

THE
CARTER CENTER



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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 bt{ePsf \$# dlo]!# j 6f lhNnfx; af6 dtbftsf]gfd bt{kqomofsf af/df ; *gfx; ; 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; af] af/f, bf^a, wglff, sGrnk/, slknj :t; df]^a, k; f{/ ?k6b]L tyf kxf8L lhNnfx; 8f6, Onfd, sf7df08f)/ sfa]knfgrf\$af6 ; *gfx; ; sng u/\$f lyP .

sf6 ; (6/sf bl3\$fnlg koj]fsx;sf 6fhlx;n] dtbtf ; r]gtf / ; xelutf, dtbftsf]gfd bt{sf] Joj :yfk / o; kqomof /fhglts bnsf]; xelutfsf ; Dj wdf ; *gfx; a6h\$ lyP . To; sf ; fy}pglx;n]dtbftx;sf]gfd bt{ug{ @% j 6f 7fpk;df k]olf koj]f0f u/\$f lyP .

cGt/jftf{/ k]olf koj]f0f/af/f bl3\$fnlg koj]fsx;n]dtbftsf]gfd bt{ug{kqomofsf ; Da6wdf u0ffds / dfqfTds bj} lsl; dsf ; *gfx; a6h\$ lyP . dtbtf ; wofsf]u0fg / bt{sf]sh cfE8fsf ; Da6wdf lgj ffg cfofusf clwsf/lx;n] ; sng u/\$f tVof^assf ctl/St tl koj]fsx;n]k]o\$ 7fpk; slDtdf bzhgf gful/sx; ; # cGt/jftf{u/\$f lyP . tl cGt/jftf{x; hf]hf]el6of]pxl pxl; E ul/Psf lyP . dtbftsf]gfd bt{kqomofsf ; Dj wdf slt dflg; x; ; r] 5g\sltn] o; kqomofn0{aem\$ 5g\pglx;n]o; kqomofsf ; Da6wdf s; /L 1fg kP, slt hgn]dtbftsf]u0fg ug{u0fsx;n0{e} cfjZos sfuhfx; k] ug{slt hgf ; lfd eP, gfd bt{ug{gkPsf slt hgn]gfd bt{ug{ca pglx;n]s}ug{5{e}g] s/f aem] slt hgn]gfd bt{ug{rfxgf b]vP / hg; S}sf/0fn]ePklg slt hgf gfd bt{sf nflu cof]o 7xl/P eG]s'/sf] lgw]ug{to; /L cGt/jftf{ul/Psf]lyof]. dtbftsf]gfd bt{ug{7fpk;sf]kltlgwlj ug{gd}f JolStsf]?kdf koj]fsx;n0{v6pg' ; Dej lyPg, To; h] bl3\$fnlg koj]fsx;n]kmpkf/\$f u0ffds tVof^asx;df dfq}cfwfl/t eP/ bz]el/sf]cj :yfsf] k]f6dfg ug{; Dej 5g . tyflk cfmh]kmpkf/\$f u0ffds tVof^asaf6 oltGh] dtbftsf]; xelutfsf]:t/ / dtbftsf]gfd bt{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]f0sf cf gf lqomofnfx;n0{gkfnsf] sfgg, lgj ffg koj]f0fsf]nflu lgw{0f ul/Psf]lgj ffg cfofusf] cfrf/; lxtf / cGt/f(60 lgj ffg koj]f0fsf]lgldt 3ff]0ff ul/Psf]l; 4ftx;sf]dfkb08cg?k ; #fng u/\$f] 5 . dtbtf gdfj nl bt{kqomofn0{kl/rfng ul//x\$]gkfnsf]sfgg / zf; slo 9FF; # dh vfg]u/L sf6 ; (6/n]dtbtf gdfj nl bt{kqomofsf]n]vfh]v ul//x\$] 5 . vf; u/L, gkfnsf] cGt/d ; l;wfg-; g\@))&, dtbtf gdfj nl ; Da6w P]g-@)) ^ / dtbftsf]gdfj nl ; Da6w lgod-@))& / lgj ffg cfofusf, gkfnsf gllt / l]lw-kqomof; # 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:tlf/ j f cgdf]g u/\$f]; eSt /fi6< 3sf]dfgj clwsf/; Da6w lj Zj Jofkl 3ff]0fkqsf]wf/f @!, gful/s / fhglts clwsf/dfly cGt/f(60 klt1fkqsf]wf/f @ ; eSt /fi6< 3sf]dfgj clwsf/ cfofusf]; dfGo l6k0f @%, JolStsf]clwsf/ / b]oTj; Da6w ; eSt /fi6< 3sf] 3ff]0ff, lj Zj Jofkl ?kdf dfGofk]k dfgj clwsf/ / :jT6qtsf lgldt ag\$; dx ty lgsfox; / hft, /li60tf, hghft, lnE, pd], lzlf c]bsf cfw/df e]efj ug{k]tjGw nufpg]; eSt /fi6< 3sf klt1fkq; pbfx/0fsf nflu dlxndfly ul/g]; a)lsl; dsf e]efj x6pg ul/Psf]; Dd]g, ; a)lsl; dsf hftlo e]efj x6pg ul/Psf] cGt/f(60 ; Dd]g, c]bfj; l / hghftlx;sf] clwsf/af/] ul/Psf]; Dd]g / ck]Etf ePsf JolStx;sf] clwsf/sf ; Da6wdf ul/Psf]; Dd]g tyf c6o s/fx;sf ; fy}cGt]s ?kdf lj :yflktx; ; Da6w lgb]z s l; 4ftx; c]lb kb5g\

-s_sfggl vfsf

gkfindf dtbftsf] gfd bt{kqomofn0{gkfnsf] cGt/d ; l;wfg, ; g\@))& cg?k / To; ; # gafieng] u/L dtbtf gdfj nl; Da6w P]g-; g\@)) ^ / dtbtf gdfj nl; Da6w lgodx;-@))& n]; Dxfn\$]5 . clxn]rln/x\$]dtbftsf]gfd bt{kqomofn0{ ; Dxfn]g] sfggx; ; g\@)) * sf]; l;wfg ; efsf]lgj ffgn0{ ; x]pg] u/L d:of] ul/Psf lyP . tl sfggx;df dtbtf xg]o]o]tf lgw{0f ug]; Da6wdf km]f]snf cfw/x; /x]fklg dtbftsf]clxn]rln/x\$]bt{kqomofsf 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] sfggn]eg\$]5 . To; sfggn]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]xf]eg]dtbftf ; Dj Gwdf hfnem] / wfwnl 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 b] 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 sfggl 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]klqmf\$nf0{; Dxfln/x\$ sfggl 9fFfx;df 7ls 9En]sfd ; Dk6g ug{lgb]zt ug]
kfj wfgx; tfl'sg' /fd]xg]u/\$f]5 . h'f] \; 'ki6 kfj wfgx;sf]cej; x6fx6}kl; lgj ff'g cfofln]ul//x\$ k6Tgx; ; 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 gfdj nlsf] thgfd pNnyglo s6f]L xf]. s] alePsf] 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 kmf t xg5 .
dtbftfsf ?kdf gfd btf{gePsf JolStxçsf]; Wofsf] olsg klxrfg ug{lgj f{g cf0fln] ul//xçf] of] k0Tg lgs}; sf/ftds 5
. tklg ; dod}sf d ; Sgkg] s/f Pp6f dxTj k0f{lj ifo xf].

rfn' btf{kllqmf ; lSPkI5 dfq} nutsf] tYof^s kmf t 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 . cf6t/s a; f0F/f0{
; d6bkf/ a; f0F/f0{ bYf] 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 /fiv kʋofPsf lyP . Itgdf dw]l hg clwsf/ krf/d, ; bæj gf kf6L{/ t/f0{dw} nfstflqs kf6L{-tdnfkf_ lyP . - Toxl ahf sf6l ; 06/n]Toxl lhNnfsf]ađjn gu/kflnsdf eđ0f ubf{Tof]gu/kflnsf rlixFkəflj t lyPg . gu/kflnsf r/0fdf gfd btf{/f\$gsf] nflu lhNnf lgj ffg sfofno -lhgsf_ df wđsl; lxtsf]krfg klg cPsf]lyof]. /, To; kl5 lhgsfsf]sfofno cl3lnt/ Pp6f ad klg /flvPsf]lyof]. Tojad hgtflqs t/f0{dlSt df]f{gfpE]Pp6f ; z:q ; dXn]/fvšf]lyof].

slknj:tsf] tflnxj f gu/kflnsdf dw]l hgclwsf/ krf/d, tdnfkf / ; bæj gf kf6Lh] cS6f]/ dlxgfb]v btf{ klqmofdf cj /fiv kʋofPsf lyP . tl bnxzn]dtbftfxznf0{btf{yndf klg glbP/ cj /fiv kʋofPsf lyP . To; sf ; fy} tflnxj df tdnfkf sf Ps hgf kl|lgln]sf6l ; 06/sf koj]fsx; E . Pp6f s D66/ krfObPs]Us/f klg atfPsf lyP .

afEđf ; 060]/ dlxgfb]v dw]l hgclwsf/ krf/d -nfstflqs_ dw]l hgclwsf/ krf/d, gkfn, tdnfkf / gkfn ; bæj gf kf6L{-cfgGlb]L_n] dtbtf btf{klqmofdf cj /fiv kʋofPsf lyP . tlgj 6f btf{yna6 dw] j fbl bnsf kl|lgwxzn]Nofk6k, Sofd]fx; c7f5fksf]:Sofg/ cflb lnP/ uPsf lyP . oBlk kl5 uP/, lhNnf lgj ffg sfofnon] tl ; fdfgx; lkmf{u/fPsf]lyof]. yk tf8krfšf wđslx; cfpq yfnkl5 cgttl lhNnf lgj ffg sfofnon]dtbtf btf{klqmof :ylut u/šf]lyof].

gful/stfsf]kđ0fkq rlixg] kflj wfg x6fP/ ; g\@))* sf] ; lj wfg ; ef lgj ffgsf] dtbtf gdfj nldf /xšf ; a} JolStx;nf0{gfd btf{ug{lbgk5{ cōyf snədf dtbftfsf]gfd btf{ug{glbg]eGb}af/fdf dw] j fbl bnxzn]lhNnf lgj ffg sfofnodf 1fkgkq aemPsf lyP . tlklg lhNnf lgj ffg sfofnon]gu/kflnsdf gfd btfšf] sfd cl3 a9fpg]lg0f6 u/kl5 tl bnxzn]lhNnf lgj ffg sfofnosf krf/d / krf0nx; hkmf u/] cfuf]nuf0lbPsf lyP .

df]ad l/ /6gu/ 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 /fiv kʋofPsf lyP . ; fy} btf{klqmof aGb ug]dfu ub}tl bnsf yk} sfostf; btf{yndf klšf lyP . To; h] ubf{afE /xšf j 8fx;df lhNnf lgj ffg sfofnon]lhNnf ; b/d'sddf dtbtf btf{klqmofnf0{:ylut ug{k/šf]lyof].

tlgj 6f gu/kflnsfx;df dtbtf btf{klqmof nueu kʋf xg nfušf]xgfn]dfly pNn]vt cj /fivx;sf]kl|lqmof:j?k lhNnf ; b/d'sfdx;df btfšf]afE sfd lg/Gt/ btf{klqmofaf6 kʋf ug]lg0f6 lgj ffg cfofln]uʋof]. ; fy}cj /fivsf]; d:of ; dfwfg ug{kəTg ug]lgj ffg cfofln]lj /fivdf plqPsf bnx; E /fli60 / lhNnf b] }txdf jftf{cufl8 a9of]. gu/kflnsfx;sf] r/0fdf pNn]vt cj /fivx;sf]kl/0ffd:j?k ; /b/ ; a}gu/kflnsfx;sf]bfhfđf cj /fivn]kəflj t u/šf lfq;x;sf]btf{b/ sd lyof].

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

#dtbftsf ?kdf gfd btf{xg]of]otfsf lglDt rfxg]s/xf -gu/kfnsf 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; faf; 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 cWooogn]; 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]lhNhfaf6 csf]lhNhfdf j f cf g]ufj ; af6 csf]ufj ; / gu/kfnsfdf a; fOF; /] 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/ lgjffg 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;nf0{atfP cg; f/ pgr; nueu; } hg]sf]ug;f ug{; s] t/ lj leG sf/]fn]ul{cG0 } hg]sf] ug;f ug{; s;gg\ To: df]a;sf]Pp;f uflj; d; u0fsx; nueu; @) flv @% kl;zt; Dd d;g JolStsf]u0fgf u]. Isge;] c; JolStx; ; E; gful; ffsf] kdf0fkq lyPg . leG l; n;fsf u0fsx; n] koj]fsx;nf0{atfP cg; f/ v;f; u/L o;fx; / s; sd @% aifdg;sf; tlx; ; u; gful/stfsf] kdf0fkq g;g . % j if; l;ysf kfsf]pd;sf w; }dflg; x; ; E; klg g;ul/stfsf] kdf0fkq lyPg . o; af; @) blv #) j if{/ #) flv \$) j; sf w; }oj;fx; l;st l;hNnafx/ l;slj b;zd; uPs]k;f0of]

-u; dtbftf btf; ; a; r;Of
k;f]yndf btf{sf; z; kOf{/ w; }xb; Dd lj; f; sg; } p 3;gf c;fl8; a9;sf] k;f0of] . s;xl 7fp;E; d; btf{ug{cfPs;f c;g; x; s;]nfd;f]k;St; P; klg; nfd;f]kvf0sf s;Of w; }g; d; JolStx; } d;f;g;5f; } uPs]s;f; koj]fsx; n]atfP . dtbftf btf{ug{c;w;sf/x; k; ; dem;f/ / lgjffg; c;fo;f;sf; l; t / klq;mo;sf; af;/df /fd;f] 1fg; e;Ps;f; x;fn]btf{ynd;f; plAhPs;f; ; fl;tg; ; d;ofx; ; c;g; ug{pglx; ; lfd; ly; .

v; ; f]bt{ynx; ; %a; b;f; b;f;yn; eg; } l;rg; v;f;ns;f; P;gg\ v;f; ; /L; a9;k;fs;f; c; St; nufots; w; }d;flg; sf; nflu d;g; k;f]ynsf; b;L; ; d;ofs; ?kdf /x;sf] k;f0of] . t; k;f;E; x; btf{nsf; /ln;f0{v;f; ; } d;ofs;]?kdf; ln;P;g; \ s;xl 7fp;E; d;f k;f]ynsf]Joa; y;f;g; ; nf; } e;P;tf; klg; o; af; b;tf{k;f; d;f; v;f; }k;ns; k;/g; . w; }h; f]bt{ynd;f; P;sh;g;fs;f]g;f; btf{ug{ n;ueu; % l;dg; n;f;w;of; } s;xl; y;f; }7fp;E; To; ; s;f;ds;f]l; t; !) d;g; b;f; a9;L; ; do; n;fu;sf; k;f0of] . s;kr; j; :t' l;h;nf;sf; P;S; 7fp;E; btf; k;f; /ds;]a;g; ;sf;]sd;hf; /ln;]ub;f; (Ps; g;f; JolSt; sf;f]btf;sf;of; { ; s;g; ; /b; @) l;dg; n;fu;sf;f] y;of; .

k;f]f0f; u; /Ps;f; k;f0of;] 7fp;E; !) ah;bl;v; ! ah; d; v;h; ly;P . s;xl 7fp;E; d;f; s;df;f; /x; n] c;f; J;os; a;G;f; :t; g; n;f;g;h;f; g;f; d; btf{ ; cfPs;f; JolStx; ; af;lx; k;lv; {x;sf; klg; k;f0of] ; koj]f0f; u; /Ps;f; e;nf; } ; ah; f] 7fp;E; btf{ug{sf; d; a;sl; ^ j; % ah; l; /k;f; }a;G; u; /G;f; . a;G; x;] ; do;e; ; cu;f;8; g; n; dg;f; a; ; s;f;nf;0{ ; a; }7fp;E; g;f; d; btf{u; /Ps;f]k;f0P;f; k; ^ ah; e;G;f; s;xl; c;f; b;f; klg; btf{ug{sf; d; a;G; e;0; ; s;f]ug; f; klg; ; l;g;of; . b0{7fp;E; t; h;g; /n; }s;f; d; gu;/s;f] x; n]btf{ug{sf; d; s;xl; do; /s;g; k; /sf]klg; ly; .

x; s; rf/ 7fp;E;]Ps; ; E;f; g;f; d; btf{ug{cfPs;f; d;flg; n; } (u0fgf; ug; } of; s; g; }pkl; y; } gePs;f]klg; k;f0of] . o; t;f; b0{7fp;E; c; } s;df; /ln; of] s;f; /s;f; ly;P . P; p6;f;f; btf{yn; k;f] ; sn; } / c;sf; btf{yn; ; x;osn; } of] s;f; u; /s;f; ly;P . o; /L; s;xl 7fp;E; g;f; d; btf{sf; n;f; c;f; J;os; s;uh;f;tx; ; b;f;Ps;f; J;olStx;nf0{ k;f; u0fsx; ; pglx; s;] 3/df; g;cf;f; Dd; btf{ynd;f; g;f;pg; "eg; } k;ns;f;of; . } s;f; d; lgjffg; c;fo;f;us; k;lj;w;f; k;/t; y;of; ; a; }7fp;E; s;f; /o6; / e; k;/ / y;f; ; x;fos; btf{clw;st; p; :yt; e; t;f; klg; x;/s;f; f;dl;w; }Ps; ; f; p;E;f; ; a; }f; s;xl; k;f]f0f; b;h; c;f; b;f; btf{yn; k;f] ;ws; j; ; x;fos; btf{clw;st; c;gkl; y;f; l; .

k;f]f0f; u; /Ps;f; ; a; }7fp;E; f; c;f;]sn; }u0fgf; /l; ; b; }v;f;Pkl;5; f;f;g; btf{ l;st; e;ad; pglx; s;f; l; j; /0; /flv;Ps;f]x;f; } s; x;f;0; eg; } btf{ c; }s;f;tx; n] ?h' u; y; . }h; ; f;]c; j; y;f; d;f; c;f;]s;f; g;ful; s;f;sf]k;f;f; k;f;f; g;f;f; g;f;of;Ps;f]k;f] /P;tf; klg; k;f]f0f; u; /Ps;f; b0{7fp;E; g;f; /st;f; k;f;f; k;f; g;xl; }g; }s;xl;nf0{btf{ug{c;g;f; t; l; b0Ps;f; klg; k;f0of] .

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

gfd btf{; lsPkI5 k|o\$ lbgS

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

o; cl3 :yflkt ul/; s\$fl Sofn08/ cg; f/ dtbftf btf{sfo{ #fng ug{lgj ffg cfoflnf0{sxl sl7gf0{ePsf]lyof]. clxn] lgj ffg cfofln]cf gflgogofef afix/sf sf/s tTj x; sf sf/Of ev\}cyff\sfotflnsfdf pNny ePeGbf tlg dlxgkl5 dfq /fi6kofkl ?kdf dtbftfsf]gfd btf{ug]sfd z? u/\$f]5 . To; sf/Of, k?}&% j6}lhNnfel/ dtbftfsf]gfd btf\$fl nflu of] ; do kofl{t blvEg . btf{; fdull nufotsf cfjZos pks/Ofx; lhNnf txd fdr{dlxgfsf] cGtodf lj t/Of ul/; lsPsf] / lgj ffg cfofludf sdcf/l egf{ug] / pglx;nf0{k|zlf0f lbg]sfd klg b;zel/ kfn]kfnf]ul/55 eGg]s/f sf6l ; 06/nf0{ hfgsf/l 5 .

sf6l ; 06/nf0{s]lrGtf 5 eg] lhNnftxsf]dtbftf btf\$fl]sfd klflkt ; do h;g @)!! ; Dd ; DkGg ug\$fl]nflu dtbftf btf{ u0fgf tyf :ynut ?kdf ul/g]btfh:tf sfdnf0{5f]f] ; dodf ug]kg]xg; S5 . t/ cg\$fl]lhNnfx;df dtbftf btf{df e0/x\$fl] cj/fw tyf dtbftfsf]ofl0tf kdfloft ug]sfuhftx; gePsf JolStx;sf] pNnyo pkl:y|tnf0{x\$flTo; /L 5f6kofpg' klg olSt; ut blvEg . Toltdq x|0g, blgs ?kdf nllft ; Wof k/f ug{u0fsx;nf0{k/\$f]sl7gf0{tyf g;js dcf sfd ug]JolStsf] cgl:y|tdf lhNnf txa6 tYofl ; sng ug{klg l9nf0 e0/x\$}5 .

lgj ffg cfoflusf clwsf/lx;sf]kl/>d tyf ; dk0fk|t sf6l ; 06/ cfef/ JoSt ub5 / nueu @) nfv g]kfnl gful/sx;sf] gfd btf{ug]sfd ; DkGg u/\$f]df lgj ffg cfoflnf0{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; kbf]g ug]5g\eg]cfzf ul/Psf] 5 .

_____ M

; j fr cbfntn]dtbftsf ?kdf gfd btf{ug\$fl]lg]Df gful/stf]f]kdf0kqnf0clgj fo{tNofObPsf]5 / .offo JolStnf0{ gful/stf lbg]Joj:yf ug{g]kfn ; /sf/nf0{cfbz lbPsf]5 . ; j fr cbfntsf]cfbznf0{kfngf ub;tyf cft/flj60 nf\$tfllqs dfgottf cg; f/; lnE, hflf, k|flf tyf c6o klxrfgsf sf/Ofn]ul/g]lj e]nf0{x6f0{dtbftf btf{klqmf0{lgiklf agfpg g]kfn ; /sf/n]cf gfl]eldsf k'f ugkb5 .

/fhgl]ts bnaf/f cj /fw ul/Psf 7fp;df /fhgl]ts ; dfwg vfl]g]tyf lgj ffg cfoflusf clwsf/lx;sf]; /lff ; lg]Zrt ug]kb5 .

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

_____ /fi6kofkl r/Ofdf dtbftf btf{klqmf0sf]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 dtbftf 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] jfbl bn tyf lnDj]fg bnx2n]
kYofPsf]cj /f]v]n]ubf{k}L{t/f0{tyf k}L{kxf8L lfg]sf w}}lhNnf x2df dtbftf 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 f 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 dtbftfx2n]lhNnf txd f g}
cem}Dd klg gfd btf{u/fpg kfpkg5{e6g]s/f :jlsf/ ul/Ptf klg sxl dtbftfx2nf0{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 gkfnl gful/ssf]gfd dtbftf gdfj nldf btf{xg]s/fnf0{ ; lglZrt ug\$]f]nflu ; /sf/nf0{ems2mf]sofpg]/
dgfpg]sfd hf/L /Vg' kb5 .

