



c; n zf; g

G O O D G O V E R N A N C E

kl]klAnsff]k\$fg

j if{& c\$ &

h] @)^^

May-June 2009

; fj hlgS ; j fdf ; wf/ kvfQ sfofQj ogsf]



pkm\= of]: j f: Yo sQb|slxn]vNnf <



hfujdlxnf
cfyn9uf, sGtfb]lsf dlxfx;
; 8ssf nflu kxf8 km]\$g\

; fj hlgS
; j f: lj wf kj fxfn0{
hgdVl agfpg
kzf; g kg; \$rgf
cfofQn]; /sf/nf0{
xfn}; of}; emj
kbfq u/\$f]5 .
k/Dk/fut zf; slo
k4lt / lghfdtl
kzf; gdf /fhgllts
x: t lfk x6fpgsf
nflu lj zjf hfQ
lb0Psf]ol ; emj sf
7hl slQsf]
sfofQj og xg]xf]
kvfQsf]lj ifo ePsf]
5 .



clg a95 hglj Zj f;

gkfnf /fhgllts kl/j tG; u)/fhoklt hgtfsf]cfsf]ff ylkPsf]5 . cfknh]/fhoaf6 kfpkgk]; fj hlgS ; j f / j :tSf]; xhtf a9G]cfzf hgtfn]u/3f 5g\ xhf/f]hgtfsf] alnbfaf6 kft u0ftfGqs /fhoklt hgcf]sf]ff a9G':j feLj s xf]. Toxl eP/ ; fj hlgS ; j]fk]fxdf lgvf/tf Nofpg ; /sf/n]; fj hlgS ; j]fk]fxdf ; wf/sf]kf0nf rfnG]ePsf] 5 .

; fj hlgS ; j f / j :t' hgdVl xg g; s3f]ugf; f]sfod}x3f]h]u0f:t/lo ; j f; lj wf lb0kl/j tGsf]cgeLl lbnfpg]; /sf/L ; f] /fv] kzf; g kg; f]rgf cfof]n]bPsf]; eNj df cfwf/t eP/ ; fj hlgS ; j]fk]fxdf ; wf/ ul/g]elgPsf]5 .

cfof]n]; fj hlgS ; j f; lj wf ; b/dSfd / ; x/L f]qdf a9L s]b]t, lghfdtl sd(f/Lx2sf] lhDd]f/L j xgdf sdh:tf klf cf]f]f]pb}; f]sf]; wf/sf nflu lgs}; eNj lbPsf]5 . k/Dk/fut zf; slo k4lt, lghfdtl kzf; gdf /fhgllts x:tlfk, hgtfkl]t pQ/bf]o]j j xgdf sdl /x3f]klg o; n]cf]f]oPsf]5 . k]o3 ufj ; df s]f, kz'; j f, 0lGhlgol/ah:tf l]q]sf kl]j lws /fVgkg]lS; fgnf0{afnl / kzladf, dn, alph:tf l]q]df /fhon]g]nufgl ul/lbgkg]h:tf dx]j fsf]ff ; eNj sf]sf]f]og rgt]k0f]b]l]G5 .

oBlk, ckj fbnf0{5f8G]xf]eg]o; n]bPsf]clwsfz ; eNj hgklf]o 5g\ sd(f/Lsf hgdVl cfr/0f, kf/blz3f, hj fkn]b]xtf / ; fj hlgS ; j]fk]fxdf /fhgllts x:tlfk]sf] lgoGq0fh:tf ; eNj o; sf /fd] klf xg\

; /sf/ kl/j tG; u); fj hlgS kzf; g tyf ; j]fk]fxdf /fhgllts x:tlfk]xb}cfPsf] 5 . o:tf klfd ; wf/ xgkg]; eNj lgs]kfyldstf; fy o; kl]t]gn]; d3sf]5 . j f:tj df ; fj hlgS ; j]fk]fx ta u0f:t/lo xG5, ha /fhgllts txaf6}o; nf0{giklf Pj hgdVl agf0G5 . To; y{ ; /sf/sf]rfns hf]eP klg of]l]r]qnf0{/fhgllts qm8feld agfpg 5f8G]xf]eg]; fj hlgS ; j]fk]fx hgdVl xg; S5 . cfof]n]bPsf ; eNj sf sdlsdhf]l]nf0{ ; Rofpb}cl3 a9G]xf]eg]hgtfn]u0f:t/lo ; j f kfpG3g\}/fhoklt]sf]hglj Zj f; klg a9G]lglZrt 5 . ■

; Nnfxsf/
8f= >Ls]0f >]7
k\$fdl0f zdf{
; DkfbS
s]b]f/ v8sf
sfo3f/L ; DkfbS
; dg/fh kGt
; j fbbftf
hfgSf dg]fnl
l]b]k]z l3ld/]
efiff
s]0f]k] fb l/dfn
sf6g
vf3gf
Joj :yfkG
lj i0fk] fb kfy/]h
; Hhf
clDasf s3; l=

k3fzS
C; n zf; g sfoqmd
k]l]klAns
k]f]g]! ! \$#&
k]n]q]m \$%^! \$!
{ofS; M \$^*}@@
uf]da4dfu{
cgfdgu/, sf]df8f}
Email: gg@propublic.org
www.propublic.org

glh/ :yflkt

knfug c3df k]tt k0fj
e3/f03f]a/fhgllts
bnleq kf/blz3f]f /
pd3]j qmd a:g]sf]
a; xb/af/s}; fdGg]
e]6f]rf/3e zlif3sf
; dfrf/ lj z]f n]f]of].
/fhgllts bnx2n]
kf/blz3f] b]f]pgkg]
cGt/f]60 k]ngx2
p7Psf e3/f03f]rdTsf/l'
s'f ug]g]kfnl dfc]f]fbl
g]fx2sf]af/]f] rrf{
gu/3f]f] eg]lvGgtf
n]f]of]. dfc]f]fblx2sf]



dgk/laf/]vf]hl ug{
cf]j Zos lyof]h:tf]dx; ;
ePsf]5 .
To:t}l; xb/af/s}
; fdGg]68kms kx/]n]ub]
cfPsf]e]6f]rf/af/]vf]hl
; dfrf/ 5fk3f]f]f wGj fb .
of]; dfrf/n]g]kfn ; /sf/
e]6f]rf/ lgoGq0fd
; j]h]gzln 5G eG]glh/
:yflkt u/3f]5 . o:tf

va/bf/lk0f{; dfrf/
lgoldt cfc] \
l; 4fy{uf]d, lbofn}#,
cf]yn9wf

hf/L /xf] v]f]hl
c; n zf; gsf]r} c3df
k3f]zt ; fdu]x2 /fd]
5g\ To; df klG
abM]M]M]sf]pkTosf]f
zlif3sf]; dfrf/ lj z]f
kz}glo 5 .
j f:tj df ; 8s ku],
; x/ahf/g]l]hs eP/ dfq}
lj sf; xG5 eGg]; fwf/Of
aef]0nf0{lr/k]f/ ug]
abM]M]M]sf]pkTosf]f

zlif3sf]; dfrf/n]
k]0f]0ft u/3f]5 . dfen]
; dbfosf]3/3/df kul
pglx2sf]; d:of tyf
/fho / lj sf; ; :yfx2kl]t
pglx2sf]ofrgfnf0{
s]0b]j Gbdf /fv] ; dfrf/
k3f]zt u/3f]f]f lj z]f
wGj fb . w}]ufp]a:tl of]
a:tlh:t}pk]l]ft 5g\
c; n zf; gn]h:t}vf]hl
cleofg k]o3
; ~rf/d]f]lod, /f]hosf
lgsfo tyf lj sf; ; 3
; :yfaf6 xg'cf]j Zos 5 .
lg/h cfr]o{ lj /f6gu/-!%, d]f]a



■ lbkz l3ld/}cfyn9wf

↳ s[tfb]lsl ogfsdf/l afu6l laxfg
; f9]* ah]g}v6tl / s[tfnf]lnP/
; 8s vlg lgl:s65g\ 3/ kns6]
ahf ; fem% ah6]f q x]. k?if; u;
pglx; hlQs;s[tfnf]rnfp15gV
cSs/el/df 9wf kn6fp15g\
↳ ; fxl upsl lvddf of afu6l kl g s]
sd < %) j if\$]pd]df kl g pgl kl g
lbgel/ @ j if]oj foj tl tyf c6o
k?ifx; u}; 8s vlg ; lqno 15g\
aklxnf ; lsb6] ls h:tf]nflUof
pI; fx ; gfpb}pgl el65g\æu/kl5
t ; lsbf]x\$.Æ



hfujdlxnf

; ? eof]lj sf;

ogfsdf/l / lvddf ofdq xfo],
cfyn9wf s[tfb]lsf clwsfz dlxnf
clxn]ufpdf uf8l u8fpgsf nflu
; 8s agfpg ; lqno 5g\ o; sf]nflu
pglx; Jo:t ux:ylaf6 kl g ; do
lgsfln/x\$ 5g\ laxfg]xtf/-xtf/
vfg agfp5g\ ; f9]* galb}vfg
vf65g\clg (ah]; 8s lgdf of ug{
klu; S5g\
lhj ; cfyn9wf / lhnf ; 8s
; xofu sfoqndsf] ; xofudf a/af6-
s[tf]eGhof^a ; 8s lgdf of sf]sfof
dlxnf; o; /l ; lqno ePsf xg\
cfly\$ jif(@)^^ sf]nflu of]
; 8sdf gkfn ; /sf/sf]#& nfv %(
xhf/, lhj ; sf](nfv / l;j ;
; /sf/sf]cgbfg !* nfv \$! xhf/
?k6f"u/l ^% nfv ?k6f"ah6]
lj lgof]hg ePsf]5 .
a/af6blv s[tf]eGhof^a; Dd hDdf
*-\$ lsnf]d6/ nDaf0 / @-% ld6/
rf8f0 ; 8sv08sf] % lsnf]d6/
; 8s vlg; lPsf]5 . o; df
dlxnfsf]cu| /tf /x\$]5 .
s[tfb]lsf]j 8f gDa/ ! blv %
; Ddsf !) j 6f upnh0{5g}; 8sn]
; b/dsfd cfpghf tyf pTkflbt
; fduln0{/fd]efpdf a]g ; lhnf]xg]
lj Zj f; :yfgloj f; lsf]5 .

pbfx/Oflo ; xeflutf
lhnf ; 8s ; xofu sfoqnd

-8lcf/P; kl_ sf]lgodcg; f/ ; 8s
lgdf of sf]sdfb/df G6td \$)
kl]tzt dlxnf xgkgl]elgPsf]5 t/
oxf"*) kl]tzeGbf a9l sdbf/
dlxnf 5g\ cfkn]ufp\$]lj sf;
ug{tyf up\$]dx/ knj{^ j if6]v
^) j if{pd]; Ddsf dlxnf sl:; Psf
5g\ rNxf r\$]f]f ; lldt dlxnf;
clxn]ufp\$]lj sf; df ; lqno ePsf
5g\
sh *-\$ ld6/ v6gk]; 8snf0{
@) j 6f ; d\df af8] sfd e0/x\$]
5 . ol @) j 6}; d\df dlxnfs}; Wof
a9l 5 . s[tfb]lsf em8}tlg
; oebf a9l dlxnf; 8s vlg
Jo:t 5g\ 3/-3/sf cf]f/ lnP/
; 8s vlg/x\$ 5g\ s; h]un
; dft\$ 5g\ s; h]lksn]kxf8
eTsfpb5g\ sltn]; fj]hn]df6f]
knln/x\$ 5g\ cem slt
lbbalxgl; cSs/el/df cl8P/
a-r/fh]9wf sl6/x\$ 5g\
cfkn]ufpdf ; 8s cfp]ePKl5
pglx; df v'; lsf]; ldf 56] . Toxl
eP/ ; a)kl8f lal; Psf 5g\ æca
bMvsf lbg ; lS65 ls e6g]nfu\$]

5Æ lvddf of el65g\
:yfglo dlxnf xl/f gkfnlsf]
g]Tj df pkefQni ; ldt u7g ul/Psf]
5 . !! hgfsf]sfo{ ldt /x\$]
; ldt df ; Dk0f{kbflwsf/L dlxnfdfq}
5g\ lhnf]d]klxn]k6s ; Dk0f{
dlxnf ; b:o /x\$] / dlxnfn]g]g]Tj
u/\$]pkefQni ; ldt]n]u/\$]
lgdf of; DaGwl sfd pbfx/Oflo 5 .
dlxnfn]s]l ug{; S66g\el6g] nflu
; d] r6f]l ePsf]5 ox". ædlxnfn]
olQsf]sfd ug{; S5g\el6g]nfu\$}
lyPgÆ hnsGof kl]j sf lzlf s 6sgfy
k6]h el65g\æfd] lbbalxgl]
; fRr\$]pbfx/Oflo sfd u/]
b]f0lbP .Æ

o; /l lnP dlxnfn]g]Tj
cfyn9wfsf clwsfz pkefQni ; ldt
/fhgllts bnn]; b/dsfd]a;]
efua08f nuf0/x\$ 5g\
:yfglo:t/df uP/ pkefQni ; ldt
u7g ul/gkg]ufj ; cgbfg ; -rfng
sfolj lw @) % sf]7f8f]pNn3g
u/\$ 5g\ s[tfb]ldf kl g of]'xfj'
nfu\$]lyof]. knfugsf]klxn]xktf

;ldlt u7gsj]tof/l e0/xbf ; a}
 bnsf g]fx, kb kfgp xfgfyk ug{
 yfn\$sf lyP . gkfnl sfu} sf :yfglo
 cuj f wgaxfb/ aflgof"efuj 08f
 gldnk15 dlxfx, nfo{g]tj lhdf
 nuf0Psf]atfp5g\

dlxfn]g]g]tj :jlsfgdf
 k?ifnf0{ultnf]kf7 l; s]pg]p27o
 /x\$]f]atf065 . æufdf c]pg]
 lj sf; lgdffdf bnlo efua08f plrt
 xf0g e6g]; GbZ lbgyof; ;ldtstl
 c]wof gkfnl e65g\æf0xl eP/
 lhDd]f/l af\$]f x]Æ ;ldtstl
 ;lrj ck; /f k/fhhl ; xldtdf sfd
 xg g; s\$]f]cfkx, cufl8
 a9gk/\$]f]atfp5g\ æ; ?df t
 xfdn]vf]g uPsf lyPgf pgn]elgg\
 ækbs}nflu t5f8d5f8 ePk15 xfdl
 cf0f]Æ

bnsf g]fnf0{cfkx]xftaf6
 g]tj kn]sP klg dlxfn]u/\$]f]
 sfdaf6 lgs}v; l 5g\ Psls]
 dcf]f]fblsf :yfglo g]f afns]0f

cf0f]t/ gk9\$]f]df65]xgfn]s]ug]
 s; f]ug]e6g]; d:ofn]; tf0f] pgn]
 elgg\æub]uPk15 t l; lsb]x\$] .Æ

8f]h/af6 xf0g, hg>dbfgaf6

lhNnfsf clwsfz ; 8s 8f]h/sf]
 k0f]af6 vlgPsf 5g\ km:j, k
 8f8fkvf e]fosf]rk0fdf kg]u/\$]f
 5g\ ; fdbflos jg pkef]dxf; 3
 cf]yn9æfsf c]wof z\$; s6jfn
 e65g\æ8f]h/sf]k0f]un]hlt l56f]
 lj sf; t ePsf]5, jftfj/0flo ljg fz
 Tof]6bf l56f]ultdf ePsf]5 .Æ

o:tf gsf/]tds c; /af6 ; r]
 5g\ol dlxfx, . 8f]h/sf]; f6f]
 dfgjlo >daf6 ; 8s v6g sl; P/
 nfu\$]f 5g\ o; n]ubf{:yfglo:t/d}
 /f]huf/l]sf]; h6f ePsf]tyf jftfj/0f
 ; Af0fdf ; xof]u ku\$]f]; ldtstl
 c]wof gkfnl atfp5g\
 dlxfx, s]f]cleofgdf
 lj Bfyl, n]klg ; xof]u u/\$]f 5g\
 .Æ



kx/f b]v]fb}eg]æx0f] v g hlt vg\$]f]
 5 TolQdfq]e]tsfPsf 5f]c, h:tf]sf]
 t:t}5 .Æ

To; f]t dlxfn / k?ifdf ; dfg
 Hofnf lb0Psf]5 . æ6oq h:tf]oxf"
 Hofndf e]efj xb0]Æ c]wof gkfnln]
 elgg\æ; dfg sdfs]; dfg Hofnf
 lbPsf 5f]Æ

pT; fxsf]; /fx0f]

lj sf; lgdffdf dlxfn]b]v]Psf]
 cu|/tfaf6 :yfglo bnsf g]f tyf
 afl; Gbn]; /fx0f b]v]Psf 5g\
 s6tfb]l- \$ sf gkfnl sfu} sf
 :yfglo g]f wgaxfb/ aflgof"lj sf; df
 dlxfn ; xeluttf pbfx/0flo xbf]/x\$
 e6g]; GbZ lb]g]atfp5g\ æfd]
 uf]df t dlxfn]0ltf; }t]B]bPÆ
 pgn]eg]æ; 36gaf6 c6oqsn]
 klg ; GbZ Ing' h?/l 5 .Æ

dfcf]f]fblsf :yfglo g]f afns]0f
 e\$/f0{dlxfn]lj sf; sf sfd ug{
 ; Sb0g\e6g]cfkx, s]f]klxfnsf]
 ; f]f0 ; slrt /x\$ e6g]lgisifdf
 ku\$]f 5g\ æf]gdgf sfd x]Æ pgn]
 eg]æbZel/sf uflj ; df dlxfnf0{
 lj sf; sf sdfs]g]tj lbP /fd]
 kl/0ffd lg:s65 e6g]o; n]; GbZ
 lb65 .Æ

;ldtstl c]wof gkfnl eg]
 dlxfn]r]fx]eg]ug]g; Sg]sfd s]l
 /x0]5 e6g]pbfx/0f lbPsf]atfp5g\
 æ; ?df cufl8 a9] klg sfd ug{
 ; lsb] ls h:tf]nfu\$]f]lyof] pgn]
 elgg\æclxn]t ; b/d]sfd uP/
 .Æ



e\$/f0{ ; dod}; xldt xg g; s]k15
 bnsf]xftaf6 ; ldtst]g]tj
 'kn]sPsf] atfp5g\ æt/ dlxfn]
 pbfx/0flo sfd u/Æ pgl ; g]p5g\
 :yfglo lj sf; clwsf/l s]0fk] fb
 k8f; 0l klg dlxfnsf]; lqmotfkl]t
 v; l 5g\
 ;ldtstl ; b:o lj dnf gkfnl
 g]tj lnPsf]s]l lb]g t vā}r0tf /
 8/ nfu\$]f]atfp5g\ æ; ldttdf t

lj Bfno 5\$] ePk15 tyf labfsf]lbj
 ; 8s lgdffdf pglx, vl6/x\$]f
 5g\ æsndsfkl l6g k}f x65Æ
 :yfglo ; /j tl dflj sf slff (sf
 uf\$]0f{kn]bn e65g\æ8f]h/af6 vg\$]f]
 eP xfdn]sx"sf"sd kfp]of]v/ <Æ
 csf{ %* j ifl6 lj i0fk] fb 9sf]n eg]
 8f]h/n]af6f]v6bf uf]p"gs; k
 agfpg]atfp5g\ æt/ xfdn]htg
 u/] vg\$]f 5f]Æ pgn]v6b}u/\$]f]
 .Æ



k]sl km of ̣ g u g ̣ h f 0 { sf/afxl ul/g]

■ z]axfb/ ehjh:bfhv f-hu ̣

lj sf; ofhgfs]gfddf ufij; dfrk
k]sl /sd lng]JolQm ̣ n]; dod}
ofhg f; DkGg u/l kl]tj ̣ g gaemPdf
cfudl cgbfg s6f]l ul/g]ePsf]
5 . h'u' ufij; df cfof]ht ; fj h]gs
; ̣ j f0df k]sl /sdk]t nfk/afxl
xg]u/̣ f]tYo vh]k]5 lglDQ
Pn8lcf̣ f]lhDd]f/l klg j xg
ul//x̣ f ṣ z]j k] fb lj dnl]; f]
r]fj gl lbPsf xg\

; ̣ j f0df ufij ; ; lrj /fh]b]
; j ̣ ln]; yfglo JolQm ̣ n]lj sf;
ofhgfs]nflu nụ sf
k]sl km of ̣ gu/̣ f]
atfPsf lyP .
æufij; af6 k]sl nu]
cflỵ s j if̣ f]c]to; Dd
klg k]lt lj j /of
gaemPsf] lj dnl]
eg]æcfudl cgbfg
/f]sg̣ f .

lj dnl]cfudl
h] d; f̣ t; Dd klg h'u'
ufij ; sf]k]sl km of ̣
ul/Psf]kOf]lj j /of
lhj ; df gcfPdf
hyfefjl k]sl lbg]
ufij ; ; lrj nf0{klg sf/afxl
xg; Sg]atfP .

h'u' ufij; df cflỵ s j if̣
)#÷^\$ df dfq !(hgfs]gfddf
tlg nfv ^& xhf/ kfr ; o k]sl
km of ̣ xg afsl /x̣ f]n]vfk/Lifof
kl]tj ̣ gn]b]v]Psf]5 . To; ̣ u/l
)^\$÷^% df klg lj leGg zlif̣ s df
!^ hgfs]gfddf # nfv (xhf/
?kOf]k]sl km of ̣ xg afsl /x̣ f]
; lrj ; j ̣ ln]; fj h]gs u/̣ f lyP .
æjutsf ; lrj x̣ n]k]sl km of ̣ df
rf; f]lbPsf]h:tf]nfuG̣ f ; j ̣ ln]eg]

æclxn]lj sf; aḥ f lj lgofhg ug̣ f
cK7̣ d/f]ePsf]5 . f

c; n zf; g Sna ; dGj o ; ldt
bfhv f / h'u' ufij ; sf]; eQm
cfofhgdf ṛ !* ut]; f]; fj h]gs
; ̣ j f0 ePsf]lyof]. ; ̣ j f0df
:yfgloj f; lx̣ n]tlg dlxgcl3
tTsfng ufij ; ; lrj gf/fof ḷ f]ln]
cfk]f]g]hs' kg̣ x̣ nf0{hyfefjl
k]sl lj t/of u/̣ f]cf/fk nufPsf
lyP . k]sl /sd kl/rfngaf/]
cgludg xg g; ṣ f]cefj klg
:yfgloj f; ln]cf]fop . ḷ f]lsf]af/̣ f]
Jofks ug̣ f; f]c]Pkl5 pgnf0{
lhj ; df lhDd]f/lj xlg
agf0{xflh/ u/f0Psf]
5 .

æk: sl
km: of ̣
gug]l
ufij ; sf]
cgbfg
/f]Ssf
ul/g̣ f .

sfoq̣ mdf pkl:yt
; /f̣ f]j fnx̣ n]
cfudl h] d; f̣ tleq
; DkOf{k]sl /sd
km of ̣ ug]u/fpg] ufp"
kl/iḅ af6 lj lgof]ht
ofhgfx̣ n]f0{ḳ f]j sf/l
9un]; ~rfng ug]
u/fpg] cflỵ s
; Zf; gsf nflu
pkefQ̣ n]x̣ lhDd]f/
/xg] blnt ; dbfosf]

pTyfgs]nflu lj lgof]ht /sd
tTsfn cfocf]ḥ sf sfddf nufpg]
nufotsf kl]ta4tf u/̣ f 5g\
kl]ta4tfkqdf Psls] g̣ sf
dfc]f]b]sf lhNnf ; b:o 9fnaxfb/
v8sf, g̣ sf Pdfṇ sf lhNnf ; b:o
plḍ f yfdl, g̣ f]nl sfu] ḥ sf
; efklT 1fgaxfb/ lh/h, lhNnf kz'
; j sfof]osf ḳ dV 8f=fdstb/]
sfsl{x̣ u]ldof ; fdbflos k]f̣ f/
lj sf; sfoq̣ mdf bfhv]sf ḳ dV
lrqaxfb/ yfknufotn]x:tfll/
u/̣ f 5g\ ■

a]sdf efu lng]v up3/sf sfddf
g]lj lng]Dd u/̣ f 5f]f .
:yfglo lj sf; clwsf/l k8f; ̣ l
dlxnfs]; lq̣ mtdf ePsf]sf
cToGt ḳ f]j sf/l ePsf]atfp5g\
æCgoqsf ; ldt sf kbflwsf/lnf0{
ultnf]k7 l; sfPsf]5f pgn]eg]
æhlj ; n]dlxnfx̣ n]f0{; Sbf]; xofu
ug̣ f . f

'x f d l a: ḅ f]

hg; vofsf]cfwf lx:; f c]u6g]dlxn f
; dbfosf]plrt kl]tlglw]j sf]
; lglZrttf ug]{ / lhDd]f/ lgsfonf0{
hjfḳ x]l / pQ/bfol agfpg
stfb]lsf dxnf cufl8 ; /̣ f 5g\
; ũ} Pp6f c; n ; s[tsf]lgḍ f ug]
p2Zon]hd]Psf 5g\pglx̣ , ḅ
cfldlj Zj f; / pRr dgf̣ nsf ; fy .
æ3/sf]lgbn; d] xfdl dxnfn]af̣ f]
nụ sf 5f]f ; 8s ṿ b]u/̣ f]l klj qf
j fln]el65g\æca df65]d/]eg]klg
x f d l dxnf g]dnfdl hf65f]f . æsl
lbg; Dd k?ifsf]nflu dfq]eft ksP/
a:g'æ pgl; ũ}x̣ sl lgḍ f j fln]h]
ylkg̣ ; fx]eP/ cufl8 a9̣ f, ca t
k5fl8 x6ḅ f]x f d l . f

n]us ̣ kdf km's eP/ klg
dlxnfx̣ k?ifn]ug]; Sg]x/̣ f sf
ug]; S5g\eg]pbfx/of ag̣ f]ol
dlxnfx̣ sf]egf0 5 . æxhf]Dd
rhrf̣ ṣ df ; ldt dxnfx̣ clxn]
ufp̣ sf]lj sf; df p7̣ f 5f]g̣ f]nl
el65g\æp7̣ k]5 a:g ldṇ ḅ , ca 9Ss
xg'; \x f d l a: ḅ f]klg . ■



hgo4sf 3f0t\$]uqf; f] vf]hf]t/]nf}f]la; I

■ s[0fk| fb uf]d=?sb

hgo4 ; ?tfsf dfc] fbl a6g c6]
u/\$f sf/0f cdnrf]/sf kflj lzlfs
g/lht a:g]nf0{dfc] fbl
sfo\$tf{x;n]s6] lynlynf]agfP/
; fgle]l gblcf krin\$]f lyP . adYof]
egl krin\$]f /x\$gA pgl e65g\
aufph]b]y] 3/df NofP5g\A
ctolws kxf/ ePsf]pgnf0{; /sf/l
; g]n]pkrf/sf]nflu sf7df8f]nu]
pkrf/ u/\$f]lyof].

; ft dlxgfsf]pkrf/kl5 c; t
lgsf]eof]t/ afof'xft gsf6l w}
kfPgg\ ckf+ z/l/ af\$]l ; b/d\$fd
d'; lsf]l:yt ; /j tl lgdflj df
clwofkg/t pgl e65g\æ3/df uP
df56\Vs e6g]nfu] ufp"uPsf]
5g] .A cfk]n]f]3/hluf; d] sAhf
u/\$f dfc] fblx; sf]Jo]j xf/
clxn] Dd ; lxi0f'gePsf]pgsf]egf0
5 .

ckf+ ePsf]5f]f5f]l tyf
kl/jf/sf]el]io clglZrt ePsf]pgl
atfp5g\ æ; /sf/n]pkrf/; Dd
ul/lbof] pgl bMv] f]kfV5g\aufpdf
u/] vfg]jftfj /of ldnf0lbP
x6Yof].A

To:t}%) (; fndf dfc] fbl /
; /sf/l ; g]sf]b]x]f]f]le86tdf k/\$l
u/fPnf- # lgj f; l b]p; /l kgsf]
z/l/af6 uf]h]sf]5/f{cem]lgsflnPsf]
5g] . 3/df afv] afw] af]x/
lgl:sPsf]a]hf pglldfl] pl5l\$P/
uf]hl kxf/ ePsf]lyof]. pgl clxn]
d'; lsf]l:df ckf+ z/l/n]lu6l s6]
kl/jf/nf0{; xof] ul//x\$]l l5g\
pgl / kltsf]df]; s kfr' xhf/ ?k0f"
hit sdf0n]kl/jf/ wfGg]sl7g 5 .
æp; sf]pkrf/vr{klg kl0g]A



dfc] fbl cfqnd0fdf 3f0t]ePsf
lzlfs g/lht a:g] .

.....
dfc] fbl ; z:q a6atfsf 3f0t]
ePsf ; j {fwf/0f clxn] Dd
z/l/el/ 3fp / uf]h]laf?bsf
5/f{af]s/x\$]f 5g\ cfly\$
cefj n]pglx; sf]hlj gofkg
lgs]sl7g ePsf]kf0Psf]
5 . t/ ; z:q a6a xb}
clxn\$]f]7hf]/fhgllts
e0; Sbf klg dfc] fbln]
pglx; sf]'3fpdf dNxd'
nufPsf]5g] .

.....
kTgl]t/ b]yfpb}rGbaxfb/n]eg].
pkrf/ ul/lbPsf 8fS6/n]j if\$]f]
Psk6s pkrf/sf nflu cf0/xg'eg]
klg /sd geP/ hfg g; s\$]f]b]p; /l
atfp5g\ æ]gs}blv/x65, PskN6
pkrf/ u/fpg kfp x6Yof].A pgl

e65g\ævr{gePk15 bvfo ; x]
al; /xg'k/\$]5 .A
j l/dfof lj s\$]f]xftnt klg p:t}
5 . @)%^, c; f]hdf ; b/d\$fdl:yt
sf]7df al; /x\$}a]hf ; /sf/l ; g]f /
dfc] fbalr xfgxfg ePsf]uf]hl
pl5l\$P/ pgnf0{nfu\$]f]lyof].
; /sf/l ; g]n]dfgj lo gftfn]pgsf]
pkrf/ ul/lbPsf]lyof]. pgsf]
kl/jf/ @)%\$; fnb]lv g}dfc] fbl
w]slsf]sf/0f ; b/d\$fdl lj :yflkt
ePsf]5 .

clxn]klg pgsf]:j f:Yo cj :yf
; lwPsf]5g] . :yfol cfo; f] gePsf]h]
uhf/ f lgs}; s; k0f{5 . æ/fxtsf]
nflu w]h]t/ wfPÆ pgsf klt
dfgaxfb/ e65g\æPs k}f klg
kf0Pg .A

afnaflnsf]cj :yf klg boglo
; z:q cfGbf]h]gsf]qndf ckf+ ePsf
afnaflnsf klg bh6f]5g\ pglx; sf]
cj :yf klg boglo 5 .

vDr]l dlj, vf/df slf & df
k9]u/\$l slj tf v8sf rf/ j if6l3
a]f]l;]lu6] lj :k]f e0{3f0t]
e0g\ xftv\$df lu6]sf 5/f{ePsf]h]
a}fvlsf]; x/f Ingk5{. æk}f 5g]A
!% j if6f pgn]elggæs; /l pkrf/
ug{æafa'j l/axfb/ 5f]l\$]f]pkrf/
/ k9f0vr{s; h]; xof] ul/lbP
x6Yof]e6g]cfz /fV5g\

To:t}vf/-! sf & j if6f
eldaxfb/ v8sf]f]b]x]g]cfvf
aj]l/;] s] ad k8]sP/ uDof].
Pp6f cfvf ud\$]f]pgsf]k9f0
sdhf] ePsf]pgl clwog/t kflj
xnf]f/fsf kç kxnaxfb/ kg
atfp5g\ æpkrf/sf]nflu k}f 5g]A
pgsf sfsf ; Gb/ e65g\æs; h]
; xof] klg u/\$]f]5g] .A @)% (;
fndf ePsf]vf/f 36gdf dfq]^
afnaflnsf / j o:s u/l !% hgf
3f0t]ePsf :yfglo hf]y]l/ v8sf
atfp5g\

cfk]n]f0{x]rfx
; z:q a6an] 3f0t]ePsf]x; sf]af/df
e/kb]tYof; ; /sf/l lgsfol; t klg



5g . tYofs g)gePKl5 3f0t\$]pkrf/
tyf /fxtsf nflu ; xof] ug{sl7g0
cfpg' :j feflj s}xf].

lhDd] f/l af\$]sf] lhnf kzf; g
sfofhol; t klg tYofs gePsf]klhc
b] /fh 9sf n atfp5g\ æ; /sf/n]l5\$
hgo4df 3f0t] ePsf]sf] tYofs
; sng ug\$Æ pgl e65g\æTo; kl5
pkrf/ / ; xof]sf nflu ; /sf/; ð dfu
ul/g\$.Æ

:yfglo u}; /sf/l ; :yf
dfgj clwsf/ ; ;zf; g tyf ; dfh
lj sf; s]b\$ cf; f/ ?sddf dfq}
; z:q á6asf]; dodf 3f0t]xg\$]
; Wof Ps xhf/e6bf a9l 5 . l; ljsg
cg; f/ o4tfsf \$* afnaInsf 3f0t]
ePsf 5g\ æ3f0t]x]sf]pkrf/ /
; xof]sf]clt vfrf]5Æ clwsf/j fbl
zf/bf 8ful e65g\ædh lhDd]f/l
; /sf/sf]xf].Æ

t/ ; /sf/df uPKl5 dfcf]fbln]
klg cfk]df df65\$]dfq x]lj rf/
u/\$]ufg; f]5 . dfcf]fblsf
rf/hgnf0{pkrf/sf]nflu :yfglo
zfl6t ; ldltn]dl6qkl/iffbf l; knl/;
u/lk15 of]ufg; f]cfPsf]xf].

zfl6t ; ldltsf clWof b]lnfn
lai6 eg]c}sf]klg pkrf/sf nflu
l5\$]g0f6 ul/g]cfz]f; g lb65g\
t/ 3f0t]; j {fwf/of ; a66f 7hf]
/fhgllts bn e0; Sbf klg, ; /sf/
rnf0; Sbf klg dfcf]fbln]a]f:tf
u/\$]ufg; f]k]v5g\ Pshgf 3f0t]
e65g\ædfcf]fbln]vfhf]t/] n]f]
la; [Æ ■

; Dkfbnsf0{cg/fy

kf]klAnssf]df; s k\$zfz g c; n
zf; gsf ; fdull tkf0[cfk]df]
klqsdf klg 5fkg ; Sgxg\$.
s]kof æ; fef/ c; n zf; gÆ pNny
u/l k\$zfz ul/lbg'xg xflb\$
cg/fy ul/65 .

; fy

; fef/ ul/Psf]Ps kl]t klqs
k]l]tsf]nflu k]k]lAns ck]ff
/fvb5 .

-; Dkfbns, c; n zf; g klqs

dlb/f ;]gu/L cWofkg

ef]hk/ lhnfsf]af]vdl:yt clwsfz
lj Bfnodf lzlfsc; lgoldt gcfpq]
tyf hfgsf/l glb0{cgkl:yt xg]
5g\ hufb]j /l k]lj, wfkvs{k]lj,
lzj b]l k]lj, k-rsGof dfj x}df
j}zfv @\$ ut]ul/Psf]cgludgf
; f]tYo kn]f k/\$]xf].

cgludgsf lbg, hgHof]t k]lj df
Pshgf dfq lzlfsc cPsf lyP eg]
hgtf k]lj sf kç lagf hfgsf/l
cgkl:yt lyP . To:t}df]nsf]l
k]lj / hgtf k]lj sf]h\$ s]k
lzlfsc dlb/f ;]g u/L k9fpg cfpq]
u/\$]atf0Psf]5 . ol a]y]tsf]
lgo60fsf nflu cljnda lhnf
lzlf sf]o tyf ; Dal6wt lgsfon]
kxn ug]k]g]:yfgloj f; lsf]dfu 5 .

*k]lj l6b/k]vfg, Gofozln c; n zf; g Sna
af]vd-^, ef]hk/*

lyP . ; fdbflos jgsf]a]sdf
pglnufot ; ah]jgdf r'/f6 ;]g
gug]; xdlit; d] ePsf]lyof].

*lvdf /f0{kl/j t6 c; n zf; g Sna
anv'-!, cf]yn9Æ*

cfsl:ds slf l; sf?sf]lhDdf

36gf j}zfv @ (ut]/fltsf]xf]. d
cfk]tsf]lzzhf0{cfsl:ds pkrf/
u/fpg sf7df8f]d]Bsn snh lzlf0f
c:k]tn -s]d; L l; gfdwn uPsf]
lyP". c:k]tndf 8fS6/sf]gdfdf
Pshgf dfq /x\$g\l klg PdalaP;
clWogsf]cEof; ug{Toxf"cfPsf
/x\$g\ pgn]lzzsf]pkrf/ ug{
g; Sg]atfPKl5 t]sf n sfl6t afn
c:k]tn, dx/f]hu6h k]fof0of]. Toxf"
klg syf p:t}.

PdalaP; tyf c6o k9f0sf]
cEof; ug{cfPsf 8fS6/x}n]

hgtfsf]ef]yf0

r'/f6sf]76fh]jg v/fgl

xf] gk]ofpbf Pp6f r'/f6sf]76fh]
klg 7h]lj gfz ug{; Sbf]/x\$.
cf]yn9Æsf]anvl:yt ; gsf]l
; fdbflos jgdf Ps pkef]n]
kn]f]r'/f6sf]76fh]l; w]jg g}
en68}v/fgl ePsf]lyof].

36gf kn]ug % ut\$]xf].
anv'- (lgj f; l ; Gt]f] l]sn];]g
u/\$]r'/f6sf]76fh]glge0 jglt/
kn]f] lyP . s]lj]d}76fh]7hf]
cfuf\$]k lnof]. Ps ; o x\$6/
hlt jg lgd]e/d}v/fgl eof].

; fdbflos jgsf]a]sdf cfpq]
qndf elb\$ /f0[]; f]36gfsf]b]f]
lj s g}x\$]kn]f k/\$] lyP .
:yfgloj f; l, pkef]n / kl/j t6
c; n zf; g Sna sf kb]lwsf/lx}sf]
kxndf lj s ; dflT . ; f]k]lgs
}kdf s]sf/ u/lk15 lj sn]cfk]n]
Vofn gk]fof0 r'/f6sf]76fh]kn]fSbf
cfunful ePsf]:jlsfb}dfk]n dfu\$]f

cfsl:ds slfsf]lhDd]f/l kPsf
/x\$g\ tldWolPshgf]lzzsf]
kofyfh]hl hfr ug]k]egl l; knl/;
ul/lbP . dh]sf]k]l cgejl 8fS6/
cfpnfgV hfr u/fphf egl
klv6;] s]k]a]df Pshgf \$) jif{
pd] hltsf 8fS6/ cP / lzzsf]
?j]f0s}cfwf/df Pp6f en]h cf]flw
n]v]bP . ; f]cf]flw v]fPsf]s]k
ldg6d}lzzsf]kfr 306fb]v]sf]j]f0
a6b eof]. kl5 yxf eof] lzzhf0{
kfrg k]ffnldf v/fal ePsf]/x\$, hg
; fdf6o df]gbf]/x\$.

o; /l cfsl:ds slfh:t]
; j]hgZln 7fphf0{; sf? 8fS6/sf]
lhDdf nufpgf]la/fdlsf]unt
pkrf/ xg]tyf :j:Yo / k}f b] \$]
lflT xg]u/\$]5 . l; sf?n]klg
cEof; ug{t k]pgk5}t/ cgej]lsf]
k]olf lgu/fglf . ; Dal6wt lgsfon]
ah]df ; f]g

*g]lnsf cfrfo
cgfdgu/, sf7df8f}*



; fj hlgS ; j fdf ; wf/ kvfQ sfoflj ogsf]

■ ; dg/fh kGt=hfgsf dñfnl sf7dñf}

/sf/n]lbg]; jf; lj wf hgdvl xg g; s3f] ugf; f] gof" xfDg . x/3 /fhgllts kl/j tG; U)hgtfn]ol ugf; f] ; Daf]wg xg]cfz /Vb}cfPsf 5g\ ; Qf lng]bnx2n] klg kzf; g ; wf/ ; fj hlgS ; jfk]fxsf]uOf:t/lotfh:tf lj ifodf cfk]rf; f]JoQm ubIcfPsf 5g\ o; }d] fdf /sf/n]; fj hlgS ; jfk]fxsf]; wf/sf]tof/L u/3f]5 . ; fj hlgS ; jfk]fxsf]; wf/; U)kzf; g kg; Argf ul/g]; f]sf; fy NorOPsf] k]tj]bgn]cf]hofPsf]; emj tyf sfofljhfgsf]af/df ax; ; ? ePsf]5 . dh5df ; 3lo uOf]flGqs ; /sf/sf] lgd]f; U)hgtfnf0; zf; gsf]cge]t lbg Pj +; fj hlgS ; jfk]fxnf0{uOf:t/lo agfpg t]sfnlS cfj Zostf o; n] cf]hofPsf]5 . o; l; nI; nIdf ; fj hlgS kzf; gsf]j tGfg cj:yf / rgf]lsf] lj Zn]fOf ubI; sf]; wf/sf dfu{kz:t ul/Psf]5 . ; fj hlgS ; jf tyf kzf; gdf /fhgllts/Of, e]6rf/, cflyS cgzf; gxlgtf, l9nf; !tlh:tf ult]j lwn] hgdvl zf; g Joj:yfdf xI; cfPsf]o; sf] 7Dof0 5 . clxn3f hgtfn]o:tf ; j2k / z]ldf cfdh ; wf/ rfx3f]hfgsf/L k]tj]bgn]lbPsf]5 . æ; fj hlgS ; Argf, lgodsfgg / sfo{k]qmf pxl 5g\ kzf; g kg; Argf cfof]af/f tof/ k]tj]bgn]eg3f]5 æt/ hgck]f PSsf; csflzPsf]5 .Æ

k]tj]bgn]; fj hlgS kzf; g tyf ; jfdhs lgsfon]bb}cfPsf]; jf; lj wsf cj:yf, ltgsf ; d:of / ; wf/sf nflu c]lloog-lj Zn]fOf u/3f]5 . oBlk, g]kfnl ; g]f / ; z:q kx/Lsf]af/df eg]c]lloog ul/Psf]5g . ; fdfGo kzf; g dGqlsf]

; fj hlgS ; jf; lj wf hgdvl agfpg kzf; g kg; Argf cfof]af]xfn] ; /sf/nf0{; emj x2sf]7h} kf3f]lbPsf]5 . k]tj]bgn] /fhon]hgtfk]t pQ/bf]of]j lgjfx ug\$ f nflu ; of]h]hd]f/L; d] cf]hofPsf]5 .

c]lloftdf @)^% d+ / \$ ut]ul7t cfof]af] of]k]tj]bgn] krfubg !^ ut]g]; /sf/nf0{ aemf0; s3f]5 . o; nf0{k]xnf]cGt/d k]tj]bgn]elgPsf]5 .

; fj hlgS ; jfdf gful/s kxr ; fj hlgS ; jfx2; ah; f]hNnf ; b/d5fdd} ; lldt ePsf]cfof]af]7Dof0 5 . e]f]ts k]f]wf/sf]; xhtf / kl]j lws pks/Ofx2sf] Joj:yfkgf]nflu o:tf]xg]u/3f]atfOPsf]5 . h; df kzf; slo ; lj wfnf0{w}]/hg; lj wfnf0{sd dx]j lbg]k/Dk/fut zf; slo d]gotf sf/s klf egl lS6fg ul/Psf]5 . ; fj hlgS ; jf; lj wfnf0{3/b]f]df k]qofpgsf nflu :yfgo txd f cGt/; DalGwt ; jfk]fos lgsfonf0]Psf/ k]ffnleq cfa4 ug]kg]cfof]af]5 ; emj 5 .

To:t} sfo\$ldf sd{f/L lgoldt ga:g] / cfuGt5x2sf]klg c]oj]l:yt k]3n] sfof]hosf]sfddf afwf klu/x3f]; d:of p7fg ul/Psf]5 . o; sf]nflu kl/ ; /leq]gful/s j8fkq /Vg/ o; sf]Jofks k]f/k]f/ ug] Joj:yf ldnfpgkg]; emj lbOPsf]5 . ; jfu]xlnf0{p; n]lng v]h3f]; j]fsf]nflu cfj Zos k]qmf ; xfof s]laf6}lbg] /

sfof]hodf ; DalGwt ; jfu]xlnf0{dfq k]3 u/fpgkg]; emj o; n]lbPsf]5 . ; se/ cfuGtSl; t e3f6sf nflu 5\$} s]fsf]Joj:yf ug]kg]elgPsf]5 .

; fy}; jfu]x]af6 ph/L kl]6sfdf k]k]t ugf; f sd]tdf ; ftdf Ps k6s v]h] ; g]f0 ug]kg]; emj lbOPsf]5 . ugf; f3t]f]f0{sf/afx]sf]lnlvt hfgsf/L lbg]/ ; f]l hfgsf/L sfof]hosf]; Ygf kf6df klG 6f:g]Joj:yf ug]kg]; emj 5 .

lghfdt] sd{f/Lnf0{lhDd]f/Lk]t pQ/bf]of] agfpgsf nflu klg ; emj lbOPsf]5 . lgod jf k]qmf gk]of0{ cfPsf ; jfu]xlnf0{t]sfn]hfgsf/L lbg] t/ hfgfhg l9nf; !tl ug]Pj pQ/bf]of]j jxg gug]sd{f/Lnf0{; hfosf]efulbf/ agfpgkg]elgPsf]5 . To:t} lghfdt] l]qdf /fhgllts x:t]f]k /f\$g /fhgllts lgsfon]kzf; gdfly ug]cg]udg / lgoGofsf]; ldf t]3gkg]/fhgllts g]t]j / sd{f/Lsf ; 3; :yfx2nf0{; ?j df ; Ælg gu/fpg]Joj:yf xgkg]cfof]af]5 ; emj 5 .

tlg÷rf/ d

g]k]ndf w]yl/sf /fhgllts kl/j tG eP . nf3tGq cfof] uOf]tGq cfof] hg ofqf k/f ug]{clxn}Dd xhf/f]hgtfsf] alnbgl k/3f]5 . !@-!% xhf/ hfgsf]alnbgl]dh5df uOf]tGq cfPsf]xf]. ; /sf/n]lbg]j f lbgkg]; jf; lj w]k]t hgtfsf]rf; f]/ dfu c]olws a93f]k]fOPsf]5 .

olt 7hf]/fhgllts kl/j tGkl5 hgtfn]o:tf]rfxgf /Vg' :j fef]j s klg xf]. To; h]hgtfsf]b]gs hlj gofkg s3l ; xh xf] \egl ; /sf/n]; fj hlgS ; jfdf ; wf/sf]cfj Zostf b]3f]xf]. Toxl eP/ kzf; g kg; Argf cfof]af] u7g ePsf]xf]. ; /sf/L ; jfk]fx l56f]l/t] hgdvl / kf/bzl{ agfpgsf nflu t]sfn r]lNgkg]s]bdsf af/df s3l ; emj lbPsf xf]; hgtfsf] b]gs hljg; U uff; Psf k]q3 ; jfk]fos lgsfosf]5\$5\$}c]lloog,



lj ifout ; emj

cfofun]kzf; lgs lfgsf]dfq cWooq
u/3f]5g . hgtsf]b)gs hljgdf
; Dal6wt s[if, lzlff, :yfglo lj sf; ,
eld; wf/, oftoft, 6]hknf]g, vfgkfgl,
:jf:Yoh:tf lgsfo klg ; d3sf]5 .
ltglx;n]; jfk]fxsf lfgdf efb]cfPsf
; d:of klxrfg tyf ; d:wfsgf nflu ; emj
klg k3:t k3fg u/3f]5 .

!= s[if

s[if]sx;n]; /sf/l ; jf; ljwf k3fj sf/l
; kdf kfgp g; s3f]eGb}ljleG sf/of
b]yf0Psf]5 . h; df ; j]fs3bdf
sd3f/lx; lgoldt gklug] ; j]fs3b
k/fdz3f ; kdf dfq ; ldt ePsf]tyf
alp, dn, afnl / kz' ladf, ahf/
Joj:yfkgf]sdlh:tf sf/of cf]of0Psf]
5 .

o; sf]; d:wfsgf nflu ; a); j]fs3bdf
h3l=h3lP /fVg]/ pglx;n]f0{ls; fgsf]
3/b3f]df klg; Sg]tNofpg yk cfly3
; ljwf / sfok4ltsf]Joj:yf ugkgl3l3Psf]

5 . cujf s[if]s 5gf3 u/l tflnd lbg]
s[if ; 'rgf s3b|vf]hl 6f]h lk3 -
8fonstf]f0{k}f gnflg]knf]g_ pknAw
u/f0; 'rgf kj fx ug]/f; folgs dn ; ky
dNodf pknAw u/fpg] ; /sf/sf tkn3f6
afnl / kz'wg ladf ul/lbg]; xsf/ldfknf
vl/blaqnl u/f0lbg]h:tf ; emj k3v 5g\

@= :yfglo lj sf;

uflj ; x3df cfly3 cgzf; gsf]sdl,
cf0Joo, k]f3f/ lgdff, k-hls/ofx3sf]
cleny Joj:yt gxg', uflj ; ; lrj
lgoldt ga:g] lj sf; lgdff]sf nflu
k]lj lws hgziQm gxg'h:tf ; d:of
cf]of0Psf]5 .

o:tf ; d:of ; d:wfsgf nflu s3b]o
tyf lhNnfsf lgsfox3df sfdlj xlg /x3f
sd3f/lnf0{uflj ; df v6fpg] uflj ; df
n]yfkfn, ; xn]yfkfn, s[if, kz'; jf,
0lGhlgol/a lfg3f k]lj lws v6fpg]
uflj ; sf ; a}ultlj lwnf0{sDKob/af6
cleny]s/of ugkgl; emj lb0Psf]5 .
s3b]h]; xl ; dod}:yfglo lgsfodf ah3

k7fpgkg]; fdf]hs ; /lff eQf kfgp of]o
JolQm; sf]gfdj nl k]of3 dlxgf cWofj lws
ugkglTo:tf eQf ; s]Dd pglx3sf]3/df
jf kfos :yfgaf6 lj t/of ugkgl; emj klg
k3fg ul/Psf]5 . To:t} :yfglo lgsfosf]
cf6tl/s ; f]sf]lj sf; vr{/ k3f; lgs
vr3f]; ldf lgw]of ugkgl:yfglo lgsfodf
cljnda /fhgllts kbflwsf/l kl't{ugkgl
; emj klg lb0Psf]5 .

#= :jf:Yo

:jf:Yo; jf k3fos lgsfox3df lgoldt
:jf:Yosdl{ga:g]j3lnks lrlst; f dflod
k]f/ xg g; s3f]; d:of b]yf0Psf]5 . ol
; d:of ; wf/sf nflu ; emj x3 klg lb0Psf
5g\

; jf k3fg ul/g]; do / ; j]fs]k3f/sf
af/df gful/s a8fkqdf /fVgkg]; jf:Yo
s3b]x;n]:yfglo lfgdf :jf:Yo lzlf / ; 'rgf
kj fx ugkgl]Q lj sf; , a9]fx3sf nflu
bl3 tyf uldof lfgsf]; j]fnf0{clgj fo{
Joj:yf agfpg'kg] elgPsf]5 .
lj z]f]1; lxtsf]3Dtl lzlj / lg/Gt/ rnfpg]
cf0j]bs, k]s[ts lrlst; f k]f/ u/l
hgziQm j [4 ug] h8la6l v]t]lsf]
Joj; flosl/of ug]h:tf ; emj klg
; d]6Psf 5g\

\$= lzlf

; dodf k/liff / l/hN6 gxg]63; lqnl6 lng
/fhwgl g]c3pgkg]p0/kl:tsf k/lif0df
nfk/afxl xg] lzlfnox3df e]t]s tyf
z]f]s ; fdu]sf]ckoff]ttf, z]f]s glthf /
u0f:t/kl't lzlfnosf]hj fkn]xtf gxg]
tflndk]t lzlfssf]sdlh:tf ; d:of o; n]
p7fPsf]5 . lzlf0f lfgdf tnfaf6bl,
/fhgllts x:t]lfk / lzlf, Joj:yfkg
; ldt]sf kbflwsf/lx3 g]c]kn]f lj Bfnodf
; Gtfgnf0{gk9fpg]h:tf lj ; ut ; wf/sf]
cfj Zostf cfofun]b]yfPsf]5 . o; sf nflu
z]f]s Sofn]8/ lgdff ug]k/liff ePsf]b0{
dlxgf leq]l/hN6 ug]k/liff lgo6of
sfof]od}wfP/ lngkg]k3df0fkqx3
lzlf]nod}kfgp] Joj:yf ldnfpg'kg]
sd3f/lx3sf]uNtlaf6 lj Bfylh0{gf3; fgl
ePdf ; Dal6wt ; j]fk]fosaf6}lftkl't{
lt/fpgkg]h:tf ; emj lb0Psf]5 .
To:t} lj Bfno e]t]s ; lj wf lgb]zsf,
z]f]s tyf kf73; fdu] lgb]zsf hf/l ug]

dlxgfleq ; wf/ b]lv65



oj /fh e' fn
sfd'; lrj, k3f; g kg; 'argf cfo]u]

lfg3f sl/a !& lhNnfsf]gd3f
; j]f0f u/3f 5f3; cGt/lqnofdfknf
; j]fk]fxsf ; d:of, sf/of / ; wf/sf
pkfo klxrfg u/3f xf3;

xfdln]cf]of0Psf]; d:of / ; wf/sf
af/df lbPsf]; emj tlgf/
dlxgfleq}b]vPnf eG]cfzf 5 .

clxn]o; nfu{nfu"ug3f nflu
; fdf3o k3f; g dGqnon]nlu; s3f]
5 . dlGqk/ibh]klg nfu"ug]egl
lg0f3 ul/; s3f]5 . lj leG ; 's,
sf0f]ogsf nflu lgsfo / lhDd]f/l
klg t]f]s; lsPsf]5 . sfd cufl8
a19; s3f]5 . To; h]s3l dlxgfleq}
; j]fk]fxdf ; wf/sf]glthf b]lvg]
lj z]f; a9]3]5 . ca s3]lgsfo jf
dGqnon]cf'gf]b]f0lj k/f u/3f]
5g eg]; Dal6wt clwsf/ldfly
sf/jfxl ugkglx35 .

-j ftf]cf fwl/t_

pglx3sf]; d:of / ; d:wfsgf pkfo
b]yfPsf 5f3; xfdln]hgtsf]b]6af6
k3f; g, ; jf; ljwf s:t]vfnf]rflxg]
/x3 eG]af/df Wofg a9l s3b]t u/3f]
xf3; tlgj 6}ef]f]ns lfg / kfr}lj sf;



lxdfnl Pj -bu@ lhNnfxzdf krfugblv
df3; Ddsf]z]l]fs ; q sfod ug]z]l]fs
; q ; ? xg'eGb f Ps dlxgfc13 g
kf7@k':ts cfk't{ e0; Sg'kgI
P; Pn; leGb sd k9\$ f lzlfnsf0{
t]tsfn cj sfz lbg]; emj kbf g ul/Psf]
5 . nfd]labfs]ahf lzlfns t]nd lbg]
k]o\$ j if; a}zlfnsf0{kgtf]ul t]nd
lbg] lj Bfyl\$ f]l; sf0sf] cfwf/df
lzlfss]sfo{ Dkfbg dNof\$gsf]%)
k]tzt csef/ lbg] Joj xfl/s lzlf0f
k4lt ckgpg]lj Bfnodf agb, x8tn,
/fhgllts lqmfnsfk agb ug]/ Pp6]
k]fut ; #7gsf]sfgbl Joj:yf u/l
lzlfnsz]nf0{/fhgllts bnsf]; b:o
xgaf6 k]ta6w nufpgkg]cj Zostf
cfof]un]b]y\$ f]5 .

To; u/L, cu'j f k; / ; f]t
JolQmz]nf0{cgludg, ; k/lj]f0f, z]l]fs
of]hgf, k/Llff tyf kl/0ffd
lj Zn]f0mfufotsf lj ifodf t]nd kbf g



ug]5faj Q lj t/0fsf nflu lglZrt lbg
to ug]/ ; \$f]; fdlhs k/Llfof u/fpg]
lj Bfnosf]l; kmf/; df n]yfk/Llfs
lgolQm ug]k]lj wf g x6f0{lj Bfnoxz]df
xg]; fdlhs n]yfk/Llfofsf]k] { t\$ f]
z]kdf :yflkt ug]k]g]; emj kbf g
ul/Psf]5 . kf7@k':ts vhfahf/af6
k]t:kwf]ds z]kdf Gog]td dNo sfod
u/L 5kfpkg]h; df hgs lzlff ; fdul
s]bhufot lghl p]k]bsxz]nf0{; dfj z
ug]k]j]atf0Psf]5 .

%= zflGt; /lff
; /lff lgsfosf sdfs/afxlnf0{kf/bzl{
agfpg]t/f0\$ f; z:q cfbf]hgsf/l; t
j ftf{u/l pglxz]sf]hfoh dfu k/f ug]
tyf /fHosf]; fj e]f]dstfdly cf3ft
k]ofpgd]f]y sfgbl sf/afxl ug]; emj
lb0Psf]5 . ; fj klgs lq]df xg] agb
x8tn /f\$g /fhgllts txaf6]k]ta4
xgkg]agb x8tnstf]f0{sf/afxl ug]
; /lff lgsfosf]; anls/of ug] sfgbl
pkrf/sf] af6f]x bfx b}klg 36gf
5fglgsf]nflu eg] cfof]u u7g ug]
k]Q t]tsfn agb ug]k]g]; ldf lq]df xg]
cfk/flws 3"; k] /f\$g kl/rokqsf]
Joj:yf nfu"ug]k]g]; emj klg o; n]
; d\$ \$f]5 .

^= vfg]k]fgl
ufdl0f tyf ; x/L lq]sf afl; Gbn]; j R5
Pj #goldt vfg]k]fgl k]fpg g; s\$ f]
lj ifodf cfof]un]c]lwoog u/\$ f]5 .

cfof]hgf sfof]j og, dd\$ tyf kfgl
lj t/0fsf]p]rt Joj:yf xg g; s\$ f]tYo
km]hf kf/L ; wf/sf nflu ; emj kbf g
ul/Psf]5 .
kfglsf]k/Dk/fut ; f]tsf]; Af0f /
; j4g ug] ufdl0f vfg]k]fgl
cfof]hgfxz]sf]lgoldt ; ~rfng /
; Def/sf]nflu ; /sf/l txaf6 klg s]l
; lj wf lbgkg]; emj lb0Psf]5 . ; fy}
sf7df8f\$ f nflu d]h]drl vfg]k]fgl
cfof]hgfnf0{k]xnf]k]yldstf lb0{

; /f\$ f/j fnf k]t]glwxz] ; lxtsf]
; fj klgs cgludg u/fpg]xnf t]tsfnf
nflu v] u0/x\$ f kfglsf]; bko]f]u ug]k]g]
; emj klg o; n]; d\$ \$f]5 .

&= kx/l kzf; g
kx/L ; #7g /fhgllts x:t]l]k]sf]; sf/
e0{zflGt ; /lff, ck/fw lgoGqof /
/f\$yfdh:tf dx]k]k]0f{lhDd]f/lk]t
pbf; lg e0/x\$ f]tYo cfof]un]klg km]hf
kf/\$ f]5 . kx/ldf hfx] ul/g]ph/l]sf]
klg ; dod}; g]f0 gePsf]ugf; f]
cf0/x\$ f]5 . ol ; d:of ; dfwfgsf nflu
s]l ; emj c]f]f0Psf]5 .

kx/l sd{f/l egf] kb:yfkg /
; j]fdf /fhgllts x:t]l]k] lgoGqofsf
nflu ; jtg kx/L ; j]f cfof]u u7g
ug]k]g] dftxtsf sd{f/l ; j]f ug]
clwsf/ ; DalGwt k]d]vdf lglxt xgkg]
kx/L hgZlQmf0{:ynut kl/rfngdf
k]yldstf lbg] s}g}klg kx/Ln]
sfgg; Ddt t]j/n] zflGt; /lff /
cdgrog sfod u/\$ f]cj:ydf p; nf0{
sf/afxl gug] kx/L ; #7gleq
; f]t; fwgsf]j] flgs lj t/0f ug]k]g]
; emj xz] kbf g ul/Psf]5 .

To:t}; j]fu]x]laf6 k]k]t ph/L j f
ugf; f\$ f sfof]j ogaf/]; j]fu]x]lnf0{
clgjfo{hfgsf/L lbg] kx/L k]d]vn]
sd]tdf k]o\$ lbg b0{306f hgu]gf; f]
; Gkg] dlxgdf Psk6s cfk]mf]
sfof]f]sf]e]d]0f u/L hgtfsf]; emj /
cfk]k]z]u/\$ f]sdfs/afx]sf]af/]f
hgtfnf0{hfgsf/L u/fpgkg]elgPsf]
5 .

sfgbl sf/of b]y]f/ dfq km]p j f
vfgtnf; L ug]k]g] km]p k/\$ f JolQmsf
af/]f t]tsfn p; sf c]k]nt j f ; :yfnf0{
hfgsf/L lbgkg] kx/Lnf0{klg g]k]fnl
; f]t; /x g]/f; g eQf lbgkg] /f; g
7\$sd f kf/blz\$ f / hj fkn]k]xtf xgkg]
; emj klg lb0Psf]5 .

*= e]ld; wf/
hlufwgl / df]x]l]r hluf af8kn]6sf
nflu g/ds/d ldnf0{cfwfcwf k]fpg]
Joj:yf ug]k]g] 3/hlufsf]/sd
dNof\$gsf nflu sfof]lw agfpgkg]
; emj lb0Psf]5 .



pgl ; jfk] fx ; wf/sf nflu cu| /tf b]v]Psf] ; /sf/ g}9ln; s\$fh]o; sf] sfof]j ogk|t z\$ f u5g\ . ægof" ; /sf/n]o; nf0{dfGotf lbgk5{eGg] afWotf sxl 5 / <Æ pgl eG5g\æof]t cg; Gwfgstf{ / lj Bfyl\$]nflu ; Gbe{ ; fdulleGbf a9l xfh]f h:tf] nfluBj .Æ kltj Bgn]lghfdtl ; j]f hgdVl gePsf] egl cfl]ofP klg ; j]fstf\$]f; anls/Ofdf sxl gaf]nPsf]l6k0fl u5g\ æptf sdf/lx2nf0{:j]R5s cj sfz lbg] gof"sd{f/l g/vG]elgPsf]5Æ pgl eG5g\æPsf]t/ ; j]f ug]eGg] csf]t/ sdf/l g/vG]eGg] of]t lj /v]fef; eof].Æ sG :t/sf sdf/l 5g\< pglx2n]kfpkgk] ; j]f; lj wf s]s:tf] xGk5{eGg]af/]df sxl gaf]nPsf]pgsf] lj Zn]fOf 5 .

; fdfGo kzf; g dGqfnosf Ps pk; lrj kZg u5g\æsd{f/l]sf] pTk]Of]lagf ; j]fk] fx s; /l uOf:t/lo xG ; S5 <Æ

s[[f dGqfnosf k] Qm] 8f=xl/ b]xfn kltj Bgn]lBPsf] ; emj ; a}sfof]j og ug{clxn\$]f] ah}df !} cf]uOf]f a9fpgkg]cfj Zostf b]5g\ ædn, alp, pks/Of, ladf ; a}l; Q}lBp/ ; lsb}Æ kltj Bg kN6fpb}pgl xf;] æ; /sf/n]wfGg]; emj sd /x\$g\Æ t/ ; jf:Yo dGqfnosf pk; lrj >l/fd vgf n ; jf:Yo lfh]sf nflu lBOPsf ; emj Jof]xf]l/s /x\$]f]pNn]v u5g\ æxfdln] cfl]ofPsf]s/f ; dl6Psf]5Æ pgl eG5g\ æw]h; f]nfu"e0/x\$]f]s/f klg ; dl6Psf] 5 .Æ

lzlf dGqfnosf ; lrj blk]blj qnd ykf kltj Bgn]lBPsf] ; emj ; fGble\$ /x\$]f]lj Zn]fOf u5g\ æhgtfn]kfpkgk] ; j]f lfh]df tnfagbl, x8tfnh:tf afwf xG' ePgÆ pgl eG5g\æcfof]n]; emj lBp klg, glbP klg ol ug]k]gsdf xG\Æ of, cfof]usf sfd'; lrj o] /h e; fn kltj Bg jf:t]stfeGbf aflx/ guPsf]bfal u5g\ æxfdln]lBPsf ; emj sfof]j ogdf sb}sl7gf0 5 ls eg] b0{k6s cGt/lqmf u/\$f lyof]Æ pgl eG5g\æt/ s; h] klg lj dlt g/fv\$]fh]x]df]c]Woo sdhf] gePsf] k]6 xG5 .Æ ■

■ lbkZ l3ld/

uflj ; cgbfg ; ~rfng sfolj lw-@)^% pNn3gsf]lj ifodf lhj ; cf]v]n9wfn] 5fglag ug[ePsf]5 . lhj ; n]j zfv \$ ut]hNnfl:yt %^ j6}uflj ; nf0{kq k7f0{sfolj lw sfof]j ogsf nflu lgbZg lBPsf]5 . sfolj lwcg; f/ geP j \$]Nks pkfoaf6 eP klg lgb]zsfdf tfl]sPsf] lfh]df ah} 5\$ofpg eg\$]f]5 .

:yfglo txdf blnt, hghfl, dlxn, afnafn]sf, ckf, czQmPj k5l8Psf j u\$]f ; zQms/Ofsf]nflu uflj ; sf]sh ah}sf]!% kltzt 5\$ofpgkg]egl uflj ; cgbfg sfolj lw ag\$]f]5 . t/ cf]v]n9wfsf clwsfz uflj ; df o; sf]kOf{ pNn3g ePsf]tYo j zfv]sf]c; n zf; g klqs / c; n zf; g /]8of] sfof]ndn]; fj h]gs u/\$]lyof].

lhj ; n]uflj ; cgbfg sfolj lw

cfj Zos Joj :yf ldnfpg eg\$]f]5 . :yfglo lj sf; clwsf/l s[Ofk]fb k8f; B] lgb]zsf sfof]j og ug\$]nflu agPsf]h]To; nf0{sfof]j og ug]k]g] atfp5g\ 'clxn]bZsf]k]yldstf g} blnt, hghfl, dlxn, lk5l8Psf j u\$]f] p]yfg ug]df 5Æ pgn]eg]ætg]l]fh]sf] ; zQms/Ofdf ah} g5]sPsf]h]fsgf/l k]Pk]5 xfdln]lgbZg lBPsf]xf]Æ

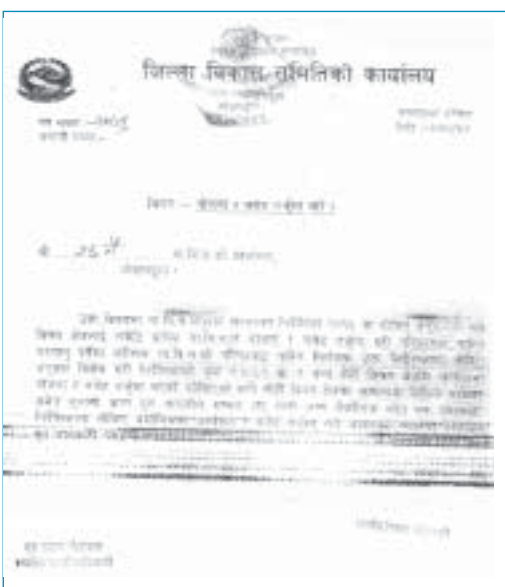
pgl lhj ; n] lBPsf] lgbZg sfof]j og xG]df lj Zj f; lbnfp5g\ lgbZgcg; f/ ah} lj lgo]fhg eof]ls ePg eg] lhj ; n]lg/Gt/ cgludg ug] pgsf]egf0 5 . 'k]to\$ dlxg]sf]\$ ut] lhj ; df ; lrj x2]sf]a7]s xG5Æ pgn] eg]ætoxl a7]sdf o; af/]df k]lt lj j /Of dflug]5 .Æ

lhj ; sf] lgbZgk]5 uflj ; x2n] sfolj lwcg; f/ ah} 5\$ofpg]tTk]tf b]v]Psf 5g\l ; g]l / anda'b] uflj ;

Ihj ; sf]va/bf/L

lgb]zsf]abf gDa/ *^=! -v_ / cG0 xG]sxl lj ifout lfh]sf ; DaGwdf of]hg / ah} th}df gb]vPsf]egl k/\$]f]

; lrj kznaxfb/ v8sf ufp"kl/ibh] ah} g5\$ofP klg lhj ; sf]lgbZgsf] cfwf/df ; j]nlo ; xdlit u/] ah}sf]



Jo] :yf ug] atfPsf 5g\æcG0 zlif\$af6 /sdf]t/ u/] eP klg vr{ u5f]Æ pgn]eg].

otf, /fhgllts bnsf g]fx2 klg uflj ; cgbfg sfof]j lwn] lglb{6 u/}g; f/s]ah} 5\$ofpg tof/ ePsf 5g\ g]k]nl sf] sf g]f b]uf]x]b/ ykf bnx2 ldn] j \$]Nks Joj :yf ug] atfPb}eG5g\ æh; sf]nflu ah} cfof] To; nf0{lbgk5{Æ

blnt lj sf; ; dGj o ; ldlit cf]v]n9wfsf pk]llof ; Gt]f] lj Zj sdf{sfolj lwdf pNn]v u/}g; f/s] ah} 5\$ofpg lhj ; n]lBPsf]

ugf; fh]f0{cfwf/ agf0{uflj ; x2nf0{ lgbZgk]lt v; l JoQm u5g\ ■



■ blv{vql=cf]n9lf

; fj hlgS lgsfon]; j {fwf/Ofnf0{
cfknh]lbg]; j f; lj wfsf af/df kof]t
; Rgf lbgkg]egl nfu"ePsf]; Rgfsf]
xs tyf ; Zf; g Pð sfof]j og ePsf]
5ð . ; /sf/n)@)^\$; fndf NofPsf]
; f]sfgg]af/df lhNnf:t/lo ; /sf/l
sfof]osf sdf/lx¿ g)aYa/ /x\$]f]
kfOPsf]5 .

c; n zf; g sfof]nd / c; n
zf; g Sna lhNnf ; dGjo ; ldlt
cf]n9lf]j j zfvdf u/\$]f]cgludgsf]
qmdf ; f]tYo knhf k/\$]f]xf].
cgludgsf qmdf clwsfz sfof]ho
kðlvn]; j {fwf/Ofnf0{; Zf; gsf]
k]ofelt lbnfpg tyf cfknh]lgsfosf]
af/df ; Rgf k] fx ug]k]lhd]f]f/laf/]



cf]n9lf lhNnf lzlf sfof]osf]; Rgf kf6l

cgle1tf hgP . klhc rGb]k] fb
kGtn]s]b]h]cf]j Zos Pðsf]g
gk7fpbf sfdf ug{; d:of ePsf]atfP .

xlj ut o:tf]5

tl sf]g]cg; f/ k]o\$ sfof]on]
gful/s a8fkq /fVg] cfknh]kðf]
ug]Pðsf]g]sf]; Rl k\$]f]zg ug]
cf]dbf]l vr{tyf cf]y\$
sf/f\$]f/; DaGwl c]llof] lws lj j /of
tlg÷tlg dlxgdf k\$]f]zg ug]
kl/of]hg lgd]f: yndf x]l]B^a af\$]
/fVg] x/\$] sfof]odf ; Rgf
clwsf/l]f]Jo]j:yf ug]/ lj sf;

t/ lglDQ kðv bur]axfb/ v8sfn]
xfj fx/l]n]p8fpg]xbf leq y[GofPsf]
eGb]sf/Of ; b]P . To; f]t ; ah; f]
sfof]odf ; Rgf af\$]{klg /flvPsf]
kfOPg, /fVg]h]klg j f:tf u/\$]f
/x]5g\ lhNnf lzlf sfof]odf
/x\$]f]; Rgf af\$]f]hlOf{cj:yfn]
o; sf]pbfx/of b]y]f0/x\$]f]lyof].
lglDQ lhlzc ?b]k] fb bhinn]t]sf
af\$]{dd] tyf a8fkq cB]f]lw ug]
j frf u/\$]f lyP .

otf, ; Rgf kfp]gk]sf]g]sf]
pln]3g ul/Psf]36gf eQmf]l]x¿n]
; b]Psf lyP . ; Rgfsf]xs; DaGwl

; Rgfsf]xs sd{f/L aYa/

lgdf]df gful/s ; xeflutf ; lglZrt
ug]elgPsf]5 . t/ cgludgsf]
qmdf clwsfz sfof]odf gful/s
a8fkq /flvPsf]lyPg eg]
/flvPsf]d]l]klg cnkq cj:yfdf
lyof]. lhNnf lzlf, xhfs / ejg
lgdf]fnufotsf sfof]odf n]df]
; do]lv gful/s a8fkq c]llof]lws
ul/Psf]5ð . lhNnf xhfsn]a8fkq
e08f/s]f]df /fv\$]f]kfOPsf]lyof].

Pðsf]bkrf & df ; fj hlgS ; /f\$]f/sf]
; Rgf ; j {fwf/Ofn]kfp]g]Jo]j:yf klg
nfu"ePsf]5ð . lhNnfdf ePsf]
; 8s lgd]f / d]cf]Ahf lj t/Ofaf/]
; Rgf dlxg]v gk]fPsf]; j {fwf/Ofsf]
ugf; f]lyof].

; fj hlgS k\$]f; gnf0{hgd]v,
kf/bzl{tyf ; xeflutfd]hs agfpg]
egl cfPsf]; Zf; g Pðsf]klg
alv]fk ePsf]5 . c; n zf; gsf]
cfwf/e]t df]Gotfnf0{cf]d; ft]u/L
; fj hlgS ; j f; lj wfnf0{156f\$]l/tf]
k] fx ug]{NofOPsf]elgPsf]; f]Pð
sfof]j og xg ; s\$]f]5ð . lhNnfdf
Pðsf]efj gf cg]h sfdf g]xbf
; j {fwf/Ofx¿ /fxb]gl ag]pbf Ps
xhf/ ?kðf"a9l ltg{af]l]o 5g\ ækrf
xhf/df aG]sf]dnf0{^ xhf/
ltg]k]yof] Pshg] ; j fuf]x] u8h
tfdf^ atfp5g\ æof]3^ x]f] pgl
eG5g\æolt lbPg eg]Ps lbgdf xg]
sfdf tlg lbg nf0]bG5g\Æ

sfof]j og u/fpg]j frf

l]g]lo, lhNnf / :y]g]o:t/sf
sfof]odf k]o\$ rf/ dlxgdf
; fj hlgS ; b]j f0 u/fpgk]sf]of]j lw
ag\$]f]5 . t/ tlg j ifdf Ps k6s
klg ePsf]5ð . klhc kGtn]t]sf
o; sf]sfof]j og]sf nflu ; a}
sfof]onf0{lgb]zg lbg]atfP .

otf, j zfv !* ut]; b/d]sf]ddf
cf]of]ht æd]g] clwsf/ ; Af]of]df /f]hosf]
b]lo]j]Æ lj ifos 5nkn]df clwsfz
sfof]ho kðlvn]sf]g] / sf]of]j lw
sfof]j ogdf cgle1tf hgP . ; /sf/l
sfof]osf]cgludgdf cfPsf
k]v]gd]q] tyf dl]q]k]l/f]b]sf]sf]of]ho,
; Zf; g 0sf0sf pk; l]rj uæfk] fb
n06]h]n]o; sf sfof]j ogdf
cgludgsf]v]r]f]cf]l]of]P . ■



■ Igzi eš/f0{

dlxnf ; zQnts/Of, n]us
dhkj fxlS/Of, ; fdflhs
; dfj žls/Ofsf nflu dlxnf lj sf;
lj efun]; fdflhs kl/rfngdf hfš
lbPsf]5 . vf; u/l lj kGg dlxnf sf]
; fdflhs kl/rfngdf lj žif ofhg
nfu"u/šf]5 .

o; sf]nflu nllft ; dšsf]
klxrfgd fhnNfJofkl lj kGgtf
gS; fšgsf cfwf/df ; j fšws
; j] flj dV uflj ; df sfoqnd nlg]
uflj ; sf]gf]6j 8fsf]lj kGgtf
gS; fšg u/7 kl5Nnf] >0fndf kgI
j 8fdf sfoqnd s]b]t ugI tof/L 5 .
lj kGg klxrfgkl5 3/ lj sf;
ofhgfh:tf lj žif k]f]hgsf nflu
afxš 3/w/L ; j ifof j f ; xeflutfds
; DkGgtf :t/ls/Of ul//Vg' gkgI u/l
; /nls/Of ul/Psf]5 . o:tf]ofhg
lsg Nof0of]t < dlxnf lj efusl
clws[dgdf of eš/f0{elG5g\ æut
j ifš]pknlAwnf0{lj rf/ u/7 . Æ
:d/0f0 5, dlxnf lj sf;

sfoqnd]dlxnf sf]lf]gd f yk of]ubfg
lbg Pl; ofnl lj sf; ašsf]; xof]udf
n]us ; dfgtf tyf dlxnf ; zQnts/Of
sfoqnd sf nflu k]f]rnsf & lhNnf
-/fdšfk, l; Gwhl, af/f, /f]x6,
dxfl/L, wglf / ; nfxL tyf
; b'klZrdf-rn / dWodf-rnsf *
lhNnf -hdnf, du; sfnlsš, 8fšl,
c5fd, aerfa, afh/f / aš8L u/L !%
lhNndf !(s/fš (\$ nfV ^) xhf/
ahš kfPsf]5 .

ufpšpšdlxnf lj sf; sfoqnd
; -rfng xg' nllft dlxnf sf]; xl
klxrfg ; dbfoaf6]; lhnf]xg] dlxnf
lj sf; sf nflu Psklfo sfoqnd cw/f]
xg] ; dgjosf nflu ; fef]f/L /
; fef]f/lsf nflu ; f] of]ubfg
cfj Zos xg] tyf nllft ; dšsf]
; #7gdf j 8f:t/lo ; ldl dx]kOf{
0sf0 xg]h:tf ; sf/f]ds / gsf/f]ds
b]lvPsf]atf0Psf]5 . ol cgēj tyf
hg:t/sf]dfusf cfwf/df dlxnf
lj sf; sfoqndxšsf]k kl/dfhg
ul/g]ePsf]5 . o; cg; f/ ; j] flj dV

h8labl kžiflg ubš
Ps j#f



dlxnf ; zQnts/Ofsf nflu ; fdflhs kl/rfng

uflj ; df sfoqnd]kn]fj 6, n]us
dhkj fxlS/Of k]f; sf]k]f/ tyf
kl]t:kwf]ds ahf/df lj kGg dlxnf sf]
kx' :yfkgfh:tf tljg 6f dh nlonf0{
k]fyldstfdf /flvPsf]5 .

klxnf]k]fyldstf

o; cg; f/ dlxnf lj sf; sfoqnd
ufdlOf, lj j flxt / lj kGg dlxnfdfem
klxnf]k]fyldstf lb0Psf]5 . @)%*
; fnsf]/fli60 hgu0fg / gkfn
hljg:t/ dfkg ; e]f]of, @)^) ÷^!
af6 k]k]t tVofš s]h]pbf /fli60
ul/alsf]/vfdlg hljg lgj fš u/šf,
@) j if]f]lysf ufdlOf dlxnf sf]
hg; Wof sl/a !& nfV ^% xhf/ 5
eg]lj Bfnolj dV @) j if]f]lysf
ufdlOf dlxnf sf]hg; Wof em8)#)
nfV %\$ xhf/ /xšf]5 . cfo ul/al
/vfnf0{lj kGgtf sf]s; l dfGg]xf]eg]
o; sfoqnd sf]nllft ; dšsf]
dfšdfšl cfsf/ !& nfV ^% xhf/
/xšf]5 .
gu/kflnsf hltnf0{gug]klg

gkfn sf # xhf/ (; o !% j 6)uflj ;
dlxnf lj sf; sf]sfoqnd leq kgkG]xf]
t/ aNntNn ! xhf/ * ; o \$#
-\$* kl]tzt_ uflj ; df dfq klšf]
5 . afšl ; a)uflj ; df / sfoqndut
tj/n]yk ^ ; o ; j] flj dV uflj ; df
sfoqnd a9fpg]o; sf]nlo /xšf]5 .
o; cg; f/ of]j if{@ xhf/ \$; o \$#
uflj ; ; Dd nllft ; dxdf cfkn]f]; j f
kšofpg nlo /flvPsf]dlxnf lj sf;
clws[dgdf of eš/f0{atfp]5g\
dlxnf lj sf; sfoqnd sf]csf]
nlo dlxnf sf]; #7g lj sf; klg xf].
sfoqnd]cf]i6šf]k]oš uflj ; df
n]us ; dfgtfsf]nflu kv/ ; kdf
; #yf alg; Sgkg]xf]t/ \$! kl]tzt
uflj ; df dfq k'f ug{; lSpsf]5 .
To; j]rfn"j if]f] ! (xhf/ * ; o
nllft dlxnf sf]dhkj fxlS/Of ul/g]
ePsf]5 .

sfoqnd]ldf lj :tf/ kn]fj 6sf]
dVo klf xf]t/ Psdq eg]xf]g .
sfoqnd]slt 56šf 5gV ; ašf]
; dxls/Of gxbf; Dd uflj ; 9flsPsf]



cy{gnflg}xbf o; n]ca o; j if@f
kl-gku !% xhf/ / n]us ; dfgtf
tyf ; zQns/Of cfof]hgftkm{enf8} (^
xhf/ u/l ; flassf uflj ; df yk !
nfv !! xhf/ nllft dlxnsf]kxř
a9fpg sfoqnd lj :tf/ ul/g\$.

bf] f]kfyldstf

n]us dhkj fxlS/Ofsf] ; Gbznf0{ ; a}
; -hfn ; b:ox; af6 ; sf/flDs ; kdf
lnOPsf]5 . lsgls, dlxnf lj sf;
sfof]osf] ; Dks{lgsfo ; j}faf6
s]bdf ; lldt n]us dhkj fxlS/Ofsf]
klqnof lhNnf:t/df klg kf/De ug{
; xof]u ldn\$]5 / o; af6 lj sf; /
lj kGg dlxnfalrsf]knf6]5\$}hf\$
; Dej klg b]vPsf]5 . o; }qnddf
n]us tyf afncwsw/sf]
dhkj fxlS/Of sfoqnd]zsf, @)^!
-lhNnf:t/_ cg; f/ ; Dks{lgsfon]
b]fosf sb]Ps jf PseGb a9l
c]hf/sf]k]f]af/f lhNnf:t/lo glt,
of]hg jf sfoqnd th@f, ah@ lgw]f
sfof]og / dNofsgdf n]us jf
afncwsw/ ; Af0fcgsh dhkj fxlS/Of
ug{ u/fpg ; dgjo, ; r]ls/Of jf
; xhls/Of ug{u/fpg ; Sg\$.

To; j]o; j if{sfoqnddf n]us
dhkj fxlS/Of tkn{lhNnf:t/df hf/l
k]f; nf0{ ; 3g agf0g\$. ; fy}o; sf]
dh kj fx uflj ; :t/; Dd klg kj flxt
ul/g\$. ; fy}o; sfoqndn]
dlxnfnf0{e8\$}fpg] ; j tGg ; kdf
cfkn]sf]sd ug{glbg]lkQ[Qf]ds
; f] lj Bdfg /x\$}h]pglx; nf0{
r]gf lbgsw nflu o; sfoqndn]
dlxnf / k?ifnf0{ ; u; u}/fv] n]us
; dfgtf tyf dlxnf clwsf/sf af/]f
tflnd k]fg; d] ul/g\$.

lhNnf:t/df lgoldt sfoqndtkn{
!) / n]us ; dfgtf tyf dlxnf
; zQns/Of sfoqndsf nflu !% u/l
@% j 6f l]qut lgsfosf]n]us
k/Llfof ul/g\$. ; DalGwt l]qut
lgsfosf ; a}txsf sdf/l, ; jf
pkef]nf / c]osf] ; xeflutf u/fpg]
hfuf n]us d2fx; sf] ; g]f0sf nflu
l]qut n]us dhkj fxlS/Of sfof]hg
tyf ; Dks{lgsfoaf6 dlxnf lj sf;

sfof]odfkn{ tyf 5\$}ul/g]sdfs]
j ul\$ /of ul/g\$. o; cg; f/ cfufdl
j if]lv j flif\$ sfoqnddf ; dfj z u/l
; f] of]ubfg; lxt ; xsfof]0{a9fj f
lb0g\$. uflj ; :t/; Dd lhj ; ; usf]

**; j]fj dv uflj ; df
sfo{f]gsf]kn}hij 6, n]us
dhkj fxlS/Of k]f; sf]
kj f/ tyf kl]t: kwf]ds
ahf/df lj kGg dlxnsf]
kxř : yfkgfnf0{
kfyldstf lb0Psf]5 .**

; fef]f/ldf ; s]Dd ; a}uflj ; sf
hgkl]tlglw / ; lrjx; nf0{cglzlf0f
k]fg ul/g\$. dGqno Pj +
lj efu:t/lo ; dgjonf0{a9fj f lb0{
s]b]o tyf lhNnf:t/lo n]us ; Dks{
laGb]alr k]fj sf/l ; -rf/ / l]qut
dGqno Pj- lj efu; u ldn]
:yf]lo:t/df n]us dhkj fxlS/Of
klqnosf]clen]ys/Ofsf]pkfodf klg
of]ubfg k]f0g]5 .

t] f]kfyldstf

o; n]kl]t:kwf]ds ahf/df lj kGg
dlxnsf]kxř : yfkgf ug]p2]o tyf
/li6@ lj sf; sf] ; fdlos r]gf]lsf
alr k\$6 of] ; Dej gf xfl; n ug]

nlo /fv\$]5 . o; n] rfn]j if@f
nllft dlxnsf cfly\$ lqnosnfksf]
Joj ; fols/Of cleofgnf0{6]f
k]f0pg\$. o; sfoqndc]tu\$ @ ; o
!# / n]us ; dfgtf tyf dlxnf
; zQns/Of cfof]hgftkm{ ; o (u/l
\$; o @@ a:tdf ; ?d]* xhf/ % ; o
^% hgf lj kGg dlxnf ; lDdnt xg]
u/l ; Da4 dlxns}cle?lr, cgej /
cfly\$:t/cg; f/sf Joj ; fo
yflng\$g\ k/fgf Joj ; fodf klg
a:tsf c]o dlxnf ; m]lg xg]u/l
dlxnf ; yfx; nf0{rfn]sf]af6
alpkhl kj fx u/l k]f] ; fxg lb0g\$.
kl]tknsf]n]y/fh]yftkn{o; n]cfly\$
j if(@)^)÷^! b]lv n3lj Qlo ; f]
gk]Psf ; lk ePsf dlxnfnf0{Joj ; fo
; ? ug{b0{xhf/ ?k]f" k]fg ul/g\$.
kl]t:kwf]ds ahf/df kj z ug]qnddf
s]s:tf Joj wfg cf0kb]gV lgsf; sf
nflu ; Da4 dlxnfn]s]s:tf pkfox;
ckg]Psf 5g]e]g] ; kmn-c; kmn
Joj ; flos a:tsf]clwoog ul/g\$.
oBlk, rfn]j if@f]#\$ s/f\$ %\$
nfv #) xhf/ ?k]f]sf]lgoldt ah@n]
; a)nlo k]fj sf/l 9un]k]f ug{
sl7gf0 ePsf]atf0Psf]5 . **)
s/f\$?k]f"ah@ e0lbPsf]v08df ; a}
sfoqnd clt k]fj sf/l tj/n]; DkGg
xg]lyof]f dlxnf lj sf; clws] e\$]f0{
el65g\ ; fy}yf]sd{f/l nlo
k]f]ktsf]nflu csf]c8kg ePsf]
pgsf]egf0 5 . ■

c; n zf; g klqsf]cg'/f]w
c; n zf; g klqsf] k\$flzt ; fdulx; tkf0nf0{s:tf]
nflu5 < tkf0\$] ; enj tyf kl]tlqnof xfd] nflu pT; fxsf
s8l xg\ To; j]x]fdlnf0{lgoldt ; enj tyf kl]tlqnof
lbg' e0{klqsf]j]u0f:t/df lgvf/tf Nofpg ; xof]u
ul/lbg' xg cfux ub\$]f;
; fy}
; fj h]lgs lgsfox; af6 kj fx xg] ; j]f tyf j :tsf af/]f klg cfkn]f]
; sf/flDs jf cfnf]gf]ds ef]f0 ; Dk]f0f ug{xg cg'/f]w ub\$]f; o; sf]
dfl]odn]; fj h]lgs lgsfosf ; j]f; lj wf Pj qnosnfknf0{yk hgpQ/bfol
agfpg yf]eP klg ; xof]u klg; S5 . hg c; n gful/ssf]st]o klg xfl.
kgZr]ll akf7sk]e tyf a]hgt]sf]ef]f0]e :tDesf nflu kqfrf/ ug{xg]
dxfg]fj x; d]w]k]o\$ dlxgf Pshgfnf0{k/:sf] u/l Ps j if{Dd c; n
zf; g dfl; s klqsf pkxf/:j ; k k]fg ul/g\$.



; /sf/L lj Bfnodf cWofkg u/f0g]

■ knj lGb|kVfg=efhk/

efhk/sf]af]vdl:yt lj Bfnox; n] lghl lj Bfno; /x u0f:t/lo cWofkg u/fpg]k]ta4tf u/\$f 5g\

:yfglo Gofozln c; n zf; g Snasf]cfof]hgdf j žfv @(ut] cfof]ht æ; /sf/L lj Bfnon]lbg] ;]fsf]u0f:t/Æ lj ifos ; fj hlgS ; G] f0df ; f]j frf ePsf]xf]. sfoqndf af]vdsf ; ftj6}lj Bfnosf lzlfS, Joj:yfkg ; ldt, /fhgllts bn, cleefj s tyf :yfgloj f; lsf] pkl:ylt lyof]. huBz]j /L k]lj sf kç dlofsdf/ >]7n]s]l ; doleq}cfknyf] lj Bfnodf cWofkg dflWodf k9f0 xg] k]ta4tf u/\$f 5g\ pgn]eg]æghl lj Bfno; /x u0f:t/ lbg g; s] hflu/af6}/fhlgdf lbg\$' .Æ

To:t}lj Bfno ; ~rfng ; dosf] oyf]t kfnf ul/g] cWofkg ; dodf dlb/f ;]g ug]zlfsnf0{sf/afxl

ug]Joj:yfkg ; ldtnf0{cfux ug] /sd lxfldgf ug]lj Bfnosf]5fglag ul/g] ; fj hlgS k]ta4tf ePsf]5 .

æghl
lj Bfno; /x
u0f: t/ lbg
g; s]
hflu/af6}
/fhlgdf
lbg\$' .Æ

k]tsfno lgdf]fsf nflu k]kt \$) xhf/ ?kç}lj Bfno Joj:yfkg ; ldtSf cWof /Tgsdf/ /f0f] lxfldgf u/\$f]k]h vh\$]lyof]. pgn] ; f]/sd a\$ vftaf6}lgsfn\$] kç]f ; f]sfoqndf b]f0Psf]lyof]. t/ Joj:yfkg ; ldt / lj Bfnodf

sfoqndf
cfof]hs
Snan]k]Psf]
; Rgfcg' f/
k-rsGof
dflj nf0{ut
cfj
@)^\$÷^%
sf] ; f; b
lj sf;
sf]af6

o; sf]af/df sg}hfgsf/L g/x\$]f] k]f0Psf]lyof]. ; f]lj Bfnosf kç d]xgsdf/ >]7n]eg]æfdlnf0{ hfgsf/L lyPg, uflj ; ; lrj kç z]So; ũ a%bf @)^% sf]b; }cuf]8 g] /sd lgsfn\$]f]b]lyof].Æ

otf, cfknyf]sdhf]l 5tf5Nn ePk]5 cWof /f0f] ; fj hlgS ; G] f0 sfoqndf ug]{g]bg k-rsGof dflj sf ; a}zlfsnf0{pbl{hf/L u/\$f lyP . kqfrf/ / ; Rg af/Daf/ u/]klg pgl ; G] f0df cf0gg\

; f]sfoqndf ; xefulx; n]z]lfs u0f:t/ gxçdf ; /sf/L lgod lkntnf] xç' tyf cgludgk]t rf; f]gb]f0g' /x\$]f]atfPsf lyP . @) j if{ ;]f k'/f u/\$f lzlfSnf0{dfq cj sfz lbPdf () k]tzt ; d:of xn xg]pglx; n] atfPsf lyP . #% j if{Dd ;]f ul//x\$]f lzlfSn]3/df a:geGbf lj Bfno uP/ ; do sf6]u/\$]f tyf cWofkgdf

|| eGbf km/s

rf; f]g]bg]cleefj sx; n]JoQm u/\$f lyP . ; /sf/L nufglsf] ; xl ; bkof]usf nflu lghl lj Bfno ; /x cWofkg tyf u0f:t/df Wofg lbgkgçf ; xefulx; sf]hf\$ lyof]. ■

; Rg

c; n zf; g /]Bof]sfoqnd]æ: yfglo hgtfsf]ubf; f] kVfgdGq; DdÆ lj ifos :tDe ; ? ug]ePsf]5 . of]:tDeaf efu lngsf]nflu tkf0f] efu\$; d:of tyf ubf; f c; n zf; g sfoqnd ; dl f pknAw u/fpgkg\$. ; s] Dd kl]8ts}cfj fhdf ; d:of / ubf; f k] f/0f ug] xfd]kçf ; /xg\$.

o; sf]nflu kq k7f]p]cfknyf] ; Dks{6]hkn] j f d]af0n gDa/ n]vg g56fpgxf]hf . tkf0f6 k]kt ; d:of tyf ubf; f x/\$ dlxgfsf]clçtd cf0taf/ c; n zf; g /]Bof] sfoqnd tyf c; n zf; g dfl; s ah]lgdf ; d]j ž ul/g\$. k]kt ubf; f\$] ; l8l kVfgdGq]Ho]f0{pknAw u/f0 ; d]wfgsf]kçf ; ul/g\$.

u'gf; f tyf ; d: of k7fpg] 7]ufgf
radio@propublic.org

knb]S; gDa/M)!-\$@^*)@@, kf]j-g=!\$#)&
c; n zf; g sfoqnd, k]k]lAns, cgfdgu/, sf7df8f}

7]ufgf

