

9I d`cg]j Yf`J UbXU`]ga i g.
: U\ f_UfhYbUi hca Uh`Ua `6U\b\cZ
9a a YbX]b[Yb`nYfghØfh

I bVY_UbbhY`gdfYb[Yb` : U\ f_UfhYbUi hca Uh`ja `6U\b\cZ
9a a YbX]b[Yb`" < c\Yf`GUW`gW`UXYbž`_Y]bY`J Yf`YmhYb`"
DYbX`Yf`bUW` : fY]Vi f[`VYhfcZYb`"

≠`XYf`ZfØ`a cf[YbX`]W`Yb`8i b_Y`Y]h`XYg`\Yi h][Yb`HU[Yg
YfgW`ØhhYfhY`Y]b`Ui hYf`?bU`XYb`6U\b\cZ`9a a YbX]b[Yb`"9]bY
DUggUbh]bž`X]Y` [Y[Yb`\$(.)) `I \f`XYb`Bchfi Zk`À`hYž`a Y`XYhYž
XUgg`Yhk Ug`I b[Yk`Ø\b`]W`Yg` [YgW`Y\Yb`k Uf.`9]b
: U\ f_UfhYbUi hca Uh`]b`XYf`I bhYfZØ`fi b[`k Uf`Yf\YV`]W`
VYgW`ÀX][h`J cf`C fh`ghY`hY`X]Y`Dc`nY]`ZYghž`XUgg`i bVY_UbbhY
HÀhYf`XYb`5i hca UhYb`ja `@Ui ZY`XYf`BUW`h`a]h`GdfYb[ghcZZ
nYfghØfh`\UhYb`"9fghY`9fa]hhi b[Yb`Yb`_hYb`XYb` : c_i g`Ui ZXYb
NY]hfUi a `nk]gW`Yb`\$&.` \$`i bX`\$` .%) `I \fž`U`g`X]Y`9I d`cg]cb
ghUhhZUbX`"

8]Y`K i W`h`XYf`9I d`cg]cb`\]bhYf`Y»`ja `6U\b\cZ`9a a YbX]b[Yb
Y]b`fY[Y`fYW`hYg`HfØa a YfZY`X`"8Yf`5i hca Uh`k i fXY`j c`gh`ÀbX][
nYfhfØa a Yfhž`i bX`XYf`YbhghUbXYbY`GUW`gW`UXYb`VY`Ài Zh`g]W`Ui Z
Y]bYb`\c\Yb`ZØbZghY`][Yb`6YhfU["; `ØW`]W`Yfk Y]gY`V`]YV`X]Y
gdY`_hU`_i `ÀfY`HUh`c`bY`J Yf`YmhYž`k Ug`]b`gc`W`Y]bYa `J cfZU`Y]b
`Y]bYf`@]W`hV`]W`]gh`9I dYfhYb`k Y]gYb`YXcW`XUfUi Z`\]bž`XUgg
X]Y`6Yi hYž`X]Y`X]Y`HÀhYf`k U\fgW`Y]b`]W`Yf`Ub[Yb`k c`hYbž`]b
_`Y]bYa `J Yf`\`À`hb]g`ni`XYb`j Yfi fgUW`hYb`GW`ÀXYb`ghY`hž`XU`g]W`
]a a Yf`a Y\ f` : U\ f_UfhYbUi hca UhYb`ZØf`X]Y`6YnU`\`i b[`Ui Z
Y`Y`_hfc]gW`Y`NU`\`i b[ga`Yh\cXYb`ghØhYb`"

6Y\]bXYfi b[Yb`]ja `6Yfi Zgj Yf`_Y`f

8]Y': c`[Yb`XYf`9I d`cg]cb`k UfYb`gcZc fh`gdØfVUf" `8Yf`Ni [Ub[`ni f
I bhYfZØ\fi b[`nk]gWYb`XYa `6U\b\cZg[YVÀi XY`i bX`XYb` ; `Y]gYb
&`i bX`" `k Uf`V]g`Yhk U`\$- . \$ \$ `I \f`[YgdYffh" `DYbX`Yfž`X]Y`]b
F]W`hi b[`: fY]Vi f[`fY]gYb`k c`hYbž`a i gghYb`U`hYfbUh]j Y`K Y[Y`]b
?Ui Z`bY\`a Yb" ; `ØW`_]WYfk Y]gY`k Uf`Yg`a Ø[`]Wž`ØVYf`Y]bY`k Yb][
[Ybi hnhY`I bhYfZØ\fi b[ž`X]Y`Yhk Ug`Øgh]W`"Y[hž]b`XYb`6U\b\cZ
ni `[Y`Ub[Yb" `8Yb`bcW`_Ua `Yg`ni `k Y]hYfYb`?ca`d`_Uh]cbYb`J]Y`Y
NØ[Yž`XUfi bhYf`Ui W`X]Y`J YfV]bXi b[`i a` \$, .%) `I \fž`\Y`hYb`b]W`h
Ua `6U\b\cZž`k Ug`X]Y`G]hi Uh]cb`ZØf`X]Y`DYbX`Yf`Yf\`YV`]W`
YfgW`k YfhY"

8]Y`F`Y`hi b[g_`f`Å`ZhY`i bX`X]Y`Dc`]nY`]fYU[]YfhYb`gW`bY`"Ui Z`X]Y
G]hi Uh]cb`i bX`ZØ\fhYb`j cf`C`fhi a`ZUb[fY]W`Y`9fa`]h`i b[Yb`Xi fW`"
`9g`k]fX`U`Yg`XUfUb`[YgYhnhž`X]Y`H`hYf`ni `Z]bXYb`i bX`ni f
F`Y`W`Y`bgW`U`Zh`ni `n]Y`Yb`ž`Yf`_`Å`fhY`Y]b`Dc`]nY]gd`fY`W`Yf" `8]Y`Dc`]nY]
UddY`"YfhY`Ub`a`Ø[`]W`Y`N`Yi [Ybž`g]W`ni `a`Y`XYbž`i a`<]bk`Y]gY
ni f`HUh`ni `[YVYb" `9g`V`Y]Vh`UVni k`UfhYbž`k`Y`W`Y`k`Y]hYfYb
`bZc`fa`Uh]cbYb`Ubg`@]W`h`_ca`a`Yb`k`YfXYbž`Y`XcW`]gh`X]Y`HUh`Ub
g]W`Y]b`Yfbghni bY`a`YbXYg`J`YfV`fY`W`Yb"

9]b`k`Y]hYfYf`J`c`f`ZU`"X]YgYf`5`fh3

8]Y`9I d`cg]cb`XYg': U\`f`_`UfhYbUi`hca`UhYb`k`]fZh`Ui`W`i[fØ»`YfY
: fU[Yb`Ui`Z`<`UVYb`k`]f`\`Yf`Y]bYb`9]bnY`ZU`ž`cXYf`]gh`X]Yg`Y]b
5bnY]W`Yb`ZØf`Y]bY`k`UW`gYbXY`?f]a`]bU`]h`h`]a`_ØZYb`h]W`Yb
F`Ui`a`3`Gc`W`Y`HUhYbž`X]Y`c`Zh`Ui`g`;`Y`hi`b[gXfUb[`cXYf`di`fYf
NYfghØfi b[gk`i`h[YgW`Y`Ybž`ghY`"Yb`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]bY`;`YZU`f`ZØf`X]Y
G]W`Yf\`Y]h`XUfž`gcb`XYfb`gW`ØfYb`Ui`W`Y`b[ghY`i`bhYf`XYb
F`Y]gYbXYb" `8]Y`J`YfUb`hk`c`fh]W`Yb`g]bX`[YZc`fXYfhž`?`cbnY`dhY`ni
Yb`hk`]W`Y`bž`i`a`gc`W`Y`J`c`f`Z`"Y`ni`_Øb`Zh][`ni`j`Yf\]bXYfb"
G]W`Yf\`Y]h`Ub`6U\b\ØZYb`i`bX`ØZYb`h]W`Yb`D`Å`hnYb`a`i`gg`Yfbgh
[Ybca`a`Yb`i`bXž`k`Ybb`b`Øh][ž`Xi`fW`Yf\`Ø`hY`,`VYfk`UW`i`b[`cXYf
UbXYfY`A`U»`bU`a`Yb`[Yk`Å`f`Y]ghY`h`k`YfXYb"

8Yf`J`c`f`ZU`"b`9a`a`YbX]b[Yb`]gh`Y]b`k`Y]hYfYf`fY`a`]bXYf`ZØf`U`"Y
J`Yf`_`Y`fghY]`bY`a`Yfž`XUgg`G]W`Yf\`Y]h]a`a`Yf`Ub`YfghYf`G`hY`"Y
ghY`Yb`gc`"hY" `K`Yf`X]Y`ØZYb`h]W`Yb`J`Yf`_`Y`fga`]hY`"bi`hnhž`gc`"hY
g]W`Y`VYk`i`ggh`gY]bž`XUgg`Yg`b]W`h`bi`f`i`a`XUg`9ffY]W`Yb`XYg`N]Y`g

[Y\hž'gcbXYfb'Ui W\i a 'X]Y'K U\fi b['XYg'G]W\Yf\Y]hg[YZØ\`g
k Å\fybX'XYf'FY]gY"

GW\ UXyb' i bX'5i gk]f_i b[Yb'Ui Z'XYb 6U\ bVYhf]YV

8]Y'9I d'cg]cb'XYg': U\f_UfhYbUi hca UhYb'ja '6U\ b\cZ
9a a YbX]b[Yb'ZØ\fhY'ni 'Yf\YV']W\Yb'GUW\gW\ÅXYbž'X]Y'ja
ZØbZghY''[Yb'6YfY]W\''Y[Yb''Gc'W\Y'GW\ÅXYb'g]bX'b]W\h'bi f
a cbYhÅž'gcbXYfb'\UVYb'Ui W\5i gk]f_i b[Yb'Ui Z'XYb'c_U'Yb
6U\bj Yf_Y\fi bX'X]Y'DUggU[]YfY''8]Y'NYfghØfi b['XYg'5i hca UhYb
ZØ\fhY'XUni ž'XUgg'X]Y'i bhYfZØ\fi b['ZØf'a Y\fyfy'Ghi bXYb
[YgdYffh'k YfXYb'a i gghY''8]Yg'VYY]bhfÅW\h][hY'j]bgVYgcbXYfY
DYbX'Yfž'X]Y'Ui Z'X]Y'NØ[Y'j]b'F]W\hi b[':fY]Vi f['Ub[Yk]YgYb'g]bX"
8]Y'Gi W\Y'bUW\U'hYfbUhj]Yb'K Y[Yb'k Å\fybX'XYf'GdYffi b[
ghY''hY'Y]bY'ni gÅhn']W\Y'<YfUi gZcfXYfi b['XUF"

8]Y'ni ghÅbX][Yb'6Y\ØfXYb'UfVY]hYhYb'gW\ bY''XUFUbž'X]Y
G]hi Uh]cb'ni 'ÅFYb'i bX'XYb'Ni [Ub['ni a '6U\ b\cZ
k]YXYf\Yfni ghY''Yb''8]YgY'9fY][b]ggY'j YfXYi h]W\Yb'X]Y
<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Ybž'X]Y'a]h'J UbXU']ga i g'i bX'[Yn]Y'hYb'5hhUW_Yb
Ui Z'≠ZfUghfi _hi f'j YfVi bXYb'g]bXž'i bX'XYfYb'i ba]hY'VUFY
5i gk]f_i b[Yb'Ui Z'X]Y'^ ZYbh]W_Y]h"

„ VYfk UW\ i b['i bX'G]W\ Yf\Y]hga U» bU\ a Yb

A]h'XYf'Ni bU\ a Y'j cb'J cfZÅ''Yb'X]YgYf'5fh'ghY''Yb'g]W\ ': fU[Yb'ni f
G]W\Yf\Y]h'i bX'ni 'XYb'dfÅj Ybh]j Yb'A U» bU\ a Yb'Ub'6U\ b\ØZYb''≠
j]Y'Yb'FY[]cbYb'8Yi hgW\UbXg'k i fXYb'VYfY]hg'bYi Y
„ VYfk UW\ i b[ggmghY'a Y'j]bghU''Yfhž'i a 'J UbXU']ga i g'ni
fYXi n]YfYb'i bX'X]Y'G]W\Yf\Y]h'XYf'DUggU[]YfY'ni 'Yf\Ø\Yb''8]YgY
GmghY'a Y'i a ZUggYb'i bhYf'UbXYfYa '77HJ!?!?Ua YfUg'i bX'Y]bY
[fO» YfY'DfÅgYbn'j cb'G]W\Yf\Y]hg_fÅZhYb"

8]Y'8]g_i gg]cb'i a 'X]Y'9ZZY_h]j]hÅh'X]YgYf'A U» bU\ a Yb'k]fX'Xi fW\
J cfZÅ''Y'k]Y'X]YgYb'bYi 'Ub[Yghc» Yb''9I dYfhYb'd'ÅX]YfYb'ZØf
j YfghÅf_hY'5bghfYb[i b[Ybž'i a 'dchYbn]Y''Yb'HÅhYfb

Ybh[Y[Ybni k]f_Yb'i bX[`Y]W\ nY]h[`X]Y`G]W\ Yf\Y]h`XYf`F Y]gYbXYb
ni `[Yk `A\ f`Y]ghYb" `Ni bY\ a YbXY`5i Za Yf_gUa _Y]h`Ui Z`gc`W\ Y
H\ Ya Yb`_`ObbhY`Ui W\ `XUni `Z\ fYb`ž`XUgg`X]Y`6U\ b[YgY`g`W\ UZhYb
]b`a cXYfbYfY`HYW\ bc`c []Yb`]bj Ygh]YfYb`ž`i a ` _`ObZh][Y`J cfZ`A`Y`ni
j Yfa Y]XYb"

Gcn]U`Y`5i gk]f_i b[Yb`j cb`J UbXU`]ga i g`]b
XYf`; Ya Y]bgW\ UZh

J UbXU`]ga i g`U`h`b]W\ h`bi f`d`mg]gW\ Y`ž`gcbXYfb`Ui W\
dgmW\ c`c []gW\ Y`5i gk]f_i b[Yb`Ui Z`X]Y`; Ya Y]bgW\ UZh" `8]Y
G\ W\ UZ] b[`Y]bYg`g]W\ YfYb`i bX`Y]b`UXYbXYb`I a ZY`Xg`]gh`Z\ f`X]Y
@VYbgei U`h`A`h`XYf`5bk c`bYf`Yb`hgW\ Y]XYbX" `G\ W\ `A`XYb`Ub
ÖZYbh]W\ Yb`9]bf]W\ hi b[Yb`k]Y`6U\ b\ ÖZYb`_`ObbYb`XUg`; YZ\ `X`XYf
G]W\ Yf\Y]h`Yf\YV`]W\ `VYY]bh`A`W\ h][Yb"

GhUh]gh]gW\ `[YgY\Yb`g]bX`6U\ b\ ÖZY`A`i Z][`N]Y`j cb`J UbXU`]ga i g`
@Ui h`XYb`A`f`]W\ Yb`6Yf]W\ hYb`XYf`8Yi hgW\ Yb`6U\ b`ØVYf
G]W\ Yf\Y]hg] cfZ`A`Y`]gh`X]Y`NU\`X`XYf`J UbXU`YbU`hY`]a `ÖZYbh]W\ Yb
HfUbgdcfh]b`XYb`Y`mhYb`A`fYb`Ub[Ygh]Y[Yb" `8]Yg`YfZcfXYfh`Y]b
[Ya Y]bgUa Yg`9b[U[Ya Ybh`XYf`; Ya Y]bgW\ UZh`ž`XYf`c`_`U`Yb
6Y\ ÖfXYb`i bX`XYf`6U\ bi bhYfbY\ a Yb`ž`i a `XUg`9fgW\ Y]bi b[gV]`X
i bX`X]Y`G]W\ Yf\Y]h]b`ÖZYbh]W\ Yb`6YfY]W\ Yb`ni `j YfVYggYfb"
J UbXU`]ga i g`VYY]bh`A`W\ h][h`b]W\ h`bi f`X]Y`9][Ybh`Øa Yf`XYf
VYgW\ `A`X][hYb`9]bf]W\ hi b[Yb`ž`gcbXYfb`Ui W\ `XUg`J YfhfUi Yb`XYf
6Yj Ö`_Yfi b[`]b`X]Y`ÖZYbh]W\ Y`b`ZfUghfi _`hi f"

8YhU]`g

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