

GYa YghYfd`UbYf`&\$&' . `Gc `g]W\ Yfh`]\ f Yi W\ `XUg`_cgYb`cgY`9I Ya d`Uf°

8 Yf`GYa YghYfd`UbYf`Z0f`XUg`K]GY`&\$&(#&) `XYf`I b]j Yfg]hÅh
<Y]XY`VYf[`]ghj YfZ0[VUf"9fZU\fh` \]Yfž`k]Y`]\f`Yi Yf
_cgYb`cgYg`9I Ya d`Uf`Yf\U`hYb`_0bbh"

8 Ug`K]bhYfgYa YghYf`&\$&(#&) `ghY\`hj cf`XYf`H0f`i bX`XUa]h`Ui W\
X]Y`5i g[UVY`XYg`bYi Yb`GYa YghYfd`UbYfg`XYf`I b]j Yfg]hÅh
<Y]XY`VYf["Ghi X]YfYbXY`_0bbYb`g]W\`Ui Z`Y]bYb`D`UbYf`ZfYi Ybž
XYf`b]W\`h`bi f`Zi b_h]cbU`ž`gcbXYfb`Ui W\`_cgYbZfY]`]gh"8]YgYf
D`UbYf`]gh`Y]b`i bj Yfn]W\`hVUfYg`<]`Zga]hY`Z0f`U`Yž`X]Y`XYb
, VYfV`]W_`]b`XYf`j c`Yb`J cf`Ygi b[gnY]h`VY\U`hYb`a 0W\`hYb"

8 Yf`GYa YghYfd`UbYf`]ghj cf`U`Ya `Z0f`9fgh]a a Uhf]_i `]YfhY`j cb
YbhgW\Y]XYbXYf`6YXYi hi b["8]YgY`; fi ddY`j cb`Ghi X]YfYbXYb`k]fX
XYb`D`UbYf`j cfUi gg]W\`h]W\`VY]`XYf`5V\c`i b[`]\fYg
Ghi X]YfYbXYbUi gk Y]gYg`cXYf`k Å`fYbX`XYf
9]bZ0\fi b[gj YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`]b`9a dZUb[`bY\`a Yb"9]b`\Y]»
YfgY\`bhYb`; i hYb!A cf[Yb!6`]W_`Ui ZXYb`VYj cfghY\`YbXYb
Ghi X]YbU`hU[`Yfk UfhYh`g]Y"

K c `Z]bXY`]W\`a Y]bYb`GYa YghYfd`UbYf3

Ghi X]YfYbXYž`X]Y`VYfY]hg`]a a Uhf]_i `]Yfh`g]bXž`a 0ggYb`g]W\
YVYbZU`g`_Y]bY`Gcf[Yb`a UW\`Yb"8Yf`GYa YghYfd`UbYf`k]fX`]b`XYb
_ca a YbXYb`K cW\`Yb`Ub`j YfgW\]YXYbYb`C fhYb`]bbYf\U`V`XYg
I b]j Yfg]hÅhg[Y`ÅbXYg`VYfY]h[YghY`h"Ni `XYb`k]W\`h][ghYb
5i g[UVYghY`Yb`[Y\0fYb.

- Ghi F U!60fc`]b`XYf`5`VYfh!I YVYf`Y!GhfU»Y
- GUbX[Uggy

- 7Ufc`]bi a
- GYfj]W7YbhYf`XYg`Ghi X]YfYbXYbk Yf_g`Ub`XYf`9W_Y
; fUVYb[UggY# b]d`Uhn
- : cmYf`XYg`7Ua di g`6Yf[\Y]a
- 5i Z[Ub[`5`]b`XYf`NYbhfU`a YbgU`fB: ` \$ (Ł

8]Y` : UWgW UZhYb`XYf`i b]j Yfg]hAh`g]bX`YVYbZU`g`Y]b[Y`UXYbž
9I Ya d`UfY`XYg`GYa YghYfd`UbYfg`ni `VYghY`Yb"8]YgY`_ÒbbYb
XUbb`Ub`fY`Yj UbhYb`CfhYb`]b`XYb`bgh]hi hYb`i bX`GYa]bUfYb
Ui g[Y`Y[h`k YfXYb"8]Y`6YghY`i b[`YfZc`[h[Ubni b_ca d`]n]Yfh
ØVYf`XUg`ØV`]WY`6YghY`Zcfa i `Uf"5`hYfbUh]j ` _ÒbbYb`X]Y
: UWgW UZhYb`X]Y`D`UbYf`X]fY`_h]a `Ghi F U!6Øfc`UV`c`Ybž`k Ug`Y]bY
gW`bY`Y`i bX`Y]bZUWY`@Ògi b[`ZØf`U`Y`6YhY`] [hYb`XUfghY`h"

8] []hU`Y`C dh]cbYb`ZØf`U`Y`

: Øf`X]Y`Yb][Ybž`X]Y`Yg`VYj cfni [Ybž`]\fY`A UhYf]U`]Yb`X][]hU`ni
\UVYbž`[]Vh`Yg`Ui W`Y]bY`A Ò[`]W`_Y]hž`XYb`GYa YghYfd`UbYf
\Yfi bhYfni `UXYb`i bX`gY`Vgh`Ui gni Xfi W`Yb"8]YgY` : `YI]V`]hAh
gcf[h`XUZØfž`XUgg`YXYf`[Ya Å» `gY]bYb`]bX]j]Xi Y`Yb`6YXØfZb]ggYb
Ui ZXYb`D`UbYf`ni [fY]ZYb`_Ubb"

8]Y`9]bZØ\fi b[`XYg`bYi Yb`GYa YghYfd`UbYfg`]gh`b]W`h`bi f`Y]b
hfUX]h]cbY`Y`g`9j Ybh`Ub`XYf`i b]j Yfg]hAh`<Y]XY`VYf[ž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`
Y]bY`k]W`h][Y`J cfVYfY]hi b[`Ui Z`XUg`_ca a YbXY`GYa YghYf"8Yf
D`UbYf`V]YhYh`Y]bYb` , VYfV`]W`_ØVYf`J cf`Ygi b[Ybž`J YfUbghU`hi b[Yb
i bX`UbXYfY`GW`f]hYž`X]Y`ZØf`XYb`Ghi X]YbU`hU[`YggYbn]Y`g]bX"
8Ua]h`k]fX`XYb`Ghi X]YfYbXYb`XUg`C f[Ub]g]YfYb`] \fYf`HYfa]bY
i bX` : f]ghYb`Yf`Y]W`hYfh"

≠`NY]hYb`k Yb][Yf`dYfg`Òb`]W`Yf`?cbhU`hY`i bX`X][]hU`Yf
5i ghUi gW`a Ò[`]W`_Y]hYb`]gh`Y]b`gc`W`Yf`D`UbYf`Y]b`[fc»Yf`; Yk]bb
ZØf`X]Y`Ghi X]YfYbXYbž`XU`Yf`]\bYb`Ghfi _hi f`i bX`<`]ZYghY`i b[
V]YhYh"8]Y`6YfY]hghY`i b[`Ub`d`m]g]gW`Yb`GhUbXcfhYb`ZØfXYfh
ni XYa`XYb` ; Ya Y]bgW`UZhgg]bb`i bX`Yfa Ò[`]W`h`Y]bYb`X]fY`_hYb
?cbhU`_h`nk]gW`Yb`Ghi X]YfYbXYb"

I a`g]W`Yf`ni`gY]bž`XUgg`b]Ya UbX`Y]bY`5i g[UVY`j YfdUgghž`g]bX

X]Y`Ghi X]YfYbXYb`Ui Z[Yfi ZYbž`g]W`U_hj`i a ni gWUi Yb`i bX`X]Y
VYfY]h[YghY`hYb`9I Ya d`UfY`j]b`5bgdfi W`ni `bY`a Yb`"8Ug
Gcn]U`YVYb`Ub`XYf`i b]j Yfg]h`h`<Y]XY`VYf[`Ub`b`Xi fW`X]Y
Bi hni b[`X]YgYg`D`UbYfg[`Yn]Y`hi bhYfgh`h`k YfXYbž`XU`Yf`X]Y
?ccfX]bUh]cb`nk]gW`Yb`Ghi X]YfYbXYb`Z`fXYfhi bX`U`g
[Ya Y]bgUa Yg`<]`Zga]hhY`Z`b[]Yfh`

9]b`VYXYi hYbXYg`<]`Zga]hhY`Z`f`U`Y Ghi X]YfYbXYb

8Yf`gYa YghYf`]W`Y`D`UbYf`]gh`k Y]h`a Y`f`U`g`bi f`Y]b`Y]bZUW`Yf
NY]hd`Ub`"9f`ghY`h`g]W`Yfž`XUgg`X]Y`Ghi X]YfYbXYb`b]W`h`bi f`]`fY
U`UXYa]gW`Yb`J`YfdZ]W`hi b[Yb`]a `6`]W`VY`U`hYbž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`
X]Y`gcn]U`Yb`i bX`_i`hi fY`Yb`5b[YVchY`]`fYf`i b]j Yfg]h`h`Yf`_i bXYb
_`ObbYb`" `b`Y]bYf`XmbUa]gW`Yb`Ghi X]Ybi a [YVi b[`k]Y`<Y]XY`VYf[
]gh`X]Y`A`O[`]W`_Y]hž`XYb`Y][YbYb`5`hU[`ni`ghfi`_hi`f]YfYb`i bX
[`Y]W`nY]h[]`gcn]U`Y`?cbhU`hY`ni`_b`ØdZYbž`j cb`Yf`YV`]W`Ya`K`Yfh`

A]h`X]YgYa `dfU_h]gW`Yb`5gg]ghYb`hYb`]b`XYf`<UbX`_`ObbYb
Ghi X]YfYbXY`gY`VghVYk`i`gghYf`i bX`VYggYf`cf[Ub]g]Yfh`]b`XUg`bYi`Y
GYa YghYf`ghUfhYb`"8Yf`GYa YghYfd`UbYf`]gh`Y]b`_`Y]bYgž`UVYf
k]W`h[]Yg`9`Ya Ybž`XUg`XYb`Ghi X]YbU`hU[`Yf`Y]W`hYfhi bX`XUni
VY]hf`A[hž`XUgg`YXYf`g]W`Ui ZXUg`@YfbYb`_cbnYbhf]YfYb`_Ubbž
k`A`fYbX`Yf`[`Y]W`nY]h[]`XUg`ghi`XYbh]gW`Y`@YVYb`]b`gY]bYf`j`c`Yb
J]Y`ZU`h[Yb]Y»Yb`_Ubb`"

8Yf`GYa YghYfd`UbYf`]gh`b]W`h`bi f`Y]b`dfU_h]gW`Yg`K`Yf`_nYi [ž`i a
XYb`Ghi X]YbU`hU[`ni`cf[Ub]g]YfYb`"9f`ghY`h`Ui W`Y]bY`k]W`h[]Y
`bZcfa`Uh]cbgei`Y`Y`Z`f`Ghi X]YfYbXY`XUf`"9f`Ybh`A`h`b]W`h`bi f`
Y]bYb`A`cbUhg`_U`YbXYfž`gcbXYfb`cZi`Ui W`k]W`h[]Y`<]bk`Y]gY`ni
J`YfUbghU`hi b[Ybž`f]ghYb`i bX`?cbhU`hYb`]bbYf`U`V`XYf
<cW`gW`i`Y`"

J`YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`i bX`HYfa]bY

Ni`g`A`h`]W`ni`XYb`hmd]gW`Yb`?U`YbXYfgY]hYb`V]YhYh`XYf
GYa YghYfd`UbYf`cZi`Y]bY`,`VYfg]W`h`ØVYf`k]W`h[]Y

J YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`]a`@Ui ZY`XYg`GYa YghYfg"8 Uni` [Y\ÖfYb
VY]gd]Y`gk Y]gY`9]bZØ\fi b[gj YfUbghU`hi b[Ybž`DfØZi b[ghYfa`]bY
gck]Y` : f]ghYb`ZØf`X]Y`5ba Y`Xi b[`ni`@Y\fy YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`cXYf
DfØZi b[Yb"8]YgY` ðZcfa Uh]cbYb`g]bX`ZØf`Ghi X]YfYbXY
i bYf`Ägg]Wł ži a`XYb` , VYfV`]W_`ØVYf`]\fY`j YfdZ]Wł hYbXYb
HYfa`]bY`i bX`J YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`ni`VY\U`hYb"

ðhY[fUh]cb`]b`XYb`X][]hU`Yb`5`hU[

5b[Yg]Wł hg`XYf`ZcfhgWł fY]hYbXYb`8][]hU`]g]Yfi b[`k]fX`\Äi Z[
X]g_i h]Yfhž`]bk]YZfb`hfUX]h]cbY`Y`D`UbYf`Xi fWł`X][]hU`Y`@Ögi b[Yb
YfgYmnh`k YfXYb`_ÖbbYb"J]Y`Y`Ghi X]YfYbXY`bi hnYb`a`]hhYfk Y]Y
X][]hU`Y`?U`YbXYf`i bX`5ddgž`i a`]\fY`HYfa`]bY`ni`j Yfk U`hYb"
8YbbcWł`nY][h`X]Y`DfUi]gž`XUgg`j]Y`Y`k Y]hYf\]b`XYb`\Udh]gWł Yb
J cfhY`]`Y]bYg`d`mg]gWł Yb`D`UbYfg`gWł ÄhnYbž`i a`XYb`Y][YbYb
5`hU[`ni`cf[Ub]g]YfYb"

6 YXYi hi b[`ZØf`X]Y`Ghi X]YfYbXYbgWł UZh

8Yf`GYa YghYfd`UbYf`gd]Y`h`Y]bY`k YgYbh]Wł Y`F c`Y`]b`XYf
Ghi X]Ybcf[Ub]gUh]cb" ðgVYgcbXYfY`ZØf`9fghgYa YghYf`]gh`Yf`c Zh`XUg
YfghY`C V`Y`_hž`XUg`g]Y`ni`f`\UbXZYghYb`Cf[Ub]gUh]cb`]fYg`Ghi X]i a`g
bi hnYb`_ÖbbYb" @Ui h`Y]bYf`l a`ZfU[Y`XYf
<cWł gWł i`fY`_hc`fYb`_cbZYfYbn`fk`F?Ł[YVYb`ØVYf`*`\$`i`XYf
Ghi X]YfYbXYb`Ubž`XUgg`g]Y`Y]bYb`d`mg]gWł Yb`GYa YghYfd`UbYf
VYj cfn i [Ybž`i a`Y]bYb`[fY]ZVUfYb` , VYfV`]W_`ØVYf`]\fY
DZ]Wł hYfa`]bY`ni`Yf\U`hYb" Gc`Wł Y`Hcc`g`ZØfXYfb`X]Y
GY`Vghcf[Ub]gUh]cb`i bX`hfU[Yb`ni`f`GhfYggfYXi`_h]cb`VY]ž`XU`g]Y
\Y`ZYbž`k]Wł h][Y` : f]ghYb`]a`6`]W_`ni`VY\U`hYb"

<cWł gWł i`dc`h]_`i bX

Ghi X]YfYbXYbj YfhfYhi b[

8]Y`8]ghf]Vi h]cb`XYg`GYa YghYfd`UbYfg`k]fX`\Äi Z[]j`cb`XYf
Ghi X]YfYbXYbj YfhfYhi b[`cf[Ub]g]Yfhž`X]Y`Ui Wł`ZØf`X]Y`H\Ya Yb`XYf
Ghi X]YfYbXYb`[Y\Öfh`k]fX"8]Y`A]h[YghU`hi b[`XYg
GYa YghYfd`UbYfg`]gh`Y]b`6Y]gd]Y`XUZØfž`k]Y`Ghi X]YfYbXY`Ub`XYf

; YghU`hi b[]\fYg`Ghi X]i a g'a]hk]f_Yb`_ÖbbYb"8]YgYf`DfcnYgg`]gh
k]W`h][ži a `X]Y`J YfV]bXi b[`nk]gW`Yb`Ghi X]YfYbXYb`i bX
<cW`gW`i `j Yfk U`hi b[`ni `ghÄf_Yb`i bX`g]W`Yfni ghY`YbžXUgg`X]Y
6YXØfZb]ggY`XYf`Ghi X]YfYbXYb`\ÖfVUf`i bX`g]W`hVUf`g]bX"

≠g[YgUa h`]gh`XYf`GYa YghYfd`UbYf`a Y`f`U`g`bi f`Y]b`? U`YbXYf/Yf
]gh`Y]b`Gma Vc`ZØf`X]Y`J YfbYhni b[`i bX`C f[Ub]gUh]cb`]bbYf`U`V
XYf`Ghi X]YfYbXYbgW`UZh`i bX`hfÄ[h`gca]h`k YgYbh`]W`ni a
Ghi X]YbU`hU[`VY]"`Ghi X]YfYbXY`g]bX`a ch]j]YfhYfž`k Ybb`g]Y`k]ggYbž
XUgg`g]Y`a]h`XYb`f]W`h][Yb`K Yf_nYi [Yb`Ui g[YghUhhYh`g]bXž`i a
]\fY`U_UXYa]gW`Yb`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`ni `a Y]ghYfb`i bX`]\fY`NY]h
YZZY_h]j `ni `bi hnYb"

8YhU]`g

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