

Hf]Uh\`Yh': UV]Ub`F Yi hYf. '9]b': i`XUYf`Ui Z
XYa`K Y[`bUW\`< Uk U]]

: UV]Ub`F Yi hYfž`Hf]Uh\`Yh`Ui g': i`XUž`_Äa dZhY`VY]a`≠cba Ub
: fUb_Ži fh'i a`X]Y`< Uk U]]!E i U`Z]_Uh]cb`i bX`fYZY_h]Yfh'gY]bY
? Uff]YfY"

8Yf': i`XUYf`Hf]Uh\`Yh': UV]Ub`F Yi hYfž`XYf`ni a`HYUa`XYf`Dc`nY]
[Y\Öfhž`\Uh`VY]`gY]bYa`YmhYb`K Yhh_Ua dZ]b': fUb_Ži fh`ZØf
5i ZgY\Yb`[Ygcf[h`A]hgY]bYa`VYY]bXfi W_YbXYb`FYbbYb`VY]a
≠cba Ubž`XYf`]b`X]YgYa`š\`f`U`g`9i fcdUa Y]ghYfgW UZh`_Ugg]Zn]Yfh
k Ufž`ghfYVhY`Yf`Y]bY`E i U`Z]_Uh]cb`ZØf`X]Y`K Y`ha Y]ghYfgW UZh`Ui Z
< Uk U]]`Ub`"8cW`hfchn`ghUf`Yf`@Y]ghi b[Yb`V`]YV`]a`XUg`H]W_Yh
j Yfk Y\fh`"8Yf`" %!`Ä\`f][Y`U]h`]b`XYf`Hf]Uh\`cb!GnYbY`VYfY]hg`Y]bYb
fYgdY_hUV`Yb`F i ZYfUfVY]hYh`i bX`ghY`h`g]W`bi b`bYVYb`gY]bYf
gdcfh]WYb`? Uff]YfY`bYi Yb`< YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`]a`Dc`nY]X]Ybgh"

: UV]Ubž`Ui Z[Yk UW`gYb`]a`GhUXhhY]`?c`\`Ui g]b': i`XUž`\Uh`g]W
j cf`Y]b][Yb`š\`fYb`Yb`hgW`cggYbž`g]W`]bhYbg]j Yf`XYa
<cW`Y]ghi b[g]HfU]b]b[`ni`k]Xa Yb`"DUfU`Y`ni`gY]bYa
Dc`nY]X]Ybgh`k]Xa YhY`Yf`g]W`XYa`Hf]Uh\`cb`i bX`_ccb`hY`VYfY]hg
5bZUb[`A U]`XYb`6UfcW_ghUXh!Hf]Uh\`cb`]b`gY]bYf`<Y]a UhghUXh
[Yk]bbYb`"8Yf`≠cba Ub`]b': fUb_Ži fh`Vch`]a`X]Y`; Y`Y[Yb\Y]hž
g]W`a]hY]b][Yb`XYf`VYghYb`5h\`YhYb`9i fcdUg`ni`a YggYb`"9g`Y]Z
k]f_]W`[i h`8Yi h]W`VYggYfž`U`g]W`Yg`Yfk UfhYh`\ÄhhY`]b`XYa`ZØf
: fUb_Ži fh`ghUf`_VYgYmhYb': Y`X ž`Äi » YfhY`Yf`gY]bY': fYi XY`ØVYf
X]Y`J YfUbghU`hi b["

≠bhYbg]j Y`J cfVYfY]hi b[`i bX
< YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb

8]Y`J YfUbghU`hi b[`]b': fUb_Ži fh`k Uf`_Y]b`[Yk Ö\b`]WYf

K Yhh_Ua dZ'8]Y?cb_i ffYbn'VYghUbX'Ui g'XYb'VYghYb', \$'5h\`YhYb
XYf'GnYbYž'i bX': UV]Ub'F Yi hYf'ZØ\`hY'g]W\Xi fW\X]YgY' [fc» Y
@Y]ghi b[gX]W\hY'a ch]j]Yfh" `b`Y]bYf'Ubgdfi W\gj c`Yb
GW\k]a a fi bXY'j cb' ž' ?]`ca YhYfb'`cbbhY'Yf']b'_bUdd' (,
A]bi hYb'UVgW\`jY»Yb" `C V\k c\`Yf']b'XYf'A]hY'XYg: Y`XYg'`UbXYhYž
k i gghY'Yfž'XUgg'X]Yg'ZØf'XUg'F YbbYb'j cb'6YXYi hi b[`gY]b'k ØfXY"

8 Ug'F UXZU\`fYb'ghY`hY'g]W\XUbb'U`g'XYf'GW\`ØggY`ni `gY]bYa
9fZc` [`YfUi `g" `Hfcm'XYf'gW\k]Yf][Yb'6YX]b[i b[Ybž'X]Y'hY]`g
Xi fW\`GhUf_fY[Yb'[YdfÅ[h'k UfYbž'gW\UZZhY'Yf'Ygž'X]Y`%, \$
?]`ca YhYf'fhUhgÅW\`j]W\`%+`+`?]`ca YhYf'U'Z]Y]bYa `B]j YUi `ni
UVgc`j]YfYbž'XUg'Yf'gY`Vgh'U`g'XUg'VYghY'F UXZU\`fYb'gY]bYf
?Uff]YfY'VYnY]W\`bYhY" `8]Y'6YX]b[i b[Yb'k UfYb'Yi hfYa `ZcfXYfbX
Ui ZXYa `F UX"8]Y: U\`fYf'g]bX'cZh'k Y[[Yfi hgW\h ž'Yf_`ÅfhY'F Yi hYf"

8]Y`_fUZhfUi VYbXYb'9]b\Y]hYbž'X]Y: UV]Ub'F Yi hYf'`b'XYb'K cW\Yb
j cf'XYa `K Yhh_Ua dZ'UVgc`j]YfhYž'nU\`hYb'g]W\`Ui g" `b`X]YgYa `U\`f
\UhY'Yf'g]W\`Ui Za Y\`f'U`g" \$'Ghi bXYb'HfU]b]b[`dfc'K cW\Y
j YfdZ]W\hYh" `9f'k c`hY'X]Y'NY]hj cb'+`Ghi bXYb' () `A]bi hYb
UbdY]`Ybž'i a `X]Y`E i U`Z]_Uh]cb'ZØf'<Uk U]]ni `gW\UZZYb" `8cW\`j\`a
[Y`Ub[`VY]`gY]bYa `YhmY'F YbbYb'U`g'DfcZ]`Y]bY'9bXnY]hj cb', `.\$'
Ghi bXYbž'k Ug'nk Uf'fYgdY`hUVY`]ghž'YXcW\`b]W\h'XYb'Yf\`cZ]hYb
D`Um'ZØf'X]Y`K A `Y]bVfUW\hY"

8]Y`Ya ch]cbU`Y`5W\hYfVU\`bZU\`fh'XYg K Yhh_Ua dZg

8]Y`F ØW__Y\`f'bUW\`i `XU'bUW\`XYa `F YbbYb'k]fX'j cb'[Ya]gW\hYb
; YZØ\`Yb'[YdfÅ[h'gY]b" `9bh[Y[Yb'gY]bYb'9fk Ufhi b[Yb'k Uf'XUg
9ffY]W\Yb'XYf'K Y`ha Y]ghYfgW\UZh'b]W\h'a Ø[`]W\ž'cV\`c\`Yf
k Å\`fYbX'XYg'F YbbYbg'Y]ba U`gc[Uf'K Y`ha Y]ghYf'DUhf]W`_@Ub[Y
ØVYf\`c`hY" `9g'k Uf'Y]b'\`UfhYf'?Ua dZi a `X]Y`<Uk U]]E i U]]`K Ybb
a Ub'XcW\`a U`Ub'X]YgYa `K A !H]W`Yh[YfcW\Yb'\`Uh ž'fYZY`_h]YfhY
Yf'ØVYf'XUg]`bhYbg]j Yb'K Yhh_Ua dZ'

: Øf': UV]Ub'F Yi hYf'[Y\`h'Yg'bi b'XUfi a ž'Y]bY'6U`UbW\`nk]gW\Yb
gY]bYf'@Y]XYbgW\UZh'ZØf'XYb'Gdcfhi bX'gY]bYa `6Yfi Z'U`g
Dc`]nY]cVYf`_ca a]ggUf'ni `Z]bXYb" `Gdcfh]gh'a Y]bY`@Y]XYbgW\UZh"

≠W`YVY`i bX`jYVY`XUg">Yhnh`U`h`a`h`Y]bYf`UbXYfYb` ; Yk`jW`hi b[
Åi » YfhY`Yf`g]W`ØVYf`gY]bY`ni`_ØbZh][Yb`Df]cf]h`h`Yb"

I bhYfghØhni b[`YfZÅ`fh`Yf`j`cb`gY]bYf` : fYi bX]b`B]bU`J`cY`W`Y`ž`X]Y
YVYbZU`g`ja` `Dc`]nY]X]Ybgh`h`h][`]gh`i bX`gY`Vgh`Y]bY`hU`Yb`h]YfhY
5i`gXUi`Yfgdcfh`Yf]b""8]Y`VY]XYb`j`YfghY`Yb`X]Y
<YfUi`gZc`fXYfi b[Ybž`X]Y`a`h`i<cW`Y]gh`i b[ggdcfh`i bX`Dc`]nY]UfVY]h
j`YfVi bXYb`g]bXž`Xi`fW`Ui`g`[`i`h` `G]Y`k`Y]» ž`k`Ug`<ØW`gh`Y]gh`i b[
VYXYi`h`Y`hi bX`Ui`ga`UW`h`ž`a`Y]bh`F`Yi`h`Yf`ØVYf`X]Y`K`jW`h][`_Y]h
]\fYf`I`bhYfghØhni b["

: UV]Ub`F`Yi`h`Yfg`?`Uff]YfY`U`g`DfcZ]!Hf]Uh`Y`h`a`U[`bi`b`YbXYbž`XcW`
gY]bY`9b`hgW`Y]Xi b[Yb`XYi`h`Yb`Ui`Z`Y]bYb`B`Yi`UbZUb[`]\b""9f`d`Ubhž
g]W`j`Yfgh`Å`f`_`h`Ui`Z`gY]bY`VYfi`Z]W`Y`@Ui`ZVU`b`ni`_`c`bnYb`hf]YfYbž
k`Å`f`YbX`Yf`[`Y]W`nY]h][`gY]bYb`gdcfh]W`Yb`9`f[`Y]n`b]W`h
Ui`Z[`YVYb`a`ØW`h`Y"" ≠W` \UVY`Y`g`j`Yfgi`W`h""5VYf`]W` \UV`g` \U`h
b]W`h`[`Y`gW`U`Z`h`ž`g]bX`X]Y`Y`h`h`Yb`K`c`fh`Y`ž`X]Y`Yf`ni`gY]b`Ya
K`Y`h`_`Ua`d`Z]b` : fUb`_`Z`f`h`k`Å`h`ž`5i`gXfi`W`_`gY]bYf`9b`hgW`c`ggYb`Y]hž
k`Y]h`Yf`]\b`Ub`gY]bYb`N]Y`Yb`Z`Y`ghni` \U`h`Yb"

9]b`5i`gV`]W`_`Ui`Z`b`Yi`Y`K`Y[`Y

C`V`k`c` \`X`U`g`H`Y`a`U`≠`c`b`a`Ub`i`b`X`X]Y`E`i`U`]Z]_`Uh]cb`ZØf`<`Uk`U]]
ni`b`ÅW`gh`UV[`Y`gW`c`ggYb`gW`Y]bhž`V`Y]VYb`X]Y`<`YfUi`gZc`fXYfi`b[`Yb
i`bX`9fZc`[`Y]a` `Hf]Uh`c`b!`i`bX`Dc`]nY]i`a`Z`Y`X`d`f`Å`g`Y`b`h"" : UV]Ub
F`Yi`h`Yf`k`]fX`k`Y]h`Yf`]\b`U`g`J`c`fV]`X`ZØf`j`]Y`Y`↑`b[`Y`5`h`Y`h`Yb`k`]f`_`Ybž
X]Y`Å`b`]W`Y`5`a`V]h]cb`Yb`j`YfZc`[`Yb""8Yf`Gdcfh`i`bX`X]Y`Dc`]nY]
V]Y`h`Yb`]a` `b`Yi`Y`DYfgdY`_`h]j`Ybž`i`bX`XYf`K`Y[` \Uh[`YfUXY`Yfgh
Ub[`YZUb[`Yb""GY]b`K`Y[`i`bX`gY]bY`9fZU`fi`b[`Yb`k`YfXYb`k`Y]h`Yf`]\b
]bgd]f]YfYbX`ZØf`gY]bY` ; Ya`Y]bgW`U`Z`h`gY]bž`g`k`c` \`]a` `gdcfh]W`Yb
U`g`Ui`W`]a` `VYfi`Z]W`Yb`6YfY]W`"

8]Y`6YXYi`hi`b[`XYg`Hf]Uh` \`c`bg`]a` `Gdcfh

8Yf`Hf]Uh` \`c`b`]gh`Y]bY`XYf`Ub`gd`fi`W`g]c`gh`Yb`Gdcfh`Uf`h`Ybž`X]Y
G`W`k`]a` `a`Ybž`F`UXZU`f`Yb`i`bX`@Ui`Z`Yb`_`ca`V]b]Yf`h""5V[`Y`gY`Yb`j`cb
XYf`gdcfh]W`Yb`<`YfUi`gZc`fXYfi`b[`ZØfXYfh`Yf`Ui`W`8]gn]d`]bž
8i`fW` \U`h`Y]Yfa` Ø[`Yb`i`bX`NY]h`a`UbU[`Ya`Yb`h""5`h`Y`h`Yb`k`]Y` : UV]Ub

F Yi hYf'nY][Ybž'k]Y'k]W h]['Yg']ghž]b'a Y\ fYfYb'8]gn]d`]bYb
['Y]W Yfa U» Yb'ghUf_'ni 'gY]b''8 UfØVYf'\]bUi g'YfZfYi h'g]W 'XYf
Hf]Uh\`cb']b'XYb''YhnhYb'»\ fYb'k UW gYbXYf'6Y`]YVh\Y]h'']a a Yf
a Y\ f'<cVVmUh\`YhYb'i bX'DfcZ]g'a YggYb'g]W 'j]b'fY[]cbU`Ybž
bUh]cbU`Yb'i bX'j]bhYfbUh]cbU`Yb'K Yh_Àa dZYb"

9]b': U_hcfž'XYf'ni a 'K UW ghi a 'XYg'Hf]Uh\`cbg'VY]hfÀ[hž']gh'X]Y
X]j Yfg]Z]n]YfhY'HY]'bU\ a Y''BYVYb'A ÀbbYfb'i bX': fUi Yb'Ui g
j YfgW]YXYbYb'5`hYfg[fi ddYb'Z]bXYb'ni bY\ a YbX'Ui W ' ?]bXYf
i bX'ž [YbX'W]Y'Ni [Ub['ni 'X]YgYf'GdcfhUfh'' ð]h]Uh]j Yb'k]Y
GW i 'hf]Uh\`cb!K Yh_Àa dZY'i bX': fY]nY]h!9j Ybhg'ZØfXYfb'X]Y
6Y[Y]ghYfi b['ZØf'X]Y'8]gn]d`]b'i bX'nY][Ybž'XUgg'Hf]Uh\`cb'ZØf'YXY
5`hYfg[fi ddY'UhhfU_h]j 'j]gh"

8]Y 'F c ``Y 'XYf'GdcfhZØfXYfi b ['Xi fW 'X]Y Dc`nY]

: UV]Ub'F Yi hYf'dfcZ]h]Yfh]j cb'XYf'GdcfhZØfXYfi b['XYf'Dc`nY]ž'X]Y
Yg']\ a 'Yfa Ø['W hž'gY]bY'gdcfh]W]Yb'5a V]h]cbYb'a]h'gY]bYa
6Yfi Z]b'9]b_'Ub['ni 'Vf]b[Yb'' ð'8Yi hgW'UbX'[]Vh'Yg'a Y\ fYfY
Dc`nY]!GdcfhZØfXYfghY''Ybž'X]Y' hU`Yb]h]YfhY'5h\`YhYb'i bhYfghØhnYbž
i a 'g]Y'j]b']\ fYf'gdcfh]W]Yb'9bhk]W_`i b['ni 'ZØfXYfb''8]YgY
: ØfXYfi b['i a ZUggh'\Ài Z]['Z]bUbn]Y''Y'<]ZYbž
HfU]b]b[ga Ø['W _Y]hYb'i bX'X]Y'A Ø['W _Y]hžZYI]V`YfY
5fVY]hgnY]hYb'ni 'Yf\U`hYbž'i a 'j]bhYbg]j Yg'HfU]b]b['i bX
K Yh_Àa dZY'i bhYf'Y]bYb'<i h'ni 'Vf]b[Yb"

8]Y'Dc`nY]'ZØfXYfh'b]W h'bi f'Y][YbY'A]hUfVY]hYfž'gcbXYfb'hfÀ[h
Ui W'ni f': ØfXYfi b['XYg'U``[Ya Y]bYb'Gdcfhg'VY]ž']bXYa 'g]Y
Dfc'Y_hY']bg'@VYb'fi Zhž'X]Y'† b[Y'HU`YbhY'Yfa i h][Yb'i bX'X]Y
]bhY[fUh]cbgZØfXYfbXY'F c``Y'XYg'Gdcfhg'VYhcbYb''GdcfhYj Ybhgž'X]Y
j cb'Dc`nY]X]YbghghY''Yb'cf[Ub]g]Yfh'k YfXYbž'X]YbYb'cZiXYa
[i hYb'Nk YW_`i bX'ZØfXYfb'X]Y'; Ya Y]bgW UZh"

5 _hi Y``Y'9bhk]W_`i b[Yb']a 'Hf]Uh\`cb!Gdcfh

8Yf'Hf]Uh\`cb'\ Uh'g]W 'j]b'XYb''YhnhYb'»\ fYb'XmbUa]gW

Ybhk]W_Y`hž'gck c\`Ui ZdfcZYgg]cbY`Yf`U`g`Ui W`Ui Z
Ua UhYi f\UZhYf`9VYbY"9]bY`XYf`U_hi Y`Yb`HYbXYbnYb`]gh`XYf
5bgh]Y[`XYf`HY]`bY\`a YfnU\`Yb`VY]`]bhYfbUh]cbU`Yb`K Yhh_Àa dZYbž
XUfi bhYf`Ui W`X]Y`f`c`ba Ub!GYf]Yž`X]Y`Yhnh`a Y\`f`@ÀbXYf`i bX
GhÀXhY`i a ZUggh`U`g`Y`ni j`c`f`" `a `đ\`f`&\$&'` [UV`Yg`U`Y]b`]b
8Yi hgW`UbX`ØVYf`" \$`f`c`ba Ub!9j Ybhgž`k Ug`Y]bY`GhY][Yfi b[`]a
JYf[`Y]W`ni `XYb`J`c`f`U\`fYb`XUfghY`h"

5i » YfXYa `b]a a h`X]Y`5bnU\`XYf`i fUi Ybž`X]Y`Ub`Hf]Uh\`cb!
K Yhh_Àa dZYb`hY]`bY\`a Ybž`ghYh][`ni "9]bY`U_hi Y`Y`GhUh]gh]_`nY][hž
XUgg`XYf`5bhY]`XYf`k`Y]V`]W`Yb`HY]`bY\`a Yf`VY][`fc» Yb`Hf]Uh\`cb!
JYfUbghU`hi b[Yb`]b`8Yi hgW`UbX`a]hh`Yfk`Y]Y`ØVYf`" \$`Df`cnYbh
`Y][h`8]YgY`9bhk]W_`i b[`ZØfXYfh`X]Y`i; `Y]W`ghY`i b[`]a `Gdcfhi bX
nY][hž`XUgg`Hf]Uh\`cb`U`g`Y]b`]bhY[fUh]j Yf`Gdcfh`Ub[YgY\`Yb`k`]fX"

Ni XYa `[]Vh`Yg`]bbcj Uh]j Y`5bgÀhnY`]b`XYf`HfU]b]b[ga Yh\`cX]_ž
XUfi bhYf`XYf`9]bgUhn`]cb`HYW`bc`c[]Y`k`Y`K`YUfUV`Yg`i bX`5ddgž
X]Y`5h\`YhYb`\Y`ZYbž]\`fY`@]ghi b[`ni`j`YfZc`[Yb`i`bX`]fY
HfU]b]b[gd`ÀbY`ni`c`dh]a]YfYb`"K]ggYbgW`UZh]W`Y`Ghi`X]Yb`\UVYb
[YnY][hž`XUgg`XUg`HfU]b]b[`i`bhYf`6YfØW_g]W`h][`i`b[`j`cb
d\mg]c`c[]gW`Yb`8UhYb`X]Y`@]ghi b[`VYXYi`hYbX`ghY][Yfb`_Ubbž
k Ug`ZØf`5h\`YhYb`k`Y`i: UV]Ub`F`Yi`hYf`j`cb`[`fc» Ya`J`c`fhY]`gh"

: Øf`k`Y]hYfY`đZcfa Uh]cbYb`_ØbbYb`G]Y`X]Y`<ca YdU[Y`XYg
8Yi hgW`Yb`C`ma`d]gW`Yb`GdcfhVi bXYg`VYgi W`Ybž`X]Y`i a ZUggYbXY
F`Yggci`fW`b`ØVYf`XYb`Hf]Uh\`cb`i`bX`gY]bY`9bhk]W_`i`b[
VYfY]hghY`h"

8YhU]`g

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