

A Y\ f'U`g'A i g_Y`Ui ZVUi . 'K Ufi a
6cXmVi]`X]b['Y]bY [Ygi bXY Cdh]cb]gh

K Ybb'A YbgWYb'j cb'6cXmVi]`X]b['gdfYWYbžXYb_Yb'g]Y
Ui hca Uh]gWYb'Ub'[i h'[YO`hYžUi Z[Ydi a dhY'A i g_Y'b'Ub
GhfUbX[Ua a `Yfb'i bX':]hbYgg_OfdYfb"·9g'nUi VYfh'6]XYf'j cb
[YVfÀi bhYb'?ØfdYfbžX]Y'g]WY i bhYf'Y]bYa'; Yk]WYh'j cb
a Y\ fYfYb'DZ bX'VY'UghYb'i bX'a]h'XYb'a cXYfbghYb
: c`hYf]bghfi a YbhYb'X]Y'dYfZY_hY': cfa 'Yfn]Y`Yb"·8]Yg']gh
b]WYh'i b[Yk Ø\ b']WY"·8]Y'a Y]ghYb'A YbgWYb'k ØfXYb
6cXmVi]`X]b['b]WYh'U`g'Y]bYb'GWf]hhini f'9f'Ub[i b[i bX
9f\U`hi b['Y]bYg[Ygi bXYb'?ØfdYfg'Ui ZZØ\fYb", Vi b[ž
j]Y`Y]WYh'UVYf'b]WYh'6cXmVi]`X]b["·6cXmVi]`X]b['gWYUZZh
YYcWY'a Y\ f'U`g'bi f'Gma a Yhf]Y'i bX'; fØ»Y"·9g'\]Zh'Ui WYž
XYb'?ØfdYf'ni 'ghÀf_Yb'i bX': 'YI]V']hÀh'i bX'gdcfh]WY Y
@Y]ghi b['ni 'Ybhk]WYb"·6cXmVi]`X]b['_Ubb'Ui WY XUni
VY]hfU[YbžK]XYfghUbX'ni 'Ybhk]WYbži bX'Yg/ Ua d\Y`]d/



K Ybb'A YbgWYb'j cb'6cXmVi]`X]b['gdfYWYbžXYb_Yb'g]Y
Ui hca Uh]gWYb'Ub'[i h'[YO`hYžUi Z[Ydi a dhY'A i g_Y'b'Ub

GhfUbX[Ua a `Yfb i bX :]hbYgg_ÒfdYfb"·9g'nUi VYfh'6]`XYf j cb
[YVfÀi bhYb ? ÒfdYfbžX]Y g]W h i bhYf Y]bYa ; Yk]W h j cb
a Y\ fYfYb DZ bX VY UghYb i bX a]hXYb a cXYfbghYb
: c`hYf]bghfi a YbhYb X]Y dYfZY_hY : cfa 'Yfn]Y`Yb"

8]Yg`]gh'b]W h i b[Yk Ò\ b`]W "·8]Y a Y]ghYb A YbgW Yb k ØfXYb
6cXmVi]X]b[b]W h U`g Y]bYb GWFf]hh ni f`9f`Ub[i b[i bX 9f\ U`hi b[
Y]bYg`] Ygi bXYb ? ÒfdYfg`Ui ZØ\ fYb" , Vi b[žj]Y`Y]W h UVYf`b]W h
6cXmVi]X]b["·6cXmVi]X]b[gW UZh`YXcW a Y\ f`U`g`bi f
Gma a Yhf]Y i bX ; fO» Y"·9g`\]Zh`Ui W h XYb ? ÒfdYf`ni ghÀf_Yb i bX
: `YI]V`]hÀh i bX gdcfh]W Y@Y]ghi b[ni `Ybhk]W Y`b"

6cXmVi]X]b[_Ubb`Ui W XUni 'VY]hfU[YbžK]XYfghUbX`ni
Ybhk]W Y`bž i bX Yg`gW UXh`b]W h`XUgg`Yg`hUhgÀW `]W ni `Y]bYa
VYggYf`Ui ggY\ YbXYb i bX [i hXYZ]b]YfhYb ? ÒfdYf`VY]hfÀ[h`

5`]V]g`i bX`5i gfYXYbžg]W j ca '6cXmVi]X]b[`Zfbni \ U`hYb

G]Y`a ØggYb`gW cb`Y]ba U`j cb`]bYb`[Y\ Øfh\UVYb"·A YbgW Ybž
X]Y`g]W k Y][Yfbž6cXmVi]X]b[ni 'VYhfY]VYbž`[`Ui VYbžXUgg`X]Y
9bhk]W i b[j cb`A i g_Y`b`g]Y`gW k YfYf`i bX`XUa]h`Ub[gUa Yf
a UW h i bX`XUgg`A i g_Y`b`Yfgh`XUbb`ni : Yhh ni fØW_Y\ fYbžk Ybb
G]Y`Ui ZØfYb"·8]YgY`g]bX`ZU`gW "

A i g_Y`b`g]bX`XYf`<Ui dha chcfžXYf`YXY`6Yk Y[i b[`UbhfY]VhžX]Y
k]f`a UW Yb"·GhÀf_YfYž`[fO» YfY`A i g_Y`b`VYXYi hYb`bi fž`XUgg`k]f
i bg`VYggYf`VYk Y[Yb`i bX`ZYI]V`Yf`g]bX`K Ybb`A i g_Y`b
hUhgÀW `]W Y]bY`DYfgcb`j Yf`Ub[gUa Yb`_ØbbYbžgc`hYb
Gdf]bhÀi ZYf`XØbb`V`Y]VYb"; fO» YfY`A i g_Y`b`UggYb`G]Y`j]Y`Y]W h
[fO» Yf`Ui ggY\ Yb`i bX`g]W [fO» Yf`UbZØ\`YbžUVYf`g]Y`k YfXYb`G]Y
b]W h j Yf`Ub[gUa Yb"

A i g_Y`b`k YfXYb`b]Ya U`g`ni : Yhh`XU`Yg`g]W i a `nk Y]
j YfgW]YXYbY` ; Yk YVY`\ UbXY`h`K Ybb`XUg`HfU]b]b[`UV[YVfcW Yb
k]fXžgW fi a dZYb`g]Y`a]hXYf`NY]hžk Y`g]Y`b]W h j Yfk YbXYh
k YfXYb`A YbgW YbžX]Y`g]W j cb`a i g_Y`[YVi bXYb`ni `ZYhh
[Yk UbXY`h\UVYbž\UVYb`a Ò[`]W Yfk Y]gY`k À\ fYbX`X]YgYf`NY]h
XUg`HfU]b]b[`UV[YVfcW Yb`i bX`\fYb`BU\fi b[gj YfVfUi W`Yf\Ò\hž

gc XUgg']\f? ÖfdYf'a Y\f: YhhgdY]WX Yfb'i bX'k Yb][Yf? U`cf]Yb
j YfVfYbbYb'_Ubb"

G]YVYb'GWX f]hhYž'i a 'VY]a '6cXmVi]`X]b['ZØf'X]Y'; Ygi bX\Y]h
YfZc'[fY]WX 'ni 'gY]b

%"·9bhk]W\Y'b'G]Y'Y]b'N]Y'"·C \bY'Y]bYb'D`Ub'k Uf'b]WX hg
YfZc'[fY]WX ž'cXYf'k Ybb'Yhk Ug'[YgWX U\ž'XUbb'a i gghY'Yg'Y]b
j Ö`][Yf'Ni ZU'"[Yk YgYb'gY]b"·K]ggYb'G]Yž'k Ug'G]Y'YffY]WX Yb'i bX
k]Y'G]Y'Yg'd'UbYbž'cV'G]Y'bi f'a Y\f'A i g_Y'b'Ui ZU! Yb'cXYf: Yhh
j Yf']YfYb'a ÖWX hYbž'G]Y'a ØggYb'Y]b' _'UfYg'N]Y'\UVYbž'k Ug'G]Y
Yfk UfhYb'i bX'k]Y'G]Y'Xcfh\]b'[Y'Ub[Yb"

&"<c`Yb'G]Y'g]WX 'Y]bY'd\mg]gWX Y'"G]Y'VYbÖh][Yb'XUg'C? 'ΔfYg
5fnhYgž'k Ybb'G]Y'j cf\UVYbž'6cXmVi]`X]b['b'Δf'F Y[]a Y
Ui Zni bY\ a Ybž]bgVYgcbXYfY'k Ybb'G]Y'5bZÀb[Yf'g]bX'"@UggYb'G]Y
g]WX '[fØbX']WX 'i bhYfgi WX Ybž'i a 'g]WX Yfni ghY'Ybž'XUgg'Δf? ÖfdYf
]b'XYf'@U[Y']ghž'XUg' _ÖfdYf']WX Y'HfU]b]b['ni 'UVgc'j]YfYbž'XUg'Yf
UVgc'j]YfYb'k]fx'", VYfdfØZYb'G]Yž'cV'ΔfY'<Yfn! ? fY]g'Ui Z
: i b_h]cbYb'[i h'i bX'ghUV'g]bX'i bX'cV'G]Y'Y]bY'[Ygi bXY'@VVYf
i bX'B]YfYb'\UVYb"

' "·K À\`Yb'G]Y'Y]b':]hbYggghi X]c"·9]b'?']bXYfgd]Y'ž'j]Y'"Y]WX hž'UVYf
XUg'f]WX h][Y':]hbYggghi X]c'ni 'VYgi WX Ybž'_Ubb'ΔfYf'Fc i h]bY'a Y\f
\Y'ZYbž'U'g'G]Y'XYb'_Yb"·K À\`Yb'G]Y'Y]b':]hbYggghi X]c'']b'[Øbgh][Yf
@U[Y']b'XYf'BA\Y'ΔfYg'Ni \Ui gYg'cXYf'6Øfcg"·5i Z'X]YgY'K Y]gY
\UVYb'G]Y'_Y]bY'9bhgWX i 'X][i b[ž'b]WX h'ni '[Y\Yb"·K À\`Yb'G]Y'Y]b
:]hbYggghi X]cž']b'XYa'G]Y'b]WX h'bi f'a]h'XYb'; YfÀhYbž'gcbXYfb
Ui WX 'a]h'XYb'HfU]bYfb'j YfhfUi h'g]bX"

K Ybb'G]Y'Y]b'ni j Yf'Àgg][Yf'GY'VghghUfhYf'g]bX'i bX'Yhk Ug'a Y\f
Df]j Uhgd\ÀfY'VYj cfni [Ybž'_ØbbYb'G]Y'g]WX 'Ui WX 'ZØf'Y]b'Y][YbYg
:]hbYggghi X]c'YbhgWX Y]XYb"·9g'']gh'k]f_']WX 'b]WX h'bc'hk YbX][ž'gcZcfh
Ui g[YZU'"YbY'5i gfØghi b['ni '_Ui ZYb"·6Y[]bbYb'G]Y'Y]bZUWX 'a]h
XYb'; fi bX'U[Yb'i bX'ZØ[Yb'G]Y'g]Y'XUbb'gWX f]hhk Y]gY' \]bni "
K Ybb'G]Y'_Y]b'UbZUb[Ybž'_ØbbYb'G]Y'VYgh]a a Ybž'k Y'WX Y
5i gfØghi b['G]Y']a '@Ui ZY'XYf'NY]h'_Ui ZYb'a ØggYb"·8]Yg'']gh
VYggYfž'U'g'a]h'ni gÀhn']WX Yb'; YfÀhYb'ZYghni \U'hYbž'X]Y'G]Y'b]WX h

j Yfk YbXYb 'K YfXYb"

("·<c`Yb`G]Y`g]W\h`Y]b`Dfc[fUa a ž XUg`ΔfYa `B]j YUi 'Ybhgdf]W\h"
K Ybb`G]Y`Y]b`5bZĀb[Yf`g]bXž]gh`Yg`g]bb`cgž`Y]bY`ni
Zcfh[YgW\h]hhYbY`6cXmVi]`X]b[!Fci h]bY`ni `k Ā`Yb`cXYf`]b`Y]b
:]hbYgggi X]c`ni ` [Y\Ybž`c\`bY`ni `k]ggYbž`k c`G]Y`UbZUb[Yb`gc``Yb"
Δf`? ØfdYf`YVhj cb`U`a Ā`]W\hYb`J YfĀbXYfi b[Ybž`gcXUgg`G]Y
; YZU\f`Ui ZYbž`g]W\h`ni `j Yf`YhnYbž`k Ybb`G]Y`j Yfgi W\hYbž`a Y\`f`ni
\\YVYbž`U`g`G]Y`gc``hYb`6YfØW_g]W\h][Yb`G]Y`Δf`HfU]b]b[gb]j YUi
i bX`ΔfY`N]Y`Y`i bX`Yf\U`hYb`G]Y`XUbb`Y]b`Dfc[fUa a ž XUg`ni
ΔbYb`dUggh"

J Yfgi W\hYb`G]Yž`Y]b][Y`ØZcfa Uh]cbYb`ni `6cXmVi]`X]b[!Fci h]bYb
ZØf`5bZĀb[Yf`ni `ØVYfdfØZYbž`i a`g]W\h`a]h`ΔfYb`Cdh]cbYb`j YfhfUi h
ni `a UW\hYb`G]Y`_ØbbYb`6ØW\hYfž`NY]hgW\h]ZhYb`i bX`K YVg]hYg``YgYb
cXYf`g]W\h`Ub`Y]bYb` : UW\h a Ubb`k YbXYb`i bX`ΔfY`Y][YbY`Fci h]bY
gdYn]Y`ZØf`G]Y`Ybhk]W\h`b`UggYb`Bcfa U`Yfk Y]gY`VY]b\U`hYb
A]h[`]YXgW\hUZh`]b` :]hbYgggi X]cg`X]YgYb`GYfj]W\h`XU\Yf`a ØW\hYb
G]Y`a Ø[`]W\hYf`Y]gY`bUW\h`9]bnY`Y]hYb`ZfU[Ybž`k Ybb`G]Y`Y]bYf
VY]hfY`hYb`"

) "·9bhk]W\h`b`G]Y`Y]bY`j YfbØbZh][Y`9fbĀ\`fi b["·JUž`Xi`VfUi W\h`gh
Y]bYb`8Yb`Yb`G]Y`b]W\h`XUgg`G]Yž`gcVU`X`G]Y`a]h`XYa
6cXmVi]`X]b[`VY[]bbYbž`GØ»][_Y]hYb`i bX`GU`nY`bUW\h`6Y`]VYb
Ui ZUXYb`_ØbbYb`8Yf`NK YW`Y]bYf`6cXmVi]`X]b[!Fci h]bY`VYghY\h
XUf]bž`XUgg`G]Y`Yhhj`Yf`YfYb`i bX`Yg`Xi fW\h`gW\h`Ub`Y`A i g`Y`b
YfgYhnYb`8]Y`f]W\h][Y`9fbĀ\`fi b[`]Vh`ΔbYb`X]Y`f]W\h][Y`5fh`XYf
9fbĀ\`fi b[`ZØf`9bYf`]Yž`?bcW\hYb!`i bX`A i g`Y`k UW\h`ghi a`i bX
9f\c`i b["

* "·J Yf`UggYb`G]Y`g]W\h`b]W\h`h`ni `gY\`f`Ui Z6cXmVi]`X]b[!DfĀdUfUhY`
A]h`U`XYb`J YfgdfYW\h`i b[Ybž`X]Y`Ui Z`9h]_YhhYb`[YXfi W\h`g]bXž`i bX
XYb`VY[Y]ghYfhYb`5bnY][Yb`]a` : YfbgY\Yb`_ØbbhYb`G]Y`j Yfgi W\h`h`
gY]bž`g]W\h`bi f`Ui Z`B`U\`fi b[gYf`Abni b[ga]hhY`ni `j Yf`UggYbž`i a
X]Y`5fVY]h`ZØf`G]Y`ni `Yf`YX][Yb`B`U\`fi b[gYf`Abni b[ga]hhY`
Yf`AbnYb`bi f`ΔfY`Fci h]bY`i bX`gc``hYb`b]W\h`X]Y`f]W\h][Y
9fbĀ\`fi b[`i bX`5i gV`Xi b[`YfgYhnYb`Bi f`k Ybb`Δf
HfU]b]b[gb]j YUi `Yf\Ø\h]ghž`gc``hYb`G]Y`Yf`k A[Ybž`6cXmVi]`X]b[!

9f[Ábni b[Yb'a]h`ΔfYf'8]Àh'ni 'bY\ a Yb"

+".J Yf[YggYb 'G]Y'b]W h`Δf'F' b 'F" 'GW\ 'UZi bX'F i \Y'g]bX'gY\f
k]W h]['ZØf'X]Y 'U``[Ya Y]bY'; Ygi bX\Y]h'i bX'VYgcbXYfg'VY]a
6cXmVi]`X]b["Δf'? ØfdYf'i bX']bgVYgcbXYfY'ΔfY'A i g_Y`b
VfUi W Yb 'NY]hž'i a 'g]W bUW\ 'Y]bYa '[i hYb 'HfU]b]b['ni 'Yf\c`Yb"
GhY``Yb 'G]Y'g]W Yfž'XUgg'G]Y'a]bXYghYbg', 'Ghi bXYb 'GW\ 'UZ\UVYbž
XUa]h`Δf'? ØfdYf'k UW gYb 'i bX'g]W 'Yf\c`Yb '_Ubb"

øgd]f]Yfhj cb 'H\ca Ug'DfcWhc f

|8 YhU]`g

6Ygi W Yb 'G]Y'i bg'Ui Z.'a Y]b!Z]hb Ygg"b Yh