

< Y]a UhZYgh]b`A Yhha Ubb. : Y]Yfb`a]h
F YgdY_h`bUWk`Gc`]b[Yf`5bgWk`U[

A Yhha Ubb`ZY]Yfh`gY]b`<Y]a UhZYgh]j Yf_Øfnh`]a` ; YXYb_Yb`Ub
CdZYf`XYg`Gc`]b[Yb!5bgWk`U[g`"GWk Y][Ya]bi hY`i a`&\$`I` \f`
G]Wk Yf\Y]hj Yfgh`f_h"

A Yhha Ubb`ž`Y]bY`GhUXhž`X]Y`[YfUXY`]a` ; Ub[Y`]ghž`]\fY`HfUX]h]cb
XYg`<Y]a UhZYghYg`ni`ZY]Yfbž`g]Y\h`g]Wk`Y]ba U`a Y`f`a`]h`XYb
GWkUhYb`Y]bYg`hfU[]gWkYb`9fY][b]ggYg`_cbZfcbh]Yfh`5a`&(`"
5i [i gh`&\$&(`ž`Y]bYa`HU[ž`XYf`ZØf`X]Y`6Øf[Yf`X]Yga U`UbXYfg
j Yf`Ài Zhž`k]fX`X]Y`: Y]Yf`a`]h`Y]bYa`gWk YfYb`<YfnYb`Zc`fh[YgYhnhž
k`À`fYbX`X]Y`BUWk]Wk]hj ca`5bgWk`U[]b`Gc`]b[Yb`X]Y`Fi`bXY
a`UWk`h"

8]Y`6Øf[Yfa`Y]ghYf]b`j`cb`A Yhha Ubb`ž`GUbXfU`D]YhgWk`a`Ubb`ž`\Uh
g]Wk`ni`h]Yžh`VYhfc`ZYb`ØVYf`X]Y`U`_hi`Y`Yb` ; YgWk`Y`b]ggY
[Y`Ài`»`Yfh`" BUWk]Wk]hYb`k`]Y`X]Y`ØVYf`XYb`5bgWk`U[]b`Gc`]b[Yb
g]bX`gWk`c`W_]YfYbX`i`bX`i`bVY[fY]Z]Wk`ž`i`bX`UggYb`a`]Wk`dYfgØb`]Wk
k`]Y`i`bg`U`Y`ZUggi`b[g`c`g`ni`fØW`ž`Yf`_`À`fhY`g]Y`]b`Y]bYf
DfYggYa`]hY]`i`b["G]Y`VYhcb`hYž`XUgg`]b`X]YgYb`gWk`YfYb`Ghi`bXYb
X]Y` ; YXUb_Yb`XYf`GhUXh[Ya`Y]bgWk`Už`VY]`XYb`J`Yf`YhnhYb`ž`XYb
5b[Y\Øf][Yb`XYf`CdZYf`i`bX`XYb`HUdZYfYb`9]bgUm`f`À`ž`hYb`g]bXž
X]Y`]\f`6YghYg`[YVYbž`i`a`ZØf`X]Y`G]Wk`Yf\Y]h`XYf`A`YbgWk`Yb`ni
gc`f[Yb"

; YghU`hi`b[`XYg`<Y]a UhZYghYg

K`À`fYbX`XYf`8fi`W`ž`XUg`<Y]a UhZYgh`UVni`gU[Ybž`Xi`fWk`X]Y
Øb[ghYb`9fY][b]ggY`ni`[Ybca`a`Yb`\Uhž`Yb`hgWk]YXYb`g]Wk`X]Y
Cf[Ub]gUhc`fYbž`X]Y`: Y]Yf`b]Wk`h`ni`ghc`ddYb`" `&`XYf
DfYggYa`]hY]`i`b[`j`cb`6Øf[Yfa`Y]ghYf]b`D]YhgWk`a`Ubb`k`]fX`Y`XcWk

XUfUi Z\]b[Yk]YgYbžXUgg`Y]b`i bVYgWk YfhYg: Y]Yfb`i bhYf`X]YgYb
I a ghÀbXYb`b]W`h`a Ò[`]W`]gh` 8]Y; YZØ\`g`U[Y`j]Y`Yf`j YfV]YhYh
Y]b`Ui g[Y`UggYbYg: Y]Yfb`bUW`Y]bYa `gc`W`Yb`gW`fYW`_]W`Yb
JcfZU`` ž`Yf`_`ÀfhY`g]Y``8Yb`bcW`V`Y]Vh`XUg: Ygh`VYghY`Ybž`k Ybb
Ui W`]b`Y]bYf`j Yf_ØfnhYb`: cfa ž`i a `XYb`6Øf[Yfb`Y]bYb`FUi a `ZØf
; Ya Y]bgW`UZh`ni `V]YhYbž`c`bY`XUVY]`X]Y`GW`k YfY`XYf`I a ghÀbXY
ni `j YfbUW`_`Àgg][Yb`"

8]Y`J YfUbg`hU`hYf`\UVYb`]b`Yb[Yf`Ni gUa a YbUfVY]h`a]h
j YfgW`]YXYbYb`6Y`ØfXYbž`J YfY]bYb`i bX`GhU`bXVYhfY]VYfb
YbhgW`]YXYbž`XUg`<Y]a UhZYgh`V]g`&\$" \$`I `f`ni `ÒZbYbž`k cVY]`X]Y
`YhnhY`6YghY`i b[`i a `&\$`I `f`YfZc`[Yb`gc````I a `&\$`I `f`k]fX`Yg`Ub
VY]XYb`HU[Yb`Y]bY`GW`k Y][Ya]bi hY`[YVYbž`i a `XYb`C`dZYf`]b
Gc`]b[Yb`ni `[YXYb`_Yb``8]YgY`gma `Vc`]gW`Y; YghY`nY][h`XYb
FYgdY`_hi bX`X]Y`HfUi Yf`XYf`GhUXh[Ya Y]bgW`UZh`"

I a `X]Y`G]W`Yf`Y]h`XYf`6Ygi W`Yf`ni `[Yk `À`f`Y]ghYbž`k i fXY`Y]b
j Yfgh`À`f`hYf`9]bgUhn`j cb`G]W`Yf`Y]hg`f`À`ZhYbž`XYa `C`fXbi b[gUa h
gck]Y`XYf`Dc`]nY]`cf[Ub]g]Yfh``8]Y`9bhgW`Y]Xi b[ž`XUg: Ygh`nY]h]W`
ni `VY[fYbnYbž`gc``\Y`ZYbž`Yb[Yg: YXf`Àb[Y`]b`XYb`5VYbXghi bXYb
ni `j Yfa Y]XYb`i bX`XUZØf`ni `gcf[Ybž`XUgg`X]Y: Y]Yf`]W`_Y]hYb`]b
Y]bYa `Zf]YX`]W`Yb`F`U`a Yb`UV`Ui ZYb`"

G]W`Yf`Y]h`i bX`; Ya Y]bgW`UZh`

≠`NY]hYb`j cb`I bg]W`Yf`Y]h`i bX`5b[gh`ghY``h`g]W`c`Zh`X]Y: fU[Yž
k]Y`k]W`h][`; Ya Y]bgW`UZh`i bX`Ni gUa a Yb`U`h`g]bX``8Ug
<Y]a UhZYghž`XUg`j]Y`Y`6Øf[Yf`j cb`A Yh`a Ubb`Ubn]Y`hž`V]YhYhY]bY
; Y`Y[Yb`Y]hž`g]W`ni `j YfgUa a Y`b`i bX`[Ya Y]bgUa `]b`Y]bYa
fYgdY`_hj c``Yb`F`U`a Yb`ni `ZY]Yfb``9g`]gh`Y]b`NY]W`Yb`XYf`Gh`À`f`_Yž
b]W`h`bi f`ZØf`X]Y`GhUXh`A Yh`a Ubbž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`ZØf`X]Y
BUW`VUf[Ya Y]bXYbž`X]Y`j cb`XYb`gW`cW_]YfYbXYb`BUW`f]W`hYb
VYhfcZYb`g]bX``"

8]Y`9bhgW`Y]Xi b[ž`XUg`<Y]a UhZYgh`hf`cn`XYf`I a ghÀbXY
Zcfhni gYhnybž`gd]Y[Y`h`XYb`k i bgW`k]XYfž`hf`cn`U`Yf
GW`k]Yf][_Y]hYb`Y]bY`6chgW`UZh`XYf`<cZbi b[`i bX`XYg
A]hY]bUbXYfg`ni `gYbXYb``8Yf; YXUb`_Yž`XUgg`A YbgW`Yb

ni gUa a Yb_ca a Ybži a 'g]W\ [Y [YbgY]h]['ni 'i bhYfghØhnYbž'k]fX
]b'gc`WYb`NY]hYb`VYgcbXYfg'k]W h]["

8 Ug' < Y]a UhZYgh'a U['i bhYf`XYb`9]bXfØW_Yb`Y]bYg'i bg]WYfYb
l a ZY`Xg'ghUhhZ]bXYbž'UVYf`X]Y'; Ya Y]bgWUZhj cb`A Yhha Ubb`nY][hž
XUgg'g]Y`b]W h'U`ni ``Y]W h'ni `VYi [Yb`]gh`A]h'G]WYf\Y]h'i bX
FYgdY`_hj cf`XYb`9fY][b]ggYb`XYf`YhnhYb`HU[Y`k]fX`X]YgYg': Ygh
Y]bY`5ha cgd`\ÅfY`gWUZZYbž'X]Y`gck c`\`XYf`HfUi Yf`U`g`Ui W`XYf
<cZbi b[' [YfYW h'k]fX" 8]Y`GW k Y][Ya]bi hY`k]fX`Y]b`A ca Ybh
gY]bž]b`XYa `X]Y`6Øf[Yf`]bbY\U`hYb`i bX`]fYf'; YXUb_Yb`5i gXfi W_
j Yf`Y`\Yb`_ØbbYbž'k Å\`fYbX`g]Y` [`Y]W nY]h][`X]Y`K]W h][_Y]h`XYf
gc n]U`Yb`J YfVi bXYb`Y]h'i bhYfghfY]W Yb"

9]b'; YXUb_YbUbghc»

⊕`XYf`\Yi h][Yb`NY]h]ghYg'j cb`6YXYi hi b[ž'g]W`Ui Z; Ya Y]bgWUZh
i bX`G]WYf\Y]h'ni `_cbnYbhf]YfYb" HfU[ØX]Yb`k]Y`b`Gc`]b[Yb
Yf]bbYfb`i bg`XUfUbž'k]Y`nYfVfYW`]W`XUg`@YVYb`gY]b`_Ubb"
8 YbbcW`nY][h`XUg' < Y]a UhZYgh']b`A Yhha Ubbž'XUgg`X]Y`A YbgW\Y]h
ni gUa a Yb_ca a hži a `GhÅf`_Y`ni `Z]bXYbž'i bX`XUgg
[YgY`gWUZh]WYf`Ni gUa a Yb`U`h`Ui W`]b`gW k]Yf][Yb`NY]hYb`j cb
\ØW ghYf`F`Y`Yj Ubn`]gh" 9g']gh`Y]b`nY]h`c`gYf`K Yf hž`XYf`VYgcbXYfg']b
? f]gYbnY]hYb` [`Y`Vh'k YfXYb`gc`hYž'i a `X]Y`<cZbi b[`b]W h'ni
j Yf`]YfYb"

8]Y`GhUXh`A Yhha Ubb`\Uh'g]W`YbhgW]YXYbž'XUg' < Y]a UhZYghž'hfc`h
XYf`HfU[ØX]Y`b`Gc`]b[Ybž'Zcfni gYhnYbž'i a `Y]b`NY]WYb`XYf
Gc`]XUf]hÅh'a]h`XYb`C dZYfb`i bX`XYfYb': Ua]`Yb`ni `gYhnYb" ⊕
gc`WYb`NY]hYb`]gh`Yg'k]W h][ž`X]Y'; Ya Y]bgWUZh'ni `ghÅf`_Yb`i bX
Y]bYb`FUi a `ZØf [Ya Y]bgUa Yg'; YXYb_Yb`ni `gWUZZYb"

„ VYf`X]Y`9bhgWY]Xi b[ž`XUg': Ygh`b]W h'UVni gU[Ybž'gU[h`X]Y
6Øf[Yfa Y]ghYf]b.` : YghY`g]bX`Y]b`HY]`i bgYfYf`? i `hi f`i bX`i bgYfYg
@YVYbg" ⊕`XYf`HfUi Yf`i bX`]a `GW a Yfn`a ØggYb`k]f
ni gUa a YbghY`Yb" 8]Yg'j YfXYi h]W h'b]W h'bi f`X]Y`F Yg`]Ybn`XYf
; Ya Y]bgWUZhž'gcbXYfb`Ui W`XUg`6YXØfZb]gž]b`gW k]Yf][Yb
NY]hYb`ni gUa a Ybni _ca a Yb"

8]Y`F Y`Yj Ubn`j cb`< Y]a UhZYghYb`]b`XYf

F Y[]cb

< Y]a UhZYghY`g]bX`Y]b`VYXYi hYbXYf`HY]`XYf`gc n]U`Yb`Ghfi`_hi`f`]b
8 Yi hgWk`UbX`"G]Y`ZOfXYfb` ; Ya Y]bgWkUZhgg]bbž`_i`hi`fY`Yb
5i ghUi gWk`i bX`k]fhgWkUZh]WkY`5_hj]]hÅh`" ð`A Yhha`Ubb`n]Y`h`XUg
< Y]a UhZYgh`]f`ZOf`]f`nU`fY]WkY`6Ygi`WkYf`Ubž`X]Y`X]Y`HfUX]h]cb
i bX`XUg`c`_U`Y`< UbXk`Yf`_`gWk`ÅhnYb`"Gc`WkY`J`YfUbghU`hi`b`[`Yb
j`Yfa`]hY`b`Y]b` ; YZØ`"XYf`Ni`[`Y`Øf][`_Y]hi`bX`g]bX`Y]b`5i`gXfi`W_
XYf`c`_U`Yb`×Ybh]hÅh`"

8]YgY` : Ygh]j]hÅhYb` \ UVYb`Ui`Wk`Y]bYb`Ø`cbca`]gWkYb`5gdY`_h`
J]Y`Y`c`_U`Y`i`bhYfbY`a`Yb`dfcZ]h]YfYb`j`cb`XYf`Yf`Ø`hYb
6Ygi`WkYfnU`ž`k`Ug`k`]YXYfi`a`5fVY]hgd`ÅhnY`g]WkYfh`"@Ui`hY]bYf`
Ghi`X]Y`XYg`8Yi`hgWkYb`Hci`f]ga`i`gj`YfVUbXYg`g]bX`< Y]a UhZYghY
b]Wk`h`bi`f`_i`hi`fY`Y`<][` \`][` \hgž`gcbXYfb`Ui`Wk`k`]Wk]h[`Y
K`]fhgWkUZhgzU`hc`fYb`ZOf`_`Y]bYfY`GhÅXhY`i`bX` ; Ya Y]bXYbž`X]Y`Ui`Z
XYb`Hci`f]ga`i`g`Ub[`Yk`]YgYb`g]bX`"

8 Yf`5bgWk`U[]b`Gc`]b[Yb

8 Yf`5bgWk`U[]b`Gc`]b[Yb`a`i`gg]a`?`cbhYI`hini`bY`a`YbXYf` ; Yk`U`h
i`bX`9I`hfYa`]ga`i`g`VYhfUWk`hY`h`k`YfXYb`"Gc`]b[Yb`k`Uf`VYfY]hg`%-`-`
GWkUi`d`Uhn`Y]bYg`fUgg]gh]gWk`a`ch]j`]YfhYb`6fUbXUbgWk`U[`gž`VY]
XYa`ZØb`Z`A`YbgWkYb`ghUfVYb`"8]YgY` \]ghcf]gWkYb`9fY][`b]ggY
nY][`Ybž`k`]Y`h]YZ`X]Y`K`i`bXYb`]b`XYf` ; YgY`gWkUZh]j`YfUb`_Yfh]g]bX
i`bX`k`]Y`k`]Wk]h[`Yg`]ghž`Y]bY`?`i`hi`f`XYf`Hc`YfUbn`i`bX`XYg`f`YgdY`_hg
ni`ZOfXYfb`"

8]Y`U`_hi`Y`Y`@U[`Y`YfZcfXYfh`Y]b`i`a`XYb`_Ybž`i`a`XYb`i`fgUWkYb
gc`WkYf` ; Yk`U`h`Ybh[`Y[`Ybni`k`]f`_Yb`"C`f[`Ub]gUh]cbYb`k`]Y`XYf`
J`YfY]b`A`]hY]bUbXYf` :`ØfY]bUbXYf`gYhnYb`g]Wk`ZOf`ð`hY[`fUh]cb
i`bX`5i`Z`_`Àfi`b[]b`XYf` ; YgY`gWkUZh`Y]b`"G]Y`nY][`Ybž`k`]Y`k`]Wk]h[`Yg
]ghž`J`cfi`fhY]`Y`UVni`VUi`Yb`i`bX`Y]bY`]b`_i`g]j`Y` ; Ya Y]bgWkUZh`ni
gWkUZZYb`"

5b[Yg]Wk`hg`XYf`U`_hi`Y`Yb`G]hi`Uh]cb`k`]fX`X]Y`F`c`Y`j`cb`Dc`]h]_`i`bX

N]j]`[YgY`gWUZh`YbhgWY]XYbX`gY]bž`i a `X]Y`K]XYfghUbXgZÀ\`][_Y]h
XYf`; Ya Y]bgWUZh`ini `ghÀf`Yb``8i fW`J YfbYhni b[`i bX
l bhYfghØhni b[`XYf`c`_U`Yb`b]h]Uhj Yb`_Ubb`Y]bY`d`cg]h]j Y
9bhk]W`i b[`[YZØfXYfh`k YfXYb`"

; YgYhn[YVYf`i bX`6Y\`ØfXYb`g]bX`[YZcfXYfhž`dfÀj Ybh]j Y
A U» bU\`a Yb`ni `Yf[fY]ZYbž`i a `gc`WY`J cfZÀ`Y`ni `j Yfa Y]XYb`"
8UVY]`gd]Y`h`Ui W`X]Y`GYbg]V]`g]Yfi b[`XYf`6Yj Ø`_Yfi b[`Y]bY
k YgYbh]WY`F`c``Y``5i Z`Àfi b[gdfc[fUa`a`Y`i bX`]bhYfU`h]j Y
K cf`g\`cdg`_ØbbhYb`XUni `VY]hfU[Ybž`XUg`6Yk`i gghgY]b`ZØf
[YgY`gWUZh`]WY`H`Ya Yb`ni `gW`ÀfZYb`i bX`Y]bYf`YfbYi hYb
GdU`hi b[`Ybh[Y[Ybni k]f`_Yb`"

8YhU]`g

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