

: fUi ']b 'A ØbWXYbYf'Gi dYfa Uf_h'VY]
Dc`nY]Y]bgUhn'YfgW cggYb

Dc`nY]'YfgW]Y» h: fUi ']b 'A ØbWXYbYf'Gi dYfa Uf_h'bUW
A YggYfUb[f]Z'Gdi fYbg]WYfi b['Ài Zh'k Y]hYfY'8YhU]g'bcW
i b_`Uf"

'`b'Y]bYa 'A ØbWXYbYf'Gi dYfa Uf_h'_Ua 'Yg'ni 'Y]bYa 'hfU[]gWXYb
JcfZU`ž'U'g'Y]bY': fUi ']b 'A ØbWXYbYf'Gi dYfa Uf_h'VY]YfgW cggYb'k i fXY''8]YgYf
JcfZU`YfY][bYhY'g]W'Ua '5VYbX'i bX'\Uh]b'XYf'^2 ZYbh]W_Y]h'ZØf
5i ZfY[i b['i bX'6Ygcf[b]g[Ygcf[h''9]b'Dc`nY]gdFYWXYf'XYf
BUWf]W hYbU[Ybhi f'XdU'VYgh`h][hYž'XUgg'X]Y': fUi ž'X]Y'X]Y
5b[fY]ZYf]b'k Ufž'bcW'Ua 'Cfh'XYg'; YgWY\Ybg'j YfghUfV''8]Yg
k]fZhj]Y'Y': fU[Yb'Ui Z']bgVYgcbXYfY'ØVYf'X]Y' l a gh`bXY'i bX'X]Y
Bchk YbX][_Y]h'X]YgYg'9]bgUhmYg"

'`8]Y'Dc`nY]'k Uf'ni b`Wgh'k Y[Yb'Y]bYf'? ØfdYfj Yf'Yhni b[
U'Ufa]Yfh'k cfXYbž'X]Y'Ub'Y]bYa 'UbXYfYb'Ch'[Ya Y'XYh'k i fXY''a
Ni [Y'\fYf'9fa]h'i b[Yb'ZUbXYb'X]Y'6YUa hYb'X]Y'HUh YfX`W h][Y
]a 'Gi dYfa Uf_h]'a 'GhUXhY]'GYbX']b["'6Yf]W hYb'ni Zc`[Y'gc`X]Y
: fUi 'X]Y'9]bgUhn_f`ZhY'a]h'Y]bYa 'A YggYf'Ub[Y[f]ZYb'\UVYbž'k Ug
gW`Y]Y»`]W'ni 'XYa 'hØX`]WXYb'GW'i gk YW'gY`ZØ\fhY''8Yf
Dc`nY]gdFYWXYf'_cbbhY'YXcW'_Y]bY'`bZcfa Uh]cbYb'XUfØVYf
[YVYbž'k Yf'[YbUi '[YgW cggYb'\UhY'cXYf'k]Y'j]Y'Y'GW'ØggY
[YZU`Yb'k UfYb''8]Yg'hi h'XYf'?`Uf\Y]h'XYg': U`Yg'b]W h'[i hi bX
'`Agghj]Y'Y': fU[Yb'cZYb"

'`l b_`UfY' l a gh`bXY'XYg'JcfZU`g

'`Ni a 'U_hi Y`Yb'NY]hdi b_h[UV'Yg'bi f'k Yb][Y'`bZcfa Uh]cbYb'ØVYf
X]Y'<]bhYf[fØbXY'XYg'JcfZU`g'i bX'X]Y'`XYbh]h`h'XYf'j Yfghc'fVYbYb

: fUi "K Å\fybX`X]Y`Gdi fYbg]WXYfi b[`]a `Gi dYfa Uf_h`bcW`"]YŽ
g]bX`X]Y`9fa]h`i b[Yb`]b`j c`Ya `; Ub[Y`"8]Y`I bg]WXYf\Y]h`ØVYf`X]Y
[YbUi Yb`I a ghÅbXYž`i bhYf`XYbYb`Yg`ni `X]YgYf`hØX`]WXYb
5i gY]bUbXYfgYhni b[`]_Ua ž`XØfZhY`XUg`J YfhfUi Yb`XYf
2 ZYb`h]W`_Y]h`i]b`X]Y`Dc`]nY]`i bX`]\fY`9bhgWXY]Xi b[gZ]bXi b[
VYY]bhfÅW`h][Yb`"

`"8]Y`9bhgWXY]Xi b[ž`]b`Y]bYf`gc`WXYf`G]hi Uh]cb`gW`UfZ`ni `gW`]Y» Ybž
]gh]a a Yf`Y]bY`VYhfÅW`h]WXY`J YfUbhk`cfhi b["`Dc`]nY]VYUa`hY
a ØggYb`cZi]b`GY`_i bXYbgW`bY`Y`\UbXY`bž`i a `a Ø[`]WXYb
6YXfc`i b[Yb`ni `VY[Y[bYb`"8]Y`; fU[Yž`cV`Yg`U`hYfbUh]j Y
A Ø[`]W`_Y]hYb`[Y[YVYb`\ÅhYž`i a `X]Y`G]hi Uh]cb`ni `YbhgW`ÅfZYbž
k]fX`g]WXYf`]W`]bhYbg]j `X]g`_i h]Yfh`k YfXYb`"Gc`WXY`J cfZÅ`Y`g]bX
b]W`h`bi f`hfU[]gW`ZØf`X]Y`VYhfcZYbYb`DYfgcbYbž`gcbXYfb`k YfZYb
Ui W`h]YZYfY`; fU[Yb`ØVYf`XYb`I a [Ub[`XYf`Dc`]nY]`a]h
; Yk U`hg]hi Uh]cbYb`Ui Z`"

`"9]b`k Y]hYfYf`5gdY`_hž`XYf`]b`XYf`8]g`_i gg]cb`i a `X]YgYb`J cfZU`
fY`Yj Ubh`]ghž`]gh`X]Y`; Yk U`hž`X]Y`]b`XYb`YhnhYb`Å\fyb`]b`i fVUbYb
; YV]YhYb`ni [Ybca`a Yb`\Uh`"8]YgYf`J cfZU``_ØbbhY`U`g`HY]`Y]bYg
[fØ» YfYb`HfYbXg`[YgY`Yb`k YfXYbž`VY]`XYa `X]Y`GdUbbi b[Yb`]b
XYf`; YgY`gW`UZh`ni bY`a Yb`"8]Y`; fØbXY`ZØf`X]Y`; Yk U`h`g]bX
j]Y`gW`]W`h][ž`i bX`g]Y`fY]WXYb`j cb`gc`n]U`Yb`GdUbbi b[Yb`V]g`ni
dgmW`]gWXYb`DfcV`Ya Ybž`X]Y`a Ø[`]WXYfk Y]gY`b]W`h`Ui gfY]WXYbX
VY`UbXY`h`k YfXYb`"

`"8 Yf`6`]W`_bUW`_j`c`f`b`

`"8]Y`9fY][b]ggY`fi bX`i a `XYb`hØX`]WXYb`Dc`]nY]Y]bgUhm`]b`A ØbWXYb
nY][Yb`Ui ZXfUa Uh]gWXY`K Y]gYž`k]Y`< YfUi gZcfXYfi b[`i bX`; YZU`f
]b`XUg`hÅ[`]WXY`@YVYb`Y]bXf]b[Yb`_ØbbYb`"8]Y`Bchk YbX][_Y]h`ZØf
YZZ`_h]j Y`HfU]b]b[gdfc[fUa`a Yž`X]Y`XYb`6YUa`hYb`\Y`ZYbž`]b
gc`WXYb`_f]h]gWXYb`G]hi Uh]cbYb`XYg`_U`]YfYbX`ni `UbXY`bž`k]fX
]a`a Yf`Xf]b[`]WXYf`"6Y]XY`GY]hYb`XYg`; YgWXY`Ybgž`X]Y`Dc`]nY]`i bX
X]Y`N]j]VYj Ø`_Yfi b[ž`a ØggYb`J YfhfUi Yb`Ui ZVUi Ybž`i a `XYfUfh][Y
J cfZÅ`Y`_ØbZh][`ni`j Yfa`Y]XYb`"

·K Å\fybX`X]Y`9fa]hhi b[Yb`ZcfhgWfY]hYbž`V`Y]Vh`X]Y` : fU[Y`ja
FUi a žk]Y`gc`W`Y`hfU[]gW`Yb`J`cfZ`Å`Y`]b`Ni`_i`bZ]j`Yf\]bXYfh
k YfXYb`_`ÖbbYb`"9g`]gh`_`Ufž`XUgg`a`Y`f`HfUbgdUfYbn`i`bX`VYggYfY
?ca`a`i`b[_U]cbga`U»`bU\`a`Yb`nk`]gW`Yb`Dc`nY`i`bX`6Yj`Ö`_Yfi`b[
bchk`YbX][`g]bX`"5i`Z`XYf`Y]bYb`GY]hY`g]bX`X]Y`G]W`Yf\Y]hg`fÅZhY
[YZcfXYfhž`X]Y`6Yj`Ö`_Yfi`b[`ni`gW`ØhnYbž`k`Å\fybX`Ui`Z`XYf
UbXYfYb`GY]hY`XUg`ÖZYbh`]W`Y`J`YfhfUi`Yb`b]W`h`i`bhYf[`fUVYb
k`YfXYb`XUfZ`

8 YhU]`g`ni`f`⇒XYb]hÅh`XYf`6YhY]`][`hYb

6]g`Ub[`g]bX`_Y]bY`cZZ]n]Y`Yb`·`bZcfa`U]cbYb`ØVYf`X]Y`⇒XYb]hÅh`XYf
Y]b[`fY]ZYbXYb`Dc`nY]`cXYf`XYf` : fUi`ž`X]Y`]b`XYa`_J`cfZU`j`Yfk`]W`_Y`h
k`Ufž`j`YfÖZYbh`]W`h`k`cfXYb`"8]Y`Dc`nY]`Å`h`Yg`a`ca`YbhUb`ZØf
k`]W`h][`ž`X]Y`9fa`]hhi`b[`Yb`UVni`gW`Y]Y»`Ybž`VYj`cf`k`Y]hYfY`8YhU]`g
[`YhY]`h`k`YfXYb`"8]Y`⇒XYb]hÅh`XYf` : fUi`k`]fX`]b`XYf`FY[`Y`Ui`g
8UhYbgW`i`hm[`fØbXYb`[`YgW`Øhnhž`V]g`X]Y`5b[`Y\`Öf][`Yb`]bZcfa`]Yfh
g]bX`"

·`gc`W`Yb` : Å`Yb`]gh`Yg`b]W`h`i`b[`Yk`Ö\`b`]W`ž`XUgg`X]Y`6Y\`ÖfXYb
k`UfhYbž`i`a`g]W`Yfni`ghY`Ybž`XUgg`U`Y`fY`Yj`UbhYb`·`bZcfa`U]cbYb
cfXbi`b[`g[`Ya`Å»`ØVYfdfØZh`k`YfXYb`"8]Yg`_`ÖbbhY`Ui`W`VYXYi`hYbž
XUgg`5i`ggU[`Yb`j`cb`NYi`[`Yb`i`bX`UbXYfYb`6YhY]`][`hYb`[`YgUa`a`Y`h
k`YfXYbž`i`a`Y]b`i`a`ZUggYbXYg`6]`X`XYg`J`cfZU`g`ni`Yf\`U`hYb`"

?cbhYI`h`i`bX`a`Ö[`_]W`Y`5i`gk`]f`_i`b[`Yb`Ui`Z X]Y` ;`Ya`Y]bgW`UZh

8Yf`J`cfZU`YfY][`bYhY`g]W`]b`Y]bYa`VY`YVhYb`GhUXhhY]`j`cb
A`ØbW`Ybž`k`c`Gi`dYfa`Åf`hY`cZi`8fY\`!`i`bX`5b[`Y`di`b`h`ZØf
U`hÅ[`]W`Y`5_h]j`]hÅhYb`XYf`5bk`c\`bYf`g]bX`"·`gc`W`Yb`G]hi`U]cbYb
k`YfXYb`X]Y`FYU_h]cbYb`XYf` ;`Ya`Y]bgW`UZh`cZi`Xi`fW`Y]bY
A`]gW`i`b[`Ui`g`GW`cW`ž`HfUi`Yf`i`bX`j`]Y`Y]W`h`Ui`W`5b[`gh[`YdfÅ[`h`
8]Y`G]W`Yf\Y]hg`U[`Y`]b`ghÅXh]gW`Yb` ;`YV]YhYb`k`]fX`\`Åi`Z[
\]bhYfZfU[`hž`i`bX`Yg`_ca`a`hni`8]g`_i`gg]cbYb`ØVYf`X]Y
Dc`nY]df`ÅgYbn`i`bX`X]Y`Bchk`YbX][`_Y]h]j`cb`G]W`Yf\Y]hghfU]b]b[`g
ZØf`9]bgUhn`fÅZhY`"

Dc`nY]Y]bgÅhnYž`X]Y`a]h; Yk U`h] YfVi bXYb`g]bXž`_ÒbbYb`XUg
J YfhfUi Yb`]b`X]Y`G]WXYf\Y]hgVY\ ÒfXYb`VYY]bhfÅW h][Ybž`k Ug
k]YXYfi a`ni`Y]bYa`Yf\ Ò\hYb`8fi W`Ui ZX]Y`Dc`nY]`ZØ\ fYb`_Ubbž
GhfUhY[]Yb`ni`f`8YYg_U`Uh]cb`ni`j YfVYggYfb"9l dYfhYb`VYhcbYb
\Ài Z][`X]Y`K]W h][_Y]h`Y]bYf`hfUbgdUfYb`hYb`?ca`a`i`b]_Uh]cb`bUW
JcfZÅ`Ybž`i`a`Y`b[ghY`]b`XYf`6Yj` Ò`_Yfi`b[`ni` ``]bXYfb"

GhUh]gh]_Yb`ni`f`; Yk U`h`i`bX`Dc`nY]Y]bgÅhnYb
]b`8Yi`hgW`U`bX

@Ui`h`XYa`i`6i`bXYg_f]a`]bU`Ua`h`f6?5Ě`gh]Y[`X]Y`NU\`j`cb
; Yk U`h`XY`_hYb`]b`ghÅXh]gWYb`; YV]YhYb`]b`XYb`Y`h`hYb`Y\`fYb`Ub"
=a`Y\`f`&`\$`&&`k`i`fXYb`a`Y`f`U`g`%ž*`A`j`]cbYb`i`Å`Y`j`cb
; Yk U`h`_f]a`]bU`]hÅ`h`fY[]ghf]Yfhž`k`Ug`Y]bYa`5bgh]Y[]cb`)ž`i
[Y[YbØVYf`XYa`J`cf`U`f`Y`b`h`g`d`f]W`h"J`cf`ZÅ`Y`ž`VY]`XYbYb`Dc`nY]
Y]b[fY]ZYb`a`i`ggž`g]bX`b]W`h`g`Y`hYb`i`bX`Y`f`Z`c`f`X`Y`f`b`Y`Z`Y`_h]j`Y
GW`i`i`b[Yb`i`bX`GhfUhY[]Ybž`i`a`gck`c`\`6Øf[Yf`U`g`Ui`W
9]bgUm_fÅZhY`ni`gW`Ø`h`Y`b"

Ni`gÅhn`]W`VYf]W`hYb`Ghi`X]Yb`XUfØVYfž`XUgg`Y]b`g][b]Z]_Ub`hYf`HY]
XYf`Dc`nY]Y]bgÅhnY`]b`8Yi`hgW`U`bX`Ui`Z[fi`bX`j`Yfa`Y]b`h]W`Yf
6YXfc\i`b[Yb`c`XYf`ØVYfa`Å»][Yf`; Yk U`h`Ub`k`Yb`Xi`b[`Yf`Zc`[`h"
I`a`gc`k`]W`h][Yf`k`]fX`X]Y`8]g_i`gg]cb`ØVYf`X]Y`6U`Ub`W]Yfi`b[]cb
G]W`Yf\Y]h`i`bX`6Øf[YffYW`hYbž`]bgVYgcbXYfY`]b`gYbg]V`Yb
G]hi`Uh]cbYb`k`]Y`XYa`VYgW`f]YVYbYb`J`cf`ZU`"

8YhU]`g

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