

B UW \ U`h][:]gW\ ` _Ui ZYb. '- `H]ddg`ZØf i a k Y`hVYk i gghY `; Yb]Y» Yf

9bhXYW_Yb`G]Y`bYi b`d fU_h]gW\ Y`H]ddg`ZØf`Y]bYb
bUW \ U`h][Yb` :]gW\ _Ui Z`'I bgYf`5fh]_Y` `]`Zi` Æ bYbž
i a k Y`hZfYi bX`]W\ Y`9bhgW\ Y]Xi b[Yb`ni `hfYZZYb`i bX`X]Y
VYghYb` :]gW\ UfhYb`Ui gni k Å\`Yb" `9fZU\ fYb`G]Y`a Y\ f`ØVYf
NYfh]Z]_UHYž`fY[]cbU`Y`DfcXi _hY`i bX`VYk Å\`fY
9]b`_Ui Zghf]W_g" `I bhYfghØhnYb`G]Y`XYb`j YfUbhk c`fhi b[gj c``Yb
I a [Ub[`a]h:]gW\ Yb`i bX`A YYfYgZfØW\ hYb` `ZØf`Y]bY
[Ygi bXY`9fbÅ\`fi b[`i bX`Y]bYb`[YgW\ ØhnhYb`D`UbYhYb"



:]gW\ `i bX`A YYfYgZfØW\ hY` `Y]b` ; Ybi ggž`XYf` `YVh` `5VYf
J c`fg]W\ h. `8Yf`9]b`_Ui Z`_`Ubb`ni f`V]hhYfYb`9bhÅi gW\ i b[
k YfXYbž`k Ybb`a Ub`b]W\ h`Ui ZdUggh" <]Yf`g]bX`X]Y
i `h]a Uh]j Yb`bYi b`H]ddgž`X]Y` Æ bYb` \Y`ZYbž`bUW \ U`h][`ZØf
X]Y`I a k Y`h`Y]bni _Ui ZYb`i bX`XYb`bcW\ `gW\ a UW\ \UZhYb
:]gW\ `Ui Z`XYb`H]gW\ `ni `Vf]b[Yb`°

ϕ·Y]bYf·K Y`h j c`Yf`i ghfYb :]gW UfhYb`ghY`Yb`g]W`j]Y`Y`X]Y
: fU[Y·K Y`W Yf :]gW`]gh`bcW`[i h`ZØf`XYb`D`UbYhYb3`K c`Yf
ghUa a h`XYf`H\i bZ]gW`ž`XYb`]W`]a`F Y[U`Yb`hXYW`Y3`I b`X`k Ufi a
gd]Y`h`XUg`VY]a`?Ui Z`Y]bY`gc`Yb`hgW`Y]XYb`XY`F c`Y3`8]Y`5b`hk c`fhYb
g]b`X`k`]W`h][Yf`XYbb`Y`ž`XYbb`Y]b`VYk i gghYf :]gW`_Ui Z`]gh`Y]bY
YW`hY`H\Uh`g`]h`ZØf`XYb`GW`i h`i bgYfYf`A`YYfY"

H]ddgž`i a`X]Y`VY`ghYb :]gW`gc`fhYb`ni`k`À`Yb

%`8Yf`YfghY`6`]W`_`NYfh]Z]_UhY`g]bX ; c`X`k`Yfh`8]Y`G]Y[Y`
A G7`i b`X`5G7`g]bX`⇒fY`VYghYb`J`YfVØb`XYhYb`°9]b`_i`fnYf`6`]W`
XUfUi Z`i b`XYfgW`Y]X`Yh`XYb`i a`k`Y`h`ž`Yi b`X`]W`[YZUb[YbYb
K`]XZ]gW`j ca`[YZÀ`f`XYhYb`·A G7`ZØf`b`UW`U`h][Yb`K`]XZUb[ž`5G7
ZØf`j`YfUb`hk`c`fhi`b[gj`c`Y`Ni`W`h`°9g`]gh`b]W`h`bi`f`Y]bY
?Ui ZYb`hgW`Y]Xi`b[ž`gc`b`XYfb`·Ui`W`Y]b`ghUf`_Yg`G][bU`Ub`<`YfghY`Yf
i b`X`<`À`b`X`Yf`·Y]bY`9b`hgW`Y]Xi`b[`ZØf`X]Y`A`YYfY`°

&`"J`]Y`ZU`h`ghUhh`9]bZU`h`K`Ufi`a`gh`À`bX][`·Ui`Z`H\i`bZ]gW`i`bX
@]W`g`g`Yh`Yb3`X`XYg`A`U`ž`k`Yb`b`g]Y`bi`f`XYb`[Yk`c`b`hYb
@]YV`]b[gZ]gW``k`À`Yb`ž`g`Yh`Yb`G]Y`[YZÀ`f`XYhY`6Ygh`À`b`XY`Ui`Z`XUg
Gd]Y`"°9b`h`XYW`_Yb`G]Y`X]Y`Ui`Z`fY[Yb`XY`K`Y`h`XYf :]gW`Y`·gY]Yb`G]Y
UVYb`hYi`Yf`i`gh][`i`b`X`_c`ghYb`G]Y`@YW`_YfY]Yb`k`]Y`A`U`_fY`Y`i`b`X
GUfX]bY`"5VYf :]b[Yf`k`Y[`j`cb`[YZÀ`f`XYhYb`5fhYb`k`]Y`XYa`5U`°

'`";`i`hY`5fVY]hž`ZU]fYf :]gW`°9]b`k`Y]hYfYf`D`i`gdi`b`_h` : U]f
dfcXi`n]YfhY :]gW`dfcXi`_hY`g]W`Yfb`b]W`h`bi`f`b`UW`U`h][`Y
I`a`k`Y`hgW`i`h`ghU`b`XUfX`gž`gc`b`XYfb`·Ui`W`ZU]fY
5fVY]hgVYX]b[i`b[Yb`";`fY]ZYb`G]Y`ni`A`G7!`nYfh]Z]n]YfhYa`K`]XZ]gW`
a`]h : U]fHFUXY!`@[`c`c`XYf`5G7!`nYfh]Z]n]YfhYa`Ni`W`hZ]gW`·`XYbb
Ui`W`[`i`hY`g`5fVY]hYb`]gh`g`_U`Uf`ZØf`X]Y`A`YYfY`gk`Y`h`

(`"8Yb`_Yb`G]Y`Ub`X]Y`A`Ø`Y]a`Yf`°J`Yfa`Y]XYb`G]Y : ccX`K`UghY
k`]Y`X]Y`DYgh`?`i`[`d`UbYb`ž`WYj`Yf`_Ui`ZYb`·H]YZ`Ø`d`fcXi`_hY`g]bX
]XYU`ž`XU`g]Y`d`c`fh]c`b]YfVUf`g]bX`i`b`X`Ub[`Y`U`h`VUf`V`Y]VYb`"?Ui`ZYb
G]Y`[`Ub`nY :]gW`Y3`8`Ubb`bi`h`nYb`G]Y`U`Y`gž`k`Ug`ØVf][`V`Y]Vhž`ZØf
Y]bY`_Øgh]W`Y :]gW`gi`ddY`c`XYf`gY`Vgh[`Ya`UW`hYb` : cbX"

B`c`W`a`Y`f`H]ddg`ZØf`XYb`9]b`_Ui`Z`j`ca

:]gW\ \ÀbX`Yf°

5i ZXYa`A Uf_h[]Vh`Yg`cZh`_Y]b`l a k`Y`hg]Y[Y` `UVYf`XUg``Àggh`G]Y
b]W\h`Xi a a` `XUghY`Yb`"<]Yf`g]bX`Y]b`dUUF`k`Yfhj`c`Y`<]bk`Y]gY`°

) ``GW\ Ui`Yb`G]Y`[YbUi` ` \]b` `XUg` : Ub[[YV]Yh`nÀ\`h`°6Y]
K`]XZ]gW\`]gh`XUg` : Ub[[YV]Yh`Yb`hgW\Y]XYbX`" `gh`Yg`Ui` ZXYa
9]gghYW`_Yf`Ub[Y[YVYb`3` , VYfd`fØZYb`G]Y`X]Y`6YghUbXgj`Yf`À`hb]ggY
Ui`ZXYf`K`YVg]hY`j`ca` `H\ØbYb!` ðgh]hi`h` ` :]gW\ VYgh`ÀbXY!`cb`]bY`"XY
[]Vh` ðbYb`XYb`bØh][Yb`9]bV`]W`ž`cV`X]Y`5i`gk`U\` `bUW\`U`h][Yb
A`U»`gh`ÀVYb`Yb`hgdf]W\`h`

* ``F`Y[]cb`U` `XYb`_Yb`°`5b[YVchYb`G]Y`g]W\`Ui`Z:]gW\`Ui`g`[i`h
fY[i` `]YfhYb`F`Y[]cbYb` `9i`fcdU`i`bX`B`cfXUa`Yf]_U`g]bX`X]Y
J`c`ffY]hYf`"< U`hYb`G]Y`5VghUbX`j`cb` :]gW\`Ui`g` ; YV]YhYb`a`]h
ZfU[k`ØfX][Yf`F`Y[i` `]Yfi`b[ž`k`]Y`Yhk`U`XYb`C`nYUbYb`fi`bX`i`a
` ðXcbYg]Yb`cXYf`j`cf`K`YghUZF]_U`"<]Yf`[Y\Y]a`Y
:]gW\ ZUb[a`Yh\cXYb`Ub`X]Y`B]YfYb`°?`Ui`ZYb`G]Y`bi`f`a`]h
nYfh]Z]n]YfhYb`G]Y[Y`b`°

+ ``I`bgYfY` :]gW\! : Uj`cf]hYb`°`K`Ug`g]bX`X]Y`VYghYb` :]gW\Y`XYf
GU]gcb3`< Yf]b[`Ui`g`XYf`B`cfXgY`Y`]gh`Y]b`YW\hYf`<]h` : f]gW\`cXYf`U`g
A`UhYg` `X]YgY`_`Y]bYb`GW\k`Ufa`Z]gW\Y` \UVYb`[i`hY`6Ygh`ÀbXY`i`bX
j`Yfi`fgUW\Yb`k`Yb][`7C`&`°5i`W\`X]Y`B`cfXgY`Y!GYY`UW\gZ]`Yhg`g]bX
YfghY`K`U\` `X]Y` :]gW\Yf`ghY`Yb`g]W\Yfž`XUgg`]\`fY`DfU`_h]_Yb`X]Y
l`a`k`Y`h`b]W\h`VY`UghYb`"l`bX`b]W\h`j`Yf[YggYb`X]Y`6i`bhVUfgW\!
:]Yhg`Ui`g`A`Yl`]_c`cXYf` ðXcbYg]Yb`ghY`Yb`YVYbZU`g` \cW\`ja
?i`fgž`XYbb`\]Yf`k`]fX`X]Y`Bi`°!5VZU`!Dc`]h]_`[Y`YVh`°

, VYf`X]Y` ð]h]Uh]j`Y` `7\YW`_XY]bYb` :]gW\

l`a` `XUg`6Yk`i`gghgY]b`ZØf`X]Y`k`Yfhj`c`Y`F`Yggci`fW\` :]gW\`ni
gW\`ÀfZYbž`Yf]bbYfb`X]Y` ð]h]UhcfYb`j`cb`5G7`i`bX`A`G7`X]YgY`5_h]cbž
X]Y`j`ca` `&` `°GYd`hYa`VYf`V]g`*`°C`_hc`VYf`Vi`bXYgk`Y]h
ghUhhZ]bXYh`°9g`]gh`XYf`dYfZY`_hY`NY]hdi`b`_hž`i`a` ` ðfYb` :]gW\`_Ui`Z`ni
ØVYfXYb`_Yb`i`bX`XYb`D`UbYhYb`ni`i`bhYfghØhnYb`°

8YhU]`g

6Ygi W\Yb`G]Y`i bg`Ui Z.`a Y]b!VYf`]b"bYh