

8]Y `? fUZh`XYg`GWL`UZYg

8]Y `6Yj Ø`_Yfi b[`XYf`B Uh]cb `]gh`Ui Z[fi bX`j cb `GWL`UZj Yf`i gh
VYfUi gWL h ``@Y]XYf`]gh`gWL`YWL hYf`GWL`UZY\Yf`X]Y`FY[Y``U`g
X]Y`5i gbU\ a Y``@Ui h`XYa `bgh]hi h`ZØf`A YX]n]b) \$!+\$`A]`]cbYb
9fk UWk gYbY `]b `XYb `I G5 ``Y]XYb `Ub `GWL`UZl`cXYf
K UWk \ Y]hgghØfi b[Yb ``HUhgÀWL`]WL`VYhfUWk hYb `X]Y`NYbhfYb
ZØf`X]Y`? cbhfc``Y`i bX`DfÀj Ybh]cb `j cb `? fUb_\ Y]hYb
gWL`YWL hYb `GWL`UZU`g` DfcV`Ya `XYf`ØZZYbh`]WL`Yb
; Ygi bX\ Y]h ``@YhnhYbX`]WL`VYXYi hYh`X]Ygž`XUgg`a Y\ f
5a Yf]_UbYf`Y]b `Yf\ Ø\ hYg`F]g]_c `UVYbž`UbXYfY
[Ygi bX\ Y]h`]WL`Y`DfcV`Ya Y`ni `Ybhk]WL`Y`bž`k Ybb`g]Y`b]WL`h
[YbØ[YbX`GWL`UZ`VY_ca a Yb``A Àfn`]gh`XYf`bUh]cbU`Y
GWL`UZa cbUh`8]Yg`]gh`Y]b `]XYU`Yf`NY]hai b_hž`i a `a Y\ f
XUfØVYf`ni `YfZU\ fYbž`k]Y`g]WL`GWL`UZ`Ui Z`X]Y`J YfZc`[i b[`i bX
9ffY]WL`i b[`j cb `; Ygi bX\ Y]hg!`i bX` `]hbYggn]Y`Yb
/ Ua dΛY`]d/



8]Y `6Yj Ø`_Yfi b[`XYf`B Uh]cb `]gh`Ui Z[fi bX`j cb `GWL`UZj Yf`i gh
VYfUi gWL h ``@Y]XYf`]gh`gWL`YWL hYf`GWL`UZY\Yf`X]Y`FY[Y``U`g`X]Y
5i gbU\ a Y``@Ui h`XYa `bgh]hi h`ZØf`A YX]n]b) \$!+\$`A]`]cbYb
9fk UWk gYbY `]b `XYb `I G5 ``Y]XYb `Ub `GWL`UZl`cXYf
K UWk \ Y]hgghØfi b[Yb ``HUhgÀWL`]WL`VYhfUWk hYb `X]Y`NYbhfYb `ZØf`X]Y

? cb hfc ``Y i bX DfÀj Ybh]cb j cb ? fUb_ \Y]hYb gW\`Y\W\hYb GW\`UZ\U\g
DfcV`Ya `XYf`ÒZZYbh]W\Yb ; Ygi bX\Y]h ``@YhnhYbX]W\`VYXYi hYh
X]Ygž XUgg'a Y\ f'5a Yf]_UbYf\Y]b Yf\Ò\hYg\ F]g]_c \UVYbž UbXYfY
[Ygi bX\Y]h]W\Y DfcV`Ya Y ni Ybhk]W\Y`bž k Ybb\g]Y`b]W\h
[YbØ[YbX`GW\`UZ`VY_ca a Yb"

A Àfn`]gh`XYf`bUh]cbU`Y`GW\`UZa cbUh`8]Yg`]gh`Y]b`]XYU`Yf
NY]hd i b_hž i a a Y\ f`XUfØVYf`ni YfZU\ fYbž k]Y`g]W\`GW\`UZ`Ui Z`X]Y
J YfZc`[i b[i bX`9ffY]W\i b[j cb ; Ygi bX\Y]hg! i bX` :]hbYggn]Y`Yb
Ui gk]f_h"

; Ygi bX\Y]h]W\Y` : c`[Yb`j`cb
GW\`UZghØfi b[Yb

8]Y`K`]ggYbgW\UZh`gU[h`i bg`VYfY]hgž XUgg`Yg`ZØf`YXY`<UbX`i b[
Y]bY`Ybh[Y`Yb[YgYhnhY`i bX`[`Y]W\Y`F`YU_h]cb`[]Vh`K`Ybb`XYf
? ØfdYf`[i h`Ui g[Yfi \h`]ghž UfVY]hYh`XYf`? ØfdYf`cdh]a U``5i Z`XYf
UbXYfYb`GY]hY`g]b_h`X]Y`@Y]ghi b[ž k`Ybb`XYf`? ØfdYf`gW\`Y\W\h
Ui g[Yfi \h`]gh`DYfgcbYbž`X]Y`i b_hYf`W\fc]gW\`Ya`A`Ub[Y`cXYf
gW\`Y\W\hYf`GW\`UZe`i U`]hÀh`Y]XYbž`Y]XYb`k`U\fgW\`Y]b]W\`i b_hYf
Y]bYf`j`Yfa`]bXYfhYb` ; Y\`fbZ`b_h]cbž\cfa`cbY`Yb
I`b[`Y]W\`Yk`]W\hYbž`Y]bYa`Yf\Ò\hYb`F`g]_c`ZØf
<YfnYf_fUb_i b[Ybž`UVbcfa`U`Ya`K`UW\ghi`a`i`bX`9bhk`]W\`i`b[
fMY]`?`]bXYfb`i`bX`[YbX]W\Ybž`j`Yfa`]bXYfhYf`DfcXi`_h]j`]hÀh`i`bX
@Y]ghi`b[ž`fi`W\hVUf`Y]hgdfcV`Ya`Yb`i`bX`Y]bYa`gW\`Y\W\hYb
=a`a`i`bgmghYa`i`bX`bgi`]bfYU_h]cbYb`i`bX`Y]b`Yf\Ò\hYg`F`g]_cž`]b
Y]bYb`?`fUZhZU\fnYi`[i`bZU``ni`[YfUhYb"

? i fn`[YgU[h`XYf`GW\`UZ`gd]Y`h`Y]bY`Yb`hgW\`Y]XYbXY`Fc`Y`VY]`XYf
FYdUfUhi`f`i`bX`K`Ufhi`b[j`cb`U`Yg`GmghYa`Y`fb\mg]gW\`i`bX
dgmW\`]gW\`XYg`a`YbgW\`]W\Yb`? ØfdYfg`@Y]XYf`VY_ca`a`h`Y]bY
VYhFÀW\`h]W\`Y`5bnU\`j`cb`5a`Yf]_UbYfb`b]W\h`X]Y`GW\`UZa`Yb[Yž
X]Y`ni`f`I`b_hYfghØhni`b[`Y]bYg`[Ygi`bXYb`? ØfdYfg`i`bX` ;`Y]ghYg
YfZcfXYf`]W\`]gh"

K`Ug`dUgg]Yfh`]a`GW\`UZ3

9]b`GW\`UZni ghUbX`gW\Y]bh`Ub`XYf`CVYfZ\W\Y`Y]bY`fi`][Y`i`bX
 VYgW\Ui`]W\Y`9fZU\fi`b[`ni`gY]b``5VYf`?OfdYf`UfVY]hYh`\Ufh
 XUfUbžni`fYdUf]YfYbžg]W\`ni`Yf\c`YbžUi Zni VUi Ybžni`ghÀf_Ybžni
 k UW\gYb`i`bX`ni`j`YfhY]X][Yb``K`À\fYbX`XYg`GW\`UZYg`VY[]bbh`i`bX
 YbXYh`X]Y`Y\hY`5fVY]h`XYg`cfhgW\]hhg``GW\`UZ]gh`Y]b
 dfcXi`_h]j`Yf`DfcnYggžUi`W\`k`Ybb`G]Y`g]W\`b]W\h`VYk`Y[Yb`cXYf
]bhYfU[]YfYb"

K`À\fYbX`G]Y`g]W\`Ui`gfi`YbžVY[]bbh`XYf`?OfdYf`gY]bY`5fVY]h``K`][Y
]b`Y]bYf`UVf]_`Ui`Z\`a`Y\`fYfY`DfcnYggY`[`Y]W\`nY]h`[`UV`i`bX
 i`a`ZUggYb`a`Y\`fYfY`GmghY`a`Y``Ni`a`6Y]gd]Y`.

- 8Ug`;`Y\]fb`di`hnh`XUg`<Ui`g``8]Y`nYfYVfU`Y
 K`]fVY`gÀi`YbZ\`gg]`_Y]h`gdØ`h`Xi`fW\`XUg`;`Y\]fb`i`bX
 YbhZ\`fbh`5VZU`dfcXi`_hY`Ui`g`XYb`NY`Yb`
- 5ha`i`b[`i`bX`<YfnZfYe`i`Ybn`j`Yf`Ub`[gUa`Yb`g]W\`i`bX`XYf
 6`i`hXfi`W\`g]b_h`
- 9g`k`YfXYb`<cfa`cbY`ZfY]`[YgYhnhž`X]Y`VY]`XYf`F`YdUfUh`f
 j`cb`;`Yk`YVYb`Y`Z\`b

9g`]gh`g]bbj`c``Z`XUgg`X]YgY`k`Yfhj`c``Yb`i`bX`bch\`YbX]`[Yb`DfcnYggY
 [Ygh\`f\`k`YfXYbž`k`Ybb`XYf`?OfdYf`W\`fcb]gW\`i`bhYff`i`h``8Yf
 ?OfdYf`_Ubb`XUbb`;`Yk`YVY`i`bX`6`i`h`[YZÀ`Y`b]W\`h`Ui`gfY]W\`YbX
 fYdUf]YfYbž`<cfa`cbY`Y\`Z\`n]Ybh`dfcXi`n]YfYb`i`bX`ZfY]gYhnhY`c`XYf
 5VZU`YbhZ\`fbYb`K`Ybb`XYf`GW\`UZ`Y]XYhž`[]Vh`Yg`gmghY`a`]gW\`Y
 5i`gk`]f_i`b[`Yb`

5Vk`À\fhg\`gd]fU`Y`ni`gW\`Y\`hYf`;`Ygi`bX\`Y]h`

K`Ybb`XYa`?OfdYf`XYf`GW\`UZ`Ybhnc`[Yb`]ghž`gY`bh`g]W\`XUg`;`Y\`fb
 bUW\`BU\`fi`b[`fl`bX`bcfa`U`Yfk`Y]gY`b]W\`h`bUW\`XYb`[YgØb`XYghY`b
 GcfhYb\`8]Y`<cfa`cbY\`X]Y`Z\`f`X]Y`F`Y`i`j`Yfi`b[`j`cb`<i`b[`Yf`i`bX
 GÀhh]`i`b[`j`YfUbhk`cfh]W\`g]bXž`[YfUhYb`Ui`g`XYa`;`Y]W\`[Yk`]W\`h`
 ;`fY`j`b`fXUg`<i`b[`Yf!`fYa`]b!<cfa`cb\`b]a`a`h`ni`ž`k`À\fYbX`@Ydh]b
 fXUg`GÀhh]`i`b[`g\`cfa`cb\`UVb]a`a`h`h`Zc`[YXYggY`b`ghY]`[h`X]Y
 ?U`cf]YbUi`ZbU\`a`Y`i`bX`XYf`?U`cf]Ybj`YfVfUi`W\`g]b_h`Ui`Z[fi`bX
 a`Ub`[Y`bXYf`A`ch]j`Uh]cb`Ui`Z[fi`bX`j`cb`[Y]gh]`[Yf`i`bX`_OfdYf`]W\`Yf
 A ØX]`[_Y]h``8]Yg`Z\`fh`gW\`Y]Y`[W\`ni`Y]bYf`;`Yk`]W\`hgn`i`bU\`a`Y`

8 UfØVYf` \]bUi g` ZØ\ fh` gW\ ` YW\ hYf` GW\ ` UZ` ni ` Y]bYa
 ØVYfXi fW\ gW\ b]h\` W\ Yb` 6` i hni W\ Yfgd]Y[Y` Z` XU` Y]b` a ØXYf` ? ØfdYf
 b]W\ h` YZZY` _h\j` `Ui Z` bgi` `]b` fYU[]YfYb` _Ubb` K` Ybb` W\ fcb]gW\ Yf
 GW\ ` UZ` W\ fcb]gW\ `]gh\`]gh` X]Y` 9bh\`]W\` i b[` j cb
 GhcZk` YW\ gY` gh\` fi` b[Yb` i bj` Yfa` Y]X`]W\ "

K`]f` a ØggYb` i bg` XUni` j` YfdZ]W\ hYbž` gW\ ` UZZÀ\` [` ni` gY]bž` i a` X]Y
 5V\ Åfhggd]fU` Y` i a` ni` _Y` fYb` i` bX` X]Y` :` i` b` h]c` bgZÀ\` [` _Y]h` XYg
 ? ØfdYfg` ni` j` YfVYggYfb"

K`]Y` a` Ub` X]Y` GW\ ` UZZ]hb` Ygg` j` YfVYggYfh

ÞXYf` VfUi` W\ h` Y]bY` Yhk` Ug` Ub` XYfY` I` a` [` YVi` b[` ž` i` a` [` i` h` ni` gW\ ` UZYb`
 9g` [`]Vh` YXc` W\ ` Y]b` [` Y` k`]W\ h` [` Y` Ni` hUhYbž` i` a` X]Y` GW\ ` UZ` Uf` _Y]h
 ÅfYg` F` Ui` a` g` ni` j` YfVYggYfb` K` Ybb` Yg` i` a` ÅfY` I` a` [` YVi` b[` [` Y\ hž`
 gc` ` hYb` G]Y` X]Y` Zc` [` Yb` XYb` A` U` bU\` a` Yb` Yf` [` fY]Zb.

- 9bh\` fb` Yb` G]Y` X]Y` [` Yg` Ua` hY` 9` Y` _hfc` b]_` fb` XYf` gW\ U` hYb` G]Y`
 g]Y` Ui` g\` i` bX` XYW` Yb` G]Y` XYb` K` YW` Yf` Y]bY` Gh\` bXY` j` cf`
 XYa` GW\ ` UZYb` [` Y\ Yb` UV` 8Yf` n]f` UX]UbY` F` \m\` a` i` g`
 fYU[`]Yf` Ua` Ya` dZ]bX`]W\ ghYb` Ui` ZV` Ui` Yg` @W\ h` fK` Yf` j` cb`
 XYf` 9` Y` _hfc` b]_` Ya`]hh]Yf` h` Hmd`
- A` UW\ ` XYb` F` Ui` a` `gc` Xi` b` _Y` `k`]Y` a` Ø[`]W\ "
- GhY` ` Yb` G]Y` g]W\ Yf\` XUgg` XYf` F` Ui` a` Y]bY` Ub` [` Yb` Y\` a` Y`
 HYa` dYfUhi` f` \` Uh"
- 6Yk` Yf` hYb` G]Y` XYb` ;` Yf\` a` gW\ dY` [` Y` c` XYf` ZØ[` Yb` G]Y` Y]bY`
 A` UgW\]bY` c` XYf` Y]bYb` @ØZhYf` a`]h\` k` Y]»` Ya` F` Ui` gW\ Yb` \`]bni` "

9g` [`]Vh` Ui` W\ ` j` YfgW\]YXYb` Y` J` Yf\` U` hYb` ghf]W\ gž` a`]h` XYb` Yb` G]Y` XYb`
 GW\ ` UZ` j` YfVYggYfb` _Øbb` Yb.

- 9bh\`]W\ Y` b` G]Y` Y]bY` F` ci` h]bY` K` Ybb` G]Y` _Y]bY`
 GW\ ` UZYb` gnY]hfc` i` h]bY` \` UVYbž` f]W\ hYb` G]Y` Y]bY` ZØf` G]Y` i` bX`
 ÅfY` :` Ua`]` Y` Y]b` ;` b` hY` [` f]Yf` Yb` G]Y` Yb` hgd` Ubb` Yb` XY`
 5` _h\j`]h\` hYb` f\` YX]h\` Yf` Yb` G]Yž` Yg` Yb` G]Y` Y]b` 6` i` W\ z` \` Øf` Yb` G]Y`
 VYfi` \` [` Yb` XY` A` i` g]` i` gk` "ł"
- 5` _h\j`]h\` h\` ZØf` XYf` b` Uh\` Øf`]W\ ` Y]bY` VYgg` Yf` Yb` GW\ ` UZ`
 J` Yfa` Y]XYb` G]Y` Ygž` ni` g` d\` h` Ua` 5` VYb` X` ni` h` fU]b`]Yf` Ybž` XU`

X]Yg'XUg'9]bgW\`UZYb`YfgW\k YfYb`_Ub b"

- FYXi n]YfYb`G]Y`X]Y`?cZZY]bUi ZbU\`a Y``K UfhYb`G]Y`V]g`-
I \f`a cf[Ybgž`i a `XYb`YfghYb`Uj U!F i W`ni `[Yb]Y»Yb"
K Ybb`G]Y`j cf`X]YgYa`NY]hfUi a`?cZZY]b`ni`g]W\`bY\`a Ybž
_Ub b`X]Yg`XYb`bcfa U`Yb`7cfh]gc`!F\mh\`a i g`XYg`?ÖfdYfg
ghÖfYb`i bX`gdÀhYf`XYb`GW\`UZ`ghÖfYb`8UfÖVYf`]bUi g
k]f_h`?cZZY]b`Ui W\`5XYbcg]b`Ybh[Y[Yb`fY]b`k Y]hYfYf
6YghUbXhY`ni f` ÖfXYfi b[`Y]bYg`Yf\c`gUa Yb`GW\`UZYg`
• 6Y[fYbnYb`G]Y`5`_c\c``5`_c\c`]gh`Y]b`8YdfYgg]j i a žXUg
VYfi `][YbX`k]f_h`9g`ZØ\fh`YXcW\`Ui W\`XUni žXUgg`Y]bY
DYfgcb`bUW\hg`\Ài Z][`Ui Zk UW\h`6Y[fYbnYb`G]Y`A`fYb
?cbgi a`j cb`U`_c\c`]gW\`Yb`; YhfAb`Yb`j cf`XYa
GW\`UZYb[Y\`Yb`cXYf`gdÀh`UVYbXg"

?ca a i b]n]YfYb`G]Y`UVgW\`Y»YbX`cZZYb`a]h`A`fYa`5fnhž`k Ybb`G]Y
XYf`A Y]bi b[`g]bXžXUgg`GW\`UZYb hni [`W\`fc b]gW\`]gh`i bX`A`f`@VYVYb
VYY]bhfÀW\h][h`fbYfgÖb`]W\`i bX`VYfi Z]W\`

9g`]gh`k]W\`h][ž`XUgg`GW\`UZ`i bX`9f\c`i b[`XYa
HfU]b]b[gUi Zk UbX`Yb hgdfYW\`Yb`K Y]hYfY`bZcfa Uh]cb`Yb
ni f`Xi fW\`XUW\`hYb`K JYXYf`YfghY`i b[`j cb` , Vi b[Yb`Z]b`XYb
G]Y`]b`i bgYfYf`a Y]ghj Yf`Ui ZhYb`@j`Y7`Ugg. `8]Y` Fg`XYf
K JYXYf`YfghY`i b[`j cb` , Vi b[Yb`

→gd]f]Yfh`j cb`**579**

8 YhU]`g

6Ygi W\`Yb`G]Y`i bg`Ui Z`a Y]b`!Z]hb`Ygg`b`Yh