

< i VgW fUi VYf!9]bgUhn'ØVYf F YW_]b[\Ui gYb.'Dc`nY]'gi W h J YfXÀW h][Y

9]b'Dc`nY]\i VgW fUi VYf'gi W hY'Ua '%- "'5i [i gh'ØVYf
F YW_]b[\Ui gYb'bUW'J YfXÀW h][Yb"<]bhYf[fØbXY'XYg
9]bgUhnYg'g]bX'i b_'Uf"

8Yf'A cbhU[UVYbX']b'F YW_]b[\Ui gYb'k Uf'U`Yg'UbXYfY'U'g'fi \]["
J]Y'Y'5bk c\bYf'k i fXYb'Xi fW'XUg'`Ui hY'; YfÄi gW'Y]bYg
Dc`nY]\i VgW fUi VYfg'Ui g']\fYf'5VYbXVYgW'ÄZh][i b['[Yf]ggYb"
8 Ug'; YfÄh_fY]ghY'ØVYf'HY]'Yb'XYf'GhUXh'k Ä\fYbX'X]Y'Dc`nY]
bUW'J YfXÀW h][Yb'gi W hY'"8]Y'[YbUi Y'I fgUW'Y'XYg'9]bgUhnYg
V`Y]Vh'YXcW'ja a Yf'bcW'`i b_'Uf"

B UW'YfghYb'6Yf]W hYb'k Uf'XYf'< i VgW fUi VYf'VYgcbXYfg'ja
C ghYb'j cb'F YW_]b[\Ui gYb'U_hj] ž k Ug'Y]bY'K Y`Y'XYf
GdY_i `Uh]cbYb'i bhYf'XYb'6Yk c\bYfb'Ui g`ØghY'"K Ug'[YgW]Y\h'i]b
XYf'B UW'VUfgW'UZh3'K Yf'k]fX'[Ygi W h3': fU[Ybž'X]Y'j]Y Y
A YbgW'Yb'VYgW'ÄZh][hYbž'k Ä\fYbX'g]Y'Ui Z'k Y]hYfY'`bZcfa Uh]cbYb
k UfhYhYb"

9]bgUhn'ØVYf'XYf'GhUXh

5a 'A cbhU[ž'XYb'%- "'5i [i ghž'[Y[Yb'&\$'I \f'VY[Ubb'XYf
Dc`nY]\i VgW fUi VYf'gY]bYb'9]bgUhn'ØVYf'XYf'GhUXh'"8]Yg'gcf[hY
ZØf'Y]b[fc» Yg'5i ZgY\Yb'"5bk c\bYf'VYf]W hYhYb'j cb'XYa
dfÄ[bUbhYb'; YfÄi gW'XYf'F c hc fYbž'XUg'g]W'ØVYf'X]Y'; Y[YbX
`Y[hY'"C V k c\`Yg']b'XYf'B UW'hXi b_Y`k Ufžk Uf'XYf'< i VgW fUi VYf
`Y]W'hini `Yf_YbbYbž'i bX'j]Y`Y'A YbgW'Yb'gW'Ui hYb'bUW'cVYbž'i a
ni `gY\Ybž'k Ug'j cf'g]W'`[]b["

8]Y'Dc`nY]gY`Vgh`Uh`V]g\Yf`_Ui a`bZcfa Uh]cbYb`ØVYf`X]Y
<]bhYf[fØbXY`XYg`9]bgUhnYg`dfY]g[Y[YVYb``9g`V`Y]Vhi b`_Ufž`cV`Yg
g]W`i a`Y]bY`U\ bXi b[`bUW`Y]bYf`_cb`fYhYb`DYfgcb`\UbXY`h
cXYf`cV`Yg`Y]bYb`UbXYfYb`; fi bX`ZØf`XYb`9]bgUhn`[UV``Gc`W`Y
G]hi Uh]cbYb`g]bX`ZØf`X]Y`Dc`nY]b]W`h`i b[Yk`Ø\`b`]W`ž`Xc`W`g]Y
k YfZYb`]a a`Yf`Y]b`@]W`h`Ui ZX]Y`G]W`Yf\Y]hg`U[Y`]b`XYf`FY`[]cb``

Dc`nY]i bX`@ Zhi bhYfghØhni b[

8]Y`9bhgW`Y]Xi b[ž`Y]bYb`<i VgW`fUi VYf`ni f`l bhYfghØhni b[
Y]bni gYhnYbž`nY][hž`k]Y`Yfbgh`UZh`X]Y`Dc`nY]a`Ò[`]W`Yfk`Y]gY
Y]bYb`VYgh]a a`hYb`J`YfXUW`h`j`YfZc`[h``8Yf`9]bgUhn`j`cb
@ Zhi bhYfghØhni b[`k`]fX`c`Zh]b`G]hi Uh]cbYb`]b`6YhfUW`h`[Ync[Ybž`]b
XYbYb`X]Y`6cXYbY]b\Y]hYb`GW`k`]Yf][_Y]hYb`\UVYbž`gW`bY``Ui Z
X]Y`; YgW`Y\`b]ggY`ni`fYU[]YfYb``8Ug`:`Y[Yb`]b`XYf`B`UW`h`_`Ubb
ni g`Ā`h`]W`Y`<YfUi gZc`fXYfi b[Yb`a`]hg]W`Vf]b[Ybž`Xc`W`X]Y
HYW`b]_`i bX`X]Y`GW`i`i b[`XYf`Dc`nY]\i VgW`fUi VYfVYgUhn`i b[Yb
Yfa`Ò[`]W`Yb`Yg`\`bYbž`Ui W`i bhYf`gW`k`]Yf][Yb`6YX]b[i b[Yb
YZZ`_`hj`ni`UfVY]hYb``

9g`V`Y]Vh`Y`Xc`W`UVni k`UfhYbž`k`Y`W`Y`k`Y]hYfYb`8YhU]`g]a`Ni`[Y
X]YgYg`J`cfZU``g`Ubg`@]W`h`_`ca`a`Yb`k`YfXYb``J`]Y`Y`5bk`c`b`Yf
\`c`ZYb`Ui`Z`Y]b`Y`V`U`X][Y`?`Āfi b[`XYf`G]hi Uh]cb`i bX`XUfUi`Zž`XUgg
X]Y`Dc`nY]`X]Y`Gi`W`U`_`h]cb`gW`bY``UVVfYW`Yb`_`Ubb``
K`Ā`fYb`XXYggYb`V`Y]Vh`X]Y`GdUbbi b[`]b`XYf`@`Zhi`]a`k`U`fghYb
G]bbY`XYg`K`cfhYg``

K Ufi a`XUg`k`]W`h][`]gh

Gc`W`Y`Dc`nY]U`_`h]cbYb`fi`ZYb`b]W`h`bi`f`VY]`XYb`X]fY`_`h`6Yhfc`ZYbYb
9a`ch]cbYb`\`Yfj`cfž`gcbXYfb`VYhfY`ZYb`Ui`W`X]Y`U``[Ya`Y]bY
G]W`Yf\Y]h`XYf`; Ya`Y]bgW`UZh``K`Ybb`Y]b`<i VgW`fUi VYf`ØVYf`Y]bYf
GhUXh`_`fY]ghž`ghY``h`X]Yg`Y]bY`X]fY`_`hY`J`YfV]bXi b[`ni`Y]bYa
a`Ò[`]W`Yb`J`YfVfYW`Yb`c`XYf`Y]bYf`6YXfc`\i b[`Yf``8]Y`6Øf[Yf
ZfU[Yb`g]W`ž`k`]Y`g]W`Yf`]fY`B`UW`VUfgW`UZh]gh``5i`W`k`Ybb`j`]Y`Y
A`YbgW`Yb`gW`bY``X]Y`b]h]Uh]j`Y`Yf[fY]ZYb`i bX`g]W`Ui`Z`Y][YbYb
K`Y[Yb`ØVYf`X]Y`G]hi Uh]cb`]bZcfa`]YfYbž`V`Y]Vh`X]Y`J`YfUbbk`cfhi b[
XYf`Dc`nY]ž`ZØf`?`Uf\Y]h`ni`gcf[Yb`i bX`X]Y`6Øf[Yf`ni`gW`ØhnYb``

: Øf`X]Y`Dc`nY]j cb`FYW`b[\Ui gYb`]gh`X]YgYf`9]bgUhn`Y]b`NY]WXYb
ZØf`X]Y`6YfY]hgWUZh`a cXYfbY`HYWbc`c[]Yb`k]Y`<Y`_cdhYf`ZØf
9]bgÅhnY`ni`bi`hnYb`"5i W`k Ybb`X]Y`8YhU]`g`XYg`J cfZU`g`bcW
i b`_Uf`g]bXž`nY][h`Yfž`XUgg`X]Y`6Y`ØfXY`FU`a YbVYX]b[i b[Yb
gWUZh`i a`YZZ`_hj`Ui Zdc`hYbn]Y`Y`F]g]_Yb`fYU[]YfYb`ni`_ØbbYb`"
≠`XYb`_ca`a YbXYb`HU[Yb`k YfXYb`X]Y`9fa`]hhi b[Yb`g]WXYf`W
k Y]hYf`j cfUb[Yhf]YVYb`i bX`XYhU]`YfhY`≠Zcfa`Uh]cbYb`]b`XYf
DfYggY`Yfk`UfhYh`"

K UfhYb`Ui Z`?`Uf`Y]h

K Å`fYbX`X]Y`6Øf[Yf`j cb`FYW`b[\Ui gYb`k Y]hYf`b`Ui Z
≠Zcfa`Uh]cbYb`k UfhYb`ž`V`Y]Vh`X]Y`fU[Y`]a`FUi`a`K Ug
Y][Ybh]WYa`[YgWY`Yb3`8]Y`I bg]WXYf`Y]hik`]fX`g]WXYf`W`j]Y`Y
A YbgWYb`VYk Y[Yb`ž`V]g`Y]bY`9f`_`Àfi b[]j cb`cZZ]n]Y`Y`f`GY]hY
_ca`a h`6]g`XU`b`V`Y]Vh`XYf`6`]W`bUW`cVYb`[Yf]W`hYhž
UbX`ÅW`h][ž`UVYf`Ui W`VYgcf[h`8]Y`9fY][b]ggY`XYg`A cbhU[UVYbXg
k YfXYb`]b`XYb`?`ØdZYb`XYf`A YbgWYb`bcW`Ub[Y`bUW`U`Yb`"

<]bhYf[fi bX`XYg`Dc`nY]Y]bgUhnYg

≠`XYb`YhnhYb`≠Å`fYb`U`h`X]Y`Dc`nY]UfVY]h]b`8Yi hgW`UbX
ni bY`a YbX`Ui Z`a cXYfbY`HYWbc`c[]Yb`[YgYhnhž`i a`X]Y
ØZZYbh]WXY`G]WXYf`Y]h`ni`[Yk Å`f`Y]ghYb`"8Yf`9]bgUhn`j cb
<i VgW`fUi VYfb`]gh`Y]bY`k]W`h][Y`9f[Åbni b[`ni f`Yf`_Øa`a`]WXYb
Dc`nY]UfVY]hž`XU`g]Y`Y]bY`gW`bY`Y`i bX`i a`ZUggYbXY`G]W`h`Ui Z
[fØ`Y`fY`; YV]YhY`V]YhYb`_ØbbYb`"8]YgY`5fhj cb`VYfk`UW`i b[
k]fX`Åi Z][]b`G]hi Uh]cbYb`VYb`Øh][hž]b`XYbYb`X]Y`i`i W`hj cb
J YfX`ÅW`h][Yb`cXYf`X]Y`Gi W`Y`bUW`j Yfa`]gghYb`DYfgcbYb`]a`Gd]Y`
]gh`"

5a`A cbhU[UVYbX`ž`XYa`%`"5i [i gh`&\$&(`ž`k`i`fXY`Y]b
Dc`nY]\i VgW`fUi VYf`ØVYf`HY]Yb`j cb`FYW`b[\Ui gYb`[Yg]W`hYhž
k Ug`VY]`XYb`5bk`c`bYfb`6Ygcf[b]g`i bX`i`fU[Yb`Ui Zk`UfZ`8Yf
9]bgUhn`XYg`<i VgW`fUi VYfg`_ØbbY`]a`?`cbhYI`h`Y]bYg`gdYn]Z]gWYb
J cfZU`g`ghY`Ybž`XYf`a`Ø[]WXYfk`Y]gY`]a`i`a`ZY`X`XYf`5i hcVU`b`5&
ghUhh[YZi bXYb`U`h`≠gh`ÅXh]gWYb`; YV]YhYb`]gh`X]Y`J Yfk`YbXi b[
j cb`@`ZhØVYfk`UW`i b[]Y]bY`[Åb][]Y`DfUI]gž`k`Ybb`Yg`XUfi`a`[Y`hž

X]Y'6Yk Y[i b[Yb'j cb'HÀhYf[fi ddYb'cXYf'j YfXÀW h][Yb'DYfgcbYb
ni'j YfZc`[Yb"

2 ZZYb h`]W X Y'G]W X Yf\ Y]h'i b X'Dc`]nY]ghfUhY []Yb

8]Y'Bi hni b['j cb'<i VgW fUi VYfb'Xi fW X]Y'Dc`]nY]'k]fX'cZh'U`g
HY]'Y]bYf'i a ZUggYbXYb'GhfUhY[]Y'ni f'6Y_Àa dZ b['j cb
'?f]a]bU'hÀh'i bX'ni f'; Yk À\ f'Y]ghi b['XYf'ÒZZYb h]W X Yb'G]W X Yf\ Y]h
Y]b[YgYhnh"@Ui h'Y]bYf'Ghi X]Y'XYg'8Yi hgW Yb' ðgh]hi hg'ZØf
Bcfa i b['fB ðŁj cb'&\$&' \UVYb'a cXYfbY'Dc`]nY]hU_h]_YbžX]Y
Ui W X Yb'9]bgUhn'j cb'@ ZhØVYfk UW i b['VY]b\U'hYbž'g][b]Z]_Ubh
ni f'FYXi n]Yfi b['j cb'?f]a]bU'hÀhg fUhYb']b'i fVUbYb'; YV]YhYb
VY][YhfU[Yb" ðgVYgcbXYfY']b'GhÀXhYbž'k c'XYf'J Yf_Y\ f'i bX'X]Y
6Yj Ò_Yfi b[gX]W hY'\cW'g]bXž'Àggh'g]W X]Y'9ZY_hj]hÀh'gc`W X Yf
9]bgÀhY'cZh'VYggYf'bUW j c`n]Y\Yb"

Ni gÀh`]W X nY][h'X]Y'GhUh]gh]_XYg'6i bXYg_f]a]bU`Ua hgž'XUgg'X]Y
G]W X hVUf_Y]h'j cb'Dc`]nY]dfÀgYbnž'gY]'Yg'Xi fW X'GhfY]ZYbZU\fnYi [Y
cXYf'<i VgW fUi VYfž']b'XYf'F Y[Y`X]Y'GhfUZhUhYb']b'Y]bYa'6YfY]W
j Yff]b[Yfh"J YfVfYW X Ybgj Yf\Øhi b['Xi fW X'DfÀgYbn'i bX'gW bY`Y
F YU_h]cb'Ui Z'J cfZÀ`Y'g]bX'nYbhfU`Y'5gdY_hY'XYf'Dc`]nY]UfVY]h]a
<]bV`]W`Ui Z'X]Y'K U\fbY\ a i b['j cb'G]W X Yf\ Y]h'Xi fW X]Y'6Øf[Yf"

8]Y'?cbhfcj YfgYb'i a'X]Y'Bi hni b['j cb
, VYfk UW i b[ghYW bc`c []Yb'g]bX'YXcW`b]W X hni'ØVYfgY\Yb"
J]Y'Y'6Øf[Yf'Ài » Yfb'6YXYb_Yb'\]bg]W X h]W X Yf'Df]j Uhgd\ÀfY'i bX
XYf': fU[Yž'k]Y'8UhYb'[YgUa a Y'h'i bX'[Ybi hnh'k YfXYb"8]YgY
8]g_i gg]cbYb'\UVYb']b'XYb'YhnhYb' ð\ fYb'Ub' ðhYbg]hÀh
[Yk cbbYbž']bgVYgcbXYfY']a' ?cbhYi h'XYg'g]W X Yb'hk]W_Y`bXYb
fYW X h]W X Yb'F U\ a Ybg'ZØf'XYb'8UhYbgW X i hn']b'8Yi hgW`UbX"

8]Y'6Y\ØfXYb'gY\Yb'g]W X Y]bYf'Ub\U'hYbXYb'<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[
[Y[YbØVYfž'X]Y'6U`UbW`nk]gW X Yb'G]W X Yf\ Y]hga U» bU\ a Yb'i bX
XYf'K U\ fi b['XYf']bX]j]Xi Y`Yb': fY]\ Y]hYb'XYf'6Øf[Yf'ni'Z]bXYb"

6Ygi WYb'G]Y'i bg'Ui Z'b!U["XY