq hvq | ex' cwY'v'vq N'ti N'ti GKUz Db'Z gv'tbi L've'tii e'v`v Kiv nq | Z'te Drmte

Lvertii c0avb` tbB|

tešx agfej MY Avtiv` yU cWYvq Drme Ktib - Avlvpx cWYv I Avnkpx cWYv| Kw_Z AvtQ th Avlvpx cWYv t_tK ey atgP evYx cPvi`ii` Ktib| Avnkpx cWYvtZ nq 0KwB Pxei`vb0 A_ f tMi`qv emb cwi avb| Avlvpx cWYv t_tK GKRb wf`fz g`xti` GKB weQvbwq i wI hvcb Kitz`_vtKb Avnkpx cWYv chS| Avnkpx cYvvtZ GB wf`fz K f3 iv tMi`qv emb cwi avb Kivb| Gi ci t_tK GB wf`fz KtVvi wbgq cvj tb eZx nb| Avnkpx cWYv Drme KLtbv GK gvm ati Pij |

cKwZ cRvi xt` i agx Abp0vb

mul Zvj t` i tmvni vB Abp0vb

ersj v el`cÄxi tcŠl gvtmi tktl dmj KvUvi mgq mul Zvj MY 0tmvni vB0 Drme D` hvcb Kti`_vtKb| dmj cvl qvi Avb` cKvk Kivi Rb` I cKwZtK ab`ev` Rvbtbvi Rb` G Drmtei AvtqRb Kiv nq| tmvni vB Drme mVz w`b ati Pij |

dmj cvl qvi Avb`
cKvk Kivi Rb` I
cKwZtK ab`ev`
Rvbtbvi Rb` tmvni vB
Drmtei AvtqRb Kiv
nq/

tmvni vB Drmtei c0g w`b mKvtj evoxZ cwb I tMvei wQuUtg cweI Kiv nq| cwi evtii mKtj mgteZ fvt dmtj i gvtv hvb| tmLvth Zviv mgteZ fvt bvp I Mvb Ktib Ges Gi gra`tg Avb` cKvk Ktib| GKwU eo gvtv mul Zvj MY Mi`i wWg fvzv tLj v DctfvM Ktib| Mi`tK tMvj Kwitq cweI Kiv nq I Zvt` i wks G tZj gvLvth nq| gvtvi wevfba`vth wWg I wSbK jKtq ivLv nq| GB me jKtqv wWg I wSbK LjR tm`wj tK fvzvi Rb` Mi` t0to t`qv nq| th Mi` me tPtq tekx fvzZ cvti tm weRqx etj tNvml Z nq| GB weRqx Mi` Ges Zvi gvij KtK tmšfvM`evb etj wePbv Kiv nq| wWg I wSbK thšbZv I cRbb kw3 i cZxK| cKwZi c0Z AvbMtz`i cZxK wntmte gjMx, QvMj Ges iKi ewj`vb Kiv nq| mul Zvj t0tj -tgtqiv my`i tcvkvK miv4Z ntq GKtI Mtgi wevfba`evox Nfi teovZ hvb| G mgq Zviv c0Z`K evoxZ 0tmvqvj cRv0 Ktib| tmvqvj Nfi mvgtb bvp Mvb Kiv nq| Zvici Mi`i wks G`Zj t`qv nq Ges Mi`tK Nvm I avb LvL qvtb nq| KwL A_0wZtZ Mi` AZ`š` i`ZcyGes G Kvi tY mul Zvj t` i Drmte Mi` eo Askx`vi |

tmvni vB Drmte
mul Zvj MY dmj c0Bi
Rb` KZAZv cKvk
Ktib I Avb` Drme
Ktib/

mul Zvj tgtqiv miv4Z ntq GKtI evox evox hvb Ges mt1/2 Kti wbtq hvb Kj vq mivRvtb wVv, avb I`pNvm| evox evox Nfi tgtqiv wVv weZiY Ktib Ges bvp-Mvb Ktib| avb`p w`tq mKtj Avkxep` Ktib| ZvOrov t0tj -tgtqiv Mi`i wctv GK ev` tevSvB wVv ti tL t`b| tmLvth t_tK wVv tbevi Rb` wbtRiv hK hK tLj v Ktib| Drmtei tkl w`b mul Zvj MY gvQ ai tZ hvb| Zviv wekvm Ktib th H w`b gvQ ai tZ cvitj` eewwK Rxe tb I Mn`vj xtZ mI I mgw`x weivR Kite|

tmvni vB Drmte dmj c0Bi Rb` cKwZi c0Z KZAZv Rvbtb nq| GQrov wVv weZi tYi ga` w`tq Drcw`Z dmtj i cpe0tbi we l q` i`Zj v f Ktib|

mvi vsk

gmjgvbđ`i cāv Drme `BūU - C`j Avhnv I C`j wdZi| C`j Avhnv Z`vđMi Drme|
Avj vvi mšioi Rb` mKj cKvi, GgbūK ūbđRđK DrmM`Kivi Rb` cŪZ_vKvB GB Drmđei
gg`K_v| igRvb gvđm gmjgvbMY ūmqvg ev mshg mivabvi Abkxjb Kđi _vđKb| C`j
wdZđi gj evbx nđPQ gvbe Kj`vđb ūbđRđ`i ūejđq t`evi Avb` DcđfVM Kiv| ūv`y
agđej vđđ`i cāv Drme `MđRv| GB Drme gvđj RbđK Ab`vđqi ūei`đx hđ Kđi b`vq
cŪZōvi tclYv thvMvq| ūhi ūLđoi Rbđv b D`hvcb ūLōvđđ`i cāv agđq Drme| tešx
agđej vđđ`i cāv Drme eđxcvYđv| GB Drmđe tešx agđej vđđ`i Ab`Zg cŪ`đv GB th,
eđx i AvđjvđZ thb Zvđ`i gđbi AŪKvi `i nđq hvq| cKūZi tclđ I cKūZi kv³ i mđ½
mgšđ mivab Kiv cKūZ cRivđđ`i Drmđei cāv ū K|

চিহ্নিত গল্প

বেঙ্গল কেস

মুখ্য ডেপুটি চিফ জাজ (✓) প্যারামিটার

1) এফএক্সি রিফ্রাক্টিভ ইন্ডেক্স কত?

K. গ্যাসের

L. অসংস্কৃত

M. এক্সেল

N. ক্রিস্টাল

2) তরঙ্গের বিস্তারিত আয়তন কত?

K. গতিবিধি

L. গতিবিধি

M. গতিবিধি

N. গতিবিধি

3) কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের নাম কত?

K. অগ্রগতি

L. বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

M. পূর্ব বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

N. পূর্ব বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

4) মুখ্য ডেপুটি চিফ জাজের নাম কত?

K. ইকি

L. ওমজ

M. মি

N. গজম

মুখ্য ডেপুটি চিফ জাজ

1) কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের নাম কত?

2) এক্সেল ড্রামের নাম কত?

ইপিস কেস

1) গ্যাসের বিস্তারিত আয়তন কত?

2) এক্সেল ড্রামের নাম কত?

Kti _vtKb| hM hM ati GBme tMvöxex mgvR wbr`Zv ati ivtL etj AtbtK Zvt`itK
Awv`R-mvgwRK-ivR%wZK weKvtki gj avivi evBti ÖAvw`gö, ÖcÖPxbö, ÖAmf`ö, ÖeePö eM[©]
wntmte ati tbb| GuU GK aiti mi jxKiY| KviY tFStMwvj K I Awv`R bvbwea KviY
G_wbK Möc_wj AwKj cytbn ifc _vtK bv| G_wbK Möc_wj i gta` eüglx AŠmquv I
ein:wquvi dtj G_wj RtuJ cwieZÖkxj ifc aviY Kti |

G_wbwmU Aa`qtbi c_xvZ

*cÖPxb cŠiq G_wbK
cwi Pqtk RvZiq
msnwzi Rb` cÖZeÜK
wntmte wPnyZ Kiv nq|*

cÖPxb cŠv : GB G`vtcÖtP msv`wZK cwi Pqtk cÖavb` t`qv nq| Gi cÖ³vMY gtb Ktib th
G_wbK cwi Pq RbWZfvte I HwZnwMk mT` cÖB Ges GtZ cwi Pq wbgP`Yi tKvb e`vci
tbB| G KviY G_wbK Mötci weTK`Y Kitz wltq Zviv gtb Ktib th cPiv cÖwquwltZ GK
aitbi hP`nxbZv KvR Kti | GB G`vtcÖtPi cÖ³vMY hP` cÖvb Ktib th G_wbK cwi Pq
gub| RbY t`tk cvq Ges wbtRtK tmfvteB `Zix Kti | RweZKvtj gub| Ab` hZme cwi Pq
cwi wPZ nq Zvi me_wj t`tk RbYmT` cÖB G_wbK cwi Pq wfbwA_`enb Kti |

G_wbwmU msv`wZK w`K DtbwPtb GB G`vtcÖtP KvhRi | wKŠ` GB G`vtcÖtP GKB G_wbK
Mötci gta` th bvbwea Ö`Ö mjo nq Zv e`vL`v Kiv m`e nq bv| ZvÖvov G_wbK Möc_wj i th
ivRbwZKiY nq I ivR%wZK mPZbZv mjo nq tm_wj I Gi gva`tg e`vL`v Kiv `P`ri | GB
G`vtcÖtP G_wbK cwi Pqtk RvZiq msnwzi Rb` cÖZeÜK wntmte wPnyZ Kiv nq| G_wbK
Möc_wj wefbw`vex Dlvcb Kti b`vq wePvtii Rb` msMötg wj B ntZ cvti | GmKj `vex
Av`vtqi msMögtK tbnZevPK `wof`x t`tk t`Lv mgvPxb bq| mgvRi AŠMZ `elg` `i I
b`vq wePvi cÖZöw Kivi Rb` ivR%wZK KgRvE wntmteB G_wbK tMvöxi `vextK t`Lv
evÄbxq| G_wbK `vex `vl qv Av`vtqi msMögtK epEi ivR%wZK KgRvtEi Ask wntmte MY`
KivB Awak hP`m`Z|

msv`wZK eüZev`x cŠv : GB G`vtcÖtPi gva`tg msv`wZK wfbwvtK G_wbK Mötci Ö`Ö e`vL`v
Kivi Rb` e`envi Kiv ntq _vtK| GB G`vtcÖtPi cÖ³vMtyi gtZ eüZev`x mgvR ÖtÖi
KviY GB bq th wefbwMöc wbtRt`i gta` KwB eÜtb Ave`x ntq mgvwrK-msv`wZK GKK
`Zix Kti tQ| A_ev ÖtÖi KviY GI bq th wefbwMvöxi cÖqvRbxq tgŠij K cÖZövb mgtni
gta` AvbPwbK wfbwv AvtQ| eis eüZev`x mgvR ÖtÖi gj KviY GB th Gme mgvR GKwU
cFZKvix tMvöx _vtK thwU gj Z Ab`t`i Dci AwacZ` we`vi Kti | Gi dtj mgvR mKtj i
gtZi HK` cÖZwöZ nq bv| Avi G KviY mgvR D`P-bxP tF`vtf` `ixfZ ntq hvq| GKB
mgvRfP G_wbK Möc_wj i ga`Kvi GB DaZb-Aa`b m`utKp KviY KvvtgwmZ Ö`Ö mjo
nq| G Ö`Ö mtg mtg wsmv`I K ntq Dtv I mšvMx KvhP`tgi w`tk ifc j vf Kti |

GB G`vtcÖtPiU GKviY mgvtj wPZ ntqtQ th msv`wZK I gj`tevaMZ wfbwvi mKj welq
G_wbK Möcmgti m`uK`K mgvbfvte cFweZ Kti bv| G aiti wfbwv tKej ZLbB ÖtÖi
mjo Kti hLb GKwU Möc Ab` Mötci gj`tevaMZ gj welq AvNvZ nvtb| G Qvov GB
G`vtcÖtPi gva`tg GKB G_wbK Mötci gta` tKb Ö`Ö mjo nq Zv e`vL`v Kiv hvq bv|

Zj bvgj K eÄbvi cŠv : GB cŠvi cÖ³vMY G_wbK mPZbZv I G_wbK ÖtÖi Rb`
AvaybKxKiYi cÖwquvtK `vqx Ktib| KviY AvaybKxKiYi dtj mKj tMvöxi gta` GKB
aitbi Pwin`v mjo nq I cÖ`vkvv RbY nq| wKŠ` wfbwAe`vi KviY Zj bvgj Kfvte GKwU

DaZb I Aa⁻b ⁻vfb Ae⁻vb Kti | Gfivte tK⁻iq Ae⁻vfb ukivqb nq Ges tm wfiE⁻tZ ms⁻uZ Mto D⁻tV | cOŠK Ae⁻vfb Ggb GK ai⁻tbi A⁻uZ Mto D⁻tV hv tK⁻t⁻i Dci wbfPkj A⁻ev Gi mnvqK | GB A⁻uZK wbfPkj Zv Avevi ivR⁻uZK, wuj Uwi ev wePvi e⁻e⁻v Øviv eva⁻Zvgj K Kti tZjv nq | Af⁻šixY JcubtewkKZvi Ae⁻vq mvs⁻uZK cwi Pq tKej cOŠK ⁻ewkó⁻ wntmte ⁻v⁻tK bv | GwU ntq D⁻tV ivR⁻uZK cwi Pq wbt⁻RK | GgZve⁻vq cOŠK RbtMvóx wbcxobKvix Ae⁻vi wim⁻tbi Rb⁻Zv⁻i cOŠK mvs⁻uZK cwi Pq⁻tK e⁻envi Kti ⁻v⁻tK | tK⁻iq ⁻lgZv memgq cOŠK RbtMvóxi cOZev⁻ I we⁻t⁻in ⁻gb Kti ⁻v⁻tK | dtj DaZb I Aa⁻b m⁻u⁻tK⁻P e⁻vcv⁻i P⁻v⁻tj Ä Kiv cOŠK RbtMvóxi c⁻t⁻q cOŠK Am⁻e⁻ ntq ⁻wvq | Z⁻wc Pig Ae⁻v m⁻v⁻o⁻ ntj cOŠK G⁻wbK Mótci cOZev⁻ ⁻lgZv KvVtgv e⁻tj i c⁻a⁻ti we⁻wQbZev⁻x Av⁻t⁻vj tbi ifc wbtZ cv⁻ti |

GB cšvi fvtjv w⁻K GB th GwU A⁻uZK I mvs⁻uZK welq⁻tK mgšq Kti G⁻wbK e⁻vL⁻v Kti ⁻v⁻tK | GB G⁻v⁻t⁻c⁻u⁻Pi gra⁻t⁻g cwk⁻vb ivó⁻cZ⁻tbi dtj evsj⁻t⁻k ivt⁻o⁻f Af⁻i⁻tqi gZ welq⁻wj tK fvtjv fivte e⁻vL⁻v Kiv m⁻e⁻l | wKš⁻ th mKj A⁻Ä⁻tj tK⁻t⁻i A⁻uZK Dbq⁻b I cOŠK tMvóxi cO⁻v⁻c⁻ Zv ⁻úo⁻ bq tm mKj t⁻q⁻t⁻l GB G⁻v⁻t⁻c⁻u⁻P Øviv e⁻vL⁻v Kiv mnR bq | thgb k⁻ij ⁻v I w⁻u⁻R ivt⁻o⁻f G⁻wbK m⁻gm⁻v | GQ⁻ov tK⁻iq I cOŠK Ae⁻v we⁻ivRgv ⁻vKvi ci I Ø⁻Ø m⁻v⁻o⁻ nq w⁻b Ggb D⁻vniYI Av⁻t⁻Q | thgb ⁻w⁻q⁻b f⁻lvb thLv⁻t⁻b tbcv⁻j x⁻i Av⁻macZ⁻ cOZ⁻vóZ ntq⁻tQ |

Dbq⁻b ev⁻x cšvi : GB cšvi c⁻e⁻vMY Dbq⁻b I thw⁻v⁻t⁻h⁻v⁻t⁻Mi Dci tRvi t⁻b Ges G⁻wbK m⁻gm⁻v⁻tK tMSY welq⁻g⁻t⁻b Kti⁻b | Zv⁻t⁻i aviYv e⁻vcK Dbq⁻b Kg⁻R⁻v⁻t⁻Ei dtj k⁻ij we⁻fvRb I c⁻q⁻Rev⁻x evRvi we⁻ZKiY ntj G⁻wbK m⁻gm⁻v⁻v⁻tK bv |

GB cšw⁻U mgv⁻tj wPZ nq KviY t⁻Lv hvq th Av⁻t⁻gwi Kv I KvbWwi gZ Dbz⁻ t⁻k mg⁻t⁻n Dbq⁻b I G⁻wbK m⁻gm⁻v⁻GKB m⁻v⁻t⁻ we⁻ivRgv | Av⁻m⁻tj Dbq⁻tbi dtj hv nq Zv ntj v GK⁻w⁻ tK G⁻wbK Mót⁻wj i Av⁻bMZ⁻ AR⁻Ø I HK⁻ cOZ⁻óvi tPóv P⁻tj | Ab⁻ w⁻tK G⁻wbK Mót⁻wj i m⁻tPZbZv ep⁻x cvl qvq, b⁻v⁻q⁻wePvi bv cvl qvq I Dbq⁻tbi f⁻vM bv cvl qvq G⁻wbK cwi P⁻tqi ivR⁻bw⁻ZKiY Kiv nq |

mvi vsk

Av⁻abK ivó⁻e⁻e⁻v⁻q G⁻wbK m⁻gm⁻v⁻GKwU Pj gvb ivR⁻uZK c⁻u⁻q⁻vq Ašf⁻ | Av⁻abK ivó⁻th gZv⁻ tK⁻P Dci wfiE⁻ Kti Mto D⁻tV Ges th ivó⁻tq KvVtgv Øviv cwi P⁻v⁻ij Z nq tmLv⁻t⁻b G⁻wbK m⁻gm⁻v⁻wi mb Kiv ⁻j⁻fn | KL⁻t⁻bv KL⁻t⁻bv Av⁻macZ⁻kj G⁻wbK Mótci m⁻t⁻½ ⁻q⁻i⁻a G⁻wbK Mótci GK⁻r⁻Feb (assimilation) b⁻w⁻Z MótY Kiv nq | KL⁻t⁻bv ⁻q⁻i⁻a G⁻wbK Mót⁻wj tK bvb⁻nea c⁻u⁻q⁻vq a⁻šm m⁻ab (annihilation) Kiv nq | Gfivte G⁻wbK m⁻gm⁻v⁻mgv⁻v⁻t⁻bi D⁻t⁻vM L⁻jeB Av⁻l NvZx b⁻w⁻Z | KviY G⁻tZ epr R⁻w⁻ZmÉvi Av⁻macZ⁻i P⁻tc ⁻q⁻i⁻a R⁻w⁻ZmÉvi ⁻Zš⁻ ⁻ewkó⁻tK b⁻m⁻ir Kiv nq | GQ⁻ov eúZev⁻x mgvR e⁻e⁻v⁻i (plural society) D⁻vniY Av⁻t⁻Q | eúZev⁻x e⁻e⁻v⁻q ⁻q⁻i⁻a R⁻w⁻ZmÉvi H⁻vZn⁻MZ ⁻vZš⁻ i⁻q⁻lv Kti w⁻k⁻q⁻lv I A⁻uZK ⁻elg⁻ ⁻i Kivi c⁻t⁻q⁻c M⁻pxZ nq | mKj R⁻w⁻ZMvóxi mgZv we⁻av⁻b Kti eúZev⁻x mgvR e⁻e⁻v⁻i Dbq⁻tbi c⁻t⁻ AM⁻hi nq |

cvřVvEi gj`vqb

`beŕB K cĕke

mivK DEři i cvřk vJK (v) vPy w`b |

- 1| cŕPxb cřiq G_ıbıvıUřK vKfıře ř`Lv nq?
 - K. GB G`řřcŕP G_ıbK cıı PqřK RvZıq msnvZi Rb` mnvqK eřj gřb Kiv nq
 - L. GB G`řřcŕP G_ıbıvıUı `elgřK ivR%ıvZK KgřvŪ wřřře ř`Lv nq
 - M. GB G`řřcŕP G_ıbK Mŕci `vex Av` řřqi mřMŕřK BıřZevPK `ıřřřř ř`řK ř`Lv nq
 - N. GB G`řřcŕP gřb Kiv nq řh G_ıbK cıı Pq RbMZřře cŕB Ges GřZ cıı Pq vbgřYi řKvb vėl q řbB

- 2| gıKřev`x cřiq G_ıbıvıUřK vKfıře ř`Lv nq?
 - K. GB cřiq G_ıbıvıUřK RbMZ I Acıı eZřřq gřb Kiv nq
 - L. GB cřiq gřb Kiv nq řh řkYı mřNıř jKřevi Rb` ivR%ıvZK řbZev` G_ıbıvıU e`envi Kři gıvıřK DřEıřZ Kři `řřKb
 - M. GB cřiq G_ıbK ivR%ıvZK mřPZbZvřK mivK mřPZbZv eřj gřb Kiv nq
 - N. GB cřiq gřb Kiv nq řh G_ıbıvıU vėřkřY řkYı `řř_P řKvb vėl q řbB

- 3| Af`řıxY JcıřřevıKZv cřiq G_ıbıvıUřK vKfıře ř`Lv nq?
 - K. GB cřiq aıı Yv Kiv nq řh A_ıvıvZK Dbřř mKj G_ıbK Mŕci Rb` mğvb dıřvđj Ařřb
 - L. GB cřiq aıı Yv Kiv nq řh řřgZv GKřřıUıqı řře e`envi Kiv hvq bv
 - M. GB cřiq aıı Yv Kiv nq řh ivřřřKıv G_ıbK Mŕci Rb` ıbcııobKııxřřZ cřřı bv
 - N. GB cřiq aıı Yv Kiv nq řh řK`řq I cřřK G_ıbK řMıř Dařř I Aa`b `řř Ae`ıv Kři

- 4| Dbřřev`x cřiq G_ıbıvıUřK vKfıře ř`Lv nq?
 - K. GB cřiq aıı Yv Kiv nq řh AbřřZ G_ıbK Mŕc `elřř`ı vKvıı nq
 - L. GB cřiq aıı Yv Kiv nq řh A_ıvıvZKřře Dbřř ř`řki I G_ıbK Mŕc_ııı i HK` cřřZıřZ nq bv
 - M. GB cřiq aıı Yv Kiv nq řh A_ıvıvZK Dbřř nřj G_ıbK mğm`v_řřK bv
 - N. GB cřiq G_ıbK mğm`řřK gřř vėl q gřb Kiv nq

mřıřřB cĕke

- 1| G_ıbK Mŕci `evkŕ` vK vK?
- 2| RıvZ I RvZıqZv Ges RıvZ I G_ıbK Mŕci gřř m`ıvKřK?

iPıvıj K cĕke

- 1| G_ıbıvıU Aa`qřřı Rb` vK vK cřř AbıııY Kiv nq? GmKj cřřı cııvı `evkŕ` Dřj E-Kı`b |
- 2| G_ıbıvıU vėl q řevřıı Rb` G`řřcŕP vėl q Rıvı řKb Rı`ıx? cřřıřZ cřř_ııı i mıgıvexZv Ařřj vPıv Kı`b |

evsj vt`tki ʒi`RwZtMvöxi mswʒB cwi Pq

A Brief Introduction to the Ethnic Groups of Bangladesh

GB cWuU cto Avcwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- evsj vt`tki G_wbK Mötci cwi kāmZ mgm`v
- evsj vt`tk ʒi`RwZtMvöxi msL`v I tʃstMvij K Ae`vb
- ʒi`RwZtMvöxi fvlv I DrcwEi mswʒB BwZnm
- ʒi`RwZtMvöxi Av_@mvgwRK Ae`vi mvariY weeiY

G_wbK Mötci cwi kāmZ mgm`v

evsj vt`tk G_wbK
Mötci cōZkā wntmte
ŌDcRwZŌ I ŌAw`evmŌ
`tUvB tbwZevPK A_t_@
e`eüZ nq/

evsj vt`tki G_wbK Mötci cwi Pq eYövi cteBsti Rx G_wbK Mötci evsj v cōZktäi mgm`vi cñh`wU Dtj E-Kiv cōqvRb| evsj vt`tk G_wbK Mötci cōZkā wntmte DcRwZ kãwU e`eüZ nI qvi tiI qvR AvtQ| DcRwZ kãwU tbwZevPK| evsj vt`tk msL`v Mwi ö (99%) gvby evl`vj x Ges evl`vj x RvZxqZvevt`i wfwE`Z `xN`msMötgi ci evsj vt`k ivö`Rbʒj vf Kti tQ| tmLvtb evl`vj x evt` Ab` mKj msL`v j Ny ʒi`RwZmEv_wj DcRwZ wntmte wPwY Z n`q hvq| Avmtj DcRwZi avi YwU Avtm Jcwbtekk kvmbvgtj | BDti vcxqiv hLb cw_exi wefwb`vtb Dcwbtek we`vi Kti Ges ivóq gtWj cōZöw Kti ZLb A`bK ʒi`Rb`Mvöx wQj hiv ivóqfvte msMwZ wQj bv| ivóq gtWtji evBti wBR`^ mvgwRK-mvs`wZK tMvöx` Rxebhvcb KiwQj th mKj Rb`Mvöx Zvt`i`K tevSvtbvi Rb`B Jcwbtekk kvmeM` DcRwZ kãwU c`j b`i` Kti | Kvj µtg GB ai`bi Rb`Mvöx tKvb bv tKvb ivóq msMV`bi Ašf` n`q covq DcRwZ kãwU cōqvM`thvM`Zv nvi vq| Awevi Aw`evm kãwU th evsj vt`tk e`eüZ nq Zvi A_@ tbwZevPK| thgb Ōc`PxbŌ, ŌAw`gŌ tevSvtbvi Rb`GwU e`envi Kiv nq| Zte mvs`cōZKKvtj cvŌvtZ`i t`k_wj tZ indigenous people avi Yv `Zix n`q tQ hvi evsj v Aw`evm `vovq| Zte indigenous people Gi A_@ tbwZevPK bq| tKvb Gj vKvq RwZMZ A_t_@ I mvs`wZKfvte cōPxbZg Aw`evmxt`i DĒimixMYB tm Gj vKvi Aw`evm| GB BwZevPK A_t_@ Aw`evm bv`tg AvrfwZ nI qvi Rb` evsj vt`tki ʒi`RwZmEv_wj I `vex Rwb`q tQ| wKš` evsj vt`kmn A`bK t`k indigenous people mbv` Kiv mgm`vRbK etj Rvbvq| Kvi Y`xNRvj hveZ GKwU t`tk emevtmi ci tKvb Rb`Mvöx Aw`evm` vt`i DĒimix Ges Kiv bq, Zvi nw`m LtR fei Kiv m`e bq| eZ`yb cvtV G_wbK Mötci evsj v A_@ wntmte ʒi`RwZtMvöx e`eüZ n`q tQ| GB ʒi`RwZtMvöx_wj e`MZ I Aw`K ms`wZMZ Dcv`vtbi HwZnmK mst`k`Yi ga` w` t`q Mto D`vtQ| ʒi`RwZtMvöxi A_@ vovt`Q w`tkI mgcKwZ m`úbwM`

ʒi`RwZtMvöxi msL`v I tʃstMvij K Ae`vb

evsj vt`tk mef`gu 45wU gZ ʒi`RwZtMvöx AvtQ etj wefwbem` t`tK Rvbv hvq| wKš` Zvt`i mKtj i we` t`q Z_` cvl qv hvq bv|

QK 1 : ¶ı̄ a RmZ†Mvõxi bvg, RbmsL`v I emevřmi `vb

¶ı̄ a RmZ†Mvõxi bvg	RbmsL`v	emevřmi `vb
1 PvkGv	2,25,858	cveZ` PÆMŇg
2 ZOP0`v	21,639	cveZ` PÆMŇg
3 gvi gv	1,57,301	cveZ` PÆMŇg
4 Lxqs	2,343	cveZ` PÆMŇg
5 wı̄ cıj x	81,014	cveZ` PÆMŇg, PÆMŇg, Kıgıj v-Pıı cıj , tgšj fıxevřvi , i vŘevox
6 gıj s	22,178	cveZ` PÆMŇg
7 tŃv	126	cveZ` PÆMŇg
8 Lıgx	1,241	cveZ` PÆMŇg
9 wı̄Kqvs	-	cveZ` PÆMŇg
10 ebřhvMıx	45,284	cveZ` PÆMŇg
11 cvřřKv	3,227	cveZ` PÆMŇg
12 j ħvB	6662	cveZ` PÆMŇg
13 Pvk	2,127	cveZ` PÆMŇg
14 mvl Zıj	2,02,162	i vRkvıx wefvM
15 Mřři v	64,280	XvKv I wıřřı U wefvM
16 eg	13,471	cveZ` PÆMŇg
17 i vLvBb	16,932	K- evřvi , ei _bv, cUqvLıj x
18 eřřv (gıřvi x)	7,421	mıřřıřıv
19 nıřřs	11,540	XvKv I wıřřı U wefvM
20 nıřřı Rb	1,132	-
21 Lvwıqıv	12,280	wıřřı U wefvM
22 řřKıP	16,567	XvKv wefvM, gıggıwımsı, UvřřıBıj
23 gvıřřıZv	3,534	i vRkvıx wefvM
24 gıřřı cıj x	24,882	wıřřı U wefvM
25 gıřřıv	2,132	wıřřı U wefvM
26 I ııvı	8,216	i vRkvıx wefvM
27 cvıřřıoxqıv	1,853	i vRkvıx wefvM
28 i vŘevsxıx	7,556	XvKv wefvM, gıggıwımsı, UvřřıBıj , i vRkvıx
29 Dı`qıv	5,561	-
30 Ab`vb`	2,16,459	-

Drm : Av`gi gıvıx wıřřı cıvU, 1991 |

¶ı̄ a RmZ†Mvõxi_wıj i meřřıgıvU RbmsL`v 1991 mıřřı i Av`gi gıvıx tgvZřřıteK 12,05,978 Rb | Zıvı gvřřıb Zıvıv evsj vř` řřı tıgıvU RbmsL`vı 1.13% | Zřřı avııvı Kıv nıq th cıřřıZ cıřřı¶ı¶ı ¶ı̄ a RmZ†Mvõxi mřřıL`v mı Kıvıx wıřřımřřıı teřřıq tekıx nřřıı | AřřıbřřıKı gıřřıZ G mřřıL`v 20 j řřıı AıwıK nřřıı | cřřııwıřřıı řřı řřıKıv B Gıj vKıv řřıZ B wıřřıı řřı RmZ†Mvõxi emevřmı Kıvı cıřřııZ vıı Qj | eZřřıřřıřřı bıvıwııe A_řřıwıZK i vR%ıwıZK Kıvıřřı RmZ†Mvõxi_wıj mıvıv evsj vř` řřı we`Z nřřıq evm KıřřıQ | Zřřı cıřřı š AĀj _wıj řřıZ emevřmi mřřıL`v B AıwıK | cveZ` PÆMŇg I wıřřıřřııUı cvıřřıox AĀj , MıvıĀj , DcKıj xı Gıj vKıv I DĒıeřřıı¶ı¶ı ¶ı̄ a RmZ†Mvõxi emevřmi NbZı tekıx | evsj vř` řřı meřřıı K Rbeıj ¶ı̄ a RmZ†Mvõxi nřřıQ mvl Zıj , PvkGıv , gıvı gv I gıwı` | GLvřřıb (QK břřı 1) evsj vř` řřı ¶ı̄ a RmZ†Mvõxi_wıj i bıg , mřřıL`v I emevřmi Gıj vKıv Dc`wımcZ nřřıřřıv |

cřřııwıřřıı řřı Gıj vKıv wıřřıı řřı RmZ†Mvõxi emevřmi cıřřııZ vıı Qj | eZřřıřřıřřı Zıvıv mıvıv evsj vř` řřı we`Z nřřıq evm Křřııb |

Dcti Dtgj w-Z ¶iz^a RbtMvõx Qvov Avtïv wKQybvq Rvbn hvq| Zvt`i gta` AvtQ - tKvj , LÊ, Lwivq, Wvjy Zix, cvnvb, evbvB, wms, cvÎ, egØ, evMw`, tew`qv, gvtojv, mrvnwj, gyiqvi, gnni, ivB, ivRqvo, nw`, tnv cfwZ|

fvlv

evsj vt`tki ¶iz^a
RwZtMvõxi cØZ`KwUi
wbR`^fvlv AvtQ hw`l
Zvt`i mKtj i
tj L`fvlv ev eYgÿjv
tbB|

evsj vt`tki ¶iz^a RwZtMvõxi cØZ`KwUi wbR`^fvlv AvtQ hw`l Zvt`i mKtj i tj L`fvlv ev eYgÿjv tbB| PviwJ cåvb fvlv cwievti m½ G_uij m^aúwKZ| G_uij nt`Q Avh^o`wëo, A±÷Ë-GwkqwlUK l wZeYZx egx^o Avh^ofvlv B±`v-BD±ivcxq fvlv bvtg cwipZ| evsjv, Anwgqv, Dwoqv, wn>`x cfwZ fvlv Avh^ocwievif^o| ¶iz^a RwZtMvõxi gta` PvkGv l nvrst`i fvlv Avh^ocwievif^o| `wëo fvlv cwievif^o nt`Q `w¶Y fvi±Zi tek KtqKwJ fvlv thgb Zwvgj , gvj vaj vg l tZtj_u| evsj vt`tki l iivl l cvnwqv^a fvlv `wëo cwievif^o| `wëo gÿvix fvlvi bvg m`ix| ivReskx, tKvj , gÿv, nvrS GB fvlvq K_v etj b| A±÷Ë-GwkqwlUK fvlv cwievti AvtQ gÿv kvLv l gbLtgi kvLv| gÿvkvLvq AvtQ gÿv, mvl Zvj , gnvjx, tnv cfwZ ¶iz^a RbtMvõxi fvlv| gbLtgi kvLvq wgy NtUtQ evg¶ gb l K±wMwqvi Ltgi fvlvi| GB fvlvi cØZwõa nt`Q Lwmqv fvlv| wZeYZx-egx^ofvlv cwievif^o nt`Q tbcvjx, fUvb l fvi±Zi DÊi-ceA±tj i RbtMvõx| evsj vt`tki PvkGv, ZOP0`v, Mvtiv, ivLvBb, gubcjx cfwZ RbtMvõx GB cwievif^o| evsjv, mvl Zvj Avi gubcjx fvlv e`envi Kti wn>`yAvh^oeYgÿjv| PvkGv l ivLvBb e`envi Kti gbLgvi eYgÿjv| gw`, eiK, Lwmqv, jmvB fvlv tj Lv nq ti gvb eYgÿjvq| gubcjx fvlv Lp mgx| Gfvlvq wj wLZ BwZnm AvtQ cPxbKvj t`tKB| gubcjx fvlvq gnvKve`l wj wLZ ntqtQ| gubcjx fvlv gubcjv ivtR`i ivRfvlv l fvi±Zi Ab`Zg RvZxq fvlv wntmte `xKZ| mvl Zvj xt`i fvlvl wewkó| fvi±Zi cwðgevsjv, wenvi, ga` cØ`k cfwZ `vtb mvl Zvj fvlvfwl iv Qwo±q AvtQ| wlcjvt`i eiKfvlv fvi±Zi wlcjv ivtR`i miKvix gh^ov tctqtQ| Mvtiv`i gw` fvlv l Lwmqv^a fvlvl miKvix gh^ov tctqtQ tgNvj q ivtR`i|

DrcwÊ l ifcvši

G t`tki ¶iz^a RwZtMvõx_u i DrcwÊ l HwZnmK ifcvši m^aútk^oLp tekx Z` cvlqv hvq bv| PvkGvt`i DrcwÊ m^aútk^oZvt`i wKse`šxZ Rvbn hvq P^aúKbMtii K_v Ges wErcwMwi bvtg Zvt`i Avw`cj`tl i K_v| wKš`tkv_{vq} wQj P^aúKbMi Ges wErcwMwi wKfvte wewfbc hfxi gva`tg PvkGv tMvõxK cØZwõZ KtiwQtj b, Zvi cÿiv eÊvš Rvbn m^ae nq w| PvkGvt`i `vex GB th Zviv kvK`eskxq| G estk tMšZg ep^o RbMhY KtiwQtj b| tgvNj kvmbvtj i cte^oPvkGv RbtMvõx AvivKvb ivtR`i Ašf^o wQj | tgvNj Avgtj Zviv PÆMötg evm Ktib| POP0`v RbtMvõx AvivKvb ivtR`i Ašf^o wQj | Mvtiv`i DrcwÊ m^aútk^oRvbn hvq th Mvtiv cvnvti cv`t`tk evsj vt`tki fvgtZB nvrvi ermi cte^oMvtiv RbtMvõxi emem wQj | beg t`tK Îtqv`k kZvãxi gta` Mvtiv mvgtR` cØZwõZ ntq XvKv-Uv½vBj chS w-Z ntq hvq| wKš` tgvNj kvmK tMvõxi AZ`vvi, wbcxob l hfxi dj kØZtZ Mvtiv RbtMvõxi w`wZ eU nq| Ggb wK Zviv ¶lgZvnx nqv ci msKwPZ ntq cto| cåvbZ evsj vt`tki DÊivA±tj th mvl Zvj t`i emem Zviv gj Z wenvi l exi fg AÂtj i evm>`v| Zviv ewJk JcubteukK kvmbvtj evsj vt`tk AwfemZ nb| evsj vt`tk mvl Zvj t`i GKwJ ¶iz`sk evm Kij l Zviv Dcgv^a t`tki GKwJ mS`v euj RbtMvõx| BwZnvtm mvl Zvj t`i eo cwipq weaZ ntq AvtQ tkvY, wbhZB l JcubteukKZv weti vax kw^okvjx tMvõx wntmte| AtbtK avi Yv Ktib l tvok l mß`k kZtK ivLvBbiv AvivKvb t`tK evsj vt`tki cUqvLvjtZ

Gfm emevm i`i Ktib| Zte AwaKvstki gtZ Aov`k kZtKi tkl w`tk ivLvBbiv PÆMötg Avrfemb Ktib| ersj vt`ki wntj tU emevmKvix gubbcjx RbtMvöx fviZi w`l cvj l Avmvg ivtR`i m`uüvviYi dtj ersj vt`tk evm KiZt`i` Kti | evgŷZl AtbK gubbcjx evm Ktib| gubbcjx`i BwZnmv AtbK cÖPxb| gubbcjx fvlvi eqm Kgcŷŷ 3,400 ermi | cÖPxb gubbcjx mwnZ`i` vb fviZi cÖPxbZg mwnZ`Kg`Kö _Rŷeŷ i` b`vq| Rvbn hvq th mŷg kZvãx t`tkB gubbcjx`i fvlv`g`Z msnZ ifcjvf Kti | Aóg kZvãxZ ŷŷ`ŷŷ`Mvöx`w`j GKw`Z ntq Rbŷ tbq`g`Z RwiZi | Aov`k kZvãxZ w`yag`cÖPvi K G ivtR`i bvgKiY gubbcj Ktib| 1891 mvtj`v`axb gubbcj ivR` ewJk kvmtbi AŠfŷ nq| ZLb t`tk gubbcj bvg`v`qx ntq hvq|

mgvR msMVb

ersj vt`ki ŷŷ`RwiZtMvöx`w`j i mgvR msMVtb ÁwZ m`uK`cävB Dcv`vb wntmte KvR Kti | i³ m`uK`ŷ weevn`w`JB GBme RbtMvöxi Rb`w`i`Zcyŷ Zte ÁwZ e`e`vq Zvt`i gta`cv`R` AvtQ| thgb t`Lv hvq th gv`vB l Lwmqv RbtMvöx gvZm`xq ÁwZ e`e`v AbymY Kti`_vtK| Zte Zvi gvtb GB bq th mgvRi me`ti`cj`tl i Dci bviXi KZŷ; cÖZwöZ wJ | Mvtivt`i ÁwZ e`e`vq mšvbt`i esk cwi Pq gvŷqi cwi Pq ŷviv wbaŷi Z nq| weevtni ci Mvtiv tgtqiv wbtRt`i evoxZ t`tk hvq Ges`v`gxiv wR evox tQto`xi evoxZ emevm Ktib| DÉiwaKviti tŷŷŷ Lwmqv`i tR`ö tgtq l Mvtivt`i wbeŷPZ tgtq DÉiwaKvix nb| Zte GB tgtqiv cÖB m`uEi gwj Kvbn cvb bv| eis Zvt`i m`uEi tndvRZKvix wntmte MY`Kiv nq| Gi wecixZ aiŷbi ÁwZ e`e`v PvKgv RbtMvöxi | PvKgv cwi evti tgtq wki i tPtq tQj wki AwaK Kvŷ KviY tm estki avi K l evnK| cj`lB nt`Q cwi evti i KZŷ PvKgv`i DÉiwaKvi AvtB bviXi tKvb AwaKvi tbB| Zvj vKcÖB bviX`i mšvb jvj b cvj tbi tKvb AwaKvi tbB| Zvi gvtb PvKgv`i wZZwšK mgvR bviXi Ae`vb Aa`b| Z`wmc t`Lv hvq th wŷŷ MhY A`ŷwZK KgRvÜ l`v`axbfvte Pj vtdivi tŷŷŷ bviX`v`axbZv tŷŷŷ KiZt cvtib| Drcv`b tŷŷŷŷ w`w`w`ŷŷ kŷ wefvRb tbB| Zv mtZi Mv`vj xi KvR l mšvb jvj b cvj tbi KvR bviXi`w`w`Zj gta`cto| ŷŷZvi`i web`vfm t`Lv hvq th D`PZi ŷivRvö ct`Ges wba`ti ŷKviviXö ct` bviX ŷŷZvkj ntZ AcviM nb| Dtj`E`th PvKgv bviXi v agwŷ wevntbŷŷŷŷ w`Kvi nb bv| w`Kš`mvgwRK gj`tevta wZZwšKZvi Av`tkŷ cÖZdj b NtU|

i³ m`uK`ŷ weevn`w`JB GBme RbtMvöxi Rb`w`i`Zcyŷ

RweKv DcvRŷ

ersj vt`ki ŷŷ`RwiZtMvöx`w`j i cävB RweKv wJ Kwl | cvnvox l Mo Gj vKvq Zviv cävBZ Rg Pvl Kti RweKv wbeŷŷ KiZb| Rg Pvl`tk`v`bvši Kwl e`e`vl ejv ntq`_vtK| mvariYZ Rg Pvl i Rb`Kwl fvg`v`bvši Kiv nq| cÖtg R½j tKtU cwi`vi Kti ZvtZ Av`b t`qv nq Ges Zvici gwJ Kwctq jvBb aŷi exR tivcb Kiv nq| GKevi th fvgtZ dmj dj vtbv nq ZvtZ GK bMvto Pvl bv Kti KtqK ermŷi i Rb`RwgtK wektg w`tq cwZZ ivLv nq| cpivq R½j vKvŷŷŷ qvi ci G RwgtZ cpeŷ Pvl nq| GKviY Rg Pvl i Rb`Rwgt e`j KiZ nq| mZivš RbmsL`v l Rwgt cÖBi AbcvZ wK bv`vKtj Rg Pvl m`e nq bv| cŷe`RbmsL`v AtbK Kg`_vKvq Ges Abvex`x Rwgt AtbK`_vKvq`v`bvši Pvl tKvb mgm`v t`Lv t`q w| ZvOrov ŷŷ`RwiZtMvöx`w`j tKej gvŷ wbtRt`i tŷŷŷŷi Rb`Drcv`b KiZv, DŷE Drcv`tbi Rb`bq| dtj teuk DŷEi Rb`AwaK Rwgt Pvl Kti Rwgi DeŷZv bó Kivi tKvb cŷewJ bv| ZvOrov A`ŷwZi GKwU eo w`K wJ wevbgq cÖv| thgb GKRb R½j t`tk kvKcvZv GKUz teku tRvMvo KiZj b Ges GKRb ŷSi vö ev ŷSi Svi ŷ (SYŷ) t`tk GKUz

cvnvox l Mo Gj vKvq ŷŷ`RwiZtMvöx cävBZ Rg Pvl Kti RweKv wbeŷŷ KiZ

tewk gvQ aitjb| GB `Rb ci`ui `e` weibgg Kti wbtZb| cKwZ wbfP A_@wZtZ
cKwZK m`ut`i cwi gvY I RbmsL`vi Pwn`v mgwSZ wQj | Rg Pvl i gva`tg fE`v, weifbce
cKvti i avb, wZj , kvKmwA, Zj v cFwZ dmj dj vtbv nq| mvavi YZ GKmt½ weifbceaitbi
dmj Pvl Kiv nq| GtZ gwUi DePZv i Qlv cvq|

A`tbK Qj`a RvwZtMvöxi
RwmeKv wQj wKkvi /
ebv`Aj i Dci Zviv
wbfPkvj wQjtj b|

mvl Zvj t`i cQvMZ RwmeKv wQj wKkvi | Rg Pvl e`ZxZ Mviti`i RwmeKv wQj ebR m`u`
AvniY| D`j E` th esvj v`tki fvgtZ cPi ebv`Aj _vKvq etbi KvQvKwQ emevmKvix
gvb`li Rxeb I RwmeKv ZvtK wNtiB AvewZ`Z ntZv| axti axti RbmsL`v ew`mn cwi`tek I
cQZtek e`j nl qvq mKj Qj`a RvwZtMvöxi c`avb RwmeKv ntq hvq KwL | Rg Pvl i e`tj nvj
Pvl i i` nq| tKej cveZ` P`EMt`g Rg Pvl `xNkvj wJtK _vtK| evRvi e`e`v we`Z nl qvq
Qj`a RvwZtMvöxi i `fcvix Drcv`b (subsistence production) e`e`v tft½ cto|
ivR%wZK A_@wZ e`tj i dtj GBme Qj`a RvwZtMvöxi `wi`a ntq hvq| Gi c`avb KviY
fvgxnbZv| cQq mKj Qj`a RvwZtMvöxi t`qt` t`Lv hvq th fvg m`ut`K`Zvt`i e`w`MZ
gvj Kvbvi aviYv Abcw`Z| Zvt`i aviYv gtZ fvg mKtj i e`envti Rb` Db`P| µgvstq
kvMk tMvöxi e`w`MZ gvj Kvbv cQZöv Kti b| wKs` Qj`a RvwZtMvöxi e`w`MZ gvj Kvbvi c`vY
w`tZ e`_`nq| dtj kvMk tMvöxi Zvt`i Rwg`Lj Kti tdtj | cyRev`x e`e`v Avti v k`3 fite
cQZöv cvl qvi ci Qj`a RvwZtMvöxi i A`tbK w`b gRj wntmte KwqK kg weµq Kti tKvb
i Ktg wJtK _vtKb| A_P esvj v`tki KwL fvg DbZKi`Y Zvt`i fvgKv D`3/4j | ivLvBbiv
ebfvg cwi`vi Kti Pvl vev` DbZKi`Y AMv`x fvgKv ivtL| wKkvi t`tK Pvl vev` Avmi ci
mvl Zvj iv KwL KvR e`vcK DbwZ NUvq| GgbwK Zviv KwL tZ Drcv`b m`ut`K`Kl`iKti c`tQ
Avbvi Rb` eMvPv`li c`xwZi wei`tx Avt`v`j b Kti b|

ms`wZPPv`

HwZn`MZfite Qj`a
RvwZtMvöxi gvbj Rb
cKwZ t`cQgK|

esvj v`tki Qj`a RvwZtMvöxi ms`wZPPv` t`qt` I A`tbK mgx| HwZn`MZfite Zviv cKwZ
t`cQgK| wbtRt`i Rxeb I cKwZi mt½ mvh`R`gg Kti I cKwZ t`tK c`vYim wbtq iwPZ nq
Zvt`i wKí Kg` Avti KwL D`j E`thwM` `ewkó` nt`Q Avej ex ewbZv mKtj i AskMhtYi gva`tg
MYDrmt`e gvZvqviv ntq hvl qv| GRb` ev`zj xiv gtb Kti Zviv A`tbK `Avtgv`w`cQ`| XvK,
tXv, SvSi, mvbB ewRtq Zviv Drmt`e tgtZ D`Vb| PvKgv, gviv I w`l cvj v`i c`avb Drme
D`hwcz nq `P`Tgv`mi tkl `B w`b I `ekvtLi cQg w`b| cvjZb eQi`tK we`vq Rvbv`bvi I
bZb eQi`tK Avn`vb Rvbv`bvi Drmt`e cvb`nvi, Nti teov`bv, Av`iq`i mt½ mv`vZ, bvP-Mvb
I mKtj GKt`I Avb` Kivi Rb` Drme mvRv`bv nq| PvKgv`i GB Drmt`ei bvg `weR`|
gvigv`i Drmt`ei bvg `mvsM`B` I w`l cvj v`i Drmt`ei bvg `em`K`| eZ`v`tb hLb cveZ`
P`EMt`g Qj`a RvwZtMvöxi i HK` ivR%wZK `vex Av`vtqi Rb` _i`ZcY`ntq D`VtQ, ZLb
GB Drme D`hvc`tbl cwi eZ`B Avbv ntq`tQ| GB wZbvU tMvöxi GLb GKt`I `emvwe`l bvtg D`3
Drme cvj b Kti | gvbcj`xt`i Ab`Zg RvKRgKcY`Drme nt`Q we`v`c`v`n`v` tnvj Drme| G
DrmeW D`hwcz nq `PZb` t`tei Rb`Dcj`t`Q| 1186 mtj dv`b gv`mi t`v`j cvY`vi
mÜ`vq P`a`MhtYi mgq wZvb Rb`MhY Kti b| gvbcj`xt`i Aw` AcQZövmbK ag`Avt`cvKc`v`
Gi wek`v`mi mt½ `ede ag`msthwRZ ntq w`k` ag`wek`v`mi Rb` nq| we`v`c`v`n`v` gvbcj`xt`i
Rxe`tb K`d`c`v`B Ck`ti i mvabv| Avi `PZb`i Rb`wZw`tZ evk I Lo w`tq Zviv `Zix Kti b
Nti i wFzi Avti KwL tQvU Ni | GB Nti i wFzi Ni `PZb`i Nti i cZ`xK| GwU gvbcj`xt`i
Mv`v` Rxe`tb cZ`xK| cvPw`b ati gvbcj`vMY tQvU eo, bvix cvj`I mKtj GKt`I Avb` Dj
I is tLj vq tgtZ _vtKb| I ivl`t`i met`P`tq eo ag`v` Drme `Kvi v`g Drme`| GKwU cvZigq

MvQ cŷZ Zvi bŷtP Wgjj, mŷcvix, Rj, gvbKPt `p, wPov w`tq Zviv cKwZi cRv Ktib|
mvZw`b aŷi RbŷMvôxi mKtj bŷtP Mŷb Avbŷ` gŷZvqviv nŷq hvb| Avi mvZ fvBtqi Kwnbx
tkvŷbb| mvZfvB Gi eo fvB Kvivg avivg evoxZ eŷm bv t_ŷK ewYR` KiŷZ hvb I mvZw`b
ci wdŷi Avŷmb| ŐKgŷK ag`Avb Kiw` I iivl ŷ` i Rxeb`kŲ| GwUB I iivl ŷ` i agŲ

Ųŷi` RvwZŷMvôx, wji mKj DrmeB MY Drme| agŷŲ AbŷŷZi Zviv cKvk Ktib
m`uŲvqMZfvte, e`w`MZfvte bq| MY Drme GKB ms`wZi avivŷK mKtj i gŷb mŷp Kti|
mvgwRK eÜbI AUJ nq|

mvi vsk

ersj vt`k Ųŷi` RvwZŷMvôxi cŲZ AvwacZ`er`xi `wŲfŷx tbwZerPK| Bŷŷi wR ŐG_wbKŲ MŲci
ersj v cŲZkã wŷŷŲi tŲŷŷŷ GB `wŲfŷx tevSv hvq| G_wbK MŲŷŷK ŐDcRwZŲ ej v nq| GŷZ
msL`v j wNŲ wŷŷŷe Zvŷ`i Ae`vb Aa`b tevSvq| A_ev ŐAvw`evmŲ kãw e`eüZ nq Avw`g,
cŲŷx Aŷ_Ų Gi A_Ų Aa`bZvi| ersj vt`k 45 wJi Dŷa`Ųŷi` RvwZŷMvôx AvŷQ| Zvŷ`i
wbR`^fvlv _vKŷj I Zvŷ`i gvZ.fvlvi AwKvi iŲv KiŷZ Zviv AcviM nŷ`Ųb| Ųŷi` RvwZ
ŷMvôx, wji ms`wZ PPŲ tŲŷŷŷ AŷbK mgx| A_ŲwZK tŲŷŷŷ Ųŷi` RvwZŷMvôx, wji fvgnxbZv I
`wŷŷŷŷ ŷkKvi| fvŷi e`w`MZ gvŷ Kvŷvi avivŷv bv _vKvq Zvŷ`i e`enŷŷi i fvŷg Rei`Lj
nŷq hvŷ`Q| ersj vt`k ivŷo`Ųŷi` RvwZŷMvôxi Ae`vb cŲŷŷK|

cvfWĒi gj`vqb

ˆbe⁹³K cĳæ

mWVK DĒti i cvfk WJK (v) WPy w`b|

- 1| gvi gvf`i beetl P Drmtei bvg Wk?
K. ˆemK
L. ˆemwie
M. weRy
N. mvsMŪB

- 2| ¶iz`RwZtMvŏxi figi gwij Kvbv wel qK avi Yv Wk?
K. ¶iz`RwZtMvŏxi abx e`w³t`i nvtZ figi gwij Kvbv _vtK
L. fig mKtj i e`envti i Rb` Db³
M. figi e`w³MZ gwij Kvbv
N. mKj figi gwij K i vŏ

- 3| gv`vB (Mvtiv) t`i ÁwZ e`e`v Wk ai tbi?
K. wZZwšK e`e`v
L. gvZZwšK e`e`v
M. gvZmĀxq e`e`v
N. wZv l gvZvi thš_ ÁwZ e`e`v

- 4| `tcvlx Drcv`b e`e`vq Drcv`tbi ˆenkŏ Wk?
K. evRvti i Rb` Drcv`b
L. tKej gvĀ wbtRt`i tftMi Rb` Drcv`b
M. DŪĒ Drcv`b
N. Rwg`vti i Rb` Drcv`b

msv¶jB cĳæ

- 1| Rg Pvl c×wZ Wk? GB c×wZi mvt_ RbMY l Rvgi AvbpcwZK nvi Wk fite m`úWk³?
- 2| evsj vt`tk G_wbK Mŏtci evsj v cĳZkā wbtq Wk ai tbi mgm`v mŏ nq? G mgm`v Wk AwmacZ`kxj tMvŏxi `w³f½xMZ mgm`v?

iPbvj K cĳæ

- 1| evsj vt`tki ¶iz`RwZtMvŏxi gvZ.fvl vi AwKvi wel tq Avtj vPbv Ki`b|
- 2| evsj vt`tki ¶iz`RwZtMvŏxi DrcwĒ Ges ifcvšt i ai b Avtj vPbv Ki`b|

cveZ' PÆMŋgi tgvU Pvl thvM' fngi 54,000 GK i Rwg A_ŋ cŋq AŋaR Kwŋg nŋ' i cwbi bŋtP nwiŋtq hvq| ev'nviv nq GK j ƒ| gvbl | we'jr Drcv' tbi Rb' gj' w' tZ nq GK j ƒ| gvbl tK me^'nwiŋtq| Kvi Y Kwŋ e'ZxZ Zvŋ' i evPvi Avi tKvb Dcvq tB|

काशी बाँध निर्माणের ফলে
পাহাড়ী জনগণের ফসলী
জমি জলমগ্ন হয়ে যায়
এবং বিপুল সংখ্যক
পাহাড়ী মানুষজন উদ্বাস্ত
হয়ে দেশ ত্যাগ করেন।

ev'nviv gvbl i cpeŋtbi e'e'v Kiv nq miKvix Dŋ'vŋM| wKŠ' ƒwZciŋYi cwigvY wQj AwZ bMY' | dŋj 40 nvRvŋi i tekx PvKgv tMvŋxi gvbl mxgvŠ cwo w' tŋ fviŋZi Ai'YvPj cŋ'ŋk emevm' i' Kŋib| KvBvB GjuKvq `k nvRvi PvKgv cwievŋi `vqx fng wQj Ges Avŋiv wecj mSL'K cwievŋi fng e'envi KiŋZb| `vqx fngi Awakvi hvŋ' i wQj Zvŋ' i cŋZwU cwievŋi Mŋo 2.43 tn±i fngi gwj K wQj b| ƒwZciY eve` cŋZ cwievŋi tK 0.81 tn±i fng cŋ'vb Kiv nq| wKŠ' Zv wQj vbaegvŋbi | miKvix wnmve gŋZ 59 wgvj qb gwKŋ Wjvi ƒwZciŋYi Rb' eivŋ' nq| wKŠ' ev'ŋe gvŋ 2.6 wgvj qb gwKŋ Wjvi ƒwZciY wntŋte cŋ'vb Kiv nq| AwZ Aŋ ƒwZciY w' tŋ Drcv' bkxj tKvb Kgŋs'vb KiŋZ AcviM nŋ qvq Awakvsk gvbl `wi'`nŋtq hvq| nŋ' nviŋtv Rwg i cwieZ'cwnvoxiv thb bZb Rwg cvb Zv KvŋRi Kivi Rb' Dŋ'vŋM MŋY Kiv nq vb| Rwg i NvUwZ mŋŋi cvkvcwk cwnvoxŋ' i mveR' `wi'`eŋx cvq|

Rj we'jr cKŋi mŋŋi dŋj th mKj Kgŋs'vb nq tm'wŋj t_ŋKŋ cwnvoxiv ew'AZ nb| Kvi Y cKŋŋi KvR Kivi gZ `ƒZv I Awf'AZv Zvŋ' i tB| `ƒZv `vKvq mgZj t_ŋK Avmv evŋ'zj ŋ' i Kgŋs'vb nq Rj we'jr cKŋŋi | Rwg i `f'Zvi Kvi Y t'wLŋtq cwnvoxŋ' i bZb Rwg eivŋ' Kiv hvq vb| wKŠ' cŋKwZK `thvŋM Avŋvš evŋ'zj ŋ' i tK KvBvB nŋ' i Avŋkcvŋk emwZ `vcb Kivi Rb' Avbv nq| GŋZ RbmsL'v eŋx i KviŋY Rwg i aŋsm NŋU, ebiŋj DRvo nq, Rwg i Drcv' bkxj Zv nwm cvq I Rj vbx mŋU t'Lv t'q| evŋ'zj ŋ' i emwZ `vcb I wŋŋi `vctbi Rb' KvBvB nŋ' i Avŋkcvŋki Rwg `Lj nŋtq hvŋ qvq cwnvoxiv Rwg i `Lj nvi vb| Rwg nxb, mŋ'ú' nxb nŋtq I cwieŋk `ŋY Avŋvš nŋtq cwnvoxiv GjuKv tQto Mfxi Rŋŋj i w' tK mŋŋi hvb| cwnvoxiv Gme ƒwZ tŋtB tbb Kvi Y cŋZev' Kivi gZ Zvŋ' i tKvb kw'kvj x mSMVb ZLŋ'v Mŋo Dŋ'v vb| mve'cŋZK Kvŋj evsŋ'vŋ' k mi Kvi KvBvB nŋ' i cwbi D'PZv eŋx Kŋi Awak we'jr Drcv' tbi cwieŋi bv KiŋQ| GB cwieŋi bv ev'vewqZ nŋj Avŋiv fng cwbi bŋtP Zwŋ' tŋ hvŋe| Ges Avŋiv AŋbK gvbl ev'nviv nŋtq A_ŋwZKfvŋte mŋ'ú' nxb nŋtq covi Avkŋ'v AvŋQ|

KvBvB evŋ'ai KviŋY th mKj PvKgv cwievŋi Ai'YvPŋj Awf'evmb Kŋib Zvŋ' i mŋ'ŋ' `vbxq Awaevmŋ' i msNvZ mŋŋi nq| PvKgviv tmL'vŋb fng e'envŋi i AbgvwZ cvb Ges Rŋ'zj wŋ' tZ emwZ Mŋo tZvŋj b| μgvšŋtq PvKgvŋ' i RbmsL'v eŋx cvl qvq `vbxq RbMŋ'Yi Rb' Zviv ŋ'gvŋK `ŋ'ŋc weŋeŋPZ nb| ivR'ŋwZK Awakvi ev bŋMwi KZ; bv tctj I PvKgviv Ai'YvPŋŋj e'env evwYR'mn A_ŋwZK Awakvi tŋvM KiŋQb| wKŠ' PvKgv weŋivax gŋ'bvŋvŋe KviŋY PvKgv RbMY cŋqkB mšvix Avμgŋ'bi wKvŋŋi cwieŋ'YZ nŋ'Qb|

Drm : Syed Aziz-Al-Hasan and Bhumitra Chakma, "Problem of National Integration in Bangladesh", *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXIX, No 10, 1989.

tKm ÷vW : 2

BtKv-cvK⁹bg⁹ | tgšj fxevRvi , vntj U

ersj vt`k mi Kvi vntj tUi tgšj fxevRvi ōBtKvcvK⁹ev ecological park vctbi vnxvš MōY Kti tQ | tgšj fx evRvti i mwbktU gvaekŪz I gvjvBQov vrtg th`ju cōKwZK Rj cōvZ AvtQ tmLvfbB`ju BtKv cvK⁹bg⁹Z nt`Q | Dtj E` th GB cōiv Gj vKv ebvĀj | GB ebvĀj i gvaekŪz Rj cōvtZi KvQ GKwU BtKvcvK⁹ Rb` 626 GK i Rwg AwamōY Kiv ntqtQ | gvjvBQov Rj cōvtZi KvQ Aci GKwU BtKvcvK⁹ Rb` ebvĀj i 830 GK i Rwg AwamōY Kiv ntqtQ |

BtKv cvK⁹vctbi cōvb Dfīk` nt`Q Lwmqv cvnvtoi avti ebvĀj cwi tēwZ I Rj cōvtZi gtbvgyKi cōKwZK cwi tēk chōb wki tK DrmwvZ Kiv | chōb ev tourism Gi Dfīk`wU Pvcv w`tq Aek` gL` Kti tZjv nt`Q cwi tēk i ŋtYi wclquU | ejv nt`Q BtKvcvK⁹wcZ ntj Gj vKvi Rxe`evPī` i ŋlv cvte | eb` cōYt` i Avevm msi ŋY Kti eb` RxebtK wbi vCēv cōvb Kiv nte | wKš` chōbB th gL` wclq Zv cōR± cwi Kíbv t`tK tevSv hvq | tmLvfb Awdm I KgPvix` i evoxNi ,`g , chōtbi tnvUj I Ab`vb` wbg⁹ KvRi cwi Kíbv ev`evqb Kiv nt`Q | cōR± ev`evqtbi Rb` mi Kvi`k tKwU UvKv eivī Kti tQ | GB eivtī i AtaR A`e`q Kiv nte tFšZ AeKvvtgv wbg⁹Yi Rb` | tKej GK PZL`sk A`e`q nte eb Dbq⁹b, evMvb wbg⁹ I MvQcvj v msi ŋtYi Dfīk` |

Lwmqv cvnvtoi mwbktU th`vfb BtKv cvK⁹wcZ nt`Q I msi wŋZ ebvĀj mōw nt`Q tmLvfb`ju ŋj` RmZtMvōxi gvbl emevm Ktib—Lwmqv I Mvřiv | Lwmqv` i msLvB tek | Lwmqv I Mvřiv` i tetP`vKvi cōvb Ae j`b nt`Q eb | kZ kZ ermi aŋi GB RmZtMvōxi gvbl Rb cwi tēki m½ m½wZ ti tL etb emevm Kti AvmQb | eū ebvĀj aŋsm nl qvq Zviv etbi Dci Avi cōivcvi wbf⁹ Kitz cvřib bv | eb tK wNti I wKQyPvI ev` Kti Zviv RmKv wbeŋ Ktib | Lwmqviv mi Kvři i KvQ t`tK Lvm Rwg eivī tbb Ges ZvtZ cōvbZ cvb PvI Kti`vřKb | etbi Dci Zviv wbf⁹ Ktib Rvj vbx , kvKcvZv , dj , ebR JIa BZ`w` i Rb` | BtKv cvK⁹vctbi dtj GK nvRvti i Dta`Lwmqv cwi evi Ges tek wKQyMvřiv cwi evi Dt`Q` ntq hvte Zvt` i evm`vb t`tK | A`P GB RmZtMvōxi gvbl Rb RmvtqtQb ōeb I cvnvo e`ZxZ Avgiv tKv`vl evPřZ cvřev bv | Avgvř` i ce`cj`liv GLvfb evm Kti tQb | Avgiv G fřgtZ RbřvbtqvQ Ges GB fřgtZB giřZ PvB | ō

BtKv-cvK⁹bg⁹Yi dtj vntj tUi ebvĀj i cwi tēk bó nt`Q Ges ŋj` RmZtMvōxi gvbl i RmKv aŋsm nt`Q |

BtKv cvK⁹ tK` Kti mi Kvři i m½ Lwmqv-Mvřiv` i ōtōi cōvb wclq ŋj` RmZtMvōxi fřgi Awakvři i cōwbtq | mi Kvi`vex Kti tQ th ersj vt`tki mKj cvnvo I ebvĀj mi Kvř ev Lvm Rwg | mi Kvř RwgřZ mi Kvi RbKj`vřY th tKvb aitbi`vcbv Kitz cvřib | eb gšYj tqi gtZ mi Kvř RwgřZ hw` tKD emevm Kti Zte Zviv AbcōekKvř etj MY` nte | GwU kw`thvM` Aciva | mZivis mi Kvř gtZ BtKvcvK⁹thLvfb nt`Q tm`vfb Lwmqv-Mvřiv` i tKvb Rwg tbb | Gi weciřZ Lwmqv-Mvřiv` i`vex nt`Q GB fřgtZ Zvt` i ce`ej`liv emevm Kti tQb nvRvi eQi aŋi | thřnZi GB fřgtZ`xNřvj hveZ GB tMvōx emevm Kiti mZivis tMvōMZ fřg Awakvi iřqtQ | wKš` mi Kvř AvBb Abřvři Lwmqv-Mvřiv` i fřgi Dci Awakvi cōvMZ Awakvi ev customary right | thřnZi e`w³MZ gwj Kvřvi`vj j cĪ tbb mZivis Lwmqv-Mvřiv tMvōx fřg t`tK Dt`Q` ntq hvl qvi Dcμg ntqtQ | GZŌ`ZxZ Lwmqv-Mvřiv` i cōvb AvciE` wbg⁹ cKři i wei`t`x | Zvt` i gtZ mi Kvi th iv`vNvU ,`vj vb , tnvUj

BZ`w` wbgfY KifQ ZvtZ etbi cwi tek `vi`b fWZM0 nte| etbi ci cvLxi Avevm`j Avmvs nte etj I Zviv gtb Ktib|

Drm : Haque, Mahfuzul, "EcoParks in the North Eastern Hills : Indigenous Communities at Risk", *Grassroots Voice*, Vol. III, Issue III, 2000, Dhaka.

tKm ÷vW : 3

Rygvf` i , "QM0tg cpefmb

cnvof` i Rg Pvl eU
Kti Zvt` i tK , "Q M0tg
`vbiSi Kiv nq Ges
mvgwRK ebvqtb ivevi
Pvl cKti` i wbtqmRZ Kiv
nq/

msiwfjZ ebiAj bwiZ ev`evqfbi dtj wBR M0g t`tK Dt`Q` nqg hvlqv cnvof` i Rb`
0, "QM0tg0 cpefmbi e`v`v Kiv ntqtQ| cveZ` PÆM0g Gj vKvq Dbqf mva`bi Rb` cveZ`
PÆM0g Dbqf tevW`vcb Kiv ntqtQ| Gi Dt``vtM th mKj Dbqf KgfPx ev`evqb Kiv nt`Q
Zvi gta` Rg Pvlxt` i cpefmb, ebvqb, c`Ukb m0, cwi Kvvtgvi DbwZ mvab I mvgwRK
KgfPx Dtj LthvM`| G mKj KgfPxi Aaxtb cnvof` i , "QM0tg cpefmb Kiv nq| D`Pfvg
e`ve`KiY cKti` i Aaxtb , "QM0tgi cnvof` i ivevi MvQ jvMv`bv I nWUkvj Pti`i Rb`
Rwg t`qv nq| ivevi c`Ukb I ebvqb KgfPxtZ w`bgRjxi wewbg`tg cnvoxiv KvR KitZ
eva` nb| , "QM0tgi cnvof` i `f cwi gvY Rwg eivl t`evi K_v_vKtj I AnaKvsk t`f`f` Zv
KvhRi nq bv| ZvQvov , "QM0g , wj tZ chfB RwgI tbB| Rxeb aviY Kivi gZ chfB Rwg bv
vKvq , "QM0tgi cnvof` i gta` Lv`v`vve cKU nqg DtvtQ| Zte ejv ntqtQ th thS
Lvgv`i i gwj K nte cnvox RbMY| wKs`GLtbv chS` cnvoxiv Rwi gwj Kvbv cib w| ivevi
evMv`b w`bgRj wntmte KvR Kti w`tb 20 t`tK 40 UvKv gRjx cvl qv hvq| fivel`tZ thS_
Lvgv`i i gwj Kvbv Awb0Z| ejv ntqtQ wbtRt` i Rwg tQto ivevi evMv`b w`b gRti i KvR
KitZ ivRx ntj cnvoxiv ebvqb cKti` , wj tZ fvMPvlx wntmte KvR Kivi AbgwZ crte|
fvMPvlx ntj I Drcv`b evRvi RivZKitYi `wqZj , vKte GKwU mi Kvix ms`v| GtZ cnvox
RbMY gtb KitQb th wbtRt` i Drcw`Z dmtj i Dci Zvt` i wqS`Y _vKte bv| ZvQvov
ivevi Pvlxt` i KvQ t`tK im tKbvi e`vciti cveZ` Dbqf tevW`P GKtPwUqv AnaKvi _vKte|

, "QM0tg ev`niv cnvof` i cpefmb I Dbqf KgfPx cnvox RbMtiYi Dci c0ZKj cfve
tdjtQ etj AtbtK gtb Ktib| cnvof` i KvQ GB Dbqf KgfPxi Dt`k` nte`Q Dbqfbi
bvtg Rg Pvl eU Kiv| hw` I wBR`^t`fv`Mi Rb` `f cwi gvY Rwg t`qv nq, Zv Lv` m0U
tgUvtZ cvti bv| mZivs cnvoxiv e`Z gRjxi wewbg`tg KvR KitZ eva` nb| tetP _vKvi
Rb` wbfP` KitZ nq k`ti wewbg`tg AwRZ Avq I dmj wem`tqi At`P Dci| Gfite cnvoxiv
wbfP`kxj nq cotQb Ggb GKwU A_0wZK e`vi Dci hvZ Zvt` i wbtRt` i wqS`Y tbB|
w`bgRj nI qvi A_0kigK wntmte At`P wewbg`tg dmj Drcv`b Kiv| fvM Pvtli A_0
wbtRt` i Drcw`Z cY` Atb`i wba`wi Z gtj` wem`q KitZ eva` nI qv| GB A_0wZtZ
cnvof` i `faxb nI qvi m`thvM tbB| A_P HwZn`MZfvte Rg Pvtli gva`tg cnvoxiv wQtb
`faxb Drcv`K| Avi cwi ewZ` A_0wZtZ Zviv cvt`Qb mi Kvix c`Ukb e`vi Dci
wbfP`kxj Zv| GtZ Zviv cwi YZ nt`Qb FYM0` gRjx kigtK (indebted wage earners) |

Dbqf KgfPxtZ , i`Zj` t`qv nq cnvof` i evRvi A_0wZtZ wbtq Avmvi Dci| ejv nq GtZ
cnvof` i c0v`c` Zv` i nte| wKs` cnvof` i e`e` GB th evRvti cnvof` i mg AnaKvi
c0Z0v Kiv c0qvRb| j fYxq th cnvoxiv Zvt` i Drcw`Z cY` AtbK Kg gtj` ev`v`j xt` i

KvtQ weμq Ki tZ eva` nb| evlʒj xt`i AmacZ` cŰZwŰZ ntqtQ evRvi e`e`vq| tmLvfb
cinvoxt`i cŰekmaKvi tbB| cinvoxt`i KvQ t_tK Zwi ZiKvix I dj gj evRvi `ti tPtq
A tB K Kg `vtg evlʒj x e`emvqxiv wk tB tbb| GKwU D`vni Y t_tK Zv Av t iv `úó nte| Av`vi
evRvi `i hLb evRvti tmi cŰZ cvP UvKv ZLb Pvtci g tL GKRb cinvoxt`K cvP UvKv gb
`ti Av`v weμq Ki tZ t`Lv hvq| evlʒj x cvBKvi 100wU tj eycinvoxi KvQ t_tK 20 UvKvq
wk tB Aci evlʒj x e`emvqxi KvQ 75 UvKvq weμq Kivi gZ NUbv N tU|

evRvi e`e`vq evOj xt`i
AmacZ` cŰZwŰZ nq|

Drm : cveZ` PÆMŰg Kwgkb, Rieb Avgt`i bq : ersj vt`tki cveZ` PÆMŰg fig I
gıvemaKvi, XvKv, 2001|

mvi vsk

ersj vt`tk cŰŠK Ae`vtbi Ųi`RwiztMvŰx wj i A_ŲwZK wfiE aŷsm ntq hv t`Q| `wU DbqB
KgŲPx Zvi cŰvY| KvBvB we`jr DbqB cK t i dtj cveZ` PÆMŰgi Ųi`RwiztMvŰxi wecj
cwi gvY Aver`x Rıg cimbtZ Zıj t q hvq| fignıx I KgŲxb ntq ev`hvıv nq A tB K gıvı|
w t j tU B t K v cvK`ıbgŲYi dtj fignıx I KgŲxb ntq cto Ųi`RwiztMvŰxi gıvı| Rb|
cinvoxt`i Rg Pvl eU K t i Z t `i `ıvıŷi Kiv nq „Q MŰtg| cinvoxt`i Rb` miKvti i
cvUkvb KgŲPxZ AskMŰ t Yi e`e`v Kiv nq| G t Z w b t R t `i tckv I fig nwi t q cinvox
RbMY gRj x k t g K w t m t e miKvti i cŰR t I evRvti i Dci w b f P k j ntq cto b| cinvoxt`i
A_ŲwZK Ae`v `j RvMŰ ntq cto|

cvṫVĒi gj ṫvqb

ṫbeṫK cĕkæ

mṫVK DĒṫi i cvṫk ṫJK (√) ṫPý ṫṫ b |

- 1| cveṫ PĀEMōtg ṫṫṫ ṫRṫZṫMvōxi gṫbṫ ṫKb gṫb Kṫi b KvṫvB nṫ Zṫṫ i ōṫPṫLi cṫb ṫṫ ṫq Mov nṫ ō?
- K. KvṫvB nṫ Zṫṫ i i vRṫ gZiei Y Kṫi ṫQb
- L. KvṫvB nṫ Lbṫbi Rbṫ eṫ cṫvnox gṫbṫ Rb KṫWb kṫg cō vb Kṫi ṫQb
- M. KvṫvB nṫ i dṫj cṫvnoxṫṫ i Avevṫ x Rug Rj gMōntṫ ṫMṫQ
- N. cṫvnoxṫṫ i ṫK KvṫvB nṫ eṫenvi Kṫi Z ṫṫ qv nq bv

- 2| ṫQ Mōtg ṫvbvšmi Z cṫvnoxṫṫ i Rbṫ ṫKvṫvq Kgṫs ṫvb Kiv nq?
- K. KvṫvB evṫ cĕKṫi
- L. KvṫRi Kṫj
- M. cṫi Kvṫvṫgṫ Dbṫṫb cĕKṫi
- N. i vevi Pṫl cĕKṫi

- 3| ṫmṫj ṫUi BṫKv-cṫKṫcōZṫwōZ nṫṫ th ebvĀṫj ṫmLvṫb ṫṫṫ ṫRṫZṫMvōxi gṫbṫ ṫK KvR Kṫi b?
- K. MvQ cṫvvi vi KvR Kṫi b
- L. Pṫ Pṫl Kṫi b
- M. eṫṫ kvK Pṫl Kṫi b
- N. cṫv Pṫl Kṫi b

- 4| ṫmṫj ṫUi th ṫṫṫ BṫKv-cṫKṫcōZṫwōZ nṫṫ ṫmLvṫb ṫKvb ṫṫṫ ṫRṫZṫMvōxi gṫbṫ evm Kṫi b?
- K. mṫl Zṫj
- L. Lṫmṫqṫ
- M. gṫbṫcṫj x
- N. gṫṫv

mṫṫṫB cĕkæ

- 1| BṫKv-cṫKṫ? Gi dṫj ṫKṫṫṫ cṫi ṫṫṫ wechṫ NUVi Avkṫṫ ṫṫ Lv ṫṫ ṫqṫQ?
- 2| cveṫ PĀEMōtg evRṫ Dbṫṫbi dṫj ṫK cṫvnoxṫṫ i A_ṫṫZK mṫmṫṫ vṫbi mb nṫṫQ?

i Pbvṫj K cĕkæ

- 1| KvṫvB evṫ ṫbgṫYi dṫj cṫvnox RbṫMvōx ṫKṫṫṫ ṫṫZMōṫ nb Avṫj vPbv Ki ṫṫb |
- 2| ṫQ Mōg ṫK? Rṫg Pṫl eṫ Kṫi cṫvnoxṫṫ i ṫQ Mōtg ṫvbvšmi Kivi dṫj cṫvnoxṫṫ i ṫK ṫK Amṫṫṫṫ nṫṫQ?

cveZ` PÆMôtgi ¶iz` RvMZtMvôxi AvÍ cwi Ptqi BwZnm
History of Self-determination of the Ethnic Groups in Chittagong Hill Tracts

GB cvWU cto Avcub RvbtZ cvi teb -

- Jcubtekk kmtbi cte`cveZ` PÆMôg wQj GKwU ivótenxb mgvR
- ejuk Jcubtekk kmbvgtj ivtoí Aaxtb wetkl ckvmbK ghP v j vf Kti
- Dcubtek DEi Kvij cveZ` PÆMôg ivtoí AšfP nq
- cveZ` PÆMôtgi Avaevmt` i AvÍ cwi Pq ubogZ nt`Q

côK-Jcubtekk ivótenxb mgvR

ejuk Dcubteki cte`cveZ` PÆMôtgi RvMZtMvôx_wj tKvb GKK ivR%bwZK e`e`vi Aaxb wQj bv| gj Z ÁvMZ m`útkP wfwÉtZ MógY msMVtbi b`vq tMvôx` mgvR Mto DfVwQj | GB tMvôx cwi Ptqi mt½ fvgi m`ú³Zv tZgb wQj bv| Zvi gvfb GKwU tMvôx GKwU mjbw`ô tfšMwj K mxgvti Lvq emevm Kitzv bv| GKwU tMvôxtZ wewfbæfvlvfwl I ÔG_wbKô gvbyl AšfP ntZ cvitZv| KviY hÿ weMôni dtj weRqx `j wewfbæciwRZ tMvôx t`tk gvbyl RbtK wbtq AvmtZv KvR wbtqvwRZ Kivi DfítK`| fvgi mt½ m`ú³Zv mjbó bv nI qvi KviY Rg c`xwZi Pvlver` | G KviY tMvôxtK `vbsi Kitzv ntZv| ZvOvov Ab` tMvôx KZR Avmvs nI qvi I hÿxi fq_vKvq `vbsiti i Rb` tMvôx_wj tK `Zix_vKtZ ntZv| GB avi Yv t`tk cvnvto emevmKvix tMvôx_wj tK hvhvei I ej v ntq_vtK| côKZct¶ vekvj cvnvov fvg ivR%bwZKfvte fvmvfwM ntq `Lj bv ntq hvl qvq tMvôx_wj i `vbsiti i tKškj m`e wQj |

Jcubtekk kmtbi cte`cveZ` PÆMôtgi ¶iz` RvMZ tMvôx_wj mjbw`ô tfšMwj K mxgvti Lvq emevm Kitzv bv|

ÁvMZ m`útkP Dci wfwÉ Kti Mto DVv tMvôx_wj côK-JcubtekkKvtj côZtekr ivô²_wj mt½ m`úK`vcb KtiwQj | th wZbwU ivtoí mt½ m`útkP wltq Rvbw hvq tm_wj nt`Q wí cvjv, AvivKvb I tgvNj mvgR`| µgvštq `ß aítbi ivótg gWtj i cfve cotZ_vtK cvnvov tMvôx_wj i Dci | wí cvjv GjvKvq emevmKvix tMvôx_wj cfveZ nq `w¶Y Gwkqvi ev evl`vj x ms`wZ Øviv | thgb wí cvjvi tMvôxi tbZvtK ØivRvØ ej v nq Ges Zvt` i RxebhvÍvq wv`yatgP cfve cto | Ab` w`tk gvi gv tMvôx evgP I AvivKvbi ms`wZ Øviv cfveZ nq | gvi gvt` i tbZvtK ej v nq gvs hvZ evgP Móg cãvtbi c`exi mt½ wQj AvtQ | GB `ß avivB cfve cto PvKgv tMvôxi Dci | PvKgv` i atgP mt½ evgP tešx atgP wQj AvtQ | Ges PvKgv` i fvlvi Dci ersjv fvlvi cfve AvtQ | PvKgv` i ivR%bwZK e`e`vq | `w¶Y I `w¶Yce` Gwkqvi cfve j ¶Yxq | PvKgv tbZvMY evgP cfvte ôgvsØ bvtg thgb AwfinZ nb tZgub fvi tzi tgvNj t` i cfvte ØlvbØ bvtg | AwfinZ nb | Gme cfve_vKvi A`GB bq th côK-Jcubtekk Kvtj cvnvov tMvôx_wj `KxqZv nvi vq | eis GB tMvôx_wj Zvt` i ÁvMZm`úK` Rg Pvl c`xwZ I wR`^ag`ekjm wQj tã c`K Aw`Zi wbtq wtk_vtK |

côK-JcubtekkKvtj A`bwZK côqvRtb GBme ¶iz` tMvôxi mt½ ersj v, evgP I AvivKvbi m`úK`Mto DfV | ersj vq mgZj evmt` i mt½ Zj v, Kvcó, j eb, `i Kt`bv gvQ, ebR m`ú` wewbgq ev e`emv ewYtR`i m`úK`wQj | ersjv t`tk tšKvq b`xc`_ e`emvqviv cvnvto

hvZvqvZ KiZv Avi cvnvoxiv tbtg AvmtZv DcZ`Kvq| PvKgv I gvi gy tMvõx hviv DcZ`Kvq
evm KiZv Zv`i mt½ evsjvi e`emvqxt`i wKQlv eÜfvercbæmæúK`ntj I cvnvtõ Põvq
ememKvix thgb j jvvtB`i mt½ ftqi mæúK`Qj | KviY cvnvtõ Põvq ememKvixiv tKvb
ivtõf ek`Zv tgbt wbtZ PvBtZv bv Ges memgq nvjj v KiZv| Gt` i tK ev½vj xiv ÕKKxõ bvtg
AvfwnZ Kti |

Jcwbtekk KvmKeM
cveZ` PUMõgtK evsj vi
GKuU cõ`k wntmte
tNvl Yv Kti | Gi dtj
cvnvox RbtMvõxi
`faxbZv nwi tq hvq
Ges Zviv GKuU msL`v
j wNõ RbtMvõxtZ
cwi YZ nq|

ewUk Jcwbtekk kvtbi cte`tgvNj Avgtj I cvnvoxt`i Dci Ki avh`Kiv nq hv cãvbZ
ÕKvcfm Kiõ| GB Ki tMvõx cãvb ev ivRvi gva`tg tgvNj t`i KvQ cõvb Kiv nq| wKŠ` GB
mæúK`PõvŠ AwacZ` cõZõv Kti w| KviY cvnvox tMvõx wj `faxbvtæ A_õwZK I
mvgvRK Rxeb hvcb KiZ cvitZv| 1860 mvtj ewUk kvmKMY cveZ` PÆMõg `Lj Kti
tbq| cveZ` PÆMõgti mxgvbvq ewUk tmbvewnbx `vcb Kiv nq| cveZ` PÆMõgtK evsjvi
GKuU cõ`k wntmte tNvl Yv Kiv nq| GB cõkvmibK e`e`v tftMvj K mxgvvti Lvi mt½ hÿ nq
hvq| tftMvj K mxgvbvi mt½ cvnvox tMvõxi cõgevti gZ cwiPq NtU| ewUk kvmKMY
cvnvoxt`i ivRvt`i tejvl ¶lgZvi tftMvj K mxgvbv wba¶Y Kti t`q| Gfvtæ PvKgv ivRv,
fvgv ivRv I gs ivRvi gva`tg Ki msMõni e`e`v Kiv nq| cvnvox ivRvMYtK ewUk kvmKMY
mgZtj i Rwg`vti b`vq ghP`v cõvb Kti | Gi dtj cvnvox RbtMvõxi `faxbZv tKej nwi tq
hvq w Zviv GKuU msL`v wNõ RbtMvõxtZ cwi YZ nq| KviY vekvj ewUk mvgitR`i AŠfP
wntmte Ges evsj vt`tki GKuU ¶j`a cõ`k wntmte cveZ` PÆMõg mew`K w`tq msL`v j wNõ|
GB cõkvmibK e`e`vcbvq cvnvoxt`i mt½ ev½vj xt`i mæúK`P AebwZ NtU| AwacZ`ev`x
ev½vj x gZv`k`msL`v j Ny cvnvoxt`i gZv`k`K wjß KiZ D`Z nq| e`vcK nvti
ev½vj xKiY `ii` nq| cvnvox Gj vKvq ev½vj x Abcõek NtU| ev½vj x gnvRbMY cvnvoxt`i
KvQ A_õ wMæ e`emvi gva`tg tkvl tYi cõlvqv Pvj yKti | GgZve`vq ewUk kvmKMY fxZ nq
DtVb th cvnvox RbMY w¶jã nq DtV w¶t`tn KiZ cvti | BtZvgta` mvl Zvj iv ewUk
w¶t`vax w¶t`tn Kti tQ|

Jcwbtekk kmbvgtj w¶kl cõkvmibK ghP`v

ewUk kvmKMY cveZ`
PÆMõgtK w¶kl
cõkvmibK ghP`v ev
õewnfZ Gj vKvõ wntmte
tNvl Yv Kti | wKŠ`
cveZ` PÆMõgtK `vqZj
kmb cõvb Kiv nq bv|

ewUk kvmKMY KZK ev½vj xt`i AwacZ` t`tK cvnvox RbtMvõxtK D`vi Kivi bvtg cveZ`
PÆMõg Gj vKvtK w¶kl cõkvmibK ghP`v cõvb Kti õewnfZ Gj vKvõ (excluded area)
tNvl Yv Kiv nq| 1900 mvtj Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation AvBb cõvZ nq| GB
AvBtbi dtj evsj vt`k KZK cveZ` PÆMõgti kmb eÜ nq wKŠ` cveZ` PÆMõgtK `vqZj kmb
cõvb Kiv t`tK ewUk kvmKMY w¶tZ `vtKb| Zte cvnvox Gj vKvq ev½vj xt`i cõek wlv x
tNvl Yv Kiv nq| ewUk kvmKMY mivmwi cveZ` PÆMõg kvtbi fvi Ztj tbb| Jcwbtekk
kvmKt`i cãvb j ¶j`wQj mæú` j ¶j Kiv| cvnvox Gj vKv t`tK wcvj ivR`Av`vq Kiv Ges
ebRmæú` j ¶j Kiv Zvt`i j ¶j e`tZ cwi YZ nq| ewUk kvmKMY cveZ` PÆMõgti mæúY¶vgi
GK`QI gwj K etj tNvl Yv Ktib| eo eo ebvAj wj tK msi¶Z eb (reserve forest)
tNvl Yv Kti cvnvoxt`i Gme etb cõek wlv x Kti t`qv nq| A_P `xN¶vj hveZ cvnvox
RbMY w¶kvm Ktib th ebvAj mn mKj fvgi gwj K Gj vKvq ememKvix RbMY| fvgi
e`w³gwj Kvbvi aviYv Zvt`i tbb| tm`tj ewUk kvmKMY DbZgvtbi Rwg Pv Pvti i Rb` ewUk
tKvævbx KvtQ n`vši Kti | Rg Pvl eÜ Kti j v½j w`tq Pvl Kivi Rb` Pvc mwp Kti |
KviY GtZ dmj tekk ntj ivR`tekk Av`vq Kiv mæe nte| ewUk AwacZ` tek wKQj Gj vKvq
tRviceR Rg Pvl eÜ Kti t`qv nq| cvnvtõ Drcw`Z Kw, evk, Nvm, teZ, Zj v BZ`w`
j ¶tbi cõZ ewUkt`i AZ`waK AvMõ t`Lv hvq| hvZvqvZ I cY` msMõni Rb` ewUkt`i

Dt`vM evRvi I iv`v vbwgZ nq| Drcw`Z ctY`i GB ev`cK ewYwR`KxKiY cvnvov
RbM`Yi AskM`H Y wQj bv| cveZ` PÆMŷG Gj vKvi evBti cvnvov`i Pvlvvt`i vbt`lavAv
wQj | Jcwbtekk tkvl`Yi Pvc cto cvnvov A_ŠwZtZ| RbMY `faxbfvte Avfvevb KiZ
bv cvivq RgPv`li Dci RbmsL`vi Pvc cto| Rg KwłtZ Drcv`b nwm cvq| A-Kwł
Kgms`vb mjo nq bv| dtj cvnvov`i A_ŠwZK Ae`vi AebwZ NtU| Z_vvc Kwł vbfP
A_ŠwZtZ cvnvov`i AwaevmMY A`bKvst`k `vbfP ntq wJtK `vtKb|

Dcwbtek DEi Kyj

1947 mtj fviZ vefv`Mi mgq vekt kl ckvmbK ghP`vi ņevnfZ Gj vKvi ņ velt qwJ vetePbvq
bv Gtb cveZ` PÆMŷGtK cvnk`vb ivto`i AŠfŷ Kiv nq| cveZ` AĀtj i Rbgtb Gi velfc
cŷZw`uqv mjo Kti | Gi dtj cvnk`v`bi kvnk tMvŷ tMvovtZB cveZ` Awaevm`i veci`xtZ
Ae`vb tbq| cvnk`vb ivŷ`I Gi kvnk tMvŷi KvŷQ cveZ` PÆMŷGtgi fvgB gL` ntq DtV| G
fvgtZ emevmKvix gvbl ntq hvq tMSY| KviY gvZ`wKŷ fivte cveZ` Gj vKvi gvbl RbtK
ņAvr`gņ I ņeePņ etj `vd Kivtbv nq| ivŷq bwxZtZ GB gvZ`tkPB cŷZdj b NtU|

1947 mtj fviZ
vefv`Mi mgq cveZ`
PÆMŷGtgi ņevnfZ
Gj vKvi ņ velt qwJ
vetePbvq Avbv nq bv|

evsj vt`k kvnk tkYxi `vŷf`xtZ cveZ` Gj vKvi DbqB bwxZ clavb` cvq| vvbvwa DbqB
KgŷPx MpxZ nq| `et`wKk mrvh` ms`v Ges temi Kvix mrvh` ms`v mgnl DbqB Kgŷv`E
kixK nq| cvnvov`i Avr` A_ŠwZ Rg Pvl`li veki vntmte j`vZj Pvl Kivi Rb` vvbvwa
Dt`vM tbqv nq| ZvQvov cvnvov fvgtZ ivevi Pvl Kiv nq| kvnk tMvŷ gtb Ktib ivevi
A_ŷix dmj hv ņvov A_ŠwZK DbqB m`e| wKŠ` cvnvov`i KvŷQ ivevi Pvl, ev`vZj xt`i
Dci evJkt`i Pwctq t`qv bxj Pvl`li b`vq (wĭc jv 1992)¹ | ivevi Pvl t`tK cvnvov kvgK
th b`vh` gj` cve Ggb vbdŷZv tbB| Rg Pvl tŶto w`tq A`bK cvnvov vbt`^ntq hv`Q|
Zviv j`vZj Pvl`li Dc`thvMx Rvq cvq vb| wKŷv m`thvM Zvt`i Kg| Zvt`i A`bKtKi RvveKv
ntq `vŷtŷQ j`vKw, kb, KvW-Kqj v c`fuz vevuq Kiv I w`bgRj n lqv (wĭc jv 2000)² |
cvnvov`i Rb` A-Kwł LvtZl Kgms`v`bi m`thvM Kg| e`emv Kivi Rb` cvivgtUi cŷqvRb
hv Zvt`i ctŷv cvlqv `ŷri | Kwł F`Yi e`e`vl mwxgZ| vbt`^l ŷgZvxb cvnvovMY GmKj
m`thvM t`tK evĀZ nt`Q|

evsj vt`k kvnk tkYxi
`vŷf`xtZ Gj vKvi
DbqB bwxZ clavb`
cvq|

AvZevv Pq vbgvP

BwZcte`evvZ ntqtQ th cveZ` PÆMŷG Gj vKvq emevmKvix cvnvov`i gta` t`fŠMvuj K
mvgv`i Lvi vfv`E`Z wKsev mvs`wZK GKvı Zvi vfv`E`Z HK` cŷZwŷZ n l qvi ev`e Ae`v wQj
bv| wKŠ` ivŷq Kvvtgvi AŠfŷ n l qvi ci t`tK mvgv`wRK-mvs`wZKfvte msnZKiY cŷuqv
i`i` ntqtQ|

cvnvov`i HtK`i mgm`v nt`Q Zvt`i fvlvMZ vfvbZv| cvnvov`i agP GK bq| Zviv cŷvbZ
teŠx, w`y wL`v`vb I cŷKwZK atgP Abjvix| cvnvov`i Rg Kwł Drcv`bl mKtj AbjvY
Ktib bv| A`bKtKB DcZ`Kvq j`vZj Kwł Drcv`b AbjvY Ktib| cvnvov`i gta` AvajbK
wKŷv cŷvi mgybfvte nq vb| Pvkgviv m`vkaK wKŷv| cvnvov`i gta` tkYvMZ `elg`I

¹ Tripura P, "The Colonial Foundation of Pahari Ethnicity", *Journal of Social Studies*,
vol. 58, No. 1, Dhaka University, 1992.
² wĭc jv ckvŠ, ņRvq qv t`tK RŷŠ: cveZ` PÆMŷGtgi RgPvl vbfP RbtMvŷt`i Jcwbtekk ifcvŠti i BwZnmņ,
bjeAvb cvĭ Kv, bjeAvb vevvM, Rvrvŷxi bMi mekte`ij q, 2000|

Gm Gm GBP Gj

we`gub| cunvox`i gta` A#b#K A-Kw tckvq l e`emv ewY#R` wbtqwmRZ ntq Awl`R
Ae`vi DbwZ NuU#q#Qb| A#b#KB `xNRvj hveZ mgZ#j i kni ,wj #Z we#f#b#e#c#k#v# wbtqwmRZ
_vKvq kn#i emevm Ki#Qb|

*cunvox RbM#Yi
mvgwmRK-mvs`wZK
wfbwzv_vK#j l Zv#`i
H#K`i me#P#q
kw#k#j x Dcv`vb n#`Q
Awf#b#e#HwZnwmK
Awf#Azv|*

cunvox RbM#Yi mvgwmRK-mvs`wZK wfbwzv_vK#j l Zv#`i H#K`i me#P#q kw#k#j x Dcv`vb
n#`Q Awf#b#e#HwZnwmK Awf#Azv| GKB HwZnwmK c#u#q#i gta` emv Kivi d#j cunvox
RbMY GKB Awf#Azvi Ask#`vi | Ocunvox# wnt#m#e Zv#v mK#j HwZnwmKfvte ew#Z n#q#Qb
e#j g#b K#i#b| GB e#Avi g#b#fv#te#i t#e#v#e#U Av#l cwi Pq bZb#fv#te w#b#g#Z n#`Q|
cunvox`i wkw#j#Z ga`weE tkYx HwZn` A#s#t#Y K#i mwmZ` i Pbv Ki#Qb| cunvox`i t#j L`
fv#v bv _vKvq P#v#K#v l gvi gvi#v egr#eY#j#v v t_#K l w#l c#j#x#iv evs#j v eY#j#v t_#K K_` fv#v
w#j w#L#Z i#f#e w`#q#Qb| Rg P#l eZ#j#v#b Av#j#b#K#i#Y#i P#r#c #j#q#o#z n#j#l cunvox`i
msnZKi#Y Gi c#Z#x#K# ,i`Z#i A#b#K| #j#i`R#v#Z t#M#v#x# ,w#j i GK#l Zv mvs`wZKfvte c#p#t#b#g#Y
Kiv n#`Q|

mvi vsk

evs#j v#`#ki `w#j#Y#ce#e#r`#k cunvo Aj#j#w#l Z Gj vKv creZ` P#E#M#g b#r#q cwi w#P#Z| GB cunv#t#o#i
GK Ask evg#r#i m#t#%# h#j# Ges Gi gva`#q# wnguj q ce#Z#i ce#R#t#k P#r#b#i m#t#%# h#j# Ges Aci
Ask fvi#t#Z#i m#t#%# h#j#| cunv#t#o#i msh#j#Z#v#i d#j cunvox#v fvi#Z, evg#P#l P#r#b# D#v#`n#q
t#t#Z c#r#i#b| creZ` P#E#M#g evi#w#l gvbe t#M#v#x# eim K#i h#r#`i fv#v, ag#l mvgwmRK mslM#v#b
c_#K| e#w#l#K Dc#b#t#e#k `i#c#t#b#i c#e#GB mK#j t#M#v#x#i c_#K c_#K cwi Pq w#Q#j Ges
GK#w#l#Z#fv#te t#K#v#b cwi Pq w#Q#j bv| GK HwZnwmK c#u#q#i ga` w`#q# i#f#v#s#t#i#i ci m#u#i#Z
creZ` P#E#M#g Gj vKvi #j#i`R#v#Z t#M#v#x# ,w#j i gta` GK#w#l Awf#b#e#Av#l cwi P#q#i D#b#l Nu#t#Q|

cvtVĒi gj`vqb

`be`FB K cĕæ

mVVK DĒti i cvtk wJK (v) wPý w`b |

- 1| cĕK-JcwbtewkK Kvtj cveZ` PĀEMĕtgi ħiz` RwiZtMvĕx msMVtbi tħtĪ wK aiħYi
bwiZ AbmiY Kiv nħZv?
K. tKej ÁwiZ mĕútkP wfwĒtZ G_wbK Mĕc msMwVZ nħZv
L. ÁwiZ mĕútkP wfwĒtZ G_wbK Mĕc_wj GKwU wbw`Ė Gj vKvq `vqxfvte evm
KiħZv
M. ÁwiZ mĕútkP wfwĒtZ msMVb Mto DVħZv | tMvĕx`j_wj wKQywfbetMvĕxi tj vK
wbħq GKwU Gj vKvq `vqxfvte evm KiħZv
N. ÁwiZ mĕútkP wfwĒtZ msMVb Mto DVħj | ciwRZ tMvĕxi gvby Rb Zvt`i Rb`
KvR KiħZb | tMvĕx`j_wj hvhvei aiħbi wQj |

- 2| tgvNj kvmeMĕK cveZ` PĀEMĕtgi gvby Rb wK Ki w`ħZb?
K. fħg Ki
L. Avq Ki
M. ewYR` Ki
N. Kvcĕm Ki

- 3| cveZ` PĀEMĕtgi ħiz` RwiZtMvĕx_wj i għa` Kvt`i wKħvi nvi meħPtq tekx?
K. gvigv
L. wĪcħv
M. PvKgv
N. għs

- 4| cveZ` PĀEMĕtgi ħiz` RwiZtMvĕx_wj tK wK Pvl Kivi Rb` Pvc t`qv nħ`Q?
K. Rħ Pvl
L. Kj v Pvl
M. ivevi Pvl
N. KvBvB nħ` gvQ Pvl

mswħB cĕæ

- 1| cĕK-JcwbtewkK Kvtj cveZ` PĀEMĕtgi gvby Rħbi mħ½ evBħi i kw³i mĕúKĕKgb wQj?
- 2| ĕewfZ Gj vKvĕ wK? cveZ` PĀEMĕtgi gvby Rħbi KvtQ ĕewfZ Gj vKvĕ Gi_wj`Zi wK?

iPbvħj K cĕæ

- 1| ewUk JcwbtewkK kvmbvħtj evOvjxt`i mħ½ cinvoxt`i mĕúKĕKgb wQj?
DcwbteK DĒi Kvtj G mĕúKĕK i fc jvf Kħi? Avħj vPbv Ki`b |
- 2| cveZ` PĀEMĕtgi ħiz` RwiZtMvĕxi għa` wK wK welħq wfbZv AvħQ? wKfvte Zvt`i
għa` msnwZ `wcz nħ`Q Avħj vPbv Ki`b |

¶iz^a RwiZtMvôxi cÔŠKZv
Marginality of the Ethnic Groups

GB cvWU cto Avcwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- cÔŠKZvi avi Yv
- ¶iz^a RwiZtMvôxi cÔZ tbnZevPK `wóf½x
- ¶iz^a RwiZtMvôxi gvZ.fvl v l figi AwaKvi ctn½

cÔŠKZv

AvšRwZK ivRbnZtZ ÔG_wbwmU0 m=úwKZ avi Yv „i“ZcY^ontq Dtv mesk kZvāxi cĀvk l IvUi `k+k| ZLb Jcwbtekk kvmtbi wbMo tft½ bZb `vaxbZvc0B t`k_wj RwiZ MvB l ivó^a MVtb gtbvthvMx ntq Dtv| `xNrvj Dcwbtek _vKvi Kvi tY GmKj t`tk RvZxqZvev`i weKvk wQj bTv_R| gj Z Dcwbtek wevix kv³ wntmte RvZxqZvev` Pw½v ntq Dtv| `vaxbZvi ci ivR%bwZK e`e`vK msnZKiY`i` nq| cvRev`x avivq Dbqb KvhPig Pj tZ _vK| evRvi m=úwvwi Z nq| ZvQvon cv0vtZ`i Avtj vK AvaybKxKi tYi avivi mĀcvZ NtU| gj Z ivó^a MVtb RvZxq msnwiZi t¶ĀĀ ÔG_wbwmU0 úgKx ntq `vovq| ¶iz^a RwiZmEv_wj i AwaKviti cĀemvgtb Pj Avtm| Dcwbtek DEi Kvjt bZb ivó^a mgtni m½ cv0vtZ`i Dbz cvRev`x ivtóⁱ m=úK^otkvl tYi l wbfPkj Zvi ntq hvq| KviY bZb ivó^a wj ōcÔŠK0 t`k wntmte KvPvgj iBvx Kti l evRvi wntmte MY` nq| Avi Dbz t`k_wj ōtK`0 wntmte weKvk jvf KitZ _vK| bZb ivó^a mgtn AwacZ`kxj RwiZ ¶iz^a RwiZmEv_wj tK GKB Kvq`vq cÔŠK Ae`v`b tvjt t`q| GB wbfPkj Zvi m=úK^o Dbz RwiZ KZ^o c0v`c` RwiZi tkvly wntmte t`Lv nq| bZb ivó^a wj tK ŪZZxq wek0 etj wPwY Z Kiv nq| mivc0ZK Kvjt AvšRwZKfite bZb ivó^a wj i G_wbK M0c ev ¶iz^a RwiZtMvôx_wj tK ŪPZ^o wek0 wntmte wPwY Z Kti Zv`i AwaKvi i¶ivi wclqW „i“Zjcv`Q|

tbnZevPK `wóf½x

evsjv`tki wkw¶IZ ga`weE tkYxi gZv`tk^o AwacZ`kxj RwiZi tk0Zi Ges ¶iz^a RwiZtMvôx_wj i wK0Zv c0ZwbqZ wbgZ nq| KLtbv ¶iz^a RwiZtMvôx_wj tK ōmki mj f0, ōmij 0 Gfite wbgPY Kti Zv`i tK AvaybKZv wkw¶iv`vbi wclq „i“Zi c0vb Kiv nq| GtZ Aek` mgvR AwacZ`i AwffveK mvRvi cwi mi l mw0 nq| Avevi KLtbv ¶iz^a RwiZtMvôx_wj tK ōwb0i 0, ōAvteMc0Y0 l ōfwiZc00 wntmte wbgPY Kti Zv`i tK wbgSY Kivi Ges c0qvRtb Zv`i Dci ej c0qvM Kivi `eazv mw0 Kiv nq| KLtbv ¶iz^a RwiZtMvôxi gvbyl RbtK ōtivrĀKi0 ōthšb Avte`bgqx0 wntmte Ztj aiv nq| thgb Avājm mvEvi (1971)⁵ wj tLQb, ōDcRvZxqiv Zv`i KvQ AwZkq AvM0ni wclq nte hviv gvbe tmš` h^oPK Aw`g, Acwi c^o l KvPv Ae`vq (raw form) t`LtZ Pvb0| ¶iz^a RwiZtMvôxi bvi t`i m=útkP ŪZvivi

^o Sattar Abdus, *In the Sylvan Shadows*, Saquib Brothers, Dhaka, 1971.

tLvj vřgĵ vŀ, ŀcŀq Dj ½ŀ G aiřbi gše` KiřZ tkvbn hvq| GB `wŀfıwz t_řKB th tKvb
Drmte cıvnox bZ` cwiřekb ŀeıwZııgx meřbn` bŀ etj gřb nq| Ĵřz` RwiZřMvŀxi wkiř` i
křgi cŀZI evřzıj x ga`weEıv AvKŀ nř`ŀb| KviY Gme wkiřv AřbK ŀAbıMZO, ŀcwi křjxŀ I
ŀKg gRıjřZ KvR Křıŀ| tgvıřv K_v nř`ŀ Q Ĵřz` RwiZřMvŀxi mř`uřK`G aiřbi `wŀfıx I cŀK-
Abıgvb kımK řMvŀxi AvıacZ` I ĴřgZıřK Avovj Křı |

evsj vř`tk Ĵřz` RwiZřMvŀxi_wj i cŀZ tıwZevPK gıvııK ŀBřgRŀ Mřŀ DřıV| Ĵřz`
RwiZřMvŀxi_wj řK řŀv fıevi, AeÁıv Kivi, NıYıv Kivi, eıwÁZ Kivi Ges GgbııK AvııgY Kivi
ıel q `řfıweKřıřte meRbMŀn` nřq hvq| thgb- evsj vř`tki wKĴřvcŀZŀvřb wKĴřv_xř` i gřa`
aviYıv Avřŀ th,

kımKřMvŀxi KZř Ĵřz`
RwiZřMvŀxi mř`uřK`
řbwZevPK I ıb`ıvRbK
aviYıv cřıvı Kiv nq/
Gme aviYıv mřz
ev`eZıv ıgĵ řbB|

ŀevsj vř`tk eı DcRwıZi evı| Zıř` i gřa` Avřŀ Mřřıv, PıKıgv, wıřcıv, gM Avi I
AřbK| I ıv eřb _řK| cıvıřŀ Rıg Pıv Křı | kvK dj gĵ mn mıvı Lıvq|ŀ
(mıvıř` qı _j i`L, 2001)¹

kımK řMvŀxi cĴř ř_řK ejv nq, cıvıřŀř` i Rıg Pıv ŀcŀPıřbŀ ŀbe`cŀı i hřıMi Af`ıvŀ
Ges ŀaıřsmıř Kŀ| Avi Rıg Pıv ııv ŀeb`ŀ I ŀAvıř gŀı (wıřcıv 2000)²

Gaiřbi e³ře`i mřz ev`eZıv (reality) ıgĵ řbB| wKŠ` mıvıvıřıřte řbwZevPK gřıvıře
`Zıx KivB Gmřei Dřıřk`| ev`eZıv mřz řKD ıgıj řq ř` LřZ Pıvı bıř cŀqıvRbı gřb Křı
bıř Gıv řevaMg` th cwi eıwZř cwi w`ıZřZ Rıg Pıřı i Rb` chřř Rıg cıv qı I RbmsL`ıvı
Pıřci mřz mıgÁm`Zıv eRıvı ıvLıv mıgıvRbK nřq Dřıřŀ| wKŠ` Rıg Pıřı i KviřY ev`ře eb
DRıvŀ nq bıř| eis gıwıı DeřZıv ařı ıvLıv nq Ges cıvıřŀı cŀZřek ařı ıvLıv nq| th `řb
Rıg Pıv nq, řm RıvıMııı Mıŀcıvıv řcıvıřbıvı KviřY ŀvB ř_řK gıwı DeřZıv cıvı| Aveıı
GKevi Pıřı i cı ŀq-mıř erııı Pıv bıř Kivi KviřY eřbı Mıŀcıvıv Mıřřıř hvq| Zıvŀvŀv
GKmřz AřbK aiřbi dıj Pıv Kivi Rb` gıwıřZ řcıvıvıvı Kŀ Rbıřı| dřı gıwıı DeřZıv I
Rıe`ewPıř` `řıvB i Ĵřıv cıvı|

ejv nřq _řK th Ĵřz` RwiZřMvŀxi gıvı| eb aıřsm Křı | A_P AřbK Dbřb KıgRıvE nř`ŀ hvřZ
eřbı cwi řek Avıııř nř`ŀ| thgb, mıřcŀZK GKıwı MřeiYıv ř_řK Rıvıv hvq th evsj vř`tki
ebıwÁřı Acııı Kıı Zřıřte MıŀKıvıv I bZb aiřbi Mıŀ j wMıřbıvı KviřY eb` nıřxi cıvı aıřsm
nřq hvř`ŀ| KviY Gı dřı Zıř` i ıePıY řĴřı bŀ nřqřŀ Ges Lıvıvı aıřsm Křı řdjv nřqřŀ|
(ıÁb PııeZıř` Ab`ıv`, 2000)³ | dřı nıřxi cıvı avb řĴřZ, avřbı řMıjıv Ges gıvıřı i Nı
evŀřZ AvııgY Pıjı vř`ŀ|

¹ mıvıř` qı _j i`L, ŀevıŀıvıvı Avııcřıřı gZıř` wKř cıııı : cıeZ` msKU cıřřı ŀ, PPP, bııeÁıvıv ıeřıM, Rıvıřzıı
bMı mekĵe`'yj q, 2001|

² cıııř wıřcıv, ŀRıgıvı ř_řK Rıřı : cıeZ` PÁMıřı Rıg Pıv ıbřř RbřMvŀř` i JcııřııK i řcıřııı BıřZıvıŀ,
bııeÁıvıv cııřıvı, bııeÁıvıv ıeřıM, Rıvıřzıı bMı mekĵe`'yj q, 2000|

³ Ranjan Chakravarty et al, "Environmental Impact in the Habitat of Elephant and the
Resulted Man-Elephant Conflict", Feroz Ahmed (ed) *Bangladesh Environment 2000*,
Bangladesh Paribesh Andolon, Dhaka, 2000.

Avtiv Rvbn hvq th msiwqZ ebnAj Mto tZvjvi mgq gwU t_tK j Zv_j j I Dw^{mc} Ggbfite cwi^{vi} Kiv nq th tmLvtb Avi tm_wj Rb^q bv| evsj vt`tki ebnAj t_tK ZvB cvLx I cRvcwZi esk DrLvZ nq hv^q (Gg G ewki I Ab`vb` 2000)⁴ |

vb^{xq} c^fvekvj xt`i thvMvRtk ebwefvM KZR^q w^bwePvti MvQ KvUvi I eb DRvo Kivi I Awf^{thvM} AvtQ| j qYxq th q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}_wj m^uutK^hLb Ob a^{ysm}Kvi xO wntmte tbwZevPK avi Yv c^{pi} Kiv nq kw³kvj x gva`tg, ZLb mwZ^qKvti i ev⁻eZv cix^q Kivi tKvb w^{el}q _vtK bv| q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}_wj tK Aa⁻b wntmte wbg^{py} Kivi Rb` Gme cwi^{te}kb Kiv nq| GLvtb hv³ i tKvb `vb tbB|

gvZ.fvlv

Om^tMv AvovstZ cvonv : BT tP`O| mvl Zvj t`i `xN^q tbi G `vex| GB `vexi A_^oAvgiv gvZ.fvlv co^tZ Pvb|O ivRkvnxi eti>`^a fvgi mul Zvj iv eu AvtMB w^kq^{vi} ew^E tOto Kwl tZ gtbw^btek Kti b| R¹/₂ vKxY^ofvg I cOZKj Avenl qvi gta` Zviv Kwl tZ Drcv` b e^e-vq DbwZ NUvb| w^kS⁻ fvgi e^woMZ gwij Kvbv bv _vKvq GK mgq fvgi Awakvi nvi vb Zviv| w^btRt`i fvg t_tK D^tQ` nq fvg k^{ig}K wntmte I eM^pvix wntmte Kwl tZ Zvt`i Ae`vb ivtLb| tZfvMv Avt`vj tb I Bjv wgt¹ i tbZ^tZi msNex nq Zviv Kwl Drcv`tb b^vq wePvi cOZ^ovi `vex Rvrbv| GZ`m^tZil mvl Zvj iv `wi`^a n^lqvi Kvi tY Ges q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}i cwi P^tqi Kvi tY mgvtR `el^gi w^kKvi nb| mgvtR cO^wSK Ae⁻vtb _vKvi Rb` w^kq^{vi} mthvM t_tK ew^AZ nq Zvt`i m^{sv}bMY| mvl Zvj t`i w^kq^{vi} nvi gv¹ 3%-4%| we`vj q^tj vtZ `el^gg^j K AvPi tYi Rb` mvl Zvj w^ki iv w^kq^{vi} t^qt¹ cOZKj Ae⁻vi w^kKvi nb| 1999 mvtj w^kv^qZ mvl Zvj hv^kt`i D^t`vtM ivRkvnxi tM^vvMv^{ox} DctRj vq cOZw^oZ nq mvl Zvj fvlv q cO^g cO^gK we`vj q|

q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}_wj i cOZ fvlv `el^gi Kvi tY wej³ nq tM^tQ A^tbK fvlv| Lwmqv, ivReskx, ivLvBbt`i gvZ.fvlv nwi^tq hv^qQ| GtZ q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}_wj i gvZ.fvlvi Awakvi i q^{vi} Kivi Rb` `vex D^l w^cZ n^tQ| D^tj ^l th evsj v fvlvi fv^ovi m^uotZ q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}_wj, hviv evsj vt`tki OAv^w evmx^o, Zvt`i A^tbK Ae`vb AvtQ| evsj v fvlv q ms⁻Z I we^t kxfvlv e⁻Zx AvtQ c^{pi} O^t k^{io} k^a| GB mKj O^t k^{io} k^a Aw^w evmx^t i fvlv t_tKB evsj vq cO^{ek} Kti tQ| q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}i gv^bl R^tbi gvZ.fvlv PP^o I w^kq^{vi} Afvte nwi^tq hv^qQ| B^tZvgta` nid I eY^gvjv nwi^tq tM^tQ A^tbK q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}i | wL^bv w^gkt^{bi} mthvM^vZvq gw^w I Lwmqv^t i fvlv i q^{vi} e⁻v n^tqtQ tivgvb ni^tdi eY^gvjv MV^tbi dtj |

fvgnxvZv

q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}_wj i avi Yv GB th fvg n^tQ methvavi tYi m^uu^E

q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}_wj i Ab⁻Zg mgm^v n^tQ Zvt`i fvgnxvZv| c^{te}o3bs cvtV cveZ` P^AM^ot^g fvgnxvZvi w^{el}tq AvtjvPbv Kiv n^tqtQ| cvn^{ox} G^jvKvi b^vq mgZj fvg^tZI q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}_wj i avi Yv GB th fvg n^tQ methvavi tYi m^uu^E | tMv^{ox}e^x mgvtRi m`m` wntmte tKej fvg e⁻envi Kti R^weKv w^bef^h Kiv hvq| c^{te}o^miv evsj vt`tki cveZ` I mgZj fvg^tZ q^z RvwZtMv^{ox}_wj Q^wotq w^oU^tq evm Ki tZv| Kwl, ebnAj w^kKvi I eb t_tK j Zv_j j msM^h

⁴ MA Bashir et al, "Conservation of Animal-Plant Association in Some Forest Areas of Chittagong and Cox's Bazar, Model of Butterflies and Plants", Feroz Ahmed (ed) Bangladesh Environment 2000, Bangladesh Paribesh Andolon, Dhaka, 2000.

Kři RmeKv vbeřn KiřZv| meŲg AvřgY Avřm 1793 mřj eřJKř`i vPi`vqx et`veř`i ci| LvRbv msMŲni `vřZř Rřg`viř`i nřZ b`nI qvř Ğř`RvřZřMvŲx, řj Rřg`viř`i Aaxb nřq cřo| Zře eřJK křmKMY Zřř`i Rb`Ųmeřkl e`e`vŲ Kři| 1950 mřj cřvřZ AvBřb cřvK`vb mi Kvi Zv cŲqřM Kři vb| dřj Ař msL`K ři vRř÷KZ Rřg evř` Ğř`RvřZřMvŲxi Rřg Lřm Rřg řnřřme řNřvř Z nř| eřvK Gi GKřŲ Mřel Yřq Rřbv hvř th Ğř`RvřZřMvŲxi gřbřři Rřg e`vřK nřři Rei`Lj nřq hvř| GB Rei`Lřj i Rb`Ųmivřvi mřřm, řKřKř, cĚĀbv ř`řK ři` Kři Nř cŲvb Kři bř`cřři Rřj qřvřZ chř Kiv nřŲ (eřvK 1980)¹ řřgnřbZv mřři Avři KřŲ eo av`v Avřm 1965 mřj řvi Z-cřvK`vb hřřxi mgq hLb kř` mřřŲĒ Aa`řř`k Rřvi nř| Ğř`RvřZřMvŲxi gřbř řřq řviřZ cřj řq hvř qři ci GB AvBř cŲqřM Kři Zřř`i řřg Rei`Lj Kiv nř| 1971 mřj gřřhřřxi mgq| GKB Nřbv Nřř|

GŲvov gřbewaKvi msMVb, řj weřfbœcKvi mřm`vi vřlq Zřj ařib| Zvi gřa` AvřŲ-řRiviceř dmj řKřř tbqv, Ařœafřře řřvM`Lj Kiv| ej ceř kř Av`vq Kiv nř| ivřZ MŲřg nřbv v`řq AZ`vři Kiv nř| řřg ř`řK DrLvř Kiv nř (Avi WřeĐ`řJg 1992)²

- | |
|--|
| <p>evsj vř`k ŲAvBGj I ŲGi 169 bs Kbřřbkbřb `řřři Kři vb </p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 169 břř Kbřřbkbřb 14avivq ejv nřqřŲ- HřZn`MZřřře cŲB Rřgi Dci msřkĚ e`vřřř`i `Lj I gřj Křbvř AřaKvi `řKZ nře • 16 avivq 1 Dcavivq ejv nřqřŲ - msřkĚ e`vřřř`i řřK Zřř`i Rřg ř`řK Dř`Ų` Kiv hřře bv • hř e`vřřřg řřřř Zřř`i Rřg `vbřři AZ`vek`Křq nřq cřo Zřřřj - <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Zřř`i KřŲ ř`řK řbqv Rřgi Ařř mřmiv gřv DrKŲ I `ea Rřg cŲvb KiřZ nře — Zřř`i řřK řř řKvb ařřbř řř vKřvb ev řřřři Rb`mřřY`řřřřcři Y`v řřZ nře |
|--|

cřeřř` PĀEMŲřg evřřřř`i Lřm Rřgi Dci emřř `řcřři K`v řřev nřqřŲj | Lřm Rřg nř`Ų Ae`eřZ Rřg| vřř`ev`ře mřm`v mřř nř| Křiv Y cřeřř` PĀEMŲřg řřme řřgřř cřeřřm Kiv nř Zv Ae`eřZ řŲj bv| KřřvB nř`i cřvbřř Rřg Wře hřvi ci cřvřvř nř`i Zřřři řřgřř emřř `řcř Kři řŲřb| břbv Křiv Y cřvřvř RbMY Rřg Rřvi `Lj nřivb| cřvřvř`i MŲřg nřgř v I j řřcřv nř| dřj cřvřvř AvřřMŲ nřq evřvř nř`řq cřj řq řřř evřvř I Rřg Rřv ře`Lj nřq hvř|

Rřg cř`řřj i mgq mřm`v mřř nř| Rřgi e`vřřMZ gřj Křbv cŲ křřbi vřlq `i`ZcřY`nřq Dřř| ř`Lv hvř th řřgi e`vřřMZ gřj Křbvř avř Yv cřvřvř`i vřřř řřZřvř bv`vřq AřřřKi h`vh``řj řř řb| evřvř nř`řq hřvi mgq AřřřK Rřeb vřřq cřj řq hvř| dřj `řj `řKřř I Zv evř řcřvřřvi mgq cřř hvř| mřřřvř Zřiv `řj ř`Lvřř AcřiM nb| AřřřK `řj cŲ kř Křiv ci mi Křiv řřg ři KW`Ařřřř vřřř Rřřřř cřřřb Ařřřř `řj řř i ři KW` řřg řřq bv| Ab` v`řř emřř `řcř Křivřiv A`řřřřř mdj Zv ARřřři mřřř mřřř vřřřř`i Ae`vřb mřřř Křřb| ř`Lv hvř th evřřřř`i msL`v Ařřřřři řeķ nřq hvř`řq| cřvřvř vř msL`v j řřŲ nřq hvř`řq|

¹ Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), *The Net : Power Structure in Ten Villages*, BRAC, Dhaka, 1980.
² Avi WřeĐ`řJg, *evsj vř`kři Ařř evřř*, evsj vř`k gřbewaKvi mřřřř cři I ` , Xřvř, 1992|

ebvĀj DRvo nI qv

ebvĀj DRvo nI qvq I
ebmᵃú` j j nI qvi
Kvi tY ʔi`
RwZtMvôx, wj aʔsm nġq
hvġ`Q/

evsj vt`tk `*Z nvġi ebvĀj DRvo nI qvq I ebmᵃú` j j nI qvi Kvi tY ʔi` a RwZtMvôx, wj aʔsm nġq hvġ`Q | cĀZ eQi Avbgwġk 8,000 tn±i Gj vKvq eb DRvo nġq hvġ`Q | w`bvRcj tRjvq MZ wġk ermġi 24,000 GKġi eb mᵃúY`wbwĊý nġq tMġQ | cveZ` PÆMġg 7,50,000 GKġi ebvĀj aʔsm nġq tMġQ | e`vcK nvġi MvQ KvUvi `i`b ebvĀj nwiġq hvġ`Q | GġZ meġaK ʔi`wZMĊ nġ`Q ʔi` a RwZtMvôxi gvbj Rb | Zviv RweKvi Rb` Ges Aw`ġZi Rb` eġbi Dci wbfġkij | wġæ gaġj Mo Gj vKv aʔsmi Dci GKwJ tKm ÷ vWw Dc`wcz nġj v |

tKm ÷ vWw : 1

ebmᵃú` j ġb : gaġj Mo

mgZġj wġK vKv Mo, wj i gġa` gaġj Mo meġPġq eo | GwJ gqgbwmsn I Uv`zvBj tRjvq Aew`Z | fviZ wefvġMi ci t`ġK gaġj ebvĀj i AġaR DRvo nġq tMġQ | tKvP I gvw` mᵃúú vtqi 16,000 Awævmx, hviv ebvĀj evm KiġZv, Zviv aʔsm nġq hvġ`Q | IvġUi `kġK eb KgRZMY ev`zvġ xt`iġK eb Gj vKvq evm Kivi AbgġZ cĊvb Kġi | msL`vq Giv Aw`evmġ`i Pvi Y | Mġoi bxpZ RwgġZ gvw` mᵃúú vq kvKmwĀ I Avbvim Pvl KiġZv | eb KgRZMY b`vkbvġ cvK`cĊZôvi Rb` Rwg AwæMġY Kġi | dtj 800 gvw` cwi evi Dġ`Q` nġq hvġq | `vex Rvbtġvi Acivġa gvw`ġ` i wei`ġx 200 wġ`v gvġj v` vtqi Kiv nq | eb wefvġMi e³e` wġj ŌDcRvZxqiv ebvĀj ġK weġbgġġhvM` mᵃú` (exchangeable commodity) ġġb Kġi bv | Ō Ab` w`ġK ʔi` a RwZtMvôxi gvbj ebvĀj i Dci gvbj i meRbxb AwæKġi weġġm Kġi |

mvġwRK ebvġġbi dtj
gaġġi kvj eb aʔsm
nġq hvġ`QQ | ebvĀj ġK
wġi eb wefvġMi e`vcK
`pġZ Pġj |

eb wefvġMi cwi Pvj bvq ŌmvġwRK ebvġbŌ cġġi ʔi` a RwZtMvôxi `wi` a bviġ`i mᵃú,³ Kiv nq | Uv`zvBj tRjvi mwLcġ DcġRjvq mvġwRK ebvġb cġġi bviġ`i tKvb cġKvi wmx`šMġġY AskMġY Kivi e`e`v MpxZ nqwb | cġġi bviġ m`mMY AwfġhvM Kġib th ewYwR`K Dġi ġk` th me MvQ j vMvġbv nġ`Q Zvi dtj gwġi ʔi`wZ nġ`Q | ewYwR`K MvġQi cvġk Ab`vb` MvQ gviv hvġ`Q | cwi bi tġġfġ bġP tġġg hvl qvq mᵃúY`Gj vKvq Nvm Rbġġ`Q bv | eb wefvġMi tKD Zvġ`i K_vq KYevZ Kġi wġ | A_P evsj vt`tk kvj eb cĊq aʔsm nġq tMġQ | gaġġi tKej 32% wġK AvġQ | ebvġb cġġi wġqg Abġvġi mvZ ermi MvġQi t`Lvġkvbv Kivi ci bviġ m`mMY MvġQi weġq j ä Aġ`P 40% cvġeb | wKš` mvZ ermi cY`nI qvi cġeB GKw` b t`Lv tMj me, wj evMvġbi MvQ tKD tKġU tdtġġQ | dtj bviġ m`mMY tKvb A`cubwġ | KZġġ Rvbvq me MvQ Pwi nġq tMġQ | bviġ m`mġ`i e³e` nġ`Q eb wefvġMi `pġZi Rb`B ebvĀj DRvo nġqġ Ges Zviv | ʔi`wZMĊ nġqġQb |

Drm : Sadeka Halim, *Invisible Again : Women and Social Forestry : Bangladesh*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, Canada, 2000.

mvi vsk

cŧeP cV,uj t_ŧK Avcbriv RvbŧZ tctiŧQb th ersj vt`ŧki ¶ŧi^a RvwZŧMvôx,uj i mŧ½
kvmKŧMvôxi m^uK[©]DaŸZb I Aa`ŧbi| GB AmgZv ũWkŧq ivLvi Rb` bvbvfiŧe ¶ŧgZvi
evBŧi i RbŧMvôx,uj m^uŧK[©]ŧbwZevPK I ũb`vRbK avi Yv cŧvi Kiv nq| ŧbwZevPK `ŧóf½x
QrovI th mKj ŧKškj Aej ^ub Kiv nq tm,uj i gŧa` AvŧQ ¶ŧi^a RvwZŧMvôx,uj ŧK eR[©] Kiv,
A`ŧKvi Kiv, fmwZ cŧk[©] Kiv| ivR%bwZK I Av_[©]mvgwRK cwi eZŧbi aviq ũUŧK_vKvi
Rb` cŧZũW ¶ŧi^a RvwZŧMvôxŧKB KiŧZ nq ũb`vi`b msMŧg| ivó^a e`e`vi AmacZ`ev`x ¶ŧgZv
m^uŧK[©] gŧa` cŧZũbqZ msMŧg KiŧZ nq cŧšK Ae`vŧb t_ŧK| GB cŧšK RbŧMvôxi gŧb
ũbŧRŧ`i gvZ.fiv nviŧbvi I mvmZ`-ms`^uZi fiŧvi kb` nI qvi te`bv Rgv nq| Zvŧ`iŧK
mn` KiŧZ nq e`½, Dcnvm I e^uAv| Pŧŧi Rwg nwiŧq ũb`^nI qv ŧgŧb ũbŧZ nq|
ũ`bgRjxi AwbŧqZv, evRvŧi cŧekvmaKvi bv cVl qv, teKvi Zj memKQyZvŧ`i Rxeŧb `j[©]Nbix
nŧq c_ AvUŧK_vŧK|

cvřVvĚi gj `vqb

`be⁹3 K cĕæ

mWk DĚti i cvřk WJK (√) WPy w`b |

- 1 | gapj Mtoi ebvĀj DRvo nI qvi Rb` tK ev Kvi v `vqx?
K. Kivvi qv m^u0 vřqi Kw KvUv
L. tmbvenwbx KZ^R K`v^u Kiv
M. eb wefvřMi `p^WZ
N. gv`vB m^u0 vřqi Avbvi m Pvl

- 2 | Lwmqivi tj L` fvlvi Rb` tKvb eY⁹v v e`envi KiřQb?
K. gbřLgvi eY⁹v
L. emg^R eY⁹v
M. ti vgvb niřdi eY⁹v
N. evsj v eY⁹v

- 3 | ebvĀřj i cwi řek bó nI qvq řKvb c0Yxi mř½ evsj vř řki gvřřI i msNI řřřQ?
K. wmsn
L. evN
M. evbi
N. nvZx

- 4 | mvl Zvj ř` i gvZ.fvl vq wk⁹v vřbi Rb` c0g řKv_vq c0_wgK we`vj q c0Zw0Z nq?
K. w`bvRcři
L. cĀMřo
M. i vRkvnx řRj vi řMv`vMvovřZ
N. gqgbwmsn řRj vi gv³vMvOvq

msv⁹řB cĕæ

- 1 | řřř^aRwZřMv0xi řřg welqK mgm`v wk ai řbi?
- 2 | ebvĀj ařsm nI qvi dřj řřř^aRwZřMv0xi wkfvře řřřZM0 nb?

iPbvřj K cĕæ

- 1 | řřř^aRwZřMv0xi m^uřřř^amacZ`ev`x avi Yv wk ai řbi? GB avi Yv wk ev`em^uřZ?
Avřj vPbv Ki`b |
- 2 | c0řKZv wk? řřř^aRwZřMv0xi c0řKZv wkfvře mřó nq? Avřj vPbv Ki`b |

bMivqb I wkí vqb
Urbanization and Industrialization

cvÖvZ`i DbZ t`kmgñn wkí vqñbi dtj bMivqb NtU| wkí tññt kñgi Pvn`v bMivqb cñµqvñK MwZkxj Kñi| wkŠ` evsj vñ`tk wkí vqb bv ntj I bMivqb NUtQ| GwU NUtQ Mñtg fñgnxbZv, KgñxbZv I `wi`ª evx cvl qvi KviñY| Mñg t_ñK gvby| knñi AwfFemb KiñQ evñvi Avkvq| wkŠ` Kwñ t_ñK Dñ`Q` ntq th RbñMvñx knñi `vbnšwi Z nñ`Q knñi I Zvñ`i evñvi msMñg AñbK Kwñb| knñi AcññZñmbK A_ññwZK KgñvñÜ I kñyNb tckvq RwoZ ntq Zviv evñvi tPón Kñib| thgb cwi enb kñgK, w`bgRj, Kvi Lvbn kñgK, nKvi, MñKgxñ thŠbKgxñ wfññveññ BZ`w`ñZ wñtqñwñRZ nb knñi i `wi`ª gvby| GñZ Mñtgi `wiñ`ñ Ae`v knñi `vbnšwi Z nq| knñi emevmKvix gvbyñ I gññ` `wi`ª gvbyñ I msL`vB AwñK| wkŠ` knñi i mññvM mññev Zvñ`i KviñQ tcsñvq bv| bMi `wi`ñ`i AvewmK mgn`v cñKU| Zvñ`i mvgmñRK wñbvcñvñ tñB| Acññi Kwñ Zfvñe bMivqb I wkí vqñbi GKwU eo mgn`v nñ`Q cwiñek `IY| kni ,wñññZ evqñ`IY gviññ K ntq DñvñQ| wkí Kvi Lvbn i eR`cñmb I gñwU `IY KiñQ|

GB BDññññUi cvW ,wññ nñ`Q -

- ◆ cvW - 1 : bMivqñbi aviv
- ◆ cvW - 2 : Mñg t_ñK knñi AwfFemb
- ◆ cvW - 3 : XvKv knñi i wñKvñk
- ◆ cvW - 4 : evsj vñ`tk wkí vqñbi mgn`v
- ◆ cvW - 5 : cwiñek `IY : bMivqb I wkí vqñbi cññve

bMivqʒbi aviv
Pattern of Urbanization

GB cvvU cʒo Avcvb RvbʒZ cviʒeb -

- kni bMi mʒúʒKʒavi Yv
- evsj vʒʒk bMivqʒbi HwZnmK tcvʒvcU
- kni bMi ʒZ evʒxi aib
- kni Zj x weKvʒki ʒiʒZj

knibMʒii aviv

Dbʒʒ tʒkmgʒn wʒi vqʒbi
 dtj bMivqb NʒU| wʒSʒ
 evsj vʒʒk Mʒg tʒK knʒi
 Awʒvʒmʒbi dtj bMivqb
 NʒU|

mvʒúʒZKKvʒji Dbʒʒb weʒkIAMy bMivqbʒK Dbʒʒʒbi AZʒvekʒKxq Dcvʒvb etj wʒPwʒyZ
 Kʒib| ʒZ A_ʒwʒZK cʒvʒ I AvavʒbKxKiʒYi Rbʒʒ bMivqb ʒiʒZcʒYʒetj weʒwʒPZ nq|
 Dbʒʒʒ I Dbʒʒʒbkxj tʒkmgʒn bMivqʒbi KviY wʒfbʒaiʒbi| cvʒvʒZʒi Dbʒʒʒ tʒkmgʒn
 wʒkʒi vqʒʒbi dtj bMivqb NʒU| tmLvʒb bMʒi ʒwʒcZ Kʒ KviLvʒvq evRvi I tʒmev LvʒZ th
 KʒʒRi Pwʒvʒ mʒvʒ nq, Zv ciʒʒYi Rbʒʒ RbMY kni gʒx nq I Mʒtgi Zj vʒvq knʒii RbemʒZ
 evʒx cvq| cʒʒRevʒx eʒeʒvq GK wʒʒK KwʒʒZ hwʒSKxKiY I Abʒʒ wʒʒK wʒkʒi tʒʒʒʒ tʒgi Pwʒvʒ
 bMivqb cʒʒvʒvʒK MʒZKxj Kʒi| wʒSʒ Abʒʒvbʒ Dbʒʒʒbkxj tʒʒki bʒvq evsj vʒʒk Mʒg tʒK
 knʒi Awʒvʒmʒbi dtj bMivqb NʒU| evsj vʒʒk Mʒg tʒQto gvʒʒ knʒi Avʒmb, Rvʒi Dci
 RbmsLʒvi evwʒZ Pic I MʒgʒY A_ʒwʒZʒZ A-Kwʒ LvʒZ KʒʒRi Afvʒʒei KviʒY| Gi dtj
 knʒii RbmsLʒvi evʒx tcvʒj I Mʒg I knʒii mweʒ RbmsLʒvi Aeʒv Lʒ GKUv cʒwʒevʒZ nq
 bv| GZʒ mʒʒEʒj wʒwʒfbʒaiʒbi Kgʒʒʒʒvb I evRvi ʒvKvi KviʒY evsj vʒʒk bMi AvKIʒvʒx nʒq
 Dʒv Mʒtgi tʒKʒʒ ev hinterland wʒʒmʒʒe| evsj vʒʒk I tgvU Rvʒxq Avʒq Kwʒ i Zj vʒvq wʒkʒi I
 tʒmevLvʒZ Aeʒvb evʒx cvʒʒQ|

mvʒi Yx 1 : tgvU Rvʒxq Avʒq (GDP) wʒwʒfbʒvʒʒZi Aeʒvb

ermi	Distribution of Gross Domestic Product (%)			
	Kwʒ	wʒkʒi	Kvi Lvʒv	tʒmev (Service)
1970	55	9	6	37
1980	50	16	11	34
1995	31	18	10	52

Drm : *World Development Report*, World Bank, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994 and 1997.

evsj vʒʒk kni etj weʒwʒPbv Kiv nq Ggb Gj vKvʒK thLvʒb Kgcvʒʒ| cvʒP nvRvi RbmsLʒv
 Aaijwʒ Z emwʒ Avʒq| knʒii AvʒKvʒk RbʒʒMwʒ A-Kwʒ tcvʒvq wʒtʒqmʒZ| knʒi fʒvg
 eʒenvʒii tʒʒʒʒ Mʒtgi Zj vʒvq ʒevʒʒʒ tʒwʒk| GLvʒb cʒkvmb, wʒkʒi, emʒYRʒ, wʒʒʒv, Rbʒʒmev
 BZʒwʒ wʒwʒfbʒvʒʒZ fʒvg eʒenvʒi cʒwʒj vʒʒʒZ nq| Gʒvov cʒkvmbmn bʒMwʒ K Rʒʒʒbi bʒvʒwea

mpeavl knți AvtQ| ersj v`k G aiłbi knți i msL`v cvP kZ evBkU (BBS 1993) | Gi gta` GKkZ tZl wEwU kni cvP nrRvi RbeimZi `enkõ` ciY Kti bv| Zey1981 młb GB GKkZ tZl wEwU _vbn DctRj v m` iłk kni wntmte MY` Kiv nq| ersj v`k cwi msL`vb ejtvi bMi etj `łk wZ t` q tmme Gj vKvłK thLvłb GK j` t` t`k `k j` A_ł GK wgvj qb RbmsL`v Aajwł Z emwł AvtQ| 1991 młbi wntme Abynłti ersj v`k G aiłbi bMłti i msL`v tZBkU| RbmsL`vi AvKvi Abłhvqx łkYx web`vłm cŁg Pvi wU bMi nł`Q XvKv, PÆMŁg, Lj bv I i vRkvx| GB Pvi wU bMi łk łt g łU łc wj Uvb Gwi qvŁ wntmte AvL`wqZ Kiv nq| GQvov XvKv, PÆMŁg I Lj bv łk łvgwj qb wmlŁŁ I XvKvłK łtgMv wmlŁŁ ejv nłq _vłk| avi Yv Kiv nq th XvKvi RbeimłZ GKB nłti epł tctZ _vKłj 2025 mvj bvMv` Gi RbmsL`v nte 25 wgvj qb| ZLb Gwł wełkł beg epŁg tgMwmlŁi ifc j v f Ki te|

HwZnwmK tclvcl

cŁq AvovB nrRvi ermi cte`cŁPxb ersj vq bMi Mło DłVıQj etj avi Yv Kiv nq| cŁPxb bMi łk MłzvFwł ev MłłbMi ejv nłZv (ingvb 1392 ełvā)|¹ bxnvi i Āb i vłqi (ivq 1359 ełvā)² głZ cŁPxb ersj vi bMi _wj i łfłMwj K Aew`wZ wełkŁY Kiłj t` Lv hvq th, cŁq cŁZ`KwU bMi B cłk` I cŁvj Z `j I Rj cł_i Dci ev młthvM łk ł` Aew`Z wQj | wełfbo mł t` łk avi Yv Kiv nq th Kwl łZ mgłkvj x ersj vq Kwl i Abynłx wntmte włk łi i weKvK NłU| chŁk łi eYŁvq PZL`ŁŁ bcełā m` e` włkı gmwj b I Ab`vb` cY` mvgMłi wełłq Rvbn hvq| m` eZ włkı, łbłct_ ewYR` I agłgłk łk` Kłi ersj vq bMi _i`Zi j v f Kłi | avi Yv Kiv nq th cŁPxb kni łk tevSvłbvi Rb` łc j ł k wU e` eüZ nZ hv t` łk cieZłPZ łcłsi ł k wU GłmłQ| tgvNj kvmbvgtj Kwl i włkı I Kvi` włkı łk łk` Kłi bMivqb nq (Av_ł I g`vKvłKj 1978)|³ epłK JcłbłekK kvmbvgtj włkı, ewYR` I e` i bMi mgn _i`Zi nviq| tm` łj JcłbłekK kvmk ełMłP KvłQ cłkvmbK łk` I Kvłvgj i Bvbx łk` mgn bMi wntmte _i`Zi cvq| 1901 młb RbmsL`vi 2.43% I 1941 młb 3.66% knți em KılłZb| 1947 młb fvi Z wełvłMi ci fvi Z t` łk AwfełmbKZ RbMY knți emem Kivq GB nvi epł tctq 1941-1951 mgqKvłj 18.38% I 1951-1961 mgqKvłj 45.11% nq (BBS 1987)| cieZłPZ GB nvi Avłiv epł tctq 1961-74 mgqKvłj 137.6% Ges 1974-81 mgqKvłj 115.8% G łcłłQ|

cŁPxb ersj vq `j I Rj cł_i młthvM `łj kni Mło DłVı| JcłbłekK kvmbvgtj włkı ewYR` I e` i bMi mgn _i`Zi nviq|

knı i bMłti i `Z epł

ersj v`k bMivqłbi nvi I bMıxi RbmsL`v `Z epł cvl qvi łłłłł wZbłU Kvi Y łłMvj we`MY wPıvY Z Kłi b| GK, RbmsL`vi `Z epł `ß, cvjvZb bMımgłni młgvbn epł I bZb bMi mło I wZb, MŁg t` łk knți Awfełmb (błłRg 1998, Bmj vg, 1996)|⁴

¹ ingvb tgvnłš` nweej ,MłzvŁwł t` łk ersj v`k , ersj v GKvłWłg, XvKv, 1392(ełvā)|
² ivq bxnvi i Āb, ełvłj xi BwZnm Awł` ce` ełK Głcłwı qıg, Kj KılZv.1359(ełvā)|
³ Arthur W & Mcnicoll, "An Analytical Survey of Population and Development in Bangladesh", *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 4, No.1.1978
⁴ Nazem Nurul Islam , "Changing Face of Urban Areas in Bangladesh". Abdul Bayes(ed), *Bangladesh at 25*, UPL ,Dhaka,1998.

mviYx 2 : evsj v̇k bMt̄i i RbmsL̄v ev̄x i nvi 1901-1991 |

Drm	bMt̄i i tgvU RbmsL̄v (wgvj qb)	RbmsL̄vi kZKiv KZ Ask kn̄ti emevm K̄ti	bMt̄i i RbmsL̄v ev̄x %	bMt̄i RbmsL̄v ev̄x i evrmi K nvi
1901	0.70	2.43	-	-
1911	0.80	2.54	14.96	1.39
1921	0.87	2.61	8.85	0.84
1931	1.07	3.01	22.20	2.00
1941	1.54	3.66	43.20	3.59
1951	1.83	4.34	18.38	1.58
1961	2.63	5.19	45.11	3.72
1974	6.00	8.87	137.57	6.70
1981	13.56	15.54	115.76	10.97
1991	22.45	20.15	69.75	5.43

Drm : Ammatuz Zohra Yusuf, "Urban Center in Bangladesh : Their Growth and Change in Rank Order", in Nazrul Islam ed. *Urban Bangladesh*, Dhaka University, Dhaka, 1998.

evsj v̇k i t̄k i v̄xbZvi ci M̄g t̄t̄k kn̄ti RbMt̄Yi v̄bv̄ši c̄p̄qv `Z n̄ti NUt̄Q | Gi Av_° mivḡwRK t̄c̄m̄Z m̄ūt̄K° Avcbv̄v cieZx° cv̄V Rvb̄t̄Z cvi t̄eb |

evsj v̇k bMivq̄tb
Av̄Aj̄ K fvi mvḡZv i ḡv
Kiv nq̄ bv | t̄k̄ x̄fZ
bMivq̄t̄bi dt̄j̄ Xv̄Kv
kn̄ti i RbmsL̄v ev̄x
c̄t̄Q |

GK̄U eo m̄gm̄v̄ n̄t̄Q bMivq̄tb Av̄Aj̄ K fvi mvḡZv i ḡv Kiv nq̄ bv | G Kv̄i t̄Y w̄v̄f̄b̄b̄Mt̄i i RbmsL̄v w̄b̄v̄tm̄ el̄ḡ c̄w̄j̄ w̄f̄Z nq̄ | G t̄f̄t̄f̄ GK̄w̄aK bMt̄i i m̄v̄s̄j̄ Z c̄l̄av̄b̄ bv̄ w̄ t̄q̄ ḠK̄ bMt̄i i Db̄q̄tb̄ c̄l̄av̄b̄ t̄q̄v̄ nq̄ | t̄QvU kn̄ti i msL̄v ĀtbK̄ n̄t̄j̄ I G_uj̄ t̄Z Db̄q̄b̄ KḡR̄v̄Ē w̄t̄K̄ x̄KiY nq̄ bv | t̄k̄ x̄fZ bMivq̄t̄bi dt̄j̄ Xv̄Kv RbmsL̄v Āv̄f̄w̄eK ev̄x̄ t̄c̄t̄q̄Q Ges G ev̄x̄ i nvi Aēv̄nZ Av̄t̄Q | G Aēv̄v̄ fvi mvḡn̄xbZv̄ m̄v̄ K̄it̄Z̄ cv̄t̄ | gv̄Sv̄ix̄ I t̄QvU Av̄Kv̄t̄i i kni_uj̄ i Db̄q̄b̄_ i Z̄i cv̄t̄Q̄ bv̄ | Z̄v̄c̄w̄i M̄ḡx̄Y Av_° ēv̄ Db̄q̄b̄ K̄ti A-K̄ul̄ Kḡm̄s̄v̄b̄ m̄v̄ōi c̄p̄vm̄ t̄b̄B | M̄ḡ t̄t̄k̄ kn̄ti RbMt̄Yi v̄bv̄v̄ši Z̄v̄B Awēvḡ Pj̄ t̄Q | evsj v̇k Ac̄w̄i Kv̄i Z̄f̄v̄tē bMivq̄b̄ n̄t̄Q | kn̄ti i f̄vḡēnvi c̄x̄v̄Z̄ j̄f̄l̄ K̄it̄j̄ Z̄v̄ v̄ó̄ t̄v̄Sv̄ hv̄q̄ | v̄b̄t̄ǣ G w̄el̄qK̄ GK̄U gāḡ Av̄Kv̄t̄i i kn̄ti i t̄Km̄ ÷v̄w̄ Dc̄w̄c̄Z̄ n̄t̄j̄ |

t̄Km̄ ÷v̄w̄ : 1

isc̄j̄ kn̄ti f̄vḡ ēnvi

বাংলাদেশে অপরিমিত ভাবে
নগরায়ন হচ্ছে।

isc̄j̄ evsj v̇k i D̄Ēiv̄Ā̄t̄j̄ i GK̄U c̄p̄v̄b̄ kni | 1961 mb t̄t̄K̄ 1991 mb ch̄S̄ w̄l̄k̄ erm̄t̄i isc̄j̄ kn̄ti i RbmsL̄v̄ cv̄P̄_ Y ev̄x̄ t̄c̄t̄q̄ `B̄ j̄t̄f̄i D̄c̄ti v̄m̄t̄q̄t̄Q | 1951 mb t̄t̄K̄ 1991 mb ch̄S̄ P̄ij̄ k̄-erm̄t̄i isc̄j̄ kn̄ti i Av̄q̄Z̄b̄ 18 eM̄q̄K̄t̄j̄ w̄ḡUvi t̄t̄K̄ t̄ēt̄ō 49 eM̄q̄K̄t̄j̄ w̄ḡUvi n̄t̄q̄t̄Q | w̄K̄S̄ t̄c̄š̄i Ḡj̄ v̄Kvi c̄l̄q̄ Āt̄āR̄ f̄vḡ Aēv̄üZ̄ I K̄ul̄ f̄vḡ | kni ms̄j̄ M̄āḠj̄ v̄Kv̄ Āw̄āM̄b̄Ȳ K̄ti kn̄ti i Av̄q̄Z̄b̄ ev̄x̄ Kiv̄q̄ w̄ec̄j̄ c̄w̄iḡȲ R̄vḡ K̄ul̄ ēnvi t̄t̄K̄ b̄Mi ēn̄v̄t̄i i f̄c̄v̄š̄wi Z̄ n̄t̄Q | f̄vḡi ḡj̄ ev̄x̄ cv̄t̄Q̄ | K̄ul̄ A_°x̄v̄Z̄t̄Z̄ GB̄ aīt̄bi K̄ul̄ f̄vḡi f̄l̄q̄ Ak̄v̄v̄R̄b̄K̄ | isc̄j̄ kn̄ti i t̄f̄Z̄t̄i c̄p̄i Aēv̄üZ̄ f̄vḡ Av̄t̄Q̄ hv̄ c̄w̄i Kv̄i Z̄f̄v̄tē ēnvi K̄ti b̄Z̄b̄ R̄vḡ Āw̄āM̄b̄Ȳ ēǕ Kiv̄ m̄ē |

kni Dbqtb cwi Kiv mWK ev`evqbi Afite Mto DVtQ wev¹B emiZ | figi wbeo e`envi bv nl qvq tKv_vl nt`Q miKvix wbg¹Yi Nb mibek Ges tKv_vl _vKtQ Ae`eüZ dvKv RvqMv | kni kZKiv 42 fVM fig Kiv Avl Zvaxb hv KLBi Pvlver` nq KLBi cuZZ _vtK | kni cq:wb`vktbi me`e`v tbB | A_P G KvR mnvqK k`vgv my`i Luj , tKw tNvl Lvj Avaknvti fivU l te`Lj ntq hv`Q | kni kZKiv 8 fVM GjvKv Rfo AvtQ Rj vkq hv ms`vti Avl Zvq Avbv nqvb |

ga`g Avkuzi kni nlqv mEjl iscti Kgrs`vtbi mthvM ep`x cvqvb | tenki fVM cwi evi AcöZöwbK chqqi KgrvtÜ wbtqvrZ hv cy`Kgrs`vtbi wöqZv t`q bv | Avakvsk RbMY wöaga`weE tkYxi | MnKg¹tQvU tnvUj , ¶z`e`emv, cwi enb ktgK, wi·v, tvj vMwo Pj K, tdi l qj v BZ`w` tckvq`wi`RbMY AvZ gv`vq wbf¹kj |

Drm : `mq` iwdKj Avjg, i`gx, Öiscj kni fig e`envi l web`vm, bRi`j Bmjvg m`üw` Z, *bMivqtb ersj vt`k*, XvKv mekte`vj q, XvKv, 1996 |

kni Zj x

ersj vt`k bMivqtb Däj E`thvM`w`K nt`Q bMtii cÖS GjvKvq Aew`Z kni Zjxi weKv | KtqKw tK`xq bMtii AZ`waK RbmsL`vi Pvtci`ib kni Zjxi `i`Zi ep`x cvt`Q | bMtii cÖve ejtqi gta`A`öwZKfvte wbf¹kj kni Zj x Mto DVtQ | kni Zjxi fig mvaviYZ AvevmK, wki l ewYwR`K GjvKv wntmte e`eüZ nq | G`uj bv MÖg bv kni | kni mthvM mjeavi Dci thgb kni Zj xevmx wbf¹kj tZgvb MÖgxY Rxeb hv`v cÖvj xl GtKevti wödy ntq hvq vb | kni Zj xi gvbj bMtii Dci wbf¹ Ktib Kgrs`vb, tmev l evRvti Rb` | Avevi bMi emx wbf¹ Ktib kni Zj xi ktgRex l ¶t` Drcv`Kt`i Dci | XvKv bMtii GKw kni Zj x wRwÄivi tKm ÷vW wbtæ Dc`wcz ntjv |

tKm ÷vW : 2

kni Zj x wRwÄivi w`bvšhi hv`x (commuter)

XvKv kni `wY cwtögi mgvbn epM¹z b`x Öviv tenöZ | epM¹zi Aci cvti wRwÄiv GKw kni Zj x | epM¹zi `wY cvto cÖq Pvi wktj wgvvti tPtq Kg`xN`b`xi Zxti AvtQ 28wU b`x civcvti NvU | Avi XvKvi msj Mecxti AvtQ 18wU NvU | wRwÄiv t`tK Rj ct`_ Gme NvU w`tq kni Zj xi gvbj hvZvqvZ Ktib | Gme hv`x cÖZw` b XvKvq Avtmb wevfbreKgrvtEi Dät`k` Ges w`bvš kni Zj xtZ wdti hvb | GKw wecj RbtmZtK XvKv AvfgtL hv`vi mjeavt`1,053 wU wevfbre mibRi tbsKv hv`x cvi cvi Kti | `i`Zi wclq nt`Q hv`xi msL`v | cÖZw` b cÖq GK j ¶ evBk nvRvi gvbj G ct`_ hvZvqvZ Ktib | hvZvqvZKvxt`i Avakvsk Kvi Lvbv ktgK, w`bgRj, t`vKvb Kgprix, PvkixRex, e`emvq | w`¶v`x¹ wRwÄiv GjvKvi cÖq 24wU MÖg t`tK j ¶wmaK gvbj cÖZw` b XvKvi Kg`tj hvb l wdti Avtmb | GB hvZvqvZ wRwÄivi A`öwZK Ae`vi l cwi eZB mPbv Kti tQ | GB kni Zj xtZ Mto DvtQ tQvU tQvU Kvi Lvbv | XvKv kni e`eüZ cÖvab l wej vm mvgMöi bkj Drcv`tbi Rb` wRwÄivi cwi wPiz we`vi jvf Kti tQ | G Örov XvKvi ¶z`e`Drcv`bKvxt`i AtbtK Drcv`tbi L`Evsk wRwÄivq bvix ktgKt`i m`v ktg Öviv`Zw` Kti tbb |

bMtii cÖS GjvKvq kni Zj x Mto DVtQ | bMtii mjeavi Dci kni Zj xi gvbj wbf¹kj | Aevi bMi emx wbf¹ Ktib kni Zj xi ktgRex gvbj l Dci |

Drm : tgv Ave`j evKx l bmix Avntg`, Öw bvšhi hv`x : wRwÄiv avivpöG, bRi`j Bmjvg m`üw` Z, *bMivqtb ersj vt`k*, XvKv mekte`vj q, XvKv, 1996 |

mvi vsk

cvÖvZ`i t`kmgtn Kwl tZ hmsŠKxKiY I emYwR`KxKiY I knŕii wkí Kvi Livbq klgŕKi
msL`v ep̄x cvl qvi dtj kni-bMŕi RbmsL`v ep̄x cvq| wkŠ`evsj vt`tk Kwl tZ Drcv`b ep̄x
wksev wkí vqŕbi dtj bMivqb NŕU ub| MŕgvĀtj fignxbZv ep̄x cvl qvq gRjx klgŕKi msL`v
ep̄x cvŕ"Q| Avi A-Kwl LvZ Kvr mŕó bv nl qvq Kgvŕxb gvbj evŕvi ZvMŕ` kni wfgLx
nŕ"Ob| dtj knŕii RbmsL`v ep̄x cvŕ"Q| RbmsL`v ep̄x i mŕ½ mŕ½Z tiŕL evsj vt`tki
kni ŕj tZ AeKvWŕgvMZ I Av_ŕmvgwRK Dbqvb NŕU ub| kni ŕj Mŕo DVŕQ
Acwí Kvr ZFŕte| knŕii AvKwZ ep̄x i Rb` cŕŠ GjvKvi Kwl Rŕgi AvwMŕY Pj tQ| figi
gj` ep̄x cvŕ"Q| DŕĒ RbmsL`vi mŕ½ mŕ½Znxb nŕq coŕQ knŕii Avevmb, wkŕŕvi mŕhŕM,
we`jr, cŕmb, Kgvŕs`vbm mKj mŕhŕM mŕear| knŕi `wi`a tkŕxi gvŕŕli msL`vB tekx|
knŕii mŕhŕM mŕear msL`vMwi ö`wi`ŕ`i KŕvQ tcŠŕvq bv| kni tK tK`a Kŕi cŕŠ GjvKvq
kni Zjx Mŕo DVŕQ| kni Zjxi gvbj RbI cŕvbZ Kgvŕs`vŕbi Rb` knŕii Dci ubfŕkxj |

cvřVvEi gj`vqb

`beŷK cĕke

mVVK DĚti i cvřk VJK (v) vPy w`b -

- 1| ersj vř`tk KZ RbmsL`v _vKřj řKvb Gj vKvřK kni ej v nq?
K. Kgctřř Pvi nvRvi
L. Kgctřř wZb nvRvi
M. Kgctřř cvř nvRvi
N. RbmsL`v wov`ŷ řbB|

- 2| ersj vř`tk bMivqřbi cĕvb KviY vK?
K. knři i vKř vqb
L. Mřřg Kwł ewYwR`KxKiY
M. Mřř ř_řK knři Kgřxb gvbřř i Awřevmb
N. Mřřg A-Kwł LvřZ Křřř mřřhvM ewx

- 3| ersj vř`tk RvZřq Avřř řKvb LvřZi Ae`vb ewx cvř`Q?
K. Kwł LvřZ
L. vKřř I řmev LvřZ
M. e`emv LvřZ
N. i Bvbx LvřZ

- 4| ewVK kvmbvřřj bMi wřřřř řKvb Gj vKv`i`Zi cvř?
K. Kwł řZ mgx AAř
L. e`vKřřř mgx AAř
M. cĕkvmbK řK`^a I Kvřřřř i Bvbx řK`^a
N. Kvi`vKřř řK`^a

msuřřB cĕke

- 1| Mřřř I knři i gřř` cv`R` vK?
- 2| AZřřZ ersj v AAřř kni Mřř DVvi aib řKgb wQj ?

iPbvřj K cĕke

- 1| Acwi Kwř Zřřř bMivqřbi dřř vK ařřbi mgm`v mřř nř`Q? iscř kni weKvřřki D`vni řři Avřřřř Avřřřř vPbv Ki`b|
- 2| kni Zřři mřřř knři i m`uK` vK ařřbi? bMivqřř kni Zřřx weKvřřki`i`Zi Avřřřř vPbv Ki`b|

Môg t_łK knłi Awfemb Migration From Rural to Urban

GB cVwU cło Avclb RvbłZ cviłeb -

- Môg t_łK knłi Awfembłbi avi Yv
- MôgxY ōav° vRwbZŌ (push) l knłi i ōAvKlŌ RwbZŌ (pull) Kvi Y
- Młłgvbqłb l knłivbqłłb `elg`

Awfemb

Awfemb ev migration nłłQ `vbsłi | evm`vb e`łj i Dłłłłk` hLb gvbl GK `vb e`j Kłi bZb łKvb `vłb Mgb Kłib ZLb ZvłK Awfemb ejv nq| GB Awfemb KLłbv RbMY B`QvKZfvłe kwišcY`Dcvłq ł`Qvq Kłi _vłKb| KLłbv AwB`QvKZfvłe kwiš i łRvłi `vbsłi NłU|

`wi`ł cwiłekMZ KviłY gvblłi Aw`Zi ōgKvi młłxb nł qvq evsj vł`łki Af`šłi gvbl vbqvgZ `vbsłi Kłib| Lv` mieivłni łłZv, Amnbxq Avenvlqv l mwxgZ młłłł`i Rb` Zxe` cłZŌw` Zvi głLvgyl nłqł gvbl `vb Z`vM KiłZ eva` nb| cłZ ermi eb`v, Liv, fvgłłq, b`xfvłzb, cłKwZK wechłqi KviłY e`vcK Awfemb NłU _vłK| łRvi ceł Awfembłbi NUbv NłU 1947 młłj fvi Z wefvłmi ci hLb fvi Z ł_łK wecj msL`K RbMY ZrKvjxb cwlK`vłb l Abjłcfvłe cwlK`vb ł_łK fviłZ Awfemb Kłib| evsj vł`łki bMivqłłb Gi `i`ZcY` cłve cłeB DłłłłZ nłqłQ| evsj vł`k ivłłłł młłvłš mgZjev młł `wi`ł RbMYłK cveZ` PłEMłłg Awfemb Kiv nłqłQ| evsj vł`łki Môg l kni ł_łK ł`Qvq vbłłRł`i fivM`vbqłłbi Rb` RbMY Dbłł ł`kmgłn A`vqx l `vqxfvłe Awfemb Kłi _vłKb| evsj vł`łki A`łwłłłZ GB aiłłbi AwfembKZ RbMłłYi łcłłi Z Ał`ł wełłk l cłve AvłQ|

cwiłekMZ KviłY gvblłi Aw`Zi ōgKvi młłxb nł qvq evsj vł`łki Af`šłi gvbl vbqvgZ `vbsłi Kłib| Lv` mieivłni łłZv, Amnbxq Avenvlqv l mwxgZ młłłł`i Rb` Zxe` cłZŌw` Zvi głLvgyl nłqł gvbl `vb Z`vM KiłZ eva` nb| cłZ ermi eb`v, Liv, fvgłłq, b`xfvłzb, cłKwZK wechłqi KviłY e`vcK Awfemb NłU _vłK| łRvi ceł Awfembłbi NUbv NłU 1947 młłj fvi Z wefvłmi ci hLb fvi Z ł_łK wecj msL`K RbMY ZrKvjxb cwlK`vłb l Abjłcfvłe cwlK`vb ł_łK fviłZ Awfemb Kłib| evsj vł`łki bMivqłłb Gi `i`ZcY` cłve cłeB DłłłłZ nłqłQ| evsj vł`k ivłłłł młłvłš mgZjev młł `wi`ł RbMYłK cveZ` PłEMłłg Awfemb Kiv nłqłQ| evsj vł`łki Môg l kni ł_łK ł`Qvq vbłłRł`i fivM`vbqłłbi Rb` RbMY Dbłł ł`kmgłn A`vqx l `vqxfvłe Awfemb Kłi _vłKb| evsj vł`łki A`łwłłłZ GB aiłłbi AwfembKZ RbMłłYi łcłłi Z Ał`ł wełłk l cłve AvłQ|

Môg t_łK knłi Awfemb Kłi Avm Avakisk gvbl Dbqłb Dłv` l cwiłek Dłv`

wevfboMłel Yv ł_łK Rvbv hvq th evsj vł`łki bMivqłłbi GKwU eo Kvi Y nłłQ Môg t_łK `wi`ł cwoZ gvblłi kni wfgłL Awfemb| mgvR weAvbłł`i głZ th `vb Z`vM Kiv nq Zvi av°vRwbZ Kvi Y l th `vłbi Dłłłłk` hvłv Kiv nq Zvi AvKlŌRwbZ Kvi Y Awfembłbi gj wełq| evsj vł`łki bMivqłłbi łłłłłł Môg t_łK knłi Avm Avakisk gvbl Dbqłb Dłv` (developmental refugee) Ges cwiłek Dłv` (environmental refugee)| Dbqłb KgłłPxi dłł abx Avi l abx nłłQ Ges Mixe Avłiv Mixe nłłQ| `wi`ł, fvgnxbZv teKvi Zj BZ`w` Môg t_łK gvblłk bMigłłx Kłi| Ab` w`łk bMłłi Gj vKv ełł, Kj Kvi Lvbvq Pvkłxi młłhvM, wevfboAcłłZŌmbK łłłłłł KviłRi młłebv, e`emv emYR` BZ`w` `wi`ł wełgvłłbi BwłZ enb Kivq AvKlŌ wntmłe Awfemvł`i AvKó Kłi | knłi łLłq cłi tełP _vKvi GB młłebv wKQy łłłłłł młłZ`Kvi nłł l Avakisk łłłłłł KviłbK| Zey knłi i nıZŌmbłłZ gvbl AvKó nq| Młel Yv ł_łK Rvbv hvq th, evsj vł`łki PviwU eo bMłłi RbmsL`v ełłxi 81% nłqłQ

Af`šixY Awfemtbi KvičY (ingvb 1987)¹ ōtmUvi di Avievb ÷vWRŌ (1976)² Gi MtelYvq Rvbn hvq th, XvKvi tj vKmsL`vi 61.3% Mōg I tŌvU kni t_čK AvMZ Awfemv| ŌveAvBwWGmŌ (1988)³ Gi MtelYv t_čK Rvbn hvq th, XvKvi ew`evmxt`i 93% Awfemv Ges Gt` i 74% Mōg t_čK Awfemv KtičQb `vwi`RnbZ KvičY|

Mōgxb `vwi`a: av`vRwYZ

evsj vt`k Rwg t_čK K.L.K DrLvZ nI qvq evotŌ tŲZgRj I w`bgRt`i msL`v| fvgnxvZv ew`xi nvi RbmsL`v ew`xi nvt`i tPtqI tevk| fvgnxvZvi KvičY gRjx kčg ew`x tctj I fvgčZ Drcv`bkxj Zv cŌq `wei nI qvq evotŌ teKvi Zj| gRjxi tKvb aiveav wbgg tbB| gwUkVlv, moK wbgŲ BZ`w` wKQy cZKgmPxi dtj A`vqx KvR mŲŲ nčj I Zv ht_ō bq| AaŲvi I Abvni nt`Ō AwaKvstki wBZ`m`x| PvIvert` AvaybK cčy³ abx K.L.Ki ctŲ hvq| tčvIv LvčZ wbtqwrZ K.L.K cwi evt`i fiY tcvI tbi Rb` chŲ dmj cvb bv| Z_wc Zv` ičK dmj wep q KičZ nq FY cwičkva, wPwKrmv I evRvt`i cŌqvRt`b| eb`v, Liv, b`x fvčt`bi gZ cŌKvZK `thvŲMi tgvKvčjv KičZ Zviv AcviM nb| GB `vwič`i Ae`vq mvgwRK eŪb wkv_j ntq cto| MōgxY mgvtR weibgg m`uK`cčv nbq DčV| gL` ntq DčV bM` A_ŌI gpvdv| cwi ewi K Rxečb bvtg wechč| thš` cwi evi tft` hvq| ŌŌ wečiva ew`x cvq| bvix wbhčZb ew`x cvq| weevn weč`Ō` NtU| mŲŲ nq wbi včEvnxvZv| Mōtgi ŲlavZ`RbčMvŲ Ab`vq Awepvt`i tKvb b`vh` wePvi I cvq bv| evi evi FY wbtq meŲš nq| Gfvte A_ŲwZK `vwi`a; KgŲvZv, Rwg t_čK wev`QbčZv, Ųlav I wbhčZbgj K Ae`vq Mōtgi Afvex gvby wbt`KiY tVKvčZ kni wfgčL hvčv Kti |

fvgnxvZv I KgŲvZv gvbyčK Mōg t_čK kni i w`čK tVtj t`q|

bMči i Ae`v t AvKIŲRwbZ

evsj vt`k Mōg-bMi Awfemtbi bMči i AvKIŲYi KvŲRi fvgKv tbB| KviY Mōtg `vwi`a ZwoZ ntq Afvex gvby bMči Avtm| Mōtgi KgŲvZv, Afve, wbhčZb I cŌv`c`Zv gvbyčK bMči i w`čK tVtj t`q| bMči i KgŲwZ, mčhvM mjeav, Pwin`v MōgxY RbčMvŲčK bMči tUčb Avčb bv| Z_wc bMi ŲlgZv, m`u` I Dbqčt`bi tK`č`j nI qvq GK aičt`bi AvKIŲ`Zwi nq| cčZ I AvcvZ KgŲs`včt`bi m`tebv, wbi včEvi Avkv bMči i AvKIŲYi Ab`Zg Dcv vb| bMči i wKQy wki cčZŲvb, eo evRvi I miKvix temiKvix tŲtŲ Pvkix AvčQ| Gme KvičY Kvi wKfvte AvKIŲYi Ae`v`Zwi nq| Zte wKQy tŲtŲ thgb tcvkv wki we`vi jvf Kivq G wki wU bvix kčgKt`i Rb` AvKIŲ wntmte KvR Kti| aviYv Kiv nq th miKvix temiKvix cčZŲvčb Pvkixi mčhvM AvčQ| Kj Kvi Lvbvq kčgčK Rb` KvR AvčQ| evRvt`i e`emv ewYt`R`i mčhvM AvčQ| mtečwi AcčZŲŲwK tŲtŲ DcvRt`bi I Avč KgŲs`včt`bi (self employment) mčhvM bMči AčbK tevk| e`vsK I A_ŲwZK cčZŲvb t_čK FtYi mčhvM kni tevk| wKŲv I cčKŲY jvf Kti wbtRt`i kčgi Dch³ Kti Mto tZujvi mjeav kni tevk| Gme KvičY mnvq mčj nxb MōgxY RbMY I A`Ų kčkw³ tKej wbtRt`i `wU nvtZi kw³ I KwqK kčgi Dci fimv Kti bMči i A_ŲwZčZ evPvi tPŲv Pvj vq|

knii Avč KgŲs`včt`bi mčhvM gvbyčK Mōg t_čK kni Awfemtbi Rb` AvKIŲ Kti |

¹ Rahman, "An Improvement of National Growth Rate Method for Estimation of Internal Migration", vol xv, No. 2, BIDS, Dhaka, 1987.

² CUS, Squatters in Bangladesh cities, cus, Dhaka, 1976.

³ weAvBwWGm, AvŲvi Mv ew`evmxt`i Av`mvgwRK Ae`vi Dci Rix, weAvBwWGm, XvKv, 1988|

bMi `wi`a: `wi`f`i `vbsi

Kwl t`tK D`Q` ntq I MlgxY A`DmZtZ VvB bv tctq th RbtMvOx bMtI `vbsi Ktib Zvt`i Avi QfU cvj vevi c`_v`fK bv| GK `wi`a`t`fK Zviv wv`f`j`B nb Ab` `wi`f`i hvi ifc wfbq dtj bMtI i A`DmZi kZ cOZKj Zvi g`fL Zviv nb KwVb msMlgx| wKs` `wi`f`i Ae`v KwUtq DVtZ Zviv AwAKvsk t`f`f`I e`_`nb| bMi `wi`f`i RxeKvi Rb` Kg`L`R tbb AcOZ`mbK t`f`f`I | cwi`enb klgK, w`bgRj, Kvi Lv`v klgK, nKvi, M`nKgx, th`sbKgx, w`f`f`v`E BZ`w` nvRvi iKtgi tckvq Zviv wbtq`wRZ nb| bMtI i e`tqi Zj bvq Gme tckvq gRjx AZ`S Kg I Awb`OZ| bMi `wi`f`i c`avb mgm`v AwZwi`3 k`gNbZj| Avtqi `f`Zv (cvj, 1992)|⁴ KviqK k`tgi AZ`w`ak e`envi I `f` Avtqi `i`Y KgRw`3`K cpi`xvi Kitz e`_`nl`qvq Zvt`i Avq`v`j Kt`g hvq| bMi `wi`f`i AwAKvsk 60 ermi eqm chS t`c`Ov`fZ cvt`ib bv| bMi `wi`f`i met`P`q mnt`R th tckvq wbtq`wRZ nt`Z cvt`i Zv wi`v I tVj v Pvj v`bv| G tckwU met`P`q k`gNb| `w`bK Mto hv DcvR`B Kti Zv w`tq `z` t`c`k kw`3 cpi`xvi Kiv m`e` nq bv| L`e mnt`RB Zviv kw`3`nxb ntq KgP`iZ ntq hvb|

Mlg t`fK kn`i Awfem`bi
ci `wi`a`mbi mb nq bv|
MlgxY `wi`a`vbsi Z ntq
bMi `wi`a`m`o Kti|

MtelYv t`fK Rvbv hvq th, evsjv`t`ki bMtI emevmKvix`i 44% `wi`f`ixgvi b`x`P evm Ktib Avi GB msL`v Mlgemx`i t`f`f`I 48%| bMtI i w`b`e Avtqi g`v`b| evm Ktib ew`t`Z| tmL`v`b kZKiv `B`f`vM evox w`b w`tq `Zix| Avi AwAKvsk evk, P`vUvB, cvj w`b w`tq A`v`q`f`v`te `Zix Scov| el`K`v`j g`g`v I c`w`b`t`Z GB me Scov emev`mi A`th`M`i ntq c`to| m`v`v`i`Y kn`ii AvevmK G`j`v`K`v` GK i c`OZ Rbem`w`Zi NbZj w`P`S`v Kiv nq 50-200Rb| A`_P Xiv kn`ii ew` G`j`v`K`v` Rbem`w`Zi NbZj GK i c`OZ 1,000-2,000 Rb| bMtI b`v`v`v`i`b`i e`w`a te`w`k `L`v`w`t`j I `v`f`t`mevi e`e`v Ac`Z`j | w`e`f`b`r`e`w` Rix`c Rvbv hvq th ew`t`Z eq`c` I w`k`i g`Z`i nvi RvZ`x`q g`Z`i n`v`i`i t`P`q te`w`k| MlgxY g`Z`i n`v`i`i P`v`B`t`Z`I ew` g`Z`i nvi te`w`k| W`v`q`w`i` q`v, Av`g`v`k`q, U`v`B`d`t`q`W, R`u`O`m, g`v`t`j`w`i` q`v BZ`w` t`i`v`t`M ew`evm`M`Y ni`v`t`g`k`v`B Av`p`v`S` nb| w`k`f`v I hvZ`v`q`v`Z`i LiP AwAK ni`q`v`q ew`evm`x`i`i c`t`f`j w`k`f`v M`b`Y Kiv mgm`v`R`b`K| bMtI R`x`e`b h`v`c`t`b`i e`q AwAK ni`q`v`q evm`v`b, hvZ`v`q`v`Z, R`j`v`b`x BZ`w` Ave`w`k`K e`q Kivi ci Lv` M`h`t`Y`i t`f`f`I LiP K`g`v`t`Z nq| Ziv`O`v`v bMtI Lv`t`i LiP I A`t`b`K te`w`k| c`OZ`g`v` cvj (1992)⁵ bMi `wi`a`MtelYvq `L`v`b th, bMi `wi`f`i v Mlg `wi`f`i Zj bvq 34 Mlg te`w`k Lv` M`b`Y Kitz`b w`K`S` K`v`j ix M`h`t`Y`i cwi`g`v`Y c`O`q mg`v`b| A`_P bMi `wi`f`i R`x`e`K`v AR`B Kitz nq AwZ`g`v`t`v`q t`c`k`x`k`w`3 LiP Kti hvi cpi`x`v`i`i Rb` AwAK K`v`j ix c`O`q`v`R`b|

Mlg t`fK w`b`i`v`c`E`vi m`U`v`t`b tei ntj I bMtI `wi`f`i w`b`i`v`c`E`v w`g`t`j bv| ew`i Nievoxi `e`P Ae`v I hLb ZLb ew` D`t`Q`f`i Kvi`f`Y bMi `wi`f`i AvevmK w`b`i`v`c`E`v`n`x`b`Z`v m`p`o` nq| G`O`v`v w`t`K `v`K`vi Rb` w`b`q`w`Z g`v`v`b`t`i w`t`Z nq A`_P m`v`g`w`R`K w`b`i`v`c`E`v`n`x`b`Z`v ew` R`x`e`t`b`i w`b`Z`m`l`x`| b`v`ix Acni`Y, al`P` c`j`t`i Zj bvq `wi`a`b`v`i`x`K P`ig w`b`i`v`c`E`v`n`x`b`Z`v`q t`v`t`j t`q| bMtI i `wi`a`b`v`ix AwAKZi `wi`a`t`e`v`S`v` enb Ktib| Kvi`Y ew` G`j`v`K`v`q t`f`S`Z AeK`v`w`t`g`v`i m`p`e`a`v bv `v`K`v`q b`v`i`x`i` M`p`v`j`x K`v`t`R AwAK k`g` w`t`Z nq| m`v`c`OZ`K`K`v`t`j bMi `wi`f`i g`t`a` b`v`ix- c`avb cwi`e`v`i`i msL`v` ew`x` cvt`Q| Mlg AZ`v`P`v`i w`b`h`f`Z`t`b`i w`k`K`vi ntq I w`e`t`q

⁴ cvj c`OZ`g`v, bMi `wi`a, Ai`b`x` c`K`i`k`b`x, Xiv, 1992|
⁵ cvj c`OZ`g`v, c`O, ³|

tf¹/₂ hvl qvq AwaK msL`K brix kn^{ti} Avm^tQb Kv^tRi D^ti`k`| Zviv Pig`wi`te`vq Av^tQb (Bmj vg, 1996)|⁶ bMi`wi`f`i AwaKst^tki c^t¶ GK w b Avq tivRMvi bv K^ti w^tK _vKv m[±]e bq| A_P ivR%^ωWZK Kv^tY ev`xN^QU^tZ Zv^t`i K^tg^φ evRvi c⁰qB eÜ n^tq hvq| ZLb M⁰tg Av^l xq`R^tbi Kv^tQ P^tj hvl qv e`ZxZ Zv^t`i ev^tvi Dcvq _v^tK bv|

M⁰tgvb^qb I bM^tivb^qt^b `elg`

GB cvW t⁺ₜK Avcbv^v Rvb^tZ t^ti^tQb th M⁰g-bMi Awfemb bMiv^tbi GKwJ eo KviY| GUvI Rvb^tZ t^ti^tQb th bMimgn cwi Kwⁱ Zfv^te weKvk jvf Ki^tQ bv Ges bM^ti i AvKI^φ ZZUv Kv^tRi bq|

GZ`m^tZi M⁰tgvb^qb I bM^tivb^qt^b e`vcK`elg` weivRgvb| M⁰g I kn^{ti} i Mn⁻vj xi Avq e`q t⁺ₜK G`elg` tevSv hvq| M⁰gi Mn⁻vj xi Avq kn^{ti} i ew⁻i Mn⁻vj xi t^tq 30% - 45% Kg| kn^{ti} i ew⁻i Zj bvq M⁰gi Mn⁻vj xi Mo e`q 4.0% Kg (bv^tRg, 1994)|⁷ kn^{ti} i Zj bvq M⁰g teKvi Zj A^tbK teik| kn^{ti} gRj xi ni AwaK nl qvq M⁰g t⁺ₜK kn^{ti} `v^tšⁱ n^tq _v^tK| M⁰g fivgnxbZv ep^x cvl qvq μgvMZ teKvi Zj ep^x t^tZ _v^tK Ges k^tgi gj` m⁻v n^tZ _v^tK| t^tSZ AeKw^tgv I mvgwRK m^th^vM m[±]ear kn^{ti} teik| Db^zgv^tbi w^k¶v I`v⁻ t^tmev M⁰g tbB ej^tj B P^tj | w^ki gZi ni t⁺ₜK Zv tevSv hvq| M⁰g w^ki gZi ni c⁰Z 1,000 R^tbi g^ta` 105 Rb Ges kn^{ti} 84 Rb| t⁺ₜki tgvU RbmsL`vi 80% M⁰g e^m Ki^tj I mi Kvix e`t^qi 50% t^tKej M⁰g e`q nq| Ab^wₜK kn^{ti} i 20% RbmsL`vi Rb` e`q nq mi Kvix Lv^tZi 50%| e^t`w^kK m^vn^vh`i w^msn f^vM e`q nq kn^{ti} vb^qt^b| cwi enb, w^ki I Ryj vbxLv^tZ th wecj e^t`w^kK m^vn^vh` e`q nq Zv^tZ kni e^mxivB DcKZ nb| Kwⁱ Lv^tZ I cj w[±]Db^qb Lv^tZ c⁰q 17% e^t`w^kK m^vn^vh` e`q nq, h^w I Kwⁱ t⁺ₜKB Av^tm RvZxq Av^tqⁱ w^msn f^vM|

M⁰tgvb^qb I bM^tivb^qt^b e`vcK`elg` weivRgvb|

mvi vsk

b^vbv Kv^tY gv^bl t⁺ₜki t^tZ^ti I ev^tti`v^tšⁱ K^ti _v^tKb| KL^tbv B`Ovq, KL^tbv AbB`Ovq I KL^tbv mi Kvix w^mx^tšⁱ ersj vt`k Awfemb N^tU| ersj vt`k M⁰gxY RbM^tYi g^ta` `wi`^a Rb^tM⁰xⁱ msL`v e`vcK n^vti ep^x c^t¶Q| ersj vt`k kn^{ti} Awfemb K^ti Avm^v AwaKvsk gv^bl Db^qb D⁰v` I cwi`tek D⁰v` kn^{ti} i m^th^vM m[±]ear Kvⁱ w^bKf^te n^tj I M⁰gi w^bt`^aRbMY^tK AvKI^φ K^ti | w^kS`kn^{ti} Kv^tRi m^th^vM bv _vKvq AwaKvsk gv^bl k^tgNb I Act⁰Z⁰mbK Kv^tR w^bt^qw^mRZ nb| kn^{ti} G^tm Zv^t`i`wi`^a we^tgvPb nq bv| `wi`^a v^tšⁱ nq gv^l| kn^{ti} i ew⁻t^z gv^bl i gZⁱni M⁰gi t^tq teik| Acwi Kwⁱ Z bMiv^qb t^vKv^tvi Rb` M⁰g A-Kwⁱ Lv^tZ K^tg^{is} v^b m[±]o Kiv c⁰qvRb| w^kS`ersj vt`k mi Kvⁱ M⁰gi Zj bvq kni Db^qt^bi Rb` AwaK e`q K^ti b|

⁶ Islam Nazrul, *Dhaka From City to Mega city*, Department of Geography, Dhaka University, 1996
⁷ Nazem NI, *Rural-Urban Interaction in Bangladesh, A Study of Linkages Between Villages and small Urban Centres*, unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, University of Durham, UK, 1994.

cvṫVēi gj ṫqb

ṫbe⁹³K cĳæ

mṫVK cĳkē cvṫk ṫUK (ṫ) ṫPy ṫ b

- 1| evsj ṫṫki mgZj evmx evOvj xMY ṫK Kvi ṫY cveZṫ PÆMŏtg Aṫfēvmb Kṫi b?
K. cveZṫ PÆMŏtgi Dbz Aeṫvi AvKI PṫY
L. cveZṫ PÆMŏtg Kgŏs ṫṫbi mṫhvM ṫKvq
M. evsj ṫṫ k i ṫŏŏi ṫmṫṫṫṫ
N. cĳKṫZK cui ṫṫki AvKI PṫY

- 2| Mŏg ṫṫK knṫi Aṫfēvmb Kṫi Avmv ṫbæ Avṫqi gṫbj Rb ṫKv ṫq evm Kṫi b?
K. mi Kvi x Dṫṫ ṫṫM ṫbvgZ fēṫb
L. GṫRI KZṫ ṫbvgZ fēṫb
M. ṫṫṫṫ kx mṫṫṫṫṫ ṫbvgZ AvēvM K Gj ṫKvq
N. eṫṫ Gj ṫKvq

- 3| mṫavi YZ knṫi AvēvM K Gj ṫKvq GKṫi cŏZ RbēvMZi NbZj KZ nṫ qv ṫfṫeK eṫj
ai v nq?
K. 1,000 - 1,500 Rb
L. 1,000 --2,000 Rb
M. 400 - 500 Rb
N. 50 - 200 Rb

- 4| Mŏg ṫṫK knṫi Aṫfēvmb Kṫi Avmv gṫbj Rb ṫKvb ai ṫbi KṫR ṫṫx ṫbṫqvM Z nṫ
ṫṫKb?
K. PṫKṫi x
L. Kvi Lvbvi kŏgK
M. kṫNb Avṫ Kgŏs ṫvb
N. eṫṫemv

mṫvṫṫB cĳæ

- 1| Aṫfēvmb ṫK? Aṫfēvṫṫbi ai b ṫK ṫK?
2| avṫv RṫbZ ṫ AvKI Pṫ RṫbZ Kvi Y ej ṫZ ṫK ṫṫvSṫq?

i Pbvj K cĳæ

- 1| Mŏgṫṫb ṫ bMṫivṫṫṫbi gṫṫ ṫK ai ṫbi ṫelgṫ Kiv nq? Mŏg ṫṫK knṫi Aṫfēvmb
eṫ Kivi Rbṫ ṫK ai ṫbi Dbṫb bṫṫZ MŏY Kiv cĳqvRb eṫj Avcṫb gṫṫ Kṫi b?
2| Mŏg ṫṫK knṫi Aṫfēvṫṫbi dṫj ṫKfṫṫe ṫwi ṫṫ ṫṫvbvṫṫi nq? bMi ṫwi ṫṫej ṫZ ṫK
ṫṫvSṫq Avṫj ṫPbv Ki ṫbṫ

XvKv kn̄ti i weKvk Growth of Dhaka City

GB cVwU cto Arcwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- bMi cwi Kí bv m=útk[©]avi Yv
- XvKv bM̄ti i cwi eZ[®]bi aib
- XvKvevmt[®] i mgvRwP̄T̄
- XvKvq emevt̄mi mgm̄v

bMi cwi Kí bvi avi Yv

ejv n̄tq _vtK th cōPxb kni _wj i Zj bvq eZ[®]vb Kvt̄ji cvōvtZ[®]i AvaybK bMi _wj KVVt̄gvMZ tm̄š`thP w̄K t[®]tk KrimZ | cōPxb t̄gtm̄vctUngqv w̄Ksev w̄m̄Úz m̄f[®]Zvi ni àv ḡt̄nt̄Av[®]vt̄ivi bMi w̄Qj ce[©]cwi K̄w̄ Z | tm̄`t̄j AvaybK cwiōgv bMi _wj evRvi M̄to DVv I evRvi e[®]vcbvi m̄t̄½ h̄y[®] | bM̄ti i Mōt̄bi bv[®]w̄bKZv I bMi evm̄xi emevt̄mi m̄peavi w̄ K[®]_wj GLb Avi _i“Zj cvq bv | bMi weKvt̄ki GB wek[®],Lj vi t̄cQ̄tb th kw[®] K̄vR K̄ti Zv evRvi A[®]W̄Z ev “invisible hand of the market” i bMi cwi Kí bwe[®]MY bMi MV̄t̄bi Rb[®] w̄Zb̄w̄ wel̄t̄qi Dci _i“Zj Av̄t̄i vc K̄ti _vt̄Kb-K̄vR-mgvR-f̄uge[®]envi |

AvaybK cwiōgv bMi _wj evRvi M̄to DVvi m̄t̄½ h̄y[®] | bMi evm̄xi emevt̄mi m̄peavi w̄ K[®]_wj _i“Zj cvq bv |

cōgZ: m̄te[®]P ms[®]L[®] I wef̄b̄ec[®]K̄vi K̄vR m̄jō K̄ti Zv[®]i Ašm̄=útk[®]P w̄tk j[®] t̄i t̄L bM̄ti i f̄ig e[®]envi Kiv cōqvRb |

w̄ZxqZ: bM̄ti wef̄b̄ec[®]kv I Av̄t̄qi gv̄b̄t̄i Rb[®] m̄vgw̄RK, m̄v[®]w̄ZK I ey[®]ew̄EK m̄th̄vM m̄jōi w̄tk j[®] ivLv cōqvRb |

ZZxqZ: bM̄ti i f̄ig e[®]env̄t̄i i mgq[®]vcZ[®] I t̄f̄SZ K̄vVt̄gv Ggb̄fv̄te w̄bg[®] Kiv cōqvRb thb m̄te[®]P e[®]envi Kiv m̄=ē nq | GKB m̄t̄½ Zv̄tk n̄tZ n̄te[®] k[®]Z m̄y[®] i |

XvKv kni M̄to DVvi Bw̄Znvm

XvKv e[®]emv ew̄Y[®]t̄R[®]i kni w̄nt̄m̄te M̄to D̄t̄v cōPxb Kvt̄j B | m̄B̄g I Aóg kZv̄x̄tZ XvKv GKw̄U t̄QvU kni w̄nt̄m̄te L[®]vZ w̄Qj e[®]t̄j R̄vbn hvq | beg kZv̄x̄tZ Gw̄U ōte[®]lv̄j v̄ō b̄vt̄g cwi w̄PZ w̄Qj | ejv n̄tZv XvKv n̄t[®]Q ōev̄nv̄b̄ev̄Rvi I t̄Z̄av̄b̄w̄m̄j i kni ō | eZ[®]vt̄bi c̄jvb XvKvi t̄av̄j v̄BLvj I Gi m̄ub̄K̄t̄U ev̄Oj vev̄Rvi I tek K̄t̄qK̄w̄U ev̄Rvi w̄b̄t̄q GB cōPxb kn̄ti i e[®]w̄B w̄Qj | XvKvi weKvt̄k GKw̄U _i“Z̄c̄Y[®]Aa[®]vq w̄Qj t̄gv̄N̄j t̄ i kv̄mb̄K̄vj | 1608 m̄vt̄j XvKv ev̄sjv w̄envi I D̄w̄ol[®]vi iv̄Rav̄bx w̄Qj | ZLb Gi b̄vḡKiY Kiv nq R̄v̄nv̄x̄i bMi | XvKvi e[®]emv ew̄Y[®]R[®] GZ c̄h̄vi j̄vf K̄ti th Gw̄U `w̄Y[®] ce[®]Gw̄k̄qvi m̄t̄½ e[®]emv ew̄Y[®]t̄R[®]i GKw̄U _i“Z̄c̄Y[®]ms̄th̄vM t̄K[®] n̄tq D̄t̄v | met̄P̄t̄q m̄eY[®]R̄vj w̄Qj kv̄t̄q[®]v Lv̄t̄bi kv̄mb̄vgj (1662-1679) | XvKvi Rbms[®]L[®]v ZLb `k j[®] n̄tq hvq | ZLb XvKv we[®]t̄k̄j eo kni _wj i GKw̄U t̄Z cwi YZ nq | K̄vVt̄gvMZ w̄K t[®]tk XvKv ZLb m̄jw̄w̄Z kni | Gi c̄k̄v̄m̄b̄K t̄K[®] w̄Qj `m̄K̄ w̄N̄t̄i | e[®]emv t̄K[®] M̄to

প্রাচীণকালে ঢাকা ব্যবসা বাণিজ্যের শহর হিসেবে গড়ে উঠে। ঢাকাকে বলা হতো 'বাহান্ন বাজার ও তেপ্তান্ন গলির শহর'।

DtV epOM/2v b`xi cvti PtK | wefbaeitbi KuUj mkt`i weKvk NtU evsj verRvi I PtK |
wbæweE` gvbj evm Ktib tajvb Kvj GjvKvq | GLvtbB XvKvi Aw`evmx OKwEÖiv emevm
Ktib | weEkvj xt`i evm`vb Mto DtV epOM/2v b`xi cvo tNt | evm`vb wQj AZ`S cwi Kwí Z
I gvKomvi Rvtj i gZ we`Z I mshy³ | cÖZwU cvovtK ej v ntZv Ögnj w-Ges gnj v-wj wefbae
Mwj Öviv mshy³ wQj | `yU eo iv`v wQj gnj w- evBti Ges Mwj wj iv`vi mt½ hy³ wQj |
hšPwj Z hvbevb bv `vKvq cvtq nvlvb wQj hvZvqvZi cävB Dcvq | Zte tNvovi Mmwi
cPj b wQj | Avi `^Qj Nti bixt`i Avakvsk cvj wktZ Pto evoxi evBti tei ntZb |
Gfrte gnj vevmt`i mæúwZ I thš_Zv bMi evmxi GK aiti cÖZi qv ev defense `Zix
Kti | cieZxPZ bMi evmxi Avevmtbi tPti GB thš_Zv I cÖZi qvi weiqwU nwi tq hvq Ges
Avevmtb wek, Lj v t` Lv t` q |

Jcwbtekk kumbgtj XvKv
i`Zi nviq | Kvi Y KvPvgj
i Bvxi Rb` Kj KvZv e`i
i`ZcY`ntq DtV |

Jcwbtekk kumbgtj XvKv i`Zi nviq | Kvi Y KvZv eUkt`i KvQ KvPvgj i Bvxi
e`i wntmte i`ZcY`ntq DtV | Zte Bó BwUqv tKvævbx kvmtbi ci eUk ivRZKvtj XvKvi
mt½ bviqbMÄi tij l tq thvMvthvM cÖZwÖZ nq | bviqbMÄ b`xe`i n l qvq G thvMvthvM
eUkt`i mæú` j fti Bb` cÖqRbxq ntq DtV | XvKvi weKvtk 1905 mtj i e½f½ I
XvKvtK ce½ I Avmtgi ivRavbx Kivi tNvYv i`ZcY` 1905 t_tK 1911 chS XvKvi
RbmsL`v 21% ep`x cvq Ges Gi e`emv emYR` I mgw`x j vf Kti | wKŠ` 1911 mtj e½f½ i`
nevi ci XvKv ivRavxi ghP`v nviq Ges XvKvi weKvtk `wei Zv tbtg Avtm | eUk kumbgtj
igbv GjvKv wK`v tK` wntmte Mto DtV | 1921 mtj XvKv wekpe` vj q cÖZwÖZ nq | Gmgq
2wU Kvi Lvov Mto DtV- GKwU Mv`mi I AciwU Avqte` JI tai | eUk kumbgtj Ebwesk
kZvæxtZ ga`weE` tkYx weKvk j vf Kti | Zvt`i AvevmtK GjvKv Mto DtV cvjv XvKvi
AvfRvZ GjvKv wj tZ | wKŠ` evox `Zixi ÷vBtj cwi eZB j qYxq ntq DtV | cte`mvavi Y
gvbj Rb Gme GjvKvq iv`vi avi ati Kvta Kva wgvj tq mv`vgvUv aiti evox `Zix Ki tZb |
Gi cwi etZ`bZb ga`weE` tkYxi evox wj `Zix nq cÖZ`KwU c_wK | tek eo, Kvi `KvhgE`Z,
emvb tNiv I dvKv RvqMv wbtq Zvt`i evox wbgZ nq | igbv GjvKvq cKvmtbK tK` Mto
Dvq eUk KgRZMY I Zvt`i mt½ KgPZ evOvj xMY b`xi cvo tQto igbvq AvevmtK GjvKv
Mto tZvtj b I cvÖvtZ`i AbKiy evox `Zix Ktib | D`PweE`MY KgemwZcY`GjvKvq emwZ
`vcb Ktib | eUkiv webv` tbi Rb` tim tKvm`gq`vb `Zix Kti Ges GtK tK` Kti cK`
iv`vl `Zix nq |

1947 mtb t`k wefvMti ci fviZ t_tK gmnj gvb`i `vbsti Kvi Y XvKvi RbmsL`v ep`x
cvq | ce`cmk`vbi ivRavbx wntmte XvKvi we`wZ NtU | tZRMwU , tcv`tMj v I nuRvi xevtM
wKQyKj Kvi Lvov Mto DtV | bviqbMÄ, U½x, tNvovmj GjvKvq cvU, Kvco I mvi mn tek wKQy
wk`i Mto DtV | cteP` b`vq qvgZvxb weEevbiv cKvmtbK tKt` i KvQvKwQ evm Ktib | Zvt`i
Rb` wKQymi Kvix evmFeb wbgZ nq | weEevbt`i Rb` avbgwU GjvKvq bZb emwZ Mto DtV |
wbæweE`iv cteP` b`vq cvjv XvKvq evm Ktib Ges ivtqi evRvi I Kvi ivb evRvti wKQywk`i
kigK emwZ Mto DtV | D`PweE`t`i emevtmi GjvKvq Rvgi gj` I evox fvor AZ`waK te to
hvq I Rxebhv`vq cvÖvZ` AbKiy cÖek Kti | Gfrte Avevmtbi gva`tg wefbaetkYxi mvgvov
wPwYZ ntq hvq |

ঢাকার পরিকল্পিত উন্নয়নে
প্রশাসনিক, আবাসিক
বাণিজ্যিক ইত্যাদি এলাকা
পৃথক ভাবে গড়ে তোলা হয়।

XvKvi cwi eZ`bi aib
evsj vt`tki `faxbZvi ci GKwU `faxb ivtöf ivRavbx wntmte XvKvi RbmsL`v I AvqZb `Z
ep`x tctZ `vK | 1959 mtb meÖUg XvKvi Dbq` tbi Rb` GKwU gvövi c`w` `Zix Kiv nq |

Avi 1956 mtb XvKv Dbqab Uó (DIT) MmZ nq hv eZvrb ivRDK ev ivRavb Dbqab KZŕŕ| bvtg cwi wPZ| ZLb t_ŕK cŕZŕmbK chŕŕq cwi Kur Zfvte XvKvi Dbqab KgRvÜ`ii` nq| GtZ`ŕxbZv DËi Kvtj XvKvq tgvUvU wZb aitbi Dbqab Pj tZ`vtK| GK, cjbv XvKvq`ŕxbfvte Mto DVv RbemiZ tmfvteB we`Z I NbemiZcY`ntZ`vtK|`ß, cŕZŕmbK chŕŕq thme Gj vKv Dbqab Kiv nq tmLvrb fvgi e`envti c_KxKiY bxiZ AbyniY Kiv nq| thgb cŕkvmibK, AvevmK, emYwR`K, Kj Kvi Lvbv BZ`w` c_K fvte wfbewfbæ Gj vKvq Mto tZjv nq| tKvb GKw Gj vKvq R`wguZK k„Ljv AbyniY Kti iv`v,`vj vb meikQyGKB gvtc I AvKuztZ wbgŕŕ Kiv nq Ges GKB tkYxi gvby emeivm KivtK`ŕfweK Kti tZjv nq| wZb, AcŕZŕmbKfvte knŕii cŕš I cŕZŕmbK wbgŕŕYi gvtS gvtS e`vcK nvti`vj vb tKwv I iv`v wbgŕŕ nq hvi Awakvsk AwbqugZ I wek„Lj| temiKvix Dt`vtM e`emv emYR` I Kvi Lvbvq Drcv`b ep`x cvl qvq XvKv knŕii AmsL` t`vKvb I tQvU tQvU wki cŕZŕmb Qwotq cto| i bvbvgtlx tcvkvKukí weKv jvf Kivq XvKvi meP GgbwK AvevmK Gj vKvmgtnI MvtgŕUm Kvi Lvbv Mto DtV| Mŕg t_ŕK XvKvq wecj Awfvevmb NtU wKš`wæ Avtqi gvbtI Rb` AvevmK e`e`v Kiv nq bv| GgZve`vq XvKvq mKj dvkv`vb,`vj vb tKwv I Awdm Av`vj tZi cvtk Mto DVv ew`tZ`ŕ Avtqi KgRvex gvby Avtk LjR tbb| e`w³MZ Dt`vtM fvig Dbqab Kti eüZjv weikó`vj vb wbgŕŕ tek jvfRbK e`emvq cwi YZ nq| GQovon cvŕŕZ`i weŕkI Z Avtgui Kvi AbjKiŕY XvKvq AŕbK kwcs tmLvi I Mto DtV| Gme fvig DbqabKvix`i Pvtc tKvb`ŕ Avtqi fvig gvuj tKi cŕŕ tKŕ`³emev Kiv wKsev cjbv tVb ÷vBtj i evox wUwKtq ivLv mæ nq bv| Gfvte wæweË gvby tK`³t_ŕK weZwvZ ntq Pj hvb knŕii cŕš| XvKv knŕii cŕšI GLb fvig DbqabKvixiv AvevmK Gj vKv`Zix KiŕQ| Gfvte wæweË`i mŕi thŕZ nq Avtiv Awak cŕš|

tkYx`elg`

XvKvq bMivq b`ii`i Kvtj wefwbæKtq`wbtqwmRZ gvby wefwbægnj vq evm Kitz`ii` Ktib| Kg`ag` Av`Awj KZvi wfvE`tZ GB wefvRb NtU| JcibteikK kvmbvgtj BDŕivcxq kvmk tMvŕx GŕKevti c_K AvevmK Gj vKvq evm Ktib| kvmk tMvŕxi mŕ½ mæü³ evOvjxivi BDŕivcxqt`i KvQvKwQ c_K Gj vKvq emevm Ktib| Zte wefwbæctkv, mvgwRK ghP`v I Aw`R m½wZmæubægvby GKB AvevmK Gj vKvq wgtj wgtk`vKvi cËYZvi mŕx nq| GŕK mixed middle class ejv hvq| GKB Gj vKvq wefwbætkYxi gvby wgtj wgtk`vKvi weiq cŕZŕmbK cwi Kíbvq „i`Zi cvq bv| cŕZŕmbKfvte Dbqab cwi Kíbvq GKB aitbi Av`© mvgwRK MŕcŕK GKB Gj vKvq emevmi Dt`vM wbtZ`Lv hvq| Gfvte`ŕxbZv DËi Kvtj XvKvi Avevmb e`e`vq tkYx`elg``úó ntq DtV|

XvKv bMŕii fvig gvuj Kivvi aib j`ŕ| Kiŕj t`Lv hvq th XvKvevmt`i 70% XvKvq tKvb fvigi gvuj K bb (Bmj vg, 1996)|¹ A_P XvKvi RbmsL`vi gvŕ 10% hvŕ`i mevB D`PweË tkYxfi³, Zviv tgvU fvigi 60% Gi gvuj K| emiZi RbmsL`v NbtZi w`ŕK j`ŕ| Kiŕj I t`Lv hvq th KZŕŕŕi bMi cwi KíbvŕZi weËevbŕ`i Rb` G e`e`vi cŕŕ mg_ŕ AvtQ| Ab` w`ŕK XvKvi msL`v Mwi ô`wi`³RbtMvŕx Zvi gvŕb tgvU RbmsL`vi 70% evm Ktib XvKvi tgvU fvigi 20% G cPË RbmsL`v NbtZi gŕa`| D`PweË I ga`weË wgtj RbmsL`vi 30% XvKvi tgvU fvigi 80% e`envi Ktib| iay ZvB bq miKvix cwi Kíbv Abyvŕti fvŕjv gvŕbi Rvg

XvKv bMŕii fvigi gvuj Kivvi weig`gj K| DPPweË I ga`weË 30% XvKvi tgvU fvigi 80% Gi gvuj K|

¹ Islam Nazrul, Dhaka From city to Mega city, Department of Geography , Dhaka University, 1996.

D"pweĒt`i KvġQ evRvi gġ`i tPġq Kg gġ` weμq Kiv nq| Zvi gvtb D"pweĒ I ga`weĒt`i AvevmK mjeav cġvġbi Rb` KZġġ mnġhwmZv KiġQ| A_P XvKvi mSL`v Mvi ō `wi`a RbMġYi i`agvġ Avkġqi e`e`vi Rb` cwi Kġbvi Dġ`vM tbB|

XvKivq emevmKvix
wbæweĒt`i Rb` AvevmK I
hibevntbi mjeav AcZġj |

XvKvi wbæweĒt`i Rigi AnaKvi I evox cvl qvi AnaKvi μgvMZB evRvġi μμqvġxj kwi³ ōviv cġZnZ nq| wbæweĒv ġfveZB Kgġġj i KvQvKwQ _vKġZ Pvb| Zv bv ntġ cwi entġbi LiP w`ġq KvR Kiv mæe bq| tKġ`a Zvġ`i Avkġq wġġj wevfboew`ġZ| Gw`ġK tKġ`ġ Rigi gġ` eμx cvl qvq fġg DbqġbKvixiv ew` Dġ`Q` Kġi jvfRbK e`emv eġZj feb wKsev kġcs tmUvi wbgġY KiġZ Pvb| Gfvġe tKġ`a Kgġġj i KvQvKwQ ew`ġZ emevm Kiv `ġmva` ntġ DVġQ| Gfvġe Kgġs`vb, Avkġq, cwi enb, wKġġv, ġġ` mKj cKvi tmevi tġġġB bMi `wi`ġv `elġg`i wKvvi | D`vniY`ġfc cwi entġbi K_v aiv hvq| maviYZ D"pweĒv wbġRġ`i Mvox Ges D"pweĒ I ga`weĒ Awġdm hvġxMY wevfboeAwġġmi gvBġμvevm I evm e`envi Kġib| ga`weĒvB cġvbZ wi· v e`envi KiġZ cvġi KvY wi· vi cwi enb e`q tenK| wbæweĒv g`vġ , tU`uyI evm e`envi Kġi _vġKb| e`vcK nġġi RbMġYi cwi entġbi Rb` AvġQ tKej evm| Zvi mSL`vq Kg Ges Gi Rb` Rġj vbx weġ`k t_ġġK Avg`vbx KiġZ nq| bMi `wi`a; hviv RbmsL`vi 70%, Zvġ`i AnaKvsk cvġq tntU Kgġġj hvb| MvġgUm d`vixġZ KgġZ bvix, kġgKMġYi AġġġK knġi cġš t_ġġK tntU Kgġġj hvb| evsj vġ`ġki A_ġwZġZ tcvkvK wġġġi wecj Ae`vb _vKv mġZġj G wġġġi KgġZ bvix kġgKġ`i wbovc` Avkġqi mġhvm `Zix nq wb|

XvKivq emevmġi mgm`v t`aZ eaġġj XvKv bMġi i bvbvnea mgm`v eμx cvġ`Q| thmKj mgm`v Rġġj AvKvi avib KiġQ tm_μj mæġġK`Avcbviv eZġvb cvW t_ġġK RvbġZ cvi ġeb|

AchġB Avevmb e`e`v t XvKivq `wi`a RbġMvġx th aiġbi NbemwZġZ evm Kġib tm mæġġK` Avcbviv BġZvgġa` tRġġġQb| mgm`v nt`Q GB th, Mġg t_ġġK bMġi wbi šġi PjġQ `wi`a gvbġġi Avrfevmb RweKvi mġvġġb| evotQ XvKv knġi ew`i mSL`v| GmKj ew`ġZ Nb emwZ gvbġġi ġġ` wechġ, ōġKj n I mvgwRK mgm`v mġġ Kġi |

Acwi Kġr Z fġġe Mġo DVġi
dġj XvKvi wevfboemġv
Rġġj AvKvi aviy KiġQ|

Acwi Kġr Z AvevmK e`e`v t Acwi Kġr Zfvġe bMi weKvk jvf Kivq thLvġb tmLvġb Kj Kvi Lvbv, KmvBLvbv, Mvoxi M`iviR, t`vKvbcvU, AvevmK GjvKv, wKġġv cġZġvb BZ`w` Mġo DVġQ| Gi dġj bMġi emevm I KvġRi cwi ġek `ġePn ntġ DVġQ|

Acwi Kġr Z iv`vNvU t Acwi Kġr Zfvġe iv`v `Zix nlqvq cġġ` iv`v wbgġY I mstġhM iv`v wbgġY mgm`vRbK ntġ DġVġQ| GQov iv`vi cvġk t`vKvbcvU I evoxNi _vKivq iv`v Dbqġb e`vNz nq| hv` I XvKvi AnaKvsk `wi`a RbMġYi GKgvġ cwi enb cvġq nvlv Zey| iv`vq dġġcv_ tbB ej ġj B Pġj |

cwi enb I thMvġhvm e`e`vi Afive t bMġi RbMġYi Zj bvq chġB hvbevntbi Afive AvġQ| `wi`a gvbġġi Rb` Kg LiġP hvZvqġZi e`e`v tbB| Acwi Kġr Zfvġe RbemwZ Mġo DVġq bMġi ġġj thMvġhvmi Rb` vb ġei Kiv mgm`vRbK| Ab` w`ġK wi· v Pjvq iv`vq hvbRU mġġ nq| wKš` XvKivq emevmKvix `wi`ġ`i AnaKvsk wi· v cwi entġb wġġqmwRZ| `wi`a gvbġġi Kgġs`vġbi e`e`v bv Kġi wi· v eġ Kiv mæe bq| Ab` w`ġK UġwġK R`vġgi dġj mgq I Aġ_ġ e`vcK ġġwZ nq|

cqtcVvj x fvtjv bq t`vii`f Kvi tY`f gtt`i m`wbUkb mvgM0 e`envti i dtj Zv c0qkB
AtKtRv ntq cto| tK`xqfvte mqtqi R e`e`v h_vh_fvte wbgv` Kiv nq bv etj cqtub`vkb
mgm`vRbK ntq cto| GuU c0KU nq hLb el`f mgq cwb Xtk cto Ges cwbi PtC
cqtub`vkb eU ntq hvq| Gi dtj gqjv cwbZ fvmZ`vK I cwi tek`wl Z ntq hvq|
bMt i AtbK fvmgvb gvby| AvtQ hviv iv`vq, mi Kvi x c0Z0vbmgt ni evi`vq, tij t`k`b
Ngvb| Zv`i Rb` tKvb m`wbUkb e`e`v bv`vKvq bMt i i th tKvb`v`b gj gT Z`vM Kiv
`vfwek ntq`votqtQ| ew`uj tZ tkSPvMti i e`e`v mxigZ| AtbK ew`tZ 50wU cwi evti i
Rb` GKwU tkSPvMvi`vK| GuU e`envti i t`tt` gvnj viv tewk mgm`vq ctob Ges gj gT
AvUwKtq ti tL Zviv bvbv ai tbi e`watZ Avmvs` nb|

tWtbi e`e`v fvtjv bq t Acwi Kwí Zfvte iv`vNvU wbgv`Yi Rb` tWtbi mpe`e`v Kiv m`e` nq
bv| el`Kvtj` epoi cwb Rtq wbcvqZ hvbevnb I gvby| Pj vPtj weNenU| tWb tLvj v`vKvq
evZm`wl Z nq I gqj v AvUtk wltq gqj v cwb DctP iv`vq Gtm cwi tek` bó Kti |

AveR0v e`e`vcbvq`wU t NbmwZcy`bMt i c0Zw` tbi AveR0v evox Ni, t`vKvbciU, e`emv
tK`^t`K wbi v`v`b t dji vi mpe`e`v tbB| dtj iv`vi Avtkcvtk AveR0vi`c Rtq hvq|
XvKvq c0Zw` b c0q 3,500 Ub gqj v Drcw` Z nq| XvKv wmwU Ktcr`i k`bi e`e`vcbvq GB
gqj vi c0q 1,800 Ub mivt`bv m`e` nq| evKx gqj vi wKQy Rvq fivt`Ui Rb` I cpe`envti i
Rb` gvby| wltq hvq| Zvi ci I gqj v iv`vq Qwotq`vK|

wbi v`v`b cvbxq Rtj i mgm`v t XvKvq cvbxq Rtj i mieivn AtbK Kg| bMt i RbmsL`vi
60% cwb mieivn c`wZi cvBc j vBtbi mt`/2 mshj`| GQiov 15% e`w`MZ D`v`M cwb
msM0h Kti | Avi evKx 25% bj Kc Lbb Kti wKsev b`x I Rj vkq t`t`K cwb msM0h Kti b|
cvBc j vBtbi cwb wei`x bq, Kvi Y U`vsK I cvBc j vBb cwi`vi Kiv nq bv| bMt i tj K,
cKi I b`xi msL`v Kg| hvl ev AvtQ tm`uj A`ea`Lj`vi xMY wltq wlt`Qb| bMt i
AwaKvsk gvby| cwbewwZ e`watZ Avmvs` nb|

XvKvq`mi`^tkvxi gvby
Avevmb, cwi enb, cwb,
we`jr, Rvj vbx mn me
aitbi tmevi t`tt`
%el`tg`i wKvvi nb|

M`vm I we`ytZi Ac0Zj Zv t XvKvi RbmsL`vi Zj bvq M`vm I we`ytZi mieivn Kg| dtj
bMt i i`wi`^RbMY Rvj vbx m`/4U ctob| XvKvi ew`uj tZ AvbgwobK 8% Gi M`vm msthvM
AvtQ| ew`uj tZ Rvj vbx wntmte KvV e`e`uZ nq, hvi gj` Zj bvgj Kfvte AtbK tekx|
we`ytZi mieivn I fvtj v bq| Nb Nb tj vWtkwWs G RbRxeb wecbenq| we`yZ wetj i t`tt`
cPi``pxwZ AvtQ hv`umt`g j m0 etj Pwjtq t`qv nq|

tLvj v RvqMvi Afve I MvQcvjv wbab t XvKvq AvevwmK NbemwZ GjvKvq tLvj v gvV,
wetbv` tbi`vb, evMvb BZ`w` ivLv nq w| Gi dtj tQvU tQvU Nti eim Kivi ci gvtS gvtS
gy` nvl qvq`g tbevi Dcvq`vK bv| gvby| Lpe mnt`RB nwmctq Dtv| wbgv`Y Kvtr`i Rb`
bMt i cPi` MvQ KvUv nq| ew` GjvKvq GK Bw`A` fvg GZ c0qvRb th tmLvtb MvQvQwvj
j vMv`bvi K`v ew`evmiv fvetZ cvti bv| dtj evZv`m weivR Kti Kve0-WvB-A` vBtWi w|

Aciva ep`x t XvKvq Acivtai gvT v AwaKvnti ep`x cvt`Q| Pwi, wQbZvB t`t`K`i`i` Kti Lp,
al` chS me aitbi Aciva ep`x tctq wZ`w` tbi`vfwek NUbvq cwi YZ ntq hvt`Q|
AwaKvsk gvby| i gT ZvB tkvbn hvq 0XvKv f`qi kni0| Aciva`gtbi t`tt``pxwZ ep`x
cvl qvq I AvBb k`Lj vi cZb nI qvq XvKvewm` i Rxeb m`švmt` i nvtZ wRw`\$ ntq hvt`Q|

mvi vsk

XiKv GKU cPib kni | cPib Kvtj Gi Aveimb e'e`vq thS_Zv I cZi qvi nel q_i`Zj cvq
I gnj Mto Dtv | JcubteikK kvmbvgtj ckvmtbi mt½ hy³ eiv³MY I ueEevbMY c_K I
uewObæaitbi evovNi wbgPY Ktib | cieZi#Z cívřZ'i bMivqtbi gřWj AbjniY Kiv nq |
XiKvq cwi tek `IY eivx cívPQ | cwi tek `IY t_K tei nřZ nřj eivsvř`tki wR^
gubegj_x bMi cwi Křbv Avek`K | wKŠ`G nel quU GLřbv cwi Křbwe`MřYi KřřO_i`Zj cvq
wb | XiKvq `wi`^tkřxi gubj Aveimb, cwi enb, cwb, we`jř, Rjv vřxmn me aitbi tmevi
třřř`elřg`i wKřvi nb | XiKvq řřgi gvi Křbv I Pig `elg`gj K | GLřřb D`PueE I
ga`ueE hřiv RbmsL`vi 30% Zřiv řřvU řřgi 80% Gi gvi K |

cvřVŔi gj`vqb

be⁹³K cċæ

mVK cċkæ cvřk WK (v) wPŸ w`b -

- 1| ewJk kvmbgvřj řKb XvKv Ÿi`Zi nvi vq
 K. XvKvi A_ŔoZK Ae`v fvřj v WQj bv tm Kvi řY
 L. Kvřvgj i řvbx i Rb` ewJkř i KvřQ Kj KvZv es`i Ÿi`ZcYċřq DřV
 M. XvKv NbemWZcYċQj tm Kvi řY
 N. řgvNj kvmbgvřj XvKv Ÿi`ZcYċQj tm Kvi řY

- 2| řvg DbqřbKvi řř i řřc`wi`^XvKvevmřř i Ae`v WK nq?
 K. řvg Dbqřřbi KgřřvřŬ`wi`MY KvR cvb
 L. řvg Dbqřřbi dřj`wi`řř i Rb` AvenmK Gj vKv`Zi x nq
 M. `wi`^řřxi gvbĳ řK`^řřK weZwōZ nřq knt i cċřř řřj hvb
 N. řvg DbqřbKvi řř i řřc`wi`^řřxi gvbĳ Mōřg wđř i hvb

- 3| cřřxbKvj řřK XvKvi řvj vBLvj Gj vKvq Kvi v em Ki řřZb?
 K. ewJk cċvmKMY
 L. weĔkv xMY
 M. wř`ym`ũŬ vq
 N. XvKvq Avř`emx KřEMY

- 4| XvKv Dbqřb Uřō KZ mřb cċZwōZ nq?
 K. 1947 mřřj
 L. 1953 mřřj
 M. 1958 mřřj
 N. 1956 mřřj

msřřß cċæ

- 1| bMi cwi Kř bvi`emkō`WK WK? XvKv bMř i cwi Kř bvq WK Zv Abřmi Y Kiv nq?
- 2| cřřxbKvj XvKv WKfvřř Mřō DřVřQj? G Ae`v WKfvřř cwi ewZř nq?

i Pbvj K cċæ

- 1| XvKvq ememKvi x`wi`^řřxi Ae`v Avřř vPbv Ki`b|
- 2| XvKvq WKfvřř cwi řek mřU mřō nř`Q tm weĳ řř Avřř vPbv Ki`b|

evsj vt`tk wkí vqtbí mgm`v

Problems of Industrialization in Bangladesh

GB cvWU cto Arcwb RvbZ cviteb -

- wkí vqtbí t`f`f` MnxZ bmxZ
- wkí i ivóiqKiY I weivóiqKiY
- i`Mmktí i mgm`v - tKm ÷ vWV : cvUKj
- eURvZK tKv`úvbxí Abc`ek - tKm ÷ vWV : BDtbvKj

evsj vt`tki A`ZK Dbq`bi Rb` Kwí Dbq`b Acwí nvh` Avi A`ZK c`x` I `Z Dbq`bi Rb` wkí i f`gKv `i`ZcY` Kwí I wkí ci`uí wbf`kxj n`lqvq evsj vt`tk `xzbZvi ci t`K A`vewa Dbq`b cwi Kí bvg Kwí I wkí `U`KB `i`Zi c`vb Kiv n`tqQ| j`Yxq th evsj vt`tk wkí i weKv`ki nvi g`sí, Kg`is`v`b wkí i Ask Kg Ges tgvU RvZxq Drcv`tbl wkí i Ae`vb Kg| me`M`Rvbv c`q`Rb c`vb c`k`vj WK? GK, wkí vqb Kvi tbZ`Zi nte- mi Kvi, e`w`MZ gwj Kvbv b`wK mi Kvi x m`vqZvq? `B, wK ai`bi wkí MwZ nte- Avg`vbxg`x, i Bvbxg`x, t`f`M`cY` b`wK wev`tq`M? wZb, tKv`vq wkí c`Z`vb nte- wkí vqtbí Kiv`tgv tK``f`Z nte b`wK e`vB nte? Pvi, wK f`vte wkí vqb nte- Drm`v Kiv`tgv ai b wK nte?

ivóiqKiY I weivóiqKY bmxZ

evsj vt`tk wkí vqtbí c`k`a
ivóiqKiY I weivóiqKiY
`UB cix`v Kiv n`tqQ|

evsj vt`tk wkí vqtbí c`k`a wev`f`b`e`a`i`bi bmxZ c`v`b Kti`Qb| gj Z ivóiqKiY I weivóiqKiY `UB cix`v Kiv n`tqQ| 1971-75 mgqKvtj wkí i ivóiqKiY bmxZ Kvh`Ri Kiv nq| `xzbZvi ci c`wK`vbx gwj Kt`i wkí I evOvj x gwj Kt`i 15 vgvj qb UvKvi E`a`y`m`ú`w`E` ivóiqZi Kiv nq| me`g`vU 725wU wkí c`Z`vb I `vq`x m`ú`w`E`i 92% iv`f`oi w`b`q`š`Y Avb nq| `xzbZvi c`e`1970 m`tb G msL`v L`e Kg wQj | ZLb 53wU wkí c`Z`vb I `vq`x m`ú`w`E`i 34% ivóiq gwj Kivbq wQj | ZvQvov Avg`vbx i`é emv`tv nq Ges Avg`vbx m`x`g`Z Kivi b`w`Z I MnxZ nq| 1976-1982 mgqKvtj k`v`b`Z`S cwi e`Z`B Kti weivóiqKiY bmxZ c`v`b Kiv nq| e`w`MZ gwj Kt`i KvtQ ivóiqZi wkí mgn we`m`q`i`i` nq| e`w`MZ wev`tq`v`Mi Dci w`b`f`l`av`Av D`w`t`q` t`q`v nq| emv`w`R`K e`v`K`m`gn wkí L`v`Z FY`vb Kg`m`P`x M`h`Y Kti | i Bvbx e`v`x`i Rb`I D`t``v`M` t`b`q`v nq|

1983-1990 mgqKvtj wek`i e`v`st`Ki m`c`w`i`k tgvZv`te`K ms``vi Kg`m`P`x (structural adjustment) MnxZ nq| 1982 m`tb c`v`x`Z b`Z`b wkí b`w`Z`Z`Z i Bvbxg`x c`e`v`x`i Dci `i`Zi c`v`v`bi d`tj e`ú`g`x i Bvbx e`v`x`i Rb` c`e`i m`t`h`v`M m`y`e`av c`v`b Kiv nq| D`tj L`e`h`v`M` th GB mgqKvtj me`m`a`K weivóiqKiY N`t`U| GK erm`ti 57wU ivóiqZi wkí hvi Av`a`K`v`sk cvU I e`wkí e`w`MZ gwj Kivbq Qvov nq|

1991-1995 mgqKvtj ewYR` tŷŷŷ D`vixKiY bwiZ MpxZ nq| Gi dtj`ii` nq cŷZthwMZvgj K A_ŷwiZ| evRvi wfvEK wef`kx weibŷqMKviŷ`i AvKIŷ Kivi Rb` c`ŷŷc tŷqv nq I wef`kx`i Dci wŷqŷY bwiZ ewZj nq| t`kxq Dŷ`vŷv`iŷK th mŷ`i nvi I FŷYi mŷeav cŷvb Kiv nŷqŷQj , Zv ewZj nŷq hvq| D`vi ewYwR`KxKiŷYi dtj Avg`vbxKZ cY` eŷx tŷŷq 93% G`vŷvq Ges tKej 0.4% cY` Avg`vbx wŷwŷ x`_vŷK| wef`kx`ŷe`i Dci`i`el Kŷg hvq| mvaviY`ŷe`i tŷŷŷŷ 134%`i`e Kŷg 47% nq Ges cŷR msŷkŷe`ŷe`i tŷŷŷŷ 73%`i`e Kŷg 17% nq|

1996 t`ŷK eZŷvbKvj chŷ evsj vt`k gŷŷevRvi A_ŷwiZi AŷxfZ nŷZ`ii` Kŷi| evRvi A_ŷwiZ GKwU Dbqŷgŷx cŷŷuqv thLvŷb evRvi`kŷ Kvhŷi| Zvi gŷŷb cŷY`i gŷ`wbaŷŷYi`wŷqZŷU evRvŷi`i kwŷmgŷni, gŷŷb Pwŷv` I mieivŷni nŷZ tŷto t`evi cŷŷcwZ| tKvb ewŷŷK Pvc ev wŷqŷY w`ŷq tKvb`ŷe` ev tmevi`vg Kgvŷbv evovŷbv evRvi`kŷbi cwi cŷŷ| gŷŷ evRvi A_ŷwiZ GKwU AvŷRŷZK`wŷfŷx tŷvLY Kŷi`_vŷK| GŷK globalization ev wekŷqŷb wKŷev`ewkŷ GKŷxKiY ejv nq| gŷŷ gŷŷb wŷqŷYnxbZv| gŷŷ evRvi A_ŷwiZi cŷvb`wŷc`ŷwU- GK, cY`cŷZthwMZvi`ŷŷwZ I`ŷ, tŷZv ev tŷvŷvi mŷeŷŷŷgZj|

`ŷaxbZvi ci evsj vt`k th wŷkŷ RvZxqKiŷYi bwiZ MpxZ nq, Zv`ŷZ wŷkŷvŷŷb e`_ŷnq| GB e`_ŷvi tŷQŷb AŷbK KviY AvŷQ| RvZxqKiYKZ cŷZŷvŷbi`ŷaxbZvi Afve wŷQj | ZvQvov cwiK`vbx gwŷj KMY t`kZ`vŷMi ci wŷkŷ e`e`vcbvq`ŷ e`wŷŷi Afve mŷŷ nq| Ab`w`ŷK e`wŷŷgwŷj Kvbv tŷŷŷŷŷ I gŷ`vŷve t`Lv t`q| KviY e`wŷŷMZ LvŷZ cŷR weibŷqŷM 2.5 wŷwŷ qb UvKvq mxgve`x Kŷi t`qv nq| GB LvŷZ tKvb evovZ mŷŷhM mŷeav t`qv nq wŷb| AvBb k,Lj vi Ae`v Lvivc nŷqv wŷkŷLvŷZ weibŷqŷMi tŷŷq KŷjvevRvix BZ`w`ŷZ weibŷqŷM Awak jvŷRbK nŷq DŷV| ZvQvov RvZxqKiŷYi fŷq e`wŷŷMZ LvŷZ Awak weibŷqŷM Dŷ`vŷvMY wbi`rmwŷNZ tewa Kŷib| ivŷŷqKiŷYi e`_ŷvi meŷŷŷq eo KviY wŷQj ivRŷwŷZK AŷxKvŷi Afve Ges wŷkŷ e`e`vcbv Kŷvŷŷgvi ivRbwiZKiY| mgvRZŷŷ wŷkŷ hLb ivŷŷq LvŷZ`_vŷK ZLb Zvi mŷŷ e`wŷŷMZ LvŷZi mŷŷŷŷ`_vŷK bv KviY e`wŷŷMZ LvŷZi Aw`Zi`_vŷK bv| evsj vt`k cŷRv`x e`e`vi gŷa` th wŷkŷ RvZxqKiY Kiv nq, Zvi dtj`wŷŷŷi cwi Pvj bv I e`e`vcbvq wŷŷqŷRZ e`wŷŷMY Gme wŷkŷŷK e`_ŷvq chŷwŷZ Kŷi wŷŷŷRiv gwŷj K nŷ qvi cŷZ Awak gŷbvŷhMx nŷq DŷVb| weŷfŷŷŷŷe ivŷŷqZi wŷkŷmgŷn jŷZivR PjŷZ`_vŷK I ivŷŷqLvŷZŷK Abŷrcv`bkxj I AKvhŷi Kiv nq|

evsj vt`k ivŷŷqKiŷYi
e`_ŷvi eo KviY wŷQj
ivRŷwŷZK AŷxKvŷi Afve
I wŷkŷ e`e`vcbv Kŷvŷŷgvi
ivRbwiZ KiY|

i`Mŷwŷŷ

weivŷŷqKiŷYi ci evsj vt`k wŷkŷ I Kj Kvi Lvbv e`wŷŷgwŷj Kvbvaxb e`e`vcbvq Drcv`b eŷxŷZ AcviM nŷ`Q| Awakŷk wŷkŷ i`Mŷwŷŷŷ cwiYZ nŷ`Q| wKŷŷGBme i`Mŷwŷŷŷi gwŷj KMY e`vsK t`ŷK wekŷj Aŷŷi UvKv FY wŷŷ`Qb| wecj Aŷŷi FY cwiŷkva bv Kŷi wŷkŷcwZMY FYŷLj vcx nŷ`Qb| Z_wc Drcv`b eŷxŷZ Zŷ`i`vqexZv`Zix nŷ`Q bv| AŷbK tŷŷŷŷŷ t`Lv hvq th Drcw`Z cY` evRviRvZ Kiv hvq bv PjwZ cŷRi Afvŷe| A_P PjwZ cŷRi Rb` e`vsK FY cvl qv mnR bq| KLŷbv wŷkŷ gwŷj KMY wŷkŷŷŷŷŷ cŷR I FY Ab`vb` LvŷZ e`q Kivi Rb` mŷiŷŷq tŷŷj b| KLŷbv Kivŷvgj wKgz mieivn nq bv| A_ev we`ŷr mieivn AwbqŷgZ| AŷbK mgq wŷŷŷŷŷ Rb` th mKj Kivŷvgj Avg`vbx KiŷZ nq Zvi Dci`i`e AZ`wak nŷ qvq Drcv`b e`vŷZ nq| miKvŷi Avg`vbx bwiZi KviŷY wef`kx cY` evRvŷi mnRj f`nŷ qvq t`kx cY` cŷZthwMZvgj wŷŷK`_vŷKZ cvŷi bv|

wbtaei tKm ÷ vW t_#K Avcbviev vsj v#`tk i "Mank#i i mgm#vi ev`eZv eStZ cvi teb|

tKm ÷ vW : 1

cvUKj

tgmvm#G. Avi. nvl j v`vi Ryl wjj m wj : GKwU cvUKj | GwU gv`vixc#i Aew`Z| 1972 mvtj cvUKj wU RvZxqKiY Kiv nq| weiv#tqKi#iYi gva`tg 1982 mvtj cvUKj wU gwj K#i i Kv#Q tdiZ t`qv nq| K#qK ermi tjvKmv#b Pjvi ci 1990 mvtj cvUKj wU eU ntq hvq| miKvix c#Zvbia cvUKj wU c#kvm#bK cwipvj bv I Aw`R Ae`v m#iRw#b cw`k# K#i w#t#cvU#qck K#ib| w#t#cvU#ejv nq th cvU `v#tg gv# cv#P nvRvi cv#kZ gb cvU gl Ry Av#Q hv AZ`S wb#agv#bi | GB cvU w`tq wjj Pjv#v#b m#e bq| ZvQvov h#S `v#t#bi w`K t_#K wjj wU m#l g bq| tKv#v#b Kg ZvZ w`tq Aw#K Drcv`b Avkv K#i w#t#b| d#j GKRb ZvZx `BwU ZvZ Pw#j t#q| Af#o j t`q|` tc#Sv#Z cv#i w|

i "Mank#i eU ntq hvq e`e`vcbv I`wU i Rb` | w#K# gwj Kc#q k#gK#i i#K `vqx K#ib Ges Z#i` i w#i`#x KrmvcY#Aw#f#h#M K#ib|

Drcv`#bi NvUwZi weifc c#Zv#q#v c#Zv#wj Z ntq#Q w#t#j i jvf tjvKmv#bi wnmv#e| Pw#n`v Ab#h#v#x L#Piv h#s#sk mgg#Z mieivn Kiv nq w| hvI Kiv ntq#Q Zv wb#agv#bi | 70wU ZvZ tgvU#i i Afv#e eU `v#K| AwZ mvgv#b` h#s#v#tki Afv#eI ZvZ eU `v#K| wjj wU c#kvm#bK Ae`v mgm#vRbK| c#Zv#GKRb e`w#t#K c#kvmK wnt#mte `wqZ#fvi t`qv nq hvi cvUKj m#t#U c#k#Y Aw#f#Zv#b| Zvici Aw#f#A c#kvmK w#t#q#M nt#j I Nb Nb e`j nq| KviY tKv#v#bxi gwj K, cwipvj K I t#k#v#i t#v#i v#t` i A#S#B#i Kvi#Y e`e`vcbv cwipvj K memgq Av#v#s ntZ `v#K#b| wjj wU#Z L#e GKUv AwZwi`# k#gK w#j bv| me ZvZ Pjv#v#K#j Kg#R#Z# KgPvix Aw#K e#j g#b nevi KviY #b| w#t#cvU#Drcv`b NvUwZ, g#v#d#v nwm I Kvi Lv#v eU n#l qvi Rb` gwj Kc#q I e`e`vcbv I`wU#t#KB `vqx Kiv nq|

k#g#t#Ki we#t#q w#t#cvU#ejv nq th `xN#b k#gK#i i gRj#x w#K#Z cw#t#kva Kiv nq bvB| w#t#j Kv#Ri cw#t#ek f#v#j#v bq| ch#B Av#t#vi e`e`v bv `vKv#q k#gK#i i `w# kw#i Dci weifc c#f#ve co#t#Q| k#gK#i i t#Kw#b, K#e, evm`v#b e`envi Dc#h#M#x bq| k#gK#i i cv#b#q R#j i m#e`e`v #b| b`xi cw#b e`envi Kiv#q k#gKiv NbNb e`w#t#Z Av#v#s nb| Gme Kvi#Y k#gK#i i g#b Pvcv t`q#v#f m#o nq| gv#mi ci gym gRj#x bv t#t#q k#gKiv ag#U K#ib| k#gK#i i gRj#x I c#f#W#U d#v#Ei UvKv gwj Kc#q Av#m#v K#i#t#Q| k#g Av`v#j#Z gv#j#v Ki#t#j k#gK#i i t#Kv#b jvf nq w| Dci#S` gwj Kc#q k#gK#i i w#i`#x KrmvcY#Aw#f#h#M K#i h#v#Q| cvUKj wU eU n#l qvi Rb` k#gK#i i#K GK#t#P#w#q#v#e `vqx Kiv ntq#Q|

Drm : e`i`#x Dgi, vsj v#`tki Av`#i vR#b#ZK cw#i`w#Z, RvZxq M#S` c#k#v#b, XvKv,1994|

eU Rw#ZK tKv#v#bxi Ab#y#e#k
vsj v#`tk w#k#i v#t#bi t`q#t#I GKwU eo ugK#x ntq `w#t#q#t#Q eU Rw#ZK tKv#v#bxi Ab#y#e#k| 800Gi `k#t#Ki gv#v#q#v#S vsj v#`tk wek#e`v#sK I Av#S#R#ZK A`#Z#v#e#j#i c#f#w#e#Z m#`#vi c#Z#v#i Aa`v#t#q#i m#P#v#v nq| PviwU c#f#q#v#i gva`tg g#j# evRvi A`#w#Z Zj#w#S#Z nq| GK, wek#v#q#b (globalization) `B, D`vixKiY (liberalization) w#Zb, w#b#q#S#Yg#j# (deregulation) I Pvi, e`w#t#MZ#v#q#b (privatization) | 1994 mvtj w#t#k#i Aw#Kv#sk t`k M`vU (General

Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) Pm³tZ `ŋŋi Kti | 1995 muj t_ŋK M'vU i fcvšwi Z nq mek' emYR' ms'vq hv WTO (World Trade Organization) bvtg cwi WPZ | Gi j ŋ' miv v mek' emYR' tK Aeva Kiv, i'envi Kugtq Avbv I gž evRvi A_ŠmZ cŋZŃv | mek' emYR' ms'v Qvov AvĀwj K fvtel gž evRvi A_ŠmZ Pj yntqtQ | BDti mcqv b KugDvov Qvovl muj ntqtQ mef' bAvĀwj K tRvU thgb-Avmmqv b (Association of South East Asian Nations), b'vdUv (North American Free Trade), m'vdUv (South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement), j'vdUv (Latin American Free Trade Agreement) | Gt' i j ŋ' AvĀwj K gž evRvi tRvU mvej xj Kiv | evsj v`k M'vU Pm³tZ `ŋŋi Kti tQ | 90 Gi `k tK evsj v`k Aeva e' t' mK mebtqM Avn'vb Kti | tkv evRvi I me' kv' i Rb' Dbž Kiv nq | 1995 t_ŋK m'vdUv KvRki nq | evsj v`k `ŋŋY Gukqv I mek' cŋ' vctU gž evRvi cŋek Kti tQ |

1996 mb t_ŋK evsj v`k gž evRvi A_ŠmZi A'xfZ n'Z i' Kti |

j ŋYxq th, evsj v`ki GB m'v' veivŃqKi tYi m'ž Dbž c' Rev' x' t' tki `ŋ' m'v' K' Dbž c' Rev' x' t' kmgtn j m'v' c' R' ecj cwi gvY m'v' n' t' tQ c' h' i' mek' v' ki Kvi tY | mebtqM t' h' m' c' R' i' Zj b'v mebtqM m' h' v' M' Kg | GgZv' v' q' e' R' m' ZK t' K' v' v' b' x' v' j' Dbž t' tki veivŃqKZ m'v' m' q' Kti Ges Dbž b' k' x' j' t' t' l' mebtqM e' v' Kti | Dbž b' k' x' j' t' tki veivŃqKZ m'v' l' e' R' m' ZK t' K' v' v' b' x' i' g' v' j' K' v' b' v' q' P' t' j' h' v' q' | m' b' t' e' i' t' K' m' v' v' m' t_ŋK Av' c' b' v' i' v' evsj v`k m' v' q' i' x' j' G' K' v' e' R' m' ZK t' K' v' v' b' x' i' m' v' v' t' K' v' b' t' Z' c' v' i' t' e' b' |

tKm ÷ vM : 2

BDt'bvKj

BDt'bvKj 1974 m'v' t' j' G' K' v' U' m' c' G' m' m' Pm³ `ŋŋi i' ga' w' t' q' evsj v`k hv' v' i' i' Kti | GB t' K' v' v' b' x' i' v' evsj v`k i' G' K' K' m' t' e' P' P' mebtqM K' v' i' x' | G' c' h' s' evsj v`k 325 m' g' v' j' q' b' g' v' m' K' b' Wj vi mebtqM Kti tQ | BDt'bvKj 1977 m'v' t' j' K' Z' e' w' q' v' q' M' v' m' A' v' e' v' i' Kti | 1999 m' t' b' g' v' i' Q' v' v' N' b' v' i' c' i' t' t' k' i' D' E' i' c' e' f' A' t' j' i' M' v' m' K' c' v' j' i' g' v' j' K' v' b' v' A' v' t' W' v' t' j' i' K' v' Q' t_ŋK BDt'bvKj m' k' t' b' t' b' q' | 1998 m'v' t' j' v' e' v' e' q' v' b' v' l' 1999 m'v' t' j' t' g' s' j' f' x' e' v' R' v' i' M' v' m' t' ŋŋ' A' v' e' v' i' Kti | m' m' t' j' t' U' i' R' v' j' v' j' v' e' v' t' i' M' v' m' t' ŋŋ' t' i' M' v' m' A' v' t' W' v' t' j' i' K' v' Q' t_ŋK t' c' t' U' v' e' s' j' v' t' K' m' k' b' t' Z' n' t' e' v' v' Y' v' t' g' | G' R' b' t' c' t' U' v' e' s' j' v' t' K' v' e' c' j' c' v' i' g' v' Y' A' v' m' R' ŋŋ' v' i' m' v' s' l' x' b' n' t' Z' n' t' e' | M' v' m' D' t' E' v' j' b' m' e' b' t' q' M' i' K' o' v' i' t' K' v' f' v' i' b' v' n' l' q' v' c' h' s' t' c' t' U' v' e' s' j' v' t' K' c' ŋ' Z' g' v' t' m' 33 j' ŋ' g' v' m' K' b' Wj vi w' t' Z' n' t' e' A' v' t' W' v' t' j' t' K' | K' o' v' i' t' K' v' f' v' i' c' i' t' c' t' U' v' e' s' j' v' A' v' t' W' v' t' j' t' K' w' t' e' c' ŋ' Z' e' Q' i' A' v' o' v' B' t' K' v' U' g' v' m' K' b' Wj vi | G' f' v' t' e' A' v' t' W' v' t' j' i' K' v' Q' t_ŋK M' v' m' m' k' t' b' M' Ń' n' K' t' i' K' v' t' Q' v' e' v' i' c' i' t' c' t' U' v' e' s' j' v' t' K' e' o' a' i' t' b' i' ŋŋ' v' i' m' v' s' l' x' b' n' t' Z' n' t' e' | A' b' v' w' t' K' A' v' t' W' v' t' j' i' j' v' t' f' i' D' c' i' c' ŋ' q' K' t' c' v' f' i' U' U' v' t' c' t' U' v' e' s' j' v' t' K' b' c' v' i' t' k' v' a' K' i' t' Z' n' t' e' | G' t' Z' ŋŋ' v' i' c' v' i' g' v' Y' A' v' t' i' v' e' v' o' t' e' | t' c' t' U' v' e' s' j' v' G' B' M' v' m' m' u' q' K' i' t' Z' b' v' c' v' i' t' j' Z' v' G' b' G' j' v' R' t' Z' i' f' c' v' s' i' K' t' i' m' e' t' t' k' i' B' v' b' x' i' e' e' v' Pm³tZ A' v' t' Q' e' t' j' R' v' b' v' h' v' q' | t' c' t' U' v' e' s' j' v' i' ŋŋ' v' i' c' v' i' t' Y' M' v' t' m' i' g' j' v' e' v' x' A' c' v' i' n' v' h' n' t' q' c' o' t' e' | M' v' t' m' i' g' j' v' e' v' x' n' t' j' v' e' j' r' l' m' v' t' i' g' j' l' e' v' x' c' v' t' e' | A' b' v' v' q' G' B' v' b' L' v' t' Z' m' i' K' v' t' i' i' f' Z' R' x' i' c' v' i' g' v' Y' A' v' t' i' v' t' e' t' o' h' v' t' e' |

BDt'bvKj G' K' v' U' e' R' m' ZK t' K' v' v' b' x' i' v' h' v' evsj v`k M' v' m' D' t' E' v' j' b' K' t' i' v' t' K' | BDt'bvKj M' v' m' i' B' v' b' x' i' R' b' evsj v`k m' i' K' t' i' i' D' c' i' P' v' c' c' ŋ' q' M' K' i' t' Q' |

G' v' t' K' P' v' c' t' q' v' n' t' Q' t' h' evsj v`k m' i' K' v' i' M' v' m' i' B' v' b' x' i' v' m' x' v' s' b' v' v' b' t' j' e' v' U' k' W' v' P' t' K' v' v' b' x' i' t' k' j' l' g' v' m' K' b' t' K' v' v' b' x' i' v' b' D' t' b' v' K' j' Q' v' o' v' e' v' i' K' t' K' v' v' b' x' i' v' j' D' r' c' v' b' e' E' b' Pm³ (m' c' G' m' m' i' m') K' i' t' e' b' v' | c' v' P' e' r' m' i' m' g' q' m' g' v' i' g' t' a' v' i' B' v' b' x' i' v' m' x' v' s' b' v' n' t' j' evsj v`k H' m' g' t' q' i' g' t' a' v' b' t' R' A' b' j' m' v' v' b' P' j' v' t' Z' c' v' i' t' e' b' v' m' K' s' e' v' A' b' v' t' K' v' b' t' K' v' v' b' x' i' m' t' j' A' b' j' m' v' v' t' b' i' Pm³ K' i' t' Z' c' v' i' t' e' b' v' |

gmkB tKvúvbx BDtbrKj evsj vt` ktk weveqvbn M'vm tñt t_ tk fvi tZ M'vm i Bvbx c've
KitZ hv t"Q| e'vcvi Uv `vov t"Q GiKg th M'v tmi gwj K evsj vt` k M'vm i Bvbi wmxvš bv
tbqvi c tñt| A_P BDtbrKj GKKfite evsj vt` tki M'vm i BvbtZ Kg©cvi Kí bv KitQ|
evsj vt` tki M'vm i BvbtZ mgm'v `u| GK, wbr`^M'vm gRy mwxgZ I `B, M'vm Qvov Ab`
tKvb wbr`^Ryj vbx tbB| evsj vt` tk M'vm e'env t i wecj m'vbev Av tQ| 1. M'vm e'euZ nte
Mn`vj tZ I wki Kvi Lvbvq Ryj vbx wntmte| 2. we`jr Drcv` tbi kw³ wntmte M'vm e'euZ
nte| 3. wki c tY`i KvPvgj wntmte mvi I cwóK Kvi Lvbvq M'vm e'euZ nte| Gme m'vbev
_vkvi ci I we t` kx tKvúvbx ,wj evsj vt` ktk M'vm i Bvbi Rb` Pvc w t"Q|

Drm : Aifc ivLx (m'úv w` Z), K tcvñ U mšvm: BDtbrKj Ms, tj vKR Kgx©j , XvKv,2001|

mvi vsk

evsj vt` tk wki mn e'emv, e'vsk, exgv meikQy e'w³MZLv tZ wbtq Avmvi c'Póv Pj tQ|
evsj vt` tk th gy³ evRvi A_ BmZ c'eo ntqtQ Zvi dtj AvšRmZK emYR` evx cv t"Q| Dbz
cñy³ (high technology) `Z n`vši nt"Q| Aeva Z` c'evn `Zix ntqtQ| Ab` w` tk
evotQ t'vM c'YZv| AvšRmZKfite cvRi mnR m'Avj b nt"Q| eúRmZK tKvúvbx ,wj i
ñgZv evx cvl qvq mi Kvt i megq ñgZv nvm cv t"Q| c'ugKfite j ñYiq th evsj vt` tk
wki i "Mzv evx cv t"Q| `ñ k'gtKi Pm`vi ARpvtZ A` ñ Lv tZ teKvi Zj evx cv t"Q| Dbz
t` tki Dci wbfPkj Zv evotQ Ges tmB m t` Dbz t` k KZR t` tki evRvi `Lj ntq
hv t"Q| evsj vt` tki `pñ wki ,wj wvöZ wej wBi g tL co tQ| tmB m t` wki i eúgLv Zv nvm
cv t"Q|

cvřWĚi gj`vqb

`beŸK cřke

mWVK cřke cvřk WVK (v) WPy w b-

- 1| ersj vř`tk řKvb mgqKřj wkř i vřqKiY Kiv nq?
 K. 1995 - 2000 mřj
 L. 1975 - 1980 mřj
 M. 1972 - 1975 mřj
 N. 1991 - 1995 mřj

- 2| ersj vř`tk řKvb AvĀwj K řRřUi Ařř?
 K. NAFTA
 L. SAPTA
 M. ASEAN
 N. LAPTA

- 3| BDřbvKj wkř?
 K. AvřRřZK Pwř
 L. mekřeřvřřKi cřZřvb
 M. eřRřZK řKvřvřv
 N. AvĀwj K řRřU

- 4| gjř evRři A_řwři`řU`eřkř` wk wkř?
 K. evRři mēi v n gjř Kiv I`e`gj` mi Kiv KZř vřqřY Kiv
 L. evRři i cřY`i gj` nřm I`i`e`nřm
 M. i Břvř eřř I Avř`vř Kgvřvř
 N. cY`cřZřřwřMřvi`řKřZ I řfvřvi mēřřřgřj

msřřřB cřke

- 1| i`Mekři wkř? i`Mekři mřř n l qvi Rb` řK ev Kiv `vqř?
- 2| i vřqKiY I wei vřqKiY wkř?

i Pbvřj K cřke

- 1| mekřqř wkř? ersj vř`tk eřRřZK řKvřvřvři Abcřeřřki cřj wk ai řbi mgmiv mřř nř`O?
- 2| ersj vř`tk wkř vřřbi řřřř mi Křři i MřřZ břřZ Avřj vPbv Ki`b|

cwi tek `IY : bMivqbi l wkivqtb i cFve

Environment Pollution : Impact of Urbanization and Industrialization

GB cWuU cto Avcwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- cwi tetki Dci bMivqtb i cFve
- wkivqtb i Kvi tY mō cwi tek `IY
- cwi tek i qv Avf`vj b

bMivqtb i dtj cwi tek `IY

*Fig DbaqKvix e'emvqMY
bMti cōš i Kwl fig l
wejwSj AwamōY Kti hvi
dtj cwi tetki fvimv' bō
nq/*

cteP cvtV XvKv knii Avtj vPbvq AZ`vek`Kxq tmev weZi tYi t`qit Avcbv iv wKOymgm`vi wettq RvbtZ tctitQb| eZgub cvtV Avtiv Kuzcq mgm`vi Dci Avtj vKcvZ Kiv nte| cōgZ: bMti fig e`envtii t`qit j qYxq th Acwi Kwi Zfvte bMti i tKt`a l cōš fig AwamōY Kti wbgpY KvR Ptj | GtZ bMti i figi gj` AZ`waK epv cvq l figi evRvti `wi`f`i cōek mxvqZ nte cto| gpvdv jvtfi Dt`itk` fig DbaqKvix e'emvqMY bMti i cōš i Kwl fig l wejwSj wj AwamōY Kti hvi dtj cwi tetki fvimv' bō nq| Gfvte XvKv bMti i figi gj` 40% - 60% epv tctitQ hv Ab` thtKvb cY` l tmevi gj`epv i nvtii tPtq tek| Ab` w`tk miKvix fig cōq 677 GK i Ae`eüZ cto AvtQ (eivsvt`k Avievb GÜ tkj Uvi tm±i wvFD, 1993)|¹ bMti my` Avevmb e`e`v mōi Rb` bMti emevmKvix `wi`f`i Avevmb Gj vKv cōqvRb| Gi Afvte bMti i mSL`vwi`ō`wi`a RbMY mxvqZ Gj vKvq AwZwi`³ NbemvZtZ evm Kitz eva` nb| GtZ cwi tek i qv cōZKj Ae`v mō nq|

wZxqZ: bMti thLvtb tmLvtb eüZj wekō feb wbgpY cwi tetki Rb` AbKj bq| ati tbqv nq th bMti i Avevmb mgm`v AvcZZ Kgvbvi Rb` eüZj feb GKwU mgvavb| Gme eüZj fetbi GcvUfgU e`Z weEevivB μq Kitz mg`nb| XvKv bMti i cwi Kwi Zfvte wbgvZ weEkvj x`i Gj vKv j kvb, avbgvU, evm avivq hviv fig tctZ AcviM nb Zvt`i Rb` weK i e`e`v wntmte GcvUfgU Zvt`i cōqvRb tglvq| KvHZ Gme eüZj feb NbemvZcY` thgb wnt`k`ix, kwsbMi, Kj vevMv BZ`w` Gj vKvq bZb aitbi ew` Zix Kti | KviY cte` th`v`b GKwU cwi evi evm Kitzv tmLvtb GcvUfgU AŠZ wekU cwi evi evm Kti | GB evowZ NbemvZi m½ m½ZcY`Kti tmev cōvb cwi Kj cbv Kiv nq bv| ZvQrov Avtkcvtki wZbZj v Pvi Zj v`vj v`v`bi Awaevmt`i Dci Avwi wekZj v GcvUfgU wbgpY wK aitbi cFve tdtj Zvl wetePbv Kiv nq bv| iv`v cōk` Kiv nq bv, cwmb l we`yr mvcvB epv Kiv nq bv, AveRbv cwi`vtii mpe`v Kiv nq bv, Rvtgi mgvavb Kiv nq bv| Gmtei Dci th GcvUfgU evowZ RbmsL`vi cFve cto Zvl AeAv Kiv nq| `vj vb GZ NbNb`Zix Kiv nq th GtZ Avtj v evZvm cēvNwZ nq| D`vniY`fj t` Lv hvq th XvKvq cōZw`b cwmbi

¹ Bangladesh Urban and Shelter Sector Review, *Bangladesh Government Document* 92008, Dhaka, 1993.

evsj v`tki mewfbæeo bMti weklZ XvKvi evqj IY fquen chiqi w`tk G₃t`Q| AtpkK XvKvi evZmtK M`vm tPæfî eTj I AvL`wqZ Ktib| XvKvi gvbl RbvKxY[©]cwi tetsk emewm Kivq welv³ M`vfm wklm tbcv `vfwek aTj tbb| Zv`i KvQ XvKvq RgvKZ gqj v, tLvj v b`g, eR[©]c`v_°,`MÛgq cwib tewk `k`gvb nI qvq G₃wj tK cwi tek mgm`vi KviY etj gtb nq| `wl Z evZvfm wel t`Lv bv tMj I GB evZm gvbl I Rb` gvi v`K tivMi KviY nZ cvti | wPwKrmKt`i gTz KvTj v apv t`K G`vRgv, kpmKó, e%vBuUm nZ cvti | KveB gtbv vBW t`K gv`ve`_v, AembZv, eigewgfive nZ cvti | mxmv Øviv Avµvš nTj weKj v½Zv nTq _v`K| evTq Gtivmj hv aj vi mT½ wgtk memgq wklvfm mT½ kixti cØek Kti Zvi dtj Gj wR[©]G`vRgv, BbdTqAv nTq _v`K| cØZw b XvKvi evZm MØY Kti gv_v e`_v, tPvL Ryj v, ZtKi mgm`v wZw`tbi mgm`vq cwiYZ nq| wPwKrmKt`i gTz XvKvi iv`vq cØZw b wZbN>Uv _vKtj Ges Uvbn GK N>Uv _vKtj B `v`nwb nZ eva`| GgbwK K`vYvi I nZ cvti (Lvb, 2000)|³ `wl Z evZvfm wki iv tewk Avµvš nTq _v`K Ges Zv`i kixi weKvTk gvi v`K cØZwµqv t`Lv t`q| mnTRB Abgvb Kiv hvq th, XvKvi iv`vq thme kØRex gvbl tewk mgq _v`Kb Ges thme fvmgvb gvbl XvKvi iv`vqB emewm Ktib Zviv `vqfivte Amy`Zvi gta`B evm Ktib|

kā`IY cwi tek I gvbl I
`t`i Rb` ¶wZKvi K|

PZL²: bMti i cwi enb I bvbv Kvi tY th evowZ kā Drcbæng Zv cwi tetsk Rb` ¶wZKvi K| th kā kixti i cT¶ MØYthvM` mxgvTj Lv AwZµg Kti ZvB ¶wZKvi K kā| evZm, cwib e`ZxZ bMievmx kā `I tYI Avµvš nb| hvb evntbi htš i `je`v Ges UvndK R`vTgi Kvi tY Ges AKvi tY Mvxi nY[©]evRvTbvi Rb` kā Drcbæng| mvavi YZ MvQcvj v I NbemwZ kā `IY KgtZ mnvh` Kti | XvKvq kā`IY AwZgvTq ewx tctqTQ| AvevwmK Gj vKv wK¶v cØZovb nmvcvZj BZw` `vTbi wKtU I kā Kiv _vTgub| kā`IY t`K gvbl I kØYhtš `eKj`, ØvqweK Pvc, nvBcvi tUbkvb, gv_v e`_v I nRtgi cxov t`Lv t`q| XvKv wvR nmvcvZvTj wPwKrmv MØYKvix tivMx`i 7% kā`I tY Avµvš Ges Zv`i kØtbw`q weKj nTq hvq (Avntg` , 1998)|⁴

wkí vqTbi dtj cwi tek `IY

Kj Kvi Lvbi Kw/b eR[©]
cwi tek `wl Z Kti |

cwi tek `I tY wktí i fvgKv AMØY`| wkí Kj Kvi Lvbn t`K th M`vm wbmZ nq Zv evqj IY Kti | mefaK ¶wZKvi K nT`Q wkí t`K Drcw`Z i vmvqwbK c`v_°,`Re-A%Re eR[©]c`v_°hv gwU I cwib `IY Kti | Kw/b `Re c`v_°gwU tZ tdjvi ci PBtq gwU i Zj t`tki cwbtKI `wl Z Kti | evsj v`tki wkí _wj i gta` metPtq tekx cwi tek `IY Kti KvMR I gE `Zixi wkí, e` wkí, I Pvgov wkí | GQovov wPwb, Lv`, grm` I JIa wkí I cØi eR[©]Drcv`b Kti | evsj v`tki Awakvsk wkí eo bMi _wj tZ XvKv, PÆMÛg, ivRkvx I Lj bvq Aew`Z| XvKvi wkí _wj i Awakvsk tZRMvd , nvRvixevM, tWgiv, U½x, Rqt`ecj, bi wms`x I bvi vqbMtÄ Aew`Z|

[°] Khan NZ, *Destroying our Children's Brain with Lead pollution*, Narigrantha Prabantana, Dhaka, 2000.
[°] Ahmed K, *A Study on Noise Pollution in Dhaka City*, Department of Environment , Government of Bangladesh, 1998.

c0gZ: Kwb eR`c`v`emWKfirte w0wkb bv nl qvq cwi tek `IY NtU `vtK| XvKv knfi tgvU Kwb eR` 49% AvevmmK Gj vKvq, 24% wki t`tt, 21% emvR` t`tt I 6% nmvcvZij `uj tZ Drcw` Z nq| cteP cvtV XvKv knfi i Avtj vPbvq Avcbviv tRtbtQb th iv`vi cvtk th eR` Rgv nq Zvi meUKz XvKv wmwU Ktcftikvb w0wkb Ki tZ AcviM| G Kvi tY iv`vq wevttB eR` cwi tek wechq NUvq| GKwU Mtel Yvq (gvRej ingvb I Avkivd Avj x 2000)⁵ Rvbn hvq th Mn`vj x eR` gta` kxtl`AvtQ Dv`Qo Lv` (70%) Ges Zvici cvj w_b, KvMR, MvQcvj v, Kvco BZ`w` | emvR`K eR` gta`I kxtl`AvtQ Lv`, Zvici cvj w_b, Kvco I KvMR| wktfi eR` gta`I kxtl`AvtQ Lv` Ges Zvici KvMR I cvj w_b| XvKv wmwU Ktcftikvb Kwb eR` tdjvi Rb` bMtii evBti bPz`vb wbaftY Kti `vtK| BtZvgta` AtbK bPz`vb eR`tdtj fivU Kiv ntqtQ| thmKj `vtb eR`tdjv nq tmLv`b wlv³ I `vn` M`vm Drcbenq Ges cwi tek `wL Z Kti| Gme eR` gvwU Dctii cwb i ms`utk`Gtm cwb `wL Z Kti| eR`tdjvi Gj vKvq mxmv I tpmvqvgI Drcbenq| Avtiv fqren n`Q GB th Gme Kwb eR`cPti ci gvwU tfZi w`tq PBtq gvwU Zj t`tki cwb i `wL Z Kti|

w0ZxqZ: wki t`tt i Zij eR`cwi tetki gvi vI K`ttwZ mvab Kti| j`ttYxq th Awakvsk wki Mto Dtv b`x, tj K BZ`w` i Zxti hvZ Zij eR`mntR w0wkb Kiv hvq| Gme b`x I Rj vktqi cwb gvbj cvb Kiv, tMvj, Kvco KvPv, ivbwe BZ`w` KvR e`envi Ktib Ges bvbwea e`wataZ Avmvs nb| tKvb tKvb wki Zij eR`gvwtZ w0wkb Kivq gvwU `wL Z nq| Pvgov, e`, KvMR, gE, Lv` I grm` wki `uj t`tk th Zij eR`cwb tZ w0wkb nq Zv cwb i Aw` tRb e`envi Kti cPb c0uqv (decomposition) ga` w`tq wgtk hvq| wKs` Gi dtj cwb tZ emevmKvix gvU I Ab`vb` Rj R c0Yxi gvi vI K`ttwZ mvaZ nq| Gme gvU tL tZ eR` wlv³ c0Zwvqv food chain Gi ga` w`tq gvbtI gta` ms`vvgZ nq| ivmvqbK, KxUvbkK I JIa wki t`tk th Zij eR`w0wkb nq Zv cPbkxj bq| Gme wktfi eR` wlv³ nl qvq Rj R c0Yxmn mKj c0Yxi Rb` gvi vI K|

Kj Kvi Lvvi Zij eR`cwb `Ib Kti|

wbtæi tKm ÷vW t`tk wktfi i Zij eR` ttwZKvi K`K RvbtZ cvi teb|

tKm ÷vW : 1

nvRvi x evM Gj vKvi Pvgov wki

1960 mtb nvRvi xevM AvaybK U`vbvwi i tMvovcEb nq| ersj vt`tk eZgvtb `et`wKk gy` ARfb Pvgov wktfi i Ae`vb AtbK| c0vZ Gme wktfi Pvgov c0uqvRvZ Kiv nq| c0uqvRvZ Ki tYi Rb` wecj cwi gvY ivmvqbK c`v`e`euZ nq hvi dtj `Re, A`Re I wlv³ M`vm w0MZ nq| Gi dtj c0ZwbqZ cwb gvwU I evqy`IY NtU| Gme wktfi Pvgovi I Rtbi GKk `tYi tewk cwb e`envi nq| U`vbvwi Gj vKv t`tk `wbK Mto 4,75,000 M`vj b wlv³ Zij eR`w0MZ nq| GB Zij eR`t`vvgmj, tpmvqvg I Avtm`tKi gZ wlv³ c`v`_vtK| GQrov wecj cwi gvY `Re c`v`_`exfZ A`exfZ j eb, Pwe`i³, mvj dvi, dmtdU BZ`w`

nvRvi xevM Gj vKvi Pvgov wktfi i eR`w0wktbi Kvi tY epiMzvi b`xi cwb `wL Z n`Q|

⁵ Rahan M and Ali, A, "Waste Management and Environment Pollution in Bangladesh", in Feroz Ahmed (ed) Bangladesh Environment 2000, Bangladesh Paribesh Andolon, Dhaka, 2000.

e`envi eÜ Kivi Rb` Avř`vj b KitiQ| GBme mvi I KxUbrkK RıgřZ e`envi Kivi dřj
Rıg bó nq Ges Gıvj cımbi mř½ ıgřk cımb `ıwZ nq| DıwebıM Gi Öbqv Kıw Avř`vj bó
ıvıvıqıbK e`envi Z`ıM Kři `RıeK Dcv`vb e`envi Kivi Rb` Kı.Kř`i msMıwZ KitiQ|
cÖZıwbK Dř`ıM e`ZıZ Mřgi mvariY gıvıj I ıew`Qbřvřte cıwřek iřıvi Avř`vj b KitiQ|
hřkřıři MřgxY RbMY Öej WvKıwZqıÖ Gi Rjvřıg iřıvi Rb` Avř`vj b KitiQb| Dbqıb
cÖRřıi KviřY vej WvKıwZqıv cÖKıwZK cıwřek bó nı qıv Dcıg nřqıQj Ges `ıwı`ř`i
Rıebhvıř Amnbıq nřq DřıvıQj | ıKŠ`G Avř`vj b Ab` GjvKıv nıři i cÖKıwZK cıwřek bó
Kivi Dř`ıM eÜ Kivi třıřıř cřıve ıe`ıvi KitiZ mřıg nq ıb| Ljıbvı Pısox Pıvı cÖřıři i dřj
Aveř`x Rıgı DeřZıv bó nřq hıwıQj | Gi ıei`ř`ıx I `ıvıqı GjvKıvımx Avř`vj b KitiQb|

mıvısk

ersj vř`k `*Z bMıvıřıbi dřj cıwřekı mgm`ıv mıwó nq| t`Lv hıvı th fıřZ AeKıvıřıgıv mıwó
Kıv nq bıv| AcıwıKıvı Zřıřte bMřıı ıe`ıvi NřıU| cıwřentřıbi e`ıvcK Pıwıv`ı mıwó nq| ıKıř
hřıřıř cÖZıwóZ nq| e`ıvcK ıbgıř KıvR Přıj | bMřı AcıwıKıvı Zřıřte fıřg e`enıřıı KviřY
NbemıwZcY`GjvKıvı cıwřek `ıwZ nq| meřPřıq fıřıı nř`Q evıqııY| `ıwZ evZıřıı `ıřı
gıvıj bıvııea e`ıwıřZ Avııvř nb| kã `ıřıYı gıvıj Amy`nřq cřıb| ıKıř I Kj KviLvıvı
t`řk Kıwıb eR`c`ı`ı`mıwıKřıřte ıb`ıvkb bıv nı qıvı gıwıı I cımb `ıwZ nq| ıKıř třıřıřıřı Zıj
eR`c`ı`ı`b`ı, Rjıvıq BZ`ıwı`řZ ıbMřZ nı qıvı gıwıı Dcřıı I bıřıPı cımb `ıwZ nq|
cıwřek iřıvi třıřıřıř mıKıvıx Dř`ıM mıwıgZ| KřıqKıwı GbıwRı I mřkıj mıgıvR ıew`Qbřvřte
ıewřıbeNUbıřıřı Kř`ı Křı Avř`vj b Křı `ıřk| Mřgi mvariY gıvıj I ıew`Qbřvřte cıwřek
iřıvi Rb` cÖZer` Křıb| Zřte GLřıvı cıwřek ıelřq e`ıvcK mřPZbZıv Mřto Dřıvıb|

cvtWĒi gj`vqb

`be⁹³K cĕæ

mWVK DĒti cvtk wJK (v) wPý w`b -

- 1| evq`l tYi tĕĕĕ gvi vĕ K tj` wKfvte Drcbæq?
K. tctUĕj t_ĕK
L. M`vtmwj b t_ĕK
M. tctUĕj i mĕ½ AKtUb wĕkĕq e`envi Kivi dtj
N. wWtRj Pwĕj Z hvbevnb t_ĕK

- 2| kã`l tYi dtj gvbtĕi wK ĕwZ nq?
K. dmdĕmi ĕwZ Kĕi
L. nvBcvi tUbkvb t`Lv t`q
M. ĕwZ nq bvĕ kĕY kw³ ewx cvq
N. cĕbb ĕgZv nwm Kĕi

- 3| nvRvi xevtMi Pvĕov wĕtĕi Zij eR⁹tKv_vq wBMĒ nq?
K. tavj vBLvtj
L. ewMĕv b`xtZ
M. eskx b`xtZ
N. gwĕi bxtP

- 4| Őej WwKwZqvĕ Gi Rj vfvĕg i ĕvi Rb`Kvi v Avĕ`vj b Kĕi wĕtĕj b?
K. Mĕtĕgi mvavi Y`wi`g vĕj
L. mĕxj mgvR
M. BELA bvĕK GbWRI
N. bqy Kwĕ Avĕ`vj bKvi xMY

mswĕĕ cĕæ

- 1| cwiĕk i ĕv Avĕ`vj tĕ Kvi v Dĕ`vM MĕY KiĕQ? wK aiĕbi Bmĕj wĕtĕq cwiĕk Avĕ`vj b nĕtĕQ?
2| Kj Kvi Lvbi Kwĕb eR⁹wKfvte cwiĕk`wĕ Z Kĕi?

i Pbvĕj K cĕæ

- 1| evq wKfvte`wĕ Z nq? evq`l tYi ĕwZKvi K w`Kmgv Avĕj vPbv Ki`b|
2| wĕi tĕĕĕ Zij eR⁹wKfvte cwiĕk`wĕ Z Kĕi? D`vni Y mn Avĕj vPbv Ki`b|

cj ԻԾԲԲԲ
Rural Development

ԵՏՅՎԻՒՄԻ ԱՊՈՒՅԿ ԾԲԲԲ ՄՈՂՅ ԾԲԲԻ ԸՑԻ ՎԵՐՔԻՅ | ԻՒՄԻ ԱՄԱԿՎՏԿ ԳՅՅԻ ՄՈՒՂ ԵՄ ԿԻԲ ԽՐԻՒ Ի ԲՄԵԿՎ ԿՄԻ ԻՒՄԻ ԱՎԻՄ | ԿՄԻ ԱՊՈՒՅԿ ԾԲԲԻ ԻՄ 1/2 ԸՅ ԻԾԲԲԲ ԻՄՍՈՒՄԿՁ | ՄԿՏԻՒ ԼՎ ԽՂ ԹԻ ԿՄԻ ԻՅ ԸՐՐՎ Ի ԽԻՒՆՈՒՄ ԵՄՔ ԸՎՂ ԲՎ | ՄՈՂՅ ՄԳՎՐ ԻԿՅԻ ԸՄԿԻԿԻՅԻ ԸՅՅ ԲՄ ԿԻԿՄԻՅԻ ՆՎՅ ԲՄՂ Ի ԸՈՒՅ ԸՅԱՐԲՅ ՆՂ | ՄԿՏԻՒ ԸՈՒՅ ԸՐՐՎ ԻԿՅԻ ԼՎՅ ՄԵՎՅՂՄ ՆՂ ԲՎ | ԻՄ ԿՎԻՅ ՄՈՂՅԱՅ Ա-ԿՄԻ ԼՎՅ ԿԳՄՏՎԲ ՆՂ ԲՎ | ԱԲԻՒՄ ԻՒՄ ԿՄԻ ՄՈՂՅԱՅ ԵՎՐԻ ՄԵՅ ՆԻՂՂ ԵՂԵՂԵՂ ԵՄՔ ԸՎՐՈ | ԸՅՅ ՄՈՒՂԻ ՂԻՅՅ ԸՈՒՅԿ Ի ԲԻՂՆԻՅ ԿԻԿՄԻՅ ՎԻՒՄԻ ԳԻՒՄ ԵՄԵՄ ԿԻԲ | ԱԲՅԵՒ, ԵՄՎԲ, ՄԻԿՐՄՎ, ՄԿՂՎ ԳՄԿՅ ԳՅՅԻՅ Կ ՔՄՆՎ ԸԻՅԻ ԱԵՒՅ ԻՒՄ ԱՄԱԿՎՏԿ ԳՅՅԻԻ | ԻՄ ԿՎԻՅ ԸՒՄՎՄ ՎԻՒՄ ԵՂՅՂՅՂԻ ԲԲԻ ԲԻՒՄԵԱ ԿԳՄՔ ԹԻՂԵ ԸՅ ԻԾԲԲԲԻ ԿԳՄՔ, ՄԳՎՂ ԲՅՒՄ ԻՄՔԻՅ ՆՂՂՂ | ՄԿՏԻՒ ԼՎ ԽՂ ԹԻ ՄՈՂՅ ՂԳՅՎ ԿՎՎՂՂՅՂ ԱՄԱԿՅԻՅ ԲՄ ԻԿՅԻ ԳՄԿՅ ԿԳՄՔԻՅ ՎԲՅՅ ԿԻԲ | ԸՅ ԻԾԲԲԲ ԿԳՄՔԻ ԸՅՅ ՄԵՂԿՅԻՒՄ Ի ՆՎՅ ՂԳՅՎ Ի ՄՍՈՒՄ ԿՂԻՄՅ ՆՂՂ ԽՂ | ԸՅ ԻԾԲԲԲԻ ԵՂՂԿԿ ԻՄՆՎՄ ԻՄՅՂՂՂԻ ԱՄՈՒՅ ՂԻՂՂՂ | ԻՄ ԿՎԻՅ ԻՄՆՎՄ ԻՄՅՂՂՂ ԲԻՒՄԵԱ ԿԳՄՔ ՄՈՒՅ ԿԻ, ՄԵՂԿԻՅ ՎԻՒՄ ԲՎԻՒՄ ԼՎՅ ՄՈՒՄ ԽՂՂՂՂ ԿԻՒՄ ԵՂԿ | ԳՄԿՅ ԻՄ ԿՎԻՅ ԻՄՆՎՄ ԻՄՅՂՂՂ ԲՅՒՄ Ի ՄՅՅՅՅՅ ԻՄՅՂՂՂ ԿԳՄՔ ԱՐՄԼԿ ԳՅՅԻԻ ԲՎՅՅՅՅՅՅ ՆՂՂՂՂ | ՄԿՏԻՒ ԳՄՐԻ ԿՎՅՂՂ ՄՄԵՂ ԱՅՅՅՅՅ ՎԻՒՄ ԿԳՅՅ ԵՂՂՂՂՂ | ՄԵՎՂԳՅ ԸՐՐՎ ԻՄՍՈՒՄԿՁ ԻՅ ԻՂԻՒՄ ԸՅ ԻԾԲԲԲ ԿԳՄՔԻ ԸՒՄ ԸՒՄՂ |

GB BDԻԲԻՒԻ ԸՎՂՅՂ ՆՒՂՂ -

- ◆ ԸՎ - 1 : ՄՈՂՅ ՄԳՎՐ ԻՒՄ ԳԻՒՄ ԻՒՄՅՂ
- ◆ ԸՎ - 2 : ԸՅ ԻԾԲԲԲ ԿՅՅ ԻՂՂՂ
- ◆ ԸՎ - 3 : ԸՅ ԻԾԲԲԲ ԻՄ ԿՎԻՅ ԸՄԻ ԿԻ ԲՎ
- ◆ ԸՎ - 4 : ԸՅ ԻԾԲԲԲ ԳՄՐԻ ԳՅՂՂ : ԵՅՅԿ
- ◆ ԸՎ - 5 : ՂԻՅՅ ԲՅ ԳՅՂՂ : ՄՈՂՅ ԵՅՅԿ

Môgxy mgvR I `vwi t`i `tfc
Rural Society and the Face of Poverty

GB cvWUJ cto Avcwb RvbZ cvit`eb -

- Kwl Drcv`tb `wei Zv
- gRjx ktgi `pcoc`Zv
- KI.tKi `vwi`atgvKvtej vi mSMôg

m`ut`i Amg eEb

Kwl A_ôxizZ Kwl fvgi m½ KI.tKi m`uk`wbañY Kti m`ut`i gwj Kvbv I m`ct`i eUb| Rvgi gwj Kvbvi t`ñt` t`Lv hvq th, tKej 5% abx K.I.K Ges 20% gvSwii K.I.K Kwl thvM` Rvgi còq 80% Gi gwj K| Ñiz`K.I.K I còSK K.I.K mSL`vq A`bK tenk ntj I Zvt`i Rvgi cwi gvY A`bK Kg| G Kvi tY Ñiz`I còSK KI.tKi ktg D0E A`bK tenk| Gme Ñiz`I còSK K.I.KMYB abx I gvSwii K.I.K t`i AwaKvs`tki Rvg Pvl Kti `v`Kb| mvgwRK ghP`v tet`ai Kvi tY Ges S`K Govt`bvi Rb` abx I Af mSL`K gvSwii K.I.K eM`Pvt`I AvMòx nb| ZvOvov Rvg eM`Pvt`I t`evi ga` w`tq Ñiz`I còSK KI.tK t`i Dci w`bqSY còZòvI m`e nq| Zte Mòtgi GKwJ eo Ask AvtQ hviv fvgi gwj K bq| GB fvgxbZvB mi vmi `vwi`a; wbi cÈvxbZv, ÑlgZvxbZv I FYM0 ntq w`b`Ki t`Yi còvb Kvi Y| fvgxbt`i mSL`v`b w`b epx cvt`Q| Rvg tZ t`ñZgRj wntmte KvR Kti mwgZ Avtqi gRjxB Zvt`i còvb evPvq Dcvq|

Kwl Drcv`tb `wei Zv

*Kwl tZ ht`ó Drcv`b epx
cvq bv| eM`Pvl x I Ñiz`
Pvl xi c`Ri thvM`b Kg| aYx
Pvl t`i c`R `vKtj I Zviv
Kwl Drcv`b epx i Rb`A_
w`vbtqM Kti b bv|*

Kwl tZ Drcv`b epx tctj Ges Zv mlygfvt`e eUb ntj mKj tkYxi ct`ñ R`xebaviY m`e| w`Ks` t`Lv hvq th KI.tKi Dci w`bF` Kti etj eM`Pvl x AwbivcÈvq t`fv`Mb| eM`Pvl Kiti Z cvitj t`Lv hvq dmtj i eUb eM`Pvl xi AbKtj bq| dmtj i AtaR Rvgi gwj KtK w`tZ nq| w`Ks` eM`Pvl x t`K enb Kiti Z nq Drcv`tbi hveZxq e`qfvi | eM`Pvl x t`K j v½j , Mi` t`tK `ii` Kti exR, mvi, tm`Pi Rb` cwbv erowZ gj`, KxUv`kK m`wKQy thvMvo Kiti Z nq| còKwZK `th`Mi Kvi tY m0 AwbivcÈv OvovI Kwl DcKiY mgggZ thvMvo Kivi S`K A`bK| Gici AvtQ c`Ri thvMvb| còqvRbxq FY mi Kvix FY `vb Kg`Px I e`vsK t`tK cvl qv hvq bv| Kvi Y eM`P Rvg RvgvB wntmte MòYthvM` bq| AwZgv`vq Li PvcwZ thvMvo Kti gRjx ktg LwJtq eM`Pvl x Kwl tZ AwaK c`R w`vbtqM Kiti Z Acvi M nb| A`bK eM`Pvl x t`Pov Kti b AwaK cwi gvY Rvg eM`P w`b t`q Af e`tq Pvl Kiti Z| w`Ksev w`KQy Rvg eM`P w`b t`q eM`Pvl x A`b`i Rvg tZ gRjx ktg LvU`tZ I AvMòx nb| GmKj Kvi tY eM`Pvt`I i e`e`vq Kwl tZ Drcv`b `vi`b e`vnZ nq|

abx K.I.KM t`Yi c`R `vKtj I Ges FYMò t`Yi m`thvM `vKtj I Zviv Kwl Drcv`b epx i Rb` tm A_`w`vbtqM Kti b bv| t`Lv hvq th abx K.I.KMY mi Kvix e`vsK t`tK fqv m`wJ`d`t`KU w`tq c`Pi A_`FY wntmte j vF Kti b| GQov D`P dj bKj Pvl vet`i `i`b dmtj i Drcv`b epx i

Rb`l Zvt`i jvf nq| wKŠ` abx tkYxi K.I.K DØĒ mæú` meŋaK e`q Ktib Rwg µq eve` | GQovon e`emv ewYR` mæúhvi Y, Mn wbgŲ, tŲvMiej vtml Zviv cJR webtqvM Ktib| MõgvĀtj Dbz Pvlvert`i cħy³ `vbrši n l qvq tmP, exR, mvi, KxUvkvK BZ`w` tK tK>`a Kti Zvt`i Rb` e`emvi mŲthvM ewx cvq| ZvQovon DØĒ Avtqi `i`b mæú` kvj x wntmte abx tkYxi ŲlgZv Avtvi ewx cvq| ivtõf cĸvmtbi `vbxq KvVtgvvi m½ thvMvthvM ewx Kti Avtvi ŲlgZv Ges Avtvi mæú` ewx i w` tK Zviv tenk SĀK ctob| Drcv`b e`q ewx cvl qvq cĀŠK Pvl x hvf`i Aí Rwg AvtQ Zvt`i ctŲĀ Drcv`b e`q wbeŋ Kiv mæe` nq bv| GB mŲthvM ŲlgZvkj abx K.I.KMY Zvt`i `vcU t`wLŲtq Ges bvbv Kjn d`vmm` mjo Kti cĀŠK Pvlxt`i Rwg µq Ktib| GfvteB cĀŠK Pvlxv µgvMZ tkl mæf GK UKtív Rwg nwiŲtq fvgntxibi `j fĲ nb| GQovon th tKvb cĀKwZK `thvM, Amy`Zv, FYMÕ Zv, gvj v tgvKÍ gv BZ`w` i Kvi tY Ųj` K.I.K Rwg weµq Ki tZ eva` nb| abx K.I.KMY AtbK mgq eMŲvl eÜ Kti klgK wbtqvM Kti Rwg Pvl i wmxš tbb| G tŲĀ eMŲvl x ntq hvb fvgntx ev Ųj` Pvl x hvfK tetP `vKvi Rb` gRjx Avq AšŲY Ki tZ nq| abx K.I.K hv` Dbz cħy³ cĀqvM Kti Pvlvert`i wmxš MõY Ktib Zvtj Kwl DcKi tYi Pwn`vl ewx tctq gj` ewx cvq| dtj Kwl DcKi Y Ųj` a cĀŠK Pvlxi µq mxgvi evBti Pj hvq|

MõgvĀtj tŲZ gRjii
msL`v w` b w` b ewx cvt`Q|
hv`i Avtqi GKgvĀ Drcm
Kwl Drcv`tb kġ
webtqvM| gRjix kġg|
Pwn`vi Zj brq gRjix
kġgKi msL`v tekx n l qvi
gRjix cwi gvY Ktg hvq|

Kgms`vbi Afve

MõgvY Kwl A_ŠwZtZ Awakvsk gvbj gRjix kġgi Dci wbfP Ktib| wKŠ` Mõtg kġ evRvi we`Z bq| meŋaK Kgms`vb nq Kwl tZ| ersj vt`iki Mõg wj tZ tŲZgRjii msL`v w` b w` b ewx cvt`Q hvf`i Avtqi GKgvĀ Drcm Kwl Drcv`tb kġ webtqvM| GtŲĀ Mõtgi abx K.I.KMYi Aaxtb meŋaK Rwg gvj Kvbv tK` tFZ n l qvq abx K.I.KMYB eo Pvkix`vZv| Mõtgi ŲlgZv KvVtgvfZ abx K.I.KMY AwacZ` we`vi Ktib meŲĀtĀ| kġ evRvti l mjo nq ŲlgZvkj abx K.I.Ki AwacZ`| tKej Kgms`vbKvix wntmte bq, KtgP kZ`Ges gRjix Dci l Zvt`i GKwacZ` cĀZwõZ nq| AvtKwU wclq Dtg LthvM` th, Mõtgi gvSwi, Ųj` a cĀŠK K.I.KMY wbtRt`i kġ l cwi ewi K cwi kġgi mteP e`envi Kti `vtKb| G tkYxi Aí msL`K K.I.K A-Kwl KvR wbtqvRZ `vKvq Zvt`i Kwl KvR gRjix kġgi cĀqvRb mjo nq|

abx K.I.KMY jvFRbK A-Kwl KvR Awak wbtqvRZ `vKvq Zvt`i RwgZ gRjix kġgi cĀqvRb meŋaK| gRjix kġgi Pwn`vi Zj brq gRjix kġgKi msL`v Awak n l qvq gRjix cwi gvY Ktg hvq| ZvQovon Kwl A_ŠwZtZ mviv ermi kġgi Pwn`v `vtK bv| ermŲi KtgK gvm weŲklZ elŲvtj tKvb KvR `vtK bv| tŲZ gRjMY tKvb Dcvq bv `vKvq `f gRjxtZ Ges AtbK mgq tKej tctU fvZ gvj tKi RwgZ KvR Ki tZ ivRx `vtKb| Gfvte Zvt`i cĀZ Avq AtbK Ktg hvq| Mõtg teKvi Zj ev GtKevti tKvb KvR Ki tQb bv, Ggb Ae`v `k`gvb nq bv| Kvi Y mnvq mæf nxb gvbj AZ`wak tkvl Ygj K ntj l Ges AZ`š `f gtj` ntj l tKvb bv tKvb KvR LjR tbb| Zv bv ntj cwi evi cwi Rb wbtq Dtcvm Kvi v Qovon MZ`ši `vtK bv| G Kvi tY Zvt`i cjo MõtYi cwi gvY KgtZ `vtK Ges KgRw³ tjvc cvq| QÜ teKvi tZi cwi gvY tekx| Kvi Y Kwl ntq tMŲQ AZ`wak kġNb| Gi cil meŲvivi msL`v AtbK ewx tctq tQ| Mõtg meŲvivi i msL`vB meŋaK| Mõtg Drcv`bkj webtqvM ewx bv cvl qvq A-Kwl Kgms`vb ewx cvq bv| Ab` w` tK MõgvĀtj evRvi we`Z n l qvq `e`gj` ewx cvt`Q| dtj Ųj` a cĀŠK K.I.KMYi l cĀZ Avq Ktg hvq etj Zvivi `wi t`f gta` emem

Ktib| Abce e-, evm-vb, wPwKrmv, wkqjv GmKj c0_wgK Pwn`v ciYi gZ Ae-v tbB
AwaKvsk gvbtli| Zvi gvfb `wii`fxgvi bxtP AwaKvsk gvbtli Ae-vb|
Kl.tKi `wii`atgvKvtej vi msM0g

পর্বে দরিদ্র পরিবার গুলি
প্রকৃতি থেকে অনেক কিছু
বিনামূল্যে সংগ্রহ করতে
পারতো। এখন তা সম্ভব হয়
না।

`wii`i wecixtZ Pij Kl.tKi tetP_vKvi msM0g| tetP_vKvi Rb` AbeiZ Zviv brvwea
tKSkj AeJ mb KiZ_vKb| A-KwL LvZ weKvk jvf bv Kivq I wkfi vbqb bv nlqv
Kgms`vtbi msM0g AtpK KwB| Zviv gvQ aiv, ZvZ ev Ab` tKvb mbvZb wki Kg0I
t`vKvbcvU, cwienb BZ`w`tZ KvRi mUvb Ktib| Aí cR`Zix ntj Mi`i evQj Gtb jvj b
cuj b Ktib| GwU eo ntj Zvi `p weμq KiZ cvtib| Mi`i ev`Pv ntj I weμq KiZ
cvtib| AtpK mgq abx Kl.KMY Askx`wii`Zij gva`tg Mi`i cvj tb A`ewbtqM Kti_vKb|
`wii`a cwi evfi i wki iv Avq tivRMvfi eo fvgKv ivtL| `wii`a cwi evfi i Qq ermi eq`wki,
KLtbv teKvi_vKb bv| tPfi ermi ntj `wii`a wki hv tfvM Kti Zv wbtRB tivRMvi Kti|
AtpK mgq abx Kl.tKi cwi evfi `vqx I A`vqxfvte tctUfvZ wki iv KvR Kti| GQrov
jvKox msM0h, kvKcvZv msM0h, gvQ aiv Gme KvR wbtqMvRZ t`tK cwi evfi Lv`vrcv`tb
Zviv mvrvh` Kti| ivmvqubK mvi e`envi Kivi dtj tWvev bjjv I avbtqitzi Rgvfbv cwbtZ
gvQ nq bv| j Zv_j`Rb`iq bv cteP gZ| `wii`a cwi evfi i bvi xiv Mn`vj xi KvRi evBfi
Avtqi Rb` abx cwi evi `uj`tZ KvR Ktib| cte`XmktZ avb fvbvi KvR cfi wQj| wKs`GLb
tm KvR bv_vKvq Mn`vj xi KvR, cvU Qovtbn BZ`w` km` c0μqvRvZ KitiYi KvR bvi xiv
wbtqMvRZ nb| AwaKvsk KvR tgs`mgx KvR| mviv eQi_vKb bv| bvi xi k0 m`v nl qvq AtpK
tKej Lv`i wevgtq KvR Ktib| wbtR`i Mn`vj xi Rb` jvKox msM0h, Lv` mvrvh` msM0h
BZ`w`tZ AwaK mgq e`_vKb| ZvQrov avb KvUvi ci RvgtZ cto_vKv avb msM0h, tMvei
msM0h Kti Rvj vbx `Zix Kivi KvR Ktib| Mn`vj xi Afive tgUvbi Rb` bvi xiv M0tgi
cwi wPZ evox t`tK Lvevi, j eb, tZj, Kvco, tKtiwmb BZ`w` mvrvh` msM0h Ktib| Rvj vbx
I Lv` msM0n wki iv wbtqMvRZ_vKb| tgtqiv Mn`vj xi KvR Kti|

Ri`ix Ae`vq wKsev Mn`vj xi tKvb m`m` Amy`ntj `wii`a Kl.K cwi evi Mn`vj x mvgM0 weμq
Kti t`b| `wii`a cwi evfi `Yij %vi bv_vKvq RvgvBZ t`evi gZ wKQy_vKb bv etj FY cvl qv
mnR nq bv| Nti Zvgv Kwvvi tKvb `ZrMcT, KvfiV wRwbm ev gj`evb wKQy_vKtj Zv weμq
Ktib| Nti Pvj wJbi ntj tm wUb weμq Ktib| mefkl Avk0 wntmte th Ni Ges wftUgwU
_vK Zv eUK w`tq FY M0Y Ktib| FY cwi tkva Kitz bv cvitj Avk0xb ntq hvb|

দরিদ্রের অবস্থায় টিকে
থাকার জন্য প্রতি দিন চলে
খাদ্য সংকোচন নীতি।

`wii`i Ae`vq wJtK_vKvi Rb` c0Zw`b Pij Lv` M0tY mstKvPb bwiZ| Lv` Zvij Kvq gL`
nt`Q Pvj| tKvb Dcvtq Pvj μq KiZ cvitj M0g t`tK kvKcvZv thvMvo Kti, gvQ afi
wKsev j eb w`tq fvZ Lvevi thvMvo Ktib| Avtiv Lvivc Ae`vq Pvj Lvl qvl tQto t`b| Mg
Lvl qvi Af`vm Ktib thtnZvM0tgi gj` Atp`vKZ Kg| M0g t`tK wevgtj` Lv` msM0h Kiv
w`tb w`tb Am`e ntq hv`Q| cte`b`x t`tK gvQ afi RxebaviY Kiv thZ| GLb b`x`uj
BRviv w`tq t`qvq tm m0hvM tbB| Lv`vf`vm e`tj i t`t` Ges Kg cwi gvY Lv` M0tY
Mn`vj xi bvi x`i`wqZi AwaK|

`wii`i KvitY cwi evi, tMv0x I Avlxq `Rtbi m0m`úK0 wku_j ntq hvq| `xN0 b
`wii`i KvitY Acj0tZ tfvMvi dtj Kg`lgZvl nvm cvq| ZLb Rxeb avitYi Rb` Pwi,
wF`vewE I thsb e`emvqi m0m` AtpK hv0 ntq c0b| `wii`i KvitY cwi ewi K SMOV
weev` epx cvq| wki t`i Dci Pij wbtZb| AZ`waK wbcxobj K Ae`vq cwi evi tft` hvq|

AwaKvsk mgq `xtK evox t_+K tRviceR tei Kti t`qv nq| Amnvq bvi x ZLb meñviv nqg
ucZvgvZvi `wi`^cwi evti I VvB cvb bv|

`wi t`i Ae`vq evPvi ZvMf` meñviv gvb| abx K.I.Kt`i KvQ evisevi mrvvth`i Rb` c0_Bv
Ktib| KvRi Rb` I gRjx epxi Rb` Abfiva Ktib| abx K.I.Kt`i b`vqvePvi teva I
bvxZteva RvMz Kivi Rb` meñKvi tPov Ktib| GgZve`vq abx K.I.KMY AfbK mgq `wi`^
gvbl RbtK e`envi Ktib ivR%owZK Df`tk`| A_owZK mrvvth`i Avkjm w`tq M0gxY tKv`j ,
`jv`ij GgbvK gvi vgwitZ chS ¶lgZvkj xiv `wi`^gvbl tK e`envi Ktib| M0gxY A_BvMz tZ
tKvb Dcvtq evPvi mKj c_ i`x nqg tMtj `wi`^gvbl Rb Ab` M0tg KvRi mUvfb tei nb|
GKvš vbi`cvq nqg `wi`^gvbl M0g t0to knfi Awfvevb Ktib|

tKm ÷ vW : 1

Ryj vbx I cwb m¼U : bvi xi KvR I mgqi Dci cñve

teov M0gu tKivbxMÄ _vbvq Aew`Z| XvKv t_+K Gu 18 gvBj `ti | XvKvi GZ mwbKtU
ntj I GLvtb M`vm mieivn tcŠtQwb| M0tgi RbmsL`vi 1% D`PweE, 14% ga`weE, 19%
wbæweE Ges 66% `wi`^tkYxfB | Mn`vj x e`e`vcbv I Lv` c0Z Kiv bvi x`i KvR|
Mn`vj x KvRi GKvU eo Ask n`Q Ryj vbx I cwb msMñ Kiv| `wi`^cwi evi ,ij G`fUvB
c0KvZK Dm t_+K msMñ Ktib| cte`M0gvÄtj cPai eb R½j _vKvq Ryj vbx msMñ GZUv
KóKi vQj bv| b`x, cKai BZ`w`i cwb fvvtjv _vKvq KvQvKvQ Dm t_+K cwb msMñ Kiv
thZ| vKŠ`cwi tek`l tYi Kvi tY cwb `wLZ nqg tMtQ| ebR½j I DRvo nqg tMtQ| dtj
`wi`^cwi evi ,ij tK Ryj vbx I cwb m¼tUi gflvgvL nZ n`Q| Ryj vbx vntmte th Kv evRvti
cvl qv hvq hv Zv tKej `Qj K.I.KMYB µq KitZ cvtib| abx K.I.Ki vBR`^wJDeI tQj
_vKvq Zvt`i cwb m¼UI Kg|

Ryj vbx vntmte GM0tg e`eüZ nq KvW, Lo, tUMi (i`Kbv KPixcvbv), i`Kbv cvZv, MvB_v
(i`Kbv tMvei), gB_v (Pvi Kj), aBÄv (GKaitbi tQvU MvQ), MvtQi Wvj , tKti vmb, vUMj
(i`Kbv efbv dj) I MULj (i`Kbv efbv ev`vg RvZxq)| cte`abx K.I.Kt`i evox t_+K R½tj i
MvtQi Wvj cvj v, Lo I tMvei webvgtj` msMñ Kiv thZ| vKŠ`GLb mweR A_owZK Ae`v
Lvivc nl qvq Zv mæe nq bv| abx K.I.KMYI Ryj vbx Rb` Lo e`envi Ktib Ges tMvei mvi
vntmte e`envi Ktib| `wi`^cwi evi ,ij tekv e`envi Ktib Lo, i`Ktbn KPix cvbv, cvZv,
dj, ev`vg BZ`w`| Gi mevKQybvi x`i msMñ KitZ nq `ieZx`vb t_+K| D`P dj bKxj
avb Pvl Kivi dtj avb MvQ j`v nq bv| tm Kvi tY Lo cvl qv hvq bv| Avevi elRvtj G
aitbi Ryj vbx Dci vbfP Kiv hvq bv| ZvQov G aitbi Ryj vbx Av_b tekv¶Y _vtK bv
etj ivbvi mgq cfi vUvB bvi x`i Pj vi KvQ etm _vKtZ nq|

Ryj vbx I cwb msMñi Rb`
`wi`^cwi evti i bvi x`i
cPj mgq e`q KitZ nq|

cwb msMñi Rb` `wi`^bvi x`i cPai mgq e`q KitZ nq| Kvi Y Lvl qv, tavqvfgvQv, tMvmj
cñvzi Rb` Mn`vj xZ cPai cwb `i Kvi nq| vbtRt`i wJDeI tQj bv _vKvq abx K.I.Kt`i
e`w³MZ wJDeI tQj t_+K vKsev mi Kvi x wJDeI tQj t_+K cwb msMpxZ nq| mi Kvi x
wJDeI tQj i Dci AwZwi³ Pic covq AwaKvsk mgq tm ,ij bó _vtK| tm¶¶tI cwb msMñi
Rb` bvi xiv tmmKj abx K.I.Ki evoxZ thZ cvtib hv`i m½ fvvtjv mæUK`AvtQ| tm
Kvi tY AfbK mgq eü`i t_+K Zviv cwb msMñ Ki tZ era` nb|

wbæi mvi Yx t_#K Avcbvi v Mn^vj x Kv#R bvi xi mgq e)U#bi wel tq Rvb#Z cvi teb|

mvi Yx - 1 : Mn^vj x Kv#R bvi xi k# e)Ub

Kv#Ri aib	e)UbKZ mgq				
	1 N)Uv	2-3 N)Uv	4-5 N)Uv	6 N)Uvi tekx	me#gvU msL^v
ivbæ	5%	91%	5%	.50%	200
ev^Pv jvj bcvj b I cwi ev#i i m^m^M#Yi t^ Lv#kvbv	54%	42%	3%	1%	182
Mn^vj x cwi^#vi	84%	16%			196
Kvco favqv	73%	27%			187
evoxi evMvb	80%	20%			128
cwb msM#h	64%	21%	15%		153
Rvj vbx msM#h	61%	39%			140
nvn gj Mx cvj b	80%	20%			123
Mev^x ci^ cvj b	83%	14%	3%		29
avb I Ab^vb^ km^	14%	32%	43%	11%	37
c#uqvRvZKiY					

Drn : BkivZ kwgg I Lv#j^v mijvnDwi^b, *Energy and Water Crisis in Rural Households : Linkages With Women's Work and Time*, Women for Women, Dhaka, 1994.

t^ Lv hvq th, ivbæ cvb Kiv, tMmj , Kvco KvPv, cwi^#vi cwi^Qbzvi Rb^ bvi#t^ i c#i cwb msM#h Ki#Z nq thRb^ c#i mgq e^q nq| Zivov Rvj vbx msM#hni Rb^I c#Zw^ b A#bK mgq e^q Ki#Z nq| tm^#j bvi#t^ i Rb^wbvc^ cwb I M^v#mi mieivn Kiv ntj^ `wi^#bvi#t^ i c#i Drcv^ bkuj Kv#R thM^ vb m#æ nte|

mvi vsk

M#tg Drcv^b e^e^v Kiv wbf#| K.I.Kiv c#vbZ #jz^ tRi#Z w#Rt^ i tLvi vKx thvM#oi Rb^ Pvlver^ K#ib| `wi#^i P#t# I FYM# nIqv #jz^ I c#ŠK K.I.K fvg nvi#t^Qb| fvgnt#bi msL^vB tek| Zviv eM#PvI K#i I t#jZgRj^ wnt#te Avq tivRMvi K#ib| M#tg AKiv Kgf#s^vb L# Kg| dtj t#jZgRj#^ i Kiv i m#B h#^ _vK#Z nq| Kiv KivR k#NY nIqv gRjx Kg| `wi#^i Ae^vi m#Z mg#SvZv K#i me#viv gvbj e#Pvi tKŠkj L#Rb| cte^wi^#gvbj Rb cKivZ t_#K A#bK wKQywbvg#j^ jv#f Ki#Zb| eZ#v#b i v#qv#bK mvi, KivbvkK BZ^w^ e^en#i i dtj cwi#tek `wLZ n#Q| gvQ, kvKcvZv, jZv, j# Rb#q bv cte# gZ| GRgvij m#ci# e^w#MZ gvij Kivv#xb n#q cot#Q| cwbI `wLZ n#q hv#Q| Rvj vbx m#U m#o n#Q| fvgv#b `wi^#gvbj#K wbf# Ki#Z n#Q evRi#i Dci| evRi#i `e^ gj^ e#x cv#Q| G Ae^vq fvgv#b Kgf#b `wi^# bvi#x cj^ I wki Pig `wi#^i tgvK#ejv Kivi Rb^ te#P_vKivi msM#g Ki#Qb|

cvtWĒi gj`vqb

`be⁹³K cĕæ

m^WK DĒtⁱ i cvt^k W^K (v) W^Py w`b-

- 1| eM^PvI tK^vb t^kYⁱ K^I.t^Ki R^b me^Wa^K j v^fR^bK?
- K. abx K^I.K
- L. g^vS^vi x K^I.K
- M. c^WŠ^K K^I.K
- N. eM^P vi

- 2| W^Wc W^UD^el t^qt^j i c^wb K^vi v W^bq^šY K^ti b?
- K. `v^bx^q c^Wkm^K
- L. f^vgⁿx^b m^Wg^wZ
- M. m^ge^vt^q K^ZZ^kx^j abx K^I.K
- N. A^vt^ˆ v^j t^bi g^va^ˆt^g `wⁱ `^aK^I.K

- 3| M^Wt^g K^wl t^qtⁱ k^tgⁱ g^Rj x t^Kb K^tg h^vt^ˆQ?
- K. K^wl k^tgⁱ c^Wq^vR^bx^qZ^v K^g n^l q^vq
- L. K^wl t^qtⁱ k^tg^tKⁱ mⁱeⁱvⁿ e^wx c^vl q^vq
- M. K^wl t^Z k^tg^tKⁱ mⁱeⁱvⁿ K^tg h^vl q^vq
- N. abx K^I.t^Ki m^sL^v K^g n^l q^vq

- 4| eZ^Wv^tb L^o t^Kb K^g c^vl q^v h^vq?
- K. a^vb t^qtⁱZ L^o b^o n^tq h^vq Z^vB
- L. M^Wg^vĀ^tj L^toⁱ c^Wq^vR^bx^qZ^v d^wi t^q t^Mt^Q
- M. D^ˆP^dj b^kx^j e^xt^R P^vl Kⁱt^j a^vb M^vQ j e^f n^q Z^vB
- N. D^ˆP^dj b^kx^j e^xt^R P^vl Kⁱt^j a^vt^bi M^vQ t^et^U n^q Z^vB

ms^Wq^WB cĕæ

- 1| M^Wt^gi w^ki i v `wⁱ `^at^gv^Kv^te^j vi R^b w^K w^K K^vR K^ti _v^tK?
- 2| M^Wg^vĀ^tj `wⁱ `^ae^wxⁱ K^vi Y w^K?

i P^bv^gj K cĕæ

- 1| `wⁱ `^at^gv^Kv^te^j vi R^b `wⁱ `^aK^I.t^Ki m^sM^tgⁱ w^er^fb^w K A^vt^j v^Pb^v Kⁱ“b?
- 2| M^Wg^vĀ^tj R^yj v^bx l c^wb m^WU `wⁱ `^ab^vi xⁱ K^vR l m^gt^qi D^ci w^K aⁱt^bi c^fv^e t^dt^j? A^vt^j v^Pb^v Kⁱ“b|

cj ԻձբգԻԵ Կւյյ ԿԳԴՅ

Comilla Model for Rural Development

GB ԵՎՄՄ ԵժՕ ԱՎԵԵԵ ԲՎԻԴԶ ԵՎԻԵԵ -

- Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ԵՎԻԵԶԵԿԻյ ԵԿԵ
- Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ԳԿՎԴՄԻԳ (BARD) ԳԻ ԿՍյյ ԿԳԴԵՄ
- ԵճԻՏԶ Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ԿԳՄԻՔ (IRDP) ԵՎ ԿՍյյ ԿԳԴՅ
- ԿՍյյ ԿԳԴՅ ԱԵՄՎԻ ՄՄՅ ԵՍյՎԵԴ Կ Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ԴԵՎԵԴ (BRDB)

ԵՍյՎԵԴ ԴԵԿ ՄՄՅ Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ԿԳՄԻՔ ԱՎՏՐՈՒԶԿ ԱԲԳՏԻՎԻՔ ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ ԴԵ ԴԵԳԻԵԻ ԱՎԻՄՅՕ ԿԴԻ, ԶՎԻ ԱԵՅԻԴԻՅ ԵՍյՎԵԴ ԴԵ Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ԿԳՄԻՔ ՄՎՐԻԵՆ ՈՂ | ԳՎԻԵ ԴԵ ԼՎ ԽՂԴ ԴԵ, 1948 - 1955 ԵճԳԿՎԴՅ ԱՎԳՎՅԻ ՄԵԿԴԻ Ի ԴԵԻ ԴՐՎԻ ԴԵ ՂՎ ՈՒԳՈՂ | 1960 - 1965 ԵճԳԿՎԴՅ Ի ԲՎԵՔ ԵՍԿՍ Ե՛ԶԻ ԵՎՂ | 1966 - 1967 ԵՎԴՅ Ե՛Զ ԿՄԼ ԴՐԵՎԵ ԵՍԿԻ ԲԵ՛ՒՎ ԲՎԵ ՄՅՕ ՈՂ | 1967- 1968 ԵՎԴՅ ԲԵՄՏԼՎՆ ԱԲԳՏԻ ԵՕ ԴԿՄՄԻԵ ԵՎԻՅ ՈՂ | 1971 - 1975 ԵճԳԿՎԴՅ ԵՍԴԻԵ ԵՎ ՂՎ ԱՄՈՒԵԿՎԻ ԵՎՂ | 80 ԳԻ ԵԿԴԿ Ե՛ՄԻ Ե՛Յ ԵԵԳՎԲ Ե՛ՅՎ ԿԳՄԻՔԴԶ ԵՎԻՅ ՈՂ | ԳԵ ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ ԵՍյՎԵԴ ԴԵ Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ԳԿՎԴՄԻԳ (BARD) ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ ՈՂ 1959 ԵՎԴՅ | ԳԻ ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ Մ: ԱՎԼԶՎԻ ՄՄԻԳ՝ ԼՎԵ | ԶԼԵ ԴԵԿ ԳԵ ԳԿՎԴՄԻԳԴԶ Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ՎԵԳ ՄԴԵԼ ԻՎ ԿՎԽԵՅ Ի Ի՛ ՈՂ |

ԵՍյՎԵԴ ԴԵԿ ՄՄՅ Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ԿԳՄԻՔ ԱՎՏՐՈՒԶԿ ԻՎՐԵՄԶԻ ԵՎԵ ԴԵԿ ԳՅ ԲՂ | ԵԻՏ ԱՎՏՐՈՒԶԿ ԱԲԳՏԻՎԻՔ ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ ԴԵ ԴԵԳԻԵԻ ԱՎԻՄՅՕ ԿԴԻ, ԶՎԻ ԱԵՅԻԴԻՅ ԵՍյՎԵԴ ԴԵ Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ԿԳՄԻՔ ՄՎՐԻԵՆ ՈՂ | ԳՎԻԵ ԴԵ ԼՎ ԽՂԴ ԴԵ, 1948 - 1955 ԵճԳԿՎԴՅ ԱՎԳՎՅԻ ՄԵԿԴԻ Ի ԴԵԻ ԴՐՎԻ ԴԵ ՂՎ ՈՒԳՈՂ | 1960 - 1965 ԵճԳԿՎԴՅ Ի ԲՎԵՔ ԵՍԿՍ Ե՛ԶԻ ԵՎՂ | 1966 - 1967 ԵՎԴՅ Ե՛Զ ԿՄԼ ԴՐԵՎԵ ԵՍԿԻ ԲԵ՛ՒՎ ԲՎԵ ՄՅՕ ՈՂ | 1967- 1968 ԵՎԴՅ ԲԵՄՏԼՎՆ ԱԲԳՏԻ ԵՕ ԴԿՄՄԻԵ ԵՎԻՅ ՈՂ | 1971 - 1975 ԵճԳԿՎԴՅ ԵՍԴԻԵ ԵՎ ՂՎ ԱՄՈՒԵԿՎԻ ԵՎՂ | 80 ԳԻ ԵԿԴԿ Ե՛ՄԻ Ե՛Յ ԵԵԳՎԲ Ե՛ՅՎ ԿԳՄԻՔԴԶ ԵՎԻՅ ՈՂ | ԳԵ ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ ԵՍյՎԵԴ ԴԵ Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ԳԿՎԴՄԻԳ (BARD) ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ ՈՂ 1959 ԵՎԴՅ | ԳԻ ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ Մ: ԱՎԼԶՎԻ ՄՄԻԳ՝ ԼՎԵ | ԶԼԵ ԴԵԿ ԳԵ ԳԿՎԴՄԻԳԴԶ Եյ ԻձբգԻԵ ՎԵԳ ՄԴԵԼ ԻՎ ԿՎԽԵՅ Ի Ի՛ ՈՂ |

ԿՍյյ ԿԳԴԵՄ

ԿՍյյ ԿԳՎԴՄԻԳ ԿՄԼ ԴՐԵՎԵ ԵՍԿ ԼՎԵ՛ՆՐԵՎԻԵ ԴԵ ԵԵԵՆՄՎԻԵ Ե՛ՅՎ ԵՎՂ ՎՈՒՄԵ Ե՛Ի ԿԴԻ | ԳԵ Ե՛Ղ՝ ԱՐՔԻ Ե՛ՄՅ ՎՈՒՄԵ ԵճԵՎ Ե՛ԵՎԴԿ ԱՎԵԿ ԿԻՎ ՈՂ | ԿՍյյ ԿԳԴԵՄ ՔԻ ԿՎՎԴԳՄԶ Ե՛ԵԿՕ՝ Ե՛Յ ՎԵՅԵ ԴՅՅ Ե՛Զ ՈՒՅ Վ |

ԵՎԵԲԵԵԵՎԻՅ ՎԵՍԻՅՎԻ ԵԻ ԿՍյյ ԿԳՎԴՄԻԳ ԿՄԼ ԴՐԵՎԵ ԵՍԿ ԳԵՏ ԿՎԽԶ ԼՎԵ՛ՆՐԵՎԻԵ ԴԵ ԵԵԵՆՄՎԻԵ Ե՛ՅՎ ԵՎՂ ՎՈՒՄԵ Ե՛Ի ԿԴԻ | ԳԵ Ե՛Ղ՝ ԱՐՔԻ Ե՛ՄՅ ՎՈՒՄԵ ԵճԵՎ Ե՛ԵՎԴԿ ԱՎԵԿ ԿԻՎ ՈՂ | ԿՍյյ ԿԳԴԵՄ ՔԻ ԿՎՎԴԳՄԶ Ե՛ԵԿՕ՝ Ե՛Յ ՎԵՅԵ ԴՅՅ Ե՛Զ ՈՒՅ Վ |

ԳԿ. ՄՈՒԳԻ ԿԼԿԴԻ ՎԵԳ Ե՛Յ Ե՛Ի Ե՛ԵԿՕ ԵճԵՎ ԵճԻՅ ՄՅՕ ԴԶՅՎ ՈՂ | Ե՛Ղ՝ ԵճԿ Ե՛Ի ԵճԵՎ ԵճԻՅԻ Եճ ԿԼԿ ԵճԵՎ ԵճԻՅ (KSS) ԽՎ ՄՈՒԳ Ե՛Ղ՝ ԳԿՄ ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ | ՎՅԶԻՂ Ե՛Ի ԵճԵՎ ԵճԻՅԻ Եճ Ե՛ՅՎ ԴՄՍԴՅ ԴԿՎԱԵՎԻՄԴ ԳԴՄՄՈՒԳԿԵ (TCCA) ԽՎ Ե՛ՅՎ Ե՛Ղ՝ ԵճԻՅ ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ | KSS ԳԻ Մ՛ՄԻՄԻՅ ՄՎՏՄՈՒԿ ՄԱՂ ԴԳՎ ԿԴԻ Ե՛Ղ՝ ՄՅՕ ԿԴԻԵ | KSS ԴՏՎԻԵ ԴՐԵՎԵ ԵՎԻԿԻՅՎ ԿԴԻ | ԴՐԵՎԻ ԲԵ՛ՒՎ 50-100 ԳԿԻ ԴՍԻ ԵԿ՝ ԶԻՔ ԿԻՎ ՈՂ | ԳԻ ԳՎԴՅ ԿՄԼ ԴԵԿԻՅ ԴԽԵ ԴԴԻ ԵճԵՎ ԵՍԴԻԵ Ե՛ԵՎ ՈՂ | KSS Ե՛ՅՅ TCCA ԴԵԿ ԴԻ ՄՈՒԿ ԿԴԻ | ԳՎԻԵ ԿԼԿԴԻ Ի ԴԻ ԱԵ՛ՅՎ՝ ԴԵԿԻՅ ՄԵԻՎՆ ԿԴԻ Դ՛Փ ԴՅԵԿՅ ԱՎ (HVV) Ի ՄԳ ՔՎԻ Ե՛ՅՎ ՆՄՎԻ ԴԴ՝ Մ ԴԵՎ ՈՂ |

Ե՛Յ. Ե՛ՅՎ Ե՛Ղ՝ ԳԿՄ ԴՄՍԵ ԳՍ ԴՄԴԴՅ ԵճՅՍ ԴՄՍՎԻ ԵԿԶՕՆՆԵՅԻ ՈՂ | ԳԼՎԵԵ KSS ԳԻ ԴՓՂԻԳՎԵ Ի ԳԴՅՅ ԿԼԿԴԻ Ե՛Կ ԿՄԻ Ե՛ԶԵ Ե՛Ղ՝ ԱՐՔ Դ՛Փ ԴՅԵԿՅ Ե՛Ղ՝ ՔԻ ՄԵՍԴԿԵՒԿՅ Ե՛Ղ՝ Ե՛ՅՎ ԿԻՎ ՈՂ |

ՄԶԵ. ՄՈՒԿՅ Ե՛ԶԿԳՄԻՔ ԵՎ Ի՛ՅՅ ԼՂՎԿՄ Ե՛Ղ՝ (RWP) ՄՄՅ ՈՂ | ԳԻ ԴԴ՝ Կ՝ ՈՂ ՄՈՒԿՅ ԱԵԿՎՎԴԳՎ ԱԲԳՏԻ ԽՎԶ՝ Ե՛Ղ՝ ԿԼԿԴԻ Ե՛ ԿԳՄՏՎՆ ՈՂ |

ՔՎԻ. Ե՛ՅՎ Ե՛Ղ՝ ԳԿՄ Ե՛ՅՎ Ե՛Ղ՝ Ե՛Ղ՝ Ե՛Ղ՝ (TIP) ԴԵՎ ՈՂ | ԳԻ ԳՎԴՅ ԿԼԿՄԻ ԴԽԵ ՄՄԿԻԵ ԴՄՓ ԿՎԽԵՅ Ե՛ՅՎ ԿԻԴՅ Ե՛Ղ՝ ԶՎ Ե՛Ղ՝ ԿԻՎ ՈՂ |

civP. fvgnxb K.I.K mgevq mvgvZ MVb Kiv nq, hvi dtj A-Kwł Kgfms`vtbi e`e`vK msMwZ Kiv hvq| GB mgevq| _vbr chřq TCCA Gi m½ hš nq|

Kvgj v-G`vtcPwU cj x-Dbqřbi Dřl`tk` cŁtg cŁqvM Kiv nq Kvgj v- tKvZvqvij _vbrq Ges cři mgMŁKvgj v-Rj vq| Kvgj v-G`vtcPwU ev`evqřb cŁvmbK mvdj` AmRZ nq| Gi tcQřb W: AvLZvi nwig` Lvřbi e`w³MZ ZÉyevb I cŁvmtřbi m`uY`mnrřwMzv eo KviY| Kvgj v-G`vtcPři dtj Kwł Drcv`b ep`x cvq| Kwł řZ cŁqvMKZ bZb chřv³ m`uřK`K.I.Kř i` řZv ep`x cvq| Kgfms`vtbi Ae`v wKQyv řvtj v nq| ZvOvov Kvgj v-G`vtcPři dtj MŁg chřq cřRi cřÁFeb NřU|

Kvgj v-G`vtcP ev`evqřbi ci cŁtg MŁgi abx K.I.KMY GřZ thvM`vřb Drmnv ř`Lv b vb| cŁtg ga`g řkYxi K.I.KMY GwMř Avřmb| mgevřqi gva`řg exR, mvi, KxUvřkK I řmřPi mřřvM mřv nř qvq ga`g řkYxi K.I.KMY DcKZ nb Ges A_řwZKřvře mdj` nřZ i i` Křib| GB mvdj` MŁgi abxK.I.KMYřK mgevřq thvM`vřb AvKŁ Kři| MŁgi D`P řkYřřv eo K.I.K, gnrRb, e`emvřxv mgevřq thvM`vřb Kři Zř` i řZv cŁqvM KiřZ _vřKb| mgevq e`e`vcbv vbeřřbi gva`řg cwi Pwř Z nřj I ř`Lv hvq řh abx K.I.KMYB vbeřřPZ nb řZv řvři | mgevřqi gva`řg řZvřvřv K.I.KMY břvřvře Zř` i m`u` I řZvřv cwi va Avřiv ve`Z KiřZ _vřKb| řhgb Zřiv mřři i wřj vřwkc cvb, řřYi UvKv Avř mvr Křib| axři axři mgevq _vj řabx K.I.Kř i KřeŁ A_ev řClosed Clubs of KulaksŁ G cwi YZ nq|

cj x-Dbqřbi Dřl`tk` mŁ mgevq mvgvZ _vj řZ abxK.I.K, gnrRb I e`emvřxv řZv cŁqvM Křib|

GgZve`vq Kvgj v-G`vtcP vŁře Dřj vŁZ Kvi řY e`_řnq|

- mgevq e`e`vcbv abx K.I.Kř i AvřacZ` mřv Kři |
- MŁgi m`u` kvj x I řZvZevbMY AvřK j vřevb nb|
- gvSwi I řQvU K.I.KMY ř`ř cwi gvY j vřevb nb|
- `wi`ř K.I.K ewÁZ nb|
- abx K.I.Kři j vř ř`řK PŘř PŘř (trickle down) mřřvM mřevv `wi`ř K.I.Kři KřřŁ řcřvře eřj řh avi Yv Kiv nřřvřj , řv GřKevři B NřU vb|
- fvgnxbZřv ep`x cvq|
- abx K.I.Kř i nřřZ řvři řK`řřev ep`x cvq|
- `wi`ř K.I.KMřYi wKQyKgfms`vř nřj I Zř` i cŁKZ gRřj x ep`x cvq vb|

mgvřZ cj x-Dbqřb (Integrated Rural Development) ev IRDP

cŁvgK mvdřři Dci vřvÉ Kři Kvgj v-G`vtcP wŁZřq chřq GKwł mgvřZ cj x-Dbqřbi KgfřPř MřY Kři| GB mgvřZ KgfřPř MřřYi řcQřb AvřRwZK ivRbřvři cřřve AvřQ| Dbqřbi řřřř A_řwZK Dbqřbi Dci AvřK _řZ Avřivc Kivi dtj mvdj` bv Avřvř RvřZmsN břvř cwi eřř Kři| cwi ewřř břvřřZ Dbqřbi Rb` GKwł Z řunifiedŁ I mgvřZ `integrated` welřři Dci řRvi ř`qv nq| eřv nq řh Dbqřb řKej A_řwZK cŁřvř bq| Dbqřb Ggb GKwł cŁřvř hv mgMŁmgvřřK cřřveř Kři| Kvgj v-G`vtcPř eřv nq řh Dbqřb Kgvřv MŁg chřq msMwZ nře, Břvřq chřq msnZ Kiv nře Ges _vbr chřq mgvřZ nře| 1965-70 chř mgqKřřj GB Dřl`k` eŁ mi Kviř Kgvřřř, MY cŁřvřv I mgvřKgvřř i cŁKřY cŁvb Kiv nq| mgvřZ cj x-Dbqřbi Dřl`k` wŁj mřeřř fvgi e`envi, Drcv`b ep`x

MŁg, Dřvřqřb I _vbr chřq cj x-Dbqřb KgfřPř mgvřZ Kiv nq| fvgnxb`ř mgevřq Ařřř Kivi břvř Mřvř nq| wKř IRDP-řZ Avřj vřřř AvřacZ` řeto hvq|

Ges km² ^emP¹ (crop diversification) Avbv| GB Df¹ t¹ k¹ ^vbn ch¹q TCCA t¹ t¹ K FY, exR I Ab¹ v¹ b¹ Kwl DcKiY weZiY Kiv nq| GB KgmP¹ t¹ Z fignxt¹ i mgevtq Ašf¹ Kivi Dci¹ i¹ Z¹ c¹ v¹ b¹ Kiv nq|

Kvgj v-G¹ v¹ c¹ t¹ Pi b¹ vq IRDP Gi dj vdj I GKB iKg nq|

- GtZ Avgj vZt¹ ši AwacZ¹ AwZgv¹ vq te¹ to hvq|
- abx K.I.KMY AwaK nvt¹ i Kwl FY cvq I FY tLj vcx nq|
- abx K.I.KMY mgevtq msMV¹ t¹ b¹ Kg A¹ m¹ A¹ q Kt¹ i |
- abx K.I.KMY FY vbt¹ q t¹ di Z bv t¹ qvq gvSvi x I q¹ i¹ a¹ K.I.KM¹ t¹ Yi FY tct¹ Z Amjeav nq|
- gvSvi x I q¹ i¹ a¹ K.I.KMY v¹ b¹ qvq Z FY cwi t¹ kva Kt¹ i b¹ wKš¹ h¹ v mg¹ t¹ q FY cvb bv|
- fignxt¹ i mgevtq Ašf¹ i K¹ v¹ v¹ Kt¹ j I KvhZ fignxb m¹ m¹ M¹ t¹ Yi msL¹ v 5% Gi gZ wQj |
- mgevtqi c¹ t¹ i v K¹ v¹ t¹ gv M¹ g¹ x Gwj Ut¹ i v¹ i v¹ v¹ v¹ qv¹ šZ nq| Gt¹ i m¹ t¹ thM¹ vRk¹ ^Zix nq kn¹ t¹ i abx tk¹ Yxi |
- m¹ t¹ e¹ c¹ i mgevtq I v¹ me¹ R wece¹ Gi bZb ch¹ y¹ M¹ g¹ ch¹ q abx I ^wi¹ ^a¹ K.I.K¹ t¹ i g¹ t¹ ^elg¹ e¹ v¹ Kt¹ i |

evsj v¹ k¹ cj v-D¹ b¹ q¹ b¹ tevW¹ (BRDB)

1982 mvtj IRDP cK¹ i¹ v¹ i¹ v¹ b¹ v¹ g¹ cwi eZ¹ Kt¹ i ^vqZ¹ k¹ v¹ mZ¹ tevW¹ v¹ t¹ m¹ t¹ e¹ evsj v¹ k¹ cj v-D¹ b¹ q¹ b¹ tevW¹ (BRDB) bvtg GK¹ i¹ v¹ ms¹ v¹ M¹ v¹ Z nq| ce¹ eZ¹ i¹ c¹ j v-D¹ b¹ q¹ b¹ KgmP¹ xi mjeav t¹ t¹ K ^wi¹ ^a¹ t¹ k¹ Yx ew¹ A¹ Z n¹ l¹ qvq BRDB bZb ^v¹ i¹ v¹ mgevtq m¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ Z Mv¹ b¹ Kt¹ i | GK. fignxb mgevtq m¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ Z I ^b¹. g¹ v¹ j¹ v¹ mgevtq m¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ Z | v¹ i¹ x I cj ^t¹ i Rb¹ c¹ v¹ K¹ v¹ t¹ e¹ msMV¹ b¹ Kiv nq| 18 ermi eq¹ e¹ v¹ v¹, hvi 0.5 GK¹ t¹ i¹ AwaK Rv¹ g¹ t¹ b¹ Ges kt¹ y¹ we¹ m¹ q e¹ Z¹ x¹ hvi Ab¹ t¹ Kv¹ b DcvR¹ b¹ i Dcvq t¹ b¹, t¹ Kej Zvi¹ v¹ Gme msMV¹ t¹ b¹ i m¹ m¹ n¹ t¹ Z cv¹ t¹ i b¹ | Gme m¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ Z i e¹ v¹ v¹ c¹ b¹ cwi l¹ t¹ GKRb t¹ Pq¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ b¹, GKRb f¹ v¹ Bm t¹ Pq¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ b¹, GKRb g¹ v¹ t¹ b¹ Rvi I OqRb ch¹ s¹ cwi P¹ j¹ K¹ v¹ t¹ K¹ b¹ | m¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ Z i c¹ v¹ Z¹ K¹ m¹ m¹ m¹ b¹ v¹ t¹ n¹ Kgct¹ q¹ | GK U¹ v¹ K¹ v¹ m¹ A¹ q Kt¹ i b¹ Ges GK¹ i¹ v¹ t¹ kv¹ i m¹ q Kt¹ i b¹ | m¹ v¹ b¹ v¹ v¹ c¹ v¹ i K¹ i v¹ eY¹ v¹ Kt¹ i mgevtq t¹ t¹ K¹ m¹ m¹ MY FY M¹ v¹ Y Kt¹ i b¹ | F¹ t¹ Yi cwi gv¹ Y m¹ t¹ m¹ i m¹ v¹ A¹ Z A¹ v¹ l¹ t¹ kv¹ t¹ i i¹ v¹ ek¹ v¹ Y A¹ v¹ Gme mgevtq m¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ Z t¹ K¹ mi Kvi gr¹ m¹ P¹ v¹ t¹ i Rb¹ c¹ K¹ i eiv¹ i¹ Kt¹ i v¹ t¹ K¹ | Ab¹ v¹ b¹ A¹ v¹ v¹ v¹ Z K¹ g¹ v¹ t¹ v¹ i g¹ t¹ Av¹ t¹ Q ev¹ k¹ I t¹ e¹ t¹ Z i KvR, v¹ m¹ v¹ e¹ m¹ s¹ i q¹ Y, t¹ f¹ v¹ R¹ t¹ Z j Drcv¹ b¹, QvMj I Mi¹ i Lv¹ g¹ v¹, v¹ v¹ v¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ M¹ x P¹ v¹ l¹, Rv¹ j ^Zix I v¹ i¹ v¹ v¹ q¹ |

cj v-D¹ b¹ q¹ b¹ tevW¹ fignxb I v¹ i¹ v¹ t¹ i mgevtq MV¹ t¹ b¹ i Dci t¹ Rvi t¹ q wKš¹ fignxt¹ i bvtg abx K.I.K¹ t¹ i j v¹ f¹ e¹ v¹ b n¹ l¹ qvi m¹ t¹ h¹ v¹ M¹ v¹ t¹ K¹ |

cj v-D¹ b¹ q¹ b¹ tevW¹ Kvh¹ t¹ g¹ i c¹ v¹ v¹ b¹ mg¹ v¹ t¹ j v¹ P¹ v¹ v¹ GB th, fignxt¹ i kv¹ v¹ Kivi Rb¹ t¹ Kv¹ b Rixc Kiv nq bv| m¹ v¹ Z¹ v¹ s¹ fignxt¹ i bvtg abx K.I.K¹ t¹ i j v¹ f¹ e¹ v¹ b n¹ l¹ qvi m¹ t¹ h¹ v¹ M¹ v¹ t¹ K¹ | m¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ Z v¹ v¹ fignxt¹ i msMV¹ b¹ t¹ j I G¹ v¹ v¹ v¹ v¹ v¹ ch¹ q¹ i TCCA Gi m¹ t¹ m¹ g¹ v¹ šZ | ^v¹ b¹ v¹ ch¹ q¹ i TCCA t¹ Z abx K.I.K¹ t¹ i AwacZ¹ ^v¹ K¹ v¹ KvhZ fignxb ^wi¹ ^a¹ t¹ i Kv¹ t¹ Q mjeav t¹ c¹ v¹ t¹ v¹ b¹ m¹ v¹ e¹ nq bv| m¹ v¹ g¹ v¹ Z v¹ v¹ ^wi¹ ^a¹ K.I.K¹ t¹ i A-Kwl Kgm¹ s¹ v¹ t¹ b¹ i Rb¹ msM¹ v¹ Z Kivi K¹ v¹ v¹ v¹ Kt¹ j I KvhZ Zv nq bv| Kvi Y BRDB Gi Kg¹ v¹ Z¹ v¹ t¹ Yi v¹ Pš¹ v¹ f¹ e¹ v¹ b¹ v¹ Kwl Kvh¹ t¹ g¹ i c¹ f¹ v¹ e¹ t¹ e¹ w¹ | j q¹ Y¹ q¹ th mgevtq we¹ f¹ v¹ M¹ I temi Kvi x ms¹ v¹ M¹ g¹ ch¹ q¹ mnR kt¹ Z¹ v¹ FY t¹ q wKš¹ t¹ m¹ t¹ j BRDB Gi kZ¹ v¹ v¹ v¹ mnR bq| ^wi¹ ^a¹ K.I.K¹ t¹ i g¹ t¹ A¹ t¹ b¹ K mg¹ q mg¹ q¹ Z Kwl DcKiY t¹ c¹ v¹ v¹ q¹ bv| GKvi t¹ Y ^wi¹ ^a¹ K.I.K¹ t¹ i g¹ t¹ nZ¹ v¹ kv¹ m¹ v¹ nq| c¹ f¹ v¹ e¹ kv¹ j x K.I.KMY c¹ Kvi v¹ š¹ t¹ i BRDB t¹ t¹ K¹

FY MhY Ktib| Gw m³e nq KviY BRDB KgRZMY cŋcvZg³ bb| BRDB Gi AeKvvtgv wbgŋYi cKí AvtQ| GB cKíi Aaxb miKvix KgPvix³ i evm⁻vb wbgŋ, n³vPvix wbgŋ, ⁻vbn cŋkŋY tK³ wbgŋ, ⁻vg wbgŋ, KgRZ³ KgPvix³ i evmMn wbgŋ BZ³ w³ wbgŋ Kvr ntq ⁻v³K| ⁻et³ w³kK mrvh³ t³ GBme wbgŋ KvRi Rb³ At³ thvMvb nq| vek³ e³vsK, Gwkqv tWtfj ctg³U e³vsK, W³wbk B³Uvib³vkbyj tWtfj ctg³U GtR³Yx A³ thvMvb w³ t³ ⁻v³K| GBme wbgŋ cŋR³±i D³í k³ ⁻wi³ t³ i Rb³ Kgŋs⁻vb Kiv I Dbq³tb mn³thvMzv Kiv| wKŠ³ Rvbn hvq th GBme cŋR³±i Kvr BRDB mgevq Kitj I miKv³i w³efb³w³efvM KZ³ cŋR³± ev⁻evqb Kiv nq| Rvbn hvq th 1.3 w³ej qb UvKv cŋR³± e³q ntj I gv³ 3% - 4% A³ ⁻wi³ t³ i Dbq³tb e³q Kiv ntq³Q (gugb, 1992)|¹

Dbq³ KgR³vt³Ei Amvi Zv wbtq gvne³ej nK (1976)² b³vbn ai³tbi w³ek³ Kti³Qb| hw³ I c³w³K⁻v³bi Ae⁻v ch³ŋŋY Kti wZ³w³ wj tL³Qb Zeyevsj vt³ tki tŋ³t³I Zv cŋhv³R³| wZ³w³ mvZ ai³tbi m³gm³vi K⁻v D³tj E⁻Kti³Qb :

GK, Dbq³tbi tŋ³t³ g³W³tj i Dci ⁻i³Z³tekx ⁻v³K A⁻ŋw³ZK b³xw³ cŋ³qb I cŋR³± gj³ vq³tbi Dci bq|
`³β, mi³mmi A⁻ŋw³ZK w³bqš³t³Yi Dci g³t³w³b³tek Kiv nq|
wZ³b, Aw³k w³eb³tq³v³Mi Dci w³ek³ŋm ⁻v³K|
Pvi, Dbq³tbi ōd³v³kb³Ō Gi cŋZ AvKl³ ⁻v³K|
c³v³ŋ, c³wi Kí bv I ev⁻evqb ⁻w³ ⁻β tgi³ tZ Ae⁻vb Kti |
Qq, gv³be m³ú⁻ Dbq³t³K Aet³n³v Kiv nq|
mvZ, A⁻ŋw³ZK c³ŋ³x³ i Dci Av³tj vKcvZ Kiv nq Ges b³vq w³ev³t³i i c³k³on³wi³ t³q hvq|

mi³vs³k

Guv mnR³eva³ th Mŋg Drcv⁻b e³x³ b³v tctj mKj gv³b³t³I Rb³ e³Ub thvM³ ⁻é³B Kg ⁻v³Kte| m³Z³iv³ Drcv⁻b e³x³ Kiti³z nte| wKŠ³ Drcv⁻b e³x³ tctj ev gv⁻w³c³Qy Drcv⁻b te³fo t³M³tj Zvi dtj Ae³am³i Z³fv³te Mŋgx³ ⁻wi³ t³ i Am⁻R³ Ae⁻v Dbz³ nq b³v| Kvi Y³ el³g³gj K Mŋgx³ mgv³t³R Aw³k Drcv⁻b Av³cv³ŋ³K ⁻wi³ t³ e³x³ Kti | Drcv⁻tbi KZUKzAsk Kiv Av³ mir Kiti³Q Zv w³ t³ Av³cv³ŋ³K ⁻wi³ t³ tev³Sv hvq| Drcv⁻tbi m³ŋg e³Éb Qvov³ w³b³aw³e³É³ i ⁻wi³ t³ Kgvt³bri Rb³ cŋ³qv³Rb gtj³ i w³z³k³x³ Zv eRvq ivLv| GQov³ cŋ³qv³Rb f³ign³ib³ i Rb³ Kgŋs⁻vb e³x³ Kiv| Gfite Mŋgx³ A⁻ŋw³Z³ Kiv³R³ i P³mm⁻v e³x³ cvq| tm Ae⁻vq Drcv⁻tbi DŌÉ c³pv³eb³tq³ M Kiti³z ⁻v³Ktj A⁻ŋw³ZK Ae⁻v f³vtj³ vi w³ t³ K hvq| w³eb³tq³ M thvM³ c³ŋ³R e³x³ tctj I DŌÉ c³pt³iv³rcv⁻b ntj A⁻ŋw³ZK Dbq³ NtU| wKŠ³ c³j³ D³eb³ Kgŋ³P³t³Z t³Kej c³É³ŋ³ Drcv⁻b e³x³ i Dci ⁻i³Z³ cŋ³vb Kiv ntq ⁻v³K|

¹ Momin M A, *Rural Poverty and Agrarian Structure in Bangladesh*, Vikas Publishing, New Delhi, 1992.

² Haq Mahbulul, *The Poverty Curtain : Choices for the Third World*, Colombia University Press, 1976.

cvṫVvĒi gj ṽvqb

ṽbeṽṽ³ K cĕkæ

mṽWK DĒṫi i cvṫk ṽJK (ṽ) ṽPý ṽ b

- 1| Closed Clubs of Kulaks ṽK?
K. ṽwi ṽ^aK.I.Kṫ ṽ i mṽMṽb
L. cj ṽDbṽṫbi mi Kvi x cĀZōvb
M. gṽnj v mgevq mṽgṽZ
N. abx K.I.KMY KZṽ mgevq mṽgṽZ ṽ Lj

- 2| meṽR vece-ṽK?
K. ṽwi ṽ^aK.I.Kṫ ṽ i Avṫṽ vj b
L. mgevq mṽgṽZ
M. DbṽZ Kṽl cṽṽ³
N. mṽṽŠZ cj ṽDbṽṫb

- 3| BARD Gi cĀZōvZv ṫK?
K. gṽneṽj Avj g Pṽl x
L. W. AvLZvi nṽg ṽ Lvb
M. gṽneṽj nK
N. cṽK ṽvb mi Kvi

- 4| megvq mṽgṽZi FY MōY Kṫi Kvi v FY ṫLj vcx nb?
K. ṽṽ^aK.I.K
L. gṽSvi x K.I.K
M. abx K.I.K
N. cĀŠK K.I.K

mṽṽṽṽ³ cĕkæ

- 1| Kṽgj ṽGṽṫcĀP ṽK?
- 2| IRDP ṽ BRDB Gi gṫa ṽ cv_ṽ³ ṽK?

i Pbvj K cĕkæ

- 1| Kṽgj ṽGṽṫcĀP Abṽni Y Kṫi ṽK ai ṫbi KṽṽPx MṽxZ nq? Avṫj vPbv Ki ṽb|
- 2| cj ṽDbṽṫb KṽṽPxi e ṽ³Zvi Kvi Y ṽK? cj ṽDbṽṫb veṽṽṽṽ³ Dṫ ṽṽṽMi dj vdj Avṫj vPbv Ki ṽb|

cj x-Dbaqtb mi Kvix cwi Kí bv
Government Planning for Rural Development

GB cVwU cto Avcwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- cAewil Rx cwi Kí bvq MnxZ cj x-Dbaqtb tKŠkj
- MúgxY cZKgmPx I `wi t`f Kgm̄vb
- mi Kviti i wkí bwxZ chfj vPbv

cAewil Rx cwi Kí bv

ersj vt`k cj x-Dbaqtb m½ mi Kviti i `βwU gšYvj q m³ - `vbxq mi Kvi Ges cj x-Dbaqtb I mgevq gšYvj q| ZvQvon ÍvY I cpefmb gšYvj q| cj x-Dbaqtb m½ h³ nq| `faxbZvi ci t`tk G chš tgvU cVwU cAewil Rx cwi Kí bvq cj x-DbaqtbK cðavb` t`qv ntqtQ| ersj vt`ki tgvU RvZxq Avtqi GK-ZZxqusk KwI t`tk Avtm Ges tgvU RbmsL`vi 80% Mútg evm Ktib| Mútg emevmKvix Avakvsk RbMY `wi`a Ges mthvM mjevav ewAZ| `f Avq, AvkVlv, Amy`Zv BZ`wi` Zvt`i Rxefti wvZ`m½x| cðKwZK `thvM I gvbemó `thvMi wkKvi `wi`a tkYxi gvb| mi Kviti i gšYvj q I cwi Kí bvKvixMY GBme Kvity Dbaqtb cðkæ`wi`a tkYxi Dbaqtb Dci Avak `u`Z; Avtvc Kti `vtKb| wKš` cwi Kí bv ev`evqtb t`t`T Gi Dte`v wPÍ cvlqv hvq| mi Kvix gtZ Gi cðavb Kvity Dbaqtb Dte`vM `wi`a RbtMvöxi AskMútyi Afive Ges weEevbt`i Avact`Zi`i mvgtb Zvt`i VlgZvnxvZv| wevfbaeMtelYvq t`Lv hvq th ivóq cðtcvl KZvq MúgxY weEevbiv Zvt`i wbtRt`i VlgZv Kvvtgv Avtiv k³ Ktib| Ab` w`tk Zviv mi Kviti VlgZvkjxt`i Rb` mg`fbi evbqv` Zix Ktib| mi Kvix cwi Kí bvq KwI Drcv`b evx, Kgm̄vb m³ I AskMútyi mthvM evx i Dci tRvi t`qv nq| 1971 t`tk 2000 mvj chš cðxZ cvPwU cwi Kí bvq cj x-Dbaqtb tKŠkj wbtæ ewYZ ntj v|

mi Kviti cj x-Dbaqtb
Kgm̄Pxi dtj MúgxY
weEevbMY Zvt`i VlgZv
Kvvtgv Avtiv k³ Ktib
Ges kvMúvöxi Rb` Zviv
mg`fbi evbqv` Zix
Ktib|

cÜg cAewil Rx cwi Kí bv (1973-78)

Drcv`fti mlyg eUv wvöZKIY; `vbxq mSMVtb AskMúty evx; mgevq mSMVb; abm³ e`envi I `wbfP A`BwxZ; eb`v wvqšY I tmP Kvvtgv MVb|

wZxq cAewil Rx cwi Kí bv (1980-85)

mgvšZ cj x-Dbaqtb; wevfbaeMtelYi Kgm̄Pxi mgšq; `vbxq chfj q cwi Kí bv cðvq; t`Qvktg wfvEK Dbaqtb Kgm̄Pxi; mvi vt`tk GKB aitbi mgevq mvgwZ MVb; Mútg j`j wfvEK mSMVb|

ZZxq cAewil Rx cwi Kí bv (1985-90)

cðvmb e`e`v ms`vi; gnKgvtk tRjvq I `vbtK DctRjvq DvbxKIY; wbePZ cðZvba Øviv `vbxq cðvmb cwi Pvj bv; cj x-Dbaqtb Rb` RvZxq evtRtU Avak eiví; cj x-we`jr; tfsZ AeKvvtgv wvqP; fvg ms`vi; A-KwI LvZ Kgm̄vb; mnR ktZ`cR I Ab`vb` DcKIY mi eivn; Múgx wkí Dbaqtb; cðkVtYi gva`tg tckvMZ `VZv evx|

PZL cAewl Rx cwi Kí bv (1990-95)

jvFRBK Kgms-vb mjo; MoxY cOZovbi Dbqb; chp3 I `qZv Dbqb; tmP e'e-v m=úhvi Y; tfsZ AeKvWtgv- evRvi I iv-vNu Dbqb; gvnj vt` i AskMhY wboZKi Y |

cAg cAewl Rx cwi Kí bv (1995-2000)

-vbxq mi Kvi tK kw3kvj x Ki Y I bvi xi AskMhY wboZKi Y; AskMhY gj K -vbxq cwi Kí bv cVqb; bP t_tK Dcti (bottom - up) cwi Kí bv; Mtg cwi I` MVb I Abvb` -ti i m½ mgšq mvab; gvbe m=ú` Dbqb; MoxY `wi`^ I bvi xi Rb` Kgms-vb mjo; MoxY wkí vqb I KúJi wktí i Dbqb |

cj x-CZKgmPx (Rural Works Programme)

mi Kvti i cj x-CZKgmPx
-f tgvf` -wi`^ i Rb`
Kgms-vb mjo Kti |

mi Kvti i GKúJ Dti EhvM` cj x-Dbqb KgmsPx nt`Q MoxY AeKvWtgv Dbqb | `wi`^ wotgvPti Rb` GúJ Kvhr i etj aiv nq | Zte Gi gj j`n nt`Q KúJ Drcv`b epx | `wi`^ i Rb` GB KgmsPx -f tgvf` Kgms-vb mjo Kti AeKvWtgv wbgfY KvR Pj vKvj xb mgq | `xN` tgvf` I Kgms-vb mjo ntZ cvti wbgfY KvR mgwBi ci | Kvi Y iv-v Nu, eva, evRvi, cKti ms-vi, cwbo wvkb, ebiv wqšY, tmtPi e'e-v BZ`w` AeKvWtgv wbgfYi ci GmKj tK tK`^ Kti A_šwZK KgRvU epx cvl qvi K_v | mvgwRK AeKvWtgv thgb we`vj q, -v` tK`^, cOk`Y tK`^ BZ`w` wbgfYi dtj I mvgwRK Dbqb Zj wšZ nI qvi K_v | cj x-CZKgmPx `wi`^ wimti bi ga` w`q abx `wi`^ i e'earv Kwgtq Gtb mgZv cOZov Ki te etj I avi Yv Kiv nq | wKš`G avi Yv ev-em=šZ bq | wbgfY KvR cZ`q fvti Kgms-vb nI qvi dtj `wi`^ i Avq tivRMti i e'e-v nI qvq `wi`^ wKQlv Ktg | wbgZ AeKvWtgv t_tK mjeav cvl qv wbfP Kti `wi`^ i v Gme AeKvWtgv KZUv e'envi Kti wbtRi mjeav ARB Ki tZ cvti b Zvi Dci | t`Lv hvq th Gme AeKvWtgv i AtbK_Y tewk jvFRBK e'envi Ki tZ cvti b m=ú` kvj xMY | KúJ Drcv`b epx tZ Gme AeKvWtgv mjdj etq Avtb | hv` i Rwg tbB Zvt` i Rb` Gt`q t` mjdj tbB | Zte DØE Drcv`b m=ú` kvj xMY weirfbæLvZ weibtvM Ki tZ cvti b AeKvWtgv e'envi Kti | tmt`q t` Avtiv KvR mjo ntj `wi`^ MtYi Kgms-vb NtU |

cj x-CZKgmPx i i tZ kigKt` i A_w`q gRjx cOvb Ki tZv | wKš` -vaxbZvi ci gRj wntmte Mg cOvb Kiv nq | evRvi `ti i wfiEtZ kigKt` i gRjx t`evi wearb_vKtj I t`Lv hvq th evRvi `i t_tK gRjx wntmte Kg Lv` cOvb Kiv ntq_vtK | ejv nq th GúJ Kiv nq AZ`š `wi`^ i GB cØRt±i KvR AvKó Kivi j`q | cØRt±i Df`k` Abjvti wwtm=ft t_tK GwCj i gta` hLb kigKiv Avenl qvi Kvi tY teKvi_vKtZ eva` nb ZLb GB KvR mjo Kiv nte | wKš` Kvhr AtbK mgq i Kbv tgvmtg cØRt±i KvR Pj | KúJ KvR hLb Kgms-vb tbB ZLb tkvPbxq `wi`^ i Ae-v` Zix nq | tm mgq cj x-CZKgmPx i Kgms-vb ntj `wi`^ i Rb` weivU mrvh` nq | AeKvWtgv `Zix nI qvi dtj abx K.I.KMY D`P dj bkxj chp3 tZ Pvl Ki tZ m`q nb | GB chp3 kgNb etj KúJ KvRi t`q ZgRj t` i KvR epx cvq | cj x-CZKgmPx i `wi`^ i A_šwZK `j` Rv Kvi t`q t` mrvqK fvgKv AvtQ | wKš` mweR KgPvni` vi Zj bvq GB KgmsPx tZ mjo KvRi mi eivn ht_ó bq |

cjx-cZ°KgmPx Mōtgi weĒevbṯi tKej A_šwZK mjeavB cōvb Kṯi bv Zvt`i ḡlgZv
ewxṯZI mrvqK nq| j ḡṯ Kivi weiq nṯ"O GBme cōR± Kviv cwiPvj bv Kṯib| cōR±
KuvuWi m`m` wntmṯe KivR Kṯib Mōtgi Gwj U, weĒevb fvg gwij K, BDwbqb cwilṯi
tPqvig`vb Ges Zvt`i mṯ½ m`uWkZ GKB tkYxfṯ tj vKRb| cōR± weiqK wmxvš MōṯY
fvgxb `wi`ṯi tKvb mṯhvM tbb| cōR±tK tK`a Kṯi weĒevbṯi th`ṯ Mvōx`Zix nq
Zviv cōRṯi Mg Avl mvr Kṯib| ZvivB wmxvš tbb tKvb Gj vKvq wK aiṯbi Dbqb KivR nṯe,
KZw`b KivR Pj ṯe, gRjxi nvi wK nṯe, tKvb kṯgKṯi KivR wbtqvM t`qv nṯe me wKQ| cjx-
cZ°KgmPxi Awakvsk A_šmiKvix Avgj v, `vbxq tbZem°Kvṯi, kṯgK m`ṯi fvm evṯUvqviv
Kṯi Avl mvr Kṯib| dtj wbgṯy KvṯRi Rb` hṯ_ó A_š`q nq bv l KvṯRi gvb Lvi vc nq|
GBme wbgṯy KvṯRi Awakvsk `eṯ`wK mrvnh` t`tK Avṯm hv wbgṯy Diṯ tK`B cōvb Kiv
nq, i ḡṯvṯeḡṯbi Rb` bq| dtj `ṯṯ wbgṯy mntRB tṯ½ tMṯj l Zv cp:wbgṯy mṯhvM
_vṯK bv| t`Lv hvq th AṯbK cōRṯi KivR AmgvB cṯo _vṯK| Gfṯe cōRṯi gj Diṯk`
ev`evqb evnZ nq| Zṯe MōgxY weĒevbṯi ivRšwZK Diṯk` nwmṯj GB KgmPxi mrvqK
fvgKv AvṯQ| MōgxY ḡlgZvkj ṯi`i nvZ Avṯiv kw³kvj x nl qvq RvZxq chṯqi ḡlgZvṯi
mṯ½ Zvt`i AvzVZ Avṯiv mṯ p nq|

cjx-cZ°KgmPxi cōRṯiK
tK`a Kṯi weĒevbṯi
`ṯ Mvōx`Zix nq Ges
Zviv Mg Avl mvr Kṯib|

wkí bwiZ

ersj vt`k mi Kvi MōgxY A_šwZi Dbqṯb ḡṯ`i l KuWi wktí i weKvk `i`ZcY°wetePbv Kṯi
ḡṯ`i l KuWi wkí ms`v cōZōv Kṯi| GB ms`vi gj Diṯk` bvix, fvgxb l cōšK Pvlṯi
Rb` Kgmṯ`vb Kiv| HwZn`gūEz wktí i Dbqṯb mi Kvṯi Ab`Zg Diṯk`| ZvOvov Mōg
chṯq wkuḡZ Diṯ`v³vṯi msMVZ Kṯi ḡṯ`i wktí i weKvk NUṯbvi l cōPón AvṯQ| GB ms`v
Mōg chṯq Diṯ`v³vṯi wPvYZ Kṯi Ges Zvt`i cōqvRbxq cōkḡY cōvṯbi e`v Kṯi|
Drcv`ṯbi Rb` cōqvRbxq DcKiY cōš, e`vsK t`tK FY MōY Ges cY` evRvi RvZ KiṯYI
ms`vi fvgKv AvṯQ| GB ms`vi Kvṯḡg tRjv chṯq chš we`Z nṯqtQ| 13 j ḡṯ UvKv
wbtqvM nq th wkí msMVṯb ZvtK ḡṯ`i wkí ejv nq| tm`ṯj KuWi wkí ḡṯ`i cwi mṯi
cwi ewi K kṯ e`envi Kṯi _vṯK| ḡṯ`i wkí Dbqṯb ms`vi mvdj` fuj bq| ZvZ tewW°Ges
ti kg tewW°ṯtj vṯṯe msMVb Kiv hvq w|

ersj vt`ki MōgxY mgvR KvWṯḡvZ ḡṯ`i wktí i weKvk Kgmṯ`vb l Avq ewx`i Rb` cōqvRbxq
nṯj l Gṯḡṯṯ mi Kviv Diṯ`vM Kg| G tḡṯṯ mi Kviv wbtqvMI bMY`| epr wktí e`vsK l
FY mi eivnKviv cōZōv epr AṯKi A_šFY cōvb Kṯi Ges tm tḡṯṯ tLj vxi msL`vi Kg
bq| A_P ḡṯ`i wktí `f cwi gY FṯYi e`v Kṯi `wii`a mṯKvPb Kiv mṯe| Mōgvṯj
e`vcKvṯi ḡṯ`i wkí Mṯo DVṯj gvSwi l ḡṯ`i Kl.ṯKi ḡṯ`i ḡṯ`i mĀq Drcv`bkj wbtqvMi
mṯebv AvṯQ| KuWi wkí weKvk Kṯi MōgxY bviṯi`i cwi ewi K cwi ṯeṯk Kgmṯ`vb nṯZ cvṯi|
wbZ` e`envh°eú cY` mi Kvi Avg`vbx Kṯi hv ḡṯ`i wktí Drcv`b Kiv mṯe| thgb cwiK`e`,
tLj bv, tevZvg, tcwYj, mP, wcb, Zvj v, tQvU hšcwZ BZ`w`| ḡṯ`i wktí i meṯaK mṯebv
Kw cY` cōqvRvZKiY l cōqvRvZ Lv` Drcv`b tḡṯṯ| Gfṯe Kw Drcv`ṯbi mṯ½ ḡṯ`i
wkí tK hṯ Kṯi mviṯ`ṯk wkí Kvi Lvbn Qwṯq w`ṯj MōgxY A_šwZṯZ MvZkxj Zv mṯo nṯe|
Gi dtj mṯuṯ`i mṯj g eUb nl qv mṯe| ḡṯ`i wktí i e`vcbvl wqšṯYi ḡṯa`_vṯK|

MōgxY mgvR KvWṯḡvZ
ḡṯ`i wktí i weKvk
Kgmṯ`vb l Avq ewx`i
Rb` cōqvRbxq nṯj l, G
tḡṯṯ mi Kviv Diṯ`vM
Kg|

j ḡṯYxq th en`vqb wkí `vcb ḡṯ`i wkí l KuWi wkí weKvṯk eo Ašivq| Awak RbmsL`vi
GB t`ṯk mi Kvṯi cwi Kí bv Kgmṯ`vṯbi Dci `i`Ziṯ`q wKš`kṯNb ḡṯ`i wkí weKvṯk KvṯRi

c`t¶c MõY Kiv nq wb| eis j ¶Yxq th enrúí I bZb cõy³i cõZthwMZvq ¶iz`wkí
wejyBi Dcµg nq| wbtæi `yU tKm ÷vW t_þK Avcbviv enr I ¶iz`wkí i Amg cõZthwMZv
I Mõtgi `wi`bvix cj`ti Kgnxb nl qvi welq RvbþZ cviþeb|
tKm ÷vW : 1

wPwb wkí I ½o wbcšY

AvtLi Drcv`b Ges AvL Pwti Rwg Ktg hvevi KviY nþ`Q AvLPvt`i m½ mi KviX bwiZi
weþiva| G weþivtai Drm nþ`Q ½o wbcšY AwWv`vY| G AwWv`vY Abjvqx cõZwU wPwb Ktj i
Pviw`þK wPwb Ktj i Drcv`b ¶lgZv Abjvqx GKwU wv`v`Gj vKv wPwb Kj Aaxb Gj vKv wntmte
MY` Kiv nq| G Gj vKvq AvL t_þK ½o Drcv`b mæúYwv`v`x| AwWv`vY Abjvqx AvL Pvlxiv
GB AvL wPwb Kj ½wjtZ Zvt`i wbañiZ `vtg weµµ KiþZ eva`| GB AwWv`vYi dtj AvtLi
`vg wbañY Kti tµZv, weþµZv bq| Gi weKtí i mþhvM tbB K.I.Kt`i Rb`| G Ae`vi
mþhvM tbq dwoqv ga`ZþfvMx| wPwb Kj ½wjtZ KvQ eZv`v`wbcþgi Aaxþ AvL Pvlxiv AvL
weµµ KiþZ tgvþUB AvMõx bq| Zvi KviY AþbK|

AvL Drcv`b Ges AvL
Pwti Rwg Ktg hvevi
KviY nþ`Q AvLPvt`i
m½ mi KviX bwiZi
weþiva| `wi`K.I.K wPwb
Ktj b`v`gtj`mgq gZ
AvL weµµ KiþZ cviþb bv
| ZvB Zvt`i Rb` ½o
Drcv`b jvfRbK| wKš`
wPwb Kj GjvKvq ½o
Drcv`b wv`v`x|

cõg m½U mwó nq cviugU ev c¶R wbtq| GKwU Abtgvw`Z c¶R (cviugU) KugwU cõZ
AvLPvt`K GKwU c¶R t`q| GB KugwUþZ `vtKb wgtj i GKRB cõZwvwa I `vbxq MY`gvb`
e`w³| wPwb Kj GjvKvq ¶iz`a| gvSwi K.I.K KLþbv mgqgtZv c¶R cvq bv| c¶v`v`v`x e`w³ iv
Awak msL`K c¶R wbtq tbb Ges Zvt`i `tj i UvDUþ`i t`b| `wi`a| gvSwi K.I.K c¶R
Rb` Aþc¶v KiþZ KiþZ KvþjevRvixþZ UvDUþ`i KvQ t_þK c¶R tKtbb| A_ev AvL
t¶tZB`i wKtq hvq I Rvj vbx wntmte e`eüZ nq| ¶iz`AvL Pvlxiv wgtj i AvL µtqi m½ Zvj
tgj vtZ cviþb bv| Rvgi AvL AvtMB weµµ Kti t`b cwbi `vtg| wPwbKj wbañiZ mgþq bv
Pjevi `i`Y I c¶R tctZ t`ix nevi `iy` AvtLi I Rb Ktg hvq| Gme AwbõqZv Ovovl
mKj LiP wgvj tq gb cõZ AvtLi Drcv`b LiP cto 15 UvKv| A_P wgvj µq Kti gb cõZ
12 UvKv `ti|

GiKg Amvq Ae`vq AvL Pvlxiv ½o Drcv`þb tekx Drmwnx nb| ½o Drcv`þb jvfRbK
w`K AþbK| cõZ gb AvL t_þK Drcv`b ½o weµµ Kti 20-25 UvKv jvf cvl qv hvq| wbtRt`i
AvL gvovB Kj `vKtj Avtiv jvfRbK nq| wKš` gvovB Ktj i `vg 3/4 nvRvi UvKv etj
AþþK wKbþZ cviþb bv| t`kxq cõy³i AvL gvovB Kj e`envti 90% im ½to cwiyZ Kiv
mæe| Ab` Ktj 55% im ½o Kiv hvq| GB t`kxq AvL gvovB Kj `Zix Kiv hvq bv mi KviX
bwiZi KviþY| mwiv t`þk ½toi Pwn`v tenk| ½o wkí weKvktþhvM` GKwU wkí| wKš` mi KviX
bwiZi KviþY ½o wkí aYsm nþ`Q Ges GtZ `wi`tkYx ¶wZMõ` nþ`Q| ½o Drcv`þb evav w`tq
K.I.þKi dmtj i Dci tgvj K Awakvi niY Kiv nþ`Q| ½o Drcv`þb evav w`tq AvL tKbv nþ`Q
AZ`š Kg `vtg| Ab` w`þK hviv c¶R weZiY Kti b, AvL µtq KviPuc Kti b tmBme MõgxY
¶lgZv Kvvtgvi kxþ`Ae`vbiZ e`w³ I `vbxq cõv`v`v`K AvBb i ¶vKviXiv wecj A_`Avl mur
Kti b|

AvL Pvlx`i kwixKfvte wbhþZb Kiv nq AvL weµµ Kti Rb`| wKš` c¶R msmõ KiþZ bv
cviq `wi`K.I.K AvL weµµ KiþZ cviþb bv| AvL t¶tZ`i wKtq hvq| Gt`þk bxj Pwti
cþj b wj| K.I.Kt`i eva` KiþZv epuk kmKiv bxj Drcv`b KiþZ| bv Ktj gvai Kiv
nþZv| AvL Pvlx`i Ae`vl tmiKg|

Drm : Avbytgynvš , evsj vt`tki MōgxY mgvR I A_ŠWZ, Wvbn cvej kum©XvKv, 1987 |

tKm ÷vW : 2

AvaybK cħy³ bvi x kğ PivZgj K cħy³

MōgvĀtj i bvi xiv Zi wb®vktb vPivPvi Z cŭvq tXmK e'envi Kti _vtKb| `f e'tq cŭvqvRvZ KiŷYi GB t`kR c×wZ kğNb| GB cħy³ i e'envi MōgxY `wi`ª bvi xi KtgP mŷhvM mjo Kti | tKej tXmKtZ Zi wb®vktb bq Gi ceZx©cŭvqv h_v avb w×KiY, i Kvŷbv, Dovŷbv me KvR bvi xivB Kti _vtKb| avb cŭvqvRvZKiŷY hwiŠK c×wZ cŭvqM Kivq bvi xi Kgms`vtbi Dci cŭZKj cŷve cotQ| MōgxY bvi xiv `Z A_Rix KgRvE t_ŷK Acmwii Z nŷQb| GKwU wj 300 Rb bvi xtK Acmwii Z KiŷZ mŷg| Kvóg wgtj i msL`v hw` ermŷi 5% nŷi eŷ× cŷq Zte cŭZ ermi Kgctŷ GK j ŷ bvi xi KgPivZ NUte| `ŷsmŷq avŷbi Kj ŷ wj Af mgŷq Zi wb®vktb I Ab`vb` KvR KiŷZ mŷg| GKwU `ŷsmŷq avŷbi Kj 900 Rb LEKvj xb I 64 Rb cYŷvj xb Ktg®wbŷqwrZ bvi xtK KgPivZ KiŷZ mŷg| avŷbi Ktj i `ªZ m=ũhviŷYi dtj KgPivZ MōgxY bvi xt` i Awakvsk weKí e'e`v wntmŷe teKvi Zi wŷŷŷveE A_ev abx K.I.Ki evotŷZ KvR KiŷZ eva` nŷQb| A_P bvi xt` i Rb` tXmK e'envi i e'e`v ntj dmj KvUvi tgŷmŷg bvi xt` i Kgms`vtbi mŷhvM eŷ ŷ eŷ× cvŷe| GtZ `wi`ª cwi evi ŷ wj i Avq eŷ×i mŷ½ mŷ½ MōgvĀtj i Avq eŷUŷbi tŷŷŷ I AbKj cwi w`wZ mjo nŷe|

tXmKtZ Zi wb®vktbi e'tqi tPŷq hwiŠK c×wZtZ e'q AŷbK Kg cto| mŷZivs avŷbi Ktj weŷbŷqŷM gŷvŷv nvi tekx nq| G KvŷŷY weŷbŷqŷMi Rb` cŷRi gwj KMY AvMŷx nŷq DŷVb| `f gŷj` MōgvĀtj we`jr mieivn Kivq gŷvŷv nvi AŷbK ŷ Y eŷ× cŷq| wKŠ` GB cħy³ m=ũhviŷY Mōŷgi tKvb tkYxi gŷvŷ| DcKZ nŷQ? ŷŷi`ª K.I.K? fŷgnxb K.I.K? `wi`ª cwi evŷi i AfveMŷ bvi x? hwiŠK c×wZ cŷqŷM `ŷ tkYxi gŷvŷŷ i AwL`ŷ mŷhvM mŷeav eŷ× cvŷ`Q| GK, avŷbi Ktj i gwj K I `ŷ, DŷE K.I.K| MōgvĀtj i `wi`ª bvi xiv dmj tZvj vi tgŷmŷg DŷE K.I.Kt` i Mŷn gRjxi weŷbŷq tXmKtZ avb fŷvvi KvR Kti b| e`w³MZfvŷe ev KtqKRb wgtj avb wktb tXmKtZ QvŷvB Kti evRvŷi weŷq Kti b| dmj tZvj vi tgŷmŷg hw` bvi xiv tXmKtZ tgvU Drcw` Z avŷbi m=ũY®AskB cŭvqvRvZ Kti b Zte Zvŷ` i Rb` 2.7 wj qb bvi x kŷeŷŷP mjo Kiv m=ŷe| `wii`ª wimb Ges bvi xi Kgms`vb mjo i Rb` kğNb t`kR tXmK cħy³ i e'envi evĀbxq nŷ qv`ŷfveK|

hš Pvj Z Pŷj i Ktj i Rb` tXmK e'envi eŷ nŷq hŷ`Q| bvi xiv KgP`Z nŷ`Qb|

avb cŭvqvRvZKiŷY e'eüZ AvaybK cħy³ tZ cŷRi cŷavb` tXmKi Zj bvq 95 ŷ tekx| tXmKtZ QvŷvB Kiŷj avb t_ŷK Pj cŷBi nvi `wvq 72.02%| Ab` w`ŷK hŷš avb t_ŷK Pj cŷBi nvi 69.94%| fŷvŷv Pŷj i cwi gvY hŷš QvŷvBKZ Pŷj teŷk| wgtj avb t_ŷK Pj cŷBi cwi gvY cŷZgY 25.3 tmi | tXmKtZ QvŷvBKZ Pj cŷBi cwi gvY cŷZ gŷb 28 t_ŷK 29 tmi | hŷši e'envŷi Pŷj i Dcwi fŷŷMi we-wŷUwgbhŷ j vj Avei YwU bó nŷq hvq I Pŷj i Lv`gŷv Ktj hvq| tXmK Qvŷv Pj Awak cŷoKi |

evsj vt`k mi Kvŷi i Ab`Zg cŷav j ŷŷ` A_Rix KtgP mŷhvM eŷ×i gva`tg `wi`ª wimb| avb cŭvqvRvZ KiŷYi gZ cħy³ cŷqŷŷMi w×vš MŷŷYi mŷ½ mi Kvŷi i Dŷj w-Z A_ŠwZK Dŷŷk` mŷwZcY®bq| evsj vt`tki gZ wecj RbmsL`vi I DŷE kŷgi t`ŷk cŷR cŷav I

Gm Gm GBP Gj

RvZxq j tñ'i cwi cšx cñy³ cñqM Kiv AwetePbv cñZ| euj e'euZ kñNb t' kxq cñy³ tñK Ki Dbqyb mvab Mñgy' `wi`'wbi mñb l bvi xi Kgñs`vñb AnaK dj cñ|

Drm : Ltj`v mvj vnDwi b, ðavb cñuqvRvZKi tY AvaybK cñy³ i e'envi Ges Mñgy' gñj vt`i Kgñs`vñbi Dci cñZwµqvó, j wZdv AvK` l i l kb Rvnb m'úw`Z, *Women for Women Collected Articles*, Women for Women, Dhaka, 1983.

mvivsk

hiv l Mñg t fšñMñj K At`ñj Zg Gj vKv thLvñb Dbqñbi weifbñw`K wPñyZ n l qvi K_v, tmLvñb miKvñi i Kivñi Dbqyb mñMVb mñó Kiv hvq wñb| miKvñi i weifbñweñfñM weifbñw` aiñbi tmev cñvñbi Rb` `vñq chñq_vKñj l G_wj Mñgi `wi`'ñi KvñQ tññQñZ bv tñi `ieZñ`cñZñvñb cwi YZ nñqñQ| miKvñi bñZ l KgñPñi dtj Mñgy' A_bñZñZ hZ cñRi thwñb t`qv nq Zv Pñj hvq ñgZvñj vt`i `Lñj| GñZ wñQñvñ Kñl Drcv`b eñx tñj l cñi`rcv`b eñx cvq bv| Kgñs`vñb eñx cvq bv| Dci š' miKvñi Kvñvñvñi mññwñMñZvq Mñgi mñeavñfñMñ GKñU tkñxi kñ³eñx nq| GgZve`vq miKvñi bñZ weivRgñv Amg m'úñK` cwi eZñ bv Gñb `wñi`'wñeñvñPñbi Kv ñR Zrci Zvq cwi YZ nq| Avevi t`Lv hvq th miKvñi bñZ GK w`ñK Kñl LvñZ Kgñs`vñbi Rb` tPáv KiñQ Ab` w`ñK cñRñb wñk bñZ MñY Kñi kñññKi Kgñs`vñbi c_ i`x KiñQ| A-Kñl LvñZ Kgñs`vñbi Rb` ññi`ñi KñU wñk weKvñki bñZ iñqñQ wñK š' Mñgy' wñkññi vt`ñM cñE e'ñvñZ nñ'Q kñPñwñZgñK l cñRñb eñññññi weKvñki KvññY| KvññZ t`Lv hvq th miKvñi i cññ-Dbqyb gZv`k`A`úó Ges cññ-Dbqñbi KgñPñi `wi`'wñeñvñPñb KiñZ e`ññq|

cvtWĒi gj`vqb

be³K cĕe

mWVK DĒti i cvtk WJK (√) wPy w`b -

- 1| mi Kvix cwi Kí bv l bxnZ wbaŕY tKvb w`tk cĕwnZ nq?
K. bxP t_ťK Dcťi cĕwnZ nq
L. tKvb w`tk cĕwnZ nq bv
M. Dci t_ťK bxP cĕwnZ nq
N. Dcťi B _vtK
- 2| mi Kvti i cZ³KgŕPx KLB ev⁻ewqZ ntj `wi`^aKI.ťKi Rb` tekx.j vFRbK nq?
K. tg t_ťK AvMó gvm
L. Wŕm[†] t_ťK Gwcĵ gvm
M. Rb t_ťK tmťP[†] gvm
N. tmťP[†] t_ťK Wŕm[†] gvm
- 3| ewk kvmKMY ersj v AĀťj wKtmi Pvl Kivi Rb` ej cĕqvm Kti?
K. AvL Pvl
L. cvU Pvl
M. bxj Pvl
N. Kwcd Pvl
- 4| wPwb wKí weKvtki Rb` mi Kvti i bxnZ wK?
K. `wi`^aAvL Pvl xt` i weťkl FY cĕ vb
L. wPwbi weKí wntmte ō Drcv`tb Drmwn cĕ vb
M. AvťLi gj` ewx Kiv
N. AvL Pvl Gj vKvq ō Drcv`b m[†]úY³bwł x Kiv

mswŕB cĕe

- 1| cj x³cZ³KgŕPx wKfvte abx KI.KMťYi ŕlgZv ewx Kti Avťj vPbv Ki`b|
- 2| `wi`^aKI.ťKi Dci wPwb l ō wKťí i cŕve wK aiťbi?

iPbvj K cĕe

- 1| DbZ cĕ³ wKfvte bvi xt` i KgPziwZ NUvq? Avťj vPbv Ki`b|
- 2| mi Kvti i cj x³Dbq³ KgŕPxi mgm`v³wj wPyZ Ki`b|

cj x-Dbaqtb GbuRI gfwj : e^avK
NGO Model for Rural Development : BRAC

GB cWwU cto Avcbw RvbtZ cvi teb -

- ivtofi ciwbfpkj Zv I wef` kx mrvnh`cp GbuRI i Dfi k`
- GbuRI i `wi`^a wefgvPb UvtM0 Moc tKSkj
- e^avK Gi mweR Dbaqb (holistic) Gvfc0P
- e^avK Gi Moc MVb Kgmpx
- e^avK Gi Dbaqb Kgmpxi djvdj

ivtofi ciwbfpkj Zv

cfeP cvtV Avcbviv trbtbOb th IvfUi `ktK evsjv`tk cj x-Dbaqb kvhrg`ii` nq AvSR0ZK mrvnh` ms`vi cfrve| miKvtii cj x-Dbaqb bxwzi Dfi k` `wi`^a wefgvPb| Avcbviv Guvl trbtbOb th M0gxb ivR%wZK A_0wziZ mawuE I flgZvi mawuK`c0vb welq| mawuE I flgZvi Amg eUv M0tg mgvMZ `wi`^a we`vi NUvq| miKvix Kgmpxi dtj abx K.I.KMY jvfevb nb| wKs` M0gxY weEkvj xMY Drcv`tbi kw³ I Drcv`btK w0j ivLb|

wek| cRrev` i m1/2 mshy³ j gva`tg evsjv`k c0smxgvi t`k wntmte Mto Dfv|

cj x-Dbaqtb iv0tq Df`vfmI GB mKj ci`ui wetiwaZvi m1/2 ivtofi ciwbfpkj Zvi mawuK` AvtQ| cAvk I IvfUi `ktK wek| cRrev`x e`e`v Dbaqbkj t`kmn evsjv`tk Dbaqb ZE; (modernization) Pwctq t`q| Dbaqtb i t`flti GB Zteji gj e³e` n`t0 c0w`| Zvi gvtb RvZxq Avq ep`x| Dbaqtb i GB avivi dtj evsjv`k ciwbfP GKwU t`tk cwYZ nq| wek| cRrev` i m1/2 mshy³ i gva`tg evsjv`k c0smxgvi t`k wntmte Mto Dfv| Avi Rbkj`vYgj K Dbaqtb i aviv web0 ntq hvq| cRrev` i mrvqK kw³ wntmte GKwU kw³kvj x awbK tkYx weKvk jvf Kti| c0w` i A_0wzi Rb` c0qvRbxq web0qvMi wmsnfvM Avtm `e`^a wKk FY wntmte| Dbaqb ntq hvq mrvnh` wbfP| mgvMZ `e`^a wKk mrvnh` mieivn`vKvq evsjv`tki miKvitiK c0qvRbxq ms`vi Kivi S0k w0tZ nq bv| eis GB mrvnh` miKvitiK Awak mgqkvj flgZvq w0tZ`vKtZ mrvnh` Kti|

`e`^a wKk mrvnh`i Abp0ek GZ tewk Ntu th t`Lv hvq evsjv`tki Ryj vbx, c0KwZK mawu` I M0gxY Dbaqb Lvzi 75% `e`^a wKk mrvnh` wbfP| cwienb I KwL Lvzi I 60% `e`^a wKk mrvnh` t`tk Avtm| evsjv`tki wki e`vsk, evsjv`k wki FY ms`v I web0qvM ms`vi FY c0vtbi At`P Awakvsk `e`^a wKk mrvnh` t`tk Avtm| Gme ms`v t`tk FY e`v³ gwij Kt` i Kvto hvq cRrev` wntmte| evsjv`k ntq hvq wek| e`e`vi Aaxb` GKtPwqv cRri t`k| evsjv`tki M0gva`tj meRwectei bZb chy³ n`vsti i ga`w`tg GKtPwqv cRrev` Z nq| AvawbK chy³, e`vsk FY, AvSR0ZK emYR` Gmtei gva`tg AvSR0ZK cRri AtbK mw0q ntq Dfv| GB wecj `e`^a wKk mrvnh` I web0qvMi dtj evsjv`tki A_0wziZ c0w` Ntu bv| t`Lv hvq th wek| e`vsk, Gkxq Dbaqb e`vsk I gw0k0 AvSR0ZK Dbaqb ms`vmgn t`tk

th uecj A_©Avťm, Zvi cŃq 70% e`q nq weť kx cY` mťqi Rb` | weť kx weťklÁ I
wKv`vi iv Ńbtq hvq cŃq 5% | weť kx mnvťh`i wZb PZl_řk weť kx iv Ńbtq hvevi ci GK
PZl_řk evsj vť k e`q nq | GB GK PZl_řk gta` GKUv Dťj ĽthM` Ask `Ń_řMvŃxi gta`
fvm nťq hvq | GB `Ń_řMvŃxi gta` AvťQ mi Kvix Avgj v, `vj vj , ť kxq wKv`vi I ť kxq
weťklÁMY (ti ngvb tmvenvb, 1998) |¹ GZ wKQy fvm evťUvqvivi ci Lp mvgvb` Ask mvari Y
gvbťli Dbqťbi LvťZ e`q nq qvi Rb` AeikŃ _vťK | Gfťte `eť`wK mnvťh`i KviťY
cvi wbfPZv mgeaŃvb nvti epx cvq | wKš ť kti A_řwZťZ Dbqťbi MwZgqZv mŃ nq bv |

`eť`wK mnvťh`i wbfPZvi KviťY AvšRŃZK mnvťh`i ms`vmgn evsj vť kti Dbqťb bmwZgvj v
cŃqťb n`ťřlc Kivi mťhM cvq | `vZv ť k I ms`v_vj meťPtq tewk cŃve we`vi Kti
evsj vť kti Kw I cj_Dbqťb | cvi wbfPZvi dťj meťPtq mjev fvm Kti mi Kvi I
mi Kvix cŃcvi KZvq mŃ mjev fvm tkYx hv MŃg chš we`Z | `eť`wK mnvťh`i LvťZ Avmv
A_`evsj vť k Avkibjfc Drcv`b epx Kitz e`nq | nq bv cŃepx | cteB Avťj vPbv Kiv
nťqťQ wKfťte MŃgy cZ`KgmPxi A_`Pťj hvq MŃgy abxK tkYxi nťZ | Drcv`b weťvax
Kvhřj vc epx cvq | epx cvq `wi`đ |

Dbqťb KgŃPx cŃqťMi dťj `wi`đ epx cvl qvq I abx`wiť`đ e`eavb AZ`waK epx cvl qvq
wek`cŃRevť`i tKřkj cvi ewZ nq | mnvťh`i ms`v_vj řix nťq hvq th GB nvti `wi`đ evotZ
_vKťj Dbqťbkj ť kmgťn mŃU `Zix nťq Afil vb nťZ cřti | Avi Zv NUťj GKťPwUqv
cŃři evRvi nviťZ nťZ cřti | wek`cŃRev`x e`e`v GZKvj mnvťh`i I FY `vb KtiťQ
evsj vť kti A_řwZK w`wZkxj Zv eRvq iv Lvi Rb` | Kvi Y w`wZkxj Zv _vKťj Kvřvgvj
mieivn I weť kx `Zix cťY`i evRvi wŃwZ nťe | Pig `wiť`đ KviťY Amťsvl epx tctj
Dbz weťkđ Kvřvgj msMŃni I `Zix cY` weť mťqi evRvi řwZMŃ nťe | Dbqťb tKřkj wntmte
ZvB cŃepx i mťŃ hŃ nq mgZv mŃŃi bxiZ | mgZv mŃŃi Rb` `wi`đ tkYxťK wřvY Z Kiv
Avek`K nťq cťo | Gfťte `wi`đ řvgnxb I `wi`đ brix Dbqťbi wkvbv `j ev target group
wntmte wřvY Z nq | j řv`ťj i `wi`đ weťgvPb Kti mgZv mŃŃi GťRvU wntmte mi Kviťi evBti
Ab` GKwU kŃřťK mŃŃi Kiv nq hviv temi Kvix mnvťh`i ms`v ev GbwRI | temi Kvix mnvťh`i
ms`v gvťb temi Kvix řvťte mgvR tmev I mgvR Dbqťb KvťR wŃhŃ msMVb |

mi`tegvPťbi Dťlťk`
wek`cŃRevť`i GťRvU
wntmte mi Kviťi evBti
Ab` GKwU kŃřťK mŃŃi Kiv
nq hviv temi Kvix mnvťh`i
ms`v ev GbwRI |

evsj vť k wZb tkYxi GbwRI KgPZ AvťQ | cŃg tkYxťZ AvťQ weť kx GbwRI | Gť`i A_`
bwiZ, Kgēšv meňKQy weť kx iv wŃqšY Kti b | wŃZxq tkYxťZ AvťQ `vbxq GbwRI hvť`i
mŃŃť`i mnsnfVM Avťm weť k ť kti | ZZxq tkYxťZ AvťQ ť kxq GbwRI | ť kxq mŃŃť`i
Dci Zviv wbfPkj Zte `vbxq eo GbwRI ť kti Zviv A_`mnvťh`i tctq _vťK | Gme ms`v
temi Kvix nťj I mi Kvi KZř Abťgv`Z | Avevi mi Kvi KZř Abťgv`Z Kvhřvg cvi Pwj Z
nťj I Gť`i MVb, KgŃPx ev`evq cŃwZťZ mnvťh`i vZv ms`vi cŃve AvťQ |

¹ Sobhan Rahman, "Aid Dependence and Policy Ownership : The Tanzanian Experience
with Lessons from Bangladesh", *The Journal of Social Studies*, CSS, Nov79, Dhaka
University, 1978.

GbwRI i `wi`a wetgvPb KgmPx wetq wek| e`vstKi tNvlYv wbtæ Dc`wcz ntjv (Gg tgvdr34vj j nK, 1991)|²

- 1| KgmPx wntmte M0gxY Dbqb Z_v M0gxY `wi`a`ixKiYi Dci meAaK „i“Zic0vb|
- 2| UvtM0 M0c wntmte M0gxY fvgxb t¶|ZgRj, ¶|t` Pvlx l teKvi gvbe tMv0xtK tet0 tbqv|
- 3| j ¶| wntmte H UvtM0 M0tci Avq l Drcv`b ¶|lgZv ewx wbow0Z Kiv|
- 4| Dbqb tKSkj wntmte A_0wZK c0pxi nvi evotbvi cvkvcwk ab%alg` `ixKiYi c0ym Ges Zv c¶|j Z Dbqb Kivvtgvi ga` t_¶KB Kiv|
- 5| A_0thMvtbi m1 wntmte c¶|Rev`x t`k_wj t_¶K AvZwi³ mrvh` mieivn Kiv| Zte 0l wWG0 Gi cvkvcwk c0BtfU l fj vUwi LvZ mrvh` AvMgtbi c_ c0k` Kiv|
- 6| mvgwRK bwiZ wntmte ZZxq wetkji t`k_wj tZ abx l `wi`i mnAe`vb Ges AvSR0ZK cwi mti abx l `wi`a`k_wj i cvi`uwi K mntwmZv|
- 7| bZb Dbqb tKSkj ev`evqbi metPtq „i“ZcyDcv`vb wntmte bZb aitbi M0g Dbqb msMVb m0| Gi gva`tg M0gxY `wi`a`k mi vwi AvNvZ Kiv|
- 8| gj ev me00g j ¶|Yxq wetq wntmte mvgwRK wece`wKsev Mphx l wek,Ljv c0ZnZ Kiv|

e`vK

<p><i>Dbqb KgrvtU`wi`a gvb¶ i AskM0Y wbow0Z Kivi Rb`UvtM0 M0c G`vtc0P0 MnxZ nq </i></p>

0evsj vt`k i`ivj GWfvYtgU KugwU0 evsj vt`ki Ab`Zg epr l c0Zw0Z temi Kvix mrvh` ms`v hv e`vK bvtgB tenk cwi wPZ| 1972 mtj wntj tUi mvj w¶| Gi Kvhpig`ii` nq|`ii` ci t_¶K mrv`c0ZK Kvj chS e`vtKi Kgavivq cwi eZ0 Gtmt0|`ii`tZ e`vK 0gvbeZev`x G`vtc0P0 M0Y Kti| TvY l cpe0mtbi KgmPx wbtq hx weaY` evsj vt`tk ¶|wZM0 gvbt¶|i Rb` KvR`ii` Kti| Zvici MnxZ nq 0KugDwbU tWt¶j ctgU G`vtc0P0 GKwU wbu`0 GjvKvtK wPwYZ Kti tmLvfb Kw, mgevq, n`wkí, wk¶|v, `f`, KugDwbU tmUvi wbg¶|y BZ`w`i gva`tg c¶|wDbq¶|bi D¶|`wM tbqv nq| GtZ e`vtKi AvfGZ nt`0 GB th Dbq¶|bi m¶|j GjvKvi m`u`kvj xt`i fvM AwaK P¶|j hvq| Gi KviY wntmte aiv nq `wi`a`gvb¶|i Dbq¶|b AskM0Y bv Kti`ti mti`vKv| G ch¶|q 0cvU0mtcUwi tWt¶j ctgU G`vtc0P0 MnxZ nq| Dbqb KgrvtU`wi`a`tkYxtK m`u`³ Kivi c0ym P¶|j|`wi`a`gvb¶|i AskM0YtK Avti vbow0Z Kivi Rb`UvtM0 M0c G`vtc0P0 MnxZ nq| UvtM0 wntmte wPwYZ Kiv nq fvgxb K.l.K, ¶|z`a l c0wSK K.l.K, weEnxb bvix l kgRex wbatkYxi gvbt¶|K| UvtM0 Avti v m0VK Kivi Rb` w`i Kiv nq th emZevoxmn 0.50 GKi chS fvgi gwj K l KwqK ktgi Dci wbf¶|kxj gvbt¶| e`vtKi KgmPxtZ AskM0Y Ki tZ cvi teb|

mweR Dbqb

<p><i>`wi`i`i Rb`AbKj cwi`tek m0 Kiv e`vK Kih¶ tgi c0vb j ¶ </i></p>
--

e`vtKi Dbqb tKSkj `wU - `wi`a`wetgvPb l `wi`i`i ¶|lgZvqb| `wi`i`k G ms`v tKej Avq DcvR¶|bi Afve l Kgms`vtbi Afve wntmte t`tL bv| AgZ⁰tm¶|bi (fvi Zxq tbvtj c¶|0vi weRqx) `wi`a`wetqK fvebvi mt½ Zvt`i wqj Avt0| AgZ⁰tm¶|bi gtZ `wi`a`tKej A_0wZK wetq w`tq tevSv hvte bv| KviY `wi`a`Rxeb avitYi gvb wbi fcy l tetP`vKvi

² nK tgvdr34vj j, 0c¶|Rev`x wekGbwRI i GKwU Dc`rcbv0, mgvR wbi x¶|Y, msL`v 39, mgvR wbi x¶|Y tK`a, XvKv wekte`v j q, 1991|

Dcvq wbaftY gybft i cfrve LvUvtbvi qvgZv bmivZ Kti t`evi Rwlj cduqv`Zix Kti | GB
aitbi fivebv t_tk evK`wi`a wegtvPtb GKwJ mweK Dbqdb (holistic) G`vtcOP MhY Kti |
Avq I Kgfms`vb epxi cvkvvnik evK`wi`fi cOZovb`Zix, mtpZbZv epw, mAq mgvtek,
wki wkqiv, "v", wj 1/2 %alg`ixKiY I cOqfityi gva`tg`qZv epxi jtqI` KgfPx MhY
Kti _vtK|`wi`fi KviY wntmte evK AtbK_wj Ae`vtK wPwyZ Kti hv Zvt`i gtZ
`wi`fi cwitek | GB`wi`fi cwitekki cOZKj Zv`i Kti`wi`fi Rb` AbKj cwitek
mjo KivB evK Kvhpitgi ca`vb j qI | wbtai wPI t_tk evK wPwyZ`wi`fi cwitek tevSv
hvte |



Drm : Choudhury Moshtaq, "BRAC's Poverty Alleviation Programme : What it
is and What is Achieved", in Geoffrey Wood (ed) *Who Needs Credit*,
UPL, Dhaka. 1997.

UvtMØ MØc

UvtMØ MØc wbaftYi ciciB mggbv e`w³MY hv`i Awakvsk GB MØci brix Zviv`j MVb
Ktib | mtpZbZv mjo I eva`Zvgj K mAq Kvhpug w`tq`tj i KvR`ii" nq | mgvRi Ae`v
tKb brix`i Rb` wbfZbgj K Ges wKfite tkvlYgj K Av_@-mvgwRK I ivR%bwZK Ae`v
t_tk tei nlqv hvq tm mKj welq wbtq mtpZbZv mjo i tCØMØgwJ mvRvtbv | ZvQvov
gibewakvi I AvBb welqK cvtVi e`e`v AvtQ | cOZ`K m`m` mBvtn Kgc`qI`ß UvKv mAq
Rgv Ktib | ejv nq GB mAq m`tm`i exKvj xb mgtq e`envti i Rb` | Zte`_i"Zi cØqvRtb
mAq t_tk A_@D`E`vj b Kiv mæe | m`m`MYtK bvbvi Kg Kg@qI`Zv epxi Rb` cØkqIY cØvb

UvtMØ MØci Awakvsk
m`m``wi`bvix | Zvt`i
Rb` FY`vb, wkqiv I
mtpZbZv mjo i KgfPx
MpxZ nq |

Kiv nq| m`m`MtiYi gta` AtbtK `v`fmev weZiY I nvan gj Mxi Uxkv`vb BZ`w` Ktg` QZv ARB Ktib| „i`ZcY`KgmPx nt`Q FY`vb KgmPx| m`m`c` j vtfi GK gvtmi gta` FtYi Rb` Avte`b Kitz cvtib| wZb aitbi FtYi mthvM AvtQ| cDgZ: cDvMZ eyEi Rb` thgb e`emv, cwi enb (tbsKv ev wi` v), avb cDvMZ RvZKiY (tXmK) BZ`w` | Gme FtY mti` nvi 15%| wZxqZ bixi Rb` A-cDvMZ eyE thgb gvi i t`vKvb, ti oti`U, nvan gj Mxi Lvgti, tmwi Kvj Pvi, hSPwj Z tmP BZ`w` FtYi Rb` mti` nvi 15%| ZZxqZ MpnbgEYi FtYi Rb` mti` nvi 10%| e`vtKi gtZ FY cwi tkvtai nvi 98%| `tj i Ab`vb` m`m`MtiYi Pvc mwo I e`vK KgRZMtiYi wDqgZ Z`vi wK FY cwi tkvtai t`tj mDj etq AvtB| FY cDvb t`tK th mY MtiY Kiv nq Zv w`tq GB KgmPxi e`q wbeM ntq `vtK|

GKwU AA`tj 100wU Mtg 150wU `j I cDq 6,000 Rb m`m` `vtK| G aitbi GKwU AvAj K kvLvq 90 j Q UvKvi FY KvhEug `vKtj kvLwU`K `wbfP kvLv ej v hvq| e`vtKi kvLv `wj i gta` 30% Gi Etay`wbfP ntq tMtQ| e`vtKi meEgU `tj i msL`v 75,000 Qwotq tMtQ hvZ m`m` msL`v 30 j t`tj Dcti| e`vtKi wekvj m`u`vi Y tevSv hvq Zvt` i KgRZM msL`v w`tq| cYKvj xb I LEKvj xb wgvj tq e`vtKi KgRZM KgmPxi msL`v 48,000 Gi tenk| G chS 96,000 wgvj qb UvKvi AwaK FY cDvb Kiv ntqtQ| `wi`a`m`m`t` i mwAZ At`P cwi gvY 800 wgvj qb UvKvi Etay` e`vjt` tki mKj Mtg e`vK KvhEug we`vti cwi Ki bv AvtQ Ges 35,000 Mtg fvtj vfvte KvhEug Pj tQ|

e`vK Gi Dbq`b KvhEgti D`tj E`thvM` `enkó` nt`Q Dbq`b bixt`i m`u`³KiY| FY KvhEgti cDq mKj m`m` bix| e`vK cwi Pwj Z AcDvZ`vmbK wK`v KvhEgti 70% wK`v `x` bix Ges wK`v KmtYi 80% bix wK`v K| `v` I nvan gi Mx Lvgti KvhEgti mKtj B bix| wDZxq `enkó` nt`Q bZb chY`³ i n`vsi | G `wj nt`Q D`P dj bkxj nvan gi Mx cvj b, AvaybK c`xwZtZ grm` Pvtmi Rb` n`vPvix, Kw`g Dcvtq Mi` tgvUv ZvRvKiY, Mfxi bJ Ktci gva`tg tmP cKí, ZZ MvtQi Pvl, tikg `wU tcvKv Pvl I e`pb| AvaybK aitbi Pvtli Rb` e`vK cDk`vY cDvb, DcKiY mieivn I evRvi RvZKiYi `wqZi cvj b Kti `vtK| ZZxq `enkó` nt`Q Dc-AvbpvmbK wK`v KvhEug hv wZb ermi tgq`x Ges hv tmBme wKt`vixt`i Rb` cwi Pj bv Kiv nq hviv bvbv KviYtj Lvcov eU Kti w`tqtQ| PZL` `v` KvhEgti gta` D`tj E`thvM` `enkó` nt`Q GB th e`vK GK tKwU Pwj k`j t`tj tPtq AwaK evotZ Wvqvi qv wDqSYKvix I ivj tmj vBb `Zixi cDk`vY w`tqtQ|

Mtg mSMVb

e`vK msMvZ Mtci bvg
OMtg msMVbO| Gi gva`tg
e`vK mKj KgmPx ev`evqb
Kti `vtK| e`vK Mtc
m`m`t`i GKwU Mtc
Kij Pri Mto Dtv|

AbKj cwi tek `Zixi cvkvcwK `wi`a`gvb`ti QgZvq`bi Dci e`vK `i`Zi Avtvc Kti Ges tm D`tj t`k`B Mtg mSMVb Mto tZvjv nq| mgvRweAvbixiv aviYv Ktib Mtci m`m`t`i gb`wZK Ae`vi cwi eZB I cwi ea`b Mtci c`vve AvtQ| GKB aitbi `v`m`t`PZb e`w`³eM` hLb m`t`PZb fvt`e Mtc MVb Ktib ZLb Mtc m`m`t`i gtb `j exZvi gtbv fve Mto Dtv| Gfrte e`w`³ GKwU KtZi Kvi wvi t`tK gvbnmK fvt`e gY`³ j v`f Kti | GKvÍ Zv Mto Dtv etj msNexZvi mwo nq| wei`x cwi tek I cwi w`wZi gta` I Mtc m`m`MY wDvvcE`v Abjfe Ktib| e`vK msMvZ Mtci bvg OMtg msMVbO hvi gva`tg e`vK mKj KgmPx ev`evqb Kti `vtK| Dbq`b`bi UvtM` Mtc wntmte hviv wbeM PZ nq tmmKj cwi evi t`tK GKRb m`m` Mtg mSMVt`bi m`m` ntq `vtKb| m`m`MY `k UvKv Rgv w`tq Mtci m`m`c` j v`f Ktib Ges cDZ ermi `k UvKv Rgv w`tq m`m`c` bevqb Kti `vtKb| Mtg mSMVt`b b`bZg wek Ges

Dġa@cĀvkRb m`m` _vtKb| wbuqgZ msvwnK mfv_uj tZ AskMōy Kti e`vK AvtqwrZ mġPZbZvgj K wġv Mōy Kivq Mōg msMVtbi m`m`MŲYi gġa` GK aiġbi HġK`i gġbrfve Mġo DġV| Zvi tPtqI _i“ZcY`chġeġY GB th (tgv`dv Kvgj cvkv, 1993)³ mvgwRKfġte e`vtKi Mōc m`m`MY Mōtgi Ab`vbġ`i Øviv Avj`v`vfġte wPwġZ nġq hvb| e`vtKi tġMōtgi mgvR cwieZġbi Rb` thme wġlq wġv`vb Kiv nq thgb bvix cġ`ġi mg ghġv, cwievi cwi Kġbv BZ`w` Mōc m`m`ġ`i`b`b AvġvPbvi wġlq`nġq hvq| Gfġte e`vK Mōc m`m`ġ`i` GKwJ ØMōc Kvj Pvi Ø Mġo DġV| m`m`MY Øe`vtKi tġvKØ, ØGbwRI Gi tġvKØ wġtġte Øġt ġej Ø tġq hvb Ges MōgxY mgvġR Zvi v wfbwntġte wPwġZ nġq hvb|

e`vK - Dbqġ KġġPxi dj vġj

e`vK Gi Dbqġ KġġPx wġtq bvbvaiġbi cġkæDġ wcz nġtqġQ| e`vK wġ mŲZ`Kvi Aġ`w`ġ`I ewĀZġ`i Kvhġtgi Avl Zvq AvġtZ cviġQ? t`Lv hvq th e`vK GKwJ RiXC Kti UvġMØ Mōc wbaġY Kti| wbuq Abġvġi hvġ`i evox I Af Rwg AvġQ Zviv m`m`nġ qvi K_v| wġK`S` Mōtgi cġKZ Ae`v m`m`uġtK`e`vK KġġP`i` _uó avibv _vtK bv| Zivov FY cwitkvġai ġlgZv _vKvi cġZ e`vK KġġP`i` cġġcvZ KivR Kti| MōgxY ġwġj Ut`i` cġfġtei` `i`b` Ggb AtġtK` `wġ`ġ`etj wPwġZ nġq hvb hviv mŲZ`Kvi` `wġ`ġ`bb| Zivov Øpig` `wġ`Ø`ev meġvġvġ`i` e`vtKi Avl Zvq Avbvi KġġPx tġB| Zte Pig` `wġ`ġ`i` Rb` miKvġi Mg weZiY KġġPx mgwBi ci e`vK Zvġ`i` Rb` nvm ġj Mx cġjġbi cġKġY cØvb Kġi _vtK| ġġ cġkænt`Q e`vtKi Mōc`wġj` wġ MōgxY mgvR KwġvġġZ mŲSj Z kw³`i` cġZxK wġtġte KivR KiġZ cviġ? cġKZ mZ` GB th` `wġ`MY e`vtKi Mōc m`m`nġq _vtKb FY cvlqvi mġhvġmi KvġġY| mŲZiv Zviv e`vK KġġP`i` me K_v tkvbi tPón Kġib I AbġZ _vtKb| Avġ`vbxq chġq e`vK KġġP`i` Dci cPĒ Pvc _vtK` `vbxq Abġvb wġK ivLvi Rb`| G Dġġk` mġatbi Rb` Mōc MvB Kġi FY Av`vb cØvġbi mvdj` cØkØ Kivi Rb`B KġġMY Awak e`v` nġq cġob| mġecwi tK`ġq e`vK Awġġmi KġġMY e`v` _vtKb wġt`kx` Abġvb msMōni ġvġv ewx Kivi Rb`| GB ev`eZvq` `wġ`ġ`i` cġZØvbKxKiġYi Rb` ġj kw³ AwRZ nġ qvi cġ`cġZeJkZv mŲo nq| e`vtKi AwġfveKġZġi evBġi Mōc`wġj` GKZvex nġq teġP`_vKvi cØY kw³ cvq bv| ġmKġ KvġġY` `wġ`ġ`I ġlgZvnx tMwōi GKZvex nġ qvi ġvġġg wei`x` cġZcġġtK cġZnZ Kivi tRvġtj v Kvġvġgv Mġo DVi Dcvq _vtK bv| Avby tġvġvġ`ġ`i` (1983)⁴ chġeġY GB th MōgvĀġj mbiZbx I ġlgZvġj ġvZeġi-tġvojMY thfġte` `wġ`ġ`I fġvġnġġ`i` tKv`ġġi ġvġġg wefvġRZ Kġi ivġL tmfġteB A_`cġhvMvbKvix ms`v_uj` t`Qwġmex ms`v_uj`ġk` wef³` Kġi ivġL| wefvġems`v` ØGKBØ j`ġ` wġtq wfbwefvġeMōtgi GKB aiġbi A_`cġhvMvbKvix cġZØvb wġtġte Øwotq _vtK| mġġ t`Qwġmex ms`v`HK`ex`_vKġġj wefvġæġjvKvi fġvġnġġ`i` GKB tġvġtq wġtq AvmġZ cviġ| ġiKġ tġYx tPZbvi Dġ vb cġZnZ Kivi Rb`B ġbwRI Dbqġbi GB e`e`v`| msMVbnox Mōtgi` `wġ`ġ`ġvġġġK ġbwRI`_wġj` GfġteB eġav wef³` ġġL kw³nxb Kġi tZvġj|

e`vtKi AwġfveKġZġi evBġi Mōc`wġj` GKZvex nġq teġP`_vKvi cØY kw³ cvq bv|

ZYġj chġq Mōc MvB Kivi Dġġk`nġ`Q ØvġMØ Mōc`wġj` i AskMōyKvix fġvġv mŲo Kiv| ev`te Zv wġ nġ`Q? e`vK KġġMY Mōtci msvwnK mfv_uj`ġk` wbuqšY Kġi _vtKb|` `vbxq

³ Kvgj cvkv tgv`dv, *temi Kivx mġvġh` ms`vi Mōc` MvB c`xwZ I Zġj chġq`wġ`ġ`RbġMvōi ġlgZvqġ : GKwJ tKm ōmġ, AcġKwġZ ġvōi m`m`m, mi Kivi I ivRbwZ wefvM, Rvniġxi bMi mekte`vj q, 1993|*

⁴ Avbyġvġvġ`ġ` , *wġcġRev` Ges ersj vt`ki Abqġb*, bl ġivR wġZwe`vb, Xiv, 1983|

e²v²Ki evRvi gLx cKí
`xN²gqv`x c²R webtqv²Mi
gva`tg g²bdv AR²bi
D²í`tk` Kg²Z

Kg²Y tKej tK²`í Abk²vmb tgb Ptj b| Gfv²te ÚC-WwDb² b²wZ envj _v²tK| Ggb²wK
ÚGbw²RI ej²t²v²t²u²m²ó`Zix nq hv mi Kvix Avgj vZŠ t²_tK wfb²wKQy²bq|

c²ávb c²k²ent²“Q, `wi`²a we²gv²P²t²b Gbw²RI i dj²v²dj wK? Cost of Basic Needs Method
Ab²niY K²í Av²by²tg²vn²v²Š`i (1988)⁵ gZ²vgZ n²“Q, th n²v²t²i Gbw²RI tbZ²t²Z;`wi`²a we²gv²P²b
n²“Q Zv²t²Z ev²s²j²v²t²`tk Mú²gxY `wi`²a we²gv²P²t²b 1,000 ermi mg²q j vM²te| Av²by²tg²vn²v²Š` m²vn²h`
ms²-vi gj Zn²we²t²j i KZ Ask tK²v²b Lv²t²Z e`q nq Zv Z²t²j a²t²i b| thgb- m²vn²h`i 80% e`q
nq cw²ienb eve`, 15% we²t²`kx Kg²RZ² P²I Dc²t²`ó²v²t²i eve` l 5% e`q nq `v²b²xq Gbw²RI
Kg²P²vix l Uv²t²M² Mú²c Db²q²t²b| GB cv²t²Vi i i²t²Z ev²s²j²v²t²`k iv²tó²i ci²w²f²P²Z²vi Av²t²j vP²b²q
`e²t²`w²k²K m²vn²h` f²v²M ev²t²U²v²qv²ivi th w²P²I Z²t²j aiv n²t²qv²Qj, Gbw²RI Lv²t²Z `e²t²`w²k²K m²vn²h`i
e²U²b e`e²-v Zv t²_tK wfb²w²bq| Gbw²RI _uj th ev²Rvi A_Ú²w²Z we²-v²t²i w²u²qv²k²j Zv tek `ú²ó
n²t²q D²t²V²t²Q| e²v²t²Ki ev²Rvi gLx cKí `xN²gqv`x c²R webtqv²Mi gva`tg g²bdv AR²bi
D²í`tk` Kg²Z| e²v²t²Ki m²v²Z t²K²w²U Uv²Kvi t²K²v²i t²-v²t²i R c²Ú²R²±, c²Y we²u²t²q²i Rb` Av²os
c²Ú²R²±, e²v²K e²vs²K c²Ú²ó²vi D²t²`v²M BZ`w` Zvi c²K²ó D²`v²niY| e²v²K ¶²i²a ch²q²i Db²q²b
Kg²m²P²x t²_tK e²pr cw²i m²t²i Db²q²b Kg²m²P²x Mú²t²Y Av²Mú²x| e²v²t²Ki c²Ú²vi Y²q ej²v nq ‘Small is
beautiful but large is necessary’ | w²KŠ`e²pr ch²q²i Db²q²b w²Kfv²te Mú²gxY `wi`²í`i Ae²-v
Db²q²t²b m²ú²,³ n²te tm w²el q²w² `ú²ó b²q|

mvi vsk

w²í²k erm²t²i Awa²K mg²q²Kij e`q n²l²qv²i cil `wi`²a we²gv²P²t²b AM²M²w²Z br n²l²qv²q e²v²t²Ki
Db²q²b g²t²W²t²j i gj Z²m²E²K w²el q²w² c²Ú²K²e m²ú²Š²xb n²“Q| Z²m²E²K avi Y²v GB w²Qj th Mú²gxY
`wi`²í`i g²t²a` FY we²ZiY Kiv n²t²j Zv²t²i Kg²m²s`v²b m²ú²ó n²te Ges Mú²gxY A_Ú²w²Z²t²Z
we²iv²Rg²v²b Drc²v`b m²ú²t²K`c²f²ve c²ó²te| Gi dt²j Mú²gxY mg²v²R Kv²v²t²gv² cw²i ew²Z² n²te| w²KŠ`
e²v²K g²t²W²t²j i ev²-ev²q²t²bi dt²j Mú²gxY A_Ú²w²Z²t²Z e`j N²t²U w²b| e²v²K²mn Ab²iv` Gbw²RI i
Db²q²b g²t²W²t²j e²w²³ ch²q² Aí ms²L`K g²v²b²t²i f²v²t²M`v²b²q²b Nu²Ú²t²q²t²Q w²KŠ`m²me²R A²t²_Mú²gxY `wi`²a
Kg²v²t²Z e`²h²t²q²t²Q| Mú²gxY `wi`²a t²k²Y²x Mú²gxY A_Ú²w²Z²i c²ávb A_Ú²w²Z²K m²th²v²M m²pe²ave²j²t²Z
c²Ú²ek²w²aK²vi br cv²l q²v ch²Š m²me²R `wi`²í`i Ae²-v e`j n²l²qv² m²e²b²q| Mú²gxY `wi`²í`i Dci
w²bq²ŠY l w²b²h²f²Z²t²bi GK²w²U `f²f`² R²vj we²-Z nq ¶²i²gZ²v²k²v²j²t²i m²ú²Š²j Z c²Ú²v²t²m| GB
tk²vlYK²vix P²u² t²f`² Kivi gZ c²Ú²qv²R²b²q² kw²³i th²v²M²b w²í²q² `wi`²í`i ¶²i²gZ²v²k²v²j²x Kivi
D²t²`v²M Gbw²RI Db²q²b g²t²W²t²j i Av²l Z²v ew²f²Z²| Gme Kiv²t²Y Drc²v`b m²ú²K² ¶²i²gZ²im²ú²K²
w²Ú²t²K _v²tK Ges `wi`²a Rb²t²Mú²ó²xi w²b²t`K²i Y c²Ú²qv² Ae²-v²nZ _v²tK|

⁵ Av²by²tg²vn²v²Š` , ev²s²j²v²t²`tk Db²q²b m²s²KU Ges Gbw²RI g²t²W²t²j , c²Ú²Š²vi c²K²v²k²bx , X²iK²v, 1988|

ᑭᑭᑦ ᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑭᑦ : ᑭᑭᑦ ᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑭᑦ
Micro Credit Model : Grameen Bank

GB cWwU cto Avcwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- ᑭᑭᑦ ᑭᑭᑦ ᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑭᑦ ᑦᑭᑦ
- ᑭᑭᑦ ᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑭᑦ ᑭᑭᑦ ᑦᑭᑦ
- ᑭᑭᑦ ᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑭᑦ ᑭᑭᑦ ᑦᑭᑦ

ᑦᑭᑦ ᑦᑭᑦ

evsj vt`k i vó`wef`kx mrvh`vZv ms`v t`tk wecj cwi gvY A`FY Kti Ges GB Ftyi A`
0v ivóqZi e`vstKi gva`tg FY`vb KgmPx Pvj yKti | Zte Rvbw hvq th AtbK abx K.I.K
e`vsk FY MhY Kti tm A`Pov mte` FY c0vbt j wMektib | Ab` At`e`vsk`uj B cKvi vsti
gnvRbx mte` i e`emvi `j wfwl`3 ntq hvq | GwU Ntu c0gz GB Kvi ty th FY c0vbt i Dti`k`
wQj Kw Drcv`b ewx | dtj hvte` i fiq tbB Zviv GB Ftyi Avl Zv emfZ | wZxqZ GB FY
Mhtyi Rb` RvgtZi c0qvRb AvtQ | eMf vi K.I.K, M0gvAtj hvte` i msL`v AtbK, Zviv GB
FY MhY Ki tz AcviM nb | Kvi eMfKZ Rvq RvgtZ wntmte MhYthvM` bq | ZZxqZ e`vsk
Ftyi mte` RwoZ AvtQ e`vck `j Rvbw hvq th e`vsk Ftyi meUKz A`KLtbvB FY
MhxZvi nvtZ tcS0vq bv | FY t`tk c0B At`e`vsk emvq e`vstKi KgRZ`mn `vbxq cKvmtbi
e`w`eml `vbxq qigZvkj x tbZem` PZL` M0gxY qigZvkj xt` i Gwotq `faxbfvte e`vsk
FY cvl qv mae` bq | Kvi e`vstKi w0qg Abymvte MhxZvK mbv`3 Ktib BDwbqb cwi l`ti
tPqvig`vb Ges tPqvig`vb wof` Ktib M0tgi gvZeYi`ti Dci | e`vsk cKvmtbi GB w0tgi
mthvM GK tkYxi Amvaytj vK fqv K.I.K tmtr e`vsk FY Mhtyi mthvM tbb | G0rov GB
`j Rvbw hvq th AtbK mgq
Ftyi A`mte` i Kvi e`vsk, dUKv e`emv I AcPqgj K vej vmtfvM e`q nq | Ftyi Rb`
Avte` bKvixi cwi Pq mwK bv nl qvq FY cwi tkvtai mgq e`vsk wecvK cto | FY tLj vctK
ami tq` t` l qvi t`q` M0tgi c`vvekuj x tkYxtK ZZUv Zrci ntZ `Lv hvq bv |

*ivóqZi emYwR`K e`vstKi
FY`vb e`v`v mtsil RbK
bq | GmKj e`vsk `wv`
wtegvPtb i KgmPx
er`evqtb i Rb` Dchj`
bq |*

GKw`tk ivotqZi ewYwR`K e`vstKi FY`vb e`e`v mšvlRbK bq| e`vstKi FY mieivn (delivery) I chfe`Y (monitoring) melqvej x`I`UhyB| Ab` w`tk ivotqZi ewYwR`K e`vsk`wi`a`wetgvP`bi KgmPx ev`evq`bi Rb` DchyB bq| KviY e`vstKi e`e`vcbv RvgybZ Qvov`wi`f`i FY c0v`bi Rb``Zix bq|`wi`f`i m½ e`vstKi mi vmi m`uK`vc`tb c0ZeÜKZv`Zix Kti M0gxY c`fvekvj x`gnj|`wi`a`gvb`li emem I Rxebav I e`vstKi KvVrtgvMZ MV`bi gta` mekvj divvK we`gvb| e`vsk`uj c0vbZ kni`tkw`K nl qvq M0gxY kvLv`uj cj`x`Dbqb bv Kti eis M0g t`tk kni` m`u` vbM0`tb mnthwMZv Kti|

M0gxY e`vsk

M0gxY e`vsk 1976 mvtj cix`Yvgj Kfvte P`EM0`gi iv`v`bq`vq Kvhpug`i`i` Kti| Gi c0Z0vZv Aa`vcK Wt` tgvn`v`BDBm| FY c0v`b c0vZ0vbK e`vskmgti``e`Zv I`wi`f`i KvQ tcšvri c0ZeÜKZv t`tk M0gxY e`vstKi m`cvZ| M0gxY e`vstKi Rb`f`GB tPZbv t`tk th Avw`R m`u`f`i Afv`tei`i`b AvwKvsk`wi`a`gvb| Zv`i Drcv`b`YlgZvi weKvk NUv`Z e`nb| h`vh` F`Yi m`y`e`av t`c`j msL`v`mwi`0`wi`a`tkYxi Drcv`bkj Zv Kv`R j`v`Mv`bv m`e`nte,`Kgfis`vb ev`x` crte Ges`vwi`a`j`v`Ne nte| M0gxY e`vstKi Uv`M0` M0c` vba`m`i Z nq 0.5 GKi ch`S`Rvgi gvj K I` f`vgnxb k`g`R`x`e`k`i`Z`wi`a`bvix|

M0gxY e`vstKi Rb`f`GB tPZbv t`tk th h`vh` F`Yi m`y`e`av t`c`j`wi`a`tkYxi Drcv`bkj Zv Kv`R j`v`Mv`bv m`e`nte|

M0gxY e`vstKi D`f`i`k` vba`ifc` -

- 1|`wi`a`bvix I cj`f`li Rb` e`vsk m`y`e`av we`vi|
- 2| M0`gi m`j`Lvi gnvR`bi c0Kvc t`tk`wi`f`i i`Yv Kiv|
- 3| Kgfis`v`bi Afv`te th wecj` msL`K gvbe m`u` AcPq n`Q Zv tiva Kti`^` Kgfis`vb m`j`o` Kiv|
- 4| vba` Avtqi I Kgf`xb gvbt`li mvsMv`bK kv`3 ev`x` Kiv| G m`mVb nte Zv`i vbtR`i Ges Ziv`B G m`mVb cvi Pj`bv Ki`te| G`Z` cvi`u`vi K m`v`v`h` mnthwMZv I mg`SvZv ev`x` cvte| GKB m½`wi`f`i A`v`v`v`ZK kv`3 ev`x`i cvkvcvk mvgw`RK I ivR`v`v`ZK kv`3 I ev`x` cvte|
- 5| cvjvZb`wi`f`i`p`P`t`ui e`vL`v`tk w`g`v` c0v`w`YZ Kiv| cvjvZb e`vL`v`n`Q`0`v`b`e` Avq`v`b`e` veb`v`b`q`v`M`v`b`e` Avq`0| Gi cvi e`Z`0`b`Zb e`vL`v``Zix nte| 0`v`b`e` Avq`- FY`- veb`v`b`q`v`M`- Avw`K Avq`- Avw`K FY`- Avw`K veb`v`b`q`v`M`- Avw`K Avq`0|

Yj`a`F`Yi D`vniY B`v`v`b`k`q`v`v`tkv`v` I evj`w`f`q`v`Zi AvtQ| GZ`m`E`j` evsj vt`tki Yj`a` FY Kvhpug` mekte`vcx` mvov RvM`v`v`q`0| c0vbZ M0gxY e`vsk g`v`W`j` i` mvdj` AvšR`v`ZK m`v`v`KZ`R`v`KZ` nl qvq GwU`wi`a`wetgvP`bi g`v`W`j` cviiYZ n`v`q`0| M0gxY e`vsk t`Kvb GbwRI bq| KviY GbwRI`wi`a`v`v`v`v`bi cvkvcvk m`P`ZbZv m`j`o` I YlgZvqb Kgm`Pxi Dci`v`i`Z` c0vb Kti mvgw`RK Dbqb NUv`Z AvM0`x| tm`v`v`j` mvgw`RK Dbqb M0gxY e`vstKi j`Y`i` bq| M0gxY e`vsk GKwU`e`vsk| evsj vt`k e`vstKi GKwU`c0R`±`vntm`te GwU`Kvhpug`i`i` Kti| ejv th`Z` cv`ti M0gxY e`vsk GKwU`meki` e`vsk e`e`v`ev`wi`f`i e`vsk| Avevi evsj vt`tki c0vZ0vbK e`vstKi Kvhpug` t`tk M0gxY e`vsk Avj`v`v` ai`bi| KtqKwU`D`vniY D`j`v`Kiv n`j`v`-

M0gxY e`vsk GbwRI bq| evsj vt`k e`vstKi GKwU`c0R`±`vntm`te GwU`Kvhpug`i`i` Kti|

- 1| cŕiZŕmbK e'vstKi Zj bvq MŕgxY e'vstKi FY cwi'ktv'tai nvi A'þK tekx- 95% - 99%| GŕU m'æ nq FYMŕxZvi FY e'env'ti Dci MŕgxY e'vstKi vbeo ZËy'av'tbi Kvi'tY|
- 2| FY MŕtYi cte'Œ c'ti FY MŕYKvi't' i tQvU MŕcU'þZ K'tVvi k„Ljv c'j b Kiv nq| m'vBv'nK m'fv v'bvq'Z Ab'þŕZ nq| t'mLv'tb m`m't' i m'Âq I F'tYi v'Kw' cwi'ktv'tai v'el'tq t'cŕYv m'þŕŕŕ Kiv nq|
- 3| cŕiZŕmbK e'vsK e'w³ FY Kvh'þ'g cwi'P'j bv K'ti | t'm't'j MŕgxY e'vsK m'ggbv I GKB t'kYxf³ e'w³ t' i Mŕc MVb K'ti FY cŕŕvb K'ti | Mŕt'ci ci 'ŕti i Dci FY cwi'ktv'tai Rb' P'vc m'þŕŕŕ nq| Kvi'Y v'Kw' cwi'ktv'ta e'ŕ'nt'j v'Ksev GKRb FY t'Lj v'cx nt'j Mŕt'ci m'Kj t'K Gi `vq f'vi enb Ki'tZ nq|
- 4| FY cŕŕv'tbi cte'Mŕt'ci m`m'M'tYi `ŕ'Zv e'þ'xi cŕk'ŕY cŕŕvb Kiv nq| FY cŕŕv'tbi ci m`m't' i Rb' Drcw' Z c'tY'i ev'Rv'ti i v'el'tq| m'n't'hw'MZv cŕŕvb Kiv nq| cŕiZŕmbK e'vstK Gme m'þ'vav t'bB|
- 5| F'tYi c'vkvcw'k Mŕc m`m'M'tYi m'Âq Kvh'þ'g P'j y'Kiv nq hv'tZ m`m'M'tYi f'v'el'Z v'bi v'c'Ëvi Rb' A_ŕ'v'w'ZK v'f'v'Ë M'to D'tV| G'tZ f'v'el'tZ FY Mŕt'Yi Dci v'bf'þ'k'j Zvi K'tg|
- 6| FY cŕŕv'tbi ci Mŕc m`m'M'tYi `ŕ' i ŕ'v I `ŕ'K' i cwi'tek m'þŕŕŕŕ Dci „Z' cŕŕvb Kiv nq|

ŕ'i 'FY Kg'm'Px

<p>MŕgxY e'vsK FY cŕŕv'tbi Rb' c'v'P R'tbi Mŕc 'Zix K'ti Mŕt'ci m'þ'ŕŕŕ Z `vq'xZvi `i'b F'tYi Rb' R'ig'v'tZi c'ŕ'v'Rb nq bv </p>
--

MŕgxY e'vstKi Abb' `enkŕŕ n't'Q Gi ŕFY MŕxZvB m'et'þ'q f'v't'jv Rv'tbŕŕŕ (“borrowers know best”) b'w'Z'tZ v'ek'v'm| th c'v'P Rb e'w³ v'g't'j Mŕc MVb K'tib Z'iv v'bt'RivB m`m't' i ev'QvB K'tib| th c'v'P Rb GK't'ŕ K'vR Ki'tZ c'v'it'eb et'j g't'b K'tib Z'v't' i c'v'ŕ'ŕvi K Av'v'B e'vstKi R'v'g'v'tZi v'el'tq'v't'K t'MSY K'ti t'q| R'v'g'v'tZi c'ŕk'æm`m'MY GKRb Ac'iR'tbi Rb' Ges GK't'ŕ m'K't'j F'tYi Rb' R'v'g'v'tZ'v'ix| cŕiZŕmbK e'vstKi FYMŕxZvi cwi'P't'qi m'v'U'ŕ't'KU m's'p'v's v'el'q G't'ŕ't'ŕ t'bB| Kvi'Y Mŕt'ci c'v'P Rb cŕZ't'KB cwi'v'PZ| FY cwi'ktv'tai t'ŕ't'ŕŕŕ cŕiZŕmbK e'vstKi gZ Li't'Pi c'v'j v'f'v'vi nq bv| Zvi g'v't'b m'þ'ŕŕŕŕ Z `vq'xZv `Zix n'l q'v'q cŕiZŕmbK e'vstKi ev'v'Z Li'P MŕgxY e'vstKi t'ej v'q cŕ'v'R' nq bv|

MŕgxY e'vstKi FY cwi'ktv'tai m'te'P'P nvi m'K't'j i `þŕŕ Av'KI'ŕ K'ti v't'K| c'v'P R'tbi MŕcU Z'ivB `Zix K'tib hv'iv FYMŕt'Yi Rb' cŕZ Ges FY e'env'i K'ti v'Kw' cwi'kt'va Ki'tZ c'v'it'eb et'j Av'ŕ v'ek'v'mx| Mŕc MV't'bi ci MŕgxY e'vsK KZ'ŕ `ŕ'Kw'Z `v't'bi cte'e'vstKi v'bvq b'w'Z I k„Ljvi v'el'tq cŕk'ŕY cŕŕvb Kiv nq| m`m'M'tYi ga' t'þ'K GKRb t'P'q'v'ig'v'b I GKRb t'm't'p'v'ix v'be'P'p Kiv nq| cŕŕg cŕŕvb Kiv nq m'v'avi'Y FY hv'i cwi'g'v'Y GKkZ g'v'K'ŕ W'j vi| Mŕt'ci `þ'Rb m`m' cŕg FY c'v'b Z'v't' i cŕ'v'eZ v'el't'q'v't'Mi t'ŕ't'ŕŕŕ v'el't'p'v'vi v'f'v'Ë'tZ| c'Âv'k'U v'Kw' t'Z Ges 10% m'þ' v'nt'm'te FY cwi'kt'va th'v'M' | Mŕt'c hv'iv F'tYi Rb' A't'c'ŕ'v K'tib Z'iv v'Kw' cwi'ktv'tai Rb' P'vc m'þŕŕŕŕ K'tib| Z'ej hw' t'K'v'b FYMŕxZv v'Kw' cwi'ktv'ta e'ŕ'nb Z'v'nt'j Mŕt'ci m'K't'j v'g't'j v'Kw' cwi'kt'va K'tib| m'Â't'qi g'v'a't'g'l Mŕt'ci c'v'P Rb GKw' Z `v'K'vi t'cŕYv t'c't'g v't'K'b| Mŕt'ci GK'Uv m'Âq K'v'W'ŕ'ŕ'v'v' nq th'Lv't'b cŕZ'U F'tYi 5% R'g'v nq| Z'v'Q'v'ov cŕZ'K m`m' m'v'v't'n GK Uv'K'v R'g'v K'tib e'w³MZ m'Âq d'v't'Ë| Mŕt'ci m'Âq d'v'Ë Q'q kZ Uv'K'v n't'q t'M't'j Mŕc MŕgxY e'vstKi GK'Uv t'k'v'v' v'q K'ti hv'i g'j' c'v'P kZ Uv'K'v| cŕZ m`m' GB t'k'q'v't'i GK kZ Uv'K'vi Ask'v'v' | m'v'avi'Y FY cŕŕvb t'kl

nI qvi ci Młc m`mMY Ab`vb` FťYi Rb` Avťe`b Křib hvi gřa` MnFY, cđy³ FY, km` cđuqvRvZKiY FY BZ`w` AšF³ | veirfbēaitbi FY cvl qvi m`ēebv Młc m`mMYtK GKwI Z ivLťZ mrvnh` Kři |

MłgxY e`vsK msMVtbi wēæ chřq AvťQ cvPRtbi Młc | Gaitbi 50-60w Młtci Z`viwKi Rb` AvťQ GKwU eřĀ | eřĀ`kRb KgrZP Gj vKvi mKj Młtci KvR Z`viwK Křib | MłgxY e`vsťKi GB eřĀ Młg Gj vKvq `wcz thLvťb `wi`a FYMłhxZvť` i emevm | Gfivte e`vsťKi KvťQ `wi`a gvbj bq, `wi`ť` i KvťQ e`vsK nvrRi nI qvi bmxZ ev`emqZ nťq `vťK | MłgxY e`vsK řZi Rb m`řm`i GKwU teW³řiv cwi Pwvj Z, hvi bq Rb m`m` MłgxY e`vsťKi FY MłhxZv Ges vZbRb D`Pc`-` mi Kvix KgrZP³ Dťj LřhvM` th MłgxY e`vsťKi tgvU tkqrťi i 92% Gi gwij K MłgxY e`vsťKi m`mMY Ges evKř 8% Gi gwij K ersj vť`k mi KvI | MłgxY e`vsťKi A`řqťbi Dřm nť`Q ersj vť`k e`vsK ř`ťK MpxZ FY, Ab`vb` ewYur`K e`vsK ř`ťK MpxZ FY I wKQyAvšR³ZK mrvnh` ms`v cđ Ē FY |

`wi`a wetgvpťb řř`a FťYi řvgKv

MłgxY e`vsťKi mvdj` řř`a FY řKřKři mvdť`i w`K wbt`Rbv cđvb KřiřQ | MłgxY e`vsťKi cđg mvdj` GB th GuU`Z m`ūřvi Y KřZ mg`ĉřqťQ | Gi m`m` msL`v GKk j řř Qwotq řMťQ hvť`i 94% `wi`a brix | cđq cqwI k nvrRi Młtg kvLv wē`Z nťqťQ | cđq 1.5 wevj qb gwK³ Wj vťi mggvťbi UvKv FY wntřte weZiY Kiv nťqťQ | m`m`MťYi mwĀZ Ať`P cwi gřv` wotqťQ 125 gwij qb gwK³ Wj vi (nřtkug 1997) |¹ ersj vť`ťki ewYur`K e`vsK ř`vj i mĀťqi nři i řťq MłgxY e`vsťKi mĀťqi nvi tevk | MtelYvq Rvbn hvq th MłgxY e`vsK m`m`MťYi AwKřsk km` cđuqvRvZKiY, řQvU KvI Lvbn, e`emv, cwi enb LvťZ wēbtqvm Kři meřaK jvřevb nťqťQb | m`m`MťYi Avq 40% ew`x řctqťQ (řnřřmBb, 1986) |² MłgxY e`vsťKi brix m`m`MťYi Kgrřs`vb I Avq ew`x cvl qvq Zvť`i MwZkřj Zv mřó nťqťQ Ges cwi evťi brix gh³v ew`x řctqťQ eřj I AťbK Mtel řKi avi Yv |

MłgxY e`vsťKi řř`a FY gřWj wU `wi`a wetgvpťbi řřřř GKwU eo cđkē Rb`w` řqťQ | cđkē nť`Q `wi`a wetgvpťb řťKej řř`a FYó ev` “Credit only” řKřKř bvwK řFY I mvgwRK Dbqđb et “Credit plus” řKřKř Aeř`b Kiv nře | GbwRI cwi Pwvj Z mvgwRK Dbqđb GKwU `xNřtgqw` cwi Křiv Ges e`q mvtcřř | GbwRI Kvřřřřř řřřřř mgtřj vPbv GB th `xNřřř mvgwRK Dbqđbi j řřř` KvR Kivi ci I `wi`ť` i Rb` Abřj mvgwRK Ae`v mřó nť`Q bv | Zvřvov GbwRI I Młc msMVb ř`vj i I tUKmB Ae`vq DEiY NUťQ bv | Ab`w` řK mvgwRK Dbqđb řKřKř wntřte MłhY bv Kři řKej řř`a FY KgrřPř MłhY Kři `wi`ť` i Awu`R Ae`vi Dbqđb NUvťbvi řřřřř I mgm`v AvťQ | GřZ AwacZ`ev`x mvgwRK KvVřřřřř `vev ř`ťK `wi`ť` i tevi řq Avmvi řKvbn c`Zix nq bv | řř`a FťYi dťj e`w³i A`řwZK Ae`vi wKQyv cwi eZ³nq | wKŠ`mgvR KvVřřřřř I řřřřř m`ūřřK³ e`j bv nťj `wi`a mřó nI qvi I řkvI řYi c`i`x nq bv | MłgxY e`vsťKi Z`vi Kři wēl řq mgtřj vPbv AvťQ th FY MłhY ř`ťK cwi řkřa chš`čřiv mgqKřj FY MłhxZv e`vsK KgrZMťYi cřj kř bRři i gřa` `vťKb |

řř`a FťYi dťj e`w³i A`řwZK Ae`vi wKQyv cwi eZ³nq | wKŠ`mgvR KvVřřřřř I řřřřř m`ūřřK³ e`j bv nťj `wi`a mřó nI qvi c` eU nq bv |

³ Hashemi SM, “Grameen Bank: A case Study” in Geoffrey Wood (ed) *Who Needs Credit?* UPL, Dhaka, 1997.
³ Hossain Mahabub, *Credit for Alleviation of Rural Poverty : The Experience of Grameen Bank : Bangladesh.* Working Paper No . 4, BIDS, Dhaka, 1986.

mvi vsk

MôgvÂtj FtYi Pwv`v AZ`waK| FtYi cllqvRtbi GB ev`eZvq gnvRbx cûv GKwU j vFRbK
tckvq cwi YZ ntqtQ| GBme gnvRb D`P mjt` UvKv j wMeKtibi Ges UvKv Av`vtqi mgq FY
MôvZvftK nqi wvb I wbiZb Ktibi| e`isK FY cêvn mjo nI qvq gnvRbx FY wKQbv m`xy`nq|
Zte e`isftKi GB FY `vb KgmPrtZ jvfewb nb Môtgi mjeavev`x abx tkYx| cûvZômbK
e`isftKi FY cûvftbi cûZeÜKZvi AvfÁZv t`ftK MûgvY e`isftKi mTcvZ NtU| MûgvY e`isK
`wi`ft`i wtklZ `wi`a bvi`ft`i Mûc MVb Kti FY `vb Kti| GB KgmPrtZ thS `vq I
mre`ij Z `vqZt`evtai tKStj i gra`tg FY Kvhêig MvZkij `vtK| MûgvY e`isftKi FY
cwi`tkvtai nvi AtbK tekx| wKŠ`mgvtj vPbv AvtQ th MûgvY e`isK FtYi A`Av`vq Kivi
Rb` `wi`a m`mMYtK cwi kx Z`vi Kxi gta` ivtL| GbwiRi i b`vq MûgvY e`isftKi mvgwRK
Dbqvb KgmPr tbB|

cvřWĚi gj`vqb

řbeŷK cřke

mWVK DĚři i cvřk WJK (ř) WPy w`b -

- 1| MřgxY eřsK řřz`FY cřvřbi Rb` MřxZvi KvQ řřřK RvgvZ wřřřte Wk řbq?
K. Rřgi`řj j
L. `Yř ½vi
M. cvřřřbi Mřřci mKřř RvgvZ wřřřte`vqex`řřK
N. abx K.I.K FY MřxZvi cřřř`vřqZřMřY Křřb
- 2| MřgxY eřsK řKřb ařřbi cřřřv?
K. mi Křřx cřřřv
L. GKřU GbřRI
M. GKřU weřř`kř cřřřv
N. GKřU weKř eřsK
- 3| ewřřřK eřsK řřř eMř vi Přřx řKb FY MřY Křřř cvřřb bř?
K. eMřřřxi Fřři cřřřřb řbB
L. BĐřqb cwi řřř i řřřřřv eMřřřřř FY cřřv Křřb
M. abx K.I.K Přb bř řř eMřřřř eřsK řřř FY MřY Křřř
N. eřřřři Fřři Rb` Rřgi`řj j RvgvZ wřřřte wřřř nq Wkř` eMřřřř Rřgi
gřř K břř
- 4| MřgxY eřřřři m`mMY KLb MřgxY eřřřři GKřU řřřř řř Křřř cvřřb?
K. m`řřř eřřřř mĂq GK řřřř UřKř řřř
L. MřgxY eřsK řřřř`řřvi FY MřY Křřř
M. cvřřřbi Mřř MVřřbi ci
N. cvřřřbi Mřřci mĂq QqkZ UřKř řřř

msřřřB cřke

- 1| MřgxY eřřřři Dřřřk`Wk?
- 2| MřgxY eřsK I cřřřřvK eřřřři gřřř`cv`řř`Wk?

iPbřřj K cřke

- 1| řFY MřxZřB meřřřř řřřř v Rřřř MřgxY eřřřři GB břřři A`Wk? MřgxY eřřřři
řřř`FY cřřv Křřřřř Wk řřřř cwi Přřř Z nq?

Gm Gm GBP Gj

2| tKej i^a FY c0v#bi gva#tg wK `vwi`^a we#grvPb m#e? M0gxY e'vs#Ki i^a FY
Kg#Pxi Av#j v#K Av#j vPbv Ki"b|

Women and Development

evsj v̄`tki mgvR e`e`vq bvi xi Ae`vb c̄ušk | GB c̄uškZv m̄jó n̄tq̄tQ we`gvb mgvR KvVt̄gv̄tZ bvi xi A_šwZK Ae`v̄t̄bi Kvīt̄Y bvi xi A_šwZK Ae`vb A`k` n̄tq hvq KviY Zviv AwaKvsk KvRKḡM̄p`vj x̄tZ m̄ūbeK̄t̄ib | bvi xi M̄pk̄t̄gi A_šwZK gj` wbaŋY Kiv nq bv etj Zv RvZxq Av̄tq Ašf̄ nq bv | Kwl̄t̄Z bvi xi c̄ŋi Ae`vb _vK̄t̄j I bvi x̄t̄K Kl̄t̄Ki gh̄v v̄`qv nq bv | bvi xi KvR̄t̄K N̄t̄i KvR I gj`nxb KvR w̄nt̄m̄te wētePbv Kiv nq | w̄k̄i I Ab`vb` Kḡŋ̄t̄t̄ bvi xi v e`vcK n̄v̄t̄i AskM̄h̄Y Kīt̄Qb | w̄K̄s̄`t̄`Lv hvq th Āt̄_c̄vR̄ŋ̄bi m̄t̄½ mi v̄m̄i h̄ȳp`_vK̄vi cil evsj v̄`tk bvi xi m̄vgw̄RK Ae`v̄t̄bi cw̄ieZ̄ GLbl m̄e nq w̄b | Kḡŋ̄t̄t̄ bvi xi bvbwea w̄bcxob I w̄bh̄Z̄t̄bi w̄k̄Kvi nb | bvi xiv N̄t̄i I N̄t̄i evB̄t̄i m̄šv̄t̄mi w̄k̄Kvi n̄`Qb | Ḡm̄W w̄b̄t̄ŋ̄c, n̄Z`v, aIŋ, th̄šb n̄qiw̄b ep̄x cv̄t̄`Q | bvi x w̄bh̄Z̄t̄bi w̄elq̄w̄ m̄w̄Kf̄v̄te tevSvi Rb` bvi x-cj` I m̄ūt̄K̄m̄p̄q̄k̄xj b̄w̄Z`b̄w̄ZKZv, gj`teva I gZv`tk̄ Av̄t̄v̄t̄K ēS̄t̄Z n̄te | Ḡb̄w̄RI i KḡR̄v̄t̄Ūi d̄t̄j ZYgj ch̄t̄q bvi xi e`MZ Ae`vi w̄KQ̄v̄w̄ cw̄ieZ̄ j̄ŋ̄Yxq n̄t̄j I bvi xi m̄vgw̄RK Ae`vb e`t̄j i m̄ēbv̄ `Zix n̄q̄w̄b | evsj v̄`tk bvi xi m̄vgw̄RK Ae`vb e`t̄j i D̄t̄īt̄k` bvi x Av̄t̄`vj b w̄ew`Qb̄v̄te m̄sN̄w̄JZ n̄t̄`Q | w̄K̄s̄` bvi x Av̄t̄`vj t̄bi kw̄³kvj x gZv`w̄k̄R w̄f̄w̄E GLt̄bv `Zix n̄q̄w̄b |

GB BD̄w̄t̄Ui cv̄w̄_w̄j n̄t̄`Q -

- ◆ cv̄w̄ - 1 : evsj v̄`tk w̄j ½xq m̄ūt̄K̄P aib
- ◆ cv̄w̄ - 2 : Kwl̄ A_šw̄Z̄t̄Z bvi x k̄t̄gi A`k`ḡvbZv
- ◆ cv̄w̄ - 3 : k̄t̄R̄x̄x bvi xi k̄t̄k̄v̄lY
- ◆ cv̄w̄ - 4 : evsj v̄`tk bvi x w̄bh̄Z̄b
- ◆ cv̄w̄ - 5 : evsj v̄`tk bvi x Dbq̄b I bvi x Av̄t̄`vj b

evsj vt`k wj ½xq mꝑútkP ai b
Nature of Gender Relations in Bangladesh

GB cvWUJ cto Avciwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

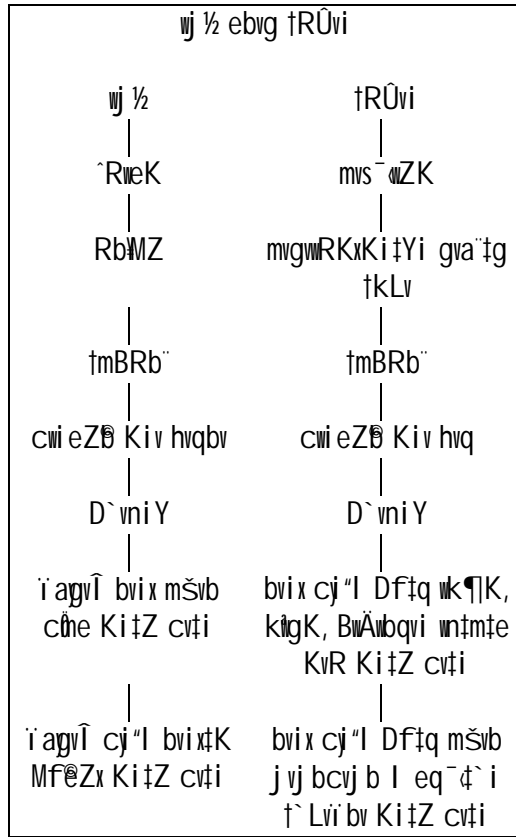
- wj ½zi avi Yv I msÁv
- bvix-cj`li mꝑúKqbyq ŪAe`vŵ I ŪAe`vbŵ Gi cv_R`
- wj ½xq `el tgi`i gZv` wkR wfiE
- mgvtR bvixi cŪŠK Ae`vb

wj ½ I tRŪvi

evsj vt`k wj ½xq mꝑúKtevsvi Rb` KtqKwU cZ`qMZ w`K mꝑútkPcwi`vi avi Yv`vKv Ri`ix| Avcbv j`q| KtiQb th wj ½xq AmgZvtK Lwi R Kivi Rb` hys` cŵvb Kiv nq Ūbvix-cj`li AmgZv cŪKwZKfvte mŵ| GB avi YvMZ áwš`i Kivi Rb``wU cZ`tqi cv_R` wbi fcy Kiv Avek`K| GK, ōtm. ō I`β, ōtRŪviŵ| evsj vq GB`wU BstiwR ktāi A`cj`li AmgZv mvgwRKfvte mŵ| Kiv nq Ūvj ½ŵ| wkŠ`tm. I tRŪvi bvix-cj`li GKB aiṭbi`enkŵ`wbYq Kti bv| thgb tm. nŵ`Q cŪKwZK ev kixi ewEqfvte wbañi Z bvix cj`li`enkŵ`| GuU`RueK Kvi tY mŵ`enkŵ` hv RbMZfvte cŪB| Gme`enkŵ` mvari YZ Acwi eZBxq|

Kixi ewEq fvte wbañi Z
bvix-cj`li`enkŵ`RueK
Kvi tY mŵ| wkŠ`bvix-
cj`li AmgZv mvgwRK
fvte mŵ|

ōtm. ō Gi weci xZ ōtRŪviŵ nŵ`Q mvgwRKfvte wbañi Z bvix-cj`li mꝑúKqbyqK`enkŵ`| thgb evsj vt`k AninB ej v nq bvix gvṭb ōtKvgj ō, ōAvteM cŵYŵ, ōbgŵ, ōj vRkŵ BZ`w`| Avi cj`li gvṭb ōKtVvi, ōhys`ev`xŵ, ōmvrnxŵ, ōAvμgyvŵ Kŵ BZ`w`| GKRB gvṭb li tm. cwi Pq ŵbvixŵ nŵ qvi m½ ōAvteM cŵYŵ nŵ qvi tKvb mꝑúKqbyq| G cwi Pq mvgwRKfvte mŵ, cŪKwZK fvte bq| Avti Kiu D`vni Y t`qv thZ cvti | thgb bvixi kwii ixK`enkŵ`i Kvi tY ivbvevbe mšvb j`vj bcvj b I Ni Mn`vj xi Kvtr mvi vRieb Avútk`vktZ nŵ Ggb tKvb K`v tbB| Avevi cj`li kwii ixK`enkŵ`i Kvi tY Zviv GBme Kiv R Kitz cvi teb bv Zvl bq| eis AvRKvj bvixiv wkí Drcv`bmn Avcdm Av`vj tZ bvbv aiṭbi Kvtr wbtqwmRZ AvtQb| Avi cj`li v tnvŵtj ivbvevbe wkí nvmcvZvtj wkí cwi PhP KitzQb| Z`vnc bvixi Mn`vj xi KvrtK Kg`i`Zcy`fiev nq| Mn`vj xZ bvixi Drcv`bgj K KvrtK A`k` Kti tdjv nq| Ab`w`tk Ntii evBtii Kvtr bvixi ktgi cŪZ gRjx t`qv nq bv| Ntii evBtii Kvtr bvixK thšb nqivbmn bvbv aiṭbi wbfZṭbi mšlx b nŵZ nq| bvix I cj`li GB aiṭbi AmgZv mvgwRKfvte mŵ| bvix I cj`li cŪZ wfbwAvPvi AvPiY, Kgŵtŵi`ZŠZv BZ`w` AmgZv ōtRŪviŵ cZ`q ŵviv eSvṭbv nŵq`vtK|



Drm : CDI Gender Training Programme, Dhaka.

bvi x cj`l i Ae`v l Ae`vb

*evsj vt`tk m`ct`i t`q`l
 bvi x-cj`l i gta` Amg
 eUb e`e`v KvhRi AvtQ/*

mgvRmó bvi x-cj`l i wj ½xq avi Yvi m½ l ZtcÜZfvte RwoZ tRÜvi `elg` tRÜvi cZ`quU
 Øviv bvi x-cj`l i `elg` tevSvtbvi t`q`l mgvR bvi x Ae`vtbi wclquU „i`ZcY` Ae`vtbi
 cØkægh`v, m`ut`i gwj Kvbv l `qZvi wclq tevSvq| evsj vt`tk m`ut`i t`q`l bvi x l
 cj`l i gta` Amg eUb e`e`v KvhRi AvtQ | gh`v l `qZvi t`q`l bvi x tK Aetjv l
 Aegj`vqb Kiv nq| cj`Rev`x Av`mvgwRK e`e`vq wj ½wfvEK kÿ wfvRb KvhRi n l qvq
 evsj vt`tk bvi x A`wZK KgRvtÜi `KwZ tbB| Ab` w`tk evRvi l ivó`e`e`vq cj`l`i
 GKtPwUqv `qZv enj AvtQ| evsj vt`tk evRvi l ivó`i e`e`vq bvi x cØekwaKvi mskwPZ
 Kiv nq|

wj ½xq `elg`i gZv`wkR wfvE

*cj`l clav`kxj mgvR
 Mfo Dtv cj`l i m`c` l
 Drcv`tbi gwj Kvbv, AvBb
 Kibtb cj`l i cZ
 c`cmZZi, Pj`tdiv l
 KvrKtg`cj`l i `lavZv
 BZ`w`i Dci wfvE Kti|*

evsj vt`tk tRÜvi `elg` `Zixi gZv`wkR wfvE nt`Q wCZZŠ l cj`Rev` | wCZZŠ gvfb wCZvi
 A`ev wCZ`vbxq cj`l i KZŠ; `qZv l wqšY| evsj vt`tki cwi evti wCZvi GKtPwUqv
 KZŠ; `KZ| ejv nq bvi x tK Rxe`bi cÜwU ch`q tKvb bv tKvb cj`l i KZŠ; Aaxtb
 _vKtZ nte thgb, wCZv, `vq Ges cy` | wCZZŠ Avmtj cj`l ZŠ| Kvi Y cji ivB brbv
 cØuqvq bvi x tK Aaxb` Kti ivtL| cwi evti wCZvi cwi Pq mšvtbi cwi Pq wbañi Z nq; wCZv
 cwi ewi K m`ut`i gwj K l eUbKvix nb Ges bvi x wK Kiv DvPZ ev AbyPZ Zv wCZv
 wbañi Y Ktib| cwi evti wCZvB clav`w m`xš MðYKvix| Gi dtj mjo nq cy` mšvtbi

AvKv ¶lv, Lv` esUtb bixi cōZ `elg", bixtk wk¶vi m¶hvM t_¶K ewĀZ Kiv, cRbb ev mšvb Rb¶vfb bixi B"Qv Awb"Qv¶K Dtc¶lv BZ`w | cj`l cĀav`kxj mgvR Mto D¶v cj`¶li m=ú` I Drcv`¶bi gwj Kvbv, AvBb Kvb¶b cj`¶li cōZ c¶lcvZ, Pj vtdivq I KvRKtg`cj`¶li `axbZv BZ`w i Dci wfvĒ Kti | ivtōf AvBbKvb¶b cōqvM, Kg¶¶¶i ai b, chv³ wbe¶b BZ`w tZ cj`¶li cōZ ivtōf c¶lcvZ `úóZ cĀxqvb nq|

QK-1 t bix-cj`¶li Ae`v I Ae`vb

cōZōvb	¶RŪvi	Ae`v (condition)	Ae`vb (position)
cwi evi	bvi x	Mn`vj x I msvmwi K Kv¶Ri tevSv enb Kti b	A_¶m=ú` i Dci Awakvi I wqšY tbB cwi ewi K wvš Mh¶Yi m¶hvM t_¶K ewĀZ
	cj`l	Mn`vj x I msvmwi K KvR mvavi YZ Kti b v	A_¶m=ú` wqšY Kti b cwi ewi K wvš Mh¶Y Kti b
mgvR	bvi x	mgv¶RK Kg¶v¶Ū AskMh¶Y I mgv¶RK m¶eav j v¶fi m¶hvM Kg	mgv¶R bvbwea `el tġ`i wkKvi gh¶ vnxb I ¶lgZvnxb
	cj`l	mgv¶RK Kg¶v¶Ū Ges mgv¶RK m¶eav ¶fv¶M bixi Zj bvq A¶bK teuk m¶hvM j v¶ Kti b	mgv¶R bvxZ wba¶¶Y I wvš Mh¶Yi m¶hvM A¶bK gh¶ vevb I ¶lgZvevb
ivóª	bvi x	bv¶wi K Awakvi ¶fv¶Mi m¶hvM tbB ej tj B P¶j kġk³ tZ AskMh¶Yi ¶¶¶ mwxgZ RvZxq A_¶wZ tZ bixi A_¶wZK Ae`vb cōZ d wj Z nq v	ivóq Kg¶v¶Ū, bvxZ wba¶¶Y I wvš¶š i ¶¶¶ AskMh¶Yi m¶hvM tbB ej tj B P¶j tckvMZ `el tġ`i wkKvi AvBbMZ `el tġ`i wkKvi
	cj`l	bv¶wi K Awakvi ¶fv¶Mi m¶hvM A¶bK teuk RvZxq A_¶wZ tZ gj kġk³ w¶mte wete¶PZ nb	ivóq Kg¶v¶Ū bvxZ wba¶¶Y I wvš Mh¶Y GK"QĪ AwacZ` ivRbwZ tZ Aeva AskMh¶Y

Drm : Training on Gender and Development, Steps Towards Development, Dhaka, 2000.

gj Z: cj`l ZwšK mgvR e`e`v I w`g vb mgvR KvVtgv t_¶KB wj ½xq kġ `elg` D`mZ nq | Gi dtj wj ½xq kġ wfvRb K¶vi fite cwj Z nq | bixi Mnktġ nq hvq gRj vnxb, `wMh`nxb I `¶KwZnxb | m=ú`Ei e`w³MZ gwj Kvbi e`e`v cvKv¶cv³ n¶qi dtj m=ú`Enxb bixi gh¶v Aegj `vq¶bi wkKvi nq | wj ½xq kġ wfvRb A_¶ bixi KvR I cj`¶li KvR c_¶K Kti t d j vq bixi c¶¶ Avq DcvR¶bi Rb` KvR Kiv mgm`vRbK nq c¶o | A¶bK D`¶w¶¶¶Z bixi Kv¶R hv¶l qvi cōkacwi ev¶i i m`m`¶ i ej tZ tkvbn hvq ŌN¶i i KvR mvgw¶ tġ hw¶ Kv¶R th¶Z cv¶i Zvntj KvR Ki"KŌ | mgv¶R bixi Ae`v¶bi aviYv¶K c¶R Kti c¶Rv` bixi m`vk¶gi hv³ L¶R cvq | evsj v`k bix wbg¶¶ kġgKt` i ¶¶¶

cvtWĒi gj`vqb

`be⁹³K cĕæ

m^uWK DĒti i cvtk ^uJK (v) ^uPý w`b -

- 1| bvi xtk tKb ŪAvteM cĕYŪ ej v nq?
K. bvi x ^ub^utRtK AvteM cĕY gtb Kti b
L. RbMZfvte bvi x AvteMcĕY
M. bvi x ^uĵi`^aKvi tYI K^u ZvB AvteMcĕY ej v nq
N. mgv^uRKfvte bvi xtk AvteMcĕY ej v nq, RbMZfvte bvi x Zv bq

- 2| ^ub^utæi tKvb K^uR^uW bvi xi ^uR^ueK Ae⁻vi m^u½ h^uš?
K. M^un⁻ĵj x I msmv^uti i K^uR
L. mšvb j vj b cij tbi K^uR
M. mšvb Rb^u vb
N. i v^ub^uev^ubi K^uR

- 3| GKB ai tbi I GKB cwi gvY K^uR Kivi ci I bvi x kĕgKtK Kg gRj x t`qv nq tKb?
K. bvi x ^uĵ^u ZvB te^unk K^uR Ki tZ cvti b bv
L. cij`I mej ZvB te^unk K^uR Ki tZ cvti b
M. bvi xi te^unk A^ut⁻ĵ c^uĕqvRb tbB
N. bvi xtk cij`ti i Aa⁻b f^uvev nq ZvB bvi xi kĕg^utK m⁻v f^uvev nq

- 4| ersj vt`k th ŪAv`k^ubvi xŪi g^utWj m^uĵo Kiv nq, t^um^uW tKvb ai tbi ^uĵYi Dci w^uf^uĒ
Kti Kiv nq?
K. tgavex
L. tckvR^ux
M. Kg^u
N. cij`ti i Aa⁻b

ms^uĵB cĕæ

- 1| tm⁻ I tRŪv^uti i g^ut^u cv⁻R^u ^uWK?
- 2| bvi x cij`ti i Ae⁻v I Ae⁻v^ubi g^ut^u cv⁻R^u ^uWK?

i Pbv^ug^u K cĕæ

- 1| wj ½xq ^uel g^u ej tZ ^uWK tevSvq? ^uWKfvte wj ½xq ^uel g^u m^uĵo nq? w^ut^uk^uY Ki`b |
- 2| ersj vt`ki mgvR e⁻v^uq ^uWKfvte bvi xi c^uĕšK Ae⁻v^ub m^uĵo nq Avtj vPbv Ki`b |

Kwl A_ƏwZtZ bvi xktgi A`k`g vbZv Invisibility of Women's Labour in Agricultural Economy

GB cWwU cto Avcwb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- bixi ƏmktgƏ Aegj`vqtbı AvSRƏZK wPı
- evsj vt`tk Mpktgi A`k`wZ
- bixi Mpktgi dtj Əj`vqZ A_ƏwZƏi mjo
- Kwl A_ƏwZtZ bixi Ae`vb

Mpktgi Aegj`vqb

Mpktgı wbtq Mtel Yv dtj
Əcj`I ivB Avq DcvRƏ
Ktı bƏ GB avı Yv wekt`e`vcı
əvš cƏwYZ ntqtQ/

Mpktgı nt`Q cwi ktgKnx (unpaid) l evRvi ewnfZ (non market) ktg hv Mn`vj xtZ m`ubə Kiv nq| m`uƏZKKvtj Mpktgı wbtq Mtel Yv ewx cvl qvq Əcj`I ivB Avq DcvRƏ Ktı bƏ GB avı YwU wekt`e`vcı əvš cƏwYZ ntqtQ| Mpktgi cwi gvc wbtq wmvə-wbKvk`i`i` nı qvq cƏvj Z A_ƏwZK ZƏmgnı cƏkə m`şLxb| Kvi Y A_ƏwZ kv` bixi A_ƏwZK Ae`vtbi cKZ gj`vqb nqwb| A_ƏwZ kv` cı`tlı cƏZ c`lcvZ`p| A_ƏwZi mıgtZ gvbtı i``wK l gvbmK` Yvej x hv cwi ktgKı wəwgtq Drcv`tb e`eüZ nq ZvB ktg| cı`I evRvtı ktg wəwq Ktı gRj x cvq Ges Avq DcvRƏ Ktı | cı`tlı GB Avq RvZxq Avtq AšfP nq| wKš` bixı Rxb avı Yı Rb` AZ`vek`Kıx mKj KvrKg`Mn`vj xtZ m`ubəKtı b| Gi A_ƏwZK gj` wba`Y Kiv nq bv etj RvZxq Avtq Zv AšfP nq bv|

A_ƏwZtZ bixi A`k` Ae`vb l`k`wZnx fıvgKv Ges Mpktgı GK j`vqZ A_ƏwZ (hidden economy) `Zix Ktı | t`tkı GKwU eo Ask GB j`vqZ A_ƏwZi Dci wbfP Ktı tetP`vK (wbj pıvı cvı fıx, 1995)|¹ 1920 Gi`ktK gwıKƏ A_ƏwZw`MY Mpktgı wbtq Mtel Yv`i` Ktı b| t`Lv hvq th 1909 t`tk 1919 chS Avtgıwı Kvi RvZxq Avtq Mpktgi Ask wQj 25%-30%, 1921-47 mgqKvtj 20%-30%, Ges 1966 t`tk 70`ktK Zv wQj 30%-38%| DbZ t`kmgtn wəwfbəmgı`ıvq t`Lv hvq th Mpktgi 80% m`u`b Ktı b bixı| Zvi gvfb, bixiv cı`tlı PıBtZ AtbK tewk mgq Mpktgı wbtq wRZ`vKb| Dbqbkıx t`k`ıj tZ Mpktgı bixi AskMƏY Avtıv tewk|`wı`at`k`ıj tZ bixiv tKej Lveı, cwı b l Rjı vbx msMƏni Rb` Mto``wbK`k NıUv mgq e`q Ktı b|

`fcvıx LvZ cı`tlı tPtq
bixi Ae`vb AtbK tewk/

Mpktgi cwi gvıci wəwqıw AvSRƏZKfvte`ı`ZcY`ntq DVıı ci RwZmsN 1968 mvtj RvZxq Avq cwi gvıci c`wZ teı Ktı | GtZ RwZmsN`fcvıx LvZi Dci tRvi t`q|`fcvıx LvZ nt`Q cwi ewı K cwi gÜtj cwi Pwıj Z Drcv`b l cwi tmev hv cwi evıB tıvM Ktı`vK| GB LvZ cı`tlı tPtq bixi Ae`vb AtbK`Y tewk| 1993 mvtj RwZmsN mıvı wətkı cwi evı`Zix ntq cwi evıB tıvM nq Ggb`te`ı evRvi gj` teı Ktı | GB wntmte t`Lv hvq th`fcvıx LvZ mıvı wətkı`ermtı 16 wUıj qb gwıKƏ Wjıvı gtj`i``e` Drcw`Z ntqtQ, hvı

¹ Parveen Nilufar, "Non Valuation of Women's Household Work in Bangladesh", *Empowerment Journal*, Vol 2, Women for Women, Dhaka, 1995.

11 Wlj qb gmk³ Wj vi g³t³i`e` Drcv`b Kti³tQb bvi³xv | A_P GB Drcv`tbi`xKwZ
tbB | cj`li vB Gi dj`t³f³vM Ktib Ges bvi³xv wmv`GKer³ti bMY` |

Mpk³tgi A`xKwZ

ersj vt`k wZZwšK gZv`tk³ Kvi³tY bvi³xv ktg`xKZ bq | Kvi³Y bvi³xv wbae gh³v³i Kvi³tY
bvi³xv ktgi l gh³v`tbB | A³ta³R RbmsL`v A`³ bvi³xv`i Xvj vl f³vt³e ðteKvi³ð ev ðKg³nb³ð
etj aivi c³Yzv Av³tQ | GgbwK miKvix wnt³te 1989-95 mgqKvtj i Labour Force
Survey tZ t`tki 77% 10 ermt³i D³ta³bvi³xvK M³nea Ges A`³wZKf³vt³e w³vt³etj
t`Lv³tv n³tq³tQ | G³tZ bvi³xv c³z`elg`gj K g³tv³f³z³ uó n³tq D³tV (wmgxb g³vngj , 1396
ersj v)|² M³ni evB³ti bvi³xv Kg³is`vt³bi m³thv³Mi t³q³t³l`elg` Av³tQ | gR³xl`elg`gj K |
ZvQvov Avgv³ti mvgv³R c³Wj Z c³vi Kvi³tY N³ti evB³ti Pj vt³div l KvRK³t³g³t³ bvi³xv
Rb`eo c³ZeÜKZv`Zix n³tq³tQ | wZZwšK gZv`k³Ab³mv³ti wZv l`v³xi Ae`vb n³t`Q
cwi ev³ti KZ³ l DcvR³BKvix wnt³te | GB gZv`tk³cj`l DcvR³BKvix bv n³tj Zvi gh³v`v
webó nl qvi K_v | bvi³xv M³n ktgi A`³wZK wmv³e Kiv n³tj Ges M³n bvi³xv Drcv`bkj
K³t³g³ gj`aiv n³tj cj`l M³n c³vt³bi gh³v`v q³ba³ng | Avi wZZwšK gZv`tk³cj`ti m³šb
q³ba³eKivi m³thv³ tbB | m³Zivs GB gZv`k³Ab³hv³q bvi³xv M³nkt³tK aiv nq A`³wZK f³vt³e
gj`nxb (non-economic) ev w³Kó (inferior) ev w³bae gh³v`vKi (low status) wnt³te |
wZZwšK cwi ev³ti bvi³xv c³vb f³vgKv M³nea ev M³nYx wnt³te | M³nYx wnt³te hZ KvR bvi³x
m³uv`b Ktib M³ni cwi g³U³tj Zv ðmsmv³ti f³vtj vi Rb`ó A`ev ð`v³xi m³Li Rb`ó | ðth
bvi³x hZ f³vtj v m³smv³ti KvR Ki³tZ cv³te Zvi Ni ZZB m³Li n³te³ | G aiv³bi K_v evisevi
etj G aiv³Y bvi³xv g³tb ex³gj Kiv nq | Ggb me f³veavivi Kvi³tY bvi³xv ðmsmv³ti KvR³t³K
óA`³Rix KvR³ wnt³te`v³ Kiv³tv mnR bq | tKbbv gZv`w³K f³vt³e bvi³xv M³nkt³g³ óc³ÜKwZK³ l
ó`v³f³w³eKó etj a³ti tbqv nq | Av³tiv k³v³x³ avi³Yv n³t`Q cj`l`óAb³evZv³ (provider) Ges
bvi³x ócj`ti gh³v`v i q³lvKvi³x³ (preserver of prestige) |

bvi³xv M³nkt³gi A`³wZK
wmv³e Kiv n³tj Ges M³n
bvi³xv Drcv`bkj K³t³g³
gj`aiv n³tj cj`l M³n
c³vt³bi gh³v`v q³ba³ng |

j³ vqZ A`³wZ

Kw³l A`³wZtZ th fvi Ze³l³ bvi³xv c³pxbKvj t³tkB m³ú,³ wQ³tj b Zvi D`vniY BwZnv³tm
cvl qv hvq | tKšW³tj`i A`³Rv³ l ev³Y n³tq³tQ th c³pxY fvi³tZ i`³ bvi³xv c³iv³ b, Kw³l KvR
m³t³gZ A³tbK A`³Rix Kv³R w³tq³wRZ t³tk cwi ev³ti A³w`³vqZi`v³xi mv³ f³vM K³ti
w³tZb | A`³Rix Kv³Ri g³ta` Ab`Zg wQj e`eqb Ges b³vb aiv³bi Kw³l w³k³ | Gi weciv³tZ
D`Pe³tM³ bvi³xv wZZwšK mgv³Ri weav³b³mv³ti cj`ti eY³ag³ q³vi Kvi³tY Amh³úkv³nt³q
Rxeb Kv³vtZ eva` n³tq³tQb | ersj vt`k RvZix Av³tqi wmsn³f³vM Av³tm Kw³l t³q³t³ t³tk | M³gxY
RbmsL`vi c³q Aw³k f³vM Kg³kw³ Kw³l Kv³Ri m³t³½ h³ Av³tQb | Z_wc Kw³l A`³wZtZ bvi³xv
Ae`vt³bi c³KZ gj`vqb Kiv nq bv | M³teYvq Rv³bv hvq th M³gxY bvi³xv`w³bK 10-14 N³lv
wev³f³b³eA`³wZK Kv³R e`³ v³tk³ | Kw³l ktg³kw³tZ bvi³xv AskM³hY 54% n³tj l bvi³xv Kw³l
ktg³K wnt³te`xKwZ cvb bv | weAv³Bw³Gm (1981)³ Gi GKw³l Rix³c Rv³bv hvq th me³g³vU
Kw³l w³k³ w³tq³wRZ bvi³x-cj`ti g³ta` 33% bvi³x | tgvU bvi³x ktg³K³ i g³ta` N³wb w³k³ti

কৃষি অর্থনীতিতে নারীর
অবদানের প্রকৃত মল্যায়ণ
করা হয় না। কৃষিশ্রম শক্তিতে
নারীর অংশগ্রহণ থাকলেও
নারী কৃষি শ্রমিক হিসেবে
স্বীকৃতি পান না।

² g³vngj wmgxb ,ð Kw³l tZ bvi³xv f³vgKv³ ersj vt`k Dbq³b mgr³q³ , Fij Dg 7 ,Xiv, 1396 (e³lvā) |
³ we Av³B w³Gm, ersj vt`k Dbq³b mgr³q³ , m³Bg LÉ, we Av³B w³Gm, Xiv, 1981 |

Gm Gm GBP Gj

43%, avb fivbv 56%, gv`j wktf 63%, evk I teZ wktf 41%, tQveov wktf 64%, ZvZ tevbvq 38%, grwktf 48% bvi x wbtqwrZ AvtQb |

`fcvl x LvZ bvi xi Ae`vb	
• `fcvl x LvZ Mpea evt` cwi evti i mKtj Mto ermfi e`q Kti b	100 w`b
• `fcvl x LvZ Mpeaiv Mto ermfi e`q Kti b	200 w`b
• `fcvl x LvZ e`wqZ tgvU ewl R mgq	69,000 wgvj qb NvUv
cj`l KZR e`wqZ mgq	25,000 wgvj qb NvUv
bvi x KZR e`wqZ mgq	44, 000 wgvj qb NvUv
• ewl R wntmte `fcvl x KvR cj`ti i Ae`vb	36%
bvi xi Ae`vb	64%
(cj`ti i gRjx bvi xi PvBtZ tenk ati)	
• RvZxq chq `fcvl x LvZi tgvU Avtq cj`ti i Ae`vb	65%
bvi xi Ae`vb	28%
wki`ti i Ae`vb	07%

Drm : kvxg nwg`, bvi`i Mn`vj x KgRvU Ges wRwici unme, weAvBwGm, XvKv, 1396 evsj v |

Kw I AKw KvR Ges Mn`vj xZ bvi x th kvNvUv e`q Kti b Zv cj`ti i e`q Kiv kvNvUv t`K AtbK tenk |

wefbMtel Yvq Rvbn hvq th Kw I AKw KvR Ges Mn`vj xi KvR bvi x th kvNvUv e`q Kti b Zv cj`ti i e`q Kiv kvNvUv t`K AtbK tenk | ZvQvov bvi xiv AwA K NvUv Uvbn KvR Kti `vKb |

mgq	KvRi weei Y
tfvi tejv	kh`v Z`wM, nuZ gj_ tavqv, agxq Dcvmbv, nvan ,gi Mx Qvov I Lvevi t`qv, Mi` QvMj tei Kiv, DfVvb I tMvqvj Ni Sto t`lqv, Mi`tK Lvevi t`lqv, nwo evmb gvRv, bv`v `Zix, `v`gx I mSvb`i i bv`v Lvl qvtbv, wbtR bv`v Lvl qv, cvb Avbv, tkvqvi Ni I ivbNi cwi`vi I tMvQvtbv, Mi` QvMj tK gvV Nvm tL`Z t`lqv, `ja t`vqv`bv, Lwo msMh
mKvj / `vj	avb tm` I i Kvfbv, avb fivbv, gmj v tclv, Pvj Svov, Lv` msMh I ivbwe Kiv, Kvco tavqv, tQtj tqtq`i tMvmj Kivfbv I wbtR Kiv, `v`gx I tQtj tqtq`i i Lvl qvtbv I wbtR Lvl qv, `vj v evmb, nwo cwiZj gvRv
wetKj / mU`v	KvU`v tmj vB, Rvj tevbn, Mi` QvMj Avbv I Lvevi t`lqv Ges tMvqv`j tXvKvfbv, nvan gi Mx Nti Avbv, ivtZi Lvevi `Zix, mKj tK Lvl qvtbv
ivZ	weQvbn Kiv, mSvb`i i tkvqv`bv, wbtR Lvl qv, ivbNi tMvQvtbv, Ni`vi eU Kti i`tZ hvl qv

Drm : evsj v`k gvj v wcl qK AwA`Bi, XvKv, 1994 |

Kw A`vZtZ bvi xi Ae`vb

Kw ms`vS c`i KvR hv Mtn bvi xiv Kti `vKb, Zvi wvbgq gj` AtbK | Zvi gv`b Gme Kw KvR hv` bvi xiv bv Ki`Zb Zvntj gRjxi wvbgq kvKtK w`tq KivtZ ntZv A`ev cj`l Mn`vj x KZ`wbtR Ki`Zb | tm t`t` evowZ cvRi c`qvRb ntZv Ges cj`l KZ`RwgtZ Kg mgq e`q Ki`Zb cvi`Zb | dtj Drcv`b e`q ew` tcZ I dmtj i Drcv`b Kg ntZv |

bvixi cĀ`ŋ Kwl KvR ev` w`ţq Mpn`vj xi KvR aiv hvK| evoxi mKţj i Rb` ivbæKiv, Rjy vbx I cwb msMĥ Kiv, Mi` QvMj nvnngj Mx j vj b cvj b BZ`w` KvţRi I A_ŋwZK gj` AţbK| Kwl A_ŋwZi mţ½ bvixi GB KvR_uj I ZţcĀZfvte RwoZ| hw` bvixiv Gme KvR bv KiţZb Zvnţj Mpn`vj xi cj`lţ`i GBmKj KvR KiţZ nţZv| tm tŋĵĵ Kwl i KvţRi Rb` Zvt`i chŋŋ mgq _vKţZv bv| dţj Kwl Drcv`b ev`vnZ nţq Lv` m¼U mŋó nţZv| vbţæ GKwU tKm ÷vW Dc`wcz nţjv hv cvW Kţi Kwl A_ŋwZţZ bvixi fĳgKv mæúţK@Avcbvţ` i avi Yv Avţiv`úó nte|

tKm óvW t 1

evsj vt`ţk Kwl KvţR bvixi fĳgKv

Kwl ţZ bvixi fĳgKv mæúţK@Z` tţ Zv I Z` weâwš _vKvi``i`b mwVK wPĀ cvl qvi Dĵĵţk` Mţel YwU Kiv nq| evsj vt`ţki Kwl weææZv weţePbv Kţi mvi vt`ţk 14wU Kwl tRvb, 20wU tRjv I 43wU Mĵg tţK Z` msMĥ Kiv nq|

Mţel Yv KţgP djvdţj t`Lv hvq th avb I kvKmwâmn Kwl Drcv`ţb, ci`cij ţb Ges grm` Drcv`ţb bvixiv AskMĥY Kţib| Kwl msµvš AţbK KvR Zviv vbţRiv Kţib Ges cj`ţli mţ½ GKĵĴĴ Kţib| Kwl wełqK bvbwea wmvşI bvixiv MĥY Kţib| Z_wic bvixţ`iţK ŐK.I.KŐ wntmte`ĵKwZ t`qv nq bv| vbæ Avţqi cwi evţii bvixiv meĵaK Kwl KvţR AskMĥY Kţib hvţ`i fĳgi cwi gvY 0.05-0.49 GKİ| Gici h_vµtg fĳgnxb, ŋĴ K.I.K I gvSwi K.I.K cwi evţii bvixiv Kwl KvţR AskMĥY Kţib| evox I evoxi KvţQi RıgţZ Pvl verţ`i tŋĵĵ bvixi AskMĥY cj`ţli tPţq AţbK tewk| Zte abx K.I.K cwi evi hvţ`i Rıgi cwi gvY 2.5-5.0 GKİ chš A_ev Zvi Dcţi tmBme cwi evţi Kwl KvţR bvixi AskMĥY Lp Kg|

avb I kvK meŋR mn Kwl Drcv`ţb, ci`cij ţb Ges grm` Drcv`ţb bvixiv AskMĥY Kţib|

th mKj Mpn`vj xţZ cwi evi cĀvb cj`l tmLvţb wKŌy Kwl msµvš KvR tKej bvixţ`i KvR etj aţi tbqv nq| G_uj nţ`Q t 1. avb tm× Kiv I i Kvţbv 2. tXmKţZ avb fvbv 3. tXmKţZ Wj fvbv 4. Mi`ţK Lvl qvţbv I`pa t`vqvţbv 5. QvMţj i hZetbqv 6. nvn gj Mxi hZetbqv 7. Nţi i cvţk RıgţZ Pţli Rb` Rıg`Zix Kiv 8. Nţi i cvţki RıgţZ Pviv j vMvţbv, mvi t`qv, cwb t`qv, dmj tZvjv|

GZŐ`ZxZ Avţiv 5wU KvR bvixiv GKvl Kţib Avevi KLţbv cj`ţli mţ½ GKĵĴĴ Kţib| G_uj nţ`Q t 1. avb I Mg gvovţbv 2. exR`Zix Kiv I msi ŋĴY Kiv 3. km`_vgRvZ Kiv I msi ŋĴY Kiv 4. cvU MvţQi Avk Qvovţbv 5. exRZjv`Zix Kiv|

mbvZbx avi Yv GB th evsj vt`ţk bvixiv dmtj i gvţV KvR Kţib bv| wKš` Mţel Yvq t`Lv hvq th`ŋ ZZxqvsk cwi evţi`ŋwU KvR bvixiv gvţV Kţi _vţKb t 1. gvţV gwi P I gmjv Pvl Kiv 2. kţm`i gvţV AvMvŌv cwi`vi Kiv| Avţiv PviwU KvR AvţŌ hv bvixiv cj`ţli mţ½ GKĵĴ Kţib A_ev cj`liv GKvB Kţib| G_uj nţ`Q t 1. avbMvŌ j vMvţbv 2. dmj KvUv 3. cvU, ZvgvK I Mg j vMvţbv 4. Wj I miţl-wZj-wZwm BZ`w` j vMvţbv|

wKŌy Kwl msµvš KvR cĀq AţaŔ msL`K cwi evţi tKej cj`liv Kţib t thgb- 1. mvi t`qv 2. KxUbvkk t`qv 3. tmţPi Rb` cvl qvi cvæú Pjy vţbv|

Gevi GmKj Mn[~]vj xi K_v aiv hvK th_{vj} tZ cwi evi c_{avb} n[~]Ob brix| mvaviYZ[~]vgxi gZi I weevn we[~]t[~]Q[~]t[~] i Kvi tY brix-c_{avb} Mn[~]vj x m[~]o nq| M[~]gv[~]A[~]tj GB ai tbi Mn[~]vj xi msL[~]v e[~]x[~] c[~]v[~]t[~]Q| G ai tbi A[~]ta[~]f[~]Ki tenk cwi evi_{vj} tZ brixiv Dc[~]t[~]i em[~]Y[~] mKj ai tbi K[~]ul K[~]vR K[~]t[~]i _{v[~]t[~]Kb|} tKej wZbw[~]U K[~]vR (mvi, K[~]U[~]b[~]vk[~]K I h[~]s[~]P[~]v[~]ij Z t[~]m[~]P) cwi ev[~]t[~]i i brixiv K[~]t[~]i b[~] v| Gevi Ggb Mn[~]vj xi K_v aiv hvK th_{vj} tZ mv[~]g[~]u[~]q[~]K[~]f[~]r[~]te brix cwi evi c_{avb} w[~]t[~]m[~]te K[~]vR Ki[~]t[~]Ob| A[~]t[~]bK cwi ev[~]t[~]i i c[~]j[~]“l m[~]“m[~] M[~]o[~]t[~]gi ev[~]B[~]t[~]i ev kn[~]t[~]i K[~]vR K[~]t[~]i b| GB Ae[~]“v[~]q M[~]o[~]t[~]g K[~]ul K[~]vR t[~] L[~]v[~]t[~]kv[~]bv K[~]t[~]i b brix cwi evi c_{avb}MY| Gme t[~]q[~]t[~]t[~] brixiv K[~]ul K[~]vR K[~]t[~]i b w[~]K[~]sev c[~]j[~]“l t[~] i m[~]t[~]½ brixiv K[~]vR K[~]t[~]i b| L[~]e[~] A[~]i msL[~]“K mv[~]g[~]u[~]q[~]K brix-c_{avb} cwi ev[~]t[~]i t[~]Kej c[~]j[~]“l MY K[~]ul K[~]vR K[~]t[~]i b|

Drum: C.S. Rothchild and Simeen Mehmud, *Women’s Role in Agriculture Present Trends and Potential for Growth*, UNDP, Dhaka, 1989.

brix-c_{avb} Mn[~]vj x tZ brixiv P[~]vl ver[~] K[~]t[~]i b| w[~]K[~]s[~] Z[~]iv P[~]vl xi gh[~]v[~] cib

Dc[~]t[~]i em[~]Y[~] t[~]Km ÷ w[~]W t[~] t[~]K D[~]t[~]j E[~] K[~]iv hv[~]q th Ggb A[~]t[~]bK cwi evi Av[~]t[~]Q th_{vj} brix cwi P[~]v[~]ij Z, thL[~]v[~]t[~]b c[~]j[~]“l t[~]bB A[~]ev c[~]j[~]“l m[~]“m[~] we[~]K[~]i Av[~]q D[~]cv[~]R[~]f[~]bi R[~]b[~] Ab[~]“T Ae[~]“vb Ki[~]t[~]Ob| Gme cwi ev[~]t[~]i brixiv g[~]R[~]j[~]x k[~]ig[~]t[~]Ki m[~]rv[~]t[~]h[~] I w[~]b[~]t[~]R[~]iv K[~]vR K[~]t[~]i P[~]vl ver[~] K[~]t[~]i b| ms[~]Av[~] Ab[~]v[~]ix A[~]SZ GBme brix (P[~]vl x[~]i gh[~]v[~] v t[~]c[~]t[~]Z c[~]v[~]t[~]b| w[~]K[~]s[~] Z[~]v t[~] q[~]v nq b| Ab[~]“ w[~] t[~]K mi K[~]iv x cwi msL[~]v[~]t[~]b th[~]t[~]K[~]v[~]b c[~]j[~]“l t[~]K f[~]vM P[~]vl K[~]ivi K[~]iv t[~]Y I P[~]vl ver[~] Z[~]vi K[~]x K[~]ivi K[~]iv t[~]Y P[~]vl xi gh[~]v[~] t[~] q[~]v nq| K[~]ul t[~]Z g[~]R[~]j[~]x k[~]ig[~] t[~] evi K[~]iv t[~]Y K[~]ul k[~]ig[~]K w[~]t[~]m[~]te gh[~]v[~] t[~] q[~]v nq| w[~]K[~]s[~] w[~]b[~]t[~]R[~]iv P[~]vl ver[~] K[~]ivi ci I brix t[~] i t[~]K (P[~]vl x[~]i) e[~]j v nq b|

km[~] dj v[~]t[~]bv e[~]“Z[~]xZ ci c[~]v[~]j[~] t[~]bi mKj K[~]vR brixiv B K[~]t[~]i _{v[~]t[~]Kb|} A[~]t[~]bK t[~]q[~]t[~]t[~] brixiv B Me[~]v[~]“ x ci I n[~]v[~]n[~]-g[~]j M[~]xi g[~]v[~]ij K n[~]t[~]q _{v[~]t[~]Kb|} Z[~]te c[~]j[~]“l iv c[~]o[~]q[~]v[~]R[~]b t[~]“L[~]t[~]q Gme we[~]µ[~]q K[~]t[~]i t[~]d[~]j vi w[~]m[~]v[~]s[~] w[~]b[~]t[~]Z c[~]v[~]t[~]b| g[~]m[~]“ D[~]rcv[~] bK[~]iv x t[~]M[~]v[~]o[~]x_{vj} tZ g[~]m[~]“ P[~]v[~]t[~]i i Av[~]b[~]l w[~]½K mKj K[~]v[~]R brixiv Ask[~]M[~]o[~]Y K[~]t[~]i b| t[~]K[~]v[~]b t[~]K[~]v[~]b G[~]j v[~]K[~]v[~]q brixiv g[~]v[~]Q ai vi K[~]v[~]R I w[~]b[~]t[~]q[~]w[~]RZ n[~]t[~]q _{v[~]t[~]Kb|}

c[~]v[~]no I M[~]ov[~]A[~]tj thme q[~]t[~]z[~]“R[~]w[~]Z[~]t[~]M[~]v[~]o[~]x em K[~]t[~]i t[~]mL[~]v[~]t[~]b brix c[~]j[~]“l mg[~]v[~]b[~]f[~]r[~]te K[~]ul K[~]v[~]R Ask[~]M[~]o[~]Y K[~]t[~]i b| R[~]g P[~]v[~]t[~]i i t[~]q[~]t[~]t[~] t[~] L[~]v hv[~]q th M[~]v[~]Q t[~]cv[~]v[~]t[~]bv, M[~]v[~]t[~]Qi _{w[~]o} D[~]cto t[~]d[~]j v, t[~]cv[~]ov K[~]v[~]R R[~]ig t[~] t[~]K mi v[~]t[~]bv Gme K[~]v[~]R mv[~]avi YZ c[~]j[~]“l iv K[~]t[~]i b| brix I w[~]ki iv w[~]g[~]t[~]j th mKj K[~]v[~]R K[~]t[~]i b t[~]m[~]v[~]ij n[~]t[~]“Q- t[~]Q[~]vU t[~]Q[~]vU M[~]v[~]Q K[~]v[~]Uv, R[~]ig cwi[~]“vi K[~]iv, R[~]ig mg[~]v[~]b K[~]iv, Av[~]M[~]v[~]Q[~]v cwi[~]“vi K[~]iv, exR t[~]ev[~]bv, dmj K[~]v[~]Uv, dmj S[~]rov, ev[~]t[~]ki I c[~]v[~]Z[~]iv “Z[~]ix N[~]t[~]i dmj m[~]A[~]q K[~]iv BZ[~]“w[~] | brixiv hL[~]b Z[~]v[~]t[~] i K[~]v[~]R e[~]“ _{v[~]t[~]Kb} ZL[~]b c[~]j[~]“l iv bZ[~]b R[~]ig[~]t[~]Z M[~]v[~]Q K[~]v[~]Uv I M[~]v[~]Q t[~]cv[~]v[~]t[~]bvi K[~]v[~]R e[~]“ _{v[~]t[~]Kb|}

mv[~]i vsk

evs[~]j[~]v[~]t[~]“k K[~]ul A[~]“M[~]Z[~]i Av[~]t[~]j vP[~]b[~]v[~]q D[~]t[~]j E[~]“ w[~]elq GB th R[~]vZ[~]xq cwi msL[~]v[~]t[~]b ev t[~]m[~]b[~]v[~]t[~]m brixiv K[~]ul K[~]v[~]R t[~]K Aegj[~]“vq[~] K[~]iv nq| G K[~]iv t[~]Y t[~]m[~]b[~]v[~]t[~]m K[~]ul D[~]rcv[~]“t[~]bi m[~]t[~]½ h[~]y[~] brixiv K[~]I A-K[~]g[~]x[~]w[~]t[~]m[~]te MY[~]bv K[~]iv nq| mg[~]m[~]“w[~] ms[~]A[~]vq[~]t[~]bi | Kg[~]“v[~]ij th K[~]ul K[~]v[~]R t[~]m w[~]el[~]t[~]q m[~]t[~]“n b[~]v[~] _{v[~]K[~]t[~]j I, h[~]vi[~]v Kg[~]“v[~]ij m[~]“v[~]“b K[~]t[~]i b Z[~]iv brix Ges th[~]“t[~]b Kg[~]“v[~]ij Z nq Z[~]v Mn| mg[~]m[~]“v GL[~]v[~]t[~]bB| brix GmKj K[~]ul K[~]v[~]R K[~]t[~]i bM[~]“ g[~]R[~]ij[~] cib b[~]v Ges K[~]v[~]R i Aew[~]“w[~] I cwi[~]tek M[~]rv[~]“| D[~]“vni Y[~]“f[~]c ej v hv[~]q th dmj S[~]rov, “vg[~]RvZK[~]iv, Lo[~]“i K[~]v[~]t[~]bv, K[~]ul k[~]ig[~]t[~]Ki R[~]b[~]“ iv b[~] K[~]iv BZ[~]“w[~]“ K[~]v[~]R brix M[~]fn[~]B K[~]t[~]i _{v[~]t[~]Kb|} Gai[~]t[~]bi A[~]t[~]bK K[~]v[~]R K[~]ul D[~]rcv[~]“t[~]bi m[~]t[~]½ h[~]y[~] n[~]t[~]j I t[~]m[~]v[~]ij D[~]rcv[~]“bk[~]ij Kg[~]“v[~]ij t[~]m[~]te w[~]et[~]er PZ nq b[~]v| w[~]el q[~]W A[~]t[~]bK[~]U[~]v Gi Kg[~] th g[~]v[~]t[~]V “w[~]o[~]t[~]q K[~]v[~]R Ki[~]t[~]j Z[~]v D[~]rcv[~]“bk[~]ij Kg[~]“v[~]ij M[~]fn[~]“ w[~]o[~]t[~]q Ki[~]t[~]j Z[~]v n[~]te A-Kg[~]“}

cvřVwEi gj`vqb

`be⁹³K cĸæ

mıVK DĚti i cvřk wJK (v) wPý w`b -

- 1| Mpkř cwı gřci Rb` Kvi v c×wZ teı KřiřQ?
K. gwK⁸ hř³ i vó³
L. BDři wıcvřb KıgDıwıU
M. bvi x Avř>` vj bKvi xMY
N. RvwZmsN

- 2| Mpkř cwı gřci Rb` A_ĐwıZi řKvb LvřZi Dci`ıi`Zı cŃ vb Kiv nq?
K. evRři i Rb` Drcv`b
L. wKı I Kj Kvi Lvıvi Drcv`b
M. Kwl LvZ
N. řřcvř x LvZ

- 3| bvi xi kř řKb Aegj`vqb Kiv nq?
K. bvi xi kř Rbmğřř Zřj aiřj bvi xi řj ¾vŃ bó nře ZvB
L. bvi xi kř RvZıqřvře gj`vqb nřj RvZıq Avq ewx cvře ZvB
M. bvi xi wæ gh⁸ vi Kvi řY bvi xi křgi I gh⁸ v řbB ZvB
N. bvi x řKvb Dřj LřhvM` kř Kři b bv ZvB

- 4| bvi xiv Kwl KvR Kiřj I mvi vYZ gřřV KvR Kři b bv | wKŠ` řKvb řKvb km`
dj řřbvi Rb` Zvi v gřřVI KvR Kři b | Zv řKvb aiřbi dmj ?
K. AvDk avb
L. Avgb avb
M. cvU I AvL PıI
N. gwi P I gmj v PıI

msıřřB cĸæ

- 1| bvi xi křřK A`řKvi Kivi řřřřı cj`I ZwřK gZı` k⁹wKřvře KvR Kři? D`vni Y
w`b |
- 2| cĐřj Z A_Řvř` Mpkřgi Aegj`vqb řKb Kiv nq?

iPbvğj K cĸæ

- 1| wj ½wřwĚK kř wfvRřbi Kvi řY bvi xi kř wKřvře řj řwqZ A_ĐwıZŃi mřó Kři
Avřj vPbv Ki`b |
- 2| Kwl A_ĐwıZřZ bvi xi Ae`vb wel řq Avřj vKcvZ Ki`b |

kgRixex bvi xi kgtkvly

Exploitation of Labour of Working Women

GB cvWU cto Avcbv RvbtZ cvi teb -

- Mpkty t_tK bvi xt` i gRjx kty cdek
- evsj vt` tki Mqxy A_ bwnZtZ bvi xi gRjx kty
- evsj vt` tki wki cZovtb bvi xi gRjx kty
- i Bvbxglx tcvkvK wktf bvi xi gRjx kty

ceZi` yU cW t_tK Avcbv RvbtZ tctitQb wKfvte cyRev` x I wczwsk e`v Av`
 mvgwRK t`tt`i cjt`li cZ c`lcizgk I bvi xi cZ `elg`gj K AvPiY Kti | Kw
 A_ bwnZtZ wKfvte bvi xi A_ wZK Kg`A` k` Kiv nq Zvl cte`Avtj wPZ ntqtQ | m`ut` i
 gwj Kvbvi cdek bvi xtK wKfvte wqSY Kiv nq Ges bvi x wKfvte A_ wZK `lgZv t_tK
 ewAZ nb Gme wltq Avcbv tRtbtQb | Gme Avtj vPbv t_tK avi Yv Kiv `vfwk th bvi xi
 Aa`bZvi Rb` Mn`vj x t_tK Kg`tt` c`K KivB gj Kvi Y | GUvl avi Yv Kiv hvq th Gfvte
 Ni I ewni c`K nI qvq Ges bvi x Nti i m`z m`u`³ nI qvq bvi x kty Aegj `vq ntqtQ |
 Avevi fivevi mthw AvtQ th Kw Drcv` tbi m`z h`³ vKvq, Zvi gvtb AcwZombK
 Kg`tt` h`³ nI qvq, bvi xi Kg`K nxb Kti tdj v ntqtQ | thtnZicy `I Zwsk gZv` k`ovi xtK
 Mtni mvgbvq Ave` Kti m`Zivs GB mvgbvq m`uw` Z bvi xi Kg`ZvtK Dch`³ gh`³ w` tZ
 e`_`ntqtQ |

A`_`cvR`bi m`z mi vmi
 h`³ bv `vKvi Kvi tY thgb
 bvi x Aa`b`_`vtKb tZgub
 A`_`cvR`bi ZvtK
 Aa`bZv t_tK g`³ w` tZ
 cvti bv |

eZgub cvtV bvi xi Ggb ai tbi KivR m`ut`K`Avtj vPbv Kiv nte th`³ tK bvi xi On`ti i KvR0,
 OAemi mgtqi KvR0, Ogj`nxb KvR0 ej vi Dcvq tbB | cwi kigtKi wwbgtq th mKj KvtR
 bvi x wbtqWRZ nb A_`³ gRjx kty bvi xi AskMhY wbtq Avtj vPbv Kiv nte | GtZ cte`bvi xi
 Ae`vb wltqK c`Pij Z avi Yv`³ bZb Kg`w` t`k I envj AvtQ wKbv Zv ch`e`³ Kiv m`e
 nte | gRjxnxb kty t_tK gRjx kty Ges AcwZombK Kg`tt` t_tK c`wZombK Kg`tt`
 cdek Kivi dtj bvi x cy`I Zwsk gZv` k`KZK` wPwyZ Ocj` t`li t`tt`³ (male space) cdek
 KitQb | ZvOvov gRjx kty wltq evRvti i wbggKvbtb Oviv cwi Pwjj Z | bvi x hLb avb fv`zvi
 Ktj ktyK wntmte avb tm` Ktib, wbg`³ ktyK wntmte BU fv`zb wKsev Mvtg`Um ktyK
 wntmte tmj vB Kj Pvj vb ZLb Zvt` i tK KZ Nulv KvR KitZ nte Ges KZUKzDrcv` b KitZ
 nte, Zv wba`³ Z nq evRvti i mvgv`xZv Oviv- cwi evi Oviv bq | Zvi gvtb kgRixex bvi xi kg
 msAwqZ Kti evRvi |

eZgub cvtV wZbw tKm ÷ wW t_tK Avcbv RvbtZ cvi teb th A`_`cvR`bi m`z mi vmi
 h`³ bv `vKvi Kvi tY thgb bvi x Aa`b`_`vtK tZgub A`_`cvR`bi ZvtK Aa`bZv t_tK g`³
 w` tZ cvti bv | bvi x Aa`bZvi gZv` t`kP Kvi tY bvi xi ktyKI Aa`b I m`v kty etj atj
 tbqv nq | cjt`li A`_`cvR`b I bvi xi A`_`cvR`btK mvgv`³ i`Zi` t`qv nq bv | fivev nq bvi x
 `f`tgq`x ktyK | mvgwqK A`_`³ c`qvRb wgtU tMttj Avevi Nti wdti hvteb | wki t`tt`³

A`ŋZvi t`vnb w`tq wbae`tii KvR bixK wbtqm t`qv nq| Avevi gwj K cŋl cŋkŋY w`tq Zvt`iK`ŋl Kti Zj tZ Pvc bv| mtefcwi wki cŋZŋtb cj`l ZmšK KvVtgv cŋZwŋZ nq| tmLvtb gwj K, cŋkmK, tUW BDwbqbi tbZvMY cwi evŋi wczv l`ŋxi b`vq bix kŋgtKi Dci KZŋ; Ktib| Kgŋŋŋŋ Ggb kw³kvj x cj`l ZmšK gZv`kKvR Kti thb bix kŋRexMY Ni tŋto evBti KvR Ki tZ Gtm Aciva Kti tdŋj tŋb| cŋŋj Z mvgwRK cŋv f¹/₂ Kivi Rb` bix kŋgtKi thšbZv cŋtevaK nŋq DŋV| Kvi Lvbvq wŋtK`vKvi Rb` bix kŋgKMYtK AbŋMz`vKvi tKšKj Aej`b Ki tZ nq| Gici l Zvt`i tK w`v, KUw³, Krmvi wKkvi nŋZ nq|

tKm ÷vW t 1

Kwl A_ŋmZtZ bixi kŋ evRvi

UvzvBtj i wgrvej DctRjv l dwi`cŋi fivz DctRjvq Kwl wfiEK A_ŋmZtZ bixi kŋ evRvi wbtq MtelYv Kiv nq|`ŋU DctRjvi 46w Mŋg chŋŋY Kti t`Lv hvq th wgrfcŋi tgvU Mn`vj xi 11% Ges fivzq 24% Mn`vj xi bix gRjx kŋg wbtqmRZ Avtŋb| wgrfcŋi 60% Ges fivzq 62% fignxb cwi evŋi bix gRjx kŋg wbtqmRZ Avtŋb| GKw mvavi Y aviYv GB th`ŋxi ev DcvRŋKvix cj`l bv`vKtj bixiv gRjx kŋg hvb| wKš`GB MtelYvq t`Lv tMŋq th Awakusk (59%) bix`ŋxi m¹/₂ evm Ki tŋb wKš`ŋxi GKvi tivRMvi msvŋi i`wv`atNvPvtbvi Rb` hŋ_ó bq| Zte weaev l Aweemz bixivi gRjx kŋg Avtmb|

MŋgvĀtj bixi kŋ evRvi Lŋ we`Z bq| dtj bix kŋgKMY wewfbœaitbi KvR wbhj³ nb| Awakusk KvR ivbœ l Mn`vj xi KvR wewfbœaitbi km`cŋpqrVZKi tYi KvR cvl qv hvq| Zte meŋPtq tenk cvl qv hvq gwU KvUv l wbgŋY msŋvš KvR| gwU KvUv l wbgŋYi KvR mvi v eŋi e`vcx Ptj | wKš`Kwl KvR mvgwqK wfiĒZ cvl qv hvq| Kwl v tmj vB Kiv l Rvj ŋevbi KvR l Pw³ wfiĒZ`xNŋgqvŋ` cvl qv hvq| ivbœ l Mn`vj xi KvRi tŋŋŋ l AŋbK mgq`xNŋgqvŋ` Pw³ wfiEK KvR cvl qv mœ| kŋ evRvŋi`f Zvi Kv tY bix kŋgt`i Awakusk tKb ermŋi i Awakusk w`b teKvi`vKtZ nq| Avi kŋgi evRvi tLvj vtg v bq etj e`w³MZ thvMvtvtMi wfiĒZ KvRi mŋvb cvl qv hvq|

Kwl tŋŋŋ gwj KMY bixi KvRtK nji Kv KvR l cjŋl i KvRtK fvi x KvR gtb Ktib| Kvŋŋŋŋ GKB aitbi KvRi Rb` bix l cj`l kŋgtKi gRjx`elg`nŋq`vK|

bix kŋgtKi msL`vi Zj bvq KvRi mieivn Kg`vKvq gRjxi Dci Gi cŋve cŋo| abx K.l.KMYB cŋvbZ Kgŋs`vbKvix nl qvi dtj bix kŋgtK`i Zvt`i cŋt cvl KZvi Dci wbfŋ Ki tZ nq| bix kŋgtK`i gRjx GZ Kg th hw`tKvb bix ermŋi 300 w`b KvR cvb Zvntj wZwb ermŋi 3,000 UvKv DcvRŋ Ki tZ mŋŋg nteb| GB Avq w`tq`ŋ m`tm`i cwi evi`wv`ŋxgvi Dci emevm Ki tZ cŋti bv| wKš`GB cwi gvY gRjxl tKd cvb bv| mi Kvi Kwl KvRi Rb` th wbaeZg gRjx w`i Kti w`tqŋ bix kŋgKMY MŋgvĀtj Zvi tPtq 40% Kg gRjx cvt`ŋb| Dtj`th bix l cj`l kŋgtKi gRjxi gŋa`l we`i e`earb Avtŋ| GKRB cj`l kŋgtKi`w`bK mtePŋ gRjx 28 UvKv Ges GKRB bix kŋgtKi 10 UvKv| GKRB cj`l kŋgtKi meŋœ gRjx 25 UvKv Ges GKRB bix kŋgtKi 8 UvKv| cŋvbZ bix-cj`tl i gRjx`elg`nq Kvi Y gwj KMY bixi KvRtK ŋvœv KvRŋ Ges cj`tl i KvRtK ŋfvix KvRŋ gtb Ktib| wKš`Kvŋŋŋŋ t`Lv hvq GKB aitbi KvRi Rb` l bix l cj`l kŋgtKi gRjx`elg`nŋq`vK| bix kŋgKMY cj`l kŋgtK`i b`vq Kwl KvR Ki tZ AvMŋx| abx K.l.KMY GLbl bix kŋgKMYtK w`tq Kwl tŋŋŋZi KvR KivZ Pvb bv| gwj Kcŋl Gfvte wj`1/2xq kŋg wefvRb wUwKtq ivtLb|

gRjx kğ DcvRØKvix wntmte brix kğtKi ghP v ZLbB epv cvq hLb Zvix cwievti i Rb A_ wbtq thtZ ctib| Zte mviv ermi tKvb bv tKvb KvR Kitz cvi tj brix kğKMY cwievti i m`m`i i tKI Aw_R mntHWZv Kitz mŋg nb| wKs' gRjx Lp Kg nI qvq Ges f gRjx tZ cwiev wbtq evm Kivq cŋq mKj brix kğKtKB ermŋi KtqK gym GK te jv tLtq _vKtZ nq| GtZ KgŋgZv Ktğ hvq| Mŋgi ^Qj cwiev wj brix kğKMY Ntii evBti hvl qvi Kvity ŐAvq evotj I ghP v nwi tqtŐŐ (loss of status) etj gtb Ktib|

Drm.: Rushidan Islam Rahman, *The Wage Employment Market for Rural Women in Bangladesh*, BIDS, Dhaka, 1986.

tKm ÷ vW t 2

enr wkí cŌZŏvrb brix kğK

ctbiw wewfbaetiwi wkí cŌZŏvrb KgPZ brix kğKt`i wbtq Mtel Yv Kiv nq| GBme wkí cŌZŏvrb gta` AvtQ cvU, e-, JIa, cwŏK BZ`w i Kvilybv| Mtelyvi i i`tZ avi Yv wQj th AcŌZŏvrbK Kw kğ LvZ t`tK wktí i cŌZŏvrbK LvZ wbtqWRZ ntj cwievwi K KwWtqŋtZ brix kğtKi ghP v epv ctte| tmB mv_ brix i A_ wvZK Ges mvgrK fvgKvi I e`j NUte|

wkí ŋtI gwj KMY tğukb Pij bvi KvR brix kğK wbtqM Ktib bv| Zvt`i gtZ cij`l i v Ővix KvRŐ Ki te I brix i Ővix KvRŐ Ki te | gwj K ctŋi GB wŏfwi`i`b brix kğKMY Kg teZtb KvR Kitz eva` nb|

wkí cŌZŏvrb wj tZ cŌtgB j ŋYxq nq Dtv th KvRi wewfbae`tíi brix-cj`ti wbtqvMi tŋtI` eIlg` AvtQ| gvtbRvi, cŌvrmK, KvivK ct` cij`ti GKmacZ` cŌZŏvrb nq| kğtKi mSL`vi w`K t`tKI brix kğtKi mSL`v cij`ti Zj bvq AtbK Kg| mi Kviti wbgq AvtQ brix`i Rb` 15% Kgmsi ŋY Kivq| tm wbgqU cwj Z nq w| D`P c` wj tZ brix Kg`bv vKvi GKw eo KvY ga`weE cwiev wj c`P cŌvi Kvity GLbi wkí cŌZŏvrb brix`i KvR w`tZ AvMŏx bb| mvariYZ 20-29 ermŋi brix i wktí kğK wntmte KvR KitzQb hv`i gta` weevnZ`i mSL`vB Avak| Zte AweevnZ brix kğtKi mSL`vl Dtj t`hW|

mKj kğK Mŋg t`tK Awfemb Kti knŋi GtmŋQb| `ŏxbZvi cte`cij`l`i Awfembti (51%) nvi brix`i (31%) tPtq tewk wQj| wKs' 1970-74 mv`j i gta` brix`i Awfembti (14%) nvi cij`l`i (3%) tPtq tewk| `i`ZcY`welq GB th AweevnZ brix kğKMY cij`l`i b`vq KtğP mŐvrb Mŋg tŋto knŋi AvtmB| cŋq mKj tŋtIB brix kğKMY Av`xq `Rb GgbwK cvov cŌZtekt` i gva`tg KvR LtR cvb|

wkí cŌZŏvrb PvKixi tŋtI AwbiwcE`v fq% i fvtte w`vqkxj| KvY 95% tŋtIB PvKix cŌvb Kiv nq mvguqK wfvE`tZ| PvKix cŌvBi tKvb wPw ev Pw`3 tbB| brix kğKt`i te jv gwj Kcŋ AcŌZŏvrbK c`wZ Abmi Y Ktib|

cvU I e`wktí i gZ wkí cŌZŏvrb t`Lv hvq th gwj KMY tğukb Pij v`bvi KvR brix kğK wbtqM Ktib bv| Zvt`i gtZ cij`l i v Ővix KvRŐ Ki te Ges brix i v Ővix KvRŐ Ki te | A_P KvhZ t`Lv hvq th tğukb KvR bv Kivi `i`b brix kğKMY `ŋZv ARŐ, ct`vbwZ I teZb epv i tŋtI wcvŋq _vtKb| gwj Kcŋi nvev KvR Kivi `ŏfwi`i`b brix kğKMY Kg teZtb KvR Kitz eva` nb| Avakisk brix wvæZg gRjx gwmK cvPKZ UvKv cvb| Lp Kg cij`l kğK GZ Kg gRjx tZ KvR Ktib| ivŏqZi wkí cŌZŏvrb brix kğKMY `teZtb

gvZKvj xb QyU cvb wKŠ`e`w³MZ cōZōvfb brix kīgKMY GB QyU cvb bv| AṭbK wKí cōZōvfb
brix i Rb` Uqṭj U mjeav fvṭj v tbB|
brix kīgKṭ` i evm`vb I cwi enb mgm`v AZ`waK| Zviv wKí cōZōvfb KivKwO ew`ṭZ`vKvi
ṭPōv Kṭib| ṭKvb ṭKvb ew`ṭZ` brix wbfēZṭbi NUbv NUvi dṭj `ieZx^onṭj I Zviv wbi vc`
ew`ṭZ` evm KṭiZ Pvb| GṭZ wKí cōZōvfb hvl qvi Rb` nvlvi c_`xN^onṭq hvq| `ṭ gRjx
cvl qvq ṭKvb cwi enṭb Pov Zṭ` i cṭṭ m^{ae} nq bv|

wKí cōZōvfb brix kīgKṭ` i AwaKvi i ṭṭvi cōk^oetUw BDwbqṭKl AvMōx eṭj gṭb nq bv| Zvi
KviY AvBb Abṭhvq brix i Rb` tek wKQy wbi vc`Evj K e`e`v MōY Kivi K_v| thgb brix
kīgKṭK iṭZ KivR KṭiZ eva` Kiv hvte bv, Zṭ` i Rb` tek Uqṭj ṭUi e`e`v KṭiZ nṭe,
Zṭ` iṭK I fvi UvBg KivR KṭiZ eva` Kiv hvte bv| mṭeṭcwi brix kīgKṭK gvZKvj xb QyU w`ṭZ`
nṭe| gwi KMY eṭj b th Zviv brix kīgK wṭṭqM KṭiZ Pvb wKŠ`ōZṭ` i mgm`v AṭbKō| brix
kīgṭKi cṭ`ṭi I Zj bvq evowZ mgm`v nṭ`ō Zṭ` i Rb` eivl KZ mṭhvM| dṭj brix kīgK Pvkāx
MōṭYi mgq ṭUw BDwbqṭbi gra`ṭg gwi K cṭṭK Rwbṭq ṭ`b th Zviv ōṭKej gRjx Pvb ṭKvb
AwaKvi Pvb bvō|

brix kīgKMYṭK meṭkI
mjeav cōṭṭbi AvBb`vKvi
`i`b gwi Kcṭṭ
brix kīgKṭ` i wṭṭqM w`ṭZ`
Pvb bv| G KviṭY brix
kīgKMY Pvkāx MōṭYi
mgq Rwbṭq ṭ`b th Zviv
ṭKej gRjx Pvb, AwaKvi
Pvb bv|

Drm : Hameeda Hossain et.al. *No Better Option : Industrial Women Workers in Bangladesh, UPL, Dhaka, 1990.*

i Bvbxgṭx MṭṭgUṭ wKṭi brix kīgK

ersj vt`k i Bvbxgṭx wKí ,wṭj i gṭa` ṭcvkvK wKí Lp`*Z weKvK jvf KṭiṭQ| Gi Ab`Zg KviY
ersj vt`k m`v kṭgi mnRj f`Zv| ṭcvkvK wKí GKwU kṭṭNb wKí | KṭRB kṭgi LiP ewṭvZ
cvi ṭj jvfṭi cwi giv ep^x cvq| wmsM^ovj, ZvBl qvb, nsKs I `wṭṭb ṭKwi qvq kṭṭK ṭK`*Kṭi
Dbz ṭ`ṭki cṭR LwUṭq ṭcvkvK wKí Mṭo DṭV| wKŠ` kṭj ¼v, cwiK`vb, wṭwṭj cvBb I fvi Z
ṭcvkvK Drcv`ṭb thwM ṭ`q Ges Avṭiv m`v kṭṭ e`envi Kṭi Dbz ṭ`ṭki evRvi `Lj Kṭi ṭbq|
GṭZ Dbz ṭ`ṭki ṭcvkvK wKí ṭṭZMō nI qvq Dbqṭkxj ṭ`kmgv ṭ`ṭK ṭcvkvK Avg`vbx Dci
ṭKvUv Avṭivc Kiv nq| ZLb wṭṭv^ovj, ZvBl qvb, `wṭṭY ṭKwi qv, nsKs Avṭiv m`v kṭṭ AṭṭY
Kṭi| Zviv DcP^oi gra`ṭg Aí LiṭP ṭcvkvK `Zix Kṭi i Bvbx KṭiZ Pṭq| ersj vt`k Zviv
ṭcṭq ṭMj Zj bvqj Kfvte meṭṭq m`v kṭṭ| G KviṭY ersj vt`k Mṭo DVṭjv ṭcvkvK wKí |
ṭcvkvK wKṭi i GB m`v kṭṭ brix kṭṭ| ṭcvkvK wKṭi i brix kīgKṭ` i Rṭeṭb weivR Kṭi Pṭg
wbi vc`EvxbZv| ew`ṭZ` Zṭ` i evm`vṭb, KviLv^ovq Avmv hvl qvi cṭ_, KviLv^ovi mvgwRK
cwi ṭeṭk Zviv wbi vc` bq ṭKv_vl | bvbvfvte Zviv thšb nqiwb I thšb wbcxṭṭbi wKvvi nb|
GLṭb Dc`w^ocZ ṭKm ÷wW ṭ`ṭK MṭṭgUṭ wKṭi i brix kīgṭKi Rṭeb m^{ae}ṭK`RvṭZ cvi ṭeb|

ṭKm ÷wW t 3

m^osvi Rwn`vṭK iṭl ṭbq ZB evj j gZ|
ŌṭcvkvK wKí KviLv^ovq mvgv` teZṭb KṭR XṭKwQj Rwn`v teMg| GKmgq AcvṭiUi wṭṭmṭe
ṭcZ gṭm 1400 UvKv| teZṭb ṭbnvṭqZ g^o bq| wKŠ`nṭj wK nṭe, m^osvi iṭl ṭbq ZB evj j
gZ|

evev-gv, ṭQvU GK fvB I GK ṭevb Ges ZṭK wṭṭq m^osvi cvP Rb| evev ṭmbewnbx ṭ`ṭK
Aemi cōB| hv ṭcbkb cvb Zv mvgv`| evi kZ UvKv Ni fvov w`ṭq XvKvi evoxṭZ m^osvi

Pvj vtbvi Rb" PvB UvKv| Rwn`v nvZ Pwj tq KvR Kti | Zvi wetqi eqm ntqtQ| eqm GLb 20 ermi | wKŠ' Rwn`v evevi msmvfi i nvj atiqQ|

Rwn`v c0g X#KwQj wgiçfi GKwU Mvtg@Um G| teZb gwmK 250 UvKv| Pvi gvtfmi c0ekvb wciwqW cvi Kti tmLvfb Avi KvR Kti w| KviY thLvfb KvR tkLv nq tmLvfb c0ekvbi ci teZb temk evto bv| Rwn`v w0Zxq th Kvi Lvbvq thvM t`q tmLvfb teZb gwmK 500 UvKv| tm wQj tgvkb AcvfiUi| wKŠ' gvm Qq ci Kvi Lvbv eU ntq hvq| ZZxq Kvi Lvbvq thvM w`q Rwn`v cvq gwmK GK nvRvi UvKv| Zvi ci teZb teo 1,200 UvKv Ges Avi l teo 1,400 UvKv nq| Rwn`v Lp PuctU l Pvj vK PZi tqtq| ZvB me KvR ZvovZwo wktL tbq Ges mçvi fvBRvi nq|

tcvkvK wki Kvi Lvbvq
bvi wktgKMY bvbmea
el'g'i wKvi nb| Gme
Kvi Lvbvq Awbqgi weifx
c0Zev` Kitz tMij kigK
QvUvB Kiv nq|

Mvtg@Um-G KvRi mgq eo Kov| mKvj AvUuv t_#K weKvj cvPuv chS KvR Kivi ci l l fvi UvBg Kitz nq| l fvi UvBg eva`Zigj K| cvqLvfv-c0te, `çfi l Levi Gmtei Rb" mgq evav| GKUd Gir K l w K nevi tRv tbB| KvRi mgq Am_ Kitz miv w`bi Rb"B Abçw`Z Kti t`qv nq| Avi teZb KvUv hvq| Drme fvZv, tevbvm l gvZKj`vY fvZv Gme wKQy tbB| gvZKj`vY QvU tqtj Zte teZb Qvov| ZvQvov bZb wbgq ntqtQ wcm ti#U teZb t`qvi | GtZ Awakvstki teZb KitzQ| l fvi UvBtgi teZbi tejvq Awbqgi AŠ tbB| teZbi 60 kZvsktK gj atiq Zvi Wej wntmte l fvi UvBtgi teZb t`qv nq| G gvtfmi teZb cvl qv hvq l gvtfmi `k Zwi tL|

t`kxq gwj #Ki gwj Kvbvq thvM t`q nsKs Gi AvfiK gwj K| thS_ gwj Kvbvq Kvi Lvbv Pij | kigKiv Ljx nq| frte Gevi Zviv mçev cvte wet`kx gwj #Ki KvQ t_#K| wKŠ' tm Avkvi _to emj | thS_ gwj Kvbvq bZb bZb AvBb Rvix nq| QvU l Rb" `i Lv` BstiwRtZ wj LtZ nte, bBtj QvU bigAj | Wv`vix mvlUcttKU j vMte| thLvfb Awakvsk Kgx`AmY`Zvi Rb" Wv`vi t`LvZ cvfi bv tmLvfb Wv`vix mvlUcttKU tKv_vq crte? QvU KvUvbtvi e`vcvfi l KtVvi wbgq| evsj vt`tki RvZxq QvU w`b_wj tZl QvU tqtj bv| KZ beel`Ct`i QvU, tg w`em th tcvkvK Kvi Lvbvq Gtdvo l tdvo ntq hvq Zvi wntme Rwn`vi v lvLtz cvfi bv|

Rwn`v msM0gx tqtq| Nti evBti ZvtK msM0g Kitz nq| Kvi Lvbv Awbqg Zvi gb c0Zev`x ntq Dtv| wKQy GKUv Kitz Pvg kigKt`i wbtq| Gkevi GKwU ivR%wZK`tj i mntwmZvq kigK BDwbq Kivi tPov Kti| ivR%wZK`tj i KgxPv wCQvfv t`qvq Ges gwj #Ki m#z AvZvZ Kivq kigK BDwbq MVbi tPov fUj nq| G Kvi tY `Rb kigKtK QvUvB Kiv nq| gwj #Ki tj vKiv Rwn`vtK tevSvq gwj #Ki mvt_ SMov mçv Kti tKD tKvbr b tcti DVte bv|

Rwn`v t_ig _vtK bv| evsj vt`k Mvtg@Um kigK tdWvfi kvbi mntwmZvq BDwbq Kivi tPov Pvj vq| Kvi Y`vex Av`vq Kitz ntj HK`ex ntZ nte| Rwn`v Pvg tm wbh0ZZ ntj l Zvi cti hviv Avmte Zviv thb mthvM mçev cvq|

tkl chS Rwn`vtK Kvi Lvbv t_#K QvUvB Kiv ntqtQ| Zvi wei`tx Pvi i AvrfthvM Avbv ntqtQ| AvrfthvMKvix kigK BDwbq Kivi GKRb KgrZP| Av`vj tZ Dfq ct`fi gvçj v wePvix AvtQ|0

Drm : wclwj c MvBb, ersj vt`k tcivkK ukři brix klgK, ersj vt`k gibewakvi mgšq
cwi I` , XvKv, 1990|

mvi vsk

Mpkřgi MŪx tcwiřq thme brix gRjx křg wbtqwmRZ nb Zviv cčvbZ `wi`^a cwi evi t_řK
Avřmb| Kwi I ukř cčZčvřb KgřZ kbRřx brix I cji`řI i gRjx`elg`gj K| brix klgKMY
cwi evři i cčqvRb wUvřbvi w`řK Awak gřbvřhM w`řq _vřKb| Zviv hv Avq Křib Zv w`řq
Rřeb aviřYi e`q wbeřn Kiv m`e bq| ZeyGB Avřq řKibiKg teřP _vKv hvq| Avi řm
KviřY Awakřsk brix klgK gřb Křib gRjx křgi `i`b cwi evři Ziv`i ghřv tetotřQ| Zte
ř`Lv hvq weevmZ brix klgKMřYi `řgriB A_řbqřY Křib| AweevmZ brix klgKMYřK
cwi evři i cji`řI AwřřveřKi wbtqřYB tgřb wbtřZ nq| ZeymřgwmRKřve ukři řřřř KgřZ brix
klgKř`i ghřv eřx řctqřQ eřv hvq| Kvi Y th me brix Nři i evBři Kiv Křib bv Ziv`i
Zj bvq brix klgKMřYi Avř wckřm, wřřv křř Ges cji`řI i mřř mgZv Abřfe Kivi řřgZv
AřbK teřk| Zte ukř cčZčvřbi gwřj Kcřř KZř brix klgK I cji`řI klgřKi gj`vqřbi
gřvKwm`elg`gj K| cji`řI klgřKi gj`vqřbi řřřř cčvřb`cřq Ziv`i ŪDrcv`bkřj ZvŪ I
Ū`řřZvŪ| brix klgřKi gj`vqř Kiv nq g`vřbRřgřUi mřř Ziv`i ŪmřhwmZvŪ I ŪAvřMřZ`i
ŪvřvŪ| Kvi Lvřvi gwřj KMY cji`řI AwřřveřKi b`vq brix klgKř`i wbtqřY Křib| Kgřřřřřř I
cji`řI ZmřřK gZv`k`cpi`rcw`Z nq|

cvfWËi gj`vqb

`be³K cËæ

mWVK DËti i cvfk WJK (v) WPy w`b -

1| wkí tñtñ gwj Kcñl bvi x kñgKt` i etj b tqtqiv ðnvén KvR0 Kite l cj`I iv ðfvix KvR0 Kite| GtZ wK tevSv hvq?

K. AþbK KvR bvi xiv Ki tZ cvtib bv Kvi Y Zviv `pP

L. AþbK KvR cj`IMY Ki tZ cvtib bv Kvi Y Zviv mej

M. bvi xtK tKvb tKvb KvR Ki tZ bv w`tq gwj K cñl `qv c0 k0 Ktib

N. bvi xi Ae`vb Aa`b nI qvq Zvt` i KvRtK Aegj`vqb Kti gRj x Kg t`qv nq

2| Mvtg0m wktí bvi x kñgKMYtK wbtqvM t`qv nq tKb?

K. `ñlZvi Rb`

L. tmj vB Kivi KvR bvi xt` i KvR ZvB

M. bvi xt` i kñg m`v ZvB

N. cj`I kñgtKi Afve

3| wkí tñtñ bvi xt` i KvRi gj`vqtb i gvb`0 wK?

K. Kg⁰úpv

L. `ñlZv

M. AvbMz`

N. Drcv`bkxj Zv

4| wkí tñtñ bvi xt` i wtkl AwaKvi c0vb bv Kivi Rb` gwj Kcñl wK tKSkj Aej æb Ktib?

K. gwj K cñl bvi xt` i wtkl AwaKvi c0vb Ktib

L. mi Kvi bvi xt` i wtkl AwaKvi c0vbtbi Rb` AvBb Kti tQ mZivs gwj Kcñl tK Zv gvb tZ nq

M. Ktg⁰wbtqv tMi cte⁰bvi x kñgKMYtK tNvl Yv Ki tZ nq th Zviv wtkl AwaKvi Pvb bv

N. bvi x kñgtKi AwaKvi c0vb wclq wbtq gwj K cñli m½ tUW BDwbqtb i`i KlvKwl nq

msuñlB cËæ

1| wkí tñtñ tUW BDwbq b tKb bvi x kñgtKi AwaKvi wcltq „i“Zi c0vb Kti bv?

2| Kwl tñtñ bvi x gRj x kñgKt` i m½ gwj K cñli m=úK⁰Avtj vPbv Ki`b|

i Pbv gj K cËæ

- 1| cĵ"l ZwiŠK gZv`k©wKfvte Kgřŷŷŷŷ cĵi"rcw`Z nq? Kgřŷŷŷŷ i cwi tetki Dci Avřj vKcivZ Ki"b|
- 2| Kgřŷŷŷŷ bvix ktgKřŷŷ i cŷZ wK ai řbi `elg`gj K AvPiY Kiv nq Avřj vPbv Ki"b|

evsj v`tk bvi x vbhZb

Violence Against Women in Bangladesh

GB cvWU cto Avcb RvbZ cvi teb -

- vbhZbi msAv I tciZKiY
- bvi x vbhZbi Av_mvgwRK I gZv`wK` w` Kmgn
- MntK` K bvi x vbhZbi `fj
- bvi x vbhZb cZivtai aib

bvi x vbhZbi aib

eZv`b evsj v`tk bvi x Dci AZ`vPi, AvugY GZ ev` tctq` th c`q mgqB Avcbvii Lei i KvM`R f` L`Z cvb m`svm I wbcxotbi wKvi ntq`Q bvi x| Lei cto RvbZ cvi b gj Kvi Y nt`Q thS`Z`Ki `vex, thSb AvugY, al`F, tci`gi c`ve cZ`vL`vb Kivq GmW vbt`q|c, bvi x mvgwRK AmnvqZ; gvbwmK vbhZb BZ`w` | Avmtj gj c`h`z bvi x vbhZb| Bsti wR`Z hv`K etj violence, G k`wU G`mt`Q j`wU`b violentia f`_tk| hvi A`_f`Kvb e`w`i Dci kvixi K ej c`q`vM Kiv wKsev Zv Kivi ugKx c`vb Kiv| Zvi gv`b violence G AvugYv`f` K B`Ov I ej c`q`vM Kti AvNvZ Kivi w`l`q`w` g`_`| bvi x c`Z` m`nsmZv (gender violence) tK Gf`te msAvuqZ Kiv nq th, GwU Ggb aitbi AvugYv`f` K KvR hv`Z ej c`q`vMKvix wj `xq m`u`f`K`P` `ixKZ KvVt`g`v`K c`p`c`Z`o`v Ki`z P`vq (APWLD, 1990)³ | Zvi gv`b bvi x c`Z` m`nsmZvq c`j`"I AvugYKvixi c`v`b D`f`i`k` nt`Q Zvi w`f`K`w`g`o` ev bvi x Dci c`j`| w`nt`m`te w`b`Ri AwacZ` c`Z`o`v|

bvi x c`Z` m`nsmZv
gva`tg` c`j`"I AvugY
wj `xq m`u`f`K`P` `ix
KvVt`g`v`K c`p`c`Z`o`v
Ki`z P`vq|

M`tel KMY bvi x c`Z` m`nsmZvi w`f`b`e`a`ib w`P`v`y`Z Kti`z`Q`b (Rvnb, 1994)²| G `w`j` nt`Q kvixi K AvugY, thSb AvugY, gvbwmK AvugY I w`f`K`w`U`gi c`Q`b` i` t`Kvb w`K`Q`f`K AvugY| kvixi K AvugYi w`l`q`w` w`b`q` t`e`w` Avtj`v`P`bv nq Kvi Y GwU t`e`k` `k`g`v`b| bvi x`K Po `v`ai, w`Kj` Nym Ggb w`K`Q`y`w`K`sev Avtj`v`g`iv`f` K Mig`c`vb ev GmW Q`f`o` ev `w`j` Kti kvixi K `q`w`Z Kiv nq| thSb AvugYi f`q`f`i` KrmvZ f`v`v` I A`z`f`z` o`v`v` Kc`o`ve I Krmv i`U`bv ev AvugY Kiv nq| w`K`sev thSb`v`z` AvNvZ Kiv nq| t`R`vi`c`e`R` thSb wj `v` t`g`U`v`b`v` Ges Ggb`w`K al`F Kiv nq|

mgv`R` thSbZv j`z`v`Ki w`e`t`e`P`Z` n`l`q`v` Avm`v`S` bvi x`K`B` m`K`j` f`v`l`v`t`i`v`c` Kti`b| gvbwmK AvugYi n`w`Z`q`vi w`nt`m`te e`e`u`Z` nq ugKx, bvi x `f`v`w`e`K` R`x`e`b`h`v`i`v`q` ev`av, mvgwRK f`v`te` t`n`q` c`Z`c`b`e`K`iv, Krmv i`U`v`b`v` BZ`w`` | gvbwmK AvugY `k`g`v`b` b`q`| w`K`S` G`z` bvi x` gb Ges m`E`v` Avm`v`S` nq| Gi` d`t`j` Ng, L`v`l` q`v` `l` q`v` BZ`w`` `q`w`Z`M`O` n`l`q`v` Zvi v` kvixi K f`v`te`l` Avm`v`S` n`q` `v`f`K`b| bvi x c`q`v`R`b`x`q` I c`Q`b` i` KvD`f`K` ev t`Kvb w`K`Q`f`K` a`y`sm` m`v`ab` Kti`l`

³ APWLD (Asia Pacific Forum on Women and Development) *My Rights, Who Control? Asia Pacific Women`s Issues*, Law and Development Process, Kualampur, 1990.

² Jahan Roushan , *Hidden Danger : Women and Family Violence in Bangladesh*, Women for Women, Dhaka, 1994.

AvμgYKvix mμnsmZv KiřZ cvři | GřŃŃŃ m=úMÉ webó Kiv nq wKsev mšvb I cwi evřii
gıby| RbřK AvNvZ Kiv nq|

tcŃŃZKiY

bvix wbhřZřbi welqıU mıwKfvřte tevSvi Rb` GřK wıw`Ń `vb Kvj a`vb aviYv, bwiZ `bıwZKZv
I gj`teřtai AvřjvřK eřřřZ nte| tcŃŃZKiřYi A_`nt`Q řKvb welqřK `vb Kvjř `vcı|
ersj vř`k bvix wbhřZřbi welqıUı `řiřbi tcŃŃZKiY nřZ cvři| cŃgZ weřki Ae`vq
mıwGZ tcŃŃZKiY Kiv nřj bvixi cŃZ mμnsmZvi mř½ cŃŃŃfvřte hřB KviY,ıj tei Kiv
hvq| thgb ai`b AvμgřYi `vb, mgq, AvμgYKvix I Avμvř bvixi m=úK, AvμgYKvixi
e`w³Zi BZ`w`řK bvix wbhřZřbi KviY wntmřte eYřv Kiv nřq `vřK| thgb GıwW Qřo bvixi
gř. Sj řm ř`qvi gZ NUbvi KviY wntmřte ej v nq řtcŃgi cŃvřte ivRx nq bvBŃ| MvřgřUm Gi
bvix křgKřK thřb wbhřZřb Kivi KviY wntmřte ej v nq řtgřqıU ivřZi teıv GKv GKv iv`v
w`řq hw`Qj ř| Avřiv ej v nq řtgřqıU teıw An`vıxř, řřQřj wU GKUz ivMıř, řřřřZK ř`q wBŃ,
řcwı ewı K kř`Zv wQj ř, řcwıwQj ř, řtgřqıU wntbgv nřj i fıřoi gřa` wMřqıQj ř, ř`řgxi Rb`
fvř řiřa ivřLıwBŃ BZ`w` | wKsev ej v nq řAvRKıj wVm ř`řL ř`řL řQřj řgřqř` i řgRvR
e`j nřq hvř`řŃ A_ev řAvRKıj AvBb k, Lj v řbBŃ| bvixi cŃZ mμnsmZvi KviY wntmřte
wřvřZ Gaiřbi e³e` bvix wbhřZřbi cřKZ KviY weřkřY Kři bv| Gaiřbi e`vL`v mvgwRK
Kvřřgıvı mř½ bvix wbhřZřbi RıwZ `vKvi welq Zřj ařı bv|

bvix wbhřZřbi e`vcK
cŃŃZKiY Kiv nřj
bvix wbhřZřbi KviY
vı gřa` mıgıex nřq
ř bv| bvix wbhřZřbi
ř th mgıR KvřřgřřZ
Z Zv tevSv m=é bq|

bvix wbhřZřb weřkřYi Aci w KıU nř`Q mıvıY ev e`vcK tcŃŃZKiY| Gfvřte tcŃŃZKiY
Kiv nřj bvix wbhřZřbi KviY NUbvi gřa` mıgıex nřq cřo bv| GřZ bvix wbhřZřbi KviY
th mgıR KvřřgřřZ wıwN Zv tevSv m=é nq| mgıR bvixi Pj vřdiv, `řaxbZv, KgRvřU
meıwKıy cıj`I KZŘ wıwıřZ nı qv mıwK eřj ařı řbqv nq| gZv`k B KZřj `Zıx Kři Ges
EařřZıvıv eva` Kři Aaxb`ř`i Zvř`i KZřj řgřb wBřZ| Avi řgřb bv wBřj KZřev`x e`w³,
řMıvıx I řkYx KZŘ Aaxb`ıv j wÁZ nb| Avi KLB cıj`ııv bvixi Dci KZřj KiřZ cvři?
hLb cıj`ıı I bvixi gřa` weıvR Kři Amg řıgZv m=úKř cıj`ııwacřř`i KviřY cıj`ııv
bvıř`ı e`k`Zv `řKvi Kivi Rb` řgıwK w řZ cvřıb Ges ej cŃqıM KiřZ cvřıb|

bvix wbhřZřbi Av`mvgwRK I gZv`wKŘ w`K

ersj vř`k mgıR KvřřgřřZ wczZwřřKZv I řkYx `elg` bvıř`ı cŃwřKZv `Zıx Kři|
wczZwřřKZv `Zıx Křı bvixi křj, cıj`ıırcv`b I thřbZv wıwqřřYi Rb` bıvıv aiřbi cŃv I
a`vb avi vř 2bs BDıwřU GmKj welq wBřq Avřj vPıv Kiv nřqřQ| bvix cwiYZ nq cıj`řıı
thřbZv řfvřMi e`řZ| cŃŃj Z mvgwRK cŃv bvixi Rb` Ařřřřıı Ae`vb wıw`Ń Křı|
mgıR cıj`ııřK bvixi i řıvKZř wntmřte cŃZwB Z Křı| bvıřřK wıwqřřYi gřa`B cıj`řıı ghřv
weřeiřZ nq| mvgwRK cŃvı Křıvı k, Lj v řgřb wBřq bvix i řıv Křı cıj`řıı ghřv| mřZıvı
bvix me mgıB cıj`řıı ghřv I mvgwRK k, Lj vı Rb` řgKx `řc| cıj`ııZřřı wıwqıvıhvıqř
řKvb `x hw` `řgxi cŃZ mıweR AvıwřřZ`ı wıwq ř½ Křıb Zvřj řıwZMŃ cřı nř`Q Zvi `řgı
Ges cwi evřii cıj`ıı| wıwq ř½ Křıvıv bvıřřK ZvB `řgı I cwi evřii cıj`ıı wePıı KMY th řKıv
cřKıvı kw` cŃvřbi řıgZv ivřL| bvixi P`vřj Ä řgvKvřej vı Rb` KıvR Křı cıj`řıı řıgZv| G
řıgZv `řřj i Dci meřj i Rei`w`| G řıgZv ř`Qıvııı Zv I ej cŃqıřMi řıgZv| Zřte me
mgı th Kıvř ej cŃqıM KiřZ nřte, Ggb řKvb K_v řbB| meřııYB ej cŃqıM nřZ cvřı
Ggb fıwZ I řvm KıvR Křı| bvix cıj`ııZwřřK gZv`křK P`vřj Ä Kiřj - j řvıvıj v, fıxi`

tKvgj , AbjMZ I mZxZi i qvKvix bv ntj - cj "I k, Lj v i qv_ AwffveK wntmte ej c0qvM Ki tZ cftib| GUvB mgvRi weavb| Kvi Y Mvn" Rxe tbi wbgqKvibp I wj ½xq m=útKp mvgwRKxKi tYi ga w tq wbgZ nq mvgwRK Aw Zj |

evsj vt tk c0vj Z bvbwea mvgwRK c0v I a vb avi bvi gva t g bvi x cj "I i gta A_ %wZK elg zix nq| wZZŠ I c0Rev bixi ktg tkvLY c0uqvK kw3kvj x Kti wj ½xq ktgwefvRbtK KvRi Kivi ga w tq| GB thŠ e e vq 0Av k0bix0i vb nq MntKvY| G e e vq Mtni cwi mti bixi Drcv tbi dmj P t j hvq cj "I i t j | Gfvte e w3MZ m=út i Dci Ges Mtni evBti Drcv tbi Dci cj "I i GKtPwUqv AwAKvi c0Zw0Z nq| wZZwŠKZv I tkYx el t g i Dci m p mvgwRK c t mvcvb bix t K Aa bZvq t v t j t q| GUv wK th w i t k Y x i b i x m e w a K A _ % w Z K t k v l t Y i w k K v i | Z t e g a w e E t k Y x i b i x N t i i e v B t i A v q t i v R M v i K i t j I t m m = ú t i D c i c j " I i A w a K v i c 0 Z w 0 Z | A v i t m K v i t Y g a w e E t k Y x i b i x l G K B t k Y x i c j " I i m = ú I K v t R i Z j b v q e j Ges Z v t i 0 v i v A _ % w Z K f v t e t k w l Z | A v _ m v g w R K I g Z v w k R G B m e e t v e b v g v t j t h t K v b t k Y x i b i x i D c i c j " I i c 0 j w b q Š Y G g b w k m i n s m Z v c h Š M 0 Y t h v M Z v c v q |

bixi ekthvM kixi I g t b i D c i c j " I w a c Z " R w i i v L v i K v t R A v B b I b x i Z w a f i b x c 0 Z 0 v b m w u q | A v m t j m v g w R K m = ú t K P B c 0 Z i f c i v 0 q | G B A t _ 0 i v 0 t q g Z v k P c w i e v t i w e i v R g v b b i x - c j " I A m g Z v I b i x i c 0 Z m i n s m Z v t K g u n g w Š Z K t i | D v n i Y t f c e j v h v q t h , e v s j v t t k i c 0 v j Z c w i e w i K A v B t b b i x t i m v g w R K A e v b e j e v s j v t k m s w e a v t b c w i e w i K A v B b e n j A v t Q | A _ P A v Š R w Z K g y b e w a K v i A v B b A b h v q x m K j i v 0 b i x - c j " I m g v b w a K v i I e l g n x b Z v i w e a v b t g t b P j t Z e v a | b i x i m g v b w a K v i w b w 0 Z K i v j t q | 0 m t W 0 e v C E D A W (C o n v e n t i o n o n t h e E l i m i n a t i o n o f A l l F o r m s o f D i s c r i m i n a t i o n A g a i n s t W o m e n) t Z A v t j v K c i Z K i v n t q t Q | G B A v B t b i A Š f e n t " Q w e e v n , Z v j v K , f i b t c v l Y , A w f f v e K Z i , i q v t e q v Y , t c v l M 0 Y G e s m = ú m E i D E i w a K v i | G L v t b w Z b u t K m ÷ v w t Z b i x w b h e Z t b i t f c Z t j a i v n t j v |

iv0tq gZv kP cwi weivRgvb bix-cj "I AmgZv bixi c0Z minsmZvtK gungwŠZ Kti |

tKm ÷ vW t 1

cwi evi bixi c0vb w b h e Z b K v i x

evsj vt tk cj "I Z w Š K g Z v t k P A v t j v t K M t o D t v c w i e v i G e s t m B c w i e v i B b i x i c 0 v b w b h e Z b K v i x | c w i e w i K w b h e Z b w e l t q G K u l M t e l Y v K i v n q h v t Z 1982 t t K 1988 c h Š m v Z e r m t i m s N u J Z w b h e Z b c h f e q v Y K i v n q | K t q K u l R v Z x q w b K c w i K v q w b h e Z b w e l t q c k w k Z m s e v I c y j t k i K v t Q w i t c v U 0 K Z N U b i w f v E t Z Z _ m s M p x Z n q | D t j w e Z m g q K v t j m s N u W Z c w i e w i K w b h e Z t b i N U b v m g t n i g t a m e w a K A v m v Š n t q t Q b i x (68%) Z v i c i c j " I (28%) G e s w k i (4%) | G B m v Z e r m t i m s N u J Z m K j w b h e Z t b b i x A w a K A v m v Š n t q t Q b |

mvi bx- 1 t bvi x wbhZtbi aib l cwi wa

wbhZtbi aib	Avμvš bvi xi kZKiv wmwve
Lp -	66%
``wnK wbhZb l avitjv A` w` t q AvμgY -	75%
GmW Qto gvi v -	91%
Ab`vb` bvbwea AvμgY -	65%
thšb wbhZb -	100%
ej ceR Acni Y -	61%
Avl nZ`v -	51%

ewi K cwi mti bvi x
bi NUbv tewk NtU
_vtK/

cPuj Z avi Yv GB th bvi xi cKZ `vb Mņ Ges Mņni evBti bvi x wbi vc` bq| wKŠ` Mtel Yvq
t`Lv hvq th cij`l ZwišK gZv`tk`v`gK KZR` `xtK ``wnK wbhZb Kiv`ea etj wete wPZ
nl qvq cwi ewi K cwi mti bvi x wbhZtbi NUbv tewk NtU _vtK| t`Lv hvq th thšb wbhZb l
al`Yi NUbvmgtņi gta`l A`ta`K i tewk wbhZK bvi xi cwi evti i AvcbRb l cwi wPZRb|
gtb ivLtZ nte th, thmKj NUbv ``wbK cwi Kiv cKwKZ nq wKsev cij`tki Wtqixfj` nq
tm`uj AZ`waK gvi v l K ``wnK AvNvtZi NUbv| mavi YZ `v`gK l cwi evti i m`m`MY KZR
jv`Abv l wbhZb bvi xiv g` etR mn` Kti _vtKb| Zvi gvtb wZ`w` tbi bvi x wbhZtbi NUbv
ti KW`Kiv nq bv| Zv Kiv ntj bvi x wbhZtbi msL`v l cwi wa A`tbK ewx` cvte|

Drm: Roushan Jahan, *Hidden Danger : Women and Family Violence in Bangladesh*, Women for Women, Dhaka. 1994.

tKm ÷ vW t 2

eevwnK m`utK`bvi x wbhZb

wnK m`ctK` gta`
wbhZbtK `v`vmeK
etj ati tbqv nq/

bvi x wbhZb ch`e`Y Kivi Rb` GKiu Mig Mtel Yv Kiv nq| Rvgj cij` tRj vi tK``qv`_vbi
Ašf` GB Mti gi weevnZ bvi xi Rietb kwi i xK wbhZb NtU w b Ggb NUbv wej | cij`l`i
gtZ`0tqtqgvb| tK bv gvi t j wK _vtK bv0| gvbwmK wbhZtbi cwi gvY A`tbK tewk| wKŠ`
cij`l`MY Gme wbhZbtK `v`v`Z` m`utK`P AšMZ w`lq wntmte ati tbb| bvi xi ciz msNwJZ
Aciva tK Zviv `v`vmeK etj ati tbb| ``wnK wbhZtbi tejvq l tKej Po`_v`i tK Aciva
wntmte MY` Kiv nq bv| kwi i xK wbhZtbi dtj RLg ntj Ges kixti Mfxi `jZwP`y mjo
ntj bvi xiv ZvtK A`tb`i KvtQ bwj k Kivi gZ Aciva etj MY` Ktib|

mvi bx - 2 : ``wnK l gvbwmK wbhZtbi Kvi Y

``wnK wbhZtbi Kvi Y		gvbwmK wbhZtbi Kvi Y	
1 `v`g`K fivZ w` tZ t` ix ntqtQ	72%	1 Zvj vtKi ugKx t`qv	57%
2 Kvtr mvgvb` fj tctqtQ	49%	2 Ab` tKvb cij`tl i mt½ K_v ej tZ bv t`qv	48%
3 `v`gxi tgrvR nVr Mig ntqtQ	21%	3 evtci evox m`utK`ewKv K_v ej v	19%
4 `v`gX Ab` gij vi mt½ tgj vtgkv Kiv c`ht½` x wKQvejvq	21%	4 mKj Kvtr i`KwdqZ Pvl qv	24%
5 thSZtKi Rb`	8%	5 kivi wo K_vq K_vq tLulv t`q	19%
6 mšvb wbtq SMov	8%	6 evtci evox thtZ bv t`qv	14%

^wnK wbfZtbi Kvi Y		gvbmK wbfZtbi Kvi Y	
7 kvivo ^vxi Kvfo bwi k Kti fo	8%	7 Mvtqi is Kvfv etj tLuv t`qv	10%
8 ^xi Mvtqi is Kvfv	3%	8 cpi vq wvq Kivi ugKx	10%
9 Rvfv Rvfv SMov	3%	9 Ab` gmv vi m½ ^vxi tgj vfgkv I ^wnK m^uK©	5%
		10 thSZK bv w` tZ cvi vq tLuv t`qv	5%

Drm: ixZv `vk ivq, O`eemK m^uK©bvix wbfZb : GKwU mgv¶vO mgvR wbfZ¶Y, msL`v-52, mgvR wbfZ¶Y tK>`a; XvKv wvkv` vj q, XvKv 1994 |

tKm ÷vW t 3

bvixK ctY` cwYZ Kiv

evsjv`tki bvixiv AvSRwZK wbcxobKvix Ptu i wKvfi cwYZ nb | GBme Ptu i mjev` Rvj gvbl tKbv tePv Kti | evsjv`tk `wi`^cwi evi vj tZ thSZtKi `vex I Ab`vb` wbcxotbi Kvi tY ^eemK m^uK©wbfZbgj K nq cotQ | `wii`^ I AZ`vPvi wbcxob t`tk evPvi Rb` ZvB bvixiv e`vcK nvi MvtgUmmn wvfvbaki cOZovb KvR Kivi Rb` AvMox nb | AftKB KvRi mUvfb knii Afbv Rvftbi ct_ cv evovb | AvKvsk t¶t¶ GBme bvix gvbl cvPviKvixi Lat i ctob | bvix cvPviKvix I cKvmtbi thvM mvrk wcvj msL`K bvixK KavqZ; Kti thSb cY` wntmte wv`tk wvµq Kiv nq | Mtel Yv t`tk Rvfv hvq th 1991 t`tk 1999 mb chS tgvU GKw k j ¶ evi nrvvi bvix I wki cvPvi i Nubv cI cwI Kvq cKwvZ nqtQ | GBme bvix gvbl cvPviKvix `vj vj t` i Øviv `dvq `dvq j wAZ I awZ nb | AetktI AvSRwZK Pµ trvi ceK bvix` i tK `vm wntmte I thSbKgvwntmte wvµq Kti |

AvSRwZK Pµ trvi bvix` i tK `vm wntmte thSbKgvwntmte wvµq Kti |

Drm: dwi`v AvLZvi, gvbl wbtq tePv tKbv, bvix cvPvi I wki cvPvi, bvixMŠ` cOZov, XvKv, 2001 |

bvix wbfZb cOZtva

evsjv`tk cj`ti i GK`QI ¶gZv Zv` i tK `wvbx Kti | cj`lwacZ` I wbfZtbi wei`tx bvix cOZwqZ tetP _vKvi msMtg wj B nb | bvix wbfZtbi wei`tx bvixi cOZtva e`wK ch¶q itq tMtQ | bvixi cOZtvtai aib Zv` i cOZw tbi j ovB (everyday struggle) | Zte cOZev`x bvix Avi I tenk wbfwZZ nb | Kvi Y Zv` i tK mvgwRK gj tevtai tKvcbtj cotZ nq | ivof bvixi wbcEvi e`e`v Kti w | AftK mgq ZvB cOZev`x bvix AvAKZi mšvmi I cvkwKZvi ftq Av nZ`vi c_ tetQ tbb | fwiZ I k¼vMØ Rvftbi tPq gZitKB tkt gtb Ktib | GBmKj Av nZ`vi Nubv gj Z nZ`v | Av nZ`v fqv bvix wbfZtbi cOZwµqv | bvix wbfZtbi wei`tx wvfvbemsMvB cOZev` Rvbtq _vtK | wvfvbemsMvB i RbMYI AvAvj K fvte msNwUZ bvix wbfZtbi cOZev` Rvbrq | wKŠ` bvixi wvfvbemsMvB AvBtbi cOqvM tbB ej tj B Pjt |

bvix wbfZtbi wei`tx bvixi cOZtvtai aib Zv` i cOZw tbi j ovB

mi vsk

Nti Ges Nti eiBti th #Kvb `vtb th #Kvb mgq brix kvi mmi K l thŠb Avμg†Yi mKvvi nb/
 brix ubhřZ†bi cǎvb KviY mgt†R bixi cšŠK Ae`vb/ G Ae`vb brix†K †V†j †`q
 Aa`bZvq/ cji“lZmŠK gZv`k bixi Dci cji†li ej cšqvM†K `eaZv †`q/ brix mel†aK
 ubhřZZ nb M†n, cii e†ti, `eevniK m=ú†K† g†a“/ M†g†m brixKgi† Dci Anin brix
 ubhřZb N†U _v†K/ ga`meĚ bixiv hviv uerfbatckvq ubtqmiRZ Av†Qb Zviv†l cji“l mnKgi†Y
 KZ† thŠb ubhřZ†bi mKvvi nb/ miKv†ii cji k evnbxi cji“l KZ† uerfbat†bi brix
 ubhřZ†bi NUbv N†U _v†K/

cvṫVĒi gj ṽqb

ṽbe⁹³K cĕæ

mṽVK DĒṫi i cvṫk ṽJK (ṽ) ṽPý ṽ b

1| bvi x cj "I mgvbwakvi I ṽel gṽnxbZvi Rb" AvšR⁹ZK AvBb ṫKvbU?

K. ṫRṫbfv Kṫṫfbkvb

L. AvBṽmim

M. ṽmṫWv

N. AvBṽmim⁹cAvi

2| ṫKvb bvi x nZṽi ṽ bṽUṫK evsj ṽṫ ṫki bvi x msMvb_ṽwj bvi x ṽbh⁹Zb cĀZṫi va ṽ em ṽntṫṫte Dṽ hvcb Kṫi ṽṫK?

K. mxgv nZṽ

L. i xgv nZṽ

M. bi Rṽnvb nZṽ

N. Bqvmṽgb nZṽ

3| ṫhšb ṽbh⁹Zb I al⁹Yi ci AZṽPwi Z bvi x ṫKb Avṫ nZṽ Kṫi b?

K. ṫhšb ṽbh⁹Zṫbi Rb" bvi x ṽṫRṫKB ṽvqx gṫb Kṫi b

L. ṫhšb ṽbh⁹Zb j 3/4vi ṽel q ZṽB

M. cwi evi I mgvR ṫhšb ṽbh⁹Zb I al⁹Yi Rb" bvi xṫKB ṽvqx Kṫi ZṽB

N. bvi xi gvbwmK ṽeKwZ NṫU ZṽB

4| bvi xi m⁹U⁹Ei DĒi w⁹akvi evsj ṽṫ ṫk ṫKvb AvBb 0vi v cwi Pwi j Z nq?

K. gvbw⁹eK Aw⁹akvi AvBb

L. bṽMwi K Aw⁹akvi AvBb

M. msṽeavb

N. agx⁹ cwi ewi K AvBb

msṽ⁹ṫB cĕæ

1| bvi x ṽbh⁹Zṫbi ms⁹Av ṽ b | bvi xi v ṽK ṽK aiṫbi ṽbh⁹Zṫbi ṽK⁹Kvi nb?

2| bvi x ṽbh⁹Zṫbi m⁹wgZ I eṽcK ṫc⁹ṫZK⁹iṫYi gṫa" cv⁹R" ṽK?

iPbv⁹gj K cĕæ

1| bvi xi cĀZ mṽsmZvq cj "I Av⁹μgYKvixi cĀvb Dṫi k" nṫ"Q bvi xi Dci cj "I ṽntṫṫte ṽṫRi Aw⁹acZ" cĀZōv — eṽLṽ Ki "b |

2| cwi evi I ṽeew⁹nK m⁹úṫK⁹ gṫa" bvi xi v ṽKfvṫe ṽbh⁹ZZ nb Avṫj vPbv Ki "b |

ersj vt`k bvi x Dbqb I bvi x Avf`vj b
Women's Development and Women's Movement in Bangladesh

GB cWwU cto Avcbv RvbtZ cvi teb -

- bvi x Dbqbtbi avi Yv
- ersj vt`k GbwrI cwi Pwvj Z bvi x Dbqb
- bvi x Avf`vj tbi avi Yv
- ersj vt`k bvi x Avf`vj tbi `enkó"

bvi x Dbqb

AvSRMZK cwi mti mvgwMK A_šwZK bmxZgvj vi cwieZšbi mti½ bvi x Dbqbtbi avi Yv m=umKZ| mEti i `kK K j FYXq ntiq DtiV th AvaybKxKiY cj`Iti i cšZ cŃcvZ`p nI qvq bvi xi Rb` cšZKj dj vdi vbtq Avtm| AvaybKxKiY ZtiE; ati tbqv ntiqQj th A_šwZK Dbqb I cšwxi mtdj Avcbv Avcbv PBtiq cto bvi xt`i KvQ tcšQvte| wKŠ' ev`te Zv bv nI qvq Dbqbtb bvi xt`i m=ú,3Ki tYi Dti`VM MpxZ nq| 1975 mvj tK AvSRMZK bvi xel` Ges 1976-1985 `kKtK bvi x `kK wntmte tNvl Yv Kiv nq|

Dbqbtbi MY e`MZ I e`MZ m=ct`i Dci gšY Avbv, vbtRt`i wšwpx Kiv I wmxvš cšwqvq Ask MtiYi Dci tRvi t`b|

bvi x Dbqb KgrvtU ŐDbqbtb bvi xŐ ev Women in Development (WID) bmxZ AbmZ ntiq vtiK| Dbqbtb bvi x bmxZgvj v bvi xi cšZ Kj`vYgtLx `wšF½x tcvly Kti| dtj bvi xi `v`, wKŃv, cšw, wki cwi PhP BZ`w` Kj`vYgtLx cwi Kiv MpxZ nq| GQiov bvi xtK Avq DcvRšgj K KgrvtU i mti½I hš Kiv nq| GB bmxZgvj vq mvgwRK `elg` Ges cj`ti i Zj bvq bvi xi Aa`b Ae`vb m=útiKŃKvb cšketZij v nq bv| bvi x Ges Dbqb et Women and Development (WAD) bmxZgvj vq avi Yv Kiv nq th `elg`gj K AvSRMZK Kvvtgvi tcŃvctU bvi x wclqtK wewQbŃvte t`Lvi mthvM tbB| eis avi Yv Kiv nq th DbZ t`tki Dci wšfšKj Zv Kgtj Ges AvSRMZK Kvvtgv Avti v mgZvcYŃntj bvi xi Ae`vi DbwZ NŃte| Awki `kKtK tRŪvi Ges Dbqb ev Gender and Development bmxZgvj vi D`te NtiU| GAD bvi x mgmvtK wewQbŃvte bq eis mgvR I cj`ti i mti½ m=umKZ Kti t`tL| dtj GB bmxZi gj j Ń ntiq `wvq bvi xi Aa`bZv `i Kiv| tRŪvi I Dbqb `wi t`i bvi xgtLxbZv (feminization of poverty) Zti ati Ges bvi x th `wi`ti i gta` `wi`Zg G avi Yv `uó Kti Zti| tRŪvi Ges Dbqbtbi Avti Kiu w`K nti`Q bvi xi ŃgZvqb| Awki `kKti gvšvms t`tK Dbqb cwi fvlvq ŃgZvqb (empowerment) kšwU e`vcK nti e`eüZ nq| bvi xi ŃgZvqbtbi wcltq avi Yv Kiv nq th e`MZ I Ae`MZ m=úti i Dci bvi xi wšqšY Avbv cšwqvq wbtRt`i kšwpx Kti wmxvš MtiY cšwqvq Ask MtiY KitiZ nte|

GbwrI I bvi x Dbqb

AvSRMZK chŃqi Dbqb avi Yvi tcŃvctU ersj vt`k GbwrI mgn bvi x Dbqb KgrvtU MtiY Kti| fšwgnx I `wi`ti i Dbqbtbi cšwqvq bvi xtK Dbqbtbi UvtMš Mšc wntmte wšwZ Kiv nq| `i` nq ZYgj chŃq GbwrI i tšZtiZ bvi x Dbqb I ŃgZvqb KgrvtU| `v` I cwi evi cwi Kiv KgrvtZ cšwZ bvi xi RbŃ wšqšY cšwZ MtiYi tŃtŃ AMŃwZ mwaZ nq| Ńti`

FY cKtíi dtj bixi Rb` FtYi AvciZ: `p`c`c`Zv Ktg| FtYi A_`Mtni cwimti Drcv`bgj K KvR wewbtqvm Kti m`u` AvniYi c_ mjo Kivi K_v _vKtj| KvH2: Lp dj cñ nq w| Zte Awakvsk tñtñ t`Lv hvq th FtYi A_`v`gxivB Awak e`envi Ktib| AcñZòwbK wkñv I `ññi Zv KvHtgi dtj cñZòwbK wkñv e`e`v t`_tk Sti cov bixt`i wkñv j vtfi wKQlv mthvM mjo nq| GbwRI i mPZbZv mjo KvHtgi mvgwRK `elg` I bix-cj`l `eltg`i wclqmgñ Ašf`| Gi dtj cwievi I mgvR AmgZvi w`K`uj wPwYZ Kti `j MZfvte Avtj vPvi cwimi mjo nt`Q| GbwRI i `ññv ewxi KgmPxi dtj cKñY MñtYi ci A-KwL LvZ Kgmñs`v`bi m`v`ebv `Zix nt`Q| mte`cw mvgwRK `i w`v`tm wba`i f`p GKB c` tmvcv`bi bixt`i Mòc MVtbi dtj Avšm`u`K`Dbz` nI qvi I kw`ewx cvl qvi mthvM AvtQ| cñZòwbK ivR`w`ZK KvVtgv thgb BDwbqbw cwit`i `i`Zi Ges tfvUwvKvi m`u`K`mPZbZv mjo KvHtgi GbwRI i KgmPxf`| A`bK GbwRI m`m`MYtK AvBmZ mnvqZv còvb Kti _vtK|

GbwRI KvHtgi dtj bixi e`MZ Ae`vi tñtñ wKQlv cwieZ`bi j ññY t`Lv tMj I ZYgj chñqi bixt`i Ae`vb e`tji m`v`ebv `Zix nqub| GbwRI bixi ññZvqbw KgmPxtZ GLbl GB aviYv envj AvtQ th bixi `wi`?; c`v`c`Zv I `ññZvi Afvtei `i`bB Zviv ññZvxb| A_P c`qvRb nt`Q w`v`gvb ññZv m`u`K`K c`k`e m`v`xb Kiv| KviY cwievi I mgvRi KvVtgvZ w`v`gvb AmgZv I `elg`B bixi Aa`bZv mjo Kti| AZGe mvgwRK KvVtgvMZ cwieZ` Qvov mwZ`Kvi A`_`bixi ññZvq`bi wclqU Ges bixt`cj`tl i mggh`vq cñZòvZ Kivi c`P`ov KvH`i fvte mdj Kti tZvj v`y`i|

GbwRI KvHtgi dtj bixi e`MZ Ae`vi tñtñ wKQlv cwieZ`bi j ññY t`Lv tMj I bixt`i Ae`vb e`tji m`v`ebv `Zix nqub|

bix Avt`vj b

evsj vt`tk bix Dbqbw, AvšR`w`ZK Dbqbw bxiZi Avtiwcz GKwU avi b; wKŠ` bix Avt`vj b Zv bq| evsj vt`tk bix Avt`vj tbi AvtQ wBR`^BwZvnm| Gi wKv`tki I AvtQ wBR`^aib| Zte Avt`vj tbi msAv ati wPvi KitZ tMj evsj vt`tki bixt`i j ovB mSMtgi msAvqbw h_vh_ Kiv m`e bq| thgb Avt`vj tbi wv`w` ZmE`K KvVtgv _vKv c`qvRb Ges tKŠkj wbañY Kti mvgwRK I ivR`w`ZK j ññ` AR`bi w`tk AMñi nI qv c`qvRb| evsj vt`tk bix Avt`vj tbi ZmE`K KvVtgv, tKŠkj, mvgwRK cwieZ`bi c`k`eHK`gZ` I ivR`w`ZK j ññ` mñgnwšZfvte Mto Dtv w| ti nbgv Avntg` (1985)¹ bix Avt`vj tbi Rb` wZbu c`qvRbxq kZ`ci`Yi Dci `i`Zi Avt`vc Ktib| Zvi gtZ bix Avt`vj tbi e`w`K bq, mgw`K mSMtgi ntZ nte, w`h`Zbgj K gj `teva I w`qgk`Ljvi cwieZ` KitZ nte| mSMtgi mSMVtbi gZ`w`K` w`f`E`_vKtZ nte|

evsj vt`tk A`bK bix I cj`l bix Avt`vj tbi K cj`tl i w`i`x` Avt`vj b etj gtb Ktib| Zvt`i aviYv cj`l wactZ`i w`cixtZ bix AwactZ` cñZòv bix Avt`vj tbi j ññ`| Avevi A`b`Ki KvQ bix Avt`vj b nt`Q cj`tl i gZ bixt`i mgvb Awakv`i i `vex Rvbtbv| mZi vs bix Avt`vj b nt`Q bixt`i Avt`vj b| cKZctñ cj`l wactZ`i w`cixtZ bix AwactZ` cñZòv A_`ñ GK aitbi w`h`Ztbi e`tj AvtiK aitbi w`h`Zb cñZòv bix Avt`vj tbi j ññ` bq| bix Avt`vj b bix-cj`tl i mvg` cñZòvi Avt`vj b| Avevi bix Avt`vj b tKej

¹ Ahmed Rehnema, "Women's Movement in Bangladesh and the Left's Understanding of the Women Question", *Journal of Social Studies*, No, 30, CSS, Dhaka University, 1985.

bvix`i AwaKvi Av`vtqi gra`tg mgZv cŰZŰvi Avf`vj b bq| tKej AvBbx ms`vi mvab Kti I cj`tli mgvb AwaKvi Av`vq Kivi gra`tg bvix-cj`l`elg`i Kiv bvix Avf`vj tbi j`Ű| bq| GKvi`Y bvix Avf`vj b tKej bvix`i`vex Av`vtqi Avf`vj b bq| bvix Avf`vj b bvixi Aa`bZv`K tgvKvfej v Kti Gi e`j NUv`Z Pvq| bvix Avf`vj b bvix`i Rb` Avf`vj b Ges bvix cj`tli mgv`cŰZŰv Gi j`Ű| bvix wntmte mKj bvix wbhŰZZ nl qvq bvix tkYxi Avf`vj tbi mKj bvix cŰvb Askx`vi| Zte thmKj cj`l`cj`l`wacZ`bm`v`Z Ges bvixi cwi cY`ghP v cŰZŰvq A`xKvive`x, tm mKj cj`l`l`bvix Avf`vj tbi Askx`vi n`Z cvti b|

ix Avf`vj b bvix`i
Avf`vj b Ges bvix
tli mgv`cŰZŰv Gi
j`Ű|

bvix Avf`vj tbi cŰg w`K n`Q cwi evi, KgŰŰŰ I mgv`R bvixi nxb ghP v I tkvLY wbcxob m`utK`m`PZbZv| wZxq w`K n`Q cwi evi, KgŰŰŰ I mgv`R bvixi Aa`bZvi e`j NUv`bvi j`Ű| m`PZbFite m`uq D`vM MŰY Kiv| ZZxq w`K n`Q wj`wv`EK kg wefvRb hv cj`l`tK A`wZK, ivR`wZK I mvs`wZK cwi mti ghP v AcŰ Kti Ges bvix`K M`ni cwi gŰtj Ave`x Kti tmB`elg`m`Kvix Kivv`gtv`K P`vtj`A Kiv| PZ`Z cwi evti bvixi f`igi AwaKvi, m`sv`bi Awf`fveKZ; msmv`ti mgZv, bvixi Avq, cŰRbb I kix`ii Dci w`bq`SY ARŰ, w`v`x MŰYKvix Ae`vb ARŰ BZ`w`j`Ű| cwi evti we`gvb bvix-cj`l`elg`P`vtj`A Kiv| c`AgZ A`wZK I ivR`wZK ŰlgZv Kivv`gtv, AvBbKv`b, ixwZbxwZ I gj`teva hv bvixi AaxbZv m`Kti tmB`elg`g`K ŰlgZv Kivv`gtv Dc`to tdtj mgZv weavbKvix e`v`v cŰZŰv Kiv|

evsj vt`tki bvix
Avf`vj tbi A`bK bvix
Zi bvixi c`Ű mgvR
tj`i A`xKviti Rb`
i`ZcY`Ae`vb
ti`L`Qb|

evsj vt`tki bvix Avf`vj tbi A`bK bvix e`w`Zi Zv`i tbi Z`Zi`Yvej x I bvixi c`Ű mgvR e`tj`i A`xKviti Rb`i`ZcY`Ae`vb ti`L`Qb| bvix Avf`vj tbi cŰvb w`P`K wntmte GLt`bv evsj vt`tk teMg tiv`Kqvi Ae`vb`xKZ| wZwb Ű`x Rv`Zi AebwZŰ i Pbv Kti bvixi nxb Ae`vb w`P`Z Kti b| Avevi Űmj vZvbi`cŰ`i Pbv Kti mgvR Kivv`gtvi e`tj`i gra`tg bvixi cwi cY`ghP v ARŰbi w`K w`b`Rbv cŰvb Kti b| teMg tiv`Kqvi bvix mgv`Ri`ecw`K I cŰZev`x KÉ`f mgv`Ri Kiv`Q tct`Q t`b| GKB avivewwZvq teMg, kv`gmp`vni gvngj, bj Rv`vb teMg cŰg evsj vt`tki cŰvrc`bvix`i mgv`RK Dbq`tb Gw`M`q Gt`m`Q`j`b| cieZ`Z evsj vt`tki iv`o`q tbi Z`Zi`bvix`i m`uq f`igKv cwi j`w`ŰZ nq Ges iv`t`i mte`P wbe`fx ŰlgZvq AwawZ nb`Ű cŰ`Zhkv bvix; tkL nwm`bv I teMg Lv`j`v w`Rqv evsj vt`tki cŰvb`g`sx wntmte`w`q`Zi cvj b Kti b|

HwZnwmK t`cŰŰvcU

Jcwb`tenkK kvmbvg`tj wesk kZv`xi`i`i` t`_tK 1947 mvtj fvi`Zi`v`axbZv ch` mgqKv`j bvix mgvR t`k`cŰg DŰ` n`q Dcwb`tek w`tivax Avf`vj tbi AskMŰY Kti | Gmgq eŰ bvix mSMVb Av`l`c`KvK Kti | bvix mSMVbmg`n`Ű` avivq bvix Avf`vj b`K cŰv`w`Z Kti - GK, v`axbZv Avf`vj b I`Ű, mgvR`t`mevgj K Avf`vj b| Jcwb`tenkK kvmb w`tivax Avf`vj tbi mKj aviv`ZB bvix`i AskMŰY w`Qj | D`j`L`h`v`M` n`Q`f`kx Avf`vj b, mk`w`ec` Avf`vj b, Kiv`DwbŰ I k`igK Avf`vj b, K.I.K Avf`vj b, j`ebKi cwi nvi I Av`i`Űv`j`xM`MVb BZ`w`| G mKj Kvh`Ű`gti ga`w`tq bvix Avf`vj b teMevb n`q D`v|

cwK`vbx kvmbvg`tj cte`P b`vq bvix Avf`vj b mgvR`t`mev I RvZxq g`v` mSMŰtg AskMŰt`Yi g`ta` mxgve`x w`Qj | mgvR`t`mev Avf`vj b w`j` cwi Pw`j`Z nq abx tkYxi bvix I cŰkvmbK D`Pct`

Avmxb cj "l' i ' x' i wbtq | Zv' i msMVb APWA (All Pakistan's Women's Association) tkYxMZ HK' MVb e' ZxZ `wi' a' tkYxi bvi x' i Rb' mrvv' th' i Kg' P' x' M' h' Y K' i | ga' weE' tkYxi bvi x' mgvR weifb' e' b' vix AnaKvi Av' v' t' q' i `vex D' l' v' c' b' K' i | th' g' b, AvBbMZ AnaKvi, we' k' l' Z' c' w' i' e' w' i' K' AvB' t' b' i' m' s' `v' i' K' i' c' j' `t' l' i' e' u' weevn e' t' U' i' D' t' `v' M, b' v' i' x' w' k' `l' v' i' m' t' h' v' M' e' w' x, b' v' i' x' `i' K' g' m' s' `v' b' e' w' x' B' Z' `w' | f' v' l' v' Av' t' `v' j' b' l' l' v' t' U' i' `k' t' K' G' B' A' A' t' j' i' e' v' s' j' v' f' v' l' x' R' b' t' M' v' o' x' i' R' v' Z' x' q' Z' v' e' r' `x' Av' t' `v' j' b' P' v' z' v' n' t' q' D' V' i' c' i' D' 3' Av' t' `v' j' b' `w' j' t' Z' ga' weE' b' v' i' x' mgvR A' s' f' n' t' q' c' t' o' b' | d' t' j' b' v' i' x' B' m' j' `w' j' P' v' c' v' c' t' o' h' v' q' | R' v' Z' x' q' Av' t' `v' j' t' b' b' v' i' x' `i' e' `v' c' K' A' s' k' M' h' Y' `v' K' t' j' l' e' u' `w' `b' c' h' S' Z' v' A' `x' K' Z' w' Q' j' | w' e' i' f' b' e' M' t' e' l' Y' v, Av' t' j' v' P' b' v, h' j' 3' Z' t' K' P' g' v' a' t' g' b' v' i' x' mgvR Z' v' t' `i' A' s' k' M' h' t' Y' i' `x' K' w' Z' Av' `v' q' K' t' i' b' |

RvZxqZver`x Avt`v j ga'weE' bvi x mgvR n'q c'tob/ dtj b' Bm' w'j Prcv c'to h

1971 m' v' t' j' i' g' y' 3' h' t' x' l' b' v' i' x' m' g' v' t' R' i' e' `v' c' K' A' s' k' M' h' Y' w' Q' j' | A' t' b' t' K' g' y' 3' t' h' v' x' v' w' n' t' m' t' e' t' M' w' i' j' v' e' w' n' b' x' t' Z' b' v' g' w' j' w' l' t' q' h' x' K' t' i' t' Q' b' | A' t' b' K' b' v' i' x' t' `t' k' i' t' f' Z' t' i' t' `t' K' b' v' b' v' f' i' t' e' g' y' 3' e' w' n' b' x' t' K' m' v' n' v' h' m' n' t' h' w' M' Z' v' K' t' i' t' Q' b' | A' v' i' w' e' c' j' m' s' L' `K' b' v' i' x' c' w' k' `v' b' x' t' m' b' v' e' w' n' b' x' K' Z' R' a' w' l' Z' l' j' w' A' Z' n' t' q' t' Q' b' | e' v' s' j' v' t' `t' k' i' `x' a' x' Z' v' i' c' i' j' w' A' Z' b' v' i' x' `i' l' e' x' i' v' z' b' v' o' D' c' w' a' w' `t' q' k' v' m' K' t' M' v' o' x' g' y' 3' h' t' x' b' v' i' x' i' m' K' j' A' e' `v' b' A' `k' `K' t' i' t' d' t' j' b' | e' x' i' v' z' b' v' D' c' w' a' w' `t' q' j' w' A' Z' b' v' i' x' `i' w' P' w' y' Z' K' i' v' i' d' t' j' Z' v' i' v' c' t' `c' t' `A' c' g' w' b' Z' n' b' | c' p' e' f' i' m' Z' n' t' q' Z' v' t' `i' `f' w' e' k' R' x' e' t' b' w' d' t' i' h' v' e' v' i' c' `i' `x' n' t' q' h' v' q' | A' b' `w' `t' K' A' m' s' L' ` b' v' i' x' t' h' w' e' i' f' b' e' f' i' t' e' g' y' 3' h' t' x' m' u' q' f' i' t' e' l' c' t' i' v' `l' f' i' t' e' A' s' k' M' h' Y' K' t' i' b' Z' v' i' A' e' g' j' `v' q' b' K' i' v' n' q' | b' v' i' x' Av' t' `v' j' t' b' i' g' v' a' t' g' o' g' y' 3' t' h' v' x' v' b' v' i' x' o' `x' K' w' Z' j' v' f' K' t' i' |

e' v' s' j' v' t' `t' k' i' c' w' k' `v' t' b' i' o' A' v' c' l' q' v' o' G' i' b' `v' q' D' `P' w' e' E' b' v' i' x' `i' A' b' j' f' c' m' s' M' V' b' o' g' w' j' v' m' u' g' w' Z' o' M' w' Z' n' q' | G' Z' o' Z' x' Z' c' w' k' `v' b' x' k' v' m' b' v' g' t' j' i' t' k' l' w' `t' K' M' w' Z' c' M' w' i' Z' k' x' j' b' v' i' x' `i' m' g' v' R' K' j' `v' Y' g' j' K' m' s' M' V' b' o' g' w' j' v' c' w' i' l' `o' m' u' q' n' t' q' D' t' v' | 1990 m' v' t' j' `^ `f' v' P' v' i' w' e' t' i' v' a' x' l' M' Y' Z' S' c' o' Z' o' v' i' Av' t' `v' j' t' b' l' c' t' e' P' R' v' Z' x' q' Z' v' e' r' `x' Av' t' `v' j' t' b' i' b' `v' q' b' v' i' x' m' g' v' t' R' i' A' s' k' M' n' Y' A' e' `v' n' Z' `v' t' K' | A' v' S' R' w' Z' K' f' i' t' e' b' v' i' x' `k' K' c' w' j' Z' n' l' q' v' i' m' g' q' K' v' t' j' e' v' s' j' v' t' `t' k' A' t' b' K' G' b' w' R' l' b' v' i' x' D' b' q' b' K' g' P' x' M' h' Y' K' t' i' , t' h' w' e' l' t' q' e' Z' o' v' b' c' v' t' V' i' `i' `t' Z' Av' t' j' v' P' b' v' K' i' v' n' t' q' t' Q' |

D`vi %wZK bvi xev`x Avt`v j b

m' E' i' `k' t' K' D' b' z' t' `k' m' g' t' n' b' v' i' x' e' v' `x' w' P' S' v' a' v' i' v' k' w' 3' k' v' j' x' i' f' c' j' v' f' K' t' i' | Z' v' i' g' t' a' `D' `v' i' %w' Z' K' b' v' i' x' e' v' ` , g' v' `x' i' x' q' b' v' i' x' e' v' ` , t' i' w' K' `v' j' b' v' i' x' e' v' ` l' m' g' v' R' Z' w' S' K' b' v' i' x' e' v' ` D' t' j' l' e' t' h' v' M' | e' v' s' j' v' t' `t' k' i' w' k' w' `l' Z' ga' weE' b' v' i' x' m' g' v' R' G' B' m' e' b' v' i' x' e' v' `x' w' P' S' v' a' v' i' v' o' v' i' v' c' f' w' e' Z' n' b' G' e' s' w' e' i' f' b' o' m' s' M' V' b' M' t' o' t' Z' v' t' j' b' | G' B' m' e' ga' weE' t' k' Y' x' i' b' v' i' x' t' k' Y' x' `^ `e' i' `l' v' K' i' v' l' o' b' m' s' N' v' Z' G' w' o' t' q' P' j' v' i' b' w' i' Z' A' b' y' n' i' Y' K' i' v' q' D' `v' i' %w' Z' K' b' v' i' x' e' v' `x' w' P' S' v' a' v' i' v' A' b' y' n' i' Y' K' t' i' b' | D' `v' i' %w' Z' K' b' v' i' x' Av' t' `v' j' b' b' v' i' x' i' m' c' t' `l' b' v' b' w' e' a' A' v' B' b' M' Z' , m' v' g' w' R' K' , i' v' R' %w' Z' K' l' i' v' o' t' q' m' s' `v' i' m' v' a' t' b' Z' r' c' i' n' t' q' D' t' v' | Z' v' i' v' A' b' y' e' v' e' K' t' i' b' t' h' R' v' Z' x' q' Av' t' `v' j' t' b' i' g' v' a' t' g' b' v' i' x' g' y' 3' m' a' e' b' q' | b' v' i' x' m' s' M' V' b' `w' j' i' m' g' v' b' w' a' K' v' t' i' i' `v' e' x' i' t' c' o' `l' t' Z' e' v' s' j' v' t' `k' i' v' o' a' m' i' K' v' i' x' P' v' K' i' x' t' Z' b' v' i' x' `i' R' b' `15% K' g' `m' s' i' `l' Y' l' R' v' Z' x' q' m' s' m' t' `30w' g' w' j' v' m' `m' `c' `m' s' i' `l' Y' K' t' i' | K' v' h' Z' b' v' i' x' i' c' o' Z' `w' o' f' `z' x' e' `j' b' v' n' l' q' v' q' G' e' s' c' j' "l' w' a' c' Z" e' n' v' j' `v' K' v' q' G' B' m' e' b' w' i' Z' c' f' i' v' c' y' i' c' o' q' v' M' n' q' b' v' G' e' s' b' v' i' x' i' c' t' `l' m' p' j' c' v' l' q' v' m' a' e' n' q' b' v' | b' v' i' x' i' c' o' Z' w' e' i' f' b' o' e' i' t' b' i' `g' b' c' x' o' t' b' i' w' e' i' `t' x' b' v' i' x' m' s' M' V' b' m' g' n' Av' t' `v' j' b' M' t' o' t' Z' v' t' j' | G' i' m' W' w' b' t' `l' c' , t' h' S' Z' K' , b' v' i' x' w' o' h' e' Z' b' , U' v' b' e' v' R' v' i' c' w' Z' Z' v' c' j' x' -D' t' `O' `B' Z' `w' i' w' e' i' `t' x' b' v' i' x' m' s' M' V' b' `w' j' t' m' w' `P' v' i' c' o' Z' e' v' `R' v' b' v' q' | B' D' i' b' d' i' g' d' `w' g' w' j' t' K' v' W' c' e' Z' o' l' R' v' Z' x' q' m' s' m' t' ` b' v' i' x' A' v' m' b' m' s' i' `l' Y' i' c' w' i' e' t' Z' `m' i' v' m' w' i' w' b' e' P' t' b' i' R' b' ` b' v' i' x' Av' t' `v' j' b' m' s' M' w' Z

D`vi %wZK bvi x Avt`v j b bvi x i m' c' b' v' b' w' e' a' A' v' B' b' M' Z' , m' v' g' w' R' K' , i' v' R' %w' Z' K' i' v' o' t' q' m' s' `v' i' m' v' a' t' b' n' t' q' D' t' v' |

nq| Gi dtj ivó³ thŠZK we³ivax AvBb, bvix vbh³Zb I GumW vbt³q c we³ivax AvBb c³q b Kti | vKŠ³ c³ej cj "I ZvšKZvi dtj tKej AvBb c³q b Kti bvix vbh³Zb eÜ Kiv hvq bv |

ersj vt`k cj "I ZvšK gZv`k³ tkYx tkvLY, bvix vbcxobKvix Av³mgv³RK I ivR%³oZK KvVt³gvi Avgj cwi eZ³ Kti bvix cj "I i mg³ c³ÖZövi j t³q" bvix Av³vj b Mto tZvj vi vel q vbt³q A³tbK vixev`x vPŠK tj Lv³tj vL Ki tQb | vKŠ³ GB avivi ct³q c³ÖZöZ ivR%³oZK `tj i mg³ cvl qv hvq bv (tinbgv Avntg³, 1987)² | e³R³qv`j vj c³Övj Z avb aviv vi m³t³ mg³tSivZv Kti D`vi%³oZK Ae³vb M³hY Kti | gv³ v³x`j vj g³tb Kti tkYx DrLv³Zi ga`v`³q wece³msN³UZ ntj bvix tkv³tYi I Aemv³ nte | c³KZ ct³q tkYx tkvLY eÜ ntj I cj "I ZvšKZv envj vK³tj c³KZ bvix gv³ nte bv |

v³bæetM³ P bvix Av³vj b

*ix Av³vj`vj t³bi avivq
t³M³ P bvix Av³vj b
I Av³Avj K c³ÖZer`
i "Zcy³ Ae³vb |*

bvix Av³vj b ch³fe³qYK³v³tj Avgiv Av³Av³sk mgq Av³macZ`kxj Rv³Z I tkYxi bvix Av³vj b ch³fe³qY Kti v³vk | KvY c³Övj Z aviv GB th v³bæetM³ P bvix M³tn AŠixb | ersj vt`k v³bæetM³ P bvix A³tbK mgq `Z³ÖZ³fe³ cj "I ZvšK I tkYx³fv³E³K q³gZv KvVt³gvi wei`tx tmv³Pvi ntq D³v³tQb | c³Övj Z BvZvnm GB mKj Av³vj b b³K Ac³ÖZövbK, Av³Avj K, Am³uY³ I Amsj Mæetj weaZ Kti tQ | A³P bvix Av³vj t³bi avivq v³bæetM³ P I Av³Avj K c³ÖZer` i "Zcy³ Ae³vb | Jc³v³te³nkK kvmbvgtj i tkl fv³tM D³Eie³ R³to th tZfv³Mv K³LK Av³vj b Mto D³v³Zv³Z K³LK vix³ i msM³gx kv³ i ewntc³K³vk N³tU | tZfv³Mv Av³vj t³b vix³ i R³z³ fv³gKv vQj cj "I ZvšK e³e³v I e³lg³gj K fv³g e³e³vi wei`tx | Av³ki`k³ P³ÆM³tg eÜRv³ZK tKv³u³vbxi i Bvbx c³Ö³qvRvZKiY GjvKvq bvix kv³gKMY cj "I ZvšKZvi Av³tj Mto DV³ vki c³ÖZövb I vix³ i m³v kv³ tkv³tYi wei`tx Av³vj b Mto tZvtj b | vki t³q³t³ bvbwea Av³bqg I vbh³Zb Ges bvix vnt³te vbcx³ö³bi wei`tx kv³R³vex vixMY GK ch³q ivó³q cvj k ewnbxi m³t³ msN³t³ vj B nb | Zviv eÜRv³ZK tKv³u³vbxi tkvLY eÜ Kivi j t³q" bvix kv³gK³ i tUW BDv³bq³ MV³t³bi`vex`pZvi m³t³ Z³tj at³ib |

*q³Y³ i Av³vj`vj t³bi
i m³v³q Ask M³hY
Av³tQ | vKŠ³ v³t
v³ÖZ³ Z bvix G³tR³Üv
v³q³ v³q³ | vKŠ³ v³t³bi
v³t³ i Av³vj`vj b
i "Zcy³ v³t³q DV³tQ |*

HvZvnmKfv³te ersj vt`k Qv³ i vRb³viZ RvZ³q Av³vj t³bi i "Zcy³ fv³gKv iv³tL | Qv³ i vRb³viZ³ vix³ i m³v³q AskM³hY vQj | vKŠ³ Qv³ i vRb³viZ³ bvix G³tR³Üv AŠf³ nq v³b | vKŠ³ v³t³bi c³ÖZövb³ t³v³Z A³tbK vbh³Z³bgj K Ae³vi m³t³ hv³ nq bvix al³Yi NÜbv | GgbvK tKv³ tKv³ vKŠ³ v³t³bi c³ÖZövb al³ Qv³ ve`gvb c³kvmbht³š³ Q³t³qv³q al³Yi Ötm³Ävi Drme³Ü cvj b Kti tQ | ersj vt`k mKj K³g³q³t³ vixiv thŠb nqivbxi vK³vi nb | vKŠ³ K³g³q³t³ thŠb nqivb eÜ Kivi Rb³ Kv³h³ri Dcv³q M³hY Kiv nq bv |

mivsk

ersj vt`k bvix Av³vj t³bi`xN³ BvZvnm ch³q³ vP³bi t³q GK³ v³ v³b³ö³qv³ ejv hvq th bvix mg³v³Ri j ovB m³sM³tg gj P³vj Kv kv³ n³t³Q Zv³ i tPZbv | AZ³ vP³vi, vbcxob, jv³Äbv, c³ÄÄbv, mš³vm I tkv³tYi wei`tx Av³NvZ vix³ tPZbv me³vB vix³ i g³ta`v³qv³kv³ vQj Ges Av³tQ | vKŠ³ vix³ j ovB³t³q³ tPZbv³K GK Av³fb³ej t³q" P³vj Z Kivi Rb³ gZv`k³ c³Ö³qvRb | MY³gv³ t³K HK³ ex³fv³te tmB j q³ AR³bi ct³ tel³veb Kivi Rb³ th gZv`vK³

² Avntg³ tinbgv, Öag³q gZv`k³ ersj vt`k bvix Av³vj b³, tevi v³bj³ b Lv³ Rv³v³zxi (m³cv³ Z) ersj vt`k bvix vbh³Zb, mgvR v³vi q³Y t³K³, XvKv mek³te`vj q, 1978 |

ubgP cŋqRb Zv ubigZ nq ub/ brix Dbqŋbi jŋŋ GbŋRI Kvŋŋg brix e`MZ Ae`vi
cwi eZŋ NUŋZ AvMŋx/ ŋKŠ`uj ½xq AmgZv I `elg` mŋóKvix cwi evi I mgvR Kvŋŋg e`ŋj
GbŋRI i fŋgKv tB/

cvŋVvEi gj`vqb

be`ŋŋ K cŋæ

mŋWK DEŋi i cvŋk ŋJK (√) ŋPý ŋ b -

- 1| Awki `kŋK PÆMŋŋg brix kŋgK Avŋ`vj b ŋKŋmi wei`ŋx cwi Pŋj Z nq?
K. kŋgKŋ i ŋKŋvi Awkvi bv`l qvi wei`ŋx
L. cj`l kŋgKŋ i wei`ŋx
M. evsj ŋ`k mi Kvŋi i kŋbŋZi wei`ŋx
N. cj`l ZvŋŠK Av`ŋj Mov Kvi Lvbv I brix kŋg tkvŋŋvi wei`ŋx
- 2| Rvrv½xi bMi vekŋe`vj ŋqi QvŋŋMY ŋKŋmi wei`ŋx Avŋ`vj b Mŋo ŋZŋj b?
K. cŋŋj Z ŋKŋŋv bŋZi wei`ŋx
L. Qvŋŋ i vRbŋZ eŋ Kivi wei`ŋx
M. mhv` AvBb, Qvŋŋŋ i thŋb nqivbx I alŋŋvi wei`ŋx
N. brix ŋbhŋZbKvix ŋctŋZvqvi ŋ wei`ŋx
- 3| D`PŋeE brix` i mgvRŋmev Avŋ`vj ŋbi msMVb ŋKvŋŋW?
K. gŋŋj v cwi I`
L. gŋŋj v mŋgŋZ
M. brix cŋŋŋZ msN
N. brix Dŋ`vM mŋgŋZ
- 4| brix Avŋ`vj ŋbi ŋŋŋŋ ŋKvŋŋW mŋWK?
K. brix Avŋ`vj b brix` i Avŋ`vj b
L. brix Avŋ`vj b cj`ŋl i wei`ŋx Avŋ`vj b
M. brix Avŋ`vj b brix` i Rb` Avŋ`vj b
N. brix Avŋ`vj b brix-cj`ŋl i A_ŋŋŋZK gŋŋŋ i Avŋ`vj b

msŋŋŋŋ cŋæ

- 1| evsj ŋ`ŋki gŋŋŋŋ Pj vKvŋj ŋbhŋZZ brix` i ŋexiv½Yvŋ Dcŋŋa ŋ`l qvi dŋj ŋK
mgm`v mŋó nŋŋŋŋ? gŋŋŋŋŋ brix AskMŋŋY ŋKgb ŋQj?
- 2| evsj ŋ`ŋk D`vi ŋŋŋŋZK brix Avŋ`vj b ŋviv ŋK brix Awkvi Av`vq I brix ŋbhŋZb
eŋ Kiv mŋe?

iPbvj K cŋæ

- 1| brix ŋŋgZvqb ej ŋZ ŋK tevSvq? GbŋRI i Kvŋŋŋgŋ gvaŋŋ ŋK brix cŋZ
ŋŋgZvqb mŋe? Avŋj vPbv Ki`b|
- 2| brix Avŋ`vj b ŋK cj`ŋl i wei`ŋx Avŋ`vj b? brix Avŋ`vj ŋbi ŋ Kmgŋ Avŋj vPbv
Ki`b|

ersj vř`k DŠŷB nekŷe`ij q

evsj v`tki RbmsL`v
Population of Bangladesh

evsj v`tk RbmsL`vK Dbq`bi Rb` tevSv w`mte MY` Kivi c`YZv AvtQ| wKs` f`j tM`j Pj te bv th RbmsL`v Drcv`tbi AZ`vek`Kxq Dcv`vb| A`tb`K RbmsL`vK Dbq`bi mnvqK kw³ etj l g`b K`ib| evsj v`tk A`RbmsL`vK MvZkxj Zv mjo` nqub| evsj v`tki A`RbmsL`vK AbM`ni Zvi Rb` Dbz` t`kmg`ni Dci wbf`Pkxj ntq cov GKwU eo KviY| evsj v`k t`tk w`t`tk m`u` cvPvi ntq hv`t`Q Avevi evsj v`k w`t`kx c`Y`i evRv`i cwiYZ nt`Q| Ab`w`tk evsj v`tki RbmsL`vK gibe m`u`t` ifcv`wi Z Kivi Kuh`i c`t`q|c MnxZ nqub| m`c` c`y`xf`z nt`Q GKwU q`i`^a abx tkbxi nv`Z| Drcv`bkxj Lv`Z w`b`t`q`M ew`x cvqub| A`RbmsL`vK c`w`x`tk msL`vMwi o`wi`^a RbM`Yi c`t`q| cwiPvj bv Kiv nqub| GgZve`vq RbmsL`vK`wi`^a KviY w`mte fiev nt`Q| AvSR`w`ZK ms`v`mg`ni Pvc` evsj v`tk e`vcK Rb`w`bq`SY Kgm`Px MnxZ ntq`Q| Rb`w`b`ti vaK c`x`w`Zi d`j bvi xi`^a Dci w`e`f`c c`w`v`u`q`v co`t`Q| RbmsL`v w`bq`st`Yi t`q`t` AvSR`w`ZK ms`v` I Dbz` t`kmg`ni ivRbmsL`vZi w`e`t`x`^a w`i`^a t`k`^a w`j`^a t`Z c`w`Zev`^a i`^a t`^a D`P`w`i Z nt`Q|

GB BDw`b`Ui cvW`^a w`j`^a nt`Q -

- ◆ cvW - 1 : RbmsL`v Aa`q`bi c`x`w`Zmgn
- ◆ cvW - 2 : evsj v`tk RbmsL`vi mgm`v I m`e`b`v
- ◆ cvW - 3 : bvi xi` Dci Rb`w`bq`st`Yi c`f`ve
- ◆ cvW - 4 : RbmsL`v m`t`^av`P`t`bi AvSR`w`ZK ivRbmsL`vZ I evsj v`k

RbmsL`v Aa`qt`bi c`xwZmgn
Approaches to the Study of Population

GB cvWU cto Avcbw RvbZ`Z cvi`teb -

- gjv`_v`fmi Z`Ej RbmsL`v`fK mgn`v` wntmte` wPnyZ` Kti
- gvbem`x` D`b`q`b I A`_`w`wZK D`b`q`b ntj` RbmsL`v` t`Kvb` mgn`v` bq
- cw`i`tek` wech`f`q`i Rb` RbmsL`v` e`w`x`f`K` `v`q`x` Kiv` nq
- tUKmB D`b`q`b I MbgL`x` c`KwZev` abx` f` kmgtni` t`f`Mew` Zv`f`K` `v`q`x` Kti
- bvi`xev` x` wP`S`ravi`v` RbmsL`v` w`b`q`S`Y`f`K` bvi`xi` `f`axbZv` ni`Y` etj` g`f`b` Kti

gvj`_v`fmi Z`Ej

Avcbvi`v` AeMZ` Av`f`Q`b` th` evsj`v`f``tk` f``f`ki` gvbl` ev` RbMY` w`b`q` Av`f`j`v`P`bvi` mgq` O`RbmsL`v`o` k`a`wU` e`e`u`Z` nq| GwU` msL`v`ev`PK` k`a`| Av`i` f``f`ki` RbMY` gvbl` , RbmsL`v` bq| A`f`b`f`K` g`f`b` K`f`i`b` O`RbMY`o` , O`RbmsL`v`o` n`f`q` hvl` qvi` t`c`Q`f`b` iv`R`%`w`wZK` I A`_`w`wZK` Kvi`Y` Av`f`Q`| e`Z`g`v`b` cv`f`V` Avcbvi`v` RbmsL`v` w`el` q`K` w`ew`f`b`w`P`S`ravi`v` m`x`u`f`K` RvbZ``Z` cvi``teb`|

মালথাসের মতে বৈষম্যমূলক
আর্থ সামাজিক ব্যবস্থা
নয়, জনসংখ্যার বৃদ্ধিই দারিদ্রের
কারণ।

Aov`k` kZv`x`f`Z` Bsj`v`f`U`i` Awaevmx` gvj`_`ym` wj` f`Lb` th` RbM`f`Yi` msL`v` R`w`wZK` nvti` e`w`x` cvq` Ges` c`O`Z` c`w`P`k` erm`f`i` Zv` w`o`_`b` n`f`q` hvq`| Av`i` Lv`f`v`rcv`b` M`w`Y`w`ZK` nvti` e`w`x` cvl` qvi` d`tj` m`w`U` m`j`o` nq| dj` k`O`Z`f`Z` f`l`av` , `w`i` `a` , `y`f`f` Ges` h`x` f``Lv` f``q`| Zwi` g`f`Z` `el`g`g`j`K` Av`_`m`v`g`w`RK` e`e`v` bq, Rb`hvi` e`w`x`B` `wi` f` `i` Kvi`Y`| gvj`_v`fmi` f`wel` O`v`Y`x` f`j` c`O`w`Y`Z` nq| Kvi`Y` c`f`i`i` kZv`x`f`Z`B` f``Lv` hvq` th` `f``f`i` f`l`v` I` w`k`f`l`vi` m`f`h`v`M` e`w`x` cvl` qvq, R`x`eb`h`v`i`vi` g`v`b` D`b`Z` n`l` qvq` Ges` cw`i` evi` cw`i` K`i` b`v` M`O`Y` Kiv`q` gvbl`f`i` i` Rb`h`vi` A`f`b`K` K`f`g` hvq`|

Zvici`l` gvj`_v`fmi` Z`f`E`j`i` Abymvix`f`i` msL`v` K`f`g`w`b`| 1971` m`v`f`j` g`w`i`K`O` R`x`ew`e`A`v`b`x` c`j` Gi`w`j`P` Zvi` *Population Bomb* M`O`S`'`f`q`w`i` Z`E`j`i` n`w`Ri` K`f`i`b`| Zwi` g`f`Z` c`w`_`exi` me` gvbl` f`K` Lv` `mieivn` Kivi` f`l`g`Zv` c`w`_`exi` d`wi` f`q` f`M`f`Q`| 1970` I` 1980` m`v`f`j` i` g`f`a` `c`w`_`exi` e`u` gvbl` b`v` f`L`f`Z` t`c`f`i` g`Z`ie`i`Y` K`i`te` etj` w`Z`w`b` g`Z` c`K`v`k` K`f`i`b`| w`Z`w`b` RbmsL`v`f`K` th` f`K`vb` c`K`v`f`i` n`w`m` Kivi` K`_`v` etj` b`| f``Lv` hvq` th` 1970` I` 1980` m`v`f`j` i` g`f`a` `w`l`w`e`o` K`w`l` c`x`w`Z` M`O`h`f`Yi` d`tj` Lv`f`v`rcv`b` e`w`x` cvq` Ges` RbmsL`v` t`K`vb` wech`f`q` m`j`o` K`f`i`w`b`| 1972` m`v`f`j` cv`O`v`f`Z`i` GK` `j` w`e`A`v`b`x` h`v`i`v` Club` of` Rome` b`v`f`g` cw`i` w`P`Z` Zv`i`v` wj` f`Lb` th` m`g`w`M`Z` Lv` ` , R`y`j` v`b`x` k`w`³` I` K`v`P`v`g`v`f`j` i` mieivn` n`w`m` cvl` qvi` d`tj` gvbl`f`i` `y` R`v` e`w`x` cv`f`e`| Zv`f`i` g`f`Z` G`m`f`e`i` Kvi`f`Y` `wi` `a` f``kmgtn` iv`R`%`w`wZK` D`f`E`R`b`v` m`j`o` n`te` Ges` ci`u`i` h`f`x` wj` B` n`te`| w`k`f`i`v`b`Z` f``k`_`w`j` f`Z`i` `e`f` w`k`K` m`x`u`f`i` mieivn` K`f`g` hvl` qvi` d`tj` w`k`i` D`rcv`b` w`ew`N`i`Z` n`te` Ges` d`tj` h`f`x` wj` B` n`te`|

gvj`_v`fmi` Z`f`E`j`i` Pig` e`i`nt`c`K`v`k` N`f`U` g`w`i`K`O` w`P`S`w`e`f`i` Life` boat` ethics` ev` R`x`ebi` f`l`vi` `b`w`ZK`Z`v`q`| Zv`f`i` g`f`Z` `wi` `a` f``k`_`w`j` G`g`b` t`b`S`K`v`q` P`t`o`f`Q` th` t`b`S`K`v` f`vi` e`n`b` K`i`f`Z` A`c`v`i`M`| m`j`Z`i`v`s` t`b`S`K`v` f``f`K` c`P`f`i` gvbl` c`w`b`f`Z` c`to` W`f`e` g`v`i`v` h`v`f`Q`| G` Ae`v`i` Rb` `wi` `a` f``k`B` `v`q`x`

KviY Zviv RbmsL`v wbošY KitZ e`_n̄tqtQ| th̄nZi abx t`k, uij i t̄bŠKvq wKQy`vb kb` AvtQ mZivs Zvt`i Rb` wZbwU c_ tLv̄v AvtQ| GK, Zviv hvivB t̄bŠKvq Avm̄tZ Pvc mKj t̄K `vb w̄tZ cv̄t̄i | `β, kb`vb cīt̄Yi Rb` wKQy gv̄b̄l t̄K t̄bŠKvq Zt̄j w̄tZ cv̄t̄i | wZb, KvD̄t̄KB t̄bŠKvq `vb bv w̄tZ cv̄t̄i | wPšwe` t̄ i ḡtZ Avt̄gwi Kvi Dw̄PZ n̄te ZZxq c_wU tet̄Q t̄bqv|

gv̄bem̄u` ZĒj

RbmsL`vtK gv̄be m̄u` w̄nt̄m̄te Zt̄j āti Pxb| Zviv gv̄l tm Zt̄Oi e³e` cpēl D`PPviY Kti et̄j ŪGKwU bZb RbM̄h̄Y Kiv w̄ki gv̄tb Avt̄iv` wU evom̄Z nvZ Ges evom̄Z gw̄`@/| t̄Kej Lvl̄ qvi Rb` GKwU evom̄Z ḡl bq|Ū GB avivq fvi Zxq Ab̄yn̄vix̄v et̄j b th gv̄be m̄u`ú̄t` i m̄ȳZ I cwi Kw̄i Z Db̄q̄b Kiv bv nt̄j `wi`a m̄ȳo nq| Zviv Avt̄iv et̄j b th fvīt̄Zi `wi`a cwi evi` w̄j t̄Z Awak w̄ki t̄K Awak Avq DcvR̄b̄Kiv w̄nt̄m̄te t̄ Lv̄ nq| RbmsL`vtK gv̄be m̄u` w̄nt̄m̄te hviv t̄ t̄Lb Zvt`i ḡtZ `f̄ tgqv̄t` t̄ L̄t̄j RbmsL`v ep̄x m̄u`ú̄t` i Dci Pvc m̄ȳo Kti | wKš`xN̄@tgqv̄t` ch̄f̄ēȲY Kitj t̄ Lv̄ hvq th Awak RbmsL`v m̄u`ú̄t` i NvUwZ cīt̄Yi Rb` bZb Kí bv̄k̄w̄³ I Ávb e`envi Kti `vt̄K| Zvt`i ḡtZ RbmsL`vi w̄l qwU gj` t̄eva I w̄ekt̄mi m̄t̄½ h̄ȳ³ - hv A_@w̄Zi w̄nt̄m̄te ev̄B̄ti w̄l q| t̄Kvb t̄k Awak RbmsL`v w̄b̄t̄q w̄b̄eḡv̄t̄bi R̄xeb̄hv̄cb KitZ ivRx `vt̄K̄Z cv̄t̄i | ḠtZ abx t̄ km̄ḡt̄ni bv̄K Mj vt̄bvi w̄Ksev RbmsL`v nwm Kivi Rb` Pvc t̄ evi w̄KQy t̄bB| abx t̄ km̄ḡt̄ni Kv̄Q RbmsL`v nwm Kiv th̄Šw̄³K et̄j ḡtb nt̄Z cv̄t̄i | Zvt`i h̄ȳ³t̄Z gv̄beK Av̄te`b t̄bB| Zviv t̄ L̄t̄Z cv̄b bv th `wi`a t̄ t̄ki gv̄b̄l `wi`a t̄ ḡt̄a I n̄vt̄m, Avb` Kti, f̄vj ev̄tm I c̄k̄w̄š̄t̄Z `vt̄K|

ŪGKwU bZb RbM̄h̄b Kiv w̄ki gv̄tb Avt̄iv` wU evom̄Z nvZ Ges evom̄Z gw̄`@/| t̄Kej Lvl̄ qvi Rb` evom̄Z ḡl bq|Ū

Db̄q̄b ZĒj

Db̄q̄bev̄ xt`i ḡtZ RbmsL`vtK t̄gv̄Kv̄t̄ej vi Rb` Db̄q̄bB nt`Q mēt̄P̄t̄q f̄vt̄j v m̄ḡv̄vb | Zvt`i ḡtZ Db̄q̄b nt`Q mēt̄P̄t̄q Kv̄h̄K̄i Rb̄f̄ w̄b̄t̄ivaK (contraceptive) | BD̄ti vt̄ci Av̄f̄ÁZvi Av̄t̄j vt̄K Z̄w̄ĒK̄MY RbmsL`vi w̄`w̄Zk̄xj Ae`v̄ (demographic transition) e`v̄L̄v̄ K̄tib | GB ZĒj RbmsL`vtK w̄ZbwU ch̄f̄q e`v̄L̄v̄ K̄tib | c̄Ūg ch̄f̄q Av̄yb̄K̄Zvi c̄te`R̄b̄f̄ I ḡZi nvi AZ`w̄ak `vt̄K Ges RbmsL`v w̄`i `vt̄K A_ev̄ axi M̄w̄Z̄t̄Z ep̄x cv̄q | w̄ŪZxq `t̄i R̄xeb̄ hv̄i vi gv̄b Db̄q̄t̄bi Kvi t̄y ḡZ̄n̄vi nwm cv̄q w̄Kš` R̄b̄h̄vi D`P `vt̄K | d̄t̄j RbmsL`v `Z ep̄x cv̄q | ZZxq ch̄f̄q RbmsL`v w̄`w̄Zk̄xj Ae`v̄q t̄c̄š̄t̄Q | A_@w̄ZK I m̄vḡw̄RK Db̄q̄t̄bi d̄t̄j eo cwi evi` Z̄ixi B`Qv̄ K̄t̄g hv̄q | Rb̄f̄ I ḡZ̄n̄vi m̄ḡv̄š̄iv̄t̄j `vt̄K | Ḡf̄v̄te GB ZĒj wU RbmsL`v ep̄x I A_@w̄ZK Db̄q̄t̄bi ḡt̄a` t̄bw̄Zev̄PK m̄u`ú̄t̄K̄ Dci Av̄t̄j v̄Kcv̄Z K̄tib | GB ZĒj Ab̄yn̄vt̄i f̄vīt̄Z R̄bM̄t̄Yi `f̄` I w̄K̄Ȳv w̄et̄k̄I Z̄ b̄vix̄t̄i `f̄` Db̄q̄t̄bi Dci t̄Rvi t̄ qv̄ nq | d̄t̄j ḡZ̄n̄vi nwm cv̄q | c̄k̄æAv̄tm R̄b̄h̄vi w̄K Z̄v̄nt̄j c̄Ūk̄w̄ZK f̄v̄te K̄ḡte? b̄w̄K Zv̄ K̄ḡv̄t̄bvi Rb` e`e`v̄ M̄h̄Y KitZ n̄te? cv̄ōv̄t̄Z̄i Z̄w̄ĒK̄MY e`v̄L̄v̄ K̄tib th f̄vi Z̄ w̄ŪZxq ch̄f̄q Avt̄Q Ges Zvt`i t̄K Aek`B RbmsL`v w̄b̄q̄š̄t̄Yi e`e`v̄ M̄h̄Y KitZ n̄te | f̄vīt̄Z M̄t̄el̄K̄MY ch̄f̄ēȲY K̄tib th Db̄q̄t̄bi d̄t̄j m̄vḡw̄RK `i w̄eb`v̄tm th̄me M̄j̄c D`P c` t̄m̄cv̄t̄b t̄c̄š̄t̄Q Zvt`i ḡt̄a` R̄b̄h̄vi ep̄x i j̄ ȲY t̄ Lv̄ hv̄q | m̄vḡw̄RK c` t̄m̄cv̄t̄b hviv ga` `t̄i Avt̄Qb Zvt`i ḡt̄a` R̄b̄h̄vi K̄g | Avi hviv w̄b̄e` t̄i Avt̄Qb t̄mB me `wi`a gv̄b̄l i R̄b̄h̄vi K̄ḡv̄t̄bvi t̄Kvb Z̄w̄M` t̄bB|

Db̄q̄b nt`Q mēt̄P̄t̄q Kv̄h̄K̄i Rb̄f̄ w̄b̄t̄ivaK|

cwi t̄ek w̄ech̄q̄ ZĒj

cwi t̄ek̄ev̄ xt`i ḡtZ RbmsL`v ep̄x i d̄t̄j Db̄q̄b e`v̄n̄Z nq | Zviv RbmsL`v ep̄x i d̄t̄j R̄b̄K̄j `Ȳȳḡ K̄ t̄mev̄ K̄t̄g hv̄l qvi w̄l t̄q `i`Z̄i bv̄ w̄ t̄q cwi t̄ek w̄ech̄q̄i Dci Awak `i`Z̄i

RbmsL'v epx tctj
c0KwZK m0ut' i Awak
e'envi c0qvRb nq|

Avtivc Ktib| Zvt' i gtZ RbmsL'vi Rb' c0qvRb Lv'', evm'vb, Kgms'vb, wk'qv, 'v' tmev, we'tbv' b hvi Rb' Awak fvg e'envi Kiv c0qvRb| RbmsL'v epx tctj c0KwZK m0ut' i Awak e'envi c0qvRb| GKmgq mwgZ c0KwZK m0u' dwtq tMjt' q'jav, 'wi'ª; gZi, c0KwZK wechq' I h'x teto hvte| ch'p'i Dbqab I RbMYtK Qwtq wQwtq w' t'q RbmsL'vi NbZi Kgv'bv m0e| wKs' AwZwi'ª RbmsL'v cwitek wechq' NUvte Ges Dbqab KgRvU'K Am0e Kti Zj' te| cwitekev' x' i GK Ast'ki gtZ RbmsL'v w bqšY c' t'q'c M0hY Kiv D'pZ| RbmsL'v w bqšY i Rb' Zviv bZb ch'p'i weKv'ki Dci 'i'Zi' t' b th ch'p' e'envi Kti 'ª Z RbmsL'v Kgv'bv m0e nte| Zv' bv ntj' eva'Zvgj K eU'vZKiY (sterilisation) Gi bwxZ Abm'iY Kivi c0qvRbxqZv Ztj' aiv nq| Ab' GKwJ Ask w'wZkxj RbmsL'vi nvti' i Dci t'Rvi t' b| Zte Zviv g' b Ktib t'Rvi ceR' ch'p' e'envi Kti mgvavb Avbv m0e bq| GKwJ ga'gcš' Ask RbmsL'v w bqšY i cwite'Z' RbmsL'v cwí' kí' bvi Dci 'i'Zi' Avtivc Ktib| Zvt' i gtZ RbMY, m0u', cwitek I Dbqab ci' ui' m0u' wKš' n' l' qvq m'wK cwí' kí' b' v' c'v'q' t' b' i' gra' t' g' RbmsL'v m'g' m'vi mgvavb Kiv t' t'Z cvti |

tUKmB Dbqab ZEj

DÉi tMjvta' t' k' ,uj' tZ
t'f'wMew' Zv' tekx Ges
ZvivB tekx Kie' WwB
A- vBW Drcv' b Kti |
m'Zi' vs Zvt' i t'KB K:QZv
m'vat' b' bwxZ M0hY Ki' tZ
nte|

Pigcš'k cwitekev' x' i weci' x' t' tUKmB Dbq' t' b' i' aviYv weKvk j' v' f' Kti | GB aviYv i c0' vM' t' Yi gtZ RbmsL'v epx BwZgta' B mnbkxj m'xgv'bv cvi ntq tM' t' Q| GgZve' v' q' 'u' J c_ Av' t' Q - c' w_ exi a' ysm A_ ev tUKmB f' w' e' l' ' Z' | GB aviYv tgvZvteK c' w_ exi a' ysm t' v' K' v' t' Z ntj' wZb' wJ c' t' q' c' M0hY Kiv t' t' Z cvti | GK, c0KwZK m0ut' i g' ta' th mKj e' - GKevi gv' i e'envi Kiv hvq Zv eR' B' Kti evievi e'envi Kiv hvq Ggb e' - e'envi Kiv| ' B, evievi e'envi Kiv hvq Ggb e' - ,uj' i Rb' t' I epx' i nvti' i m' t' z' m' z' w' ZcY' Kti e'envi Kiv| wZb, cwitek ' I t' Yi gv' i' v' Kvg' t' q' Avbv hv' t' Z c' K' w' Z' cwitek' v' ab Kivi ch' p' s' mgq cvq | GB wPš' v' av' i' v' q' c0' v' M' Y' c0' h' z' RbmsL'vi m' t' z' t' f' v' Mew' Zvi m0u' K' w' b' Y' q' Ktib| t' h' t' n' Z' i' D' E' i' t' M' j' v' t' a' p' t' k' ,uj' t' Z' t' f' v' Mew' Zv' tekx Ges ZvivB Kie' WwB A- vBw' m' n' Ab' v' b' ' q' w' Z' K' v' i' K' eR' Drcv' b' Kti, t' m' t' n' Z' i' Zvt' i' t' KB K: QZv bwxZ M0hY Ki' t' Z nte| c0' v' M' t' Yi gtZ c' w_ exi ce' f' v' t' M' i' t' k' ,uj' t' K' ch' p' e'envi t' ' q' Zv Av' t' Z' nte| GtZ Ryj' v' b' k' w' i' A' c' e'envi Kg nte Ges cwitek wechq' Kg nte| D' t' j' L' t' h' w' th GB aviYv wPš' we' MY ' w' q' Y' t' M' j' v' t' a' p' A_ f' ' w' i' ' t' k' ,uj' t' K' Aek' B' RbmsL'v w bqš' Y' i' b' w' Z' M0hY Ki' t' Z nte etj' gZ c' k' v' k' Ktib |

Mbgj' x I c0KwZev' x ZEj

Mbgj' x RbmsL'we' MY RbmsL'v' t' K' m' g' m' v' w' n' t' m' te MY' Ktib' b' v' | Zvt' i gtZ R' x' e' b' h' v' i' v' , w' b' i' v' c' E' v' , b' v' q' u' e' p' v' i' Awak ' i' Z' c' Y' q' RbM' t' Yi m' s' L' v' , NbZi' t' K' v' b' m' g' m' v' b' q' | Zvt' i gtZ cwitek wechq' NU' v' i' A_ ' n' t' Q' Gi m' t' z' ' w' i' 'ª Ges RbmsL'v epx' i' D' P' n' v' i' R' w' o' Z' | Avi t' m' K' v' i' t' Y' G' m' t' e' i' d' j' v' d' j' w' n' t' m' te' m' g' v' t' R' b' v' q' w' e' p' v' t' i' i' A' f' i' v' e' t' L' v' t' ' te| M' Y' g' j' x' w' P' š' w' e' ' t' i' h' p'ª n' t' Q' c0KwZK m0ut' i' Dci AwZwi'ª Pvc co' te' b' v' h' w' weKí' e' e' - v' M0hY Kiv hvq| t' h' g' b' , D' b' q' ab' ' e' l' g' m' w' o' b' v' Kti m' g' Z' v' m' w' o' K' i' t' j' Ges m0u' ' f' v' M' v' f' w' M' K' i' t' j' RbmsL'v t' K' v' b' m' g' m' v' w' n' t' m' te' t' L' v' w' ' te' b' v' | Zviv g' t' b' Ktib h' w' f' w' e' l' ' t' Z' c' w_ e' x' t' Z' L' v' ' m' i' e' i' v' n' K' t' g' hvq Zvi A_ GB th c0KwZK m0ut' i' h_ v' h_ e' e' - v' i' c' b' v' Kiv nq' w' b' | Zvi A_ GB bq' th Awak RbmsL'v' t' K' L' v' l' q' v' t' b' v' i' g' Z' c' h' p' s' ' q' l' g' Z' v' f' i' g' i' t' b' | GB aviYv f' v' i' Z' x' q' w' P' š' w' e' ' M' t' Yi' gtZ' f' i' g' I' c' w' b' i' ' p' u' o' c' ' Z' v' K' g' v' t' b' v' i' Rb' ' w' e' K' i' D' b' q' t' b' i' e' e' - v' Kiv m0e | K' w' l' Drcv' t' b' i' t' q' t' i' t' m' t' p' i' P' w' i' n' v' K' v' g' t' q' Av' t' Z' nte | th mKj' km' Drcv' t' b' Kg' c' w' b' c0qvRb' t' m' ,uj' P' v' l' Ki' t' Z' nte | Ges K' w' l' t' Z' e' w' o' i' c' w' b' e'envi Kivi c' x' w' Z' t' e' i' Ki' t' Z' nte |

cvfWĒi gj`vqb

`be⁹³K cĕæ

mWVK DĒti i cvfk WJK (v) WPy w`b -

- 1| Life boat Ethics ev Rxebi qW`bwKZKvq Avtgwi Kvi W K Kiv DwPZ etj gtb Kiv nq?
 K. mKj `wi`at`kfk mnthvMZv Kiv
 L. fKvb fKvb `wi`at`kfk mvrnh` Kiv
 M. `wi`anl qvi c_eU Kiv
 N. fKvb `wi`at`kfk mvrnh` bv Kiv

- 2| Kviv gtb Ktib th`wi`at`fk cwi tek I RbmsL`vi mgm`v mW nq abx f`kmgtni ffvMew`Zvi Kvi fY?
 K. Dbqb ZWĒKMY
 L. cwi tekev`xMY
 M. MYgtlx I cKwZev`x ZWĒKMY
 N. RbmsL`we`MY

- 3| ŐcW_extZ mKj gvbfl i cŐqvRb WgUvfbvi Rb`ht_ó m=ú` AvfQ WkŠ`mKj gvbfl i tj vf WgUvfbvi Rb`ht_ó m=ú` tbBŐ - Dw³WJ Kvi?
 K. gnvI v MvÜx
 L. gvI tmZs
 M. Kvj`gv`m
 N. Avefnvg Wj sKb

- 4| ŐGKwJ bZb RbMŏY Kiv wki`gvfb Avfiv`WJ evowZ nvZ Ges evowZ gw`⁹| tKej Lvl qvi Rb`evowZ gL`bvŐ - gvI tmZs Gi GB Dw³i A_⁹K?
 K. Avfiv Awak nvti mšvb Rbf vb Ki fZ nte
 L. RbmsL`v fKvb Ae`vfbZB fKvb mgm`v bq
 M. RbcŐZ Af`Lv`w`fq Awak RbmsL`vfk evmftq ivL fZ nte
 N. gbe m=úf`i mŏzI cwi KwI Z Dbqb Kiv ntej`wi`amW nq bv

msWfjB cĕæ

- 1| RbmsL`v wel fq cwi tekev`x`i Ae`vb Wk?
- 2| bvi xev`xMY RbmsL`v WbqšfYi wel fq Wk ai fbi gZvgZ cKvk Ktib?

iPbvj K cĕæ

- 1| gjj`vftmi ZĒj Wk? gjj`vftmi ZĒj Wk fvtē RbmsL`v wel qK avi Yvfk cfvweZ Kti fQ?
- 2| RbmsL`vfk hvi v mgm`v Wntmte gtb Ktib bv Zvf`i e³e` Avfj vPbv Ki`b|

cW - 2

evsj vɛ̃k RbmsL̃vi mǵm̃v I m̃æbev
Problems and Prospects of Population in Bangladesh

GB cvWU cto Avciwb Rvbɛ̃Z cvi ɛ̃eb -

- evsj vɛ̃k RbmsL̃vi Aẽv
- RbmsL̃vɛ̃K mǵm̃v fvevi Kvi Y
- RbmsL̃vɛ̃K gvbem̃uɛ̃ cwi YZ Kivi cŃqvRbxqZv

RbmsL̃vi Aẽv

evsj vɛ̃k emeivmKvix gvbɛ̃li msL̃v Rvbi Rb̃ ivotq Dɛ̃ vɛ̃M gvbɛ̃ MYbvi ẽẽv Kiv nq Aṽg i'gvi xi gvãtg | wKŠ̃ t̃ Lv hvq th RbmsL̃v wbaɛ̃ɛ̃Yi tɛ̃ɛ̃T AvŠRwZK ivRbxwZ KvR Kɛ̃i | cŃZ t̃m̃Kɛ̃Ń Db̃qbkxj t̃ kmǵtn KZ gvbɛ̃ Rbɛ̃ M̃hY Kɛ̃i Zv wnmve Kivi Rb̃ RwiZmstNi RbmsL̃v Niw AṽQ | tm Niwi wnmve Abɛ̃hvqx th msL̃v ṽvovq t̃m̃Uɛ̃KB RwiZmsN m̃wK msL̃v etj aɛ̃i tbq | evsj vɛ̃k eṽte gvbɛ̃ MYbvi ci th msL̃v cvl qv hvq Zv Zvɛ̃ i wekɛ̃m nq bv | G Kviɛ̃Y evsj vɛ̃k miKviɛ̃K Aṽg i'gvi xi ci RbmsL̃v GWRvó Kɛ̃i eɛ̃x Kiɛ̃Z nq | thgb 1974 m̃vɛ̃j Aṽg i'gviɛ̃Z evsj vɛ̃k i RbmsL̃v cvl qv hvq 7 t̃KwU 13 j ɛ̃ | cɛ̃i G msL̃v w̃i Kiv nq 7 t̃KwU 63 j ɛ̃ 98 nvRvi | 1981 m̃vɛ̃j Aṽg i'gviɛ̃Z RbmsL̃v cvl qv hvq 8 t̃KwU 70 j ɛ̃ 52 nvRvi | miKvi KZɛ̃ GWRvótɛ̃ɛ̃U ci GwU ṽvovq 8 t̃KwU 99 j ɛ̃ 40 nvRvi | 1991 m̃vɛ̃j Aṽg i'gviɛ̃Z RbmsL̃v cvl qv hvq 10 t̃KwU 79 j ɛ̃ 92 nvRvi 3Rb | cɛ̃i t̃m̃U GWRvó Kiv nq 11 t̃KwU 89 j ɛ̃ 95 nvRvi 5kZ 52 Rb | Gf̃vte RbmsL̃v eɛ̃x Kivi t̃cŃtb evsj vɛ̃k RbmsL̃v wẽt̃ṽiɛ̃Yi f̃wZ m̃wó Dɛ̃ɛ̃ k̃ KvR Kɛ̃i | t̃Kej evsj vɛ̃k bq, RbmsL̃v em̃otq t̃ Lvɛ̃bvi NUbv Db̃qbkxj Ab̃ṽ t̃ t̃ki t̃ɛ̃ɛ̃T I Nt̃U ṽṽK |

evsj vɛ̃k GKwU Rbeuj t̃ k, GK_v ej vi At̃c̃ɛ̃v iṽL bv | wKŠ̃ ṽṽxbZvi ci t̃ṽK AvR chŠ evsj vɛ̃k RbmsL̃v eɛ̃x i nvi 1.2% ñṽi KgtQ | 1973 m̃vɛ̃j RbmsL̃v eɛ̃x i nvi wQj em̃l ɛ̃ 3% hv ñm t̃c̃tq eZŃṽb em̃l ɛ̃ 1.75% G ṽṽotq̃tQ | Gw̃kqv gnṽṽk RbmsL̃vi w̃nt̃mte evsj vɛ̃k i Aẽṽb wQj cĀg wKŠ̃ eZŃṽb Aẽṽb ñt̃Q Iô | Gf̃vte c̃w_extZ Aóg Rbeuj t̃ k evsj vɛ̃k i Aẽṽb GLb beg |

evsj vɛ̃k gvbɛ̃ cRb̃t̃bi nvi KgtQ | 1975 m̃vɛ̃j G nvi wQj 6.34% Ges 1991 m̃vɛ̃j GwU nq 4.33% | Zte c̃tẽc̃Rbb nvi Aw̃k ṽKvq Ges eZŃṽb gZi nvi ñm cvl qvq AṽZwi ɛ̃ cRb̃t̃bi m̃æbev AṽQ | eZŃṽb 15 erm̃ti i Kg gvbɛ̃li msL̃v t̃gvU RbmsL̃vi 43% | cRbb ɛ̃lgZvi Aw̃kVix b̃vix hṽ i eqm 15 t̃ṽK 49 ermi Zviv t̃gvU b̃vix msL̃vi 46% | Rb̃w̃ṽZi m̃T Ab̃m̃ṽi Kg ɛ̃lg gvbɛ̃li eqm aiv nq 15 t̃ṽK 64 ermi | GB eqm M̃t̃ci h̃eK/h̃eZx (15 ermi) Ges ẽx (65 erm̃ti i Eɛ̃ṽ) Gi Ab̃c̃ṽZ w̃bYɛ̃q̃i gvãtg Aṽw̃Z (dependent) RbmsL̃v w̃i Kiv nq | evsj vɛ̃k 15 erm̃ti i Kg RbmsL̃v Aw̃k (43%) ñl qvq G AẽṽṽK RbmsL̃v w̃ẽ MY bonus phase ev m̃ỹeavRbK ch̃ṽq etj ṽṽKb | k̃t̃j ½vi RbmsL̃vi Aẽṽi m̃t̃½ Zj bv Kiɛ̃j w̃el q̃wU teṽSv hṽte | evsj vɛ̃k gãw̃Z (median) eqm

evsj vɛ̃k gvbɛ̃ cRb̃t̃bi nvi KgtQ | 1975 m̃vɛ̃j G nvi wQj 6.34% Ges 1991 m̃vɛ̃j GwU nq 4.33% |

ersj vt`tk 15 ermti i Kg
RbmsL`v Awak | ersj vt`k
AvMgx `B`kK bonus
phase G`vKte |

25 ermti i Kg | aviYv Kiv nt`Q ktj 1/4v 2041 mvtj i gta` ga`w`Z eqm `vovte 45 G |
Zvi gvtb tgvU RbmsL`vi c0q 50% Gi eqm 45 Ges Zvi EtaV`nte, hvi dtj AvkZ
RbmsL`v AtbK epx cvte | G w`tk ktj 1/4v 15 ermti i Kg eq`d` i msL`v 52% t`tk Ktg
2041 mvtj 24.6 G `vovte | dtj 2041 mvtj ktj 1/4v AvkZ RbmsL`v `vovte 72.5% |
RbmsL`ve`MY G Ae`vtK bonus phase t`tk burden phase G DEiY etj `vtKb |
ersj vt`k AvMgx Avtiv `B`kK hLb bonus phase-G `vKte ZLb ktj 1/4v 2006 mvtj i
ctiB burden phase G XtK cote | Zvi A`ersj vt`tki RbmsL`vtK eZgvtb Ges AvMgx
`B`kK tgvUUI Ofersv0 wntmte MY` Kiv hrte bv |

ersj vt`tk RbKvtj wki gZi nvi KtgtQ | 1973 mvtj i wnmve Abhvqx c0Z 1000 wki
Rtbh gta` 154 Rb gZi eiY KitZv hv 1991 mvtj Ktg 91 G `vovte | GKBFvte wki
gZi nvi KtgtQ thgb 1981-1991 GB `k e0ti wki gZi nvi 72 t`tk Ktg 51
ntqtQ | cte`gvbtl i gZi nvi Awak nl qvq AvqPuj 1941 mvtj 32 eri uQj hv epx tctq
1960 Gi `ktK 48 ermi ntqUj | cieZxPZ AvqPuj Avtiv epx tctq 1982 mvtj 50
ermi Ges 1991 mvtj 55 ermi Ges 1995 mvtj 58 ermi ntqtQ |

aviYv Kiv nq th ersj vt`tk gvbl cRbtbi nvi nrm cvl qvi mt1/2 RbwbqSY c`wZ M0tiYi
m`uK`AvtQ | cwimsL`vrb t`Lv hvq th cRbb qIgzv m`ub`e`u0Zt` i 3.7% 1968 mvtj
RbwbqSY e`e`v M0Y KitZb hv 1994 mvtj epx tctq 46% G `vovq | A`BwZve`MY
aviYv Ktib th RbmsL`v epxi nvi nrm cvl qvi mt1/2 gv`wvQy Avq epxi m`uK`AvtQ |
ersj vt`tk ewl R gv`v wvQy Avq 1973 t`tk 1984 mvtj 0.8% uQj hv epx tctq 1985
t`tk 1996 mvtj ewl R 2.2% ntqtQ | Zte RvZxq Avq epx Avkvbjfc nq wb |

RbmsL`vtK mgm`v fvevi KviY

ejv nq th ersj vt`tk
RbmsL`v epxi dtj `wi`
e`v cvt`Q |

ersj vt`tk RbmsL`vtK mgm`v wntmte wPwYZ Kivi tcQtb KtgKwU KviY t`Lvrbv nq | c0vbZ
ejv nq th RbmsL`v epxi KviY `wi` e`v cvt`Q | RbmsL`v epxi `i`b KwU i Dci I Pvc
e`v cvt`Q | Aver`thvM` Rwg qIz`KwZi nt`Q etj A`BwZK DchP`Zv nvi vt`Q | gv`v wvQy
Rwgi cwigvY 0.25 GKti `vovte | ersj vt`tk c0Z ermti i Lv` NvUwZi wclqU
Dtj E`thvM` | c0Z ermi c0q 15.20 j qI Ub Lv` Avg`vbx KitZ nq | RbmsL`vi NbZji
wclqU c0av` cvq | ersj vt`tk c0Z eM`wKtj wglvti 881 Rb chS emevm Ktib |
RbmsL`v epx cvt`Q etj teKvi Zj epx cvt`Q etj I aiv nq KviY tgvU kgkw3 i c0q 33%
teKvi | th nvti teKvi Zj I QU teKvi Zj evotQ tmB nvti Kgms`vb m0o nt`Q bv | ZvQrov
c0onxbZvi cwigvY epx cvt`Q | Lv` e`ZxZ `v`tmv, wKqIv, evm`vb, e` BZ`w` tgSuj K
m`thvM mjeav epx cvt`Q bv | c0KwZK m`u0t` i gta` fwg QrovI cwlb I Rvj vbx kw3 i Dci
Pvc epx cvt`Q | `wi` i KviY gv`v wvQy Avq Kg nl qvq RxebhvIvi gvb wba I mAq qIY
nl qvq Dbq`bi Rb` Avek`K gj atbi thvMvbI Kg | RbmsL`v epxi KviY gv`v wvQy Dbq`bi
mjeavI nrm cvq thgb we`jr, M`vm, tUwj tcvb BZ`w` | thgb 2000 mj chS 367 R`bi
Rb` GKwU tUwj tcvb `vKv Dbq`bi Rb` tgvUUI mjeavRbK bq |

RbmsL`vi mgm`v wntmte ersj vt`tk `wi` i ci cwitekK wPwYZ Kiv nq | ejv nq
RbmsL`vi KviY ebvAj aYsm nt`Q Ges cwlbm`u` web0 nt`Q | `Z bMivq`bi Rb`I
RbmsL`vtK `vqx Kiv nq | ersj vt`tk 1995 mvtj i wnmve Abhvqx 18% gvbl kn`ti evm
Ktib | M0g t`tk kn`ti wcyj RbmsL`v Awfemb Kivi dtj Acwi Kir Z bMivqb nl qvq kn`ti i

mřhvM mřeav eUřbi mgm`v ř`Lv ř`q| AvBb k,Lj vi AeBVZ I mřvm eř`xi Rb`I RbmsL`v eř`xřK `vqx Kiv nq|

A_řwZK AbMřhi Zvi Kvi Y RbmsL`v bq

evsj vř`k RbmsL`vřK mgm`v nřtmře ř`Lvi ř`e⁹LjR ř`LřZ nře Gř`řk A_řwZK MřZkřj Zv bv Avmvi Kvi Y ř`K| A_řwZve`MřYi gřZ Křl Drcv`řb vece, ř`kři ř`cřvi I mekřvřřř`i ve`řZ GUVB ř`řvY Kři ř`h RbmsL`v eř`x A_řwZK Dbřřřbi ř`vi ř`řř bq| AřřřK RbmaK` PıřřK A_řwZK Dbřřřbi mřvqK eřj I gřb Křib Kvi Y Zv Dbřřřbi ř`vi ř`řk mřř Kři | GK_v ř`řj ř`Mřj Pjře bv ř`h ř`křıvřřřbi ř`e`Dbřřř ř`kmgřn RbmsL`v ř`ř Zv Dbřřřbi ř`cřZeÜK nřtmře KivR KřivQj | Zivov Av_ř j ř`řmi gřřj Abřvřřřbi Dbřřřkřj ř`kmgřn ř`řvřx LvřZ veivřZ křgK mieivn ř`kř LvřZ ř`břřřřřmi gřvřřg A_řwZK Dbřřřb ř`vřřř Z Kiv hvq| ř`Kř` evsj vř`k A_řwZK MřZkřj Zv bv Avmvi Kvi Y ř`řbř` GLvřb ř`k mřvřmRK A_řwZK eřřbř` kř`řkřj x Kiv nřřřř? Drcv`řbi ř`vřřřřřřřřř ř`k křgkř`řk Qıvřřř ř`qř nřřřř? RbmsL`v eř`x ř`cřj křřveřřv ve`ř nq Ges Drcv`řb ř`křkřkřiY Avřm ř`h ř`křkřkřiY A_řwZK mřeav Avřřřř mřhvM Kři ř`q| evsj vř`kři RbMřYi gj`řeva A_řwZK Dbřřřbi ř`vi ř`řř bq| ř`Kř` G RbMřYřK ř`k ř`řb ř`křřv I ř`křřřř v ř`q`řř Kři ř`Zvj v nř`Q? GLvřb ř`řg e`e`řv veivR Křıř mekřj AmgZv| ř`Kej 6.2% Mř`řj xi ř`vř GKři i AwaK Rıřg Avřř Ges Zřiv 40% ř`řgı ř`vřj K| Ab`v ř`k ř`ř` K.L.K I ř`řgřřřbi nři ř`b ř`b eř`x ř`vř`Q| Avevi ř`kř ř`řřř e`vřřřř Křivvi ř`vřZ MřhY Kivq mřv` KřıřřMřZ nř`Q AřmsL`řKı nřřZ| be` ř`b ř`kř ř`vřřř e`vřK ř`řř mecj A_řFY Kři ř`di Z v ř`ř`Qb bv Ges Zřv`i Drcv`b eř`xi ř`cřj gřbřřřřřb ř`bB| mřvř`ři Amg eUřřbi ř`řj Dbřřřbi ř`djvřj vřvř`ři `vř`vř gřbřřři Křıř ř`cřřřř bv| GgZve`řv `vř`ř ř`cřř ř`vřřřř v ř`vřb Kři `vř`ř`i Rb`h ř`ó Dbřřřbi ř`cřřřcř Mřřř nř`Q bv| Křl ř`řřřř `eřřř Gřb kř`djvřbvi ř`křvřvř křvK mřvř, gřv, Merv`x ř`i BZ`v Drcv`řbi e`vřK ř`řřř Mřřř nq ř`b| Kvi Y mi Křiv ř`vřř ř`Kej kř` I ř`vřvř avb Drcv`řbi ř`řřK ř`kř ř`vř v ř`q`řK| A-Křl LvřZ Křgřř`řřbi e`e`v Kiv hvq ř`b| mi Křiv LvřZ e`q eř`x Kři AeKřvřřřMřZ Dbřřř Kiv nq ř`b| ř`hgb ve`řj, ř`hvMřhvM, AvBb k,Lj vřn `ř`v, ř`křřv, ř`křřřř, Mřel Yv, ř`hřř` I Z`v mieivn LvřZ Dbřřřb NUVřbv nqřb|

evsj vř`k ř`kř vřřřřř KřlUřř ř`řkř mřvř`ři mřze`envi Kři A_řwZK Dbřřř NUVřZ ř`vřřř RbmsL`v mgm`v bv nřř mřvř` ř`vi YZ nřř ř`vřř|

Ab`vř` Dbřřřkřj ř`řkř b`řv evsj vř`kři A_řwZK AbMřhi Zvi Rb`i ř`vřř ev Dbřřř ř`řkř Dci vřřřřř nřř ř`vřř GKřv eo Kvi Y| evsj vř`k ř`řř veř`řk mřv`v ř`vřř nřř hvq| Avevi evsj vř`kř gřbřřř ř`řřvř avivřK Dbřřř ř`křı ř`Drcv`řZ ř`řřı Avřřřřř ř`vi eřř Kři evsj vř`křř veř`kř ř`řřı eivřřř ř`vi YZ Kiv nřřřř| evsj vř`kři ř`křvřř I LvbR mřv`v veř`křıv Dřřřř b Kři Ges ZřivB gj`řeva ř`q| evsj vř`kři ř`vřřı gj`řeva ř`křıvB ř`K Kři ř`q| evsj vř`kř ř`křvř aivřři ř`kř nře, ř`křvř aivřři `ř` Drcv`řZ nře me ř`Křıveř`kř `vřZv ř`Mřvř ř`vi vřvřřř Z nq| ř`Kř` Ab`v ř`kř evsj vř`k ř`řř Dbřřř ř`kmgřn ř`vř` i ř`vřřı evav vřbı mřb Kiv nq bv| Gř`k ř`řř veř`řk ř`vřvřřř eivřřřřři I e`e`v ř`bB| RbmsL`vřK evsj vř`kři GKřv eo mgm`v nřtmře vřřřř Kiv Dbřřř veř`křı ř`kmgřnı GKřv ivRbřřř| evsj vř`kři ř`vřřřřř KřlUřř ř`řkř mřvř`ři mřze`envi Kři A_řwZK Dbřřř NUVřZ ř`vřřř RbmsL`v mgm`v bv nřř mřvř` ř`vi YZ nřř ř`vřř|

gřvře mřvř`ři ř`avi Yv

evsj vt`tk `wi`aRb#Mmwi
c`fA_`BwZK c`e`x`k
Pvj bv Kivi c`f`c MpxZ
nqub|

evsj vt`tk RbmsL`vtK gybem`ut` cwiYZ Kiv c`qRb| gybe Dbq`b aviYvi gj welq nt`Q-
gub| Dbq`b Povš j`f, A_`BwZK c`e`x`i Rb` gub| tkv`tYi m`u` ev gra`g bq| gybe
Dbq`b aviYv`i agv` RvZxq Avtqi c`e`x` I Avq MYbvi gra`tg f`tki Dbq`b Ae`vb
wbY`fqi GK`ctk gvcKwW t`tk tewi`q Avmvi GKwU c`P`ov| GtZ `i`ZcY`ntq D`tV mKj
gub`f`i Rb` wk`f`v, `f` cwiPh`e, Ac`p` t`tk g`p`³, wei`x cwbi wb`D`qZv BZ`w` welq|
evsj vt`tki A_`BwZw`M`tYi gtZ gybe Dbq`b m`t`z A_`BwZK c`e`x`i m`u`K`AvtQ| wkS`
evsj vt`tk `wi`aRb#Mmwi c`fA_`BwZK c`e`x`k Pvj bv Kivi c`f`c MpxZ nq ub| thgb
k`gNb wk`i c`Z`ovb, KwL Lv`Zi Dbq`b, M`g`x`b A-KwL Lv`Zi Dbq`b, `f`z`wk`i I Ac`wZ`ovbK
A_`BwZi Dbq`b NUv`bvi c`f`c MpxZ nq ub| ZvOvov miKv`ti mvgw`RK Dbq`b Lv`Z e`q
e`x` K`ti gybe Dbq`b c`P`ov`tbB| webv`tqK t`m`bi (1996)¹ GKwU M`tel Yv t`tk Rvbv hvq
th evsj vt`tk miKv`ti wk`f`v I `f` Lv`Z e`tqi djvdj abx I `wi`f`i g`ta` Amgf`v`te
e`w`Z nq| Zvi gtZ miKv`ti wk`f`vLv`Z hv e`q nq Zv`Z evsj vt`tki AwZ `wi`f`i t`P`q
abx`i fvM 14 `Y tekx| c`U`gK wk`f`v Lv`Z `wi`a`tkYxi t`g`q`f`i fwZ`nevi nvi 38%
Ges abx tkYxi 69%| miKvix `f` Lv`Zi m`f`hwM `wi`a`tkYx cvq 26% Ges abx tkYx cvq
48%, `wi`a`tkYxi t`Kej 4% Ges abx tkYxi 27% Gi `f`m`a`S`Z cvqLv`bvi e`e`v AvtQ|
M`g`v`A`tj c`j`I KwL k`g`K`f`i c`KZ gRjx (real income) Kg hw`I Zv 1973/74 m`bi
`w`bK 8 UvKv t`tk e`x` t`ctq 1993/94 m`b `w`bK 17 UvKvq DbwZ n`q`f`Q| M`g`v`A`tj bvi
k`g`K`f`i gRjx G`t`Kev`iB bMY`| evsj vt`tk wk`f`v I `f` Lv`Z miKvix e`q e`x` t`ctj I
f`Lv hvq th M`g`v`A`tj GBme tmev L`p` Kg t`c`O`vq Ges hv t`c`O`vq Zvi `Y`MZ gvb L`p` w`b`|
evsj vt`tk abx I `wi`f`i Avq `elg` Kwgtq `wi`f`i c`f`I D`P`g`vb m`u`b`e`f`mev c`U`vb Kivi
gra`tg `f` gybe m`u` m`w` Kiv m`e`|

mvi vsk

mvariYZ evsj vt`tki RbmsL`vtK A_`BwZK I mvgw`RK Dbq`b c`f` SmK wnt`mte MY` Kiv
nq| wkS` GK`v` f`tj t`M`tj Pj`te bv th RbmsL`v` Drcv`b`bi AZ`vek`Kix DcKiY| th t`Kib
f`tki `f` I K`g`f`g Rbkw`³ gj `evb c`KwZK m`u`| `Z A_`BwZK Dbq`b wb`f`P` K`ti GB
m`u`f`i m`tef`Eg e`en`v`ti i gra`tg Drcv`b`k`j Zv e`x`i Dci| Avi Drcv`b`k`j Zv wb`f`P` K`ti
f`tki RbmsL`vi c`e`x`i nvi I `f`Zv e`x`i Dci| RbmsL`v` `Z e`x` cvl`qvi A_`c`Y`
mvgM`bi P`v`v`l e`x` cvl`qv| P`v`v`v e`x`i cikvc`w`k GKB n`v`ti Drcv`b e`x` t`ctj A_`BwZK
mgm`v` m`w` nq bv Ges RbM`tYi R`ieb`h`v`i gvb| w`b` `f`i hvq bv| RbmsL`v` e`x` mgm`v` n`q
f`Lv` f`q, hLb e`w`Z RbmsL`vtK Drcv`b`g`t`x KivR j`v`M`t`bv hvq bv| ZLb f`tki t`g`v`U
Drcv`b`bi Zj`bvq RbmsL`vi c`w`i`g`v`y` te`w`k e`tj Abf`Z nq| Zvi A_`c`f`K`v`b f`tki RbmsL`v`
Kvg` RbmsL`v` A`t`c`f`v` te`w`k n`tj mgm`v`i D`m`e` nq| Kvg` RbmsL`v` n`t`Q` th RbmsL`v` v`K`f`j
c`KwZK m`u`f`i i m`tef`Eg e`en`v`ti i gra`tg GKUv` w`b`w`³ mg`t`q g`v`w`c`O`y` Drcv`b e`x` Kiv
m`e` nq| g`j`v`t`mi Z`E`j` AbjmiY K`ti t`Kej Lv`v` mvgM`t`K RbmsL`vi Abc`v`Zi m`t`z Zj`bv
Ki`f`j m`w`K w`e`f`k`Y` n`te bv| DbwZ f`k`mg`t`n Lv`v` Drcv`b` Qvovl` wk`f`v`b`q`b`i gra`tg
RbM`tYi R`ieb`h`v`i gvb e`x` Kiv m`e` n`q`f`Q Ges g`v`w`c`O`y` Avq| e`x` t`ctq`f`Q| m`Z`i`v`
evsj vt`tki t`g`v`U m`u`f`i i Zj`bvq hv` RbmsL`vi c`w`i`g`v`y` te`w`k nq Zv`n`tj G`t`K mgm`v` ej
h`f`e| Z`te RbmsL`v` e`x`i cikvc`w`k hv` evsj vt`tki Av`g`mvgw`RK Ae`v`i, wk`f`v`b`q`b,

³ Sen Binayak, "Economic Growth and Human Development in Bangladesh 1973-1995",
Journal of Social Studies, No. 74, CSS, Dhaka University, 1996.

cŰKwZK m=úř`i mřz mieivn, cřŷ³i DrKI©mvab I ivR%ŵwZK w`wZkřj Zv eRřq _řřK
Zřnj ersj vř`řki RbmsL`v řKřb mřm`v bř|

cvřVwEi gj`řqb

`beŷ³K cřkæ

mřwK DĚři i cvřk wJK (ř) wřý w`b -

- 1| RbmsL`v bonus phase G`řKři A_ŷK?
K. 40 ermři i Kg RbmsL`v AřaK nř qř
L. 30 ermři i DřaŷRbmsL`v AřaK nř qř
M. 25 ermři i Kg RbmsL`v AřaK nř qř
N. 15 ermři i Kg RbmsL`v AřaK nř qř
- 2| RbmsL`v burden phase G`řKři A_ŷK?
K. 15 ermři i Kg RbmsL`v AřaK nř qř
L. 45 ermři i DřaŷRbmsL`v AřaK nř qř
M. 25 ermři i Kg RbmsL`v AřaK nř qř
N. 35 ermři i DřaŷRbmsL`v AřaK nř qř
- 3| ersj vř`řk cŰZ eMŷKřj wřUřři KZRb evm Kři?
K. 500 Rb
L. 350 Rb
M. 881 Rb
N. 800 Rb
- 4| řŷbe Dřařřbi aři Yři gj`řel q`řK?
K. řŷbřři i Rb`řkřři e`e`ř
L. A_ŷwZK cŷřx ARŷ
M. AřařbK cřŷ³ e`envi
N. A_ŷwZK cŷřx i Rb`řŷbřř řkřl řři řŷa`g bř

mřŷřřB cřkæ

- 1| RbmsL`řřK wřřřře řŷbe m=úř` i řcvřři Z Kiv řřq?
- 2| ersj vř`řki RbmsL`řřK wř ŰřevřřŰ wřmřře MY` Kiv řřq?

i Přŷřj K cřkæ

- 1| ersj vř`řki RbmsL`vi Ae`ř eYŷř Ki`b|
- 2| ersj vř`řk A_ŷwZK AbMřři Zři Rb`řk RbmsL`v`řřq? Ařcbři DĚři i cřřř ħř³
cŰřb Ki`b|

bvixi Dci RbwbqšYi cŕve
Impact of Population Control on Women

GB cŕvŕU cŕo Avcŕb RvbtZ cvi teb -

- evsj vt`tk RbwbqšY bŕwZ
- bvixi Rb`ŕŕwZKvi K Rbwbŕivŕtai cŕwZ
- `wi`a weŕivax bŕwZ
- ŕŕz`a RŕwZŕMvôxi RbmsL`v wbqšY

RbŕwbqšY bŕwZ

RbmsL`v wbqšY mi Kvŕi i
A_ŕiv` Ab`vb` AŕbK LvZ
ŕ_ŕK tekx| G Aŕ_ŕ
wmsnfŕM weŕ`kx mŕvŕh`
ms`v ŕ_ŕK cŕŕ|

evsj vt`tk RbmsL`v wbqšY bŕwZŕK AMônaKvi ŕ`qv nq Ges Zv cŕŕqM Kiv nq RbŕwbqšY cŕwZ e`envŕi i gŕa`ŕg| mi Kvŕi i cŕwi Kí bŕv nŕ`Q 2002 mŕtj i gŕa` 60%, 2005 mŕtj i gŕa` 68% I 2010 mŕtj i gŕa` 72% `aŕwZŕK RbwbqšY cŕwZi MôhŕK cŕwi YZ Kiv| Zvi gŕvŕb cŕRbb ŕŕgZvi nvi hv 1997 mŕtj 3.40% ŕQj Zv Avŕiv Kŕgŕq 2005 mŕtj i gŕa` 2.20% Kiv| RbmsL`v wbqšY mi Kvŕi i A_ŕeiv`I Ab`vb` AŕbK LvZ ŕ_ŕK tekx| GB Aŕ_ŕ wmsnfŕM weŕ`kx mŕvŕh` ms`v ŕ_ŕK cŕŕ| ejv nŕq ŕ_vŕK th evsj vt`tk RbmsL`v cŕwi eŕZŕ nŕZ`i i` KŕŕiŕQ (demographic transition) i mi Kvŕi i j`ŕŕ` nŕ`Q 2005 mŕtj i gŕa` RbmsL`v NRR-1 chŕŕq ŕcŕŕQŕbŕv| NRR-1 GKŕw RbmsL`v ŕel qK cŕZ`q hv RbmsL`v cŕwi msL`vŕb e`eüZ nq| Net Reproduction Rate-1 ev bŕU cŕRbb nvi-1 Gi A_ŕcŕZ`K gŕvŕqi GKŕw Kŕi Kb`v mšvb ŕ_vKŕe| GB cŕZ`qŕw bŕbŕvŕŕe mgŕvŕj wPZ nŕ`Q Kvi Y GŕZ bvixi msL`v mŕwŕgZ nŕq cŕŕe| GKRb gŕvŕqi AŕbK cŕŕ mšvb ŕ_vKŕZ cŕŕi wKš` Kb`v ŕ_vKŕZ cvi ŕe bŕ| GŕZ ci eZŕŕZ mšvb Drcv` bKvixi msL`v wbqšY Kiv mŕe nŕe|

evsj vt`tk cŕŕwŕj Z gj`ŕeva RbmsL`v wbqšYi cŕŕŕ bŕq| bvixŕ`i cŕŕZôvbK ŕkŕŕvi nvi Kg| G KvŕiŕY mi Kvŕi RbmsL`v ŕel qK Z_` , ŕkŕŕv I thŕMŕhŕŕMi Dci weŕkl ŕi`Zi Avŕivc Kŕi ŕ_vŕKb| RbmsL`v wbqšY Kŕhŕŕg cŕwi Pŕj bŕi Rb` ŕ`ŕ` I cŕwi evi cŕwi Kí bŕvŕn Ab`vb` gšYŕj q thgb mgŕR Kj`vY, bvix I ŕkŕi ŕel qK, ŕkŕŕv I Z_` gšYŕj q hŕ_ó ŕŕŕgKv cvj b Kŕi ŕ_vŕK| ŕj dtjU ŕeZiY, Rŕwi Mvb BZ`w` mn ŕi wŕI, ŕUŕj ŕŕfkb, msev` cŕŕ, Pj ŕPŕ, ŕmŕgbŕi BZ`w` MYgŕa`ŕg RbmsL`v wbqšYi j`ŕŕ` e`vcK cŕŕvi Yv Pŕj vŕbŕv nq| ŕQŕU cŕwi evi I `ŕ mšŕŕbi cŕwi evŕi i `ŕŕf`x Mŕŕo ŕZŕj vB cŕŕvi Yvi gj` Dŕŕ`k`| RbmsL`v wbqšY Kŕhŕŕg cŕwi Pŕj bŕi Rb` mi Kvŕi i AeKŕvŕŕgŕMZ mŕeavl `Zix Kiv nŕŕŕQ| BDŕbqŕ I ŕ_vbŕ chŕŕq ŕ`ŕ` ŕkŕ`a cŕZôv Kiv nŕŕŕQ| Kgŕŕŕxi gŕa` cŕŕvb nŕ`Q RbwbqšY cŕwZ ev contraceptives bvixŕ`i KŕŕQ ŕcŕŕQ ŕ`qv| G Dŕŕ`ŕk` MŕŕvĀŕj 23,500 Gi Dcŕi mi Kvix gŕvKŕgŕKŕv Kŕib| mi Kvŕi i j`ŕŕ`gŕŕv Abŕvŕx GLŕŕb AŕbŕKi Pŕw`v ŕgŕŕŕv (unmet demand) mŕe nq ŕb hv ŕgŕŕŕbŕi ci bZb Pŕw`v `Zixi Kgŕŕŕx (creating new demand) MŕŕY Kiv nŕe| Zvi gŕvŕb cŕRbb ŕŕgZŕvŕŕŕŕmKj bvixi KŕŕQ RbwbqšYi DcKŕY ŕcŕŕQ ŕ`qvŕ mi Kvŕi i cŕŕvb ŕŕŕŕŕ| GZŕ`Zix mi Kvŕi i cŕj ŕDbŕqŕ ŕeŕW`Gi gŕa`ŕg bvixŕ`i ŕZb

aitbi Mōc`Zix Kiv ntqtQ| GmKj Mōtci m`m`MYtK RbWbqšY c×wZ MōY Ki tZ nq| mi Kviti cwi Kí b v nt`Q GmKj bvix`i Mōtci 1.5 wgwj qb bvix m`m`MYtK 2002 mvjt i gta` NRR-> Gi chfēq DbwZ Kiv|

mi Kvix RbmsL`v w bqšY bwZi m t½ m ½ w ZcyKti GbwRI , wj I RbWbqšYi KgfmPx MōY Kti tQ| GbwRI Gi ųi FY KgfmPxZ ZYgj chfēq th Mōc MvB Kiv nq tmmKj Mōci m`m`MYtK RbWbqšY c×wZ MōY Kivi Rb` DrmwvZ Kiv nq| mi Kvix KgfmPxi evBti tmkvj gvKfōs tcōMōg bvtg GKwU Kvhfēti Abtgv`b t`qv nq mEti i`k tKi gvSvgs| GB KgfmPxi gva`tg 40%-50% RbWbqšY ewo I KbWg wemq Kiv nq| GwU GZ mdj ntqtQ th eZgvtb Gi evRtUi 75% wemqj ä A_ų_tK Avtm|

evsj vt`k wēt`kx tKv=úvxi Rb` RbWbqšY ctY`i GKwU eo evRvti cwi YZ ntqtQ| mi Kvi th mKj RbWbqšY e`e`v cōvb Kti _vtK Zvi cōq me wēt`k t_tK Avtm| Gme e`e`vi gta` ewo (oral pill) MōtYi nvi 1997 mvjt wQj 21% hv 2001 mvjt ewx tctq nq 23%| D³ mgtq eU`vKiY (sterilization) ewx cvq 7% t_tK 11%, AvBBDwW ewx cvq 3% t_tK 5%, BbRkKvb ewx cvq 5% t_tK 7.5%| D³ mgtq Ab`vb` c×wZ hvi gta` t`kxq DcKiY AvtQ Zv nwm cvq 8% t_tK 6.5%| j ųYxq th cōq mKj RbWbqšY DcKiYi e`envi Kvix bvix| cj`I t`i gta` KbWg e`envi Kvixi nvi 1997 mtb wQj 4% hv 2001 mtb nq 7%| cj`I t`i gta` GKwU ųi` Ask eU`vKiY c×wZ MōY Kti _vtK| j ųYxq th RbWbqšY c×wZ , wj i cōq me , wj bvixi kixti cōqM Kiv nq| cj`tli kixti cōqM Kiv nq tKej tftmKUGx| KbWg e`envti cj`tli kixti tKvb ųwZ nq bv| e`vcvi Uv Ggb th bvix Mf`vi YKvix nI qvq Mf`w bqšYi mg``vqfvi Zvt`i| bvixi kixti cōqM t`hvm` RbWbqšY ewo, wj, K`vcmj, BbRkKvb BZ`w` wbtq cvōvtZ`i t`k , wj tZ hZ Mtel Yv ntqtQ cj`tli t`tn cōqM t`hvm` DcKiY Awm`vti i Rb` ZZ tPōv nq w| evsj vt`k I ivōxq bwZgvj vi gva`tg bvixi t`ntKB RbWbqšYi UvtMųU cwi YZ Kiv ntqtQ| Gi Ab`Zg KviY Ab`vb` Dbqbkj t`tki b`vq evsj vt`k mrvth`i Rb` Dbz t`kl mrvth` ms`vi Dci wbfPkj | Dbz t`k , wj tZ `Zix nq RbWbqšY mvgMō hvi mnRj f` evRvti cwi YZ nq Dbqbkj t`k mgn| AtbK mgq evsj vt`k tK mrvth` cōvb Kiv nq RbWbqšY mvgMō μtqi kZ` mvctų| dtj evsj vt`k ntq Dtv Dbz t`tki JIa tKv=úvxi RbWbqšY mvgMōi Lwi`i vi |

evsj vt`k wēt`kx tKv=úvxi Rb` RbWbqšY ctY`i eo evRvti cwi YZ ntqtQ|

RbWbqšY c×wZi ųwZKvi K w`K

evsj vt`k thme RbWbqšY c×wZ bvixiv MōY Ktib Zvi me , wj i B ųwZKvi K cvk`ēZwvqv AvtQ| G , wj e`envi Kti bvixiv bvbv aitbi `ų` mgm`vi m`š`xb nb| Gme mvgMōi gta` AtbK , wj cvōvtZ`i JIa tKv=úvxi tcōY Kti gvbet`tn cixųvi Rb` Ges evsj vt`k i bvixiv e`eüZ nb ōwMwvcmō wntmte| AtbK mgq ųwZKvi K etj wēt`k thme JIa ewZj ntqtQ tmme JIa evsj vt`k evRvi RvZ Kiv nq| Awakvsk mvgMō Dbz t`tki `ų`eZx bvix`i kwii ixK Ae`vi cwi gvtc Drcv`b Kiv nq| G , wj evsj vt`k i `wi` , cųonxb, i`Mpe KkKvq bvix`i kwii ixK Ae`vq tgvfUI cōqM t`hvm` bq| evsj vt`k th wkvj Kwg`wvnbx RbWbqšY mvgMō weZiY Ktib Zvt`i I GB e`e`v I cvk`ēZwvqv m`útk`chfē Ávb tB| Zviv bvix`i mgm`vi K_v tktvbb bv GB gtg`cųi Awf`thvM Dī wcz nq| wKš` Kg`wvnbx Pvkix nt`Q AwakmsL`K bvix`K RbWbqšYi MōnK evbv`bv| mi Kvix bwZ GtųtĀ KtVvi nI qvq Kg`wvnbx KLtbn wgv`v, cō`Ábv I cōj vftbi Avkq tbb| Avevi KLtbn cųj kx AvPiY

evsj vt`k thme c×wZ bvixiv MōY Ktib Zvi me , wj i B ųwZKvi K cvk`ēZwvqv AvtQ|

Ktib| gvVKgx[®] i eU^vKi^tYi Rb^o w^o Uv^tM^o w^oba^oY K^ti t^o qv nq| GB w^o msL^v ciY Kiv Zv^t i P^vKixi kZ^onlqvq t^rRvi Rei^o w^o I Qj P^vZix e^ox cvq| M^ogv^oA^tji b^vix^t i w^et^o kx J^ltai ^oWZKvi K w^o K m^ou^tK^oaviYv bv ^ovKvq c^ok^oYc^oo^o miKvix gvVKgx[®] i Avk^ot^om Zv^v m^ot^oRB w^ekl^om K^ti b|

bic^oU Rb^oWq^oS^oY c^ox^oWZ
b^vixi k^ti i Rb^o
^oWZKvi K| Gi w^eix^o
c^oZev^o n^tj I G c^ox^oWZ eU
Kiv nq^ob|

evsj v^t t^ok bic^oU (norplant) w^omb^ot^o w^oJK ni t^ogvb K^ovcmj b^vt^og GKw^o Rb^oWq^oS^oY c^ox^oWZ w^ot^oq c^oej c^oZev^o D^l w^ocZ nq (dwi^o v AvLZvi 1996)|¹ w^ek^o t^o ms^o v I Rv^oWm^ot^oNi RbmsL^v Zn^ow^oj bic^oU t^oK w^obivc^o I Aw^ok K^ov^oRi Rb^oWq^oS^oY e^oe^o v w^ont^ote g^ot^ob^ov^oZ K^ti | GB K^ovcmj w^oU b^vixi n^vt^oZi P^ogovi b^ot^oP X^ow^oK^ot^oq t^o qv nq Ges e^oj v nq th Gw^o c^ovP ermi ch^oS mdj f^orte M^oF^ow^ot^oiva K^oite| c^oix^oY^og^oj K^of^ovte evsj v^t t^ok Gw^o w^ek n^vRvi b^vixi t^o t^on X^oK^ov^ob^ov nq| bic^oU e^oenv^ot^oi i c^ote^oe^oenvi K^ovix^oK w^o t^oq GB g^ot^og^oGKw^o c^oZ^oq^o b^o c^ot^o t^o i K^oit^ob^ov nq th M^oh^oZ^ov GB c^ox^oWZ m^ou^tK^ot^oR^ot^ob t^o Qvq Gw^o M^oh^oY K^oit^oQb| h^o I M^oh^oZ^ov^oK e^oj v nq th t^o MZ m^og^ov n^tj Gw^o L^ot^oj t^od^oj v n^te w^oK^oS^o K^ov^oh^oZ Z^ov Kiv h^ovq b^ov| c^ov^ok^oc^oZ^ow^ou^oq^o Av^ou^ov^oS b^vix Z^ov L^oj t^oZ t^oM^ot^oj w^oZ^ob w^oZi^o z^o nb| e^oj v nq O^oA^ot^ob^oK g^oj evb c^ox^oWZ^oU^oi AcP^oq Kiv n^tQ^oU| evsj v^t t^ok bic^oU i e^oenvi K^ovixMY thm^oK^oj m^og^ov^oq f^oM^ot^oQ^ob Z^ov g^ot^oa^o Av^ot^oQ—A^ow^oe^oig i^o c^ov^oZ, g^ow^om^oK eU n^l qv, n^vZ c^v Aek n^l qv, n^vZ R^oj v^ot^oc^ovov, P^oj K^ov^ot^ob^ov, e^o v, B^ob^od^oK^okb, g^ov^o v t^oN^ov^o BZ^o w^o | evsj v^t t^ok i A^ot^ob^oK G^om^oR^oI GB c^ox^oWZ^oi w^et^ovax^oZ^ov K^ti Ges m^osev^o c^ot^o t^oj L^ov^ot^oj w^oL nq| ZeyGB ^oWZKvi K I w^ec^o R^ob^oK bic^oU b^vix^t t^on c^oix^oY Kiv nq|

evsj v^t t^ok M^oF^oev^oZ ag^ox^o w^oo^of^oz^oi K^ov^ot^oY M^oh^oY^oth^oM^o b^oq| Zey A^ot^ob^oK b^vix Rb^oWq^oS^oY e^oe^o v AK^ov^oh^oRi n^l qv w^oK^osev Ab^o t^oK^ov^o K^ov^ot^oY M^oF^oev^oZ n^tq t^oM^ot^oj M^oF^oev^oZ Kiv^o| M^oF^oev^oZ i AvB^ob^oMZ Ab^ot^og^ov^o b^o bv ^ovK^ot^oj I t^oax^ob^oZ^ov^o ci g^oy^oh^oy^oK^ov^ot^oj c^ow^oK^o v^ob^o t^omb^ov^oev^om^ob^o KZ^oR^o w^oh^oWZ^o b^vix^t i M^oF^oev^oZ i Rb^o AvB^ob^o w^ok^o j Kiv nq| w^ew^of^ob^oem^o t^o t^oK R^ov^ob^o h^ovq th 1972 m^ot^ob 4,158 Rb b^vixi M^oF^oev^oZ Kiv^ot^ob^ov nq| cieZ^ox^oZ^o miK^ov^ot^oi g^ovZ... t^o i ^oY^o v^o w^oZ^oi Aax^ot^ob M^oF^oev^oZ t^oK w^of^ob^oe b^vt^og K^ov^oh^oRi Kiv nq| c^oWZ^ow^omb^oK^of^orte Gi b^og^oK^oiY Kiv nq g^ow^om^oK w^ob^og^oZ^ow^oS^oK Kiv ev Menstrual Regulation (MR) i MR K^oit^oZ n^tj t^og^ox^ot^oK m^ot^o w^ot^oq th^oZ nq w^oK^osev t^og^ov^oi Ab^og^ow^oZ c^ot^o c^oq^ov^oRb nq| w^oK^ow^ot^oK MR Kiv^ot^ob^ov L^oe e^oq^oe^ouj | Z^ov^oQ^ovov MR c^ox^oWZ^oZ B^ob^od^oK^okb I Riv^oq^oY^oWZ^oM^o n^l qvi n^vi A^ot^ob^oK tek^o| G^om^oK^oj K^ov^ot^oY t^oj v^oKR c^ox^oWZ Ab^oym^oY K^ti t^ov^ox^oq K^ow^oe^ov^ot^oRi g^ova^ot^og M^oF^oev^oZ tek^o Kiv^ot^ob^ov nq (k^ov^og^ox^ov B^om^oj v^og, 1992)|² M^ot^oe^ol^oY^oq Av^ot^oiv R^ov^ob^ov h^ovq erm^ot^oi c^oq 8 j ^oY M^oF^oev^oZ Kiv^ot^ob^ov nq h^ov^oZ 7,800 Rb b^vix g^oZ^oie^oY K^ti b|

evsj v^t t^ok M^oF^oev^oZ i Rb^o ev^oRvi ^ovK^ovq c^ov^oo^ov^oZ^oi J^ol a t^oK^ov^ou^ov^ob^o w^oj GKw^o M^oF^oev^oZ i J^ol a evsj v^t t^ok ev^oRvi R^ovZ K^ti | Gw^oU^o b^og RU-486| c^ot^oY^o Aw^oe^oz^o GB w^oc^oj w^ot^oK AvK^ol Y^oxq K^ti Dc^o v^ocb Kiv n^tq^oQ K^ov^oY G^ot^oZ w^oK^ow^ot^oK A^ot^o v^oc^oP^ot^oi i c^oq^ov^oRb t^ob| w^oK^oS^o GB w^oc^ot^oj i e^oenvi S^om^oK^oY^oGes Gw^oU e^oenv^ot^oi i m^og^o Ges cieZ^ox^oZ A^oS^oZ P^ovi evi W^ov^o v^ot^oi i c^ov^og^ok^ot^ob^oq^o c^oq^ov^oRb| Gi D^ote^oKMY A^ot^ob^oK ai^ot^obi k^ov^oix^oK Ae^o v^oq Gw^oU e^oenvi w^obw^o x^o K^oit^oQ^ob| w^oK^oS^o evsj v^t t^ok M^og^ov^oA^ot^oj n^vmc^ov^oZ^ot^oj i m^owe^oav Ges Aw^of^oA^o W^ov^o v^oi t^ob| gvVKgx[®]MY Rb^oWq^oS^oY i Ab^o v^o e^oe^o v w^ed^oj n^tj M^oh^oZ^ov^o i M^oF^oev^oZ i w^oc^oj w^o t^oq t^o b| GB M^oF^oev^oZ i w^oc^ot^oj i c^ov^ok^oc^oZ^ow^ou^oq^oi g^ot^oa^o Av^ot^oQ- x^oN^ov^oq^o i^o c^oY^oY, ew^og, g^ov^o v t^oN^ov^o v^ot^ob^ov, W^ov^oq^o v^oq, e^o v I u^o h^ot^osi m^og^ov^o| A^ot^ob^oK M^oh^oZ^ov

¹ Akther Farida, *Depopulating Bangladesh*, Narigrantha Prabantana, Dhaka, 1996.
² Islam Shamima, *Indigenous Abortion Practitioners in Rural Bangladesh*, Narigrantha Prabantana, Dhaka, 1992.

mgggZ i³ bv w`tZ cvivq gZieiY Kti b| GB wcz wJ evRvi RvZ Kivi wei`txI ersj vt`k cŰZer` Rvvtbv ntqtQ| wKŠ`cvŰvtZ`i JIa tKv`úvbx Qvovl ersj vt`k GKtkYxi e`emvqx, wPwKrmK I RbwbqšYKgrGB qJwZKvi K wcz Avg`vbxZ j vfevb nt`Qb|

Dtj E`th, ersj vt`k RbwbqšYi tjvKR e`e`v`xNŰvj hveZ cŰvj Z AvtQ| wKŠ`Gme e`e`v` qJwZKvi K bv ntj I cvŰvtZ`i JI tai cŰZthwMZvq tm,wj gvi tL tq nwi tq hv`Q| ersj vt`k ivŰtq Df`vM cŰKwZK cwi evi cwi Kí bv tK DrmwN Z Kiv nq bv| D`vniY`tfc ersj vt`ki GKwJ GbwRI ŐKwi ZvtmŐi cŰKwZK wf`f`cúvUb c`xwZi K_v Dtj E`Kiv hvq| GB c`xwZtZ tKvb JIa, BbtRKKvb, Acvfi kvfbi SmK tbB| GtZ wKQy`f`MZ wbgg I thŠb k,Ljv tgfb RbwbqšYi mjeav cvlqv hvq| 1983 mtb ersj vt`k mi Kvi GB cŰKwZK RbwbqšY c`xwZ Abtgr`b Ki t j I 1992 mb t`tK ersj vt`k tUwj wFkfb Gi cŰvi eŰ Kti t`qv nq| cvk,cŰZwµqvnxb tjvKR I nvi evj wPwKrmvtK Dbz` Kivi Rb` tKvb Df`vM MpxZ nq vb|

ersj vt`k RbwbqšYi
tjvKR e`e`vi cvk,[®]
cŰZwµqv bv_vKtj I Zv
DrmwN Z Kiv nq bv|

RbwbqšY bwiZ`wi`a weivax bwiZ

RbwbqšY bwiZ Mixe weivax bwiZtZ cwi YZ ntqtQ| ersj vt`ki MŰgvĀtj`wi`a bvi xt`i tK RbwbqšYi UvtMŐ Kiv nq|`wi`a bvi xiv RbwbqšYi wivc`c`xwZ Pvb| wKŠ`RbmsL`v wqšKMY th mKj RbwbqšY c`xwZ wbtq`wi`f`i`i Rvq Dcw`Z nb, Zv Zvt`i kixfi Rb`SmKcyŰ Gfvt`e`wi`a`ixKi tYi bvtg Ptj`wi`a wbab I`wi`f`i RbmsL`v mstKvPb| wKŠ`wi`a`ixKi tYi Rb`hv AZ`vek`K thgb, fvg, KvR, FY, wKŰv,`f` tmev m`v Ryj vbx, wei`x`cwb`wi`f`i t`vi tMvovq tcŰtQ t`qv nq bv| RbmsL`v bwiZ bvi xtK cRbb qJgZv m`úvbtš I bvi xi`f`t`K Mt`f`f`f` cwi YZ Kiv ntqtQ| mi Kvix cwi Kí bvq bvi xi`f` m`úvK`th cwi fvlv e`eüZ nq Zv maternal health ev gvZ...`f`| dtj bvi xi`f` tmev KgŰPx cKvixšti tKej mšvb Rb`vb, MfŰbtiva, Mf`evZ BZ`w` m`úvK`Z wltq cwi YZ ntqtQ| RbmsL`v bwiZ bvi xi Awakvi cŰvtbi bvtg bvi xtK wbfZtbi wKvfti cwi YZ Kti | mi Kvix bwiZ I GbwRI bwiZtZ ejv nq RbwbqšY c`xwZ MŰtYi gva`tg bvi xi cRbb qJgZvi Dci wqšY cŰZŰvi Awakvi (reproductive rights) cŰvb Kiv nt`Q| tKvb bvi x RbwbqšY c`xwZ MŰY Ki t j ZvtK ŐAvaybKŐ, ŐmtPZbŐ BZ`w` K`vtUMwi tZ tdjv nq| RbmsL`v bwiZ ej cŰqvMKvix bwiZtZ cwi YZ ntqtQ| Kvi Y`wi`a bvi x cj`l`tK kvox, jwz, A`cŰvtbi tjvf`wltq Ges bvbwea mjeav cŰvtbi wgv`v Avkym w`tq RbwbqšY c`xwZ MŰtYi eva` Kiv nt`Q| wewfbwDbqb KgŰPxtZ AskMŰYKvix m`m` I FY MŰxZvt`i tKI RbwbqšY c`xwZ MŰtYi eva` Kiv nt`Q|

MŰgvĀtj`wi`a bvi xt`i
RbwbqšYi UvtMŐ Kiv

ejv ntq`vtK th RbwbqšY c`xwZ MŰtYi gva`tg bvi xi qJgZvqb NUvtbv nt`Q| wKŠ`cj`l`ZwšK e`e`v`Awekj envj ti tL Ges bvi x cj`l` m`úvK`cwi eZŰ bv Kti bvi xi qJgZvqb Am`e e`vcvi | ersj vt`k cj`l`i Zj bvq bvi xi Avq`wJ Kg| bvi x wki`i cŰZ Aetjvi Kvi tY GK ermi chŠ eq`v bvi x wki`i gZieiY Kti cŰZ GK nvRvti 105 t`tK 125 Rb Ges cj`l` wki`i gZieiY Kti 90 t`tK 115 Rb| GK t`tK Pvi ermi eq`v bvi x wki`i gZieiY Kti cŰZ GK nvRvti 16 Rb Ges cj`l` wki`i 13 Rb| cŰZ ermi mšvb Rb`vbKvtj 30,000 bvi x gZieiY Kti b| bvi xt`i Acvfi nvi cj`l`i Zj bvq tekx| eq`v bvi xt`i K`vj ix MŰtYi cwi gvY eq`v cj`l`i Zj bvq 29% Kg| cj`l` wki`i`i K`vj ix MŰtYi cwi gvY bvi x wki`i`i tPtq wZb`Y tekx| ZvŰvov wKŰv, KgŰs`vb mKj t`t`B bvi x`el`tg`i wKkvi |

ivLvBb ʔizʔRwZ tMvõxi
gtaʔ RbʔbqšY c×wZ Pij
Kivi dtj GB G_ubK
Mõci RbmsL v eʔcK nvti
útm cvtʔQ/

ʔizʔRwZ tMvõxi RbʔbqšY

ʔwiʔ bviʔtʔ i bʔvq ʔizʔRwZ tMvõxi wj l RbʔbqšYi wkKvi | GKwU D`vniY t`qv thʔZ
cvti |³ ivLvBb ʔizʔRwZ tMvõxiU evsj vʔʔki mgyʔZxti l cveZʔ PÆMõtg emevm Kti | Gtʔ i
msL`v axti axti AʔbK nwm tctqʔQ | ivLvBbtʔ i gvbe mæú` cwi Kí bvi Rbʔ wbr`^agriQ l
mvs`wZK weavb AvʔQ | Z_wic ivLvBbtʔ i gtaʔ RbʔbqšY c×wZ MõʔYi Rbʔ Kvhʔrg i i“
nq | gvĪ `β ermʔii gtaʔ cRbb ʔlgZvi AwKvix ivLvBb bviʔtʔ i GK PZL`sk gtaʔ
RbʔbqšY c×wZ MõY Kti | 1993 mvʔj RbʔbqšY MõYKvixi RvZixq nvi hLb wQj 40%,
ZLb ivLvBbtʔ i GB nvi wQj 69% | Zvi gvʔb cõZ wZbRb ivLvBb bviʔtʔ i `βRb th
tKvb cKvi RbʔbqšY c×wZ MõY Kti b | RbʔbqšYi Drmwn cõvʔbi Rbʔ GB KgõPxi mʔ½
Avq DcvRõ, t`v`ʔmev l t`v`mæZ cvqLvbi KgõPxiK mgyšZ Kiv nq | RbʔbqšY c×wZ
MõYKvix bviʔtʔ i gtaʔ Avq DcvRõbi Rbʔ mʔ wexb FY cõvb Kiv nq | Gfvʔe `wiʔ ivLvBb
bviʔtʔ i RbʔbqšY KgõPxi Avl Zvfʔ Kivq GB ʔizʔRwZ tMvõxi tgvU RbmsL`v eʔcK nvti
nwm cvtʔQ |

mvivsk

evsj vʔʔk miKvi eʔcK RbʔbqšY KgõPxi MõY KtiʔQ | GbwRI wj i l RbʔbqšY KgõPxi
AvʔQ | cõq mKj RbʔbqšY DcKiʔYi e`enviKvix bviʔtʔ evsj vʔʔk bviʔtʔ th mKj
RbʔbqšY c×wZ MõY Kti b Zvi me wj i B ʔwZKviK cvkʔ cõZ wZbRb AvʔQ | th mKj
RbʔbqšY DcKiY Dbz t`k mgtñ ʔwZKviK nI qvi KviʔY emZj Kiv nʔqʔQ, tm wj l
evsj vʔʔk evRviRvZ Kiv nq | evsj vʔʔki bviʔtʔ RbʔbqšY DcKiY cixʔvi Rbʔ
“wMõwcmõ wntmʔe e`eüZ nb | mvavi YZ `wiʔ bviʔtʔ RbʔbqšYi UvʔMõU cwi YZ nj |

° Peoples Perspectives, “IPPF is Targetting Tribal Community for Population Control in Bangladesh”, No. 9810, UBINIG, Dhaka, 1994.

cvfVvEi gj`vqb

`be⁹³K cĕæ

mWVK DĒti i cvfk WJK (√) wPy w`b -

- 1| Net Reproduction Rate I Gi A_9K?
 K. GKwU t0tj mšvb I GKwU tgŕq mšvb _vKŕe
 L. c0Z`K gŕtqi GKwU Kb`v mšvb _vKŕe
 M. t0tj wKsev tgŕq, `wU mšvb _vKŕe
 N. tgŕq mšvb Rbŕf vb AvKwv 9Z bq

- 2| R-U 486 wK ai`bi RbWbqšY c×wZ?
 K. cvP ermi RbWbŕivaK wcj
 L. GK ermi RbWbŕivaK wcj
 M. MfĒvŕZi JIa
 N. FZmŕe wbcwqZKiŕYi JIa

- 3| ŕKvb GbwRI c0KwZK RbWbqšY c×wZ cPvi Kŕi?
 K. e`vK
 L. Kwvi Zvm
 M. c0kKv
 N. bvi x Dŕ``vM

- 4| w0ŕæi RbWbŕivaK c×wZi gŕa` bvi xi kiŕŕi i Dci ŕKvbWji cvkĒ0Zwµqv meŕaK?
 K. I ivj wcj
 L. ŕ÷wjj vBŕRkvb
 M. bi c`wU
 N. tj vKR c×wZ

mswŕŕB cĕæ

- 1| RbWbqšY bwiZŕK `wi`ŕeŕi vax bwiZ ej v nq ŕKb?
- 2| i vLvBb 9jz`RwZŕMv0xi Dci RbWbqšŕYi wK ai`bi cŕve cot0?

i Pbv gj K cĕæ

- 1| ersj vt`ki RbWbqšY bwiZi wewfbow`K Avŕj vPbv Ki`b|
- 2| RbWbŕivaK c×wZ bvi xi kiŕŕi i Dci wK ai`bi 9wZKvi K cŕve tdŕj?
 Avŕj vPbv Ki`b|

RbmsL'v mtf'vPfb AvSRK ivRbmZ I evsj v`k
International Politics of Depopulation and Bangladesh

GB cWU cto Avcwb RvtZ cvi teb -

- evsj v`k k RbmsL'vwaK (over population) veivR Ki tQ?
- evsj v`k i RbmsL'v bmxZtZ mrvh` vZvMvxi wKfvte n`fqc Kti?
- RbmsL'v mtf'vPfb vZvMvxi gZv`k?
- RbmsL'v mtf'vPb bmxZi wei`tx`wK cZev` n`Q?

RbmsL'vwaK'i avi Yv

RbmsL'vwaK'i cwi gvc
Df'k` cYw`Z

RbmsL'vwaK' wbYfqi Rb` RbmsL'vi NbZi (population density) cwi gvc Kiv ntq _vfk| tKvb t`tk cZ eMgvtj KZ gvbl evm Kti Zv Oviv RbmsL'vwaK' I`vwi`a cwi gvc Kiv nq| GuU Df'k` cYw`Z| KviY wetk| Dbz t`kmgtn RbmsL'vi NbZi tekx ntj I tm`uj tK RbmsL'vwaK' etj wetePbv Kiv nq bv| thgb mBRvij`vU cZ eMwktj wglvfi 165 Rb I RvgvbxZ 225 Rb gvbl evm Kti | wKs' Gt`k`uj tK RbmsL'vwaK' chfq tdjv nq bv| Ab` w`tk eMvtj cZ eMwktj wglvfi 18 Rb, tKwbqv 43 Rb I fvi tZ 267 Rb gvbl evm Kti | G t`k`uj tK RbmsL'vwaK' chfq tdjv nq| tb`vij`vU cZ eMwktj wglvfi 931 Rb gvbl evm Kti Ges evsj v`k 881 Rb| wKs' tb`vij`vU i RbmsL'vi NbZi wetePbv bv Kti GuU abx t`k wntmte`fKZ| Ab` w`tk evsj v`k RbmsL'vi NbZi Kvi tY Ab`Zg`wi`a`k wntmte`PvYZ nq|

avi Yv Kiv nq th RbmsL'vi NbZi thmKj t`tk tekx tmmKj t`tkB mtf'vPfb bmxZ AbjnZ ntq _vfk| cKZctf| Gi weci vZwB NfU| GLvfb GKU mvi YtZ Z` Dc`wcz ntjv hv t`tk wv qU`uó tevSv mae nte|

RbmsL'vwaK' wbYfqi Rb` tKvb t`tki`wbfPZv ev wbr`^máú` Oviv RbmsL'vi Pwn`v ci tYi`f|gZv cwi gvc Kiv ntq _vfk| GB cwi gvc h_vh_ bq| t`Lv hvq th mBRvij`vU Ab`Zg abx t`k wntmte wetePZ ntj I GB t`kU tKej 40% Lv` Drcv`b Ki tZ m|g| cwi tek bó nI qvq tm t`tk Lv`vrcv`b epx Kiv mae bv nI qvq wecj` cwi gvY Lv` Avg`vbx Ki tZ nq| Ab` w`tk fvi tZ D0E Lv`vrcv`b mae nI qvq Zv Dbz t`kmgtn i Bvbx Kiv nq| Zey fvi ZtK RbmsL'vwaK'i t`k wntmte MY` Kiv nq| Avei`y`f|tKI RbmsL'vwaK'i cgyY wntmte`vD Kiv tV nq| A_P RvZmstNi wicvtU`NwU Z ntqtQ th cw`exi RbmsL'vi Lv`i cQvRb tglvfbvi gZ km` cw`extZ Drcw`Z nq| Mtel Yv t`tk GuU Rvbn hvq th`y`f| gvtbB Lv`i Afive ev Lv` NvUwZ bq| evsj v`k 1974 mvtj i cUq`y`f| Ae`v t`tk wetkI Z AgZ`tmfbi Mtel Yv t`tkI Rvbn hvq th`y`f| nI qvi eo Kvi Y gvbtI i`m`q`f|gZv bv`vKv| 1974 mvtj evsj v`k Lv` gRZ`vKvi ci I gvbl Abvnti gZi ei Y Kti | Kvi Y Lv` Drcw`Z ntj I evsj v`k`el`g`gj`K mgrR`e`v`q

Lv` exUb e`e`v Amg| `wiɸɸ KviɸY Kl.ɸKi Drcw` Z dmtj i , `vtg Kl.ɸKi cœkwaKvi
_vɸK bv|

mvi Yx 1 : KɸqKwU ɸ`ɸk RbmsL`vi NbZi| RbmsL`v wqšY KgŷPx

ɸ`k	RbmsL`vi NbZi (cœZ eMŷvBj)	RbmsL`v wqšY KgŷPx	ɸ`k	RbmsL`vi NbZi (cœZ eMŷvBj)	RbmsL`v wqšY KgŷPx
nsKs	14,315	bvB	bwqweqv	4	AvɸQ (BDGmGBW I RwiZmsN I `vZvMvœxi Pvc)
wm½vcj	12,347	bvB	eZɸmvqv	5	AvɸQ (`vZv ms`vmgn cwi Pwjj Z)
`wŷY ɸKwi qv	11,65	bvB	ɸŷwi Zwbqv	5	AvɸQ (`vZv ms`vmgɸni Pvc)
ɸb`vij`vŰ	931	bvB	wj weqv	6	bvB (`vZv ms`vi Pɸci wei`ɸx cœZev`)
Rvcvb	844	RbmsL`v eɸx i KgŷPx AvɸQ	ɸMeb	11	bvB (`vZv ms`vi Pvc cœZ`vL`vb)
ɸej wRqv	840	bvB	ɸm>Uŷj Avwckvb wi cvej K	12	AvɸQ (`vZvMvœxi mrvnh` eũgɸx cœKí MœY)

Drm : Peoples Perspectives No. 9, April 1994, Dhaka.

evsj vɸ ɸki RbmsL`v bœwZɸZ AvŠRœZK ms`vi n`ɸŷc

AvŠRœZK mrvnh` ms`v I `vZv ɸMvœx evsj vɸ ɸki RbmsL`vɸK mgm`v wɸɸmɸe wPwY Z Kɸi | G KviɸY Zviv evsj vɸ ɸki RbmsL`v bœwZ cœqɸb n`ɸŷc Kɸi I RbmsL`v mɸvPɸbi Rb` Pvc mɸŷ Kɸi | j ŷYxq th cœɸg œcwi evi cwi Kí bvŰ, œRbmsL`v wœlqK mɸPZbZv mɸŷŰ BZ`w` ɸk wɸɸbi gva`ɸg AvŠRœZK ms`vmgn evsj vɸ ɸk RbmsL`v wœlqK Kvhpœɸg Abyœœk Kɸi | avɸc avɸc cwi evi cwi Kí bvi e`ɸj RbmsL`v nvm bœwZ `úó nɸq Dɸv | HwZnvmKfɸe evsj vɸ ɸki `^ɸvPvix I wŷwjj Uvix kvmbvgɸj RbmsL`v nɸɸmi bœwZ mɸeœP ev`ewqZ nq| 1952 mɸɸj gwKœ mrvnh` ms`vi A`qɸb Z`vbxšb ceœcwK`vɸb temi Kvix Dɸ`vɸM RbmsL`v wqšY Kvhpœg `ii` nq| gwKœ mrvnh` ms`v International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) Gi Dɸ`k` wŷj RbmsL`v wqšɸYi cɸŷ ceœcwK`vɸbi wœwŷZ ga`wE I Gwjj Uɸ`i mg`œ Av`vq Ges Zv`i gva`ɸg miKvɸi i Dci Pvc mɸŷ| gwKœɸ`i ɸbZɸZ; RwiZmsN 1954 mɸɸj AvŠRœZK RbmsL`v mɸœŷj b Avn`yb Kɸi | GB mɸœŷj ɸb Avɸj wPZ nq th wœkɸj RbmsL`v eɸx wœkɸj mœúɸ`i Rb` ŷgKx nɸq `wœœqɸQ| 1958i ci cwK`vɸbi wŷwjj Uvix kvmK AvBœqe Lvɸbi Avgɸj wœ`kx mrvnh` ms`v mi Kvix Avgj vɸ`i RbmsL`v wqšɸYi bœwZ MœŷY cœwœZ KiɸZ mŷlg nq| AvBœqe Lvɸbi œwɸj R GBWŰ Kvhpœɸg GwU

AvŠRœZK mrvnh` ms`v I `vZvMvœx evsj vɸ ɸki RbmsL`v bœwZ cœqɸb n`ɸŷc Kɸi _vɸK|

AšfP Kiv nq Ges MōgvĀtj Dbq̄tbi brtg RbmsL̄v w̄bqšY Pj tZ _vtK | gvmK̄B mrvnh̄ ms̄v t̄dvW̄c̄dvD̄t̄Ūkvb w̄ecj At_̄P̄ thvMvb t̄ q |

IvtUi `k̄tK Kugj v̄ cj xDbq̄b GKvtWgx (BARD) Rb̄ w̄bqšY DcKiY mn̄tR w̄eZīt̄Yi Rb̄ GK̄w̄ ḡt̄Wj `Zix K̄ti | Ḡw̄ BARD Gi mgevq c̄x̄w̄Zi gvātg MōgvĀtj m̄sM̄Vb `Zix K̄ti AvajbK K̄w̄ DcKiY w̄eZīt̄Yi ḡt̄Wt̄j i Abjfc | `ēt̄`w̄kK mrvnh̄ w̄b̄f̄P̄ RbmsL̄v w̄bqšY Kv̄h̄t̄g c̄w̄K̄vb miKvi AMōaKvi c̄Ōvb K̄ti | Z̄te miKv̄t̄i i `v̄` K̄ḡm̄Px t̄t̄K RbmsL̄v w̄bqšY K̄ḡm̄Px c̄_K̄ ivLv nq | Ḡt̄Z `ēt̄`w̄kK mrvnh̄ `v̄ZvM̄t̄Yi c̄t̄q̄ RbmsL̄v w̄bqšY K̄ḡm̄Pxi Dci bRi`vix Kiv mn̄R n̄tq hvq | j̄ q̄Yxq th 1970 mvj ch̄S̄ c̄w̄K̄v̄t̄bi kvmbvgt̄j RbmsL̄v w̄bqšt̄Yi DcKiY w̄n̄t̄m̄te PjyKiv nq AvB BD w̄w̄ I eŪvKiY | Gi mn̄thvM̄x w̄n̄t̄m̄te KbWg c̄x̄w̄Z AšfP̄ nq | Gi A_̄MōgvĀtj `wi` `bvi xMȲt̄K m̄švb Rb̄ v̄t̄bi w̄el̄t̄q t̄Kvb c̄K̄vi w̄m̄x̄v̄š Mōt̄Yi m̄thvM̄ bv t̄i t̄L Zv̄t̄ i t̄ t̄n Rb̄ w̄bqšK̄ DcKiY X̄w̄K̄t̄q t̄ qv nq Ges Zv̄t̄ i c̄Rbb q̄lgZv̄ w̄PiZ̄t̄i t̄kl K̄ti t̄djv nq | MōgvĀtj i RbMȲ `Zt̄c̄Z̄P̄t̄e Rb̄ w̄bqšt̄Y Ḡw̄M̄t̄q bv Avm̄vq `wi` t̄ i ḡt̄a` A_̄Q̄ Ab̄vb̄ mrvnh̄ w̄eZiY K̄ti K̄ḡm̄Px̄w̄ Drm̄n c̄Ōvb K̄ti |

1970 mvj t̄t̄K Av̄t̄ḡwi Kvi mi Kvi Rb̄ w̄bqšt̄Y Av̄t̄iv AM̄V̄x̄ f̄vgKv̄ c̄uj b K̄ti Ges BD Gm GBW w̄ecj c̄wi gvY A_̄ēvsj v̄t̄ `k̄tK mrvnh̄` w̄n̄t̄m̄te c̄Ōvb K̄ti | R̄w̄ZmsN̄ w̄ēw̄f̄b̄w̄Db̄z̄ t̄ t̄ki A_̄q̄t̄b Rb̄ w̄bqšt̄Yi D̄t̄i t̄k̄` th Zn̄ēj M̄Vb K̄ti, t̄m Zn̄ēj t̄t̄K̄I ēvsj v̄t̄ `k̄tK At_̄P̄ thvMvb t̄ qv nq | 1971 mv̄t̄j ēvsj v̄t̄ t̄ki `v̄ax̄Zvi ci MōgvĀtj Rb̄ w̄bqšY M̄hxZv̄t̄ i Drm̄n c̄Ōv̄t̄bi brtg th A_̄c̄Ōvb Kiv n̄t̄Zv̄ t̄m̄w̄ ēw̄Z̄j n̄tq hvq | ēvsj v̄t̄ t̄k̄ 1975 mv̄t̄j w̄ḡw̄j Uvix kvmb c̄ŌZ̄w̄Z̄ n̄l qvi ci GB Drm̄n c̄Ōv̄t̄bi gvātg AvBBD̄w̄w̄ Mōt̄Yi K̄ḡm̄Px̄ c̄p̄ēw̄j nq | Rb̄ w̄bqšȲt̄K Av̄t̄iv t̄eM̄evb Kivi Rb̄ Av̄t̄ḡwi Kvi GK̄w̄ t̄Kv̄=úv̄bx Bb̄t̄RK̄kvb c̄ŌZ̄ K̄ti |

ēvsj v̄t̄ t̄k̄ m̄ḡwi K̄ kvmbvgt̄j Rb̄ w̄bqšt̄Yi Z̄te⁴ b̄m̄Z̄ ēv̄ ēv̄q̄b Kiv nq |

ēvsj v̄t̄ t̄ki GK̄w̄ t̄emi Kvix ms̄v MȲ`v̄` t̄K̄>`^a Ūw̄t̄cv̄ c̄Ōfiv̄Ō brt̄gi GB Bb̄t̄RK̄kvb b̄vix t̄ t̄n c̄l̄ek̄ Kiv̄t̄bvi ēv̄c̄K̄ K̄ḡm̄Px̄ MōȲ K̄ti | w̄w̄t̄cv̄ c̄Ōfiv̄ `v̄t̄`i Rb̄ q̄w̄Z̄Ki n̄l qvq Av̄t̄ḡwi Kvq Zv̄ w̄b̄w̄l x̄ t̄N̄w̄l Z̄ n̄t̄j m̄Kj Drcv̄ b̄ ZZ̄xq̄ w̄ēt̄k̄t̄i t̄ k̄ mḡt̄n ēv̄Rvi RvZ̄ Kiv nq | ēvsj v̄t̄ k̄ mi Kvi GB Bb̄t̄RK̄kvb P̄vj̄yiv̄Lvi Rb̄ w̄b̄t̄`R̄ c̄Ōvb K̄ti |

m̄Ēt̄i i `k̄t̄Ki t̄kl w̄ t̄K̄ Av̄t̄ḡwi Kv̄ Rb̄ w̄bqšȲt̄K Av̄t̄iv w̄ēZ̄ Kivi w̄m̄x̄v̄š MōȲ K̄ti | dj̄ k̄ŪZ̄t̄Z̄ Av̄t̄ḡwi Kvi t̄Kv̄=úv̄bx Rb̄ w̄bqšȲ Ū̄c̄j̄Ō Drcv̄ b̄ K̄ti Ges ēvsj v̄t̄ t̄k̄ ēv̄Rvi RvZ̄ K̄ti | Ḡ ch̄q̄q̄ BDGmGBW ēvsj v̄t̄ t̄k̄ Rb̄ w̄bqšȲ w̄c̄t̄j i Ōeb̄iv̄ ēBt̄q̄ t̄ ēvi b̄m̄Z̄Ō MōȲ K̄ti | GB Av̄t̄j̄v̄t̄K̄ ēvsj v̄t̄ k̄ mi K̄v̄t̄i i Rb̄ w̄bqšȲ Kv̄V̄t̄gv̄ c̄p̄w̄ē`vm̄ Kiv nq hv̄t̄Z̄ m̄Kj c̄Rbb q̄lgZv̄ m̄=úv̄b̄v̄xi Kv̄t̄Q̄ Rb̄ w̄bqšȲ DcKiY t̄c̄Ōv̄t̄bv̄ hvq | b̄vixiv̄ P̄vb̄ ēv̄ b̄v̄ P̄vb̄ Zv̄t̄ i Kv̄t̄Q̄ Rb̄ w̄bqšȲ c̄x̄w̄Z̄ n̄w̄Ri Kiv nq | w̄K̄š̄ t̄`Lv̄ hvq̄ th ēvsj v̄t̄ t̄ki b̄vix̄t̄ i `b̄w̄` b̄ R̄ieb̄ AZ̄Uv̄ m̄k̄„Lj̄ b̄q̄ ēt̄j Ges b̄v̄b̄w̄eā Kv̄t̄R̄ w̄ b̄iv̄Z̄ ē` _v̄K̄t̄Z̄ nq ēt̄j Rb̄ w̄bqšȲ ēw̄ō mḡq̄q̄Z̄ t̄m̄ēt̄bi w̄bq̄q̄ Z̄viv̄ Ab̄ȳniȲ Kīt̄Z̄ c̄v̄t̄ib̄ b̄v̄ | BDGm GB̄t̄Wi Rb̄ w̄bqšt̄Yi ēb̄iv̄ ēBt̄q̄ t̄ ēvi b̄m̄Z̄ Av̄k̄v̄bj̄fc̄ dj̄ j̄v̄f̄ b̄v̄ Kivq̄ Z̄viv̄ Av̄t̄iv̄ K̄t̄V̄vi b̄m̄Z̄ MōȲ K̄ti | ēvsj v̄t̄ t̄k̄ mi Kvi Ū̄R̄t̄iv̄ c̄c̄t̄j̄ kvb̄ t̄M̄Ō̄ ēv̄ Rb̄h̄vi kb̄` t̄Kv̄V̄q̄ b̄w̄iḡt̄q̄ Av̄b̄vi b̄m̄Z̄ MōȲ K̄ti | ēvsj v̄t̄ t̄ki K̄t̄q̄K̄w̄ w̄b̄w̄`Ō̄ Ḡj̄v̄K̄vq̄ Rb̄MȲt̄K̄ Ūv̄t̄M̄Ō̄ K̄ti Rb̄h̄vi 3% t̄t̄K̄ K̄uḡt̄q̄ P̄vi ērm̄t̄i 0% Ḡ w̄b̄t̄q̄ Av̄m̄vi Ā½̄x̄K̄vi ē`³ Kiv nq | w̄K̄š̄` GB̄ j̄ q̄` Av̄R̄Z̄ b̄v̄ n̄l qvq Av̄m̄ki `k̄t̄K̄

miKvi AtbKUv kw`gj K gtbvive wbtq 'drastic policy' ev Rbŷ wboqštY ŌZxe^a bwiZŌ ev`evqtB GmMtg hvq| 1990 mtj i gta` NRR-1 (cŧe^oe`vL`v Kiv ntqtQ) ARŧbi j tŧ` evsj vt`k miKvi Rbŷ wboqšY KvWtgvŧK Avŧiv kw³kvj x Kti Ztj | RwiZmsN I gwiKŌ mvrnh` ms`v t`tK cŧi At`P thvMvb t`qv nq| evsj vt`k miKvi RbmsL`v `Z Kwgtq Avbvi j tŧ` `B ermŧi i 'Crash Programme' ev ōRvi ceŧ cZtbi bwiZŌ MŋY Kti |

Awki `ktK evsj vt`k RbmsL`v wboqšY bwiZ ej cŌqvMKvix bwiZtZ cwiYZ nq| Gi dtj Rbŷ wboqštYi mvgwqK e`e`v thgb wcj MŋY ev KbWg e`envŧi cwi etZ^oPi`vqx e`e`vi w`tK gtbvthvM ewx cvq| wPi`vqx Rbŷ wboqštYi gta` eU`vKiY I Gg Avi (Mf^ovZ) Ges Avav`vqx e`e`vi gta` AvB BD wW BbtRKkvb cxwZ `i`Zj vŧ Kti | wek`e`vsK I BDGm GBW GmKj Kvŧŧg weŧkI Z e`vcK cŧviYvi Rb` A`^othvMvb t`q| miKvi I A`^oeiv` Kti | ewo, KbWg I tj vKR e`e`v MŋY Kti bviŧ`i mšvb tbqv ev bv tbqvi wmxvš MŋtYi th mŧhvM`v tK wPi`vqx I Avav`vqx e`e`vi gva`tg Zv wbcvZ Kiv nq| Rbŷ wboqšY bwiZ ej cŌqvMKvix ntq DŧV| GKRb gvVKgxP cŌZ wbt`R`v tK cŌZ gvŧm Kgctŧ 2wU eU`vKiY, 1wU AvBBDwW, 2Rb wcj MŋxZv, 2Rb KbWg MŋK I 1Rb BbtRKkvb MŋxZv mwŋ Kivi Rb`| e`w³ chŧq MŋxZvI MŋKt`i Drmiv cŌv tbi bŧg A`^ocŌvb Kiv nq| mvgwŋK chŧq th Gj vKvq eU`vKiY, AvBBDwW I BbtRKkvb Awak MŋY Kiv nte tm Gj vKvŧK cj^oZ Kivi KgŧPx MpxZ nq| ej cŌqvMKvix bwiZi dtj weŧkI Z `wi`^a bviMY UvŧMŧU cwiYZ nb Ges Rbŷ wboqštYi cvk^ocŌZwLqvq gviv`Kfvte ŧwZMŌ nb| BwZgta` bviXi Mf^ovZ NUvŧbvi Rb` I bviX t`tn Rbŷ wbtvavK cŌek Kivŧbvi Rb` Awak ŧwZKviK `BwU chŧ³ evsj vt`k evRviRvZ Kiv nq| beŧB Gi `ktK Rbŷ wboqštYi Rb` mrvqK cwiŧek (enabling environment) mwŋi j tŧ` gvZ`v` I wki`v` i ŧvi bwiZ `i`Zj cvq| evsj vt`k Rbŷ wboqšY bwiZ GKBFvte Ae`vN AvŧQ Ges mKj cŌRbb ŧgZv m`ubte`^o wZtK Rbŷ wboqštYi AvI Zvfŧ³ Kivi j tŧ` KvR Kiv nt`Q|

mKj cŌRbb ŧgZv m`ubte`^o wZtK Rbŷ wboqštYi AvI Zvfŧ³ Kivi j tŧ` KvR Kiv nt`Q|

RbmsL`v mstKvPtb `vZvMvŋxi gZv`k^o

RwiZmsN, wek`e`vsK, I gwiKŌ mvrnh` ms`vi RbmsL`v wboqštYi gZv`k^oewfBamgq cwi ewZŧ ntqtQ| cŌtg Rbŷ wboqštYiK Gfvte thšw³K wntmte`vŋ Kivŧbv nq th `wi`^a cwi evŧi i Aek`B mšvb msL`v KgvŧZ nte KviY Zvŧ`i m`u` Kg| hŧ³ cŌvb Kiv nq th chŧB Lv` Drcw` Z bv ntj evsj vt`k thgb `wi`^agvb| Abvnti gZeiY Kite tZgwb weŧk|Lv`vŧve t`Lv w`te| G Dŧŧk` D`P dj bkj extRi chŧ³ Pwctq t`qv nq| ejv nq th GB chŧ³tZ Pvlvev` Kitj dmj teik Drcw` Z nte| wKš`GB chŧ³i dtj evsj vt`k cwiŧetki weŧkI Z gwU, cwb, tcvKgvKo, gvQ BZ`wi`i e`vcK ŧwZ mvaZ nq| Gme w`tK `vZvMvŋxi Pig Aetnj v cŌkŧ Kti | cieZŧZ DbaŧtK A`^owZK cŧwxi mgv`ŧ wntmte`Dc`vcb Kiv nq| AvaybKxitiYi Rb` Rbŷ wboqštYiK Avek`K wntmte`vŋ Kivŧbv nq| wKš`Dbaŧtbi Rb` mŋ eo eo evamn bvbwea chŧ³ RbMbtK Rignviv I ev`nviv Kti | t`Lv hvq th cŧw` ntj Aeawi Zfvte gvbe Dbaŧb nq bv| A`^owZK `elg` ewx cvl qvq, mŧg eUv bv nl qvq Ges mvgwRK b`vq wePvi cŌZwŋZ bv nl qvq `wi`^a Avŧiv ewx cvq| Zvici `vZvMvŋxi gZv`k^oGB etj cŧwi Z nq th `wi`^a KivŧY cwiŧek bŋ nq Ges weŧkŧi cwiŧektK evPvZ ntj `wi`^a t`ŧki `wi`^a RbtMvŋtK Rbŷ wboqšY KitZ nte| wKš`axti axti GwU `úŋ ntqtQ th AwZwi³ tfvMew`Zvi KivŧY wktivrcv`b ewx cvl qvq I AwZwi³ Ryjvbx tcvovŧbvi Rb` weŧkŧi cwiŧek ūgKxi m`ŧLxb ntqtQ| meŧkŧI `vZvMvŋmgŧni gZv`k^oDc`wicZ ntqtQ th

cvřVvĚi gj`vqb

`beŷ³K cĕke

mıWK DĚři i cvřk WJK (√) WPy w`b -

- 1| Z`vbxŠb ceĕcwK`vřb Kvř` i Dř`vřM cĕg RbmsL`v wqšY Kvhřg i i` nq?
K. cwK`vi mi Kvi
L. řemi Kvi x Dř`vřM
M. RwiZmsN
N. cĕř`wkK mi Kvi

- 2| RbmsL`v wqšřY Őeb`v eBřq ř`evi bwiZŐ Gi A_ŷK WQj ?
K. RbřwqšřY weliřq mKj cř`l l bviřřK mřPZb Kiv
L. RbřwqšřY wřj cĕZw cĕRbb řřgZvm`ubřbvi xi KvřQ řcŠQvřbv
M. RbřwqšřY weliřq MYgva`řg cĕřvi
N. RbřwqšřY MřxZřř` i Drmvr cĕvřbi Rb` Abř vb

- 3| ersj vř`k mi Kvi RbřwqšřY ŐZre`bwiZŐ ev`evqřbi Rb` wK c`řřc MřY Kři ?
K. e`vcK cĕřvi bvi řřj vřbvi c`řřc
L. RbmsL`v Kgr`ewx Kivi c`řřc
M. wřřiv cĕřř kb řMŐ ev Rbřvi kbřřKivřq bwiřřq Avřvi c`řřc
N. RbřwqšřY wřj řřgřř` wemřři c`řřc

- 4| ersj vř`řki RbřwqšřY řKvb ř`k meřřaK A_řvrh` cĕvb Kři ?
K. KvbWv
L. eřřUb
M. gwiKß hřř i vŏ`
N. Ařř`řř qv

mswřřß cĕke

- 1| RbmsL`waK` wK?
- 2| RbmsL`v mřřvřřbi wei`řx wK aiřbi cĕZev` Dř wcz nř`Q?

iPbvj K cĕke

- 1| RbmsL`v wqšřYi Rb` `vZřřMvřx wK aiřbi hřř cĕvb Kři? `vZřřMvřxi cĕvb Dřř`k` wK?
- 2| ersj vř`řk RbmsL`v wqšřY bwiZřř řKb AřřřK ej cĕqMkvix bwiZ wřřřmř AvL`wqZ Křib? ersj vř`řki RbmsL`v wqšřřY AvřřRřřK ms`řmgn wK aiřbi Pvc cĕqM Kři Avřř vřřvi Ki`b|

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