

THE
CARTER CENTER



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0

lgj ffg kl/rfng ug{sfgg 9FFsf}; dlff ug{/ lgj ffg cfofusf kltlgwx; tyf klj lws ; xfoff kbfg ul//x\$ cfG/f(60
; #7gx; # j 7s ; #fng ug{; g\@)!! sf] kmpc/L dlxgdf sf6 ; (6/sf] b0{; b:olo 6fhln] gkfnsf] eDof u/\$f] lyof].
. la]h^aUr /Odf dtbtf gfd btf{ePsf \$# dlo]!# j 6f lhNnfx; af6 dtbftsf] gfd btf{k]qmf sf af/df ; 'rgfx; ; sng ug{
kmpc/L dlxgdf clGtd lbgx; b]v dfr{dlxgf; Dd sf6 ; (6/sf bl3\$fnlg koj] fsx; sf]^ j 6f 6fhlx; vl6Psf lyP . tl
koj] fsx; n] vf; u/L t/f0\$ (j 6f lhNnfx; af6] af/f, bf^a, wglff, sGrkg/, slknj :t; df]^a, k; f{/ ?k6b] tyf kxf8L
lhNnfx; 8f6, Onfd, sf7df08f)/ sfa]knfgrf\$af6 ; 'rgfx; ; sng u/\$f lyP .

sf6 ; (6/sf bl3\$fnlg koj] fsx; sf 6fhlx; n] dtbtf ; r]gtf / ; xeflutf, dtbftsf] gfd btf\$] Joj :yfkG / o;
k]qmfdf /fhgllts bnsf]; xeflutfsf ; Dj wdf ; 'rgfx; a6h\$] lyP . To; sf ; fy}pglx; n] dtbftx; sf] gfd btf{ug{ @%
j 6f 7fpk; df k]olf koj] fof u/\$f lyP .

cGt/jftf{/ k]olf koj] fofaf/f bl3\$fnlg koj] fsx; n] dtbftsf] gfd btf{ug{k]qmf sf ; DaGwdf uoffds / dfqtds bj }
lsl; dsf ; 'rgfx; a6h\$] lyP . dtbtf ; wofsf] uofg / btf\$] sh cfE8sf ; DaGwdf lgj ffg cfofusf clwsf/lx; n]
; sng u/\$f tVof^assf cti/St tl koj] fsx; n] k]of 7fpk; slDtdf bzhgf gful/sx; ; # cGt/jftf{u/\$f lyP . tl
cGt/jftf; hf] hf]el6of]pxl pxl; E ul/Psf lyP . dtbftsf] gfd btf{k]qmf sf ; Dj wdf slt dflg; x; ; r] 5g\sltn]
o; k]qmfno{aem\$ 5g\pglx; n]o; k]qmf sf ; DaGwdf s; /L 1fg kP, slt hgn] dtbftsf] uofg ug{uofsx; nfo{e6]
cfj Zos sfuhfx; k] ug{slt hgf ; lfd eP, gfd btf{ug{gkPsf slt hgn] gfd btf{ug{ca pglx; n] s] ug{5{e6]
s/f aem] slt hgn] gfd btf{ug{rfxgf b]vP / hg; S; sf/Ofn] ePklg slt hgf gfd btf\$ nflu cof]o 7xl/P e6]s'/sf]
lgwf]ug{to; /L cGt/jftf{ul/Psf] lyof]. dtbftsf] gfd btf{ug{7fpk; sf] kltlgwlj ug{gd6f Jo]Stsf]?kdf koj] fsx; nfo{
v6fpg' ; Dej lyPg, To; h] bl3\$fnlg koj] fsx; n] k]mfkf/\$f uoffds tVof^asx; df dfq}cfwfl/t eP/ bzel/sf] cj :yfsf]
k]f6dfg ug{; Dej 5g . tyflk cfk]h] k]mfkf/\$f uoffds tVof^asaf6 oitGh] dtbftsf]; xeflutfsf]:t/ / dtbftsf] gfd
btf{ug{sfddf lgj ffg cfofusf]; fdg ul//x\$] r]gt]leq lrofP/ To; sf] j:tlj stdfly k\$z kfg] cGt/b]6 kbfg ug{
bl3\$fnlg koj] fsx; ; lfd ePsf lyP .

sf6 ; (6/n] koj] fofsf cf gf lqmfnsfx; nfo{gkfnsf] sfgg, lgj ffg koj] fofsf] nflu lgwf{Of ul/Psf] lgj ffg cfofusf]
cfrf/; lxtf / cGt/f(60 lgj ffg koj] fofsf] lg]dt 3ff]off ul/Psf] l; 4ftx; sf] dfkb08cg?k ; #fng u/\$f] 5 . dtbtf
gdfj nl btf{k]qmfno{kl/rfng ul//x\$] gkfnsf] sfgg / zf; slo 9FF; # dh vfg] u/L sf6 ; (6/n] dtbtf gdfj nl btf{
k]qmf sf] n] vhf]v ul//x\$] 5 . vf; u/L, gkfnsf] cGt/d ; l; wfg-; g\@))&, dtbtf gdfj nl ; DaGw P6-@)) ^ /
dtbftsf] gdfj nl ; DaGw lgod-@))& / lgj ffg cfofusf, gkfnsf gllt / l] lw-k]qmf; # dh vfg] u/L ; (6/n] To] sf
ul//x\$] 5 . ; (6/n] n]stf]Gqs lgj ffg ; #fng ug{ cGt/f(60 dfgsdf klG Wofg lbPsf] 5 . To:tf dfgsx; df vf; u/L
gkfnn]x: tflf/ jf cgd]hg u/\$f]; eSt /fi6< 3sf] dfgj clwsf/; DaGw lj Zj Jofkl 3ff]ofkqsf] wf/f @!, gful/s / /fhgllts
clwsf/dfly cGt/f(60 k]t1fkqsf] wf/f @ ; eSt /fi6< 3sf] dfgj clwsf/ cfofusf]; dfGo l6kOf @%, Jo]Stsf] clwsf/ /
b]o]j; DaGw ; eSt /fi6< 3sf] 3ff]off, lj Zj Jofkl ?kdf df6otfkt dfgj clwsf/ / :j tGqtsf lg]dt ag\$; dx tyf
lgsfox; / hft, /fi6<tf, hghft, lnE, pd], lzlf cfbsf cfw/df e6efj ug{k]tj Gw nufpg]; eSt /fi6< 3sf
k]t1fkq; pbfx/Ofsf nflu dlxndfly ul/g]; a]lsl; dsf e6efj x6fpg ul/Psf]; Dd]hg, ; a]lsl; dsf hftlo e6efj
x6fpg ul/Psf] cGt/f(60 ; Dd]hg, cf]bjf; l / hghftlx; sf] clwsf/af/] ul/Psf]; Dd]hg / ck]Etf ePsf Jo]Stx; sf]
clwsf/sf ; DaGwdf ul/Psf]; Dd]hg tyf c6o s/fx; sf ; fy}cGt]s ?kdf lj :yflktx; ; DaGw lgbz s l; 4ftx; cf]b
kb5g\

-s_ sfgg vfsf

gk]ndf dtbftsf] gfd btf{k]qmfno{gkfnsf] cGt/d ; l; wfg, ; g\@))& cg?k / To; ; # gafieng] u/L dtbtf
gdfj nl; DaGw P6-; g\@)) ^ / dtbtf gdfj nl; DaGw lgodx; -@))& n]; Dxfn\$] 5 . clxn] rln/x\$] dtbftsf] gfd btf{
k]qmfno{ ; Dxfn] sfggx; ; g\@)) * sf]; l; wfg ; efsf] lgj ffgnfo{ ; x]pg] u/L d:of] ul/Psf lyP . tl sfggx; df
dtbtf xg] of]otf lgwf{Of ug]; DaGwdf km]fnsf cfw/x; /x]fklg dtbftsf] clxn] rln/x\$] btf{k]qmf sf kd]v klfx; df

sf6 ; (6/sf] bl3\$fnlg koj] fs 6fhldf b0hgf cGt/f(60 koj] fs, Pshgf gk]nl koj] fs / Ps hgf b]f]fif/x65g\

; 'ki6 kfj wfgx /x\$ 5g\ . dtbftf; Dj Gw Pgn] dtbftfsf] ?kdf gfd btf{xg\$} nflu oflotf lgwf{Of ug; DaGwdf
tlgj 6f dfgsx : yfkt u/\$f]5 . Pp6f, btf{xg rfxg]JolSt !* j if{ku\$}j f To; e6bf dflysf]xgk5{. bf] fl] pm gkfnl
gful/s xg}k5{ / t] fl]sg}lgj ff'g lfd'f lgoldt ?kdf a; f;f; u/\$f]xg}kb5 . gkfn\$]sfggcg; f/, dtbftfsf] ?kdf btf{xg
sg}JolSt !* j if{pd} ku\$}xgkg]ePtf kl; ; fdfco c6t/f60 cEof; s]/x\$]5 eg]!* j if{gklu; s\$]sg}JolSt
lgj ff'gcufj}j f lgj ff'gsf]lbg !* aif{nfl5 eg]p; nf0{klg dtbftfsf] ?kdf gfd btf{u/fpg' kb5

gful/stf; # hf]8Psf]lj ifodf To; sfggdf cfk; df aflemg]kfj wfgx /x\$ 5g\ . Psflt/ o; n]dtbftfsf]gfd btf{sfoqmd
; #fng ug\$ nflu gful/stfsf]kdf0fkq nufot gful/s ePsf]kli6 ug]c6o sfuhftx;sf ; Dj Gwdf kl; lj rf/ ug]h:tf
kfj wfgx; ; lxt lgj ff'g cfoflnf0{pbf/ tyf km/fisnf glt tyf sfo]j lwx; th'f ug]cgdl't kbfg u/\$f]5 eg]csf{t/
To; sfggdf s]kl; n]vPsf]5 eg]sg}JolStn]gful/stfsf]kdf0fkq k] ug; ; s; eg]JolQs}cfw/df dtbftfsf ?kdf gfd
btf{ug{kfpg]p; sf]clwsf/af6 p; nf0{j lgrt ug{x6g / ; /sf/n]lbPsf c6o Invtx; k] u/]kl; kl5 . ; g\@)!! sf]
km'c/ldf ; j f'r cbfntn]u/\$f]km} nfd'f gful/stfsf]kdf0fkq rfxg]kfj wfg ; Dj wflgs xf]e6g]lg0f6 u/] o; lj ifonf0{
; Dj f'wg u/\$f]5 . /, To; km} nfd'f dtbftfsf] ?kdf gfd btf{ug{of]o xg\$}nflu Pp6}cfw/sf ?kdf gful/stfsf]kdf0fkq
pkof] ug]lgj ff'g cfoflnf0{lgb; u/\$f]5 .

a; f0F/f0{ E hf]8Psf]lj ifodf, sg}JolSt dtbftf xg\$}lgldt p; n]sg}lgj ff'g lfd'f lgoldt ?kn]a; f;f; u/\$f]xg}k5{
eg] sfgg]eg\$]5 . To; sfgg]lgj ff'g cfoflnf0{dtbftfsf]gfd btf{klqmf\$ lgldt glt / lj lw-klqmf; lgwf{Of ug}
km/fisnf] lfd'f kl; kbfg u/\$f]5 / gful/stfsf]kdf0fkqdf pln]vt : yfgx;df a; f;f; gu/\$f gful/sx;nf0{xfn a; f;f;
ul//x\$] : yfgdf gfd btf{ug{of]o xg\$}nflu gfd btf{ug{c]3 a; f0F/f0\$}kdf0f k] ug{k;lg]lgj ff'g cfoflnf]gl't /xg\$}
cfw/ oxl g}xf]. To; e6bf kl; kdv s/f s]x]eg]dtbftf ; Dj Gwdf hfnem] / wfwl xg; Sg] ; Defj gfnf0{s6f]L ug\$]
nflu gfd btf{ug{rfxg]JolStnf0{lgj ff'g clwsf/lx; n] . lgoldt a; f;f; s'f]kdf'f by'fpg cg/f'wugkg]kfj wfg c6 /f60
?kdf rn\$]; fdfco cEof; xf].

c6Todf xfn; fn Joaxf/df nfu" e0/x\$]dtbftf gfd btf{klqmf\$ w})klfx;df sfgg dfg 5 . pbfx/0fsf]nflu dtbftfsf]
gfd btf{ynx;sf lgldt lj Bdfg sfgg] 9fFleq ; 'ki6 ?kn}sg}lsl; dsf kfj wfgx 5g\ . ; f'wfg ; efsf]lgj ff'gcl3
dtbftfx;sf]gfd btf{ug\$ lgldt Psdfq dflwdsf ?kdf /x\$]dtbftf u0fg klqmf\$]lgldt dfq s;l kfj wfgx; lyP .
dtbftfx;sf]gfd lg/t/ btf{ug]cyj f btf{ul/g]JolStsf]lj : t] hfgs/l; lxt t'of's ; sng ug\$]nflu kl; sfggdf
kfj wfgx 5g\ . dtbftfsf]gfd btf{ug]klqmfnf0{; Dxfln/x\$ sfgg] 9fFfx;df 7ls 9En]sfd ; Dk6g ug{lgb]zt ug]
kfj wfgx; t]sg' /fd]xg]u/\$f]5 . h'f] \; 'ki6 kfj wfgx;sf]cej; x6fx6}kl; lgj ff'g cfofln]ul//x\$ k6]gx; ; a}g}
; fdfco c6t/f60 cEof; x; cg?k g}5g\

-v_ dtbftf btf\$]sh ; Wofsf]k]fkOf

gu/kfn\$fx;sf]r/0fsf]lgldt lgj ff'g cfofln]dtbftfsf]gfd btf{ug]sh ; Wofsf]nlo ; g\@)* sf] ; f'wfg ; ef lgj ff'g
; Dk6g ug{kof]u ePsf]dtbftf gfd]nlsf]&% kl'tzt lgwf{Of u/\$f]lyof]. ; g\@)* sf]dtbftf gfd]nldf nueu ! s/f6

gu/kfnsf / uflj ; xē b)øf u/] dtbftfxēsf]gfd btf{ug[nlo hDdf ! s/f§ !) nfv lyof]. Tof] ; Wof ; g\@))* sf]
; lj:wfg ; efsf]lgjff{gsf]dtbftf gdfjnlisf] thgfd pNnyglo s6f]L xf]. s]alemPsf] 5 eg] ; g\@))* sf]dtbftf

gePsf / c6o lhNnf jf lj bẏdf uPsf JolStxçsf]; Wof slt 5 e6g] s/fsf] nut To; kmf/ddf /flv65 . olb lj j /Of
; \$nsxçn]o; sf]; dlrt pkofly u/eg] bẏafix/ ePsf slt hgfn] dtbftfsf ?kdf gfd btf{ug{; sgg\tyf gful/stfsf]
kdf0fkq / a; f0F/f0sf] sfuhft geP/ slthgfn] gfd btf{ug{; sgg\eg] s/fsf] cem a9l olsg hfgsf/L kft xg5 .
dtbftfsf ?kdf gfd btf{gePsf JolStxçsf]; Wofsf] olsg klxrfg ug{lgj f{g cfoflun]ul//xsf] of] k0Tg lgs}; sf/ftds 5
. tklg ; dod}sf d ; Sgkg]s/f Pp6f dxTj k0f{l j ifo xf].

rfn' btf{kllqmf ; lSPkI5 dfq}nutsf] tYof^s kft xg5 . To; f] ePsf] xgfn] gkfnl hgtf, gkfnsf /fhgllts bnxç,
gful/s ; dfh / btf{kllqmf0{; 3fp kYof0/xçf] c6t/fl60 ; dbfonf0{gfd btfçf ; Dj Gwdf ul/Psf] nlo lgwf{0faf/] k}6
?kn]ts{k0fg ug]nufot rin/xçf]/fi60fkl btf{kllqmf0sf]k}6 lrq bYfpg]sf d lgs}l9nf]xg]alnof]; Defj gf 5 . To; h]
ubf{nutsf]tYof^snf0{; b0 kfgçl3 hg; Wof / a; f0F/f0çf]nyfhfYf ug{j f65glo 5 .

clxn]btf{xg] dtbftfxçsf]; Wof ; g\@))* sf]; lj wfg ; efsf] gdfj nle6bf km/s xg] s/f k}6 5 . cftl/s a; f0F/f0{
; d6bkf/ a; f0F/f0{ bxf]f]btf{/ gful/stfsf]kdf0fkq rflxg]df6otfnf0{cem s8f0{ul/Psf]h:tf sf/0fn]dtbftfxçsf]gfd

?kGbxl lhNnfsf]l; 4fygu/ gu/kflnsdf yk}dw] j fbl bnxzn]cj /fv kfofPsf lyP . Itgdf dw]l hg clwsf/ krf/d, ; bfej gf kf6L{/ t/f0{dw} nfstflqs kf6L{-tdnfkf_ lyP . - Toxl ahf sf6L ; 06/n]Toxl lhNnfsf]aδjn gu/kflnsdf eδof ubf{Tof]gu/kflnsf rlixFkφlj t lyPg . gu/kflnsf r/0fdf gfd btf{/f\$gsf] nflu lhNnf lgj ffg sfofno -lhgsf_ df wδsl; lxtsf]krfg klg cPsf]lyof]. /, To; kl5 lhgsfsf]sfofno cl3lnt/ Pp6f ad klg /flvPsf]lyof]. To]jad hgtflqs t/f0{dlSt df]f{gfpE]Pp6f ; z:q ; dXn]/fv\$]lyof].

slknj:tsf] tflnxj f gu/kflnsdf dw]l hgclwsf/ krf/d, tdnfkf / ; bfej gf kf6Lh] cS6f]/ dlxgfb]v btf{ klqomdf cj /fv kfofPsf lyP . tl bnxzn]dtbftfxznf0{btf{yndf klq glbP/ cj /fv kfofPsf lyP . To; sf ; fy} tflnxj df tdnfkf]sf Ps hgf kl]t]glwn]sf6L ; 06/sf koj]fsx; E . Pp6f s D66/ krfObPsf]Us/f klq atfPsf lyP .

afEδf ; 060]/ dlxgfb]v dw]l hgclwsf/ krf/d -nfstflqs_ dw]l hgclwsf/ krf/d, gkfn, tdnfkf / gkfn ; bfej gf kf6L{-cfgGblb]L_n] dtbtf btf{klqomdf cj /fv kfofPsf lyP . tlqj of btf{ynaδ dw] j fbl bnsf kl]t]lgwxzn]Nofk6k, Sofd]fx; c7f5fksf]:Sofg/ cflb lnP/ uPsf lyP . oBlk kl5 uP/, lhNnf lgj ffg sfofno] tl ; fdfgx; lkmtf{u/fPsf]lyof]. yk tδkrfδsf wδslx; cfpq yfn]kl5 cgttl lhNnf lgj ffg sfofno]dtbtf btf{klqomf :ylut u/\$]lyof].

gful/stfsf]kδf0fkq rlixg] kfljwfg x6fP/ ; g\@))* sf] ; ljwfg ; ef lgj ffgsf] dtbtf gdfj nldf /x\$ f ; a} JolStx;nf0{gfd btf{ug{lbgk5{ cδoyf snδdf dtbftfsf]gfd btf{ug{glbg]eGb}af/fdf dw] j fbl bnxzn]lhNnf lgj ffg sfofnodf 1fkgkq aemPsf lyP . t]klg lhNnf lgj ffg sfofno]gu/kflnsdf gfd btf\$]sfd cl3 a9fpg]lg0fδ u/kl5 tl bnxzn]lhNnf lgj ffg sfofnosf krf/d / krf0nx; hkm t u/] cfuf]nuf0]bPsf lyP .

df]ad l/ /f6gu/ gu/kflnsf (j 6f j 8fx;df dtbftfsf]gfd btf{ug]sfd ; DkGg eof]. To]tahf ToxfYk} dw] j fbl bnxzn]Pp6f btf{yndf k]olf cj /fv kfofPsf lyP . ; fy} btf{klqomf aGb ug]dfu ub}tl bnsf yk} sfδstf; btf{yndf kl\$] lyP . To; h] ubf{afE /x\$ j 8fx;df lhNnf lgj ffg sfofno]lhNnf ; b/d'sddf dtbtf btf{klqomfnf0{:ylut ug{k/\$]lyof].

tlqj of gu/kflnsfx;df dtbtf btf{klqomf nueu k'f xg nfu\$]xgfn]dfly pNn]vt cj /fvx;sf]kl]t]qomf:j?k lhNnf ; b/d'sfdx;df btf\$]afE sfd lg/Gt/ btf{klqomafaf k'f ug]lg0fδ lgj ffg cfof]un]ufof]. ; fy}cj /fv]sf]; d:of ; dfwfg ug{kφTg ug{lgj ffg cfof]un]lj /fvdf plqPsf bnx; E /fl]60 / lhNnf b] }txdf jftf{cufl8 a9of]. gu/kflnsfx;sf] r/0fdf pNn]vt cj /fvx;sf]kl/0ffd:j?k ; /b/ ; a}gu/kflnsfx;sf]bfhfδf cj /fvn]kφlj t u/\$f lfδx;sf]btf{b/ sd lyof].

.sxl gu/kflnsfx;sf]dtbtf btf{cfE8f -+cj /fv ePsf 7fpE;_

#dtbftsf ?kdf gfd btf{xg]of]otfsf lglDt rfxg]s/xf -gu/kfinsf r/Ofdf

cj/f]vn]ubf{sxl lhNnfx;df dtbftfx;sf]gfd btf{s]cfE8f yf})ePklg o; n]c? 7fpEf sh btf{sd xg]sf]sf/Ofsf]?kdf
sfd ug{; Sbg . dtbftsf ?kdf gfd btf{xg]of]otfsf lglDt rfxg]s/xf !_ gful/stfsf]kdfOfkq / @_ gful/stfsf]
kdfOfkqdf pNn\ ePsf]7\fgfaf6 cGoq a; f;f; u/\$]eP k] ugkg]a; fOF/fO\$]kdfOfn]; Dej tM sxl JolStnfO{gfd btf{
u/fpg j fwsf]?kdf sfd u/\$]5 . t/ cfj Zos sfuhft gePsf of]o JolStx;sf]olsq ; Wof c1ft g}5 . gkfn ; /sf/n]
lj utdf ; #fng u/\$]cg; Gwgsf ; fy; fy}lgj f{g cfof] / IFES n]; eSt ?kdf xfn}u/\$]cftl/s cWooqgn]; d:ofs]
:t/j f/]sxl ; s] u/\$]5 . To; eGbf a9L ; g\@)) * df ul/Psf]/fli6 >dzlSt ; j [fOf (NLFS) sf]cfE8f cg; f/, cftl/s
a; fOF/fO{ug;sf]; Wof *\$ nfv; Dd pRr /x\$]kfOPsf]5 . ; dudf; ; a)gkfnlx;dWoj aGa z? ePb]v aGaf]cj lwel/df
cf g]lhNnfaf6 csf]lhNnfdf j f cf g]ufj ; af6 csf]ufj ; / gu/kfinsfd a; fO; /] hfg;sf]; Wof ## kltzt /x\$]
kfOPsf]5

; g\@!) sf] g] / dlxgdf lgj f{g cfof]un] gful/stfsf]kdfOfkq rfxg]cf g] glt lj k/Lt o:tf]kf]wgn]; d:of
lgD]ofpg ; S5 eg] u/\$]3f]fOfnfO{sf6 ; 06/ :jlsf/ ub5 . ; 06/ s]klg :jlsf/ ub5 eg]; j fRr cbfntn]; g\@)!! sf]
k]c/L dlxgdf lbPsf] km} nfnfO{lgj f{g cfof]un] kfngf ugkb5 . To; km} nfn]dtbftsf]?kdf btf{xg] rfxg] JolStn]

l; Gg sf/Ofj; st c; sf]u0fgf ug{; lSP eGgaf; l; Gjffg c; flusf clwsf/x; n] blsg; f/ ; Vcf atfpg g; s; f] k]]fsx; n] kP . o; pglx; n] k] oM u0fsx; n] lbPs cgdfl; t c\$8x; df e/ kg{k; of]. p; fx/Ofsf nflu Ps hf u; sn]8f; df koj]fs; hf0{atfP cg; f/ pgr; nueu; } hg]sf]ug; gf ug{; s] t/ lj leG sf/]fn]ul{cG0 } hg]sf] ug; gf ug{; s; gg\ To: df]a; sf]Pp; of uflj; d; u0fsx; ; nueu; @) v; % kltzt; Dd d; q Jo]Stsf]u0fgf u;]. Isge;] c; Jo]Stx; ; E; gful;]fsf] kdf0fkq lyPg . leG l; n; fsf u0fsx; n] koj]fsx; hf0{atfP cg; f/ v; f; u/L o; jfx; / s; sd @; aifdg; sf; tlx; ; u; gful/stfsf] kdf0fkq g; g . % j if; ysf kfsf]pd; sf w; }dflg; x; ; E; klg g; ul/stfsf] kdf0fkq lyPg . o; af; @) b]v #) j if{/ #) v \$) j; sf w; }oj fx; l; st l; n; n; faf; x/ l; s; l; j; b; z; d; u; Ps]]k; f0of]

-u; dtbftf btf; ; a; r; x; Of
k;]yndf; btf{; s; f; } z; k; of{/ w; }xb; Dd lj; f; s; g; } p; 3; gf; c; f; l; 8; a; 9; s; f] k; f0of] . s; x; l; 7; f; p; x; ; d; b; t; f; {; u; g; {; c; f; P; s; } c; g; ; x; ; s;]n; f; d; f]k; l; s; t; } P; k; l; g; n; f; d; f]k; v; f; 0; s; f; s; Of; w; }g; d; Jo; s; t; x; ; } c; f; q; }5; f; 8; } u; P; s; f]s; f; k; o; j;]f; s; x; ; n]at; f; P; . dtb; f; t; b; {; u; g; {; c; w; s; f; /x; ; k; ; ; d; e; m; f; / / l; g; j; f; g; c; f; o; l; u; s; f; l; t / k; l; q; m; o; s; f; a; f; /d; f; /f; d; f; }1; f; g; e; P; s; f; x; }f; n]b; t; f; {; y; n; d; p; l; a; h; P; s; f; }f; l; t; g; ; d; :o; f; x; ; ; c; g; u; g; {; p; g; l; x; ; ; l; f; d; l; y; .

v; ; f]b; t; {; y; n; x; ; %a; }b; f; {; b; f; f; y; n; e; g; } l; r; l; g; v; f; n; s; f; } P; g; g; \; v; f; ; /L; a; 9; k; f; s; f; c; }St; n; u; f; o; t; s; } w; }d; f; l; g; ; s; f; n; f; l; u; d; f; q; b; {; y; n; s; f; }b; l; ; d; :o; f; s; }?k; d; f; l; n; P; g; g; \; s; x; l; 7; f; p; x; ; d; f; b; {; y; n; s; f; }J; o; a; :y; f; l; g; ; n; f; } e; P; t; f; k; l; g; o; ; a; f; 6; b; t; f; {; k; l; o; d; f; v; f; }k; m; s; k; /g; . w; }h; f]b; t; {; y; n; d; f; }P; s; h; g; f; s; f]g; f; d; b; t; f; {; u; g; {; n; e; u; % l; d; g; 6; n; f; l; o; f; }s; x; l; y; f; }7; f; p; e; f; To; ; s; f; d; s; f; l; g; t; !); d; g; 6; b; f; a; 9; l; ; d; o; n; f; u; s; f; k; f0of] ; s; k; r; j; :t' l; h; n; f; s; f;]P; s; 7; f; e; f; b; t; f; k; i; f; /d; s; l; a; g; ; s; f; }s; d; h; f; /l; n]u; b; f; {; P; s; }g; f; Jo; l; S; }f; }b; t; f; s; f; o; {; s; g; ; /b; @) l; d; g; 6; n; f; u; s; f; }y; o; f; .

k;]f; o; f; u; /P; s; f; k; f; o; l; l; } 7; f; p; x; ; !); a; h; }l; v; ; !); a; h; }d; v; h; }l; y; P; . s; x; l; 7; f; p; x; ; d; f; s; d; f; /x; ; n] c; f; j; Z; o; s; a; g; b; f; a; :t; g; n; f; p; 6; h; } g; f; d; b; t; f; {; c; f; P; s; f; Jo; l; S; t; x; ; a; l; x; ; k; l; v; {; x; s; }k; l; g; k; 0of] ; k; o; j;]f; o; f; u; l; /P; s; f; e; m; 3; } ; a; h; f]7; f; p; e; f; b; t; f; {; u; g; {; s; f; d; a; s; l; ^; j; % a; h; }l; /k; }g; }a; g; b; u; l; /G; y; o; f; . a; g; b; x;] ; d; o; e; ; c; u; f; l; 8; g; }n; 0; g; b; f; a; ; s; f; n; f; 0; {; a; }7; f; p; e; f; }f; d; b; t; f; {; u; l; /P; s; f; }k; f; 0; P; f; k; ^; a; h; e; g; b; f; s; x; l; c; } 3; c; f; p; e; f; k; l; g; b; t; f; {; u; g; {; s; f; d; a; g; b; e; 0; ; s; f; }u; g; {; f; }k; l; g; ; l; g; o; f; . b; 0; {; 7; f; p; e; f; t; h; }g; /n]s; i; d; g; u; /s; f; } x; n]b; t; f; {; u; g; {; s; f; d; s; x; }d; o; /\$; g; k; /s; f; }k; l; g; l; y; o; .

x; s; r; f; / 7; f; p; e; l; l; o; }P; s; }e; f; g; d; b; t; f; {; u; g; {; c; f; P; s; }d; f; l; g; ; n; } {; u; 0; f; g; f; u; g; } {; o; f; s; }g; }p; k; l; :y; t; g; e; P; s; f; }k; l; g; k; f0of] . o; :t; f; b; 0; {; 7; f; p; e; f; c; } s; d; f; /l; n]o; f; }s; f; o; /\$; f; l; y; P; . P; p; 6; f; d; b; t; {; y; n; k; }]s; n] / c; s; f; e; b; t; f; {; y; n; ; x; o; s; n] o; f; }s; f; d; u; /\$; f; l; y; P; . o; ; /L; s; l; 7; f; p; e; f; g; f; d; b; t; f; s; f; n; f; c; f; j; Z; o; s; s; u; h; f; t; x; ; b; f; P; s; f; Jo; l; S; t; x; ; n; f; 0; {; k; } u; 0; f; s; x; ; p; o; l; x; ; s; l; }3; /d; f; g; c; f; p; e; f; ; Dd; b; t; f; {; y; n; d; f; }g; p; g; "e; g; } k; m; s; f; 0; f; . }s; f; d; l; g; j; f; f; g; c; f; o; l; u; s; }k; l; j; w; f; g; k; /l; t; }y; o; f; } ; a; }7; f; p; e; f; s; l; }o; 6; / e; k; /b; / }y; f; ; x; f; o; s; b; t; f; {; c; l; w; s; t; }p; :y; t; e; t; f; k; l; g; x; /\$; f; F; d; l; l; o; }P; s; }f; p; e; f; ; a; }f; s; x; l; k; }]f; o; f; b; n; c; f; p; e; f; b; t; f; {; y; n; k; }]o; w; s; j; ; x; f; o; s; b; t; f; {; c; l; w; s; t; }c; g; k; l; :y; t; l; .

k;]f; o; f; u; l; /P; s; f; ; a; }7; f; p; e; f; c; f; j; }s; n] u; 0; f; g; f; /l; ; b; o; }v; f; P; k; l; 5; }l; f; q; b; t; f; {; l; s; t; e; a; d; }p; g; l; x; ; s; f; l; j; j; /0; /f; l; v; P; s; f; }x; f; }s; x; f; 0; g; e; g; } b; t; f; {; c; }s; t; x; ; n] ?h' u; l; y; } . /h; ; f;]c; j; :y; f; d; f; c; f; j; }s; n] g; f; u; l; /s; }s; f; }k; d; f; 0; f; k; q; o; f; f; g; l; o; f; P; s; f; }k; l; /P; t; f; k; l; g; k; o; j;]f; o; f; u; l; /P; s; f; b; 0; {; 7; f; p; e; f; g; l; /s; t; f; }k; d; f; 0; f; k; q; }g; l; }s; x; l; n; f; 0; {; b; t; f; {; u; g; {; c; g; }t; l; b; 0; P; s; }k; l; g; k; 0of] .

lyPg . koj]f0f ul/Psf sg}klg 7fp0f dtbftfnf0{t; fPsf]kljtj 0g koj]fsx2n]lbPgg\ . - tyflk To:tf]sxl cgdfg tyf
cj/f\sf]lj j /0f tn lb0Psf]5 _

gfd btf{; lsPkI5 k|o\$ lbgS

h= dtbftf gfd btf\$fi; do; ldf

o; cl3 :yflkt ul/; s\$fi Sofn08/ cg; f/ dtbftf btf{sfo{ #fng ug{lgj ffg cfofufnf0{sxl sl7gf0{ePsf]lyof]. clxn] lgj ffg cfofufnf]cf gfi lgoG0eG0af afix/sf sf/s tTj x; sf sf/Of ev\}cyff\sfotflnsidf pNny ePeGf tlg dlxgkl5 dfq /fi6kofkl ?kdf dtbftfsf]gfd btf{ug]sfd z? u/\$fi]5 . To; sf/Of, k?}&% j6}lhNnfel/ dtbftfsf]gfd btf\$fi nflu of] ; do kofkt blvEg . btf{; fduu nufotsf cfj Zos pks/Ofx; lhNnf txd fdr{dlxgfsf] cGtodf lj t/Of ul/; lsPsf] / lgj ffg cfofufnf sdf/l egf{ug] / pglx;nf0{k|zlf0f lbg]sfd klg bzel/ kfnkfnf]ul/55 eg]s/f sf6; ;06/nf0{ hfgsf/l 5 .

sf6; ;06/nf0{s]lrGtf 5 eg] lhNnftxsf]dtbftf btf\$fi]sfd klflkt ; do h; @)!! ; Dd ; DkGg ug\$fi]nflu dtbftf btf{ u0fgf tyf :ynut ?kdf ul/g]btfh:tf sfdnf0{5fi] ; dodf ugkg]xg; S5 . t/ cg\$fi]lhNnf;df dtbftf btf{df e0/x\$fi] cj/fw tyf dtbftfsf]of]otf kdfloft ug]sfuhftx; gePsf JolStx;sf] pNnyo pkl:y|tnf0{x\$fi]To; /L 5fi6kofpg' klg olSt; ut blvEg . Toltdq xif0g, blgs ?kdf nilft ; Wof k/f ug{u0fsx;nf0{k/\$fi]sl7gf0{tyf g; sdf sfd ug]JolStsf] cgl:y|tdf lhNnf txa6 tyofl ; sng ug{klg l9nf0 e0/x\$fi]5 .

lgj ffg cfofufnf clwsf/lx;sf]kl/>d tyf ; dk0fk|t sf6; ;06/ cfef/ JoSt ub5 / neu @) nvf gkfnl gful/sx;sf] gfd btf{ug]sfd ; DkGg u/\$fi]df lgj ffg cfofufnf0{awf0 lbg rfxG5 . lgDgnlv t ; emfj / l; kmf/; x; ; xofu tyf ; Ddfgsf] efjgf; lxt ul/Psf]xf]. ol ; emfj / l; kmf/; x;n]elj iodf 5nkmsf nflu pkoful abfx; kbfug ug]5g\eg]cfzf ul/Psf] 5 .

_____ M

; j fr cbfntn]dtbftfsf ?kdf gfd btf{ug\$fi]lg]D gful/stf]kdf0kqnf0clgj fo{tNof0bPsf]5 / of]o JolStnf0{ gful/stf lbg]Joj:yf ug{gkfn ; /sf/nf0{cfbz lbPsf]5 . ; j fr cbfntsf]cfbznf0{kfngf ub;tyf cft/fi60 nf\$tfllqs dfgotf cg; f/; lnE, hflt, khflt tyf c6o klxrfgsf sf/Ofn]ul/g]lj efnf0{x6f0{dtbftf btf{klqmfnf0{lgiklf agfpg gkfn ; /sf/n]cf gfi]eldsf k'f ugkb5 .

/fhglts bnaf/f cj /fw ul/Psf 7fp;df /fhglts ; dfwg vflg]tyf lgj ffg cfofufnf clwsf/lx;sf]; /lff ; lg]Zrt ugkb5 .

lgj ffg cfofufnf nufot cg\$fi] ; Dj wflgs cEx;sf vfnl /x\$fi]pRr kbdf lgo]St ug{; /sf/ c; kmn e0/x\$fi]h]lgj ffg cfofufnf]klg clxn]kbx; vfnl /x\$fi] cj:ydf g]sfd ul/x\$fi]5 . ; j wflgs sfdnf0{ult kbfug ug\$fi]nflu ; a]l/St kbx; l56}k|t{ugk5}.

/fi6kofkl r/Ofdf dtbftf btf{klqmfnsf]sfd z? ug{ePsf]

u0fsx2n] /fdj] pkof] ug{ ; s] lgj ffg cfof]sf] nut kmf/d Pp6f dxlj k0f{ ; fwg xg; S5 . t/ /fi6kofkl r/0fsf] btf{
klqmf]sf] tYof^a\$ I9nf] cfpj] xgfn] lgj ffgsf ; /f\$ /j fnfx2nf0{ pglx2sf lglDt :jlsf/of]o ts{ lxt dtbtf btf\$]f]
lgwf{/t nloaf/]cYofpg uxf]x65 . To; sf/0f nut tYof^ax2 kli6 ug{cuf]8 hg; Wof / a; f0F/f0\$]f]7ls 7ls dNof]g ug{
/fdj]x65 .

o; afx\$ sg}uf]j ; df @@# kl]tzt / sgdf !)#-\$ kl]tzt:tf]lall^a r/0fdf ePsf]btf\$]f]lj lj wtf]n]ubf{lgj ffg cfof]n]
To:tf uf]j ; x2sf]gdgf lj Zn]f0f u/L lj lj wtf]sf]sf/0f kQf nufpg' kb5 .

dw] jfb] bn tyf lnDj]fg bnx2n]
kYofPsf]cj /f]v]n]ubf{k}L{t/f0{tyf k}L{kxf8L lfg]sf w}}lhNnf x2df dtbtf btf\$]f]gu/kf]nsf r/0f / lall^a r/0f kpf]j t
ePsf 5g\ To; sf/0f of]o JolStsf]dtflwsf/ ; lglZrt ug\$]f]nflu tb2g?k btf{k]qmf]nf0{ ; lfd agfpg lgj ffg cfof]n]
o; sf]klqmf]df cj /f]v v8f ug]bnx2; # pRr txsf ; fy}lhNnf txd] klg ; jfb rnfP/ ; d:of ; dfwfgsf]pkfo v]gk5{.

- sxl
7fpE2df gu/kf]nsf jf uf]j ; sf k/}j8fdf btf{z? ePb]v g}k/}cj /f]v ePsf]5 . of]o dtbtfx2n]lhNnf txd] g}
cem}Dd klg gfd btf{u/fpg kfpkg5{e6g]s/f :jlsf/ ul/Ptf klg sxl dtbtfx2nf0{btf\$]f nflu lhNnf lgj ffg sfoffodf
klg w/}sl7g /x\$]f]5 . o:tf 7fpE]f btf{sfo{kqM ; r? ug]s/f]sf]df]vs kl]tj 4tf lgj ffg cfof]n]lbPsf]xgfn]sf6} ; 6/
pl; flxt ePsf]5 . ; D2j ePsf]7fpE]f of]of]gf cl3 a9Q of]o JolStsf]gfd btf{ ; lglZrt ug\$]f]nflu pglx2nf0cf}g}
ufpE]f kxF / cj ; / pknAw u/fpg sf6} ; 6/ lj z]f cg/f]v ub5 .

gful/stfsf]
kdf0fkq lj t/0f; E ; Dal6wt lj ifonf0{lgj ffg cfof]n]7DofPsf] / kz#f u/\$]f]s/f sf6} ; 6/nf0{hfgsf/L 5 . lgj ffg
cfof]n] ; a}of]o gkfn] gful/ssf]gfd dtbtf gdfj nldf btf{xg]s/fnf0{ ; lglZrt ug\$]f]nflu ; /sf/nf0{ems2mf]sofpg]/
dgfpg]sfd hf/L /Vg' kb5 .

