

A ØbW\Yb '! '9bhXYW_Yb 'G]Y 'X]Y 'Hcd '%\$
GY\Ybgk ØfX][_Y]hYb ']b 'A ØbW\Yb °

%"GW\`cgg'B ma d\YbVi f['9]bYg'XYf'VY`]YVhYghYb
GY\Ybgk ØfX][_Y]hYb ']b 'A ØbW\Yb ']gh'GW\`cgg'B ma d\YbVi f["
9g']gh'Y]b 'Y]bXfi W_gj c`Yg'6UfcW_gW\`cggž'XUg']a 'ł\ f'%* * (
YfvUi h'k i fXY'i bX'\Yi hY'U`g'A i gYi a 'X]Ybh'"GY]bY
dfÅW\h][Yb'; ÅfhYb'i bX'gY]b'k Y]h'Åi Z][Yg'; Y`ÅbXY'a UW\Yb
Yg'ni 'Y]bYa 'XYf'gW\ÖbghYb'GW\`cggdUf_g]b '[Ubn
8Yi hgW\`UbX"'8 Ug'GW\`cgg']gh'Ui W\`VY_Ubbh'ZØf'gY]bY'fY]W\Y
GUa a 'i b['j cb'; Ya Å`XYb'i bX'?i bghk Yf_Ybž'X]Y]j cb
VYfØ\ a hYb'?ØbghYfb'k]Y'FYa VfUbXhž'Fi VYbg'i bX
7UbU`Yhhc'ghUa a Yb"'5i »YfXYa 'VY\YfVYf[h'Yg'Y]b][Y'XYf
k]W\h][ghYb'GUa a 'i b[Yb'j cb'DcfnY`Ub'i bX'A ÖVY'b'Ui g
XYa '%, "'ł\ f\i bXYfh'"&"A Uf]Ybd`Uhn'8Yf'A Uf]Ybd`Uhn']gh
XUg'<YfngHØW`XYf'5'hghUXh'i bX'Y]bY'XYf'a Y]ghVYgi W\hYb
GY\Ybgk ØfX][_Y]hYb ']b 'A ØbW\Yb"'9f/ Ua d^Y`d/



%"GW\`cgg'B ma d\YbVi f[

9]bYg'XYf'VY`]YVhYghYb'GY\Ybgk ØfX][_Y]hYb ']b 'A ØbW\Yb ']gh

GW`cgg`Bma`d\YbVi`f["`9g`]gh`Y]b`Y]bXfi`W_gj`c``Yg`6Ufc`W_gW`cggž`
XUg`]a`'đ\`f`%`*`*(`YfVUi`h`k`i`fXY`i`bX`\Yi`hY`U`g`A`i`gYi`a`X]Ybh`
GY]bY`d`f`ÄW`h][`Yb`i`;`ÄfhYb`i`bX`gY]b`k`Y]h`Äi`Z][`Yg`i`Y`ÄbXY`a`UW`Yb`
Yg`ni`Y]bYa`X`Yf`gW`ÖbghYb`GW`cggdUf`_g`]b`[`Ubn`8Yi`hgW`UbX`"

8Ug`GW`cgg`]gh`Ui`W`VY`_Ubbh`ZÖf`gY]bY`fY]W`Y`GUa`a`i`b[`j`cb`
;`Ya`Ä`XYb`i`bX`?i`bghk`Yf`_Ybž`X]Y`j`cb`VYfØ`a`hYb`?Øbgh`Yfb`k`]Y`
FYa`VfUbXhž`Fi`VYbg`i`bX`7Ub`U`Yh`c`ghUa`a`Yb`"5i`»`YfXYa`
VY\YfVYf[`h`Yg`Y]b][`Y`XYf`k`]W`h][`ghYb`GUa`a`i`b[`Yb`j`cb`DcfnY`Ub`
i`bX`A`ÖVY`b`Ui`g`XYa`i`%,`"đ\`f`i`bXYfh`"

&"`A`Uf]Ybd`Uhn`

8Yf`A`Uf]Ybd`Uhn`]gh`XUg`<`Yfng`hØW`_XYf`5`hghUXh`i`bX`Y]bY`XYf`
a`Y]ghVYgi`W`hYb`GY`Ybgk`ØfX][`_Y]hYb`i]b`A`ØbW`Yb`"9f`]gh`Y]b`
[`fc`»`Yfž`c`ZYbYf`D`Uhnž`XYf`g]W`_ØVYf`a`Y`fYfY`6`c`W_g`YfghfYW`h`i`bX`
j`]Y`Y`k`]W`h][`Y`i`YVÄi`XY`k`]Y`XUg`F`Uh`Ui`gž`X]Y`i`fUi`Yb`_]fW`Y`i`bX`
XUg`5`hY`F`Uh`Ui`g`i`a`ZUggh`"

8Yf`D`Uhn`]gh`Ui`W`VY`_Ubbh`ZÖf`gY]bY`hÄ`[`]W`Yb`i`;`c`W`_Yb`gd]Y`Yž`X]Y`
j`]Yfa`U`Ua`i`HU[`ghUhhZ]bXYb`"9g`]gh`Y]bY`VY`]YVhY`
Hci`f]ghYbUhhfU`_h]cbž`X]Y`Ä`f`]W`j`]Y`Y`6Ygi`W`Yf`Ubn]Y`h`"

'`"9b[`]gW`Yf`i`UfhYb`

8Yf`9b[`]gW`Y`i`UfhYb`]gh`Y]b`k`Y]h`Äi`Z][`Yf`DUF`_ž`XYf`]a`'đ\`f`%`+,`-`
YfÖZbYh`k`i`fXY`i`bX`\Yi`hY`Y]bYg`XYf`[`fÖ`»`hYb`i`bX`gW`ÖbghYb`
;`fØbUb`U[`Yb`9i`fcdUg`]gh`9f`i`a`ZUggh`a`Y`fYfY`GY`Ybž`K`]YgYbž`
K`Ä`XYf`i`bX`i`;`ÄfhYb`"

8Yf`DUF`_]gh`Ui`W`VY`_Ubbh`ZÖf`gY]bY`nU`\fY]W`Yb`
:`fY]nY]hY]b]W`h`i`b[`Yb`k`]Y`Gi`fZYbž`F`UXZU`fYbž`GY[`Y`b`i`bX`FY]hYb`
9g`[`]Vh`Ui`W`Y]b][`Y`FYghUi`fUbhg`i`bX`7UZ`Ägž`]b`XYbYb`a`Ub`g]W`
bUW`Y]bYa`UbghfYb[`YbXYb`HU[`]a`DUF`_Yf`c`Yb`_Ubb`"

(`"C`ma`d]UdUf`_`

8 Yf`C`ma d]UdUf_]gh`Y]b`k`Y]h`Ai`Z][Yg` ; Y`AbXYž`XUg`ZØf`X]Y
C`ma d]gW`Yb`Gd]Y`Y`%- +&`YfVUi`h`k`i`fXY`" <`Yi`hY`]gh`Yg`Y]b
VY`]YVhYg`5i`gZi`[gn]Y`ZØf`Hci`f]ghYb`i`bX`9]b`Y]a`]gW`Y"

8 Yf`DUf`_`VY`YfVYf[`h`Y]b][`Y`XYf`k`]W`h][`ghYb`GY`Yb`gk`ØfX][`_]hYb
A`Øb`W`Yb`gž`k`]Y`XUg`C`ma`d]UghUX]cbž`XUg`C`ma`d]Uhi`fa`ž`XUg
C`ma`d]UgYY`i`bX`XUg`C`ma`d]UnYb`hfi`a`"9g`[]Vh`Ui`W`Y]b][`Y
A`i`gYYb`i`bX` ; U`Yf]Ybž`X]Y`XYb`6Ygi`W`Yfb`Y]bYb`9]bV`]W_]b`X]Y
 ; YgW`]W`hY`XYf`C`ma`d]gW`Yb`Gd]Y`Y`[YVYb"

) "`J]_hi U`]Yba Uf_h

8 Yf`J]_hi U`]Yba Uf_h]gh`Y]bYf`XYf`À`hYghYb`i`bX`VY`]YVhYghYb
A`Àf`hY`A`Øb`W`Yb`g"9f`VY]Z]bXYh]g]W`]a` <`YfnYb`XYf`5`hghUXh`i`bX
V]YhYhY]bY`J]Y`nU`"j`cb`Zf]gW`Yb`@YVYbga`]hY`bž`6`i`a`Ybž
?i`bg`h`UbXk`Yf`_`i`bX`Gci`j`Yb]fg"

8 Yf`A`Uf_h]gh`Ui`W`VY`_Ubbh`ZØf`gY]bY`nU`fY]W`Yb`7UZ`Ågi`bX
F`YghUi`fUb`hgž]b`XYbYb`a`Ub`Y]bY`J]Y`nU`"j`cb`c`_U`Yb` ; Yf]W`hYb
dfcV]YfYb`_Ubb"9g`]gh`Y]b`VY`]YVhYg`N]Y`ZØf`Hci`f]ghYb`i`bX
9]b`Y]a`]gW`Yž`X]Y`bUW`Y]bYa`Ui`h`Yb`h]gW`Yb`9]bV`]W_]b`X]Y
`c`_U`Y`?i`hi`f`gi`W`Yb"

* "`8 Yi hgW`Yg`A`i`gYi`a`

8 Ug`8Yi`hgW`Y`A`i`gYi`a`]gh`Y]bYg`XYf`[fØ»`hYb`i`bX`VYXYi`hYb`XghYb
A`i`gYYb`XYf`K`Y`h"9g`VY`YfVYf[`h`Y]bY`J]Y`nU`"j`cb`9i`dcbU`hYbž
X]Y`X]Y` ; YgW`]W`hY`XYf`K`]ggYbgW`UZh`i`bX`HYW`b]_`VY`Yi`W`hYb"

8 Ug`A`i`gYi`a` VY`YfVYf[`h`Ui`W`Y]b][`Y`XYf`k`]W`h][`ghYb
GUa`a`i`b`[Yb`j`cb`A`UgW`]bYbž` : U`fnYi`[Ybž`K`Yf`nYi`[Yb`i`bX
≠ghfi`a`Yb`hYb"9g`]gh`Y]b`A`i`gg`ZØf`U`Yž`X]Y`g]W`ZØf`K`]ggYbgW`UZh
i`bX`HYW`b]_]b`hYfYgg]YfYb"

+ "`< cZVf`Ai` \Ui`g`

8 Ug`<cZVf`Ai` \Ui`g`]gh`Y]bYg`XYf`VYfØ`a`hYghYb`6]Yf`Ài`gYf`XYf`

K Y`hi bX`Y]b`A i gg`Z0f`YXYb`6Ygi W`Yf`A 0bW`Ybg`9g`k i fXY`ja
>U\ f`%) , -`[Y[f0bXYhi bX`]gh`gY]hXYa`Y]bYg`XYf`VY`]YVhYghYb
5i gZi [gn]Y`Y`]b`XYf`GhUXh"

8 Ug`6]Yf`U i g`]gh`Ui W`VY`_Ubbh`Z0f`gY]bY`fY]W`Y`?i`hi`f`i`bX`gY]bY
hfUX]h]cbY`Y`? 0W`Y`9g`]gh`Y]b`VY`]YVhYf`HfY`Zdi`b`h`Z0f`
9]b`Y]ja`]gW`Y`i`bX`Hci`f]ghYb`z`X]Y`Y]b`dUUF`[Ya`0h]W`Y`Ghi`bXYb`]b
Y]bYf`XYf`A`hYghYb`? bY]dYb`A 0bW`Ybg`j`Yfvf]b[Yb`a`0W`hYb"

, "`=gUf

8]Y`gUf`]gh`Y]b`k`]W`h][Yf`:`i`gg`]b`A 0bW`Yb`i`bX`Y]b`VY`]YVhYg`N]Y`
Z0f`Hci`f]ghYb`i`bX`9]b`Y]ja`]gW`Y`8Yf`:`i`gg`]gh`Ui`W`Z0f`gY]bY
nU`fY]W`Yb`:`fY]nY]hU`_h]j`]h`hYb`VY`_Ubbh`z`k`]Y`GW`k`ja`a`Yb`z`
F`UXZU`fYb`z`F`Y]hYb`i`bX`GY[Y`b"

9g`[]Vh`Ui`W`Y]b][Y`gW`0bY`GhfUb`XVUfgz`]b`XYbYb`a`Ub`g]W`b`UW`
Y]bYa`UbghfYb[YbXYb`HU[]a`:`i`gg`Yf`c`Yb`_Ubb`8Yf`:`i`gg`]gh`
Y]b`VY`]YVhYg`N]Y`Z0f`U`Y`z`X]Y`Y]b`k`Yb][`5V`k`YW`g`i`b[]`cb`XYf`
<Y`h]_`XYf`GhUXh`gi`W`Yb"

- "`5``]Ubn`5fYbU

8]Y`5``]Ubn`5fYbU`]gh`Y]bYg`XYf`a`cXYfbghYb`GhUX]Yb`9i`fcdUg`i`bX`
XUg`Ni`U`i`gY`XYg`:`7`6UmYfb`A 0bW`Yb`9g`]gh`Y]b
VYY]bXfi`W`_YbXYg`; YV`Ai`XYz`XUg`VY]`HU[]i`bX`B`UW`h`Y]b
]a`dcgUbhYg`GW`Ui`gd]Y`V]YhYh"

9g`]gh`Ui`W`VY`_Ubbh`Z0f`gY]bY`nU`fY]W`Yb`J`YfUbghU`hi`b[Yb`k`]Y`
?`cbnYfhY`z`Gdcfhj`YfUbghU`hi`b[Yb`i`bX`UbXYfY`gdYn]Y`Y`9j`Ybhg`9g`
]gh`Y]b`VY`]YVhYg`N]Y`Z0f`U`Y`z`X]Y`Y]b`Y]ba`U`][Yg`9f`YVb]g`Yf`YVYb`
a`0W`hYb"

%"`6A`K`K`Y`h

8]Y`6A`K`K`Y`h`]gh`Y]b`a`cXYfbYg`; YV`Ai`XYz`XUg`XYa`
5i`hca`cV]`YfghY`Yf`6A`K`[Yk`]Xa`Yh`]gh`9g`VY`YfVYf[h`Y]bY`

J]Y`nU\`j cb`5i gghY`i b[Ybž`X]Y`X]Y ; YgW\]W\hY`i bX`X]Y
HYW\bc`c[]Y`XYg`l bhYfbY\`a Ybg`VY`Yi W\hYb"

9g`[]Vh`Ui W\`Y]b][Y`]bhYfU`_h]j Y`5i gghY`i b[Ybž`]b`XYbYb`6Ygi W\Yf
X]Y`bYi YghYb`A cXY`Y`j cb`6A K`Yf`YVYb`_ÖbbYb`"9g`]gh`Y]b
VY`]YVhYg`N]Y`ZÖf`U`Y`ž`X]Y`g]W\`ZÖf`5i hcg`]bhYfYgg]YfYb"

: Un]h

A ÖbW\Yb`]gh`Y]bY`XYf`gW\ÖbghYb`Gh`XhY`8Yi hgW\`UbXg`i bX`V]YhYh
j]Y`Y`GY`Ybgk ÖfX][_Y]hYbž`X]Y`Y]bYb`6Ygi W\`k Yfh`g]bX`"J cb`XYb
df`W\h][Yb` ; ÄfhYb`XYg`GW\`cgg`Bma d`YbVi f[`V]g`ni f`a cXYfbYb
6A K`K`Y`h`[]Vh`Yg`j]Y`Y`CfhYž`X]Y`a Ub`VYgi W\Yb`_Ubb"

9[U`cV`a Ub`Y]b`Hci f]gh`cXYf`9]b`Y]a]gW\Yf`]ghž`A ÖbW\Yb` \Uh`ZÖf
YXYb`Yhk Ug`ni `V]YhYb`"9g`]gh`Y]bY`XYf`gW\ÖbghYb`Gh`XhY`9i fcdUg
i bX`Y]b`A i gg`ZÖf`YXYbž`XYf`Y]bYb`i bj Yf[Ygg`]W\Yb`l f`Ui V
j YfVf]b[Yb`a ÖW\hY"

8YhU]`g

6Ygi W\Yb`G]Y`i bg`Ui Z.`Y]bY`!fY]gY`XY