

HfUi bghY]b`ZY]Yfh`7G8.`9]b`Vi bhYg NY]W\Yb`ZØf`J]Y`ZU`h`i bX`Hc`YfUbn

5a`&(`"5i [i gh`ZY]Yfh`HfUi bghY]b`a`]h`E`i`YYf`HfUi bghY]b`Y`J`"
XYb`7G8`i`bhYf`XYa`A`chc`A`]U`gUb`E`i`YYf`ZØf`J]Y`ZU`h`i`bX`
5_nYdhUbn"

5a`_ca`a`YbXYb`GUa`ghU[ž`XYa`&(`"5i [i ghž`k`]fX`X]Y`GhUXh
HfUi bghY]b`ni`a`G\U`i`d`Uhn`Y]bYg`[`Ubn`VYgcbXYfYb`9j`Ybhgž`XYbb
XYf`7`\f]ghcd`Yf`GhfY`Yh`8`Um`f7`G8`Ł`k`]fX`Xcfh`VYfY]hg`ni`a`ZØb`ZhYb
A`U`[`YZY]Yfh`8`Yf`J`YfY]b`E`i`YYf`HfUi bghY]b`Y`J`" `U`h`ZØf`X]YgYb
HU[`Y]b`Y]bXfi`W_gj`c`Yg`Dfc`[`fUa`a`ni`a`H\Ya`U`J]Y`ZU`h`i`bX`
Hc`YfUbn`j`cfVYfY]hYh`HY]bY`a`Yf`k`YfXYb`Xi`fW`X]Y`GhUXh`n]Y`Ybž
i`a`Y]b`_UfYg`NY]W\Yb`ZØf`X]Y`5_nYdhUbn`i`bX`FYW`hY`j`cb
@`6HE`5Ž`A`YbgW`Yb`ni`gYhnYb"

8`Ug`H\Ya`U`XYf`X]Yg`Å`\f][`Yb`J`YfUbghU`hi`b[`Ui`hYhY.`A`]U`gUb
A`]Už`A`]U`gUb`E`i`YYfž`A`]U`gUb`[`Y[`Yb`FYW`hg`"8]Yg`j`YfXYi`h]W`h
XYb`K`i`bgW`b`UW`";`Y]W\YfYW`h][`i`b[`i`bX`FYgdY`h`ZØf`U`Yž
i`bUV`Å`b`][`j`cb`;`YgW`YW`hg]XYb]h]h`h`i`bX`gYI`i`Y`Yf`
Cf]Yb]Yfi`b[`"8`Yf`Ni`[`ghUfhY`hi`a`%`i`\f`Ua`6`U`b`c`Z]`cb
HfUi bghY]b`"?`i`fn`XUfUi`Zž`[`Y[`Yb`%`.(`)`.i`\fž`k`]fX`XYf`Ni`[`Ui`Z`XYa
GhUXhZYgh]a`GhUXhdUf`_`YbXYbž`XUg`YVYbZU`g`i`a`X]YgY`NY]h
VY[`]bbh`6]g]b`XYb`5`VYbX`k`]fX`Y]b`UVk`YW`g`i`b[`gfY]W`Yg
Dfc`[`fUa`a`[`YVchYbž`XUg`A`i`g]_ž`FYXYVY]hfÅ[`Y`i`bX`DYfZcfa`UbW`g
i`a`ZUggh"

;`Ya`Y]bgW`UZh`i`bX`9b[`U[`Ya`Ybh

8]Y`J`YfUbghU`hi`b[`V]YhY`h`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]bY`D`UhhZcfa`ZØf`XUg`i`Y]Yfb
XYf`@`6HE`5Ž`7ca`a`i`b]h`mž`gcbXYfb`Ui`W`X]Y`A`Ø[`]W`_Y]hž`g]W`
a`]h`j`YfgW`]YXYbYb`C`f[`Ub]gUh]cbYb`i`bX`dc`h]gW`Yb`DUfhY]Yb

Ui gni hUi gWYb"8]YgY`GhAbXY`Yfa Ò[`]WYb`Yg`XYb`6Ygi WYfbž
g]W`ni `]bZcfa]YfYb`i bX`Yb[U[]YfhY` ; YgdfAWY`ØVYf`X]Y`U_hi Y`Yb
<YfUi gZcXYfi b[Yb`XYf`7ca a i b]hmini `ZØ\fyb"

E i Yf`HfUi bghY]b`Y"J "a ÒW`hY`a]h`X]YgYa `9j Ybh`U`Y`6Øf[Yf
Yfa i h[Ybž`hY]`ni bY`a Yb`i bX`g]W`U_hj] `ØVYf`X]Y`ei YfY
7ca a i b]hmini `]bZcfa]YfYb"8]Y`J YfUbgH`hi b[`ghY`h`YXYa `cZYZbž
XYf`gY]bY`I bhYfghØhni b[`nY][Yb`a ÒW`hY`cXYf`a Y`f`ØVYf`X]Y
H`Ya Yb`fi bX`i a `@ 6HE ÆŽ `YfZU`fYb`a ÒW`hY"8]Y`6YhY][i b[
XYf` ; Ya Y]bgW`UZh]gh`Y]b`k]W`h[Yf`5gdY`_hž`XYf`ni f`G]W`hVUf`_Y]h
i bX`5_nYdhUbn`VY]hfÀ[h"

8]Y`J YfUbgH`hi b[`k]fX`b]W`h`bi f`j cb`A]h[`]YXYfb`XYf`@ 6HE ÆŽ
7ca a i b]hm`VYgi W`hž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`j cb`I bhYfghØhYfb`i bX
A YbgW`Ybž`X]Y`g]W`ZØf` ; `Y]W`VYfYW`h[i b[`Y]bgYhYb" <]Yf`k]fX
Y]b`FUi a ` [YgW`UZZYbž]b`XYa `g]W`U`Y`HY]`bY`a Yf`g]W`Yf`ZØ`Yb
i bX`]`fY`Gh]a a Yb` [Y`Øfh`k YfXYb"8]YgYf` : c_i g`Ui ZX]Y
 ; Ya Y]bgW`UZh]gh`Yb`hgW`Y]XYbX`]b`Y]bYf`NY]hž]b`XYf`X]Y
5bYf`_Ybbi b[`i bX`FYW`hY`j cb`@ 6HE ÆŽ `DYfgcbYb`k Y`hk Y]h
]a a Yf`bcW`]b` : fU[Y` [YghY`h`k YfXYb"

8 Ug`GhUXhZYgh]a `GhUXhdUf`_k]fX`V]g`%- `I `f`XUi Yfb`i bX`]gh`Y]b
k Y]hYfYf`< Ò`Ydi b`_h`XYg`HU[Yg"J c`fhfÀ[Yž`A i g]_`i bX
j YfgW`]YXYbY`8UfV]Yhi b[Yb`V]YhYb`Y]b`Vi bhYg`Dfc[fUa a ž`XUg
X]Y`J]Y`ZU`h`XYf`7ca a i b]hm`k]XYfgd]Y[Y`h"8]Yg`]gh`VYgcbXYfg
k]W`h[ž`i a `J cfi fhY]Y`i bX`A]ggj Yfgh`AbXb]ggY`UVni VUi Yb`i bX`Y]b
Ui h`Ybh]gW`Yg`6]X`XYf`j YfgW`]YXYbYb` : UW`hYb`XYf`ei Yf!
ZYa]b]gh]gW`Yb`i bX`@ 6HE ÆŽ ` ; Ya Y]bgW`UZh]ni `nY]W`bYb"

„ VYf`E i Yf`HfUi bghY]b`Y"J "

8 Yf`J YfY]b` E i Yf`HfUi bghY]b`Y"J " `gd]Y`h`Y]bY`Yb`hgW`Y]XYbXY
F c`Yž`i a `XUg`6Yk i gghgY]b`ZØf`X]Y`FYW`hY`i bX`X]Y`5_nYdhUbn`j cb
@ 6HE ÆŽ `A YbgW`Yb`]b`XYf`FY[]cb`ni `gW`ÀfZYb"BYVYb`XYf
Cf[Ub]gUh]cb`XYg`7G8`Yb[U[]Yfh]g]W`XYf`J YfY]b`]b`XYf
5i Z`Àfi b[gUfVY]hi bX`ZØfXYfh`XYb`5i ghUi gW`i bhYf`XYb
j YfgW`]YXYbYb` ; YgW`YW`hYfb`i bX`gYI i Y`Yb`Cf]Ybh]Yfi b[Yb"8]Y
A]h[`]YXYf`UfVY]hYb` `Ufh`XUfUbž`Xi fW`j]Y`ZÀ`h[]Y`J YfUbgH`hi b[Yb

i bX`2 ZZYbh]W_]hgUfVY]h`Y]b`l a ZY`X`ni`gW\UZZYbž]b`XYa`YXYf
ghc`n`Ui ZgY]bY`→XYbh]h`h`gY]b`_Ubb"

K Yf`a Y`f`ØVYf`XYb`7G8`cXYf`X]Y`5fVY]h`XYg`J YfY]bg`YfZU`fYb
a ØW`hYž`_Ubb`g]W\`[YfbY`dYf`9!A U]`Ub`WgXhfUi bghY]b4`[a U]"Wc`a
k YbXYb`cXYf`ØVYf`→ghU[fUa`i bhYf`4 WgXhfUi bghY]b`?`cbhU`h
Ui ZbY`a Yb"

8 Yf`VYj`cfghY`YbXY`7G8`]b`HfUi bghY]b`]gh`b]W\`h`bi`f`Y]bY`:`Y]Yf`XYf
J]Y`ZU`hž`gcbXYfb`Ui W\`Y]bY`k`]W\h][Y`9f]bbYfi b[`Ub`XYb
_cbh]bi`]Yf`]W\Yb`?`Ua`dZ`ZØf`:`Y]W\VYfYW\h][i b[`i bX`5`_nYdhUbn"
8]Y`J YfUbgH`hi b[`]gh`Y]bY`[fc»`Ufh][Y`:`Y`Y[Yb`Y]h`ZØf`U`Y`ž`g]W\`
ni`j`YfgUa`a`Y`b`i`bX`ni`nY][Ybž`XUgg`Hc`YfUbn`i`bX`F`YgdY`_h]b`XYf
`Yi`h][Yb`:`YgY`gW\UZh`i`bYf`Àgg`]W\`g]bX"

8]Y`6YXYi`hi`b[`XYg`7`f]ghcd`Yf`GhfYYh`8Um

8 Yf`7`f]ghcd`Yf`GhfYYh`8Um`f7`G8`L`U`h`gY]bYb`l`fgdfi`b[`]b`XYb
%-`*`-`ghUhhZ]bXYbXYb`GhcbYk`U`!`!`bfi`Yb`]b`BYk`Mcf`_`7]hm"8]YgY
9fY][b]ggY`k`i`fXYb`ni`f`?`Y]a`nY`Y`XYf`a`cXYfbYb`@`6HE`→Ž
6Yk`Y[i b[`i bX`ZØ`fhYb`XUni`ž`XUgg`A`YbgW\Yb`k`Y`hk`Y]h`g]W\`ZØf
]`fY`F`YW\hY`i`bX`5`_nYdhUbn`Y]bgY`mhYb"8 Yf`7G8`k`]fX`Yi`hY`]b
j`Y`Yb`Gh`X`hYb`U`g`k`]W\h][Yf`gma`Vc`]gW\Yf`5`_h[YZY]Yfhž`i`a`Ui`Z
X]Y`6YbUW\hY`][i b[`i bX`8]g_f]a`]b]Yfi b[`XYf`@`6HE`→Ž
7ca`a`i`b]hm]Ui`Za`Yf_gUa`ni`a`UW\Yb`i`bX`[`Y]W\`nY]h][`XYfYb
J]Y`ZU`h`ni`ZY]Yfb" `HfUi bghY]b`fY]`h`g]W\`a`]h`gY]bYa`7G8`]b`X]YgY
k`Y`hk`Y]hY`6Yk`Y[i b[`Y]b`i`bX`j`Yfgh`Àf`h`XUg`c`_U`Y`9b[U[Ya`Ybh
ZØf`:`Y]W\`ghY`i`b[`i bX`5`_nYdhUbn"

8 Ug`A`chc`XYf`X]Yg`À`f][Yb`J`YfUbgH`hi`b[`A`]U`g`Ub`A`]Už`A`]U`g`Ub
E`i`YYfž`A`]U`g`Ub`[Y[Yb`F`YW\hg`f`YZY`_h]Yfh`b]W\`h`bi`f`X]Y`c`_U`Y
→XYbh]h`h`ž`gcbXYfb`ghY`h`Ui`W\`Y]bY`_`UfY`Dcg]h]cb]Yfi b[`[Y[Yb
<ca`cd`cV]Y`i`bX`8]g_f]a`]b]Yfi b[`XUf" `Gc`W\Y`6`chgW\UZhYb`g]bX
]bgVYgcbXYfY`]b`NY]hYbž`]b`XYbYb`dcdi`h`g]gW\Y`i`bX
fYW\hgdc`di`h`g]gW\Y`HYbXYbnYb`]b`j`]Y`Yb`@`ÀbXYfb`ni`bY`a`Ybž
VYXYi`hYbX"

9b[U[Ya`Ybh`XYf`c`_U`Yb`7ca`a`i`b]hm

8Yf'7G8`]b`HfUi bghY]b`nY][h`XUg`9b[U[Ya Ybh`XYf`c`_U`Yb
; Ya Y]bgW`UZh`i bX`X]Y`I bhYfghØhni b[`Xi fW`j YfgW`]YXYbY
Cf[Ub]gUh]cbYb`i bX`DUfhY]Yb`"8]Y`J YfUbghU`hi b[`V]YhYh`b]W`h`bi f
Y]bY`D`UhhZcfa `ZØf`X]Y`@ 6HE =5Ž `7ca a i b]hmž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`ZØf
U`Yž`X]Y`g]W`ZØf`8]j Yfg]h`h`i bX`Hc`YfUbn`Y]bgYhnYb`"8]Y
nU`fY]W`Yb`Gh`ÅbXY`VY]a `GhUXhZYgh`ZØfXYfb`XYb`5i ghUi gW
nk]gW`Yb`j YfgW`]YXYbYb`; fi ddYb`i bX`Yf`Y]W`hYfb`X]Y
J YfbYhni b["8]YgYg`9b[U[Ya Ybh`]gh`Yb`hgW`Y]XYbX`ZØf`XUg
K c`VYZ]bXYb`i bX`X]Y`G]W`hVUf`_Y]h`XYf`@ 6HE =5Ž `A YbgW`Yb`]b
XYf`FY[]cb"

5i » YfXYa `k]fX`Xi fW`X]Y`5i Z`_`Åfi b[gUfVY]hj cb`E i YYf
HfUi bghY]b`Y`J`"XUg`6Yk i gghgY]b`ZØf`j YfgW`]YXYbY`gYI i Y`Y
Cf]Yb]h]Yfi b[Yb`i bX`; YgW`Y`W`hg]XYb]h]h`h`Yb`[Ygh`Åf`_h`"Gc`W`Y
=b]h]Uh]j Yb`ZØfXYfb`b]W`h`bi f`5`_nYdhUbnž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`X]Y`U`_h]j Y
HY]`bU`a`Y`XYf`; YgY`gW`UZh`Ub`X]YgYa `k]W`h][Yb`H`Ya`U`
J YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`k]Y`XYf`7G8`hfU[Yb`XUni`VY]ž`Y]bY`]bhY[fUh]j Y
i bX`d`cg]h]j Y`I a [YVi b[`ni`gW`UZZYbž`]b`XYf`U`Y`A YbgW`Yb
i bUV`Åb[] []cb`]fYf`X`Yb]h]h`h`fYgdY`_h]Yfh`k YfXYb"

GhUh]gh]_Yb`ni f`@ 6HE =5Ž `7ca a i b]hm`]b
8Yi hgW`UbX

@Ui h`XYf`Gh`X]Y` 8]g_f]a]b]Yfi b[gYfZU`fi b[Yb`]cb`@ 6HE =5Ž
DYfgcbYb`]b`8Yi hgW`UbX`Ui g`XYa``X`f`&`\$`\$`UVYb`a`Y`f`U`g`*`\$
DfcnYbh`XYf`6YZfU[hYb`Ub[Y[YVYbž`XUgg`g]Y`]b`XYb`Y`h`h`Yb`ZØbZ
X`f`Yb`Ui Z[fi bX`]fYf`gYI i Y`Yb`Cf]Yb]h]Yfi b[`cXYf
; YgW`Y`W`hg]XYb]h]h`h`X]g_f]a]b]Yfh`k i fXYb`"8]YgY`GhUh]gh]_
i bhYfghfY]W`h`X]Y`B`chk`YbX][_Y]hj cb`J YfUbghU`hi b[Yb`k]Y`XYa
7G8`ž`X]Y`Ui Z`X]Y`Ub`U`h`Yb`XYb`<YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Yb`\\]bk Y]gYbž`a]h
XYbYb`X]Y`7ca a i b]hm`_cbZfcb]h]Yfh]gh`8UfØVYf`\\]bUi g`nY][Yb
I a ZfU[Ybž`XUgg`ØVYf`, \$`DfcnYbh`XYf`8Yi hgW`Yb`X]Y
; `Y]W`ghY`i b[]cb`@ 6HE =5Ž `DYfgcbYb`i bhYfghØhnybž`k Ug`Ui Z
Y]bY`d`cg]h]j Y`9bhk]W`_i b[]b`XYf`[YgY`gW`UZh]W`Yb`9]bghY`i b[
\\]bk Y]gh"

9]bY`k Y]hYfY`GhUh]gh]_`nY][hž`XUgg`]b`8Yi hgW`UbX`a`Y`f`U`g`%\$

DfcnYbh'XYf'6Yj Ò`_Yfi b['g]W\`gY`Vgh'U`g`HY]'`XYf'@, 6HE ÆŽ
7ca a i b]hmi]XYbh]Z[n]YfYb" '8]YgY`NU\`Yb`g]bX`Y]b'`_`UfYf'`bX]_Uhc f
ZØf`X]Y`F`Y`Yj Ubn`j cb`7G8!J YfUbgH`hi b[Yb`i bX`XYb`6YXUfZ`Ub
k Y]hYfYb`5i Z_`Àfi b[g!`i bX`i bhYfghØhmi b[gUb[YVchYb"

8YhU]`g

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