

HcXYgYb[Y`]a `5`hYb\Y]a .`DZY[Y_fUZh
[YghY\h`j]Yf`A cfXY`]b`BYUdY`

9]b`5`hYbdZY[Yf`Ui g`7UgYfhU`[YghY\h`j]Yf`A YbgWXYb
[YhØhYh`ni `UVYb`ž`i a `]`bYb`GWa YfnYb`ni `YfgdUfYb`"Dc`nY]
Yfa]hhY`h"

9]b`VYa Yf_Ybgk YfhYf` : U`gc f[h`ZØf`5i ZfY[i b[`]b`#U`]Yb`ž`U`g`Y]b
5`hYbdZY[Yf`Ui g`XYf`B`Å`Y`j cb`BYUdY`[YghY\h`a]bXYghYbg`j]Yf`
A YbgWXYb`[YhØhYh`ni `UVYb`"8Yf`(!`Å`f][Y`A Ubb`Ui g`7UgYfhU
hfUh`ØVYffUgWXYbX`VY]`XYf`Dc`nY]`Ui Z`VY[`Y]hYh`j cb`gY]bYb
5bk `Å`hYb`ž`i bX`[YghUjX`ž`X]Y`HUhYb`VY[Ub[Yb`ni `UVYb`ž`i a
gY]bYb`DZY[YVYXØfZh][Yb`j Yfa Y]bh]W`GWa Yfn`i bX`@Y]X`ni
YfgdUfYb`"

8]Y`HUhYb`ž`X]Y`XYf`5`hYbdZY[Yf`ni []Vh`k`i fXYb`ni j cf`b]Y`U`g
HØh`i b[gXY`_hY`Yf`Ubbh`"9fgh`Xi fW`gY]b` ; Ygh`AbXb]g`YfZ` \fYb`X]Y
9fa]hh`Yf`j cb`X]YgYb`J cfZ`Å`Yb`"6Yf]W`hYb`ni Zc`[Y`gc`Yb`X]Y`CdZYf
Xi fW` , VYfXcg]g`Ub`A YX]_Ua YbhYb`i a [YVfUW`h`k cfXYb`gY]b`ž
k Ug`X]Y`H`Ya Uh]_XYg`gc[YbUbbhYb` HØhYbg`Ui g`A]hY]X`YfbYi h
Ui Zk]fZh`"8]Yg`k]fZh` : fU[Yb`Ui Z`k]Y`gc`W`Y`<UbX`i b[Yb`]b`Y]bYa
dfcZYgg]cbY`Yb`DZY[Yi a ZY`X`a Ø[`]W`g]bX`i bX`k Y`W`Y`?cbhfc`Yb
Yg`[]Vh`"

8 YhU]`g`ni a `H`hYf`i bX`gY]bYb`C dZYfb

8Yf`5`hYbdZY[Yf`k]Yg`_Y]bY`Zcfa U`Y`5i gV]Xi b[`]b`XYf
5`hYbdZY[Y`Ui Z`cVk c`Y`f`a Y`f`U`g`Y]b`#`fnY`b`h`Ub[`]b`X]YgYa
6YfY]W` [YUfVY]hYh`UhhY`"6Yf]W`hYb`XYf` 7cff]YfY`XY`U`GYfU
ni Zc`[Y`VYhfYi hY`Yf`fi bX` \$`DZY[YVYXØfZh][Y`ž`c`Zh`k c`b`hY`Yf
gc[Uf`VY]`gY]bYb`DUh]YbhYb`"8Ug`Å`hYghY`]XYbh]Z]n]YfhY`CdZYf`k Uf
Y]b`- *!`Å`f][Yf`A Ubb`ž`XYggYb`HcX`bi b`]a `BUW`]\bY]b`j cb`XYb

9fa]h`Yfb`i bhYfgi W`h`k]fX"

8]Y`6Y\`OfXYb`\UVYb`gY]bY`JcfZÅ`Y`U`g` j YfXÅW`h][`Y]b[Yghi Zh
i bX`dfØZYb`bi bž`cV`]b`gY]bYa`i a ZY`X`a Ò[`]W`Yfk Y]gY`bcW`
k Y]hYfY`i b[Y`_`ÄfhY`HcXYgZÅ`Y`j cf`]Y[Yb`"8]YgY`9bhk]W`_i b[
_`ÖbbhY`Yf\`YV`]W`Y`5i gk]f`_i b[Yb`Ui ZX]Y`5`hYbdZY[Y`]b`#U`]Yb
\UVYbž`XU`g]Y`: fU[Yb`ni`XYa`j YfgU[Yb`j cb`GhUbXUfXg`i bX
5i Zg]W`h`Ui Zk]fZhž`X]Y`g]W`YfghY`Yb`gc`Ybž`XUgg`gc`W`Y`HfU[ÖX]Yb
b]W`h`dUgg]YfYb`"G]W`Yf\`Y]h`]b`XYf`5`hYbdZY[Y`]ghj cb`\`ÖW`ghYf
6YXYi hi b[ž`XU`cZhj Yf`Ym`]W`Y`A YbgW`Yb`j cb`XYb`DZY[Yfb
UV\`Äb[][`g]bX"

8]Y`FYU`_h]cbYb`Ui ZXUg`; YghÅbXb]g`XYg`A UbbYg`g]bX`[Ya`]gW`h`
5i ZXyf`Y]bYb`GY]hY`[]VhYg`9a`dUh\]Y`ZØf`X]Y`j Yfa`Y]bh]W`[i hYb
5Vg]W`hYb`\]bhYf`gY]bYb`HUhYbž`Ui ZXyf`UbXYfYb`GY]hY`ghY`h`XUg
a cfU`]gW`Y`i bX`fYW`h`]W`Y`8]Ya`a Už`cV`Yg`Ya`U`g`[YfYW`hZYfh][h
]ghž`@VYb`ni`bY`a Ybž`gY`Vghi a`@]XYb`ni`YfgdUfYb`"

8]Y`F`c`Y`XYf`6Y\`OfXYb`i bX`X]Y G]W`Yf\`Y]hgghUbXUfXg

8Yf`JcfZU`U`h`X]Y`]hU`]Yb]gW`Yb`6Y\`OfXYb`U`Ufa`]Yfhi bX
dYfgÖb`]W`Y`gck]Y`gmghYa`]gW`Y`: fU[Yb`ni`f`E`i`U`]hÅh`XYf`DZY[Y`]b
gYb]cfYbi bhYfghØhYbXYb`9]b]W`hi b[Yb`Ui Z[Yk cfZYb`"9]b`XYfUfh
gW`k Yfk]Y[YbXYf`JcfZU`YfZcfXYfhi a ZUb[fY]W`Y`DfØZi b[Yb`i bX
a Ò[`]W`Yfk Y]gY`FYZcfa Yb`]b`XYf`6fUbW`Y`#`Y]bYa`@UbXž`]b`XYa
X]Y`5`hYfi b[`XYf`6Yj Ò`_Yfi b[`ni`bY`a YbX`Y]bYb
[YgY`gW`UZh`]W`Yb`K UbXY`a`]h]g]W`Vf]b[hž`]gh`X]Y`#hY[f]hÅh`XYf
5`hYbdZY[Y`j cb`YbhgW`Y]XYbXYf`6YXYi hi b["

#`gY]bYb`Y][YbYb`K cfhYb`VUh`XYf`5`hYbdZY[Yf`X]Y`Dc`]nY].`<Y`Zh
a]fž`b]W`h`k Y]hYf`ni`h`ÖhYb`"8]YgY`5i ggU[Y`k]fZh`b]W`h`bi f`: fU[Yb
ØVYf`XYb`a YbhU`Yb`Ni ghUbX`XYg`HÅhYfg`Ui Zž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`
XUfØVYfž`k]Y`DZY[Y`_fÄZhY`]b`G]hi Uh]cbYb`j cb`Ya`ch]cbU`Ya`i bX
dgmW`]gW`Ya`8fi W`_i bhYfghØhni b[`Z]bXYb`"8]Y`Dc`]nY]ghY`h`bi b
j cf`XYf`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[ž`XYb`: U`gc`f[ZÅ`h][`ni`i bhYfgi W`Yb`i bX
[`Y]W`nY]h][`X]Y`G]W`Yf\`Y]h`XYf`[YdZY[hYb`DYfgcbYb`ni
[Yk`Ä`f`Y]ghYb`"

8]Y`j]hU`Y]b]gW\Y`DfYggY`\Uh`XYa`A`Ubb`XYb`H]hY``HcXYgYb[Y`
[Y[YVYbž`Y]bY`6YnY]W\bi`b[ž`X]Y`XUg`ÒZZYbh]W\Y`#hYfYggY`Ub`XYf`
HfU[]_`i`bX`XYb`Yh\]gW\Yb`8]`Ya`a`UhU`fi`bX`i`a``XYb`:`U``j`Yfgh`f`_`h`
9g`V`Y]Vh`UVni`k`UfhYbž`k`]Y`X]Y`š`gh]n`i`bX`X]Y`ni`gh`bX][`Yb`
9]b]f]W\hi`b[`Yb`]b`X]YgYf`gYbg]V`Yb`G]hi`Uh]cb`fYU[]YfYb`k`YfXYb`
i`bX`k`Y`W\Y`@Y\`fYb`Ui`g`X]YgYa`J`cfZU``[`Ync[`Yb`k`YfXYb`_`ÒbbYb`
]bgVYgcbXYfY`]b`6Yni`[`Ui`Z`Df`Ā]`Ybh]cbž`5i`gV]`Xi`b[`i`bX`X]Y`
G]W\YfghY``i`b[`Yh\]gW\Yf`GhUbXUfXg`]b`XYf`5`hYbdZY[`Y`

9g`ghY``h]g]W\`bi`b`X]Y`:`fU[`Yž`k`]Y`X]YgY`J`cfZ`Ā``Y`b]W\`h`bi`f`]b`
#hU`]Ybž`gcbXYfb`k`Y`hk`Y]h`X]Y`GhUbXUfXg`i`bX`K`U\`fbY\`a`i`b[`Yb`
XYf`5`hYbdZY[`Y`VYY]bZi`ggYb`_`ÒbbhYb``6YgcbXYfg`]b`Y]bYf`NY]hž`]b`
XYf`j`]Y`Y`@ĀbXYf`a`]h`Y]bYf`U`hYfbXYb`6Yj`Ò`_Yfi`b[`_`cbZfcbh]Yfh`
g]bXž`]gh`Yg`k`]W\h][`ž`XUgg`X]Y`ni`gĀh`]W\Y`J`YfUbhk`cfhi`b[`ž`X]Y`
DZY[`Y`fĀZhY`ØVYfbY\`a`Ybž`b]W\`h`ni``Yi`hYfbYb`cXYf`]bhYfbYb`
A`]ggVfĀi`W\Yb`ZØ\`fh`

9]bV`]W_Y`]b`X]Y`DZY[`YVfUbW\Y`

8]Y`j`cf`]Y[`YbXY`HfU[`ØX]Y`k`]fZh`Y]bYb`6`]W`_`Ui`Z`X]Y`
<`YfUi`gZcfXYfi`b[`Yb`i`bX`F`]g]_`Yb`]bbYf\`U`V`XYf`DZY[`YVfUbW\Y`]b`
#hU`]Yb``J`]Y`Y`5`hYbdZY[`Yfž`]bgVYgcbXYfY`]b`GØXYi`fcdUž`UfVY]hYb`
\`Ai`Z][`i`bhYfdYf`_`ĀfYb`6YX]b[`i`b[`Yb`i`bX`g]bX`c`Zh`b]W\`h`
Ui`gfY]W\YbX`Ui`g[`YV]`XYh``@Ui`h`Y]bYf`Ghi`X]Y`XYf`C`978`Ui`g`XYa`
#Y\`f`&\$&`i`a`Ub[`Y`h`Yg`]b`j`]Y`Yb`@ĀbXYfb`Ub`ei`U`]Zn]YfhYb`
:`UW`_`fĀZhYb`]a`DZY[`YVYfY]W\`ž`k`Ug`ni`Y]bYf`,`VYf`Ughi`b[`XYf`
A`]hUfVY]hYf`ZØ\`fh``8]YgY`,`VYf`Ughi`b[`_`Ubb`b]W\`h`bi`f`X]Y`E`i`U`]hĀh`
XYf`DZY[`Y`VYY]bhfĀW\h][`Ybž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W\`ni`Y]bYa`Yf\`Ø`hYb`
GhfYgg`Yj`Y`ZØ\`fYb``

#b`#hU`]Yb`]gh`XYf`XYa`c[`fUZ]gW\Y`K`UbXY``VYgcbXYfg`Ui`g[`YdfĀ[`hž`
XU`X]Y`6Yj`Ò`_Yfi`b[`]a`8i`fW\gW\`b]hh`Ā`hYf`k`]fX``8]Y`5bnU\`XYf`
ØVYf`*)`!`#Y\][`Yb`ghY][`hž`k`Ā`fYbX`[`Y]W\`nY]h][`X]Y`NU\`XYf`
j`YfZØ[`VUFYb`DZY[`Y`fĀZhY`UVb]a`a`h``8]Yg`ZØ\`fh`XUni`ž`XUgg`]Y`Y`
DZY[`YVYXØfZh][`Y`Ui`Z`b]W\`h`d`fc`ZYgg]cbY``Y`<`]ZY`Ub[`Yk`]YgYb`g]bX``
8]Yg`ghY``hY`b]W\`h`bi`f`Y]bY`<`YfUi`gZcfXYfi`b[`]ZØf`X]Y`
;`Ygi`bX\Y]hgj`Yfgcf[`i`b[`]XUfž`gcbXYfb`k`]fZh`Ui`W\`Yh\]gW\Y`:`fU[`Yb`
Ui`Z`]bgVYgcbXYfY`k`Ybb`Yg`i`a`X]Y`Ni`Uggi`b[`]j`cb`

i bei U`Z]n]YfhYb`DZY[Y_fÄZhYb`[Y\h"

F YU_h]cbYb`XYf`² ZZYbh`]Wk_Y]h`i bX`XYf
6Y\ÖfXYb

8]Y`[fUi gUa Yb`HUhYb`XYg`5`hYbdZY[Yfg`\UVYb`]b`#U`Yb`Y]bY
K Y`Y`XYf`9a dÖfi b[`Ui g[Y`Ögh" J]Y`Y`6Øf[Yf`g]bX`gWk_cW_]Yfh`ØVYf
X]Y`A Ö[`]Wk_Y]hž`XUgg`Ya UbXž`XYf`ZØf`X]Y`DZY[Y`j`cb
J Yf`Yh`]Wk_Yb`j`YfUbhk`cfh`]Wk`]ghž`gc`Wk`j`YfghÖfYbXY
9bhgWk_Y]Xi b[Yb`hfYZZYb`_Ubb" `#`gcn]U`Yb`A`YX]Yb`i`bX
ÖZZYbh`]Wk_Yb`:`cfYb`k`]fX`XYf`:`U``]bhYbg]j`X]g_i`h]Yfh`"

8]Y`]hU`Yb]gWk_Yb`6Y\ÖfXYb`a`ØggYb`bi`b`b]Wk`h`bi`f`X]Y`fYWk`h`]Wk_Yb
GWk]f]hhY`[Y[Yb`XYb`HÄhYf`dfØZYbž`gcbXYfb`Ui`Wk`X]Y`GmgHYa`Uh]_
\]bhYf`gc`Wk_Yb`J`YfVfYWk_Yb`ØVYfXYb_Yb" `J`cfZÄ`Y`X]YgYf`5`fh`g]bX
[YgUa`h[YgY`gWk_UZh`]Wk`VYXYi`hgUa`i`bX`YfZcfXYfb`Y]bY
BYi`VYk`Yfhi`b[`XYf`G]Wk_Yf\Y]hgghUbXUfXg`i`bX`XYf`5i`gV]`Xi`b[`]a
DZY[YVYfY]Wk`"8]Y`F`Y[]Yfi`b[`Uh`VYfY]hg`Ub[Y_ØbX][`hž`Y]bY
i`a`ZUggYbXY`i`bhYfgi`Wk`i`b[`Y]bni`Y]hYbž`i`a`ni`_`ÄfYbž`k`]Y`Yg`ni
gc`Wk_Yb`gWk`YfYb`A`]ggghÄbXYb`]a`DZY[YVYfY]Wk`_ca`a`Yb
_cbbhY"

J Yf[`Y]Wk`a`]h`Ä`b`]Wk_Yb`?`f]a`]bU`ZÄ`Yb

8]Y`8]g_i`gg]cb`i`a`HÖhi`b[`gXY`_]hY`]a`DZY[YVYfY]Wk`]gh`b]Wk`h`bYi`"
Y`b`]Wk_Y`:`Ä`Y`g]bX`]b`XYf`J`Yf[`Ub[`Yb`Y]h]j`cf[`Y_ca`a`Ybž`]b
XYbYb`DZY[Y_fÄZhY`VYgWk`i`X][`h`k`i`fXYbž`\fY`DUh]YbhYb
UVg]Wk`h`]Wk`j`Yf`Yhnh`cXYf`[`YhÖhYh`ni``\UVYb" `9]b`dfca`]bYbhYg
6Y]gd]Y``]gh`XYf`:`U``XYg`XYi`hgWk_Yb`5`hYbdZY[Yfg`B]Y`g`<`ž`XYf
&\$%(`ZØf`XYb`A`cfX`Ub`a`Y`fYfYb`DUh]YbhYb`j`Yfi`fhY]`h`k`i`fXY" `5i`Wk
\]Yf`k`UfYb`X]Y`A`ch]j`Y`_ca`d`Yi`i`bX`VY]b`U`hYhYb`Y]bY`A`]gWk`i`b[
Ui`g`,`VYfZcfXYfi`b[`ž`XYa`8`fUb[`bUWk`?`cbhfc`Y`i`bX`dgmWk`]gWk_Yb
DfcV`Ya`Yb"

8]Y`<`Ui`dhi`bhYfgWk`]YXY`nk`]gWk_Yb`X]YgYb`:`Ä`Yb`i`bX`XYa
U_hi`Y`Yb`J`cfZU``]b`#U`Yb`Y]Y[`Yb`]b`XYb`A`ch]j`Uh]cbYb`XYf`HÄhYf
i`bX`XYb`i`a`[`YVi`b[`Ybž`]b`XYbYb`g]Y`UfVY]hYhYb" `K`Ä`fYbX`B]Y`g

<"n"6"Xi fW`Y]b`J Yf`Ub[Yb`bUW`5i Za Yf_gUa _Y]h`a chj] Yfh`k Ufž
gW`Y]bh`XYf`]hU`Yb]gW`Y`5`hYbdZY[Yf`]b`YfghYf`@]b]Y`Ui g`Y]bYf
j Yfei YfYb`J cfghY`i b[`j cb` <]`ZY` [Y\UbXY`h`ni` \UVYb`"Gc`W`Y
J Yf[`Y]W`Y`\Y`ZYbž`X]Y`j`Y`gW`]W`h][Yb`dgmW`c`c[]gW`Yb`5gdY`hY
\]bhYf`gc`W`Yb`HUhYb`VYggYf`ni` j YfghY`Yb`i bX`\Yfj cfni` \YVYbž
XUgg`YXY`G]hi Uh]cb`]\fY`Y][YbYbž`Y]bn][Ufh][Yb`8 mbUa]_Yb
VYg]hnh"

K Ug`Zc`[h`ZØf`X]Y`Ni _i bZh`XYf`5`hYbdZY[Y

8Yf`U_hi Y`Y`i: U`k]fX`a]h`G]W`Yf`Y]h`5i gk]f_i b[Yb`Ui ZX]Y
8]g_i gg]cbYb`ØVYf`X]Y`5`hYbdZY[Y`]b`hU`Yb`i bX`XUfØVYf`\]bUi g
\UVYb`"9i dYfhYb`ZcfXYfb`Y]b`i a XYb_Yb`]b`XYf`6fUbW`Yž
Y]bgW`Y]Y»`]W`VYggYfYf`GW`i`i b[gdfc[fUa a Y`i bX`Y]bYf
ghYb[YfYb` , VYfdfØZ b[`j cb`DZY[Y_f`ÄZhYbž`i a `g]W`Yfni ghY`Ybž
XUgg`bi f`ei U`]Zn]YfhY`DYfgcbYb`]b`XYf`DZY[Y`UfVY]hYb`"9]bY
U_hi Y`Y`i a ZFU[Y`XYg`]hU`Yb]gW`Yb`A]b]ghYf]i a g`ZØf`i; Ygi bX`Y]h
nY][hž`XUgg`* +i `XYf`6YZFU[hYb`Y]bY`F YZcfa`]a`6YfY]W`XYf
5`hYbdZY[Y`ZØf`Xf]b[YbX`bchk YbX][`YfUW`hYbž`i a `X]Y`G]W`Yf`Y]h
i bX`E i U`]h`h`XYf`DZY[Y`ni`i [Yk`Ä`f`Y]ghYb`"

Ni XYa` _`ØbbhY`X]YgYf`J cfZU`Y]bY`VfY]hYfY`8]g_i gg]cb`ØVYf
Yh`]gW`Y`GhUbXUfXg`]b`XYf`DZY[YUbgdfUW`Y`Ubghc» Yb`"9g`]gh
k]W`h][ž`g]W`Yfni ghY`Ybž`XUgg`X]Y`b`hYfYggYb`XYf
DZY[YVYXØfZh][Yb`Ub`YfghYf`GhY`Y`ghY`Yb`i bX`XUgg`X]Y
DZY[Y_f`ÄZhY`ØVYf`Ub[Ya YggYbY`i bhYfghØhni b[`i bX`5i gv]`Xi b[
j YfZØ[Ybž`i a`]\fY`J YfUbhk cfhi b[`f]W`h][`k U`fbY`a Yb`ni
_`ØbbYb`"

8YhU]`g

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