

ARE YOU TALKING SERIOUSLY OR JUST PAYING LIP SERVICE?

**Studies on the view of Civil War and
Genocide in Burma.**

Ye Hein Aung



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Social Harmony Organization

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## **Special request**

Photographers and authors of photos and records which are used in this study are duly recognized. We apologized for failure get prior consent.

## **Author Profile**

Ye Hein Aung received arts degree in International Relations from Dagon University in 2005 and post-graduate diploma in International Law from Yangon University in 2006. Starting from 2005, he started data collections and research about political history of Myanmar. He is conducting studies regarding civil war, genocide and racial and religious conflicts which are happening in Myanmar. He is also founder of Myanmar Cultural Research Society - MCRS and Burma Civil War Museum - BCM.





## Acknowledgement

As the Spring Revolution has lasted for almost 2 years, the reviews and criticisms among revolutionary groups have risen. Rebuttals on encouragements on social media for having a more effective leadership of NUG and implementing more effective policies by NUCC are frequently seen.

Although a better change can be made by argument which is the essence of democracy, accusing and labeling each other portrays the groups with different views as enemies and it pushes to strengthen the view that “he who is not the same as me is my enemy” which is existing in the Myanmar society.

The successive administrations have attacked their opponents by using various means of media. Such propagandas have reached social media and spread among the public. Worse dissensions and rifts have occurred because of the posts by social influencers which polished and reflected the policies of the administrations.

This research paper studied how society has suffered by the various means of instigations so that the public stood on their side by social influencers including successive governments in Myanmar society.

Since our revolution is to stop the atrocities of the fascist army, the discriminations and root causes that cause the hatred and build a future new society, this research paper is published so that mistakes in the past can be learned and amended.

Special thanks are to the social influencers and academics for supporting in making this paper possible including Sayar Ye Hein Aung (Burma Civil War Museum) from who drafted this paper from the beginning to the end.

**With Revolutionary Oath,  
Thet Swe Win  
Executive Director  
Synergy – Social Harmony Organization**



## 1. Introduction

Burma which is a result of colonization of the British is a region composed of hill, flate lands and deltas in terms of landscape and geography. It has emerged as Union of Burma after gaining independence from the British on 4th January 1948. In Burma which is known as Union of Myanmar, many ethnic groups and societies which are diverse in language, culture, tradition, politics, historical context and religion exist.

In Burma, even before independence, because of differences in ideas and beliefs in building the nation and the needs for equality, self-determination and federal issues of ethnic groups, the civil war has started. Up to 2022 since gaining independence, the civil war in Burma has not

stopped for 74 years. As a central government, within the 22 years of civilian government administration<sup>1</sup> and 52 years of military administration<sup>2</sup>, the civil war could not be resolved with correct political means. As union government (or) central government, the civilian governments and military governments has consecutively determined armed revolutionary groups as insurgents. Within the period of 70 years, although peace talks were held repeatedly, it was not successful.

Burma is a country with diverse ethnic groups and societies. But, the successive governments have failed to carry out good awareness, value actions and build mutual understandings and trust regarding diversity in political sys-

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<sup>1</sup> 1948 – 58 AFPFL government, 1960 – 62 union government, 2011 – 2016 government of Union Solidarity and Development Party, 2016 – 2021 government of National League for Democracy Party

<sup>2</sup> 1958 – 1960 caretaker government, 1962 – 1974 revolutionary council, 1974 – 1988 government of Burma Socialist Programme Party, 1988 – 1997 State Law and Order Resoration Council, 1997 – 2011 State Peace and Development Council, 2021 – now, the army is still trying to stage the coup



tems, administrative patterns, education, literature and cultural issues. Instead, it was built on Myanmar language, Myanmar culture and Buddhist faith as the main pillar of the country and based on chauvinism. Ignoring diverse ethnic groups and societies, focusing on political build-up based only on a single race rather than a plural society, failure to build an authentic federal union by successive governments have existed as basic problems of Burma and these factors play a crucial role in the fundamental issues of civil war.

Along with the failure to build the nation based on diversity, racial and religious conflicts have occurred many times in Burma. Starting from 1988 until now, racial and religious conflicts have occurred nearly 100 times and most incidents are targeted on Muslims. Starting from the time Gen Ne Win took power in 1962; hostile attitudes towards Muslims have spread in government officials and society. Since then, the opposition against Muslims by hate speech and misinformation have spread among government publications, sermons of Buddhist monks and religious leaders and even to classrooms. Regarding those situations, successive governments have failed to take action and stop it.

The height of the hostilities reached the highest in 2012 and 2021 and spread on media and social media. Multi-sector oppressions such as not to engage or trade with Muslims, limiting to involve politically by enacting official laws and other unofficial means were carried out.

Within these activities, it was found that not only people in administration, judiciary and legislation as government but people in entertainment sector who are intellectuals, writers, media, actors and singers were also involved.

During the civil war and racial and religious conflicts, Myanmar army mainly committed horrible crimes against ethnic groups and societies. During the assault against the armed revolutionary groups, targeting unarmed civilians, burning houses and destroying the lives and livelihoods of the people were destroyed intentionally. Moreover, it was found that women were targeted and rape is used as a weapon in non-Burmese ethnic regions.<sup>3</sup> These atrocities were accused as war crimes and crimes against humanity. Additionally, incident of genocide which is a severe crime in society has happened in Burma. It was committed on the Rohingya groups in Rakhine State.

Rohingya people are the people who have settled in Arakan region<sup>4</sup> for hundred of years. Arakan Region is invaded by King Bodawpaya who is a king from Konbaung dynasty of Myanmar people in 1784<sup>5</sup>. Since then, Arakan Region has fallen under Burma and the fate of ethnic groups in Arakan Region is also under the decision of successive governments including the military dictators of Myanmar.

Rohingya people started to suffer from significant violations of human rights since Revolutionary Council led by Gen Ne Win staged the coup. Political restrictions including citizenship

<sup>3</sup> (2002) Licence to Rape: The Burmese Military Regime's Use of Sexual Violence in the Ongoing War in Shan State, Burma. Shan Human Rights Foundation and Shan Women's Action Network. Ching Mai.

<sup>4</sup> Arakan Region is designated as Rakhine state by the constitution of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Myanmar which was enacted in 1974.

<sup>5</sup> Martin Smith (2020) Conflict land from Arakan (Rakhine State) western region of Myanmar. Transnational Institute

were faced by Rohingya people. Even the name "Rohingya" which is the basis of existence of Rohingya people is restricted and successive governments have intentionally pictured them as "Bengali" people who are illegally migrated from the neighboring country. A horrible incident happened in 1978. During the rule of government of Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), Rohingyas were driven out from Myanmar with Operation King Dragon and within the same year, Rohingya people were repatriated with Hintharr project.<sup>6</sup> Then, in 1982, BSPP government has enacted a new citizenship law. In that law, the views of racial and religious discrimination and the views of citizenship based on blood lines are included.<sup>7</sup>

Driving the Rohingyas out was carried out for the second time in 1991. State Law and Order Restoration Council led by Sr Gen Saw Maung who crushed the 1988 uprising and took power drove hundreds of thousands of Rohingya people out with Operation Pyitharyar for the second time. During that incident, Rohingya people faced various methods of abuse including killing and raping by the Myanmar army.<sup>8</sup> Regarding the fleeing of hundreds of thousands of Rohingya people from Rakhine State, the

state newspapers have mentioned it as voluntary departure by the Rohingya people.<sup>9</sup> Later, bilateral agreements are signed between the SLORC government and Bangladesh government and the Rohingya people were repatriated.<sup>10</sup> Although they are repatriated, human rights violations and discriminations were carried out on Rohingya people by the successive Myanmar governments. Discriminations are conducted by enacting local laws which targeted against the Rohingya people regarding basic human rights including denial of citizenship especially.<sup>11</sup>

Since the intentional discriminations and human rights violations on the Rohingya people are committed with the intention to wipe out Rohingya people from Burma by the Myanmar governments, the international community accused this incident as genocide against Rohingya people. The level of atrocities committed against Rohingya people reached the highest after the conflicts that happened in Rakhine State in 2012. Anti-Rohingya and Muslim activities become stronger. In these activities, not only the ultranationalists but the celebrities also took part in it. It was found that The Union Solidarity and Development Party led by president U Thein Sein

<sup>6</sup> Rakhine State Council Executive Committee (1978) Report to the Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Religious Affairs regarding Operation Hinthar. (24th July 1978). Confidential. Handwritten copy

<sup>7</sup> Ye Hein Aung.(2020). Roots of discrimination (Evaluating 1982 Myanmar Citizenship Law). Yangon. Myanma Cultural Research Society.

<sup>8</sup> (1996). The Rohingya Muslims. Ending a Cycle of Exodus? Human Rights Watch, September 1996. P – 12.

<sup>9</sup> (1992) Rohingya problem and Myanmar – Study on the problem of refugees at Bangladesh border. All Burma Students Democratic Front. Central Committee Headquarter. Pg 30

<sup>10</sup> Joint Statement by the foreign ministers of Bangladesh and Myanmar issued at the conclusion of the official visit of the Myanmar foreign minister to Bangladesh from 23 - 28 April 1992K It can be downloaded in the following link. <https://www.networkmyanmar.org/ESW/Files/1992-Bangladesh-Myanmar-MOU.pdf>

<sup>11</sup> (2014). Ending Abusive State Policies Against Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. Fortify Rights.

which was the government at the time not only did not contain the situations but also encouraged it directly (or) indirectly.

In August 2017, Rohingya people faced the worst situation. With the accusation of attacks by an organization called ARSA (Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army) on (30) police outposts, Myanmar army waged a clearance operation. In that operation, Myanmar army committed severe human rights violations such as burning many villages where Rohingya people lived, killing and raping Rohingya people. Nearly 1 million Rohingya people took refuge in neighboring Bangladesh. It was found that government of National League for Democracy Party stood together with Myanmar army regarding these atrocities.

Regarding these plans to commit genocide intentionally against Rohingya people, Myanmar government is still facing trial at international courts. In 2019, Myanmar was pressed charges with violation of Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

by International Court of Justice. In that law suit, government of National League for Democracy Party stood together with Myanmar army and State Councillor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi herself faced the trial.

Burma which was sinking among the civil war, religious and racial conflict, genocide and coups for (70) years because of the situations mentioned above, faced a worse political event again on February 1st 2021. With the leadership of Sr Gen Min Aung Hlaing who is accused as the most responsible person for human rights violations including genocide, Myanmar army attempted to stage a coup. Peaceful protests led by the leadership of people occurred against the coup attempt. But, the Myanmar army responded with violent means including severe crackdown, killing and arresting on the protests of the people. Therefore, the people are waging an armed resistance for defending against the coup attempt by Myanmar army and their peaceful existence.



## 2. Rationale for study and methodology

In Burma, after Revolutionary Council led by Gen Ne Win staged the coup in 1962, media freedom was restricted. Media oppressions such as restriction of publication of private newspapers, restriction by government censorship, and tight control of Press Scrutiny Board were faced. Within restriction and control of the governments on freedom of expression and right to information, the role of newspapers in Burma existed only as a propaganda tool rather than providing information to the public.

Other means of providing information is radio programmes and television programmes. Radio broadcasting has started since the colonial era. Before independence, it was broadcasted as Bama Athan (Voice of Burma) and changed the name to Myanmar Athan in 1958. Myanmar Athan existed as state broadcasting department under Ministry of Information. Tele-

vision programs were started to broadcast in 1980 and it existed as "Myanmar Yotemyinthankyar".<sup>12</sup> These radio and television broadcasts also existed only as government propaganda programs like newspapers.

When SLORC staged the coup in 1988, publication of information was more restricted and presentation of information which the governments want for the propaganda purpose was carried out. The Working People's Daily (later changed to The New Light of Myanmar) and Kyemon (The Mirror) were published in Myanmar, The New Light of Myanmar (later changed to The Global New Light of Myanmar) is published in English and only Myanmar Radio and Television existed for information and entertainment for public at the time. During the rule of SLORC government, Myawaddy TV was started to broadcast as Myanmar military-

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<sup>12</sup> <https://mrtv.gov.mm/mm/about-mrtv>

owned television programme in 1995 and Myawaddy newspaper was published in 2011. While right to information in Burma was

restricted for a long time, the public accessed the information by listening and watching to radio and television programmes such as BBC, RFA,

**မြေမုန်**  
*The Mirror*

၁၇၆၅ ခုနှစ်၊ ဝါဆိုလဆန်း ၅ ရက်၊ ကြာသပတေးနေ့၊ (3-7-2003) (၃၉၂၀)

**ကတညုကာ**  
စေတီ ဗဂိလ ဗုဒ္ဓကံ၊ သူ့ကျေးဇူးကို သိခြင်းသည် မြတ်သောမင်္ဂလာ မည်၏။

**ဘယ်လာရုပ်သမ္မတနိုင်ငံ လွတ်လပ်ရေးနေ့ သဝဏ်လွှာပေးပို့**

ရန်ကုန်၊ ဇူလိုင် ၃

၂၀၀၃ခုနှစ် ဇူလိုင် ၃ ရက်တွင် ကျရောက်သော ဘယ်လာရုပ် သမ္မတနိုင်ငံ၏ လွတ်လပ်ရေးနေ့တွင် ပြည်ထောင်စု မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော် - နိုင်ငံတော် အေးချမ်းသာယာရေးနှင့် ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးကောင်စီဥက္ကဋ္ဌ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှူးကြီးသန်းရွှေထံမှ ဘယ်လာရုပ်သမ္မတနိုင်ငံ သမ္မတ မစွတာ အလက်ဇန္ဒားအာရ်လုကာရှန်ကိုယ်သို့ ဝမ်းမြောက်ကြောင်း သဝဏ်လွှာပေးပို့သည်။ (သတင်းစဉ်)

**ကျော-ရေမျက်နှိ-ဂန်ဂေါ ယောနယ်မှပြည်သူများ ရထားစီး၍ မြန်မာပြည်အနှံ့ ခရီးဆန်နိုင်တော့မည် ပုံညာတောင်ကိုကျော်ဖြတ်၍ နိုင်ငံတကာအဆင့်မီ ရထားလမ်းဖောက်**

ကျွင်းဆင်းလေ့လာရေးသားသူ - ခရမ်းစိုးမြင့်၊ ဓာတ်ပုံမှတ်တမ်းတင် - ရေချမ်းမြင့်

ရန်ကုန် ဇူလိုင် ၂

၂၀၀၃ ခုနှစ် ဇူလိုင် ၃ ရက်နေ့ကျပြန်သည်။ ကြေးမုံသတင်းအဖွဲ့သည် စစ်ကိုင်းတိုင်း၊ ရှင်းတွင်းမြစ်၏အနောက်ဘက် မေတ္တူတိုင်း၊ ယောဆောဟုခေါ်သည့် ပုံတောင်၊ ပုံညာတောင်တန်းများအပေါ်သို့ ရောက်ရှိနေကြသည်။

**ဝုဏ်ဩ**

ထိုသို့ရောက်ရှိနေခြင်းမှာ ပုရကျွဲ-ဂန်ဂေါ-ကလေး သို့ ဆက်သွယ်ဖောက်လုပ်လျက်ရှိသော ရထားလမ်းပိုင်း နှင့် ပါဝင်သည့် ပုံညာတောင် ဥမင်ရထားလမ်းကြီး အရှေ့မှအနောက် တိုးလျှင်ပေါက် ပေါက်သွားပြီး ဥမင်ရထားလမ်း ၂၆ မိုင်ကိုလည်း ဖောက်လုပ်လျက်ရှိရာ ရထားပို့ဆောင်ရေးဝန်ကြီးဌာန မြန်မာစီးရထား၏ ဆောင်မြင်မှုအကြောင်း သတင်းကောင်းကို ရုတုပြု သတင်းဆောင်းပါး၊ ရေသာတင်ပြန်ရန်ပြန်ပြန်သည်။

ဤနေ့ရာတွင် ကြေးမုံသတင်းသမားက အနည်းငယ်ရေသာ-တင်ပြလိုပါသည်။

ပြည်ထောင်စုမြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်ကြီး ဘက်စုံ၊ ကမ္ဘာ့စုံဆွဲစီမံမှု ဖြိုးတိုးတက်ရေးအတွက် နိုင်ငံတော် အေးချမ်းသာယာရေးနှင့် ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးကောင်စီသည် တိုင်းရင်းသားစည်းလုံးညီညွတ်မှု

**နိုင်ငံရေး ဦးတည်ချက် (၄)ရပ်**

- \* နိုင်ငံတော် တည်ငြိမ်ရေး၊ ရပ်ရွာအေးချမ်းသာယာရေးနှင့် တရားဥပဒေစိုးမိုးရေး
- \* အမျိုးသား ပြန်လည်စည်းလုံးညီညွတ်ရေး
- \* နိုင်ငံသည် ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်မှုအခြေခံဥပဒေသစ် မြစ်ပေါ်လာရေး
- \* မြစ်ပေါ်လာသည့် ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်မှု အခြေခံဥပဒေသစ်နှင့်အညီ ဓနတိ ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်သော နိုင်ငံတော်သစ်တစ်ရပ် တည်ဆောက်ရေး

ပုံညာတောင် ဥမင်အနောက်ဘက်အပိုင်း ဥမင် ရှည်ကပ်ရထားလမ်းများကို မြန်မာစီးရထားက အောက်လုပ်လျက်ရှိရာ မျက်မြောင်းဒေသတွင် တောင်ကြားမြတ်ကျော် သံလမ်းစင်းလှုပ်ငန်းများ ပြီးစီးနေသည်ကို ဇူလိုင် ၁၅ ရက်က ဤသို့တွေ့ခဲ့ရ သည်။ (ဓာတ်ပုံ-ရေချမ်းမြင့်)

**ယနေ့ထုတ်စောင်ရေ**

၂၂၃၉၅၇

**စီးပွားရေး ဦးတည်ချက် (၄)ရပ်**

- \* စိုက်ပျိုးရေးကိုအခြေခံ၍ အခြားစီးပွားရေးကဏ္ဍများကိုလည်း ဘက်စုံဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်အောင် တည်ဆောက်ရေး
- \* ဈေးကွက်စီးပွားရေးစနစ် ဝိမြင်စွာ မြစ်ပေါ်လာရေး
- \* ပြည်တွင်းပြည်ပမှ အတတ်ပညာနှင့် အရင်းအနှီးများ စိတ်ဝင်စား၍ စီးပွားရေးဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်အောင် တည်ဆောက်ရေး
- \* နိုင်ငံတော် စီးပွားရေးတစ်ရပ်လုံးကို ဖန်တီးနိုင်မှုစွမ်းအားသည် နိုင်ငံတော်နှင့် တိုင်းရင်းသားပြည်သူတို့၏ လက်ဝယ်တွင်ရှိရေး

**(၁၆) ကြိမ်မြောက်**

**ကျောက်မျက်နှိနှင့် ကျောက်စိမ်း**

**ရောင်းချပွဲကျင်းပမည်**

ရန်ကုန် ဇူလိုင် ၂

ပြည်ထောင်စုမြန်မာနိုင်ငံ စီးပွားရေး ဦးစီးဌာန၏ (၁၆)ကြိမ်မြောက် ကျောက်မျက်နှိနှင့် ကျောက်စိမ်းရောင်းချပွဲ (၂၀၀၃)ကို ၂၀၀၃ ခုနှစ် ဩဂုတ် ၅ ရက်မှ ၈ ရက် အထိ အမှတ်(၁၆) ကမ္ဘာ့အေးအတိတ်လမ်းရှိ မြန်မာကျောက်မျက်နှိရောင်းချရေးစနစ် ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေး ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးမြန်မာ ဩဂုတ် ၅ ရက်မှ ၇ ရက်အထိ ကျောက်မျက်နှိ ကြည့်ရှုစစ်ဆေးခြင်း၊ ဩဂုတ် ၈ ရက်တွင် Bargain and Auction စနစ်ဖြင့် ရောင်းချခြင်းများကို ဆောင်ရွက်မည်ဖြစ်သည်။ ဝယ်ယူလိုသူများသည် ဩဂုတ် ၂ ရက်မှစ၍ မှတ်ပုံတင်စင်ကြီး နိုင်ငံသားကျပ် ၄၀၀၀၀ နိုင်ငံခြားသား အဆင့်တစ်ခုခံလာ ၂၀ နှင့်အညီ မှတ်ပုံတင်စာရင်း ပေး သွင်း နိုင်သည်။

**လာရောက်အပ်မံ**

ပုဂ္ဂလိက ကျောက်မျက်နှိ၊ ကျောက်စိမ်း လုပ်ငန်းရှင်များကလည်း မိမိရောင်းချလိုသည့် ကျောက်မျက်နှိ၊ ကျောက်စိမ်းနှင့် အချောထည်လက်ဝတ်ရတနာများကို ဇူလိုင် ၁၄ ရက်မှ ၂၄ ရက်အတွင်း လာရောက်အပ်မံနိုင်ကြောင်း သိရသည်။

**ဆက်သွယ်စုံစမ်းနိုင်**

ရောင်းချမှုစင်တာသည် ရတနာပစ္စည်း၏ တန်ဖိုးပေါ်တွင် သညာ ၁၁၁၁ ၄၈၇၆၆၆၆ ကို မြန်မာစီးပွားရေး ဦးစီးဌာန၏ ဝယ်ယူမှုစနစ်ဖြင့် ရောင်းချရပါက ရောင်းရငွေပေါ်တွင် ရတနာပစ္စည်းပေးဆောင်ခြင်းနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍

**ဓာတ်ပုံ-ရေချမ်းမြင့်**

**လူမှုရေး ဦးတည်ချက် (၄)ရပ်**

- \* တစ်မျိုးသားလုံး၏ စိတ်ဝင်စားမှုနှင့် အကျင့်စားကျင့် ဖြစ်ပွားရေး အမျိုးဂုဏ်၊ ဓာတ်ပုံတင်ခြင်းများနှင့် ယဉ်ကျေးမှု အစမှ အနှစ်များ၊ အမျိုးသားရေးလက်ထောက်များ မပျောက်ပျက်အောင် ထိန်းသိမ်းဆောင်ရွက်ရေး
- \* မျိုးချစ်စိတ်ဓာတ် ရှင်သန်ထက်မြက်ရေး
- \* တစ်မျိုးသားလုံး ကျန်းမာကြံ့ခိုင်ရေးနှင့် ပညာရည် မြှင့်တင်ရေး

**နိုင်ငံတော် ပွဲစဉ်ပုံစံအခြေခံဥပဒေ ပေါ်ပေါက်ရေးသည် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံသားအားလုံး၏ တာဝန်ဖြစ်သည်။**

Figure (1) Government propaganda slogans and Kyemon Daily (published on 3rd July 2003)

VOA, and DVB which are broadcasted in Myanmar language. The Myanmar military dic-

tators always accuse those radios and television programmes that they are providing false information.

စကြာမိုသတင်းစာ စာမျက်နှာ ၂၀

၂၈-၆-၂၀၀၈

**လေဘေးသင့်ပြည်သူများအတွက် လှူဒါန်းကြရာတွင် -**

- မည်သူမဆို လွတ်လပ်စွာ လှူဒါန်းနိုင်ပါသည်။
- မည်သူ့ထံကိုမဆို မည်သည့်ဒေသ၌မဆို လှူဒါန်းနိုင်ပါသည်။

သို့ရာတွင် စနစ်တကျမရှိသော လှူဒါန်းမှုမျိုးနှင့် နိုင်ငံနှင့်လူမျိုး၏ ဂုဏ်သိက္ခာကို ထိခိုက်စေသော အပြုအမူများကိုမူ ရှောင်ရှားကြပါရန် နှိုးဆော်အပ်ပါသည်။

- \* ပြည်တွင်း၊ ပြည်ပ ဆန့်ကျင်ဘက်များနှင့် အတ္တသမား၊ မသမာသူများသည် လေဘေးကယ်ဆယ်ရေး၊ ပြန်လည်ထူထောင်ရေးလုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍ မမှန်မကန် လုပ်ကြံသတင်းများ ဖန်တီးလျက် ဝီဒီယိုရိုက်ကူးပြီး ပြည်ပသတင်းဌာနများသို့ ပေးပို့ကာ ကိုယ်ကျိုးရှာလျက် ရှိကြသည်။
- \* လေဘေးသင့် ပြည်သူများအနေဖြင့် အတ္တသမား၊ မသမာသူများ၏ မသမာသော သွေးဆောင်မှုများကို အမျိုးသားရေးစိတ်ဓာတ်ဖြင့် သတိထားရှောင်ရှားကြရန် နှိုးဆော်အပ်ပါသည်။

- ★ မိုးလုံးပြည့် မုသာဝါဒီတွေ တိုင်းပြည်ပျက်အောင်လုပ်နေသည်
- ★ BBC ညာနေသည်
- ★ VOA လိမ်နေသည်
- ★ RFA ရန်တိုက်ပေးနေသည်
- ★ အဲဒီ ကုန်းချောသွေးထိုးသူများ မယုံလေနဲ့ သတိထား

**ပြည်တွင်း၊ ပြည်ပမှ လှူဒါန်းသော ငွေ၊ ပစ္စည်းများနှင့်ပတ်သက်၍ အလွဲသုံးစားပြုမှုများ တွေ့ရှိပါက တိုင်ကြားနိုင်**

လေဘေးသင့်ခံရသူများအတွက် ပြည်တွင်း၊ ပြည်ပမှ လှူဒါန်းသော ငွေ၊ ပစ္စည်းများကို မရိုးဖြောင့်သောသဘောဖြင့် ထိန်းသိမ်းထားခြင်း၊ ရောင်းဝယ်ခြင်း၊ လူပုဂ္ဂိုလ်နှင့် အဖွဲ့အစည်းများအတွက် အသုံးချခြင်း၊ အခြားကိစ္စရပ်များအတွက် အလွဲသုံးစားပြုခြင်းများကို တွေ့မြင်သိရှိပါက လူမှုဝန်ထမ်း၊ ကယ်ဆယ်ရေးနှင့် ပြန်လည်နေရာချထားရေးဝန်ကြီးဌာန-  
ရုံးအဖွဲ့မှူး ဖုန်း-၀၆၇ ၄၀၄၀၂၁၊ ဖုန်း- ၀၆၇ ၄၀၄၀၂၂ နှင့်  
ဒုတိယရုံးအဖွဲ့မှူး ဖုန်း-၀၉၀၆ ၀၁၀၀၂ တို့သို့ တိုင်ကြားနိုင်ပါသည်။

**ပို့ဆောင်**

လေဘေးသင့် ဒေသများ ပြန်လည် တည်ဆောက်ရေး လုပ်ငန်းများကို နိုင်ငံတော် အစိုးရပြည်သူနှင့်တပ်မတော် တို့ ပူးပေါင်းပါဝင် ဆောင်ရွက်လျက်ရှိရာ တပ်မတော် (ခေ)မှ အရာရှိ၊ စစ်သည်များ စစ်ရေးယာဉ်များဖြင့် လေဘေးသင့် မြို့နယ်များရှိ ကျေးရွာများအရောက် သောက်သုံး ရေများ ပြန်ပို့ဆောင်ပေးစဉ်။ (သတင်းစဉ်)



**အင်အားပြင်းထန်သော ငလျင် ကမ္ပူလီပင်လယ်ကို ဗဟိုပြု၍ လှုပ်**

နေပြည်တော် ဇွန် ၂၇

၂၀၀၈ ခုနှစ် ဇွန်လ ၂၇ ရက်နေ့ မြန်မာစတော်ချိန် ၁၈ နာရီ ၁၂ မိနစ် ၄၆ စက္ကန့်အချိန်တွင် ကမ္ဘာအေးမြေငလျင်ခနဲခဲ၏ အနောက်တောင်ဘက် မိုင် ၅၀၀ ခန့် ကွာဝေးသောနေရာ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံပြင်ပ (ကမ္ပူလီပင်လယ်)ကို ဗဟိုပြု၍ အင်အားရစ်ချိတ်တာဝေး ၆ ဒသမ ၇ အဆင့်ရှိ အင်အားပြင်းထန်သော မြေငလျင်တစ်ခု လှုပ်ရှားသွားကြောင်း တိုင်းထွာရရှိသည်ဟု မိုးလေဝသနှင့် လေဗေဒဌာနကြားမှူးဦးစီးဌာနက သတင်းထုတ်ပြန်သည်။

အတည်ပြုချိန် ၁:၀၀

Figure (2) View of the government on international news agencies (June 28th 2008 issue of Kyemon newspaper)

In 2008, after the constitution was approved, general elections were held and democratic transition process where power was transferred to civilian governments occurred. During the rule of government of Union Solidarity and Development Party, a few relaxations started regarding media freedom and freedom of speech. Publication of private newspapers is allowed in 2013. But private newspapers could not survive long term commercially.

Moreover, right to information from internet was restricted. In 2013, reforms that caused the reduction of SIM card prices happened and many people in Burma could access internet broadly. Although there are only 2.8 million mobile sim card users in 2012, in 2018, there are 56.8 million mobile sim card users and it exceeds the number of population of Burma. Regarding access to internet, internet usage from Burma is highest on social media and Facebook is the most used social media.<sup>13</sup> Rather than accessing information from mainstream media, accessing information through Facebook is more accessible and comfortable.

It was found that news agencies and television programmes which are mainstream media also changed pattern by presenting news on Facebook which is the most commonly used social media. Along with high usage of Facebook, writing contents, spreading information, presenting of their views by celebrities from entertainment sector were carried out on Facebook. Because of the acceptance and support of the people (or) audience who are accessing infor-

mation from them, people who are regarded as celebrity influencers among Facebook users have emerged.

People who are regarded as celebrity influencers among Facebook users come from different backgrounds. It was found that they are diverse such as writers, reporters, models and actors, singers, news anchors and politicians. This study is made to analyze the political views based on information spread on Facebook by some of the celebrity influencers. In doing so, it was analyzed only on 2 issues regarding political views which are the views regarding civil war and descriptions regarding genocide committed on Rohingya people.

According to the facts mentioned in the introduction, it was found that instigations on Facebook which is the most used social media in Burma plays an important role in the opposition against Rohingyas and Muslims which become stronger after 2012. It was found that hate speech propaganda had spread through Facebook to cause hate-based attacks on Rohingyas and Muslims.<sup>14</sup> In spreading hate speech, the role of celebrity influencers is involved broadly.

This study is studied on the descriptions by those social media influencers regarding civil war and genocide committed on Rohingya people. It also analyzed whether these views have changed or not during the spring revolution that has emerged after the Myanmar army staged the coup on February 1st 2021. In doing so, it is based on statements and data col-

<sup>13</sup> Aiden Moe (2021) Study of systematic propaganda using Facebook. Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship. Vol 1.

<sup>14</sup> Prasse-Freeman, Elliott. (2021). Hate Bait, Micro-publics, and National(ist) Conversations on Burmese Facebook. Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship. Vol 1.

lections of the local and international organizations which are observing the situations on Facebook. To quantify whether the political views have changed or not, research interviews are conducted with about 10 persons including some social media influencers, activists and researchers. Due to the sensitivity and security reasons, data and remarks of interviewees are used without mentioning their names.

Data mentioned in the report as some challenges and limitations are mentioned as samples. Persons in these descriptions are not the only ones who presented hate speeches and views. Celebrity influencers have made many descrip-

tions. Also in mentioning the changing views, only examples are mentioned and it might be inaccessible for the research data collection. Synergy (Social Harmony Organization) and BCM have regarded human rights and social harmony as an important issue in implementing future society and evaluated the situation that has happened. The descriptions included in this study will not hinder the issues of seeking justice by the victims (or) persons who have suffered. Moreover, freedom of speech which is a basic human right of people is respected and it does not intend to restrict it.





### 3. Civil war and propaganda

#### 3.1 Civil war

Since the time of independence, the history of Burma and civil war cannot be divided. Only if facts regarding the civil war is understood, then the political history of Burma can be understood. Burma got independence from the British on 4th January 1948. In fact, armed revolutions have started even before gaining independence. Even before gaining independence, armed insurgencies of Communist Party (Burma) (red flags) led by Thakin Soe, Guerilla forces of Rakhine leaders including U Seinda and Bone Pout Thar Kyaw and Mujahid insurgency in Arakan region have started.<sup>15</sup>

2 Months after gaining independence, Communist Party of Burma (white flags) led by Thakin Than Tun, in July 1948 People's Volun-

teer Organization (white bands) have started the armed revolutions respectively. In the same year, regiment (1) and regiment (3) of Burma Rifles of Myanmar army (Tatmadaw) took part in the armed revolution. Myanmar military leaders saw the regiments of Myanmar army (Tatmadaw) which went underground as mutiny.<sup>16</sup>

On one hand, armed revolutions of ethnic groups have started. After Burma gained independence, the Karen people who are the second highest population in Burma have demanded to give a Karen state to them. Regarding what the Karen people want, the Karen people staged a peaceful nationwide Karen people protest on 11th February 1948. In that protest, they have made (4) demands as what Karen people want. Those are -

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<sup>15</sup> Yebaw Thit Maung (1991). History of insurgency Part (1), (Pre-independence period). Ministry of Information, Printing and Publication.

<sup>16</sup> (1949) Myanmar and insurgencies. Yangon. Government of the Union of Myanmar.

- (1) We want a Karen State now
- (2) Karen one Kyat, Burmese one Kyat
- (3) We don't want communal (ethnic) clashes and
- (4) We don't want civil war.<sup>17</sup>

Although making peaceful demands and discussions with AFPFL government were held, the demands of Karen people were ignored. Moreover, AFPFL government disarmed Karen troops, arrested Karen and Mon leaders from KNDO (Karen National Defence Organization) and MNDO (Mon National Defence Organization) in some towns and attacked Karen villages. In such condition, Karen troops also attacked Taungoo and Patheingyi on January 27th and 28th 1949. On 27th January 1949, AFPFL government troops attacked and burnt KNU (HQ) office in Sanchaung Township. In that incident, (10) Karens were killed. Moreover, on 30th January, KNDO HQ in Insein and KNDO camps in Thamine, Yangon were attacked by AFPFL government troops and KNDO and MNDO were declared as unlawful associations. In such situation, the Karen people had to counterattack for their survival. The KNU leaders ordered the Karen people nationwide to counterattack AFPFL government. As such, the Karen armed revolution started on 31st January 1949 and it was regarded as Karen Revolution Day. Along with the armed revolution of Karen people, the armed revolution of Mon people also started. In 1949, armed revolution of Karenni people also started.<sup>18</sup>

From there, Shan, Kachin, Kayan, Rakhine, Pa-O, Chin and Ta'ang people also started armed revolutions based on national equality in parliament democracy era (1948 - 62) and one party dictatorship era (1962 - 88). In 1969, armed revolution of Parliament Democracy Party (PDP) led by former prime minister U Nu from parliament democracy era has emerged. The armed revolution of Parliament Democracy Party existed for a decade and it has stopped because their leaders surrendered to the BSPP government of Gen Ne Win.<sup>19</sup>

8888 People's uprising that occurred in 1988 has ended the one party dictatorship system of BSPP government. But the Myanmar army staged the coup again on 18th September 1988 and Burma fell under the rule of military dictator again. During the coup, Myanmar army committed massacre on students, youth and people who fought for democracy and human rights in the people's uprising.

Moreover, because of arrests and tortures targeted at students, youth and people, most had to take refuge in the liberated areas controlled by ethnic revolutionary groups. Then they prepared for armed revolution to fight against the Myanmar army. On November 1st 1988, All Burma Student's Democratic Front - ABSDF was founded and it became an armed revolutionary group for civil war of Burma.

The unique turn of Burmese civil war is the collapse of Communist Party of Burma. The mutinies of ethnic troops under Communist Party

<sup>17</sup> Fuusakaw Leltaw( ) History of Karen revolution. KNU – Karen National Union (HQ). Information Department (History Committee)

<sup>18</sup> Fuusakaw Leltaw( ) History of Karen revolution. KNU – Karen National Union (HQ). Information Department (History Committee)

<sup>19</sup> Win Tin Tun. (2010) Reference of Burmese political parties and organization. Published by Naythit In Arr Su.

of Burma which are based in Burma-China border in Shan State occurred in 1989. In that situation, Communist Party of Burma collapsed and new ethnic armed revolutionary groups have emerged.<sup>20</sup> Prominent ethnic armed revolutionary groups are United Wa State Party - UWSP, Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army - MNDAA and National Democratic Alliance Army - NDAA.

Another organization which has emerged from the path of ethnic revolution is Union League of Arakan/ Arakan Army - ULA/AA. ULA/AA was formed in Chinese border and infiltrated into Rakhine State in 2009 and fightings with Myanmar army began in March 2015 in Paletwa Township.<sup>21</sup> From 2019 to till now, ULA/AA fought huge battles which can threaten the Myanmar army and succeeded in implementing administration and judiciary sectors.

This is the summary presentation of Burmese civil war layout before the Myanmar army attempted to stage the coup on 1st February 2021. The armed revolutionary groups which have emerged before gaining independence are broad and they formed alliance among revolutionary groups and fought against Myanmar army and the government. If the revolutionary groups in Burmese civil war are analyzed, it can be divided into revolutions based on the view of establishing a state and beliefs (Communist Party of Burma, Communist Party (Burma), People's Volunteer Organization, Parliament Democracy Party, and All Burma Student's Democratic Front) and revolutions based on ethnicity for

equality, self-determination and establishing a federal union (Karen National Union, Kachin Independence Organization, Karenni National Development Party and Union League of Arakan).

Although numerous peace talks were held in the 70 year long civil war, the discussion the revolutionary groups want that could resolve the political problems have not emerged yet. The consecutive Myanmar governments that hold on to dictatorship and racial supremacy held discussions only with the views to surrender and restricting revolutionary groups rather than political settlements.<sup>22</sup> Especially, Myanmar army consecutively saw the revolutionary groups as insurgents. This situation is one of the reasons why civil war of Burma persisted for so long.

### 3.2 Forms of proganda

It was found that governments (including military governments) who control the power of the state and Myanmar army successively conducted propaganda activities regarding the status of civil war that is happening in Burma. It was found that government (or) the army with the power they held polticially used various means propaganda including creating stories about the civil war and portraying that they are always right and the revolutionaries are the people on the wrong path.

In the parliament democracy era, as counter-propaganda against the communist revolutionaries, U Nu who was prime minister at the

<sup>20</sup> Smith, Martin. (1999). *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity*. Bangkok: White Lotus.

<sup>21</sup> Maung Maung Soe (2020) Rakhine war and its characters <https://burma.irrawaddy.com/article/2020/06/11/224399.html>

<sup>22</sup> can be studied in 1963 peace talks records and (21) century Pinlon Conference records.

time wrote a play called "The People Win Through". That play was published into a book and performed through out the country and later prescribed it into a school textbook, broadcasted it on radio and made it into a movie with the help of US government.<sup>23</sup> During the trip to United States in 1955, it was found that U Nu watched the performance of his own play "The People Win Through" in Pasadena, California.<sup>24</sup>

This "The People Win Through" play, book and movies show the attitude of AFPFL government on civil war and portrayed the communists as insurgents.



Figure (3) AFPFL prime minister U Nu's anti-communist play "The People Win Through" was also published as a comic book.

During the administration of one party dictator of Revolutionary Council and Burma Socialist Programme Party led by Gen Ne Win, the government controlled entertainment sector including print sector and film productions. Movies, books and literature that support socialism of BSPP are favored. After SLORC staged the



Figure (4) AFPFL prime minister U Nu's anti-communist play "The People Win Through" was also made into a movie. "The People Win Through" movie poster.

coup in 1988, media was more restricted oppressed. At the same time, 8888 people's uprising, democratic activities and armed revolutions were propagandized negatively as insurgents and saboteurs.

Since there were television broadcasts, propagandas were carried out using Myanmar Athan and state-owned newspapers including Myanmar Television programmes. A documentary named "Stormy True Story of History" was screened using the data recorded during the people's uprising. The documentary "Stormy True Story of History" portrayed that the People's Uprising was orchestrated by communists and anarchists and Myanmar army saved the country by staging the coup.

<sup>23</sup> Kyelnithit (2017) anti-communist propaganda of Burmese parliament government and involvement of US. Say Min Tan Sarsaung. Volume (2). Issue (2)

<sup>24</sup> <https://lostfootsteps.org/my/history/prime-minister-u-nus-visit-to-the-united-states>



Figure (5) "Stormy True Story of History" aired by SLORC

Moreover, to attack All Burma Student's Democratic Front - ABSDF which was formed because of the killings during the coup by SLORC and to fight against SLORC and Karen National Union which is supporting them, a television movie named "Parpima" was shot. "Parpima" was aired repeatedly. In that movie, famous actors of that time were included.

Another prominent propaganda television movie is "Father and Sons" starring famous actor Nyunt Win. This movie portrayed the view that Myanmar army staged the coup to control the insurgency of ethnic groups and youth. Along with the theme song of famous singer Chit Kaung, "Father and Sons" spread among the Myanmar people.



Figure (6) Actress Khin Soe Paing in "Parpima" TV movie aired by SLORC

Additionally, The SLORC government aired a short TV story which mocks and defames the National League for Democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. People were against the actors who took part in that short story. Among the actors who took part in it, the supporting



Figure (7) Actor Nyunt Win in "Father and Sons" TV movie aired by SLORC

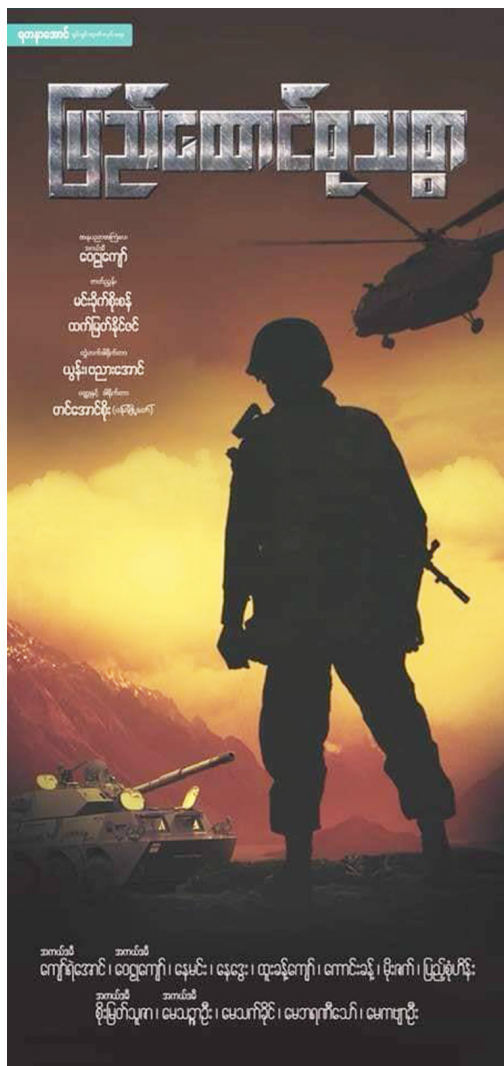


Figure (8) Movie poster of "Pyi Htaung Su Thitsar" (Union Oath) which is one of the propaganda movies of Myanmar army

actress Daw Gwet Htaw's house was stoned.<sup>25</sup>

Numerous movies and TV stories which include support of actions of Myanmar army and opposition of ethnic armed organizations and democratic movements were made and aired since the rule of SLORC government up to successive governments. Those were made as annual commemorative movies of Myanmar Armed Forces Day and founding of Union Solidarity and Development Organization and Zin Yaw Mg Mg, Tin Than Oo, Mya Than San, Pachi Soe Moe, Nyein Min and Min Khite Soe San are the directors and script writer who mainly shot those movies. In portraying movies about Myanmar army, movies and TV stories such as 'Way Lel Mway Kway Lel Mway', 'Ahit Ta Pwel Sit Pwel Ta Yar', 'Ah Nya Ta Ya Moe Kaung Kin', 'Na Lone Thar Net Sit Tar Won', 'Ye Baw Set Lote', 'Thu Ye Kaung Tote Pyaw Yar Myey', 'Ah Mi Myey Mha Thar Kaung Myar', 'Ah Pyar Yaung Thitsar', Than Yaw Zin Ah Narr Na Lone Thar Baho Pyu', 'Pyi Htaung Su Thitsar', 'Ngar Tote The' and 'Sit Ko Mone Ywayt Tite Khet The' are in-

<sup>25</sup> Wint Htel. (2007) Min Thar Gyi U Tun Wai Tote Nalone Thar Gyi Say Chin [http://drlunswel.blogspot.com/2007/09/blog-post\\_8174.html](http://drlunswel.blogspot.com/2007/09/blog-post_8174.html)

<sup>26</sup> CT. (2020). Tatmadaw will air 'Ahphey Net Tharr Myarr' coup propaganda movie. <https://myanmar-now.org/mm/news/4901>



Figure (9) Movie poster of "Sit Ko Mone Ywayt Tite Khet The" which is one of the propaganda movies of Myanmar army

Among the actors who took part in those pro-army propaganda movies and TV stories, many famous actors, actresses and supporting actors were included. In some situation, it was found that pro-army movies were shot to win the Academy award which is the highest award of Myanmar film. At the 1994 43rd Academy Award Ceremony, Kyaw Hein won Best Sup-

porting Actor Award with 'Way Lel Mway Kway Lel Mway', at 2000 49th Academy Award Ceremony, Thiha Tin Soe won Best Director Award and Best Actor Award and Khin Sabai OO Films won Best Film Award with "Nge Yel Thar", at 2003 52nd Academy Award Ceremony, U Myint Khine won Best Editing Award and Khin Sabai OO Films won Best Sound Award with "Thu Mwel Hta Thitsar", at 2013 62nd Acad-



Figure (10) Movie poster of 'Way Lel Mway Kway Lel Mway' which is one of the propaganda movies of Myanmar army

emy Award Ceremony, Sandayar Tin Win Hlaing won Best Music Award with "Kyel Sin Maw Koon", 2017 66th Academy Award Ceremony, Sandayar Tin Win Hlaing won Best Music Award with "Kunlun Yet 40 Tite Pwel" respectively. The

study found that those award winning films were propaganda movies that defame the revolutionary organizations and propagandized one sided to people based on political and historical views



Figure (11) Movie poster of "Kyel Sin Maw Koon" which is one of the propaganda movies of Myanmar army





Figure (12) Movie poster of “Kunlun Yet 40 Tite Pwel” which is one of the propaganda movies of Myanmar army



Figure (13) Actor Min Maw Koon in "Kunlun Yet 40 Tite Pwel" which is one of the propaganda movies of Myanmar army

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### ကွမ်းလုံ ရက် ၄၀ ရိုက်ဖို့ တာဝန်ကြီးတယ် ဆိုတဲ့ မင်းမော်ကွန်း

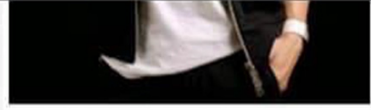


‘ကွမ်းလုံ ရက် ၄၀ ’ ဇာတ်ကားသည် ယခင်ရိုက်ကူးဖူး သည့် တပ်မတော်ကားများနှင့် မတူဘဲ သမိုင်းအမှန်ကို ရိုက်ကူး ခြင်းဖြင့် ဖစ်သောကြောင့် တာဝန်ကြီး ကြောင်းမင်းမော်ကွန်းက ပြောသည်။

“ကျွန်တော် အရှေ့မှာရိုက်ခဲ့ တဲ့ တပ်မတော်ကားတွေက ဇာတ် လမ်းဖန်တီးထားတဲ့ ဇာတ်ကား တွေ။ အခုကားက တကယ့်သမိုင်းကိုရိုက်ရမယ့် ကားဖြစ်တဲ့အတွက် တာဝန်ကြီးတယ်လို့ ခံစားရပါ တယ်” ဟု ၎င်းက ပြောသည်။

ယင်းဇာတ်ကားတွင် ဗိုလ် ကြီးသူရအေးရွှေ၏ နေရာ၌ ပါဝင် သရုပ်ဆောင်ရမည့်ဖြစ်ပြီး သူ့ရဲ့ ကောင်းတစ်ယောက်၏ နေရာ တွင် ပါဝင်သရုပ်ဆောင်ခြင်း ဖြစ်သောကြောင့် ပြင်ဆင်မှုများ ပြုလုပ်သွားရမည်ဟု ၎င်းက ဆို သည်။

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‘ကွမ်းလုံ ရက် ၄၀ ’ ဇာတ်ကားသည် ယခင်ရိုက်ကူးဖူး သည့် တပ်မတော်ကားများနှင့် မတူဘဲ သမိုင်းအမှန်ကို ရိုက်ကူး ခြင်းဖြင့် ဖစ်သောကြောင့် တာဝန်ကြီး ကြောင်းမင်းမော်ကွန်းက ပြောသည်။

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“ဘောက်ထော်က မှတ် တမ်းရုံးထဲမှာ တပ်သားသစ်တွေ၊ အ ရာရှိတွေနဲ့အတူ PT ပြေးတာ၊ တန်းစီတာ၊ တပ်မတော်သားတွေ လုပ်ရတဲ့ စည်းကမ်းတွေ အကုန် လုံးကို မနက်တစ်ကြိမ်၊ ညနေ တစ်ကြိမ် သွားပြီး လေ့ကျင့်နေ တယ်” ဟု ကွမ်းလုံရက် ၄၀ ဇာတ် ကားပြင်ဆင်မှုနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍ မင်းမော်ကွန်းကပြောသ ည်။

ယင်းဇာတ်ကားတွင် မင်း မော်ကွန်းနှင့်အတူ အခြားနာမည် ကြီး သရုပ်ဆောင်များစွာ ပါဝင် မည့်ဖြစ်ပြီး ဒါရိုက်တာ ပန်းချိုစိုး မိုး က ၂၀၁၅ တွင် ကျရောက်မည့် နှစ် (၇၀) ပြည့် တပ်မတော်နေ့အ ထိမ်းအမှတ် ဂုဏ်ပြုဇာတ်ကား အဖြစ် ရိုက်ကူးသွားမည် ဖြစ် သည်။

by 7day

Figure (14) & (15) Statement by actor Academy Min Maw Koon regarding "Kunlun Yet 40 Tite Pwel" which is one of the propaganda movies of Myanmar army

from Myanmar army.

Academy Min Maw Koon who took part in the movie "Kunlun Yet 40 Tite Pwel" which is shot by Directorate of Public Relations and Psychological Warfare said in an interview that the

previous Tatmadaw movies he took part before were fictional movies. He felt responsible since this movie is based on history and he will take part in the movie as Capt Thura Aye Shwe and he will do preparations since he will be acting in

# ကြယ်စင်မော်ကွန်းနဲ့အကယ်ဒမီရဲ့ရင် လိပ်ပြာသန့်တယ်ဆိုတဲ့လူမင်း

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, 2014 ME NO COMMENTS

From : .. 7day



ကြယ်စင်မော်ကွန်းဇာတ် ကားတွင် သရုပ်ဆောင်ခဲ့သော ဇာတ်ရုပ်သည် ကိုယ်တိုင်အားရ ကျေနပ်သော ဇာတ်ကောင်တစ်ခု ဖြစ်သောကြောင့် ယင်းဇာတ်ရုပ် နှင့် အကယ်ဒမီဆုရရှိခဲ့ပါက လိပ် ပြာသန့်ကြောင်း လူမင်း ကပြော သည်။

"ကြယ်စင်မော်ကွန်းမှာ ကိုယ့်ကိုယ်ကိုယ် သရုပ်ဆောင် တာလည်းအားရတယ်။ အစ်ကို အစည်းအရုံးဥက္ကဋ္ဌအနေ နဲ့လော ကအတွက်ဆောင်ရွက်တာက တစ်ပိုင်းပဲ။ ဒါပေမဲ့ ကိုယ့်ရဲ့မိခင် ပင်မတပ်ရင်းက သရုပ်ဆောင်ပဲ လေ။ သရုပ်ဆောင်အတွက်ကို ဘယ်လောက် အပင်ပန်းခံခဲ့တယ်။ ဘယ်လောက်အထိကြိုးစားခဲ့တယ်။ နောက်ပြီး ကိုယ့်သရုပ် ဆောင်ချက်ကို တစ်ယောက် တည်းကြည့်ရတာမှမဟုတ်တာ။ ပညာရှင်တွေရော ပရိသတ်တွေ ရော ကြည့်ပြီးသားဆိုတော့ ရ သင့်ရထိုက်လို့ရမယ်ဆိုရင်လည်း အဲဒီအပေါ်မှာ ကိုယ့်လိပ်ပြာကိုယ် လုံပါ တယ်"ဟု ၎င်းကပြောသည်။

ကြယ်စင်မော်ကွန်းဇာတ် ကားသည် မြန်မာ့တပ်မတော်၏ သမိုင်းကြောင်းကိုရိုက်ကူးတင်ပြ ထားသည့် ဇာတ်ကားတစ်ကား ဖြစ်ပြီး ဒါရိုက်တာပန်းချီစိုးမိုးက ရိုက်ကူးပုံဖော်ထားကာ နိုင်ငံပိုင် ရုပ်သံလိုင်းများမှ တပ်မတော်နေ့ ဂုဏ်ပြုဇာတ်လမ်းအနေဖြင့်ပြသ ခဲ့သော်လည်း ယင်းရုပ်ရှင်ရိုက်ပြသရာတွင်ရက်တိုးပြသခဲ့ရ သည်။

ထို့အပြင် ကြယ်စင်မော် ကွန်းဇာတ်ကားသည် ၂၀၁၃ခုနှစ် အတွက် ရုပ်ရှင်ထူးချွန်ဆုပထမ အဆင့်ရွေးချယ်ရေး အဖွဲ့က ဆန်ခါတင် ရွေးချယ်ခဲ့သော ရုပ်ရှင်ခြောက်ကားတွင်လည်း ပါဝင်လျက်ရှိသည်။

ရုပ်ရှင်အစည်းအရုံးအနေဖြင့် မြန်မာ့ရုပ်ရှင်ထူးချွန်ဆုပေးပွဲကို ရာနှုန်းပြည့်ကျင်းပခွင့်ရရှိခဲ့၍ ရုပ်ရှင်အစည်းအရုံး ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ တစ်ဦးအနေဖြင့် အခမ်းနားဆုံးကျင်းပနိုင်ရန် စဉ်းစားထားကြောင်း ၎င်းကဆိုသည်။

ရုပ်ရှင်အစည်းအရုံးရွေး ကောက်ပွဲအတွက်လည်းလုပ်ငန်း စဉ်များဆက်လက်ဆောင်ရွက် လျက်ရှိပြီး ရုပ်ရှင် လောကသား များကို ချပြနိုင်မည့်ရုပ်ရှင်ဥပဒေ မူကြမ်းအတွက်လည်း နောက်ဆုံး အဆင့်ရေးဆွဲမှုများ ပြုလုပ် နေ ကြောင်း ၎င်းကဆိုသည်။

Figure (16) Statement by actor Lu Min regarding "Kyel Sin Maw Koon" which is one of the propa- ganda movies of Myanmar army



Figure (17) Actress Soe Myat Nandar in "Sit Ko Mone Ywayt Tite Khet The" which is one of the propaganda movies of Myanmar army

the place of a hero.

Actor Lu Min who took part in the movie "Kyel Sin Maw Koon" which is one of the propaganda movies of Myanmar army said that he is satisfied with his performance in that movie and he has a clear conscience if he wins academy award with his character. Pachi Soe Moe who is the director of "Kyel Sin Maw Koon" also said that this movie is not just a war movie, it included historical evidence, it is not a one-sided policy movie and it was able to shoot grandly because of the support of the state.<sup>27</sup> Soe Myat Nandar who took part in the TV film "Sit Ko Mone Ywayt Tite Khet The" said that it was based on a true story that has happened

in Laukkaing and she took part in that film because she was enthusiastic.<sup>28</sup>

Numerous actors, directors, script writers and technical persons who are famous and can influence the people took part in the propaganda movies of Myanmar army. Some took part because they worry about the possibility of the pressure by the Myanmar army and some took part because they expected favors from the Myanmar army and governments. The possibility of winning an academy award especially if it is a movie is a big incentive. In some situations, the people who took part in those movies took part in it because they firmly believed the political and historical views created one-

<sup>27</sup> Is the movie "Kyel Sin Maw Koon" a policy movie? [http://blog.irrawaddy.com/2014/12/blog-post\\_9.html](http://blog.irrawaddy.com/2014/12/blog-post_9.html)

<sup>28</sup> Soe Myat Nan Dar talks about the movie "Sit Ko Mone Ywayt Tite Khet The" <https://old.mmload.com/news/16402>

sidedly by the Myanmar army and successive governments.

### 3.3 Involving in propaganda of Myanmar army

Successive governments including the military junta used prominent people respected by the public in carrying out propaganda about civil war. In doing so, printing and publishing books including production of TV stories and films and holding songs and music festivals are included. Along with wide usage of internet and Facebook after 2012, Facebook is used as a propaganda tool. Those Myanmar army propaganda movies, TV stories and songs are made sure to spread on Facebook and descriptions about civil war through the views of Myanmar army were widely shared by influencers, famous actors, singers and writers.

In doing so, some did it because of the pressure of Myanmar army and government, some did it because they want benefits by doing that and some did it because they like that propaganda. A prominent example is about the battle of Lakkaing which is fought between Myanmar army and MNDDAA. Regarding that battle, Myanmar army widely used Facebook along with other propagandas. It was carried out to gain support through well-known people on Facebook and actors.

At the time, well-known people on Facebook and actors intentionally instigated through posts supporting Myanmar army, donations and standings with the army to make sure that people are involved. A prominent movement is posting the logo of North Eastern Command (Ya Ma Kha) as Facebook profile. In this

movement, from the Myanmar army community including famous people to the public took part in it and it can be regarded as a successful movement of Myanmar army.



**Figure (18) the logo of North Eastern Command (Ya Ma Kha) which was used as a Facebook profile**

Programs where artists went to support troops and IDPs in Laukkaing where Myanmar army and MNDDAA fought were carried out. That program is organized by Thway Myittar Charity Association of actor Wai Lu Kyaw. Moreover, letters signed by artists were sent to show support of troops from Myanmar army. It was found that Actor Ye Aung, May Than Nu, Khaing Thin Kyi and Kyaw Kyaw Bo sent letters encouraging the Myanmar army and those are posted on the Facebook page of actress Khaing Thin Kyi.<sup>29</sup> Additionally, Myanmar Motion Picture Association published an announcement that it stands together with Myanmar army in the battle of Laukkaing and it stands with

<sup>29</sup> Actors cheer members of Tatmadaw who are fighting in Kokang <https://burmese.dvb.no/archives/81873>

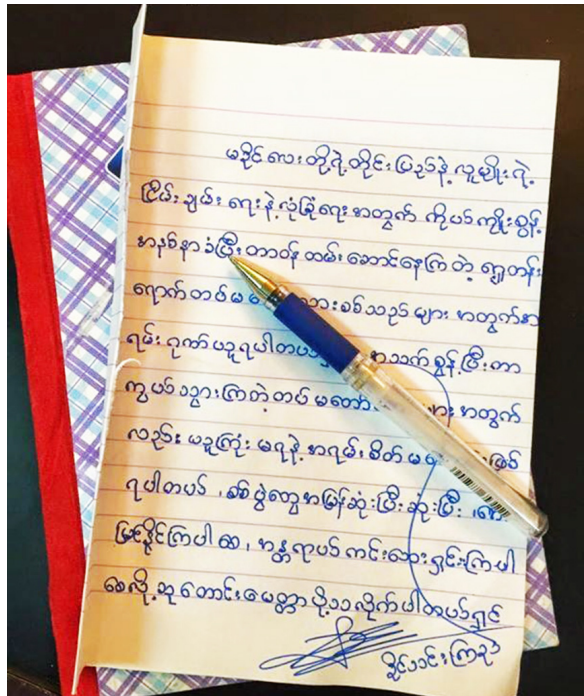
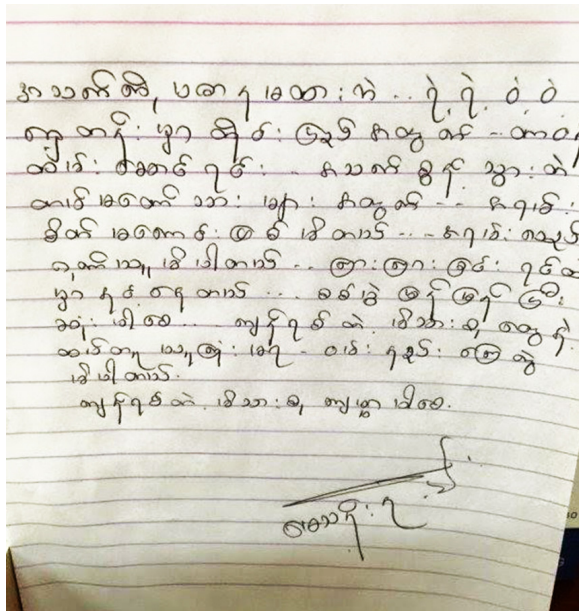
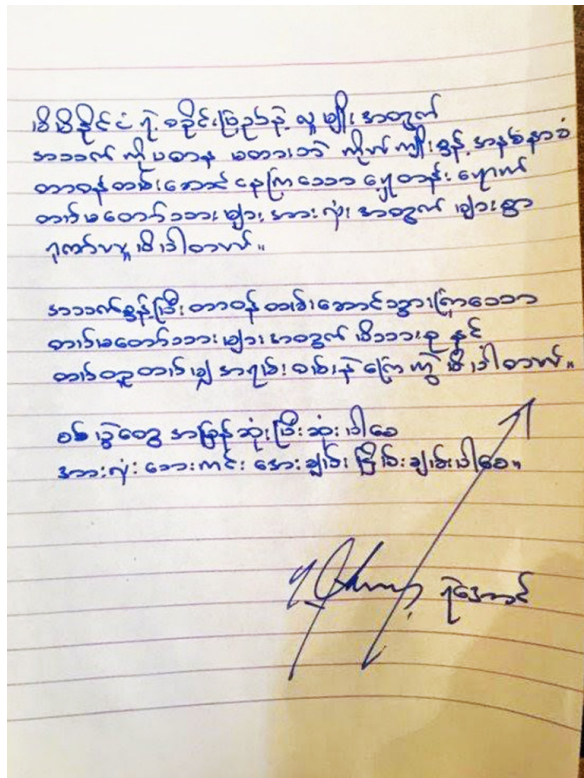
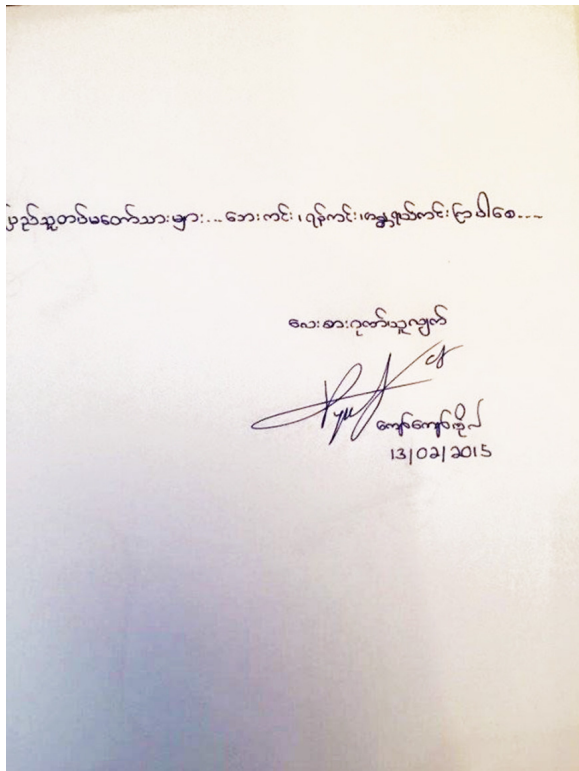


Figure (19, 20, 21, 22) letters of actor Ye Aung, May Than Nu, Khaing Thin Kyi and Kyaw Kyaw Bo encouraging the Myanmar army (from Facebook page of Khaing Thin Kyi)



Figure (23) Announcement of Myanmar Motion Picture Association stating that it stands together with Myanmar army in the battle of Laukkaing and it stands with Myanmar army because it is defending the sovereignty

Moreover, such famous persons collaborated with Myanmar army in publishing news about the fightings with ethnic revolutionary forces and propaganda and mobilization. In some incidents, they also posted letters of en-

couragement along pictures on their Facebook accounts. Some female actresses willingly took part in such activities.



Figure (24, 25) letters of female actress Thinzar Wint Kyaw and Yin Latt encouraging the Myanmar army



Figure (26, 27) letters of female actress Saung Yoon and Phyu Phyu Htwe encouraging the Myanmar army



Myanmar army because it is defending the sovereignty.

While these artists who are distant from politics, history and civil war are supporting the Myanmar army, it can be generally analyzed that they did that because of interests and actually believing it. But when other intellectuals including writers, political communities and political parties are involved, it is analyzed that it is based

on their political and historical views. To mention prominent examples, welcoming of the troops returning from the fronts by the NLD members in Naypyidaw Tatkon Township and presenting insulting contents on Karen National Union and Karen's revolution by prominent writer Tharawon (Pyay). These incidents are presenting of their views according to their political and historical beliefs.



Figure (28) Some NLD party members welcoming the troops returning from the fronts in Naypyidaw Tatkon Township (Popular News Journal)

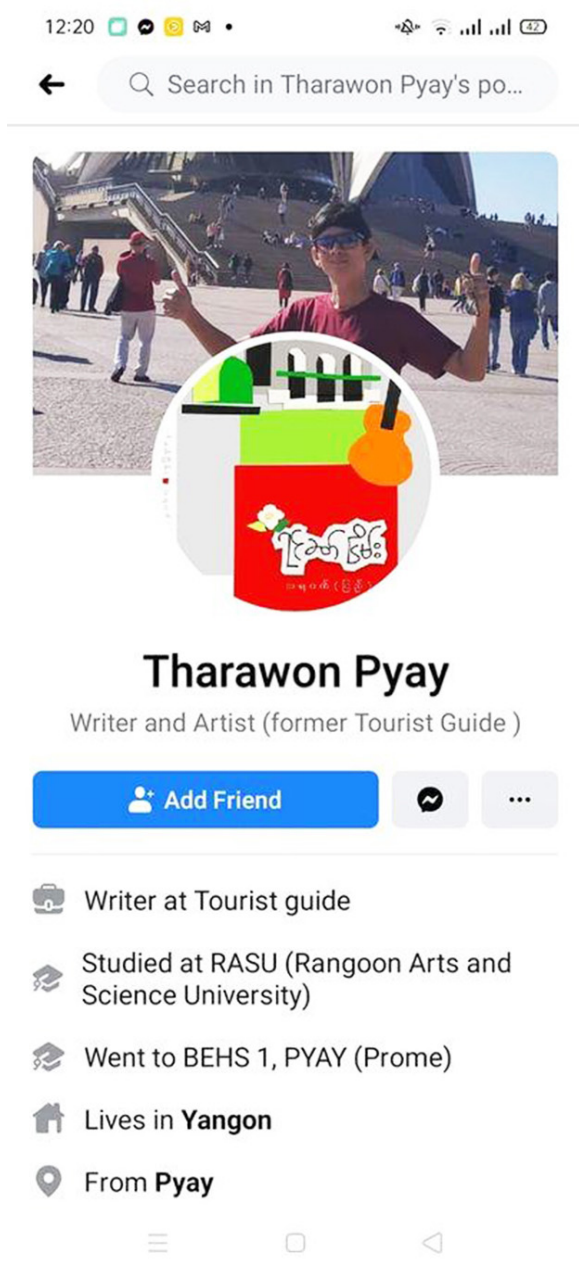
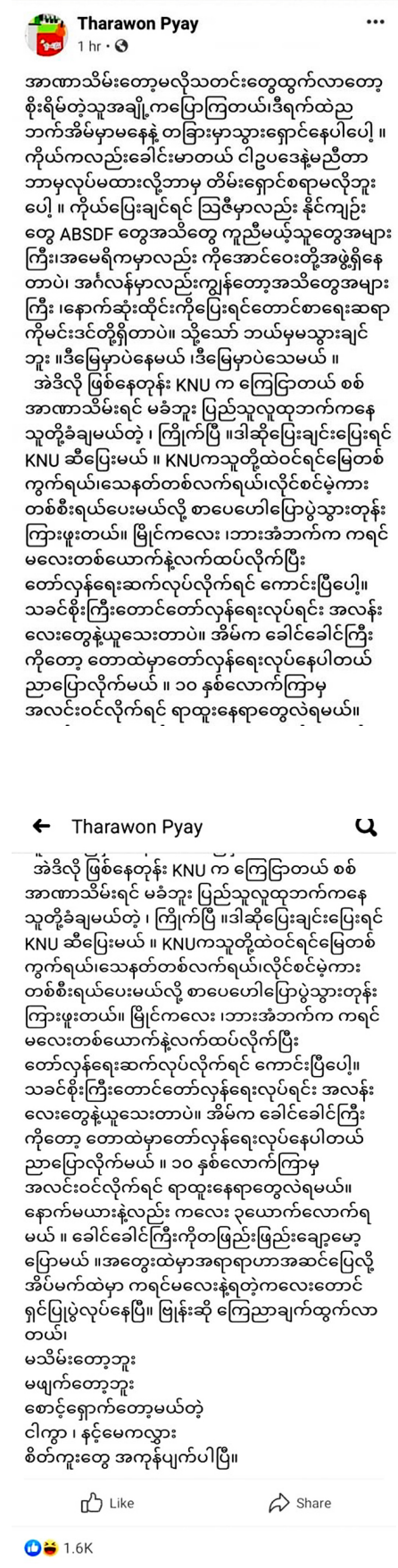


Figure (29, 30, and 31) Content insulting Karen National Union and Karen's revolution posted on Facebook by writer Tharawon (Pyay)



## 4. Views of genocide

Rohingya people are the people who have settled since many years in Arakan State which was colonized by Konbaung kingdom. Rohingya people who had their own language, cultural traditions and history faced human rights violations when Revolutionary Council led by Gen Ne Win staged the coup in 1962. Since then, successive governments have wiped out the existence of Rohingya people and regarded them as Bengalis who have illegally migrated from neighboring Bangladesh.

Successive governments carried out restricting the human rights, not recognizing them as citizens, denying political rights, denying representations in political activities on Rohingya people intentionally. Myanmar governments drove them out massively in 1978, 1992 and 2017.<sup>30</sup> During those incidents, Myanmar army

carried out burning and destroying villages, massacring Rohingya people and raping Rohingya women (including children). The government has failed to maintain, stop and punish the perpetrators. Moreover, regarding the 2017 incidents, if international community discloses cooperation and support by the government regarding the atrocities of the army, it was defended and denied.

Moreover, country's leaders and politicians in cooperation with influencers portrayed the Rohingya people as illegal immigrants, people who are sabotaging the security of the nation, people who are trying to dominate Burma with Islam and terrorists. Additionally, when international level courts and organizations disclose, object and sue that the atrocities committed on Rohingya people constitute crimes against hu-

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<sup>30</sup> The summary of incidents of the massive driving out of Rohingya people in 1978, 1992 and 2017 is mentioned in introduction.

manity and genocide, it was found that the Myanmar government denied it and instigated public so that they also become the ones who deny genocide. In those instigations, influencers took part in it actively.

#### 4.1 Bengalis, terrorists and illegal immigrants

If human rights violations and genocide on Rohingya people are to be addressed and discussed, the fact that will be denied first before 2021 is that Rohingyas are not from Burma but are illegal immigrants from neighboring Bangladesh. It will not be directed at issues of human rights violations and genocide and it will be responded with irrelevant replies mentioned above. That situation is happening on social media (Facebook) to discussions within the intellectual community and among the political parties. Rohingyas are not from Burma but the ones attempting to take a chunk of the country and people who are trying to dominate Burma with Islam are the strong responses.

If strong evidences regarding the existence of Rohingya people are disclosed, there were accusations such as those are fake history and people who are trying to disintegrate the nation with the support of western country or OIC (Organization of Islamic Cooperation). People who spoke out about the rights of Rohingya are accused and named as people who are taking Dollars, people who are exploiting on Ro issue, and traitors of the nation. Among the people who accused like that, politicians, members of the parliament, writers, artists,

influencers, people who are working in civil societies, non-government organizations, international organizations and even some human rights activists as well as supporters of Myanmar army and ultranationalist groups.

Regarding the existence of Rohingya people, there were descriptions even from the time of Badon Min (Bodawpaya) of Konbaung dynasty. That description was mentioned in the 5th journal of Asiatic Society in 1799. A paper called "A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire"<sup>31</sup> by Francis Buchanan in that journal described the comparative study of spoken languages of some of the tribes in Burma. (3) Facts were found regarding the descriptions of Rohingya people -

- (1) Mahommedans (a term referring to Muslims) are called Rovingaws and they settled in Arakan Regions which is called as Rekan by Persians.
- (2) Language of Mahommedans which have settled for many years in Arakan Region is described. Those Mahommedans called themselves as Rooinga and they are natives of Arakan Region.
- (3) About (50) words such as sun, moon, star, water, fire, man, woman and child which are basic vocabularies that exist in every tribe is compared in Rooinga, Rossawn and Bengal languages. According that comparison, it will be known surely that Rooinga

<sup>31</sup> Buchanan, Francis (1799). A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire. Asiatic Researches 5. 219 - 240.

language and Bengal language are not the same. These facts are descriptions regarding Rohingya people which are included in the paper of Francis Buchanan. It is evident that the reference to the Arakan (Rakhine Region) Muslims known as Mahommedans at the time and Rooinga are the facts that they are referring to the Rohingya people today.<sup>32</sup>

Moreover, data regarding Rohingya language can be studied at a website called Ethnologue Languages of the World.<sup>33</sup> On that website, data of over 7000 languages are available. Data regarding type grouping, division of groups, number of population used, region used, dialects, writing system according to each lan-

guage are described. Additionally, language map can be studied. On Ethnologue website, there is a code called ISO 639-3 regarding Rohingya language and a description called [rhg] which represents Rohingya language and it is mentioned as Rohinja for other name. The autonym is Ruwainggya. As language users, population living in Burma, population living in Bangladesh as refugees, population spread all over the world is mentioned and it is known that over 2.5 million people use it. It is mentioned that people who speak Rohingya language in Burma are living in Buthidaung, Maungdaw, Rathedaung and Sittwe Township in Rakhine State.<sup>34</sup>

**Figure (32) Description regarding Rohingya language in the paper "A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire" by Francis Buchanan**

LANGUAGES OF THE BURMA EMPIRE. 237

fight, and the language of one race is totally unintelligible to the others; yet I can perceive in them all some coincidences, and a knowledge of the languages, with their obsolete words, their phrases, their inflections of words; and elisions, *euphonic casts*, would, perhaps, shew many more. Those that have the greatest affinity are in Tab. I. IV. and V. Mr. GILCHRIST, whose knowledge of the common dialects in use on the banks of the *Ganges* is, I believe, exceeded by that of no *European*, was so obliging as to look over these vocabularies, but he could not trace the smallest relation between the languages.

I shall now add three dialects, spoken in the *Burma* empire, but evidently derived from the language of the *Hindu* nation.

The first is that spoken by the *Mohammedans*, who have been long settled in *Arakan*, and who call themselves *Rooinga*, or natives of *Arakan*.

The second dialect is that spoken by the *Hindus* of *Arakan*. I procured it from a *Bráhmén* and his attendants, who had been brought to *Amurapura* by the king's eldest son, on his return from the conquest of *Arakan*. They called themselves *Koffawm*, and, for what reason I do not know, wanted to persuade me that theirs was the common language of *Arakan*. Both these tribes, by the real natives of *Arakan*, are called *Kulaw Yakain*, or strangers *Arakan*.

The last dialect of the *Hindu*stane which I shall mention is, that of a people called by the *Burmas* *Aykobat*, many of whom are slaves at *Amurapura*. By one of them I was informed, that they called themselves *Banga*; that formerly they had kings of their own, but that, in his father's time, their kingdom had been overturned by the king of *Munypura*, who carried away a great part of the inhabitants to his residence. When that

P 3 was

<sup>32</sup> Ye Hein Aung.(2020). Who are Rohingyas? (3) I have never heard of Rohingya. Tumeer Tawlaney Sarsin No (46)

<sup>33</sup> <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/rhg>

<sup>34</sup> Ye Hein Aung.(2020). Who are Rohingyas? (5) Internationally recognized Rohingya language. Tumeer Tawlaney Sarsin No (49)

Moreover, after gaining independence, Rohingya people are recognized as ethnic group of Burma. Prime Minister U Nu from parliament democracy era, Sao Shwe Thaik who is the first president of Burma and deputy prime minister U Ba Swe respectively mentioned that Rohingyas who worship Islam faith in Rakhine State are ethnic group from Burma.<sup>35</sup> Myanmar Encyclopedia mentioned that Rohingyas are the

people who live in Mayu frontier and account for 75% of that frontier.<sup>36</sup> Among the ethnic programmes of Myanmar Athan, Rohingya language programme was broadcasted on 15th May 1961 along with Mon language, Pa-O language and Lahu language.<sup>37</sup> Rohingya language was broadcasted up to 1965 and stopped after that. These facts are extracted from many facts regarding the existence of Rohingya people.

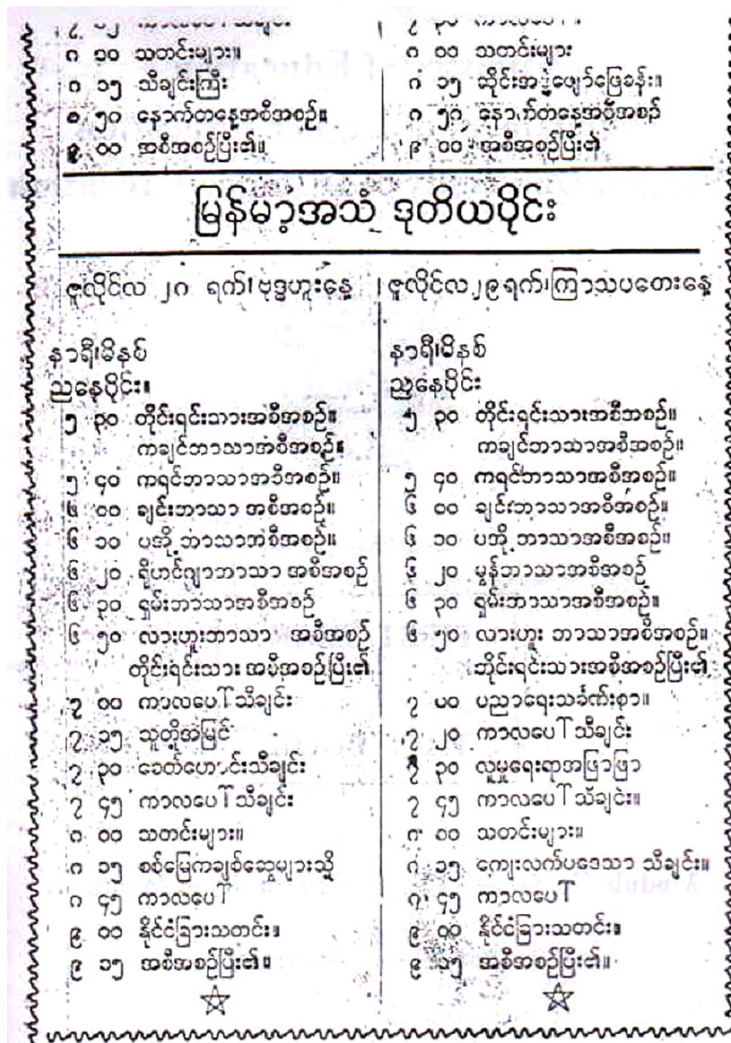


Figure (33) Rohingya language programme broadcasted from Myanmar Athan ethnic language programme

<sup>35</sup> Lee, Ronan. (2021). Myanmar’s Rohingya Genocide: Identity, History and Hate Speech. London: I. B. Tauris.  
<sup>36</sup> (1964) Mayu frontier. Myanmar Encyclopedia. Volume (9). Yangon. Sarpay Beikman  
<sup>37</sup> U Kyaw Nyein. (1979). Nit 30 Myanmar Athan. Yangon. Sarpay Beikman.

On 15th October 1982, Burma Socialist Programme Party government enacted Burma Citizenship Law, Law No. (4) Of Pyithu Hluttaw, Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. This 1982 Citizenship Law has intentionally enacted discrimination and restrictions regarding citizenship, political participation and representation of citizens.<sup>38</sup> Using this law, in 1990, SLORC government have discriminated Muslims and minority groups including Rohingya people in national verification processes. After the SLORC government has driven out the Rohingya people for the second time with Operation Pyitharyar in 1992, they were denied in national verification processes and citizenship evidences including identity cards which they previously held were confiscated. Starting from 1995, temporary identity cards (white cards) were issued to other minority groups including Rohingyas and Minister of Immigration and Population U Khin Yi from president U Thein Sein administration said that there were about 590,016 white card holders.<sup>39</sup> In those white cards, the name Rohingya is not allowed in the place of ethnicity and only the name Bengali is allowed to fill in. The government announced that white cards will be expired on 31st March 2015 and warned to return those.<sup>40</sup>

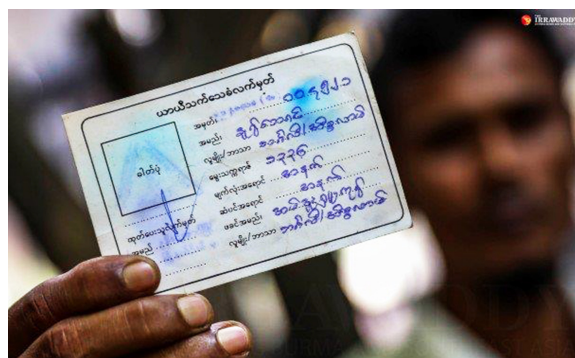


Figure (34) - , the name Rohingya is not allowed in the place of ethnicity and only the name Bengali is allowed to fill in in temporary identity card (White Card). (Photo- Irrawaddy Media)

In the place of those white cards, Identity Card for National Verification is issued instead. Successive governments have intentionally downgraded the status of citizenship of Rohingya people without recognizing them as citizens. In place of their own identity as Rohingya, they were called as Bengali by government for many decades and it was found that the view of foreigner comes closely behind the term Rohingya.

Rohingya people were discriminated not only with citizenship evidences (or) certificates. When census data are collected in 2014, the name Rohingya is not allowed to fill in census and only Bengali is allowed to mention. Most Rohingya people cannot accept filling in the name Bengali in the place of ethnicity and protests against census data collection occurred.<sup>41</sup>

Moreover, to identify the root causes and to prevent such conflicts in the future regarding the conflicts that happened in Rakhine State in

<sup>38</sup> Ye Hein Aung.(2020). Roots of discrimination (Evaluating 1982 Myanmar Citizenship Law). Yangon. Myanmar Cultural Research Society.

<sup>39</sup> Government says there are only 600,000 white card holders <http://burmese.dvb.no/archives/82201>

<sup>40</sup> Process of returning white cards started <https://burma.irrawaddy.com/news/2015/04/02/73487.html>

<sup>41</sup> Thuzar. (2014) Bengalis refuse census data collection in Buthidaung and Maungdaw <https://burma.irrawaddy.com/news/2014/04/02/57106.html>

2012, then President U Thein Sein formed Commission of Inquiry on Sectarian Violence in Rakhine State on 17th August 2012.<sup>42</sup> The report of Commission of Inquiry on Sectarian Violence in Rakhine State was published on 22nd April 2015. In that report, it was found that Rohingyas are mentioned as Bengalis who have migrated from Bangladesh.

In September 2016, according to the request of State Councillor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Kofi Annan and State Councillor Office formed Advisory Commission on Rakhine State.

The final report of the commission was published in August 2017. In that report, according to the request of the State Councillor, the term "Rohingya" was not used and "Muslims (or) Muslim society in Rakhine State" was used instead.<sup>43</sup> It is analyzed that such action is restricting the disclosure of identity of Rohingya people and an act denying the existence of Rohingya people. Such name change was not taken approval from any Rohingya group but it was carried out with the decision of one person.

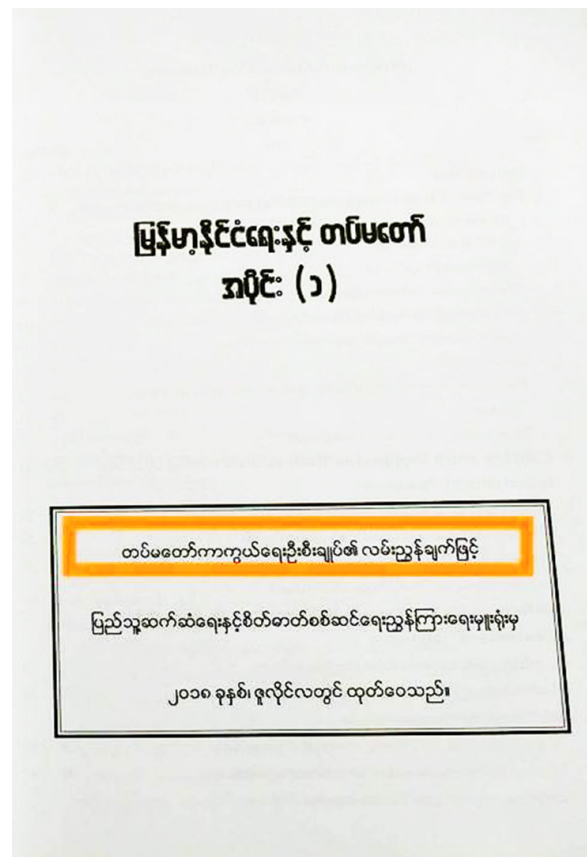
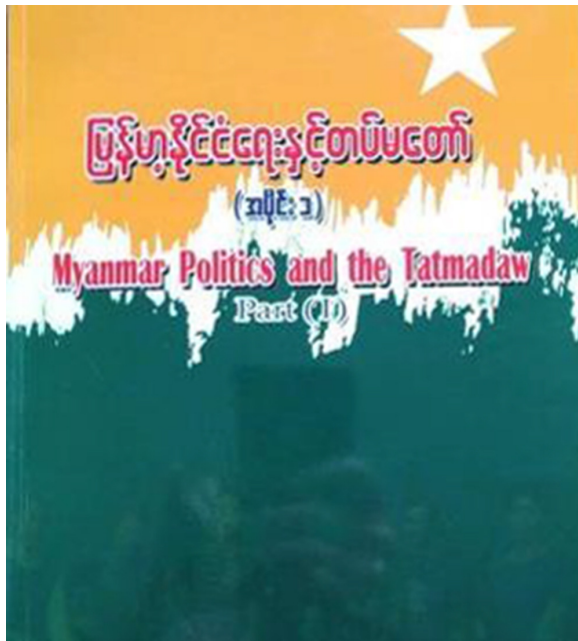


Figure (35, 36) "Myanma Politics and Tatmadaw Part (1)" published with the guidance of Commander-in-Chief of Defense Services

<sup>42</sup> (2013). Report of Rakhine State Conflicts Investigation Commission. Union of the Republic of Myanmar. Confidential.

<sup>43</sup> (2017). Final report of Adviosry Commission on Rakhine State. Advisory Commission on Rakhine State



Myanmar army, NLD government who won the election at the time and parliaments intentionally made sure to prove that Rohingya people are Bengalis who arrived Rakhine State only at colonial era, that they are illegal immigrants from Bangladesh and that they are not ethnic people and citizens of Burma (or) Myanmar. To portray the Rohingya people as illegal immigrants from neighboring country, a book named "Myanma Politics and Tatmadaw Part (1)" was published with the guidance of Commander-in-Chief of Defense Services by the Directorate of Public Relations and Psychological Warfare in 2018.<sup>44</sup> In that book, incorrect and fake historical data were mentioned. Reuters news agency disclosed that photos used in describing the Rohingya people as illegal immigrants and terrorists were in fact photos of incidents that happened in other countries which are mentioned in international media.<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, during the administration of NLD, according to the instruction of State Councillor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi herself, Minister of Culture and Religious Affairs Thura U Aung Ko disclosed that a draft history is written to firmly prove the world that there are no Rohingyas in national races of Myanmar.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs website and Facebook page of that ministry posted their views that they are doing research that Rohingya people are Bengalis and they are illegal immigrants from neighboring country. When Minister of Culture and Religious Affairs Thura U Aung Ko presented religious issues to the Sayardaws at the funeral ceremony of Myaing Gyi Ngu Sayardaw, he used the term "extremist religion".<sup>47</sup> Later, he said that that term was referring to Bengalis.<sup>48</sup> It can be analyzed that such usage of terms such as mentioning the Rohingya people as Bengalis are intentionally used so that the public see them as extremists.

<sup>44</sup> (2018) Myanmar's politics and Tatmadaw Part (1). Yangon. Myawady Literature House.

<sup>45</sup> McPherson, PoppyK (2018). Exclusive: Fake photos in Myanmar army's 'True News' book on the Rohingya Crisis. [https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-rohingya-photos-exclusive/exclusive-fake-photos-in-myanmar-armys-true-news-book-on-the-rohingya-crisis-idUSKCN1LF2LB?fbclid=IwAR3D6wbohvfDinQIVwxe5V5\\_VsSgYEuCpJvI9x0yDd-SCuxfNvFhChiWu2o](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-rohingya-photos-exclusive/exclusive-fake-photos-in-myanmar-armys-true-news-book-on-the-rohingya-crisis-idUSKCN1LF2LB?fbclid=IwAR3D6wbohvfDinQIVwxe5V5_VsSgYEuCpJvI9x0yDd-SCuxfNvFhChiWu2o)

<sup>46</sup> A draft of History has been drafted to prove the world that they are no Rohingyas <http://burmese.dvb.no/archives/252680>

<sup>47</sup> Moe Moe (2018) Minister of Culture and Religious Affairs warned <https://burma.irrawaddy.com/news/2018/12/08/176790.html>

<sup>48</sup> Thura U Aung Ko says extremist religion means Bengalis <https://www.facebook.com/theirrawaddyburmese/videos/2061085283934980>



Figure (37) Post on Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs website titled "there are no Rohingya in history of myanmar and national races." 49

In carrying out such activities to wipe out the existence of Rohingya people by Myanmar army and government, legislative sector also took part in it. As a prominent example, at Pyithu Hluttaw meeting which was held on 5th February 2018, discussions were held to make sure the world knows that "there are no Rohingyas".<sup>50</sup>

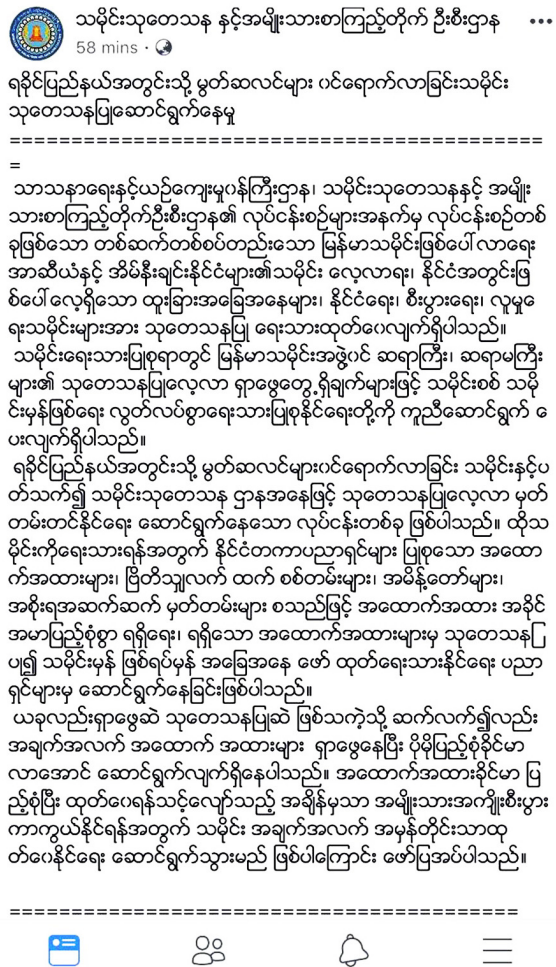


Figure (38) Post on Facebook page of Department of Archaeology and national Museum mentioning about historical research work on the arrival of Muslims in Rakhine State.

Moreover, in "Rakhine Conflict Paper" which was distributed in Pyithu Hluttaw in September 2018, it mentioned that Rohingyas people are Bengalis and entered in droves in colonial era.<sup>51</sup> By studying these facts, government, Myanmar army and parliament sector have the same view regarding Rohingyas people.

<sup>50</sup> Parliament discusses to show the world that there are no Rohingyas <https://www.bbc.com/burmese/burma-42951145>

<sup>51</sup> Rakhine conflict paper [https://www.rohingyanewsbank.com/2020/07/blog-post\\_97.html](https://www.rohingyanewsbank.com/2020/07/blog-post_97.html)

Additionally, former Commander-in-Chief of Defense Services and NLD patron Thura U Tin Oo, New Mon State Party Chairman Nai Hongsar, Ko Ko Gyi, Min Ko Naing and Ko Mya Aye who are 88 generation student leaders who are famous Burma political leaders have the same views that Rohingyas are not included in 135 ethnic groups, that they are illegal immigrants from neighboring Bangladesh and that Rakhine State problem is an immigration problem.<sup>52</sup>

Regarding Rohingya people, an 88 generation student leader and current chairman of People's Party Ko Ko Gyi said at a press conference on Rakhine conflict in 2012, "I regard international community taking about Rohingya conflict without understading the situation of Myanmar and problem of ethnic people of Myanmar as direct attack on sovereignty of our country. It absolutely does not concern with ethnic people who are living in our country according to genes, culture, language and traditions,"<sup>53</sup>



At a press conference held by 88 Generation (Peace and Open Society) in September 2017, Min Ko Naing told his view on Rohingya people and Rakhine conflict, "among our 135 ethnic groups, they (Rohingya) are not included. Current issues are not about racial and religious problems. Illegal immigrants according to immigration law and terrorism are two basic problems."<sup>54</sup>

Figure (39) Min Ko Naing at a press conference held by 88 Generation (Peace and Open Society) in September 2017

<sup>52</sup> Talks of politicians and leaders whether there are Rhingyas or not <https://burma.irrawaddy.com/opinion/interview/2017/09/15/142732.html>

<sup>53</sup> The video file of the statements of Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi and Ko Mya Aye at that press conference can be seen in the following link. [http://karenyouthgroup.blogspot.com/2012/06/blog-post\\_9802.html](http://karenyouthgroup.blogspot.com/2012/06/blog-post_9802.html)

<sup>54</sup> Kyawkha (2017) 88 generation group says they stand together with President U Htin Kyaw and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi <https://burma.irrawaddy.com/news/2017/09/13/142547.html>



**Figure (40) Ko Ko Gyi and Ko Mya Aye at a press conference on Rakhine conflict held by 88 Generation (Peace and Open Society) in 2012.**

The view of 135 ethnic groups which was included in those statements is the designation held by successive Burmese government after the 1982 Citizenship Law has come out and the SLORC government which staged the coup in 1988 also mentioned that there are 135 ethnic groups in Burma.<sup>55</sup> Although the names of ethnic groups are mentioned according to that description, nobody can officially say until now how the criteria for designation are set. But, regarding the designation of ethnic people, there is a description in Section (3), Chapter (2) of 1982 Citizenship Law that say "nationals such as Kachin, Kayah, Karen, Chin, Burman, Mon, Rakhine or Shan and ethnic groups as have settled in any of the territories included within the State as their permanent home from a period prior to 1185 B.E., 1823 A.D. are Burma

citizens." It is an interesting point on how these people who are mentioned as ethnic people according to that provision are identified that they actually existed within the territory of Burma before 1823. In fact, it is analyzed that such designations are determined by the Myanmar army and successive governments to build a country which is dominated by racial supremacy and to increase differences among ethnic groups.

Government, Myanmar army, parliament and politicians have intentionally portrayed the Rohingya people as Bengalis (or) illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, people who are trying to dominate the county with Islam and terrorists. Such views have spread from mainstream media to social media. Then, it is found that racial and religious hatred were built up by spreading of that information by social influencers.

<sup>55</sup> The list of 135 ethnic groups is mentioned in The Working People's Daily which was published on 26<sup>th</sup> September 1990.

On a photo posted on 17th December 2017 on Facebook by Dr. Aung Moe Nyo who has served as Chief Minister of Magway Region from 2016 to 2021, he posted it that Rohingya people are Bengalis and mocked Islam while he is in Rakhine State. By looking at that post, the views of politicians who were serving in the NLD government at the time can be guessed. In that post, the photo was taken together with Chief Minister of Sagaing Region Dr. Myint Naing and Chief Minister of Mandalay Region Dr. Zaw Myint Maung. As caption, it is

written as "Aung Moe Nyo and two Bengalis who are in Buthidaung, I have to treat them like brothers to get along with them, (otherwise they threaten me that Allah will be punish me)." Those 3 Chief Ministers in that photo are detained by the Myanmar which attempted to stage the coup.

As such, presentations and instigations to cause more misunderstandings by the public and spread hatred including attacks and spreading of hate speech regarding Rohingya people were done by influencers who are actors, singers and people from other sectors on mainstream media

and social media (especially Facebook). In some incidents, although they were done from specific platform, it is found that those words have spread to the public by resharing on social media.

For example, in a joke which is included in Mu Di Tar Lwin Pyin Ahnyeint show at fund raising concert by Pyay Ti Oo Educational Foundation, jokes which portrayed Rohingya people as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, people who bribed to get NRC cards, and people who are trying to exploit Burmese girls are included. The director of that Mu Di Tar Lwin Pyin Ahnyeint show is Maung Myo Min (Yintwinphyit) and famous actors performed as Anyeint Minthamee and comedians in it. That joke scene was performed by actor Nay Min and Min Maw Koon as a live



Figure (41) Description from Facebook account of Dr. Aung Moe Nyo

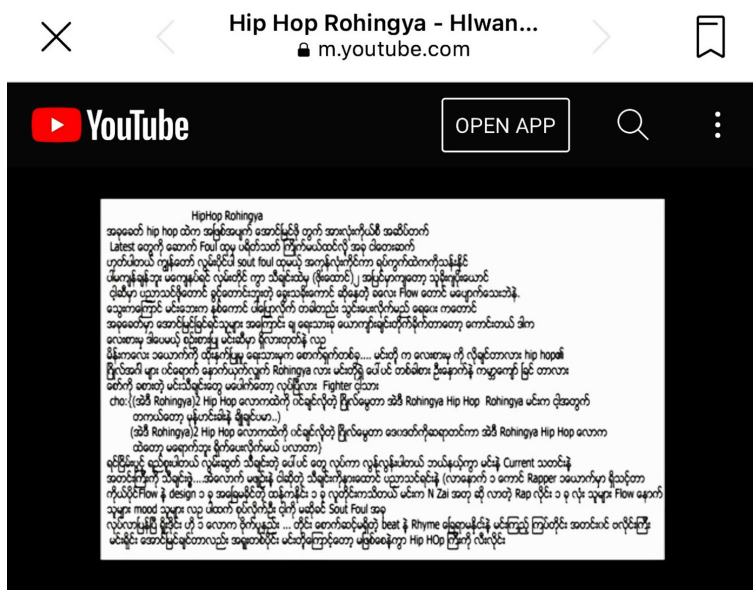
broadcast for anti-human trafficking and the words that cause misunderstandings by the public and spread hatred on Rohingya people as mentioned above were used in it. It is known that the number of audience who attended that fund raising concert can be nearly a thousand and MRTV channel have broadcasted live nationwide. Moreover, while internet usage is high, since people have re-shared that show on YouTube and



Figure (42) Nay Min and Min Maw Koon who used the words that cause misunderstandings by the public and spread hatred on Rohingya people in Mu Di Tar Lwin Pyin Ahnyeint show at fund raising concert by Pyay Ti Oo Educational Foundation.

Facebook, the extent of reach of that fake information to the public can be difficult to guess.<sup>56</sup>

As the words that cause misunderstandings by the public and spread hatred on Rohingya people are used in the Ahnyeint show joke scene, likewise was done in songs from music sector. A song named Hip Hop Rohingya<sup>57</sup> sang by Hlwan Paing would like to be mentioned here. According to the YouTube post of that song, it is known that it was posted on 6th August 2012. In the lyrics of that song, Rohingya people are portrayed as illegal immgrants.<sup>58</sup> (Singer Hlwan Paing apologized about the lyrics of the songs later.)



Hip Hop Rohingya - Hlwan Paing (Lyrics) 70K views · 9 years ago  
Figure (43) Lyrics of Hip Hop Rohingya sang by Hlwan Paing which portrayed Rohingya people as illegal immgrants.

<sup>56</sup> Mu Di Tar Lwin Pyin Ahnyeint show at fund raising concert by Pyay Ti Oo Educational Foundation can be seen in the following link. The joke of Nay Min and Min Maw Koon which mocks about Rohingya people can be seen from 10:32:00 to 10:34:00 of that video file. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-SOM\\_rpJXTY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-SOM_rpJXTY)  
<sup>57</sup> Hip Hop Rohingya sang by Hlwan Paing can be seen in the following link. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QWKFobeKrJg>  
<sup>58</sup> Ye Hein Aung.(2021). Hip Hop Rohingya sang by Hlwan Paing with the lyrics that discriminate on Rohingya people <https://www.facebook.com/pho.thagyan.7/posts/pfbid037WA9k52hJhEgWigVpNNXgZm6sjUTDebigbnMMWiowFJBksJTHQ3g6jGcgXjj1Kqnl>

While portraying Rohingya people as such, some portrayed them as illegal immigrants and some portrayed them as terrorists. Among the posts spread on social media (especially Facebook), regarding the conflicts that happened in Rakhine State in 2012, it is found that ultra-nationalists and some influencers have made such accusations at street protests.

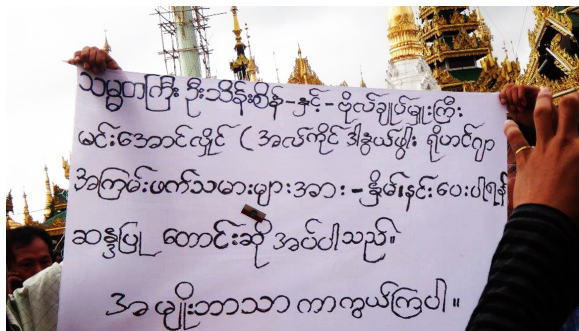


Figure (44) A placard that accuses Rohingya people as terrorists at a protest held at Shwedagon pagoda in Yangon



Figure (45) Writer Tharawon (Pyey) was seen with a placard that accuses Rohingya people as terrorists at a protest held in front of Yangon City Hall on 11th June 2012

In every society and every ethnic group, there can be all sorts of people such as bad person, good person, terrorist, saint and philan-

thropist. The reason for mentioning these posts in this report is that mentioning a whole ethnic group as Al-Qaeda or terrorists is an intentional action to cause misunderstanding and hatred against that ethnic group.

Additionally, multiple shares of posts on social media (especially Facebook) that Rohingya people are illegal immigrants and spreading of hatred and instigation to oppose (or) kill them were carried out after 2012. As an example, posts of Maung Maung Aye who is an influencer would like to be mentioned. Maung Maung Aye is famous as a presenter in entertainment industry including events and television programs with large audience and a person who is actively taking part in charity works. Regarding the situation of Rakhine State, one of his posts says "right now, I would like to play a game of putting big speakers on tanks in Rakhine.....play the national anthem... and kill anyone who can't sing along." According to that post, it is found that instigations including killing the Rohingyas if they cannot sing the national anthem since they are illegal immigrants from neighbouring country who can not speak Burmese are included. (Maung Maung Aye apologized about having such views and uploading such posts)

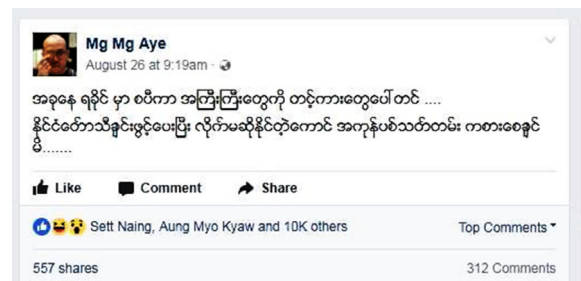


Figure (46) Facebook post of Maung Maung Aye which includes instigation to kill

As a next example, posts of Myo Yan Naung Thein on Facebook would like to be mentioned. Myo Yan Naung Thein who is a former political prisoner is the founder of Bayda Institute and had served as secretary in Central Research Committee of NLD. Among the posts uploaded on Facebook account of Myo Yan Naung Thein, he mentioned that Rohingya is a made up name with the funding of OIC countries, Rohina people are liers and also posted that "Rakhines have to flee because of Allah killers" as an insult on religion. These are compiled as examples and many more radical posts are also recorded.

These posts mentioned are uploaded intentionally to cause misunderstandings by the public and spread hatred on Rohingya people. Among those posts, the most mentioned narratives are that there is no ethnic group called Rohingya in Burma, that they are not included in 135 ethnic groups, that they are illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, that they are trying to take a chunk of territory of Rakhine State, that they are trying to dominate Burma with Islam and that they are terrorists. These concepts were mentioned by Myanmar army, successive governments, members of parties and influences with various forms, means and media. It is analyzed that the main essence of these talks are intentional actions to wipe out or extinct the identity and existence of Rohingya people.



### 4.2 Denying Genocide

Rohingya people suffered violations of human rights for over half a century. The name of the race which is the most important thing in indentifying themselves was denied and they were designated as people who come from outside. Moreover, they lost from right to citizenship to



Figure (47 & 48) Facebook posts of Myo Yan Naung Thein which insult Rohingya people and religion



freedom of movement, right to education, right to health care services. Right to political participation and right to political representation were restricted more to Rohingya people and they completely lost those rights in the previous 10 years.

Being driven out for 3 times was the worst situation among human rights violations faced by the Rohingya people. These repeated atrocities are faced because of impunity of Myanmar army and the government from punishment regarding these human rights violations and it paved the way for continued perpetrations. After they were driven out for the first time, they lost racial existence and restrictions of citizenship were faced. After being driven for second time, it reached an extent where these incidents were known by a very few people because of the information blackout where most of public cannot access information regarding the history of existence and grievances of Rohingya people. Moreover, after 1992, they were oppressed by Myanmar army and the government that they completely lost the status of citizenship of Rohingya people. Additionally, they faced forced designation as Bengalis who have illegally entered from neighboring Bangladesh. Myanmar army and the government still use the term Bengali in official documents until today. During the period between 1993 Operation Pyitharyar which faced second driving out and 2017 clearance operation of Myanmar army, laws and local directives oppressing the basic rights of ethnic

groups were enacted targeting only at Rohingya people. Among those directives, detailed restrictions such as restrictions to right to marriage, right to birth, naming the baby and freedom of movement were carried out intentionally.

State-owned newspapers mentioned that (30) police garrisons in Maungdaw, Butidaung and Yathaetaung Townships and local battalion headquarter (1) in Taungbazar village were attacked by Bengali terrorists on 25th August 2017.<sup>59</sup> That attack is carried out by ARSA (Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army).<sup>60</sup> To respond to the attack of ARSA, measures to reinforce the strength of Myanmar Police Force and reinforce strength of Tatmadaw troops to effectively protect the security of the local people were made at meeting held by union ministers of Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Border Affairs and the States Councillor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.<sup>61</sup>

In such situation, Myanmar army which committed/ committing international crimes in civil wars and political crises attacked Rohingya people intentionally under the heading of area clearance. Numbers of fatalities officially published are only 14 members of security troops, one officer and 371 persons which are designated by the government as militants.<sup>62</sup>

During that area clearance operation, Myanmar army attacked targeting Rohingya people. Area clearance operation of Myanmar army lasted over 2 more months than the date 5th September 2017 where government an-

<sup>59</sup> The Mirror Daily (26th August 2017) pg 8

<sup>60</sup> (2017) Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis Enters a Dangerous New Phase. International Crisis Group. Asia Report N. 292. Pg-9

<sup>61</sup> The Mirror Daily (26th August 2017) pg 1 & 8

<sup>62</sup> (2017) Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis Enters a Dangerous New Phase. International Crisis Group. Asia Report N. 292. Pg-9

nounced that it has finished. During this operation, over 40% of total number of villages in northern Rakhine State was partially and completely destroyed. First three weeks of operation was most severe and 80% of destruction was done during that period. Because of that result, over 725,000 Rohingya people had to flee and take refuge in Bangladesh until September 2017.<sup>63</sup> Over 600,000 Rohingya refugees had to flee into Bangladesh because of area clearance operation of Myanmar army until December 2017 and number of officially recognized Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh rose up to 800,000. It is known that total number of refugees can be nearly 1 million if persons who did not register as refugees are counted.<sup>64</sup>

According to the testimonies of the Rohingya people who arrived as refugees, it is known that they have faced wide spread sexual abuses and rapes, partial and complete burning of hundreds of Rohingya villages, killing and arbitrary arrests, widespread tortures, estimated thousands of death tolls, shooting the one who ran away and burning of infants alive.<sup>65</sup> In that situation, a bilateral agreement between Myanmar government and Bangladeshi government to repatriate the Rohingya refugees was signed in November 2017 at Naypyitaw, Myanmar.<sup>66</sup> Union Minister of Ministry of State Counsellor Office U Kyaw Tint Swe signed that agreement from Myanmar government side. Those repatriation programmes still cannot be implemented until today.

International organizations including United Nations and international news agencies made announcements about the concerning situation of Rakhine State. Accusations that the actions of Myanmar army and the government in Rakhine State have targeted Rohingya civilians intentionally and therefore constitute genocide have emerged. In such situation, to know more about the situation in Burma (especially in Rakhine State), investigations and data collections were carried out.

As a fact finding mission, The International Independent Fact-Finding Mission - FFM was formed with the decision of United Nations Human Rights Council in 2017. FFM collected facts regarding the accusations that human rights violations have occurred in Burma after 2011. Data collection and recording of human rights violations of security forces of Burmese government and other ethnic armed groups especially in Rakhine, Kachin and Northern Shan State were carried out and reports are published. The mandate of FFM has expired in 2019 and data collected by them were transferred to The Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar - IIMM.<sup>67</sup> IIMM is formed on 25th September 2018 and operations started in August 2019. IIMM will collect evidence of human rights violations and prepare files in order to facilitate and expedite criminal proceedings in national, regional (or) international courts (or) tribunals.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> (2018). Report of the detail findings of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar. P – 178.

<sup>64</sup> (2018). Myanmar – Human rights for Rohingya people. Burma Campaign UK. Pg-4

<sup>65</sup> (2018). Myanmar – Human rights for Rohingya people. Burma Campaign UK.

<sup>66</sup> that convention can be downloaded in the link below [https://www.theindependentbd.com/assets/images/banner/linked\\_file/20171125094240.pdf](https://www.theindependentbd.com/assets/images/banner/linked_file/20171125094240.pdf)

<sup>67</sup> International Accountability Mechanism for Myanmar Series (FFM). Asia Justice and Rights.

<sup>68</sup> International Accountability Mechanism for Myanmar Series (IIMM). Asia Justice and Rights.

As judicial processes, The International Criminal Court - ICC has started investigations regarding forced displacements including restrictions of human rights, killing, sexual abuse, forced disappearances, destruction and looting which are committed on Rohingya people.<sup>69</sup> Burma is pressed charges with the allegation that it has violated **Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide** at The International Court of Justice - ICJ and hearings are started.<sup>70</sup> As another judicial mechanism, human rights organizations have submitted in Argentina on 13th November 2019 that Burma has committed crimes against humanity and genocide against Rohingya people according to Universal Jurisdiction - UJ. Federal Criminal Court of Argentina has confirmed on 26th November 2021 that it will accept the submission and open the case.<sup>71</sup>

Among the international accountability mechanisms, Burmese government did not cooperate with the rest of the mechanisms except facing trial at ICJ. Moreover, it is found that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi faced the trial at ICJ as representative of Myanmar government, submitted the "preliminary objections" and demanded the judges to dismiss the case. Until February

2021, it is found that Myanmar army and the government stood on the same side on human rights violations including genocide which are committed on Rohingya people. Additionally, objections and denial against international condemnations and sanctioning on senior officers of Myanmar army were made. As a prominent fact, the spokesperson of NLD Dr. Myo Nyunt said that US government imposed sanctions on 4 military leaders including Senior Gen. Min Aung Hlaing because it does not understand the actual situation of Burma.<sup>72</sup> Likewise, regarding the lawsuit in Argentina, he told the media, "this law is based on unsubstantiated matters and it is pressuring recognize the Bengalis who have left Burma as ethnic group."<sup>73</sup>

Dr. Win Myat Aye who has served as Minister of Social Welfare Relief and Resettlement did not recognize the existence of Rohingya people and answered at an interview with BBC that these incidents occurred because the terrorists carried out arson attacks.<sup>74</sup> Additionally, at an interview with Al Jazeera, he said that Rohingya people left in droves so that accusation of ethnic cleansing can be made.<sup>75</sup> In those interviews, he referred to the Rohingyas as Muslims.

<sup>69</sup> International Accountability Mechanism for Myanmar Series (ICC). Asia Justice and Rights

<sup>70</sup> International Accountability Mechanism for Myanmar Series (ICJ). Asia Justice and Rights

<sup>71</sup> International Accountability Mechanism for Myanmar Series (UJ). Asia Justice and Rights

<sup>72</sup> NLD says US sanctions 4 military leaders including chief of army because it does not understand the situation of Myanmar <https://www.facebook.com/khitthitnews/posts/pfbid05D2vUhSrKsY2VhXXMq4eRf16uLyafASmv3N3GwuiqEu33KSY2eDAbEuALzEynQxjl>

<sup>73</sup> Rohingya group opens case on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and chief of army in Argentina court <https://burmese.dvb.no/archives/356642>

<sup>74</sup> BBC interview with Dr Win Myat Aye 20/9/2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3o5eibSzTfY>

<sup>75</sup> Myanmar minister: Rohingya people may have planned the exodus. <https://archive.dhakatribune.com/world/south-asia/2017/10/15/myanmar-minister-rohingya-people-may-planned-exodus>

Rohingya people flee and took refuge in Bangladesh because of the attacks and clearance operations of Myanmar army which has happened in 2017. Another person who held the same view like Dr. Win Myat Aye that Rohingya people have set their own houses on fire was Zaw Htay (Hmuu Zaw) who is former officer of Myanmar army. He has served as spokesperson



Figure (49) Dr. Win Myat Aye at an interview with Al Jazeera

of President Office of NLD government and director general of Ministry of Office of State Counsellor. He wrote articles under the pen name Hmuu Zaw and he is an influencer. He did propaganda with fake information on Rohingya people using Facebook account Hmu Zaw and Twitter account Zaw Htay.

Zaw Htay (Hmuu Zaw) posted fabricated news photos of Rohingyas setting their own

houses on fire in Rakhine State (figure 49) and spread fake news that ARSA (Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army) has crossed the border with weapons (figure 52). Moreover, he denied the raping of Rohingya women by Myanmar army with a post called Fake Rape (Figure 50 &51). It is found that that Fake Rape post was also shared on the Facebook page of State Counsellor Office.



Figure (50) Fake news and propaganda posted by Zaw Htay (Hmuu Zaw) that Rohingya people set their houses on fire and flee.



Figure (51 & 52) He denied the raping of Rohingya women by Myanmar army with a post called Fake Rape.



Likewise, influencers have stood along with genocide and denied genocide by defending the Myanmar army by uploading posts that say they stood with Myanmar army on killing of Rohingya people by Myanmar army and that army killed not the civilians but only terrorists who are not wearing uniforms. As examples, model and actress San Yati Moe Myint posted on Facebook that she stood along with Myanmar Army on Rakhine conflict and Pancello also post on her Facebook account that only terrorists who are not wearing uniforms were killed. (Pancello uploaded a post apologizing the Rohingya people.)



Figure (53) He spread the fake news that ARSA (Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army) has crossed the border with weapons into Rakhine State.



Figure (54) Facebook post of San Yati Moe Myint saying that she stood along with Myanmar Army on Rakhine conflict.

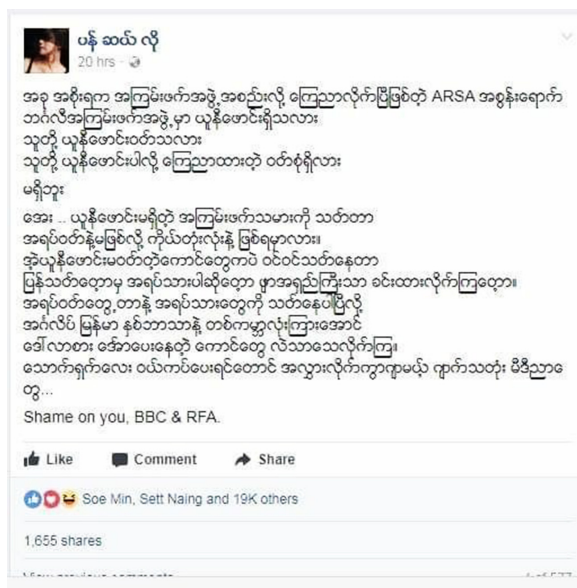


Figure (55) Facebook post of Panecello mentioning that only terrorists who are not wearing uniforms were killed.

It is found that denials on genocide and human rights violations on Rohingya people have reached the highest tempo in November and December 2019. Gambia which is a treaty member opened the case at ICJ with the allegation that Burma has violated the **Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide** which Burma has signed. It was an-

nounced on November 20th 2019 that State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi herself will lead to face the trial. Ministry of Foerign Affairs has announced on 27th November that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi herself will face the trial at that court, "it's critical let's unite" since the issue of law suit at ICJ is political and nation's interest.<sup>76</sup>



Figure (56) Myanmar State Counsellor Office facebook page cover photo?

During November and December 2019, rallies supporting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who will face trial at ICJ were held all over Burma. Also on social media, words, photos and profiles supporting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were uploaded. In doing so, "We Stand With Daw Aung San Suu Kyi" "We Stand With Our Leader" "We Stand With Mother Suu" slogans were used.

<sup>76</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced ICJ kate sa “ch yey gyi be thway see gya sote” <https://www.bnionline.net/mm/news-69455>



Figure (57) People supporting Daw Aung San Suu Kvi who will face trial at ICJ.



Figure (58) Rallies on public transports in Yangon to support Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who will face trial at ICJ.



Figure (59) Signboards supporting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who will face trial at ICJ.

Persons supporting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who will face trial at ICJ mentioned that they supported her defending the dignity of the country. The reason for mentioning the denial of genocide at the time is that there were reasons

saying that they supported Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who will solve the case since ICJ did not sue the Myanmar army but Myanmar as a country.

The incident of genocide on Rohingya people existed as a very prominent ugly historical incident. Human rights violations and genocide such as oppressions and restrictions targeted against the Rohingya people, planning and restrictions by enacting laws to wipe out the name of an ethnic group, killing, destroying community buildings and houses, raping and driving people out were committed for over half a century.



Figure (60) People showed support of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at The Hague, Netherlands while she is facing trial at ICJ.

Fake news and lies as if these incidents did not happen and propagandas that rohingya whom are being committed were illegal immigrants and terrorists to cause misunderstanding by the public and to spread hatred were carried out by Myanmar army and successive governments and influencers stood with them to spread those words. Since the role of the Myanmar army community, responsible persons from respective religious community (does not mean only Buddhism) and ultranationalists will be studied separately, their role is not included in this study.

**The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide<sup>77</sup>** which was enacted on 9th December 1948 was signed by Burma on 30th December 1949. Burma ratified it on 4th March 1956. In that convention, the definition regarding genocide is described exactly in article (2). Article (3)<sup>78</sup> and (4)<sup>79</sup> described about punishment. It is necessary to compare and review these articles mentioned above with the situation and incidents of Burma.

<sup>77</sup> The complete version of convention can be downloaded in the following link.  
<https://myanmar.un.org/en/27777-myanmar-version-convention-prevention-and-punishment-crime-genocide>

<sup>78</sup> **Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide) Article (3)**  
 (a) Genocide  
 (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide  
 (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide  
 (d) Attempt to commit genocide;  
 (e) Complicity in genocide.

<sup>79</sup> **Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide) Article (4)**  
 Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.



## 5. Has it really changed?

In this study, civil war and genocide are chosen as two main areas. In both studies, spreading of false information and hatred to the public by Myanmar army and the government using their power and influence got propaganda through media, social media and social influencers and historical backgrounds were presented. In the history of Myanmar for over 70 years, Myanmar army and successive governments are mainly responsible for civil war and genocide. It is found that they have built media dominance to build one-sided truth using their power and influence rather than disclosing the truth and political resolution which is the right method of solving the problem.

The incident that changed the political history of Burma started on 1st February 2021 where Myanmar army attempted to stage the coup. Among the people who stood only on one side during civil war and genocide, Myanmar

army which controls military power and economic power attempted to stage the coup within the frame of fake democracy called 2008 Constitution. Movements of the people who cannot accept this action emerged in various forms under the heading of the Spring Revolution. When peaceful protests of the people are met with killing, violent crackdowns, tortures and arrests by the Myanmar army, people realized the true nature of Myanmar army. With that situation, it is found that the views of civil war and genocide become clear.

### 5.1 Understanding more about civil war

In the beginning of February 2021, people protested against the coup with powerful people strike. Among the slogans to release arrested leaders and activists and to recognize the results of the election, slogans such as building federal

union and abolishing 2008 Constitution which are politically important are started to use. After the Myanmar army started brutal crackdowns starting from end of February and March, youth, students and people abandoned the cities and departed to areas controlled by the ethnic revolutionary groups to learn military tactics.

Moreover, Because Myanmar army searched for people who took part in protests against the coup, committed tortures with brutal means until death where detainees are returned as corpse or informing the family that detainee is dead although detainee was healthy when arrested and arrested public servants who took part in CDM movement without cooperating with the Myanmar army, people who took part in the Spring Revolution took refuge in the controlled areas of ethnic revolutionary groups. Among them, students, youths, activists, CDM public servants, members of Myanmar army and Myanmar Police Force who took part in the CDM, party members of National League for Democracy, former and current MPs, media, people from art industry including writers, poets, and painters, social influencers from movie, music, and social media and many people are included.

It is found according to the interviews that they have learned more about the conditions of ethnic people being oppressed for many years because they are living in the controlled areas of ethnic revolutionary groups. Moreover, since the armed resistance against Myanmar army started, when brutal actions of Myanmar army are seen in Sagaing Region and Magway Region where most

Myanmar people live, they compared it with oppressions and attacks of Myanmar army on ethnic people. It is seen as a positive sign that the strikes carried out by various means of the people included slogans about civil war and building federal union uniting hills and plains.

This study cannot determine how much they have changed their views regarding understanding of civil war, building federal union and self determination of ethnic groups among the organizations who assume themselves as revolution leaders. It is known from the results emerged after nearly two years of Spring Revolution that concrete discussions, commitments and cooperations are weak between Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, National Unity Government and National Unity Consultative Council who are referred to as revolution leaders and ethnic revolutionary groups who have many years of experience. It is analyzed that although strike committees on the ground and public have increased understandings on the civil war, the understandings among political leaders is suspicious. It is viewed that the public who increased understandings need to guide those leaders.



Figure (61) Strike movement marching with the slogan "hills and plains march together, abolish fascism".



Figure (62) Strike movement marching with the slogan "hills and plains march together, abolish fascist army".

## 5.2 Understanding more on genocide

Regarding the genocide which is the most shameful event throughout the history of Burma, the situations before 1st February 2021 is mentioned in chapter (4). Myanmar army and the government and social influencers spread information to wipe out the existence of Rohingya people who were targeted in genocide and to spread hatred on them using various means and various media. Along with the emergence of Spring Revolution, it is found that the views about

the Rohingya people have changed. Rohingya people have taken part in anti-military dictatorship movements throughout history of Burma. It is found that they have taken part in 1998 people's uprising and current Spring Revolution along with other oppressed people and people. Not only domestically, people who have arrived in Bangladesh as refugees also showed their anti-military dictatorship views with various means.



Figure (63) Anti-military dictatorship movement of Rohingya people during 1998 people's uprising. (10th September 1988 issue of The Working People's Daily)



Figure (64) Anti-military dictatorship movement of Rohingya people during Spring Revolution



Figure (65) Rohingya women from Cox's Bazar refugee camp protesting showing sadness for the arbitrary killing of Ma Mya Thwet Thwet Khine and seeking justice for her.

During the Spring Revolution, people peacefully protested against the military dictatorship. In doing so, some of the people mentioned that they sympathized with the Rohingya people and apologized about the ignorance and misunderstandings. They disclosed their views using slogans that they stand together for the oppression of Rohingya women along with other women from the country.



Figure (66) Protest slogan during the Spring Revolution showing that people understand more about the oppression of Rohingya people.



Figure (67) Protest slogan apologizing all oppressed people including Rohingya people.

It is known that the views of people on the genocide of Rohingya people have changed during the Spring Revolution according to protests and strikes. It is found that people took part more on anniversaries of the genocide and online movements supporting and sympathizing on Rohingya people. It is also found that the public have posted apologies individually on social media (especially on Facebook).

As a prominent movement, student unions have issued statements of apology for the genocide and human rights violations committed on Rohingya people. It is found that University of Medicine (1) Student Union, University of Medicine (2) Yangon Student committee, East Yangon University Student Union - YaYaTaKaTha, University of Medicine Magway Student Union, Yangon Technological University Student Union (Sixth Executive Committee), Yangon Information Technology University Student Union, University of Dental Medicine-Yangon Student



Figure (68) Protest slogan during the Spring Revolution showing solidarity with Rohingya women.



Figure (69) Protest slogan during the Spring Revolution showing solidarity with Rohingya women.

Union, Thanlyin Technological University Student Union, Yangon University of Economics Student Union (Hlaing Campus), University of Medical Technology, Yangon Student Union, University of Medical Technology, Mandalay Student Union, University of Pharmacy Student Union, Myanmar Maritime University Student Union, Mandalay University of Foreign Language Student Union, National Management College Student Union, Mandalay Technological University Student Union (Second Executive Committee) have issued statements of apology.

It is found that the social influencers who stood together with Myanmar army and the governments during the genocide have changed their views. Social influencers such as Maung Maung Aye, Pacello, Dr. Phyo Thiha and Poe Phyu Thant have uploaded posts apologizing about their positions on Rohingya people.

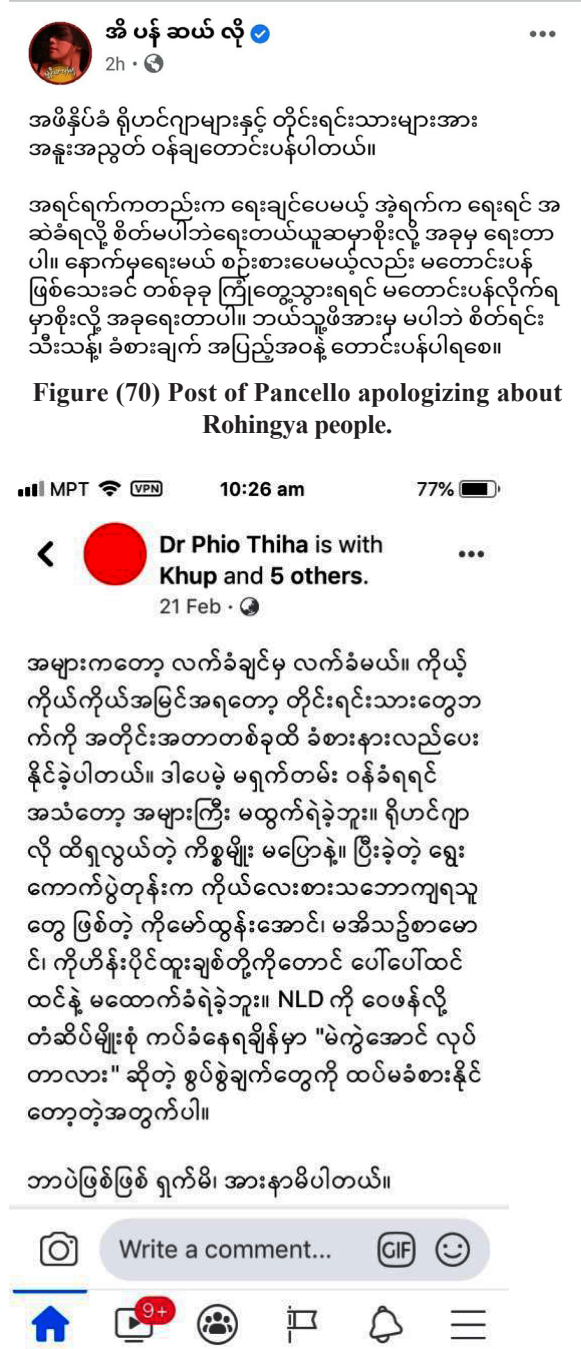


Figure (71, 72 & 73) Posts of Maung Maung Aye, Dr. Phyo Thiha and Poe Phyu Thant apologizing about Rohingya people.

2 Responsible persons from National Unity Government (NUG) which is one of the revolution leaders made apologies about Rohingya people. It is found that Naw Susanna Hla Hla Soe<sup>80</sup>, Minister of Women, Youths and Children Affairs and U Kyaw Zaw<sup>81</sup>, spokesperson of President Office issued statements of apology. Moreover, it is found that National Unity Government (NUG) published "Policy Position on the Rohingya in Rakhine State of the National Unity Government of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar" on 3rd June 2021.<sup>82</sup> These facts are the facts that people, student unions, social influencers and revolution leaders have changed their views on Rohingya people in Burma.

In justice seeking processes, it is found that National Unity Government (NUG) has attempted to cooperate with ICJ and ICC. On 17th July 2021, National Unity Government (NUG) announced that it has submitted an announcement to the registry division of the court that the mandate of ICC is agreed regarding international crimes committed in Myanmar territory after 1st July 2011. It is necessary to decide by the register and the prosecutor whether to accept it or not.<sup>83</sup> Regarding ICJ, although National Unity Government (NUG) presented to accept their representative and to

withdraw the preliminary objections, ICJ did not accept it.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, US state department announced on 21st March 2022 that Myanmar army has committed genocide and crimes against humanity on Rohingya people in 2017. Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH), National Unity Government (NUG) and National Unity Consulative Council (NUCC) issued statements that that statement is welcomed.

Although it can be seen that the views have changed according these facts, the status and extent of understanding nationwide is still difficult to guess. It is analyzed that with no matter what reason they have disclosed, the disclosures and announcements of apology must be welcomed. But justice seeking processes of Rohingya people who have faced human rights violations including genocide must continue. Nobody from outside can give apology and amnesty for the grievances of the victims. Moreover, committing crimes is needed to be punished with a sentence according to legal means. These apologies and disclosure of their changing views is a good sign and it is necessary to cooperate in justice seeking processes if crimes are committed according to international laws and domestic laws.

<sup>80</sup> NUG minister apologizes ethnic people and Rohingyas <https://www.mizzimaburmese.com/article/79246>

<sup>81</sup> NUG President Office spokesperson says he apologize Rohingyas <https://www.rfa.org/burmese/news/nug-president-office-said-that-he-apologized-to-the-rohingya-09142022040558.html>

<sup>82</sup> Policy Position on the Rohingya in Rakhine State of the National Unity Government of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar <https://gov.nugmyanmar.org/my/2021/06/03/%e1%80%95%e1%80%bc%e1%80%8a%e1%80%ba%e1%80%91%e1%80%b1%e1%80%ac%e1%80%84%e1%80%ba%e1%80%85%e1%80%af%e1%80%9e%e1%80%99%e1%80%b9%e1%80%99%e1%80%90%e1%80%99%e1%80%bc%e1%80%94%e1%80%ba%e1%80%99%e1%80%ac/>

<sup>83</sup> International Accountability Mechanism for Myanmar Series (ICC). Asia Justice and Rights

<sup>84</sup> International Accountability Mechanism for Myanmar Series (ICJ). Asia Justice and Rights



## Conclusion

Throughout history of Burma for over 70 years, bad historical events such as uprisings, racial and religious conflicts, civil war have happened along with independence and genocide. The civilian governments and military governments which took administrative powers successively since independence could not make concrete resolutions regarding these incidents and could not seek justice for people who have suffered. During these incidents, it is found that ethnic groups and communities including Myanmar people have suffered grievances. Successive governments used their administrative power and used the support of the public in some cases and used media dominance to spread false information and hatred to prove that only their actions are right instead of disclosing the truth and finding the root causes about these incidents.

In this study, how step by step propagandas were carried out regarding civil war and genocide which are ugly historical events which have happened in Burma were mentioned and analyzed whether the views have changed regarding these incidents during the Spring Revolution. In civil war and genocide, Myanmar army and the governments have spread their views through the media they controlled and used the social influencers as a medium. It is found that some social influencers spread that information out of fear and some did it because they expected benefits from cooperating with people in power. Here, benefits does not necessarily mean money, it can be Academy Award in movie industry. In some incidents, they themselves have the same view as Myanmar army and the government and spread false information and hatred because of their own belief.

Starting from the time Myanmar army staged the coup on 1st February 2021, the people carried out anti-military dictatorship movements. Since then, the public have changed views on civil war and genocide. Some people, student unions and social influencers disclosed about their change of views and apologized. But, how much those changes of view are widespread and authentic is yet to be seen. If that change is done as a political necessity, then authenticity can be questionable. Therefore, if the views are genuinely changed, it is encouraged to prove by participating in the justice seeking processes and standing together with the people who have suffered grievances during civil war and genocide. Moreover, it is necessary to promote the value of changing views by facing it themselves if participating in spreading of propaganda in these events constitute crimes. Disclosing the truth and apologizing for one's mistake is a good start for seeking justice. What is liked to mention here again is that the most important thing regarding justice is the people who have suffered grievances and nothing can influence their justice seekings.

Another fact realized according to this study is education. Myanmar army and successive governments do not want the public to know about the facts based on truth regarding these ugly historical events. Hence, effective studies regarding these ugly events are not included in basic education to higher education. An education system that focuses only on Myanmar language, history of Myanmar people, Myanmar culture and Buddhism is created and it is only a

racial supremacy based education system that restricts other ethnic people and societies. That education system is an obstacle for equality of ethnic people and implementing a federal union which are the fundamental causes of civil war. It is analyzed that the failure to learn and teach about basic facts of true historical data, diversity of ethnic people and different faiths has created an enabling environment for Myanmar army and the government to spread false information and hatred.

Moreover, it is important to overcome such false information and hatred in rebuilding future Burma. It is necessary to respect the views, perspectives and needs of non-Myanmar ethnic people in building genuine federal union. One thing to take caution for people and revolutionary groups who are taking part in this current Spring Revolution is to carry out correct approach by learning the history of existence, ugly historical events without basing on numbers in building a future society. Additionally, it is necessary build mutual understanding regarding the wrong positions and wrong views from the past. Therefore, it is encouraged to do concrete meaningful apologies for situations that cause wrong aims of society addition to the civil war and genocide. Moreover, it is important to carry out activities that promote mutual understanding and trust between ethnic groups and societies and to seek justice for the people who have suffered grievances by ending impunity from punishment according to laws for the crimes committed in the past.



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