



FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
ACTIVIST ORGANIZATION

ရပ်တန့်ဖြစ်သွားသော ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကတိ

လူပြောမများသော သမိုင်းကြောင်းနယ်မြေတစ်ခုထဲက
မဖြေရှင်းရသေးတဲ့ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကြေးရုပ်ပြဿနာ



Promises Turn into A Statue

Unsettled Disputes of General Aung San Statue
in A Land with Untold History



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Chapter 1

1. Organizational Background

Athan was founded on January 15, 2018 by youths who believe and respect right to freedom of expression. It is a merger of Research Team for Telecommunications Law and We Support Journalists with an aim to promote freedom of expression in a more systematic and wide-spreading manner. Athan's activities include the followings:

Compile list of charges filed under Telecommunications Law, Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Law, Unlawful Association Act, Law Protecting the Privacy and Security of Citizens and Section 505 of Penal Code.

Monitor and document cases of freedom of expression violation and charges against freedom of expression and releasing reports in every three months, Advocate with administrative, legislative and judicial branches for the amendment of problematic laws that are obstacles to freedom of expression, Organize trainings, workshops and knowledge sharing programs relevant to above issues. Athan won Human Rights Tulip Award from the Kingdom of Netherlands in December 2018.

2. Methodologies

Athan documented the entire case by collecting data from news sources including official statements of government, CSOs and court records as well as news information from independent and reliable news agencies. Research and analysis were conducted in accordance with research ethics.

Athan documented the events related to root cause of the case – General Aung San statue controversy – occurring within 15 months, from January 1, 2018 to March 31, 2019.

Athan referenced the historical data from “Karenni People and General Aung San Bronze Statue” released by Myanmar Cultural Research Society (MCRS) in February 2019.

Athan went to court hearings of Karenni activists and protests to conduct detail documentation, interviewing both people who directly involved in events and those who partially involved in the incidents, in Loikaw Township, Demoso Township and Hpruso Township.



Chapter 2

1. Introduction

Union government of Myanmar and regional governments' political bandwagon, General Aung San statue projects reached Loikaw Township, capital of Karenni State in 2018.

Ethnic residents, youth leaders and civil society organizations resisted the statue project after Kayah State/Karenni State government called for the suggestions. State government ignored the voices of Karenni residents and frequently tried to complete statue project. Finally, state government stubbornly erected the equestrian statue of General Aung San instead, triggering critical responses and denouncements from Karenni youth leaders who prefer the implementation of Aung San's promises without delay, promoting Karenni literature, culture and history and building effigies of their own Karenni ethnic heroes to erection of General Aung San statue.

Karenni activists were repeatedly charged under contentious laws restricting freedom of expression, a universal and fundamental right which they exercised in protests that were also forcibly cracked down by the police. State government and Karenni leaders had an agreement after the public

strongly defied but responsibility and accountability of State government is still doubtful.

2. Historical Background

Karenni State/Kayah State was ever an independent state even during Burmese monarchy eras before the territory which today is Myanmar was colonized by British government. Myanmar constitutionally is home to seven Regions and seven States including Kayah State whose official name was Karenni State until 1950. On February 9, 1950, U Sein, a member of parliament (Karenni, chairperson of Padaung Council) submitted a proposal to change the name from “Karenni State” to “Kayah State. The Union Parliament officially renamed the state Kayah State on October 5, 1951.

Karenni State/Kayah State is a home to indigenous groups including Kayah, Kayan, Kayaw, Kawyaw, Geba, Yintale and other ethnic groups.

Karenni State/Kayah State had stood with its “independence” identity since the era of Myanmar monarchic kingdom.

After the second Anglo-Burmese War, British government drew a line from east to west four miles above Aungmye Township and occupied the territories south of the line. Karenni State, recognized as an independent state by Burmese King, was situated at the eastern edge of that line.

On 1875, Sir Douglas Forsyth, an Anglo-Indian administrator and diplomat who was sent as a representative of British government to Burmese king and Kinwun Mingyi U Kaung, representative of Burmese king agreed not to annex western Karenni State and signed a treaty that recognizes the western Karenni State as an independent state. The Province of Burma Vol 2, released on 1907, also confirms Karenni State is not a part of Burma.

Following the World War II, aspiration and willingness of independence were momentous in Burma mainland along with the rehabilitation activities. On February 1946, Karenni leaders set up a talk at Myapale village in northern Bawlakhe area to determine whether “Karenni State would integrate with independent Burma mainland”. Considering the status of education, health system and economy, they reached a consensus to join Burma mainland if

necessary. On April 3, 1946, Karenni, Padaung Council was formed with leaders from different areas in order to make crucial decisions based on the fickle political scenarios. British government doubted Karenni State would still grab its independence identity apart from Burma mainland. So, it dissolved the council and established United Karenni Independent States Council UKISC, declaring that Bawlakhe, Kyebogyi and Kantaryawadi were amalgamated as Karenni States. On September 12, 1946, Karenni Union Council Conference was held, resulting 15 resolutions including right to freedom of speech, right to freedom of religion and exercising the religious practices and right to rule all ethnic people of Karenni descent and those who identify themselves as Karenni residents in accordance with Karenni customs.

On the other side, General Aung San and British Prime Minister Clement Attlee signed Aung San-Attlee Agreement, significant milestone in history of Burma's independence, on January 27, 1947. However, General Aung San visited Karenni State only one time in 1946 to unite mainland and hills.

On February 12, 1947, Karenni leaders attended the Panglong Conference but as observers and did not sign the Panlong Agreement.



Chapter 3

1. State Government's Attempt to Erect General Aung San Bronze Statue vs Movement of Ethnic Residents

The Kayah State Government started a plan to erect a bronze statue of General Aung San at Kantahaywon park at the early stage in 2018. Karenni youth community resisted the plan when the foundation stone of the statue was being laid upon in May 2018.

(a) The Reason of Rejection

Karenni youth community rejects the planned installation of General Aung San effigy because of the following reasons;

1. Karenni State/Karenni State was separately independent from mainland Burma according to the agreement signed by Burmese representative U Kaung and British representative Sir Douglas Forsyth on June 21st 1875.
2. Karenni State did not sign Panglong Agreement which was signed on February 12th 1947 between Shan, Kachin and Chin leaders and General Aung San who visited Karenni State only one time in 1946 for Karenni State's integration with Burma mainland, to regain

independence from Britain. Karenni State did not belong to mainland Burma.

3. Karenni ethnic armed revolution originated from the arguments for integration with mainland. Karenni leaders and people have been still disputing about it hitherto.
4. Karenni State cannot fulfil its political and national aim meanwhile equality, self-determination and secession. General Aung San's promises have not yet been prioritized by government.
5. Karenni people protested against the statue because of their veneration on Karenni history, nationalism and sense of politics (not because of emotion) as the erection of General Aung San statute in Karenni State while current peace process is fragile, seems promoting racism like Burmanization and might intensify the relationship between the ethnic groups.

(b) Protests Against Statue

Union of Karenni Student Youth (UKSY), Karenni State Farmer Union (KSFU), Kayaw Youth, Kawyaw [Manumanaw] Youth, Karenni National People Liberation Front (KNPLF – Youth) and Karen New Generation Youth (KNGY – Karenni State) sent an open letter on July 18 2018, demanding the regional government to cancel the plans to install an equestrian statute of General Aung San. As Kayah State government did not respond, Karenni activists distributed pieces of paper about “History of Karenni State and Public Denouncement of State Government’s Plan to install General Aung San Statute” in Loikaw, Demoso, Hpruso, Bawlakhe, Hpasawng and Mese townships on June 26 2018. Karenni civil society organizations organized also marched in Loikaw Township in a big protest on July 3 after notifying the authorities. The protest was cracked down by the police as the 16 youth leaders were sued under Article 19 and 20 of Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Law at Loikaw Township court for allegedly failure to notify the police before 48 hours in advance. 15 Karenni youths were sued under Section 505(b) and 505(c) for distributing Karenni history pamphlets and

denouncement of General Aung San statue too.

(c) Remarkable Dates

2018 July 16

State government held a joint meeting where four groups – State government, group of Karenni youth leaders, Kayan National Party (KNP) and members of Karenni National Progressive Party representing the ethnic armed groups – joined.

State chief minister U L Phaung Sho told that “he would assign the military to handle (the situation) if the incitements happen”. Activists and Karenni organizations criticized his speech is a threat.

State chief minister also said he would accept if the activists who protested against General Aung San statue bring the consensus of residents against the statue, ensuring the residents really don’t want the plan to build General Aung San statue, he would withdraw the plan.

2018 July 17

Karenni youths launched signature campaign calling people who protested against General Aung San statue in seven townships to involve.

Office of the Commander-in-Chief announced that state chief minister U L Paung Sho’s speech claiming that “he would use military if needed” is unconstitutional because only National Defense and Security Council has such authority, State and Region governments do not have.

2018 July 20

State chief minister U L Phaung Sho and Karenni youth groups met fourth time. Representatives from Union of Karenni State Youth and Kayah State Student Union had left the meeting before it ended. “(We) stop negotiation because we already met State government including chief minister three times. Every time we met the state government behavior was not negotiable but aggressive,” Ko Uttra Aung, one of the leading representatives told to media.

2018 July 23

U L Phaung Sho, State chief minister said that State government has disbanded the committee for General Aung San statue at the press conference. “State government won’t lead. The government has disbanded the committee”, he said at the press conference.

He also added he is ready to support if the people lead and organize, wishing to establish a new community-based committee for the installation of General Aung San statue.

2018 July 24

Karenni youth leaders made a press conference at Orchid hotel in Yangon to explain the experiences they were facing. They said State chief minister allegedly ignited incitement within community while Karenni-based people were protesting against the General Aung San statue. To avoid the conflict and communal tension, campaigns against General Aung San statue would be suspended, they stated at the press conference.

2018 July 4th week

Karenni youth leaders and state chief minister had another meeting where youth leaders submitted more than 50,000 signatures they collected within one week. However, state chief minister accused such collection is illegal and acceptable so they should no longer collect signatures, said president of Kayan National Party.

2019 January 29

State government or an unknown group brought General Aung San statue without letting Karenni residents know.

Karenni local organizations, activists, youth leaders declared that they would strongly protest against the General Aung San statue. On January 31st, they released a declaration calling for the public cooperation and participation.

2019 January 31st

Karenni youth activists launched a sit-in in front of Kantahaywon park from the afternoon.

2019 February 1st

Karenni activists' protest in front of Kantahaywon park was cracked down by police. Some leaders were detained and some 20 protestors were prosecuted under Article 20 of Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Law.

2019 February 2

Despite the strong objections, Committee for General Aung San Statue celebrated the opening ceremony of General Aung San at Kantahaywon park where state chief minister and other ministers attended.

2019 February 3

30 Karenni youths set up a camp in front of NLD's office, demanding to report the current situation of Karenni State to CEC members of NLD who arrived at Loikaw.

2019 February 5

State chief minister attended the pro General Aung San statue demonstration, organized by statue committee. Loikaw Township police state charged five participants at the demonstration for allegedly demonstrating at restricted area.

2019 February 7

Protest camp next to NLD's office was cracked down. 36 youths were detained in custody and charged under Article 19 of Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Law.



2009 February 8

Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) sent open letter to President office and State Counsellor office, demanding to reduce escalation between State government and Karenni youths to find a solution as soon as possible.

2019 February 10

Karenni youths held a press conference, presenting that State government spent one billion Kyat designated for state development, in building General Aung San statue but did not call for tender. There was no action taken upon this corruption and Kayah State parliament rejected to discuss when a MP from Kayah State Democratic Party proposed to discuss.

2019 February 11

Karenni activists led a demonstration where around 50 protesters participated, at Hit Tine (official space for demonstration) of State parliament compound.

2019 February 12

Estimated 3000 Karenni ethnic people marched in a protest against General Aung San statue. Police fired rubber bullets and water cannon at protesters, resulting 20 people suffered injuries.

Until 10:00 am, thousands of Karenni people sat in front of Kantahaywon park waiting to meet up and negotiate with state chief minister. State government and chief minister prolonged to meet them until 03:00 pm.

Thousands of protesters peacefully dispersed after having an agreement from State government.

Details of negotiation and consequences are shown in “Negotiation and Current Situation”





2. Karenni People's Revolution Day and Obligation and Willingness of Local Police

(February 12 is observed as Karenni People's Revolution Day by Karenni youth leaders' declaration released on March 25. This chapter describes what happened on February 12, using the term "Karenni People's Revolution Day")

"It is miserable as I saw what they did to my residents. I am sad. They are my brothers and sisters, they are my family."

A police officer from Loikaw Township Police Station recalls about the police force's crackdown on 2018 July massive protest.

"I am satisfied with many other cases except General Aung San statue case."

A police officer from District Police Department comments on State chief minister U L Phaung Sho

On February 12 2019, residents who were marching in gigantic protest to oppose the General Aung San statue and to negotiate with state government, were halted somewhere by the police. Thousands of Karenni activists marched

in four columns heading to Kantahaywon park, ultimate destination.

Each of the four columns met blockade by more than 200 of police when they arrived at the four corners of a junction near Kantahaywon park. Loikaw township police station which holds about 80 police officers, might have already strengthened the security forces with police officers from neighboring townships – Demoso, Hpruso, Hpasawng, Bawlakhe, Maesawng since three days ago.

February 12 was set to celebrate Union Day ceremony, organized by State government at Kantarhaywon park.

Anonymous police officers told Athan during research interviews that they strangely felt an appalling sense when they encountered the protesters face to face unlike the experience they usually felt when in the past. Protesters and security forces watched and checked each other for about thirty minutes. As the protesters stated trying to overcome the barriers, the police captain ordered them not to step anymore. However, the protesters overcame the first branch of barriers then the captain ordered the security forces to fire rubber bullets. The security forces did not fire immediately then fired at the sky when the protesters got closer to them.

The captain yelled at the security forces and took a gun from a police officer to fire at the protesters as a sample and also ordered them to fire again. The rubber bullets hit some protesters but kept marching. The police officers were waiting with guns, rubber sticks and shields behind the last line of barriers. Crossing the last line, the protesters had to struggle against the barriers and security guards, with five or six protesters getting injured and some wounded with blood.

Other columns easily followed after the first march overcame the last line of barrier, welcomed by the security forces again surrounding the water canon at the center.

Police officers heavily fired the rubber bullets and water cannon to disperse the protests when they marched to the Kantarhaywon park but the 200 of police could not stop the thousands of protesters. The firing sounds stopped after the one third of protesters crossed the junction.

But, the four columns merged next to Kantarhaywon park, they saw security guards deploying at the entrance of park meanwhile about 20 protesters were in critical situation. State government or police department did not take responsibility and accountability for them.

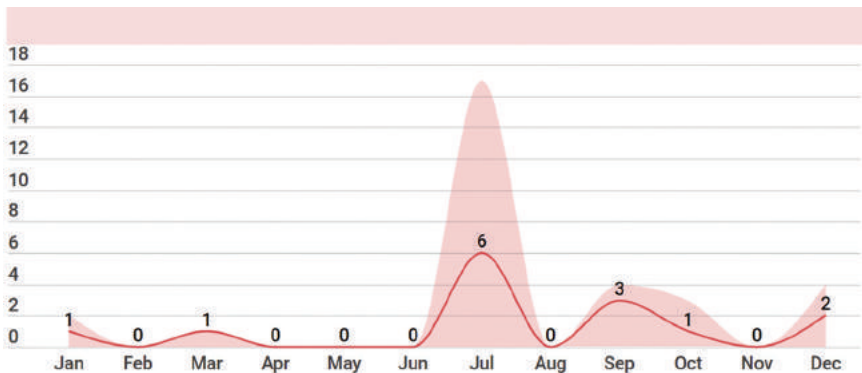
On the same day, youth activists and human rights defenders demonstrated in Yangon, showing their support of Karenni people's activism, acknowledgement of ethnic's rights and to demand the state government to implement as Karenni people wish. Kyauktada township police station charged nine activists among the protesters under Article 19 of Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Law. Karenni youth forces condemned the police's lawsuits on February 27.

3. Negotiation and Current Situation

(a) Agreement

Karenni youth leaders and state government agreed the following facts on February 12, 2019;

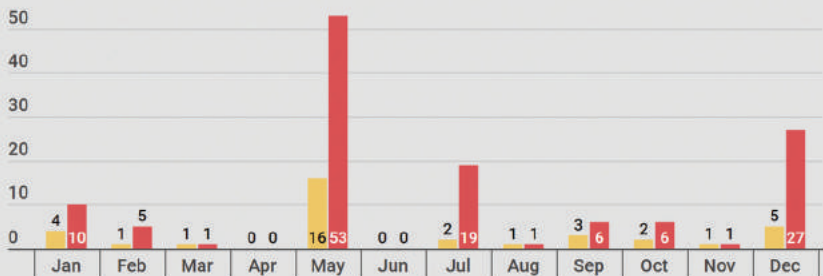
1. State government will drop all of charges against all Karenni youths. Activists will suspend protest campaigns,
2. In terms of General Aung San statue, to arrange as follows-
 - (a) Balanced proportion of representatives from statue committee and anti-statue committee will meet and negotiate within one month,
 - (b) The government will only implement the agreed outcomes from the negotiations between statue committee and anti-statue committee,
 - (c) The government will archive and implement if the agreements of the negotiations, match late General Aung San's promises of Panglong Agreement factually,
 - (d) No campaigns and protests will be allowed to launch at Kantarhaywn park for a month,
 - (e) The government has to implement all of the agreed outcomes within one month. Otherwise, the government will be responsible to relocate the statue to relevant charity organization office or department,
3. Both sides suspend all kinds demonstrations – pro-statue or anti-statue



There were **14 cases** under Section 505(b) of Penal Code against **33 people** in 2018.



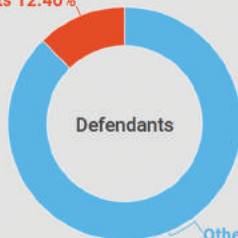
Five township courts charged **15 Karenni youth leaders** under Section 505(b) of Penal Code in July. That quantity is **45 percent** of all people charged under Section 505(b) in 2018.



● Cases under Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Law in 2018

● Activists prosecuted under Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Law in 2018

Karenni Activists 12.40%



There were **36 prosecutions** under Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Law against **129 activists** for exercising the right to freedom of expression.

Police forcibly cracked down Karenni activists' protest and charged **16 youths** in July. That quantity is **12.40 percent** of people charged under Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Law around the whole country.

campaigns – until the negotiation process ends.

4. The government has to implement all of the outcomes agreed by both sides within one month. Otherwise, the government will be responsible to relocate the statue to relevant charity organization office or department.

On February 13, Karenni youths established “Karenni People’s Representative Negotiation Committee”, declaring that the committee would implement the February 12 agreements and will relocate the statue itself unless the statue committee communicates with representative committee within one month.

On February 14, the representative committee announced a press release claiming that the representative committee communicated with the statue committee and realized that statue committee had not been founded in practice. The representative committee met the organizers of the opening ceremony of General Aung San statue, having an agreement to meet on February 17, said the press release.

On February 15, “Kayah State Committee for General Aung San Statue” was founded with six members along with announcement (1/2019). (Official page of Kayah State Committee for General Aung San Statue was also created on Facebook on the same day but no description about committee and its activities was shown on the page.) The names of six members of the committee who would attend the meeting on February 17 were also announced too.

(b) First Negotiation (2019 February 17)

12 selected members from both committees and witness, Khu Thel Rae, member of lower parliament (Pyithu Hluttaw) attended the meeting. Statue committee reportedly said “State government built the bronze statue before the statue committee was established and financially supported to bring the statue and celebrate the opening ceremony so statue committee is not responsible to relocate the statue or upcoming procedures, urging the Karenni activists to consult State government.” The meeting failed as the

statue committee left the meeting.

On that day, “Karenni People’s Representative Negotiation Committee” announced a statement about the discussion in the meeting. The statement said that “statue committee suddenly left the meeting at 11:50 am right after it denied to let record its claims “Karenni activists should negotiate with state government and the committee is not responsible to General Aung San statue” in meeting minutes.

Statue committee also announced a statement claiming that “during discussing the facts from paragraph 2 (a) to (e) from the agreements, Karenni activists only wanted to discuss the removal of statue. So, the committee expounded that it is impossible to remove the statue because there are many people supporting the statue. Then they had to stop the meeting as the Karenni activists repeatedly denied to keep negotiation.”

(c) Consequences After the First Negotiation

State government and statue committee did not communicate with the “Karenni People Representative Negotiation Committee” after the first negotiation failed.

On February 20, Loikaw township court withdrew the charges against 55 Karenni activists.

On March 7, 2019, “Karenni People Representative Negotiation Committee” sent an open letter to Office of the President of the Union Government. That letter included Karenni history, activities against General Aung San statue, agreements of state government and latest situation of negotiation along with outcomes. The letter said that now it is union government’s responsibility to handle the statue issue and to carefully consider what the Karenni people asked because public order in the state and national reconciliation is very fragile at the moment. Otherwise, they believe, gigantic protests and revolutions will erupt then union government will be responsible for the consequences,” said the activists in the letter.

On March 12, “Karenni People Representative Negotiation Committee” sent the “The last warning letter to Kayah State Government”. Karenni

people said that “they strongly condemn the state government for lack of responsibility and accountability as it turns one month after the agreement today. So, they would like to notify the State chief minister and State minister of commerce to relocate the statue by March 17.”

On the same day, state government replied an official letter titled as “To Submit the Bilateral Agreement Again” to statue committee and Karenni force, saying “we have not received the agreed outcomes of first negotiation so you need to send the agreements and Karenni ethnic activists should respect and obey the paragraph (1) amid the agreements as the state government has already implemented in accordance with the paragraph (1) of the agreements.”

On March 13, Karenni youths announced a statement, a prompt response to state government’s official letter claiming that “statue committee said it won’t take responsibility and left the meeting so the negotiation failed without any agreement. Now state government is responsible to relocate the statue because there will be no negotiations in the future according to the February 12 agreements as per the statement released on February 17.”

(d) Five-Party Talks

Director of President Office invited Karenni activists to a meeting. According to the invitation, state government, delegation of NRPC (National Reconciliation and Peace Commission), Karenni youth forces boycott committee, General Aung San statue committee and KNPP (Karenni National Progressive Party) along with some members of parliament as witnesses, had a meeting in Loikaw on March 20.

State government proposed “to keep General Aung San statue and to discuss the General Aung San’s promises and Panglong Agreement, adding to install a Karenni ethnic leader statue”.

Karenni youths force boycott committee proposed “to relocate the General Aung San statue out of the state to an unpublic area such as NLD party office or charity organization office”.

Bilateral Agreements

- **To peacefully negotiate to have a solution acceptable for both sides and to conduct a four-parties joint meeting to conclude final agreement before the end of April, 2019.**

Statue committee quit talks as it no longer took responsibility, handing over the tasks to State government. So, planned forthcoming meeting in April will be four party joint negotiation and statue committee will attend only as an observer.

(e) Consequences After Five-Party Talks

Statue committee announced a statement on March 21 after the five-party joint talks, claiming “it handed over the General Aung San statue to State government only for the sake of sustainability, safety and maintenance of General Aung San statue and it absolutely disagrees to remove or relocate the statue.”

On March 25, various Karenni youth organizations announced a statement saying that “indigenous people have peacefully coexisted with other ethnic groups including Burman since very long time ago. But, unity in Karenni state is getting fragile because of the issue of General Aung San statue, ignited by State Chief Minister U L Phaung Sho in 2018. Although Karenni based civil society organizations prevented, Kayah State Chief Minister and Minister of Planning and Finance used their power, authority and money to incite between indigenous people and other ethnic groups, associations and individuals, giving bribes to statue committee and secretly build the statue. Moreover, Karenni people officially declared that February 12 when the people wet with blood because of dictatorship is Karenni People Revolution Day.” The title of statement is a “The Declaration of Political Criminals, Karenni Traitors, The Enemies of Ethnic Reconciliation.”

On March 26, Karenni youths force boycott committee announced, “Asking Authority to Determine the Exact Date and Location for Four- Party Talks”.



Chapter 4

1. Conclusion

Athan found that State government and statue committee who want to install General Aung San statue did not take responsibility and accountability for the bilateral agreement on February 12. Unless the union government negotiated, state government and statue committee would try to prolong and ignore to solve the problem, excusing several reasons.

It is not questionable that Karenni residents did not support the placement of General Aung San statue in their state. Obstinate attempt to install the statue despite of the disagreement of residents is not only bigoted action but also an undemocratic action. State chief minister apparently tried to use the legitimacy to entice and influence minority residents including the ward and village administrators under his administration to affect the peaceful coexistence with diversity.

Amongst the state government's mismanagement, weak responsibility and accountability, failure to consider the people's desire in handling the issue, the most embarrassing part is police's crackdown that resulted with the 20 people injured and getting blood on February 12.

State government failed to show its respect to Karenni people and even failed to protect and promote Karenni history, literature and culture.

Under the current government, installation of General Aung San statue and naming new Bridge “Aung San” is ubiquitous. Most the Regions where majority of Burma live support the installation of General Aung San statue but States where non-Burman ethnic people live protest against it. The opinion of Burman and other ethnic on General Aung San cannot be coerced to be same as other ethnic groups have their own ethnic leaders or heroes. Building General Aung statues under duress (without the consent of ethnic residents) is sort of Burmanization that the junta military practiced generation by generation.

Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Procession Law and Section 505(b) and (c) of Penal Code, used to prosecute Karenni youth leaders who organized the protests, are undemocratic and restricting the right to freedom of expression. Suing, prosecuting and imprisoning the activists, human rights defenders, politicians and local people is violation of freedom of expression. The worst one is that protesters are unprecedentedly prosecuted under both Section 505(b) and 505(c) of Penal Code under the NLD led government although protesters were prosecuted under only Section 505(b) under the previous government. So, we strongly recommend the union government to negotiate between state government and Karenni people, emphasizing the desire of ethnic residents until a satisfactory solution is met (until the settlement) and to stop using and amend the undemocratic laws.



၁၈၇၅ ခုနှစ်တွင် အနောက်ကရင်နီနယ်ကို အင်္ဂလိပ်နှင့် မြန်မာ နှစ်ဖက်လုံးမှ
လွှမ်းမိုးချုပ်ချယ် ကျူးလွန်ခြင်းမပြုရန် သဘောတူညီခဲ့ကြပြီး အနောက်ကရင်နီဒေသကို
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ရုပ်တုဖြစ်သွားသော ပိုလ်ချုပ်ကတိ

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