

B Yi gWk UbghY]b`YfV`Ø\h. `A i g]_ZYgh]j U`g
_Y\fyb`bUWk`g]YVYb`>U\fyb`ni fØW`°

9f`YVYb`G]Y`X]Y`F ØW`_Y\f`XYf`?cbnYfhY`Ui Z`GWk`cgg
B Yi gWk UbghY]b. : ØbZ`5VYbXY`j c``Yf`GdÅhfca Ubh]_`i bX
CdYb!5]f!5ha cgd\ÅfY"

B UWk`Y]bYf`Ub[Yb`DUi`gY`j cb`g]YVYb`>U\fyb`_Y\fyb`X]Y
GWk`cgg_cbnYfhY`Ui Z`XYa`VY]bXfi W`YbXYb`GWk`cgg
B Yi gWk UbghY]b`ni fØW`_i bX`n]Y\Yb`gck c\`9]b\Y]a]gWY`U`g
Ui W`Hci f]ghYb`]b`]\fyb`6Ubb"8]Y`5i ZhU`_hj YfUbghU`hi b[`ZUbX
i bhYf`XYa`ZYgh]WYb`A chhc`5i ZVfi W`i bX`: fy]\Y]h`ghUhh"
NU\`fY]WY`6Ygi WYf`bU\`a Yb`Ub`X]YgYa`Ui »Yf[Yk`Ø\b`]WYb
5VYbX`hY]ž`i a`X]Y`A U[]Y`XYf`A i g]_]b`Y]bYf`XYf`gWk`ØbghYb
?i`]ggYb`9i fcdUg`ni`Yf`YVYb"

8]Y`YfghY`?cbnYfh\`Ä`ZhY`k i fXY`j cb`XYb`7\UUfhg`7\Ua VYf`5fh]ghg
a]h`XYf`_fUZh]c`Yb`, ("Ci j YfhØfY`j cb`@`Xk][`j Ub`6YYh\cj Yb
YfØZbYh"8Ug`K]YXYfUi ZYVYb`XYf`HfUX]h]cb`\UhY]bYb
VYgcbXYfYb`D`Uhn`]b`XYb`<YfnYb`XYf`A i g]_]YV\UVYfž`X]Y`g]Wk
VYfY]hg`Ui Z`X]Y`_ca`a YbXYb`?cbnYfhY`j ca`&%"V]g`&) "%5i [i gh
ZfYi Yb"8]YgY`J YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`k YfXYb`]a`cVYfYb`GWk`cgg\cZ
ghUhhZ]bXYbž`k Ug`XYa` ; UbnYb`Y]bY`Y]bn][Ufh][Y`5ha cgd\ÅfY
j Yf`Y]\h"

9]bY`[fY]ZVUfY`F YbU]ggUbWk

8]Y`GWk`cgg_cbnYfhY`ZUbXYb`ZfØ\Yf`Ä\f`]Wk`]a`dfi b`_j c`Yb
GÅb[YfgUU`ghUhhž`a i gghYb`YXcWk`Ui Z[fi bX`i a ZUb[fY]WYf
F Ybcj]Yfi b[gUfVY]hYb`Ua`GWk`cgg`Y]b[YghY`h`k YfXYb" `b`XYb
`YhnhYb`g]YVYb`>U\fyb`k i fXYb`ghc`nY`&\$`A]``cbYb`9i fc`]b`X]Y
F YghUi fUh]cb`]bj Ygh]Yfhž`X]Y`bi b`XYb`; fi bXghY]b`ZØf`X]Y`F ØW`_Y\f

XYf'A i g]_[Y`Y[h`\Uh"8]Y`9bhgWXY]Xi b[žC dYb!5]f!
J YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`Ubni V]YhYbž`ghY``h`Y]bYb`]bbcj Uhj] Yb`GWf]hh`XUfž
i a`X]Y`J YfV]bXi b[`nk]gWXYb`A i g]_`i bX`BUhi f`ni`j YfghAf`Yb"

8]Y`?cbnYfhfY]\Y`i a ZUgghZØbZ`5VYbXYž`Ub`XYbYb`X]Y
j YfgW]YXYbghYb`a i g]_U`]gWXYb`H\Ya Yb`Yf`_i bXYh`k YfXYb"
K Å\fybX`XYf`bÅW`ghYb`5VYbXY`k]fX`XUg`Di V`]i a`a`]h`H]hY`b`k]Y
5VYbXfchi bX`5V[YgUb[ž`@]YVYg[`ØW`_i bX`@]YVYghcX`gck]Y
HfUi a`i bX`K]f`_]W`_Y]h`j YfnUi VYfh"; UbnY`9bgYa V`Yg`k YfXYb
b]W`h`bi f`Ui ZXyf`6Ø\bY`Ui ZhfYhYbž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`A cXYfUhcYb
i bX`9fnÅ`\Yf[YVYb`XYb`5VYbXYb`Y]bY`ni gÅhn`]W`Y`8]a Ybg]cb"
I bhYf`]bYb`]gh`XYf`dcdi`ÅfY`GW`Ui gd]Y`Yf`<Ubg`G][`ž`VY`Ubbh`Ui g
XYf`N8: !GYf]Y`6Yf[Xc`hcf ž`XYf`U`g`9fnÅ`\Yf`Zi b[]Yfh"

- 8Uhi a`XYf`?cbnYfhY.`&%"`V]g`&)"`5i`[i gh
- Cfh`CVYfYf`GW`cgg`cZž`GW`cgg`BYi`gW`k UbghY]b
- 6YgcbXYfY`; ÅghY.`GcdfUb]gh]b`J YfU!@chY`6cYW`Yf`i bX
nU`\fY]W`Y`UbXYfY`9bgYa V`Yg
- J YfUbghU`hYf.`?cbnYfh[YgY``gW`UZh`BYi`gW`k UbghY]b

8]Y`F`ØW`_Y`f`XYf`?cbnYfhY`]gh`b]W`h`bi f`Y]b`_i`hi`fY``Yg`9fY][b]gž
gcbXYfb`Ui W`Y]b`NY]W`Yb`XYf`<cZži b[`i bX`XYg`K UbXY`g" `đ
NY]hYb`j cb`i bg]W`Yf`Y]hYbž`VYgcbXYfg`]b`XYf`NY]h`XYf
7CJ`ž!%- !DUbXYa`]Yž`ghY``h`X]YgYg`9j Ybh`Y]bYb`@]W`hV`]W`_XUf" `8]Y
A YbgW`Yb`gW`Y]bYb`bUW`K`Y[Yb`ni`gi`W`Ybž`i a`]fY`; fYi`XY`Ub
XYf`A i g]_`k]YXYf`ni`YbhXYW`Yb`i bX`[Ya`Y]bgUa`ni`ZY]Yfb"

9]b`bYi`Yg`?`cbnYdh`ZØf`U`hY`HfUX]h]cbYb

8]Y`9bhgWXY]Xi b[ž`X]Y`?cbnYfhY`]a`i`fY]Yb`ghUhhZ]bXYb`ni`UggYbž
Yfa`Ò[`]W`h`Y]bY`]bh]a UhY`5ha`cgd`ÅfYž]b`XYf`X]Y`A i g]_`Ui`Z
bUhØf`]W`Y`K`Y]gY`a`]h`XYf`I`a`[YVi b[`Ufa`cb]Yfh" `A b`\Uh`b]W`h
bi f`XYb`7`Ufa`Y`XYg`GW`cggYgž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`X]Y`A`Ò[`]W`_Y]hž
XYb`GhYfbYb`]a`a`Y`ØVYf`6UmYfbg`@UbXgW`UZh`ni`[Yb]Y»Yb" `8]YgY
BYi`]bhYfdYhUh]cb`XYf`GW`cgg`_cbnYfhY`_ØbbhY`Ui W`U`g`J`cfV]`X
ZØf`UbXYfY`\]ghc]f]gW`Y`GhÅhhYb`X]YbYbž`X]Y`Å`b`]W`Y
J YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`]b`6YhfUW`h`n]Y`Yb"

: Øf'X]Y'?'cbnYfh[YgY`gW UZh'BYi gWk UbghY]b'ghY`h'X]YgYg'9j Ybh
Ui W`Y]bYb'HYghUi Z'XUf''A]h'Y]bYa`Zf]gWYb'?'cbnYdh'i bX
gdUbbYbXYb'; ÅghYb`cZZYb`X]Y`Cf[Ub]gUhc fYbž'XUgg'g]W`X]YgY
F Y]\Y`U`g'ZYghYf'6YghUbXhY]'`ja`_i`hi fY`Yb'?'U`YbXYf`YhUV`YfYb
k]fX''8]Y'?'ca V]bUh]cb`Ui g`Yfj`c ffU[YbXYa`Dfc[fUa`a`i bX`XYf
Y]bn][Ufh][Yb'?'i`]ggY`XYg`GW`cggYg`j Yfgdf]W hž`Y]b`[fc» Ufh][Yg
9f`YVb]g`ni`k YfXYb"

: Øf'A i g]_`YV\UVYf'i bX'?'i`hi f]bhYfYgg]YfhY`]gh'X]Y`F ØW__Y`f`XYf
GW`cgg`cbnYfhY`Ui Z'BYi gWk UbghY]b'a`Y`f`U`g`bi`f`Y]bY
5i ZØ\fi b[/g]Y`]gh'Y]b`k`Y]hYfYg'?'Ud]hY`]'b`XYf`Ub[Yb'; YgW]W`hY
Y]bYg`XYf`VY`UbbhYghYb`GW`ØggYf'8Yi hgW`UbXg''6Ygi W`Yf`Ui`g
U`Yf`K`Y`h'n]Y`h`Yg`b]W`h`bi`f`k`Y[Yb`XYf`Y]bXfi W_gj`c`Yb
5fW]hY`_hi`fž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`k`Y[Yb`XYf`A`Ø[`]W`_Y]hž`X]Y
; YgW]W`hY`j`cb`BYi gWk UbghY]b`Xi fW`X]Y`@]bgY`XYf`A`i`g]__i`hi`f
ni`Yf`YVYb"

8]YgY`bYi`Y`Y`fU`XYf'?'cbnYfhY`_ØbbhY`XUg`N]Y`j`YfZc`[Ybž`Y]b
VfY]hYfYg`Di`V`_i`a`Ubni`gdfYW`Yb`i`bX`Y]bY`bUW`\U`h][Y
J`YfV]bXi`b[`nk`]gW`Yb`HfUX]h]cb`i`bX`nY]h[YbØgg]gW`Yf'?'i`hi`f`ni
gW`UZYb''9g`V`Y]Vh`ni`c`ZYbž`XUgg`X]YgY`J`YfUbgH`U`hi`b[Yb`Ui`Z
GW`cgg`B`Yi`gW`k`UbghY]b`Y]bY`Ub[Y`i`bX`YfZc`[fY]W`Y`Ni`_i`bZh
\UVYb`k`YfXYbž`X]Y`X]Y`A`YbgW`Yb`ØVYf`A`i`g]_`ni`gUa`a`YbVf]b[h
i`bX`]bgd]f]Yfh"

8]Y`B`Yi`gW`k`UbghY]b'?'cbnYfhY`g]bX`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]bY`_i`hi`fY`Y
F ØW__Y`f`ni`Y]bYa`VY`]YVhYb`9fY][b]gž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`Y]b`HY]'`XYf
[fØ» YfYb`6Ya`Ø\i`b[Ybž`XUg`\]ghc`f]gW`Y`9fVY`i`bX`X]Y`h`ci`f]gh]gW`Y
5hhfU`_hj`]h`h`X`Yg`GW`cggYg`ni`ZØfXYfb''GW`cgg`B`Yi`gW`k`UbghY]bž
XUg`k`Y`hk`Y]h`ZØf`gY]bY`hfUi`a`\UZhY`5fW]hY`_hi`f`i`bX`a`U`Yf]gW`Y
@U[Y`VY`_Ubbh]ghž`n]Y`h`Å`f`]W`A`]'`cbYb`j`cb`H`ci`f]ghYb`Ub''A`]h
XYf`K`]YXYfVY`YVi`b[`XYf'?'cbnYfhY]\Y`k`]fX`Yfk`UfhYhž`XUgg`b]W`h
bi`f`A`i`g]_ZfYi`bX]bbYb`i`bX`!ZfYi`bXYž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W
?'i`hi`f]bhYfYgg]YfhY`Ui`g`XYf`[Ub`nYb`fY[]cb`i`bX`XUfØVYf`\]bUi`g
Ub[Y`c`W`h`k`YfXYb"

8 Ug`GW`cggž`XUg`]a`%`-`" `đ\`f`i`bXYfhi`bhYf'?'Øb][`@`Xk][`=`j`cb
6UmYfb`YfVUi`h`k`i`fXYž`k`Uf`i`fgdfØb[`]W`b]W`h`ZØf`X]Y

2 ZYb h]W_X]h ni [Åb [`]W " 8 Yf ? Òb][ž VY _Ubb h ZØf gY]b Y
YI nYb hf]gW Yb '6Ui j cf]YVYb 'i bX 'fca Ubh]gW Yb 'æYU 'Yžk c ``hY 'a]h
BYi gW k UbghY]b 'Y]b Y ? i `]ggY 'gW UZZYb ž X]Y 'X]Y ' : Ubh Ug]Y 'Ub fY [h"
8]YgY 'F ØW __Y \f 'ni 'a i g]_U]gW Yb '8 UfV]Yhi b [Yb ']a
GW `cgg]bbYfYb 'gd]Y [Y 'h'X]Y 'k]YXYfYfk UW hY 'K YfhgW Åhni b [ZØf
_i `hi fY ``Y 'J YfUbghU 'hi b [Yb ']'b \]ghcf]gW Yb 'F U\ a Yb 'k]XYf 'i bX
nY][h'Y]b Yb '\Ufa cb]gW Yb '8]U'c ['nk]gW Yb 'J Yf [Ub [Yb \Y]hi bX
; Y [Ybk Ufh"

? i `hi fY ``Y 'i bX 'k]fhgW UZh`]W Y

5i gk]f_i b [Yb

8]Y 'K]YXYfUi ZbU\ a Y 'XYf'GW `cgg_cbnYfhY 'k]fX 'j cfUi gg]W h]W
gck c\ ``_i `hi fY ``Y 'U'g'Ui W 'k]fhgW UZh]W Y 'æ di `gY 'ZØf 'X]Y 'F Y []cb
: ØggYb 'i bX 'XUg '5 `` [Åi 'a]h'g]W 'Vf]b [Yb "'Gc `W Y 'J YfUbghU 'hi b [Yb
ZØfXYfb 'b]W h'bi f'X]Y 'c_U'Y 'K]fhgW UZh`]bXYa 'g]Y ' : ÅghY
Ubn]Y \Yb ž X]Y]b ' < chY 'g'ØVYfb UW hYb 'i bX 'c_U'Y 'F YghUi fUbhg
VYgi W Yb ž gcbXYfb 'ghÅf_Yb 'Ui W 'X]Y 'A Uf_Y 'BYi gW k UbghY]b 'U'g
NYb hfi a 'ZØf ? i bgh 'i bX ? i `hi f " 8]Y < c Zbi b []ghž XUgg 'Xi fW 'X]Y
? cbnYfhY 'Y]b 'b UW \U'h][Yf '_i `hi fY ``Y '5i ghUi gW [YZØfXYfh'k]fXž
XYf'ØVYf'X]Y ? cbnYfhgÅ 'Y '\]bUi g [Y \hi bX 'X]Y ? ØbghY]b 'XYf
[YgUa hYb 'F Y []cb 'i bhYfghØhnh"

Ni gÅh`]W 'ni 'XYb 'k]fhgW UZh]W Yb 'J cfhY]'Yb 'hfU [Yb
? i `hi fj YfUbghU 'hi b [Yb 'k]Y 'X]YgY 'ni 'Y]bYa ' [YghY][YfhYb
æhYfYggY 'Ub '\]ghcf]gW Yb 'GhÅhYb 'i bX 'XYfYb '9f\U'h'VY]" æXYa
a Ub 'X]Y 2 ZYb h]W_X]h'U'hj]'b 'X]Y ? i `hi fgnYbY'Y]bV]bXYhž
YbhghY \h'Y]b 'ghÅf_YfYg '6Yk i gghgY]b 'ZØf 'XYb 'K Yfh'XYg'_i `hi fY ``Yb
9fVYg'i bX 'XYggYb 'Bchk YbX][_Y]hž'Ui W 'ZØf'ni _ØbZh][Y
; YbYfUh]cbYb 'Yf'YVVUf'ni 'V'Y]VYb"

J]Y `ZU `h'XYf 'Dfc [fUa a Y 'i bX '? Øbgh'Yf

8]Y ' : U_hcfYb ž X]Y 'XYb '9fZc` ['XYf 'BYi gW k UbghY]b '? cbnYfhY
dfÅ [Yb ž gW `]Y » h'X]Y 'J]Y `ZU `h'XYf 'Dfc [fUa a Y 'i bX 'X]Y '5i gk U\ ``XYf
? Øbgh'Yf 'a]h'Y]b " 'BYVYb 'XYf ' _Ugg]gW Yb 'A i g]_g]bX 'Ui W
a cXYfbY 'æhYfdYhUh]cbYb 'i bX 'h\Ya Uh]gW Y '5VYbXY' [Yd 'Ubh' 'A]h
fYbca a]YfhYb '? Øbgh'Yfb 'k]Y 'GcdfUb]gh]b 'J YfU!@chY '6cYW_Yf'i bX

GWUi gd]Y`Yf`< UbG`G][`k]fX`Y]bY`6fØW_Y`nk]gWYb`j YfgW]YXYbYb
?i bghZcfa Yb`[YgW`U[Ybž`X]Y`ZØf`Y]bY`VfY]hYfY`N]Y`[fi ddY
UbgdfYWYbX`g]bX`"Gc`WY`Dfc[fUa`a`Y`V]YhYb`b]W`h`bi`f
I bhYf`U`hi`b[ž`g]Y`V]YhYb`Ui`W`Y]bY`h]YZYfY`5i`gY]bUbXYfgYhni`b[
a`]h`H`Ya`Ybž`X]Y`X]Y`a`YbgW`WY`9fZU`fi`b[`k]XYfgd]Y[Y`b`"J`cb
fca`Ubh]gWYb`?`Àb[Yb`V]g`\\b`ni`_fUZj`c`Yb`9fn`À`i`b[Yb`k`]fX
YXYf`5VYbX`a`]h`Y]bYf`Y][YbYb`Gh]a`a`i`b[`i`bX`5ha`cgd`ÀfY
[YghU`hYh`"

8U`X]Y`9fØZbi`b[`i`bhYf`XYa`"@Y]hgdfi`W`5i`ZVfi`W`i`bX`:`fY`\Y]h
ghY`hž`Àggh`g]W`j`Yfa`i`hYbž`XUgg`X]Y`?`cbnYfhY`Ui`W`Y]bYb
Ya`ch]cbU`Yb`i`bX`gma`Vc`]gWYb`5gdY`_h`a`]h`Y]bVYn]Y`Ybž`XYf
FYgcbUb`n`VY]`Y]bYa`Di`V`_i`a`Z]bXYhž`XUg`]b`Y]bYf`NY]h`XYg
K`UbXY`g`bUW`i`b`gd]fUh]cb`gi`W`h`"

8YhU]`g

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