



ইসলামী ব্যাংক
বাংলাদেশ লিমিটেড
ইসলামী শরী'আহ মোতাবেক পরিচালিত

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BRviviwfiEK A_@qb I mjkK etÜi nelquW mrvúúZK eQi ,tj vtZ e'vcK AvMh mjo Kti:Q| AwZwi³ RvgvbZ wbfP bv nl qvq A_@mZtZ gyúúwzi Pvc KnuUtg I Vv Ges `xNfgqv`x I Drcv`bkxj wktfi i weKvtk BRvivi AštbhZ mfgZv itqtQ| Zte A_@qtb i GKiu cxwZ wmwte BRviv GLbi Dbqtb i cÜ_igK avtc itqtQ| ÜBRvivi kixúAvn&w`K I A_@wZK Dbqtb Gi mæe`Zv Ztj atitQb| BRviviwfiEK eÜ Bmj vgx A_@vRvti Awak e'euZ evB gjwvnu I gsv`4vtj i weKí wntmte e'euZ ntZ cvti |

e'vswKs LvZi Dbqtb cêw`tZ Kx cŕve tdj Zv wbtq AtbK chŕj vPbv ntqtQ| Aek` MZ KtqK `kK ati Mto I Vv Bmj vgx e'vsk ,tj v Gme MtelYvq tZgb VvBi cvqub| epr gsvij g RbtMvôx itqtQ Ggb t`k ,tj vtZ Bmj vgx e'vswKs GLb tek eo evRvti cwiYZ ntqtQ| AtbK t`tk Bmj vgx e'vsk ,tj v mtgB cŕij Z e'vsk ,tj vi GKiu `k`gub weKí ntq DVtQ| ÜBmj vgx e'vswKs I A_@wZK Dbqtb wbetÜ W. Rb ÜvKqvbwK m t`uL:qtQb eü mgvR BwZevPK A_@wZK mglj etq GtbQ Bmj vgx e'vsk| GiU cKZ. A_@mZi mt½ miwmi msthW, e`MZ tj bt`b, ŕjwZKi cY` I KgRvD Gwotq Pj v Ges A_@wZK I mvgwRK b`vqwePvi tRvi `vti i gva`tg A_@wZK AMwZtZ fvgKv ivL:Q| GKiu AwgZ mæebvi c_ cto AvtQ Bmj vgx e'vsk ,tj vi mvgtb|

RvZxq Avq ew`x i cvkvcwK cÜšK RbtMvôx I cwitetki fvimvg`cY`Dbqtb A_@ mtgZ cêw`x Ovov Dbqtb tUKmB nq bv| mŕRvij `vtÜi Wvfvvfm wek! A_@wZK tdrivtgi GK mtæj`tb nelquW Ztj ati ejv ntqUj , abx I Mixtei gta` thfite e'earb evotQ ZvtZ wek! A_@wZK cêw`x ügwKi gšL cotQ| mŕvfiEK gj-avivi e'vswKs cxwZi mnRvZ Dlvb-cZtbi Pµ wek! A_@mZtK BtZvgt`B grvm`4tU tdj:tQ| clæDvtQ, mŕvfiEK e'vswKs e'e`v Avt`š tUKmB Dbqtb Ae`vb ivL:Z cvti wKbv| Gi wecixZ Bmj vgx e'vswKs-Gi AvMgb I `ŕ we`vi wek! cêw`x i Ae`vnZ Dlvb cZb tgvKvtej v I Dbqtb i w`wZ wbuöZ Kivi gZ GKiu tUKmB A_@e`v cvl qvi tŕj`T Avkvi m`Ávi Kti:Q| Ücêw`x I tUKmB Dbqtb: weKí Aw`R e'e`v wbetÜ tgv. Ave`y mivvg cŕij Z A_@wZK e'e`vi m`4U tgvKvtej vq bZb avivi Bmj vgx e'vswKs e'e`vi cxwZMZ mvgt`ŕ I ci Avtj vKcvZ Kti:Qb|

AwZ `wi`a RbtMvôxi Ae`vi Dbqtb Zvt`itK A_@qb mjev t`qvi weKí tbB| Gtŕj`T wek`vcx Dbqtbkxj t`k ,tj vtZ `wi`a wetgvPtB Bmj vgx ŕj`a webtqvM e'e`v mtgB Rbwçŕ nt`Q| GiU Bmj vgx bwxZgvj v t`tk Drmwiz Ges mgvRi cÜZ `vqex GK atibi webtqvM| cw`exi wefbæ`vtb kZ kZ Bmj vgx ŕj`a webtqvM cÜZvrb `Zwi ntqtQ| evsj vt`tk Bmj vgx e'vsk evsj vt`k wj wgtUW MpxZ Bmj vgx ŕj`a webtqvM KgŕPv Avtj vPbvq Gtm:Q| ÜBmj vgx ŕj`a webtqvM: `wi`a wetgvPtbi nmZqviÜ cêtÜ tgvnu`š Ave`jy gubub t`uL:qtQb G KgŕPv wKfite KvR Kti I `wi`a wetgvPtB fvgKv ivL| cvkvcwK Bmj vgx ŕj`a webtqvM e'e`vi GKiu mgwšZ gtwtj i cŕve Kiv ntqtQ |

wefbæmvgvexZvi ga` w`tg `xNŕ b ci ÜBmj vgx e'vswKsÜ Rvbŕj cKwKZ nj| Gi cieZx`msL`v ,tj v Avgiv h`vmgtq clKvtki Avkv KiwQ| GKB mt½ MtelK, cêÜKvi, Abŕv`K I cwKt`i cÜZ Bmj vgx A_@mZ I e'vswKs msvuší cêÜ, Abŕv` I iPbv Avgvt`i `Bti cvvrbvi Abtjiva KiwQ| Zintj Avgiv KZÁ ne| mweR cŕvmmt`Ej wKQyfy`Taw eZŕvb tj Lv ,tj vtZ t`tk tM:Q| Avgiv mevi mn`q gvRŕv Ges gj`evb gZvgZ I ci vgvK`Avkv KiwQ|

emYWR`K e`vsK e`e`vi DrcuE I μgweKvk: Bmj vgx e`vsuKs-Gi cUfng

Ave`jy Kvt`i PwP

miK_v

AwaKusk A_θmZue` mvrúuZKKvtj i e`vsuKstK (θv`k kZvāx BZvij) GKuU AvaybK Kgēxuz etj gtb Ktib| wKŠ`Aw_R Kvhētgi DrcuE I weKvtki w`tK ZvKvtj Avgiv newfbaei Kg fivevii D`mē I wgvj tq hvl qv t`Ltz cve| G cētŪ Zv Ztj aiv ntqtQ| G cētŪi Dfīk` ntjv:

- ✓ cŪgZ, θv`k kZvāxZ BZvij tZ cŪj tbi AtbK AvtMB cŪpxbKvtj i Rvbn cŪq mKj mf`Zvq e`vsuKs Kvhētgi th PPPntqtQ, Zv t`Lvfbv;
- ✓ wZxqZ cŪvY Kiv th, Bmj vq G aitbi Kvhētgi tKej Abtgv`bB Ktib, GtK Ggbfite DrmwnZ Ktib, hv AvtMi Rvbn meikQzK Qmotaq hvq|
- ✓ ZZxqZ, t`Lvfbv th BZvij qvb e`vsKvi iv e`vsuKs-Gi tKškj ggvj gvb Ges ggvij g wektj L`vb I Būw` emYKt`i KvQ t`tK wktLtzQ| `kg t`tK θv`k kZvāxi ga`eZxmgtaq Gt`i m½ BZvij evmxi Nubō emYWR`K mvrúKQj; Ges
- ✓ mefktI, eZθvfb ōBmj vgx e`vsuKsō wntmte cwi wPZ avivi DrcuE I weKvtki avivewnKZv Abvūvb|

1. nHbv

R`vKe evi kvW(D×Z.tj wcr, 1979:1) etj tQb: ōBwZnm ntjv Aa`qtbi Ggb GK tŷĪ hv i iæt`tK i iānq bv| ō AvrtKi ifc tbqv, emYR`i mefPtq wektlvqZ aib e`vsuKs N cŪpxb mf`Zv, tjvi weKvtki m½ m½ Gi Aviefē Ntū Ges ejtZ tMj cŪq mKj mgq Zv wQj newfbaerwzi mgvxi wfiē| Zte, Aiw½vi (1967:1) thgbv etj tQb: ōG chšf cŪb`wjtj i wfiētZ, KLb cŪg e`vsuKs Kvhētgi mPbv ntqQj, Zvi cKwZB ev tKgb wQj A_ev Gi weKvtki e`vcvfi avivewnK wbi newfbaerwzi t`qv Kwvbō| Zte, emYR`vfi i (1979:105) `wefK mg_θ Rvbtq teiki fivM A_θmZue` gtb Ktib: ōe`vsuKstqi RbZ BZvij tZō| Gi cŪg KviY, ōe`vsKō kāuU BZvij qvb ōevt`vō kā t`tK GtmQ| hvi gvtb Ggb tKvb tUwēj ev teĀ hvi I ci BZvij qvb gŷt-wewbgqKvixiv Zvt`i gŷt mvrRtq ivLtzv Ges bll ev tjb`b tj Lvi KvR Kitzv| wZxqZ, Zviv t`Lvb, θv`k kZvāxi w`tK ōe`vsKō bvtgi cŪg`vcbv, tjv BZvij i t`fubm, t`dvēiY, tRtqvq I jv`vq`wcz ntqQj (t`Lby, Dtki, 1949 I wW iāfi, 1954)| ZvB e`vsuKstK cŪqB mvrúuZKKvtj i GKuU AvaybK D`mēeb etj gtb Kiv nq| wKŠ; Aw_R Kvhētgi BwZnm chēj vPbv Kitz Avgiv Ab`iKg t`Ltz cve|

G MtelYvi Dfīk` ci`Yi j tŷ` G cētŪi cieZxAsk wv`wvj wLZ Aa`vq, tj vtZ fivM Kiv ntqtQ :

- ✓ wZxq Aa`vtq, cŪpxb mf`Zv, tj vtZ e`vsuKs Kvhētgi DrcuE Abvūvb Kiv ntqtQ|
- ✓ ZZxq Aa`vtq t`Lvfbv ntqtQ, wKfite θv`k kZvāx chšf ggvij g mf`Zvq e`vsuKs Kvhētgi weKvk Ntū|

- ti vgvb mf'Zvi cZtbi ci t_tK 0v k kZvax chSfBDti vtc e'vsuks Kvhfeti gi weKvk t`Lv tbr ntqtQ/
- ✓ PZzAa'vtq, wekl Kti tm mgq BZvuj tZ Gi buUKxq weKvk NUvi tcQtb KviY uQj `wY-BDti vtc I gnyj g mvtR'i m½ t`kuLi Nibõ m=úKf
- ✓ cÁg Aa'vtq, Bmj vgx mvtR'i cZtbi ci t_tK 1950 I 1960 `k tK i iænl qv 0Bmj vgx e'vsuks0 chSf gnyj g wekl e'vsuks Kvhfeti gi I ci `w t`qv ntqtQ/
- ✓ I 0 Aa'vtq i tqtQ Dcmsnvi /

2. c0Pb hMe'vsuks

2.1 c0MZNwmK hMe'vsuks

tj vtcR (1979:1) ej tQb: 0e'emv I emYR" mPj ivLvi Rb" c0g KLB FY e'envi Kiv ntqUj, Zv tKD Rvtb bv/ m=ez GUV ntqUj c0MvZnwmK tKvb mgta/ uKs; c0Pxb tgmtvctUugqv, Mh I ti vtg GK ai tbi e'vsK Pj yUj /0 tnvvi (1963:17) ujtLb, 0m=ez ukí, e'vsuks, gyt i c0j b, Ggb uK Aw' ifc At_p c0j b nl qvi AvtMl FtiYi c0j b uQj /0 uZub Dcmsnvi Uvttb Gfvt: 0Avgiv FYtK epEi At_etePbv Kitj Gi c0Pxb aib m=úK uKQbv aviYv KitZ cwi / c0PxbKvtj i FYtK Avgiv t`L tZ cwi cY, fvB ev tKvb c0ZtektK exR avi t`qv intmte, hv dmj tZuj vi ci tdiZ t`qv ntZv/ A_ev tKvb ci ev tKvb miAvg ev tKvb Lvevi avi t`qv ntZv/ tdiZ cvl qvi Avkv Kiv bvtj G ai tbi n`tSli tK ejv ntZv Dcnvi / tdiZ cvl qv Avkv Kitj Zv ntZv avi Ges jvfmn avi ntjv ubw 0 cwi gvY tdiZ t`qv, hv avti i tPtq/ tenk etj Avkv Kiv ntZv/0

c0g ujlLZ Pz I Avw R tj bt`b i iænl qvi AvtM gvby Mew`ci, Lv`km", tiSc" ev gyt intmte MhY KitZ iWR Ggb th tKvb uKQze'emv I FY intmte e'envi KitZv (Wwf, 2002:12) | t`LRBk ntjv c0MvZnwmK mgta G iKg ev Ab tKvb ai tbi e'vsuks Kvhfeti gi tKvb HuznwmK c0vY cvl qv hvqub/

2.2 tgmtvctUugqv e'vsuks

KLB I tKv_vq c0g e'vsuks Kvhfeti gi i iæntqUj Zv c0vY Kiv m=ebq/ Zte tnvgy (1985:17)-Gi gtZ GUV uó th: 0msNex Kul, ukí I emYtR'i mPvcte'wbgta/ GKul gva'g intmte gyt e'envi i m½ m½ Gi DrciE I weKvk NtU/0 mf'Zv intmte mgtixq I e'wej ubqv biv c0g e'vsuks Kvhfeti gi i iæ Kti uQj etj HuznwmK c0vY cvl qv tMtQ/ tgmtvctUugqv AAtj L_ ce^34 kZtKi ir tK G mf'Zvi DtbH NtU/ Aiim-Nvi (1967:1) ujtLb: 0c jvZmEj Lbb KtRi gva'tg e'wej ubqv mvgtR'i `t c jvZmEj ub`k0 Diak I kvj w'tq gw`i Awe^Z.nq/ tm_tjvB G hveZKvtj i Rvbr metPtq cjtbr e'vsuks feb/ Avgti i mgta/ 3,300 eQi AvtM tmB e'vsuks Kvhfeti gi cwi Pmj Z ntZv/0

Awe^Z.HuznwmK c0vY_tjv t_tK t`Lv hvq, ZLbKvi e'vsuks tqi `enkó" uQj gw`ti m½ m=ú^3/ Lv`km" I Ab'vb" cY ivLvi ubivc` vb uQj tm_tjv/ Wwf tqm (2002:49) DttL Kti tQb, 0MwQZ ivLv uRvbm tKej Avmj gwj KtKB tdiZ t`qv ntZv bv, ZZxq cytKI t`qv ntZv/ tgmtvctUugqv i AtbK e'w^3 gwj Kivvaxb Avevml e'vsuks Kvhfeti gi m½ h^3 uQj /0

tgmtvctUugqv cvl qv cvUj uc_tjvi GKul tZ t`Lv hvq, GK KIK uZj tKbvi Rb" gw`ti i hvRKvi KvQ t_tK uKQz cwi gvY tiSc" avi Ktib/ dmj tZuj vi ci FY tbqvi c0vYcI enbKvixtK tiSc"gtj"i

mgcwi gvY wZj tdiZ t`qvi A½xKvi Ktib wZub (tnvgÿ, 1985:17-18) | G`wjj t`tK ASZ PriwU
wclq Abÿweb Kiv hvq:

- √ cUgZ, GtZ gw`i tK e`istKi figKv cvj b Ki tZ t`Lv hv`Q | Gi Kvi Y e`vL`v Kiv th tZ cvti Gfite: agx@ Dcivmbvj q I hvRKt`i cUz gvbtji Av`v wQj Ab` th tKvb wKQz tPtq teuk | Gme agx@ `vcbvi mvaZvi mbvtgi Kvi tY weklm Kiv ntZv th GLvtb AvgvbtZi mwK I cwi cY`nme`vKte Ges Gme `vb Ab`vb` RvqMvi tPtq AtbK wbi v c` | cweI gw`ti Pwi Kivi minm tKD Ki te bv |
- √ wQZxqZ, MhxZv wQj b GKRB Drcv`K | Ab` K_vq FY t`qv ntq wQj Drcv` tbi Rb`, tfvMti Rb` bq |
- √ ZZxqZ, FY `wjj wU wQj GKwU cUzKwZ (promissory) tbvU ev uUwi gtZv, hv avi tbqvi cUvY wntmte MhxZv w`tqtQb | iayZvB bq, GuU wQj enbKvixi Kv tQ cwi tKvathwM | A`_ n`isli thwM |
- √ PZZZ, G tj bt`tb gbydvii tKvb wclq wQj bv | FY MhxZv th tiSc` wbtqtQb, dmj tZvj vi ci tmB tiSc`gtj`i mgcwi gvY wZj tdiZ t`qvi K_v Av tQ | G cwi gvY avi Kivi mgtqi tPtq Kg, mgvb ev teuk ntZ cvti | Gi cwi gvY teuk ntj I Zv mÿ bq | Kvi Y, mÿ ntjv avi Kiv cyRi I ci evowZ th A`_ cwi tKva Kiv nq Ges Zv nte wK GKB aitbi | thgb tiSc`i Rb` tiSc` ev wZtj i Rb` wZj | wKs`tiSc`i Rb` wZj ev wZtj i Rb` tiSc` ntj nte bv |

tm hÿM eo cyRi e`isKviti i gta` wQj b ivRv Ges abix` e`w³iv | A`_ev exR wewbtqwm wntmte tbqv ntZv | At`_ P Rb` 20% Ges evnj` P Rb` 33% mÿ tbqv ntZv | FY cwi tKva e`_ev tKD FY tLj vcx ntj FY MhxYKvix, GgbwK Zvi cwi evi chSl`mZpitYi SwwKtZ cto th tZv | gÿvivev-i cUq Abÿjc mmwZ Askx`wii Zi (Commenda) e`wej bevxi Awe`vi | gw`i I wekvj f-m`u`Ei gwij Kt`i e`iswKs Kvhÿrg GZUvB te to wMtq wQj Ges GZUvB , iaZcY`ntq I tVwQj th e`wej tbi weL`vZ ivRv nva`ÿme (1728-1686 L`-cefa)-Gi Rb` GKwU gvbm`Z wewagjv `Zwii cUqvRbxqZv Abÿe Ktib | figi gwij Kvb, Kul.kitgK wbtqwm, tdsR`wii eva`evaKZv, FY, mÿ, A½xKvi, M`vivoU, cUvY`vKv ev bv`vKv, cUkwZK`thwM, ÿwZ, Pwi BZ`w`i dtj mÿ cUq me aitbi wejiva w`u`E tZ G wewagjv cUqwm Kiv th tZv (tnvgvi, 1963:26 Ges Aiwm`Nvi, 1967:8) | 539 L`-cefa` cvi tm`i Kv tQ `vaxbZv nvi vq tgtmvtUwgqv | gnvbMix wntmteI tRsj`v nvi vq e`wej b | tm mgq mÿ i nvi 40% chSl`tctU wMtq wQj | GfiteB GKwU cvj tbr mF`Zv nvi tq wMtq BwZnv tmi cvZvq vrb tbq (tnvgvi, 1963:31) |

2.3 fvitz e`iswKs

HwZnvwmKt`i weklm cUpxb fvitzzi metPtq , iaZcY`nny ntj v OmUzDcZ`Kvi mF`Zv0 hv Oni av mF`Zv0 bvtgl cwi wPZ | mwZmf`Zvi ni av bMif tZ cUg Lbb KvR Pjv vtbv ntq wQj etj G bvgKi Y | L`-ce` 3000 t`tK 1800 mvtj i gta` Gi weKik NtU | eZÿvb cwk`tbi ctjv Ask Ges eZÿvb fvitzzi wKQz Ask Rto G mF`Zv we`Z wQj | GUV wQj cU`exi metPtq ctjv mF`Zv , tji vi GKwU Ges tgv t mvtUwgqv I wgmix mF`Zvi mgmvgwqK | L`-ce`2600 mvtj i w`tK mgw`i wKlti tctU G mF`Zv | emYWR`wFwE`K kati ms`wzi weKik NtU GLvtb Ges Gi A`_wZi gj` Pwv Kikiv` wQj Kul. | cUz tekx mF`Zv tgtmvtUwgqv gtZv m`eZ GLvtbI cUz emYWR`K tj bt` b Ges avi t`qv-tbqvi gtZv e`iswKs Kvhÿrg Pj tZv | Zte, G wcltq we`wiz tZgb wKQzRv bv hvqvb | ZvQvov, ni av t`tK cvl qv cvUw`w` , tji vi cvtVv`v`i BwZnvme`t`i me cU`Pov G hveZ e`_`ntqtQ | m`eZ, Avenl qvi cwi eZB ev Avh` i nvgj vi

KvičY L_≠ce[Ⓢ]beg t_≠k mβ`k kZtKi gta` G mf`Zvi vej[Ⓢ] NtU| tm mgtq H AĀtj cĀKwZK cwieZ[Ⓢ]bi mPbv ntqUj (t`Lj, DBwKucwWqv ItqemvBU I b`vkbgvmUvi ItqemvBU)| ubRvg (1975:305-306)-Gi gčZ, L_≠ce[Ⓢ]200 t_≠k 200 L_≠vtāi ga`eZ[Ⓢ]mg[Ⓢ]tq m[Ⓢ]lj[Ⓢ] fite emYR“, kŭti evRvi, t[Ⓢ]gv I cĀk[Ⓢ]xi AvtqvRb Kiv ntZv| tRv`Pm, gRZ`vvi, cvPvi BZ`w` ubqš[Ⓢ]tYi Rb` ivó[Ⓢ], `vg ubg[Ⓢ] I evRvi ubqš[Ⓢ]tYi gčZv KgRvD cwi Pvj bv KičZv|

ubRvg (1975:307-311) D[Ⓢ]tj[Ⓢ] L Ktib th cĀPxb fvičZ (L_≠ce[Ⓢ]200 t_≠k 200 L_≠vā) newfb[Ⓢ]aičbi, netkl Kti Askx`vvi Z[Ⓢ]g[Ⓢ]j-K e`emvq cĀZōvb cĀ[Ⓢ]ij Z Uj | e`e`vi GKw[Ⓢ] iaz[Ⓢ]cY[Ⓢ]P[Ⓢ]vij Kv kv[Ⓢ]3 intmte netePbv Kiv ntZv FYčK| av[Ⓢ]x` e`v[Ⓢ]3 Ges newfb[Ⓢ]em-N FY t`qv I e`vsvKs Kv[Ⓢ]h[Ⓢ]erg Pvj vtZv etj avi Yv Kiv nq|

mtj tUvi (1975:35-101) cĀ[Ⓢ]v[Ⓢ]tYi tPōv Ktib th mβg kZtKi AvčM tm mg[Ⓢ]tqi Ab`vb` mf` AĀj e`vej[Ⓢ] b, tivg, wMh, v[Ⓢ]gmi, cvim` I Pxtbi mt[Ⓢ]½ fvičZi e`vcK AvšR[Ⓢ]wZK emYR` PjčZv| wZvb tRvi w`tq etj b, newfb[Ⓢ]amgtq newfb[Ⓢ]æGj vKvi tj vKRb AvgvbZ, cĀZk[Ⓢ]WZ, eÜKx I tKvb `vZe` cĀZōvtbi `vqx Avčqi Drm intmte m[Ⓢ]u` t`qv[Ⓢ]ŃGme KvR KičZv| Gme tj b[Ⓢ]t[Ⓢ] b AZ`š[Ⓢ] iaz[Ⓢ]cY[Ⓢ]bv ntj I m[Ⓢ]ji GKw[Ⓢ] D[Ⓢ]tj[Ⓢ] L[Ⓢ]thwM` fvgKv vKčZv| wZvb e[Ⓢ]3e` tkl Ktib Gfite: ŐGtKeti cĀPxbKvj t_≠kB fvičZ i e Avčvc Ges m[Ⓢ]y Av`vq Uj e`vsvKs Kv[Ⓢ]h[Ⓢ]etgi metP[Ⓢ]tq iaz[Ⓢ]cY[Ⓢ] ųU KvRŐ (c[Ⓢ]te[Ⓢ]3:668)

2.4 w[Ⓢ]ine`vsvKs

Aiwm-Nvi (1967:3) Gi gčZ, `vbxq A_≠w[Ⓢ]WZK KgRvčDi Ae`v, `vbxq Avčtbi KčVvi Zv Ges emYR` I tj b[Ⓢ]t[Ⓢ] bi Kia[Ⓢ] Ae`vi KvičY Av[Ⓢ]w[Ⓢ] R g[Ⓢ]vt Ame[Ⓢ]v[Ⓢ]ti i AvM chš[Ⓢ] cĀPxb wMm e`vsvKsGi netKv evawMŐI ntqUj | GLvtb th cĀ[Ⓢ]w[Ⓢ] AvčM Zv ntjv, G g[Ⓢ]vti Ame[Ⓢ]v[Ⓢ]iK tK Ges KLb? Aiwm-Nvi (1967:8)-Gi DĒi w`tqtQb: Őm[Ⓢ]æZ Pxbvri, Zte Gil tKvb w[Ⓢ]čQZv tbBŐ| cĀ[Ⓢ]g Lw[Ⓢ] tmvbi w[Ⓢ]čDi cĀ[Ⓢ]j b NUvtbvi KwZZ[Ⓢ]ij w[Ⓢ]qv[Ⓢ] i vRv t[Ⓢ]vtqm[Ⓢ]m-Gi (560-546 L_≠ce[Ⓢ]ā)| tm mgq kv[Ⓢ]l vbxq `Y[Ⓢ]Drcv` bKvix t`k Uj vj w[Ⓢ]qv| mβg L_≠ce[Ⓢ]ā[Ⓢ] vj w[Ⓢ]qvq miKvvi fite g[Ⓢ]vti cĀ[Ⓢ]j b NtU[Ⓢ]Uj etj D[Ⓢ]tj[Ⓢ] L KtibQb Gb[Ⓢ]wM (1949:225), t[Ⓢ]v[Ⓢ]gvi (1963:33), Aiwm-Nvi (1967: 8-9) Ges Wm[Ⓢ]f[Ⓢ]tqm (2002:61-63)| cĀ[Ⓢ]g g[Ⓢ]vti cĀ[Ⓢ]j b NUvb vj w[Ⓢ]qv[Ⓢ] i vRv w[Ⓢ]vtMm (687 L_≠ce[Ⓢ]ā)| G[Ⓢ] t[Ⓢ]v[Ⓢ] Uj B[Ⓢ]tj[Ⓢ] ±tg (tmvbv I i[Ⓢ]cv[Ⓢ] v[Ⓢ]gk[Ⓢ]Y)| GUv wMm e`vsvKs Kv[Ⓢ]h[Ⓢ]etgi cĀ[Ⓢ]j b I PP[Ⓢ]K Drm[Ⓢ]w[Ⓢ]Z Kti vKte| Kv[Ⓢ]iY, `f mg[Ⓢ]tqB w[Ⓢ]KZiet[Ⓢ]µZv gj`evb avZv`tq `Zv[Ⓢ] newfb[Ⓢ]æAvKvi I IRčbi g[Ⓢ]vt gj`vq b I newbg[Ⓢ]tqi e`v[Ⓢ]č[Ⓢ]ti netklĀ ntq I t[Ⓢ]v b (Aiwm-Nvi 1967:3)|

w[Ⓢ]MK e`vsvKvč i U[Ⓢ]h[Ⓢ]ciURtURI ejv ntZv| w[Ⓢ]MK kã U[Ⓢ]tčRv t_≠k G bvgKiv, hvi A_≠U[Ⓢ]vej ev teĀ| Gi I ci t[Ⓢ]tl Zviv g[Ⓢ]vt cĀk[Ⓢ] ev tj b[Ⓢ]t[Ⓢ] b thgb, g[Ⓢ]vt newbg[Ⓢ]q, AvgvbZ msMh, newfb[Ⓢ]æ[Ⓢ] v[Ⓢ]3 I ivó[Ⓢ]tK FY t`qv, FčYi `tKwZcĀ Bm[Ⓢ] cĀ[Ⓢ]g[Ⓢ]m[Ⓢ]vi t[Ⓢ]biU ev tPKGi `ve ci-Y Ges Gm[Ⓢ]tei cY[Ⓢ]veeiY vj tL ivL[Ⓢ]mn Ab`vb` KvR KičZv| t[Ⓢ]v[Ⓢ]gvi (1963:69) gčb Ktib: Őw[Ⓢ]MKč i emY[Ⓢ]R`K tgav Gici Avi KLčvb B GZUv D`P ch[Ⓢ]q t[Ⓢ]cĀ[Ⓢ]včZ cv[Ⓢ]i[Ⓢ]ub|Ő

m[Ⓢ]æZ ce[Ⓢ]Z[Ⓢ]mf`Zv[Ⓢ] t[Ⓢ]v[Ⓢ] t_≠k Ab[Ⓢ]g[Ⓢ]v[Ⓢ]YZ ntq w[Ⓢ]MmI g[Ⓢ]v`i[Ⓢ] t[Ⓢ]v AvgvbZ msMh I avi t`qvi KvčR e`eüZ ntZv| t`j[Ⓢ]ud g[Ⓢ]v`i[Ⓢ]tK GKmgq w[Ⓢ]MK netk[Ⓢ]i metP[Ⓢ]tq eo e`vsvK intmte AvL`wqZ Kiv ntZv (t[Ⓢ]v[Ⓢ]gvi, 1963:38), w[Ⓢ]Kš`Avčj KR[Ⓢ]v[Ⓢ] `qv net[Ⓢ]tqi ci fga`m[Ⓢ]lixq AĀtj i emY[Ⓢ]tR` tbZZ[Ⓢ].t`qvi gčZv

Ae`v`tb Gt`Y`uQj bv| tnvivi (1963:39) wj tLb, ÐAvmbakZvãx, tjtZ wMh bq, fga`mVlixq AĀtj i BwZnmfK cUfweZ Kti tivv| mvgR` nvi`vbi ci wMh Avi KLtbvB fga`mVlixq AĀtj i emYwR`K I A_`wZK tK`^` wntmte Zvi Ae`vb wdti cvqub| tivvub bwiZi KvifY emYR` tiwM, AvbwZIK, tmj bmqv Ges wtkl fite Avtj KRw``v AĀtj Pj hvq|0

2.5 tivg e`isKs

tnvivi (1963:44) eYv`v gZ, tivvubiv uQj KIK I `mubtKi RvWZ| wbgw, emYR` I e`iswKs-Gi gZv KvR, tjtZ Zviv gj-Z wtk`kx` i KvQ t0to w`tquQj | cUfwb tivvub e`isKvif` i tenki fVl bvg wMk Ges Zv`i`tkI UhwRtUR ejv nZv| Aiw-Nvi (1967:5-6) wj tLb, Ðtivvub hM tkvb GKtPwUqv e`iswKs uQj bv| ZvB e`iswKs Kvhwg `vaxbfite weKv I w`wZ.jvf KitZ myg nq0| cUg kZvãxi gta` wi cvewj K I mvgR` Ges mæZ tm mgqi Rvb wtkfi gta` I e`iswKs tK`^` nta` `vavq tivv| ZLb e`isKvif` i mL`v GZB teto wMtuQj th UhwRtUR Qvovl Zv`i`tk tgbmjwmi, AvtRbZwmi, gv`sjwmi BZ`w` bvtg AwfwnZ Kiv nZv (tnvivi, 1963:47)|

L`-ce90 mvtj i ci t`_tk wi cvewj tKi ivR`wZK I mvgw K cwi w`wZi m½ m½ e`iswKs Kvhwg I Aw`iZv mw` nZv `v`K Ges `weiZv tbtg Avtm| hY I wek;Ljvi mgq gy`UwZ, Aw`R `weiZv I t`Dij qvZj`Lv t`q| Avevi, kw`sl I AMwZi mgq Aw`R w`wZkxj Zv wdti Avtm Ges e`iswKs Kvhwg I e`emv-emYR`i DbwZ NtU| ZZxq kZvãtZ wecæ I Mph`xi mgq Pig gy`UwZ Ges w`l wKwZqv (284-302 L`-vã) ygZv Mh`Yi AvM ch`sl`xNc`Avk eQi G tMj thwMcY`Ae`v weivR Kti | dw`-Gi gZ (1933:300), ÐZLb cZtbi ct`_tivv| Pvi w`tk `bivR` I jYcvU Pj uQj | mvgR`i wewfbæAsk tivvgi I ci Av`v nwtq tdtj | wk` I emYR` tft½ hvq| GgbwK j`wZb fvlvl ywq0zntq cto0|

2.6 wnti e`isKs

Aiw-Nvi (1967:4) Gi gZ: ÐAvtj KRw``v wRtqi AvtM wnti Aw`g aitbi A_`wZK e`e`v cUfWZ uQj | wnti gy` e`e`vi cUfW Nuvb Utj wG Ges wMmi gZv GLvfbI wK GKbfite Gi weKv NUtZ t`Lv hvq| wMmi gZv GLvfbI UhwRtURt`i t`Lv tjtj | Zte, Giv uQj GK aitbi miKwmi cUwvwa; Gt`i A`btKi bvg uQj wMk Ges cUg w`tki UhwRtURiv wMh t`_tk Avtm|0 wnti gy` e`e`v Pj ynl qvi AvtMB e`iswKs e`e`v i iænq miKwmi , `vtg dmj Rgv ivLvi gva`tg (Netfundu, website (a) | Wwf`tqm (2002:51-54) wj tLb, iv0tq , `vtg dmj Rgv ivLvi ga` w`tq GKw e`iswKs c`wZ Mto DfV| wvvcE`v I mw`vavi Rb` hv`i km` tmLvfb ivLv nZv, tm, tjtZ tdiZ tbqvi mgq Zviv wj wLZ wbt`R w`tZv| GQvov ivRv`K FY wntmte eva`Zvgj-Kfite t`qv km`I tmLvfb ivLv nZv| G cUfWv wMwMiB Ki msMhKvix, ctjwvZ I e`emvqmn wewfbæRtbi FY cwi`kvtai maviY c`wZ nta` `wvq| wewfbæv`tb Qw0tq `vKv AmsL` miKwmi km`vavi wgtj GKmgq km`-e`vstKi GKw tbUl qvK`Zwmi Kti, hv`tkl ch`sl Avtj KRw``v vq GKw tK`^`tq e`vstKi Rb`f`q| tmLvfb wewfbæv`vR`i km`-e`vsk, tjtZ tiKW`Rgv ivLv nZv| G e`iswKs tbUl qvK`KvR Ki`Zv OFY n`l`sf`0 c`wZtZ (giro system)| GK nVZ t`_tk Ab` nvtZ UvKv `vbsf`i QvovB GK wmwv t`_tk Ab` wmwvte Ðcwi`kva0 Kiv thZv|

cUg I wZxq kZvãtZ abm`u` I mgw`xi cvkvcwK e`iswKs wk`Kjvq DbwZi wkl`ti t`c`0tq wgm (tnvivy, 1985:18)| wK`S; ZZxq kZtKi w`tk tivvub mvgR`i wek;Ljv wnti i A_`wZK wew`Obzvi evav tft½ t`q| Avi Zv nq tKej wnti cUfWZ uQj Ggb miKwmi gy` (fiat currency) B`QvKZfite evBti Qw0tq t`qvi gva`tg (tnvivi, 1963:51)|

2.7 cviṯmī e'isukS

cviṯmī uQj cŦPxb mf'Zvi Ab'Zg mūZKūMvi | ga' Gūkqvi DeP BivnbqvB DcZ'Kvi ceP tK mf'Zvi űeKvK NtU L_≠ce¹⁵⁰⁰ mvtj i w tK Gtm | Avh'RmZtMvōx űetkl fvtē tqt`m t`i nvtZ G mf'Zv w űZkxj nq | cviṯmī mf'Zvi cŦg grnbvqK uQtb AvtLtgṯbm | L_≠ce⁷⁰⁰ mvtj i w tK AvtLtgṯbxq ivRestki cŦZōvZv űZvb | AvtLtgṯbxqv cvitṯtcvuj ṯm űekvj GK ivRavbx kni Mto tZvtj | ṯm mgq emYR' ep× cvq Ges űetkl Kṯi 539 L_≠ce^ā e'űejb űeRṯqi ci e'isukS KvhPṯgi e'vcK cṯhvi NtU | cviṯmī e'emvqxiv e'űejbxqt`i e'isukS c×űZ űkṯL ṯbq | emYKiv DṯUi Kvṯdjv I mvmi cṯ RvntR `ŧvṯeB Bivb I fviṯzi gṯa' cY' Avbv-ṯbqv KiṯZv | cūw_ŧvb I mvmmbqvB hṯM emYṯR' i cṯhvi Ges e'emvq e'isK ṯbvU I gṯṯi e'envtii dtj t`kūṯZ gṯṯ I bM` Aṯ_P űebgq i'iaṅq | gṯṯ Lūw űKbv Zv ṯPbvq űetkl Á nṯq I ṯV űKŦztj vK | 516 L_≠ce^ā i w tK AvtLtgṯbxq ivRv `vī Dm `v ṯMŪ, űj w űeRṯqi ci t`kūṯZ e'isK ṯbvU I `Yṯṯi e'envi i'iaṅq (tZRvivZ, 1998, `ū, 2003, ṯnivZ¹⁹⁷²) |

űMṯg'vb-Gi (1971:58-60) gṯZ, mvgṯR'Rṯo I Rb I cūwgvC Ges űetkl Kṯi gṯṯ e'envtii cŦj b Nūvq AvtLtgṯbxqv, hv `et`ūK emYR' ṯRvi`vi Ges e'isukS KvhPṯgṯK mnRZi Kṯi | L_≠ce^{mBḡ} kZṯKi ṯMvovi w tK e'űejṯbi BūRűe e'isṯki gṯZv GLṯbI eū ṯemīKūi e'isK Mto I ṯV | e'űejṯbi e'isK t`tK cvlqv ṯiKWetṯ t`Lv hvq, Gūw Ab'vb' KvhPṯgi gṯa' eŪKx FY Ges űbv`ŧ mgṯq cūwṯkvaṯhūM' FY (floating loan) űeZiY KiṯZv | cieZvRṯj űbāy-G cŦZūvZ gṯṯmī i gṯZv Avṯi Kūw e'isK BRviv w Z, Lvj Lbb Kṯi KI.Kṯ`i KvṯQ cvb űemṯ KiṯZv |

2.8 Pṯb e'isukS

G hveZ Pṯbi cŦg ṯh ivRestki K_v Rvnb hvq, Zv nṯjv űRqv ivResk | hū I Gi Aw`Zj GLb chSṯ cŦZvűEK cŧvṯYi űfūĒZ `úo nqv | 1960 I 1970-Gi `kṯK cŦZvĒje` iv ṯnbvb DcZ'Kvq cŦPxb kni, teṯĀi A`k`i I mgvā Ave`vi Kṯib | Pṯbv mf'Zvi cŦPxb kvb hṯMi mvy` enb KiṯQ G_ṯ ṯjv | L_≠ce¹⁵²³⁻¹⁰²⁷ mij chSṯṯgvUvgv G ivRestki kvmb űṯtK uQj | G mf'Zv uQj KūwűfūĒK | űKvvi I cīcvj ṯbi ga' w ṯq Gi mgv× NtU (űdŪij s GŪ `vKvṯi, 2001:12-13) | Kūo I gj`evb avZe A`k`i ṯhgb ekP, Kṯvi I Qūi emYūR`K űebgq Dcv`vb űṯṯṯe e'envi Kiv nṯZv (űwűṯqm, 2002:55) | BūZnūmē`ṯ i gṯZ, G hṯMi AvṯM Ae`v ṯKgb uQj Zv űbtq űKse`űSṯ ṯjv t`tK ev`bZvṯK Avj`v Kiv Kūw | G hṯM ṯmLvṯb DḂz`ṯi i mf'Zvi cŧvY űṯṯṯe `ŧū űæZcy`Nūbv Dṯj ṯ Kiv hvq | Gi GKūw nṯjv űj Lb c×űZ Ave`vi | Pṯbviv K`Qṯci ṯLvj I cī i nṯo űj ṯZv | Ab' Nūbv uQj teṯĀ avZṯ e'envi (Kj űv`ŧv GbmṯBṯKvṯcūwqv, 2001:10045) |

mBḡ kZṯKi w tK Pṯb cŦg Kv, ṯR gṯṯi cŦj b Nūṯj I 960 mvtj i AvṯM Gi e'envi uQj mūgZ | gṯṯ `Zūi i Rb' Zvgvi NūwZ ṯ`Lv w ṯj Pṯbv mgṯU cŦg mvariYfvtē ṯbvU-Gi cŦj b Kṯib | gj- ṯbvU, ṯjv űbv`ŧ GṯvKv I ṯgqv`i Rb' Pij yQj | mgṯU űṯqb mvs (806-821 mij)-Gi mgṯq G aiṯbi Kv, ṯR gṯṯ Pij y ṯcŦṯb KvY uQj avZe gṯṯ `Zūi i Rb' Zvgvi NūwZ | Pṯb t`tK gṯṯ űeűfbv`ṯb Qūvṯq cṯo | Gi AvsūK KviY uQj DĒi t`tK Avmv nṯv`vṯi KvQ t`tK ṯnivB ṯcṯZ Zvṯ`iṯK Kv, ṯR gṯṯ cY ṯ`qv nṯZv | dtj, G gṯṯi I ci gvṯj i űbfPZv teṯo hvq | 1020 mij būMv` űecjy cūwgvY Kv, ṯR gṯṯ miv ṯ`tK Qūvṯq cṯo | GṯZ gṯṯūmZ ṯ`Lv ṯ`q | Gi cieZvKZvāx, ṯj ṯZ tek KṯqK `dv Pīg gṯṯūmZi Nūbv NtU | dtj, Kv, ṯR gṯṯ cŦj ṯbi cŧq 500 eQi ci 1455 mvtj i w tK Pṯbviv G gṯṯ cūwZ'ūM Kṯi (DBūKūcūwqv I ṯqemūBU) |

3. Bmj vgx e`iswKs

Bmj vgi Dib` t` tK Øv k kZāxchŠ

tnvg`i g`Z (1985:19), Øt`ivg mvg`R`i cZ`tbi ci t` tK Bmj vg AvMg`tbi ce`chŠ hMvU uQj AUKvir`Ob` G mgqU uQj gvb`i Rvbn BwZnv`mi me`P`tq `bWZcY` I Av`wZkxj GKwU Aa`vq/ Bmj vgi AvMgb Rxe`tbi I ci t` tK AUKvi `i K`i Ges Bmj vgi QvqvZ`tj Avmv G`jvKvq m`p` nq w`bivc` I w`wZkxj cwitek|Ø Bmj vgi D`lvb A`wZK, ivR`wZK, mvgwRK I wePri mKj t`y`T Afveb`q cwieZØ Av`tbi Ges GK bZb mf`Zvi weKvk NUvq, hvi w`f`E uQj Avj m I Zv`v w`b` t`k`i (Shari`ah) c`Z m`u`Y`AvZ`mgc`B| DBj mb (1950:40-53) we`k`i BwZnv`m Bmj vgi c`f`ve eY`v Ki`Z w`M`q t`j`Lb: ØmBg kZ`tK Avie (gyj gvb) RbM`Yi AvKw`ŠK D`lvb uQj BwZnv`mi GK Abb` NUbv| w`Koz`vqx emwZ, w`Koz`v`hvei, emYR` I w`bZv`š`mavi Y g`v`tbi Kw`KvR K`i R`ieb-avi YKvi x Qm`o`q-uQm`U`q` _vKv w`Koz`t`M`v`T`i m`w`š`j`b, w`Zb c`R`t`b`i g`t`a` w`b`R`t` i` tK GKwU mg` I kw`š`k`j`x mvg`R`i` cw`YZ K`i | f`ga`m`M`t`i i` tM`Uv `w`Y`f`vM Ges AvdM`mb`lvb t` tK t`ub chŠ`we`h`Y`AA`t`j Zv`iv AvwacZ` we`li K`i | w`wP`T we`k`m I f`iv`f`v`l`x Rb`t`M`v`Ø`tK Av`f`b`æ`g` Av`f`b`æ`f`v`l`v I Av`f`b`æ`c`Z`Ø`v`t`bi w`f`E`t`Z M`to I Vv GKwU mvg`R HK`e`x Ki`Z mdj nq Zv`iv| w`j`t`q`evi (1968:230) Av`t`iv et`j`b : ØmBg kZ`t`Ki ci t` tK gyj gvb`iv `xN`h`v`T`i e`emv Ges Av`š`R`w`ZK emY`R`i` c`h`vi NUv`Z GZv`B mdj nq th Zv Av`t`Mi Rvbn me w`Koz`K Qm`o`q hvq| GUv m`æ`Z G Kvi`Y n`t`q`u`j` th, Bmj vg Ggb GK gn`vb ag`th`L`v`b e`emv`q`v` i` tK mvg`R`i AZ`š`l`gh`P`vc`Y`v`t`b Av`w`Ø`Z Kiv n`t`q`t`Q`Ø Ges t`Kvb e`emv`qx h`w` mZZv, b`v`h`Zv I RbKj `v`Y KvR K`i, Zv`nt`j tet`nk`Z Zv`tK AZ`š`l`D`E`z`gh`P`vi c`Z`k`Ø`Z t` qv n`t`q`t`Q| Zv`B, A`t`bK eo eo gyj g v g`b`l`x Rxe`tbi t`Kvb bv t`Kvb ch`P`q e`emv K`i Zv`i R`w`e`Kv w`b`e`h` K`i`t`Q`b (t` L`y, I`t`q`BU 1955)|

w`j`t`q`evi (1968:230) t` L`vb th: Øc`Ø`Ze`Q`i m`v`iv we`k`i` t` tK n`¾ I Ab`v`b` Dc`j`t`y` Avie`te` gvb`i` i` mgteZ nI`qvi th t`i`l`qvR, we`k`i` K`i` t`m` Kvi`Y gyj gvb`i` i` g`v`S Av`š`R`w`ZK emY`R`i` e`v`c`K c`h`vi N`t`U| t`m`š`w` Avie`te` Avmv A`t`bK gyj gvb Zv`i` ag`v`q` eva`evaKZv cvj`t`bi c`v`k`v`c`m`k` w`b`R t` tK Drcw`Z`c`Y`, hvZv`qvZ c`t`_i w`w`f`b`æ`v`t`b t`Kb`v`te`Pv Ki`Z`Z`b| t` tK t`d`ivi mgq f`i`t`j`v A`š`Ki g`b`v`d`vi Av`k`v`q we`t`k`x`c`Y` w`b`t`q` th`Z`b Zv`iv|Ø e`emv c`h`v`t`i` i` m`½ m`½ e`v`w`Ks Kiv`P`t`gi I we`Kvk N`t`U| d`t`j` t`m`š`w` Avie`te` FY` t` qv, avi t`b`qv, n`-t`š`f`i, w`b`Ø`q`Zv c`Ø`vb, w`b`ivc`E`v` `vb BZ`w` K`g`R`v`Ø` e`v`c`K`f`i`te` P`r`j`y`n`q|

w`w` i`af`vi (1954:43) GK e`š`te` et`j` uQ`t`j`b, Øe`v`K` bv` _v`K`t`j` t`Kv`_vI e`v`w`Ks n`Z` cv`t`i` b`v`Ø| Gi cw`i`t`c`Ø`y`t`Z D`t` w`f`P (1979:255) h`y`š` t`b: Øga`h`š`Mi BD`t`i`v`t`ci t`y`t`T G K`_v` w`K| w`Kš, ga`h`š`Mi gyj g we`k`i` t`y`t`T G K`_v` G`t`Ke`v`t`i`B m`w`K` b`q| ga`h`š`Mi w`w`f`b`æ`m`w`n`Z` Ges e`u` c`Ø`g`Y` `w`j`t`j` i` Z`t`_` Av`g`iv` e`v`Kvi`t` i` t`L`t`Z` cv`B| Z`te, e`v`c`K I kv`L`v`-c`k`v`L`v`q we`f`³ e`v`w`Ks Kiv`P`t`gi t`L`v` t`c`t`j` I Av`g`iv` t`Kvb e`v`š`t`Ki t`L`v` cv`B` bv| Gi g`v`t`b, c`š`j`v`c`w`j` bv` n`t`j` I A`_`w`b`t`q` c`h`v`b Kvi`evi uQj Ggb t`Kvb `v`q`E`k`w`m`Z` ev` Av`v`-`v`q`E`k`w`m`Z` c`Z`Ø`v`b Av`g`iv` w`P`v`y`Z` Ki`Z` c`w`i` bv|

Z`te, Avj -K`y`j` K`y`k`w` (1913), Avj -R`v`nk`B`q`w`i (1938), t`c`j`w`Z` I` kv`m`U (1965), Avj -K`æ`v`B`w`k (1979), Avj -A`w`j` (1953, 1981), Avj -m`v`Ø`v` (1985), Avj -`w`j` (1986, 1995), w`d`t`k`j` (1992), Avj -n`v`g`w`b (2000) Ges P`v`c`iv` I Av`n`t`g` (2002) Z`v`i` i` BwZnv`m` t`j`L`v`q` t`L`vb, t`m` mgq e`v`Kvi`t` i` m`vi` w`c`b` ev` m`v`q`w`i` d`v`n` ev` R`v`n`w`e`av`n` Ges e`v`K`t`K` `vI` qv`DB`b` Avj -R`v`n`w`e`av`n` e`j`v` n`t`Z`v|

Aóg kZtKi tkl wK t_tK Avu_R wnmie-ibKvk Ktib Ggb e'w³tK tevSrtZ Rvneva (eúePb Rvneavn) kãu e'eüZ ntZv| AveYmxq tLjvdZi hM mzwuPZ miKvvi AbsvZcÜB gvPpU e'isKvi t`i I uQj G Dcwa| Giv uQtb gjt wcltq wtklÁ, gjti wbcy cixyK, ivR`^MhYKvix, miKvvi tKvIva`y, gjt wewbgqKvix I mSMhK| 913 mtj i w tK, ivóqfite cÜZwZ nq w lqvb Avj -Rvneavn (eúePb w lqvDBb Avj -Rve`vn)| cãvb cãvb ewYR` kni ,tjvtZ Gi kvLv uQj | tKvb iKg mÿx tj bt`b QvovB AvapK e'isvKs-Gi cãq me KvR m`úw Z ntZv GLvtb| Luj dv Avj -gkZw`i (980-1032)-Gi mgq Avj -Rve`vn-i figKv GZUvB ,iazcY⁹ntq I tV Ges wZvb GKRB AvapK e'isKvi wntmte AwefZ nb th ZtK AvgvZ e'e`vctKi `wqZj cvj tbi evBti I mvK (tPK) I wtkl Kti mvdZvRvn (wej Ae G. tPÁ)-Gi gva`tg GK `vb t_tK Ab` `vrb Znwj cvwvbi KvR KitZ ntZv| Luj dv, DvRimn `ievti Ab`vb` KgRZtK wcyj cwi gvTY FY gÁy KitZ ntZv ZtK (Avj -Kvj Kvkw` 1913; Avj -RvminBqvvi , 1938, tcj wZ I kvvU 1965 Ges tgZl qvuj ol mrvvZv, 1983)|

tgZl qvuj ol mrvvZvi (1983:113-17) gtZ, cãvb Rve`vn ev w lqvb Avj -Rve`vn-i cãvmKtK mKj Avq-e`tqi gvmmK I ewl R weeiYx `Zwi KitZ ntZv| GtK ejv ntZv Avj -LvZgvn (Avu_R weeiYx ev e`vtj Á wK)| BwZvntm t`Lv hvq, AtbK Rvne`vn uQtb L`vb ev Búw | hv I Zvt`i ghPv uQj wvewS (gvvuj g mgvR emevmKvix Agvuj g) wntmte| HvZvnmK mF, tjv t_tK Rvne`vn-i th Zvuj Kv cvl qv hvq, Zvt`i gta` uQtb: Behing web BDvnb, RvKvvi qv web BDvnb, mjbvGvb web I nve, Behing web Avngv`, BmivBj web mvi n Ges mtePv evM`vt`i `Rb Búw ewYK I e`emvqx: Bdmv web wcbKvm I nviab web Bgibv| tktli `Rb tK cvitmi Avl qvR c`tki Rve`vn `dZti wbtqvm t`qv nq| cti Zvuv Luj dv Avj -gkZw`i-Gi Rve`vZ Avj -nv`ivn (e'isKvi cwi l`) I DvRi wvhw nb (t`Lly, tgR 1937; tMvBwZb 1967, 1973; Df`wvFP 1970, 1979 Ges Avj -mvBtq`` 1984)|

Pvciv I Lv (2000:1-3) Ges Pvciv I Avng` (2002:2-6) wj tLtQb, Bmj vtgi BwZvntmi GtKevti i`ia t_tKB gvuj gvbi v, Drcv`bglyx Kvhpig cwi Pvj bv I tfr³vi cÜqvRb ctiYi Rb` m`ú` mgvte tki GKvU Avu_R e'e`v Mto ZjtZ mFjg nq| G e'e`v uQj mÿwvxb| GvU uQj cãvbZ gvivvev (ctivF Askx`vii Z) Ges gjvviKvn (cL`y Askx`vii Z)-i gtZv jvf-tj vKvmtbi wvE`Z| Gme e'isKvi gjti h_v`Zv Ges KZUKZvU Zv gj`vqb KitZb| ZLb gj`evb avZv`tq gjt `Zwi ntZv wvavq G KvRvU uQj LqB ,iazcY⁹ Zvuv tj bt` tbi mgq evievi ,tY t`Lvi Sv`-Svtg v t_tK gvby tK gvP` w`tZb, wvii` msL`K gjt wvii` gvcti _tj tZ ivL`tZb| e`MZ cwi enY QvovB GK `vb t_tK Ab` `vrb Znwj `vbsli KitZb Zvuv| GtZ tKej wvievE`vB wvüZ ntZv bv, cwi tKva e'e`vI mÿ i vte KvR KitZv|

Avj -Rvne`vn ivóK AvMvg FY w`tZv| miKvvi Ki ivRt` t` gva`tg G FY tdiZ cvl qvi wvóqZv uQj | Avj -Rvne`vn G ivR`^msMh KitZv| Zvuv Ki ivR`^msMhni ci Zvt`i gj- A_`Ges Gi lci evovZ wKQy tdiZ tctZv| wKQy wKQy BwZvnmie` GtK mÿ etj gtb Ktib (t`Lly, tcj wZ I kvvU 1965:383)| wKŠ, Avgiv hv` Ki mSMh I Gi e'e`vcbvri tCQtb t`qv cwi kftgi K_v wetePbv Kvii Zvntj tevSv hvte th, gtj i lci G evovZ A_`Kv mÿ uQj bv| GvU uQj Ki e'e`vcbvri Rb` GKvU wcl ev úcwi tZv wK-Gi gtZv| Kvii Y, GKv tK Bmj vg mÿ Avjgv`b Kti bv, Ab`w` tK mÿ wvbfP Kti cwi gvY I tgqv`i lci | wKŠ, tmev cÜv tbi wewbgtq úcwi tZv wK tbcvii AbsvZ i tqtQ| Df`wvFP tRvi w`tq etj b: Ohw I ewYK I Ab`t`i Rb` Zvt`i At`P GKvU Ask gvPpU e'isKvi t`i KvQ mAq ivLv eva`Zvgj-K uQj Ges gvPpU e'isK, tjv Zvt`i A_`wvfbacvii gvTY Ab`vb` gvPpU e'isK AvgvZ ivL`tZv,

আমানতকারীকে কোন সুদ বা অন্যান্য ধরনের লাভ দেয়ার নজির নেই।” এর কারণ, আল্লাহ রিবা (সুদ) নিষিদ্ধ করেছেন। আল-কোরআনে এ ব্যাপারে অনেক আয়াত রয়েছে। পাশাপাশি, সেখানে রিবা এড়াণো যায় এমন অনেক বিকল্প মুশারাকাহ, মুদারাবাহ, মুজারা’হ ইত্যাদি উল্লেখ রয়েছে।

মধ্যযুগের শুরুতে ইসলামী শাসন একটি অর্থনৈতিক স্বর্ণযুগের ভিত্তি স্থাপনে বিশাল ভূমিকা পালন করে। তখন বাণিজ্য ও ব্যাংকিং খাতের খেলোয়াড়রা ছিলো আরব, পারস্যীয়, বারবার (উত্তর আফ্রিকার অধিবাসী), ইহুদি, খৃস্টান ও আর্মেনিয়ান। ইসলামী বণিকরা আল-আন্দালুস (স্পেন) থেকে চীন সাগরের উপকূল পর্যন্ত পৌঁছে গিয়েছিলো। পিরেনির মতে (১৯৩৭:৪৯): “বিশ্বব্যাপী তাদের বাণিজ্য সম্পর্কের কারণে তারা (মুসলমান) ভারত থেকে আখ, সিসিলি ও আফ্রিকা থেকে তুলা এবং সিসিলি ও স্পেন থেকে চাল আমদানি করতো। তারা চীনাদের কাছ থেকে রেশম ও কাগজ তৈরি করতে শেখে এবং এ জ্ঞান মুসলিম সাম্রাজ্যের সবখানে পৌঁছে দেয়।”

লিয়েবার আরো লিখেন (২৯৬৮:২৩০): “ইতালি ও অন্যান্য ইউরোপীয় দেশের বণিকরা ব্যবসার সূক্ষ্ম কৌশলগুলো ব্যবহারের প্রথম শিক্ষা ভূ-মধ্যসাগরের অপর পাশে তাদের প্রতিপক্ষদের কাছ থেকে পেয়েছিলেন। এদের বেশিরভাগ ছিল মুসলিম। ইহুদি ও খৃস্টানও কিছু ছিল। ইউরোপের বিপুল সংখ্যক শব্দের উৎপত্তিস্থল নিকট প্রাচ্য, প্রধানত আরামিক, আরবি ও পারস্যীয় হওয়ার মূল কারণ এটাই। ব্যবসায়িক কর্মকাণ্ডের পরিভাষাগুলোর মধ্য দিয়ে মধ্যযুগের ইউরোপে তার প্রবেশ ঘটে। এসব পরিভাষার কিছু উদাহরণ হলো (মূল শব্দটির মতো করেই ইউরোপে উচ্চারিত হতে হবে তা নয়): দেওয়ান, আরসেনাল, ম্যাগাজিন, ট্রাফিক, ট্যারিফ, রিস্ক, ফোভাকো, সেনসালি, গ্যালিয়া, আভাল ও মাওনা”।

ইংরেজি শব্দ চেক-এর কথা উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে যা এসেছে আরবি সাক শব্দ থেকে; কুর্দ শব্দ থেকে এসেছে ক্রেডিট; রিজক থেকে রিস্ক; ফরাসি শব্দ এখেতার এসেছে ইশতারা (কেনা) থেকে; আল-মাখজেন থেকে লে ম্যাগাসিন; হাওয়াল্লা থেকে আভাল এবং স্পেনিশ শব্দ আলমাসিন এসেছে আল-মাখজেন থেকে; সাউক (বাজার) থেকে জোকো এবং এমন আরো অনেক শব্দ (দেখুন দোই ১৯৮৪:৩৯৯; ভিভেস ১৯৬৯:১১৯-২০; টোরে ১৮৯২, স্টিগহার ১৯৬৩, বেনতার, ১৯৭১)। লাবিব (১৯৬৯:৮০) যেমনটা দেখিয়েছেন: “যেখানে ইসলাম প্রবেশ করেছে, সেখানেই ব্যবসায়িক কর্মকাণ্ড জোরদার হয়েছে, পণ্য বিনিময় বৃদ্ধি পায় এবং ঋণ পদ্ধতির বিকাশে তা গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা পালন করে।” বানতিয়ার (১৯৭১:৭২) আরো দেখান: “জানা বিশ্বের সবখানে আরব বাণিজ্য ছড়িয়ে পড়ে। চীন, মালয়েশিয়া ও ভারতের সঙ্গে বাণিজ্য ব্যাপকভাবে বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছিল।”

উদোভিচের (১৯৭৯:২৬৩) মতে : “সাফতোজা (বিল অব এক্সচেঞ্জ) সবসময়ের জন্য এবং হাওয়াল্লা (ঋণ গ্যারান্টি বা ঋণ হস্তান্তর) সাধারণভাবে একটি লিখিত বাধ্যবাধকতা হিসেবে আত্মপ্রকাশ করে। মধ্যযুগে নিকট প্রাচ্যে এগুলো ছিল সবচেয়ে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বাণিজ্যিক ঋণপত্র।” এটা হয়েছিল সম্ভবতঃ আল্লাহ আল-কোরআনের সবচেয়ে দীর্ঘ আয়াতে (২:২৪২-৩) নির্দেশ দিয়েছেন সবধরনের বাধ্যবাধকতা লিখে রাখার জন্য।

১৩^শ শতাব্দীর পর ইসলামী খেলাফতের ধীর ও দীর্ঘ পতনের প্রক্রিয়ায় রাষ্ট্রীয় ব্যাংকার হিসেবে জাবদাহ ব্যাপকভাবে গুরুত্ব হারায়। এর কার্যক্রম কেবল সারাফ বা সায়রাফি (মুদ্রা বিনিময়কারী) পর্যায়ে নেমে আসে। এর পেছনে যেসব বাহ্যিক ও অভ্যন্তরীণ উপাদান কাজ করেছে সেগুলো হলো:

- ❖ বিশেষ করে রাজনৈতিক পরিমন্ডলে ইসলাম ও ইসলামী শরী’আহ থেকে ক্রমেই সরে আসা।
- ❖ রাষ্ট্রের সঙ্গে জড়িতদের অসংযমী ও বিলাসবহুল ব্যয়।
- ❖ সংগঠনের অভাব এবং মাথাভারি প্রশাসন।
- ❖ রাজনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা ভেঙ্গে পড়া, প্রত্যন্ত প্রদেশগুলোর ওপর কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের কর্তৃত্ব হারানো এবং ছোট ছোট

kvmK esk Ges Avav-`vaxb MfbP`i Dlvb hvi dtj Luj divv Zv`i gšx I tmbvcwZ`i nřZi cZtj cwi YZ nb|

- ✓ ci`úti i cŁZ kĪafvevcbawefbæfMvôx thgb, mycl, ukqv, BmgyBuj qv, `šR, BZ`w`i D`me| Gt`i mevB LwW ggyj gvb nI qvi `we Kti|
- ✓ μzmWvi, tgv½j Ges ZvZvı`i m½`vN`hy| dtj, BivK I wmi qvi tewki fiM GjvKv aYsm`tc cwi YZ nq|
- ✓ cŁq wZb kZvāx aŧi Pjv ZmK`cvi m` hy hv BivıKi A_`wZK clyævi evaMÖIKti|

Dctiv³ Ges Ab'vb` HwZnvmK KviŧY ggyj g wtkfi cŁKškj MZ I A_`wZK KgRıD w`hgZ nřq cto| GQovı Bmj vgx A_`e`vi AŧbK cŁZövb wejš nřq Zvi RıvqMvq cıÖgv cŁZövb Rbŧ tbq (Bmwe, 1966:4, wj Dm, 1970:102 Ges Pvciv, 2000:173-185, Ges Pvciv I Lvb, 2000:3)|

4. BDti vtc e'vskS

ti vgvb mvgřR`i cZb t_ŧK Ők kZK chšI

300 mřtj ti vgvb mvgřR`i cZtbi ci t_ŧK 1300 mj chšI t`ub I BZvıj Qov BDti vtcı evıK AĀj GK nZvk I AÜKvıv`Qbremgq cvi Kti hv BwZvıtm ŐAÜKvi hMÖ wntmte cwi wPZ| Bmj vgx mvgřR`i Aaxb Avj -Av`vj yr břtg cwi wPZ t`útb 8g kZvāx t_ŧK 15Ök kZvāx chšI GK gnvmf`Zvi weKvk NřU| Avi fga`mıMıxq AĀtj tKškj MZ emYıR`K Ae`vrb vKv BZvıj i m½ Bmj vgx wtkfi ggyj g, L_`vb I Būw emYKt`i m½ wbgvZ thvıMıthvM nřZv| GgbıK GK mgq ggyj g Ask wQj wıwıwıj I t`fıvb|

ti vgvb mvgřR`i cZtbi ci cıÖg BDti vtc eü eeP i vřöfi Rbŧ nq| Mfıxi cÖv`c`Zıv wbgıw¼Z nq cıÖg BDti vtcı emYR`| tıvıvi (1963:84)-Gi eYÖv gřZ: ÖA_`ÖwZ e`vcKfıte Kwl.wbfP nřq cto|Ö hvi KviŧY BDti vtcı L`vZbıv BwZnıme` wctıwböcıÖg BDti vtc m`útk`ej řZ eva` nřqÖb (1937:20): "La terre était tout et le commerce rien", hvi A_`fıvgB (ev Kwl.) wQj me| emYR` wKÖB wQj bv| Gi gřtb G bq th cıÖg BDti vtc tKvb aiŧbi emYR` nřZv bv| GLřtb ejv nř`Q, i vR`wZK Aw`wZkxj Zv, AwbÖqZv, D`P cwi enY e`q, D`P Ki I i`é, tPvıPıj vb, Nj I AĀZvi KviŧY ZLb emYıR`K KgRıD wQj bMY`| Avi, emYR` mıgxvex nřq cotj I e'vskS Kvhřıgl tm ct_B AMŧı nte|

tıvıvi (1963:84) wj řLřÖb Kw_Z tmB ŐAÜKvi hMÖ: Öj wZb fıvıv nıwıřq tMřjv, Davı nřjv ms`wZ, Pıg we`wZ. NUřjv Kzs`vřıı| Zte, KÖ-hMı meřPřtg AÜKvi mgqıwřZı wbgıwZfıte gřö e`eüZ nřj I emYR` bv vKıvq Gi řj bř`b mıwıZ nřq cto|Ö AıwıNvi (1967:11) t`Lvb th: Öti vgvb mvgřR` cZtbi ci t_ŧK GKv`k kZřKi tkl chšI cřıvı mgqıwřZ cıÖg BDti vtc e'vskS wkı ej řZ wQj tKej gřö wıbgq| ga`hMı wÖZıxřıřM μzmWvi`i hM nřjv A_`I FY e`e`vı weKvřki mPbv-ıe`yÖ `kg kZvāřK ejv nq μwšKıj | AvřM t_ŧKB wıfıbıvřb řZ`řZ`vax ev Avav-`řqEkıwıZ i vřR`i D`me I Ab'vb` KviŧY `šP nřq cov ggyj g mvgřR` tgv½j I ZvZvı`i Ae`vnZ nıvj vi KviŧY Avřıv `šP nřq cto| G mřthvM KıřR jwřřq GKıřK μzmWviıv ggyj g mvgřR`řK Avřıv `šP KıřZ vřK Ges Ab'vřřK, ggyj g mř`Zv t_ŧK Āvb-ıeĀvb, wtkı Kti, wKfıte tıP evovřbv hvq, n`łkı, Askx`wıZı, emYR` I e'vskS cıÖg BDti vtc `ıbvřřı nřZ vřK| hvi dtj GKıesk kZřKi tkl w`K t_ŧK mıvıvıYřıte cıÖg BDti vtc Ges wtkı fıte BZvıj řZ i vR`wZK I A_`wZK Dlvb NUřZ i iæKti|

tjvtcR (1952:273) weLqiu eYbV Kti#Qb: 0Aetk#l BZwij Zvi BD#ivc gnt`k I fga`mMiq AA#ji ga`eZrAe`v#bi m#hvMiu#K Kv#R jvM#Z i`iæK#i | gvSmi tM#Qi mdj KIK I Lvgnv#`i G RmZ, tivgvb h#M emY#R`i Rb` ce#A#ji I ci wbf#k#j wQj | Zviv Zv#`i Rbe#j n#q cov ivRavbx I Lv` Pvn`v ci#Y e`_#w#Qj | ZvB we#k#i c#g emYR`K I wki wfiEK RmZ nI qvi c_B t#K#j tLjv wQj Zv#`i mvg#b | 0

tm mgq m#eZ t#ibm wQj me#P#q mg# bMix | tmLv#b tKiv fWg`vm (serfdom) wQj#v bv Ges t#ivci we#iwaZv m#E#l tmLv#Kvi te#ki fivM gv#ly mg#`c#_ , we#k#l K#i g#v#j g we#k#i m#% emY#R` RmZ wQj | g#v# I A_#w#b#gqKvix#`i kw# I gh#v ax#i ax#i evot#Z _v#K | ZLb fga`mMiq AA#ji emY#R` Bmj vgx Ask#v w#Z; P#B g#viver-i g#Zv c#iv#y Ask#v w#Zg#-K e`e`v KgvUv (commenda) tek Rb#c#Zv AR# K#i (t`L#y, tnvgvi, 1963:86-88 Ges wgmwKugb, 1969:118) | w#t#evi Zvi ch#e#Y#Y (1968:230) weLqiu#K Gfiv#e e`vL`v Kti#Qb: 0BZwij i emYKiv e`emvi m#` tK#k#j _tjv e`en#v#i c#g w#k#v fga`mM#i Acicv#k Zv#`i c#Zc#Y#`i KvQ t`_#K t#t#q#w#b | G#`i te#ki fivM wQj g#v#j g | B#v# I L#_#v#l wKQ#v#Qj | 0

weLqiu Gfiv#e e`vL`v Kiv th#Z c#i, nvg#y (1985:24) t`L#v, e`vst#Ki DrcwEi aviYvq 1157 m#t#j t#ib#m w#cZ c#g e`vst#Ki bvgKiYiu# _iæ#j t#t#q#Q | Avi e`iswKs Kv#h#ig i`iai w`b#Y#Y w#t#q m#vaviY aviYiu# j#vevi w`qv-i g#v# w#b#gqKvix#`i m#% RmZ | Zviv GKiu Kv#vi tUwe#ji t#Q#b e#m KvR P#j#v#Zv | G tUwe#j _tjvi bvg wQj evst#Kv | ZvB, tjvtcR (1952:291) g#b` K#i#b: 0BZwij wQj ga`h#M#q A_#w#ZK c#_#qvq, Avi Bs#j`vU wQj Av#b#KZvi c#_ | wki we#e# c#g Bs#j`v#U i wKQ#G#vKvi A_#w#Z I mgvR#k e`_t#j t`_q Ges c#i Zv we#k#i Ab`v#` v#b Q#vot#q c#o | wK#; emYR` we#e# (e`emv I e`iswKs) c#g BZwij i K#qKiu kn#i i`iæ#nt#q ax#i ax#i Zv BD#ivc Q#vot#q c#o | 0

5. Bmj vgx emYR`i cZ#bi ci t`_#K wesk kZ#ki gvSvgnS Bmj vgx e`iswKs Aw#f#ei ce`# ch#S#g#v#j w#k#e`iswKs

110k kZv#x#Z Bmj vgx mvg#R`i cZb i`iæ#nI qvi ci t`_#K wesk kZ#ki gvSvgnS ch#S#K#qK kZv#x# a#i `vN`GK Ae#y#q I AebwZk#j Ae`vi g#a` c#i K#i g#v#j g we#k#l | G h#Miu Dm#j-A#j -BbwnZvZ ev 0AebwZi h#M# wnt#m#e BwZv#m c#i wP#Z jvf K#i | tivgvb mvg#R` cZ#bi ci t`_#K 120k kZv#xi t#l ch#S# c#w#g BD#ivc thgb 0A#Kvi h#M# weivR K#i, GuvI wK t#Zg#b | ivRb#wZ, A_#w#Z, mvgv#RK, m#v`wZK N R#e#bi c#ZwU t#y#t# G Ae#y#q t`Lv t`_q | Gi #v#ZKi c#iYwZ wQj wech#Q#i:

N GK mg#t#q i HKex tLjvdZ tQvU tQvU AmsL` Av#A#j K kw#`#Z we#f# n#q c#o | Gme kw#`# ci`_#t#i i weia#x j ovB#t#q w#j B nq | `#t#k#v#b, c#Rv Drcwob I Aw#P#i e`v#K#f#e Q#vot#q c#o | d#j tgv#j, ZvZvi, µ#mWv#mn Ab`#`i Rb` g#v#j g we#k#l n#v#v t`_qv mnR n#q c#o | Zviv g#v#j g ivR` _tjvi I ci c#v#e we`#i Ges A#b#K _tjv#K K#j w#b#Z c#i YZ K#i |

N kix0Av#v#fiEK GK mg#t#q i b`v#q#v#Y I fvi mvg`c#Y`Bmj vgx mgvR e`e`v - mvgv#i K mvg#S#Zw#S#K mgv#R c#i YZ nq | hv A_#w#ZK I mvgv#RK Db#q#bi m#v#qK wQj bv |

N `w#`? `#y, ex I wki#` i c#i Ph#q w#t#ew Z evq#Z# g#j (tKvI v#v#i) Mfb#P, D#v#i, t#b#v#wZ I Ki Av`v#q#v#i`i GK#P#U#v m#v#v#E#Z c#i YZ nq | d#j, m#vaviY gv#ly Av`v n#v#i#t#q t#d#j | Zviv

ubhPZb, AwePri, nZ'v ev m=úúÉ evfRqvúBi ukKvi nI qv t_#K evP#Z mgx bMi#K: a tQto Múg' cinnno GjvKvq P#j hvq| Zv#i g#a" AÁZv, Awkÿv, Kzs-vi, inm'ev, gwZ@Rv BZ'w' e'vcKfite Qmo#q c#o (t`Lly, Bmme, 1966:4)|

Ñ `kg kZ#Ki Zÿbvq Kul.KvR msK#PZ n#q bMY" ch#q tbtg Av#m| cikvcwK, RbmsL'v e'vcKfite KgtZ 'iia K#i| Rwg eiv' t`qv n#Zv KgRZ#`i A_ev Zviv ub#RivB ub#q ub#Zv| Kul.cxwZ AcwiewZ# t_#K hvq| m#eZ, 1960-Gi `k#Ki ce#chS#f#elki f#M KIK t#vvi e`#j Kv#Vi jv#j e'envi K#Zv| Gi dtj k#m'i dj b #Qj AZ`#s#l Kg Ges dmj I Mew'ci'Ñ `#UB Ae'v#Zfite Liv, tcvKvi Av#ugY I tiv#Mi ukKvi n#Zv (t`Lly, j#m, 1970: 105, 113 Ges Bmme, 1966: 3, 21, 65)|

Ñ Jcub#enkK#i i ub#q Av#v BD#ivcxq K#j i `Zwi t#vM`c#Y'i eb'v `vbxq n`#k#i i I ci Pig Av#vZ n#b| cieZr#K#qK kZv#x#Z G n`#k#i i GKwU eo Astki vej#B N#U| A#v`k kZv#xi w#i c#Y'i m#% K#qK kZK Av#M `Zwi n`#k#i i Zÿbv K#j e#v hv#e th, G_#jvi Drcv`b t#Kej t_#q hvqub eis D#e'w' #K P#j Z'v iia K#i (Bmme, 1966: 18 I 46)|

Ñ 11k# kZv#x t_#K ew#YR" g#j gvb#`i KvQ t_#K BD#ivcxq#`i Kv#Q P#j th#Z 'iia K#i| `#Z Gi#B f-ga`m#Miq AÁ#j i c#vb cY'ev#K I e'evq#Z cwiYZ nq (Bmme, 1966:7 Ges tj DBm, 1970:114)|

t#v#Rj I n#q#m (1998:19 I 4) wj #Lb, Eb#esk kZv#xi gv#vgn#S t_#K g#j g w#k#i c#q c#ZwU t`k bZ# c#v#e `vi Kvix c#v#gn w#k#i c#Z`y ev c#iv#y P#ci Kv#Y, w#k#i K#i c#v#b I ew#vR`K t#y#T c#v#gn a#P#i Av#B I Av#Bx e'e`v P#j yK#Z eva" nq| kZ kZ eQ#i i c#y#v Bmj vgx A_#e`vi PP# iv#Z Xiv#v c#o| BD#iv#ci c#v#e t#ki f#M t`k c#v#gn a#P#i e'vswKs c#xwZ I e'envi g#Wj M#Y Ges Bmj vgx ew#vR`K c#xwZ i PP#cwi Z'v#M D#m#v#Z nq| `#x#Zv j v#f, w#k#i kx e'vsk RvZ#qKiY Ges t`k#q e'vswKs e'e`vi Db#q#bi dtj w#k#i e'vst#Ki Av#act#Z'i Aem#v N#U| w#K#; bZ# e'e`v GK a#b#i #be"-Jcub#enkK#i e'vswKs c#xwZ n#q I #V| G#v w#K, w#k#i kx e'vsk RvZ#qKiY Ges bZ# t`k#q e'vst#Ki c#Z#v#i dtj G_#jv RvZ#q e'vst#K cwiYZ nq Ges Zv RvZ#q `#_#`L#v#j K#i| w#K#; G_#jvi cwi P#j bv c#xwZ w#k#i e'vst#Ki g#ZvB t_#K hvq Ges G_#jv m#j i w#v#E#Z Kv#P#g P#j v#Z _#v#K| A_P G e'e`v g#j g RbM#Yi w#k#i m#i ec#ixZ| dtj, Rb#tbq #Bmj vgx e'vsk# #Z#v#i avi Yv| G e'vsk, gvb#j i ag#v w#k#i I t#P#v A#y#e#i #L#B MZv#v#ZK m#Kj e'vswKs t#ev t`#e| #Bmj vgx e'vsk# ev #m#y-g# e'vsk#N#h b#q#B G#K Aw#v#Z Kiv t#v#K bv t#Kb, Zv #Qj Bmj vgx c#y#e#e#b#i dmj | Gi m#P#v Ab#y#v#v#b 1930, 1940 I 1950 `k#Ki w`#K `w# t#v#v#v th#Z c#v#i | G mgq Jcub#enkK k#v#b#i Aem#v N#U#q tek w#K#z#j g iv#`#x#Zv j v#f K#i |

U#DU (1983) Ges DBj mb (1983) t`Lv, 1950-i `k#Ki t#i f#v#M c#v#K`#b#i GKwU Múg c#q Bmj vgx e'vsk `v#b#i D#`v#M t#q#v n#q#j | Z#e, Gi c#v#e t#k#v#b `v#q n#q#b| w#K#z#g#x#i#e e'v# c#ix#v#j-K#fite GKwU m#y-g# e'vsk c#Z#v# K#i#b| Zviv m#y#g# Z#v#ej msM#h K#i#Z#b Ges t#m#Lv t_#K M#v#e f#v# g#v#j K#i i Kul.Kv#Ri Rb" FY t`qv n#Zv| F#Yi Rb" t#K#v m#y#tbqv n#Zv bv| Z#e, e'vst#Ki cwi P#j bv e'vq #be#v#i Rb" A#i w#K#Z#v#v#v _v#k#Zv| hv#b#v#K, DBj mb (1983:75) wj #Lb : #hv I FY t#q#v#i t#v#K#i t#K#v Kg#v# #Qj bv w#K#; t#v#Z cv#l qv hv#e bv t#f#e Z#v#ej `vZviv c#Z#v#v#v#v#v Zv#`i A_#

GKeitii Rb`B w`tZb| dtj, wkwMiB e`vsKuUz Znjej NvUwZ t`Lv t`q| AwAKS; e`vsK wKfite FY weZiY KitQ Gme weItq AwZgvvq AvMh t`LvZ jvMtjb Znjej`vZviv| GKw`tK, e`vsK KgRZ`i KtRi tKvb`vaxZv wQj bv, Ab`w`tK, bZb AvgvbZ Avmvl eU ntq tMtjv| e`vsK ÷vd wbtqvM wbtq mgm`v t`Lv t`q| bMixi ewYwR`K e`vsK, tji tvfvbq Ges wivc` PvKwi tQto tKD cU`S`GjvKvi G AwbDqZvi gta` AvmtZ PvBtZv bv| dtj, wkwMiB e`Zvq chEmZ ntjv G Df`wM| wKS; cwk`tB hLb G Df`wMi mgwB NtU, wK ZLb bZb Kti cixyv-wbixyv iiaentjv wgmti |0

1963 mtj i 25 RjvB wgmti mgwi wPZ e`vsKvi Avj -bv`4vi, cUgevtii gtZv wGU-Nvgvi cU`tk wGU-Nvgvi Bmj wGK tmwfsm e`vsK (GgwRAvBGmie) cU`Zov Ktib| Avj -bv`4vi cieZxPZ BvUrbv`kbyj Gtmwmtqkb di Bmj wGK e`vsK-Gi gnvmPe ntqQtj b| GKw Dbqbkj ggnj g t`tki MlgxY cwit`tk G e`vsK cU`Zovi Rb` wZb RvgfB tmwfsm e`vsKti gtWj MhY Ktib| Zvi Df`k` wQj kixUAvn&AvBb j-Nb bv Kti wgmti msL`wmi o ggnj g RbMtYi KtQ Ajm cto`vKv A`msMh Ges IB mAtqi Rb` Zt` i`tk nij vj glvdv cU`vb| Avj -bv`4vi wQtj b GKRB AwfA tckvRex, KtqKuU Aw`R cU`Zovb Kvr Kivi et`SjtZ wKQze`vsKs AwfAZv Zvi wQj| AvMhx ggnj gvb`i ga` t`tk mZKZvi mt`KgPvix evQvB Kti e`vsKuU cwipj bv iia Ktib wZb| oe`vsKti ÷vdiv Aí mgtaqi gta` iyYkij t`kuUj RbMtYi Av`v AR`b mg`nq| Gme KgPvix Zt` i m`te` MhntKi mt`K GK KvZiti kwgj ntq agvq Abjamb cij b KitZb| GjvKvi KIKiv ewivMZ`i e`vcvti wQj mw`nvb Ges Zt` i Ly Kg msL`KB ewYwR`K e`vsK tj bt` b KitZv| tm, tj vtK Zviv, cU`DgvcSk wgmixq` i` t`Q`jvKvix wfbt` kx cU`Zovb etj gtb KitZv| wKS; G bZb e`vsKti KgPvix Av`iKg| Giv wkwYz ntj I KIKt`i gtZv GKB`w`f`x I`bwZK gj`teva tcvY KtiO (DBj mb, 1983:76)|

e`vsKuU cU`ZovZv I e`e`vcK Avj -bv`4vi (1974:246-247)-Gi gtZ, e`vsKuU KvhPjg wQj wZb aitbi: cU`gZ, cU`Ri Pwv`v I mieivni gta` GKwU`y mAvitKi fvgKv cvj b; wDZxqZ, A`wZK`yZv, mAQ wkyv I e`vsKs Af`vm Mto tZjv i Rb` GKwU cK`yY tK`v`wntmte Kvr Kiv; Ges ZZxqZ, gRZ`w I cU`R MVtbi mgm`v Kwgtq Avbv I wewbtqvMi Rb` Ajm cU`Ri mgvtek NUvtZ GKwU MwZkj Pj K mw|

DBj mb (1983:76) Dtl`L Ktib th: Omv wbgP I ms`vi, n`tkf`i Rb` mwavi Y gwkbwmi thgb, Kvcv tevvi Rb` n`Pwvj Z ZvZ ev tmjvB tgnkb tKbvmn eU aitbi KtR e`vsKuU FY w`tZv| Lvgrvii Mew`ci tKbv Ges tmP e`e`vi tgSij K DbwZi Rb` FY t`qv ntZv| w`tkl Kti, KwLwfwEK IB GjvKvi Rb` cwbi mgy`v Kiv wQj Riwi |0 GgwRAvBGmie`z AMhZi ct`aweZ nq Ges mto wZb eQti i gta` AvgvbZKvix msL`v 2 jvL 51 nvRvi Omotq hvq| cU`vki tPtq A`bK D`P nvti mAQ evotZ`v`K| (1 bs OK t`Lly GtZ, mgwMKfite wgmixq e`vsKs e`e`vi (BieGm) tgvU AvgvbZi mt`K, GKB mgtaqi Rb` eZ`v I w`i gtj` GgwRAvBGmie`i cU`x Zj`bv Kiv ntqtQ| OK 2, 3 Ges 4-G AvgvbZKvixi msL`v, mAtqi Mo AvKvi, kvLv-i msL`v Ges mAQKvix`i aib N` Kvir Bmj vgx e`vsKti mt`K tj bt` b KitQ, Zv t`Lv bv ntqtQ|

OK 1 : 1964-1967 tgqvt` BieGm Ges wGU-Nvgvi Bmj wGK tmwfsm e`vsKti tgvU AvgvbZi Zj`bigj-K w`tkd Y

eZgub għj`

mij	BwGmGi uĠj wW %	mPK %	cċw`	GgWRAvBGmweġi uĠj wW %	mPK %	cċw`
1964	3,78,000,000	100	-	40,944	100	-
1965	3.96,000,000	105	5	1,91,235	467	367
1966	4,15,000,000	110	5	8,79,570	2148	360
1967	4,45,000,000	118	7	18,28,375	4466	108
Mo		6			278	

w`i għj`

1964	3,64,513,010	100	-	39,483	100	-
1965	3,32,214,760	91	-9	1,60,432	406	306
1966	3,19,722,650	88	-4	6,77,635	1716	322
1967	3,40,474,360	93	7	13,98,910	3543	106
Mo		- 2			245	

mF : AvBGgGd BwUvi b`vkbyj wcbwYqj ÷ wUw÷K I Avj -br`avi (1974)|

kā mst`yc : BwGm: BwRcukqyb e`iswKs wmt`÷g; GgWRAvBGmwe : wĠU Nwġvi Bmj wġK tmwfs e`isK

QK 2 : wĠU-Nwġvi Bmj wġK tmwfsm e`istKi AvgwbZKvix msL`v Ges Zrt` i Mo AvgwbZ

eQi	AvgwbZKvix msL`v	cċw` %	mĀqKvix cċZ Mo AvgwbZ	cċw` %
1964	17,560	-	2.33	-
1965	30,404	73	6.29	170
1966	1,51,998	400	5.79	-1
1967	2,51,152	65	7.28	26

mF : Avj -br`avi (1974:271)|

QK 3 : 1963-1967 mtj i għa` wĠU-Nwġvi Bmj wġK tmwfsm e`istKi kvLv msL`v

kvLvi bvg	tLvj vi Zwi L	kvLvi bvg	tLvj vi Zwi L
1. wĠU Nwġvi 09-02-1966		05-07-1963	6. tRdWZ
2. kvwewb	14-08-1965	7. Avj gwrvj wn	24-07-1966
3. Avj gwvmjw	11-09-1965	8. wġmi Avj -Rw`vn	23-07-1966
4. `vtKi aqym	09-10-1965	9. tej Kv	01-10-1966
5. Kwmi Avj AvBwb	14-10-1965		

mF : Avj -br`avi (AvBwAvBwW)

OK 4 : GgiiRAvBGmweŃZ wewfBamAqKvix MAtci tgyU AvgvbZ mAq I webtqvtMi kZKiv Ask

mAq AvgvbZ	webtqvtM AvgvbZ	AvgvbZKvix	
53.5		38.0	QvI
14.0		12.0	kigK
2.3		12.8	tcbkbtfMx
0.2		22.0	miKvii KgPvix
5.1		6.4	Mpea~
10.9		15.9	KIK
2.0		2.4	e'emvqx
2.0		2.0	Ab`vb`

mF : Avj -bv3/4vi (1974:272)|

cŃB mwxgZ Zt`i wfiEŃZ t`LvŃv OK,tjvi Zybvgj-K wekŃY t`tK GUv `uó th, G cixyv tek mdj Zvi cŃvY ivtL Ges mAq mgvtek AZ`šŃwPĒvKIR| wecy msL`K wkyv`P, KIK I MŃgevmxi mg`B jvtf mdj nq G e'isK| Zviv e'isKwŃtK wbtRt`i etj fveŃZ iiaKti etj wewfBæAvtjvPbvq wivw (1967); Avj -bv3/4vi (1974), nviŃf (1981); UŃDU (1983) Ges DBjmb (1983) DŃjL KŃiŃQb| Avj -bv3/4vi (1974:272) gšb` KŃib: ŃKvhPvg iiaŃ `f mgŃqi gŃa` e'isKwŃ `vbxq m=U`vtqi A`%wZK DbqŃb , iaZc`Ymev w`tZ mŃygnq| wekŃ KŃi, wgu-Nvgvi I Gi 53w MŃtg ýz`wki cŃZŃv I Gi DbqŃb Ges teKvi kigKŃ`i Rb` bZb KgŃis`vŃbi mŃhvm mŃp KŃi |Ń

ejv nq, G e'isK GZUvB mdj nŃqivŃtjv th GZw`tb Zv tMvUv wgmj Zvi Avl Zivq wbtq AvmŃZ cviŃZv| wKš; wbxšY wbtq ivRbwZi KviŃY e'isKwŃ tkl chšŃeU nŃq hvq| gvŃ mŃto wZb eŃtii gv`vq 1967 mŃtj i tdeŃqwiŃZ e'isKwŃ hLb eU nŃq hvq ZLb G e'isK I Gi kvLv,tjvi KivPvg wŃj Ggb GjvKvq FYMŃZvi mgm`v e'vcKfŃte KŃg GŃmŃj | gvbŃtK , wKZK `vbxq mŃŃLvi gnvRŃbi KvŃQ FŃYi Rb` aYŃw`ŃZ nŃZv bv| Zviv cŃŃj Z avivi e'isK,tjvi KvŃQ thŃZ cviŃZv bv| KviY ZvŃ`iŃK Ńe'isK emfŃZ tKŃwŃ wntmŃte weŃePbv Kiv nŃZv| Avevi, Gme e'isK thŃnZzBmjvŃg nviŃg (wŃwŃ x) mŃ (wiv) wbtq KviŃvi KiŃZv, MŃtgi agŃŃY gvbŃv tmLvŃb thŃZ PvBŃZv bv|

Gj bv3/4vi DŃjL KŃib (1978:230-232): we`šqKi bv nŃj I K`wŃU `ŃeŃivax gŃb nŃe th e'isKwŃi Rb` mgm`v `Zvi Kiv bv nŃj GiU mdj Zvi mŃ½ GŃMŃq hwŃŃj | e'isKwŃ `vbxq chŃq DbqŃb mdj Zv t`LvŃZ iiaKiv gvŃ `vbxq mvgwRK KZŃŃŃŃi mŃ½ Gi msNvZ iiaŃnq| Zviv fveŃjv ZvŃ`i KZŃŃŃŃb GjvKvq G cŃZŃvb bvK MjvŃ`Q| Zviv gŃb KiŃjv e'isKwŃ ZvŃ`i KvR,tjvB AŃnZK bKj KiŃQ| BŃZvgŃa` e'isKwŃ AwKZi `uófŃte Bmj vgx wekŃm I PPŃ wfiEŃZ GKwŃ bZb e'iswKs aviYv cŃZŃ KŃi gŃwŃj g MŃhKŃ`i gŃŃS mvov tŃjŃZ mŃŃg nq| Gi mAq I mAqKvixi msL`v `ŃZ evotŃZ `vŃK| AŃbŃK wewfBæemYWR`K e'isK t`tK ZvŃ`i mAq ZŃj Bmj vgx e'isŃK ivLŃZ iiaKŃib| G Ae`v cŃŃj Z e'is,tjvŃK AcwivhŃŃŃte G bZb RbŃcŃq I `ŃZ weKvkgvb cŃZŃŃŃxi weiaŃx `w KwiŃq t`q| ŃŃŃ` wŃŃKvY t`tK, e'isŃKi KgRŃŃ I ZrciZvŃK we`gŃv wewfBæmvgwRK KZŃŃŃŃ, emYWR`K e'isK I wKŃy tK> Ńq wbxšK ms`vi mŃ½ mŃsNwŃ Ń etj gŃb Kiv nq| ZvB GŃK `wŃtq t`qv nq|

Zvici I S^uKcY^oG D^t iM AvaybK Bmj vgx e'vsuKs-Gi exR ecb K^ti Ges cieZx^oD^t iM M^ht^tYi c₋ t^uL^tq t^uq| f^umg^tqi g^ta^uB wGU-Nvgvi Bmj vgxK t^um^ufsm e'vs^tKi t^uL^tbv c₋ Av^tiv Db^z c^uL^uq^uq A^tbK Bmj vgx m^ugv^uRK, Db^qb I em^uY^uR^uK e'vsK e'emv i^ui^ua^uK^ti| G_ut^uji v^u g^ta^u c_ug 1971 m^ut^uj w^ug^um^ut^ui c^uu^uZ^uo^uZ n^uq b^ut^umi t^um^uk^uv^uj e'vsK| c_ug Z^uv o^ug^ub^uv^uo^u j^uv^uf^ui j^uq^u b^uv^u v^ub^ut^uq o^ue'vs^uKs Av^uI Z^uv em^uf^uo^u f^uAv^ut^uqi t^uj^uv^uKR^ub^ut^uK t^umev v^ut^ubi Rb^u o^um^ugv^uRK e'vsK^o i^un^ut^um^ut^ue c^uu^uZ^uo^uZ n^uq| G^uici 1975 m^ut^uj m^uD^ux Av^ui^ut^ue^ui t^uR^uI^uv^uq c^uu^uZ^uo^uZ n^uq GK^uu^u Av^us^ut^umi K^uiv^u e'vs^uKs c^uu^uZ^uo^uv^ub^ui Bmj vgx t^uW^uf^uj c^ut^ug^uU e'vsK (Av^uB^ui^uW^ue)| m^um^u t^uk_ut^uji v^u A_uW^uo^uZK I m^ugv^uRK Db^qb t^uR^ui^u v^ui K^uiv G e'vs^tKi D^uf^ui^uk^u| GKB e^uQi v^uB^ut^uq (BDGB) c^uu^uZ^uo^uZ n^uq v^uB Bmj vgxK e'vsK| G_ut^uji v^u u^uQj c_ug eo Av^uK^ui^ui Bmj vgx em^uY^uR^uK e'vsK| G_ut^uji v^u m^ud^uj Z^uv c₋ a^ut^ui w^ue^uf^ub^uo^ut^u t^uk e^uu^u m^uL^uK Bmj vgx e'vsK M^uto I t^uv|

wGU-Nvgvi t^um^ufsm e'vsK-Gi c_ug GKB mg^tq GKB iKg Av^tiK^uu^u m^ud^uj c^ui^uq^uv^u u^uQj gv^uj t^uq^uk^uq^uvi o^uZ^uvesy n^um^uR^o ev o^uic^uq u^uM^ug^u d^uv^u K^ut^uc^uq^u i^uk^ub^uo^u| 1963 m^ut^uj c^uu^uZ^uo^uv^ub^uu^u K^uiv^uq^ug i^ui^ua^uK^ui| Gi j^uq^u-D^uf^ui^uk^u u^uQj :

- gv^uj q g^uyn^uj g^uiv h^ut^uZ n^uR^ui^um^uu^uv^u b^u ev Ab^uv^u v^u f^uR^ub^uK D^uf^ui^uk^u a^ux^ui a^ux^ui A_uW^uo^uZK K^ui^ut^uZ c^uv^ut^uib Z^uv e^ue^uv^u K^uiv|
- m^uA^ut^uqi g^uv^ua^ut^ug Bmj vgx Ab^ug^uv^u Z w^ue^ub^ut^uq^uM Kg^uR^uv^ut^ug gv^uj q g^uyn^uj g^ut^u i m^uu^uq I K^uiv^uR^ui Ask^uM^uh^ut^uYi e^ue^uv^u K^uiv|
- n^ut^uRi mg^uq w^ue^uf^ub^uo^um^ug^uav I t^umev v^ut^ubi g^uv^ua^ut^ug n^um^uR^ut^u i K^uj^u v^uY I Z^uv^u i v^uq^u I u^uo^uZ K^uiv|

G^ume D^uf^ui^uk^u m^ugv^ut^ub t^ui^ut^uL t^um^uB mg^uq t₋t^uK m^ud^uj Z^uv m^ut^u c^uu^ui P^uv^uij Z n^ut^uQ o^uZ^uvesy n^um^uR^o| G c^uu^uZ^uo^uv^ub n^ut^uRi Av^ut^uM I c^ut^ui n^uR^uh^uv^ut^u i c^uu^uq^uR^ub^uiq me iKg t^umev g^uv^um^uu^ub^ue^uv^ut^ue w^ut^uq Av^um^ut^uQ| 1959 m^ut^uj i^uq^uv^u c^uo^ud^umi D^usKzAv^uRR o^um^uo^ue^u n^uR^uh^uv^ut^u i A_uW^uo^uZK Db^qb c^uu^ui K^ui^u b^uv^uo^u w^ue^ut^uq GK^uu^u K^uiv^uq^ut^u G av^ui^uv^u c_ug Z^ut^u a^ut^uib (Z^uvesy n^um^uR I t^uq^uem^uBU)| 1963 m^ut^uj gv^ut^u 1,281 Rb m^ut^u i K^uv^u t₋t^uK 46,600 gv^uj t^uq^uk^uq^uib w^ui w^uz^u Av^ug^uv^uZ v^ub^ut^uq K^uiv^uq^ug i^ui^ua^u K^uiv Av^uav^u-m^ui K^uu^ui G c^uu^uZ^uo^uv^ub^uu^u m^um^u m^usL^uv (w^um^uveav^ui^ux) GLb 40 j^uv^ut^uLi I c^ut^ui Ges Gi m^uA^uq 200 t^uK^uu^u g^um^uK^u W^uj^uv^ut^ui I c^ut^ui| gv^uj t^uq^uk^uq^uq g^uyn^uj g Rb^um^usL^uv thL^uv^ub 1 t^uK^uu^u 20 j^uv^ul, t^um^uL^uv^ub D^uc^ut^uiv^u m^usL^uv t₋t^uK t^uev^uSv h^uq c^uu^uZ^uo^uv^ub^uu^u KZU^uv Rb^uic^uq (i^ung^uv^ub, 2004)|

m^uy-w^uf^uu^uE^uK e'vsK_ut^uji v^u w^ueK^ui Av^uu^uR c^uu^uZ^uo^uv^ub i^un^ut^um^ut^ue K^uvR K^ui^ut^uQ o^uZ^uvesy n^um^uR^o| GU^uv gv^uj t^uq^uk^uq^uib g^uyn^uj g^uv^ut^u i n^uv^uv^u D^uc^uv^ut^uq w^ue^ub^ut^uq^uMi m^ut^uh^uu^uM K^ut^ui w^ut^uQ| th t^uK^uv c^uo^uBeq^u gv^uj t^uq^uk^uq^uib g^uyn^uj g 10 w^ui w^uz^u Ges w^uk^ui n^ut^uj 2 w^ui w^uz^u w^uK^uu^u l^uv^u t^uq GL^uv^ub w^um^uve L^uj^ut^uZ c^uv^ut^uib| Gi 111^uu^u k^uv^uLv i^ut^uq^uQ| G^uQ^uov^ul t^ucv^u÷ Av^uu^ut^umi g^uv^ua^ut^ug t^umev c^uo^uv^ub Ges t^uev^uZb t₋t^uK w^uK^uu^u l^ut^uK^ut^uU t^ub^uq^ui w^ue^ul^uq Av^ut^uQ GL^uv^ub| t^uKD m^uA^uq Z^ut^u v^ub^ut^uZ P^uv^uB^ut^uj th t^uK^uv Av^uu^uR c^uu^uZ^uo^uv^ut^ubi g^ut^uZv m^un^uR D^uc^uv^ut^uq Z^uvI K^uiv h^uq| o^uZ^uvesy n^um^uR^o-i w^um^uveav^ui^ut^u i Rb^u ev^uo^uv^uZ m^ug^uav n^ut^ujv, n^ut^uRi mg^uq GK^uu^u w^ue^ut^uK I D^uf^uEv^u b^ut^uU q^uv^ut^uK^u g^uv^ua^ut^ug m^uD^ux Av^ui^ut^ue e^ut^um^uB Z^uv^uv^u w^uB^u w^uB^u w^um^uve t₋t^uK A_uW^uo^uZ^ut^uZ c^uv^ut^uib| m^usM^upxZ A_uW^uo^uZ^u k^ui^uo^uAv^un^u w^ut^u KZ c₋ Ges c^uej m^uo^uve^uvg^uq m^ug^uo^uv^u c^uK^ui^u t^uj^uv^ut^uZ w^ue^ub^ut^uq^uM K^uiv n^uq| eZ^ug^uv^ut^ub Gi w^ue^ub^ut^uq^uMi t^ug^uU c^uu^ui g^uv^uY 400 t^uK^uu^u g^um^uK^u W^uj^uv^ut^ui g^ut^uZv| G^ut^uZ i^ut^uq^uQ f^u I v^uN^uq^ug^uv^ux w^ue^ub^ut^uq^uM| BK^uB^uu^u B^ub^ut^uf^u÷t^ug^uU, BD^uu^uU U^u÷ B^ub^ut^uf^u÷t^ug^uU, m^ui K^uiv^u i w^ue^uf^ub^uo^ue c^uK^ut^ui w^ue^ub^ut^uq^uM, Av^uev^um^ub L^uv^uZ w^ue^ub^ut^uq^uM Q^uov^ul 12^uu^u m^uve^um^ul^uq^uu^u t^uK^uv^uu^uv^ub^ut^uZ c^uu^uZ^uo^uv^ub^uu^u w^ue^ub^ut^uq^uM i^ut^uq^uQ| G^ume m^uve^um^ul^uq^uu^u t^uK^uv^uu^uv^ub K^uu^u, e^uq^ut^uiv^ucb ev w^ui t^uq^u G^ut^u÷U e^uemv t₋t^uK i^ui^ua^u K^ut^ui AZ^uv^uaybK Z^u-c^uh^ug^u e^uem^uv^uq w^ub^ut^uq^uM^uRZ| 1995 m^uv^uj t₋t^uK o^uZ^uvesy n^um^uR^ot^uK K^uiv^uq^ug^u Av^uI Z^uv ev^uo^uv^ut^ubi Av^ug^uv^uZ t^uq^u n^uq| eZ^ug^uv^ut^ub gv^uj t^uq^uk^uq^uvi ev^uB^ui I Gi e^uem^uv^uq^uK K^uiv^uq^ug w^ue^u-Z^u.n^ut^uq^uQ (Av^uB^uieAv^uB^uu^u)| t^uR^ub^ut^uij K^uv^uD^uW^uj

Ad Bmj vgxK e“sK GÜ wdbwYqyj BÝUuUDUm (wRwAvBweGdAvB, 2001)-Gi gTz Bivb, cwK“b I mYvbi e“sKs e“v Bmj vgxKiY Kiv Qovl mrvv wtk; 270uLi tenk Bmj vgx AwW R cÜZövb KivR KitQ| G, tji vi tguU m“úf` i cwigrY 30 nrvvi tKwU gwK® Wjvtii I cti | 20 nrvvi tKwU gwK® Wjvtii I cti itqQ AvgvZ Ges webtqVM itqQ 16 nrvvi tKwU gwK® Wjvtii I cti | 1970-i `kKi tkl Ges 1980-i `kKi tMvovi w`K wgm, KzqZ, RW®b, evnivBb, KvZvi, gvj tqkqv, evsj v`k, tm`bMj, wZDwbm, Zz`, Avj tRwiqv, Bt`v`bwkqv cfwZ t`k AwKvsk Bmj vgx e“sK-Gi hvTv`ia| tenki fVM cÜZövb mYwfwE`K e“sK, tji vi m½ cÜZthwMZv Ges A%amj vgxK cwit`k KivR Kti I hvTv`ia| cÜg eQi t`K D`j thVM` cwigrY m`q mSth, RvZxq evRv`i GKwU eo Ask`Lj Ges eo AvKv`i jvf KitZ `vK| eZ@vb mBRvij`vÜ, tWbgvK, j`y gewM, Bsj`vÜmn cwögv A`bK t`k Bmj vgx e“sK I Bmj vgx webtqVM cÜZövb KivR KitQ|` iayZvB bq G`z weKivgvb LvZ w`bR`i Ae`vb a`i ivL`Z wmwJe“sK, GBPGmewmn Ab`vb` eo eo A-Bmj vgx e“sK ÜBmj vgxK e“sKs kvLvÜ PjyKtiQ|

wtk; A`bK`v`b Av`iv A`bK A-e“sK AwW R cÜZövb thgb, ZvKvdz` tKv`úvb bivg exgv tKv`úvb Ges Ab`vb` webtqVM cÜZövb Mto D`v`Q| Gme Bmj vgx AwW R cÜZövb cÜwK D`i`k` n`jv, tkvYagr`cYRev`x e“e“vi GKwU weK` I mYwvxb e“sKs-Gi aviyv Z`j a`i, wiv-i KviY mYwfwE`K e“sK m½ tjb`b Awb`OK ag`ri`ægvj gvbt`i KivQ cto`vKv Ajm m“ú` GKwZ Kiv| Ge“vcv`i Zviej D`j L KtiQb (1981:6): ÖG D`i`k` nwm`j Zv`i``úZ tKvb mgm`v wQj bv| ejv nq th RbM`Yi Rb`L`j t`qri cÜg w`bB KzqZ wdb`vY nrvDm (KzqZi Bmj vgx e“sK) 5 tKwU KzqZ w`bvi (14 tKwU gwK® Wjvi) AvgvZ jvf Kti | hv wewfbwewYWR“K e“sK t`K Ge“sK`v`b`šli Kiv nq|ö eZ@vb KtqKwU Bmj vgx e“sK Z` t`Lv hvq, Gi A`bK, tji vB Ggb D`j L thVM` cwigrY m“úf` i gwj K n`qQ hv Zv`i`K Avie AA`j i kxl`100 e“sK Zvwj Kvq`vb w`tqQ| Bmj vgx e“sK, tji v μtgB Av`iv DbwZ KitQ (OK-5 t`Lj, GtZ kxl`100 Avie e“sK Zvwj Kvq`vKv wewfbwew`tki KtqKwU Bmj vgx e“sK Ae`vb t`Lv`bv n`qQ)|

OK 5 : kxl`100 Avie e“sK g`a` KtqKwU Bmj vgx e“sK Ae`vb

eQi	tKGdGBP	GdAvBweB	wKDAvBwe	wWAvBwe	tRAvBwe	Gmiewe	AvieAvBwm
1980	94	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	68	-	-	-	-	-	-
1982	51	77	-	-	-	-	-
1983	42	66	-	-	-	-	-
1984	34	47	-	-	-	-	-
1985	39	45	-	97	-	-	-
1986	36	43	-	87	87	-	-
1987	28	48	-	93	85	-	-

.....

eQi	tKGdGBP	GdAvBieB	IKDAvBie	IVAvBie	tRAvBie	Gmieie	AvieAvBim
2000	24	90	91	48	96	58	-
2001	21	95	86	48	97	54	-
.....							
2004	21	-	90	38	-	58	6

mF : w' e'isKvi, weifbaBmÿ

kã ns'c: tKGdGBP : KtqZ uclbvY nvdR; GdAvBieB : dqmvj Bmj vgx e'isK Ae BwRP; IKDAvBie : KvZvi Bmj vgx e'isK; IVAvBie : `gvB Bmj vgx e'isK; tRAvBie : RvWb Bmj vgx e'isK; Gmieie : kvvj e'isK Ae evniivBb; AvieAvBim : iws e'isikS GÜ Bbtf ÷ tgu Ktc@ikb|

wtqbnvDm (1988:90) D'tjL KtiQb: t`Lv hvq, ÖZ'bvgyK `f mgtqi gta` Gme Bmj vgx e'isK Avw`R cÖZövb wntmte m`ybRbK AvKviti tcltQ tM'Q|Ó G,tjvi KtqKw thgb, tKGdGBP, GdAvBieB, tRAvBie Ges GmGmie| mÄq mslMh t'jtI evRvi tkqvi-Gi cöw`IKQw axi ntq G'tjI wR wR t`tki kvl`mvZ-Gi Zvjv Kvq itq'Q Gme e'isK| G,tjvi Znietj eiv'ti cwigvYI j`Yiqfvte tetotQ|

6. Dcnsni

e'isikS I uclbvY-Gi DrcuE I weKvk wtq HwZnvmK mrv'j-cövtY t`Lv hvq, Öv`k kZtK BZvjv i A'tbK AvtM t`tKB eü mf`Zvq e'isikS Kvhp'g PvjvQj | A_P, teuki fvm A_ÖwZue` BZvjv tK Öe'isikS-Gi Rb'v'v'ö etj g'tb Ktib| Gi A'tbK AvtMB Bmj vgx, tivgvb, wMk, wgmixq, GgbwK e'imej w'vq I m'gwi q mf`Zvq e'isikS Kvhp'tgi PP'wQj | e`Z, A'tbK HwZnvmK cövtY t`Lv hvq, L`ce®34 kZtK (A_® 5,400 eQi AvtM) agx' Dcimbvj q,tjv AZ`š AvawbK a'tbi e'isikS e'e`v cwv Pvj bv Kitzv| Zviv mÄqKvixt`i mÄq m'j'v I hv'`i A't`P cöqvRb ntZv Zvt`i FY w'tq e'istKi g'tZvB KvR Kitzv| tnvgy (1985:16-17) D'tjL KtiQb: GtK Ab`fvte ejv hvq Ömetk'i weifbæ'v'tb j'ö ntq hvI qv A'tbK cö'v'v mf`Zvq weifbæ'v'v I tetk e'isikS c'vj Z wQj |Ó

BD'tv'c wKfvte AvawbK e'isikS-Gi weKvk NtU Ges c'ti g'vjv g we'tk; `v'v'sh'Z nq, Zv Avgiv t`wL'tqvQ| mÿ-w'fivEK e'istK mÄq ivL'tZ g'vjv gub't`i Abxvvi Kvity g'vjv g we'tk; mÿ-w'fivEK AvawbK e'isK,tjvi Kvhp'tg th NvUwZ t`Lv t`q, Bmj vgx e'isK e'e`v wKfvte tmB NvUwZ c'tY GwM'tq Avtm, Avgiv ZvI t`wL'tqvQ| mÿ ntjv w' ev Ges Bmj v'g w' ev AZ`š k'tv'v fvte w'v'v x' Kiv ntq'Q|

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Bmj vgx e'vsuKs ebyg cDij Z e'vsuKs: gnvg>`v DEi Kvhg

tgvi tZRv nvg`vii

Avu R LvZi mvaCZK m4U nek! A_0mZi Rb" uQj GKu eo AvNvZ| newfbae`uj j-cDyY t_tK t`Lv hvq, G m4U tgvKutejv Kivi tytT newfbaevivi e'vsuKstqi mvdj" uQj newfbaeiKg| m4U Pj vKutj Ab'vb" avivi e'vsuKs-Gi tPtq Bmj vgx e'vsuKs AvAKZi mvdjtj`i`ryi ivtL|

GB MtelYvi Ici wfiE Kti Avgiv`ewkK FY-tfz covi (Credit crunch) tcQtb uZbuW cabv KviY LtjR cib| G, tjv ntjv RvgubZwfiEK GKcwjK Sdk eEb, ubw 0 my nvi I cDij Z e'istKi FYwfiEK gy'vbuZ| Gi me, tjvB Bmj vgx e'vsuKs e'e`vq G ubw x|

cwDgv wetkj cDij Z e'vsK, tjvZ Avu R m4tUi th mgyw AvNvZ nvtb tkl chS'Zvi weifc cFve cto cOtP'i cDij Z e'vsK, tjvi Ici| Gi cabv KviY uQj wek'vex cDij Z e'vsuKs e'e`vi cDZ mP Av`vnxZv| Gi weciZ Bmj vgx kixAvn& wfiEi Dci Mto DVv Bmj vgx e'vsK, tjv fvtjv mvdjtj`i KuzZj`t`uLqtQ|

Avu R m4UKvtj Bmj vgx I cDij Z avivi e'vsK, tjvi tKgb mvdjtj`i`ryi titLto Zv ubYqi Rb" uZbuW mPtKi wfiEz ga`cD` I`wY Gikqvi GKkoi tewk e'vsK chaj vPbv Kiv ntqtQ| mPK, tjv nj jvFRbKZv, Sdk I Zvij`| 12u Avu R AbgvZ e'envi Kti Gi gfa`ci`ui wbfPZv cixyv Kiv ntqtQ| Mo, tjvi cvi`ui K m4Kw'etk'iy u-tu÷ c`wZ cDqM Kiv nq| Gici GKu wetkIA Mac cwi gYmZ Ask t_tK mP uZbuW ckwetk'iy I chaj vPbv Kti tQb|

mdj`wPti Bmj vgx ebyg cDij Z e'vsuKs

Bmj vgx e'vsuKs e'e`vi GKu PgrKvi wK ntjv newfbaeAA'tj Bmj vgx e'vsuKs-Gi cDij wetkj abx t`k, tjvi mgch'qi| evRvii we`vi ubtq mvaCZK chaj vPbv t`Lv hvq, Bmj vgx e'vsuKstqi metPtq DeP tyt` wY-ce`I ga` Gikqv| GB MtelYvq A_0mZK m4tUi AvtM-c'ii ubw 0 AA'tj Bmj vgx I cDij Z e'istKi mvdjtj`i Z'bvj-K wPvi Kiv ntqtQ| GB mgr'vq h'ivo` t_tK`i`ia nI qv Avu R LvZi`ewkK m4U wKfve e'vsuKs LvZi mveR mvdjtj`i Ici weifc cFve tdtjtQ m4Uce`mgtqi Z'bv Kti Zv chaj vPbv Kiv ntqtQ|

Avu R LvZi GB m4tUi AvtM-c'ii mgqtk 12u c'wZ AbgvZ wPvi I we`gub tj Lv'tj uLi wfiEz uZbuW wfbemPKh' GKu g'Wj`w Kivbv ntqtQ| msMpxZ Z` m4tUi AvtM-c'ii Dfq mg'qi Rb" cDZu mPtKi OGf'vR wMbu'ctKY' ev Mo Zvrch`cixyv e'envi Kiv ntqtQ| AvAKS', m4tUi AvtM-c'ii Bmj vgx I cDij Z e'vsuKstqi m'ar-Am'ar wPvi I newfbaeMtelYvi tDyvcU Z'j aitZ GKu OtdivKj Mac' I`ewk'c'Y-Z`-DcvE e'envi Kiv ntqtQ|

cD'gk I gva'gk djvdtj m4tUi AvtM-c'ii Bmj vgx I cDij Z e'vsuKstqi wKQz mPtKi tytT Zvrch'Y`cv`R` t`Lv hvq| GLv'tb th w'lq, tjvi Ici`iaZj`t`qv ntqtQ:

tgvi tZRv nvg`vii, W.: ch'Yi fev't` wekpe`'y'qi GKRb m4K Ges Biv'ti tK`'q e'istKi ki'Avn&Kug'ji GKRb m'gubZ m`m`|

- ✓ cPnj Z Aw_R e'e'v gj-Z FY I Sdk n'Isli wfiEK (eti mqs GU mi' UYdri) | Ab'w tK, Bmj vgx Aw_R e'e'v m'ú' -wfiEK Pw' -ibfP | ZvQov Bmj vgx Aw_R e'e'vq m'y ubw | Gi e'tj gbydv I Sdk Askx' mi tZj Kvi tY GLv b Znej mieivnKvix FY' vZvi cwi e'tZ' weibqMKvi tZ cwi YZ nb | GtZ Aw_R Uvbt'v tob Ktg Ges e'gy m'oi Avk'v' i-nq |
- ✓ Bmj vgx I cPnj Z e'isK_s t'vi gbydvkxj Zv c'q GKB ch'q | Ab'w tK, m'4tUi mgq Ges 2007-2009 m'itj i ga'eZx'ngtq Bmj vgx e'isK_s t'v Zv' i w'Zie'v f'v t'v f'ite ati i vL'tZ m'y g nq |
- ✓ Aw_R m'4UKv' t'j Bmj vgx e'isK_s t'vi m'ú' t' i weci tZ Kv h'Ki weibqM nvi ew'x cvq | cPnj Z e'isK_s t'vi t'y t' Zv nqub | Zv' i Sdk gi'v f'v t'v Ae'vq wKsev GKB ch'q wQj | m'4U tgvKv'ej vq Bmj vgx e'isK_s t'v AwKZi w'wZkxj wQj |
- ✓ A_@t'bi t'y t' Bmj vgx e'isikS e'e'vi , iazj μgmZ ew'x cvl qvq Gme e'ist'Ki w'wZkxj Zv cwi gvc Acwi nvh'v'ite mvg' b Gt' m'Q | 2007 m'itj m'4tUi mgq Bmj vgx e'isK_s t'vi Sdk ch'q vPbv Kti t' Lv t' m'Q Zv iv tek w' bvc' | h'w I e'isK_s t'v c'j vcv' Sdk g' wQj Zv ej v hvq bv | cPnj Z e'isK_s t'vi mZK' e'e'vcbv g' w'j Zv' i t'K t' m' b v' bvc' Ev w' tZ cv' i'ub | Sdk e'e'vcbv c' q' vq we' t'kl f'ite Bmj vgx e'isK_s t'vi Sdk w' b' q' s'j Kiv DvPZ |
- ✓ m'v' c'ZK Aw_R m'4tUi d'j FY b'wZ, FY Sdk mn Sdk e'e'vcbv Ae'v b, Zv j' Sdk, ev' Rvi I Aw_R m'y gZv Ab'v'vq M'nt'Ki t'k'Y we'v' t' mi , iazj 'uó n'q I t'v | t' Rvi t'v Aw_R h'v' b' v' v' t'j e'isK_s t'vi weibqMKvi t'K FY t' qv DvPZ bq | e'isK j' f'v' ist'ki w' b' g' v' i A' th' s'w' K Aw_R c' k' t' FY m'v' e'ar c' v' b e'isK_s t'v t'K Drm'wZ ev' ev' " Kiv n'j, t'kl ch' s' RvZxq m'ú' t' i y'wZ n'te; e'isK_s t'v t' D'v' qv n'q c' o' t' e' | d'j e'ist'Ki y'wZ c' w' t' q w' t' Z mi K'vix LvZ t' t'K Aw_R Drm_s t'v t'K m'v' qZv c' v' b mi Kiv ev' " n'te |
- ✓ we'v' f' b' e' R' w' j Dcv' v' b I Av' s' t' v' b' f' p' k' x' j Zv Av' i ew' n' K w' Q' y' m' e' l' q e'ist'Ki m'v' d'j t'K c' f' w' e' Z Ki t' Z t' Lv t' m' t' j I M' f' x' i we' t' k' d' t' Y Gi ev' B' t' i ' f I ga' t' g' q' w' w' e' Q' y' c' f' v' e Av' m' t' Z t' Lv hvq; Mo m'PK ch'q v' Pbv t' t'K c' Z' x' q' g' v' b nq, Bmj vgx e'isK_s t'vi Kv h'Ki m'v' d'j " Zv' i t'K t' D'v' j' qv n' l' qv t' t'K i y'v Ges KL' t' b'v KL' t' b'v Zv' i c' e' w' x' ev' o' t' Z m'v' qZv Kti |

wKv

tg_ t'w'j w: t' e' t' U' w' m' m' e' g' _ W | t' j LK, t' e' t' U' w' m' m' e' g' _ W- Gi , YMZ I cwi g' v' YMZ c' x' wZ c' q' v' M Kti t' Qb |

RbmsL'vi c'wmsL'v: ga' c' P' I ' w' y' Gik' q' v' i' s' K_s t' v' i I ci M' t' e' l' Y' v' Kiv n' t' q' t' Q |

c'w'g' YMZ h'g' v' A' k' v' i: Bmj vgx I cPnj Z e'isK_s t'vi I ci m'4tUi c'f'v e' P' t' i m'v' g' Z RbmsL'vi t'y t' g' i' m' b t' U' e' j' t' K w' f' i' E' i' n' t' m' t' e' a' i' v' n' t' q' t' Q | GtZ 71w Bmj vgx e'isK I 53w cPnj Z e'isK m'ú' t' K' f' i' e' l' ' v' b' x' Kiv nq | Gi A' t' b' K e'ist'Ki Z_ " m' w' K wQj bv | t' k' t' t' j LK t' K 48w Bmj vgx e'isK Ges 63w cPnj Z e'isK ev' Q' v' B' Ki t' Z n' t' q' t' Q |

, YNZ h'g' v' A' k' v' i: 11 Rb Gij U t' k' Y' i e' i' v' i m' y' v' r' Kiv t' b' q' v' n' t' q' t' Q |

c'w'g' YMZ Dcv' E' w' k' b' y: t' c' q' v' i w- t' u- = c' q' v' M Kiv n' t' q' t' Q |

, YNZ Dcv' E' w' k' b' y: M' l' c' w' f' i' E' K m' y' v' r' Kiv t' b' q' v' n' t' q' t' Q | Aw' w' l' - t' i K' w' w' i' i' g' v' a' t' g' Dcv' E' m' s' l' h' Kti c' t' i Zv' w' j' w' L' Z i' f' c' t' q' v' n' q | G_s t' v' g' j' - v' q' t' b' i Rb' t' d' v' i t' = c' μ' m' l' t' a' j' t' g_ W Ab' v' i' Y' Kiv n' t' q' t' Q |

Z_`'`Kv

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Abgv` : tgn`x nvmvb

Dbz Ab` t`k,tjvtZI GKB cwiw`wZ| Gme t`tk tKvb Bmj vgx e'isK Ab'vb` Bmj vgx e'istKi cvkvcwk cPwj Z avivi e'isK,tjvi ÒBmj vgx DBb`Wvó-i KvQ t`tKI cZthwMZvi m`y`b n`Q| ZvB, Bmj vgx e'istKi wecyb tKškj tK cZthwMZvgj-K m`y`ar AR#bi mvg_`jvtfi cvkvcwk GKwU kw`kij x cZthwMZvgj-K Ae`vb `Zwi i m`t`l m`úKñ` n`Z nte|

Bmj vgx wecyb bwZgvj v mte`P gj` msthvRbKiY aviYvi m`t` mgv`Ri ep`Ei Kj`vtY Òb'vh`Zvó bwZi m`y`b NUvq| gj` m`pó GKwU Dcvq Ztj` atj G bwZgvj v Ges m`vaviYfite eww`R`K KgRvtDi gva`tg RbM`tiY R`xehv`i vi g`f`b`v`q`b NUvq| Bmj vgx `bwZK w`K w`b` Rbv e'isKvi I MñtKi cvi`úwi K k`v I e'w`MZ `xavZv ubw`Z Kti| Bmj vgx `bwZKZvi w`b` R n`j v, evRvi cwiPvj bKvixiv tKvb Ae`vtZB tmev MñZv ev t`p`Zv`i t`kviY Ki`te bv| Zviv tKvb fiteB AmZZv, R`w`j q`w`Z ev kvZvi Avk`j t`te bv| t`t`Kvb A`w`ZK wecyb PP`GKwU Ab`vq| hv`ávZZi. Ges me gvby mgvb`NBmj vgx tPZvri A`š`b`ñ`Z D`t`k`t`K m`y`ú`fite cZ`v`L`vb Kti (m`B` , Avngv` I g`y`Zvi, 2001)| ZvB Bmj vgx wecyb `bwZKZv gvb`y`i g`ta` H`t`K`i exR ecb I mgv`R m`y`k;Lj v ubw`Z Kti | G`f`Z gvbeZvi gh`v`ew`x` cvq| Awakvi mgb`y`z` nq|

e'iswKs cZ`Z`v`b` ,tjvtZ MñK-msthvM Dc`f` óv (Kv÷gvi w`t`j`kb GWfvBRvi ev w`AviG) (Enis 1980; Crosby et. al., 1990) n`Q`b tKv`ú`m`bi met`P`q` `k`g`vb cZ`Z`v`w`a| m`m`ie-i (Crosby et. al., 1990:68) fiv`vq: Òc`ú`q`b cY` ev tmev tKvvi AvtM-c`ti GKgv`I bv n`j I MñtKi c`ú`g`K thvM`thvM t`y`t` n`q` _vt`Kb tmev wecyb Kgr` (t`p`Zv-msthvM Dc`f` óv)| ZvB tmev mieivn c`ú`p`u`v`q` (Shepherd 1999) cZ`Z`v`b`i wecyb Rbej L`y`B ,i`á`z`c`y`f` cvkvcwk, tmev w`w`p`i Kv`R w`b`t`q`w`RZiv (MñK-msthvM Dc`f` óv) Ab'vb` tckvq R`w`Z`i`i t`P`q` Awak gv`v`q` `bwZK P`r`c` _vt`Kb| Zv`i`i`K Ggb cwi`t`et`k KvR Ki`Z` nq, ej`Z` t`M`j` thL`v`b` t`Z`gb` Z`v`i`w`k` t`b`B| e'istKi ivR`^`ew`x`i Avmj` `v`q`f`vi Zv`i`i`I`ci| KL`t`bv` KL`t`bv` hv` L`y`B cxov`v`q`K Ges c`ú`q`B `f`t`g`q`w` j`y`gv`I`vi w`f`w`E`Z` Zv`i`i` gj`v`q`Y Kiv nq (Wotruba 1990)|

w`w`f`b`et`÷`K`tn`vi` vi` thgb, MñK, cZ`thvMx ev Zvi w`b`t`q`w`MKZ`f` m`t`t`j`b`b`Kv`t`j` GKRB MñK-msthvM Dc`f` óv (w`AviG) A`w`ZK AvPiY Ki`Z` cv`i`b| Z`te, t`÷`K`tn`vi` v`i` ,i`á`z`; Abjvqx w`etePbvKv`j` t`Lv` t`M`t`Q, w`AviG-iv tKvb cZ`thvMx ev w`b`t`q`w`MKZ`f` w`e`i`á`x` w`ezw`k`Z` c`t`y`c` t`b`q`vi` t`P`q` MñtKi m`t`t` `bwZK m`x`v`j`-Nb`t`K` Awak ,i`á`zi` e`t`j` g`f`b` K`i`b (Chonko and Burnett 1983; Chonko and Hunt 1985)| hLb cZ`thwMZv Z`x`e`n`q` I`t`v` Ges e'isK,tjv Kg`t`en`k` GKB ai`t`bi` cY` I tmev Adv`i` K`i` ZLb MñK-msthvM Dc`f` óv`i` (w`AviG) Kv`R`i` I`ci` w`b`f`P` Ki`te tmev MñKiv KZUK`ym`š`ó n`Q`b| GUv Bmj vgx e'istKi mvdj`t`K` c`f`w`e`Z` Kti| t`m`B` m`t`t` Gi` mvdj`` I cZ`Z`v`b`w`U` KZUK`zc`Z`thvMZvgj-K Zv`i` w`b`a`f`Y` Kti` GwU|

eZ`g`vb` `á`z` cwi`e`Z`b`k`j` wecyb cwi`t`et`k` Bmj vgx e'isK I Aw`R` tmev cZ`Z`v`b` ,tj`vi` Rb` MñtKi` gb`f`h`v`M` AvKI`f`Yi` c`ú`q`v`R`b`x`Zv` AZ`t`Z` KL`t`bv`B` GZ ,i`á`z`c`y`f`n`q` I`t`v`v`b| hLb MñK`f`i` P`w`n`v` A`t`b`K` t`ek`x` Ges Zviv cZ`Z`v`b` Aw`R` cZ`Z`v`b` ,tj`vtK` Aw`Z`gv`v`q` hv`PvB` Kti` w`b`t`Q` ZLb t`Kej` MñK`g`y`x` nI` qv`B` h`t`_`o` bq| Bmj vgx e'isK Ges Av`i`v` m`y`b`w`i` `f`fite Gi` thvM`thvM` Kg`f`i`t`K` (MñK-msthvM Dc`f` óv) MñtKi` Kv`t`Q` w`b`t`R`f`i` `bwZK`f`ite` ÒBmj` w`g`K`ó` w`t`m`te` Z`t`j` ai`Z` nte|

Bmj vgx e'iswKs Gi` `w`b`t`K`v`Y` t`_`t`K` Òw`ecy`b` `bwZKZ`v`ó` w`b`t`q` GLb` ch`š`f`t`Z`gb` t`Kvb` M`t`el`Yv` n`q`ub| e'iswKs` e`ve`v`q` c`ú`q`w`M` Kivi` g`t`Zv` G` w`el`t`q` c`ú`k`w`k`Z` i`P`bvi` I` Afive` i`t`q`Q`| t`m`B` Nv`Uw`Z` c`j`t`Yi` j`t`y`` G` M`t`el`Yv`|

Gi cãvb Dfík" nťQ, Bmj vgx e'vstKi MãnKiv thgb Kvgbv Ktib tm Ablyvqx Bmj vgx necYb `bwiZKZvi cãvb `eikó", tjv Ges Bmj vgx `bwiZK necYb AvPiťYi m=te" fiegKv wPwYz Kiv|

G MtelYv PwvU Aa'vtq nef³| cŭg Aa'vtq, cwv wPwZ| wZxq Aa'vtq, Bmj vgx `bwiZK gj-ťeva ōviv wbañi Z necYťbi tcŭvvcťU necYb-wgkY (gvťKŭs-wg-)-Gi cvBv ōvcŭ wbtq Avťj vPbv Kiv nťqtŭQ| ZZxq Aa'vtq, Bmj vgx e'visiKstq MãnťKi mť½ m=úKmwŭp I i'ývq MãnK mštiŭ I ci Bmj vgx `bwiZK necYb AvPi Y wětkŭ Y Kiv nťqtŭQ Ges PZz'Aa'vtq iťqtŭQ Dcmswv |

2. Bmj vgx `wťKvY ť_ťK wcyb-wgkY-Gi cvBŭvŭ

Bmj vgx necYb `bwiZKZvi msAv wbañY Kiťz wMťq, mwC, Avngv` I glyZvi (2001) Dťj ŭ Ktib th, Bmj vťgi b'vqwePvi I mgZv bwiZ-wfivEK Bmj vgx necYb `bwiZKZv AťbK w K wťq tmKžvi `bwiZKZv ť_ťK Avj v`v| Zviv Bmj vgx `wťKvY ť_ťK necYb `bwiZKZvi wZbvU `eikó" wbtq Avťj vPbv Ktibŭb| cŭgZ, Bmj vgx `bwiZKZvi wfivE nťjv Avj -ťKvi Avťbi wbt`Rvej x (commandments) Ges GLvťb necYb wbeñixiv wbtRť i e'w³MZ ťLqj -Ljk gťZv ťKvb ōv_ťevaK e'vL'v `w Kivteb Ggb ťKvb mťhvM tBb| wZxqZ, G `ŭqgi gj- cv_Ŕ" nťjv, Bmj vťgi cwěcYzV mwŭKZP cŭE Ges Abgbvq cŭkwi| ZZxqZ, Bmj vgx `v_ŭw glvdv jvťfi gťbvťvtei cwěťZmgvťRi epEi Kj `ťYi cŭZ j'ý" tiťL mtePP gj- mšťhvRbKiYťK , iæž; ť`q| Gme `eikó" Bmj vgx `bwiZKZvťK gvbe ťPZbvq Abgŭwětki necjy ýgZv wťqtŭQ Ges Gi gva'ťg Zv necYb wbeñixť` i AvPiYťK cŭfweZ Kiťz mýg|

Bmj vgx `wťKvY ť_ťK e'visiKs ev emwvR`K Kivĕrg cwv Pwv Z nq `w wbtqťg: (1) Avj wñi Ava`wZK wbt`Ŕki KvťQ AvZťngcŭ Ges (2) Avj wñi mwŭi cŭZ mwvbfwZ I `qv| hvi AšťbñZ A_ñť"Q Aťb'i ýwZ mwab ť_ťK wěiZ _vKv| Gi dťj A`wZK Ablyxťbi wě`wZ. tiva nq (Niazi, 1996)| G Aa'vtq Bmj vgx `bwiZKZv wbañi Z ōnecYbŭi Avl Zvq necYb `bwiZKZvi cvBv ōvcŭ wětkŭťYi ťPŭv Kiv nťqtŭQ| G cvBv ōvcŭ nťjv: cŭwv± (cY'/fmev), cŭBm (gj-), cŭŭgvkb (Dbqtb), tcm (v) Ges wccŭ (RbMY)|

2.1 cY'/ Drcv`b cŭqv

Bmj vgx e'visiKs cťY'i DbqtbťK (cŭŭgvkb) cwŭgr wPšhivi ťPťq m=úYwfbvťvte ť`LťZ nťe| cťY'i Dbqtb Drcv`ťbi wmxvšl MňY cŭwqvq `bwiZK I Ava`wZK Dcv`ťbi mwšj b NUvq Bmj vgx ťPZbv| Bmj vgx e'emv `bwiZKZv bwiZ ōviv Zv wbgwšž nq (al-Misri, 1991)| Beťb Avj -DLv qvn (1938) Dťj ŭ Ktib th G bwiZgijvi wbt`Ŕ nťjv cY'wťK cŭgZ: `ea nťz nťe Ges Zv ťKvbfvteB gvbmK wěKvi NUvte bv| wZxqZ, cY'wťi tcŭťb m=ú'gj- _vKťZ nťe| ZZxqZ, cY'wť mieivnťhvM nťZ nťe| mieivn Kiv bv ťMťj cY' `ea nťe bv| PZzŔ, AwZwi³ gj- mšťhvRťbi `eikó", tjv mýúŭ _vKv cŭŭvRb| hvťZ cťY'i e`MZ cwěZŭ NUte A_ev ťwZvi ťKvri wmxvťšl I ci cŭfve ťdžte| cĀgZ, mKj cý mij wěkťm Zvť` i Aw_Ŕ I Ab`vb" eva`evaKZv cvj b Kiťe Ges Zv nťe b'vqwePvi, b`h" I mgZv bwiZi wfivEťZ|

Bmj vgx wbt`Rbvq ejv nťqtŭQ, Drcv`b cŭwqv gj-ťevťai gvbt`ŭ ōviv cwv Pwv Z nťe Ges Drcv`ťbi cŭfve cŭte ťMvUv mgvťRi I ci| gvby I mgvťRi mtePP Kj `YťK mtePP , iæž; ť`qvi Rb`B GvUv nťqtŭQ (al-Faruqi, 1992)| hšmB e'visiKs cY'/fmev mwŭi gj- Dťík" nťjv gvbtł i ťgšij K cŭŭvRb cY, mieivn I DbwZ weav| wjvi I wťqm (1996)-Gi gťZ, e'emvixiv hLb A`ea cY' Drcv`ťbi Rb` A`wZK

imxvšl MhY Ktib Zvi tcQtb cävB Pmj Kivk³ intmte GK aiþbi gj--mPZbZv tKšKj KvR Kti | Ab'w tK Bmj vgx tPZbv, gbydv mtePKiþYi wfiEþZ imxvšl MhþYi tPtq mvgwRKZv I Kj 'vYgylx avi YvtK DrmwvZ Kti |

2.2 cþYi gj' wbaþY

gubþl i gubwvKZv cfwieZ Kti wþRi mjev Avlyvqx KvR j wlvZ gj-Z cþYi gj' wbaþY bwZ clyqb Kiv nq| clyqB t' Lv hvq, Lþiv wetþZv Avmtj hv wþ'Qb Zvi tPtq cþYi Mrtq tj Lv Lþiv gj' tewk| G aiþbi gj'wbaþY bwZi Df'k' tþZvtK Ggb GKwU feq aviYv t'qv th 'i'vg Kti Zviv cþYi 'vg KgvþZ cviþQb (Shaw,1996)| Bmj vgx AvþB G aiþbi PPPwvwl x| cwikþy bv Kti mntR wKQzcvl qv A_ev KvR bv KtiB gbydv jvf Bmj vg Abþgv`b Kti bv (Shaw,1996)| AwAKŠ', cþYi gvb ev cwigvY cwieZþ Qvov gj' cwieZþ MhYþwM' bq| KviY, Guv A%ea mjev nwmþj i Rb' mnR-mij tþZvi mþ½ cþZvi Yvi bvgvšli (Ibn Taymiyah, 1982)|

cþvihtšj gva'tg Pwv`v I mieivn cwiv`wZ mþutK wecYbKviþ' i wgv`v cävMvÜv ev cþviYvl Bmj vg Abþgv`b Kti bv| GLvtþ DþjL' th, evRvti i Pwv`v tgvvtZ gj' wbaþY I mjev Avlyvqx cwiv`wZtK KvR j wlvþbv Bmj vg wvwl x Ktiwb| Gi gvþb ntjv, Bmj vgx 'bwZKZv KLþbv KLþbv cöKwZK Kvity tKvb cþYi mieivþn NivwZ t' Lv w'tj AwAK gj' MhY A_ev e'emvqþ' i mþhwM mÜvbx cþYZv tivta cþYi mtePK gj' teta t'qv Abþgv`b Kti| Bmj vg gj' mgšþqi 'wbaþYŠZ e'e`v Ges my' cöZþhwMzvþK DrmwvZ KtiþQ (Avj -þKviAvb, 83:26)| Zte, G aiþbi e'e`vi mdj cöqvþMi Rb' Acwivh'kZ'þjv ntjv tmLvtþ tKvb tMvcb evRvi, gRþ'wv, tKvb A%ea gj' Kvi mntR Ges e'emvqþ tKvb aiþbi wvawþtla _vKþZ cviþe bv (Niazi, 1996)| GKw' b wZxq Lwv dv I gi Beþj LvÈve nweZe Beþ Avve evj Zvni- i cvk w'tq hvl qui mgq t'þLb tm AtþK Kg`vþg wKmwgm wvwl KitiQ thb Ab' e'emvqþ' i wKmwgm wvwl bv nq| Lwv dv I gi Beþj LvÈve ZvþK ejþj b: ÖZwq`vg evovl, Zv bntþ evRvi t'þK Pþj hvl Ö (Malik, 1989)|

Bmj vtg th tKvb cþYi gRþ KtVvi fite wvwl x| wKŠ', cþYi AwZ D'Pgj' tiva A_ev gþ evRvi wbaþY I kvmtþi jþy' cöZþwv wetþZviv GKB gþj' cY' wvwl Kitiþ G wlvþq Bmj vgx e'e`vq bgbvqZv itþQ| Ggb cwiv`wZtZ Bmj vgx miKvti KgRZþv tKvb wvkl AÄj ev wvkl tKvb cþYi cöZwvawZKvix e'emvqþ tþZvt' i wþtq Ab'þ' i mþ½ Avþj vPbvq emþZ cvþib| hvi Df'k' ntjv, tfrvþ' i Rb' b'v' I GKB mþ½ e'emvqþ' i thšw'K gbydv nte Ggb GKwU gj'mxgvi e'vcvþi mgþSvZvq tcövtþbv| ÖKvtjvevRwv Ö I ÖwvZ'cöqvRbxq Lv`cþYi tMvcbÖ gRþ'wv cöZþiva KivB G aiþbi mvgwqK n`þyþci jþy'|

Beþ Avj -DLvl qvn (1938) gj' wbaþYi tþþ' mvgwqK eü aiþbi Ö'bwZK öj bÖ wþtq Avþj vPbv KtiþQb| D'vniY intmte wZvb t' Lvþ, wetþZvi KvQ t'þK Avþiv tewk`vþg wKbþZ nte N' tfrvþ' i gþb Ggb aviYv mwö Kti`vg evovþZ cþYi cöZ.gvþj Kiv fiv Kti thb Zviv gvþj K bq| A_ev tKvb aiþbi tMvY lohšgþ-K Pw' Kivi gva'tgl GuU ntZ cvþi| G Kvity wZvb gj' wbaþYi tþþ' 'bwZK öj b cöZþiva Kti b'v' Ges mwvK gj' wvöZ KiþZ RbKj 'vY KgRZþ' i fvgKvi I ci tRvi w'tqþQb| wZvb gþb Ktib, ÖRbKj 'vY KgRZþ' i t'LtZ nte, tKvb ga`ZvKvix thb tKej wetþZvi KvQ t'þK Kwgb MhY Kti Ges tþZvi mþ½ thvMvRþk cY'wv 'vg KgvþZ bv cvþiÖ (Beþ Avj -DLvl qvn, 1938:4)| gj' wbaþY th tKvb A%wZK wvþwZ ÖAwvþi i Ö bvgvšli Ges , bvtþi KvR| ZvB, G aiþbi Ab'v'v

Dcvtq AvRZ mKj gbydv tKej A%bwZK bq; Zv Bmj vtgi `wpfZ brix-cjafli ghP v Ges Zvf`i fngKv I `wqfZji j-Nb| gnubex tgvrvs\$ (m:) etj tQb, OcZthwMZv Kti `vg emol bvO (al-Nawawi, 2:270)| G OAwPviO `i-KitZ ntj, tKej mtePp gbydv j vfi KvrR e`-vKvi evBti cll_extZ Zvf`i AfbK `bwZK `wqfZi itqtQ tμZv-veτμZv tK tm K_v `xKvi KitZ nte|

2.3 cY` Dbqb vev

Avovtj PvZwi gj-K Dbqb AvPiY thSwK cgvvbi tKvb mshvM Bmj vtg tbB| me aitbi ug_v Avk/m, t`vl j kvfbv, Mí evrbfbv A_ev ug_v mty`i vb`v KvftQ Avj -tKvi Avb (Avj -tKvi Avb, 43:19)| Bmj vgx necYb `bwZKZv etj, GKRb necYb Kgx ev tμZv-mshvM Dc`ovi (mAvi G) Rb` Zvi cY`i AvZ YKvZP I ug_v YMvb Kiv A%bwZK (Beτb Avj -DLvl qvn, 1938)| AvwKS; tKvb cY` veτμ ev Gi cPvi Yvq tKvbi Kg ug_v avi Yv t`qv AvSRwZK necYb Kvhfvtgi Bmj vgx `bwZK KvWvgtZ Kfvvi fite wbl x| ZvB, cY`i necYb Kvhfvg tRvi vfi i tyfT Bmj vgx necYb `bwZKZv vbt`etj LZ veva_tj v Abvri Y Kite:

1. ug_v Ges veawstj-K veAvcb cwi nvi ;
2. D`P-cxobhP Kvi mvr A_ev necYb tKSkj tK nec`_ cwi Pvij Z bv Kiv;
3. cZvi Yv ev Kvi mvr i tqtQ Ggb veτμ-eaB Kvhfvg cwi nvi |

Bmj vgx `bwZKZv etj, GKRb veτμZv nteb Ggb e`v hvi gta` Avj mri KvQ Revew mri AbvZ_vKte| wZvb necYb KvR mr Ges b`vqibO nteb| gvb, cwi gvY BZ`wi m`utK`mWK Z` i tqtQ wZvb tKej tmme KVMRcT veibgq Kiteb| Gi Ab_v ntj A_ev `vj wj, cEAbv, kvZv, cZvi Yv, Pvi ev AwPvfi i gva`tg wKozARB Kiv nte AcgvbRbK, Am`ybRbK Ges j 3/4Ki (Ibn-Miskawayh, 1968)| Bmj vgx bwZ Ablyq, evRvi RvZKvixK OZv`i cY`i cKvK` ev tMvcb mei Kg Taw cKvK KitZ nte| Ab`i Kg ntj v cZvi Yvi bvgvšli O (Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, 1938:42)| thme Taw OevBti t`tK O t`Lv hvq bv Ges th_tj v OLVtq bv t`Ltj tevSv hvq bvO, tm_tj v tμZvi KvQ cKvK Kiv veτμZvi Rb` eva`Zvgj-K (Niazi, 1996:196)| AvwKS; vbt`R t`qv ntqtQ th, OkZvxb bq Ggb tKvb veτμ i tyfT cY` TawUgP nI qv evAbxqO (Tyser et. al., 1967)| tgšwLk cZKvZ ev wj LZ fite cY` m`uKZ cKvKZ Zt`i wOqZv w`tZ nte| bxi eZvKl wOqZv wtmte ati tbqv nte (Niazi, 1996:197)| vekpex gsvs\$ (m:) mtyúofite meaitbi cEAbvgj-K AvPiY vbt`l a Kti etj tQb, OAvgt` i tK th cZwi Z Kti, tm Avgt` i tKD bqO (al-Nawawi 2:770)|

Bmj vgx `bwZKZv, veτμ-eaB tKSkj tKvb fiteB thšb Avte`b, fievteM, AvZswKZ Kiv, ug_v cZKvZ I fev MteI Yvi AvteM A_ev gibvMk `eKj` m`p ev AmshgtK DrmwvZ Kti Ggb wKoz`envi Kiv hite bv| Bmj vgx KvWvgtv AvL Zvq Gme c`wZ A%bwZK| KviY, tKej gbydv ARB I evRvfi i eo Ask `Ltj i Rb` vekp`vix tfr`vi tgšwK mnRvZ cEYZv vbt`Ri `t`KvR j vMvbi Df`ik` e`envi Kiv nq| GQovvI Bmj vgx `bwZKZv veAvctb brixZtK Dc`vcb Ges KíK_v AvZgwvI K`envi Kfvvi fite wbl x| BswZcY`AvPiY I fvlv e`envi Ges brixK c`KvKi e` wtmte Ztj ati tμZv AvKó. Kivi I AbvZ Bmj vtg t`qv nqvb|

2.4 ^ob: wZiY ga^og

weZiŋyi m^o½ h^o ^omwšlMhY c^oq^ovi ^obwZKZv wecYb ŋyŋi (eiRvi) e^ovcK ^oia^oŋi iŋq^oQ| e^oMZ weZiYŋK Z^o, RbMY, miAv^og I c^oZ^ovŋbi GKw mgwšZ e^oe^o v^o wŋmte f^oLv thŋZ cvi | ZvB, cY^o weZiŋyi e^ovcŋi Bmj vgx Av^o R c^oZ^ov^o ŋj v^o w^oŋj wLZ bwZGvj v^o AbyiY Kiŋe:

1. cŋY^oi c^oŋZvŋK ŋkvlŋyi Dŋŋ^o K^ovR j^o wŋvŋv h^oŋe bv;
2. wecYb gva^oŋg ŋKvbi Kg ŋRvi-Rei^o w^oŋi Avkŋ^o ŋbqv h^oŋe bv;
3. c^oŋw^oŋZv^o cY^ow^o wKfŋe mgvj f^oŋeb ŋm e^ovcŋi A^oea cŋve w^oŋi Kiv h^oŋe bv|

GLvŋb j^oy^obxq, mŋe^oP g^oŋv^oŋvi Kiy bwZi w^of^ov^oŋZ M^oŋZ ŋKv^o w^oŋvšB th mgvŋRi K^oj^o ŋŋy metŋg h^oŋMB nŋe Ggbw^o bq| weZiŋyi ŋyŋi Ab^ov^o A^oewZK PP^o ŋj v^o gŋa^o iŋq^oQ, chŋŋ w^oŋv^oŋv I m^oŋy^ov^o Q^ov^ov^o cY^o ŋg^ov^oKRvZ Kiv, mw^oWfŋe ŋg^ov^oKRvZ bv Kiv Ges Rbm^ov^oiŋyi Pj^ov^oŋj c^oŋ wec^o¼bK I we^ov^o cY^o c^om^oenb| Bmj vgx ^ow^oŋKvY ŋ^oŋK ŋ^oŋZv^o i m^o½ G aiŋbi e^oenvi ŋg^ovi A^oŋw^oM Ges Zv A^oea wecYb PP^o k^ovj |

Bmj vgx bwZ Aby^ov^o weZiY gva^og ŋj v^o P^ovšŋŋZv^o Rb^o D^oPg^oj^o I wej^oŋŋ g^oŋZv ŋKv^o tev^oSv mw^o KiŋZ cviŋe bv| D^ovniY ^oŋŋc Beŋb Avj -DLvl q^on (1938) Dŋŋ^o Kŋib th, weZiY gva^oŋg ^obwZK öj b nŋj v^o ŋm^o ŋj v^o, weŋkl Kŋi th^o ŋj v^o cY^o mie^ovŋn A^oŋZK wej^oŋŋ KviY NUvq, ŋ^oŋZv^o evi^osevi ŋdiZ w^oŋZ eva^o nb Ges Gi dŋj Zv^ov A^oŋZK nq^ov^oŋi w^oKvi nb (Beŋb Avj -DLvl q^on, 1938:44, 48)| MwZgqZv I ARŋg^oj^o-K Kg^ovŋŋi m^oŋe^ov^oi Rb^o ev^oRv^oi m^o½ GKw mšhv^oM wŋmte G^oŋw^o c^oZ^ov^o w^oŋvŋM ŋ^oŋvŋK Bmj v^o w^oŋl × Kŋi^oŋb| Bmj vgx ^obwZK Kivŋg^ovi g^oj^o-j^oy^o nŋ^oQ weZiY gva^og ŋj vŋK Aek^oB ^obwZKfŋe mšŋl RbK tmev c^ovŋbi gva^oŋg g^oj^o mw^o I R^oxehv^oŋi g^ovŋv^oŋŋbi Rb^o nŋZ nŋe|

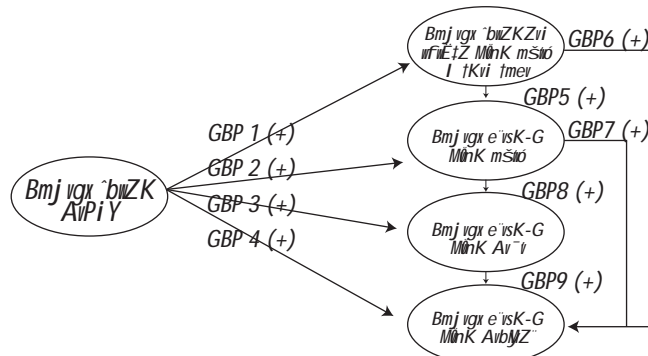
2.5 RbM

Bmj v^o ŋ^oŋZv^o ŋg^oŋ^o I ŋ^ov^oxb weŋP^ov^oi ŋ^o ŋ^oŋi ŋ^oŋq| Bmj vgx Av^oBŋb ^oewkK wecYb Kivŋg^o m^oŋw^oKZ ŋKv^o w^oŋvš^o c^oŋq^obKvŋj thš^ov^oK w^oŋŋi ŋg^oZv GKw ce^okZ^o(Ahmad, 1995)| mgw^oMKfŋe mgv^oRŋK mw^oZ^oKvi I weKwZg^o wecYb Z^o ŋ^oŋK ew^oAZ Kiv h^oŋe bv| G Z^o j^oŋf ŋ^oŋZv^o Av^oKvi nŋj v^o Zvi w^oR^o Av^oKvi Ges Bmj vŋg ZvŋK ŋ^oŋv gh^ov^o w^oŋŋ^o RK| cvk^ov^oŋk, th m^oŋv^o e^oq Kŋi cY^o I tmev ŋKbv nŋ^oQ ŋmB m^oŋv^o i ŋ^oŋi Zvi GKvšAv^oKvi | ŋKv^o i Kg Rei^o w^oŋi Avkŋ^o bv ŋbqv eiRvi RvZKv^oŋ^o i^o w^oŋZ| ŋ^oŋZv^o K^oŋw^oZ A^oŋ^oŋ^o thb AcPq bv NŋU ŋm Rb^o Zv^oŋi meŋv^oŋq ew^oŋ^oŋEK mZ^oZv^o e^ovcŋi weŋP^ovŋeva Ges D^oPg^ovŋbi mŋPZbZv^o vKŋZ nŋe| ZvBŋmi (Tyser et. al., 1967:149–150) gŋZ Rei^o w^oŋi (Coercion) ev ŋBKiv^oŋ^o (Avj ŋKvi Avb 23:7) nŋj v^o, KvDŋK Zvi m^oŋw^oZ Q^ov^ov^o w^oK^oZ^oKiŋZ eva^o Kiv| ŋKv^o ^oewkK wecYb ŋj bŋ^o b m^oŋv^o ŋbi Rb^o Rei^o w^oŋj^o-K kw^o c^oŋq^oM Kiv nŋj cvi^o ŋ^oŋi m^oŋw^oZi gŋZv ŋg^oŋj K I Ac^ov^oŋv^oŋ^oZ^o Ac^oŋ^oŋ^oŋ^o h^oŋq| Gi dŋj ŋj bŋ^o b A^oewZK I A^oea nŋq h^oŋq| eva^o Kiv nŋ^oQ ev ŋevq Avj -g^oŋv^oi ŋ^o Ggb aiŋbi ŋj bŋ^o b w^oŋl × Kŋiŋŋ^oŋ^o w^oŋŋv^oŋ^oŋiZ g^oŋv^oŋ^o (m:) (Ahmad, 1995:126)| Bmj vgx bwZŋZ ejv nŋq^oQ, thšb Avŋe^oŋ, f^ovŋŋeM, AvZ^oŋKZ Kiv, Ae^oŋ^oŋ^oŋEK (subliminal) we^oAvcb I f^oŋv^o ^oe^oAv^oŋK ^ow^oŋ^o G^ome^ov^oKQB Rei^o w^oŋi D^oc^ov^oŋb| G^oŋj v^o wecYŋbi A^oewZK c^oŋw^oZi Z^ov^oŋj Kiv ivLv nŋq^oQ| ZvB, ^obwZKfŋe w^of^oŋ^oŋ^o wecYb-w^oŋkŋ^oŋi w^oŋŋ^o Rbv nŋj v^o, ŋ^oŋZv^o w^oŋvš^o Mhŋ^oŋ^oŋi ^ov^oxbZv me aiŋbi Rei^o w^oŋj^o-K D^oc^ov^oŋb ŋ^oŋK g^oŋ^o ivLŋZ nŋe|

3. Bmj vgx e'isKs tnevkt'i MhK nstwi Ici Bmj vgx bWZK weYb AvPiYi cwe

G Aa'itq Bmj vgx e'istKi tKub MhntKi mt½ MhK-msthvM Dct' ov' i cwi' umiK thvMvthvMKvtj (interaction) Bmj vgx bWZK AvPiYi Ici wocvZ Kiv ntqtQ| Bmj vgx bWZKZvi we ntjv, e'wstK Bmj vtgi bWZK k'fbi wbgq Ablyvqx AvPiY KiTZ nte| Bmj vgx bWZKZv Avjv' vfvte tKub KvtrI b'vh'Zv wePvi Kti bv; tKD Afb'i mt½ tKgb AvPiY KiTQ Zv wePvi Kti| ZvB, Bmj vgx bWZKZv ntjv e'wst' i cvkvcnk miv'vj Z Kvhp'g wePvtii wfiE| ceEzX[©] MtelYvi (Dubinsky et. al., 1991; Futrell, 2002) Ici wfiE Kti eZ'gb MtelYvi cwi'tchytZ ejv hvq, A%wZK wecYb AvPiY ntjv wAviG-i ywytKi Ggb AvPiY, hv ZvK tµZvi e'q t_tK jvfeib Kti| G aitbi KgRvtdi D'vniY ntjv: cY'tmevi m'pav m'utK'wg_v ev emotq ejv; gib'tj i c'qvRb tbB Ggb cY'tmev weµ; mnRj f'Zvi e'vcvti wg_v ejv; c'Z'thvmZv m'utK'wg_v ejv; DEi Rvbr bv_vKtj I DEi t'qv; 'gtZ AvbtZ c'fweZ Kivi tKSkj c'qvM A_ev D'P-cxotbi wecYb tKSkj (high-pressure selling techniques) (Wray et. al., 1994; Howe et. al., 1994; Tansey et. al., 1994; Cooper and Frank 2002) |

1 bs wPtI, tµZv mstwi e'vcvti Bmj vgx bWZK wecYb AvPiYi GKwU AvcZKvjxb tiw÷KwUf g'Wj (restrictive model) t'Lv'bv ntqtQ| iaz'cy'©tmev I Bmj vgx e'isK, Bmj vgx e'istKi c'Z Av'v I AvbM'Z'NDf'q tytI MhntKi Dc'wä Ablyvqx Bmj vgx bWZK wecYb AvPiY MhK mstwtK mivmwi c'fweZ Kivi c'le Kiv ntqtQ (GBP1 N GBP4)| ctiv' c'fvti t'gtI c'le Kiv ntqtQ th, iaz'cy'© tmevi e'vcvti mstwi Bmj vgx e'isK wbtq mstwtK c'fweZ Kti (GBP5)| tkl ch'f AvbM'Z'i w'K AMhni nq G 'B PjK (GBP6 I GBP7)| Aet'ktI, Bmj vgx e'isK wbtq mstwi t_tK m'w nq Av'vi (GBP8)| tµZv-AvbM'Z' ew'xi Rb' Av'vi c'le Kiv ntqtQ (GBP9)|



wPt 1 : MhntKi Ici bWZK wecYb AvPiYi dj vj

3.1 MhK-mstwi Ici m'w' c'Z' q' c'fve, Bmj vgx e'istKi c'Z Av'v I AvbM'Z'

(1) MhK-nstwi

eü aitbi Omelq0 itqtQ th, tjvi wfiE'Z GKrb MhK ev tµZv Zvi mstwi wePvi Ktib (Singh, 1991)| G MtelYvq Bmj vgx e'isK Ges Gi MhK-msthvM Dct' oviv (wAviG) Mhnt' i KvtQ thme iaz'cy'©tmev weµ KiTZ Pvb thgb, Bmj vgx eÜKx, Aemi fiZv, Bmj vgx webtqwm Znjej, Bmj vgx exgv I tµwWU KvW'N tm, tjvi e'vcvti MhK-mstwi Ici gb'thvm t'qv ntqtQ|

MÖK-msthvM Dct`óv`i gZv cÜg mwi tmev `vbKvix Kg#vB ntjv ÖMÖntKi `wóZ cÜZövbÓ (Metawa and al-Mossawi, 1998:300) | AþbK t#t#t tmev ejtZ thvMthvMKvix KgPvixKB eSvq| Gi evBti Avi wKQyþB (Hegazy 1995; Zeithaml and Bitner 2000) | thvMthvMKvix KgP'e'w³MZ fite cjtjv tmev bv w`tj I MÖntKi `wóZ wZvb e'vsKwþK e'w³ifc Dc`vcb KiþQb| Gme MÖK-thvMthvMKvix tmevi `vþbi cvkvicwk tKv'úmbi e'vcvfi MÖK mštió I ci BwZevPK ev tbwZevPK c#ve mþó KiþZ cvfiþ (Jamal and Naser, 2003) | Avþiv mþw`þfite, tmev mspvšl cvy'Kv,tjvq MÖK-mštió I AvbþtZ'i Rb` thvMthvM-Kg#`i AvPiþYi ,iaæ;e'vcKfite `xKvi Kiv ntqþQ (Naser, Jamal and al-Khatib, 1999; Farrell et. al., 2001;Ganesh et. al., 2000) | thgb, mtjvqb t`wLþqþQb th, ÖGKgvî e'w³MZ AvPiþYi gvb w`tqb MÖK-mštió I cly:tcšubK MÖK-mvqvZvi wclqW wbyþ Kiv thtZ cvfi Ö(Solomon et. al.,1985:100) |

`v G. þcKþUwY wMmKbdvigtgb c`vi wvBg (Oliver and De Sarbo 1988; Tse and Wilton 1988) eBtq tj Lv AvþQ, t#v³viv cÜ`wkZ tmev I cÜBi gta` Zþbv Kþib| Gi dj `wovq BwZevPK ev tbwZevPK| cY` ev tmevi gvb mWKFite cÜ`vkv cY` Kiþj tþZvi wþðqZv cvlqv hvq| wKš; cÜ`vkv I cÜBi gta` wj cvlqv bv t#tj IB wþðqZv cvlqv hvq bv| cY`/tmevi cÜB cÜ`vkv tþtq tewk ntj BwZevPK AvþðqZvi D`me NþU| Ab`w`þK, cÜBi tþtq cÜ`vkv tewk ntj mþó nq tbwZevPK AvþðqZv| wþðqZv I BwZevPK AvþðqZvi djvdj `wvþZ cvfi mštió| Ab`w`þK, tbwZevPK AvþðqZv Amštió mþó Kþi |

Acwi nvh#tmevi e'vcvfi tþZvi cÜ`vkv wAviG-i Dc`vcbvi I ci e'vcKfite wþfP Kþi (Jamal and Naser, 2003) | wAviG Bmj vgx `bwZKZv tgb AvPiY Kiþj wZvb Acwi nvh#tmev m'útk'ev`ém'vZ cÜ`vkv mþóþZ AvwKZi mýg nþeb| GtZ Ac#qvRbix tmev MÖþY tþZvi DÖy nl qvi Avk¼v Kþg hþte| tkl chš, Gme KivþRi djvdj wþðqZv wLþq `wvte A`ev cÜ`vkv I tmevi cÜBi gta` BwZevPK AvþðqZv mþó KiþZ cvfi | Acwi nvh#tmevi e'vcvfi tþZv-mštió gra'tg Zv cKvk cvte| tKþwvli (Kennedy et. al., 2001) MþelYvq G iKg cÜZAvi wKQzcÜ`wK cþvY cvlqv thtZ cvfi | tmLvþb GKwU tgvUi Mwi D`vniY w`tq t`Lvþv ntqþQ th tþZv-mštió BwZevPKfite `f-cxob wecYb tKšktj i mþ½ RwZ |

(2) Acwvnh#nevþtq tþZvns'w

bvþmþi i (Naser, et al.,1999) MþelYvq t`Lv hvq, tþZv hLb t`þLb tKvb Dct`óv` tj bþ`þbi e'vcvfi cwi`vi Ñ hv Bmj vgx `bwZK wecYb AvPiþYi mþ½ m'útk'ZÑ ZLb IB tþZv-msthvM Dct`óvi (wAviG) e'vcvfi tþZvi cÜ`vkv teþo hvq| cieZvþZ Rvgyj I bvþmþi i (Jamal and Naser, 2003) AvþÜvbx MþelYv t`Lv hvq, wAviG-i AvþgZ `bwZK gvb wAviG-i e'vcvfi tþZv-mštió I ci BwZevPK c#ve tdtj | wKQzwKQztmev wbaþtY wAviG-i e'vcvfi mštió I cÜZóvþbi gta` wPvithvM` eaZv Acwvnh#fite Avkv Kiv DvþZ bq (Goff et. al.,1997) | G MþelYv t`þK cvlqv djvdj wþtePbvq t`Lv hvq, wAviG-i tmev I Bmj vgx e'vstKi wþvpi cY`/tmevþK MÖKv Avj`v Kþi t`þLb bv (Haron, Ahmad and Planisek, 1994) | ZvB, Bmj vgx e'vstKi Bmj vgx `bwZK wecYb AvPiY I MÖK-mštió gta` GKwU BwZevPK thvMthvM iþtqþ etj aviYv Kiv thtZ cvfi |

(3) Bmj vgx e'vstKi I ci MÖK`i Av`v

GKRb MÖK ev tþZvi týt#t Zvi Av`vi wclqW Ggb GK wclþmi mþ½ RwZ thLvþb eva`evaKZv,tjv cY` Kiv nþe etj gþb Kiv nq| Ab` K`vq, tþZv Zvi `xNþgqww` `v`qjvq Bmj vgx e'vstKi cY` ev

tmev wepuzvi AvPiYi I ci wbfP Kiv hvq etj weklm Ges Dcjwä Ktib| tKiv'vmbi cÜZ Av'vi msÁvq ejv ntqtQ, ÖcÜZövtbi cÜte Kiv tmev,tjvi gvb I wbfP'thvM'Zvi e'vcvti tµZvi `p weklmÖ (Garbarino and Johnson 1999:73)| Av'vK Gfite msÁvqZ Kiv Av'v-DËi (post-trust) avi Yvi mt½ m½wZcYq hv Bmj vgx `bwZKZvi gsvögvj vZ bwZgvj v t_ tK GtmQ| tmev`vb KgP(thgb, wAvi G) hv` i mt½ tµZviv cvi`üwi K thvM'thvM Ktib, wödqZv t`b I cÜZövtbi I ci Av'v`Zwi Ktib A`ev Gi mbvg Le`Ktib hvi dtj tkl chSfAv'v aYsm ntq hvq| bvtmi Ges gbwÜbtvÖi (1997) MtelYv t_ tK t`Lv hvq, Av`R'tmev MñKt` i cÜ'vkv Abjvqx Bmj vgx `bwZK wecYb KvhPig wAvi G-i I ci MñKt` i Av'v emotq t`q| GKBfite cÜvj Z e'e`vi I ci wefba:AbjvÜvbx MtelYvq t`Lv tMtQ, mZZvi mt½ KvRi (Swan et. al., 1985; Swan et. al., 1988; Beatty et. al., 1996) cvkvcwk `f-cxob wecYb tKSkj (Strutton et. al., 1996; Kennedy et. al., 2001) AbjvYi gva`tg wecYb KgxPv tµZv` i Av'v ARÖ KiZ cvtib|

Bmj vgx `bwZK wecYb AvPiY I Bmj vgx e'vstKi I ci MñK-Av'vi gta` GKvU BvZevPK m'vK' i tqQ etj aviYv Kiv thZ cvti| tmev`vb e'e`vq wecYb KgxP i (wAvi G) , iazcY'fvgKv wepPbvq wbtq GÜv e'vL`v KiZ nte| KviY, cÜg mwi i tmev`vb KgxPwntmte wecYb KgxPvB (wAvi G) ntjv, ÖtµZvi `wöfZ cÜZövbÖ(Zeithaml and Bitner; 2000, p.287)| dtj, wAvi G-i AvPiY hv` Bmj vgx etj gtb nq, Zvntj e'vsvtKI Bmj vgx etj MñKiv Dcjwä Kiteb| KviY, thvM'thvM KgP` i m'vK' MñKt` i Dcjwä e'vsk m'vK'Zv` i Dcjwä tK cÜweZ Kite|

(4) Bmj vgx e'vstKi cÜ MñKt` i AvbMZ`

tmev`vbKiv e'vstKi MñKivEi tytI GKvU , iazcY'wepPbv ntjv, Gi MñKiv KZUKzAbMZ (Ganesh et. al., 2000)| Bmj vgx `wöfKiv t_ tK wecYb `bwZKZv bwZi wfvE'Z, Bmj vgx e'vstKi mt½ tKvb MñKt` Pj gvb m'vK' Ae`vZ i vLvi mw`Qv Ges Ab`vb` MñKt` KivQ e'vskvU e'vcvti Zvi mgwv k Kivi AwfcÜqNG `öti m'vK' tB Bmj vgx e'vstKi cÜZ MñK-AvbMZ` i aviYvMZ ijc`Zwi ntqtQ (Erol and El-Bour, 1989; Haron, Ahmad, and Planisek, 1994; Naser and Mountinho, 1997; Jamal and Naser,2003)| cÜvMZfite AvbMZ` i metPq , iazcY'Pj K wntmte tmev`vb KgP` i mt½ tj bt` b wbtq MñKt` i Dcjwä tK wepPbv Kiv nq (Naser, et al.,1999)|

MñKt` AvbMZ` m'vK' tytI Bmj vgx `bwZK wecYb AvPiY wekvj fvgKv ivL'Z cvti| ZvE'K `wöfKiv t_ tK wZvI qv Ges Avj -tgvvwe (1998) t`Lv th, A`wZK wecYb AvPiY ntjv GKvU yY`vqx I tKej wR`t` wvntj i Rb` mvgwRK `wqZteva wevRZ weIq| GKBfite, MvÜj vK I gvüwd (1993) hvP` w` tq t`Lv, `bwZK bwZgvj v AbjvY Kitj tµZv` i mt½ wepuzv` i `vN'vqx m'vK' Mto DVtZ cvti| b`v`Zv ZtEj (equity theory) I ci Mto I Vv Bmj vgx `bwZK wecYb AvPiY tK b`v`Zv cÜZövi Rb` GKvU webtqvm wntmte t`Lv thZ cvti| wAvi G b`v` AvPiY KitQ bv (A`wZK AvPiYi KviY) etj MñKiv hv` gtb Ktib, Zvntj Ab`v`Zvi Abf'vZ m'vK' nte| MñKt` i Bmj vgx e'vsk cwi Z'vMi B`Qvi ga` w` tq hvi cKvk NUte| Gi ev`É D`vniY wntmte ZviweK (Trawick et al., 1991) t`Lv, ctYi tµZv tKvb wAvi G-i AvPiY tK A`wZK etj gtb Kitj wAvi G th cÜZövtbi cÜZvbaZj KitQb tmB cÜZövtbi e'vcvti MñKt` gtb tbwZevPK aviYv`Zwi nq| AwAKS', wepuzvi A`wZK AvPiYi e'vcvti tfv'vvi gtbvive Ges Zvi tKvvi B`Qvi gta` GKvU tbwZevPK m'vK'P` cövy tctqtQb tnvqvtj b (Whalen et al.,1991)| ZvB Avgiv ejtZ cvwi wAvi G-i Bmj vgx `bwZK AvPiYi e'vcvti MñKt` i Dcjwä hZ DËZ nte, Bmj vgx e'vstKi cÜZ Zv` i AvbMZ` nte ZZ cöj |

(৫) ইসলামী ব্যাংকের প্রতি গ্রাহকদের সন্তুষ্টি

সেবা বিপণনের ওপর গবেষণায় ব্যাপকভাবে দেখা গেছে, ক্রেতা বা গ্রাহকদের সন্তুষ্টি থেকে তাদের আনুগত্য সৃষ্টি হয় (*Crosby and Stephens 1987; Cronin and Taylor 1992; Taylor and Baker 1994; Dabholkar et. al., 2000; Liljander and Mattson 2002*)। এর প্রমাণ হিসেবে ক্রসবি ও স্টিফেন্স (১৯৮৭) দেখতে পান, গ্রাহকরা তাদের বীমা পলিসি পরিবর্তন বা সেগুলো তামাদি হয়ে যেতে দেবেন কিনা তা নির্ভর করে, পুরো লাইফ-কাভারেজের ব্যাপারে ইতোপূর্বে সৃষ্টি তাদের সন্তুষ্টির ওপর। একইভাবে ইসলামী ব্যাংকিংয়ের একটি নমুনা নিয়ে গবেষণায় জেরার্ড ও কানিংহাম (১৯৯৭); মিতাওয়া ও আল-মোসাবি (১৯৯৮); নাসের, জামাল ও আল-খাতিব (১৯৯৯) দেখতে পান যে, পুনরায় কেনার ইচ্ছার সঙ্গে অপরিহার্য-সেবা নিয়ে সন্তুষ্টি ইতিবাচকভাবে সম্পর্কিত। জর্ডান ইসলামী ব্যাংককে নমুনা হিসেবে নিয়ে নাসের, জামাল ও আল-খাতিবের (১৯৯৯) গবেষণায় দেখা যায়, ব্যাংকের ওপর গ্রাহকদের সন্তুষ্টি ব্যাংকের প্রতি আনুগত্যের ওপর ইতিবাচক প্রভাব ফেলে। বিভিন্ন শিল্প থেকে ক্রেতা নমুনা সংগ্রহ করে গবেষণা করেন জামাল ও নাসের (২০০৩)। এর ফলাফলে, সেবা প্রদানকারী ও অপরিহার্য সেবা উভয় ক্ষেত্রে, ইসলামী ব্যাংকের সেবা পুনরায় ব্যবহার এবং ইসলামী ব্যাংকের সেবা গ্রহণের জন্য বন্ধুদের কাছে সুপারিশের ব্যাপারে গ্রাহকদের সদিচ্ছার ওপর গ্রাহক সন্তুষ্টির ইতিবাচক প্রভাবের প্রমাণ পাওয়া গেছে।

ইসলামী ব্যাংক নিয়ে সন্তুষ্টি এবং ব্যাংকের ওপর আস্থা – এ দু'য়ের মধ্যে সম্পর্কের ক্ষেত্রে দ্বিতীয়টিকে ইসলামী ব্যাংকের ব্যাপারে সার্বিক মনোভাব হিসেবে বৈশ্বিক দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে দেখা হয়। ধারণাগত দিক দিয়ে যেহেতু আস্থা “একটি ক্রমবর্ধমান (*cumulative*) প্রক্রিয়া, যা বারংবার ও সফল পারস্পরিক লেনদেনের মধ্য দিয়ে গড়ে উঠে”, তাই উপরোক্ত চলকের ক্ষেত্রে একটি দীর্ঘমেয়াদী ওরিয়েন্টেশন বিদ্যমান (*Nicholson et. al., 2001; p.4*)। অপ্রত্যাশিত গ্রাহকদের সন্তুষ্টি করাকে ইসলামী ব্যাংকের ওপর গ্রাহক-আস্থা জোরদারকরণ হিসেবে উপস্থাপন করা হয়েছে (*Haron, Ahmad and Planisek, 1994*)। ইসলামী ব্যাংকের কাছ থেকে উঁচুমানের সন্তুষ্টি লাভের অভিজ্ঞতা ক্রেতাকে কেবল সেবাদানকারীর ওপর আস্থা সুদৃঢ় হওয়ার পুনঃনিশ্চয়তাই দেয় না, একে জোরদারও করে (*Metawa and al-Mossawi, 1998*)। বিপণন মাধ্যমের ওপর প্রায়োগিক গবেষণা (*Ganesan 1994; Selnes, 1998*) এবং ভোক্তাআচরণ সম্পর্কিত সাহিত্য (*Garbarino and Johnson, 1999*) এ যুক্তিকে সমর্থন করে।

ইসলামী ব্যাংকিং ব্যবস্থার অনন্য বৈশিষ্ট্যের কারণে একজন গ্রাহক ইসলামী ব্যাংকের পণ্য ও সেবার সকল পর্যায়ে স্বাভাবিক সন্তুষ্টি লাভ করবে। আর তাই, ভোক্তার আস্থা অর্জনে ইসলামী ব্যাংক প্রতিযোগিতামূলক সুবিধা ভোগ করে। যেমন, সাধারণভাবে সন্তুষ্টি গ্রাহকরা বার বার পণ্য বা সেবা কেনা এবং তাদের মাঝে ইসলামী ব্যাংকের প্রতি জোরদার আনুগত্যের প্রতিফলন ঘটবে। ইস্ট (১৯৯৭) এবং চিচেন্স (১৯৮৩) দেখিয়েছেন, এ ধরনের সন্তুষ্টি গ্রাহকরা ইতিবাচক কথা বলা এবং গ্রাহক সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধিতে ভূমিকা রাখতে পারেন। যেহেতু, গ্রাহকদের চাহিদা অনুযায়ী মূল্যের সম্পূর্ণ প্যাকেজের একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ উপাদান এ সন্তুষ্টি, তাই ইসলামী ব্যাংক নতুন গ্রাহক আকর্ষণের জন্য তার উৎসাহিতকরণ উপাদানে, সন্তুষ্টি গ্রাহকদের একটি অংশকে ব্যবহার করতে পারে। ইসলামী ব্যাংক আরো পারে তার যত্নশীল কর্মীদের ভাবমূর্তিকে ব্যবহার করতে। কর্মীরা সেবা সরবরাহ প্রক্রিয়ার একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অংশ এবং প্রতিষ্ঠান- গ্রাহক আন্তঃযোগাযোগের ক্ষেত্রে তারা গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা পালন করেন। অধিকন্তু ইসলামী ব্যাংক, তার সুবিধাগুলো সম্পর্কে উন্নয়নমূলক (*promotional*) উপাদানগুলোতে বস্তগত প্রমাণ ব্যবহার করে নিজের পণ্য প্রমোট করতে পারে।

4. Dcnsvi

Bmj vgx necYb bwiZgyjv Mh̄t̄Yi e'vcv̄ti `bwiZKfite `vqx GKwU Bmj vgx e'isK c̄l̄qB Zvi cY' ev tmev wKfite Rbw̄c̄l̄ Kiv h̄vte Zv w̄btq m̄gm̄vq c̄to| cY' w̄bivc` Kivi e'q Dctiv³ m̄gm̄v̄t̄K Av̄tiv Rulj K̄ti tZv̄tj | G e'q Aek'B cY'ḡt̄j `i m̄t̄½ h̄ȳ n̄te| ZvB, Bmj vgx e'isKt̄K Zvi c̄l̄Zthv̄M̄t̄`i tP̄t̄q At̄bK Rbw̄c̄l̄ cY'/tmev D^{m̄}teb Ges tm̄,tjv Z̄j̄bv̄ḡj-K cwiw̄gZ `vtg w̄eip̄u Kīt̄Z nq| Zv Kīt̄Z w̄M̄t̄q evR̄v̄ti c̄l̄Zōvb̄w̄i Am̄p̄eav̄RbK Ae^{v̄}q covi S̄t̄K `Zwi nq| G c̄l̄t̄U Av̄giv Bmj vgx e'visiKs ms̄iK̄w̄ necYb Av̄PiY w̄btq Av̄tj vPbv K̄tiw̄Q| h̄v̄t̄Z, m̄vḡw̄RKfite `w̄qZcY^oc̄s̄v̄ I c̄l̄Zthv̄M̄Zvḡj-K evR̄v̄ti w̄bt̄R̄t̄`i `vb m̄j̄w̄ȳZ Kivi j̄t̄ȳ` Bmj vgx necYb `bwiZKZv Ab̄ȳīt̄Yi K_v ejv n̄t̄q̄t̄Q|

tckv̄vīt̄`i Rb` G M̄t̄el̄Yvi w̄biv̄Zv^oAt̄bK| t̄μZv-w̄ēt̄μZv m̄āúK^oīȳv I AM̄w̄Z̄t̄Z Bmj vgx `bwiZK Av̄Pīt̄Yi th e'vcK c̄f̄veN̄Av̄ḡv̄t̄`i Av̄tj vPbvq tm̄ w̄elq̄w̄ , īāZ̄j̄i m̄t̄½ Z̄j̄ aiv n̄t̄q̄t̄Q| ZvB, M̄h̄nK ev t̄μZv̄t̄`i m̄t̄½ `N̄f̄ḡq̄w̄` m̄āú̄t̄K̄P̄ , īāZ̄t̄K ḡj̄` w̄ t̄q Bmj vgx e'isK_v t̄j̄v̄t̄K Ggb GK cwīt̄ek m̄w̄ Kīt̄Z n̄te thb tm̄L̄v̄tb A%w̄ZK Av̄Pīt̄Yi m̄āt̄ebv m̄ēw̄āēch̄t̄q̄ t̄b̄t̄g Av̄t̄m̄| Zv Kivi Rb` e'e^{v̄}vc̄b̄t̄K w̄b̄w̄j̄ w̄LZ c̄l̄t̄e_v t̄j̄v Ab̄ȳīt̄Yi e'e^{v̄} w̄bt̄Z n̄te:

- ◆ Bmj vgx `bwiZKZvi GKwU cwīcY^oK̄t̄c̄t̄iU t̄Kw̄ D^{m̄}teb, c̄l̄vi Ges P̄j̄ȳKiv c̄l̄q̄vRb| G t̄Kw̄ Ab̄ȳīY w̄b̄w̄Z̄ Kīt̄Z e'e^{v̄}vc̄bv̄ th K̄t̄wi e'e^{v̄} w̄bt̄"Q Zv K̄gP̄v̄īt̄`i eS̄v̄t̄Z n̄te| K̄L̄t̄v̄ j̄•N̄t̄bi N̄Ūbv N̄Ūt̄j̄, j̄•N̄bK̄vixi w̄ēīāx̄ k̄w̄t̄j̄-K e'e^{v̄} M̄h̄t̄Yi w̄elq̄w̄ K̄gP̄v̄īt̄`i AeM̄Z n̄l̄qv L̄ȳB Rīāx̄|
- ◆ `bwiZKZvi Df̄q-m̄¼U_v t̄j̄v m̄vḡj̄ t̄`qvi e'vcv̄ti P̄j̄ḡvb c̄l̄k̄ȳt̄Yi w̄f̄w̄Ē n̄te Bmj vgx `bwiZKZv w̄ēw̄a (The code of Islamic ethics)| Bmj vgx e'is̄t̄Ki e'v̄e^{v̄}vc̄b̄t̄K necYb c̄l̄k̄ȳY K̄gP̄v̄īt̄`i Ggbf̄ite m̄v̄R̄v̄t̄Z n̄te thb, Bmj vgx `bwiZK cwīw̄w̄Z_v t̄j̄v m̄āt̄e` t̄Kgb n̄t̄Z c̄v̄ti necYb e'e^{v̄}vc̄Kiv Zv necYb K̄gP̄v̄īt̄`i w̄m̄AviḠl̄t̄`i K̄v̄t̄Q Z̄j̄ ait̄Z c̄v̄t̄ib| w̄ēf̄b̄āc̄w̄īw̄w̄Z̄t̄Z G e'vcv̄ti m̄vov `vb t̄Kgb n̄te tm̄ w̄el̄t̄q Zv̄iv c̄iv̄ḡk̄^ot̄`eb| Gici, c̄l̄Zōvb G ait̄bi cwīw̄w̄Z̄ w̄Kfite m̄vḡj̄ w̄t̄Z P̄v̄q Zv w̄btq M̄h̄nK m̄āúK̄Dc̄t̄`ōv̄iv (w̄m̄AviG) Av̄tj vPbv Kīt̄Z c̄v̄t̄ib|
- ◆ Bmj vgx e'is̄t̄Ki e'e^{v̄}vc̄Kiv Zv̄t̄`i M̄h̄nK-m̄st̄h̄M̄ Dc̄t̄`ōv̄t̄`i m̄t̄½ gZw̄eb̄ḡq Kīt̄eb, Zv̄t̄`i `b̄w̄`b necYb K̄vh̄p̄g Bmj vgx `bwiZKZvi `w̄t̄K̄v̄Y t̄`t̄K w̄eP̄vi K̄ti Zv̄t̄`i m̄v̄v̄qZv Ges cwīP̄w̄j̄ Z Kīt̄eb| w̄Zw̄b t̄Kej w̄eip̄u I ci w̄f̄w̄Ē K̄tiB Zv̄t̄`īt̄K 100% K̄vḡkb t̄`t̄eb bv̄ Ñ t̄Kej Av̄R̄Z̄ dj̄vd̄j̄ (w̄eip̄u cwīḡv̄Y) w̄ēt̄eP̄bv Kīt̄j̄ n̄te bv̄, Zv̄t̄`i Ab̄`vb` K̄gR̄v̄D̄I ḡj̄`v̄q̄b Kīt̄Z n̄te| G M̄t̄el̄Yv̄q Bmj vgx e'isK_v t̄j̄v̄t̄K c̄l̄Yv̄`bv̄ḡj̄-K K̄gP̄v̄īt̄`i Ḡw̄ōt̄q P̄j̄vi K_v ejv n̄q̄ib| Zvi e`t̄j̄ c̄l̄Zōvb t̄j̄v ḡj̄`teZ̄t̄bi m̄t̄½ K̄vḡkb I t̄eiv̄m̄ Av̄K̄v̄īt̄`i A_v ev G_v t̄j̄vi ḡt̄Zv th̄t̄K̄vb c̄l̄Yv̄`bv̄ḡj̄-K A_v^oc̄l̄vb̄ Kīt̄e, Zv thb īaȳw̄eip̄u m̄v̄t̄j̄`i w̄f̄w̄Ēt̄Z bv̄ nq| KZ f̄v̄t̄j̄v̄f̄ite M̄h̄nK m̄s̄t̄ōi ḡt̄Zv `N̄f̄ḡq̄v̄x̄j̄ȳ` AR̄B̄ Kiv t̄M̄t̄Q Zv̄l t̄`L̄t̄Z n̄te|

Bmj vgx e'visiKs I Av̄w̄R̄ tmev LvZ_v t̄j̄vi c̄l̄Z M̄h̄nK-Av̄`vi I ci m̄ēw̄aK , īāZ̄j̄i w̄ t̄q GLv̄tb m̄ḡw̄īk Kiv n̄t̄q̄t̄Q th, Bmj vgx e'isKt̄K Zvi m̄vḡt̄bi m̄w̄īi K̄gP̄v̄īt̄`i Bmj vgx `bwiZK Av̄Pīt̄Yi I ci , īāZ̄j̄i w̄t̄Z n̄te| h̄v̄ t̄kl̄ ch̄S̄f̄ M̄h̄nK̄t̄`i Av̄`v̄ `Zix̄ Kīt̄e| Ḡt̄K̄ēv̄t̄i m̄v̄aviȲf̄ite ej̄t̄Z t̄M̄t̄j̄, Zv̄t̄`i m̄r n̄t̄Z n̄te Ges `f̄-c̄x̄ob (low pressure) necYb t̄K̄S̄k̄j̄ Aēj̄`b̄ Kīt̄Z n̄te|

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Abgř` : gvmř vej w

MÄK iPŠne`ti tj Lbx t`tK `öU ,iaZcY`gZev` GtmtQ| GKwU nt`Q, mvgvRK AbjvÜvtbi Rb` cÖhvR` cšv| Zuv veklm KitZb gvbtj i KgRvD A_öwZK I A-A_öwZK tkYtZ fM Kiv wVK bq| thgb, AbjvÜvb I AštštYi tejvq ntZ cvti | mvgvRK mgm`v,tjv ci`ui MÖ_Z etj Zuv aviYv KitZb| thgb tKvb GKwU wPTKg`ešZ ntj Zvi ga`Kvi weifbæit0i Qvqv wgvj tq mvgvMÄKfvte tmwU ešZ nte| Zt`i gZev` AfbK Bmj vgx A_öwZve`tK weävšfKtišQ| Zuv veklm KitZ`iæKtib th Bmj vgl mvgvRK weI qvej xi mgvšZ mgx`vi Dci tRvi w`tqšQ| GtZ weI qvU mg`Kfvte Abjveb Kti mwVK bwZ wbaſY mnR nte| DttLthvM` weI q nt`Q, mßg kZtK Bmj vtgi Awefſei mgq wefk; RbmsL`vi tKvb mwVK Z` cvI qv hvqvb| t`Lv hv`Q th, LpätgP Awefſei mgq c_w extZ cÖq 20 tKwU gvbtj i evm wQj | G mSL`v 1000 mtj mto 27 tKwU i tewk wQj bv| KvRB 650 mtj c_w exi RbmsL`v mto 23 tKwU wQj Ggb aviYv Kiv Aššv`K nte bv|³ c_w exi RbmsL`v ZLbI AfbK Kg wQj | ZvB aviYv Kiv thtZ cvti th, MÄK tj LKiv ev Ziv`i wVK cieZr`Abjvixiv I cÖg w`tKi L`vb A_öwZve`iv th mvgvRK cwi tek tctqwtj b, cÖg hšMi ggvj g cüDZivI tmB GKB mvgvRK cwi tek cvb| ZvB ZuvI mvgvRK cwi gDj tK mvgvMÄKfvte wešPbvq wbtqwtj b| Zt`i tj Lvi weI qe`I GKB gZ I ct`i wQj | wKš`mKj tj Lvi DcRve` Aem`wexfvte wQj ci tj šwKK|

QK-1: wefk; RbmsL`v ewx

	tKwU															
বছর	১	১০০০	১৫০০	১৬৫০	১৭৫০	১৮০৪	১৮৫০	১৯০০	১৯২৭	১৯৫০	১৯৬০	১৯৭০	১৯৮০	১৯৯০	১৯৯৯	২০০৯
জনসংখ্যা	20	27.5	45	50	70	100	120	160	200	255	300	400	450	530	600	680

mF: Mratt Rosenberg, About .com wide ([http://geograpdhy.about.com/ od/obtain population data/a/world population.htm](http://geograpdhy.about.com/od/obtain%20population%20data/a/world%20population.htm))

eZövtb wefk; RbmsL`v 1750 mtj A_öw Bmj vtgi Awefſei GK nvRvi eQi ci hv wQj Zvi tPtq 7 ,Y tewk| eZövb hšM RbmsL`v thgb wecy tetotQ tZgub gvbtj i Avtbi fivDi I AfbK mgx ntqšQ| G ewx I mgvxi mt½ mt½ cwi enY I thvMvthvM e`vZi `šZ DbwZ ntqšQ| dtj mgq I KvTj i wePvti c_w ex AfbK tQvU ntq GtmtQ| ce`Zr`hšMi Zjvqv 1950 mtj i ci t`tK eZövbKvj chšf c_w exi etK gvby AfbK Ae`vb titLšQ| Aciw`tK, hy weMö, nvbvnb, msNvZ, Aciva, `öwZ, RjsgvRv, mšym, `wi`², j šb, tFvM-wejvm I t`Dij qvcbv, cÖKwZK m`ut`i t'vj g tkvY Ges cÖKwZK `šhM BZ`w` AvR gvbeRwZtK Ggb Ae`vi gšLvgyL `w KwišqšQ, hv BwZcæ`KLbI NšUvb| Bmj vgx A_öwZve`iv cÖqKb th cšvi ct`i hšv` w`tq`vKb, tmB atgP c_ Aej`b Kti Gme AmsL`wfbgYx I vekj mgm`vi mgvavb w`tZ cvti b? gvbtj i gw`t`i mvgv`Zv AvšQ, Kiv`DUvti i I Zv-B|⁴

m`ut`i `šcÖ`Zv ev AcšZjZv A_ev weifbæKvR m`ut`i eEb MÄKt`i KvšQ tKvb wešP` weI q wQj bv| wöZxq th weI qvUšZ Zt`i `wö wbe`x wQj Zv nt`Q mtjg eEb, b`vq wePvi I b`vqciqvYZv| Zuv `bwZK `wšKvY t`tK weI bgq e`v I `šv`i gj`gvb wbaſY KtišQb| evRvti i fvgKv tZgb bv`vKvq

A_ḪmZtZ ˘bmZKZvi cfi ve tekx_vKv ˘rfiweK| Bmj vgx A_ḪmZie`ivl Zv`i ciḪvZ` cemijx`i gZ b`vqci vqYZv l b`vq wePvtii Dci ˘iaZjw ˘tqtQb| Aek˘, PjwZ kZtK t`k_˘tjvZ ˘`z Dbqbkxj evRvi e`e`v Pjy nevi Kvi tY evQ-wePvtii t`qj t`i wek t`mi ˘vb ˘Lj Kti wbtqtQ hnj ˘| b`vqbmZi w el qul w cQtb cto tMtQ| wKŠ` gRvi w el q n t`Q, ciḪgv t`k_˘tjvi t j Lv t j wL t Z e`emv-evwYR` cwi Pvj bvi t`qj t`i ˘bmZKZvi w el qul Avevi w d t i Avm t Q| wek ˘v c x ˘ b m Z K t` D i j q v c b v i t h c i n v o m i j n t q t Q Z v R b m ˘ g L c k v k K t i t` q v i R b` P j g v b A w R m ˘ t U i d t j m ˘ w e k ˘ v c x w e c h ˘ t K a b` e v` R i b v t Z n q | G L b B m j v g x A_Ḫ m Z i t i v M w b i v g q K v i x ˘ q j Z v t` L v e v i m g q G t m t Q | w K Š` h w` g y n j g t` k_˘ t j v B m j v g x b`vqbmZi h_v_˘KihRwi Zvi c k Z i f c t` L v t Z c v t i Z t e B | G m e t` t k i i v R ˘ b m Z K t b Z v t` i A t b t K Z v t` i w P Š i f v e b v i ˘ x b Z v i K v i t Y w b R t` t k i R b M t Y i B m j v g x A v k v - A v K v - L v c i t Y e`_ ˘

g y n j g t` k_˘ t j v Z B m j v g x b`vq-bmZi e v` e c i Z d j b N t U w b | d t j G K w t K B m j v g x - A_Ḫ m Z i e` , A b` w t K g j - a v i v i m g v t j v P K t` i g t a` A_Ḫ b w e Z t K P m i j n t q t Q | D f q c ˘ q | G m i j h n j w B f t j t M t Q b t h t K v b c x w Z i b`vqbmZi m t ˘ A c i c x w Z i b`vqbmZi Z ˘ b v K i t Z n t e , e v` e Z v i m t ˘ b q | B m j v g x A_Ḫ m Z i e` i v w K G K B f j y K t i P t j t Q b | Z u i v c ˘ P i j Z c y R e v` K x G e s t K g b n t Z c v t i Z v i m t ˘ Z v t` i c x w Z i Z ˘ b v K t i t Q b | 5 G g . B D t P v o v l Z u i c e m i t` i g Z w b R i P b v e j t Z G K B f i t e A v t c t j i m t ˘ K g j v i Z ˘ b v K t i t Q b |

G K B f i t e , c i Ḫ v Z` t` k f ˘ t e w k i f i M c i Z c ˘ q | B m j v g x A v` k ˘ K G K w l e`_ ˘ A_Ḫ m Z e` e` e` v e t j A v ˘ g Y K t i ˘ t K b | K v i Y w m v t e Z u i v g y n j g t` k_˘ t j v i e` ˘ g v b A e` v i K _ v D t j L K t i b | B m j v g x A_Ḫ m Z i m g v t j v P b v i e o A s k G t m t Q w e t` t k e m e v m i Z c i Ḫ Z t` i K i Q t` t K | Z v t` i g t a` T i m o r K u r a n A b` Z g | w Z w b G w e l t q c ˘ P ˘ w j t L t Q b | m g v t j v P K i v G K _ w l f t j h i v t h G t` k_˘ t j v ˘ x N ˘ b D c i b t e k w t m t e k w m Z n q | c i e Z i K v t j l b v b v Q Ū v e i t Y t m B k i m b A e` v n Z t` t K t Q | d t j G t` k_˘ t j v i t b Z v i v m v g w R K D b q t b i R b` B m j v g x K g m P x e v` e v q t b i g Z c w i t e k e v m ˘ h i M c v b w b | Z v t` i t m B` Q v _ v K v i c i l G m Z` w l A b ˘ v e b K i t Z n t e t h c i Z w l g y n j g v b m e` v B m j v t g i w b t` R g Z P t j b Z v b q | A v e v i , Z u i v h v K t i b Z v i m e w K O z B m j v g x A b ˘ v m b t g t b b q | B m j v g x A_Ḫ m Z i e` t` l G c _ c w i n v i K t i g j - a v i v i A_Ḫ m Z e` ˘ w b o f r t e A b ˘ v e b K i t Z n t e - h v t Z A v t b i G k v L v q Z u i v e` v c K f i t e M ˘ h Y t h v M` A e` v b i v L t Z c v t i b | D c i Š , B m j v g x a v i v b q , e i s B m j v t g i g g e v Y x i D c i B t e w k ˘ i a Z j t` q v c ˘ q v R b | w e i a x e w i Z v b q , M f x i D c j w a B t k l c h Š l R q x n q | G e v i G ˘ w o t K v Y t` t K g j - a v i v i A_Ḫ m Z i w f i e` ˘ t ˘ t j v i c i Z b R i t` q v h v K |

3. mət`i ˘ycö`Zv

M i k t j L K i v A c i Z ˘ Z v e v ˘ y c ö c` Z v i m t ˘ c w i w P Z w Q t j b b v | Z v w b t q Z v t` i f i v e b v l w Q j b v | K v i Y Z v t` i h ˘ M R b m s L` v w Q j A w Z ˘ q z` Ges mət`i l c ˘ P h ˘ Q j | Z L b l w K O z R i b m t h g b K t q K c k v i D w` c l w k j v m n t R c v l q v t h Z b v | t m_˘ t j v w Q j ˘ j ˘ - A_Ḫ m s L` v q A t b K K g | G L v b t` t K B K v j ˘ t g ˘ y c ö c` Z v i a v i Y v m i j | m ˘ e Z : S e r i o s w Q t j b c l g A_Ḫ m Z i e` w h i v ˘ y c ö c` Z v i D c i t R v i w t q t Q b G e s G t K B g j - w f i e` e t j a v i Y v K t i w Q t j b | t K v b w K O z g j - w e t e P b v i R b` ˘ y c ö c` Z v h t_ó b q | G t K A v t i v w K O z v l q v c i Y K i t Z n t e | D c t h v M Z v i w K w t q l G t K ˘ j ˘ n t Z n t e | G A t _ B c i e Z i K v t j W a l r a s ˘ y c ö c` k a i w e` e n v i K t i t Q b G i d e a n d R i s t 1953 P 357 |

Dctiv³ hys³Z Zuv th melquU Gwotq tMtQb Zv ntjv Hkx máút`i fivDi hZB Adžšl tnvK bv tKb Zvi A_°G bq th, gvby mKj mgq I Kvťj Zvi Pwn`vgZ Zv tctq hite| máú`_vKteB| wKš' gvbeRwzi KvťQ Zvi j f`Zvi melquU nt`Q A_°mZtZ `šúic`Zvi gj_ K_v| gvby| i Ávtbi cwiwai Dci gvby| i Rb` máút`i j f`Zv wbfPkj | gvby|K Ae`mZ Ávb PPr, Mtel Yv I cPóv Dvív máút`i bZly bZb e`envi, Ae`vb, AvniťYi c_xwZ I gťj`i MhYthM`Zvi I ci máút`i j f`Zv wbfPkj |

cweĹ tKvi Avťb Avj m tKej máút`i cĹPthP K_vB etj bib, Avgvť`i tK G K_vI RmbtqtQb th wZwb Ávtbi GKgvĹ Avavi | Hkx c`Av hivi AšťY Ktib, ZvivB Zv jvf Ktib| Zte meiwKQyGKmt½ bq| wZwb G Ávb ev c`Av gvby|K GKUZGKUZKti t`b| hvťZ Me°I J_xťZi KviťY tKD nec_Mvgx bv nq| Aa`vcK Lvťbi AvřGZ nt`Q, gvby AcPq I AceĚťbi gva`tg máút`i `šúic`Zv mjo Kti - G avi Yv fťj | Gme KviY `šúic`ZvťK cĹK Kti tZvťj, `šúic`Zvi mjo Kti bv| Dcti j f`Zvi wbiťL máút`i `šúic`Zvi th K_v ejv ntqtQ Zv cĹKZ.cťŃ Hkx weavťbi GKw Ask| Avj mni Rvgb t`ťK gvby wťRi KgZrci Zvi gva`tg Zvi RweKvi e`e`v KiaK, wZwb ZvB Pvb| GKB mt½ Zviv tKvb cť`_ev wKfite Zvť`i RweKv wbevť Kti, wZwb tmUvl cixŃv KiťZ Pvb|¹⁰ G KviťY cĹ_ex GKw cixvťYťĹ| gvbe mf`Zvi BwZnm, gvbeRwz KZŃ cĹKwťK Rq Kivi BwZnm|¹¹ e`Ĺ: weÁvb, cĹny³ I mvgwRK e`e`vcbvq wbišfi I wbi j mfite mvgšťq mvgťbi wťK GwMťq hvevi gva`tg `šúic`Zv ev AfieťK Rq Kivi AvcvZ mSMťgi BwZnm (nwmv 1996 c., 357)|

Ávb ebyg `šúic`Zv

cĹKwzi fivDi t`ťK máú`_nwmťj i mSMťg ÁvbB gvby| i A`j Avi cĹKZ.Ávtbi we`li tKvb mxgvťi Lv gvťb bv| mgea°v RbťMvxi Kj`vťY cwi_° Pwn`v tgUvťvi Rb` cĹ_exťZ wewfbaťMvĹ ev RwiZ Ávb weKvťki tŃťĹ GťK Actii mt½ cĹZthwMZv Kti PťjťQ| Malthus I Ricardo-i gZ %biR`er`xiv G fťq Av`QbentqUťj b th, RbmsL`v wqšťY ivLvi e`e`v bv tbqv ntj cĹ_exťZ vriKxq cwiťek mjo nťe|¹² Selioman-Gi gťZv Zvťi i weia`er`xiv gťb Ktib, GKw wki i Rbťgvťb Lvevi Rb` tKej GKw bZb gťLi mšthvRb bq, tmB Lvevi Drcv`ťbi Rb` Avťiv `wĹ nvťZi mšthvRbI eťU| Avkver`xiv GKw `Mřq cwiťeťki Avkvq DťŃwĹ Z| `eÁvbK Ame°vi I D`Mťeťbi Dci fi Kti th wki wecťei AvMgb NťUťQ ZvB Zvť`i tK Avkvq DťŃwĹ Z KtiťQ|

`šúic`Zv ev Afie Rq Kivi Rb` Ávb we`ťti Ae`mZ cĹZthwMZvi tŃťĹ Ávb mvabv, weťkI Kti weMZ 150 eQi aťi Ávb mvabvi tŃťĹ e`vcK mvdj` GťmťQ| Ávtbi , YMZ gvťbvrbq Ges Ávb weKvťki gvĹv wbařťYi cPóv PjťQ| Aalyv Ávtbi wewfbaťDcv`vb wbyŃ Kti cĹZwU Dcv`vb cwi gvťci tPóv PjťQ| Ávtbi cwi gvY cĹZ cĹ eQi Ašfi wĹ, Y Kiv hvq wKbv tm frievl PjťQ| G jťŃ` 23wU Ggb Dcv`vb wPvyZ Kiv ntqtQ hv Ávtbi cwi wa cwi gvťc mrvqK nťZ cvťi | cĹZwU Dcv`vb hZ eQti wĹ, Y nťe, ZvB nťe gvcKw| t`Lv tMťQ, wewfbaťDcv`vb wĹ, Y nťZ mgťqi cwi wa wfbawřbawřq| wKš`mwK Bbcly t`qv tMťj cĹZ cĹ eQti Ávtbi cwi wa wĹ, Y Kiv hvq (j xM tUvej 2007)| hvťnvK, wĹZxq wekřťxi ci gvby| i Ávtbi DbwZ NťUťQ| weťkI Kti weÁvb I cĹny³ Ávtbi tŃťĹ weťcvi Y NťUťQ| G weťōvi Y gvbeRwzťK `šúic`ZvťK AwZmrg Kti wbtq tMťQ| weťkĹ RbmsL`v 1950 mťb hv wQj 1999 mťb Zv t`ťK 2.4 , Y ewx`_cĹq| GKB mgťq weťkĹ cĹKZ.GDP gvwKĹ Wj vťi i wePťi cĹq 7 , Y ewx`_cĹq Ges gv_wcQzAvq evťo cĹq 3 , Y|

OK 2: wełkji RbmsL`v, RvWwuc I gv_vucQzRvWwuc (1950 I 2000 mb)

wełY	1950	2000	2000/1950
RbmsL`v (nvRvi)	2,524,324	6,071,144	2.41 Y
R.W.wc (wgij qb Wj vi)	5,329,719	36,501,872	6.85 Y
R.W.wc-gv_vucQz(Wj vi)	2,111	6,012	2.85 Y

mF: The World Economy, Historical Statistics 1950-2001 Tables 7a, 76 and 7c (WE website)

* G gj` 1990 młbi Geany-Khamb Dollars

mvgwRK wełti mgq I Kvtj i e`eavtb cŁvxtZ e`vcK cwi eZ⁸ NUtj I gynyj g t`k, tjv eŁ_Y wcuQtq t`tkQtQ| A_P wełkji eZgvb Ges mŁvebvqg cŁKwZK mŁut`i GKwŁ eo Astki gwij K G t`k, tjv| Gici I weł; RvWwucQtZ Zvt`i Ae`vb kZKiv 7-8 fvtMi tenk bq| G t`k, tjv gj-Zt Zvt`i mŁut`i wełpZv, tfv³v bq| eZgvb hłMi AvbFvDvti Zvt`i Ae`vtbi mł½ G Ae`v Lg mł½wZcYŁ Giv Ggb GK gvbełMvŁx hvf`i atqP cŁg wbt` RB wQj, ōcv Kiō| Zvt`i Ae`vi G`ecivZ` LgB`łLRbK|

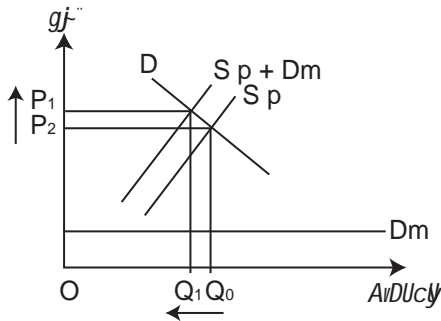
G hveZ`ycŁc`Zvi weiŁx cŁZthwMZvq gvby th weRq AR⁸ KtiQtQ, ZvtZ Avitg Ngvtbvi młhwmł tbB| GwŁ Ggb GKwŁ cŁZthwMZv thLvtb mvgwqKfite wcuQtq cov gvbyŁK weRqxi Ae`vtb`vKvi wŁōQZvi wŁK wbišłi ZvmoZ KiQtQ| wŁŠ`G mvdj` AR⁸ Kitz gvbeRwZŁK th gj` wŁZ ntqtQ Zv Abgvetb tek t`wi ntq tŁQtQ| cŁKwZK mŁut`i e`envti gvbyŁi tjvjŁ AvPiŁYi dtj cwiŁeki AcivYq ųwZ ntqtQ|

`ycŁc`ZvI cŁtek

cweŁ tKvi Avb-G gvbeRwZi DłłŁk` ejv ntqtQ, Avj wŁ cŁZwŁ e`cwiwZ AbgvtZ mŁp KtiQtQb Ges tm, tjv mgwŁMZfite wŁLŁ fvimvg` i ųv Kti PŁjQtQ| gvbeRwZŁK mZK⁸Kti t`qv ntqtQ Zviv thb Ggb tKvb AcKg⁸bv Kti, hvfZ G fvimvg` bō nq| wŁŠ`G mveavb evY j sNb Kiv ntqtQ| Avgvt`i G MŁni`v`nwbi Rb` cwiŁekwe`iv nZivkv cŁkvk Kti AvmŁQb| cŁYx`ewPŁłi AeųŁq, weiŁx cwmbi mieivn I weiŁx evqj cŁŁb KŁg hvŁqv, cŁKwZ`E ebvŁgi wejŁŁ, Kul.Drcv`b nwm I cŁKwZK`łhłMi NbnwŁv - Gme KviŁY cŁwŁxtZ gvbe RŁeb mgŁqi weZŁb wŁwŁy bv ntj I ųgŁki gŁŁ cŁQtQ|

evRvti tmme mŁu` `ycŁc` etj weŁwPZ nq thme tKvb cŁZōvb gj` wŁŁqI mŁŁR cŁq bv| wŁŠ`mŁZR evqyI cwmbi ¹⁴ gZ cŁKwZK mŁu` tkej tKvb wŁł cŁZōvtb cY` Drcv`b I tmevŁvtbi KvtRB e`eŁZ nq bv, Zv cY` Drcv`b cŁŁqvq mŁ eR⁸t`ŁKI gvbyŁK gwŁ t`q| RbmsL`v ewŁx mł½ mł½ Ae`v Ggb`wŁQtQ th, tKvb cY` Drcv`łbi Ggb Dcv`vb Lg Kgb AvŁQ hv webvgtj` cvl qv hvf| tKvb wŁł cŁZōvb gj`evb cY` Drcv`b I tmev cŁvtbi Rb` th mŁu` tKŁb Zv cwiŁeki tKvb mgm`v mŁp Kti bv| mgm`v mŁp nq evZŁtm, cwmbŁZ I f-cŁō eis weLv³ Zij, M`vwxq I KwŁb eR⁸QwŁQt t`qvi Rb`| Gme eR⁸cwi Z`vłMi KviŁY gvbyŁi Dci weŁfbŁvŁte evwŁZ e`q PŁtc| thgb, AmYZvi KviŁY wŁŁKrmvi Rb` evwŁZ e`q KiŁZ nq, tKD hv ųwZciY t`q bv| mvgwRK e`q evRvi LiŁPi AvKvti nq bv (Silvaetat 2009); nq, emŁK LiP AvKvti| G cŁŁŁ Arnold Coase-Gi t`Lvtbv gŁWj DŁjŁ Kiv thŁZ cvŁi| tŁLvtb ejv ntqtQ, cwiŁekMZ cŁY`i Dci mŁu`MZ AwŁkvi cŁZōvi tųŁŁ cwiŁek`ŁYKvix I fŁŁfŁwŁxi gŁa` ųwZciŁYi Rb``iKivKwŁi weŁqŁwŁ tkej ZŁK`vi gŁa`B mŁgveŁ`ŁK| hŁvŁtō

gťWj ułtK ev`te ifc`vbi cŃPóv bvbv KviťY e`_nq| RjevgywieZřbi wltq cwiťtki P`vtj Ā tgvKvtej v c_ I cšv`bifcťY t`k_ťjv evi evi e`_ntqtQ| wbtP thgb t`Lvťbv ntqtQ:



WĀ-1 ŃwZ cwtq tbevi Rb` `fYKviť`i Dci Ki awĤKiv ntj cťY`i gj` ew` cvte, Drcv`b Kgte Ges m=ú` msiwřZ nte cwiťekMZ mgm`v mgvavťbi Rb` cŃKwZK cwiťek `fYKviť`i cťY Zvť`i mŃ ŃwZi gj` cŃvb Kiv Acwi`nvĤ bKkv 1-G t`Lvťbv ntqtQ, Avgiv wKfite mgvwrK gj` Dcv`wä Ges `fY wbgšťY evRvi e`e`vi ga` wřq Pwvj Z KiťZ cwi | GLvťb, D Ńviv tKvb wbr`Ń cťY`i Pwv`v Ges S` Ńviv e`w³MZ gťj`i wntmte mieivn tiLv ešvť`Q| Dm nt`Q cťY`i Drcv` Kiv mgvťRi Dci th ewv`K gj` Pwvctq t`q Zvi wbt`RK| wltq wv mnRfite ešvi Rb` aťi wbtZ nte th, Drcv`ťbi gvĤv Acwi`ZŃvq iťqtQ| P` evRvi gj` wbt`R KiťQ| Avgiv hv` e`w³MZ gj` wbt`RK P Gi mť½ Dm thvM Kwi, Zvntj mieivn mPK tiLv wv DavĤv nte| S_{p+D_m} mgvwrK gj` ešvťe| Drcv`b LiP teťo tMťj gj` ew` tctq Zv P` chš hřte| Gfite Drcv`b e`q Křq Q` t`tk Q` chš hřte| ZĚjw LvB cwi`vi | Drcv` Kť`i th tKvbfite Zvť`i mŃ cwiťek `ťYi ŃwZ cťY eva` Kiv tMťj cwiťtki DmZ ntZ cvťi | GťřřĀ Afie `iay ivR`wvZK miv`Qv, mnťhvMZv I miv`řj Z KvĤřtgi |

cwiťkťI, `řcŃ`Zv nt`Q Rvťbi Awť`Q` Ask| gvbyťK KvřR DŃy I cw`e wltq_ťjv cwi`Pvj bv Kiv Hkx wvavťbi B GKw Ask| `řcŃ`Zv hv` bv-B vK, Zvntj gvbyťK tKb-B ev` ah`řj, mnbkřj I mnťhvMx ntZ nte? tK Kvi Rb` KvR Kiťe Ges tKb? tKb gvby abm=ú` KřřMZ Kiťe Ges G KvR wv`Z nte? mgvwrK msMvB `Zwi i Kx cŃqvRb? mteřcwi A_ŃwZ wK mgvwrK wvAvb wntmte włtK vKte? DEi nŃv ntj, tKvb&mxgv tiLv chšř cĤZ.ctř e`w³`r_@Pwi Zv`Kivi Rb` gvbyťi Zrci Zv nt`Q cw`extZ A_řwvZK KgřvťĐi Pwvj Kv kw³ | Avi, m=út`i `řcŃ`Zvi KviťYB e`w³`r_@hvntj i A_ř Zvrchřvťq wZťKř miv` ntqtQ|

4. e`w`ř`P AřřřY

gvby wbtři řgeařv Pwv`v cťYi gva`ř Rvťbi gvřvbvřťb mťPŃ vťK| gvbyťi Pwv`v mgvvrwv| m=út`i `řcŃ`Zvi KviťY gvby wvR`ř`řK mevi I cťi ivťL| wš`Gi gvřb cıwZKi KvRmn gvbyťi AvPiY m=úwKZ Ab`v` mKj KvřřK AMĀn` KiťZ nte ev` m_ťjv` wgtq ivľZ nte Zv bq| A_ŃwZ mgvwrK AvPiY m=úwKZ GKw wvAvb hv` mgvwrK fite mKj gvbyťi A_řwvZK KgřvĐ chřeřY Kťi, GKKfite tKvb GKRbťK bq| gj`avivi A_ŃwZ wv`ť`i gťZ, gvbyťi wvřvbwvřv cŃq vKvq wvR`ř`ř` msıkw AvPiY Aťb`i`ř`řv Nuvq| GıwB wvKvřv I wPišb mZ`| G KviťY `řcŃ`ZvřřZ e`w³`r_@i Zv A_ŃwZi MvB I wvťkřťYi tK`ře`řj cwi`YZ ntqtQ|

Bmj vgx A_ḡmZie` iv gvbʔi B`Qv I AwfC0qʔK e`w3`_ʔ_ʔeiZv I ciwZ Kg@- G `ḡfivM fivMi welqiu
 tḡtb wbtq fʔz KtiʔQb| GUV c0`uqKfivte uQj cv0vZ` wPšifvebv| Bmj vgx weklm Abyviti mw0MZfivte
 gvbly `Mfʔ I cw_@`ḡU mEvi mgw0| gvbʔi gʔa` gnr I nxb G `ḡU Pwi wK `enkʔo` mslMg Pj ʔQ|
 Bmj vgx G mZ`uW tḡtb wbtqʔQ| mʔivS, kiwAvn&gvyʔK Zvi Rxeʔb fij wRubm ev `Y M0Y I DcʔfivM
 KiʔZ Ges Hkx gntʔzi Rb` KZAZv c0KvK KiʔZ DrmwvZ Kti | Aek` Zv`iʔK tʔfivMi tʔʔʔ ga`cšv
 Aej`ab I AcPq cwi nʔi i wbt`R t`qv nʔqʔQ|¹⁶ gvbly hvʔZ tʔvʔfi ekeZP`nʔq wBR `ʔ_ḡmxi Rb`
 mvgv AwZµg bv Kti tmRb` `iKvi mshg, eRB bq| tkIK_v nʔ`Q, weklmxi (Cgvb`vi) Kx Kviʔy Zv`i
 agfʔ ev`evaKZv h_v bvgvR Av`vq, Avj`ni cʔ_ mgq e`q, tivRv ivLv, nʔ¼ Mgb Ges fij KvR Kiv,
 wBR `ʔ_ḡbv nʔj I Zvi mw0KZʔ mšw0 jvʔfi Dʔʔʔk` gZʔ ci t`vRʔLi Av_b t`ʔK gwʔ tctZ tḡtb
 Pj ʔeb| c0KZcʔʔ, Avj -tKvi Avb Zv`iʔK tmB j ʔʔ` KvR Kivi wbt`R w ʔqʔQ|¹⁷

wBR `ʔ_ḡmxi tʔʔʔ Aek`B Aʔb`i `ʔ_ʔ c0Z hZevb nʔZ nʔe Ges Zv`i Kó t`qv t`ʔK weiZ_vKʔZ
 nʔe| G Avek`KxqZvi Kviʔy, gvblyʔK ci`uti c0Z kʔvKxj nʔZ nʔe| Ab`wʔK Actii `ʔ_ḡʔʔvi
 Rb` msNvZ bq -c0qvRb mnʔhwmZvi | G welʔq Adam Smith Zui Wealth of Nation-G hv eʔj ʔQb, Zv
 LḡB c0Yavbʔhwm`:

Avgiv Avgvʔi `bktʔfivʔRi Avkv Kwi KmivB, g` c0ZKvix ev iaUl qjvi e`vb`Zvi
 Rb` bq eis Zv`i wBR `ʔ_ʔ c0Z hZkxj_vKvi Rb`| Avgiv Zv`i gibeZv bq eis
 Zv`i AvZc0Zi K_v ewj Ges KLbB Avgvʔi c0qvRb bq eis Zv`i mʔeavi w Kiu
 Zv`i KvʔQ Zʔj ani |

Avgiv ci`úi `ʔ_ʔetivax mvgvRK cwi ʔeʔk wbtʔʔi iʔK Ave× Kti tiʔLuQ| GLvʔb Avgiv gvʔ ci`uti i
 mʔhwm-mʔeavi c0Z k0vKxj nʔjB tKej tmšv`cY`cwi ʔeʔk Ae`vb KiʔZ cwi | `ʔ_ʔeiZv I `bwZK
 AvPiʔYi Mfivti wPšifv Kiʔj `ḡʔqi gʔa` GKUv mv`k` t`Lv hvq| cwi Zvʔci welq nʔjv, AvZʔ`ʔ_ʔ weiʔ×
 AvZʔ`ʔ_ʔnʔ`Q mʔeʔEg i ʔvKvP| Bmj vʔgi mʔvwiPZ `xʔv nʔ`Q AvNvZ K0tiv bv, AvNvZ c0B nʔqv bv|
 KvʔRB t`Lv hvʔ`Q, AvZʔ`ʔ_ʔbwZKZvi Drm nʔZ cʔʔi; GʔZ fe`Zv I Actii c0Z mngvZv tevʔai
 weKvK NUvq| GgbwK ciwZKi KvʔRi DrmI ZvB| g` KvʔRi KviʔyB fij KvʔRi gj` AʔbK tenk|

e`w3`_ʔ_ʔK `fveZB `ʔ_ʔeiZvi mʔ½ GK Kti t`Lv nʔq_vʔK| wKš`Dfʔqi gʔa` cv_ʔK`i GKiu ti Lv
 AvʔQ| e`w3`_ʔ_ʔbwZKZvi ga` t`ʔK jvʔ KiʔZ nq| Ab`wʔK, `ʔ_ʔeiZv KLbB `bwZKZvi M0di gʔa`
 _vʔK bv| th tKvb t`šo c0ZʔhwmZvq c0Z`K c0Zʔhwm wBR kwi3`eʔj GwMʔq hvevi tP0v Kti | Gʔʔʔʔ tm
 e`w3`_ʔ_ʔi yvi tP0v KtiʔQ| wKš`tm hiv` AMMvgx Ab` tKvb c0Zʔhwmxi Kʔa nvZ wʔq ev ZvʔK tUʔb
 tdʔj wʔq wbtʔR tmB t`šo c0ZʔhwmZv tRZvi tP0v Kti, Zvntʔj tm c0ZʔhwmZvi wbgg tʔʔ½ `ʔ_ʔeiZvi
 KvR KtiʔQ| 1984 mʔb j m GʔAj m-G Aby0Z 3000 wglvi t`šo c0ZʔhwmZvq `wʔʔY Avw0Kvi weUlK
 t`šome` Zola Bud c0Z00x Ab` GKRb t`šome`ʔK cv wʔq tdʔj wʔqʔQb, Ggb mʔ`ʔn ZvʔK
 Zvrʔw0Kfivte c0ZʔhwmZv t`ʔK ev t`qv nʔqʔQj |¹⁸ mʔivS AvZʔ`ʔ_ʔ `ʔ_ʔeiZvi gʔa` GKiu ti Lv
 AvʔQ| hiv I Zv AvZ mʔ | KviY Dʔʔʔk`i wePvi Kti tm tiLwU UvʔZ nq| bwZi tʔʔʔ AvZʔ`ʔ_ʔ
 `ʔ_ʔeiZv GK bv nʔj I cw_`exi ev`éZvq G cv_ʔ` nwiʔq tMʔQ| hvʔnvK, AvZʔ`ʔ_ʔ AʔšʔY gj` avivi
 A_ḡmZʔZ wbu`Z nevi GUVB KviY bq| Avʔiv AʔbK mgm`v AvʔQ|

c0gZ: A_ḡmZKvʔ; tRvʔvʔvʔfivte aʔi tbqv nq th, e`w3`i mgw0 wbtq mgvR MvZ weavq hv wKQz
 e`w3`_ʔ_ʔK `vYKi `ʔfivteKfivteB Zv mgvʔRi Rb` Kj `vYKi | Adams Smith e`w3`_ʔ_ʔK A_ḡmZʔZ

AMəKvi wʔqʔb Zv-B bq, wZwb Harmony of interest (ʔ_ʔ_ʔ tmšrv ʔ) ZʔEji cəYZv| Wealth of Nation-G wZwb wj tLʔb:

tKvb eʔ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ mvavi YZ ʔRb ʔ_ʔ_ʔ DbwZ thgb Pvb bv, tZgnb Rvʔbb bv G ʔ_ʔ_ʔ KZUv DbwZ wZwb KʔiʔQb... wZwb tKej wʔRi jvf Pvb| Avʔiv AʔbK wəʔqʔi gʔZv G wəʔqʔi A ʔ_ʔ_ʔ nʔZi ʔviv Pwʔj Z nʔq Ggb DbwZ Kʔi ʔ_ʔ_ʔ Kvb hv Kivi tKvb BʔQvB Zvi wQj bv|...wR ʔ_ʔ_ʔ DbwZ KiʔZ wMʔq wZwb cəqkB mgvʔRi DbwZ GZ tewk KvhRi fʔte KʔiʔQb, hv wZwb Abʔmgq wʔR mʔPó nʔq| KiʔZ cviʔZb bv|

hʔʔZKʔ ev e cəqM Dfʔ tʔʔʔ cəwYZ nʔqʔ th ʔ_ʔ_ʔ wj məuʔKʔ ZEjU cəwʔcʔ| thgb, eZʔvʔb euj Kʔ_Z Rq-Rq (Win-Win) Ae ʔ_ʔ_ʔ mgvʔRi Rb ʔ_ʔ_ʔ me mgq Kj ʔ_ʔ_ʔ nʔe Ggb K_v tʔB, hʔ_ʔ_ʔ bv jʔʔʔi wəʔRb mgZvi wʔʔEʔZ Kiv hvq| tʔk tʔk ʔ_ʔ_ʔ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ fʔqvenZv I ʔ_ʔ_ʔ Amg eEʔ e ʔ_ʔ_ʔ, G ZʔEji Amvi Zv cəwʔYi Rb ʔ_ʔ_ʔ hʔ_ʔ_ʔ cəqM tʔ_ʔ_ʔ Kvb wZxqM DrcwE| G K_v ʔ_ʔ_ʔ KZ.mZ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ th, tKvb eʔ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ tKej wR ʔ_ʔ_ʔ Rb ʔ_ʔ_ʔ tKvb KivR Kiʔj wZwb wPvievʔ məuʔb eʔ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ etj wəʔwPZ nʔeb| G gZ AʔbK AvʔMB Anser ʔ_ʔ_ʔ etj emZj Kʔi tʔ_ʔ_ʔ nʔqʔQ| mʔwʔZ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ G gʔZi AʔbK mgvʔj vPbv Kiv nʔqʔQ, AʔbK tʔʔʔ Zxəʔʔe| Amg GLʔv Zvi cəwʔE KiʔZ Pvb bv| Bmj vgx A_ʔ_ʔ ZʔZ G gZ Abʔʔcʔ cəwʔwq mʔ KʔiʔQ| tKD tKD Adam Smith Kʔ_Z A ʔ_ʔ_ʔ nʔZʔK Avj uni nʔZ-Gi cəZkə etj Dʔj L KʔiʔQb| Abʔiv GKRb Bmj vgx Abʔvix gʔʔi i wʔʔ AvKvi tPóv KʔiʔQb hvʔZ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ avivi A_ʔ_ʔ wZK gʔvʔ-Gi ʔ_ʔ_ʔ i aʔ; j NyKʔi tʔ_ʔ_ʔ hvq| Gme Zrci Zv Dʔʔ bv nʔj I Avbmo etj AvʔwZ Kiv tʔZ cviʔ| G gʔZi wəʔqʔ Syed Omar Agil (1992) th mshZ gʔ_ʔ_ʔ KʔiʔQb, Zv AʔbK fvi mʔcʔ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ AaʔcK G. tK. tmb (1971) Zwi Rational Fools (wəʔPK tevKivMY) tʔ Lvq G gʔZi Kʔwʔb tkl tcti Kiv VʔK wʔqʔQb| tʔ Lv wʔʔivʔtʔ tʔʔi i th wʔkY iʔqʔQ Zv tʔKvb cvʔʔKi KivʔQ Dcʔʔw ʔ_ʔ_ʔ nʔe|¹⁹ tʔ LwU AʔbKevi Ges AʔbK ʔ_ʔ_ʔ cəwʔZ nʔqʔQ|

meʔkl, wPvievʔ e ʔ_ʔ_ʔ Rb ʔ_ʔ_ʔ Avʔʔ_ʔ_ʔ AʔʔʔYi wəʔqʔi hʔ_ʔ_ʔ bq| mʔeP A_ʔ_ʔ wZK jvf tʔvʔʔ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ Rb ʔ_ʔ_ʔ mʔeʔEg DcʔwMzv I Drcv Kʔi Rb ʔ_ʔ_ʔ mʔeP gʔvʔv ARʔbi jʔʔʔ tKvb eʔ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ GKwbʔʔte KivR Kiʔj Zv wPvievʔ məʔZ etj MY ʔ_ʔ_ʔ nʔe| gʔ-avivi A_ʔ_ʔ ZʔZ mʔeʔEg AvPi Y cəwʔ wʔqʔ AʔbK mgvʔj vPbv nʔqʔQ| Abʔiv tK Bmj vgx A_ʔ_ʔ Zv AMʔYʔwM etj cʔʔvʔv KʔiʔQ| cieZʔ Abʔʔʔ Avgiv G wəʔqʔ mʔ wZK wʔqʔ Avʔj vPbv KiʔZ cwi | mʔeP gʔvʔv wəʔqʔ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ wəʔqʔ wəʔPbv Kiv tʔZ cviʔ |

5. mʔePZvcəYZv

mʔePZv cəYZvi wəʔqʔi A_ʔ_ʔ Zi tʔʔʔ DcʔwMzv ev gʔvʔv wPvivi ʔ_ʔ_ʔ i aʔ; tctZ cviʔ| Zv ʔ_ʔ_ʔ A_ʔ_ʔ einʔZ wəʔqʔ h_v cəʔʔekri i fKivbv ev Avj uni mʔwʔi ARʔbi tʔʔʔ i ʔ_ʔ_ʔ cəwʔ cəq tʔʔʔ wəʔqʔi emZj Kiv Ges wZxq tʔʔʔ Zv tKej MʔY KivB bq eis Zv cəʔʔ b mʔwʔ Kivi Bmj vgx Ae ʔ_ʔ_ʔ Avʔʔʔʔ AmʔwZcʔʔ G wʔ Kiv Bmj vgx A_ʔ_ʔ ZʔZ Gwʔq hvl qv nʔqʔQ|²⁰

mʔeP gʔvʔv ARʔbi Zrci Zv AvcvZ ʔ_ʔ_ʔ tʔj vʔZvi chʔq cʔo Ges ʔ_ʔ_ʔ wZKZvi mʔ½ mʔwʔwʔ | G KviʔY mʔePZvi bʔwZU gʔ-avivi i Pbvq tek mgvʔj wPZ nʔqʔQ| Zey G bʔwZ wʔK AvʔQ Ges Zv ʔ_ʔ_ʔ KviʔY| GK, eivʔi Pwʔ v I mieivn Dfʔ tʔʔʔ wəʔʔvievʔvivi Ae ʔ_ʔ_ʔ mʔePZvi wəʔPbv ʔ_ʔ_ʔ cʔʔgʔ

mbafY Kiv Kmb/`B, G aviYi mgvtj vPKiv G hveZKyj Ggb tKvb weKí mbqg tei Kitz cvtibub, hv mtePPZvi cšvi gZ GKBFvte gj`mbafY Kitz cvti |

hvtvK, Avakusk Bmj vgx A_ŠmZve` mtePP gbydvKxj AvPiYi mb`v KitzQb| Gt`i gta` metPtq tmv`Pvi nt`Qb, Gg. Gb mmił Kx (1998)| gj-avivi A_ŠmZi m½ Bmj vgx A_ŠmZi th metivtai K_v mZub DťjL KitzQb Zv nt`Q, A_ŠmZi GKvU mteP` melq mntmte e`v³MZ chřq mtePP gbydv jvtfi Dťik`gj-K AvPiY| mZub Zv cŁ`vL`vb KitzQb| mZub vj tŁtQb:

thtKvb aitbi A_ŠmZ Abgveťbi Rb` mtePPZvi hvy³ tZgb mnvqK bq| Bmj vgx A_ŠmZi tKvb Ask tevSvi Rb` mnvqK melq mntmte tgvťUI MhYthM` bq| GgbvK Bmjvtgi mKQznelq Abgveb Ges G atgp mKQzDcť k tgb Pjvi gva`tg Ggb GK mgvR Mto tZijv m³e thLvťb mtePPZvi hvy³ A`řKvi Kiv ntqtQ|

Ge³e`ix I mij | tjLK Zui gZvgtZi `čťŕ tKvb KviY e`vL`v ev`vj j Dc`vcb Ktibub| mZub th Ab` mKQz DťjL KitzQb, Zv Kx ntZ cvti tm m³utK`GKvU K_vl etj bvb (nmvub 1998)|²¹

Bmj vgx A_ŠmZve` iv cŁqk mtePPZvi weKí mntmte kixAvm&mbť`KZ mKQzhvy³m³Z ev b`vqm½Z gbydv i cťŕ hvy³ t`mŁq_vťKb| mtePPZvi bmvzi cwi etZ`b`vqm½Zfite gbydv jvf Kiv hvq, Zv GKvU tj Lvťb t`Lvťbv ntqtQ| GiKg tj Lvťb t`Lvťb v Avq AvťMB t`mŁqivQ (Hasan 2002, c., 116)| g³evRvi e`e`vq gj`mbafY cŁqivq b`vh` gbydv i hvy³ tKb tUtK bv, tm m³utK`Avq hvy³ t`Lve|

mgyccŁzhmZv evRvťi Pmn`v I mieivn-gj`mbafťYi tŕťĹ cřve me`vi Kti| GKKfite tKvb cŁZovťbi gj`mbafťYi ŕgZv tbB, Zviv tKej gvĹ gj`m MhY Kti| `xN`gqvť` cŁZovb_tjv`řfmeK gbydv Kitz cvti, hv cťY`i AšbřhZ e`q ev cwi m³mZM e`ťqi mgcwi gvY ntq_vťK| tKvb Bmj vgx A_ŠmZve` m³eZ G mbťq cŁkæZťeb bv th, `řfmeK gbydv b`vh` gbydv| `ř mgťqi Rb` tKvb cŁZovb `řfmeK gbydv i Avzmi³ gbydv jvf Kitz cvti| mKš' AvťiB cŁzhmMx`mōťq hvťe| tKvb fite cŁZovb_tjv mbťRi AvřfmvU gťZv evovZ gbydv Av`vq Kitz cvti bv|

cŁzhmMZv mgy bv ntj I Ges cŁZovb_tjv gj`mbafťYi mKQzŕlgZv tctj I `xN`gqvť` Ae`vi tniťdi nq bv; gbydv clyivq `řfmeK chřq mčťi Avmvq cŁzhmMZv mgyntq hvq| `ř tgqvť` tKvb gťj` gbydv b`vh` nte Zv mbafY Kiv Kmb (tj Lvťb-2 t`Lb)| GLvťb PCHF Ovqvhř Ašťk tKvb mbv`š evRvi cwi teťk tKvb cŁZovťbi mtePP gbydv t`Lvťbv ntqtQ| aiv hvK, cŁZovb m Bmj vgx A_ŠmZve`ť`i civgk`Abjvťi tj Lvťb cŁkš mtePP gbydv bq, tKej b`vh` gbydv jvf Kitz Pivq| GLvťb mgm`v nt`Q, evn`Kfite `k`g vb tKvb ti Lvi Abgvr`mZťZ cŁZovb m Rvťbbv PCHF AvqZťŕĹ m KZUKzm¼mPZ Kitz b`vh` gbydv jvf nte| cŁZovb m gj`KgvťZ Pivq mKš' Rvťbbv KZUv Kgvťj Zvi b`vh` gbydv nte| ZvOvov gj`ntmi dťj tŁZv I cŁzhmMZvi cŁZvq v Rvťb Kmb| R%bK Aa`vcK Zui eBťq mKfite b`vh` gbydv jvf Kiv hvq Zv t`Lvťbvi tPov KitzQb| AvťjvP` tj Lvťb t`Lvťb gZ GKvU tj Lvťb mZub Marginal Revenue (MR) Curve A_ř cŁšK ivR`ťi LvU Wvb m`řK mmiťq mbťqQb| m³`y m³`y i LvU t`Lb, ZvťZ AR ti Lv Avťmi Ae`vťb iťqQ|²² G cwi eZťbi gva`tg gj`nmv I Drcv`ťbi fvi mvg` t`Lv ntqtQ| GvU tgvťUI mg_řhM` bq, eis meãmšKi |²³

hvj³m½Z imxvšlU| tevKwig etj gtb ntZ cvti | fivel`r Rlvb_vKtj gvbj| i Rxeṭb tKvb cwiKí bvi
Awi`Zj_vKtZv bv| mtePP gbydvi nelquW cwiPij bviMZ fiebvi nelq| maut`i `yúlc`Zvi KviṭY
cúZóvb_tjv gbydv j vṭfi mšhM nviṭe bv - hwi` Zviv ešṭZ cvti th gbydvi cwi gvi evovṭbvi AvBvbvM
mšhM i tqṭQ| mtePPZv ARṬ `ḡZv j vṭf ZwoZ Kti |

mtePP ARṬ wKfite I tKvb chiq mtePPZv NuṭQ tm cōkæbwZKZvi th nelquW Gtm hvq Zv ntjv -
fij ev g`| ZvQov mtePPZv GKwU MwiYwZK aviYv| Gi tKvb DcKiY cwi gvc Kiv ev GtK
ḡZṭwZḡZṭfite nef³ Kiv hvq bv| G wetePbvq mtePP gbydvi nelquW GKwU D^mṭebx wPšl| tKvb t`tki
moKcṭ_`ṭi ev KivQ cY` cwiṭbv nq| GtZ cōw³ evto wKš' cṭY`i I Rb ev cwi gvi evto bv|
GKBfite, mtePPZv ARṭbi tKvb gvcKwW tbB| wKš' A_ḡwZK wṭkṭṭYi Rb` Zv GKwU kw³kvj x
wbqvgK| GwUB evRviṭK mgZvi w`tk wṭq hvq| AvBbx weavb w`ṭq ḡwZKi AvvKwLZ djvdṭj i weiṭx
Zv KvṭR j vMṭbv hvq Ges j vMṭbv ntq|_vṭK| tfv³v I Drcvṭbi Dcvṭb Dṭṭqi `ṭṭeṭivax
gbydvṭLwii weiṭx kiwAvnṭj KivRi weavb i tqṭQ| Bmj vgx A_ḡwZ tMvṭj i cmbi mṭ½ wkiṭKI Qṭṭ
ṭṭj t`evi K_v etj bv|

6. cvṭkl

`f cwiṭi Avig Bmj vgx A_ḡwZi KtqKwU kã thgb, maut`i `yúlc`Zv, AvZṭṭ_ṭ AṭšṭY I j vṭfi
mṭṭPPZv mautṭK awšl`i Kivi tPóv KtiwQ| BṭZvcṭe³Avṭj vPbvq t`Lvṭbv ntqṭQ th, aviYv_tjv ci`ui
mautṭKṭṭ| G kã_tjv A_ḡwZK KgRvṭṭi e`vL`v I Abjvṭṭbi Rb` cōqvRbxq b`bZg nmZqvi, hv
A_ḡwZi bwiZ wbaṭṭY w`K wṭṭ`RK ZĒj cṭṭqY mivvṭ` Kti | Avgvi G cṭPóvi Dṭṭi`k` nt`Q, mautṭ ntj
gZvgṭZi wfbṭZvi Aemvb Nuṭṭbv Ges Bmj vgx A_ḡwZmn A_ḡwZi Gme wfiEgṭ- mautṭK e`vL`vgj-K
HK`gZ mṭó|

mautṭ `ḡU KviṭY G awšli mṭó| cōgZ, Avw` Bmj vgx A_ḡwZie`iv gj-avivi A_ḡwZi ZĒj I bwiZ
mautṭK mg`K I qmKenvj wṭṭj b bv| wZxqZ, `eṭ`wK kvmb t`tk `vaxZv j vṭfi ci Bmj vgx
A_ḡwZie`i gṭbi GKwU `wZ embv| Zv nt`Q, Bmj vgx wPšlṭvebv `Zš; Ges Zv cvṭvZ` Aṭcḡlv
tkṭZi t`Lvṭbv| e`vci `ḡU Bmj vgx A_ḡwZ wKvṭki cṭ_ cōzeÚKZv mṭó KtiṭQ| dṭj Avṭbi G bevb
kvLv i iṭZB Zxe³mivcōwqK weiṭxvPiṭYi mautṭb nq| gṭb ivLṭZ nṭe Avj wB me Avṭbi Dm| KvṭRB
Avṭbi fivṭvi Avj wni mṭó| G fivṭvi t`tk evQvBṭqi gvb`ḡ A_ḡwZK I A_ḡwZ-eiwfṭ A_ev agṭq I
agṭxb `ḡ aviv nef³ KiṭZ cvti Ges KtiṭQ| nekṭṭmi cxwZ ag³ṭeṭQ tbevi tḡṭṭ mivvṭ` Kti |
Bmj vṭg evQvBṭqi wbgg nt`Q, I nxi gva`ṭg `ḡKZ.Ávb MṭhY Ges Bmj vgx weavṭbi mṭ½ `úóZ wṭṭivac³
Ávb cṭ`vL`vb| `ḡ cōṭšli gṭa` RmZMZ ev tMvṭMZ mšhM I mṭeavi wfiEṭZ we`Z.e`eavb| nekṭṭmṭ`i
Rb` Avj w Zwi`qvi `iRv Lṭj tiṭLṭQb| gj-avivi A_ḡwZ t`tk Avwii Z Ávb Bmj vṭgi QwKw w`ṭq
tkvab Kti wṭZ nṭe|²⁵

G KvṭR Avig gj-avivi A_ḡwZi wZbUw tḡšij K I Mfivi fite AvšṭmautṭKṭṭ Dcvṭb h_v`yúlc`Zv,
AvZṭṭ_ṭ mtePPZv e`envi KtiwQ| Avig t`wLṭqW th, kiwAvn&weavṭbi Avṭj vṭK cwi gviRṭbi gva`ṭg
GtK Bmj vgx A_ḡwZṭZ `ṭṭfite e`envi Kiv thṭZ cvti | G cwi gviRṭ Bmj vgx A_ḡwZi cṭḡ ejj ó I
hvj³m½Z e`vL`v `ZwiṭZ mivvṭ` KiṭZ cvti | thgb-

- 09 cKZc'¶, cL'vZ D`ŠKie I Bmjvtgi GKRb cZivKiemx Avjngv BKeyj Zvi tek KtqKwL KieZivq Robbins Gi tPtq AþK teik meceæ uQtj b| D`vriY t`Lly: tZiv Kx¶l tgu..... evKx tbnx n'vq? evZv uKqv Zztbnx mivKx tbnx n'vq? mvgv`vi tm ngjv ucvqmv tKv kebg emLuj n'vq Btq ivivKx bwn n'vq| tZigvi cvt¶t uK Avi g` tþB? (tn Avj m) Zvg Avgvi tcvjv cY¶Kti `vl bv? uccviviZ'e`w³ mgy¶t`þK ukiki ve`y gZ gr¶ KtqK tdivur tctq`vtK| GuL Kvc¶Y'i (e'ivri) mvi K_v bq [cèÜKviti i Abgv`]|
- 10 Absyvb Kiv hvq, G KvitiY Avj m AvKvk t`þK Úgvuþ tðjv t`þK weiZ uQtj b| uKŠ`Robbius G NUbrtK mvguqKfite gvblytK `švuc`Zv t`þK gš`_vKvi mæbvr intmte t`uLtqtQb| (cèÜ c., 11)
- 11 Laudreth I Colaudar (1994c.,103) iuPZ Economics the Happy Science t`Lly|
- 12 `švuc`Zv ev Afitei fZ AvR chšlRwZtK Zvotq teovt`Q| dtj h¶ h¶ a¶i vek;Lj gv_vfrix Rb¶Möxi Kvvtgvi mþ nttqtQ| eZšvþb AþK RmZ G Ae`vi cwieZ¶bi tPöv KitiQ| gvmjg tKvb t`þk cwievi cwi Kíbv GKw Dbyš bwZ ntZ cvti b| KviY, cwe¶ tKviAvb-G ejv nttqtQ: Afitei ftq tZigiv tZvgv¶`i mšþtK nZ`v tKvi b| Avig tZvgv¶`i Rb` e`v KitiQ| Zvt`i Rb`I e`v Kitev| (17:31 Ges 11:7; 51:58)|
- 13 t`Lly, Avj KzAvþb 6:3; 30:41; 39:5; 54:49; 67:3-4|
- 14 cLgw`þK hLb RbmsL`v Kg uQj , ZLb webvgtj` j f` mæu`/c¶Y'i Zvuj Kv uQj AþK `x¶¶ tm, tji vi gta` DttLthw¶ A¶ KtqKwL uQj Rwg, AitiY` Drcw`Z wevfbædj , djz, Nm BZ`w` Ges cwb| RbmsL`v ewx`i mt½ mt½ G Zvuj KwL tQvU ntq AvmtQ| dtj gvblyt i Pwv`v I tmB mt½ cY` Drcv`bI evotQ|
- 15 thgb Adam smith u¶ tLQtb: gvblytK hZUv `¶_ei ejv tnvK bv tKb, evn`Z: `fveMZfite Zvi gta` uKozbwmZ AvtQ hv Aþb`i fivM` Mozt I Zvt`i mlyx KitiZ mrvh` Kti| hw`I Zv t`þK tm ubtR uKQB craqv - Zv t`þL Avb` j vf Kiv Qvor Ú(Coase 1984,c.,546)|
- 16 Khan and Mira Khor (1992,c4) u¶ tLQtb, Bmj vgx b'vq wePvti i avi Yv Abjviti uBr `¶_AštY Kiv tKvb e`w³ i `vqZj I KZe¶|
- 17 ÓAvj m tZvgvi cieZ¶RMtzi th mæu` ti tL w`ttqtQb, Zv AštY Ki Ges eZšvþb RMtZ tZigvi th wmv AvtQ Zv fšj thI bv|Ú (28:77)
- 18 BBC Website t`þK Zvt`i 1984 mtþi 11 AvM÷ Gi Lei t`Lly|
- 19 mgyal bexb tmbtK 1965 mtþi 9 tmtPæf Avig cLg t`uL| uZvb GKw ubePbx KugwLi mfivcZZj;Ki uQtj b| GK`v weL'Z v j`u mekje`vj tqi Aaxb w`j`u Ktj tRi tmB mfvi `k`uL AvRI Avgvi tP¶L fvtm| cLZövbwL cieZ¶Z w`j`u RvKi tnvmb Ktj R bvtg bvgKIY Kiv nq I w`j`u tbtñi ægM¶G GKwL bZb fetþ mui tq tbqv nq|
- 20 KwZcq Bmj vgx A_ÐwZie` Awb`Qv mtEj¶l mtePP gbydvii weLqu¶ tgbt wbtj I mtePP Dc¶hwMZvi weLtg Ab`i mt½ GKgZ nttqtQb| weLqu¶ Avtiv weãwšl mþ Kti hLb tKD tKD nVv KtiB Zuü AwfgZMZ Ae`vb cvtè tdtj b|
- 21 mmi¶ Kx (1992) mtePP gbydvii Absyvti wfiEzZ tKvb cLZövtbi cššK Lip I cššK ivRt`-t gva`tg cLZövbwLi fivimtg`i cLwMZ we¶k¶Y Abjgv`b KitiQY| uKŠ`wZvb gtb Ktib th, mgtRi gšj i j`¶¶ G Absyvti tñitdi Kiv thtZ cvti |
- 22 G A`rfweKZvi dtj I qvuj` Avivm (2006 mtþ) th gZvgZ e`³ KitiQb, ZvtK `¶KwZ.t`qv nt`Q| Zuü gZz Bmj vgx A_ÐwZie`iv Pwv`vi cLwZ mæutK`cvövtZ`i A_ÐwZie` t`i h¶w`wfiEK e`vL`v cL`vL`vb KitiQb| uKŠ`ubtRiv mvgvex b'vqbmZ ev cinvZ eZZvi wfiEzZ weKí tKvb c`_ubt`R KitiZ e`_¶ntqtQb| (t`Lly 33-35)|
- 23 Aa'vcKcèi mR `xNzi Kivi gva`tg gbydvii e`vL`v tZv `¶i K_v b'vq m½Zfite gbydv jvtfi tKvb ubqgl ubt`R KitiZ cvtib| uZvb G mZwL Guotq tmtQb th, tmvRvmyR tiLvi cššK Xij I Mo ivRt`-t ivR`æwki gta` GKwL MvYwZK mæuK¶tqtQ| GKwLi Ae`vtbi mivK cwi eZß Qvor Ab`wLi Ae`vb cwi euzZ ntZ cvti b|
- 24 tj LwLi I G weLq. tji v cYzi Avtj vPvri Rb` t`Lly nvmv (1975) cwi t`Q` 4|
- 25 Bmj vgx A_ÐwZie` t`i Avtbi Ab`vb` kivL, weAvb I Kjv kv`-j Ae`vb `¶Kvi Kiti ubtZ nte| hvZz G RMZ I cieZ¶ RMtZ gvblyt i Kj`vY AR¶b mrvqK nq| (Avivm 2006, Aa'vq 7)

Z_`mĤ:

Avng` , Ljkr` (btf=4 6, 2007): c³Rev` , m³vRZS; K³ iYg³ i v³ I Bmj vg, Bmj vgx Mtel Yv I c³k³Y, Bb³÷ u³DU / Bmj vgx Dbqb e³isK, tR³v³ c³j³vi ³ e³Rq³ e³Zv|

Av³vm I q³vj` G.tR (2006): A_`³mZi c³×u³Zmg³: ag³ib³ic³Y³Zv e³bv³ Bmj vgx, Mtel Yv e³e³vc³b³v³ tK³`; B³U³vi b³vk³bj Bmj vgx K B³D³ib³f³vm³ A³ e³gv³ t³q³kv³|

Zola Bad K³vn³bx m³ú³u³K³ ³ e³.e³.m³ ³ i³ t³c³v³U³(Av³M³÷, 11, 1984)

AI 3 (2006): B³vZ³n³t³mi m³e³pr³ ³ e³ch³q³: i³k³ i³ e³c³e³ c³ieZ³P³Dbq³t³b e³vc³K M³vZ|

<http://www.mkbergman.com/250/the-biggest-alisruprion-in-history-massivly-acealarated-groth-since-the-industrial-revolution>.

Ekelund Jr. Roberts Baunel Hobert, Robert F. (1997): G ³ i³ t³÷³ v³ix Ae B³K³t³bv³g³K ³ u³ I ³ i³ G³v³U³ t³g³_W (PZ³Z³ms³ i³Y) g³v³K³M³0 ³ i³ v³ m³ & ³ i³ b³DBq³K³©

Elmessiri, Abdel- Wahab(2006): G³vc³m³t³U³t³gv³j ³ u³R³K³v³ ev³qm B³ i³ t³m³v³y³ G³v³U³ i³ c³u³R³K³v³ m³v³B³t³mm, B³U³vi b³vk³bj B³m³u³u³DU Ae B³m³v³g³K _U, j ³ U³ b³ I q³vk³s³U³b (m³×c³U³ Dr. Ausaf Ahmed KZ³ t³ L³v³u³ i³ G³K³u³ P³gr³K³vi D³i³Y³Ab³gv³ c³k³u³k³Z n³t³q³t³Q| ³ i³ v³ i³ B³m³u³u³DU Ae Ae³t³R³K³u³F³ ó³v³WR G³u³ c³k³u³k³ K³t³i³t³Q|

d³vi³k, G³ I g³ i (2006): B³m³v³g³K j³ U³ G³v³U³ i³ B³D³R G³v³U³ i³ gv³m³B³D³R Ae n³v³_ : ³ i³ b³D n³iv³BR³b| t³ j L³v³u³ <http://www.habalwebpost.com/faroam>.

n³mb³d G³ Av³m³v³g³ I d³z³K³mb G³ (2004): m³gv³gv³g³K Bmj vgx A_`³mZ : c³k³Z.Bmj vgxKi³t³Yi c³t_ e³v³Bi Ab³gv³u³z, R³ib³f³ Ae _Um³&Ab B³t³K³ib³g³Km³ 19bs L³ð, m³sL³ v-4, c³pv 29-48|

n³mv³b R³gv³t³qi (2006): B³t³U³W³V³K³b Uz³gv³B³t³u³B³t³K³iv³g³Km : G³v³b Bmj vgx cv³i³m³t³c³K³u³F, i³c³qv³i³mb-³t³c³u³Um n³j, K³qv³v³j v³gc³y

g³v³ gv³B³t³R³kb c³m³U³z³Um G³v³U³ t³qv³ i³ G³vd³t³K³im di Bmj vgx B³t³K³iv³g³Km, Ó³Av³gv³i³K³ib R³ib³f³ Ae Bmj vgx t³m³v³y m³v³B³t³mm, f³ij q³g 19 bs 1

c³y³K ch³q³ v³P³bv : Bmj vgx t³c³q³v³c³t³U A_`³mZ i³k³Y³v³ vb³ G³m.G³. ³ i³ v³ i³ u³ i³ L³Z Bmj vgx B³t³K³iv³g³K ÷³ v³WR, f³ij q³-g 6, m³sL³ v 1, 1998, c³; 111-132

Bmj vgx B³t³R³kb B³ B³t³K³iv³g³Km: B³m³v³R G³v³U³ G³t³R³U³v Av³B Av³B BD G³m R³ib³f³ Ae B³t³K³iv³g³Km G³v³U³ g³v³t³b³R³t³g³U f³ij q³g-6, m³sL³ v -1, c³; 1-40 (i³e³t³k³l m³sL³ v)

c³y³K ch³q³ v³P³bv : Av³K³iv³ L³ib i³ u³ i³ L³Z Ó³G³v³b B³t³U³W³v³K³mb Uz³Bmj vgx B³t³K³iv³g³Km³ c³k³u³k³ i³ G³v³t³gv³i³K³ib R³ib³f³ Ae Bmj vgx m³v³B³t³dm| f³ij q³g-13, m³sL³ v-4, DB³b³U³vi, c³; 580-585|

Ó³m³t³e³P³ g³lv³dv c³b³YZ³v : ag³ib³ic³Y³ e³bv³ Bmj vgx m³v³C³t³g` Z³vni i³ u³ i³ W³sm B³ gv³B³t³u³ B³t³K³iv³g³Km: G³v³b Bmj vgx cv³i³m³t³c³K³u³F³ j³ s³g³v³b gv³j³ t³q³kv³ (P³v³P³vi 20, c³; 239-225)

Bmj v³t³g e³É³bM³Z mg³Zv : g³yl³ q³vi B³Ke³v (m³×u³w³ Z) : Ó³v³m³u³U³e³D³u³F³ R³w³÷³ m G³v³U³ b³W³ d³z³vd³j³ g³v³U B³ G³v³b Bmj vgx B³t³K³iv³g³Km, i³ Bmj vgx K d³v³D³t³U³kb i³ j³ t³P³÷³ vi h³Y³ i³v³R` (P³v³P³vi -1, c³; 35-62)

u³U³vi³gv³t³b³kb Ae c³id³U G³v³U³ j³ m³ t³q³vk³is B³ B³t³f³ ÷³ t³g³U i³ c³u³e³R³t³bm d³v³B³v³Y| R³ib³f³ Ae i³ m³ i³ P³©³B³ Bmj vgx B³t³K³iv³g³Km, t³R³v³, f³ij q³g-3, m³sL³ v-1, c³; 13-27

u³.q³i³x Ae c³id³U (1975), i³e³K³iv³ c³ie³v³j³ i³ks n³v³D³m, i³ b³D i³ v³ i³ j³ 0110002|

Kahf, Mouzur in Sayyid Tahir (m³×u³v³ b³) i³ u³ i³ W³sm B³ gv³B³t³u³ B³t³K³iv³g³Km: G³v³b Bmj vgx cv³i³m³t³c³K³u³F³ ; j³ s³g³v³b, gv³j³ t³q³kv³ (P³v³P³vi 9, i³ u³.q³i³x Ae c³U³V³K³b c³; 112-119

L³ib, G³ Av³K³iv³ (1994): Bmj vgx A_`³mZ D³c³vc³bv; B³U³vi b³vk³bj B³m³u³u³DU Ae Bmj vgx _U G³v³U³ B³m³u³u³DU Ae c³ij³ i³ m³ ÷³ v³WR, Bmj v³gv³e³v` , c³w³K³vc³b

Lvb gnwmb Gm Ges ngivLi G (1992): Bmj vgx G'vU w' BtKivbigK wmmzUg wi wFD Ae Bmj vgxK BtKivbigK, Fij qsy-2, msL'v-1, c;1-29|

Kuran, Timur (1989): Ab w' tbbk Ae BtKivbigK Rm-m Bb KbUgtciviwi Bmj vgxK _U0 B'Uvi b'vkbvj Rvbff Ae wgwj B÷ ÷wWm, Fij qsy -21, msL'v'2,c; 171-191|

Robbius, Lionel (1935): cKwZ. I A_0wz weAvtbi , i az; weI qK ubeU| wZxq ms' i Y| g'vKvgj vb, j Ub

League Table (2007): gvbz i Avtbi cwina wK ciz cvPiermti wMY nq?

<http://newsfan.typad.co.uk/does human knowledge double>

Matt Rosenberg (2009): G'vevDU.Kg MwBW [http://geography.about.com/od/obtain population data/world population.htm]

tmb. G.tK (1977): i'vkbvj dzm: G wUUK Ae w' we'wvqvij dvD'Ukkm Ae BtKivbigK w_qix, wclj mnd G'vU cvej K G'v'cdqvm,Fij qsy- 6,msL'v- 4, c; 317-344|

wm' Kx. Gg.Gb. (1998): Bmj vgti tci'f'z A_0wzi w'f'KZv, m'wUwclK cvej wks tmUvi, wKs Avaj AwRR BDwb'f'w'w', tR'v, tmSw Avie|

m'vCtq` Zwni (m'vUw'Z: 1992) Bmj vgti tci'f'z A_0wzi w'f'KZv; wi w'wsm Bb gvBt'w-BtKivbigK : G'vB Bmj vgxK cvi t'cKwUf, j s g'vb, gvj t'q'k'q'v (P'vP'vi 1, c; 1-30)|

Silva, S S da and Reis R.P and Ferreira, P.A (2009): Kb'tmPm Ae tbPvi Fij y Avi BD w' cvi w'Kz'j vi K'v'i KUw'w' m'U'Km& Ae tbPvi , Wm'w'w'q's Kb'w'w'w'w' m'Bg Avs'R'w'ZK.....m'z'g' b, m'v l cvl t'j v, e'm'Rj |

Smith Adam (1976): G'vB BbKq'vix BbUz'w' tbPvi G'vU A'tUR Ae w' I t'qj_ Ae t'bkbm, B-e'k' bs 330, Rby2002, c'0R± , t'Ube'w'w'j Uwi i Aw'K'0i dvD't'U'kb|

Asil, Syed Omar (1992): i'v'kb'w'j w' Bb BtKivbigK w_qix, Sayyid Tahir et al (Ed 1992) w'w'Ps BtKivbigK Bb Bmj vgxK cvm'f'cKwUf, wi w'wsm Bb gvBt'w-BtKivbigK: G'vB Bmj vgxK cvi m't'cKwUf j s'y'vb, gvj t'q'k'q'v (P'vP'vi 2, c; 31-48)|

w' I q'v' BtKivbig, wmmzUwi Kyj o'w'UKw'UKm&1950-2007: I q'v' B'K't'w'ng (..) I t'q'w'w'BU

Abey` : giney Dj Avj g

BRvivi ki x0Avn&wEK wefkbv

tgvnvaf\$ nmkg Kvgjx

minstyc

G c0U`U LfD I KtqKwU fvtM wef3| cUtg BRviv-Pr3 mspvšf wdKvn (Fiqah)-Gi wbggKvby we`mizfite AvtjvPbv Kiv ntqtQ| iiafZ BRvivi msAv Ges Pr3i tgšuj K kZ0I Pwn`v mautK0 kxl0vbxq Bmjvqx wPšme`f`i gZvgZ wbtq AvtjvPbv Kiv ntqtQ| Gici BRviv-i`U c0uj Z tk0x h_v KvhRi I AwR BRviv wbtq AvtjvPbv Kiv ntqtQ| GfZ wefwbaitbi Pr3 (Khiyarat) I BRvivi mtfz Gi c0m0KZv, tjvKmvfbi`vqexZv, BRviv`ujtj`Deavb mshv3i welfq AvtjvPbv itqtQ| cwitktI BRviv Pr3 emzj mautK0wdKvn&AvBb GfZ`vb tctqtQ|

w0Zxq LfD, mvguMKfvte 0mkK0 (eU) Ges wefklfvte Bmjvqx eU wbtq AvtjvPbv Kiv ntqtQ| GLvfb Bmjvqx eU-Gi mafe`mjev I A`0wZK Dbqtb Gi cfive wbtq AvtjvPbv Kiv OvovI Bmjvqx eU welfq wefklAf`i gZvgZ mautK0fvI`Kvif`i AwfgZ Ztj aiv ntqtQ| AwAKš, mvu0ZKKvtj evRvfi Ovov KtqKwU Bmjvqx eU Ges cfi 0mkK0-G msugukZ maut` wbtq msivB AvtjvPbv Kiv ntqtQ|

1. c0wK AvtjvPbv

G c0U`U LfD Dc`vcb Kiv ntqtQ| GKwUfZ BRviv mautK0wdKvn AvBb-Kvby Ztj aiv ntqtQ| Ab`wUfZ evRvi Dbqtb I BRviv eU welfq ki x0Avn&i wbgg-bwZ AvtjwPZ ntqtQ| BRvivi aviYv I ms`vi ch0jvPbv, wdKvn gfZ`eazv jvtfi Rb` c0qvRbxq Pwn`v I kZ`mautK0kxl0vbxq wdKvn kv`je`f`i gZvgZ wbtq G AvtjvPbv iiaKiv ntqtQ| Gici BRvivi`U aib, h_v-KvhRi I AwR BRviv wbtq msivB AvtjvPbv itqtQ| AwR wjwRs I BRvivK tkqvfi cwiyZ Kivi welfq tkvb Dtaj wdKvn kvf`civl qv hvq bv| Zvi Dci I AvtjvKvZ Kiv ntqtQ| cieZPAsfk BRvivi kZ0ejx, BRvivi wefwbaitb t`fk teq0 tbqvi mshvM (Khiyarat), tjvKmvfbi`vqexZv, tLjvcf`i`D I BRviv emzjtj i welfq wdKvn-i weavb e`vL`v Kiv ntqtQ|

w0Zxq LfD 0mkK0-Gi cwipwZ, 0mkK0 evRvfi i Dbqtb I BRviv eU wbtq we`miz AvtjvPbv itqtQ| G AvtjvPbvq AwR Znvej msh0 Kivi gva`tg A`0wZK Dbqtb tRvi`vi Kfi cKvivšfi RbMfYi Kj`vY (Maslahah) mvab Kivi welfq itqtQ| Bmjvqx eU mautK0wdKvn kv`je`mn wefklAf`i gZvgZi Dci fvI`Kvfi i AwfgZ GLvfb Ztj aiv ntqtQ| Gici mvu0ZKK Pvj ynl qv KtqKwU eU, 0mkK0-G msugukZ maut` i e`v wbtq mstyt c ch0jvPbv ci mgwvB Uvov ntqtQ|

2. BRvivPr

BRviv k0wU gj- k0 0AvRviv0 t`fk Drcb0 hvi A`c0yt0wZciY Kiv, ywZciY`vb ev wetePbv Kiv Ges cZ`vcP Kiv| AvRi k0gKf`i gRjx Ges DRvivi n&fvov cwitkvfai mtfz mautKZ| AvBbMZ Af`_ c0_gZ: BRviv ejfz fvov I tkvb e`v3i tmev jvtfi Rb` tkvb cKvi Pr3`U0tKB ešvq| hv eZ0vfb

tgvnvaf\$ nmkg Kvgjx: AvšR0ZK Bmjvqx wefje`vj q gvj tqikqv (IUM), K0vj vj vgcj, gvj tqikqv|

KvhRi BRviv I Avl_R BRviv Dfq tyfTB c0hrR | tkfl iW BRvivn&l qv BKwZbv0 (Ijarah wa iqtina) bvtg cwiwPZ | BRvivK tKviAvb, mbyon I mvariY HKGz" (BRgvn) eaZv w tqfQ | tKviAvb-Gi AvqtZ (Avj Kvd, 77, Avj -Kymv, 26, Avj -ZvjvK, 65-66) k0gKt`i cwi k0gK cveri AwaKvi c0t½ ivmjyvn0i ceZP bex`i mgtql BRviv0i c0j tbi K_v Dtl Kiv ntqtQ | A_P BRviv tKviAvtbi gva`tg ceZP RmZ, tjvi mgq t_tK aviemnKZv etq wbtq GtmfQ | nwi tml BRvivi Dtl AvfQ | thgb, gwyj K I KgPvixi gta` m0ufKp w el tq c0ZxKx D`vniY w tq gwyj K ev wbtqvMKZ0`i Dtl tK` ejv ntqtQ, 0k0gtKi Mvtqi Nvg`i Kvtbvi AvtMB Zvi gRjx cwi tKva Kti `vl |0 hv I tKviAvb I mbyonZ BRvivK Ktg wbtqvMi Pz3 wmwte Dtl i tqfQ, wKs` ivmjyvn (mt)-Gi mivvexiv BRvivK KgPvix wbtqvM Qvovl `lei m0uE fivov t`qvi tyfT e`envi Kti tQb | BRgv (Ijma`h)-i gva`tg BRvivi eaZv c0Zw0Z ntqtQ | ZvQvovl eZgvtb Zv gwyj gvbt`i gta` mvari Yfvte c0j b (0Di d) i tqfQ |¹

wKvnm0uKZ i Pvej xtZ BRviv w el tq w`lwi Z Avtj vPvivi gva`tg G Pz3 i AvaybK c0qvM wtkl Kti, mgKvjxb A_`e`vi GKw aib c0Z tbi tyfT GKw bvj -bKkvi gZ `Zix Kti t`qv ntqtQ | G c0t0 mgKvjxb Pz3 tZ c0qvMi tyfT wKvni Avtj vtK BRvivi h_v_Zv wbtq Avtj vPvivi ntqtQ |

Bmj vgx Avtbi Pviw avivi c0Ziv BRvivi cKZ.msAv wK ntZ cvti, tm w el tq wfbawfbagZ w tqfQb | mKj gvRnie (Madhahib) G e`vcvti GKgZ th, BRviv nt`Q ywZc tYi wwbgtq cwiwPZ I wba0i Z DcKvi ev tmev wew |² BRvivi msAv wbtq t0vLutv gZ cv_R` , tjvi mivmstyc nt`Q: gwyj wK I nva0j (Maliki I Hanbali) gvRnie-Gi gZ BRviv nt`Q: `eafvte Ggbme DcKvi ev tmev c0B, hvZ A`0a me e` I KgRv0 cwi nvi Kiv nq | Avt Kiv msAvq ejv ntqtQ, BRvivi Pwv` I kz`0vivi Gi eaZv wvYZ ntZ cvti | 0nva0j 0 msAv gZ, BRviv Ggb tKvb DcKvi ev tmev hv fiel tZ ev`0z vvf Kite | KviY, Pz3 i mgq tKvb wK0Z Av`Z; _vKtj Zv nte wewi bvgv0i | cyv0ti, BRvivq fiel tZ tKvb wba0i Z mgtqi ci DcKvi ev m0j tFvM Kiv hvq | 0gwyj wK0 msAv gZ, BRviv0i weteP` (0l wad) w el q nt`Q th, Zv abm0u` t_tK c0B tKvb jvf ev m0eav bq | Kul.tZ kl` fiMvfiM-i Pz3 I dj PftI (Muzara`ah I Musaqah) m½ BRvivi cv_R` Abgveb Kiv c0qvRb |³ c0gwutZ Drcbae` e` t_tKB m0eav (Manfa`ah) t`qv nq |

BRviv nt`Q m0j wewi - hv cKZ.wewi, Dcnvi I `vb (Bay`, Hibah, Sadaqah) t_tK GUVtK Avj v`v Kti | wZxq tyfT gj-abx m0uE m0uYfvte n`00i Kiv nq, tKej G t_tK c0B m0eav bq | ZvB BRviv nt`Q m0j ev mvari Yfvte tUKmB tKvb abm0u` t_tK c0B m0eav wewi | c0vj Z c0v Abgvvti tKvbv BRvivi Rb` Dch0 Zv wv0, wKfvte cwi tKva Kiv nte Zv wba0Y, gRjx c0v tbi aib, GUV gRjx bv fivov - G, tjvl weteP` w el q | BRvivi m0j mvariYZ wba0i Z Kvj e`vcx cvl qv hvq | BRvivi A_`mBv, gvm ev eQi thfvteB wba0i Z tnvK bv tKb, Zv tgqv` tkfl cwi tKva Kiv ntq _vtK | Zte c0vj Z c0v Abgvvti GUV cwi eZB Kti AvM0 cwi tKva Kiv thtZ cvti |⁴ BRvivq abm0u` t_tK c0B m0eav jvtfi

1. w`lwi Z RivtZ Be0b iak` i wPZ w`vqvZ Avj -gRvwn`, jvtvvi, dviwK GKvtWgx Ges I qvnie Avj -hymBjx i wPZ Avj wKvny Avj Bmj vgx 3q ms`iY, `vtg`, `vi Avj wKvni Ges Ave` Avj I qvnie AveymjvBgvb i wPZ AvK; Avj -BRvivi `0e` |
 2. Muwaffaq al Din Ibn Qudawah i wPZ Al-Mugni Al Sulayman i wPZ Aqd al Ijarah, Ali al Khafif i wPZ Ahkam al Mu`malat al Sharyah Ges Abdulla Alawi Hajji Hasan i wPZ Sales and Contacts in Early Islamic Comercial Law `0e` |
 3. Abd al-Rahman al-Jaziri, Kitab al-Fiqh `ala al-Madhahib al-Arba`ah, Cairo, Al-Makatabah al-Tawfiqiyyah, nd. III 86-90.
 4. Abd al-Rahman al-Jaziri, Kitab al-Fiqh `ala al-Madhahib al-Arba`ah, n 3, III 97.

aibl cLlv Oviv ubaM Z nTZ cvti | KvR RB tKvb fivomlvqv Zvi fivov tbqv ~vb, cPvj Z wbgqgi eitLjvc Kti bq eis Zv tgbB e`envi Kiteb GUVB Kvg`|⁵

BRviv GK aiTbi wewp, weavq thKvb tKvitePvi gtZv GUVl `ea Ges wewp m`uWZ kixlAvn&wbgqvejx mivavi Yfite BRvivi tytI c`hvR`| Aek` wdKyn gtZ gj-Z `wU wElq m`w` Kiv nqtQ- gubem`u` Ges lqvKd&m`uW| G `wU wewp Kiv bv tMtj l BRvivi Rb` `ea wElq|⁶ DciS` BRviv GK aiTbi wewp weavq wewp gj` (Thaman) wntmte hv wKoz` qv hvq; Zv BRvivi Rb` l weteiPZ nTZ cvti |

wewp-Pw`i Awakisk wbgq/wewa thgb, Pw`fY cy` tjiwi gubimK myZv, mvej KZj l m`uW bv `vKtj thKvb Pw` Aw`Zpxb nq cto| Zv GKBfite BRvivi tytI c`hvR`| wewp Ab` thme wbgq BRvivi tytI c`hvR` Zvi gta` itqtQ evQvBtqi Awakvi (Khiyarat) thgb: wetePbv (Khiyar al-ru'yah), Talw-wepwZ t`Lv l kZfivtci m`hM (Khiyar al-'ayb l Khiiyar al-Shar'i), ewZj (faskh) Ges cvi`uW K m`wZtZ Pw` ewZj i (iqalah) Awakvi | wKs` AwMig-mqwaKvi (Shuf'ah) bq| kwiclvq avivi Abyvixiv BRvivi tytI kZfivtci Awakvi (Khiyar al-shar'i) ewZj Kti w`tqtQb| Pw` ewZj Kiv hvq| BRviv (Ijarah fasidah) Pw`tZ wKozDttL bv `vKtj l b`vh` fivov ev gRjx (Ajr al-mithl) c`hvR`| BRvivi dtj abm`uW tftMi Awakvi BRviv`Zvi KvQ t`K BRviv`MhYKvixi KvQ Ptj hvq etj, BRviv`Zvi nTZ Aek`B msukw m`uW` i gwij Kvbv l gwij Kvbv m`hM-mw`av n`is`i Awakvi `vKtZ nte|⁷ `ea BRvivi GUVl GKw kZ`h, BRvivKtj gj-abx m`uW` enj `vKte Ges Zv wej` nte bv| wKs`Lv`, Rjy vbx l A` Gi e`wZvg| KvY, cw cYfite e`envi Kiv bv tMtj G` tjiw tKvb KvR Avtm bv|

`ea BRvivi Ab` ceRZ`nt`Q - tj bt`bKvix Dfq cy` cw wPZ nte Ges kZ`ejx Ggbfite ubaM Z nte hvTZ tKvb gZtf` l wetiwa m`oi AeKik bv `vK; Avtj vP` abm`uW`i Aw`R ev evRvi gj` `vKtZ nte; A`ea (nviq) tKvb Kvhvg l wElq`i Aw`Z; `vKte bv|⁸ ci-cwLi gZt`n, kKi, g` l wUw x KvRKg`thgb: m`j i Kvi evi, tek`wv` l Rgv`Ljv thb wewp ev BRvivi wElq`bv nq|

ZvQvov, wewp i gtZv BRvivZ l Dfq ct`yi gta` gj`-wewbgq nq| abm`uW` t`K D`wZ jvf ev mw`av BRviv At`P wewbgq cvl qv hvq| thgb, GKw evov fivovi wewbgq Ab` GKw evov fivov t`qv| A`P ab m`uW`i wewbgq abm`uW`| hv l nvwtd` i gtZ BRvivi wewbgq gj` GKB tkvixi n l qv DvPZ bq| Zv` i hv` n`Q- BRviv Pw`i mgq Dfq ct`yi KvQ mw`av l m`j Aw`Zpxb `vK| BRviv, wewp i GKw aib weavq wewbgq gj` GKB tkvixi n`j Zv wej`Z gj` cw tkvixi kwj | hv Ab`g` b`hM` bq|⁹ teiki fM AvBw`i i gtZ, Pw`fZ th tKvb GK ct`yi tytI wej`Z gj` cw tkva MhY`hM`| h`v-mj vg ev Bay` Bi-thaman Ajil (BBA), wKs`Pw`fY Dfq ct`yi Rb` bq|

⁵ Id, III, 104

⁶ Mansur Ibn Yunus al-Buhuti, *Kash of al Qina'an mam Iqua*, m`uW` Z, gy`lv wj vj , w`qv` ; Maktabat al-Nasr al-Hadithah, n.d. III, 561; Abd al-Wahhab Abu Sulayman 'Aqd al-ijarah Masdar min Masadir al-Tamwil al-Islamiyah, Jeddah, Islamic Research and Training Institute, 1413/1992,27.

⁷ *Avj x-Avj Lw`j K i wPZ AvnKvg Avj -gqv` AvqvbZ Avj kixlAvn`be`|*

⁸ Muwaffaq al-Din Ibn Qudamah al-Maqdisi, *al-Mughni*, Beirut : *Dar al-Kitab al-Jadid*, 1403/1983, VI, 12. Mohammad Abu Zahrah, *al-Milkiyah wa Nazariyat al-'Aqd fi 'Shari'ah*, Cairo : Daral al-Fikr, n.d.,272; Shams al-Ramli, *Nihayat al-Muhtaj* (see n 22), IV, 6.

⁹ Fakh al-Din 'Uthman al-Zayla'i, *Tabyin al-Haqa'iq Sharh Kanz al-Daqa'iq*, 2nd edn. Beirut : Dar al-Ma`rifah, V, 106. al-Jaziri, *Kitab al-Fiqh*, n 3, III, 93; Abu Sulayman, 'Abd al-Wahhab n. 6, p. 30.

Bmj vgx Awl_℞ cōZōvb, t̄jv BRvivt̄K A_℞t̄bi GKw c×wZ wnt̄mte e'envi Ki t̄Q| G c×wZi gva'tg t̄μZviv t̄UKmB wRwb| cĀ, h̄ubevnb h_v, Rvnr, D̄tovRivr, f̄vix h̄šc̄wZ I K̄j Kvi Lv̄bri h̄šc̄wZ t̄Kbv OvovB e'envi i m̄th̄vM c̄v'Qb| mnR BRviv e'e'vq t̄μZv' i Kw'ýZ μt̄qi Rb' t̄Kvb w̄bvc̄Ev w̄bōZ Ki t̄Z nq bv| t̄μZv ev BRvivM̄h̄xZv̄t̄K w̄ba'f̄i Z mḡt̄qi Rb' BRviv t̄bqv m̄ú' i f̄iov wnt̄mte w̄KQzA_© w' t̄Z nq| t̄Kvb M̄h̄K Zvi P̄m̄v R̄wb̄t̄q P̄r̄ex nevi A'½x̄Kvi Ki t̄j ZLb Bmj vgx e'vsk ev Awl_℞ cōZōvb Kw' LZ m̄ú' m̄sM̄h̄ K̄i t̄'q| e'vsk ev cōZōvb BRvivi t̄gqv' Ab̄jvq̄x f̄iov w̄mve K̄i, μq̄ḡt̄j 'i m̄t̄½ P̄j wZ ev Rvi ḡj' I jvf th̄vM K̄i BRvivḡj' w̄ba'f̄i Y K̄i _v̄t̄K| m̄vavi YZ m̄ú' w̄Li Avq̄v̄j Ab̄jv̄t̄i BRvivi t̄gqv' w̄ba'f̄i Z nq| J m̄ú' i w̄el̄t̄q m̄vavi YZ e'vsk ev Awl_℞ cōZōv̄t̄bi t̄Kvb Av̄M̄h̄ _v̄t̄K bv| t̄gqv' t̄k̄t̄l m̄ú' w̄Li BRvivM̄h̄xZvi K̄v̄t̄Q w̄ēμ ev 'vb K̄i t̄'qvi w̄eavb _v̄t̄K| Ḡt̄K Ijarah-wa-iaq̄aa ev BRvivM̄h̄xZv m̄ú' w̄Li ḡv̄j K̄v̄b c̄ōBi ga' w' t̄q BRvivi mḡw̄B ejv t̄h̄t̄Z c̄v̄t̄i| G ai t̄bi BRviv e'v̄c̄Kf̄i t̄e c̄ōv̄j Z| K̄vi Y, Ḡw̄J ḡjv̄ev̄v-i m̄t̄½ m̄½wZc̄Y' Awl_℞ ga' Z̄v̄K̄vixi f̄iuḡK̄vq _v̄K̄v e'v̄s̄t̄Ki Rb' Dc̄th̄vM̄x|

ḡj t̄q̄k̄q̄vi w̄m̄K̄D̄w̄i w̄L K̄v̄ḡk̄t̄bi k̄ix̄D̄Av̄n&G'w̄f̄vBRix K̄v̄D̄w̄j (SAC) ḡt̄b K̄i, Awl_℞ BRviv bZb t̄Kvb P̄r̄ b̄q eis BRvivi P̄r̄ I Kḡe'w̄Zi m̄ú'w̄i Y, hv A_℞t̄bi GKw c×wZ t̄Z i f̄c̄v̄š̄i Z n̄t̄q̄Q| D̄ci š', ab̄m̄ú' i w̄ēμ Awl_℞ BRviv wnt̄mte 'ea Ges Bmj vgx Av̄Bb w̄ēt̄k̄I Áiv Ḡt̄K ōḡj ō wnt̄mte 'š̄K̄wZ w' t̄q̄t̄Qb| ZvB SAC-Gi Aw̄fḡZ n̄t̄jv, 't̄Di w̄eavb bv _v̄K̄t̄j I Awl_℞ BRviv k̄ix̄D̄Av̄n& i m̄t̄½ m̄s̄N̄w̄℞ n̄te bv|¹⁰ SAC Av̄t̄iv ēt̄j t̄Q th, w̄j w̄Rs t̄K̄v̄ú̄v̄x, t̄jv m̄ú' i ḡj', w̄ēb̄t̄q̄w̄MKZ. Āt̄_P̄ jvf I A_℞t̄bi t̄gqv' w̄ēt̄P̄bvq w̄b̄t̄q BRvivi f̄iov w̄mve K̄i t̄e| ḡj- c̄v_℞'Uv n̄t̄'Q, K̄v̄h̄R̄i BRvivi (Operational lease) t̄ejvq BRvivM̄h̄xZvi c̄t̄y BRviv t̄bqv m̄ú' t̄K̄v̄i m̄th̄vM _v̄t̄K bv|

m̄v̄ḡw̄MK̄f̄i t̄e M̄h̄Ȳt̄h̄vM' Zv t̄c̄t̄j I Awl_℞ BRvivi (Financial leasing) K̄t̄q̄K̄w̄ w' K̄ c̄w̄i c̄Ȳf̄i t̄e k̄ix̄D̄Av̄n& m̄s̄Z b̄q| G, t̄jvi c̄h̄f̄j v̄P̄bv I m̄s̄t̄k̄v̄ab c̄ōq̄v̄Rb| Zvi ḡt̄a' GKw n̄t̄'Q ḡv̄j K̄v̄b e' j bv K̄i BRviv t̄'qv| BRviv v̄Zv, BRviv t̄'qv m̄ú' w̄E ZZxq c̄t̄ȳi K̄v̄t̄Q w̄ēμ K̄i w' t̄Z c̄v̄t̄i| t̄m t̄ȳt̄f̄t̄ BRvivM̄h̄xZvi m̄ú' K̄'w̄c̄Z n̄te bZb ḡv̄j K̄t̄Ki m̄t̄½| Aek' ḡv̄j K̄v̄b bv w' t̄q Awl_℞ w̄ēt̄P̄bvq BRviv t̄'qv 'ea b̄q| c̄v_℞'Uv n̄t̄'Q, w̄D̄Zxq t̄ȳt̄f̄t̄ BRvivM̄h̄xZvi K̄v̄t̄Q ḡv̄j K̄v̄b n' l̄š̄i K̄iv nq bv| BRvivM̄h̄xZv m̄ú' i f̄iov Av̄vq K̄ivi Aw̄K̄vi jvf K̄i ḡv̄t̄| G ai t̄bi BRvivq t̄Kvb Awl_℞ w̄el̄q R̄w̄Z bv _v̄K̄t̄j Zv k̄ix̄D̄Av̄n& ḡt̄Z M̄h̄Ȳt̄h̄vM' D' v̄ni Y' t̄f̄c, t̄Kvb BRviv v̄Zv Zvi f̄ivB ev ēŪz̄K Dc̄t̄X̄S̄K̄b w̄m̄t̄e BRvivM̄h̄xZvi K̄v̄t̄Q t̄_ t̄K f̄iov Av̄v̄t̄qi Aw̄K̄vi w' t̄Z c̄v̄t̄i| GKBf̄i t̄e BRviv v̄Zv Zvi F̄t̄Yi Uv̄K̄v c̄w̄i t̄k̄v̄t̄ai D̄f̄l̄t̄k' c̄ō' f̄iov Av̄v̄t̄qi Aw̄K̄vi t̄Kvb FY' v̄Zv̄t̄K w' t̄Z c̄v̄t̄i| w̄K̄š̄t̄K̄v̄b BRviv v̄Zv h̄w' Zvi G Aw̄K̄vi t̄Kvb ḡt̄j 'i w̄ēb̄ḡt̄q w̄ēμ Ki t̄Z B'Q̄K̄ nb, Zv̄n̄t̄j Zv Āt̄_P̄ Rb' A_℞ (f̄iovi Uv̄K̄v) w̄ēμ i k̄w̄ḡj Ges ḠUv m̄y' ēt̄j MY' n̄te|¹¹

w̄d̄K̄v̄n&k̄v' j̄e' t̄ i ḡt̄Z, f̄i w̄el̄ t̄Zi t̄Kvb mḡt̄q K̄v̄h̄R̄i n̄te Ggb t̄Kvb w̄ēμ M̄h̄Ȳt̄h̄vM' n̄t̄Z c̄v̄t̄i bv| w̄K̄š' f̄i w̄el̄ t̄Zi t̄Kvb Z̄w̄i L n̄t̄Z BRviv Ab̄j̄ḡv' b̄th̄vM' | BRvivi t̄gqv' K̄ij I BRviv v̄Zvi f̄iov Av̄v̄t̄qi Aw̄K̄vi BRvivM̄h̄xZvi K̄v̄t̄Q m̄ú' w̄L c̄ōv̄t̄bi Z̄w̄i L t̄_ t̄K K̄v̄h̄R̄i n̄te| BRvivM̄h̄xZv m̄ú' w̄L e'envi K̄i t̄Qb w̄K̄bv Zv w̄ēt̄P' n̄te bv| Ḡt̄Z BRviv v̄Zv I BRvivM̄h̄xZv Df̄q c̄ȳB Āt̄bK Av̄t̄M t̄_ t̄K c̄ōq̄v̄R̄b̄q c̄ōw̄Z t̄bqv̄i m̄th̄vM c̄v̄q| m̄ú' n' l̄š̄t̄i Av̄t̄M m̄ú' Y' ev GK̄v̄sk Aw̄M̄h̄ c̄ōv̄b K̄iv t̄h̄t̄Z c̄v̄t̄i| Aw̄M̄h̄ A_℞

¹⁰ w̄m̄K̄D̄w̄i R̄ K̄v̄ḡk̄b Ae ḡj t̄q̄k̄q̄v w̄m̄K̄D̄w̄i w̄L R̄ K̄v̄ḡk̄t̄bi K̄v̄h̄R̄i Yx, k̄ix̄D̄Av̄n&G'w̄f̄vBRiv K̄v̄D̄w̄j, K̄q̄j v̄j v̄ḡc̄y, 2002, 69|
¹¹ ḡv̄s̄ § Z̄š̄d̄K̄ D̄v̄w̄b, b̄s 14, B̄t̄ōw̄w̄K̄k̄b ŪB̄mj w̄ḡK d̄iB̄v'Y, 172|

`vq eZfQ| GwU BRviv ktZP GKwU eiLjvc| KviY, GtZ tμZvK t`qv At_P Dci fivon tbqv nt`Q Ges Zv mtyi chfQ cto| hw` A_`cvevi ciI mieivnKvix vej`Kti tmRb` vej`Z mgtqi fivon c0vftbi `vq BRvivM0xZvi _vKte bv|

DciS; BRviv tbqv mvgM0 tKbvi `vqZ; BRvivM0xZvK w`tj, c0Z0vb I tμZvi gta` GKUvi ci Avi GKwU- `BwU wfbem`uK`wCZ nq| c0gUvq tμZv GtRvU wnmvte c0Z0vftbi ctj m`u` wKbtQ| G chfQ BRviv `vZv-M0xZvi m`uK`KvhRi nq bv| th ZwiL tμZv mieivnKvixi Kiv t`K mvgM0 ejs tbq, tm ZwiL t`KKB wZxq chfqi `iaj wK ZLb t`K BRvivi wbiL BRviv `vZv-M0xZvi m`uK`Qi`e nq| c0g chfQ BRvivM0xZvi tKvb `vq-`vqZ; tμZvi Dci eZfQ bv| KviY ZLb tm GKRb Uv` ev GtRvU gvI| wKs`m`u` I mvgM0 ejs tbevi ci t`K tm BRvivM0xZvi fvgKvq AeZxY`nq|¹⁴

4. tj vKvftbi `vq`xZv

Aw`R BRvivq gvij Kvbvi `vqZ; cvq BRvivM0xZv| ZvB BRvivi tgqv`Kvtj tKvbfvte m`u` web0 I aYsm ntj ZvftKB GKKfvte ywzi `vq enb KitZ nq| GKBfvte BRvivM0xZvi Taw ev Aetnj vq Qvov Ab`Kvib KviY BRviv tbqv m`u`i KvhRwvi Zv ev KgYgZv b0 ntj BRviv`vZv fivon M0tYi AwKvi t`K emAZ nteb| G wclqul c0nj Z wj wRs I BRviv0i gta` cv`R` wbt`R Kti| KviY, c0nj Z wj wRs-G BRviv tbqv m`u` t`K BRvivM0xYKvix tKvb mgtj bv tctj I BRviv`vZvi fivon cvevi AwKvi Ay`te`vK|

wbaw Z fivovq `wfgqv`x BRvivi ty`T evRvi I Vvbrvq Kitj ev gyUwvZ NUtj BRviv`vZvi Rb` Zv tjvKvftbi KviY ntZ cvfi| G aitbi Awb0qZv tVkvZ BRviv`vZv Pr`Z, wbi0 weivZ Z fivon clywepbv A`ev bZb kZv`vfti Pr` bevb Kivi kZ`Rto w`Z cvtib| Zvntj Zv nte eZ0vftb mgwvPZ fvmgvb (Flooting) ev tni`tdi`thwM` BRv| hv etav`ti BRvivi wecixZ|

tKvb BRvivM0xZv Pr`i tKvb kZ`f½ Kitj tm KviY ywZciY ev tLwvZ w`Z eva` _vKte| wKs` BRvivi Aemk0 tgqv`i fivon c0vftb ZvftK eva` Kiv hvte bv| m`vaviYfvte tgqv` tktI BRvivi m`u` BRviv`vZvi KvtQ tdiZ hvq| BRvivM0xZvi cy t`K Pr`i tKvb kZ`f½ bv ntj Dfq ctji m`vZ Qvov BRviv emZj Kiv hvte bv| KvtRB Pr`Z BRviv`vZvK BRviv emZtj i Aeva ygZv w`tq tKvb weavb _vKtj Zv nte kix0Avntetivax| GKBfvte hw` Ggb tKvb weavb _vK hv Aemk0 tgqv`i fivon c0vftb BRvivM0xZvK eva` Kti Zvl kix0Avn`cw csk nte|

hw` BRviv tbqv tKvb m`u` m`u`Yfj`c AKvhRi, Abg`thwMx, `N0bvμtg aYsmc0B A`ev m`u` wnmvte gj`nwb ntq cto Ges ce`e`vq wclw`tq Avbv Am`e ev tgivgZ A-jvFRbK nq, Zvntj m`u`wU Abg`thwMx nevi w`b t`K BRvivi Aemib nte| Aek` AvavbK e`e`vq GiKg tKvb `N0bv tgvKvtejvq BRviv tbqv m`u`i` exgv Kiv _vK| Gty`T BRviv Pr`Z AwZwi`³ tKvb kZ`msthr`ftbi c0qvRb tbB|

BRvivi `vfwek wbtqtb GKRb BRvivM0xZv BRviv tbqv `e`mvgM0i Dci wbsY jvf Kti| GwU GK aitbi Av`v AR0| GtZ `e` mvgM0wU `vfwekfvte e`envi Kivi dtj tKvb cKvi ygqywi Rb` tm `vqx nte bv| wKs` tm hw` Av`v f½ Kti I e`envi`i m`vaviY wbgg-bwvzi evBti tKvbfvte e`envi Kti Ges Zwi Aetnjv I Ace`envi cKvKZ ntj BRvivM0xZv ywZciY w`Z eva` _vKte|¹⁵

¹⁴ ggyv`S` ZvKx I mgvbx (1999) Bmj vgx A_0wzi c0`levv, KivPx, cmK`lb, B`ivZj; gv0Avni d, 1999, 165|
¹⁵ Avj -Lwcd, AvnKvg Avj gYvgvj vZ Avj kix0Avn`Gb 2, 491|

AťbK BRviv Pw&ťZ BRvivMōxZvi cō`q A_°cwiťkva e`_Zvi Rb` `đi wearb ivLv nq| Dmgvbx
AwfgZ Abyvťi, Bmjvťg Ggb `đ ea bq| Zvi gťZ fivov cvl bv nťj Zv BRvivMōxZvi Dci
cwiťkvaťhM` FY wntmte eZq| wKs`Zvi Dci tKvb A_°đ Avťivc Kiv mťj i bvgšl | Zte BRviv
Pw&ťZ Ggb kťZP wearb ivLv thťZ cvťi th, wbr`š mgťqi gťa` wejw&Z A_°cwiťkvaťi Rb`
BRvivMōxZviťK wbaťi Z cwi gvY A_°Pv̄v wntmte w`ťZ nťe| tmlw wejw&Z cwiťkva wťivaťKi KivR KĩťZ
cvťi | hw I ZvťZ BRviv`vZv wejw&Z mgťqi Rb` tKibi Kg j̄wZcĩY cĩte bv|¹⁶

gvjťqkqvi wmkDwiUR Kugkb (SAC) etjťQ, KivRi ev AwR BRvivq wejw&Z A_°cwiťkvaťi Dci
GK kZvsk `đi wearb ivLv thťZ cvťi | Zte Zv Pm̄w̄x nťi Kiv hťte bv| G gZvťZi gvaťg gťZ
Gi mnťhMx msMVb A_°w̄ gvjťqkqvi tK`łq e`vsk (Bank Negara)-Gi kiḵAvn&Dcťón KvDwYťj i
cōľe Abyvťi Y KťiťQ| tmB KvDwYťj Xij vl fĩte eQĩcĩZ GK kZvsk `đ Avťivc Abťgr`b KťiťQ|¹⁷

GmGm-i mfvq (8 bťf`ť 2000) tLjvcx A_°cwiťkvaťi welq wťq w`hwi Z AvťivPbv nq| tmlvťb
Bmjvqx AwR`ťj bť`ťbi wewfbw̄r K wetePbvq ųwZcĩťYi (Ta`wid) wKĩ wearb Zťj aiv nq| G_ťj v
nť`Q 1) cvl bv A_°eťKqv nťj 2) wbaťi Z ZwiťL A_°cōvťb e`_°ňťj 3) Bmjvqx FY wmkDwiURmn
wewbgq Pw&ťw̄EĚK (DKz gsw`vZ) Bmjvqx A_°qťbi cY` wbaťi Z tgqv` tktli AvťMB w`_w̄Ei cōqvRb
nťj | A_°cwiťkvaKvix B`QvKZfĩte gť- A_°ev j`f`vsk cōvťb t`wi KťiťQ etj gťb nťj ųwZcĩY Av`vq
Kiv hťte| j`vťfi eťKqv cvl bv wejťw&Z cwiťkvaťi Rb` ewlR GK kZvsk nťi ųwZcĩY wbaťi Y Kiv
nťqťQ| Zte Zv Pm̄w̄x nťi Av`vqťhM` nte bv| Bmjvqx Avšte`vsk ḡv evRvťi PjwZ evRvi `i
Abyvťi Ta`wid wbaťi Z nťj I Pm̄w̄x nvi nte bv|

SAC-i Kvh̄eei YťZ Avťiv ejv nťqťQ th, Ta`wid ev Shart jaza`i Avťivc nť`Q, FYMōxZv FY cwiťkva
Zvi `wqZj cvjťb e`_°ňťj ev wejťw&Z Kĩťj FY`vZv I MōxZv Dfq cťųi m̄šjZťZ avh°Kiv ųwZcĩťYi
A_°Av`vq FY`vZvi AwKvi | ųwZcĩťYi Ať_P cwi gvY tKvb mťgB Av`vqx Ať_P tPťq tekx nte
bv|¹⁸ Gi mctťų kiḵAvn&i cōvY wntmte Kvh̄eei YťZ `đw̄ nwi m I GKw̄w wKqvm (Qiyas)-Gi AwfgZ
Dťj L Kiv nťqťQ| G_ťj v nťj v:

- AwR`ťj m̄w̄wZ`vKv mťEj | `w̄w̄f-Zv nťj v AwPvi (Matl al-ghani zulm) |
- j̄wZ Kivi cōYZv `ť-KĩťZ nťe (La darar wa la dirara fi`l-islam) |

wKqvm cōc` A_°cwiťkvaťi KijťųcY Rei`w̄li mwgj | kvťdq I n̄w̄đj gihvntei cōđZť`i gťZ
Rei`w̄li KviťY gwjťKi Rb` ųwZcĩY Av`vq Kiv thťZ cvťi | Bjw̄n ev m̄w̄q KviY, hv Ghasb I
Mumatalah-Gi gťa` mvari Yfĩte w`_gvb hv, Om̄w̄ť`i m̄w̄K e`envi evawMō`Kťi Ges`ťvPvix Kvq`vq
GťK tkvl Y Kťi |ó

Bmjvqx mťšj b ms`-i wckv̄n GKvťWgx-i 66bs w̄w̄vťšl m̄w̄ť`i ųwZcĩY I Drcv`b Pw&ťZ `đ Avťivc
Abťgr`b t`qv nťqťQ| Zte ZvťZ c̄j_ťjvi gťa` cePw̄š`vKťZ nťe| A_°w̄ Dfq cťųi m̄šjZťZ
Pw&ťZ Ggb kZ°ivLv thb, tKvb GK cų w̄R`wqZj cvjťb e`_°ňťj ev wejťw&Z Kĩťj w̄w̄š cwi gvY A_°
cōvťb eva`_vKte|¹⁹ G w̄w̄vťšl mctťų GKw̄w nwi m Dťj L Kiv nťqťQ| Beťb w̄w̄i b ewYZ tevLvix

¹⁶ I mgvbx, Bmjvqx A_°đw̄Zi cōľebv, Gi 14, 171-72; Avj`x Avimuj vb Zwi K m̄šj Kivťgvi AwR`ťj S̄ki e`e`lc̄bv (AcKv̄kZ) gióvi
Ae miBŲ w̄w̄mvi tUkb, j`gȳv̄n BDw̄b f̄w̄m̄ł, BDťK, 2004
¹⁷ GmGm w̄ḡw̄s, 14 R̄jv̄b, 1999, t`Lj wmkDwiUR Kugkb Ae gvjťqkqv, Gb. 10, 102|
¹⁸ wmkDwiUR Kugkb Ae gvjťqkqv, Gb. 10, 103|
¹⁹ gvRgv Avj`-wck w̄j i w̄eZv Avj` Avj`g Avj` Bmjvqx, tRťv e`vL`v

kixtdi nrw tm Dttj Kiv nttqQ: evnb-ci' frov t`b Ggb GKRBtK GK e'w³ ejtjv, Avgvi agtYi Rb` Avcbvi GKw ci' Avgvi Rb` ^Zix ivLteb| Agk Zmi tL Amg ci'w frov bv igtj Amg AvcbvtK 100 w` i nvq t`e| wKs' tmw`b tm hvqub| wePvi K mjbvqin Beib nwm m` i vq w` tjb th, tKD t`Qvq igtj Ri Dci tKvb kZ^oAvtvc Ki tj ZvtK Aek`B Zv cij b Ki tZ nte|²⁰ GKBfite Ab` GK nrw tm ejv nttqQ OGKRb gvyj gvb Zvi igtj Ri ktZ^oAve x| hw` bv Ggb tKvb kZ^onq, hv nvi vgtK nuj vj ev nuj vj tK nvi vq Kti (Al Muslimumma al Sharutihim...)|⁰ QwZciY t`qvi wetq gybiv Avj hvi Kv etj tQb, AcPq ev e'emv e'inv nevi Kvi tY tj vKmvb ntj msuk^o cQ tK QwZciY w` tZ nte| cwi w`wZ cwi eZ^obi Kvi tY igtj Ri i A_ %wZK t` i Qvi cQvRtB P^o tZ QwZciY i wetq w` mubtek Kiv th tZ cvti | tmt qtt Zviv tm kZ^ogvb tZ eva`|²¹ G wetq G cttUi tj LK GKgZ|

5. wKi I kZ^oab wLq (Khiyarat)

tKvb BRviv P^o tZ cZwU cti yi kZ^omshtvRtbi AwKvi _vtK| GKBfite Zvi Ggb kZ^oAvtvc i mshvM _vtK hv ZvtK BRviv emZtj i AwKvi t`q (Khiayar al-shart) Ges msL`v Mwi tti g tZ, wzb w`b chSl envj _vtK| mwdiq gZv` k^o i g tZ, wvvi t qtt Khial al-Shart mshtvRb` ea, BRviv bq| kvwdiq Qvov Ab` msL`v Mwi tti g tZ KvRi (Operational) ev Avv`R (Financial) vj tR msuk^o cQ I Zvt` i cZwUv i v Ggb kZ^omshtvRb Ki tZ cti hv tZ evRvti i cwi emZ^o Ae`vi cZdj b _vtK| ZvQvov Ab`vb` wetq, h_v P^o i kZ^ocvj tbi mgqmgn uba^o Y| GKBfite BRviv vZv I BRvii MthxZv ev Zvt` i GtrUiv Ggb kZ^omshtvRb Kivi mshvM (Khiyar al-ru'yah) cvte, hvi dtj P^o i mgq BRviv tbqv mvgM^o t` tL bv vKtj, Zv t` Lvi ci P^o emZtj i AwKvi t`te| Dci S, Taw- evQvB (Kaiyar al-ayb)- Gi mshvM, hv tZ BRvii MthxZv BRviv tbqv mvgM^o t` tKvb Taw _vKtj P^o emZtj i AwKvi cvq| Aek`, BRviv tbqv mvgM^o Taw hw` Ggb nq, hvi dtj tmw`i t`fmeK KvRvvi Zv wvNz nt`Q, ZteB|

BRvii MthxZv igtj Ri ev Zvi Abtgnv` Z Ab` tKD BRviv tbqv mvgM^o At`P wvbg tQ ev wvbn At`e`envi Ki tZ cvti | BRviv tbqv m^o wvfb^o e`envi Kvix Qvov wvfb^o e`euZ nevi m^o wvbn _vKtj BRvii MthxZv BRviv vZvi wvbn Abgnv` tZ BRviv tbqv m^o Dc-BRviv w` tZ cvti bv| Dc-BRvivi frov gj- BRvivi mgvb ev Kg ntj Ges m^o w`w GKB Dt`k` e`euZ nq-Ggb t qtt Dc-BRviv Abtgnv` bthvM` etj me ghvvti kxl^o vbxq c wZv HKgZ` tcvY Ktib| Aek` Dc-BRvivi frov gj- BRviv t` tK tenk ntj tmt qtt Zvt` i gZwfbv` i tqtQ| kvwdiq I n^o gZv` k^o i Kv tQ GuU MthYxq ntj I Bgvg Avev nmbdv wfbgZ w` tqtQb| Zu i g tZ evovZ A_ vb Kti w` tZ nte| Zte Zv Abtgnv` bthvM` hw`, Dc- BRvii MthxZv tKvbfite m^o t` i e^o Nuvq|²³ c wZtj t ytt Bgvg Avev nmbdvi D`P Ae`vb mtEj kvwdiq I n^o gZv` k^o i gZvGZ eZgvb evRvi ev`eZv I cUvi mt` m`wZcY^o Kv tRB tmUvB Abvri YthvM`|

6. BRvivevZj (Faskh)

BRviv tbqv mvgM^o t` tK cQvRbxq mshvM m^o v` vtb BRvii MthxZv tK mrvqZv Ki vB BRvivi gy` Dt` tK`| ZvB nrvwd Qvov tenki fvm avivi kv`je` iv gj-Z GKwU gvT Ae`vq BRviv emZj Abtgnv` b Kti tQb|

²⁰ Avj -e^omi, dvZ Avj -emv mvi v mvrn Avj -e^omi, wKZve Avj -m^oaz, LD 5, 354|
²¹ gytdv Avj hvi Kv, Avj -gv` Lij Avj wdkin Avj Avg : Avj wdkin Avj Bmj vgx wZ Zv wvN Avj Rv` , `vtg` , `vi Avj -wki, 1968, 3, 386|
²³ Avj -Lwdd&iwPZ AvKvg` be`|

Zvntjv BRvivi tbqv m&ut` i mivmMK Kvhrvivi Zv hv` nmi tq hvq Ges Zv t`k tKvb DcKivi cvl qv br nq/ msL`vMvi o gZ, BRvivi vZv ev MhxZvi e`wMZ AqIqZvi KviqY BRvivi emZj MhYthvM` bq/ ZvB Ab` tKvb KviqY BRvivi Pr& emZj Kiv hvq br/24

nivbwd gZ BRvivi mivmMK AqIqZ Ae`vq`_vKvi cil c`qI0tqi AqIqZvi KviqY BRvivi emZj Abtgv` b Kiv hvq/ G gZi mct`qI D`vniY t`qv ntqtQ/ thgb, hv` tKvb t`vKvb `Lj tbevi AvtMB MhxZv Zvi mg`I gvjgvj nmi tq tdtj, Zvntj/ GKBfite, tKD tKvb Abvntbi Rb` even`frov KtiqtQ/ mKS` hv` AcL`vKZfite AbvntbiU` wMZ ev emZj Kiv nq, ZLb frov Pr&uU emZj Kiv thZ cvti/ tKvb GK ct`qi gZi KviqY BRvivi Pr& emZj i c`qI/1 weirfbregZv` k` i gta` gZveta iqtQ/ Avakvstki gZ, tKvb GK ct`qi gZi ctii BRvivi envj _vKte Ges Zvi `ea DEivarKvixi Dci Pr&uU eZte/ Aeavni Zfite tm Zvi gZ`Rtbi` j`vfvil`3 nte Ges ZvK Aek`B Pr&uU tgfb vbtZ nte/ Aciv` tK, nivbwd` i gZ nt`Q, tKvb GK ct`qi gZ` ntj/ Pr&uU emZj ntq hvte/ Zv` i gZ, GvU nt`Q Manfa`ah (m`eav), Mal bq etj Zvi DEivaKvi Kiv hvq br/ wev`u, Dcnvi, DEivaKvitiZji gva`tg gvij Kivr n`i`si BRvivi tK wev`vZ Kti br/ nivbwdmn msL`vMvi o gZvqZ nt`Q, bZb gvij Ktk tgqv` tkl br nl qv ch`S/Pr&uU tgfb Pj tZ nte/25

m`Z KviqY tgqv` DEY`nevi cil tgqv` evovtbr br ntj, gj-Z vbatni Z tgqv` tktIB BRvivi Pr& i Aemv b nq/ G At`_ct`Kvb ci ev evnb tKvb agtYi Rb` frov Kiv ntj agYKvitiZ i gta` frovi tgqv` tkl ntq tmtj I, evnbuU Mste` br tcv`v ch`S/BRvivi Ae`vMZ`_vKte/

BtZvqta` Djt`K Kiv ntqtQ, Zv nt`Q, BRvivi ktZ`m&u` T`vUcY`nl qv I cil Kivi weav`_vKtj G Avakvi c`qv`Mi m`1/2 m`1/2B BRvivi emZj ntq hvte/

7. Bmj vgx&U evn`kK

mivkK-Gi euePb m`kK/ Avix Avf`vrb Abvnti, tKvb `vjtj vmj tgvni j`vmtq KvD`k Avakvi I `vqZ; Ac`P Kiv/ gyl` Zixi t`qI tI G ka` e`euZ ntq`_vtK/ eZvntb m`kK ej tZ tKvb m&u` ev m&u` _tjvi Avs`kK ev mivmMK Avakviti i vel`q mivU`ct`KU ev Avv`R` vbi`vcEvi vel`q tevSvq/ m`kK-Gi A`stb`vZ At`_qKej bM` At`_P` c`evn bq eis gvij Kivvi Avakvi tevSvq/ ZvQvov, Gi Qvivi m`kK I c`vMZ et`Ui gta` cv`R` vbt`R` Kti/ eU ntjv my` c`vibKvix vbi`vcE`v`cI/ Ab`v` tK, m`kK gj-Z m&u` i Dci gvij Kivvi vbt`QZv `vbKvix veb`tqvM mivU`ct`KU/ Gi D`ik` nt`Q, m&u` wev`u I Pv`vi gva`tg gj` Av`vq Kiv/ tmt`qI mivU`ct`KU avix e`v`v`v m&u` i gvij Kivr j`v`f` Kti/ m`kK-Gi c`v`gk kZ`n`Q` - miKvi, A`_v`bq`S`Y`Kvix KZ`e`q, K`c`v`i`U` ms`v` ev e`v`sk, hviv G A`_v`ms`Mh` Ki tZ Pvq, Zv` i v`v`Z`c`I (Balance-sheet) m&u` i Av`Zj`_vKtZ nte/ kiXAvn&i vbt`R`bvq ejv ntqtQ, m&u` _tjvi GKKfite Murabahah I Istisna`-Gi gZv Bmj vgx Avv`R` Pr& i `vqcI`_vKtj Pj te br/ Zv`Z BRvivi, g`vivi ev I mvj vq-Gi gZv gj-Z m&u` -v`v`v`EK Dcv` v`vbi` c`v`v`v`_vKtZ nte/

Bmj vgx A`_v`v`v`K c`v`Z`v`v` _tjv` v`v`v`v`v`v` I v`v`v`v`K ms`v` (AAOIFI) 2002 mv`tj i btf`v`v` gv`v`v` m`kK m&u`K`kiXAvn&i gv`v`v`v`v` Yx GKvU` `v`j` c`k`v`k` Kti/ GtZ ejv nq, v`v`v`v`v`v`v`v`v` m`kK nt`Q mggv`v`v`i

24 Betb KZvqm i`v`Z Avj`-gv`v`v` I Avev`v`v`v`v`v` i`v`Z Av`K` Avj`-BRvivi
25 Betb iak`&i`v`Z v`v`v`v` Avj`-gv`v`v`v` I Avj`x`Avj` Lw`j` d` i`v`Z Av`Kv`q` Avj` gv`v` gv`v`v` Avj`-v`v`v`v`v`v`v`v`v`v`v`

mnwUdtku, hvfZ Puvi gva'tg msMpxZ A_©cwi Kwí Zfvte ev`é m'ú` ARB, m'ú` i gva'tg mglj cúB A_ev netkl wnb'tqm KgmPri Aaxb ubw`é tkvb cKtí i BKZbuUtz wnb'tqm|²⁷

Zero-Coupon bvtg cwiiwPZ mjkK nt`Q FYgwp`i j`f` A_@q| wKŠ`A-ewmYR`K mjkK nt`Q, thLvfb tkvb m'ú` tbB, tmLvfb m'ú` mwpí Df'ík` Ovo Kiv mjkK| tkvb tkv'úvbxí w`wZcft' AfbK m'ú` t`LvfbvB Gi Df'ík`| Zte G aitbi mnwUdtku mivmwi e`emvthvM` nte bv| KviY, FYcI wvui Ici (gvj tqikqv I Bt`vfbkqv Ovov) kixAvn&i weia-ubtla itqtQ| cD`wgKfvte Avnwi Z m'ú` Istisna'-Gi Askx`vii Zj Ges F'Yi `vqexZv`_vfk Ggb wKw`fZ tkvtePvi Pw`_vKte| G aitbi FY-mnwUdtku ubw`é nvfii Zero-coupon mjkK bvtg cwiiwPZ Ges mvaviY `wotZ G,tjv kixAvn&m'vZ etj weteiPZ|²⁸

mjkK `@fvfM fivM Kiv hvq : ce@b×mwi Znvti jvf cD`vbKvix mjkK Ges jvf-tjvKmitbi wfvE'tZ mD mjkK| mjkK Avj -BRvív nt`Q ce@bañi Z nvfi jvf cD`vbKvix mnwUdtkuTi GKwU eo D`vniY| G chS' evRvti Ovov mjkK,tjvi gta` mjkK Avj -BRvívB cl'áv` tctq AvmtQ| mijvg mjkKI GKB Df'ík` e`eüZ ntq`_vfk Ges evnivBb miKvi Gi mwpq cD`cvlK|²⁹ Gi Ab`Zg j`y` ntjv, Zvij` ewx`i Rb` Bmj vgx e'vsk,tjv mPiiPi th gvvevni c×wZ AbvriY Kti Zvi cwietZ`G bZb e`v Pij yKitZ Drmvi thvMvfbv| kixAvn&i msAv AbvriY, BRvív eÜ nt`Q, ÚcúZwU Bmÿ Rb` mggtj`i ev`é tUKmB m'ú` hv BRvív Pw`gtZ wivcEv` wvDZ Kti|³⁰ BRvív etÜi t`f`f' BRvív t`qv m'ú`Ei eÜ`vZvK tkvb Ktc@iU ms`v ev cD`Zv'vbi mstM hÿ`_vKvi cD`qvRbxqZv tbB| D`vniY`_f, etÜi wvbg'tq tkvb GKwU wvgybms`v BRvivi gva'tg GKwU wvgyb msMh` Ki'tZ cvti| GK nvrvi wvfb'æw` etÜi gvij K ntZ cvti| Gf`i cD`Z`fK e`w`MZ I Avjv`vfvte wBR wBR cÚS'fKi f'vov wvgyb ms`vi KivR t`fK etS wbtZ cvti| GK R'tbi m'f' Ací R'tbi thvMvthvM`i`iKvi tbB| A_@, Zviv tKD D'tovRvniRwU gvij K wvgybms`vi tkvb tkqv'ti gvij K bq| Zviv tKej gvU D'tovRvniRwU GK nvrvi fvM`i GK fivM gvij K| eÜavixiv w`wZkxj Avq K'tib, hv mvaviY tkqv'ti tPtq Kg S'kC'Y` KviY, Zv`i bM` A_©c'vni ubw`é I ce@bañi Z|

Zey, mmeK evRvi Ae`v, `vei m'ú`Ei`i DVv bvgv, BRvívMh'xZvi f'vov wKw`f'cwitkva Kivi mvg_©, i`fYvte`fY I exgv Lip BZ`w` Kvi'tY BRvív eÜ S'kC'Y` ZvB, wKQzBRvív eÜ t`fK cD`w'kZ jvf wvfb'fvte ce@bañi Z Kiv m'ú` bvI ntZ cvti| wv`é f'vovi cwigvY wvfb'K ntj I wKQz'etqvRb ntq`_vfk| wBLv` BRvív mjkK mvaviYZ w`wZcft' mwp`é tkvb m'ú`i wfvE'tZ BmÿKiv nq| tkvb Rwg, hšcwZ thgb D'tovRvniR I RvniR BZ`w` BRvivi Rb` h_v`m'ú` ntZ cvti| Df`v`³¹ I Pw`i Dci wvfb' Kti G aitbi mjkK-Gi f'vovi nvi ubw`é ev cwieZB'thvM`, Dfq cKvi ntZ cvti|³¹

Aek` úgviveü I úgvivivKü etÜi cD`jb NUv'vbi m'j'vM itqtQ| hv I G,tjvfk tbvU ejvB fv'tjv| KviY G,tjvi jvf wv`é bv ntq` cwieZB'kxj nte| Aciv`fK ÚBRvív I Úmij vgu mnwUdtku t`fK cÚB jvf wv`é| úgviveü I úgvivivKü eÜ AvBwvme-mn AfbK t`k Pij yKti'tQ|

²⁷ G- f'vri wvdu Ae GGI AvBGdAvB kixAvn&wvU(2002) bs 18, b'f'f c;4
²⁸ Tariq iwPZ Managing Financial Risk & Sukuk
²⁹ The Salam Sukuk of Bahrain are wontly souls and non-Tradable.
³⁰ gbhri K'nd iwPZ evfRU NwUz c'f'Y BRvív etÜi m'ú` e`eniv`'é`
³¹ bww`K t'R Av`g I Av'jy K'f`i Ugvv iwPZ Bmj vgx eÜ`'é`

i tqfQ BKBuU wfiEK wi tqj -Gt÷U, tnR divU, eUuKi gtZv wi tUBj divBb`wYs cY", Mmo tKbv BZ`w | G t_k tevSv hvq, Bmj vgx eU_s,tjvi GLtbr AtbK Dbqb c0qvRb| Avt'iv t`Lv tMtQ th, wRummfy t`k_s,tjvZ ggnj g RbmsL`vi gvT 20 kZvsk Bmj vgx mvgMoi tμZv| Fiel tZ `vei m`uñEzZ weib tqm Uv÷ (Real Estate Investment Trust-REIT) I `vei m`uñEzZ weib tqm Znietj i Dci wekl_s,iaz;w tZ nte| KviY, e`w³ chiq G ubtq AvMh AvtQ| m`aj tb guj tqkqvi tK`xq e'vsK-Gi Mfb® W. thwZ AvRR (Dr. Zeti Aziz) Zvi gj- fvl tY OmveRbvb Bmj vgx eU0 Pvj j m`tebv LuZtq t`Lvi AvnYvb Rvbvb| AvMhX t`k I ubePZ c0Z0vb_s,tjv Zvt`i m`u` Gmrfic-i Kvq weju KitZ cvite| Avei Gmrfic tmB m`u` Ab t`tki Kvq cly:BRviv w`tq w`tZ cvite| G t_k jvf AskMhYKvix t`k_s,tjvi mweR A_`vovZK Dbq tbi KvR e`q Kiv thtZ cvti |³⁵

1988 mvtj i tdeavix gvtm tRivq Bmj vgx m`aj b ms`vi wdKvn&GKvWgxi PZz`eml R cY% mfv AbvZ nq| GtZ R`vb, cwk`lb I guj tqkqvi c0Zibvat`i Abtjvta Bmj vgx weib tqm mnuUctkU ubtq Avtj vPbv Kiv nq| GKvWgxi gZ cKvk Kti th, cweT tKvi Avb-Gi 2q mji 282bs AvqvtZ Pz`ex ntZ DrmwZ Kiv ntqfQ:

OhLb tZigiv tKvb wv`0 mgtqi Rb` F`Yi Av`vb-c0vb Ki, ZLb Zv wj uce× Kti bvl |..... G wj uce×KiY Avj wni `wptZ AvAK b`vh` Ges Zv `ry` wntmte AtbK hZmB Ges tZigv`i gta` m`n c0Zivtai Rb` AvAK DchY|0

G cwi t`c0tZ wdKvn&GKvWgxi 5bs wv`v`šfej v ntqfQ:

Oh tKvb m`ut`i mSMh wj uLZ tbvU ev etUi gva`tg ntZ cvti Ges tmB eU ev tbvUw PjwZ evRvi gtj` weju Kiv thtZ cvti| Zte, tkqvti c0ZibvazKvix mweR m`ut`i AvAKvsk MwZ nte ev`e m`u` I Av`R AvAKvi Oviv| Aek` Gi qZ`Ask bM` A_` e`w³ chiqi FY ntZ cvti |0

BRviv I BRviv etUi gvmj vn&wfiEK dj vdvj -Gi wKQzAštbhZ Zvrch`msvjB AvKviti Ztj aiv ntjv:

K. AvtMB ejv ntqfQ, BRviv eU F`Yi c0xK bq, eis BRviv c0E m`ut`i Dci ALD gnj Kvbvi c0xK| KvRb tm_s,tjv nt`Q Askx`wizZi Av`vi mnuUctkU, hv BKzBUi gZB| thtnZzmK tKvb FY ev tKvb Av`R e`e`vi nuzqvi bq| KvRb FY ev A_`weju tZ Bmj vgx AvBx Rivj Zv G t`q t` c0hvR` bq| Aek` m`ut`i gvmj Kvbvq Askx`wizZenxb mKk kix0Avn&AvBtb`eaZv cvte bvl

L. BRviv A_`q tbi e`q wibicfY GKw Pjtki (factor) fvgKv AvtQ| Zv nt`Q BRviv`vZv Zvi jvf wbaftY th gvb wbaftY e`envi Kti| evRviti gj` wbaftY j Ub Avšte`vsk c0weZ nvi (LIBOR)-Gi m`½ GKw c0ZthwMZvgj-K wctgqg thvM Kiv nq| Guv kix0Avn&mgw`Z wKbv, tm wv`tq c0qB c0k tZj v nq| wekl Kti mnuUctkUavix`i fimgvb nvti jvf t`qv| Guv ati tbqv thtZ cvti th, GKB tgqv`cY` F`Yi Rb` m`j`i th nvi wbaftY Kiv nq GKB nvi tmLv tbi avh`Kiv ntq `vtK| Aek`, AšZ: `0U Kvi tY Zv wfbvci Kg ntZ cvti| c0gZ, GKB tgqv`i ntj I m`u` mgw`Z BRviv tgqv`x-F`Yi Zz`bvq Kg S`KcY` wZxqZ, tKvb m`ut`i BRviv`vZv ev gvmj K h` GKB Ae`vq BRviv t_k Fiel tZ cvl qv gj` Kgv tbi D`t`k` IB gtj`i tKvb Ask BRviv MhXZv tK w`tZ B`Q` nb|³⁷ Zte D`j L`thwM` wv`l q

³⁵. wv.Gm.Zvb tRw : 0c0wZKxj Bmj vgx Av`R e`e`vi Rb` c0Pov|0

nT"Q, BRvivi eU-Gi tTjT LIBOR tKej jvF ubaFtYi Rb" evRvi-gj- Z" ubt`RK intmte KivR Kti | Abw`tK, Dt`v3v I GmwFuc-i BRvivi eF`ve`fAbgvti fvoiq c0B At_P AStbnZ gj-` wbfPkj |

M. e`Z BRvivi vZv Zvi mAU` BRvivi t`qvi ci I mAU`i`ea gvuj K intmte envj`_vtK | dtj evowZ RvgvbZ QrovB Zvi Ae`vb mYp`_vtK | wtkl Kti thLvfb AwZwi`3 RvgvbZ c0vb mAU`KZ AvBtbi dUktdivKi e`isK FY c0BtZ etav mYp` Kti, tmLvfb GuU GKwU Dtg LthvM` mYpav | wKs` ce`wbaFti Z ubw`0 nvti AwZwi`3 RvgvbZ-wfivEK FY t`qv ubtq mgvtj vPbvi gj- KviY nT"Q, GuU`vFvweKfiteB i`YKxj | GtZ abt`i I hrviv BtZvgt` e`emv Kitz ZrivB AvbKj-` cvq Ges th e`emvq A`qB Kiv nTqTQ Zvi mvdj` ubtq ctiv`fite DvMw`_vtK | cPvj Z A`qB e`e`vq AwZwi`3 RvgvbZ t`qvi wvLquU GKwU c0w`Z e`e`v Ges Zviv hvPvB-evQvBtqi tYt`I KwB cwiw`vZi mAU`yb nq I thvM` wvtePZ nq bv | Aciw`tK wj wRs tKv`ubv, tjv tKvb AvgvbZ Mv`OZ ivtL bv etj tZgb KovKwO I Kti bv |³⁷ wj wRs e`e`vq tKvb evowZ AvgvbZ w`tZ nq bv I c`wvZ mnRZi etj Zv AtbK mYpavRbK | KviY, mAU`i` gvuj Kivb`_vtK BRvivi vZv nvtZ | BRvivi MhxZvi Kiv t`tK BRvivi vZvi FY-SwKi gvTvl`_vtK mxvZ | KviY, msAvtZB ejv AvtQ, BRvivi tj bt`b nte mAU`-mgw`Z |

N. tenki fivM tTjT BRvivi MhxZvi Abtjvta BRvivi vZv hScwZ miwmi mieivnKvixi Kiv t`tK msMh Kti | ZvB ZvtZ A`_QI mAU` Ace`envt`i mYhM Kg`_vtK | A`_P BRvivi tKej gvT mAU`-mgw`Z bq, c0qvRb AbtjvMx | dtj Zv, `xN`gqv`x A`_QvZK wvbtqvMi Rb" dj cth`Ae`vb ivLtZ cvti |

O. `w`j` Zixi c0wqv mnR nI qvq, LiPl Kg nq | GtZ wj wRs tKv`ubv`_TjZvi mt`z AtbK tekx wj wRs KvhPq mAU`wKtZ cvti | BRvivi wvR`^mAU`-mgw`Z etj ZvtZ wKQlv e`q m`wPZ nq | G KvitY tKv`ubv, tjv RvgvbZ MhxYi tYt`I`v`xbfite cSv AbgviY Kitz cvti |³⁹

P. BRvivi GKwU bgbxq e`e`v | KviY, GtZ`f I `xN`gqv`x gj-` ubaFtY ubw`0 wKsev cwi eZBixq nvti i wvFvEtZ Kiv hvq | thgb, gjvewv I BmwZmbv (Murabaha I Istisna), hv ubw`0 tgvv`x ev ubw`0 Zwi LwFvEK e`emv Pw`i gZ bq | evRvigtj`i mt`z m`wZ ti`L fiov DVvbgv Kitz cvti | Aek` wvLc c0wqv mAU`bantq tMtj wvLc ctY`i gj-` Kg-tekx Kiv hvte bv | gj-` cwi tKvta t`ix ntj I bq | Ggb bgbxqZvi mYhM`_vKvq BRvivi e`e`vi`z cthvi NtU`Q |

KtqK eQi AvtMl gtb Kiv nTzv, fimgvb (cwi eZBkxj) nvti BRvivi ki x0Avn&wSZ bq | gtb Kiv nTzv th, Dt`v3v tKej gvT Zvi mAU`Ei ubw`0 c0Bi wvFvEtZ fiov ev jvtfi wvDQZv w`tZ cvti | wKs` ubw`0 nvti mYK evRvti i AtbK SwKi mAU`yb nq | GKw`tK, mYK-Gi evRvi Pwv`v fimgvb c`wvZi mt`z m`wZcY`ntZ nte, Abw`tK fiovi nvi ubw`0 Kivi tYt`I ki x0Avn&wbt`Rvej xl tgb Pj`tZ nte | Gi GKwU mgvaib cvl qv tMtQ | Zv nT"Q, BRvivi eU-Gi GKwU gj- BRvivi Pw`i (Master ijarah agreement) Aaxtb KtqKwU Dc-BRvivi Pw`i Kiv | Dc-BRvivi Pw`i fiov evRvi gj-` mPK Abgvti Aa`evm`Rfite clytubaFtY Kiv | G c`wvZtZ, Qq gvTmi Rb" ubw`0 nvti fiov I fimgvb nvti fiov - Dfq e`e`vi mgS`q Kiv thtZ cvti | ga`c0P, DcmvMiq ivO`_tjv I gvT`qvKqv c0vbZ G c`wvZtZ Zvt`i tenki fivM BRvivi eU evRvti QvotQ | G c`wvZ ubw`0 nvti BRvivi eU-Gi evRvi SwK wKQlv ntj I Kwgtq Avtb |⁴⁰

37. Rvtf` tnvMbb I kwidv givmcl i wPZ KtqZ ivto`wkr` cKt`r Bmj vgx A`_qBti figKv`be` |
38. Behxg I qv` i wPZ 0Bmj vgx A`_qB : `tKZtKi gj-`vqb0`be` |
39. bvtclj Avj nrhvj i wPZ 0BRvivi A`_qBti AwFbeZ | `be` |

Q. cPuj Z yj uRs-Gi m½ ujj _vKv BRvi wfiEK A_ qb `z cñvi j vfi Ab`Zg Kvi Y| ZvB DcmvMixq AAj I `vY-Gkxq t`k, tjtZ cPuj Z yj uRs Pz KvhRi ntqtQ| KtqKw DcmvMixq t`k Guv ev`lvqb Ki tZ tMtj Ab`v` mñwfiEK Aw_R Pz i tjt` wKQbv mgn`v t`Lv w` tZ cvfi |⁴¹

m`u` Avni Y I Zvij` e`v`vcbv Ovovl wewbqumKvix`i Rb` w`wZkxj Avtqi e`v`v Kivi ga` w` tQ OmkK0 mnuwctkKU cPuj Z eU-Gi figKv AwKj fite cvj b Kti _vK| Zte cPuj Z eU I mKk Gi gta` cv`R` i tqtQ| Zv nt`Q, mKk m`y-wfiEK bq|

OmKk0-G wewbqum Oviv e`emv-ewYR` I `k`gub m`u`E Drcv`tb Znnej thwlvb t`qv hvq| ZvB mKk `vei m`u`E LvZi (Real Estate) KvhRitgi m½ h` Ges `f`gqv`x A_`c`vtn mQ dUvKvemR I m`e` Aw_R-m`u` t`k g`| DciS, gmv Kuvr _vKvq BRvi-v-mKk Avixiv Zv`i wewbqum e`envi, G m`u`KZ m`u`Ei aib m`u`K`Z` j vfi AwKvix nb| wK`S` cPuj Z eU-Gi tejvq Ggb Z` j vf Aer`e| dtj, Gi Oviv evRvfi ep`Ei k;Ljv cZ`vni c_`ck`lnq|

8. mbeWbnj vgx eU

BmwZmbv (Istisna) I gjvevni (Murabahah)-i gva`tg c0B m`u` I BRviv ugvj Zfvte mKk MVb Ki tZ cvfi | e`Z: wewfbactkYxi m`u`i`i msugk`Yi dtj epr cwi mti At`P mgvtek NUv`bv m`e` nq| Kvi Y, gjvevni I BmwZmbv-i m½ BRvi`vni msugk`Y Ovov c0g` Bw`i ct`q tkqvi evRvfi c0ek m`e` bq|

2004 mtj i RjvB gvtm Bmj vgx Dbqb e`vsk mKk Avj -BmwZmbvi (Sukuk al-Istisnar) bvtg wek' evRvfi 400 ugvj qb gmk0 Wjvi gj`gv`bi GKw bZb nuwew mKk evRti Qvto| GuvB c0g Bmj vgx tkqvti i `v`sl thLv`b m`u` f`v`i e`u`ea c0qvqi (Instrument) m`v`j b NUv`bv ntqtQ| Gi AvtM wek' evRvfi Ovo Kiv OmkK0 wQj `vei m`u`E (Real Estate) BRvivi Avq wbf`P| tmw gj-Z wQj BRviv eU AvKvti |

Bmj vgx Dbqb e`vsk-Gi mKk wQj cKZ.BRvi wfiEK Ges GKB m½ FYwfiEK m`u` (Murabaha and Istisna) wbtq mQ| Zvici l m`u`i`i tcvU0uj I (Portfolio) Ggbfvte MVb Kiv nq hv`Z BRvi wfiEK Astki clavb` wQj | tgvU m`u`i`i 66 kZisk wQj BRvi wfiEK| weavb i vLv ntqWQj th, BRviv m`u` memgq tcvU0uj I-i 50 kZistki tekx nte| AvBwve-i tcvU0uj I gjvevni I BmwZmbv-i c0B Avtqi mgv0 weavq G mnuwctkKU t`k jvf wQj ce`vba`vni Z I wv`0 vti (emv`R 3.625%)| 2008 mtj i AvMt`÷ tgqv` cY`n qvi AvM ch`S6 gym ci ci Zv cwi tkva thwM` wQj |⁴²

AvB`bi cwi fv`vq, AvBwve-i G cix`qvgj-K w`lqvU Zvj wdk (Talfiq)-Gi wdkw (Fiqhi) aviv`vch`Z A`ev wewfbactkgti tRvov t`qv| Avtj vP` t`q`i, GKw Kiv`yZ mgvav`b Avmvi j`j` wewfbactk` e`v`vi (Instrument) GK`xKiY| A`v Avtj vP` ev eZgvb t`q`i evRvi RvZKi`Yi Rb` GKw mgv`S Z c`w`Z| AvBwve-i mKk Avj BmwZmbvi (Sukuk-al-Istisna) wZbvU Ask, h`v BRviv, gjvevni I BmwZmbv| GmeB wewp`i wewfbactkqv| tm` t`j v wewbgq Pz`i (DKZ Avj gsv0Avl qv`v) mvari Y tkYxfZ

⁴⁰. Zwi K i nPZ 0Aw_R Sjk e`v`vcbv t`Ljv|

⁴¹. G`vWig I Av`jy Kv`i : 0Bmj vgx eU m0

⁴² Pz`i tk`l AvBwve`i Bmj,tjvi m`u`-wfiEK wQj 65.8 kZisk mKk Av-BRviv, gjvevni 30.73 kZisk Ges mKk Avj -BmwZmbv 3.4 kZisk|

hv gTj`i wewbqql tevSvq| Aek` wBR wBR c`QvRbxqZv I Ae`vi cwitc`fTz G wZbwUi gta` cv`R` i`TqTQ| Ab`w`TK, gjyevnv nT`Q Av`v-wvEK Pwz (Uqud-al-amanah) tkYxfz | BRviv I BmwZmv G tkYxfz bq| AwAKs; BRviv nT`Q m`uT`i djvdj ev mglj wewu| wKs` Ab` `w Pwz i gva`tg cY` mvgM` wewu nq Ges tm`Tj vi AShtgtj tek cv`R` i`TqTQ| G wZbwUtK c`wK evRvti Zvt`i mwZ`Kvi mvg` (nmKwK) Avyvti GKw aiY ev c`wZi Avl Zvq wbtq Avmv tek KwWb|

AvBwWw-e-i mKk Avj BmwZmv c`fTbi mT` RwoZiv GKw AeKvWtgv I dgjv wmwte Zvj wdk wetePbvq wbtqTQb wKbv G c`UKvti i Zv Rvrv tbB| Zte, `Tqi wPstaviq wvj t`Lv hvq|

Zvj wdk GKw bearivi Bb`-TgU ev gva`g nTz cvti| Gi MVb I djvdj wetePbvq GtK AbKiy I ZvKvj`-Gi chTq tdjv thTz cvti| AZtZ Zvj wdk Ggb GK dgjv wmwte e`euZ nTqTQ, hv w`Tq GKw ghvve-Gi AvwK ev m`uY`Ab` Avi GKw ghvve-Gi mT` mgSQ Kiv thTz cvti| wKsev c`fTz Z ghvve-Gi gta` t`TK tKvb GKRB AvBwWw`i gZvgZi mT` Aci GKRB AvBwWw`i gZvgZ mgSQ Kti GKw w`vstbqv A`ev tKvb GKK ghvvti Abp Ae`vi dtj mP Ae`v KwUtq DVvi c` tei Kiv| AvBwWw-e-i cix`Tq wewfbwPwz`TK GKw Z Kti GKw Pwz`Tz ifc`T`qi wLqU j`yYq| GLvtb AvwK Avw`R wewa-e`e`vi mT` Bmjvqx eU-Gi thwM`T` vctbi nmZqvi wmwte Zvj wdk e`envi i tPov Kiv nTqTQ|

wKl, wK`m`uT`i eU Oviv FYwvEK gjyevnv-i Dci AwZwi` wbfPZv Kgvtbv thTz cvti| `wY-Gkxq Bmjvqx eU evRvti i wmsfvM` L`Tj` vev`vi wewG (BBA) eU| gjyevnv I wewG Pwz i mT` BRviv I Ab`w` m`u` wvEK Pwz i msthM NUvtbv tPov Pjvtbv thTz cvti| Zvntj Zv nTz cvti GKw m`wbevq wKl e`e`v| Ab`w`TK, ga`cP` I DcmMiqx evRvi `Tj`vZ vAvBwWw dgjv e`envi i e`vck m`wbev i`TqTQ| Gfite evq Avj `vBb`TK Bmjvqx eT` ifcvst`i t`T`T` ga`cP` I `wY-Gkxq t`k`Tj vi ga`Kvi e`eavb axi axi Kwgtq Avbv m`e`nte|

Dcnsvi

BRviv i TgTj K m`wv Ges evq Avj -Bbv (Bay al-inah) I evq Avj -`vBb (Bay al-dayn)-Gi wKQz wZwKz wLq GuoTq Zv BRviv wvEK A`wq b I mKk-G c`QvTmi wLqU m`uTzK eQi `Tj`vZ e`vck AvMh` m`w KtiTQ| A`wvK Dbqtb D`xcTki Kvr Kitz cvti BRviv| KvY GuU `wTgqv`x Ges Drcv`bkxj wKl vctbi m`wbev RvMtg tZvtj| e`Z, BRviv AwZwi` RvgvZ wbfP` bv nlqq A`wvZ`Tz gy`Uwzi Pvc KwUtq I Vvi TjT` Gi AShtbz m`TgZv i`TqTQ|

A`wq b GKw c`wZ wmwte BRviv GLbI Dbqtb c`wK avtc i`TqTQ| gvTqkqv, ga`cP` Ges Gwqv i`k`Tj`vZ cKl A`wq b GuU c`QvTmi e`vck mshM i`TqTQ| t`Lv hvT`Q, G hveZ gy`Tgq KtqKwU gy`Tg t`TK BRviv-eU e`envi Kiv nT`Q| GLbI c`vkvj`x msL`wv i`Tg`T`k gva`wK evRvti m`u` AvntYi KvR BRviv-eU e`envi i`iæ Ktiwb| gvTqkqv i`K`Tq e`vstki MfbT`i m`c`ZK GK m`wv`k G wLqU d`T` D`vTQ| wZwb Dbqbkxj t`k`Tj`vi AskMh`T`Yi gva`tg wKrbxb Bmjvqx eU, gj-Z: BRviv-wvEK eU c`fTbi c`vle KtiTQb| Ask`vi Dbqbkxj t`k`Tj`v G eT`Ui gva`tg AwZ` ivR`^cKl -A`wq b e`envi Kitz cvte| Zvovv Bmjvqx eU evRvti AwZe`euZ evq Avj g`Av`j (Bay al Mu`ajjal) ev gjyevnv (Murabahah)-Gi wKl wmwte e`envi Kiv thTz cvti|

BRviwfiEK A_ŕqb wltq kix0Avn&m=úwKZ wltq,tjv wbtq Avgt`i wtkd`Y t`Lv hvf`Q th, mgKvj xb Gme Prz m=úv` tbi t`y`T kix0Avn&bmxZgvj vi tgsjij K tKvb e`Zq NtUnb| Avtj vP` cétÚ thme wltqi lci `wó t`qv ntqtQ Zv c0vj Z i Pbej xZI Dtl L itqtQ| Aw_R BRvii m=útk`g]- Avtj vPbv nt`Q, BRvii m=útk`g]- BRvii t`qv m=útk`i GKvstK m=útk`g]- KUavixi gvij Kvbv Dtl L _vKtZ nte| tKej frov Av`vtqi AwKvi, wltq bq| GUvI tKvb `hfn e`vci bq|

BRviwfiEK A_ŕqb wltq kix0Avn&m=úwKZ wltq,tjv wbtq Avgt`i wtkd`Y t`Lv hvf`Q th, mgKvj xb Gme Prz m=úv` tbi t`y`T kix0Avn&bmxZgvj vi tgsjij K tKvb e`Zq NtUnb| Avtj vP` cétÚ thme wltqi lci `wó t`qv ntqtQ Zv c0vj Z i Pbej xZI Dtl L itqtQ| Aw_R BRvii m=útk`g]- Avtj vPbv nt`Q, BRvii m=útk`g]- BRvii t`qv m=útk`i GKvstK m=útk`g]- KUavixi gvij Kvbv Dtl L _vKtZ nte| tKej frov Av`vtqi AwKvi, wltq bq| GUvI tKvb `hfn e`vci bq|

BRviwfiEK A_ŕqb wltq kix0Avn&m=úwKZ wltq,tjv wbtq Avgt`i wtkd`Y t`Lv hvf`Q th, mgKvj xb Gme Prz m=úv` tbi t`y`T kix0Avn&bmxZgvj vi tgsjij K tKvb e`Zq NtUnb| Avtj vP` cétÚ thme wltqi lci `wó t`qv ntqtQ Zv c0vj Z i Pbej xZI Dtl L itqtQ| Aw_R BRvii m=útk`g]- Avtj vPbv nt`Q, BRvii m=útk`g]- BRvii t`qv m=útk`i GKvstK m=útk`g]- KUavixi gvij Kvbv Dtl L _vKtZ nte| tKej frov Av`vtqi AwKvi, wltq bq| GUvI tKvb `hfn e`vci bq|

BRviwfiEK A_ŕqb wltq kix0Avn&m=úwKZ wltq,tjv wbtq Avgt`i wtkd`Y t`Lv hvf`Q th, mgKvj xb Gme Prz m=úv` tbi t`y`T kix0Avn&bmxZgvj vi tgsjij K tKvb e`Zq NtUnb| Avtj vP` cétÚ thme wltqi lci `wó t`qv ntqtQ Zv c0vj Z i Pbej xZI Dtl L itqtQ| Aw_R BRvii m=útk`g]- Avtj vPbv nt`Q, BRvii m=útk`g]- BRvii t`qv m=útk`i GKvstK m=útk`g]- KUavixi gvij Kvbv Dtl L _vKtZ nte| tKej frov Av`vtqi AwKvi, wltq bq| GUvI tKvb `hfn e`vci bq|

Z_`mE: Bstiw

Av`g, bwi_d tR Ges Avāy Kw`i Ugim, Bmj wvK eU mjkK BmjKiv, AeKvvtgv I wltqim m=útk`g]- Avcbvi c_`wbt`Rbv, j Ub : BDt`ij wR c`yKiej x|

BDt`ivgvb Gkxq e'visiKs I A_ŕqb (2004) kxl qm`t`g] b, i Pbv wltq imayc`xwZMZ giv wbaŕi Y c0qirb Ges D`mwebr c`Y` PwB : tL`j vqvo c0qirb, i Pbv nwgk nwg`, w` óvi, Kqvj vgc`y|

G_`tciRvi Wwdu Ae GGI AvBGdAvB kix0Avn&vUwW(2002) bs 18 bt`f`f` c;4

nvmvb, Avāywn Avj fx nvrX (1984) tMvov w`tki Bmj vgx ewYwR`K AvBtb wltq I Prz, Bmj vgvv` Bmj vgx MteI Yv BbwiUDU, c; 115|

Avj -nivij, (1997) ōBRvii A_ŕqtb D`mwebr j Kqvib Bmj vgx Aw_R I wltqim B`YU`g]U wltqK AvSRwZK kxl qm`t`g] t b cwiZ cétÚ, 16-18 Rvsgvix|

úmiBb tR Ges Kw`i dv Gg (2003) ōKtqZ ivt0`wkr` cKt`i Rb` Bmj vgx A_ŕqtb i fvgKw0 Bmj vgx A_ŕmZ I A_ŕqb m=úwKZ 5g AvSRwZK m`t`g] t b Dc`wcz m`t`g] b cétÚ : emi vBb, 7-9 A`t`v`ei, Kbdv`i YcT, wZxq LÚ|

Kvnd, gbthi (1997) : ōv`v`Rt`i NvUwZ c`t`Y BRvii eTdi m=útk`i e`envi ō, Bmj wvK B`KvibwvK ÷ wWR 4(2) tg

Kvgj x GgGBP (1997) ōBmj vgx ewYwR`K AvBb : wltq fbc`šri wltq Y0 w` Avtqvi Kvb tR Ae Bmj wvK tmmij m`t`q`Ym, LÚ 14, bs 3, c; 17-37|

Kvgj x GgGBP (2001) ōBmj wvK ewYwR`K AvBb : f`iel`Z I wltq fbc`šri wltq Y, tKgieR Bmj wvK tU· U tmmiBw|

43. Avt`iv RivtZ t`Lly, GgGBP Kvgj x ōBmj wvK ewYwR`K AvBb : f`iel`Z I wltq fbc`šri wltq Y, tKgieR Bmj wvK tU· U tmmiBw, 2001;

gRyddi tgvn=s (1995) ðBRvi v : nqvri cvtPR I ijj wRs-Gi wfiE'tZ A_ŕqbð Bmj vgx e'iswks I exgvið i nek#KvI, j Ûb, BÝuUUDU Ae Bmj wqK G'vÛ BÝmDŕi Y 199 c.; 137-144|

wbqvRk, ijj qvKZ Avj x Liv (1990) Pæ³ i Bmj vgx AvBb, j vtrvi, wi Pimªmj |

mmKDwi ulm Kvgkb Ae gjv tgvkqv (2002) mmKDwi uR Kvgkŕbi cŕŕej x, ki xðAvn&G'wWfivBRvi x KivDwYj Kqvj vgcý|

mmi Kx, ggv=s tbrvZDj m (2004) wi ev (mý) Ges Gi wlv xZvi ctý hŕŕ, tR'v, Bmj wqK tWŕfj ctgvU e'isK|

Zwi K, Avj x Avimj vb (2004) mKk Kivŕtgv Aw_R SŕKi e'e'vcbv (AcKwKZ) gvóvi Ae mivBÝ wlvvitiUkb, j gei v n BDub fivmŕŕ, BDŕK

w' Gukqv I qvj óu Rivŕŕ (2004) wlvtm=ŕ 22

I mgvbx, ggv=s ZvKx (1999) Bmj vgx A_ŕwzi cŕŕebv, KivPx, cŕwK'lv, B'ivZŕ gvŕAmi d|

I qv'ªBeŕnvg (2000) ðBmj vgx A_ŕqb : GKwU 'ŕ-kZK gj'vqbð cŕmŕwsm Ae tcv_ªnvi fivwªBDub fivmŕŕ tcvivK Ab Bmj wqK dlvBb'vY, tmŕŕ=ŕ 30- Aŕŕvei 01|

I ŕ÷ tWŕi K : ðBmj vgx ijj wRs-Gi Bmýmgaŕj Ûb, wbd nivBRb, Rŕŕ|

Z_ŕnĒ: Avw

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Abw` : gvneŕ-Dj -Avj g

Bmj vgx e'vsnks I A_ŠonZK Dbq̄b

Rb ūmKqvbvKm

nesk kZvāxi i'iaet_ik A_ŠonZne`iv A_ŠonZK Dbq̄b e'vsnkstqi fvgKv I Gi cŕve ūbtq AvtjvPbv Kti AvmŕQb| Drcv`bkxj ūeŭbtqm mbr³ I A_ŠonZbi gra`tg A_ŠonZK Dbq̄b MmZKxj KiŕZ RvZxq Avtqi cēpxi nvi epx I mgZv mŕptZ e'vsnks cxvZi ,iazi mŕev Z (mŕnŕcŭvi 1912)| Avv_Ŕ (Finacial) I A_ŠonZK (Economic) Dbq̄tbi gta` Nibó mŕutKP ūelqŭl th AtbK ,iazcŕZv cŕvtY KŕqK `kK tj ŕM hvq| Avtqvi Kvb A_ŠonZK Dbq̄b KvDŭYtj i gŕZ (1984) ŐnevYtbi DcŕhŭMx cY` I tmev Drcv`tbi jŕy` gŭbŭeK, Avv_Ŕ, gj-abx, Kvŭtŕv I cŭKŭZK mŕut`i mgšq Nŭŭtq mŕu` mŕoi cŕŭqvB ntjv A_ŠonZK Dbq̄b| Ő epEi Avv_Ŕ e'e`vcbvi AŭaKvix t`k, tjvi cēYZv ntjv `az cēpx ARŔ (ŭKs GŪ tj ŭfb 1993)| KvY, Avv_Ŕ ga`ZvKvix I Avv_Ŕ thŭMvb`vZv ūtmtē tmLvbKvi e'vsk, tjv gj- A_ŠonZK fvgKv cij b Kti |

e'vsk, tjvŕK Sŭk eŭgŭxKiY, e'e`vcKt`i ūibixY I ūbqšY Avtŭtci AbgŭZ t`qv nq (tj ŭfb 1997)| Gŭŭ mĀq epx I mŕut`i `y` e'enŭti mŕvqK nq| ZvŐvov cŭŕi cēvtni ev`b ūeŕk; GKŭŭ mZ` ntjv, Af`šŕixY mĀq I ūeŭbtqvŕMi nvi Nibóŕfŕte mŕuKŕy (tdi t÷-b GŪ nŭi I Kv 1981)| hv Af`šŕixY mĀq I Avv_Ŕ Dbq̄bŕK A_ŠonZK cēpxi GKŭŭ gj- Pŭj KvKv³ŕZ cŭiYZ Kti | ŭKŐŭŭKŐy chŕj vPbvq A_ŠonZK I cēpxi gta` ŭŭgŭx KvŕhŕviiY-Gi cŕy AŭfgZ cŕKvK Kiv nq: Avv_Ŕ Dbq̄b I A_ŠonZK ūeKvK ci`ŭi mŕuKŕy | A_ŠonZK ūeKvKŕK `azZi Kti Avv_Ŕ Dbq̄b| Avevi, A_ŠonZK Dbq̄b ntj Avv_Ŕ LvZ, tjv Pŭv nq (I t` `kŕb 1992, j bŕŭj GŪ LvB 1999)|

e'vsnks LvŕZi Dbq̄b cēpxŕZ ŭK cŕve tdtj Zv ūbtq AtbK chŕj vPbv ntqŕQ| Aek` Gme chŕj vPbvq, MZ KŕqK `kK aŕi Mŕo I Vv Bmj vgx e'vsk, tjvi cŭi eŕZŕKej cŕŭj Z e'vsk, tjv ūbtq Avtj vPbv Kiv ntqŕQ| Zŕe, Bmj vgx e'vsnks GLb Zvi ūbR`ŭŭŕi evŕti I Őŭŕq cŕo AtbK eo evŕŕti cŭiYZ ntqŕQ| AtbK t`ŕk cŕŭj Z e'vsk, tjvi cŕZŕŕŕ ntq `ŭŭŕqŕQ Bmj vgx e'vsk| ūeŭfbŕegŭŭj g t`k Ges epŕ gŭŭj g RbŕMvŕx iŕqŕQ Ggb t`k, tjvŕZ Bmj vgx e'vsk, tjv ŕŕtgB cŕŭj Z e'vsk, tjvi GKŭŭ `k`gŭb ūeKŕi ntq DVŕQ| ūeMZ eŕi, tjvŕZ ūeŭkŕfŕte Bmj vgx e'vsk, tjvi cēpx ntqŕQ `B AstKi | AtbK cŕŭj Z e'vskI Bmj vgx kixŐAvn tŕtb ŐBmj vgx e'vsnks DBŕŭvŕ Pij yKŕiŕQ| 2009 mŕtj i tkI bŭŭŕ GB e'vsk, tjvi kixŐAvn-ŭŕŕĒK Avv_Ŕ mŕut`i cŭi gŭY `ŭŭq 850 ūeŭj qb Wj vi (AvBGgGd 2000)|

ZĒj t`ik Abkxj b

Bmj vgx e'vsk, tjvi gj- jŕy` N mŕeŕP mŕgŭŕK Kj`vY mŕaŕbi Rb` e'vcK A_ŠonZK Dbq̄b| ZvB cŕZŕŕb, tjv A_ŠonZŕK AvZŕ ūbŕŕKxj tŭKŭB Dbq̄tbi mŕeŕP chŕq ŕbŕvi cŕ` me Nŭŭŭ I evav `i KiŕZ Kŕŕvi cŭi kŕ Kti | dtj Avtqi AŭaKZi mŕyŕg eĒŕbi gra`tg BŭZevPK Av_ŕmŕgŭŕK HKZŭb mŕŕ nq| Dbq̄b A_ŠonZne`iv eŕj b, bŭŭZ I mŕu` eĒŕb epŕ cŕZŕŕb, tjvi I ci metŕŕq teŭk ,iazi t`qv DŭPZ| Gi dtj cŕŭj Z eŭŭŕŕ`K e'vsnks (A-Bmj vgx) cŕZŕŕb, tjv thme MŕŕK chŕŕ RŭgŭbZ mŕeav ŭ`ŕZ cŕŕte tKej Zŕ` iŕKB FY mŕeav ŭ`ŕZ AvMŕx |

tek ŭKŐZŕŕŕŕŕ Yŕq t`Lv tŕŕQ (Aveŕ`Šŭj 1991, Kvŕ, Avng` Ges ngŕy 1998, ŭŭŭŕ Kx 2002 Ges BKevj 1997), mŕeŕP gŭŭdv ARŔ Bmj vgx e'vsnks cŕZŕŕb, tjvi gj- jŕy` bq| G, tjvi gj-bŭŭZ `bŭŭZK I gŭbŭeK gj-ŕeŕŕai mŕ½ Mŕxi fŕte mŕu³ | t`ŕki A_ŠonZK Dbq̄b Zj ŭŕšZ KiŕZ cŕŕi Bmj vgx e'vsnks|

Rb ūmKqvbvKm, W.: A_ŠonZK Dcŕ`ŕv, ūcbŕbŕkŕqj GŪ BŕKŭbŕgK Bbdi tŕgb tmŭŭi, ŭgŭbŕ=³Ae ūcb`ŕY, tŕŕ`x Avie

mivcōZK A_ŋōwZK m¼tUi mgq Bmj vgx e'isK, tjv Zžbvqj-K kw³kijx Ae`vfb wQj | w`wZkij Awl_Ŕ ga`ZivKvix wntmte Bmj vgx e'isK, tjvi Ae`vb wQj ewj ö | `enkK A_ŋōwZK m¼UKvtj cPwjj Z Awl_Ŕ e`e`vi tek wKQymgm`v I mvgvexZv cKvk ntq cto | t`Lv tMfQ, Gme mgm`v I mvgvexZvi P'vtj tAi m`te` mgvaib w`tZ cvfi Bmj vgx e'visiKs | dtj, `enkK A_`e`e`vq Bmj vgx e'istKi figKv I cōmwKZv ZvrchEY`ntq I tV | wek! A_ŋōwZtZ w`wZkij Zv cōZōv I kw³kijx `enkK cēw ARfb Ae`vb ivLvi fvtjv m`tebv itqtQ Bmj vgx e'istKi |

Kv, tR m`u` (toxic-assets) wbtq e`emvq bv Kivq (t`Lly, w`ir I nrvmb 2010) 2008 mvtj `enkK A_ŋōwZK m¼U t`tK gŷ `vKvi týtI Bmj vgx e'isK, tjv fvtjv mvdj` t`wLttqQ (wPnvK GÜ nvtP 2008) | Awl_Ŕ DcRvZ ev cPwjj Z Awl_Ŕ cōZōvb, tjvi gZv tkqvi e`emvq mivmvi Rwoq covi Abgnz tbB Bmj vgx e'isK, tjvi | m¼tU cPwjj Z Awl_Ŕ cōZōvb, tjv, iaZi ywZMōInq | Zvovov cPwjj Z e'istKi wecixtZ Bmj vgx e'isK ōtnvj -tmj ō A_Ŕq̄tbi tPtq wbtRi AvgvbZ t`tK A_Ŕq̄b Kti | dtj, evRvfi i AwbōqZv t`tK G cōZōvb Zžbvqj-K Awak gŷ | GtZ w`wZkij Zvi týtI AvtiKw `li thwM nq | `enkK Awl_Ŕ tmevi týtI `āz eaBkij LvZ wntmte Bmj vgx e'isK, tjv wewfbæevRvfi μtgB AZ`š | iaZcY`ntq DfVtQ Ges c`wZMZfite AfbK evRvfi GwGgb, iaZcY`ōI wekij vKvi ntq DVtQ th Kvfi v cty GtK Dtcyv Kivi Dcivq tbB | cPwjj Z e'isK e`e`v gj-Z FY-wfūEK Ges Ssk n`lšti i Abgnz itqtQ GLrtb | Ab`w`tK, Bmj vgx e'isK e`e`v m`u`-wfwEK Ges Ssk-i Askx`vii ZtKw`K | Gme `enkō Bmj vgx e'isKtK evowZ mjyv t`qvi cvkvcnk Gi KvhŕḡtK cKZ-A_ŋōwZi m¼ Nibōfite hŷ Kti | Acwignz I nVir`ūwZ (eveŷ) Kigtq AvbtZI figKv ivtL G, tjv | Dbq̄tbi GKw | iaZcY`ceRZ`ntjv Drcv`bkij KgRvD A_Ŕq̄b |

Bmj vgx t`k, tjvi Dbq̄tB mnvqZvq Rb` Bmj vgx e'visiKs thme KvhRvi YtK tRvi`vi Kti, tm, tjv Rvrv cōqvRb | Bmj vgx e'isK, tjv jvf-tjv KmvbwfwEK c`wZi Ici Awak, iaZi w`tZ wLttq eo AvKvfi i wewbtqM KgŋwP cwi Puj bv KitZ AvMōx nq bv | `xN`gqv`x wewbtqM, ŕtZ`Df`v`v`kYx`Zwi I MōgxY e`emv Dbq̄tbi cōPōv Puj v`Q Bmj vgx e'isK | Gme KvhRvi Y, Dbq̄bkij t`k, tjv tK A_Ŕq̄tbi weKí Drm t`tK jvfevb I Awl_Ŕ LvZ, tjv tK kw³kijx Kivi týtI mnvqK ntZ cvfi | Awl_Ŕ cēw evovtBvi Rb` ggnij g RbMfYi cY`m`tebv KvR jvMvZ G aībi Dbq̄b-mŷhūM Acwi nihŕ Bmj vgx Awl_Ŕ m¼, tjv, cKZ.A_ŋōwZi m¼ mi mvi msthvM, e`MZ tjb`b, ywZKi cY` I KgRvD Gwoq Pjv Ges A_ŋōwZK I mvgwRK b`vqwePvi tRvi`vfi i gva`tg A_ŋōwZi Dbq̄b NUvtZ Piv |

mivcōZK A_ŋōwZK m¼tUi ga` w`tq wek! A_ŋōwZK e`e`vi P'vtj Ä I f½jZv cKvk ntq cto | wktfvbz t`k, tjv | Gi evBti bq | Gi gva`tg Awl_Ŕ ga`Zv, Awl_Ŕ D`m`teb Ges wbtqšY I bRi`vii i AeKvWtqvi gZv, iaZcY`Bmŷ, tjv mvgtb Pjt GtmtQ, th, tjvi ms`vi cōqvRb | m¼tU Bmj vgx e'isK, tjv Kg ywZMōInj I Bmj vgx e'visiKs LvZi fwe`r AMMwZi Rb` m¼tUi AštōnZ Kvi Y, tjv, iaZcY`kYv enb KitQ | wek! cwi gdtj Bmj vgx e'visiKs Kvhŕḡ cwi Puj bri týtI Gv Avti v, iaZcY` Bmj vgx A_Ŕq̄b, epEi Bmj vgx Awl_Ŕ cwi gdtj GKw mvgwMk e`e`vi Dbq̄tbi Ici, iaZi t`q | A_ŋōwZK g`vi mgq mgvRi `wi`a gvb`j I Kō I AmnvqZi eū, Y teto hvq | Bmj vgx e'isK AfbtKi Awl_Ŕ Dbq̄b I cwi eZB NiUtqtQ | AfbK mgvR MVbgj-K, Avkie`vAK DcKwii Zv etq GtbtQ | hviv Gi m¼ hŷ, Zv`i mvgtb `vKv c`wL LqB m`tebvq |

th KvR mvgtb cto AvtQ Zv ntjv, ggnij g D`ŷni A_ŋōwZK Dbq̄tK mtePP, iaZi w`tq mgvRi eo AsktK m¼ wbtq GwMttq hvI qvi c_ fvtjv fite AbgnUvb KitZ nte | eū mgvR BwZevPK A_ŋōwZK mglj etq GtbtQ Bmj vgx e'isK | GKw AwgZ m`tebvq c_ cto AvtQ Gi mvgtb |

Abŷv` : tgn`x nrvmb

cĕx I tUKmB Dbqĕ:

weKí Awl_Ĕe'e-ŵ

tgv Avāymyj vĝ, GdwdG, GdwdGm

nĕhv

ĕesk kZvāxZ cĕx ĩbtq th AwfAZv I cixyv bwiyv ntqtQ Zvi Abynxvšl ntjv, mtgZ cĕxi (Inclusive growth) c_ AbymY Kiv br ntj cĕx tUKmB nq bv| mtgZ cĕxi Abzw-wZtZ t`tk t`tk Avq-`elg" mĵ n lqvi cikvcnk GKB Ae-ŵ mĵ nq `enkK chĕql | mĵRvij`ŵŪi Wtfrvm ĕek; A_ĔwZK tdivĝ (WĕeDBGd)-Gi mĵúwZK GK mĵšj tĕ ĩelqĭW Ztj aŵi ejv ntqtQ, abx I Mĕxŵi gĕa" thfrŵte e`earb eroŵQ ZvŵZ ĕek;A_ĔwZK cĕx ŵĝĭKi ĝĭL cotZ hv"Q|

BtKivbĝK tKiv-Acvtikb GŪ tWtfrj ctĝU AMĕvBtRkb (I Bimw)-Gi GK mĝŵŵvq t`Lv tMtQ, Avtĝmi Kiv 1 kZvsk AwZ-abx e`w³i m`ú` MZ wZb `kĕK wŵ, Y ntqtQ| 34w RwiZi tĝvU RbmsL`vi meŵPtq abx 10 kZvsk ĝvĭŵŵ i Mo Avq tmme t`tki meŵPtq Mixe 10 kZvŵtki Mo Avtqi bq, Y|

99 kZvsk `wi`a th Avŵ`vj b ĩetŵŵŵf KĕtQ Zvi ĝĭ e³e" ntjv Zt`iĕ 1 kZvsk abxi cĕŵi ĝĭ" w`tZ nt"Q| thLvŵb Aeva cĭRev` cĕZwŵZ iŵtqQ Ges thLvŵb tkYx msMĕĝi ŵwĭŵL AmgZv ĩbtq AvtjvPbv nq, tmLvŵb G ĩelŵtq ZKĕZKĕmeŵPtq teĭk| tŵŵŵf-Amŵšŵŵŵŵŵ G Lb dĕŵtQ BDŵivc| GKB Ae-ŵ Avĕ ĩetĕk|

G AmgZv `enkK Awl_Ĕmŵŵŵi mĵ_ hŵ ntq `kĕKi ci `kĕK ĕek;A_ĔwZtK mŵŵŵŵ tĝŵtQ| Gi dtj cĕĕdŵŵŵŵ, mŵ ŵŵŵĕK e`ŵŵŵs e`e-ŵ Avŵ`š tUKmB Dbqĕb Ae`vb ĩvLŵZ cĕŵi ĩKbv| KLŵb KLŵb hĵŵ t`Lŵb nq, mŵŵŵĕK ĝĭ-avĭvi e`ŵŵŵs c`xwZ ĩbtRB Dĭvb-cZtbi Pĵ (Cyclical fluctuation) mĵŵi Kiv Y| hv t`tk ĝ`v ZjwšZ nq|

Dbž I Dbqĕkxj t`k_ tŵŵZ Bmjvĝ e`ŵŵŵs-Gi AvMĝb I `ž ĩe`ŵi ĩetĕk; cĕxi Ae`vŵZ Dĭvb cZb tĝvKŵŵŵŵ I A_ĔwZK Dbqĕbi w`wZ ŵwŵŵZ Kivi ĝZ GKĭU tUKmB ĕek;A_ĔwZK e`e-ŵ cĕŵi qvi tŵŵŵŵŵŵ Avkvi mAvi KĕtQ|

GB cĕŵŵ cĕŵŵ Z A_ĔwZK e`e-ŵi mŵU tĝvKŵŵŵŵ Bmjvĝ e`ŵŵŵs ŵmŵŵe cĕŵŵŵZ bZĕ e`ŵŵŵs e`e-ŵŵ th c`xwZMZ mĝ_ĔARĔ Kiv hvq Zvi I ci AvtjvKciv Kiv ntqtQ|

2. mtgZ cĕx I tUKnB Dbqĕ nŵŵKĝĭ-avĭvi avYv

2.1 mtgZ cĕx

mtgZ cĕx ejŵZ GKB mŵŵ cĕxi MŵZ I bĝv ŵb`R Kĕi| G`ĝU ci`ŵi m`úwKZ| ZvB G`ĝU ĩbtq GKB mŵŵ AvtjvPbv KĕtZ nŵe| `wi`a ĩetĝvPŵbi Rb" `ž cĕx ARŵbi cĕŵŵŵŵŵŵ cĕŵZxZ|

tgv. Avāymyj vĝ, GdmG, GdmGm: tĕŵŵŵŵŵŵ, AvBimGĕ

WKS; `xN°tgqv` G cēw tUKmB nZ nte| GUV nZ nte e'vcK wFwEK LvZ wbtq Ges t`tki ktg
kw³tK Gi gta" Ašf9 Kti| GB msAvq cēwxi mvgwRK I e'wOK PjK,tjvi gta" cL`y m'wK©
Ašf9 Kti|

2.1.1 mfgZ cēwxi c'wAvš'wRK Dcv v

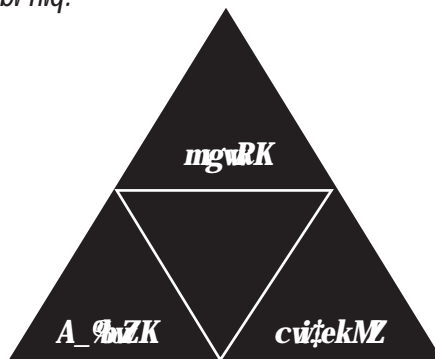
- `wi`^anm Ges Kgms`vbi gvb I msL`wMZ ewx
- Kul.i Dbqb
- mvgwRK LvZi Dbqb
- AvAwj K `elg" Kvgtq Avbv
- cwitētki mjyv

mfgZ cēwxi m½ `xN°tgqv`x cwitētki RiwZ| GLvfb cL`y Avq eEtbi e`tj Drcv`bkxj
Kgms`vbi I ci gbthvM t`qv nq| GB aviYv A_šwZi ev` cov Māc,tjvtK Avq ewxi c_ t`Lvq|
mst`|tc mfgZ cēwxi ntv, wwbvqvm I Drcv`bkxj Kgms`vbi gva`tg mšhvMi mgZv mwKti cēwxi
MwZ `šZzi Kiv I A_šwZi AvKvi evovbv|

2.2 tUKmB Dbqb

tUKmB Dbqb ntv Ggb Dbqb hv fiel`Z cRtbw cōqvRb ci`Yi ygZvi m½ Avtcvl bv Kti eZgub
cōqvRb,tjv tgUvq| GtZ itqtQ:

- cōqvRtbi aviYv| GLvfb wētkl Kti, wētkj; `wi`^RbtMvōxi Riāix cōqvRb,tjvtK AMāaKvi w`tz
nte| hv me AMāaKviti Dcti `vb cvte; Ges
- cōw9 I mvgwRK msMv Avtiwcz eZgub I fiel`Z cōqvRb ci`Y cwitētk m'ygZvi m'gve`Zvi aviYv|
fiel`Z cōqvRb KZUv tgUvbtv hvte Zv wbf9 Kite, Avgt`i mvgwRK, A_šwZK I cwitētkMZ j`y` ev
cōqvRb tgUvbtvi e'vcvti AvR Avgiv th wvš'w'w'Q Zv KZUv fwi mvg`cY`nt`Q Zvi I ci| G aviYv
GKuU ti LwP`T i gva`tg t`Lvbtv hvq:



<p>tmev Mq`vj xmvGMā wkí cēwxi Kul.cēwxi ktgi `y e`envi</p>	<p>BKBwU AskMāY ygZvqb mvgwRK cēwgvbZv mvs`wZK msi`yY</p>	<p>Rie-`ewPī cōKwZK m'w` ZĒyeavb cōZtek mgš9 wēix cwib I evqy</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------

3. gjaviv e'vskstqi Abæb I Abkxj ðb Aw_R mtgZKiY

mbwYqj BbKæb ev Aw_R mtgZKiY ntjv, mgvRi mæavewÅZ I f Avtqi gvbYi KvtQ mnbxq gþj e'vsvKs tmev tcvvbtv| Aw_R mtgZKiY-Gi GB tgvj K aviYvi gta' itqtQ thtKvb e'vstK mÅqx I Pj wZ wmwv tLjv| ev btytI GtZ FY, exgv tmevnn Avtvi AþbK wvq Ašif iqtQ|

Aw_R mtgZKiY-G gj-Z thme wv gvbly fKZ. Aw_R cöZövb, tjvi KvQ t_þK Aw_R tmev cvq bv Zvt' i mrvqZv vb I Zvt' i þK vbxq gnvRbt' i Kej t_þK gy Kivi I ci tRvi t`qv nq|

3.1 evsjv`k Aw_R mtgZKiY-Gi ct_ evav

evsjv`k e'vsk Aw_R mtgZKiY-Gi ct_ kuu evav LtR tctqtQ| G, tjvi gta' wvkl Kti MõgxY GjvKvq`g e'vsvKs AeKvWtgv evsjv`k Aw_R mtgZKiY-Gi ct_ GKw eo Ašivq| evsjv`k cöBeq, cöq AþaR gvbly (48.49 kZvsk) AvgvbtZi wmwv wvtePbvq e'vstKi m½ mæúKwv|²

Avev`f t_þK e'vstKi kvLv, tjvi t_Z; tšMvj K I AeKvWtgvMZ AvtKw evav| mtgZKiY-Gi ct_ GB tšMvj K evav cvigvc Kitz cöZ 1,000 eMqKtj wgvvti e'vstKi kvLv-msL v GKw f- mþK wntmte e'envi Kiv thtZ cvti|

cöZthwMZvgj-K I gj`-mvkqþ tKškj wntmte eo e'vsk, tjv tQv AvKvti i FþYi cvitZ eo AvKvti i FYtmevi I ci AwK gbthw t`q| dtj, Gme cöZövtbi ggvdv-thšv K e'emmvgK wvšl qz' I gvSvvi Df`v v (GmGgB) I Kul. Rmwvnn RbmþYi GKw eo Astki FY-tmevq cöek mæav cvl qvi ct_ evav ntq`wvq|

cöyMZ I cöZövbK D'wvbtK DrmwvZKiY Aw_R e'e`vq cöek I e'envi mæav mæúvviþYi GKw Dcvq ntZ cvti| t`k cöZ 1,000 Rþb 4 Rþbi Kg tµwU KvW e'envi cöyMZ I KwvgtvMZ`gZvi cviPq|

Aw_R mtgZKiY-Gi Avtvi`gZv nt`Q:

- h_vh` wjvqþbi Afve
- Aw_R Avb I wkyvi Afve
- b`bZg A_9msi þYi D`P kZþivc
- f Avq
- e'vsk I qz' Aw_R cöZövb, tjvi (GgGdAvB) hzmB tcvv± ev FYCY`-KvWtgv Afve
- FY ev wvbtqvM ctY' i D`P gj`
- tµwU evþi I qz' I gvSvvi FY MõxZvt' i exgvi Absv`wZ

evsjv`k mæcöZ Pjvnl qv tgevvBj e'vsvKs, wvkl Kti tKvb e'vstKi kvLv tbB Ggb MõvÅtj Aw_R mtgZKiY MwZkxj nl qvi BsvMZ w`t`Q|

3.2 evsjv`k e'vsk-Gi Aw_R mtgZKiY I cöx ZjwšZ KiYKvþ

Avgt' i t`k AþbK e'vsk-kvLv I ýz' Aw_R cöZövb vKtj I RbmþYi GKw wv wU Ask, wvkl Kti MõgxY wv`RbþMvöxi e'vsvKs tmevq cöetki mþhM mwvZ| G kb`Zv cvjY evsjv`k e'vsk I evsjv`k miKvi tek wKözcöZKvrigj-K e'e`v wvbtqtQ| th, tjvi gta' itqtQ, K) cv: A_þqY`ag; L) GmGgB I

vetkl KgmPr wefM tLvj v; M) Kul. FY KgmPr; N) tmSi we`yr, evtqm'vm cDU I eR© cwi'krab cDU (BilUc)-Gi gtZv cwi'keveUe KgmPrZ AeKvWtgv DbqB FY; O) AwL R cZövb, tji vi Rb" Ktc'fIU mivmRK `vqZ; BZ`w DöyKiY KgmPr|

4. wKí e'vskS tKb cDjvRb?

4.1 ^ekK AwR m4Ui cbivej: Sx e'e`vcbvI cR eEb e" my-vfEK AwR e'e`v evievi AwL R m4Ui dtj vek; A_öMZtZ g`v GKwU vbqgZ NUbv ntq `votqtQ| dtj my-vfEK e'vsk e'e`v KZUv tUKmB Zv vbtq cKvDfvtQ| tbtvej Rqx A_öMZv` thvtd md w-MRvj m etj tQb, Avtgv Kvi AwL R e'e`v Zvi Sx e'e`vcbv I cRi eEb -G`öU, iazcY`vqZ; cvj tb e" vntqtQ| GB vkt' i Avmtj hv Kiv DvPZ vQj Zv Kiv bvl GtK Aek'B Zvi vbqšYgj-K AeKvWtgv cwi eZö KiZ nte| cwi Zvtci velq ntjv, gmvKö AwL R e'e`vi AtbK evtR Dcv vb cU exi Ab`vb" t`tk i Bvbx ntq tMtQ| G, tji v Kiv ntqtQ D`vtebi bvtg| Avevi AtbK vbqšYgj-K Df`vMtK `fi tvtj t`qv ntqtQ G, tji v D`vtebtK `vgtq t`te N Ggb ARvZ t`vLtg|³ AwL R t'vT Avvazv Avgt' i tK GLvb vbtq GtmtQ| Avi G cwi w`vZ KvUtg I Vvi e'vcbv I qvksUbtK `yZvq mgx gtb nt`Q bvl⁴ w-Mvj tRi GB vetkl Y, nvtj K`vmtbv K`vncUvj Rg ev Rgvno cRZtšj tLZve cvl qv cRv`x A_ö`e`vi cZövbK thM'Zvi cZ GKwU eo i Ktgi PtcUvNvZ|

4.2 A_öZ Rb" ašmZx tji vne©AvZvb e'vsk e'e`vt`tk gy' i Dcvj

my-vfEK e'vskS cZövb, tji vi gj- mgm'v ntjv, nvrvi eQi ati G tmev w`tq Gtj I GLb Avi G, tji v gvbe Kj`Ygv tmevi KvR AvMö teva Kti bvl eZövb hšM A_öqB ev`é vqB t`tk mti vLtg GK Kul g e'e`vi gta" vPi šbfite m'v` vpxi j t'j" `Zvi MY Drcv tbi GK tivenUK AvKvi vbtqtQ| GK K_vq, e'vsk, tji v AvZv nmi t'q tdtj tQ|

m'vúvZK GK cZte`tb, Ödvk vuk0-Gi Rb" mdU q'vi mgm'vK `vqx Kiv ntqtQ| hv I bZb Ötivetev-mvBibso gUfMR tKtj sKvii tK GKwU cvjYv avtPi Rvuj qmZ etj gtb nq| Ödvk vuk0-Gi dtj tkqv evRvti i mPK nVv 600 ctqU cto vLtg KtqK vgvbtUi gta" tdi AvtMi Ae`vteb vdti Avtm| GUV vQj KvúDUvti i KvimvR| Ötivetev-mvBibso tKtj sKvii ÖtivetU, tji v Ö hš; vQj bvl; vQj e'vstKi Kgvvix| hviv ÖhvšK fiteö vUv vevri QvovB AvBbMZ `vjj, tji vZ m'vi Kti vQj | vKš; G, tji v GKwU m'vviY tvtMi j yY| metPtq Kg cwi k'g metPtq tekx A_öcvR'bi j t'j" Pvj Z e'vstKi ü`qvib AvKv`y v t`tk Gi Rb" hv GKwU hvšK e'vskS-Gi Rb" v t'qtQ, hv A_öMZtK tMvMötm vLtg Lvt`Q|⁵

4.2 my-vfEK e'vsk e'e`vi PjexZv

2008-2009 m'vj i FY-F'zj (Credit crunch) cwi w`vZi Rb" AtbK, tji v KviY `vqx| Gi gta" i t'qtQ gta" h'v'vto' f'z bmvZ, vvbqšY ev Z_vKw_Z evtR aitbi t'vUWU FY D`vteb Ges mefkl, Sx e'e`vcbv I cR eEb AwL R e'e`vi e`Zv|

Rvb t'vtRj gtb Ktib, h'v'vto' Dc-gy' m'vU mgtq eUvK evRvti i ev mve-cöBg gUfMR, tji vi tZgb vKQzKivi vQj bvl Gi Rb" AwL R e'e`vi t'gšj K KvWtgvZ FY vb mgt'`v AvZgj`vqY I Sx LvtUv

Kti t`Lvi cəYZv `vqx| FYtK AwZ m`i Kti tZijvi j`y` wbtq GB e'e`v mvrvtbv ntqtQ| hv mtePP jvtfi Rb` AwZgrvq Sdk `Zwi Kti tQ| wgbw` th Awl_ R f`yZv wPwYZ Kti tQb Zv c`jv vcyj emvZj Kti t`qv hvte bv| tKej, wbgqZmšK bmxzi gva`tg Gi ymZKi c`fve Kugtg Avbv hvte|

wgbw` e'emvq-Pµex i mý-wfivEK cPwz Z e'isK e'e`vi `şj w`K, tjv wPwYZ Kti tQb| wZvb mý-wfivEK e'isK e'e`vi FY vb e'e`vtKB e'emvq-Pµ we`Z. nI qvi Af`šlixY KviY wntmte wPwYZ Kti b| Avi Zvb, cyRev`xA_ e`vq mgw` I g`v evi wdti Avtm|

A_ÖmZ mgw` t`tK g`vi c`_ amez ntj FYMöxZvt i AvbwoZ A_ e`vtni weci`xZ e'is`Ki mwöw`Ö cwi`tkvtai cöZközi th e`wB Zv Avtiv teö hvq| ZLb, mý-wfivEK cPwz Z e'isK, tjv µtgB Awak mZK` nq Ges FYMöxZvt i Kiv t`tK e`tkqv Av`vtq gwiv ntq I tV| dtj B`Zvgta` i adMantq cov cöZövb, tjv e`Üi c`_ amez nq| Ab`vb` `~Qj BDvbU, tjv t`tK Znjej i adMecöZövb, tjv tZ mwi`tg Gtb J BDvbU, tjv tKl e`Üi g`jLvgw` `w Kwi`tg t`qv nq|

4.3 Pµ w`jvaxe`isK e'e`vi c`PwzRbxZv

wgbw` weMZ wZbvU (MZ 2008 mtj i m`Umn) FY I m`u` w`övi`y FY Pµ c`öqM`tK Gfite e`vL`v Kiv hvq:

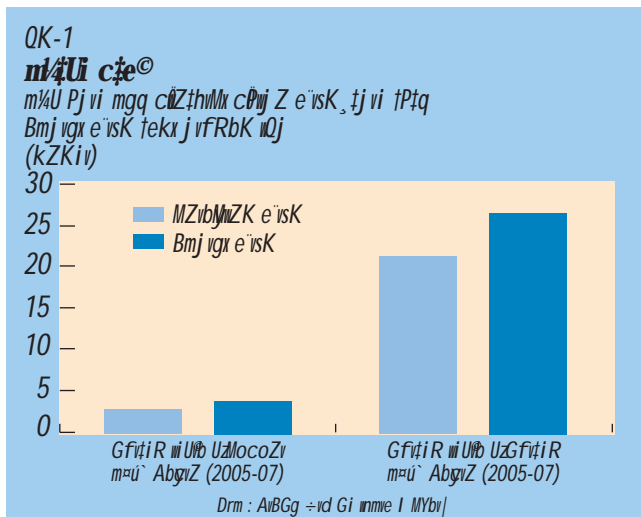
K) A_ÖmZ dtj tdtc I wvi ga` w`tg (B`KvbwgK ey) wZbvU FY P`µi mPbv NtU Ges mgwB NtU g`vi ga` w`tg| Gi gvtb ntjv, cöZwU FY Pµ e`emv-P`µi mt½ m`u`KZ| G t`tK e`şv hvq, cöZwU ÖnetöviYÖ-Gi ci Awl_ R LvZi m`U w`taj tm±ti Av`wZkxj Zv mwö Kti Ges A_ÖmZ tZ g`v ev wbgöwZ `zZi Kti| Ab`fite ejv hvq, w`taj tm±ti A_ÖmZK LvZi GKwU Pµgw`bZvi c`fve itqtQ Ges Zv FYMöxZvi AvbwoZ A_ e`vtni weci`xZ Zvt i `vqx cwi`tkva cöZközi (wcl` W tctgU KugUtgU) gva`tg KivR Kti|

AwUR`ij -4 I Bmvc AvtjvPbvi mgq AvBGgGd-Gi cävB KivR nI qv DvPZ cKZ. A_ÖmZ I Awl_ R e'e`vi gta` Avšim`qv w`tkd`Y Ges Z`vi wK gvb I w`wZkxj Zv Şyk ev`evqb ZÉjeavb Kiv |⁶

GLv`b wewbtqvMKvix I FYMöxZvi gta` m`u`tK`P t`y`t` Pw`MZ eva`evaKZv ms`vti i Rb` ejv ntqtQ hvZ Awl_ R cöZövb, tjvi PµexZvi Pwi`T `t`Ki tZ mstkvabgj-K e'e`v tbqv hvq|

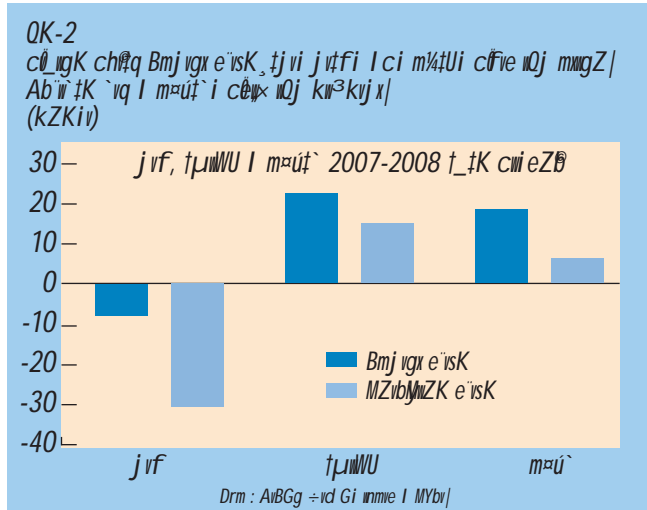
5. `ekK g`vq Bmjvqx e`isK, tjvi N`ZmbxZv, Y

m`u`wZK Awl_ R m`UKvtj Bmjvqx e`isK I c`Pwz Z e'isK, tjvi `yZv Z`jbvi Rb` AvBGgGd GKwU mgw`v Pjvq| GtZ t`Lv hvq, `ekK Awl_ R g`vi mgq Bmjvqx e`isK, tjv tek fvtjv mvd`j`i cwi`Pq w`tg tQ|



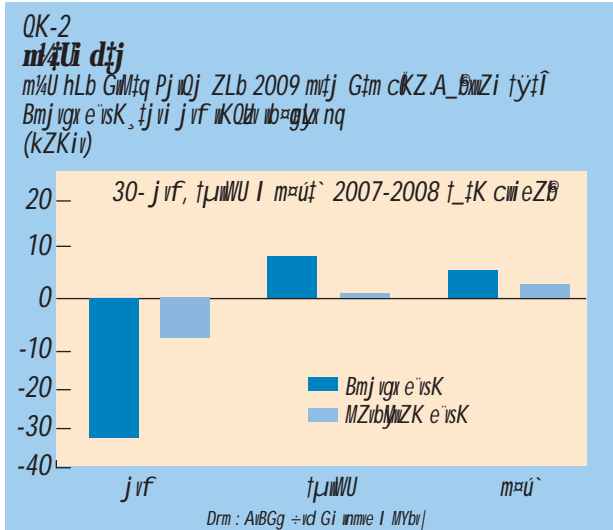
A_P mgrxvq GuUl t`Lv hvq, g`v hLb cKZ.A_ᅇmZtK AvNvZ Kti ZLb cᅇuj Z e'isK,tjvi Zᅇbvq Bmj vgx e'isK,tjv feik tjvKmiᅇbi gᅇLvq nq|

AvBGgGd-Gi mgrxvq, thme t`tk Bmj vgx e'isK I cᅇuj Z avivi e'isK GKBMvᅇ_KvR KiᅇQ tmLᅇb e'isK,tjvi gᅇvdkxj Zv (Profitability), FY I mᅇuᅇt`i cᅇuxᅇZ mᅇᅇtUi cᅇve LwZᅇq t`Lv nq| bZb Kvᅇeᅇt Bmj vgx e'isKs I Avw_R w`wZKxj Zvi gᅇa` weZᅇtKᅇ GKUl bZb cᅇtqvmK w`K t`Lvᅇbv nᅇqᅇQ|`eukK mᅇU i'ianlqvi ci G weᅇtq bZb Kti AvMᅇ mᅇᅇ nq|⁷



`eukK A_ᅇb ᅇkᅇt Bmj vgx e'isKs LvZ GKUl `ᅇZ eaᅇkxj Ask| tKvb tKvb t`tk Guv cᅇuqMZFᅇᅇ GKUl ᅇiaᅇcYᅇLᅇtZ cᅇiYZ nᅇqᅇQ| Ab`vb` t`tk I G LvZ GZUv eo th GᅇK Dᅇcᅇv Kivi Dcᅇq tbB| 2008 mᅇᅇj i tkl bᅇmᅇ `eukK chᅇq Bmj vgx e'isKs ᅇkᅇt i AvKvi `ᅇᅇq 820 weᅇj qb gwᅇKᅇ Wjᅇᅇi KivQvKwᅇQ| DcmᅇMᅇxq mᅇᅇᅇmᅇZv cᅇi Iᅇi Aᅇfᅇ t`k,tjᅇZ (emivBb, KᅇqZ, Iᅇvb, KvZvi, tmᅇ`x Avie I mshᅇ Avie AwᅇivZ) eo eo Bmj vgx e'isK cᅇZᅇᅇZ nᅇqᅇQ|

1, 2 I 3 bs QᅇK hᅇuᅇᅇg mᅇU-ceᅇAe`v, mᅇᅇtUi cᅇve I ᅇᅇzi fᅇqenZv t`Lvᅇbv nᅇqᅇQ| GLᅇᅇb 2007-10 mᅇj chᅇᅇ emivBb, Rᅇᅇᅇ, KᅇqZ, guᅇtᅇkᅇq, KvZvi, tmᅇ`x Avie, Zᅇ` I mshᅇ Avie AwᅇivZ ᅇ G 10ᅇU t`tki cᅇᅇ 120ᅇU Bmj vgx e'isK t`ᅇK tbᅇv Z` e'envi Kiv nᅇqᅇQ| cᅇve gᅇ`vqᅇYi Rb` thme ᅇiaᅇcYᅇᅇj K e'envi Kiv nᅇqᅇQ tmᅇ,tjv nᅇjv: gᅇvdkxj Zv, e'isᅇKi FY t`qv, e'isᅇKi mᅇuᅇ I evBᅇi e'isK tiᅇUs|



G weᅇkᅇY t`ᅇK t`Lv hvq, `eukK Avw_R mᅇUᅇᅇᅇ Bmj vgx e'isK,tjvi Ae`v cᅇuj Z e'isK,tjv t`ᅇK AᅇbKUl w`fᅇᅇᅇᅇ | 2008 mᅇᅇj (2bs QK t`Lᅇ) Bmj vgx e'isKs gᅇWj e'isᅇKi jvfRbKZvq tᅇwZevPK cᅇve mᅇᅇj w`ᅇZ mᅇᅇqK nᅇqᅇQ| tm eᅇi weᅇkᅇ Kᅇi ᅇᅇᅇ weᅇᅇᅇᅇ tᅇUᅇᅇᅇ, `f weKᅇ (tᅇvᅇᅇ wᅇᅇᅇᅇ) Ges kiᅇAvnᅇbᅇwZᅇᅇᅇ vi AbᅇᅇY ᅇ Bmj vgx e'isK,tjᅇK mᅇᅇtUi cᅇve mᅇᅇj w`ᅇZ mᅇᅇqZv KᅇᅇᅇQ| Zᅇ, cᅇi eᅇi KᅇZcᅇ Bmj vgx e'isᅇKi Sᅇk e`vcᅇᅇᅇ ᅇᅇZv, cᅇuj Z e'isᅇKi Zᅇbvq Zᅇᅇi gᅇvdkxj Zvᅇ e'vcK am bᅇᅇᅇᅇ | (QK 3 t`Lᅇ)

I Znnej e'enivii w-iefvRb (dichotomy) Kigtq Avt| dtj, A_omzi cKZ.I Avw_R Lvzi gta" mgšq NtU|

A_ŕqb I Znnej e'enivii gta" cZ"y msthvM NUvq Bmj vgx e'vsuKs| dtj, my-wfwiEK A_omziz hvtk Znnej ejv nq, Zvi Aegw⁸ NtU| GUv A_omzi Mo Pwin`v I mieivtni gta" wechŕqi GKwU eo KviY| Zv`i-Kti Bmj vgx e'vsuKs| Gi gvfb ntj v, Pwin`wfwiEK gyiCwiz Ktg Avmv|

A_ŕqb I A_ŕomzK ZrciZvi gta" msthvM, mieivtn Urvtvcvob Kigtq Avbvi cvkvcwK Kgŕis`vb mw⁸ Kti|

6.2 Bmj vgx e'vsK I cŕijZ e'vsKi gta" cv_R":

cāvb cv_R"	Bmj vgx e'vsK	cŕijZ e'vsK
gj-bwz	Bmj vgx e'vsK kvixAvn bwzGuj v Abvri Y Kti	cŕijZ e'vsK, tjvi Kgŕvtd FY`vb I ubaŕi Z nvi my MŕtiYi bwz Abvri Y Kiv nq
Avtqi Dm	Bmj vgx e'vsK-Gi Avtqi cāvb Dm j vf, mwrfŕi Pvh ⁹ Kbmij tuUmx wcl j vf cwi eZŕq, tj vKmvbi Kvi tY Zv tbwZevPK ntZ cvti	cŕijZ e'vsK, tjvi Avtqi cāvb Dm ntj v wefbaei tbi FY/cŕY" Avti wcz my (FYMŕvzi I ci my Avti v Kti Zv AvgvbZKvi tK t`qv nq) GLvfb mŕi nvi ce ⁸ ubaŕi Z I w`i
Suk eEb	FYMŕvzi, FY`vzi I e'vsKi gta" Suk eEb nq	Suk cŕivcŕi Ab`T`vbiŕi Kiv hvq
mtePP gvvdv msthvRb	Bmj vgx e'vsK mtePP gvvdv msthvRtbi j tŕ" KvR Kiti I Zv Kiv nq kvixAvn bwzGuj v Abvri tYi gva`tg	tKvb wevabti a QvovB mtePP gvvdv msthvRb Gi j tŕ" GgbwK Ab" t÷Ktnvi vi t`i jwz Kti ntj I
j 9" I DtiK"	Bmj vgx e'vsK Avq evotZ e'emv cŕZōvb wntmte KvR Kti	Avw_R ga" Zvkvix wntmte GuU Avq mw ⁸ Kti Gi gj-j tŕ, thtKvbfite t÷Ktnvi vti i gj" mtePP chŕq tbqv
Avtqi aib	wevbtqvM Mŕvzi I cwi tŕki Dci wbf ⁸ Kti Bmj vgx e'vsKi Avtq wfbz ⁸ mw ⁸ nq tj vKmvb ntj Zv tbwZevPK ntZ cvti	MŕK Zvi e'emvq tj vKmvb, Ytj I cŕijZ e'vsKi Avq w`i`vK Kvi Y, gvvdv hv-B tnvK bv tKb Gi mŕi nvi ubaŕi Z

6.3 Bmj vgx e'isKs cūPj bv

cūPj bvMZ `wōtKvY t_ŕK Bmj vgx e'isK m'ygō Ges e'isK, wēbtq̄MMōxZv I wēbtq̄MKvixi gta" SōK e'ĒbwiŕĒK | jvf-tjvKmvb e'Ēb c×wZ cōq̄tMi KvīY AvgvbtZi I ci jvf (ev jvtfi Absw'wZtZ) I e'isŕKi cūPj bvMZ wēbtq̄M tKiv mivgq̄K tōŕvctUi m½ hō bq | cŕi ga"ZvKvixi fūgKvcij bKvix cūōgv e'isK, tjv GKwU wōw'ō nŕti m' cūi tKva wŕiĒK | PwēZ GB m'j i nvi wōw'ō Kti t`qv nq |

Bmj vgx e'isK A_ŕwZK Kvŕfēg I atg' gta" m'úŕK' GKwU bZb aviYv w'qtq̄ | Gi ŌKvŕgij Ō tKiv A_⊙ (money) bq, Zvntjv m'úK' mnt'wMZv I AskMōY | GLvbt KvīwK mte'P jvf t`Lvbtv nq bv | GLvbt e'emv cūPj bvq "bōZK DōyKiY I tUKmB Dbq̄b-wŕiĒK bZb aviYv t`qv nŕtq̄ | ejv nŕtq̄, Avj m givbt | cōŕvRbxq me e'chŕB cūi gŕY mō Kti tQb | G, tjvi NvUwZi Rb" vq̄ givbt | tjvf I cŕfZ Kti ivLvi cēYZv |

7. Bmj vgx e'isKs-Gi kw'gēvI c×wZM `yZv

7.1 Bmj vgx e'isKs-Gi j'ŕ"

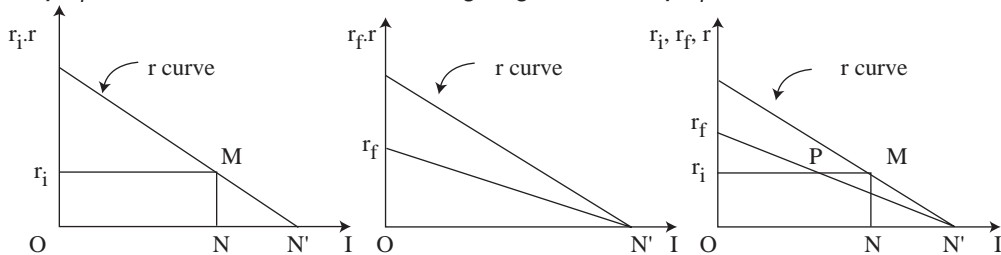
gvKwix -Avj -kix ŌAvn&bwZgij v Ablyvq̄ thme j'ŕ" mivgtb tiŕL Bmj vgx e'isK, tjv Kvŕfēg cūPj bv Kti: e'Ēbgj-K b'vh"Zvi gva'tg A_ŕwZK Dbq̄t mivq̄Zv `vb gvŕvkvij Zvi wēPŕti Awl_℞ m'ú` eivŕti gva'tg `j'ŕ m'úŕ' i (scarce resource) mte'P eiv' AskMōYKvix cŕ, tjv: e'isK, AvgvbtZKvix I Dŕ"v'vi gta" Avq I m'úŕ' i b'vh" e'Ēb wōw'ōZKiY |

7.2 Bmj vgx e'isKs-Gi kw'gēvI `yZv

jvf-tjvKmvb Askx'wŕiZi e'isKs wntmte cūi wPZ Bmj vgx e'isKs, cōŕj Z e'isŕKi tPŕq AwāK Drcv'bgŕ I cēxwēāK aviYv tōŕY Kti | Gi KvīY, e'isŕKi Avq mivmvi Gi A_ŕq̄b Kiv cKí, tjvi Avŕqi m½ mswō | AwāKŠ, m'j i e'tj jvf-tjvKmvb Askx'wŕiZi; A_ŕwZtZ wēbtq̄tMi w' MŠŕK cōwŕi Z Kti | Bmj vgx e'isKs Awl_℞ m'úŕ' i `y' e'Ēb tRvi`vi, Avŕqi b'vh" e'Ēb wōw'ōZ I A_ŕwZtZ w'wZkij Zv wēx Kti | ZvB, e'w÷K A_ŕwZK `yZvi cōZwU Pj tKi wēPŕti Bmj vgx e'isK `yZvi cūPq t`q⁸ wēbtq̄M w×vš' gŕWtj i wēPŕti I Bmj vgx e'isKs-Gi `yZv mte'ŕg⁹ bŕtP Zv t`Lvbtv ntjv:

7.2.1 wēbtq̄Mw×vš'gŕWj: cōŕj Z I Bmj vgx e'isKs

wPŕ-1-G cōŕj Z e'isKs-Gi I wPŕ-1wē-G Bmj vgx e'isKs-Gi wēbtq̄M w×vš' gŕWj t`Lvbtv ntjv | wPŕ-2-G Df̄q e'isKs c×wZ GKwŕZ Kti wēbtq̄M w×vš' MōY cōŕq̄vi GKwU mvari Y gŕWj 10 Dc`vcb Kiv ntjv | wPŕ-1-tK wPŕ-2-Gi I ci `vctbi gva'tg Gŕv Kiv ntjv |



wPŕ-1-G: cōŕj Z e'isK, tjvi wēbtq̄M w×vš'	wPŕ-1wē: Bmj vgx e'isK, tjvi wēbtq̄M w×vš'	wPŕ-2: cōŕj Z I Bmj vgx e'isK, tjvi wēbtq̄M w×vš'
-------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------

wPŕ-2-Gi AvbŕyŕgK tiLwU wēbtq̄tMi gvŕv wōt'ŕ Kti | AvB (I) ntjv cōŕj Z e'isŕKi m'j i wēŕfōarvi (r_i) Ges Bmj vgx e'isK, tjvi AvgvbtZKvix t` jvf (r_f) |

cDijZ e'isK e'e'iq webtqMuxvšI

cDij Z e'isK e'e'iq e'istKi A_@qb Kiv cKÍ ,tjvi jvf-tjvKmb hvB tnvK bv tKb, e'istKi jvf mjbw`@| Ab'w`tK, Bmj vgx e'isK e'e'iq GilU mæúY`ecixZ| cDij Z e'isvKs KvVtqvi AvI Zvq (iPÍ-1G-G t`Lvtr ntqtQ) e'isK tKej tmme cKÍr A_@qbi I ci mjbw`@ nvti mý nvi avh`Kti th,tjv t`tK c@Bjvf AvtiwcZ mý-nvti i tPtq teuk ev mgvb| ZvB, cDij Z e'isvKs e'e'itK ejv hvq, w'í gbydv e'e'v (GdAvi Gg)|

Bmj vgx e'isK e'e'iq webtqMuxvšI

Bmj vgx e'isvKs (Kwi Mixfite jvf-¶wZtZ Askx`wi ZrfrüEK webtqM c×wZ) c×wZtZ e'isK newfbærvti gbydv AR@ Kti| GUV Dt`v`vi AvR@ gbydv GKwU Ask| ZvB, jvf-¶wZtZ Askx`wi ZrfrüEK webtqM c×wZtK cwiEZ@kj gbydv e'e'v (variable return mechanism-VRM) ejv thtZ cvti| tKbbv, Avw`R tj bt`tbi tytÍ Bmj vgx e'isK e'e'iq mý Avtiwc Kiv nq bv| e'isK ev MånK tKDB tKvb webtqM Kiv A_t`P I ci uba`wi Z nvti jvf Av`vb-c@vb Kti bv|

7.2.2 webtqMnjhM nšeni

webtqM mšhvM-Gi gvtb ntjv, tKvb A_@wZtZ A_t`P wmwte MYbv Kiv A_@qbi Atcyvq_vKv tgvU cKÍ mSL`v, th,tjvi Af`šixY jvtfi nvi (IRR) k#`i tPtq eo ev mgvb, A_@, IRR>0| GLvrb, Zmetji (avi Kivi Rb`) evowZ tKvb LiP Ges webtqvMti wKÍ tKvb mšhvM tbB etj ati tbqv nq| G wltq mýúó avi Yv tctZ Avgiv iPÍ-2 t`LtZ cwi| GLvrb Dj`atiLv e'istKi A_@qb Kiv cKÍ ,tjv t`tK newfbærvti c@B jvf wbt`R Kti| Ab'w`tK, Avb`vngK tiLv newfbærvti jvtfi wfrüEtZ webtqvMti cwi gvY wbt`R Kti| wbggyL Xij ytiLv, r, ntjv c@B jvtfi wbt`RK| hvi gva`tg ešv hvq, A_@wZi mæte` thme cKÍ tm,tjvi jvtfi nvti wfrüEtZ wbggyL avivq mrvrtbv hvq I jvtfi nvi k#`i tPtq teuk ev mgvb_vKv chšI A_@qb Kiv thtZ cvti| hw` ZvB nq, Zvntj iPÍ-2 Gi ON tiLwU ntjv webtqM mšhvMti gvÍv|

k#` e'iq Znvej cvl qv hvq etj GLvrb ati tbqv nq| webtqM mšhvM mš`eni cixywu newfbæritbi e'isK e'e'vi `yZvi gta` gvÍwZ Zj`bvi Rb`I e`eni Kiv thtZ cvti |

mývüEK e'isKs e'e'iq webtqMnjhM nšeni

iPÍ-2 t`tK t`Lv hvq, GLvrb ON chiq chšI webtqvMti mšhvM itqtQ| webtqvMti Rb` chšB Znvej itqtQ ati wbtq, cDij Z e'isvKs KvVtqvZ webtqvMti mte`P gvÍv ON-Gi I ci tKvb w`y`vriw uba`wi Z nte| GLvrb jvtfi nvi r Ges mšj i nvi r, hv M w`jZ wgyj Z nq|

mšj i nvi or, ntj tKvb mýwfrüEK e'isK ON gvÍv chšI webtqvM AvMån nte| ON gvÍvi evBti Aew`Z cKÍ ,tjvq A_@qb Ki tZ cDij Z e'isK ,tjv i wR nte bv| Kvi Y, Gme cKÍ t`tK jvtfi tPtq mšj i nvi teuk nte| Dt`v`v`i Rb` cKÍ ,tjv A-jvfrbK I e'istKi Rb` A_@qbi A`hvM` weteiPZ nte| Gi gvtb ntjv, cDij Z e'isK ,tjvi webtqM mšhvMti GKwU Ask memgq Ae`eüZ t`tK hvq|

Bmj vgx e'isK e'e'iq webtqMnjhM nšeni

GKwU Bmj vgx e'isK GLvrb ON chiq chšI webtqM Ki tZ cvti| dtj GilU NN chiq chšI AwZwi`3 webtqM mýeav KvtR j wltZ hvq| Bmj vgx e'istKi ctý GUV mæe| Kvi Y, D`P Avq tRvb (p) w`y`eu

tKvb e'vsK e'e-iv `B airc eEbtk cffmeZ KitZ cfti | cUgZ, weifbæLvZ, AĀj I weifbæAvq-tkYxi gta" AvL R mæú` mbtqwiRZ Kti | wZxqZ, A_ŕqb t_tK mP Avq e'vsK wKfite Zvi t÷Ktnvi vit`i (AvqvbZKvix, e'vsK I Df`v³v) gta" eEb KitQ Zvi gva`tg| mZivs, tKvb e'vsiks c×wZtK `y KitZ ntj weifbæLvZ, AĀj I weifbæAvq-tkYxi gta" e'vstKi weibtqwiMthvM" Znmetji cikvcnk t÷Ktnvi vit`i gta" SstK I jvf-Gi myg eEbI wbuðZ KitZ nte|

e'vsiks-Gi `ŕU avivi gta" Zjvbgj-K weibtqwiM `yZv wPwYZ KitZ GLvtb thme gvb`ð e'envi Kiv ntqfQ:

- K) inmvtei AvKvi A_ev mæe ntj Avtqi AvKvi Abjvqx AvqvbZ I AvMvg (advances)-Gi tkYweb`im;
- L) e'vsK I Df`v³v Ges IB e'vsK I AvqvbZKvix`i gta" jvtfi Avq A_ev mÿj i Avq-Gi AbgvZ; Ges
- M) AvqvbZ I AvMvg Gi kúti-Mŕgy tkYweb`im|

wPĪ-2 G t`Lv hvq, cPwJ Z e'vsK, tjv cKtí i gjdikyj Zv wePbvq bv Gtb GKw mivaviY nvti mÿ Avtvc Kti | Ab` K_vq ejtZ tMtj, cPwJ Z e'vsK, tjvi Avq tKvfvteB Gi A_ŕqb Kiv cKí `tjvi KZUv jvf ntjv Zvi mÿ msukó bq| dtj, e'vsK Zvi Avq wntmte tKej wbu`ð mÿ jvf Kti | e'emv t_tK jvfevb nl qvi GKgvĪ cy ntjv Df`v³v|

7.2.5 A_ŕwZK wíZkj ZvI Bmj vgx e'vsiks

NvZ mvgj vtbvi mnRvZ mvg_° A_ŕwZtK wíZkj Kivi mnRvZ `y itqfQ Bmj vgx e'vstKi | Gi cKvk NtU mæú` I `vtqi tÿtĪ Bmj vgx e'vsK-Gi PwMZ eva`evaKZvi gva`tg| c×wZ wntmte Bmj vgx e'vsK Acwivhfvte GKw jvf-tjvKmvb Askx`vmtZji (wGjGm) AvL R mgvarb| GB cĀZövb AvqvbZKvix`i GKw AšeZxRvj xY jvtfi K_v Rvbiq| cti Zv cKZ.jvf ev tjvKmvbi wfvÉtZ thvM-webtqwi Kiv nq| ZvB, Bmj vgx e'vstKi AvqvbZKvix`i wbu`ð nvti jvf t`qvi tKvb eva`evaKZv tbB| GKBFvte wGjGm AvL R cĀZövb wntmte Bmj vgx e'vsK, FY-MŕxZv th jvf Kti Zvi GKw AvbzwZK Ask cvq, mÿj i gtZv wbaŕi Z nvti tKvb jvf cvq bv| Gi gvtb ntjv, Bmj vgx e'vstKi A_ŕqb Kiv cKí hŕ fvjtjv jvf Kti, Zvntj Gi jvf fvjtjv nte| cKtí i jvf Kg ntj, tm Abjvqx e'vstKi jvfI Kg nte| Gi cŕqwm ntjv, g`vi mgq Bmj vgx e'vsK Zvi weibtqwi t_tK Kg GgbwK, tbwZevPK jvf MŕtY cŕZ_vtK| Bmj vgx e'vsK e'e-ivi GB Abb` êukó mBKK`y dskb ev wRtmmBtKj ev A_ŕwZi Ab`tKvb AvNvZ mvgj vtbvi tÿtĪ GKw mnRvZ ÷`wvj BRv wntmte KivR Kti |

8. Bmj vgx e'vsiks I mtgZ cŕx

mæúwZ AvBGgGd-Gi GKw mgyvq t`Lv hvq, gv_wcQzAvtq bŕRiwenb ep× Nŭvi ciI Avq `elg" evotQ| AvĀwJ K, weifbæw³, Mŕg-kni I brix-cjftI i gta" Avq-`elg" ep×i cikvcnk cwíwíZi Avtív AebwZ ntqfQ| weifbætkYxi gvbtjI i gta" Gme AmgZv wKfite `i Kiv hite, ctjvcwÿ wejŕ Kiv bv tMtj I wKfite Kugtq Avbv hite? Avgiv hŕ Bmj vgx e'vsK e'e-iv-i Abjvmb I Abjvxb, tjv AvyriY Kwi, Zvntj mtgZ cŕx I `vwi`metgvPftbi gva`tg Zv ARŕ mæe|

8.1 Bmj vgx A_ŕe'e-iv jÿ" I êukó"

Bmj vgx A_ŕe'e-ivi ctjv Kivtgv tekwQzDf`iK" ev gwkwí-Gi Ici cĀZwZ| Ab` K_vq, Bmj vgx A_ŕwZi cKwZ. wbgqvZK| Gw ki xŕAvn&i weawearb AvyriY Kti | thLvth tMwlv gibeRwZi Kj `vYtK

DrmvN Z Kiv nq| hv Zvt`i weklm, gvbeZ; tgav, fivel`r cRbY I m`u`-Gi wbiwEweavtbi m½ RwoZ| evRvi, cwi evi, mgvR I i vtóí gta` fvi mvg` cŌZôvi tPóv Pij vq Bmj vgx e`e`v|

GB e`e`v gvbeZvi e`MZ I Ava`mZK Pm`v ci-Y Kti, AwmZK kmšlj vj b Kti, cwi evi I mgvRi msnmZ tRvi`vi Kti|

Bmj vgx A_šmZK gŵWj -Gi evRvi e`e`vq, m`u` eEb I eivl Pmij Z nq`ŷli weikó QvKabi ga`w`tq| cwiŋv gŵWtj i gŵZv gyyj gvbt`i KvQ t_ŵK Zrv`mYK AvZmógj-K AvPiY Avkv Kiv nq bv| Zvi t_ŷei AvPiY wKfite mgvRi m`u`šj Z t_ŷK ymZMŌíKti tm K_v ZvtK fvetZ nq| mshtg DŌy nŷ GKRb gyyj gvb Dcjwä Ktib, Zui weklm I Av`vi wclqW`xNŷgv`x tčŷvctUi m½ RwoZ - hv BnRMZ t_ŵK ciRMZ chšl we`Z| Zvi mvgmRK eva`evaKZv,tjv cŌZcvj b Qvov ciRMŵZi mšj ARŌ nŷZ cvti bv|

e`m`-K chŷq Bmj vgx A_šmZi gŵWj, cyRew` A_šmZ I mgvRZmšK A_šmZi BwZevPK ,Y,tjvi mgvtek NUvtbvi cvkvcnw Ab`vb` tbiwZevPK cŵve`-t Kti| cŷjvcnj temiKwi m`u`E I evRvi e`e`wfiEK nI qvq Bmj vgx e`e`v Ab``ŷ e`e`vi NuUw,tjv ci-Y KitZ mýgb tKej bq, eis eva`Zvgj-K RvKvZ cŌvtbi gva`tg Gi itqtQ mnRvZ mgZv I weZiY ýgZv| Gi gvtb ntjv, m`u` kvj xi KvQ t_ŵK mgvRi`wi`a RbŵMvöxi KvQ A_@`vbsli| cēx ARŌ I evRvi Gi mšj eEŵbi ci Bmj vgx A_šmZK gŵWj eEŵbi Bmý,tjv mŷw`ŷfite Zŷj ati|

wefbæchŷq Bmj vgx e`vsk-Gi cŌqvMi dtj Awl RLvZ,tjv kw³kvj x nq| GZw`b hviv cŷWj Z e`vsk e`e`vi evBti wŷj Zvt`iŵK Ašfŷi gva`tg Bmj vgx e`vsk wcbwYqvj BbKab ev Awl R mŷgZKiY tRvi`vi Kti|

cŷWj Z e`vsk e`e`v mý (wi ev)-wfiEK nI qvq AŵK gyyj gvb GB e`e`v e`envi Ktib bv| Zviv mý-wfiEK e`vsk Kvhŷg t_ŵK wŵtRt`i mmiŷq iŵL| Gfite Zviv e`vsk Kvhŷtgi evBti t_ŵK hvq| Zvt`i ōvi cŷšlchšlBmj vgx e`vsk Kvhŷg Qwotq w`tq Zvt`iŵK GB e`e`vi Avl Zvq wŵtq Avm thŷZ cvti|

8.2 Awl R nŷgZKiŷY (wlbwŷqj BbKab) Bnj vgx e`vŵKi fvgKv

e`vsk-Gi KvR nŷQ wKQzMŵci e`tj maviYfite epEi RbŵMvöxi A_šmZK Ae`vi Dbqb NUvtbvi| Bmj vgx e`vsk wKfite`wi`a RbMYŵK mrvh` Kivi cvkvcnw Avq`elg` Kvgŷq AvbŷZ mrvh` Kti? temi fvm cŷWj Z e`vŵKi Ae`vb tŷtUŷcuj Ub GjvKv ev eo kni,tjvtZ| Bmj vgx e`vsk m`ŷebvgq I Aetnij Z GjvKv,tjvtZ Zvi kvLv I Ab`vb` mieivn P`vtbj Qwotq t`q| Z`cŷw` e`envi Ges tcv÷ Avdm I Ab`vb` weZiY tK`a,tjvi m½ wgtj e`q-mvkŷx wefbæ`emv gŵWj D`ŷeb Kti|

Bmj vgx e`vsk gj-Z cKZ.m`u`-wfiEK tj bŵtbi I ci wŵfP Kti| mve-cŷBg wmwKDi wR cwi nvi I nviwew cŷY`i gŵZv wlbwŷqj yfŵiR ev Awl R`vabZv Guotq Pŷj| Gfite Awl R m½U tgvKŷej vi Rb`bŵZK mgvavb t`q G e`e`v|

Bmj vgx A_ŷq b`f gŷŵmZcŷeb| GUv dUKvevRxi gŵZv RŷvŵLjv bq| GUv Awl R tRv`Pm i e`tj A_šmZŷZ cKZ.LvZ,tjvtK Pivv Kti| mĀq-mgvték NUvtZ ,iaZcY©ZrciZv Pjv vq| cēx ARŌ I`wi`a wŷtŷPŵbi Rb`G mĀq wŷbŵqM Kti| dtj mgvRi`wi`a I wbgæAvŷqi gvbly A_šmZŷZ Ask MŵŷYi mŷhvm cvq I A_šmZK cēx i mšj tŷvM KitZ cvti|

Bmj vgx e'vsKs GKUJ mgZv I b'vh'Zv-wf'EK weKí e'e'v I mvgwRK `wqZcY⁹ewb'qM | hv mve-c'Bg
µvBwmm t_`tK gY I me m'ú' v'qí K'v'Q mgv`Z | g'v' t'q'k'q'v'q 40% M'ñ'K P'x'v' | h'Y' i'v'R'í Bmj vgx
e'vsK_ t'j' v'Z 20% M'ñ'K L_`v'b, w'`y' l' k'L |

AvsR⁹ZK ch'q'q' Aw_`R' tmev`v'bi t'y'f' Bmj vgx e'vsK GKUJ `z' ea'k'x'j' LvZ | Gi m'ú'f`i' c'w' g'v'Y
1.4 w'lj' q'b W'j' v'i | h'Y' i'v'R', h'Y' i'v'ó', R'v'c'v'b, w'w'z'c'y' I d'v'Y'm'n 70w' t_`tK c'P'w'j' Z e'vsK_ t'j' v'i' c'v'k'v'c'w'k
Bmj vgx e'vs't'K'í K'v'h'p'g' c'w' P'v'j' b'v'i R'b` e'vsKs AvBb m's't'k'v'ab K'v' n't'q't'Q |

9. Bmj vgx e'vsKs I t'UKmB Dbq'b

B't'Z'v'c't'e'°D't'j' n'Z t'UKmB Dbq'b'bi R'b` c'q'v'R'b'x'q' D'c'v'v'b_ t'j' v'i e'v'c'v'f'i Bmj vgx w'k'y'v'q' e'v'c'K_ i'az'j'
t`q'v' n't'q't'Q | g'R'v'i w'e'l'q' n't'j'v, t'UKmB Dbq'b `k'f'bi µ'gea'g'v'b D'c'v'v'b_ t'j'v w'D-K'w'm'K`'v'j' A_`B'w'Z
t_`tK `f'i m't'i h'v'f'Q Ges µ't'g'B Z'v' Bmj vgx A_`B'w'ZK c'w' g'v'g't'j' i' w'`t'K a'w'e'f'Z n't`Q | t'm'L'v't'b b'v'q'w'e'P'v'i,
mgZv I c'p'e'f'bi I c'i t'R'v'i t`q'v' n't`Q (B'K'e'v'j' , 2005) |

Bmj vgx `w'ó'f'K'v'Y t_`tK Dbq'b' av'í'Y'v' GKUJ b'Z'b' m's'Á'v'i c'f'í'e' K't'ib B'D'm'w'i | Z'v'i g't'Z, Dbq'b' n't'j'v Av_`
m'v'g'w'R'K c'w'í'w'e't'k' GK a'í't'bi K'v'w'v't'g'v'M'Z c'w'í'e'Z'°B, hv G'K'B m't'½ Bmj vgx AvBb I `b'w'Z'K g'j`'t'eva' Ø'v'v'
P'w'j' Z Ges hv g'v'b'j' i' D'rc'v' b'k'x'j' m'v'g_`°K m't'e'P'Z'v'i w'`t'K w'b't'q' h'v'q' Ges e`M'Z I Av'a`w'Z'K j' t'y`'i
g't'a` f'v'i m'v'g` c'Z'Z'ó'v'i g'v'a`t'g' j' f'` m'ú` t'K m'w'e` m'e'f'P't'q' f'v't'j'v'f'v't'e' K'v't'R' j' w'lv'q' |

B'D'm'w'i (2005: 25-26) m'y'ú'ó'f'v't'e' t`L'v'b th Z'v'i c'f'í'e'Z' m's'Á'v'q, Bmj vgx c'w'í'g'v'g't'j' Dbq'b'bi c'P'w'j' Z
m's'Á'v' w'f'b'e'A_`°e'n'b K't'í | Dbq'b'bi c'P'w'j' Z m's'Á'v'q t'K'e'j' e`M'Z m's'j' th'g'b A_`B'w'Z'K, m'v'g'w'R'K I
c'w'í'w'e't'k'M'Z B'm'y' t'j' v'i c'Z'Z' `w'ó' t`q'v' n't'q't'Q | Ab'w'`t'K, Bmj vgx c'Z'Z'ó'v'b_ t'j'v A'v't'iv e'v'c'K | G'L'v't'b t'K'e'j'
e`M'Z I m'v'g'w'R'K Ae`v'b't'K w'e't'e'P'b'v'q' t'b'q'v' n'q'w'b, `b'w'Z'K I Av'a`w'Z'K t'c'Ø'v'c'U_ t'j'v'l w'e't'e'P'b'v'q' t'b'q'v' n'q'
(n'v'm'v'b, 2006: 7.; K'v'n'v'd, 2002:23) | n'v'm'v'b (2009: 8) `ú'ó' K't'ib th, K'v'g'k'b e'w'Z' m's'Á'v'i
t'e'w'k'í' f'v'w' Bmj vgx w'e'w'a-w'e'v't'bi m't'½ m'z'w'Z'c'Y'° G't'Z t'K'e'j' g'v'j' g'v'b' b'q, t'M'v'U'v' g'v'b'e'R'w'Z'í R'b` Dbq'b'bi
av'í'Y'v' e`°³ K'v'v' n't'q't'Q | G'U'v' B't'Z'v'c't'e'°D't'j' n'Z Z'v'R'v'k'q'w'° m't'½ m'z'w'Z'c'Y'° G'B av'í'Y'v' D'rm' Av'j'-
t'K'v'i Av'b | t'K'v'i Av'b I n'w'í' t'm' t'UKmB Dbq'b' th'g'b, `w'í`° I A'f'v'e'x't`'i' m'v'v'h` K'v'v', m'v'g'w'R'K b'v'q' w'e'P'v'i
c'Z'Z'ó'v' Ges e'b' m's'í'y'Y I c'Ø'Y'x' i'y'v'i g't'Z'v' c'w'í'w'e't'k'M'Z B'm'y' t'j'v' t'R'v'i `v'i K't'í G'g'b A_`B'w'Z'K, m'v'g'w'R'K
I c'w'í'w'e't'k'M'Z D'c'v'v'b_ t'j' v'i K_`v' w'e't'k'l' f'v't'e' D't'j' n'Z K'v'v' n't'q't'Q | c'w'e'l' t'K'v'i Av't'b c'Ø'K'w'Z'K m'ú` A'c'P'q' b'v'
K't'í Z'v'i m'g'z'e`e'n'v'f'i i' Av'n'í'v'b R'v'b'v't'b'v' n't'q't'Q |

9.1 mgwRK `vqexZv(wGmAvi) I Bmj vgx e'vsKs

Aa°k'Z'w'ā a't'i c'w'í'Ø'g'v' R'M'f'Z' m'v'g'w'R'K `v'q'e'x'Z'v' e'v' w'm'G'm'Av'í' av'í'Y'w'U' c'P'w'j' Z | Bmj vgx `w'ó'f'K'v'Y t_`tK
G'í' w'e't'k'í'Y'í t'P'ó'v' i'í'z' n't'q't'Q g'v'í' K't'q'K `k'K' Av't'M' | h'w' I G'í' t'P'Z'v'v' I `e'w'k'ó`_ t'j'v' Bmj v't'g'í
D't'b'w' K'v'j' t_`t'K'B g'v'w'j' g' w'e't'k'í' w'e'í'v'R'g'v'b |

Av't'iv' A't'b't'K'í' g't'a` `w'w'K' Bmj vgx `w'ó'f'K'v'Y t_`tK w'm'G'm'Av'í' m'ú'f'K`°t'ek' w'k'Q'z'c'Ø'Ü' i'P'v'b K't'í't'Q'b |
Ø'v'm'G'm'Av'í' w'b't'q' Bmj v't'g'í K_`v'ó' k'x'l'°R' c'Ø'f'Ü' w'Z'v'b w'm'G'm'Av'í'-Z'É'f'K' c'w'í'Ø'g'v' `w'ó'f'z'x' t_`t'K' Av'j'v'v' K't'í
Av't'iv' K'j' v'Y'K'í' i'f'c' Z'z'j' a't'í't'Q'b (`w'w'K, 2008w'e) | G't'Z' t'K'e'j' B'n'R'M'f'Z'í' m'v'd'j' I m'y', th'g'b m't'e'P'
g'v'v'd'v' A'R'° I e'e'm'w'f'K' t'UKmB K'v'í' K_`v'b' e'j'v' n'q'w'b, t'm'L'v't'b' c'í'R'M'f'Z'í' g'v'w'° I m'z'í' K_`v'l' e'j'v'
n't'q't'Q | Av'a'K's', `w'w'K (2008G) Av't'iv' e't'j' t'Q'b, Bmj vgx e'vsK_ t'j' v'i j'y`' t'K'e'j' g'v'v'd'v' m't'e'P'P'K'í'Y' b'v'
n't'q' m'v'g'w'R'K D't'í'k`_ t'j'v' n'v'm't'j' i' j' t'y`' I c'w'í' P'w'j' Z' n't'Z' n't'e' |¹¹ `w'w'K' G'L'v't'b Z'w'K'í' q'v'í' `w'ó'f'z'x' c'Ø'q'v'l'

KtítQb|¹² hv Bmjvqx `wptKvb t_`tK mGmAvi ev`levqtbi gj- Dcv`vb wntmte KvR Kti | wZvb PviwU , iazcY`Dcv`vb wPwYz Kti GB ZÉjU`tK Avtiv kw³kvj x KtítQb| Dcv`vb , tjv ntjv gvbtj i gh`v , `faxb B`Qv , mgZv I Aw_Kvi Ges Av`v I `wqZj|

Avngv` (1980), Pvciv (1979), bvkuf (1994), wmi Kx (1980) I RviKv (1980)-i gZv Bmjvqx A_`wZi tewki fVw cWZ Bmjvqx wewewavb Abvvetbi Rb` ZvI wnt`i `Z:wmxZvi Ici mtePP , iazj w`ttqQb| Gi m½ m`ú-i-K wntmte itqtQ iawvq`Avj wni GKZj), DLq`w(ávZz) I ZvRkq`i xZv I Dbqb)| Bmjvtgi Aw`wZKZigwDZ GKwU mgvR MVtb G , tjvi , iazj Kg bq| cvkvcwk, GKwU Dbz e`e`v Mto Zj`tZ mrvqZv Kti Gme Dcv`vb|

Avj-Gi bWZgij vi gvfb I ty`T AtbK we`Z| Aw_R ty`T Gul `Z:wmx wntmte tgb tbqv Acwvnh` tKviAvb I nwi`tm G e`vcti m`uófite Dtl Kiv ntqtQ| Avgt`i`K cWZKwZ (Pw³) ct-Y Kivi e`vcti KtVvi ZvM` t`qv ntqtQ| IRb ev cwigtc mvgv`Zg Kg bv w`tZ ejv ntqtQ| mgqgtZv I b`v`fite kigtKi gRw` cwitktai K_v ejv ntqtQ| tKvbwKQz gbMv e`vL`v Gwotq Pjv , gRZ`wmi cwivri , gj` KvimvR bv Kiv , μqgj` I Taw cKvkmn Avtiv AtbK wltq wbt`Rbv t`qv ntqtQ|

Aw_KS; mgvR avZtZj aviy cWZwZ ntj gvbtj i gvts m`ú`i e`vcti Ggb GK tPZbv Mto I tV hv ci`úwK fvtjvevwi I mnubvZw m`ú I Zv`i`K b`vqvePvi cWZóvi ct_ Pwj Z I Dóy Kti (BKej , 2005: 11; BDmwi , 2005: 30)| Gme , Yvej x GKwU hZkxj I `wqZcY`mgvR m`úo Rb` Ri`ix|

Dcti AvtjwPZ mGmAvi I Bmjvtgi AvtjvtK tUKmB Dbqb-Gi `enkó` , tjv Bmjvqx A_`e`-vi AstbWZ wltq| Bmjvqx e`vskS e`-vq Abkxj tbi cOkæG , tjv cWmwK| Av_`mgvWRK b`vqvePvi tRvi`vti i Rb` cwE` tKvi Avtb ejv ntqtQ (17: 26-27): ÓAvZkqtK Zvi Aw_Kvi `vI Ges (Avtiv `vI) `wi`a I gvwndi`K Ges AcPqgj-K e`q Kwi I bv| e`Z , AcPqkvix kqZvtbi fiv Ges kqZvb Zvi cWZcuj tKi cWZ AKZÁ|Ó

9.2 A_`wZtZ Bmjvqxe`vks-Gi cWé

- A_`wZtZ cWZ.I Aw_R LvZ , tjvi Aw_KZi A`xrfZKiY
- e`emvq Aw_KZi Dbz `bvZKZv N` e`vsk tKej A_`wZKfite m`yg Aw_R Abtjva , tjv wetePbv Kite
- tKej FY`vZv bv ntq Bmjvqx e`vsk , tjv A_`vtjbi KvR GKRb e`emvqx (g`jvevwi) , BRvív`vZv ev Askx`vi (g`jvi vev; g`jvi vKv) wntmte GwMtg Avmte| A`ea KvR A_`vtj (thgb, G`vj tKvj Drcv`b) t_`tK weiZ `vKte Bmjvqx e`vsk
- M`nK-AvgvbZKvixi cvkvcvix wewbtqVMM`nZvi m½ tj bt`tb Aw_KZi `QZv eRvq ivLv| tKvbiKg mskq GovtZ cWZwU tj bt`tbi ty`T m`uó Pw³ Kiv nq
- epÉi A_`wZK w`wZkxj Zv N` cWj Z A_`wvtj i Pbej`tZ m`vaviYfite Dtl Kiv nq BKwU A_`vtjbi Zj`bvq m`-wfvÉK FY`vb A_`wZK Aw`wZkxj Zvi Rb` Aw_KZi `vqx|

10. Dcnswi I bWZM cWé

m`uóWZK `enkK Aw_R m`uU AvSRWZK Aw_R `k`ctU GKwU A_`en cweiZB NwUttQ| wek! A_`wZtK hv`Z AvtiKwU m`uU AvNvZ nvbtZ bv cvti tmRb` AvSRWZK Aw_R e`-v`tK kw³kvj x Kitz , iazcY` wbgvZK (normative) ms`vti i KvR Pj tQ|

e'emvq `bwiZKZv mwp I weibtuMtyT tetQ ubtu Bmj vgx A_@b cuDgv wek! A_@tbi bZb wfiE, tj vtZ cly:Zniej mieivn Ae`vb ivLtz cvti | Ggb GK A_@e`vi cPjb NUvtZ cvti hv wek! A_@e`vi nvi vtv Av`v cly:ævi I mgyx Av`vtqi gtZv fveguZmwp Kite|

eZ@vb A_@wZK m%U t_tk tewitq Avmi c_ t`LvZ cvti `bwiZK AvPiY-wfiEK GKwU A_@wZK e'e`v| dtj AvgvZKvix I weibtuMKvix`i Av`v Avevi vdti Avmte| cKZ A_@wzi Nji `wvfbvi Rb` Zit`i cQ`B tkl K_v|

`enkK Avw_@ e'e`vq GKwU Askx`vii Zgj-K `bwiZK gvcKwv I bwiZgvjv h9 Kiv c@qvRb| Gi jy` nte, A_@wzi wePyY e'e`vcbvi ga` w`tu GKwU mvaviY mslj AR@| gvbjt`i gj`teva I `vqtZi gva`tg evRvi cui Pwj Z nte| Bmj vgx A_@wzi gj- wfiE - `bwiZK weia-wearb, tjv G tytT DcKvix ntZ cvti | G, tjv e'vsK I MntKi gta` bZb Av`v mwp Kite| hv AvR GtKvfiB bo ntu tmtQ| `bwiZK weia-wearb msthvRtbi dtj AvSRwZK e'vsuKs e'e`v be DIXcbvq Gwmtq thtZ cvti I A_@wZK c@p`tz fvgKv ivLtz cvti |

A_@wzi Pij Kt`i (**BikbgK ActiUi**) gta` Av`v vdti bv Gtj, mwpvZK Avw_@ m%tUi tkl w`tk cui Pwj Z miKviti Dxvi Kihfvg `enkK A_@wztk cefe`vq vclwi tu Avbvi Rb` ht_ó bq|

mwpvZK Avw_@ m%U tmuZv-wetuzvi gta` m%utkP wfiEK `wZ I AvsuKkfi te aYsm Kti w`tuqT| hvi gta` Kvh9 itqtQ wek! A_@wz| Avw_@ c@Zovb, tj vtK `bwiZK DIXcbv msthvM cly:A_@b Kiv DwpZ| GtZ tmme agv@ DIXcbv h9 Kitz nte th, tjv gvbjtK `vqZcYqg@ `bwiZK AvPiY D0y Kti |

Bmj vgx A_@b e'e`v wek! A_@wzi `bwiZK wfiE MVtb, iaZcY@fvgKv ivLtz cvti | Zv A_@wZK cly:M@b I wekji `w`Zg t`k, tjvi A_@wZK Dbqtb fvgKv ivLtz cvti | wek! Kti ch@b, KwL, tUvj thvMthvM I AeKvvtgv Dbqtb fvgKv ivLtz cvti Bmj vgx e'vsK|

c@vj Z Avw_@ e'e`vi AtbK, tjv `9jZvi GKwU ntjv eZ@vb evRvi-k;Ljv (market discipline)-i tytT Abgh9Zv| G evRvi e'e`vi GKwUB jy` N mtePP gvvdv AR@| Suk eEb I Pwex cy, tjvi ht`wPZ e`envi mwpvZK wL9 bwiZgvjv Afite G Ae`v `Zvi ntqtQ| Bmj vgx e'vsuKs Ab`v` Rvuj qwz c@Zitvta myg, kw3kijx I mnR weia-weavtbi AvwKvix| Zv wek! A_@wzi `t_@AvSRwZK Avw_@ e'e`vi Rb` GKwU Dch9 Kihfvg wvDZ Kivq Ae`vb ivLtz cvti |

eZ@vb wek! A_@wz GLtv cji vcy m%Ug9 nqvb| Gi gta`I Bmj vgx A_@b e'e`vi kw3gEiv Ges jvf I weibtuM msthvMi tytT c@p`i D3aj m%tebv t`Lv hvq| ZvB, eZ@vb m%U Bmj vgx A_@tbi e'vcvti AvMh emotqtQ| G e'e`vK Ggb GK Avw_@ ga` `ZvKvix wntmte t`Lv nt`Q, hv Avw_@ w`wZkij Zv tRvi `vi I wek! A_@wZK e'e`vK AvtMi Ae`vq vclwi tu vbtZ myg|

AvR AvSRwZK Avw_@ e'e`vi GKwU Avet`Q` `Dcv`tvb cui YZ ntqtQ Bmj vgx A_@wz| `enkK Avw_@ m%tUi tcyvctU `enkK A_@wzZ w`wZkij Zv iyv I `enkK A_@wZK c@p`tz Bmj vgx Avw_@ e'e`v wKfi te c@wzK I m%tebigq ntZ cvti Zv vbtq mtgB teik teik Avtj vPbv nt`Q|

mwpvZK mgtq Bmj vgx A_@tbi mgea@vb AvSRwZKvKviti dtj A_@wZK I Avw_@ Avst`mwpvZK GKwU bZb gtwj Rb`vbt`Q| GUV e9v hvte, mwpvZK eQi, tj vtZ Gukqv I ga`c@P`i t`k, tjvi gta` emvYR` I we`Z.cui mti wvfbvLvtZ weibtuM dtj kw3kijx A_@wZK eUb mwpv gva`tg|

máúwZK eQi ,tj tZ Bmj vgx A_℞tbi e'vcK cēx i KviY, wekē'vcx D`xqgvb A_℞wZ wekI Kti, Gukqv I ga`cōtP'i t`k ,tj vi Aw_℞ I A_℞wZK e'e-vq Gi ,iazZc' Ae`vb | mte℞:wi GB `ĴAĀtj i gta` cōPxbKij t`tK kī³kij x evwYir`K I A_℞wZK m'úK'weivRgvb | HwZnwMk ōimé iaJŌ aṭi GB eÜb weKikZ ntqūQj | G c₊ kZ kZ eQi aṭi G AĀtj i t`k ,tj vi cY` I KūPvgv cwi enb Kiv nq | G c_ aṭi Gukqvi ceĀtj i cōPxb mF`Zvi Ávb cūōtg idZwb nq |

AvR Averi, A_℞wZK eÜb tK kī³kij x I Gukqvi bZb Aw_℞ tK' ,tj vi gta` epĒi mgšqi gva`tg tmB A_℞wZK eÜb tK teMevb Kti tQ Bmj vgx A_℞tbi | GUV GB AĀtj i cēx I Av_℞mvgwRK Dbqētbi m'ēbēv tK c'pī z'xmeZ Ges ōimé tiwŌ-Gi beh'Ṁi mPbv Kti tQ | eZēvb `ewkK Aw_℞ m'½U wbi m tB BwZevPK fvgKvi ga` w`tg GUV d'Z D'V tQ |

wekēqētbi dtj mō m'xhūM KvR j wM tQ Bmj vgx A_℞tbi tKej cūōgv wek' bq, D`xqgvb A_℞wZ ,tj vi m'½I Zvi m'úK'P'ri vi Kti tQ | GB b'wZ webtqvm'-ewPī m'pī Ab'k'j- | G tZ tKej ,wUKZK evRv ti m'xgve x `vKvi S'ukI Ktg hvq | cūōgv Aw_℞ e'e-vi cikvcuk evRvi I D`xqgvb t`k ,tj vi gta` m'úK' tRvi `v ti e'vcv ti Bmj vgx A_℞tbi e'e-vi A'½xKvi tKej `ewkK A_℞wZK w`wZkxj Zv cūZōvq Ae`vb i vLvi m'xhūM `Zwi Kti w, tmB m'½ wek'j A_℞wZK cēx i m'ēbēv i evmōtq w`tq tQ |

Z_`nē:

- 01. Our Common Future, hv Brundtland Repot b'v'g cwi wPZ |
- 02. ersj v' k e'vs tKi wi tcvU' uclbwYqj BbKēb: `v ti vj Ae ersj v' k e'vsK |
- 03. tRv tmd w- Mij R, `v d'ē Ae w tcv' t'um; wVRA t'w- Bb w` uclb' vY tm±i WwW AvR t'qv i, GŪ I qwksūb j'k m Bj - BKēc'Uw M'bw AvR AvDU, w` M'wVēvb, tm tP' t 16, 2008
- 04. tRv tmd w- Mij R, w` M'wVēvb, tm tP' t 16, 2008 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/sep/16/economics.wallstreet>
- 05. Richard Eskow, <http://www.curbingwallstreet.org/post/1291540172/automated-greed-factories-how-soulless-banking-is>
- 06. Erich Harbrecht, Head of International Financial System Division, Deutsche Bundesbank said in a recent conference - Building an International Monetary and Financial System in 21st Century: Agenda for Refor, b'f' t 24-25, 2008, wD Bq'K' Ab'pZ
- 07. wR'ēy `wii w` I t'g'ni n'wmb, The Effects of the Global Crisis on Islamic and Capital Market Department.
- 08. Av'vm, Gm Gg Avj x (1997) ōc'Pij Z m'ú; v'g'j-K Kiv'Ri I A_℞ēbtq'vM Bmj vgx e'vsuK cō'v'qū ucGBPw MteI Yv Av'fm' `f'°
- 09. Av'vm Gm Gg Avj x (1994) | A_℞ēbtq'vM c'Pij Z e'vsuK e'e-vi NvUwZ Ges Bmj vgx e'vsuKs e'e-vi Zvi cūZKvi; _Um&Ab B'Kiv'v'gK m'q
- 10. Av'vm, c' , 3 |
- 11. `v'k'x (2008G); Bmj vgx e'vsuKs-Gi D'ī k` Ab'ēv: t- K'v'vi v' t' i cwi t'cōy' tZ GKw Rii cō |
- 12. `v'k'x, 2008ie: w. 15

Ab'ēv` : GRvR t'v'fmb

Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm: `wii`ª weþgvþþbi nwiZqvi

fgvnr²s Ave`jy gvbb

fgKv

wekþ`vix Dbqbkj t`k, tj vtZ `wii`ª weþgvþþbi týt¶ Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvmþK GKwU Rbucþ e`e`v
wrvte MhY Kiv nt`Q| mweRfvte Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvmi cwi gvY 2012 mtj 20k tKwU Wj vt¶ DbwZ
ntqtQ| Bmj vtgi `bwZK bwZgvj v I mtj i Dci wea-ibþt¶ai KviþY Ae`vnZfvte weKukZ nt`Q GuU|
Aek` weþk; th cwi gvY ýž² FY itqtQ Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm Zvi 1 kZvsk gv¶ | Avevi, Bmj vgx ¶ž²
neibþqvmi 50 kZvskB Bmj vgx e`vsk evsj vt`k-Gi cj¶ Dbqþ cKt¶i (Avi wGm) Avl Ziq
Kiv neibþqvm|

Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvmi avi Yv Bmj vgx bwZgvj v t`þK Drmwii Z Ges GuU mgvtRi cžZ `vqex GK aiþbi
neibþqvm| thme neibþqvmKvix tKej nvj vj ev mgvtRi Rb` Kj`vYKi Bmj vgx wea-m²Z cKt¶i Zvt` i
m²ú` Kt¶R j vMvtZ Pvþ, Zvii Bmj vgx ¶ž² A`þqþ LvZ neibþqvm Kt¶b| G aiþbi cKt¶i `vZe`wfvEK
RvKvZ A_ev emYR` ev wKf I _vKtZ cvti hv t`þki A`þwZ weþgvþY Ae`vb ivLte|

Bmj vtg mý ubw x| ZvB, cþij Z ¶ž²FY Kvhþtgi mt½ Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm e`e`vi cv`R` itqtQ|
Bmj vgx e`e`v `wii`ª I Afvex tj vKt` i mý gý ¶ž² neibþqvm w`tq _vtK| e`vck `wii`ª-cmoZ eZþvb weþk;
`wii`ª RbþMvxi A`þwZK Ae`vi Dbqþb Zvt` itK A`þqþ m²eav t`qvi tPtq fvj v tKvb mgvaib tbB|

Ggb cKt¶i i mtv` neibþqvmKvixþK msukó nevi mþhm Gtþ t`q Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm| hv AtþK t`þk
`wii`ª `ixKiþY ZirchEYª Ae`vb ivLZ cvti | cÜ`wgKfvte Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm `wii`ª ev Dbqbkj
AAþj Bmj vgx ki wAvn&wbaþwi Z ktZª Awv`R tmev`vtþi Dci wfvP Kt¶i | GuU ¶ž² A`þqþ I Bmj vgx
Avv`R e`e`v - G`þ weKvkgvb LvZþK GKmt½ cžZwbaZj Kt¶i |

`wii`ª i mniqvZ `vtþi µgeaþvb cÜqvRb cþYi civvcvuk Bmj vtg `f m²eavcÜþt` i cžZ mrvþwvZ t`Lvþvi
th mvgwRK `vqexZv itqtQ Zvi Ask wntmte¶ ¶ž² neibþqvm `wii`ª i Avv`R m²eavcÜþb wvöZ Kt¶i |

tKej gviv ev I gkvi vKvi gZ Bmj vgx A`þqþi DcKiY e`envi Kt¶i Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm KvhþtgiK
GwMtg þbqv hvte bv| tmBmt½ Bmj vgx A`þqþi weKf, tj v evovZ nte| Avi, `wii`ª cþY t`k, tj vtZ GtK
mnRj f` KiþZ nte|

cw`exi wefvbæ`vtþb kZ kZ Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm cžZövþ `Zwi ntqtQ| weþk; Ab` AtþK t`þki gZ
Bmj vgx e`vsk evsj vt`k wj wgtUW (AvBweGj) mgvR t`þK `wii`ª weþgvþþbi j týt` Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm
KgþPv MhY Kt¶i tQ| G cþtÜ Avgiv t`Le G KgþPv wKfvte KivR Kt¶i I `wii`ª weþgvþþb fvgKv ivtL|

msivþB fvgKvi ci wZvq cte`wii`ª m²utKªavi Yv I `wvfvx wbtq Avtj vPbv Kiv ntqtQ| ZZvq cte`
`wii`ª weþgvþþb KgþPv I Gi A`þqþ cÜ`vqv e`vL`v Kiv ntqtQ| PZZ`cte`cþij Z I Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm
e`e`vi cv`R` m²utKªAvtj vKcvZ Kiv ntqtQ| cÄg cte`wekþ`vix Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm Kvhþtgi m²utKª
Avtj vPbv Kiv ntqtQ| Ið cte`Bmj vgx e`vsk evsj vt`k wj wgtUþWi Bmj vgx ¶ž² neibþqvm Kvhþtgi
AšþwZ kiv³ i wvqvU e`vL`v Kiv ntqtQ| mBg cte`Gi m²eavri Dci Avtj vPbv Kiv ntqtQ Ges Aóg

fgvnr²s Ave`jy gvbb: e`e`vcbv cwi Pj K I wvB I, Bmj vgx e`vsk evsj vt`k wj wgtUW

cte`Bmj vgx ¶j²`neib¼qm e`e`vi mig¼b th P`vtj Ä tm wel¼q Av¼jvKciZ Kiv n¼q¼| beg cte`Bmj vgx ¶j²`neib¼qm e`e`vi GK¼W mgušZ g¼W¼j i c¼le Kiv n¼q¼Q&| `kg cte`Kiv n¼q¼Q mgwß gšë` |

2. `wi`ª: avYvI `¼f½x c¼jZ ebg Bmj vgxK

c¼jZ `¼f½x¼Z Av¼qi ñetePbvq `wi`ªn¼jv tm e`w³ th `¼bK GK gwK¼ Wj¼ti Kg DcvR¼ K¼i | Avi c¼pi g¼b`¼D `¼bK 2,112 K`vj wi i Kg c¼p M¼YKvi¼K `wi`ªwmm¼te wPw¼Z Kiv nq|

Ab`w`¼K, Bmj vgxK `¼f½x Ab¼y¼ti ubmve¼K (th cwi g¼v ev Zvi¼P¼q te¼k m`u` `¼K¼j R¼K¼Z w`¼Z nq) `wi`ª tiLv wmm¼te ñetePbv Kiv nq| ubmve cwi g¼v¼i t¼q Kg m`u¼`i gwj K¼K `wi`ª wmm¼te ñetePbv Kiv nq| GuW GK¼W wP¼šb msÁv hv, th t¼v h¼M c¼exi th t¼v `¼b c¼hvR` n¼Z c¼ti | Ab`w`¼K, `wi`ª i c¼jZ msÁv wP¼šb bq| mg¼qi ñeZ¼b `wi`ª i G msÁv c¼v¼Z nq| Avi, Db¼ t`k¼, t¼vi t¼t¼ GuW c¼hvR` bq|

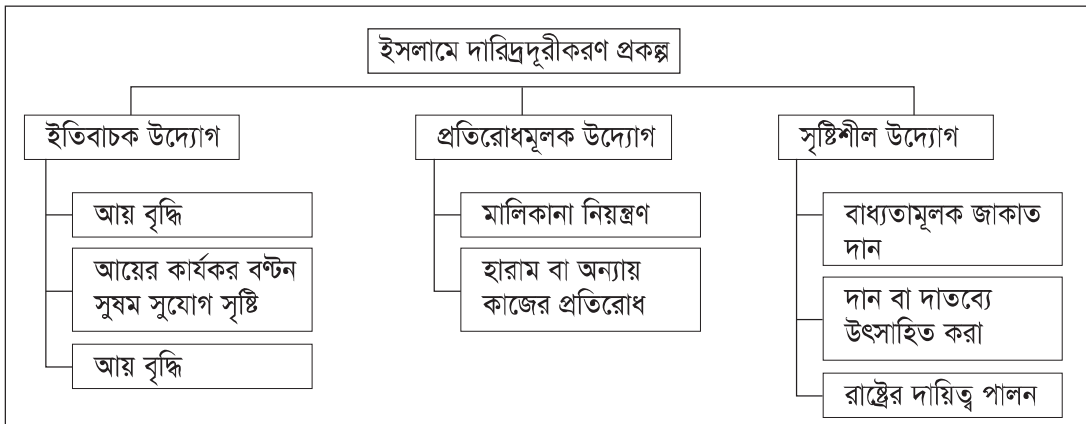
3. `wi`ª`i`KiY c¼q¼v

`wi`ª`a`etgvP¼bi Kg¼P¼, t¼v¼K `¼ tK¼sk¼j t¼Yw¼b`wmZ Kiv hvq:

K. c¼v¼ tK¼sk¼: tUKmB c¼p¼, D`P Kg¼ms`¼b, D`P n¼ti i gv`w¼c¼yAv¼ Ges `wi`ª nvi Kgv¼bvi j`y` AR¼bi Rb` G tK¼sk¼ Ab¼y¼ti mgw¼-K A`¼w¼ZK b¼w¼Z w¼b`wmZ Kiv nq|

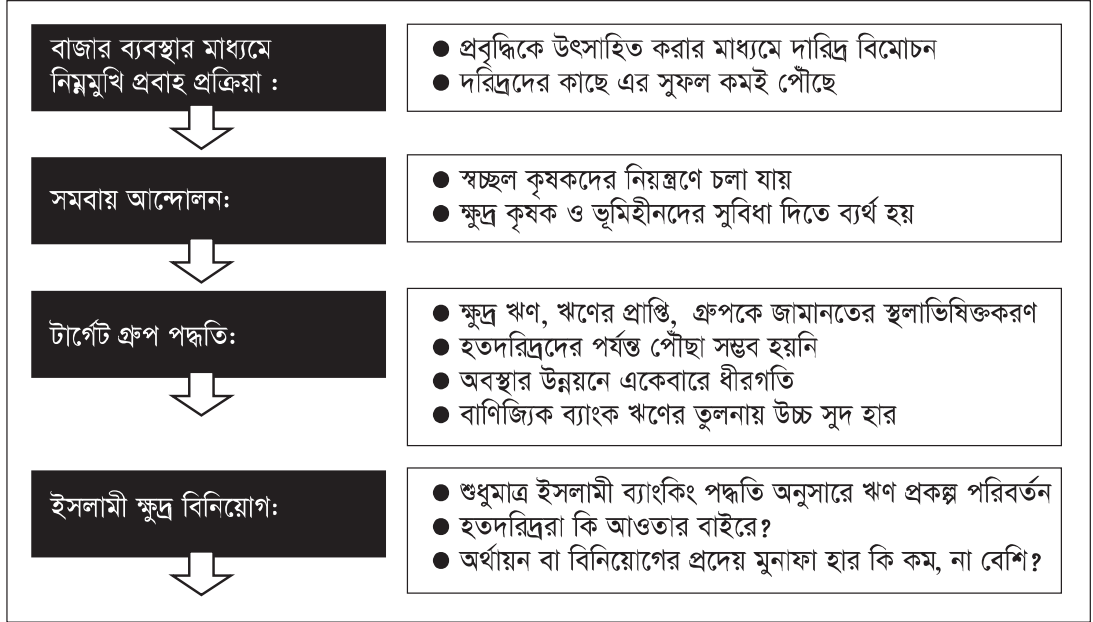
L. c¼Z`y tK¼sk¼: Gi j`y` `¼K m¼eav ewÁZ Rb¼Mv¼x¼K Uv¼M¼ K¼i Zv¼`i c¼qvRb¼q m¼v¼Zv¼ t`qv, FY m¼eav¼ Zv¼`i c¼ekw¼Kvi m¼w¼, `¼`¼MZ Db¼q¼b, `¼y¼ Zv¼ ev¼v¼b¼ Ges P¼v¼š¼v¼te `wi`ª Kgv¼b¼|

c¼v¼ tK¼sk¼ M¼Y K¼i `wi`ª`i`K¼iZ t¼ti¼Q Ggb t`k¼, t¼vi g¼a` f¼v¼v D`vniY n¼jv B¼`v¼b¼k¼v, gv¼j¼q¼k¼v I `¼Bj`v¼U| Gme t`k¼ av¼ev¼w¼K¼v¼te mg¼w¼K A`¼w¼ZK b¼w¼Z, t¼v Ggb¼v¼te ev`¼v¼b¼ K¼i¼Q hv¼Z Zv¼v c¼ZeQi 6 ev Gi te¼k n¼ti A`¼w¼ZK c¼p¼ AR¼ K¼i¼Q| Avi, e¼q¼i ci eQi w¼y¼v, `¼`¼, cwi K¼iZ cwi evi M¼b miK¼v e`q ew¼o¼q t¼M¼Q| Ab`w`¼K, c¼Z`y tK¼sk¼ Ab¼y¼ti D`vniY n¼jv evsj¼v¼k¼| GL¼b miK¼v I temiK¼w¼ ms`¼, t¼v (Gbw¼I) ub¼w¼`¼ `wi`ª`Rb¼Mv¼x¼ g¼a` F¼Y c¼ekw¼Kvi ub¼w¼ZK¼Y, `¼`¼ cwi Ph¼I w¼y¼v t¼v¼i g¼Zv¼ w¼Q¼z¼v¼w¼ t¼Q|



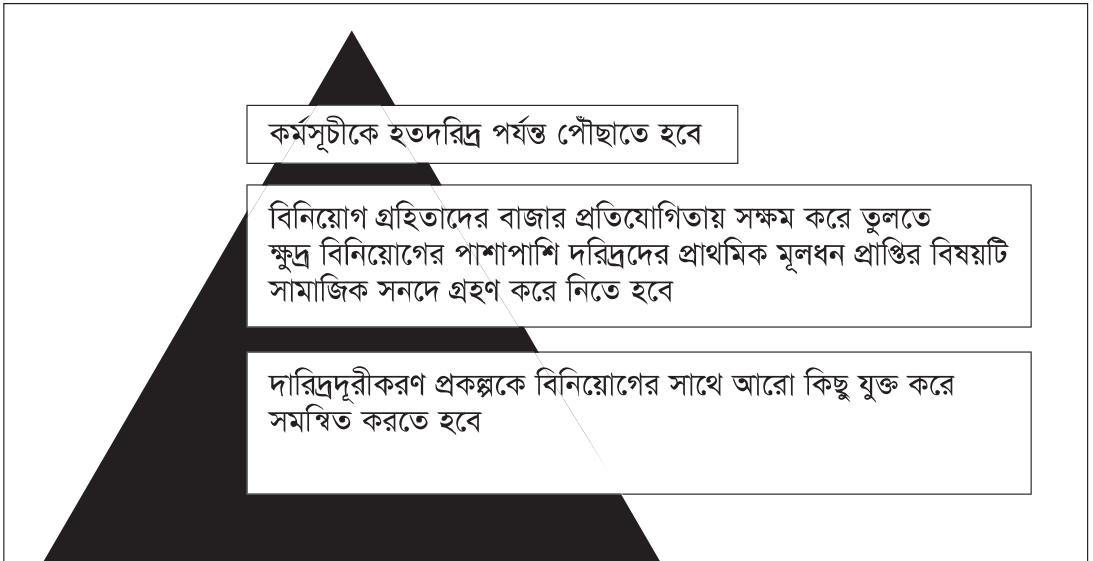
চিত্র:১: ইসলামে দারিদ্রদূরীকরণ প্রকল্প

3.1 `wî`ª iKiY Dî`vM weZB



চিত্র:২: দারিদ্র বিমোচনের বিবর্তন

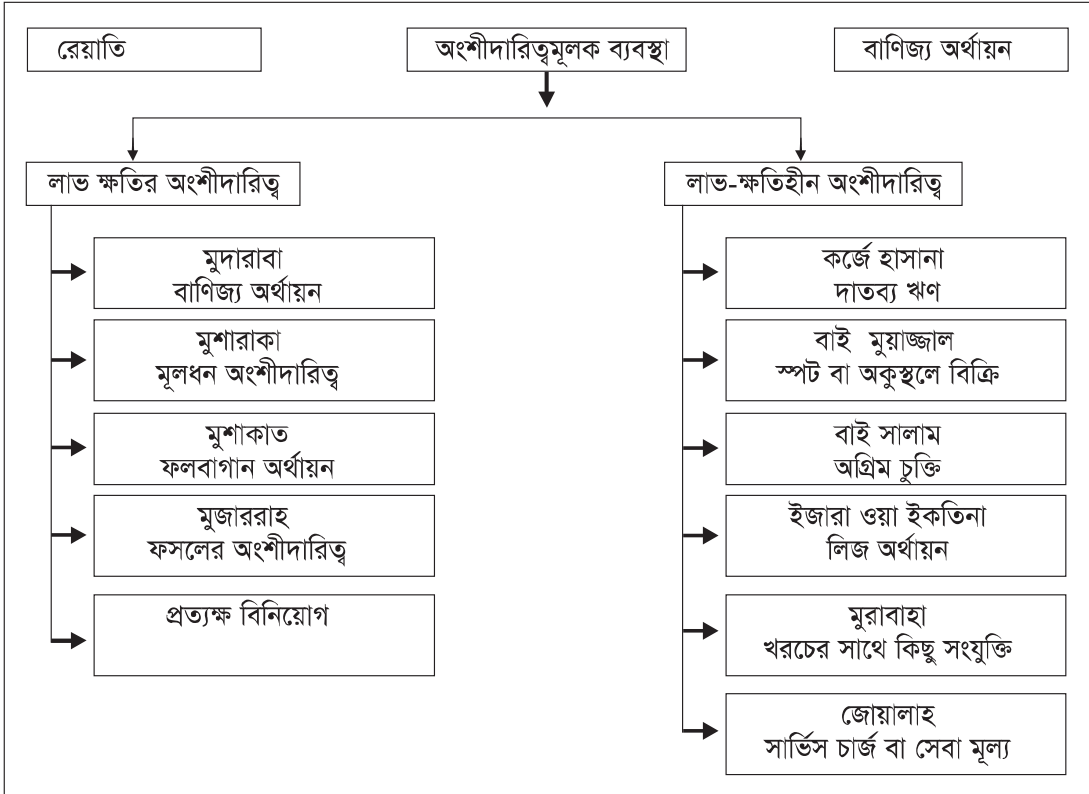
3.2 `wî`ª iKiY cñî i Rb` gY` wfeHv



চিত্র:৩ দারিদ্রদূরীকরণ প্রকল্পের জন্য মুখ্য বিবেচনা

3.3. Bmj vgx A_bi aib

cj Z |zFY`vZv cZv, t i mu` i weibqm weeiYx (tcvUj I) w i my-wfiEK| A_bi aib I tyI i wK wt Bmj vgx |zweibqm cZv, tv egy `ekoi AwKvx| 4bs wP Bmj vgx A_b eevq c `ePcYA_bi tgj K ty, tj v t Lvbv nttQ:



চিত্র-৪ : ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ ব্যবস্থায় অর্থায়ন পণ্য

4 : cj Z I Bmj vgx |zweibqm cv

Bmj vgx |zweibqm eevi mt_ cj Z |zFYi wKycv wbP t Lvbv nttQ:

nK	cj Z  zFY nsv	Bmj vgx  zweibqm cZv
• Znetj i Drm	evBi i, MnK i m	evBi i, MnKi m, RvKvZ, IvK
• A_b	mywfiEK	Bmj vgx A_bi wefbei b
• nZ `wi `` i A_b	nZ `wi `` i v evBi t_K hv	nZ `wi `` i v UM tMvxi ga_K
• Znej `vv	bM	cY

nPK	cĀjZ ʃ[žFY ns`v	Bnj vgx ʃ[ž`vnbĀqMcĀZōb
• UvMθ tMvōx	bvi x` i AMŌiaKvi	cwi evi (me m`m`) AMŌiaKvi
• j y` ŋbaŋY	bvi x mÿgZv `Zwi	cwi evĀi i mÿgZv `Zwi
• Pw³i mgq KZθ	nū	bv
• Kg`cŌYv`bv	e`MZ	e`MZ I Ava`wZK
• mgvR Dbq̄b KgŋP	tmKž vi	agŋ

5. wke`vcx Bnj vgx ʃ[ž`vnbĀqM

weĀkĀi weŋfbē`itb Bmj vgx ʃ[ž`vnbĀqM KvĥĒrg Pj tQ| 65uU t`tk wZb kZvnaK Bmj vgx Avw`R cĀZōvb KvR Ki tQ| Gme cĀZōvb ki xŌAvnĀ i wZb wZ tgĀb cĀq 1 wUĥj qb Wj vĀi i Znwej e`e`vcbv Ki tQ| G tj bt`b cĀZ eQi 15 kZvstki teĀk nĀi evotQ| 2bs QĀK wKQy, i azcY`ʃ[ž`vnbĀqM KgŋP t`LvĀbv nĀj v:

OK 2 : weke`vcx Bmj vgx ʃ[ž`vnbĀqM KvĥĒrg

AĀj	KgŋP	t`k	vnbĀqM
ga`cĀP` I DĒi AvndKv (tgbv)	wGU Mvgi	wgmi	gĵvi vKv
	mivbw`K A`vU Rvej Avj tnvm	wmwi qv	gĵveivn
	ggvmmvZ evBZ Avj gij	tj evbb	KĀR`ŋvmivb j vf- ÿwZi Askx`wi Zi
	tnvĀ`B`vn gvBtμvdiBb`vY tcŌMg	BtqĀgb	gĵveivn
`wY Y GĀkqv	AvBvweGj Ōi cj w Dbq̄b KgŋP, Avj dvj vn, ti mĀKD	evsj vĀ`k	evB tgvqv³⁴vj
	AvLgvZ	cwK`Āb	
	GA vBwGgBBD I evqZb bĀtmi	fvi Z	KĀR`ŋvmivb
`wY Y ce`GĀkqv	ZveynwR	gvj tĀkqv, Bt`vĀbĀkqv `B mnmĀaK cĀZōvĀbi tbU I qvK®	
	evBZž gvj I qvZ Zvgvej		gĵveivn, gĵvi vKv
	evBZž mvg I qvZ ZvgDBj		BRvi v, KR®
mivniv AĀtj i AvndKv	AvRvI qv` dvBb`vY	DĒi gvij	
	wcGj w	mÿvb	
ga` GĀkqv	GdAvBGb wGŌi cj w e`'vsuKs	AvdMwvb`Āb	KĀR`ŋvmivb

5.1 evsj v`tk Bmj vgx ¶lZ`neibtdqm wkv

evsj v`tk `wi `f`i gta` e`vsKs tmev tc`Qvbi ty`f emwR`K e`vsK, tjvi mqvexZv ZYgj- chf`q Avl`R tmev tc`Q f`qvi wtkl Df`vMi tcQtb c`vb hv`w inmvte KvR Kti`Q| G aviYv gv`vq titL c`dmi W. ggv`\$ BDbv 1976 mtj P`EMg tRjvi nUnvRvix`vbi tRveiv M`tg GKw cix`vgj-K c`Kf M`hY Kti fignxb I AvZ `wi `a`gvbtd i gta` FY weZiY`i`æKtib| cti G c`Kf M`gxY e`vsK bvtg GKw wtkl vqZ e`vsK ifc tbq| G FY e`e`v eZgvtb ¶lZ`FY Kvhp`g inmvte `xKw. jv`v Kti`Q| GtZ c`Z`vmbK c`qvi gva`tg `wi `f`i gta` RvgvZ Qvov FY f`qv nq| GLv`b M`ci Ab` m`mivB RvgvZ inmvte KvR Kti |

Gici nvRvi nvRvi c`Z`v`b `wi `f`i gta` ¶lZ`FY weZiYi KvR Ask tbq| Gme c`Z`v`b gi- Df`k` _v`k c`vbZ `wi `a`vix`f`i RvgvZ Qvov ¶lZ`FY m`eav f`qv| Zte G ¶lZ`FY e`e`v ntjv m`wfi`EK Ges kix`Avn& wewa-ibtda GLv`b wetePbv Avbv nq bv| GbwRI -wfi`EK ¶lZ`FY c`Z`v`b, tjv `wi `f`i Avl`R c`QvRb tgUvbi gva`tg `wi `a`etgvPtdbi j`y`v`btdq ¶lZ`FY Kg`mP`Z GwM`q Avtm| evsj v`tk Bmj vgx GbwRI, tjv Bmj v`gi Avtjv`k m`w`e Rxb hvcb e`e`vi c`QvR`b m`vov f`q| Zviv Avl`R ga`Z`vi gva`tg M`gxY `wi `f`i m`ygv` Avl`R tj b`tdb Drm`v`Z Kti |

Bmj vgx AeKvVtgvri Avl Zvq 1990-i `k`k Avb`mbK `wi `a`etgvPb Kvhp`g`i`æ nq| Zte Gme Kg`mP`x evsj v`tk `v`xbZvi ci`i`æntj I Zv`k eo tRvi M`gxY Dbq`b Df`v`m inmvte wPv`y`Z Kiv hvq|

iweZvZ Avj -Avj g Avj -Bmj vgx m`eZ c`g ms`v, hv 1977 mtj ti`v`v`v kiYv`_`f`i gta` TvY Kvhp`g`i`æKti| Gici ms`v`w G Kvhp`g XvKv I isc`ji wenvix`f`i gta` Ges cveZ` P`EMtg m`c`v`v`Y Kti | Gi AvtM Bmj vg c`vri m`wvZ, Gt`m`v`j Ae g`v`v`j g Bqy I Bmj vgx Gw`j`K`b t`m`v`v`w`i gZ ms`M`v 1970-i `k`k G ait`bi Kg`mP`xi w`l`q`v`btdq KvR Kti | w`K`S` Zv`f`i Kg`mP`xi gta` ¶lZ`neibtdqm wQj bv| eZgvtb Kt`q WRb Bmj vgx GbwRI I mgevq c`Z`v`b Zv`f`i Kg`mP`xi Ab`Zg Ask wntmte ¶lZ`neibtdqm w`btdq KvR Kti`Q|

Bmj vgx e`vsK evsj v`k wj`v`g`UW (AvBw`eGj) Gi Bmj vgx KvVtgv`Z `wi `a`etgvPb c`P`v`v`b wtkl fite Df`j`L`thvM`| Bmj vgx e`vsK 1995 mtj w`v`b`æ`f`Rj`vq e`vsKti w`b`K`U`e`Z`P` kvLvi Z`E`j`eav`b cix`vgj-K c`Kf wntmte `c`j`v` Dbq`b c`Kf`o (Avi`wGm) M`hY Kti |

6. evsj v`tk Bmj vgx ¶lZ`neibtdqm kw

6.1 w`kl `ekó`:

- kix`Avn&wfi`EK ¶lZ`neibtdqm
- RvgvZ g`v`
- Lv`vi I Lv`vi eivf`Z Kvhp`g
- Kg`m`v`b m`v`
- m`gvRKj`vY I `b`w`ZK D`v`y`KiY Kvhp`g
- t`m`b`td`k`bi Rb` KR`m`eav

6.2 K`Ri aib`:

- e`vsK kvLvi 10 w`k`j`v`g`Uv`i`i gta` m`eavRbK M`g wPv`y`Z`K`i`Y
- Uv`M`v` M`c` wPv`y`Z` K`i`f`Z` wfi`E` Rvi`c` cwi`P`j`bv I t`m`L`v`b`K`vi w`v`v`b`c`w`i`v`Z` m`gx`y`v`

- GKRb gvW KgRZP Aaxtb 5 Rb Kti b'bzg 2uU I mtePP 8uU MAc msMwZ Kiv
- e'istKi GKRb ubqugZ Pvkii Rlex gvW-KgRZP evQvB Kiv 400 cwi evi t_#K 400 e'w³ ubePZ Kti tKt`f gva'g msMwZ Ktib
- msukw tK`a eva'Zvgj-K mÂq I mivBwnK uKw'f msMni Rb" gvW-KgRZP Dcw'wZtZ ubw`0 u`b I mgtg ubqugZ mfv Ktib
- cOZ`K m`m` cOZ mBvtn 10 UvKv (0.15 gvwK³ tmU) eva'Zvgj-K mÂq Ktib
- MAnK m`m`#K Zvi weibtuMKZ.A_gv dvmn 44 mBvni ci tdiZ t`qv nq

6.3 Bmj vgx ¶Z'weibtuM mdj`:

Bmj vgx e'istKi cju Dbqab cKi MAgY `wi`f`i gta" Kgms`vb mwo Ges Avq ewxi Rb" Kul..I MAgY LvZ_tjvZ`f I ¶Z'weibtuM gva'g MAgY `wi`a`f`i Kivi tPov KitQ| G cKti i Avl Zvq t`tki MAgY RbMYtK Kj`vYgj-K, bWZK I b'vqubw tmev t`qv nq|

QK 3: Bmj vgx e'istKi ¶Z'FtYi msuyB Z`:

weeiy	wWtm ^{af} 2013
MAtgi msL`v	17,104
m`m` msL`v	8,36,227
weZiY (tKvU UvKv)	1952
e#Kqv (tKvU UvKv)	1373
tgU weibtuM kZvsk	3%
Av`vtqi nvi	99.70
m`m` mÂq (tKvU UvKv)	438

7. `wi`a wgvPb Bmj vgx ¶Z'weibtuM nrebv

GKRb e'w³i `bwb`b KvhPrtgi GKvU Dtg LthvM" Ask Aw_R tj bt`b msuvsf KvR e"q nq| Bmj vgx ¶Z'weibtuM Kgmpri Avl Zvq KivR KitQ Ggb tKD Zvi `bwb`b Rxtb Bmj vgx wearb cOZcij b I AbvriY Kitj Zvi ctjy gvbeZvi Rb" ywZKi Ggb tKvb A%ea KgRvD t_#K gY`vKv mnR nte atj tbqv hvq|

cOgZ, evsjv`tk Awakvsk `wi`a gvby`pfitv Av`vkj I wekjm Kti th`yobqv hv wKQynt"Q Zv Avj uni ce'wba'wZ| Zvt`i `wi`a I Gi e'wZvg bq| ab-m'au`, A_Rw, mly-kwv'f I mgv Avj uni cy t_#K Avtm etj Zvt`i `p wekjm| th tKvb kvvwi K wecuE, gvbmK Akv'f I AmYZv t`Lv w`tg Zviv ci vgtkP Rb" gmvRt` Bvgtgi gZ agv e'w³i KvQ hvq|

agvymx I agAvbm'ubwe'w³ Kviv Rb" ywZKi wKQyKiteb bv etj maviY gvby`i gta" tRvvtjv wekjm| Zvt`i ci vgtkP Dct`k itb Aciva-cEY gvby`Rgv, Pwi, gv`K BZ`w` e`Af'vm cwi Z`vM Kti | Gme e`Af'vm Zvt`i `wi`a`i I Ab`Zg KvY| dtj `wi`a FYMthxZviv Zvt`i `wi`a`f`i KitZ Bmj vgx ¶Z'weibtuM cOZ D0y I AvKó.nq|

- সংস্থাগুলোর সাথেও তাদের ভালো যোগাযোগ ও সম্পর্ক রয়েছে। অন্যদিকে ইসলামী এনজিও ও ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলো মূলত সীমিত পরিসরে এবং ধর্মীয় কিছু প্রণোদনায় উদ্বুদ্ধ হয়ে কাজ করছে। দক্ষতা থাকলেও তাদের অভিজ্ঞ জনবলের স্বল্পতা রয়েছে। ফলে সদিচ্ছা থাকলেও দেশব্যাপী নেটওয়ার্ক বিস্তার করা তাদের জন্য সম্ভব হয়ে উঠে না।
- গ. □সদস্যদের মধ্যে ইসলামী জ্ঞানের অভাব: ইসলামী বিধি-বিধান সম্পর্কে যথেষ্ট জ্ঞানের অভাবে সব গ্রাহকের ইসলামী লেনদেনের ধরন সম্পর্কে জানা থাকে না। তাই অনেক সময় লেনদেনে শরী'আহ-র সীমা লঙ্ঘিত হতে দেখা যায়। ফলে শরী'আহ-ভিত্তিক লেনদেন সম্পর্কে পর্যাপ্ত জ্ঞান দেয়া সম্ভব হলে এর লঙ্ঘন সেভাবে হবে না। গ্রাহকদের মধ্যে কর্মসূচীর প্রকৃতি ও পদ্ধতি সম্পর্কে পরীক্ষা-নিরীক্ষার আগ্রহ স্বল্প অথবা একেবারে নাও থাকতে পারে। সদস্যদের মধ্যে ইসলামী জ্ঞানের অভাব থাকলে ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ ব্যবস্থা চালু করার মূল লক্ষ্য অর্জিত নাও হতে পারে।
- ঘ. সাফল্য নিরূপণ: ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ ব্যবস্থা এমন একটি মডেল যাতে বহু সংখ্যক দরিদ্র মানুষের কাছে পৌঁছানো এবং তাদের জীবনমানে গুণগত পরিবর্তন আনা যায়। আমরা হয়ত অতীতের যে কোন সময়ের চেয়ে ভালো কাজ করতে পারি। সাফল্য সম্পর্কে স্পষ্ট ধারণা না থাকলে আমরা কাজিত গতিতে লক্ষ্যে পৌঁছাতে পারব না অথবা এর প্রভাব সীমিত থেকে যাবে। বাইরের উৎসের ভর্তুকি নির্ভর হয়ে পড়লে আমরা অনেক বেশি মানুষের কাছে পৌঁছতে পারলেও তা টেকসই বা স্থায়ী হবে না। ভর্তুকির তহবিল সরবরাহ বন্ধ হয়ে গেলে অথবা অগ্রাধিকার পাশ্চ গলে পুরো বিষয়টিই ধসে পড়বে। মানুষের জীবনমানে ইতিবাচক পরিবর্তন ছাড়া টেকসইভাবে বহু মানুষের কাছে সেবা নিয়ে পৌঁছানো যাবে না। সাফল্যের সংজ্ঞা নিয়ে আমরা একমত হলে ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ ব্যবস্থা যেসব চ্যালেঞ্জের সম্মুখীন হচ্ছে তার একটি মডেল দাঁড় করানোর ব্যাপারে আলোচনা শুরু করতে পারি।
- ঙ. □সমস্যা স্বীকার করে নেয়া: আমার মনে হয়, এ ধরনের মডেল যারা তৈরি করতে চান তাদের সামনে প্রথম চ্যালেঞ্জ হবে এখানে যে সমস্যা রয়েছে তা স্বীকার করে নেয়া। আর আমরা যে সাফল্যের সংজ্ঞা নিরূপণ করতে পারছি না তা মেনে নেয়া। কিছু ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ সংস্থা এক দশক ধরে কাজ করে মাত্র ৪/৫ হাজার লোককে বিনিয়োগ দিয়ে ভাবছে তারা অনেক বড় কাজ করেছে। তাদের সামনে কোন সমস্যা নেই। তাদের হাতে আরো টাকা থাকলে তারা আরো বেশি মানুষের কাছে যেতে পারতো। যদি বুঝতেই না পারি আমরা জরাগ্রস্ত; তাহলেতো ডাক্তারের কাছে যাবো না। আমরা এখনো সফল হইনি একথা বুঝতে না পারলে কাজে পরিবর্তন আনার ক্ষেত্রে কিছুই করতে পারব না।
- চ. □টেকসই হওয়া: ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ প্রতিষ্ঠান বা ব্যাংকের বিনিয়োগ মডেলের শুরুতেই এর টেকসই হবার বিষয়টি নিয়ে আমাদের ভাবতে হবে। বিনিয়োগের ব্যাপারে এর সার্বিক ব্যয়ের সঙ্গে নিজস্ব কর্মকাণ্ড থেকে স্বল্প পরিমাণ মুনাফার বিষয়টিও বিবেচনায় আনতে হবে। দান, জাকাত বা সদকার উপর ভিত্তি করে এ ধরনের কর্মসূচির চিন্তা করলে হবে না। সংগঠনের স্থিতির জন্য এ ধরনের দাতব্য অর্থ ব্যবহার করা যেতে পারে। কিন্তু, দাতব্য অর্থ ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ হিসেবে গ্রাহকদের দেয়া যাবে না। কারণ টেকসই ভিত্তির উপর দাঁড়ানো ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ প্রতিষ্ঠান বা ব্যাংকই কেবল বিপুল সংখ্যক দরিদ্র মানুষের কাছে পৌঁছাতে পারে। আমরা যদি দরিদ্র মানুষের প্রকল্পে বিনিয়োগের জন্য ধনী লোকদের উৎসাহিত করতে পারি তাহলে উভয় পক্ষই লাভবান হবেন। আমাদের এমন একটি পর্যায়ে পৌঁছতে হবে যেখানে কর্মক্ষমতা নেই এবং যাদের ত্রাণ সহায়তা প্রয়োজন এমন মানুষ ছাড়া আর কোন গরীব থাকবে না।
- ছ. □টার্গেট গ্রুপ চিহ্নিত করা: প্রচলিত ক্ষুদ্রঋণ ব্যবস্থায় হতদরিদ্রসহ সব গরীবের কাছে ক্ষুদ্রঋণ পৌঁছতে পারে কিনা তা নিয়ে ব্যাপক বিতর্ক রয়েছে। তবে মোটামুটিভাবে অনেকেই একমত যে একেবারে দু:স্থ ধরনের হতদরিদ্রদের

জন্য অব্যাহত ত্রাণ সাহায্য প্রয়োজন। চরম দরিদ্রদের নিজ পায়ে দাঁড়াতে সাহায্য করাটা হবে লক্ষ্য। তাদের সহায়তার প্রয়োজন কমিয়ে এনে তাদেরকে ক্ষুদ্রঋণের সাথে যুক্ত করতে হবে, যাতে তাদের আয়ের ক্ষেত্রকে আরেকটু বাড়ানো যায়। এ বিষয়টি স্বচ্ছ ও পরিস্কার না হওয়া পর্যন্ত মানুষ সংশয়ের মধ্যে থেকে যাবে, আর, প্রস্তাবিত সমাধানটিও অস্পষ্টতায় খাবি খাবে।

জ. **পরিভাষা পরিবর্তন:** ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ ব্যবসার মডেল দাঁড় করানোর ক্ষেত্রে আমাদের নিত্য ব্যবহার্য কিছু পরিভাষা পরিবর্তন করাও একটি চ্যালেঞ্জ। যেমন, ঋণের পরিবর্তে আমাদের বলতে হবে বিনিয়োগ, ঋণদাতার পরিবর্তে বলতে হবে বিনিয়োগকারী।

ঝ. **[পণ্য বৈচিত্রের অভাব:** ইসলামী ফিকাহ শাস্ত্র সমৃদ্ধ হলেও ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ অতিমাত্রায় মুরাবাহা নির্ভর। এমনকি মূল ধারার ইসলামী আর্থিক প্রতিষ্ঠান ছাড়া ইজারাও দেখা যায় না। লাভ-ক্ষতির অংশীদারিত্ব ইসলামী অর্থায়নের আদর্শ হিসাবে বিবেচিত হলেও কদাচিৎ তা ব্যবহার করা হয়। জাকাত, ওয়াকফ ও কর্জে হাসানা ভিত্তিক প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রকৃত সংখ্যা এবং এ ধরনের প্রতিষ্ঠানের মাধ্যমে কাজের যে বিপুল সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে বর্তমান বাস্তবতা তার ধারেকাছেও নেই। মূলধারার ইসলামী অর্থায়নে লাভ-ক্ষতির অংশীদারিত্বের ব্যাপারে সংশ্লিষ্ট এজেন্সির সমস্যাকে একটি উদ্বেগের বিষয় হিসাবে তুলে ধরা হয়। যা ইসলামী অর্থায়নকে ঋণভিত্তিক বিনিয়োগপণ্যের দিকে নিয়ে যায়। বিশেষ করে, গ্রামীণ এলাকায় এ সমস্যা প্রকট হয়ে দেখা দেয়।

৯. ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ, জাকাত ও ওয়াকফের সমন্বিত মডেল

প্রচলিত ক্ষুদ্রঋণ ব্যবস্থায় নেয়া ঋণ ভোগ্যপণ্য কেনায় ব্যবহারের ফলে খেলাপী হবার একটি বড় প্রবণতা দেখা যায়। পাশাপাশি, সাধারণভাবে সর্বক্ষেত্রে উচ্চহারে সুদ আরোপের বিষয়টিও ঋণ-সংকোচনের মাধ্যমে দারিদ্র্য দূরীকরণের পথে বাধা এবং গ্রাহক নির্বাচনে বিরূপ সমস্যা সৃষ্টি করে। প্রচলিত ক্ষুদ্রঋণ কার্যক্রমের এ মৌলিক চ্যালেঞ্জ ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ ব্যবস্থার মাধ্যমে সমাধান করা যেতে পারে যদি সমন্বিতভাবে এর মডেলটি ঠিক করা হয়। এ জন্য ইসলামের দুই মৌলিক ও ঐতিহ্যগত উপকরণ ওয়াকফ ও জাকাতের সঙ্গে ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগকে একই কাঠামোর আওতায় নিয়ে আসতে হবে।

এ ধরনের একক প্রতিষ্ঠান তৈরি করা বর্তমান প্রেক্ষাপটে অপরিপক্ব মনে হলেও এ প্রবন্ধে আমি এ সমন্বিত প্রতিষ্ঠানের একটি ধারণাগত রূপরেখা তুলে ধরছি। এ ধরনের সুসমন্বিত মডেলে জাকাত ও ওয়াকফকে ব্যবহারের মাধ্যমে ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলোর তহবিল ঘাটতি দূর করা সম্ভব হবে। ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ প্রতিষ্ঠান প্রথমে হতদরিদ্রদের মৌলিক প্রয়োজন পূরণের জন্য জাকাত তহবিল থেকে অর্থ দিতে পারে। জাকাত তহবিলের অর্থ যেহেতু ফেরত পাওয়ার জন্য নয়, তাই এটি ব্যক্তির মৌলিক প্রয়োজন পূরণের ভিত্তি তৈরি করবে। এক বছরের মধ্যে জাকাতের টাকা বিতরণ করতে হবে। জাকাত তহবিলের ফেরত অযোগ্য অর্থ মূলধন বিনিয়োগ বা ব্যবসা শুরুর পুঁজি হিসাবেও দেয়া যেতে পারে। আর ফেরতযোগ্য ওয়াকফ তহবিল থেকে ক্ষুদ্র ব্যবসায়ীদের মূলধন বিনিয়োগ ও চলতি বিনিয়োগ হিসাবে দেয়া যেতে পারে।

গরীব মানুষ তাদের নেয়া ঋণ মৌলিক প্রয়োজন মেটাতে গিয়ে ভোগ্যপণ্য কেনায় ব্যয় করে ফেলে। এ কারণে তারা খেলাপী হয়ে পড়ে। এ সমস্যার সমাধান করবে একটি সমন্বিত মডেল। মৌলিক প্রয়োজন পূরণ হয়ে গেলে ক্ষুদ্র উদ্যোক্তারা ভালোভাবে তাদের ব্যবসায় মনোনিবেশ করতে পারবেন। অধিকন্তু, ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলো বিভিন্ন ইসলামী শরী'আহ অনুমোদিত পন্থায় অর্থায়ন করতে পারবে। ইসলামী অর্থায়ন পদ্ধতি সামাজিক ন্যায়বিচার ও অংশীদারিত্বভিত্তিক। এতে সুদ নিষিদ্ধ। ফলে ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ প্রতিষ্ঠান সঠিকভাবে বিনিয়োগ করা গেলে অধিকতর সুফল বয়ে আনবে।

১০. সমাপ্তি মন্তব্য

প্রচলিত ক্ষুদ্রঋণ ব্যবস্থায় ক্ষুদ্রঋণ হতদরিদ্র পর্যন্ত পৌঁছাতে পারে কিনা এ বিষয়ে অনেক বিতর্ক রয়েছে। এ বিষয়ে সবাই একমত না হলেও বেশিরভাগ মানুষ মনে করেন চরম দরিদ্রদের জন্য সব সময় দাতব্য সহায়তা প্রয়োজন। হত দরিদ্রদের সহায়তার লক্ষ্য হলো তাদেরকে নিজের পায়ে দাঁড়াতে সাহায্য করা এবং সক্ষমতা তৈরির সাথে সাথে তাদের দান-খয়রাত বন্ধ করে ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলো সাথে যুক্ত করা। এখান থেকে তারা নিজেদের উদ্যোগকে বড় করতে সহায়তা নিতে পারবে। যতক্ষণ পর্যন্ত বিষয়টি পরিষ্কার না হবে ততদিন মানুষের মধ্যে সংশয় থেকে যাবে। আর প্রস্তাবিত সমাধানও সংশয়ের মধ্যে ঘুরপাক খাবে।

ক্ষুদ্র অর্থায়ন প্রান্তিক দরিদ্রদের জামানত ছাড়া ঋণ সহায়তাকে কেন্দ্র করে আবর্তিত। প্রচলিত ক্ষুদ্র অর্থায়নে উচ্চ সুদ হার, ঋণ ভিন্নমুখীকরণ, ঋণ নিয়ন্ত্রণ এবং বৃহত্তর জনগোষ্ঠীর ইসলামী বিশ্বাস ও মূল্যবোধের সাথে বৈসাদৃশ্য থাকায় ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ ব্যবস্থা সৃষ্টির প্রয়োজন অনস্বীকার্য হয়ে উঠেছে। ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগ ব্যবস্থা সুবিধাবঞ্চিত মানুষের প্রয়োজন পূরণের সুযোগ এনে দেয়।

ইসলামী ক্ষুদ্র অর্থায়নকে জাকাত ও ওয়াক্ফের মত প্রচলিত ইসলামী উপকরণের সাথে সমন্বিত করে প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক রূপ দেয়া যেতে পারে। এ সমন্বিত ব্যবস্থা হতদরিদ্রদের জন্য যেমন কাজ করতে পারবে তেমনিভাবে দীর্ঘ মেয়াদে আর্থিকভাবেও লাভজনক ও টেকসই বলে বিবেচিত হবে এ মডেল। একেবারে প্রদেয় জাকাতের অর্থের যথাযথ ব্যবহারের মাধ্যমে ক্ষুদ্র বিনিয়োগে খেলাপীর হারও নিয়ন্ত্রণ করা যাবে। এটি সব পক্ষের জন্য লাভজনক বিবেচিত হবে। এটি খেলাপী বা বিচ্যুতির হার যেমন একবারে নিচে নামিয়ে আনবে তেমনি দারিদ্র্য থেকে উপরের স্তরে উত্তরণের হারও বাড়াবে।

পরিশেষে বলা যায়, সমন্বিত ক্ষুদ্র অর্থায়ন মডেল সার্বিকভাবে সমাজের কল্যাণে অনেক বেশি ইতিবাচক পরিবর্তন নিয়ে আসবে। অনেকগুলো এনজিও যদি একই সঙ্গে এ সমন্বিত মডেল অনুসরণ করে তাহলে এর সার্বিক ফলাফল দারিদ্র্য বিমোচনের ক্ষেত্রে হবে অনেক ব্যাপক।

তথ্যসূত্র:

আবদুর রহমান, আবদুর রহিম (২০০৭), ইসলামিক মাইক্রোফাইন্যান্স: অ্যা মিসিং কম্পোনেন্ট ইন ইসলামিক ব্যাংকিং, কিয়োটো বুলেটিন অব ইসলামিক এরিয়া স্টাডিস ১(২):৩৮-৫৩

বাজওয়া, আর (২০০১). পাকিস্তানের অ্যাডমিনিস্ট্র্যাটিভ স্টাফ কলেজে অনুষ্ঠিত ৭৫তম জাতীয় ব্যবস্থাপনা কোর্সের আলোচনা, লাহোর, পাকিস্তান ক্লার্ক, ম্যাথিও. (২০১০) মাইক্রোফাইন্যান্স অব গ্রোভার্টি রিডাকশন: স্টাডি গাইড অ্যান্ড রিডিং, গিলং ভিক্টোরিয়া: ডিকিন ইউনিভার্সিটি ক্লডিল, স্টিভেন বি. ড্যানিয়েল এম. গ্রোপার, ও ভ্যালেন্টিনা হারটাসকা. ২০০৯. হুইচ মাইক্রোফাইন্যান্স ইন্সটিটিউশনস আর বিকামিং মোর কস্ট ইফেক্টিভ উইথ টাইম? এভিডেন্স ফ্রম এ মিস্সার মডেল. জার্নাল অব মানি, ক্রেডিট অ্যান্ড ব্যাংকিং ৪১(৪)

ধুমাইল, রাহুল ও আমেলা স্যাপক্যানিন (২০০২), “অ্যান এপ্লিকেশন অব ইসলামিক ব্যাংকিং প্রিন্সিপ্যালস টু মাইক্রোফাইন্যান্স”, পৃষ্ঠা ০৭ হাসান. এম কবির. (২০১০). অ্যান ইন্সটিটিউটেড পোভার্টি এলিভিয়েশন মডেল কমবাইনিং জাকাত আওক্যফ অ্যান্ড মাইক্রোফাইন্যান্স, ৭ম আন্তর্জাতিক সম্মেলন, দি তৌহিদি এপিসটেমলজি, জাকাত অ্যান্ড ওয়াক্ফ ইকনমি, বাঙ্গি, বাংলাদেশ

মাহমুদ. টি (২০০৬) ইফেক্টিভনেস অব মাইক্রোক্রেডিট ফর পোভার্টি এলিভিয়েশন আন্ডার এগ্রিকালচার ইনস্টিটিউশন প্রজেক্ট ইন বাংলাদেশ, পিএইচডি থিসিস, স্কুল অব গ্র্যাজুয়েট স্টাডিস, ইউনিভার্সিটি পুত্রা মালয়েশিয়া, মালয়েশিয়া

ইউনুস এম. (২০০০) হাউ ডোনার ফান্ড কুড বেটার রিচ অ্যান্ড সাপোর্ট গ্রাসরুটস মাইক্রো ফাইন্যান্স প্রোথাম: ওয়াক্ফিং টুওয়ার্ডস দি মাইক্রোক্রেডিট সামিট'স গোল অ্যান্ড কোর থিমস বাংলাদেশ ইন্সটিটিউট অব ডেভলপমেন্ট স্টাডিসের ত্রৈমাসিক জার্নাল, ২৬ (২৩ ৩), ১-১৪।

অনুবাদ: মাসুমুর রহমান খলিলী

