

Ghi fa gW UXYb]b < Øbl Y. l a [YghØfnhYf
6Ui a 'V`cW_]Yfh`HY`YZcb`Y]hi b [

9]bgUhn`XYf': K`<Øbl Y.`9]b`i a [YghØfnhYf`6Ui a `Z]Y`Ui Z`Y]bY
HY`YZcb`Y]hi b [ž`k i fXY`gW`bY``YbhZYfbhž`c`bY`GW`ÅXYb`ni
j`Yfi fgUW`Yb"

<Øbl Y`fb`hgk

≠`XYf'; Ya Y]bXY`<Øbl Yž [YbUi Yf [YgU [h]a `C`fhghY]`9a`ghY [Yž
k i fXY`X]Y': Yi Yfk Y`f`Ua`' & ("5i [i gh&\$&(i a`' &\$.%(i` \f`ni
Y]bYa`'Ghi fa gW UXYb` [Yfi ZYb"9]b`i a [YghØfnhYf`6Ui a
VY` \]bXYfhY`XYb`J`Yf`_Y`fž`]bXYa`'Yf`Ui Z`Y]bYf`HY`YZcb`Y]hi b [`U ["
8]Y`U`Ufa`]YfhY`9]b` \Y]h`Ui`g`<Øbl Y`k`Uf`gW`bY``j`c`f`C`fhž`i`a`'X]Y
G]hi`Uh]cb`ni`'VYgY]h][`Yb"

8 Ug`k`Y`hhYfVYX]b [hY`9fY][`b]gž`XUg`XYb`6Ui a`'i a`ghØfnYb`''Y»`ž
ghY`hY`ZØf`X]Y': Yi Yfk Y`f`_Y]bY`VYgcbXYfY`<YfUi`gZcfXYfi`b [`XUfž
XU`XUg`HYUa`' [i`h`Ui`g [YV]`XYhi`b`X`j`c`fVYfY]hY`h`k`Uf`"A`]h`XYf
A`c`hc`fg`À [Y`k`i`fXY`XYf`6Ui a`'gW`bY``i`b`X`Y`ZZ]n]Ybh`nYf`_Y]bYfhž
gc`XUgg`_Y]bY` [fØ»`YfYb`GW`ÅXYb`Ub`XYf`HY`YZcb`Y]hi b [`cXYf`XYa
GhfU»`Ybj`Yf`_Y`f`YbhghUbXYb`g]bX"

8 Yf`9]bgUhn`]a`'8 YhU]`

B UW`XYa`'XYf`6Ui a`'YbhZYfbh`k`Ufž` \Y`hYb`X]Y': Yi Yfk Y`f`Yi`hY
ni`XYa`'X]Y`GhfU»`Y`gUi`VYfž`]bXYa`'g]Y`@Ui`V`i`b`X`Y`ghY`VY]gY]hY
f`À`i`a`hYb`"8 Yf` [YgUa`hY`9]bgUhn`XUi`YfhY`'YX][`'jW`'Yhk`U`' \$
A`]bi`hYb`"8 Ug`gW`bY``Y`<`UbXYb`'XYf': Yi Yfk Y`f`j`Yf` \]bXYfhY`'b]W`h
bi`f`a`Ø [`jW`Y`'i`b`Z`Å`Y`ZØf`5i`hc`ZU` \fYfž`gc`bXYfb`gc`f [hY`Ui`W`'XU`ZØfž
XUgg`X]Y`HY`YZcb`Y]hi b [`]bhU`_h`V`]YV"

9g]gh'b]W\hi b[Yk Ò\b`]Wž'XUgg']a 'Gca a Yfž'VYgcbXYfg'bUW
ghUf_Yb`K]bXYb`cXYf'; Yk]hYfbž'6Ài a Y`i a ghØfnYb``8]YgY
BUhi fYfY][b]ggY`_ØbbYb`X]Y`ϕZfUghfi _hi f`Yf\YV`]W
VYY]bhfÀW\h][Yb``ϕ<Øbl Y`nY][h'g]W`Y]ba U`a Y`fž`k]Y`k]W\h][
X]Y`Øfh]W\Y`Y: Yi Yfk Y`f`]b`XYfUfh][Yb`A ca YbhYb`]gh`Gc`W\Y
9]bgÀhnY`j YfXYi h]W\Ybž'XUgg`Y]bY`[i h'cf[Ub]g]YfhY`i bX
Y]bgUhnVYfY]hY`Y: Yi Yfk Y`f`YbhgW\Y]XYbX`]ghž`i a`]b`B chg]hi Uh]cbYb
gW\by``fYU[]YfYb`ni`_ØbbYb"

8]Y`6YXYi hi b[`Øfh`]W\Yf`: Yi Yfk Y`fYb

8]Y`gW\by``Y`fYU_h]cb`Ui Z`Ghi fa gW\ÀXYb`]gh'b]W\h`bi f`ZØf`X]Y
G]W\Yf\Y]h`XYf`6Øf[Yf`k]W\h][ž`gcbXYfb`Ui W\`ZØf`X]Y
5i ZfYW\hYf\U`hi b[`XYf`_ca a i bU`Yb`ϕZfUghfi _hi f``ϕ`ÀbX`]W\Yb
; Y[YbXYbž`k c`A]gg[YgW\]W_Y`Ui Z[fi bX`XYf`BUhi f`\Ài Z[Yf
j cf`_ca a Ybž`g]bX`c_U`Y`Y: Yi Yfk Y`fYb`cZh`X]Y`YfghYbž`X]Y`j cf`C fh
g]bXž`i a`XUg`DfcV`Ya`ni``ØgYb``G]Y`gd]Y`Yb`Y]bY`GW\`ØggY`fc``Y`ja
B chZU``a UbU[Ya`Ybh"

A]h`\fYa`j]Y`gY]h][Yb`HfU]b]b[gdfc[fUa a`g]bX`Y: Yi Yfk Y`f`Yi hY
[i h`Ui Z`X]Y`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`j cfVYfY]hYhž`X]Y`]\bYb`VY]
9]bgÀhnYb`VY[Y[bYb``ϕfY`9fZU\fi b[Yb`Ui`g`j Yf[Ub[YbYb
9]bgÀhnYb`hfU[Yb`XUni`VY]ž`ni`_ØbZh][Y`GW\by``fYU_h]cbYb`bcW\
YZZY_h]j Yf`ni`[YghU`hYb``Gc`VY\À`h`X]Y`Y: Yi Yfk Y`f`]b`<Øbl Y`Y]bYb
\c\Yb`GhUbXUfX`VY]`XYf`i bhYfghØhni b[`XYf`; Ya`Y]bgW\UZh"

5VgW\`Y]» YbX`V`Y]Vh`ni`gU[Ybž'XUgg'gc`W\Y`9]bgÀhnY`b]W\h`bi f
hYW\b]gW\Y`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`XUfghY``Ybž'gcbXYfb`Ui W\`XUg
9b[U[Ya`Ybh`XYf`: Yi Yfk Y`f`Yi hY`XYa`cbghf]YfYbž`X]Y`ghÀbX][
VYfY]h'g]bXž`]\fY`A]hVØf[Yf`]b`?f]gYbnY]hYb`ni`i bhYfghØhnYb``8]YgY
9fY][b]ggY`ghÀf_Yb`XUg`j YfhfUi Yb`XYf`6Yj Ò`_Yfi b[`]b`]\fY
: Yi Yfk Y`f`i bX`VYk Y]gYb`Y]ba U`a Y`fž`XUgg`g]Y`]b`gW\k]Yf][Yb
G]hi Uh]cbYb`ghYhg`ni`f`GhY``Y`g]bX"

<]bhYf[fi bX]bZcfa Uh]cbYb`ni`Ghi fa gW\ÀXYb
i bX`B chZU``Y]bgÀhnYb

Ghi fa gWÅXYb`ghY`Yb`j]j`Y`Yb`FY[]cbYbž]bgVYgcbXYfY`]b
8Yi hgWÅ`UbXž`Y]bY`Yfbgh\UZhY` ; YZU\`f`XUf`"GhUf`_Y`K`]bXY`i` bX
l`bk`YhhYf`_`ÖbbYb`b]WÅ`h`bi`f`6`Äi`a`Y`ni` :`U`Vf]b[Ybž`gcbXYfb`Ui`WÅ
GWÅXYb`Ub`<`Äi`gYfbž` :`U\`fnYi` [Yb`i`bX``bZfUghfi`_`hi`f`j`Yfi`fgUWÅYb`"
8]Y` :`Yi`Yfk`Y\`f`k`]fX`]b`gc`WÅYb`G]hi`Uh]cbYb`c`Zhi`U`g`YfghY`<`]`Zg`fUZh
U`_`hj`]Yfhž`i`a` :` ;`YZU\`fYb`ZØf`X]Y`ÖZYbh]WÅY`G]WÅYf\`Y]h`ni
VYgY]h][Yb`"@Ui`h`6Yf]WÅ`hYb`XYg`8Yi`hgWÅYb`K`YhhYfX]YbghYg`]gh`X]Y
<`Äi`Z][`_Y]h]j`cb`GhØfa`Yb`]b`XYb`Y`hnhYb``U\`fYb`[Ygh]Y[Ybž`k`Ug
g]WÅ`X]fY`_`h`Ui`Z`XUg`9]bgUhnUi`Z`_`ca`a`Yb`XYf`F`Yhhi`b[g`_`f`ÄZhY
Ui`gk`]f`_`h`fB`Yi`hgWÅYf`K`YhhYfX]Ybghž`Xk`X`"XYŁ"

⊖`8Yi`hgWÅ`UbX`g]bX`X]Y` :`Yi`Yfk`Y\`fYb`]b`XYf`FY[Y`Xi`fWÅ`XYb
?`UhUghfcd\`YbgWÅ`i`m`i`bX`X]Y` ;`YZU\`fYb`UVk`Y\`f`[i`h`Ui`Z[YghY`h`"⊖
?`ca`a`i`bYb`k`]Y`<`Øbl`Y`gYhmYb`g]WÅ`X]Y` :`fY]k`]`][Yb` :`Yi`Yfk`Y\`fYb
Ui`g`Yb[U[]YfhYb`6`Øf[Yfb`ni`gUa`a`Ybž`X]Y`]a`B`chZU`"[YgWÅ`i`h`i`bX
Ui`g[YV]`XYh`g]bXž`i`a`gWÅ`bY`Y`i`bX`YZZ]n]YbhY`<`]Z`Y`ni`"Y]ghYb`"
Gc`WÅY`9]bgÄ`hmY`g]bX`b]WÅ`h`bi`f`hYWÅ`b]gWÅ`Y`fUi`gZc`fXYfbXž
gcbXYfb`Ui`WÅ`Ya`ch]cbU`VY`UghYbXž`XU`X]Y`9]bgUhn`_`f`ÄZhY` \`Äi`Z][
a`]h]j`Yf[`Y]WÅ`VUfYb`GnYbUf]Yb`_`cbZfcbh]Yfh`k`YfXYb`"

5`_`hi`Y`Y`GhUh]gh]_`Yb`ni`Ghi`fa`gWÅ`ÅXYb`i`bX 9]bgÄ`hnYb`

8]Y`5bnU\`XYf`9]bgÄ`hmY`XYf` :`Yi`Yfk`Y\`f`]a`Ni`gUa`a`Yb\`Ub[`a`]h
Ghi`fa`gWÅ`ÅXYb`\`Uh]b`XYb`Y`hnhYb`U\`fYb`g][b]Z]_`Ub`hY`K`YfhY
YffY]WÅ`h`"a`U\`f`&\$&'`j`YfnY]WÅ`bYhY`X]Y` :`Yi`Yfk`Y\`f`]b
8Yi`hgWÅ`UbX`"Ui`h`Y]bYf`GhUh]gh]_`XYg`8Yi`hgWÅYb
 :`Yi`Yfk`Y\`f`j`YfVUbXYg`ØVYf`%`\$`\$`\$`9]bgÄ`hmY`Ui`Z[fi`bX`j`cb
Ghi`fa`gWÅ`ÅXYb`i`bX`Ä`b`]WÅYb`K`YhhYfYfY][b]ggYb`fB`Yi`hgWÅYf
 :`Yi`Yfk`Y\`f`j`YfVUbXž`XZj`"cf[Ł"8]YgY`NU\`YfgYhnh`ghUh]gh]gWÅY
8UhYb`Ui`g`U\`fYb`XUj`cf`i`bX`Y[h`bU\`Yž`XUgg`YI`hfYa`Y
K`YhhYfYfY][b]ggY`Ub`<`Äi`Z][`_Y]h`i`bX`⊖`hYbg]hÄ`h`ni`bY\`a`Ybž`k`cVY]
Ui`WÅ`XYf`?`]a`Uk`UbXY`Y]bY`F`c`Y`gd]Y`Yb`_`ÖbbhY`"

Ni`gÄ`h`]WÅ`nY][h`Y]bY`l`a`ZfU[Y`i`bhYf` :`Yi`Yfk`Y\`fa`ÄbbYfb`i`bX
!ZfUi`Ybž`XUgg`X]Y`j`cfVYfY]hi`b[`Ui`Z`YI`hfYa`Y`K`YhhYfVYX]b[i`b[Yb
ni`XYb`<`Ui`dhUb`]Y[Yb`XYf`9]bgUhn`_`f`ÄZhY`[Y\`Öfh`" ,`VYf`+`\$i`XYf
6YZfU[hYb`[UVYb`Ubž`XUgg`g]Y`fY[Y`a`Ä»][`Ub`GWÅ`i`i`b[Yb

hY]`bY\`a Ybž`i a `g]W\`Ui Z`X]Y`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Ybž`X]Y
Ghi fa gW\`AXYb`a]h`g]W\`Vf]b[Ybž`VYggYf`j cfni VYfY]hYb
fl cfgW\`i b[gghY``Y`ZØf` : Yi Yfk Y\`f!`i bX`FYhhi b[gk YgYbž`
ZYi Yfk Y\`f!fYggci fW\`b`"XY`"

8]YgY`GhUh]gh]_Yb`j YfXYi h`]W\`Yb`X]Y`B`chk YbX][`_]hž`X]Y
9]bgUm_f`ÄZhY`gck c\``]b`hYW\`b]gW\`Yf`U`g`Ui W\`]b`a YbhU`Yf`<]bg]W\`h
[i h`Ui Z`X]Y`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`j cfni VYfY]hYbž`X]Y`Ghi fa gW\`AXYb
a]h`g]W\`Vf]b[Yb``8]Y` : Yi Yfk Y\`f`a i gg`gh`AbX][`Ui Z`XYa`bYi YghYb
GhUbX`XYf`HYW\`b]_`i bX`6Ygh`DfUWh]W\`g`gY]bž`i a`X]Y`ÖZYbh`]W\`Y
G]W\`Yf\`Y]h`ni `[Yk`Ä\`f`Y]ghYb`i bX`Ub[Ya YggYb`Ui Z
Ghi fa YfY][`b]ggY`fYU[]YfYb`ni`_`ÖbbYb`"

8YhU]`g

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