

5hYa hYWX b]_Yb`ZØf`Gdcfh`Yf

5hYa hYWX b]_Yb`ZØf`Gdcfh`Yf`9]bY`YZZY_hj Y`5ha i b[`gd]Y`h]a
 GdcfhY]bY`k]WXh][Y`Fc`Y`"8i fWX`X]Y`f]WXh][Y`5hYa hYWX b]_
 _ØbbYb`Gdcfh`Yf`]fY`@Y]ghi b[gZÅ\][_Y]h`ghY][Yfbž`]fY
 5i gXUi Yf`j YfVYggYfb`i bX`J Yf`Yhni b[Yb`j cfVYi [Yb`"b
 X]YgYa `5fh]_Y`k YfXYb`j YfgWX]YXYbY`5hYa hYWX b]_Yb`ZØf
 Gdcfh`Yf`j cf[YghY`h`i bX`]fY`J cfhY]Y`Yf`Ài hYfh`K Ufi a`]gh
 X]Y`5ha i b[`VY]a`Gdcfh`k]WXh][3`8]Y`5ha i b[`VYY]bZi ggh
 j YfgWX]YXYbY`?ØfdYfZi b_h]cbYb`i bX`]gh`XU`Yf`Ui WX`VY]a
 Gdcfhj cb`6YXYi hi b["`8i fWX`XUg`9]bUha Yb`[Y`Ub[h
 Gui YfghcZZ]b`X]Y`@ b[Yž`XYf`XUbb`ØVYf`XUg`6`i h]a
 [YgUa hYb`?ØfdYf`j YfhY]`h`k]fX`"8]YgYf`Gui YfghcZZ`X]Ybh`U`g
 9bYf[]Y`]YZYfUbh`ZØf`X]Y`A i g_Y`b`i bX`]gh`gca]h`ZØf`gdcfh`]WX`Y
 5_hj]h`hYb`i bYbhVY`f`]WX`"9]bY`[i hY`5ha i b[`\\]Zh`Ui WX
 XUVY]ž`XYb`/ Ua d^Y`d/



5hYa hYWX b]_Yb`ZØf`Gdcfh`Yf

9]bY`YZZY_hj Y`5ha i b[`gd]Y`h]a`GdcfhY]bY`k]WXh][Y`Fc`Y`"8i fWX

X]Y`f]W\h][Y`5hYa hYW\ b]_`_ØbbYb`Gdcfh`Yf`]\fY`@Y]ghi b[gZÀ\][_Y]h
ghY][Yfbž]\fY`5i gXUi Yf`j YfVYggYfb`i bX`J Yf`Yhni b[Yb
j cfVYi [Yb`" `ð`X]YgYa `5fh]_Y`k YfXYb`j YfgW\]YXYbY
5hYa hYW\ b]_Yb`ZØf`Gdcfh`Yf`j cf[YghY`h`i bX`]\fY`J cfhY]`Y
Yf`Ài hYfh"

K Ufi a `]gh`X]Y`5ha i b[`VY]a `Gdcfh`k]W\h][3

8]Y`5ha i b[`VYY]bZi ggh`j YfgW\]YXYbY`? ØfdYfZi b_h]cbYb`i bX`]gh
XU\Yf`Ui W\`VY]a `Gdcfh`j cb`6YXYi hi b["`8i fW\`XUg`9]bUha Yb
[Y`Ub[h`GUI YfghcZ`]b`X]Y`@ b[Yž`XYf`XUbb`ØVYf`XUg`6`i h]a
[YgUa hYb`? ØfdYf`j YfhY]`h`k]fX`"8]YgYf`GUI YfghcZ`]X]Yb`h`U`g
9bYf[]Y`]YZfUb`h`ZØf`X]Y`A i g_Y`b`i bX`]gh`gca]h`ZØf`gdcfh`]W\Y
5_h]j]h`hYb`i bYb`hVY`f`]W\"

9]bY`[i hY`5ha i b[`]\`Zh`Ui W\`XUVY]ž`XYb`? ØfdYf`ni `Yb`hgdUbbYb
i bX`GhfYgg`UVni VUi Yb`"6Y]a `Gdcfh`_Ubb`X]Yg`XUni `VY]hfU[Ybž`X]Y
?cbnYb`hfUh]cb`ni `j YfVYggYfb`i bX`X]Y`BYfj cg]h`h`ni `fYXi n]YfYb"

6Ui W\Uha i b[

8]Y`6Ui W\Uha i b[`]gh`Y]bY`XYf`[fi bX`Y[YbXYb`5hYa hYW\ b]_Yb`ZØf
Gdcfh`Yf`"8UVY]`k]fX`b]W\h`bi f`XYf`6fi gh`cfVž`gcbXYfb`j cf`U`Ya
XYf`6Ui W\`U_h]j `VY]a `5ha Yb`Y]b[YgYh`h"8]Y`6Ui W\`a i g_i `Uhi f
k]fX`XUVY]`VYk i ggh`Yb`hgdUbb`hž`i a `XYb`5hYa fUi a `ni `j Yf[fØ»Yfb
i bX`Y]bY`h]YZ`9]b!`i bX`5i gUha i b[`ni `Yfa Ø[`]W\Yb"

I a `X]Y`6Ui W\Uha i b[`ni `ØVYbž`_Ubb`XYf`Gdcfh`Yf`Ui Z`XYa
FØW_Yb`_]Y[Yb`i bX`Y]bY`<UbX`Ui Z`XYb`6Ui W\`Y[Yb`"6Y]a
9]bUha Yb`k]fX`VYk i ggh`XYf`6Ui W\`bUW\`cVYb`[YXfØW_hž`k À\YbX
g]W\`X]Y`@ b[Y`a]h`@ Zh`ZØ`h"6Y]a `5i gUha Yb`n]Y`h`g]W\`XYf
6Ui W\`k]YXYf`bUW\`]bbYb"

8]Y`6Ui W\Uha i b[`]\`Zh`Gdcfh`Yfbž`a Y`f`GUI YfghcZ`]Ui Zhi bY`a Yb
i bX`X]Y`@ b[Yb_UdUn]h`h`ni `a Ui]a]YfYb`"8UfØVYf`]\bUi g`ZØfXYfh
g]Y`X]Y`9b`hgdUbbi b[`i bX`fYXi n]Yfh`X]Y`A i g_Y`gdUbbi b["

F \mh\ a]gW\ Yg'5ha Yb

6Y]a 'f\mh\ a]gW\ Yb'5ha Yb'f]W\hYh'g]W\ 'XYf'Gdcfh'Yf'bUW\ 'Y]bYf
ZYghYb'5hYa ZfYei Ybnž'i a 'gY]bY'@Y]ghi b['ni 'cdh]a]YfYb"'8]YgY
HYW\ b]_ _Ubb'j cf'U`Ya 'VY]'5i gXUi YfgdcfhUfhYbž'k]Y'ni a
6Y]gd]Y`œ[[Yb'cXYf'FUXZU\ fYbž'j cb'JcfhY]'gY]b"

I a 'XUg'f\mh\ a]gW\ Y'5ha Yb'ni 'ØVYbž'_Ubb'XYf'Gdcfh'Yf'ni Yfgh
gY]bY'bcfa U`Y'5hYa ZfYei Ybn'nÀ\`Yb'i bX'XUbb'j Yfgi W\Ybž'X]Y
5bnU\`XYf'5hYa nØ[Y'dfc'À]bi hY'ni 'fYXi n]YfYb"'9]bY'b]YXf][YfY
5hYa ZfYei Ybn'ZØ\fh'ni 'Y]bYf'h]YZbž'_cbhfc`']YfhYb'5ha i b['i bX
_Ubb'X]Y'5i gXUi Yf'i bX'XYb': c_i g'j YfVYggYfb"

B UgYbUha i b[

8]Y'B UgYbUha i b['gh'Y]bY'k Y]hYfY'YZZY_h]j Y'5hYa hYW\ b]_ 'ZØf
Gdcfh'Yf"'8UVY]'k]fX'VYk i ggh'Xi fW\ 'X]Y'B UgY'Y]b!'i bX
Ui g[YUha Yhž'UbghY`Y'XYg'À i bXYg"'8]Yg'\Uh'j YfgW\]YXYbY
JcfhY]'Y.

%"'8]Y'@ Zh'k]fX'VY]a '9]bUha Yb'Xi fW\ 'X]Y'B UgY'[YfY]b][hž
VYZi W\hYh'i bX'Ui Z[Yk Åfa hž'VYj cf'g]Y]b'X]Y'@ b[Y '[Y'Ub[h"
&"'8]Y'B UgYbUha i b['_Ubb'\Y'ZYbž'XUg'5hYa j c'i a Yb'ni 'Yf\Ø\Yb
i bX'Y]bY'h]YZfY'5ha i b['ni 'Yfa Ø['W\Yb"
' "'8i fW\ 'X]Y'B UgYbUha i b['k]fX'XYf'; UgUi ghUi gW\ 'ja '?ØfdYf
j YfVYggYfhž'XU'X]Y'@ b[Y'a Y\ f'NY]h'\Uhž'XYb'GU i YfghcZZ
Ui Zhi bY\ a Yb'i bX'?c\`YbX]cl]X'UVni [YVYb"

≠hYfj U`Uha i b[

8]Y'≠hYfj U`Uha i b['gh'Y]bY'Zcfh[YgW\ f]hYbY'5hYa hYW\ b]_ ž'X]Y
j cf'U`Ya 'VY]'bYbg]j Yb'GdcfhUfhYb'k]Y'XYa '@Ui ZYb'cXYf
GW\ k]a a Yb'\`ZfY]W\ 'gY]b'_Ubb"'6Y]'X]YgYf'HYW\ b]_ 'k]fX'X]Y
5hYa ZfYei Ybn'Ub'X]Y'≠hYbg]jÅh'XYf'6Yk Y[i b['Ub[YdUggh"

9]b`6Y]gd]Y`Z0f`X]Y`b hYfj U`Uha i b[`]gh`XUg`9]bUha Yb`k A`fYbX
XYg`YfghYb`GWf]hhYg`cXYf`Ni [Yg`i bX`XUg`5i gUha Yb`k A`fYbX`XYg
nk Y]hYb`GWf]hhYg`cXYf`Ni [Yg``8]YgY`HYWb]_`\`Zž`XYb
5hYa f`mh`a i g`ni `_cbhfc``YfYb`i bX`X]Y`GUi YfghcZbi hni b[`ni
cdh]a]YfYb"

8]Y`b hYfj U`Uha i b[`YfZcfXYfh`, Vi b[`i bX`_Ubb`b]W`hgcZcfh`j cb
`YXYa `Gdcfh`Yf`i a [YgYhnh`k YfXYb``9g`gh`fUhgUa ž`g]W`_Ub[gUa
Ub`X]YgY`HYWb]_`\YfUbni hUghYb`i bX`g]Y`gWf]hkh Y]gY`ni
j YfVYggYfb"

< Ai Z][` [YghY``hY` : fU[Yb

%``K]Y`cZh`gc``hY`]W`a Y]bY`5hYa hYWb]_`ØVYb3

8]Y`5hYa hYWb]_Yb`gc``hYb`fY[Y`a A»][` [YØVh`k YfXYbž`i a `]\fY
K]f`_i b[`_Ub[Zf]gh][`ni `gdØfYb``9]b`hA[`]W`Yg`HfU]b]b[`j cb`%\$!%)
A]bi hYb`_Ubb`VYfY]hg`gY`f`YZZ`_h]j `gY]b"

&``? Ubb`]W`X]Y`5hYa hYWb]_Yb`Ui W`]a `5``hU[`Ub`k YbXYb3

×Ž`X]Y`5hYa hYWb]_Yb`_ØbbYb`b]W`h`bi f`VY]a `Gdcfhž`gcbXYfb
Ui W`]a `5``hU[`Ub[Yk YbXYh`k YfXYb``G]Y`_ØbbYb`Y`ZYbž`GhfYgg
UVni VUi Yb`i bX`X]Y`?cbnYbhfUh]cb`ni `j YfVYggYfb"

` ``K Y`W`Y`5hYa hYWb]_`]gh`X]Y`VYghY3

9g[]Vh`_Y]bY`VYghY`5hYa hYWb]_ž`X]Y`Z0f`YXYb`Gdcfh`Yf`[YY][bYh
]gh``>XYf`?ØfdYf`]ghUbXYfg`i bX`Yg`]gh`k]W`h][ž`X]Y`Yb][Y`HYWb]_
ni `Z]bXYbž`X]Y`Ua `VYghYb`ni `XYb`]bX]j]Xi Y``Yb`6YXØfZb]ggYb
dUggh"

(``;]Vh`Yg`F]g]_Yb`VY]`XYf`5bk YbXi b[`XYf
5hYa hYWb]_Yb3

b`XYf`FY[Y``g]bX`X]Y`5hYa hYWb]_Yb`gY`f`g]W`Yf``6Y]`VYgh]a a hYb
9f_fUb`_i b[Yb`XYf`5hYa k Y[Y`cXYf`XYg`<YfnYbg`Ya dZ]Y`\`h`Yg`g]W`

ŸXcWłżj cf\Yf`Y]bYb`5fnh'ni `cbgi`h]YfYbž'i a`a Ò[`]WłY`F]g]_Yb
Ui gni gWł`Y»Yb"

: Un]h

8]Y`f]Włh][Y`5hYa hYWłb]_`]gh`ZØf`Gdcfh`Yf`j cb`[fc»Yf`6YXYi hi b[ž
i a`i\fy`@Y]ghi b[`ni`ghY][Yfb`i bX`JYf`Yhni b[Yb`j cfni VYi [Yb"
8]Y`j cf[YghY`hYb`5hYa hYWłb]_Ybž`k]Y`X]Y`6Ui WłUha i b[ž`XUg
f\mh\ a`]gWłYg`5ha Ybž`X]Y`BUgYbUha i b[`i bX`X]Y`ðhYfj U`Uha i b[ž
_ÒbbYb`XUVY]\Y`ZYbž`X]Y`5ha i b[`ni`cdh]a`]YfYb`i bX`X]Y
gdcfh]WłYb`: Å\][_Y]hYb`ni`j YfVYggYfb``9g`]gh`k]Włh][ž`X]Y
HYWłb]_Yb`fY[Y`a Å»][`ni`ØVYb`i bX`Ui Z`XYb`Y][YbYb`? ÒfdYf`ni
\ÒfYbž'i a`X]Y`VYghYb`9f[YVb]ggY`ni`Yfn]Y`Yb"

8YhU]`g

6Ygi WłYb`G]Y`i bg`Ui Z.`a Y]b!Z]hbYgg"bYh