

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

K Ybb`A YbgWXYb`j cb`6cXmVi]`X]b[`gdfYWX Ybž`XYb_Yb`g]Y
Ui hca Uh]gWX`Ub`[i h[YÖ`hYž`Ui Z[Ydi a dhY`A i g_Y`b`Ub
GhfUbX[Ua a `Yfb`i bX`:]hbYgg_ÖfdYfb`"9g`nUi VYfh`6]`XYf`j cb
[YVfÄi bhYb`?ÖfdYfbž`X]Y`g]WX`i bhYf`Y]bYa` ; Yk]WX`h`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]WX`h`i b[Yk Ö`b`]WX`"8]Y`a Y]ghYb`A YbgWXYb`k ØfXYb
6cXmVi]`X]b[`b]WX`h`U`g`Y]bYb`GWX`f]hh`ni f`9f`Ub[i b[`i bX
9f`U`hi b[`Y]bYg`[Ygi bXYb`?ÖfdYfg`Ui ZZØ`fYb`", Vi b[ž
j]Y`Y]WX`h`UVYf`b]WX`h`6cXmVi]`X]b[``6cXmVi]`X]b[`gWX`UZh
YXcWX`a Y\ f'U`g`bi f`Gma a Yhf]Y`i bX` ; fÖ»Y`"9g`]\`Zh`Ui WX`ž
XYb`?ÖfdYf`ni `ghÄf_Yb`i bX` : `YI]V`]hÄ`h`i bX`gdcfh`]WX`Y
@Y]ghi b[`ni `Yb`hk]W_Y`b`"6cXmVi]`X]b[`_Ubb`Ui WX`XUni
VY]hfU[Ybž`K]XYfghUbX`ni `Yb`hk]W_Y`bž`i bX`Yg`/ Ua d^Y`]d/



K Ybb`A YbgWXYb`j cb`6cXmVi]`X]b[`gdfYWX Ybž`XYb_Yb`g]Y
Ui hca Uh]gWX`Ub`[i h[YÖ`hYž`Ui Z[Ydi a dhY`A i g_Y`b`Ub

GhfUbX[Ua a `Yfb`i bX`:]hbYgg_ÖfdYfb""9g`nUi VYfh`6]`XYf`j cb
[YVfÄi bhYb`?ÖfdYfbžX]Y`g]W`i bhYf`Y]bYa `; Yk]W`hj 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]W`hi b[Yk Ö`b`]W`""8]Y`a Y]ghYb`A YbgW`Yb`k ØfXYb
6cXmVi]`X]b[`b]W`hU`g`Y]bYb`GW`f]hh`ni f`9f`Ub[i b[`i bX`9f`U`hi b[
Y]bYg[Ygi bXYb`?ÖfdYfg`Ui ZZÖ`fYb""; Vi b[žj]Y``Y]W`hUVYf`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`; fÖ»Y""9g`\\]Zh`Ui W`žXYb`?ÖfdYf`ni `ghÄf`Yb`i bX
: `Yi]V`]hÄ`i bX`gdcfh]W`Y`@Y]ghi b[`ni `Yb`hk]W`Y`b"

6cXmVi]`X]b[`_Ubb`Ui W`X`XUni `VY]hfU[Ybž`K]XYfghUbX`ni
Yb`hk]W`Y`bž`i bX`Yg`gW`UXYh`b]W`hž`XUgg`Yg`hUhgÄW`]W`ni `Y]bYa
VYggYf`Ui ggY`YbXYb`i bX`[i h`XYZ]b]YfhYb`?ÖfdYf`VY]hfÄ[h"

5`]V]g`i bX`5i gfYXYbž`g]W`j ca `6cXmVi]`X]b[`ZYfbni `U`hYb

G]Y`a ØggYb`gW`cb`Y]ba U`j cb`]bYb`[Y`Öfh`UVYb""A YbgW`Ybž
X]Y`g]W`k Y][Yfbž6cXmVi]`X]b[`ni `VYhfY]VYbž[`Ui VYbž`XUgg`X]Y
9b`hk]W`i b[`j cb`A i g_Y`b`g]Y`gW`k YfYf`i bX`XUa]h`Ub[gUa Yf
a UW`hi bX`XUgg`A i g_Y`b`Yfgh`XUbb`ni `: Yh`ni fØW`Y`fYbž`k Ybb
G]Y`Ui Z`ÖfYb""8]YgY`g]bX`ZU`gW`"

A i g_Y`b`g]bX`XYf`<Ui dha chcfž`XYf`YXY`6Yk Y[i b[`UbhfY]Vhž`X]Y
k]f`a UW`Yb""GhÄf`YfYž[fÖ»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
hUhgÄW`]W`Y]bY`DYfgcb`j Yf`Ub[gUa Yb`_ÖbbYbž`gc`hYb
Gdf]bh`Äi ZYf`XÖbb`V`Y]VYb""; fÖ»YfY`A i g_Y`b`UggYb`G]Y`j]Y``Y]W`h
[fÖ»Yf`Ui ggY`Yb`i bX`g]W`[fÖ»Yf`UbZÖ`Ybž`UVYf`g]Y`k YfXYb`G]Y
b]W`hj Yf`Ub[gUa Yb"

A i g_Y`b`k YfXYb`b]Ya U`g`ni `: Yhž`XU`Yg`g]W`i a `nk Y]
j YfgW`]YXYb`Y`; Yk YVY`U`bXY`h`K Ybb`XUg`HfU]b]b[`UV[YVfcW`Yb
k]fXž`gW`fi a dZYb`g]Y`a]h`XYf`NY]hž`k Y`]g]Y`b]W`hj Yfk YbXYh
k YfXYb""A YbgW`Ybž`X]Y`g]W`j cb`a i g_Y`[YVi bXYb`ni `ZYhh
[Yk UbXY`h`UVYbž`UVYb`a Ö[`]W`Yfk Y]gY`k Ä`fYbX`X]YgYf`NY]h
XUg`HfU]b]b[`UV[YVfcW`Yb`i bX`]fYb`BU`fi b[gj YfVfUi W`Yf`Ö`hž

gcXUggj\ſ? ÒfdYf'a Y\ſ: Yh'gdYjWXYfb'ì bX'k Yb][Yf'? U`cfjYb
j YfVfYbbYb' _Ubb"

GjYVYb'GWxf]hhYž'ì a 'VYja '6cXmVi]'X]b['ZØf'X]Y'; Ygi bX\Yjh
YfZc`[fYjW'ni 'gY]b

%""9bhk jW_Y`b'GjY`Y]b'NjY`""C\by`Y]bYb'D`Ub`k Uf`b]Wxhg
YfZc`[fYjW'žcXYf'k Ybb'Yhk Ug'[YgWU\žXUbb'a i gghY`Yg`Y]b
j Ò`][Yf'Ni ZU`'[Yk YgYb'gY]b""K]ggYb'GjYž'k Ug'GjY`YffYjWXYb'ì bX
k jY'GjY`Yg'd`UbYbž'cV'GjY`bi f'a Y\ſ'A i g_Y`b'Ui ZVUi Yb'cXYf': Yhh
j Yf`jYfYb'a ÒW hYbž'GjY'a ØggYb`Y]b _`UfYg'NjY`\\UVYbž'k Ug'GjY
Yfk UfhYb'ì bX'k jY'GjY`Xcfh\]b'[Y`Ub[Yb"

&"<c`Yb'GjY`g]Wx`Y]bY`d\mg]gWxY""GjY`VYbÒh][Yb'XUg`C?` ÆfYg
5fnhYgž'k Ybb'GjY`j cf\UVYbž'6cXmVi]'X]b[`]b' Æf`F Y[]a Y
Ui Zhi bY\`a Ybž']bgVYgcbXYfY`k Ybb'GjY`5bZÅb[Yf'g]bX""@UggYb'GjY
g]Wx`[fØbX`]Wx`ì bhYfgi WXYbž'ì a 'g]WXYfni ghY`Ybž'XUgg` Æf'? ÒfdYf
]b`XYf`@U[Y`]ghž'XUg`_ÒfdYf`jWx`Y`HfU]b]b[`ni `UVgc`j jYfYbž'XUg`Yf
UVgc`j jYfYb'k jfX"" , VYfd fØZb'GjYž'cV` ÆfY`<Yfn!`? fY]g`Ui Z
: i b_h]cbYb'[i hi bX'ghUV]'`g]bX'ì bX'cV'GjY`Y]bY[Ygi bXY`@VYf
i bX`BjYfYb`\\UVYb"

' ""K Å\`Yb'GjY`Y]b':]hbYggghi X]c""9]b'?]bXYfgd]Y`ž'j jY`YjWxhž'UVYf
XUg`f]Wxh][Y':]hbYggghi X]c`ni `VYgi WXYbž'_Ubb` ÆfYf`F ci h]bY'a Y\ſ
\Y`ZYbž'U`g'GjY`XYb_Yb""K Å\`Yb'GjY`Y]b':]hbYggghi X]c`]b'[Øbgh][Yf
@U[Y`]b`XYf`BÅ\Y` ÆfYg`Ni \Ui gYg`cXYf`6Øfcg""5i ZX]YgY`K Y]gY
\UVYb'GjY`_Y]bY`9bhgWx`ì `X][i b[ž'b]Wx`hni `[Y\Yb""K Å\`Yb'GjY`Y]b
:]hbYggghi X]cž']b`XYa`'GjY`b]Wx`h'bi f'a]h`XYb'; YfÅhYbž'gcbXYfb
Ui Wx'a]h`XYb`HfU]bYfb`j YfhfUi`h'g]bX"

K Ybb'GjY`Y]b`ni j Yf`Àgg][Yf`GY`VghghUfhYf`g]bX'ì bX`Yhk Ug'a Y\ſ
Df]j Uhgd\ÅfY`VYj cfni [Ybž'_ØbbYb'GjY`g]Wx`Ui Wx`ZØf`Y]b`Y][YbYg
:]hbYggghi X]c`YbhgWxY]XYb""9g']gh'k jf`_]Wx`b]Wx`h'bc'hk YbX][ž'gcZcfh
Ui g[YZU`YbY`5i gfØghi b[`ni `_Ui ZYb""6Y[]bbYb'GjY`Y]bZUWx`a]h
XYb'; fi bX`U[Yb'ì bX`ZØ[Yb'GjY`g]Y`XUbb'gWxf]h'k Y]gY`\]bni "
K Ybb'GjY`_Y]b`UbZUb[Ybž'_ØbbYb'GjY`VYgh]a`a Ybž'k Y`WxY
5i gfØghi b[`GjY`ja`@Ui ZY`XYf`NYjh`_Ui ZYb'a ØggYb""8jYg`]gh
VYggYfž'U`g'a]h'ni gÅh`jWXYb'; YfÅhYb`ZYghni \U`hYbž'XjY`GjY`b]Wx`h

j Yfk YbXYb`k YfXYb"

("ˆ<c`Yb`G]Y`g]W\`Y]b`Dfc[fUa`a`ž`XUg`ΔfYa`B]j YUi`Ybhgd]W\`h"
K`Ybb`G]Y`Y]b`5bZAb[Yf`g]bXž`]gh`Yg`g]bb`cgž`Y]bY`ni
Zcfh[YgW\`f]hhYbY`6cXmVi`]`X]b[!F`ci`h]bY`ni`k`À\`Yb`cXYf`b`Y]b
:]hbYggghi`X]c`ni`[Y\Ybž`c\`bY`ni`k`]ggYbž`k`c`G]Y`UbZUb[Yb`gc`Yb`"
Δf`?`ØfdYf`YVh`j`cb`U`a`À\`]W\`Yb`J`YfAbXYfi`b[Ybž`gcXUgg`G]Y
;`YZU\`f`Ui`ZYbž`g]W\`ni`j`Yf`YhYbž`k`Ybb`G]Y`j`Yfgi`W\`Ybž`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\`Yb`G]Y`ž`Y]b[Y`ΔZcfa`Uh]cbYb`ni`6cXmVi`]`X]b[!F`ci`h]bYb
ZØf`5bZAb[Yf`ni`ØVYfd`fØZ`bž`i`a`g]W\`a`]h`ΔfYb`C`dh]cbYb`j`YfhfUi`h
ni`a`UW\`Yb`"G]Y`_ØbbYb`6ØW\`Yfž`NY]hgW\`f]ZhYb`i`bX`K`YVg]hYg`YgYb
cXYf`g]W\`Ub`Y]bYb`:]W\`a`Ubb`k`YbXYb`i`bX`ΔfY`Y[YbY`F`ci`h]bY
gdYn]Y`ZØf`G]Y`Yb`hk`]W`_Y`b`UggYb`"B`cfa`U`Yfk`Y]gY`VY]b\`U`hYb
A]h[`]YXgW\`UZh]b`:]hbYggghi`X]c`g`X]YgYb`GYfj`]W\`ž`XU\`Yf`a`ØW\`hYb
G]Y`a`Ø[`]W\`Yfk`Y]gY`bUW\`9]bnY`\`Y]hYb`ZfU[Ybž`k`Ybb`G]Y`Y]bYf
VY]hfYhYb"

)`"9b`hk`]W`_Y`b`G]Y`Y]bY`j`YfbØbZh[Y`9fbÀ\`fi`b["Δž`Xi`VfUi`W\`gh
Y]bYb`"8Yb`_Yb`G]Y`b]W\`hž`XUgg`G]Y`ž`gcVU`X`G]Y`a`]hXYa
6cXmVi`]`X]b[`VY[]bbYbž`GØ»][_Y]hYb`i`bX`GU`nY`bUW\`6Y`]YVYb
Ui`ZUXYb`_ØbbYb`"8Yf`Nk`YW`_Y]bYf`6cXmVi`]`X]b[!F`ci`h]bY`VYghY\`h
XUf]bž`XUgg`G]Y`:]Yhh`j`Yf`YfYb`i`bX`Yg`Xi`fW\`gW\`Ub`_Y`A`i`g`_Y`b
YfgYhYb`"8]Y`f]W\`h[Y`9fbÀ\`fi`b[[]Vh`ΔbYb`X]Y`f]W\`h[Y`5fh`XYf
9fbÀ\`fi`b[`ZØf`9bYf[]Yž`?`bcW\`Yb!`i`bX`A`i`g`_Y`k`UW\`ghi`a`i`bX
9f\`c`i`b["

*`"J`Yf`UggYb`G]Y`g]W\`b]W\`h`ni`gY\`f`Ui`Z`6cXmVi`]`X]b[!Df`ÀdUfUHY`"
A]h`U`XYb`J`Yfgd`fYW\`i`b[Ybž`X]Y`Ui`Z`9h]_YhYb`[YXfi`W`_h`g]bXž`i`bX
XYb`VY[Y]ghYfhYb`5bnY][Yb`ja`:]YfbgY\`Yb`_ØbbhYb`G]Y`j`Yfgi`W\`h
gY]bž`g]W\`bi`f`Ui`Z`BU\`fi`b[gYf[Àbni`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[Àbni`b[ga`]hhY`
Yf[ÀbnYb`bi`f`ΔfY`F`ci`h]bY`i`bX`gc`hYb`b]W\`h`X]Y`f]W\`h[Y
9fbÀ\`fi`b[`i`bX`5i`gV]Xi`b[`YfgYhYb`"Bi`f`k`Ybb`Δf
HfU]b]b[gb]j YUi`Yf\`Ø\`h`]ghž`gc`hYb`G]Y`Yfk`À[Ybž`6cXmVi`]`X]b[!

9f[Åbni b[Yb'a]h≡fYf'8]Åh'ni 'bY\ a Yb"

+ "J Yf[YggYb'G]Y'b]W h≡f'F' b'F' "GW\`UZ'i bX'Fi \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["'≡f'? ØfdYf'i bX']bgVYgcbXYfY'≡fY'A i g_Y`b
VfUi WYb'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≡f'? ØfdYf'k UW'gYb'i bX'g]W 'Yf\c`Yb'_Ubb"

≡gd]f]Yfhj cb'H\ca Ug'DfcW hcf

8YhU]`g

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