

DZ`Y[YghØhndi b_hY. :≠\ fY`YfghY 5b`Ui ZghY`Y`Y]a`DZ`Y[Y!8gWΛi b[Y`

9fZU\ fYb`G]Yž`k]Y`c_U`Y`DZY[YghØhndi b_hY`_cghYbZfY]`VY]
: fU[Yb`ni f`DZY[Y`i bX`I bhYfghØhni b[`ZØf`5b[Y\Øf][Y`Y`ZYb
_ØbbYb"

≠`8Yi hgW`UbX`k]fX`XUg`H\Ya U`DZY[Y`Ui Z[fi bX`XYf`ghY][YbXYb
5bnU\`Ub`dZY[YVYXØfZh][Yb`DYfgcbYb`]a a Yf`k]WΛh][Yf`J]Y`Y
A YbgWΛYb`ghY\Yb`j cf`XYf`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[žg]WΛ`]b`Y]bYa
_ca d`YI Yb`GmghYa`j cb`5b[YVchYb`i bX`A Ø[`]WΛ_Y]hYb
ni fYWΛhni Z]bXYb" `9g`]gh`b]WΛ`h`gY`hYbž`XUgg`: fU[Yb`Ui ZhUi WΛYb`k]Y.
K Y`WΛY`DZY[Y`Y]ghi b[Yb`_Ubb`]WΛ`]b`5bgdfi WΛ`bY\`a Yb3`K c
Z]bXY`]WΛ`Y]b`dUggYbXYg`DZY[Y\Y]a 3`I bX`k]Y`_Ubb`]WΛ`U`g
5b[Y\Øf][Yf`I bhYfghØhni b[`Yf\U`hYb3`8]YgY`I bg]WΛYf\Y]hYb
_ØbbYb`gWΛbY`ØVYfk`À`h][YbX`gY]b"

≠`gc`WΛYb`G]hi Uh]cbYb`ghY`Yb`DZY[YghØhndi b_hY`Y]bY`k Yfhj`c`Y
FYggci fW`XUf`G]Y`Z`b[]YfYb`U`g`k c\bcfhbU\Y`5b`Ui ZghY`Yb`ZØf
U`Y`6Øf[Yf]bbYb`i bX`6Øf[Yfž`Y[U`cV`[YgYhni]WΛ`cXYf`df]j Uh
j Yfg]WΛYf`h`8Ug`6YgcbXYfY. `8]Y`8]YbghY]ghi b[Yb`g]bX`_cghYbZfY]"
Gc`k]fX`Yg`XYb`A YbgWΛYb`Y]WΛhYf`[Ya UWΛhž`g]WΛ`]b`XYf`K Y`h`XYf
DZY[Y`ni fYWΛhni Z]bXYb"

8]Y`F`c`Y`XYf`DZ`Y[YghØhndi b_hY

8]Y`DZY[YghØhndi b_hY`k YfXYb`j cb`XYb`? fUb`_Yb`_UggYb`i bX
DZY[Y`_UggYb`]bg`@YVYb`[Yfi ZYb` `i bX`XUg`Ui Z`≠]h]Uh]j Y`XYf
6i bXYg`ÀbXYf`8Ug`6i bXYg[Ygi bX\Y]hga`]b]ghYf]i a`VYgWΛfY]Vh
g]Y`U`g`i bj Yfn]WΛhVufY`BYhmk Yf`_Yfž`X]Y`XYb`A YbgWΛYb`Y`ZYbž
g]WΛ`]a`DZY[Y!8gWΛi b[Y`ni fYWΛhni Z]bXYb"G]Y`V]YhYb`Y]bY
nYbhfU`Y`5b`Ui ZghY`Yž`i a`≠Zcfa Uh]cbYb`ØVYf`j YfgWΛ]YXYbY

DZY[Y`Y]ghi b[Ybž`5b[YVchY`i bX`Ni ghÅbX][_Y]hYb`ni `Yf\U`hYb`

9]b`XYi hgW\`UbXk Y]hYg`BYhmk Yf_`X]YgYf`GhØhndi b_hY`Yfa Ø[`]W h
Yg`XYb`A YbgW\Ybž`i b_ca`d`n]Yfh`l bhYfghØhni b[`ni `Z]bXYb`", VYf
X]Y`8UhYbVUb_`XYg`NYbhf`i a`g`ZØf`E`i`U`]hÅh`]b`XYf`DZY[Y`fNE`DŁ
_ØbbYb`≠hYfYgg]YfhY`[Ubni`Y]bZUW\`Y]bYb`GhØhndi b_h]b`]\fYf
BÅ\Y`Z]bXYb`"9g[YbØ[hž`XYb`K`c\bcfh`Y]bni [YVYbž`i bX`X]Y
bÅW gh[Y`Y[YbYb`5b`Ui`ZghY`Yb`a`]h`XYb`YbhgdFYW\YbXYb
?cbhU`hXUhYb`k`YfXYb`Ub[YnY][h`

8]Y`6YfUhi b[`]b`XYb`DZY[YghØhndi b_hYb`YfZc`[h`Ui`Z
i`bhYfgW\]YX`]W\Yb`K`Y[Yb`"CV`hY`YZcb]gW\ž`j`cf`C`fh`cXYf`gc[Uf`ni
<Ui`gY` `Yg`k`]fX`XUfUi`Z`[YUW\hYhž`XUgg`X]Y`A`YbgW\Yb`X]Y
≠Zcfa`Uh]cbYb`]b`Y]bYf`ZØf`g]Y`dUggYbXYb`:`cfa`Yf\U`hYb`"8]Yg`]gh
VYgcbXYfg`k`]W\h][ž`XYb`b`j`]Y`Y`5b[Y\`Øf][Y`i`bX`DZY[YVYXØfZh][Y
g]bX`cZi`Ya`ch]cbU`VY`UghYh`i`bX`VYb`Øh][Yb`XU\Yf`Y]bZØ`gUa`Y
l`bhYfghØhni b["`

8UfØVYf`\]bUi`g`k`]fX`\]Yf`Ui`W`Ui`Z`X]Y`]bX]j`]Xi`Y`Yb`6YXØfZb]ggY
XYf`F`Uhg] W\YbXYb`Y]b[Y[Ub[Yb`"K`Ybb`Y`a`UbX`VY]gd]Y`gk`Y]gY
gdYn]Y`Y`:`fU[Yb`ni`gY]bYf`U`_hi`Y`Yb`G]hi`Uh]cb`\Uhž`_ØbbYb`X]Y
6YfUhYf`[Yn]Y`h`l`bhYfghØhni b[`V]YhYb`"Gc`k`]fX`Y]bY`VfY]hY`DU`Y`hY
Ub`H\Ya`Yb`UV[YXYW`hž`X]Y`j`cb`XYf`:`]bUbn]Yfi`b[`j`cb
DZY[Y`Y]ghi b[Yb`V]g`\]b`ni`f`C`f[Ub]gUh]cb`j`cb
9bhUghi b[gUb[YVchYb`fY]W\h`

K]W\ h][Y`≠Zcfa`Uh]cbYb`i`bX`l`bhYfghØhni b[

8]Y`≠Zcfa`Uh]cbYbž`X]Y`]b`XYb`GhØhndi b_hYb`VYfY]h[YghY`h
k`YfXYbž`g]bX`b]W\h`bi`f`ZØf`X]Y`6Yhfc`ZYbYb`\]`ZFY]W\ž`gcbXYfb
Ui`W`ZØf`XYfYb`5b[Y\`Øf][Yž`X]Y`cZi`Y]bY`nYbhfU`Y`F`c`Y`VY]`XYf
DZY[Y`gd]Y`Yb`"GW\`]Y`»`]W\`hfÅ[h`X]Y`YbhUghYbXY`6YfUhi`b[`XUni
VY]ž`X]Y`J`YfUbhk`cfhi`b[`VYggYf`ni`j`YfhY]`Yb`i`bX`GhfYgg`UVVUi`Yb
ni`_ØbbYb`

B]W\h`ni`Y`hnh`]gh`X]Y`VfY]hY`J`YfZØ[VUf`_Y]h`X]YgYf`GhØhndi b_hY`j`cb
[fc»Yf`6YXYi`hi`b[`";`YfUXY`]b`Y]bYf`NY]hž`]b`XYf`X]Y`:`YgY`gW\UZh
]a`a`Yf`Å`hYf`k`]fXž`Yf[]Vh`g]W\`Y]bY`Xf]b[YbXY`B`chk`YbX][_Y]h`ZØf

gc`WXY`l bhYfghØhni b[gUb[YVchY"DZY[YghØhndi b_hY`g]bX`Y]b
GWf]hh`b`X]Y`f]W]h][Y`F`]W]hi b[ž`i`a`DZY[YVYXØfZh][Yb`i`bX`]\fYb
: Ua`j`Yb`X]Y`C`f]Yb]Yfi b[`ni`Yf`Y]W]hYfb`i`bX`XYb`Ni`[Ub[`ni
dUggYbXYb`@Y]ghi b[Yb`ni`ZØfXYfb"

8]Y`5i`gk`Y]hi b[`X]YgYf`5b[YVchY`hfÅ[h`Ui`W]`ni`f`GYbg]V`]g]Yfi b[
XYf`6Yj`Ø`_Yfi b[`]b`6Yni`[`Ui`Z`DZY[Y`Ub`g]W]`VY]"`ϕXYa`a`Y`f`
A`YbgW]Yb`ØVYf`]\fY`F`YW]hY`i`bX`5bgdfØW]Y`Ui`Z[Y`_`Åfh`k`YfXYbž
_Ubb`X]Y`;`YgY`gW]UZh]bg[YgUa`h`VYggYf`Ui`Z`X]Y
<YfUi`gZcfXYfi b[Yb`fYU[]YfYbž`X]Y`a`]h`XYa`H`Y`a`U`DZY[Y
j`YfVi`bXYb`g]bX"

8]Y`Ni`_i`bZh`XYf`DZ`Y[YVYfUhi`b[

8]Y`ghY][YbXY`B`UW]ZfU[Y`bUW]`DZY[YVYfUhi`b[`a`UW]h`Yg
b`chk`YbX][ž`X]YgY`GhØhndi b_hY`k`Y]hYf\]b`ni`ZØfXYfb`i`bX
Ui`gni`VUi`Yb`"8Yf`Ni`[Ub[`ni`ZUW]_i`bX][Yfž`_cghYb`cgYf
ϕZcfa`Uh]cb`]ghj`cb`nYbhFU`Yf`6YXYi`hi`b[`i`bX`k`]fX`ni`Y]bYf
YbhgW]Y]XYbXYb`8YhYfa`]bUbhY`XYf`@YVYbgei`U`]hÅh`ZØf`j`]Y`Y
6Øf[Yf`"9]bY`ghUf`_Y`l`bhYfghØhni b[`Xi`fW]`ghUUh]W]Y`GhY`Yb`i`bX
?fUb`_Yb`UggYb`_ØbbhY`Ui`»YfXYa`XUni`VY]hfU[Ybž`X]Y`E`i`U`]hÅh
XYf`8]YbghY]ghi b[Yb`]b`X]YgYb`GhØhndi b_hY`b`k`Y]hYf`ni
j`YfVYggYfb"

J]Y`Y`A`YbgW]Ybž`X]Y`g]W]`a`]h`XYa`H`Y`a`U`DZY[Y
Ui`gY]bUbXYfgYhnYbž`g]bX`cZh`a`]h`Y]bYf`J]Y`nU`\`j`cb
<YfUi`gZcfXYfi b[Yb`_cbZfcbh]Yfh"J`cb`XYf`fU[Yž`k`Y`W]Y
Z]bUbn]Y`Yb`f`Yggci`fW]b`ni`f`J`YfZØ[i`b[`ghY`Ybž`V]g`\]b`ni`XYb
Ya`ch]cbU`Yb`6Y`Ughi b[Ybž`X]Y`a`]h`XYf`DZY[Y`Y]bYg`5b[Y`Øf][Yb
Y]b`Yf[Y`Ybž`]gh`XYf`l`bhYfghØhni b[gVYXUfZ`Yf`YV`]W]`"ϕ`X]YgYa
?cbhYl`h]gh`Yg`k`]W]h][ž`g]W]`ØVYf`X]Y`j`YfgW]YXYbYb`5b[YVchY
i`bX`<]Zga`]hY`ni`]bZcfa`]YfYbž`X]Y`gck`c`\`j`cb`ghUUh]W]Yf`GY]hY
U`g`Ui`W]`j`cb`df]j`UhYb`C`f[Ub]gUh]cbYb`VYfY]h[YghY`h`k`YfXYb"

5b[YVchY`ZØf`dZ`Y[YbXY`5b[Y`Øf][Y

DZY[YghØhndi b_hY`V]YhYb`b]W]h`bi`f`ϕZcfa`Uh]cbYb`ni
DZY[Y`Y]ghi b[Ybž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W]`ni`5b[YVchYbž`X]Y`gdYn]Y`"Ui`Z

X]Y'6YXØfZb]ggY'j cb'dZY[YbXYb'5b[Y\Öf][Yb'Ui g[Yf]W hYh'g]bX"
8Uni'nÀ\Yb'VY]gd]Y'gk Y]gY'GW i' i b[Yb'i bX': cfhV]Xi b[YbžX]Y
Yg'XYb'5b[Y\Öf][Yb'Yf'Y]W hYfbž'X]Y'hÀ[]W Yb'5bZcfXYfi b[Yb
XYf'DZY[Y'VYggYf'ni'VYk'À'h][Yb"K Y]hYf\]b[]Vh'Yg'6YfUhi b[Yb
ØVYf'9bhUghi b[gUb[YVchY'k]Y'?'i fnnY]hdZY[Y'cXYf'HU[YgdZY[Yž
X]Y'Yg'XYb'5b[Y\Öf][Yb'Yfa Ö[]W YbžhYa dcfÄf': fY]fÄi a Y'ni
gW UZZYb"

6YgcbXYfg'k]W h][]gh'Ui W'X]Y'Z]bUbn]Y''Y' l bhYfghØhni b[ž'X]Y
DZY[YVYXØfZh][Y'gck]Y'\fY'5b[Y\Öf][Yb'Yf\U'hYb' _ÖbbYb"8]Y
DZY[Yj Yfg]W Yfi b[] [fY]Zh'\]Yfž'XcW'X]Y' i a ZUb[fY]W Yb
FY[Y'i b[Yb'i bX'5bhfÄ[Y' _ÖbbYb'UVgW fYW_YbX'k]f_Yb"8U\Yf
g]bX'X]Y' ðZcfa Uh]cbgUb[YVchY'XYf'DZY[YghØhndi b_hY'j cb[fc»Yf
6YXYi hi b[ž' a 'X]YgY'<ØfXYb'ni'ØVYfk]bXYb"

K UW gYbXY'NU\`DZY[YVYXØfZh][Yf

8]Y'; YgY''gW UZh'ghY'hj cf'Y]bYf'XYa c[fUZ]gW Yb
<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[.@Ui h'XYa 'GhUh]gh]gW Yb'6i bXYgUa h'k]fX'X]Y
NU\`XYf'DZY[YVYXØfZh][Yb']b'8Yi hgW'UbX'j cfUi gg]W h]W'k Y]hYf
ghY][Yb"=a ' ÷\f'&\$&\$'[UV'Yg'fi bX' (ž+ 'A]''cbYb'DZY[YVYXØfZh][Yž
i bX'GW'Ähni b[Yb'ni Zc'[Y' _ÖbbhY'X]YgY'NU\`V]g'&\$') 'Ui ZV]g'ni '*
A]''cbYb'UbghY][Yb"8]YgY'9bhk]W_i b[]j YfXYi h]W h'X]Y
Bchk YbX][_Y]h'Y]bYg:[i h'Zi b_h]cb]YfYbXYb
l bhYfghØhni b[ggmghYa g'ZØf'VYhfcZZYbY': Ua]]Yb"

9]b'k Y]hYfYf'k]W h][Yf'5gdY_h'g]bX'X]Y'YggYbh]Y''Yb'GhUh]gh]_Yb
ni f'U''[Ya Y]bYb'Ni Zf]YXYb\Y]h'a]h'XYb'DZY[YghØhndi b_hYb"
Ghi X]Yb'nY][Ybž'XUgg'X]Y'A Y\fnU\`XYf'Bi hnYf'a]h'XYb
Ub[YVchYbYb' ðZcfa Uh]cbYb'i bX'XYf'6YfUhi b[gei U'hÄh'ni Zf]YXYb
]gh" , VYf' , \$'i 'XYf'6YfU[hYb'[UVYb'Ubž'XUgg'g]Y'X]Y
6YfUhi b[gUb[YVchY'U'g'\`ZfY]W'Ya dZ]bXYb'i bX'g]W'VYggYf
]bZcfa]Yfh'ZØ\`Yb"

8]Y'<YfUi gZcfXYfi b['ZØf'X]Y'Ni _i bZh'k]fX'XUf]b'VYghY\Ybž'X]YgY
k]W h][Yb'8]YbghY]ghi b[Yb'k Y]hYf\]b'Ui gni VUi Yb'i bX'Ub'X]Y
g]W'j YfÄbXYfbXYb'6YXØfZb]ggY'XYf'; YgY''gW UZh'Ubni dUggYb"
<]Yf'gd]Y'Yb'Ui W'Y\fYbUa h]W'Y' ð]h]Uh]j Yb'Y]bY'VYXYi hYbXY

F c ``Yž`X]Y `ZÅW YbXYW_YbX`I bhYfghØhni b[`UbV]YhYb"

I a `g]W`i a ZUggYbX`ni `]bZcfa]YfYbž]gh`X]Y`K YVgY]hY`XYg`
NYbfhi a g`ZØf`E i U`]hÅh`b`XYf`DZ`Y[Y`Y]bY`Yfj cffU[YbXY
F Yggci fW`" <]Yf`Z]bXYb`hYfYgg]YfhY`b]W`h`bi f`hZcfa Uh]cbYb`ni
XYb`DZY[YghØhndi b_hYbž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`nU`fY]W`Y`k Y]hYfY
<]`ZYghY`i b[Yb`]a `6YfY]W`XYf`DZY[Y`i bX`I bhYfghØhni b[`ZØf
5b[Y`Øf][Y"

8YhU]`g

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