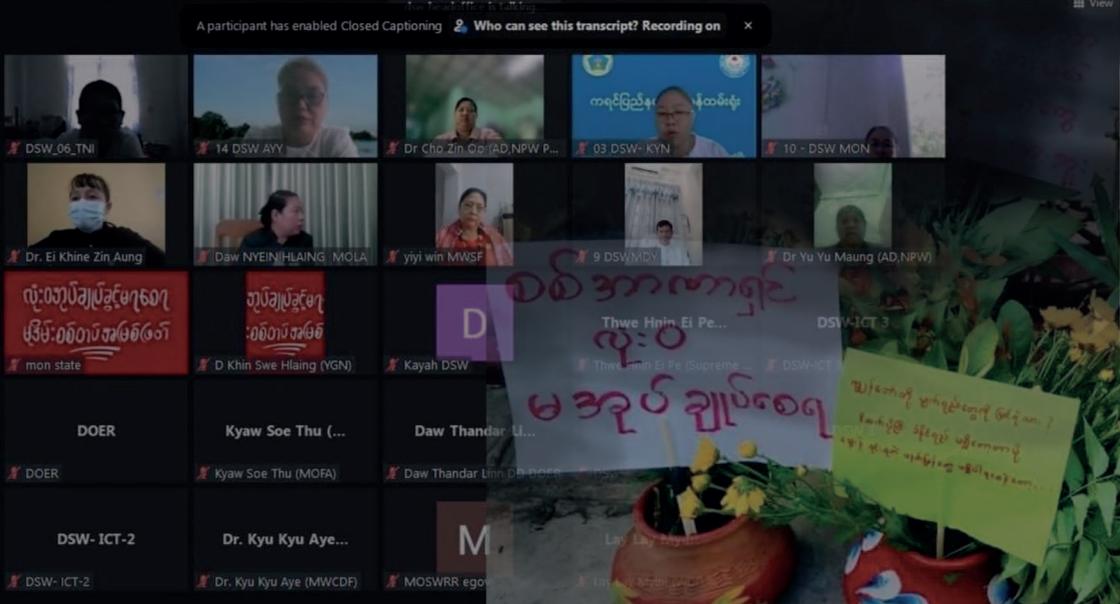




Inspecting the Actions of Mainstream Coalition toward Civil Disobedience Movement





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Mainstream Coalition toward
Civil Disobedience Movement***



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Preface

The non-cooperation, non-violent civil disobedience emerged with the Spring Revolution among the revolutionary forces, out of a belief that by leaving the workplace they could overthrow the power and mechanism of the military council. Throughout Myanmar's history, there have been civil disobedience movements in different revolutions. In this spring revolution, the Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH), National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC); National Unity Government (NUG) are performing as leading revolutionary forces and has encouraged to engage in Civil Disobedience Movement. In fact, the Civil Disobedience Movement is a voluntary non-violence act of non-cooperation and therefore cannot be limited towards those who participate in the movement and those who does not. In the same way, the Mainstream Coalition must avoid negative words and actions based on hatred as much as possible. In this Spring Revolution, the word "Dalan" is often used by the revolutionary forces. However, Dalan and those who don't leave their workplaces cannot be regarded as the same levels nor punishments and hatred-based killings should be made. In order to prevent human rights violations, the Mainstream Coalition, including the public, must adhere to international agreements such as the Geneva Conventions.

This paper is written to prevent human rights violations during the revolution, and to have a broader understanding of Civil Disobedience Movement by the Mainstream Coalition and to be aware of the actions and usages that should be prevented to build an all-inclusive, just society in post revolution.

Introduction

The intense calls and encouragement to join the Civil Disobedience Movement of leaving or resigning from work by the public have accelerated along with the Spring Revolution. The belief of not going to work can delay the power of the Military Council and later complete fall of it, flourished among the revolutionary public. In this way, resigning was the only highlighted factor in the Civil Disobedience Movement of the Spring Revolution at the beginning. Therefore, people stopped going to their respective workplaces as an individual choice. In fact, the Civil Disobedience Movement is a voluntary action of non-violence and non-cooperation to oppose the injustice law, social structure, oppressions and government.

The Civil Disobedience Movement of today has been practiced in the different revolutions along the history of Myanmar. Under British colonial rule, the emergence of the National schools against the University Act, the “Buu” Associations of rejection against Diarchy Administration and taxation laws, etc. Therefore, the people of Myanmar are used to non-violent revolution. The Civil Disobedience Movement of the people can be seen in one of the significant revolutions, 88 movements. Years of oppression by unjustified law, the student movements brought the whole nation to the street of peaceful mass protests.

In the Spring Revolution of 2021, people came out in the streets carrying banners to protest the coup. The intention was for the falling of the military council by all means. The military brutally cracked down the protest in the early days, then, abducted the revolutionaries and anyone who seemed to be its challenge. There, the Civil Disobedience Movement of resigning from the workplace is one of the movements that frightened the military. The severe actions by the military, targeting the people who resigned or left their works include arbitrary abductions to oneself and their families, killings during interrogations, incarcerations, forcing to return the employee benefits and blocking any means to foreign travels.

2

Methodology

This paper is written by collecting and analyzing secondary data, collected from news medias. It is collected by using both qualitative and quantitative research method. It includes information and data derived from the news sources, announcements and interviews made by Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH), National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC) and National Unity Government (NUG). It also includes data numbers collected by Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica since February 2021; the start of the revolution up to December 2022.

Mainstream Coalition

No longer after the 2021 coup of February, the winning parliamentary candidates from the 2020 election formed a body named Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH) that functions as a legislative role while being abducted by the Military. Then later in March, National Unity Government (NUG) is formed with several attributes with respective ministers and deputies as administration and judiciary. Both bodies hold strong support from the public and acknowledged them as stakeholders. Moreover, National Unity Consultative Council is formed comprising of parliamentary candidates from CRPH, political parties, unions, women, youth and minority groups, civil servant organizations, revolutionaries, CDM committees, protest groups, ethnic revolutionary organizations, interim federal representative groups, committees and special researchers. Although the role of NUCC is still confusing in public eyes, either CRPH, NUG, or NUCC holds the recognition as interim government and part of the Mainstream Coalition.

3

The definition of CDM by Mainstream Coalition

The Mainstream Coalition has specifically defined the Civil Disobedience Movement inclusive to only government civil servants, according to their announcement for taking actions against the government staffs who oppress and threaten civil servants who joined the movement. (*Myanmar's National Unity Government Promises to Support Striking Civil Servants, 2021*). NUG stated that it also has plans to provide salaries to “government employees” who joined CDM.

NUG announced in its announcement 4/2021 on June 18, 2021 that they are systematically recording data on non-CDM participants who bully and threaten CDM participants. They also stated that they will analyze carefully on who is the CDM participant and who is not on the graded scale. The labor minister, Nai Thuwunna said that NUG treats the CDM as a top priority and that supporting the striking government employees has been on the agenda of every NUG meeting since the interim government was formed on April 16. (*Announcement (4/2021), 2021*) Union Minister; Dr. Zaw Wai Soe have also stated about the Civil Disobedience Movement since the early days of Spring

CDM မပြုလုပ်သည့် ဝန်ထမ်းများသို့
CDM တိုက်ပွဲမှသည် ပြည်သူ့ အစိုးရအုပ်ချုပ်ရေးသို့လာပြီ
လူသတ်သမားနှင့် ပေါင်းသူသည် ၊ လူသတ်သမား သာဖြစ်သည်။
လူသတ်သမားအား ပုပိုးသူသည် ၊ လူသတ်သမားသာဖြစ်သည်။
ပြည်သူ့ကိုသတ်သူသည် ၊ ပြည်သူ့ရန်သူဖြစ်သည်။ ။
ပြည်သူ့ကို သတ်သူနှင့် ပေါင်းသူသည် ၊ ပြည်သူ့ရန်သူဖြစ်သည်။ ။
CDM မပြုလုပ်ပဲ ၊ CDM ပြုလုပ်သည့် ၊ ဝန်ထမ်း များအား
အမျိုးမျိုး၊ နောက်ယှက် ၊ ဒုက္ခပေးသူများ အား
ပြည်သူ့ဘက်တော်သားများနှင့် ပြည်သူ့အစိုးရမှ
လုံးဝ (လုံးဝ) ခွင့်လွှတ်လိမ့်မည် မဟုတ် ။
ပြည်သူ့ကိုသေအောင်သတ်သူနှင့် တိုက်တန်သော ဖြစ်ဒဏ်ကို ပေးမည်
ဖြစ်သည်။ ။
CDM တိုက်ပွဲမှ သည် ၊ ပြည်သူ့ အစိုးရ အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးသို့
ဖက်ဒရယ် ပြည်ထောင်စုကြီးလာပြီ။ ။
Dr ဇော်ဝေစိုး

Source: Dr. Zaw Wai Soe Facebook page

Revolution, in March 2021. He stated that “the Non-CDMers¹ will get the punishment they deserve as they are collaborating with the military council by not leaving their workplaces”.(Facebook, 2022)

These statements come from the belief that when government employees quit their jobs, it can halt and cease the governing mechanism of the military council. Thus, both the Mainstream Coalition and the civilians have been encouraged to join the Civil Disobedience Movement since the early period of the Spring Revolution.

However, in recent months, in 2022, NUG Minister of Home Affairs and Immigration; U Lwin Ko Latt clarified that in the post revolution period, those higher officials who support the mechanism of the Military Council, will be taken action under the Terrorism Act². However, according to his statement, this does not necessarily include all employees who didn’t leave their workplaces as there can be individuals who cannot leave their workplaces due to their personal difficulties. *(Interview with NUG Minister U Lwin Ko Latt – Radio NUG, 2022)*

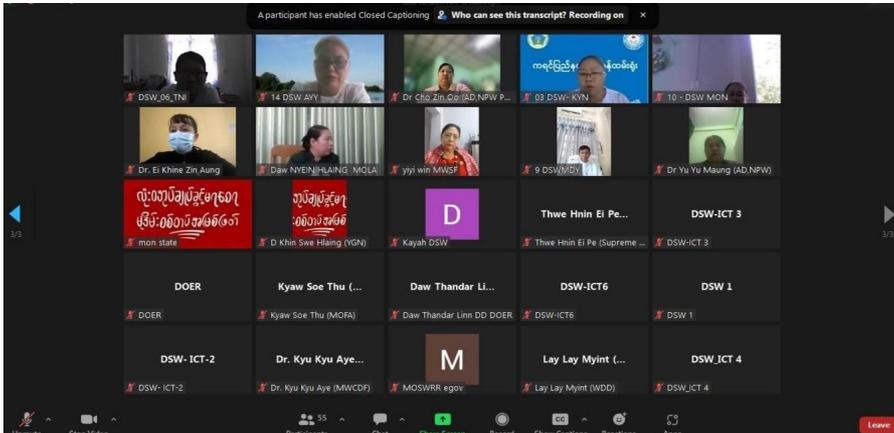
“Our main target is to take action towards the Non-CDMers who support SAC. There are other Non-CDMers who have no choice but to continue working under the military council, who has informed us about their situations. We have to open doors for these people. But we have to take action to the higher officials of SAC who threatens the citizens under the Terrorism Act.” U Lwin Ko Latt

On one side, this statement can be understood in a way that Mainstream Coalition will not punish not take action to every staff who didn’t leave their workplaces as a part of participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement. Although it seems like a positive encouragement towards those who would want to leave their workplaces, it can still impose negative definitions and understandings upon CDM. It cannot be permanently considered that every individual who continues to stay under SAC would threaten or mean harms

1. *Word usage by the Mainstream coalition.*
2. *The NUG has declared the Military Council's Army and its affiliated organizations as terrorist organizations under Section (3) of the Myanmar Anti-Terrorism Act. Myanmar law defines violence with the intent to "infringe upon public safety or Life and wealth, and crimes that cause serious harm" are considered acts of violence under the law.*

to the revolution, regardless of their rankings. It is possible that even the higher officials in the military can still be supporting the revolution. There is always the case of “Pha-Ye-Thee” (watermelon) in this revolution, who seem to be from the military background but supporting the revolution.

Case of PhaYeThee- On 25 November 2022, when the military council union minister; Daw Thet Thet Khine hosted a hybrid event from both online and offline, a revolutionary group was able to join the event via Zoom and protested by changing their profile pictured to protest slogans such as “Lone-Wa-Ote-Chote-Khwint-Ma-Ya-Say-Ya” (will never be able to take control) and “Ma-Dain-Sit-Tat-Amyit-Phyat” (Eradicate the Rapist Military). This campaign was successful with the help of the employees from the inside of



Revolutionaries protesting at online Zoom meeting hosted by Daw Thet Thet Khine-Union Minister of SAC (Source: Yangon Khit Thit Media)

the Ministry of Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement under the military council. (စစ်ကောင်စီမှဝန်ကြီးဆိုသူသက်သက်ခိုင်ဦးစီးကျင်းပတဲ့အွန်လိုင်းZoom အစည်းအဝေးမှာ "မုဒိမ်းစစ်တပ်အမြစ်ဖြတ်"၊ "လုံးဝအုပ်ချုပ်ခွင့်မရစေရ" စာသားများဖြင့်ဝင်ရောက်ဆန္ဒပြ, 2022) Situations like these are proofs that shows that not all employees who don't leave their workplaces mean harm to the revolution.

Civil Disobedience Movement can be participated by people of all classes and backgrounds. Anyone who opposes the military council in ways that they can, despite not leaving their government workplaces nor joining the protests can still be regarded as participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

4 Calls to resign from work towards employees by **Mainstream Coalition**

Right after the coup attempt of the military council, one of the credible responses by CRPH was to boost the CDM by calling to resign from different sectors such as Healthcare, Education, Banking, Administration, Transportation, and Police. The CDM defined by CRPH covers people who resigned from work and anyone who was not joining CDM no later than 31st of March 2021 shall be regarded as rebels against the civilian and civilian government. *(Announcement 9/2021, Presidential Office, CRPH)*. CRPH Uplifted the Civil Disobedience Movement by encouraging not only government employees but also private sectors. It called employees from private banks to join the CDM together with the government bank employees, to show solidarity in this movement. *(ပုဂ္ဂလိကဘဏ်လုပ်ငန်းရှင်များနှင့်ဘဏ်ဝန်ထမ်းများ CDM လှုပ်ရှားမှု ဆက်တိုက်ပွဲဝင်ရန် CRPH တိုက်တွန်း, 2021)* Although CRPH and NUG persuaded private sector employees to leave their workplaces, limited attention has been focused on them compared to the support and attention towards the Government Service- CDMers.

The tactics of CRPH and NUG which encourage the CDM were through the incentives for GS-CDMers that they would regain all the benefits including salary and those who continue to work under NUG administration while the

dismissal announcements of the government staffs who didn't leave their workplaces shall be severely punished and will be sued at People's Court after the revolution. For instance, on March 21, 2021, CRPH announced that they will provide support to those employees who were forcefully dismissed from their jobs by the military council. (အလုပ်သမားဝန်ကြီးဌာန, 2021) Some employees were dismissed due to CRPH's belief that continuing to work in workplaces means not participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement. Most employees dismissed from their jobs are from Chief officer level to Director General Level. Altogether over (1914) Non-CDMers were dismissed by (9) NUG Ministries – Education, Health, Electric and Energy, Natural Resources and Environment, Election Commission, Planning Finance and Investment, Religion and Culture, Agriculture Livestock and Aggregation and Ethnics Affairs.³



NUG has specifically urged employees from the education sector to join CDM. The military council announced a statement that Basic Education Schools would be open for the 2022 school year. On 23 May 2022, a representative of the Basic Education Congress; U Naung Cho said that although it is an



3. Data collected and analyzed by Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica.

individual choice whether to go back to schools or not, it should be remembered that CDM is the most important and if the people do not join the movement in solidarity, no revolution can win. (စစ်အာဏာရှင်ယန္တရားကိုဖြိုဖျက်ရန်ပြည်သူ့လူထု CDM ကအရေးကြီးဆုံးဟုအခြေခံပညာရေးညီလာခံမှကိုယ်စားလှယ်ပြော, 2022) While the military council has been putting tremendous efforts to regulate the administration mechanisms, on the one hand, NUG has also carried out counter actions like these to stop it and for people to not return to their workplaces.

However, with the revolution shifting towards armed revolution, CDM support in sectors like education and banking has dimmed, and the attention comes to focus mainly on the military council soldiers and polices leaving their work. Around May 2022, according to the NUG Ministry of Education, Deputy Minister; Dr. Sai Khaing Myo Tun, although around 240,000 Education Staffs left their works, the Ministry could only support 2%. Similarly, although there were 60,000 medical staffs who left their work, about 10,000 returned to their work after a year. Additionally, according to the CDM Medical Network, only 47,000 are still standing in solidarity with those who left their work. Among them, the CDM Medical Network could only financially support less than 500 staffs. (အရှိန်လျှော့ကျလာတဲ့အာဏာဖီဆန်ရေးလှုပ်ရှားမှု, 2022)



**Calls to resign from work
towards military council's armed groups by**

Mainstream Coalition

Rewards for soldiers who have left the military were repeatedly announced and awarded in cash while CDM from other sectors were barely listed. “People’s Embrace” was also formed to support the CDM soldiers and police. (ပြည်သူ့ရှေ့တန်းတပ်မတော်သားများကိုကူညီစောင့်ရှောက်ရေး, 2021) It includes CDM soldiers, police and the citizens who support the Civil Disobedience Movement. Some military officers joined the movement and joined “People’s Embrace”. The group stated that CDM code issuance activities, including policy discussions for army and police CDMs, are being scrutinized by the “People’s Embrace” team in collaboration with the Ministry of Defense – National Unity Government of Myanmar.

Even in the early days, on 23, August, 2021, NUG made an announcement stating that it will take care of the salaries, work years and job positions of the soldiers and polices who joined the Civil Disobedience Movement. The

announcement includes 5 points, mainly stating that these CDM soldiers and police will be made sure that they and their families will be safe and will be provided financial compensation. It needs to be aware that when soldiers and police leave their workplaces, they will be severely punished when they are arrested. However, even with that, the government staffs who leave their workplaces and those soldiers and polices should be supported and embraced the same as both categories have participated in the revolution with the same level of enthusiasm.



The military council tank roaming the streets (Source : The 74 Media)

The Mainstream Coalition has made several persuasive announcements which targeted the military council armed groups to leave their positions. These movements come from the belief that removing one military council soldier is like reducing one person who could kill the revolutionary groups. Although Dr. Zaw Wai Soe announced that government employees would be no longer accepted when they join CDM after March 31, 2021, several military council soldiers are still highly appraised and financially supported for leaving their posts to this day. In 2022, the military council's airstrike attacks intensified which results in numerous casualties among civilians.

Therefore, NUG made announcements to encourage the military council members to join the CDM while, to be able to reduce the airstrike attacks on the other hand. In the announcement, it was said that those military council members who join CDM by destroying the gunships, helicopters, and

planes will be rewarded with 500,000 USD or 10,000,000 Myanmar Kyats. Similarly, the announcement also included that if the helicopters and fighter jets are destroyed while they are parked at the station, a reward of 300,000 USD or 6,000,000. (လေယာဉ်ရဟတ်ယာဉ်တိုက်ရေယာဉ်နှင့်တကွပြည်သူ့ရင်ခွင်သို့ ခိုလှုံလာလျှင်ဆုငွေအမေရိကန်ဒေါ်လာ၅သိန်းချီးမြှင့်မည်ဟု NUG ထုတ်ပြန်, 2022)

In these scenarios, NUG has emphasized the joining of military council members in the Civil Disobedience Movement. These announcements and beliefs also come from the belief that when one soldier leaves their post, it means less human resource for the military council.

6

Civil Disobedience Movement

under the effects of

Social Influencers

Civil Disobedience Movement is also greatly encouraged by several social influencers and lobbyists on social media. The social influencers are driven by their enthusiasm and their standing grounds in this Spring Revolution. Therefore, there can be persuasions based on feelings and emotions. However, some are attentive with their word choices and are aware of the impact of their words.



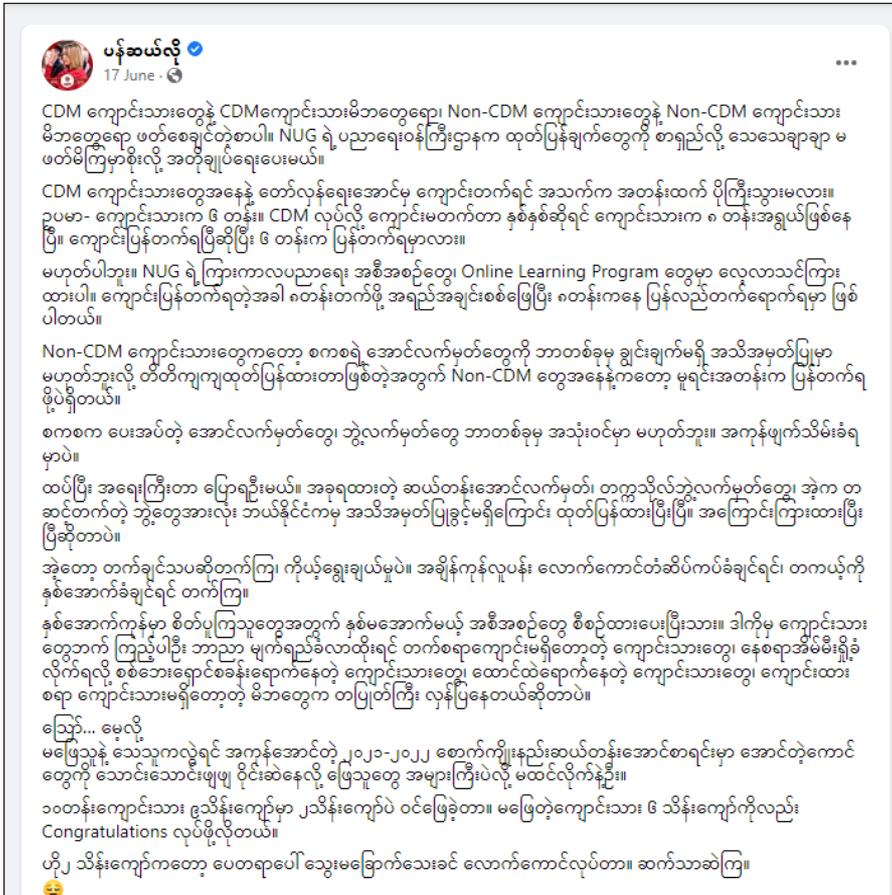
Speech of U Minn Ko Naing

U Min Ko Naing, a democracy activist who is the most popular activist after Daw Aung San Su Kyi according to “The New York Times”, also initially encouraged the people to participate in the “Civil Disobedience Movement” in this Spring Revolution. In early February 2021, U Min Ko Naing stated that, “this week is the most important that will decide what the future holds”. (*Naing, 2021*) He also said that “even the vendors will cook and provide meals for those who participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement by leaving their workplaces. If this call to join CDM succeed, our revolution will succeed as well. Our country is not the only one rebelling against the military dictatorship. Therefore, this is a new curriculum for everyone”. (*Naing, 2021*)

Giving hopes like these to the revolutionaries and to those who chose to leave their workplaces, were indeed powerful and encouraging in the early period of the revolution. However, as the revolution extended to almost 2 years by now, it became difficult for both the staffs who left their workplaces and for the supporters. As CDM supporters are mostly helping within their own capabilities, without reliable, promising support from the higher levels, it became burdensome to continue supporting the staff who left their jobs; especially when economy has been rapidly declining during the previous year.

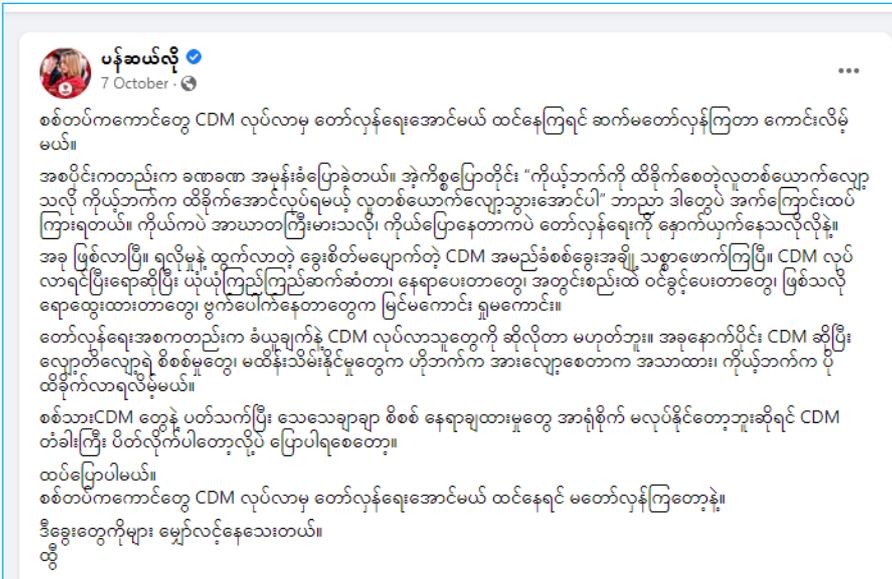
Among the many social influencers, who are actively participating in this Spring Revolution, “Pancello” is well-known for her great enthusiasm towards amplifying the people’s emotions upon the Spring Revolution. She has written several posts encouraging government staff to quit their jobs and students to not go back to school, according to NUG’s announcements. She encouraged students to not return to government schools under the military council rule just as NUG has announced. (*ပန်ဆယ်လို့, 2022*)

NUG has been massively prompting the members of SAC to leave their positions and participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement regardless of its initial announcement that it would no longer accept further participation in

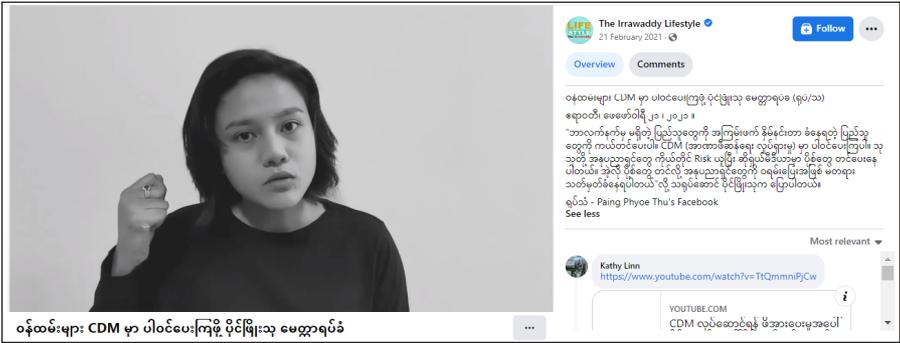


“Although it’s true that when one soldier leaves his position, there’s one less person who will harm the revolutionary groups. But without proper investigations, rules and regulations, it only brings more casualties for our revolutionary groups.”

the Civil Disobedience Movement after March 2021. Pancello also shares her personal opinions on this NUG’s mass support towards the armed groups under the military council. Apparently, these emphasized persuasions towards armed groups can be unreasonable in her perspective. (ပန်ဆယ်လို့, 2022)



PaingPhyoe Thu, an actress who actively participated in the revolution also posted videos on social media, calling people to “participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement” as it is the “life” of the revolution and that they are risking their lives posting on social media, encouraging the staffs to leave their workplaces. (Thu, 2021) She is still making fundraising campaigns



within her capability, such as selling her own handmade things to support the GS-CDMers.

Calls to participate in Civil Disobedience Movements are not nonsenses. People are actually supporting those who leave their workplaces. Aren't you pity of those who lost their lives? Please join CDM if you pity those who lost their lives.

Travel by Naw Htike
5 March 2021 · 🌐

CDM ဝန်ထမ်းတွေအတွက် နောက်ဆုံးအကြိမ် ခေါ်ဆိုခြင်းပါ။

(၈.၃.၂၀၂၁) ကစပြီး ရုံးတတ်တဲ့သူတိုင်းဟာ သူတို့ကိုယ်တိုင်သမာက သူတို့မိဘ၊ အဘိုးအဘွား၊ သူတို့သားသမီး မြေးမြစ် တွေအထိ "ဘဝသေတော့မှာပါ"

ဘဝ သေတယ်ဆိုတာ လွတ်ထွေးခွက်ထဲမှာ သေသည်အထိနေရမှာ။
ဖျားနာလို့ ဆေးကုမယ်ဆိုရင်တောင် ဆေးကုပေးမယ့်သူမရှိတာ။
ယုတ်စွအဆုံး ရေခဲခါလို့ ရေဝယ်သောက်မယ်ဆို ရေရောင်းမယ့်သူမရှိတာ။

ထပ်ပြောပါမယ်
ပြည်သူတွေက တအားနာနေပါပြီ။
ရန်/ငါ ပြတ်နေပါပြီ။
ရတဲ့နည်းတဲ့ အပြုတ်ဆော်ဖို့ ကြိုးစားနေပါပြီ။
အရင်ကလို မေတ္တာရှင်ကြီးတွေမဟုတ်တော့ဘူး။
မျက်ရည်ထိုးခံလည်း စေ့စွက်ထိကနေ ထွက်မရအောင် ဝိုင်းသမ မှာပါ။
သေအောင်တော့ မသတ်ဘူးစိတ်ချ။

အဲ့လိုဘဝမျိုးမှာ တစ်သက်လုံးနေချင်ရင်တော့ သဘောပါ။
မတရားမှုကို လစ်လျူရှုတဲ့သူတိုင်းဟာ ဘဝ အဆက်ဆက် လူ့မစင်တွေကြားထဲ အသက်ဆက်ရမယ်ဆိုတာကို မယုံဘူးဆို သဘောပါ။

လမ်းမှာတွေ့ရင်တော့ "ထို့" ခနဲ့ အထွေးမခံရအောင် ဂရုစိုက်ပါ။

Edit - အစိုးရရုံးဝန်ထမ်းတွေ ဦးစားပေး ရုံးမတက်ရပါဘူး။ ပုပ္ပလိက ဘဏ်ဝန်ထမ်းများနဲ့ CDM လုပ်သူများအားလုံးကို လေးစားပါတယ်။

#CivilDisobedienceMovement

CDM မပြုလုပ်သူဝန်ထမ်းများ ခင်ဗျား

ယခုအကြိမ်သည် နောက်ဆုံးအကြိမ် ခေါ်ယူခြင်း၊ တောင်းပန်ခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ CDM တံခါး ပိတ်ပါတော့မည်။ အမှားနဲ့ အမှန်၊ တရားမှုနဲ့ မတရားမှု ၊ ဓမ္မနဲ့ အဓမ္မ ခွဲခြားပါတော့မည်။ ပြည်သူ့တက်မှာ ရပ်မှာလား။ အာဏာရှင် လူသတ်သမားများ တက်မှာ ရပ်မှာလား ဆုံးဖြတ်ကြပါ။ အကယ်၍ CDM မပြုလုပ်ပါက ၊ ယခုလာမည့် တနင်္လာနေ့ ၈/၃/၂၀၂၁ နေ့မှ စ၍ ရုံး တက်ရန် မလိုတော့ပါ။ ပြည်သူ့အစိုးရမှ ၊ ယခု နေ့ဦးတော်လှန်ရေး ၂၀၂၁ အရေးတော်ပုံတွင် ကျဆုံးခဲ့ကြ သော ဝန်ထမ်းများနှင့် ပြည်သူများအတွက် ဝမ်းနည်းခြင်း အထိမ်းအမှတ်အနေဖြင့် ရုံးပိတ်ရက် ၁၀ရက် ကြေငြာတော့မည် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

သက်ဆိုင်ရာ ဌာနများ၊ ရုံးများ၊ ကျောင်းများ၊ တက္ကသိုလ်များကို CDM ဝန်ထမ်းများ ဆရာများ၊ ကျောင်းသားများမှ သိမ်းယူ၍ ပြည်သူ့အစိုးရနှင့် ပူးပေါင်းကာ ဆန္ဒပြကြတော့မည် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

CDM မပြုလုပ်သည့် ဝန်ထမ်းများအား ပြည်သူ့အစိုးရမှ အမိန့်စာ ထုတ်ပြန်၍ ပြည်သူ့အကျိုးကို လစ်လျူရှုသူများအဖြစ် ကြေငြာတော့မည်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

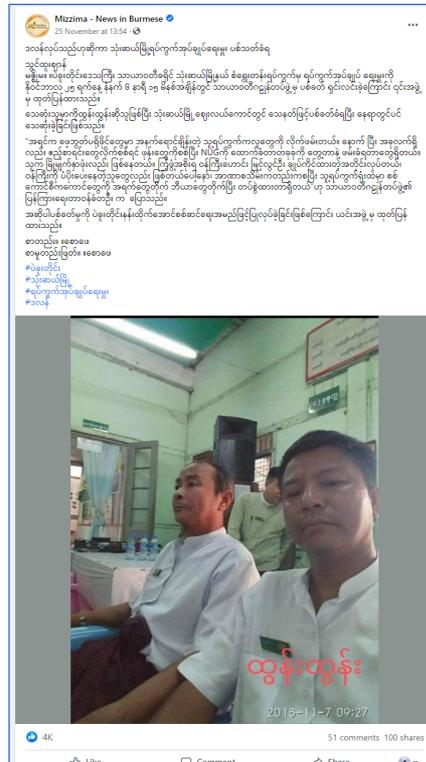
ဒေါက်တာ ဇော်ဝေဦး - ခေတ္တပြည်ထောင်စုဝန်ကြီး

Travel blogger Naw Htike also stated in the early 2021 about her opinions upon the Civil Disobedience Movement. She bluntly stated that the legacy of those who don't leave their workplaces will die for generations. She even gave credits to NUG Union Minister; Dr. Zaw Wai Soe and on his announcement which gave deadline to leave the workplaces by 8th March, 2021. (Htike, 2021)

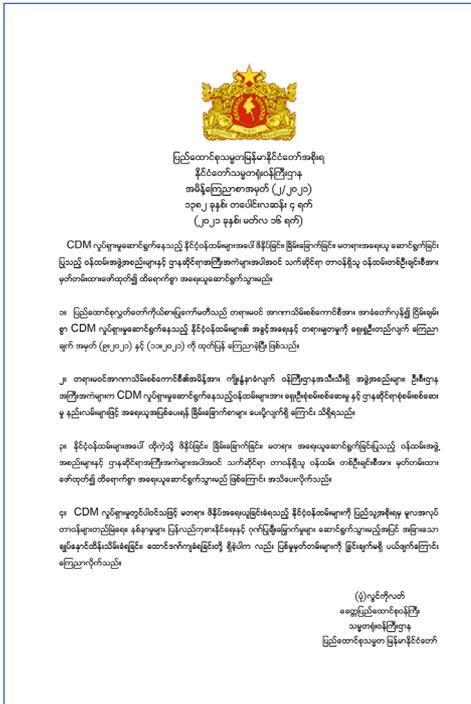
7

The effectiveness of announcements by NUG, CRPH, NUCC

When announcing statements and policies, the National Unity Government can be sometimes careless with their choice of words, which further had consequences upon those who join the Civil Disobedience Movement. As NUG and CRPH are one of the influential revolutionary coalitions which can lead and navigate the thinking and trend among the public, it is necessary to be conscious with the usage and policy that might come into conduct after the revolution. The wordings in the official announcements by NUG describing Non-CDM include “Informers of Sit Tat”, “Betrayers of Revolution and Justice”, “Followers of Sit Tat”, “Lackeys of the military council” and this brings more hatred to the society. For example; NUG announced in its statement that the military council’s Non-CDM lackeys in the upper administrative echelon are using various threats and putting pressure on staffs. (*Announcement (4/2021), 2021*) As a leading figure, it can bring



3. NUG ၏ ညွှန်းဆိုသုံးစွဲမှုများအတိုင်း တိုက်ရိုက်ဖော်ပြထားခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။



more harm and hatred between the public by dividing two layers of people which will hold high potential of putting fingers, threatening and violence.

Frankly, joining the Civil Disobedience Movement has always been a voluntary act and whether participating or not, cannot be standardized. The repeated announcements of CRPH and NUG in March and April of 2021 mentioned the severe punishment towards people who don't resign from all mechanisms. CRPH an-

nounced that those higher-level employees and organizations pressuring and threatening the employees who leave their workplaces will be monitored carefully and will be taken effective actions. *(အဓိန့်ကြေညာစာအမှတ် (၂/၂၀၂၁), 2021)*

The Civil Disobedience Movement is more than resigning from work. Delaying the workflow, leaking information of the military council, taking leaves and purposely delaying are also included. The interview of Dr. Zaw Wai Soe on 15th of April 2021 mentioning anyone who goes back to work forfeits the CDM and revolution. Limiting the understanding of the Civil Disobedience Movement and announcing to punish anyone who has different ways of



participating in revolution or not participating, shall only bring more hatred and violence which further brings consequences such as dehumanization.

In reality, those who didn't leave their workplaces have their own concerns and struggles to why they couldn't leave their workplaces. For example, doctors from government hospitals tend to choose not to quit their jobs as they worry that there would be difficulties for people who cannot afford for healthcare. Even though these doctors despise working under the administration of the military council, their sole concern is for the people and their health. This shows that the public service professionals, such as doctors and teachers don't care much about what the stakeholders or the public is saying about them. Their sole purpose is for the good of the people and to continue providing their services.

On the contrary, there are doctors whose perspectives contradict this. Some want to work under the military council and support them by giving information of the CDM doctors who quit their jobs. These doctors, they were warned by the PDFs to stop their actions. On March 23, 2022, Hmawbi Revolutionary Forces announced a statement to Doctor Khin Khin Gyi who has been forcefully invading private clinics and checking whether CDM doctors were working at those clinics or not. *(CDM ဆရာဝန်များကိုဖမ်းဆီးရန်ညွှန်ကြားသည် ဟုဆိုကာဒေါက်တာခင်ခင်ကြီးသတိပေးခံရ, 2022)* NUG has also dismissed Khin Khin Gyi from her position, but she continued to work under the Ministry of Health under the military council.

Around March 2021, the military council was carrying out several threatening towards the CDM participants from the Myanmar railway department, forcing them out of their government housing. Later, on March 14, 2021, Union Minister; Dr. Zaw Wai Soe made an announcement stating that there is no need for the CDM participants to move out of their homes. The announcement included that if the military council pressures and threatens the railway employees, civilians should help each other to drive out the military council soldiers. *(အမိန့်ကြေငြာချက်၃/၂၀၂၁, 2021)* Announcements like this can put CDM participants in difficult positions whether to follow the guidelines or to seek safety of their own. Indeed, the CDM participants have concerns when

this statement was announced, and requested NUG to provide shelter for the railway employees who had to leave their houses. NUG tend to give instructions and guidelines towards the CDM participants yet little actions were taken to take responsibility for those instructions.

NUG also warned the superiors from private banks not to threaten and pressure the CDM participants in the banking sector. It stated that halt-



Ma-Hlwa-Kone railway employees forced to leave their homes by SAC

(Source: The Irrawaddy-Burmese Edition)



ပြည်ထောင်စုလူ့အဖွဲ့အစည်းနှင့်ဆက်စပ်၍
 ရန်ကင်းစော့ အထူးစော့ အထူးစော့ အထူးစော့ အထူးစော့ အထူးစော့ အထူးစော့
 အစီရင်ခံစာအရ (၃/၂၀၂၁)
 ၁၃၈၂ ခုနှစ်၊ တစ်လဆန်း ၂ ရက်
 (၂၀၂၁ ခုနှစ်၊ မတ်လ ၁၅ ရက်)

CDM ပြည်သူ့ဝန်ထမ်းများအား အသိပေးတိုက်တွန်းခြင်း

အပြည်ပြည်ဆိုင်ရာ အလုပ်သမားဥပဒေ၊ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်အလုပ်သမား ဥပဒေကြမ်းအရ မည်သည့်ဝန်ထမ်းလည်း အချိန်တိုကာလအတွင်း အစီရင်ခံစာပေး၍ မိမိ ခေ့တိုင်ရာနေရာမှ ထုတ်ပယ်ခံရနိုင်ပါသည်။ ထိုဝန်ထမ်းများ အပြစ် ခေ့တိုင်ရာ ခေ့ရာ ခေ့ကာတစ်ခု စီစဉ်၍ အကြောင်းပြောသော ပြောင်းရွှေ့ရမည် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

အကြမ်းဖက်အုပ်စုအားလုံးကန့်သတ်မှုများ ပြည်သူ့ဝန်ထမ်းအိမ်ရာများတွင် ခေ့ တိုင်လျက်ရှိသော CDM ဝန်ထမ်းများအား နည်းမျိုးစုံဖြင့် မိန့်ကား ဖယ်ရှားကြရန် ညွှန်ကြားနေသည့်တိုင်တွေ့ရှိရပြီး CDM ဝန်ထမ်းများသည် ပြည်သူ့ဝန်ထမ်း အိမ်ရာ များမှ ထွက်ခွာကြရန်အလိုအပ်ပါကြောင်းနှင့် ပြည်သူ့ဝန်ထမ်းများသည် ကြောက်ရွံ့ စွန့်ခွာသော CDM အောင်ရွက်ကာ ပြည်သူ့ဝန်ထမ်းအိမ်ရာများတွင် ဆက်လက်ခေ့တိုင် ရမည်ဖြစ်ကြောင်း အသိပေးတိုက်တွန်းအပ်ပါသည်။

ပြည်သူ့ဝန်ထမ်းအိမ်ရာများတွင် ခေ့တိုင်သော CDM ဝန်ထမ်းများအား အ ကြမ်းဖက်အုပ်စုများမှ လာရောက်ဖိအားပေး အကြမ်းဖက် ဖယ်ရှားလာမည်ဆိုပါက ပြည်သူများမှ ဝန်ထမ်းတိုက်လှုပ်ပေးကြပါရန် တိုက်တွန်းအပ်ပါသည်။

(၆)အခြေခံစာအုပ်စာရင်း
 ခေ့ဆွဲပြည်ထောင်စုဝန်ကြီး

Source:: Ministry of Health-NUG

ing the job opportunities of the CDM participants should be avoided in particular and to immediately stop the discriminations and threatening. However, the announcement didn't include specific policies on how it will take action upon the superiors who threaten and pressure the CDM participants. (ဘဏ်လုပ်ငန်းရှင်တွေက CDM ဝန်ထမ်းတွေကိုဖိနှိပ်တာတွေ မလုပ် ဇွဲ NUG သတိပေး, 2021) Throughout

2021 and 2022, there are 27 announcements about Civil Disobedience Movement by Mainstream Coalition.⁴ These announcements include calls from the early period in 2021, to participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement, announcements upon those who don't leave their workplaces, rejections upon Military Council's attempts to make students return to schools, providing job opportunities for GS-CDMers, announcements upon military council's armed groups, etc.

However, to sustain the CDM, NUG paid more attention to rewards and support through donations, lottery and fundraising on the other hand. Since August 15, 2021, NUG has initiated NUG Lottery(NwayOoHtii) to support the CDM participants. It is using 70 percent of its lottery money to support the CDM participants and 30 percent for the lottery prizes. On August 24, 2021, NUG Planning, Finance and Investment Union Minister U Tin Htun Naing made an announcement that the money received from the NUG Lottery to support 410,000 CDM participants. (နွေဦးထီရောင်းရငွေနှင့် CDMဝန်ထမ်းတွေကိုထောက်ပံ့မယ့်အကြောင်း NUG ပြော, 2021)



4. Numbers collected by NLTA from social media.

8

Counter Actions by The Military Council upon CDM

While the revolutionary groups have been massively encouraged to join the Civil Disobedience Movement, the military council on the other hand is still carrying out several attempts to reduce the power of the movement to this day.



Source: Myanmar Platform

In the early days of 2021, when people highly anticipated in leaving the workplace as a Civil Disobedience Movement, the government staffs from railway department led the movement by taking action and left their work. Consequently, they were the ones who were heavily pressured and threatened

by the military council to leave their government housing. While the military council raided their homes and destroyed their belongings, the railway staffs held their position and said that they won't return to their workplaces until the truly appointed leaders of the country are released from detainment.



Railway Employees protesting on the streets of Yangon (Source: Myanmar Now)

Similarly, government staffs from health sector, education sector are then pressured in the later months when they left their workplaces as a portrayal of participating in the “Civil Disobedience Movement”. Artists and celebrities who announced their solidarity of standing together with the citizens to rebel against the military council were also captured and threatened, under the law code 505(A). Law code 505(A) is sued towards those who incite to destroy the name of the “Tatmadaw”.

Many GS-CDMers are helping the revolution in ways that they can; such as the healthcare GS-CDMers providing healthcare for the revolutionary armed groups. These GS-CDMers are abducted and brutally tortured by the military council and even killed within a few days after being abducted. On October 29, 2022, a nurse from Central Women’s Hospital in Mandalay who was abducted by the military council with the reason of supporting healthcare for the PDFs was brutally tortured and killed a few days later. The military council has captured more than 30 healthcare staffs in Mandalay suing them



ပိုးသန္တာအောင်



မင်းတော်ဦး(ခ)နေမျိုးဦး



SAC announcing abducted healthcare staffs including Daw Poe Thandar Aung who was killed
(Source: Myanmar Now)

that they have been providing medical supports to PDFs in Sagaing. (PDF ကို ဆေးဝါးထောက်ပံ့မှုစွဲချက်နဲ့ ဖမ်းဆီးခံရတဲ့ မန္တလေးက CDM သူနာပြုဆရာမစစ်ကြော ရေးမှာ ကျဆုံးဟုဆို၊ 2022)

Just recently, on December 28, 2022, the Military Council has announced to shut down 5 private hospitals in Mandalay. According to the health care staffs, they are facing many difficulties as several doctors and nurses are now jobless and the patients are suffering from the consequences. (မန္တလေး မှုပုဂ္ဂလိကဆေးရုံ၅ခုအပိတ်ခံရ၊ 2022)

The military council has been specifically threatening and pressuring the healthcare workers lately. When several healthcare workers left their jobs as government employees and turn their professions to private healthcare workers, SAC come to put special attention upon these employees, to make the lives of people in the city center difficult.

9

Controversies of **Mainstream Coalition's announcements upon** **Civil Disobedience** **Movement**

There have been several cases in which the civil servants who have not resigned were threatened and sometimes killed by revolutionary armed forces. The threatened Non-CDMers include teachers and education staff, local administration staff, telecommunication staff, judiciary, and medical staff. In reality, there are instances where those who did not leave their workplaces are giving information of the GS-CDMers and cooperating with the military council to abduct the GS-CDMers. Additionally, there are many beliefs that continuing to work under the military council is indeed helping with the administrative mechanism of SAC and is making the revolution last longer. These factors can be the reason why every staffs who didn't leave their workplace are being threatened as a whole, regarding them as military supporters and "Dalans". However, it should be remembered that some people are supporting the revolutionaries while still working in their workplaces.

When CRPH announced the right to self-defense on March 14, 2021, stating that "according to the provisions on rights of self-defense of Chapter 4 criminal procedures, the people have the full right to defend themselves; and that the responses by means of self-defense according to the law by anyone either individuals or ward/village community groups or groups ac-

ording to the areas or townships, shall not be considered as criminal acts”.
(Statement Informing the Right of Citizens to Practice Self-defense in Response to Terrorist Violence, 2021)

Government staffs and township administrators who did not leave their jobs are mostly warned by armed revolutionary groups as these administrators are infamous for giving information of the GS-CDMers to the military council groups. On 24 October 2021, Non-CDM staff Htein Win @ YanKinMaung from Myanmar Railway Department was shot and killed in Yangon by anonymous shooters. A railway staff said that, Htein Win was an informant and a non-CDM employee. When railway CDMers were forced to move out of their homes, the names were reported to the military council by him and it was assumed that it was why he was killed. *(မြန်မာ့မီးရထားမှစစ်ကောင်စီသတင်းပေးဟုစွပ်စွဲခံရသော Non - CDM ဝန်ထမ်းထိန်ဝင်း (ခ) ရန်ကင်းမောင်ကိုပစ်သတ်သွားသည့်ဗီဒီယိုထွက်ပေါ်, 2021)* Although these kinds of killings are anonymous, it could be drawn to conclusion that these attacks are carried out by pro-revolutionary groups based on “wartime thinking”. When this new is uploaded on social media, it can be seen that the public is encouraging these threats and killings towards the government staff who didn’t leave their workplaces.

Although the Ministry of Defense - NUG has announced a military code of conduct for armed revolutionary groups to follow, little follow-up actions are carried out to make these armed revolutionary groups abide by the rules. Without solid rules, regulations and a chain of command in the armed revolutionary groups, several casualties emerge in the revolution. In this Spring Revolution People’s Defense Forces (PDFs), PaKaPha and guerrilla groups are all fighting against the military council with the same goal which is to cease the existence of the military council. However, without proper guidelines, they can disarray from their sole purpose of bringing down the military junta. They come to violate human rights unintentionally, killing people under their “appeal to war”.

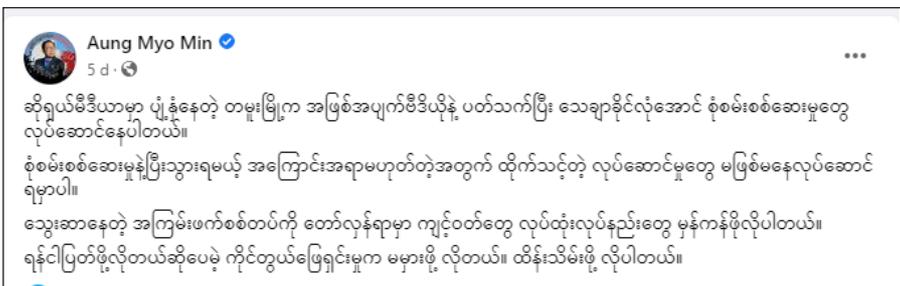
When these human rights violations occur, it seems as if NUG or CRPH are not taking effective actions. In 2021 November, Bo Than Ma Ni’s armed revolutionary group under the NUG-Ministry of Defense killed more than 21

PDFs in LaBo village, YinmarBin township, Sagaing as stated by the Spring Revolution Interfaith Network. However, in the confession statement by NUG–Ministry of Defense, there are only 10 people responsible for the case. The list includes 6 other PDFs, 2 civilians and 2 firefighters who were killed due to personal issues. (ဗိုလ်သံမဏီအဖွဲ့လူသတ်မှုကိုNUG ၏ကိုင်တွယ်ပုံဝေဖန်ခံနေရ, 2022) NUG later made an announcement stating that they will support the families of the killed PDFs. However, no clear announcement was made on how NUG would take action on BoThanMaNi’s group who committed the crime.

Most recently, there was a case where a woman was tortured and killed in Tamu township, Sagaing by PDF members. The video of the woman being tortured and shot to death was uploaded on social media. According to a local PDF member, the killed woman was a member of “PyuSawHtee” who informed the military council when a17-year-old PDF went to the market who was arrested and brutally killed by the military and therefore, this could be the reason why the woman in the video was killed by the local PDFs. (တမူးမှ အမျိုးသမီးကိုသတ်ဖြတ်ခဲ့သည့်PDF များအားNUG အရေးယူမည်ဟုဆို, 2022).

NUG – Humanitarian Minister; U Aung Myo Min announced that thorough investigations are now being undergone. (Aung Myo Min, 2022) NUG–Ministry of Defense secretary U Naing Htoo Aung also said that necessary investigations are being made to carry out required actions.

During war and conflicts, soldiers and armed groups sometimes have no choice but to make killings towards the opposing group due to their military regulations. When taking action upon a person, it should be in accordance with the pre-established law of the military and the battlefield, and according to the responsible decision of the group, in a way that it preserves the human dignity. Moreover, such killings should not be revengeful nor based



on hatred and malice.

This dehumanizing, degrading words such as “Dalan” can bring several consequences in the revolution. With the Mainstream Coalition announcing the right to defend using arms against the military council groups, these consequences followed throughout the revolution. Reckless killings of people without thorough investigations impose negative effects upon the revolution and the unity of the revolutionaries. In this Tamu killing case, although the exact time and the actors who committed the crime were unknown, the situation was heavily criticized and questioned. On the one hand, there are many cases in which SAC killed many people for leaving their jobs and participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement. However, on the other hand, the military council can use the technique of blaming the armed revolutionary groups and using it as a weapon stating that the PDFs are killings those who continued working (the Non-CDMers).

10

Announcements of Armed Revolutionary Groups on Civil Disobedience Movement

Not only the announcements by the stakeholder such as NUG and CRPH, but also the warnings and threatening by the armed revolutionary groups significantly intensified in 2022. People with guns, even without being under the control of the NUG Ministry of Defense or Ethnic Revolutionary Groups or the People Defense Forces, came to threaten the lives of the government staffs who didn't leave their workplaces. PDFs with their own chain of commands have also released announcements warning on the government staffs who continued working to leave their workplaces or else, they would attack. On January 2, 2022, Okpho Commando under the “Anti-Fascist and People's Power Building Front” released an announcement warning government staffs and administrators in Okpho to



leave their workplaces within 5 days of their announcement or they would attack. They also stated that they have bombed the Non-CDM staffs the day before that and there were injuries but unconfirmed. (အုတ်ဖိုမြို့က စစ်ကောင်စီ ခန့်အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူးများနှင့် Non-CDM ဝန်ထမ်းများကို ယနေ့မှစပြီး ၅ ရက်အတွင်း မနှုတ်ထွက်ပါကတိုက်ခိုက်တော့မည်ဟုဖတပအသတ်ပေး, 2022)

Sometimes the revolutionary groups tend to forget that dehumanizing violating word usage and actions which are based on hatred shouldn't be made against the employees who didn't leave their workplaces. According to the Geneva Convention, specifically the Fourth Convention of the Geneva Convention, the civilians must never be attacked, tortured or discriminated against. Technically, those who don't leave their works; "the Non-CDMers" are indeed citizens of the country and the non-combatants as they don't possess arms nor fighting in the war. Even the prisoners of war (POWs) are not to be tortured or treated poorly when they are captured from the other side, according to the Third Convention of the Geneva Convention. Therefore, when making announcements regarding the Non-CDMers by the armed revolutionary groups, it should be done according to the mandates of the Geneva Convention.

Conclusion

During conflicts, the ideology and thinking of people can be different from Peace Time Thinking. During conflict and war time thinking, like the current Spring Revolution, people only tend to see with “us and them” ideology, thinking that there are only pro-revolutionary groups and those who are deteriorating the revolution, as in “the military council” and “the Mainstream Coalition” groups. This can lead to people believing that those who don’t support the NUG or CRPH are supporting the military council. However, this Spring Revolution just like any other revolution around the world is not a black and white picture, as people’s perceptions can change according to the time and situation. According to Maung Myint Zaw, (*Zaw, 2014*) during Peace Time Thinking, the root causes of the problems and ways to solutions are discussed among opposing groups. However, during conflicts, people think that the end result is what matters only and any paths, even violent paths can be used to achieve the desired end result. In Peace Time Thinking, the idea that “in any group, there is diversity” is noticeable. However, in War Time Thinking, these ideas disappear, thinking that the opposing group is in just one form and under one belief.

In this Spring Revolution, these ideologies greatly influence the people, and even the stakeholders such as CRPH, NUG, NUCC, and the armed revolutionary groups, especially on this Civil Disobedience Movement which led to Mainstream Coalition’s announcements upon government staffs who didn’t leave their workplaces and the violent actions taken towards the opposing groups by the armed revolutionary groups. Additionally, social influencers

who have a great deal of influence on the people are also influenced by these ideologies, thinking that if only all employees leave their workplaces, taking down the military council would be possible. Sometimes, personal opinions upon the revolution can be disruptive as they do not fall into the rules and regulations of the international human right standards.

The informants, “Dalan” are indeed a burden to the revolution. The so-called “Non-CDMers”, those who didn’t leave their workplaces can also be said that they are slowing down the revolution. However, this doesn’t mean that they are on the same level nor these people deserve to be killed nor be punished. Therefore, it should be remembered that there are always two sides of the story. To take actions towards either group, thorough investigations under valid rules and regulations, and according to the Geneva Convention should be made to make righteous effective actions. Therefore, when "Dalan" problems appear, the Mainstream Coalition need to implement policies to take effective actions.

The Mainstream Coalition, revolutionary groups, ethnic revolutionary organizations, the social influencers and the people, all have their own perspectives, definitions and beliefs about the Civil Disobedience Movement. It needs to be remembered that CDM is in fact, one of the factors pushing toward the success of the revolution. Leaving the workplace will indeed slow down the mechanism of the Military Council, but in reality, it is impossible for every single individual to leave their workplace. Therefore, pressuring people to participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement, without the capability to provide all their necessities is not the answer to this revolution.

Moreover, the Mainstream Coalition’s announcements as stated above, upon the GS-CDMers and the ‘Non-CDMers’; those who leave their workplaces and those who continue working, could create the distance between the two groups. Dehumanizing words and hatred-based announcements are not to be easily portrayed as they can have several consequences and such actions need to be taken responsibility in the future. Since CRPH, NUCC and NUG are also one of the revolutionary groups in this revolution, in addition to its formation as an interim government, it should be remembered that they

have the ability to influence the people and their interviews and announcements can affect the revolution to a great extent.

After almost 2 years of the Spring Revolution, it seems that Mainstream Coalition has come to listen to the recommendations and advice of the Civil Servant Organizations, Ethnic Revolutionary Organizations and the voices of the citizens. Mainstream Coalition has made several announcements upon the Civil Disobedience Movement under the enthusiasm of the revolution and the desire to win this revolution. However, it can be seen that a hopeful spark is igniting within the stakeholders, agreeing that not all employees who didn't leave their workplaces are destructive to this revolution nor they should be punished in the transitional period. Although some human rights violations are still happening in the Operating, on ground revolutionary groups due to yet undefined rules, those stakeholders have slowly come to accept this ideology. In order to build an inclusive, equal and just society in the future, this is a good start and a hopeful ignition for this Spring Revolution.

Glossary List

GS-CDMers	General Service Government staffs who leave their workplaces.
Non-CDMers	Government Staffs who do not leave their workplaces.
505 (A)	<p>“Cause fear, spread false news, agitate directly or indirectly criminal offences against a Government employee</p> <p>505A. Whoever</p> <p>(a) causes or intends to cause fear to a group of citizens or to the public;</p> <p>(b) causes or intends to spread false news, knowing or believing that it is untrue;</p> <p>(c) causes or intends to commit or to agitate directly or indirectly criminal offences against a Government employee, any kind of Government employees or Government employees;</p> <p>such a person shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.”</p>
Mainstream Coalition	Comprising of CRPH, NUCC and NUG
Geneva Conventions	The Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols is a body of Public International Law, also known as the Humanitarian Law of Armed Conflicts, whose purpose is to provide minimum protections, standards of humane treatment, and fundamental guarantees of respect to individuals who become victims of armed conflicts.

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