

K Y]bk UbXYfi b[']b ' < c \Yb \ Ug`UWk . 'B Uhi f
Yf`YVYb`i bX`[Yb]Y» Yb

9f`YVYb`G]Y`Y]bY`K Y]bk UbXYfi b[`Xi fWk`< c \Yb \ Ug`UWk °
9bhXYW_Yb`G]Y`a U`Yf]gWkY`K Y]bVYf[Y`i bX`[Yb]Y» Yb`G]Y
fY[]cbU`Yb`K Y]b`'≠YU`ZØf`B Uhi f!`i bX`K Y]b`YV\UVYf`

GUWkgYb\Y]a !<c \Yb \ Ug`UWk ""5a `A cbhU[` _cbbhYb`X]Y
HY]`bY\`a Yf`XYf`DN!Gca `a YfU_h]cb`VY]`]XYU`Yb`Ci hXccf!
6YX]b[i b[Yb`X]Y`a U`Yf]gWkYb`K Y]bVYf[Y`fi bX`i a `<c \Yb \ Ug`UWk
Yf_i bXYb""A]h`Ub[YbY\`a Yb`HYa dYfUhi fYb`i bX`Y]bYa ``Y]Wk h
VYk Ø`_hYb`<]a `a Y`a UWk hYb`g]Wk`Yhk U`(\$`@YgYf`XYf`DN`Ui Z`XYb
K Y[ži `a `Y]bY`GhfYW_Y`j`cb`Yhk U`gYWk`g?`]ca`YhYfb`ni`VYk`Å`h][Yb"
8]YgY`K UbXYfi b[`k Uf`HY]`XYf`VY]`YVhYb`Gca `a YfU_h]cb`i bhYf
XYa `A chhc` GWk Ui `a U`žk`c`8i ``YVgh`ž`X]Y`XUni`Y]b`Å`hž`X]Y
`c`_U`Yb`GWk`Øb\Y]hYb`i bX`VYgcbXYfYb`C`fhY`b`Å`Yf
_YbbYbni`YfbYb"

8]Y`K UbXYfZYi bXY`\UhhYb`XUg;`ØW_ž]`cb`A UbZYX`GhfcV`
[Y`Y]hYh`ni`k YfXYbž`Y]bYa`YfZU\`fYbYb;`i]XYž`XYf`ni`gUa`a Yb`a]h
XYa `A i`g]_Yf`9fk`]b`<U`Yf`gWk`cb`gY]h`ØVYf`Y]bYa``≠\`fnY\`bh`X]YgY
VYgcbXYfYb`K Y]bk UbXYfi b[Yb`cf[Ub]g]Yfh`8]YgY`hfUX]h]cbY`
[Yk UWk`gYbYb;`fi`ddYbj`YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`Yfa`Ø[`]WkYb`Yg`XYb
HY]`bY\`a Yfb`b]Wk`h`bi`fž`X]Y`B Uhi f`ni`[Yb]Y» Ybž`gcbXYfb`Ui`Wk
a`Y\`f`ØVYf`X]Y`K Y]bVUi`[YgWk]Wk`hY`XYf`FY[]cb`ni`YfZU\`fYb"

9]b`5i`gV`]W_`Ui`Z`HfUX]h]cb`i`bX`;`Ybi`gg

8]Y`Hci`f`ghUfhYhY`Ua`fYbca`a`]YfhYb`K Y]b[i`h?`UhnYfž`XUg`Ui`h
6Yf]Wk`hYb`U`g`Y]bYg`XYf`VYghYb`6YgYbk`]fhgWk`UZhYb`]b`6UXYb!
K`ØfhYa`VYf[` []`h`<]Yf`\UhhYb`X]Y`HY]`bY\`a Yf`X]Y;`Y`Y[Yb\Y]hž
X]Y`Yi`ei`]g]hY`E`i`U`]h`Å`h`XYf`Øfh]WkYb`K Y]bY`ni`dfcV]YfYb""8]Y

K UbXYfi b['gY`VghZ0\fhY`Xi fW`X]Y`gUbZhYb`<Ø[Y`i bX`X]Y
a U`Yf]gW`Y`@UbXgW`UZž`k Ug`XYb`K UbXYfYfb`Y]bYb
VYa Yf_Ybgk YfhYb`6`]W`_Ui ZX]Y`K Y]bVYf[Y`i bX`X]Y`I a [YVi b[
Vch"

8 Ug; Y\Yb`Xi fW`X]Y`K Y]bfYVYb`k Uf`b]W`h`bi f`Y]bY`_ØfdYf`]W`Y
<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[ž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`X]Y]bY`_i`hi fY`Y`F Y]gYž`X]Y
nU`fY]W`Y; YgW`]W`hYb`XYf`F Y[]cb`ni a`@YVYb`Yfk YW`hY"
A UbZfYX`GhfcV`Yf`Äi hYfhY`XYb`HY]`bY\ a Yfb`X]Y`6YXYi hi b[`XYg
K Y]bVUi g`Z0f`<c\Yb\Ug`UW`ž`XUg`Y]bgh`Y]bY`Y][Ybgh`ÄbX][Y
; Ya Y]bXY`k Uf`i bX`\Yi hY`Y]b`HY]`j cb`GUW`gYb\Y]a`]gh`<]Yf
j Yfk cVYb`g]W`X]Y;`ÄXYb`XYf`HfUX]h]cb`a`]h`XYb`[Y[Ybk`Äfh][Yb
<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`XYg`K Y]bVUi gž`k cVY]`XYf`bUW`\U`h][Y`5bVUi
Y]bY`nYbhfU`Y`F c`Y`gd]Y`h"

A Y]ghYbg`k]fX`Y]bY`K UbXYfi b[`b]W`h`bi f`j cb`XYb`9f`_i bXi b[Yb
Ui ZX]Yb`HfU]`gž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`X]Y]cb`XYb`[YgY`][Yb`A ca YbhYb
[YdfÄ[hž`X]Y`a Ub`a`]h`UbXYfYb`hY]`h`8]YgY; Y`Y[Yb\Y]h[UV`Yg
Ui W`k`Ä`fYbX`XYf`DUi gYbž`k c`X]Y`HY]`bY\ a Yf`g]W`ØVYf`\fY
9]bXfØW`_Y`Ui g[YhUi gW`h`UVYb`"8]Y`?ca V]bUh]cb`Ui g`Y]bYf
Yfa i h][YbXYb`K UbXYfi b[`a`]h[`Y]W`nY]h][Ya`K Y]bj Yf[bØ[Yb
gW`UZZh`Y]bY`Ui » Yf[Yk`Ø\b`]W`Y`9fZU\fi b["

; YgY`][_Y]h`6fch`i bX`6i hhYf`XYf
J YfUbghU`hi b[

8]Y`K UbXYfi b[`ghUbX`b]W`h`bi f`]a`NY]W`Yb`_ØfdYf`]W`Yf
9fhØW`h][i b[ž`gcbXYfb`VY`Yi W`hYhY`Ui W`X]Y`GW`ÄhYž`X]Y`XYf
K Y]bVUi`XYf`F Y[]cb`V]YhYh`B UW`X`Yf`5bghfYb[i b[`k UfhYhY`Y]b
Vi bhYf`6`]W`_Ui ZX]Y`_i`]bUf]gW`Yb`5b[YVchY`XYg`K Y]b[i hg
?UhnYf`"8]Y`HY]`bY\ a Yf`k i fXYb`b]W`h`bi f`a`]h`Yfj cffU[YbXYa
K Y]b`j Yfk`Ø\bž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`a`]h`fY[]cbU`Yb`GdYn]U`]h`ÄhYbž`X]Y
k i bXYfVUf`a`]hY]bUbXYf`\Ufa`cb]YfhYb`"8]YgY`A`]gW`i b[`Ui g
5_hj]]h`Ähi bX; Ybi gg`]gh`Ygž`X]Y`X]Y`K UbXYfi b[`gc`Y]bn][Ufh][
i bX`i bj Yf[Ygg`]W`a`UW`h"

8]Y`F YgcbUb`n`Ui ZX]Y`J YfUbghU`hi b[`nY][hž`XUgg`XYf`6YXUfZ`Ub
[Ya Y]bgW`UZh]W`Yb`9f`YVb]ggYb`]b`XYf`BUhi f`[fc»`]gh`" ð`Y]bYf

NY]hž]b`XYf`j`jY`Y`A`YbgWXYb`[`YghfYggh`g]bXž`V]YhYh`Y]b`gc`WX`Yg`
9j`Ybh`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]bY`:`i`W`h`Ui`g`XYa``5``hU[`ž`gcbXYfb`ZØfXYfh`Ui`W`
Y]b`:`Y`ZØ`XYf`:`Ya`Y]bgW`UZh`i`bhYf`B`UW`V`Ufb`i`bX`:`fYi`bXYb`"8]Y`
K`UbXYfi`b[`YfZØ`h`gca`]h`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]bYb`d`mg]gW`ž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`
Y]bYb`gcn]U`Yb`Nk`YW`_"

I`bhYfk`Y[`g`ni`bYi`Yb`DYfgdY`_h]j`Yb`

8]Y`DN!Gca`a`YfU`_h]cb`]gh`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]b`Y]bZUW`Yg`:`fY]nY]hUb[`YVc`hž`
gcbXYfb`Y]b`_Y]bYg`GhØW`_?`i`hi`f`i`bX`HfUX]h]cbž`XUg`ni`a`
A`]ha`UW`Yb`Y]b`ÅXh`"æ`a`Yf`a`Y`f`A`YbgW`Yb`]bhYfYgg]YfYb`g]W`ZØf`
]\fYb`<`Y]a`Uhc`fh`i`bX`X]Y`A`Ø[`]W`_Y]hYb`ž`X]Y`Yf`V]YhYh`"
J`YfUb`ghU`hi`b[`Yb`k`]Y`X]YgY`ZØfXYfb`XUg`6Yk`i`gghgY]b`ZØf`c`_U`Y`
5bVUi`[`YV]YhY`i`bX`]\fY`6YXYi`hi`b[`ZØf`X]Y`Y`a`]gW`Y`K`]fhgW`UZh`
i`bX`Vf]b[`Yb`X]Y`A`YbgW`Yb`]b`X]YgY`k`i`bXYfgW`ØbYb`
@UbXgW`UZhYb`"

8]Y`6Y[`Y]ghYfi`b[`XYf`hY]`bY`a`YbXYb`@YgYf`nY][`hž`XUgg`Yg`g]W`
`c`b`hž`gcb`W`Y`9f`YVb]ggY`ni`ZØfXYfb`i`bX`]b`XYb`:`c`_i`g`ni`f`ØW`Yb`"
æ`Y]bYf`K`Y`hž`X]Y`c`Zi`Y`_h]gW`i`bX`gW`bY`YV][`]ghž`_ØbYb`gc`W`Y`
5i`gZØ[`Y`Y]b`k`Yfhj`c`Yf`?`c`b`hf`Ugh`gY]bž`XYf`XUni`Y]b`ÅXhž`
]bbYni`U`hYb`i`bX`X]Y`G`W`Øb`Y]h`XYg`@YVYbg`ni`[`Yb]Y»Yb`"

Y]bYf`a`U`Yf]gW`Yb`F`ci`hY`Xi`fW`X]Y`K`Y]bVYf[`Y`"8]Y`K`UbXYfYf`
k`i`fXYb`b]W`h`bi`f`j`cb`XYf`gW`ØbYb`5i`gg]W`hž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`j`cb`
Y]bYf`:`Ø`Y`Ub`æ`Zcfa`Uh]cbYb`ØVYf`X]Y`fY[`]cbU`Yb`
K`Y]bUbVUi`d`fU`_h]_Yb`i`bX`X]Y`:`YgW`]W`hY`XYg`K`Y]bc`fhg`
<`c`Yb`Ug`UW`VY[`Y]ghYfh`A`UbZfYX`GhfcV`ž`XYf`U`g`d`Ugg]cb]YfhYf`
K`UbXYfZØ`fYf`VY`_Ubbh]ghž`a`UW`hY`Yg`g]W`ni`f`5i`Z[`UVYž`XYb`
HY]bY`a`Yfb`b]W`h`bi`f`X]Y`B`Uhi`f`b`Å`Yfni`Vf]b[`Ybž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`
XUg`_i`hi`fY`Y`9fVY`XYf`F`Y[`]cb`ni`j`Yfa`]hY`b`"Gc`Yfn`Å`hY`Yf`j`cb`
XYf`6YXYi`hi`b[`XYg`K`Y]bVUi`g`ZØf`X]Y`c`_U`Y`K`]fhgW`UZh`i`bX`X]Y`
HfUX]h]cbYbž`X]Y`g]W`fi`bX`i`a`X]YgYb`6YfY]W`Yb`hk`]W`_Y`h`UVYb`"

8]Y`F`Y[`]cb`i`a`<`c`Yb`Ug`UW`U`h`Y]bY`Ub[`Y`K`Y]b[`YgW`]W`hY`ž`
X]Y`V]g]bg`A`]hY`U`hYf`ni`fØW`_j`YfZc`[`h`k`YfXYb`_Ubb`"8`UVY]`k`i`fXY`
XYf`K`Y]bVUi`b]W`h`bi`f`U`g`k`]fhgW`UZh]W`Y`:`fi`bX`U[`Y`[`YgY`Ybž`
gcbXYfb`]gh`Ui`W`h]YZ]b`XYf`c`_U`Yb`?`i`hi`f`j`Yfk`i`fnY`h`":`YghY`i`bX`

J YfUbghU`hi b[Ybž`X]Y`XYa`K`Y]b`[Yk`]Xa`Yh`g]bXž`Z]bXYb`\\Yf
fY[Y`a`À»][`ghUhh`i`bX`n]Y\\Yb`j`j]Y`Y`6Ygi`W`Yf`Ub`"9]b`VY`_Ub`bhYg
6Y]gd]Y`i]gh`XUg`<c`\\Yb`\\Ug`UW`Yf`K`Y]bZYghž`XUg`'À`f`]W`nU`\\fY]W`Y
A`YbgW`Yb`Ui`g`bU`\\i`bX`ZYfb`Ubn]Y\\h`i`bX`X]Y`6YXYi`hi`b[`XYg
K`Y]bVUi`g`ZØf`X]Y`i`Ya`Y]bgW`UZh`ZY]Yfh"

8]Y`K`Y]bYfbhY`i`bX`j`\\fY`<YfUi`gZcfXYfi`b[Yb

≠`XYb`i`YmhYb`i`J\\fYb`\\Uh`X]Y`K`Y]bk`]fhgW`UZh]b`8Yi`hgW`\\Ub`X
j`YfgW`]YXYbY`<YfUi`gZcfXYfi`b[Yb`VYk`À`h][Yb`a`ØggYb`
5i`gk`]f`_i`b[Yb`XYg`?`a`Uk`UbXY`gž`k`]Y`j`Yf`ÀbXYfhY
K`YhhYfVYX]b[i`b[Yb`i`bX`i`bj`cf\\YfgY\\VUfY`9fbhYgW`k`Ub`_i`b[Yb`ž
YfZcfXYfb`j`cb`K`]bnYfb`Y]bY`5bdUggi`b[`j`\\fYf`5bVUi`dfU`h]_Yb`
@Ui`h`XYa`i`8Yi`hgW`Yb`K`Y]bVUi`j`YfVUbX`]gh`Yhk`U`Y]b`8f]hY`i`XYf
XYi`hgW`Yb`K`Y]bVUi`Z`ÀW`Y`]b`bUW`\\U`h][Ya`i`5bVUi
VYk`]fhgW`UZhYhž`k`Ug`nY][hž`XUgg`j`]Y`Y`K`]bnYf`VYfY]hg`i`a`XYb`_Yb
i`bX`j`Yfgi`W`Yb`ž`i`a`k`Y`hž`fYi`bX`]W`Y`A`Yh`cXYb`ni`i`]bhY`[f]YfYb`"

8Ua`U`g`k`]Y`\\Yi`hY`g]bX`X]Y`DfcXi`_h]cbg`_cghYb`i`bX`X]Y
DfY]g[YghU`hi`b[`]a`K`Y]bVUi`i`Y]b`gh`ÀbX][Yg`H`\\Ya`U`"8]Y
ghY][YbXYb`?`cghYb`ZØf`A`UhYf]U`]Ybž`DYfgcbU`i`bX`X]Y`9]b`\\U`hi`b[
j`cb`J`cfgW`f]ZhYb`ghY`Yb`Y]bY`6Y`Ughi`b[`ZØf`j`]Y`Y`K`]bnYf`XUf`"I`a
X]YgY`<YfUi`gZcfXYfi`b[Yb`ni`a`Y]ghYfbž`gYhnYb`]a`a`Yf`a`Y`\\f
K`]bnYf`Ui`Z`]bbc`j`Uh]Y`5bg`ÀhnYž`Y]bgW`\\Y»`]W`X`Yf`B`i`hni`b[`j`cb
HYW`bc`c`[]Y`ni`f`J`YfVYggYfi`b[`XYf`K`Y]bdfcXi`_h]cb`"Gc`V]YhYb
GYbgcfYb`]b`XYb`K`Y]bVYf[Yb`Y]bY`df`Àn]gYfY`i`VYfk`UW`i`b[`XYf
6cXYbZYi`W`h][_Y]h`i`bX`XYg`DZ`Ub`nY`bk`UW`ghi`a`gž`k`cXi`fW
F`Yggci`fW`b`Y`ZZ]n]YbhYf`Y]b[YgYmh`k`YfXYb`_Øb`bYb`"

9]bV`]W`_Y`]b`X]Y`c`_U`Y`K`]fhgW`UZh

8]Y`K`Y]bk`]fhgW`UZh]gd]Y`h`Y]bY`nYbhfU`Y`F`c`Y`ZØf`X]Y`c`_U`Y
K`]fhgW`UZh]b`GUW`gYb`\\Y]a`i`bX`]bgVYgcbXYfY`]b`<c`\\Yb`\\Ug`UW`"
8]Y`F`Y[]cb`\\Uh`g]W`b]W`h`bi`f`U`g`5bVUi`[YV]Yh`ZØf`Gd]hYbk`Y]bY
YhUv`]Yfhž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`U`g`VYXYi`hYbXYg`N]Y`ZØf`XYb
K`Y]bhci`f]ga`i`g`"8]YgYf`GY`_hcf`\\Uh`VYgcbXYfg`]b`XYb`i`YmhYb
J\\fYb`Ub`6YXYi`hi`b[`]Yk`cbbYbž`XU`]a`a`Yf`a`Y`\\f`A`YbgW`Yb
≠`hYfYggY`Ub`fY[]cbU`Yb`DfcXi`_hYb`i`bX`9f`YVb]ggYb`nY][Yb`"

9]bV`W_Y`]b`X]Y`K`]fhgW\UZh`W\`_Y]h`XYg`K`Y]bhci`f]ga`i`g`nY][`Ybž
XUgg`X]YgYf`6YfY]W\`Yf\`YV`]W\`Yg`DchYbn]U`ZØf`XUg`K`UW\`ghi`a`j`cb
`c`_U`Yb` ;` YgW\`ÀZhYb`V]f[`hž`XU`Hci`f]ghYb`\`Ài`Z][`Ui`W\`c`_U`Y
;`Ughfcbca`]Y`i`bX` ;` YgW\`ÀZhY`VYgi`W\`Yb`"

@Ui`h`XYa`GhUh]gh]gW\`Yb`@UbXYgUa`h`6UXYb!K`ØfhYa`VYf[`g]bX`X]Y
`VYfbUW\`hi`b[`Yb`]b`K`Y]b[`ØhYfb`i`bX`UbXYfYb`ÀbX`]W\`Yb
6Y\`YfVYf[`i`b[`Yb`]b`XYb`YhnhYb`J\`fYb`XYi`h`]W\`Ub[`Ygh]Y[`Yb`Y]b
_`UfYf`bX]_Uhc`f`ZØf`X]Y`k`UW\`gYbXY`6Y`]YVh\`Y]h`XYg
K`Y]bhci`f]ga`i`g`"Ni`gÀhn`]W\`k`]fX`XYf`K`Y]bhci`f]ga`i`g`cZi]`cb
UbXYfYb`5_h]j`]hÀhYb`k`]Y`K`UbXYfbž`F`UXZU\`fYb`i`bX`?`i`]bUf]_
VY[`Y]hYhž`k`Ug`X]Y`5`hfU_h]j`]hÀh`XYf`F`Y[`]cb`bcW\`k`Y]hYf`ghY][`Yfh`"

g[`YgUa`h`nY][`h`X]Y`K`Y]bk`UbXYfi`b[`]i`a`<c\`Yb\`Ug`UW\`b]W\`h`bi`f
X]Y`GW\`Øb\`Y]h`XYf`F`Y[`]cbž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W\`X]Y`J`]Y`ZU`h`i`bX`X]Y`h]YZ
j`Yfk`i`fnY`hY`6Yn]Y\`i`b[`]XYf`A`YbgW\`Yb`ni`a`K`Y]bVUi`"9g`]gh`Y]bY
`YVYbX][`Y`HfUX]h]cbž`X]Y`Zc`fh[`Y`ZØ\`fh`k`]fX`i`bX`g]W\`[`]Y]W\`nY]h][`Ub
X]Y`U`_hi`Y`Yb`<`YfUi`gZc`fXYfi`b[`]Yb`i`bX`7\`UbW\`b`UbdUggh`"

8YhU]`g

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