

6i bXYgdc`nY]`gi W\ h`NYi [Yb`bUW ? UVY`X]YVghU\``Ub`B ØfbVYf[Yf 6U\ bghfYW_Y

I bVY_UbbhY`Xi fW\ hfYbbYb`G][bU`_UVY`Ub`6U\ bghfYW_Y`VY]
B ØfbVYf[" "<]bk Y]gY`Ub`X]Y`6i bXYgdc`nY]`YfVYhYb"

B ØfbVYf[žY]b`C fhžXYf`ZØf`gY]bY`[YgW\ ÅZh][Yb`6U\ b\ ØZ`i bX`X]Y
XUa`]h] YfVi bXYbYb`HfUbgdcfhbYhnY`VY_Ubbh]ghž`k i fXY
GW\Ui d`Uhn`Y]bYg`_f]a`]bY`Yb`J cfZU`gž`XYf`X]Y`G]W\ Yf\Y]hg`U[Y`]b
XYf`FY[]cb`YfbYi h]b`XYb` : c`_i g`fØW`h`5a` `A cbhU[ž`XYa` `!&"
5i [i ghžYbhXYW`hY`Y]b`G][bU`hYW\ b]_Yf`XYf`8Yi hgW\ Yb`6U\ b`Ub
XYf`J YfV]bXi b[`nk`]gW\ Yb`XYa` `B ØfbVYf[Yf`F Ub[]YfVU\ b`cZi bX
: Øfh\`nk Y]`Xi fW\ hfYbbhY`G][bU`_UVY`"8]Y`HUhYb`gW\ Y]bYb`[Yd`Ubh
ni`gY]bž`XU`Y]b`]a` a Yf\]b`" \$`NYbh]a` YhYf`Ub[Yg`? UVY`ghØW`
Ybhk YbXYhk i fXYž`k Ug`ni`Y]bYa` `Yf\YV`]W\ Yb`GW\ UXYb`j`cb`fi bX
&\$`\$\$\$`9i fc`ZØ\ fh"

8]Y`HUh`YfY][bYhY`g]W\ `]b`XYf`B Å\Y`XYf`6fØW`_Y`Ub`XYf
F ch\YbVi f[Yf`GhfU» Yž`Y]bYa` `ZfYei Ybh]YfhYb`6YfY]W\ " "<]YfVY]
\UbXY`hYg`g]W\ `b]W\ hi a` `Y]bYb`9]bnY`ZU`"6YfY]hg`9bXY`ž` `]\UhY
X]Y`Dc`nY]`a` Y\YfY`? UVY`i a` a UbhY`i b[Yb`]b`XYa` `b Å\YfYb
I a` Z`X`VYa` Yf`_hž`X]Y`ni bÅW\ gh`Ui Z[YhUi W\ hi bX`XUbUW\ `gdi f`cg
j`YfgW\ k i bXYb`k UfYb`"8]YgYf`bYi Y`J cfZU`"XYi hYh`XUfUi Z`\]bž
XUgg`X]Y`8fU\ hn]Y\Yf`a` Ø[`]W\ Yfk Y]gY`gW\ cb`"Åb[Yf`Ui ZXYf`Gi W\ Y
bUW\ `gc`W\ Yb`k Yfhj`c`Yb`A UhYf]U`]Yb`g]bXž`k Ug`X]Y`8f]b[`]W\ _Y]h
XYf`9fa`]h]i b[Yb`Yf\`Ø\ h"

9fa]hh`i b[Yb`XYf`6i bXYgdc`nY]

8]Y`6i bXYgdc`nY]`\Uhi a` [Y\YbX`Y]b`9fa`]h]i b[gj`YfZU\Yb
Y]b[Y`Y]hYhž`XUg`g]W\ `Ui Z`X]Y`GhØfi b[`ØZYbh]W\ Yf`6Yhf]YVYž

8]YVghU\`i bX`GUW\VYgW\AX][i b[`YfghfYW_h"8]Y`GhfUz] YfZc`[Yf
V]hhYb`X]Y`6Yj`O`_Yfi b[`i a`A]h\]ZY`i bX`ZcfXYfb`U`YžX]Y
-Zcfa Uh]cbYb`ØVYf`X]Y`J c fZ\`Y`UVYbž`Ui`Z`g]W\`VY]`XYf
6i bXYgdc`nY]]bgdY_h]cb`BØfbVYf[`ni`a`Y`XYb"8]Y
?cbhU_hUi`ZbU\`a`Y`_Ubb`gck`c\`hY`YZcb]gW\`U`g`Ui`W\`dYf`9!A U]`
YfZc`[Ybž`k`Ug`Yg`YXYa`Yf`Y]W\`hYfhž`<]bk`Y]gY`Ubc bma
k`Y]hYfni`[YVYb"

9]b`k`Y]hYfYg`k`]W\`h][Yg`8`YhU]`]gh`XYf`Xi`fW\`X]Y`HUhYb`j`Yfi`fgUW\`hY
k`]fhgW\`UZh]W\`Y`GW\`UXYb"NK`Uf`a`U[`XUg`[Yghc`\`YbY`GhØW`_XYf
?UVY`fY`Uh]j`_`Y]b`YfgW\`Y]bYbž`X]Y`5i`gk`]f`_i`b[Yb`X]YgYg
J`YfVfYW\`Ybg`g]bX`YXcW\`ZØf`X]Y`8Yi`hgW\`Y`6U\`b`Yf\`YV`]W\`ž`XU
[Ub`nY`GmghYa`Y`j`cb`G][bU`hYW\`b]_Yb`VY]b]hf`ÅW\`h][h`k`YfXYb
_ØbbYb"8]Y`G]W\`Yf\`Y]h`i`bX`XYf`fY]Vi`b[g`cgY`6Yhf]YV`XYg
GW\`YbYbj`Yf`_Y\`fg`ghY\`Yb`XUVY]`Ui`ZXYa`Gd]Y`"

8]Y`V]g\`Yf][Yb`9fa`]h`i`b[Yb`\`UVYb`Ui`W\`Y]bYb`a`Ø[`]W\`Yb
Ni`gUa`a`Yb\`Ub[`nk`]gW\`Yb`XYb`_Øfn]W\`Yb`?UVY`j`YfVfYW\`Yb`i`bX
XYb`ZØ\`YfYb`J`c`f`Z\`Yb`Ui`Z[YnY][h"8]YgY`9bhXYW`_i`b[Yb`_ØbbhYb
XUfUi`Z\`]bk`Y]gYbž`XUgg`Yg`g]W\`i`a`Y]b[fØ»`YfYg`BYhmk`Yf`_
_f]a`]bY`Yf`5_h]j`]h`ÅhYb`\`UbXY`hž`XUg`Ui`Z`X]Y`9bhk`YbXi`b[`j`cb
A`UhYf]U]Yb`UVn]Y`hž`X]Y`ZØf`XYb`6U\`bVYhf]YV`j`cb`6YXYi`hi`b[`g]bX"

„ VYfk UW\ i b[`i bX`G]W\ Yf\ Y]h`]a
GW\]YbYbj Yf`_Y\`f`

8]YgY`9fY][b]ggY`k`YfZYb`Y]b`@]W\`h`Ui`Z`X]Y`j`Yfk`i`bXVUfYb`5gdY`_hY
XYf`-ZfUghfi`_hi`f`]a`G\`W\`YbYbj`Yf`_Y\`f"K`Å\`fYbX`j`]Y`Y`A`YbgW\`Yb
X]Y`8Yi`hgW\`Y`6U\`b`U`g`ni`j`Yf`Ågg][Y`HfUbgdcfha`Ø[`]W\`_Y]h
k`Å\`Ybž`k`]fX`ni`bY\`a`YbX`_`Ufž`XUgg`Ui`W\`\`]Yf
G]W\`Yf\`Y]hga`U»`bU\`a`Yb`_f]h]gW\`g]bX"8]Y`A`U»`bU\`a`Yb`ni`f
„ VYfk UW\ i b[`i bX`9]bXÅa`a`i`b[`gc`W\`Yf`J`YfVfYW\`Yb`a`ØggYb
XU\`Yf`bcW\`j`Yfgh`Åf`_h`k`YfXYbž`i`a`Å\`b`]W\`Y`J`c`f`Z\`Y`]b`XYf
Ni`_i`bZh`ni`j`Yfa`Y]XYb"8]Yf`GW\`i`h`X`Yf`6U\`b]bZfUghfi`_hi`f`]gh`b]W\`h
bi`f`Y]bY`J`YfUbhk`cfhi`b[`XYf`6Y\`ØfXYbž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W\`Y]bY
5i`Z[UVY`ZØf`X]Y`[YgUa`hY`;`Ya`Y]bgW\`UZh"

Ni`gUa`a`YbZUggYbX`Åggh`g]W\`gU[Ybž`XUgg`X]YgYf`J`c`f`ZU`b]W\`h

]gc`YfhVYhfUW hYh'k YfXYb`_Ubb" A]h'XYf'6]hY'i a`<]bk Y]gY'j cb
XYf'2 ZZYbh]W_X]h'nY][h'X]Y'Dc`]nY]ž'XUgg'X]Y'Ni gUa a YbUfVY]h
nk]gWYb'6Øf[Yfb'i bX'G]WYf\Y]hg_fÀZhYb'i bYf'Àgg]W_X]ghž'i a`X]Y
?f]a]bU']hÀh'YZZY_h]j`ni`VY_Àa`dZYb""9bhgWY]Xi b[Yb'a ØggYb
Yhnh[YhfcZZYb'k YfXYbž'i a`X]Y'`bHY[f]hÀh'XYf'6U\b]bZfUghfi`_hi`f
ni`[Yk`À\`f`Y]ghYb'i bX'a`Ò[`]WY`ni`_ØbZh][Y'GW`ÀXYb`ni
j`Yf\]bXYfb"

9]b`5i Zfi Z'ni f`K UW gUa`_Y]h

9g`]gh'Y]bY`\YfUi`gZcfXYfbXY`NY]h'ZØf'X]Y'G]WYf\Y]hg_fÀZhYž'i bX
X]Y'6Øf[Yf'k YfXYb`bUW`XfØW`]W`Yfa`i`h][hž'k UW`gUa`ni`gY]b"
>XYf'GW`fY`bg\`chž'`YXYg'; Yf`Ài`gW`c`XYf`YXY`j`YfX`ÀW`h][Y
5_h]j]hÀh`_ØbbHY`YbhgWY]XYbXY`<]bk Y]gY`ni`f`5i`Z`_Àfi`b[`X]YgYf
_f]a]bY`Yb`A`UW`YbgW`UZhYb`"]YZYfb""`b`Y]bYa`NY]hU`hYf`XYg
`bZcfa`Uh]cbgUi`ghUi`gW`g`]Y[h'Yg`bi`b`Ub`YXYa`9]bnY`bYbž'ni`f
G]WYfi`b[`XYf`Y][YbYb'; Ya`Y]bXY`VY]ni`hfU[Yb'i bX`XYb
A]ggYhÀhYfb`XUg`<UbXk`Yf`_ni`Y[Yb"

<]bhYf[fi bX]bZcfa Uh]cbYb`ni f`G]WYf\Y]h'Ub 6U\bghfYW_Yb

8]Y'G]WYf\Y]h'Ub`6U\bghfYW_Yb`]gh'Y]b`nYbhfU`Yg`H\Ya`U`]b
8Yi`hgW`_UbXž]bgVYgcbXYfY`]b`5bVYhfUW`h'XYf`ghY][YbXYb`NU`\`
j`cb`J`UbXU`]ga`i`g!`i`bX`8]YVghU`\`gZ`_Yb""8]Y`8Yi`hgW`Y`6U\b
]bj`Ygh]Yfh`_cbh]bi`]Yf`]W`]b`X]Y`J`YfVYggYfi`b[`XYf`G][bU`!`i`bX
G]WYf\Y]ghY`W`b]_ž'i`a`X]Y`6Yhf]YVgg]WYf\Y]h'ni`[Yk`À\`f`Y]ghYb"
8Yb`bcW`g]bX':`À`Y`k`]Y`XYf`X]YVghU`\`j`cb`G][bU`_UVY`b
VYXUi`Yf`]W`ž'XU`g]Y`b]W`h`bi`f`Z]bUbn]Y`Y`GW`ÀXYb`j`Yfi`fgUW`Ybž
gcbXYfb`Ui`W`XYb`6Yhf]YV`XYg`GW`]YbYbj`Yf`_Y\fg`Yf\YV`]W
ghØfYb`_ØbbYb"

5i`g`XYf`G]W`h'XYf`8Yi`hgW`Yb`6U\b`]gh'X]Y`bZfUghfi`_hi`f`j`cb
YbhgWY]XYbXYf`6YXYi`hi`b[`ZØf`XYb`fY]Vi`b[`g`cgYb`5V`Ui`Z`XYg
GW`]YbYbj`Yf`_Y\fg""9]b`Ub[`Y[`f]ZZYbYg`G][bU`gmghYa`_Ubb`ni
j`Yfgd`ÀhYhYb`NØ[Yb`c`XYf`[`Uf`ni`Ni`[`Ui`gZ`_Yb`ZØ\`fYbž`k`Ug
k`]YXYfi`a`5i`gk`]f`_i`b[`Yb`Ui`Z`X]Y`F`Y]gYbXYb`i`bX`XYb

; ØhYfj Yf_Y\ f\ Uh" ð XYb`Yhnyb` ð\ fYb` \ UVYb` J UbXU`]ga i gi bX
8]YVghU\`Ub`6U\bgfhYW_Yb`]b`8Yi hgW\`UbX`ni [Ybca a Ybži bX
X]Y`6i bXYgdc`nY]`UfVY]hYhYb[`a]h`XYf`8Yi hgW`Yb`6U\`b
ni gUa a Ybži a `X]YgY`DfcV`Ya Y`ni `VY_`Aa dZYb"

GhUh]gh]gW`Y`8 UhYb`ni`J UbXU`]ga i g`]a 6U\bgY`hcf

@Ui h`XYb`Ä\ f`]W`Yb`6Yf]W`hYb`XYf`8Yi hgW`Yb`6U\`b` []Vh`Yg`]b
8Yi hgW`UbX`]a a Yf`k]YXYf`g][b]Z`UbhY`J UbXU`]ga i ggW`ÄXYb`]a
6U\bgY`hcf"&\$\$`k i fXY`Y]b`; YgUa hgW`UXYb`j cb`ØVYf`\$
A]`cbYb`9i fc`Xi fW`J UbXU`]ga i gi bX`Ä\`b`]W`Yb`GhfUZhUhYb
j YfnY]W`bYh`8]YgY`GW`ÄXYb`VYhfYZZYb`gc k c\`X]Y`ðZfUghfi`_hi`f
U`g`Ui W`X]Y` : U\fnYi [Y`XYf`8Yi hgW`Yb`6U\`b"

8]Y`6i bXYgdc`nY]`i bX`X]Y`8Yi hgW`Y`6U\`b`\ UVYb`j YfgW`]YXYbY
A U» bU\`a Yb`Yf[f]ZZYbži a `X]Y`G]W`Yf\Y]h`ni `Yf\`Ö\`Yb``8 Uni
[Y\`ÖfYb`i bhYf`UbXYfYa`j YfghÄf`hY`J]XYc`ØVYfk UW`i b[Ybž`XYf
9]bgUhn`j cb`n]j]Yb`9]bgUhn`fÄZhYb`i bX`X]Y` : ÖfXYfi b[`j cb
5i Z`Äfi b[g_Ua dU[bYb`]b`XYf`6Yj Ö`_Yfi b[``8]Y
Ni gUa a YbUfVY]h`a]h`XYb`; Ya Y]bXYb`k]fX`YVYbZU`g`]bhYbg]j]Yfhž
i a`XUg`6Yk i gghgY]b`ZØf`X]Y`6YXYi hi b[`XYf`6U\`bg]W`Yf\Y]h`ni
ghÄf`_Yb"

I a`X]Y`² ZZYbh`]W`_Y]h`VYggYf`]b`XYb`GW`i hn`XYf`ðZfUghfi`_hi`f
Y]bni VYn]Y\`Ybž`k YfXYb`j]Y`Y`gc`W`Yf`J cfZÄ`Y`XYf`² ZZYbh`]W`_Y]h
[Ya Y`XYhž`i a`<]bk Y]gY`ni f`5i Z`Äfi b[`j cb`GhfUZhUhYb`ni
Yf\`U`hYb``8]Y`@Øgi b[gei`chY`VY]`J UbXU`]ga i g!8Y`]_hYb`V`Y]Vh
YXcW`cZh`b]YXf][ž`k Ug`X]Y`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[`j YfXYi h`]W`hž`j cf`XYf
X]Y`6Y\`ÖfXYb`ghY\`Yb"

5i Z[fi bX`XYf`GW`k YfY`XYf`J cfZÄ`Y` []Vh`Yg`Y]bY`k UW`gYbXY
: cfXYfi b[`bUW` [YgYhn`]W`Yb`J YfÄbXYfi b[Ybži a`XYb`GW`i hn
ÖZZYbh`]W`Yf`ðZfUghfi`_hi`f`ni`j YfVYggYfb``8]Y`6i bXYgdc`nY]`i bX
X]Y`6U\`bi bhYfbY\`a Yb`UfVY]hYb`_cbh]bi]Yf`]W`XUfUbž`]bbcj Uh]j Y
5bgÄhnY`ni f`?`f]a]bU`]hÄhgVY_`Äa dZ`b[`ni`Ybhk]W`_Yb`i bX`XYfYb
9ZZY`_hj]]hÄh`ni`ØVYfd`fØZYb"

: Øf'k Y]hYfY' ðZcfa Uh]cbYb'ØVYf'X]Y'G]WYf\Y]hga U» bU\ a Yb'XYf
8 Yi hgWYb'6U\ b'i bX'GhUh]gh]_Yb'ni 'GhØfi b[Yb'ja '6U\bj Yf_Y\ f
VYgi WYb'G]Y'X]Y'K YVgY]hY'XYf'8 Yi hgWYb'6U\ b"

8YhU]g

6Ygi WYb'G]Y'i bg'Ui Z.'b!U["XY