

# Revealing The Voices Of Civil Disobedience Movement

လုံးဝကျန်ချုပ်ချုပ်မရစေရ။

We Don't Accept  
MILITARY COUP  
JOIN IN "CDM"  
BE OUR HEROES

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မခံဘဲ  
မြန်မာပြည်ကိုတယ်တင်ရေး  
စစ်ကောင်စီကိုငွေမဝေး  
FREEZING ASSETS TO JUNTA  
SAVE MYANMAR

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*Revealing The Voices Of*  
*Civil Disobedience*  
*Movement*



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**Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica**

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## Preface

**T**he Spring Revolution and revolutionary movements that emerged at a rapid pace in February 2021 continue to threaten the power of the military council to this day. Among the revolutionary movements, the Civil Disobedience Movement is a movement in which the entire public is heavily involved. Not paying meter bills, striking pots and pans, silent strikes, revealing military council information from the workplace, leaving the workplace are all Civil Disobedience Movement.

The public should always remember that the CDM movement is the personal decision in the anti-military dictatorship, and cannot be forced by anyone. Therefore, this paper is written to reduce hatred through discrimination between government service who left their workplaces (GS-CDMers); who are a broad and powerful pillar of support for the Spring Revolution and civil servants who continue to work under the military council, and to bring justice.

Through this paper, the purpose is to contribute to the emergence of a peaceful and secure human society in the post-revolution, to stand against the military dictatorship and various forms of unjust oppression.

## Introduction

Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) is a voluntary expression against the injustice law, government or the social norms through non-violent movement. At the start of the revolution, in 2021, the persuasions to join the CDM was strong and consecutive, encouraging people to join the movement, as people believed it is the sole factor to win the revolution. There were calls from the Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH), National Unity Government (NUG) and other revolutionary groups to join CDM by stating that there will be financial and tangible supports for the GS-CDMers. With this belief, limited definitions and misconceptions about the movement came along as consequences. However, after almost 2 years of this Spring Revolution, people's understanding of the CDM have become matured, realizing that one cannot define the other depending on their choices of whether they join CDM or not.

When defining the Civil Disobedience Movement, anyone who opposes the actions and orders of the military council, and supporting the revolution in some way, whether or not they participate in the protests or the Civil Disobedience Movement by resigning from work stations, can be considered as GS-CDMers. As they are rooting revolution in ways within their capacity,

regardless of the struggles they face, they can be regarded as those who participate in the non-violence civil disobedience movement. Moreover, people like “Pha-Ye-Thee” (watermelon) are contributing to this revolution by giving intel to the revolutionary groups, the people and the respective organizations.

In our society, since the time of independence from colonial rule, there have been many vacuums from reconciliation with the ethnic groups to the nation building. The influence of one power group in social and political fields, are the results of the lack of justice and impunity that have been embedded strongly for generations.

Therefore, it is necessary to understand the importance of “transitional justice” and to realistically imply as one of the proposals of the revolution such as eradication of military dictatorship, building of the new political landscape, and the eradication of nationalism. However, not all civil servants who didn’t leave their workplaces during this Spring Revolution can be taken actions but it is important to effectively take action against those who violate human rights and commit war crimes and unlawful killings upon the civilians. In doing so, it is necessary to develop and implement transitional justice mechanisms such as robust investigations and independent judicial measures.

# 1 | *Data Collection* and *Methodology*



**W**hen collecting data and information, it was not restricted to either the GS-CD-Mers or the civil servants who continue workings, nor to those who only support this revolution. The survey was uploaded on social media where everyone can take the survey. Undoubtedly, every revolution can include revolutionary, the neutrals and those who oppose the revolution. Therefore, this survey may include all the mentioned parties.

There are three parts for collecting data and analyzing information. The first data collection method was by collecting from survey questionnaires uploaded on three social media news. These 3 medias were Myanmar Pressphoto Agency, Democratic Voice of Burma and Khit Thit Media. There were 28 questions in the survey targeted towards the GS-CD-Mers and the Civil servants who continue workings. There was a total of 455 responses from GS-CDMer questionnaires and 25 responses from the questionnaires targeted towards civil servants who continue working. Among the 455 participants who took the survey, 13 of them were not in the category of GS-CDMers and therefore, not included in the data analysis. A total of 442 GS-CDMer participants were analyzed in the survey. The survey was analyzed from the responses collected during the 8 days it was shared with the public.

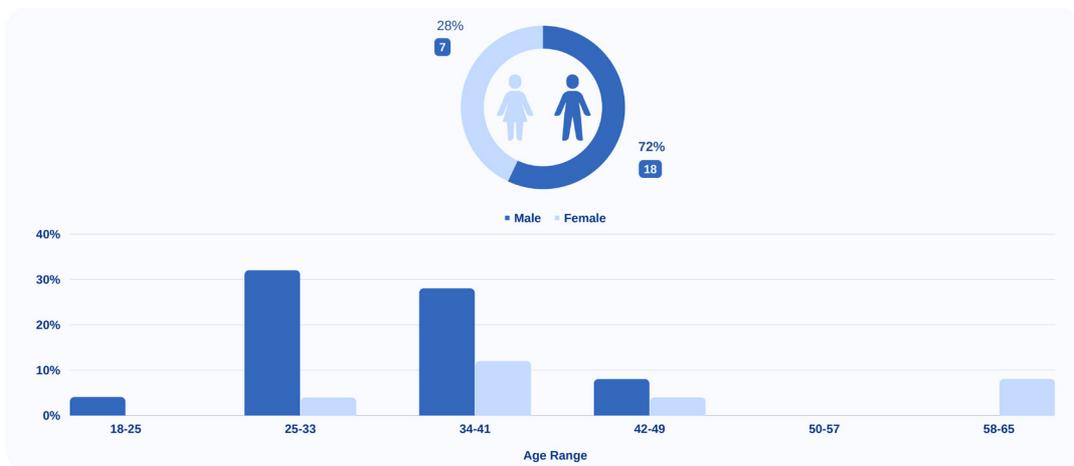
The second method of data collection was through one-on-one interviews with GS-CDMers and Civil servants who continue workings. One-on-one interviews were conducted among 9 GS-CDMers participants and 3 civil servants who continue working. The third data collecting method was by analyzing the secondary data which Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica has collected since the start of the coup; from February 2021 to the present October 2022.

Due to security concerns with other things, although there were few participations in surveys and one-on-one interviews from the civil servants who continue workings, Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica will continue collecting data in the long-run and kindly request the readers to help connect us with civil servants who continue workings to participate in our surveys.

## 2 Findings from The Surveys

### (2.1) Data of civil servants who continue working

A total of 25 people answered the online survey targeted towards Civil servants who continue working. The age range of those who participated in the online survey can be seen in figure (1.1).



*Fig 1.1 Age-range of the number of people who took the survey*

Males are significantly higher in answering the survey questionnaires with 72% while females who answered are at 28%. This can be seen in figure 1.1.

The highest education the participants received can be seen in figure 1.2, with Bachelor degree holders answer the survey the most.



*Fig 1.2 Highest education of the number of participants who took the survey*

The locations from where the participants are working can be seen in figure 1.4, with people from Yangon being the most with 24%.

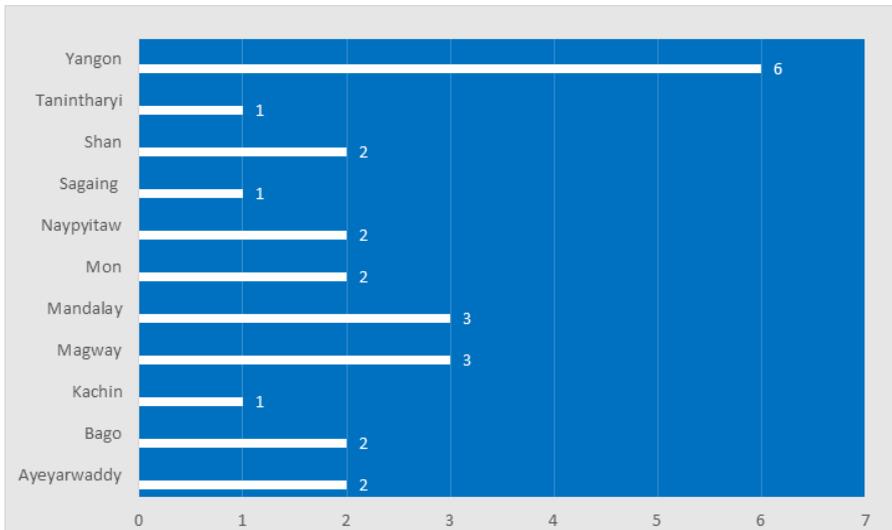


Figure 1.3 Locations of the number of participants who took the survey

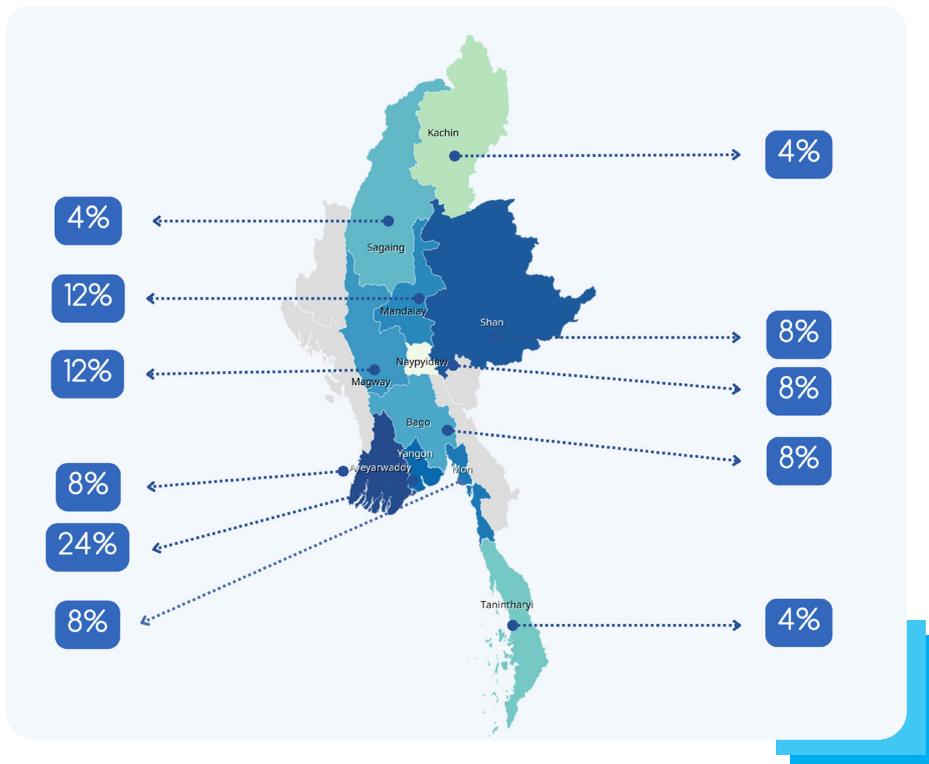
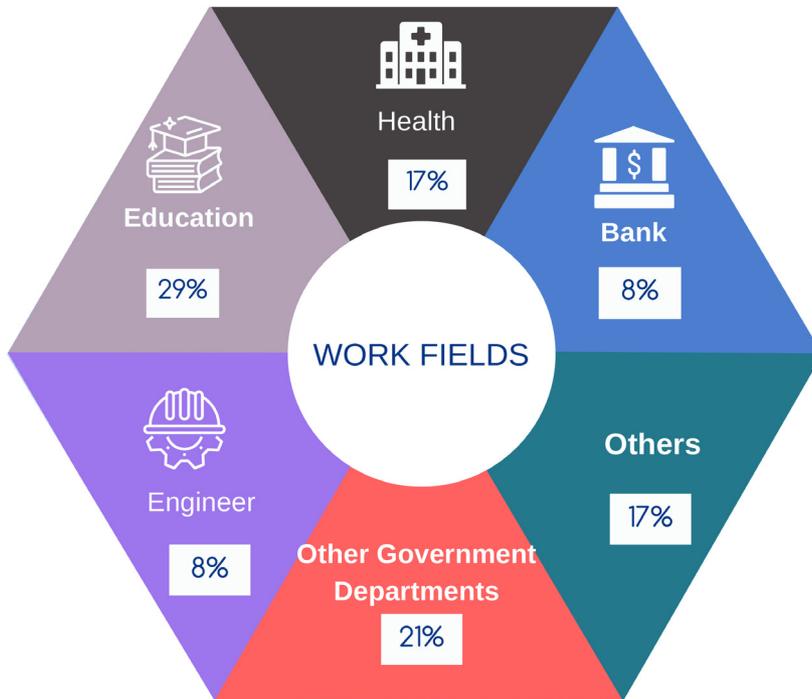


Figure 1.4 Locations of the number of participants who took the survey by Percentage

The job backgrounds of the participants are wide-ranged can be seen in figure 1.5. It can be said that all these participants are government employees.



*Figure 1.5 Job backgrounds of the number of participants who took the survey by percentage*

## (2.2) Opinions of the Civil servants who continue working for the Revolution

In the early period of the revolution, most civil servants who continue working did participate in the protests, with everyone who stood against the military dictatorship, according to the surveys. Some of them answered that they even tried to quit their jobs but didn't get the chance to leave their workplaces due to the underlying personal struggles at that time.

From the questionnaires, it was found that half of the civil servants who continue workings who took the survey left their workplaces in the early period of the revolution but had to return to the workplace as they can no longer stand the pressure from the environment and due to the struggles of making ends meet. However, some answered that they support the revolution, the GS-CDMers and the revolutionaries while working under the military council. This shows that civil servants who continue workings are not completely the nemesis of the revolution.



*NUG awarded 12 soldiers who joined CDM with 44 million kyats*

*(Source: People's Spring)*

Although it was announced in the early days of the revolution, that there would be supports for the GS-CDMers, the on-ground situation contradicts from it. CRPH, NUG, local administration groups and the local security forces have announced that they will support those GS-CDMers who leave the military council and that they would provide millions of kyats if they brought arms. On the other hand, the support of the GS-CDMers, from the wide-range of different departments is insufficient. This situation is one of the reasons which have led people to return to their workplaces even after joining the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Currently, the people who are still working are facing with pressures from friends, family and colleagues to leave their workplaces. On the other hand, they are facing with hatred and threatening from the pro-revolutionaries and active supporters, as they are still working under the military council.

CRPH	ပြည်သူ့ရေးရာကော်မတီ၏ CDM ထောက်ပံ့မှုစာရင်း (၂၀၂၂ ခုနှစ်)						
	(ခန့်ခိုက်ရိလ မှ စက်တင်ဘာလ အထိ)						
	ကျွန်းမာရေး	စီးပွား	စာတတ်နေရေး	နေအိမ်ပြောင်းရွှေ့	ဖမ်းဆီးခံ	ကျွန်လွန်	စုစုပေါင်း
ခန့်ခိုက်ရိ	-	-	၈၆	-	-	-	၈၆
ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ	၂၁	၁၁	၄၀	၃၇၇	၄	၂	၄၅၅
မတ်	၁၄	၄	၁၀၈	၄	၁	၂	၁၃၃
ဧပြီ	၈	၂	၉၀	၂	-	-	၁၀၂
မေ	၆	၁၂	၁၈၇	-	-	-	၂၀၅
ဇွန်	၂၉	-	၁၄၄	-	-	-	၁၇၃
ဇူလိုင်	၁၄	-	၃၅၉	-	-	-	၃၇၃
ဩဂုတ်	၁၈	-	၃၂၀	-	-	-	၃၃၈
စက်တင်ဘာ	၄၉	-	၅၁၂	-	-	-	၅၆၁
	၁၅၆	၃၉	၁၈၆၄	၃၈၃	၅	၄	၂၄၃၆

*CRPH announced that 150 million Myanmar Kyats have been provided to more than 2400 GS-CDMers (Source: Democratic Voice of Burma)*

It can be said that the particular reason why these Civil servants who continue working cannot leave their work is because of their families whom they are required to take care of, according to the survey results. Despite the pressures and difficulties, almost all of these civil servants who continue working, wish to leave their workplaces and join the CDM, if they did have a choice. The obvious reason to leave the workplace is because they despise the military dictatorship and injustice and they long for a democratic country. Some wish to quit their jobs as they have come to feel awfully guilty for their choices and therefore, they feel that undergoing CDM is the right thing to do. A different opinion is that not participating in the CDM is the individual will and decision and one has become disgusted with the works of the National League of Democracy (NLD).

**(2.3) The perspectives of Civil servants who continue working upon the GS-CDMers**

In this Spring Revolution, people have come to define the Civil Disobedience Movement with their own conceptions and definitions, and defined that only the quitting of jobs can be regarded as Civil Disobedience Movement. Due to the belief that if all government staffs stopped going to the workplaces, the military council would not continue their administration mechanism and would be forced to surrender in a short time. Moreover, people believe that GS-CDMers are to be honored and to be provided justice in the post-revolution period. There are also views that Civil servants who continue working are opportunists who are taking advantage of the GS-CDMers and they are

the main reasons in prolonging the mechanism of the military council. Similarly, people have come to believe that Civil servants who continue working are to be taken actions as they are the disruptions of the revolution.

According to the interviews and surveys, Civil servants who continue working answer that they are betraying the revolution and the civilians as they had no choice but to be Non-CDM due to their underlying situations, such as they are the breadwinners of the family. Therefore, already accepting the concept that in the post-revolution period, punishing the Civil servants who continue working, is a righteous act. This concept may bring risks in the transitional period as it can lead to the potential challenges in the rehabilitation processes.

It is realized that from the surveys that Civil servants who continue working hold huge respects for the GS-CDMers as heroes of the country. On the other hand, according to one particular answer, GS-CDMers are those exploiting on the changing situations.

Civil servants who continue working think that the GS-CDMers will have better life and job opportunities in the post revolution period. However, the different perspective is that with the mass encouraging to the GS-CDMers in this revolution, there can be consequences when the desires of the GS-CDMers cannot be fulfilled by the stakeholders in the future.

Although I can happily accept the punishments from the humane government in the post-revolution period, I am more worried about the threats from the military towards my family and myself to go back to the workplace.

#### (2.4) Announcements towards the Civil servants who continue working

The National Unity Government (NUG) has made blacklist announcements to the Civil servants who continue working from various departments, including education, health, and administration departments. Civil servants who continue working think that these blacklist announcements are what should be done as they are deserved to be taken action for not joining the vast majority while some of them just see neutral about it. Somehow, a few of them doubt the effectiveness of NUG's actions.



*Salingyi People's Defense Forces (Source: Radio Free Asia)*

When local security forces or local administration forces announce warnings or blacklists towards the Civil servants who continue working, they are willing to leave their workplaces under these threats. Some of them also see that these acts are only harmful to the innocent civilians.

#### (2.5) Concerns of civil servants who continue working, upon their choices of not leaving the workplaces

Indeed, the Civil servants who continue working, have their worries and concerns regarding their security and job opportunities in the post-revolution period. However, they are prepared to accept whatever action or punishment comes to them, as it is a “just” act.

A few of them are already disappointed being the government staffs and will quit their positions in the post revolution period. The one particular perspective is that this revolution will not be easily over. On the other hand, some of them are not worried at all since they are supporting the revolutionaries and that the public will see the truth when the time comes.

# 3 Data of Civil Servants who left their works (GS-CDMers)

A total of 455 people answered the survey questionnaires targeted towards GS-CDMers. The age range of those who took the survey can be seen in figure 2.1.



*Fig 2.1 Age range of the number of people who took the survey*

Males are slightly higher in number when taking the survey with 56.7% and females who took the survey are at 43.3%. This can be seen in figure 2.1.

The highest education the participants received can be seen in figure 2.2. Of those who answered the questionnaires, bachelor degree holders answer the most and vocational school graduates being the least.

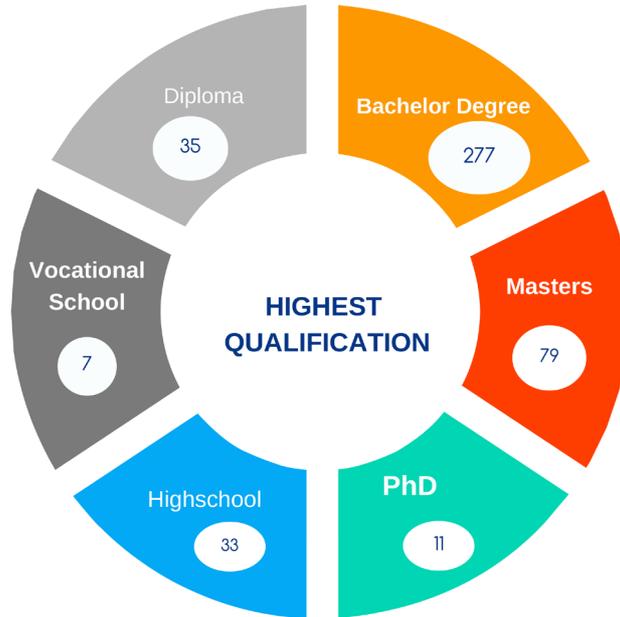


Fig 2.2 Highest education of the number of participants who took the survey

The locations from where the participants are working can be seen in figure 2.3, with people from Yangon being the most with 116 individuals answering the survey.

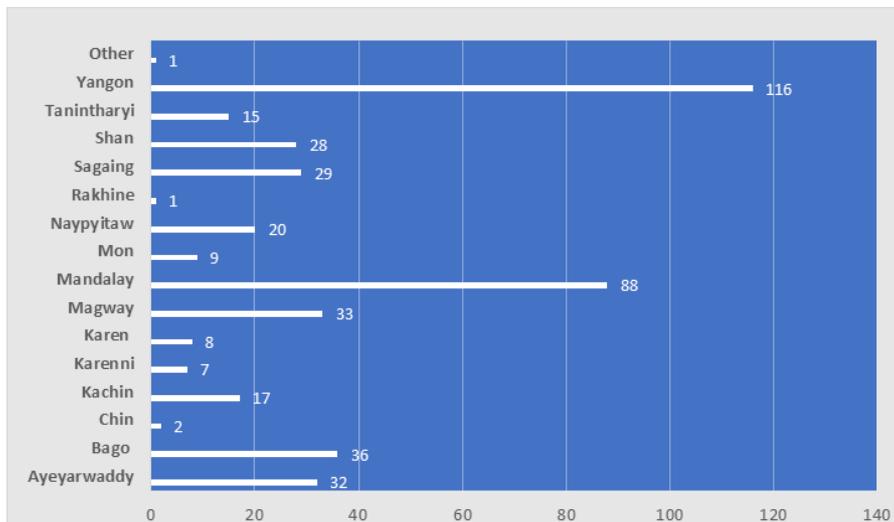
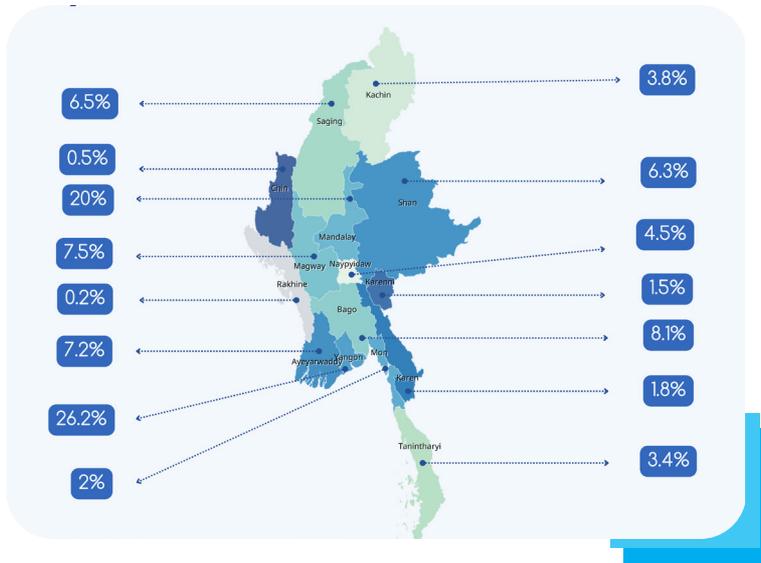
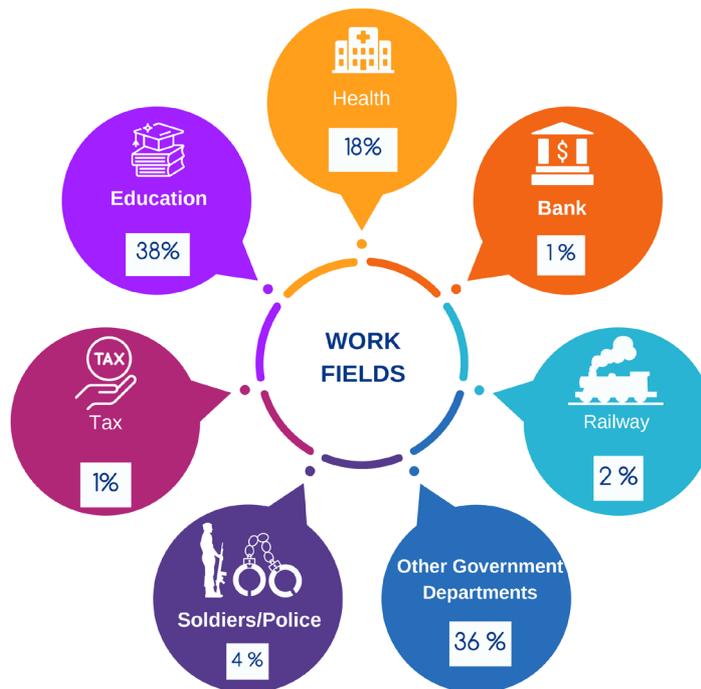


Fig 2.3 Locations of the number of participants who took the survey



**Fig 2.4 Locations of the number of participants who took the survey by percentage**

The job backgrounds of the participants are wide-ranged can be seen in figure 2.5. Of all the participants, it can be seen that people from education sector participate in the survey questionnaire the most.



**Fig 2.5 Job backgrounds of the number of participants who took the survey by percentage**

### (3.1) Situations of GS-CDMers in the Revolution

After the military seized control of the country in 2021 February, many of the staffs; especially from government sectors joined the non-violence, Civil Disobedience Movement and quit their jobs. Many GS-CDMers initiated and participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement and protests since the early period of the Spring Revolution. Due to their safety and financial concerns, some of them went back to their hometowns to do farming or run their own stores. A small amount of the GS-CDMers couldn't leave their workplaces immediately right after the coup. However, they later joined and had to move out from their homes due to their security.

All of these GS-CDMers choose to join Civil Disobedience Movement due to a few similar reasons; they despise the military dictatorship, they cannot stand the acts of injustice and long for true democracy, and because they cannot accept the statement of the military council that the National League of Democracy stole votes in the election. Although these participants courageously participated in the movement, they still have families to look after and most of them struggles financially from quitting their jobs. Many of them faced threats especially from their superiors and their colleagues in the workplace. Some of them have experienced direct threatening from the Military council groups such as sending them death threat letters to their homes and to their families. More than half of the participants are facing with threats from their surroundings.

According to the surveys, GS-CDMers were persuaded and confronted with saying things like "it is such a waste leaving the workplace after all the years of working regarding their positions and salaries", "this revolution will be over soon with nothing changed like it didn't back in 1988", and that they will not be taken any actions if they come back to the workplace and will be given them back their positions and salaries, they and their families may face abduction and tortures, imprisonment under law and, that they must come back to the workplace as they owe them the Covid-19 loans.

According to a CDM doctor from the interview, she stated that she received threat letters from her department, forcing her to come back and if she doesn't, she would have to pay the compensations.



*CDM from education background in Pekon (Source: Shan News)*

GS-CDMers are known to receive financial and physical support from the organizations and the public. However, from the survey, it is known that half of them receive supports but the other half haven't received any support. This can be seen in figure 2.6.



*Fig 2.6 Percentage of supports serviced*

For those who received support, they got it mainly from external donors and external organizations, a few from NUG and CRPH, and from their close connections.

The number of times that the participants received these supports are seen in figure 2.7, with receiving 2 times being the most.

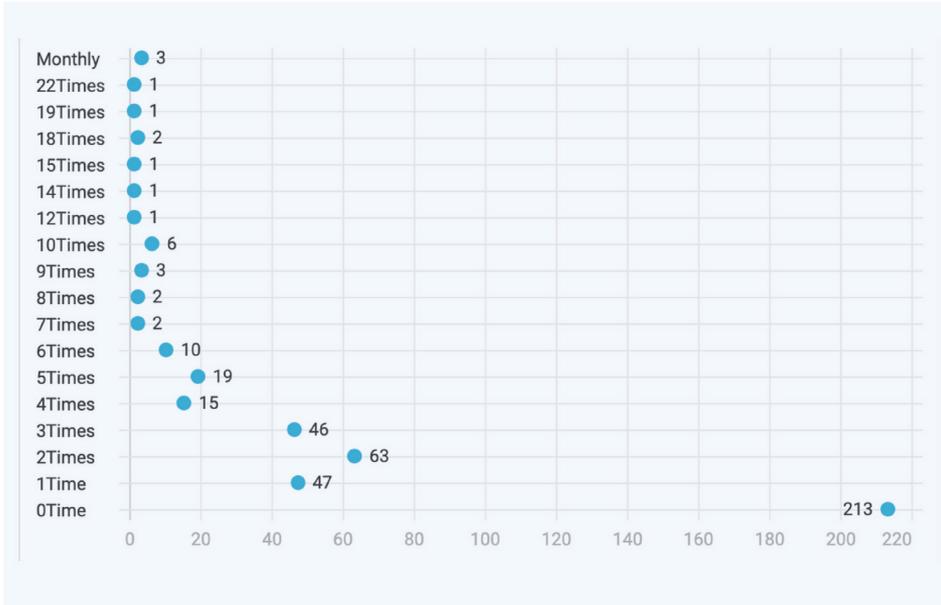
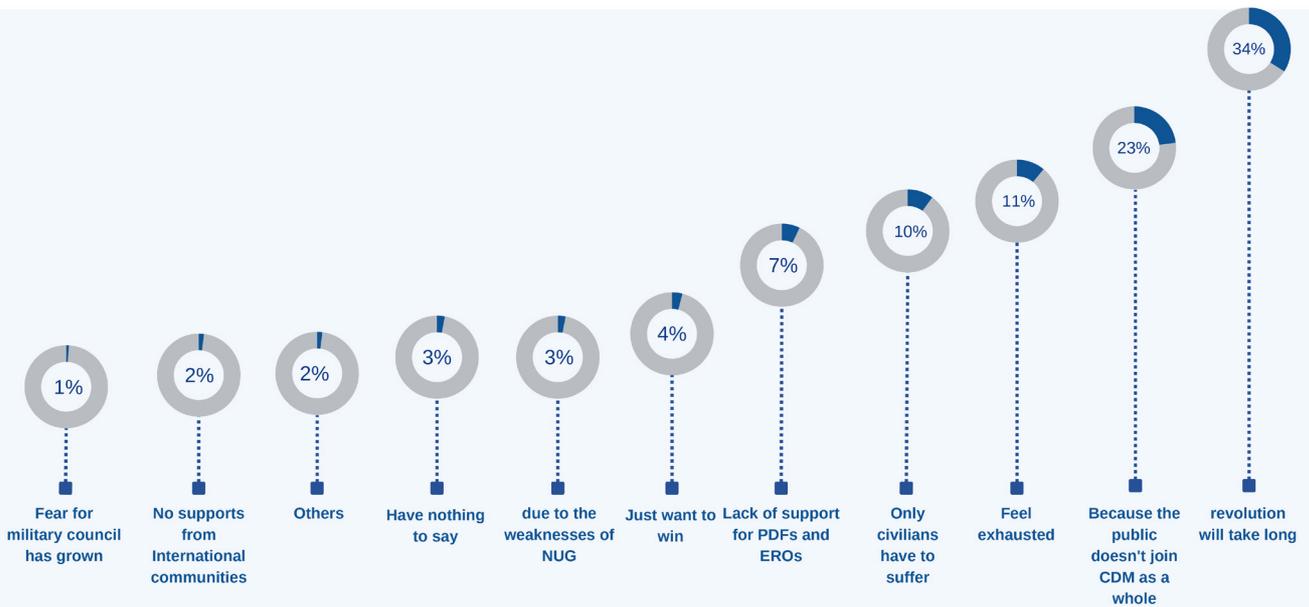


Figure 2.7 Number of times that the participants received support

As the salaries of the GS-CDMers are halted when they quit their jobs, some of them have to find income from alternative jobs. CDM doctors mostly work in private clinics or set up their own. CDM teachers are also tutoring privately or teaching in online classes hosted by NUG. Some set up their small businesses such as online shops, grocery stores, etc. Others work as freelancers or work daily-wage jobs to keep their income continue. However, some cannot work anything as they have to flee from their homes, live undercover, or cross the border to the neighboring countries where they have to live illegally.

The participants have different perspectives on the longevity of this revolution. The different perspectives of the GS-CDMers can be seen in figure 2.8.



**Fig 2.8** Different perspectives on the longevity of the revolution

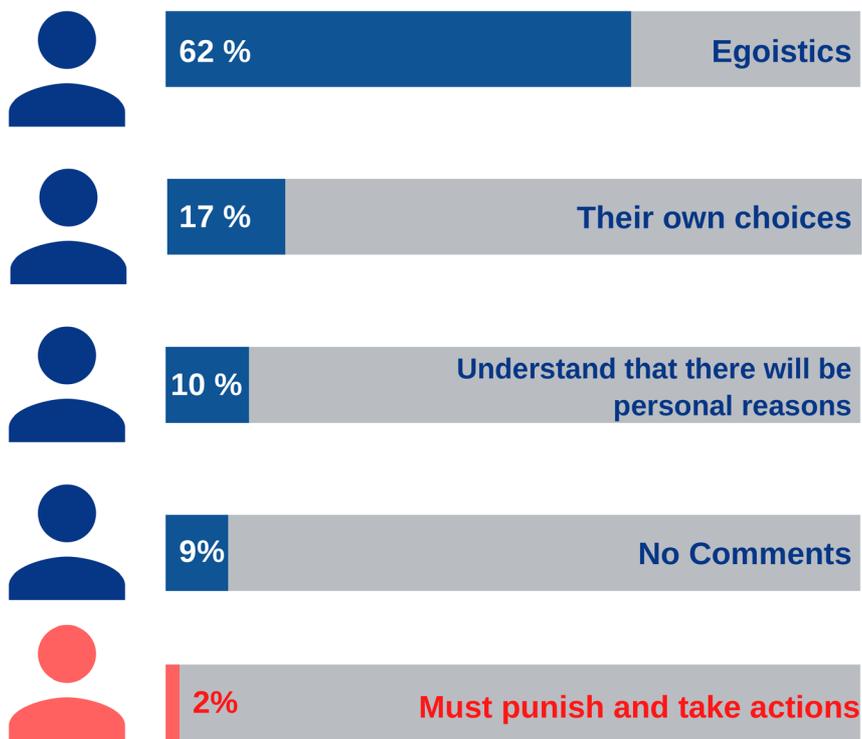
The vast majority of the GS-CDMers have no regret for joining the movement and feels strong that the people will win the revolution one day. Some perspectives include that the revolution is taking this long as the whole public is not participating in the revolution.

It is also known from the interview questions that the GS-CDMers have chosen the path of revolution against the military dictatorship by leaving the workplace through non-violent civil disobedience, so they do not consider returning to the workplace until the revolution is over. Some said they were unable to return to their families because they have arrived at the border, and that they had no plans to return to their workplaces.

According to the surveys, as the revolution has lengthy, the two main problems of GS-CDMers are financial and mental struggles.

The perspectives of the GS-CDMers upon the civil servant government staffs who do not leave their workplaces can be seen in figure 2.9.

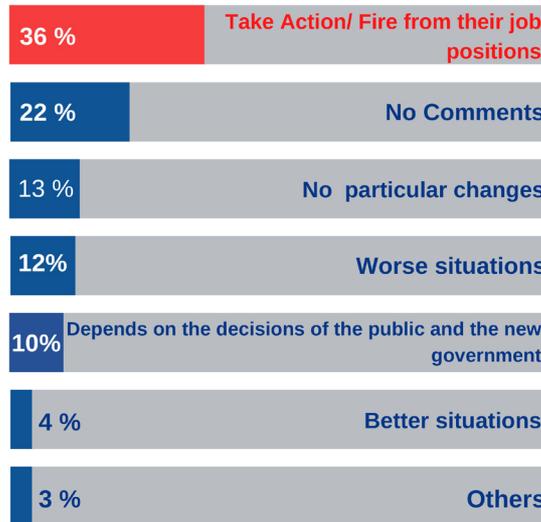
## DATA OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES WHO LEAVE THEIR WORKPLACES (GS-CDMERS)



*Fig 2.9 Perspectives of the GS-CDMers upon civil servants who do not leave their workplaces*

As the GS-CDMers have suffered and had to leave their families and their belongings, GS-CDMers indeed have frustrations upon the Civil servants who continue working. According to the surveys, most GS-CDMers want to take action upon the Civil servants who continue working. Figure 2.9.1 shows the perspectives of the GS-CDMers upon the job opportunities of the civil servants who do not leave their workplaces.

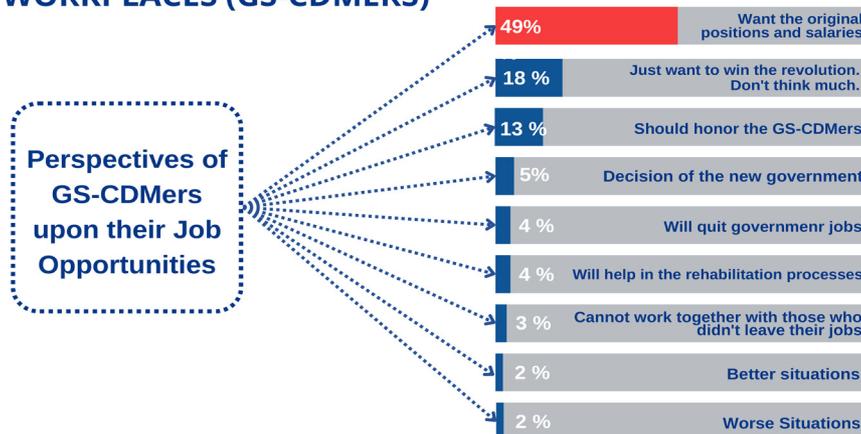
## DATA OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES WHO LEAVE THEIR WORKPLACES (GS-CDMERS)



*Fig 2.9.1 Perspectives of the GS-CDMers upon the job opportunities of the civil servants who do not leave their workplaces*

Finally, GS-CDMers also have their opinions and perspectives on their job opportunities after the revolution. Majority want to get back to their original job positions and their original benefits back. The different opinions can be seen in figure 2.9.2.

## DATA OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES WHO LEAVE THEIR WORKPLACES (GS-CDMERS)



*Fig (2.9.2) Perspectives of the GS-CDMers upon their job opportunities in the post revolution period*

# 4 Current condition of Civil Disobedience Movement

After a year of the revolution, many staffs from government departments across the country have joined CDM according to the numbers. CDM in Magway, Sagaing and Chin can be said to be the highest participation due to the influence of local security forces and local administration groups in those areas since around April, 2022 when the NUG officially announced their control of 36 townships in Sagaing and Magway.

On February 28th 2022, almost all of the 196 elementary schools in Yesagyoo Township were closed and five hospitals, including the township hospital, were also closed; according to RFA news on March 15th. (ရေစကြိုမြို့နယ်မှာ စစ်ကောင်စီရဲ့ ကျန်းမာရေးနဲ့ ပညာရေးယန္တရား ရပ်တန့်လုပ်ဖြစ်နေ, 2022)



*Nway Oo KantKaw charity clinic opened on March 10, 2022 in YayLeKyun, Yasegyoo township, Magway (Source: Radio Free Asia)*

Chin Joint Defense Committee (CJDC) announced that action will be taken against Non-CDM employees who are involved in military education and military administration in Chin State. (ချင်းပြည်နယ်အတွင်း စစ်ကျွန်ပညာရေးနှင့် စစ်အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးယန္တရားမှာပါဝင်ဆောင်ရွက်နေတဲ့ Non-CDM ဝန်ထမ်းတွေကို အရေးယူမယ်လို့ CJDC ထုတ်ပြန်, 2022)



Chin Joint Defense Committee in Chin State (Source: Ayeeyarwaddy News)

Additionally, National Unity Government has been trying to provide job opportunities to the GS-CDMers from health sector who have been helping in this revolution. It has announced several job vacancies for health GS-CDMers to work in the Ministry of Health under NUG. (Lilian, 2022)



ပြည်ထောင်စုသမ္မတမြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်  
အမျိုးသားညီညွတ်ရေးအစိုးရအဖွဲ့  
ကျန်းမာရေးဝန်ကြီးဌာန  
ထုတ်ပြန်ကြေညာချက်အမှတ် (၉/၂၀၂၂)  
၂၀၂၂ ခုနှစ်၊ ဇူလိုင်လ (၁၄) ရက်

၁။ အမျိုးသားညီညွတ်ရေးအစိုးရ၊ ကျန်းမာရေးဝန်ကြီးဌာနနှင့် တိုင်းရင်းသားကျန်းမာရေးဌာနများ၏ ဆေးရုံ/ဆေးခန်းများတွင် တာဝန်ထမ်းဆောင်နိုင်ရန် အောက်ဖော်ပြပါ တာဝန်များ (စုစုပေါင်း ၁၂ ခု) အတွက် လျှောက်လွှာတင်သွင်းနိုင်ပါသည်။

စဉ်	တာဝန်	လစာလက်ခံရမည့်နေရာ	ပညာအရည်ချင်း
၁။	အရိုးအထူးကုဆရာဝန်	(၁၀) နေရာ	M.B.,B.S, M.Med. Sc (Ortho)
၂။	အရိုးအထူးကု သို့လွန်သင်တန်းသား	(၁၀) နေရာ	M.B.,B.S, PG2/PG3 (Ortho)
၃။	ခွဲစိတ်အထူးကုဆရာဝန်	(၁၀) နေရာ	M.B.,B.S, M.Med. Sc (Surgery)
၄။	ခွဲစိတ်အထူးကု သို့လွန်သင်တန်းသား	(၁၀) နေရာ	M.B.,B.S, PG2/PG3 (Surgery)
၅။	မေ့ဆေးအထူးကုဆရာဝန်	(၁၀) နေရာ	M.B.,B.S, M.Med. Sc (Anaesthesia)
၆။	မေ့ဆေးအထူးကု သို့လွန်သင်တန်းသား	(၁၀) နေရာ	M.B.,B.S, PG2/PG3 (Anaesthesia)
၇။	အရေးပေါ်အထူးကုဆရာဝန်	(၁၀) နေရာ	M.B.,B.S, M.Med. Sc (Emergency Medicine)
၈။	အရေးပေါ်အထူးကု သို့လွန်သင်တန်းသား	(၁၀) နေရာ	M.B.,B.S, PG2/PG3 (Emergency Medicine)

[ ၁ ]

Announcement of NUG for the employees from health sector

(Source: People's Spring)



*Township administrators participating in CDM protest in PyaPon  
(Source: People's Spring)*

Also, in NUG controlled areas, General Administration Committee of GS-CD-Mers have been converted into the Local Administration Council, after the announcement has been made by the Ministry of Home Affairs and Immigration (NUG), that local administration has been succeeded in 29 townships in Sagaing and 7 townships in Magway. (Lilian, ထွေအုပ် CDMဝန်ထမ်းများ အုပ်ချုပ်မှုကော်မတီကို ပြည်သူ့အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးဦးစီးဌာနအဖြစ် NUG ပြောင်းလဲဖွဲ့စည်း, 2022)

## 5 | Threatening towards GS-CDMers

Since the start of the military coup, NLTA has monitored and collected data from news media and according to their sources, NLTA has collected the number of people arrested, killed, and detained by the military council. Additionally, there are also some numbers of Civil servants who continue working killed and arrested by the revolutionary groups.

Throughout 2021 and 2022, the number of people arrested by the military council for performing the Civil Disobedience Movement is 235<sup>1</sup> people. These people are from various backgrounds, including but not limited to civil servants from the health sector, education sector, government administration departments, armed groups (soldier and police). Some of them are



**ARRESTED NUMBERS: 235**



**DEATH : 71**

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1. Data from local medias.

brutally injured while being abducted. Some have fled to safety but their family members are abducted instead.

People performing CDM were also killed by the military council. The number of people who died is 71 people through 2021 and 2022 according to the local medias. Of these people who were killed by the terrorist military council, some were shot and killed near their homes, some died during their interrogation and some died while being detained in jail. In some areas, some people were forcefully arrested even without knowing they're GS-CDMers but later being found out and killed by the military council. Therefore, sometimes, it is questionable that these brutal killings by the military are whether because people are GS-CDMers. The infamous PyuSawHtee<sup>2</sup> and PyiThut-Sit<sup>3</sup> have also been capturing, torturing and killing GS-CDMers along with the civilians.

On 17<sup>th</sup>, October 2022, a CDM teacher, along with 3 other civilians were brutally killed by the Military council in KyarPyitKan village, southern Pauk township, Magway. It was known from the sources that he was teaching at a school opened in Pauk township in connection with the National Unity Government (NUG), and was a member of the NUG's Education Township Steering Committee. The CDM teacher was beheaded and killed. *(CDM ကျောင်းဆရာကို ခေါင်းဖြတ်သတ်သည့် စစ်ကြောင်း တိုက်ခိုက်ခံရ, 2022)*

The military council also filed lawsuits against the GS-CDMers under the law 505(A), for causing fear, spreading false news and agitating crimes against the government. They were unfairly filed with this penal code and have faced several struggles, such as having to flee away from their homes, not being able to travel domestic nor abroad, not being able to appear in public, not being able to make a living, etc.

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2. *PyuSawHtee: Formed on March 5, 2021 in Yangon and Mandalay first and late formed in other regions. It includes veterans, pro-military, military council members, USDP supporters, nationalists and extremists.*
  3. *PyiThuSitt: Formed by the military council and provided arms, which are a response to civil unrest as said by the military council.*

## 6 **Threatening towards Civil Servants who continue working**

**N**ot only the GS-CDMers are being killed, arrested and filed lawsuits for performing CDM, but also civil servants who do not leave their workplace are also killed and arrested by the local People's Defense Forces and the Ethnic Revolutionary Organizations, including other local security/armed forces for not joining the CDM. Since 2021 February, 13 Civil servants who continue working have been killed by the PDFs and EROs. They were also arrested as a warning to leave their jobs and later released. PDFs and EROs also bombed the government administration offices, police stations and the homes where Civil servants who continue working reside. This leads to 12 of them injured from bombing by the PDFs. Additionally, people under the leadership of PDFs and EROs have boycotted and exiled the civil servants from their homes. (*The Irrawaddy -Burmese Edition, 2022*)



*KanPetLet Township Hospital (Source:The Irrawaddy Burmese Edition)*

NUG has made several announcements, warning Civil servants who continue working to quit their jobs as soon as they possible. On 4th February, 2022, NUG announced that the Non-CDM employees under the military council will be made sure to be taken action as NUG will collect evidence such as audio evidence of violations against CDM teachers and staff to ensure that appropriate punishments are meted out. (စစ်ကောင်စီလက်ကိုင်တုတ် Non CDM ဝန်ထမ်းများအား အပြစ်ပေးအရေးယူမည်ဟု NUG ထုတ်ပြန်, 2022)



Zingyaik Police Station (Source: Democratic Voice of Burma)

The Paung Township Local Security Forces announced on October 21, 2021 that the bomb attack on the Zin Gyaik police station was their work and they announced their final warnings for the soldiers to join CDM. (ဇင်းကျိုက်ရဲစခန်း ဖုံးခွဲတိုက်ခိုက်ခံရ၊ ရဲများ CDM ဝင်ကြရန် နောက်ဆုံး သတိပေးဟု PDF ပြော, 2021)

On 14<sup>th</sup> June, 2022, a professor from Dawei University and a clerk from local administration were killed by Dawei Guerrilla Revolutionary Force (DGRF) and they have also formally received warnings with bullets, to quit their jobs. (လောင်းလုံးတွင် Non CDM တက္ကသိုလ် ကထိကနှင့် ရုပ်/ကျေး စာရေးမ ပစ်သတ်ခံရ, 2022)

On 11<sup>th</sup> September 2022, a non-CDM teacher's home was attacked by bombing from an anonymous group in Mandalay. (မန္တလေးမြို့တွင် Non CDM ကျောင်းဆရာမ နေအိမ် လက်လုပ်ဖုံးဖြင့် ထပ်မံပစ်ခံရ, 2021)



*After Non-CDM teacher's house was bombed in Mandalay  
(Source: Democratic Voice of Burma)*

(These numbers are only those collected from specific news media groups monitored by NLTA. However, the amount of people killed, injured and arrested on ground by both the military council and the EROs/PDFs can be much higher than these numbers.)

## Conclusion

**T**here is no doubt that after almost 2 years of the revolution, there has been several civilians injured due to the armed clashes between the military council and the revolutionary groups. The brutal killings of the civilians by the soldiers, PyuSawHtee and Pyithutsitt under SAC has threatened the lives of the civilians. The troops of the military council have been killing innocent civilians just for standing against the military dictatorship and especially for participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement. The lawless killings and human rights violations that are happening in the current period need to be recorded and effective action need to be taken in bringing justice in the transitional period, as it is an important demand of the Spring Revolution.

There are more complex situations, perceptions, and attitudes between civil servants who left work to participate in the CDM movement and civil servants who continue serving under the military council and it is not possible to easily conclude and evaluate according to these cooperative choices. From the analysis of the one-on-one interviews and surveys, it can be seen that both the GS-CDMers and the Civil servants who continue working only see this revolution in a black and white picture. GS-CDMers who left the workplace are regarded as revolutionaries and those who continue to work in the workplace are regarded as traitors to the revolution. As it is a participation within their capacity, the differences of limitations in individual sacrifice and the inclusive, broad participation by the mass, it is not required to be active full-time like revolutionary coalitions, political parties and armed groups. With the basic desire to achieve success in short period of time, it has turned blind eye to the mentioned factor as non-violence movement and there can be supporters, neutrals and those who oppose the revolution in any uprising around the world in all generation, then prioritizing the ideology of 'Us and Them'.

From the surveys and interviews, it was discovered that the Civil servants who continue working are also mentally prepared for any judgment or action taken against them in the post revolution period. They feel that choosing to not leave their workplaces is wrong as it is an act of betrayal in this revolution but have to choose that path as they have no other option. The lives

and security of their families lie behind them, and therefore; joining CDM would threaten the security of their families. Thus, leaving them no choice but to continue working in their jobs.

On the other hand, some of the GS-CDMers are also eager to take action against the Civil servants who continue working when the time comes, as they feel that they are profiting during this revolution period and they have to pay back for the actions in the post revolution period. Moreover, as the Civil servants who continue working have received salaries and promoted job positions during this revolution period, GS-CDMers have also stated that they cannot work under them in the future. In fact, the statement No. (3/2021) of CRPH has already been issued on February 11, 2021, which states that the Military Council does not have the right to exercise any legislative, administrative, or judicial powers, and that there is full guarantee for national employees who left their workplaces and participated in the CDM movement and therefore, this can properly implement justice in the transitional period.

The respect and recognition of the civil servant GS-CDMers by those who continue to work in the current profession can be seen as a good basis for building mutual understanding between them. Civil servants GS-CDMers, need to establish workplace processes according to the ability to the level of sacrifice by the those who continue to work in the workplace and accept them as ordinary citizens and civil servants and human resources who will participate in the society of the future. Instead of the expanding the “us” cycle in the society, efforts should be made to expand the “welcoming” cycle which supports the revolution.

As civil servants in the current workplace, they must try to engage the public in non-violent civil disobedience by activities such as delaying work and causing loss and damage, sharing news, and financial support that can support the revolution even at the risk of the military council and its pocket organizations threatening their lives.

Anyone who violates the lives of civilians and human dignity, who violates the international laws of war, must be dealt with according to the relevant judicial system in the transition period, and no perpetrators will be allowed to go unpunished. Any political system that will emerge including the transition period and the future must be able to build a peaceful and harmonious society in the same way that justice must be guaranteed.

### Abbreviation List

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| (1) GS-CDMers  | Government Service-CDMers who left their workplaces  |
| (2) CDM        | Non-violence civil disobedience movement by leaving the workplaces   |
| (3) PyuSawHtee | Formed on March 5, 2021 in Yangon and Mandalay first and late formed in other regions. It includes veterans, pro-military, military council members, USDP supporters, nationalists and extremists. |
| (4) PyiThuSitt | Formed by the military council and provided arms, which are a response to civil unrest as said by the military council.  |

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