**a}7s g+= #))-#\_^)**

**ldlt @)\*!.)^.!^**

**lg0f{o**

**lg0f{o g+= !**

g]kfnsf] ;+ljwfgsf] wf/f @& df …k|To]s gful/snfO{ cfkm\gf] jf ;fj{hlgs ;/f]sf/sf] s'g} klg ljifosf] ;"rgf dfUg] / kfpg] xs x'g]5Ú eGg] Joj:yf 5 . of] gful/ssf] df}lns xs xf] . gful/ssf] o; df}lns xssf] k|efjsf/L k|rngsf nflu ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL P]g, @)^$ hf/L ePsf] 5 . o; P]gsf] bkmf # sf] pkbkmf -!\_ df …k|To]s g]kfnL gful/snfO{ o; P]gsf] clwgdf /xL ;"rgfsf] xs x'g]5Ú eGg] Joj:yf pNn]v ul/Psf] 5 . o;}u/L P]gsf] bkmf # sf] pkbkmf -@\_ df …k|To]s g]kfnL gful/snfO{ ;fj{hlgs lgsfodf /x]sf] ;"rgfdf kx'Fr x'g]5Ú eGg] Joj:yf 5 . gful/snfO{ ;+ljwfg / sfg"gn] k|bfg u/]sf] …;"rgfsf] xssf] ;+/If0f, ;Da4{g / k|rng ug]{ sfdsf nflu Ps :jtGq /fli6«o ;"rgf cfof]u /xg]5 eGg] Joj:yf P]gsf] bkmf !! df /x]sf] 5 . ;fy} o; …cfof]udf k|d'v ;"rgf cfo'Qm / cGo b'O{hgf cfo'Qm /xg]5g\Ú eGg] Joj:yf 5 . o;}u/L …k|d'v ;"rgf cfo'Qm / ;"rgf cfo'Qmsf] lgo'lQmsf nflu l;kmfl/; ug{ ;efd'v–cWoIf, ;+rf/ tyf ;"rgf k|ljlw dGqL–;b:o / ;efklt, g]kfn kqsf/ dxf;+3–;b:oÚ /xg] u/L Ps ;ldlt u7g x'g] sfg"gL Joj:yf 5 . o; cltl/Qm P]gsf] bkmf !$ sf] pkbkmf -#\_ df …cfof]usf] k|d'v ;"rgf cfo'Qm / ;"rgf cfo'Qmsf] kbfjlw ;dfKt x'g'eGbf Ps dlxgf cufl8 g} bkmf !! sf] pkbkmf -#\_ adf]lhd l;kmfl/; ;ldltn] gofF lgo'lQmsf nflu l;kmfl/; ug{'kg]{5Ú eGg] Joj:yf 5 .

o;/L /fli6«o ;"rgf cfof]usf] u7gsf ;DaGwdf P]gn] u/]sf] Joj:yf / jt{dfg cfof]usf k|d'v ;"rgf cfo'Qm / ;"rgf cfo'Qmåosf] lgo'lQm g]kfn ;/sf/ -d+= k=\_ sf] @)&^ d+l;/ @# ut]sf] lg0f{oaf6 ePsf] -kb axfnL @)&^ k'if @$ ut] ePsf]\_ ;Gbe{df jt{dfg kbflwsf/Lsf] sfo{sfn cfufdL @)\*! d+l;/ @@ ut];Dd -cyf{t $ jif{ !! dlxgf\_ /xg] 5 . h; cg';f/ l;kmfl/; ;ldltn] cfufdL @)\*! sflt{s @@ ut]leq gofF kbflwsf/Lsf] lgo'lQmsf nflu gfd l;kmfl/; ul/;Sg' kg]{ b]lvG5 . h; cg';f/ l;kmfl/z ;ldltnfO{ klg cfaZos u[xsfo{sf nflu Ps dlxgfsf] ;do nfUg;S5 eGg] cg'dfgsf cfwf/df jt{dfg cfof]u l;kmfl/; ;ldltnfO{ ;f]sf] Ps dlxgf k"j{ o; laifodf ;"lrt ug{' cfˆgf] st{Jo ;DemL ;DdfggLo ;efd'vHo", dfggLo dGqLHo" / dxf;+3sf ;efkltnfO{ lnlvt Wofgfsif{0f u/fpg] / o;sf] ;"rgf ;DdfggLo k|wfgdGqLHo"nfO{ g]kfn ;/sf/sf d'Vo;lrj dfkm{t k|]lift ug]{ ;d]tsf nflu lg0f{o ul/of] .

**lg0f{o g+= @**

k|:tfj g+= @ sf] ;DaGwdf /fli6«o ;"rgf cfof]un] Asia Foundation sf] ;xof]udf klxnf] k6s dw]z / n'lDagL k|b]zsf rf/j6f lhNnfnfO{ 5gf}6 u/L ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL P]g, @)^$, lgodfjnL, @)^% / sfof{Gjog cg'udg lgb]{lzsf, @)&^ sf] k|fjwfg adf]lhd ;"rgfsf] xssf] sfof{Gjogsf] l:ylt s]–s:tf] /x]sf] 5 eGg] ;DaGwdf cf/l6cfO{ cl86 ;DkGg ul/Psf] 5 . o; ;DaGwL k|ltj]bg cfof]udf k|fKt ePsf] 5 .

of] k/LIf0fdf dw]z k|b]zsf] l;/fxf lhNnfsf !& j6f :yfgLo tx, /f}tx6 lhNnfsf !\* j6f :yfgLo tx, n'lDagL k|b]zsf] slknj:t' lhNnfsf !) j6f :yfgLo tx / gjnk/f;L klZrd lhNnfsf ;ft :yfgLo tx u/L hDdf %@ j6f :yfgLo tx ;dfj]z ul/Psf] lyof] . o; k/LIf0fsf nflu cfof]uaf6 pknAw u/fOPsf] o; cl3 ;‹Lo dGqfnodf ul/Psf] k/LIf0fdf ;f]lwPsf] !) j6f k|Zgx?nfO{ :yfgLo ;/sf/sf nflu pko'Qm x'g]u/L kl/dfh{g ;lxt tof/ ul/Psf] lyof] . ;fy} x/]s k|Zgsf] cfwf/df yk k'/s k|Zgx? klg ;+nUg ul/Psf] lyof] .

:yfgLo ;/sf/n] kfPsf] cf};t cÍsf] cfwf/df pgLx?sf] d"NofÍg ul/Psf] 5 . dw]z / n'lDagL k|b]zaLrdf t'ngfTds ljZn]if0f ul/Psf] 5 eg] lhNnf lhNnfaLrdf klg t'ngf ug]{ k|of; ul/Psf] 5 . o;/L ljZn]if0f ubf{ dw]z k|b]z t'ngfTds ?kdf n'lDagL eGbf /fd|f] b]lvPsf] 5 eg] l;/fxf lhNnf cGo lhNnf eGbf /fd|f] b]lvPsf] 5 . ;du| :yfgLo txx?sf] d"NofÍg ubf{ l;/fxfsf] gj/fhk'/ ufpFkflnsf / slknj:t'sf] jf0fuËf gu/kflnsf a/fa/L cÍ ;lxt k|yd :yfgdf /x]sf 5g\ .

of] k/LIf0faf6 ;du|df x]bf{ :yfgLo txdf ;"rgfsf] xssf] sfof{Gjogsf] cj:yf sdhf]/ /x]sf] kfOof] . k|foM :yfgLo txdf ;"rgf clwsf/L tf]Sg] t/ ltgLx?nfO{ s'g} Ifdtf clej[l4, sfo{ jftfj/0f / k|f]T;fxg glbg] u/]sf] kfOof] . ;"rgf clwsf/L tf]Sbf klg sfg"gL k|fjwfgnfO{ ldr]/ rf}yf] tyf kfFrf} tx d'lgsf] JolQm -cfO6L clkm;/\_ x?nfO{ tf]lsPsf] kfOof] eg] pgLx?sf] ;"rgfdf kx'Frs} ;jfn d'Vo ?kdf b]lvof] . ;"rgf Joj:yfkg / k|sfzgsf] cj:yf lgSs} sdhf]/ kfOof] . Ps b'O{ j6f :yfgLo ;/sf/ afx]s s'g}df klg ;"rgf dfu ePsf] / lbPsf] ;d]t ljj/0fx?sf] Jojl:yt /]s8{ kfOPg eg] lgoldt k|sfzg ug{'kg]{ :jtM k|sfzgsf] cj:yf lgSs} gfh's /x]sf] kfOPsf] 5 . ;"rgfbftfsf] ;+/If0f ug]{ / ;"rgfsf] juL{s/0f ug]{ sfo{df klg Wofg k'u]sf] b]lvFb}g eg] ;"rgfsf] xsnfO{ k|j4{g ug]{ sfo{df :yfgLo ;/sf/sf] jflif{s sfo{qmd tyf ah]6df ;dfj]z gu/]sf] b]lvG5 . :yfgLo ;/sf/n] ;"rgfsf] xssf] If]qdf u/]sf] ;]jf k|jfxnfO{ k|ult ljj/0fdf ;d]t b]vfpg ;s]sf 5}gg\ . :yfgLo txsf] gLlt, sfo{qmd tyf ah]6df ;"rgfsf] xsnfO{ k|fyldstfdf /fVg'kg]{ b]lvG5 .

:yfgLo txdf ;"rgfsf] xssf] sfof{Gjogsf] cj:yf sdhf]/ b]lvg'df ;"rgf clwsf/LnfO{ sfo{ jftfj/0f / yk k|f]T;fxgsf] cefj x'g', ;"rgf clwsf/Lsf] nflu ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL Ifdtf ljsf; tflndsf] cefj x'g', / ;"rgf clwsf/Ls} ;"rgfdf kx'Fr gx'g' xf] eGg] ;"rgfsf] xs sfof{Gjog k/LIf0f, @)\*! sf] lgisif{ /x]sf] kfOG5 . ;"rgfdf ;xh kx'Fr clej[l4 ug{ ;fj{hlgs lgsfon] ;"rgfsf] clwstd\ v'nf;fsf] cEof;nfO{ cfTd;ft ug{' h?/L 5 . To;df klg ;/sf/L sfof{non] ;"rgfsf] :jtM k|sfzgnfO{ lgoldt lhDd]jf/Lsf] ?kdf lnP/ sfd ug{'kg]{ x'G5 . ;"rgfbftfsf] ;+/If0fdf sd{rf/LnfO{ k|f]T;flxt ug]{ / gLlt tyf sfo{qmdn] ;"rgfsf] xssf] ;jfndf af]Ng] jftfj/0f agfpg' cfjZos 5. ;"rgf clwsf/Lsf] cu|;/tf / k|:tfjdf :yfgLo ;/sf/n] jflif{s ?kdf ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL sfo{qmd / k|j4{gfTds s[ofsnfk u/L gful/snfO{ hfgsf/L u/fpg' kg]{ ljifo k|ltj]bgdf ;dfj]z ePsf] kfOof] . ;fy} k|ltj]bgn] ;"rgfsf] xssf] k|efjsf/L sfof{Gjogsf nflu b]xfo adf]lhd If]qut?kdf ;"emfj lbPsf] kfOG5 .

**!= :yfgLo ;/sf/sf ;DaGwdfM**

* :yfgLo ;/sf/n] ;"rgf clwsf/L tf]Sbf ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL lgodfjnLsf] k|fjwfgnfO{ Vofn ug{'kg]{ .
* ;"rgf clwsf/L tf]ls;s]kl5 cfjZos Ifdtf ljsf;sf] tflnd lbnfpg] / yk k|f]T;fxg;lxt ;"rgf clwsf/Lsf] ?kdf sfd ug{ plrt sfo{ jftfj/0f ldnfO lbg'kg]{ .
* ;"rgf ;+sng, Joj:yfkg / lgoldt v'nf;fdf :yfgLo ;/sf/n] Wofg lbg'kg]{ .
* :yfgLo ?kdf ;"rgfsf] juL{s/0f / ;+/If0fsf] of]hgf agfpg'kg]{ .
* ;"rgfsf] nflu ePsf] dfu / lbPsf] ;+Vof, If]q nufotsf] ljj/0fnfO{ cfˆgf] k|ult k|ltj]bgdf ;dfj]z ug]{ .
* :yfgLo ;/sf/n] jflif{s gLlt, ah]6 tyf sfo{qmddf ;"rgfsf] xsnfO{ ;d]6\g] .
* :yfgLo ;/sf/n] lbg] ;]jfsf] ;"rLdf ;"rgfsf] xsnfO{ klg ;dfj]z ug]{ .
* ljefuLo k|d'v tyf cGo ;fj{hlgs lgsfosf] ;"rgf clwsf/LnfO{ ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL tflnd lbg] .
* cGt/f{li6«o yfxf kfpg] lbj;, ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL P]g cfPsf] lbg jf /fli6«o ;"rgf cfof]usf] :yfkgf lbj; dgfpg] cflb s[ofsnfk cfof]hgf u/L ;"rgfsf] xssf] k|a4{g ug]{ .
* :yfgLo ;/sf/sf] dftxtdf /x]sf] ;fj{hlgs lgsfodf ;"rgf clwsf/L tf]Sg nufpg], tf]s] gtf]s]sf] cg'udg ug]{ / k|ltj]bg ;+sng u/L ;DalGwt cg'udg ;ldltdf a'emfpg] .
* e|i6frf/ lgjf/0fsf] nflu :yfgLo ;/sf/n] cfˆgf] sfof{nodf /x]sf sd{rf/LnfO{ ;"rgf pknAw u/fpg k|f]T;fxg ug]{ / ;"rgfbftfsf] ;+/If0fdf cfjZos ;+oGq lgdf{0f ug]{ .
* :yfgLo ;/sf/n] ;"rgfsf] xsnfO{ cfTd;ft u/L sfof{Gjogsf] lhDdf lnP/ sfo{of]hgf g} agfP/cl3 a9\g'kg]{ b]lvG5 .

**@= /fli6«o ;"rgf cfof]usf] ;DaGwdfM**

* k|b]z cg'udg ;ldltnfO{ s[ofzLn u/fpg'kg]{ .
* :yfgLo cg'udg ;ldltnfO{ yk lhDd]jf/ agfO{ sfg'g adf]lhd tLg÷tLg dlxgfdf x/]s ;fj{hlgs lgsfoaf6 k|ltj]bg ;+sng u/L k]; ug]{ jftfj/0f agfpg'kg]{ .
* :yfgLo ;/sf/nfO{ ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL P]gsf] k|fjwfg cg';f/ ;"rgf clwsf/L tf]Sg / Ifdtf clej[l4sf] tflnd lbnfpg lgb]{zg ug{'kg]{ .
* :yfgLo ;/sf/n] tLg÷tLg dlxgfdf ug]{ :jtM v'nf;fsf] lgoldt cg'udg u/L sfg"g cg';f/ gug]{nfO{ ;r]t u/fpg' kg]{ .
* of] cf/l6cfO{ cl86n] t/fO{sf lhNnfnfO{ dfq ;d]6]sf]n] cGo kxf8L lhNnfdf / cGo ;fj{hlgs lgsfo h:t} :jf:Yo ;+:yf / ljZjljBfnodf klg lj:tf/ ug{kg]{ .
* cf/l6cfO{ cl86sf] sfo{qmdnfO{ ;ft} k|b]zsf] lxdfn, kxf8 / t/fO{ ;a} If]q ;d]l6g] u/L lj:tf/ ul/g'kg]{ .
* cf/l6cfO{ cl86nfO{ cGo ;fj{hlgs lgsfo h:t}M :jf:Yo ;+:yf, z}lIfs ;+:yf, a}s, ;/sf/L / ;/sf/sf ljefu h:t} dfnkf]t, gfkL, /fxbfgL, lzIff, ;8s cflbdf klg lj:tf/ ug{ ;s] ;"rgfsf] xssf] ;+/If0f / k|j4{gdf ;fFRr} /fd|f] sfd x'g] b]lvG5 .

**#= :yfgLo cg'udg ;ldltsf] ;DaGwdfM**

* ;"rgf clwsf/Lsf] lgoldt a}7s /fVg'kg]{ .
* :yfgLo ;/sf/sf] ;"rgf clwsf/LnfO{ cGo :yfgLo ;fj{hlgs lgsfodf klg ;"rgf clwsf/L tf]Sg lgb]{zg lbg'kg]{ .
* ;"rgf clwsf/L tf]s] gtf]s]sf] af/]df lgoldt cg'udg u/L k|ltj]bg csf]{ a}7sdf k]z ug{ nufpg'kg]{ .
* :yfgLo ;/sf/sf ;"rgf clwsf/Laf6 ;+slnt k|ltj]bgnfO{ PsLs[t u/L /fli6«o ;"rgf cfof]udf k7fpg] Joj:yf ldnfpg'kg]{

**cGo ;'emfjM**

* ;"rgf clwsf/Lsf] sfo{ ;Dkfbg d"Nof+sgdf ;"rgfsf] xsnfO{ 5'§} ;"rs agfP/ dfkg ug]{ Joj:yf ug{'kg]{ .
* ;"rgf clwsf/Lsf] aflif{s ;Dd]ng ug]{ / pTs[i6 ;"rgf clwsf/LnfO{ ;"rgf Joj:yfkg, ;"rgfsf] xssf] k|a4{g, ;"rgfbftfsf] ;+/If0f h:tf ;"rssf] cfwf/df /fHoaf6 k'/:s[t ug]{ Joj:yf ldnfpg] .

k|ltj]bgsf] cWoog tyf ljZn]if0f / k|fKt ;'emfjx?sf] d"NofÍg ubf{ ;"rgfsf] xssf] sfof{Gjog cWoog ul/Psf :yfgLo txx?df s]xL ;Gtf]ifhgs b]lvPtf klg w]/} ljifodf yk k|of; ug{'kg]{ b]lvG5 . :yfgLo txdf klxnf] k6s ul/Psf] o; cWoogn] ;"rgfsf] xs sfof{Gjodf /x]sf sdL sdhf]/L tyf ;d:ofsf ?kdf ljifodf lj:t[t ?kdf cWoog u/]sf] kfOG5 . k|ltj]bg cWoog / 5nkmn kZrft\ ;"rgfsf] xssf] k|efjsf/L sfof{Gjogsf nflu b]xfo adf]lhd ug{ u/fpg ;"rgfsf] xs ;DaGwL P]g, @)^$ sf] bkmf !( sf] v08 -ª\_ adf]lhd ;a} :yfgLo txsf k|d'v k|zf;sLo clws[tnfO{ ;+3Lo dfldnf tyf ;fdfGo k|zf;g dGqfnosf ;lrjdfkm{t lgb]{zg lbg] lg0f{o u/]sf] 5 .

**!= :yfgLo txsf ;DaGwdfM**

s\_ ;"rgf clwsf/L clgjfo{ ?kdf tf]Sg] / ;"rgf clwsf/L tf]Sbf ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL P]g, @)^$ sf] bkmf ^ / ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL lgodfjnL, @)^% sf] lgod @$-s\_ sf] Joj:yf adf]lhd dfq ug]{ u/fpg] .

v\_ ;"rgf dfusf] cj:yfnfO{ Wofgdf /fvL cfjZostf ePdf ;"rgf zfvfsf] Joj:yf ug]{ u/fpg] .

u\_ ;"rgf clwsf/LnfO{ ;fj{hlgs lgsfodf ePsf ;"rgfdf ;xh kx'Fr tyf ;xof]u ug]{ u/fpg] Joj:yf ug{' kg]{ . ;fy} ;"rgf clwsf/LnfO{ ;|f]t ;fwg ;DkGg agfpg] .

3\_ ;"rgfsf] xssf] sfof{Gjosf nflu k|To]s :yfgLo txn] ;"rgfsf] xs;DaGwL ah]6 tyf sfo{qmd clgjfo{ ?kdf k|To]s jif{ /fVg] .

ª\_ ;"rgf clwsf/LnfO{ ;fj{hlgs lgsfodf k|fKt x'g] j}b]lzs e|d0f, tflnd, k'/:sf/ h:tf ljifodf k|fyldstfdf /fVg] .

r\_ ;"rgfsf] xs sfof{Gjogsf nflu /fd|f] clen]v Joj:yfkg x'g cfjZos x'g] ePsf]n] ;"rgf k|ljlwdf cfwfl/t clen]v Joj:yfkg k|0ffnL canDag ug]{ u/fpg] .

5\_ :yfgLo txsf] gLlt, sfo{qmd tyf ah]6df ;"rgfsf] xssf] sfof{GjognfO{ ;dfj]z ug]{ u/fpg] .

h\_ :yfgLo tx cfa4 tyf cGtu{t y'k|} ;fj{hlgs lgsfox? /xg] x'Fbf ;a} ;fj{hlgs lgsfodf ;"rgfsf] xs sfof{Gjog ug{ u/fpg lgb]{zg lbg'sf ;fy} tflnd, k|lzIf0f, 5nkmnsf] Joj:yf ug]{ u/fpg] .

em\_ ;"rgfsf] xs ;DaGwL sfg"gn] tf]s]sf Joj:yfx? ;a} sfo{Gjog ug]{ u/fpg] .

`\_ ;"rgfsf] dfu ;DaGwL clen]v /fvL k|ult lhNnf :t/Lo cg'udg OsfO{ / cfof]udf k7fpg] .

**lg0f{o g+= #**

k|:tfj g+= # sf] ;DaGwdf cfof]un] b Plzof kmfp08]zgsf] ;xof]udf ;"rgfsf] xsaf/] gful/s ;r]tgfsf ;DaGwdf dw]z k|b]z / n'lDagL k|b]zsf @–@ j6f lhNnfdf u/]sf] ;j]{If0f k|ltj]bg cWoog u/L sfof{Gjog ug{sf nflu s] ug{' kg]{ x'G5 ;lrjfnon] csf]{ a}7sdf k]z ug]{ .

**lg0f{o g+= $**

k|:tfj g+= $ sf] ;DaGwdf 5nkmn ubf{ ;"rgfdf ljZjJofkL kx'Fr ;DaGwL cGt/f{li6«o lbj; Sept @\* -c;f]h, !@\_ ut] zlgjf/sf lbg ;fj{hlgs If]qdf ;"rgfsf] xs d"n k|jfxLs/0f ljifodf /fli6«o uf]i7L /fli6«o ;efsf] cWoIf >L bfxfnsf] k|d'v cfltYotfdf cfof]hgf u/L eJo ?kdf dgfOof] . sfo{qmddf d'Vo k|:t'tLs/0f 8f= /fds[i0f ltdlN;gf, df]8]/]6/sf ?kdf g]kfn 6]lnlehgaf6 cf/tL r6f}t, k]gflni6x?df ;"rgf cfo'Qm >L sdnf cf]nL yfkf, ;~rf/ tyf ;"rgf k|ljlw dGqfnosf ;lrj >L /flwsf cof{n / jl/i7 kqsf/ >L alatf a:g]t /xg' ePsf] lyof] . ;f] sfo{qmddf ePsf ultljlwx?sf] k|ltj]bg tof/ u/L csf]{ a}7sdf k]z ug{ nufpg] .

**lg0f{o g+= %**

cfof]hgf tyf ljljw s[ofsnfk ubf{ jftfj/0f ;+/If0f P]g, @)&^ adf]lhd jftfj/0fLo k|efj d"NofÍg jf k|f/lDes jftfj/0fLo k|efj d"NofÍg k|ltj]bg tof/ ug]{ ul/Psf] 5 . o:tf k|ltj]bgx? ;j{;fwf/0fsf] /fo – ;'emfj nflu k|f/lDes txdf ;fj{hlgs ul/g] ul/Psf] ePtf klg k|ltj]bg :jLs[t eP kZrft To:tf k|ltj]bg ;fj{hlgs jf ;j{;fwf/0f gful/ssf] kx'Frdf g/xg] eGg] egfO{ cfO/x]sf] ;Gbe{df o;sf] sfg"gL Joj:yf / o:tf k|ltj]bgx? ;fj{hlgs ug]{ jf ;+/If0f ug]{, ;j{;fwf/0f gful/ssf] kx'Frdf /fVg] tyf kf/blz{tf sfod ug]{ / k|ltj]bg kZrft klg x'g] cg'udg tyf d"NofÍg k|ltj]bgx?sf ;DaGwdf s] s:tf] Joj:yf /x]sf] / sfof{Gjog s;/L eO/x]sf] 5 eGg] af/]df ag tyf jftfj/0f dGqfnosf sfof{no k|d'vnfO{ !% lbgleq hfgsf/L u/fpg n]vL k7fpg] .

**lg0f{o g+= ^**

hnjfo" kl/jt{gsf] ljifo ;a}sf] rf;f] ePsf] ljifo xf] . hnjfo" kl/jt{gsf sf/0f eO/x]sf 36gf tyf k|efjx? :jfefljs?kdf hgrf;f]sf] ljifo xf] . hnjfo" kl/jt{gsf c;/x? Go"gLs/0f ug{ g]kfn ;/sf/n] lnPsf gLlt, sfo{qmd, ah]6 tyf sfof{Gjogsf] cj:yf af/]df ;j{;fwf/0f gful/sn] yfxf kfpg' kg]{ ;+j}wflgs / sfg"gL clwsf/ xf] . o:tf s[ofsnfkx? :jfefljs ?kdf kf/bzL{, hjfkmb]xL / lhDd]jf/Lk"j{s ;DkGg ul/g' kg]{ x'G5 . o; ;DaGwdf eP u/]sf ljifox?sf af/]df !% lbgleq cfof]unfO{ hfgsf/L u/fpg ag tyf jftfj/0f dGqfnosf sfof{no k|d'vnfO{ n]vL k7fpg] .

**ljljw**

-s\_ oxL @)\*! ;fn c;f]h !! / !@ ut] clj/n jiff{n] cfPsf] af9L klx/f]sf sf/0f 7"nf] hgwgsf] Iflt ePsf] 5 . af9L tyf klx/f]df k/L hLjg u'dfPsf gful/sx¿ k|lt cfof]u efjk"0f{ >4f~hnL JoQm ub{5 / zf]s;GtKt kl/jf/hgdf ulx/f] ;dj]bgf JoQm ub}{ 3fOt]x¿sf] zL3| :jf:Yonfesf] sfdgf ub{5 .

o; ljkbsf qmddf vf]h, p4f/ / /fxtsf nflu g]kfn ;/sf/, k|b]z ;/sf/ tyf :yfgLo txsf ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿n] ul//x]sf k|of;x¿ ;sf/fTds lbzftkm{ uO/x]sf] cj:yf 5 . ljkbdf k/]sf gful/sx¿sf nflu tLg} txsf ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿n] 3fOt]x¿sf] pkrf/, /fxt ljt/0f, c:yfoL a;f]af;nufotsf sfo{x¿ ul//x]sf 5g\ . o;sf nflu cfjZos kg]{ pkrf/ ;fdu|Lb]lv /fxt ;fdu|Lx¿ vl/b tyf ljt/0fsf sfo{x¿ eO/x]sf 5g\ . gLltut / sfof{Gjog tyf ;dGjo ;DjGwL k|;:t lg0f{ox¿ x'g'sf ;fy} tL lg0f{ox¿ sfo{Gjogdf ;d]t uPsf 5g . ljkb\df k/]sf gful/s tyf Joj;fox¿sf nflu ljleGg txsf ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿jf6 s]xL g s]xL k|sf/sf ;x'lnot tyf /fxtsf Kofs]hx¿ 3f]if0ff ePsf 5g\ . oxL p2]Zosf nflu ;/sf/L tyf lghL If]qaf6 ;xof]usf nflu /sd tyf ;fdu|L pknAw eO/x]sf] kfOG5 .

;fj{hlgs ;/f]sf/sf] ljifo ePsf] x'gfn] o; ljkbsf ;dodf gful/snfO{ p4f/ ug{ / pkrf/ ug{, /fxt k|bfg ug{ ljleGg txsf ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿jf6 ePsf / ca x'g] o:tf lg0f{ox¿sf] qmddf ePsf sfo{x¿ ;DjGwL ;"rgfx¿ cBfjlws ul/ /fVg' kg]{ lhDd]jf/L ;"rgfsf] xs ;DjGwL P]g @)^$ sf] bkmf % pkbkmf -!\_ n] ;fj{hlgs lgsfonfO{ lbPsf] 5 . ;fy} o:tf ;"rgfx¿sf] ;+/If0f tyf plrt Joj:yfkg ug{ ;s] dfq eljiodf cfOkg]{ ;Sg] o:t} ljkbsf j]nfdf k'g k|of]u ug{ ;lsg'sf ;fy} tTsfn ;fj{hlgs ug{ ;d]t ;xh x'g]5 . clxn]sf] k|ljlwsf] o'udf o:tf b:tfj]hx¿ ljB'tLo :j?kdf ;+/If0f ug{' klg plQs} pko'Qm x'g] o; cfof]usf] 7x/ /x]sf] 5 .

:jfefljs ?kdf o:tf] ljkb\sf] cj:yfdf s'g}klg ;fj{hlgs lgsfosf] klxnf] k|fyldstf eg]sf] ;j{;fwf/0f gful/snfO{ p2f/ / /fxt pknAw u/fpg' xf] / o;}df hf]8 lbg cfjZos /x]sf] ljifodf cfof]u ;xdt 5 .

;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿sf] kf/bzL{ / pQ/bfoL lqmofsnfk nf]stGqsf] Pp6f dxTjk"0f{ cfwf/ :tDe xf] . pkrf/ / /fxtsf nflu ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿n] u/]sf k|of;x¿sf af/]df oyfy{ / ;xL ;"rgf ;dod} kfpFbf ;j{;fwf/0f gful/saf6 :jfefljs ;xof]u / ;dy{g k|fKt ug{ ;lsG5 . g]kfnsf] ;+ljwfgsf] wf/f @& n] k|To]s gful/snfO{ cfˆgf] jf ;fj{hlgs ;/f]sf/sf] ljifosf] ;"rgf dfUg] / kfpg] xs x'g]5 eGg] Joj:yf u/]sf] 5 . o; ;+j}wflgs xsnfO{ sfof{Gjog ug{ ;"rgfsf] xs ;DaGwL P]g, @)^$ n] sfg"gL Joj:yf u/]sf] 5. ;xL ;"rgf k|jfx x'g g;Sbf ldYof, unt, e|fds, ckmjfxhGo ;"rgfsf] sf/0f ;j{;fwf/0f gful/snfO{ lbue|ldt agfpg] ;+efjgf /xG5 .

;"rgfsf] xs;DjGwL P]g, @)^$ sf] bkmf $ pkbkmf -!\_ / pkbkmf -@\_ sf] v08 -s\_, -v\_ / - u\_ adf]lhd qmdzM ;"rgfsf] xssf] ;Ddfg / ;+/If0f ug{' u/fpg' kg]{5, ;"rgf ;do ;dodf ;fj{hlgs, k|sfzg tyf k|;f/0f ug]{ u/fpg], ;"rgfdf gful/ssf] kx'Fr ;/n / ;xh agfpg], cfˆgf] sfdsf/jfxL v'nf / kf/bzL{ ?kdf ug]{ bfloTj ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿sf] x'g] Joj:yf u/]sf] 5 . o; cj:yfdf ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿n] af9L tyf klx/f] kLl8tx¿sf] pkrf/ / /fxtsf nflu u/]sf lg0f{o, vl/b tyf ljt/0f ;DjGwL s[ofsnfksf ;"rgf :jt ;fj{hlgs ub}{ hfg ;lsg] xf] eg] ;j{;fwf/0f gful/snfO{ ;"rgf dfu ul//xg kg]{ cj:yf tyf ;fj{hlgs lgsfosf sd{rf/Lx¿nfO{ ;"rgf pknAw u/fpg nfUg] ;dojf6 5'6\sf/f kfpg ;+ej x'G5 eGg] cfof]usf] ljZjf; /x]sf] 5. t;y{ ;"rgfsf] xs;DjGwL P]g, @)^$ sf] bkmf !( sf] v08 -v\_, -u\_ / -ª\_ adf]lhd ;+3Lo ;fj{hlgssf xsdf g]kfn ;/sf/sf d'Vo ;lrj dfkm{t, /fli6«o ljkb hf]lvd Go'gLs/0f tyf Joj:yfkg k|flws/0fsf k|d'v, k|b]zsf ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿sf xsdf ;f] k|b]z ;/sf/sf k|d'v ;lrj dfkm{t / af9L tyf klx/f] k|efljt :yfgLo txsf k|d'v k|zf;sLo clws[tsf] xsdf ;+3Lo dfldnf tyf ;fdfGo k|zf;g dGqfnosf ;lrjdfkm{t b]xfo jdf]lhd ug{ u/fpg lgb]{zg lbg] M

!= g]kfn ;/sf/, k|b]z ;/sf/ tyf :yfgLo txsf ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿af6 kLl8tx¿sf] pkrf/ tyf /fxtsf nflu eP u/]sf sfdx¿sf af/]df ;~rf/sf ljleGg dfWodaf6 lgoldt ?kdf ;fj{hlgs u/fpg] Joj:yf ldnfpg] .

@= pknAw / ljt/0f ePsf jf ul/g] tyf vl/b ul/g] ;fdu|L, ;]jf tyf /fxtsf jf/]df ;~rf/sf ljleGg dfWodaf6 lgoldt ?kdf g]kf ;/sf/, k|b]z ;/sf/ tyf :yfgLo txx¿jf6 ;fj{hlgs u/fpg] Joj:yf ldnfpg] .

#= g]kfn ;/sf/, k|b]z ;/sf/ tyf :yfgLo txsf ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿af6 /fxt pknAw u/fpg kg]{ gful/sx¿nfO{ ljt/0f ul/Psf] /fxtsf] ljj/0f tyf cfwf/ lgoldt ?kdf ;fj{hlgs ug]{ Joj:yf ldnfpg] . ;xhtf tyf clen]vsf nflu o:tf ljj/0f ljB'tLo k|0ffnLdf /fVg] Joj:yf ug]{ .

$= o; ;Gbe{df ;fdflhs jf ;f+:s[lts b[li6n] lk5l8Psf dlxnf, blnt, cflbjf;L, cflbjf;L hghflt, dw]zL, yf¿, d'l:nd, pTkLl8t ju{, lk58f ju{, cNk;+Vos, ;LdfGts[t ls;fg >lds, o'jf, afnaflnsf n}+lus tyf of}lgs cNk;+Vos, ckf+utf ePsf JolQm, uef{j:yfsf JolQm, czQm jf c;xfo, lk5l8Psf] If]q / cfly{s ¿kn] ljkGg v; cfo{ nufot gful/ssf nflu 5'§} sfo{qmd NofOPsf] eP To:tf sfo{qmdsf af/]sf ;"rgf ;fj{hlgs ug]{ .

%= g]kfn ;/sf/, k|b]z ;/sf/ tyf :yfgLo tx / ;Da4 lgsfox¿n] cf–cfˆgf] lgsfosf ;"rgf clwsf/LnfO{ o; ;dodf O{d]n, efOj/, df]jfOn tyf cGo dfWodaf6 ;d]t ;Dks{ ug{ ;lsg] Joj:yf ug]{ .

^= g]kfn ;/sf/jf6 :jLs[t ;"rgfsf] xs sfo{Gjog ;DaGwL cg'udg lgb]{lzsf, @)&^ adf]lhd ul7t s]G›Lo ;dGjo OsfO{, sfo{Gjog cg'udg OsfO{, k|b]z cg'udg OsfO{ / lhNnf cg'udg OsfO{x¿nfO{ ;s[o u/fO{ o; cjlwdf / lgoldt ?kdf ;"rgfsf] xssf] k|of]u jf/]df cg'udg u/L To;sf] k|ltj]bg ;fj{hlgs ug]{ / o; cfof]unfO{ klg hfgsf/L lbg] Joj:yf ldnfpg] .

&= ;fj{hlgs lgsfodf /x]sf ;"rgf ;+sng u/L ;j{;fwf/0f gful/s;Dd k'/Þ\ofpg] cfd;~rf/sdL{x¿ tyf ;"rgfsf xssf cleoGtfx¿ ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿df uO{ /xg] kg]{ x'+bf lghx¿sf] ;'/Iffsf] Joj:yf ldnfpg cfjZos Joj:yf ug]{ .

\*= ;"rgf k|jfx ug]{ qmddf ;fj{hlgs lgsfox¿n] JolQmut k|s[ltsf ;"rgfx¿ klg lbPsf] jf lbg] ;+efjgf /x]sf] / o;jf6 kg]{ k|efj b'vbfoL x'g ;Sg] tyf o:tf sfo{ ug{ sfg'gL ?kdf klg ;"rgfsf] xs ;DjGwL P]g, @)^$ sf] bkmf @\* tyf cGo sfg"gx¿n] k|ltaGw nufOPsf] x'Fbf o:tf] sfo{ gug]{ gu/fpg] .

(= k|To]s ;fj{hlgs lgsfon] sfg"gL Joj:yf adf]lhd k|To]s tLg÷tLg dlxgfdf ul/g] :jtM k|sfzgdf pNn]lvt ljj/0fx¿ ;dfj]z ug]{ .

-v\_ cla/n aiff{sf sf/0f b]zsf ljleGg efudf cfPsf] af9L klx/f]df k/L lbjËt x'g' ePsf ;Dk"0f{ JolQmx?k|lt cfof]u >4f~hnL JoQm ub{5 . ;fy} 3fOt]x?sf] zL3| :jf:Yo nfesf] sfdgf ub{5 . af9L klx/f]af6 k'Ug uPsf] csNkgLo Ifltaf6 kLl8tx?nfO{ /fxt k|bfg ug{ ;xof]u k'¥ofpgsf] nflu cfof]usf k|d'v ;"rgf cfo'Qm / ;"rgf cfo'Qmx?sf] & -;ft\_ lbgsf] kfl/>lds k|wfgdGqL b}jL k|sf]k p4f/ sf]ifdf hDdf ug]{ .