

I bZU``]b'; ØbnVi f[. '9!GWŁchYf!: U\ fYf
j Yf`Yhnh'g]WŁ`VY]`F Y[Y`j Yfghc»

Nk Y]`đ [YbX`]WŁY`_fUWŁYb`]b'; ØbnVi f['a]h`Y]bYa` '9!GWŁchYf
]b`Y]b`đi g\Äi gWŁYb`i bX`j Yfi fgUWŁYb`&") \$\$`9i fc`GWŁUXYb"

5a`8cbbYfghU[`_Ua`Yg`]b'; ØbnVi f[`ni`Y]bYa` `JcfZU``žXYf`X]Y
G]WŁYf\Y]h`Ui Z`XYb`GhfU»Yb`i bX`XYb`j YfUbhk cfhi b[gj`c``Yb
I a [Ub[`a]h`bYi Yb`J Yf_Y\fga]hY`b`]bg`@]WŁh`fØW`h`Nk Y]
đ [YbX`]WŁY`k UfYb`Ui Z`Y]bYa` '9!GWŁchYf`i bhYfk Y[gžk Ug`b]WŁh`bi f
[Y[Yb`X]Y`J cfgWŁf]ZhYb`j YfghØ» hž`gcbXYfb`ni`Y]bYa` [YZ\`f`]WŁYb
I bZU``ZØ\fhY``8]Y`Dc`nY]`YfhY]`hY`XYb`6Yf]WŁh`ØVYf`X]YgYb`JcfZU``ž
XYf`Ui ZX]Y`; YZU\`fYb`XYg`f]g_UbhYb`J Yf\U`hYbg`]a
GhfU»Ybj Yf_Y\`f`\]bk Y]gh"

8Yf`%, !Ä\`f][Y]: U\ fYf`Yb`_hY`XYb`9!GWŁchYf`]b`gØX`]WŁY`F]WŁhi b[ž
ØVYf`]Y»`YXcWŁ`Y]bYa``%*!Ä\`f][Yb`đ [YbX`]WŁYb`XUg`A]hZU\`fYb"
8]YgY`< UbX`i b[gk Y]gY`]gh]b`8Yi hgWŁ`UbX`Ui gXfØW`_]WŁ`j YfVchYbž
XU`9!GWŁchYf`bi f`ZØf`XYb`HfUbgdcfh]j cb`Y]bYf`DYfgcb`ni [Y`UggYb
g]bX``D`Øh`]WŁ`j Yf`cf`XYf`: U\ fYf`X]Y`?cbhfc``Y`ØVYf`XUg`: U\ fnYi [ž
k Ug`ni`Y]bYa`XfUa`Uh]gWŁYb`JcfZU``ZØ\fhY"

I bZU``\ Yf[Ub[`i bX`J Yf`Yhni b[Yb

8Ug`8i c`_fUWŁhY`a]h`XYa` '9`Y`_hfcfc``Yf`]b`Y]b`đi g\Äi gWŁYbž
k cVY]`X]Y`GY]hYbgWŁY]VY`nYfVfUWŁ``6Y]XY`đ [YbX`]WŁYb`ghØfnhYb
VY]`XYa` `5i ZdfU``i bX`Yf`]hYb`i [`ØW`_]WŁYfk Y]gY`bi f`Y]WŁhY
J Yf`Yhni b[Yb``K]Y`X]Y`Dc`nY]`a]hY]`hYž`k i fXYb`g]Y`ni f`k Y]hYfYb
a YX]n]b]gWŁYb`i bhYfgi WŁi b[`]b`Y]b`bU\Y[Y`Y[YbYg`?fUb`_Yb\Ui g
[YVfUWŁh``8Yf`JcfZU``\Uh`b]WŁh`bi f`X]Y`VY]XYb`6YhfcZZYbYb
VYhfcZZYbž`gcbXYfb`]Y»`Ui WŁ`XYb`; YgUa`hgWŁUXYb`Ub`: U\ fnYi [i
bX`đi g\Äi gWŁYb`Ui Z`fi bX`&") \$\$`9i fc`ghY][Yb"

8]YgYg'9fY][b]g'ghY`h'Y]bY'a U\ bYbXY'9f]bbYfi b['ZØf'U`Y'9!
GWŁchYf!: U\ fYf'XUf" '9g' []hž'X]Y'G]WXYf\Y]hgj c fgWŁ f]ZhYb'ni
VYZc`[Yb'i bX'XUg'Y][YbY'J Yf\U'hYb'ja 'GhfU» Ybj Yf_Y\ f'_f]h]gWŁ'ni
\]bhYfZfU[Yb" '8]Y'; YZU\ fž'X]Y'j cb'i bfYWŁ ha Å»]['hfUbgdcfh]YfhYb
DYfgcbYb'Ui ZY]bYa '9`Y_hfcfc`Yf'Ui g[Y\ hž']gh'b]WŁ h'ni
i bhYfgWŁ ÅhnYb"

F Y [Y `b `ZØf `9! GWŁ c hYf! B i hni b [

9!GWŁchYf'YfZfYi Yb'g]WŁ'j]j]Y'Yb'GhÅXhYb'ni bY\ a YbXYf
6Y']YVh\Y]hi bX'V]YhYb'Y]bY'i a k Y'hZfYi bX']WXY'5'hYfbUhj] Y'ja
GhUXhj Yf_Y\ f"'8cWŁ'a]h'X]YgYf'6Y']YVh\Y]h[Y\ h'Ui WŁ'X]Y
J YfUbhk cfhi b['Y]b\Yfž'g]WŁ'Ub'X]Y' [Y'hYbXYb
J Yf_Y\ fgj c fgWŁ f]ZhYb'ni '\U'hYb"' ðgVYgcbXYfY'XUg': U\ fYb'a]h
a Y\ fYfYb'DYfgcbYb'Ui ZY]bYa 'Y]bn][Yb'F c`Yf']gh]b'8Yi hgWŁ'UbX
fYWŁ h]WŁ'b]WŁ h'ni `Àgg]["K]WŁ h] []ghž'XUgg'X]Y'Bi hni b['g]WXYf'i bX
fY[i 'Y]fh'YfZc`[hž'i a 'i bZÅ`Y'i bX'J Yf'Yhni b[Yb'ni 'j Yfa Y]XYb"

8]Y'6Ygh]a a i b[Yb'g]bX' _`Uf. '9!GWŁchYf'XØfZYb'bi f'j cb'Y]bYf
DYfgcb'[Ybi hnh'k YfXYb"'8]Yg'gc`b]WŁ h'bi f'X]Y'G]WXYf\Y]h'XYf
: U\ fYf'[Yk Å\ f'Y]ghYbž'gcbXYfb'Ui WŁ'X]Y'UbXYfYf
J Yf_Y\ fghY]'bY\ a Yf'gWŁ ØhnYb"'8]Y'6Yhf]YVYž'X]Y'9!GWŁchYf
UbV]YhYbž'\UVYb'X]Y'DZ]WŁ hž']\ fY'Bi hnYf'ØVYf'X]YgY'J c fgWŁ f]ZhYb
Ui Zni _`ÅfYbž'i a 'XUg'6Yk i gghgY]b'ZØf'G]WXYf\Y]h]a
GhfU» Ybj Yf_Y\ f'ni 'ZØfXYfb"

I bZÅ`Y'k]Y'XYf']b'; ØbnVi f['j YfXYi h]WXYbž'XUgg'A]ggUWŁ hi b[
X]YgYf'F Y[Yb'gWŁ k Yfk]Y[YbXY': c[Yb'\UVYb'_Ubb"'8Yf'J c fZU`
_ØbbhY'a Y\ f'U'g'bi f'_ØfdYf']WXY'J Yf'Yhni b[Yb'bUWŁ'g]WŁ'n]Y\Yb/
Yf'_ØbbhY'VYb'gc'ni 'Y]bYf'Yf\Ø\hYb'GYbg]V']g]Yfi b['ZØf
j YfUbhk cfhi b[gj c`Yg': U\ fYb'UbfY[Yb"

ðg[YgUa h'nY][h'XYf'i bZU`ž'k]Y'k]WŁ h] ['Yg']ghž'X]Y'J Yf_Y\ fgfY[Yb'
ni 'VYUWŁ hYb'i bX'Ui Z'X]Y'G]WXYf\Y]h]a 'GhfU» Ybj Yf_Y\ f'ni
UWŁ hYb"'9g']ghi bYf'Àgg']WŁ ž'XUgg'U`Y'J Yf_Y\ fghY]'bY\ a Yf'Ub
Y]bYa 'GhfU ['n]Y\Ybž'i a 'i bZÅ`Y'ni 'j Yfa Y]XYb'i bX'XYb
GhfU» Ybj Yf_Y\ f'g]WXYfYf'ni '[YghU'hYb"

9]b`VYXYi hYbXYf`K YW_fi Z

JcfZÄ`Y`k]Y`X]YgYf`gc`hYb`U`Yž`X]Y`9!GWčchYf`bi hnyb`cXYf`]b`]\fYf
BÄ`Y`i bhYfk Y[g`g]bXž`XUni`UbFY[Ybž`]\f`J Yf\U`hYb`ni
ØVYfXYb_Yb`"G]WXYf\Y]h]a`GhfU»Ybj Yf_Y`f`a`i`gg]a`a`Yf`\ÖWghY
Df]cf]hÄ`h`UVYb`"8Yf`:`U`]b`]; ØbnVi f[`]gh`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]bY
9f]bbYfi b[`Ub`X]Y`[Y`hYbXYb`J`c`fgW`f]ZhYbž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`Ub`X]Y
J YfUbhk`cfhi b[`Y`XYg`9]bnY`bYbž`g]W`Ub`X]YgY`ni`U`hYb`i`bX
Y]bYb`dcg]h]j`Yb`6Y]hfU[`ni`f`J`Yf_Y`f`gg]WXYf\Y]h`ni`Y]ghYb`"Bi`f`gc
_ÖbbYb`k]f`U`Y`XUni`VY]hfU[Ybž`XUgg`XYf`GhfU»Ybj Yf_Y`f`Y]b
g]WXYfYf`C`fh`ZØf`U`Y`V`Y]Vh`

F YW h`]W X Y ; fi bX`U[Yb`ZØf`9!GWčchYf

þ`8Yi hgW`UbX`]gh`X]Y`Bi`hni b[`j`cb`9!GWčchYfb`Xi`fW`X]Y
9`Y`_hfc`_Y]bghZU`fnYi [Y]J Yf`c`f`X`bi b[`fY?`:`J`É`fY[`i`]Yfh`"8]YgY
VYgU[hž`XUgg`9!GWčchYf`Y]bn][`ZØf`X]Y`6Y`ZØf`XYfi b[`Y]bYf`DYfgcb
ni [Y`UggYb`g]bX`i`bX`Y]bY`VYgh]a`a`hY`<`ÖWgh[YgW`k]bX][`_Y]h]j`cb
&\$`_a`#`b]W`h`ØVYfgW`fY]hYb`XØfZYb`"Ni`XYa`XØfZYb`X]YgY
:`U`fnYi [Y`bi`f`Ui`Z`F`UX`k`Y[Yb`c`XYfž`k`Ybb`gc`W`Y`b]W`h
j`cf`\UbXYb`g]bXž`Ui`Z`GhfU»Yb`[YZU`fYb`k`YfXYb`"8]Y`F`Y[Y`i`b[Yb
n]Y`Yb`XUfUi`Z`UVž`X]Y`G]WXYf\Y]h`XYf`:`U`fYbXYb`g`ck`J`Y`UbXYfYf
J`Yf_Y`f`ghY]`bY`a`Yf`ni`[Yk`Ä`f`Y]ghYb`"6Y]J`YfghÖ»Yb`Xfc`Yb
6i`»[Y`XYf`c`XYf`gc[Uf`X]Y`9]bn]Y`i`b[`XYg`:`U`fnYi [g`

GhU]gh]_Yb`nY][Ybž`XUgg`X]Y`Bi`hni b[`j`cb`9!GWčchYfb`]b
gh`Xh]gW`Yb`; YV]YhYb`]b`XYb`Y`hnhYb`»\fYb`ghUf`_ni [Ybca`a`Yb
\Uh`"8]Yg`\Uh`b]W`h`bi`f`ni`Y]bYa`5bgh]Y[`Ub`J`Yf_Y`f`ž`gcbXYfb
Ui`W`ni`Y]bYf`Ni`bU`a`Y`j`cb`l`bZÄ`Yb`[YZØ`fh`@Ui`h`Y]bYf`Ghi`X]Y
XYf`8Yi hgW`Yb`; YgYhn`]W`Yb`l`bZU`j`Yfg]W`Yfi b[`[]b[Yb`]a`»\f
&\$&\$`ØVYf`%&`\$`\$`\$`l`bZÄ`Y`a`]h`9!GWčchYfb`Y]b`Yfž`k`Ug`X]Y
B`ch`k`YbX][`_Y]h`ZØf`ghf]W`YfY`G]WXYf\Y]hga`U»bU`a`Yb`j`YfXYi`h]W`h`

9]bZ`i`gg`Ui`Z`X]Y`c`_U`Y`; Ya`Y]bgW`UZh

8]Y`Bi`hni b[`j`cb`9!GWčchYfb`\Uh`Ui`W`gc`n]U`Y`i`bX`k]fhgW`UZh]W`Y
5i`gk]f`_i`b[Yb`Ui`Z`X]Y`c`_U`Yb`; Ya`Y]bgW`UZhYb`"K`Ä`fYbX`g]Y`U`g

i a k Y`hZFYi bX`jWXY`5`hYfbUh]j Y`ni`5i hcg`VYk cfVYb`k YfXYbž`[]Vh
Yg`Ui W`6YXYb`Yb`\\]bg]W`h`jW`XYf`G]W`Yf`Y]h`i bX`XYf
J Yf`Y`fgØVYf`Ughi b[" " " " Gh`AXhYb`k]Y` ; ØbnVi f[ž`k c`gc`W`Y
J cfZ`Y`j cf`ca a Ybž`k]fX`\\`Ai Z[[ØVYf`X]Y`Bchk YbX][_Y]h
X]g`i h]Yfhž`ni g`Ah`n`jW`Y`G]W`Yf`Y]hgj cf`Y`fi b[Yb`ni
]a d`Ya Ybh]YfYbž`k]Y`ni a`6Y]gd]Y`X]Y`GW`UZZ b[`j cb`gdYn]Y`Yb
: U`fgdi fYb`ZØf`9!GW`chYf`cXYf`fY[Y`a`A»][Y
5i Z`Àfi b[g`Ua dU[bYb`ni f`G]W`Yf`Y]h"

8 UfØVYf`\\]bUi g`[]Vh`Yg`Ui W`k]fhgW`UZh]W`Y`8]a Ybg]cbYbž`X]Y
VYfØW`g]W`h][h`k YfXYb`a ØggYb`"8]Y`Df`ÀgYbn`j cb`9!GW`chYf!
J Yf`Y`\\]Z]fa Yb`\\Uh`c`_`Yb`i bhYfbY`a Yb`bYi Y`7`\\UbW`b`YfØZZbYhž
UVYf`Ui W`X]Y`gh`AXh]gW`Y`J Yf`Y`fgd`Ubi b[`YfUi g[YZcfXYfhž`i a
Y]b` ; `Y]W`[Yk]W`h`nk]gW`Yb` " " " " bcj Uh]cb`i bX`G]W`Yf`Y]h`ni`Z]bXYb`"

5i Z`Àfi b[`i bX`Df`Àj Ybh]cb

I a `i bZ`Y`k]Y`XYb`]b` ; ØbnVi f[`ni`j Yf`\\]bXYfbž`g]bX
Df`Àj Ybh]cbga U» bU`a Yb`j cb`[fc» Yf`6YXYi hi b["
6]`Xi b[gcZYbg]j Yb`Ub`GW`i`Yb`i bX`5i Z`Àfi b[g`Ua dU[bYb`ZØf`
X]Y`2 ZYbh]W`_Y]h`_ØbbhYb`\\Y`ZYbž`XUg`6Yk`i gghgY]b`ZØf`X]Y
f]W`h][Yb`J Yf`Y`fgdfU`_]Yb`ni`gW`ÀfZYb`" " " " Ni gUa a YbUfVY]h`a]h
XYb`Øfh]W`Yb`6Y`ØfXYb`_ØbbhYb`c`_`Y` " " " "]h]Uh]j Yb`XUni
VY]hfU[Ybž`X]Y`Bi hni b[`j cb`9!GW`chYfb`g]W`YfYf`ni`[YghU`hYb`"

8]Y`Dc`nY]`gd]Y`h`Y]bY`YbhgW`Y]XYbXY`Fc`Y`]b`XYf` , VYfk UW`i b[
XYf`9]b`U`hi b[`XYf`J Yf`Y`fgfY[Y`b`i bX`gc`hY`fY[Y`a`A»][
 " " " " Zcfa Uh]cbYb`ØVYf`X]Y` ; YZU`fYb`XYf`a]ggVf`Ài W`jW`Yb`Bi hni b[
j cb`9!GW`chYfb`j YfVfY]hYb`"A cV]Y` " " " " Zcfa Uh]cbggh`AbXY`cXYf
K cf`g`l`cdg`_ØbbhYb`YVYbZU`g`XUni`VY]hfU[Ybž`dchYbn]Y`Y`Bi hnYf
ØVYf`X]Y`[YgYhn]W`Yb`6Ygh]a a i b[Yb`i bX`g]W`Yf`Y]hgfy`Yj UbhY
J Yf`U`hYbgk Y]gYb`Ui Zni`_`ÀfYb`"

Gc`W`Y`A U» bU`a Yb`_ØbbhYb`b]W`h`bi f`X]Y`G]W`Yf`Y]h`Yf`\\`Ø`Ybž
gcbXYfb`Ui W`XUg`J YfhfUi Yb`XYf`2 ZYbh]W`_Y]h]b`X]Y`Bi hni b[
j cb`9!GW`chYfb`U`g`gW`bY`Ygž`a cXYfbYg`i bX`j cf`U`Y`a`g]W`YfYg
: cfhVYk Y[i b[ga]hhY`gh`Àf`_Yb`"

8YhU]g

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