

8]Y'∅b[ghY'⇒a d`cg]cb'j cb'7 fmdhc'nY][h
X]Y'J cfn∅[Y'XYg'Vf]h]gWXYb'5 bgUhnYg

9fgdUfYb'G]Y'g]WXY'bYb'; YXUb_Yb'Ub'A Uhh< UbWcW_"K Ybb
XYf'Y\Ya U`][Y'Vf]h]gWXY'; Ygi bX\Y]hga]b]ghYf'XUa]hZYfh][
]ghž'F UhhYbž'GWX`Ub[Yb'i bX'?'U_Yf'U_Yb'ja'8gWxi b[Y'
Ui gni k Y]WXYbž'k]fX'Yf'ZYghghY`Ybž'XUgg'gY]b
@]YV`]b[gdfc'Y_h'Ui WXY'b'V]ggWXYb'ZY\`Yf\UZh'Ui gg]Y\h"
6Yj cf'g]WXYf'Yhnh'Y\Ya U`][Y'_cbgYfj Uh]j Y'5V[YcfXbYhY
ZØf'Y]bY'f]hi Y`Y'HJ!8Ya Øh][i b['Xi fWXY'X]Y'Vf]h]gWXY
2 ZYbh'WXY_Y]h'YbhgWXY]Xž'i a'gY]b'DfcZ`ni'k U\fybž'\UhhY'Yf
g]WXY`Ui hghUf'_ZØf'X]Y'6YXYi hi b['j cb'?'fmdhc'ZØf
'fc»Vf]hUbb]Yb'i bX'XUg['`cVU`Y':]bUbngmghYa'Y]b[YgYhnh"
Ni'gY]bYb', VYf'Y[i b[Yb'[Y\ØfYb'gc`WXY'J Yf'_cf_Yf'k]Y
'?fmdhc k Å\fi b['VY[Ubb'XUg'@YVYbž'XUg'k]Y'Y]bY'6cca!
UbX!6i gh!A cXYf'fgWXY]bi b['Ui ggU\ ""8]Y
A Uf_h_Ud]hU`]g]Yfi b['XYf['`cVU`Yb'?'fmdhc k Å\fi b[Yb'\Uh
g]WXY'a]hi bhYf'%6]]cb'l G!8c`Uf'a Y\f'Ua d^Y`]d/

9fgdUfYb'G]Y'g]WXY'bYb'; YXUb_Yb'Ub'A Uhh< UbWcW_"K Ybb'XYf
Y\Ya U`][Y'Vf]h]gWXY'; Ygi bX\Y]hga]b]ghYf'XUa]hZYfh]['ghž'F UhhYbž'
GWX`Ub[Yb'i bX'?'U_Yf'U_Yb'ja'8gWxi b[Y`Ui gni k Y]WXYbž'k]fX'Yf
ZYghghY`Ybž'XUgg'gY]b'@]YV`]b[gdfc'Y_h'Ui WXY'b'V]ggWXYb
ZY\`Yf\UZh'Ui gg]Y\h"

6Yj cf'g]WXYf'Yhnh'Y\Ya U`][Y'_cbgYfj Uh]j Y'5V[YcfXbYhY'ZØf
Y]bY'f]hi Y`Y'HJ!8Ya Øh][i b['Xi fWXY'X]Y'Vf]h]gWXY'2 ZYbh'WXY_Y]h
YbhgWXY]Xž'i a'gY]b'DfcZ`ni'k U\fybž'\UhhY'Yf'g]WXY`Ui hghUf'_ZØf
X]Y'6YXYi hi b['j cb'?'fmdhc'ZØf'; 'fc»Vf]hUbb]Yb'i bX'XUg['`cVU`Y`
' :]bUbngmghYa'Y]b[YgYhnh"

Ni'gY]bYb', VYf'Y[i b[Yb'[Y\ØfYb'gc`WXY'J Yf'_cf_Yf'k]Y
'?fmdhc k Å\fi b['VY[Ubb'XUg'@YVYbž'XUg'k]Y'Y]bY'6cca!UbX!6i gh!

A cXYfYfgWXY]bi b['Ui ggU\ "'8]Y'A Uf_h_Ud]hU`]g]Yfi b['XYf
['cVU`Yb`?fmdhc k Å\fi b[Yb`\Uh'g]W`a]h'i bhYf`%'6]`]cb`I G!8c``Uf
a Y\ f`U`g`\U`V]Yfhž'gY]h`Yf`X]Yg`]a `]Ubi Uf`gW`f]YVž`bUW`XYa `]g]Y
VYfY]hg`j cf`Y]bYa `]U\ f`j cb`]\fYa `< ÒW`ghghUbX`j cb`ØVYf`
6]`]cbYb`I G!8c``Uf`i a `Y]b`8f]hhY`[YZU`Yb`k Uf`

8]Y'A U]bghfYUa !9]bZØ\fi b[`j cb`?fmdhc`gc``hY` X]Y`; fi bX`U[Yb
XYg`6Ub_k YgYbg`YfgW`ØhhYfb ž`gU[hY`< UbW`W_`"I bX`k Å\fybX
; fc»Vf]hUbb]Yb`XYf` bUhØf`]W`Y`C fh`gY]b`gc``hYž`i a `X]YgYb
K UbXY`Ubni bY`a Yb`i bX`Ubni ZØ\fybž`k i fXY`i bgYfY`[`cffY]W`Y
:]bhYW`!Ni `i bZh`Xi fW` fYU`h]cbÅfY`F]g]_cUj Yfg]cb`i bhYf`XYb
FY[i `]Yfi b[gVY\ ÒfXYb `VY\]bXYfh`

I a `ZU]f`ni `gY]bž`< UbW`W_`\Uh[YfUXY`XYb`FUi a `[Y`YgYbž`cXYf
ni a]bXYgh`Y]bYb`FUi a `]b`XYf`8ck b]b[`GhfYYh`Bf`"%%"8 Ug
:]bUbna]b]ghYf]i a `Uh]a `5df`]gY]b`6YghfYVYb`XUf[Y`Y[hž`XUgg
; fc»Vf]hUbb]Yb`Y]b` [`cVU`Yg`NYbhf`i a `ZØf`?fmdhc`gY]b`gc``ž`a]h
XYa `J Yfgd`fYW`Yb`Y]bYg`fbcW`b]W`h[YgY\YbYbŁ`b]W`h`Zi b[]V`Yb
FcmU`A]bhHc`Ybg`i bX`XYa `J cfgW`U[ž`XUgg`X]Y
5i Zg]W`hgVY\ ÒfXYb`a Y\ f`i bX`gW`bY`Yf`hi b`gc``hYb`

8]Y`F`YU`h]cb`k Uf`Ub[gUa ž`j cfg]W`h[ž`VØfc`_fUh]gW`i bX`[fcV
_cffY`_h"8Yf`d`Òhn`]W`Y`Ni gUa a YbVfi W`XYf`: HL!6ØfgY`]b`X]YgYf
K cW`Y`i bX`XYf`i bhYf[Ub[`XYf`?fmdhcVØfgYž`X]Y`Y]bYa
]bgh]hi h]cbY`Yb`GW`k Yf[Yk]W`h]b`GUa `6Ub_a Ub!: f]YX`Ua
bÅW`ghYb`ghUbXž`k]fZh`Y]b`UbXYfYg`@]W`h`Ui ZXUg`Ub[YV`]W`Y
J YfgÅi a b]g`XYf`5i Zg]W`hgVY\ ÒfXYbž`]\fY`5fa Y`ZØf`X]YgYb`A Uf`h
ni `ÒZZbYb`

9g`]gh`b]W`h`_Ufž`k Y`W`Y`5fh`j cb`@]ei]X]hÅhg`_f]gY`: HL`Yf`]hYb`\Uhž
i a `Yg`]b`X]Y`5fa Y`XYg`?f]h`_Yfg`i bX`F`j U`Yb`6]bUbW`ni`nk]b[Ybž
k Ug`X]Y`k Y]hYfYb`5i gk]f`_i b[Yb`gY]b`_ØbbhYb`cXYf`cV`X]YgYf
8YU`hUhgÅW`]W`ghUhhZ]bXYb`k]fX"5VYf`Yg`gU[h`b]W`hg; i hYg`ØVYf
X]Y`9b`hk]W`_i b[`j cb`?fmdhc`ni a `A U]bghfYUa `Ui gž`XUgg`gY]b
VY`_UbbhYghYg`A]h[`]YXž`XUg`a]h`Dfca]bYb`hYb`j Yf`_Y\fhYž`Y]bY
ghÅf`_YfY`5i Zg]W`h`ØVYf`?fmdhc`i bhYfghØhnhY`i bX`ØVYf`XYb`?Ui Z
j cb`; c`Xa Ub`GUW`g`gdY`_i `]YfhYž`gY]b; YgW`ÅZh]b`bYf`U`V`Y]bYf
K cW`Y`]a d`cX]YfYb`gU`

5i W\X]Y'dchYbn]Y`Y`A UggYb_cbgc`X]Yfi b[`XYg? fmdhcfUi a g
i bhYf`XYa `8UW\j cb`6]bUbW` `Y]b`l bhYfbY\`a Ybž`j cb`XYa `X]Y
:]bUbW]U`7cbXi W`5i h\cf]hm]a `j Yf[Ub[YbYb`đ\`f`gU[hYž`XUgg`Yg
b]W`h]b`XYf`@U[Y`k Ufž`YZZ`_h]j `VYUi Zg]W`h][h`ni`k YfXYb` `i bX`Ui Z
[fi bX`Y[YbXY` : fU[Yb` b]W`h[YUbhk cfhYh ` \UVY` `]a d`n]Yfh
b]W`hž`XUgg`gY]bY`5gg]a `]Uh]cb`]b`A U]b`GhfYYh:]bUbW`k]fX`]a a Yf
Y]bZUW`Yf`6]bUbW` \Uh`g]W`gY]hXYa `j YfdZ]W`hYhž`_cbZcfa`ni
k YfXYb`i bX`YfbYi h`X]Y`Vf]h]gW`Y`5i Zg]W`h`ni `VYUbhfU[Yb`

8]Y` : 75ž`Ybhk YXYf`Xi fW`Y]bYb`hfÀ[Yb`Ni ZU``cXYf`Xi fW`5Vg]W`hž
_ÖbbhY`g]W`Yhk Ug`VYgh`h][h`Z\`Yb`9g`\Uh`gY]bY`Y]bn][Yb
6YZ [b]ggY`ni f`6Y_`Aa dZ b[`XYf` ; Y`Xk `AgW`Y` [Ybi hnhž`i a `Y]b
F Y []ghf]Yfi b[ggmghYa `Z\`? fmdhc i bhYfbY\`a Yb`Y]bni Z\`fYb`
7Y`g]i g`BYhk cf_ž`XYf`? fmdhc!`fYX]h[YVYfž`\UhY`A Ø`Yž]b
; fc»Vf]hUbb]Yb`U__fYX]h]Yfh`ni`k YfXYbž`VYj cf`Yf`&\$&%`bUW`BYk
đfgYmnc[`i bX`]a `Zc` [YbXYb`đ\`f`ni gUa a YbVfUW`8]Y
F Y [i`]Yfi b[gVY\`ÖfXY`]Y» `]`fYf`K Ufbi b[`ni`6]bUbW`]a
GYdhYa VYf`Y]bY`ni `: HL`Zc` [Ybž`X]Y`VYbZU``g] Yfgi W`h`\UhYž`\]Yf
Y]bY`@]nYbn`ni `Yf`U`hYb`

9l d`cg]cbYbž`X]Y`UbXYfgk c`dUgg]YfYbž`_ÖbbYb`U`g` ; Yk]bb
Ub[YgY\`Yb`k YfXYbž`UVYf`X]Y`A]ggUW`hi b[`j cb`fY[i`Uhcf]gW`Yb
: Y]b\`Y]hYb`cXYf` ; fYbnYb`Xi fW`? fmdhc`VYXYi hYhž`XUgg`Vf]h]gW`Y
J YfVfUi W`Yf`]a a Yf`bcW`j Yf`Yhnh`k YfXYb`_ÖbbYb`8]Y` : 75`\Uh
g]W`Z\`bYi Y`6YgW`f`Ab_i b[Yb`XYf`? fmdhc!K YfVi b[`Y]b[YgYhnhž
X]Y`]b`YXYa `I !6U`b!K U[Yb`Ui Z[YhUi W`h]`gh`GY]b`<Ui dhUbgUhn
VYghUbX`XUf]bž`ni`k UfbYbž`k c`b]W`h`Ui hcf]g]YfhY`l bhYfbY\`a Yb
Vf]h]gW`Y`J YfVfUi W`Yf`]bg`J]g]Yf`bY\`a Ybž`i bX`ni `VYhcbYbž`XUgg
X]Y`Yb][Ybž`X]Y`g]W`a`]h? fmdhc`g`VYgW``Z]h][Ybž`f]g_]YfYbž`U`Yg`ni
j Yf`]YfYb`K Ybb`ØVYf`Ui dhž`\`ÄhhY`Yg`Ui hYf`gW`fY]Yb`_ÖbbYb`

9g`k `ÄfY`i bZU]fž`X]Y` [YgUa hY`6fUbW`Y`]b`6Yni [`Ui Z`XUgž`k Ug`a]h
: HL`dUgg]Yfhž`ni`j YfXYfVYb`ž`gU[hY`Y]b`6YfUhYf`9g` []Vh
5i ghUi gW`Yž`X]Y`j]Y`Ui g[YZY]hYf`g]bX`i bX`g]W`k]f`_]W`
; YXUb`Yb`ØVYf`X]YgY`5fh]j cb`H\Ya Yb` [Ya UW`h`\UVYb`

8Yf`GY`_hcf`\Uh`g]W`ØVYf`gW`a Yfn`UZh`Ub[gUa Y`i bX`_b]ZZ][Y
@]nYbn]Yfi b[`VYgW`k Yfhž`k `Ä`fYbX`FY [i`]Yfi b[gVY\`ÖfXYb

Ybh[Y[bYbž'XUgg'j]Y`Y`5bhfÀ[Y`Y]b`b]W`h[YbY\`a][i b[gZÀ\][Yg
8i fW`Y]bUbXYf`k UfYb" `b`À\`b`]W`Yf`K`Y]gY`]gh`XYf`D`Ubž
gc[YbUbhbhY`GhUV`YW`c]bg`]b`XUg`F`Y[i `]Yfi b[ggmghYa
Ui Zni bY\`a`Ybž`a`]h`fY[i `Uhc]gW`Yb` ; YfØW`hYb`Y]b\`Yf[Y[Ub[Ybž
XUgg`_Y]bY`VYghY\`YbXYb`7c]bg`X]Y`k`U\`fgW`Y]b`]W`
Ubni k`YbXYbXYb`GhUbXUfXg`YfZØ`Yb`k`ØfXYb"

9g`[]Vh]j]Y`Y` : À`Yž`]b`XYbYb`Y]bY`Ub[gUa`Y`F`Y[i `]Yfi b[`ni a
GW`Y]hYfb`ZØ\`fh` ; fc»Vf]hUbb]Yb`Y]XYhi`bhYf`XYf`9bh\Ø`i b[
j`YfghYW`hYf`<YVY`k`]f`_i b[`]a`F`Yb`hYbgmghYa`ž`Y]bYf` : cfa`XYg
GW`UhYbVUb`_f]g]_cg`i bX`XYf`[YZÀ\`f`]W`Yb`5bn]Y\`i b[g_fUZh
j`Yfa`Y]b`h]W`Yf`G]W`Yf`Y]hž`X]Y`bUW`XYf` :]bUb`_f]gY`b]Y
j`c`gh`À`bX][`Ub[Y[Ub[Yb`k`i`fXY`"

5VYf`]b`Y]bYa`?`]a`Už`]b`XYa`Dc`]h]_Yf`]a`a`Yf`bcW`Y]bY
9]bVYfi`Z`i b[gVYZ`[b]g`Yfk`À[Ybž`i`a`F`Y[i `]Yfi b[gVY\ØfXYb
Ui`»Yf`?fUZh`ini`gYhmYbž`X]Y`U`g`ni`j`cfg]W`h][`cXYf`]a`GW`Ua`a
ghYW`Ybž`]gh`Yg`Yfk`À\`bYb`gk`Yfhž`k`c`X]Y`K`UW`\`i`bXY`Yhk`Ug`f]W`h][
[Ya`UW`h`ini`U`VYb`gW`Y]bYb`"

9g`]gh`Y]b`8`gW`i b[Y`XU`XfUi`»Yb`"

*\Y`Yb`h\ca Ug4 Zh`Wca
4 \Y`YbhV]n*

E i Y`Y. :]bUbW]U`H]a`Yg

8YhU]`g

6Ygi W`Yb`G]Y`i`bg`Ui`Z.`_fmdhc!bYk`g`Uh