

6Ui UfVY]hYb 'Ua 'G!6U\ b\ cZ' <]fgW\ [UfhYb. B Yi Yf'Ni [Ub['V]g'9bXY '&\$&*

/ ei ch/9fZU\ fYb'G]Y'U''Yg'ØVYf'X]Y'VYj c fghY\YbXYb
6Ui UfVY]hYb'Ua 'G!6U\ b\ cZ' <]fgW\ [UfhYb'UV'GYdhYa VYf
&\$&("'8Yf'bYi Y'VUff]YfYZfY]Y': i » [Àb[Yfhi bbY''i bX'k Y]hYfY
9]bf]W\hi b[Yb'k]Y'5i ZnØ[Y'i bX'F Ua dYb'j YfVYggYfb'XYb
Ni [Ub['V]g'9bXY '&\$&*' " ðZcfa]YfYb'G]Y'g]W\ØVYf'a Ò['j]W\Y
9]bgW\ fÀb_i b[Yb'ZØf': U\ f[ÀghY'i bX'5bk c\ bYf'gck]Y
U_hi Y''Y': U\ fd'UbÀbXYfi b[Yb"/ ei ch/

'5V'5bZUb['GYdhYa VYf'&\$&('k]fX'XYf'G!6U\ b\ cZ' <]fgW\ [UfhYb
Y]bYa 'i a ZUggYbXYb' l a VUi 'i bhYfnc[Yb"'8]YgY'A U» bU\ a Yb'g]bX
HY]'Y]bYg' fÒ» YfYb'D'Ubg'ni f'J YfVYggYfi b['XYf'6Uff]YfYZfY'\Y]h
]a 'ÒZZYbh]W\Yb'BU\j Yf_Y\ f''N]Y''gh'Ygž'X]Y'Ni [Àb['j]W\ _Y]h'ZØf
U''Y'FY]gYbXYb'ni '[Yk À\ f'Y]ghYbž']bgVYgcbXYfY'ZØf'A YbgW\Yb'a]h
A cV]'hÀhgY]bgW\ fÀb_i b[Yb"'6]g'9bXY '&\$&*' k]fX'\]Yf'Y]b'bYi Yf
: i » [Àb[Yfhi bbY''Yb hghY\Ybž'XYf'XYb'6U\ bghY]['c\ bY'HfYddYb'ni
YffY]W\Yb'Yfa Ò['j]W\h''': Øf'j]Y'Y'5bk c\ bYf'i bX'DYbX'Yf'k]fX
X]YgYf'i a VUi 'YXcW'Ui W'a]h[Yk]ggYb' l bUbbY\ a 'j]W\ _Y]hYb
j YfVi bXYb'gY]b''

'8]Y'i a ZUb[fY]W\Y'6Ui a U» bU\ a Y'VY]b\U'hYh'bYVYb'XYa 'bYi Yb
: i » [Àb[Yfhi bbY''Ui W'XYb'9]bVUi 'j cb'5i ZnØ[Ybž'F Ua dYbž
HfYddYb'i bX'Y]bYf'GW\U''gW\i hnk UbX"'8Ua]h'gc''b]W\h'bi f'X]Y
6Uff]YfYZfY'\Y]hž'gcbXYfb'Ui W'XYf'@Àfa gW\i hn'j YfVYggYfh
k YfXYb''@Àfa gW\i hnk ÀbXY'gd]Y'Yb'Y]bY'Yb h gW\Y]XYbXY'F c''Y
VY]a 'GW\i hn'j cb'5bk c\ bYfb'j cf'XYa ' ; YfÀi gW\XYf
j cfVY]ZU\ fYbXYb'NØ[Y''A]h'X]YgYb'YbXYfi b[Yb'k]''X]Y'8Yi hgW\Y
6U\ b'Y]b'dcg]hj] Yg'l a ZY'X'gW\UZZYbž'k Y'W\Yg'XYb'5bZcfXYfi b[Yb
a cXYfbYf'A cV]'hÀh[YfYW\h'k]fX''

8 YhU]`g`ni a `l a VUi

``8]Y`6Ui UfVY]hYb`Ua`G!6U\b\cZ<]fgW\ [UfhYb`g]bX`Y]b`k`]W\h][Yf
 GW\ f]hh`\]b`ni`Y]bYa`]b`_i`g]j`YfYb`J`Yf`_Y\fggmghYa`"8]Y
 N]Y`gYhni`b[ž]bgVYgcbXYfY`ZØf`F`Y]gYbXY`a`]h`_ÖfdYf`]W\Yb
 9]bgW\ fÄb`_i`b[Yb`cXYf`Ä`hYfY`A`YbgW\Ybž`k`]fX`Xi`fW\
 j`YfgW\]YXYbY`VUi`]W\Y`A`U»`bU\`a`Yb`YffY]W\h"8]Y`6Uff]YfY`ZfY]\`Y]h
 VYXYi`hYhž`XUgg`U`Y`6Ybi`hYf`XYb`6U\b\cZ`_ØbZh][`dfcV`Ya`cg
 YffY]W\Yb`_ÖbbYbž`c\bY`g]W\`Gcf[Yb`a`UW\Yb`ni`a`ØggYbž`cV`Yg
 [YY][`bYhY`Ni`[`Äb[`Y`[`]Vh"

``Hfc`h`XYf`dcg]h]j`Yb`Ub[`Zf]gh][`Yb`9ZZY`_hY`[`]Vh`Yg`Ui`W\
 _i`fnZf]gh][`Y`B`UW\`hY]`Y`K`Ä`fYb`X`XYf`l`a`VUi`d`UgY`a`ØggYb`X]Y
 :`U\`f[`ÄghY`a`]h`9]bgW\ fÄb`_i`b[Yb`fYW\`bYb" `gVYgcbXYfY`_Ubb`Yg
 ni`l`a`Y]hi`b[Yb`i`bX`bYi`Yb`i`U\`fd`ÄbYb`_ca`a`Ybž`X]Y`Xi`fW\`X]Y
 6Ui`UfVY]hYb`Yb`hghY`Yb"8]Y`8Yi`hgW\Y`6U\b`V]hhYh`U`Y
 6Yhfc`ZZYbYb`i`a`J`Yfgh`Äb`Xb]g`ZØf`X]YgY`i`bj`Yfa`Y]X`]W\Yb
 9]bgW\ fÄb`_i`b[Yb`i`bX`\`Uh`A`U»`bU\`a`Yb`Yf[`f]ZZYbž`i`a`X]Y
 5i`gk`]f`_i`b[Yb`gc`i`[`Yf]b[`k`]Y`a`Ö[`]W\`ni`U`hYb"

? ca a i b]_Uh]cb`i`bX`≠Zcfa`Uh]cbYb

``8]Y`8Yi`hgW\Y`6U\b`\`Uh`ni`gÄh`]W\Y`?ca`a`i`b]_Uh]cbg`_Ub`Ä`Y
 Y]b[`Yf]W\`hYhž`i`a`X]Y`^`ZZYb`h]W\`_Y]h`ØVYf`X]Y`i`cfhgW\`f]hhY`XYg
 Dfc`Y`_hYg`ni`i`bZcfa`]YfYb" `hYfYgg]YfhY`_ÖbbYb`g]W\`X]Y
 j`c`gh`Äb`X][`Y`Dfc`Y`_hdf`ÄgYb`hUh]cb`ØVYf`XYb`8ck`b`c`UX!6YfY]W\`XYf
 8Yi`hgW\Yb`6U\b`\`Yfi`bhYf`UXYb" <`Yf`Z]bXYb`g]Y`XYhU]`]YfhY
 ≠Zcfa`Uh]cbYb`ni`XYb`[`Yd`Ub`hYb`6Ui`a`U»`bU\`a`Ybž`XYb`nY]h`]W\Yb
 5V`Äi`ZYb`gck`]Y`ni`a`Ö[`]W\Yb`9]bgW\ fÄb`_i`b[Yb"

``:`Øf`fU[`Yb`ni`XYa`6Ui`dfc`Y`_hghY`h`5b[`Y`]_U`6f]hn`j`cb`XYf
 8Yi`hgW\Yb`6U\b`i`bhYf`XYf`9!A`U]`!5XfYggY
 Ub[`Y`]_U`Vf]hn`4`XYi`hgW\YVU\b`W`a`ni`f`J`YfZØ[`i`b[`"8]YgY`X]fY`_hY
 ?`cb`hU`_ha`Ö[`]W\`_Y]h`V]YhYh`XYb`5bk`c`\`bYfb`i`bX`F`Y]gYbXYb`X]Y
 7`\`Ub`W`ž`\`fY`5b`]Y[`Yb`cXYf`6YXYb`_Yb`a`]hni`hY]Yb`i`bX`U`_hi`Y`Y
 ≠Zcfa`Uh]cbYb`Ui`g`YfghYf`<`UbX`ni`Yf`U`hYb"

``≠Zcfa`Uh]cbYb`\]bg]W\`h]W\`VUi`VYX]b[`hYf`i`U\`fd`Ub`Äb`XYfi`b[`Yb

ZØf`X]Y`NØ[Y`XYf`8Yi hgW\Yb`6U\b`g]bX`YVYbZU`g`c b`]bY
j YfZØ[VUF" `F Y]gYbXY`gc`hYb`g]W\`fY[Y`a`À»][`Ui ZXYb`K YVgY]hYb
XYf`8Yi hgW\Yb`6U\b`]bZcfa`]YfYbž`i a`[i h] c fVYfY]hYh`ni`gY]b`i bX
a`Ò[`]W\Y`5i gk`]f`_i b[Yb`Ui Z`\fY`F Y]gYb`ni`VYfØW_g]W\h][Yb`"

"`8Yf`I a`VUi`XYg`G!6U\b`cZg`<]fgW\ [UfhYb`k`]fX`gca`]h`b]W\h`bi`f
Y]bY`VUi``]W\Y`J YfVYggYfi b[`a`]h`g]W\`Vf]b[Ybž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W\`Y]bY
7\UbW\ž`XYb`ÖZZYb`h]W\Yb`B U\j Yf`_Y`f`]b`XYf`F Y[`]cb
ni`_i bZhgZÄ`][`ni`[YghU`hYb`"8i fW\`XYb`5i gVUi`XYf
6Uff]YfYfY]\Y]h`k`]fX`XYf`Ni [Ub[`ZØf`U`Y`j YfVYggYfhž`k Ug`Yhnh]W\
X]Y`Bi hni b[gZfYi bX`]W\`_Y]h`XYg`[YgUa`hYb`GmghY`a`g`Yf\`Ö`h`"

8 YhU]`g`ni`XYb`I a`VUi`UfVY]hYb

8]Y`I a`VUi`UfVY]hYb`Ua`G!6U\b`cZ`<]fgW\ [UfhYb`g]bX`HY]`Y]bYg
i a`ZUggYbXYfYb`Dfc[fUa`a`g`ni`f`J YfVYggYfi b[`XYf`bZfUghfi`_hi`f
]a`A`ØbW\YbYf`J Yf`_Y`f`gbYh`"8Yf`6U\b`cZ`gd]Y`h`Y]bY`nYbhfU`Y
F c`Y`]a`B U\j Yf`_Y`f`XYf`GhUXh`i bX`X]Yb`h]`]Y`Yb`DYbX`Yfb`"A`]h
XYa`bYi`Yb`i`»[`Äb[Yfhi`bbY`k`]fX`b]W\h`bi`f`X]Y`Ni [`Äb[`]W\`_Y]h
ZØf`A`YbgW\Yb`a`]h`<`UbX]WUd`j YfVYggYfhž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W\`X]Y
U`[Ya`Y]bY`G]W\Yf\Y]h`Ua`6U\b`cZ`Yf\`Ö`h`"; Yd`Ub`h`g]bX`ni`XYa
Y]bY`GW`U`g`W`i`mk`UbX`ž`X]Y`XYb`@Äfa`dY[Y`ZØf`5bk`c`b`Yf
fYXi`n]YfYb`gc`ž`gck`]Y`a`cXYfbY`5i`ZnØ[Y`i`bX`F`Ua`dYbž`X]Y`Y]bYb
g]W\YfYb`Ni [Ub[`ni`XYb`6U\b`ghY][Yb`[Yk`Ä`f`Y]ghYb`"

2 ZZYb`h`]W\Y`J Yf`_Y`f`gUbV]bXi`b[`i`bX`A`cV]`hÄh

8]Y`8Yi hgW\Y`6U\b`\Uh`]b`XYb`YhnhYb`d\`fYb`j YfghÄf`_h`]b`X]Y
9fbYi`Yfi`b[`i`bX`XYb`5i`gVUi`]\`fYf`bZfUghfi`_hi`f`]bj`Ygh]Yfhž`i`a
X]Y`A`cV]`]hÄh`]b`i`fVUbYb`F`Äi`a`Yb`ni`ZØfXYfb`"8Yf`G!6U\b`cZ
<]fgW\ [UfhYb`k`]fX`_ØbZh][`Y]bYb`k`]W\h][Yb`6Y]hfU[`XUni`Y]ghYbž
X]Y`5bV]bXi`b[`Ub`XUg`GhUXh`nYbhf`i`a`i`bX`X]Y`i`a`]Y[YbXYb
K`c`b[YV]YhY`ni`j YfVYggYfb`"8]Yg`]gh`Ui`W\`j`c`f`XYa`<]bhYf[fi`bX
Y]bYf`ni`bY`a`YbXYb`I`fVUb]g]Yfi`b[`i`bX`XYa`ghY][YbXYb
6YXØfZb]g`bUW\`bUW\`U`h][Yb`J Yf`_Y`f`ga`]hhY`b`j`cb`6YXYi`hi`b[`"

8 UfØVYf` \]bUi g`k]fX`XYf`I a VUi `j cfUi gg]W`h`]W`X]Y`HU`_hY]hYb
Yf\ Ò\Ybž`k Ug`ni `Y]bYf`VYggYfYb`9ffY]W`VUf`_Y]h`j`cb
5fVY]hgd`ÀhnYb`i bX`6]`Xi b[g]bgh]hi h]cbYb`VY]hf`À[h`" `#`J YfV]bXi b[
a]h`UbXYfYb`J Yf`_Y`fgdfc`Y`_hYb`]b`XYf`F`Y[]cb`k]fX`Yfk UfhYhž`XUgg
XYf`[YgUa hY`J Yf`_Y`fgZi gg`Yf`_YV`]W`c`dh]a]Yfh`k]fX`"

6Ui ghY`Yba UbU[Ya Ybh`i bX`ÒZZYbh`]W`Y
?ca a i b]_Uh]cb

9]b`nYbhfU`Yg`5b`]Y[Yb`k À\fybX`XYf`6Ui UfVY]hYb`k]fX`XUg
6Ui ghY`Yba UbU[Ya Ybh`gY]b`"<]Yfni `[Y\ ÒfYb`bVYb`XYf`g]W`YfYb
8i fW`ZØ\fi b[`XYf`5fVY]hYb`Ui W`X]Y`#Zcfa Uh]cb`XYf`5bk c`bYf
i bX` : U\ f[`ÀghY`ØVYf`Yhk U][Y`J Yf`ÀbXYfi b[Yb`i bX
9]bgW`f`Àb`_i b[Yb`]a `6Yhf]YVgUV`Ui Z`8]Y`8Yi hgW`Y`6U`b`_`Uh
VYfY]hg`Ub[Y`_ØbX][hž`fY[Y`a `À»][`#Zcfa Uh]cbYb`ØVYf`XYb
: cfhgW`f]h`XYf`6Ui UfVY]hYb`i bX`Yj Ybhi Y``Ui ZhfYhYbXY
?cbhfcj YfgYb`ni `ca a i b]n]YfYbž`i a `A]ggj Yfgh`ÀbXb]ggY`ni
j Yfa Y]XYb`i bX`X]Y`5_nYdhUbn`]b`XYf`6Yj Ò`_Yfi b[`ni `ZØfXYfb`"

8]Y`X]fY`_hY`?ca a i b]_Uh]cb`ØVYf`9!A U]
fUb[Y`_U`Vf]hm4 XYi hgW`YVU`b`W`a `Ł`gck]Y`X]Y`J Yf`ÒZZYbh`]W`i b[
j cb`#Zcfa Uh]cbYb`Ui Z`XYf`I bhYfbY`a Yb`gk YVg]hY`g]bX
k YgYbh`]W`Y`6YghUbXhY]`Y`X]YgYf`GhfUhY[]Y`"I a `X]Y`Gcf[Yb`XYf
5bk c`bYf`Yfbgh`ni `bY`a Ybž`gc``Ui »YfXYa `Y]b`F`U`a Yb
[YgW`UZZYb`k YfXYbž`]b`XYa `#hYfYgg]YfhY`]f` : YYXVUW`_ [YVYb
_ØbbYb`"8]YgY`A U» bU`a Yb`g]bX`YbhgW`Y]XYbXž`i a `X]Y
5i gk]f`_i b[Yb`XYf`6Ui UfVY]hYb`Ui Z`X]Y` ; Ya Y]bgW`UZh`gc` [Yf]b[
k]Y`a Ò[`]W`ni `U`hYb`"

@Ub[Zf]gh][Y`J cfhY]`Y`ZØf`5bk c`bYf`i bX
DYbX`Yf

8]Y`Ub[Zf]gh][Yb`J cfhY]`Y`XYf`6Ui a U» bU`a Yb`Ua `G!6U`b`_`c`Z
<]fgW` [UfhYb`g]bX`Yf`_YV`]W`"8]Y`G`W`UZZi b[`Y]bYg`VUff]YfY`ZY]Yb
Ni [Ub[g`gYb`_h`b]W`h`bi f`X]Y`< Ya a gW`k Y``Y`ZØf`A YbgW`Yb`a]h
A cV`]h`ÀhgY]bgW`f`Àb`_i b[Ybž`gcbXYfb`] YfVYggYfh`Ui W`X]Y
@YVYbgei U`]h`Àh`U`Yf`Bi hnYf`"9]b`g]W`YfYf`i bX`Y]bZUW`Yf`Ni [Ub[

ni 'ÖZZYbh]WXYb'J Yf_Y\fga]hhY`b`]gh'Y]b`k]Wxh][Yg'?f]hYf]i a`ZØf`X]Y
Bi hni b[`X]YgYf`HfUbgdcfhX]YbghY""

Ni gÄhn`]Wx`k]fX`Yfk UfhYhž`XUgg`X]Y`A cXYfb]g]Yfi b[`VYfY]hg
VYghY\YbXYf`i bX`X]Y`a d`Ya Ybh]Yfi b[`bYi Yf
≠ZfUghfi _hi fdfc`Y_hY`ni f`GhY][Yfi b[`XYf`5hhfU_hj]]hÄh`XYf`FY[]cb
VY]hfÄ[h`8 Ug`_Ubb`g]Wx`b]Wxh`bi f`dcg]h]j`Ui Z`X]Y`J Yf_Y\fgnU\`Yb
Ui gk]f_Ybž`gcbXYfb`Ui Wx`Ui Z`X]Y`K YfhYb`hk]W_`i b[`XYf
Ub[fYbnYbXYb`a a cV`]Yb"9]bY[i h`YfgWx`cggYbY`I a [YVi b[`]gh
ZØf`j]Y`Y`ni _ØbZh][Y`6Yk c\`bYf`i bX`≠j YghcfYb`Y]b
YbhgWxY]XYbXYg`?f]hYf]i a`""

Ni gUa a YbUfVY]h`a]h`XYf`GhUXh`A ØbWXYb

8]Y`8Yi hgWxY`6U\`b`UfVY]hYh`Yb[`a]h`XYf`GhUXh`A ØbWXYb
ni gUa a Ybž`i a`X]Y`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`i bX`5b`]Y[Yb`XYf
5bk c\`bYf`ni `VYfØW_g]Wxh][Yb"≠`fY[Y`a Ä»][Yb`5VghÄbXYb
k YfXYb`ÖZZYbh]WXY`≠Zcfa Uh]cbgj YfUbgH`hi b[Yb`cf[Ub]g]Yfhž`i a
XYb`6Yk c\`bYfb`X]Y`A Ö[`]Wx_Y]h`ni` [YVYbž`\fY`fU[Yb`X]fY_h`Ub
X]Y`J YfUbhk cfh]WXYb`ni`f]WxhYb`i bX`\fY`5b`]Y[Yb`ni`Äi »Yfb"
8]YgYf`X]U`c[cf]Ybh]YfhY`5bgUhn`gc``XUni`VY]hfÄ[hž`Y]b
[Ya Y]bgUa Yg`J YfghÄbXb]g`ZØf`X]Y`Bchk YbX][_Y]h`XYf
I a VUi UfVY]hYb`ni`Yb`hk]W_Y`b`i bX`a Ö[`]WxY`6YXYb_Yb`ZfØ\`nY]h][
ni`UXfYgg]YfYb"

8YhU]`g

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