

# Hf]b\_k UggYfei U`]hÅh`]b`BYi k ]YX. `G]W\ Yf i bX`fY]b`hfc hn`? cb hfcj YfgYb

8]Y`GhUXhk Yf\_Y`BYi k ]YX`VYghÅh][ Yb.`Hf]b\_k UggYf`j cb  
\c\Yf`E i U`]hÅhž`[ YgW\Øhnhj cf`?cbhUa ]bUh]cb`i bX`a ]h  
YZZY\_h]j Yb`G]W\Yf\Y]hga U» bU\ a Yb"

BYi k ]YX" : ð`XYb`YhnhYb`HU[ Yb`k Uf`XYf`J YfXUW`h`Ui ZY]bY  
a Ò[ `]W\Y`J Yfi bfY]b][ i b[ `XYg`Hf]b\_k UggYfg`]b`? Ò`b`i bX  
A YW\Yfb]W`]b`U`Yf`A i bXY" `8]Yg`\Uh`X]Y`5i Za Yf\_gUa \_Y]h`Ui ZX]Y  
E i U`]hÅh`XYg`Hf]b\_k UggYfg`]b`UbXYfYb`GhÅXhYb`[ Y`Yb\_hž  
Y]bgW\`Y» `]W\`BYi k ]YX" `5i W\`k Ybb`Yg`\_Y]bY`VYghÅh][ hY  
?cbhUa ]bUh]cb`[ ]Vhž`V`Y]Vh`K UggYf`Y]b`k YgYbh]W\Yg`i bX  
gW\Øhnybgk YfhYg`; i h`J cf`X]YgYa` < ]bhYf[ fi bX`\UVYb`k ]f`i bg`VY]  
XYb`GhUXhk Yf\_Yb`BYi k ]YX`i a [ Y\Øfhž`i a`X]Y`U`hi Y`Y`G]hi Uh]cb  
]b`6Yni [ `Ui ZX]Y`K UggYfei U`]hÅh`i bX`a Ò[ `]W\Y  
G]W\Yf\Y]hga U» bU\ a Yb`ni `Yf`Åi hYfb"

8]Y`GhUXhk Yf\_Y`BYi k ]YX`hY]`Yb`a ]hž`XUgg`X]Y`E i U`]hÅh`XYg  
Hf]b\_k UggYfg`bUW\`k ]Y`j cf`Ui g[ YnY]W\`bYh`]gh" `BYi k ]YX`VYn]Y\h  
gY]b`K UggYf`Ui g`XYa` `9b[ YfgYf` : Y`Xž`Y]bYf`FY [ ]cbž`X]Y`g]W\`Xi fW\  
\Yfj cffU[ YbXY` ; fi bXk UggYffYgYfj Yb`Ui gnY]W\`bYh" `8 Ug`K UggYf  
ghUa a h`ØVYfk ]Y[ YbX`Ui g`F`Y]b\_]YgYb`i bX`!gUbXYbž`i bX`X]Y  
VYgcbXYfY` ; Yc[ fUZ]Y`X]YgYf`E i Y`Y`gcf[ h`XUZØfž`XUgg`XUg`K UggYf  
Y]bY`Ub[ gUa Y` : `]Y» [ YgW\`k ]bX][ \_Y]h`\Uh" `8]YgY`I a ghÅbXY  
Yfa Ò[ `]W\Yb`Y]bY`Ab[ YfY`J Yfk Y]XUi Yf`a` I bhYf[ fi bXž`k Ug`X]Y  
bUhØf`]W\Y`GY`VghfY]b][ i b[ `XYg`K UggYfg`ZØfXYfh" `a  
»\fYgXi fW\gW\`b]h`ZØfXYfb`X]Y`GhUXhk Yf\_Y`BYi k ]YX`Yhk U` ( ž\*  
A ]`]cbYb`?`i V]\_a YhYf`XYg`k Yfhj c`Yb`F`c\ghcZg` ; fi bXk UggYf"

< YfUi gZc fXYfi b[ Yb`Xi fW\`a Ò[ `]W\Y  
GUV`chU[ Y

8]Y': fU[ Yž'k ]Y'BYi k ]YX'Ui ZY]bYb'dchYbn]Y''Yb'GUVchU[ YU\_h  
fYU[ ]YfYb'k ØfXYž]gh'YVYbZU`g'j cb' ðhYfYggY"l a 'X]Y'G]WYf\Y]h  
XYf'K UggYfj Yfgcf[ i b[ 'ni '[ Yk Å\`fY]ghYbž'g]bX'j YfgW]YXYbY  
GWXi hna U» bU\ a Yb'Y]b[ Yf]W hYh"@Ui h'Y]bYa 'GdfYWYf'XYf  
GhUXhk Yf\_Y'[ ]Vh'Yg'Ub'XYb'K UggYfUb`U[ Yb'gdYn]Z]gWY  
GWXi hnY]bf]W hi b[ Ybž'X]Y' ]b' ?ca V]bUh]cb'a ]h'Y]bYf' &( !Gh bXYb!  
, VYfk UWXi b[ 'Xi fW'X]Y'BYhn'Y]hghY''Y'XUZØf'gcf[ Ybž'XUgg  
a Ò[ `]WY'6YXfc\i b[ Yb'fYW hnY]h][ 'Yf\_Ubbhi bX'UV[ Yk Y\fh  
k YfXYb'\_ØbbYb"8]Yg'nY][ hž'XUgg'a Ub'g]W' b]W'h'bi f'ia 'X]Y  
E i U']hÅh'XYg'K UggYfgž'gcbXYfb'Ui W' i a 'XYggYb'GWXi hn  
\_Øa a Yfh"

8]Y'E i U']hÅh'XYg' ]b'BYi k ]YX'VYnc[ YbYb'Hf]b\_k UggYfg']gh  
VYY]bXfi W\_YbX"9]bY'5i ZVYfY]hi b[ 'XYg'K UggYfg']gh'bi f' ]b  
[ Yf]b[ Ya 'A U» Y'bc hk YbX][ ž'XU'ni f'; Yk ]bbi b[ 'j cb'Hf]b\_k UggYf  
Ui ggW' ]Y» ]W'Y]b' ?c\`YbX]cl ]XYbni [ 'YfZcfXYf'W' ]gh"8]Y  
fY[ Y'a Å»][ Yb' ?cbhfc''Yb'XYf'K UggYfdUfUa YhYfž'X]Y'ni f  
G]WYfghY''i b[ 'XYf'Hf]b\_k UggYfei U']hÅh'Xi fW [ YZØ\fh'k YfXYbž  
nY][ Yb'K YfhYž'X]Y'k Y]hi bhYf'XYb' [ YgYm'WYb'; fYbnk YfhYb  
'Y[ Ybž'i bX' ]b' j]Y'Yb': Å''Yb'gc[ Uf'i bhYf\U'V'XYf'B UWk Y]g[ fYbnY  
'Y[ Yb"

: Øf'XUg'HYUa 'XYf'GhUXhk Yf\_Y']gh'Yg'j cb'\ØW ghYf'K ]W h][ \_Y]hž  
XUgg'X]Y'6Øf[ Yf]bbYb'i bX'6Øf[ Yf']b'BYi k ]YX'Y]b'g]WYfYg'i bX  
ei U']hUhj '\cWk Yfh][ Yg'Hf]b\_k UggYf'Yf\U'hYb"8]YgY'HfUbgdUfYbn  
]b'6Yni [ 'Ui ZX]Y'K UggYfei U']hÅh'i bX'X]Y'G]WYf\Y]hga U» bU\ a Yb  
]gh'YbhgWY]XYbXž'i a 'XUg'J YfhfUi Yb' ]b'X]Y'Øfh]WY  
K UggYfj Yfgcf[ i b[ 'ni 'Yf\U'hYb"8Ybb'[ YfUXY'Ub[ Yg]W hg'j cb  
9fY][ b]ggYbž'k ]Y'XYb'J YfXUW hgZÅ''Yb' ]b'UbXYfYb'GhÅXhYbž'gh'X]Y  
 ðZcfa Uh]cb'XYf'2 ZYbh]W\_Y]hj cb'6YXYi hi b[ "

## K UggYfei U']hÅh']a ': c\_i g

BYi k ]YX'\Uh'g]W' \_Uf'dcg]h]cb]Yfh'8]Y'K UggYfei U']hÅh']a  
9b[ YfgYf': Y'X' ]gh'Yfgh\_'Ugg][ 'i bX'YfZØ'h'U''Y'bc hk YbX][ Yb  
5i ZU[ Yb"8Ug'[ Y\Øfh'ni f'hÅ[ `]WYb'J YfUbhk cfhi b[ 'XYf  
GhUXhk Yf\_Yž'X]Y'X]YgYb'k Yfhj c''Yb'F c\gfcZZ'b]W'h'bi f'ZØfXYfbž  
gcbXYfb'Ui W' j YfUbhk cfhi b[ gj c''gW ØhnYb" ð'Y]bYf'NY]hž' ]b'XYf

l a k Y`hVYk i ggghY]b`i bX`FYggci fW`bgW`i hn`Y]bY`]a a Yf`[ fO» YfY  
F c`Y`gd]Y`Ybž`]gh`X]Y` ; Yk A`f`Y]ghi b[ `XYf`K UggYfei U`]h`h`b]W`h  
bi f`Y]bY`hYW`b]gW`Yž`gc bXYfb`Ui W`Y`]bY`[ YgY`gW`UZh`]W`Y  
5i Z[ UVY"

≠g[ YgUa h`nY][ h`X]Y`G]hi Uh]cb`]b`BYi k ]YXž`XUgg`b]W`h`bi f`X]Y  
5i ZVYfY]hi b[ `i bX`J YfhY`]i b[ `j cb`K UggYf`k ]W`h][ `g]bXž`gc bXYfb  
Ui W`X`Yf`d`f`Aj Ybh]j Y`GW`i hn`XYf`K UggYffYggci fW`b`"Bi f`Xi fW`  
gh`AbX][ Y`J][ `]Ubn`i bX`fY[ Y`a`A»][ Y`?cbhfc`Yb`\_Ubb`X]Y`c`Y  
E i U`]h`h`XYg`Hf]b\_k UggYfg`bUW`U`h][ `[ Yg]W`Yfh`k YfXYbž`gcXUgg  
Ui W`ni \_ØbZh][ Y` ; YbYfUh]cbYb`Ui ZY]bY`j Yf`Àgg`]W`Y  
K UggYfj Yfgcf[ i b[ `nA`Yb`\_ØbbYb`"8]Yg`]gh]j cb`nYbhfU`Yf  
6YXYi hi b[ `ZØf`X]Y` ; Ygi bX`Y]hi bX`XUg`K c`V`YZ]bXYb`XYf  
6Yj Ò`\_Yfi b[ `"8Ug`J YfhfUi Yb`]b`X]Y`Òfh]W`Y`K UggYfj Yfgcf[ i b[ `ni  
gh`f`\_Ybž`V`Y]Vh`U`gc`Ui W`k`Y]hYf`]b`Y]bY`k YgYbh]W`Y`5i Z[ UVY`XYf  
GhUXhk Yf`\_Y`BYi k ]YX"

## K UggYfei U`]h`h`]b`8Yi hgW`U`b`X

8]Y`K UggYfei U`]h`h`]b`8Yi hgW`U`b`X`nA`h`ni`XYb``ÒW`ghYb  
k`Y`hk`Y]hž`k Ug`Ui W`Xi fW`i a`ZUb[ fY]W`Y`[ YgYhn`]W`Y`FY[ Y`i b[ Yb  
g]W`Yf[ YghY`h`k ]fX`"8]Y`Hf]b\_k UggYfj YfcfXbi b[ `fHf]b\_k J`E`V`]XYh  
X]Y`fYW`h]W`Y` ; fi bX`U[ Y`ZØf`X]Y`E i U`]h`h`XYg`Hf]b\_k UggYfg`"8]YgY  
J YfcfXbi b[ `Y[ h`ZYghž`k Y`W`Y`A`\_]fcV]c`c[ ]gW`Ybž`W`Ya`]gW`Yb`i bX  
d`mg]\_U`]gW`Yb`DUfUa`YhYf`ØVYfk UW`h`k YfXYb`a`ØggYb`"Gc  
U`bXY`h`Yg`g]W`VY`]XYb`i bhYfgi W`hYb`K UggYfdfcVYb`]b`BYi k ]YX  
b]W`hi a`9]bnY`Z`Yž`gc bXYfb`i a`Y]bY`U`[ Ya`Y]bY`DfUI ]gž`X]Y  
Ui W`U`bXYfgk`c`]a`@UbX`5bk YbXi b[ `Z]bXYh`"

≠8Yi hgW`U`b`X`k YfXYb`A`f`]W`fi bX`\*`A`J`]UfXYb`?i V]\_a`YhYf  
Hf]b\_k UggYf`Ybhbca`a`Ybž`k cVY]Y]b[ `fc»Yf`HY`]`Ui g  
; fi bXk UggYfj cf`ca`a`Yb`ghJa`a`h`8]Y`6YXYi hi b[ `j`cb  
; fi bXk UggYfei U`]h`h`k ]fX`ni`g`Ah`]W`Xi fW`nU`fY]W`Y`≠h]Uh]j Yb  
ni f` ; fi bXk UggYfgW`i hna`U»bU`a`Yb`Yfj cf[ Y`c`VYbž`X]Y`Xi fW`  
gck`c`X]Y`6i bXYgfY[ ]Yfi b[ `U`g`Ui W`X]Y`6i bXYg`AbXYf  
[ YZØfXYfh`k YfXYb`"8]YgY`≠h]Uh]j Yb`VYn]Y`Yb`g]W`c`Zh`Ui ZXYb  
9]bgUhn`j cb`8Øb[ Yf`]b`XYf`@UbXk ]fhgW`UZh`XYf`]`Y[ U`Yb  
5VZU`Yb`hgc f[ i b[ `i bX`X]Y`6Y`Ughi b[ `Xi fW`7`Y`a`\_]U`]Yb`"

# F YU\_h]cbYb`Ui Z'dchYbn]Y`Y`? cbhUa ]bUh]cb

8]Y`GhUXhk Yf\_Y`BYi k ]YX`UVYb`b]W`h`bi f`ghfYb[ Y  
G]W`Yf\Y]hga U»bU\`a Yb`]b`]\fYb`K UggYfk Yf\_Yb`]a d`Ya Ybh]Yfhž  
gcbXYfb`Ui W`BchZU`d`ÀbY`ZØf`XYb` : U`Y]bYf  
K UggYfj Yfi bfY]b][ i b[ ``6Y]`Y]bYa`GUVchU[ YU\_h`cXYf`Y]bYf  
?cbhUa ]bUh]cb`k ØfXYb`X]Y`GhUXhk Yf\_Y`Y]bY`i a ZUggYbXY  
, VYfdfØZ b[ `i bX`[ Y[ YVYbYbZU`g`5VghY`i b[ `XYf`K UggYfni Z` \f  
Y]b`Y]hYb``5i »YfXYa`k ØfXYb`X]Y`6Øf[ Yf]bbYb`i bX`6Øf[ Yf`nY]hbU  
]bZcfa ]Yfhgck ]Y`U`hYfbUh]j Y`K UggYfei Y`Yb`VYfY]h[ YghY`h`

BVYb`XYb`hYW`b]gW`Yb`A U»bU\`a Yb`]gh`Ui W`X]Y`GYbg[V]`]g]Yfi b[  
XYf`6Øf[ Yf`Y]b`nYbhfU`Yf`Di b\_h``8]Y`GhUXhk Yf\_Y`UfVY]hYb`Yb[ `a ]h  
\_ca a i bU`Yb`6Y\`ØfXYb`ni gUa a Ybž`i a`X]Y`6Yj`Ø`\_Yfi b[ `ØVYf  
a`Ø[ `]W`Yfk Y]gY`Xfc\`YbXY` ; YZU\`fYb`i bX`X]Y`f]W`h][ Y`FYU\_h]cb  
XUfUi Z`ni`]bZcfa ]YfYb``8]Y`ØZYb`h]W`Y`K U\`fbY\`a i b[ `j cb  
Hf]b\_k UggYfei U`]h`h`]gh`Yb`hgW`Y]XYbX`ZØf`XUg  
J YfVfUi W`Yfj YfhfUi Yb`i bX`ZØ\`fh[ Y[ YVYbYbZU`g`ni`Y]bYf  
Yf\`Ø`hYb`B UW`ZFU[ Y`bUW`X`bZcfa Uh]cbYb`i bX`HfUbgdUfYbn  
gY]hYbg`XYf`K UggYfVYhf]YVY`

## G]W`Yf\Y]h`Xi fW` , VYfk UW`i b[ ggmgHYa Y

8]Y`G]W`Yf\Y]hgUfW`]hY`\_hi f`XYf`GhUXhk Yf\_Y`VY]b\`U`hY`h`Ui W`  
a cXYfbY`HYW`bc`c[ ]Yb`ni f` , VYfk UW`i b[ `XYf`K UggYffYggci fW`b`  
8Uni`n`À\`Yb`GYbgcfYbž`X]Y`\_cbh]bi ]Yf`]W`X]Y`K UggYfei U`]h`h`  
a YggYb`i bX`]a` : U`Y`j cb`5Vk Y]W`i b[ Yb`5`Ufa`gW`U[ Yb``8]YgY  
GmgHYa Y`[ Yk`À\`f`Y]ghYbž`XUgg`Y]bY`gW`bY`Y`FYU\_h]cb`a`Ø[ `]W`]gh  
i bX`XYf`Ni ghUbX`XYg`K UggYfg`YXYfnY]h`]a`6`]W`]gh`

8]Y`GhUXhk Yf\_Y`BYi k ]YX`i bX`nU\`fY]W`Y`UbXYfY`I bhYfbY\`a Yb`]b  
XYf`6fUbW`Y`]bj Ygh]YfYb`\_cbh]bi ]Yf`]W`]b`X]Y`I dXUhY`i bX  
9fk Y]hYfi b[ `]\fYf`G]W`Yf\Y]hgghUbXUfXg`i bX`HYW`bc`c[ ]Yb``8]Y  
, VYfk UW`i b[ ggmgHYa Y`g]bX`Y]b`nYbhfU`Yg`9`Ya Ybhž`i a`X]Y`\`c\`Y  
K UggYfei U`]h`h`i bX`X]Y`G]W`Yf\Y]h`XYf`K UggYfj Yfgcf[ i b[ `]b`XYf  
FY[ ]cb`ni`[ UfUbh]YfYb`

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