

6]bUbWg j YfgdÅhYhY`K c\bi b[ggi WXY

6]bUbWžX]Y`k Y`hk Y]h[f0» hY`? fmdhck Å\fi b[gV0fgYž
ZYghni bU[Y`bž]gh`Y]b`Y]_`Yg; YgWÅZh"9g`Uh`_Y]b
<Ui dhe i Ufh]Yf"8]Yg]gh`_Y]b`Ni ZU""Gc`WXY`J YfV]bXi b[Yb
Vf]b[Yb`]b`XYf`FY[Y`fY[i`Uhc]gWXY`5bZcfXYfi b[Yb`i bX`XUg
F]g]_cž`XUgg`K UWÅ\i bXY`Ubf i ZYbž`k Ybb`Yhk Ug`gW]YZ[Y`h"
8]Y`Vf]h]gWY`:]bUbnUi Zg]WÅhgVY`0fXY`_Ua`ni`XYa`GW`i ggž
XUgg`XUg`J YfgÅi a b]g`j cb`6]bUbWž[fi bX`Y[YbXY`:] fU[Yb`ni
VYUbhk cfhYbž`Y]b`; fi bX`XUZ0f`k Ufž`XUgg`Yg`i ba 0[`]W`k Ufž
g]Y`ni`0VYfk UWÅYb"K Ybb`k]f`6]bUbW`[`Ui VYb`X0fZYbž`k]fX
g]W`]\fY`dYf]dUhYh]gWY`<U`hi b[`ÅbXYfbž`YVYbgc`k]Y`]\fY
k]XYfgdYbgh][Y`9]bghY`i b[`ni f`FY[i`]Yfi b["9g`]gh`VYfY]hž
gY]bYb`[`cVU`Yb`<Ui dhg]hn`VY`_Ubb`h`ni`[YVYb"8Yf
J c fghUbXgj c fg]hnYbXY`7\Ub[dYb[`7N`N\Uc`]gh]b
; Ygd fÅWYb`a]h`K UWÅ\i bXYb`/ Ua d^Y`d/

6]bUbWžX]Y`k Y`hk Y]h[f0» hY`? fmdhck Å\fi b[gV0fgYž
ZYghni bU[Y`bž]gh`Y]b`Y]_`Yg; YgWÅZh"9g`Uh`_Y]b`<Ui dhe i Ufh]Yf"
8]Yg]gh`_Y]b`Ni ZU""Gc`WXY`J YfV]bXi b[Yb`Vf]b[Yb`]b`XYf`FY[Y`
fY[i`Uhc]gWXY`5bZcfXYfi b[Yb`i bX`XUg`F]g]_cž`XUgg`K UWÅ\i bXY
Ubf i ZYbž`k Ybb`Yhk Ug`gW]YZ[Y`h"8]Y`Vf]h]gWY`
:]bUbnUi Zg]WÅhgVY`0fXY`_Ua`ni`XYa`GW`i ggž`XUgg`XUg
J YfgÅi a b]g`j cb`6]bUbWž[fi bX`Y[YbXY`:] fU[Yb`ni`VYUbhk cfhYbž
Y]b`; fi bX`XUZ0f`k Ufž`XUgg`Yg`i ba 0[`]W`k Ufž`g]Y`ni
0VYfk UWÅYb"

K Ybb`k]f`6]bUbW`[`Ui VYb`X0fZYbž`k]fX`g]W`]\fY`dYf]dUhYh]gWY`
<U`hi b[`ÅbXYfbž`YVYbgc`k]Y`]\fY`k]XYfgdYbgh][Y`9]bghY`i b[`ni f
FY[i`]Yfi b["9g`]gh`VYfY]hž`gY]bYb`[`cVU`Yb`<Ui dhg]hn`VY`_Ubb`h`ni
[YVYb"8Yf`J c fghUbXgj c fg]hnYbXY`7\Ub[dYb[`7N`N\Uc`]gh]b
; Ygd fÅWYb`a]h`K UWÅ\i bXYb`j cb`G]b[Udi f`0VYf`:] fUb`_fY]W`V]g
8i vU]`k c`Yf`[YfUXY`<Ui gVYg]hnYf`[Yk cfXYb`]gh"8 Ug

I bhYfbY\ a Yb \Uh_Øfn]W\Ui W\Y]b'A Ub]ZYghj YfØZYbh]W\hž]b
XYa Yg\Y» hžXUgg'Y]bY'FY[i`]Yfi b[`i bj Yfa Y]X`W\`gY]"8]Yg
]ghj cf[YV`]W\Y]bY'k]`_ca a YbY'5Vk YW\g'i b[`ni `j cf'gYW\g
A cbUhYbž'U'g'6]bUbW'XYf'?cbhfc`Y'XYf'5i Zg]W\hgVY\ØfXYb'Ui Z
XYf'[Ubnyb'K Y'h'k Y]h[Y\YbX'a]h'Y]bYa 'GW\i `hYfni W_Yb
VY[Y[bYhY"'5'g'HY]'XYf'j Yfgi W\hYb'5bbÅ\Yfi b[`j cb'6]bUbW'fUb
XYf'Ui W\Y]b'bYi Yf'?ca a i b]_Uh]cbgW\YZVYhY]'[h']ghēVY\Ui dhYh
N\Ucž'XUgg'6]bUbW'`i a ` [fc»Y'`b] Ygh]h]cbYb'j cb'GhUUhgZcbXg
k]fVh`

9g']gh'gW\k Yfž'A i h]j cb'XYf'FYU`hÅh]b'XYf'?fmdhcgd\ÅfY'ni
hfYbbYb"'6]bUbW'`]gh'ni fØW_\U'hYbX'XUfØVYfž'k Y`W\Y'GK : g'Ui Z
]\fYf'HUbn_UfhY'ghY\Ybž'i bX'\Uh'k YXYf'8YhU]`g'XUni ` [Y[YVYbž
k]Y'k Y]h'8]g_i gg]cbYb'Zcfh[YgW\f]hYb'g]bXž'bcW\ØVYf'X]Y'5fh'XYf
`b] Ygh]h]cbYb`"; Ygi bXY'G_Ydg]g']gh[YZfU[h"'5VYf'Ui Z'XYb'YfghYb
6`]W_`_ØbbYb'GK : g'U'g'YfZU\fybY'5b'Y[Yf'6]bUbW'Y]bY
HfUbgdUfYbn'Ui Znk]b[Ybž'X]Y'V]g\Yf'gW\k Yf'ZUggVUf' [YV`]YVYb
]gh"

J]Y'Yg'k]fX'XUj cb'UV\Åb[Ybž'k Y`W\Y'GK : ` [Y[YVYbYbZU`g
]bj Ygh]Yfh"'9VYbgc`VYXYi hgUa `]gh'X]Y'K U\`XYg<Ui dhg]hmYg'j cb
6]bUbW'/X]Y'VY]XYb'_ØbbYb'a]hY]bUbXYf'j YfZcW\hYb'gY]b"'8]Y
@c[]_`j cb'N\Uc'gW\Y]bh'ni `gY]bž'XUgg'X]Y'`I bhYfghØhni b[`Xi fW\
Y]bYb'GhUUhgZcbXg'X]Y'FY[i`]Yfi b[gVY\ØfXY'Y]bYg'@UbXYg
bUhØf`]W\XUni `ZØ\fyb'k]fXž'Ui Z[YgW\`cggYbYf'ni `gY]b"'8Ug']gh]b
Y]b][Yb'FYW\hgcfXbi b[Yb'b]W\hUVgi fX"'9VYbgc'k Yb][`]gh'X]Y
`XYfž'XUgg'Y]b'GK : `]b'6]bUbW'`]bj Ygh]YfYb'_ØbbhYž'X]Y'VYgU[hž
XUgg'g]Y'Y]b'hÅ[`]W\Yg'HfUbgU_h]cbgj c`i a Yb'j cb`%+\$'A]`]UfXYb
I G!8c`Uf'j YfnY]W\bYh"

G]b[Udi fž'k c'N\Uc'fhi a]bXYghj cfØVYf[Y\YbXē'k c\bhž]gh
g]W\Yf`]W\Y]b'5bk ÅfhYfž'gck c\`ZØf'`b] Ygh]h]cbYb'U'g'Ui W\ZØf
6]bUbW'g<Y]a Uh"G]b[Udi f'a ØW\hY'U'g'_fmdhcZfYi bX`]W\Y
`f]gX]_h]cb` [YgY\Yb'k YfXYb"'K Å\fybX'X]Y'A cbYhUfm'5i h\cf]hm
j cb'G]b[Udi f'_Y]b'Di g\cj Yf']gh'`g]Y'\Uh'6]bUbW'"Wca `]b
5`Ufa VYfY]hgW\UZhj YfgYmhž'cVkc\`g]Y'X]Y`c_U'Y'K YVg]hY'XYg
I bhYfbY\ a Ybg]b'Fi \Y' [Y'UggYb'\Uh'`]gh'X]Y
FY[i`]Yfi b[gVY\ØfXY'j]bcj Uh]j `i bX'i bhYfgi W\h'Y]bY'a Ø[`]W\Y

X][]hU`Y`NYbhfU`VUb_k Å\fi b["

I bhYfXYggYb`]bj Ygh]YfYb`G]b[Udi fg`J Yfa Ò[YbgZcbXg'; ⇒`i bX`XYf
≠j Ygha Ybhf]YgY`HYa UgY_`XYg`@UbXYg`[YfbY`]b`? fmdhc!6 ÒfgYb"
HYa UgY_`[Y\ ÒfhY`ni`a Y\ fYfYb`6`i Y!7\]d! ≠j Yghc fYbž`X]Y` (&\$
A]``cbYb`8c``Uf`]b`: HL`]bj Ygh]YfhYb`"9]b`HYa UgY`!Y][YbYf` : cbXg
i bhYfghØhnhY`VYfY]hg`XYb`g]b[Udi f]gWXYb`Nk Y][`j cb`6]bUbWž`XYf
Yhnhj cb`Y]bYa`Y\Ya`U`][Yb`A 5G!6YUa hYb`[Y`Y]hYh`k]fX`"GK : g
g]bX`Ui Z`dchYbn]Y``Y`F YbX]hYb`j cb`6 ÒfgYb`Y]b[YghY``hž`XYfYb`K Yfh
Ub`XYb`ghY][YbXYb`DfY]g`j cb`6]hWc]b`[YVi bXYb`]gh`"8Yf`J cfVY\U`h
]gh`XUg`F]g]_cž`XUg`F Y[i`]Yfi b[`ZØf`; YgWÅZhga`cXY``Y`V]f[h`
≠gVYgcbXYfY`ZØf`6 ÒfgYbž`Ub`XYbYb`g]W`X]Y`fYU`Y`K Y`h`i bX`X]Y
? fmdhcgd\ÅfY`ØVYfgW`bY]XYbž`]gh`XUg`F]g]_c`U`i h`K UW\`i bXY
g]bX`ni`F YW`h`VYgcf[h`ØVYf`X]Y`gW]YfY`5bnU`\`j cb
GYggY`]bj Yghc fYbž`X]Y`]\fY`<Ya`XYb`j Yf`]YfYb`_ØbbhYbž`i bX`ØVYf
X]Y`A Ò[`]W`_Y]h`j cb`?f]a`]bY``Ybž`i bfYW`ha`À»][`Yfk`cfVYbY
; Yk`]bbY`ni`k UgWXYb`"

J YfV]bXi b[Yb`ni`Y]bYa`YhUV`]YfhYb`A Uf`_h`k]Y`G]b[Udi f`_ØbbYb
X]Y`F Y[i`]Yfi b[gVY\ ÒfXYb`UbXYfgk`c`VYfi`\][Yb`"K Yb][Yf
k]``_ca`a`Yb`k ÅfY`Ygž`k Ybb`g]W`6]bUbW`]b`Y]bY`Y]W`hYfY
; Yf]W`hgVUf`_Y]h`Y]b`_Ui ZYb`k ØfXYž`]b`XYf`Yg`XUg`a`df]a`Uhi`f`Y]bYf
`c`_U`Yb`@]nYbn`hfU[Yb`_ØbbhYž`c`bY`X]Y`7ca`d`]UbW`ni
ØVYfUfVY]hYbž`i a`k Y]hYf\]b`DfcXi`_hY`Ui ZXYf`[Ubnyb`K Y`h`ni
j YfVfY]hYb`"Gc`Ub[Y`X]Y`9]bghY``i b[Yb`XYf`@ÅbXYf`ni`? fmdhc`ghUf`_
j Uf]]YfYbž`k]fX`X]Y`5fV]hfU[Y`VYghY`Yb`V`Y]VYb`"N\Uc`\Uh`F YW`hž
XUgg`Y]bY`F Y[i`]Yfi b[`_ca`a`hi bX`XUgg`g]Y`X]Y`6Ybi`hYf
gW`ØhYb`_Ubbž`c`bY`X]Y`≠bcj`Uh]cb`ni`Yfgh]W`_Yb`"5VYf`X]Y
i b[Yb]Y» VUfY`K U\fgW`Y]b`]W`_Y]h`]ghž`XUgg`Yg`_Ub[gUa`i`bX
i a`[Ub[VUf`gY]b`k]fXž`]bgVYgcbXYfY`ZØf`Y]b`I bhYfbY`a`Ybž`XUg`gc
`c`W`_Yf`k]Y`6]bUbW`]gh"

E i Y`Y. :]bUbW]U`H]a Yg

8YhU]`g

6Ygi W\Yb`G]Y`i bg`Ui Z.`_fmdhc!bYk g"Uh