

GW bÄddW Yb ^U[X]b 7 \ Ya b]hn. 'A Y[U
5 b[YVchY 'VY]'GY`[fcg'UV`%- "5i [i gh°

GY`[fcg'7 \ Ya b]hn`V]YhYh'UV`A cbhU['f%- ", "E`YI _i gjj Y
F UVUhY`Ui Z`GdcfhVY`_Y]Xi b[ž`GbYU`_Yf`i bX`fY[]cbU`Y
K Y]bY"

5V`A cbhU[ž`XYa` %- "5i [i ghž`V]YhYh'XYf'; fc» \ÄbX`Yf`GY`[fcg`]b
7 \ Ya b]hn`YXY`A Yb[Y`UhhfU`_h]j Y`GcbXYfUb[YVchY`Ub" J cb
a cX]gW Yb`5fh`_Y`V]g`\]b`ni`Yf`YgYbYb`K Y]bYb` `X]Y`F UVUhY
g]bX`j Yf`cW`_YbX`i bX`j YfgdfYW Yb`Y]b`9]b`_Ui ZgYf`YVb]g`XYf
VYgcbXYfYb`5fh"6YgcbXYfg`\Yfj`cfni` \YVYb`g]bX`nU`\fY]W Y
fYXi`n]YfhY`A Uf`_YbUfh`_Y`_Ui`g`XYf`6Y`_Y]Xi`b[g!`i`bX
GdcfhVfUbW Yž`X]Y`nU`\fY]W Yb`GW bÄddW Yb`Ä[Yf`Ub`cW`_Yb
k YfXYb"

6Ygi`W Yf`_ÖbbYb`g]W`ZfYi`Yb`ØVYf`DI A 5`G\c`fhgž`X]Y`a`]h`Y]bYa
DfY]gbUW`Ugg`j`cb`+`9i`fc`ZØf`bi`f`%(`ž`-`9i`fc`Yf`\Ä`h]W`g]bX`"5i`W
DI A 5`<`ccX]Yg`k`YfXYb`ghUf`_fYXi`n]Yfh`Ub[YVchYb`i`bX`_c`ghYb
ghUhh` (ž`-`9i`fc`bi`f`&(`ž`-`9i`fc`":`Øf`gbYU`_YfVY[Y]ghYfhY`?`Äi`ZYf
g]bX`X]Y`F`YYVc`_7`Ugg]WGbYU`_Yf`Y`hnh`ZØf`) (ž`-`9i`fc`ghUhh`*`-`ž`-`
9i`fc`ni` \UVYb`"8]YgY`DfY]ggYb`_i`b[Yb`a`UW Yb`_Ufž`XUgg`GY`[fcg
U`g`5b`_Ui`ZghY`_Y`ZØf`Ub[YgU[hY`A`cXY`i`bX`gdcfh]W Y`6Y`_Y]Xi`b[
[YfbY`_Ui`Zhf]hh"

GcbXYfU_h]cbYb`]a`8YhU]`

Ni`gÄhn`]W`ni`XYb`fYXi`n]YfhYb`DfY]gYb`_Ui`Z`X]Y`VY`]YVhYb
Gdcfha`Uf`_Yb`[]Vh`Yg`UV`XYa` %- "5i [i gh`Ui`W`Zf]gW Y`K Y]bY`j`cb
9d]W`fc`ZØf`bi`f`"ž`-`9i`fc`"8]YgY`DfY]gUb[YVchY`XYW`_Yb`Y]bY
J]Y`nU`\`Ub`?`i`bXYbk`ØbgW Yb`UVž`Y[U`cV`Yg`i`a`gdcfh]W Y
Ci`h]hg`cXYf`i`a`YbhgdUbbYbXY`; Ybi`gga`ca`YbhY`[Y`h"

9]b`k Y]hYfYf`<Ò\Ydi b_h]gh`XYf`Gi dYf`<Uddm`8 Um`Ua `GUa ghU[ž
XYb`&("5i [i gh`5b`X]YgYa `HU[`Yf\U`hYb`?i bXYb`%) `DfcnYbh
F UVUhh`Ui ZXUg`[YgUa hY`Gcfh]a Ybhž`YXcW`bi f`k Ybb`g]Y`X]Y`bYi Y
GY`[fcg!5dd`bi hmYb``8]Y`5ba Y`Xi b[`]gh`XYb`_VUf`Y]bZUW`ž
k cXi fW`a Y`f`?i bXYb`X]Y`A Ò[`]W`_Y]h`\UVYbž`j cb`X]YgYb
F UVUhhYb`ni `dfcZ]h]YfYb``8Yf`F UVUhh`k]fX`]a `5dd!7ci dcb
Ub[YnY][hi bX`a i gg`Ub`XYf`?UggY`j cf[Y`Y[h`k YfXYb`"

J]Y`ZÀ`h][Yg`5b[YVch`VY]`GY`[fcg

GY`[fcg`]b`7\Ya b]hm`ghY`\h`ZØf`Y]b`VYY]bXfi W`_YbXYg`Gcfh]a Ybh
j cb`a Y`f`U`g`) "\$\$\$`5fh]_Y`b``<]Yf`Z]bXYh`a Ub`b]W`h`bi f`Z]gW`Y
@VYbga]hY`ž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`_Y]bY`VfY]hY`5i gk U`\`Ub`Bcb!`ccX!
5fh]_Y`b``?i bXYb`dfcZ]h]YfYb`j cb`XYf`[fc»Yb`5i gk U`\`Ub
DfcXi `_hYbž`X]Y`j cb`\cW`k Yfh][Yb`9][Yba Uf`_Yb`k]Y
HfUbg[ci fa Yh`DfYa]i a `V]g`\]b`ni `hYW`b]gW`Yb`; Yf`ÀhYb`fY]W`Yb`
8UfØVYf`\]bUi g`V]YhYh`GY`[fcg`Y]bY`[fc»Y`5i gk U`\`Ub
; UfhYb[Yf`ÀhYbž`A ÒVY`b`i bX`gc[Uf`Dcc`ni VY`\Øf`Ub``8]YgYg
i a ZUggYbXY`5b[YVch`k]fX`Xi fW`_ca dYhYbhY`i: UW`VYfUhi b[
Yf[`Àbnhž`i a `XYb`?i bXYb`X]Y`VYgha Ò[`]W`Y`9]b`_Ui ZgYfZU\fi b[`ni
V]YhYb`"

K Yf`]b`XYb`; Ybi gg`X]YgYf`5b[YVchY`_ca a Yb`a ÒW`hYž`VYbØh][h
Y]bY`; Yb]Y»Yf!A Uf`h!`?i bXYb`_UfhY``K Yf`X]YgY`bcW`b]W`h`\Uhž
_Ubb`g]W`_V]g`ni a `&("5i [i gh`Uba Y`XYb``9g`[YbØ[hž`XUg
?cbhU`_hZca i `Uf`Ui gni ZØ`Yb``a `5bgW`i gg`k]fX`XYf`?i bXY`dYf`9!
A U]`ØVYf`XYb`GhUhi g`XYf`5ba Y`Xi b[`]bZcfa]Yfhi bX`_Ubb`gc`XYb
9]b`_Ui Z`VY]`GY`[fcg`bcW`_VYfY]W`Yfb`"

≠g[YgUa h`nY][h`GY`[fcg`]b`7\Ya b]hnž`k]Y`k]W`h][`Yg`]ghž
Ui ZfY[YbXY`9]b`_Ui ZgYf`YVb]ggY`ni `gW`UZZYb``CV`VY]`XYb
5b[YVchYb`Ua `%- ``5i [i gh`cXYf`VY]a `Gi dYf`<Uddm`8 Um`_X]Y
GW`b`ÀddW`Yb`YfZfYi Yb`g]W`_i [fc»Yf`6Y`]YVh\Y]h`i bX`Ya dZY`\`Yb
g]W`_gck c`\`ZØf`dYfg`Òb`]W`Y`9]b`_Ai ZY`U`g`Ui W`_ZØf`[fØ»YfY
J YfUbg`h`i b[Yb``?i bXYb`_ca a Yb`b]W`h`bi f`k Y[Yb`XYf`F UVUhhYž
gcbXYfb`Ui W`_k Y[Yb`XYf`J]Y`ZU`h`i bX`XYf`E`i U`]h`Àh`XYf
Ub[YVchYbYb`DfcXi `_hY``9]b`6Ygi W`_VY]`GY`[fcg`]gh`gca]h`a Y`f
U`g`bi f`Y]bY`9]b`_Ui Zghci f``9g`]gh`Y]bY`7\UbW`ž`hfYbX][Y`A cXY`ni

YbhXYW_Ybž'gdUbbYbXY`DfcXi`_hY`Ui`gni`dfcV]YfYb`i`bX`[`Y]W\`nY]h][
[fc»Ufh][Y`5b[YVchY`ni`bi`hnYb"

„ VYffUgW\i`b[Yb`VY]a`G\`cdd]b[

GW`Y]»`]W`k`]fX`Yfk`UfhYhž`XUgg`XYf`VY]`cfghY`YbXY`J`Yf`_Ui`ZY]bY`
J]Y`nU`\\`j`cb`bYi`Yb`?i`bXYb`Ubni]Y`hž`X]Y`a`Ò[`]W`Yfk`Y]gY`Yfgh`
Xi`fW`X]Y`gdYn]Y`Yb`F`UVUhhY`i`bX`5b[YVchY`j`cb`GY`[`fcg`
Ui`Za`Yf`_gUa`k`YfXYb"8]Y`?ca`V]bUh]cb`Ui`g`c`W`k`Yfh][`Yb`
5fh]_Y`bž`[`Øbgh][`Yb`DfY]gYb`i`bX`Y]bYf`VfY]hYb`DfcXi`_hUi`gk`U`
_ØbbhY`XUni`ZØ`fYbž`XUgg`GY`[`fcg]b`7`Ya`b]m`bcW`VY`_UbbhYf`
k`]fX`[`]Yf`hf]Zh`YXYf`Ui`ZYhk`Ugž`XUg`gY]bYb`6YXØfZb]ggYb`
Ybhgdf]W`h"9]bY`GUW`Y`]gh`_Uf.`?`i`[`Yg`G`cdd]b[`k`Uf`bcW`b]Y`gc`
Y]bZUW`i`bX`c`bYbX"

8]Y`GY`[`fcg`7`Ug`/`7`Uffm[`Y`Øfh`ni`Y]bYa`XYf`ZØ`fYbXYb`
;`fc»`UbXY`gi`bhYfbY`a`Yb`]b`8Yi`hgW`UbX`i`bX`]gh`HY]`XYf`
HfUbg[`ci`fa`Yh!`fi`ddYž`X]Y`a`Y`f`U`g`&\$`X`fY`9fZU`fi`b[`]ja`
6YfY]W`i`ccX!GYfj`]W`i`bX`;`fc»`UbXY`U`h"8]YgYg`i`bhYfbY`a`Yb`
]gh`b]W`h`bi`f`ZØf`;`Ughfcbca`]YVYhf]YVYž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`ZØf`
Df]j`Uh`Ui`g`U`hY`Y]bY`k`Yfhj`c`Y`F`Yggci`fW`ž`X]Y`Y]bY`VfY]hY`DU`YhhY`
j`cb`DfcXi`_hYb`UbV]YhYhž`j`cb`@YVYbga`]hhY`b`ØVYf`;`Yhf`Åb`_Y`V]g`
\]b`ni`Bcb!`ccX!5fh]_Y`b"`,`VYf`)`"\$`\$`\$`5fh]_Y`ghY`Yb`XYb`
?i`bXYb`]b`XYb`GY`[`fcg!A`Åf`_hYb`ni`f`J`YfZØ[`i`b[`ž`k`Ug`Y]bY`
Ui`»`Yf[`Yk`Ø`b`]W`Y`5i`gk`U`Y`fa`Ò[`]W`hž`i`a`XYb`
i`bhYfgW`]YX`]W`Yb`6YXØfZb]ggYb`F`YW`bi`b[`]ni`hfU[`Yb"

GY`[`fcg`U`h`g]W`XUfUi`Z`gdYn]U`]g]Yfhž`gck`c`X]Y`6YXØfZb]ggY`j`cb`
9]bnY`dYfgcbYb`U`g`Ui`W`j`cb`i`bhYfbY`a`Yb`ni`YfZØ`Yb"8]YgY`
J]Y`gY]h][`_]h`nY][`h`g]W`b]W`h`bi`f`]b`XYf`DfcXi`_hdU`YhhYž`gcbXYfb`
Ui`W`]b`i`bhYfgW`]YX`]W`Yb`DfY]gghfUhY[`]Yb"A`]h`gdYn]Y`Yb`
5_]cbYb`k`]Y`XYa`Gi`dYf`<Uddm`8`Um`k`YfXYb`gck`c`
GW`b`ÅddW`Yb`Å[`Yf`U`g`Ui`W`hfYi`Y`?i`bXYb`Ub[`Ygd`fc`W`Yb"i`a`]b`
XYf`ghUf`_i`a`_Åa`dZhYb`@YVYbga`]hhY`!`i`bX`9]bnY`UbXY`gVfUbW`Y`
k`Y]hYf\]b`fY`Yj`Ubh`ni`V`Y]VYbž`j`YfZc`[`h`GY`[`fcg`Y]b`ZYI`]V`Yg`
DfY]ga`cXY`i`bX`V]YhYhfY[`Y`a`Å»][`fYXi`n]YfhY`DfY]gY`Ubž`XUa`]h`
X]Y`?i`bXYb`ghYhg`j`cb`XYb`VYghYb`5b[YVchYb`dfcZ]h]YfYb`_ØbbYb"

æa ' <]bV`jW_`Ui Z'X]Y`8][]hU`jg]Yfi b[` \Uh'GY`[fcg`Ui Wk`[fc» Y
GWf]hhY`i bhYfbca a Ybž`i a `X]Y`9]b_Ui ZgYfZU\fi b[`ni `cdh]a]YfYb"
8 i fWk`X]Y`9]bZØ\fi b[`XYf`GY`[fcg!5dd`Yf\U`hYb`?i bXYb`b]Wk`h`bi f
Ni [Ub[`ni `Yi _`i`g]j Yb`F UVUhhYbž`gcbXYfb`_`ÖbbYb`Ui Wk`[\fYb
9]b_Ui ZVYeI Ya` j cb`ni `<Ui gY`Ui g`d`UbYb`i bX`j YfgWk]YXYbY
DfcXi _`hY`j Yf[`Y]WkYb`"8]YgY`A U» bU\ a Yb`g]bX`VYgcbXYfg`j]b
NY]hYb`XYf`g]Wk`k UbXY`bXYb`?cbgi a [Yk c\ b\Y]hYb`j cb
6YXYi hi b[ž`k c`C b`]bY!G\cdd]b[`i bX`a cV]Y`@Ögi b[Yb
ni bY\ a YbX`Ub`6YXYi hi b[`[Yk]bbYb"

; Ughfcbca]gWkY`æbhY[fUh]cb`VY]`GY`[fcg

9]b`k Y]hYfYf`5gdY`_hž`XYf`GY`[fcg]j cb`UbXYfYb`; fc» \`AbX`Yfb
UV\YVhž]gh`XYf`: c`_i`g`Ui Z; Ughfcbca]Y`i bX`: ccX!GYfj]W`"8]Y
9][Yba Uf`_Yb`j cb`GY`[fcgž`k]Y`n`6`"HfUbg[ci fa Yh`DfYa]i a ž
HfUbg[ci fa Yh`E i U`]hmi bX`HfUbg[ci fa Yh`9Wc`bca mž`g]bX`gdYn]Y`
Ui Z'X]Y`6YXØfZb]ggY`j cb`; Ughfcbca]YVYhf]YVYb`Ui g[Yf]Wk`hYh"
8]YgY`A Uf`_Yb`hfU[Yb`XUni `VY]ž`XUgg`X]Y`; Ughfcbca]YdUf`hbYf`j cb
Y]bYf`_cbghUb`h`c\Yb`DfcXi _`hei U`]h`h`d`f`c`Z]h]YfYb`i bX`[`Y]Wk`nY]h][
\fY`?cghYb`cdh]a]YfYb`_`ÖbbYb`"8]Y`[fc» Y`5i`gk U\`Ub
: f]gWk`d`f`c`Xi _`hYbž`]b`_i`g]j Y`fY[]cbU`Yf`6]ck UfYbž`XUfZ`Ui Wk`b]Wk`h
i bYfk`Å\bh`V`Y]VYbž`XU`g]Y`ja a Yf`a Y\`f`Ub`6YXYi hi b[`[Yk]bbYb"

Ni g`Äh`n`]Wk`V]YhYh`GY`[fcg`Ui Wk`i a ZUggYbXY`6YfUhi b[`i bX
l bhYfghØhni b[`Ubž`i a `; Ughfcbca]Yi bhYfbY\ a Yb`]b`] \fYf
h`Ä[`]WkYb`5fVY]h`ni `i bhYfghØh`nYb`"8]YgY`8]YbghY]ghi b[Yb`_`ÖbbYb
j cb`GWk`i `i b[Yb`ØVYf`DfcXi _`h`_Yb`b`hb]ggY`V]g`\]b`ni f`@c []gh]_
fY]WkYb`i bX`g]bX`ZØf`d`f`c`Z]gg]cbY`Y`?ØWkYb`Y]bY`k Yfhj`c`Y
9f[`Äbni b[`8]Y`Ub[`Ä\`f][Y`9fZU\fi b[`]a`6YfY]Wk`: ccX!GYfj]W
Yfa Ö[`]Wk`h`Y`g`GY`[fcgž`X]Y`XmbUa]gWkYb`5bZcfXYfi b[Yb`XYf
; Ughfcbca]YVfUbWkY`ni`j YfghY\Yb`i bX`Yb`hgd`fYWkYbXY`@Ögi b[Yb
Ubni V]YhYb"

: Øf`?i bXYb`k]fX`GY`[fcg`gca]h`b]Wk`h`bi f`ni f`9]b_Ui Zggh`ÄhhYž
gcbXYfb`Ui Wk`ni a`DUf`hbYf`]b`j YfgWk]YXYbYb`_`ca a Yfn]Y`Yb
6Y`Ub[Ybž`k cXi fWk`g]Wk`X]Y`A Uf`_Yb`hfYi Y`i bX
?i bXYbni Zf]YXYb\Y]h`Yf\Ö\Yb`UggYb`"8]Y`J YfV]bXi b[`j cb
_i`]bUf]gWkYf`E i U`]h`Ä`h`a]h`k]fhgWk`UZh]WkYf`9Z]n]Yb`n`a UWk`h

GY`[fcg'ni `Y]bYa `i bj Yfn]W\hVUfYb`5_hYi f`]a `XYi hgW\Yb
; fc» \UbXY`"

8YhU]`g

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