Political Inclusion: Ethnic Parties and Politicians

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Sponsored by the Programme on Modern Burmese Studies at St Antony's College and the International Gender Studies Centre at Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford
Myanmar has taken another important step toward democratization, following the 2015 election victory of the National League for Democracy (NLD), led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. But decades of military repression, ethnic conflicts, political exclusion, abuse of natural resources and the environment, neglect of health, education, and infrastructure, and mismanagement of the economy, have left serious challenges for this new government.

On Monday 15 February, 2016, the Programme on Modern Burmese Studies at St Antony’s College and the International Gender Studies Centre at Lady Margaret Hall convened a workshop entitled “Towards Democracy and Reconciliation: Challenges Facing Myanmar’s Incoming Government.” Co-organized by Dr Daw Khin Mar Mar Kyi and Dr Matthew J Walton, the workshop brought together over a dozen UK experts on Myanmar, drawn from academic, advocacy, and activist communities.

Presenters focused on the challenges facing the new NLD-led government, identifying key stakeholders, persistent and emerging impediments, and potential policy responses. Subjects considered included military legacies, governance concerns, social issues, land and resource management, and conflict and displacement.

With the success of the event, the co-organizers saw an opportunity to effectively channel the insights of the participants into policy-making conversations in Myanmar’s government, civil society, and other political institutions. They also sought to contribute to the developing public discourse on political reform in the country. Participants were asked to transform their presentations into short policy briefs that could be of use to ministries, parliament, and other decision-making bodies in Myanmar. The collected briefs were edited by the co-organizers and translated into Burmese.

Please note that the views and positions presented in these briefs represent the authors and are not necessarily the views of the Programme on Modern Burmese Studies, St Antony’s College, the International Gender Studies Centre, Lady Margaret Hall, or the University of Oxford. In some cases, the views of different authors may diverge or conflict. We believe that including multiple different perspectives in a collection of policy briefs is valuable in fostering public debate in Myanmar.

We intend for this to become a regular event and policy brief series, which can draw on existing expertise among those studying Myanmar, including increasing numbers of scholars and advocates from the country. These and future briefs will be available electronically at the Programme on Modern Burmese Studies website (www.sant.ox.ac.uk/research-centres/programme-modern-burmese-studies) and the Oxford Feminist E-Press (theoxfordfeministepress.wordpress.com/). Please feel free to contact us with any questions or feedback.

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သိုႚမဟုတ္ တုံႚဴပန္ေဴပာဆိုခဵက္မဵားရႀိပၝက က႗ႎ္ုပ္တိုႚကို ဆက္သၾယ္ရန္ ဝန္မေလးပၝႎႀင့္။

မူဝၝဒႎႀင့္ပတ္သက္၍ ေရၾးခဵယ္ေဆာင္ရၾက္ႎိုင္သည့္အရာမဵားအဴဖစ္ အတိုခဵႂပ္ေဴပာင္းလဲေရးသားရန္ တင္ဆက္သူမဵားကို ေတာင္းဆိုခဲ့ပၝသည္။

အခၾင့္အေရးတစ္ရပ္အဴဖစ္ ၄င္းေဆၾးေႎၾးပၾဲဴဖစ္ေဴမာက္ေရး ပူးတၾဲေဆာင္ရၾက္ခဲ့သူမဵားမႀ ဴမင္လိုက္မိပၝသည္။ ထိုႚအဴပင္ ႎိုင္ငံအတၾင္းဴဖစ္ေပၞေနသည့္အဖၾဲႚအစည္းႎႀင့္ အဴခားေသာ ႎိုင္ငံေရးအဖၾဲႚအစည္းမဵားအဳကား မူဝၝဒခဵမႀတ္ဴခင္းဆိုင္ရာ ေဴပာဆိုေဆၾးေႎၾးမ듭ဵးအသၾင္သိုႚ ထိေရာက္စၾာေဴပာင္းလဲရန္ အုပ္ခဵႂပ္မႋႀင့္ပတ္သက္သည့္ ဴပႍနာမဵား၊ လူမုိေရးအေဳကာင္းအရာမဵား၊ ေဴမယာႎႀင့္အရင္းအဴမစ္ စီမံခန္ႚခၾဲမႈ၊ ပဋိပကၡႎႀင့္ အိမ္ယာဆံုးရံးမႋတိုႚတက္ေရာက္ခဲ့ဳကပၝသည္။

ေဴပာဆိုသူမဵားအသိုင္းအဝိုင္းႎႀင့္ တက္ဳကၾလႌပ္ရႀားသူမဵားအသိုင္းအဝိုင္း အသီးသီးတိုႚမႀ ဴမန္မာႎိုင္ငံႎႀင့္ပတ္သက္၍ က႗မ္းကဵင္သူဆယ့္ႎႀစ္ဦးေကဵာ္စီးပၾားေရး စီမံခန္ႚခၾဲမႈ ညံ့ဖဵင္းဴခင္းတိုႚေဳကာင့္ အစိုးရသစ္အတၾက္ ဳကီးေလးသည့္အခက္အခဲမဵားစၾာရႀိေနပၝသည္။

ေဴခလႀမ္းတစ္ရပ္ လႀမ္းခဲ့ပၝသည္။ သိုႚရာတၾင္ ဆယ္စုႎႀစ္ေပၝင္းမဵားစၾာ တပ္မေတာ္၏ဖိႎႀိပ္မႋ၊ တိုင္းရင္းသား

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ဴမန္မာႎိုင္ငံမႀ ပိုမုိမဵားဴပားလာသည့္ပညာရႀင္မဵားႎႀင့္ ေထာက္ခံေဴပာဆိုသူမဵားအပၝအဝင္ ဴမန္မာႎိုင္ငံကုိ ေလ့လာေနသူမဵားအဳကားရႀိ လက္ရႀိကားမႀ ၂၀၁၅ခုႎႀစ္ေရၾးေကာက္ပၾဲ
The NLD has largely replaced the country’s many ethnic nationality parties in representing the interests of ethnic communities. It must now manage the hopes and expectations of some of the most troubled parts of the country long afflicted by political division, armed conflict and ethnic exclusion. If the NLD is committed to resolving these issues it needs to find ways to engage those ethnic nationality parties which now have less formal influence in the political systems representing their areas. This will be essential in building a government of national reconciliation and establishing the basis for a strong federal union.

It has already made a positive start on this front. The appointment and promotion of ethnic politicians from across the political spectrum and the creation of a designated Ethnic Affairs ministry are positive developments. However, the challenge for the new government will be to ensure that such entry points offer more than just access to political systems and deliberative processes. Ethnic parties and politicians both in and outside parliament must have the opportunity to make a genuine contribution to the country’s political and democratic transition.

This will require empowering ethnic politicians through involvement in day-to-day decision and policy-making processes and giving state hluttaws and their MPs a greater degree of regional autonomy and authority in proposing and passing legislation. It will also involve engaging unelected ethnic parties in the nationwide peace process and national political dialogue. At the same time, the new government should be developing and supplementing key aspects of parliamentary and government infrastructure in support of more inclusive political processes.

Above all, the new government will need to make a firm commitment to developing the capacity of all ethnic parties if it is to build the basis of a broad and resilient party political system.

Parliamentary Profile and Representation

State Parliaments & Regional Governance:
Following the elections, state parliaments and regional governance structures are dominated by the new government and its representatives: all state parliaments are now controlled by the NLD; some state hluttaws are completely in the hands of the new government (Kayah), others almost completely (Kayin and Mon), whilst all chief ministers are NLD appointments.

Unless such mechanisms are more inclusive, this monopoly threatens to undermine democratic processes and their potential at the state level. Furthermore, the dominance of the central government across states and regions has the potential to undermine progress made during the previous parliament on specific aspects of regional policy development. Ethnic nationality parties and politicians have done much to improve approaches to natural resource management and increase access to mother tongue based (MTB) education, not to mention the impact this has had on wider processes of decentralisation.

Moreover, in this new democratic era ethnic nationality parties, despite maintaining considerable local support, now appear to have less influence in the political systems representing their areas. The new government therefore needs to make concerted efforts to ensure greater political inclusion within state and regional parliaments through such practical measures as:

- Engaging a broad coalition of unelected as well as elected ethnic parties, possibly through cooperative agreements, select committees and working parties on key issues of regional and national concern such as natural resource management, MTB education and ceasefire monitoring.
- Pushing for constitutional amendment to ensure broad and inclusive political representation at the state level in the future. This might involve setting up minimum requirements for ethnic allocation of seats or proposing revisions to the voting system in favour of proportional representation or other special measures that ensure minority representation. The new government should be mindful that whatever approach it adopts now will do much to shape political competition in the years to come.
- Considering a constitutional amendment to the selection of States’ Chief Ministers (Article 261) to allow ethnic majorities greater control and authority to select these in the future. Were the new government to prioritize such an amendment early in this parliament it would do much to enhance its commitment to political inclusion.
- Maintaining support for key legislation such as the Ethnic Rights Protection Law across government
Committing larger elected ethnic parties such as the Arakan National Party (ANP) and Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) to collaborate with smaller ethnic parties in deliberative and decision-making processes at the state level. This will help build consensus on a range of potentially contentious issues whilst engaging a broader range of ethnic stakeholders in the wider political dialogue at this level.

National Parliaments and the National Political Dialogue: The lack of pluralism in the national parliament is an added concern, where a minority of ethnic parties are currently represented. At the same time, the relative dominance of the SNLD and the ANP at this level has the potential to dictate the ethnic agenda across both national assemblies. This may come at the expense of smaller ethnic parties seeking to represent minority claims and issues.

The challenge for the new government is in finding practical ways to integrate unrepresented ethnic voices within the national political dialogue in Naypyidaw and so provide broad and balanced representation and engagement. Potential means of doing so might include:

- Ensuring that new government committees and commissions with executive oversight on issues directly affecting ethnic communities have broad and inclusive ethnic representation. This is particularly relevant to the National Planning and to the State and Divisional Planning Commissions, as well as the Central Review Committee on Confiscated Farmlands and Other Lands, as it seeks to address divisive legacies of land confiscation, dispute and dispossession.
- Developing and extending ethnic party representation on parliamentary standing committees more generally. This is particularly important for those dealing with issues of regional concern, such as development and environment committees.
- Establishing forums within which to engage ethnic political coalitions like the United Nationalities Alliance (UNA) and also the National Brotherhood Federation (NBF). This will ensure broader ethnic representation in the national political dialogue. It will also provide the new government with the opportunity to engage ethnic representatives on issues of broad concern and consensus for a number of states and regions.
- Actively supporting the development of represented and unrepresented ethnic parties through

**Civil Service Reform: Ministries and Working Groups**

**Ethnic Affairs Ministry:** As part of a wider civil service reform plan, the new government’s commitment to a designated Ethnic Affairs Ministry is a positive step in regulating and responding to ethnic concerns. It remains unclear at this stage what structure, scope and capacity this Ministry will assume. If it is to be effective it must have sufficient resources and profile to represent ethnic affairs on a wide range of issues. This will require ethnic oversight on issues relating to education, land ownership and the environment, and cultural and religious affairs in particular. It will demand inter-governmental engagement and coordination within and between such Ministries as Home Affairs, Culture and Religious Affairs and Natural Resources and Environmental Conservation.

It is unclear at this stage how this new Ministry will engage with established entities such as the General Administration Department (GAD), the backbone of local administration. It is also unclear what relationship it will have to new committees and commissions concerned with land disputes and development projects.

In developing the Ethnic Affairs Ministry, attention will therefore need to be given to inter-governmental coordination/engagement mechanisms; ministerial roles and responsibilities; budget and resources; and policy alignment on contentious issues particularly affecting ethnic communities such as inter-faith marriage, citizenship, land rights, etc.

**Working Group for Parliamentary Capacity-Building:** With the overwhelming majority of elected MPs new to the job, the NLD government should be commended for already establishing a working group for parliamentary capacity-building. This builds on the work of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), which has provided training in the past on democracy, public leadership, ethics and the responsibilities of lawmakers. If this new initiative is to contribute significantly to broadening and deepening the country’s democratic transition, it needs to include the full spectrum of parliamentary parties. It should be concerned with addressing particular and pressing knowledge and policy gaps, not least those related to federalism and decentralisation. It might also serve as a platform for engaging and supporting the country’s unelected ethnic parties. In this way it has the potential to play a valuable role in supporting the development of organisational capacity in specific areas such as fundraising, campaign management and policy development in readiness for subsequent elections.
the proposed Working Group for Parliamentary Capacity-Building (see below).

- Again, pushing for constitutional amendment to ensure broad and inclusive political representation within national parliaments. This might involve some of the alternatives discussed above but at the very least, should include some special measures that ensure minority representation in the House of Nationalities.

The Peace Process:

The lack of inclusivity in the ongoing peace process is already the biggest threat to its success. Over half of the ethnic armed groups (EAGs) did not sign the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement in October 2015 or attend the initial Union Peace Conference in January 2016 and parts of the country are still afflicted by armed conflict. Since this process is necessarily linked to wider political reform and development processes, ethnic parties left outside parliament must be included or risk being left behind.

Indeed, now that the Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee (UPDJC) is calling for parliament to have a more defined role in the peace process, the contributions of many ethnic stakeholders will be confined to civil society unless the new government ensures that such inputs are suitably institutionalised.

Ideally, there needs to be more space and opportunity for different stakeholders to participate in peace talks at different levels if the political dialogue is to achieve widespread ownership and support. There are a variety of ways in which ethnic parties and politicians can contribute to this: they can broker further engagement between the government and EAGs, collaborate on regional ceasefire monitoring processes and safeguard peace dividends within conflict-affected communities.

Therefore, rather than reset the peace process initiated by the last government, facilitating greater political inclusion and participation in the current project may ensure that peace is consolidated on the ground. The new government might therefore consider:

- Allocating specific roles to unelected ethnic parties and politicians particularly with regard to maintaining ceasefire-monitoring mechanisms at regional and community-levels. This will also serve to develop greater confidence in the security sector at the community-level.
- Ensuring broader representation within key deliberative and decision-making bodies such as the trilateral UPDJC and the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC). This might also include alternative inter-governmental forums within which unelected ethnic politicians can make a formal contribution to peace talks and associated processes. The proposed National Reconciliation and Peace Centre (NRPC) might, for example, provide such a forum.
- Engaging a broad range of civil society and ethnic parties in information-sharing and community engagement over the peace process and its practical initiatives within conflict-affected areas, allocating resources and technical assistance where necessary. Some local initiatives have already been doing this, but articulating a consistent and shared policy will ensure that all communities appreciate the importance of the peace process to the entire country.
- Ensuring that wider parliamentary capacity-building processes support and supplement ethnic political engagement on specific issues concerned with the practical maintenance of peace, especially ceasefire monitoring.
- Providing governmental support in engaging ethnic elites, politicians and religious leaders in negotiations to resolve ongoing inter-communal violence in specific parts of the country. Since this issue is potentially more intractable than the country’s civil conflicts it must be prioritized within the nationwide peace process, including support for interfaith peace advocacy initiatives and legislation against hate speech.
- Ensuring that a Second or 21st Century Panglong Conference to be convened in the name of national unity is much more inclusive than the initial conference and current peace process. This may require a more reflexive timetable in which to negotiate and confirm ethnic political representation; it will certainly require a framework that responds to the country’s inter-communal violence as well as its civil conflicts.

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တတ္ႎိုင္ပၝကအနာဂတ္တၾင္ ဴပည္နယ္အဆင့္၌ ကဵယ္ဴပန္ႚ၍ပၝဝင္ေစမ၍ရႀိေသာ ႎိုင္ငံေရးကုိယ္စားဴပႂမ၍ရႀိေရးအတၾက္ ဖၾဲႚစည္းပံုအေဴခခံဥပေဒဴပင္ဆင္ရန္ပူးေပၝင္းေဆာင္ရၾက္ခင္း။

၄င္းေဆာင္ရၾက္ခဵက္မဵားေကာင့္ ကဵယ္ဴပန္ႚေသာ ဗဟုိအာဏာခၾဲေဝေပးသည့္ လုပ္ငန္းစဥ္မဵားတၾင္ အကဵိႂးဆက္မဵားရႀိခဲ့ပၝသည္။

ထိခိုက္ရန္ အလားအလာရႀိပၝသည္။ တိုင္းရင္းသားလူမဵိႂးပၝတီမဵားႎႀင့္ ႎိုင္ငံေရးပုဂၢိႂလ္မဵားမႀ သဘာဝအရင္းအဴမစ္မဵား စီမံခန္ႚခၾဲေရးအတၾက္ဆိုင္ရာအုပ္ခဵႂပ္မႀ အဖၾဲႚအစည္းမဵားအေပၞ အစိုးရသစ္ႎႀင့္ ၄င္း၏ကုိယ္စားလႀယ္မဵားမႀ စုိးမိုးခဲ့ပၝသည္။

ယခုအခၝ အန္အယ္လ္ဒီမႀ ဴပည္နယ္လၿတ္ေတာ္မဵားကုိ အစိုးရသစ္မႀ ေဆာင္ရၾက္ရမည္ဴဖစ္ပၝသည္။

စၾမ္းအားဴမႀင့္တင္ေပးရန္ႎႀင့္ဴပည္နယ္လၿတ္ေတာ္မဵားႎႀင့္ ၄င္းတိုႚ၏လၿတ္ေတာ္ကုိယ္စားလႀယ္မဵားကုိ ေဒသႎၨရကုိယ္ပိုင္အုပ္ခဵႂပ္ခၾင့္ႎႀင့္အတၾက္သာမဟုတ္ေစရန္ ေဆာင္ရၾက္ေရးမႀာ အစိုးရသစ္အတၾက္ အခက္အခဲဴဖစ္ပၝသည္။

လၿတ္ေတာ္အတၾင္းႎႀင့္ လၿတ္ေတာ္ဴပင္ပရႀိစသည့္ဒဏ္မဵားကုိ ကာလရႀည္ဳကာစၾာခံေနခဲ့ရသည့္ ႎိုင္ငံအတၾင္းရႀိ ဒုကၡႎႀင့္ရင္ဆိုင္ရဆံုး ေဒသအခဵိႂႚတၾင္ အစိုးရသစ္မႀ ကဵယ္ဴပန္ႚ၍အလုိက္သင့္ေဴပာင္းလဲႎိုင္ေသာ ပၝတီႎိုင္ငံေရးစနစ္အတၾက္ အေဴခခံတစ္ရပ္တည္ေဆာက္မည္ ဆုိပၝကတိုင္းရင္းသားထိုသိုႚဴဖစ္ေစရန္မႀာ တိုင္းရင္းသားႎိုင္ငံေရးပုဂၢိႂလ္မဵားကို ေနႚစဥ္ဆံုးဴဖတ္ခဵက္ႎႀင့္ မူဝၝဒခဵမႀတ္ေရးလုပ္ငန္းစဥ္မဵားတၾင္ ပၝဝင္ေစဴခင္းဴဖင့္
အဆိုပံခင် သိုမဟုတ်လူနည်စုကိုယ္စားမထားမႈရိေကာင္း ဗားချစ်သည့်စည်းလုံးညီညွေသာ တိုင်ရင်းသားလူမြေများမဟာမိတ္လုတ္အိုမဲတမ္းတကာများတၾင္ တိုင်ရင်းသားပဲတီကိုယ္စားမထားကာ ပိုမိုကောင်းစားထေရးႎႀင့္တိုးချဲႚဴခင်း။ ဖွံဃဖို့တိုးတက္မႈႎႀင့္ ထပ္မံေဴပာရလ႖င္အမဵိႂးသားလၿတ္ေတာ္မဵားအတၾင္း ကောင်းစားကာ ပဲဝင္မႈရႀိသည့္ ႎိုင္ငံေရးကိုယ္စားမထားရႀိေစရးအတၾက္ ဖဲႚစည္းပံု(UNA)အစိုးရဝန္ဳကီးဌာနမဵားႎႀင့္ ဌာနအားလံုးတၾင္ အမဵိႂးသားလၿတ္ေတာ္တၾင္ တိုင်ရင်းသားပဲတီအနည္းစုကို လက္ရႀိ

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ဗီးေရးအရပ္ဝင္ေစရးအတၾက္ တာ၀းအားေပးခင်း။ ထိုသုိႚဴပႂလုပ္ရန္မႀာ အထက္တၾင္ ေဆၾးေႎၾးခဲ့ေသာေဆာင္ရၾက္ခိးအခဵိႂႚ ပဲဝင္ႎိုင္ဴပီး အနည္းဆံုးအေနဴဖင့္ တိုင်ရင်းသားကုိယ္စားလႀယ္မဵား ပဲဝင္ရန္အခၾင့္အေရးရမည္ဴဖစ္ဴပီး ဴပည္နယ္ႎႀင့္ေဒသဳကီးအခဵိႂႚအတၾက္ သေဘာတူညီမႈမဵား ရမည္ဴဖစ္ပၝသည္။

အေဴခခံဴပႂဴပင္ေရးအတၾက္ တၾန္းအားေပးခင်း။ ထိုသုိႚဴပႂလုပ္ရန္မႀာ အထက္တၾင္ ေဆၾးေႎၾးခဲ့ေသာေဆာင္ရၾက္ခိးအခဵိႂႚ ပဲဝင္ႎိုင္ဴပီး အနည္းဆံုးအေနဴဖင့္ တိုင်ရင်းသားကုိယ္စားလႀယ္မဵား ပဲဝင္ရန္အခၾင့္အေရးရမည္ဴဖစ္ဴပီး SNLDကုိယ္စားသည့္ ကၾဲဴပားသည့္အဖၾဲႚအစည္းအမဵိႂးမဵိႂးကင္းမဲ့ဴခင္းမႀာ ထပ္မံစိုးရိမ္စရာဴဖစ္ပၝသည္။ တစ္ခဵိန္တည္းမႀာပင္ ဤအဆင့္တၾင္ ဴပည္နယ္အဆင့္တၾင္ အခဵက္အလက္ဖလႀယ္ သံုးသပ္သည့္လုပ္ငန္းစဥ္ႎႀင့္ ဆံုးဴဖတ္ခိးအလက္တၾင္သည့္ လုပ္ငန္းစဥ္မဵားတၾင္ ပိုမိုေသးငယ္သည့္ 4င္းဴပင္ဆင္မႈကို ဦးစားေပး ေဆာင္ရၾက္ပၝက ႎိုင္ငံေရးအရပဝင္ေစရးအတၾက္ ကတိကဝတ္အရေဆာင္ရၾက္မႈမဵားစၾာဴမင့္မားသၾားမည္ဴဖစ္ပၝသည္။

အဴခားေဆာင္ရၾက္ခိးမဵား ပဲဝင္ႎိုင္ပၝသည္။ လက္ရႀိအခဵိန္တၾင္ လက္ခံအသံုးဴပႂမည့္ ခဵဥ္းကပ္နည္းမဵားမႀာ လာမည့္ႎႀစ္မဵားတၾင္ ႎိုင္ငံေရးယႀဥ္ဴပိႂင္မႈကုိ အမဵားပၝဝင္မႈကင္းမဲ့ဴခင္းမႀာ လက္ရႀိဴငိမ္းခဵမ္းေရးလုပ္ငန္းစဥ္အတၾက္ အဳကီးမားဆံုးေသာ ဴခိမ္းေဴခက္မႈဴဖစ္ေနဴပီ ဴဖစ္ပၝသည္။ တိုင္းရင္းသား
အထူးသိဖင့် ဦးသိသာဆင့်လိုက်းတွန်းသည်၊ အဖျင်အတိုင်းအထောင်ရပါသည်။

ဦးသိသာဆင့်လိုက်းတွန်းသည် - အတွေးအမြင့်အထောင်းဆောင်ရွက်ရန် သူများကိုမူပြီး အခြေခံအကြိုင်းအသားပြုချက်များသည် အဆင့်များကို ပြီးစီးသော အခြေခံအကြိုင်းအသားပြုချက်များကို ပြီးစီးသည်။ ဦးသိသာဆင့်လိုက်းတွန်းသည် အောင်မြင်မှုဆောင်ရွက်ရန် ပြီးဆောင်ရွက်ရန် ပြီးစီးသည်။

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