

CDM policy and threat, the paradox of organizing

Introduction

The National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC) on 20 January, 2023 released a paper on the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) policy for civil servants for public review. The paper prepared by the Joint Coordination Committee (JCC) on CDM covers three parts, five chapters and 14 pages. It is found that reviews, critics and different views on the paper have emerged. The NUCC on January 20 declared that it adopts a four-point CDM policy for civil servants based on the paper prepared by the JCC on CDM.

Our BNI-Myanmar Peace Monitor's weekly news review for this week highlights the advantages and disadvantages of the NUCC's CDM policy.



CDM and Paper on CDM policy

Since the military coup on 1 February, 2021, many thousands of civil servants from the ministries of health and education, Myanmar Railways and other governmental organizations joined the CDM and stood by the people by defying the coup. The public provided assistance to CDM civil servants who lost their jobs and had no income as much as they could. The NUG said it is systematically providing aid to CDM staff. But in practice, there are a lot of CDM civil servants who have not received any assistance yet. So, some CDM civil servants had to return to their work due to various circumstances.

According to the statement issued by health staff, assistant doctors from the 300-bedded Mandalay children's hospital started joining the CDM on February 2, 2022, the paper prepared by the JCC on CDM says. The fact that the act and spirit of CDM civil servants is a major driving force for the Spring Revolution is put on record by the paper.

The part-1 of the paper covers two chapters, namely the impact of policy and the definitions of CDM and objective. The part-2 describes the registration of CDM staff, honouring CDM staff, seeking truth and justice, remedy for losses and action taken against non-CDM staff. The part-3 covers the miscellaneous section with 12 points.

Of the Spring Revolution movements, the CDM plays a crucial role. It can put an enormous pressure on the military council's administrative mechanisms. However, it depends on the desires and stance of each civil servant. It is reviewed that emphasis should be placed on sufficient and broad organizing, providing assistance and safeguarding.





Findings

Most of the facts included in the JCC on CDM's policy paper pay attention to the role of the CDM civil servants. However, the approach to non-CDM staff pays more attention to penalizing and action rather than the form of organizing.

The part-4 covers 14 points and 13 sub-paragraphs and the facts such as the dismissals, threatening and oppression of CDM staff, charging the public under various sections, failing to abide by the NUG's announcements, cooperation in the terrorist military group's state revolt and effective action against non-CDM staff who support the terrorist military and cooperate with it, in accordance of the codes of criminal procedures. It is observed that the actual implementation of the above-mentioned facts will contribute a lot to CDM staff and the public. In addition, the plan to take actions against non-CDM staff with different ranks in accordance with the Civil Service Personnel

Law and Regulations is interesting. It is assumed that the fact will help support the collapse of the military council's administrative mechanisms. Investigation will be made, and action will be taken against non-CDM civil servants who are involved in bribery and corruption cases during the coup period, the paper says.

Para-8 of Chapter-4 said: "The government shall regard CDM civil servants who choose to return to work as non-CDM ones and take appropriate action against them." It is viewed as a threat to the civil servants who joined the CDM. A plan to take action against civil staff who joined the CDM with an aim to drive a wedge and collect information is acceptable. The point is said to be deprived of sympathy towards the CDM staff who are struggling for their survival amid a lack of income, insecurity and threats.

The NUG declared that civil servants appointed by the military council following the coup, illegal. The dismissal of those staff is not controversial. The fact that the examinations organized by the military council are illegal is impractical. It is reviewed that more clear-cut explanations are required.

It needs to take account of the fact to what extent basic education students and higher education youths shall have access to the education programs run by the NUG and the education plans led by the forces of the Spring Revolution during the Spring Revolution. Children and youths of different ages shall have access to learning over time. It needs to pay special attention to the fact that the efforts made by students from different stratum who have no easy access to the internet and digital literacy should not be ignored.



Review

In the second week of October, 2021, Our Myanmar Peace Monitor published a review on the CDM for civil servants. In 1848, an essay titled "Resistance to Civil Government" was published by David Henry Thoreau who started to introduce Civil Disobedience, from Massachusetts State in the US. Thoreau was motivated in part by his disgust with slavery and the Mexican–American War. He started the CDM by refusing to pay tax to the civilian government.

Mahatma Gandhi from India constantly walked on non-violence methods for social change and independence. Mahatma Gandhi alone walked towards his goal by organizing the public. Gandhi broke the power pillar of the British government through non-violent disobedience movements which covered truth, non-violence and boycott and shook the British Empire.

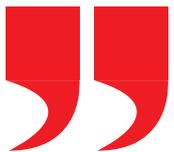
As Martin Luther King Jr believed Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts, he led the Civil Disobedience Movement. Martin Luther King Jr's Montgomery Bus Boycott which started on 5 December 1955 and lasted for over one year is evident.

Even State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who was detained and imprisoned by the junta called on the public to disobey the laws that the public disagrees with, according to duty, on July 19, 1989. She introduced David Henry Thoreau's philosophy of non-violence resistance to the Myanmar people.

The Spring Revolution is going to turn two. Of the successes of the Spring Revolution such as peaceful protests, the momentum of resistance war, political pressures and the international community's encouragement and consolation, the participation of civil servants in the CDM can be regarded as a delicate and noble movement. It depends on the spirit, perception and belief of each person who can differentiate between right and wrong and Dhamma (truth) and Adhamma (misconduct). Only an organizing-like approach will be more effective rather than pressuring, intimidation and coercion. At the same time, it needs to especially be aware of the nominal CDM staff and informants from the military council. Amid sacrifice by risking their lives, threats and oppression being faced by CDM staff for their survival, the CDM policy paper which describes the NUG's attempt to encourage and honour CDM civil servants who are still defying the junta steadfastly, through assistance and safeguarding, still requires more sympathy and organizing concepts.



The participation of civil servants in the CDM can be regarded as a delicate and noble movement.



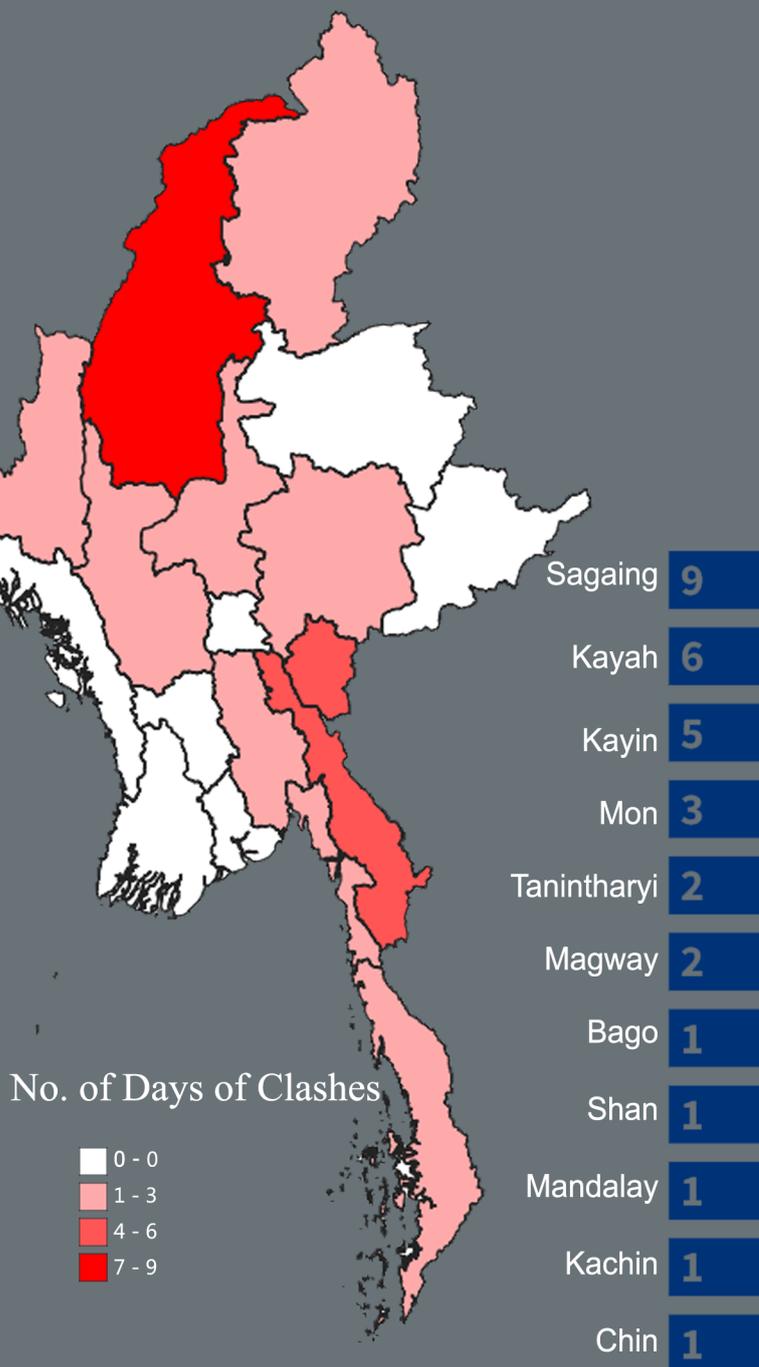
Part II

What Happened this Week

According to the record of the BNI-Myanmar Peace Monitor (MPM), there were 32 days of clashes between the military council troops, the People's Defense Forces (PDFs), the Local Defense Forces (LDFs) and the Ethnic Revolutionary Organizations (EROs) during the period between January 18 and 24. Sagaing Region topped the list of clashes, with nine days. The number of clashes may be higher than that as the clashes in townships are recorded by day.

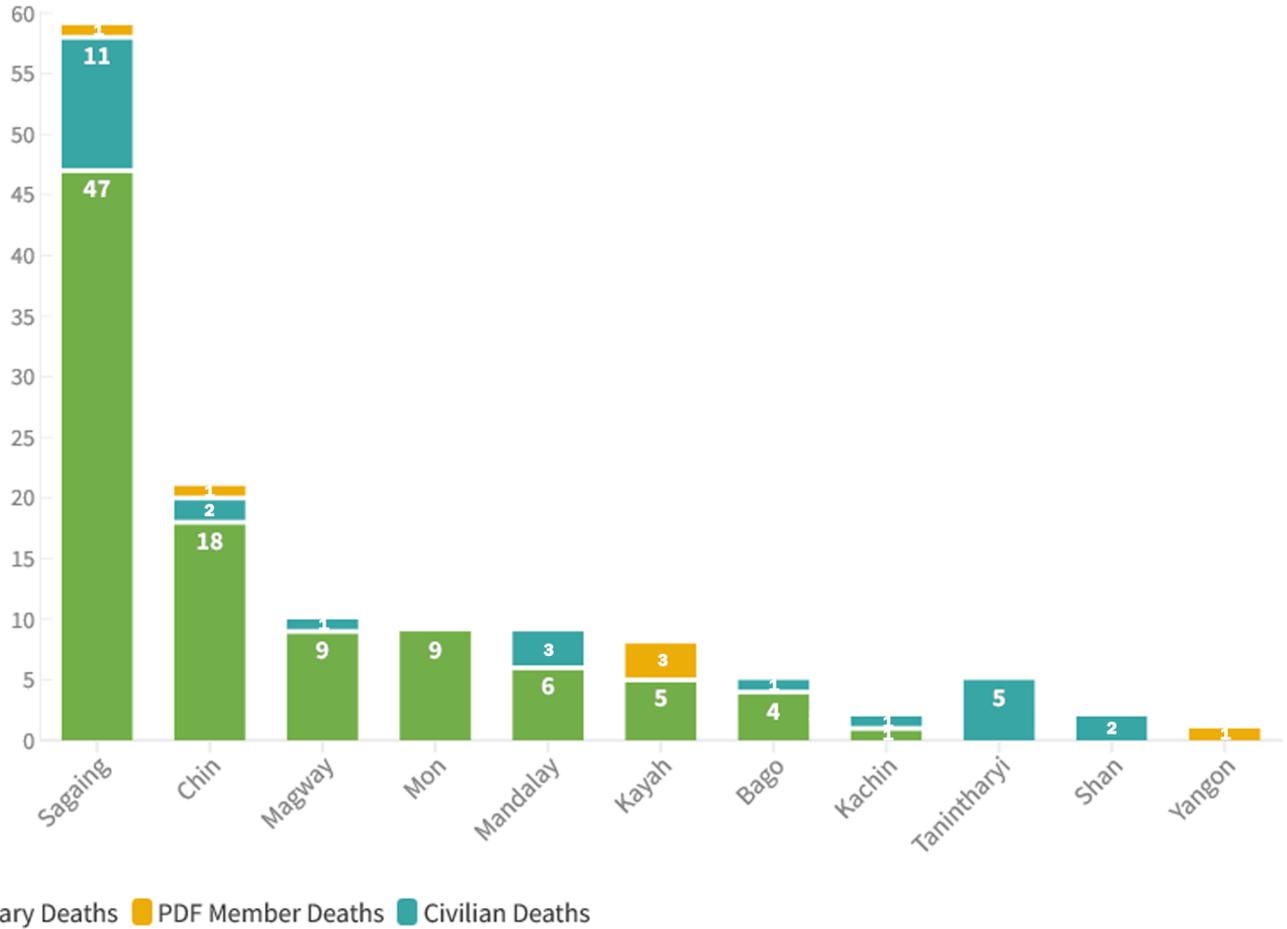
32 Days

No. of Days of Clashes

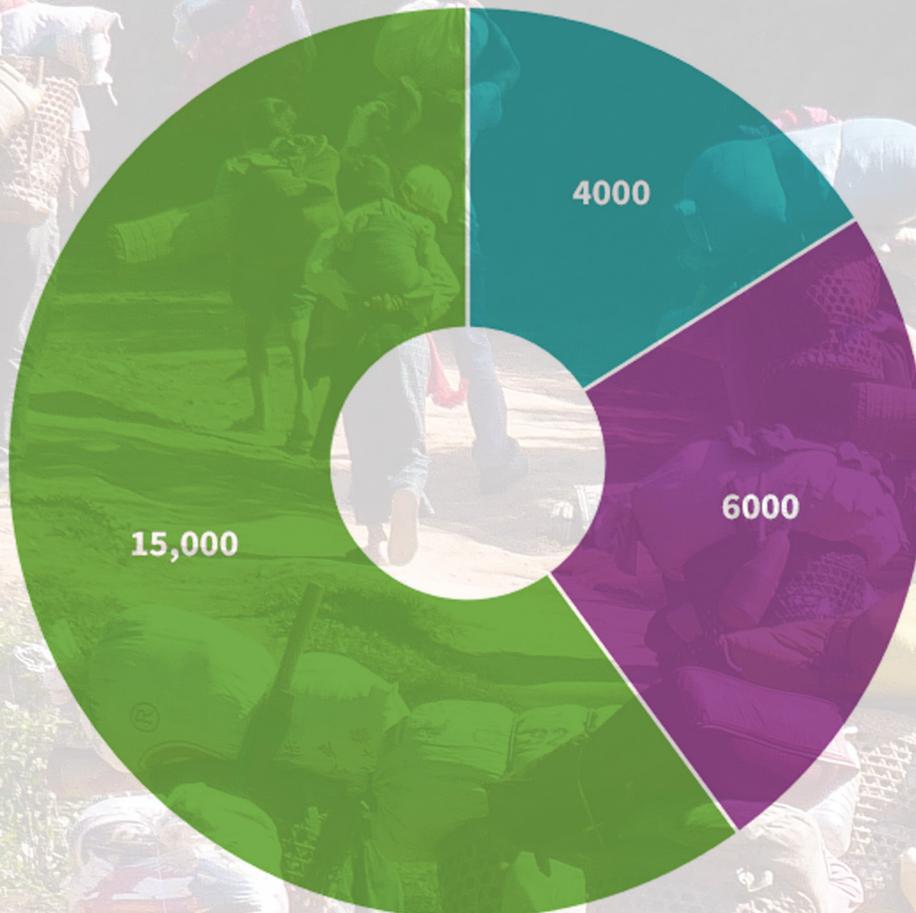


Military, PDF Member and Civilian Deaths

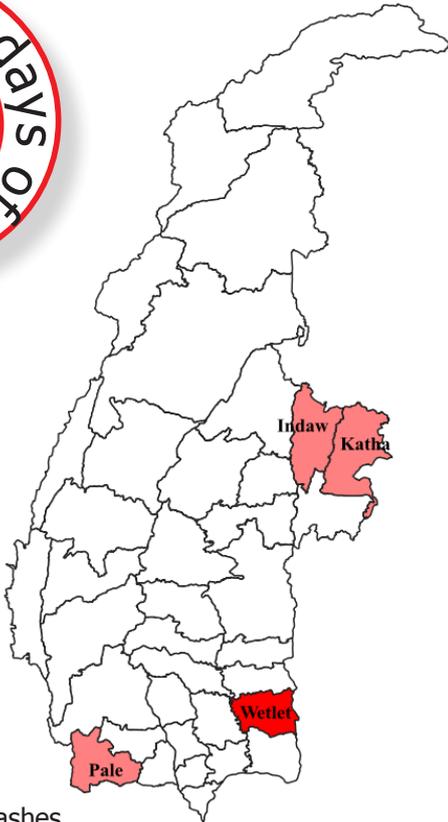
January 18 - 24, 2023



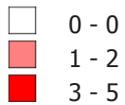
25,000 Total Number of IDPs (January 18 - 24, 2023)



Mon Sagaing Tanintharyi



No.of Days of Clashes

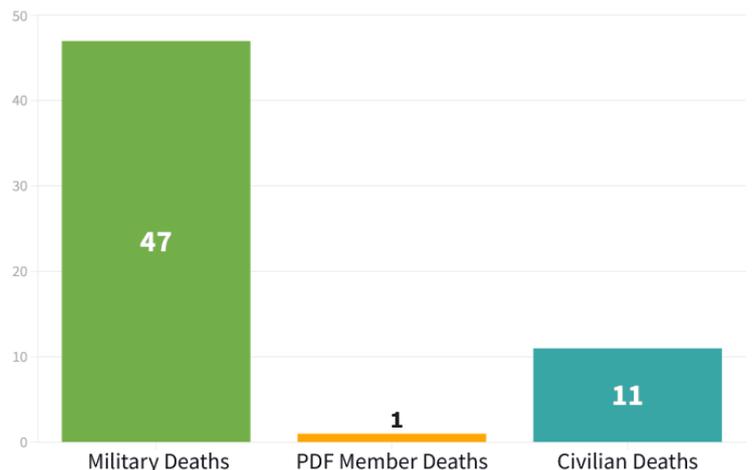


Sagaing Region

The military regime bombed Moetarlay village in Katha Township with fighter jets, killing seven people and seriously injuring five others. Most of those killed by the junta's airstrike were women. Ma San Myint, Daw Tin Nyein, Ma Aye Khaing, Daw Nyo, Ma Khin Mar Kyi, Ma Au, and Ko Khin Maung Lwin were killed by shrapnel. The regime reportedly dropped bombs on the village after suffering setbacks in a battle with the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) and the PDFs operating just three miles from the village.

On January 20, junta troops took three residents of Lelmee village in Tigyaing Township hostage and found them brutally murdered in a forest near Oakshit Kone village in Indaw Township on January 21. The victims were identified as Ko Ye Win Aung, Ko Nyo Aye, and Ko San Wai.

Forty-seven junta soldiers and one PDF member were killed in the clashes between the military council troops and the local PDFs in Katha, Indaw, Wetlet and Pale Townships. A total of 11 locals were killed in the military council's airstrikes and arson in Katha, YeU and Indaw Townships. In addition, around 6,000 locals were displaced by the military council's offensive in the northern part of Yinmabin Township, starting 18 January





No. of Days of Clashes

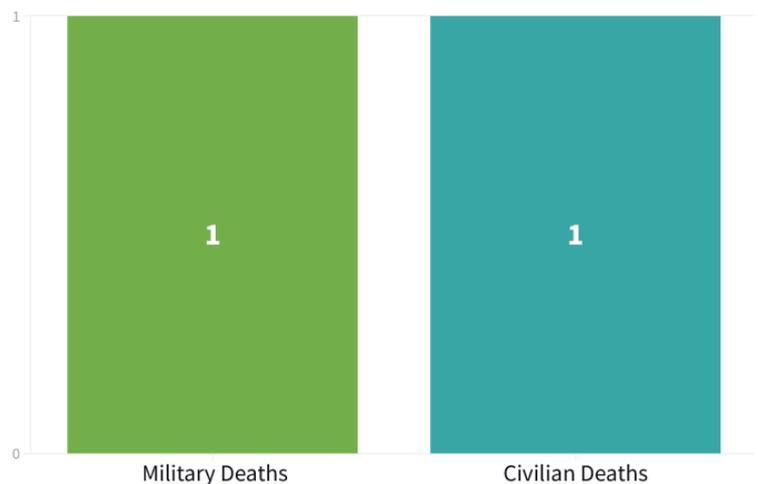


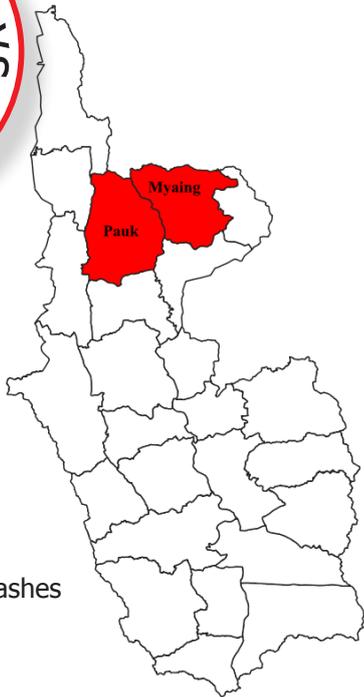
Kachin State

In Mohnyin Township, military council soldiers arrested two civilians after shooting a man named U Tin Nyunt, known as a leader of the junta-backed Pyu Saw Htee militia and a former supporter of the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP). U Tin Nyunt was shot by two unidentified gunmen as he sat in the Ko San Win tea shop in Nanmar town. Regime soldiers then searched the town and arrested two civilians. Those arrested were Ko Tint Aung Kyi and U Tha San, men who operate money transfer services. The junta soldiers claimed the two were involved in the murder of U Tin Nyunt.

On January 24, a bomb explosion occurred at the branch of the military-owned Myawaddy Bank in Myay Myint Ward, Myitkyina, killing one the bank's security employee and injuring several others. After the explosion in the building, which was secured with barbed wire and guarded by the junta, regime soldiers tightened security, stopping motorcycles on the main road in front of the bank and shooting at those who refused to stop.

On January 23, a combined force of the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) and the PDF attacked a military council's camp stationed in the compound of Ever Company in Yumar village in Hpakant Township. On January 24, a Pyu Saw Htee leader was shot dead by an unknown armed group in Nanmar village in Mohnyin Township. On January 24, a security guard was killed in a bomb blast at a military-owned Myawaddy bank branch in Myitkyina.





No. of Days of Clashes

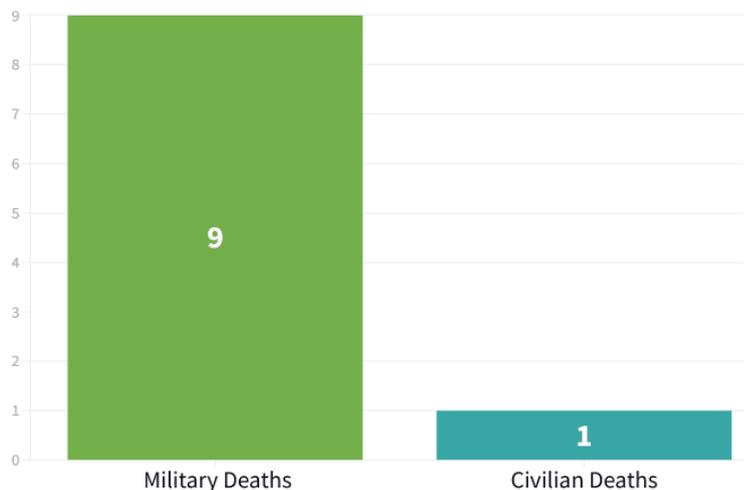


Magway Region

Military council troops patrolling villages north of Pauk Township set up night camps in Kyaukkar and Theechauk villages and again set fire to the remaining houses in the latter village. Almost the entire village of Theechauk had been burned down by regime forces last year, leaving only six villages unscathed. Since the first arson attack, residents had fled to nearby forests and have since faced various difficulties.

On January 21, the regime's air force dropped bombs on the cottage hospital in Bahin village, Myaing Township, using an Mi35 attack helicopter, about 15 minutes after the PDFs, the people's administration (PDF), and the LDFs held a meeting at the hospital. As a result of the airstrike, patients and hospital staff had to flee and some people were injured. In addition, some buildings, including a dormitory, were damaged.

Nine military council soldiers were killed in the clashes between the military council troops and the PDFs in Pauk and Myaing Townships. On January 19, one local was killed in a shooting by the military council in Kaitawma village in Myaing Township.





No.of Days of Clashes

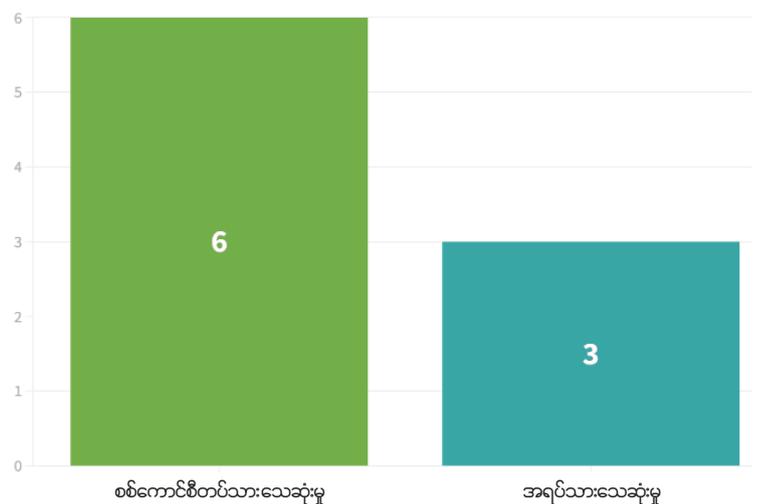


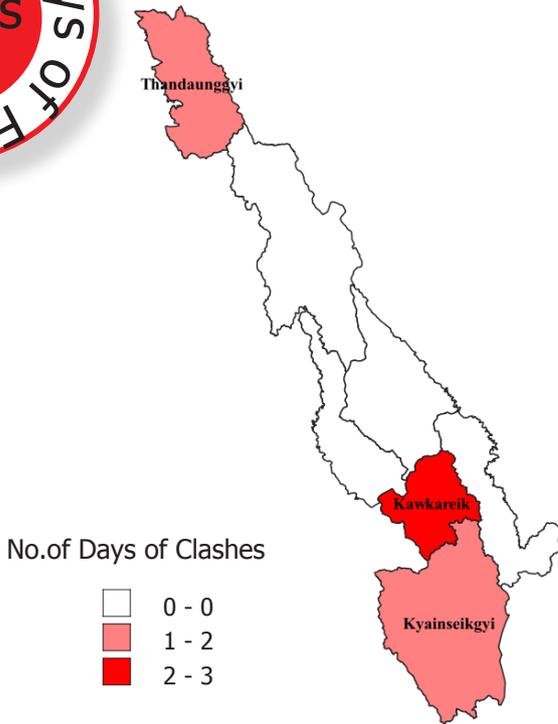
Mandalay Region

The military regime arrested three members of the National League for Democracy (NLD) in Mintayekin Ward of Aungmyaythazan Township on January 22. In addition to the three NLD members, U Ko Gyi and his younger brother Ko Zaw Gyi and his wife, regime soldiers subsequently arrested five others.

On January 20, Special Task Force Mandalay (STF-MDY), an urban guerrilla group in Mandalay, murdered two men sitting in a tea shop between 48th and 120th streets in Pyigyitagon Township. The resistance group claimed that they were working as informants for the military council and were involved in arresting resistance members and torching houses.

On January 20, two military council soldiers were killed in a clash between the military council troops and the PDF in Wetlu village in Natogyi Township. On January 21, four military council soldiers were killed in an ambush attack in Thabeikkyin Township. On January 18, a military informant who led the collection of population census for the election was shot dead by the PDF in Tharzilay village in Kyaukse Township. On January 20, two military informants were shot dead by the PDFs at a tea shop near 48th X 120 th Street in Pyigyidagun Township.



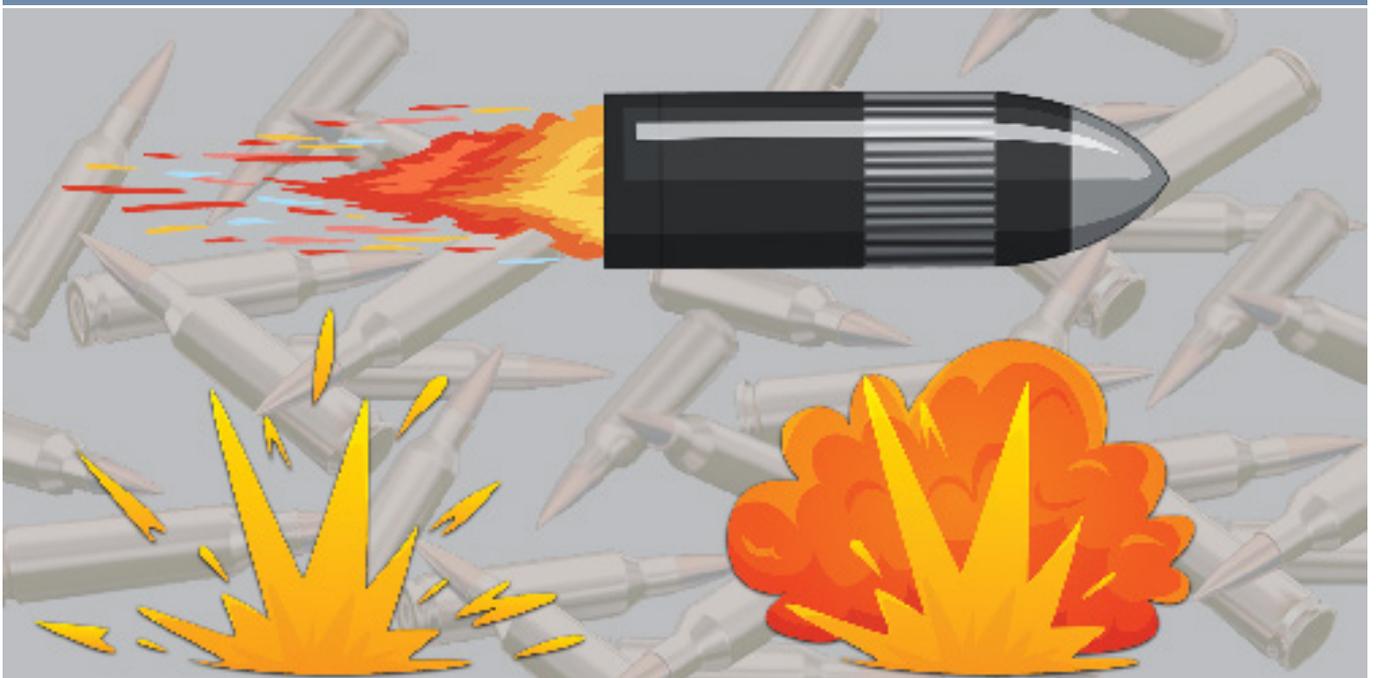


Karen State

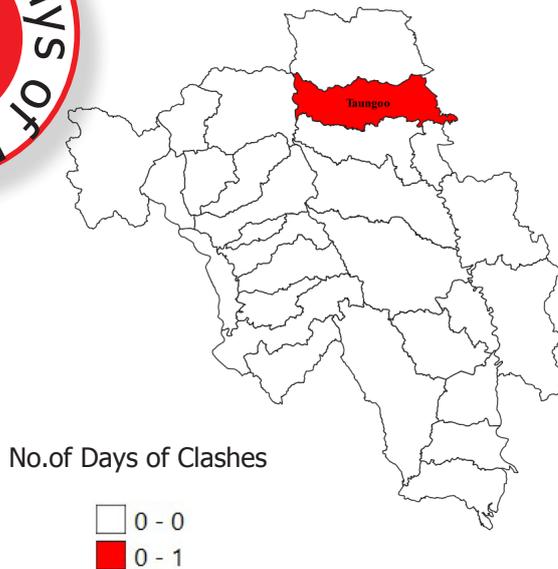
Locals expressed concern as military council soldiers tightened security on the Than Taung-Baw Ga Li Road section in Than Taung Township, stopping motorcycles and vehicles and also beating people. On January 18, clashes broke out between junta troops and a joint force of the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) and the PDF near Okeshit Kone village along the highway.

On January 22, people were wounded and houses burned by artillery fire during clashes between military council troops and combined resistance forces in Kanni-Nyaung Yeiktha, Kawtkar, and Thayet Taw villages on the banks of the Gyaing River in Kyondoe Township. From January 22 to 24, fighting intensified, forcing residents to flee to safety.

There were clashes between the military council troops and the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) in Thandaunggyi, Kawkaik and Kyarinseikgyi Townships.



Total no of days of Fighting
1Day

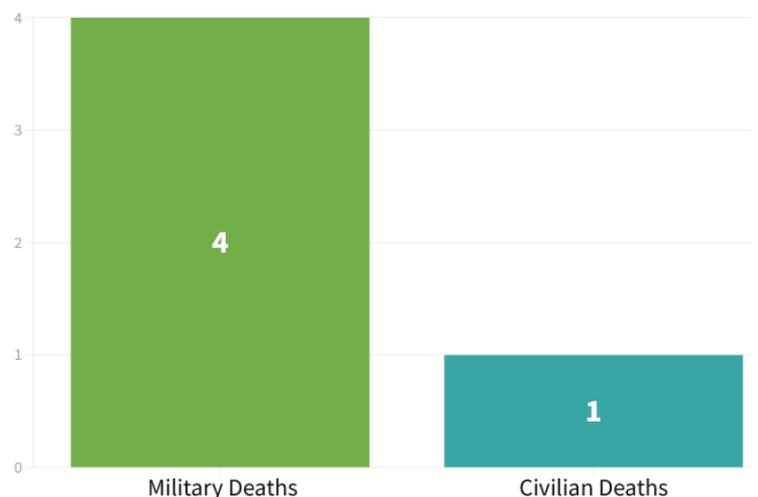


Bago Region

On January 18, the People's Defense Force (PDF) - Phyu carried out a grenade attack on the township's agricultural bank for threatening local farmers to repay the monsoon loan in cooperation with military council soldiers. A female non-CDM bank employee was seriously injured in the attack.

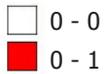
On January 19, in 13th Oaktharhiri Street, Nandawyar Ward, Bago, a leader of 100-household head was shot dead by unidentified gunmen while he was on his way back from compiling household lists. The victim was identified as U Aung Nyein, the administrator of the ward. He was widely known as a supporter of the military and was involved in patrolling with regime soldiers and arresting resistance members.

On January 22, four military council soldiers were killed in a clash between the military council troops and the PDF near milepost No.161 on Yangon-Mandalay Expressway. On January 19, a 100-household head who went back home after the collection of population census on 13 Otharthiri road in Nantawyar ward in Bago was shot dead by an unknown armed group.





No.of Days of Clashes

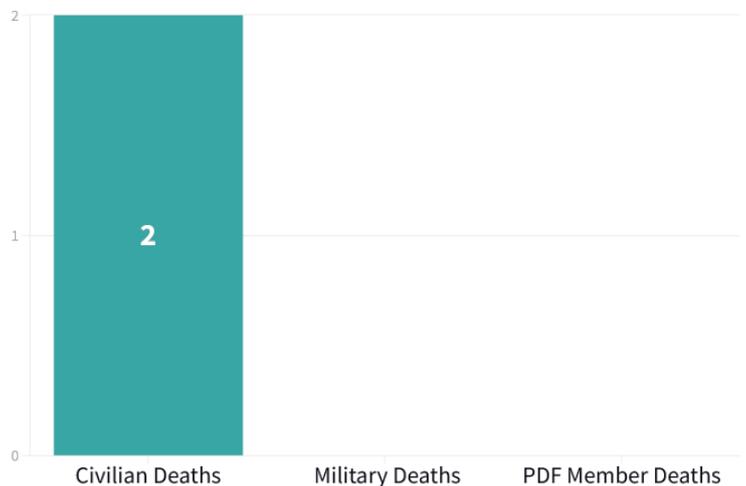


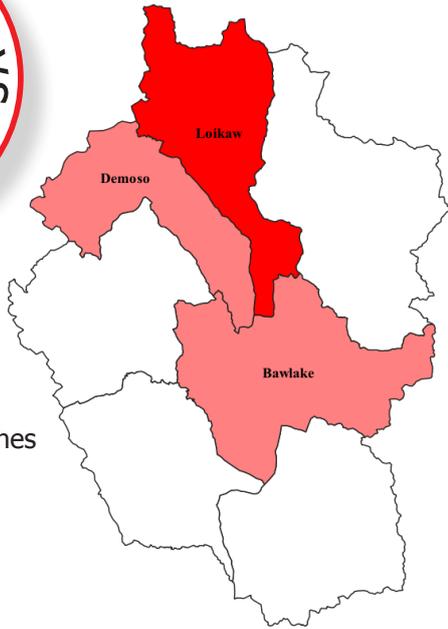
Shan State

A driver was killed and a farmer wounded near the Tigyit coal mine when military council troops and members of the Pa-O National Organization (PNO) fired unprovoked in Pinlaung Township. The victim, a 35-year-old man, was shot in the abdomen while driving his car fast. In addition, the military council refused to release his body to the victim's family and instead buried him in the Pinlaung cemetery.

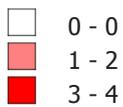
On the evening of January 21, a group of gamblers in No. 5 Ward of Lashio were attacked by an unknown person with an explosive device, killing two young men and injuring three women and two men.

On January 24, there was a clash between the military council troops and the PDF in Nyaungwaing ward in Moebye Township. On January 21, two civilians were killed in a bomb blast at a gambling center in Lashio Township.





No.of Days of Clashes

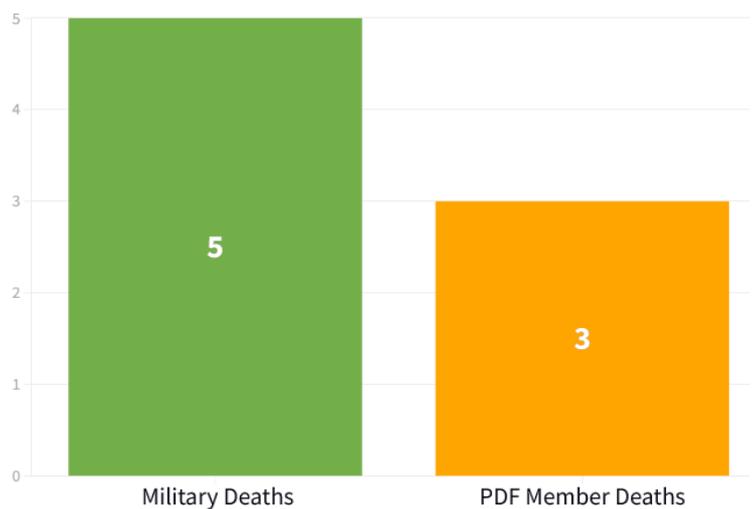


Karenni (Kayah) State

The military regime conducted continuous airstrikes in Loikaw, Bawlakhe, and Demoso Townships and also dropped bombs on an IDP camp in Teelon village east of Loikaw on January 24.

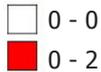
Previously, the regime conducted airstrikes in Bawlakhe Township on January 20 and bombings near Nanhutway village on January 23. Currently, the military council has begun to carry out unprovoked airstrikes not only on flashpoint areas, but also on IDP camps and villages in Karenni State. In addition, indiscriminate artillery fire by regime troops in Demoso Township seriously injured two children under the age of five and their mother.

Five military council soldiers and three PDF members were killed in the clashes between the military council troops and the PDFs in Loikaw, Demoso and Bawlakhae Townships





No.of Days of Clashes

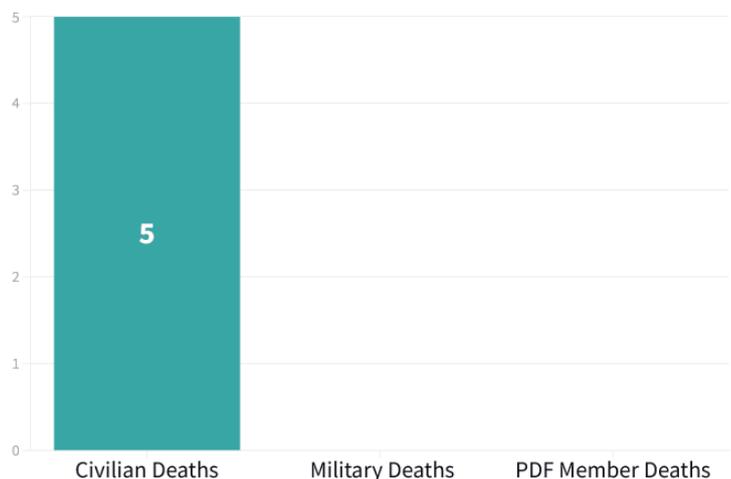


Tanintharyi Region

On January 23, regime soldiers and members of the Pyu Saw Htee militia searched a house in Kyauknimaw village in Launglon Township around 3 am, arrested two women and sealed the house. The sealed house belongs to U Zaw U, a fisherman from the village who had left the house after the military coup. Those arrested are the the man's cousin sister and 20-year-old Ma Ei Ei Pyho, a neighbor.

On January 19, military council soldiers and members of the Pyu Saw Htee entered Shatpon village in Palaw Township, set fire to houses, and also arrested 15 people, accusing them of having links to the PDF. In addition, regime soldiers shot and killed three other locals suspected of killing a military council-appointed administrator.

On 23 and 24 January, there were clashes between the military council troops and the PDF in Tanintharyi Township. Four locals were killed in a shooting by the military council in Palaw and Tanintharyi Townships. On January 24, the PDF assassinated Ko Lin Lin Tin, a reporter working for the military-owned Myawady Daily in Kalainaung town in Yebyu Township. On January 19, the military council's arson attack on Shatpone village in Palaw Township displaced more than 15,000 locals.





No. of Days of Clashes

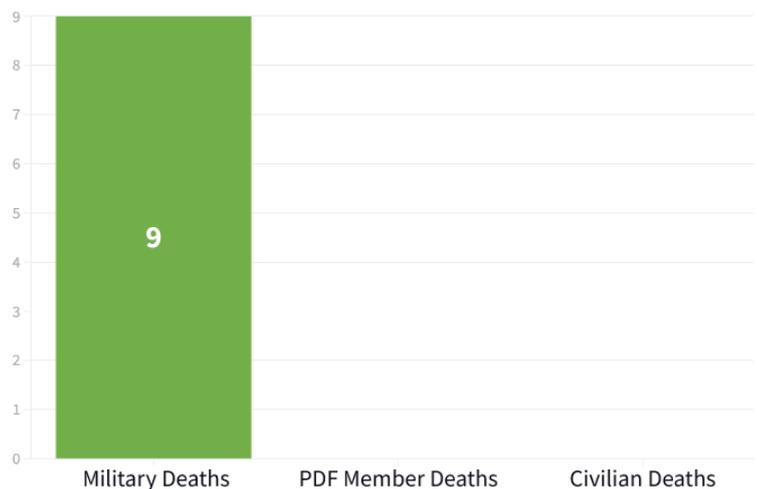
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Mon State

The military regime's Light Infantry Battalion No. 598, stationed in Winkan village in the Karen National Union (KNU)-administered area in Kyaikto Township, fired artillery, damaging three houses and forcing more than 4,000 residents to flee to safety.

On January 18, the Myoma police station and the General Administration Department office were attacked with drones. Explosions occurred in the attack, a police sergeant and a female police officer were injured, and several buildings were damaged.

Eight military council soldiers were killed in the clashes between the military council and the PDFs in Ye and Thanbyuzayat Townships. On January 18, one military council soldier was killed in the PDF's drone attacks on No.8 infantry battalion and No.3 Light Infantry Battalion based on Belin Township. On January 16, the military council's artillery shelling destroyed three houses and displaced around 4,000 locals in Winkan village in Kyaikto Township.





Ayeyarwady Region

The junta army conducted a frantic search with a large number of troops in Patheingyi, Kyaukse, Yegyi, Ngazun, Myanaung, Lemyethazan and Insein Townships. In addition, the junta threatened residents with propaganda that 10 people per village would have to join the army, made arrests, and expelled those who worked in the forests on the edge of the Arakan Mountains. On January 20, regime soldiers came to Kanyin Gone village in Insein Township to arrest village administrator Saw Nay Muu for allegedly hiding weapons in his house. However, when he was not found, regime soldiers instead took three women who were visiting the house, including the administrator's family members. Among those taken were Saw Nay Muu's wife and his three-year-old daughter. On January 21, the child and the visitor were released, but the woman remained in junta custody.

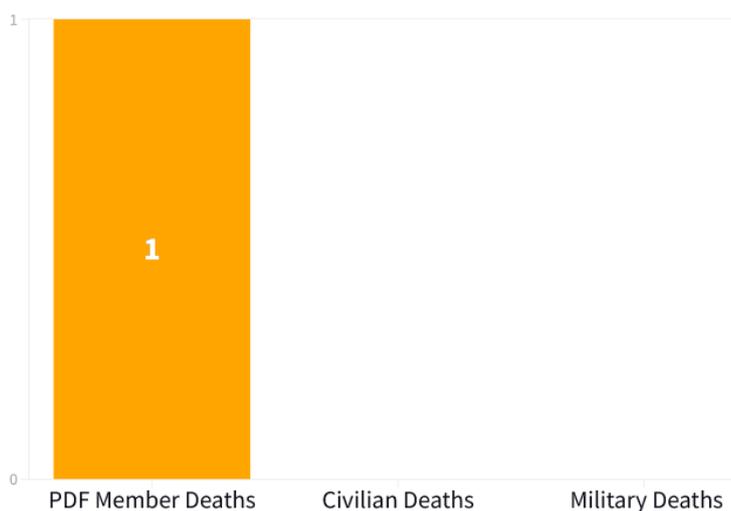
Yangon Region



The military council secretly transferred about 700 prisoners from Insein Prison, including three members of the resistance group Octopus (Public Benefit Youth Organization). Among them are Akyikaung, also known as Kyaw Zeya, Monkey, also known as Min Khant Kyaw, OG, also known as Paing Htoo Khant of Octopus, all of whom had been sentenced to a long prison term of 13 years and were reportedly transferred to Thayet Prison in Magway Region.

Junta soldiers began searching and arresting participants in the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) in Yangon Region under the command of the Yangon Region Military Command. They reportedly even searched private hospitals, clinics, and schools in all townships in Yangon Region.

On January 21, one of two members of urban guerrilla force who carried out a bomb attack on the ward administrator office in South Okkalapa Township was killed as staff from Ngwetaung restaurant adjacent to the office beat and arrested them.

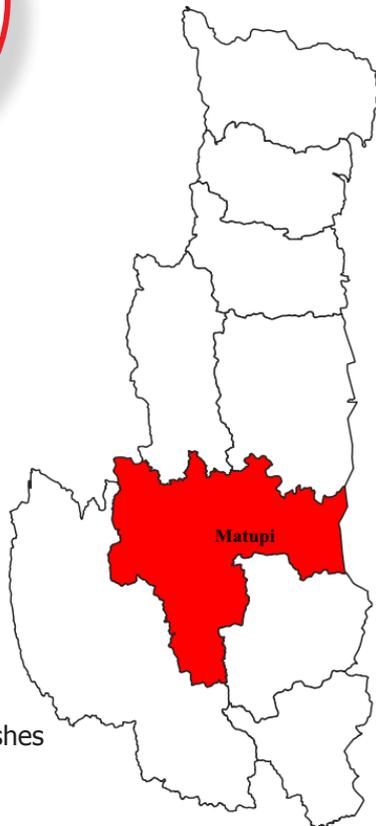




Arakan State

In Mrauk-U Township, a young man from Nadin (Khami) village had his leg severed when he was hit by a landmine while searching for firewood. The victim was identified as 24-year-old Kyaw San. The mine had reportedly been planted on January 18 by troops from Mrauk-U-based Light Infantry Battalion No. 378.

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) announced that 1.7 million of Myanmar's 17.6 million people in need of assistance live in Arakan State.

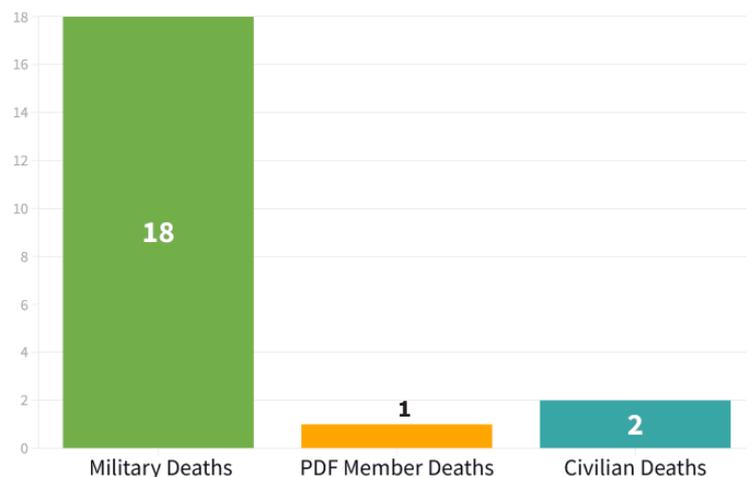


Chin State

Military council troops entered Ngaleng village in Matupi Township, set fire to houses, and murdered two residents. Of the two victims, one was burned in his house while the body of the other was disposed of in the village cemetery. In addition, four more bodies were later discovered. Junta troops also ransacked the Church of Holy Spirit and other houses in Ngaleng village and took valuables.

On January 18, members of the Chin National Army (CNA) carried out an attack on junta security police at No.1 Basic Education High School in Falam. Following the attack, 15 civilians were arrested by the regime's soldiers.

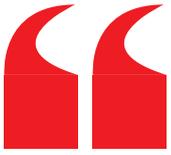
On January 21, there was a clash between the military council troops and the Chinland Defense Force (CDF) in Matupi Township, killing 17 military council soldiers and one CDF member. On January 18, a police member who stood guard over the school in Pharhtauk ward in Falam was killed in a shooting by the Chin National Army (CNA). On January 15, the military column burned the houses and killed two locals in Ngalaing village in Matupi Township.



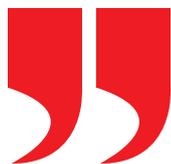


U.S. State Department Counsellor Derek Chollet said the U.S. will double its support for the people of Myanmar if Russia increases its support for the military council. The counsellor went on to say that Russia is the largest contributor to the Myanmar's military council and that such support is strongly condemned. He reiterated that the U.S. will not recognize the military council elections because of the lack of press freedom and the detention of prominent opposition leaders.

Indonesia's Luhut Pandjaitan, a former military general, said Myanmar's military dictators should follow the example of their country, where the military has withdrawn from the political arena for more than two decades, and allow competent leaders to rule the country. He also pointed out that although there are many army officers in the government, if they are not qualified themselves, they should not take over as president. The Indonesian official added, however, that these remarks were his own opinion and that Indonesia would abide by the ASEAN policy of non-interference in internal affairs when coordinating with Myanmar's military leadership.



Singapore acts as a strategic transit point for potentially significant quantities of goods -including raw materials-that supply the Myanmar military's weapons production.



On January 18, the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied authorising the transfer of military equipment to Myanmar. A Singapore Foreign Ministry spokesman indicated that these weapons could most likely be used in acts of violence against unarmed civilians in Myanmar. The ministry was responding to a report by the Special Advisory Council for Myanmar (SAC -M) that claimed Singapore acts as a "strategic transit point for potentially significant quantities of goods"-including raw materials-that supply the Myanmar military's weapons production.

Although Singapore denied it, a company called Tonbo Imaging in India, which has an office in their country, has provided support to the Myanmar military's Directorate of Defense Industries (DDI), which was revealed by Justice for Myanmar on January 19. The Indian company is known to export long-range Ek heat sights used in the manufacture of rifles for the Myanmar military.

Human Rights Watch announced on January 23 that Yokogawa Bridge Corporation, a Japanese construction company, transferred more than \$1 million to the Myanmar Economic Corporation (MEC), which is owned by the Myanmar military, in 2022.

Teppei Kasai, HRW's Asia Division Program Officer, said that through Yokogawa Bridge Corporation's business partnership with the MEC, the Japanese company is collecting funds, so to speak, for the military council's army that is committing atrocities. The Japanese government should not continue to provide non-humanitarian aid to the military dictators in Myanmar.

Remark:

References and news sources for the 'What Happened This Week' section are from local and foreign news agencies as well as 15 media organizations of Burma News International - BNI.