

9f`YVYb`G]Y`K Yfb][YfcXY. `8 Ug
< UggYfØXYf`6i f[\chY``ZØf
: Ua]`YbUVYbhYi Yf

9bhXYW_Yb`G]Y`XYb`: Ua]`Ybi f`Ui V`]a` < UggYfØXYf`6i f[\chY`
]b`K Yfb][YfcXY. `C dh]a U`Y`@U[Yž`i a ZUb[fY]WXY
5bbY\ a `]W_X]hYb`i bX`i bj Yf[Ygg`]WXY`9f`YVb]ggY`ZØf`; fc»
i bX`?`Y]b"

≠a]hYb`XYf`a U`Yf]gWXYb`?i`]ggY`XYf`GhUXh`K Yfb][YfcXY`]a` < Ufn
h\fcbh`XUg`< UggYfØXYf`6i f[\chY``i bX`V]YhYh`gY]bYb`; ÅghYb`b]W h
bi f`Y]bY`UhYa VYfUi VYbXY`5i gg]W hž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`Y]bYb
i bj Yf[`Y]W`]WXYb`GhUfhd`i b_h`ZØf`9f`_i bXi b[ghci fYb`]b`XYf
FY[]cb``8]YgY`l bhYf`_i bZi`Uhg]W`VYgcbXYfg`Ui Z: Ua]`Yb`i bX
; fi ddYb`Y]b[YghY``hž`X]Y`Y]bY`Yf\c`gUa Y`NY]hj YfVf]b[Yb
a ØW`hYb``; Yf`Åi a][Y`N]a a Yfž: Ua]`YbUddUfhYa Ybhg`i bX`Gi]hYb
ghY\Yb`VYfY]hž`i a`XYb`6YXØfZb]ggYb`XYf`6Ygi W`Yf`[YfYW`h`ni
k YfXYb`i bX`i bj Yf[Ygg`]WXY`9f]bbYfi b[Yb`ni`gW`UZZYb"

8 Ug`< UggYfØXYf`6i f[\chY``n]Y\`h`b]W`h`bi f`: Ua]`Yb`Ubž`gcbXYfb
Ui W`DUUFY`i bX`; fc»Y`hYfb`a]h]\fYb`9b`_Y`bž`X]Y`Y]bY
[Ya Y]bgUa Y`NY]hj YfVf]b[Yb`a ØW`hYb``8]Y`J]Y`ZU`h`Ub
5b[YVchYb`k]fX`Yf[Åbnh`Xi fW`Y]bYb`i a ZUggYbXYb`GYfj]W`ž`XYf
g]W`YfghY``hž`XUgg`XYf`5i ZYbh`U`h`Ub[YbY\`a`i bX`ghfYggZFY]
j Yf`Åi Zi`8 Ug`< chY``gYmh`Ui ZY]b`fi bXi a`K`c`\`ZØ\`_c`bnYdhž`XUg
XYb`; ÅghYb`X]Y`A`Ø[`]W_X]h[]Vhž`g]W`ni`YbhgdUbbYb`i bX`X]Y
BUhi f`ni`[Yb]Y»Yb"

I a ZUb[fY]WXY`5b[YVchY`ZØf`YXY
5`hYfg[fi ddY

9]b`<][\][\h`XYg`5i ZYbh`U`hg]a` < UggYfØXYf`6i f[\chY``]gh`XUg

]b_i X]YfhY'9f`YVb]gdU_Yhž`XUg`X]Y'; ÀghY`ni`j`YfgW]YXYbYb
5i`gZi`[`gn]Y`Yb`]b`XYf`l`a`[`YVi`b`[`Vf]b`[`h`'8`UVY]`g]bX`X]Y
_i`hi`fY`Yb`<][`\\`][`hg`XYf`GhUXh`gck`]Y`X]Y`VYY]bXfi`W_YbXY`BUhi`f
XYg`<UfnYg`]XYU`ž`i`a`';`fc»`i`bX`?`Y]b`ni`VY[`Y]ghYfb`"Ni`gÀhn`]W
g]bX`X]Y`_ca`d`YhhY`J`YfdZY[`i`b`ž`Y]bgW`Y»`]W`'6i`ZZYh!;`YhfÀb_Yb
k`]Y`GcZ`Xf]b_gž`6]Yf`i`bX`K`Y]bž`gck`]Y`?`UZZYgdYn]U`]hÀhYbž`]a
DfY]g`Yb`h`U`hYb`"8`UXi`fW`_`ÒbbYb`g]W`X]Y';`ÀghY`j`c`i`bX`[`Ubn
Ui`Z`\\fY`9f`YVb]ggY`_cbnYbhf]YfYbž`c`bY`g]W`i`a`ni`gÀhn`]W`Y
?`cghYb`gcf[`Yb`ni`a`ØggYb`"

8]Y`5ha`cgd`\\`ÀfY`]a`'<`chY`gh`ZUa`]`YbZfYi`bX`]W`ž`k`Ug`Yg`ni`Y]bYa
]XYU`Yb`C`fh`ZØf`[`Ya`Y]bgUa`Y`5`_h]j`]hÀhYb`a`UW`h`'8`Ug
J`YfUbghU`hi`b`[`gd`fc`[`fUa`a`V]YhYh`ZØf`U`Y`5`hYfg[`fi`ddYb`Yhk`Ug`
j`cb`;`YgW]W`_Y]hggd]Y`Yb`V]g`\\]b`ni`gdUbbYbXYb
K`UbXYfi`b`[`Ybž`X]Y`X]Y`GW`Òb`\\Y]h`XYg`<UfnYg`\\Ui`hbU`Yf`YVVUf
a`UW`Yb`"8]YgY`J`]Y`ZU`h`gc`f`[`h`XU`ZØf`ž`XUgg`Y`XYf`;`Ugh`X]Y
A`Ò[`]W`_Y]h`\\U`hž`bYi`Y`9f`ZU`\\fi`b`[`Yb`ni`gUa`a`Y`b`i`bX`GdU`»`ni
\\UVYb`"

9]b`i`bj`Yf[`Ygg`]W`Yg`9f`YVb]g`ZØf`U`Y

9]b`k`Y]hYfYf`J`c`fhY]`X`Yg`<UggYf`ÒXYf`'6i`f`[`\\chY`g]gh`XYf
_cghYbZfY]Y`DUf`_d`Uhn`ZØf`X]Y',`VYfbUW`hi`b`[`g[`ÀghY`"8]Yg
Yf`Y]W`hYfh`XUg`F`Y]gYb`i`bX`X]Y`9f`_i`bXi`b`[`XYf`l`a`[`YVi`b`[
Yf`\\YV`]W`ž`]bgVYgcbXYfY`ZØf`:`Ua`]`Ybž`X]Y`c`Zi`a`]hj`]Y`;`Yd`ÀW`
i`bhYfk`Y[`g`g]bX`"8]YgY`d`fU`_h]gW`Y`GYfj`]W`Y]ghi`b`[`nY][`hž`k`]Y
a`]YhZfYi`bX`]W`i`bX`ZUa`]`Yb`cf]Yb]Yfh`XUg`<`chY`gh`"

Ni`gÀhn`]W`ni`X`Yb`U`hfU`_h]j`Yb`l`bhYf`_i`b`Zhga`Ò[`]W`_Y]hYb`V]YhYh
XUg`<`chY`Y]bYb`C`fhž`Ub`X`Ya`g]W`:`Ua`]`Yb`Yb`hgdUbbYb`_`ÒbbYbž
k`À`fYbX`g]Y`X]Y`j`]Y`Z`À`h][`Yb`5b[`YVchY`[`Yb]Y»`Yb`"9[`U`ž`cV`a`Ub
X]Y`l`a`[`YVi`b`[`VY]Y]bYf`Xfi`W`ZfY]Yb`K`UbXYfi`b`[`Yf`_i`bXYb`c`XYf
[`Ya`Y]bgUa`NY]hYb`Ua`'<`chY`d`cc`j`YfVf]b[`Yb`a`ÒW`hY`'`]a
<UggYf`ÒXYf`'6i`f`[`\\chY`_`ÒbbYb`i`bj`Yf[`Ygg`]W`Y`A`ca`Yb`hY
[`YgW`UZZYb`k`YfXYb`"

8]Y`@U[`Y`X`Yg`<`chY`g]b`K`Yfb][`YfcXY`]gh`Y]b`i`bgW`ÀhnVUfYf
J`c`fhY]`"8]Y`GhUXhž`VY`_Ubbh`ZØf`\\fY`Vi`bhYb`:`UW`k`Yf`_`Ài`gYf`i`bX

X]Y`VYY]bXfi W_YbXY`6i f[`K Yfb][YfcXYž'n)Y\h`YXYg`đ\ł f
nU\`fY]WXY`Hci f]ghYb`Ub"8]YgY`_i`hi fY`Yb`5b[YVchY`a UWXYb`XYb
5i ZYbhU`h]a`<UggYfÖXYf`6i f[\chY`bcW`fY]nj c`Yfž`XU`g]W`X]Y
; ÅghY`Y]W`h`XUfUi Z]b`j`cfVYfY]hYb`_ÖbbYbž`X]Y`c_U`Yb
GY\Ybgk ØfX][_Y]hYb`ni`Yf`_i`bXYb"

: Ua`j`Y]b`i`bX`; fi`ddYbž`X]Y`\fYb`l`f`Ui`V`]a`<UggYfÖXYf`6i f[\chY`
j`YfVf]b[Ybž`_ÖbbYb`g]WXYf`gY]bž`XUgg`g]Y`Y]bY`Y]b`UXYbXY`i`bX
ZfYi`bX`WXY`l`a`[YVi`b[`Z]bXYbž`X]Y`\fY`6YXØfZb]ggY`j`c`ghÅbX][
YfZØ`h" <]Yf`k`]fX`K`Yfh`XUfUi`Z[Y`Y[hž`XUgg`YXYf`; Ughž`cV`†`b[
cXYf`U`hž`g]W`k`j`_ca`a`Yb`i`bX`k`c\`ZØ`h"

9]b`6Ygi`W`]a`<UggYfÖXYf`6i f[\chY`]gh`gca`]h`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]bY
F]Y]gY]b`Y]bY`XYf`gW`ÖbghYb`F]Y[]cbYb`8Yi`hgW`UbXgž`gcbXYfb
Ui`W`Y]bY`; Y`Y[Yb\Y]hž`V`Y]VYbXY`9f]bbYfi`b[Yb`ni`gW`UZZYb`i`bX
X]Y`; Ya`Y]bgW`UZh`a`]h: Ua`j`Y]i`bX`; fYi`bXYb`ni`[Yb]Y»Yb"

9f`YVYb`G]Y`K`Yfb][YfcXY`i`bX`XYb`<Ufn

Bi`hnYb`G]Y`X]Y`; Y`Y[Yb\Y]hž`X]Y`k`i`bXYfVUfY`@UbXgW`UZh`XYg
<UfnYg`ni`Yf`_i`bXYb`i`bX`X]Y`_i`hi`fY`Yb`GW`ÅhnY`j`cb
K`Yfb][YfcXY`ni`YbhXYW_Yb"8Ug`<UggYfÖXYf`6i f[\chY`k`]fX
ÀbYb`U`g`]XYU`Yf`5i`g[Ub[gdi`b`_h`X]YbYbž`i`a`j`]Y`Y`5VYbhYi`Yf`ni
Yf`YVYb"GW`UZZYb`G]Y`9f]bbYfi`b[Ybž`X]Y`Y]b`@YVYb`Ub[`U`hYbž
i`bX`[Yb]Y»Yb`G]Y`X]Y`K`Åfa`Y`i`bX`; UghZfYi`bXgW`UZh`X]YgYg
VYgcbXYfYb`<chY`g"

8]Y`5hhfU`_h]cbYb`]b`K`Yfb][YfcXY`i`bX

l`a`[YVi`b[

K`Yfb][YfcXYž`cZi`U`g`Vi`bhY`GhUXh]a`<Ufn`VYnY]W`bYhž`V]YhYh
Y]bY`J]Y`nU`\`j`cb`5hhfU`_h]cbYbž`X]Y`gck`c\`6Ygi`WXYf`U`g`Ui`W
9]b\Y]a`]gWXY`VY[Y]ghYfb"Ni`XYb`VY`_UbbhYghYb
GY\Ybgk ØfX][_Y]hYb`nÅ`h`XUg]a`dcgUbhY`GW`cgg`K`Yfb][YfcXYž
XUg`Ui`ZY]bYa`<Ø[Y`h`fcb`h`i`bX`Y]bYb`UhYa`VYfUi`VYbXYb`6`]W_
ØVYf`X]Y`GhUXh`V]YhYh"8]Y`5fW]hY`_hi`f`XYg`GW`cggYg`_ca`V]b]Yfh
9`Ya`YbhY`XYf`BYi`[ch]_i`bX`XYg`<]ghcf]ga`i`g`i`bX`n]Y\h`Å`f`]W

nU\`fY]WXY`Hci f]ghYb`Ub" `hYfYggUbhY: Ø\fi b[Yb`V]YhYb`9]bV`]W_Y
]b`X]Y; YgW]W hY`i bX`X]Y`A UhYf]U`]Ybž`X]Y`VY]a`6Ui`j Yfk YbXYh
k i fXYb"

9]b`k Y]hYfYg`<][`\\][`h]gh`X]Y`\\]ghc`f]gWXY`5`hghUXh]j`cb
K Yfb][YfcXY`a`]h]\fYb`ZUfVYbZfc`Yb`: UWk Yf`_`Ài`gYfbž`Yb[Yb
; UggYb`i bX`XYa`A Uf`hd`Um" `<]Yf`Z]bXYb`6Ygi`WXYf`[Ya`Øh]WXY
7UZ`Åg`i bX`c`_U`Y; YgW`ÀZhYž`X]Y`HfUX]h]cb`i bX`<UbXk Yf`_`XYf
FY[]cb`fYdf`ÀgYb]h]YfYb" `6YgcbXYfg`VYa`Yf`_`Ybgk`Yfh]gh`XUg
K Yfb][YfØXYf`FUh\Ui`gž`Y]b`df`ÀW]h][Yg; YV`Ài`XY`a`]h`a`Uf`_`UbhYb
J Yfn]Yfi`b[Yb"

5i » Yf\U`V`XYf`GhUXh`UXYb`XYf`B U]cbU`dUf`_`<Ufn`i bX`nU\`fY]WXY
K UbXYfk Y[Y`ni`9f`_i bXi b[Yb`Y]b" `8Yf`6fcW`_Ybž`U`g`\ØW]ghYf
;]dZY``]a`<Ufnž`]gh`Y]b`VY`]YVhYg`N]Y`ZØf`K UbXYfYf`i bX
BUh`i`f`]YV\UVYf" `9g`[]Vh`gck`c`\`K UbXYfk Y[Y`U`g`Ui`W`Y]bY
6fcW`_YbVU\`bž`X]Y`Hci f]ghYb`X]fY`_`h`ni`a`i;]dZY``Vf]b[h"

8]Y`F`c``Y`XYg`<UggYfØXYf`6i`f[`\`chY`g`]a Hci`f]ga`i`g

8Ug`<UggYfØXYf`6i`f[`\`chY`gd]Y`h`Y]bY`VYXYi`hYbXY`F`c``Y`]a
Hci`f]ga`i`g`XYf`FY[]cb`<Ufn`A`]h`gY]bYf`ghfUhY[]gWXYb`@U[Y`i`bX
gY]bYb`j`Y`Z`À`h][Yb`5b[YV`chYb`i`bhYfghØhnh`Yg`U`_`h]j`X]Y`c`_U`Y
K]fhgW]UZh" `8]Y`, VYfbUW]hi`b[g[`ÀghY`hfU[Yb`ni`f`6Y`YVi`b[`XYf
; Ughfc`bca`]Y`i`bX`XYf`9]bnY`\UbXY`g[YgW]ÀZhY`]b`K`Yfb][YfcXY
VY]" `8UfØVYf`\]bUi`g`Yfa`Ø[`]W]h`XUg`<chY`ž`Xi`fW`X]Y
6YfY]hghY``i`b[]`cb`: fY]nY]hU`_`h]j`]h`hYb`i`bX`J`YfUbghU`hi`b[Ybž`XYb
; `ÀghYbž`X]Y`?i`hi`f`i`bX`X]Y`BUh`i`f`XYf`FY[]cb`]b`hYbg]j`Yf`ni
YfZU\`fYb"

8]Y`b`j`Ygh]h]cbYb`]b`X]Y`b`ZfUghfi`_`hi`f`XYg`<UggYfØXYf`6i`f[`\`chY`gž
k`]Y`VY]gd]Y`gk`Y]gY`X]Y`F`Ybcj`]Yfi`b[`XYf`N]a`a`Yf`i`bX`X]Y
9fk`Y]hYfi`b[`XYg`[Ughfc`bca`]gWXYb`5b[YV`chgž`g]bX`Y]b`NY]WXYb
XYf`6Ya`Øli`b[Ybž`XYb`; `ÀghYb`Y]b`i`bj`Yf[Ygg`]WXYg`9f`YVb]g`ni
V]YhYb" `8Ug`<chY`ZØfXYfh`Ui`W`fY[]cbU`Y`DfcXi`_`hYž`]bXYa`Yg
`c`_U`Y`@VYbga`]hY``]b`gY]bYb`A`YbØg`j`Yfk`YbXYhž`k`Ug`b]W]h`i`bi`f
X]Y`E`i`U`]h`h]j`YfVYggYf`hž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`X]Y`c`_U`Y`@UbXk`]fhgW]UZh

i bhYfghØhnh"

8]YgY`i bhYfbY\ a YbgghfUHY []Y`nY][hž`k]Y`k]W h][`Yg`]ghž`c_U`Y
K YfhY`ni `fYgdY_h]YfYb`i bX`[`Y]W nY]h][`XYb`Hci f]ga i g`bUW\ U`h][
ni `[YghU`hYb" , VYf`X]Y`dcg]hj] Yb` : YYXVUW_g`j`cb` ; ÅghYb` \]bUi g
[]Vh`Yg`5i ZnY]W bi b [Yb`XUfØVYfž`XUgg`X]Y`5bnU\ `XYf
, VYfbUW hi b [Yb`]a `<chY``]b`XYb`YhnhYb`đ\ fYb`_cbh]bi]Yf`]W
ni [Ybca a Yb` \Uhž`k Ug`VY [Y]ghYfž`XUgg`XYf`<Ufn`U`g`F Y]gYn]Y`
]a a Yf`VY`]YVhYf`k]fX"

: Øf`Y]bY`i bj Yf [Ygg`]W Y`F Y]gY`i bX`Yf\c`gUa Y`A ca YbhY`]a `<Ufn
V]YhYh`XUg`<UggYfØXYf`6i f [\chY``gca]h`b]W h`bi f`Yfgh`_Ugg][Y
I bhYf_ØbZnYž`gcbXYfb`Ui W X]Y`A Ò [`]W _Y]hž`X]Y`F Y []cb`]b`]\fYf
j`c`Yb`DfUW h`ni `Yf`YVYb"

8YhU]`g

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