

gf@/ @!, @)!#

tTsfk k\$zgsf nflu

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

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

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

; /6/ cem] klg dtkx;sf] u0fgfnf0{k5df0/x\$fb] 5 / lgjffg klfmf sf 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] ; Daf]vg 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]lgjffgsf lbgdf gkfnl dtbftfx;n]JoQm u/\$f]0R5fnf0{; Ddfg  
ug]s/fdf d lj Zj :t 5' . pglx; lx;fk0f{l] /f]vaf6 6f9f /xgk5{ / d pglx;nf0{lgjffg klfmfnf0{hf/L /fVg dfu{kz:t  
ug{cfux ub5'Æ

; g\@)) \* df gkfn]gofF; fdfhs Joj :yf :yfgf ug\$ nflu lgjffrt kltlgwx;dfkmt gofF; Hwfg lgdfdf ug{dtbfg  
ufof]. To; sf]kF j if6gf a9L ; dokl5 ; Hwfg; efn]cfkmgf]sfo{k/f ug{g; s\$]lg/fzsf ; fy hgtfn]km/ b9 ; kdf  
af] \$f 5g\ . sf6; ; /6/ lgjffgsf lbg ePsf] gkfnl hgtfsf] phf{ / pI; fxsf] gjls/0fnf0{pglx;sf lgjffrt  
kltlgwx;n]klfktl legtfx;nf0{lsgf/f nufp5}gofF; Hwfg lgdfdf ug{s]bt xg]sfof pkof]u ug]cfzf ub5 .  
kltlgwx;sf nflu dtbftfx;n]b]fPsf]lj Zj; ; pglx;n]k/f ugk]lhDd]f/Lx; ; E}cfPsf]5 . /fhgllts n8f0df a[4,  
ult/f] tyf c; xdltx; xg\$] cy{gkfn]sf o]fk:tf /f]huf/Laxlg cj:ydf /xg] j ifx; 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 klglglw] 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\$ff sf6; ;6/ bvl 5 . oBlk ;dfgkflts klglglw]n] lo; sdhf]lnf0{sxl 36fpg5, dlxf, ojf tyf Pltxf; s ;kdf l; dftst; ;dxf OR5fx; klg gofF; h;wfgdf klglal] t xg]; lglZrt ug\$ nflu cem 7hf]klta4tf cfj Zos 5 .

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

; 6/sf]lgoFu k]{cdl/sl /fi6klit lhDdl sf6; tyf yf0Nof08sf k]{pkk\wfgdGql 8f= ; /fsoft ; fyL/fy0\$]g]T]df lyof]. cf7 leG b\$sf afx«bl3\$fnlg koj]fsx; lgjffgsf tof/Lx;sf]dNofsg ug; ;6]a/blv 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]; d;wfg tyf lgjffg kZrftsf]jftj/0fsf]koj]f0fsf nflu gkfnD}/xg5g\ ; a)dNofsgx; cft/60 lgjffg koj]f0fsf nflu 3f]f0fkq tyf cft/60 lgjffg koj]fsx;sf nflu cfrf; ktf tyf gkfnsf]/li60 sfggl ; Argf Pj +lqlo tyf cft/60 ; Demf;fx;df pNn]vt klftflGqs lgjffgx;kltsf bloljx; cg;k ePsf xg\

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

####

zflGt :yfkf, /fu; E ; 3if{cfzsf]lgd0f .E nfe/lxt p2]osf]Ps u; ; /sf/L ; yf, sf6; ; 6/n]ala ; d;wfg, n\$tlg, dfgj clwsf/ tyf cly\$ cj ; /sf]k\$40, /fu lgjff0f, dfgl; s ; jf:Yo; Def/sf]; wf/ ub;/ lj sfzzln /fi6sf ls; fgx;nf0{clg plkfbg a9fpg l; sfp5}&) eibf a9l b\$sf gful/ssf]hljg:t/ plgl't ug; xofu u/\$]5 . sf6; ; 6/ !(\*@ df cdl/sl k]{/fi6klit lhDdl sf6; tyf pxf]l wd]Tgl /fhflngaf/f 0df]l lj Zj lj Bino; E\$]; femf/ldf ; #f/df zflGt tyf :jf:Yosf]k\$40 ug; yf]kt ePsf]xf]. sf6; ; 6/af/]yk hfgsf nflu skof www.cartercenter.org df hfgxf] \

THE  
CARTER CENTER



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



cGtl/d lgjf{rg kl/ifs cWolfd k|wfgGofwLz /]UdLsf] lgo'IQm tyf lgjf{rg ldltsf] 3f]if0ff b'j}nfO{ g]kfn s  
kf6Ldfcf]jfbL g]t[Tjsf] ## bnLo u7aGwg;lx s|xL; ;of b]f(hlgs ; kdf lj/f]wcl/of] /jz]if u/L  
lgjf{rgsf] lbg glhlsFb} ubf{ pQm klf]n] lgjf{rg k|lqmo]sf] lx+;fTds alxsf/ ;d]t u%of] . k|of]f]d]f}ltx;  
cGtl/d lgjf{rg kl/ifs] lgjf{rg ;/lffsf nflu k|x/L, ;z:pxL tyf ;]gf;d]tnfO{ ;lDdInt u/L ;/lff of]hgfsf]  
3f]if0ff u%of] . ;/lffsf] k|of]hgfsf nflu DofbL k|x/L tyf ;]gfsf] k|of]u ljjflbt aGg k'Uof] .

sfg"gL vfsf / lgjf{rsLo k|0ffnL

nf]stfIGqs lgjf{rgx;sf] k|efjsf/L sfof{Gjog ug{sf nflu /fli6«o sfg]f]o]ocStoTjx;sf] k|g]ff /fd|f]  
a)wflgs lgjf{rsLo vfsf]Zos x'G5 g]kfn]sf] a)wflgs lgjf{rsLos]f]f]w/:tDe ;g@))& sf] @tl/d  
;+ljwfg /cGdljeGg sf]x;sf] hudf cj:yt 5 .4 o;afx]s, k|lqmo]fnfO{ lgo]sf]f]gdf /fVg]nflu  
lgjf{rg cfo]u, g]kfn]leGg gLtlgb}]zg tyf cfrf/;+lx]fx; hf/L u/]sf]5; kdf ;+ljwfg;efsf] Pp6f dfq  
lgjf{rgsf] kl/sNkgf u/]sf] cGtl/d ;+ljwfgnfO{ h'g @)!# df ug]{ elgPsf] ;+ljwfg;efsf] gofF lgjf{rgsf nflu sf]  
c8\rgx; x6fpg dfr{ @)!# df /fi6«ktLo cfb]zaf]wfg ul/of] . oL dfl]dnfx; clwsf+ztM /fhg]Llts ;+s6sf]  
;+:yfut klf,dtb]t]sf] of]Uotf tyf lgjf{rg ;Da]G]wfgx;sf]Bj]lws;Fu ;DalGwt lyP . oL kl/]t{gx;  
c8 t8f]rg@^s;b111[(;o(g)1(L)1 3

c8 c8 7 u/xL(l)+]u/xL(-l)+] lf /oc8





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 ljleGgxk]Wp udg ub{50;sf] kfngf  
ePgePsf] cg'udg ug{sf nflu lgjf{rg cfof]un] a]Un} ;+rf/ cg'udg s]Gb' s]f;[96] lj: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;DalGwv/} o'2sf] ;'g'jfO{ u%of] . tL d'f'ns/ln' ko{jj]lf0fxf clwsf/, xfn k|wfgdGqLsf] sf6 ul//x]sf ;jf]{Rr cbfntsf k|wfgGofofwLzsf] ;+j}wflgstf, dtkqdf æ;a}sf lj?4 dtÆ sf] k|fjwfg gx'g', dlxnf pDd]b'0" g ;+Vof, tyf alxisf/ ul/b]x]sf] !) 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'nsf/df k|sf ph/LnfOk]gsf] k|s[ltsf cfwf/df lgjf{rg cfof]u jf ljz]if ç'kf ul7t ;+ljwfg;ef cbfntn] dgg ug{ ;S5g\ .

dtbfg

k|htfflGqs lgjf{rg k|lqmofsf] d"Vo cfwf/:tDe :jtGq dtbfg k|lqmof xf] l'gdf/s'g} 8'wDsl jf anhkmtLaf6 d'Qm e'f]k'k'ko dtbfg ug{ kfpF5 / x/]s JolQmsf] dtsf] ;fdYo{ d'f'ns/ln' /f]Sg dtbftfn] kmf]6f];lxtsf] k|rokob]v'p dtbfgaf6 /f]Sg dtbftsf] a'9L cf]+nfdg gd]l6g] d;Ln] IrGx nuf'p' lgjf{rgsf] lgodxç'sf d"Vo klfxç.x'g'g cg';/ dtbfg sd{r'k]n] dtsf] u'f'knOp[9tfsf ;fy ;'lgZrt ug{k5{, oBlk'f'f cfjZos kg]{ JolQm] eg] çsf] ;xof]u lng ;S5g

lgjf{rgsf] lbg b]zsf clwsf+z æ'g'f'7"nf] ;+Vofsf d'f'ns/ol/Pgjf{rg cfof]un] &) k|ltzteGbf a9L dtbfg ePsf] cg'dfg nufof] . sf6{/ ;]G6/n] g|kfns] &p'hd'w'sf ##^ dtbfg s]ç'bd' dtbfg v'nf ug]do, dtbfgsf] ;do tyf aGb ug]{ k|lqsf'k'ko;j]lf0f u%af]k'isf/ ul//x]sf b'xç;n] dtbfgdf çj/f]w k'¥ofpg] r'gf]ltsf] k|/b[Zodf Jofks ;/lffsd'v'6f'0, e|d0f ul/Psf nueu ;a} dtbfg s]ç'bd'k|x/L æ'f] pkl:yt lyof] 31 lgjf{rgsf] lbg clwsf+ztM zflGtk"Of{ lyof], sf6{/ ;]G6/sf dtbfg]f'snxç;tyf jl/kl/sf lf]qxç;df u/]sf (( k|ltzt e|d0fx'p'fO{ zflGtk"Of{ d"Nof'f'st'k' lgjf{rg cfof]un] sf7df8f)+df Ps afns uDeL/ 3fOt] x'g] u/L ePsf] ad la:k'f'6ufot /fhgLts bnsf ;dy{xçç aLr em8k tyf alxisf/ ul//x]sf x'p'f'f ePsf w]ç'6g'fxç]f] ljj /Of lbof] . slknj:t'df !& 7fpFdf e]l6Psf ljkmf]6çç ;d'0l'ko{jj]l'sç]sf] çj]fth'f]tdf l]jeGg :yfgdf çj/f]w çfPsf] lyof] .

@)!# sf] lgjf{rgsf] nflu nueu !),))) :yxç;df !\*,%\$& dtbfg s]ç'bd'k' ul/Psf lyP, x/]sdf a9Ldf () dtbftfxçç btf{ ePsf lyP . e|d0f ul/Psf #! dWo] !) dtbfg s]ç'bd'od} laxfg & ah]\_ s'f]h] afFsL ;a} &M#) ah];Dddf v]r'ç'6{/ ;]G6/sf ko{jj]lfsxç;n] atfP . clwsf+z d'f'nd'f' d'nf x'g'ç]sf] k5f]8 bnsf k|ltglwxçç9nf] çfpg' d'Vo sf/0f /x]sf] b]lvof] . ;fdGo l'p'af'Ok'x'v'f]n]g] kçjt 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{tj/jf dtbftf lzlff :jo+;]jsx;áf/f e)/x]sf]  
lyof], t/ Ps :yfgdf eg] bnsf k|ltgáf/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} dtbftfx] 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|ltgaf]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