

evsj v`tk hkvci v`tai wePvi
MYAv`vj Z 1992: wd`ti t`Lv I gj`vqb
wgj v`Z trnmvBb

0... judges exist everywhere. It is for the peoples of the world and in particular, the American people that we are working.0

-Ru-cj mvl`mPbv e`e` i v`tmj U`Bejbrj , 1966

0GKvE`ti i NvZK `vj vj wbg` KuglU tNvlYv Kti`0 AvMvgx 26 gvP`1992 cKvk` MYAv`vj tZ tMjvg AvRtgi wePvi nte| GB MYAv`vj Z t`tki cPvj Z Av`vj tZi cAZ tKvb P`vtj A bq, `vaxbZvi kI` GB NvZKt` i wei`tx RbMtYi ivq tNvlYvi Rb`B GB Av`vj Z MVb Kiv n`Q|0

N Rvrvbivi Bgvg, wbg` KuglU tNvlYv, 10 tde`qwi 1992

0The World Tribunal on Iraq places its faith in the consciences of millions of people cross the world who do not wish to stand by and watch while the people of Iraq are being slaughtered, subjugated, and humiliated.0

NAi`U`Zx ivq, mPbv e`e`, BivK U`Bejbrj , 24 Rp 2005

0miKvi hw` wePvi Kitz e`_`nq Zvntj gy`thv`v msm` MYAv`vj Z MVb Kti tMjvg AvRgmn mKj ivRvKvi , Avj e``ti i wePvi Kite|0¹ 1975-G mciw evti tkL gy`Rej ingvbtk nZ`v, tmbvewnbx`Z Afj`l vb-cv`ev Afj`l vb, KivMvti RvZxq Pvi tbZvi nZ`v, Z_vKw_Z 0mccwn-RbZvi Afj`l vb0, gy`thv`v tmbv KgRZP`nZ`v BZ`w` i ga` w`tq e``tj hvq evsj v`k bvgK ivt0f Pwi`I I MwZ-cKwZ| Gmtei tfZi w`tq 0lgZv m`nsnZ Kiv wKsev Kv`iv Kv`iv gtZ evsj v`k k`K wNti Pj gvb GKwU 0RvZxq I AvSR0ZK P`mvs0 ev`evq`bi Ask wntmte 071-Gi hkvci vax` i wePv`ti i Rb` tbqv iv0xq Df``M`_tjv GtK GtK eU Kti w`tq cPvj Z AvBb-Av`vj tZ Zv` i wePvi Kivi PevS-Awb`Qv Rvmbtq t`q| ZLb 1981 mvtj i 21 gvP`evsj v`k gy`thv`v msm` i ZrKvj xb tk``xq tPqiv`vb Ges gy`h`x beg tm`ti i KgvUvi tj . K. (Ae.) KvRx bt`3/4vgvb (exiDEg) Dctiv` e`e` w`tq Gt`tk me0g MYAv`vj tZi gva`tg Zv` i wePvi Kivi tNvlYv t`b| Gici GKB e0ti i 26 Gic0j gy`thv`v msm` GKwU 7 `dv KgvP` tNvlYvi gva`tg hkvci vax` i MYAv`vj tZ wePv`ti i velqwu cpe`03 Kti | wKs` G NUbv wee`Z chSB mxgve`_v`tk| Gici mgq Mwotq wMtg tkl nq Av`iv 11 e0i | 29 wWtm`f 1991| Letii KvM`Ri eiv`Z Avgiv GKwU we`N`U msev` i g`LvgwL nB| Guv GtZvUvB A`mZto th, c`iv cw`exi BvZnm NuU`j I tevanq Gi Ryo cvlqv hvte bv| NUbwU ntj vN` ZLb chS` evsj v`tki bvMwi K bq Ges `xN`b hver A`a`f`te emevmKvix cvmK`wb bvMwi K tMjvg Avhtgi evsj v`tki GKwU ivR`w`ZK `tj i c`vb wbe`PZ nI qv|² Rvgvq`Z Bmjvgxi mte`P bwiZwba`f Yx tdivvg i`ivi `ev`tk tMjvg Avhg`K Zv` i Awgi wbe`PZ Kiv nq| c`h`Z D`j L`Kiv `iKvi th, `vj vj AvBb 1972-Gi ejer nI qvi ZwiL 1972 mvtj i 24 Rvbgwii t`tk 1973 mvtj i 30 bt`f`fi mvaviY 0lgv tNvlYvi GB ga`eZx`mg`q miKvi tM`RU we`AwBi gva`tg `vj vj t` i th Zwj Kv cKvk Kti`Qj tmLv`b 11 b`fi wQj tMjvg Avhtgi bvg| t`bwUk Abhvqx 22 tde`qwi 072 Zwi`Li gta` U`Bejbrtj nwmRi bv nI qvi Kvi`Y evsj v`k bvMwi KZ; Av`k 1972-Gi 3 avivi AvLZvq miKvi 1973 mvtj i 18 Gic0j Rvwi KZ c`Avcb etj th 39 R`bi bvMwi KZ; evwZj Kti Zv` i Ab`Zg tMjvg Avhg| 1976 mvtj i 18 Rvbgwii wRqv miKvi bvMwi KZ; tdiZ t`qvi th t`c`h`bvU Rvwi Kti Zvi m`h`v`M tMjvg Avhg bvMwi KZ; tdi`Zi

1 m`BwnK Rmi b, j Ub, 5/4/1981 D`xZ MYAv`vj tZi cU`fag, kvvwi qvi Kwei, c; 16
2 msev`, 29 wWtm`f 1992

Avte`b Rvbtj tmlv 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979 | 1981 mvtj cUP `dv cL`vL`vZ nq etU, wKS' ev`te 1978 mvtj i 11 Rj vB Amy`grtK t`Lvi K_v etj cmlK`wb cmtcvU`btq 3 grtmi Rb` ejsj vt`tk Avtmb wZwb³ cieZKvtj wfmvi tggv` dwtq hvlqvi cil A%afvte G t`tk emevm KitZ `vK, `uóZB miKvti eivftqi Avkxet`⁴ cti bvmwi KZ; emZtj i D³ cAvcfti wei`tx nvtKvU`wefvM wU `vtqi Kiv ntj `ibmb tkftl `OZ teA wawef³ ivq t`q| tR`o wePvicwZ tgrnv`\$ BmgvBj DÍxb miKvi wU cL`vL`vb Kitj I Ab` wePvicwZ e`i`j Bmjvg tPšajx wU MhY Kti ivq t`b⁵ wbgvbtvqx wef³ ivq nvtKvU`wefvMi ZZxq wePvicwZ Avtbrvqi`j nK tPšajxi KvQ tMtj wZwb bvmwi KZ; wclwi tq t`qvi cftq ivq t`b (45 wGj Avi, 1993 c, 464)| cieZKvtj 1994 mvtj Avicj wefvMi wePvicwZ grnv`\$ nweej ingvb, wePvicwZ GwUg AvdRvj, wePvicwZ tgv`dv Kvgvj I wePvicwZ j wZdi ingvftbi mgštq MwZ teA `evsj vt`tk Rb` GB bwiZi I ci wfwE Kti tMvjvg Avhtgi bvmwi KZ; wclwi tq t`qvi cftq ivq t`q (46 wGj Avi, GwW, 1994)|

hvB tnvK, tMvjvg Avhtgi Avigi nI qvi NUbvq t`tki me`ti th t`vrf Rb` wbtqvQj Zvi tFzi t`tkB 1992 mvtj i 19 Rvbtvvi t`tki gr`thv`x, ivRbwZK, ms`wZKgx`Z_v mvgwMKfvte bvmwi K mgvRi cftq t`tk OGKvEti i NvZK `vj vj wbgf KvgwU bvtg 101⁶ m`m`wekó GKwU tdivvg MvB Kti miKvti KvQ 25 grtPp gta` tMvjvg AvhtgK t`k t`tk ewn`vti i `we Rvbtbv nq| Ab`_vq tm eQti i 26 grv`cKvk` MYAv`vj tZ 071-Gi h`vcivtai `vtq Zvi wePvi Kiv nte| GfvteB mfcvZ NtU MYAv`vj tZi | 075-Gi cUcwieZ`bi ci qgZvmb tkYxi cL`q g`t` hLb cPvj Z Av`vj tZ h`vcivax`i wePvti i wclwU cUq AemZ ntq hw`Qj ZLb Zvt`i wePvti i G bvmwi K D``vM mivt`tk mjo KtiwQj AfZce`MYRwMiY, hv Avgt`i ivó`I mgvR KwVtgvZ w`qv Ges cUw`wqvkvj cUwU tMvótk bwtq w`tqvQj |

h`vciva, gibeZvi wei`tx Aciva, MYnZ`v I AvMmb BZ`w` wePvti i Rb` bvmwi K D``vM MYAv`vj Z Mvftbi wclwU AvajbK w`tk; GKwU Rbw`q aviYv| w`tkl Kti MZ kZvxi wZxqva`t`tk G ms`vš-AtbK`_tjv MYAv`vj Z etm|Q| 1966 mvtj i 13 bt`f`f wclwU `vk`K evU`U ivtmj I diwv `vk`K I mwinw`K Rv-cj mvt`P D``vM wftqZbvtg gwK`B AvMmb I MYnZ`vi Z`š-Ges gj`vq`bi j`ftq` MwZ 101 m`m`wekó KvgwU th `weteKi Av`vj Z0 MvB Kti, tmlvB Gaitbi MYAv`vj tZi cUg D``vM etj `KZ| cieZKvtj GiKg htZv D``vM tbqv ntqtQ ZvtZ gtWj wntmte MY` ntqtQ ivtmj U`Bejbjv bvtg L`vZ G MYAv`vj tZi Kvhtg|

GB MYAv`vj tZ AvSR`wZK Pw` f`/2 Kti wftqZbvtg gwK`B AvMmb, cix`vvgj K A`;e`envi, nvmcvZj -`g I Acivci temvgwi K `vcbvq tevgel`f, h`ew`t`i w`h`Zb I A`/2`Q` Ges MYnZ`vi Z`š-Kiv nq| mv`c`gY wePvi -wetePbv Kti Av`vj Z gwK`B ivó`wZ wj `Ub we Rbmb I Zvi cKvmbtK Gme Acivtai Rb` Avfhj` Kti | Gi AvtM ivó`wZ Rbmbm gwK`B cKvmbtK U`Bejbjv mvtq` I AvZ`c`q mg`fbi Rb` Avb`w`K Ab`iva Rvbtbv nq⁷ ivtmj U`Bejbjv i mvtj`i ci c`_exi bvbv t`tk w`fba`v`R`Uv wbtq AtbK`_tjv MYAv`vj Z etm| Gi gta` D`j E`thvM` 1979 mvtj BZwv i tevtj vtb gvbewaKvi I MYAwKvi (Rights of peoples) j`Ntbi NUbv ch`fj vPbvi j`ftq` MwZ `vqx MYAv`vj Z (cvg`b`U wccj m U`Bejbjv mst`ftc wUw`c)| GwU cU`Zóvi ci t`tk G ch`S-31wU Awatekb cwi Pjv bv Kti tQ Ges eZ`vftbi Pjv AvtQ⁸ mv`c`ZK mg`tq tek wKQyMYAv`vj Z MwZ ntqtQ hvi gta` D`j E`thvM` ntjv 2000 mvtj i DBtgY B`Uvi b`vkbjv I qvi w`vBgm U`Bejbjv, hv tUwKI U`Bejbjv bvtg cwi wPZ⁹; 2003 mvtj fvi Zxq tj LK Ai`UZx ivtqi D``vM B`/2-gwK`B BivK AvMm`tbi wei`tx Zi t`c` MwZ I qvi` U`Bejbjv Ab BivK

3 MYAv`vj tZ tMvjvg Avhtgi wei`tx AvftwMcT, W. Awmb`v`v`v; w`P`v 24 Rj vB 1992, c, 21
 4 GKvEti i NvZK `vj vj wbgf KvgwU cUg tNvI Yv, 19/01/1992
 5 w`P`v, 21 AvM`- 1992, c, 25-26
 6 m`m`msL`v memgq 101 Rtb mgvex`bv `vKtj I G bvtgB Wkv ntZv; kv. K. MYAv`vj tZi cUfvg
 7 en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russell_Tribunal
 8 en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aram_Andonian
 9 http://www1.jca.apc.org/vaww-net-japan/english/womenstribunal2000/whatstribunal.html

BtZvcæD×Z KvRx bi³4vgtbi tbZtZi g³thv×v msm` tK`iq KgvÜ KvDwYj h³vcivaxt`i wePri I cãZtivtai th WwK t`q, ZvtZ kwgj nq`jgZ wbe³ktl mg`-g³ht×i c³kw³ | Gi dtj Avt`vj b GtZvUvB Zt½ I t³ th msm³ i cãvb cãt³vlK tãt³WbU wRqvDi ingvb Zvt`i mvt_ msjvtc emtZ eva` nb| `evtK msm³ i cãe³ 7 `dvi th³š³KZv Dcjwä I Zv ev`evqtB KvRi c`t³q c tbqvi cãZkãZ t`qvi tãt³ msm` Zvt`i Avt`vj b `wMZ Kti | BtZvgta` miKvi ZrKvj xb ms`vcbgš³ gvtR`j ntKi tbZtZi g³thv×v i `wei wetq mcvwi k t`qvi Rb` GKwU KvgwU MvB Kti |¹⁵ wK Zvi ciciB 30 tg 1981 Zwi tL tmbvAfj³ vtb tãt³WbU wRqv wbnZ n³ qvi ci mvevi miKv³ i g³thv×v msm³ i tbZvt`i wRqv nZ³ vi mvt_ Rovt³vi tPõv Ges ai cvKtoi g³L Avt`vj b MwZ nwi t³q tdtj |

GUv mwZ` th, `faxZwe³ivaxt`i i "Levi GKwU Avt`vj b memqB Rwi wQj Ges GLb ch³-AvtQ | wKš` Gi cieZ³v³rche³cãPõwU i m` msMõ Ki tZ Avgt`i th Avi I 11 eQi Ges Kv³iv Kv³iv fv³vq tMvj vg Avhtgi Awgi Z³j vt³fi Rb` Atc³q³ Ki tZ ntq³Qj Zv BtZvgta`B D³tj L-Kiv ntq³Q | 31 w³t³m³ evsj vt`k mvg`ev`x`j (GgGj), evm`, RvZxq RbZv c³wU, I qvK³m³c³wU, t³mvk`w³j ÷ c³wU, Qv³t³j xM, RvZxq Qv³t³j xM, Qv³t³ tdWvt³kt³bi weejZ Qvcv nq Leti i KvMR³ t³j vtZ |¹⁶ i vRct` cãg wet³q³vf wgvQj Kti g³thv×v msm` (Avn³-AvRR) 31 w³t³m³ 1991 |¹⁷ eive³ti g³Zv Gev³ I cãZev` cãZtivta Gw³tq Avt³mb h³vcivaxt`i wei`x AKvš`-thv×v KvRx bi³4vgtb, w³wb GRb` 1981 mvtj tRj ch³-tL tU³Qb |¹⁸ kv³ni qvi Kwei, Rvnbv³iv Bgvgnm Avi I tek wKQy g³thv×v m³svMv³bKfvte cãZev` Kivi fvebv I KgZrci Zv t`tKB 19 Rvbg³wi 1992 Zwi tL ÕGKvE³ti NvZK `vj vj wbg³ KvgwU bvtg GKwU KvgwU MwZ nq, hvi Av³vqK wbe³PZ nb Rvnbv³iv Bgvgnm KvgwU MYAv`vj tZ tMvj vg Avhtgi wePvti i tNv³Yv msej Z weejZ Leti i KvM³tR Qvcv n³ qvi ciciB wef³b³eivR³wZK, mvgw³RK, m³v³wZK, Qv³t³ msMv³ I e³v³eM³ZvtK AKÉ mg`³ RvbtZ`i i Kti | Gi gta` cãgw` tKi D³tj L³h³w³ KtqKwU msMv³ ntj v³n g³thv×v msm` (gvndR-Kwei), knx` t³j. tmwj g gÄ, cãRb³ 071, Mõg w³tqUvi | i vR³wZK `t³j i gta` wQj RvZxq c³wU I `faxZwe³ivax P³u Qvov cãq mevB, cãq mg`-evg`j, cãwZkxj Qv³t³ msMv³ | 21 Rvbg³wi XvKvq m³v³š³j Z m³v³wZK tRvt³U i wet³q³vf wgvQj, mgvtek AbjõZ nq I Kkc³š³wj Kv`vn Kiv nq |¹⁹ 22 Rvbg³wi RvgvqtZi ZrKvj xb tm³t³Uw³ tRvt³ij gwZDi ingvb w³Rv³g KvgwU t³j vKRbt³ i õmsweavt³bi k³t`õ AvL`wqZ Kti GKwU weejZ t`q | 23 Rvbg³wi Gi GKwU Kov Reve t`b Rvnbv³iv Bgvgnm | 27 Rvbg³wi Av³l qvgx j xM, t`ktãgK MYZwš³K d³w, cuP`j xq tRvU I MYZwš³K wece³ tRvU KvgwU i tNv³Yvi mvt_ GKvZ³Zv tNv³Yv Kti | 1 tde³q³wi MYAv`vj tZi cã³q³ t³q³ i Awf³hb`i i nq | 2 tde³q³wi Z`vbxš³ Z`gš³ b³vRgj ù`v GK m³v³vrKvti MYAv`vj ZtK msweavb-e³mf³š, teAvBib KvR, e³v³R³exi v KtZv`wqZ³xb Zv e³tj jvf tbB, tMvj vg Avhtgi evsj vt`k A%ea Ae`vbt³K õgvb³weK Av³akv³õ BZ`vKvi gš³e` Kiti KvgwU cã³q³ t`tK Z` I h³v³ Ztj at³i Zvi cãZev` Rvbtq tm³w`bB GKwU weejZ cvvt³bv nq Leti i KvMR³ t³j vtZ | 3 tde³q³wi MYZwš³K Qv³t³ HK` I Qv³t³j xM (Av³l qvgx j xM mgw`³š) GKvZ³Zv tNv³Yv Kti | 10 tde³q³wi KvgwU cã³q³ t`tK cãg wj dtj U tei nq | Gi gta` t`t³ki 52 Rb Avt³j g MYAv`vj ZtK mg`³ Kti weejZ t`b, cieZ³kv³tj Av³iv 200 Rb Avt³j g Avt`vj t³bi mvt_ GKvZ³Zv tNv³Yv Kti |²⁰ BtZvgta` 24 Rvbg³wi 092 g³thv×v msm³ i (Avn³-AvRR) D³t`v³tM õg³ht×i tPZwe³ivax P³u cãZt³iva gÄ0 bvtg Av³ikwU msMv³t³bi Rb³ nq | Gme msMv³t³bi gta` mgš³tq³ gva`tg Avt`vj btK teMevb Kiv I GK we`š³Z wbtq Av³vi ZvM` t`tKB 11 tde³q³wi 1992, 69wU msMv³t³bi cãZw³bat`i wbtq MvB Kiv nq õg³ht×i tPZbv ev`evqb I GKvE³ti i NvZK `vj vj wbg³ RvZxq mgš³q KvgwU,²¹ hv mgš³q KvgwU bvtg cw³IPZ nq | Rvnbv³iv Bgvgnm G KvgwU i Av³vqK wbe³PZ nb |

15 kv.K.,MYAv`vj tZi cã³q³, (1993), c, 18
16 msev`, 31 w³t³m³ 1992
17 AvRt³Ki KvMR, 2 Rb 1994
18 kv.K.,MYAv`vj tZi cã³q³, (1993), c, 43
19 msev`, 22 Rvbg³wi 1992
20 kv.K.,MYAv`vj tZi cã³q³, (1993),
21 figKv, MYAv`vj Z cãt½ (evm` t`tK cãk³wZ), Rb 1992

mgšq̄ KugūJi mvsMVbK KgRv̄Ei ZrciZvi d̄tj Aw̄Z`Z Av̄v̄vj b mvi v̄t̄k̄ Qw̄tq̄ c̄t̄o| 15-16 t̄de`q̄w̄i Rvgvq̄t̄Zi Qv̄l̄ msMVb Qv̄l̄w̄k̄w̄ēt̄i Ōmv_x m̄t̄s̄j b̄Ō-G th t̄Kv̄t̄bv ḡt̄j` MYAv̄`vj Z c̄ŌZ̄t̄iv̄t̄ai t̄Nvl̄Yv w̄t̄j 20 t̄de`q̄w̄i ḡv̄³thv̄x̄v̄ n̄v̄BKgv̄Ū b̄vḡK GKūW msMVt̄bi c̄t̄ŋ̄ Kv̄R̄x̄ b̄i`³v̄ḡv̄b Rvgvq̄Z I `v̄ax̄bZw̄ēt̄iv̄ax̄t̄ i m̄ZK̄K̄t̄i w̄t̄q̄ GKūW t̄Nvl̄Yv c̄K̄v̄k̄ K̄t̄ib| Ḡt̄Z ej̄v̄ nq, ŌRvḡt̄Zi t̄bZ̄v̄t̄i Avgiv̄ ūm̄k̄q̄vi K̄t̄i w̄t̄Z P̄v̄B, MZ w̄ek̄ ēQ̄i ḡv̄³thv̄x̄v̄t̄i A`%b̄t̄K̄i m̄f̄h̄v̄M Z̄viv̄ th̄f̄īt̄e M̄h̄Y K̄t̄i t̄Q̄ Gevi Avgiv̄ Z̄v̄ n̄t̄Z t̄t̄ev̄ b̄v| Avgv̄t̄i R̄bM̄t̄Yi D̄ci th̄ t̄K̄v̄b n̄vḡj̄vi `w̄Z̄f̄iv̄Ōv̄ R̄ev̄e t̄`q̄vi R̄b` Avgiv̄ c̄ŌZ̄ i t̄q̄ūŌ| ... GKB m̄t̄½ mi K̄vi t̄K̄I Avgiv̄ R̄mb̄t̄q̄ w̄t̄Z P̄v̄B `v̄ax̄bZ̄v̄ m̄v̄ēf̄f̄S̄ḡZ̄j̄ I MYZ̄S̄j̄ i ŋ̄v̄i `t̄`^oRvḡv̄Z̄t̄i d̄`v̄m̄v̄ē`x̄ ZrciZvi w̄ēi`t̄x̄ Z̄viv̄ h̄w̄` t̄K̄v̄b c̄`t̄ŋ̄c̄ M̄h̄Y b̄v̄ K̄t̄ib Z̄vi `v̄q̄`w̄q̄Z̄j̄ Aek̄`B Z̄v̄t̄i en̄b Ki t̄Z n̄t̄e/Ō Ḡici ŌMYAv̄`vj Z c̄ŌZ̄t̄iva K̄ivi R̄b` Rvḡt̄Z B̄mj̄v̄ḡx̄ B̄m̄iv̄Bj̄ t̄`t̄K̄ w̄ēt̄k̄I Á Ḡt̄b̄t̄Ō/ 26 ḡv̄P^o MYAv̄`vj t̄Z N̄v̄ZK̄ t̄M̄j̄ v̄ḡ Av̄R̄t̄gi w̄ēP̄t̄i i `w̄ēt̄Z `j̄ḡZ w̄b̄ēf̄k̄t̄l̄ HK`ex̄ t̄n̄iv̄Ō - w̄k̄t̄iv̄b̄v̄t̄ḡ 26 t̄de`q̄w̄i w̄ŌZ̄x̄q̄ I Ō26 ḡv̄P^oMYAv̄`vj t̄Z t̄M̄j̄ v̄ḡ Av̄R̄t̄gi w̄ēP̄v̄i/X̄v̄K̄vi ḡv̄³thv̄x̄v̄t̄i c̄ŌZ̄ 1bs m̄ZK̄Z̄v̄ w̄b̄t̄`R̄ c̄ij̄ t̄bi Av̄n̄Ȳv̄b̄ w̄k̄t̄iv̄b̄v̄t̄ḡ Z̄Z̄x̄q̄ t̄Nvl̄Yv c̄K̄v̄k̄ K̄iv̄ nq| ḡj̄ Z̄ Rvgvq̄Z I `v̄ax̄bZw̄ēt̄iv̄ax̄t̄ i MYAv̄`vj Z̄t̄K̄ c̄ŌZ̄n̄Z̄ K̄ivi t̄Nvl̄Yv I b̄v̄b̄v̄b̄ ZrciZvi ḡt̄L Av̄v̄`vj t̄bi Kḡf̄ i ḡt̄b̄v̄ej̄ P̄v̄z̄v̄ i v̄L̄vi D̄t̄i k̄` t̄`t̄KB Ḡme t̄Nvl̄Yv t̄`q̄v̄ nq|²² 25 t̄de`q̄w̄i M̄w̄Z̄ nq̄ w̄b̄ḡf̄ KugūJi X̄v̄K̄v̄ ḡn̄v̄b̄M̄ix̄ k̄v̄L̄v̄, h̄v̄ 1 ḡv̄P^oX̄v̄K̄v̄q̄ MYAv̄`vj t̄Zi c̄t̄ŋ̄ c̄Ōḡ m̄ḡv̄t̄ēt̄ki Av̄t̄q̄v̄R̄b̄ K̄t̄i|²³ 3 ḡv̄P^oev̄q̄Z̄j̄ t̄ḡv̄K̄vi i t̄ḡi m̄v̄ḡt̄b̄ mḡšq̄ KugūJi c̄Ōḡ R̄b̄m̄f̄v̄ Ab̄j̄ŌZ̄ nq|²⁴ 7 ḡv̄P^o100 R̄b̄ m̄sm` m`m` GK th̄S̄` w̄ēw̄Z̄t̄Z̄ MYAv̄`vj t̄Zi m̄v̄t̄` GK̄v̄Z̄Z̄v̄ t̄Nvl̄Yv K̄t̄i|²⁵ Av̄v̄`vj t̄bi D̄t̄`v̄³v̄t̄i w̄b̄iv̄c̄Ēvi R̄b` ḡZ̄i Áq̄ t̄`w̄q̄w̄ MVb̄ K̄iv̄ nq̄ 20 ḡv̄P^o t̄`t̄ki m̄v̄ē` me Ḡj̄ v̄K̄v̄ t̄Z̄v̄ ēt̄UB t̄`t̄ki ev̄B̄t̄i I KugūJi k̄v̄L̄v̄ M̄t̄o I t̄v̄| Av̄v̄`vj t̄bi m̄c̄ŋ̄ I w̄ēc̄t̄ŋ̄i me k̄w̄³B̄ Z̄v̄t̄i - `^`^`m̄v̄ḡt̄`ŋ̄ c̄t̄iv̄Uv̄ w̄b̄t̄q̄ S̄m̄c̄t̄q̄ cov̄i d̄t̄j̄ t̄`k̄ R̄t̄o m̄j̄Ō nq̄ GK ḡn̄v̄h̄t̄Ái | 16 ḡv̄P^o1992 t̄i w̄R̄ ÷ w̄W^ow̄v̄K̄t̄h̄v̄t̄M̄ t̄M̄j̄ v̄ḡ Av̄h̄ḡt̄K̄ Av̄`vj t̄Z̄ n̄v̄i R̄i n̄l̄ q̄vi R̄b` m̄gb̄ c̄v̄w̄t̄bv̄ nq| 19 ḡv̄P^o Rvgvq̄t̄Zi m̄v̄t̄` `t̄v̄Ōḡš̄ḡi `ev̄t̄K̄ mi K̄v̄t̄i i m̄t̄š̄w̄ R̄b̄K̄ c̄`t̄ŋ̄c̄ b̄v̄ t̄b̄q̄v̄q̄ t̄ŋ̄v̄f̄ c̄K̄v̄k̄ K̄t̄i Rvgvq̄Z̄| Āw̄ej̄ t̄`Ḡ ē`v̄c̄v̄t̄i K̄t̄w̄i ē`ē`v̄ w̄b̄t̄Z̄ mi K̄vi t̄K̄ P̄v̄c̄ t̄`q̄v̄ nq| ḡš̄x̄ mi K̄vi m̄t̄P̄Z̄b̄ Av̄t̄Ō I c̄w̄i w̄`w̄Z̄i I c̄i b̄R̄i i v̄L̄t̄Ō ēt̄j̄ R̄v̄b̄v̄b̄|²⁶ t̄M̄j̄ v̄ḡ Av̄h̄ḡ w̄ēl̄t̄q̄ `w̄q̄Z̄k̄j̄ m̄t̄i I D̄x̄w̄Z̄ w̄`t̄q̄ `w̄b̄K̄ m̄sev̄` R̄v̄b̄v̄q̄, mi K̄vi w̄Z̄b̄w̄ c̄Ō`vē w̄ēt̄ēP̄b̄v̄ Ki t̄Ō| Ḡ`t̄j̄ v̄ n̄t̄j̄ v̄N̄ 1. t̄`k̄ t̄`t̄K̄ ēun̄^ovi, 2. t̄M̄ŌZ̄v̄i, 3. m̄s̄w̄ēav̄t̄bi 106 Ab̄j̄`Ō` Ab̄j̄v̄q̄x̄ Av̄w̄c̄j̄ w̄ēf̄v̄t̄Mi ḡZ̄v̄ḡZ̄ t̄b̄q̄v̄|²⁷ 22 ḡv̄P^oK̄w̄ēt̄b̄U w̄ḡw̄J̄st̄q̄ MYAv̄`vj Z̄ I t̄M̄j̄ v̄ḡ Av̄h̄ḡ B̄mj̄t̄Z̄ Av̄t̄j̄ v̄P̄b̄v̄ nq| Ab̄`w̄`t̄K̄ Av̄B̄b̄-k̄;L̄j̄ v̄ c̄w̄i w̄`w̄Z̄ w̄b̄t̄q̄ `t̄v̄Ō`ḡš̄ȳj̄ t̄q̄ GK D̄`P̄ c̄h̄t̄q̄i `ev̄K̄ Ab̄j̄ŌZ̄ nq|²⁸ 23 ḡv̄P^oMYAv̄`vj t̄Zi K̄v̄h̄ŋ̄ḡ t̄ēAv̄B̄ib̄ I 26 ḡv̄t̄P̄ w̄ēP̄v̄i `w̄M̄Z̄ i v̄L̄vi R̄b` R̄%b̄K̄ A`w̄t̄f̄v̄t̄K̄U t̄m̄v̄n̄iv̄ē t̄n̄v̄t̄m̄t̄bi `t̄q̄i K̄Z̄ t̄`l̄q̄w̄b̄ ḡv̄ḡj̄vi M̄h̄Y t̄h̄v̄M̄`Z̄vi i b̄w̄b̄ 30 ḡv̄P^oav̄h̄^oK̄iv̄ nq|²⁹ 25 ḡv̄P^oŌZ̄`v̄K̄w̄`Z̄Ō MYAv̄`vj t̄Zi D̄t̄`v̄³v̄t̄i c̄ŌZ̄ m̄s̄w̄ēav̄b̄ c̄w̄i c̄š̄k̄ K̄v̄h̄ŋ̄j̄ v̄c̄ Ges Av̄B̄b̄ w̄b̄t̄R̄i n̄v̄t̄Z̄ Z̄t̄j̄ t̄b̄q̄v̄ n̄t̄Z̄ w̄ēi Z̄`v̄K̄vi Av̄n̄Ȳv̄b̄ R̄v̄b̄v̄t̄bv̄ nq̄ mi K̄v̄t̄i i c̄ŋ̄ t̄`t̄K̄|³⁰ 25 Z̄w̄i L̄ i v̄t̄Z̄ c̄ij̄ k̄ B̄w̄Āw̄b̄q̄m̄^oB̄w̄ ÷ w̄J̄D̄k̄t̄bi m̄v̄ḡt̄b̄ MYAv̄`vj t̄Zi ḡĀ `Z̄w̄i Ki t̄Z̄ t̄`q̄w̄b̄|³¹ c̄t̄i t̄m̄v̄n̄iv̄l̄ q̄v̄`P̄D̄`v̄t̄bi w̄k̄i c̄v̄K̄^om̄s̄j̄ M̄ēP̄v̄i w̄U t̄t̄Ki I c̄i MYAv̄`vj Z̄ ēt̄m̄| t̄h̄L̄v̄t̄b̄ 1971 m̄v̄t̄j̄ t̄k̄L̄ ḡv̄R̄ej̄ i n̄ḡv̄b̄ Z̄vi H̄w̄Z̄n̄w̄m̄K̄ 7 ḡv̄t̄P̄P̄ f̄v̄l̄Ȳ w̄`t̄q̄ūŌt̄j̄ b̄| c̄ij̄ t̄ki Āē`v̄n̄Z̄ ev̄avi ḡt̄L̄ Ges ḡĀ b̄v̄`v̄K̄v̄q̄ ḡv̄ḡj̄vi w̄ēP̄v̄i K̄v̄h̄ŋ̄ḡ I i b̄w̄b̄ Ab̄j̄ŌZ̄ nq̄ m̄ȳc̄ŋ̄ t̄K̄v̄^oc̄Ō`t̄Ȳ| MYAv̄`vj Z̄ ev̄b̄P̄t̄j̄ i R̄b` c̄ij̄ k̄ m̄K̄ij̄ 8Uv̄ t̄`t̄K̄ m̄v̄iv̄ k̄n̄t̄i m̄ēf̄Z̄K̄f̄v̄t̄ē ev̄av̄ w̄`t̄j̄ I N̄Ēv̄L̄v̄t̄b̄t̄Ki ḡt̄a` R̄b̄Z̄vi t̄R̄v̄q̄t̄i i ḡt̄L̄ Z̄viv̄ w̄c̄Ōȳn̄U t̄Z̄ ev̄a` nq| GK̄iv̄Ēt̄i āl̄ŋ̄Ȳi w̄k̄K̄vi K̄w̄Ōq̄vi w̄Z̄b̄R̄b̄ b̄v̄ix̄l̄ MYAv̄`vj t̄Z̄ Av̄f̄t̄h̄v̄M̄ R̄v̄b̄v̄t̄Z̄ t̄m̄L̄v̄t̄b̄ D̄c̄w̄`Z̄ w̄Ōt̄j̄ b̄|³²

22 kv.K.,MYAv̄`vj t̄Zi c̄Uf̄iḡ, (1993),
 23 msev̄` , 2 ḡv̄P^o1992
 24 msev̄` , 4 ḡv̄P^o1992
 25 msev̄` , 8 ḡv̄P^o1992
 26 msev̄` , 20 ḡv̄P^o92
 27 msev̄` , 22 ḡv̄P^o92
 28 msev̄` , 23 ḡv̄P^o92
 29 msev̄` , 24 ḡv̄P^o92
 30 msev̄` , 26 ḡv̄P^o92
 31 msev̄` , 26 ḡv̄P^o92
 32 msev̄` , 27 ḡv̄P^o92

Gmtei gtaB ceNwml Z mgta 26 gvP©1992 Zwi tL tmvni vl qv`P D`vfb AbjoZ MYAv`vj tZ tMvj vg Avhtgi wePvi mæubeni qvi ci `cj 12Uv 20 wgvb tU KtqK j vL gvb tI i mvgtb gvBK QvbnB ivq tNvl Yv Kti b Av`vj tZi tPqvi gvb Rvnbv iv Bgvg |

12 m`m`weikó MYAv`vj tZ tMvj vg Avhtgi wei`tx 12wU mjbw`© AwfthvM Dl wcz nq | Gi wfiÉtZ Zvi wei`tx 10 wePvhweiq w`i Kiv nq | G,tjvi gta` AvtQ 1971-Gi 26 gvP©t_tK 1978 mvj chS-bvix-cj`l-wki nZv, 2 j vL bvix AcniY l alFy cwiK`wb ewnbxtK mnvqZvi gva`tg KZ hycviva l gvbeZwetivax Aciva; Avj e`i, Avj kvgm MVb; MYnZ`vq D`wb l cõivPbv `vb; gyp`thvxt`i wbi xn cwi evi-cwi Rbt`i l ci mk`i; AvµgY; atgP AcevL`vi gva`tg gvbj nZv`tK RvtqR Kiv; AbjMZ ewnbx Øvi v j jZivR, AwmæsthvM Kiv tlv; ep`xRex nZv, `xaxZvi ci evsj vt`iki wei`tx cPvi Pvj vtbv BZ`w | Gme AwfthvMi ct`q mv`q t`b 15 Rb | Gt`i gta` AvtQb gyp`thvxt, wK`qK, misew`K, mvnwZ`K, knx` gyp`thvxtvi mšwb, AvZ`kq-`Rb, agf`eEv cõj | tMvj vg Avhtgi Abjcw`wZtZ Zvi c`q mg`fbi Rb` GKRb AvBbRxel wbtqvM Kiv nq | Av`vj Z Zvi ivtq etj N

0...cõÉ mv`q` mZ` Ges`wLj KZ cõkõimgn AKU` wetePbv Kti mef`æZfvte Awfhy³ tMvj vg Avhtgi wei`tx cõZwU AwfthvM cõwYZ ntqtQ etj gtb Kwii Ges AvbxZ cõZwU AwfthvMi cõZ`K Acivta ZvtK t`vlx mve`-KivQ | evsj vt`kmn cõ`exi mg`-MYZwšK t`tk Dctiv³ Aciva `õvšg`K gZi`ÉthvM` Aciva |

thtnZzMYAv`vj Z tKvb `Évt`k KvhRi Kti bv, tmtnZzAwfhy³ tMvj vg AvhtgK Avgiv t`vlx mve`-Kti Zvi wei`tx Dch³ e`v MhY Kivi Rb` evsj vt`k mi Kvti i wBKU Abfi va Ribw`Q | 0

MYAv`vj tZi ivq ev`evq tbi Rb` cõ`g chf`q mi Kvi tK 26 GucQ chS-mgq t`qv nq | Gici 18 tg chS-Avti K`dv mgq evovtbv nq |³³

MYAv`vj tZi cæeGes cti mi Kvi, wef`bæivR`æwZK `j Ges mvgwRK-mvs`wZK gnj l `^`^gZv`tkP wfiÉtZ fvgKv ti tL tQ | Gt`q t`T Lvj `v wRqvi tbZZyaxb ZrKvj xb weGbwic mi Kvti i fvgKv tek ZvrchEY`P MYAv`vj tZi ZwiÉK cwi Kí bv l mvsMVwbK KgZrci Zvq AZ`š- i`ZcY`FvgKv wQj mi Kwii gwij Kvbvaxb mvBwnK weP`T vq KgPZ mvsew`K t`i | weP`T vi mæúv`K kvrv`Z tPšajx l wbe`fx mæúv`K kvrvwi qvi Kwe`ti i tbZZyaxb GB AskU tK AbvbpwB Kfvte õweP`T v Mõcõ bvtgl WvKv ntZv | wbgP` KugwU Kuzcq m`m`l weGbwiccš etj cwi wPZ wQj b | weGbwici gyp`thvxtv Ask l gš`-mvs` t`i tKD tKD G Avt`vj tbi cõZ mnvbfwZkxj wQj b etj tlvbv tMj l mvgwMkfvte weGbwici nBKgvU Avt`vj b mæúfK`tbwZerPK gtbv fveB tcvY Kti tQ | MYAv`vj tZi mv`_ Nubõfvte mæú,³ Avmd bRi`tj i gj`vqb-0. weGbwic GB Avt`vj tbi cõZ `eix wQj gj`Z `tUv Kvi tY | GK. ivR`æwZKfvte Avl qvgx j xtMi tP`q weGbwici m`½ RvgvqtZi NubõZv tenk | `ß. Avl qvgx j xM KZK wbgP` KugwU Avt`vj b tK weGbwic mi Kvi wetivax Avt`vj tbi cõw`dg`wnt`te e`env`ti i tPõv | GQovov weGbwici tFZti tCõ-RvgvqZ j wei DmKwb tZv wQj B |³⁴ MYAv`vj tZi mv`_ mæú,³ Zvi Kvi tY AwP`ti B PvKwi PjZ Kiv nq kvrvwi qvi Kwe`tK |

Ab`w` tK KÆicšiv, hviv wbtRivB wQj nq `xaxZwetivax wKsev Zvt`i cõZ c`q cvZ`p, Zviv Zrci wQj Avt`vj b evbPvtj i Rb` | e`Z Avt`vj b hZB cwi YwZ jvf KinQj ZtZvB mi Kvi Avt`vj bKvi xt`i l ci LoMn`-nw`Qj | 23 gvP©1992 Zwi tL mi Kvi tMvj vg AvhtgK tKb t`k t`tK ein`vi Kiv nte bv Ges MYAv`vj Z MVtbi wei`tx tKb e`v`v tboq nte bv gtg`MYAv`vj tZi Df`v`v`i gta` 20 Rtbi wei`tx Kvi Y`kP` tbnwUkmn tgvU `wU tbnwUk Rwi Kti | 24 gvP©mi Kvi teAvBibfvte G t`tk emevtmi `vtq tMvj vg AvhtgK tMõZvi Kti | 28 gvP©MYAv`vj tZi 24 Rb Df`v`v`i wei`tx ivõf`wvZvi gvgj v `vtqi Kti mi Kvi | Giv ntj bN Rvnbv iv Bgvg, MvRxDj nK, W. Avng` kixd, gvhnvi`j Bmj vg, e`wi ÷vi kwck Avntg`, dtqR Avng`, Kexi tPšajx, Kwj g kivdx, gvl jvbn Ave`j AvDqvj, tj. K. (Ae.) KvRx bt`³/vgvb, tj. K. (Ae.) Avev l mgvb tPšajx, e`wii ÷vi k l KZ Avj x LvB, A`wW`fv`tKU tRW AvB cvbæ A`wW`fv`tKU kvgmj b evej, A`wW`fv`tKU Df`æš Kj mg` ti Lv, Avmd bRi`j, W. Avmbm`y/vgvb, W.

33 tvevi, 3 tg 1992 |

34 Avmd bRi`j, MYAv`vj tZi `šZ/Rvnbv iv Bgrtgi wPw (23.02.1994) C`msL`v, w`wbK cõ`g Avtj v, 2004

tevinvDwíl b Lvb Rvrvlxi, `mq` kvgmj nK, kvnwi qvi Kwei, glj vlv Bqwnqv gvngy, Avj x hvtki, Wv. gjkZvk tnvmb I Aa`vcK Ave`j gvbub tPŠa|x | igbv_vbvi ZrKuj xb Iwm `mq` AvLj vK tnvmb Gt` i wei`tx lohš; teAvBib mgvtek, nZ`vi tPón, AivRKZv I wek;Lj vi AwfthvM Avtbb| Av`vj Z Gt` i wei`tx tMóZwii ctivqvb Rvwi Kti | cieZKvtj 1996 mvtj ZĒyeavqK mi Kvti i mgq GB gvqj v cĒ`vni Kiv nq| GOvovl Avf`vj tbi Dt`v³⁵ Ges mvi t`tk tbZv-Kgx³⁶ i bvtg bvbvb gvqj v-nvgj v, fqfwiZ, tĴI wekI PvKwi Pzvi gva`tg Zvt` i Avf`vj b`gb Ki tZ mtpó nq|

MYAv`vj tZ tMvj vg Avhtgi wePvti i Avf`vj tG Kiu epr ivR%wZK `j wntmte Avl qvgx j xMi fvgKv AvZ D³⁴j | mfvbtix tkL nwmvbi tbZtZ; Zviv RvZxq msm` t`tk ivRc_, me³⁷ Avf`vj tbi mvt_ GKvZzv cKvk Kti tQ| mvi t`tk Avl qvgx j xMi we`ZZ msMVtbi Kvity Zv Avf`vj btK ZYgj chĴq Qwotq w`tZ mnvh` Kti | Avl qvgx j xMi m³⁵ú³Zv htZv evotZ_vtK ZtZvB mi Kvi GtK hvvcivtai wePvti i Avf`vj tbi tPtq mi Kvi weivax Avf`vj b etj gtb Ki tZ_vtK| Avf`vj tbi Dt`v³⁵ bvmi Dwíl b BDmđ I kvnwi qvi Kwei i mvt_ 28 gvP³⁶eVtK ZrKuj xb cĀvbgšxi ŪAvcbviv Avl qvgx j xMi nvtZ tLj tQb| Zviv t`tki w`wZkxj Zv bó Ki tZ Pvq| MYAv`vj Z Kti Avcbvivi ZvB Ki tQb³⁵ Dw³B Zvi cĴvY| 4 gvP³⁶Avl qvgx j xMi Kvhbe³⁷x cwi t`i mfvq hvvcivax I cwiK`wb bVmi K tMvj vg AvhtgK MYAv`vj tZ wePvti i Dt`vM tK `VMZ Rvbtbv nq Ges Avej t³⁸GB NvZK tK cĴvj Z AvBt b wePvti i `we Rvbtbv nq|³⁶

MYAv`vj tZi ivq ev`evqtbi `we Ztj 1992 mvtj i 12 GwĴ RvZxq msmt` `xN¹⁰ NĒve`vcx weZK³⁹ AbjōZ nq| mi Kwi I weivax `tj i AskMōtY DĒB GB weZtK³⁹Ask wbtq Z`vbxšb weivax`j xq tbtix tkL nwmv bvbv Z` I hv³ Ztj atj MYAv`vj tZi ivq ev`evqtbi Dt`vM wbtZ m³⁹ú³ó fvlvq mi Kvti i KvQ `we DĴvcb Ktib| Zvntj I 1994 mvtj i ci weivax `j t³⁹vi mi Kvi weivax Avf`vj b`i i` n³⁹tj tmB Avf`vj tbi cĀvb `j Avl qvgx j xM me weivax `j tK GKĴ Kivi `t³⁹Ab`K_vq RvgvqtZ Bmj vgtK mi Kvi weivax Avf`vj tG kwi K Kivi gvb³⁹tm hvvcivax`i wePvti i Avf`vj b t`tk wbtRt`i Avj tMvtQ cĒ`vni Kti tbq etj GKiu AwfthvM Avf`vj tbi Dt`v³⁵, Kgx³⁶mg`Rmn AtbtK i B| Rvnbvivi Bgvtgi AvtĴc t`tkI wKQ³⁹v AvP Kiv hvqN ŪAvig Pviw K t`tk Avf`vj b evbPvtj i bvbv lohšš; Avfvm cw`Q| RvgvqvZ msvm`iv GLb msmt` e³⁹tm bvbvi Kg mgtSvZv Kivi tPón Ki tQ Avgvt`i Avf`vj tG m³⁵ú³ ivR%wZK `j t³⁹vi m³⁹t³⁹ Zviv Ges mi Kvi bvbv³⁹te Avf`vj tG m³⁵ú³ Ab`i i I ci Ab` ai tbi ctivĴ Pvc cĴqvM Ki tQ|³⁷ cieZKvtj Avl qvgx j xM ĴlgZvq Gtm cuP eQti hvvcivax`i wePvti i Dt`vM wbtZ e`Ĵq|

tmB mgq MYAv`vj tZi wei`tx Avti Kiu cĴvi Yv Pj wQj | gj Z `vaxZweivax`i ctĴ vKv GKiu Ask, hviv tKvbtv³⁹teB Pvq bv t`tki hvvcivax`i wePvi tnvK, Avevi Gi ctĴ Rbm³⁹bi e`vcKZvi Kvity mivmwi weivaxZvI Ki tZ cvi tQ bv, ZvivB MYAv`vj tZi t`tki Av`vj tZi cĴZ P`vtj Ā, msweavb cwi cšK BZ`w` etj weivaxZvq mtpó nq| tm mgq G tĴtĴ AMōx fvgKv cvj b Kti mvBwmK tiveevi tMvōx (1992 mvtj i tiveeti i wef³⁹bomsL`v`še`)| `vaxZweivax P³⁹uI GtK j t³⁹d wbtq e`vcK cĴvi Yvq wj B nq| hv` I cKZ At`MYAv`vj Z msweavb I ivóteivax tKvbtvUvB wQj bv| tKbbv Av`vj tZi ivtq KvD³⁹tK `Ē t`q v nqwb| eis ejv ntqtQ, tMvj vg Avhtgi Aciva gZi`ĒZj`, ZvB Gi wePvti i Dt`vM wbtZ mi Kvti i KvQ `we Rvbtbv ntqtQ| Avi tKvbtv enr RbtMvōxi ctĴ HK`ex ntq Zvt`i `we`vlqv ev`evqtbi Rb` mi Kvti i KvQ `we Rvbtbv me ivó³⁹ I mgvtR mvi Y ivR%wZK KgRvĒ etj `xKZ| Z`vwi Ūete³⁹tKi Av`vj ZŪ MVb Kti tKvbtv Acivtai Z`š`mZ`vMZ` Ztj atj wePvti i `we Rvbtbv GKiu `xKZ RvZxq I AvšRwZK cĴv|

Ab`w tK RvgqvZ, Zvt`i gjLĴ `wbK mSMōg I Zvi OvĴ mSMVb OvĴw³⁹wei, wĴWg cwU³⁹ Zvt`i cwĴ Kv `wbK wj vZ, `wbK BwKj ve, `wbK w`bKvj, Avt³⁹bvqvi Rvnt`i tbZtZ; MwZ hv³⁹ KgvŪ BZ`w` mSMVb Zvt`i meRw³ wbtq Sumctq cto MYAv`vj tZi wei`tx| Avf`vj b mswkē³⁹ i Ūfvi Xxq `vj v Ū, Ūgj Zv` Ū

35 kv.K.,MYAv`vj tZi cUfvg, (1993), c, 117

36 wePĴv, 13 gvP³⁹1992

37 Avmd bRi`j, MYAv`vj tZi `šZ/Rvnbvivi Bgvtgi wPw (23.02.1994) C` mSL`v, %wbK cĴg Avtj v, 2004

