A Ø`VYi hY`i bX`5gWXYbVYWX Yf. GUI VYf\_Y]hgU\_h]cb`Ua`&("`5i [i gh°

5a`&("`5i [i ghj YfhY]`h`XYf`N? 9`]b`GUUfVfØW\_Yb`A Ø`hØhYb
i bX`HUgWXYb!5gWXYbVYWX Yf`ni f` : ØfXYfi b[ `XYf`GUI VYf_Y]h
]b`XYf`GhUXh"

5a`GUa ghU[ žXYa`&("`5i [ i gh&\$&( žk ]fX`XYf`NYbhfU`Y
?ca`a`i`bU`Y`9bhgc f[ i b[ gVYhf]YV`fN? 9Ě`YfbYi`h`5\_h]cbga`UhYf]U`]Yb
Ub`X]Y`6Øf[Yf]bbYb`i`bX`6Øf[ Yf`j`cb`GUUfVfØW_Yb`j`YfhY`]Yb`"K`]Y
gWxcb`]b`XYb`j`Yf[Ub[YbYb`š\`fYb`V]YhYh`X]Y`GhUXh`id`fU_h]gWXY
A Ø`hØhYb`i`bX`HUgWXYb!5gWXYbVYWX Yf`Ubž`X]Y`XYb`A`YbgWXYb
\`Y`ZYb`gc`Ybž`\`fY`5VZÄ`Y`ja`ÖZYb`h]WXYb`F`Ui`a`VYggYf`ni
Ybhgc f[Yb`"8`]YgY`5\_h]cb`]gh`HY`]`XYf`gh`Xh]gWXYb`š`h]Uh]`j`Y
GUI VYf`]gh`gW`ØbYf`i`bX`n]Y`h`XUfUi`ZUVž`XUg`6Yk`i`gghgY]b`ZØf
l`a`k`Y`hgW`i`h`ni`bX`GUI VYf\_Y]h`ni`gW`ÄfZYb"

8]Y`J`YfhY`]i`b[`Z]bXYhgck`c`l`b`UW`a` ]hU[ g`U`g`Ui`W`UVYbXg`Ub
VY`]YVhYb`GhUbXcfhYb`k`]Y`XYa`GhUXYbž`XYb`Gh`"5fbi`U`Yf`K`]YgYb
i`bX`XYb`A`Yh`UW`Yf`K`]YgYb`Yb`h`Ub[ `XYf`A`Yh`UW`Yf`GhfU»`Y`ghUhh`
8]Y` ;`fØbZÄWXYb`]b`X]YgYb`6YfY]WXYb`k`YfXYb`VYgcbXYfg`]b`XYf
k`Ufa`Yb`š\`fYgnY]h`j`cb`j`]Y`Yb`A`YbgWXYb`[`YgW`Ähnhž`X]Y`Xcfh
YbhgdUbbYbž`d]W\_b]W\_Yb`cXYf`Y]bZUW`bi`f`X]Y`BUhi`f`[`Yb]Y»`Yb`
8UVY`]`Y`Ub[`Yb`YXcW`Ä`i`Z]`5VZÄ`Y`k`]Y`N][`UfYhhYbghi`a`a`Y`
cXYf`<i`bXYUVZÄ`Y`]b`X]Y`l`a`k`Y`h`"8]Y`VYfY]h[`YghY`hYb
A`UhYf]U`]Yb`gc`Yb`Yg`XYb`A`YbgWXYb`Yf`Y]W`hYfbž`\`fYb`A`Ø`
gUi`VYf`ni`j`YfdUW_Yb`i`bX`V]g`ni`f`b`ÄW`ghYb`5VZU`]bgY`
a` ]hni`bY`a`Yb"

5_h]cb`i`bX`J`Yf`U`hYb`gUi`ZZcfXYfi`b[

8 Ug`5b[ YVch`XYg`N? 9`]gh`XfY]ZUW`a`ch]`j`Yfh`9g`gcf[ h`b]W`h`bi`f`

ZØf`Y]bY`VYggYfY`A Ø`Ybhgc f[i b[ž`gcbXYfb`ZØfXYfh`Ui W`X]Y
GYbgjV`]h`h`XYf`6Øf[Yf`ZØf`XUg`H\Ya U`GUi VYf`\_Y]h`ja` `ÖZYbh`]W`Yb
FUi a`"8]Y`JYfhY`]i b[ `XYf`HUgW`Yb!5gW`YbVYW`Yf`i bX`A Ø`hØhYb
k`jX`Xi fW` `bZcfa Uh]cbgZmYf`Yf[ `Abnhž`X]Y`Ui Z`X]Y`fYW`h`]W`Yb
?cbgYei YbnYb`Ui Za Yf`_gUa` `a UW`Ybž`X]Y`UfY]gY`Yb`_ÖbbYbž
k`Ybb`5VZ`Ä`Y`i bUW`hgUa` `Ybhgc f[h`k`YfXYb`"8]Y`GhUXh`h`U`_UfY
5`bXi b[ Yb`ZØf`Y]b`gc`W`Yg`J`Yf`U`h`Yb`Y]b[YZØ`fhž`i a` `XYb`8fi W`
Ui ZU`Y`J`Yf`_Y`fghY`]bY`a`Yf`ni` `Yf`Ö`Yb`"

8i fW`X]YgY`?Ua`dU[ bY`k`jX`Ui W`X]Y`J`YfU`b`h`k`c`f`h`i`b[ `Y`X`Y`g
9]bnY`b`Yb`i`bhY`f`ghf]W`Ybž`Y]bY`gUi VYfY`i`a`k`Y`h`U`_`h]j` `ni
i`bhY`f`gh`Ø`h`n`Yb`" `b`NY]hYbž`]b`XYbYb`XUg`6Yk`i`gghgY]b`ZØf
Ö`c`c`[ ]gW`Y`H\Ya`Yb`ja`a`Yf`k`jW`h][Yf`k`jX`ž`b]a`a`h`X]Y`GhUXh
GUUfVfØW`\_Yb`Y]bY`J`c`ffY]hY`ff`c`Y`Y]bž`]bXYa` `g]Y`Ub`X]Y
9][Ybj`YfU`b`h`k`c`f`h`i`b[ `XYf`6Øf[ Yf`UddY`Y`fh` `X`XYf`_`Ub`b`X`Uni
VY]hfU[Ybž`XUgg`X]Y`GhUXh`gUi VYf`V`Y]Vh` `gY]`Yg`Xi fW`X]Y
Bi`h`ni`b[ `XYf`VYfY]h[ YghY`h`Yb`A`UhYf]U`]Yb`c`XYf`Xi fW`X]Y]b
[fi bXg`Ä`h`n`]W`Yg`i`a`XYb`\_Yb`]b`XYf`Y][YbYb`5VZU`Y`bhgc f[i b["

8]Y`F`ØW`\_g]W`h`b`U`a`Y`Ui Z`X]Y`i`a`k`Y`h`]gh`VYgc`b`XYfg`X`U`b`b`Y]b
H\Ya`U`ž`k`Y`b`b`j`j]Y`Y`6Øf[Yf`X]Y`i`fY]i`Zha`Ö[ `]W`\_Y]hYb`bi`h`nYb`"C`Zh
k`YfZYb`A`Y`bgW`Yb`]\fY`5VZ`Ä`Y`[YXU`b`_Yb`c`g`k`Y[ž`c`b`Y`Ub`X]Y
:`c`[Yb`ZØf`X]Y`B`U`h`i`f`c`XYf`X]Y`A`]ha`Y`bgW`Yb`ni` `XYb`\_Yb`"i`a`gc
k`jW`h][Yf`]gh`Y`gž`gc`W`Y`5b[ YV`chY`ni` `bi`h`nYb`i`b`X`Y]b`6Yk`i`gghgY]b
XU`ZØf`ni` `gW`U`ZY`bž`XUgg`Y]b`gUi VYfYf`GhUXh`d`Uf`_`b]W`h`bi`f`[ i`h
Ui`gg]Y`hž`gcb`XYfb`Ui W`X]Y`@YVYbgei`U`]h`h`U`Y`f`6Yk`c`b`Yf
j`YfVYggYfh`"

9]b` `Ub[Zf]gh][Yg`9b[ U[ Ya`Ybh`ZØf`X]Y GUi VYf`_Y]h

I`a`k`Y`hgW`i`h`n`]b`GUUfVfØW`_Yb`]gh`_Y]b`b`Yi`Yg`D`Ä`b`c`a`Yb`"6YfY]hg
gY]h`&\$`\$+` `Äi`Zh`X]Y`?Ua`dU[bY` `GUi VYf`]gh`gW`ÖbYf`ž`X]Y`]b
Ni`gUa`a`YbUfVY]h`a`]h`6Øf[Yf]b]h]Uh]j`Yb`]bg`@YVYb`[Yfi`ZYb`k`i`fXY`"
G]Y`gc`""`Ub[ Zf]gh][ `GUi VYf`\_Y]h`i`b`X`C`f`X`bi`b[ `]b`XYf`GhUXh`ZØf`XYfbž
]bXYa` `g]Y`X]Y`6Yj`Ö`_Yfi`b[ `U`\_`h]j` `Ub`gd`f`Y`W`Yb`i`b`X`a`c`h]j`j]YfYb
a`ÖW`hY`"9]b`_UfYf`F`U`a`Yb`ZØf`9][Ybj`YfU`b`h`k`c`f`h`i`b[ ž`[YdU`Uf`h`a`]h
d`f`U`\_`h]gW`Yb`<`]Zga`]h`h`Y`b`ZØf`X]Y`5VZU`Y`bhgc f[i b[ž`gc`X`Uni

ZØ\ fYbž'XUgg]a a Yf'a Y\ f'A YbgWYb'g]W\ a]h'XYa 'H\Ya U
]XYbh]Z]n]YfYb'i bX'VYk i gghYf'\UbXY'b"

A]h'XYf' ð]h]Uh]j Y'k]fX'b]W h'bi f' [YnY][hž'XUgg'X]Y
GhUXhj Yfk U'hi b['dfcUWh]j Y'A U» bU\ a Yb'Yf[fY]Zhž'gcbXYfb'Ui Wž
XUgg'Y]bY'dcg]h]j Y'J YfAbXYfi b['a Ø['W\]ghž'k Ybb'g]W\ '6Øf[Yf
i bX'J Yfk U'hi b['[Ya Y]bgUa 'ZØf'Y]b'VYggYfYg'@YVYb'ja 'i fVUbYb
FUi a 'Y]bgYhnYb"'8]Y'k Y]hYfZØ\ fYbXY' ðZcfa Uh]cb'Ui ZXYf
K YVgY]hY'k k k "n_Y!gV"XY#gUi VYf]ghgW\ cYbYf' []Vh'XYb
ðhYfYgg]YfhYb'X]Y'A Ø['W\ _Y]hž'a Y\ f'ØVYf'X]Y'<]bhYf[fØbXY'i bX
X]Y'6YXYi hi b['X]YgYf'5_h]cb'ni 'YfZU\ fYb"'8]Y'GhUXh'GUUfVfØW_Yb
\cZh'Ui ZY]bY'fY[Y'HY]'bU\ a Y'i bX'Y]bYb'dcg]h]j Yb'9]bZi gg'Ui Z
X]Y'GUi VYf_Y]h]b'XYb'ÖZZYbh]W\ Yb'FÄi a Yb"

Dc`h]gW\ Y'i bX'gcn]U`Y'? cbhYI hY

8]Y'?Ua dU[bY' GUI VYf']gh'gW\ ØbYf']Z]bXYhj cf'XYa '<]bhYf[fi bX
ni bY\ a YbXYf'8]g_i gg]cbYb'i a 'I a k Y'hgW\ i hn'i bX'bUW\ \U'h][Y
GhUXhYbhk]W_ i b['ghUh"' ð'XYb''YhnYb' ð\ fYb'\Uh'g]W\ 'XUg
ÖZZYbh]W\ Y'6Yk i gghgY]b'ZØf'X]Y'6YXYi hi b['Y]bYf'gUi VYfYb
I a k Y'h'Yf\YV'W\ 'Yf\Ø'h"J]Y'Y'GhÄXhY'ghY\Yb'j cf'XYf
<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[ž'XYb'A Ø''b]' \fYb'ÖZZYbh]W\ Yb'FÄi a Yb'ni
fYXi n]YfYbž'k Ug'\Äi Z['ni 'dc`h]gW\ Yb'A U» bU\ a Yb'ZØ\ fhž'X]Y'Ui Z
X]Y': ØfXYfi b['j cb'GUI VYf_Y]hi bX'c fXbi b['UVn]Y'Yb"

8 Ug'H\Ya U'A Ø`j Yfa Y]Xi b['i bX'!Ybhgc f[i b[']gh'Ui W\ 'ghUf_'a]h
gcn]U`Yb'5gdY_hYb'j Yfvi bXYb"'Gc'nY][h'Y]bY'l a ZFU[Y'XYg
I a k Y'hVi bXYgUa hYgž'XUgg'ØVYf', \$i 'XYf'8Yi hgW\ Yb'XYf
A Y]bi b['g]bXž'XUgg'I a k Y'hgW\ i hn'Y]bY'k]W\ h][Y'[YgY`gW\ UZh]W\ Y
5i Z[UVY']gh" ð'X]YgYa 'Ni gUa a Yb\Ub['k]fX'XYf']bX]j]Xi Y`Y
6Y]hfU['ni f'GUI VYf_Y]h]b'GhÄXhYb'ni bY\ a YbX'U'g'HY]'Y]bYg
[Ya Y]bgW\ UZh]W\ Yb'9b[U[Ya Ybhg'VYhfUW\ hYh"8 UfØVYf'\]bUi g
VYf]W\ hYh'XUg'GhUh]gh]gW\ Y'6i bXYgUa hž'XUgg']b'j]Y'Yb'GhÄXhYbž
Y]bgW\]Y»]W\ 'GUUfVfØW_Ybž'Y]b'5bgh]Y['XYf'6i » [Y'XYf'ZØf
A Ø`j YfgW\ a i mi b[ 'ZYgh[ YghY`h'k YfXYb'_cbbhYž'k Ug'X]Y'5Vg]W\ h
XYf'6Y\ ØfXYb'j YfXYi h]W\ hž'Y]b'6Yk i gghgY]b'ZØf'X]Y
5i gk]f_i b[Yb'XYg'Y][YbYb'< UbXY'bg'ni 'gW\ UZZYb"

9]bZ'i gg'j cb'6i » [Y`XYfb'Ui Z'XUg

A Ø`j Yf\U`hYb

8]Y'9]bZØ\fi b['j cb'6i » [Y`XYfb'\Uh'g]W\U`g'k]f_gUa Y
A U»bU\ a Y`Yfk ]YgYbž'i a `XUg'A Ø`j Yf\U`hYb`XYf'6Øf[Yf'ni
j YfÀbXYfb" `GhUh]gh]\_Yb`nY][YbžXUgg'GhÀXhYž'X]Y`ghfYb[Y
J c fgW\ f]ZhYb`ni f'A Ø`Ybhgc f[i b[`Xi fW\gYhnYbž'cZh'Y]bY
g][b]Z]_UbhY`FYXi n]Yfi b[ `XYf'GhfU» Ybj YfgW\ a i hni b[
j YfnY]W\ bYb`\_ØbbYb" `9]b'6Y]gd]Y` \]YfZØf' ]gh': fY]Vi f[ ž'k c`X]Y
9]bZØ\fi b['j cb'\Ø\YfYb`GhfUZYb`ZØf'A Ø`j YfgW\ a i hni b[ `]a
ØZYbh`W\ Yb`FUi a `ni `Y]bYf`XfUgh]gW\ Yb`J Yff]b[Yfi b[`XYf
5VZU`a Yb[ Y`[YZØ\fh'\Uh"

Ni XYa ` \UVYb`Ghi X]Yb`[YnY][hž'XUgg'XYf'Ni gUa a Yb\Ub[
nk]gW\ Yb`XYf'<Ø\Y`XYf'6i » [Y`XYf'i bX`XYf'K U\fbY\ a i b[`XYg
FYWmW]b[g'gck]Y`XYf'5VZU`j Yfa Y]Xi b['j Yfk cVYb`]gh" `X`a Y\ f
X]Y'6Yj Ø`\_Yfi b[ `Ui Z'X]Y`a Ø[ `]W\ Yb`Z]bUbn]Y`Yb`?cbgYei YbnYb
\]b[Yk]YgYb`k ]fXž'XYghc`Y\Yf'g]bX`X]Y'6Øf[ Yf`VYfY]hž'\ f
J Yf\U`hYb`ni `ÀbXYfb" `8]Y` ðhY[ fUh]cb'j cb'5i Z`_Àfi b[`Xi fW\
ðZcfa Uh]cbga UhYf]U`]Yb`k]Y`X]Y`XYg`N? `9]gh`XU\Yf`Y]b`k]W\ h][Yf
GW\ f]hh'ni f': ØfXYfi b[`Y]bYg'i a k Y`hVYk i gghYb`J Yf\U`hYbg]b`XYf
; Ya Y]bgW\UZh"

8YhU]`g

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