

aZm*၏ w̄l̄fa&:jyn̄rl̄q̄ &m̄ &Op̄mr̄fr̄sm̄;r̄t̄ aw̄ES̄ fit̄ a&;
op̄b̄p̄v̄f̄

pm̄wr̄tūōt̄

þpm̄wr̄fon̄ aZm*၏ &op̄mr̄fr̄sm̄x̄t̄S̄ w̄l̄fa&:jyn̄rl̄ taw̄t̄jriȳḡōīāom̄ &ō
pm̄wr̄fr̄sm̄ūl̄ p̄m̄aȳl̄ax̄m̄īr̄S̄ av̄l̄mw̄īfȳx̄m̄āom̄ pm̄wr̄f̄z̄p̄lȳgon̄ aZm*၏
taw̄t̄jriȳḡȳl̄v̄f̄ &oȳāom̄ &op̄mr̄fr̄sm̄ūl̄ tr̄m̄t̄jym̄a&;om̄c̄lȳgon̄ x̄l̄ō
pm̄wr̄fr̄sm̄x̄t̄S̄ w̄l̄fa&:jyn̄rl̄ taw̄t̄jribab̄mȳḡōīāom̄ w̄l̄f̄jyn̄f̄k̄l̄w̄aw̄m̄Ēh̄
ūl̄ēw̄n̄p̄ jyn̄ax̄m̄p̄Ēs̄ūl̄ēw̄n̄f̄ &op̄mr̄fr̄sm̄ūl̄ tav̄l̄m̄c̄l̄t̄jz̄p̄ a&cs̄, Nȳv̄f̄
tāl̄ūm̄īf̄t̄&mȳl̄f̄Ēh̄ ta&;t̄omȳl̄f̄[k̄ Ēp̄ȳl̄f̄c̄l̄m̄ av̄l̄mw̄īfȳōf̄r̄n̄f̄ jz̄p̄lȳgon̄
tāl̄ūm̄īf̄t̄&mȳl̄f̄w̄f̄ aZm*၏ taw̄t̄jriȳḡȳl̄ūl̄av̄l̄m̄q̄f̄pp̄l̄īfȳḡr̄n̄f̄ ta&;t̄om̄
ȳl̄f̄w̄f̄l̄ aZm*၏ p̄um̄ajaya&;[ēf̄ūl̄ av̄l̄mw̄īfȳ&mw̄f̄ p̄um̄t̄ōl̄t̄Ēf̄? Ogus̄ȳl̄
tv̄ūl̄t̄ōl̄w̄l̄ q̄f̄pp̄l̄īfȳōf̄r̄n̄f̄z̄p̄lȳgon̄ &op̄mr̄f̄av̄l̄m̄ ōl̄l̄t̄w̄l̄f̄
tax̄mūf̄l̄n̄f̄[k̄, ll̄n̄ȳgon̄
aom̄tsūb̄Oḡ[m̄r̄s̄ - taw̄f̄ ūl̄ēw̄n̄f̄ a&;[el̄ w̄l̄fa&:jyn̄rl̄

နိဒါန်း

þohwoep̄mr̄f̄w̄f̄ aZm*၏ w̄l̄fa&:jyn̄rl̄ taw̄t̄jriȳḡōīāom̄ &op̄mr̄f̄
Ēp̄ȳk̄ūl̄ av̄l̄mw̄īfȳx̄m̄ȳgon̄ &op̄mr̄fr̄sm̄w̄f̄ p̄ma&;ob̄n̄f̄ r̄t̄v̄īfȳv̄l̄b̄n̄h̄
tāl̄ūm̄īf̄t̄&m̄ wp̄ȳf̄ȳ:w̄f̄ taw̄t̄jriȳl̄ūl̄ t̄Ēp̄v̄j̄c̄, f̄f̄aȳjcīf̄z̄īh̄ pm̄zw̄f̄l̄ &ō
c̄b̄m̄r̄b̄ȳ:at̄m̄ī t̄m̄x̄l̄w̄v̄l̄b̄n̄b̄n̄bab̄m̄ūl̄ aw̄l̄ȳgon̄ &ōaȳ:at̄m̄ī&;om̄ wīȳ
on̄it̄w̄f̄ūl̄ &op̄mr̄f̄av̄l̄m̄l̄w̄f̄ a&;[ēb̄n̄l̄n̄f̄ taw̄f̄ub̄l̄ȳf̄ ta&;ȳḡāl̄ūm̄īf̄ūl̄
av̄l̄mw̄īfȳx̄m̄ȳgon̄

၁။ ရာစာတမ်းပီလောကာ

&Op̄mr̄f̄ūl̄r̄v̄ū t̄*M̄ȳb̄m̄ōn̄j̄z̄īh̄ essay [hc̄:on̄f̄ jref̄m̄b̄m̄ōn̄j̄z̄īh̄t̄pr̄p̄m̄
pm̄wēf̄? pm̄r̄b̄f̄? pm̄w̄r̄f̄? tūb̄q̄? &Op̄mr̄f̄? pm̄w̄r̄f̄, þon̄j̄z̄īh̄t̄r̄n̄f̄r̄s̄ aȳ;cl̄ū
ȳgon̄

jref̄m̄p̄m̄āv̄m̄ūw̄f̄ &Op̄mr̄f̄[k̄ t̄ōl̄w̄f̄s̄, f̄ēl̄ȳD̄ jz̄p̄āōm̄v̄n̄f̄ t̄c̄l̄ū
tūb̄q̄;[l̄ȳf̄ tr̄n̄w̄ȳb̄n̄f̄ pm̄w̄r̄f̄, f̄ūl̄16 &mpl̄w̄f̄ jȳīb̄p̄Ēf̄f̄ jȳīb̄p̄b̄m̄ōn̄j̄z̄īh̄
essai [þw̄if̄tr̄n̄&c̄l̄ȳ] t̄*M̄ȳb̄m̄ōn̄j̄z̄īh̄ essay [k̄qūl̄ūf̄tr̄n̄w̄f̄b̄n̄f̄ tūb̄q̄;
[h̄om̄ tr̄n̄f̄aȳ:r̄l̄ūȳf̄ *&d̄m̄rac̄w̄ūwn̄f̄ tūb̄q̄;tz̄l̄f̄ aȳ:aȳgūf̄ēl̄ȳjz̄p̄āl̄ūm̄f̄
ȳn̄m̄&s̄īw̄l̄ū p̄p̄f̄az̄m̄x̄l̄w̄f̄l̄ūon̄f̄ ȳav̄l̄ōl̄ H̄z̄&ūīw̄f̄ ȳv̄īēl̄q̄deum̄f̄ ȳv̄l̄w̄f̄
q̄l̄q̄&l̄ r̄m̄uȳāt̄n̄a&:v̄f̄, ȳf̄ t̄&p̄w̄l̄v̄, þaom̄ *&d̄m̄rȳn̄m̄&s̄īw̄l̄b̄n̄f̄ tūb̄q̄;oab̄m̄
aq̄m̄īāom̄ t̄z̄r̄sm̄ūl̄a&;om̄c̄l̄ūon̄f̄[k̄ b̄on̄f̄

* a'ḡūl̄w̄f̄ ȳḡar̄m̄ūP̄jref̄m̄p̄K̄nē? pp̄l̄f̄w̄ūb̄l̄f̄

ji bɔp̥mā& q&m r̥eīwefu tuāq; trn̥zih 1580 jn̥ E̥f̥w̥f̥ pw̥i y̥ E̥f̥x̥w̥aōcl̥n̥
r̥eīwef̥ \ tuāq; rs̥m E̥f̥y̥w̥buſ̥ arm̥it̥iſ̥ ("E̥z̥l") u pm̥r̥f̥i, pm̥aypm̥r̥fr̥s̥, y̥x̥
w̥v̥f̥

[r̥eīwef̥ \ pm̥r̥monf̥ o̥b̥&ub̥b̥m̥? o̥ltaw̥t̥j̥rif̥ c̥b̥m̥r̥t̥m̥uſ̥t̥ajc̥j̥k̥
pum̥ajy̥z̥ihay̥g̥y̥y̥g̥a& z̥b̥om̥ pm̥r̥j̥zp̥b̥n̥? JuE̥ly̥\ p̥mt̥ly̥w̥f̥ a&z̥b̥
aom̥ taM̥uſ̥t̥&monf̥ u̥E̥ly̥uſ̥ w̥l̥y̥iſ̥zp̥y̥gonf̥] b̥om̥ r̥eīwef̥ \ pum̥
E̥f̥t̥n̥l̥ ol̥pm̥r̥s̥w̥f̥ ol̥b̥&ub̥b̥m̥ o̥f̥y̥iſ̥v̥p̥m̥? wp̥en̥t̥m̥z̥iſ̥
o̥luſ̥ &n̥uſ̥ fo̥r̥m̥uſ̥ t̥<̥w̥l̥f̥ruſ̥ f̥o̥l̥ v̥p̥f̥x̥m̥onf̥
vl̥p̥a, muſ̥t̥j̥zp̥f̥o̥luſ̥ b̥i y̥l̥z̥n̥y̥j̥iſ̥zp̥b̥n̥?]

[kv̥n̥f̥aumiſ̥]

[Juſ̥ f̥w̥ly̥g̥oīn̥y̥ w̥iſ̥w̥E̥f̥ajym̥q̥l̥ ef̥ a&z̥l̥x̥m̥onf̥t̥w̥f̥ r̥eīwef̥ \
tuāq; rs̥m̥uſ̥t̥rs̥m̥E̥f̥buſ̥uſ̥y̥gonf̥}]²

[kv̥n̥f̥aumiſ̥ az̥n̥f̥y̥cl̥n̥]

x̥l̥z̥n̥f̥c̥s̥uſ̥l̥uſ̥n̥uſ̥ tuāq; (o̥l̥ &op̥m̥r̥f̥i, i̥ pm̥ayt̥z̥b̥n̥ p̥ma& o̥l̥
uſ̥ &n̥uſ̥ fo̥r̥m̥ v̥T̥r̥ly̥g̥iſ̥e̥w̥w̥aM̥uſ̥ em̥v̥n̥y̥gonf̥ x̥l̥y̥g̥oīaom̥
taM̥uſ̥t̥&r̥f̥v̥n̥ taM̥uſ̥t̥&may:ū p̥ma& o̥l̥ t̥aw̥t̥j̥rif̥ yg̥oīael̥t̥j̥zp̥y̥gonf̥
yg̥oīaen̥q̥l̥om̥oab̥m̥n̥ ou̥b̥&muſ̥y̥gonf̥]

1597c E̥f̥w̥f̥ t̥*l̥eE̥f̥habuſ̥tuāq; [b̥om̥ trn̥zih̥if̥ o̥l̥ t̥aw̥
t̥j̥rif̥m̥uſ̥t̥&z̥b̥b̥n̥ r̥eīwef̥ \ tuāq; rs̥m̥onf̥ay̥g̥y̥y̥g̥ &f̥om̥vn̥ abuſ̥l̥
tuāq; u uſ̥ a&; uſ̥ f̥w̥r̥q̥eſ̥ay̥g̥y̥y̥g̥r̥&f̥r̥eīwef̥u ay̥g̥y̥y̥y̥g̥a& z̥b̥ abuſ̥u
av;av;w̥n̥w̥n̥ &f̥v̥iſ̥a&om̥onf̥ x̥l̥y̥l̥E̥f̥D̥w̥l̥ tuāq; rs̥m̥\ a&laq̥m̥iſ̥r̥f̥y̥rs̥m̥j̥zp̥b̥n̥ z̥l̥en̥f̥y̥l̥w̥o̥w̥r̥w̥i̥n̥fr̥ [k̥b̥l̥ v̥w̥v̥w̥v̥y̥v̥y̥
a&aom̥tuāq; (y̥l̥t̥&f̥t̥tuāq;) [b̥c̥:onf̥ x̥l̥y̥l̥&f̥t̥tuāq; rs̥m̥\ a&laq̥m̥iſ̥r̥f̥y̥
onf̥r̥eīwef̥j̥zp̥b̥uſ̥l̥ z̥l̥en̥f̥ y̥l̥taox̥m̥y̥d̥, k̥e̥n̥f̥uſ̥l̥om̥tuāq; (y̥l̥tao
tuāq;) rs̥m̥\ a&laq̥m̥iſ̥r̥f̥y̥onf̥abuſ̥l̥k̥ ar̥m̥it̥iſ̥("E̥z̥l")u q̥l̥y̥gonf̥
&op̥m̥r̥f̥E̥f̥y̥w̥buſ̥ az̥n̥f̥u]

[Juſ̥ ly̥w̥Deſ̥us̥iſ̥ ael̥b̥o̥e̥w̥l̥iſ̥ v̥l̥y̥b̥o̥o̥i̥v̥m̥&i̥j̥ r̥iſ̥l̥u̥m̥r̥l̥ o̥w̥r̥d̥
aw̥r̥b̥r̥w̥l̥l̥y̥&bw̥l̥j̥ri̥, mi̥, mi̥, mi̥ M̥u̥ma, mi̥, mi̥j̥zp̥l̥u̥mat̥m̥? c̥b̥
&rl̥ w̥p̥t̥h̥y̥:v̥m̥at̥m̥f̥ c̥b̥m̥r̥t̥o̥j̥iſ̥l̥v̥n̥f̥aumiſ̥? p̥t̥v̥u̥l̥ÓP̥b̥uſ̥
v̥n̥f̥aumiſ̥ a&aom̥&op̥may [ef̥ pm̥r̥f̥r̥l̥onf̥ p̥E̥f̥ig̥q̥, ft̥w̥e̥r̥r̥s̥
&op̥m̥ayt̥z̥l̥w̥p̥t̥l̥j̥p̥E̥f̥t̥c̥l̥f̥r̥m̥&y̥w̥n̥l̥v̥m̥onf̥uſ̥l̥aw̥R̥onf̥?]³

[k̥q̥l̥y̥gonf̥]

p̥m̥& q̥&j̥roef̥wiſ̥ E̥f̥l̥u̥m̥&op̥m̥r̥f̥r̥s̥p̥mt̥ly̥(yx̥r̥w̥t̥r̥f̥p̥m̥w̥f̥
[tuāq; ta&t̥z̥b̥n̥ c̥p̥&mt̥v̥e̥aumiſ̥aom̥ b̥o̥t̥az̥E̥f̥v̥y̥gonf̥
taM̥uſ̥t̥&mx̥uſ̥ aw̥D̥u̥w̥f̥ac̥:rl̥uſ̥y̥j̥ri̥&onf̥ w̥l̥l̥s̥&f̥E̥sh̥t̥j̥ri̥

¹ c̥i̥l̥ar̥m̥i̥E̥f̥t̥j̥cm̥/ 1987? 17/

² -, iſ̥/-

³, iſ̥ 21/

qH &owppHvp&muH&bnf &orSwpqih b0ywDeusifull xHfazmuf
&jrictbmEfbnif yg&rBispm&q&mr&om tuaq;aumi&rsnulf zeWfEif
onf)⁴

[hznyxmonif xtqit&muif tuaq;ac: &opmwrtzbnf pmzwfboltm
tawftjrif qiscifw&mtr&sttay; pffEfbnif twif tluDPaumi&rsnulf Eif
aom b0tazmEfbnif wez&dom tawftjrif mygibnulf awri&ygonif xH
tawftjrifull; &müvnif olwpmayubl talumift&muif tav;ay; i a&; omjciif r [kwf
bl talumift&m wpfufubm, fa&; [eulfxtav;xmí pm&oay:atmifa&; om
av&alumif olygonif

wuolbDifreuvnf 1945cEfrwiflum jrefmpmrifi, f acgi&p0szih
a&; omzwfumchom pmwrifwif

[wppHvpchom talumift&m tjpftysufuznyi xtta&upfa pma&; ol
awri&bm&aom cpmcsu&ormuif ay; vifatmif zwctipzG f a&; zif
xmonifpmrsnulfpmrifi, f [lqifbnf &opmwrf rsnwif pma&; obnf
rttulw&bm&aom tjpftysuf talumift&muif tEbfvlefc, fa&; zif
rttakpmcsuf &ormuifuznyav&bnf b0todjrif tawftac:wp&yf
ulvnif rotomwifyav&ygonif)⁵

[kwiijyxmygonif

xtqit&muif tuaq;ac: &opmwrtwif pma&; obnf rtwifyvbnf talumif
t&mwpyfay: wif tawftjrifull Ebfvlefc, fefay; jciifzihpmzwfbol &ocbmrbay:atmif
tmxkwavifbnbabmulf aw&ygonif &oay:atmif a&; omwifyoniftwif &o
pmwrfavifmlwif a&; [ebifvnif tawfublyif ta&; ygalumif emvn&ygonif
&opmwrf\oabmwif pma&; ol pifvif0mPifg0if? &oyg0if? pmayt*
ajrmurif pmzwfbolwifpifzG fzpatmif a&; omEfbnifcaifm ygoibnf[k xifrif
ygonif xlbabmulyifarmicifif ("Ejl") u

[pmwrf[bnf talumift&mwpcifull pma&; olif wif awri&bm&onf
taetxmjzih &oygatmif a&; zifxmaom rwif&hifpumajy tzififzpf
onf)⁶

[lqifmygonif xtqit&muif tuaq;ac: &opmwrtwif pma&; obnf
t&mxuf xtta&umift&may: wif pma&; ol tawftjrifEif xtawftjrifull pmt&om
ay:atmif pmzwfbolwifpifzG fzpatmif a&; omwifyonif a&; [erifvnif ta&; yg
onf kemvn&ygonif

⁴ jroefwi 1990? trifpm/

⁵ OifreEhtjcm? 1987? 42/

⁶ ciriEhtjcm? 1987? 20/

2/ tawESht a& [lənf

pumajywphyk wif pma&;q&m\apwemonf t"uzpōnī pma&;q&monf
avmu& t̄v̄s&mr̄? tawt̄BuL̄t̄uL̄ c̄p̄maw̄gr̄iL̄ a&;omav̄ib̄nf pma&;oL̄
apwemul̄pma&;oL̄ tawESht a&;uvnf ȳl̄ay;onf

pma&;oL̄ aw̄[ēl̄ a&; [ēf̄w̄l̄l̄l̄l̄l̄l̄ ("Ejz)u

l̄pmwr̄i, wif tao; tz̄L̄S t̄BuL̄t̄uL̄, ft xd̄ a&;v̄l̄m&mt̄aL̄m̄iL̄t̄m̄
tr̄s̄L̄uL̄a&;z̄L̄v̄L̄ȳḡonf oL̄hom̄a&wif w̄f̄ȳc̄b̄n̄iL̄t̄wif t̄aL̄m̄iL̄
t̄mu y"mer [kw̄ȳ/ x̄L̄aL̄m̄iL̄t̄m̄&uL̄&j̄ȳaeam̄ pma&;oL̄ tawt̄
t̄j̄iL̄m̄r̄l̄wif yif ta&;ȳḡȳonf pma&;oĒp̄m̄zw̄b̄l̄uL̄p̄l̄v̄f̄s̄iL̄ w̄l̄uL̄iL̄
qub̄ b̄nh̄ pmwr̄i, Noab̄m̄t̄ & pma&;obn̄b̄l̄q̄l̄l̄l̄om t̄mab̄m̄
oL̄q̄l̄uL̄t̄m̄iL̄ tawt̄t̄r̄uL̄ uL̄f̄ȳw̄b̄n̄iL̄ oab̄m̄ȳonf ol̄pmwr̄i
i, uL̄x̄L̄t̄aw̄f̄ay: wif z̄p̄n̄f̄wn̄aL̄q̄m̄uL̄ȳonf oab̄m̄ȳonf }⁷

[r̄ pma&;oL̄ tawESht yw̄b̄uL̄ȳ z̄L̄q̄l̄w̄iL̄ȳx̄m̄onf

ta&;Ēsh̄ȳw̄b̄uL̄

l̄pmwr̄i, wif pma&;oL̄ c̄p̄m̄r̄it̄oL̄nf y"mewpt̄j̄zp̄b̄uL̄ x̄L̄p̄m̄rl̄
t̄oL̄uL̄&b̄w̄b̄l̄ uL̄puL̄t̄m̄iL̄t̄m̄z̄L̄, aum̄faum̄iL̄Ēsh̄a&;z̄Ēsc̄iL̄onf
vn̄f y"mewpt̄j̄zp̄aL̄m̄iL̄ t̄q̄l̄t̄r̄eL̄ȳonf t̄m̄z̄Ēfaum̄faomt̄a&;
tz̄L̄n̄b̄nf p̄m̄zw̄b̄l̄uL̄q̄aL̄q̄m̄ Ēhom t̄a&;tz̄L̄iL̄j̄zp̄ȳonf }⁸

[r̄ w̄f̄ȳx̄m̄onf

r̄l̄l̄r̄uL̄v̄n̄f

l̄opmwr̄iL̄oab̄m̄n̄iL̄ pma&;obn̄f r̄t̄uL̄w̄t̄l̄aom tawt̄t̄BuL̄
t̄l̄uL̄t̄j̄riL̄ w̄f̄t̄ajcc̄I pma&;q&m\ c̄p̄m̄r̄Ēsh̄t̄aw̄t̄j̄riL̄uL̄
tav; x̄m̄a&;z̄L̄hom p̄m̄s̄L̄j̄p̄ȳonf pma&;q&monf r̄t̄t̄aw̄t̄BuL̄
t̄l̄uL̄t̄j̄riL̄uL̄p̄m̄zw̄b̄l̄p̄l̄v̄f̄m̄&L̄ j̄riL̄, m̄f̄l̄uL̄a, m̄f̄v̄m̄at̄m̄iL̄ a&;om̄
&onf x̄L̄t̄aw̄t̄BuL̄ t̄l̄uL̄t̄j̄riL̄ȳ:ü j̄zp̄ay: v̄m̄onf oL̄c̄p̄m̄r̄l̄uL̄
p̄m̄zw̄b̄l̄ uL̄puL̄v̄m̄at̄m̄iL̄ z̄L̄w̄&onf oL̄aw̄t̄j̄riL̄uL̄ p̄m̄zw̄b̄l̄
v̄uL̄v̄m̄at̄m̄iL̄ tuL̄s̄oL̄iL̄t̄aL̄m̄iL̄oL̄h̄ p̄n̄&L̄ac: aq̄m̄&onf p̄m̄zw̄b̄l̄
taeĒsh̄ pma&;q&m\c̄p̄mȳ aw̄ȳuL̄Ēb̄uL̄v̄m̄&mr̄S oab̄m̄usv̄uL̄v̄m̄
onf q̄iL̄a&muL̄at̄m̄iL̄ a&;om̄w̄iL̄ȳ&w̄f̄ c̄p̄m̄r̄it̄aw̄t̄j̄riL̄uL̄ay: v̄f̄
aponf p̄l̄uL̄p̄l̄v̄b̄eL̄onf ta&;ȳonf p̄l̄uL̄aum̄iL̄v̄f̄ t̄ajym̄aum̄iL̄
onf x̄p̄l̄uL̄p̄l̄v̄b̄eL̄ay: v̄f̄v̄map̄onf j̄ȳif p̄m̄zw̄b̄l̄Ēs̄l̄t̄q̄D
oL̄t̄t̄t̄t̄an̄m̄iL̄an̄m̄iL̄ p̄L̄q̄iL̄oL̄ap̄Ēl̄b̄n̄ha&; [ēb̄n̄v̄l̄t̄ȳv̄ȳonf }⁹

[r̄ az̄f̄ȳx̄m̄onf

⁷ c̄iL̄Ēsh̄j̄cm̄? 1987? 43/

⁸ , i? 46/

⁹ r̄l̄l̄r̄? r? 2008? 2/

x^hllumih&&opmwrfwp^yk wif taw^{ES}ta&onf ta&gyayoni pma&obn^f oltav;teufk^mí aw^yvñom oabmx^mu^uvn^f pmzwfobw^yri^wwñmaponi pma&obn^f pmzwfblyg oltawbaemub^womwn^f pbarstvlluygvmatmif a&[e^{ES}h pn^f&^{lac:}aqmibⁿ]

၃။ အကောင်းဆင့်ပြည်မှုဆိုင်ရာ ရသမာတမ်းများမှ အစွားနှင့်အခြေး

aZmf⁸ bnf &opmwrf^sta^mu^u a&om&mwif yl^h mi^{ES}h u^{le}awm^f uAstrif^s pmOif^{ES}h u^{le}awm^f aq;&ESh u^{le}awm^f olw^hemi ES^h u^{le}awm^f wifjynfykv^wawm^{ES}h u^{le}awm^f jynaxmif^{ES}h u^{le}awm^f pmlypi^{ES}h u^{le}awm^f a&jynpl^{ES}h u^{le}awm^fpon^h acgi^{fp}ofsm^{jz}i h&&opmwrf trs^mtjyma&omcl^bnf

&opmwrf\oabmwif u^h b&u^h svmebn^f pma&q&monf r^hku^h &nf u^h b^hu^h taw^{ft}jrif^mtae^{ES}h wifjyav^hbn^f taw^{ft}jrif^m wifjyon^{ft}avm^f vñf pmzwfo^{ES}h y^l &i⁸&i^{ES}E⁸ &fp&eftw^u u^{le}awm^f hom ajymo^{le}mp^mu^ulb^l a&av^hbn^f k xijrif^ygon^f tallumist&m trs^mtajymis^ohaomvn^f x^hllumist^t&may:ü pma&omc^mrtm? tjrif^mu^u pmzwfo^{ES}h wif^lu^huxdw^l ajymq^{ll} ef a&omav^hlomallumih u^{le}awm^f homem^{fp}u^u yif^hlx^h n^hsq^{ll}km [e&y^gon^f u^{le}awm^f hom em^{fp} yg⁰ibaomallumih&&opmwrf\ oabmo^b yif^hlv^mmon^f k xijrif^ygon^f

aZmf⁸ bnf tallumist&mrsp^uu^u&&opmwrfi , ftjpf a&om&mwif u^h b^haw^h taw^h t^hll^mu^ub^hm a&av^hbn^f pmay tallumis? aq;&tallumis? orifallumifrsmygou^hb^hwif^lfa&jynrl^ql⁸&m taw^{ft}jrif^mu^uvn^f &&opmwrf [ejzi h ay^hay^hyg^gg^gES^h wif^lfa&jynrl^ql⁸atm^{ia}&om [efu^hpmwrfE⁸p^{mi}jzihav^hlv^mwif^lxyx^hym^gon^f

3? 1/ wifjynfykv^wawm^{ES}h u^{le}awm^f &&opmwrf^sta^{ES}lit a&

x^hll^mopmwrfwif pma&obn^tif i⁸om r^haq^ht , f l^hnu^hu^hl^hu^hDE^h a&tw^hll^mu^hwif^haw^hq^hly) wpc^heu^hwifjynfykv^wawm^ftr^hiwu , fzpc^hbnif allumis r^hu^hnaq^hfa^hewi^hy [ef a&omx^mon^f

jrefmE⁸ ll^mbnf jynaxmif^lo⁸mrsm\ E⁸ff&b⁰c&fp⁰wif o⁸ygrifv^huk^u t^hdo⁰Dq^hly^hri\ rsuE⁸ll^mu^ulni cpmcl⁸on^f tr^htr^hll^mji i⁸y^htc^h&^hhy/ x^hll^msp^hqi h^hll^mcwbnf v^hlv^hybnf kqll^momvn^f jynbs^hll^mri rv^hlv^hhom oabm ul^hwif^hyon^f o⁸ygrif^h ygawmifNydaemuf ou⁸le⁰b⁰a&mu&mwif ou⁸Dq^hly^hr [h^hbnf tw^h 0ya'pnfur^hxi^h tly^hly^hon^f 0ya'omv^hll^mta&tw^h if^how^hsw^h x^hmjc^hifjzp^homallumih jynfb^hll^mtaejzi h tou^hl⁸cmi bi^hlavm^f acsm^hbnf o⁸mwif e, b^hll^m 0ya'pnfur^hson^f olw^htw^hif &n^hG lx^hao^h 0ya'pnfur^hjzp^h olw^h tou^hl⁸frb^hom &Nu&on^f 1948cE⁸pb^h a&mu&omt cg v^hlv^hy^h&^hí u^h E⁸racgi^h E⁸hf^h if tou^hl⁸frb^h&v^hl⁸uon^f u^h wifjynDya'ul^hpv^hll^muy^hpk^hl⁸uon^f 1947cE⁸ Z^h 9 &u^hll^mwif wifjynfykv^wawm^fz^hpn^hcl⁸uon^f u^h wifjynf u^h Dya' u^h

qibnhe&mü ouDqylrif[bnhtolbnf &Zoibzpf rgefaomvnf xbum
 vlaemufü fS*, ufteuigvmatmif pma;&olu]rsufEulbmuni cpm}{ bnh
 zibqtsuxnhy;onf xibqtsuf xnh;onitwuf ouDqylrif [komumvll
 \ aemufü iwif jynbwlbnlvlyfr& rfrfrfrfr& jyebjymcfr& ajr0, frus
 emaxmi&onbabmull emvnvn&onf xbuDqylrif tlyphomumvull
 acwftaeEsh wify&müvnf uif trisulif tsif[k oibxmonf uif trisulif tsif[k oif
 aomvnf jynbwltaeEshvlyfrchm&yll

Jwifojynfbmvltrsmriflum rvWlyfomb0jifbm t&lxwtllu&
 ygonf}¹¹

[kaznfyxmonf

oBygrifttgt0if jrefmrifrm\ tlycya&atmufw&eaom jynbw0
 rvWlyfr vlyfomb0wif vlyf vlyfrcpm&rlulifxktdwifxmygonf
 xlyif Oya'pnifurf\oabmull wify&mü vltcifta;&qifom pumulvnf Oya'
 pnifurfEshv vlyfzuhhlyfr oibxmonf xlyif pma;&ol tawfumunivif
 vlyfomb0ü aeaomvnf ouDqylif qEtwiftlycif jynbwlb0
 rvWlyfylu awfrifxmonf xltawfumify&mü pmzwfobwltaeEsh ytketlf
 chm&eftwuf

Jxllnumif uleawmiflbnf tajccifltcifta;&twuf Oya'pnifurf\
 tumtuif uif tweftoiiflui tou&acsifbvlif &uygonf
 olmwif Oya'pnifurfonf uleawmifl Oya'pnifurfr[if olOya'
 pnifurfjzpb&m uleawmiflbnf olEfacgijzilbm tou&lu&onf
 olu&qlif&lu&onf r&ESDD[qlif&bf&bl tou&tmibm&onf}¹²

[ka;&omwifyxmonf

uif trisulif tsifEsh ae&aomvnf rvWlyfchom jynbwlb0onf olu&ef
 b0oia&mu&omtcg vltcifta;&twuf Oya'pnifurf &vlyfiflomvnf Mvbdwif
 tuiftwubm a;&qkmaom Oya'pnifurfjzpf rvWlyfj r&uy&aom b0rmuif
 tou&jcifEshwifpm&omxmonf]tou&acsifbnf olEfacgijzilbm tou&lu
 &onf olu&qlif&lu&onf r&ESDD[qlif&bf&bl tou&tmibm lu&onf} l
 olEfa;&omxmcifonf olu&el0ü Mvbdwifbuifbif tumtuif i ay;aomOya'
 atmufwif jynbwltcifta;&r&yif aexiflyfifpm&omuiflwif cutbeyiflif oG Difif
 a;&omxmaomallumi h&fuyrbabm& cutrbabmif ay:viflygonf Ogusabm
 t&luifif Ogus&hEsh Oguswifsmuif&mi a;&omxmonf pm[ebnf tajymiftv
 &monf]&qibnfi Bud mwpfifwif txyfxyfbifcifjif h jynbwlb0onf
 tou&h0i tou&f&efyif tv&cutbifbabmif pmzwfobwifjznfcsif cpm

¹¹ azm 2015? 357/

¹², if/

Eīhaemus[k xí ajymq[u]y[tsu]nivijon[x̄t̄cgtzDifwtonf p̄l̄l̄n̄l̄n̄l̄m EīfīHwntv̄l p̄lyk[n̄l̄v̄l w̄p̄ae&Njzpwntfy[q̄l̄m t̄mv̄l̄u&, ̄rm̄uy[līh wīy x̄mygon[

aZm̄s[jynaxmīp̄l̄m t̄mv̄l̄p̄n̄f ygoibeaom jrefmEīfīHwm̄ aex[līm w̄l̄f r̄t̄w̄l̄l̄n̄f a&Nwēw̄īt̄l̄f EīfīHwntv̄lubl̄l̄om ūr̄s̄uyif t̄v̄ēft&lyq[t̄us̄t̄w̄ēt̄n̄z̄p̄on[x̄l̄m̄ūm̄hEīfīb̄m̄t̄mv̄l̄ t̄qīf̄iyap&ef w̄l̄f t̄ay;t , In̄l̄u &ef aw̄ḡrīfyx̄m̄on[x̄l̄b̄l̄l̄ w̄p̄a, mūw̄p̄f̄l̄ r̄t̄l̄l̄t̄av;x̄m̄on[w̄p̄est&lyf̄m̄ t̄al̄m̄ūl̄b̄m̄ EīfīHwntv̄l p̄lyk[n̄l̄v̄l̄ūl̄f w̄p̄ae&Njzp̄b̄l̄r̄n̄l̄ kq̄l̄l̄cīf̄z̄p̄on[tzDifm̄ t̄mv̄l̄v̄n̄f &, ̄rm̄uy[līh&Op̄mr̄f̄ūl̄t̄q̄l̄owix̄m̄on[

32/ jynaxmīp̄ES̄huleawm̄ &Op̄mr̄f̄r̄s̄t aw̄ES̄ fit a&;

jynaxmīp̄ES̄huleawm̄ &Op̄mr̄f̄ī, w̄l̄f jrefmEīfīb̄n̄f v̄w̄l̄vyâ&Njdv̄l̄f jynaxmīp̄k w̄l̄f&īs̄om̄t̄rs̄p̄l̄ EīfīHwntz̄p̄l̄m̄on[v̄w̄l̄vyâom jynaxmīp̄k jrefm EīfīHwnt p̄wīar̄bz̄h̄v̄m̄l̄baom or̄l̄z̄p̄b̄l̄b̄0v̄l̄v̄ȳl̄ r̄fr̄w̄l̄ts̄ull aw̄fawm q̄īc̄īl̄ ef̄zīh a&Ōm̄wīȳx̄m̄yon[x̄l̄l̄l̄&Ōm̄wīȳ&mw̄l̄f t̄ȳf̄ys̄t̄baomor̄jzp̄b̄l̄t̄m̄ayl̄b̄k̄m̄&f̄ p̄ma&ol̄ taw̄l̄z̄p̄f̄:v̄mon[v̄w̄l̄vyâonjynaxmīp̄k jrefm EīfīHwnt ar̄bz̄h̄v̄m̄baom or̄luav;on[ul̄um̄f̄v̄b̄n̄l̄ kaw&mr̄s̄vp̄q̄īh ūleawm̄tz̄l̄on[rv̄w̄l̄vyb̄l̄t̄jzp̄Eshaoql̄b̄n̄&on[ūleawm̄t̄azon[rv̄w̄l̄vyb̄l̄ t̄jzp̄ Esh̄īf̄aoql̄l̄ȳēf̄on[or̄luav;\ t̄azjzp̄baom ūleawm̄on[vn̄f rv̄w̄l̄vyb̄l̄ t̄jzp̄Esh̄ um̄t̄w̄l̄ūm̄aecl̄on[or̄l̄z̄p̄b̄l̄f̄l̄r̄l̄ v̄l̄v̄m̄ūl̄pa&m̄ubn̄Esh̄ v̄w̄l̄vyf aomt&f̄ūt̄t̄l̄on[ōl̄b̄0t̄q̄l̄owiv̄l̄vn̄f v̄w̄l̄vyâom Eīfīt̄jzp̄Esh̄ t̄q̄l̄owf ōl̄apv̄l̄b̄n̄f q̄l̄om̄taw̄l̄ūz̄n̄ȳon[v̄w̄l̄vyâom Eīfīb̄m̄ w̄p̄a, mūjzp̄&jc̄īf̄\ wēz̄l̄l̄w̄l̄ȳx̄m̄cīf̄z̄p̄ȳon[v̄w̄l̄vyâom Eīfīb̄m̄w̄l̄ b̄0taet x̄m̄ūl̄vn̄f aw̄ḡȳx̄m̄yon[x̄l̄s̄vp̄q̄īh v̄w̄l̄vyâomacw̄l̄f̄ jynaxmīp̄k [h̄omoabmon[w̄p̄D̄au[w̄p̄a, mūl̄um̄f̄t̄w̄l̄f̄r̄l̄ w̄b̄jw̄l̄f̄īs̄om̄t̄mv̄l̄ t̄w̄l̄f̄jzp̄b̄n̄l̄h̄om taw̄t̄jrīl̄vn̄f x̄ȳq̄īl̄v̄īȳx̄m̄on[

p̄ma&ol̄, p̄b̄n̄ &f̄? ucs̄l̄ c̄s̄l̄? u&īf̄onh̄w̄l̄f̄&īs̄om̄v̄l̄s̄r̄s̄ūl̄&īf̄&īf̄EED̄ Ōt̄f̄&ch̄/ &f̄synē, fab̄n̄t̄b̄l̄l̄ȳb̄l̄ Ōt̄a&mu&mr̄f̄ ȳp̄sw̄f̄Esh̄waōl̄wn̄f̄wom̄wn̄f̄z̄p̄l̄m̄ c̄p̄c̄i&īf̄EED̄ ōl̄b̄n̄l̄h̄om taw̄t̄ōl̄qūl̄ūl̄v̄īȳx̄m̄yon[x̄l̄ȳīf̄ v̄w̄l̄vyâ&on[heW̄l̄f̄ jrefmEīfīt̄v̄l̄l̄f̄ x̄ȳq̄l̄H̄ōl̄T̄h̄īb̄n̄l̄ t̄cr̄t̄em̄ūl̄v̄n̄f̄t̄s̄w̄l̄ȳp̄ jynaxmīp̄k t̄v̄l̄v̄l̄f̄ x̄ȳw̄ub̄f̄onitw̄l̄f̄ Ōf̄om̄ȳl̄l̄v̄īȳx̄m̄on[v̄l̄w̄am̄w̄t̄f̄üvn̄f v̄w̄l̄vyâ&ūl̄l̄un̄f̄ȳ p̄jynaxmīp̄l̄l̄l̄ a&u;all̄mon[w̄l̄f̄&īs̄om̄ūl̄ f̄m̄v̄s̄ f̄m̄t̄mv̄l̄f̄ īf̄c̄p̄n̄l̄n̄f̄h̄ qūq̄l̄ūl̄on[p̄ma&ol̄ x̄l̄b̄l̄l̄&īf̄r̄l̄ūl̄f̄w̄l̄f̄&īs̄om̄w̄l̄ , d̄t̄ūl̄z̄p̄b̄n̄l̄ jrefmEīfīl̄, d̄t̄ūw̄l̄f̄xr̄q̄l̄, d̄f̄jzp̄b̄n̄l̄ tr̄ēwu, h̄h̄h̄w̄f̄om

, တိ jzpfbnf[kaw&awmryltmullwiwyxmygonf pntvllhñwjcif\ tiftmamuni h &i h vmonf[cþm,vm&onf xllprrtobnf todEfi scbnf [hwy] orjzpbü jynäxmiþbomw\ phygiftitm tEþbom&ulþomww&ef totaEfi þapcsihom qE' jzpáy:vmonf jynäxmiþbomtcsifcif OrsenfOrfom qif&brfom at;twyitrl jzpáp&ef qhwmi f&i fji h&opmrwfultqllowfxmonf

jynäxmiþEsh uleawmfaqmifgygwiyyllvif pma&;obnf tawðrsmullwiwy&mü vñwiyhomjynäxmiþkwi arfzñi vmonforði , ullaylylfxm&if tawðzpbáy:vmyll ullwptq ihy wptq iha;&omwifyxmylt EþbouzG szpýg onf aZmf\ tawðrsmof jynäxmiþkþpþtvlull arfay;vñom apwemrðayuþi vmonf tawðwiwyllmonf trðiw&mrsñvnfjzpbnf xlltrðiw&may:ü qifcibhoyfrdvaom pma&olqifcif wñw&mrsñvnf ygiffonf

pma&obnf orði , ftmamuni ab;? tblllonfrvñwiyhomacwif arfzñi í aqkñofmuonf tazjzpbnf rvñwiyhombowf umvtweñmeclonf orjzpbnf vñwiyhomacwif arfzñi vñm&í ullumiþavp[kawðyull

][igwllwif oifua;onf ullumiþavp[ullwnavp[xllbwif uleawmDrfajrmubnf om'hc:rþnf uleawm\tb[oifua; ab;onf rvñwiybtljzpjzih rsupEþvllrvbñi&fonf uleawm\ tb oifua; \ tbllonf rvñwiybtljzpjzih rsupEþvllrvbñi&fonf oifua; \ tzuleawmfonf rvñwiybtljzpjzih umvtweñnum aeckñjzpbnf oifruumvllvnuoñ&muñbñEsh wptññeuf vñwiyhomt&yull cltusubmijzpbavonf xllnumi h oifua;onf oifab;? oifbl[oifbwllxuf ullumiþavp[]¹⁹

[l a;&omxmonf aZmf\ tawðrsmofeuely] vllfawðrif qifcifhom oabm w&mrsñjzpbnf xllawðsmullwiyaoma;&[ebnf tallumi f&muñi cþmElatmif taxmuftulykmonf orfua;ulif orði , ? orfav;[ka;&bj]oifua;)[k a;&vñbonftwif cþmr&oyif ygonf pma&obnf ullumiþonf[homtawðuñ tav;teuñxñvñi ullumiþavp[l Eþbuitxyi olxmonf]p[hom toltonf tvðellumiþonf tvðellwñfonf[k teuñonf tñ&orfompñEsh Elwñññ[&ilu;aom avøly:atmif JuþawmDrfajrmubnf om'hc:rþnf[hom tolzjipdwññü ays&itcrafirhñl azñjyxmonf pma&oltbñEsh tazw\ tallumi fñlym&mwif olluleb0üaep0f aqkñof&onf vñwiyñ& \ t&yull rcñllu& qibnfbabmulljaooñonf[kollb[rsupEþvllrvbñi&fonf[bñcif? yñwEþbuitxyñma&jcifjzih yñ vñfaqþ&m cþmrjzpfvñaponf olluleb0ü tprñtqlwif aeññ&jcifonf &ñññzG &ñññcifjzpbñnumi * , uftueuf oabmygvmonf rvñwiybñbñbñpumull xyñumxyñumoljciñjzih olwpýg vuñtmuñwif ae&jcif\ qif&ulki&ñaponf vñwiyñ& \ weñññ tav;xñapvñom apwemEshñññcif

¹⁹ aZmf\ 2015: 380/

orEull xyfumxyfumolp²⁰ tijzih tjcmaom tvl wbljy? orw? ygvtel? tpil? ppwy? pumv²¹monf wayifwpnfwnf jzpfbnf v²²wlyamE²³ oauw t ift mpls t jzpf z²⁴pnspnf jzpfbn&gonf rjribmaom v²⁵wly&;\ celh²⁶ xndgruljribmaom taumi txnfypnfrsmjzihwi jyxmjci f jzpbnf

aZmf²⁷ bnf pmt a& tom y²⁸E²⁹bnit wbf v³⁰wlyam0E³¹hyfbubnho³² taw³³rsmpnul a& [eftajymis tvl tr³⁴rsjzih pmzwfbwl& [eA t &omul³⁵ &is N³⁶aiOr³⁷&t mifa& omxmoniuaw&gonf

pma& obnf v³⁸wly&; ul wniwt³⁹tr⁴⁰pvlbni orjzpbnu[jy⁴¹ b0tp tv, ftq⁴²ll wifjynf v⁴³wlyaeyp [kqEjybnf xblwifjynf xm&v⁴⁴wly&ef twbfjynfblynfbmwfsonf ul ftmuli fu⁴⁵lu&rnf v⁴⁶wlyv⁴⁷omqE jyifjy&rnf xltaw⁴⁸rsmpma&olu

Jollbonf tp tv, ftq⁴⁹ll olygpv⁵⁰uyif v⁵¹wlyz⁵²lbni oltmuli olu⁵³ fmwwf⁵⁴ v⁵⁵bnf olw⁵⁶ v⁵⁷wlyam qE&⁵⁸grnafm/ oltmuli olupm⁵⁹ v⁶⁰om qE&⁶¹grnafm/ &tnfks &tmi⁶²vnf Bu⁶³lwi⁶⁴zelw⁶⁵ay;& rnjzpbnf v⁶⁶wlyv⁶⁷om qEullvnfaumi? oltmuli olupm⁶⁸ v⁶⁹om qEullvnfaumi? olwpE⁷⁰ywpE⁷¹ y⁷²lvefvm⁷³monE⁷⁴strl olupmaom upmp&m zelw⁷⁵ay;oi⁷⁶bnf olw⁷⁷am pmtlyi, ti zelw⁷⁸ay;oi⁷⁹bnf oltsup⁸⁰ ole? ole? olv⁸¹? oltaw⁸²? oltaw⁸³lli zelw⁸⁴ay;oi⁸⁵ onf xbl⁸⁶zelw⁸⁷ay;E⁸⁸M⁸⁹ olbo tp tv, ftq⁹⁰ll olygpv⁹¹ v⁹²wlyf rn⁹³rkjzpbnf obrrua; olbm? olbjr? oljr⁹⁴? olw⁹⁵? olur⁹⁶? olbo⁹⁷ wolvwe⁹⁸ulu⁹⁹ y¹⁰⁰lvef v¹⁰¹urnf rkjzpbfonf¹⁰²²¹

[kaznfyxmonf]

xltaw¹⁰³ a&tomu¹⁰⁴univ¹⁰⁵ aZmf¹⁰⁶bn&ic¹⁰⁷ti t¹⁰⁸aysthaomor¹⁰⁹di, A rsuE¹¹⁰num t¹¹¹h&li p¹¹²anv¹¹³u&i¹¹⁴ aw¹¹⁵aejc i f jzpbnf pma&olu¹¹⁶ f¹¹⁷lu¹¹⁸vnf Ju¹¹⁹lawm aw¹²⁰awm&i¹²¹h¹²²v;cr¹²³bnf[kaznfyxmonf oltaw¹²⁴rsmpnif or¹²⁵di, fu[jre¹²⁶ wpr¹²⁷omv¹²⁸lt wbf aw¹²⁹cbnf x¹³⁰my¹³¹lp¹³²yl¹³³0gusw¹³⁴tmjzih¹³⁵a&omxmonf y¹³⁶l[ebsuhD¹³⁷ 0gusw¹³⁸tnf ygonf pma&olqEull a&uxm¹³⁹ly¹⁴⁰ or¹⁴¹di, AqEull ar;c¹⁴²0gu¹⁴³zijy¹⁴⁴onf Jollw¹⁴⁵ v¹⁴⁶wlyamqE &¹⁴⁷grnafm/ oltmuli olupm¹⁴⁸ v¹⁴⁹om qE &¹⁵⁰grnafm} ar;c¹⁵¹0gu¹⁵²rs¹⁵³u¹⁵⁴ly¹⁵⁵py¹⁵⁶l¹⁵⁷wnf¹⁵⁸uyif 0gus[e¹⁵⁹u¹⁶⁰tajymis tv¹⁶¹ jy¹⁶²bnf tar;0gus¹⁶³rs¹⁶⁴vp¹⁶⁵q¹⁶⁶i, Mu¹⁶⁷rf&¹⁶⁸monftof¹⁶⁹fu[&tnfks &tmi¹⁷⁰vnf Bu¹⁷¹lwi¹⁷²zelw¹⁷³ay;&rnf jzpbnf}{[k0gus[e¹⁷⁴ajymis tv¹⁷⁵ xbl¹⁷⁶Ers¹⁷⁷jzpbay: vmatmif olt>v¹⁷⁸li¹⁷⁹upmp&mr¹⁸⁰vnf zelw¹⁸¹&rn¹⁸²f pmtly¹⁸³mu¹⁸⁴vnf zelw¹⁸⁵&rn¹⁸⁶f ojriaw¹⁸⁷ Mu¹⁸⁸em? c¹⁸⁹m? aw¹⁹⁰awmE¹⁹¹br¹⁹²o¹⁹³t&mw¹⁹⁴fu¹⁹⁵vnf zelw¹⁹⁶&rn¹⁹⁷f kaznfyxmonf]

xltaw¹⁹⁸ pma&olu Jol wpE¹⁹⁹ywpE²⁰⁰ y²⁰¹lvef v²⁰²monE²⁰³strl olupmaom upmp&m zelw²⁰⁴ay;oi²⁰⁵bnf}[kaznfyxmonf touft>v²⁰⁶li²⁰⁷kro²⁰⁸lyefuav; y²⁰⁹lvef v²¹⁰shc²¹¹E²¹²fa&omxmonf amallumi harw²¹³inwlyg²¹⁴monf taw²¹⁵onf E²¹⁶nlmonf

²¹ aZmf²⁰¹⁵ 381/

xyif]oll rsup^h olem? ole? olw? oltaw^h oltaw^hwu ze^hway;oi^hbn} k qmūvn} Oguwpālumi fwñfuyif y^hnl [e^hsuñDpmor^hru^hxn^hb^hfí xlynpk aom taw^hrs^hu^hlo^hnu^huñoma&; [ejzi wi^hfyx^hmonif xyif]olb^h? olbjr? oljr^h olw? olw^h oltaw^h oltaw^hwu woluwe^hwu^hy olub^hwu^hyurnf rkjzpfavon} [hñom^hgu^hs^hvn^h tañumift&m\av;euflu^h ayg^hgaoma&; [ejzi h wi^hfyx^hmonif y^hnl [e^hsuñDogusu^hlo^hx^hmonif

pma&;olu rsuñruñacwif jynaxmi^h[hñomabm\ us, fyeñlu^hwi^hfy&m wif

[luñawmif l hñbnf y^hh^hbwu wi^hfynt^h [luñawmif awni^hacwu wi^hfynt^h [luñawmif ul^hebm^hacw^h t^hlyacwu wi^hfynt^hvn^h r [luñawmif 1/ya&n? emr^h&mt ul^hejymifNy^h jynaxmi^hþ^he, fñt^h twif&h'oonf jrefmwpr^hwnf\ tu^htwuñvn^hn^h [lw^h &f wpr^hwnf\ tu^htwuñvn^hn^h [lw^h u&i^hwpr^hwnf\ tu^htwuñvn^hn^h \ tu^htwuñvn^hn^h [lw^h r^h? Arm? &c^h? &f? u&i^h ucs^h ci^h tp&h aom wi^hif&isomtmv\ tu^htwuñbñjzp^hbnf]²²

[h&omlyDrS xlbw^hwp^hfvwpDr^hwnf jzp&efvnf Bu^hwi^hez^hbxmy^hiz^h aw^hri^h xmygonif xl^he&m^hvn^h r [luñgu^hrs^hu^h y^hlykum xy^hvw^hl^h;om x^hmonif wi^h&i^homv^hrs^hu^h aygi^hsp^hra&bj wi^h&i^homv^hrs^hwpD^hv^hif Oguwpālumi^hcs a&om x^hmonif wi^h&i^homwi^h\ tu^h q^hbn^hbabmu^h xy^humxy^hum a&om x^h onitwu^h av;euñmonif wp^hzuhun^hvn^hñf Ogu^hrs^hu^hllsmjz^hi^h wi^hfyx^h onf tmv^hon^hwajy;nl^hzponf n^hlonf hñom c^hmcsu^h jzp^hay;v^hmonif tañumift&m\ av;euflu^hOgu^h [e\ av;eu^hjzihaygi^hsp^hbxmygonif x^hl^hsp^hq^h i^h xl^hbu^h wi^h&i^homtmv\ aygi^hpn^hññw^hatmif aqmi^hefu&onf pma&olu i, þobou taw^htu^hlye^haw^honf ci^h? ucs^h? &f^hwtu^haum^hsp^hro^hty/ ot^h r&ch^h/ &f^hjyn^h, & abm^hu^hl^hmy^hb^ho^hh&mrS wi^h&i^homw^hu^h jriaw^hcl^hcbn^h xl^hr^hc^hBu^hly^h&m^hvn^h pmzwba^h polvt^hnn^hsr^hia, m^hlm ap&eftwu^h taumift xn^hpy pumv^hrs^hE^h&onf xl^htaumift xn^hpy pumv^hrs^hu^hOyrmtvu^h to^hrs^hz^hi^h c^hEl^hfa&om x^hmonif tvu^huoabm al^humifvn^hfaumif? xl^hvul^h onf taumift xn^hypumv^hrs^h jzp^homallumi^hvn^hfaumif y^h xi^h&h^hoj^hri^hmonif xl^htaumiftu^h

[Jawmawmi hygu^hvr^honf awmifgye^hwif q^hl^hub^hl^humubo^h c^hlyw^h ub^hl^hfbn^h jrp^hub^hl^hbonf arub^hl^hbonf xl^hlumif ul^hlumif uñawmif ar^hawmifumonf faumifumif v^hlumif au^hlumif ac^hlumif wu^hbnif cgwu^h i^h q^hfonitcgqif&avonf]²³

²² aZmf 2015? 381/

²³ aZmf 2015? 382/

[b&lyazm a&omxmonf azmfonfb&lyazmfonf cü tEþtib&lyazmfonf Ogu
rsñullzeñvñ&müvnf yxr0guwñfbm uwñullonf aemüDgurşñwñf uwñjryf
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onf Ogu[ebnf wptñvñbnf awñiwuñumvñrñc&D tawñtbululñp&ouñbñ
jzþay: onf

**xbl&myñvñf Bulñwñbaom wñf&isomrñullñnyf EþbuñDrñajrmuþpñv &iEñ
cþciñþpñvñf yxrqñt Bulñszþvñmonf xltamñifñllwñfy&mü**

][armiñEþpñvñlukñ zlbñHroñemñlum ucsñBuñEþa, muf wñyññKESñbabm
acþelñonf uñewñDrñajrmuñrqñyf olñlvññigwñññoljynbñ
rsñaywum[k yxrtñlñf ÓPñtviñ&vñchvñonf olñllñc:csif
onf ar;csibñf temuytñibñf ta0;rlñntibñf yñvtawñf
jzþvñibñf }²⁴

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jy&mwñf pma&;olñ tawñtbulñshñvñlñmñom cþmñrlñllzñfymü]ac:csibñf ar;/ tem
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clygonf

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onf}²⁵

[b&omxmonf wñf&isomrñullñthom vñlpñ, muñbñfjriñvñbñf awñvñlñf
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jzþygonf

1948cEþpñZebñOg&ñ 4&uñellwñf vññvñy&æelñtcrñtemü pma&olñcþmñrlñll
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aomtcgOrñomonf tcgñlum tajrmuñbñlñllñm&aomtcgOrñomonf
jynñaxmipbñtñvñf xþbñlwñubññaoñtcgOrñomonf}²⁶

²⁴ aZmñ 2015? 382/

²⁵ -, iñ/-

²⁶ aZmñ 2015? 383/

[k a&omxmyonf tjpftysurmuull tajymiftvly] Orfomonf kom Bud null xyfumxyum o[p]tijzih v[er]vya& [aomtijzih tcgwifwif t&mcybifonf Orfomp&mcnf jzpbeonfull aznfyxmonf v[er]vya&&jciiftay:wif jynbwif Orfajrmuwwatmif &n&G h&omxmjciifjzpbonf x[er]llazsfjzywif wif&ifom tmvif jynaxmipk t[er]ull wn[er]nnwnf uvnifonf xif t[er]onf a&su jrefmEifibrif r&fbay/ x[er]allumiifullify&mwif

Iraellwphellu jrefmoriifuvnif rucif Alifcypnfogullam ulelawmif
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yxr, tf? wu, h tf? o[er] tf? trif tf? , t[er]wunh tf? , t[er]qif tf?
jzpbyayonf]²⁷

[hznyfxmyonf , t[er]oabmuullzifqifzny&muyif , t[er]strnfrt[er]dullam&omxmonfri pma&ol twifrodom Orfajrmuobnhc[er]mrif, uftewif ygifihe aomc[er]mrif aygufzifvnaom pumvifjzpbonf x[er]umvif\ tiftnonf orbi , f tygt0if jynaxmipbomtmviftaeEsh tm&pdvifsm? &&i pdvifsm uelatmifvmap&ef&nh[er]fgyonf

aZmf[er]onf &opmwf\ t[er]qif lu[er]awmiorbi , f tEim, hG fxmawmif ulelawmifOrfAlu[er] aE[er]cejzpbifhaomallumiifveEifvifjciifjzpbonf [bww] [k wi]y xmyonf

pma&obnf jynaxmipbomwifwif x[er]ibifkom ta&gyonfhpnfvifhifwif oabmif v[er]vya&ull x[er]fotfapni h&fusifibifonfba[m]wifwif orbi , full aylyli&if tawf jzpby:vif&mrif orbi , illumiif tawfrsveEifvif&onf taetxmijzih &opmwfifull temowfxmonf tpESifqifull nifwif&foma& [ejzih wifyxif onf

မြန်သုတေသန

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²⁷ aZmf 2015: 383/

ed^h

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urfu^{ll}om&it

cifil armi ("Ejl") Esh tcm/ 1987/ pmwr*i*, [bnf pmwr*i*, pnaypmwr*frsm* (yxru^{ll}) &efule^{ll} pnayAtn*e*
aZm^f 2015/ pmwr*i*, fsm Esh pnayavlvmsut*sm*/ aZm^f pm&ci*f* (4) &efule^{ll} pldvulc*ll*
yEgyw*ll*
rlajr? r/ 2008/ q&maZm^f Esh &Opnwrf&f*ll* aw&[el a&[el&f*ll* &efule^{ll} a&luHunpmay/
jroef*ll* 1990/ Elf*ll* um &Opnwrf*i*, fsm (yxru^{ll}) &efule^{ll} qlyEgyw*ll*
Oisre^{ll} wuodl*ll* Esh tcm / 1987/ 1945cEfrw*ll* f*ll* um jrefpmwr*i*, l pmwr*i*, pnaypmwr*frsm*
('lvd w*ll* &efule^{ll} pnayAtn*e*