

:]hbYgg'i bX'?'i bgh. '9]bY'J YfV]bXi b[

:]hbYgg'i bX'?'i bgh. '9]bY'J YfV]bXi b['8]Y'J YfV]bXi b[
nk]gWXYb':]hbYgg'i bX'?'i bgh'a U['Ui Z'XYb'YfghYb'6`]W_
i b[Yk Ò\ b`]W\ 'YfgW\Y]bYb""GW\`Y» `]W\`g]bX':]hbYgg'i bX
_ÖfdYf`]WXY'6Yk Y[i b['a]h'gdcfh`]WXYf'5_h]j]hÄh'j YfVi bXYbž
k Ä\ fYbX'?'i bgh'cZh'a]h'_fYUh]j Yb'5i gXfi W_gZcfa Yb'k]Y
A U'YfY]žA i g]_`cXYf'HUbn'Uggcn]]Yfh'k]fX""8cW\`VY]
[YbUi YfYf'6YhfUW\hi b['[]Vh'Yg'Xi fW\Ui g'; Ya Y]bgUa _Y]hYb
i bX'gmbYf[]gh]gWXY'9ZZY_hY'nk]gWXYb':]hbYgg'i bX'?'i bgh" ð
X]YgYa '5fh]_Y`k YfXYb'k]f'i bg'a]h'X]YgYf'J YfV]bXi b[
[YbUi Yf'VYZUggYb'i bX'Yf_`ÄfYbž'k]Y'VY]XY'6YfY]WXY
j cbY]bUbXYf'dfcZ]h]YfYb'_ÖbbYb""?'i bgh'U`g
ðgd]fUh]cbgei Y`Y'ZØf':]hbYgg'?'i bgh'_Ubb'Y]bY'ZUgn]b]YfYbXY
ðgd]fUh]cbgei Y`Y'ZØf':]hbYggU_h]j]hÄhYb'gY]b""ðgVYgcbXYfY
j]gi Y`Y'?'i bghk Yf_Y'k]Y'; Ya Ä`XY'cXYf'G_i `dhi fYb'_ÖbbYb
Y]bY'ghUf_Y'Ya ch]cbU`Y'K]f_i b[' / Ua d^Y`]d/



:]hbYgg'i bX'?'i bgh. '9]bY'J YfV]bXi b[

8]Y`JYfV]bXi b[`nk]gWYb` :]hbYgg`i bX`?i bgh`a U[`Ui ZXYb`YfghYb
6`]W_`i b[Yk Ò\`b`]W\`YfgWY]bYb`"GW\`]Y»`]W\`g]bX` :]hbYgg`i bX
_ÖfdYf`]WY`6Yk Y[i b[`a]h`gdcfh`]WYf`5_hj]h`h`j YfVi bXYbž
k Ä\`fYbX`?i bgh`cZh`a]h`_fYUh] Yb`5i gXfi W_gZcfa Yb`k]Y`A U`YfY]ž
A i g]_`cXYf`HUbni`Uggcn]]Yfh`k]fX`"8cW\`VY]`[YbUi YfYf
6YhfUW\hi b[`[]Vh`Yg`Xi fW\Ui g` ; Ya Y]bgUa _Y]hYb`i bX
gmbYf[]gh]gWY`9ZZY_hY`nk]gWYb` :]hbYgg`i bX`?i bgh`"÷`X]YgYa
5fh]_Y`k YfXYb`k]f`i bg`a]h`X]YgYf`JYfV]bXi b[`[YbUi Yf`VYZUggYb
i bX`Yf_`ÄfYbž`k]Y`VY]XY`6YfY]WY`j cbY]bUbXYf`dfcZ]h]YfYb
_ÖbbYb"

?i bgh`U`g`÷bgd]fUh]cbgei Y``Y`ZØf` :]hbYgg

?i bgh`_Ubb`Y]bY`ZUgn]b]YfYbXY`÷bgd]fUh]cbgei Y``Y`ZØf`
:]hbYggU_hj]]h`h`Yb`gY]b`"÷bgVYgcbXYfY`j]gi Y``Y`?i bgh`k Yf_Y`k]Y
; Ya Ä`XY`cXYf`G_i `dhi fYb`_ÖbbYb`Y]bY`ghUf_Y`Ya ch]cbU`Y
K]f_i b[`UVYb`i bX`i bgYfY` : UbhUg]Y`i bX`?fYUh]j]h`h`gh]a i `]YfYb`
8]YgY`_Øbgh`Yf]gWYb`K Yf_Y`_ÖbbYb`i bg`a ch]j]YfYbž`bYi Y`K Y[Y
XYf`_ÖfdYf`]WYb`6Yk Y[i b[`ni`Yf_i bXYb`i bX`i bgYf
:]hbYggb]j YUi `ni`j YfVYggYfb"

9]b`6Y]gd]Y``g]bX`HUbni`XUfV]Yhi b[Yb`"6Y]a `6YhfUW\hYb`Y]bYf
VYY]bXfi W_YbXYb`6U``Yhj cfZØ\fi b[`k YfXYb`k]f`b]W\h`bi f`j cb`XYf
Y`gh\Yh]_`XYf`HÄbnYf]bbYb`i bX`HÄbnYf`ZUgn]b]Yfhž`gcbXYfb`Ui W\
j cb`]fYf`?ÖfdYfVY\YffgW\i b[`i bX` : `YI]V`]h`h`"8]Yg`_Ubb`i bg
XUni`]bgd]f]YfYbž`gY`Vgh`HUbni`fgY`ni`VYgi WYb`cXYf`i bgYfY
6Yk Y[`]W_Y]h`Xi fW\`GhfYhW\]b[!, Vi b[Yb`ni`j YfVYggYfb"

9]b`k Y]hYfYg`6Y]gd]Y``g]bX`6`]XYf`j cb`BUhi f`UbXgW\UZhYbž`X]Y
Fi`Y`i bX`<Ufa cb]Y`Ui gghfU\`Yb`"8]YgY`_ÖbbYb`i bg`XUni
a ch]j]YfYbž`Ci hXccf!5_hj]h`h`Yb`k]Y`K UbXYfb`cXYf`æ[[Yb
bUW\ni [Y\Ybž`i a`X]Y`GW\Öb\Y]h`XYf`BUhi f`\Ui hbU\`ni`Yf`VYb
i bX`[`Y]W\h`Y]h][`i bgYfY`_ÖfdYf`]WY` :]hbYgg`ni`j YfVYggYfb"

?ÖfdYf`]WY` :]hbYgg`U`g`A YX]i a`ZØf`_fYUh]j Y
5i gXfi W_gZcfa Yb

? ÒfdYf`jWXY` :]hbYgg`_Ubb`Ui W`U`g`A YX]i a`ZØf`_fYUh]j Y
5i gXfi W_gZcfa Yb`X]YbYb"6Yk Y[i b[`Ub`g]W`_Ubb`U`g`Y]bY` : cfa
XYf`?i bgh`VYhfUW`hYh`k YfXYb"9g`[]Vh`j]Y`Y`GdcfhUfhYb`i bX
:]hbYggU_h]j]h`hYbž`X]Y`Y]bY`c`Y`Àgh`Yh]gWXY`?ca dcbYbhY`UVYb
i bX`_fYUh]j Y`6Yk Y[i b[Yb`YfZcfXYfb"

9]b`6Y]gd]Y`]gh`Mc[Už`Y]bY`8]gn]d`]bž`X]Y`X]Y`d`mg]gWXY`6Yk Y[i b[
a]h[Y]gh][Yf`?`Uf`Y]h`i bX`gd]f]h`i Y`Yf`5i g[Y[`]WXYb`Y]h
j YfV]bXYh"Mc[U!DcgYb`_ÒbbYb`Ài »Yfgh`_i bgh] c``i bX`Y`Y[Ubh
k]f_Yb`i bX`X]Y`? ÒfdYfVY`YffgW`i b[`i bX` : `YI]V`]h`h`XYf
DfU_h]n]YfYbXYb`VYhcbYb"J]Y`Y`Mc[U`Y`fYf`i bX`!`Y`fYf]bbYb`g]bX
?ØbghYf`i bX`bi hnYb`]fY` : À\][_Y]hYb`]a`6YfY]W`X`Yf`6Yk Y[i b[
i bX`? ÒfdYfUi gXfi W_gž`i a`_]fY`?i fgY`ni `[YghU`hYb`i bX`]fY
GW`Ø`Yf`ni `[b]gd]f]YfYb"

5i W`HUbni`_Ubb`U`g`_fYUh]j Y`5i gXfi W_gZcfa`VYhfUW`hYh`k YfXYbž
VY]`XYf`XYf`? ÒfdYf`U`g`bghfi a`Ybh`[Ybi hnh`k]fX"J YfgW`]YXYbY
HUbng]h]Y`k]Y`A cXYfb`8UbW`ž<]d!<cd`cXYf`6U`Yhh`Yf`Ui VYb`XYb
HÀbnYf]bbYb`i bX`HÀbnYfbž`g]W`Ui Z`j]Y`Z`h][Y`K`Y]gY
Ui gni XfØW_Yb`i bX`]fY`9a`ch]cbYb`i bX` : YZØ`Y`Xi fW`6Yk Y[i b[
ni a`5i gXfi W`_ni`Vf]b[Yb"

8]Y`6YXYi hi b[`j`cb`?fYUh]j]h`h`ZØf`X]Y
:]hbYgg

?fYUh]j]h`h`gd]Y`h`Y]bY`YbhgWXY]XYbXY`Fc``Y`VY]`XYf`9ffY]W`i b[
j`cb` :]hbYggn]Y`Yb"i a`Y]bY`_cbh]bi]Yf`]WXY`A`ch]j Uh]cb
Ui ZfYW`hni Yf`U`hYb`i bX`g]W`Xi fW`K`]YXYf`c`i b[Yb`i bX
<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`ni`_Àa`dZYbž`]gh`Yg`k]W`h][ž`_fYUh]j`ni
XYb_Yb`i bX`bYi Y`K`Y[Y`ni`Z]bXYbž`i a`XUg`HfU]b]b[`]bhYfYggUbh
i bX`i bhYf`U`hgUa`ni`[YghU`hYb"

9]b`Ài Z[Yg`DfcV`Ya`VY] :]hbYggdfc[fUa`a`Yb`]gh`X]Y`A`cbchcb]Y"
K`Ybb`k]f`i bg`]a`a`Yf`bi f`Ui Z`X]Y`[`Y]WXYb` , Vi b[Yb`i bX`Fc`i h]bYb
_cbnYbhf]YfYbž`_Ubb`XUg`HfU]b]b[`gW`bY``Ub[k`Y][`k`YfXYb`i bX

X]Y`A ch]j Uh]cb`gWk]bXYb`"<]Yf`_ca`a`h`X]Y`?i bgh]bg`Gd]Y`.
?fYUh]j Y`6Yk Y[i b[Yb`i bX`HfU]b]b[gY]b\Y]hYbž`X]Y`j cb
j YfgW]YXYbYb`_Øbgh`Yf]gWYb`8]gn]d`]bYb`]bgd]f]Yfh`g]bXž`_ØbbYb
XUg`HfU]b]b[`Ui ZdYddYb`i bX`bYi Y`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`V]YhYb"

9]b`6Y]gd]Y``]gh`XUg`gc[YbUbbhY` 5Yf]U`Mc[U ž`VY]`XYa`X]Y
HY]`bY\`a`YbXYb`]b`HØWYfb`\`Àb[Yb`i bX`Mc[UØVi b[Yb`]b`XYf`@`Zh
Xi fW`ZØ\`fYb`"8]YgY`]bbcj Uh]j Y`HfU]b]b[ga`Yh\`cXY`_ca`V]b]Yfh`X]Y
Y`Ya`YbhUfY`; fi bX`U[Y`XYg`Mc[Ug`a`]h`XYf`Ÿgh\`Yh]_`XYg
GWk YVYbg`i bX`j Yf`Y]\`h`XYa`HfU]b]b[`Y]bY`bYi Y`8]a`Ybg]cb"

<`Ài`Z][`[`YghY``hY`: fU[Yb`ft`5E`Ł

%`"K`]Y`_Ubb`?i bgh`a`Y]b`:]hbYggdfc[fUa`a`VYfY]WYfb3

?i bgh`_Ubb`U`g`đgd]fUh]cbgei Y``Y`X]YbYbž`i`a`bYi`Y
:]hbYggU`h]j]h`hYb`Ui`gni`dfcV]YfYb`i bX`g]W`gY`Vgh
\`YfUi`gni`ZcfXYfb`"5i`W`Xi`fW`X]Y`đhY[fUh]cb`j`cb`_fYUh]j`Yb
6Yk Y[i b[Yb`i bX`HfU]b]b[ga`Yh\`cXYb`_ØbbYb`G]Y`≡f
:]hbYggdfc[fUa`a`Ui`ZdYddYb`i bX`Ui`ZfY[YbXYf`[YghU`hYb"

&`"K`Y`WY`_fYUh]j Y`6Yk Y[i b[gZcfa`Yb`_ØbbYb`]b`a`Y]b
:]hbYggdfc[fUa`a`]bhY[f]Yfh`k`YfXYb3

9g`[]Vh]j]Y`Y`_fYUh]j Y`6Yk Y[i b[gZcfa`Ybž`X]Y`G]Y`]b`≡f
:]hbYggdfc[fUa`a`]bhY[f]YfYb`_ØbbYb`"6Y]gd]Y`Y`\]YfZØf`g]bX
HUbnž`Mc[Už`D]`UhYgž`5_fcVUh]_`cXYf`gc[Uf`?Ua`dZ`i`bgh"

`"K`]Y`_Ubb`?fYUh]j]h`h`\`Y`ZYbž`X]Y`A`ch]j Uh]cb`VY]a
HfU]b]b[`Ui`ZfYW`hni`Yf\`U`hYb3

?fYUh]j]h`h`\`]Zh`XUg`HfU]b]b[`]bhYfYggUbh`i bX`i bhYf\`U`hgUa`ni
[YghU`hYb`"8i`fW`J`Uf]Uh]cbYb`XYf`, Vi b[Ybž`Bi`hni b[`j`cb`A`i`g]_`
cXYf`j`]gi`Y``Yb`<`]Zga`]hhY`b`i bX`đhY[fUh]cb`j`cb`_Øbgh`Yf]gWYb
9`Ya`YbhYb`_ØbbYb`G]Y`X]Y`@Ub[Yk`Y]Y`j`Yfa`Y]XYb`i bX`X]Y
A`ch]j Uh]cb`Ui`ZfYW`hYf\`U`hYb"

(" ;]Vh`Yg`gdYn]Y``Y` :]hbYggdfc[fUa a Yž`X]Y`XYb`_fYUh]j Yb
5gdY_h`VYhcbYb3

»JŽ`Yg`[]Vh`gdYn]Y``Y` :]hbYggdfc[fUa a Yž`X]Y`XYb`_fYUh]j Yb`5gdY_h
VYhcbYb"9]b`6Y]gd]Y``]gh`Ni a VUž`XUg`HUbni`bX` :]hbYggY`Ya YbhY
_ca V]b]Yfhž`cXYf`6UffY!HfU]b]b[ž`XUg`9`Ya YbhY`Ui g`6U`Yhž
D]`UhYg`i bX`Mc[U`j YfY]bh"

) ``K]Y`_Ubb`j]W`j cb`XYf`J YfV]bXi b[`nk]gW`Yb` :]hbYgg`i bX
? i bgh`dfcZ]h]YfYb3

G]Y`_ÖbbYb`j cb`XYf`J YfV]bXi b[`nk]gW`Yb` :]hbYgg`i bX`? i bgh
dfcZ]h]YfYbž`]bXYa `G]Y`≡f` :]hbYggdfc[fUa a
UVk YW`g`i b[gfY]W`Yfž`]bhYfYggUbhYf`i bX`_fYUh]j Yf`[YghU`hYb"
8]Yg`_Ubb`ni `Y]bYf`VYggYfYb`A ch]j Uh]cbž`Y]bYa `\\Ö`YfYb
GdU»ZU`hcf`i bX``YhnhYbX`]W`ni `VYggYfYb` :]hbYggYf[YVb]ggYb
ZØ`fYb"

: Un]h

8]Y`J YfV]bXi b[`nk]gW`Yb` :]hbYgg`i bX`? i bgh`]gh`ZUW`hhYbfY]W`i bX
V]YhYh`nU`fY]W`Y`A Ö[`]W`_Y]hYb`ni f`[Y[YbgY]h][Yb`6YfY]W`Yfi b["
? i bgh`_Ubb`U`g`≡gd]fUh]cbgei Y``Y`X]YbYbž`i a `bYi Y
:]hbYggU_h]j]h`hYb`ni `YbhXYW_Ybž`k Ä`fYbX`_ÖfdYf`]W`Y` :]hbYgg`U`g
A YX]i a `ZØf`_fYUh]j Y`5i gXfi W_gZcfa Yb`X]YbYb`_Ubb`"?fYUh]j]h`h
gd]Y`h`Y]bY`k YgYbh`]W`Y`F c``Y`VY]`XYf`A ch]j Uh]cb`i bX
5i ZfYW`hYf`U`hi b[`Y]bYg`UVk YW`g`i b[gfY]W`Yb
:]hbYggdfc[fUa a g``8i fW`X]Y`≡hY[fUh]cb`j cb`_ØbghYf]gW`Yb
9`Ya YbhYb`i bX`_fYUh]j Yb`6Yk Y[i b[Yb`_ÖbbYb`G]Y`≡f`HfU]b]b[
Ui ZY]b`bYi Yg`@Yj Y`Vf]b[Yb``9g`c`b`h`g]W`ž`X]Y`J YfV]bXi b[
nk]gW`Yb` :]hbYgg`i bX`? i bgh`ni `Yf`_i bXYb`i bX`j cb`XYb
gmbYf[]gh]gW`Yb`9ZY`hYb`VY]XYf`6YfY]W`Y`ni `dfcZ]h]YfYb"

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