

မုဒိမ်းကျင့်ခွင့် လိုင်စင်



မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ၊ ရှမ်းပြည်နယ်တွင် ဖြစ်ပွားနေသော စစ်ပွဲဒဏ်း
မြန်မာစစ်အစိုးရ အဆုံးပြုလျက်ရှိသည့်
လိင်အကြမ်းဖက်မှု

မုဒိမ်းကျင့်ခွင့်လိုင်စင်

မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ၊ ရှမ်းပြည်နယ်တွင် ဖြစ်ပွားနေသော စစ်ပွဲအတွင်း
မြန်မာစစ်အစိုးရအသုံးပြုပလ္လင်ရုံရှိသည့်
လိင်အကြမ်းဖက်မှုနှင့် ပတ်သက်သည့်
အစီရင်ခံစာ

ရှမ်းလူ့ အခွင့်အရေးမဏ္ဍိုင်

နှင့်

ရှမ်းအမျိုးသမီးရေးရာ ဆက်သွယ်ဖလှယ်လှုပ်ရှားဆောင်ရွက်ရေးအသင်း

၂၀၀၂ ခုနှစ် မေလ။

မုဒိမ်းကျင့်ခွင့်လိုင်စင် အစီရင်ခံစာကို မူရင်းအင်္ဂလိပ်ဘာသာမှ မြန်မာဘာသာ ပြန်ဆိုပေးသော နိုင်ငံရေးအကျဉ်းသားများ
ကူညီစောင့်ရှောက်ရေးအသင်း မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ (AAPP) အား ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ရှမ်းအမျိုးသမီးရေးရာ ဆက်သွယ်ဖလှယ်လှုပ်ရှား
ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးအသင်း (SWAN) မှ ကျေးဇူးဥပကာရတင်ရှုပါကြောင်း မှတ်တမ်းတင်အပ်ပါသည်။

rnwLm

tEšctšyf 5

ed gēf 9

aemutlbrlīf 11

&šfjynī. onlīEShēllīh&;aemuch- 11
 &šfvēt zēt pnf t wōf usm; -r qll &mt cefu 3/4 ES hrk d fusi jci f

tay: t p0ft vmoabmxm; wēpēf rsm; - 12
 jynī wōf p p t Ešāv; q, lūmv t wōf vīlīlīt -urfzurfsm; - 13
 &šfjynīt wōf wīrlīvmon ppybōf jci f - 15

pplvuēuīwpcīt zpīcīlyxm; onlīrkd fusi jci f 15

t pīt p0lūs. Eš hūs, lūs, jye pēf ut; vēčbnlīrkd fusi l rsm; - 15
 rkd f r ut; vēčbnlīpīwīft & m & l rsm; - 16
 rkd fusi cēlyd t r d r sm; t m; aemulwēp u h d jye f jci f / ow / zw jci f - 17
 t jyp l w l rkd fusi jci f 18
 p p l w y p c e f r sm; t wōf rkd fusi jci f 18
 rkd fusi kē & nē g tsujziliquvutēyā Eš h rsm; 19
 t jyp l ut; vēčbrsm; ulw & m; p b l r & jci f Eš h w l l w e f o r sm; ul t jyp l y jci f 19

rkd fusi k jci f t ay: cēllīf yllīlīrlvmaponlīpīy bōf rsm; 22

t wīf t "r d j y m i f a & e & m c s x m; j c i f 22
 ± h o m; r sm; t wīf t "r d j y m i f a & e & m c a e p 0 f t wōf rkd fusi jci f 23
 jye v n h e & m c s x m; o n h ' o t j y i b u w l f a w b o l t r d r sm; t m; rkd fusi jci f 23
 jye v n h e & m c s x m; o n h ' o r sm; t wōf t r d r sm; t m; rkd fusi jci f 25
t wīf t "r k t v l y c l l f a p j c i f 26
 t wīf t "r k a y: w m c l l f a p j c i f 26
 t wīf t "r k l l f a p r y p h r sm; 28
 p p l w y l p p a q; a & * w r sm; 28
 v h l v n b h; v m a e o n h u i f v h l w y z e r sm; / w m 0 e c h t u i f r h e j c i f 29

rkd fusi k l y l v w h j r m u l v m o l r sm; 29

± k y l l f q l l & m u e f r m a & ; x d l l r sm; 29
 p l w y l l f q l l & m u e f r m a & ; x d l l r sm; 30
 r b m; p k Eš i v r t 0 e f t 0 l l f. u h h x m u y h t _ 31
 Eš x y u f t j y p l % rkd fusi k l y l a e m u f t j y p l w i t e j c i f Eš h i i f y, e j c i f 31
 rkd fusi k l y l a e m u f a e & m a j y m i f a & j c i f 33
 x l l f Eš h h t wōf t u m t u g l t u l t n d u i f r j c i f 33
 Eš x k v c l r _ t Eš h m, f 34

viylifqil&mt=urzfur/Eliflvum&mZowr_ 35

viylifqil&mt=urzfur_t;m;ziEypuhDyefjci f 36

viylifqil&mt=urzfur_t;m;ziivrs\$wppyt ofa qmiapjci f 37

viylifqil&mt=urzfur_t;m;ziivrobmOw&m; tay: &mZowr ut;vejci f 38

viylifqil&mt=urzfur_t;m;ziipp&mZowr ut;vejci f 41

rk ifr_t wufwmOe&bnit relay;neum;ji f 42

eflcsylESht)ulycsufrsm; 42

aemuquwfrsm; - 46

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т р & и с т р и ц и я

Т т р & и с т р и ц и я в т р & и с т р и ц и я; Е ш р е ф у а в; и, ф с м; п р о л а г а т ь 625 а, м у л т и м е д и а & с т р & и с т р и ц и я; т а y: j r e m p p l w y f r s; r s & s f j y n f t w o f y t " u t m; j z i h 1996 c e p r s 2001 c e p r t = u m; u d; v e f c b n l r k d f r r s; E s h t r s t r a o m v i l l i t = u r z u r a y g i 173 r w e s i y w o u l l t a o; p w f r s w r f w i f x m; y g o n? T a e & m w o f t r s t r o d t r s m; p b o n i r k d f u s i c i j c i f. a e m u q u i w b j z p a y; v m r n h t r n i p u a = u m i h, i f w e v i l l i t = u r z u c b r r s; u l l o w i f a y; w i l f u m; c i f r a y - u o n u l l v n f r s w o m; o i y g o n? x l t y i f & s f j y n f w o f v e t c e f t a & c d a z m u l o w i f r s; u l l x l l = r e r m e, p y o d i a & m u c i l l m - u a o m ' u o b n r s; . a y m y c s u r s; a - u m i b o m & s f v l t c e f t a & r A l l u p a q m i f o e l l c i f z p a o m a - u m i h T t p & i c t p m w o f r s w r f w i f x m; a o m u e f * % e f t c s u f t v u f r s; r h t r e w u, l z p l y u b c b n h t a & t w u b x u f v e p h e n f a e y g v t r n?

Т т р & и с т р и ц и я в j r e m p p t p l t a e j z i h & s f j y n & s v h p w i l f i f o m; j y n b o r s; t m; t = u r z u v u a t m u c b o o w b o f i f e f t v e f g, i f. p p l w y f r s; t m; t p o t p o c s l u s, l u s, f j y e f e z i h r k d f r r s; u l l u d; v e f c e f a y; v u o b n u l l a z m b x k w w i f y x m; y g o n? p p & m Z o w f r s; / v l v t s i f p m e a x m u x m; r r & b o n & m Z o w f r s; o n f v i l l i f o l l & m t = u r z u r _ y b 3/4 m e f z i h & s f j y n f t w o f j z p y f n; c h = u m i f / q u v u l l v n i j z p y f n; a e a = u m i f u l l T t p & i c t p m u u o f u o f u l u l u f a z j y x m; y g o n?

& s f j y n b v x k t m; q e u s i & e f j r e m p p l w y f r s t d p p o m; r s; t m; " r k d f u s i c i f u l l p p l v e u f o z g ' w & m; O i f t o l y c e f a y; x m; o n b i l l m o m o u a o t a x m u f t x m; r s; u l l T t p & i c t p m w o f w i f y x m; y g o n? & s f t r & i c t r o d t r s m; t m; r k d f u s i c i f o n i j r e m p p t p l t. o l y e f q e f u s i a & p p q i v y & s; r r s; . t p l v f t y l l i w c k t j z p l c e l u l u p p o b x m; a o m e n f A s [m w d j z p o n r n a y; v o f a e a = u m i f j y o a e y g o n? T t p & i c t p m w o f j r e m p p t p l t. w y & i f (52) & i f r s p p o m; r s; u u d; v e f c h o m t r r s; u l l t a o; p w f t c s u f t v u f r s; j z i h r s w i r f w i b a z j y x m; & m r k d f r t m; v l l 83 & m c l l E f r n t & m & s r s; r u d; v e f c i j z p y f / r k d f r t r s; p l u l l, i f w e p p o m; r s; . a & s a r n u l w f u d; v e f c i f j z p o n? r k d f r r s; t j y i f t j c m; & u p u v e f a o m v l y & y f r s; u l l u d; v e f c m O y r m t m; j z i h & l u E s u j c i f / u l l f t * f r s; u l l v p p j z w a w m u j c i f E s h t o u & s u y a t m i v y j c i f p o n h v l y & y f r s; y o i y g o n? r k d f u s i c i o l 25 & m c l l E f r n a o q o n f t x j z p c l y d t c t r r s; w o f r e f u a v; . u l l t E m t a v m i f u l l a ' o c k y e b v x j r i E l l a t m i w r i & n e f g l u m j y o x m; o n u l l a w & o n? r k d f r r s; . 61 & m c l l E e f r n t l y p k u l u D i l f o e f l r k d f u s i c i j c i f j z p o n? x l b r k d f u s i c i m Y t r s t r o d t r s m; t m; p p l w y p c e f r s; t w o f w o r k d f u s i c i j z p y d t c t r s t r o d t r s m; q l y g u a v; v t x c s y a E s h i c t l y d t c e l u m v = u m j r i p o n t j u r t u r r k d f u s i c i j c i f j z p o n? r s w i r f & & m; o n h t j z p t y s u p p a y g i 173 c k l w o f t r w p c l o m v # f r k d f r u d; v e b o l t m; , i f. t x u f t & m & l u t a & ; l t j y p a y; d o n? t r s m; t m; j z i h w l l w e f o l w & m; v l r s; o n i p p l w y f r s ' % a i v y j c i f / z r l q c k y a E s h i x m; j c i f / E y p u n d y e f j c i f u l l o n i t j y i f t c e l u l l # f t o w y i c h c h u & y g o n?

E l l i h a w m a t; c r f o m, m a & E s l z a & a u m i p d t r n t h v u & j r e m p p t p l t r s & s f j y n f t w o f p p l y c o f i c i f r s; / a o m i f u e f o b e f u s i a & p h t s u r s; u l l w l c s y a q m i a e a = u m i h & s f t r s t r o d t r s m; r h r k d f u s i c i r r s; u l l c k l u m u g e l l p e f y l l u i r k m a e y g o n? & s f j y n f t w o f p p l w y f w y i f t a & t w u b o n i 1988 c e p l u x u b h q e l y g r # w l v m a e o n? r k d f u s i c i r _ t j z p t y s u f t r s; p o n i f & s f j y n f t v, j y l l a ' o w l j z p y d 1996 c e p r s l r v a e x l l & m t & y f r s; r s

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 t&cu&f t&ch&sm;u&ll&n&f u&h&f&w&p&w&v&mr&&f&if&w&u&um&i&h , if&w&u&h&w&e±&on&lit ±&y&f&f&f/ p&v&f&f&f
 q&ll&mt&aj&t&ae&rm;u&ll&n&f av&v&ma&z&m&lx&w&xm;y&gpn? r&k&f&u&si&f&n&u&f&olt c&f&on&i , if&w&e
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 t&aw&m&f&rm;rn&f r&k&f&u&si&f&n&u&f&ae&mu&f&f&f x&ll&E&ll&f&z&ub&f&u&ay;&e&f q&f&z&w&v&u&u&aw&mb&on?
 o&e&mw&f x&ll&E&ll&f&v&n&f &&f&'ub&n&f&rm;u&llt o&f t r&sw&f&xm;j&ci&f&r&&oma&u&um&i&h , if&w&e&t w&u&f
 um&u&g& f&p&mi&h&&h&u&f/ v&obm;cs&f&pm&em&ax&mu&xm;on&lit ult n&&E&ll&f&n&lit c&f&lit v&r&f&E&h t)u&ay;
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nDyejci/ tuOf&P&ijci/ tp&bnw&kywe&e?

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um rom;p&ESjyevn&ayifpni&E&eft w&uf vlt yonht ajctaersm;ul t vlt avmu&elw&ay;
&el ,ifw&elyevnDi&amu&exll&E&a&;ult axmuft u&yE&eft w&uf vbm;csi&pmem&xmuft
xm;a&aqmi&E&ub&sm;t; v&ll t qdtwm;r&bnw&lyll&E&fsm;ul&G&y&el txlojzih e, pyf
a'orsm;Y tr&or&sm;ESluav;oli, fsm;t; var&ni&tl&laeony\ emsm;ul&j&S&f&e?

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ed get

T t p & i c p m u l l & s f v e t c o f i t a & ; r 3 4 n i (SHRF) t r s l o r d a & ; x m e E s h & s f t r s l o r d a & ; & m q u b g i y a y g i a q m i e l u a & ; t o i f (SWAN) w l e s t a y g i f o l a w o e y w i j y d c i j z p y g o n ? & s f v e t c o f i t a & ; r 3 4 n i b o n i j r e m p p f t p l e r s & s f j y n i t w o i u s ; v e c h o m r k d f r t y g t O i f v e t c o f i t a & ; c l a z m u f r r m ; E s j y w o u l l t a o ; p w f s w i v r i w i x m ; o n h v p o b w i f v i r m ; u l l 1997 c e p f u w n f u a & ; o m ; x l w a 0 c l y g o n ? 1999 c e p f w o f i & s f v e t c o f i t a & ; r 3 4 n i b o n i j r e m p p l w y f s t a y g e p f t w o i u s ; v e c h o m r k d f r r m ; E s j y w o u l l a z m j y x m ; o n h p m t y i i , l v p f t l y u l l j r e m b m o m j z i h & ; o m ; x l w a 0 c l o n ? & s f t r s l o r d a & ; & m q u b g i y a y g i a q m i e l u a & ; t o i f r s t z e i f r m ; o n h n f & s f j y n i t w o i t r s l o r d r m ; t a y : p p f t p l e r s t u r f z u a e r _ t r m ; t j y m ; & a e j c i f E s h y w o u l l y d c o n e p r m ; t w o i u E l l i l l v u m n d v m c h r m ; w o i w i j a y m q d l u y g o n ? o l e m w o f v r s h a ' o r m ; Y j r e m p p f t p l e u s ; v e l v u a & o m v i l y i l f q l l e m t p d t p o c s n d i y e f E y p u f r m ; t a j r m u f t j r m ; & a e o n g j c i f u l l E l l i l l v u m v e t o e f t o l l i t a e j z i h , c k u y l i b e t m e l p l u v m a p e f t w o i u y l l y n p l u s , j y e o n i t p & i c p m v p a p m i u l l o y p l e v l t y a e a u m i f x i e n ; v m d y g o n ?

E l l i l l v u m t o l l i t o l l i t a e j z i h E l l i l l a & ; t o g l u a j y m i f r o l e O d w n l v m o a , m i x i e a o m j z p a y : w l w u f u u n i u m p p f t p l e t a y : z d t m ; a y ; r r m ; a v s m e n i v m o n h r u m a o ; r u t & y l v u e o m r m ; a u m i h j r e m E l l i l l v o f q u v u j z p y o ; a e o n j y n l w o i p p l u w i l f i f o m ; v r s h o r m ; / t x l o j z i h t r s l o r d r m ; t a y : Y r n i f t u s t o u a & m u x d l u r & a e o n u l a z m i x l w e l u p o n i , c i x u y l l t a & ; w j u l v l t y l v m a e y g o n ? e , p y a ' o r m ; o l e t j y i f t y r s t z e t p n i r m ; o n h a m u t c o l l u d q u v u i e l o w a e j c i f E s h o w i f v w y c o l l o r & i f w e j r e m E l l i l l a r s h o r m ; t a y : w o i t p d t p o c s q u v u z e y a e o n j y m % t j y n i t p l u l p p f t p l e t a e j z i h u g b x m ; E l l a e o n ? T o l e q u v u j z p a y : a e o n j y m % E e f x m ; u l l u g b x m ; j c i f t m j z i h p p f t p l e u j y n l w o i p p l t a l o w f & e f t a & ; w j u l v l t y c s u l l n f a u m i f / w i l l j y n l t e m * w f t w o i u a w e l q q a E & m w o f v r s h o k t z e t p n i r m ; t m ; y g i c o l y & e l u l n f a u m i f E l l i l l v u m t o e f t o l l i t a u m ; w o i f & n e g c s u e g j z i h a r s e z k z k m ; j c i f y i j z p y g o n ?

t p & i c p m w o i j r e m p p l w y f s u s ; v e c h o n h v i l y i l f q l l e m t u r f z u f r m ; / T u b l e o m t r r m ; u s ; v e c h o w e l l t a & ; , l t j y p a y ; E l l r n h O y a ' v y i l e p o r m ; j y e l v n a z m a q m i e l v l t y c s u i p o n i w e l l a z m i x l w i w i y x m ; & w i f u b l r k d f u s i c h u l u o r m ; t a e j z i h , c k l t r m ; c h b x m ; o n h u s m ; r q e m ; r o a b m x m ; t j r i r m ; t & y w d e f u s i t o l l i t o l l i r s a o z e j y p l w i e b r r m ; t y g t O i f , i f w e i q l l u w a o n h j y \ e m r m ; u l l n f a v l v m a z m i x l w e l u d y r f x m ; y g o n ?

T t p & i c p m t w o i o w i f t c s u f t v u r m ; u l l & s f v e t c o f i t a & ; r 3 4 n i (SHRF) E s h & s f t r s l o r d a & ; & m q u b g i y a y g i a q m i e l u a & ; t o i f (SWAN) w l e 2001 c e p f Z E l l g a v r s 2002 c e p f r w l t w o i p a q m i f c i j z p y g o n ? x l t c e l u m v t w o i Y t r s l o r d 28 O d w e t m ; x l l j r e m e , p y w o f S H R F o l [l w i S W A N t z e s t z e i r m ; / v m ; [l t r s l o r d r m ; t z e s t z e i r m ; u T t p & i c p m y p l e f t w o i a w e l a r j r e f d u y g o n ? x l w e l a r j r e f r r m ; u l l T t p & i c p m . a e m u f q u l v p c i t j z p f r i f t w o i j y e l v n a z m j y x m ; y g o n ? t j c m ; a o m j z p & y i 145 c k n v p o b x l w f S H R F o w i f v i r m ; r s p a q m i f x m ; j c i j z p y g o n ? , i f t j z p f t y u r m ; u l l t a o ; p w a z m j y r x m ; y g u m , u l l s i r m ; t a y : v i l y i l f q l l e m t u r f z u f _ t u s t o u a & m u x d l u a p r r m ; u l l n f

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w&fwh&bnl& c&lit a&;rsm;yll&&eft w&uf jre&mt p&ES&aq&a&E&f&ef &fvhrsm;ESh tjcm;aomvr&pac&fa&qm&fsm;. u&yr&r&t m;v&onl 1962 c&E&f&f& A&w&cy&ae&O&f&O&aq&mi&aom pp&lv&y&r&st m%mo&f&yl u&w&w&v&f &w&v&u&w&y&w&e&on;ck&yon? x< c&f&pl pp&ft p&&t qu&f qubni t m%mu&ly&evn&ay;ty&E&ji&i&q&e&y&dl w&ll&jyn&ub&qu&v&ut&yp&cbn? 1990 jym&E&f& a&ll&aum&uy&w&f a':at m&ib&elp&un&O&aq&mi&bnl&r&om;'&v&L&a&p&dt z&E&ly&v&f &fvhrsm; 'v&L&a&p&dt z&E&ly&f SNLD onl w&PEliif&w&v&f v&w&v&w&ul p&m;v&\$ &e&m 'kv&d trsm;qh &&om&vnf x&ll&f&aum&uy&v'ul&t&od&r&sv&yl&em&ef pp&lv&y&f&f&q&e&ayon? x< c&f&pl tjcm;aom t w&uf t&cy&v&t z&oirsm;enf&w&y&f SNLD t z&oirsm;on&vnf enf&tr&oz&i&h a&E&uf, S&j&cif&ul&ck&on?

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vlyāqmī&y) t f t j y i b u E S j y w b u v # i a & x r f j c i f / p m ; y i ā o m u y i p l u y s j c i f E S h q v c t
j c i f w e u l v n f v y ā q m i f u & o n ?

a, b; st m ; j z i h t r š l o r s m ; t m ; a p s w e f [i f o D [i f ± u E S h t j c m ; u k e y p h r s m ; a & m i f c a e - u
onūll jriāwēōjzih , ifwēbnī rōm;pōiāiūllwē; kēfōtē&onī[k x i p & m & a o m v n f
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aiā&a;u;a&u; p r s m ; E S j y w b u i l t " u q l z w t c s u r s m ; c s s w o n f r s v n f a , m u š n ; r s m ; o m
jzpbayon? (ar;ykk(u)ē) &sfpum;yīwvpcwēf yēōnīt wēf "rēf)u; p k e i f a , m u š n ; j z p b o l
t a u ō w i r n ?

&sfvhrētrsm;plbnī Al b m o m O i r s m ; j z p u y d) b m o m a & ; " a v x k p h r s m ; u v n f v l e t z e t p n f w e f
tršlōr w e v u a t m u c b o u l y h v e f t m ; a y ; v u & y g n ? b l e f a w m i u r s m ; o n i & y e h
t w u b o m o m a & ; y b t c r f t e m ; y b r f o b i f s m ; Y t " u u s o h r s m ; j z p h y d a , m u š n ; r s m ; u o m v # i f
x l u b e [e f i y i l c i b a y & m a , m u š n ; r s m ; o n i b m & y e h . ± n h h a v ; p m ; r E S h e z m t m % o m
t a w m f s m ; r s m ; u l l c p m ; a e & y g n ? t r š l o r s m ; t w e f o l v & s f t j z p c h E i l h o m j i m ; v n f o l v & s f
[b n f b l e j u d x u e h u s o n i [b w f r s v a o m a ± u m i f r s m ; a o m t m ; j z i f ± u n h h a v ; p m ; r r & u y g

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ausmīYvnf uēiftjzpcē bnā, mušn;av;rsm;uomōif, cōēāyon? &sfjyn&ēt cēhōm
aus±fōrsm;wēf , ae&kuwvāt mīf xuygt wēf jzpbēygn? T t c s u l u x m u l v # i f o r d
rēf u a v ; [b n i t t f ā x m i f u r n f y l v # u a v ; t a r j z p h n q b n h y h o , b c s u E S t q u p y f
± n e i l b n f r s r o m ; p k t a w m f s m ; r s m ; o n i o m ; a , m u š n ; a v ; r s m ; . y n m a & ; u l l y i l O p m ; a y ; o n f
q l b n i t " y g b u a & m u y g n ?

tqifit wēf t m ; j z i h v u a t m u c j z p o n i t m ; a v s p h t r š l o r [b n i t r s m ; o l i g & s w e f A a E N
& j z i h o r t a r e a e x l l r n f [l l v u b k m ; ± u y d t r š l o m ; r s m ; u l l e [l w b l v u r x y c i f t x d
u m a r o k p p m & u l l a & n i f u o h p m i k e f ± u y g n ? v u r x y f d t y p i b o q h e o l t r š l o r s m ;

t m; 'q&f (r) wll ' o [kw' t' ysuf' [ll ac: a0: uum t raxmi ty Dr: s v l r u p l u s; v& b o u l l
v n f w p l v a, m u l t w i l t u y l y r a u m i j z p l y s u t k o n h w l a t m i f O i f o e j y p l w i a O z e a v & s
y g n? r r w l v r t O e f t O i f r y p i w i a O z e f n u l l p l & f y e b o n p w l u y i f r k d f u s i t k o l t r s f
o r d r m; t m; r r w l v t j z p f t y s u l u y e l v n b i j m i j c i f r i y & e f [e l v m; y w l y i v l u j c i j z p l y g n?

o l m w l f r k d f a u m i f r m; t m; t j y p a y; E l l & e f t w l u f a u s v u a e & s f t r s l o r d r m; t a e j z i h t m; u l l
t m; x m; y E l l b o n h & s f " a v k l w r f q l l & m O y a ' t & t a &; , r r m; , c i u & s l y g n? j z p l y m; o n h
t r r m; u l l a u s & f i v j u l d r m; a & s f r i u i v l i p p a q; u m t u, l l t j y p & s u m i f a w & q u u l; v& b l
o n f u m, u l l s f t r s l o r d r m; , i f. r l o r m; E s h a u s & f i v j u l d r m; t m; ' % b i f a y; a q m i & r n j z p b n?
r k d f u s i t k o l t r s l o r d r m; t a e j z i h , i f w l t r u l l j r e f m E l l i j y p f q l l & m O y a ' t & w & m; p & i f a y; & e f
t w l u f o r e, l v & m; & s f r m; o l v n f a v # u x m; w i j y E l l b o n h t c i f i t a &; & s l y g n? (t q l y O y a ' t &
r k d f r t w l u y p l % f t j z p l a x m i f % f 10 E p f t x d s v E l l a y o n?)

x l e u m i h v i l t u r z u f r m; E s l y w b o u l # f t r s l o r d r m; t w l u f O y a ' a u m i t & t u m t u & f
a y; E l l b o n h i m e f c u r m; & s l o n i f [q E l l y g n? o l m w l f w & m; O y a ' u l y r m r x m; a o m p p f p l &
a u m i h , i f O y a ' r m; o n f w p x u i w p a y m u f y u a r s r e c k o n? T t p & i t c p m w l f y g a o m r k d f r
j z p o f t a j r m u f t j r m; u l l v l v m u n h # f r k d f u s i t k o l t r s l o r d r m; o n f " a v k l w r f
t & , i f w l t r l o r m; E s h a u s & f i v j u l d r m; x l e u m i h a & m u l w i l l w e f j c i f j z i h r r w l v e y e f t O e f t O i f
t w l u f Y w & m; r # v r u l l k a z & e f u d m; c l u a o m i v n f t q l y a ' o r m; w l u s i t k a e o n h j r e f m p p f
t p l &. t u l f r i t m % m a u m i h b o m w p t k r # t & m r x i j z p t k l y g n?

**& s f j y n j y n i w l f i p p f t E p a v; q, l u m v t w l f v l y l i t u r z u f r m; E s l i t j y n j y n q l l & m
O y a ' a 0 g [m & t o l t E e f r m;**

T t p & i t c p m w l f y l o b o n h i c m u E p l u m v t w l f j r e f m p p l w y r s u t; v& b o m r k d f r r m; E s l y w l
o u l l a z n j y x m; o n b w i l t c s u f t v u f r m; u l l p o n f w i j y x m; j c i j z p b n? o l m w l f 1950 j y n h
v& b e m u y l i E p f r m; Y v r s t a w m l v& b a; t i f t m; p r m; t m; j r e f m p p l w y r s p p q i a &; r m; p w i f
y v l y l o n h t c e l u w n f u & s f j y n i w l f v i l t u r z u f r m; o n f t E p a v; q, f t w l f r q e f
a w m b o n h t j z p f t y s u f r m; j z p a e y g n?

j y n i w l f i p p z p l y m; a e o n h t a j c t a e a u m i h j r e f m p p l w y r m; t z e t j y p l u s t n h t a &; p l & f e r v l o l
a ' o c l v r s p k t r s l o r d r m; t a y: v i l t u r z u f r m; u t; v& b e f v l i p i & & p d y g n? t r s l o r d
r m; o n f a w m l v& b a; u l l u h y l l a e o r m; j z p b o n q b o n h t j r i f t & , i f w l u l w & m; O i f t u r z u f
u t; v& b & r n l y p f s w r m; t j z p b o w r s v c h y o n? v l y l i f q l l & m t u r z u f w l f b u p l n e & e s u f
r m; v n l y & m w l f a ' o c l v x k t m; e r f a j c m u j c i f j z i h , i f w l u l e m c h v l v # v m a p & e f t w l u f o m r u
b l , i f w l e w y f r m; u & e b l o m; r, m; r m; t a y: r n f # v m u f t x d j u l p l v s f r i E l l b o n h u l l u u f; v l
x l v l u j c i f t m; j z i h a w m l v& b a; t i f t m; p r m; u l l t & s u i w u j z p a p j c i f / p w l ' m w l u s q i f a p j c i f
p o n h n e & e s u f r m; u l l y g v l y a q m i E l l a v o n? x l y i v n f w l u t l u a e a o m, i f w l e w y f r m;
t w l u y g q l v m' f t j z p f t o k s v l u j c i f j z p a y o n?

v r s l u y m; r t a u m i f i f o n i v n f t u r z u f j z p E l l b o n h t v m; t v m u l l q l O g a p & m p p f
t p l & t a e j z i h v r s l y n e, f r m; w l f t j c m; a o m w l l i f o m; r m; y o i b o n h i f w l e w y f r m; u l l w r i f
w u m y i f & n e & e s u & s x m; c b n? p p l w y u l l a ' o c l v x E s u i f u h a t m i l y v l y c i f / O g j z e l e s t
r m; y v l y u m A r m t r s l o m; a &; p w l ' m w l u h j r m u y i f a y; a e j c i f w l e u m i h a ' o c l v r s l y n b r m;
t a y: v l y l i f q l l & m t u r z u f j c i f t y g t O i f t u r z u f r m; u l l y l l a y; & m a & m u l y g n?

T t p&i c&bm w& f&zm j&xm; aom y d& b n h j c m u E s f i t w i j z p l y s u b n h r k d f r E s h t j c m; v i d y i f t a r i z u r r s m; u l l a t m u f y g t w i l f t u o f c k y a v l v m E l l a y o n?

cEšf	t raygř	reřuav;0ř& (ceř&ř)	trřřor0ř& (ceř&ř)	jzplyř;cbnř' o
1996	5	4	6	5 ře, f
1997	30	25	157	11 ře, f
1998	30	18	38	13 ře, f
1999	26	17	71	13 ře, f
2000	33	13	69	17 ře, f
2001	44	15	186	17 ře, f
pplaygř	168	92	527	

2001 cEšft w i j z p l y ř; c h o m r k d f r t a & t w l u E s h r k d f u s i c k o n h ř e ř u a v; E s h t r ř o n d t a & t w l u u n i v ř i f u e c b n E s f r s m; u x u y l r r s m; j y m; v m o n i u l w e l l a y o n? T t c s u l l a v l v m u n i r n b q u & ř i j n f t w i f y '**i d f c s t a &**;' j y e l v n & & e y g l l p p t p l r ř a j m q l e a o m v n f , i f w e w y r s m; t a e j z i h t & y o m; j y n b r s m; t a y; w i l e t c ě i t a & c k z m u r r s m; u l l , c i k u y l r e f x m; j r i l u m q u l v u l u t; v e ř e u a u m i f a w e l l a y o n?

T t p&i c&bm w& f&zm j&xm; o n h r k d f r t j z p t y s u r s m; w i j r e f m p p l w y f. w y & i f p l a y g ř **igq, Ešf** c k s w y z e s m; y o i y w o u t b o n g ě i r n v n f t a & ; u l o n h t c s u j z p l y o n i (a e m u q u l w i 4 u l l u n i y g)? , i f o n f r k d f u s i j c i f u l l j r e f m p p l w y & & m x l t q i l t m; v l r s u b c k m; o n q h o m p w d i p m; z ě ě a u m i f o n h t a x m u f t x m; w p c k y i j z p o n?

rk dfr us; v e c b n h p l w y f t & m & ř s m;

rk d f u s i j c i f t m; p p l w y f t m % m y l l r s m; u c ě l y x m; o n b g ě i f u l l x i & ř; a p o n h t c s u l v p c s u f r i T t p & i c & b m Y g & b o n h r d f r r s m;. 83 & m o l l E e f o n i a t m u l w i f a z m j x m; a o m r k d f r u s; v e c b o r s m; p m & i f w i g y & b o n h t w i l f w y f u y f t q i l r s A l l r ; t q i l t y g t O i f p p l w y f t & m & ř s m; u u s; v e c c h u o n g b o n h t c s u l y i j z p o n?

t q i l t w e ř	us; v e c b o n h r k d f r t a & t w l u f
'w y r ; S t & m & ř (t q i l t c m; r x m;)	48
A l l r ;	14
A l l j u d	63
A l l i	5
w y f u y l u d	6
w y f u y l	3
pplaygř	139

T r k d f r t r s m; p k (8 5 %) j z p l y s u b n h r k d f r t a & t w l u f t & m & ř p o b n i t j c m; a o m w y l o m; r s m; E s h t w l **w m 0 e f x r ř a q m i h e p 0 f** j z p l y d , i f. u s; v e c b o n h t & e l v n f v l d u d p m; j c i r r y d y g p i p p t m; j z i l x l l

t&m&zpblonf rkdfusi&co(rsm;)uH ,if. wyfom;rsm;vub&vuf&y;vUjci f omjzplyd
tr&or&t m; Oif&Oeif rkdfusi&u&eb&vUjci f o [kwfow&eb&vUjci f omjzplygon?

touf 18 Ep/ 21 Ep/ 24 Ep&to&lo&u&aom tr&or&lo&lonf ,ifw&ex&ll&m
rllfqw&re, / ygqwf&aus&h&taemubu&E&f&ll&t&u&h um;vrf tel&8 awmx&lv&f
xif&h&aep&OY cr& 359 rs wyfom; 80 ce&u ,ifw&ll&t m; zrf&q&ump&paq; ar;jre&f&lonf
c%r#umaomf Al&jud&x&e&f&aus&miu ti, b&h re&f&uav;t m;tel&8&v&v&w&x&b&h
ac:aqmif&lonf;umrk&df&usi&lonf x&hemu&lv&f use&f&r&or&rsm;u&lv&nf ,if. vu&at&mu&f
t&m&f&sm;ol&y;um ,ifw&ll&t m;rk&df&usi&u&eb&jym&um;onf x&hemu&lv&wyfom;rsm;onf
tr&or&f&ola, mu&lv&u&ll&tou&x&ub&n&f&t x&dv&lv&f&sm;j&zi&lu&E&u&lonf (jz&yf105)

rk&df&usi&u&eb&y&lonf tr&or&rsm;t m; n&D&f&ye&f&E&y&pu&f&ci&f&E&h&ow&j&zw&j&ci&f

pp&om;rsm;u&f;v&e&f&lonf&r&w&m;u&y&usi&f&rsm;u&azm&j&ya&e&on&h x&e&f&r&E&ll&f&of&r& t v&e&f&t r&if&vr&q&e&f_
onf a' oc&f&t &y&om;v&x&kt m; t&ur&f&zu&f&f&aj&cm&u&um&vu&at&mu&f&ct&jz&pb&v&of&f&e&pb&f&ts&u&f.
t p&lv&f&t y&ll&f&wp&ck&t jz&pf n&D&f&ye&f&E&y&pu&f&um&t&ur&f&zu&f&lonf&n&f&vr&f&rsm;t y> Oif&r&df&usi&f&ci&f&rsm;u&ll
to&h&ya&e&on&h&ci&f&u&ll&t x&if&t&h&ny&oa&e&ay&onf &&&k&m;on&h r&v&lv&r&f&rsm;. 25 &mc&ll&E&e&f&a&om
t jz&pf&t y&u&f&rsm;w&f um, u&f&S&f&re&f&uav; o&f [kwf tr&or&rsm;onf rw&m;u&y&usi&u&eb&y&lonf
a&em&u&lv&f a&e&w&f&zi&f&yp&bw&f&ci&/ tou&f&u&y&at&mi&f&v&yl& ow&f&ci&/ ±&u&E&u&ll& ow&f&ci&/ "m;j&zi&kl
l ow&f&ci&f o&f [kwf r&f&ow&f&ci&f&rsm;ct&h&u&onf

azm&j&y&x&m;on&f&t jz&pf&t y&u&f&rsm;p&h&w&lv&f tr&or&rsm;onf rw&m;u&y&usi&u&eb&om&r&u/ ±&u&E&u&f&ci&/
O&f&ac&f&u&f&v&yp&wp&f&t&wp&f&um tou&f&u&y&at&mi&f&v&yl&f&ci&/ &f&om;u&ll&m;j&zi&f&v&ci&f&pon&h ±&y&f&ll&f
q&ll&mn&D&f&ye&f&E&y&pu&f&rsm;u&f&g ct&h&u&onf? at&mu&azm&j&y&g&t jz&pf&t y&u&f&g tr&or&o&q&ll&f&f&ow&ar&h
aj&rmon&f&t x&±&u&E&u&eb&y&a&em&u&f&r&w&m;u&y&usi&u&eb&um u&ll De&lonf ,if. t p&r&jz&pb&f&v&n&f
tow&f&cl&v&u&onf

o&e&f&t jz&pb&lu q&e&lv&e& vj&cm;p&m;p&mv&e& z&e& ±&h&u&f&ye&lonf;cl&v, / v, f&x&lu&pp&om;aw&f
a&mu&f&v&aw&mh re&f&r&E&pa, mu&x&e&h&ew&ma&w&w, / t j&pb&om;aw&f&u olw&E&pa, mu&f&u&ll
&f&f&wyfom;aw&e&e re&f&raw&v&e&f&f&v&aw&mh&u&E&u&f&u&w, / olw&E&f&m re&f&e&ay&u&e&f&u
±&h&om;aw&f&om&jz&pf&w&ll&t a&umif &f&f&j&yz&h&u&f&om;ay&r, h pp&om;aw&f&u olw&h&j&ym&v&mu&ll
v&f&om;r&ax&mi&ol o&e&f&t p&r&jz&pb&lu&ll ow&f&v&pb&lonf;w&ll&t x&lv&v&e&ll&u&f&u w, / olu
o&e&f&t p&r&f&lonf u&ll De&h&ey&v, M&h&j&ym&f&D&to&em;cl&v&mh olw&u o&e&f&t r&e& Al&lu&u&w&mi&f
w&lv&e&x&ll&v&u&f&g&o;w, / t j&v&ol&e&f& p&r&Al&lu&u&w&lv&e&x&ll&v&mu&ll Oif&v&m;z&h
u&f&om;w&ll&t c&e&f&lonf t&m&f&v&p&a, mu&f&u&ol&e&f&u&ll&v&v&e&ll&u&f&u&v&e& ar&h&v&lonf;w, /
ol&t j&v&ol&e&f& w&lv&v&pb&lonf;w&ll&t c&e&f&lonf t&m&f&v&p&a, mu&f&u& w&x&lu&t&f&f, may:u&ll&±&v&v&v&u&f
q&f&lonf;v&f& rw&m;u&y&usi&v, / y&lonf;w&ll&t c&g&u&aw&mh a&em&u&f&y&ob&w&lv&pb&lonf;at&mi&f
t&um&j&u&ll&u&f&ye&lv, / ow&j&ye&w&ll&t c&e&f&lonf o&f&lonf&om&t Ow&f&t p&m;r&f&f&w&mb&ol& aj&r&u&lay:
v&h&ew&mo&f&f& o&e&f&t p&r& [mv&n&f w&ll&t j&yl&bu&f&f&ia&oc&q&h&ew&mu&ll&w&v&u&w, /
pp&om;aw&f&u&aw&mh&v&p&a, mu&f&f&f&w&mb&ol? o&f&lonf&v&v&h&ig usy&E&pa&x&mi&e&e a&±&w&u&ll&f&f&v
x&lv&lonf;cl&u&f&f (jz&yf64)

t jz&pf&t y&u&f&t aw&f&rsm;rsm;w&f rw&m;u&y&usi&u&eb&y&a&em&u&f&t ow&f&cl&v&or&sm; t&av&mi&f&u&ll& az&mu&f
z&u&f&e&u&f&om;q&f&ir&f& v&f&Draw&e&f&g&f& r&u&f&om;±&v&ir&u at&mu&azm&j&y&g&t jz&pf&t y&u&f&u&ll&u&f&g&f& &f&e&f

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vtsm;ir@e, &Xu ae&ma±ajymifckm;&wliwvpe&ijzplwli aemi&umbnem;u
v, lu&lvwpcem;rñ Eñ;pmaul;zh&umut&to, &ewli touf 12 E&ft±& f
refuav;wpa, mu&u&li clvrvypcef u e0w⁸ ppbm;aw&urk&rfusi&ly&awmh
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q&lvmu&lv&u&univ<cs&f&ñ ppbm;aw&u&O&f&vm;xm;±uw, ? tavmifub&ir&f&e
c&ly&su&awmif&w<cr&ñ "rifw&sf&yni&v&aw&6 er&em&tjz&f&un<e& o&u< "D&t&w&lf&xm;
xm;&r, ? rifw&e&ir&f, &q&ia&wmh rifw&v&nfo&v&ly&ho&r, f" v&e ppbm;aw&u
ajmygv, ? (jz&f&yf15)

tlypk&urk&rfusi&ci&f

, clazmyxm;on&rk&rfz&f&y&f&rm;. 61 &mc&ll&E&ef&w&fi tlypk&urk&rfusi&ci&f&rm;y&g&ion? T
jz&f&y&f&rm;Y telw&f&rs&uj&ribu&ao&&e&on&u&ly&iv&#f&ra=um&u&uaoma=umih play&ji&O&ll&O&ef&
ul;v&e&f&ci&f&z&f&pa=umif xi&f&ñ;aeayon?

t&q&lyg tlypk&u&u&us;v&e&f&z&f&y&f&t&w&mf&rm;rm;w&f&f& rk&rfusi&ci&f&oh&rm;rñ owjzwm&f&ci&f&u&ly&g&h&
&on? o&em&w&fi t&e&omjz&f&y&f&rm;Y&v&n&f& rk&rfusi&ci&f&olt&rs&on&rm;u&ly&e&v&sw&ay;v&lu&av&w&
ul;v&e&oh&rm;on&f& tr&E&f&yw&ou&ll& aem&u&qu&u&w&f, u&e&lv&rn&h&it&a&;u&ll& p&h&O&ir&#a=um&u&f&e&ic&f&r&f&
±a=umifaw&e&ayon?

touf 18 E&f&f 35 E&f&f 37 E&f&ft&olo&e&ol tr&f&on&f o&f&O&on&f clv&rt&f&y&f&f
, ifw&e& v, &X&Y&e&e&up&Of& A&ll&ju&lo&e&farmi&O&la&qm&ia&om cv& 99 rs tiftm; 80
&f&pp&ly&f&S z&rf&q&lo&ñ;ji&ci&f&u<e&on? , ifw&e&u&ll 4 &u&ES&h 3 n&w&v&v&z&rf&q&lxm;±y&
x<it&aw&mt&w&fi ppbm;rm;u t&ju&f&u<f&t&lypk&urk&rfusi&ci&f&u<e&on? x&e&mu&f
, ifw&e<tm; jye&f&v&w&ay;v&lu&on? (jz&f&yf116)

ppf&wyp&cef&rm; t w&f&Y rk&rfusi&ci&f

rk&rfz&f&y&f 11 clw&f tr&e&fwu, j&f&f ppf&wyp&cef&rm;t w&f&Y&us;v&e&f&h&u&umif t&j&cm;a&ompp&ly&f
t&m&f&rm;w&iru p&cef&telw&O&lu&w&f&ae&x&ll&on&h'a' oclv&lx&lyg t&ule&f&pi&bo&u&on&q&bn&h
t&cs&u&u&univ&#f ppft&pl&w&y&f&om;rm;t&ae&j&ih& rnb&v&lv&ly&f&yp&f %&ay;cl&rn&f [kv&a=umif&u&ll
o&e&f&f&f&rn&f&ar&e&v&mc&f±c&f&ae&u&on&u&ly&o&e&ayon?

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⁸ E&ll&h&w&mi&f&D&y&f&ym;rv&n&h&qm&u&f&±;tz&f&v&u&f&f&emppft&pl&. , cift&rn&h&[&mi&f

vtsm; r&v f ausnifom; Opa& 84 a, mujzihjcmulveft x b i f u m; ay; aeaom
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 on? xlt cy/ touf 17 Eft& f igwefausni f olwp O Du "t p& wyfom; v&hjymwl
 Armppbm; aw f u jynbaw f ul b mjzpv& v&vmuz E f h&ewmv b lvm usar; csi f yv, f
 aus±baw f u±bom; aw f t rsm; j u Du ll twift "r&aw f u h j m i f c l f w, f t j t b v n f
 t ajccæ x l l z e & b i a z p m; a o m u z t t c u f t c a w f t r s m; j u D & v, f o l w a w f m t & r f
 oem; p&maumifw, f " [h j m a v o n? a e m u x y f t o u f 1 8 E f t ± g f a j c m u l v e f
 ausnifolwp O Du v n f " t p& p p l v y u b m j z p v & v t s m; a p s j u l a e & m u l v m y p m u l
 w m v? 'h p s u t l h e & m r b i h& h e w m ± m v y d t c k t p& p p f o m; a w f u a p s u l h v f u l u v m
 E f j y w b l y w a w m i & b i r; y d t c k u x d v n f j y e r z i b l? t j d m j z p m v? w u, k v
 t p& p p f o m; a w f u & s f p p b m; a w f u l l a' g p x u h e w, b q k i l v n f & s f p p b m; a w f a e m u l l
 v l u z h u m i f y v, f [h j y m o n? c d w t s v z i h w e q l f a e o n h a u s n i f t y l q & m u r n b e #
 j y e r a j e l l f t b y i f a u s n i f w f i v t h & w m o e t s x m; a o m p p b m; E p h, m u l u a u s n i f o l
 E p h, m u l u t j y i a c: x k v l u m p p l v y p c e f o b e r; y d w y & i l r; j z p b t m; a r; & r n f a j m
 q l y l a e m u f c r & 5 1 5 w y p c e f o b c: a q m i b o b; d b n? w y & i l r; u t q l y g r e f u a v;
 E p O D u l l c k y a E f i i x m; v l u b n? n a & m u b n f i t c y/ r e f u a v; w p O D u l l, i f. t y c e f w f
 o b c: u m y p l v h o e w j z i t e s l l t o w f t p m; r s m; u l t j w c l l i f o n? x h e m u f w p h v l
 r w & m; y u s i t b n? a e m u l v p & u f e u l w f u s e r e f u a v; w p O D u l l c: u m w p & u E s h
 w p h v l r w & m; y u s i j y e b n? x b h a v; & u E s h v; n w l l h a t m i f w p h, m u p i t v s n l u s
 r w & m; y u s i l y a e m u f w y & i l r; u, i f w e l y e f s v a y; a p v y g u w p O D t w l u f 1 5 0 0 0
 u s f a y; & r n f [k, i f w & r b r s m; x h a w m i f c l b n? (j z p & y f 9 1)

r k t f u s i k e & n e g t s u j z i h q u l v u c t y h e s h i r s m;

jz p& y a y j f 2 4 d w f t r s o r d r s m; o n f r k t f u s i k e & n e g t s u j z i h p p t p l w y r s m; u a v; v w l l
 o n h t m i z r f q c k y a E f i i c i f c l l k a y o n? T a e & m w f i v n f v u l w e y e c l r n u u ± m u t e i f
 t v O i r & b l t r s o r d r s m; t m; " a y s n a w m i q u l t j z p f a j A m i l u p h t o l h y a e o n l u h x m u l y g u
 p p l v y f t w f i Y r k t f u s i j c i e s l y w o u l v # i f t a &; I t j y p a y; r & f & b n l u l w l u q E l l i y o n?

t r s o r d 4 O l E s h t r s o m; 6 O l w e b o n i v, b x w f t v l y l y u l l h e p O f z r f q l c k y l a e m u f
 p p l v y f y p h y p l; r s m; t m; t w i f t " r b, h q m i t l l i f u m a ± h j m i f a e & m c s x m; o n h ' o
 r s m; t w i f p e b e h o b; ± u o n h r s m; o k u i f v s h v n p o l v l u y g e f t w i f t " r k a c: a q m i f
 o b; d b n? n t c e f r s m; w f i, i f w h & m u b n h e & m y i p c e f c s u y d w c g v & h v f w p h e & m
 w n f Y E p & u b & u f u m a t m i & y e m; a v & b n? t r s o r d r s m; o n f n p O l v l y i f p p b m;
 w p h, m u l [k v l w p h, m u l u r w & m; y u s i j c i f u l l u & a y o n? t q l y g ± b o m; r s m; o n f
 7 / 8 / 2 0 0 2 r s 2 0 / 1 1 / 2 0 0 2 t x d a v; v e l y g w l h a t m i f a v m u a v # u l t c r l l p p l v y f
 a y; w m t j z p f t w i f t " r e l f a p c t l l o n? x l u m v t a w m t w f i Y t r s o r d r s m; u l l v n f
 t w i f t " r e l f a j c m u l y d v i l a u s u l e f r s m; t j z p f t o k a w m c l l i c l y o n? (j z p & y f 1 2 0)

t j y p l u d; v e b o r s m; u l w & m; p l q l t r & s c i f E S h w l i w e t o r s m; u t t j y p a y; j c i f

T t p & i t b m w f h a z n j y x m; a o m t j z p t y s u r s m; u l h v l m ± u n l y g u p p l v y f t m % m y l l r s m; t a e j z i h
 , i f w & w y f t w f f & r k t f r u s; v e b o r s m; t a y; w & m; p l i p p a q j c i f r s m; t a & w, l y v l y a q m i f

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n&O&y&ef&E&yp&u&cl&y&la&oo&q&ob&h;cl&on&h jz&p&y&w&p&c&u&u&n&h #if a' oc&ly&f&h&v&u&D&sm;t&ae&j&zi&h t&q&ly&g
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ES&f&pp&om;t&cl&on&f aemi&u&mb&us±hoj&ob&mu&E&w&um ±hoj&u&D. t&f&u&D&ll&f&v&u&ly&D
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c&u&j&ci&f&r&e&ay;v&lu&on? t&q&ly&g&r&f&av&h&u&p&um;ajym&pu&f&h ,if&pp&A&ll&. wy&om;rs&m;rs
t&ap&mu&D&u&wn&fu&u&v&u&v&u&um w&w&v&v&q&v&v&x&mi&B&m;j&ci&jz&p&on&u&ll ±hoj&om;rs&m;t&ae&j&zi&h
aoc&may&ub&E&aygon? pp&A&ll&/ES&h&if. wy&om;rs&m;on&f ±hoj&u&D&t&m; t&f&w&ll&w&f&u&D
j&zi&cl&sn&ly&D ±u&ES&u&h&O&f&q&um pp&B&q;ar&j&r&ef&u&on? x&ll v&r&f&av&h&u&p&um;ajym&pu&ll
r&n&bn&h&e&r&E&ovl r&n&bn&h&E&f&aw&m&v&E&B&E& t&z&E&S&iftm;ay;cl&v&l poj&zi&h;r&j&r&ef&u&ÿD
v&n&B&cm&i&x&bl& a&E&E&y&frsm;av&mi&x&n&um t&f&w&ll&w&f&u&D&j&zi&cl&v&v&v&u&ub&um;t&ae&t&x&m;
j&zi&f&ao&q&ob&h;on&h&v&ll&E&atmif,iftm;O&ll&O&ef&±u&ES&u&e&u&mu&f&u&on? (jz&p&yf 70)

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omomy&if t&m;en&f&cs&u&j&u&w&p&c&jz&p&aygon? x&ÿ&i&v&n&f ,if&w&E&on&f trsm;t&m;j&zi&h rw&m;
ÿusi&cl&bl. tr&n&f r&n&bn&h wy&E&if&w&yp&f&r&jz&p&on&w&E&ll ro&E&u&aoma=umi&h tr&ES&jywboull
,if&w&E&v&f ou&B&ot&x&mu&ft&xm;jyo&E&ll&r&n&it&v&m;t&v&m&r&E&on&u&ll o&ab&may&u&be&u&ci&f
y&i&jz&p&lygon?

ob&om&v&n&f azmfjxm;onh rktfrjzp&yfrsm;x&f&S 37 ck (21 &mc&il&E&ef) w&f rktfr&usi&cl&orm;/
,if&w&E&aq&f&cl&om;cs&f&rs&m; ob [kwf &y&f&h&v&u&jz&p&ob&sm;on&f tr&ES&jywboull pp&ft&pk&
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jzpf&yf 11 ckvif rk d&fusi&ra=umih x&lluft emw&jzpf&cif/ zm; emjci fwt w&uf aq; Ogubr&h I Ell&elvnfaumif/ ulpub&m* &f&S& o&pp&elvnfaumif tr&lor&sm; uli lwilf o& [kwf , ifw& . r&bm; p&rs; r&pp&O&vyaqmif&ra=umifvni o&S&ygn? jzpf&yf 2 ckvif rw&; y&usit&lonh taxm&uft x&m; rsm; uli aq; +&De&x&r&rs; rS pp&aq; r&sv&vrf&wif&ly) aemu&jzpf&y&wpc&kvif (pp&bm; wp&Dr&S t&f&w&f&Y&r& d&fusi& j&f&ic&lonlit ouli&g&E&f&t +&G f&e&fuav; tr) qlygu "mw&f& rsm; yif&ul; l&xm; um T t&jzpf&t&y&uft w&uf , ifw&ly&vrf&w&um; ay; r&n&jzpa=umif ajm=um; ch on? o&omf aemu&x&y&r&n&onlit a&; , r&r&f&S&D) t&jcm; jzpf&y&wpc&v qlygu +&L&ES&ur& d&fusi&h& c&lonlit r&d&on&wp&D&t&m; x&cl&uf %&m&onlit a=umif&i&r&f&ul& r&n&majm&q&eft w&uf aq; uk ay; on&h&q; +&De&x&r&rs; uli M&uyif t&j&u&y; chon? wen&t&m; jizi&omf tru&ll&w&i&w&; p&q&h&; t&w&ul&w&v&f&e&f&lyif aq; +&H&sv&m&O&e&De&x&r&rs; uli lwil&u pp&lv&yft m%mylfrsm; t&m; t&v&e&a=umif&e&=ujci&jzpf&ygn?

x&hemuf u&ly&bn; onh O&lac&j&fr&S %&m&u&ll&ub&eft w&uf aq; +&h&e&mu&u&D&bn; onlit c&g& o&et&m; r&n&b&jzpf&y&sub&bn&u&r; jref&uon? ou pp&bm; rsm; . +&L&ES&ur& d&fusi&h& a=umif&j&ym&j&yonlit c&g& aq; +&De&x&r&rs; u ac&j&f&ay; o&e&pp&u&ll& f&u&f&u&sa&oma=umif&jzpf& onlit& h&j&ym&cl&f&=uavon? , ifw&t& ae&j&ih pp&bm; rsm; x&y&r&h&mu&e&v&my) o&et&m; t&a&; , l t&j&y&ay; c&r&n&u&pp&h&f&a&oma=umif&jzpf&ygn? o&vni t&v&e&f&ia=umif&e&D&bn; um E&f&u&f o&e&uft =umw&f&x&ll&jref&me, py&ob&e&ub&jy; v&mc&bn? (jzpf&yf64)

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t wif&t "r&h&j&ymif&a&e&e&mc&sx&m; j&ci&f

T t&p&ic&f&pm&ES&lit w&az&mf&y&xm; on&h&j&ry&h (aemu&qu&i&w&f 3) u&lv&v&my&gu r&sv&vrf&e&e&e&sm; onh rk d&f&r&t&rs; pk (76 &mc&il&E&e&f) onf &S&f&j&nft v, j&ll&fa' orsm; jzpb&nh aus&v&u&aw&me, f&sv&xk t "r&h&j&ymif&a&e&e&mc&sx&m; &onh' orsm; w&G&jzpf&y&G&ci&ful t&x&i&ft &S&aw&f&ri&e&lygn?

jref&mp&pf&t& onf aus&v&u&a' o&cl&v&kt&m; aw&mv&e&e&w&y&z&sm; uli h&x&mu&f&ic&ir&y&Ell&e&f &n&e&G tsuf&jih t wif&t "r&h&j&ymif&a&e&e&mc&ci&f&rs; t&m; , ci&um&v&t&aw&mu&u&wn&f&u y&v&lyf a&e&ch&yon? &S&f&j&nft w&f t&j&ub&us, q&h&j&ymif&a&e&e&mc&sx&m; r_ (, ck&v&il&at&mi&vni qu&v&uf y&v&ly&e&q&jzpa&om) uli 996 - 1997 c&E&f&rs; w&f p&wi&ly&v&f&cm&w&f p&pf&t& onf aus&+&h&ay&jf 1400 aus&f (aus&v&u&aw&me, f&v&xk 3 o&e&fa&us&f v, br&m; tr&sm; p) uli v&r&f&u&Dr&sm;/ jref&m pp&lv&y&p&ce&f&rs; t&e&f&S r [m&A& [mu&son&h&j&ymif&a&e&e&sm; r&n&h&e&mr&sm; q&D&e& a&e&w&j&zi&e&um aj&ymif&a&e&f&cl&on? v, h&jr/ tou&ar&Or&fa=umif&r&t&m; v&q&h&e&lonh T +&f&om; rsm; onf pp&f

t p& x i s v n i r n b n i t a x m u f t y h t & a u b l t a w m i r s m ; r s m ; o n i a e e m ; t v y f u r f o r m ; / a w m i f p m ; & o n b o r s m ; o h & m u & a p & e f w e y l a e & a y o n ? o p z p c i f a u m i h c e p & a j c t m j z i h & & f v r h 150000 c e t o n i a j y m i f a + e t v y f o r m ; r s m ; b o j z i h t o u e s & y l w n a & ; t w l u f i u d y r f E i l & e f x i l f e i l h w f o k u b j y ; d u o n ? u e f a o m i f e s t o n s & f v r s m ; r n , i f w e , c i r v a u s + t o r s m ; t e l & a w m x a w m i x Y i f i y e l a t m i f a e u & a y o n ?

T t w i f t " r b j y m i f a + e e & m c s x m ; o n i t p o t p o b a u m i h t r o r s m ; t z e e n i t r o s t j z i h r k d f u s i c i r n f t a & ; u t t c e i l f y t l u i f r l v m a p y o n ?

± h o m ; r s m ; t m ; t w i f t " r b j y m i f a + e e & m c a e p 0 f t w l f r k d f u s i c i f

a u s + t o r s m ; u l t w i f t " r b j y m i f a + e e & m c s m v l f r s m ; a o m t m j z i h E y f r e o l [k v f p m j z i h a & ; o m ; u m r i w e ± h o r s o w r s v x m ; a o m & u f t w l f (t r s m ; t m j z i h 3 & u r s 7 & u f t w l f) x u t c i u & e f t r e l y ; c i j z p y o n ? t u , l l a e m u b l o w r s v & u a u s m l e f y o n w l l a t m i f ± h x l v i f a w e & & y u a w e o n e s t y p o w t r n j z p a u m i f j z i l v n i a j y m u m ; d o n ? o e m w l f j z p & y f t a w m f r s m ; r s m ; Y a e m u b l o w r s v & u l y i f a p m i l b l a j y m i f a + e e r s m ; x l v y e l y o n e s t u j c i a o m l v n i a u m i f / ± h o m ; r s m ; a j y m i f a + e e p o r s y i l v n f a u m i f a u s + t i v x k t m ; t u r f z u f r s m ; p w i l y v y f a v a w m o n ?

a u s + t i v x k t m ; t u r f z u b n e & m w l f ± h e s u j c i f / e n i t r o s t j z i h E y p u c i f / t r w l f Y y i f t & s l w l w r h e o w j z w j c i f w y o i b o n ? x y i f r k d f u s i c i f v n i y o i b o n ?

T t p & i t p m v l f y g a o m r k d f u s i r t j z p f t y s u r s m ; . 6 & m c l E e j o n i a u s + t i v x l u t t w i f t " r b j y m i f a + e x u t c i l f a e p 0 f t w l f Y j z p l y h ; c l y o n ?

r w a u m u a u s + t o r s v , l u l u l v p u l u f t e l & r o m ; p k 5 O l a e x i l b o n i v a v ; w p l v h e e t z p p o m ; r s m ; a & m u & m p o f , i f w l t m j r i a w e o h ; d o n ? , i f w e ± h o n i f v t s m ; j y e l v n a e & m c s x m ; a & ; a ' o o t t " r b j y m i f a + e e h ; y d , i f w e o n l v r f c & l k w l w l f h a m u f & & e j i j z p l u m t a u m i f t r a t a u m i x l e & m Y a c w l y e m ; a e j i c i j z p o n ? z c i j z p b l t m ; p p o m ; r s m ; u w l x l v l v e l w l f i u j z i l v a v m i f c n l u m a t m u l v n l v n l v l f r d z l y d r l j z i h u a v o n ? x h e m u l w l f q , h u s m b u f t ± g h e f u a v ; i , l u l t y p k l u l r k d f u s i c i u y d a e m u b l o w r s v l u f u o n ? z c i j z p b o n l v n i & u f t e n f i , f t u m Y n d i y e l E y p u b o n l % u t t h m ; & y l a e m u a o q l k o n ? r t i j z p b o r t v n i c i y e l o n i n d i y e l E y p u t & y l s h o r l j z p b l t m ; r w & m ; y u s i h y d o w j z w t & o n i t j z p l u w f i m l u f & y l a e m u l r c s v i l u t h m ; & u m p l v a z m u f y e b o h ; d o n ? (j z p & y l 17)

j y e l v n a e & m c s x m ; o n h ' o t j y i b u w l h a w & b l t r o r s m ; t m ; r k d f u s i c i f

o w f s v x m ; o n h e & m a ' o r s m ; o e a j y m i f a + e e & m c s m v l f a u s + t i v x k t m ; , i f w e r l v a u s + t i E s h v , f , m r s m ; & m o l y e l v n b i ; a & m u j c i r r y & e l v m ; j r p x m ; o n i t j y i f a e & m c s x m ; o n h ' o . o w f s v x m ; o n h ' o t w l f y w y w l v n i e p f i l b o r l i x u y l x l u t c i r & a t m i u e o w x m ; a y o n ? T t o e f t o l f . t j y i b u e , h j r u l v n i y p l u e t e , h j r t j z p j r e f m p p l v y f s o w r s v u m r n b o n h o m ; u l t q l a w e g u o l e f t j z p o w r s v i y d j r i o n e s t y p t w a w m o n ?

±hio±hrom; rsm; t z b n , ifw t ou far fOrfa=umifobm0onf v, f, mvlyu l jci ftay: wif
wnfBe&±wifubl tpm/ xifESH a& tv v g awmawmiu y g Be&orm; jzpbjzih tq yg
ue low rsm; t& aexll& ylvn&ervg l uay?

tc h om±hrom; rsm; rñ puwniuyif jyelvnæ&mc rñht &yf rsm; o b n; a&mu&ef oabmrwl
±ubl rvaus±hrom; t e d tyg&awmxlyefatmifum tpm; tpm rsm; OS ux m; jci f/ v#OS up l u c i f
rsm; pluy jci jzih qufvu&S be e e l l v t r n q b n r # n i v i c u f z i h p e l o m; l a e & p e f q l j z w f
c h u o n ?

tjcm;±hrom; rsm; rñrl jyelvnæ&mc x m; rñh'orm; o b n; O p h o b n; a&mu t l u a o m i v n f a e m u y i f
wif y p n f y p , t c h u y e f , Be v n f a u m i f / o d e B t e n f i , f # v # O S u p l u y s & e l v n f a u m i f o u d o m;
±un&ef, ifw t rlv±hrom; o b n v w l v q l v j y e l v m = u a v o n ?

T t p & i t b m w i b z m j y x m ; o n i r k d f r j z p & y f r s m ; . 14 & m c i l E g l o n f , i f w t r l v a u s ± h r o m ; t w i f
o b [k w f t e d t e m ; w i f u i f v s j r e f m p p l v y f r s m ; r s z r f q b c h j c i j z p o n ? , i f w t m ; a o m i f u e f
o r s m ; . Z e l o n f r s m ; o b [k w f o l y e f r s m ; u l l u t h a x m u l y b o r s m ; [p o y p e t t u & a v o n ? o l y e f r s m ;
rñb n h e & m w i g & b o n i u t h z m a j m & e f t w l u f , i f w e s h i t w l r o m ; p o i r s m ; u l y g E y p u h O y e l j c i f c h
c h u o n ? j z p & y f t a w m f r s m ; r s m ; Y t r s t o r d r s m ; o n i r k d f t u s i t e y l a e m u f o w j z w t c h y p n ?

rñ d f u s i t e h o r s m ; o n f 1996 - 1997 c e p a v m u l u w n f u t p e f t z m ; a u s v u l
a'orm; r s v q i h u e f [e f r e , b h j m i f a ± e e & m c c t h o r s m ; x f j z p o n ? t v j y f t u l l /
p l u y j o m ; a o m u & e h j r , m & & e r v g l u b j z i h , i f w t z b i r a y : w i g & s b e & y l v n a & ; r ñ
t v e y i t u t l a y o n ? x h = u m i h t q y g v , b r m ; r s m ; p h o n f 1999 c e p i e * k w l v
u w n f u , i f w t v , f , m r s m ; t e d w i f w i , f r s m ; v # O S u a q m u l y l u m p l u c i f r s m ; u l l
a p m i l i f a e x l l u y l x h e & m o b v # O S u p h o b n ; c s n j y e t s n i y t c h u & m T j z p & y f r s m ; r j z p f
y u r i t c e f t x y i j z p o n ? e r j y e f j r p l u r f e t b ; w a v # u l v i f t & y o m ; a y : w m 26
a , m u e s h i t w l v s h l v n & h a z a e o n p p l v y f s a w e b r # v t d f r s m ; t m ; O l l x m ; y l a e m u f
w a y : & b i t m ; v i u l k r f q d v l u m w r s m ; u l l i w i e l l o n ? p p o m ; r s m ; r s v , b r m ; o l l O
u h c ; , M l u l u m ± l u e s u h d y e f y l a e m u f & s t w y o m ; r s m ; r n b n h e & m w i g & b v q l b n f
u l l a j m = u m ; & e f w p a , m u l y l v w p a , m u l p p a q ; a r j r e l c b n ? o l h o m f v , b r m ; r s m ; u
T u p u l t o d = u m i f a j z = u m ; c h u o n ? p p o m ; r s m ; u q u l v u p p a q ; a r j r e l & m w i f
& l u e s u E y p u h d y e f u m w p a , m u l y l v w p a , m u l a o q l o n f t x a r j r e l c h y l a e m u f
t a v m i f r s m ; u l l e r j y e f j r p f t w i f o b y p c b n ? t r s t o r d e p o u l l , i f w e s h i t w l E p & u e s h
E p h w l h t m i a c : a q m i b o r ; u m t & m & d t m ; v t s O l l i o e f l r ñ d f u s i t u y l a e m u f
a o e w j z i l y p b w t c h u o n ? (j z p & y f 97)

jz p & y f t r s m ; t j y m ; w i f t r s t o r d r s m ; o n f , i f w t r l v ± h r o m ; o b y e e f t w l u f a w m i f c h u & m w i f
t m % m y l l r s m ; r s v n f p m j z i h & ; x m ; o n i b n ; v m c h i v u f s w u k l w a y ; c b n ? T v u f s w o n f
v n f , i f w t m ; r ñ d f u s i t o w j z w r c b a t m i f u m u g h a y ; j c i f r & b h y ?

1998 c e p i a r v w i f c l v r b t w i f t " r a j y m i f a ± e e l l o n h ± h o m ; r s m ; o n f ± h t j y i f b u f
v , l u f r s m ; Y o b ; a & m u f t v l y l y & e f t w l u f e r p e f & p p f t m % m y l l r s m ; x h v i f
c b y c s u a w m i f c h u o n ? ± h o m ; 19 O p o n f c l v r f t a e m u l u b u f a v ; r i l t u h i & b
v , h w m w i b o b n ; a & m u f t v l y l y l u l l & e f t w l u f e r p e f & p p f t m % m y l l r s m ; x h s

ciljysuivpct&&vll ckr& a'ocpccers wyt³AMJUL[epe&Svncfcljysuif
 &&ylaeumuf 1998 cEpf arvrpwill ZEvtxd tviMyulilhepOf cv& 246 rS
 ppbm;rm;a&mu&vmyd ta0;rael yptwcbn? ±fom;rm;wpDlvpa, muif# rxthef
 bltm;vlonite&vwxblidij;cluon? ppbm;rm;onlv, hwmxlwifacwll#
 &hazylaemuf xlutcbn;cbn? twel, fumaomtcyvif ppbm;rm;tr&lvu, f
 xlutcbn;yl[k qum trrondwDIESh ,if. Olav;jzpbwloni v, lwtStOw
 tpm;EShtyj, mvyfsm; lyD ±fiojye&eftwul v, hwmolyelvcuon? o&mwif
 ,ifw&v, lwb&muubnitc&fijif ppbm;rm;jyeb&mulvmyd ,ifw&tm;zrfqlvlu
 um Olav;jzpbtm; tao±lubwluon? xlt r&rorulvni tOwftpm;rm;qf
 c/vlyd }utzfsm;pnyifw&myulium aemufqlvif w&v aowfzilypbwluon?
 x&emuivif ppbm;rm;oni v, hwmr&xlutcum clvri o&qubn;cbn? (jzp&yl -
 49)

jyelvnae&mcsxm;cb&on&fom;rm;t; v, f, mpluys&eob [kwf &hazpm;aomu&eftwul
 xlt&ya'oted&e&mrsm;ob on;cblyonf [ki&baomvni Ttp&icbmwif&lonit r dfr_
 jzp&yl 27 dbni tqlyg jyelvnae&mcsxm;on& otedtem;Oefusifsm;wif jzplysbicijzpf
 on? xjzp&ylsm;wftsm;t; jzih trrondsm;oni tyiplucif/ tpm&hjicif/ xifaumujcif
 ob [kwf a&cwjcif/ ob [kwf apsv&hvn&a&micjicifponhepOlvy&eusvlyifelrsm; vlyaqmif
 aecdulwifzrfqlc&ajc;ijzpon?

ulefqmaus±firs ajymifa±&e&mcsxm;cb&ol touf 16 EpESH 17 EftotoD&uom
 refuav;EpDbni rESHil Dubela0;on&h;pm;usulvptk E&h;aumifae-uon?
 AMJulo&foifolaqmibnhcv& 55/ pp&umif 3 rS tiftm; 50/ 60 celvylvptvyrS
 ,ifw&tm;aw&on;ylzrfqcbn? tqlygvyoni refuav;EpDIESh ,ifw& E&h; av;
 aumilul pcelxb&v&v&ubac;aqmibn;ylaeumuf 6 &uESH 5 nwl&atmit&v&E&hixm;
 um AMJzpbEShtjcm;t&m&fsm;u refuav;EpDulit }utjtut r&rtf&usibon?
 E&h;av;aumilulvni ppbm;rm;uowpm;viluon? aemulvut f uifv&h&ef
 on;±uonlitc&vif tqlygpyvyni refuav;EpDulitc;on;ylaeumuf
 awmwifcy&0;a0; wp&e&ma&muubnitc;yl ppAMJzpbu
 ,ifw&epDulioewfzilypbw&efwybm;rm; uilt&ray;cbn? (jzp&yl111)

jyelvnae&mcsxm;on&h' orsm;t wif t r&rorism;t; r&rt&usijcif

±fom;rm;t z& jrefmpplvyl. t r&epm;t wifemclyg "vlt vlt rnl [kijrif, kzc; jzpaom
 jyelvnae&mcsxm;on&h' orsm;t wifwif r&rt&rt; jzptysursm;. 6 &mcilEeljzplysbicif [k
 qlyg#i teni, b&uayv&h&h? T t&cu r&rt&usijyg vldjypl %ay;rc&ql&icifESH
 ywbull ppftpl&wyfsm;t z& r&rt&ru;v&e&mwif "jypl %" tpm;ok&ef tjcm;tac;ta0:
 wpr&rt&yliv&MORvityonit xpwvtsvubs&e-uonil jyoaygon? o&zpjifaumih
 jrefmpplvypcefrsm;ESlyv&luwn&aeom jyelvnae&mcsxm;a&a' orsm;&& ajymifa±&h&ol
 ±fom;rm;t z& r&rt&usijcifut&ell r&rt&ulif&v&maeyon?

aemiluf&f&h& jyelvnae&mcsxm;on&h' oY touf 16 Eft±G i refuav;wpDD
 t&h&v&lvpa, mulvni&e&clulwif etz AMJulo&fausmESH ,if. wyl om;rm;
 t&h&v&fo&ia&mulvum aomub&awmif-uon? refuav;wp&h, muif

v, luft pyem; avmuft xbm v# a& mublyd v, luft jylbul uifapmi eonh
ppom; rsm; u aw eoh; um xhe& mw tscufci ypbwv lu uon? (jzp& yf 82)

azm jyxm; on jzp& yf rsm; x fswpckwif rk d fusi t& oit r& onon r qrt t jzpaex ll ae& o jz p
on? , if. ci y& e jz p b on f e t z p p w y f w l u ay: w my g o h; p o l u r a o r c s i f l u e s u t h o n?

tmyd (emrn& iir[kw]rk d fusi r& r d) Ep& E p t e u t o u f 30 t ± g & d o l. ci y& e t m d l
onf ay: w my g o h; y l a e m u f p p o m; r s m; r s r a o r c s i f l u b w t o n? x h e u m i h
v, My r n b r & b l o k v p a, m u l w n f u e t b o n? 2001 c E p f a z a z m d g & w w f
w m c s & w f t a j c p l u f c r & 359 r s w y o m; 7 O l a & m u & & m u m o k t m; c o f u y y d a o e w f
j z i y p r n l [k v n f e t f a j c m u t u o n? j r e f m p u m; r a j y m w w b o n f t w l u a u m i h, i f w
b m a w a j y m a e o n u l l n f r o d a j c x m u f r o e f p o f j z p a e a o m a u m i h x l u i n f r a j y; E l l f
j z p a e d o n? p p o m; r s m; u o k t m; t y p k v l u f O l l f o e f l w p e m & d w l l h a t m i f
r k d f u s i t u. ? (a e m u f l l f w l u l l D e & b o h; d o n?) (j z p & y f 135)

azm jyxm; on lit jz p f y s u r s m; x f a e m u l w p c k w i f p p f t p l &. p p f t & m & v p o d o n f t r & o n d
w p a, m u f t m; r k d f u s i t u E l l f e f t w l u f, i f. c i y & e j z p b l u l l o l. w y e s t o h; a v & m v l u y g o h; & e f
w r i f w u m y i f t r e l a y; d o n?

cr& 524 r s A l l j u d x e f o d o n i w e f [e f j y e l v n a e & m c s x m; o n h ' o w w i f y e e f a t;
(trn& iir[kw] u p r i a w e l o n? x h e m u l w f A l l j u d x e f o d o n i A l l j u d w i a t m i f
O l a q m i b o n f i f t m; 30 y g v y z e u l l a ' o w w i f u i f v s r & e f t r e l a y; v l u y d
w c s l w n f r i y i f e e f a t;. c i y & e j z p b l p l l f a r m i v s t m; a c: v m & e f t h o j u d v l r i f
u l l t r e l a y; v l u f o n? A l l j u d x e f o d u " ' h e @ i g v y f t w l u f E p & u b v m u f r i f u l l g
v r f j y v j c l l f c s i w, l ' [h j y m o n? e e f a t;. c i y & e j z p b l t d w l f r & b o n f t c g f
A l l j u d x e f a t; o n f, i f w l t t h o b o h; u m e e f a t; t m; t d f x b b c: o h; y d
" r i f w l t y c e f x h i b m a w & b v l o h; u n h & a t m i f " [k a j y m a v o n? x h e m u f
t q l l y A l l u e e f a t;. e z l u l l a o e w f z i t e l u m e t f a j c m u t y d a e m u f
t y c e f w l f o l l e p h c: o h; y d r e u f 10 e m & d s n a e 3 e m & d t x d r k d f u s i h d o n? (j z p & y f
152)

tr& o r d r s m; o n f u i f v s n l w y r s m; E s f r v r f j y r s m; " t j z p l v l u y g; o u l d e a y: w m r s m; t j z p l v n f
t w i f t " r t c l l f c h & m x l u m v t a w m t w l f p p o m; r s m; u " a y s n a w m i q u f r s m; " t j z p l v n f
y l f e f t o l y c h u o n? T t p & i t p m w l a z m j y x m; o n h r k d f r t j z p f t y s u i 9 d o n f t q l y g t r s l
o r d r s m; p p f t p l & w y r s m; t w l u a y: w m o l [k w f v r f j y t j z p f t w i f t " r e l l f a p c l a o m t c e l w l f
j z p l y h; c l y g o n?

o E s i o t p l u l w e p a, m u f i r e s 2 r i l f t u h / o l w l v, l a w m E s h 1 r i l f t u h a e & m o l
t a & m u l w f e t z w y z e s m; E s h r a r h i l i b a w & l u & o n? w y r j z p b u, i f w l t m;
a r; c e f w p c E p c h r; y l a e m u f v r f j y w p a, m u l w l t y a u m i f / o k t m; a c: x m; r n f
j z p a u m i f E s h t p l u j z p o l t m; t d f y e l v n o m; p l u j y e l v n h a j y m i y y g [k a j y m q b o n?
x h e m u f, i f w y z e o n f e, p e e, e s m; & d v r a e a w m b o n h t h r s m; u l l q u l w u f
& h a z e t u o n? v r a e a w m b o n h t h w p e t h o n b u a & m u b o h; o n f t c g w f A l l j u d
a t m i t i u v r & b o n f t d l w p l w y, i f E s f i t w l t y & e b r t m; t w i f t " r a j y m q l y d

rk d fusi & ef u d p m ; a w m l o n ? o r u c d k e f u d p m ; a o m t c g a o e w E s j y p r n i [k
e d f a j c m u l y d o r t m ; a r h i r m v e l y g w i l a t m i i j y i l x e p o n ; u l y k w i u m q y i f s q u i l l v u l
t w i f c e f x b e ' ± u v u l u q a c ; o f i ; o n ? w p l E s f o l a & w u l l r y l c i f t o w f t p m ; r s m ;
u l l i w & e E s h r q l w y g u y p o w r n i [k t w i f t u y l c i l f a p o n ? o r t z e i h u e h s v y g
a ± f c s ; & e f & a w m b l r w & m ; y u s i t h u l u & a w m l o n ? u e i [e i r o e l j y e f d e , f y , f
w c i k m u l l u i f v h i v n a e o n h v ; & u m v u l w i f n w i l l y i f r w & m ; y u s i t h u l u o n ?
(jz p & y f 65)

t w i f t " r k v l y c h i f a p r y b 3 4 m e f s m ;

v l e t c i l i t a & ; t p & i t e p m t r s m ; t j y m ; w i f u s , l u s , j y e p e l a z m f y x m ; o n h t w i l l y i f j r e f m p p l w y f
o n i t v l y f t r s t r u w i c i l f a p & e f t w u l u y f t m ; c r a y ; b a c ; , l t o k j c i f u l l t x l o j z i h a u s v u f
a ' o r s m ; Y q u i v u l y v l a e q j z p o n ? c i l f a p a e u s t v l y f r s m ; r n v r f a z m u j c i f / p p l w y i w e l v s m ;
r s m ; a q m u l y j c i f E s h o e e s f a & ; v l y j c i f / v r f r s m ; a p m i t l l j c i f ± u u l p m i t l l j c i f E s h p p l w y i f
p l u l y s t a & ; v l y i e f r s m ; w i l v l u l l i l l j c i f w l z p o n ?

T t p & i t e p m w i l a z m f y x m ; o n h t r t r t j z p t y s u i 5 d o n i t r s t o r d r s m ; t m ; p p l w y f t w u l x u l l
o l o m v l y i e f r s m ; u l l t w i f t u y l c i l f a p a e p o f t c e w i f j z p l y n ; c l c i f j z p l y g o n ? x l l t j z p t y s u r s m ;
x l w i f p p f t p l & . c r & 332 E s h c r & 520 w l e s v r f a z m u e f t w u l 9 & u l 10 & u f u m t " r r
a c ; , l l f a p c h i l o l t r s t o r d 40 . 2001 c e s f { y l u t j z p t y s u l v n f y o i l y g o n ? n b u r s m ;
w i f , i f w l u l t r s t o m ; r s m ; E s h o j c m ; p l e k m ; o n ? x l e m u l w i f p p l o m ; r s m ; r s w p o l c s i f p l u l l a o e w f
j z i l a w l u m a ± f x l w i y d r k d f u s i j c i f u l l u o n ?

2001 c e s f a r v u p p f t p l & . p p l w y p c e f w p t k w i l j z p l y s u b o n h t j z p t y s u r s m ; -

p c e f w i f & A [l u i f ± h o e e s f a & ; v l y & e f t w u l p p l w y p c e f o l k m a & m u e l a ' o c h v y f ?
j z p l o e r i u w i a u s ± h i r s t r s t o r d 15 o l w u l l t r e l a y ; d o n i p c e f o l e t r s t o r d 15
a , m u l a & m u e l l m o n i t c y l A l l j u l j z p l o t r s t o r d 14 a , m u f t m ; t j c m ; p p A l l v r s m ;
. t y l c e f r s m ; u l b e e s f a & ; v l y & e f w m o e a y ; v l u l y d , i f . t y l c e f u l b e e s f a & ; v l y & e f o r
u l l t r e l a y ; d o n i ? o e e s f a & ; p v l y & e f t w u l t c e f w i f o l i m l u b n E s h p p A l l v
w p a , m u l o r a e m u b o l u l v m u m t c e f w l e g u l y w l u b n ? , i f u o r t m ; v s f
q & u l u & m w i f o r u " ' r n u s u l l A l l j u l r k d f u s i l a e y g v , f ' [l l p a t m l u b n ?
(jz p & y f 147)

p p l w y f p p a q ; a & ; * d v f r s m ;

a o m i f u s e f o r s m ; . v y & n ; r u l l p m i f u n & e f t w u l [l q h o m i v n f t c e f t a u m u r s m ; u l l x i b o v l l
a u m u l , E l l & e f t w u l & n e f i u m v r f r s m ; w a v # u i w i p p l w y f s o l v s p x m ; o n h t f l w r i p p a q ;
a & ; * d v f r s m ; o n i v n f w p l e h E s h v p l e h c & d o n i ; v m u o n h t r s t o r d r s m ; E s h y w f o u l l p p f t p l & w y f
r s m ; t w u l t c i l i t a & ; & , l e a p y g o n ?

T t p & i t e p m w i l a z m f y x m ; o n h t j z p t y s u i 5 d o n i t r s t o r d r s m ; p p l w y p p a q ; a & ; * d v f r s m ; Y
w m ; q l p p a q ; c l c e f r s m ; w i f j z p l y n ; c l y g o n ? a t m u l a z m f y g t j z p t y s u b n i (2001 e * l w i v Y)
o l k i j r p j z w i u t o n h w m p e f w l w m ; & A [p p a q ; a & ; * d v l w i f j z p l y n ; d o n i ?

onfrk rrfusi t&h&ohsm;rfrn owa rhaeonu hwa&y) tenfqtr Epcwq qv#i rkr rrfusi t&h&ol
onl vryirav #uEil lavmby? xlt rxs rsvptkwif tr rlononl ul Def 7 v&epOf tlypk&e
rkr rrfusi t&h&y laemufae apci rfrn yir rzn; clayon?

zm;em ydrvy Eil f&h; Eil jzpa eobefvs (trn&iir [kw) onl awmx& dvt d&v; wpm#
w&f wpa, mulwnf use&edon? obnl rwiwyr&y Eil f vrfav #uEil lavmuf
atmilyif rlaOae.? acjfrfrnvnf t rlvru l u t&h&ey) Orvnnt jyiit xebn; aem
aofrm; ' va [mo&h&eo jzih uav; ysulawmtrnif [k obawil u rbn? aemufx&yav;
&u l w l w l wa, mulwnf jzpaey) aemuf q&w&f eefv&onl ul Def 7 vjzilyif uav;
rzn; clon? (jzp&yf 160)

y dlonit cefw& lazmy dlonit wilyif jzp&yf 11 cl r&f uav; o& [kw tr rlonrsm; onfaq;
± h&v&ub d u&on? xlt rxs jzp&yf wptkwif yomv#i x d u e m u s i t p m ; c l r t a o ; p w f t c s u f
t v u & & h y) , i f r n v i f t * j y i j y i f x e x e x d u y s u p t c l o n i t o u f 5 E p f t ± G r e f u a v ; .
t j z p t y u j z p o n ? j z p & y r m ; w i f a q ; ± h v u l u b & o n u m v r m ; o n l 10 & u f t x & h y)
j z p & y f w p t k w i f u m , u l s f t r l o n o n l a q ; ± h b g j u r f w i l a t m i w u a & m u l u b d l o n ? j z p & y f
w p t k w i f q y g u a q ; ± h v u l u b o p m ; & d v o n l 17000 u s y f x l u l e u s c h y) x l u l e u s p m ; & d v u l u n f
u m , u l s f t r l o n u l l w i l y i f a y ; a c d l y g o n ?

jzp&yf 5 clw&f aq; ± h v i u b r r ; & h o m v n i v E s t u m e m r u s e j z p c l a = u m i f a z m y c s u f r m ; & d l y g
on?

jzp&yf wptkwif om jrefmpptom; 7 a, mufS tlypk&v l rkr rrfusi t&h&olt rlononl ul De&&h
a=umif xkvazm&jym=um; r& d l y g o n ?

pvlyif q&h&ma& x&clur rsm;

T t p & i c p m a & o m ; & e l y v i c l o n h a w e q l r ; j r e f r r m ; o n l u m , u l s f t r l o n r s m ; a w e u l t p m ; c l
& a o m p w i y i f c p m ; r r m ; u l t w i f u s u a v i v m a z m x w E i l & e f t w u f t c e u m v w h v m i f v e f a e
o j z i h r k r r f u s i t & h & o h s m ; . p v l y i f q & h & m t a j c t a e r s m ; E s j y w b u b o n h t a o ; p w f t c s u f t v u f
r m ; v i t y a e y g o n ?

rkr rrfusi t&h&y laemuf v&v&jrm u l v m o r s m ; c p m ; & o n h ± k y i f q & h & m a & m * g v u e m r s m ; o n l p v l y i f
q & h & m t a j c t a e r s m ; E s l q u p y f & h e a = u m i f x i & h ; y g o n ? O y r m t m j z i h t y r a y m j c i f / p m ; c s i f
a o m u t s i p w u i f r j c i f / u l f t a v ; c e l u j c i f E s h t m ; t i u l e c e f j c i f p o j z i j z p c l a = u m i f t r l
o n r t r m ; u y i f a y m = u m ; c l u y g o n ?

t c e t r l o n r s m ; u " p w l " m w l u j c i f / " O r f e n j c i f " / " a = u m u l v e j c i f " w e u l t p m ; & a = u m i f j z i h
ajm j y = u o n ? t r l o n r w p o d u " u r p w l x r f n j z p y d c l v m a w u l l j y e p O f p m ; r w i t c g v i l f u s E S v l
aw&t&r f u l v e l v m w , ? u r a , m u s n ; a w t m ; v l u h = u m u l v , l " [l a j m j y o n l (j z p & y f 1) ?
a e m u f t r l o n r w p o d E s j y w b u l l " j z p y s u b l y w h e m u y i f r n o l [m w p a , m u l w n f y l t r a e
a e a w m l v , l b , b e l s v n f r a w e s i b l b , b e l s v n f p u m ; r a j m c s i b l " [b e l o n l (j z p & y f
119)?

rk d fusi t k y daem u f v v a j r m u f m o l t r s m ; p b n f , i f w e t m ; r k d f u s i j u b o r s m ; u l t r f q d e k w i w i l
o n i q e l t r m ; & a y p o n ? ± k w i w & m ; p b n f r & b o n i t w u l t v e f " a ' g o " x u b r a = u m i f t r s o r d
w p D u a j m j y d b n ?

w c e l w n r f n y i f r k d f u s i t k y d a e m u f v v a j r m u f m o r s m ; o n f , i f w e z p l y s u b o n r s m ; E s i y w o u l l
t v e f y i f " & s u f " r d = u m i f a j m j y c h u a y & m & y e f n v r t O e f t O i l f w e a c w p m ; a e o n h v i l u y m ; r E s h
y w b u b o n i t j r i b a b m x m ; E s h O z e b j y m q l t r s m ; & e j c i f a = u m i j z p a = u m i f x i & s ; a e y p o n ?
(a & s m r n i t c e f " E p x y u e f t j y p f % c k j c i f " u l u n h y g)

rk d fusi t k y d use & p o r s m ; t m ; t j u a y ; v r f ! e o n h a q m i e f u r r s & s h = u m i f u l l r n b n i t j z p f
t y s u w e r # a w e a y ? & & b r # t j z p f t y u r s m ; t & / r k d f u s i t k y d u s e & p o r s m ; t w u l t x l o j z i h
& y e f n v r t O e f t O i l f r s a O z e b j y m q l t r s m ; u l u v a w e p m ; a e & o r s m ; t w u l x l b a q m i e f u a y ; & e f
t a & ; w j u l v t y a e a = u m i f x i & s ; y g o n ?

E p i v e l y g c e v i l a t m i t t j u r j u r k d f u s i t k y a o m t r s o r d w p D (j z p & y i 51) p w l a 0 ' e m
o n i j z p o n ; d j c i f u r k d f u s i t k y r a = u m i t r s o r d r m ; u l u w e u & o n h p w l y i l i q l l & m ' % & m ' % f
c u r n f j u d r m ; o n b j t i f u l j y o a e y p o n ? a e m u f t r s o r d w p D r n r k d f u s i t k y d a e m u f (j z p & y i
76) b e l p o n ; c h y d o l u a v ; i , a v ; u p e y p o n ; d b n ?

r o m ; p E s h v r t O e f t O i l f . u h a x m u y l r _

t j z p f t y u r s m ; 21 & m c i l E e f w e f r k d f u s i t k y o l . r o m ; p E s h & y e f n v j u d r m ; o n f t r u p e s h
y w b o u l p p l w y f t m % m y l r s m ; x l b e o w i f a y ; y e l u a o ; a u m i f a z m j y c h y j z p o n ? T t c s u l u
j z p & y f t r s m ; t j y m ; w e f u m , u l s f . r o m ; p E s h & y e f n v r t O e f t O i l f w e s r k d f u s i t k y o b u f s e l
w & m ; O y a ' t w i l i j z p a p & e f u h a q m i e f u b u a = u m i f j y o a e y p o n ?

x l y i f t j z p f t y u f t a y ; r o m ; p r s w e l y e y l t c u f t v u r s m ; u l a z m j y x m ; o n h j z p & y i 10 c k w e v e f
u m , u l s f t a y ; Y , i f w e c i y e f a , m u s n ; / r o m ; p r s m ; u u h a z m i f z r s m ; & s h = u m i f a w e a y g
o n ? , i f w e t a e j z i h u m , u l s f t a y : " a x m u t h t m ; a y ; j c i f " / e m ; v n b a b m a y u j c i f " r s m ; & y d
" t j y p r w i l " c h u y f

o l m w e f j z p & y f t r s m ; p k w e f u m , u l s f r s m ; o n f , i f w e t j z p f t y s u a = u m i h r o m ; p E s h & y e f n
t o l l f t O i l f r s u l e y p w i t h j c i f r s m ; t r e y i & s h u o n u l o w y & r n f z p l y g o n ?

E p x y u e f t j y p f % c k j c i f - r k d f u s i t k y d a e m u f j y p w i t h j c i f E s h j i i f y , e k j c i f

j z p & y o l c k w e f r k d f u s i t k y d a e m u f t r s o r d r m ; o n f , i f w e c p b & n f p m ; o l [k w i v i f
a , m u s n ; . t j y p w i b a j m q l t i f c h o n ? t r s o r d w p D r n r k d f u s i t k y d a e m u f i f w e f o r .
c p o l u a p p y a = u m i f v r f x m ; j c i f u l s u b o f v l u f y d v m a & m u a w e a j c i f v n r & a v m a y ? t j c m ;
t r s o r d w p D r n " A r m x m ; & p c h a u m i r " [k v i a , m u s n ; . a p m i u m ; a j m q l t i f c h o n ?

t x l w n p e r t z g a u m i f v o n h j z p & y w p c k t r s o r d w p D r n v n f r k d f u s i t k y d a e m u f
w e f i v i a , m u s n ; . & l u e s j c i f u y g c h a = u m i f a v h m a w e a o n ?

"(rk rtfusi t&yw h&emufy f) ura, muhm; jyelvmwltcg t u\$ta=umifull jyelajmyjcl
ygv, ? t l t r n oluplvq h y d ur u l l a ' g w j u l e q u b w m v m y ? c k w w & m ; u s i t t & v t
urep ura, muhm; & , l uav;aw&, i t t r n t c s i f c i f q u b q h & ; t & r f u l t q h o n ; c k
y g d a , m u h m ; u a & m u a v ; a w l u y g u s u l l " t & y f s u r æ o y f -- c s i h e & i f a w m x t r n
w l w p l v t x l a y ; x m ; r , ? t l t r n o n ; -- a c s " q l v m r s t a w l g a e v i l f a j y m a e - u w , ? t m l
ajymvmawf us t & r f p l v t x d l u l v , l a e m u b q h b , l m t s q u h y d o n f r c e l l a w m b l u s
a , m u h m ; e l u h & s i c l y g v , ? a e m u f y f u u a v ; a w e l a w e s i v t t r u b n ; a y r , h i u a v ; a w l
u ' t & y f s u r æ e i f i g v t a r r [l v b l ? i g v t e q l o , h a w m r s v m c l e v h e j y m y d E s t k w f
- u y g v , ? u r a , m u h m ; u v n f ' u l l u l l i u l r x e f o r f b l w j c m ; a , m u h m ; e a z m u f y e f
w , ? e i f i g r e r r [l v a w m b l ? c t s u b s i f t t l u x u b n ; " q h y d a r m i i x l w t f y g v , ?
a e m u b q h a w m u s v n f x l l i E l l i l u l l m z h e q h z w f a l y g v , ? " (j z p & y f 3)

aemufzpb&yw pckw&f vrfay:Y ppbm;wpOD. rk rtfusi jci fult t t a o m a u s i f o l w p O D
t m ; o r . r b m ; p l u z , l u o l x m ; d b n ?

ur&f r b m ; p l u u r t a y : e m ; v n f r a y ; d u b l ? a z ; r r y n f r & d b l ? o l w h & m u s
o l i , t s i f a w l u y g u s u l l t x i f t j r i a o ; w l o a b m r s t e t z u r v l u a w m b l ? u r t z h
t x l u s e f z p h y d t & r f y l p l v q i f & t l w , ? t l t t c e l u 1991 c e p l u r n i l q w f
t x u l v e f a u s i f r n 10 w e l w u h e w l t c e l y f p m a r ; y a j z c e l u s r w & m ; y u s i t t &
a w m h p l v n p h p e e u s p m a r ; y f a j z z p c l w m y g b l ? ' j z p & y f q l u u s & e b o w u l v r f a w l
t m ; v l u l t z t s u f y p l v l u l v m y g ? (j z p p o f 1)

r s u p t h o m t o u f 12 E p l t & g f t r k o r l a v ; r n b & m ; o n ; & m r s t j y e l w f i p p b m ;
w p O D . r k r t f u s i j c i f c t & y l p w y l l i q l l & m r s m ; x d l u b n ? x b e c t t a o m t q l y g r e u a v ; t m ;
y w D e f u s i u j y p i w i h a j m q h h y e l n ?

& h o m ; t a w m f r m ; r s m ; u r l T j z p & y E s j y w b u l l v l u d r y g b l w e l [e f o e j y e l m o n h
e e f a w m i f u l b m t j y p l v i f a j m q h h u y g o n ? (j z p p o f 1 4 4)

t x u a z m f y j z p & y r s m ; u l l u n h # i , i f y w D e f u s i t o l l f t O l l f w f i a , m u h m ; r e f r
u l y m ; r t a y : E l t s q u b h e - u j c i l o n i r k r t f u s i t t o r s m ; t w l u f t v e l q l O g y d / x b e E l t s
q u b h e r r s m ; t m ; t j r e b q h y j i h a j m i f v y p b e l v i t y a e a - u m i f t x i f t & n ; a w f e i B a y o n ?

x b e w & m ; r r # w o n h q c m ; q u b h r s m ; & h o m l v n f t m ; w u l z g f t j z p a w e l l o n h
j z p & y w p c k w f u m , u l s t r s t o r l j z p b o n f y w D e f u s i f a O z e z t m ; a y ; j c i f r s m ; u l h w e a o m f
v n f , i f w l u l v e j e c i o n i o r E s h r o m ; p k t w l u f t u s t r & e l l i k b o j z i h t m ; v l u l O a y u h
y e l l o n ? t q l j z p & y f (1 3 5) Y r k r t f u s i t t a o m t r o r o n i u l l D e & l v m c l o n ? x b e
u l l D e & h e a - u m i f o e d n ; u a o m t c g w f O e f u s i t o l l f t O l l f r s u l l e p l v i j c i f u l l a & n i & n ; E l l
& e f t w l t t r a x m i l y v l u b e l t h o m ; r s m ; u O l l i O e f w l u l w e f c h u o n ? o r t a e j z i h u l l l v u f
r o e p f i o l w p O D ' l u b n i w p O D j z p h y d , c i f t t r a x m i E s l v n f o m ; w p a , m u & d b j z p a o m f
v n f y w D e f u s i u a O z e z t m ; a y ; r r s m ; u l l w i c l u m x y f t t r a x m i f y b o h q h t j z p b o m a e c h
o n ? o r u " u s w l o t a w m t u t r , q l v m a w m b l y g v , ? ' g y r , h i u s u a v ; u l l v n f
y a x l e p x m ; c i l o l ? w c l h , m u h m ; a w l m r e f r a w l u t p a y r , h i y g v m v l o m ; o r l a w l u l w m h r c p f
b l ? w u , l u s t t r a x m i l y r , b q l i f u h & s i z l e u a w m t u l v t r , l [k & s f j y c l o n ? (j z p & y f 1 3 5)

rk r fusi t k y laemuf ae& majmi fa& jci f

azmjx;m;onlit jzpf ysufsm;t euf jzp&yf 22 ck (13 &mcil Eef) wfi tr&lor&sm;onf
rk r fusi t k y laemuf yf r om;pES jzpap/ r om;pryob jzpap xll f E l i l b u b o n ; a & m u b a & j y m i f
aexll buon?

t c z p y r s m ; w f i x y r h p m i u m ; c & r n i u l p k r t o j z i h r k r f u s i t k y l a e m u f c s u b s i f y i f
t j c m ; w p a e & m o e a & j y m i f o n ; c l u o n ? j z p & y f w p c k w f i t o u f l 8 E s f t & g f t r & l o r t m ;
a & j y m i f x l u t c h o n ; e f & h o j u l j z p b u w l u w e f c o n ?

*or. v l a & ; t w u p k r t a o m a u m i h " e i f r n w j c m ; a e p & m a e & m & i f o n ; y l a e y v m ; ?
ajmif y l a e v r , b k i v n f a j m i f a p c i v , ? ' p p t o m ; a w e b x y f r a w v m a u m i f
r , ' [h j y m y o n ? x l u m i h e e f , O v n f n b u b a m u v # f t j c m ; a q f s w p a , m u f
. t h y o n ; t y t h ? o l b r s m ; u v n f e e f , O i v l a & ; t w u f p k r t f u o n ? o l o m f
v n f x y r h v e y e r s m ; j z p a y : v m r n u l p k r t a o m a u m i h p p l v y u l t h w o l u a y ? j y e l v v f
v m y d 1 0 & u f t u m w f i e e f , O i t a r u o e u l x l l f E l i l b u b o n c : v m c y o n ? (j z p & y f
133)*

t c z p p o r s m ; w f i t r & l o r d r s m ; o n f w p v o l k v i E s v o l k v i c e f e l r a o m
u m v t a w m t w f i x l l f E l i l b u b o n a & j y m i f x l u t c h o n ; c l u o n ?

x l l f E l i l w f t u m t u g / t u l t n l u i f r j c i f

& s j y n E s h x p y a e o n k l l e , p y l w f i u a i f u a i e (u , m) j y n r s m ; & s x l l j r e f m e , p y f
r s m ; w f i u o l e w & m ; O i z e h / p x m ; a o m ' l u b n p c e l r s m ; r & a y ? x l l f E l i l H v u & h D g t &
w l u y j z p y n ; j i c i f a u m i k u h a j ; v m a o m " , m , O t h t r p e y p v m o r s m ; " u b m v # i t o d t r s v f
d y x m ; y d j r e f m p p f t p k r s & s j y n f t w f i a o m i f u e l o b e f u s i a & p r t s u r s m ; a q m i e u & m Y t & y f
o m ; r s m ; t a y : t u r f z u E y p u h e j i c i f a u m i k u h a j ; v m u o r s m ; u l l t o d t r s v r o y y g x l u m i h
1996 c e s w f & s j y n f t v , y l l y t w i f t u s y a u s & h a j y m i f a & h u y l a e m u f y f x l l f E l i l b u f
o l e x l u h a j ; c l o l c e f e f a j c w p o e f c e f e n h & s i ' l u b n r s m ; r n E l i l w u m u h a & ; t z e t p n f
r s m ; . t u m t u g f a y ; r E s h v o m ; c s i f p m e m a o m u h a x m u y f r s m ; u l l r & a u a y ? r s m ; a o m t m j z i h
w & m ; r o i h a j y m i f a e t v y o r m ; r s m ; t j z p f t v y f t u l l & n a z e u & o n f i t a j c t a e o l e a m u & s s u m
t a j c c l u t y c u r s m ; j z p o n h a e x l l p m ; a o m u a & ; u p p s m ; w f i t c u f t c l u d r m ; p h u h a w e u &
o n ? t x l o j z i h t r & l o r d r s m ; E s h u a v ; i , f s m ; o n f v l u e l u l a m i f p m ; c j c i f E s h t E l l u s i h
t j r w x k v c h j c i f r s m ; E s h u a w e u a y o n ?

& s j y n r s x l l f E l i l b u b o n k u h a j ; v m o n h l u b n r s m ; o n f E y p u h O y e f c & r n i u l l
t r e y i p k r t a u m u & h e u j c i f a u m i h , i f w t m ; ' l u b n f t j z p o w f s v a p m i h & h u a y ; o i h
a u m i f u l l , c k t p k i c p m w f i y o i a o m j z p p o r s m ; u & s f i v i p h j y o a e o n ? v d y l l q l l m t u r f
z u r r s m ; c t t a o m t r & l o r d r s m ; E s h u a v ; i , f s m ; u l l i v # i t u m t u g E s h u h a x m u y f a y ;
& e j i f y , h e j c i f r n O r f e n f z g h u m i f v a y o n ?

r k r f u s i t k y l a e m u f 2001 c e s f e * w f w w f i x l l f E l i l b u b o n k u h a j ; c l u m / a e m u E s v
t u m w f i T t p k i c p m t w l a w e q h r ; j r e c l o t r & l o r d r s m ; w p o D . a t m u a z m j y j z p & y f

oni xllfElii h&mu&st r&on' l uonit c&i qll he&on hckEli p&f uif r&om t ajc
taeq rsm; uil xil yaeon? toull6 E&it &G i eefv&trn&iir [w] onil uil Def 7
v&P0w&f r&it fust&h c&on? pp&om; q, Du or. via, mu&n; a&sv&ijif
tlypk/ l uyl uis&icijz&on? or. a, mu&n; tm; ta0; wpa&e&mo&c: aqmi b&n; um
owlyp&on? or wpD&wn&f u&e&pt&ly) aemu&f vrap&uav; ar&zn; c&on? ortm;
aq&f&om; c&it c&uaw&E&ly) aemu&f xllfElii l bu&of t w w u& x& u& j; cuon?

"ortm; aw&e&ir; jre&f&onit c&w&f or. uav; onl 2 vom; t&G b&m &D&o; yD
zm; emv&u&on? or. E&u&ll l uav; r&in Or&ful&u&e&yD uav; uil E&D, l w&u&e&f
t w u&v&n&f aif&E& t vly&x&u&v&e&f t m; en&f v&e&fae&onl aq; c&e&of&n; j&y&e&ft w&u&f
vrf&p&v&r&D&onit j&yif&ay; acp&m aq; z&v&n&f r&E&y?" (jzpp0f160)

xllfElii h&rmu&yl f&E& v&ar&h&ic&w&pc&w&f w&m; r0if t vly&v&u&ll h&e&u&yD or ub&ijif l u&n&fsm;
jz&pu&onh aq&f&om; c&is&fsm; u eefv&st&m; u h&on? o&h&om&v&n&f , ifw&e&x&ll h&om&w&i, f&n
p&u&ic&it w&f y&low&aq; jz&efa&om&um; rsm; aq; t w i&f t c&v&v&on&h&e& m&t&e&w&ijz&on? x&b&e
t q&f t aw&mu&jz&p&onh "mw&yp&n&fsm; E&sh e&D&u&y&p&h&a&e&D&oj&zi&h eefv&S use&r&ma& & c&D& G&f v&u&yD
aq; &w&u&e&on? aq; &D&ij&f&onit c&g ortm; use&r&ma& q&ll &m ta&ay; u h&x&mu&yl rsm;
ay; &e&ft w&u&f swan (&st r&on&a& & m&qu&b&G j&y&aj&fa&qmi & u&h& & t o i f) u o&n; a&mu&f
qub&G b&nit c&g or t vly&v&u&ll b&n&f v&ar&h&ic&u&ll xllfpp&om; rsm; u0i&h&mu&E&az&um w&m;
r0i&aj&ym&ifa&+&v&om&sm; tm; v&u&v&z&r&q&f&c&ifa&u&mi&h t j&cm; a&e&m&w&p&ct&e& x&u&h&ij; o&n; c&h&u&mi&f
o&E&E&on?

ES&f&w&e&R. t E&E&m, f

&st&j&n&f t w&f r w&m; y&u&si&ap&ml&um; c&D&oj&zi&h x&u&h&ij; v&mc&ol t r&on&rsm; E&sh uav;
i, rsm; tm; xllfElii l u&tum&t u&G h&y; &e&f&ij&f, j&c&ir&n , ifw&u&ll a&e&y&o&ft c&e&ra&G&y&e&v&n&f
y&h&qmi&E&onl [l t "y&m, &ay&on? xllf t m%my&ll rsm; onl y&D&on&E&pit&n&li, it w&f
w&m; r0if t vly&orm; rsm; tm; t j&u&t&us, i v&u&v&z&r&q&f&c&m 'l u&n&fsm; on&v&n&f z&r&q&f&c&h
& yD e, p&y&a' o&e&y&e&h& & b&mr&u/ & z&e&E&G&f wp&zu&E&lii & r&e&r& m t m%my&ll rsm;. v&u&v&f&e
w&u&u&ft y&E&G&ic&fsm; y i &E&h&on?

v&ij&f&q&ll & m t = r&f&z&u&f&c&h&or&sm; t w&u&f&ir&l , ifw&e&t&ay; x&u&h&ij; p&u&h&D&y&e&f&cl&rsm;
ut; v&e&D&onh e* & r&v&j&re&mp&pt&m%my&ll rsm;. v&u&v&f&e& j&y&e&v&n&h&mu&E&on; a t m i f v&aj&ym&if
ay; t y&h&u&u&G&ic&ij&z&on?

T t p&ic&p&mw&f&g&onh x&b&on&jz&p&y&v&p&ct&u&n&ly&u 1996 c&E&f&w&f&h&us&h&sm;
aj&ym&ifa&E&D&oj&zi&h xllfElii l bu&b&u&h&ij; c&ol t r&on&av; D&onl 1998 c&E&f&w&f xllf
t m%my&ll rsm; u c&is&f&ir&f&E&E& w&m; r0if t vly&orm; rsm; tm; z&r&q&f&y&e&h&M , ifw&v&: D&on&v&n&f
&st&j&n&f&e& j&y&e&v&n&f&h&qmi&f&ic&h&on? v&r&f&c&D&w&f aq&f&om; c&is&fsm; E&sh u&u&h&on&h; c&ly&a&emu&f
4if&w&onl xllf e, p&y&u&b&u&e&h&um aq&f&om; c&is&fsm; tm; &h&az&e&f p&O&f± q&ll z&w&f&x&m;
=on? o&h&om&v&n&f xllf &D&of t w&f r&f&ny&if p&pl&w&y&p&p&aq; a& *w&v&v&p&ct& a&mu&f p&f&t p&E&.
w&y&z&sm;. r&it&f&u&si&ic&f/ n&D&y&e&f&pu&ic&f&E&sh&ow&jz&w&ic&h&u&on?

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ordrm;um;ay:rsqif-u&eftreay;ylaemul ' &llbmtm; rllfwblquarmifom;&ESh
trsdordrm;t; aemuyllfwblvay;vlurnl[bjymclon? Eps&uft-umwllf xpcerfS
ppom;wp00 rllfwbl &Uth0, &elvm;ylaemul xlttrsdordrm;ESblurfol wp00tm;
xlttrsdordrm;ultrfqlc;yaEhniVLubnhaeyif rllfusitba-umil/ aemul wpbaevllf
,ifwbl &ibm;rm; vllzwbh-umil/ xlaemul ,ifwbltm;vltowtba-yd) aemul
tavmifrm;t; jrylVLuyllzpa-umil[xlvazmbjymjyclon? (jzpp0f48)

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r[kvay? 1999 cEpf ZMllvwllf cslrllc&llajrmuyllfrs jrefmEllllubub jyelvnyllqmitllol
&sftrsdord 11 00tm; xllppft&m&vp00u vllfllqll&m rawmfrw&m; iyusitbn?
trsdordEps00u rllfrjzih vlltsuzll&efjupm;chomlvnl/ ay;aomailubmvubll &ef
twllt-uyllfajmubon? tqlyg xllit&m&fll tvllae&majymifa&eciESh axmuyll-u;
jzwawmujcifubm clon?

Ellllhvum&mZ0wfrjzpbnlvdllyllf,qlll&m t-urzfuzr_

rllfusitronl trsdordrm;. um, ajEESh *P%buluull xdluapmlum;jcifi zpbnl[k
tp0ftvmwavnulmll zllqllbwfrsvclun? t-urzfubnlit iytrkvp&yftjzpf r, lqch
-ay? oclomlvnl vubululllyEyuzpym;p0ftwllf trsdordrm;ulawu&onh xdlul
epemrrm;ESlywoull ta&; Mlylaqmllrtyllfwllf ta&;ygonllwllwllurrm;ull yllclonh q, f
pEpfllwllf jrlawllayon? tus, jyelqllom wllwllbjymllfvllrll vllfllqll&mt-urzfuzr
r_t; Ellllhvum&mZ0wfrvllpcktzpfi ovrsvllujcifyllzpbnl? , cil, llqvyllnaxmipl ESll
&Orf Ellllhvum&mZ0wfrjzpbnl;chom &mZ0wfrcllrm;t; ullllwllbjz&sf&efllchom w&m;&llrm;
uvnl rllfusitronl vlomb0w&m;tay:ul;vlllaom&mZ0wfr[k wllvlus xnlbllf
jylmefclon? &Orf Ellllhvum&mZ0wfr;qlll&Ellllhvumw&m;&ll. Oya' rsm;wlllvnl rllfusitronl
jynllveqllm t jzpbnlto llfllcill/ -urllwllpmlum;jcifyllb^{3/4}meftm;vllwllbnf *EAm oabmwll
nllsul. qllyzwbll tyllf 3 ESllaemubllwllpmllyft tyllf 2 wlltm; azmlluzllcifylljzpa-umil
&sfvllfazmlyxm;on? w&m;&Epsvll vllfllqll&mt-urzfuzrllcllrm;ESll xll t-ur
zllrsm;ESlywoull t jzpa-umilawllowllcllrm;onl &mZ0wfrsm; ul;vllcllrm;
jzpa-umil zllqllkllwllfllwllf x&mZ0wfrsm;onl-

- rllfusitronl ulelljllcill/ nlllyefElyllpucillwlltm;jzih vlomb0w&m;tay:ul;vllbnh
&mZ0wfrsm;/
- vllP%buluullxdluapaom rllfusitronl/ Elyllpunnlllyefllcill / &upullrllum;jcill tygt0if
Oya' ESllppjzpbnl;p0ftvllvlubm&rnlbnllurllrm;t; cllyazmull
- vllwllpckllwllcll [kvll tpvlltyllfwllpcktm; zllubll&ell laom oclomnllg lllyzllh
ul;vlllaom rllfusitronl/ vllfllqll&mt-urzfuzrllcllrm;t;jzih vllwllwllwllzllwllr/
ponllwlllyllpillon?

tqlygv&m;&lltwllf jylxmecllomOya' rsm;onl a&mr t jynllnllqll&m &mZ0wfr_
w&m;&ll Oya' (a&mrOya') (the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court - the Rome
Statute) ullt ajcllumjylxmecllclllyzpbnyd vllwllwllwllzllwllr/ vlomb0w&m;tay: ul;vlllaom
&mZ0wfr/ pp&mZ0wfr/ &upullurll-ullwlllaom &mZ0wfr_ ponllwllt ay: p&lllyllclllyllayon?

rk d'fusijci ES h t jcm; aom v d'f qll & m t urzuzufc i rsm; onf vlobmOw&m; tay: ut; v&f aom&mZowf rsm; ES h pp&mZowf rsm; w&ft ut Diobn h v&y rsm; yijzpa=umifz G t q llum E l i h wumv et Oe f t O l f t w&f p l & t z G & m&mZowf rsm; jzpb onf [k a&mrOya' w&f & s i v i f p h azmj x m; ayon?'

a&mrOya' ul 2002 c&f ZM l v 1 & u&e v&f p w i f u s i b n j z p b n f w&m; & h t m; e, b m v e l E l i h o n f [w r f r e v i f x m; & n j z p h y d 2003 c&f w&f p w i z G h v p E l i z G & y g o n f w&m; & h t m; , c i f , k b v y f n a x m i p E S & O r f E l i h q l l & m E l i h v u m c h r s m; (I C T Y E S h I C T R) . O y a ' o y n m r s m; t w&f a & q z p n i r n j z p b n f

t q l y w&m; & h . w&m; p& i y l l c G b n f a e m u a = u m i f y e f t u s t o u a & m u r r & a y ? O y a ' p w i f t o u D i o b n h t c a e m u f i f u s ; v e a o m & m Z o w f r s m ; u l b m p & i E l i b n f a & m r O y a ' . t z D i r [k v a o m E l i h v G f r c i j z p y h ; c h # a o m v n f a u m i f / t z D i r [k v a o m E l i h S E l i h b m ; w p O u u s ; v e c h # a o m v n f a u m i f w&m; & h t a e j z i h 4 i f . p & i y l l c G u l x h t r r s m ; w G v n f u s i b n E l i z G & b n f a & m r O y a ' t z D i r [k v a o m E l i h r s m ; t a e j z i v n f w&m; & h . w&m; p& i y l l c G h t m ; j z p v m o n h t a j c t a e r s m ; t a y : r l w n h y d v u c E l i z G & b n f t q l y E l i h b n f t z D i r E l i h f k w o n j z p a p / r [k w o n j z p a p (u k v o r *) v e l l a ; a u m i p u ! & a u m ; y g u w&m; & h t a e j z i h w&m; p& i y l l c G & b n f

' r l u a & p p e p b e t o G u l a j m i f a e q l o b v n r [k v i u l a j m i f y d t c e r w i l f d t x d j r e r m E l i h E S h y w o u l t q l y w&m; & h . w&m; p& i y l l c G h u s i b n E l i z G f & a y ? o l y a o m v n f , a e t x d v u c a e u o n O y a ' o y n m t m ; a v h v m y g u & s f j y n i w G f r n b a o m E l i h v u m & m Z o w f r s m ; u l v w w a v m u s ; v e l v u & b n q j c i E S h t u , f l a e m u q h w G f x k h o m t c e l u m v w p c k t w G f u t ; v e c b n h v r h w k o w j z w r / p p & m Z o w r / v l o b m O w & m ; t a y : u t ; v & f a o m & m Z o w f r s m ; / v b w r / v i y l l q l l & m t u r z u z u f p u n d i y e r p o n h j u r m ; v a o m & m Z o w f r s m ; u l p b r f a x m u l v s f u m & m w i p p a q ; & e f t w & f o j c m ; t x l w & m ; & h v p & y z p n i r n q l y v h u m ; , c i f o j c m ; z p n f c b n E l i h v u m c h r s m E S h w&m; & h v u l a ; q z p n i c b n h O y a ' o y n m r s m ; t & z p n f & n j z p a y o n f

v d'f u s i j c i t u r z u z u f t m ; j z i E y p u n d i y e f j c i f

1998 c&f E D i b m w G f , c i f , k b v y f n a x m i p q l l & m E l i h v u m w&m; & h u p l v b p b q h z w f c s u f (C e l e b i c i J u d g e m e n t) u l h y x m e r d t c e f t x d r k d'f u s i j c i t m ; E y p u n d i y e f j c i f t j z p f r , l q c h u a y ? p y p c k o l 4 O d t e u f a b m p e d , m ; r l q v i l w p O j z p b l p l v b p d t u o f p c e f ' k v d w m O e c h [m Z i f l v p l H a z i m D e l i c o n f 1992 c&f t w G f x h t u o f p c e f w G f c y a E h i c h a o m a b m p e d , m ; q m A f t r s t o r E S O u l r k d'f u s i j c i f j z i h * a m o a b m w p m c h y f t m ; j y i f y i x e x e f c h a z m u j c i f / p p O y a ' r s m ; t m ; c h a z m u j c i f j z i h E y p u n d i y e f u l u s ; v e l w p O j z p a = u m i f p p a q ; a w e b n f

x l b o m r k d'f u s i r s m ; o n f E l i h v u m O y a ' t & E y p u n d i y e f r a j m u b o n f u l l a p m ' u w u & f r & a u m i f j z i h w&m; & h u q h z w c b n f r k d'f u s i j c i E S h v d'f u s i j c i t u r z u z u f i w e n f

⁹ a&mrOya' <http://www.un.org/law/icc/statute/rome fra.htm>. Articles 7&8 w&f u n h y g
⁹ t p l a & a e E S h D e l i c E h t a y j i t y r s m / t r e l y w I T - 96 - 21 (16 N o v e m b e r 1998), [C e l e b i c i J u d g e m e n t]

&lyllfqll&mESpwwllfqll&mwll tjiiftxexcdLufemusipaaumifESH , ifonyif Eypuf
 nOyefr_ vubom&yjzpa=umifjizih w&m;&Mutav;teubwrvvcbn? EypuhOyefionh
 &mZOvrajrmu&eftw&uf vilt yaomtcsufn &n&G tsu&&ziylycbnif bomtcsufyif
 jzpbn? , ifw&f "Eypub&ol o&vnr[kvf tjcm;wpDDwpa, mu. owifay;wll&um;jiif
 o&[kvf z&f ajymqjci/ Eypub&ol o&vnr[kvf tjcm;wpDDwpa, mu&S ut;v&cbn
 o&[kvf ut;v&cbn=umifob, &bnly&ylwpcktw&uftjypay;jiif/ Eypub&ol o&vnr
 r[kvf tjcm;wpDDwpa, muftm; &fajcmujciif o&[kvf twiit&ylylyjiif/ o&[kvf
 rnbntEilf usipmum;rr&ultqit ajcbnht a&umifjysufsm;"¹⁰ ponht csufsm; yOibonf
 [k w&m;&u owrvvcbn? tr&orjzpa&ejifa=umif q&um tr&orjwpDDtay: t&uf
 z&fjisonf tEilf usipmum;jiifwp&fjzpbn? tr&orj. r&EG plujm;jiifa=umih r&f usifch
 jciiftjiif tr&orjzpa&ejifa=umif q&um tr&orjwpDDtay: x&lbomt&urzufsm;
 ut;v&fygu/ w&jrpbx&om us&rjcm;umtEilf usibn&n&G tsu&ajrmubnif k w&m;&u
 tav;x&m;owrvvcbn?¹¹ v&lyllfqll&mt&urzufsm;onf nOyefEypufyijzpbnif k
 , cif, r&bvfyfn&xmipqll&Eilf w&umw&m;&wpp&aq;cbomt&rrsm;w&fowrvvcbn?¹²

v&lyllfqll&mt&urzuf_t_m;jzih v&wllpply&t o&f&aqni&ajciif

v&lyllfqll&mt&urzuf&pmum;jiifsm;onf v&wllap&elylycbn Eilf w&um&mZOvrv_
 ut;v&ejcifvni jzpEilbn? v&wllap&elus;v&cbn&mZOvrvsm;wm;q&la&ESH tijp&ay;
 ta&; b&n&v&mcH (the Genocide Convention) w&f z&f&q&lwrvsv&x&m;csuft & 'Eilf w&v&Eilf
 v&wllppk v&f&a&; o&vnr[kvf boma&; tlypkvppk ponw& t&pvvt yll&wpckktm;
 vnfaumif/ wpp&ll&t&m;vnfaumif zsu&q&vbn&n&G tsu&jizylycbn t&ytrl
 rsm;onf T&obom&mZOvrv&w&ft u&Oifayon? r&f usifjif o&[kvf tjcm;aomv&lyll
 qll&mt&urzufsm;ESHw&bull o&fcm;! &f&q&k&m;csufsm;ryOifay? w&jrplyvlyix&m;aom
 t&ytrrsm;w&f v&wll tlypDifsm;t&m;owjzw&jiif/ c&E&u&ll u&obm&vnfaumif p&wlyllfqll&m
 u&obm&vnfaumif jyifxep&n&cdLufemusip&tmilylyjiif/ tlypkvppk w&f uav;ar&zn;ru&ll
 w&jrpb&e&n&G tsu&jizih p&ll&efsm;cs&wly&aqmijciif/ uav;i, f&m;t&m; tjcm;aom v&wll
 tlypkvppk& a&ajymily&aqmijciif/ tlypkvppk t&pvvt yll& o&vnr[kvf wpp&ll&t&m;
 zsu&q&acref&e&n&G lum t&qlygtlypk &Sbe&ex&ll&a&;up&fsm;u&ll wri&f&um&cdL&atmi&f
 &ylyjiif ponw&Oibon? v&wllowjzw&rumu&G b&;oabmw&pm&cyESHw&bull a&mr
 Oya'w&fvni tav;teu&azm&f&x&m;onf¹³

v&wllowjzw&rumu&G b&;oabmw&pm&cy&f. &n&G tsufn v&wll tlypkvppk&m; v&wll
 zsu&q&eft v&G tr&efw&m;t&if&jzih &lyllfqll&m x&cdLufemusip&tmilylycbnsm;t&m;
 wm;q&la&/ tijp&ay; ta&; b&;yijzpbn? v&wllw&ll&uf&tjzpf v&lyllfqll&mt&urzuf

¹⁰ x&lyllfqll&454
¹¹ x&lyllfqll&493
¹² Oym/ t&pa&&eESH Furundzija tr&rv& IT-95-17/1, q&ll&w&tsuf (10 Dece 1998) z&f&Z&fsm&q&ll&w&tsuf
 c&ht&S&um&G b&:aumif&ll t&x&ll&pp&f&me a'owm&O&ell z&f&Z&fsm&onf abmp&el, m; r&qviftr&orjwpDDt&m; pp&aq;ae&of
 umv&tw&f r&f usifjif y& t&ay;u&nb&n&f yif r&f r&w&f y&ay&jyOif&ll&v&cbnwpDDt&jzpbn Eypuh?Oyefr&u&ll&v&cbn
 v&ub&u&ll&y&u&jzpbn&aeonht&efsm;t&w&f Eypuh?Oyefrajrmu&e&v&ll&y&csufsm&w&f Eypuh?Oyefr&yOif&obsm;x&f&S teni&ll
 wpp&ll&onf t&pa&O&ex&r& o&f [kvf t&m%mt&x&ll& q&w&ll&bx&m;olwp&ll&D' jzpb&nif kv&m;&u& azm&f&cbn?
¹³ a&mrOya' t&yll&f& u&ll&ny&f

apmum; ujciifn vsh/ tlypdirsm; tm; relw/jcif. o±lyboueyijzply/ , iirfwr_onyifwif tjcmaom &lylylqll&mxc dLumusi batmi vlyvbnlly&yrsm;. ta=umif&ifc/zpayon?¹⁴

1998 putwibm 2 &u&e vif p&iqllzwbom t p&a&e Esh t um&ql (Akayesu) trwvif &Orf yv&m; &dl (ICTR) u vilyllqll&mt=urzubnht y trsm; tm; vsh w/vapa&v y&sr;. t ajccht powt yll frsm; t jzpf w&m; p&ell a=umif yxrlt) urft jzpf ot rsvlycbn?¹⁵ wmbm (Tabu) tlyc/ya& a' o t) ut u jzpbol *sifeayvft um&ql (Jean-Paul Akayesu) onf vsh w/vlowjzwr/ vlobmow&m; tay: ut; v&om&mZowfrrsm;/ pp&mZowfrrsm; tjyif vilyll qll&mt=urzubnht y trsm; jzplyh; aea=umif u b/v u Esh 4if. yll eue, hjrt wvif t qlyg t=urzufrsm; qulvul; v&ell&ef cilydci jzilu; v&frsm; w&ft m; ay; uhjciif ponjypr_ rsm; jzih w&m; p&ell ypon? xlyif vilyllqll&mt=urzubn&mZowfrrsm; ut; v&ell o l u 4if u/ w/v l&ea=umif/ x b&ejcifa=umiyif &mZowfrrsm; ut; v&ell t m; ay; tm; ajrmuly&m a&mub=umif pojzih vn/ f&suwvlt&on? wmbm tlyc/ya& a' o Esh &Orf f&llht o&EY jzplyh; cbom vilyllqll&mt=urzubn&mZowfrrsm; onf vsh w/v lowjzwbnt ht y trsm; yijzpf onf kw&m; &luqllzwbnt?

xlvilyllqll&mt=urzufr_ aemuquwvif vsh w/v lowjzwbnt&mZowfrrsm; ut; v&ell t wul oljcm; &n&g tsuf y&e onf ll w&m; &lu, bayon? xlv n&g tsu Esh y woull vni taxmuft xm; rsm; &eay&m rk dfr trsm; tjym; onf vsh; uht pkl uft yll v/ ulf owjzw jryk& m; on&e&mrsm; t&elwif ut; v&ell bng h om t&ur sm;/ ta0; o∾ aqmi b&h; aom tr&ll or&rs; tm; aemu yll wvif u y rsubw/jz w&ep pnf apon h = u j m c&ur sm; ut; kvlye&bnf qll onf it axmuft xm; rsm; &eayon?¹⁶

w&m; &lu 'vsh/ tlypkt wvif y uav; arfzh; rrrsm; ut; v m; jrp&e n&g lumaqmi f&ur rsm;' [bompum; pk t 'yq; ftm; vni p&ofpm; o l o ycbn? txlojzih vilyllqll& m x d L u e m u s i & e f y v l y j c i f / o a E k w n a p & e f o m ; a u m j z w j c i f / t w i f t u y l u t D e l w m ; j c i f / j u l w i p p o t y d u t D e & a p & e f y v l y j c i f p o n h v i l y l l q l l & m t = u r z u b n h t y t r s m ; p E s h y w o u l l t x l * ± l y a v h m o l o y c b n ? x l y i v n f r k d f u s i j c i f o n f p o w y l l q l l & m x d L u e m u s i f _ j z p a y ; a p j c i f t m ; j z i h v r s h / t l y p k v p c k t w v i f u t D e l a q m i j c i f u t v m ; q D e l l & e a q m i f & u t s u l v p & y f z p a = u m i f u l l v n f a v h m a w & e l l a y o n ? ¹⁷

vilyll t=urzufr tm; jzih vlobmow&m; tay: &mZowf ut; v&ejcif

ppjzplyh; aepOfzppap o& [kw i f t c r i o n h t a j c t a e w i j z p a p / t & y l o m ; r s m ; t a y : v i l y l l q l l & m t = u r z u f r s m ; t m ; p e p l w u E s h u s , l u s , j y e y e t l y p k u t ; v e j c i f r s m ; t m ; v l o b m o w & m ; t a y : u t ; v e b n l & m Z o w f r r s m ; t j z p f w & m ; p e l l a y o n ? v o w j c i f / E l y p u n d y e j c i f / u l e j y c i f / t u o i c j c i f / j y n h v e q m b o o t t w i f t u y y l a q m i j c i f / u t D e & a p & e f t w i f

¹⁴ Judith G. Gardam & Michelle J. Jarvis . tr&onrsm; vubul lly/y u Esh itjynjnqll&mOya' Kluwer Law

International pmsuEh 190 wifunlyg

¹⁵ t p&a&e Esh t um&ql tr_tr w i C T R 96-4 q l l z w c u l (2 S e p t e m b e r 1 9 9 8) [A k a y e s u j u d g m e n t]

¹⁶ x d p m y l l 1733? Supra note 7 pmsuEh 195 wifunlyg

¹⁷ x d p m y l l i 507 Esh 508? Gardam, supra note 15 pmsuEh 195 wifunlyg vilyllqll&mt=urzufr ujciif tm; jzih vsh w/v lowjzw jzpb=umif ovrsvr ul t p&a&e Esh r&qr m tr_ wif ICTR r s c r s v o n h a e m u q u i w i q l l z w c u l t w n l y x m ; o n f the Prosecutor v. Musema, ICTR 96-13-1 Judgment, 27 January 2000 [Musema judgment]

tay: wif rkdusijci/ o'vnr [kvf tjcmaom vrqebnlyr
 usijci/ rsm; tm; pepwusut; v'ejci/ [kvf tpk/ luf yk/ luf us; v'ejci/ ponw' m; v'
 oni v'obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; xlv'ft us; Oibn? E' h' hvumjzppap
 a' ow' f' jzppap/ v'ueu' lly' E' y' utsm; tw' f' ut; v'ejci/ jzpygu T ut; v'et' m; v'konf
 pp& mZowfrsm; yijzpon?

v'ly' f' q' l' & m t' urzujci/ u' l' v'obmOw& m; tay: & mZowfr ut; v'ejci/ t' jzpbw' f' sv' jci/ E' sh
 yw' bou' l' , ae' at' xlv' ut' b' ab' m' v' h' r' sm; w' f' at' m' u' y' g' t' c' s' u' r' sm; y' g' i' on? E' y' pu' h' O' y' e' j' ci/ f'
 u' l' v'obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; t' jzpf' ow' f' sv' jci/ r' k' d' f' u' s' i' j' ci/ u' l' v'
 obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; t' jzpbw' f' sv' jci/ u' l' jw' f' y' w' b' m; om; t' o' d' t' r' s' v' y'
 - u' j' ci/ f'¹⁸ (r' k' d' f' u' s' i' j' ci/) v'ly' f' q' l' & m t' urzujci/ u' l' v' r' q' e' b' n' l' y' r' e' n' f' r' sm; t' m;
 j' z' i' h' v'obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; t' jzpf' ow' f' sv' jci/ w' & m; p' o' t' i' c' i/ u' l' e' y' e' t' c' i/ f'
 ap' j' ci/ u' l' v'obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; . t' p' w' f' t' y' l' l' w' p' & y' jzpon' h' t' y' t' r' i'
 t' jzpbw' f' sv' jci/ t' m; t' o' d' t' r' s' v' y' - u' j' ci/ f' ponw' y' g' i' on?

tum& b' q' t' r' p' & i' t' s' u' l' r' k' d' f' u' s' i' j' ci/ t' m; pp& mZowfr t' jzpf' us; l' us; j' y' e' y' e' t' " y' g' f'
 z' i' h' z' i' h' v'obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; E' s' h' v' e' l' w' y' i' jzpf'
 a' u' m' i' f' ow' f' sv' jci/ r' k' d' f' r' sm; u' l' pepw' u' s' E' s' h' t' y' p' k' / l' u' f' y' u' s' i' t' a' u' j' ci/ jzpa' u' m' i' f' w' & m; & h' S'
 pp' a' q' ; a' w' e' b' n' ? t' u' m' & b' q' t' r' p' & i' t' s' u' l' w' f' r' k' d' f' u' s' i' j' ci/ u' l' a, b' k' ; s' q' e' a' o' m, k' q' c' s' u' r' sm; jzpon' h'
 w' e' b' / r' o' m; p' k' o' v' n' r' [kvf & y' b' a' t' m; * P' % b' u' t' h' n' p' E' t' f' ap' j' ci/ p' o' j' z' i' h' z' i' h' v'obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; E' s' h' v' e' l' w' y' i' jzpf'
 t' r' s' o' r' t' w' p' O' D. y' k' l' v' a' & ; v' l' h' u' l' u' l' u' b' l' u' j' ci/ jzpon' i' k' y' h' l' y' v' a' y' ; a' t' m' i' f' j' y' e' v' n' u' m' t' " y' g' f'
 z' i' h' z' i' h' v'obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; t' jzpf' ow' f' sv' jci/ u' l' jw' f' y' w' b' m; om; t' o' d' t' r' s' v' y' - u' j' ci/ f'
 j' c' i' f' y' i' jzpf' u' m' v' r' q' e' a' o' m' t' j' c' m; t' y' t' r' s' m; j' z' i' h' v'obmOw& m; tay: & mZowfr ut; v'ejci/ jzpf'
 on' i' k' w' & m; & h' u' z' i' h' z' i' h' v'obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; t' jzpf' ow' f' sv' jci/ u' l' jw' f' y' w' b' m; om; t' o' d' t' r' s' v' y' - u' j' ci/ f'
 o' f' i' q' i' f' w' e' b' m' v'ly' f' q' l' & m t' urzujci/ rsm; t' jzpf' u' e' l' w' b' w' f' sv' x' m; j' c' i' f' r' [kv' a' - u' m' i' f'
 t' d' i' t' r' m' o' u' a' o' j' y' v' l' u' j' ci/ jzpon? v'obmOw& m; tay: & mZowfr w' p' c' i' t' jzpf' v' r' q' e' b' n'
 ut; v'ebn' h' p' l' e' t' z' g' ; a' u' m' i' f' a' o' m' v'ly' f' q' l' & m' a' p' m' u' m; r' t' r' s' t' p' m; t' m; , k' b' v' y' l' v' & m; & h'
 (ICTY) u' z' m' e' z' i' p' & i' t' s' u' l' (Furundzija decision) w' f' t' w' n' l' y' c' b' n' ?

w' m' p' (Tadic) t' r'²⁰ w' f' i' t' h' m' p' u' m' (Omarska) p' c' e' f' r' s' a' b' m' p' e' l' , m; q' m' b' o' p' p' t' & m' & h' , f'
 ' y' p' u' l' w' m' p' (Dusko Tadic) t' m; j' y' p' r' x' i' & h' ; o' j' z' i' h' 1997' c' E' p' i' a' r' v' 7 & u' b' e' w' f' i' , k' b' v' y' l' v'
 w' & m; & h' (ICTY) u' p' l' e' t' z' g' ; a' u' m' i' f' a' o' m' v'ly' f' q' l' & m t' urzujci/ rsm; ut; v'ebn' h' & mZowfrsm;
 t' y' g' t' O' i' f' v'obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; a' u' m' i' h' E' y' p' u' h' O' y' e' j' ci/ f' q' l' & m
 & mZowfr O' y' a' y' l' r' sm; j' z' i' h' p' l' e' t' z' g' ; a' u' m' i' f' a' o' m' v'ly' f' q' l' & m t' urzujci/ rsm; t' m;
 w' l' u' l' u' s' ; v' e' t' l' r' [kv' a' o' m' v' n' i' / u' s, l' us, j' y' e' y' e' t' p' e' p' w' u' s' y' v' l' y' c' h' o' m' t' a' x' a' x' i' t' - u' r' z' u' f'
 v' y' & h' ; r' r' sm; w' f' i' y' o' i' c' h' a' u' m' i' f' p' p' a' q' ; a' w' e' b' l' x' b' p' l' e' t' z' g' ; a' u' m' i' f' a' o' m' v'ly' f' q' l' & m t' urzujci/ rsm; t' m;
 v'obmOw& m; tay: us; v'ebn& mZowfrsm; t' jzpf' ow' f' sv' jci/ u' l' jw' f' y' w' b' m; om; t' o' d' t' r' s' v' y' - u' j' ci/ f' ponw' y' g' i' on?

¹⁸ ICTY Statute Article 5(g) ICTR Statute Article 3. Article 7 (1) (G) w' l' y' g' a' o' m' v'ly' f' q' l' & m t' urzujci/ u' l' v'obmOw& m; tay: w' l' u' s' ; v'ebn' h' & mZowfrsm; E' s' h' v' e' l' w' y' i' jzpf' u' m' i' f' ow' f' sv' jci/ r' k' d' f' u' s' i' j' ci/ t' w' i' t' t' a' y' i' j' n' l' w' e' q' m' y' j' ci/ t' w' i' t' t' a' y' i' u' l' D' e' l' a' p' j' ci/ t' w' i' t' t' a' y' o' m' a' u' m' j' z' w' a' p' j' i' r' sm; o' l' [kv' v'ly' f' q' l' & m t' urzujci/ rsm; t' m; w' l' t' " y' g' f' a' q' m' i' b' n' i' t' y' t' r' t' m; v' l' y' o' i' a' u' m' i' f' i' z' i' h' w' l' e' w' f' sv' jci/ rsm; t' m;

¹⁹ tum& b' q' t' r' p' & i' t' s' u' l' t' y' l' i' 697 u' l' u' n' i' y' r' a' q' m' q' l' z' w' t' s' u' l' s' u' p' r' a' n' o' t' e' 20 w' l' v' n' i' - u' n' i' y' r' k' d' f' r' sm; o' n' i' t' & y' o' m' r' sm; tay: w' f' i' o' l' u' s' E' s' h' u' s' l' us, j' y' e' y' e' t' p' e' p' w' u' s' ; v' e' l' y' v' l' y' c' b' n' i' y' a' q' m' i' r' sm; jzpon' E' s' h' t' n' d' r' a' q' r' m' o' n' i' v' n' i' v'obmOw& m; tay: w' l' u' s' ; v'ebn' h' & mZowfrsm; (r' k' d' f' r' t' w' l' t' j' y' p' & a' u' m' i' f' a' o' m' v'ly' f' q' l' & m t' urzujci/ rsm; t' m;

²⁰ t' p' l' e' t' z' g' ; a' u' m' i' f' a' o' m' v'ly' f' q' l' & m t' urzujci/ rsm; t' m; 7 May 1999 [Tadic judgment]

vilyi qil&m t=urfzujciftm; t&ybom;jynbbrsm;tay: us, fus, jyejye@ pepwvusy vlybom t=urfzuvy&rn; rsm;. t p w t y i i t j z p i o w r s v p 0 i p m; E l i a = u m i f t q l y p & i q j z w t s u l u a z m j y o w r s v m l u j c i j z p o n ? u s ; a u s m i v l u b l u b l w e t = u r f z u v y & r n ; r w i f u s , f u s , f j y e j y e o l [k w i p e p l w u s u t ; v e c j i j z p a o m v n f r k d f u s i j c i f t m ; u s , f u s , j y e j y e o l [k w i p e p l w u s y v l y c i i [k w r [k w i o u h a o j y & e r v i t t y a y / r k d f u s i j c i f o n i & m Z o w r y p h t r s r s t t e u f w p c k t m ; u s ; v e c j i i [k w r [k w i [b o m o u h a o j y & e r v i t t y r n j z p o n ? ²¹

r k d f u s i j c i f t m ; v l o b m o w & m ; t a y : u s ; v e b o m & m Z o w r t j z p i u e m & u f (K u n a r a c) / u a u f (K o v a c) E s h A l u a p i (V u k o v i c) p o n h t r r s m ; w i f , r i b q v y i w & m ; & M (I C T Y) u 2 0 0 1 c E s i a z a z m D & V 2 2 & u a e v i f y x r q l t t u r f t j z p i p & i t s u b n ? ²² a b m p e d , m ; q m b f v u e u l u i f w y z d i r s m ; o n i r k d f u s i j c i f t m ; t = u r f z u v u e u f t j z p i t o l y c h = u m i f / , i f w e u t ; v e m l o n i r n b l u l q l x l v u e u f t m ; t c e r a & g v w v w v y v y i t o l y c h = u m i f w & m ; & M t r s v i (2) u p p a q ; a w & e b o n ? t j c m ; a o m t a = u m i f t c s u r s m ; t y g t o i f w & m ; & H t a e j z i h w & m ; c h v e u s ; v e r r s m ; r i n r q v i b o m o i f t & y b o m ; r s m ; t m ; p e p l w u s w l u b l u j c i r s m ; j z p i a = u m i f / , i f w e t a e j z i h x l v y & r n ; t " u & n & g t s u l w p c k r n r q v i b o m o i f r s m ; t m ; a ' o t w i r s z , & n ; & e j z p o n i u l v n f o & k m ; u a = u m i f / x & n & g t s u l x a j r m u a t m i j r i & e l r q v i b o m o i f t & y b o m ; r s m ; a e & y o j y e v m l r j z p e l i b o n h t a j c t a e o l a & m u & d a p a & ; t w e u f t = u r f z u v y & r n ; w l u b l u c h = u m i f / & m Z o w r y p h t r s r s t t x l o j z i h z r f q d x e f o r t x m ; a o m t r l o r d r s m ; / r e f r i , & v ; r s m ; t m ; r k d f o y u s i j c i f e s y w b u b n & m Z o w r r s m ; u l v n f , i f w e o & k m ; v n x m ; u a = u m i f / r q v i f t r l o r d r s m ; u l r k d f u s i B e f t w e u f t r e & k m ; j c i f r [k v o n h t j y i f r k d f u s i B e f t r e v m y g u v n f v l u e m & e r n , i f w e t a y : w i b o m r i w n a = u m i f p o j z i f p p a q ; a w & e b o n ?

u e m & u f (K u n a r a c) / u a u f (K o v a c) E s h A l u a p i (V u k o v i c) w e o n i u l e t y j c i i v y & y f t m ; j z i h v l o b m o w & m ; t a y : u s ; v e b o n h & m Z o w r u s ; v e c h o m a = u m i h j y p f % c r s v t c h a y o n ? v l o b m o w & m ; t a y : u s ; v e b o m & m Z o w r t m ; u l e t y j c i i j z i u s ; v e c h o n h t r r s r s t e s y w b o u l , r i b q v y i w & m ; & M (I C T Y) u y x r q l t t u r f t j z p i p p a q ; a w & e b o n q l j z w t c i j z p o n ? w & m ; c h v e o n i t r l o r d (6) O d t m ; u l e t y c h o n i v i h a u s u l e r s m ; t j z p i v a y g i r s m ; p a n z r f q d x e f o r t y d w & m ; c h r s m ; E s h t j c m ; y k l v r s m ; t m ; t y p m l u i t u r f t u r f r k d f o y u s i c h u j c i i j z p o n ? t q l y g j y p f % p & i t s u b n f v l o b m o w & m ; t a y : u s ; v e b o m & m Z o w r t m ; v i l u l e t y j c i i j z i u s ; v e c h a o m a = u m i f c r s v t c h o m w & m ; p & i t s u r s m ; j z p o n ? ²³

²¹ xil tyli 704 Esh 649? vlobmow&m;tay:us;vebon&mZowrvvif ypi bnfsm;Eshywoull tao;plvi aqfaElyxm;oni Prosecutor v. Blaskic, No. IT-95-19, Judgment (3 March 2000), para 203 wlvnfnunlyf 'peplwuswlublacrefrwilydiboni t"uvu@m&yav;duil w&m;#S azmjxm;mwvif (u) t&ybom; vr# t p k z v p c k t a y : & m Z o w r y p c k u l x E s k n E s i u s ; v e c j i i (c) E l i a & ; n f e f c s u l w p c k i i / w l u b l a c r e f e f t v i p & ; q b o n h t p i t p o l w p c k i i / v r t p i t z v p c k u l z u b l a c r e f e l n ? 0 y e f E j p u e l o l [k w i t i f t m a v s m e n f o h i a p a e l t , l t q o a b m w & m ; w p c k x m ; & i i / (*) p p l v y E s i c i i l & m j z p a p / t j c m ; j z p a p t a & y g o n h t r s m ; y i E s h y l v u y i l t & i i t j r p r s m ; t m ; t o l y j c i i E s h u s ; v e c j i i (c) e n l p e p l u o n h t p i t p o r s m ; c r s v j c i i E s h t a u m i f x n a z m j c i i w e v i f t q i j r i h E l i a & ; t m % m y l r s m ; E s h o l [k w t q i j r i p p t m % m y l r s m ; y g o f O l u a o m e n i v r j z i j y d i j y w b u j c i i ?

²² 'Judgment of rial Chamber II in the Kunarac, Kovac and Vukovic case', the Hague, 22 February 2001 JL/P.I.S/

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²³ xil p m r s u E h 1 E s i v e t c i l i t a & ; a p m i l u n h v i v m a & ; t z e . 'Bosnia: Landmark Verdicts for Rape, Torture, and Sexual Enslavement', (New York, February 22)

vidljit urzuf t m; jzihpp&mZOWr ut; v&fci f - 1949c&f* Amoabmwh&tsuf t m; p&dtz&g h&umifavmu&tmit&azmuzjci/ ppy&q&ll&m v&uem&rnr&nfr&Oya' rsm; t m; c&h&azmuzjci f

1949 c&f&f *Amoabmwh&tsuf t m; p&dtz&g h&umifavmu&tmit&azmuzjci/ ppy&q&ll&m Oya' rsm; t m; E&ll&lvumv&f&v&u&u&ll&y&E&y&u&tsm; Yyg x&ES&xn&ES&jyif&x&ep&h& c&h& azmuzjci/pon&w&t&m; v&lon&f pp&mZOWr&rsm; w&ft&ut&Di&fayon? *Amoabmwh&tsuf t m; v&lon&f jyn&w&f&v&u&e&u&ll&y&E&y&u&tsm; ES&lob&u&ll&r&f&ay? o&lon&f v&n&f r&ll&f&r&ES&h&yw&ou&ll& um; jyn&w&f&y&E&y&u&pp&y&f&rsm; t w&f v&id&j&ll&ll&m t&ur&f&ub&n&lv&y&rsm; t m; t&jyn&jyn&q&ll&m v&om; c&si&p&mem&rOya' u w&v&v&us&v&m; j&r&p&x&m; on? *Amoabmwh&tsuf ty&ll& 3 w&f 'v&ly&ll&v&ES&h& v&erb&0&t&m; t&ur&f&uz&fci/ ' &u&p&ub&h&y&r&fci/ 'n&O&y&ef&E&y&f&u&fci' o&ll& [kw&f 'v&e&ll&v&ob&u&ll&t&m; x&y&g&ap&on&h&u&p&u&r&f&um; r&rsm;' u&lv&m; j&r&p&x&m; ayon? jyn&w&f v&u&e&u&ll&f y&E&y&u&tsm; t w&f&f&f&f&v&om; rsm; u&ll& t&um&t&u&g& f&y&e&f *Amoabmwh&tsuf rsm;. a&em&u&qu&iv&f& p&mc&ly&f Oya' y&ll&f 4 (2)(i) w&f 'v&e&ll&v&ob&u&ll&t&m; x&y&g&ap&on&h&u&p&u&r&f&um; r&rsm;/ v&r&q&eb&n&h& ap&m&um; y&r&fci&rsm;/ r&ll&f&oy&us&j&fci/ jyn&v&e&q&mb&0&o&h&u&u&e&f t w&ll&t&u&y&ll&v&ly&fci&ES&h& &ll&f&ll&f , k&v&h&om& t&oy&t&rsm;' pon&w&u&ll&t&w&ll& v&if& w&m; j&r&p&y&ll&me&f&x&m; on?²⁴

zm&e&Z&f&st&r&p&its&u&(Furundzija judgment) ES&h&u&em&u&f (Kunarac)/ u&ll&u&(Kovac) ES&h&A&u&ll&Ap&f (Vukovic) pon&ht&r&rsm; w&f r&ll&f&us&j&fci&t&m; pp&mZOWr&t&j&z&pf , f&ll&v&y&v&w&m; &ll& (ICTY) ut&wn&ly&ay&cl&on? t&x&lo&j&zh& jyn&w&f&v&u&e&u&ll&y&E&y&u&tsm; ES&h&yw&ou&ll& zm&e&Z&f&st&r&p&its&u&(Furundzija judgment) w&f , f&ll&v&y&v&w&m; &ll& (ICTY) u r&ll&f&us&j&fci&t&m; *Amoabm wh&tsuf tax&x&yl&r (3)t& pp&mZOWr&t&j&z&pf ow&f&w&cl&on? zm&e&Z&f&son&f ab&mp&el, m; r&q&v&if&tr&lor&w&p&0&t&m; r&ll&f&us&j&fci& u&ll&h&t&m; ay&j&fci/ w&ll&u&v&e&f&v&h&q&mfci&f t&m; j&zh& j&y&f&u&v&e&ch&u&mf w&m; &ll& p&pa&q&aw&cl&on? zm&e&Z&f&son&f , i&f& p&pa&q&ar&j&ref& a&ea&om& ab&mp&el, m; r&q&v&if&tr&lor&t&m; , i&f. v&u&at&mu&f , b&m; j&z&pb&u& p&t&ll&t&m; v&n&fa&um&f/ r&ef&r&u&ll&f&t&m; v&n&fa&um&f/ y&g&py&f&t&m; v&n&fa&um&f r&ll&f&us&j&fci& p&0&u&/ zm&e&Z&f&st&ae&j&zh&f 'x&ll&ZOWr_ ut; v&e&f&f&w&u&f w&e&f&t&m; ay&ap&on&h& u&ll&fci/ w&ll&u&v&e&f&fci& o&ll&v&n&r [kw&f p&w&ly&ll&f&ll&ll&mt& t&m; ay&j&fci' w&ll&t&m; y&v&e&ch&u&mf p&pa&q&aw&cl&on? u&em&u&f (Kunarac)/ u&ll&u&(Kovac) ES&h&A&u&ll&Ap&(Vukovic) w&lon&f ppy&q&ll&ll&m Oya' orsm; o&ll& [kw&f u&em&u&f&r&n&h& x&ll&w&rsm; u&ll& c&h&azmuzjci&t&j&z&pf&h&zw&um& r&ll&f&r/ w&p&en&f pp&mZOWr&ut; v&e&ch&u&mf j&y&f& %p&ll&ic&ll&on?

a&m&rOya' t& 1949c&f&f *Amoabmwh&tsuf u&ll& (E&ll&lvumv&f&v&u&u&ll&y&E&y&u&tsm; t w&f) p&dtz&g h&umifavmu&tmit&azmuzjci o&ll& [kw&f *Amoabmwh&tsuf tax&x&yl&r (3) u&ll& (jyn&w&f v&u&e&u&ll&y&E&y&u&tsm; t w&f) j&y&f&j&y&f&e&f&e&az&mu&z&fci&rsm; w&ft&y&g&t&O&j&z&pb&n&h& r&ll&f&us&j&fci/ v&ll&u&v&e&f&fci/ t w&ll&t&u&y&ll&v&e&q&mb&j&fci/ u&ll& D&e&aq&mf&ap&e&f t w&ll&t&u&y&f& p&0&j&fci/ o&ll&E&rat&mi&ap&e&f t w&ll&t&u&y&om; a&um&j&w&fci/ o&ll&v&n&r [kw&f y&ll&t& r&ll&f&zh& v&id&j&ll& q&ll&ll&mt&ur&f&uz&fci&rsm; on&f pp&mZOWr&rsm; y&i&z&pb&n& [k&q&ll&? ²⁵

²⁴ 1949 o&ll& [kw&f 12 *Amoabmwh&tsuf rsm; a&em&u&qu&iv&ES&h& t&jyn&jyn&q&ll&ll&m r [kv&ab&om& v&u&e&u&ll&f y&E&y&u&tsm; t w&f 'm; p&mc&ly&f t&m; u&mu&g& b&g& p&mc&ly&ES&h& p&py&f&f) 1977 'Z&il&om& 12 w&f p&w&ll&f v&u&r&v&ab&x&ll&u& on&p&mc&ly&f Article 4(2) (a) and (e), 1125 U.N.T.S.3, 16 ILM 1442 (1977)? j&r&ef&E&ll&ll&bn&f t&q&ll&g& a&em&u&qu&iv&f& p&mc&ly&f t&O&ll&f&ll& [kv&ab&om&v&n&f T Oya' on&f x&ll&w&rsm; t& t&jyn&jyn&q&ll&ll&m Oya' j&z&pb&u&mf ap&mf u&w&u&ll&fayon?

²⁵ Rome Statue, article 8 (2) (b)(xxii) (international armed conflicts).

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bvmpupfrqjzwtsul (*Blaskic Judgment*) wif c&āt;&ō;umūG h&aumipō (Croatian
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xm;a&;aqmi f&ubhsm;t m; vlt t qdtwm;r&bnh ylyl f&fsm;ul&ly&e? t xlojzi h e, pyf
a'orm;Y trslordsm;Eshuav;oli, fsm;t m; varfih l uaeonh y\ emsm;ulajz&sf&e?

7? uav;t cflit a&;qil &moabmwpmcsy Esh trslordsm;t m;enr&spzicm;quqht m;vl
zsubofa&;oabmwpmcsy wlvlyqDibnht csufsm;t wlvluémaqmi f&u&e? Elfi hwmDya'
jylmefum tqy oabmwpmcsy fsm;Esh n d v u&w&azmaqmi f&u&e? trslordsm;t m; enr
r&spzicm;quqht m;vzsubofa&;oabmwpmcsy. o&e&em uquívpmcsy wlf yqDif
vufsvx&Esh twnlyvufsvx&e;/ tvm;wlyif uav;oli, fsm;t cflit a&; qil &m
oabmwpmcsy. o&e&em uquívpmcsy wlyqDif vufsvx&e;/ twnly&w& wuf
jyelvnpofpm; o&oy&e?

8? tršoršm;tm;enšpžikm;quqhtm;vlyaysnuh&;qil&maumfvd t)ulycsufsm;
 ul tijnit 0taumift xnazm&el t xiojzih tršoršt cšht a&;cšazmubrsm;tm; w&m;
 p&i ppaq;um t jypay;&e&arwll&yctsuult aumift xnazm&el

xli&Eli fi hwmft pl&ole-

1? xli&Eli ES&šjyné, pya' o&&šfvxktm; xli&Eli hvčfole, pyjzwaumcšay;um 'lu0
 onpcefrsm;ESh ukvor*-lu0bnfsm;qil&mr [mriš)ud&wš qubč; ečyjciftmjzih tum
 tuč ay;&el

2? Eli h&;cšwč&, Mbns&fwl&i&fom;rsn;tm; xli&Eli Ht ajcpuluf vbm;csi fpmemaxmučm;
 r_t ult n&ay;aeonhit z&tpnfsm;ESh qubč; Eli č&ay;&el

3? ajymifa&šia&mučvm&šft včorm;trsm;pbni tršwu, f lu0bnfsm;jzpaoma=umih
 , ifwčtm; jrefmEli hvčfole yel&onupESjwbuil oboe*šyaqmič&el

4? &šft ršoršm;tm; jrefm ppi včvulvčfole yel&vni h&qmijcifršy&el

5? ajymifa&šexil bl jrefm Eli h&bm;rsn;ESjwbuil aqč&Ečci/ nEli jcift jif Eli h&fole yel&
 a&;t pčt pčrsm;tm;včwčf xli&Eli ES jrefmEli Ht p&rsn;taejzih Eli hvumvr_t Oešt Oš ES h
 ukvor*-lu0bnfsm;qil&mr [mriš)ud&wš yčiaqč&Eli h&;ul č&ay;&el ajymifa&šexil bl
 tvčorm;rsn;. xli&č&vm&šjcift aumif&i fsm;ult qlyqč&Elyčsm;wčful vč; h&š&š&el

Eli fi hvumt Oešt Oš č&ole-

1? jrefmr [kvāom včwčwli&i&fom;rsn;axli&ma' orsm;wčf txilu&jzplyšub&onh vč
 t cšht a&;cšazmub&errsm;ul h&č &e&nč& čsuzih [ešyčvč&onh Eli h&;jzpay;wčwuf_
 qčbnfsm;tm; včččifiršy&el

2? ukvor*-včt cšht a&;aumf&šf. 'jrefmEli hvčfole t cšht &;t ajctae' ESjwbuonh
 qčzwčsuf tršvi 2002š67 ult ajččyxm;onh txub&zmjyč t)ulycsufsm;tm; azm&aqmič&el
 twčuf ppft p&ul zčtm;ay;&el jrefmEli hvčf 'č&ua&pyel&vnx&xmič&;twčuf ppft p& rš
 t yčt jw&ajymifvčrsm; ršyčvčrčšif t ult n&ay;r_t m;včul qčif i č&m;&el

3? jrefmEli hvčšjyné, š' orsm;Y včul h&e=onh ukvor*-včat mučht z&tpnfsm;ESh
 Eli hvum t p&r [kvonhit z&tpnfsm;taejzih tqlyč' orsm;wčf t&yčom;jynb&rsn;tay:
 ppft p&rš&š;vč&onh &upuf, kvčmr_rsm;ESjwbuil rnb&š&ajymqč&beyč , ifwč
 ul wčf tqlyčypuhčyefrsm;wčf tvčvčt včjzpb&ri;Eli onhit m;avšp&š (t qlyč&upuf
 , kvčmr_rsm;ESjwbuil) vč&š&um;ouč&oxč&ub&č&;twčuzčtm;ay;&el □

aemufquwł 1 - awłqłr;jref;csuft a o;pdwf (jzp&yf 28 cł)

(ełygrsm;onijzp&yf173 cł tuofcłypm&ifułnh&fon)

- (1) trnf , mrl(trn&ifr [kw)
- touf 19 Ełf
- tłaxmif r&ł
- vrłł vm; [l
- bmom c&pf, mef
- tvlyftułłf v, łorm;
- ae&yf vm; [&łv/rłłiqwf
- tcifjzpcłłf 1991 cEłf r wł 8 & uł
- etz wyf cv& 49/wytcł3/ rłłiqwf

"wplnrł ur&ł urolı, łsıfEłł, muł AD) łunıy) tıfyełuygw, ł urwł u vrłr u aerjyebł, mcıfawł ułzwıy) jyelvmclıygw, ł vrłrł rłłiqwıf ł ajcpłłf cv& 49/wytcł3 u ppłom;wpł, muł yulıfıwıygw, ł ou usulrłqłvıy) urolı, łsıfawłł armıfıkwıygw, ł urolı, łsıfEłł, mułuvnı a-umıftm;vełtm;eł &łbułłł ajy;u w, ł usrvnı 'łaxmuły) usulbmıfıvıy) awmıfyeygw, ł 'ğyr, hı ou usulł '&łvıwıwıvıfab; qłsıy) r włm; usııygw, ł

"' ł jzpcłıwıem u ławmh us&łnr&ıcsu ławłt m; vł okł & ołjzpcłı; cıygw, ł t m%mył ławłłwıłłm; cıfıyr, łvını ppłt pł&łhppıvıy) uł us aum u łeygw, ł t & i w ł e u w cıyav acıı uł u łw mawł acıı rıw mawł jzpcıw wıy, hı t "rıy k usı cıı y wıem u łr ławmh tı) a o' emawł u yı) qıv mclıygw, ł nbu ławłıvını tıy & awmıł? pıvıx rıı 'jzp & yı qı ułł pı) p m; r wıłł t & rı cł m; & w, ł a, muł m; wıłı u ł a-um u bıı; wıłt xıyı?

"us & ł rı m; plu urtay: em; vınrıy; cıubı? az; rıy nı r & ł bı? ołwı & m urolı, łsıfawłuyg usulł txıftjıııo; wıbıbmııeł tıurıvıy u awmıł? urtzeł txı) usejzpcıy) t & rıy) pıwıqııf & cııw, ł tı) t cıı u 1991 cEłf/ ur rıłıq wı tı x uı w ł eł aumıı rıı 10 w ł f w u ł b e wıłt cııyı) p m a r; yı) jzpcı) u r s r w & m; jıy k usı cıı k a w m h pıvıı pıı p eł ur p m a r; yı) jzpcı) u wıy) o? 'jzp & yı qı u us & ł b o w u ł v r f a w ł t m; vı) u ł t z e s u ł y p m u ł v m yıy?

- (2) trnf ee(cıı(trn&ıf r [kw)
- touf 17 Ełf
- tłaxmif r&ł
- vrłł & ł f
- bmom Ał b m o m
- tvlyftułłf v, łorm;

ae&yf aemiV/ emOrf tlypk nilyef rle, f
 tcifjzpcsf 1991 cEfiZEv 17 &uf
 etz wyf cr& 332/ wyc&A/ AUJUD armifarmi pti

1991 cEfi ZEv 17 &u&e&vif AUJUD armifarmi pti Oraqmi&om cr& 332/ wyc& 4 rS
 titm; 50 cel&wylwplwbybni nilyef&rtjyibub& uifv&n&ku&vm&uon? eefcif
 wpa, mu&wnf ol& mcifrs &th&oy&v&mae&on&ul& x&lwyr&aw&o&n? eefcif&bnf
 ol&brsm; , mcifrs j&er&v&mr&d n± ul&wif&cs&u&y&w&e&E&sh& tjcm; t&f&ru&pp&rm; v&ya&qmi&eft&w&uf
 ap&map&m j&ye&v&mc&ic&j&z&pn? t&q&y&pp&wy&u eefci&u&w&on&E&sh& ar; c&ef&rm; qu&w&u&ar&j&ref
 y&la&em&uf , i&f&w&E&st&w&ac&a&qmi&b&n; ob&n? n&a&m&u&ab&om&v&nf ortm; j&ye&v&w&ray&uac&
 "w&et&w&w&l x&ri&f&v&mp&m;? x&ri&f± y&w&i&f i&g&w&v&nf t&j&u&b&n; r, f" [k ajm&u&y&g&on?
 eefci&u x&ri&f± b&l w&pa, mu&f&wnf x&lw&ac&ly&g&on? pl&v&x&w&v&u&um; Or&fen&f&y&d a&u&mu&ae
 on? pp&om&rm; x&ri&f± y&w&o&n&it& c&w&v&f AUJUD jzpc&u , i&f&w&e&mr&f&iy&f&t&yr&nf [k
 eefci&ft&m; ajm&on? " D&t& c&e&u q&ub&n; z&u&mi&f&wit& c&er [kv&aw&ml&ol" [k, i&fu&ajm&on?

x&lw&ajm&v&ub&ni&u&um; on&E&sh& eefci&v&nf a&u&mu&ft&m; v&ef&t&m; E&sh& i&w&w&lon? pp&AUJUD
 tem; ol&v&vm& y&d eefci&u i&h& t&mf [pl&um&t&ult&n&w&mi&fae&on&u&um; r&f&il& ol&t&m; rw&m;
 y&u&si&lon? pp&AUJUD " t&ri&ul&j&ye&cs&i&v, f n&baw&e&j&ye&aw&es&i&ao&w, q&w&i&f&r&at&mf& i&h&v&nf
 ri&w&e& ajm&v&e&e&if& ei&u&ul& 'a&w&mx&f&ny&w&gv&nf y&pb&w&v&ur, f ei&u&ul& e&if& a&h&x&f&n a&m&u&ae
 w, i&x&iv&vm;" [h&j&y&um& e&f&aj&cm&u&ly&g&on? t&q&y&g&pp&wy&u eefci&ul& 4 n&E&sh& 5 &uf
 u&ma&t&mi&f&z&r&x&m; y&d a&em&u&b&f& se&ef&ci&f& &h& t&j&y&i&b&u&it& e&w&v&f&j&ye&v&w&ay&ly&g&on?

eefci&f a&y&sm&u&b&n; on&it& c&e&w&v&f ol&t&m; j&ref&mp&pp&wy&f&s ac&a&qmi&b&n; j&ci&f&y&jz&pnf [k
 &th&om&rm;u x&i&f&cm; u&y&g&on? t&b, h&u&mi&q&h&omf , i&f&w&e& , mcif&rm; t&e&w&ol&u&w&v&f
 j&ref&mp&pp&om; rm;. pp&z&ey&mr&sm; ul&w&e&u& l&jz&pn? eefci&f n&br&sm; j&ye&v&mon&it& c&g
 eefci&ul& raw&oj&zi&h& zc&jz&pn& v&h&q& (43 E&f) u& aus&v&v&jz&pn& v&u&EM& x&lw&e
 ta&u&mi&f&um; d&h& y&gn? x&h&t&cg& v&u&EM& u& eefci&f zc&i&ul& aus&v&v&t&ly&pb&u&ul& v&h&p&e&yn&u&
 x&h&c&ob&n; y&d w&it&um; ap&ly&g&on? x&lw&ub& aus&v&v&u&a&m/ t&ly&pb&u&ly&g& o&e&u&a&om&v&nf
 eefci&f&as&u&b&f& E&sh&w&ou&ul& r&n&b&ur&# b&mr&v&ly&ub& eefci&f j&ye&v&mr&n&i& t&ce&u&ib&u&
 ap&mi&h&e&u&y&g&on?

eefci&f j&ye&v&mu&f&mon&it& c&w&v&f ol&br&sm; ul&jz&pn& u&mi&f&ule&pi&f& ajm&jy&g&on? x&lw&em&uf
 pl&v&x&w&u&Or&fen&um& 2 &uf 3 &ute&e& t&y&v&mx&v&ly&g&on? x&lw&em&uf ol&a&q&f&rm; u
 n&i&ly&e&aq& &h&c&ob&n; y&d q&m&O&e&rm; E&sh& p&rf&oy&pp&aq& r&v&ly&ly&g&on? q&m&O&e&u& ta&u&u&u&
 aq; w&p&f&v&x&ay& y&d aq; &w&v&f 2 &u&um& ub&rc&h& ap&ly&g&on? aq; &h&f&q&i&v&v& y&d &th&w&v&f 25 &uf
 cel&e&y&g&on? r&sm; r&u&mr&f&ny&if& aq&f&f&rm; jz&pn&h& pl&i&rm&vm/ eefci&f&er&ir&iv& E&st&w&l x&lw&E&h&h&
 ol&u&b&u&ly&g&on? x&lw&t&ce&f&ul& eefci&b&nf x&lw&E&h&h&w&v&f a&ex&u&u&um& T&a&e&mr&f&ny&if& t&f&ax&mi&us
 ly&g&on?

(3) trnf em&av (trn&if&r [w&v)
 touf 26 E&f
 t&f&ax&mi&f & 6 E&f&t& &G& E&sh& 9 E&f&t& &G& fu&av; E&f&D&E&E&
 v&f&f&f vm; [l
 b&mom c&e&p&f, m&ef

t vlyft uilf	v, borm;
ae&yf	vm; [&n/rilfqwf
tci f jz p c e f	1992 cE p f arv
et z wyf	cr& 333/rilfqwf

"ur awmxluwl tuav;wplmfn ur a, muim;/ uav; Epa, muelwl aeyg w, ? awmxhnrwluwlu;awulu aumif&ygw, ? waeon ura, muim;u uav;awG ac:yd awmxluul i s u y p t k u b n ; v e u r w p a , m u i w n i w x h n u s e c y g w , ? t j D t c e f n y l r i l f q w f t a j c p u f c r & 3 3 3 u p p b o m ; w p a , m u i u u r w e , m c i f x a & m u i v m y d i s u b a s m o l a w G c h y g w , ? u r v n i A r m v t & v n a t m i f a j m v w w a y r , h i s u b a s m o l a w G y e a w m i f z e u o p m ; y g w , ? u r a , m u i m ; u l v f a t m y d a c : a y r , h i o u t j D t c e f n t a 0 ; j u d a m u b e a w m h u r a t m b o l u l r a m ; & y d o l ? t j p p b o m ; u u s u k r f c y d a t m u i u l u s o n ; a t m i m e a j c a x m u f a w u l u e f y g w , ? a e m u a w m h a j c a x m u a w u l y g c k v m u l y g w , ? u r v n i & b r # t m ; e p t l e t y d v w a t m i j u l p m ; a y r , h o u u r x u i t m ; j u l a w m h r v l y d o l ? o u u s u l l w p e m & e a v m u f u m a t m i f r w & m ; u s i c y g w , ?

"ura, muim; jyelvmlt cg tust a u m i f u l l j y e a j m c y g w , ? t j D n o l u p w i q h y d u s u l l a ' g o w j u e a p u l a w m l v m y ? c k v t w & m ; u s i c t t v u s e u e u r a , m u i m ; & , f u a v ; a w G & , i t t f n t c s i f c i f i q u b q a & ; t r f u l q l o n ; c k y g y d a , m u i m ; u a & m u a v ; a w u l y g u s u l l " t & y f u r a e o y f - c s i a e i f a w m x h n w l v p m x l a y ; x m ; r , ? t j D n o n ; -- a c s " q l v m r s t a w G a e w i f a j m a e u w , ? t i v j y m w m a w G u r t & r i p w x c h u l w , f a e m u b q l b , m i t S q u i y o n f r e e l i l a w m b l u r a , m u i m ; e u b n s f c y g w , ? a e m u y i i f u a v ; a w e a w e s i m e t t u l l o n ; a y r , h i u a v ; a w u ' t & y f u r a e e i f i g w t a r r [k w b l ? i g w e q l o , f a v m h s r v m c h v l j y m y d E s i x k v u y g w , ? u r a , m u i m ; u v n i ' u l l i u l l i u l l r x e t o t f b l w j c m ; a , m u i m ; e a z m u f y e l w , ? e i f i g r e f r [k w a w m b l ? c c s u t s i t t i u x u b o n ; " q l y d a r m i f x k w c y g w , ? a e m u b k a w m h u r v n i x l l i l l i l u l l m z l q l z w i c y g w , ? "

(4)	trnfi	eeufusel(trn&if r[kw)
	touf	16 Epi
	tafaxmif	r&f
	vtrf	&f
	bmom	Al bmom
	t vlyft uilf	v, borm;
	ae&yf	erhem&n/ Or i u p a u s & n t i y p k v i f a c ; r t e , f
	tci f jz p c e f	1992 cE p i - o * k v v 24 & u f
	et z wyf	wyfc3/ cv& 99/ A u l j u d a r m i p h

, mxl j u b u b e u o n h e e f u s e l E s h o l t a r y p m (3 8 E p) w u l A u l j u d a r m i p h O l a q m i b o n h p p o m ; 5 a , m u i u i f v n h i f r s a w e b n ; c y p o n ? w y b o m ; 4 a , m u i y p m u l t i c m ; w p a e & m o l a c : o n ; y l a e m u f O i l f O e i l r i t t u s i t u o n ? w c e l w n f r n y i f o r i j z p b l e e f u s e l u l p p A u l u r k t t u s i t o n ? y l o n ; o n h t c g w G f j u l y i r m ; u l l v l , b o n ; u o n ? y p m t i f y e a m u b n h t c g o l a , m u i m ; v l c r f t h (4 4 E p) u l j z p l y s u b o n r m ; t m ; j y e a j m j y y g o n ? v l c r f t h v n i p l v i q l a ' g o x u b o m i v n i t j z p t y s u E s i j w b u i l a e m u x y f i g & u t e f u m o n h t x d & n o j u d v i t e f x h o n ; a & m u r w i l j z p c y g o b n ; a j y m o n h t c e l w G f

�j;u "jzpjzpcsf bma=umilvrmwll&wv? bmjzpv t c&f umrs vmtoday;&wv? jzpcvm' &v mu&f mwmi gvnf ppwyu l o&wll &rn a=umilv, f' [kyeajymcl ygon?

- (5) trnf eefusr(trn&if r [kv)
- touf 22 Epf
- t&faxmif r&&
- vr&f &&f
- bmom A& kmom
- tvlyftuillf v, brm;
- ae&yf em:yezillf&&/rillf ill ;faus&&tlyp&rk&le, f
- t cifjzpcsf 1994 cEpfZM&lv
- etz wyl wy&e2/cv&64/ t&m&&slarmih&

t&m&&slarmih& Daqmibnh ppom; av;a, mubnf v&h uif&lv m=&i f j z ih v, u&f x&f s wi, &v; ay:Y tem;, leon h eefusr u llaw&on; u ygon? , if w&on f eefusr u ll w p l v & m ar; j r e f c i r j y l l o l t e m; o l o f u y i v m =& y l a e m u f r w & m; y u s i l a w m h o n? p p o m; 2 a, mu f s r w & m; u s i l y o n; w i t c e w f e e f u s r . t a r t o u f 38 E p f o l y g n e u " a [m' t r n A r m p p o m; a w f u s o r o d u l l r k t f u s i l e u y g w, ? u, f u y o d" [k u s, f a v m i p o h a t m i v l u b n? x l o t m i l p o n i u l l p p o m; r s m; = u m; o n; a o m t c g y g n e u l l a o e w f z i o i l l c e f y o w a r h a r s o n; o n f t x d p l u e s u f u y g o n? p p o m; 3 a, m u l u e e f u s r u l l a e m u f w p l u t f x y i l t " r u s i l u y l a e m u f e k w o p l u x m; a o m y l i f a i r o l / z & b l r m; u l l c l, b o n; u y g o n?

ygn&u jzplyubn ES lywbuty& �j;u v l l o r m x l w l l u m; c l o n? ±#0j;u d u a u s & t y p o u l l u w l l u m; a y; r n i l k u w a y; c l y g o n? o l m w l f r n o l e x l j m; j c i f r & c l y g

- (24) trnf em:vl(trn&if r [kv)
- touf 21 Epf
- t&faxmif r&&
- vr&f vm; [l
- bmom c&p&f, m e f
- tvlyftuillf v, brm;
- ae&yf vm; [&&/rillf q w l r l e, f
- t cifjzpcsf 1997 cEpf y&lv
- etz wyl rillf q w f t a j c p l u l t a j r m u l v y & i f

"urw&ar&xm;wll ulaw&u ll urwaeule&usmif&ygw, ? w p l u r n a e j y i f v e f v e u s r v n f y i y e l w m e t t f y e l v m c l y g w, ? t i f a m u i v m e t w l g a w f v w y d t y l m l u y g w, ? u s t y f a y m b o n; w h t c e f r n r i l l q w f t a j c p l u l t a j r m u l v y & i f u p p o m; w p a, m u l u t i f e l u l l a u m i v u t y d u s r & t c e f x l u l l c e o i f v m y g w, ? u s r v e l l o n; y d u n i v l u a w m h t j p p o m; u t c e f x l h a m u h a e w m a w & l u & y g w, ? u s u j r i i w m e v y l l e u f o l u u s u l l e f t l y d z r f c l y f v l u y g w, ? u s a t m i y d t u l t n a w m i f a y r, h b, b r a & m u r v m y o l? a e m u b l a w m h t j o p p o m; u u s u l l t " r u s i l y a w m l v, ? t " r u s i l y o n; w i t c e f r n u s r v n f u y s m u, m x / " m; w p a c s m i f u l l & v l u y d u l l u l l u l l u m u G m l u & y g w, ?

"urw[&rn u vwif owawmif, maw&rn waeuf tvyf vlyuyg w, ? 'gumifaeifbuq[&rn vtr&yp? naepmifv[urw[&rn vjud , mxlu jye&mf vmw[t[cg uru jzplysub[w[u[jye[jymjy[y[, ? olvni pptp[&a' oc[p[wylu t[m[& u[o[r; y[d] w[i[u; m; c[y[g[w, ? 'd[t[c[g[t[l[p[p[a[u[u[s[u[l[t["r[u[s[i[c[h[w[p[p[o[m; u[l[i[u[d[w[y[i[y[d] q[u[e[s[u[y[g[w, ? y[l[a[w[m[h[t[c[y[a[x[m[i[x[n[i[v[l[u[y[g[w, ? u[s[& e[r[o[m; p[l[u[u[s[u[l[t[& r[i[*q[u[l[u[f[u[y[g[w, ? b[o[u[l[t[q[u[a[y; z[v[n[i[u[h[u[y[g[w, ? u[s[u[v[n[i[t[q[u[a[y; y[d[o[l? u[l[l[a[w[m[i[f, m[t[v[l[u[d[u[l[p[m; v[l[y[c[h[y[g[w, ?"

- (53) trnf em;&(trn&ifr[kw)
- touf 29 Epf
- t[axmif &&om; 2a, muford]1a, muf. r[ciif
- v[tr]d vm; [l
- bmom c&p[, mef
- tvlyftuif v, brm;
- ae&yf vm; [&rn/ r[il[w[i[t[e, f
- tcifjzpt[ef 1998 c[Ep[Z[M[i[v 16 & u[f
- etz wyl r[il[w[i[t[a[j[c[p[l[u[f[w[y[f

"t[l[& e[u[nae 5 em&avmuf[rn ur , mxlu jye[v[m[c[h[y[g[w, ? t[r[u[j[y[e[v[m[r[i[r[i[n[r[i[l[f[w[i[t[a[j[c[p[l[u[p[p[l[v[y[l[u[p[p[o[m; w[p[a, m[u[l[e[p[o[r; a[w[e[y[g[w, ? u[s[v[n[i[a[u[m[u[i[v[m[e[p[o[l[u[d[a[o[a[o[c[m[c[m[a[w[m[i[f[r[u[n[i[y[d[o[l? 'q[a[y[r, h[i[o[u[u[s[v[u[l[u[t[s[y[m[l[u[y[d] & r[i[b[u[i[q[u[i[r[o[r; e[i[l[f[a[t[m[i[f[w[m; x[m; y[g[w, ? y[l[a[w[m[h["r[o[r; & b[o[l? e[i[l[u[l[a[y; r[j[y[e[b[o[l" v[l[e[j[y[m[y[d] u[s[& e[r[i[f[o[m; u[l[i[u[l[i[f[y[g[w, ? u[s[v[n[i[t[& r[i[a[u[m[u[i[y[d] a[t[m[a[w[m[h[o[u[u[s[u[l[v[r[f[a[b; q[e[s[v[l[u[y[g[w, ? u[s[u[u[s[u[l[r[e[p[u[z[e['l[a[x[m[u[i[y[d] a[w[m[i[f[y[e[a[y[r, h[i[o[u[u[s[a[j[y[m[w[m[u[l[v[l[o[m; r[a[x[m[i[f[*q[u[l[u[b[o[l] u[s[u[l[o[m; r, m; j[y[k[u[s[i[y[g[w, ? u[s[t[& r[i[a[u[m[u[b[o[r; y[g[w, ? 'g[u[m[i[f[t[l[v[r[f[a[b; r[i[n[t[c[e[f] a[w[m[a[w[m[e[u[m[a[t[m[i[f] o[w[l[v[p[o[r; y[g[w, ? o[w[j[y[e[& a[w[m[h[n 7 em&avmuf jzpaey[d] w[p[c[g[s] t[l[a[v[m[u[i[t[f[y[e[a[e[m[u[f[u[s[z[i[y[d[o[l? 'g[u[m[i[f[t[r[u[l[t[j[r[e[j[y[e[c[h[y[g[w, ? t[r[i[f[a[w[m[h[p[o[v[l[y[a[e[w[i[u[s[u[a[v; a[w[e[p[u[s[c[i[y[e[f[u[p[l[e[f[w[u[l[e[p[a[p[m[i[e[u[y[g[w, ? u[s[v[n[i[i[l[l[a[w[m[h[u[s[u[l[a[p[m[i[u[m; v[l[u[f[v[m[a[w[l[u[l[j[y[e[a[j[y[m[j[y[c[h[y[g[w, ? u[s[a, m[u[f; u[& r[i[v[j[u[d[o[l] o[r; w[i[l[l[y[g[w, ? 'q[a[y[r, h[i[u[s[u[l[p[o[m; u[m; w[p[p[o[m; [m b, l[w[y[& i[f[u/ e[m[r[n[b, b[o[b[a[v[m[a[w[g[u[s[r[o[l[u[r[w[l[o[m[s[r[v[l[y[e[i[l[l[u[y[d[o[l? "

- (112) trnf eefo[f(trn&ifr[kw)
- touf 18 Epf
- t[axmif r&f
- v[tr]d &f
- bmom Al[b[m[o[m]
- tvlyftuif v, brm;
- ae&yf be[a[& m[i[f[& r[i[n[o[n] 16/ 4/ 1997 a[e[e[v[i[f[a[j[y[m[i[f[a[& c[h[i[l[o[n] i[f[& j[z[p[o[n] i]
- tcifjzpt[ef 1997 c[Ep[a[r[v 16 & u[f
- etz wyl w[y[t[c[2/ c[r[& 515/ A[l[l[u[d] x[e[f[a[t[m[i[f

ppftpk& ppwvrs wybm; 60 avmubnf vbm; r&S Orvm;&nbub& vsnuiif
 x&uvm=uygn? &h&muivmonESh&h&xr&st&frsm;ullOib&mu&h&az&uygn? xlt&cb&w&f
 &h&om;trsm;pr&h ,ifw&awmif, mrm;ob& a&mu&h&e-u-yd eefo& bn&vnf t&h&w&f
 wpa, muivn&ijzpaeygn? r&brsm;r&bl eefo& iwpa, muivn&h&eoniull pp&w&jrif
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 &h&az&h&v&ly&v&h&oma=umih ok&ut&h&ac&ic&ijzpbni[& k&iv&u&iygn? ob&omi t&yc&ex&l
 a&mbunESh pp&w&w&u eefo& f& vu&ut&h&sy&yd ull&xm;on&ly&pr&v&ES&h&eb&um e&h&aj&cmuf ygn?
 olu eefo& f& . ez&ull&aoewES&h&eb&xm;yd "rat&me&aoob&r, ' [kajmygn? x&h&emuf reuf
 9 em&h&eb&bn&fr&ef&wn&h&12 em&h&eb&av&mult x&drw&m;jy&k&usi&cygn?

naebuf r&brsm; jye&h&muivmonlit&cy eefo& f& u il& h&yd t&ust&a=umif ajmyjyg
 on? jz&ply&sub&ly&w&ull ol&u&onlit&cyf touf 57 Ep&h&h&z&pbol ,if. zcif v&kr&fr&ef u
 aus&h& Oull v&h&apmES&h&e&f&v&ju&d w&e&ull&w&il&um;cygn? aemuf Ep&h&u&f&t&um&w&f, ifw&ob&OD
 onf vifac; r&h&t&m%my&il&frsm;x&w&il&um;&e&f&t&w&ul eefo& ES&h&t&w&l ob&h&uygn? vifac;
 t&m%my&il&frsm;u a'oc&h&pw&v&rs&v&rs; Aw&Jul&armi&ax&g&t&m;zet&qu&um t&jz&pt&ys&u&ull
 aq&fa&E&cygn? Aw&Jul&u t "r&ly&k&usi&cb&ul jyoc&il&ef eefo& l&ul p&pc&ef ob&v&mc&il&iygn?
 pp&bm;rs&u&ll w&e&f&pr&w&iv&w&v&ap&yd eefo& l&u&jyoc&h&om&v&nf x<& x&w&f Aw&Jul&x&e&fat&mi&ull
 raw&onlit&cyf Aw&Jul&armi&ax&g&u ,ifw&av;Ob&ul '%a&ig& to&low&w&v&u&iygn? eefo& f
 ES&h&v&ic&if w&E&pa, mu&v&w&pa, mu&v&#&f us&f 30000 p&d aus&h&Oull v&h&apm u us&f 20000 ES&h
 eefo& f& taz v&kr&fr&ef u us&f 15000 to&low&ay&aq&mi&h&uygn? tu, il x<
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x&ul&ob&z&ply&sub&ly&aemuf eefo& f& onf 3 vr&#& tyf, mx&v&ob&ly&d w&jz&n&jz&n&f&cs&ifr&S
 jye&f&v&nu&e&fr&mv&md&bn? ol. aq&f&h&om;cs&ifrsm;uvnf jz&ply&sub&bnES&h& yw&bull
 p&w&v&raumi&jz&ply&d uh&az&rc&uygn? ob&om&v&nf pp&bm;rs&w&f a&oewES&h
 t&m%mw&ob&e&ic&ifa=umih, ifw&et&ae&j&ih, c&x&uly&il v&n&rn&ob&#&rv&ya&qm&il&aw&mh&ay?

(119)	trnf	ee&h&(trn&ifr [kw)
	touf	16 Ep&f
	t&h&ax&mi&f	r&h&h
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	bmom	Ar&bmom
	t&v&ly&ft&u&il&f	v, brm;
	ae&yf	[w&il&h&h/ ([w&il&h&h&onf 27/ 8/ 1997 ae&v&f r&il&il&ul&il&te, f[r&il&il&aus&h&t&yp&ko&h&aj&mi&fa&h&ic&if&cb&h&on)
	t&ci&jz&pb&ef	2000 jyn&Ep&f&Z&w&il&v 20 &uf
	etz&w&yl	w&yt&B/cr& 514/Aw&Jul&oe&farm&if

2000 jyn&Ep&f&Z&w&il&v&x&Y tiftm; 50 - 55 ce&h&bn&h pp&w&v&wp&z& bnf [w&il&f
 aus&h&te&w&f&u&iv&v&il&um avmif, mx&ob& w&w&iv&q&w&v&ma&mu&b&nh &h&om;rs&h&h&h v&il&f
 =un&h&e=uygn? Aw&Jul&oe&farm&il&u eef&h& ull& avmif, mx&Y jri&aw&w&u&Baom&t&cy , mx&f&S
 w&iv&pv&mq&ob& ac:v&u&iygn? w&ob&h&mu&b&onlit&cy olu ", mx&v&mw&w&efu b, bl aw&g
 y&pv&' [kar&uygn?

eef&H u "ur taze&twl vmwmyf tazu tca&ofn:cyae yw, f' [k j e f a j z y g n ?
x b h j m v l u b n i t c g / A l l j u d o e f a r m i u e e f & H t m ; w x D i t i i u m a o e w i j z i t e f l
r w & m ; y u s i t y g n ? r e u f 10 e m & P S r e f v g 3 e m & t x d r w & m ; y u s i t e m e e f & H u i l l
a w m i f y e c h o m i v n f 3 e m & k i t x d y e r v s w a y ; c l y f

t c i f j z p l y f n ; y l a e m u f e e f & H u a q f s l o m ; c s i f r s m ; E s h a u s & n O u l i u l j y e l v n f
w i l l u m ; d h o m i v n f , i f w e s p p w y o r w i l l u m ; & u a y ? w & m ; o j z i j z p o n f u r i m u a o m i v n f
T u b l o m t r r s t u l t j c m ; o r s m ; w i l l e f z l u a u m i E s h w i l l e f o r s m ; o n i p p w y o r e ' % a i G
10000 t w i f t u s y a y ; a q m i t i j i c i f c h o n i u l o d & k m ; u a y o n ? j z p l y s u t l a e m u f e e f & H
o n i r i b o m m r b y a e c l a w m b o n ? r n b e l e # r q u b q t s i f r n b e u l t # r a w e s i f j z p o n ; d h o n ?
o l . r o m ; p l u o t a y : e m ; v n f & u y d * j p l u t u y g n ?

- (133) t r n f e e f , O i (t r n & i f r [w)
- t o u f 18 E p f
- t t a x m i f r & d
- v r s t & s f
- b m o m A l b m o m
- t v l y f t u l l i f a p s o n f t x u l w e f a u m i f o l
- a e & y f a p s & y u l u l u s l f a w m i f r e r t e r t e , ?
- t c i f j z p t c e f 2001 c E s f Z e e O g & v
- p p l w y f u e f [e f t a j c p l u f c v & 246 / w y r f s ; j r i D l / t & m & p e f O i f y l

eef, O b n f a p s q i l y l i & s i v l o m E s h y a u m i f w e 18 E p & G f o r i j z p o n f v l o m E s h
y p a u m i f w e n f q e l q d y l a j m i f t p & b n h u l e b a j c m u r s m ; a & m i f c s u o n ? e e f , O b n f
u s l w i l l e t x u l w e f a u m i f w i f w u b & m u a e o j z p l i & s f p u m ; t j y i f j r e f m p u m ; u l y g a j m w w f
a v o n ? p p f t p l p p l w y r s p p b o m ; r s m ; o n i p p l w y r s t a j c c p m ; u l e f s m ; u l y e l v n b & m i f c & e f E s h
, i f w e c l v r y p h i r s m ; r s t y i i & & e f x l b l i b o m a & m u a v l y g n ? t & m & d p e l O i f y l t y g t O i f
c v & 246 r p p o m ; r s m ; u e e f , O f t m ; , i f w e v y r s x l w a y ; o n h & u l t y p h i r s m ; u l l a p s a y a j z i h
& e f w y x w i v m O , z l z w a c : u o n ?

2001 c E s f Z e e O g & v x l w i f e e f , O b n f p p l w y x b l e w p a , m u l w n f a & m u b o n ; d b n f
w y x w i f A l l r f s / A l l j u l / w y o m ; t r s m ; p o n f v n l u i f x l u b e u l p c e f Y r & u a u m i f u l l a w e
o n ? o h o m i t & m & p e f O i f y E s h t j c m ; w y o m ; t c e l e u o n ? p c e l w i f o l e e f , O l w p O l w n f
a & m u b o n ; a o m t c g t & m & p e f O i f y E s h w y o m ; 10 a , m u l w e u e e f , O i u l l a c : x m ; v l u t u o n ?
x l e m u f e e f , O l u l l y e r v s w b l a v ; & u l m v l l t " r y k u s i t u y g n ? o l e b o m ; p l u v l u m l u a z G
c l u j y l a e m u f a v ; & u b a j m u b n l e e v l f j y e l v n f v l v a j r m u l m c l o n ? j y e l w l v m o n i t c g /
a u s & n O u l l x b l e w i l l u m ; d y g n ? a q f s j z p o l o e m j y l w p a , m u l x l w i v n f a q ; p p t s u i , l
x m ; c l u o n ?

a u s & n O u l l u e e f , O i v l l e & t w l u f p l e f a o m a u m i h " e i l r n w j c m ; a e p & m a e & m & d i f
o n ; y l a e y v m ? a j m i f a e v l e r , b l i i v n f a j m i f a p c s i v , ? ' p p o m ; a w e l e x y l d r a w e v m
a u m i f r , f' [l a j m y o n ? x l e u m i h e e f , O l v n f n b u a & m u l v i l t j c m ; a q f s l w p a , m u l
t i l l e o n ; t y c l ? o l e b r s m ; u v n f e e f , O i v l l e & t w l u f p l e f u o n ? o h o m i v n f
a e m u x y f t a E b i l l t , s u a y ; r r s m ; j z p a y : v m r n u p l e f a o m a u m i h p p l w y l u t t l w O l u a y ? j y e f

twuf xltvyrš wpaew#i bwi 30 - 40 celon? tvy&az&uonivrš tv&yiif
 rsm;jm;aeojzih o&t m; aw&qr;jre&onit&el&umvu tmy& t&ztvlyftuif&&
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okvif ul De&bea=umif obnht&cv&if t&re&csif&sm;u a, mu&tm;wpa, mu&a, mu&f
 E&h t&ra&xmi&y&ef wlu&w&e&uon? "usr&n Armpp&om;e&wlu& De&be&wmu&b&if us&ul
 b, bu v&uxy&r&iv' [k tmy&u ajym&on? pp&om;wpa, mu&ul v&uxy&r&ni&ql&#&lvn&f
 a, mu&sm;. v&h&e&t&wuf p&e&ry&e&e&O&rn&ij&z&py& awmx&awm&ix&b& waumu&a&um&uf
 v&ly&e&r&n&up&rn o&t w&uz&pap/ uav;t&w&uz&pap t&E&tm, &&aoma=um&iv&ur&xy&ly?
 "usr&w&O& tawm&icut&r, q&lv&maw&mb&og&v, ? 'g&yr, h us&uav;ul&vn&f yax&e&e&x&m;csif
 bl? w&e&h, mu&tm;aw&G [m re&fraw&e&ut&sp&ayr, h y&gm&v&om;or&law&e&ul&wm&h&rc&pb&? wu, m&e
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aemuft&cut& d&wp&ck&rn tmy& on&f ynm&rww&on&ht&jyif &&f&pum;ul&vn&f 'u&G D p&h
 rajym&vw&e&ay? "t&cl&up&ul& urb, m&ly&e&r, q&lv&mv&n&f us&ro&y&pb&" [k olu&ajym&on?
 o&t&ae&jzih ci&ye&e&jz&pb&ao&q&ly&aemu&ly&f&w&if r&be&sz&j&e&vn&e&x&ll&j&ci&f rj&y&e&ly?
 z&ci&jz&pb&lv&n&f w&ly&e&sm;jz&py&h; y& ra&e&ra&E&ni&f&nyif z&m;em&um u&G m&e&ed&on? r&e&jz&pb&rn
 o&e&e&t&vn&f vm&if &&f&e&om;wp&O&E&sz&iv&uxy&e&f&p&e&f&w&e&e&x&ll&v&u&e&on?

tmy& r&va&e&ll&om aus&e&on&f jre&rmp&pw&e&e&ly& w&ly&z&py&e&on&E&h jre&r&m
 pp&om;rs&m;. E&ll&x&ul&v&j&r&ul& c±&aoma' o&jz&pb&on? pp&w&yft&ae&jzih &&om;rs&m;t&m;
 ay&wm t&xr&om;rs&m;tjz&pb&t "r&e&ll&ap&ou&b&e&t&f&sm;rs&ul& E&h;/ t±t&aom&uf t&ra&xmi&f&y&pb&f
 O&pb&rs&m;ul&vn&f t "r&e&ll&i&e&uon? r&n&br&n&D&g t&w&dt&ur&ajym&E&ll&e&om&vn&f ,if. &e&h&rs
 t&j&m;aom t&r&or&om;on&vn&f jre&rmp&pb&om;rs&m;. r&e&ll&f&j&y&ku&si&r&ul& c&e&e&ll&on&f [k tmy& u
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(136)	trnf	eefa&e&trn&if&r [kw]
	touf	18 E&f&t i, q&ll&or&D
	t&ra&xmi&f	r&e&e
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	bmom	Al&bmom
	t&vlyftuif	pw&w&w&ef&a&um&if&ol&v, b&om;
	ae&yf	aemi&awm&O&e&h/aemi&v&us&e&h&t&ly&pk&vif∾ r&e, f
	t&ci&jz&pb&e&f	2001 c&E&f&rw&v 29 &uf
	pp&iv&yf	wy&e&h& cr& 525/ Al&ju&lp&h&ri&h

18 E&f&t &G && eefa&e&on&f E&h;a&um&if&e&ft&w&uf ,if&w&e& awm&if, m&q&b&e&x&lv&mc&on?
 xlt&e&w&if cr& 525 wy&e&h 4 rs& Al&ju&lp&h&ri&h O&aq&mi&e&om&w&y&z&on&uif&v&h&vm&if eefa&e&sm;
 awm&if, mx&w&e&aw&e&om;e&uon? Al&ju&lp&h&ri&h O&aq&mi&e&om&w&y&z&on&uif&v&h&vm&if eefa&e&sm; o&e&h&e&v&ly&D
 tem;a&mu&on&h t&cy& z&r&ic&yl&um r&e&ll&f&j&y&ku&si&e&on? eefa&e&u i&ll&um [p&at&m&e&om&vn&f pp&Al&jz&pb&ol
 r&e&ll&f&j&y&ku&si&e&on&it&e&el&us&wm&rs v&w&aj&r&mu&b&e&on? jz&py&u&ly&e&tm;v&ul& eefa&e&u a&q&f&e&om;csif&sm;
 t&m; j&ye&aj&m&j&y&on&ht&cg ,if. O&av;jz&pb&v&at&ma&Z, s u aus&e&h&O&uif&E&h aus&e&h&v&ju&D&sm; x&h
 o&h;a&mu&if&ll&um;e&on? &&f&v&tr&e&t&m&e&v&p&O&u v&at&ma&Z, s t&m; xlt&e&re&ly&w&bu&ly&D
 qu&lv&uf w&ll&um;rs&m;rj&y&ky&e&f t&b, h&=um&iq&h&om&f &&om;rs&m;but&rs &h&v&tr&n&jz&py&D

Alvju, pji r i luawmh bmr#zplvtrnfr [kvā-umifjzi h ajmqdubn? , ijzpb&yfrsm; jzplysubly/daemuf eefa&&oni &&ujcit/ a'gpxujcit/ Orfenjicifrm; uil cpm; d&y) aemubqhvif oronfe, pylvuljzwausmfvufxllfEli h btxcūctmclon?

- (138) trnf eefrd)(trn&if r [kw)
- touf 5 Epf
- t t axmif r&&
- vrđđ &&f
- bmom Al b mom
- t vlyft uilf ro&&
- ae&yf bmqm&&/ usd fawmif r & terle, f
- t cifjzpc&f 2001 cEpf r wlv
- pplwyf jre mEli h t v, jylf r wlv mES jiri f eht ajcp lufcv & 99/ bmqm & pcefopf

eefrdoni ,if. rbrsm;jzpaom vlavm0f ygricqm wE s lit wl bmqm&& wlv&exllon? 2001 cEpf r wlv wlv r b jzpborm; avmif, mxbb&uonlit c&ly t t wlv touf 5 Epf om&&o; on&eefrdES h touf 12 Epft && f t prjzpbow&omueclon? xlv wlv t prjzpbou qly&sb&uonlon? qly&siu n 9 em&&ks ylv r n jzply) , ifwlv&exll&om t t fon t jcm; aet rsm; ES hit awmit v s i u n a 0 ; on? t t wlv eefrd) wpa, mu lwni use&pclon?

n 7 em&&cv& 99 r sppom; w p 0 0 a&mu lvm on? ou eefrd. ajc v u i w l u l j u l j z i l v y a E n i f y a e m u f r k t f j y k u s i c l o n ? q l y & s b & u o n l i t p r j z p b l j y e l v m a o m t c g e e f r d t m ; j u l r s m ; w y a E n i f x m ; v s u f i l l e o n u l w & y l r e f r t * j w l v n f a o f r s m ; a y u s t a e o n ? t e l t e m ; w l v n f r n b o u l r a w & a y ? w p a , m u a , m u l u l w l l w e l c w # f o w l y p r n f [k j r e m p p o m ; u e t f a j c m u b j z i h e e f r d o n i j z p l y s u b l y u l t p r j z p b o t m ; j y e r a j m j y E l l a v m u a t m i y i f a u m u l v e a e o n ? t i t e l c s i t r s l o r l w p 0 a & m u l v m y l a e m u f e e f r d t m ; n w l f c s i a q ; q l v i a y ; c l o n ? j z p l y s u l t v k E S j y w b u l l q & m 0 e u l t t & p e f e m a j m j y c l y o e m y q & m r j z p b o p l v i y b o n ; o n h r e f r t * j t m ; c s l a y ; c l o n ? , i f w l s a q ; 0 g u b r r s m ; q u l v u j k v l a y ; c l o n h i t j y i f r s l v w r l , B e f t w l u f " m w l y t r s m ; q l u f , l u o n ? q & m 0 e E S h q & m r r s m ; u T t j z p t y s u E S j y w b u l y o u b q l l & m o l e , i f w l e o w i f y e n j z p a u m i f a j m q d u b n u o n ?

eefrd. rbrsm; onf aus&&ouli x b e o n ; a & m u l v i l u m ; c h o m l v n f , i f w l e r a u e y c s u f E S j y w b u l l p p l w y f t m ; o n ; a & m u l v i l u m ; & e l u l l a u m u l v e l u o n ? , i f w l e t a e j z i h u a v ; r s m ; . v t h & ; t w l u p l a t e y l r n w e n f t r m l t t r s x u m w p a e u l e f t v l y x l u m l y a e u s j i f a u m i l p p l w y f s t h o l v m a & m u l u m v k u z s u q l o n ; E l l o n u l l p k d f x l v l e a e u a y o n ? & d o m ; t r s m ; t j y m ; u t u , i l r b r s m ; o m t t w l l & a e y u e e f r d , d u b e r k t f u s i t r n f [k v l [k , l q u y l , i j z p b y E S j y w b u l l r b j z p b o t m ; t j y p z e a j m q d u o n ?

- (140) trnf eefjr (trn&if r [kw)
- touf 19 Epf
- t t axmif r&&
- vrđđ &&f

bmom	Al bmom
tvlyftuiff	v, brm;
ae&yf	uleiqm&h/em;cefaus&h tlypk rle rle, f
tcifjzpc&f	2001 cEpf {y/v 16 &uf
ppfvyf	wyfc3/cr& 248/Al/ju) v&az

cr& 248/ wyfc3 rs wyom;rm; uifvrbnivrfa=umifay:wif&bnh'owif touf
 19 E&G &Ejroni 2001 cEpf {y/v 16 &u&eu ttrw&wpa, muivnif&e&ebn?
 uifvrbnionh uifwyz&f; Al/ju)v&azu eefjrwpa, muivnif&e&eoniu) aw&onh
 tcyvif ,ifu eefjrte)ob&muivmyd) "w&vlyxlu wyom;wpa, muif aymubn;v&
 rifw&t rxfh yefaew, xiw, f [kqbn? ttrwDi&h&rnif [ajym)y) ,ifu ttrxb&ivm
 um eefjrulvnf oEShtwvluvm&ef ttr&ay;dbn? ttr&exb&ac:aqmibn;yaemuivf
 ttr&exY rw&h;vusi)bn? rtr&fusiyaemuif eefjr&km;aom a&h)u)u)jzkwf, bn;on?
 q)urh tav;cef 1 bwom;cef&h) xlf bw&ig5000 web&u;&bn? eefjrt&ejzih&Sujci/
 jrefmpom;rm;. vuvjyernu)u)muicifw&umih tm%my)rm;tm; wif&um;ciir&h)
 wpa, muivnif usvrv&om;&ojzih wjznfjznfy&ef&hmyd) aemuq)w&f tzm;'%ESh
 tom;O&am*gu)g)om;dbn? ol. aq&f&om;csi)rm;u O)ifOef*Q)u)u)aomivnif oESh
 appyxm;onh p)ir&ef u vma&mu)un)q)ciif r&ay? x)be rtr&fusi)ci)ci)fa=umih ,ifw&
 appya=umifvrfxm;ru)lyefvnsu)bf&f&cyon?

(144) trnf	eefawmif (trn&ifr [w)
touf	12 E&f
ttr&axmif	r&h
vtr&h	&h
bmom	Al bmom
tvlyftuiff	v, brm;
ae&yf	bmqm&h&om;rsw&ef [ef &h)obn;onhvr) / us) fawmif r&h rle rle, f
tcifjzpc&f	2001 cEpf {y/v
ppfvyf	jrefmE)h)Ht v, y)l)if r)w&v)ESh)ri)if)elt)ajcp)u)fcv& 99 . us) fawmif pcefop) rle rle, f

touf 12 E&f t &G &Eefawmif onf w&ef [ef &h)w&f r)brm;jzpb) v)rmv)ESh) ygt)ef
 w&EShtwl aex)h)bn? or i, p)ouwnfu rsup&cl)ubjzih aumifaumif r)ri&ay? 2001
 cEpf {y/v w&f w&ef [ef &h)om;rm;onh rle rle, f us) fawmif r) bmqm&h&om;ob
 b&om;zl)om;cl)uon? orvni) &h)rs ob&u)u)ob&om;EShtwl vrfav)u)lyd)
 b&om;ob&om;a&much)on? ttr)ty&ef&Dw&f)oli, csi)wpa, muEShtwl jye)vm)dbn? cv&
 99 rs p)om;w)D)u ,ifw&u)w&om;yaemuif ,ifu eefawmif tm; zrf)q)um rtr&fusi)ef
 j)upm;dbn? eefawmif. oli, csi)jzpb)u aumifaumif v&v&ESh)x)ubj;om;aomivnif
 eefawmif r)ri) r)u)l) raumifojzih v&v&ajr)mu)at)mi) r)aj;E)l)ay? orvni)
 v&v&ajr)mu)at)mi) r)ef)x)ubj;aomivnif cvkw&u)l)l) ajr)u)lay;ob v)u)dbn? p)om;u
 ortm;zrf)q)um rtr&fusi)ef x)yl)u)upm; jye)avon? x)it)ce)w&f w&ef [ef &h)rs bmqm&h)ob
 pu)bzix)u)vmol ttr)or)w)D)u aw&om;on? , ifob) jri)aw&om;awm)rs p)om;u
 eefawmif u)lyefv)ay;dbn?

pplom;jzpbors rktijy/usi&ef ratmijric&omvnt ±Luykwx&Esubn&h%a=umih
 eefawmif. rsu&E&w&f y&fypk&vjw&um temw&rsm;&&&D c&E&u&h lw&pk&h&vnt
 emusic&on? oru tizpt&ysu&u&h aus&&h&O&u&h t&h;w&h&um;ch&D &&om;wp&D&u us&fawmif
 aq;f&h& aq;ub&ef&h&ay;don? aq;f&h&S q&m&O&efwp&D&ES&f&om&j&h&sm;u or. '%&h&'%&E&ur&sm;
 ul&rs&w&v&rf&wi&eft&w&uf"mv&yl&h&u&h&on?

eefawmif. r&om;p&ES&h& aus&&h&O&u&h&w&on&f ,ifw&h&t&h&m; j&yel&v&n&f&lu&ay;rn&u&h& p&h&f&h&oj&zi&h
 pp&f&w&yl&u&h rw&h&um;ch&h? ,c&ifu r&kt&f&usi&e&h&or&sm;&&h&f&h&Y pp&f&w&yl&u&h o&h&a&u&f
 w&h&um;ch&om&v&n&f ta&h;r, bn&ht&ij&yif w&h&um;or&sm;u&h t"r&R '%&h&u&h&oj&zi&h pp&f&w&yl&u&h w&uf
 =u&f 10 aumi&ES&h& q&v&pf& y&h& ay;ch&avon? &&om; taw&mr&sm;rs&sm;url T&j&zp&h&ES&h&w&ou&h
 v&u&dry&ol&w&ef[&f o&h&ij&el&v&mon&heefawmif u&h&bm t&j&yp&h&if&aj&ym&q&h&u&h&on?

- (145) trnf eefne&e&(trn&ifr[kw)
- touf 18 E&pf
- t&h&ax&mi&f r&&
- v&h&f&h& &&f
- bmom A&h&bmom
- t&v&ly&ft&u&h&f v, b&rm;
- ae&yf aemi&au&h&h&/Or&us&w&f&aus&&h&t&yp&ka&us&D&h&e, f
- t&ci&f&j&z&pb&ef 2001 c&E&pf&arv 1 &u&f
- etz&w&yl wyt&h&5/cr& 424/ A&h&J&u&D p&h&zl

aus&D&h&e, f Or&us&w&f&aus&&h&t&yp&ka&us&D&h&e aemi&au&h&h&rs touf 18 E&pf t&g& f eefne&e& onf
 2001 c&E&pf arv 1 &u&h&e&u or. a&et&h&f&h&f&ij&f A&h&J&u&D p&h&zl. rw&h&um;ay&usi&h&pm&um;ji&f&u&h
 ch&h&on? t&ci&f&j&z&pb&ef; y&h&a&em&uf eefne&e& z&ci&f&z&pb&lu aus&&h&O&u&h& v&h&ef&vs&x&h&h&om&h&a&u&f
 w&h&um;ch&on? x&h&em&uf ,ifw&h&on&f&h&rt&h&m; aus&D&h&e, ft&aj&cp&u&f cr& 424 rs&w&yl&ifr&h&;
 A&h&J&u&D&om&ifa&Z&m&f&h& qu&v&u&w&h&um;ch&uon? eefne&e&h&ij&f t&j&cm;rs&uf&rib&u&h&or&&h&oj&zi&h
 rn&ob&h&a&mi&h&ur&ay;E&h&f&yg[kw&yl&ifr&h&u& aj&ym&q&h&u&h&on?

- (147) trnf eefazmi(trn&ifr[kw)
- touf 21 E&pf
- t&h&ax&mi&f &&
- v&h&f&h& &&f
- bmom A&h&bmom
- t&v&ly&ft&u&h&f v, b&rm;
- ae&yf en&lu&w&f&h&/ew&h&g& aus&&h&t&yp&ka&us&D&h&e, f
 en&lu&w&f&h&on&fer&pe&h&e&h& 1997 c&E&pf&rw&v 11 &u&h&e&v&f
 aj&ym&fa&h&h&on?
- t&ci&f&j&z&pb&ef 2001 c&E&pf&arv 18 &u&f
- etz&w&yl cv& 66/ A&h&J&u&D o&ef&arm&ix&ef

2001 c&E&pf arv 18 &u&h&e&v&f&a' o&ch&w&yl&ifr&h&; A&h&J&u&D o&ef&arm&ix&ef(u en&lu&w&f&h&rs tr&h&or&D
 15 O&D&tm; pp&f&w&yl A[u&h&f&w&l o&ef&sa&; y&h&ef q&h&ic&h&on? tr&h&or&D 15 O&D pp&f&w&yl&h&h&

a&mu&onitcg AMJUD oefarmix&fu usef 14 O&t; t;cm;aom ppAM/rsm;. t;yc&sm;ul& o&:a&mu&Sfivifapy& eefazmi&ul& o&t&cefu&Sfivifap&on? t&cefu& o&e&Sfa&:y&v&y&ef eefazmi& OifM&ub&on&ESh AMJUD&oefarmix&f&vnf wygvnf OifM&ufv&my&D w&t&g&yg&u&ul&v&v&y&x&m;on? x&hem&uf&ort&:m; c&sy&a&E&h&i&M&ub&on? x&tt&cg eefazmi&u "AMJUD& us&ul&t "r&L&usi&h&ey&v, f' [k&a&t&m [p&ch&om&vnf AMJUD& oefarmix&fu ort&:m; y&g&L&ul&um y&gpy&ul&v&v&ly&D r&k&t&f&y&usi&on?

eefazmi&u t&ro&ly&eh&mu&on&it&cg c&i&y&e&j&zp&ol p&ll&i&y&el&v&D t&m; t&u&st&a&um&i&f y&e&aj&ym&j&on? x&tt&cg c&i&y&e&j&zp&ol&u& aus&&O&ul&j&zp&ol v&ov&D ul&w&il&f&um;on? aus&&O&ul&u ,if&w&E&f&O&t&:m;ac:um AMJUD& oefarmix&f&ESh o&:a&mu&aw&e&on? aw&e&on&it&cg eefazmi&u "rae&u& us&ul&t&S&it&ce&x&h&rw&u&si&h&v, f' [k&AMJUD&oefarmix&f&t&:m; aj&ym&q&on?

x&tt&cg AMJUD&oefarmix&fu "ei&ul&ig&t&f&M&v&ly&v, b&q&if&w&j&cm; o&aw&G&ul&bm&j&zp&v&ka&t&my&D t&ult&n&raw&mi&f&ov? wu, M&ei&ul&ig&w&u&si&h&v, b&q&if&' M&j&pa&ew&mu&le&if&et&w&il& vm&w&il&w&j&cm;re&r 14 a, mu&u& bm&j&zp&v&er&ifu& r&um;=u&ov' [k&j&ye&vn&aj&um;D] usef t&r&on&D 14 a, mu&ul&vnf "o&eefazmi&ul&ig&t&f&usi&h&ew& ei&w&er&if&um;? j&ri&w&il& & if v&u&ax&mi&f&yr" [k&ar&j&re&f&on? ul&w&il&ul& i&us&j&ri&f&br&bj&zi&rn&bur#v&ur&ax&mi&f&uy& t&m;v&it&ae&j&il& AMJUD&oefarmix&fu ,if. t&ce&x&b& ac&aq&mi&on;on&ub&m j&ri&aw&e& u&on? o&tt&w&il& eefazmi&f&t&:m; o&t& &S&ub&on [b&il&um '%a&ig& us&v&v&pa&om&ic&f& ay&aq&mi&f ap&on?

x&bj&zp&ly&a&em&ul&w&f eefazmi&on&f &S&uc&i&/ O&ren&j&i&ci&/ x&v&v&e&f&ir&sm;ul& c±on? x&h&um&i&y&if p&v&q&if&D t±ta&om&u&ys&ul&um w&il&f&il&v&aw&aw&G&j&zp&on? c&i&y&e&j&zp&e&S&h a&q&f&om;cs&ir&sm;u& em;vn&f&u&y&D O&il&f&O&faz&:u&on? c&i&y&e&on&iv&nf o&ab&m&x&m; j&yn&D&oj&zp&on&it&w&il&f j&y&\ em&w&v&w&r&D&D&D a&ex&il&on? x&tt&j&zp&t&y&ul&j&zp&ly&D E&f&v o&lv&=u&a&om&t&cg&v&il&f& c&i&y&e&j&zp&e&S&it&w&il&f&E&il&il&ub&u&mu&D&ex&il&on?

(152)	trnf	eef&tel(trn&ifr [w)
	touf	27 E&f
	t&f&ax&mi&f	&S&om;on&r&&
	v&h&il	&S&f
	bmom	A&k&bmom
	t&v&ly&ft&u&il&f	v, b&rm;
	ae&y&f	wma [mi&f&on&/a&em&il& D&aus&&t&yp&k&er&le, f wma [mi&f&on&f&w&el& [e&foߌ c&E&f {y&v 11 &u&h&e&v&f f aj&ym&ifa&f&on?
	t&ci&f&j&zp&e&f	2001 c&E&f Z&M&il&v 4 &uf
	pp&iv&y&f	u&el& [e&f&ret&aj&cp&il&f&cr& 524/pp&h&um&if 3/AMJUD& x&e&f&O&D

2001 c&E&f Z&M&il&v 29 &u&h&e&v&f etz pp&iv&yr&m; w&el& [e&ly&w&D&e&f&usi&on& u&if&v&sn&el& AMJUD& x&e&f&O&D u& ±&h&x&w&il&f eef&te&f&ul&w&e&on? ,if&AMJUD&u AMJUD&w&e&t&mi&f O&la&q&mi&om wy&z&o&if 30 ul&x&h&'ow&O&ul&f u&if&v&sn&el& t&re&ay&on? &uft&en&fi, f&um&on&it&cg olu eef&te&f.c&i&y&e&f p&ll&f&rm&iv&ul& aus&&O&ul&' v&h&ir&f&v&q&il& ac:v&il&on? p&ll&f&arm&iv&S& a&mu&f v&mon&it&cg AMJUD&x&e&f&O&D u "ri&fu&il& ac:v&il&u&w&il&u&ru i&g&v&y&om;aw&e&t&w&l v&r&f&j&t&j&zp&

Eþ&uavmuf vluay;apcsiM? ofn; æ rif twuf vlt yr, h tottaqmifpñf awG tñfñ jyeF, Muf ylavmh jyeVmch wluæ apmifer, f [k t ræy;ðbn? pñfarmiVS tæjzih jiiifqeEñjcir&ðhy?

ZMñV 4 &uævñf pñfarmiVS tñwñf r&ay? , ifuñ okm;onñ AM;juðxé(0)u eeftet tñ; aw&ebñ;a&muñ) wpñv&mcñlavmifar;jrejciñ&ð tñfxkd Oicbn? "eiñw tñyçel xññ bm&v/vm ofn;=un&atmiñ" [kac:çygn?

xñt cgeeftetu "AM;juðy)Oifunhyg" [kiyelvnfajymqñbn?

xñt cgy ppAM;ju "vmchæ twwl ofn;=unñ, f" ajymon? xñyifypñvñoewiukñwl vñf eeftet. ezñuñc&ç fefajcmulum tñyçexb&çqñc:çyð rññföyusiñbn? , ifonñ eñuf 10 em&ðeñsré;vñ3 em&ðkð5 em&ðeñrññföyusiñbn?

pñfarmiVS jyea&muñvmonñit cgy eeftetu jzplyubññ tuñta=umifñ;tm; jyelvnñajymjy ðbn? xñt cgy pñfarmiVSu aus&ñ0uññESH &yñf&yç wpð)tm; ofn;a&muñwññum;ðbn? oñomñ, ifñwñ "çzplyubñvñmaw&eywbuñy) rññjribuñoqñwññriñrñr wpa, muñvññ y) &ðew, f 'ðwmñ wñ tñppAM;juñ ta&;, zñ)juñyrñ, qññivññ wñouu tEññ&rññ r [kwñbñ" [kajymqñlum ppñvyftñ; rñwññum;&efqñzñwññuon?

xñt cñrññl cifyejzpbñu eeftet tñ; "Arñxm;&pñvññumif" [k ac:a:ðbn? oñomñvññ Eþzñuf aqññom;csññ;u eeftet tæjzih aewjzih eñfajcmulum t"ññyusiñçifut ðññjçifom jzpa=umif/ ortæjzih rñbnñrwwEññbnñit æt xñ;jzpa=umif eeftet ebuñs umuç f ajymqññuon? 2001 cEþñ ð*kwñwññ, ifñwñ ZelarmiEñ xññEñññbubñ xññbññuon?

(155)	trñf	eefat;(trñ&iñr [wñ)
	touf	16 Eþñ
	tññaxmif	r&ð
	vññ	&ðf
	bmom	Ar ðmom
	tñvyftuññf	v, ðrm;
	æ&yñf	uleñqm&ñ/ Orñemi ðuleñrñfæus&ñtlypkerpññe, f
	tñçifjzpbñf	2001 cEþñ ZMñV 16 &uf
	ppñvyft	erññeñt ajçpññufcv& 524/ ppa=umif 2/ AM;juð) aZmñvññf

2001 cEþñ ZMñV 16 &uævñf erññeñt Orñemi ðuleñrñfæus&ñtlypkerpññeñt uleñqm&ñol touf 16 Eþñ&ð eefat;onñ oraexññ&ñ aus&ñESH wpñññc&çe uññ0;aom æ&mwññf AM;juðaZmñvññf rññföyusiñçifutñbn? , ifjzpbñyftñ; eefat;u rñbnñit m%myñññrññ;uññ rñwññum;ççifñr&ç tñçifjzpbññ;yl) 9 &uf 10 &uævññmonñit cgy eefat;onñ zññ;emñy) pñvñqññf&rññ;aumif tñyñyñft pñ;yññum tñjctæyññññ&ñ;ðbn?

,if. aq;ubr_ cl c; b;omvnf rou bmo jzih v; Mi aq; q; b; q; u;v; i; y; a; q; m; i; c; h; u; o; n? 10
& u; f; u; m; a; q; u; b; l; a; q; z; 17000 c; e; f; u; e; l; u; s; d; y; a; e; m; u; i; w; i; f; o; u; b; o; m; u; m; a; q; q; i; f; y; e; q; i; f; c; h; o; n?

- (160) trnf eefv\$trn&iir[kw)
- touf 16 Epf
- t raxmif &2 vom; uav;wp0&&
- v r d &sf
- bmom Al bmom
- t vlyftuulf v, brm;
- ae&yf uefvtr&n/ uefvtraus&nt ypk uef[ef-rte, ?
uefvtr&n on f uef[ef o 1996 cEspwfa&ajymif c h o n?
uef[ef w 12 Epcelaxl cly) tpm; taomul ai a-u; &naz&ef
cutvsojzih1988 cEspwfiuefv&n t e& d a w m x l w i f
t c i l j z p l y f; c e f t x d y e f a t m i f a e x l l c h o n? t c i l j z p l y f; y l a e m u f
e, p y u l i z w a u s m i v u i x l i f E l i l l b u b o x l u t f i c h o n?
t c i l j z p l y f 2001 cEpf-o*lwlv
ppivvyf cr&246

touf 16 Ep& eefvbnf vukyxm; onrn 3 Epcel umjrit clyz p y d u l Def 7 v & depOf
uifvrnppivyu ,ifw Zelar mi E l t m; t E l l u s i t a p m i u; c h o n? eefvbnf ,if. ciyefjzpbol
t ouf 26 Ep& p i l f u l % E s h t w l , m c i x & d w l v p i w l w i a e x l l c h o n? 2001 cEpf-o*lwlvwif
etz ppom; rsm; ,ifw mci x b l a & m u d d m y d p i l f u l % t m; q u e s u i n d y e f u m p p a r; r r m;
y v l y c h o n? p p o m; r s m; u p i l f u l %. r s u E n u l t O w j z i h p n f l o p y i w i f c n b E n i c h o n?
p p o m; r s m; u p i l f u l % t m; q u e s u i d o n l i t c g e e f v s u l w x b o a c: v m y d w l w r s m; j z i h
q u e s u i c h o n? a o e w r s m; j z i h c e b g f e f f a j c m u j c i f r s m; v n f v y a q m i c h o n? ,ifwbnf
eefvStm; E h a c g i a o f r s m; v l u s v m o n l t x d c E m u l E s h r s u E n w l t m;
a o e w r s m; j z i h e f x E y p u b l i c h o n? x l a e m u f e e f v s w i f u l Def 7 v & d e v s u f u l y i f
w a , m u l w v s h r l d f o y u s i c h o n? p p o m; 10 a, m u f r l d f o y u s i c i f u l c e l p o l t w i f
u s e p p o m; r s m; u w l t j y i l b u f s & y l i f e e f v s a t m o l t s m; t a y; a v n i a j y m i & , h a r m c h o n?
p i l f u l % t m; j u l j z i l w y a E n i x m; o n l o p y i b n f w E s h t v s t r a o; o j z i h w l t w l r s e e f v s .
a t m i l p i l l b l t s m; u l t w i l l o m; u m; a e & o n?

ppom; rsm; onf eefvStm; vbm; r[kwbnl vpaumi f y r m e l u f 8 e m d S n a e 4 e m d t x d
r n l r w m r l d f o y u s i c h o n? e e f v s o w l v p o t; o n l i t c l u t w e f s m; r n y i f p p o m; r s m; u
q u v u i t " r d y u s i c h o n?

, ifw r l d f o y u s i l y a o m t c g p p o m; r s m; u p i l f u l % t m; a y; v m t x r f o r m; t j z p f
a c: a q m i b n; c h o n? x l t c e f p l p i l f u l % j y e a & m u f v m a v m l a y? o l a, m u f n;
u g l v e b n; j c i l j z p r n f l k e e f v s u w l u q x m; o n?

eefvbn or. w l , w i f e m u s i l u l t r a o' e m r s m; t m; w p a , m u l w n c p m; c h o n? r w l w w f
x o n l i t c g v r l a v # u b o n l i t c g s m; w i f r l a o j c i f r s m; u l c p m; c h o n? x l y i f a c g i l l u j c i f /
O r f u l l u j c i f / a o f q i l j c i f r s m; j z p a y; o j z i h o a E o m; y u l u s n u y i f p i l t c h o n? w p u l l w n f

4 & ucefaexllylaemuwif 7 v om &&o;onhu Defu uav;arzf;clbn? aemuwpa@
wif ciyeijzpb. aqf&sm; uef[efrs a&mu&&vmyd xlfEililbub ac:aqmivmclun?
, ifwlu pplom;rm; uifvntonae&mwif&exlfaom eefvswt wuf pl&fjozih a&muwmc
ujcizpby) a&munESh eefvs rlfufusitkonbwifESH plifu%aoqkonbwif wul
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eefvsta ejzih ola, muh;aoq&jiESH ortm; rlfufusitciwul wifum;um pplom;rm;
tm; ta&;, apvnomvni wifum;Eilicjif r&&y? taumifri eefvoni jrefmvdraymwv
oubt m%myvifsm;xlrnob&ra&mu&rnulvni ro&&y? xlyif ortm; rlfufusit
orm;ESHicijezpoltm; owjzwlbrsm;onfrnbnppwvifszpbnult wlt usoday?

ortm; aweqir;jrefcpowfor. uav;onf 2 vom;t&G bm &&o;yD zm;emvsu&bn?
or. Ewlvwif uav;Orfuluomvni jyiyreD, wlv&evni aif&&y? tvlyxlvly&ef
tm;eniaeonlit jyifaq;cefom;jy&elvrp&wvEShaq;zlvni r&&y?

(161)	trnf	eefr[trn&if r [kw]
	touf	13 E&f
	t&axmif	r&&
	vtr&	&&f
	bmom	Al bmom
	tvlyftuif	v, brm;
	ae&yf	ertirf &&/ uef[efr&e, ?
	tcizjzpc&f	2001 cE&f-0*kwlv
	ppwvif	uef[efr t ajcpwifer& 246

uef[efr t ajcpwifer etz pplom;rm;u ywDefusib&uifvntonae&mwifmclm touf 13 E&f t&G f
eefrult touf 14 E&f t&G f o&li, tsif eefuleESHt wlerirf &&t jyi bouwif [if&utlaepOf
aw&om;on? pplom;rm;u olw&E&D)xH&om;onht cg eefZlu xlv&yj; vlv&jrmub&clbn?
Al jzizpblu eefrult zrfqum rlfufusitby) aemuwpa@ e&u&apmapmwif em;cl&t eD
jyelv&ay;clbn? eefrlnfem;cl &&t jyi bouf v&snzjifrsu&stly&if i&u&clbn?

aemuwkwif &&ob jyelv&ay) aqf&om;csifsm;tm; jzpyuyit v&plul jyelv&ajmyclbn?
, ifwlt aejzih a' oclvy&ifr&ob&om;a&muwifum;vluomvni, ifolwum;jicifaumih
axmif %/ aif&sm;jzih xyfht jypay;clrnulvni pl&fuo? olt wuf w&m;r#wrult
tvluomvni w&m;ojzih raqmi&&uEilcluy? eefrit z& plvftm;i, jcif/ &&ujcif/
y&qaomu a&mujifsm; clbm;clbn?

(162)	trnf	eefcrf (trn&if r [kw]
	touf	16 E&f
	t&axmif	r&&
	vtr&	&&f
	bmom	Al bmom
	tvlyftuif	v, brm;/rlyefrkwif t ajcclym pwkwivefat mijriclbn?
	ae&yf	v&E&/ aemi v&us&t jpk rlyefr&e, ?

tci f jz p c e f v i e e n o n i r i f y e b # 1 9 9 8 c e s i w f a j y m i f a e c l o n ?
 p p l v y f 2 0 0 1 c e s i p u i w i b m v 1 1 & u f
 c r & 5 2 0 / p p a = u m i f 4 / A u j u d a u s m D r f

A u j u d a u s m D r f u = u u D , e s i b o n i f k a j y m u m & n x b e a m u & d m o n i t c e s i w f t o u f 1 6
 E p & G i e e f c r o n i t t i f w f w p a , m u i w n f & d e o n ? x b e w p a , m u i w n f & d e o n i u l o d
 o n e s i h A u j u d a u s m D r f u e e f c r f . t i f b o i a m u l u m r k i f y u s i b o n ? e e f c r f u a t m i f p f
 t u i t n a w m i o n i t c g e e f c i u l y g t l u b j z i h ' % & m t n k t r n i r s m ; u s e & p o n ? t c i f j z p l y f i ;
 y l a e m u f t m % o m y i r s m ; x h w i f u m ; c i i r & d o m i v n f r o m ; p l u i t j y e i v n a j y m j c b o n ? a e m u y i f
 w f o r o n f a q e f r s m ; E s i t w l e , p y u l j z w a u s m i v s u i f x i f E i i l l b u b x u t c h o n ?

(168) t r n f e e f x e f (t r n & i f r [k v)
 t o u f 1 9 E p f
 t i f a x m i f & d
 v i r s i & s f
 b m o m A k b m o m
 t v l y f t u i l f v , b o m ;
 a e & y f u e f t e f & n / a e m i a u m a u s & n t i y p k v b o m ; r l e , ?
 u e f t e f & n o n i v b o m ; r l e , f o r i m b i [b # 1 9 9 7 c e s i
 { y l v 4 & u b e v i f a j y m i f a e c l o n ?
 t c i f j z p c e f 2 0 0 1 c e s i a t m u i w i b m v 2 4 & u f
 p p l v y f c r & 5 1 5 / p p a = u m i f 3 / A u j u d p l a t m i f

2 0 0 1 c e s i a t m u i w i b m v 2 4 & u b e v i f A u j u d p l a t m i f O l a q m i a o m p p l o m ; 4 a , m u b o n f
 u e f t e f & n o p b e = u u D , k e f a m u l v m = u o n ? & n x b e a m u & d m a o m A u j u d
 p l a t m i b o n f e e f x e f w p a , m u i w n f & e j c i f u l o w i y r o n ; o n ? o u " e i h , m u m ;
 b , b o n ; v i [k a r ; & m e e f x e f u " r & b i ? v l y f t m ; a y ; o n ; w , i [k y e a j z c b o n ?
 x l t c g , i f p p A u i u " e i f w e t i f x u l i o i & n c s i w , ? u l i f y p n f a w t a y s m u f t & s & t m i f = u n z e
 e i f y m l u t i f [k a j y m u m t i f x u l i a c : v m c b o n ? t i f x b e a m u a o m t c g e e f x e f . v u u l i
 c s y m l u t i y d w e f v s l u b o n ? a o e w j z i h c e l l v n f " r x e e x & i f y p o w r , i [k
 t r e l a y ; e r f a j c m u b o n ?
 , i f u r k i f y u s i h e p o f e e f x e f u 2 j u r f 3 j u r f u s , h a v m i p o n a t m i f p c b o n ? " A u j u d a e
 u s & n r v l y p e [k v n f a t m i f p l v m ; j r p c b o n ? o h o m i p p A u i u o r t m ; y g t l u m l u t i y d
 " a o c s i v m ; " [k y p l v h o e w j z i h c e l l u m e r f a j c m u b o ; o n ? e e f x e f v n f a u m u l v e f
 o n ; o j z i h p p A u i u o r t m ; t " r l y u s i h y d t j c m ; p p o m ; r s m ; E s i t w l p p p c e f j y e b o n ; o n f t x d
 w p l v & m r a t m i f p & a w m a y ?

, i f j z p y f t m ; e e f x e f u a u s & n o u l i v l u p % E s i h & y r & y z 7 O d 8 O d t m ; w i l l u m ; d o n ?
 x b w e u e e f x e f . c i y e f j y e a m u l v m c e f t x d a p m i l q i l i f e f a j y m = u m ; d o n ? 2 & u f 3 & u f
 = u m a o m t c g c i f j z p b l j y e a m u l v m c l o j z i h e e f x e f u i l l u m l u m ; d o n ? x h e m u f o l w e n f
 a u s & n v j u l r s m ; E s i t w l p p p c e f o l o o n ; a m u b l u o n ? , i f w e p p l a y g i f 1 3 O d o n i c r & 5 1 5
 a ' o c h v y o b o n ; a m u l u m w y r ? A u j u d o e f x e f t m ; a w e q i l l m A u j u d o e f x e f u " A u j u d
 p l a t m i f v n h u i f x u b o n ; w m 1 9 & u f & u f 2 0 a v m u & d e y d j y e f a m u a o ; b l " [k a j y m q l

cbn? eefx&fu Al/jud ppla tmi t m; jri v#fsvra umif ajymqllm ,ifu wyxrs
 ppbm;rm;ull welpd&ycilfum jyodbn? xlrwvww&yjyonhppbm; 146 a, mu'w&f Al/jud
 ppla tmi rypiiy? rdt m; t"nyusi bbl rj Ell aom eefx&ft m; Al/jud oefx&fu " 'g æ
 'wylu &abmft m; vly? 'Dt xrn ei lull rkt fusil wbl rybol qawmh igvnt bmr srww Ell awmh
 bl? 'ayr, h eibkm; zlu igv& ppi wylu h& m/ &abmaw llyg 'Mrt sv m vly v& bl" [k
 ajymqllm ppi wylt cly o y& qmi dbn? , if ppft cly xw& f&v jud wpodu aemu lvpacuf
 Al/jud oefx&ft m; vma&mu aw& qbnit xd wpa& s wph aexll c& on? , if&v judu
 eefx&ft m; jyel v&vay; y&ef Al/jud oefx&ft m; awmi fye aom t cq "ci Am; u u&em lull
 avma-u; ay; & if jyel v&vay; r, ? usyl ou lu u&at mif t&u&at mif vly clwit w&uf avma-u;
 aig E& aomif ay; & r, f' [k ajymqllm? &v judu xh i lull ay; aqmi f eefx&ft m;
 jyel v&vay; dbn?

jyel v&vmaom eefx&ft onf omrel v&umifyu wd r [kv&w m&vay? or onf acg f u l u jci /
 rtao jci f a0' emr m; ull c& m; c& yd v& m; f& aq; f& b 5 } ut c& e o& n; a& m u f y o d l o n ? a e m u q l
 r b m u l l u l l j y e l v n i w n i r w E l l c b n ? o r . r b m ; p l u e m ; v n f x m ; u m a z ; r c h o m f
 v n i e e f x & f u r l , i f u l t " n y u s i b n ; o n i r k t f a u m i f t m ; t j y p a y ; o n l u b n j r i a w v l y
 o n ?

- (169) trnf eefv&v(trn&ifr [kv)
- touf 32 E&f
- t&faxmif &uav; 3 a, mu(pil fOr(9 E&f)/ eefr&f(7 E&f)/ pil vif (5 E&f)
- vtr&f &f
- bmom Al b mom
- t vlyft uilf v, brm;
- ae&yf v& pil f&v/ Or v&us&nt ypk rll f u l l r t e , ?
 v& pil f&v on f r l l f u l l r t e , b 1997 c E&f { y d 27 & u b e v l f
 ajmi fa&f c& on?
- t ci f j z p c&f 2001 c E&f E d i b m v 6 & u f
- ppi vlyf cr& 514/ t& m& d o e f j r i E s f O m % v i f

ppbm; 60 - 70 c& onf eefv&v&v& &ntelw&f uifv&h&e&uon? , if
 uifv&h&pp&umift m; jri aw&v l u b n E s h , i f . c i y e f j z p b l p i l x e f u x l u b j ; c h o m v n f
 pp&umif r s j r i a w v o n ; u o n ? p p b m ; r m ; u e e f v & v i v e t r i u l O i l v l u y d t i f t w & f a m
 t j i l u y g t w i f O i a & m u f & n a z c h u o n ? & n a z y d o n E s h e e f v & v t m ; , i f w E s h t w l v l u & f
 t r e a y ; d b n ? e e f v & v u r v l u s i l j i i q e a o m t q t & m & d o e f j r i u e e f v & v t m ; y g
 o l a v ; c u f q l u v l u y d " e i f v l u r v m ; / r v l u b l v m ; " e r f a j c m u f a r j r e f c b n ?
 e e f v & v t a e j z i h t j c m ; a & f c s , p & m v r r & b j z i h p p w y l t w i f t u s y f a c : a q m i & m a e m u b e
 v l u y c & o n ?

ppbm;rm;onf eefv&v&v& m; awmxb& 2 &ufum ac:aqmi b&v; yd t& m& d o e f j r i E s h
 O m % v i f w l u e e f v & v t m ; r k t f y u s i b u o n ? x h e m u f r l l f u l l r t e , f a [a [a u s & n t y p k r s
 v b u i f r o n h u l e f b i a u s & n o b a c : a q m i b & v ; c h u o n ? x h e & m w & f 3 & u t e f x m ; y l a e m u f
 cr& 514 . a' o c l w y p c e f o b a c : a q m i b & v ; u m w p h x m ; c h u o n ? , i f w & a c : a q m i b & v ; a o m 6

&ufvmwv#uV# eefvWuH aea&mnyg rktfjyusiHlon? aemuWpae@ eHuf 7
em&DeVf eefvWjyevnVwajrmuVmhomVnI jyeVWf ray;rD t&m&Dejriu
"Dt aumifawuH wjcm;vawuH jyeajmwme# eia&m eilviuH y vmowf, f'
eHfajcmuHlon? tHfjyeb&ubnHt c# eefvWu ciyefjzpbHtm; taumiHph
jyevnHajmyjchomVnI aumuVefojzihnbuH#oH;a&murwHf u;duay?

ppWVf. tEHfusiHpmum;jcifa=umibm , dczp&yf ay:ayubHcijzpbHnI k eefvWf. ciyefu
ortay:em;vnr&bjziH tHfWfjy\ emr&bl twWuG aexHfHlon? eefvWlonI pWVnHf
tm;i, fr;m;jzpay:duH ortm; apmum;clbrm;tm;vnf wPwV&m ta&; aqmi&uEHfH
r&Hny? tciHjzpbHf; ylaemufzm;emduH rHfufHfkaq;HfVf7 &ufefwuf&mulubHlon?

- (170) trnf eef, if (trn&if r [kw)
- touf 17 Ehf
- tHfaxmif r&H
- vHfHf &Hf
- bmom Ak bmom
- tVlyft uHf v, brm;
- ae&yf OrtH/rHfufHfauH±Htlypk rHfufHfHf, f
OrtHlon rHfufHf bH11/6/1997 wHfa&HajymifHlonI
- tciHjzpbHf 2001 cEHfEHf bmv 6 &uf
- etz wyl wytH5/cr& 514/ rHfHqwrHfAWJulausHriEHf, if. t&m&H4 OH

eef, ifonI ±HtjyibuH tpm&HapOHf tiftm; 60 - 70 ceHetz wytzvpzHjzwbeH
oH;avon? oHtVlyHyeoniuH , ifwHriawoH;um , ifwEHfHt wac:aqmiHbH;don?
oHtm; awmwHfoH Esh/ rHfufHfHf, f a[a[auH±Htlyp&H vraeawmHnH uHf beH
auH±HtoH oHnESH aemuHqWVf a' oHceHwHfoH wHn ac:aqmiHbH;don? xHjcmuH
twHf AWJulausHriEHf, if. t&m&H4 OHwHsnwHf tlypk uHf rktfjyusiHlon? xHemuf 7
&uajrmubnH@reuf6 em&HwHfoHtm;vWVay:clon?

tHfjyeb&ubnHt c# wHf rbrm;ESH aqHfHm;csiHrm;tm; jzplyubHnHrm;uH jyeajmyjdon?
oHbm;plu rHfufHfkaq;±Hbc:oH;yd aq:ppay:duH OHav;jzpbH auH±HouH vHwWu
tjzptysuH rHfufHfHfOHuH vHwWu xHbWuH u;don? jzplyubH u;don? oHnHt c# wHf
vHwWu onI cr& 515 wytH3 rS &Hf vHfjzpbH AWJula±H xHbH;I aqHfEHf wHf yHlon?
AWJujzpbH "Armppom;aw[m vHfWwHt usiHw, ? igWu trrHrsuHrif
ouHaoaw[kwawmh trHw, f' Dt rjzpbH, qHwmuH b, blutwnyEHf rvH
owH;rny? wu, vH eef, ifu oH b, &abmiurk rktfjyusiHw, qHw twHt us
oHfawmifS owH eef, ifvHajmw, HfjzpbH? igWuHajmw &abmawuH ta&; rH
atmiHajmw r [kwH? igWu wHf u pPft p&H jzpbH;wpH, muHjzpayr, Hf aqHfHm;csi
tm;vH &Hfawyl yHawmh tczpHwmeHwouHvHnfwu, uHwraumiHbH? 'ayr, H
'Dt rH tEHfHfjzpbHf bHqHwmiH gHew, f' [ajmum;clon?

eef, if. rbm;plu ortay: pmemem;vnHf OHfOHf tm;ay:uon? ortaejziH rktfaumiH
rm;tm;ta&; Itjzpay:csiHbjziHcsiHf&HjzpbH aomVnI rnbHf wWuEHfHf

- (171) trnf eefqll(trn&ifr[kw)
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 ae&yf em;ve&us±&v/Or&az;aus±&n&tlypk&rillufre, /
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 a&m&u&&v&um touf 14 e&f&t±&g& r&e&fu&av&wp&D&wn&f t&f&w&f&&e&on&u&w&e&n&on&?
 ,if. wy&om&rs&m;u&f t&f&t&j&i&b&u&w&f&u&f&ap&mi&e&u&&eft&re&ay&v&u&y&e&mu&f AM&jula&sm&f&r&i&h
 on&f eefqll&f t&m; t&y&e&x&b&±&v&w&u&g&ac&on&f&y&e&mu&f&r&f&u&f&u&f&on&? oru us, &v&mi&pb&
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pp&om&rs&m;±&n&rs&u&ct&h&on&f&on&it&ce&f&w&f or. r&om&pr&sm;j&y&e&a&m&u&&v&u&on&? eefqll&f u
 jz&p&ys&u&ct&h&u&f j&y&e&v&n&aj&ym&j&h&om&v&n&f , i&f&w&e&t&m;v&on&f t&m;%&my&f&rs&m;x&h&w&f&w&e&f&eft&w&uf
 t&v&e&a&u&mu&e&u&av&on&? x&b&z&p&ys&u&y&f&E&f&u&f&u&mw&f t&pr&u&f&jz&pb& e&e&f&a&\$ u eefqll&f
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 ign aj&cm&u&n&ce&e& t&y&r&ay&e&f&h&e&on&? , i&f&p&w&x&w&f AM&jul&jz&pb&u&f ta&;, l
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- (172) trnf eefac;(trn&ifr[kw)
 touf 24 E&f
 t&axmif &&(ve&on&h&8 E&f&u&t&ax&mi&us&6 E&f&t±&g& br&w&pa, mu&E&h
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2001 c&E&f ED&i&bmv 28 &u&e&w&f eefac&on&f ±&n&rs&v&pr&f&f&e&e&on&h ol. aw&mi&f, m&y
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ot&az&vku. ? bmr&raw&onftcgv&f ot&m; mx&& aumu&lywpy&qb ob&eftre&ay;on? yxrw&f eefac;uro&h;b&eaom&vnf , ifw&S olaumu&f&u&oe&w&zi&x&mu&ly& twi&ft&=y&ob&h;cl&id&on? aumu&ly&w&u&ob&h;tc&gv&f wpa, mu&u& ola&u& a&oe&w&zi&tc&xm; y& aemu&lv&pa, mu&u& rw&u&si&ju&ob&on? x&hem&uf vtsi&v&u&on? pplay&ji& ep&em&f&#&um&y&a&emu&f&so&ft&m; t&f&f&et&f&ay;v&ub&on? t&f&a&mu&ob&h; tc&g/ o&ei&f&e&f&h&br&sm; u< t&j&zp&ft&ys&u&e&f&w&bu&ll& j&ye&aj&my&ob&on? , if. r&br&sm;/ ci&f&e&f&on&f tou&f 33 Ep&& p&ll&fa&um&f w&e&f&ht&w&l eefac;on&f au&u&±&h&O&u&ll& v&h&ap&mx&h& ob&h; a&mu&f&uum t&j&zp&ft&ys&u&ll&w&f&w&e&f&u&on? au&u&±&h& O&u&ll&vnf , ifw&v&a, mu&E&f&ht&w&w&ly&gv&#amp;f&ri&ll&f&v&h au&u&±&h&t&yp&kt&aj&cp&ll&up&ce&f&& w&yc&f 3 wy&r? Al&u&ju&da&um&cl&ix&h ob&h; a&mu&f&w&f&w&e&f&u&on? eefac;u& j&zp&f&ys&u&ob&r&#amp;t&m; v&h&u&ll& aj&my&v&ub&on? wy&r? j&zp&f& ou , cl&ub&e&f&on&f& ob&ft&w&u&ab&um&ifa&=um&if&aj&ym. ? , ifw&g&a, mu&f&u&ll& aemu&lv&p&u&f e&h&uf 8- 30 w&f&aemu&lv&pac&u&lv&m&e&aj&ym&on? 2001 c&E&f/ E&O&ib&mv 29 &u&ae& e&h&uf 8- 30 w&f& , ifw&g&a, mu&f& p&f&w&yp&ce&f&ob&h;mu&f&w&u&on? wy&r? j&zp&f&ou r&f&f&usi&cl&ub&u&±&f&x&w&f&y&e&f eefac;u&h&aj&ym&on? "ol&w&f&su&E&h&aw&u&ll& ao&a&oc&mc&sm&=un&ly&f&f& r&f&u&ll& r&f&f&usi&v&ob&u&ly&pr&f" [k cl&f&on? wy&ob&h; r&sm; w&ep&ll&um&ij&ox&m; on&f&u&ll&w&u&o&om&vnf Al&u&ju&dx&e&f&e&f&h& Al&u&v&e&f&arm&if w&E&f&a, mu&u&ll& raw&u&f&g& eefac;u& w&ep&ll&xm; on&h 48 a, mu&f&w&f& Al&u&ju&dx&e&f&e&f&h& Al&u&v&e&f&arm&if&w&u&ll&raw&u&=um&if&ji&zi&h& wy&r? j&zp&f&ou&h&aj&ym&on? "ur& ol&w&E&f&a, mu&u&ll& r&sw&rl&v, f" [bl&u&aj&ym&v&ub&on?

wy&r? j&zp&f&ou "g& w&yc&f 3 r&f&h&v&h& &ab&m&f& u&le&f? 'r&f&h& ig&t&yg&t&O&ift&m; v&h&pplay&ji& 49 a, mu&f&f&& w, ? 'a&wm&h& ri&f&w&u& ig&w&v&yl&u&em&r&n&z&ubs&i&v&ob&ab&my&zp&f&r, f" [aj&ym. ? x&hem&uf , ifw& ig&O&v&u&ll& t&cy&ax&mi&x&ly&e&f& v&f&aw&mb&on? x<&cg& au&u&±&h&O&u&ll&j&zp&f&ou =um; O&if&um&cl&iv&v&e&f& aw&mi&f&e&ob&on? wy&r? u& ax&mi&f&ca&w&mb&l&iga, mu&f&u&ll& '%a&it& ob&ob&w&f&v&ub&on? ig&u&f t&w&f& eefac;E&f&h& au&u&±&h&O&u&ll&w&ob&nf us&f 10000 p&ay&e&f& or. ci&f&e&f&u& us&f 5000 ay&e&E&f&h& r&br&sm; on&lv&nf us&f 7000 p&it& ob&ob&ay&e&f& '%a&it& r&sv&cl&on? pplay&ji& 39000 us&f&ay&ac&cl&ay&on?

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	t&ci&f&j&zp&f&e&f	2001 c&E&f/ 'Z&il&om&v/ 4 &u&f
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2001 c&E&f/ 'Z&il&om&v/ 4 &u&ae&w&f& w&yc&f&f/ cr& 524 r&S&Al&u&ju&ll&ri&arm&if&ax&f&on&f 2001 c&E&f& E&f&f& y&ll&f&u& ±&h&om; r&sm; t&m; aj&ym&ifa&±&f&xm; on&h& j&ye&lv&n&ae&mc&sm; a&f&a' ot&w&f& y&h&e&v&sn&u&if&u&f& v&mon? t&q&ly&ae&mt&a&mu&f&w&f& eeful&w&pa, mu&f&w&nf&&e&on&f&u&ll& Al&u&ju&ll&j&zp&f&ol& aw&e& ob&h; y&la&emu&f& ob&&mt&f&ob&h; y&f& "t&f&f&ri&f&w&pa, mu&f&w&nf&aw&gv&v&v&/ ri&ir&ob&aw&ob, r&h&v&f" [l&r&av&on?

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"nu riwtt rlu b, bvmov? t rfn{nbn&bv m;"

"b, brsvmygl" [koruajzvubn? AlJuljzpbu xlt rfwif {nbn&f&az&rnif[k ajymum t rESH tycefrsm;uunirni[k eefult m;ajymon? , ifESHit wtt rfwifofvubh &ebllfydaemuf oet m;vfiq&Luy) aowfzicelum vsty&eftreay;. ? eefulujiifqef onlit cgvfi vuult wifqum vsty&ef twilt=uyvlyon? eefulvni Epjuff wllat mif "a[m' rfn AlJuldusult r fusihaygv, f' [lat mif pabn? AlJuljzpbu or. ygESHgygyuulvly) quvull rkrfusitabn?"

"rifatmr, f' grs [kw riribaw&q&stawuljyebjmr, b&irifwtt m;vulliy mowr, f' [ll xlt rfyeb&wif, ifuerrfajcmubajmqb&rbn? naebu&muil rbrsm;ESH aq&f om;csifrm; t vlyryea&muvm=unlit cy/ eefulu jzplyubvlyyebjmycbn? xlt tjzptysulul rnb&ks , ifw&wllum;duay? aemuw&ue&uwif eeful rciu uel[efaq;±ll o&q;pp&ebc:aqmi b&ri;. ? xlt jzplyubvlydaemuwif ol. rbrsm;onlvni xlt jyelvna&mcsxm;onhe&my aemuxyaexllv&uawmby? yxr rlfw&eb ajymifa&um xlaemuwif xllifellib&rbn;a&muclun? , ifw&onl xllifellib& 2001 c&Efi 'Zibmv 26 &uae&v&a&mu&clun?"

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4	cr& 524	uel[eif t ajcpLuf	11	uel[eif 8 rllfaemif1 rlel2
5	cr& 514		8	rllfulf6 v&vif1 au&od 1
6	cv& 99	rwdvmESHjriref(tv, jllf) t ajcpLuf2 vifac; 1	7	vifac; 2 rlel3

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7	cv& 225	rífwt ajcpLuf	6	rífwt6
8	cr& 333	rífqwt ajcpLuf	6	rífqwf5
				rífwt1
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16	cr& 314	uifvsh	3	uifwt3
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				rífqwf1
20	cr& 519	rífwt ajcpLuf1	2	uél[ef 1
		uél[eft ajcpLuf1		rífwt1
21	cv& 247	uifvsh	2	erþef2
22	cv& 226	uifwt ajcpLuf	2	uifwt2
23	cv& 55	uifvsh	2	vcm; 2
24	cv& 248		2	rle1
				rífye1
25	cr& 227	rífwt ajcpLuf1	2	rífwt1
		uifvsh1		rífye1
26	cr& 525	uifvsh	1	vcm; 1
27	cv& 45	uifvsh	1	rífqwf1
28	cr& 378	&cljyne, fs	1	uél[ef 1
29	cr& 44	uifvsh	1	uél[ef 1
30	cv& 43	uifvsh	1	rífye1
31	cr& 242	uifvsh	1	auso1
32	cr& 442	uifvsh	1	vcm; 1
33	cr& 517	uifvsh	1	vcm; 1
34	cr& 502	uifvsh	1	rífye1
35	cv& 65	rífwt ajcpLuf	1	rífwt1
36	cr& 324	erlvit ajcpLuf	1	erlv1
37	cv& 22	uifvsh	1	erþef1
38	cr& 422	rlet ajcpLuf	1	rle1
39	cr& 527	rífqwt ajcpLuf	1	rífqwf1

40	cv& 102	uifvŋh	1	uēf[eŋ 1
41	cv& 279		1	rīf, eŋ 1
42	cr& 514	uifvŋh	1	auŋoŋ 1
43	cr& 529	uŋf fwt ajcpLuf	1	rīfwt
44	cv& 245		1	uŋf fwt
45	cv& 226	uifvŋh	1	uŋf fwt
46	cr& 503	rīfjzwft ajcpLuf	1	rīfwt
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49	cv& 64		1	vcm; 1
50	cv& 221	rīfjzwft ajcpLuf	1	wmcsvvi 1
51	cv& 9		1	rīfulf
52	cv& 244		1	uŋf fwt

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 Alwunxet

23? cv& 55
 Alwjudcipil
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 Alwrat; oep
 Alwjudci&armi&net

26? cr& 525
 Alwjudp&net

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 xlv&aom pmt&lyw&fzw&Elygon?

ရှမ်းလူ့အခွင့်အရေးမဏ္ဍိုင်

(The Shan Human Rights Foundation – SHRF)

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e-mail: shrf@cm.ks.co.th

ရှမ်းအမျိုးသမီးရေးရာ ဆက်သွယ်ဖလှယ်လုပ်ငန်းဆောင်ရွက်ရေးအသင်း

(The Shan Women's Action Network - SWAN)

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