„ VYffUgWYbXYg'7ca YVUW_.'; Òfhn'_Y\ fh
Ub'XYb'5b[Yf']b'9fZi fh'ni fØW_°

9fZi fh'Yf'YVh'Y]b'7ca YVUW_.'8Yf'VY'YVhY'GWXi \`UXYb'; Òfhn
Y\ fh'ØVYffUgWYbX'Ub'XYb'5b[Yf'ni fØW."9fZU\ fh'U`Y
8YhU]`g'ni `X]YgYa `i bYfk UfhYhYb'BYi ghUfh°

9]b'ØVYffUgWYbXYg'; YgWY\Yb'gcf[h'ni fnY]h'ZØf'5i ZgY\Yb'Ua
5b[Yf']b'9fZi fh"J]Y`Y`DUggUbh.]bbYbž'X]Y'Ub'Y]bYa `VYgh]a a hYb
GWUi ZYbghYf'j cfVY][Y\Ybž'_ØbbhYb'g]W\`ZfU[ Yb.`gh'XUg'b]W\h'XYf
@UXYbž'XYf'j cf`\_i fnYa `[YgW`cggYb'k i fXY'3'9g']gh'XUg
7ca YVUW_ž'XUg'[Y\Y]a `[ Y\U'hYb'k i fXY'i bX`Yhnh'cZZYbVUf
; YghU'h'Ubb]a a h'8]Y`F'YXY'jgh'j cb'; Òfhnž'XYa `VY_UbbhYb
GWXi \`UXYbž'XYf'gY]bY'HØfYb'VU`X'YfbYi h]b'XYf'`bYbghUXh
ØZbYb'k]`"

Jcf`Yhk Ug'a Y\`f'U`g'Y]bYa `š\`f'nc[ `g]W\`; Òfhn'Ui g'9fZi fh'ni fØW_"
8Yf'; fi bX'XUZØf'k Uf'X]Y'5ba Y`Xi b[ `j cb'`bgc`j Ybnž'X]Y`XYa
I bhYfbY\`a Yb'ni `gW`UZZYb'a UW`hY" `b'XYb`YhnhYb'š\`fYb`\UhhY
XYf'GWXi \`UbV]YhYf'a ]h'Z]bUbn]Y`Yb'GW`k ]Yf][ \_Y]hYb'ni `Äa dZYbž
k Ug'ni f'GW`Y]»i b[ `a Y\`fYfYf': ]]U`Ybž'XUfi bhYf'Ui W\`X]Y`Ua
5b[Yfž'ZØ\`fhY"8]YgY'9bhgW`Y]Xi b[`k Uf'ZØf'X]Y'; YgW`ÄzhgZØ\`fi b[
b]W\h'Y]W\h'i bX'g]Y`k i fXY'U`g'bchk YbX][`YfUW`hYhž'i a `X]Y
7\`UbW`b'ZØf'Y]bY'ni _ØbZ]h][Y`GUb]Yfi b[ `XYg'i bhYfbY\`a Ybg'b]W`h
ni `[ YZÄ\`fXYb"5a `&%"š` `]&\$&' `k Uf'XYf`YhnhY`JYf`\_Ui ZghU[ `Ua
5b[Yf"

8 Ug'7ca YVUW_`j cb'; Òfhn

K]Y`X]Y` H\Øf]b[Yf'5`[ Ya Y]bY`NY]hi b[`VYf]W`hYhž`Äi Zh`\]bhYf
XYb'?'i`]ggYb'Ua `5b[Yf'k]YXYf'j]Y`"9g'k ]fX'ZY]»][ `[YUfVY]hYhž
i a `XYb'bYi Yb'GhUbXcfhj cfni VYfY]hYb"9]b'GW`]X`ja

GWUi ZYbghYf'a UWXh'X]Y`B Yi [ ]YfXY`XYf'DUggUbh.]bbYb'bcWk
[fØ»Yf.'<]Yf'k]fX'VU'X`Y]bY`bYi Y'; Òfhn!:]]U`Y`YfÒZbYh"8]Yg
_ÒbbhY`X]Y`nk Y]hY':]]U`Y`j`cb'; Òfhn']b`XYf'GhUXh'gY]bž'bVYb'Y]bYf
VYfY]hg`VYghY`YbXYb':]]U`Y`]b`XYf'BcfX`Ài`gYf'GhfU»Y"

8]Y`F`ØW__Y`f`XYg`VY`]YVhYb`GWi` \UbV]YhYfg`\_ÒbbhY`Y]b`dcg]hj] Yg
NY]WkYb`XUZØf`gY]bž`XUgg'; Òfhn`gY]bY`GWk`]Yf][`_Y]hYb
ØVYfk`i`bXYb`\Uh'i`bX`bi`b`Ui`Z`Y]bYb`[`i`hYb`K`Y`[`]gh"?'i`bXYb
_ÒbbYb`g]Wk`XUfUi`Z`ZfYi`Ybž`]b`XYf'bYi`Yb':]]U`Y`k`]YXYf`XUg
[`Yk`c`\bhY`Gcfh]a`Ybh`Ub`GWi`\Yb`ni`Z]bXYb"

8]YgY`6Yk`Y`[`i`b`[`]b`XYf`9]bnY`\UbXY`g`UbXgWk`UZh`Ua`'5b`[`Yf`k`YW_h
<cZbi`b`[`Yb`Ui`Z`Y]bY`6Y`YVi`b`[`XYf`9]b`\_Ui`ZggfU»Y"8Yf`5b`[`Yf`\Uh
g]Wk`ØVYf`X]Y`X`fY`ni`Y]bYa`nYbhfU`Yb`Di`b`\_h`ZØf`G`cdd]b`[`i`bX
:fY]nY]h`]b`9fZ`fh`Yb`k`]W_Y`hž`i`bX`X]Y`F`ØW__Y`f`j`cb'; YgWk`ÀZhYb
k`]Y'; Òfhn`_ÒbbhY`XUg`≠hYfYggY`XYf'?`cbgi`a`YbhYb`Yf`\Ø`Yb"

K]Wk h][`Y`9b`hk`]W_`i`b`[`Yb`ZØf`X]Y
9]bnY`\`UbXY`gk`]fhgWk`UZh

8]Y`F`ØW__Y`f`Y]bYg`Y]bgh`[`YgWk`cggYbYb'; YgWk`ÀZh`nY][`h`Ui`Wk
Y]bY`dcg]hj] Y`9b`hk`]W_`i`b`[`]b`XYf`9]bnY`\`UbXY`gk`]fhgWk`UZh"≠a`a`Yf
a`Y`f`9]bnY`\`AbX`Yf`gi`WkYb`bUWk`K`Y`[`Ybž`\fY'; YgWk`ÀZhY`ni
_cbgc`X]YfYb`i`bX`bYi`ni`X]j`Yfg]Z]n]YfYb"; Òfhn`_ÒbbhY`Y]b
6Y]gd]Y`ZØf`UbXYfY`i`bhYfbY`a`Yb`k`YfXYbž`X]Y`a`]h`À`\b`]WkYb
<YfUi`gZcfXYfi`b`[`Yb`Ui`gY]bUbXYfni`gYhnYb`\UVYb"9]b`7ca`YVUW_
_Ubb`Ui`Wk`ZØf`UbXYfY':]]U`Yb`Y]b`Yfa`i`h][`YbXYg`NY]WkYb`gYhnYb"

8UfØVYf`\]bUi`g`ghY`Yb`nU`\fY]WkY`<YfUi`gZcfXYfi`b`[`Yb`ni`f
8YVUhhYž'a`]h`XYbYb`9]bnY`\`AbX`Yf`\_cbZfcbh]Yfh]g]bX.`j`cb`C`b`]bY!
?cb`\_i`ffYbn`ØVYf`j`Yf`AbXYfhYg`9]b`_Ui`Zgj`Yf`U`hYb`V]g`\]b`ni
ghY][`YbXYb`A`]YhYb"; Òfhn`F`ØW\_\_Y`f`a`U`[`nk`Uf`gdYn]Z]gWk`gY]bž
UVYf`g]Y`_ÒbbhY`XYb`HfYbX`k`X]Yfgd]Y`[`Y`bž`XUgg`X]Y`?`Y]bgh`AX`hY
i`bX`9]b`\_Ui`ZgnYbhfYb`j`Yfgi`WkYbž`g]Wk`ni`fYj`]hU`]g]YfYb`i`bX`XUg
≠hYfYggY`XYf'?`Ài`Zf`ni`fØW`ni`[`Yk`]bbYb"

8]Y`GWk`]Y»i`b`[`i`bX`bi`b`X]Y`F`ØW\_\_Y`f`XYg`GWk`i`\`UXYb!; ][`UbhYb
nY][`h`Y]bXfØW_]Wk.`≠`XYf`K`Y`h`XYg`9]bnY`\`UbXY`g`g]bX

J YfÅbXYfi b[Yb`Ub`XYf`HU[ Ygc fXbi b[ " J YfVfUi WXYf.]bbYb`g]bX
bUW`k ]Y`j cf`Ui ZXYf`Gi WXY`bUW`E i U]hÅh`i bX`J]Y`ZU`hž`i bX`X]Y
FØW__Y`f`j cb` ; Òfh`_ÒbbhY`XYa `6YXØfZb]g`bUW`UhhfU`_hj Yb
5b[YVchYb`i bX`a Y`f`K YhhVYk YfvGZÅ`][ \_Y]h`FYW`bi b[ `hfU[Yb`"

9]b`bYi Yg`? Ud]hY``Ua `5b[Yf

A]h`XYf`VYj cfghY`YbXYb`9fÒZZbi b[`Y]bYf`bYi Yb` ; Òfh`! :]]U`Y`Ua
5b[Yf`k ]fX`Y]b`bYi Yg`? Ud]hY``]b`XYf`9]bnY`UbXY`g[YgW`]W`hY
9fZi fhg`Ui Z[ YgW`U[Yb`"8]Yg`_ÒbbhY`XYb`HfYbX`ni f
8]j Yfg]Zn]Yfi b[`i bX`GhUV`]g]Yfi b[ `XYg`9]bnY`UbXY`g`]b`XYf
FY[]cb`i bhYfghfY]W`Yb`i bX`[`Y]W`nY]h][`XYb`GhUXhY`]`U`g
9]b`\_Ui Zgn]Y`Ui Zk YfhYb`"K Y]hYfY`B]Y»Y`ni a `H`Ya U`9]bnY`UbXY`
gck]Y`j ]Y`Y`gdUbbYbXY`9bhk]W`\_i b[ Yb`_ÒbbhYb`Ui ZX]Y`9fZi fhYf
GhUXh`UbXgW`UZh`ni \_ca`a Yb`"9g`V`Y]Vh`gdUbbYbX`ni `VYcVUW`hYbž
k]Y`X]Y`ni _ØbZh][Y`9bhk ]W`_i b[`j Yf`Ui ZYb`k ]fX`i bX`k Y`W`Y`A Uf`_Y
j]Y`Y]W`h`XYa`bÅW`gh`Zc`[ Yb`_ÒbbhY`"

8]Y`FØW\_\_Y`f`j cb` ; Òfh`ni a `5b[Yf`]b`9fZi fh`k]fZi]bhYfYggUbhY
: fU[Yb`ni `XYb`U`_hi Y`Yb`HfYbXg`]a `9]bnY`UbXY`Ui Z`K Å`fYbX
XYf`DUbXYa`]Y`UVYb`j]Y`Y`9]bnY`ÅbX`Yf`a`]h`i a`gUhnfØW`_ [Åb[Yb
ni `Åa`dZb`[ Y`UVhž`k Ug`ni `GW`]Y»i b[Yb`i bX``ægc`j YbnYb
ZØ`fhY`" ; Òfh`k Uf`XUVY`]\_Y]bY`5i gbU`a Y`"8]Y`HUhgUW`Yž`XUgg`g]Y
bi b`ni fØW\_\_Y`fYbž`\_ÒbbhY`XUfUi Z`]bXYi hYbž`XUgg`g]W`X]Y
A Uf`\_hg]hi Uh]cb`ghUV`]g]Yfh`Uh`i bX`J YfVfUi WXYf`k ]YXYf`]b`X]Y
; YgW`ÅZhY`ghf`Òa`Yb`"

K]fhgW`UZh`]W`Y`F`U`a`Yb`V`Y`X]b[i b[Yb

8]Y`k ]fhgW`UZh`]W`Y`G]hi Uh]cb`]b`8Yi hgW`UbX`Uh`]b`XYb`YhnhYb
`U`fYb`Yf`YV`]W`Yb`GW`k Ub`\_i b[ Yb`i bhYf`Y[ Yb`"B`UW`XYf
7CJ`-!%`!DUbXYa` ]Y`Yf`YVhY`X]Y`K ]fhgW`UZh`]bYb`FØW`\_ [ Ub[ ž`UVYf
X]Y`A Uf`_hž`fgW`i b[`nY][ hž`XUgg`g]W`X]Y`9]bnY`UbXY`gi a`gÅhY
U`a`Å`]W`Yf`c`Yb`"@Ui h`XYa` `GhUh]gh]gW`Yb`6i bXYgUa`h
gh]Y[Yb`X]Y`9]bnY`UbXY`gi a`gÅhY`]a``U`f`&\$&`i`a`Yhk`U`ž`i`
]a`J`Yf[`Y]W`ni a`J`cf`U`f`"8]Yg`_ÒbbhY`Y]b`dcg]hj Yg`NY]W`Yb`ZØf
9]bnY`ÅbX`Yf`k ]Y` ; Òfh`gY]bž`X]Y`j Yfgi W`Ybž`]fY`DfÅgYbn`ni
j Yf[fÒ»Yfb`"

Ni gÀhn`]W\`UVYb`g]W`J YfVfUi W`YfdFÀZYfYbnYb`j YfÀbXYfh`8 Yf
HfYbX`ni`VYk`i gghYfYa`9]b_Ui ZYb`i bX`X]Y`ghY][ YbXY`B UW`ZFU[Y
bUW`c`_U`dFcXi`n]YfhYb`cXYf`bUW`U`h][`Yf[ YghY`hYb`DfcXi`_hYb
UVYb`9]bZi gg`Ui Z`XUg`Gcfh]a`Ybh`XYf`; YgW`ÀZhY"; Òfhn`_ÒbbhY
X]YgY`J YfÀbXYfi b[ Yb`bi hmYbž`i a`X]Y`?i bXYb`ni fØW`ni [ Yk`]bbYb
i bX`g]W`bYi`Ua`A Uf`\_h`ni`d cg]h]cb]YfYb"

5_hi Y`Y`NU\`Yb`i bX`GhUh]gh]_Yb

9]bY`I a`ZFU[Y`XYg`< UbXY`gj YfVUbXg`8 Yi hgW`UbX`fk`8 9L`Ui g`XYa
X\`f`&\$&`Yf[ UVž`XUgg`fi bX`),`i`XYf`6Y`ZFU[hYb`d`UbYbž`]b`XYb
bÀW`ghYb`A`cbUhYb`k`]YXYf`ghUh]cb`Àf`Y]bni`\_Ui ZYb`"8]Yg`]gh`Y]b
5bnY]W`Yb`XUž`ž`XUgg`X]Y`J YfVfUi W`Yf`k`]YXYf`J YfhfUi Yb`]b`XYb
9]bnY`\`UbXY`[ Yk`]bbYbž`k`Ug`ž`f`X]Y`F`ØW`_Y`f`j`cb`; Òfhn`Y]b
d cg]h]j`Yg`I a`ZY`X`gW`UZZYb`_ÒbbhY"

Ni gÀhn`]W`ni`XYb`I a`gUhnghY][ Yfi b[ Yb`UVYb`j`]Y`Y
I bhYfbY`a`Yb`]b`XYb`Y`hnhYb`X\`fYb`]b`X][`]hU`Y`@Ògi b[Yb
]bj`Ygh]Yfhž`i a`]\`fYb`?i bXYb`Y]b`bU`h`c`g`Yg`9]b_Ui ZgYf`YVb]g`ni
V]YhYb"; Òfhn`\_ÒbbhY`]b`X]YgYa`6YfY]W`YVYbZU`g`GhfUhY[]Yb
j`YfZc`[Ybž`i a`g]W`j`cb`UbXYfYb`5bV]YhYfb`UVni`YVYb`i bX`XYb
K`]YXYfY]bgh]Y[ `ni`i bhYfgh`ØhnYb"

8]Y`F`ØW`\_Y`f`ni a`5b[Yf`\_ÒbbhY`gca`]h`b]W`h`bi`f`ž`f`; Òfhnž
gcbXYfb`Ui W`ž`f`XYb`ghUh]cb`ÀfYb`9]bnY`\`UbXY`]bg[YgUa`h`Y]b
VYXYi`hYbXYg`G][`bU`gY]bž`XUgg`XYf`A`Uf`\_h]g]W`Yf`c`hi`bX
5b[YVchY`k`]Y`X]Y`XYg`VY`YVhYb`GW`i`\`UXYb`bYi`VY`YVh`k`YfXYb
_ÒbbYb"

8YhU]`g

6Ygi W`Yb`G]Y`i bg`Ui Z.`X]Y!bUW`f]W`hYb`bYh