

8 Yi hgW\ Yf`F UX]cdfY]g`&\$&(. ; U`U!9j Ybh
a]h`Hcd!GhUfg`]b`< Ua Vi f[

6Y]a`8Yi hgW\Yb`F UX]cdfY]g`&\$&(`]b`< Ua Vi f[`hfYhYb
6UXa Ī a n`Umž`GUa i`< UVYf`i bX`k Y]hYfY`GhUfg`Ui Z`@]j Y!
GhfYUa`Ua`)`"GYdhYa VYf"

8]Y`bÅW\ghY`[fc»Y`J YfUbgH`hi b[`]a`XYi hgW\Yb`F UX]cVYfY]W\
ghY`hj cf`XYf`HØf`i bX`j Yfgdf]W\hž`Y]b`i bj Yf[Ygg`]W\Yg`9f`YVb]g`ni
k YfXYb`"5a`)`"GYdhYa VYf`&\$&(`ZY]Yfb`X]Y`VYghYb`F UX]ca UWYf
XYg`@UbXYg`VY]`XYf` ; U`U`XYg`8Yi hgW\Yb`F UX]cdfY]gYg`]b
< Ua Vi f[`]`fY`9fZc`[Y`i bX`HU`YbhY`"≠`XYf`BYi Yb` : `cfUž`Y]bYa
fYbca`a`]YfhYb`J YfUbgH`hi b[gcfh`]b`XYf`< UbgyghUXhž`ghY`Yb`b]W\h
bi f`X]Y`DfY]gj Yf`Y]`i b[Yb`]a` `A`]hY`di b`hž`gcbXYfb`Ui W\
a`i`g]_U`]gW\Y`<][\`][\hgž`X]Y`XUg`Di V`_i`a`VY[Y]ghYfb`gc`Yb"

9]b`VYgcbXYfYg`5i [Yba Yf`_`]Y[h`Ui ZXyb` ; ÅghYbž`X]Y`X]YgY
ZYgh`]W\Y`B UW\h`ia`]h`]\fYb`5i Zhf]hhYb`VYfY]W\Yfb`k YfXYb`"Ni`XYb
a`i`g]_U`]gW\Yb`GhUfg`[Y`\ØfYb`X]Y`F UddYf]b`6UXa Ī a n`Umigck]Y
X]Y`GÅb[Yf`GUa i`< UVYf`i bX`A`]W\UY`GW\i`hYž`X]Y`a`]h`]\fYb
[fØ»hYb`<]hg`ZØf`Gh]a`a`i`b[`gcf[Yb`k YfXYb`"≠`fY`DfÅgYbn`Vf]b[h
b]W\h`bi f`J`]Y`ZU`h`]b`X]Y` ; U`Už`gcbXYfb`Ui W\`Y]bY`J YfV]bXi`b[
nk`]gW\Yb`XYa`F UX]c[Yb`fY`i bX`XYf`A`i`g]_gnYbYž`k Ug`X]Y
6YXYi hi b[`XYg`F UX]cZcfa Uhg`]b`XYf`Yi h][Yb`NY]hi bhYfghfY]W\h"

< c W\ _UfÅh][Y`≠bg][\hg`i bX`5i Zhf]hhY

8]Y`J cfZfYi XY`Ui ZXUg`9j Ybh`k]fX`ni gÅh`]W\`Xi fW\`X]Y
5b_ØbX][i b[`j`cb`k Y]hYfYb`?ØbghYfb`k]Y`XYf`9`Y`_hfcdd!6UbX
7`cW_7`cW_`i bX`XYa`8`>@cgh` : fYei YbW]Yg`j YfghÅf`h`"≠`f`5i Zhf]hh]gh
Y]bY`[fc»Ufh][Y` ; Y`Y[Yb`Y]h`ZØf`XUg`Di V`_i`a`ž`X]Y`bYi YghYb
a`i`g]_U`]gW\Yb`HfYbXg`ni`Yf`YVYb`i bX`Y]bY`i bj Yf[Ygg`]W\Y`G\ck

ni [Yb]Y» Yb"8]YgY ? Øbgh`Yf`j Yf_ÖfdYfb`Y]bY`gdUbbYbXY
A]gW`i b[`Ui g`j YfgW`]YXYbYb`A i g]_f]W`hi b[Ybž`X]Y`XUg`9j Ybh
bcW`UhhfU_h]j Yf`a UW`Yb`k]fX"

8]Y` ; U`U`k]fX`b]W`h`bi f`j] Y`j cf`C fhž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`U`g`@]j YghfYUa
ZØf`Y]bY`VfY]hYfY`Ni gW`Ui YfgW`UZh`ni [Åb[`]W` [Ya UW`h`8]Yg`]gh
VYgcbXYfg`k]W`h][ž`XU`XYf`8Yi hgW`Y`F UX]cdfY]g`U`g`Y]bYf`XYf
VYXYi hYbXghYb`DfY]gY`]b`XYf`XYi hgW`Yb`F UX]c`UbXgW`UZh` []h`8]Y
i a ZUb[fY]W`Y` , VYfhfU[i b[`Xi fW`j YfgW`]YXYbY`ÖZYbh`]W`!
fYW`h]W`Y`i bX`df]j UhY`F UX]cgYbXYf`Yfa Ö[`]W`h`Yg` : Ubgž`g]W`
U_h]j `Ub`XYf` : Y]Yf`ni `VYhY`][Ybž`Y[U`k c`g]Y`g]W` `VYZ]bXYb"

9]b`5VYbX`j c``Yf`9\fi b[Yb`i bX DfÅgYb`hUh]c`bYb

æg[YgUa`h`k YfXYb`Ub`X]YgYa`5VYbX`5i gnY]W`bi b[Yb`]b`nY`b
? UhY[cf]Yb`j Yf`]Y`Ybž`k Ug`X]Y`J]Y`ZU`hi bX`X]Y`YfUi gfU[YbXYb
@Y]ghi b[Yb`XYf`F UX]ca UW`Yf`k ØfX][h`8Yf`8Yi hgW`Y`F UX]cdfY]g
\Uh]g]W`ni `Y]bYa`VY[Y`fhYb` ; ØhYg]Y[Y`Yb`hk]W`Y`hž`XUg`b]W`h
bi f`XYb`VYghYb`GYbXYfbž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`XYb`hU`Yb`h]YfhYghYb
A cXYfUhc`fYb`5bYf`_Ybbi b[`nc``h"

8]Y`DfY]gj Yf`Y]\i b[`k]fX`j cb`dfca`]bYbhYb`@Ui XUhc`fYb`VY[`Y]hYhž
XUfi bhYf`GW`Ui gd]Y`Yf]b`DYhfU`GW`a]Xh]GW`U`Yfž`A cXYfUhc`f
GhYj Yb` ; ÅhYb`i bX`XYf`VY`]YVhY` 7\YW`Yf`HcV] `HcV]Ug`? fY``"
Ni XYa`k YfXYb`X]Y`A cXYfUhc`f]b`i bX`DcXWUghYf]b`Gcd`]\U
DUgga`Ubb`gck]Y`@]hYfUhi`f_f]h]_Yf`8Yb]g`GW`YW`i bX`GW`U[YfghUf
6YUhf]W`9[`]Yfk UfhYh"8]YgY`DYfgÖb`]W`_Y]hYb`Vf]b[Yb`]fY
Y][YbY`8mbUa`_]b`X]Y` ; U`U`i bX`Yf`\Ö\Yb`X]Y`GdUbbi b[ž`k Yf`X]Y
VY[Y`fhYb`Hfcd`ÅYb`a]hibUW`<Ui gY`bY`a Yb`k]fX"

8Yf`8Yi hgW`Y`F UX]cdfY]g`ghY`h`b]W`h`bi f`ZØf`X]Y`K ØfX][i b[`XYf
F UX]ca UW`Yfž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`ZØf`X]Y`K YfhgW`Åhni b[`XYf
]bbcj Uh]j Yb`A UW`Yfž`X]Y`X]Y`F UX]cVfUbW`Y`j cfUbhfY]VYb``æ`Y]bYf
NY]hž]b`XYf`5i X]cZcfa`UhY`i bX`X][]hU`Y`A YX]Yb`ghYh][`k UW`gYbž`]gh
gc`W`Y]bY`9\fi b[`k]W`h][Yf`XYb`b`Y``G]Y`nY][hž`XUgg`XUg`F UX]c
bUW`k]Y`j cf`Y]b`VYXYi hYbXYg`A YX]i a`]ghž`XUg`a]h`_fYUh]j Yb
æXYb`ØVYfnYi [hi bX`Y]bY`[fc»Y`<ÖfYfgW`UZh`YffY]W`h"

9]b`NY]W\ Yb`Z0f`X]Y`F UX]cVfUbW\ Y

8]Y`VYj c fghY\YbXY` ; U`U`i bX`X]Y`XUa]h] YfVi bXYbYb`9\fi b[Yb
a Uf_]YfYb`Y]bYb`VYgcbXYfYb`A ca Ybh`Z0f`X]Y`F UX]ca UW\Yf`]b
8Yi hgW\`UbX`"G]Y`fYZY_h]YfYb`b]W\h`bi f`X]Y`9ffi b[YbgW\UZhYb`XYf
6fUbW\Y`žgcbXYfb`Ui W\`XYfYb`5bdUggi b[gZ\`][`_Y]h]b`Y]bYa`g]W\
gW\ bY`"j YfAbXYfbXYb`A YX]Ybi a ZY`X`"8Yf`8Yi hgW\Y`F UX]cdfY]g
]gh`gca]h]b]W\h`bi f`Y]bY` : Y]Yf`XYf`J Yf[Ub[Yb\Y]hg`Y]ghi b[Ybž
gcbXYfb`Ui W\`Y]b`5i gV`]W`_Ui Z`X]Y`Ni`_i bZh`XYg`F UX]cgž`XUg
k Y]hYf\]b`Ub`F Y`Yj Ubn`i bX`9]bZi gg`[Yk`]bbYb`_Ubb"

8]Y`6YXYi hi b[`XYg`8Yi hgW\ Yb`F UX]cdfY]gYg

8Yf`8Yi hgW\Y`F UX]cdfY]g`]gh]b]W\h`bi f`Y]b`VYXYi hYbXYg`9j Ybh`Z0f`
X]Y`6fUbW\Y`žgcbXYfb`Ui W\`Y]b` ; fUXa YggYf`Z0f`X]Y
9bhk]W`_i b[Yb`]a` `XYi hgW\Yb`<0fZi b`"8]YgYf`DfY]g`k]fX`gY]h
&\$%\$`Å\`f`]W\`j Yf`]Y\Yb`i bX`\c bcf]Yfh`YfUi gfU[YbXY`@Y]ghi b[Yb
]b`j YfgW\]YXYbYb`? UhY[cf]Ybž`XUfi bhYf`VYghY`A cXYfUh]cbž`VYghY
7ca YXmi bX`]bbcj Uh] Yg`Dfc [fUa`a`"N]Y`]gh`Ygž`X]Y`6YXYi hi b[
XYg`F UX]cg`]b`XYf`XYi hgW\Yb`A YX]Yb`UbXgW\UZh`ni`k`0fX][`Yb`i bX
XYggYb`_i`hi fY`Yb`9]bZi gg`ni`Z0f`XYfb`" `b gVYgcbXYfY`]b`NY]hYb
XYf`8][`]hU`]g]Yfi b[`gd]Y`h`XUg`F UX]c`Y]bY`YggYbh]Y`Y`F c`Y`ž`i`a
`b\U`hY`Y]bYf`VfY]hYb`² ZZYbh]W\`_Y]h`ni [`Ab[`]W\`ni`a`UW\Yb`i bX
X]Y`<0fYf`ni`YffY]W\Yb`"

A i g]_U`]gW\ Yf`6Y]hfU[`ni a`9j Yb h

8]Y`a`i`g]_U`]gW\Yb`8UfV]Yhi b[Yb`g]bX`Y]b`nYbhfU`Yg`9`Ya`Ybh`XYf
DfY]gj Yf`Y]\i b[" `b`X]YgYa` `J\`f`hfU[Yb`bUa` \UZhY`?0bgh`Yf`ni`f
l bhYf\U`hi b[`VY]"`6UXa`Ī`a`n`Umž`VY`_Ubbh`Z0f`]\fYb`a`cXYfbYb`F Ud!
Gh]ž`\Uh]b`XYb`YhnhYb`J\`fYb`X]Y`XYi hgW\Y`F Ud!GnYbY
a`U» [YV`]W\`VYY]bZi ggh`"GUa`i`<UVYfž`XYf` : fcbha`Ubb`XYf`6UbX
Gi`bf]gY`5j Ybi Yž`i bX`A`]W\UY`"GW\i`hYž`XYf`VY]a`9i`fcj`]g]cb`Gcb[
7cbhYgh`&\$%,`Z0f`8Yi hgW\`UbX`UbhfUhž`g]bX`YVYbZU`g
Di`V`_i`a`g`]YV`]b[Yž`X]Y`a`]h]\fYb`Ya`ch]cbU`Yb`Gcb[g`VY[Y]ghYfb
k YfXYb`"5i W\`X]Y`9Y`_hfc`dcdd!6UbX`7`c`W`_7`c`W`_i bX`XYf`8`>@cg
: fYei YbW]Yg`g]bX`\Y]»`YfgY`b`hY`5W`hgž`X]Y`XUg`Di`V`_i`a`a`]h]\fYb

<]hg'a]hfY]» Yb"

J Yf`Y]\i b[g_UhY[cf]Yb`i bX`X]Y`đ fm

8Yf`8Yi hgWY`F UX]cdfY]g] Yf[]Vh`5i gnY]W`bi b[Yb`b`]bg[YgUa h
nY\b`?UhY[cf]Yb``8]YgY`i a ZUggYb`i bhYf`UbXYfYa` 6YghYf
DcXWUgh ž` 6YghYg`B UW`f]W`hYbZcfa Uh`i bX` 6YghYf`A i g]_a]l` "
8]Y`5i gk U\`XYf`DfY]ghfÀ[Yf`YfZc`[h`Xi fW`Y]bY`i bUV`Äb[] [Y`đ fmž
X]Y`Ui g`9l dYfhYb`XYf`6fUbW`Y`VYghY`hž`XUfi bhYf`Dfc[fUa`a W`YZgž
æi fbU`]ghYb`i bX`A YX]Ybk]ggYbgW`UZhYf`` ÆfY`5i Z[UVY`]gh`Ygž`X]Y
bca]b]YfhYb`6Y]hfÀ[Y`ni`VYk YfhYb`i bX`X]Y`k ØfX][ghYb`; Yk]bbYf
Ui gni k Ä`Ybž`gc`XUgg`Y]bY`VfY]hY`5bYf_Yb`bi b[]bbYf`U`V`XYf
F UX]c`UbXgW`UZh`VYghY`h`

8]YgY`5i gnY]W`bi b[Yb`ZØfXYfb`b]W`h`bi f`XYb`K YhVYk YfV`i bhYf
XYb`GYbXYfbž`gcbXYfb`ghY`Yb`Ui W`g]W`Yfž`XUgg`ei U`]hUh]j
\cW`k Yfh][Y`đ\U`hY`ja` F UX]c`dfcXi n]Yfh`k YfXYbž`X]Y`XYb
5bgdfØW`Yb`XYf`< ØfYf`[YfYW`h`k YfXYb"

8YhU]`g

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