

9fZfYi `]W\ Y`GhcfW\ YbnU\ `Yb`]b`B F K .
F Y_c fXni k UW\ g`Xi fW\ `cdh]a U`Yg`: i hhYf

GhØfW\ Y`dfcZ]h]YfYb`j cb`cdh]a U`Ya `: i hhYfUb[YVch`]b`B F K .
, VYf'' \$`6fi hdUUfY`nc[Yb`&\$&'`YfZc`[fY]W\ `đ b[Y`[fc» "

≠`BcfXf\Y]b!K YghZU`Yb`ZfYi Yb`g]W\ `BUhi fgW\ Øhnyf`i bX
Jc[Y`VYcVUW\ hYf`ØVYf`Y]bYb`VYa Yf_Ybgk YfhYb`5bgh]Y[`XYf
GhcfW\ Ybdcdi `Uh]cb`]b`X]YgYa `đ\`f''8 Ug`: i hhYfUb[YVchi bX`XUg
K YhhYf`k UfYb`cdh]a U`ž`k Ug`ni `Y]bYf`YfZfYi `]W\ Yb`BUW\ ni W\ h
ZØ\ fhY''`DYhYf`A U`nVYbXYfž`J c fg]hnybXYf`XYg`BUVi `!`? fY]gj YfVUbXg
K YgY`ž`VYf]W\ hYhY`j cb`ZØbZ`GhcfW\ YbdUUfYb`]b`Y]bYa ``ÀbX`]W\ Yb
CfhghY`]j cb`K YgY`ž`j cb`XYbYb`YXYg`j]Yf`đ b[Y`[fc» [Ync[Yb`\Uh'
6YgcbXYfg`]a `BUhi fgW\ i hn[YV]Yh`6]g`]W\ Yf`≠gY`VY`]L UbhYb`Ua
F\Y]b`k i fXYb`Yhk U'' \$`GhcfW\ YbdUUfY`[YnÀ\`h''8]Y`Dfc[bcgYb
XYi hYb`XUfUi Z`\]bž`XUgg`X]Y`X]Yg`À\`f][Y`NÀ\`i b[`Y]bY
VYY]bXfi W_YbXY`6]`Ubn`dfÅgYbh]YfYb`k]fX"

8]YgYf`5bgh]Y[`XYf`6fi hdUUfY`]gh`VYa Yf_Ybgk Yfhž`XU`]a ``YhnhYb
đ\`f`]b`BcfXf\Y]b!K YghZU`Yb`VYfY]hg`+, (`6fi hdUUfY`fY[]ghf]Yfh
k i fXYbž`k Ug`Y]bYb`F Y_c fX`XUfghY``h`GW\ k Yfdi b_hY`X]YgYf
JYfVfY]hi b[``]Y[Yb`j cf`U`Ya `]a `? fY]g`A]bXYb!`@ØVVYW_Y`i bX`]a
? fY]g`K YgY`ž`cVk c\`Ui W\ `Ub`j]Y`Yb`UbXYfYb`CfhYb`GhØfW\ Y
VfØhYb''8 Yf`BØfh][Yb`@UbXYgj YfVUbX`XYg`BUhi fgW\ i hnVi bXYg
BUVi `]b`8ØggY`XcfZ]gh`cdh]a]gh]gW\ `i bX`Yfk UfhYhž`XUgg`X]Y
j c``gh`ÀbX][Y`NÀ\`i b[`X]Y`dcg]h]j Yb`HfYbXg`VYgh`Ah][Yb`k]fX"

F c``Y`XYf`I a k Y`h`i bX`: i hhYfj]Y`ZU`h

≠`XYb``YhnhYb`đ\`fnY\`bhYb`\Uh]g]W\ `XUg`6]`X`XYf`GhØfW\ Y`]b
BcfXf\Y]b!K YghZU`Yb`XYi h]W\ `[Yk UbXY`h''5bZUb[`XYf`%- - \$Yf
đ\`fY`k UfYb`bi f`bcW\ `XfY]`GhcfW\ YbdUUfY`]b`XYf`F Y[]cb

VYcVUW hYh'k cfXYb", VYf'X]Y'đ\ fY' \ Uh'g]W'X]Y'@U[Y'YXcW
ghUV]'g]Yfhž'k Ybb['Y]W'XYf'Ghc fW' bUW' k]Y'j cf'Ui ZXYf'F chYb
@]ghY' [YZ\ fXYhYf'5fhYb'ghY'h"9f' \ Uh'g]W'YXcW'U'g
UbdUggi b[gZ\ \] ['Yfk]YgYbž']bXYa 'Yf'gY]bY'BYghYf'Ui Z
j YfgW]YXYbYb'; YVĀi XYb'k]Y'GW'cfbghY]bYbž'8ĀWYfb'i bX'gc [Uf
?]fW'hØfa Yb'VUi h"

K Ug'X]Y'9fbĀ\fi b['X]YgYf'VYY]bXfi W_YbXYb'J Ō[Y'VYhf]Zhž'gc
g]bX'g]Y'U'Yg'UbXYfY'U'g'k Ā\ 'Yf]gW" BUW' A U'nVYbXYf'Zf]ggh'XYf
Ghc fW'Y]bY'J]Y'nU\ 'j cb '@VYk YgYb. 'j cb'FUhhYb'i bX'A Āi gYb
ØVYf': fŌgWY'i bX'FY[Ybk Øfa Yf'V]g'\]b'ni 'đgY_hYb'i bX
GW'bYW_Yb" 'đgVYgcbXYfY']b'X]YgYa 'ZYi W'hYb'Gca a Yf'k i fXYb
j]Y'Y'GW'bYW_Ybž'hY']k Y]gY'gc [Uf'a]h'\fYf'; Y\Āi gYž'j YfnY\fh"
Gc'WY'BU\fi b[gfYggci fW'b'g]bX'ZŌf'X]Y'GhŌfWY'VYgcbXYfg
k]W'h][ž'XU'g]Y']b'BUhi fgW'i hn[YV]YhYb'i bX'Ui Za U[YfYbž
UV[Ya Ā\hYb'K]YgYb'bUW': i hhYf'gi WYb"

9g']gh'Ui W'Yfk Ā\ bYb'gk Yfhž'XUgg'X]Y'đ b[j Ō[Y'U'g'YfghYg']b']\fY
K]bhYfei Ufh]YfY']b'5Zf'_U'Ui ZVfYWYb" 'đ'YhnhYf'NY]h'V'Y]Vh'YXcW
Y]bY'ni bY\ a YbXY'NU\ 'j cb'GhŌfWYb'k Ā\ fYbX'XYg'a]XYfYb
K]bhYfg']b'XYf'FY []cbž'k Ug'\bYb'Y]bYb'K YhVYk YfVgj cfhY'
j YfgWUZhž'k Ybb'Yg'ja ': fŌ\U\ f'XUfi a '[Y\hž'B]ghd'ĀhnY'ni
VYgYhYb"

9]b '@]W hV`]W_ ZŌf'XYb'5fhYbfY]W hi a

8]Y'YfZfYi ']WYb'BUWf]W'hYb'ØVYf'XYb'5bgh]Y['XYf
Ghc fW'Ybdc di 'Uh]cb'g]bX'Y]b'k YgYbh']W'Yg'NY]WYb'ZŌf'X]Y
9f\c'i b['X]YgYf'5fh" Hfc hn'XYf' < YfUi gZcfXYfi b[Ybž'j cf'XYbYb
j]Y'Y'J Ō[Y'ghY\Ybž'nY][Yb'X]Y'GhŌfWY']b' BcfXf\Y]b!K YghZU'Ybž
XUgg'a]h'XYa 'f]W'h][Yb': i hhYfUb[YVchi bX'[YY][bYhYb
@VYb'gfĀi a Yb'dcg]hj] Y'9bhk]W_ i b[Yb'a Ō[']W'g]bX"8]YgY
9f_Yb'bh]g'_Ōb'bhY'Ui W'ZŌf'UbXYfY'VYXfc\hY'5fhYb'j cb
6YXYi hi b['gY]b'i bX'i bhYfghfY]W'h'X]Y'K]W'h][_Y]h'XYg
BUhi fgW'i hnYg']b'XYf'FY []cb"

8 Ug'_ca a YbXY'đ\ f'j Yfgdf]W'hž'k Y]hYf\]b'Ui ZfY[YbX'ni 'k YfXYbž
XU'X]Y'NĀ\i b[Yb'UV[YgW'cggYb'k YfXYb'i bX'X]Y' [YbUi Yb

NU\`Yb`XYf`6fi hdUUfY`VY_Ubbh`k YfXYb"BUhi fgW\ØhnYfž
Jc[Y`VYcVUW\hYf`i bX`X]Y`VfY]hY`² ZZYbh`]W\`_Y]h`g]bX`[YgdUbbh`i bX
\c ZYbž`XUgg`X]Y`d cg]hj Y`9bhk]W`_i b[`Ub\U`hYb`k]fX"8]Y`GhØfW\Yž
X]Y`a]h`\fYb`Ui ZÄ`][Yb`k Y» Yb`: YXYfb`i bX`Ub[Yb`6Y]bYb
]a a Yf`k]YXYf`A YbgW\Yb`Ubn]Y\Ybž`ghY\Yb`k c\`Ub`Y]bYa
K YbXYdi b`_h]b`j]\fYf`; YgW\W\hYž`k Ug]`fY`Ni _i bZh`]b`BcfXf\Y]b!
K YghZU`Yb`VYhf]Zh"

8]Y`d cg]hj Y`9bhk]W`_i b[`XYf`GhØfW\Y`]b`BcfXf\Y]b!K YghZU`Yb`]gh
b]W\h`bi f`Y]b`c_U`Yg`D\`Äbca Ybž`gcbXYfb`gd]Y[Y`h`U`[Ya`Y]bY
HfYbXg`]b`9i fcdU`k]XYf" `b`j]Y`Yb`Yi fcdÄ]gW\Yb`@ÄbXYfbž
XUfi bhYf`X]Y`B]YXYf`UbXYž`6Y`[]Yb`i bX`: fUb`fY]W\ž`VYf]W\hYb
BUhi fgW\i hncf[Ub]gUh]cbYb`YVYbZU`g`j cb`Y]bYf`Ni bU\`a Y`XYf
GhcfW\dc di `Uh]cbYb" : U`hcfYb`k]Y`[Yn]Y`hY
BUhi fgW\i hna U» bU\`a Ybž`j YfVYggYfhY`@YVYbgfÄi a Y`i bX`Y]b
U`[Ya`Y]bYf`FØW_[Ub[`j cb`DYgh]n]XYb`hfU[Yb`ni f`FØW`_Y`f
X]YgYf`VY]bXfi W`_YbXYb`J Ö[Y`VY]"8]YgY`J YfÄbXYfi b[Yb
i bhYfghØhnYb`X]Y`GhUV`]hÄh`XYf`² _cgmghYa`Yž]b`XYbYb`GhØfW\Y
`YVYb"

6YgcbXYfg`VYa Yf`_Ybgk Yfh`]gh`XYf`9]bZi gg`XYg`Yi fcdÄ]gW\Yb
BUhi fggW\i hndfc[fUa`a g`@≠ 9ž`XUg`XUfUi Z`UVn]Y`hž`VYghY\YbXY
@YVYbgfÄi a Y`ni `gW\ØhnYb`i bX`bYi Y`6fi h[YV]YhY`ni `gW\UZZYb" `b
8Yi hgW\`UbX`k i fXYb`]b`XYb`YhnhYb` `J\fnY\`bhYb`j]Y`Y`Dfc`Y`_hY
i a [YgYhnhž`i a `X]Y`6fi hVYX]b[i b[Yb`ZØf`GhØfW\Y`ni `j YfVYggYfbž
k Ug`g]W\`bi b`Ui W\`]b`BcfXf\Y]b!K YghZU`Yb`nY][h"

Ni _i bZh`XYf`GhcfW\Ybdc di `Uh]cbYb

8]Y`Ni _i bZh`XYf`GhcfW\Ybdc di `Uh]cbYb`]b`BcfXf\Y]b!K YghZU`Yb
i bX`XUfØVYf`\]bUi g`\Äb[h`YXcW\`j cb`nU\`fY]W\Yb`: U`hcfYb`UV"
Gc`g]bX`i bhYf`UbXYfYa`?`]a Uj YfÄbXYfi b[Ybž`X]Y`@UbXbi hni b[
i bX`X]Y`9f`U`hi b[`j cb`: Yi W\h[YV]YhYb`YbhgW\Y]XYbX`ZØf`XUg
, VYf`YVYb`X]YgYf`5fhYb" `@Ui h`XYa`6i bXYgUa`h`ZØf`BUhi fgW\i hn
g]bX`X]Y`@YVYbgfÄi a Y`j cb`GhØfW\Yb`VYgcbXYfg`Ya`dZ]bX`]W\

[Y [YbØVYf'a YbgW`]WYb'9]b[f]ZYb'i bX'i a k Y'hY]bZØggYb"&%(ž
ZØ\fhX]YgY'ni `Y]bYa `Yf\Ø\hYb'F]g]_c'ZØf'X]Y'5fhYbj]Y'ZU'h"

I a `X]Y'6YghÅbXY'bUW\U'h][`ni `gWØhnYbž'gYbg]V`]g]YfYb
BUhi fgW'i hn] YfY]bY'i bX`c_U`Y`b]h]Uh]j Yb`X]Y'6Yj Ø`_Yfi b[`ZØf
XYb'9f\U'h]j cb': Yi W\h[YV]YhYb"'5i W`GW'i `i b[gdfc[fUa a Y'ZØf
@UbXk]fhY'i bX': `ÅWYbbi hnYf'g]bX`Y]b`k]W\h][Yf'6YghUbXhY]'ž'i a
Y]bY'i a k Y'hZfYi bX`]WY'6Yk]fhgWUZh] b[`ni `ZØfXYfbž'X]Y'XYb
@YVYbgVYX]b[i b[Yb`XYf'GhØfW\Y'ni [i hY`ca a h"

6YXYi hi b[`XYf'GhØfW\Y'ZØf'XUg'² _cgmghYa

GhØfW\Y'gd]Y`Yb`Y]bY`k]W\h][Y`F`c`Y`]a `² _cgmghYa ž]bXYa `g]Y'ni f
FY[i `]Yfi b[`XYf'6YghÅbXY'j cb`_Y]bYb`BU[Yh]YfYb'i bX`b`gY`hYb
VY]hfU[Yb"'8i fW`i]\fY`BU\fi b[ggi W\Y`gcf[Yb`g]Y`XUZØfž'XUgg`X]Y
Dcdi`Uh]cbYb`X]YgYf'5fhYb`]b`GWUW`[Y\U`hYb`k YfXYbž'k Ug
k]YXYfi a `X]Y'; Ygi bX\Y]h`XYf`Ub[fYbnYbXYb`@YVYbgfÅi a Y
ZØfXYfh"' ÆfY`DfÅgYbn`_Ubb`Ui W`Y]b`b`X]_Uhc`f`ZØf'XUg`Ø`c`c[]gW\Y
; `Y]W\ [Yk]W\h]b`Y]bYa `; YV]Yh'gY]b"

5b[Yg]W\hg`] \fYf'F`c`Y`]b`XYf`I a k Y`h]gh`XYf`GW`i hn`XYf`GhØfW\Y
b]W\h`bi f`ZØf`] \fY`Y][YbY'5fh`k]W\h][ž'gcbXYfb`Ui W`ZØf`X]Y
[YgUa hY'6]cX]j Yfg]hÅh`XYf`F`Y []cbYbž']b`XYbYb`g]Y`YVYb"'8]Y
9f\U`hi b[`] \fYf`@YVYbgfÅi a Y`hfÅ[h`XUni `VY]ž'X]Y`bUhØf`]W\Y
6U`UbW`]a `² _cgmghYa `ni `VYk U\`fYb`i bX`i bhYfghØhnh`Ui W\
UbXYfY': `cFU`i bX': Ui bUž'X]Y`Ui Z`Å\`b`]W\Y
@YVYbgfUi a VYX]b[i b[Yb`Ub[Yk]YgYb`g]bX"

8YhU]`g

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