

B Yi Y`DG) !I dXUhY!6YhU. '5bdUggVUfY 5i X]c!DfcZ]`Y`i bX`a Y\`f`ZØf` ; Ua Yf

Gcbm\`Uh`Y]b`bYi Yg`6YhU!I dXUhY`ZØf`X]Y`DG) `j cf[YghY`hž
XUg`YI _`i g]j Y` : i b_h]cbYb`V]YhYh` `YXcW`bi f`ZØf`?`Ai ZYf`UV
&\$&' "

8]Y`bYi YghY`6YhU!J Yfg]cb`XYg`DG) !I dXUhYg`j cb`Gcbm\`Uh`ZØf`
5i ZfY[i b[`i bhYf` ; Ua Yfb`[Ygcf[hž`XU`g]Y`bYi Y` : i b_h]cbYb`a `]h
g]W`Vf]b[hž`X]Y`YXcW`b]W`h`ZØf`U`Y`6Ybi hYf`ni [`Ab[`]W`g]bX`
8Yf` : c_i g`Ui ZX]YgY`bYi Yb` : YUhi fYg`k]fZh`X]Y` : fU[Y`Ui Z`k]Y
J YfVfUi W`YfYfk Ufhi b[Yb`]b`XYf` ; Ua]b[!7ca a i b]hm`YfZØ`h`i bX
[`Y]W`nY]h][`YI _`i g]j ` [YghU`hYh`k YfXYb`_`ØbbYb`"

B Yi Yg`6YhU!I dXUhY`Vf]b[h`]b`b`c`j Uh]j Y : YUhi fYg

≠`GUb`A UhYcž`I G5ž`ghY`h`Gcbm`X]Y`Øb[ghY`9fk Y]hYfi b[`ZØf`X]Y
D`UmGhUh]cb`) `j cfž`X]Y`U`hi Y`U`g`6YhU!J Yfg]cb`]b`8Yi hgW`UbX
[YhYghYh`k]fX`"8Yf`<Ui dhUi [Yba Yf_`]Y[h`]a `<]bV`]W`_`Ui ZX]Y
bYi Yb` : i b_h]cbYb`ZØf`XYb`8i U`GYbgY!7cbhfc`Yfž`k cVY]?`Ai ZYf
XYf`DG) `G`]a `VYgcbXYfg`]a `J cfhY`]`g]bX`" ≠hYfYggUbhYfk Y]gY`V`Y]Vh
Yg`ZØf`j]Y`Y`B`i hYf`XYf`A`hYfYb`A cXY`Y`i bj Yfgh`AbX`]W`ž`k Ufi a
g]Y`j cb`Y]b][Yb`gdYn]Y`Yb` : i b_h]cbYb`Ui g[YgW`cggYb`g]bXž`X]Y
]`fY`Gd]Y`YfZU`fi b[`Yf`YV`]W`j YfVYggYfb`_`ØbbhYb`"

≠bX]j]Xi U`]g]Yfi b[`XYf`5i X]c!9]bghY``i b[Yb

9]bY`XYf`VYa Yf_Ybgk YfhYghYb`BYi Yfi b[Yb`]gh`X]Y`9]bZØ`fi b[
j cb`dYfgcbU`]g]YfhYb`Gci bX!DfcZ]`Yb`"A]h`XYf`bYi Yb`5bU`mgY!
: i b_h]cb`_`ØbbYb`Gd]Y`Yf`]`fY`5i X]c!9]bghY``i b[Yb`UbdUggYbž`i a
Y]b`bcW`]bhYbg]j YfYg`?`Ub[Yf`YVb]g`ni `[Yb]Y»Yb`"Gc` \UVYb

Bi hnYf`X]Y`A Ò[`]Wk_Y]hž`XYb` : c_i g`Ui Z`VYgh]a a hY` ; Yf`Ai gWkYž`k]Y
VY]gd]Y`gk Y]gY`X]Y`GWk f]hhY`]\fYf`]b![Ua Y` ; Y[bYfž`ni ``Y[Yb``8]Yg
]gh`VYgcbXYfg`ZØf`_ca dYh]h]j Y`Gd]Y`Yf`j cb`6YXYi hi b[ž`X]Y
[Y[YbØVYf`] \fYb`A]hgd]Y`Yfb`Y]bYb`ghfUhY[]gWkYb`J cfhY`
Yf`Ub[Yb`a ÒWk hYb`"

6YX]Ybi b[g_ca Zcfh`Xi fWk `fYa chY
GhYi Yfi b[

Ni g`Àh`]Wk` []Vh`Yg`Y]bY`_`Y]bYž`UVYf`ZY]bY`J YfVYggYfi b[`]a
6YfY]Wk`XYf`FYa chY!GhYi Yfi b[``5V`gcZcfh`_ÒbbYb`Bi hnYf
YbhgWkY]XYbž`k Y`WkY` ; Yf`ÀhY`Ui Z`\fY`?cbgc`Y`ni [fY]ZYb`XØfZYb`
8]YgY` : i b_h]cb` []Vh`XYb` ; Ua Yfb`a Y`f`?cbhfc``Y`ØVYf`] \fY
Df]j Uhg d\`ÀfY`i bX`G]WkYf\Y]h`9g`]gh`Y]b`GWk f]hh]b`X]Y`f]Wk h[Y
F]Wk hi b[ž` [YfUXY`]b`Y]bYf`NY]hž`]b`XYf`X][]hU`Y`G]WkYf\Y]h`Y]b
[fc»Yg`H\Ya U`]gh`"

9]b`i b[`Y]WkYf`Ni [Ub[`ni` : i b_h]cbYb

8 Ug`I dXUhY`Vf]b[h`U``YfX]b[g`Y]bY` [Yk]ggY`I b[`Y]Wk\Y]h`a]h`g]Wk`
Bi f`6Yg]hnYf`XYf`DG) `G`]a `dfcZ]h]YfYb`j cb`XYf`bYi Yb
5bdUggi b[gcdh]cb`ZØf`XUg`@UXYb`XYg`8i U`GYbgY!7cbhfc``Yfg`]a
Fi \Ya cXi g``8]YgY`9bhgWkY]Xi b[`_ÒbbhY`VY]`XYb`?Ai ZYfb`XYg
_`Ugg]gWkYb`DG) !A cXY`g`I ba i h`Yfj cffi ZYbž`j cf`U`Ya ž`k Y`
j]Y`Y`g]Wk`a Y`f`j cb`Y]bYa `DfYa]i a !DfcXi _`h`k]Y`XYf`DG)
Yfk UfhYb``8Ug` : Y`Yb`Y]bYf`Y]b\Y]h]WkYb`J YfZØ[VUf`_Y]h`_ÒbbhY
Ui Z`Ub[Zf]gh][Y`5i gk]f_i b[Yb`Ui ZX]Y`cmU`Y` : Ub[Ya Y]bXY`j cb
Gcbm`\]bXYi hYb`"

8Yf`9]bZ`i gg`Ui Z`X]Y` ; Ua]b[!7ca a i b]hm

8]Y`9]bZØ\fi b[`j cb`gck c`\`bYi Yb` : i b_h]cbYb`U`g`Ui Wk
d\Ufa UnYi h]gWkYb`?ca Zcfh`C dh]cbYb`nY][hž`XUgg`X]Y` ; Ua]b[!
≠X] ghf]Y`gh`ÀbX][]a `K UbXY``]gh``8]Y`A Ò[`]Wk_Y]hYb`ni f
≠X]j]Xi U`]g]Yfi b[`i bX`5bdUggi b[`_ÒbbYb`XYb`I bhYfgWk]YX
nk]gWkYb`Y]bYf`Xi fWk gWk b]hh]WkYb`i bX`Y]bYf`ØVYffU[YbX
]a a Yfg]j Yb`Gd]Y`YfZU\fi b[`Ui ga UWkYb``8Ug`U`hi Y`Y`I dXUhY

_ÖbbhY`U`g`? UH`mgUhc`f`ZÖf`ni` _ØbZh][Y`9bhk]W`i` b[Yb`]bbYf\U`V
XYf`; Ua]b[!?ca a i b]hm`Ub[YgY\Yb`k YfXYbž`XU`X]Y`8]g_i gg]cb
ØVYf`; `Y]W\Y]h`i` bX`Ni [Äb[`]W`_Y]h`nk]gW`Yb`j` YfgW]YXYbYb
A cXY`Yb`ni` bY\`a` YbX`i]b`XYb`J`cfXYf[fi`bX`fØW`h"

Ni`gUa`a` YbZUggYbX`Äggh`g]W`gU[Ybž`XUgg`X]Y`bYi` Y`6YhU!J`Yfg]cb
a`Ö[`]W`Yfk`Y]gY`b]W`h`ZÖf`U`Y`DG) !Bi`hnyf`[`Y]W`k`Yfhj`c``]ghž`XcW`
g]Y`YfÖZbYh`k]W`h][Y`8]g_i gg]cbYb`ØVYf`XYb`Ni [Ub[`ni
: i`b_h]cbYb`i` bX`X]Y`Ni`Zf]YXYb\Y]h`XYf`7ca`a`i`b]hm`8]Y`GhfUhY[]Y
j`cb`Gcbmž`\fY`DfcXi`_hY`ni`X]j`Yfg]Z]n]YfYbž`_ÖbbhY`Ui`Z`Ub[Y
G]W`h`gck`c`\`J`cf!`U`g`Ui`W`B`UW`hY]Y`a`]h`g]W`Vf]b[Yb"

· B 5;

8YhU]`g

6Ygi`W`Yb`G]Y`i`bg`Ui`Z`b!U["XY