

Dfc hYgh'k Y\h'[Y[Yb'fYWX hYb 6Øf[Yf[]dZY`']b'Ghi hh[UfhYf'@]YXYf\U`Y

K]XYfghUbX'[Y[Yb'XYb'fYWX hYb' / ei ch/6Øf[Yf[]dZY / ei ch/
Ua '+'GYdhYa VYf']b'XYf'@]YXYf\U`Y'Ghi hh[Ufh
/ ei ch/Ghi hh[Ufh[Y[Yb'F YWX hg/ ei ch/d`Ubh'DfchYgh"

⊖'Ghi hh[Ufh'k]fX'Ua '+'GYdhYa VYf'Y]b'dc`]hgWXYg
BYhnc Yf_hfYZZYbžXUg'U'g' 6Øf[Yf[]dZY` 'VY_Ubbh]ghž'UV[Y\U`hYb"
8]YgYg'9] Ybh'\Uh'VYfY]hg]a 'J cfZY`X'ZØf'5i ZgY\Yb'[Ygcf[hžXU
g]W'K]XYfghUbX'Zcfa]Yfh'\Uh''8 Ug'6ØbXb]g' Ghi hh[Ufh[Y[Yb
F YWX hg '\Uh'X]Y'@]YXYf\U`Yž'XYb'J YfUbgH`hi b[gc fhž'Ui Z[YZcfXYfhž
XYb'A]Yhj YfhfU['ZØf'X]YgY'i a ghf]hhYbY'J YfgUa a`i b[`ni
_ØbX][Yb"; `Y]W nY]h]['_ØbX][Yb'g]Y'Ubž'DfchYghU_h]cbYb'ni
d`UbYbž'i a`Y]b'NY]WXYb'[Y[Yb'X]Y'⊖\U`hY'XYg'HfYZZYbg'ni
gYhnYb"

8Yf' 6Øf[Yf[]dZY` 'j Yfgdf]W'h'Y]bY'6Ø\ bY'ZØf'a Y\fyfY
dfca]bYbhY'F YXbYfžXUfi bhYf'X]Y'Y\Ya U][Y'5Z8!J cfg]hnYbXY
: fUi _Y'DYhfmž'XYf'U'g'fUX]_U`[Y'hYbXY'7fUg\!Dfcd\Yh'A Uf_i g
?fU`'gck]Y'F c`UbX'H]W mž< YfUi g[YVYf'XYg'fYWX hgdc di `]gh]gWXYb
Cb`]bY!A U[Un]bg' H]W mg'9]bV']W_ "'5i ZXyb'YfghYb'6`]W_gWXY]bYb
X]Y'J YfUbgH`hYf'g]W '[Y[Yb'X]Y'?f]h]_ni`k Y\fyb'i bX
VYgW fY]VYb'XUg'HfYZZYb`YX][`]W'U'g'D`UhhZcfa 'ZØf' ZFY\Y]h]W
XYb_YbXY'A YbgWXYb "

5i Zfi Z'ni f'? i bX[YVi b[`i bX'[YÄi » YfhY ? f]h]_

8 Ug'6ØbXb]g' Ghi hh[Ufh[Y[Yb'F YWX hg '\Uh']b'Y]bYa 'VYk Y[YbXYb
⊖ghU[fUa !Dcghni a`DfchYgh'Ui Z[Yfi ZYbž'XYf'g]W '[Y[Yb'X]Y
]XYc`c[]gWXYb'K i fnY`b'XYg' 6Øf[Yf[]dZY`g'f]W'hYh''⊖`]fYb

Dcgh]b[g`VYhcbYb`g]Y. : F YW hY`J YfbYhni b[`i bX
<]bhYfn]a a YfhfYZZYb`]b`Ghi hh[Ufh3`B]W h`c`bY`i bgYfYb`DfchYgh`
5_hi Y``g]bX`X]Y`9]bnY`\Y]hYb`ni`NY]hi` bX`C fh`XYf`[Yd`UbhYb
8Ya`cbghfUh]cb`bcW`i b`_Ufž`X]Y`6chgW`UZh`XYf`C f[Ub]gUhc`fYb`]gh
`YXcW`Y]bXYi h][.`G]Y`g]bX`VYfY]hž`Ui`hghUf`_[Y[Yb`X]YgY
J YfUbghU`hi b[`ni`XYa`cbghf]YfYbž`Yg`gY]`XYbbž`X]Y`@]YXYf`U`Y
gU[h`X]Y`J YfUbghU`hi b[`UV"

6YfY]hg`ni j`cf`\UhhY`X]Y : fU_h]cb`@]b`_Y#G²`G`Y]b`J YfVch`XYg
`6Øf[Yf[]dZY`g`[YZcfXYfh`8]YgY : cfXYi b[`k`i`fXY`j`cb`XYb
J YfUbghU`hYfb`YXcW`ni`fØW_[Yk`]YgYbž`i`bX`X]Y`GhUXh`Ghi hh[Ufh
VY`_f`ÄZh][hYž`XUgg`g]Y`_Y]bYb`Ui`gfY]W`YbXYb ; fi`bX`ZØf`Y]b`J YfVch
XYf`J YfUbghU`hi b[`g]Y`\h`8 Ug`6Øb`Xb]g`nY][h`g]W`j`cb`X]YgYf
9bhgW`Y]Xi b[`k`Yb][`ØVYffUgW`hi`bX`\Uh`g]W`VYa`Ø\hž`]b`Y]bYa
C`ZYbYb`6f]YZ`X]fY`_h`Ub`X]Y`@]YXYf`U`Y`X]Y`Y][YbY`G]W`hk`Y]gY
XUfni`Y[Yb`i`bX`Ui`Z`X]Y`J YfUbhk`cfhi b[`XYg`J YfUbghU`hi b[`gc`fhYg
\]bni`k`Y]gYb"

K]W`h][Y`=b`Zc`fa`Uh]cbYb`Ui`g`XYa`C`ZZYbYb`6f]YZ

=b`XYa`C`ZZYbYb`6f]YZ`k`]fX`Ui`ZY]b`ZfØ`YfYgž`i`a`ghf]hhYbYg`HfYZZYb
j`Yfk`]YgYbž`XUg`9bXY`&\$&` `]b`Dc`hgXUa`ghUhhZUbX`i`bX`VY]`XYa
A`h][`]YXYf`XYf`5Z8`i`bX`BYcbUn]g`Ub`k`YgYbX`k`UfYb" `I`bhYf`XYb
HY]`bY`a`Yfb`VYZUbX`g]W`Ui`W`XYf`ž`f]gh`l`f]W`J`cg[YfUi`ž`XYf
bi`b`Ui`W`U`g`FYXbYf`Ui`Z`XYa` `6Øf[Yf[]dZY` `Ub[Y_ØbX][h`]gh"
8]Y`F`YW`YfW`Yb`XYf`D`UhhZc`fa` `7c`ffY`Wh]j` `ni`X]YgYa`HfYZZYb
\UhhYb`Vi`bXYgk`Y]h`DfchYghY`[Y[Yb`F`YW`hgYI`hfYa`]ga`i`g`Ui`g[Y`Øgh
i`bX`XUg`ÖZYb`h]W`Y`6Yk`i`gghgY]b`ZØf`gc`W`Y`fYW`hYb`BY`h`k`Yf`_Y
[YgW`ÄfZn` `Ghi hh[Ufh[Y[Yb`F`YW`hg`Äi`»`Yfh`6YXUi`Yfbž`XUgg`bi`f
k`Yb][`NY]h`igd`ÄhYf`YfbYi`h`Y]bY`J YfgUa`a`i`b[`Ä`b`]W`Yf
HY]`bY`a`Yf`]b`Ghi hh[Ufh`ghUhhZ]bXYb`_Ubb"

8 Ug`6Øb`Xb]g`Zc`fXYfh`j`cb`XYf`@]YXYf`U`Y`ž`X]Y`Y]bY`gh`Ä`Xh]gW`Y
9]b]W`hi b[`]ghž`J YfUbhk`cfhi b[`ni`ØVYfbY`a`Yb`i`bX`]a`G]bbY`XYf
Ghi hh[UfhYf`6Yj`Ö`_Yfi b[`ni` `UbXY`b`"G]Y`k`Y]gYb`XUfUi`Z`\]bž`XUgg
X]Y`@]YXYf`U`Y`]b`]`fYa` `@]hV]`X`K`Y`hc`ZYb`Y]h`i`bX`F`YgdY`_h`ZØf
U`Y`?`i`hi`fYb`dfcdU[]Yfhž`k`Ä`fYbX`XYf`6Øf[Yf[]dZY`[YbUi`XUg

; Y[YbhY]`XUfghY`h` Y]bY`J YfgUa a`i b[`j cb`bX]j]Xi Ybž`XYfYb
≠Yc`c[]Yb`j cb`j]Y`Yb`U`g`X]g_f]a`]b]YfYbX`i bX`YI hfYa`]gh]gW
Ub[YgY`Yb`k YfXYb"

8 Yf`K]XYfghUbX` [Y[Yb`X]Y`J YfUbghU`hi b[`nY][hž`XUgg`j]Y`Y`6Øf[Yf
i bX`C f[Ub]gUh]cbYb`]b`Ghi hh[Ufh`VYfY]h`g]bXž`ZØf`]\fY
, VYfnYi [i b[Yb`Y]bni hfYhYb`i bX`g]W` [Y[Yb`9I hfYa`]ga` i`g`ni
k Y`fYb`"8]YgY`5i`gY]bUbXYfgYhni b[`gma`Vc`]g]Yfh`Y]bYb` [fØ» YfYb
HfYbX`]b`XYf`; YgY`gW UZhž`XYf`g]W` [Y[Yb`X]Y`J YfVfY]hi b[`YI hfYa
fYW`hYf`≠Yc`c[]Yb`ghY`h`"9g`V`Y]Vh`UVni`k`UfhYbž`k]Y`X]Y
@]YXYf\U`Y`Ui`Z`XYb`DfchYghi`bX`X]Y`VY]XY` : fcbhYb`VYhfYZYbXYb
: cfXYfi`b[Yb`fYU[]YfYb`k`]fX`"8Yf`5i`g[Ub[`X]YgYg`?cbZ`_hYg
_ØbbhY`k`Y]hfY]W`YbXY`≠a`d`_Uh]cbYb`ZØf`Å`b`]W`Y
J YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`i`bX`XYfYb`5`_nYdhUbn`]a` `ÖZYbh]W`Yb`F`Ui`a
`UVYb"

9]b`NY]W`Yb`gYhnYb` [Y[Yb`9I hfYa`]ga` i`g`

8]Y`VY]c fghY`YbXY`J YfUbghU`hi b[`]b`Ghi hh[Ufh`]gh`Y]bY`a` U`bYbXY
9f]bbYfi`b[`Ub`X]Y`<YfUi`gZcfXYfi`b[Ybž`X]Y`a`]h`XYa` `5i`Z`ca`a`Yb
YI hfYa`]gh]gW`Yf`≠Yc`c[]Yb`Y]b`Yf[Y`Yb`"8]Y`A`cV`]g]Yfi`b[`j`cb
n]j`]` [YgY`gW UZh]W`Yb`; fi`ddYb`nY][hž`XUgg`Y]b`k`UW`gYbXYg
6Yk`i`ggHgY]b`ZØf`X]Y`F`]g]_Yb`VYghY`hž`X]Y`j`cb`gc`W`Yb`HfYZYb
Ui`g[Y`Yb`"9g`]gh`YbHgW`Y]XYbXž`XUgg`X]Y`Gh]a`a`Yb`XYf
N]j`]` [YgY`gW UZh[Y`Öfh`k`YfXYbž`i`a` `Y]b`ghUf`_Yg`NY]W`Yb` [Y[Yb
XYb`5bgh]Y[`fYW`hgYI hfYa` Yf`5`_h]j`]h`hYb`ni`gYhnYb`"8]Y
_ca`a`YbXYb`HU[Y`_ØbbhYb`Y]bYb`YbHgW`Y]XYbXYb`K`YbXYdi`b`_h
ZØf`X]Y`dc`]h]gW`Y`@UbXgW UZh]b`Ghi`hh[Ufh`XUfghY`Yb"

Dc`h]gW`Y`i`bX`gc`n]U`Y`?`cb`hYI`hY

8]Y`8]g`_i`gg]cb`i`a` `XYb` `6Øf[Yf[]dZY` `ghY`h`]a` `?`cb`hYI`hY]bYf
U`[Ya`Y]bYb`Ni`bU`a`Y`fYW`hgYI hfYa` Yf`GhfØa`i`b[Yb`]b
8Yi`hgW`UbX`"b`XYb`YhnhYb`≠U`fYb`g]bX`fYW`hgdcdi` `]gh]gW`Y
DUfhY]Yb`k`]Y`X]Y`5Z8`ghÅ`_Yf`]b`X]Y`ÖZYbh]W`Y`K`U`fbY`a`i`b[
[YfØW`hž`UV[Yg]W`Yfh`Xi`fW`Y]bY`k`UW`gYbXY`6Ug]g`j`cb
I`bhYfghØhnYfbž`X]Y`g]W`c`Zh]b`gc`n]U`Yb`A`YX]Yb`j`YfbYhnYb`"8]Yg
ZØ`fh`ni`Y]bYf`j`YfghÅ`_hYb`8]g`_i`gg]cb`ØVYf`X]Y`; fYbnYb`j`cb

A Y]bi b[gZfY\Y]hi bX`X]Y`J YfUbhk cfhi b[`ÖZZYbh]WXYf
`bgh]hi h]cbYb`j]b`6Yni [`Ui ZX]Y`6YfY]hghY``i b[`j cb`F`Äi a `]WXY]hYb
ZØf`gc`WXY`J YfUbhghU`hi b[Yb"

8]Y`5i gY]bUbXYfgYhni b[`nk]gWXYb`n]j]`[YgY``gWXYUZh]WXYb
; fi ddYb`k]Y` Ghi hh[Ufh[Y[Yb`FYWXYhg`i bX`fYWXYhYb`5_hYi fYb
fYZY_h]Yfh`Y]b[fi bX`Y[YbXYg`GdUbbi b[gZY`X`]bbYf\U`V`XYf
XYi hgWXYb`; YgY``gWXYUZh``8]YgY`; fi ddYb`j Yfgi WXYbž`XYb`9]bZi gg
j cb`FYWXYhgYi hfYa]ga i g`ni `VY`Äa dZYb`i bX`ÖZZYbh]WXY`8YVUhhYb
ØVYf`X]Y`K YfhY`i bX`Df]bn]d]Yb`XYg`XYa c_fUh]gWXYb
Ni gUa a Yb`VYbg`ni `ZØfXYfb``8]Y`5V`Y\bi b[`XYg`A]Yhj`YfhfU[g
Xi fWXY`X]Y`@]YXYf\U`Y`_ØbbhY`U`g`Y]bY`A U» bU\`a Y`[Y[Yb`XUg
YfghUf_YbXY`fYWXYhY`; YXUb_Yb[i hj`YfghUbXYb`k YfXYb"

F YU_h]cbYb`i bX`[YgY``gWXYUZh]WXY
A cV]`]g]Yfi b[

8]Y`A cV]`]g]Yfi b[` [Y[Yb`XYb` 6Øf[Yf[]dZY` `nY][h`b]WXYh`bi f`X]Y
N]Y`ghfYV][_Y]hj`cb`; Y[YbXYa`cbghfUbhYbž`gcbXYfb`Ui WXY`X]Y
FY`Yj`Ubn`i bX`GYbg]V]`]h`h`XYg`H\Ya Ug`]b`XYf`Ghi hh[UfhYf
2 ZZYbh]WXY]h`B UWXY`XYb`A UggYbXYa`cbghfUh]cbYbž`X]Y`Ui ZX]Y
9bh\Ø`i b[Yb`XYg`DchgXUa`Yf`HfYZZYbg`Zc`[hYbž`\Uh]g]WXY`Y]b
BYhmk`Yf`_j`cb``b]h]Uh]j`Yb`Zcfa`]Yfhž`XUg`g]WXY`U_h]j`[Y[Yb
fYWXYhgYi hfYa`Y`5b[YVchY`Äi » Yfh`<]YfVY]`\UVYb`VYgcbXYfg
gcn]U`Y`BYhmk`Yf`_Y`k]Y``bghU[fUa`U`b`6YXYi hi b[`[Yk`cbbYbž`i`a
a cV]`]g]YfhY`? fÄZhY`ni `VØbXY`b`i bX`Ui ZX]Y`J YfUbhghU`hi b[
Ui Za`Yf_gUa`ni`a`UWXYb"

6YcVUWXYhi b[Yb`nY][Ybž`XUgg`[YgY``gWXYUZh]WXYf`K]XYfghUbX
[Y[Yb`fYWXYhgYi hfYa`Y`J YfUbhghU`hi b[Yb`cZi]b`i`cfa`j`cb`_fYUh]j`Yb
DfchYghYb`cf[Ub]g]Yfh`k]fX`` Ghi hh[Ufh[Y[Yb`FYWXYhg`d`Ubh
cZZYbVUf`Y]bY`J]Y`nU\`j`cb`5_h]cbYbž`i`a`]\fY`6chgWXYUZh`ni
hfUbgdcfh]YfYb`i bX`Y]b`ghUf_Yg`NY]WXYb`[Y[Yb`8]g_f]a`]b]Yfi b[
i bX`< YhnY`ni`gYhnYb``DfchYghZcfa`Yb`fY]WXYb`j`cb`_Ugg]gWXYb
8Ya`cbghfUh]cbYb`V]g`ni`_ØbghYf]gWXYb`5i`gXfi`W_gZcfa`Ybž`X]Y
Ui ZX]Y`DfcV`Ya`Uh]_`Ui`Za`Yf_gUa`ni`a`UWXYb"

„ VYfV`]W_`ØVYf`ZfØ\YfY`9bhk]W_`i b[Yb`]b
XYf`GhUXh

⊖`Ghi hh[Ufh`[]Vh`Yg`Y]bY`Ub[Y` ; YgWk]Wk hY`XYg`K]XYfghUbXg
[Y[Yb`fYWk hgYi hfYa Y`6Yk Y[i b[Yb`"8]Y`GhUXh`k Uf`a Y`fZUWk
GWk Ui d`Uhn`j cb`DfchYghU_h]cbYbž`U`g`fYWk hgdc di `]gh]gWk Y`DUfhY]Yb
J YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`cXYf`K U`_`Äa dZY`UV`U`hYb`k c`hYb`"9]b`6Y]gd]Y`
\\YfZØf`]gh`XYf`K]XYfghUbX`[Y[Yb`X]Y`5Z8!

K U`_`Ua dZ] YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`]b`XYf`J Yf[Ub[Yb`\\Y]hž`X]Y`cZh]j cb
n]j]`[YgY`gWk UZh]Wk Yb` ; fi ddYb`VY[`Y]hYh`k i fXYb`"8]YgY
\\]ghcf]gWk Yb`9fY][b]ggY`j YfXYi h]Wk Yb`X]Y`?cbh]bi]hÄ`h`XYg
9b[U[Ya Yb`hg[Y[Yb`fYWk hY`9]bZi ggbU`a Y`i bX`X]Y`k]Wk h[Y
F c`Y`XYf`N]j]`[YgY`gWk UZh`

8]Y`FYU_h]cbYb`Ui Z`XYb` 6Øf[Yf[]dZY` `g]bX`HY]`Y]bYg`[fØ» YfYb
HfYbXg`]b`8Yi hgWk`UbXž`k c`XUg`6Yk i gghgY]b`ZØf`X]Y` ; YZU`fYb`XYg
FYWk hgYi hfYa]ga i g`ni bY`a YbX`]b`XYf` ; YgY`gWk UZh]j YfUb`_Yfh
]gh`8]Y`Zcfhk Ä`fYbXY`A cV]`]g]Yfi b[`nY][hž`XUgg`j]Y`Y`6Øf[Yf]bbYb
i bX`6Øf[Yf`[Yk]`h`g]bXž`ZØf`Y]bY`cZZYbY`i bX`j]Y`ZÄ`h][Y
 ; YgY`gWk UZh`Y]bni hfYhYb` `Ui Wk`]b`Ghi hh[Ufh`"8]Yg`_`ÖbbhY`U`g
⊖X]_`Uhcf`XUZØf`[YgY`\\Yb`k YfXYbž`XUgg`XUg`9b[U[Ya Yb`h`XYf
6Yj Ö`_Yfi b[`]b`dc`]h]gWk Yb`DfchYggYb`b]Wk h`bUWk`Ägghž`gcbXYfb
[Y[YVYbYbZU`g`k ÄWk gh`

8YhU]`g

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