

J Yf`cfYbYg? fi n]Z]l `]b `6UmfYi h\ . `F ÅhgY` i a `a mghYf]ÒgYb `: i bX

9]bY': fUi `ZUbX`]b`6UmfYi h\ `Y]b`[fc»Yg? fi n]Z]l `VY]
A Ø`hcbbYb"8]Y`Dc`nY]`gi W`h`bi b`bUW`XYa `fYW`ha Å»][Yb
9][YbhØa Yf"

9]bY`i bYfk UfhYhY`9bhXYW`i b[`j cf`XYb`A Ø`hcbbYb`\Uh]b
6UmfYi h\`ZØf`5i ZfY[i b[`[Ygcf[h";]gY`U`A ÒgW!5\bYfž`Y]bY
5bk c\bYf]bž`ZUbX`Y]b`[fc»Yg? fi n]Z]l ž`XUg`a Y`f`U`g`Y]bYb`A YhYf
`Ub[`]gh"8Ug`<c`n`fYi nž`XUg`Y]bY':][i f`j cb`»gi g`hfÅ[hž`k]fZh
: fU[Yb`Ui Z`K c\Yf`ghUa a h`Yg`i bX`k Ufi a `k i fXY`Yg`Ybhgc f[h3`

K]Y`XYf`6UmYf]gW`Y`Fi bXZi b`_`f`b`F`E`VYf]W`hY`hY`ž`]gh`X]Y`<Yf`_i bZh
XYg?fYi nYg`i b`_`Uf"8]Y`Dc`nY]`\Uh`V]g\Yf`YfZc`[`cg`j Yfgi W`hž`XYb
fYW`ha Å»][Yb`6Yg]hnYf`Ui gZ]bX][`ni `a UW`Yb"8]Yg`k]fZh`X]Y': fU[Y
Ui Zž`cV`Yg`a Ò[`]W`Yfk Y]gY[Yghc`\Yb`k i fXY`ž`i bX`k Ybb`Už`Ui g
k Y`W`Ya `; fi bX`Yg]b`XYb`A Ø` `[Yk cfZYb`k i fXY"

K Yfh`i bX`6YXYi hi b[`XYg`? fYi nYg

8]Y':]bXYf]bž;]gY`U`A ÒgW!5\bYfž`VYgW`f]YV`XUg? fi n]Z]l `U`g
gY`f`gW`Øb`i bX`[fc» `i bX`VY`hcb`hY`ž`XUgg`Yg`b]W`h`k]Y`Y]b
hmd]gW`Yg`K c\bn]a a Yf!`? fi n]Z]l `Ui gg]Y`h`GhUhhXYggYb`Yf]bbYfh`Yg
Ub`X]Y`?i bghk Yf`_Yž`X]Y]b`? UdY`Yb`ni `Z]bXYb`g]bX" Gc`Y]b`? fYi n
\Uh`gW`Y]Y»`]W`Y]bYb`]XYY`Yb`K Yfh ž`ZØ[hY`g]Y`\]bni "8Ug`XYi hYh
XUfUi Z`\]bž`XUgg`ZØf`j]Y`Y`A YbgW`Yb`Y]b`gc`W`Yg`Gma Vc`b]W`h`bi f
Y]b`a UhYf]Y`Yf`; Y[YbghUbXž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`Y]b`5i gXfi W`_XYg
; `Ui VYbg`]gh"

B UW`XYa `g]Y`XUg? fYi n`[YZi bXYb`\UhYž`_cbhU_h]YfhY`A ÒgW!
5\bYf`i a [Y\YbX`XYb`c`_U`Yb`FUX]cgYbXYf` FUX]c`A U]bk Y`Y` ž`]b

XYf'<cZbi b[ž'XYb'fYW ha Å»][Yb'6Yg]hnYf'ni 'YffY]WYb'' Æf
9b[U[Ya YbhnY][hž'k]Y'k]W h]['Yg'\f']ghž'XUg'?fYi n'Ub'gY]bYb
i fgd f0b['WYb'D'Uhn'ni f0W_ni [YVYbž'k Ybb'a 0['W "8 Uf0VYf
\]bUi g[UV'g]Y'Ubž'VYfY]hg'nk Y']_fW'WY'5bZfU[Yb'Yf\U'hYb'ni
\UVYbž'X]Y' ÆhYfYggY'Ub'XYa ' ?fi n]Z]l 'nY][hYb"

8]Y 'fY W h']W Y b '5 gdY _hY 'XYf': i b X a Y `X i b [

Æ'6Yni ['Ui Z'X]Y'fY W h']W Y b 'G W f]hY'Yf_'ÅfhY'X]Y'Dc']nY]ž'XUgg
a Ub'j Yfgi W Y b 'k]fXž'XYb'9][Ybh0a Yf']bbYf\U'V'j cb'gY W g
A cbUhYb'Ui gZ]bX]['ni 'a U W Y b''Gc'hY'X]Yg'b]W h'[Y']b[Ybž'_0bbhY
XUg'?fYi n'Ub';]gY'U'A 0gW!5\ bYf'ni f0W_[Y[YVYb'k YfXYbž'gcZYfb
g]Y'X]Yg'a 0W hY''8]Yg'k]fZ'hYXcW'k Y]hYfY': fU[Yb'0VYf'X]Y
ni _0bZ]h[Y'j Yfk YbXi b['XYg'?fYi nYg'Ui Z'A 0gW!5\ bYf'Ài » YfhY
XYb'K i bgWž'XUg'?fi n]Z]l 'Ub'Y]bYa 'Cfh'ni 'd'Uhn]YfYbž'XYf
VYgi W h'k]fXž'XUa]h'A YbgW Y b'Xcfh'VYhYb'_0bbYb'' ÆfY
; YXUb_Yb'XYi hYb'Ui Z'XYb'\c\Yb'gd]f]hi Y''Yb'K Yfh'\]bž'XYb'g]Y
XYa ' ?fi n]Z]l 'VY]a]ggh"

8]Y'[YgUa hY'5VkJW'_i b['fi bX'i a 'XYb': i bX'XYg'?fYi nYg'ghY''h
Ui W'X]Y', VYf'Y[i b[Yb'[YbYfY''']b'XYb': c_i gž'X]Y'A YbgW Y b'ni
Gma Vc'Yb'XYg'; 'Ui VYbg'\UVYb''j]Y'Y'Ya dZ]bXYb'a]h'fY'] []0gYb
Gma Vc'Yb'Y]bY'h]YZ'j YfV]bXi b[ž'X]Y'0VYf'XYb'a UhYf]Y''Yb'K Yfh
\]bUi g[Y'h'' Æ'Y]bYf'NY]hž']b'XYf'k Yb][Yf'A YbgW Y b'Zcfa U'
fY'] []0g'g]bXž'V'Y]Vh'X]Y'_i 'hi fY''Y'i bX'gma Vc'gW Y'6YXYi hi b[
gc'W Y f'CV'Y_hY'VYghY\Yb"

8]Y'9bhXYW_i b['XYg'?fi n]Z]l Yg'_0bbhY'XU\Yf'b]W h'bi f'Y]bY
dYfg0b']W Y ž'gcbXYfb'Ui W'Y]bY'_i 'hi fY''Y'9fbYi Yfi b['XUfghY''Yb"
8Yf'c fhž'k c'XUg'?fYi n'gW'jY»']W'Ui Z[YghY''h'k]fXž'_0bbhY'Ui W
ni 'Y]bYa 'bYi Yb'5bn]Y\i b[gdi b_h'k YfXYbž'XYf'A YbgW Y b
ni gUa a YbVf]b[h''8 Ug'j Yf'UggYbY'?fi n]Z]l '\Uh'XUg'DchYbn]U'ž'ni
Y]bYa 'bYi Yb'fY'] []0gYb'i bX'gcn]U'Yb'NYbhfi a 'ni 'k YfXYbž'k Ybb
Yg'Ub'Y]bYa 'Cfh'gY]bYg'K YfhYg'ni f'; Y'hi b['_ca a h"

8 Ug'; YgW Y \Yb']b'6Umfi h']gh'Y]b'6Y]gd]Y''XUZ0fž'k]Y
0VYffUgW Y bXY': i bXY'Ui W'h]YZYfY': fU[Yb'XYf'ÆYbh]h'Àhi bX'XYg
; 'Ui VYbg'Ui Zk YfZYb'_0bbYb''8]Y'FYU_h]cb'XYf':]bXYf]b

j YfXYi h]W\hžXUgg'Y]b][Y'A YbgW\Yb'hfc'h'XYf'a cXYfbYb
5V[fYbni b[Yb'ni 'hfUX]h]cbY`Yb'K YfhYb'i bX'DfU_h]_Yb'Y]bY'h]YZ
J YfV]bXi b['ni 'gd]f]hi Y`Yb'Gma Vc`Yb'dZY[Yb"8]YgY'?c`]g]cb'j cb
5`hU['i bX'Gd]f]hi U']hÅh_ÖbbhY'bYi Y'K Y[Y'YfÖZbYbž'i a 'XYb
; `Ui VYb'j]b'XYf'\Yi h][Yb'; YgY`gW\UZh'ni 'fYZY_h]YfYb"

8 Yf' _i `hi fY`Y`K Yfh'j cb'? fi n]Z]I Yb

?fi n]Z]I Y'gd]Y`Yb'j]b'j]Y`Yb'?i `hi fYb'Y]bY'k]W\h][Y'F c`Y'i bX'g]bX
h]YZ]b'XYf'fY][]ÖgYb'Gma Vc`_]j YfUb_Yfh" ð'XYf'W\f]gh]W\Yb
HfUX]h]cb'fYdfÅgYbh]Yfh'XUg'?fi n]Z]I 'XYb'C dZYfhcX'j cb'žgi g
7\]f]ghi gi bX'k]fX'cZh'U'g'NY]W\Yb'XYg'; `Ui VYbgž'XYf'<cZbi b[
i bX'XYg'HfcghYg'j YfghUbXYb" ðgVYgcbXYfY'j]b'8Yi hgW\`UbX'g]bX
?fi n]Z]I Y'b]W\h'bi f'j]b'?]fW\Ybž'gcbXYfb'Ui W'j]b'df]j UhYb
<Ui g\U'hYb'i bX'ÖZYbh]W\Yb'F Åi a Yb'Ubni hfYZYb" ðfY'DfÅgYbn
_Ubb'cZh'F ØW_gW\ØggY'Ui Z'X]Y'HfUX]h]cbYb'i bX'XYb'; `Ui VYb'XYf
'k Y][]Yb'; Ya Y]bXY'ni `UggYb"

8 Ug'?fi n]Z]I 'j cb';]gY`U'A ÖgW!5\`bYf'_ÖbbhY'XU\Yf'b]W\h'bi f'U`g
Y]b'j Yf'c'fYbYg'C V`Y`_h'VYhfUW\hY'h'k YfXYbž'gcbXYfb'Ui W'U'g'Y]b
_i `hi fY`Yg'9fVYž'XUg'; YgW\W\hYb'i bX'HfUX]h]cbYb'j Yf_ÖfdYfh" ð
j]Y`Yb'fY[]cbYb'8Yi hgW\`UbXg[]Vh'Yg'6fÅi W\Yž'VY]'XYbYb
?fi n]Z]I Y'[YgY[bY'h'cXYf'ni 'VYgh]a a hYb'5b`ÄggYb'Ui Z[YghY`h
k YfXYb"9g]gh'Ui W'j]b]W\h'bi b[Yk Ö\`b]W\ž'XUgg'g]Y'j cb'; YbYfUh]cb
ni'; YbYfUh]cb'k Y]hYf[Y[VYb'k YfXYbž'i bX']\f'j Yf'i gh'_Ubb'ZØf
j]Y'Y'; `Åi V][Y'Y]bY'Ya ch]cbU`Y'6YXYi hi b['\UVYb"

8]Y'fYW\h`]W\Yb'5gdY_hY'j cb

: i bX[Y[YbghÅbXYb

ð'8Yi hgW\`UbX'g]bX'X]Y'fYW\h`]W\Yb'6Ygh]a a i b[Yb'ni
: i bX[Y[YbghÅbXYb'_Uf'[YfY[Y'h"BUW'z'-*) 'XYg'6Øf[Yf`]W\Yb
; YgYhnVi W'g'fß; 6Ł'a i gg'Y]b'[YZ' bXYbYg'C V`Y`_hž'XUg'Y]bYb'K Yfh
\Uhž'VY]'XYf'ni ghÅbX][Yb'6Y\ÖfXY[Ya Y'XYh'k YfXYb"8Yf':]bXYf
\Uh'XUVY]'VYgh]a a hY'F YW\hYž'UV\Åb[]['j cb'XYf'8Ui Yf'XYg
9][Ybhi a gYfa]h'i b[gdfcnYggYg"K Ybb'XYf'9][YbhØa Yf'Y]bYg
: i bXghØW_g'b]W\h'j]bbYf\U`V`Y]bYg'ZYgh[Y'Y[hYb'NY]hfUi a g

[YZi bXYb'k]fXž[Y\h'XUg'9][Ybhi a 'bUW'Y]bYf'[Yk]ggYb': f]gh'Ui Z
XYb':]bXYf'ØVYf" ð'X]YgYa ': U''\Uh'X]Y':]bXYf]b'X]Y'A Ò['W_Y]hž
XUg'?fi n]Z]l 'ni 'VY\U'hYbž'k Ybb'_Y]b'fYW'ha À»][Yf'9][YbhØa Yf
[YZi bXYb'k]fX'i bX'g]Y'X]Yg'k ØbgW'h"

5i » YfXYa 'g]bX'X]Y'fYW'h]W'Yb'A]hhY'ž'X]Y'XYf'Dc`nY]'ni f
J YfZØ[i b['ghY\Ybž'i a 'XYb'9][YbhØa Yf'Ui gZ]bX]['ni 'a UW'Ybž
YbhgW'Y]XYbX"8U'XUg'?fi n]Z]l 'a Ò['W_Yfk Y]gY'Ui g'Y]bYf'? UdY''Y
cXYf'Y]bYf'?]fW'Y'ghUa a hž_Øbb'h'X]Y'fY`][]cbg[Ya Y]bgW'UZh]W'Y
ðgh]hi h]cb'Ui W'Y]bY'F c''Y'VY]'XYf' ðYbh]Z]n]Yfi b['XYg
9][YbhØa Yfg'gd]Y'Yb"

F Y`][]ØgY'i bX'gc n]U`Y'DYfgdY_h]j Yb'Ui Z'XUg ? fi n]Z]l

ð'XYf'; YgY''gW'UZh'_ca a h'XYa ' ?fi n]Z]l 'cZh'Y]bY'VYXYi hYbXY
gc n]U`Y'F c''Y'ni "'9g'k]fX'b]W'h'bi f'U`g'fY`][]ØgYg'Gma Vc`
VYhfUW'hYhž'gcbXYfb'_Ubb'Ui W'U`g'Y]b'NY]W'Yb'XYf'; Ya Y]bgW'UZh
i bX'XYf'[Ya Y]bgUa Yb'K Yfh'Zi b[]YfYb"8Yf': i bX'Y]bYg
?fi n]Z]l Ygž'k]Y'ja ': U''j cb';]gY'U'A ØgW!5\bYfž'k]fZh': fU[Yb'ØVYf
XYb' i a [Ub['a]h'fY`][]ØgYb'Gma Vc`Yb']b'ØZYbh]W'Ya 'FUi a 'Ui Z'
ð'Y]bYf'ni bY\ a YbX'd'i fU]gh]gW'Yb'; YgY''gW'UZh'ghY\Yb' ?fi n]Z]l Y
cZh'ja 'GdUbbi b[gZY'X'nk]gW'Yb'HfUX]h]cb'i bX'A cXYfb]h'Àhž'i bX
]\fY'6YXYi hi b['_Ubb'j cb'DYfgcb'ni 'DYfgcb'j Uf]]YfYb"

9]b][Y'A YbgW'Yb'gY\Yb']b'Y]bYa ' ?fi n]Z]l 'Y]b'NY]W'Yb'XYg
; `Ui VYbg'i bX'XYf'Ni [Y\Øf][_Y]hž'k À\fYbX'UbXYfY'Yg
a Ò['W_Yfk Y]gY'U`g'Y]bY'_i `hi fY''Y'F Y`_h'VYhfUW'hYb"8]Y
8]g_i gg]cb'ØVYf'X]Y'5i ZghY''i b['cXYf'XYb'9f\U'h'j cb'?fi n]Z]l Yb']b
ØZYbh]W'Yb'D'ÀhYb']gh'Y]b'6Y]gd]Y`ZØf'X]Y'j YfgW]YXYbYb
DYfgdY_h]j Ybž'X]Y'Ui Z'gc`W'Y'fY`][]ØgYb'Gma Vc`Y'[Yf]W'hYh
k YfXYb'_ØbbYb"8Yf'K i bgW'j cb'A ØgW!5\bYfž'XUg'?fi n]Z]l 'Ub
Y]bYa 'Cfh'Ui Zni ghY''Ybž'k c'A YbgW'Yb'VYhYb'_ØbbYbž'gd]Y[Y'h
XYb'h]YZb'F YgdY_h'k]XYfž'XYb'j]Y'Y'A YbgW'Yb'[Y[Yb'ØVYf
gc`W'Yb'Gma Vc`Yb'Ya dZ]bXYbX'i bX'\YVh'X]Y'6YXYi hi b['\Yf] c fž
X]Y'X]YgY'ZØf'XUg'gd]f]hi Y''Y'@VYb'XYf'; Ya Y]bgW'UZh'\UVYb
_ØbbYb"

8YhU]g

6Ygi W\Yb`G]Y`i bg`Ui Z.`X]Y!bUW\ f]W\ hYb"bYh