

ł., "\$#1.\$ °` 446/(\$, 5")\$, %"ž#\$* ('ł., &ž* /

i` ł1.-, /\$

9L ABP@?B EBML@BARBP>RELOWA?VEB8L@LK)L>ALC9RFBP>KAEB8Q>BLC4BT 1BPVLOL?QKFD

fī ->@R10/8BK>B>KA 6Q.SLPO*LRK@ (MMS>I& SBO/KBT MLDGJ BNROBP?LQ C>R10/J BJ ?BOP>KA>K
>AJ IK

7LR0KBQHPPE >PQLFB >PL >BATTE MLDJ >KA @ROB >QKVJ P' @ROB KRJ ?BOKD" DOAFKDPVBJ P>KA
LEBOLMBOLK>I M @BAROPPE>II ?B>AJ KIPBA ?VCEB5CEBPLC(@ABJ F@(C>F' (@ABJ F@(ASFFKD" 80RABKQ
7B @AP' KPCOLK>I 7BPB>CE >KA EBPELLI LCEBLCCEBKBT MLDJ ~

fī 2@OLK&<

QPCRLK>I 7BFB>QE MMB>BPOBJ M>EPLOB>E >@ABJ F@MLDOJ >@LAKDQ EBQSB.VB>O@IBKA>O
9EBFBQMLQP>B >IFL K@RABA KQB *LLOAK>QP ~ +FB@QP>DOBJ BKO

Ł~ _UBCK>I >@BAFOQLK&9EB *LLOAK>QP>KA +FB@QP>DOBJ BKO>IFL @KQKPMQSHFLKPCQLPFB
MLDOJ PBPMLKPF?IBLOJ >KQKFKDBUBCK>I >@BAFOQLK~ 9EBFBML@BAROBPQBCK@BQ>O>DOBJ BKQLO
QBJ LPO@ROBKODRFBIFBP

3 LPOMLDOJ PT FI QNB>QEP@/QB" KLOKDMQOLAPLCBUMKFLK >KA @KO@QLK" DSBK FORABKOABJ >KA LOQB

† ~ O MBJ BKQ<OLK&6QDOJ G<@RIO/T LOHT FE EBAB>K'P >KAL EBO>AJ KIPQ>SB FBSF@PQ EJ MBJ BKQEB?BPO
@BAPFDK LMLK'P QCOEBMDOJ ~ 5MLKPJ >VIR@RAB 'RO>BKLOIF FBA Q° PROSBMKDJ >OBOBFB>@E QO
MDOJ ABJ >KAKAF@QP ABISBO/LMLKPLOPJ B@J ?K<OLK' ?BK@J >HKD@J MBOLOMDOJ PLO
@>KDBPK @RO@RI>O>KA BKQIJ BKQOBKAP >KA BSFT KDMBSLRP@KFRIGKOPY@MLOPQLOJ MDSBJ BKQ
@@J J BKA>OLKP 9EBAB>K'P T HI MDSFAB >FFFQK@BQ EB MDOJ FK >@QA>K@T FE EB 3 >PBO>KA >II
IL@>DOBJ BKQPK M>@AROKDEBMBOLA LCMDOJ @BAPFDK~

Ž ~ 8R?PQKOSB *E>KDB&@EB MDOJ @BAPFDK FKSLISBP>FR?PQKOSB @>KDB" EB G<@RIO >KAB>K T HI T LOHT FE
EB >MMQMF>B *LIIBDB LCF@PQ PBBH>MMS>I 'FB" 3 FAIB 8QBP 4BT 1BQBV +BM@Q BKQLC/ FEBO, AR@OLK
>KAI LO(O LCOEB 6BFABKOP*LRK@": MLK @NRBPOLOPR@>MMS>I" EB MDOJ *LLOAK>QO +FB@OLO
*LKSBBOT HI KLOV EB ->@RIO 8BK>BT FE >@M LCOEB @NRBPO EB AB>K T HI KLOV EB 6QSLPOP*LRK@ LC
P>J B~

ž ~ < LOHL>A& >@RIO/T HI @K@KRBQ @>@E FK >@QA>K@T FE @ROBKO>DOBJ BKQPAROKDEBQL ,FBJ BPOBOMBOLA
LCOBAPFDK~ @>MMQMF>B" FK,IL>A >FFDKJ BKQPT FE FK EB M@J BBOPLCBUPQKD>DOBJ BKQJ >V?BDO>KBA Q
G@FQ@EB EB @BAPFDK~

" ~ 3 LKFOQKD&+ROKD EB @P@FBJ BPOBOLCOBAPFDK MBOLA" EB MDOJ G<@RIO >KAB>K T HI J BBO>QIB>POLK@BQ
J LKFOCOEB J M@QLCOEB @BAPFDK BCOPLK L@BORKFP>KA Q KLOV >KV >@B@BA >@>PLCOEB *LIIBDB' ,
2B>@KRD" -FK>K@I (FA" (@ABJ F@ ASFPKD~

~ ,KQIJ BKQ+ROKD EB FB@KA FBJ BPOBOLCOEB @BAPFDK MBOLA" EB MDOJ G<@RIO >KAB>K T HI J BBO>QIB>PO
LK@BQ FBO>@BQ LOBKQIJ BKQ>KAKBT >MMF@OLK ABJ >KA Q B@ROK Q 6QDOJ 3 >K@BK>K@BPO@RP
8ELRIA EB MDOJ G@II ?BILT @BFB G@BQPT FE FK EB KBUCC L FBJ BPOBOP @EPM@BAROBKAP>KA G<@RIO
J BBOQ FE AB>K'P Q @K@FABOL@EBOLMLKP>S>F>?IB~

6QDOJ PQ>QE>SBAB@FKDKRJ ?BPLCBKQIIBA PRABKQ>KAI LO>@BUMB@BK@KDAB@B>FBA ABJ >KA QJ KBT
>MMF@KQ' >KAI LO> FDKF@KQ@>KDB FK EB @BIA LCPRAVE>SB EB LMLK Q FKFE@EPM@BAROBLOPRFMBKFLK ' >
LROBJ BPOBOMBOLA~

fī QF>QLK& FEBOMDOJ G@RIQ/LO>B>AB>K'P' J >VFKF>B>J BBOKDQ >K>IWBMBSLRPOBMLQPCQJ () ~
>?LSB' 9EBMDOJ *LLOAK>QO'+FB@OLO* LKSBBOT HI KLOV/EB (@ABJ F@6QDOJ P>KA 6I>KKFKD
*LJ J FQBB LCEB->@RIQ/8BK>B>?>LRQEPJ BBOKDQ OFKQO >QLK>I MROMLBP' 9EBAB>K'P' T HI KLOV/EB
6Q.SLPO>KA 6Q.SLPOP*LRK@ LCEPJ BBOKDQ OFKQO >QLK>I MROMLBP'

fī ; LB&6QDOJ G@RIQ/SLB?VFFJ MBJ >GQV/Q B@J J BKA MDOJ FRFMBKFLK Q EB>B>AB>K'P' ~ ~ @>
J >GQV/LCC>@RIQ/SLB QLOMDOJ FRFMBKFLK" QEPMD @BAROB >AS>K@BPQ EB +B>K'P' @>J >GQV/LCC>@RIQ/
AL KLOSLOB Q OFRFMBKFLK" QEPMD @BAROB BKAP' >KA G@RIQ/J BBOT FE AB>K'P' Q @KPFABOL EBOLMLKP
>S>H>?IB' 9EBMDOJ *LLOAK>QO'+FB@OLO* LKSBBOT HI KLOV/EB (@ABJ F@6QDOJ P>KA 6I>KKFKD
*LJ J FQBB LCEB->@RIQ/8BK>B>?>LRQEP LRO@J B Q OFKQO >QLK>I MROMLBP'

Ł (@BMDK@BLO7B@QLK&+B>K'P' J >VQB@OLO>@BMD> MDOJ G@RIQ/SLB FK G-SLOLCMDOJ FRFMBKFLK Q
EB 6Q.SLPO ~ @AB>K'P' >KA G@RIQ/AIP>DOB" QEPMD @BAROB BKAP' >KA AB>K'P' J BBOT FE G@RIQ/Q @KPFABO
L EBOLMLKP >S>H>?IB' 9EBAB>K'P' T HI KLOV/EB 6Q.SLPO>KA 6Q.SLPOP*LRK@ LCEPJ LRO@J B Q O
FKQO >QLK>I MROMLBP'

ł ~ 6Q.SLPO2BSBI&9EB 6Q.SLPOJ >V>@BMDLOB@> B@J J BKA>QLK QLOMDOJ FRFMBKFLK ~ @EB 6Q.SLPO
B@P@PEB B@J J BKA>QLK" EBAB>K'P' >KA G@RIQ/J BBOT FE EB 6Q.SLPO @KPFABOL EBOLMLKP >S>H>?IB'

ž ~ Q MBJ BKQ>QLK&C>II M@BP>DOBQ FRFMBKA EB MDOJ " EBAB>K'P' KLOV (AJ FFLKPO FRFMBKA B@RFKD
>KA KBT BKQ.IIJ BKQFK EB MDOJ " FBOKD>ARG>QLK?BQ BBK LKB X Q.ROFBJ BPOPT FEK T EFE Q B >
AB@FLK T HI ?BJ >AB?V EB 6Q.SLPO @KPFABO FE BO> BPOK Q 6QDOJ 3 >FKBK>K@B" >MCE Q
*LKPLIFA>QLK"LO>MCE Q 6QDOJ *ILPROB 'Q' ?BILT ~

ž ~ < LOHL>A&6QDOJ G@RIQ/T HI @KOKRBQ ZB>@ LRQ BNRFBAMDOJ @ROBP>KA @KAR@MB@BMDQ EB
QBJ >FKKDBKQ.IIBA QRABKQFK >@Q@>K@BT FE J >POT LOHL>A >KA @>PPFB>DOBBJ BKQFK M@BAROKDEB
MOLA LCFRFMBKFLK ~ -LOEBARG>QLK LCMDOJ FRFMBKFLK ' >J >UJ RJ LCC.ROFBJ BPOP" MDOJ G@RIQ/
T HI >IFL J BBOT FE AB>K'P' >KA (AJ FFLKPO B>@ >AB@FLK >J LKDEBLMLKPLROFKBA >?LSB'

-LOMDOJ PBUNBOBK@KD> @BAR@QLK FK BKQ.IIJ BKQ>KA I LOABJ >KA QJ KBT >MMF@KQ>KA I LOQ.OT EFE MDOJ
FRFMBKFLK IPKLO> SF>?IBLMLK" MDOJ @KPLIFA>QLK J >VQ.IILT EBFB MDO BPFILK&

• **1994**

M>E Q @KPLIFA>QK~ +ROKDEBARO>QKLCMDDOJ @KPLIFA>QK"MLDDOJ G@RIQ>KAE BAB>K'P' T HI >IPL
KLOVFRABKQLCEBFOLTKLMKPOJ >QRI>BKQ EB@KPLIFA>BAMDDOJ ~

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6QDDOJ PCE>QE>SBAB@KFKDKRJ ?BPLCBKQIIBA FRABKQ>KAI LO>B BUMBOK@KDAB@B>FBA ABJ >KACQJ KBT
>MMF@KCP' >KAI LO>FDKFE@KQCE>KDBFK EBGBIA LCPRAVE>SB EB LMLK Q FKFE>B EPM@BARO CLO@LPROB'

fĩ QFE>QK& EBOMDDOJ G@RIQ/LO>B> AB>K'P' J >VIFEB> J BOKDQ >K>IWBMBSLRPOBMLQPCQJ @
)~>?LSB~ 9EBMLDDOJ *LLQAK>QO+FB@OLO*LKSBKBOT HI KLOVEB (@ABJ F@6QDDOJ P>KA 6I>KKIKD
*LJ J F@BLLCEB->@RIQ/8BK>B>?LRCEPJ BOKDQOKQO >QK>I MROMLFBP' 9EBAB>K'P' T HI KLOVEB
6QSLPO>KA 6QSLPOP*LRK@LCEPJ BOKDQOKQO >QK>I MROMLFBP'

fĩ ; LQ&6QDDOJ G@RIQ/SLOB?VFEJ MBJ >GQVQ B@J J BKA MLDDOJ @LPROBQ EB>B> AB>K'P' ~@>
J >GQV/LCC@RIQ/SLOBLOMLDDOJ @LPROB' EPM@BARO >AS>K@PQ EB+B>K'P' @>J >GQV/LCC@RIQ/
AL KLOSLOBLO@LPROB' EPM@BARO BKAP' >KA G@RIQ/J BBOT FE AB>K'P' Q @KFABOLCEBOLMLK
>S>H>?IB~ 9EBMLDDOJ *LLQAK>QO+FB@OLO*LKSBKBOT HI KLOVEB (@ABJ F@6QDDOJ P>KA 6I>KKIKD
*LJ J F@BLLCEB->@RIQ/8BK>B>?LRCEPLRQJ BLOKQO >QK>I MROMLFBP'

t~ (@BMDK@LO7B@QK&+B>K'P' J >V@B@LO>@BMD> MLDDOJ G@RIQ/SLOB FK G-SLOLCMLDDOJ @LPROBQ
EB 6QSLPO ~@AB>K'P' >KA G@RIQ/AF>D@B' EBAB>K'P' KLOVEB 6QSLPOLCEPLRQJ B'

f~ 6QSLPOZBSBI&9EB 6QSLPOT HI @BOEBJ >@BOQ EB->@RIQ/8BK>B 6@PFABKQLOEB (@ABJ F@6QDDOJ P
>KA 6I>KKIKD@J J F@BQ ABIF?BO>B'

ž~ ->@RIQ/8BK>B ZBSBI&9EB (@ABJ F@6QDDOJ P>KA 6I>KKIKD@J J F@BTT HI J >H>B@J J BKA>QK Q EB
->@RIQ/8BK>BLO>SLOB' 9EB@FRICLCEB SLOBT HI ?B@KSBVBA Q EB 6QSLPO 9EBAB>K'P' T HI KLOVEB
6QSLPO>KA 6QSLPOP*LRK@LCEPLRQJ BLOKQO >QK>I MROMLFBP'

ž~ 6QSLPO>KA 6@PFABKQ+B@FLK&9EB 6QSLPOJ >V>@BMLQCB@> B@J J BKA>QK QLOMLDDOJ @LPROB'
9EB 6@PFABKQJ >V>@BMLQCB@> MIF@B SLOB' J >KQ>KIKDCK>I >RELQVLSBOEBAB@FLK'

" ~ +BQ#BBA 6I>K&C>MDDJ FQ @LFB"EB>@ABJ F@MDDJ G@RIQ/>KA AB>K T HI AG>C>ABQ#BBA M>K CLO
EBGRQB QIBLC>II G@RIQ/LOLEBOBJ MLVBBP@ROBKQV @KFFABBA Q ?BMAQLCE>QMLDJ ~K >AARLK"
EBMDDJ KLQBPEBFB BJ MLVBBPLCEB MLFF?HFV/E>CEB MDDJ J FDEO?B@LPBA"

(II M>OBPOB@DKVB EB @E@I FJ MLO>K@BLCEPM>K CLO>II G@RIQ/ (-9MLBFFLK>I FQ>C>KA EB
FDKFB@K@BLCKPRKDCE>CEBVT HI E>SB EB LMMLORRFV @K@KRB@KOF?ROKDQ EB J FFFLK LC
8Q@HLK *LIIBDB>CBO>KV CLO >I >@LKG>HBPM>E"

(KVG@RIQ/J BJ ?BOLOML BFFLK>I FQ>CJ BJ ?BOK FR@E >FR>OLK T HI E>SB EB LMMLORRFV"FK >@CA>K@B
T FE BBS>KQ@IIB@SB?>D>FKKD>DBJ BKQ'BFEBQ J LSBQ >KLEBOMDDJ LO>@ABJ F@RKOT FE >
FJ F>ORK@L K Q EB LKB?BFKME>FBA LRLOOQ >KLEBO>S>F>?IB MLFFLK >8Q@HLK *LIIBDB CLOT EFE
EBV>B NR>IFBA >CEB P>J BBSBI >PEBFO@ROBKOMLFFLK"

~ 4LCE@OLK& MLK B@PSKDEB M>K LRQKBA >?LSB"EB 6QSLPOFE>II KLCV>II >MMMLM>B>AJ FKPO>SB
LCE@PLCEB MDDJ @LFRB"FK@RAIKDEB 6BFABKQEB) L>A LC9RFBP(@ABJ F@C>FP>KA 6I>KKKD
*LJ J FQB"(AJ FFFLK"(@ABJ F@ASFKD"-FK>K@I (FA"/RJ >K 7BPLRQBP"AB>KP>KA G@RIQ/LCLEBO
>CEBA >@ABJ F@MDDJ P'7BDFPO>KA @P@R@LK>I 7BFB>E"

%)L>A LC9RFBP+B@FFLK&(CBOEB) L>A LC9RFBP>HBPF@PAB@FFLK >?LROMDDJ @LFRB"EB
6QSLFOKLQBPEB(@ABJ F@FRBP*LJ J FQBLCEB 6BFABKQ*LRK@"

fV' <LOHL>A&6QDDJ G@RIQ/T HI @K@KRBQ ZB>@LRQ @NRFBAMDDJ @ROBP>KA @KAR@MB@BMKDQ
EBBJ >FKKDBKQIIBA PRABKQFK >@CA>K@BT FE J >PBOT LOHL>A >KA @>PPFVB >DBJ BKQFK M>B
AROKDEB MOLA CLOT EFE PRABKQBJ >FK BKQIIBA"