

J YfVchj cb `7ca dUWh` ; Yf]W\ hghYfa]b
ZØf` ; fi bXgUhnYb hgW\ Y]Xi b [`ZY gh[Y`Y [h

8 Ug`6i bXYgj Yfk U`hi b [g[Yf]W\ h`Yb hgW\ Y]XYh`Ua `%&": YVfi Uf
&\$&) `ØVYf`XUg`J YfVch`XYg`fYW\ hgYI hfYa Yb`A U[Un]bg
~7ca dUWh` "

@Y]dn][`fXdUŁ` `8 Ug`6i bXYgj Yfk U`hi b [g[Yf]W\ h`k]fX`]a `: YVfi Uf
&\$&) `ØVYf`XUg`i a ghf]hhYbY`J YfVch`XYg`fYW\ hgYI hfYa Yb`A U[Un]bg
~7ca dUWh` `Yb hgW\ Y]XYb`" 8]YgYg`J YfVchž`XUg`j cb
6i bXYg]bbYba]b]ghYf]b`B UbWm: UYgYf`fGD8 Ł]b`X]Y`K Y [Y` [Y`Y]hYh
k i fXYž`]gh`XYfnY]h]j c f`Ài Z[`Ui g[YgYhnhž`k Ug`VYXYi hYhž`XUgg`XUg
A U[Un]b`i bhYf`VYgh]a a hYb`F U\ a YbVYX]b [i b [Yb`k Y]hYf\]b
YfgW\ Y]bYb`XUfZ`8 Yf` [Yf]W\ h`]W\ Y`HYfa]b`ZØf`XUg`<Ui dhj YfZU\ fYb
ni a `YbX [Ø`h][Yb`GhUhi g`XYg`J YfVchg`]gh`ZØf`XYb`%&": YVfi Uf`&\$&)
ZYgh [Y`Y [hž`a]h`XYf`A Ò [`]W\ _Y]h`Y]bYf` : cfhgYhni b [`Ua `%' "i bX`%(" :
: YVfi Uf"

8 Ug` ; Yf]W\ h`bU\ a `Y]bY`_f]h]gW\ Y`<U`hi b [` [Y [YbØVYf`XYa `J YfVch
Y]bž`XU`Nk Y]ZY`Ub`XYggYb`J Yf\`À`hb]ga `À»][_Y]h [Y`Ài »Yfh`k i fXYb`"
8]YgY`6YXYb`_Yb`ghY`Yb`X]Y`F YW\ ha `À»][_Y]h`XYf`A U»bU\ a Y`]b
: fU [Yž`k Ug`VYXYi hYhž`XUgg`XUg`J YfVchj cf` ; Yf]W\ h
a Ò [`]W\ Yfk Y]gY`b]W\ h`VYghY\ Yb`_ØbbhY`"8]Y`9b hgW\ Y]Xi b [ž`X]Y`ZØf
]b`Yhk U`Y]bYa ` \U`VYb`š\ f`Yfk UfhYh`k]fXž`_ØbbhY`k Y]hfY]W\ YbXY
?cbgYei YbnYb`ZØf`X]Y`fYW\ hgYI hfYa Y`GnYbY`]b`8Yi hgW\`UbX
\UVYb`i bX`nY][hž`k]Y`gW\ k]Yf][`Yg`gY]b`_Ubbž`Y]bY`6U`UbW
nk]gW\ Yb`XYa `F YW\ h`Ui Z`A Y]bi b [gZfY]\Y]hi bX`XYa `?Ua dZ
[Y [Yb`9I hfYa]ga i g`ni `Z]bXYb`"

Ni fØW_V`]W`_Ui Z`XUg`J YfVchj cb `~7ca dUWh`"

8 Ug`J YfVch`k i fXY`Ua `%* "`š` `]`&\$&' `j cb` : UYgYf`Ui g [Ygd f c W\ Ybž

X]Y`XUg`A U[Un]b`U`g`~nYbhfU`Yg`GdfUW`fc`f`XYf
fYW`hgYI hfYa]gh]gW`Yb`GnYbY" `VYnY]W`bYhY"8]YgY` : cfa i `]Yfi b[
XYi hYh`XUfUi Z`]\bž`XUgg`XUg`A]b]ghYf]i a `Y]bY`_`UfY`J YfV]bXi b[
nk]gW`Yb`XYa `A U[Un]b`i bX`YI hfYa]gh]gW`Yb`≠Yc`c[]Yb`g]Y`h"
?f]h]_Yfž`Y]bgW`]Y» `]W`XYf` : 8 Dž`5 Z8 `i bX`XYf`I b]cbž`Ai » YfhYb`g]W`
bUW`XYa `j cf`Ai Z][Yb`GW`Y]hYfb`XYg`J YfV`chg`gW`UfZi bX`k YfZYb
: UYgYf`j cfž`VY]`XYf`I a gYhni b[`]\fYf`GhfUhY[]Y`[Y[Yb
9I hfYa]ga i g`[YgW`Y]hYfh`ni `gY]b"

6i bXYg]bbYba]b]ghYf]b` : UYgYf`nY][hY`g]W`YXcW`cdh]a]gh]gW`
i bX`VYhcbhY`X]Y`K]W`h][_Y]h`XYf`[Yf]W`h`]W`Yb` , VYfd`fØZ b[
gc`W`Yf`J YfV`chY`]b`Y]bYa `F YW`hgghUUh" `≠]\fYf`9f`_`Äfi b[`ni `XYb
fYW`h`]W`Yb`5i gY]bUbXYfgYhni b[Yb`VYhcbhY`g]Y`Ui W`ž`XUgg
ZfØ`YfY`J YfV`chj YfZØ[i b[Yb`]\fYg`A]b]ghYf]i a g`j cf` ; Yf]W`h
YfZc`[fY]W`VYgh`Äh][h`k cfXYb`gY]Yb"8]YgY` : YghghY`i b[Yb
i bhYfghfY]W`Yb`XUg`GdUbbi b[gj Yf`Ä`hb]g`nk]gW`Yb`XYf
FY[i`]Yfi b[`j cb`A YX]Yb`i bX`XYb`]bX]j]Xi Y`Yb`F YW`hYb
]bbYf`U`V`XYf`XYi hgW`Yb`F YW`hgcfXbi b["

8]Y`8YVUhhY`ØVYf`XUg`J YfV`chj cb`~7ca`dUWh`gd]Y[Y`h`Y]bY
VfY]hYfY`[YgY`gW`UZh`]W`Y`<YfUi`gZcfXYfi b[`k]XYf"8]Y
≠\U`hg`cbhfc`Y`ØVYf`A YX]Yb`ž`X]Y`U`g`YI hfYa]gh]gW`[Y`hYbž`ZØ`fh
cZi`ni `YZh][Yb`5i gY]bUbXYfgYhni b[Yb`nk]gW`Yb`dc`h]gW`Yb
5`hYi fYb`i bX`XYf`2 ZYb`h]W`_Y]h`<]bni`_ca`a hž`XUgg`XUg
j cf`Äi Z][Y`5i Z`YVYb`XYg`J YfV`chg`XUg`A U[Un]b`]b`X]Y`@U[Y
j YfgYhnhž`gY]bY`Di`V`_Uh]cbYb`Zcfhni ZØ`fYbž`k Ug`8Ya`cbghfUh]cbYb
i bX`A Y]bi b[gÄi » Yfi b[Yb`j cb`5VcbbYbhYb`i bX`I bhYfghØhYfb
bUW`g]W`n]Y`Yb`_ÖbbhY"

F Y`Yj Ubni bX`X]Y`b`ÄW`ghYb`GW`f]hhY

8]Y`VYj`cfghY`YbXY`9bhgW`Y]Xi b[`XYg
6i bXYgj`Yfk`U`hi b[g[Yf]W`hg`k]fX`b]W`h`bi`f`XUg`GW`]W`gU`XYg
A U[Un]bg`~7ca`dUWh`VYgh]a`a`Ybž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`U`g
DfÄnYXYbnZU`ZØf`ni`_ØbZh][Y`F YW`hgghfY]h][_Y]hYb`ØVYf`X]Y
fY[i`Uhc]g]W`Y`?cbhfc`Y`j`cb`A YX]Yb`X]YbYb"8]Y`?ca`d`YI]hÄh`XYf
H`Ya`Uh]_YfZcfXYfhj`cb`XYb` ; Yf]W`hYb`Y]bY`X]ZZYfYbn]YfhY
G]W`hk`Y]gYž`VY]`XYf`gck`c`X]Y`A Y]bi b[gZFY`Y]h`U`g`Ui`W`XYf

GWxi hn'XYf'² ZZYbh]W_X]h'j cf'YI hfYa]gh]gWYb' ð\U'hYb' [Yk U\fh
k YfXYb'a ØggYb"8]Y'Ub\U'hYbXY'DfØZ b[gd\UgY' _ØbbhY'Ui W'U'g
k Yfhj c''Y'; Y'Y[Yb\Y]h'X]YbYbž'X]Y'f f]gh]gWYb'; fi bX'U[Yb'ZØf
XYb'i a [Ub['a]h'gc`WYb'Di V`_Uh]cbYb'ni 'gWÅfZYb"

6]g'ni f'YbX[Øh][Yb'9bhgWY]Xi b['V'Y]Vh'X]Y'² ZZYbh]W_X]h
Ui Z[Yfi ZYbž'i bj cfY]b[Ybca a Yb'ØVYf'X]Y'9bhk]W' i b[Yb'ni
VYf]W'hYb'i bX'g]W'ØVYf'X]Y'a Ø['WYb'5i gk]f_i b[Yb'XYf
; Yf]W'hgi fhY]Y'ni 'j]bZcfa]YfYb"8Yf': U''nY][hž'k]Y'gYbg]VY''i bX
dc`Uf]g]YfYbX'XUg'H\Ya U'9I hfYa]ga i g']b'i bgYfYf'; YgY`gWUZh]gh
i bX'k]Y'X]Y'fYW'h]WYb'F U\ a YbVYX]b[i b[Yb'X]Y'8]U'c[Y'fi bX
i a ': fY]\Y]hi bX'G]WYf\Y]h'dfÅ[Yb'_ØbbYb"

<]bhYf[fi bX'XYf'8YVUhhY' i a 'fYW'hgYI hfYa Y
Di V`_Uh]cbYb

8 Ug'J YfVch'i bX'X]Y'fYW'h]WYb'5i gY]bUbXYfgYhni b[Yb'fi bX'i a
XUg'A U[Un]b'~7ca dUW'h' g]bX'HY]'Y]bYf'VfY]hYfYb'8]g_i gg]cb
ØVYf'X]Y'F c''Y'j cb'fYW'hgYI hfYa Yb'Di V`_Uh]cbYb']b'8Yi hgW'UbX"
ð'XYb''YhnhYb' ð\ fYb'\Uh'X]Y'; YgY`gWUZh'ni bY\ a YbX'Ui Z'X]Y
; YZU\ fYb'XYg'F YW'hgYI hfYa]ga i g'fYU[]Yfh" C f[Ub]gUh]cbYb'k]Y
X]Y'5a UXYi '5bhcb]c'Gh]Zhi b['i bX'XYf'J YfZUggi b[ggWxi hn
Xc_i a Ybh]YfYb'fY[Y'a Å»]['X]Y'5_h]j]hÅhYb'YI hfYa]gh]gWYf
; fi dd]Yfi b[Yb'i bX'XYfYb'9]bZi gg'Ui Z[YgY`gWUZh]WY
8]g_i fgY"

8]Y'dc`h]gWYb'A U» bU\ a Ybž'X]Y' [Y[Yb'fYW'hgYI hfYa Y'A YX]Yb
Yf[f]ZZYb'k YfXYbž'ghY\Yb'\Åi Z['j]b'XYf'?f]h]_ "K Å\ fYbX
6YZØfk cfhYf'gc`WYf'J YfVchY'Ui Z'X]Y' Bch'k YbX][_Y]h'\]bk Y]gYbž
XYa c_fUh]gWY'K YfhY'ni 'gW'ØhYb'i bX'Y]bY'Bcfa U']g]Yfi b[
YI hfYa]gh]gWYf' ðYc`c[]Y'ni 'j Yf\]bXYfbž'Uf[i a Ybh]YfYb'?f]h]_Yfž
XUgg'J YfVchY'X]Y'A Y]bi b[gZfY]\Y]hY]bgW'fÅb_Yb'i bX'XYf
N]Y'[fi ddY'bi f'a Y\ f'5i Za Yf_gUa _Y]h'gWYb_Yb"8]Yg'k]fZi'X]Y
: fU[Y'Ui Z'k]Y'Y]bY'YZY_h]j Y'DfÅ] Ybh]cb' [Y[Yb'< UggfYXY' i bX
9I hfYa]ga i g'Ui ggY\Yb'_Ubb"

5_hi Y``Y'GhUh]gh]_Yb'ni a

F YW\ hgYI hfYa]ga i g]b `8 Yi hgW\ `UbX

@Ui h`XYa `J YfZUggi b[ggW\i hnVYf]W\h`&\$&&]gh`X]Y`NU\`XYf
fYW\hgYI hfYa Yb`GhfUZhUhYb`]b`8 Yi hgW\ `UbX`[Ygh]Y[Yb" `a `U\`f
&\$&%`k i fXYb`ØVYf`%\$`\$\$\$`GhfUZhUhYb`]b`X]YgYa `GdY`hfi a
j YfnY]W\ bYhž`XUfi bhYf`a Y`fYfY`i bXYfhY`; Yk U`hhUhYb" `8]YgY
NU\`Yb`j YfXYi h]W\Yb`XUg`5i ga U» `XYf`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[ž] cf`XYf
X]Y`G]W\Yf\Y]hgVY\ØfXYb`ghY\Yb" `Ni XYa `nY][Yb`l a ZFU[Yb`XYg
8 Yi hgW\Yb`6i bXYghU[gž`XUgg`Y]b`8 f]hhY`XYf`6YZFU[hYb`XYf
A Y]bi b[`]ghž`XUgg`XYf`F YW\hgYI hfYa]ga i g]b`XYb`YmhYb`U\`fYb
ni [Ybca a Yb`\Uh"

9]b`k Y]hYfYg`k]W\h][Yg`9`Ya Ybh`]b`X]YgYa `?cbhYI h]gh`XYf`9]bZi gg
j cb`gcn]U`Yb`A YX]Ybžk c`fYW\hgYI hfYa Y`b\U`hY`cZhi bVYcVUW\hYh
j YfVfY]hYh`k YfXYb" `8Yf`6i bXYgfUh`\Uh]a `j Yf[Ub[YbYb`U\`f
XUfØVYf`X]g_i h]Yfhž`A U» bU\`a Yb`ni `Yf[fY]ZYbž`i a `X]Y`J YfVfY]hi b[
gc`W\Yf`b\U`hY`Y]bni gW\ fÄb`_Yb`i bX`X]Y`J YfUbhk cfh]W\`_Y]hj cb
D`Uhžcfa VYhfY]VYfb`ni `Yf\Ø`Yb"

8YhU]`g

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