

? cfc '7UZÅ]b 'y bU. 'K Ug'ghYW_h'\]bhYf'XYf
'Ub[Yb'GWX`]Y» i b[3

8]Y'HØfYb'XYg'? cfc '7UZÅg:]b 'y bU'V`Y]VYb'gY]h'GYdhYa VYf
[YgW`cggYb"i b`_Ufž'cV`Yg'k]YXYf'ÒZbYh"K Ug'ghYW_h
XU\]bhYf3

þ'XYf'@]W hghUXh' y bU'gcf[h'XUg'gh]'[Y`Y[hY'? cfc '7UZÅ / 'W
7fYUa 'ZØf'; YgdfÅW gghc ZZ"8]Y]_cb]gW Yb'fchYb'HØfYb'XYg
VY`YVhYb'7UZÅg'Ua 'A Uf_h'V`Y]VYb'gY]h'a Y`f'U`g'j]Yf'K cW Yb
[YgW`cggYbž'i bX'X]Y`Y]bn][Y'6chgW UZž'X]Y'DUggUbhYb'Yf\ U`hYbž
]gh'Y]b'GWX`]X`]a 'GWXUi ZYbghYfž'XUg'Ui Z' 6Yhf]YVgZYf]Yb '\]bk Y]gh"
8 cW`XUg`]gh'b]W h'X]Y`[Ubny'K U`f\Y]h"8]Y'G]hi Uh]cb'k]fZh: fU[Yb
Ui Zi bX`'Àgghj]Y`Y'; ÀghY`]a`i b[Yk]ggYb'XUfØVYfž'k Ug[YbUi`a]h
X]YgYa`hfYbX][Yb'7UZÅ`dUgg]Yfh]gh"

8 Ug'? cfc '7UZÅ '\ Uh'g]W`gY]h'gY]bYf'9fØZbi b[`]a`A U]`&\$&&'U`g`Y]b
VY`YVhYf'5b`Ui Zdi b_h'ZØf'@]YV\UVYf'j cb'j Y[YhUf]gW Yb'i bX
j Y[UbYb'GdY]gYb'YhUV`]Yfh"8]Y'6Ygi W Yf'gW`ÀmhYb'X]Y`J]Y`ZU`h`
j cb`_Øgh]W Ya`9]g'V]g`\]b'ni`Y`W`YfYb'GbUW`gž'X]Y`cZh]b`Y]bYa
`]YVYj c`Yb'5a`V]YbhY`[YbcggYb'k`i fXYb"8]Y`XY`Y`\]bhYf'XYa
? cbnYdh'k Uf'b]W h'bi fž'Y]bY`[Ughfcbca]gW Y`9fZU\ fi b[
Ubni`V]YhYbž'gcbXYfb'Ui W`Y]b'HY`'XYg[fØ» YfYb'? cfc!Cb`]bY!
G\cdg'ni`gY]bž'XYf'ZØf'gY]bY`[Ygi bXYb'@YVYbga]hY`VY`Ubh'gh"

K Ug'ghYW_h'\]bhYf'XYf'GWX`]Y» i b[3

8]Y'GWX`]Y» i b[`XYg'7UZÅg'gY]h'A]hY'GYdhYa VYf'n]Y`h'X]Y
5i Za Yf_gUa`_Y]h'XYf'A YX]Yb'i bX'XYf'^2 ZZYbh]W`_Y]h'Ui Z'g]W`"9]bY
GdfYW Yf]b'XYg'i bhYfbY`a Ybg'VYgh`h][hY`[Y[YbØVYf'XYf
Cgh\Øf]b[Yf'NY]hi b[ž'XUgg'XUg'? cfc '7UZÅ`Ui Zi bVYgh]a`a hY'NY]h
[YgW`cggYb'V`Y]Vh" , VYf'X]Y'; fØbXY'ZØf'X]Y'GWX`]Y» i b[[]Vh'Yg

U`YfX]b[g`_Y]bY`_`UfYb`bZcfa Uh]cbYb"J]Y`Y`?i bXYb`g]bX
bYi []Yf][`i bX`ghY`Yb`g]W`X]Y` : fU[Yž`cV`]\f`@]YV`]b[gWUŽ`Ya U`g
k]YXYf`Yf`ÖZbYb`k]fX"

9]bY`gdUbbYbXY`HUhgUW`Y`]ghž`XUgg`XUg`>`bUYf`7UZ`U`g
DfcVY`Ui Z[YXUW`h`k`i`fXY`"?cfc`\Uh`bi`f`bcW`nk`Y`]k`Y]hYfY`7UZ`g
]b`6Yf`]bž`gcXUgg`>`bU`Y]bY`VYgc`bXYfY`F`c`Y`]bbYf`U`V`XYf
l`bhYfbY`a`YbgghfUhY[]Y`gd]Y`h`C`V`k`c`\`X]Y`F`Ygc`bUbn`Ui`Z`XUg
7UZ`]b`XYf`@]W`hghUXh`U`g`dcg]hj`V`YgW`f]YVYb`k`i`fXYž`V`Y]Vh
i`b`_`Ufž`k`]Y`Yg`a`]h`X]YgYa`GhUbXcfh`k`Y]hYf[Y`h`8Yf`GW`f]hh`ni`f
GW`Y]Y>`i`b[`XYi`hY`h`a`Ö[`]W`Yfk`Y]gY`Ui`Z`]bhYfbY`, VYf`Y[i`b[Yb
cXYf`ghfUhY[]gW`Y`J`Yf`À`bXYfi`b[Yb`]\]b"

Ni`g`À`h`]W`ni`f`7UZ`!J`Yfk`U`hi`b[`Uh`XUg`l`bhYfbY`a`Yb`?cfc`]b
XYb`Y`hnhYb`>`U`fYb`gY]b`Gc`fh]a`Yb`h`X]j`Y`fg]Z]n]Yfh`8]Y`9]bZ`Ø`fi`b[
j`cb`j`Y[UbYb`i`bX`j`Y[YhUf]Ub`DfcXi`_`hYb`VfUW`hY`bYi`Y
?i`bXYb[fi`ddYb`Ub`"8]Yg`_`Ubb`U`g`HY`]Y]bYg`[f`Ö>`YfYb`HfYbXg`]b
XYf`; Ughfcbca]Y`VYhfUW`hY`h`k`YfXYbž`k`c`]a`a`Yf`a`Y`\f
J`YfVfUi`W`Yf`Ui`Z[Ygi`bXY`i`bX`bUW`\U`h][Y`B`U`fi`b[ga`]hY`
UW`hYb"

8]Y`9]bhgW`Y]Xi`b[ž`j`cf`Ø`VYf[Y`YbX`ni`g`W`]Y>`Ybž`_`Ö`bbh`X]Y
F`Y`Y]Ubn`j`cb`A`Uf`_`hZ`c`fgW`i`b[`]a` ; Ughfcbca]YVYfY]W
i`bhYfghfY]W`Yb`"K`Ybb`Y]b`GhUbXcfh`b]W`h`X]Y`[Yk`Ø`bgW`hY
@Y]ghi`b[`Yfn]Y`h`cXYf`k`Y]hYfY`VYhf]YV`]W`Y`, VYf`Y[i`b[Yb`b`Øh][
g]bXž`]ghY]bY`gc`W`Y`A`U>`bU`a`Y`b]W`h`i`b`Ø`V`]W`"8Yb`bcW`V`Y]Vh
XYf`GW`c`W`_`VY`]XYb`GhUa`a`[`À`ghYbž`X]Y`XUg`7UZ`[YfbY
VYgi`W`hYb"

8]Y`F`YU`_`h]cb`XYf`?`i`bXYb

8]Y`?`i`bXYb`k`UfYb`Yb`hn`Ø`W`_`hž`U`g`XUg`?`cfc`7UZ`Y]bgh`gY]bY`H`Ø`fYb
ÖZbYhY`"Bi`bž`XU`X]Y`f`chYb`H`Ø`fYb`gh`]ghY`Ybž`gdY`_i`_]YfYb`j`]Y`Yž
k`Ug`j`]Y`Y]W`h`XYf`; fi`bX`\]bhYf`X]YgYf`d`Ø`h`]W`Yb`GW`]Y>`i`b[
gY]b`_`Ö`bbhY`"8]Y`gcn]U`Yb`A`YX]Yb`g]bX`j`c`]j`cb`?`ca`a`Yb`hUfYb
i`bX` : fU[Ybž`k`cVY`]j`]Y`Y`XUfUi`Z`\`c`ZYbž`VU`X`k`]YXYf`]fY
@]YV`]b[ggdY]gYb`[Yb]Y>`Yb`ni`_`Ö`bbYb`"9]b
; Ygi`bX`Y]hgVYk`i`gghgY]bž`XUg`UbXYfg`]gh`U`g`VY`]Yf`_`Öa`a`]W`Yb

7UZÅgž\Uh'Y]bY'hfYi Y'?i bXgWUZh'i a 'XUg'?cfc'7UZÅ'[YgWUZZYbž
i bX'X]YgY'j Yfa]ggYb'X]Y'_i]bUf]gWYb'5b[YVchY"

8]Y'8Ui Yf'XYf'GW'Y»i b['Àggh'g]W'V]g\Yf'gWk Yf'UVgY\Yb"@Ui h
XYf'GdfYWYf]b'V'Y]Vh'X]Y'9]bgW'Àhni b['XYf'@U[Y'i bX'XYf
ni _ØbZh][Y'J Yf'Ui Z'YXcW'ì bhYf'J YfgW'ì gg"8]Y'ì b[Yk]gg\Y]h
_ØbbhY'Ui W'UbXYfY'7UZÅg'Yfa i bhYfbž]\fY'; YgW'ÀZhghfUhY[]Yb
i bX'!Ub[YVchY'ni 'ØVYfXYb_Ybž'Ub[Yg]W'hg'XYf'VYj c fghY\YbXYb
K]bhYfa cbUhYž'X]Y'cZh'Y]bY'gWk]Yf][Y'NY]h'ZØf
; Ughfcbca]YVYhf]YVY'XUfghY''Yb"

8]Y'6YXYi hi b['ZØf'X]Y'; Ughfcbca]YgnYbY

8]Y'G]hi Uh]cb'XYg'?cfc'7UZÅg'_ØbbhY'j]Y'Y'; Ughfcbca Yb'ì bX
ì bhYfbY\ a Yb'ja '6YfY]W'ì [Ygi bXYf'B U\fi b[ga]hhY'ni a
B UW'XYb_Yb'Ub fY[Yb"8]Y'<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Ybž'j cf'XYbYb'XUg
7UZÅ'U_hi Y''ghY\hž'fYZY_h]YfYb'X]Y'k UW'gYbXY'?ca d'YI]h'Àh'ì bX
X]Y'8mbUa]_XYg'A Uf_hi a Z'Xgž'j cf'XYa 'j]Y'Y'ì bhYfbY\ a Yb
ghY\Yb"8Yf': c_i g'Ui ZBUW\U'h][_Y]h'ì bX'ì [Ygi bXY'9fb'À\fi b[
V'Y]Vh'VYghY\Ybž'XcW'X]Y': À\][_Y]hž'g]W'ì]b'Y]bYa 'g]W'gh'ÀbX][
j Yf'ÀbXYfbXYb'K]fhgW'UZhg_]a U'Ubni dUggYbž'gh'YbhgW'Y]XYbX'ZØf
XYb'9fZc`["

<]bhYf[fi bX]bZcfa Uh]cbYb'ni a ' ? cfc'7UZÅ

8Ug'?cfc'7UZÅ/ 'W'7fYUa ']gh'HY]'XYg'?cfc!! bhYfbY\ a Ybgž'XUg
i fgdfØb[']W' \Ui dhg'ÀW']W'U'g'Cb']bY!J YfgUbX'ZØf'@YVYbga]hhY'
VY[]bbh"; Y[fØbXYh'ja 'š\ f'&\$%(ž'gdYn]U'g]Yfh'g]W' ?cfc'Ui ZXYb
J Yf_Ui Zj cb'ì bj YfdUW_hYb'@YVYbga]hhY'b'ì bX'GbUW_g']b[fc» Yb
A Yb[Yb" ' ð'XYb'YhnhYb'š\ fYb' \Uh'XUg'ì bhYfbY\ a Yb'gY]bY
; YgW'ÀZhgh'Àh][_Y]h'Yfk Y]hYfhž'ì a 'Ui W'7UZÅg'ni 'VYhfY]VYbž'X]Y
[Ygi bXY'GbUW_g'ì bX'; Yhf'Àb_Y'UbV]YhYb"

8]Y'9bhgW'Y]Xi b[ž'Y]b'7UZÅ']b'š' bU'ni 'Yf'ÒZbYbž'YfZc`[hY'ja
'cbhYì h'Y]bYg'k UW'gYbXYb'HfYbXg'ni ' [Ygi bX\Y]hgVYk i gghYf
9fb'À\fi b['ì bX'XYf'ghY][YbXYb'B UW'ZfU[Y'bUW'j Y[UbYb'ì bX
j Y[YhUf]gW'Yb'DfcXi _hYb"8]Y'F Y[]cb'H\Øf]b[Yb'\Uh'g]W'U'g
ni bY\ a YbX'UhhfU_h]j 'ZØf'gc`W'Y'?cbnYdhY'Yfk]YgYbž'k Ug

g]W\Yf]W\ ni f'9bhgW\Y]Xi b['VY][YhfU[Yb'\Uhž'\]Yf'Y]bYb
HYghghUbXcfh'Y]bni f]W\hYb"8 Ug'7UZĀ']b'ŷbU'gc''h'Y]bY
?ca V]bUh]cb'Ui g'XYa '6fUbXYX! ?Ui ZYf'YVb]g'i bX'Y]bYf'gcn]U`Yb
6Y[Y[bi b[gghĀhY`V]YhYb"

GhUh]gh]_Yb`i bX`8 UhYb`ni f`; Ughfcbca]Y`]b 8 Yi hgW\`UbX

8]Y`; Ughfcbca]YVfUbW\Y`]b'8 Yi hgW\`UbX`\Uh]b`XYb`YhnhYb
ŷ\fyb`]a a Yf'k]YXYf'a]h'<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`ni`_Āa dZYb
[Y\UVhž] cf'U`Ya`Xi fW`X]Y'7CJ 8!%- !DUbXYa]Y"@Ui h'XYa
GhUh]gh]gW\Yb`6i bXYgUa`h'gUb`_X]Y`NU\`XYf`; Ughfcbca]YVYhf]YVY
j cb`&\$%-`V]g`&\$&%`i a`Yhk U`%)`DfcnYbh`Ni XYa`\UVYb`j]Y`Y
VYghY\YbXY`6Yhf]YVY`Z]bUbn]Y`Y`GW\k]Yf][_Y]hYbž'k cXi fW
GW`]Y»i b[Yb`Ub`XYf`HU[YgcfXbi b[`g]bX"

ŷ`Y]bYf`I a ZfU[Y`XYg'8 Yi hgW\Yb`<chY`!i bX`; UghghĀhYbj YfVUbXg
fB 9<C; 5Ē'Ui g'XYa`ŷ\`f`&\$&[UVYb`*%`DfcnYbh'XYf`6YZfU[hYb
Ubž'XUgg'g]Y`]bZc`[Y`XYf`dUbXYa]YVYX]b[hYb`9]bgW\fĀb`_i b[Yb
a]h'k]fhgW\UZh]W\Yb`DfcV`Ya`Yb`_Āa dZYb"8]YgY`G]hi Uh]cb`\Uh
b]W\h`bi f`X]Y`[fc»Yb`?YhYb`VYhfc ZYbž'gcbXYfb`Ui W\`_Y]bYfYž
i bUV\Āb[][Y`7UZĀg`i bX`FYghUi fUbhgž'X]Y`cZiUi ZX]Y`c_U`Y
BUW ZfU[Y`Ub[Yk]YgYb`g]bX"

8 Ug`?cfc'7UZĀ']b'ŷbU`_ÖbbhY`gca]h]b`Y]bYa`Ub[YgdUbbhYb
k]fhgW\UZh]W\Yb`I a ZY`X`cdYf]Yfh`\UVYbž'k Ug`X]Y`9bhgW\Y]Xi b[
ni f`GW\`]Y»i b[`ni gĀh`W\`VYY]bZi ggh`\UVYb`_ÖbbhY`"8]Y
I bg]W\Yf\Y]hYb`]b`XYf`; Ughfcbca]YVfUbW\Y`nY][Ybž'XUgg`X]Y
<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`ZØf`]bbcj Uh]j Y`i bX`[Ygi bXY
; Ughfcbca]Y`c`bnYdhY`b]W\h`ni`i bhYfgW\ĀhYb`g]bX"

8YhU]`g

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