

J YfUb ghU`hi b[Yb`Ui Z`XYa `5`YI UbXYfd`Uhn
&\$&(. `b hYfYggYbVY_i bXi b[gj YfZU`fYb
ghUfhYh°

=a `j\`f'&\$&(`k]fX`Yg`YfbYi h`Y]b
b hYfYggYbVY_i bXi b[gj YfZU`fYb`Z0f`J YfUb ghU`hi b[Yb`Ui Z
XYa `5`YI UbXYfd`Uhn`]b`6Yf`]b!A]hhY`[YVYbž`gc`6Yb`Ua]b
: f]hnž`6Yn]f_gghUXhfUh`Z0f`GW`i `Y`i bX`Gdcfh`8]Y`:``ÀW`Y`fi bX
i a `X]Y`K`Y`hnY]hi `f`i bX`XYb`6fi bbYb`XUfZ`XUVY]`Ub
a UI]a U`%&\$`HU[Yb`]a `j\`f`Z0f`J YfUb ghU`hi b[Yb`[Ybi hnh
k YfXYb`"9g`[Y`hYb`ghfYb[Y`5i ZU[Yb`\]bg]W`h`]W`XYg
]b`U`h`]W`!_i `hi fY`Yb`B]j YUi gž`XYf`cdh]gW`Yb`; YghU`hi b[
j cb`6i XYb`i bX`Gh`AbXYb`gck]Y`XYg`[Ughfcbca]gW`Yb
5b[YVchg`"9]bY`6YgcbXYf`Y]h]a `j\`f`&\$&(`]ghž`XUgg
Ui Z[fi bX`XYf`I 9: 5`9I FC`&\$&(`j ca`%("`ž b`V]g`%("`ž `]
_Y]bY`J YfUb ghU`hi b[Yb`Ui Z`XYa `5`YI UbXYfd`Uhn`ghUhhZ]bXYb
_0bbYb`"8]Y`5`YI !? ca`a]gg]cbž`VYghY`YbX`Ui g`J YfhfYhYfb
XYg`6Yn]f_gUa`hg`A]hhYž`XYf
6Yn]f_gj YfcfXbYhYbj YfgUa`a`i b[`A]hhY`/ Ua`d`^Y`]d/

=a `j\`f'&\$&(`k]fX`Yg`YfbYi h`Y]b`b hYfYggYbVY_i bXi b[gj YfZU`fYb
Z0f`J YfUb ghU`hi b[Yb`Ui Z`XYa `5`YI UbXYfd`Uhn`]b`6Yf`]b!A]hhY
[YVYbž`gc`6Yb`Ua]b`: f]hnž`6Yn]f_gghUXhfUh`Z0f`GW`i `Y`i bX`Gdcfh`
8]Y`:``ÀW`Y`fi bX`i a `X]Y`K`Y`hnY]hi `f`i bX`XYb`6fi bbYb`XUfZ`XUVY]
Ub`a UI]a U`%&\$`HU[Yb`]a `j\`f`Z0f`J YfUb ghU`hi b[Yb`[Ybi hnh
k YfXYb`"9g`[Y`hYb`ghfYb[Y`5i ZU[Yb`\]bg]W`h`]W`XYg`]b`U`h`]W`!
_i `hi fY`Yb`B]j YUi gž`XYf`cdh]gW`Yb`; YghU`hi b[j cb`6i XYb`i bX
Gh`AbXYb`gck]Y`XYg`[Ughfcbca]gW`Yb`5b[YVchg`"9]bY
6YgcbXYf`Y]h]a `j\`f`&\$&(`]ghž`XUgg`Ui Z[fi bX`XYf`I 9: 5`9I FC
&\$&(`j ca`%("`ž b`V]g`%("`ž `]_Y]bY`J YfUb ghU`hi b[Yb`Ui Z`XYa
5`YI UbXYfd`Uhn`ghUhhZ]bXYb`_0bbYb`"8]Y`5`YI !? ca`a]gg]cbž
VYghY`YbX`Ui g`J YfhfYhYfb`XYg`6Yn]f_gUa`hg`A]hhYž`XYf
6Yn]f_gj YfcfXbYhYbj YfgUa`a`i b[`A]hhY`i bX`5bk`c`bYfbž`k]fX
a]hhY`g`Y]bYf`6Yk Yfhi b[ga`Uhf]! `Yb`hgW`Y]XYbž`k`Y`W`Y

J YfUbgH`hi b[Yb`]a`_ca a YbXYb`đ\`f[YbY\`a][h`k YfXYb`
`b hYfYgg]YfhY`_`ObbYb`]\`fY`6Yk YfVi b[Yb`V]g`ni a` ` \$``Bcj Ya VYf
&\$&` `Y]bFY]WXYb`"

; Ya Å» `Y]bYa`_6Yf]W`hj cb`k k k "VYf`]b"XY`\UVYb`J YfUbgH`hi b[Yb
Ui ZXYa`_5`YI UbXYfd`Uhn`Y]bY`[fc»Y`6YXYi hi b[`Z0f`X]Y`c`_UY
?i`hi f!`i bX`J YfUbgH`hi b[ggnYbY`"8Yf`5`YI UbXYfd`Uhn`]gh`Y]bYf
XYf`VY`_UbbhYghYb`C fhY`]b`6Yf`]b`i bX`n]Y\`h`gck c\`9]b\`Y]a`]gWYf
U`g`Ui W`Hci f]ghYb`Ub`"8]Y`8i fWZ0\fi b[`j`cb`J YfUbgH`hi b[Yb
Ui ZX]YgYa`_nYbhfU`Yb`D`Uhn`V]YhYh`?Øbgh`Yfbž; Ughfcbca Yb`i bX
UbXYfYb`_c`_UYb`i bhYfbY\`a Yfb`X]Y`A Ò[`]W`_Y]hž`g]W`ni
dfÅgYbh]YfYb`i bX`ni`k UW`gYb`"8]Y`9]b\`U`hi b[`XYf`5i ZU[Yb
VYnØ[`]W`_XYg`B]j YUi`g`i bX`XYf`; YghU`hi b[`hfÅ[h`XUni`_VY]ž`XUgg
X]Y`J YfUbgH`hi b[Yb`ei U`]hUhj`_`cW`k Yfh][`g]bX`i bX`d cg]h]j Y
5i gk]f`_i b[Yb`Ui ZXUg`_a U[Y`i bX`XYb`Fi ZXyg`6Yn]f`_g`A]hY
\UVYb`"

8]Y`I`9: 5`9I FC`_&\$&(`]gh`Y]b`VYXYi hYbXYg`gdcfh`]W`Yg
; fc»YfY][b]gž`XUg`]b`[Ubn`8Yi hgW`_UbX`Ui g[YhfU[Yb`k]fX`"9g`]gh
bUW`j c``n]Y\`VUfž`XUgg`k Å\`fYbX`X]YgYf`NY]h`_Y]bY
J YfUbgH`hi b[Yb`Ui ZXYa`_5`YI UbXYfd`Uhn`ghUhhZ]bXYb`_`ObbYbž`XU
X]Y`5i Za Yf`_gUa`_Y]h`XYf`^2 ZYbh`]W`_Y]h]j cf`U``Ya`_Ui ZX]Y
: i »VU``gd]Y`Y`[Yf]W`hYh`gY]b`k]fX`"8]Yg`V]YhYh`YXcW`_Ui W`X]Y
7\`UbW`ž`XYb`5`YI UbXYfd`Uhn`k Å\`fYbX`XYg`Hi fb]Yfg`U`g
UhhfU`_hj Yb`HfYZZdi b`_h`Z0f`: i »VU``ZUbg`ni`d cg]h]cb]YfYbž
VY]gd]Y`gk Y]gY`Xi fW`Di V`]WJ]Yk]b[!J YfUbgH`hi b[Yb`cXYf`: Ub!
5`_hj]hÅ`hYb`"

8]Y`5`YI !?ca a]gg]cb`gd]Y`h`Y]bY`k]W`h][Y`F`c``Y`VY]`XYf`5i gk U\`
XYf`J YfUbgH`hi b[Yb`" ÆfY`5fVY]h`[Yk Å\`f`Y]ghYhž`XUgg`X]Y
`b hYfYggYb`XYf`j YfgW`]YXYbYb`GhU`_Y\`c`XYf`VYf0W`_g]W`h][h`k YfXYb
i bX`XUgg`X]Y`[YbY\`a][hYb`J YfUbgH`hi b[Yb`XYb`6YX0fZb]ggYb
XYf`5bk c\`bYf`i bX`6Ygi W`Yf`YbhgdFYW`Yb`"8i fW`X]Y
6Yk Yfhi b[ga Uhf]i`k]fX`HfUbgdUfYbn`i bX`CV`Y`_hj]hÅ`hVY]`XYb
9bhgW`Y]Xi b[Yb`g]W`Yf[YghY``h`"

8]Y`A Ò[`]W`_Y]hž`g]W`_U`g`J YfUbgH`hYf`Z0f`X]Y`Bi hni b[`XYg
5`YI UbXYfd`UhnYg`ni`VYk YfVYbž`V]YhYh`c`_UY`I bhYfbY\`a Yb`i bX

?Øbgh`Yfb`X]Y`7\UbWž`]\fY`Dfc`Y_hY`Y]bYa`VfY]hYb`Di`V`_i`a`ni
dfÅgYbh]YfYb`i`bX`j`cb`XYf`nYbhfU`Yb`@U[`Y`XYg`5`YI`UbXYfd`UhnYg
ni`dfcZ]h]YfYb`"8]YgY`A`Ò[`W\`_Y]h`gc`hY`U_hj`[`Ybi`hnh`k`YfXYbž`i`a
X]Y`_i`hi`fY`Y`J]Y`ZU`hi`bX`XUg`_fYUhj`Y`DchYbh]U`XYg`6Yn]f_g`A`]hhY
ni`ZØfXYfb`"

E`i`Y`Y`.`[k`k`k`"VYf`\]b"XY](#)

8YhU]`g

6Ygi`W\`Yb`G]Y`i`bg`Ui`Z.`b!U[`"XY