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CRISIS AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF CRISIS

Válság és válságkezelés

Kriza i krizni menadžment

The notion of crisis was first used in medicine to describe a near death state of a patient where drastic and immediate intervention is needed for survival. Later this concept was extended to other fields and (social, political and economic) systems, as well. At the same time, the meaning of crisis was diluted and modified, which can lead to misinterpretations. I argue for the term ‘crisis’ should be used in its original sense describing ‘system moving towards non-existence’. On the one hand, it is possible that by the ontological point of view the society is not in crisis, while the community states that it is in crisis. On the other hand, it is possible that by an ontological point of view, the society in crisis, while the community ignores it. This is a good example of the former being economic recession, while the latter is the environmental crisis. Finally, this paper deals with different forms (democratic or autocratic) of crisis management. In case of crisis in social systems rapid and radical actions are needed which are contrary to the democratic decisions that are usually characterized by slow and consensus seeking processes. However, the autocratic leader can be a „bad emperor” as well. So, we need to balance between conflicting considerations in crisis management.

Key words: consciousness of crisis, economic crisis and recession, democratic and autocratic leadership

1. THE ORIGINAL MEANING OF THE CRISIS

In the English language the word ‘crisis’ means “crucial or decisive point or situation; a turning point”. This concept was used originally in the medical science: “a sudden change in the course of a disease or fever, toward either improvement or deterioration” (AMERICAN HERITAGE). The word ‘crisis’ entered the English language around 1425 with the meaning of “turning point in a disease,” in a translation of Chauliac’s *Grande Chirurgie* (1997).

Concepts such as diagnosis and therapy are closely related to the concept of crisis and derive also from medical science. Later the concept of crisis is extensively used figuratively, as well: “turning-point in illness, life, history etc; time of difficulty, danger or anxiety about the future” (Oxford Értelmező Kéziszótár). The sense of ‘decisive moment’ is first recorded in English in 1627 as a figurative extension of the original medical meaning. Clearly not only individuals but also entire communities and societies can shift towards a state of non-existence; therefore the concept of crisis can be appropriately used when discussing social systems. The definition of crisis regarding social systems is “an unstable condition, as in political, social, or economic affairs, involving an impending abrupt or decisive change” (AMERICAN HERITAGE). ACCORDING TO Stegaroiu (2005) the concept of crisis can be defined as a situation which threatens the priorities of the organization, being an element of surprise for managers, reducing the reaction period and generating stress. Forgues (1993: 9) also emphasizes the element of surprise in the meaning of crisis. Venette (2003) argues that “crisis is a process of transformation where the old system can no longer be maintained.”

Therefore, the next defining quality of crisis is the need for change. In accordance with Venette’s viewpoint, I use the original medical meaning of the word crisis in my essay. The crisis is a period in the life of an individual, a family or society in which a decision will be made on an individual, family or society’s fate. This is a decision that requires new tools and strategies, because the existing conflict resolution, roads, long-established rules are no longer operational (HAJDUSKA 2010: 11).

The above definitions of the crisis in the following terms emphasize: instability, uncertainty, unexpectedness, disintegration, survival, hazard, a turning point and positive and negative outcomes. So while the media tends to classify any problem crisis, while the original concept (medical) use of the term makes sense that the crisis can only apply to situations where there is a potential threat of destruction. Hankiss also defines the concept of crisis in this sense. “The crisis is usually defined as a serious malfunction in the system, as a disorder that cannot be solved, and that the self-correcting mechanisms and adaptation of the system can not eliminate easily the crisis. If these internal mechanisms fail, and external intervention is not successful, then this may lead to the stoppage or disintegration of the system” (HANKISS 1999: 13). I use the original medical meaning of the word crisis in my essay (see figure 1): CRISIS = SYSTEM MOVING TOWARDS NON-EXISTENCE.

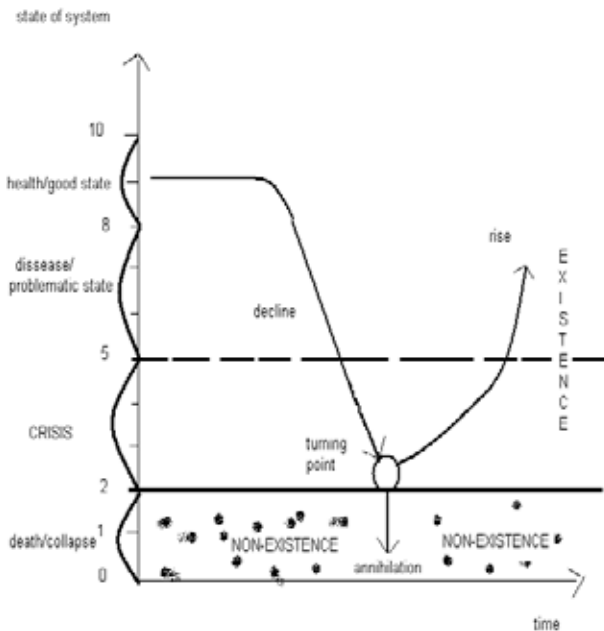


Figure 1: Scheme on the concept of crisis

According to the original meaning of the crisis, the following general observations can be made. These features characterize every crisis on a general level.

(a) Only that system is in crisis which goes towards destruction but which is not annihilated yet. In other words, non-existence is threatening in the case of crisis, but has not appeared yet, moreover, it is avoidable.

(b) Crisis is a process and it is not a stable state. For example, a patient in coma is not in crisis. A patient in coma is a poor but stable condition, so according to the original concept of crisis it is not crisis. Because of the stable condition of the patient there is no need for immediate action, which is an important feature of the crisis.

(c) It is only possible to save a system in crisis with quick and radical intervention (critical decision-making). The crisis can also be characterized by an inability to cope with the situation using traditional methods of problem solving. A system in crisis has to mobilize its resources and creativity to solve the problem. Thus a crisis is a good opportunity for the out-of-date practices or *status quo* to change. That is why they often say that crisis is a chance for renewal as well. Therefore, the successful crisis

management may result in rebirth and consolidation of the system. The above considerations are consistent with the concept of crisis in China. The Chinese word for ‘crisis’ (wēiji simplified Chinese: 危机) consists of the characters for wēi (危) and ji (机). So ‘crisis’ (wēiji) is composed of elements that signify ‘danger’ (wēi) and ‘opportunity’ (ji).”When written in Chinese the word crisis is composed of two characters. One represents danger, and the other represents opportunity” (ZIMMER 2007).

(d) So the crisis is a turning point which brings basic changes into the life of a system: collapse or renewal. Every crisis is a turning point; however, not every turning point is a crisis, because the term ‘turning point’ does not express the threat of non-existence. However, the crisis cannot be identified with the concept of dying or collapse either, because in these cases there is no option for renewal.

The public perception often qualifies the serious social problem as a crisis. According to the original meaning of the term, a serious social problem is not a crisis. I maintain that the concept of crisis in social situations is to be applied when there is a potential threat of destruction. So every crisis is a social problem, however not every social problem is a crisis.

The crises of human systems can also have many types, for example it can affect a person (e.g. midlife crisis), a whole community (e.g. ecological crisis on Easter Island) or any subsystem of the society (e.g. credit crisis, European migrant crisis, demographic crisis).

Society is a complex system in which different subsystems are present from economic units to ideological movements. With respect to the continuity of society it is important which subsystems or units are endangered by crisis. It is worth making a difference between people as basic beings and the different social structures created by people. If people become extinct because of crisis, they cannot create any social structures, while surviving a crisis they might produce a new social system. For example, the Polynesian society in Easter Island is world-famous for the large stone statues (*moai*) carved between 1100–1680 CE. This culture declined around the 17th and 18th century due to an ecological crisis (deforestation) and this led to civil war and cannibalism. However, some people survived on the island and built a new social structure, called the Bird Man cult.

It is clear that the more dangerous a crisis is the more basic entity it threatens. The crisis endangering the existence of first entities, i.e. of people, can be called total, while the crisis threatening the less basic entities might be called partial. From a historical point of view the total crisis of a community is not rare. These total crises trace back to several causes such as natural disaster, military defeat, demographic, social, political and

environmental ones. Otherwise, the effect of partial crises is much more limited and it threatens a subsystem or a certain state of it with collapse.

2. CRISIS AS NAME OR THING

Even though we call something crisis it is not sure that it is, and vice versa. The philosophers are well aware of the problem when people confuse the thing with its name. This mistake can most easily be recognized, if we look at how “things” (objects, or events) are called in different languages.

In English we say “great depression”, while in Hungarian we use the term “the great world economic crisis” (nagy gazdasági világválság) when speaking about the same economic events (as ontological processes) started in 1929. By contrast, in 1979, Iran captured U.S. diplomats detained in Hungarian “Iran Hostage drama” (iráni túszdráma), while in English it is called “Iran Hostage Crisis”. These examples show that a distinction has to be made between ‘crisis as an ontological process’ and ‘crisis as a name’.

Ideally ‘crisis as a name’ is used properly for only ‘crisis as an ontological process’. However, it can also occur that the term crisis is used improperly. It is very important what exactly we call crisis, because if we consider a “thing” crisis there appears the absolute necessity to intervene. Theoretically, two types of mistakes can be made. In social systems one of the most important questions is whether the system considers itself in crisis. Ideally a society (or community) perceives itself in crisis (crisis consciousness) only if it is really in crisis. Two mistakes can be made regarding crisis consciousness by the community. (i) The society is not in crisis but it has crisis-consciousness and (ii) the society is in crisis but it has no crisis-consciousness. The former error causes the mobilization of unnecessary resources to solve a (smaller) social problem, while the later error causes the community not to recognize the crisis. It seems that in the mainstream of modern thinking the first error or mistake is made in economic issues and the second error or mistake is made in environmental issues.

On the one hand, it is possible that from an ontological point of view the system is not in crisis, while the community qualifies it as a crisis. The false consciousness of crisis is understandable from the psychological point of view, because that way the community mobilizes better themselves. The media also likes the hysteria because it is good from a business point of view. The consequence of false consciousness is that the community will mobilize more effort than necessary in order to solve a social problem. This will lead to a ‘crisis’ term losing its original meaning and thus it is applied

to all kinds of social problems. If any problem is classified as crisis, it is not possible to distinguish the actual crisis situations from other problems. That is, in this case only normal and routine forces can be mobilized by the community. (Like in a fairy tale, if a little pig is constantly shouting about the wolf, and nothing happens, when the wolf is real, nobody will take seriously its call for help.)

On the other hand, it is possible that from an ontological point of view the system is in crisis, while the community ignores it. The consequence of missing crisis of consciousness is that the community does not realize that it is in crisis. Even health situations can occur that doctors do not realize that the patient is near death; due to the complexity of the society there is higher risk of this type of failure. In my view, the mainstream of modern thinking brings about a first-type error (hysteria) concerning the economic recession, while the second type of error (negligence) creates environmental problems.

3. INTERPRETATIONS OF ECONOMIC CRISIS

In everyday understanding, the meaning of the 'economic crisis' practically corresponds to the concept of 'economic decline'. According to several economists (Sismondi, Marx, Schumpeter), there is a natural cycle of expansion and contraction periods in economy. Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter argued that an economic or business cycle has four stages: (i) expansion (increase in production and prices, low interests rates); (ii) crisis (stock exchanges crash and multiple bankruptcies of firms occur); (iii) recession (drops in prices and in output, high interests rates); (iv) recovery (stocks recover because of the fall in prices and incomes). Although the concept of crisis also appears in this conception, there is no crisis in its original meaning, because the existence of the economic system is not in danger. Consequently, it is important to make a distinction between the economic sense of the word crisis and its general meaning ('system moving towards non-existence'). If the cyclic function of the economy is accepted and if contraction is followed by expansion then recession or depression cannot be considered crisis in its original meaning. The economic meaning of the word 'crisis' does not include the danger of non-existence.

In economics there is a distinction between short-time recession and long-time depression. In the mid-20th century, Schumpeter (1954) and others proposed a typology of business cycles according to their periodicity, so that a number of particular cycles were named after their discoverers or proposers: – the Kitchin inventory cycle of 3–5 years; – the Juglar fixed

investment cycle of 7–11 years (often identified as ‘the’ business cycle); – the Kuznets infrastructural investment cycle of 15–25 years; – Kondratiev wave or long technological cycle of 45–60 years. Permanent contraction and depression are also natural parts of the economic cycles with longer periods (Kuznets and Kondratiev).

According to these approaches, even depression cannot be identified with the concept of crisis in the original sense of the word. Consequently, the term of crisis is used improperly by economists because destruction does not threaten economy even in case of recession or depression. In fact, a paradox situation is formed in which modern societies overestimate the problems of recession and depression. On the other hand, these societies underestimate the real dangers threatening their existence (the extinction of species, global climate change, aging etc.).

If we accept that the economy operates cyclically, and that the recovery is necessarily followed by a decline, the recession is not considered crisis in the original sense. After all, depression is not in itself a threat to economic collapse. This does not mean that the economy could always avoid a crisis in the original sense of the word. So it is important to distinguish between the original meaning of economic crisis (economic crisis₁) and the economic recession (economic crisis₂). Unfortunately, economists themselves made an original mistake when they called the recession and depression a crisis. As a result of it, the concept of the economic crisis has two distinct meanings (“economic collapse” and “recession”), and this difference is regularly confused by both the public, and economists.

It seems this superficial and incorrect use of the word is not a big problem, in fact, it is a serious problem. Detecting the recession, the media immediately starts talking about economic crisis, and this term suggests that the entire economic system is moving towards the collapse. Therefore, everyone is convinced that radical action is needed immediately. And then the politicians cooperating with the economists try to “solve” the recession (economic crisis₂). So the recession is perceived as an abnormal condition and they try various crisis management steps to force economic growth. However, the economists themselves should know that the recession and depression are a natural part of the economic cycle, and as such cannot be “solved”. The recession is only delayed, which in turn means that a much greater recession will occur later. And so the responses to the recession are completely ineffective at best, and at worst they cause a major crisis later. In addition, crisis management causes further problems (budget deficit and debt growth, etc.), and this will eventually lead to the original meaning of the economic crisis (crisis₁) Using a metaphor for a recession it is the same

as the child goes through a child's illness. Both may be delayed, but they will cause much more serious problems.

The current political and economic mainstream sees the economic growth as a normal state and non-growth as crisis. The false consciousness crisis encourages the decision-makers to do (or to sacrifice) everything in order to achieve economic growth. However, this is a complete misunderstanding of the situation, since the (extensive) growth is not continued for two reasons. First, the growth is always broken by the recession during the business cycle. Second, as the environmentalists emphasize, the period of extensive growth has reached its limits for ecological reasons. So the mainstream considers as normal that situation which cannot be real, and the real situation that is the state of non-growth is considered crisis. And so the political and economic mainstream closes the world into an ideological trap.

The idea of continuous progress and growth were initiated in the Early Modern age (Bacon, Descartes), then enforced in the 18th century with Locke and Condorcet, and further developed with positivism and Marxism. For the Western man growth and progress is not only a metaphysical construction, but also a primary experience. For a couple of hundred years mankind has been exponentially growing in almost all its quantitative parameters: population, consumption, GDP, etc. Modernity considers this to be society's normal way of operation, therefore the slowing down or absence of growth is perceived as an abnormal situation and critical condition. In the last 50 years the pace of population growth increased, and as a result the number of population doubled.

The greatest difference between the paradigm of modernity and the "greens" is with respect to future expectations. Modernity thinks that the man-nature relationship will continue to be exactly as it has been in the past 400 years, therefore growth will continue to characterize our civilization, and the regress deriving from the nature of capitalism will only be transitory.

In contrast, the "greens" emphasize that the Earth is a finite system, and it is impossible for a sub-system in this system of limited natural capacity, namely mankind, to grow unlimitedly in its physical parameters. What is more, they consider that the extensive growth of society has already come to an end, because the society has reached, and indeed exceeded the limits of earthly systems. It is originally impossible to rule over nature, technology carries unpredictable risks, and the nature possesses an intrinsic value. "Policies must therefore be changed. These policies affect basic economic, technological, and ideological structures. The resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present" (SESSIONS 1995: 6).

Therefore the "greens" think that the future will definitely differ from the past 400 years. One of the possibilities is that mankind will succeed in limiting

its own economic growth, consumption, and technical development harmful for the environment, that is, in limiting its environmental load and creating a sustainable society. The other option is that the global environmental crisis as a result of natural limits will be followed by the collapse of civilizations.

At present, the ideologies of modernity (growth) and sustainability (non-growth) are equally prevalent, and this does not only mean that the information is unclear and human ambitions are contradictory, but also that the hundreds-of-years-old values of modernity have become critical.

4. FORMS OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT

Crisis management requires special decision-making process in medical cases. It is obvious that immediate decision, action and intervention are needed in case of a patient in crisis. In case of emergency, when the patient is dying, there is no time to wait – *periculum in mora* (delays are dangerous) in Latin. If the patient is examined by several doctors, it can easily happen that opinions are different in the question of therapy (or crisis management). The solution requires further analysis and democratic decision making; however, in crisis – according to the description of crisis in its original meaning – there is not any possibility for long-term democratic decision making because immediate intervention is needed. In the medical society the way of therapy (crisis management) is determined by hierarchy. Afterwards it can turn out that the leading doctor misjudged the situation and the subordinate doctor was right in some cases. Nevertheless, this does not influence the fact that the solution of a crisis requires unambiguous procedural authority. The traditional doctor-patient relationship suggests that crisis and democracy are mutually exclusive.

The situation is the same in the case of the crisis in social systems. The saving of a society or social subsystem in crisis is only possible with rapid and radical intervention. This often excludes the possibility of democratic decision-making. On one hand, there is no time for further studies, time-consuming analyses and consensus-seeking consultations in a crisis. On the other hand, the democratic negotiation is difficult since it is necessary to decide about the distribution of serious burdens and constraints in the case of a crisis. Therefore, it is just a leader with absolute power who can make the rapid decisions in a critical situation.

The set of possible decisions can be called absolute leeway in a crisis. It is clear that this leeway is limited by the democratic rules: the system of checks and balances, human rights, constitution, liberal principles. Let us call this set a legally limited leeway. Obviously, the set of the absolute leeway is

much larger than the set of legal leeway. That is, if the other conditions are the same, the leeway of a democratic leader (who follows democratic and liberal principles) is much narrower than that of a non-democratic (who does not follow democratic and liberal principles) leader. Of course, the question arises, whether the autocratic leader with unlimited power (i) is able to solve the crisis and (ii) he does not take advantage from the extra power.

Unfortunately, there is no guarantee. However, the community which does not provide absolute leeway for the leadership in a crisis, has obviously less chance of crisis management.

If the solution of the crisis is theoretically possible, but it is in a legally impossible field, the community disappears in the case of democratic leadership, while it survives in the case of autocratic leadership. This is the situation with the crises the solution of which is possible in the absolute leeway, but it isn't included in the legally possible (democratic and liberal) leeway. (Now, let us disregard the problem that democratic and liberal principles can sometimes conflict with each other.)

For example, China adopted the one child policy because of the threat of overpopulation crisis in 1979. This policy resulted in declining of the growth rate of China's population since 1987; and they expect the population peak in 2026 to be under 1.4 billion. Without one child policy the number of population has already long ago surpassed 1.5 billion people. It is clear that these measures were unpopular and violated the fundamental rights of the Chinese people. Thus, the overpopulation crisis in China would have been unable to be solved with liberal and democratic rules. This would have lead to not only its own economic development, but also to disastrous environmental consequences. This example also shows that the leadership must get full authority at least regarding the problem to be solved in a crisis.

What is more, practice indicates that the leadership based on unlimited power, that is the authoritarian leadership, is even a part of democratic and liberal societies. Let us think of such social subsystems as the police, fire brigade, army or such entities, units as airplanes, ships, submarines. Furthermore, it is well known that democratic decision-making is suspended in case of war or major natural disasters, and leadership based on unlimited power 'steps into action.

It is another problem that a leader using unlimited power will be a bad emperor, as Fukuyama (2012) said. The bad emperor, i.e. the bad leader with strong authority is obviously the worst possible option both in crisis and normal situation. According to Fukuyama, the democratic system surpasses the non-democratic system because the appearance of the bad leader is inevitable on the long term. At the same time, democracy is able to restrict

the negative consequences of a bad leader by limiting his power. Of course, democracy is limiting the positive activity of a good leadership, as well. Comparing the two kinds of leadership in normal conditions democracy is better because unlimited power and the bad leader leads to unlimited destruction.

The situation is different if the community is in crisis; in this case, there is a greater chance for the survival of the community if the leader gets more authority and leeway. Consequently, the community should make a clear difference between the consolidated period and the crisis, and it is allowed to invest the leadership with a surplus of power only and exclusively in the critical period. On the other hand, the community has to take into consideration what kind of surplus power could be given to the leadership according to the type of crisis, e.g. in the case of an economical crisis unlimited power should be given only in economic field.

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Válság és válságkezelés

A válság fogalmát kezdetben az orvostudományban használták azokra a helyzetekre, amikor a beteg halálközeli állapotba került, és ezért azonnali és radikális beavatkozásra volt szükség. Majd ezt a fogalmat kiterjesztették a különböző társadalmi rendszerekre is. Ugyanakkor a 'válság' terminus jelentése kezdte elveszíteni eredeti jelentését és módosult, ami félreértésekre adott okot. Amellett érvelek, hogy a 'válság' fogalmát az eredeti értelemben kell használni, vagyis hogy 'a rendszer halad a nemlét felé'. Egyrészt lehetséges, hogy ontológiai szempontból egy társadalom nincs válságban, miközben a közösségnek válságtudata van. Másrészt lehetséges, hogy ontológiai szempontból egy társadalom válságban van, miközben a közösségnek nincs válságtudata. Az előbbire jó példa a gazdasági recesszió, míg az utóbbira a környezeti válság. Végül a tanulmány foglalkozik a válságkezelés különböző (demokratikus vagy autokratikus) formáival. Társadalmi rendszerek válsága esetében gyors és radikális akciókra van szükség, amely szemben áll a demokratikus döntéshozatallal, amely általában lassú és konszenzuskereső. Azonban az autokratikus vezetőből könnyen lehet „rossz császár” is. Tehát válságkezelés esetében egyensúlyra van szükség az ellentétes megfontolások között.

Kulcsszavak: válságtudat, gazdasági válság és recesszió, demokratikus és autokratikus vezetés

Kriza i krizni menadžment

Pojam krize je na početku bio upotrebljavan za opisivanje stanja blizu smrti kod pacijenata kojima je u cilju preživljavanja bila potrebna trenutna intervencija. Kasnije je ovaj koncept proširen i na druga polja, a takođe i na (društvene, političke i ekonomske) sisteme. Istovremeno, značenje krize se modifikovalo i poprimilo blaže konotacije, što bi moglo dovesti do pogrešnih interpretacija. Ja ipak tvrdim da bi se termin „kriza” trebala upotrebljavati u svom originalnom smislu opisujući ga kao „sistem koji se kreće ka nepostojanju”. S jedne strane moguće je da posmatrano iz ontološkog aspekta društvo ne bude u krizi, dok zajednica tvrdi da ono jeste u krizi. S druge strane, moguće je i to da iz ontološkog gledišta društvo stvarno bude u krizi, a da zajednica to ignoriše. Ovo je dobar primer za predašnju krizu koja je bila ekonomska recesija, dok je ova skorašnja kriza sredine. Konačno, studija se bavi različitim (demokratskim i autokratskim) formama kriznog menadžmenta. U slučaju kriza društvenih sistema potrebne su brze i radikalne akcije, koje su u suprotnosti sa demokratskim odlukama koje obično karakterišu spori procesi koji tragaju za konsenzusom. Međutim, autokratski vođa može takođe da bude „rđav vladar”, dakle u kriznom menadžmentu treba da se postigne balans među suprotnim razmatranjima i stavovima.

Ključne reči: svest o krizi, ekonomska kriza i recesija, demokratsko i autokratsko vodstvo

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