



Save the Children



# প্রথমে মাতৃভাষা

Sakango Amani Kok  
(কোকবোরক/ত্রিপুরা)

পটুঠয়ে য-গৱ  
(চাকমা)

Skangpa Ma·any Kue  
(আচিক/গাঁৱো)

১০৭ ৩৬৭ ৮৮৮৮  
(মারমা)

Prothomré Gogoak' Katha  
(সাঁওতাল)

পরথমে মায়কের ভাষা  
(সানড়ি/ওরাও)



Zabarang Kalyan Samity



পার্বত্য জেলা পরিষদ  
খাগড়াছড়ি

# Cঠg gvZ.f v| v

Sakango Amani Kok  
(কোকবোরক/ত্রিপুরা)

পଠନ୍ୟ ଯ-ଗନ  
(ଚାକମା)

Skangpa Ma·any Kue  
(ଆଚିକ/ଗାରୋ)

ପଠନ ଅଣ୍ଡି ବାବୀ  
(ମାରମା)

Prothomré Gogoak' Katha  
(সাঁওতାଳ)

ପରଥମେ ମାୟକେର ଭାଷା  
(ସାନଡରି/ଓର୍ବାଓ)

evsj vt` tk i Aw` evmx wkii t` i Rb``  
BGdG (mevi Rb`` wkP v) KgmPx ev` -  
evqtb i fc ti Lv

tki i PgZvqb

wkii i PgZvqb  
children's action through education

‡mf ` v wPj ‡Wb cW\_exRto ` wi ` , Ri v, ^el g" I wbhvZ b ‡\_‡K  
wkii ‡` i i ¶ vi Rb" msMg Ki ‡Q| Avgi v wkii ‡` i mgm" vi ` xN© vqx  
mgvavbi c\_ L‡R‡Z wkii ‡` i mv‡\_ wb‡qB KvR Kwi |

AvšRwZK ‡mf ` v wPj ‡Wb Gj v‡qY we‡k‡ GKwU kxI © vbxq wkii  
AwaKvi wfwEK ms" v wnmv‡e 27wU m` m" i v‡óí gva‡g 100wUi  
tekx †` ‡k Kg‡nPx ev- evqb Ki ‡Q|

c‡tg givZfvl v LvMovQwO cveZ" ‡Rj v cwi l` , Rvei s Kj "vY  
mwg‡Z Ges ‡mf ` v wPj ‡Wb Gi GKwU ‡h‡\_ c‡Kvk bv

### c‡Kvk K

‡mf ` v wPj ‡Wb BD‡K, evsj v‡` k Kg‡nPx  
AvšRwZK ‡mf ` v wPj ‡Wb Gj v‡q‡Yi evsj v‡` k" m` m" i vómg‡ni  
Kvh‡j q, ‡j vi c‡¶  
evox bs 14, moK bs 16/G, „j kvb 1  
XvKv 1212, evsj v‡` k  
‡dvb +880 2 8859847-50

GgwWci A\_‡q‡b ‡mf ` v wPj ‡Wb A‡÷ ‡j qvi mn‡hwMZvq G c‡- KwU  
c‡Kvk Ki v m‡e n‡q‡Q|

### c‡g c‡Kvk 2007

‡mf ` v wPj ‡Wb dv‡U Gi me© Zj msi ¶ Z 2007  
‡i wR‡ ‡W ‡Kv‡úvbx bs 178159

GB c‡Kvk bvi me© Zj msi ¶ Z, Z‡e ‡Kej Ab‡xj ‡bi Rb" th‡Kvb  
c‡wZ‡Z ‡Kvb wd ev cevbgwZ QvovB c‡bg‡Y Ki v th‡Z cv‡i, weµ ‡qi  
Rb" bq| Ab" th ‡Kvb cwi w- wZ‡Z Ab‡j wc ^Zwi Ki vi c‡qvRb nt‡j  
Aek‡B c‡Kvk‡Ki KvQ ‡\_‡K wj wLZ Abg‡Z wb‡Z n‡e Ges G Rb" 0wd0  
c‡hvR" n‡Z cv‡i |

‡j LK, ‡Uwi Wvi wbqvb, wUg wj Wvi, wkii i ¶ gZvqb c‡Kí, ‡mf ` v wPj ‡Wb  
Ab‡ev` K, AvBi xb evmvi  
g‡Y, Kvj vi wfD wj wg‡UW

# mPxCI

KZÁZv - Kvi  
kā ms‡¶ c

wbeñnx mvi ms‡¶ c

Aw` evmx wkii I Zv‡` i wk¶ v  
f w gKv  
AcØj m‡hvM myeav  
wbæ gvb  
mvs- wZK AmvgÄm Zv  
- vbxq wbqŠjY/m¤ú³ Zv-i Afve

gvZ.fvl v-wf wÉK eûfvl x wk¶ v (GgGj B)  
gvZ.fvl v-wf wÉK eûfvl x wk¶ v (GgGj B) wK ?  
gvZ.fvl v-wf wÉK eûfvl x wk¶ v (GgGj B)-i myeav  
cØK-cØ\_wgK I cØ\_wgK ch‡tq GgGj B i "i avcmgn  
dj cØ\_wgK GgGj B Kvhpü tgi Dcv` vb

evsj v‡` tki Aw` evmx RbtMvÔx  
Aw` evmx RbtMwÔi evm- vb  
fvl vi e„envi

gvZ.fvl v-wf wÉK GgGj B-i bxwZgvj vi tc¶¶ Z  
AvšRwZK bxwZgvj vi tc¶¶ Z  
RvZxq bxwZgvj vi tc¶¶ Z  
cØ\_wgK wk¶ v Dbqb KgñPx wØZxq chvq (wcBwWic 2)  
cveZ PUMtgi tc¶¶ Z

kā tKvI  
mnvqK Mš' cwi wPwZ

## କୃତଙ୍ଗତ ସୀକାର

†mf ̄`v ̄wPj †Wb-Gi ̄wkī ̄l gZvqb cKtí i  
m` m̄et̄`i m̄wμ q mn̄thwMZv l Avš̄i KZvq G  
tj LwU cKvk Ki v m̄e ntqtQ|

†m mv‡\_ ab"ev` w` w"Q Rvevi vs Kj "vY mwg‡Zi wbeñnx  
cwi Pvj K evey g\_j v wî cij v I Zvi ms- vi wkii i  
¶l gZvqb cKtí i Kg‡e, ` †K, G tj LwU PovšKi †Y  
Zv‡` i wbi j m †Povi Rb" |

weſtkl ab̄ev` Rvbw"Q cvež" †Rj v cwi l`  
LvMovQwo-Gi †Pqvi ḡvb evey gYx` j vj w̄l cj vtK |  
wZwb G tj LwU PovšKi †Y I cKvtk Avšwi K  
mn̄thwMZv w̄ †qftQb| LvMovQwo I cvež" PÆMØtgi  
wkī †` i Rb" wk¶ vi mthwM m̄ó‡Z I , YMZ gvb  
Dbqftb gwZ.fvl v wf wEK eūfwl K wk¶ v e"e" v  
(GgGj B)- Gi m¤tebv‡K wZwb , i "‡Zj mv‡\_  
Dcj wā K‡i †Qb|

cvkvcwk W. cvtgj v ḡv‡KwÄ (B>Uvi b̄vk bvj  
tbUI qvK©di tWtfj ctg>U) Ges tn‡j b wcbK (tmf  
' v wPj tWb BD‡K)-tK Zvt i gZvg‡Zi Rb  
ab"ev` Rvbw"Q|

# শব্দসংক্ষেপ

GAvBwUwC Gb	Gwkqvb BbwWwRwbqvm UbBevj wccj m tbUI qvK
wmGmwU	cveZ PÆMng
wmGmwUAvi wm	cveZ PÆMng AvÂwj K cwi l`
wWwC B	cØ_wgK wk¶ v cwi ` Bi
BGd G	mevi Rb wk¶ v
GBPwWwm	cveZ †Rj v cwi l`
AvBGj l	AvšRwZK kg ms- v
GgwWwR	mnmlā Dbqb j ¶ ..
GgGj B	gvZ.fvl v-wf wE K eūfvl v wk¶ v
Ggm GBPwU	cveZ PÆMng weI qK gšþv j q
Ggwc GgB	cØ_wgK l MYwk¶ v gšþyj q
GbwmwUGd	RvZxq wkky Uv- †dvm®
GbwRI	temi Kvi x ms- v
wCBwWwC -2	cØ_wgK wk¶ v Dbqb KgñPx
wCAvi GmwC	` wi ` ` we‡gvPb †Kškj c†
GmGgwM	- j e"e" vc bv KwgwU
BDwb‡md	RwZmsN wkii Znwej

# ନିର୍ବାହୀ ସାରସଂକ୍ଷେପ

evsj vt` k mi Kvi 2015 mvfj i gta" òmevi Rb" wk¶ vÓ(BGdG) Kvhþg ev" evqtb Ges wkii AwaKvi (RwZmsN wkii AwaKvi mb` , 1989) wbwðZKi tY A½xKvi vex | BGdG Kvhþtgi j ¶ ntj v cþZ"KwU wkii i Rb" m¤úY© A%eZwbK, eva"Zvgj K I gvbm¤úbe cþ\_wgK wk¶ vi mþhvM wbwðZ Ki v| mnR K\_vq Gi Zvrch®ntj v  
...wkii i kvi xwi K, tgaivMZ, mgvwRK, gvbwmK, fvl vMZ wksev Ab"vb" ` K wbweþk tI me wkii tKB " þj f wZ® mþhvM ` tZ nte| Gi gta" Aþfp i tqtQ kvi xwi K cþZeÜx I cþZfverb wkii, c\_ -wkii I KgRxne wkii, cþ"š- AÄtj i wksev åvg"gvY RbtMwöxi wkii, wfba fvl vfvlx, RwZmEj wksev mvs"ZK msL"yj NyRbtMwöi wkii Ges Ab"vb" myeavewÂZ ev cþwšK RbtMwöi wkii |  
" mvj vgvbKv t÷ UþgU GU tdgl qvK®di GKkb, 1994, BGdG WwKvi tdgl qvK®di GKkb 2000-G cbti wj wZ

BGdG gvþb me wkii, ii ay msL"wmwi ô RbtMwöxi wkii bq| wkš' Zvi cþi I cþke t\_þK hvq th BGdG mwZ" B evsj vt` tki mKj Aw` evmx wkii tK Gi Avl Zvq AvbþZ Avt` Š m¶ g nte wkbr| cveZ" PÆMög AvÄwj K cwi I t` i GK m` m" gþb Ktib th, mi Kvti i eZ®vb bxwZgyj v I PP®i gva"tg mevi Rb" wk¶ v I GgwWwR-2<sup>1</sup>, (mnmtvā Dbqb j ¶") AR® KLþbvB m¤e bq (wUwCwC Kbmvj tUkb, LvMovQnO, 2005) | wek| e"vsK, BDþbþmd I BDþbþ" v gvZ.fvl vq wk¶ vi mvf\_ BGdG j ¶"gvî v AR®bi thwMmþi K\_v eþj tQ|

Aw` evmx wkii t` i Ae" v I Zvþ` i wk¶ v  
evsj vt` tK AwaKvsk Aw` evmx wkii mgvwMK wk¶ v e"e" vi Kvi tY myeavewÂZ Ae" vq tVtj t` q thtnZi cþwvj Z e"e" vq Zvþ` i fvl v I ms"ZtK "KwZ t` qv nqbr| dj "fc tekxi fvM Aw` evmx wkii tK Ggb " þj thþZ nq wksev Ggb fvl v wkLþZ nq hv tm Rvþbl bv, tevþSI bv| t` kRþoB G mKj

<sup>1</sup> ବିଶ୍ୱଜନୀନ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଶିକ୍ଷା

Aw` evmx th K<sub>v</sub>t<sub>m</sub>B hvK bv t<sub>K</sub>b, w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> t<sub>K</sub>i K<sub>v</sub> eS<sub>t</sub>Z Zv<sub>t</sub> i t<sub>K</sub> A<sub>t</sub>bK K<sub>o</sub> Ki t<sub>Z</sub> nq ev Zvi v G<sub>t</sub>Kev<sub>i</sub> B eS<sub>t</sub>Z cv<sub>t</sub>i bv| Ab<sub>v</sub>\_vq w<sub>k</sub>i t<sub>v</sub> i nv<sub>t</sub>Z GKUvB c<sub>v</sub> t<sub>L</sub>vj v \_v<sub>t</sub>K, Zv n<sub>t</sub>j v - ej bv Avmv w<sub>K</sub>sev covi bv eÜ K<sub>t</sub>i t<sub>v</sub> i qv| cveZ<sup>z</sup> PÆM<sup>z</sup>g Aw` evmx w<sub>k</sub>i t<sub>v</sub> i - ej t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>K</sub>S<sub>t</sub>i covi nvi Ab<sub>v</sub>gZ RvZxq nvi t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>K</sub> A<sub>t</sub>bK tekx, GLv<sub>t</sub>b 60 kZvs<sub>t</sub>ki I tekx w<sub>k</sub>i G<sub>t</sub>Kev<sub>i</sub> c<sub>t</sub>w<sub>g</sub>K - t<sub>K</sub>i B<sub>t</sub>- ej tQ<sub>t</sub>o t<sub>v</sub> q|

mi Kvi I GbwRI i A<sub>t</sub>bK c<sub>t</sub>Z<sub>t</sub>e` t<sub>b</sub>B evsj v<sub>t</sub> t<sub>K</sub>i Aw` evmx w<sub>k</sub>k<sub>t</sub> i gvbmx<sub>ú</sub>bæ w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> v cvl qvi m<sub>j</sub>hvM m<sub>v</sub>ó<sub>t</sub>Z we` "gvb P<sup>v</sup><sub>t</sub>j Ämgn Z<sub>t</sub>j ai v n<sub>t</sub>q<sub>t</sub>Q, we<sub>t</sub>kI K<sub>t</sub>i mv<sub>v</sub>c<sub>t</sub>ZK `yU c<sub>t</sub>Z<sub>t</sub>e` b w<sub>0</sub>Zxq c<sub>t</sub>w<sub>g</sub>K w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> v Db<sub>v</sub>q<sub>b</sub> Kg<sub>v</sub>hPx (wcBwWic 2) Ges 0Aw` evmx w<sub>k</sub>i t<sub>v</sub> i gj tm<sub>t</sub>z A<sub>s</sub>f<sub>p</sub> K<sub>t</sub>i t<sub>y</sub> c<sub>t</sub>w<sub>g</sub>K w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> v cwi w<sub>v</sub>WZ ch<sub>v</sub>e<sub>t</sub>Y, t<sub>K</sub>skj I Kg<sub>v</sub>ci K<sub>i</sub> bv c<sub>t</sub>Yqb<sub>b</sub> (c<sub>t</sub>w<sub>g</sub>K I MYw<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> v gšYv<sub>v</sub> q, 2006)-G we<sub>t</sub>q<sub>v</sub>ui D<sub>t</sub>j E Av<sub>t</sub>Q| Aw` evmx w<sub>k</sub>i t<sub>v</sub> i GB mgm<sub>v</sub>, t<sub>j</sub> v<sub>t</sub>K Pvi w<sub>U</sub> eo f<sub>v</sub>t<sub>M</sub> f<sub>v</sub>M K<sub>i</sub> v th<sub>t</sub>Z cv<sub>t</sub>i : Ac<sub>t</sub>Zj m<sub>j</sub>hvM myeav, w<sub>b</sub>æ gvbmx<sub>ú</sub>bæ w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> v, m<sub>v</sub>s<sub>v</sub>ZK AmvgvÄm<sup>v</sup>Zv Ges - vbxq w<sub>b</sub>q<sub>v</sub>Y/m<sub>v</sub>ú<sup>3</sup> Zvi Af<sub>v</sub>e| 0Gi v c<sub>t</sub>Z<sub>t</sub>KB G<sub>t</sub>K A<sub>t</sub>b<sub>v</sub>i mvt<sub>v</sub> c<sub>t</sub>e<sub>v</sub> f<sub>v</sub>t<sub>e</sub> m<sub>v</sub>úK<sub>v</sub><sup>3</sup> (AvBGm<sub>v</sub>R, 2006:51)0| f<sub>v</sub>l vB G<sub>t</sub>P<sub>i</sub> t<sub>v</sub> me<sub>t</sub>P<sub>t</sub>q gL<sub>v</sub> Dcv` v<sub>b</sub>|

### Ac<sub>t</sub>Zj m<sub>j</sub>hvM myeav

- mvej xj evsj v ej t<sub>Z</sub> bv cvi vq f<sub>v</sub>Z<sup>o</sup>K<sub>i</sub> t<sub>Z</sub> - ej w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> t<sub>K</sub>i %el g<sup>v</sup>
- Aw<sub>v</sub>\_j t<sub>h</sub>vM - ej c<sub>v</sub>ÄKv hv - vbxq cwi w<sub>v</sub>WZi mv<sub>t</sub>\_ gvbvbmb<sub>v</sub>bq
- Aw` evmx Gj vKvq - ej msL<sup>v</sup> bMY<sup>v</sup>, w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> vi cwi wa tek Kg, 60% Gi bx<sub>t</sub>P (GwWe, 2001)

### w<sub>b</sub>æ gvbmx<sub>ú</sub>bæw<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> v

- Aw` evmx w<sub>k</sub>i t<sub>v</sub> i we<sub>t</sub>kI P<sub>v</sub>n` v we<sub>t</sub>ePbvq Avb<sub>t</sub>Z - ej i e<sub>v</sub><sub>v</sub>Zv
- Ach<sup>v</sup> msL<sup>v</sup>K Aw` evmx c<sub>t</sub>w<sub>g</sub>K w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> K; w<sub>b</sub>w<sup>v</sup> w<sub>b</sub>tqvM ms<sub>v</sub> v<sub>s</sub>-bx<sub>v</sub>Zgvj vi Af<sub>v</sub>e
- w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> K e<sub>v</sub><sub>v</sub>i c<sub>P</sub>w<sub>v</sub> Z e<sub>v</sub><sub>v</sub>vq w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>i</sub> t<sub>K</sub>i R<sub>v</sub>Zm<sub>v</sub>E<sub>v</sub> w<sub>K</sub>sev - vbxq R<sub>v</sub>ZtM<sub>v</sub>oi we<sub>t</sub>q<sub>v</sub>U we<sub>t</sub>ePbv K<sub>i</sub> v nqbv
- Aw` evmx Gj vKvi - ej t<sub>j</sub> v A<sub>t</sub>c<sub>v</sub> vKZ Kg mi Kvi x m<sub>v</sub>nvh<sup>v</sup> cvq - tgi vgZ nqbv ej t<sub>j</sub> B Ptj

mvs- ॥Z K AmvgvÄm”Zv

- wk¶ v gva”g wnmvte gvZ.fvl v e”eÜZ nqbv
- cvV'mPx‡Z - vbxq ms- ॥Z, gj “eva I fvl vi c‡Zdj b tbB
- wk¶ v‡¶ ‡i %eWPi ” A\_Or eû ms- ॥Z I eû fvl vfvl xi mwa§j b th fvel “r Dbo‡b we‡ki K‡i - vbxq, RvZxq I AvšRwZK ch‡tq , i “ZCY® fwgKv i vL‡Z cv‡i , wk¶ ve”e- v Zv - Kvi K‡i bv

- vbxq wbqšY/m¤ú³ Zvi Afve

- Aw` evmx wkii i Awffve‡Ki v - j e”e- vc bv wKsev Kvhpü tg Kg m¤ú³ nb th - ‡j wk¶ i v gvZ.fvl vq K\_v etj b bv
- Aw` evmx ms- ॥Z I fvl vi c‡vvi I Dbo‡b evav
- Aw` evmx AwffveKi vI ‡mB c‡wgK wk¶ v‡K tZgb gj †` bbv hv Zv‡` i ms- ॥Z I fvl v‡K c‡Zdj b K‡i bv

gvZ.fvl v-wf wE K eûfvl x wk¶ v

gvZ.fvl v-wf wE K eûfvl x wk¶ v nt”Q Ggb GKwU wk¶ v e”e- hv AvbþwbK ev DcvbþwbK Df q e”e- vqB KvR Ki ‡Z cv‡i Ges thLvtb wkii i gvZ.fvl v Ges evsj v Df q fvl vqB Kv‡m cov‡bv nq| gvZ.fvl v-wf wE K eûfvl x wk¶ v (GgGj B) KgEšwU , i “Zv‡i vc Ki ‡Q ‡hb wkii i wk¶ vi i i “Uv nq gvZ.fvl v w- ‡q (c‡tg gvZ.fvl v) th fvl vq tm K\_v etj , eS‡Z cv‡i | cvkvCwk gvZ.fvl v-wf wE K GgGj B-i Rb” c‡qvRb Zvi Dci H mgv‡Ri gwj Kvbv, - vbxq wk¶ KgÜj x Ges Dch³ I c‡mw½K cvV'mPx|

G e”e- vq wkii i wk¶ vi ‡Mvovc E b N‡U Ggb fvl vq hv tm mn‡R eS‡Z cv‡i A\_Or Zv‡` i gvZ.fvl vq Ges gvZ.fvl v‡Z GKwU k³ wf wE M‡o ‡Zv‡i v nq| GB k³ wf wE ci eZx‡Z evsj v fvl v Kvhpki xfvt‡ tkLvi ‡hvMm‡ wU M‡o †` q| newf bœ bœRi Abjhvqx (tebmb, 2006), gvZ.fvl vq wk¶ v Aw` evmx tg‡q wkii †` i - ‡j f wZ®i Kv‡m Dcw- wZi nvi ewx K‡i |

dj - †fc gvZ.fvl v-wf wE K eûfvl x wk¶ v Ggb me DrKó I mdj wk¶ v\_x®%Zi x Ki ‡e hvi v GKvav‡i wØ-fwl K, wØ-fwl K we` “vb Ges wØ-ms- ॥Zi avi K (tgtj vbx, 2005)|

WØ-fwl K:

wk¶ v\_x® cØZw` tbi thvMvthvM I wkLtb Zvt` i  
gvZ.fvl v I evsj v fvl v Df qB  
eenvti AvZtekymx I - "Q` teva Kti |

WØ-fwl K we` vb:

wk¶ v\_x® gvZ.fvl v I evsj v Df q fvl vq mvej xj fvte  
co‡Z I wj L‡Z cvti | wewf bœDrm t‡K ZvB Z\_“  
cyl qvi mthvMI Zvt` i tekx|

WØ-ms- aZi avi K:

wk¶ v\_x® Zvi wbR ms- aZ I mgvR mš‡Ü chØß  
Ávbm¤úbø GKB mv‡\_ evOvj x ms- aZ I mgvR  
m¤‡ÜI I qwKenvj | Zvi v wf bœRwZ‡Mvôxi  
mt½ AvZtekym wb‡q mvej xj fvte fve wewbgtq  
m¶ g |

GgGj B evsj vt` k mi Kvti i Rb” BGdG j ¶ “gvî v Ges  
mnmlä Dbøb j ¶ “ bs 2 - wek!Rbx b cØwgK wk¶ v - ev-  
evq‡bi c\_ m¤Mg Ki te| G‡Z mwZ”Kvi A‡B evsj vt` tk  
BGdG-i Avl Zvfj³ n‡e metP‡q cØšK wk i A\_ tr Aw` evmx  
wk i mn me wk i | wek! e”vs‡Ki GKwU cØZte` tbi gtZ, wk i  
cØg fvl v ev gvZ.fvl vq wk¶ vi d‡j (K) mevi Rb” b”vqfv‡e  
wk¶ vi mthvM ev‡o, (L) wkL‡bi dj vdj DbøZ nq, (M) ev‡i  
evti f”Z”wKsev S‡i covi nvi Ktg hvq, (N) mvgwRK I  
mvs- aZK Dbøb nq Ges (O) mvgwMK e”q Kg nqØ (wek!  
e”vsK, 2005:2) |

### mvg‡b G‡Mv‡bvi avcmgn

Aw` evmx wk i gvZ.fvl vq gvbm¤úbø tgšwj K wk¶ vi (cØK-  
cØwgK I cØwgK) Awakvi wbwØZ nevi m¤tebv t` Lv  
w` ‡q‡Q mi Kvti i tbqv mv¤cØZK tKškj , ‡j v, thgb: ` wi ` ..  
we‡gvPb tKškj c† (wCAvi GmwC) Ges wØZxq cØwgK wk¶ v  
Dbøb cwi Kí bv (wCBwWwC-2)-Gi gva”tq, Z‡e GB  
tKškj , ‡j vi mvdj ” wbfp Ki ‡Q mi Kvti i m¤Ø”Qvi Dci |  
` ‡Uv tKškj c† B Aw` evmx wk¶ vi cØvti, G‡Z Zvt` i  
mevi mthvM wbwØZ Ki ‡Z I Gi gvb Dbø‡b fvl v‡K GKwU  
i “ZcY”wel q wnmv‡e we‡ePbv Ki v n‡q‡Q| cveZ” PÆM‡gi  
cØv‡U kwš-Pw³ (1997) I i v½vgwU ‡NvI Yv (1998)-I

Aw` evmx wkii †` i wk¶ vi cY® Awakvi wbwðZ Ki †Y  
 mi Kvi †i i AvMh Ges mw` "Qvi Dci GB c` †¶ †ci mdj Zv  
 wbfp Ki †Q|

cØ\_wgK wkQy c` †¶ c :

- 1) PEDPI I Gi Aaxtb Aw` evmx wkii †` i , bMZ cØ\_wgK  
 wk¶ v wbwðZ Ki †Y gvZfvl v wf wEK eûfvl vfvl x wk¶ v  
 Kvhp tg mi Kvti i - xKwZ;
- 2) cØK-cØ\_wgK Ges cØ\_wgK ch†q gvZfvl vq wk¶ vi wkii  
 Awakvi i - xKwZ | gvZfvl v nte wb‡` †ki gva"gl
- 3) RvZxq c` †¶ c thgb: wcAvi Gm Ges BGdG-i RvZxq  
 Kg©cwi Kí bv Abjhvqx AvbjwbK Ges AbvbjwbK ch†q  
 gvZfvl v wf wEK eûfvl vfvl x wk¶ v Kvhp g ev- evqtb  
 mi Kvi Ges ` vZv ms- vi mn‡hwMZv|
- 4) GbwRI Ges - vbxq KwgDwbwUi mnvqZvq ev- evqZ  
 gvZfvl v wf wEK eûfvl vfvl x wk¶ v Kvhp tg Rb" Awf ÁZv  
 wewbq Gi gva"tg mi Kvi , GbwRI , ` vZv ms- v Ges  
 KwgDwbwUi m‡PZ bZv ewx|
- 5) eZgvtb gvZfvl v wf wEK eûfvl vfvl x wk¶ v Kvhp tg  
 mi Kvti i wPwÝZ Dcv` vb mgm AvbjwbK wk¶ v Kvhp tg  
 KvR j vMv‡bv|
- 6) - vbxq tbZv Ges cveZ" †Rj v cwi l †` i  
 Askx` wi †Zj wf wE‡Z Aw` evmx wkii †` i gj avi vq  
 wdwi †q Avbvi Rb" PEDPI I Gi Abkj b cØvi b  
 Ges ev- Zevqb ØcØ\_wgK wk¶ vi Ae- vb ch†j vPbv,  
 tKškj Ges Kg©cwi Kí bv|
- 7) RvZxq wk¶ v cwi Kí bv cØqtb cveZ" †Rj v cwi l †` i  
 AskMhY hv cveZ" †Rj vi mv‡\_ m¤úwKZ Ki te Ges  
 PEDPI I Gi gZ Aw` evmx wkii i v myeav cv‡e|
- 8) i v½vgwUi cØ\_wgK wk¶ K cØZôvb gvZfvl vi Dci cØk¶ Y  
 Pvj yKi te thLv‡b evsj v nte 2q fvl v|

Wkii t` i gvZ.fvl vq cō\_wgK wkP v MōtYi cōqvRbxqZv‡K cōavb` w` ‡q‡Q|  
Z‡e GB mçwi kgvj vi Av‡j v‡K A` "vewa mi Kvi tKv‡bv mybw` S Kvhü g  
tbqwb| e- Z G mKj tKŠkt‡j i mdj Zv wbfP Ki ‡e mi Kv‡i i mw` "Qvi Dci |

hw̄ Avgvi m̄v̄ /Avcv Avgv̄‡K w̄ c̄j v f̄l vq cov̄‡Zv Zvn‡j Avg memgq - ej  
AvmZvg, K̄m K̄‡i l̄ gRv t̄cZvg |  
ei "b, 8 eQi, ZZxq tk̄Yxi Qv̄l̄, cveZ̄ L̄MoVQw̄o tRj v

mb` Abfgv` bKvi x i vómgñ GKgZ th wki wkpvi gj j ¶ \_wKtZ nte t  
(M) wki i wczvgvZvi wbR-^ms- wZ, fvl v l gj tevai ciz kxvteva Rwmfq  
tZvj v|

29 *bsavi v, RwZmsN wki AwaKvi mb`* (1989), *hv evsj vt` k mi Kvi 1991*  
*mvfj Abmg\_Ø Kti tq*

5.408 Aw` evmx RbM‡Yi / msL‡vj Ny RwZ‡Mvôxi Ae` vi Db‡b bx‡Pi  
c`‡¶c, wj wb‡Z n‡e t

- Cvež „PÆMØg kwš-Pi³ (1997)-i cY©ev- evqb|

- Awv̄ evmx̄ i t̄K/msL̄v̄ Ny RvwZ t̄Mv̄ôx̄K Ggb c̄v̄mPxi mvnv̄h̄ w̄k¶ v c̄l̄ vb Ki v Ri "i x hv̄Z Zvi v c̄l̄\_wgK - + t̄\_t̄KB w̄b̄t̄Ri f̄vl vq w̄k L̄t̄Z cv̄ti | Avbj w̄ks `v c̄t̄Ubw̄kqj -b̄vk bvj ÷ v̄URx di Gt̄ tj ti t̄UW cf̄w̄Uw̄i W̄Kkb (m̄av̄ebvi Øvi D̄tbw̄Pb - Zj w̄S̄Z `w̄wi `\* w̄etgvP̄tb Rv̄Zxq t̄Kškj ), 2005, c., 152-153

1. ms̥ké Rb̥tMôxi wk̥i t̥ i t̥K t̥j Lvcor t̥k LvZ n̥te Zv t̥ i gvZ fvl vq,  
Avi Zv m̥te bv n̥t̥j t̥k LvZ n̥te th̥ fvl v Zvi `j me t̥P t̥q tekx e̥envi K t̥i |  
2. gvZ fvl v ev t̥vbxq fvl v t̥\_t̥K ch̥iq̥u tg̥ RvZxq fvl v ev t̥ t̥ki t̥Kv t̥bv  
GKwU Awdwmqyj fvl vq `¶ Zv ewx I i fcvš t̥i i Rb̥ Dch̥y³ m̥thvM m̥ó Ki t̥Z  
n̥tel

২৩ নংধাৰা, আদিবাসী জনগোষ্ঠী সংক্রান্ত আইএলও সনদ ১০৭, যা বাংলাদেশ সরকার ১৯৭১ সালে অনুসমর্থন কৰেছে

# ଆদিবাসী শিক্ষা ও তাদের শিক্ষা

MhYt̄hvM fvl v wbav̄ Y ... gvbmr̄ub̄ w̄k̄l v Dbaqt̄b  
ei vei B GKwU P̄v̄t̄j Å ... hv̄t̄ i gvZ fvl v RvZxq ev  
- vbxq fvl v t\_‡K wf b̄ Zvi v w̄k̄l v ēē-̄vq A‡bKUvB  
mjeavew̄ÅZ Aē-̄vq \_v̄t̄K ...  
(BD‡bt̄-̄v, 2003:14)

## mPbv

1971 mv̄t̄j evsj v̄t̄ k̄i RbMY gj Z fvl v Awakvi i l̄ vi  
Av̄t̄j vj t̄b DØj̄ nt̄qB gw̄t̄ h̄t̄x i gvātg - v̄axbZv w̄Qwb̄t̄q  
Av̄t̄b| G t̄ k̄i eū Aw̄ evmx-l̄ GB - v̄axbZvi Rb̄ msM̄g  
K̄t̄i t̄Q| h̄w̄l - v̄axbZv Kyj t̄ k̄i KLbB evsj v̄t̄ kx̄t̄ i  
fvl vi Awakvi wb̄t̄q t̄Kvb c̄Kvi c̄k̄eD̄t̄Vw̄b, w̄K̄s̄' ` f̄M̄RbK  
f̄v̄t̄ me evsj v̄t̄ kx̄ w̄k̄i Zv̄t̄ i gvZ fvl vq w̄k̄l v M̄t̄Yi  
Awakvi cvqbv| t̄hLvt̄b ev̄v̄vj x me w̄k̄i Zv̄t̄ i gvZ fvl v  
evsj vq w̄k̄l v M̄hY K̄t̄i, tmLvt̄b Aw̄ evmx w̄k̄i t̄ i GKwU  
wei vU Ask GB Awakvi t̄ k̄i ēÅZ| ē Z, Zv̄t̄ i Ggb  
- q̄j t̄h̄t̄Z nq Ges Ggb fvl v w̄kL̄t̄Z nq hv tm Rv̄t̄bl bv,  
tev̄t̄SI bv|

t̄ebm̄t̄bi (tebmb, 2006:1) ḡt̄Z, mgv̄t̄R AmgZvi wē-̄v̄i  
fvl v ḡL̄ Dcv̄ vb w̄nmv̄te KvR K̄t̄i | G t̄l̄ t̄G metP̄t̄q  
cwi ®vi D̄ vni b nj w̄k̄l v gvāg, A\_®r t̄Kvb fvl v ēenvi  
Ki v n̄te Ges t̄KvbUv n̄t̄ebv| m̄Z Kvi A‡\_® mevi Rb̄,  
wēt̄kl K̄t̄i tḡt̄q̄t̄ i Rb̄ w̄k̄l vi m̄thvM wb̄ØZ Ki t̄Z n̄t̄j  
w̄k̄i i gvZ fvl v̄t̄K w̄k̄l v gvāg w̄nmv̄te ēenvi Ki v L̄eB  
Ri "i x|

c̄Pw̄j Z w̄k̄l v ēē-̄vi Aw̄ evmx w̄k̄i i v c̄w̄šKZvi w̄kKvi d̄t̄j  
6-1O eQ‡i i c̄l̄q 55.5 kZvsk Aw̄ evmx w̄k̄i B - q̄j B f̄w̄Z®  
nq bv (w̄ZZgxi I tn̄v̄t̄mb, 2004) | dj - t̄ "c, cveZ®  
PÆM̄t̄g Aw̄ evmx w̄k̄i t̄ i - q̄j t̄ k̄i S‡i covi nvi RvZxq  
ch̄t̄qi nvi t̄ k̄i A‡bK tekx, hvi ḡtā 60 kZvst̄ki I tekx  
w̄k̄i G‡Kev̄ti c̄l̄w̄gK - t̄i B& - q̄j t̄Q‡o t̄ q (Gw̄Ww̄e, 2001) |

Aw` evmx wkii †` i c̄wšKZvi Rb` fvl v GKgv̄ Kvi Y bv  
 n‡j I mvgwRK AmgZvi we` wti GUv , i "ZcY®fwgKv cvj b  
 K‡i | Z‡e cvkvck Avi th mKj , i "ZcY®wel q Gi Rb`  
 `vqx, Zvi g‡a" i †q‡Q wkii i Rxeb I ms` wZi mv‡\_ ms‡c<sup>3</sup>  
 bq Ggb cvV'mPx Ges - j e"e` vcbvq - vbxq m‡ú<sup>3</sup> Zvi  
 Afve |

evsj vt` †ki Aw` evmx wkii i v th me mgmvi gtLvgwL nq,  
 tm, †j vtK Pvi fv‡M wef<sup>3</sup> Kiv th‡Z cvti t Ac‡j m‡hvM  
 myeav, wbæ gvb, mvs` wZK AmvgvÄm`Zv Ges - vbxq  
 wbqšY/m‡ú<sup>3</sup> Zvi Afve| ÒGi v c‡Z‡KB G‡K A‡b`i mv‡\_  
 clej fv‡e m‡úKhp<sup>3</sup> Ó (AvBGmwR, 2006:51) | ØAw` evmx  
 wkii †` i gj †m‡Z Ašf® Ki †Y c‡wgK wk¶ v cwi w`Z  
 ch‡e¶ Y, †KŠkj I Kg‡wi Kí bv c‡YqbØ (c‡wgK I  
 MYwk¶ v gšYv q, 2006) kxl K c‡Z‡e` b-l Aw` evmx  
 wkii †` i wk¶ vi Awakvi i ¶ vq GKB i Kg evav-wecwÉ wPwýZ  
 K‡i †Q| GB Bmj, †j v wb‡æ wek` Av‡j vPbv Kiv ntj v|

**Ac‡j m‡hvM myeav**  
 Aw‡MB ej v ntq‡Q -Aw` evmx wkii †` i - †j f‡wZ® nvi Kg,  
 Zv‡` i - †j RxebI Lj Aí eQi, GgbwK Zv‡` i - j -wk¶ v  
 m‡úbœwkii i msl`vI evOvj x wkii †` i †\_‡K Lj Kg| Aw` evmx  
 wkii i - †j f‡wZ® nvi AbjgZ RvZxq nvi 80 kZvs‡ki  
 †\_‡KI A‡bK Kg| Z‡e GB nvi wewf bæ RvwZ‡Mwöi g‡a"  
 wewf bæi Kg- Kvi I f‡wZ® nvi A‡c¶ vKZ tekx, Avevi Kvi I  
 LjB Kg| Abgvb Kiv hvq, evsj vt` †k 6-10 eQ‡i i  
 Aw` evmx wkii †` i g‡a" 44.5 kZvsK wkii - †j f‡wZ® ntq  
 - v‡K| GKgv̄ PÆM®g wef vtMB - †j i evB‡i - vKv wkii i †P‡q  
 - †j f‡wZ®nI qv wkii i nvi (53%) A‡c¶ vKZ tekx (wZzgx  
 I †nv‡mb, 2004)| ci vwgk® mfvq wkii i - úófv‡e D‡j E  
 K‡i †Q †h, Aw` evmx wkii i c‡Bgvx wk¶ v Mh‡Yi m‡hvM  
 †\_‡K ewÅZ nq †Kbbv mvej xj fv‡e evsj v ej †Z bv cvi vq  
 A‡bK mgqB - j wk¶ K I - j c‡kmb Zv‡` i †K f‡wZ®Ki †Z  
 A - k‡Z Rvbvq (tmf ` v wPj †Wb, 2004)|

tekxi fvM Aw` evmx RvwZ‡Mwö c‡Z"š- AÅ‡j emevm  
 K‡i | tbwZ evPK mvgwRK-agx®g g‡bvfve I c‡Kv‡k" ^el †g"i  
 Kvi †YB evOvj x‡` i †\_‡K Avj v` v \_vK‡Z nq| hvi d‡j Zv‡` i  
 evm mi Kvi x - j , †j v †\_‡K A‡bKUvB ` †i ntq c‡o| - †j i  
 %bKU" I Ac‡j Zv-I ZvB , i "ZcY®wel q| cve‡" PÆM®gi

†¶ †̄ ēvcvi wU c̄ti vci mZ", tKbbv GLvtb mi Kvi x c̄Bgvi x - qj i Mo cwi wa RvZxq nvi t\_‡K A‡bK Kg, c̄q 60 kZvs‡ki wb‡P (GWWie, 2001) | d‡j Aw` evmx wkii †` i wei vU GKwU Ask KL‡bvB - qj fWZ®n‡Z cv‡i bv Kvi Y cv‡q tn‡U hvl qvi gZ Dchj³ ` i †Zj g‡a" - qj Zv‡` i †bB | Avevi mgZj Gj vKvi Rb" Dchj³ ` i Zj (2 wK.wg.) cveZ" | wej cY®Gj vKvi t\_‡K wf b‡ tKbbv GLvtb ` Mg c\_ wkii †` i Pj vPj tK Av‡i v mgqmv‡c¶ | Awbi vc` K‡i †Zv‡j | Avevi cveZ" PÆM‡g mvgni KxKi †Yi d‡j wKQy - qj mvgni K ewnbxi myeavi Rb" i v- vi cv‡k mwi †q tbqv ntq‡Q| ewo t\_‡K ` †i m‡i hvl qvq - qj , †j v wkii †` i tn‡U hvl qvi Abjhj³ ntq ct‡o‡Q|

RvZxq - qj cWÄKv Av‡i KwU , i "ZcY® weI q thLvtb - vbxq c̄l\_v, ms- wZ | Rxebavi vi c̄Zdj b †bB | Rg PvI vev‡` i mgq tekxi fWm AwffveKB mšwb‡K Zv‡` i mv‡\_ Rg Rwg‡Z wb‡q th‡Z Pvq| d‡j GB mg‡q wkii i v - qj hvqbv| Kvi b - qj KZc¶ GB evrmwi K FZwf wEËK Dcj ¶ †K Zv‡` i - qj cWÄKvi Avl Zvfj³ K‡i wb| myZi vs - qj cWÄKv Aek"B - vbxq cwi †ek, cwi w- wZ | Rxebavi vi wf wE‡Z wkw\_j †hvM" Ki v DwPZ | Gai †bi wk¶ v ēe- vi gva‡g wkii i v ^el †g"i wkKvi nt‡ ti nvB cv‡e d‡j wk¶ vi evB‡i -I \_vK‡ebv|

cveZ" PÆM‡g Aw` evmx wkii †` i - qj t\_‡K S‡i covi nvi Abjhj³ RvZxq nvi t\_‡K A‡bK tekx, GLvtb 60 kZvs‡ki | tekx wkii G‡Kev‡i c̄w\_gK - †i B‡ - qj †Q‡o †` q(GWWie, 2001) | evsj v‡` †ki Ab"vb" wkii †` i t\_‡K L‡B Kg msL"K Aw` evmx wkii tgšwj K wk¶ v m¤úY®K‡i \_v‡K |

## wbæ gvbm¤úbœwk¶ v

1. Aw` evmx wkii i v th c̄w\_gK wk¶ v tc‡q \_v‡K Zv evsj v‡` †ki Ab"vb" wkii †` i t\_‡K wbæ gvbm¤úbœ | gvbm¤úbœwk¶ v nj Ggb GK wk¶ v hv:
2. c̄mw‡K (wkii i Pwn` v Ges eZ®gvb I fweI "Z tc¶ vctUi Av‡j v‡K)
3. Dchj³ (wkii i mv‡\_, fvI v, ms- wZ | c̄Zfvi wbwi †L)
4. AskMhbgj K (wkii I Zv‡` i cwi evi †K wkLb c̄mu qv | - qj i mvsMVwbK Kv‡R cY®fWgKv cvj b Ki vi - †‡\_)

5. *WkW\_j* (cwi tekMZ, Aw`bWZK, mvgwRK Dbaq b I ev` eZv Aw½‡K th mKj wf bœ wf bœ I cwi ewZZ tc¶ vcu I cwi w- WZ‡Z evm K‡i Zv‡Z mvov t` q)
6. *Ašfj³ gj K* (me wkij i Rb mnRj f“Zv, me wkij B mwµ qf vte wkL‡Q I ‡Lj ‡Q| wewf bœwkij i ga“Kvi ^ewP† “ I Zvi Zg“ tK wk¶ vi I ‡Lj vaj vi Rb“ m¤ú` mnmv‡e t` Lv)
7. *mj w¶ Z* (tkvl Y, wbhvZb, mwnsmZv I msNvZ t‡K)

wk¶ v e“e“ vq Aw` evmx wkij t` i we‡kl Pwn` v, we‡kl K‡i gvZ.f vI vq wk¶ v j v‡f i wel qwU we‡ePbvq Avb‡Z e“\_n‡q‡Q| dj kWZ‡Z t` Lv hv‡Q th Ggb GK wk¶ v t` qv n‡Q hv GKvavti cÖmw½K, Dchj³, wkW\_j wksev Aš-fj³ gj K bq|

cPwj Z AvbôwbK wk¶ v e“e“ vq Aw` evmx cÖ\_wgK wk¶ ‡Ki msL“v G‡Kevti B AchW³| Aw` evmx f vI v bv Rvbvq evOvj x wk¶ Ki v Aw` evmx wkkj t` i mv‡\_ thvMv‡hv‡M I f ve wewbgt‡q e“\_nq| m¤úZ Ái msL“K Aw` evmx cÖ\_wgK wk¶ K AvbôwbK wk¶ v e“e“ vq KvR Ki ‡Q| Dci Š, thvM“ wk¶ K‡` i Aw` evmx Aajwl Z cÖ“š-AÄ‡j tcwós-G GZB Abxnv ‡h Zvi v Zv‡` i wk¶ K c` mgm Ggb me A‡hvM“ e“w³ e‡M³ Kv‡Q f vov t` q hví v K` wPr -‡j Av‡m| Aw` evmx f vI v bv Rvbvq evOvj x wk¶ Ki v Aw` evmx wkkj t` i mv‡\_ thvMv‡hv‡M I f ve wewbgt‡q e“\_nq

Avevi wk¶ K wb‡qvM ev e` wj i cPwj Z mi Kvi x e“e“ vq wk¶ ‡Ki RwZmEy Abjhvqx e` wj wksev - vbxq RwZ‡Mwöi wk¶ K wb‡qv‡Mi wel qwU we‡ePbv Ki v nqbv| ð‡b† ‡KvYv tRj vq 27 Rb [Aw` evmx] wk¶ K i ‡q‡Q, WKŠ’ Zv‡` i g‡a“ Lj KgB wbR Gj vKvi KwgDwbwU -‡j wb‡qvM tc‡q‡QÓ (cÖ\_wgK | MYwk¶ v gšYv q, 2006: 6) | ‡Kvvi evsj v‡` k-Gi GKwU wi ‡cv‡U“GKB i Kg Ae“ vi eYb v i ‡q‡Q|

cÖ“š- Gj vKvq ‡h‡Z AvMhx wk¶ ‡Ki Af ve ‡mLv‡b wk¶ vi m‡hvM mwö‡Z clvb evav| Avevi - vbxq Gj vKv t\_‡KI mvavi YZ wk¶ K wb‡qvM t` qv nqbv| mgm“v t` Lv hvq hLb tKvb GK Aw` evmx RwZ‡Mwöi wk¶ K‡K wf bœ AÄ‡j i Rb‡Mwöi -‡j tcwós t` qv nq| cveZ“ PÆM‡gi wk¶ v e“e“ vq f vI vB metP‡q eo evav |

Aw` evmx fvl v, tj vi c̄Z̄KwUB evsj v t\_‡K GgbwK  
G‡K A‡b`i t\_‡KI Avj v` v| Zvi d‡j wkii v Zv‡` i  
gvZ.fvl v e"ZxZ Ab" fvl vq wk¶ v Mh‡Y Amjeavi  
m¤§Lxb nq| (tKqvi, 1999; GAvBwUwGb,  
2003:36) |

Aw` evmx Rb‡Mwôi - g, tj v c̄Z̄Š- A‡j n‡q \_v‡K, ‡m  
mw‡\_ mi Kvi x mw` "Qvi Afve I - Zù Z©AskMh‡Y RbM‡Yi  
Abxnvi Kvi ‡Y Zv‡` i - ‡j i ` vj vb, tj v AZ"Š- Lvi vc  
cwi w- wkvi (c̄w\_gK I MYwk¶ v gšYvj q, 2006)|  
ØZv‡` i - g, tj v Ae‡nwj Z ev Aw- Zpxb Ae- vq Pj ‡Q,  
‡ekxi fvm wk¶ KB Abçw- Z \_v‡K, GgbwK A‡bKmgq †` Lv  
hvq Zvi v KL‡bvB - ‡j Dcw- Z nqwbÓ (GAvBwUwGb,  
2003:36) | GLv‡b ZvB c̄kæt\_‡KB hvq th, wcBwWwC-2 Gi  
Avl Zvaxb bZb Kmi "g wksev tgi vgZ Khþu g Aw` evmx‡` i  
Av‡` Š ‡Kv‡bv DcKv‡i Avm‡Q wkbv|

### mvs- wZK AmvgÄm"Z v

mi Kvi x I temi Kvi x ms- v, tj vi M‡el Yv g‡Z, gvZ.fvl v wk¶ v  
gva"g wnmv‡e e"eÜZ bv nl qvB Aw` evmx wkii ‡` i  
wk¶ vMh‡Yi c̄avb Aš‡vq| (c̄w\_gK I MYwk¶ v gšYvj q,  
2006; e"vK 2004; AvBGmwR, 2006)| tekxi fvm  
Aw` evmx wkii hví v c̄Bgvi x - ‡j fWZ©n‡q‡Q Zvi v RvZxq  
fvl v evsj v ejS bv Ges ej ‡ZI cv‡i bv| ei "‡bi Kwnbx‡ZI  
(1 bs ‡Km ÷ wW‡Z) GB Amjeavi B c̄Zdj b i ‡q‡Q|

## ‡Km ÷ wW 1 - ei "b

ei "‡bi eqm AvU| †m LvMovQwo †Rj vq DcvbþwbK cþBgvi x - ‡j ZZxq †kYx‡Z co‡Q| tm wî cj v RwZ‡MwÓfþ | Zvi evez GKRb Rg Pvl x Avi Zvi gv Mvnbx|

2004 mj †\_‡K tm GB DcvbþwbK cþBgvi x - ‡j co‡Q| †mLv‡b gvî GKRb Aw` evmx gwnj v wk¶ Kv i †q‡Qb, wZwb gvi gv RwZ‡MwÓfþ | ei "‡bi Kv‡mi mg- -eB evsj vq Avi Kv‡tm cov‡bv| nq evsj vq| i i" †\_‡KB ei "b wk¶ K‡` i cov GgbwK Kv‡mi eBI ej‡Z cvi †Zv bv, †Kbbv GLbl †m Zvi evmvq i aywî cj v fvl vq K\_v etj G‡m‡Q| evsj vq Zvi †Kv‡bv Awf Á Zv tbB|

hw` ei "b KL‡bv Zvi wk¶ K‡` i cþke eS‡Z bv cv‡i Zv‡K ej †Z nq DËi wU †m Rv‡bbv| Gi Rb" wk¶ Ki v Zv‡K cþqB KvB †U‡b kw- -‡` b| ZvB ei "b Zvi gvZl.vl v wî cj vq (A\_ev †Kv‡ev‡i vK) wk¶ v †c‡Zv Zvn‡j Zvi LþB DcKvi n‡Zv|

ei "b etj , ðhw` Avgvi m"vi /Avcv Avgv‡K wî cj v fvl vq cov‡Zv Zvn‡j Awg memgq - ‡j AvmZvg, Km K‡i I gRv †cZvg| 0

LvMovQwo †Rj vi mi Kvi x cþBgvi x - ‡j i cþavb wk¶ K Rbve Pþ` wK‡kvi wî cj v etj b- ð me wkii B hLb cþg †kYx‡Z f wZ- nq ZLb evsj v ej †Z wksev eS‡Z cv‡i bv Ges GUv m wZ- -B Zv‡` i Rb" GKwU mgm"v| Kv‡mi cov wVKgZ eS‡Z bv cvi vi Kvi †YB cveZ" PÆM‡gi AwaKvsk - j , †j v‡Z wkii i v cþpi nv‡i S‡i co‡Q wksev Kv‡m Lþ Kg Dc w- Z n‡QÓ (Bmj vg, 2006:25)| †h‡nZl ` vBwi K gva"g evsj v fvl v‡ZB Km Ki v‡bv nq, ZvB Zv‡` i Kv‡k etm \_vK‡Z nq-hw` I Zvi v ejS DV‡Z cv‡i bv Zv‡` i wk¶ Ki v wK cov‡"Qb| Ab" vq wkii †` i nv‡Z GKuvB c\_ †Lvj v \_v‡K, Zv n‡j v - ‡j covi bv eÜ K‡i †` I qv|

wKQy wKQy wk¶ K Aek" †Pov K‡i b ev" Pv‡` i gvZ.fvl vq Km Ki v‡Z wKš' Zvl LþB mxwgZ AvKv‡i †Kbbv wbR fvl v e'en‡i Zv‡` i ` ¶ Zv I AvZwekjm A‡bKuvB Kg| ðhw` I wk¶ Ki v ` vBwi K fvl v wnmv‡e evsj vq Km Ki v‡Z ` vqex Zej wkii †` i tevSvi myear‡\_ Zvi v gv‡S gv‡S Zv‡` i

gvZ.fvl vq wewf bø avi Yv I wb‡` Kbv eYbv K‡i \_v‡KbØ  
(Bmj vg, 2006: 25) |

Gwkwvi wewf bø D` vni †Yi gva‡g tebmb (2005) tg‡qt‡ i  
-‡j fwZØ mv‡\_ fvl v gva‡gi wbweo m¤úK t` wL‡qt‡Qb  
ØAwak msL“K tg‡q wk‡i -‡j fwZØ nq hLb Zvi v Zv‡` i  
cwi wPZ fvl vq wk¶ v tc‡q \_v‡KØ (tebmb, 2005:7) | t` Lv  
hvq, tg‡qi v gvZ.fvl v-wf wEË eüfvl x wk¶ v e”e- vq A‡bK  
eQi -‡j \_v‡K Ges fv‡j v wk¶ v MhY K‡i | tKbbv Gi d‡j  
Kvmi †gi cwi tek Zv‡` i Rb“ Kg fwxZKi I Awak  
mnvqKcYØn‡q \_v‡K |

gvZ.fvl vq fvj gZ A¶ i Ávb nl qvi Av‡MB evsj v wkL‡Z wM‡q  
Aw` evmx wk‡i † i eo Amjeavi g‡a“ co‡Z n‡”Q| ZvB hLb  
Zvi v -‡j X‡K, Zv‡` i 2/3 eQi †j †M hvq wkL‡Z Avi  
e§‡Z wKfv‡e evsj v c‡o wKsev wj †L| Gi d‡j Zvi v  
c‡wZôwbK wk¶ vq A‡bKuvB wcvQ‡q \_v‡K| Kv‡k `\*Z evsj v  
ej †Z bv cvi v Ges Øfvl vi wf bøvi Kvi †Y Zv‡` i tkbx wk¶ v  
tevSvi Aci vMzv‡K - Aw` evmx wk‡i † i c‡wZôwbK `¶ Zv I  
KwZZi AR‡b mxgve×Zv wnmv‡e e”vL”v (Ac) Ki v n‡”QØ  
(AvBwmBGd, 2006:16) |

mi Kvi 1997 kwš- Pw³ -†Z (Ab‡”Q` 33we) gvZ.fvl vq  
c‡wgK wk¶ v c×wZi wel †q m¤šwZ w` †j I GLb ch‡-cveZ“  
PÆM‡gi wk¶ v †¶ †i Zv ev- evq‡b Av‡ ſ †Kv‡bv D‡` v”M  
‡bqv nqwb| kwšPw³ (1997)-i Aax‡b cveZ“ †Rj v  
cwi I †` i Kv‡Q c‡wgK wk¶ v wef vM‡K n- vš† Ki v n‡q‡Q|

2003 mv‡j cveZ“ Qv† cwi I ` tek wkQy` vex-` vI qv m¤šj Z  
GKwU Zwj Kv c‡vbgšx Kvhv‡q †ck K‡i | hvi g‡a“  
i †q‡Q, ØAw` evmx wk‡i †` i †K Zv‡` i gvZ.fvl vq c‡wgK wk¶ v  
c‡vb, Zv‡` i RvZxq cwi Pq‡K Øtnq c‡ZcbKvi x mKj gš-  
e”Ó cW“eB †‡K g‡Q tdj v, cW“eB‡Z cveZ“ PÆM‡gi  
ØcKZ i vR%bZK BwZnvmØ Z\_v †` †ki mKj Aw` evmx  
RwZ‡Mwöi BwZnvm AšfØ KivØ (GAvBwUwCGB,  
2003:36) | 2006 mv‡j I LvMovQwoi Qv† i v c‡vbgšxi  
Kv‡Q GKB Av‡e` b †i †LwQj | e”Z †Kv‡bv wk¶ v ZLbB  
Øc‡m‡½KØ n‡e hLb Zv wk‡i I Zvi mgv‡Ri Dci wf wEË K‡i  
c‡Yqb Ki v nq- hv Zv‡` i Rxeb, fvl v I gZv` k‡K c‡Zdwj Z  
K‡i |

e<sup>-</sup>Z, Aw` evmx‡` i gvZ.fvl vi †Kv‡bv wb‡` Kvej x bvB, hv c‡Bgvi x wk¶ v cvVµ g‡K Aw` evmx wk‡ i Kv‡Q Ac‡m‡½K K‡i †Zv‡j | Gwkqvb Aw` evmx I DcRwZ †bUI qvK© c‡Z‡e` †b eWY‡ Av‡Q:

wk¶ v cvV'mPx c‡Z Ki v n‡q‡Q gj Z mgZ‡j i evOvj x‡` i (A-Aw` evmx) K\_v †f‡eB| Aw` evmx ms- †Z‡K gj avi vq m¤ú³ Ki †Y mi Kv‡i i mweK Kg‡wi Kí bvi Ask wnmv‡e, wk¶ v-cvV'mPx‡K m¤úb‡f‡c evOvj x fveavi vi Av` †j c‡Mqb Ki v n‡q‡Q| †mLv‡b e<sup>-</sup>Z cve‡v‡j i Aw` evmx ms- †Zi agx‡q gj †eva, wPšvavi v ev AvKv•Lvi †Kvb c‡Zdj bB †bB| evOj v Av` k©I i xwZ-bxwZB e<sup>-</sup>Z GB cvV'mPi †Kv` †e` y hv c‡q 95% evOvj x wk¶ Ki v cvV `vb K‡i \_v‡K| GB mg- -A‡tj †` Lv †M‡Q †Kv‡bv †Kv‡bv †` gj Aw` evmx RwZ‡Mwöi wk¶ KB †bB| (GAvBwUwC Gb, 2003:36) |

- vbxq wbqš‡Y/m¤ú³ Zvi Af ve  
 †h‡nZi mi Kvi x - gj | cvVµ †g Aw` evmx ms- †Z, gj †eva | fvl vi †Kvb c‡Zdj b \_v‡K bv, AwffveKi vI ZvB - †j i c‡wqK wk¶ v‡K Zv‡` i m¤c‡vq ev Rxebavi †Yi Rb c‡m‡½K g‡b K‡i b bv| Aw` evmx wk‡ i Rb m¤ac‡ZK mi Kvi x GK †KŠkj c‡† I GB avi Yvi B c‡Zdj b N‡U‡Q (c‡wqK I MYwk¶ v gš‡Yvj q, 2006) | wewf bœwi †cv‡U©c‡qB ej v n‡q \_v‡K th Aw` evmx wk‡ i AwffvetKi v wk¶ vi , i "Zi Dcj wä Ki †Z cv‡i bv, wKš' ev- eZv n‡"Q AwffvetKi v cPwj Z wk¶ v e<sup>-</sup>e<sup>-</sup> v Ges wk¶ vi gj " | gvB wb‡q Av- vnxZvq †fv‡Mb| Aw` evmx RbMY Pvq Zv‡` i fvl v, cPwj Z Mí Ges Rxeb avi v thb cvV'mPx‡Z c‡Zdij Z nq| AvBwMBGd (2006) Gi GKwU M‡el Yvq †` Lv †M‡Q, ÓA\_énf‡e Aw` evmx wk‡ i m¤ú³ Ki †Z bv cvi vq †kYxK‡¶ i Awf ÁZv, †j v cKvi vš‡i A†eva" Ges mvs- †ZK e<sup>-</sup>Zvq ch‡wmZ n‡q cto| cwi Yv‡g Aw` evmx wk‡ i v †j Lvcoq AvMh nw‡i †q td‡j, AKZKvh©nq, covi bv eÜ K‡i †` q Ges µ †g e‡Abv I c‡wšKZvi Rv‡j AvUKv c‡oÓ (AvBwMBGd, 2006: 22) |

- qj wki t` i gvZ.fvl v e'envi bv Ki vi Kvi tY wk¶ v e'e- vq  
- vbxq AvMh Ges AskMhY-I Lje mxngZ n‡q \_v‡K |  
cvkvck Zvt` i ms- wZ I fvl vi cñvi ti vtai my + cñvi x  
tPóvl Pj tQ| ðe- Z - q , t j vtZ fvl v I ms- wZ aÝstmi  
cñp qv H mgv‡Ri Rb" AvZ¶nb‡bi B mwgj , tKbbv wek¶q‡bi  
GB h‡M th mgvR eü fvl v I eü ms- wZi avi K I evnK  
Zvi vB cñ\_extZ mgvwRK I A\_‰bwZK t¶ t† , i "ZpcY©f¶gKv  
i vL‡Z m¶ g nteÓ (KygÝ: 2003:3) | KygÝ (2000) e"vL"v  
Kti tQb, tKv‡bv RvwZi DvwPZ Zvi wb‡Ri m‡e¶Eg - v\_©  
i ¶ v‡\_B Zvi mgv‡R we` "gvb eüfvl v I eü ms- wZ‡K GwM‡q  
wb‡Z mvnvh" Ki v, tKbbv mwwe¶fvté t` tki A\_‰bwZK I  
mgvwRK Dbetbi mv‡\_ GUv I Z‡cñZfv‡e RwoZ |

# ମାତୃଭାଷା-ଭିତ୍ତିକ ସଂଭାଷୀ ଶିକ୍ଷା (ୱେଲେଟିକ)

evsj vt` tk Aw` evmx wkii | Zvt` i mgvR Pvq, c̄l\_wgK wk̄l v  
Zvt` i gvZ.fvl vtZB tnvK | thgb: ZZxq tk̄xi Qv̄ ei "tbi  
Abj̄i va - Øhw` Avgvi m̄vi /Avcv Avgv̄tK w̄i cj v fvl vq  
[Avgvi gvZ.fvl v] covtZv Zvn̄tj Awg memgq - dj AvmZvg,  
Km K̄ti I gRv tcZvgō|

evsj vt` tk gvZ.fvl v-wf w̄EK eūfvl x wk̄l v c̄pj b Ki tj̄  
Aw` evmx wkii t` i c̄l\_wgK wk̄l vq fwlZP nvi Ges Zv m̄xuY®  
K̄ti tevi tq Avmvi nvi ewx cvte| BtZvgtaB fvi Z,  
K̄t̄wWqv I \_vBj "v̄t̄U GgGj B-i j ¶ Yxq BwZevPK dj  
wj wce x Ki v ntq̄tQ| wek̄ ēvs̄tKi GKwU c̄t̄Zt̄etb GUv mḡ\_b  
K̄ti t̄Q- Øwkii i c̄l\_g fvl v ev gvZ.fvl vq wk̄l vi d̄tj (K)  
mevi Rb" b̄vqf vte wk̄l vi m̄thvM evto, (L) wk̄L̄t̄bi dj vdj  
Db̄Z nq, (M) evti evti fwlZw̄Ksev S̄ti covi nvi K̄t̄g hvq,  
(N) mvgwRK I mvs̄ w̄ZK t̄¶ t̄ DcKvi nq Ges (O)  
mvgwRK ēq Kg nqō (wek̄ ēvs̄K, 2005:2)|

GgGj B evsj vt` k mi Kv̄ti i Rb" BGdG j ¶ "gv̄i v Ges  
mnmt̄ā Db̄q j ¶ " bs 2 - wek̄ Rbx b c̄l\_wgK wk̄l v - ev̄ -  
evq̄t̄bi c\_ m̄Mg Ki te| GtZ evsj vt` tk m̄wZ"Kvi Āt\_B  
BGdG-i Avl Zvfj̄ n̄te thL̄t̄b \_vK̄te metP̄tq c̄wšK wkii  
A\_Ør Aw` evmx wkii mn me wkii B|

gvZ.fvl v-wf w̄EK eūfvl x wk̄l v Avm̄tj w̄K?  
gvZ.fvl v-wf w̄EK eūfvl x wk̄l v ntQ Ggb GKwU wk̄l v ēē v  
hv Avb̄p̄w̄bK I Dc̄v b̄p̄w̄bK Df q ēē vqB KvR Ki t̄Z cv̄ti  
Ges thL̄t̄b wkii i gvZ.fvl v Ges evsj v Df q fvl vqB Kv̄tm  
covt̄bv nq| G ēē vq wkii i wk̄l vi t̄Mvovc̄Eb N̄tU Ggb  
fvl vq hv tm mn̄tR ēS̄tZ cv̄ti A\_Ør Zvt` i gvZ.fvl v Ges  
GB gvZ.fvl vtZB Zvt` I GKwU k³ w̄f w̄E M̄t̄o t̄Zyj v nq|

GB k³ w̄f w̄E B ci eZx̄Z evsj v fvl v Kv̄K i xf vte tk Lvi  
thvMm̄t̄ w̄U M̄t̄o t̄ q (tḡtj vbx, 2005) | Øw̄Zxq fvl vq ` ¶ Zv

AR<sup>ø</sup>bi t<sup>¶</sup> t<sup>†</sup> gvZ.fvl vq cY<sup>ø</sup> Lj \_vKv GKwU k<sup>3</sup> wb<sup>‡</sup> KK  
wnmvte KvR K<sup>‡</sup>i | th wk<sup>†</sup>i gvZ.fvl vq k<sup>3</sup> wf wE \_v<sup>‡</sup>K... tmB  
wk<sup>†</sup>B - qj i fvl vq [evsj v] cY<sup>ø</sup> ¶ Zv AR<sup>ø</sup>b m<sup>¶</sup>g nqÓ  
(KygY, 2000:4) |

wk<sup>¶</sup> vi GKwU k<sup>3</sup> wf wE  
...tMvovcE<sup>†</sup>b nq tmB fvl vq hv wk<sup>¶</sup>v\_x<sup>ø</sup>fvtj v Rvtb-  
A\_Ør Zvi gvZ.fvl vq  
... weKwKZ nq tkYxK<sup>‡</sup>P i wk<sup>¶</sup>v\_x<sup>ø</sup>t\_‡K cØB Ávb I  
Awf ÁZvi Avtj vtKB  
...AbcØYZ K<sup>‡</sup>i Ab" wk<sup>¶</sup>v\_x<sup>ø</sup>i wb<sup>‡</sup>R<sup>‡</sup> i gta" M<sup>‡</sup>O  
I Vv AvZwek<sup>†</sup>mi ù i Y NwU<sup>‡</sup>q

GKwU fvtj v thvMm<sup>†</sup>  
...wk<sup>¶</sup>v\_x<sup>ø</sup>K thvM"Zv I AvZwek<sup>†</sup>m thvMv<sup>‡</sup>Z m<sup>¶</sup>g nq  
...thvMv<sup>‡</sup>thvM I wk<sup>¶</sup>v t<sup>¶</sup> t<sup>†</sup> GKwU bZb fvl v (evsj v)  
e"env<sup>‡</sup>i i m<sup>‡</sup>thvM m<sup>¶</sup>óí gva"tg  
... Zv<sup>‡</sup> i (gvZ,) fvl v I ms" wZ cwi Z"v<sup>‡</sup>M eva" bv  
Ki v  
(tgtj vbx, 2005:4)

gvZ.fvl v-wf wE<sup>†</sup>K eúfvl x wk<sup>¶</sup> vi D<sup>‡</sup>I k"

Aw` evmx wk<sup>†</sup>i v Zv<sup>‡</sup> i wk<sup>¶</sup> vi Awakvi AR<sup>ø</sup>b th me evav-  
we<sup>‡</sup>Ei m<sup>¶</sup>ØLxb nq, Zvi c<sup>†</sup>i vUvB ` i Kiv m<sup>¶</sup>e hv` Zv<sup>‡</sup> i  
ms" wZ, fvl v I Rxebavi t<sup>¶</sup>Yi cwi te<sup>‡</sup>ki Dci wf wE K<sup>‡</sup>i  
gvZ.fvl v-wf wE<sup>†</sup>K eúfvl x wk<sup>¶</sup>v cPj b Kiv hvq| ØAÁj  
e" w<sup>3</sup> t<sup>‡</sup>K Zvi mvgwRK I mvs" wZK Aw" t<sup>‡</sup>Zj mv<sup>‡</sup>\_ t<sup>‡</sup>q...  
...(evmy 1996 Dw<sup>3</sup> MØbl qvì , 2003:626) wk<sup>¶</sup>v Aw` evmx  
RwZ<sup>‡</sup>MvØxi mvgwRK I mvs" wZK gj "tev<sup>‡</sup>tai cØZdj t<sup>‡</sup>bi  
gva"tg e" Z Zv<sup>‡</sup> i Aw" Z<sup>‡</sup>KB - K<sup>¶</sup>Z t<sup>‡</sup>q|

dj - t<sup>‡</sup>fc gvZ.fvl v-wf wE<sup>†</sup>K eúfvl x wk<sup>¶</sup>v Ggb me DrKó I  
mdj wk<sup>¶</sup>v\_x<sup>ø</sup>%Zi x K<sup>‡</sup>i hvi v GKvav<sup>‡</sup>i wØ-fwl K, wØ-fvl vq  
we` v<sup>‡</sup>b I wØ-ms" wZi avi K (tgtj vbx, 2005) |

wØ-fwl K : thme wk<sup>¶</sup>v\_x<sup>ø</sup>cØZw<sup>‡</sup> t<sup>‡</sup>bi thvMv<sup>‡</sup>h<sup>†</sup>M I wkL<sup>‡</sup>b  
Zv<sup>‡</sup> i gvZ.fvl v I evsj v fvl v ` #Uv e"env<sup>‡</sup>i B  
AvZwek<sup>†</sup>mx I - "Q<sup>‡</sup> teva K<sup>‡</sup>i |

WØfwl K wkī Z LbB - ej fv‡j v dj K‡i hLb  
 - j Kv‡ki fv‡e Zv‡` i gvZ.fvl vq wk¶ v w` ‡Z  
 cv‡i Ges ... tmB fvl vq ‡m A¶ i Ávb ARØ  
 K‡i | weci xZfv‡e, hLb wkī ‡K Zv‡` i gvZ.fvl v  
 bv tkLvg c‡Yw` Z Ki v nq, ZLb Zv‡` i  
 - †f weK weKv‡k - wei n‡q c‡o, Zv‡` i e„w³ MZ  
 I Kí bv kw³ i wfZI boetø n‡q hvq (KygÝ,  
 2000:5) |

wØ-fwl K we` „vb : thme wk¶ v\_x®gvZ.fvl v I evsj v Df q  
 fvl vq mvej xj fv‡e co‡Z I wj L‡Z cv‡i | GB Kvi ‡Y wewf bœ  
 Drm †\_‡K Z\_” cvl qui mthwMI Zv‡` i tekx |

MZ 35 eQi a‡i wewf bœmg‡q cwi Pwj Z 150wUi -  
 I tekx M‡el Yvq RvgØb ` vKibK Mv‡Ui c‡j ‡bv  
 GK Dw³ i B c‡Zdj b N‡U‡Q| wZwB GKmgq  
 etj wQ‡j b th: th e„w³ i ay GKwU fvl v Rv‡b  
 Avmtj tm tmB fvl v m‡‡Ü wKQB Rv‡b bv |  
 M‡el Yvq G avi YvB c‡Zxqgvb nq th, wØ-fwl K ...  
 [Ges wØ-fwl K weØvb] ... wkī i v ` BwU wf bœfvl vq  
 Z\_” Av` vb-c‡vb I we‡k‡Y Ki ‡Z cv‡i etj  
 Zv‡` i wPšwavi v Avi I e„vß I we‡ePbvc‡mZ nq  
 (KygÝ, 2000:4) |

wØ-ms-“Z : thme wk¶ v\_x®Zvi wbR ms-“Z I mgvR m‡‡Ü  
 ch‡ß Ávbm‡úb‡ GKB mv‡\_ evOvj x ms-“Z I mgvR m‡‡ÜI  
 I qwKenvj | Zvi v wf bœ RwZ‡Mvôxi tj vKR‡bi mv‡\_  
 AvZ‡ek‡mi mv‡\_ I mvej xj fv‡e fve webg‡q m¶ g |

c‡K-c‡wgK I c‡wgK - ‡i gvZ.fvl v-wf wËK  
 eüfvl x wk¶ v c‡Pj ‡bi avcmgn

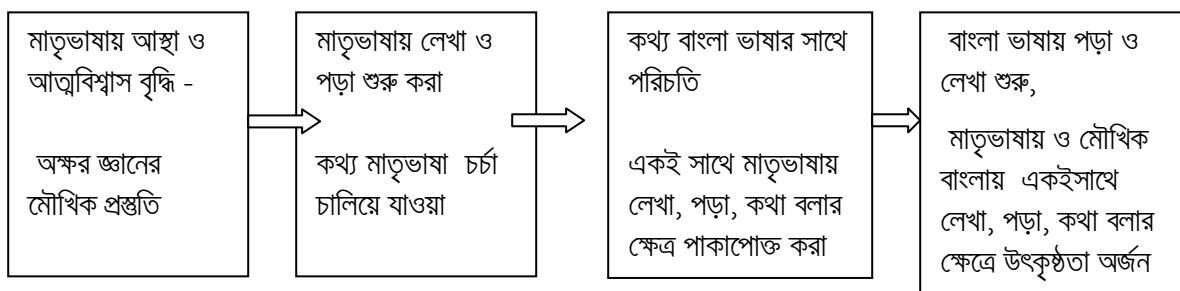
gvZ.fvl v-wf wËK eüfvl x wk¶ v Kg‡Px‡Z c‡g c` ‡¶ c n‡”Q  
 wkī ‡` i K\_”-gvZ.fvl vq K\_v ej ‡Z cvi vi Rb” AvZ‡ek‡mx I  
 mvej xj K‡i M‡o †Zv‡ v| 0c‡K-” j eQi , tj v‡Z Zvi i “i  
 w` ‡Ki fvl v I A¶ i Ávb ci x¶ v Ki ‡Z wM‡q †- bv  
 (1993:228) j ¶” K‡i ‡Qb th, wk¶ Ki v Qv† -Qv† x‡` i GKwU

ØA¶ i Áv‡bi tgŠWLK c‡ wZÓ `‡q †` b (‡cvj b, Zwi Lwenxb t 18) |

K\_ " fvl vq wkii i th wfZ %Zix nq, Zvi wfWE‡ZB †m gvZ.fvl vq co‡Z I wj L‡Z ii " K‡i Ges GKB mv‡\_ K\_ " - gvZ.fvl vq cvKv‡cv³ n‡Z \_v‡K | wkii †` i A¶ i Ávb‡K A\_ën Ki †Z n‡j K\_ " fvl vi mv‡\_ Zv m¤ú³ Ki †ZB n‡e |

Ø wkii i v hv co‡Q I wj L‡Q, K\_ " fvl vi mv‡\_ Zvi wbweo m¤úK© vcb Ki v c‡qvRb| G‡Z K‡i †h me wkii KLbI Qvcvi A¶ †i i mv‡\_ cwi wPZ bq Zvi vi mn‡RB eS‡Z cvi te th K\_ " fvl v wj wLZ AvKv‡i I c‡Kvk Ki v m¤e | Ø (ügvqb, 1993:293: tcvj b, Zwi Lwenxb t 19 )

gvZ.fvl vq k³ wfZ - vc‡bi ci evsj v fvl v‡KI (wØZxq fvl v) K\_ " i †c †kYxK‡¶ cwi wPZ K‡i Zj †Z n‡e | gvZ.fvl vq K\_v ej v I wj L‡Z Rvbvi ` ¶ Zv e¶xi mv‡\_ mv‡\_ wkii i v K\_ " evsj v fvl vq-l mvej xj n‡q DV‡e | µ †g wkii i v evsj vq co‡Z I wj L‡Z ii " Ki †e | d‡j GKB mg‡q wkii i v gvZ.fvl vq co‡Z, wj L‡Z I ej †Z ` ¶ n‡e Ges evsj vq K\_v ej †Z wkL‡e | Gi ci †Kvb ZZxq fvl vi mv‡\_ Zv‡` i cwi Pq Ki †q †` I qv th‡Z cv‡i | †mUv n‡Z cv‡i Bs‡i Rx fvl v (‡gtj vbx, 2005) | wkL‡bi c‡mu qwU‡K bx‡Pi wP‡i i gva‡g †` Lv‡bv n‡j v |



Avb‡wbK wk¶ v e"e" vi Dci wfWE K‡i gvZ.fvl vq ` ¶ Zv I  
Ávb (k³ wfZ) ARb †\_‡K µ gk evsj v fvl vq ` ¶ Zv I Ávb  
AR‡bi (fvtj v †hvMm†) c‡mu qwUi GKwU m¤e" g‡Wj bx‡P  
Dc" vcb Ki v n‡j v |

পি-৫	মাতৃভাষায় দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি বজায় রাখা- পঠন, লিখন ও কথনে বাংলায় দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি বজায় রাখা- পঠন, লিখন ও কথনে
পি-৮	ইংরেজী ভাষার সাথে পরিচিতি (সম্ভব হলে) মাতৃভাষায় দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি বজায় রাখা- পঠন, লিখন ও কথনে বাংলায় দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি বজায় রাখা- পঠন, লিখন ও কথনে
পি-৩	মাতৃভাষায় দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি বজায় রাখা- পঠন, লিখন ও কথনে বাংলায় দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি বজায় রাখা- পঠন, লিখন ও কথনে
পি-২	মাতৃভাষায় দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি বজায় রাখা- পঠন, লিখন ও কথনে বাংলায় দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি বজায় রাখা- পঠন, লিখন ও কথনে
পি-১	মাতৃভাষায় দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি বজায় রাখা- পঠন, লিখন ও কথনে বাংলা ভাষায় কথনে দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি বজায় রাখা বাংলায় পঠন ও লিখনের সাথে পরিচিতিকরণ (অথবা পি-২ তে হলে ভাল) - দ্বিতীয় ভাষা হিসাবে বাংলা
কে-২	মাতৃভাষায় পঠন ও লিখনের সাথে পরিচিতি করণ মাতৃভাষায় কথনের দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি করণ কথ্য বাংলার সাথে স্বল্প পরিচিতিকরণ
কে-১	কথ্য মাতৃভাষা, মাতৃভাষায় প্রাক-পঠন ও লিখনে দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি করণ

$$\text{tK} = \text{c0K} - \text{c0_wgK}; \text{wc} = \text{c0_wgK} + \text{kbx}$$

GB wklb c̄μqvq wkī gvZfvI v evsj v Dfq fvI vB  
mdj fvte wkl‡Z cvi te| ÒGi j ¶ n‡j v, Zvi v Zv‡` i wk¶ v  
Mh‡Yi mv‡\_ mv‡\_ msLvwMwi ‡oi fvI vq [evsj v fvI v] Ávb,  
¶ Zv I AvZweky‡mi mv‡\_ fve Av` vb-c‡v‡b m¶g n‡e  
Ges GKB mv‡\_ Zv‡` i fvI v, BwZnvm I mvs- wZK HwZn‡K  
Zvi v fv‡j vevm‡e I k‡xv Ki teÓ (tgtj vbx, 2005:6)

Dc‡i v<sup>3</sup> g‡W‡j cÂg †kYx cvm Ki vi ci Qv† -Qv† xi v Zv‡` i  
gvZfvl v I evsj v Df q fvl v‡ZB mvej xj f v‡e co‡Z, wj L‡Z  
I K\_v ej ‡Z cvi †e| dj - †fc, Aw` evmx wkii i v gvZfvl v I  
evsj vq h\_vh\_ ` ¶ Zv I AvZ‡ekym wb‡qB mdj I mµµ q  
wk¶ v \_ wnmv‡e qva“wqK - #j fwZ©n‡Z cvi †e|

gvZ.fvl v-wf wEK eûfvl x wkP v KgmPx dj cmy  
nl qvi Dcv` vbmgn

AvšRwZK chitq eûfvl x wkP v KgmPx, tj vi Dci tgjtj vbx  
(2005) KZK cwi Pwj Z Mtel Yvq tek wkQz mnvqK Dcv` vb  
wPwý Z Ki v ntqfQ hv gvZ.fvl v-wf wEK eûfvl x wkP v e'e' vtK  
dj cmy Ki vi mnvqK |

GKwU mdj gvZ.fvl v-wf wEK GgGj B KgmPx e' Z wkii evÜe  
wkP v KgmPx B bvgvšt | thLvtb wkii i v wkLb cmy qvq  
mwu qfvtmoxú<sup>3</sup> ntq - j I enEi mgvR cwi mti cfve we'-  
vi Kvi x mmxvš-MhY cmy qvq AskMhY Ki fz mP g| wkP vtK  
KvhKi Kti Zj fz AwffveK I mgvtRi AskMhY AZ"-š-  
, i "ZcY" - ej i fvl v I e<sup>3</sup> e' gj Z H mgvtRi B fvl v I  
e<sup>3</sup> e' nl qv DwPZ |

1 | gvZ.fvl v I evsj v fvl vi wj Lb c×wZ (we'i x evbvb  
wj wc)

eûfvl x wkP v KgmPx dj cmy Ki vi Rb" gvZ.fvl vtZ cov  
I tj Lvq ` P Zv ewx Ki fz nte| evsj vt` tk me  
Aw` evmx fvl vq we'i x evbvb c×wZ tbB| Kvi I  
HwZnwmKfvte wbR-^ wj wc AvtQ, Avevi tKD Zvt` i  
fvl vi Rb" evbvb wj wc ^Zvi Kti wbqfQ| thgb wj ej v  
tMwÔ mmxvš-wbqfQ th Zvi v Zvt` i fvl v tKvKtevi tK-  
Gi Rb" ti vgvb wj wc e'envi Ki te| Abw` tk  
PvKgvf` i wbR-^HwZnwmK wj wc i tqfQ|

PvKgv wj wc	<b>ပတ်ကျေ သ-ပါရ</b>
ti vgvb wj wc fz Mvfi v fvl v	<b>Skangpa Ma·any Kue</b>
evsj v wj wc fz I i wl fvl v	<b>পরথমে মায়কের ভাষা</b>

hw` tKvb fvl vq we'i x evbvb wj wc bv \_vtK Zvnfj bZb  
Kti ^Zvi Ki fz nte A\_ev cPwj Z tKvfbv fvl v t\_tK  
MhY Ki fz nte| ØAvmj j P" nj Ggb GKwU evbvb

wj wi ci cMqb hv GKvavti H gvZ.fvl v eenvi Kvi x<sup>f</sup> i  
 Kv<sup>f</sup>Q Ges mswk<sup>e</sup> mi Kvi x c<sup>i</sup>Z<sup>o</sup>v<sup>f</sup>bi Kv<sup>f</sup>Q M<sup>h</sup>Y<sup>f</sup>hvM<sup>o</sup>  
 nq<sup>o</sup>| (tgtj vbx, 2005: 11) | evsj v<sup>f</sup> tki temi Kvi x  
 ms<sup>-</sup> v I w<sup>k</sup>P<sup>i</sup> v c<sup>i</sup>Z<sup>o</sup>v<sup>b</sup>, t<sup>j</sup> v G t<sup>¶</sup> f<sup>¶</sup> H Rb<sup>f</sup>Mv<sup>o</sup>x I  
 mi Kvi tK mn<sup>f</sup>hwM<sup>o</sup>Z<sup>v</sup> Ki tZ cv<sup>f</sup>i | we<sup>i</sup> x evbv<sup>b</sup> wj wc  
 bZ<sup>b</sup> K<sup>f</sup>i cMqb Kiv wKsev cPw<sup>j</sup> Z tKv<sup>f</sup>bv wj wc cQ<sup>f</sup>  
 K<sup>f</sup>i tbqvi c<sup>f</sup>i v c<sup>i</sup> q<sup>w</sup>U Aek<sup>f</sup>B mevB<sup>f</sup>K wb<sup>f</sup>q  
 AskM<sup>h</sup>Ygj K ntZ nte hv<sup>f</sup>Z mswk<sup>e</sup> Rb<sup>f</sup>Mv<sup>o</sup>xi c<sup>i</sup>Z<sup>w</sup>bwa  
 I H fvl vfvl x RbMY Povš-wm<sup>x</sup>vš- tbqvi t<sup>¶</sup> f<sup>¶</sup> Ask  
 wb<sup>f</sup>Z cv<sup>f</sup>i |

2| gvZ.fvl v I evsj vq ch<sup>q</sup>mu<sup>f</sup>gK cv<sup>w</sup>eB

w<sup>k</sup>P<sup>i</sup> v\_x<sup>f</sup> i gvZ.fvl v I evsj vq mvej xj fv<sup>f</sup>e covi  
 ^P<sup>i</sup> Zv ewx<sup>i</sup> Rb<sup>w</sup> wewf<sup>b</sup>e i K<sup>f</sup>gi gvbm<sup>w</sup>úb<sup>e</sup> covi eB  
 L<sup>e</sup>B c<sup>f</sup>q<sup>w</sup>Rb| c<sup>i</sup>K-c<sup>i</sup>wgK I c<sup>i</sup>wgK Kv<sup>f</sup>ki i i "i  
 w<sup>f</sup>tK 3/4w<sup>w</sup> k<sup>f</sup>ai mnR I tQvU ev<sup>f</sup>K<sup>w</sup>i covi eB  
 Zv<sup>f</sup> i mvej xj I ^Z covi ^P<sup>i</sup> Zv evov<sup>f</sup>e| cAg tkbx  
 ch<sup>w</sup>- K<sup>w</sup>m I ^P<sup>i</sup> Zv Abjmv<sup>f</sup>i kā , t<sup>j</sup> v ax<sup>f</sup>i ax<sup>f</sup>i  
 Av<sup>f</sup>i v R<sup>w</sup>Uj I eo ev<sup>f</sup>K<sup>w</sup> ci bZ Ki tZ nte| covi  
 eB, t<sup>j</sup> v Aek<sup>f</sup>B Zv<sup>f</sup> i ci wPZ Mí , RvqMv I Rxeb  
 avi vi c<sup>i</sup>Zdj b \_vKtZ nte|

wb<sup>f</sup>Pi QKwU<sup>f</sup>Z tg<sup>f</sup>j vbx (2005), cv<sup>w</sup>eB Gi Pvi wU  
 ch<sup>q</sup>fK e<sup>w</sup>L<sup>w</sup> K<sup>f</sup>i tQ- gvZ.fvl v I w<sup>w</sup>Zxq fvl v (evsj v)  
 w<sup>k</sup>P<sup>i</sup> vi Rb<sup>w</sup> |

ch <sup>q</sup> -1 DcKi Y mgn	ch <sup>q</sup> -2 DcKi Y mgn	ch <sup>q</sup> -3 DcKi Y mgn	ch <sup>q</sup> -4 DcKi Y mgn
gvZ.fvl vq co <sup>f</sup> Z cv <sup>f</sup> i vi w <sup>k</sup> P <sup>i</sup> vi Rb <sup>w</sup>	gvZ.fvl v ^Z co <sup>f</sup> Z cv <sup>f</sup> i vi ^P <sup>i</sup> Zvi Rb <sup>w</sup>	gvZ.fvl v ntZ evsj vi (w <sup>w</sup> Zxq fvl v) i fcvš- ti i Rb <sup>w</sup>	gvZ.fvl v I evsj vq mvi v Rxeb covi Rb <sup>w</sup>

ch<sup>q</sup>mu tg covi DcKi Y

mnR t<sup>f</sup>K R<sup>w</sup>Uj ch<sup>q</sup> hv<sup>w</sup> qv

(tgtj vbx, 2005: 13)

¶k¶ vi (covi) Dc` vbmgn Aek''Bt

- ¶k¶ v\_x¶` i Kv‡Q AvKl Yxq Ges Zv‡` i cwi wPZ mgvR I ms- ¶Z i mv‡\_ mgvÄm cY©n‡Z n‡e
- fvl v mnR Ges tevaMg n‡Z n‡e
- cW'µ tgi Gi mv‡\_ Qwe, tj vi cwi ®vi mvhjR \_vK‡Z n‡e
- cW'µ g I Qwe Df qB- cwi ®vi , eo I i wOb n‡Z n‡e |

Avgv‡` i Aw` evmx Rb‡Mvôx, tj vi mbvZb Mí , Qov I KweZvi mgx fvÛvi Av‡Q, cvV'mPx i m` Avgi v tmLvb t‡KB wb‡Z cwi | tZgwb b-‡Mwôi ¶kii i v Zv‡` i wb‡R‡` i Rxetbi Mí wj L‡Z cv‡I , hv Ab" ¶kii i v co‡Z cvi te |

3 | cØmw½K ¶k¶ v` vb I ¶k¶ Yxq Dcv` vb/ cV'mPx -  
gvZ.fvl v, mgvR Ges wb¶` Ø ms- ¶Z  
RvZxq cW'µ g I ¶k¶ vc¶` vb wel qe- , tj v Aw` evmx  
¶kii ‡` i gvZ.fvl vq Ab‡gw` Z I mn‡hvMx nl qvi  
c‡qvRb Ges b-‡Mwôi ms- ¶Z I gj "tevtai c‡Zwe¤^  
nl qv Ri "i x| GB t¶ t† cvV'mPx‡K i agv† Abjev`  
Ki tj B Pj te bv G‡Z Aw` ‡Mwô ms- ¶Z fvl v Ges  
gj "tevtai c‡Zdj b \_vK‡Z n‡e| G t¶ t† Aek''B  
¶i ‡Mwôi tbZv‡` i mv‡\_ Av‡j vPbv K‡i wmxvš- MhY  
Ki ‡Z n‡e tKbbv Zvi vB Zv‡` i fvl v I ms- ¶Z i Awf Á  
avi K I evnK |  
cØmw½K ¶k¶ v` vb Ges ¶k¶ bxq Dcv` vb , tj v  
Aw` evmx tMwôi eYbvi gva"tg MWb Ki v c‡qvRb|  
¶k¶ vbxq Dcv` vb, tj v Awf ÁZv I Ávtbi cwi t‡¶ t‡B  
MwVb Ki v DwPZ - hv ¶kii i v - ej ¶k‡L \_v‡K | cwi wPwZ  
cwi tek ev e- B cW'µ tgi mPK nl qv c‡qvRb|  
cj mb (Zwi Lwenxb) e"vL"v K‡i tQb th, ¶k¶ vmpx  
Aek''B cwi wPwZ cwi tek t‡K tbi qv c‡qvRb bZev  
¶kii ‡` i Dci tbwZevPK c‡Fve co‡Z cv‡i |

hLb **wk**¶ v\_x® fvl v ms- ¢Z Ges cwi cwk, K  
 Awf ÁZv , t j v cvV'mPx‡Z D‡c¶ v Ki v nq ZLb  
 wKš' **wk**¶ v\_x wb‡R‡K wbMnxZ wKsev eWÁZ g‡b  
 Ki ‡Z i i " K‡i | - t j i Acimw½K cW Ñ Rxeb I  
 cW\_ex m¤‡Ü hv wKQB Zvi Ávb me wKQB GK  
 j ngvq awj - ¢Z K‡i t` q| (Kgxb, 2002:2,  
 cj mb, Zwi L wenxb : 7)

wkii i v ZLbB Lj f v‡j v **wk**¶ v\_x®nq hLb wbR M‡ni Ávb  
 I ` ¶ Zv Zvi v - j - **wk**¶ vq e"envti i m‡hvM cvq| hLb  
 Aw` evmx wkii ‡` i Ávb I ` ¶ Zv‡K K‡tm mWVKi ‡c  
 gj "vqb Ki v nq ZLb Zv‡ i ms- ¢Z I fvl vl GKB  
 mv‡\_ gj "vqb cvq- Gi gva"‡gB - xKwZ cvq evsj v‡` kx  
 wnmv‡e Zv‡ i RvwZmE| y

4 | mµq **wk**¶ v cµqvq - vbxq **wk**¶ K‡` i wb‡qvM |  
cik¶ Y

Aw` evmx wkii Ges Zv‡ i **wk**¶ vi Dci wbwgZ newf bœ  
 mgx¶ v I tKškj c‡i (c‡wgK I MYwK¶ v gšYvj q,  
 2005; e"vK, 2004; AvBwmBGd, 2006) t` Lv tM‡Q  
 th, wkii ‡` i fvl v ej ‡Z cvi v - vbxq **wk**¶ K‡` i wb‡qvM  
 I cik¶ Y tekx t` I qvUvB dj c‡ny| G t¶ ‡i **wk**¶ Ki vI  
 wb‡R‡` i c‡Z Av- vKxj nq, tKbbv tm wkii ‡` i mv‡\_  
 Zv‡` i gvZ.fvl v ej ‡Z m¶ g| tZgbw wkii i v we‡kl K‡i  
 tg‡qi v, **wk**¶ ‡Ki mv‡\_ wb‡Ri fvl vq fve Av` vb-  
 c‡ v‡bi K‡i wb‡R‡K tMw f‡ f v‡e d‡j Zvi Av- vI  
 te‡o hvq mv‡\_ mv‡\_ **wk**¶ vi gvbl te‡o hvq| GB Z\_“  
 c‡wYZ th, thB **wk**¶ K wkii i gvZ.fvl v Rv‡b Zvi v  
 we‡kl K‡i tg‡q-wk¶ Ki v Qv‡ x‡` i mv‡\_ K‡k A‡bK  
 tmsnv` ©cY©e"envi K‡i |

G‡Z tevSv hvq th, mi Kvi x wbq‡g **wk**¶ K‡` i wb‡qvM  
 Ges tcmwós Gi th e"e- v Zv‡Z Aw` evmx‡` i Pwn` v  
 ci ‡b thb m¶ g nq Zv j ¶" i vL‡Z n‡e| hv wCBoWwic

2-G (c̄l̄\_gK wk̄l v Db̄gb c̄wi Kí bv) BwZ c̄te©Av̄te` b  
 Ki v n̄q̄tQ| GB c̄ti v c̄xwZ̄tZ Av̄ti v tekx K̄ti  
 Aw` evmx Rb̄tMv̄ox̄tK wb̄R wb̄R Gj vKvq wk̄l KZv Ki vi  
 weI qwU mg\_þ I teMevb Ki v DwPZ| Gi d̄tj m̄xu` t̄K  
 Av̄ti v tekx `¶ Zvi mv̄t\_ ēenvi K̄ti - vbxq tc̄l̄ t̄Z  
 c̄m̄w½K wk̄l v I wk̄Lb wb̄ðZ Ki v m̄x|  
 hLb wk̄l t̄Ki mv̄t\_ gvZ.fvl vq Av̄j vc-Av̄tj vPbv Ki v  
 hvq Ges cvV'mPx wb̄R ms̄ Z I Rxeb Nwb̄o nq ZLb  
 AwffveKi v Zv̄t` i m̄št̄b̄t` i - j - Rxeb I tj Lvcovi  
 mv̄t\_ Nwb̄o f̄v̄te Rwofq c̄to Ges μ t̄g c̄V'μ t̄gi mv̄t\_  
 Zv̄t` i mgvR I ms̄ Z i c̄m̄w½KZv L̄tR cvq|  
 GB mKj wk̄l K̄t` i t̄K Kv̄hKix c̄k̄l Y t̄` l qv L̄eB  
 Ri "i x t̄Kbbv Gi d̄tj Zvi v tk̄bxK̄t̄l wk̄i mj f wk̄l v  
 c̄wi tek m̄ótZ m̄l g n̄te Ges GKB mv̄t\_ wk̄i t̄` i  
 wk̄l v ēe` vq c̄l̄Yeš-AskM̄hY wb̄ðZ Ki t̄e| - j t̄K  
 Aek''B ĀtbK Av̄ši K n̄tZ n̄te| wk̄l K̄t̄K Aek''B G  
 ēvcv̄t i wb̄ðZ n̄tZ n̄te thb c̄l̄ZwU Qv̄l - Qv̄l xB  
 c̄V'μ t̄g m̄μ qfv̄te h̄p \_v̄t̄K| Zvi v c̄k̄eKi t̄e, Zv̄t` i  
 wPšv-avi v wb̄tq t̄Lvj v̄t̄gj v Av̄tj vPbv Ki t̄e, Ab̄vb''  
 wk̄i t̄` i mv̄t\_ Kv̄R Ki vi Ges Zv̄t` i wb̄R mgvR t̄\_t̄K  
 Zv̄t` i wk̄l v-fv̄Uvi m̄x Ki t̄e| wk̄l Ki v G ēvcv̄t i  
 mZK° \_v̄K̄tZ n̄te thb, wk̄i i v Ab̄vb'' ev" Pv wk̄sev  
 c̄l̄Beq- Øvi v DZ''v³ , wb̄cxwoZ wk̄sev ^el "t̄gi wk̄Kvi  
 bv nq|

## 5 | mgvR m̄tPZ bZv Ges AskM̄hY

Aw` evmx mgv̄tR gvZ.fvl v-wf w̄EK ēu-fvl v wk̄l v ēe` vi  
 ch̄w̄B avi Yv I DcKwi Zv m̄x̄tÜ Rv̄bv̄t bv c̄t̄qvRb|  
 dj c̄l̄y gvZ..fvl v wf w̄EK ēu fvl v wk̄l v mgv̄tRi  
 AwffveK I Av̄ši K tbZv̄t` i Av̄ši K mn̄t̄hwm̄Zvi  
 gva"t̄gB nl qv m̄x| wcBwWwc-2 t̄Z mgv̄tRi  
 AskM̄hYi c̄t̄qvRbxqZv Zt̄j ai v n̄q̄tQ|  
 Av̄ti KwU , i "Zc̄Y° Rv̄qMv n̄"Q - j ēe` vcbv K̄gU  
 (GmGgw) | wcBwWwc-2 t̄Z ej v n̄q̄tQ th GmGgw t̄Z

Aw` evmx AwffveKf` i h<sup>β</sup> nl qv GKvš- Ri "i x  
 (wCbwWc-2, 2005) wKš' ev- e wP̄ n̄tj v  
 ðAwffveKf` i gj Z tKvb i Kg Ask M̄hb-B t̄bB - gj  
 e- e- vcbv KwgwUtzó (c̄l\_wgK I MYwK̄ v gšYvj q,  
 2006:9) | gvZ.fvl v-wf wĒK eū-fvl v wK̄ v KgñPx̄Z  
 AwfveK, wK̄ I mgv̄tRi m` m- f` i h<sup>β</sup> n̄tq Gi Db̄qb  
 I mdj Kv̄hKi Y GKvš-Ri "i x |  
 ¶ i t̄Mwō , t̄j vi gvZ.fvl v wK̄ vi gj " I c̄t̄qvRbxqZv  
 m̄t̄Ü mRvM nl qv c̄t̄qvRb Zv̄t̄ I wbtRf` i fvl v I  
 ms- wZi mgv̄x mvātbi Rb" | GKB mv̄t\_ evsj v  
 fvl v̄t̄ZI ` Lj t̄bI qv Ri "i x |

6 | t̄Rj v I RvZxq ch̄t̄q m̄tPZbZv ēwX Ki Y  
 hZ̄Y ch̄s- bv - gj Dc̄tRj v I t̄Rj v ch̄t̄qi  
 KgKZvMY wK̄ t̄` i gvZ..fvl v wF wĒK eū-fvl v wK̄ v  
 e- env̄ti i gj " I Dc̄t̄hwMZvi c̄f̄ve ēs̄t̄Z cvi t̄e bv  
 ZZ̄b ch̄s-GB KgñPx mdj fvt̄e - gj , t̄j v̄t̄Z c̄t̄qvM  
 Ki v m̄t̄e bq | c̄l̄vb wK̄ K, Dc̄tRj v wK̄ v Awdmvi ,  
 t̄Rj v c̄l\_wgK wK̄ v KgKZ̄ Ges cveZ" t̄Rj v  
 mfvcwZi GB Df` v̄t̄Mi mn̄nZ GKvZzv GKvšB Ri "i x |

cveZ" PÆM̄t̄g c̄l\_wgK wK̄ vi ` wqZj n̄t"Q cveZ" t̄Rj v  
 cwi l̄t̄ i | Zv̄t̄` i w̄bR- ^AvĀwj K c̄xwZi e- envi K̄t̄  
 m̄tPZbv I thwM"Zv MVb Ki v DwPZ | Z̄te RvZxq  
 ch̄t̄q c̄l\_wgK wK̄ v cwi Kí bv, thgb wCbwWc-2 c̄bqb  
 I cveZ" PÆM̄t̄g ev- evq̄tbi mgq mi Kv̄ti i Aek" B  
 GB w̄t̄kl` wqZj KZ̄e" mḡn - xKwZ t̄` qv c̄t̄qvRb |

RvZxq ch̄t̄q c̄l\_wgK wK̄ v Awā` Bi , c̄l\_wgK I  
 MYwK̄ v gšYvj q Ges cveZ" PÆM̄t̄g w̄t̄l qK gšYvj q̄t̄K  
 gvZ.fvl v-wf wĒK eūfvl v wK̄ vi c̄t̄qvRbxqZv m̄t̄Ü  
 m̄tPZb n̄t̄Z n̄t̄e| e- Z GB c̄xwZwU wek` Av̄t̄j vPbvi  
 gva"t̄gB GKwU mn̄t̄hvMx i vR%bWZK c̄wi t̄ek cvl qv  
 t̄h̄t̄Z cv̄ti | mn̄m̄vā Db̄qb j̄ " (GgwWwR) I BGdG

j ¶ "gv̄ v Aw` evmx AĀtj ARb Ki tZ n̄tj c̄l\_wgK |  
MYwK¶ v gšpj q Ges c̄l\_wgK wK¶ v Awā` B̄ti i  
Aek'B gvZ.fvl v-wf wĒK eūfvl x wK¶ v‡K GKwU Kv̄hKi  
c×wZ wnmv‡e Mb̄ Ki tZ n̄te| tmB mv‡\_ wK¶ v ēē vi  
AšfP³ Ki Y ZYgj t‡K i i" K‡i D"p ch‡qi  
cwi Kj cbv Ges mgvR I Rb‡Mw̄ōi AskM̄‡bi  
t¶ i, wj tZ wCBwWwC-2 Gi D‡l̄ K̄mgn ev̄ evq‡b-I  
GKwU Kv̄hKi c×wZ |

7 | mn‡hwMZvcY⁰i vR%bwZK cwi tek  
evsj vt` tki fvl v I wK¶ v ēē vq cwi - wi fv‡e tKvb  
cwi w̄m ev w` K wb‡` Rbvi Afve i ‡q‡Q hvi dj k̄wZ‡Z  
mi Kvi x - j , t̄j v gvZ.fvl v-wf wĒK eū fvl v wK¶ v ēenvi  
M̄htY evavM̄ | gvZ.fvl vq wK¶ v M̄htY-wewf bəmi Kvi x Pw³  
I tKškj c‡l̄ GUv ē³ i ‡q‡Q| RvZxq I AvšRwZK  
fv‡e G‡K Kv̄hKi x ifc t` I qvi t¶ t̄ tKvb wbw` Ø  
KgmPx GLb ch‡S-tbl qv nqwb| GUv ci eZx⁰Av‡j vPbvq  
mek` fv‡e ēvL v Ki v ntq‡Q|

RvZxq ch‡q, gvZ.fvl v-wf wĒK eūfvl x wK¶ v KgmPx  
i vR%bwZK mg\_‡bi c‡qvRb tKbbv Gi d‡j B  
evsj vt` tki wki t` i mevi Rb" wK¶ v KgmPx  
tKškj c‡l̄ AšfP nl qv hvq| GB KgmPx‡K dj c̄l I  
wUwK‡q i vLvi Rb" cveZ" PÆM̄g, cveZ" PÆM̄g  
AvĀwj K cwi l` , cveZ" tRj v cwi l` Gi g‡a" ` p  
mn‡hwMZvq GKvš-Kvg|

8 | mn‡hwMx c̄lZwba` t̄j i mnwZ mgšq mwab (c̄lZwU  
mi Kvi x ch‡q, -j , temi Kvi x c̄lZwba, `vZv, tM̄l̄ xq,  
tBZv, ms-awZK Abj ½, AwfFveKe, wki i v, agxq  
msNVb, wCwUAwB)

dj c̄l̄y gvZ..fvl v-wf wĒK eū-fvl v KgmPx ev̄ evq‡b c̄lZwU  
c̄lZwba‡K Aek'B m̄w̄q Dcw- wZ I mn‡hwMZvi nvZ

evov‡Z n‡e| GUv Ggb wRwbI bv th, tKvb e„w<sup>3</sup> wKsev  
 c‡Zwbwa GKvb m¤úb¤Ki ‡Z cvi ‡e| AvÂwj K, tRj v, RvZxq  
 | AvŠRWZK ch‡q m¤¤wj Z c‡Póvi d‡j B Gi c‡u Ub  
 n‡e|

wKQy t÷ K†nvì vi ‡` i ‡K j ‡¶ „ tc‡Qv‡bvi Rb“ GKm‡½ KvR  
 Ki v c‡qvRb| tm, ‡j v n‡j v t

↑  
 - vbxq t wki i v, AwffveKe` , AvÂwj K tbZvi v  
 (Kvevi x) agxq tbZvi v,  
 wk¶ Ke` , c‡avb wk¶ Ke`  
 BDwbqb t BDwbqb cwi l ` wk¶ v KwgwU, | qvw©  
 m` m“e`  
 Dc‡Rj v t Dc‡Rj v wk¶ v KgKZ®  
 ‡Rj v t cveZ“ tRj v cwi l ` , tRj v c‡\_wgK wk¶ v  
 Awdm, mvs- wZK  
 tK> ` , temi Kvi x c‡Zôvb, tRj v gwnj v |  
 wki wel qK Awdm,  
 RwZms‡Ni G‡RYx/ c‡Zwbwa, tWc¶U  
 Kwgkbvi , MYgva“g  
 c‡` wK K t cveZ“ PÆMög, c‡` wK K cwi l ` , tRj v wk¶ v  
 Kvhwj q / Awdm,  
 wcuAvB  
 RvZxq t c‡\_wgK wk¶ v wefvM, c‡\_wgK | MYwK¶ v  
 gšYvj q cveZ“  
 PÆMög wel qK gšYvj q, ` vZv, RwZmsN  
 G‡RYx/ c‡Zwbwa,  
 temi Kvi x c‡Zôvb, wek¶e` “vj q, MYgva“g

↓

↔

# বাংলাদেশের আদিবাসী জাতিগোষ্ঠী

evsj vt` k mvs- wZK, agxq I fvl vMZ w` K w` tq weWPi GKwU  
t` k| G t` tk 45 wUi I tekx - Zsi I mgx RwwZtMwOi  
emevm, hvi gtaa cIq 98 kZvsk RbmsLvj msLvj Ny  
evOvj x| ewK 2 kZvsk Rjto AvfQ mgxkj x msLvj Ny  
RwwZtMwOxmgm| GB tMwO, tj v hw` I wbRt i tk ØAw` evmxØ  
wnmvteB wPwyZ Kti wKs' evsj vt` tk wewfba cIZte` b I  
mwntZ Zvt` i tk A` j e` j Kti KLbl ØmsLvj Ny  
RwwZtMwOØ, ØAw` evmxØ wKsev Ø DcRwwZØ bvfg wPwyZ Ki v  
nqfQ|

mocIZ Abfgw` Z ØAw` evmx wkii t` i gj tmftZ AšfØ Ki tY  
cIwgK wkP v cwi wZ chfeP Y, tKskj I Kgëwi Kí bv  
cIyqbØ (cIwgK I MYwkP v gšYvj q, 2006)-q Zvt` i tk  
DcRwwZ wnmvte wj wce x Ki v nqfQ| Abw` tk ` wi `  
wefgvPb tKskj ctI i (evsj vt` k mi Kvi, 2005) PoVŠ-  
Lmovq mi Kvi Zvt` i tk Aw` evmx/msLvj Ny RwwZtMwO  
käPqb Kti b| 2004 mvfj i RwwZmsN AvšRwwZK Aw` evmx  
w` etm cIvbgšx RwwZtMwO, tj vi DfI tk` t` qv evYxZ  
Zvt` i tk ØAw` evmxØ wnmvte Dfj E Kti b| GB WKfgtUI  
ØAw` evmxØ käwUB eenvi Ki v nqfQ tkbbv Zvi v  
wbRt` i tk G bvfgB wPwyZ Kti \_vt` k|

## Aw` evmx RwwZtMwOxi Ae` vb

evsj vt` tk fvl v, mvgwRK tfSfMwj K Ae` vb Ges cIšKZvi  
gtaa GKUv wbweo thwMmI i tqfQ| teiki fwm Aw` evmx  
RwwZtMwOx evsj vt` tk i cIZs-AAtj emevm Kti | Zvi v gj Z  
mxgvšeZx® AAtj evm Kti, wefkl Kti DEi e½ (i vRkvnx

wef v‡Mi c‡ð gvsk), en‡Ei gqgbwmsn (XvKv wef v‡Mi D‡Ei vsk), en‡Ei wmtj U (D‡Ei ce©I ` w¶ Yce©wmtj U wef vM) Ges PÆMØg wef v‡Mi cveZ” PÆMØgvÅj ‡hLvtb Avevi metP‡q tekx msL”K Aw` evmx emevm| cZ”š- I wev”Qbf v‡e \_vKvi cvkvckw k Aw` evmx RvwZ‡Mwô ev½vj x‡` i ‡\_‡K mvgwRK | mvs” wZ K w` ‡q A‡bKUvB Avj v` v|

evsj v‡` ‡k Aw` evmx Rb‡Mwôi ‡gvU tj vKmsL”v GL‡bv ARvbv, tKbbv 2001 mv‡j i RvZxq Av` g‡i gvi x‡Z Aw` evmx‡` i Rb” tKvb Kj vg ev RvqMv Avj v` v K‡i wbw` Ø wQj bv| 1991 mv‡j i Av` g‡i gvi x‡Z Aek” Aw` evmx‡` i Avj v` v K‡i AšfØ Kiv nq Ges MYbvq Aw` evmx msL”v c‡q 12 j ¶ wPwýZ Kiv nq| GB MYbv KZUv -”Q Zv wb‡q A úóZv i ‡qtQ tKbbv gv† 27wU Aw` evmx ‡Mwô‡K GLvtb wPwýZ Kiv n‡q‡Q| Gi g‡a” Avevi t` Lv ‡M‡Q, wKQy RvwZ‡Mwô‡K ` þevi AšfØ Kiv n‡q‡Q, Avi ‡KD c‡i vcyi ev` c‡o ‡M‡Q|

Z‡e 1991 t\_‡K 2001 mv‡j i RvZxq RbmsL”v ewx i ewl K nvi 1.48 kZvsk Abjhvqx Abgvb Kiv hvq, 2001 mv‡j Aw` evmx RbmsL”v c‡q 18 j ‡¶ i gZ n‡Z cv‡i, hv` I evsj v‡` k Aw` evmx ‡dvi v‡gi g‡Z G RbmsL”v Av‡i v tekx, c‡q 30 j ¶ | e‡v‡Ki mv‡c‡Z K GK M‡el Yv (i wd, 2006) Abjhvqx Aw` evmx Lvbi msL”v evsj v‡` ‡ki ‡gvU Lvbi c‡q 1.5 kZvsk |

t‡wej -1 t evsj v‡` ‡k Aw` evmx‡` i ‡f Š‡Mwôj K Ae- vb

‡f Š‡Mwôj K Ae- vb	Aw` evmx ‡Mwô		
en‡Ei gqgbwmsn (gqgbwmsn, tb† ‡KvYv, ‡ki c‡j ‡Rj v)	Mv‡i v nvRs ‡KvP	eg‡b Wvj y ‡nwW	evbvB i vReskx
MvRxci	eg‡b	‡KvP	Mv‡i v
mgj ‡DcKj xq Gj vKv (cUqvLvj x, ei , bv K. evRvi ‡Rj v)	i vLvBb		

enr wmtj U (mþvgMÄ, tgþj f xevRvi , wmtj U, nweMÄ, tRj v)	gwbcj x Lwmmqv Mvþi v	nRs cvl Lwi qv	mvl Zvj I i vl u
cveZ .. PÆMÖg (ev` i eb, i v½vgwU I LwMovQwo tRj v)	PvKgv gvi gv vÍ cþj v egþ cvslj	j mvB ZsP•Nv wLqvs gþ	Avmvg Lþ PvK Lgx
~ wÍ Y-cwðg (hþkvi , mvZ wí xi v , Lj bv tRj v)	evM` x (eþbv)	i vResk x	mvl Zvj
DÉi e½ (i vRkvnx, w` bvRcj , i scj , MvBevÜv, bil Mv,e, ov, wmi vRMÄ, PvcvB beveMÄ, bvþUvi tRj v)	mvl Zvj I i wl gþv gvþj v gvnvj x þLvbþWv	þew` qv f w gR þKvj Z w o w f j KgKvi gvnvþZv	gþi qvi gþmvni cvnvb cvnwwoqv i vB wms

m̄ t miþi Wwvi wU 2002, evsj vt` k Aw` evmx tðvi vg

## fvl vi e"envi

þUwej 1-G Dwj HZ, Aw` evmx t` i gþa" 50 kZvsk i l tekx  
Aw` evmx Zvt` i gvZ.fvl vtZB % bþ` b Rxetbi cþq 80  
kZvsk i l tekx mgq K\_v eþj | Avi tekxi f vM RwZþMwô  
gþ Z 100 f vM mgqB Zvt` i gvZ.fvl v e"envi Kþi | Ab" th  
(me) fvl v Zvi v e"envi Kþi Zv mvavi YZ Ab" tKvþbv  
Aw` evmx fvl v wKsev evsj vfvl v| mgZþj i tek wKQj Aw` evmx  
RwZþMwôx BþZvgþa" Zvt` i fvl v cþq nwí tq tðtj þQ|  
GgbwK evoxþZ wKsev enEi mgvþR thvMvþhvþMi gva" g  
wnmvþe evsj v-B Zvi v tekxi e"envi Kþi \_vþK |

cveZ .. PÆMÖgi tekxi f vM Aw` evmx evmvq cþq cþi vUv mgq  
(100 kZvsk) Zvt` i gvZ.fvl v e"envi Kþi | Ab" tK  
DÉi eþvi Awakvsk Aw` evmx 60 kZvsk i Kg mgq Zvt` i  
wBRMþn gvZ.fvl v e"envi Kþi (i wd, 2006) | LwMovQwoþZ

wkī †` i AwffveK†` i mv‡\_ Av‡j vPbvi gva‡g Rvbv hvq th  
Zvi v Zv‡` i wkī †` i wk¶ v gva‡g mnmv‡e gvZ.fvl v wî cj v‡KB  
evsj vi PvB‡Z tekx c‡qvRbxq I Dc‡hvMx g‡b K‡i  
(Wwibqwb, 2006) |

mgZj Gj vKvi wKQy Aw` evmx RvwZ‡Mvôxi Dci cwi Pwj Z  
mvgwRK fvl vMZ Ri x‡c Guv úófv‡e d‡U D‡V‡Q th Zvi v  
Zv‡` i gvZ.fvl vq K\_v etj Ges me‡P‡q tekx eenvi  
K‡i | wmtj U wefv‡Mi wgZvB fvl vfvl x RvwZ‡Mwôi Dci  
cwi Pwj Z Ri xc Abhvqx (wKg I Abvb, 2003) Zv‡` i g‡a  
evox‡Z Ges 97% Ab wgZvB c‡Z‡ewk†` i mv‡\_ Zv‡` i  
gvZ.fvl v eenvi K‡i | Zvi v g‡b K‡i th gvZ.fvl v Zv‡` i  
RvwZ‡Mwôi Rb me‡P‡q KvhKix fvl v| weòwclqv fvl vfvl x  
(wKg I Abvb, 2003), wecew-^Rwšqv fvl vfvl x (ewBUwej I  
Abvb, 2003), I mvl Zvj †` i GKvsk fvl vfvl x‡` i  
(Avn‡g` I Abvb, 2005) g‡a cwi Pwj Z Ri x‡c-I GKB  
ai †bi dj vdj cvl qv wM‡q‡Q |

# বাংলাদেশে মাতৃভাষা-ভিত্তিক বহুভাষী শিক্ষা পদ্ধতি সংশ্লিষ্ট নীতিমালার ত প্রক্রিয়া

evsj vt` tk Aw` evmx RbtMvôx | Zvt` i wk¶ vi AwaKvi wb‡q RvZxq ch‡tqB Ggb me tKškj , cwi Kí bv, KvVtgv | P¶³ we` "gvb hv t` tk i AvbôwbK c‡\_wgK wk¶ v e"e" tq GKwU ` xN© tqx gvZ.fvl v-wfWÉK eûfvil x wk¶ v KgmPx cYq‡bi Rb" Abkj | Zte Aw` evmx wkii t` i wk¶ vi AwaKvi wbwØZ evsj vt` tk i mi Kvi AvR ch‡-G mKj tKškj , cwi Kí bv, KvVtgv | - ¶ vi Z P¶³ Abhvqx Ki Yxq ` wqZi cvj b K‡i wb GgbwK c‡B m¤tebv, ‡j vtKl Kv‡R j vMqwb| mi Kvi hw` Aw` evmx wkii mn evsj vt` tk i mKj wkii i Rb" BGdG wbwØZ Ki vi e"cv‡i m‡Pó \_vtK, Zte Zvt` i tk Aek"b mswké tKškj c† | bxwZgvj vi Avtj vtK KgmPx Pvj vtZ n‡e, tm mv‡\_ P¶³ mg‡ni cY©ev" evqb wbwØZ Ki tk n‡e|

## AvšRWZK bxwZgvj vi tc¶¶ Z

evsj vt` k mi Kvi wk¶ tq ^el g"nxbZv | mgZv wbwØZ Ki tY cPi AvšRWZK mb` | D‡` vtM - ¶ i K‡i ‡Q|

- wek! gvbewaKvi tNvI Yv, 1966|
- wkii AwaKvi m` b, 1989 (1990 mv‡j G mb‡` - ¶ i Kvi x c‡g 22wU t` tk i evsj vt` k Ab"Zg |
- mKj c‡Kvi eY‡el g" ` xKi tY AvšRWZK mb` - 1965|
- bvMvi K I i vR%bwZK AwaKvi - 1966|
- A\_‰bwZK , mvgwRK I mvs"ZK AwaKvi -1966|
- bvxi wei "‡x msNwVZ mKj ^el g" ` xKi tY AvšRWZK mb` - 1979|
- 2015 mv‡j i g‡a" mevi Rb" wk¶ vi WvKvi tNvI Yv | Zrci eZx©P¶³ mgn|

2015 mvtj i gta" mevi Rb" wk¶ v-i WvKvi tNvI Yv

evsj vt` k mi Kvi 2015 mvtj i gta" Ømevi Rb" wk¶ v0(BGdG) Kvhµ g ev evqtb A½xKvi vex | GB Kvhµ tgi j ¶ " ntj v c‡Z"KwU wkii i Rb" m¤úY® A‰eZwbK, eva"Zvgj K I gvbmxúbec¶\_wgK wk¶ vi m¤hvM wbwØZ Ki v| mnR K\_vq Gi Zvrch®ntj v

...wkii i kvi xwi K, tgamZ, mgwRK, gvbwmK, fvl vMZ wksev Ab"vb" ` K wbwe¶k¶l me wkii tKB - ¢j fWZ® m¤hvM w` tZ nte| Gi gta" Ašfp i tqfq c‡ZeÜx | c‡Zfvevb wkii, c\_-wkii I KgRxwe wkii, c‡Z"Š-AA¶j i wksev åvg"gvY Rb¶Mvöxi wkii, wfbe fvl vfvl x, RvwZmEj wksev mvs"ZK msL"ij Ny Rb¶Mvöi wkii Ges Ab"vb" myeavevÅZ ev cWšK Rb¶Mvöi wkii |

w` mvj vgvbKv t÷ U¶g>U GU tdgl qvK®di GKkb, 1994, BGdG WvKvi tdgl qvK®di GKkb 2000-G cbti wj wZ

Aw` evmx Gj vKvq wk¶ vgvatg e"eüZ fvl vi mvt\_ BGdG-i j ¶ " gvt v AR¶b th wbweo thvMm¶ i tqfq Zv B¶Zvgta" B BD¶bt" w, BD¶b¶md I wekje"vsK KZK AvšRvwZKfvte - KZ ntfqfq |

wk¶ v t¶ t¶ BD¶bt" w (2003) Zvi Ae" vb e"vL"v Ki tZ wMfq Zv¶ i GW¶KKb Bb G gwé wj ½qvj I qv® kxl K GKwU tj Lvq mgwRK mgZv eRvq ti tL mevi Rb" gvbmxúb wk¶ v wbwØZ Ki tY eüfvl x wk¶ v c‡wZtK c‡i vc¶i fvte mg\_B Kti tQ| wbæwj wLZ wZbwU gj bxwZi gva"tg BD¶bt" w Zv¶ i Ae" vb¶K e"vL"v Kti tQ :

- 1) BD¶bt" w wk¶ v gva"g wnmvte gvZ.fvl v e"envi Ki v¶K mg\_B Kti tKbbv G‡Z wk¶ v\_x®I wk¶ tKi Ávb I AwfÅZvi Dci wbfp Kti wk¶ vi gvb DbZ Ki v hvq |
- 2) BD¶bt" w wk¶ vi me®-¶i wØ-fvl x Ges eüfvl x wk¶ v¶K mg\_B Kti , tKbbv GuU fvl vMZ fvte

^eWP̄ "gWÜZ mgvRi GKwU gL̄ Dcv` vb wnmt̄e  
 mvgwRK Z\_v bvi x-cj̄ mgZvi Dbq̄b NUvq̄ |  
 3) BDt̄b̄t̄ v fvl v̄t̄K Avš̄mvs̄ ZK wk̄vi GKwU  
 AZ̄vek "K Dcv` vb wnmt̄e Mb̄ K̄ti | hv̄t̄Z Zv wewf b̄  
 Rbt̄Mvôxi ḡtā mḡSvZv I tevSvcovt̄K DrmwñZ K̄ti  
 Ges t̄gš̄wj K AwaKv̄ti i c̄Z mevBt̄K k̄xvk̄j K̄ti  
 t̄Zv̄t̄j (BDt̄b̄t̄ v, 2003: 30) |

### RwZmsN wk̄i AwaKvi mb̄ (1989)

evsj v̄t̄k RwZmsN wk̄i AwaKvi mb̄ Ab̄mg\_B K̄ti c̄Kvi v̄s-  
 ti AvBbx eva"evaKZvi Avl Zvf̄p n̄t̄q̄t̄Q| m̄Zi vs mi Kvi  
 - k̄vi K̄ti wb̄t̄Q th, wk̄i v̄l Zv̄t̄i AwaKvi msi ¶ Y K̄ti  
 hvi ḡtā Ašf̄p i t̄q̄t̄Q wk̄i i Rxet̄bi mKj ai t̄bi AwaKvi  
 - bvMwi K, i vR%bwZK, A\_%bwZK, mvgwRK I mvs̄ ZK  
 AwaKvi | RwZmsN wk̄i AwaKvi mb̄t̄i 28bs Ab̄t̄Q̄t̄  
 mKj wk̄i i Rb̄ A%eZwbK I eva"Zvgj K wk̄vi AwaKvi  
 wb̄O Z Ki v n̄t̄q̄t̄Q|

#### অনুচ্ছেদ-২৮

- ১। অংশগ্রহণকারী রাষ্ট্র সমান সুযোগের ভিত্তিতে শিশুর শিক্ষা লাভের অধিকারকে স্বীকার করবে এবং এই অধিকারকে অধিক বাস্তবায়নের জন্য গ্রহণ করবে, বিশেষ করে :
  - (ক) সর্বার জন্য প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা বাধ্যতামূলক এবং সহজলভ্য করতে হবে।
  - (খ) সাধারণ ও বৃত্তিমূলক শিক্ষাসহ বহুমুখী মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষাকে উৎসাহ দেয়া, প্রতিটি শিশুর জন্য এইরূপ শিক্ষার সুযোগ সৃষ্টি করা। সকল শিশু যেন এ সুযোগ লাভ করতে পারে সে জন্য বিনা খরচে শিক্ষা লাভ ও প্রয়োজনে আর্থিক সাহায্যের উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে।
  - (গ) যোগ্যতার ভিত্তিতে উচ্চশিক্ষার সুযোগ যাতে সবাই পায় সে জন্য সব যথাযথ ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করতে হবে।
  - (ঘ) শিক্ষা বিষয়ক ও বৃত্তিমূলক তথ্য এবং দিক নির্দেশনা সব শিশুর জন্য সহজে গ্রহণযোগ্য ও পর্যাপ্ত হবে।
  - (ঙ) বিদ্যালয়ে নিয়মিত উপস্থিতি উৎসাহিত করা এবং স্কুল ত্যাগের হার কমানোর পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ করবে।
- ২। অংশগ্রহণকারী রাষ্ট্রসমূহ স্কুলের শৃঙ্খলা বিধানের নিয়ম-কানুন যাতে শিশুর মানবিক মর্যাদা এবং এই সনদের সাথে সঙ্গতিপূর্ণ হয় সে জন্য উপযুক্ত সকল ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করবে।

RwZmsN wk'i AwaKvi mb` tKej wk'vi mthvM cvl qvi AwaKvi i gta" wk'i i AwaKvi tK mxgve x i vLwb, ei s 29bs avi vq wk'vi ai Y msúkI Avtj vKcvZ Kti tQ| mKtj i Rb` , YMZ wk'v wk'i i AwaKvi | 29bs avi vi 1 (M) bs Abf"Q` - k'Z w` t"Q th, wk've"e" tK Aek" B wk'i i ms" Z, fvl v I gj "teva tK k'xv Ki tZ nte| Gi gva"tg gj Z gvZfvl v- wf EK eufvl x wk'v c xwZ cMqibi c\_ ck" - nj tKbbv gvZfvl vq wk'v cvl qv th tKvb wk'i i AwaKvi |

#### অনুচ্ছেদ-২৯

- ১। অংশগ্রহণকারী রাষ্ট্রসমূহ শিশু শিক্ষার যে বিষয় সমূহ লক্ষ্য রাখবে তা হচ্ছে :
  - (ক) শিশুর ব্যক্তিত্ব, মেধা এবং মানসিক ও শারীরিক দক্ষতার পূর্ণ বিকাশ।
  - (খ) মানবাধিকার, মৌলিক স্বাধীনতা এবং জাতিসংঘ ঘোষিত নীতিমালার প্রতি শুদ্ধাবোধের বিকাশ।
  - (গ) শিশুর পিতামাতার নিজস্ব সংস্কৃতি, ভাষা, মূল্যবোধের প্রতি শুদ্ধাবোধ এবং যে দেশে বাস করে সে দেশের মূল্যবোধ, শিশুর নিজস্ব মাতৃভূমিসহ অপরাপর সভ্যতার প্রতি সম্মান বোধকে জাগিয়ে তোলা।
  - (ঘ) মৈত্রীর চেতনায় একটি যুক্ত সমাজে দায়িত্বশীল জীবনের জন্য শিশুর প্রস্তুতি নিতে হবে। সে কারণে সমরোতার সাথে শান্তি, সহিষ্ণুতা, নারীপুরুষের সমান অধিকার সহ সকল জনগণ, বিশেষ গোষ্ঠীভুক্ত জাতি (এথনিক), জাতীয় ও ধর্মীয় গোষ্ঠী এবং আদিবাসী সকল লোকজনের প্রতি সমান সম্মান দেখাবে।
  - (ঙ) প্রাকৃতিক পরিবেশের প্রতি শুদ্ধাশীল হতে হবে।
- ২। এই অনুচ্ছেদ কিংবা ২৮নং অনুচ্ছেদ-এর যে কোন অংশ অনুসারে শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান স্থাপন এবং পরিচালনার ব্যাপারে কোন ব্যক্তি বা সংস্থার স্বাধীনতায় হস্তক্ষেপ করা হবে এমন ভাবে কোন ব্যাখ্যা দেয়া যাবে না। যদিনা ১নং অনুচ্ছেদ উল্লেখিত নীতিমালা উক্ত প্রতিষ্ঠান সমূহ অনুসরণ না করে থাকে এবং তাদের শিক্ষার মান যদি রাষ্ট্র কর্তৃক নির্ধারিত মানের সাথে ন্যূনতম সংগতিপূর্ণ না হয়।

wk'i i MymZ wk'v cvl qvi AwaKvi tK i v Ki t j gj Z wk'i i cIZ ^el g"nxbZvi AwaKvi (Abf"Q` -2), wk'i i mtevEg - v\_ Q Abf"Q` -3) Ges wk'i i Rxeb, teP \_vKv I weKvtki AwaKvi tK wbwDZ Ki v nte|

wkii AwaKvi mb‡` i 3Obs avi v Avevi Aw` evmx wkii i ms- wZ  
I fvl vi AwaKvi i ¶ vi Dci , i "Zjw` ‡"Q|

ଅନୁଚ୍ଛେଦ- ୩୦

যে সব দেশে জাতি, গোষ্ঠীগত, ধর্মীয় কিংবা ভাষাগত সংখ্যালঘু কিংবা আদিবাসী সম্প্রদায়ের জনগণ রয়েছে, সমাজের অন্যান্য সদস্যদের সাথে নিজ সংস্কৃতি বজায় রেখে, ধর্মের কথা প্রকাশ এবং চর্চা করা অথবা নিজ ভাষা ব্যবহার থেকে ঐ ধরনের আদিবাসী সংখ্যালঘুদের অধিকার থেকে বঞ্চিত করা যাবে না।

Ómvavi Y gše'ó mn̄mvtē RwZmsN wk̄i AwaKvi mbt̄` (1989) c̄t̄ ve Kiv nt̄qtb thLvt̄b t̄Rvi w̄ tq etj tq òAw` evmx wk̄i i v th AwaK nv̄ti AwaKvi eĀbvi wk̄Kvi nt̄"Q, Zvi wf w̄E‡Z Aw` evmx wk̄i i AwaKvi i ¶vq i v̄t̄óí Revew` mnZv \_vK‡Z nt̄eó (AvBGmR, 2006:30) | mvavi Yf v̄t̄e t̄` Lv hvq, RwZmsN wk̄i AwaKvi mbt̄` i Avl Zvq Aw` evmx wk̄i t̄` i c̄t̄Z ` vqe xZv cvj tb i v̄óí c̄t̄qkB Acvi M c̄t̄wYZ nt̄"Q |

AvBGj I mb` bs 107

evsj v‡` k 1972 mv‡j Aw` evmx I DcRwZ Rb‡Mvôx w l qK  
AvBGj I mb` bs 107 Abmg\_Ø K‡i | G mb‡` i 23bs  
avi vq ej v n‡q‡Q th, Ø mswk  Rb‡Mvôxi wk  t` i tK Zv‡` i  
gvZ.f vI vq cov‡j Lv tK Lv‡Z n‡eØ (AvBGj I 107, 1957) |  
G mb‡` i wf w E‡Z mi Kvi tKv‡bv Kg nPx ev cwi Kí bv c q  
K‡i wb| ci eZx‡Z G mb` -B c btwbI xw¶ Z n‡q - vaxb t` tK  
Aw` evmx Rb‡Mvôx mswk  mb` (169) wnmv e AvZlc KvK  
K‡i I 1992 mvj t‡K KvhKi nq| evsj v‡` k Aek" G  
mb` wU Abtgv` b K‡i wb| (AvBGj I bs- 169: 1991)

*RwZms†Ni Aව` evmx RwZ†MvÔxi AවaKvi msμ vš- Lmov  
†NvI Yy*

Aw` evmx R<sub>w</sub>Z t<sub>M</sub>v<sub>ó</sub>xi Aw<sub>a</sub>Kvi ms<sub>μ</sub> v<sub>š</sub>-L<sub>m</sub>ov R<sub>w</sub>Z msN t<sub>N</sub>v<sub>I</sub> Y<sub>v</sub>  
2006 mv<sub>tj</sub> i R<sub>b</sub> gv<sub>t</sub>m R<sub>w</sub>Z msN gv<sub>bewa</sub>Kvi cwi I ` cmv  
Ki tj I mvavi Y cwi I ` KZ<sub>K</sub> GLbl Zv Abt<sub>gw</sub> Z I M<sub>m</sub>nZ  
nq<sub>wb</sub>| GB L<sub>m</sub>ov t<sub>N</sub>v<sub>I</sub> bvq w<sub>bw</sub> ó<sup>©</sup> w<sub>KQ</sub>y kZ<sup>°</sup> I c<sub>i</sub>Z<sub>weavb</sub>  
Av<sub>t</sub>i vc Ki v n<sub>tq</sub>t<sub>Q</sub> th mKj L<sub>v</sub>t<sub>Z</sub>, Zv nj mvs- w<sub>Z</sub>K I  
tgavMZ m<sub>x</sub>úw<sub>E</sub>, w<sub>k</sub>P<sub>v</sub> (avi v 14), w<sub>k</sub>i k<sub>g</sub> I t<sub>k</sub>v<sub>b</sub> (avi v  
17(2)), m<sub>w</sub>nsmZv I ^el g<sup>°</sup> t<sub>‡</sub>K w<sub>k</sub>i m<sub>j</sub> P<sub>v</sub> (avi v 22) Ges

RwZMZ I mvs-ZK nZvhA | Ó- Zši RwZmEv wnmvte Aw` evmx RbM‡Yi - vaxb, kwš-i mj w¶ Zfvte Rxebavi tbi mgwóK AwaKvi i tq‡Q ...Ó (avi v 7 (2) (AvBGmR, 2006:28) |

RvZxq bxwZvgvj vi tc¶ tZ  
wbw` Øf vte MYcRvZšj evsj vt` tk i msweavb wKsev Gi weagvj v Øvi v G t` tk i Aw` evmx RbtMvôx - KZ ev mj w¶ Z bq| Aek" msweavtbi 28bs avi vq eY© ag©I Rbf- vb tf t` tKv‡bv ai tbi ^el g‡tK wbwl x Ki v ntq‡Q|

msweavb (avi v 15 I 17) A%eZwbK I eva"Zvgj K w¶ vi Dci tRvi w` tq‡Q| tmB mv‡\_ GKwU msMwZcY© MYwf wEK I mveRbxwZ c¶q‡b Ges tKv‡bv GKwU wbw` Ø - + Aewa me wki i Rb" A%eZwbK I eva"Zvgj K w¶ v c‡ vtbi j ¶ " KvhKi e"e" v tbi qvi Rb" mi Kvi tK wb‡` R w` tq‡Q| Z‡e GLv‡b w¶ v‡K c‡qvM‡hvM" tgšvj K AwaKv‡i i tP‡q ei s AvBbMZ f vte c‡qvM‡hvM" bq Ggb GKwU wb‡` Rbv bxwZvgvj v wnmvte t` Lv ntq‡Q|

1990 mv‡j i eva"Zvgj K c‡wgK w¶ v AvBb 6-10 eQi eqmx mKj wki i Rb" c‡wgK w¶ v eva"Zvgj K Ki tj I A%eZwbK Kvi wbðqZv t` qwb| AvBbwU GgbwK w¶ vi , YMZ gvb I cwi wa m¤‡ÜI tZgb Av‡j vKcvZ K‡i wb| GUv cwi ®vi bq th, A%eZwbK eva"Zvgj K w¶ v tKej 6-10 eQi eqmx‡` i g‡a" B mxgvez i vLvi Kvi Y wK hv wKbv Avš-RwZK bxwZvgvj v I wki AwaKvi mb‡` i A‡bK bx‡P| GB AvB‡bi wewf bœ w` K I c‡qvMK dj m¤‡Ü tZgb tKv‡bv c‡Pvi wif hvb bv nl qvi RbMY Rv‡bB bv th c‡wgK w¶ v GLb eva"Zvgj K Ges i vó GUv c‡ vt b` vqex |

Zj wšZ ` wi ` wbi m‡b RvZxq tKškj c‡ (wCAvi Gmwc)- m¤‡ebvi D‡xþPb ( 2005) kxl R tKškj c‡ t Avw` evmx wki ‡` i tK c‡wgK - ‡i B gvZ.fvl vq w¶ v c‡ vtbi , i "‡Zj K\_v ej v ntq‡Q|

5.408 Aw` evmx/ msL"vj Ny RvwZ‡Mvôxi Ae" vi Dba‡bi Rb" bx‡Pi c` ‡¶ , wj wb‡Z nt e t

- cveZ " PÆMÍg kwmš-PÍ<sup>3</sup> i (1997) cY©ev- evqb |
- Aw` evmx / msLvj Ny RwmZ fMvôx hvZ cI\_wgK - + t\_#KB wb#Ri fvl vq wkL#Z cv#i , tmB Abhvqx cI\_wgK - + t\_#KB cvV'mPx cbaqY LéB Ri "i x|  
mæebvi DfægvPb - Zj wšZ ` wi ` wi m#b RvZxq  
tKškj cI , 2005, c, 152-153/

wk¶ vi , YMZ gv#bi K\_v ej #Z tM#j D#j E Ki #Z nq Ø hvi v  
wk¶ v wb#Q Zv#` i Kv#Q Aek'B GUv htvc#hvMx n#Z n#e|  
GUv RxebgJx I RxebgJx nl qv c#qvRb| GUv Ggb  
nl qv DwPZ thb Zv Ávb epx I Av#Z wb#bi nwZqvi mnmvte  
KvhKi n#Z cv#i | Avevi kgevRv#i i Pwn` v tgUv#Z Zv thb  
wk¶ v\_x# Avq epx I ` wi ` wegvP#bi fwgKv cvj b Ki #Z  
cv#i Ø (evsj v#` k mi Kvi , 2005, c, 125)| GU cKvi v#i  
Aw` evmx wk#i I Zv#` i Rb#Mvôxi ms- wZ I fvl vi mv#\_  
mæúKh# wk¶ vi Dci , i "Zy#i vc Kti #Q|

Aw` evmx RbMY#K Zv#` i wbR- ^fvl vq cI\_wgK wk¶ v cI v#bi  
Rb" wCAvi GmwctZ D#j wLZ wb#` R ev- evq#b evsj v#` k  
mi Kvi GLb chs- tKv#bv Kvh#g ev cwi Kí bv tbqw#b| G  
chm#½ wCAvi Gmwct-i tKškj mgn RvZxq BGdG cwi Kí bv  
wKsev RvZxq cI\_wgK wk¶ v KgmPx wCBwWic 2-#Z  
h\_vh\_fv#e cI Zd#j Z nqwb|

cI\_wgK wk¶ v Db#b KgmPx i wZxq ch#qi tcI#Z  
(wCBwWic 2)  
wCBwWic 2 gj Zt evsj v#` #ki Avb#wbK cI\_wgK wk¶ v  
e'e- vi , YMZ gvb Db#bi Rb" tbqv GKwU DcLvZ wf wE#K  
KgmPx| GU evsj v#` k mi Kvi I GMv#i wU  
AvšRwmZK ` vZv ms- vi GKwU mgwšZ D#` vM| Øevsj v#` #ki  
mKj wk#i Rb" YMZ cI\_wgK wk¶ v wbw#Z Ki vB  
(wCBwWic) Gi cI vB j ¶ "Ø (wWicB, Zwi L Awba#i Z)|

wCBwWic 2-Gi gj D#i k"mgn nj t

- mK#j i Rb" wk¶ v (BGdG) KgmPx, ` wi ` wegvPb  
tKškj cI , mnmt#A Db#b j ¶ (GgwWic) Ges mi Kv#i i  
Ab"vb" cvj bxq bxwZgj vi Av#j v#K cI\_wgK wk¶ v cvl qui  
mjhvM, AskMhY I cY#½ fvt#e - gj Rxeb tkl Ki vi nvi  
epx |

- c̄l\_wgK - qj i , YMZ chq (wGmKDg) Gi th gvb` Ú t` qv Av‡Q tmLvtb tc‡Qv‡bvi j ‡¶ „ wkLb c̄l\_wgK qv I , YMZ gvtbi Dbeb |  
(WWCB: Zwi Luenxb:2)

Aw` evmx wkii ‡` i wk¶ v ‡¶ ‡` evav I mgm` wj ` i Ki ‡Z wC BwWc 2 I Ašf® gj K wk¶ vi Avl Zvq ÓAw` evmx wkii ‡` i gj ‡m‡Z GKxfZKi ‡Y c̄l\_wgK wk¶ v cwi w- wZ we‡k‡Y, †KŠkj I Kgëwi Kí bvÓ kxl K ` wj j wU Ab‡gw` Z n‡q‡Q| Aw` evmx wkii ‡` i wk¶ v wbwÓ ZKi ‡Y GUvB GKgv† mi Kvi x cwi Kí bv| AvbþwbK wk¶ v e“e- vi evBti DcvbþwbK wk¶ v ej‡i vi Avl Zvq Aw` evmx wkii i wk¶ vi Awakvi wbwÓ ZKi ‡Y KLbB †Kv‡bv c̄Kí n‡Z tbqv nqwb|

GB †KŠkj c‡l WWCB (c̄l\_wgK wk¶ v Awá` Bi ) †Rvi w` ‡"Q th, Ó wk¶ v bxwZ‡Z mvs- ‡ZK ^ewP‡l "i wel qwU Avb‡Z cvi ‡j Zv we‡f bœRwZ‡Mvôxi wkii mn mKj ‡K wk¶ v e“e- vq Ašf® Ki ‡Z mnvqK n‡e| Ó G mKj we‡P† †Mwô‡K wk¶ v e“e- vq Ašf® K‡i mgZv [Ges , YMZ gvb] wbwÓ Z Ki ‡Z n‡j Aek“B mi Kvi I RwZ‡MvôxMZ m‡c‡l vq, ‡j vi g‡a” mgwšZ D‡“vM I †Pov \_vK‡Z n‡eÓ (c̄l\_wgK I MYwk¶ v gšYvj q, 2006:8)| Z‡e cve‡“ †Rj v cwi I ‡` i mv‡\_ mn‡hwMZ vi wel ‡q G‡Z †Kv‡bv D‡j E tbB hw` I wZbwU cve‡“ †Rj vq c̄l\_wgK wk¶ vi ` vqf vi G cwi I ‡` i Dci B b“+ wb‡P G †KŠkj c‡l i wbw` G wkQy m‡wi kgvj v D‡j E Ki v nj | G WK‡g‡Ui †KŠkj c‡l i ZZxq Aa“v‡q G m‡wi kgvj v ev- evq‡bi Rb“ GKwU Ab‡gw` Z Kgëwi Kí bv Ašf® Ki v n‡q‡Q|

Aw` evmx R<sub>w</sub>Z<sub>t</sub>Mvôxi wkî tK gj tm<sub>w</sub>Z GKxfZKi tY c<sub>0</sub>\_wgK  
 wkP v cwi wZ we<sub>t</sub>k<sub>t</sub>Y, tKskj I Kg<sub>c</sub>wi Kí bv (2006)- i  
 Avtj v<sub>t</sub>K weaZ m<sub>c</sub>wi kgv<sub>j</sub> v|

- RbtMvôx wf wE<sub>K</sub> wkP K wb<sub>t</sub>qvM `vb t - vbxqf v<sub>t</sub>e wb<sub>t</sub>qvMKZ  
 wkP Ke<sub>s</sub> tKLvtbvi mgq we<sub>w</sub>f bø gZev` I gj wkP vbxq  
 wel q, wj - vbxq fvl v eenvi Kti mn<sub>t</sub>RB tevSv<sub>t</sub>Z cv<sub>t</sub>i | Gi  
 dtj i ay - vbxq R<sub>w</sub>Z<sub>t</sub>Mvôxi wkP tK msL<sub>v</sub>B evote bv,  
 cvkvckwk wkP v tP t<sub>t</sub> Gme R<sub>w</sub>Z<sub>t</sub>Mvôxi wkP v\_x<sup>o</sup>f wZ<sup>o</sup>nI qvi  
 c<sub>0</sub>u qv<sub>t</sub>K tRvi `vi Ki te|
- wkP Kt`i Rb<sub>t</sub> c<sub>0</sub>kP Y I I wi tq<sub>t</sub>Uk<sub>t</sub>bi e<sup>o</sup>e<sup>o</sup> v Ki v t  
 wKfv<sub>t</sub>e wkî evÜe c<sub>x</sub>wZ<sub>t</sub>Z wkLv<sub>t</sub>Z nq I mKj wkî tK Gi  
 Avl Zvq Avbv hvq , tm wel q, wj wkP K c<sub>0</sub>kP Y Kg<sub>m</sub>Pxi  
 gta" A<sub>S</sub>f<sub>p</sub> Ki v D<sub>w</sub>PZ | mvs<sub>w</sub>ZK we<sub>w</sub>f bøv I R<sub>w</sub>Z<sub>t</sub>MvôxMZ  
 cwi Pq wf wE<sub>K</sub> Zvi Zg<sub>t</sub> thgb we<sub>w</sub>f bø R<sub>w</sub>Z<sub>t</sub>Mvôxi bvg eenvi  
 Ki v Ges - <sub>t</sub>j Zv<sub>t</sub> i RvZxq tc<sub>v</sub>kv<sub>t</sub>K covi gZ wel q, wj i  
 YMZ wkP KtK Aek<sub>t</sub>B e<sub>s</sub><sub>t</sub>Z nte| K<sub>t</sub>k covt<sub>b</sub>vi mgq  
 - vbxqf v<sub>t</sub>e mnRj f<sub>w</sub> DcKi Y eenvi Ki v D<sub>w</sub>PZ | - vbxq Mí  
 ev Kwnbx , tj v<sub>t</sub>KB ej v D<sub>w</sub>PZ | wkP KtK Ggbfv<sub>t</sub>e c<sub>0</sub>k<sub>w</sub>P Z  
 Kti Zj tZ nte hv<sub>t</sub>Z wZ<sub>w</sub>b K<sub>t</sub>m mKj wkî tK M<sub>m</sub>Y Ki vi  
 gvbwM<sub>w</sub>KZv avi Y Kti b, tm mv<sub>t</sub>\_ ^ewP<sub>t</sub> " I we<sub>w</sub>f gZv<sub>t</sub>K  
 B<sub>w</sub>ZevPK `wó<sub>t</sub>Z t` Lvi Rb<sub>t</sub> wkî t`i tK AY<sub>c</sub>WYZ Kti b|
- fvl v wkP vmn c<sub>0</sub>K-c<sub>0</sub>\_wgK - j wkP vi c<sub>0</sub>Z<sub>t</sub> t c<sub>0</sub>\_wgK  
 wkP vi c<sub>0</sub>wZ mnmv<sub>t</sub>e c<sub>0</sub>K-c<sub>0</sub>\_wgK - j wkP v wkî wkP v\_x<sup>o</sup>  
 A<sub>t</sub>bK mgm<sub>w</sub>Ai mgvar<sub>t</sub>b mnvh<sub>t</sub> Ki tZ cv<sub>t</sub>i | we<sub>t</sub>kI Kti  
 tMvov<sub>t</sub>ZB gvZ fvl vi gva<sub>t</sub>g wkP v GwU - <sub>t</sub>j tKLvi cwi te<sub>t</sub>ki  
 mv<sub>t</sub>\_ I wkî tK c<sub>0</sub>g t<sub>t</sub>KB cwi wPwZ Kti tZv<sub>t</sub>j | cvkvckwk  
 evsj v fvl vi mv<sub>t</sub>\_ cwi wPwZ Kti tZv<sub>t</sub>j | Aw` evmx RbtMvôxi  
 wkî t`i wkP v Db<sub>t</sub>bi Rb<sub>t</sub> fvl v GKwU , i "Z<sub>c</sub>Y<sup>o</sup>wel q|
- cvV<sub>w</sub>mPx I cvV<sub>w</sub>eB Gi c<sub>y</sub> wbi x<sub>t</sub>Y t Aw` evmx R<sub>w</sub>Z<sub>t</sub>Mvôxi  
 ms<sub>w</sub>ZK wel tq Ávb e<sub>w</sub>x<sub>t</sub>i Rb<sub>t</sub> c<sub>P</sub>wj Z RvZxq cvV<sub>w</sub>mPx I  
 cvV<sub>w</sub>eB, tj v wbi x<sub>t</sub> v Ki v `i Kvi | Avi Guv Ki tZ nte  
 Aw` evmx wel tq ms<sub>w</sub>k<sub>t</sub> we<sub>t</sub>kI A<sub>t</sub><sub>t</sub>i mv<sub>t</sub>\_ K<sub>v</sub> etj Ges  
 ht<sub>w</sub>ch<sub>t</sub><sup>o</sup> wkP v DcKi Y I wkP v c<sub>x</sub>wZ c<sub>M</sub>q<sub>t</sub>b Zv<sub>t</sub> i  
 ci vgk<sup>o</sup>wb<sub>t</sub>q | Aw` evmx<sub>t</sub> i m<sub>w</sub>ft<sub>w</sub> mKj wkî tK Ggb A<sub>t</sub>bK  
 , i "Z<sub>c</sub>Y<sup>o</sup>wel q Av<sub>t</sub>Q hv wb<sub>t</sub>qB wkî t`i mv<sub>t</sub>\_ K<sub>v</sub> ej v hvq<sub>t</sub>|  
 thgbt Zv<sub>t</sub> i mn<sub>w</sub> eQ<sub>t</sub>i i H<sub>w</sub>Zn<sub>t</sub>, bvP I M<sub>w</sub>b, cf<sub>w</sub>Z I  
 c<sub>w</sub>fx wb<sub>t</sub>q Zv<sub>t</sub> i we<sub>w</sub>f bøMí I Kí bv Kwnbx Ges cwi tek I  
 eb i <sub>t</sub>vq Zv<sub>t</sub> i wbR<sub>t</sub> ^Ávb|
- - <sub>t</sub>j i AeKvV<sub>t</sub>gvMZ Db<sub>t</sub>q<sub>t</sub> t G<sub>t</sub>Ke<sub>t</sub>i - i eZx<sup>o</sup>Gj vKvi  
 A<sub>t</sub>bK - <sub>t</sub>j B t` Lv wM<sub>t</sub>q<sub>t</sub>Q Ae<sup>o</sup>e<sup>o</sup>vc<sub>t</sub>vi Qvc, tm I v<sub>t</sub>Z

tgi vgZ KvR I Avmevec†i i c‡qvRb| A‡bK c‡wgK  
 we`vj qB we`jr tbB| Lvevi cwb I Uq‡j ‡Ui e"e" vi  
 Ac‡j | wKQy wKQy Gj vKvq - vbxq m‡hvM myeavi wf wE‡Z  
 AvewmK - j wbg®Y Ki v th‡Z cv‡i |

- DcewE c‡vb t DcewE I Ab"vb" myeaw` thgb- QvI -QvI xi  
 Rb" wUwcb c‡vb Ki tj Zvi v `j k‡RbK cwi w" wZ | D™Z  
 mgm"v mgn mgvav‡bi t¶ t‡ DcKZ n‡e, cvkvcwk - ‡j f wZ©  
 nl qv I Sti bv c‡o - j Rxeb †kl Ki vi e"vcv‡i |  
 DrmwñZ n‡e|
- Z` vi wK I cwi ex¶ Y e"e" vi Db‡b t wk¶ K‡` i ‡K Zv‡` i  
 wkLvtbvi cxiZ cwi eZ‡bi Rb" Ges Kv‡m Av‡i v wk‡i evÜe  
 cwi ‡ek myó Ki vi Rb" h\_vh\_ mnvqZv Ki v c‡qvRb| GB  
 wk¶ v e"e" vcbv cwi eZb c‡u qvq Z` vi wK I cwi ex¶ Y e"e" v  
 wbwñZ Ki v LjeB , i "ZcY® Aw` evmx wk‡i ‡` i wk¶ v  
 cwi ex¶ ‡bi Rb" Zv‡` i Rb‡Mvôx wf wEK msMvB Ges mbvZb  
 mvgvwRK c‡Zôvb, wj ‡K Av‡i v kw³ kvj x I DØþx Ki v hvq|
- GmGgwñm-‡K kw³ kvj xKi Y t eü - ‡j B GmGgwñm m` m"i v  
 B‡j Kkb Gi gva"tg wbePZ n‡j Aw` evmx Awf veKi v ZvB  
 GmGgwñmi m` m" ni qvi t¶ t‡ wbi "rmwñZ/ Drmvn teva K‡i  
 bv | G Kvi ‡YB DcRwZ-Awf veK I mgv‡Ri c‡Zwbwa‡` i  
 mwµ q fv‡e cwi Kí bv, Kv‡m‡u` b, cwi ex¶ Y I gj vq  
 c‡u qvq wmxvš- MhtYi m‡hvM K‡i w` ‡Z n‡e| GmGgwñm  
 m` m"‡` i Rb" - † mg‡q Av‡bK cxiZ‡Z bZb K‡i wk¶ v  
 e"e" vi c‡qvRb i ‡q‡Q|
- bZb c‡wgK - j c‡Zôv Ki v MVb Ki v t th mg-  
 AÄj, tj v‡Z †Kvb - j tbB, tme RvqMvq bZb bZb - j  
 c‡Zôv Ki ‡Z n‡e| cl‡vbZ, Pv-evMvB Gj vKv, tj v‡Z - j , tj v  
 ^Zvi Ki ‡Z n‡e| GKB mv‡\_, c‡wgK - j , tj vi Kv‡QB  
 D"p-gva"wgK - j - vcb Ki v Ri "i x|
- mnRek"fv‡e wetePbv Ki v t AvÄwj K HwZn", ag© Ges  
 Kv‡Ri cwi ‡c‡¶ ‡Z - j , tj v‡Z Zv‡` i - j cwÄKv mgq, tj v  
 AY‡gv` b K‡i wb‡Z n‡e| AvÄwj K fvl vq wk¶ v-DcKi Y, tj v  
 wk¶ v v‡bi mnvqK wnmv‡e Ki v ` i Kvi Ges GKw mv‡\_ G, tj v  
 AwA K e"en‡i Drmvn w` ‡Z n‡e| (MYwk¶ v | gšYvj q  
 2006t 8-9)

Aw` evmx wk‡i ‡` i gj ‡m‡Z Ašf® Ki ‡Y c‡wgK wk¶ v  
 cwi w" wZ we‡kH Y, †Kškj I Kg‡wi Kí bv kxl K c‡Z‡e` bwU  
 hw` I Aw` evmx wk‡i ‡` i wk¶ v we‡q ‡ek wKQy , i "ZcY®

m̄c̄wi kgv̄ v w̄ t̄q̄t̄Q, thgb: K̄gD̄bwU w̄f w̄ĒK w̄k̄P̄ K̄ w̄b̄t̄qv̄M,  
 w̄K̄S̄' f̄l̄ vi gZ̄, i "Z̄c̄Ȳw̄l̄ q̄w̄U Ḡt̄Z̄ c̄t̄i v̄c̄ȳi f̄v̄t̄e w̄ēt̄ePb̄v̄  
 Ki v n̄q̄w̄b̄| Aw̄` evmx w̄k̄i t̄` i c̄t̄\_w̄gK̄ w̄k̄P̄ vi m̄t̄h̄v̄M | , YMZ̄  
 gvb̄ w̄b̄w̄D̄Z̄K̄i t̄Ȳ f̄l̄ v̄t̄K̄ GK̄w̄U ðĀZ̄"vek̄"K̄xq̄Ó w̄el̄ q̄ w̄n̄m̄v̄t̄e  
 w̄P̄w̄Z̄ Ki v n̄t̄j̄ | m̄c̄wi kgv̄ v̄q̄ t̄Kej̄ c̄t̄K̄-c̄t̄\_w̄gK̄ w̄k̄P̄ v̄B̄  
 gv̄Z̄.f̄l̄ v̄q̄ n̄l̄ q̄vi K̄\_v̄ ej̄ v̄ n̄t̄q̄t̄Q̄| Āev̄i , ēZ̄ḡv̄t̄b̄ c̄t̄K̄-  
 c̄t̄\_w̄gK̄ - + w̄c̄B̄w̄w̄c̄-2 Gi Av̄l̄ Z̄v̄ ew̄nf̄Z̄ |

f̄l̄ v̄ I w̄k̄P̄ vi m̄x̄ú̄t̄K̄ m̄t̄ āti Āev̄i ej̄ t̄Z̄ n̄q̄| Ḡ  
 m̄c̄wi kgv̄ v̄ w̄c̄Av̄i Ḡm̄w̄c̄-t̄Z̄ (evsj̄ v̄t̄` k̄ mi K̄vi , 2005 )  
 D̄t̄j̄ w̄L̄Z̄ m̄c̄wi kgv̄ v̄ t̄K̄ c̄t̄i v̄c̄ȳi f̄v̄t̄e w̄ēt̄ePb̄v̄ K̄t̄i w̄b̄|  
 w̄c̄Av̄i Ḡm̄w̄c̄t̄Z̄ ḡv̄Z̄.f̄l̄ v̄q̄ c̄t̄\_w̄gK̄ w̄k̄P̄ vi D̄ci , i "Z̄ȳt̄i v̄c̄  
 Ki v̄ n̄t̄q̄t̄Q̄| w̄c̄B̄w̄w̄c̄ 2-Gi c̄wi w̄k̄ó R-Ḡ Aw̄` evmx̄  
 Rb̄t̄M̄v̄ôxi D̄b̄q̄b̄ K̄w̄v̄t̄gvi m̄vi m̄s̄t̄P̄c̄ Ās̄t̄k̄ c̄Z̄"š̄-Āâ̄t̄j̄ i  
 Rb̄" w̄c̄B̄w̄w̄c̄ 2-Gi t̄K̄š̄k̄j̄ w̄n̄m̄v̄t̄e ej̄ v̄ n̄t̄q̄t̄Q̄, 01-2 t̄k̄Ȳxi  
 K̄v̄m̄ t̄b̄q̄v̄ n̄t̄e - v̄bxq̄ f̄l̄ v̄q̄ Ó(c̄t̄\_w̄gK̄ I MYw̄k̄P̄ v̄ ḡȲb̄v̄j̄ q̄ ,  
 2001:5)| Ḡ b̄Z̄b̄ t̄K̄š̄k̄j̄ I c̄wi K̄í bv̄ Āek̄" Aw̄` evmx̄  
 w̄k̄i t̄` i w̄k̄P̄ vi c̄Ȳ"Aw̄aK̄vi - ḡv̄Z̄.f̄l̄ v̄q̄ c̄t̄\_w̄gK̄ w̄k̄P̄ v̄ -  
 w̄b̄w̄D̄Z̄ Ki t̄Z̄ c̄t̄i v̄c̄ȳi f̄v̄t̄e c̄vi t̄eb̄v̄| ḡv̄Z̄.f̄l̄ v̄q̄ c̄t̄K̄-c̄t̄\_w̄gK̄  
 w̄k̄P̄ v̄ c̄t̄\_ḡ āvc̄ w̄n̄m̄v̄t̄e , i "Z̄c̄Ȳ"n̄t̄j̄ | evsj̄ v̄t̄` t̄k̄ f̄l̄ v̄ I  
 w̄k̄P̄ vi ḡZ̄ ðĀZ̄"vek̄"K̄xq̄Ó w̄el̄ q̄w̄U w̄b̄w̄D̄Z̄ Ki vi Rb̄" h̄t̄\_ó  
 bq̄|

## c̄v̄eZ̄" P̄ÆM̄t̄gi t̄c̄t̄ v̄c̄U

evsj̄ v̄t̄` t̄k̄ c̄v̄eZ̄" P̄ÆM̄t̄gi t̄f̄ Š̄t̄M̄w̄j̄ K̄, i v̄R%b̄w̄Z̄K̄,  
 R̄w̄Z̄w̄f̄ w̄ĒK̄ I aḡq̄ me w̄el̄ t̄q̄ ḠK̄w̄U Āw̄ØZ̄x̄q̄ Āâ̄j̄ | w̄ēM̄Z̄  
 w̄ḠK̄ ēōi āti c̄v̄eZ̄" P̄ÆM̄t̄gi Aw̄` ev̄m̄ Rb̄t̄M̄w̄ó evsj̄ v̄t̄` t̄ki  
 ḡt̄ā"B̄ Z̄v̄t̄` I - x̄K̄w̄Z̄ ` v̄t̄bi I - v̄q̄Z̄k̄v̄m̄t̄bi ` vex R̄w̄b̄t̄q̄  
 Āv̄m̄t̄Q̄| t̄K̄` x̄q̄ mi K̄v̄i i Ḡ ` vexi w̄ēt̄i wāZ̄vi ḡt̄L̄ μ̄t̄ḡ Ḡ  
 Āâ̄t̄j̄ m̄k̄-i Āb̄c̄t̄ek̄ I mv̄ḡw̄q̄K̄x̄K̄i t̄bi m̄Ḡc̄v̄Z̄ N̄t̄Ū|  
 1997 m̄t̄j̄ evsj̄ v̄t̄` k̄ mi K̄vi I c̄v̄eZ̄" P̄ÆM̄t̄ḡ Rb̄msn̄w̄Z̄  
 m̄ḡw̄Z̄i gā"K̄vi k̄w̄š̄-P̄w̄³ - v̄t̄` i i ḡt̄ā" w̄` t̄q̄ Ḡ Āb̄c̄t̄ēt̄ki  
 mḡw̄B̄ N̄t̄j̄ I Ḡ Āv̄â̄t̄j̄ mv̄ḡw̄q̄K̄x̄K̄i Y c̄t̄Ḡq̄ v̄ēvn̄Z̄ i t̄q̄t̄Q̄|  
 k̄w̄š̄-P̄w̄³ i (1997) Av̄l̄ Z̄v̄q̄ mi K̄vi Z̄vi K̄i Yxq̄ m̄gn̄ c̄v̄j̄ t̄b̄  
 t̄Kej̄ w̄ēw̄Q̄b̄ēw̄K̄Q̄c̄` t̄P̄ c̄ w̄b̄t̄q̄t̄Q̄|

k̄w̄š̄-P̄w̄³ (1997) Ab̄j̄v̄q̄x̄, c̄v̄eZ̄" t̄R̄j̄ v̄ c̄wi I t̄` I (GBPw̄w̄m̄)  
 K̄v̄t̄Q̄ w̄k̄P̄ v̄ ms̄w̄k̄s̄ ` w̄q̄Z̄m̄gn̄ n̄-v̄š̄t̄ K̄i vi K̄\_v̄ i t̄q̄t̄Q̄|  
 - v̄bxq̄ w̄k̄P̄ K̄ w̄b̄ēPb̄, w̄b̄t̄q̄v̄M̄ I ē` w̄j̄ K̄i vi P̄ ḡZ̄v̄B̄ c̄v̄eZ̄"

PÆMÖg cwi l` (GBPWWm)-Gi Av‡Q| Avevi cveZ'' PÆMÖgi tc¶vc‡U ej v hvq, wk¶ Ki v Zv‡` i wbR-^fvl vfvl x m¤c¶ vtq wb‡qvM cvl qvi m¤vebvB tekx| hw` I gvaZ.fvl vq c¶\_wgK wk¶ v (33 we)-i e"vcvi wU GBPWWmi GKwU wbw` ® ` wqZil wKš' eZgvtb Zv‡` i ¶ gZv tKej wk¶ K‡` i Dci KZZj Ki v chšB mxgvex| e-Z wk¶ v ev‡RU GLbl c¶\_wgK I MYwk¶ v gYbvj tqi gva"tgB e"q nq| gj Zt mi Kv‡i i wk¶ v KgñPx c¶qb, ev- evqb I cwi ex¶ tb m¤ú³ Ki vtivi gva"tg cveZ'' tRj v cwi l‡` I mvg\_® I ` ¶ Zv epx Ki ‡Z n‡e hv‡Z Zvi v Zv‡` I Ki Yxq I ` wqZj KZ® mPvi "fv‡e cvj b Ki ‡Z c‡I | eZgvtb GBPWWm-I mgvš+vj c¶µ qvq wCBlWWc-2 ev- ewqZ n‡"Q|

1998 mv‡j i vOvgwU‡Z cveZ'' PÆMÖgi Db¶b wel qK GKwU mf v AbjôZ nq| mi Kv‡i x c¶Zwbwa i vR%bwZK `j , ` vZv tMwô, - vbxq tbZv mn A‡bK tj vtKi mgvMg N‡U G mf vq| mf vi dj vdj - "c cveZ'' PÆMÖgi Db¶b KvVtgv nnmv‡e i v½vgwU tNvI bv c¶YxZ nq| c‡bi wU m¤awi kgvj v G‡Z MnxZ | Abjtgw` Z nq cveZ'' PÆMÖgi wk¶ v wel tq| Gi g‡a" Pvi wU gj m¤awi kgvj v nj :

53. cveZ'' PÆMÖgi Aw` evmx‡` i gvaZ.fvl vq c¶\_wgK wk¶ v c¶ vb Ki ‡Z n‡e;

54. AMöwaKvi wf wE‡Z - vbxq Rb‡Mwôx t‡K c¶\_wgK - ¢j i wk¶ K wb‡qvM w` ‡Z n‡e qv‡Z wZwb Gj vKvi msl`vMwi ô wk‡i i fvl vq K\_v ej ‡Z cv‡i | G‡Z c‡qvR‡b b‡bZg thvM‡Zv I wb‡qv‡Mi ce‡kZ®mgn wk\_w\_j Ki v th‡Z cv‡i ;

56. ` kg tKbx chš-me wk‡i ‡K webv Li ‡P wk¶ v w` ‡Z n‡e ;

70. mswk  Rb‡Mw i tbZv I c¶Zwbwa‡` i mv‡\_ ci vgk® mv‡c‡¶l cveZ'' PÆMÖgi Aw` evmx RvZ‡Mwôxi fvl v I ms- wZwb‡q RvZxq cW"cy K D‡j wLZ wewf b AmZ'' I Avm¤yvRbK tj Lv I gše", ‡j v m¤VK I i x Ki ‡Z n‡e;

i v½vgwU tNvI bv, 1998, c, 6-7

fvl v I wk¶ v wel tq i v½vgwU tNvI bv (1998) D‡j wLZ m¤awi kgvj v Ges cveZ'' PÆMÖg kwš- P¶³ (1997) ‡Z D‡j wLZ wk¶ v msµ vš-` vq-` wq‡ZjI wel tq mi Kv‡i wKsev ` vZv tMwôx tKv‡bv D‡` "vM wb‡"Qbv wKsev c‡i vcji fv‡e mn‡hwMZvI

Ki †Qbv| Z†e BDGbWwci ÐcveZ.. PÆM†g tgšwj K wk¶ v Ó  
kxl K cwi Kwí Z cKí wU G t¶ †Í GKwU BwZevPK c` †¶ c  
n†e e†j g‡b nq|

# kā tKvI

gvZ.fvl v

gvZ.fvl v nj tmB (me) fvl v hv tKvfbv e~w<sup>3</sup> metPfq c̄g  
tkfL; th (mKj) fvl vq tKvfbv e~w<sup>3</sup> wKQy mbv<sup>3</sup> K̄i wKsev  
Ab̄i v Zvfk th fvl vfvl x wnmvte mbv<sup>3</sup> K̄i ; th fvl vq tKvfbv  
e~w<sup>3</sup> metPfq tewk ` ¶ nq Ges metPfq tewk e~envi K̄i |

eūfvl x wk¶ v

th wk¶ v e~e~ vq Kvfm wk¶ v\_x® gvZ.fvl v I bjbZg Av̄i KwU  
fvl vq wkLvtbv nq |

wk¶ v gva~tgi fvl v

wk¶ v e~e~ vq cvV'mPx tkLvtZ th fvl v e~envi Ki v nq |

RvZxq A\_ev msL~vMwi t̄oi fvl v

tKvfbv GKwU wbw` ® AĀtj i (t̄ k, DcAĀj A\_ev ct̄ k)  
msL~vMwi ô RbMY th fvl vq K\_v etj | mvavi Yfvte H  
AĀtj i wk¶ v, PvKi x wKsev i vR%bwZK AMMwZ th fvl vq ntq  
\_vfk | tKvfbv tKvfbv t̄ k msLwMwi t̄oi fvl vB RvZxq  
Ges/A\_ev mi Kvi x fvl v wnmvte wefewPZ nq |

msL~vj Nj fvl v

th fvl vq tKvfbv wbw` ® Gj vKvi (t̄ k, DcAĀj A\_ev ct̄ k)  
tKvfbv wbw` ® Rb̄Mvôx K\_v etj hví v H AĀtj msL~vMwi ô  
bq |

wj wc

tKvfbv wbw` ® wj Lb c×wZ Dc~vc̄b th c̄zxKmgn e~eÜZ  
nq (thgb: w̄i c̄j vi tKvK̄tev̄i vK fvl vi Rb~ti vgvb wj wc;  
evsj v fvl vi Rb~ evsj v wj wc; gvi gv fvl vi Rb~ ewgR wj wc)

fvl vMZ Awakvi

wk¶ v Lv̄Zi Ask wnmvte msL~vj NyI Aw~ evmx RvwZ t̄Mvôxi  
fvl vMZ Awakvi wewf b̄AvšRwZK mb~, thgb: RvwZ msN

wkī AwaKvi mb` (1989)-G Ašf<sup>¶</sup> n‡q‡Q| fvl v mvs- wZ K  
Aw- Zj, cwi wPwZ | ¶ gZvq‡bi ceKZ<sup>¶</sup> kwšεY<sup>®</sup>mnve- v‡bi  
Rb- ZvB fvl vMZ %ewP† "‡K m¤§vb | - xKwZ t` qv AZ "š-  
c‡qvRb (BD‡b‡- w, 2003) |

wei x evbvb wj wc  
‡Kv‡bv fvl v wj L‡Z ev c‡i v wj Lb c×wZ‡Z e"eÜZ  
c‡ZxKmgn| ‡hgb: Bs‡i Rx‡Z 26wU eY<sup>®</sup>i ‡q‡Q Avi  
evsj vq i ‡q‡Q 39wU eY<sup>®</sup>ev c‡ZxK |

fvl v wk¶ v  
wk¶ vgva"g wnmv‡e fvl vi e"envi t\_‡K fvl v wk¶ v wel qwU  
wf b‡ tKbbv wk¶ v gva"k wnmv‡e fvl v tKej t hvMv‡hvM, fve  
wewbqg | Ávb` v‡b e"eÜZ nq| Ab"w` ‡K fvl v wk¶ vq  
fvl v‡K K‡mi GKwU Ab"Zg cV"wel q wnmv‡e cov‡bv  
nq| G‡Z wkī i v fvl vi e"Ki Y | MVb KvVv‡gv m¤‡Ü wk‡L  
\_v‡K |