

J Yf\UZhi b['Ua ' : 'i [\ UZYb. 'GWk Y]nYf
Vf]b[h'j YfVchYbYg': U`a YggYf'a]h

6i bXYgdc`nY]. '5a ' <Ua Vi f[Yf': 'i [\ UZYb 'YbhXYW_hYg
: U`a YggYf'Z\fh'ni 'GhfUZbnY][Y'i bX'&\$'9i fc
G]WYf\Y]hg`Y]ghi b['ZØf'FY]gYbXYb"

5a 'A cbhU[a cf[Ybž'i a ' , ' \$'i \fžVfUW`Y]b`*`*!`Å\f][Yf
GWk Y]nYf'ni 'Y]bYa ' : 'i ['j cb'<Ua Vi f['bUW`NØf]W`Ui Z'K Ug'Ui Z
XYb'YfghYb'6`]W_k]Y`Y]bY' [Yk Ò\b`]WY`FY]gY`Ui ggU\ž'Ybhd i ddhY
g]W`VU`X`U`g'i bYfk UfhYhY`5bY_XchYž`X]Y`XUg
G]WYf\Y]hgVYk i ggHgY]b'Ua ' <Ua Vi f[Yf': 'i [\ UZYb']b`XYb
A]hhY`di b_hifØW_h"

8 Yf'A Ubb'\UhhY`gY]bYb'Fi W_gUW_]b`X]Y'; YdÅW_k UbbY`VY]`XYf
G]WYf\Y]hg_cbhfc`Y [Y`Y [h"8 cfh'YbhXYW_hYb`X]Y
@i Zhg]WYf\Y]hgUgg]ghYbhYb`Y]b'j YfXÅW_h][Yg`CV`Y_hž'i bX`X]Y
G]hi Uh]cb`Yg_U]YfhY`gW`bY`""8]Y`6i bXYgdc`nY]'k i fXY
\]bni [Yfi ZYbž'i a `XUg'; YdÅW_ghØW_] [YbUi Yf'ni 'i bhYfgi W`Yb"
8 Ug'9f[YVb]g`XYf'8i fW`gi W`i b['k Uf`YfghUi b`]W.`Y]b': U`a YggYfž
XUg[Ya Å» `XYa `K UZYb[YgYhn`U`g`j YfVchYbYf'; Y[YbghUbX`[]`h"

8]Y`9bhXYW_i b[`Y]bYg`j YfVchYbYb
; Y[YbghUbXg

8 Ug': U`a YggYfž`Y]bY`5fh'?`Udda YggYfž`XUg`g]W`Xi fW`Y]bYb
A YW`Ub]ga i g]a ' ; f]ZZ`ÖZZbYb`'Ägghž`]gh]b`8Yi hgW`UbX` [YgYhn`]W
fY[i `]Yfh"8]Y`i bni `Ägg][Y`A]hbU`a Y`Y]bYg`gc`W`Yb`A YggYfg`Ua
: 'i [\ UZYb`ghY`h`Y]bYb` [fUj]YfYbXYb`J Yfghc» ` [Y[Yb`X]Y
G]WYf\Y]hgj cfgW`f]ZhYb`XUf"8]Y`6i bXYgdc`nY]'`UbXY`hY`gW`bY`
i bX`VYgW`U[bU`a hY`XUg`A YggYf"; `Y]W`nY]h][`Yf\]Y`h`XYf
`!`Å\f][Y`Y]bY`GhfUZbnY][Y`k Y[Yb`gY]bYf`<UbX`i b["

K Ä\fybX`XYg`[YgUa hYb`J cfZU`g`j Yfgi W`hY`XYf`A Ubbž`gY]b
A]gg[YgW`]W`_ni`_Yf`_ÄfYb`"9f`[UV`Ubž`XUgg`Yf`XYb`F i W`gUW`_j`cb
Y]bYf`:`fYi`bX]b`Ui`g[Y`Y\Yb`_ÄhY`i`bX`g]W`_b]W`h`VYk`i`ggh`k`Ufž
XUgg`g]W`_XUg`A`YggYf`XUf]b`VY`ZUbX`"GY]bY`9f`_Äfi`b[`nY][`hž`k`Y
k`]W`h][`Yg`]ghž`g]W`_XYf`_`b`U`hY`j`cb`;`YdÄW`_gh`ØW`_Yb`VYk`i`ggh`ni
gY]bž`VYgcbXYfg`k`Ybb`a`Ub`Xi`fW`_G]W`Yf`Y]hg`_cbhfc`_Yb`[`Y`h`

F YW`h`]W`Y`?`cbgYe`i`YbnYb`i`bX
G]W`Yf`Y]hga`U»`bU`a`Yb

8]Y`A`U»`bU`a`Yb`XYf`6i`bXYgdc`nY]`k`UfYb`b]W`h`bi`f`U`g`Y]bY
F`ci`h]bY`_cbhfc`_Y`ni`_j`YfghY`Ybž`gcbXYfb`i`bhYfghfY]W`Yb`Ui`W`_X]Y
6YXYi`hi`b[`_XYf`@`Zhg]W`Yf`Y]h`"B`UW`_XYf`G]W`Yf`ghY`i`b[`_XYg
A`YggYf`a`i`gghY`XYf`A`Ubb`Y]bY`G]W`Yf`Y]hg`Y]ghi`b[`_]b`<`Ø`Y`j`cb
&\$`\$`9i`fc`_Y]ghYbž`i`a`_gY]bY`K`Y]hYffY]gY`b]W`h`ni`_`[`YZÄ`_f`XYb`"8]Yg
]gh`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]b`Z]bUbn]Y`_Yf`5i`Zk`UbXž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`_Y]b
i`b`]YVgUa`Yg`9f`YVb]gž`XUg`gY]bY`F`Y]gYd`Ä`bY`VYY]bhf`ÄW`h][`hY`"

8]Y`J`cfZÄ`_Y`k`]Y`X]YgYf`g]bX`Y]b`K`YbXYdi`b`_hž`XYf`XYi`h`]W`_a`UW`hž
k`]Y`ghfYb[`_X]Y`G]W`Yf`Y]hgj`cf`_Y`fi`b[`Yb`]b`XYi`hgW`Yb`:`i`[`_Ä`ZYb
Xi`fW`[`YgYhnh`k`YfXYb`"8]Y`G]W`Yf`Y]hg`_fÄ`ZhY`_`UVYb`_X]Y
J`YfUbnk`cfhi`b[`ž`XUg`F`]g]_c`j`cb`[`YZÄ`_f`]W`Yb`;`Y[`YbghÄ`bXYb`Ub
6cfX`j`cb`J`Yf`_Y`fgZi`[`nYi`[`Yb`ni`_a`]b]a`]YfYb`"8`UXi`fW`_k`]fX`b]W`h
bi`f`X]Y`G]W`Yf`Y]h`XYf`DUggU[`]YfY`[`Yk`Ä`_f`Y]ghYhž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`
XUg`J`Yf`hfUi`Yb`]b`X]Y`_Yf`j`c`ffU[`YbXYb`@`Zhg]W`Yf`Y]hggh`Ub`XUf`Xg`]b
8Yi`hgW`_Ub`X`Ui`ZfYW`hYf`_U`hYb`"

Ä`Y]bYf`NY]hž`]b`XYf`:`i`[`fY]gYb`U`hÄ`[`]W`_g]bXž`V`Y]Vh`X]Y
9]b`_U`hi`b[`_j`cb`G]W`Yf`Y]hgdfc`hc`_c`_Yb`Y]bY`XYf`c`VYfghYb
Df]cf]hÄ`hYb`XYf`6Y`_ÖfXYb`"8Yf`:`U`_XYg`*`*`!`Ä`_f][`Yb`]gh`Y]b
k`Y]hYfYg`6Y]gd]Y`_XUZØfž`k`]Y`_Y]W`h`Yg`dUgg]YfYb`_Ubbž`XUgg`a`Ub
VY]a`_F`Y]gYb`i`bVYk`i`ggh`]b`GW`k`]Yf][`_Y]hYb`[`YfÄ`hž`i`bX`_Yf`Yf]bbYfh
U`_Y`F`Y]gYbXYb`XUf`Ubž`k`]Y`k`]W`h][`Yg`]ghž`j`cf`XYa`_J`YffY]gYb
Y]b[`Y`_YbX`ni`_df`ØZYbž`k`Ug`g]W`_ja`_`;`YdÄW`_VYZ]bXYh`"

G]W`Yf`Y]h`VY]a`_F`Y]gYb`_9]b`i`bj`Yfn]W`hV`UfYf
5gdY`_h

5VgW`jY»YbX`Àggh'g]W`ZYgh\U`hYbž`XUgg`X]Y`9fY][b]ggY`Ua
<Ua Vi f[Yf':`i [\ UZYb`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]bYb`9]bnY`ZU`XUfghY`Ybž
gcbXYfb`Y]b`VfY]hYfYg`6Yk i`gghgY]b`ZØf`XUg`H\Ya`U`G]W`Yf\Y]h
VY]a`F`Y]gYb`gW`UZZYb`gc`hYb`"8]Y`@_h]cb`XYg`HU[Yg`gh`_`Uf.`9]b
gcf[gUa`Yg`i`a [Y\Yb`a`]hidYfgØb`]W`Yb`; Y[Ybgh`AbXYb`_`Ubb
i`bUb[YbY\`a`Y`VYffUgW`i`b[Yb`ja`F`Y]gYj`Yf`Ui`Zj`Yfa`Y]XYb`
DUggU[]YfY`gc`hYb`ghYhg`X]Y`[Y`hYbXYb`6Ygh]a`a`i`b[Yb`ja`?`cdZ
VY\U`hYb`i`bX`g]W`j`cf`XYa`7\YW`!`]b`X]Y`NY]h`bY\`a`Ybž`\`fY
GUW`Yb`Xi`fW`ni`gY\`Yb`"GW`jY»`]W`_`Ubb`Y]bY`_`Y]bY
BUW`Àgg][_Y]h[fc»Y`5i`gk`]f`_i`b[Yb`\UVYbž`X]Y`gck`c`\`nY]h]W`
U`g`Ui`W`Z]bUbn]Y`VY`UghYbX`gY]b`_`ØbbYb`"

K UZZYb [YgYhn`]b`8Yi`hgW`UbX

«b`8Yi`hgW`UbX`fY[Y`h`XUg`K`UZZYb[YgYhn`fK`UZZ`Ł`XYb`i`a [Ub[
a`]h`K`UZZYb`i`bX`A`i`b]h]cb`"8]YgYg`; YgYhn`\Uh`XUg`N]Y`ž`X]Y
ØZZYbh]W`Y`G]W`Yf\Y]h`ni`[Yk`À`f`Y]ghYb`i`bX`XYb`Ni [Ub[`ni
[YZÀ`f`]W`Yb`; Y[Ybgh`AbXYb`ni`_`cbhfc`]YfYb`"9]b`: U`a`YggYfž`k`]Y
]b`XYa`VYgW`f]YVYbYb`J`cfZU`ž`ZÀ`hi`bhYf`X]Y`?`UhY[cf]Y`XYf
j`YfVchYbYb`K`UZZYb`"BUW`z`&`5Vg`" `K`UZZ`g]bX`: U`a`YggYf`i`bX
À`b`]W`Y`?`]b[Ybk`UZZYbž`X]Y`g]W`Xi`fW`Y]bYb`gW`bY`Yb`?`bcdZ
cXYf`<`VY`a`YW`Ub]ga`i`g`ØZbYb`UggYbž`b]W`h`Yf`Ui`Vh`"8]Y
GhfUZYb`ZØf`J`YfghØ»Y`fY]W`Yb`j`cb`; Y`XghfUZYb`V]g`\]b`ni
: fY]\Y]hgghfUZYbž`UV\`Àb[] [j`cb`XYf`GW`k`YfY`XYg`J`Yfghc»Yg`i`bX
XYf`5Vg]W`h`XYg`H`hYfg`"

G]W`Yf\Y]hg`_`cbhfc`Yb`Ua`':`i [\ UZYb

8]Y`G]W`Yf\Y]hg`_`cbhfc`Yb`Ua`':`i [\`AZYb`g]bX`Y]b`k`YgYbh]W`Yf
6YghUbXhY]`XYg`@`Zhj`Yf`_Y`fg`i`bX`gc`Yb`XUZØf`gcf[Ybž`XUgg
[YZÀ`f`]W`Y`; Y[Ybgh`AbXYb]W`h`Ub`6cfX`j`cb`: `i [nYi [Yb
[Y`Ub[Yb`"8]YgY`?`cbhfc`Yb`VY]b\U`hYb`b]W`h`bi`f`X]Y`VYfdfØZ`b[
j`cb`<`UbX[Yd`ÀW`_i`bX`Ui`Z[Y[VYVYbYb`; Yd`ÀW`_ghØW`Ybž`gcbXYfb
Ui`W`X]Y`8i`fW`ZØ`fi`b[j`cb`G]W`Yf\Y]hg[Ygd`f`AW`Yb`i`bX`X]Y
5bk`YbXi`b[`a`cXYfbYf`GW`UbbYf!`HYW`bc`c[]Y`"8]Y`6i`bXYgdc`nY]
UfVY]hYhYb[`a`]h`XYb`G]W`Yf\Y]hgi`bhYfbY\`a`Yb`Ub`':`i [\`AZYb
ni`gUa`a`Ybž`i`a`g]W`Yfni`ghY`Ybž`XUgg`U`Y`"

G]W\Yf\Y]hgUbZcfXYfi b[Yb`Y]b[Y\U`hYb`k YfXYb" `a `:J\`f`&\$&%
k i fXYb`bUW`5b[UVYb`XYg`6i bXYga]b]ghYf]i a g`Z0f`J Yf_Y\`f`fi bX
%%' `A]`]cbYb`DUggU[]YfY`Ub`XYi hgW\Yb`:`i [\`AZb`_cbhfc``]Yfhz
k cVY]`nU\`fY]W\Y`j YfVchYbY` ; Y[YbghAbXYz`Y]bgW\`]Y»`]W`K UZZYb
i bX`[YZ\`f`]W\Yf`A UhYf]U`]Ybž`g]W\Yf[YghY``h`k i fXYb`fE i Y`Y.`

6A J 4"

J Yf\ U`hYb`VY]`G]W\Yf\Y]hgj Yfgh0» Yb

≈a `: U`Y`Y]bYg`a 0[`]W\Yb`G]W\Yf\Y]hgj Yfghc» Ygž`k]Y`Yf`]a
VYgW\ f]YVYbYb`J c fZU``Ui Zhf]hž`k]fX`XYf`6YhfcZZYbY`]b`XYf`F Y[Y`
i a [Y\YbX`j cb`XYf`Dc`]nY]`VYfU[h``8]Y`F 0W_[UVY`XYg`g]W\Yf
VYgW\`U[bU\`a hYb` ; Y[YbghUbXg`YfZc`[h`b]W\hž`gY`Vgh`k Ybb`X]Y
VYhfcZZYbY`DYfgcb`VY\Ui dhYhž`b]W\h`0VYf`XYggYb`J c f\UbXYbgY]b
6YgW\Y]X`[Yk i ggh`ni ` \UVYb``8]Yg`X]Ybh`XYa `GW`i m`XYf
2 ZZYb`h]W\`_Y]h`i bX`ghY``h`g]W\Yfž`XUgg
G]W\Yf\Y]hg`U[YVYi fhY]`i b[Yb`cfXbi b[g[Ya `A» `Xi fW [YZ0\fh
k YfXYb" `8Yf`J cf[Ub[`_Ubb`Y`bUW`5fh`XYg`J Yfghc» Yg`i bX`XYf`5fh
XYg` ; Y[YbghUbXg`i bhYfgW\]YX`]W\Y`fYW\h`]W\Y`?cbgYei YbnYb
bUW`g]W\`n]Y\Yb" `≈a `U`_hi Y`Yb` : U``Z0\fhY`X]Y`9bhXYW`_i b[`XYg
: U``a YggYfg`ni `Y]bYf`gcZcfh][Yb`GhfUZUbny][Y`gck]Y`Y]bYf
G]W\Yf\Y]hg`Y]ghi b[ž`X]Y`j cb`XYa `j Yfa Y]bh]W\Yb`H`AhYf`Ybhf]W\hYh
k YfXYb`a i gghYž`VYj cf`Yf`Ybh`UggYb`k i fXY"

F Y`Yj Un`Z0f`X]Y`U``[Ya`Y]bY`G]W\Yf\Y]h

8]Y`ghfYb[Y`F Y[Y`i b[`VYn0[`]W\`XYf`A]hbU\`a Y`j cb`K UZZYb`]b
: `i [nYi [Yb`hf`A [h`ni f`U``[Ya`Y]bYb`G]W\Yf\Y]hg`U[Y`VY]`i bX`]gh
VYgcbXYfg`k]W\h][`]b`NY]hYb`Yf\`0\`hYf`G]W\Yf\Y]hgVYXYb`_Yb" `8]Y
gW\UfZYb`?cbhfc``Yb`i bX`J c f gW\ f]ZhYb`gc``Yb`j Yf\]bXYfbž`XUgg
[YZ\`f`]W\Y` ; Y[YbghAbXY`Ub`6cfX`[Y`Ub[Yb`i bX`60f[Yf`cXYf
DUggU[]YfY`]b` ; YZU\`f`Vf]b[Yb" `9g`]gh`k]W\h][`Z0f`X]Y`2 ZZYb`h]W\`_Y]hž
g]W\`XYf` ; YgYhnY`VYk i ggh`ni `gY]bž`i a `i bVYUVg]W\h][hY`J Yf[Y\Yb
ni `j Yfa Y]XYb" `?Ua`dU[bYb`ni f`GYbg]V`]g]Yfi b[`Z0f`XUg
K UZZYb`fYW\h`k YfXYb`fY[Y`a `A»][`Xi fW [YZ0\fhž`i a `XUg
6Yk i gghgY]b`Z0f`X]Y` ; YZU\`fYb`i bX`fYW\h`]W\Yb` : c`[Yb`XYg
6Yg]hYg`j cb`]`Y[U`Yb`K UZZYb`ni `gW\`AfZYb"

8YhU]g

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