

Traces of Racial *and* *Religious Extremism*



Traces of Racial and Religious Extremism



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PREFACE

Ultrationalists and religious extremists have been spreading misinformation and disinformation that Buddhism is being tarnished and that Burmese people will be annihilated by other races and religions. They claim that Buddhism did not prosper when the National League for Democracy (NLD) was in power. This paper explains the distribution of fake news and hate speech discriminating against the Christian community, the Rohingya people and the Muslims. This paper further discusses that during the Spring Revolution, ultrationalists propagandize the army and their related community as the defender of Buddhism, the Burmese people and Myanmar whereas the opposition is portrayed as traitors to the country and the offenders of Buddhism. Furthermore, the transition of ultrationalists and religious extremists into political parties, education, media and armed groups in this current context and the utilization of ultrationalism as a political weapon are reviewed.

The public and political stakeholders must ensure that the racial and religious conflicts of the past are not repeated and that justice and protection are provided for the victims swiftly and effectively. The oppression that leads to racial and religious superiority must be abolished not only through legal means but through a cultural and ideological transformation of the society as a whole. Therefore, not to violate state-level racial and religious extremism, this paper explores the legal mechanism for the leading political factions of the Spring Revolution.

This paper hopes that during and post-Spring Revolution, it is possible to achieve a society where an individual's existence and beliefs are not discriminated against, oppressed, threatened or terrorized, where the instigations of such behavior are alerted, where diversity is valued and respected and where peaceful coexistence is possible.

Research Methodology

The movements and activities of ultranationalist forces monitored by the Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica and the propaganda posted on their social media pages and channels are analyzed with qualitative research method. The analysis will focus on the propaganda of ultranationalists and their actual involvement.

1

Background

The Myanmar army has consistently distributed racial and religious propaganda to distract the public who oppose them and their interests. Throughout history, the Myanmar army has portrayed itself as the defender of Buddhism, the Burmese people, and Myanmar from the threats of other races and other religions. The army-backed ultranationalist forces often voice that those opposed to the army's involvement in politics are disgracing race, religion and country and that the sovereignty of the nation must be protected by the army. Army-backed ultranationalists are increasingly involved in the current political context of Myanmar and therefore, it is essential to understand their movement and objectives.

After the 2020 elections, the USDP (the Union Solidarity and Development Party) held several press conferences calling for examining election results and for the army and the Union Election Commission to re-hold the general elections. The army publicly demanded an investigation on the election results. At the same time, ultranationalists-led protests against the Union Election Commission and the election result and pro-army rallies were held throughout the country. In the end, the army staged a military coup. Under the current military regime, the army has publicly recognized ultranationalist forces resulting in the expansion of their role and movements.



2 | *The Propaganda of Ultranationalists*

Ultrationalists have consistently spread propaganda on Burmese racial superiority and Buddhist extremism and after the military coup, these propagandas have been in connection with the current political context. Misinformation and disinformation with racial and religious extreme ideologies are distributed. They spread such propaganda not only through social media platforms such as Facebook and

Telegram, but also directly through local extremist Buddhist monks. Ultrationalist forces penetrated the media vacuum that materialized after the military coup and began attending the army’s press conferences, presenting daily news and discrediting media that oppose the army. Therefore, it is important to understand the propaganda of the ultrationalist forces.

2.1 The Narrative of Threat to end Buddhism

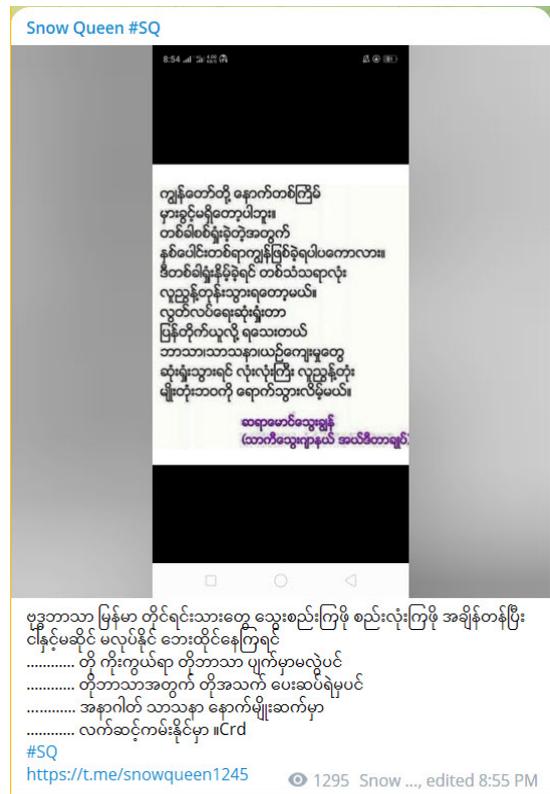
Ultrationalists constantly spread propagan-
da that the Burmese people and Buddhism
could cease to exist due to the schemes per-
petrated by other religions and other races.
This propaganda aimed at instigating fear and
resentment of the Buddhist Burmese commu-
nity towards other races and religions. Such a
narrative has been increasingly evident during
the Spring Revolution.



The Narrative of Threat to end Buddhism

This propaganda usually states that the NLD
(National League for Democracy) government
did not defend Buddhism, leading to the decline

of the image of Buddhism and allowing Bud-
dhism to be insulted. Because Christians were
employed in the NLD government and parlia-
ment and Muslim candidates from the NLD
party participating in the 2020 general elections,
they claim that a government led by other
races and believers of other religions would
lead to the end of Buddhism in the future.
Additionally, fake stories and false reports
allege that there have been agreements between
Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and OIC (Organization
of Islamic Cooperation).



The Narrative of Threat to end Buddhism

This propaganda also claims that foreign
countries with different religions are actively

Sitt Kell Gyi (သတင်းတမာန်)
 မြန်မာမြေပေါ်ကို အစ္စလာမ်အစွန်းရောက် IS တွေခြေချနေပြီ

ကရင်ပြည်နယ်မှာ ဒေါ်ကြည်ရဲ့အစီစဉ်နဲ့ KNU လက်အောက်ခံ မွတ်ဆလင်တပ်ရင်းရှိနေပြီဆိုတာကို ကျွန်တော်အကျယ်တဝင်တင်ပြပြီးပါပြီ။ အခုအဒိတပ်ရင်းမှာဘဲ PDF တွေကို အမေရိကန်ရဲကူညီဆောင်ရွက်မှုနဲ့ ထိုင်းနိုင်ငံကတဆင့် IS စစ်သွေးကြွတွေက စစ်ပညာနဲ့ ဝါဒရေးရာတွေကို သင်ပေးနေကြပါတယ်။

PDF ဟာ NLD ထောက်ခံသူ ရိုးရိုး GZ လေးတွေမဟုတ်တော့ပါဘူး။ ကမ္ဘာအကြမ်းဖက်အဖွဲ့ IS တွေရဲ့တပ်ညွှန်တွေဖြစ်နေပါပြီ။ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာကိုပါခြေဖျက်စီးမယ် မွတ်လင်တွေရဲ့လက်ကိုင်ခတ်တွေဖြစ်လာတာကြောင့် မြန်မာပြည်မှာရဲ့ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင် တိုင်းက PDF ကိုကောင်းကောင်းကြီး ဆန့်ကျင်ပညာပေးကြဖို့လိုနေပါပြီခင်ဗျာ။

168 သတင်း တမာန်, 11:04 AM



The Narrative of Threat to end Buddhism

working to end Buddhist Myanmar and to take it under their influence. Because the future of Myanmar is being destroyed, it is encouraged to teach Buddhist ethics courses, nationalism courses, and basic military training courses at schools. Additionally, to open mandatory youth refresher courses and to teach refresher courses at school are also encouraged. It is also encouraged to take action against private schools that do not close on Buddhist sabbath days but on the weekends.

Since every country prioritizes the religion that the majority of the population believes in, Buddhism that the majority of the population believes in should be prioritized in Myanmar. They draw convenient conclusions that religious

တပ်ကြပ်ကြီး မိုးစိ
 ဇာတ်ပြန်ပေါင်းရရင် လူအများသိကြတဲ့ စတန် ၇ နိုင်ငံလိုခေါ်တဲ့ ပါကစ္စတန် ၊ အာဖကန် နစ္စတန်၊ တာဂျစ်ကစ္စတန်၊ ကရစ်ဂစ္စတန်၊ တာခမ်မင်နစ္စတန်၊ ဥစဘက်ကစ္စတန်၊ ကာဇက် စတန်ဆိုတဲ့ နိုင်ငံတွေဟာ မြတ်စွာဘုရားရှင်လက်ထက်တော်က ယောနကတိုင်းနဲ့ကစ္စတန် တိုင်းလိုခေါ်တဲ့ တိုင်းကြီး နှစ်တိုင်းထဲကဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင် နိုင်ငံတွေပေါ့။ ခုတော့ အေဒီ (၁၁)ရာစုမှာကတည်းက ကွယ်ပျောက်သွားခဲ့ကြပါပြီလေ။ ဘာသာတစ်ခု ပျက်သန်း ကွယ်ပျောက်ရခြင်းဆိုတဲ့နေရာမှာ ဘာသာဝင်တွေ အချင်းချင်း မညီညွတ် ခြင်း၊ မိမိ ဘာသာ အပေါ် အယုံအကြည်ကင်းမဲ့လာခြင်း၊ သင်္ကန်းဝတ်ထားတိုင်းလေးစားဖို့ လို သလားဆိုတဲ့ လစ်ဘရယ်ဆန်တဲ့ အတွေးအခေါ်တွေ မိမိဝင်လာခြင်း၊ ဘာသာအားလုံး အပေါ်မှာ တန်းတူညီမျှ ဆိုတဲ့ အခြေခံစိတ်တွေ ထားရှိလာခြင်းတို့ကသာ အဓိက ကျခဲ့ တာမဟုတ်လား။

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UA 4 comments

The Narrative of Threat to end Buddhism

equality would be the end of Buddhism by referring to the decline of Buddhist believers in former Buddhist states.

2.2 The Defamation of the Christian community

While ultranationalists portray Buddhism as at risk of extinction, they also attack other religions and the believers of other religions. Hate speech often portrays the Christian community as they wish such as the Christian community is influenced by the Western countries due to their shared religion.

It is portrayed that the majority of the EROs (Ethnic Revolutionary Organizations) participating in the Spring Revolution are Christians but Buddhist EROs (Ethnic Revolutionary Organizations) such as Shan, Pa-O, Mon, DKBA (Democratic Karen Buddhist Army) and Shan-ni do not participate in the Spring Revolution. It is claimed that the revolutionary forces of

Traces of Racial and Religious Extremism



The Defamation of the Christian community

Kachin, Karen, Kayah and Chin consist of Christian majority and therefore, these forces are based on race and religion.

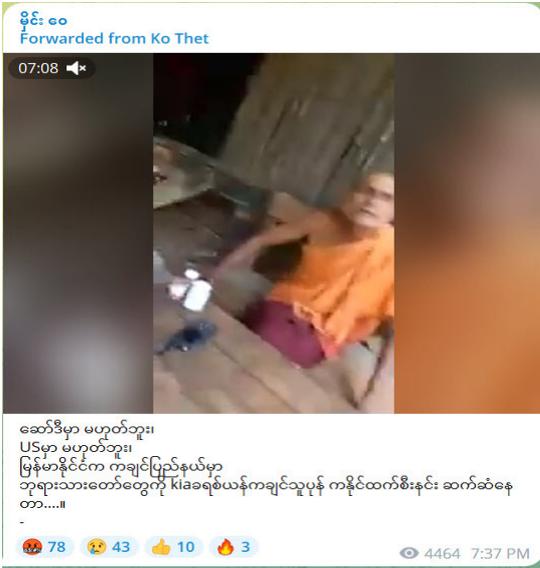
It is portrayed that because Christian Karen people terrorize Buddhist Karen people, DKBA split from KNU (Karen National Union). Additionally, KIA (Kachin Independence Army) has very strong racial and religious bias and hence is behind terrorist attacks on Buddhist monks and Buddhists as well as makes Burmese people kill each other.

When Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was in power, the positions of Vice President and several Ministries belonged to the Christian community and Muslim community. This propaganda also states that the Spring Revolution is currently led by NUG (National Unity Government) consisting of believers of other religions ma-

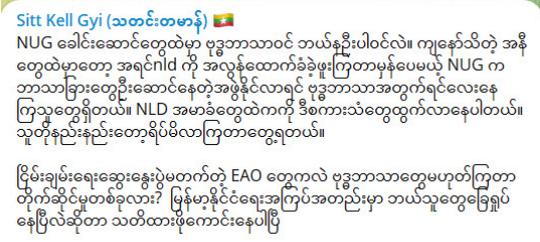


The Defamation of the Christian community

manipulating Buddhist PDFs (People's Defense Forces) to destroy the country and Buddhism.



The Defamation of the Christian community



The Defamation of the Christian community

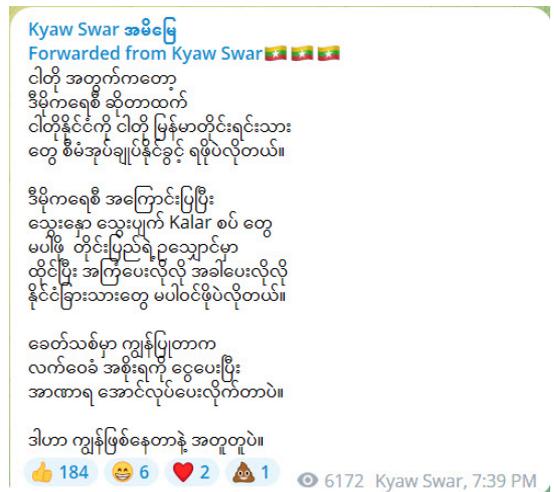
Traces of Racial and Religious Extremism

Islamic state, bombings occur in southern Thailand dominated by Islamic terrorists; or Buddhist Indonesian woman who complained of the noise from the mosques was jailed. Using photos from Thailand, it was written that 'Thai army now worshipping imam'. Based on this false information suggesting Buddhists would soon be dominated, it is concluded that Myanmar needs to be alert for the preservation of race and religion.

There were accusations that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi received funds from OIC to campaign for election with the promise that after the 2020 elections, the largest Arabic university will be built in Mawlamyine and Rohingya people will be accepted as citizens. Additionally, they claim that the NLD government demolished monasteries, jailed nationalists, did not permit nationalist private high schools, forced closure of monastic schools teaching Buddhist basic morals and public education for free. Enacting Child Rights Law during the NLD government term was to legally adopt children of other races and religions. It is also claimed that abolishing Guest Registration Act, Border Security Inspection Act, Surveillance Act, Emergency Provision Act, State Protection Law and Caste Disabilities Removal Act is the attempt of the NLD government to damage race and religion.

There are claims that the 2021 military opposition is backed by the Muslim community. Additionally, there are writings that PDFs include Muslims, 10 arrested from a Taunggyi mosque,

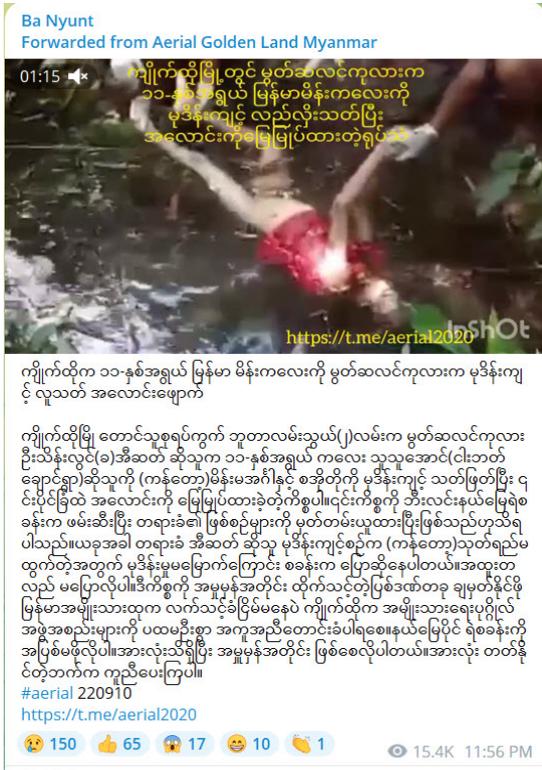
and that all mosques and Muslim residents must be searched. These writings also depict Muslims as traitors manipulating Buddhists to kill each other and take over the country. Fake news also claims that guns are supplied to Muslim residents and local mosques to perform Jihad like in Indonesia.



The Defamation of the Muslim Community



The Defamation of the Muslim Community



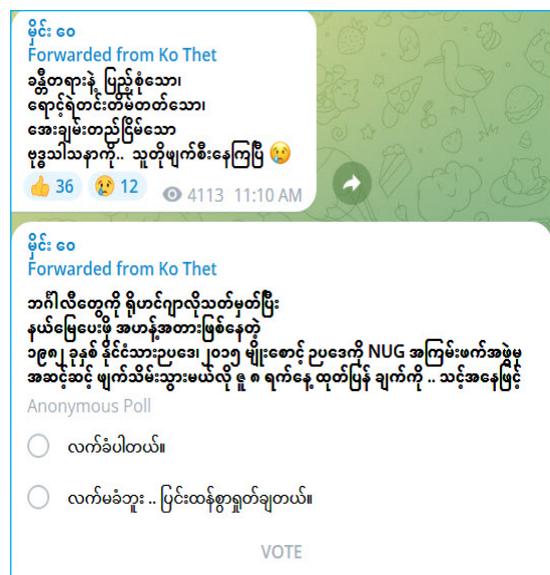
The Defamation of the Muslim Community

When informers notify the army of dissidents, Muslims are portrayed as “believers of other religions” and that they encourage the public to kill each other. News on crime use terms such as “kalar of other religions” to describe Muslims. Fake news also claims that 10 Muslims threatened to burn down a beer station in Meiktila, a Muslim in Myawaddy harassed a Burmese girl and that an 11-year-old Burmese girl was raped by a Muslim in Kyaikhto and her dead body was ditched. Employing a Muslim as a judge for Kyaukse Elephant Dance Competition or employing Muslims as gatekeepers at the Yangon University of Distance Education is heavily criticized with discriminatory comments. After the military coup, ultranationalists

expanded their activity to target Muslims through fake news on social media channels.

2.4 The Defamation of the Rohingya community

Since the SLORC (State Law and Order Restoration Council) period to today’s Military Council period, the Rohingya people have been labeled as ‘Bengali’ or ‘believers of Islam from Rakhine’ to deny their existence. For years, the state has been instrumental in suppressing and denying basic human rights such as freedom of movement, right to education and healthcare and right to citizenship, to the Rohingya people. When the Rohingya people attempt to leave Rakhine and resettle in other regions or to leave the country through Yangon, they are arrested and jailed. These incidents are reported in the news as the arrest of ‘illegal Bengalis’.



The Defamation of the Rohingya community

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It is claimed that the Rohingya people hold multiple identification cards to deceive the government. Moreover, it is claimed that previously in colonial times, the Rohingya people conspired with Indian soldiers under British command to slaughter the Rakhine people, rape Rakhine women and burn down Rakhine villages. It is warned that the number of mosques in Rakhine has been increasing, Rakhine villages in northern Rakhine are declining while Rohingya villages are increasing and if the government does not intervene, Rakhine will become Rohingya's region.

The 2017 Rohingya genocide is still being denied. Pro-army social media channels spread propaganda that if the army actually perpetrated a genocide, no Rohingya people would be staying in northern Rakhine. The allegation

of genocide is regarded as an OIC's attempt to defame Myanmar on the international stage.



The Defamation of the Rohingya community

There are writings claiming that AA (Arakan Army) and the Rohingya people conspire to destroy Rakhine. Also, they claim that AA has been providing military training for the Rohingya people, cooperating with ARSA (Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army) and RSO (Rohingya Solidarity Organization) to import more Rohingya people from Bangladesh and that Rakhine people are distressed over this. AA also accepts the Rohingya for their vested interest, betraying the Rakhine people so there is a risk

The Defamation of the Rohingya community

Ba Nyunt
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that Rakhine can become the way Afghanistan was and Rakhine people will be in trouble. Furthermore, AA has been doing business to import the Rohingya people into the country. While AA and the Rohingya people are portrayed as colluding, there are also polarizing claims that AA has been suppressing the Rohingya people and that the Rohingya people are injured and dead due to AA's attacks.

The Rohingya people have been denied citizenship and the amendment of the 1982 Citizenship Law has been protested. The meetings between the NUG (National Unity Government) and the Rohingya people have been portrayed as NUG selling off the country for power. There are also claims that NUG has recognized the Rohingya people and is trying to abolish the 1982 Citizenship Law for OIC financial support and that there is a real danger of transforming



ဓာတ်ပုံတည်းက အချိန်ကတော့ ၁၉၄၂

အင်္ဂလိပ်လက်အောက်ခံတပ်ဖြစ်တဲ့ ရာချီပုကလားစစ်သားများက ရခိုင်အမျိုးသမီးများကို အမေ့ပြုကျင့်၊ ရခိုင်အမျိုးသားများကို ဘင်္ဂါလီကလားအရပ်သားများနှင့်ပူးပေါင်း၍ အနိုင်ကျင့် နှိပ်စက်သတ်ဖြတ်ရာမှ မခံမရပ်နိုင်ဖြစ်ပြီး ရခိုင်-ဘင်္ဂါလီ အရေးအခင်း စဖြစ်ပါတယ်။

ဖြစ်တဲ့အချိန် ဘူးသီးတောင်၊ မောင်တောမြို့နယ်များသို့ ထွက်ပြေးသွားကြသော ဘင်္ဂါလီများနှင့် ဘူးသီးတောင် မောင်တောမြို့နယ်များမှ နယ်ခံကလားများနှင့် ပူးပေါင်း၍ ယင်းဒေသရှိ ရခိုင်၊ ရခိုင်မျိုးနွယ်စုတိုင်းရင်းသားများနှင့် ကျေးရွာများကို အမြစ်မကျန် ချေမှုန်းသုတ်သင် သတ်ဖြတ်ကြရန် လက်နက်ကိုင် များကိုင်ဆောင်လျက် ရခိုင်ကျေးရွာများကို စတင်တိုက်ခိုက်ဖျက်ဆီး မီးရှို့ခြင်းများ ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့ကြပါတယ်။

ရခိုင်မျိုးနွယ်စုဝင်များ ရက်ရက် စက်စက်အရှင်လတ်လတ် မီးရှို့ခံရခြင်းအပါအဝင် ၂၀၀၀ ကျော်လောက် သေဆုံးခဲ့ရပါတယ်။

စိတ်မကောင်းစရာကတော့ မကြာခင်ရက်ပိုင်းကပဲ NUG ပြောခွင့်ရ ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ဆိုသူက ရခိုင်တိုင်းရင်းသားတွေကို ရက်ရက်စက်စက်သတ်ခဲ့တဲ့ ဘင်္ဂါလီ ကလားတွေကို တောင်းပန်နေလေရဲ့။

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👤 1 comment

The Defamation of the Rohingya community

Traces of Racial and Religious Extremism

<p>Ko Thet ရခိုင်ရဲရန်သူဟာ ဘယ်သူလဲ? =====</p> <p>မြိတ်သူ့အစိုးရလက်ထက်မှာ အိန္ဒိယကုလားများကို မြိတ်သူ့တိုက် ရခိုင်သို့ခေါ်သွင်းခဲ့သည်။ မြိတ်သူ့တိုက် ၎င်းတို့အားမြေယာများပေးသဖြင့် ကုလား မြေပိုင်ရင်များအများအပြားပေါ်လာပြီး ရခိုင်တို့၏လယ်ယာမြေများဆုံးရှုံးလာသည်။</p> <p>ဒုတိယကမ္ဘာစစ်တွင်မြိတ်သူ့တို့စစ်ဆုံးရှုံး၍ မြန်မာပြည်မှ ထွက်ပြေးခဲ့ရုံနှင့် အောင်မြင်စွာဆုတ်ခွာနိုင်ရန်အတွက် ၎င်းတို့၏လက်နက်များကို ကုလားများကိုပေးအပ်ခဲ့သည်။</p> <p>၎င်းတို့နှင့်ကုလားစစ်သားများပေါင်း၍ရခိုင်တိုက်တွင် တည်သည်။စစ်ဖြစ်နေစဉ်ကလွဲ၍ ကုလား - ရခိုင်အဓိက ရုဏ်းစင်မြစ်ပွားသည်။</p> <p>မြေပုံမြန်မာမူစတင်သော အဓိကရုဏ်းသည် မြောက်ဦး ကျောက်တော်အထိကူးစက်ခဲ့သည်။</p> <p>မြောက်ဦးကျောက်တော်မှထွက်ပြေးလာသည့် ကုလား များသည် ဘူးသီးတောင်၊မောင်းတောမှ ကုလားများနှင့် ပူးပေါင်း၍ ရခိုင်တိုက်တိုက်သဖြင့် ရခိုင်တို့ထိုဒေသမှ ထွက်ပြေးရပြီး ယခုအချိန်ထိ ဘူးသီးတောင်၊မောင်းတော ဒေသတွင် ရခိုင်ရွာအနည်းငယ်သာ ကျန်တော့သည်။</p> <p>ပါတီထောင်၍ပြည်နယ်တောင်းခြင်း =====</p> <p>ဒုတိယကမ္ဘာစစ်အတွင်းကပင် ဘူးသီးတောင်၊မောင်းတော ရသေ့တောင်မှ မွတ်စလင်များသည် အဆိုပါဒေသများကို ပါကစ္စတန်နယ်အတွင်းထည့်သွင်းပေးရန် မြိတ်သူ့တို့ကို တောင်းဆိုခဲ့သည်။</p> <p>၁၉၄၇တွင် ဘူးသီးတောင်မြို့နယ်စေတီတောင်ကျေးရွာမှ စတင်၍ မုဂ္ဂဟာစစ်ပါတီကို ဖွဲ့စည်းခဲ့သည်။</p>	<p>၎င်းတို့သည် ကွန်မြူနစ် အဖွဲ့ဝင်ဖြစ်သူ ထွန်းအောင်ဖြူနှင့် ပေါင်းသည်။ဖဆပလအစိုးရပြုတ်ကျလျှင် နတ်မြစ်အရှေ့ဖက်မှ ကုလားတန်မြစ် အနောက်ဘက်အတွင်းရန်နယ်မြေကို ရိုဟင်ဂျာပြည်နယ်အဖြစ်သတ်မှတ်ပေးရန် ကွန်မြူနစ်တို့ ကပြောခဲ့ကြောင်း သိရသည်။</p> <p>တပ်မတော်နှင့်မုဂ္ဂဟာစစ်တိုက်ပွဲများ =====</p> <p>၁၉၅၀ တွင် မုဂ္ဂဟာစစ်ဌာနချုပ်ကို မေယုစစ်ဆင်ရေးဖြင့် တပ်မတော်ကတိုက်သည်။မုဂ္ဂဟာစစ်တိုက်ပွဲစတင်ပြီး ထွက်ပြေးကြသည်။</p> <p>၁၉၅၂တွင် မုဂ္ဂဟာစစ်ဌာနချုပ်တည်ရှိရာ လက်ပန်တောင်ကို တပ်မတော်ကတိုက်ခိုက်သိမ်းပိုက်သည်။</p> <p>၁၉၅၄တွင် ဘူးသီးတောင်၊မောင်းတောဒေသတွင် မုတ်သန် စစ်ဆင်ရေးဖြင့် မင်္ဂလာကြီးစခန်းကို တပ်မတော်က တိုက်ခိုက်သိမ်းပိုက်သည်။</p> <p>၁၉၆၆ခုနှစ်တွင် မုဂ္ဂဟာစစ်နှင့်အလံနီကွန်မြူနစ်တို့ပူးပေါင်း၍ မြေအောက်လှုပ်ရှားမှုများလုပ်လာသည်။</p> <p>၁၉၆၉တွင် ဘီအေဇော်ဖော့ဒီးဆောင်သည့် မြေအောက်လှုပ်ရှားမှုအဖွဲ့ ပေါ်လာပြီး ၁၉၇၄ တွင် တပ်မတော်ထိုးစစ်ကြောင့် ဘီအေဇော်ဖော့ အဖွဲ့ပြိုကွဲသွားသည်။</p> <p>၁၉၇၈တွင် ပြည်ပမှနိုင်ငံခြားသားများတရားမဝင်ဝင်ရောက်လာခြင်းကို ကာကွယ်တားဆီးရန် ရည်ရွယ်ချက်ဖြင့် နဂါးမင်းစီမံချက်ကို အကောင်အထည်ဖော်သည်။ စစ်ဆေးမခံနိုင်သော စစ်တကောင်းသားတို့သည် ဘကုန်းသို့ထွက်ပြေးကြသည်။</p>	<p>၁၉၈၈နောက်ပိုင်း အခြေအနေ =====</p> <p>ဒုတိယကမ္ဘာစစ်အတွင်းကဖြစ်ပွားခဲ့သော ကုလား - ရခိုင် အဓိကရုဏ်းတွင် ဘူးသီးတောင်၊မောင်းတောမှ ရခိုင်များကိုမောင်းထုတ်နိုင်ခဲ့သဖြင့် ထိုနေ့ မေလ ၁၃ ရက်နေ့ကို ၎င်းတို့၏ အောင်ပွဲဟော သတ်မှတ်ပြီး ၁၉၈၈ မေလ ၁၃ ရက်နေ့တွင် ဘင်္ဂါလီလူမျိုး ၅၀၀၀၀ ကားသီးတောင်မြို့ပေါ် ရဲရခိုင်တိုင်းရင်းသားများကို သတ်ဖြတ်ကြသည်။</p> <p>လုံထိန်းတပ်ဖွဲ့ဝင်များက ရခိုင်ပြည်သူများနှင့်ပြန်လည် ခွဲခွဲသဖြင့် ဘူးသီးတောင်ကိုသိမ်းမည့်အစီအစဉ် ပျက်သွားခဲ့သည်။</p> <p>၂၀၁၀ခုနှစ်နောက်ပိုင်းအခြေအနေ =====</p> <p>ဦးသိန်းစိန်လက်ထက်တွင်ဖြစ်ပေါ်ခဲ့သည့် မသိတထွေး ကိုဖွဲ့၍NLD အစိုးရလက်ထက်တွင် ARSA များက ရခိုင်တိုင်းရင်းသားများကို အကြမ်းဖက်သတ်ဖြတ်သဖြင့် ရခိုင်လူမျိုးခေါင်းဆောင် ဒေါက်တာအေးမောင်က NLD အစိုးရလက်ထက်ပြုအကူအညီတောင်းခဲ့သော်လည်း အကူအညီမပေးသဖြင့် တပ်မတော်က ရခိုင်သို့တပ်ဖွဲ့တပ်ဖွဲ့များစေလွှတ်ပေးရသည်ကို ARSA များက ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်ရိုလ်ခြံရေးစခန်း၁၀ကျောက်ကိုဝင်ရောက်တိုက်ခိုက်ပြီး ရခိုင်တိုင်းရင်းသားများနှင့်ပူးပေါင်းကာသောင်းများကို ရက်စက်စွာသတ်ဖြတ်သဖြင့် တပ်မတော်က အကြမ်းဖက်နှိမ်နင်းရေးနည်းလမ်းအရ ပြန်လည်တိုက်ခိုက်သဖြင့် တပ်မတော်ကို လူအခွင့်အရေးချိုးဖောက်သည် ၊ လူမျိုးတန်းသတ်ဖြတ်သည့်ဟူသောစွဲစွဲချက်များဖြင့် ICJ တွင် ဂမ်းဘီယာနိုင်ငံက မြန်မာအစိုးရကို တရားစွဲဆိုထားသည့် ကိစ္စများကို နောက်ပိုင်းမျိုးဆက်သစ် Ge များ သိပြီးသားဖြစ်၍ အကျယ်ချုပ်မရေးတော့ပါ။</p> <p>အဓိကအားဖြင့် ကိုထွန်းမြတ်နိုင်နှင့်ရခိုင်ပြည်သူများကို ဦးတည်၍ ပြောလိုသည်မှာ -</p> <p>ရခိုင်ပြည်သူတို့၏ ရန်သူဟာ တပ်မတော်မဟုတ်ပါ။ ရခိုင်ပြည်သူတို့၏ ရန်သူကို မြန်မာတိုင်းရင်းသား တပ်မတော်သားများက အသက်ပေး၍ ရခိုင်ပြည်သူများနှင့် ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်ကို ကာကွယ်ပေးနေခြင်းဖြစ်သည်ကို ပညာရှိဝိသရာ သိသင့်ပါပြီ။</p> <p>(ဇီမီးအိမ်) 8-5-2022 👍 48 🗨️ 2 😊 2 📍 4855 12:45 PM</p>
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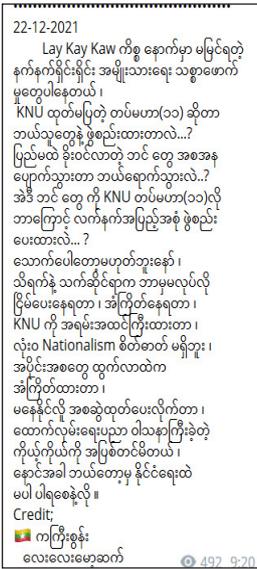
The Defamation of the Rohingya community



AA ခေါင်းဆောင်ထွန်းမြတ်နိုင်က ဒီဘင်္ဂါလီ လူမျိုးတွေနဲ့ အတူယှဉ်တဲ့ မနေနိုင်စရာ အကြောင်းမရှိဘူးတဲ့။ ခုတော့ မြေပြင်မှာ ဘင်္ဂါလီ ၁၀၀ ရှိရင် ရခိုင်ရွာ ၃၀ ရှိရင် ကကောင်း။ မောင်းတောနဲ့ ဘူးသီးတောင်မှာ ရခိုင်ရွာတွေဆိုတာ မြေလှန်ရာမှပဲ တွေ့နိုင်တော့မယ့် အခြေအနေ။ ဒီအနေအထားကို နောင်ဖြစ်လာမယ့် အစိုးရတွေအနေနဲ့ မကာကွယ်နိုင်ဘူးဆိုရင် ရခိုင်မြောက်ဘက်အခြမ်းဒေသဆိုတာ ဘင်္ဂါလီတွေရန်နယ်

Rakhine, ending Buddhism and subjugating the Rakhine people. There are also claims that Malaysia, being an OIC member, has broken the ASEAN charter and protocols to influence Myanmar's domestic affairs due to the Rohingya issue.

It is claimed that KNU has also been cooperating with the Muslims to get financial support and arm the Rohingya people. It is also claimed that KNDO (Karen National Defense Organiza-



tion) is following along with the will of the Muslims and risking the lives of the Burmese PDFs (People’s Defense Forces).

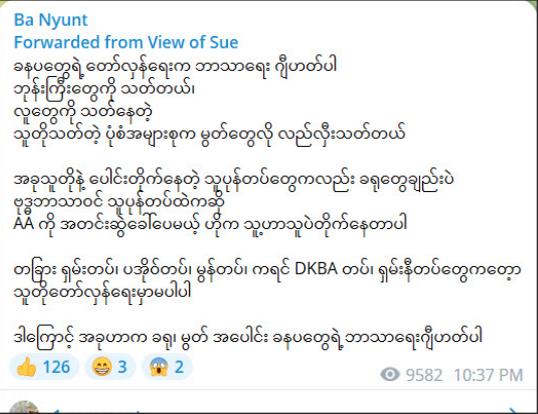
portrayed as a religious jihad targeting Buddhism.

NUG and PDFs (People’s Defense Forces) are claimed to slaughter monks and novice monks, burn down monasteries and religious buildings and are portrayed as the destroyers of race and religion. It is claimed that the leaders of PDFs are predominantly ‘believers of other religions’ and receive financial support from ‘other religions’ and receive financial support from ‘other religions’ and the list of murdered monks is repeatedly shown. In addition, it is claimed that teachers who belong to the Infinite Five of Buddhism are also slaughtered.

Monks participating in the revolution are usually defamed and notified for arrest. There are claims that people disguise themselves as monks to avoid capture and that the monks arrested by the army are frauds. Media and dissidents criticizing pro-military monks are

2.5 The Defamation of the factions of the Spring Revolution

It is claimed that because the revolution targets Buddhism, the Sangha population of nearly 500,000 monks do not participate in the revolution. The objective of the revolution is



The Defamation of the factions of the Spring Revolution

မိုင်း ဝေ
 တစ်ရွာလုံး မိုးချစရာနေရာတွေ
 ထဲက
 ဘုန်းကြီးကျောင်းထဲ ဗုန်းဖြတ်ချ
 တယ်။
 ကိုရင်လေးတွေပုံးစမှန်တယ်။

တစ်ပြိုင်လုံး မိုးပစ်သွင်းစရာ
 နေရာတွေထဲက
 ဆွမ်းလောင်းမမှာရဲ့ ဆွမ်းချက်
 နေတဲ့အထဲကို ဗုံးပစ်သွင်းတယ်။

သူတို့ အာဏာရှင်ကိုတိုက်နေတာ
 ဆိုတာ ဟုတ်ပါမလား။
 ဘုန်းကြီးကျောင်းထဲမှာ
 အာဏာရှင်ရှိလား။
 ဆွမ်းချက်မမှာ
 အာဏာရှင်ရှိလား။

သူတို့ တိုက်နေတာ လူကို
 မဟုတ်ဘဲ၊
 သူတို့ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာကိုတိုက်နေတာ
 လို့ တခဏလေးဖြစ်အချိန်ပေး
 တွေးကြည့်ကြပါဦး။

မတွေးမိရင် ထပ်ပြောပါမယ်။
 နှိုးတော်လှန်ရေးတိုက်မှာ
 သူတို့ ဓားနဲ့ခတ်၊ သေနတ်နဲ့ပစ်
 လို့ ပျံလွန်တော်မူတဲ့ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဘုန်းတော်ကြီး ၅၃ပါး ရှိသွားပြီ။

ဘုန်းတော်ကြီး ၅၃ပါးရဲ့
 ရုပ်ကလပ်တွေကို စီချထားရင်
 ဘောလုံးကွင်းတစ်ကွင်းစာလောက် ရှိမယ်။
 အဲဒီအထဲမှာ သက်တော် ၈၀
 ဆတော် ကြီးတွေပါတယ်။
 အဲဒီ ဆတော်ကြီးတွေက
 အာဏာရှင်တွေလား။

ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင်တွေ ထုံထိုင်းထိုင်း
 တွေ ဖြစ်ကုန်ကြပြီ။
 လစ်ဘရယ်ဆေးမိပြီးဦးနောက် ပျက်စီးနေကြပြီ။
 ဆရာတော်ကြီးတွေ ပျံလွန်တော်
 မူအောင်ကျူးလွန်တာ မေ့လို
 ပျော်ပြကြပြီ။

သိပ် ဝမ်းနည်းစရာကောင်းတဲ့
 ယဉ်ကျေးမှု သေဆုံးခြင်းပါပဲ။

ကျွန်တော်တို့
 ဘုရားတည်တာ အစွန်းတစ်ဘက်ပါ။
 ဘုရားအဖြစ်အရအောင်ကာကွယ် နိုင်မှ
 မရှိမပဋိပဋာ သာသနာ
 စောင့်ရှောက်ခြင်းဖြစ်တဲ့အကြောင်း
 သာသနာပြု မင်းအပေါင်းခင်ဗျာ။

မောင်ချိုဝေ
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Kyaw Swar အမိမြေ
Forwarded from Kyaw Swar 🇲🇲 🇲🇲 🇲🇲

လက်ရှိအခင်းအကျင်းမှာ
 နှစ်က အစိုးရကိုဆန့်ကျင်တာ
 တစ်ခုတည်းမဟုတ်ပါဘူး။

ဘာသာရေး ဂျီဟတ်ပါပါတယ်။

လက်ရှိ မြန်မာတို့ရဲ့ ဘာသာရေးပွဲ
 တွေ လွတ်လပ်စွာ လှုပ်ရှားမရတော့
 တာကို ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာ ကိုးကွယ်သူမုန်ရင်
 သတ်ထားမိကြပါလိမ့်မယ်။

ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာ ပွဲတော်တွေ ဆိုရင်
 Nld pdf က ပိတ်မိခြင်းခြောက်တာတွေ
 ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင်တွေ မြင်တွေ့ရမယ်
 သတိတရား အသိတရားလည်း
 ရှိရမယ်။

တဖက်မှာ ဝက်မစားပွဲတော်တွေ
 ကိုတော့ ခမ်းခမ်းနားနား ဆုတောင်း
 ခွင့်ကျင့်ပခွင့်ကို Nld pdf က မနောက်ယှက်ပဲ
 မမြိမ်းမြောက်ရဲရဲ ရှိတာကိုလည်း
 တမင်းစာရတဲ့ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင်တွေ
 သတိပြုမိရမယ် ဆင်ချင်တတ်ရမယ်။

ရဟန်းသံဃာတွေကို Nldpdf ကရည်ရွယ်ချက်ရှိရှိ
 သတ်ဖြတ် နေတာမျိုးကိုလည်း
 အသိရှိရမယ် သတိရှိရမယ်။

ဒါတွေဟာ ဘာသာရေးဂျီဟတ်
 သူတို့ရဲ့နောက်ကွယ်မှာ Oic ပက်သက်
 နေတယ် ဆိုတာမျိုးကို ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝင်
 တွေက နားလည်ရမယ်။

မိရိုးဖလာလောက် နဲ့ ပေါ့တော့တော့
 မြင်လိုမရပါဘူး။

ဘာကြောင့်လုပ်နေတယ် ဆိုတာသိရမယ်

အကြောင်းအရာ တစ်ခု သတင်းတစ်ခု
 တိုင်းမှာ နောက်ကွယ်က ပက်သက်မှုတွေ
 အများကြီးရှိပါတယ်။

မြန်မာပြည်ကို မြန်မာစစ်တွေအုပ်ချုပ်
 နေတာ

မျိုးမစစ် တွေ မပါပါဘူး။

စစ်အာဏာရှင်ကို မကြိုက်ရင် စစ်တပ်ကို
 တိုက်လိုရတယ် စိန်ခေါ်ထားပြီးသားလေ။

ယနေ့ ပြည်သူနဲ့ ဘာသာတရားကို ခုတ်လှုပ်
 ပြီး အကြမ်းဖက်လှုပ်ရှားတွေ လုပ်ဆောင်
 နေတာဟာ နောက်ကွယ်က အကြောင်းအရာ
 တွေ ပက်သက်မှုတွေ အများကြီးရှိပါတယ်။

Kyaw swar
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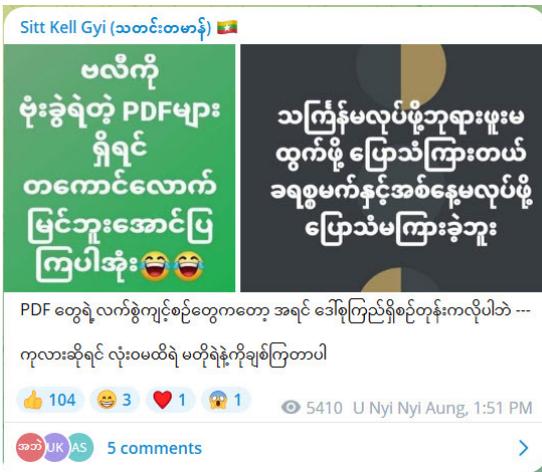
The Defamation of the factions of the Spring Revolution

portrayed as religious alienators and destroyers of the religion. When dissidents are informed to arrest, they are also described as the offenders of Buddhism and the Sangha.

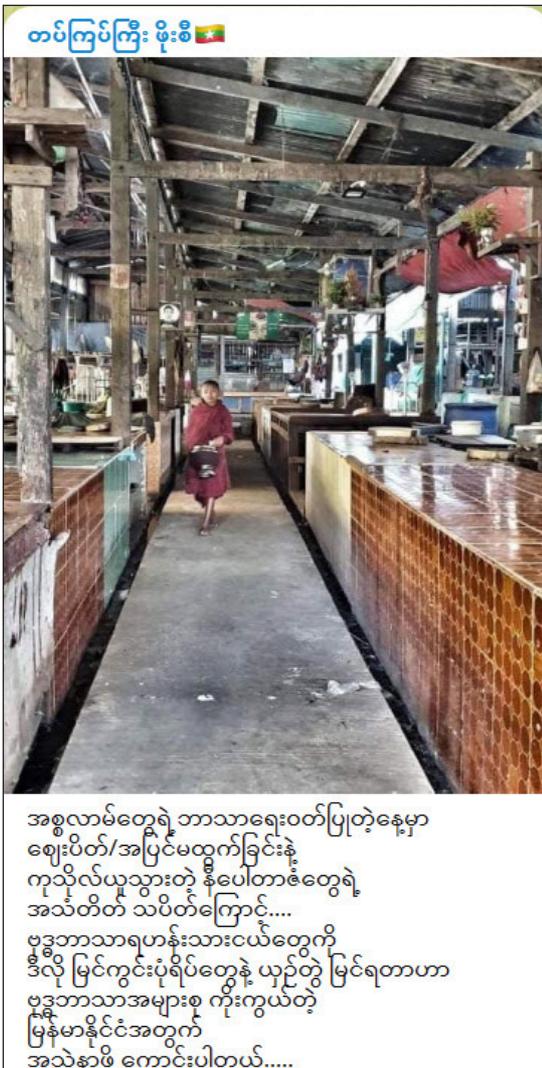
It is criticized that the revolutionary forces and their supporters publicly mourn the deaths of

KIA soldiers who are Christians or Christian pastors but when Buddhists or monks are killed, they are regarded as 'informers'. It is claimed that the news of novice monks stepping on landmines gets no attention but people speak out when the Muslims get hurt. They compare that Christians going to church or

Traces of Racial and Religious Extremism



The Defamation of the factions of the Spring Revolution



The Defamation of the factions of the Spring Revolution

Muslims going to the mosque or celebrating special days are not criticized but only Buddhist people going to pagodas, celebrating special days or making donations are criticized. They accuse the Spring Revolution only targets jihad against the Sangha and Buddhism while churches and mosques continue in peace.

2.6 The Promotion of the Army

Ultrationalists and pro-army forces often claim that race and religion are preserved and the country is united because of the army. After the 2021 military coup, pro-military social media pages are dominated by content influenced by the racial superiority of Buddhism and the Burmese people and it is claimed that the army is the only organization protecting race, religion and the state. During the current Spring Revolution, it is claimed that foreign



The Promotion of the Army

Traces of Racial and Religious Extremism

The Military Council is portrayed as being lenient as it has not completely obliterated the EROs and the PDFs. Besides, the Military Council releasing those who are unlawfully arrested is considered merciful. Based on these assumptions, pro-army supporters consider Min Aung Hlaing as a compassionate "patron of Buddha." Although some pro-army ultranationalists criticize the Military Council on the high cost of living, rising unemployment and other difficulties at the ground level, most conclude that these problems are due to foreign countries and businessmen supporting the revolution. While there are criticisms of the rise of crime and lack of control on revolutionary forces, the army is still considered to protect Buddhism in Myanmar.



The Promotion of the Army



The Promotion of the Army

While monks participating in the Spring Revolution are arrested and murdered, they are portrayed as fraudulent monks but monks

leading militias set up by the Military Council and taking up arms are praised as heroes defending race and religion.



3

The Role of Ultrationalists In the Current Political Context

Ultrationalists continued pro-army rallies and anti-revolution protests after the military coup. Ultrationalists not only support the army personally, organize pro-army rallies at the right time and spread propaganda on race and religion, they also attempt to fill up the political space. Attempts are made to expand into the education sector and there have been active involvement in political parties, media channels and armed militias.

3.1 Pro-army Rallies, Anti-Revolution Protests and Personal Propaganda

With the support of the Military Council, ultrationalist forces organize pro-army rallies and anti-revolution protests whenever the political situation fits.

In February 2021, there were pro-army rallies countering peaceful protests against the military regime. (တင်အောင်နိုင်, 2021) Military Council's Chairman Min Aung Hlaing was not

Traces of Racial and Religious Extremism

allowed to attend the ASEAN summit on 26 October. Therefore, pro-army rallies were held all over the country on 25 and 26 October. *(Myanmar Now, 2021) (Myanmar Now, 2021a)* To portray that revolutionary forces are attacking Buddhism, Michael Kyaw Myint and Patriotic Myanmar Monks Union protested in Mandalay on 17 November with signs saying ‘end terrorist acts against innocent monks’. *(MFP, 2021)*



Protest led by Michael Kyaw Myint and Patriotic Myanmar Monks Union in Mandalay *(source – Mandalay Free Press, 2021)*

On 31 January 2022 and 1 February, pro-army rallies were organized for the anniversary of the military coup. *(RFA, 2022) (RFA, 2022b) (ဒီဇွေဦး, 2022) (The Irrawaddy, 2022)* On 16 May, rallies welcoming the peace talks and renouncing foreign influence were held in Naypyitaw. *(မင်းမင်း, 2022)* When the Military Council announced the execution of 4 political prisoners including U Jimmy and U Phyo Zeya Thaw from state media on 25 July, pro-army supporters harassed and attacked the family residents of U Jimmy and U Phyo Zeya Thaw in support of the execution on 27 July. On 29 July, there was a rally supporting the execution at the City Hall in Yangon. *(ကိုချို, 2022)* When the Military

Council's Chairman Min Aung Hlaing was able to meet Russian President Putin, a welcoming rally was held at the Naypyitaw airport on 11 September. *(ရှောင်နီ, 2022)* To portray that revolutionary forces are attacking Buddhism, Patriotic Myanmar Monks Union led protests against KNU, NUG and PDF to stop terrorizing pilgrims. *(မျိုးချစ်မြိန်မာရုလန်းတော်များအဖွဲ့မှ ဦးဆောင်ဆန္ဒပြ, 2022)*



Pro-army rallies in Mandalay for the anniversary of the military coup *(source – The Irrawaddy, 2022)*



Protests led by Patriotic Myanmar Monks Union against KNU, NUG and PDF *(source – Facebook, 2022)*

Ultrationalist U Wirathu who was arrested during the NLD government was pardoned and released on 7 September 2021, 7 months after the military coup. Two books, namely “Insein-tawya-saung-par-myar” (Essays from Insein Tawya) and “Pyi-thu-hmar-tan” (Letter to the public), are distributed in the market. U Wirathu continues ultrationalist propaganda through interviews from pro-army ultrationalist

media. U Wirathu described the Spring Revolution as a religious slaughter. He accused NUG as a front for ‘other religions’ and ‘other races’ to manipulate PDFs using finance and drugs to slaughter monks and kill other Buddhists. He claimed that because the NLD government worshipped human rights and democracy, Buddhism faded and that nationalism cannot be discarded in a liberal system. He emphasized that power and sovereignty are the most important and the role of a leader is essential to protect race, religion and culture. He stated that nationalism is not to oppose Islam but when it comes to ethnicity or citizenship, ethnicity must come first. He also claimed that there are many upcoming projects for national interest in line with the army’s direction.

until now. U Wirathu claims that the Mahawthahta private school aims to instill nationalism and protect race and religion.

U Sobita founded IBEC (International Buddhist Education Center) in 2008. While U Sobita criticizes the Military Council, he takes much stronger rhetoric against the revolutionary forces and portrays them as extremist terrorists. On 21 August 2022, at the World Peace International Conference, he claimed that the revolutionary forces are attacking Buddhism and slaughtered 53 Buddhist monks. What is more, he described armed revolutionary forces as terrorist organizations. When giving a speech to students, he referred to the revolutionary forces as extremist politicians, revolutionaries and international imitators who dismiss Buddhism. He alleged that Buddhist monks are slaughtered in Myanmar, a Buddhist country, and that there are politicians and international organizations adamant to end Buddhism in Myanmar. While he mentioned human rights repeatedly, he remains silent and does not stand for the Rohingya people regarding the Rohingya genocide.

3.2 Expansion into Education Sector

Ultrnationalist monks have founded nationalist schools called “Mahawthahta Private High School” in Yangon and Toungup prior to the military coup. Now ultrnationalist monks have been attempting to expand their presence in the education sector. The military regime approved the request of ultrnationalist monk U Pinyinna Nanda to open a Mahawthahta Private High School in Pa-O region. There are similar attempts in Mon and Kayin regions as well. Ultrnationalist monk U Wirathu has been attempting to continue his efforts to build a Mahawthahta Private High School in Mandalay which was not allowed during the NLD government but permission has not been granted

3.3 Political Parties

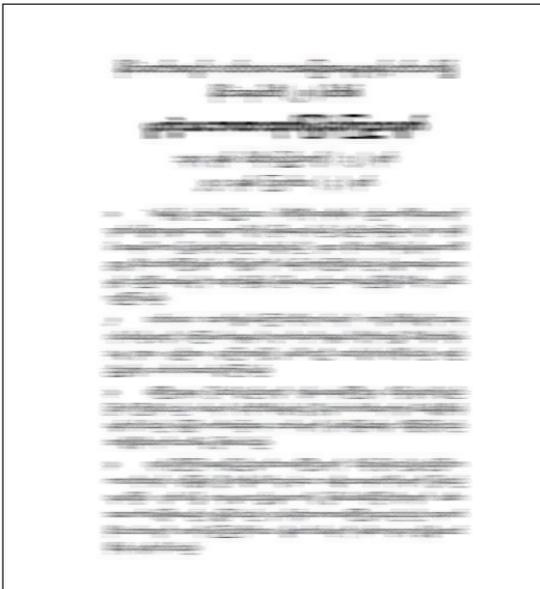
While there were many political parties based on race and religion competing in the 2015 and 2020 elections, only USDP won in a few constituencies. After the 2020 elections, USDP continuously held press conferences calling for new elections by the army and the Union

Traces of Racial and Religious Extremism

Election Commission. USDP supporters protested against the election result. USDP and their 18 allied political parties sent an open letter to the President of Myanmar and after no response, the current USDP Chairman U Khin Yi commented that ‘since we do not get any response, we will continue working with-

in the legal framework. I cannot tell what yet.’ hinting at the military coup. (NLAN, 2020) Prior to the military coup, Michael Kyaw Myint’s Yeomanry Development Party (YDP) led pro-army rallies with ultranationalist supporters.

On 26 February 2021, after the military coup, the new Military Council-appointed Union Election Commission met with 53 political parties which included ultranationalist parties. (The Irrawaddy, 2021) On 4 August 2021, 28 political parties including USDP released a joint statement welcoming the army holding new elections, praising the reformation of the Ministry of Immigration and Population to rebuild nationalist walls that had recently collapsed and hoping it would support the new free and fair elections. (MPA, 2021) On 8 September 2021, 23 political parties including USDP issued a statement objecting U Kyaw Moe Tun as the Permanent Representative of Myanmar to the UN. (USDP Facebook page, 2021) On 8 February 2022, 26 political parties including USDP issued a joint statement encouraging stakeholders to attend the Military Council’s peace process. (One News Myanmar, 2022)



စဉ်	အမည်	ပိတ်ထားခံ	ပိတ်အမည်	လက်မှတ်
၁	ဦးသန်းဓမ္မ	ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ	ပြည်ထောင်စုကြံ့ခိုင်ရေးနှင့်ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးပါတီ	
၂	ဦးမြင့်စိုး	CEC	တိုင်ရိုင်းသာအောင်လှည့်လည်ညွှတ်ရေးပါတီ	
၃	ဦးသန်းဆွမ်း	ဒုဥက္ကဋ္ဌ	အမျိုးသားတို့ကာလစီမံကိန်းပါတီ	
၄	Dr ဒေခင်လတ်	ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ	အမျိုးသားတို့ကာလစီမံကိန်းပါတီ	
၅	ဦးအောင်စင်	ထွေ တွင်း/ဖူး	အမျိုးသားတို့ကာလစီမံကိန်းပါတီ	
၆	ဦးတင်ဆွေ	ဒုဥက္ကဋ္ဌ	ဒီမိုကရက်တစ်ပါတီ(ပြန်မာ)	
၇	ဦးဆွန်းအောင်ကျော်	ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ	ဖော်သင်ပြည်သူ့ပါတီ	

A joint statement released by 28 political parties including USDP (source – Myanmar Pressphoto Agency, 2021)

The Military Council has been working to hold new elections in 2023. It has been working to switch to the Proportional Representation (PR) system. Laws relating to elections are being amended and a new Political Parties Registration Law is currently being drafted.

In October 2022, the USDP party replaced its Chairman and U Khin Yi who had been ruthless

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၂၀။ ဦးမင်းသူ	ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ	ပြည်ထောင်စုလယ်သမား အလုပ်သမား အင်အားစုပါတီ	၈။ ဦးသိမ်ကြည်	ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ	အမျိုးသားနိုင်ငံရေးမဟာမိတ်များ အဖွဲ့ချုပ်ပါတီ
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			၁၈။ ဦးသောင်ဦး	ဒုဥက္ကဋ္ဌ	၈၈ မျိုးဆက်ဒီမိုကရေစီပါတီ
			၁၉။ ဦးဆိုင်ပေါင်းနပ်	ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ	'ဝ' အမျိုးသားပါတီ

A joint statement released by 28 political parties including USDP (source – Myanmar Pressphoto Agency, 2021)

in suppressing the public and instrumental in commanding ultranationalist movements during the previous military regimes became the new Chairman. He commented that the revolutionary forces are targeting race and religion. He challenged that since he's responsible for the USDP and a strong military ally, the revolutionary forces should kill him instead of the monks. He claimed that 'the army had to do this (the military coup) because of the many race and religion issues, nationalist issues, people regarding nationalism is outdated and the unspeakable issues in the education system'. He claimed that otherwise, the people would lose the Buddha shrines in their homes.

He promised that the USDP will stand strong before the people. Saying 'we just need to wipe our tears, hold our swords and step up', he rallied USDP members to counterattack the revolutionary forces.

Michael Kyaw Myint of the Yeomanry Development Party (YDP) who often leads pro-army rallies is preparing to participate in the Military Council's election. He announces on Facebook that YDP will discuss with 18 other parties on election plans. Also, he claimed that if the current situation in Myanmar does not improve, he will join the militias.

3.4 Pro-army Media

After the military coup, the presence of ultranationalists in the media sector has been increasing. Previously such media mostly remained online and only published a few journal publications which were only popular in the ultranationalist circles without becoming mainstream media. When influential and independent media could no longer operate under the Military Council due to the suppression of the freedom of the press, revoking publishing and broadcasting licenses and violent arrests of journalists, pro-army ultranationalist media stepped up to fill up the sector.

These media regularly attend the Military Council’s press conferences and ask leading questions on Military Council’s potential actions or what they want Military Council to do. During the Military Council’s 15th press conference held prior to the execution of the 4 political prisoners including U Jimmy and U Phyo Zeya Thaw, a journalist demanded that the prisoners be actually executed. During Military Council’s 19th press conference held prior to the airstrike at A Nang Pa, Hpa Kant Township, Kachin, Bullet Hla Swe inquired about bombing KIA’s arsenal. Additionally, personal opinions and propaganda are posted on social networks such as Facebook and Telegram and attempts were made to become social influencers on social media and build their personal branding. Lobbying for the Military Council, systematically fabricated fake news in support of the Military Council, unethical biased inter-

views, staged interviews and discussions were also broadcasted.

Furthermore, ultranationalist forces portray anti-junta media as traitors of the state, embezzlers influenced by foreign powers and destroyers of the state and actively inform the junta to arrest them. Spreading extremist ideology on race and religion, defaming ethnic revolutionary forces and misinterpreting the current political context are also evident.

3.5 The Formation of Militias

After the military coup, pro-army ultranationalists and ultranationalist monks formed armed groups namely Pyu Saw Htee, Thwe Thauk, Yangon Castigate Group (YCS), Kite Force, Thwe Thitsar and Patriotic Alliance. These armed groups terrorize those who participate and support the revolution, and media who oppose their views. While the Military Council denied the formation of Pyu Saw Htee or Thwe Thauk groups at their press conference, they admitted forming militias.



Military Council providing provisions to Militias in Shwe Bo (source – MFP, 2022)



Military providing local militias arms and uniforms in Maharaungmyay, Mandalay (source – Myanmar Now, 2022)

The Military Council provided arms and financial support to militias and persuaded, forced and threatened the rural population to join militias. When forming militias, influential ultranationalist monks or individuals are often made to lead these militias. Militias led by ultranationalist monks are proving to become stronger. Photographs and videos of the rural population welcoming armed monks can be seen on social media.



U Vathava and militias at a military training provided by Military Council in Sagaing (source – Myanmar Now, 2022)

Ultranationalist monk U Vathava, also known as 550 Sayadaw from Hmaw Taw Village, Kantbalu Township, Sagaing, became infamous for founding and leading militias under Military Council’s command after the military coup. He often boasts that he stands on the side of truth unbiased for the good of the rural population. He often accuses revolutionary forces as terrorist organizations murdering monks, innocent civilians and pilgrims and praises the army as the benefactor. He criticizes media reporting on the Military Council’s terrorism as destroyers of state who use politics for their personal gain and monks supporting the revolution as useless. He often encourages wiping out villages that support PDFs and obliterating KIA bases in Kachin. He often threatens to recruit the rural population to stop supporting PDFs and join militias under the Military Council's command and says ‘I have heavy weaponry at my monastery. We can easily fire at your village. If you have weapons, give them to me. Form a militia in this village and defend it. Don’t attack other villages. If someone tries to attack, let me know. We will go and take action on that family. We will seize their cows and buf-



U Vathava and militias at a military training provided by Military Council in Sagaing (source – Myanmar Now, 2022)



U Vathava and militias at a military training provided by Military Council in Sagaing (source – Myanmar Now, 2022)

falos and destroy their house by my command. You must join basic military training. Then we can legally arm you. If you don't, we assume you want to stay on the side of the terrorists. We will fight PDFs. I have many behind me.'

Ultrationalist monk U Ariya Wuntha from Pauk Township is often referred to as Pauk Ko Taw. He streams live on his Facebook to report on PDF movements. He often claims that Christian PDFs are banishing Buddhist monks

from monasteries. He also compares that the PDFs do not use mosques and churches for military purposes but use monasteries. He claims that nationalist victory and religious victory will be celebrated only when monks can return to monasteries in the villages. He demands from the Military Council that if the Military Council can provide support, he will personally lead militias to defeat PDFs, that militias want to be under his command and many are inquiring to join the ranks.

4 Contradictions of the Military Council and Ultrationalists

After the military coup, the Military Council's Chairman Min Aung Hlaing went to meet the leading monks of the Patriotic Association of Myanmar (MaBaTha) and presented the highest religious honorary order to the Insein Ywarma Sayadaw U Triloka, a leading figure of MaBaTha. Additionally, he also presented the Thiri Pyanchi medals to 3 more MaBaTha monks. He blamed the NLD government for disbanding MaBaTha and criticized that it led to the decline of religion and culture.

However, on the other hand, it seems that the Military Council carefully handles public dealings with internationally-infamous ultrationalists. When interviewed by a pro-army media, U Wirathu commented that “nationalists movements have declined due to security concerns of being targeted by revolutionary forces as well as army staying away from ultrationalists because of internal and external pressures.”

Imprisoned ultrationalists such as U Wirathu, Bullet Hla Swe and Michael Kyaw Myint were pardoned after the military coup. On the other hand, the army has also been arresting their supporters who criticize them. Two army supporters were arrested for criticizing the army on social media. Two journalists from NHP Media and Dé Pyaw News who regularly attend Military Council's press conferences were also arrested for using terms that the army disapproves of.

There have been accusations and disagreements between ultrationalists after the army offered opportunities and profitable interests. Financial issues and accusations have occurred before but not as public or divisive. Now there are accusations between ultrationalists as murderers, gambling agents, illegal real estate brokers or even CIA (Central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America) spy or using nationalism for their personal gain.

5

Analysis of

The Ultrationalist Movement

The narratives and propaganda of ultrationalists under the current military regime are based on the state's portrayal of the racial superiority of "the Burmese people versus ethnic groups and the majority of Buddhists versus other minority religions." To spread these narratives, social media has been utilized strategically. Livestreaming is often used to bypass the human rights and ethical guidelines of Facebook and Telegram becomes a preferred platform due to its less ethical guidelines.

After the military coup, ultrationalists have actively built personal influence. Media channels broadcast daily news from their respective social media channels as well as individuals

livestream their personal opinions through their social media accounts to become influencers on social media. There are also conversations and roundtable discussions livestreamed. Ultrationalist monks directly conduct inciting and organize local people. The rural population is persuaded, threatened, forced to join military training and armed to form militias. The formation of militias is based on the religious ideology which is "to destroy the extremists who inflict harm on Buddhism".

Political parties based on ultrationalist sentiments have previously existed but no other party except for the USDP won any seats in the election. Ultrationalist movements have rallied in support of the USDP. Since the

military coup, the military regime had reorganized a new Union Election Commission and prepared for a new election. The new election will employ the Proportional Representation (PR) system. It is possible that they seek to maintain state authority based on the votes of military personnel, military families and ultranationalist communities as well as the 25% of parliamentary seats that the army is entitled to under the 2008 constitution. Ultranationalists have also been striving to compete in the election as political parties and are using various methods to support, exhort, advise and spread propaganda for the military regime.

Currently, competition has been fierce among ultranationalists to have the most influence and power. Also, new players, either monk or layman or internal or external, are emerging. Ferocious competition to build personal influence developed due to the Military Council's increasing commission of ultranationalists and to take advantage of the political and economic vacuums that transpired after the military coup. These are the primary causes of such competitive conflicts. In other words, it is due to the circumstances moving on from ultranationalists only being the instrument of the army to those being able to take political and economic advantages.

6

Extremism and The Hidden Genocidal Intent

Due to the instillation of the superiority of Buddhist Burmese people, ultra-nationalism and discrimination at the state level by consecutive governments throughout history, the Rohingya genocide transpired in 2017. Not only the civilian government in power failed to take action, they even represented and explained at the ICJ (International Court of Justice).

Genocide includes not only the slaughter of many lives in a community but also physical and mental abuse of minority communities, limiting social and economic rights, limiting birth rates to control the population and transferring children to cut off cultural ties. Additionally, cultural genocide, intentional sabotage to disrupt the culture and customs of an ethnic group must be considered. The aforementioned forms of genocide existed in our

society for a very long time. (Cultural Genocide is the systematic destruction of traditions, values, language, and other elements that make one group of people distinct from another.)

In reality, Muslims, particularly the Rohingya community, have been classified as those that are different in terms of religion and culture (classification), referred to as mus-kalar or wat-ma-sar (those who don't eat pork) (symbolization), face discrimination in basic human rights such as limiting citizenship, access to education, access to healthcare, access to national registration and passports (discrimination) and actively belittled through stories and comics narrating the inferiority of Muslims as humans (dehumanization). These different stages leading to genocide have existed in society for a very long time.

Organizations based on racial and religious extremism, including Pyi-thu Swan-ar-shin group, have been supported and given an advantage by feigning negligence by the consecutive military regimes and therefore, have reached the “organization” stage. Now militias are consolidating under the notion of protecting race and religion and are officially being armed, rising to a more threatening level. At present, ultranationalists have been promoting extremist ideologies such as defenders of Buddhism versus the offenders, and caretakers of the Union versus subverters (polarization).

Horrifying viewpoints such as ‘annihilating terrorists’ or ‘those who are harming race and religion must be exterminated’ being circulated could be, to some extent, the preparation stage leading to genocide. These precursor stages to the genocide that the Rohingya community and Muslims have faced for long are now being applied to anti-military dictatorship revolutionary forces.

The Rohingya people have been living in separate villages. Basic human rights such as freedom of movement, access to healthcare and freedom to give birth are tightly controlled by NaSaKa (Border Immigration Headquarters) and KaKaNe (Directorate of Militia and Border Guard Forces, Ministry of Defense) for many years. Household matters such as household lists, marriage, childbirth and naming are also tightly controlled. It qualifies as state-level persecution of a community. This made it possible to conduct extermination at any time

and in the post-genocide stage, the denial of the 2007 Rohingya genocide is still in practice to this day.

The actions and narrative of ultranationalists are affecting Muslim communities as well as revolutionary forces. Under extremist ideology, not only diverse communities but also those with different ideologies are being attacked at the same time. Not only is it encouraged to more violently attack revolutionary forces, but also regional revolutionary forces and supporters are actively being threatened and slaughtered.

Consecutive military regimes and military-backed civilian governments have repeatedly abused state authority and command to enact laws and directives targeting minorities and anti-dictatorship dissidents using ultranationalism ideology as a weapon. Besides, they have supported the formation of civilian violent organizations such as Swan-ar-shin to take action and ultranationalist groups with monks and people such as 969 movement to spread extremist ideology. Currently, based on these networks, militias and regional defense groups are being increasingly provided with financial support and weapons as well as ward and village tract administration are increasingly being armed. The triunity of the ultranationalist groups, political parties based on extreme nationalism and the army who uses extreme nationalism as a weapon could potentially lead to more violent religious conflicts and horrific crimes and therefore, must be greatly cautioned.

7 | Recommendation

As the ideology of the superiority of the Buddhist Burmese people has been embedded in society for so long, there are many challenges to achieving the security of individuals and community and peace within the community. The liaison of the army, political parties based on race and religion and ultranationalists have been strengthened posing a much bigger threat to society in the future. The political authority generated by the success of the revolution will be instrumental in rebuilding the society but much attention will be required to eradicate the extremist ideology of the society.

While the cultural and ideological reformation process would need more time, Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica believes it is essential to promptly take action with legal procedures. Abolishing laws that cause racial and religion-based inequalities and enacting laws that guarantee individual security and peace for diverse societies must be done urgently.

In accordance with the Federal Democracy Charter drafted during the Spring Revolution, the following legal mandates must be promptly enacted by CRPH (Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw), NUCC (National Unity Consultative Council) and NUG (National Unity Government).

Politics and Religion

16. The Federal Union shall practice a political system that has separation between politics and religion and that is secular, not based on religion.

Fundamental Policies on Politics and Religion for Building Federal Democracy Union (Federal Democracy Charter)

- To abolish the 1961 State Religion Act that prioritizes Buddhism above other religions to meet the promise of building a secular state.
 - To abolish the four ‘race and religion protection laws’ based on religious extremism namely the Monogamy Law, Interfaith Marriage Law for Buddhist Burmese women, Religious Conversion Law and the Population Control Health-care Law.
 - To abolish the 1982 Myanmar Citizenship Law and to draft a new Citizenship Law in accordance with the agreements on the Federal Democracy Charter and human rights, civic and political rights standards.
 - To analyze existing laws against human rights standards and mandates of the Federal Democracy Charter and abolish, amend and enact new laws as necessary.
 - To enact laws to implement the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).
 - To explore a course of action to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and enact laws to implement it.
 - To explore a course of action to imminently sign the Rome Statute and enact laws and procedures for cooperation.
 - To draft a law protecting against discrimination based on race, religion, sexual orientation, gender, skin tone or culture.
 - To prepare a law to penalize actions inciting conflict, violence and spreading hate speech.
 - To draft a law to penalize discrimination based on race, religion sexual orientation, gender, skin tone or culture and hate speech committed through different regimes.
- Different groups and individuals involved in the revolution must oppose the threat of the movement of the ultranationalists. When participating in revolutionary matters such as activities, distribution of news and presenting opinions, it is essential to avoid hate speech that is harmful to minorities. Any human rights violation, hate speech or distribution and implementation of extremist ideology in adjacent communities during the revolution must be stopped or ,at least, systematically recorded and it is greatly encouraged for cooperation as these violations must be penalized to bring justice in the transitional period.

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