

7\U]bU`mg]g`Ybh`Àggh`(`, `A]hUfVY]hYf`i bX
VYfY]hYh`X]Y`F Ycf[Ub]gUh]cb`XYf`Ghfi _hi f
j cf

B UW`Y]bYa` `U\`f`Ub[`UbXUi YfbXYa` `? fmdhc!K]bhYfž]b`XYa
Y\Ya U`][Y` `Xigfh]Y_cbnYfbY`[fc»Y`HY]`Y`]\fYf`A]hUfVY]hYf
Ybh`UggYb` \UVYbž]b`XYa` j Yfnk Y]ZY`hYb`J Yfgi W`ž`g]W`ØVYf
K UggYf`ni` \U`hYbž`gdØfYb`Ui W`UbXYfY`:]fa Yb`XYb
9b[dUggž`gY`Vgh`k Ybb`]\f`A C`b]W`h`Ui ggW`Y»`]W`j cb`XYb
J Yfa` Ò[YbgdfY]gYb`UV`Àb[h`B UW`ZfU[YfØW_[Ub[`VY]
Df]j Uh_i bXYb`@Ui h`A UXX]Y`? YbbYXmž`XYf
?ca`a`i`b]_Uh]cbgX]fY`_hcf]b`XYg`6`cW`W`U]b!
: cfgW`i`b[gi`bhYfbY`a` Ybg`7\U]bU`mg]gž`k]fX`]b`? ØfnY`Y]bY
9bh`Uggi`b[gfi`bXY`Xi`fW`[YZØ`fhž`X]Y`g]W`Ub`b]W`h`ni`a
? Yfb[YgW`ÀZi[Y`ØfYbXYg`DYfgcbU`f]W`hYh`@Ui h`: cfVYg
k]fX`X]Y`9bh`Uggi`b[gk`Y`Y`j`cf`U`Ya` X Ug`J Yf`_Ui`ZghYUa
hfYZZYb`9]bY`k`Y]hYfY`; fi`ddY`j`cb`A]hUfVY]hYfb`k`]fX`b]W`h
Ybh`UggYbž`gcbXYfb`Yf`À`h`bYi`Y`F`c`Yb`i`bX`Y]bY`bYi`Y
Cf[Ub]gUh]cbggghfi`_hi`f`@Ui`h`7\U]bU`mg]g`g]bX`X]Y
9bh`Uggi`b[Yb`Ui`Z[fi`bX`Y]bYg`/`Ua`d`^Y`d/



B UWX`Y]bYa`'X\ f`Ub[`UbXUi YfbXYa`? fmdhc!K]bhYfz`]b`XYa
Y\Ya`U`][Y`bXi ghf]Y_cbnYfbY`[fc» Y`HY]`Y`]\ fYf`A]hUfVY]hYf
YbhUggYb`\UVYbž]b`XYa`j Yfnk Y]ZY`hYb`J Yfgi WX`žg]WX`ØVYf
K UggYf`ni` \U`hYbžgdØfYb`Ui WX`UbXYfY`:]fa`Yb`XYb`9b[dUggž
gY`Vgh`k Ybb`]\f`A`C`b]WX`h`Ui ggWX`]Y»`]WX`j`cb`XYb
J Yfa`Ø[YbgdFY]gYb`UV\Ab[h"

B UWX ZfU[YfØW_ [Ub [`VY]`Df]j Uh_i bXYb

@Ui`h`A`UXX]Y`? YbbYXmž`XYf`? ca`a`i`b]_Uh]cbgX]fY`_hcf]b`XYg
6`c`W`WX`U]b!:`cfgWX`i`b[gi`bhYfbY\`a`Ybg`7\U]bU`mg]gž`k]fX`]b`?ØfnY
Y]bY`9bh`Uggi`b[gfi`bXY`Xi`fWX`[YZØ\fhž`X]Y`g]WX`Ub`b]WX`h`ni`a
?Yfb[YgWX`ÅZi[Y\ØfYbXYg`DYfgc`bU`f]WX`hYh`"@Ui`h`:`cfVYg`k]fX`X]Y
9bh`Uggi`b[gk`Y`Y`j`cf`U`Ya`XUg`J`Yf`_Ui`ZghYUa`hfYZZYb`"9]bY
k Y]hYfY`:`fi`ddY`j`cb`A`]hUfVY]hYfb`k]fX`b]WX`h`Ybh`UggYbž`gcbXYfb
Yf\`Å`h`b`Yi`Y`F`c`Yb`i`b`X`Y]bY`b`Yi`Y`C`f[Ub]gUh]cbggfhi`_hi`f"

@Ui`h`7\U]bU`mg]g`g]bX`X]Y`9bh`Uggi`b[Yb`Ui`Z[fi`bX`Y]bYg`a`Ugg]j`Yb
F`ØW_ [Ub[g`XYf`?i`bXYb`Ui`g`XYa`Df]j`UhgY`_hcf`b`chk`YbX][ž`X]Y`g]WX
Ub[Yg]WX`hg`XYf`:`YgWX`Y\`b]ggY`]a`j`Yf[Ub[YbYb`X\`f`ZØf`Y]bYb
j`cfg]WX`h][YfYb`l`a`[Ub[`a`]h`?fmdhc`k`Å\fi`b[Yb`Yb`hgWX`]YXYb
\UVYb`"J`Yfgh`ÅbX`]WX`ž`k`Ybb`a`Ub`U`Yg`]a`<]bhYf`_cdZ`VY\`Å`hž`j`cb
g]b`_YbXYb`DfY]gYb`V]g`\]b`ni`9l`d`c]hg`]b`<Ø`Y`i`bX`:`Ø`Y`i`bX
[YgWX`ÅZi]WX`Yb`a`d`c`g]cbYb`Yd]gWX`Yb`5i`ga`U»`Yg"

9g`]gh`YXcWX`Yfk`Å\`bYb`gk`Yfhž`XUgg`7\U]bU`mg]g`nk`Uf`i`_fUh]j`Y
J`Yfhf`Å[Y`a`]h`]bj`Ygh]h]cbgcf]Ybh]YfhYb`l`bhYfbY\`a`Yb`k]Y`6BM
A`Y`c`b`\Uhž`UVYf`ØVYf`X]Y`<`Å`ZhY`XYf`9]bbU\`a`Yb`XYg
:`cfgWX`i`b[gi`bhYfbY\`a`Ybg`Y`hk`U`*`\$`i`ž`i`a`[YbUi`ni`gY]b`Ui`g
J`Yfhf`Å[Yb`a`]h`j`YfgWX`]YXYbYb`5i`Zg]WX`hgVY\`ØfXYb`ghUa`a`h`8Uni
[Y\ØfYb`X]Y`G97ž895`i`bX`XUg`:`6`ž`X]Y`a`]h`]\fYa`f]Yg][Yb
:`cfgWX`YfhYUa`7mVYf`_f]a`]bY`Y`Ui`ZgdØfYb"

7\U]bU`mg]g`\cZZhž`XUgg`X]Y`J`Yf`_`Y]bYfi`b[j`cfØVYf[Y\YbX`]gh

C`V`k`c`\`X]Y`9]bbU\`a`Yb`ni`fØW_ [Y[Ub[Yb`g]bXž`VYf]WX`hYh

6`cca VYf[ž`XUgg`X]Y`9bhUggi b[` `X]Y`ja `J Yf[`Y]W`ni `UbXYfYbž
X]Y`k`j]a`j`Yf[Ub[YbYb`đ\`f]b`XYf`6fUbW`Y`[YgY`Yb`U`VYbž
VYfY]hg`[Yf]b[`]gh` `bi`f`XYf`YfghY`GW`f]hh`b`Y]bYa`[f0» YfYb
l`a`ghfi`_`hi`f]Yfi`b[gdfcnYgg`]ghž`XYb`7`U]bU`mg]g`Xi`fW``Ai`Zn`

A`]W`UY`";`fcbU[Yfž`79C`j`cb`7`U]bU`mg]gž`XYi`hYhY`5bZUb[`X]YgYg
A`cbUhg`Ui`Z`XYa` `K`Y`hk`]fhgW`UZhgc`fi`a`]b`8Uj`cg`Ui`Z`ni`_0bZh][Y
D`ÀbY`Z0f`gY]b`i`bhYfbY`a`Yb` `]b`"

8Uni`[Y`\0fYb`dchYbn]Y`Y` ,`VYfbU`a`Yb`j`cb`bUa`Yb`cgYb` :`]fa`Ybž
j`Yfa`i`h]W`_`Y]bYfYb` :`cfgW`i`b[gi`bhYfbY`a`Ybž`X]Y`7`U]bU`mg]g
`Y`ZYb`_0bbhYbž`gY]bY`Dcg]h]cb`ni`ZYgh][Ybž`i`bX`Y]b
9]bghY`i`b[gfUi`gW`"K`Ybb`U`Yg`bUW`D`Ub` `Ai`Znž`_0bbhY
7`U]bU`mg]g`gY]bY`6Y`Y[gW`UZh`V]g`ni`a`đ\`fYgYbXY`i`a`Yhk`U`%`%`i
Yf`0`Ybž`k`cXi`fW`X]Y` ;`YgUa`hnU` `XYf`5fVY]hg`f`ÀZhY`]a`J`Yf[`Y]W`
ni`XYf`6Y`Y[gW`UZh]c`f`XYf`9bh`Uggi`b[`i`a`Yhk`U`*`i` `ghY][Yb
k`0fXY`"

K`]Y`6`cca`VYf[`ZYghghY`hYž`U`h]g]W`X]Y`đ`hYbg]h`Àh`XYf` :`cfgW`i`b[
j`cb`7`U]bU`mg]g]b`XYb` `Y`h`hYb`nk`Y]`A`cbU`hYb`XYg`đ\`fYg`&`\$`&`&
Ui`Z[`fi`bX`XYg`Ni`gUa`a`YbVfi`W`g]j`cb` :`HL`i`bX`XYf
UbgW` `]Y`»`YbXYb`Gi`W`Y`bUW`ZY` `YbXYb` ;`Y`XYfb`j`Yfgh`Àf`_`h`"
5b[Yg]W`hg`XYf`đ`gc`j`YbnZ` `Y`j`cb`7`Y`g]i`gž`J`cmU[Yfž` :`HL`i`bX
UbXYfYbž`X]Y`Y]bYf`@0gi`b[`b]W`h`b`À`Yf`_`ca`a`Ybž`gW`Y]bhYgž`XUgg
7`U]bU`mg]g`k`Y]hYf` `]b`gY]bY`5fVY]h`Ui`ggdUfYb`k`]fX`"

...

8YhU]`g

6Ygi`W`Yb`G]Y`i`bg`Ui`Z` `fmdhc!bYk`g`Uh