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⁴ jro&f&wi&H 1990? tr&sp&w
⁵ O&ifr&é&ES&ht&j&cm? 1987? 42/
⁶ c&ifi&ES&ht&j&cm? 1987? 20/

xhMumi h & opmvr f w p f k l w f taw f ES f t a & ; on f t a & ; y g a y o n / p m a & ; o b n f o l t a v ; t e u f x m i a w f y v h o m o a b m x m ; u l / n f p m z w b a w f g r i l w w / m a p o n / p m a & ; o b n f p m z w b o y g o l t a w f a e m u b h w o m ; w n f p d a r s m / u l y g v m a t m i f a & ; [e S h p n f & h a c : a q m i b n f

၃။ ဇော်ရီ၏ တိုင်းရေးပြည်မှဆိုင်ရာ ရသစာတမ်းများမှ အတွေးနှင့်အရေး

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

& o p m v r f \ o a b m w f u h h & ; u h l w m q e b n f p m a & ; q & m o n f r t h u h & n f u h h o f u h t a w f t j r i f s ; t a e E S h w i f y a v & b n f t a w f t j r i f u h w i f y o n f t a v s n u f v n f p m z w b E S h y h i f & i f E D E D & h p & e f t w l a f u l e h a w n f h o m a j y m o e m r p m ; u l h i a & ; a v & b n f [k x i j r i f y g o n f t a l u m i t & m t r s ; r d a j y m i f o h a o m f v n f x h t a l u m i f t & m a y : u p m a & ; o n c h m ; r r s m ? t j r i f s ; u h p m z w b E S h w l u & l u x a w G i a j y m q h e [e f a & ; o m a v & h o m a l u m i h u l e h a w n f h o m e m r p m ; u h y i l w l i x m i n e f q k m [e & y g o n f u l e h a w n f h o m e m r p m ; y g o i h e a o m a l u m i h & o p m v r f \ o a b m o b n O y h y b v m o n f [k x i j r i f y g o n f

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

3? 1/ w h f j y n f y k / w a w n E S h u l e h a w n f & o p m v r f r s t a w f E S f t a & ;

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

j r e m E h i h b n f j y n h x m i p b m r s m \ E h i h & ; b O c & d p O l w f o b y g r i f v u l x u f t x d o u O D q y h f r i \ r s u E h u b m l u n i c p m ; c h o n f t r h t r s l u h j i i f y h t c h r & h y / x h s v p q i h x h c w b n f v l w v y b n f [k q h o m f v n f j y n b r s m ; r h r v l w v y a o m o a b m u h w f y o n f o b y g r i f y g a w n f h y d a e m u f o l u l e b O a & m u & m w f o u D D q y h f [l w b n h t w l a f O y a ' p n f u r f x m i t y c s y & o n f O y a ' o n l v l t c h f t a & ; t w l a f o w f s v i x m j c i f j z p h o m a l u m i h j y n b w l t a e j z i h t o u & h a c s n i b i l b a v m u f a c s n i b n f o h m w f e , c h l w h \ O y a ' p n f u r f o n i o l w h t w l a f & n & G h x m a o m O y a ' p n f u r f j z p h o l w h t o u & h c h i f r s m & m u & o n f 1948 c E p h o h a & m u h a o m t c g v l w v y h a & ; i u h E h a c g i f E S h u h f t o u & h c h & v m l u o n f u h l w l f j y n O y a ' u h p d v l u l u y i p c h l u o n f 1947 c E p f Z e h v 9 & u h e l l w f w h f j y n f y k / w a w n l u h z p n f c h l u o n f u h l w l f j y n f u h O y a ' u h

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 uH brwESH t p&BomorÉ" JESH ESH tqHowxmonf orÉ" JESH ulOgus&ShtwGfú
 playgi; a&;om;xmonf yplvl[etsuhD Ogus&ShtofuHqmibnf JESHqbnh

²⁰ aZnf 9 2015?? 381/

orEul xyfumxyfumolp;icijzih tjcm;om tvll wltjy? orw? ygvDe? tpK&?
pplwy} pum,vhrsm;onf waygi,fwpnfwnt, jzplvmonf vGvlyabomEilifN oaulv
tiftmpks;tjzpf zLzpnf;pnf, jzplvmygonf rjribmaom vGvlyab&;\ celfhm;
xnDgruljribmaom taumif txfnyppnfrsm;ji hwi fyxm;icijzponf

aZnf;bnf pmta&; tom, yilEilbnft wuf vGvlyabomb0ES hywbubnhoN
tawGrsm;puh a&; [eftajymi f tv] trsr;ijzih pmzwblwla&; [eN t&omultpm;&if
N DaiOrt&atmifa&; om;xmonf ulawRygonf

pma&;obnf vGvlyab&;ul wnlvltit;apvbnf orijzpboull [jyk b0tp
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xltawGrsm;ulpma&;olu

]olb0onf tp tv, ftqll ohy;pvlyyif vGvlyabvbnf oltm;ul
oluH pm;wwzll vbnf ollwGf vGvlyabom qE&ggnhvm/ oltm;ul
olupm;vnom qE&ggnhvm/ &fnrcs/ &atmifvnf BulwizelwDay;&
rnjzponf vGvlyabom qEulvnfaumi f? oltm;ulolupm;vnom
qEulvnfaumi f? olwpE;lyDwpE;f yGhvefvmonES ftr0 olupmaom
upmp&mu zelwDay;oibnf olwbaom pmtlyi, u zelwDay;oibnf
olrsupll oleb? oLEB? olvG? oltawR oltawGwll zelwDay;oih
onf xblzelwDay;EilvGf olb0 tp tv, ftqll ohy;pvll vGvlyab
rnf rkjzponf obmruao; olbm? olbjr;? oljrp? ollwD oluRv?
olhoGom; wolwwe;fBudyg olublvGvlyaburnf rkjzpa vonf}}²¹

[kaznyfxmonf

xlt a&; tom;ulunlvGf aZnf;bnf icGü tghysbaeomordi, N rsuEful
Nunlum tef&Si puavGubif awfaeicijzponf pma&;oluH lwlwvvnf julabawmf
awfawm&iav;cl;bnf [k aznyfxmonf on tawGrsm;onf orbi, lulu [jyk jrefm
wpr;om;vltwuf awfcl;bnf xpm;ylwplyll ulOguswlt;sm;ji ha&; om;xmonf yplvl
[ebsuhD Oguswlt;sm;vnf ygonf pma&;onqEul a&Buxm;lyD orbi, NqEul
ar;c&fOgusjiziyonf]ollwGf vGvlyabomqE' &ggnhvm/ oltm;ul olupm;vnom
qE' &ggnhvm/ ar;c&fOgusm;ul yplvljyk pmvplyll lwnfyuyif Ogus [eful t ajymi f tv]
jylcl;bnf tar;Ogusm;rsvpqih, Nunf&vmonftoGul]&fnrcs/ &atmifvnf
BulwizelwDay;&rnjzponf) [kOgus [eajymi f v] xlbjErsm;jzpa y: vmatmif olt &G
tvlluf upmp&mrs;vnf zelwD&rnf pmtlyfsm;üvnf zelwD&rnf ojriawR Nlumenf
cl;pm;? awfawmEil for0 t&mwll fuHvnf zelwD&rnf [kaznyfxmonf

xltawGul pma&;olu]ol wpE;lyDwpE;f yGhvefvmonES ftr0 olupmaom
upmp&mu zelwDay;oibnf) [kaznyfxmonf touft &G ftvlluf [krom;lyefuav;
yGhvm;ES hcl;fEilfa&; om;xmaomalumi harwar'mwlygvmonf tawGonf E;nlvmonf

²¹ aZnf; 2015?? 381/

xlyif] olu rsupl olem? oLEf? olv0? oltaaw0? oltaaw0wlu zelwday; oibon] [k
 qk müvni, OgusvpaNlumi fwnf yuyif yplvl [etsuhDpmomrsu, ulxnb0fi xlyinpk
 aom tawf rsm, ulho fuvu hom a&; [efzi hvi fyxmon/ xlyif] olbm? olbjr;? oljrp?
 olw0 olurw? olbofom, wolvwef, budyg olublv0vlyvurni rcszpa von]
 [hom Ogusivni, taNlumi f t&m\ av; eufi ul aygy; aoma&; [efzi h vi fyxmon/
 yplvl [etsuhD Ogus ulho lxm on/

pma&; olu rsu h rfu h acwlv0fi jynaxmi pl [homo abm\ us, jyelyul wi f y& m
 w0f

]] ure hawni v l E i i h bni yk h cwlu wll jynr f r [kv hawni y0 awmi f h cwlu
 wll jynr f r [kv hawni y0 ule f abmi h cw? t*lv g h cwlu wll jynr f vni
 r [kv hawni y0 1/2 h a&n? emr h a&mt ule h jymi f ly0 jynaxmi pl Ne, e t v f
 tw0 f & 0'ooni jrefm vpr f wni\ tust twlvni r [kv? & f
 wpr f wni\ tust twlvni r [kv? u&i f wpr f wni\ tust twlv
 vni r [kv? ucsi wpr f wni\ tust twlvni r [kv? csi f wpr f wni
 \ tust twlvni r [kv? r0? Arm? & c i l? & f? u&i? ucsi? csi? tp& 0
 aom wll f&i f om t m v l\ tust twlvni r [kv? jzpbni f}}²²

[h&; om, ly DrS xlvwlvwp0vwp Dr f wni jzpbvni Bulwize l v d xmy jzih awgri f y
 xmygon/ xlvwlvvni r [kvDgusru, ul yplvl jylum xy l v v l h&; om, xmon/
 wll f&i f om v r f r sm, ul aygi pl ra&; bj wll f&i f om, v r f wpr D v 0 fi OgusvpaNlumi f c i
 a&; om, xmon/ wll f&i f om, wll f\ tust qbn h abm ul xy l um xy l um a&; om, x m
 on f t wlv av; eufvmon/ wpz u f l un h v 0 vni Ogusru, ul yplvl r sm jzih wi f y x m
 on/ t m v l on i w a j y; n j z p b n i n 0 b n i [h o m c p m; c s u f f j z p a y: v m o n f
 taNlumi f t&m\ av; eufi ul Ogus 0 [e\ av; euf jzih aygi f py b x my gon/ xlv v p f q i h
 xlv b l wll f&i f om t m v l aygi f p n f n h 0 v a t m i f a q m i & l u h a&; on f p m a&; o l w l\
 i, p 0 b 0 u t a w 0 t b u l u l j y e h w f o n f c s i f? u c s i l? & f w l u l a u m i f p 0 r o d h y / o d 0 h
 r & c h y / & f j y n e , & 0 a b n u l b & m y b l o 0 n r s w l l f & i f o m, w l u l j r i h w l c 0 l c b n f
 xlv r f c & 0 u l v i f y & m v n i p n z w b l n p v f t m & l v 0 f r i h , m i l v m a p & e f t w l v f
 taumi f t x n j y p u m, v l r s m, E S h a&; on f x l t a u m i f t x n j y p u m, v l r s m, u l 0 y r m t v u h
 t o l r s m j z i h c i l f E i l f a&; om, xmon/ t v u h o a b m a N l u m i l v n f a u m i f? x l t v u h r s m,
 on f taumi f t x n j y p u m, v l r s m j z p a o m a N l u m i l v n f a u m i f y l l x i & 0 o j r i v m o n f x l
 taNlumi f ul

]] awmawmi ayguivr f on f awmi t g y e f w 0 f q k k l u b l u m u b o n f c & l y w f
 u b l v t o n f j r p l u b l u b o n f a r u b l h c b o n f x l h N u m i h u l e h a w n i v l
 a r n a w n i u m o n f a u m u l u m? v 0 l u m? a u l u m? a c l u m w u b o n f t c g w u & i
 q i f o n f t c g q i f & a v o n f}}²³

²² aZn f 0 2015? 381/
²³ aZn f 0 2015? 382/

[b&y&znf a&;om;xmon/ aZnf̄ ̄ bnb&y&znfbnfctgü tEþvbo&y&znfbnf/ Ogus
rsm;ullzeíwð& müvnf̄ yxrOguswðbom uwâr;ullobonf̄ aemuOgusrsm;wðf̄ uwâr;jrñy
í a&;aomaluhiOgusrsm;onf̄ wñwmiñ jywãwmuf̄ oðuvubnf̄ pm[ebnf̄ vsifref̄
oðuvubnf̄ awmiýwvrf̄uñl armitæaomum;ublyif̄ pm[eluvnf̄ vsifrebñf̄
jaumu? vð? au? acþonhBud mrs;uñlOgusvpãlumiñwñü oñ& müvnf̄ &ñf̄vif̄
ay:vðbubñlOgus&ñftwðfü jaumuum? vñlum? auðum? acðum] kaygiñpñlõxm;
onhOgus[ebnf̄ wpr&vðñf̄ awmiñvuum;vrc&ð tawðtBuñlñpñ&oubñl
jzþáy: onf̄

xb&myðvñf̄ Bulãwð&aom wñf̄&íñomrsm;uñlunñyð Eþbuðrfajrmuþvñ? &iEð
cþtiñvðvñf̄rsm yxrqñttBudjzþvmonf̄ xñtãñumiñuñlwiñy&mü
]armiñEþvññkñ zbhrolhenñlum ucñiBudEþñã, muñ wñyññyññESñbabm
acðæñuonf̄ ulãawnðrfajrmuñ rqnñyð olwñvññfigwñwñf̄oñynbom
rsmaywum; [k yxrtBudf̄ ÒPftvif̄&vmchvonnf̄ olwññlñc:csif̄
onf̄ ar;csibñf̄ temuytsibñf̄ ta0;rñññtsibñf̄ yñvðtawmñ
jzþvñubñf̄ }²⁴

[k&;om;xm;ygonf̄ jynãxmiþbm;tcsiñcsiñ cþtiñ&iñEðrñññibonñf̄ ðom tawðñl
jy&mwðf̄pnã&;on tawðtBuñESñhvñlãvññom cþm;ruñlñzñy&mü]ac:csibñf̄ ar;/ tem
uytsibñf̄ ta0;rñññtsibñf̄) [bnhtjyñtrñy aOgñ m&rsm;uñ tajymif̄ tvñ trðññ
jyñ õxm;jciñjizñhpã&;on wñf̄&íñom;wñtãy: tav;teuxmãomcþm;ruñlwiñyEññ
cñygonf̄

aZnf̄ ̄ bñf̄ jynãxmiþbm;tcsiñcsiñ &iñEðcþtiññibonñf̄ ðom tawðñlwiñy&m
üvnñf̄ ta&;tomonñulñf̄usiñvññonñtãvññuñcþtiñbm, mñlñzþáy:vñyññl
]b&myñ&íñwðf̄ tãñrlwã, mxñum "avñbmom qñqññññibñññonñ
uñlõññzññmaxmiññaom olwñwppñlñjriñ&aomtçg ulãawnñ Òrfajrmuñ
vñwwñonñf̄ awmiñyð&ñftp&ññom [iñ&ñf̄rsm;uñ qñmüwñum? wñlum
xriñf̄pnãæññaom olwppñlñjriñ&aomtçg ulãawnñu&Pm jzþvñmwñf̄
onñf̄ }²⁵

[h&;om;xmonf̄ wñf̄&íñomrsm;uñlññom vñwþã, muñññjriñññlñbnñf̄awñvññ
&onESñhaoñom;t&iñf̄tcsnyrm arwãpñvñzþvñmyññl wprñpññviñjyñmyñññ Eþbuñzñg ñ
jzþygonf̄

1948cEþñf̄Zee0g&ðv 4&uñællwñf̄vñvñvyñ&;æltcrñf̄temü pnã&;oncþm;ruñl
]pnãawnñbññññum;&aomtçgðrfomonñf̄ Eññññcñ;uñ ðm;vñf̄ñrsm;uñjriñ&
aomtçg Òrfomonñf̄ tçgñlum; tajrmuñbññññum;&aomtçg Òrfomonñf̄
jynãxmiñpñt vñvñññ xñyññwñvñññ&aomtçg Òrfomonñf̄ }²⁶

²⁴ aZnf̄ ̄ 2015? 382/
²⁵ -, if-/
²⁶ aZnf̄ ̄ 2015? 383/

[ka&om;xmygon/ tjzpfysufsm;uH tajymi{tvjylyD Orfomonif[hom Bud muH
 xylyumxylyum oHh;ci{fzih v&vlyh&;[homto{zih tcgwH{fw&f t&mybdfonf
 Orfomp&mcnf jzphaeonluH azmfyxmon/ v&vlyh&;&jci{tay:w&f jynbwlH
 Orfajrmu{w&tmif &n&G h&;om;xmjci{fzpon/ xHlLuazsbjzy&v&f wH{f&i{fom
 tm;vH jyn&xmi{pk dfuH wnlvnmwnf uvluHlon/ xH df{rdonf a&Su
 jrefnEi{ibrH{ü r&E{b{ay/ xHtaLumi{fulvify&mw&f

]]raellwphaellu jrefnibrH{üvnf rucH Alvt{ypnf;Og;uH hom urehawnlvH
 acw{us{uEi{bnf/ xHhLumi{h{pjyn&xmi{pk, dfonf jrefnEi{ibrH{fw&f
 yxr, df? wu, h df? oh df? trh df? , dfwumh df? , dfqH\$ df
 jzpfygonf}}²⁷

[hznfyxmygon/ , df\oabmuH z&f{hznfy&niyif , dftrd{trnft r{rd{uH a&om
 xm;onf{h pma&oN twH{frododm Orfajrmubnh c{p{mr*, ufteuf ygO{ie aonf
 c{p{mr{S aygu{z{h;vmaom pum;v{rsm;jzpon/ xpum;v{rsm\ tiftmonf orDi, f
 tygtOif jyn&xmi{p{om;tm;vHtaeESH tm&p{v{rsm? &&i{p{v{rsm, udfatmi{vmap&ef
 &n{h&fygonf

aZnf{onf &opmwr{tqHü juLehawnlorDi, f tE&m, lvG rxm;awmH
 urehawn\OrfAlLu aE{ce{zpb{h;aomaLumi{h velE{vm&jci{fzponf [bwW][k wify
 xmygonf

pma&obnf jyn&xmi{p{om;wH{fw&f xm;&bi{hom ta&ygonh{pnf{vHnh&vrf
 oabnf v&vlyh&;uH x&f;of{apmi{h&fubibon{babmwluH wify&mw&f orDi, luH
 ay{y{u&i{ taw& jzphay:vm&mrS orDi, hLumi{h taw&SvelE{vm&onh taetxm;jzih
 &opmwr{uH temow{xmonf tpESftqHü nh&vrf&{oma&;[efzih wifyxm;
 onf

[ဒုံသုံးဆယ့်ခုနစ်

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 pmwr{E{pyR{ul{av{vmwifyxmygon/ xH{opmwr{E{pyR{fSaZnf{uH wH{fa&;jynf{qH{&m
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 ta&{u{hLumi{? tay;t, &E{H{&ef oabmxm;u{d&ef v{ity&Lumi{? w&mr{ovr{&e{vnf
 v{ity&Lumi{ wifyxmonf/ jyn&xmi{pES{ulehawnf &opmwr{w&f jyn&xmi{p{p{v{f'mwf
 &bi{hLumi{? jyn&xmi{p{p{v{f'mwbnf v&vlyh&;tw&f tx{v{ity&Lumi{ aq{aE{G
 wifyxmygonf

²⁷ aZnf{ 2015? 383/

