

: Y]Yf`Ui bY. `F c`UbX`? U]gYf`i bX`A U]hY
? Y``m`ØVYffUgWk Yb`a]h`đ V]`Äi a g!78

F c`UbX`? U]gYf`i bX`A U]hY`? Y``m`ZY]Yfb`XUg`%\$!`Ä`f][Y
đ V]`Äi a `]\fYg`<]hg`a]h`Y]bYf``]a]h]YfhYb`A UI]!78`i bX`Y]bYf
VYgcbXYfYb`G\ck "

? Ö`b`#A ØbghYf` `8]Y`GWk`U[Yfk Y`h`ghY`h`]b`5i Zfi `fz`XYbb`nk Y]
]\fYf`[fÖ» hYb`GhUfg`_ØbX][Yb`Y]bY`VYgcbXYfY`, VYffUgWki b[`Ub.
F c`UbX`? U]gYf`f+&Łi bX`A U]hY`? Y``m`f((Ł`_ca a Yb`a]h`Yhk Ug
9]ba U`][Ya `ni fØW`ž`i a `XUg`nY`b`Ä`f][Y`đ V]`Äi a `]\fYg
YfZc`[fY]WkYb`8i Yh`hg` K Ufi a `Ugh`Xi `b]Wk`h`bY]b`[YgU[h`ni
ZY]Yfb`"8]YgYg`@]YXž`XUg`gY]h`gY]bYf`J YfÖZZYb`h]Wki b[`X]Y`< YfnYb
XYf`: Ub`g`Yfc`VYfh`\Uhž`k]fX`Y`h`h`b`Yi `]b`hYfd`fYh]Yfh`i bX`d`f`Ä`gYb`h]Yfh`

8Yf`đ\`f`&\$&(`]gh`ZØf`F c`UbX`? U]gYf`Y]b`đ\`f`j c``Yf`< Ö`Ydi b`_hY"
BYVYb`gY]bYa `Y][YbYb`) \$!`Ä`f][Yb`6Ø`bYb`↑ V]`Äi a ž`XUg`Yf
[YVØ`fYbX`[YZY]Yfh`\Uhž`VY`Yi Wk`hYh`XUg`8i c`Ui Wk`XYb`9fZc`[
gY]bYg`VYfØ`a hYghYb`Gcb[g`a]h`A U]hY`? Y``mž`XYggYb`6YXYi hi b[
ZØf`X]Y`GWk`U[Yf`UbXgWk`UZh`b]Wk`h`c`Wk`[Ybi [`Y]b[YgWk`Ä`h`h
k YfXYb`_Ubb`"5a `i`&("5i [i gh&\$&(`hfYhYb`X]Y`VY]XYb`GhUfg
[Ya Y]bgUa `]b`XYf` ;]cj`Ubb`]NUffY``U`G\ck `Ui Z`i a `]\f
VYa Yf`_Ybgk YfhYg`a i g]_U`]gWk`Yg`9fVY`ni `k`ØfX][Yb"

9fgWk]b [`]Wk Yg ; YgWk Yb _ `ZØf`X]Y : Ub`g

8]Y`VY]XYb`GWk`U[Yf[fÖ» Yb`\UVYb`Ub[Y`_ØbX][hž`Y]bY``]a]h]YfhY
A UI]!78`YfUi`gni`Vf]b[Ybž`X]Y`X]Y`ZØb`Z`gWk`ØbghYb`J Yfg]cbYb
]\fYg`[Ya Y]bgUa Yb`<]hg`j YfY]b`h` Ni`f` : Y]Yf`XYg`đ V]`Äi a g
Vf]b[Yb`k]f`Y]ba U`][`Y]bY``]a]h]YfhY`A UI]!78`YfUi`gž`X]Y`X]Y`)
gWk`ØbghYb`J Yfg]cbYb`XYg`Gcb[g`j YfY]bh`ž`hY]`hYb`g]Y`ØVYf`]fY
`bghU[fUa`!5Wk`i`bhg`a]h`"8]Yg`nY][hž`k]Y`gY`f`g]Y`]\fY` : Ub`g]a

6`jW_`UVYb`i bX`k]Y`k]W`h[`j]\bYb`XYfYb`i bhYfghØhni b[`]gh"8]Y
J cfZfYi XY`]gh[fc» ž`X]Y`9fk Ufhi b[Yb`g]bX`\cW`ž`i bX`X]Y
?ca a YbhUfY`XYf` : Ubg`]b`XYb`gcn]U`Yb`A YX]Yb`gd]Y[Y`b`X]YgY
6Y[Y]ghYfi b[`k]XYf"

≠W`ZfYi Y`a]W`gW`cb`gY`f`Ui Z`X]Y`)`gW`ØbghYb`J Yfg]cbYb`j cb
Yi fYa`Gcb["≠W`"]YVY`XUg`8i Yhh`ž`gW`fY]Vh`Y]b` : Ub`VY[Y]ghYfh"
8]Y`5b_ØbX][i b[`j Yfgdf]W`h`b]W`h`bi f`bYi Y`a i g]_U`]gW`Y
9f`YVb]ggYž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`Y]bYb`bYi Yb`j]gi Y`Yb`@cc_ž`XU`XUg
7cj Yf`XYf`78`bcW`Y]bY` , VYffUgW`i b[`VYfY]h`À`h" 9]bg`_ØbbYb
k]f`gW`cb`j YffUhYb` : Øf`XUg`7cj Yf`\UVYb`k]f`i bg`bcW`Yhk Ug
Ui g[YXUW`h`U`gcž`Uggh`Yi W`ØVYffUgW`Yb`" 8]YgY
 : cfa i`]Yfi b[Yb`k YW`Yb`X]Y`BYi []Yf`i bX`@ gh`XYf` : Ubg`Ui Z`a Y`f"

9]b`6`]W_`Ui Z`X]Y`Ni _i bZh

8cW`k`À`fYbX`XUg`8i c`Y]b`gdUbbYbXYg`Dfc`Y`_h]b`5b[f]Z`b]a a hž
[]Vh`Yg`Ui W`_`UfY` ; fYbnYb`" Fc`UbX`?U]gYf`a UW`hY`VYfY]hg`&\$&
]b`Y]bYa`DcXWUgh`XYi h]W`ž`XUgg`Yf`ZØf`X]Y`Ni _i bZh`_Y]b`k Y]hYfYg
8i Yhh`a]h`A U]hY`?Y`m`d`UbYb`a ØW`hY`" ≠W`k YfXY`]b`Ni _i bZh
[YbUi`a]h`\f`_Y]b`8i Yhh`a Y`f`g]b[Yb`ž`Ài » YfhY`Yf`]b`6Yni [`Ui Z
X]Y`Y]bn][Ufh][Y`J Yf`Y[Yb`Y]hž`X]Y`]\f`[Ya`Y]bgUa Yf`9fZc`[`a]h
g]W`VfUW`hY`"9f`VYnY]W`bYhY`XYb`9fZc`[`j cb` K Ufi a` \Ugh`Xi
b]W`h`bY]b[YgU[h`U`g`Yhk Ug`9]ba U][Ygž`XUg`b]W`h`k]YXYf`c`h
k YfXYb`_Ubb"

6Y]XY`?Øbgh`Yf`g]bX`g]W`XUfØVYf`]a`?`UfYbž`XUgg`Yg`Yi hfYa
gW`k]Yf][`gY]b`k]fXž`X]YgYb`9fZc`[`ni`hc`ddYb`"A]h`ZØb`ZUW` ; c`X
ZØf`XYb`<]h`\UVYb`g]Y`b]W`h`bi f`J Yf`_Ui ZgfY`_cfXY`[YVfcW`Ybž
gcbXYfb`Ui W`Y]bYb`ZYghYb`D`Uhn]b`XYb`<YfnYb`XYf`GW`U[YfZUbg
[YZ`bXYb`"8Yf`+&!`À`f][Y`]gh`ØVYfnYi [h` 8Ug`_Ubb`]W`XcW`
b]W`h`k]YXYf`c`Yb`"8]Y`XYi h]W`Yb`K cfhY`UggYb`XUfUi Z
gW`]Y» Ybž`XUgg`X]Y`VY]XYb`?Øbgh`Yf`]b`Ni _i bZh`a Ø[`]W`Yfk Y]gY
[YhfYbbhY`K Y[Y`]b`]\fYf`A i g]_ [Y`Ybž`k c`YXYf`gY]bY`Y][YbY
Gc`c`_Uff]YfY`k Y]hYfj YfZc`[h"

5a`K`cW`YbYbXY`k YfXYb`Fc`UbX`?U]gYf`i bX`A U]hY`?Y`m`XUbb
[Ya`Y]bgUa`Ui Z`XYf`6Ø`bY`ghY`Yb`i bX`\c`ZYbž`a]h]\fYf

đ V]`Ài a gUi ZØ\fi b[`ni `VY[Y]ghYfb" `C V k c\`X]Y `Ni _i bZi:ZØf
[Ya Y]bgUa Y `Dfc `Y_hY`i b[Yk]gg`]ghž`V`Y]Vh`X]Y`@]YVY`]\fYf` : Ubg`ni
XYb `VY]XYb `?ØbghYfb`i b[YVfcWXYb"

9]b`a i g]_U`]gWXYg`9fVY

8]Y`F ØW__Y`f`j cb`F c`UbX`?U]gYf`i bX`A U]hY`?Y`m`Ui ZX]Y`6Ø`bY
nY][h`Y]ba U`a Y`fž`XUgg`A i g]_`b]W`h`bi f`9f]bbYfi b[Yb`k YW`hž
gcbXYfb`Ui W`b`Yi Y` ; YbYfUh]cbYb`VY[Y]ghYfh" `G]Y` \UVYb`a]h`]\fYf
Ni gUa a YbUfVY]h`Y]bYb`V`Y]VYbXYb`9]bXfi W`_`]b`XYf`XYi hgWXYb
A i g]_`UbXgW`UZh`\]bhYf`UggYb" `C V`_`]b`Y]bYf`@]j Y!DYfZcfa UbW`c`XYf
Ui ZX]Yf`VU`X`YfgWXY]bYbXYb`A UI]!78žY]bYg`ghY`h`ZYgh`8Yf
GW`U[Yf`YVh`i bX`di`g]Yfh`Xi fW`]\fY`Y]bn][Ufh][Yb`Gh]a a Yb`i bX
; YgW]W`hYb"

8]Y`5b_ØbX][i b[`XYg`]a]h]YfhY`A UI]!78g`j cb`F c`UbX`?U]gYf`i bX
A U]hY`?Y`m`j YfXYi h`]W`h`b]W`h`bi f`]\fY`6YXYi hi b[`]b`XYf
XYi hgWXYb`GW`U[Yfa i g]_`ž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`X`Yb`9]bZi gg`XYg`8i Yhg
Ui ZX]Y`A i g]_`gnYbY`]a `5` `[Ya Y]bYb" ` K Ufi a ` \Ugh`Xi `b]W`h`bY]b
[YgU[h `V`Y]Vh`Y]bYg`XYf`VY`_UbbhYghYb`8i YhhY`]a `XYi hgWXYb
GW`U[Yfž`k Y`W`Yg`gY]h`gY]bYf`J YfØZYb`h]W`i b[`]a `đ\`f`&\$%(`VY]
nU`fY]WXYb` : Ubg`i bX`?f]h]_Yfb`[fc»Yb`5b`_Ub[` [YZ] bXYb` \Uh"

8]Y`?ca V]bUh]cb`XYf`Gh]a a Yb`j cb`?U]gYf`i bX`?Y`m`\Uh`b]W`h`bi f
ni a ` _ca a Yfn]Y`Yb`9fZc`[`XYg`Gcb[g`VY][YhfU[Ybž`gcbXYfb`Ui W`
ni `Y]bYf`j Yfgh`f`_hYb`G]W`h`Uf`_Y]h]j cb`8i YhhYb`]b`XYf
GW`U[YfgnYbY" `8]Y`HUhgUWXYž`XUgg`g]Y`bi b`X]Y`gW`ØbghYb
J Yfg]cbYb`XYg`Gcb[g`U`g`]a]h]YfhY`9X]h]cb`\YfUi gVf]b[Ybž`nY][h
XYb`K i bgW`ž`]\fY`A i g]_`k Y]hYf`\]b`]b`XYb` : c`_i g`XYf`? ZYb`h]W`_Y]h
ni `fØW`Yb`i bX`[`Y]W`nY]h][`bYi Y` ; YbYfUh]cbYb`j cb` : Ubg`ni
[Yk]bbYb"

8]Y`F c`Y`j cb`8i YhhYb`]a `XYi hgWXYb GW`U[Yf

8i YhhY`gd]Y`Yb`]a `XYi hgWXYb`GW`U[Yf`Y]bY`nYbhfU`Y`F c`Y`i bX
YfžYi Yb`g]W`[fc»Yf`6Y`]YVh`Y]h" `8]Y`J YfV]bXi b[`nk Y]Yf

Ghja a Yb'gW\UZh'icZh'Y]bY'Ya ch]cbU'Y'H]YZ'ž'X]Y'j]Y'Y'Ni \ÖfYf
Ubgdf]W'h"6Y_UbbhYghY'6Y]gd]Y'Y'g]bX'X]Y'8i YhhY'j cb'ghUfg'k]Y
5bXfYU'6Yf['i bX'X]\fYf'Ub['Ä\f][Yb'8i YhdUfhbYf]b'cXYf'X]Y
YfZc`[fY]WYb'?c`UVcfUh]cbYb'j cb'<Y'YbY':]gWYf'a]h
j YfgW]YXYbYb'?ØbghYfb"8]YgY'5fhj cb'?c`UVcfUh]cb'ZÖfXYfh
b]W'h'bi f'[Y[YbgY]h][Y'Dfca ch]cbž'gcbXYfb'j YfghÄf'h'Ui W'X]Y
6]bXi b['nk]gWYb'XYb'?ØbghYfb'i bX'XYb': Ubg"

8]Y'8mbUa]_i bX'X]Y'7\Ya]Y'nk]gWYb'XYb'8i YhdUfhbYfb
hfU[Yb'ni f'; 'Ui Vk ØfX][_Y]h'XYf'A i g]_VY]ž'k Ug'g]W'dc'g]h]j 'Ui Z
X]Y'J Yf_Ui ZgnU\`Yb'Ui gk]f_Yb'_Ubb"i ð'XYb''YhhYb'Ä\ fYb'\Uh'X]Y
J Yfk YbXi b['j cb'gcn]U'Yb'A YX]Yb'XUni 'VY][YhfU[Ybž'XUgg'gc`W'X
a i g]_U]gWYb'DUfhbYfgW\UZhYb''VYbX]['V'Y]VYb'i bX'fY[Y'a Ä»][
bYi Y'ð\U'hY'ZÖf'XUg'Di V`_i a 'YfnYi [h'k YfXYb"

: Ub[Ya Y]bgW\UZh'i bX'_i `hi fY`Yf'9]bZ'i gg

8]Y': Ub[Ya Y]bgW\UZh'i a 'Fc`UbX'?U]gYf'i bX'A U]hY'?Y`m]gh
Äi »YfghYb[U[]Yfhi bX'gd]Y'h'Y]bY'YbhgWY]XYbXY'Fc`Y']b'XYf
Dcdi `Uf]hÄh'XYg'8i Yhhg"': Ubg'Zc`[Yb'XYb'9bhk]W`_i b[Yb'XYf
'ØbghYf'b]W'h'bi f']b'gcn]U'Yb'A YX]Ybž'gcbXYfb'g]bX'Ui W'VY]'@]j Y!
5i Zhf]hhYbž'k]Y'XYf' ;]cj Ubb]'NUffY`U'G\ck ž'cZh'ghUf'_j YfhfYhYb"
8]YgY'ðhYfU_h]cbYb'nk]gWYb'?ØbghYfb'i bX'5b\Äb[Yfb'ZÖfXYfb
Y]b'; Ya Y]bgW\UZh'g[YZÖ\`i bX'g]bX'Y]b'k]W'h][Yf'6YghUbXhY]'XYg
GW`U[YfID\Äbca Ybg"

Ni XYa 'gma Vc`g]Yfh'X]Y'Ni gUa a YbUfVY]h'nk]gWYb'X]YgYb
VY]XYb'?ØbghYfb'Y]bY'KY]hYfYbhk]W`_i b['XYg'GW`U[Yfgž'XYf'cZh
U'g'bc'ghU'[]gW'VYhfUW'hY'h'k]fX"BYi Y'; YbYfUh]cbYb'k YfXYb
Xi fW'gc`W'Y'Dfc'Y_hY']b'X]Y'GnYbY'Y]b[YZÖ\fhž'k cXi fW'Y]bY
hfU[ZÄ\][Y'6Ug]g'ZÖf'X]Y'Ni _i bZh'X]YgYf'A i g]_f]W'h'bi b['[YgW\UZZYb
k]fX"?'U]gYf'i bX'?Y`m'fYdfÄgYbh]YfYb'Y]bY'6fØW_Y'nk]gWYb
HfUX]h]cb'i bX'A cXYfbYž'k Ug'XYa 'GW`U[Yf'ni [i hY_ca a hi bX
XYb'?ØbghYfb'bYi Y'A Ö[`]W`_Y]hYb'YfÖZbYhž'\fY'A i g]_ni
dfÄgYbh]YfYb'i bX'ni 'j Yfa Uf_hYb"

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