

5i hci bZU``VY]`F UX]g. `6fYa gdYXU` V`cW_]Yfh`Xi fW\`H\Yfa cgZ`UgW\Y

5i hc!| bZU``VY]?Ya VYf[.) *!`Å\`f][Y` : U\`fYf]b`_c``X]Yfh`a]h
Ybh[Y[Yb_ca a YbXYa `K U[Yb"; `ØW_]W\Yfk Y]gY`_Y]bY
J Yf`YhnhYb"

9]b`i bYfZfYi `]W\Yf`J cfZU``YfY][bYhY`g]W\`Ua `A]h`k cW\UVYbX`Ui Z
XYf`?fY]ggfU» Y`nk]gW\Yb`C W\gYb_cdZ`i bX`F UX]gž`a `@UbX_fY]g
K]hYbVYf[" <]Yf`_Ua `Yg`ni `Y]bYa `Ni gUa a Ybghc» `nk]gW\Yb`nk Y]
: U\`fnYi [Yb`]b`Y]bYf`?i fj Y""8]Y`Dc`]nY]`VYf]W\hYhY`ØVYf`XYb`I bZU``
i bX`X]Y`I a gh`ÅbXYž`X]Y`ni `X]YgYa `ZØ\`fhYb"

æa `A]hY`di b_h`XYg; YgW\Y\Ybg`ghY\`hY]bY`) *!`Å\`f][Y
5i hcZU\`fYf]bž`X]Y`Ub[UVž`k Å\`fYbX`XYf` : U\`fhj cb`Y]bYa
i bYfk UfhYhYb`J cfZU``UV[Y`Yb_h`k cfXYb`ni `gY]b""9]bY
H\Yfa cgZUgW\Y`Z]Y``]b`XYb` : i » fUi a `]\`fYg; : U\`fnYi [gž`k Ug`XUni
ZØ\`fhYž`XUgg`g]Y`b]W\h`]b`XYf`@U[Y`k Ufž`XUg`6fYa gdYXU`ni
VYh`h] [Yb""8]YgYf`i b[`ØW_]W\Y`Ni ZU``\UhhY`gW\k Yfk]Y[YbXY
: c` [Ybž`XU`g]Y`]b`Y]bYb`Ybh[Y[Yb_ca a YbXYb`K U[Yb`dFU`hY""8]Y
Ybcfa Yb`GW\`ÅXYbž`X]Y`VY]XY` : U\`fnYi [Y`Yf`]hYbž`k i fXYb`j cb`XYf`
Dc`]nY]`U`g` Yf\`YV`]W\ ` _`Ugg]Z]n]Yfh"

8 YhU]`g`XYg`J cfZU``g

8]Y` [YbUi Y`NY]h`XYg`I bZU``g`Åggh`g]W\`Ui Z`XYb`A]h`k cW\UVYbX
Y]b[fYbnYb""8]YgYf`NY]hfU\`a Yb`nY][hž`XUgg`X]Y`8i b_Y`\Y]h
a `Ò[`]W\Yfk Y]gY`Y]bY`F c``Y`VY]`XYf`K U\`fbY\`a i b[`XYf`G]hi Uh]cb
[Ygd]Y`h`\UVYb`_`ÖbbhY""9g`]gh`_cb`i ffYbnZÅ\][`ni `VYXYb`_Ybž`XUgg
Ui Z`@UbXghfU» Yb`cZ`hVYgcbXYfY`J cf]g]W\h`[YV`chYb`]ghž
]bgVYgcbXYfY`VY]`k YW\gY`bXYb`@]W\h`j Yf\`Å`hb]ggYb`i bX
i bYfk UfhYhYb`<]bXYfb]ggYb"

;`ØW_]WXYfk Y]gY`[UV`Yg`VY]`X]YgYa `I bZU``_Y]bY`J Yf`YhnhYb``8 Ug
]gh`Y]bY`dcg]h]j Y`B UW f]W hž`]bgVY gcbXYfY`]b`5bVYhfUW h`XYf
GWk YfY`XYg`5i ZdFU``g`i bX`XYf`GW`ÅXYb`Ub`XYb` : U\fnYi [Yb``9]b
6`]W_`Ui Z`X]Y`GhUh]gh]_Yb`nY][hž`XUgg`J Yf`_Y`fgi bZÅ``Y`Åi Z][
gWk Yfk]Y[YbXY` : c`[Yb`ÅUVYb`_ØbbYbž`i bX`ÅXYf`J cfZU``ž`VY]
XYa`b]Ya`UbX`j Yf`Yhnh`k]fXž`nÅ`h`U`g`9fZc`[`ZØf
G]WYf\Y]hga U» bU\`a`Yb`i bX`XUg`j YfUbhk`cfhi b[gVYk`i`gghY
J Yf\U`hYb`XYf` : U\fYf"

8 Ug`9]bhfY ZYb`XYf`Dc`]nY]j cf`C`fh`nYi [hij`cb`XYf`gW`bY``Yb
FYU_`h]cb`XYf`9]bgUhn_`f`ÅZhYž`X]Y`J Yf`_Y`fgi bZÅ``Y`U`g`Y]bY`]\fYf
<Ui`dhUi`Z[UVYb`VY`UbXY`b``8]Y`6YUa`hYb`ÅUVYb`XYb
I bZU``Yf[Ub[`Xc`_i`a`Ybh]Yfhi`bX`k`YfXYb`]b`j`Yfa`i`h]W`]b`]fYb
6Yf]W`hYb`UbU`mg]YfYbž`i`a`ni`_ØbZh][Y`J`cfZÅ``Y`X]YgYf`5fh
Yj`Ybhi`Y``ni`j`Yf\]bXYfb"

I fgUWXYb`i`bX`5i`gk`]f`_i`b[Yb`XYg`I`bZU``g

I bZÅ``Yž`VY]`XYbYb`5V`Yb`_i`b[Yb`Xi`fW` ; Y[YbghÅbXY`]a
: U\fnYi []bbYfYb`Y]bY`F`c``Y`gd]Y`Ybž`g]bX`b]W`h`b`Yi`"8Yb`bc`W
V]YhYh`X]YgYf`J`cfZU``Y]bY`k`Yfhj`c``Y`@Y`_h]cb`ZØf`U``Y`5i`hc`ZU`fYf``9g
]gh`k`]W`h][ž`g]W`Yfni`ghY``Ybž`XUgg`]a` : U\fnYi [`Y]bY
; Y[YbghÅbXY``cgY`ÅYfi`a`]Y[Ybž`X]Y`k`Å`fYbX`XYf` : U\fh`ni`f
5V`Yb`_i`b[`ZØ`fYb`_ØbbYb``9]bY`Y]bZUW`Y`H`YfUd]Y`k`ÅfYž`gc`W`X
; Y[YbghÅbXY`g]W`Yf`ni`j`YfghUi`Ybž`i`a`Å`b`]W`Y`G]hi`Uh]cbYb`ni
j`Yfa`Y]XYb"

8]Y`6Yi`fhY`]i`b[`XYf`GW`k`YfY`XYg`I`bZU``g`Xi`fW`Å`X]Y`Dc`]nY]`_Øbb`hY
XUfUi`Z`\]bXYi`hYbž`XUgg`X]Y`G]W`Yf\Y]hgg]UbXUfXg`i`bX
?`cbghfi`_h]cbga`U»`bU\`a`Yb`XYf` : U\fnYi [Y`k`]f`_gUa`k`UfYb``6Y]
gc`W`Yf\YV`]W`Yb`GW`ÅXYb`Ub`VY]XYb`5i`hc`g`]gh`Yg`g]W`Yf`dcg]h]j
ni`VYk`YfhYbž`XUgg`_Y]bY`DYfgcbYb`j`Yf`Yhnh`k`i`fXYb``8]Yg`ZØ`fh`ni
Y]bYf`YfbYi`hYb` , VYf`Y[i`b[`ØVYf`X]Y`K`]W`h][`Y]h]j`cb
G]W`Yf\Y]hgUi`gghUhi`b[Yb`]b`a`cXYfbYb` : U\fnYi [Yb"

⊖g[YgUa`h`Åggh`g]W`gU[Ybž`XUgg`X]YgYf`I`bZU``Ui`Z`XYf
?`fY]gghfU»`Y`nk`]gW`Yb`C`W`gYb`_cd`Zi`bX`F`UX]g`Y]bY`_`Uf`XY`Z]b]YfhY
K`Ufbi`b[`Ub`U``Y`5i`hc`ZU`fYf`XUfghY``h`G]W`Yf\Y]h`gc``hY`ghYhg

cVYfghY`Df]cf]hÅh`UVYbž`i bX`5V`Yb_i b[Yb`k Å\fybX`XYg': U\fybg
a ØggYb`j Yfa`jYXYb`k YfXYb"6`Y]Vhni`cZZYbž`XUgg`X]YgY
K Ufbi b[`b]WÅh`bi f`ZØf`X]Y`X]fY`h`6YhY`][hYbž`gcbXYfb`Ui WÅ`ZØf
j]Y`Y`UbXYfY`J Yf`Y\ fghY`bY\ a Yf`Y]bY`k Yfhj`c`Y`6chgWÅ UZh`]gh"

J Yf`Y`f`gg]WÅ Yf`Y]h`]a` :`c`W`g

; Ya`Y]bgUa`Y`5bghfYb[i b[Yb`k`]bg]WÅh`]WÅ`XYf`J Yf`Y`f`gg]WÅ Yf`Y]h`
g]bX`i bYf`Ågg`]WÅ ž`i a`XUg`F`g]_c`j cb`l bZÅ`Yb`ni`a`]b]a`jYfYb"
X`XYf': U\fnYi [ZØ\fyf`gd]Y`h`Y]bY`k]WÅh][Y`F`c`Y`ž`i bX`_`Y]bY
J cfg]WÅ hga`U» bU\ a`Yb`_`ØbbYb`[fc» Ufh][Y`l`bhYfgWÅ]YXY`a`UWÅ Yb"
X`Y`a`k]f`Ui`Z`X]Y`8`Y`hU]`g`i bgYfYg': U\ fj`Yf`U`h`Y`bg`UWÅ hYbž`hfU[Yb
k]f`U`h]j`X`Uni`V`Y]ž`X]Y`GhfU» Yb`g]WÅ YfYf`ni`a`UWÅ Yb"

I bZU`ghU]h]gh]_`]a`@UbX`fY]g`K`]hhYbVYf[

«a`@UbX`fY]g`K`]hhYbVYf[`]gh`X]Y`J Yf`Y`f`gg]WÅ Yf`Y]h`Y]b`k`]WÅh][Yg
H\Ya`U" @Ui`h`XYf`Øfh]WÅ Yb`Dc`nY] [UV`Yg`]b`XYb`Y`h`hYb`X\`fYb
j`YfgWÅ]YXYbY`J Yf`Y`f`g] bZÅ`Y`ž`XYfYb`l`fgUWÅ Yb`c`Zhj`jY`ZÅ`h][`g]bX"
«a`X\`f`&\$&&`k`i`fXYb`Ui`h`GhU]h]gh]gWÅ Ya`6`i`bXYgUa`h`Vi`bXYgk`Y]h
Yhk`U`&ž(`A`j`)]cbYb`J Yf`Y`f`g] bZÅ`Y`fY[`]ghf]Yfhž`j`cb`XYbYb`Y]b
_`Y]bYf`HY]`]b`GUWÅ gYb!5b`U`hž`Y]bgWÅ`Y»`]WÅ`K`]hhYbVYf[ž
ghUhhZUbX"

9]bY`5bU`mgY`XYf`J Yf`Y`f`gXUhYb`nY][hž`XUgg`j]Y`Y`l`bZÅ`Y`Ui`Z
5V`Yb_i b[Yb`cXYf`hYWÅb]gWÅ Y`8`YZY`_hYž`k]Y`]a`U`hi`Y`Y`b` :`U`X]Y
V`c`W_]YfhY`6fYa`gYž`ni`fØW`ni`ZØ\fyb`g]bX"J Yf`Y`f`ghY`bY\ a`Yf
k`YfXYb`Yfa`i`h][hž`J`cfg]WÅ h`k`U`h`Yb`ni`UggYb`i`bX`5V`Yb_i b[Yb`]a
: U\fnYi [`a`Ø[`]WÅ gh`ni`j`Yfa`Y]XYb"

F Y`Yj`UbhY`J Yf`Y`f`gfYWÅ h`]WÅ Y`5gdY`_hY

«a`XYi`hgWÅ Yb`GhfU» Ybj`Yf`Y`f`gfYWÅ h`]gh`X]Y`J Yf`Y`f`gg]WÅ Yf`Y]h`
j`cb`nYbhfU`Yf`6YXYi`hi`b[" ; YgYhnY`i`bX`J`cfgWÅ f]ZhYb`gYhnYb
ghfYb[Y`A`U» ghÅVYž`i`a`l`bZÅ`Y`ni`j`Yfa`Y]XYb"9]b` ; fi`bXgUhnž`XYf
ZØf`U`Y`J Yf`Y`f`ghY`bY\ a`Yf`[`]hž`]gh`X]Y`DZ]WÅ hž`XUg': U\fnYi [`]
ghYhg`i`bhYf`?`cb`hfc`Y`ni`U`h`Yb"8]Yg`i`a`ZUggh`Ui`WÅ`XUg

„ VYfdfØZYb`XYf`bhfY]Yi f`XYg: U\fnYi [g]j cf: U\fhUbf]hž`i a
g]WYfni ghY`Ybž`XUgg`_Y]bY: Y[YbghÅbXY`k]Y: `UgWYb`cXYf
UbXYfY`CV`Y`_hY`X]Y`6YX]Ybi b[`XYf`DYXU`Y`VYY]bhfÅW]h[Yb`

6Y]Y]bYa`i bZU`k]Y`X]YgYa`ghY`h]g]W`cZ`h`X]Y: fU[Y`XYf`<UZhi b["
Gc`hY`X]Y: U\fyf]b`Ui Z[fi bX`]fYf`5V`Yb_i b[`ZØf`XYb`i bZU`
j YfUbfk`cfh]W`[Ya`UW`h`k`YfXYbž`_ØbbhY`X]Yg`ni
GW`UXYbgYfgUhnUbgdffØW`Yb`ZØ`fYb`"8]Y`Dc`nY]`dfØZ`h]b`gc`W`Yb
: Å`Yb`U`Y`i`a`ghÅbXYž`i`a`ZYghni ghY`Ybž`cV`Yg`k`Y]hYfY: U`hc`fYb
[]Vhž`X]Y`ni`f`i`bZU`i`fgUW`Y`VY][YhfU[Yb`UVYb`_ØbbhYb`

8]Y`5i`gk`]f`_i`b[Yb`j`cb`5V`Yb_i`b[Yb`]a
GhfU» Ybj`Yf`_Y`f`

8 Ug`H\Ya`U`5V`Yb_i`b[`]a`GhfU» Ybj`Yf`_Y`f`]gh`gY]h`š\`fYb`Y]b
k`UW`gYbXY`DfcV`Ya`"@Ui`hY]bYf`Ghi`X]Y`XYf`8Yi`hgW`Yb
J`Yf`_Y`f`gk`UW`h`\`Uh`5V`Yb_i`b[`]VY]a`i: U\fyb`]b`XYb`YhnhYb`š\`fYb
ni`[`Ybca`a`Yb`i`bX`hfÅ[`h]g][`b]Z`_Ubhni`J`Yf`_Y`f`gi`bZÅ`Yb`VY]`", VYf
`\$i`XYf: U\fyf`[`YVYb`Ubž`XUgg`g]Y`k`Å\`fYbX`XYf: U\fh`a`]h
8]b[Yb`]a`i: U\fnYi [ž`k]Y: YhfÅb`_Yb`cXYf`UbXYfYb`dYfgØb`]W`Yb
; Y[YbghÅbXYbž`VYgW`ÅZ]h[h]g]bX`"8]Yg`j`YfXYi`h]W`h`X]Y
B`chk`YbX][`_Y]hž`XUg`6Yk`i`gghgY]b`ZØf`X]Y: YZU\fyb`XYf`5V`Yb_i`b[
ni`gW`ÅfZYb`

8]Y`<YfUi`gZcfXYfi`b[Yb`VY]`XYf`FYXi`_h]cb`X]YgYf`5V`Yb_i`b[Yb
YfZcfXYfb`Y]bYb`[`Yn]Y`hYb`5bgUhnž`gck`c`\`Ui`Z]bX]j`]Xi`Y`Yf`U`g
Ui`W`Ui`Z[`YgY`gW`UZh]W`Yf`9VYbY`"GW`i`g]W`Yf\Y]hgdff[`fUa`a`Y
i`bX`ØZYb]h]W`Y`GYbg]V`]g]Yfi`b[`g`_Ua`dU[`bYb`gd]Y`Yb`Y]bY
YbhgW`Y]XYbXY`Fc`Y`VY]`XYf`5i`Z`_Åfi`b[`]i`bX`DfÅj`Ybh]cb`j`cb
5V`Yb_i`b[`gi`bZÅ`Yb`

@YhnhYbX`]W`h]gh`X]Y`G]W`Yf\Y]h`Ui`Z`XYb`GhfU» Yb`Y]bY`[`Ya`Y]bgUa`Y
J`YfUbfk`cfhi`b[`]U`Yf`J`Yf`_Y`f`ghY]`bY`a`Yfž`i`bX`YXYf`gc`hY`g]W
U`_h]j`VYa`Ø\Ybž`5V`Yb_i`b[Yb`ni`i`a`]b]a`]YfYb`

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