

; fØbgWk b]hh!G_UbXU`. '≡`Y[U`Y
9bhgcf[i b[`i bX`J UbXU`]ga i g`]b`6UX
; UbXYfg\Y]a

I bVY_UbbhY`Ybhgcf[Yb`i bYf`Ui Vh; fØbgWk b]hh`i bX
VYgW`ÅX][Yb`HfYddYb[Y`ÅbXYf`]b`6UX; UbXYfg\Y]a "
NYi [Yb`[Ygi Wk`h`

≠`6UX; UbXYfg\Y]a `k i fXY`nk]gWkYb`XYa`%) "'i bX`%- "'5i [i gh
&\$&(`Y]b`i bYf`Ui VhYf`J cfZU``Ui ZY]bYa` ; fi bXghØW_]b`XYf
<]XYg\Y]a Yf`GhfU»Y`[Ya Y`XYh`I bVY_UbbhY`HÅhYf`Ybh`YX][hYb
g]Wk`Xcfh`]`Y[U`j cb` ; fØbgWk b]hh`i bX` ; UfhYbUVZ`Yb`ž`k Ug`b]Wk h
bi f`[Y[Yb`X]Y`J cfgWk f]ZhYb`XYf`5VZU``Ybhgcf[i b[`j YfghØ» hž
gcbXYfb`Ui Wk`XUg`I a ZY`X`i bX`XYb`5bk c`bYfb`ni f`@Ugh`Z`h`
5VZ`Y`cfXbi b[g[Ya `Å»`ni `Ybhgcf[Yb`ž]gh`b]Wk`h`bi f`Y]bY` : fU[Y
XYf`GUi VYf`_Y]hž`gcbXYfb`Ui Wk`XYg`FYgdY`hg`[Y[YbØVYf`XYf
; Ya Y]bgWkUZh`i bX`XYf`BUhi f`

8]Y`G]hi Uh]cb`Yg_U`]YfhY`k Y]hYfž`U`g`X]Y`HÅhYf`VY]a`5V`UXYb
UbgWkY]bYbX`XUg`9XY`ghU`[Y`ÅbXYf`Y]bYg`HfYddYbUi Z[Ub[g
VYgWk`ÅX][hYb`"8]Yg`k]fZh` : fU[Yb`ni f`G]WkYf\Y]hi bX`ni a
ghUUh]WkYb`GWk`i m`j cb`9][Ybhi a`Ui Z`"8]Y`GWk`ÅX][i b[
ÖZZYbh]WkYf`cXYf`df]j UhYf`≠ZfUghfi`_hi f`Xi fWk`XYfUfh][Y
<UbX`i b[Yb`]gh`U`Ufa`]YfYbX`i bX`_Ubb`gWk`Yfk`]Y[YbXY` : c`[Yb
ZØf`X]Y`6YhY]`][hYb`\UVYb`"

8YhU]`g`XYg`J cfZU``g

8Yf`J cfZU``YfY][bYhY`g]Wk`ØVYf`Y]bYb`NY]hfUi a`j cb`a Y`fYfYb
HU[Yb`ž`k Ug`XUfUi Z`\]bXYi hYhž`XUgg`X]Y`HÅhYf`Ybh`k YXYf
k]YXYf`c`h]b`XYf`I a [YVi b[`i bhYfk Y[g`k UfYb`cXYf`g]Wk`VYk`i ggh
NY]h`bU`a Yb`ž`i a`]fY`HUh`Ui gni ZØ`fYb`"8Ug` ; fi bXghØW_ž`Ui Z

XYa`XYf'; f0bgW.b]hUV[Y`UXYb`k i fXYž[Y\Öfhini`Y]bYa
; YVÄi XY_ca d`YI žXYf`a Ö[`]WYfk Y]gY`j cb`a Y\fyfYb`DYfgcbYb
[Ybi hnh`k]fX"

8]Y`VYgW.i`X][hYb`DYfgcbYb`g]bX`V]g`Ub[`i bVY`Ubbhž`i bX`Yg
\UbXY`hg]W`i a`Y]bYb`[Yg]W`hg`cgYb`J Yfghc»`[Y[Yb`; YgYhmY`ni f
5VZU`Ybhgc f[i b[``Gc`WY`HUhYb`g]bX`b]W`h`bi f`ghfUZVUfž`gcbXYfb
nYi [Yb`Ui W`j cb`Y]bYa`A Ub[Y`Ub`J YfUbhk`cfhi b[`i bX
F0W_g]W`hbU`a Y``8Yf`J cfZU``_ÖbbhY`k Y]hYfY`9fa`]h`i b[Yb`bUW
g]W`n]Y\Ybž`i a`Ä`b`]WY`HUhYb`]b`XYf`Ni`_i bZ`ni`j Yf\]bXYfb"

5i Zfi Z`ni f`A]h\]`ZY

8]Y`Dc`nY]`6UX`; UbXYfg\Y]a`h`Uh]bnk]gWYb`Y]bYb`5i Zfi Z`ni f
A]h\]`ZY`[YghUfhYh`NYi [Ybž`X]Y`]b`XYf`VYgU[hYb`NY]h`j YfXÄW`h][Y
5_h]j]hÄhYb`VYa`Yf_h`\UVYbž`k YfXYb`[YVYhYbž`g]W`a`]h`XYf`Dc`nY]
]b`J YfV]bXi b[`ni`gYhmYb``9]bY`gW`bY`Y`F YU_h]cb`XYf`5bk`c`bYf
ÖbbhY`XUni`VY]hfU[Ybž`gc`WY`l`a`k`Y`hXY`]hY`ni`j Yf\]bXYfb`i`bX
X]Y`J YfUbhk`cfh]WYb`ni`f`F YWYbgW`UZh`ni`n]Y\Yb"

8]Y`HY`Yzcbbi`a`a`Yf`XYf`Dc`nY]`k`]fX`]b`XYb`6Yf]W`hYb
\Yfj`cf[Y\cVYb.`\$)` , &!-)` -!\$`8]Y`Ni`gUa`a`YbUfVY]h`XYf`60f[Yf
a`]h`XYf`Dc`nY]`]gh`j`cb`[fi`bX`Y[YbXYf`6YXYi`hi`b[ž`i`a`X]Y
?f]a`]bU`]hÄh`ni`fYXi`n]YfYb`i`bX`Y]b`g]W`YfYg`l`a`ZY`X`Z0f`U`Y`ni
gW`UZYb``>XYf`<]bk`Y]gž`gY]`Yf`bc`W`gc`_`Y]bž`_Ubb`Yb`hgW`Y]XYb`X
gY]b"

8 Ug`i`bYf`Ui`VhY`5V`UXYb`j`cb`5VZÄ`Yb`]gh`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]b`Y`f[Yfb]gž
gcbXYfb`_Ubb`Ui`W`_cghgd]Y`][Y`5i`ZfÄ`i`a`U_h]cbYb`Ui`g`ÖgYb``8]Y
GhUXh`_ÖbbhY`]b`gc`WYb`:`Ä`Yb`j`YfdZ]W`hY`hgY]bž`Ui`ZY][YbY
?cghYb`Y]bY`cfXbi`b[g[Ya`Ä»Y`9bhgc f[i b[`ni`cf[Ub]g]YfYb``8]Yg
VY`UghY`h`b]W`h`bi`f`X]Y`Öfh]W`Yb`ÖZY`b`h]W`Y`:`]b`UbnYbž`gcbXYfb
_Ubb`Ui`W`X]Y`l`a`k`Y`h`gW`ÄX][Yb`i`bX`i`b`UbgY`b`]WY`GhY`Yb
\]bhYf`UggYbž`X]Y`XUg`9fgW`Y]bi`b[gV]`X`XYf`; Ya`Y]bXY
VYY]bhfÄW`h][Yb"

9g`k`ÄfY`k`0bgW`Yb`gk`Yf`hž`XUgg`j`Yf`ghÄf`hY`5i`Z`Äfi`b[g`Ua`dU[bYb
0VYf`X]Y`_cffY`hY`5VZU`Yb`hgcf[i b[`]b`XYf`F`Y[]cb`YhUV`]Yfh

k YfXYbž i a 'XUg'6Yk i gghgY]b'ZØf'X]Y'a Ò['j]W\Yb'fYW\h]W\Yb'i bX
Z]bUbn]Y''Yb'?cbgYei YbnYb'j cb']''Y[U'Yb'9bhgc f[i b[Yb'ni
gW\ÀfZYb''A]h'Y]bYa ' : c_i g'Ui Z'X]Y'J YfUbhk cfhi b['YXYg
9]bnY'bYb'j]b'XYf'; Ya Y]bgW\UZh'_Ubb'Y]b'K UbXY''j]b'XYf
K U\fbY\ a i b['gc'W\Yf'HUHyb'Yfn]Y'h'k YfXYb''

K]W\ h][_Y]h'XYf'cfXbi b[g[Ya À» Yb 9bhgc f[i b[

5VgW\`j]Y» YbX'V`Y]Vh'ZYghni \U'hYbž'XUgg'XYf'J cfZU''j]b'6UX
; UbXYfg\Y]a 'b]W\h'bi f'Y]b'j]gc`YfhYg'9fY][b]g']ghž'gcbXYfb'Ui Z'Y]b
[fÒ» YfYg'DfcV`Ya '\]bk Y]gh'X]Y'Bchk YbX][_Y]hž'XYb' i a [Ub['a]h
5VZÀ''Yb'j]b' i bgYfYf'; YgY''gW\UZh'ni '\]bhYfZfU[Yb''>XYf'9]bnY'bY
a i gg'X]Y'J YfUbhk cfhi b['ZØf'gY]bY'< UbX'i b[Yb'ØVYfbY\ a Yb' i bX
g]W\YfghY''Ybž'XUgg'Yf' i a k Y'hžfYi bX`]W\Y' i bX''Y[U'Y
A Ò['j]W\ _Y]hYb'ni f'9bhgc f[i b['j cb'5VZÀ''Yb'bi hnh''

F Y`Yj Ubn'XYf' i a k Y`hžfYi bX`]W\ Yb 9bhgc f[i b[

8]Y'cfXbi b[g[Ya À» Y'9bhgc f[i b['j cb'; fØbgW\ b]hh' i bX
; UfhYbUVZÀ''Yb'j]gh'b]W\h'bi f'Y]bY'fYW\h]W\Y'J YfdZ]W\hi b[ž
gcbXYfb'Ui W\`Y]b'k YgYbh']W\Yf'5gdY_h'XYg' i a k Y'hgW\ i hnYg''-
8Yi hgW\`UbX'g]bX'j]Y'Y'?ca a i bYb'ghfYb['fY[i 'j]Yfhž'k Ybb'Yg' i a
X]Y'5VZU''Yb'bhgc f[i b['j]Y\hž' i a 'X]Y' i a k Y'h'ni 'gW\ØhnYb' i bX'X]Y
F YWmW]b[ei chY'ni 'Yf\ Ò\Yb''9]bY'gUW\ [Ya À» Y'9bhgc f[i b['\]Zhž
X]Y'A Yb[Y'Ub'5VZÀ''Ybž'X]Y'Ui Z'8Ydcb]Yb'[Y'Ub[Ybž'ni
j Yff]b[Yfbž' i bX'X]Y'bUhØf']W\Yb'F Yggci fW\ b'VYggYf'ni 'bi hnYb''
8Ug']''Y[U'Y'5V`UXYb'j cb'; fØbgW\ b]hh'_Ubb'b]W\h'bi f'X]Y' i a k Y'h
VY`UghYbž'gcbXYfb'Ui W\`fYW\h]W\Y'?cbgYei YbnYb'bUW\`g]W\
n]Y\Yb''

9]b'GmghYa 'ni f'cfXbi b[g[Ya À» Yb'9bhgc f[i b['j cb'; fØbUVZÀ''Yb
VYghY\h'\Ài Z]['Ui g'gdYn]Y''Yb'9bhgc f[i b[ghU[Yb'cXYf
W\ b'hu]bYfVUg]YfhYb'@Øgi b[Ybž'X]Y'Yg'XYb'6Øf[Yfb'Yf'Y]W\hYfb
gc''Ybž'\fYb'5VZU''j YfUbhk cfhi b[gj c''ni 'Ybhgc f[Yb''8]YgY
-h]Uh]j Yb'ZØfXYfb'XUg'6Yk i gghgY]b'ZØf'Y]bYb' i a k Y'hVYk i gghYb

@YVYbggh]`i bX`i bhYfghØmYb`X]Y` ; Ya Y]bXYb`XUVY]ž`Y]bY`gUi VYfY
i bX`[Ygi bXY`I a [YVi b[`Ui ZFYW`hni Yf\U`hYb"

F YW`h`]W`Y` : c`[Yb`]`Y [U`Yf`9bhgc f[i b [

8]Y`i bYf`Ui VhY`9bhgc f[i b [`j cb`5VZ`Ä`Yb`_Ubb`Yf\YV`]W`Y
fYW`h`]W`Y`?cbgYei YbnYb`bUW`g]W`n]Y\Yb`"B UW`z`" &(`XYg
GhfUZ[YgYhnVi W`Yg`fGh; 6É`a UW`hig]W`XYf`Yb][Y`ghfUZVufž`XYf
5VZ`Ä`Y`UVg]W`h`]W`cXYf`ZU`f`Ägg][`i bgUW`[Ya Ä» `UV`U[Yfh`" ð
j]Y`Yb` : Ä`Yb`k YfXYb`6i » [Y`XYf`j Yf\Äb[hž`X]Y`Y`bUW`GW`k YfY
XYg`J Yf[Y\Ybg`j Uf]]YfYb`_ÖbbYb`"8 UfØVYf`\]bUi g`_ÖbbYb`Ui W`
?cghYb`ZØf`X]Y`6YgY]h][i b [`XYf`]`Y [U`UV[Y`U[YfhYb`5VZ`Ä`Y`Ub
XYb`J Yfi fgUW`Yf`k Y]hYf[Y[YVYb`k YfXYb`"8]Y`VYhfc ZYbYb`GhÄXhY
i bX` ; Ya Y]bXYb`gYhnYb`]a a Yf`\Äi Z][Yf` , VYfk UW`i b [ggmghYa Y
Y]bž`i a `J Yf[Y\Yb`Ui Zni XYW`_Yb`i bX`XUni `VY]ni hfU[Ybž`XUg
6Yk i gghgY]b`ZØf`X]Y`cfXbi b [g[Ya Ä» Y`5VZU`Yb`hgc f[i b [`ni
gW`ÄfZYb"

GhUh]gh]gW`Y`8 UhYb`ni f`5VZU`Yb`hgc f[i b [

@Ui h`XYa `I a k Y`hVi bXYgUa h`U[`X]Y`Xi fW`gW`b]h`]W`Y`A Yb[Y`Ub
5VZ`Ä`Yb`Ui g` ; Yk YfVY`i bX`Df]j Uh\Ui g`U`hYb`]b`8Yi hgW`UbX`]a
»\f`&\$&\$`VY`Yhk U`" - (`?)c[fUa a `dfc`DYfgcb`"8Yf`5bhY`]`j cb
6]c[i hž`ni `XYa `Ui W` ; fØbgW`b]h`nÄ`hž`VYhfi [`fi bX`%`i`"
6YgcbXYfg`hmd]gW`ZØf`]`Y [U`Y`9bhgc f[i b [Yb`g]bX`ghÄXh]gW`Y
 ; YV]YhYž`]b`XYbYb`cZiXYf`D`Uhn`ZØf`X]Y`5VZU`U[Yfi b[`ZY`\`hi bX
X]Y`9bhgc f[i b [g`cghYb`U`g`ni `cW`Ya dZi bXYb`k YfXYb`"8Yf
I bhYfgW`]YX`]b`XYf`5VZU`Yb`hgc f[i b [gfUhY`nk]gW`Yb`i fVUbYb`i bX
`ÄbX`]W`Yb` ; YV]YhYb`nY][hž`k]Y`k]W`h][`_cb`fYhY`A U»bU`a Yb`ni f
GYbg]V]]g]Yfi b[`XYf`6Yj Ö`_Yfi b[`i bX`ni f`J YfVYggYfi b[`XYf
»ZfUghfi _hi f`ZØf`X]Y`cfXbi b [g[Ya Ä» Y`9bhgc f[i b [`g]bX"

8]Y`6YXYi hi b [`XYf`NYi [Yb` \]bk Y]gY

8]Y`6Y]hfU[`XYf`² ZYb`h`]W`_Y]h`]ghYb`hgW`Y]XYbXž`i a `gc`W`Y
J Yf[Y\Yb`ni `j Yf\]bXYfb`i bX`X]Y`HÄhYf`ni f`FYW`YbgW`UZh`ni
n]Y\Yb`" ð j]Y`Yb` : Ä`Yb` [YVYb`Ubcbma]g]YfhY`<]bk Y]gY`j cb

NYi [Yb`XYb`6Y\ÖfXYb`k Yfhj c`Y`bZcfa Uh]cbYbž`X]Y`ni
9fa]hhi b[Yb`Z0\ fYb`_ÖbbYb``8]Y`GYbg]V]`]g]Yfi b[`XYf`60f[Yf`Z0f
X]Y`fYW`h]W`Yb`i bX`i a k Y`hhYW`b]gW`Yb`5gdY`hY`XYf
5VZU``Ybhgc f[i b[`]gh`XU`Yf`i bYf`Ägg]W`"@c_U`Y`Dc`]nY]!`i bX
l a k Y`hVY`ÖfXYb`Ya`dZY`Ybž`j YfX`ÄW`h][Y`5_h]j]h`hYb`gcZcfh`ni
a Y`XYbž`i a `]`Y[U`Y`5VZU``Ybhgc f[i b[`ni`i bhYfV]bXYb`i bX`Y]b
j YfVYggYfhYg`ÖZZYbh]W`Yg`6Yk`i gghgY]b`ni`gW`UZZYb`"

8YhU]`g

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