

gf@/ @!, @)!#

tTsfk k\$zgsf nflu

; DksM sf7df8f, 8af/f xdfS; ±(&&-(%!-^#!# jf [dhakes@emory.edu](mailto:dhakes@emory.edu) 8j 8 xdfdl6g ±(&& (\*%\$\$-\$%)%%

gkfnf lgjfg klfmf /fdf] ú ; DkGg ePsfdf sf6; ; /6/ awf0{1fkg ub5

sf6; ; /6/n]gkfnf gf@/ !( df ; DkGg ePsf] ; Hwfg; efsf]lgjfg ljz]f u/L alxisf/ ul//x\$fbnx;n]lx;fáf/f  
kflj t kfg[kof; x\$sf ; Ddv pNnyof]o ?kdf /fdf] E ePsf]kfPsf]5 . lgjfg cfof, gkfn]&) kltztegf a9L  
dtbfg ePsf]cgbfg ufof].

; /6/ cem) klg dtkqx;sf] u0fgfnf0{k5df0/x\$fb] 5 / lgjfg klfmfsf af6L czx;sf] koj]f0f ug\$ nflu ; /6/  
gkfnleq}/xg5 . cl6td kl/0ffd yxf kfg clxn]g}w} rfbf] eP klg dtbftfx;sf] 5gf6nf0{/fhgllts bnx;n]  
cfdlj Zj; sf ; fy :jlsf/ ug]/ lj jfb ePsf]v08df plrt dffodaf6 To; sf]; Dafvg ugdf ; /6/ lj Zj :t 5 .

æPg\$kf-dfcf] fbl\_ n]dtu0fgf klfmf alxisf/ u/\$f]/ cfkmgf bnsf kltlgwx;nf0{cnu u/\$f]; Gbf d w}bVL ePsf]5;Æ  
k]{cd]/sl /fi6klt lhddl sf6{n]e6geof]. æpglx;n]lgjfgsf lbgdf gkfnl dtbftfx;n]JoQm u/\$f]0R5fnf0{; Ddfg  
ug]s/fdf d lj Zj :t 5' . pglx; lx;fk0f{lj /f}vaf6 6f9f /xgk5{/ d pglx;nf0{lgjfg klfmfnf0{hf/L /fVg dfu{kz:t  
ug{cfux ub5'Æ

; g\@)) \* df gkfn]gofF; fdfhs Joj :yf :yfgf ug\$ nflu lgjfrt kltlgwx;dfkmt gofF; Hwfg lgdfdf ug{dtbfg  
ufof]. To; sf]kF j if6gf a9L ; dokl5 ; Hwfg; efn]cfkmgf]sfo{k/f ug{g; s\$flg/fzsf ; fy hgtfn]km/ b9 ; kdf  
afh\$ 5g\ . sf6; ; /6/ lgjfgsf lbg ePsf] gkfnl hgtfsf] phf{/ pI; fxsf] gjls/0fnf0{pglx;sf lgjfrt  
kltlgwx;n]klfktl legtfx;nf0{lsgf/f nufp5}gofF; Hwfg lgdfdf ug{s]bt xg]sfof pkof, ug]cfzf ub5 .  
kltlgwx;sf nflu dtbftfx;n]b]fPsf]lj Zj; ; pglx;n]k/f ugkglhdd]f/Lx; ; E}cfPsf]5 . /fhgllts n8f0df a[4,  
ult/fv tyf c; xdltx; xg\$sf] cy{gknsf ojfk:tf /f]huf/Laxlg cj:ydf /xg] jifx; cem

gkfnsf] lgjffg k0ffnl] lgjffrt lgsfodf lj lwtf] kfjwfg agfPsf] 5 h; n] lnu, hftlotf jf j0f\$; fy; fy} dtbftfx;sf] /fhgllts rfxgnf0{klg Jofks ;kdf klTlgwTj ub5 . /fhgllts bnx;n]k]olftkm\$]lgjffgdf pQm lj lwtf k\$6 xg]u/ cem a9l pDd]j f/x;nf0{cl3 ;fg;g; s\$]df sf6; ;6/ bvl 5 . oBlk ;dfgkflts klTlgwTj n] lo; sdhf]lnf0{sxl 36fpg5, dlxf, ojf tyf Pltxf; s ;kdf l; dftst; ;dxf OR5fx; klg gofF; h;wfgdf klTlalDj t xg]; lglZrt ug\$ nflu cem 7hf]klta4tf cfj Zos 5 .

sf6; ;6/n]; g\@))& b]v gkfndf koj]fsx;sf]Ps ;dx sfod /fv\$]5 / lgjffg cfofu, gkfn tyf dGqlk/ib\$sf cWOLF lvn/fh /]dlsf]lnlvt cfdGq0fkZrft\@% ; 6]a/ @)#!# df j t]df lgjffg koj]f0f lgo]u :yfkf u/\$]xf].

; 6/sf]lgo]u k]{cdl/sl /fi6klT lhDdl sf6; tyf yf0Nof08sf k]{pkk]wfgdGql 8f= ;/flsoft ;fyL/fy0\$]g]T]df lyof]. cf7 leG b\$sf afx«bl3\$fnlg koj]fsx; lgjffgsf tof/Lx;sf]dNofsg ug; 6]a/b]v g)b\$e/L vl6Psf lyP . lgjffgsf]lbg sf6; ;6/sf]tkm\$6 #! b\$sf ^^ hgf koj]fsx;n]#! lhNnsf ##^ dtbfg s]b;x;df dtbfgsf]koj]f0f u/]eg]#! u0fgf s]b;x;df ;d] koj]f0f u/]. ;6/sf koj]fsx;n]u0fgsf];dfkg tyf dt tflnsls/0fsf]dNofsgnf0{lg/t/tf lbPsf 5gV pglx; ph/Lx;sf];dfwfg tyf lgjffg kZrftsf]jftj/0fsf]koj]f0fsf nflu gkfnD}/xg5g\ ; a)dNofsgx; c]t/60 lgjffg koj]f0fsf nflu 3]f0fkq tyf c]t/60 lgjffg koj]fsx;sf nflu cfrf; ktf tyf gkfnsf]/li60 sfg]l ;Argf Pj +lq]lo tyf c]t/60 ;Demf;fx;df pNn]vt klftflGqs lgjffgx;kltsf b]loTj x; cg;k ePsf xg\

**of]k]/Des jStJo xf] k0f(k]tj]lg lgjffg klqmf ;dfkg ePsf]tlg dlxgkl5 k\$flzt xg5 .**

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zflGt :yfkf, /]u; E ; 3if{cfzsf]lgd]f .E nfe/xt p2]osf]Ps u; ;sf/L ;yf, sf6; ;6/n]ala ;dfwfg, n\$tlg, dfjclwsf/ tyf cly\$ cj ; /sf]k\$40, /]u lgjff0f, dfgl; s ;j:f:Yo; Def/sf]; wf/ ub;/ lj sfzzln /fi6sf ls; fgx;nf0{clg plkfbg a9fpg l; sfp5}&) eibf a9l b\$sf gful/ssf]hljg:t/ p]g]t ug; xof]u u/\$]5 . sf6; ;6/ !(\*@ df cd]sl k]{/fi6klT lhDdl sf6; tyf pxf]l wd]Tgl /]hflngaf/f 0df]l lj Zj lj Bino; Esf]; femf/ldf ; #f/df zflGt tyf ;j:f:Yosf]k\$40 ug; yf]kt ePsf]xf]. sf6; ;6/af/]yk h]Gsf nflu skof www.cartercenter.org df h]gxf] \

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g]kfnst[ g]e]Da/ @)!# sf] ;e]wgf{rgsf nflu  
sf6{/ ;]G6/sf] lgjf{rg ko{j]lf0f lgof]u









pDd]b]zsf] pRr ;+VfD{ gh/ ubf{xz{cg'Irt gePsf] b]lvG5





;du|df pDd]bxf/

cf d ;+r/sf ultljlxz;nfO{ lgjf{rg cfof]usf] cfrf/;+lxtfdf /x]sf ljeGgxk]Wp udg ub{50;sf] kfngf  
ePgePsf] cg'udg ug{sf nflu lgjf{rg cfof]un] a]Un} ;+rf/ cg'udg s]Gb' s]fGf;]G6f] lj:t[t ;+rf/  
cg'udg gu/] klg ;du| ;+rf/ ;+rgfdf ul/Rsf]lf0fxk]:t't ul/Psf] 5 .

lgj]bg lbg ;S5 . o;n] lgjf{rg cfof]usf lg0sf} Goflos k'g/fjnf]sgsf nflu Ps :yfg t k|bfg u5{ t/ ;d:ofsf] ;dod} lgj'0f x'G5 eGg] lglZrt eg] x'Fb}g .

;jf]{Rr cbfntn] lgjf{rgsf] lbgeGbf cl3NnfFu;DalGww/} o'2sf] ;'g'jfO{ u%of] . tL d'f'ns/ln' ko{]l'f0f'x'f clwsf/, xfn k|wfgdGqLsf] sf'6 ul//x]sf ;jf]{Rr cbfntsf k|wfgGofofwLzsf] ;+j}wflgstf, dtkqdf æ;a}sf lj?4 dt/E sf] k|fjwfg gx'g', dlxnf p'5d]l'G'g ;+Vof, tyf alxisf/ ul/b'x'f] ! ) lbg] x8tfn;Fu ;DalGwt lyP . lgjf{rgsf] lbgeGbf cl3 ;jf]{Rr cbfntn] s'g} clGtd lg0f{o lnPg, oBlk ;jf]{Rrn] ! ) lb x8tfnf la?4 eg] /f]s cfb]z hf/L u%of] .

dtbfg, u0fgf, k|/Of]sf] 3f]if0ff tyf cGo d'f'ns'af/]df k/]sf ph'LnOf]k'gsf] k|s[ltsf cfwf/df lgjf{rg cfof]u jf ljz]if ;k'f ul7t ;+ljwfg;ef cbfntn] dgg ug{ ;S5g\ .

dtbfg

k|htfllGqs lgjf{rg k|lqmofsf] d"Vo cfwf/:tDe :jtGq dtbfg k|lqmof xf] l'g'f/s'g} 8'wD'sL jf anhkmtLaf6 d'Qm e'f]k'k'ko dtbfg ug{ kfpF5 / x/]s JolQmsf] dtsf] ;fdYo{ }df'g'f'6'ns'6 /f]Sg dtbftfn] kmf]6f];lxtsf] k|/rok'p]v'p' dtbfgaf6 /f]Sg dtbftsf] a'9L cf]+nfdg gd]l6g] d;Ln] IrGx nuf'g' lgjf{rgsf] lgodx'z'sf d"Vo klfx'g'x'g'g cg';/ dtbfg sd{r'k'ln] dtsf] u'f'kn'Op[9tfsf ;fy ;'lgZrt ug{k5{, oBlk'f'f cfjZos kg]{ JolQm] eg] c'f] ;xof]u lng ;S5g

lgjf{rgsf] lbg b]zsf clwsf+z e'g'f'7"nf] ;+Vofsf d'f'gcf]Ol/P'gjf{rg cfof]un] &) k|ltzteGbf a9L dtbfg ePsf] cg'dfg nufof] . sf6{/ ;]G6/n] g|kfns] &P'hd'w'sf ##^ dtbfg s]G'f' dtbfg v'nf ug]do, dtbfgsf] ;do tyf aGb ug]{ k|lq's'f'ko{j]l'f'Of u%af]k'isf/ ul//x]sf b'n'z'n] dtbfgdf cj/f]w k'¥ofpg] r'gf]ltsf] k|/b[Zodf Jofks ;/l'f'f'x'q'v'6'f'f' e]d'Of ul/Psf nueu ;a} dtbfg s]G'f'k|x/L a'f] pkl:yt lyof] <sup>31</sup> lgjf{rgsf] lbg clwsf+ztM zflGt"Of{ lyof], sf6{/ ;]G6/sf dtbfg]f's'nx;tyf jl/kl/sf lf]q'x'z'df u/]sf (( k|ltzt e]d'Of'x'p'f'Of{ zflGt"Of{ d"Nof'f's'k' u'g]f{rg cfof]un] sf7df8f)+df Ps afns uDeL/ 3fOt] x'g] u/L ePsf] ad la:k'f'f'ufot /fhgLts bnsf ;dy{x'z' aLr em8k tyf alxisf/ ul//x]sf x'p'f'f'f' ePsf w'6'g'f'x'g]f] ljj /Of lbof] . slknj:t'df !& 7fpFdf e]l6Psf l'j'k'm]f'6'g ;\$'0'l'ko{j]l'f's'f] cfjft'h]j'tdf l'j'eGg :yfgdf cj/f]w cfPsf] lyof] .

@)!# sf] lgjf{rgsf] nflu nueu !),))) :yx'z'df !\*,%\$& dtbfg s]G'f'f'k'g'f ul/Psf lyP, x/]sdf a9Ldf () dtbftfx'z' btf{ ePsf lyP . e]d'Of ul/Psf #! d'Wo] ! ) dtbfg s]G'f'f'f'od} laxfg & ah]\_ s'f'h] afFsL ;a} &M#) ah];Dddf v'f'f'f'f'f' / ;]G6/sf ko{]l'f's'x'z'n] atfP . clwsf+z d'f'ld'nf'df l'0'nf'x'g'f]f] k5f'l8 bnsf k|ltglw'x'z'9nf] cfpg' d'Vo sf/0f /x]sf] b]lvof] . ;fdGo l'p'f'f'f'f'f'f]g] k'z't av ?j EMkt{(v)35

dtbftf kl/rokqx;sf] ljt/Of lgjf{rgs} lbgdf x'g] g7flgPsf] eP klg xon] lsd0f ul/Psf nueu bz k|ltzt  
dtbfg s]Gb|sf kl/rokq ljt/Of e)/x]sf] kfP . of] sfoV]dtbfg sd{t/|f dtbftf lzlff :jo+;]jsx;áf/f e)/x]sf]  
lyof], t/ Ps :yfgdf eg] bnsf k|ltg|af/f ljt/Of e)/x]sf] lyof] . lgjf{rgsf]d]lsgko{]lfs;sf w|/} ;dxn]  
dtbftfx;Fu btf{ /;Lb eP klg pgn]x dtbftf gdfanLdf clgn gfd ge|l6/x]sf] b[i6fPsf lyP .  
lgjf{rgsf] lbgdf eg] ko{]lfs] e|d0f u/]sf dtbfg s]Gb|dtbfg ug{ cfPsf nueu ;a} dtbftfs] gfd  
;DalGwt dtbfg s]Gb|sf] dtbftf gdfanLdf /x]sf] kfP .

lgjf{rg k|lqmofsf] ;Dk"0LZrt ug{sf nflu kf/blz{tf Ps dxTjk"0f{ tTj xf] . e|d0f ul/Psf;a}ueu  
dtbfg:ymx;df bn / pDd]bjf/sf k|ltg|af]ypkl:yt lyP / e|d0f ul/Psf]dWo] &\$ k|ltzt d]lsgko{]lfs;sf  
b'O{hgf dfq eP klg 3/]n' ko{]lfs:yt lyP . e|d0fsf] kfFr k|ltzt :xfg