

Gcd\]U'I \`.: f]gW\Yf`K]bX`]a
@UbXfUhgUa h'5gW\ UZZYbVi f[

9fZU\ fYb`G]Yž`k]Y`Gcd\]U'I \`]a `@UbXfUhgUa h
5gW\ UZZYbVi f[`9]bVØf[Yfi b[Yb`i bX
J Yf_Y\fgUb[Y`Y[Yb\Y]hYb`YZZ[n]Ybhj Yfk U`hYh"

8]Y`J Yfk U`hi b[`Y]bYf`6Y\ØfXY`_Ubb`cZh`YfUi gZcfXYfbX`gY]bž
VYgcbXYfg`k Ybb`a Ub`YXYb`HU[`a]hi bhYfgW\]YX`]W\Yb`5i Z[UVYb
_cbZfcbh]Yfh`k]fX``8]YgY`9fZU\fi b[`Uh`Ui W\`Gcd\]U'I \`[Ya UW\hž
X]Y`j cf`XfY]`A cbUhYb`]fY`Dcg]h]cb`]a `@UbXfUhgUa h
5gW\ UZZYbVi f[`Ub[YhfYhYb`\Uh``8]Y`&-!`Å\][Y`š f]gh]b`]gh`b]W\h
bi f[YgW\i`h]b`f]gh]gW\Yb`_ca`d`YI Yb`J Yfk U`hi b[gdfcnYggYbž
gcbXYfb`\Uh`Ui W\`ni j cf`U`g`F]W\hYf]b`Ua`J Yfk U`hi b[g[Yf]W\h
K ØfnVi f[`[YUfVY]hYh``ÆfY`5bZÅb[Y`]a `@UbXfUhgUa h]j Yf`]YZYb
Y\Yf`gUbZhž`XU`g]Y`ni Yfgh`X]Y`j YfgW\]YXYbYb`5V`Ài ZY`i bX`]f
bYi Yg`l a ZY`X`_YbbYb`YfbYb`a i gghY"

Æg[YgUa h`Y]hYh]g]Y`Y]bYb`; YgW\`ZhgVYfY]W\ž`XYf`j]Y`
?i bXYbj Yf_Y\`f`ni`j YfnY]W\YbYb`\Uh``æ`@UbXfUhgUa h
5gW\ UZZYbVi f[`g]bX`gYW\g`XYf`g]YVYb`; YgW\`ZhgVYfY]W\Y`j cb
: fUi Yb`[YZØ\fhž`k Ug`X]Y`6YXYi hi b[`j cb`: fUi Yb`]b
: Ø\fi b[gdcg]h]cbYb`i bhYfghfY]W\h"

? i bXYbgYfj]W\`i bX`8][]hU`]g]Yfi b[

I \`\`Uh`X]Y`J YfUbhk cfhi b[`ZØf`fi bX`; \$`A]hUfVY]hYfž`]bgVYgcbXYfY
]a`ghUf`_ZfYei Ybh]YfhYb`J Yf_Y\fgVYfY]W\``Gc`k`i`fXYb`]a
j Yf[Ub[YbYb`š\`f`ZUgh`+\$\$\$`bYi Y`: U\fnYi [Y`ni [Y`UggYb`i bX
Yhk U`&\$\$\$`: Ø\fyfgW\Y]bY`Ui g[Y[YVYb`Y]bY`ghUhh]W\Y`NU\`ž`X]Y
XYb`i a ZUb[fY]W\Yb`?i bXYbgYfj]W\`VY`Y[h``Ni XYa`\Uh`X]Y
5VhY]i b[`Ui W\`X]Y`J YfUbhk cfhi b[`ZØf`X]Y`9bhm]Y\i b[`j cb`fi bX

&\$ \$: Ø\ fYfgWXY]bYb"i \`g]Y\hYg'U'g'YggYbn]Y""Ubž'fY[Y`a Å»][
?cbhU_hini`XYb`HYUa`g`]b`XYb`Ni`Uggi`b[gghY`Yb`]b`A`U]bUgWUZZ
i bX`5`nYbUi`ni` \U`hYbž`i`a`XYb`5i`ghUi`gW`ni`ZØfXYfb""9]b
VYgcbXYfg`U_hi`Y`Yg`H\Ya`U`]b`]\fYf`5fVY]h]gh`X]Y`ni`bY\`a`YbXY
8][]hU`]g]Yfi`b[ž`X]Y`XUni`VY]hfU[Yb`gc`ž`5_hYb`i`bX`J`YfZU\`fYb
YZZ]n]Yb`hYf`ni`[YghU`hYbž`VYgcbXYfg`]b`: cfa`XYf`X][]hU`Yb
9fZUggi`b[`j`cb`5`hU`hYb"

9]b`k`Y]hYfYf`6YfY]W`ž]b`XYa`Gcd\]U`i` \`h`Åh][`]ghž`VYZUggh`g]W`a`]h
XYf`J`Yf`_Y\`fgfY[Y`i`b[`ZØf`6Ui`ghY`Yb`gck`]Y`XYf`; YbY\`a`][i`b[
j`cb`J`YfUbgH`hi`b[Yb`i`bX`GW`k`YfhfUbgdcfhYb""8]YgY`5i`Z[UVYb
YfZcfXYfb`gck`c`\`cf[Ub]gUhc`f]gW`Yg`; YgW`W`_`U`g`Ui`W`fYW`h`]W`Y
9i`dYfh]gYž`i`a`g]W`Yfni`ghY`Ybž`XUgg`U`Yg`fY]Vi`b[g`c`g`UV`Åi`Zhi`bX
U`Y`J`cf`gW`f]ZhYb`Y]b[Y\U`hYb`k`YfXYb"

9]bVØf[Yfi b[Yb`i`bX`]bhYfbUh]cbU`Y 5i`Z`U[Yb

9]b`VYXYi`hYbXYf`HY`]j`cb`i` \`g`5fVY]hgVYfY]W`]gh`XUg
5i`g`ÅbXYfk`YgYb"<]Yf`VY\`UbXY`h`X]Y`6Y\`ØfXY`5bhfÅ[Y`ZØf
9]bVØf[Yfi b[Ybž`X]Y`]b`X]YgYa` \U`f`ZUgh` \$ \$`VYhfU[Yb` \UVYb""i` \`
\Uh]g]W`ni`XYa`]bhYbg]j`a`]h`J`gi`a`gUbhfÅ[Yb`ZØf
: Ua`]YbUb[Y\Øf][Y`i`bX`XYf`5i`gghY`i`b[`]bhYfbUh]cbU`Yf
F Y]gYUi`gk`Y]gY`VYgW`ÅZh][hž`k`Ug`]b`Y]bYa`ni`bY\`a`YbX
[`cVU`]g]YfhYb`i`a`ZY`X`j`cb`[fc»Yf`K`]W`h][_Y]h]gh"

8]Y`?`ca`a`i`b]_Uh]cb`i`bX`Ni`gUa`a`YbUfVY]h`a`]h`j`YfgW`]YXYbYb
6Y\`ØfXYb`g]bX`YVYbZU`g`bchk`YbX][ž`[YfUXY`k`Ybb`Yg`i`a
gYbg]h]j`Y`H\Ya`Yb`k`]Y`5VgW`]YVi`b[Yb`[Y\h`i` \`nY][h]g]W`c`ZYb
ZØf`XYb`8]U`c[`i`bX`]gh`VYghfYVhž`]b`X]YgYb`_ca`d`Yi`Yb`G]hi`Uh]cbYb
XUg`6YghY`ni`YffY]W`Yb""K`Å\`fYbX`] \fYf`YfghYb`A`cbUhY`]a`5a`h
ghY`hY`g]Y`ZYghž`XUgg`Yg`\`Åi`Z][`Ub[YgdUbbhYb`F`Ui`a`ZØf`gc`W`Y
H\Ya`Yb`[]Vhž`k`Yg\`U`V`J`Yfgh`ÅbXb]g`i`bX`:]b[Yfgd]hnYb[YZØ\
[YZfU[h]g]bX"

Ni`g`Åh`]W` \Uh`Gcd\]U`i` \`Y]bYb`k`Y]hYfYb`<i`h`Ui`Z`G]Y`Z`b[]Yfh
U`g`c`VYfghY`F`YW`bi`b[gdfØZYf]b`ZØf`X]Y`; Ya`Y]bXYb""8]YgY`F`c`Y
YfZcfXYfh`Y]bY`df`Ån]gY`DfØZ`b[`XYf`_ca`a`i`bU`Yb`<Ui`g\U`hgd`ÅbY

i bX`]gh`]b`Y]bYf`NY]hž`]b`XYf`j]Y`Y`?ca a i bYb`a]h
<Ui g\U`hgdfcV`Ya Yb`_Àa dZYbž`i a gc`k]W\h][Yf`[Yk cfXYb"
<]YfVY]`]gh`Ui W\`]\f`fYW\h`]W\Yf`<]bhYf[fi bX`j cb`J cfhY]`ž`XU`g]Y
gW\by`Ui Z`Yj Ybhi Y`Y`i bgh]a a][_Y]hYb`fYU[]YfYb`_Ubb"

≠g[YgUa h`nY][h`g]W\`Gcd\]U`i \`U`g`Y]bY`XmbUa]gW\Y`i bX
Yb[U[]YfhY` : Ø\fi b[g_fUZh`"≠fY`j]Y`gY]h][Yb`5i Z[UVYb`]a
@UbXfUhgUa h`VY`Y[Yb`b]W\h`bi f`]\fY`9I dYfh]gYž`gcbXYfb`Ui W\`]\f
VYgh`ÅbX][Yg`9b[U[Ya Ybhž`X]Y`ÒZYbh`]W\Yb`8]Ybgh`Y]ghi b[Yb`ni
j YfVYggYfb`i bX`Ub`X]Y`6YXØfZb]ggY`XYf`6Øf[Yf`Ubni dUggYb`"≠fY
9fZU\fi b[Yb`i bX`]fY` : Å\][_Y]hž`j YfgW\]YXYbY`6YfY]W\Y`ni
_ccfX]b]YfYbž`a UW\Yb`g]Y`ni `Y]bYf`k Yfhj c`Yb`F Yggci fW`]b`XYf
J Yfk U`hi b["

8]Y`5bZ`Åb[Y`]b`]\fYf`?Uff]YfY`g]bX`j]Y`j YfgdfYW\YbX`"; YVcfYb
%- -)]b`5gW\UZZYbVi f[ž`\Uh`i \`bUW\`XYa`5V]hi f`&\$%` Ub`XYf
đ`]i g!A UI]a]]Ubgl I b]j Yfg]h`Åh`]b`K ØfnVi f[`F YW\hgk]ggYbgW\UZhYb
ghi X]Yfh`i bX`Ub`gW`]Y»YbX`Y]b`F YZYfYbXUf]Uh`]b`XYf`[`Y]W\Yb
GhUXh`UVgc`j]Yfh`"≠fY`H`Åh][_Y]h`U`g`F]W\hYf]b`Ua
J Yfk U`hi b[g[Yf]W\h`K ØfnVi f[`j cb`&\$&&V]g`&\$&(`[UV`]f
k Yfhj c`Y`9]bV`]W_Y`]b`fYW\h`]W\Y`i bX`j Yfk U`hi b[ghYW\b]gW\Y
DfcnYggYž`X]Y`g]Y`bi b`]b`]\fYf`U`_hi Y`Yb`Dcg]h]cb`Ubk YbXYh"

8]Y`9fZU\fi b[Yb`j cb`Gcd\]U`i \`g]bX`b]W\h`bi f`Y]b`6Y]gd]Y`ZØf
XYb`5i Zgh]Y[`f b[Yf` : fUi Yb`]b`XYf`J Yfk U`hi b[ž`gcbXYfb`Ui W\`Y]b
6Y]gd]Y`ZØf`XYb`ghYh][Yb`K UbXY`i bX`X]Y`5bdUggi b[`]b`XYb
ÒZYbh`]W\Yb`8]YbghYb`"A]h`]\fYa`9b[U[Ya YbhZØf`8][]hU`]g]Yfi b[
i bX`9ZZ]n]Ybn`V`Y]Vh`g]Y`Ui W\`ZØf`X]Y`Ni _i bZh`Y]bY`k]W\h][Y
Gh]a a Y`]a`@UbXfUhgUa h`5gW\UZZYbVi f["

8 YhU]`g

6Ygi W\Yb`G]Y`i bg`Ui Z.`b!U["XY