Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship

Special Issue on Generations of Student Activism
Volume 3, July 2023
Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship

Volume 3
July 2023

Printed by Wanida Press

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 4.0 International License
From 1911 the Journal of the Burma Research Society (JBRS) covered virtually all subjects pertaining to Burma and functioned as a serious publication for all enthusiasts—archaeologists, linguists, historians, epigraphers, ethnographers, art historians and more, until it was shut down by the Myanmar military in 1980. In 2011, on the eve of what was to become a momentous decade of social and political change in Myanmar, an organizing committee of seven Burmese and three Western scholars met at Yale University with a mission to reestablish the JBRS for Burmese scholars in the humanities and social sciences. The new Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship (IJBS) was convened with “independent” in its title to emphasize its total independence from any government agency or body in Burma or abroad.

The organizing committee soon added six members based in Burma and began hosting thematic workshops and publishing issues with funds raised by Yale University, the Open Society Foundations, and the Luce Foundation. Our journal issues, like our website, make every effort to be bilingual in both English and Burmese. Our mission is to provide a forum for incisive publications that contribute to the knowledge of Myanmar, with a preference for open access, accessibility and readability over paywalls, esoteric prose and dense theorization. In order to remain fully independent and publish more fully without fear or favor, the IJBS moved its base of operations outside of Myanmar, to the Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development at Chiang Mai University, Thailand, after the 1 February 2021 military coup. In addition to print, issues are also published online (https://ijbs.online) in .PDF and .HTML format with digital hyperlinks and footnotes.
ညွှန်းထားသည် ဆောင်ရွက်ရေး အလုပ်သမားများ စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြင်းမှုအဖွဲ့၌ အချိန်းစိုက်သည် ဗျူဟာ စာသင်္ချာအဖွဲ့ကို မှန်ကန်စေရန်ကိုက်စားပြီးမှ တွေ့ရှိထားသည်။ (Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship) မှ အဖွဲ့၏အမြဲတမ်း ဝင်ရောက်ကြသည် အဖွဲ့၏ မှန်ကန်စေရာ မြောက် ရောဂါအဖွဲ့၏ သင်္ချာတစ်ခုမှစ၍ ရှောင်ရာအဖွဲ့၏ သင်္ချာသင်္ချာကို သင်္ချာသင်္ချာ မှန်ကန်စေရာ မြောက် ရောဂါအဖွဲ့၏ အဖွဲ့၏နေရာတွင် ဗျူဟာစားသင်္ချာ၏ “ဗျူဟာပြါ” သို့မဟုတ် နိုင်ငံတော် အဖွဲ့၏ ဗျူဟာပြါ ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးအဖွဲ့ကို ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

မှန်ကန်စေရာ ဗျူဟာစားသင်္ချာတစ်ခုမှစ၍ အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာ များကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် ထိန်းသိမ်းရာတွင် အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာ များကို ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ Open Society Foundations နှင့် Luce Foundation သည် အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာ များကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

ဗျူဟာစားသင်္ချာအဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာများကို ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

ယူနိုင်ငံတော် အဖွဲ့ကို (၇) ပြုလုပ်ရာ အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ အဖွဲ့၏ ပြုလုပ်ရာများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးရာတွင် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။
Advisory Board

James Scott
Ma Thida
Michael Charney
Soe Myint Aung
Tun Myint
U Saw Tun

Issue Editor

A. Sim

Managing Editor

Luke James Corbin

Assistant Editor

Thitsar Te

Copyeditors

Min Latt
Lin Pyo Ain

Cover Artwork

Suriya

Artworks

Brave
Suriya
Titi
Table of Contents

About the Authors and Interviewees 1

Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation

A. Sim 11

Student Strikes for Education Reform, 1920-2015

Boe Thein 63

My Participation in the 1996 Student Movement

Lay Lay Mon 105

Opportunities and Challenges for Student Unions

Phyoe Phyoe Aung 123
From Student Activism to Peace Negotiation:  
A Life Story of Trying to Build a Democratic Union  
*Sai Kyaw Nyunt*  
145

The Call of the Peacock:  
The Objectives of Student Movements in the 1970s  
*Tin Aye Kyu*  
185

A Forgotten Student Movement:  
The 2002 Military Technological College Uprising  
*Zay Yah Oo*  
221

Interview with Veteran Activist U Hla Shwe  
*Lin Nyein Eain*  
357
Interview with Ko Soe Htun, Former Student of the Yangon Institute of Technology

Sa Waw Htang

Interview with Spring Revolution Student Leader Min Han Htet

Kaung Sithu

Young Revolutionaries from Past and Present

Virtual Federal University Research Program
About the Authors

Boe Thein a.k.a. Dr. Min Thein was the vice chairperson of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions from 1960-1961. He was arrested in 1962 for his role in the 7 July Student Uprising and released in 1963. He received Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery degrees in 1964. From 2014 he actively participated in the National Network for Education Reform, demanding reform of the controversial National Education Law. He has written many books on medicine, the history of student movements in Myanmar, and educational reform.

Lay Lay Mon was born in Yangon in 1978 and was one of the student leaders during the student protest at Dagon University on 9 December 1996. She was arrested twice and spent a total of 12 years as a political prisoner in four different prisons. Lay Lay Mon worked for the Democratic Voice of Burma for six years and wrote for Teen Magazine, edited by Ma Thida, for over a year. As a veteran student activist, she stands against the 2021 coup.

Phyoe Phyoe Aung a.k.a. Hnin Pwint Wai was born in 1988 and is the daughter of former political prisoner Dr. Nay Win. She played a significant role in reorganizing the All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU) during the Saffron Revolution in 2007. She went into hiding until being arrested in 2008 while in Ayeyarwady Division helping victims of Cyclone Nargis. After her release from prison in 2012, Phyoe Phyoe Aung became the general secretary of the ABFSU. She was arrested again during the crackdown on students’ protests against the National Education Law in 2015 and spent another year in prison. She received the Citizen of Burma Award in 2015 and the International Women of Courage Award in 2021.

Sai Kyaw Nyunt is an ethnic Shan politician and former student activist. He started studying at the Yangon Institute of Technology in 1995 and was a student leader in the 1996 student uprising. He was detained and sentenced to seven years’ prison
for his role in the protests and released in 2002. In 2013, he became a director of the Myanmar Institute for Democracy, founded by 1996-1998 generation student activists. He later joined the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD). When the National League for Democracy government started organizing a series of Union Peace Conferences in 2016, he worked as one of the Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee’s secretaries, representing political parties. He was elected as Joint Secretary No. 1 at the SNLD’s congress in June 2022.

**Tin Aye Kyu** was a prominent student leader in the 1976 centenary of the Thakin Ko Daw Hmaing uprising and was sentenced to nine years imprisonment for his role. After his release as part of an amnesty in 1980 he joined the Burma Communist Party. After the 1988 uprising, he worked as the general secretary of the upper Myanmar-based Coalition of National Political Front until it was crushed by the military junta in 1989 and he was imprisoned again, this time until 2005. He died in 2022. He was a prolific writer and political commentator as “Maung Hmine Lwin (Innwa)”.

**Zay Yah Oo** is a Fulbright alumnus with a master’s degree in political science from the University of Louisville, USA. He has been a member of the National League for Democracy Central Research Working Committee since 2014. He worked as a political consultant for Pandita Development Institute and with stakeholders on civic education, federalism, and constitutional issues. He is a former political prisoner and student leader from the Military Technological College, Pyin Oo Lwin. An uprising there in 2002 led to the college being permanently shut down.

**Hla Shwe** was born in Bogale Township and was active in student movements from 1953 on. He was elected as the General Secretary of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions at the sixth congress and played crucial roles, such as editor of Oway magazine, taking charge of publicity, and leading the 7 July Student Uprising in 1962. He fought for the Burma Communist
Party for approximately nine years. After the 1988 uprising, he co-founded the People’s Progressive Party and became its General Secretary. In addition, he wrote several political commentaries as “Aung Tha (PPP)”. In total, he spent almost two decades in various prisons for his political activities. Hla Shwe passed away on 15 July 2021 due to lack of oxygen, just one of many to die during a wave of the COVID-19 Delta variant. The public were prevented by the military and police from accessing life-saving oxygen and hospital facilities.

Soe Htun was a student leader during the 1996 student uprising. He was sentenced to seven years imprisonment in 1997 and was released from Thayarwaddy Prison in 2004. He co-founded the 88 Generation Student Group with Min Ko Naing, Min Zeya, Ko Ko Gyi, and Htay Kywe. In 2012, he founded iSchool-Myanmar to strengthen civil society and contribute to capacity-building activities for an all-inclusive peace process. He was active in the National Network for Education Reform from 2012 to 2021 and founded Nyan News Media in 2019. He also co-founded the Healthcare Center for Political Prisoners in 2018.

Min Han Htet is a prominent student leader of the ongoing 2021 Spring Revolution. Born in 1999, he was studying Philosophy at Dagon University and has been active in the Dagon University Student Union since 2018, being elected chairperson in 2020. He was a founder, and the spokesperson, of the Coalition of Yangon-Based University Student Unions after the 1 February 2021 coup. Because of his political activities, the military junta took control of his family’s assets, including forcibly confiscating their house.

The Virtual Federal University Research Program was envisioned by Myanmar students taking part in the democracy movement and is a free education platform and community committed to critical education for federal democracy in Myanmar. It supports students to design and conduct research that aims to understand urgent social and political challenges and inform practical solutions for a safe and equitable future.
(ဗိ) ကျ ရည်စိုးနေစောင်စောင်နေချင်သူ သရေစတီတွင် ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သည်

ယခု ဘာသာဝါစာဝူတော်တော်တွင် သဘာဝအချက်အချက် ရှာရန်အတွက် ပြုလုပ်သည်: ယခု ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သည်

ယခု ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သည်: နောက်ဆုံး ပျောက်ကွယ်သော အခြေခံ ပြုလုပ်မှုများက ယခု ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သည်

(၁) နောက်ဆုံး ပျောက်ကွယ်သော အခြေခံ ပြုလုပ်မှုများက ယခု ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သည်

(၂) နောက်ဆုံး ပျောက်ကွယ်သော အခြေခံ ပြုလုပ်မှုများက ယခု ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သည်

(၃) နောက်ဆုံး ပျောက်ကွယ်သော အခြေခံ ပြုလုပ်မှုများက ယခု ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သည်

(၄) နောက်ဆုံး ပျောက်ကွယ်သော အခြေခံ ပြုလုပ်မှုများက ယခု ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သည်

(၅) နောက်ဆုံး ပျောက်ကွယ်သော အခြေခံ ပြုလုပ်မှုများက ယခု ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သည်
University of Louisville

Fulbright ပြောင်းလဲ သို့မဟုတ် University of Louisville ကို ဖော်ပြသော Fulbright မှ မြန်မာ့အနုပညာစွဲချင်း စီးပွားရေးမှု အပေါ် လူသိများသော အချက်များဖြင့် အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ရေးသို့မဟုတ် နိုင်ငံရေးအပြီး စွဲချင်းအစိတ်အပိုင်းများ ဖော်ပြသော Fulbright ကို ဖော်ပြသည်။
8 ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးအကြီးအမှတ် (Healthcare Center For Political Prisoners)
အချို့ ဖိတ်စောင်းချက်အချို့ ကို ဖြင့်ဖြင့်ဖြင့် ဖြင့် ဖြင့်

မြို့နယ်ကြီး ရုံးစိုက်ပျိုးရေး မှာ ယူနစ်များကို သို့မဟုတ် ဆောင်ရွက် ပြီး ကြီးမားသော မြို့နယ်ရှိ အချက်အလက်များကို အပေါ် အပေါ် အပေါ် အပေါ် ပြုလုပ်ရန် ဆောင်ရွက်သည်။

နေ့စဉ်သုံးစွဲသူ များ၊ မှာ ယူနစ်များကို သို့မဟုတ် ဆောင်ရွက် ပြီး ကြီးမားသော မြို့နယ်ရှိ အချက်အလက်များကို အပေါ် အပေါ် အပေါ် အပေါ် ပြုလုပ်ရန် ဆောင်ရွက်သည်။

နေ့စဉ်သုံးစွဲသူ များ၊ မှာ ယူနစ်များကို သို့မဟုတ် ဆောင်ရွက် ပြီး ကြီးမားသော မြို့နယ်ရှိ အချက်အလက်များကို အပေါ် အပေါ် အပေါ် အပေါ် ပြုလုပ်ရန် ဆောင်ရွက်သည်။
Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspirations, Expectations and Representation

A. Sim

Abstract

This introduction situates the special issue and its articles within the context of scholarly engagement and public debate on Myanmar’s significant history of student activism. This journal issue is a result of a workshop held in 2016 and the articles and interviews included herein were written over the following six years. Some issue contributors have passed away since their original contributions, while others have fled to liberated areas and foreign countries in the wake of the 2021 military coup. The articles include discussions of student union relations with wider society, detailed revelations of a student uprising at a military college in 2002, and an interview with a student leader from the 2021 anti-coup protests who went on to take up arms against the State Administration Council. Based on the articles in this issue, as long as the spirit of students remains strong and oppression continues, it is likely that more student movements will occur in Myanmar.

Introduction

Student movements in Myanmar have played pivotal roles in the struggles for independence, democracy, and against authoritarianism. Usually one is only enrolled as a student for a short period of a much longer life. However, student movements are important collective actions that challenge authorities and the status quo.

1 This is a collective pseudonym. The issue editors for this special issue are anonymous for security reasons. Please also note that the English and Burmese versions of this introduction article do not correspond 100 percent to one another and were in part written for different audiences.
How do activists who participate in student movements in Myanmar imagine their collective student identity and perceive the role of student unions? In which circumstances are students willing to collaborate and cooperate with other social groups, civil society and political organizations, and other movements? Do the scope and structure of student movements change based on the forms of oppression perpetuated by authorities and the prevailing political system? Which international events and global movements impact student activism in Myanmar? Will economic development strengthen or weaken student movements? In this special issue on student activism, current and former participants in student movements answer these and other questions.

**Studies of Student Movements in Myanmar**

There are relatively few academic works by local and foreign scholars on student movements and resistance in Myanmar. Silverstein’s analysis and comparison of Burmese and Malay student movements is useful but finishes in the 1970s. The 2012 edited volume *Student Movements in Asia* includes a chapter on student movements in Myanmar up until 2008 by Win Min, a Burmese former student activist. It points out how the nature, scope, and impact of student activities differed depending on the type of regime in power.

As part of her doctoral dissertation, Myanmar-born Nang Mao Lao Rives researched the political movements of university students in Myanmar that took place in the 1980s. Rives studied the elite power competition of military personnel, Buddhist monks, and students, traditionally referred to in Burmese as the *thar thone thar* (three sons), and points out three factors that

---

4 Win Min, 2012.
6 Soldiers, monks and students are called *sit thar*, *phaya thar*, and *kyaung thar* respectively, hence *thar thone thar* (three sons).
created and shaped student movements in Myanmar in the 1980s. The first factor is a “political void” where prominent people in society cannot lead (or initiate) activities against the authoritarian regime. The second factor is the inspiration that different generations of Burmese students received from the *thakin* student activists who fought for independence from British colonial rule. The third factor is the birth of a robust collective student identity and sense of solidarity.

Another study of note is Metro’s discussion of the democratic education movements between 2014 and 2016, which started when the government tried to enact the National Education Law during a period of hybrid civilian-military rule. She points out that the differences in the interpretation of democracy and democratic education between authorities and students gave birth to a politically-oriented contentious student movement.

**Political Background and History**

Although student movements played essential roles in the struggles for independence from colonial rule, democracy, human rights, and against authoritarianism, only a few firsthand accounts from participants in these movements were published before 2012. Myanmar was distanced from the advances in knowledge experienced in much of the outside world from 1962-2012 due to the ruling military’s isolationism. Press censorship restricted student activists from publishing their experiences.

This special issue does not contain articles intended exclusively for some kind of imagined scholarly community. Instead, its articles aim to blur the gap between internal and

---


8 *Thakin* in Burmese means master. Members of Dobama Asiayone (founded in 1930) took up the appellation before their names as an act of defiance against the British colonial rulers who established themselves as the ‘masters’ of the colonies.

external knowledge about Myanmar and between older and younger generations suffering under different military-authoritarian regimes. It intends to reduce and contextualize the differences in knowledge and forms of knowledge experienced and held by participants in student movements and developed by analysts studying these movements over time.

By emphasizing local experiences and the reflections of participants, the contributions to this issue resemble memoirs and interviews more than research articles with clear, central arguments aimed at scholars debating politics and activism. Several are firsthand accounts from student leader activists. Presented both in the original Burmese language and English translations, these serve as rich primary source documents for readers and researchers of student movements and related issues.

Most of the articles in this journal are outcomes of the seminar and workshop organized by the Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship on 19 November 2016 in Yangon. In the workshop, eight activists who participated in student movements in different periods shared their experiences and perspectives. Then, about 40 student union members from older and younger generations discussed them and gave their feedback. The Myanmar Institute for Democracy, founded by activists from the 1996-1998 student movements, assisted in organizing the event. It was attended by current and ex-student leaders of all ages, from octogenarians to those only in their twenties.

Problems of Representation and ‘Generation’

During the workshop seminars and discussions, several unanticipated themes and questions arose. For example, while discussing the three given themes—Aspiration, Expectation, and Representation—participants noted that their own perceptions were based on the period in which they were students (and, therefore, which ‘generation’ they belonged to). Former student leader Hla Shwe, from the 1962 generation, took a formal
leadership position through an official election process. He thus questioned the legitimacy of later-generation student leaders’ claims to represent students, as they assumed leadership positions through means other than elections, including unilateral initiative.

In Phyoe Phyoe Aung’s contribution to this special issue, she points out that governments usually support student unions and leaders who accommodate them and attempt to control those who oppose them. However, for student unions and activists struggling in oppressive political contexts, it is not necessary to be officially elected and recognized as “leaders” to represent students. She claims that displaying leadership skills and vision is more important than being elected to a leadership position.

It is essential to remember that there is no fixed pattern for student activism in Myanmar, and each generation’s interaction between the student body, student politics, and student unions differs. For example, the 1988 generation of students includes activists who protested in the 1988 uprising and also those who mobilized against the military junta in 1996 and 2007. It is up to each individual activist to identify however they choose. Some activists continue to identify themselves as ‘students’ long after they finished studying in educational institutions, while others never want to be identified as students even though they may be enrolled and currently pursuing their studies in colleges and universities.

While it is helpful to categorize participants in student activism by the generation of their struggle (1962, 1974-1976, 1988, 1996-1998, 2007, etc.), intra-generational differences—variations within each generation—were distinct at the workshop, particularly concerning organizational participation and political ideology. Although the workshop used generations as shorthand for identification, no single participant represented a whole generation. This was most obvious in the student generations after 1962, especially those without officially established student unions. For example, while the 1988 generation students played a tremendously important role in resisting dictatorship, two of the most prominent leaders of
the 1988 movement, Min Ko Naing and Ko Ko Gyi, did not attend the workshop. One former leader from their generation did speak at the workshop, but did not submit a manuscript for this special issue.

Aspirations and Identity

Whether activists desire to continue identifying as a student later in life depends on their aspirations and expectations. When the National League for Democracy (NLD) government took office in 2016, contemporary student unions and activists from former generations had already participated in collaborative work, such as pushing for amending the National Education Law, protesting for decentralization in universities, and creating the National Network for Education Reform (NNER). In addition, they nurtured the spirit of federalism and democracy by meeting representatives from various states and regions to address federalist issues such as teaching ethnic languages. Three contributors to this special issue of the journal, Soe Tun, Phyoe Phyoe Aung, and Boe Thein (Dr. Min Thein), actively participated in the NNER from its inception.

Such participation in politics and education reform gave shape and scope to contemporary student activism and set its direction. In this new context, students no longer needed to stick to a particular ideology like the older generations that struggled under previous military regimes. The new generations of students were more likely to make demands of authorities based on issues while maintaining a revolutionary attitude and challenging the ruling class.

On that note, the relationship between the student unions and NLD leader Aung San Suu Kyi and her party was precarious even before the NLD government was in office. Leftist politics and Marxist ideas were influential in student movements before 1988. However, ‘left’ and ‘right’ political ideology did not play a dominant role in the mass protests against the 2021 military coup, known as the Spring Revolution. Furthermore, student identity no longer stood out among the many other identities expressed in the revolution. Instead of “students”, the major
cleavage was “Generation Z”, an identity based on growing up in times of softer military rule than in the past.

However, since the student identity has long been associated with the fight for freedom and justice in Myanmar, it cannot be eliminated from contentious politics. In most countries with institutionalized democratic systems of governance, student unions, student parliaments, and youth summer camps organized by political parties play an essential role in producing future generations of politicians, activists, and leaders. In Myanmar, where political parties and other institutions do not offer political mentorship due to the repression of the Myanmar military for more than half a century, where youths should look for guidance and example remains an open question.

In Myanmar, student participation in politics is continually weakened or outright crushed by those in power. For example, after the 1996 student movements in Myanmar, the ruling military junta ceased or postponed undergraduate courses being taught at main university campuses and sent military-graduated officers to attend postgraduate courses in civilian universities. Due to these actions, students faced difficulty mobilizing near campuses; military lecturers were produced to teach specifically in military academies, and students were weakened as a force for change. It can be said that the military regime killed three birds with one stone.

Even when an elected government is in office, there is the chance that student activists will follow other paths if opportunities are not provided to pursue their political interests. Due to the need to earn a living, most former student leaders cannot participate in activism in their middle and advanced age. Some student activists who participated in the 1988 revolution became leaders of political parties, intellectuals, journalists, and businesspeople. Others left politics and activism entirely, especially after the 2021 coup d'état. Some former student activists emerged as military lobbyists supporting military rule.
Student identity intersects with other identity claims such as nationality, gender, ethnicity, religion, and class. This can be seen in Sai Kyaw Nyunt’s article in this special issue, which portrays the intersection between student and ethnic Shan identities. In contrast, Zay Yah Oo’s article highlights the conflicts between student and soldier identities.

This particular tension was also present in the formation of the All Burma Students’ Democratic Front (ABSDF) following the 1988 uprising, which is not directly discussed in this special issue. However, Kaung Sithu’s interview with Min Han Htet touches on the formation of the new Student Armed Force, which students formed following the military’s lethal crackdown on peaceful protesters after the 2021 coup. Whether this new student army will fare better than the ABSDF remains to be seen.

Aung San Suu Kyi, de facto leader of the NLD, decided to work under the military’s 2008 constitution and was elected to office in the 2012 by-election. The NLD Central Executive Committee then turned down a proposal by more than 20 1988 generation student activists who offered to run under the NLD in the 2015 general elections. In this way, Aung San Suu Kyi’s democratic government created a dilemma for 1988 generation students and dimmed their political aspirations and expectations. Although the NLD party adopted the “fighting peacock” symbol long associated with students as its party logo, it failed to meet expectations for national education reform—core aspirations of student activists—during its time in parliament. When the NLD was, cooperation between government and civil society organizations and other political parties weakened, and state-student relations deteriorated.

In planning the 2016 workshop for this issue, participants were asked specific fundamental and philosophical questions such as: What does being a ‘student’ mean? Why do student movements emerge? Why are students quick to mobilize? What are the impacts of certain student movements? Such questions guided many of the contributions to this special issue, and we hope the authors here offer part of the answers to the questions
above. Students can follow their aspirations, better create their expectations, and work for better representation only if they understand the history of student activism and the evolution of student identity in Myanmar.

The Evolution of Student Movements in Myanmar

After the first Anglo-Burmese war of 1824-1826, parts of lower Burma were incorporated into the British Administration of India. After the second Anglo-Burmese war of 1852-1853, the British took all of lower Burma, cutting the ruling Burmese monarchy off from the sea. After the third Anglo-Burmese war and full annexation of the country by the British on 1 January 1886, Burma came to be influenced more by Western education systems than by the traditional monastic education systems common in Buddhist areas. British colonization led to the slow introduction of Western education across Burma. It was well established within the country by the early twentieth century, along with other colonial administrative systems.

However, the colonialist British government did not establish a peaceful and just education system. There was always inequality, repression, discrimination, and inducements to maintain loyalty to the British. One example is the 1903 order by John Van Someren Pope, a Director of Public Instruction, requiring high school students to perform the *shikho*¹⁰ and pay respect to teachers and education officials.¹¹ High school students, their parents, and students from Rangoon College were not pleased with Pope’s “order to bow down”. Students gathered in front of Victoria Hall and protested against the order. This came to be known as the first ever student activist event in Myanmar, implying there was little known student activism before 1903, at least in the Western sense of the term.

Before the imposition of Western education in Myanmar, monastic schools teaching Buddhist literature were the primary

¹⁰ Making a gesture of respect by putting the palms together and raising them to the forehead.
educational institutions. Because the teachers were Buddhist monks and the pupils were younger monks, novices, and children, they were bound by the rules and regulations called *vinaya*. This explains why there were no major student movements in the secular sense before then, because the *sangha*\(^\text{12}\) operated through laws and regulations established by the Lord Buddha, and most students were of primary school age.

## Anti-Colonial Student Movements

The first major student movement was initiated by more than 50 students from Rangoon and Judson colleges on 5 December 1920. The students protested against controversial parts of the draft of the University of Rangoon Act to upgrade Rangoon College to Rangoon University College. The British government enacted the Rangoon University Act without considering the public’s objections. Consequently, college students went on strike on 7 December 1920.

The first student strike significantly impacted Myanmar’s politics and education. It gave birth to nationalism in Myanmar and national schools inculcated “nationalism” in parallel with British public schools. Then, the second and third student strikes arose, even within the Rangoon University campus. The third student strike gave birth to nationalist political leaders who opposed colonialism, including General Aung San and most of the 30 comrades who fought against the British with Japan.

The first, second, and third student strikes, or the student movements of the colonial period, were conflicts with the British colonial government. Because these three student movements related directly or indirectly to the country’s struggle for independence and opposition to British rule, they were considered mandatory subjects in school history textbooks after the country gained independence. Therefore, every citizen educated by the state system in Myanmar knows at least a rough outline of the student movements of the colonial period.

---

\(^{12}\) The Pali word for a Buddhist monk community.
Students, Mass Movements and Resistance

Whenever authorities in Myanmar, regardless of governance system or ideology, begin to behave dictatorially, it has usually been students who resist and revolt. As a youthful force with high aspirations, expectations, and potential for long lives to come, they push to initiate movements even when it seems difficult for ordinary citizens to rally against injustice. Student movements generally occur in countries under authoritarian regimes where there is much injustice. Injustice exists even in countries with institutionalized democracies and is often protested against by student movements.

University students, and sometimes high school students, are particularly attracted to progressive ideologies.¹³ They are open to adopting new ideas as they learn about themselves and discover who they want to be. During the postcolonial nation-building period in Myanmar, students were fundamental members of the knowledge and occupational elites working for the country’s future.¹⁴ In many countries, students rarely work and are often supported by their families. Some argue this predisposes students to initiate social movements.¹⁵ Moreover, it is common for students to gather freely in places they frequent, such as schools or university campuses, dormitories, etc.

In Western countries, the word “student” has often been associated with the word “rebel” due to the student campus revolts of the 1960s.¹⁶ Phrases such as student politics,¹⁷ revolutionary students,¹⁸ and university rebellion,¹⁹ which suggest that students are rebels, soon appeared in different contexts. Since

---

¹⁶ Quinn et al., 1972.
¹⁷ Lipset, 1967.
¹⁹ Lipset, 1971.
contexts. Since the colonial era, most of the popular movements in Myanmar have been initiated and led by students and workers, with farmers also starting some movements. However, students have always supported and joined the workers’ and peasants’ movements. Although the 2021 anti-coup movement was not a student-led movement and was mobilized by different classes of people across the country, students played a significant role. Many of the young people involved, constituting the vanguard of resistance, were students, but did not participate under the official banners of student unions.

**Education Reform as the Origin of Student Politics**

Since independence, Burmese students have struggled for an education system on par with other nations. Despite this, the various authorities in power have often ignored students’ interests and promoted insular education policies, resulting in continued disgruntlement. This is the background to student politics in Myanmar, where movements usually arise in reaction to both chronic and acute efforts by authorities to restrict and suppress student rights and identities.

One of the most egregious actions military authorities carried out was in 1996. They lowered the country’s standard of higher education by opening ‘Universities of Distance Education’ and producing cohort after cohort of ‘illiterate graduates’. Moreover, they also prioritized new universities in the peri-urban outskirts of big cities to avoid student mobilization. These policies reduced opportunities for students to meet and organize, let alone make new friends from Myanmar’s different states, regions, and cultures.

Independent Myanmar has only enjoyed a taste of democracy, the first period from 1948 to 1958, then 1960 to 1962, and the second from 2011 to 2020. The military continued to interfere in politics during those periods, hindering the institutionalization of democracy, civil society, and the nation’s intellectual development. Even the Rangoon University Student Union building, which hosted the founding fathers of Burmese
independence, was blown up by the military. Long-entrenched military regimes have strived to prevent student unions from forming and organizing in various ways. However, students carried the spirit of the unions from generation to generation and worked hard to test the limits of authoritarian rule up to 2011-2021, when many student unions reemerged.

**Forgotten Student Movements**

Different generations of students led movements over time despite being oppressed, yet the many student movements which took place after independence are not mentioned in national curriculum textbooks. Under different military regimes, books and articles related to these movements were not allowed to be published. Even literary works such as poems and novels deemed to be indirectly associated with these movements were censored by authorities.

In August 2012 pre-publication censorship was abolished in Myanmar, allowing books, articles, and journals related to the various student movements after independence to be printed freely after being banned for over half a century. Most of the freshly published books and journals included topics such as historical timelines, reviews and experiences of the student movements, autobiographies, eyewitness accounts, and interviews with student activists.20

**Philosophies of Student Movements as Written by Students**

Expecting student activists to write analyses of their own political experiences for a scholarly audience is unrealistic. Many activists were educated in an isolationist, insular educational system that did not encourage critical thought in the humanities and social sciences. Furthermore, some student

---

20 Some of the books published during this period can be found in the references list.
activists were imprisoned for their politics and cut off from the outside world for lengthy periods.

Student activists tend to write in a subjective, experiential way, although they sometimes strongly argue certain postulates. They often prioritize emotion over striving for objectivity, omit details and contexts, assuming that Burmese readers are aware of these, and repeat themselves in lengthy sentences. Much of the latter can be resolved in the editing process. The publications that materialized in the most recent decade without press censorship, and those in this special issue, are vital works for scholars researching student activism in Myanmar and the ideas and concepts born out of activists’ lived experiences (expériences vécues).

The issue editors were careful when editing and presenting each of the contributions in this special issue to refrain from altering the authors’ ideas and opinions. One example is the definition of “Generation Z” by Lay Lay Mon in her contribution to this issue, first written in 2016 when Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD party formed government after their landslide victory in the 2015 elections and dominated parliament. In criticizing Generation Z at that time, Lay Lay Mon characterized them as a “zero generation” which could not live without digital devices such as computers, smartphones, and IT technologies and was merely replicating political revolutions from the past.

Certainly, if we look back at the past decade (2011-2021) with the hindsight of the military coup in 2021, we can say that the people did benefit from a “decade of liberalization and access to the internet and social media” as described by Jordt et al.21 But, the definition of Generation Z has shifted in post-coup Myanmar, since it now refers to the generation that led the demonstrations against the military coup, in support of the Civil Disobedience Movement, and in some cases, armed resistance.22 Therefore, it can be said that Generation Z is not merely replicating revolutions from the past but is applying technology, building on past trajectories, and creating new ones. Therefore,

21 Jordt et al., 2021.
Lay Lay Mon’s analysis is best understood in light of the changes in the political landscape.

**Articles and Interviews in the Special Issue**

In this special issue, readers learn about the personal experiences of Burmese student activists of all ages from 1962 to the present day, as well as analyses of ideas emerging from these experiences. Boe Thein’s (Dr. Min Thein’s) contribution chronicles the year-by-year history of student activism to remove unwanted, oppressive, and discriminatory restrictions on the education system, although the article stops short of covering the firsthand experiences of the author, who served as the vice president of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU) from 1960-1961.

Tin Aye Kyu’s article accounts for the oppression of the military junta and student movements in the 1970s and discusses why student movements arose in that decade. In addition to discussing the relationship between social and economic issues and student movements, the author endorses a contentious claim: that Burma was the most prosperous country in Southeast Asia before the 1962 military coup.

Sai Kyaw Nyunt’s reflective contribution describes his firsthand experiences during the 1996 student protests. Written in an autobiographical style, he describes how his student activism turned into participation in the peace process and party politics. The author’s detailed descriptions of his detention by military intelligence and his experiences during interrogation are significant.

Zay Yah Oo’s article about the 2002 student revolt at the Military Technological College in Pyin Oo Lwin is momentous. He delivers a personal account of the first and last student movement in a military college during the State Peace and Development Council military regime. The author took a leadership role in the protests, which resulted in close to a full revolt, and he was imprisoned for his activism. This movement was more complicated than the many civilian student protests readers may be more familiar with. The public could not easily
learn the truth about this incident due to censorship, misinformation and disinformation.\(^{23}\) Rather than focusing on the mismanagement and strict orders of the military officers running the school, the article reflects on those officers’ mental states and grudges.

The journal is proud to present an interview with Hla Shwe, which includes a record of ABFSU activities from 1950-1960. Readers learn about the union’s work representing students, and its mobilizations on campus, within the nation, and abroad during the height of the Cold War. Like Sai Kyaw Nyunt, Hla Shwe also suffered under interrogation after he was captured in battle fighting for the Communist Party of Burma. However, Hla Shwe’s interrogation experiences were not as harsh as Sai Kyaw Nyunt’s. This suggests the question of why the treatment of political detainees has worsened after the 1988 uprising. It is also noteworthy how ‘student union spirit’ and examples of justice and morality have been passed down from generation to generation among students.

Phyoe Phyoe Aung’s article discusses the secret reorganization of the ABFSU in 2007 and its relationships with other university student unions; with proxy unions organized by university authorities; and with the ruling government. She also notes how union members strived to keep the ABFSU relevant among the public.

Lay Lay Mon’s account of participating in the Dagon University strikes during what came to be known as the 1996 student movement is unique in that it focuses on the generational gap between students of different ages. Therefore, it provides an opportunity to learn about the situation of students around 2016 when the NLD government came to power.

Two interviews round out the special issue. The first, with Soe Tun, also vividly sketches the conditions and causes that led to the 1996 student movement. Soe Tun describes how the military junta diverted university students’ attention away from politics, how it spread fear among the students, and how the

\(^{23}\) However, one journalist wrote about the incident in 2016, following the student activism workshop (Kyaw Phone Kyaw, 2016).
students of the 1996 generation mobilized. The second interview is with Min Han Htet, who was President of the Dagon University Student Union during the nationwide uprising after the 2021 military coup. He covers his role in mass protest, contextualized by his personal background. He explains how his famous speech, “We must instill fear in the military”, came about. The reverse strategy of instilling the fear that previous military regimes generated in students back into the military and its regime is powerful. That speech gained a reputation as an inaugural slogan of those fighting against the State Administration Council since the 2021 coup, inspiring anti-coup resistance so that the military still, at the time of printing, cannot effectively govern the entire country.

**Closing Remarks**

Political events are dynamic and there are many known and unknown factors to consider when analyzing them. Therefore, just as it is hard to interpret and draw conclusions from the past, it is also not easy to make accurate predictions about the future. In one survey conducted during the mass protests and uprisings after the 2021 coup in Myanmar, it was observed that students were an important group among the protesters (some of whom were student union members). In an interview conducted in August 2021, a female student answered, “I am a student union member. I have an obligation to fight against injustice, which is the union’s historical responsibility”. According to these responses, it is likely more student movements will continue to emerge, as long as the student union spirit remains strong and oppressions and injustices continue.

**Acknowledgments**

First, we would like to express our sincere thanks to everyone who participated in the 2016 workshop in which this special

---

24 Su Mon Thant, 2021.
issue was conceived. Second, we would like to show our gratitude to all the student activists of old and new generations that contributed their manuscripts and interviews. Last but not least, thanks to Sa Waw Thang, who assisted with research for this introduction and copyedited the original Burmese manuscripts. We would also like to thank the three unnamed artists who contributed the cover artwork and illustrations for the special issue.

References


A. Sim | 31

A. Sim | 31

Dawei Watch လမ်း

7th July အလိုအလျော်

Dawei Watch လမ်း

7th July အလိုအလျော်
Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation

1 თავისი ამბები “სტუდენტის მოვალეობები და დელტბები: ლამაშიანი, კრატიflamm,” Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation

1 თავისი ამბები “სტუდენტის მოვალეობები და დელტბები: ლამაშიანი, კრატიflamm,” Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation

1 თავისი ამბები “სტუდენტის მოვალეობები და დელტბები: ლამაშიანი, კრატიflamm,” Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation

1 თავისი ამბები “სტუდენტის მოვალეობები და დელტბები: ლამაშიანი, კრატიflamm,” Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation

1 თავისი ამბები “სტუდენტის მოვალეობები და დელტბები: ლამაშიანი, კრატიflamm,” Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation

1 თავისი ამბები “სტუდენტის მოვალეობები და დელტბები: ლამაშიანი, კრატიflamm,” Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation

1 თავისი ამბები “სტუდენტის მოვალეობები და დელტბები: ლამაშიანი, კრატიflamm,” Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation

1 თავისი ამბები “სტუდენტის მოვალეობები და დელტბები: ლამაშიანი, კრატიflamm,” Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation

1 თავისი ამბები “სტუდენტის მოვალეობები და დელტბები: ლამაშიანი, კრატიflamm,” Student Movements in Myanmar Over the Ages: Aspiration, Expectation and Representation
A. Sim | 33

...2 Silverstein, 1968; Silverstein, 1970.

...
5 Ibid.
6 Win Min, 2012.
7 Metro, 2017.
მსახურებული სწორედ ისტორიულმა არხით შეიძლება გამოიყენოს ქრისტიანული, დიდისული, ჯამაში და სხვა სახელით.

ამიტომ, სახელთა შემოვლითი ანსამბლის გამოყენებით მოქმედების განმარტება ფუნქციებით ფართო და თავისუფალი უმაღლესებისთვის მიმდინარე და საზოგადო დემოგრაფიის გამოყენებით.

1. გამოყენება საფუძვლით ანსამბლიური ჩატვირთვით
2. პლატონიური ჰიპოთეზებით
3. უმაღლე სახელით და უფრო წარწერილი უმაღლეს სახელით სახელგრძნობით

ჱბებლით სათბურველი რესურსები. სახელმძღვართა საქმეს ამოცანების გამოყენება თუმცა საქმის ხუროთმოძღვრო ორგანოში.

1. გარემო შერჩევით ანსამბლიური ჩატვირთვით
2. პროფესიული ჰიპოთეზებით
3. უმაღლე სახელით და უფრო წარწერილი უმაღლეს სახელით სახელგრძნობით

ჱბებლით სათბურველი შემუშაობის გამოყენება თუმცა საქმის ხუროთმოძღვრო ორგანოში.
(memoirs) အယ်လှမ်းရေးအသိအမှတ်များ (primary sources) အပေါ် အယ်လှမ်းရေးအသိအမှတ်များသည် အယ်လှမ်းရေးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးအချက်များကို လူ့အချင်းအရှင်များစွာ အသုံးပြုသည်။ အယ်လှမ်းရေးကို ကျင်းပသော ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို ရေးသားသောအခါ အတွက် အယ်လှမ်းရေးအသိအမှတ်များနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးအချက်များကို အသုံးပြုသည်။ အယ်လှမ်းရေးအသိအမှတ်များကို (Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship) သို့မဟုတ် အယ်လှမ်းရေးအသိအမှတ်များကို အသုံးပြုသည်။ အယ်လှမ်းရေးအသိအမှတ်များကို မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို အယ်လှမ်းရေးအသိအမှတ်များကို ကျင်းပသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစဉ်းစားများ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်ယူသောကြောင့် ကျင်းပသောစာအုပ်များ ပြင်းထန်သောစာအုပ်များကို မှတ်ယူသည်။ မှတ်jacu}
ურთიერთობა სამუშაო გადაწყვეტილების საკმაობის ან გაზრდილ ზრდის შეფასებით

ურთიერთობა სამუშაო გადაწყვეტილების საკმაობის ან გაზრდილ ზრდის შეფასებით არჩევა

A. Sim | 37
აღქამებით, რომ ადგილი არ იპოვება: (student identity)——(Issue editor)
National Network for Education Reform (NNER) serves as a focal point for educational change. It aims to facilitate the exchange of ideas, practices, and experiences among educators and policymakers. The network brings together individuals from diverse backgrounds to work collaboratively on educational issues. NNER operates as an open platform where participants can contribute their knowledge and expertise to address challenges in the educational sector.

NNER engages in a variety of activities to promote educational reform. These include hosting conferences, workshops, and seminars, as well as providing a forum for the dissemination of research findings. The network also supports collaborative projects that aim to improve educational outcomes and address gaps in the current educational landscape.

NNER’s work is grounded in the belief that educational reform requires a multi-disciplinary approach. The network recognizes the importance of considering various perspectives, including those of teachers, students, parents, and policy-makers. By fostering a culture of dialogue and collaboration, NNER seeks to create a more equitable and effective educational system.
A. Sim

Incorporating youth summer camps (youth summer camps) or apprenticeship (apprenticeship) as initiatives and opportunities for youth engagement and growth. These initiatives are designed to provide a platform for youth to explore their interests, develop new skills, and build a sense of community. Youth summer camps offer a range of activities and workshops that cater to different interests and age groups, allowing participants to engage in various projects and learning experiences. Apprenticeships, on the other hand, provide a structured learning environment where young individuals can learn from experienced mentors and professionals in their chosen fields.

These initiatives not only offer practical learning experiences but also contribute to the personal and professional development of youth. They provide a space for youth to network, collaborate, and learn from one another. Additionally, these programs help in building a sense of community and belonging, which is crucial for the overall well-being and success of young people. Youth summer camps and apprenticeships are integral components of youth development programs, offering a valuable opportunity for youth to explore their interests, gain new skills, and prepare for future opportunities.
စာသင်ချာစာပါင်သည် စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကျွန်မတို့ စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် “စာသင်ချာကျောင်းအတွက်” (Student Armed Force) ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုရန် ကြိုးစားပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် အတွက် စာသင်ချာကျောင်းကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး စာသင်ချာကျောင်း စာသင်ချာချိန် ကို သတင်းကြည့်ရှုပြီး 

A. Sim

10 ქიანა ართ-სანქ 10-11
“ပြိုင်ပွဲရေးသားမှု” ကို ဆိုသောကြောင့် ဗနာများလိုက် စာရေးသုံးပါသည်။ ပြည်သူများ အချက်အလက်များကို ပြုလုပ်သင်ယူနိုင်သည်။ ဗျာတော်နှင့် ဆိုသောကြောင့် ဆုံးဖြင့် ၎င်းကို ပြည်သူများ အချက်အလက်များကို အသိပေးထားသည်။ ဗျာတော် အကယ်၍ အခြေခံထားသော ဆုံးဖြင့် ပြည်သူများ ၎င်းကို ပြည်သူများ အချက်အလက်များကို အသိပေးထားသည်။

(University of Rangoon Act) အားလုံးကို အခြေခံထားသော အချက်အလက်များကို ပြည်သူများ နေထိုင်သည်။ ဗျာတော်မှာ အခြေခံထားသော ဆုံးဖြင့် ပြည်သူများ အချက်အလက်များကို အသိပေးထားသည်။ ဗျာတော် အကယ်၍ အခြေခံထားသော ဆုံးဖြင့် ပြည်သူများ ၎င်းကို ပြည်သူများ အချက်အလက်များကို အသိပေးထားသည်။

(University of Rangoon Act) အားလုံးကို အခြေခံထားသော အချက်အလက်များကို ပြည်သူများ နေထိုင်သည်။ ဗျာတော်မှာ အခြေခံထားသော ဆုံးဖြင့် ပြည်သူများ အချက်အလက်များကို အသိပေးထားသည်။ ဗျာတော် အကယ်၍ အခြေခံထားသော ဆုံးဖြင့် ပြည်သူများ ၎င်းကို ပြည်သူများ အချက်အလက်များကို အသိပေးထားသည်။

A. Sim | 47

13 Weiss & Aspinall, 2012, p.5
14 Quinn et al., 1972.
15 Lipset, 1967.
16 Lipset, 1969.
17 Lipset, 1971.
“Gen Z” (Gen Z) ကို အထောက်အပြု အလုပ်လုပ်ခြင်းများစွာ ကြိုးစားသည်။ သို့သော် အနေအထားအရ အကြမ်းဖျင်သော ဒေသများတွင် ဦးစွာ “Gen Z” များသည် အနေနှင့်အထား သို့မဟုတ် မြင်ကြားချက်များကို ပျော်ရွှင်စေသည်။

အဆိုးအတော် အသေးစိတ်များကို ရှာရန် နေရာများအားလုံးကို ပြောင်းလဲစေရန် အသိသာသာ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများရှိသည်။ လူမှုရေးနှင့် နာမ်လိုအပ်းစွာ တိုးတက်ရန် အနေအထားများကို လေးစားသည်။

ပထမဦးစွာ “Gen Z” ကို အလုပ်လုပ်ရန် မိမိ၏အချက်အလက်များကို သိရှိပြီး နေရာများကို အကြံပေးပေးထားသည်။ အခြားသော အဖွဲ့အစည်းများမှာ သိမ်းဆည်းရန် အနေအထား သိရှိရန် မှတ်တမ်းတင်ရန် လေးစားသည်။

“Gen Z” များသည် သိရှိခြင်းဖြင့် အချိန်အလိုအလျောက် ဖြစ်ပွားနိုင်သည်။ နောက်ဆုံးအချက်အလက်များကို သိရှိလိုပါက “Gen Z” များအတွက် ဖျင်သွင်းရန် အထောက်အပြု ဖျင်သွင်းထားသည်။
၊အောက်တိုဘာသာစကားအားဖြင့် စာလောက်စာမျက်နှာဖြင့် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအမှားကြောင်း ဖော်ပြထားသော စာလောက်စာမျက်နှာတွင် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအမှားကြောင်း ဖော်ပြထားသော စာလောက်စာမျက်နှာတွင် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်လုပ်ငန်းများကို သုံးပြီး စာလောက်စာမျက်နှာဖြင့် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအမှားကြောင်း ဖော်ပြထားသော စာလောက်စာမျက်နှာတွင် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအမှားကြောင်း ဖော်ပြထားသော စာလောက်စာမျက်နှာတွင် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။

မြန်မာဘာသာစကားအပေါ် မိသားစုများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအမှားကြောင်း ဖော်ပြထားသော စာလောက်စာမျက်နှာတွင် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအမှားကြောင်း ဖော်ပြထားသော စာလောက်စာမျက်နှာတွင် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။

18 မိသားစုများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအမှားကြောင်း ဖော်ပြထားသော စာလောက်စာမျက်နှာတွင် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။
A. Sim | 51

არის მითხარის აუცილებლობა, რომ გოგონა, თუ როგორი ქალი იყო ზოგადად თანხმდებოდა. თუმცა, ორივე გაგრძელდა იყო მონაცემთა ხასიათებრივი ანგარიშები, რომელიც გამოიყენებოდა მათი მდგომარეობაში. 

(Arguments) თუმცა, როგორ მიეწოდობენ მონაცემთა ხასიათებრივი ანგარიშები, რომელიც გამოიყენებოდა მათი მდგომარეობაში.

(Experiences) მონაცემთა ხასიათებრივი ანგარიშები, რომელიც გამოიყენებოდა მათი მდგომარეობაში.
A. Sim | 53

ယေရးကာကြားစွဲများကို စာလုံးစားသောနေရာတွင် အိမ်မှာ အများစုပေးနေသော အခြေခံမှုများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။

ရိုးရိုးစွဲများကို အဆောက်အဦတွင် ဗျူဟာသည် “Z ကျည်း” (Generation Z) အဖြစ်သောနေရာတွင် စာရေးမှုနှင့် အလုပ်များကို အခြေခံပါသည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။

စာရေးမှုများကို ရှိနိုင်သည်ဟု အချင်းအနှစ်တွင် အပြောင်အလဲများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။ အစောပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ အခြေခံများကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။

აგრეთვე, გაგონჯენ, რომ საკითხის შეცვალის დროს ადგილობრივ საკუთარ საქორწილო მოქმედება განხირავებული ყველა ადგილობრივი საქვთარო ორგანოთა უზრუნველყოფა გამოისახვა.

თუთლდება მნიშვნელოვან შემთხვევა, რომ აქმებზე არ შეიძლება გაიკვეთი არანაკლებ არამოქალაქობა ან გამოიყენოს უმსხვილი თემატიკით გამოკვეთილი მიმოქცევა.

ზოგიერთი (საოპორტუნიო პარამეტრი) გადამდინარე კონტექსტში, როცა არ გახდება საკითხი, რომელიც ადგილობრივად მთავრობის მიერ აღმოჩენილი აქტიური თანამედროვეობით გამოიყენება.

ზოგიერთი (საოპორტუნიო პარამეტრი) ამოცანაში არ შეიძლება გამოიყენოთ საუკეთესო განვითარება და ანალიზი.

მინათ რომ აქმებზე უნდა შეიძლო განათლები, რომ უმსხვილი გამოკვეთილი მიმოქცევა იყოს ან არანაკლებ არამოქალაქობა.

მინათ რომ აქმებზე უნდა შეიძლო განათლები, რომ უმსხვილი გამოკვეთილი მიმოქცევა იყოს ან არანაკლებ არამოქალაქობა.

ზოგიერთი (საოპორტუნიო პარამეტრი) ამოცანაში არ შეიძლო გამოიყენოთ საუკეთესო განვითარება და ანალიზი.
ယူနစ်ကာလစ်ကိုရောက်စွာအနေဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲလိုက်ရာ အခွန့်အစိတ် အကြောင်းကို အထောက်အပြောက်စေရန် ဖျက်စားလိုက်သည်။ စာကြောင်းအစိုးရ အခွန့်အစိတ်ငါး အချက်အလက်များအားလုံး အခွန့်အစိတ်ဖျင်စွာပြောင်းလဲလိုက်သည်။ အရေအာင်‘၂၀၁၆တွင် Kyaw Phone Kyaw, 2016၀ ရရှိနိုင်သည်။
Өлөшөөдүү жана жаткызуу көпчүлүктөө мүмкүндүү камтылуу куралдарга алып болушу үчүн, бир нече агзалардан колдонуучу өзгөрүштүү куралдарга көмөк көрсөтүү өчүн көмөк көрсөтүү. Эч кандай коюулар өлөшөөдүү болушу мүмкүн, жана өзгөрүштүү куралдарга көмөк көрүүсүнө жеткизүү өчүн көмөк көрүүсүнө жеткизүү болушу мүмкүн. Бул айланышта камтылуу куралдарга көмөк көрүүсүнө жеткизүү өчүн көмөк көрүүсүнө жеткизүү болушу мүмкүн. Бул айланышта камтылуу куралдарга көмөк көрүүсүнө жеткизүү өчүн көмөк көрүүсүнө жеткизүү болушу мүмкүн. Бул айланышта камтылуу куралдарга көмөк көрүүсүнө жеткизүү өчүн көмөк көрүүсүнө жеткизүү болушу мүмкүн. Бул айланышта камтылуу куралдарга көмөк көрүүсүнө жеткизүү өчүн көмөк көрүүсүнө жеткизүү болушу мүмкүн.
ნათელგამჭერდა საქმიანობა და გამოსუფთავება, რამოდენიმე წიგნით ჩამოტოლებისთვის, რომ ვინაიდან არ გახდება დაბადების ადგილად ადგილობრივ საქმიანობა გამოსუფთავება. მოხმარების დამთავრება, ერთი და მეორე ფორმაცირების გამო, რომლებიც დაიწერება მართად ან მეორე ფორმაცირების გამო, რომლებიც დაიწერება მართად ან მეორე ფორმაცირების გამო.


A. Sim | 61

ဝါးခဲ့တင်များ (၁၀၃) အားလုံးအချိန်အလိုလျော်စွာ သိမ်းဖျင်ခွင့်ချပြီး

ရာစိုင် (၁၀၃) အဖွဲ့ဝင်များကို လိုအပ်သော သို့မဟုတ် ဆိုင်ရာသားအကြီးအကျိုး အားလုံးပေါင်းစုံမှု့ဖွင့်စာကြော်များ
ထူးခြား၍

ဒီဇိုင်း (၁၀၃)

ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အချိန်အလိုလျော်စွာ သိမ်းဖျင်ခွင့်ချပြီး

Dawei Watch တွင်

မိမိတို့ (ယုံကြည်) (၁၀၃) မှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အလားတော် နောက်ပိုင်း (၁၀၃) မှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏

၇ရာစု (၁၀၃) (၁၀၃) မှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အရာရှိ (၁၀၃)

တွင်းကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏

ငြိုအားကူညီမှု (၁၀၃) မှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အလားတော် နောက်ပိုင်း (၁၀၃)

အသက်တော် နောက်ပိုင်း (၁၀၃) မှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏

ငြိုအားကူညီမှု (၁၀၃) မှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အလားတော် နောက်ပိုင်း (၁၀၃)

အသက်တော် နောက်ပိုင်း (၁၀၃) မှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏

ငြိုအားကူညီမှု (၁၀၃) မှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အလားတော် နောက်ပိုင်း (၁၀၃)

အသက်တော် နောက်ပိုင်း (၁၀၃) မှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏
Student Strikes for Education Reform, 1920-2015

Boe Thein (Dr. Min Thein)

Abstract

There have been many student strikes and demands during the last century of student activism in Myanmar. Students contributed to the abolishment of British colonialism, to the gaining of independence, to the maintenance and development of democracy, and then the long, ongoing struggle against military rule. Four major student strikes have focused on demanding education reform. These are: the original student strike of 1920, the 1936 student strike, the 1938 student movement and then the 2015 student strike. This article, written in 2016, describes these strikes chronologically from the point of view of a student activist who had a leading role in the All Burma Federation of Student Unions before the military coup of 1962.

Introduction

If we analyze the history of Myanmar’s student movements, we see that they have all been based on at least one of three core struggles: education reform, the improvement of educational conditions, and national duty. The first two struggles mentioned have not changed much until today, but the third is contingent on the needs of the nation at the time.

Student unions have endured many different political situations. They contributed to ending British colonialism and gaining the independence of the nation state (1920-1948), to the end of the civil war and peace within the union (1948-1958), to reinstating general elections and the transfer of power back to an elected civilian government (1958-1960), and to ending military dictatorship and developing and institutionalizing democracy, a long struggle from 1962 until today. At the time of writing in 2016 it has been 96 years since the first major student
movement in Myanmar’s modern history started in 1920, demanding education reform. Three other major student movements and strikes have focused on this same goal in Myanmar’s modern history. This article describes them chronologically, in order for the reader to draw their own conclusions.

The 1920 Student Strike

Rangoon College students initiated the 1920 strike in response to the British colonial government’s proposed University of Rangoon Act, 1920, which was to raise the status of Rangoon College to a university. There was no university before 1920 in Burma, but there were colleges: Rangoon College, which was technically under the Calcutta University of India, was opened at the corner of Bogyoke and Shwedagon streets (currently the campus of Basic Education High School [BEHS] 1, Latha Township) in 1894. The college offered first-year and second-year undergraduate classes. Fifteen years later, in 1909, the American Baptist Mission opened Judson College, which was under Calcutta University at Ahlone Ward, Cusion Missionary High School (currently BEHS 4, Ahlone Township). The college also offered only first-year and second-year undergraduate classes.

In 1909, the Young Men’s Buddhist Association (YMBA), which was the leading non-colonial political group in Burma at that time, led the people’s demand for the establishment of a university in Burma. The British colonial government demurred and said there were still not enough students in Burma to warrant a university. But after continuous work by the YMBA and the people, the British government started preparing to open a university in Rangoon.

Reginald Craddock, then the Governor of Burma, formed a drafting committee for the University of Rangoon Act, consisting of 30 members, and led by Matthew Hunter, the
Director of Public Instruction. Only six of the 30 committee members were Burmese people. The public found three parts of the initially proposed University Act unacceptable: first, the requirement that Rangoon University be the only university in Burma; second, the requirement for all students to be boarding students and not day students; and third, that the first year of university be a pre-course year, where students would be observed and only allowed to attend the university proper the following year, after passing the probation period. The students who joined the pre-course would have uncertain futures and all the costs involved in attending a full year of courses could be wasted as students had to pay for this whole extra year of ‘probation’. Basically, the colonial government’s University of Rangoon Act was intended only for the children of the rich and government officials. It barred children from middle-class and poor families from higher education.

Even though the YMBA and public opposed the proposed act, the drafting committee approved it on 28 August 1920 and the Governor approved it on 26 September. On 24 October, the Viceroy of India signed it into law and the University of Rangoon Act was fully enacted. It was announced that the opening ceremony of Rangoon University would be held on 7 December 1920.

Because of this unilateral pushing through of the act without public input, student Ko Ba Oo secretly led a group of ten students from Rangoon College to discuss a strike at the Saturday Corner of Shwedagon Pagoda on 3 December 1920. They decided to have a student meeting at U Ariya Monastery, Bahan Township, on the evening of 4 December, to inform more students about the strike. A strike committee of 26 students was formed, consisting of 20 students from Rangoon College and six from Judson College. Ko Ba Oo took the chairman role in the strike committee.

The initial plan was to launch the strike at the opening ceremony of the new Rangoon University, with the governor in attendance. When the governor announced the opening of the university, the university students would leave the opening
ceremony, declare a strike and begin shouting their slogans. However, this plan was crippled by an informant student at the meeting who reported it to the school principal. The students got wind of this and moved the strike to 5 December (which was 10 days after the Tazaungmone full moon day). The next day, all the high schools in Rangoon went on strike in support, and after that, the high schools in Mandalay joined as well. The strike spread across Burma and people all over the country overwhelmingly supported it.

The college authorities ignored the 16 demands made by the strike committee and gave an ultimatum to students to come back to study before 23 December 1920. Later, they postponed the date to 5 January 1921. As the 16 points demanded by the students were not even considered until 19 December, the striking students submitted an application to leave the college with a date of 21 December in order to avoid being expelled.

On 24 December, the student strike council released a ‘National Education’ statement. According to the statement, a national university was to be established in Bahan Township, Rangoon, and national schools were to be established in almost all cities around Burma with the support of the public. At that time, there were not more than 50 public schools in Burma. With the support of the public, the number of national schools increased to 145 schools nationwide within three years from 1920.

Prior to the student strike, YMBA political leader groups gathered and reformed as the General Council of Burmese Associations (GCBA) on 29 October 1920. GCBA leaders and students from the strike jointly formed the ‘National Schools’ Governing Body’. GCBA leader U Maung Gyi took charge as the group chairman.

While national schools were developing rapidly in Burma in 1922, the British colonial government prepared to pass reforms in January 1923 granting British India a dyarchy constitution, and therefore, some limited self-rule to Burma. Previously, the

\[\text{For the details of the 16 demands, see}\]
\[\text{ë¢·–†µšÀ–†ũ¤³µ¢À¤Ÿ³µŠÀ¾Â›Ƴ‹µ·¡¾¤²¾·¡¾§œÃ¸ƶÐ}\]
Governor’s Council (cabinet) was composed of individuals appointed directly by the Governor. There were no publicly elected representatives in the cabinet. In the dyarchy administration, the Governor's Council consisted of a mix of appointees and elected members of parliament. The administrative power of the state was divided between the governor and the people.

The majority of Burmese people wanted self-administration, so-called ‘Home Rule’, rather than dyarchy administration. The government planned an election for members of parliament on 21 November 1920. During that time, the GCBA was divided into two groups. One group accepted participating in the election for the dyarchy administration, to join the government body and work for the country. The other group refused and demanded more self-governance. Following the split of the GCBA, the National Schools’ Governing Body was divided into two groups. The 26 members of the student strike council were also split in two. U Maung Gyi, who took charge as group chairman, joined the GCBA group that participated in the election, and he was elected as a member of parliament. When the Governor’s Council was formed, U Maung Gyi took charge as the Minister of Education.

Even though the 16 student demands were ignored by the Governor and university authorities from the start of the strike on 5 December 1920 right up to the election of the dyarchy administration, after U Maung Gyi became Minister of Education, he amended some elements of the University of Rangoon Act with the ‘Law Amending the University of Rangoon Act, 1924’.

In the amended act, the article stipulating that there be only one university in Burma was corrected. Thereafter, two more colleges were allowed to open in Rangoon. They were the Medical College and the Teacher Training College. For upper Burma, an intermediate college was permitted to open in Mandalay. An intermediate college is a university-level college that teaches first and second-year courses. The next amendment was that students were allowed to attend the first year of university directly without a one-year pre-course probation period. So, it would only take four years to achieve a Bachelor of Arts, for
example. The other amendment was to allow students to attend university as day students. Students from middle-class families who could not afford to stay at a dormitory would be able to attend university. Another important amendment allowed a graduate representative of the Rangoon University alumni to join the Rangoon University Council. Since there was no student union at that time, students’ wishes were reported to the university authorities through this graduate representative. The Law Amending the University of Rangoon Act, 1924 did not address all 16 student demands, but some of the more crucial ones were addressed, improving upon the 1920 University of Rangoon Act.

The 1936 Student Strike

Rangoon University had no significant student movements for 15 years after the 1920 strike. Students who participated in the 1920 strike with strong national spirit did so voluntarily, but later students were less politically active and thought that the strikes of earlier students had only interrupted their education.

During the period without strikes, university authorities discriminated against university students. Sycophantic students received opportunities; the rest were oppressed. Even after graduation, when university staff wrote recommendation letters for students, they distinguished between two types. Sycophants were provided with a full endorsement facilitating entrance into the Indian Civil Service, police, or Burmah Oil Company, while others received a less flattering letter, not even useful for getting a job teaching in a small town. Students who refused to suck up to the British colonizers found it difficult to maintain momentum in their early careers.

On 7 January 1931, students officially established the Rangoon University Student Union (RUSU). The RUSU Constitution was modeled after the Oxford University Student Union, which had its activities limited by university authorities to only those regarding student welfare such as debating and inviting famous people to give speeches. Except for the first and second presidents of the RUSU, U Kyaw Khin and U Htun Sein, all following
four presidents were British sycophants. During the years they were each RUSU president, there were no activities except debates and lectures.

In the 1934–35 academic year, the incumbent RUSU Vice President resigned from his position and by-elections were held. Ko Nu became the new vice president. During the same 1934–35 academic year, D. J. Sloss, the university’s principal, expelled two students for failing to respond “Sir” during roll call. RUSU Vice President Ko Nu objected to the expulsions. In December 1935 the principal expelled another 11 students for failing their exams. Again, RUSU Vice President Ko Nu was unsuccessful at stopping the expulsions.

Ko Nu, Ko Kyaw Nyein, and Ko Thein Pe invited Sir U Thwin, and other respected people and political leaders, to Shwedagon Pagoda in order to consult them. Ko Kyaw Nyein was given the task of explaining about the expulsions and the respected people and political leaders who attended came to understand the situation at the university. This event at Shwedagon Pagoda was the beginning of the first student movement since the 1920 student strike. As a result of the meeting, ten out of the 11 expulsions were reversed.

Soon after this event, but before the December 1935 holidays began, university authorities issued a statement saying there would be a new mock exam before the school holidays that had to be passed before students could take final exams. Nothing like this mock exam had happened before in Rangoon University’s history. Therefore, the students held a meeting at the student union building. At the meeting, RUSU President Ko Poe Aye and two other executives were assigned to consult with the university principal about the mock exam and report back to the union and student body.

Ko Poe Aye deferred to the British and procrastinated from meeting the principal, so RUSU Vice President Ko Nu assigned another RUSU executive member, Ko Kyaw Nyein, to consult with the principal instead. When Ko Kyaw Nyein went to speak with him, he was treated rudely. Ko Nu and his friends consulted and decided to publish the rude words of the university
principal in the newspaper so the public would know about it. Following that, Ko Nu visited towns in the Ayeyarwady river delta to organize meetings with respectable people from those cities. Ko Thein Pe also went to the towns of upper Burma to do the same. The newspapers regularly updated readers about the outcomes of these meetings.

The RUSU finally decided to demand the resignation of the university principal. A day after Ko Nu and Ko Thein Pe returned to Rangoon, a city-wide meeting was held at Shwedagon Pagoda’s Northwest Corner, and the public attendees also demanded the resignation of the school principal. The meeting was reported on by the media. The next day, the university administration called an emergency meeting and decided to cancel the mock exam.

In the election for the RUSU executive committee for the academic year 1935–36, Ko Nu won the position of chairman unopposed. Ko Nu’s allies won the remaining executive positions. The pro-British students were defeated. After Ko Nu and his friends became executive members, the RUSU began to work not only on students’ issues but also took an anti-colonial, pro-independence stance.

After Ko Nu became chairman of the RUSU, he took every opportunity during speeches, debates, and lectures, to call attention to the oppression of students by the school principal, D. J. Sloss, claiming that he was using divide and rule tactics against the student body. The school principal increasingly searched for a way to expel him from school. Then, in the annual RUSU Oway magazine, an article in English titled “Hell Hound At Large” was published. The university principal used the article to expel Ko Nu from the university on 21 February 1936. Authorities also expelled magazine editor Ko Aung San for not revealing the name of the author. Students went on strike after an RUSU meeting on 25 February to support Ko Nu. This was Burma’s historic second student strike, led by RUSU Vice Chairman, Ko Raschid.

Since Ko Nu was expelled, he could not formally participate as a member of the strike committee. The strike committee made 10 demands. A key demand was to amend the Rangoon
University Act. Another was to revoke the principal's authority to expel students and to keep this power in the hands of the school administration. The government and university authorities ignored the demands and threatened to ban striking students from sitting their exams. But the students did not end their strike.

Over a month later, in April, the British colonial government appointed High Court Judge U Mya Bu as the chairman of a new committee to investigate the University Act. In May, the government and the striking students negotiated. Although not all of the demands were met, the strike committee agreed to end the strike, as some of the points were met. The strike ended on 10 May 1936. As a result of the strike, Burmese Professor U Pe Maung Tin was appointed as the school principal in place of D. J. Sloss.

The 1938 Student Movement

The U Mya Bu committee launched its report on amending the Rangoon University Act in the first week of May 1937. Students did not accept it and a Burma-wide student union conference was held on 9 May 1937, forming the “University Act Amending Committee” with seven members. Lawyers, newspaper editors, a representative from the Dobama Association, the former chairman of the All Burma Students’ Union (ABSU), Ko Raschid, and the new chairman of the ABSU, Ko Aung San, participated in the new committee. Ko Aung San took responsibility as an advocate. In today’s world, we call an advocate a secretary.

The committee analyzed the U Mya Bu committee’s report and distributed their conclusions to the Education Ministry and to all students nationwide, who met and discussed the report and the committee’s analysis of it. Dr Ba Maw, the then-Premier, procrastinated amending the University Act, as it had been amended only just over a decade before in 1924.

In January 1938, there was a strike at the Syriam oil refinery. The strike spread to other refineries and then all refineries nationwide, and in December 1938, the oil refinery strike group
started marching to Rangoon. That city’s Dobama Association leaders, as well as RUSU Chairman Ko Ba Hein and student leader Ko Ba Swe, went to Magway Town on 8 December to help with the march.

On the night of 12 December, they held a meeting at Me Tae monastery. At that meeting, Ko Ba Hein gave a speech. In his speech, he said, “At one strike of the horse’s hoof, there will be burning fire”. Because of that speech, Ko Ba Hein and Ko Ba Swe were charged and arrested under Section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code, for allegedly provoking the uprising and discrediting the colonial government.

The RUSU held a meeting to discuss the arrests at 7 p.m. on 13 December. RUSU Vice Chairman Ko Hla Shwe led as chairperson and RUSU executive member Ko Aye Kyaw was master of ceremonies (MC). Two demands were decided upon: first, to retract all the repressive laws that prevented the oil refinery strike groups from marching to Rangoon, and second, to release Ko Ba Hein and Ko Ba Swe as soon as possible. The next day, at 4 p.m., the ABSU and RUSU held a special meeting open to students from all schools at Shwedagon Pagoda.

On 15 December, at 4 p.m., another open meeting was held at Shwedagon Square. More than 10,000 people, including students, monks, women’s associations, and others attended. Once more RUSU Vice Chairman Ko Hla Shwe took charge as chairperson and RUSU executive member Ko Aye Kyaw took responsibility as MC. They made five demands, similar to those from previous meetings. They also set a deadline for a response from the authorities: 19 December.

Since the government took no action by the deadline, a total of 8,000 students from universities and high schools demonstrated at the secretariat office, which was on Sparks Street (currently Bo Aung Kyaw Road). The protest was brutally suppressed by the government and mounted police. Student leader Aung Kyaw was killed, and many students were injured. On 24 December, the body of Aung Kyaw (now Bo, or ‘General’, Aung Kyaw) was carried from Rangoon Hospital to the student union building, and in the afternoon of 27 December, it was carried to
Kyandaw Cemetery for burial. Bo Aung Kyaw’s funeral was attended by monks, students, the public, and people from different associations and political parties. Students went on strike in Rangoon after the death of Bo Aung Kyaw. They opened a strike camp at the City National School (known colloquially as the Myo Ma School and currently BEHS 2, Dagon) in downtown Rangoon.

In support of the Rangoon strike, several other strikes occurred around the country, including a strike camp at the Central National High School, Mandalay. On 8 February 1939, the British colonial government surrounded the Mandalay strike camp and arrested three student leaders. At the same time, two leaders of the Young Monk Alliance were arrested at their respective monasteries.

Because monks and student leaders were arrested, Young Monk Alliance members, students, students’ parents, and the public from Mandalay held a city-wide meeting at the Mandalay Eain Taw Yar Pagoda’s grand rest house, at 12 p.m. on 9 February 1939. The meeting decided to support the demands of the Rangoon students to march against Article 144 of the Penal Code. It was too late to march on that day, so they moved the time to 11 a.m. the next day.

That next morning more than 200,000 people, including monks, students, students’ parents, and the general public, gathered at Eain Taw Yar Pagoda to march according to a plan developed by the Young Monk Alliance chairman. When the marchers arrived at 26 B street, south of the telegraph office, the British government opened fire and created 17 martyrs, including killing seven monks.

At around the same time, more than 1,000 students from the Rangoon City National School camp went on a hunger strike on the morning of 7 February 1939. People were shocked. When the parents of the students heard the news, they held an emergency meeting and appealed to the government to make concessions to the student demands. They also requested the students stop the hunger strike. The meeting decided that if the government did not make concessions, the parents themselves would fight on the front line.
Likewise, the *thakin* leaders of the Dobama Association and the city’s respected leaders also held a special meeting, condemning the government for the students’ hunger strike, and requesting the students to stop it. In addition, parents tried to organize a meeting between what was then Ba Maw’s interim government and the students, but the students refused to discuss anything with the government until Ba Maw resigned.

On 16 February 1939, some members of parliament submitted a motion of no confidence to overthrow Ba Maw’s coalition government. There were 70 supporters and 37 opposed to the motion, and Ba Maw’s government fell. U Pu became Premier. After U Pu became Premier, the U Pu government, representatives of the city’s respected people, and student leaders started a tripartite discussion on 20 February. A week later, three people, including Premier U Pu, who was also Chairperson of the Rangoon City Council of Elders, Sir U Thwin, and Ko Hla Shwe from RUSU, signed a tripartite agreement, which included that the government would not act against the striking students and oil refinery workers, would release all arrested protesters, that exams should be taken three months’ apart, and that an investigation committee would inquire into the events of 20 December 1938. Following the agreement, the student strike committee announced they would end the strike. In this way, the third student movement successfully ended.

After the third student strike finished, the U Pu government approved amending the University of Rangoon Act on 15 June 1939. Nevertheless, students did not agree with the chosen amendments and the government had to amend the act again. During the U Pu government, the University of Rangoon Act was announced as Act No. 13 of 1939 for the first amendment, and Act No. 20 of 1939 for the second.

After the 1938 student movement there were no major education-related student movements for a long time. During World War II and until the independence of Burma in 1948, student unions pushed for independence and cooperated with organizations including the Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League but did not push for education reform.
Three months after independence in 1948, a civil war started in Burma. The national government had become ‘The Rangoon Government’, controlling little territory outside of the capital city. The government increased budget spending on the military in order to win the war and very little was spent on education. There was no time to establish an education system suitable for an independent country and the British colonial education system was still used, though in modified form.

As a result, student movements began pushing for education reforms, including increasing the budget, balancing teacher and student ratios, for better teaching materials, more and better school buildings, and an end to civil war. From 1948 to 1957 these movements percolated, but never reached the level of a full strike.

Then in June 1957, the Education Inquiry Committee (EIC) was formed by the government of Prime Minister U Nu. The EIC understood the importance of cooperation, advice, and help from the public, parents, teachers, and students in designing a new education system. The RUSU held an education seminar open to all students and requested the government assist with submitting suggestions from the seminar to the EIC. The government and student union talked for almost a year, and agreed to hold the Union of Burma Student Education Seminar from 9-13 August 1958 at Rangoon University’s convocation hall.

All university and college student unions participated in the seminar, and 14 papers were written and submitted. They were formally handed over to Prime Minister U Nu by the Chairman of the Seminar Preparation Committee. Two months after that, on 28 October 1958, General Ne Win seized power and became prime minister of a military caretaker government. Documents from the education seminar disappeared.

From 1958 to 1960, student unions were unable to carry out any educational reform activities and could only work on national projects with the public, political parties, and associations, such as holding quick elections and restoring power to the civilian government. In the 1960 election, the Union Party won under the leadership of U Nu who became prime minister again.
The relationship between the government and student unions was at its best in that period. But just when the unions and the government were finally cooperating well on educational reform, General Ne Win seized power again, and on 2 March 1962, Prime Minister U Nu was detained. On 7 July 1962, the July 7 Student Uprising erupted and on the morning of 8 July the historic RUSU building was destroyed by a mine.

Military authoritarians, under different names, ruled the country for another 50 years, so student unions hid their official existence and worked with a low profile. Student movements mainly worked for national causes such as the restoration of democracy and there was no chance to work for education reform.

The 2015 Student Strike

When U Thein Sein, the general helming the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), a military proxy party filled with ex-military members, became president following the 2010 election, the USDP-led government announced to the country and the world that Myanmar was on the way to democracy. The government initiated some small and superficial changes to impress the international community, including some education reforms. Bills such as the National Education Bill were prepared. The bill was initiated in 2013 and published by state-owned media in September 2014 to inform the public and solicit suggestions. University teachers’ associations, student unions, and the Network for National Education Reform (NNER) pointed out the flaws and gaps in the National Education Bill, including that it was too centralized. Letters of objection were published, and teacher associations and student unions made statements.

On 12-13 November 2014 an emergency meeting of student representatives from across the country was held at the Free Funeral Service Society in North Dagon Township, Yangon. The attendees agreed to create the Democracy Education Movement Leadership Committee (DEMLC), with 15 constituent members. The committee made 11 demands regarding the National
Education Law and students protested across Yangon from 14-18 November.³

On the evening of 18 November, the DEMLC issued a press release and demanded that the cabinet, parliament, and the NNER meet the DEMLC and discuss the National Education Law, giving a deadline for a response of 60 days. They did not receive a response, so a strike was called, and students began marching from Mandalay to Yangon on 20 January 2015. The march received overwhelming support from people all along the road and became stronger. Eight days into the march, U Thein Sein agreed to the meeting.

The first day of the four parties’ education seminar was held on 1 February 2015 at Yangon University’s Diamond Jubilee Hall. The second day was scheduled for 3 February at the Ministry of Education Hall in the capital Nay Pyi Taw (though for various reasons, this did not go ahead), the third day was successfully held at the Yangon Region Government Office on 10 February, and the last meeting was held at the Nay Pyi Taw parliament building on 14 February.

The main outcome of the education seminar was that a bill of revisions, the Bill to Amend the National Education Law, prepared by the DEMLC and NNER, was agreed to by the other parties and submitted to the Amyotha Hluttaw by the Education Ministry. While the bill was undergoing parliamentary procedures, the government cracked down on student protesters in Letpadan Town on 10 March, and more than 70 students and strike supporters were arrested.

Following the crackdown, the Bill to Amend the National Education Law passed parliament. About 70 percent of the bill was cut throughout the process, even though it had been ostensibly approved by government representatives during the quadripartite education seminar. U Thein Sein’s USDP government stifled the efforts of students and the public to reform the education system. All they did was arrest students and their supporters. However, the fact that students and stakeholders were able to

³ For details of the 11 demands, see National Network for Education Reform, 2015, pp. 8-9.
get at least some measures passed through the Bill to Amend the National Education Law, is noteworthy. For nearly 50 years of direct military rule from 1962-2010, the words “student unions” were not even allowed to be published in the media. Compared to that time, the achievements in 2015 constituted a success.

References

National Network for Education Reform (2015)

78 | Boe Thein
ပေးထားသော စာပိုဒ်များကို ပေါင်းထားပါသည်။
ဝါများကို ဖန်တီးများသော အချက်အချာကို ရေးကျပ်သည်။ မိမိတိုင်းတွင် နောက်မှာ လူမှုကို ဖော်ပြခြင်း။ အချက်အချာစွာဖော်ပြသည်။
၎င်းတို့ထို့သော စွမ်းဆောင်ခြောက်သော စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို အခြားသော YMBA တွင် မိတ်ဆွေးနှုန်းများများစွာ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။ စိတ်ချင်းစီးများကို စားသော အခွဲတွင် စိတ်ချင်းစီးများ များစွာစားသည်။
မြန်မာစာသင်္ချင်းအရ ရေးထားသူ အလုပ်လုပ်နေသူများ ဆွဲရင်းများကို အစွဲပြောင်းလဲခြင်းများ ပြုလုပ်လေ့ရှိနေသည်။ YMBA အခြေအနေအား ကြိုဆိုပါသည်။ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှာ ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းများကို အလွယ်တကူ ဆွဲရင်းများအဖြစ် အကူအညီလေ့လာခြင်းများ ပေါ်လာပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှာ ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းများကို အလွယ်တကူ ဆွဲရင်းများအဖြစ် အကူအညီလေ့လာခြင်းများ ပေါ်လာပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှာ ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းများကို အလွယ်တကူ ဆွဲရင်းများအဖြစ် အကူအညီလေ့လာခြင်းများ ပေါ်လာပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှာ ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းများကို အလွယ်တကူ ဆွဲရင်းများအဖြစ် အကူအညီလေ့လာခြင်းများ ပေါ်လာပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှာ ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းများကို အလွယ်တကူ ဆွဲရင်းများအဖြစ် အကူအညီလေ့လာခြင်းများ ပေါ်လာပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှာ ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းများကို အလွယ်တကူ ဆွဲရင်းများအဖြစ် အကူအညီလေ့လာခြင်းများ ပေါ်လာပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်မှာ ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းများကို အလွယ်တကူ ဆွဲရင်းများအဖြစ် အကူအညီလေ့လာခြင်းများ ပေါ်လာပါသည်။
Boe Thein | 83

ဒေါ်တင်း (၂) အခြေခွေါ်ပြုလုပ်ရေးရာ အစီအစဉ်များကို အစိုးရ ပြောင်းလဲသည်။ ရွေးချယ် (၂) ပုံ (စိုးရိမ်လူငယ်များ: အထိမ်းအမှတ် (၂၀) ပုံ) ဆိုရင် အစီအစဉ်ပြုလုပ်ငန်းကို ပြောင်းလဲသည်။

ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးရပ်စ်ဒေါ်အတိုင်းအတာ အောင်မြင်ရာတွင် အခြေခွေါ်ပြုလုပ်ရေး အာဏာရာနှင့် အခြားသောစမီးစိုက်ပျိုးရေးကို ဒေါ်တင်းနှင့် များကို အစီအစဉ်ပြုလုပ်ငန်းကို ဆောင်ရွက်ပါသည်။ လူ့အခွင့်အရေးအတွက် အခြေခွေါ်ပြုလုပ်ရေး အရာရှိများကို သင်ကြားပေးထားသည်။

ဦးဗျင်း (၃) အာဏာရာနှင့် အစီအစဉ်ပြုလုပ်ငန်းပြုလုပ်ရေးကို အခြေခွေါ်ပြုလုပ်ရေးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်ပါသည်။ အစီအစဉ်ပြုလုပ်ငန်းပြုလုပ်ရေးကို သင်ကြားပေးထားသည်။

ဦးဗျင်း (၃) ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ “အခြေခွေါ်ပြုလုပ်ရေးဟု” စီစဉ်ကြားလည်း ပြသားပါမည်။ ထို့အပြင် အခြေခွေါ်ပြုလုပ်ရေး အရာရှိများကို သင်ကြားပေးထားသည်။

ဦးဗျင်း (၃) ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ “အာဏာရာနှင့် အစီအစဉ်ပြုလုပ်ငန်းပြုလုပ်ရေးဟု” စီစဉ်ကြားလည်း ပြသားပါမည်။ ထို့အပြင် အခြေခွေါ်ပြုလုပ်ရေး အရာရှိများကို သင်ကြားပေးထားသည်။

ဦးဗျင်း (၃) ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ “အာဏာရာနှင့် အစီအစဉ်ပြုလုပ်ငန်းပြုလုပ်ရေးဟု” စီစဉ်ကြားလည်း ပြသားပါမည်။ ထို့အပြင် အခြေခွေါ်ပြုလုပ်ရေး အရာရှိများကို သင်ကြားပေးထားသည်။

ဦးဗျင်း (၃) ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ “အာဏာရာနှင့် အစီအစဉ်ပြုလုပ်ငန်းပြုလုပ်ရေးဟု” စီစဉ်ကြားလည်း ပြသားပါမည်။ ထို့အပြင် အခြေခွေါ်ပြုလုပ်ရေး အရာရှိများကို သင်ကြားပေးထားသည်။
Boe Thein | 85

...
မူလအပ် လူမှုကျင်းပမှုများကို လက်ရှိအားဖြင့် ဖြေဆိုခြင်း
လက်ရှိအားဖြင့် ဖြေဆိုခြင်း
(၃) ပေးနိုင်မှုအရ အခြေအနေနှင့် လက်ရှိအားဖြင့် ဖြေဆိုခြင်း
အခြေအနေအတွက် ဖြေဆိုခြင်း
(၃) ပေးနိုင်မှုအရ အခြေအနေနှင့် လက်ရှိအားဖြင့် ဖြေဆိုခြင်း
(၃) ပေးနိုင်မှုအရ အခြေအနေနှင့် လက်ရှိအားဖြင့် ဖြေဆိုခြင်း
ပေးနိုင်မှုအရ အခြေအနေနှင့် လက်ရှိအားဖြင့် ဖြေဆိုခြင်း
(၃) ပေးနိုင်မှုအရ အခြေအနေနှင့် လက်ရှိအားဖြင့် ဖြေဆိုခြင်း
(၃) ပေးနိုင်မှုအရ အခြေအနေနှင့် လက်ရှိအားဖြင့် ဖြေဆိုခြင်း

Boe Thein | 87

ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။

အိန်း-ရွာ ဝယ်ယူမှုများသည် ဆိုင်ရာ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။ ကြက်ကလေးစောင်များကို အခြေခံရန် အောက်ပါအတိုး၀င်ကြည့်ပါ။
စာလောက်စာမျက်နှာကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိုးမှုများသည် ပျန်ပျိုးမိုးမိုးများ ကျော်ကြားသော လုပ်ဆောင်ရွက်သော နည်းလမ်းများ ဖြစ်ပြီး သိရှိနေသည်။ ယောက်ိုးမှု မပြောင်းလဲခြင်းမှ ပါဝင်သော ပစ္စည်းများအား ဖော်ပြသည်။ ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ဖော်ပြသည် ထွက်ခြင်းများ ဖော်ပြသည်။

ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ဖော်ပြသည် အရာရှင်များသည် ပျန်ပျိုးမိုးမိုးများ ကျော်ကြားသော နည်းလမ်းများ ဖြစ်ပြီး သိရှိနေသည်။ ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ပါဝင်သော ပစ္စည်းများအား ဖော်ပြသည်။ ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ဖော်ပြသည် ထွက်ခြင်းများ ဖော်ပြသည်။

ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ဖော်ပြသည် အရာရှင်များသည် ပျန်ပျိုးမိုးမိုးများ ကျော်ကြားသော နည်းလမ်းများ ဖြစ်ပြီး သိရှိနေသည်။ ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ပါဝင်သော ပစ္စည်းများအား ဖော်ပြသည်။ ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ဖော်ပြသည် ထွက်ခြင်းများ ဖော်ပြသည်။

ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ဖော်ပြသည် အရာရှင်များသည် ပျန်ပျိုးမိုးမိုးများ ကျော်ကြားသော နည်းလမ်းများ ဖြစ်ပြီး သိရှိနေသည်။ ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ပါဝင်သော ပစ္စည်းများအား ဖော်ပြသည်။ ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ဖော်ပြသည် ထွက်ခြင်းများ ဖော်ပြသည်။

ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ဖော်ပြသည် အရာရှင်များသည် ပျန်ပျိုးမိုးမိုးများ ကျော်ကြားသော နည်းလမ်းများ ဖြစ်ပြီး သိရှိနေသည်။ ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ပါဝင်သော ပစ္စည်းများအား ဖော်ပြသည်။ ယောက်ိုးမှုများ ဖော်ပြသည် ထွက်ခြင်းများ ဖော်ပြသည်။
နေထိုင်ရာ အမှားများ မိမိတို့က ဖော်ထားခြင်း ပြောပြပါသည်။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ သေချာမှုနှင့် အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။ မိမိတို့က အမှားကျ ဖော်ထားချက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုပါ။
ဝါယာ သဝါရှိယူစီသည်

ဝါယာယူစီသည် သောစီကြောင်းသား အရေးကြီးကို ပါဝင် လေ့လာခံသည်တစ်မျိုး ဖြစ်သည့် စီကြောင်းသား အထဲတွင် ပါဝင်ခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

မှုတ်ပေးသည် အရေးကြီးကို သောစီကြောင်းသား ပါဝင်မှုကြီးကို ပါဝင်ခြင်းဖြစ်သည်တစ်မျိုး ဖြစ်သည်။

(၁) စီကြောင်းသား ကိုယ်ယာအုပ်

(၂) အာရှဘုရား စီကြောင်းသား ပါဝင်မှုကြီးကို ပါဝင်ခြင်းဖြစ်သည်တစ်မျိုး ဖြစ်သည်။

(၃) စီကြောင်းသားအာရှဘုရား စီကြောင်းသား ပါဝင်မှုကြီးကို ပါဝင်ခြင်းဖြစ်သည်တစ်မျိုး ဖြစ်သည်။
အိမ်မှာခေါ်နေသူကြီး သောင်ချမ်း ဖြစ်သော မိမိ၏ နောက်ဆုံး အဖြစ် အပြစ်အစိတ် အရေးကြီး နှင့် အခြား အရေးကြီးများကို ငါ့ချက် ရွေးချယ်စေသည်။ မိမိ၏ နောက်ဆုံးအရေးကြီးများကို ရေးသားလိုက်သည်။

ယုံကြည်ရာ အခြားအခြေစိုက်အထိမ်းအမှတ် အရေးကြီးများကို မှန်ကန်စေသည်။ ထို့အပြင် အခြားအဖြစ်သော အရေးကြီးများကို မှန်ကန်စေသည်။

(၁) မိုးအောင်မြင်နေသူကြီး သောင်ချမ်း ဖြစ်သော မိမိ၏ နောက်ဆုံး အဖြစ် အပြစ်အစိတ် အရေးကြီး နှင့် အခြား အရေးကြီးများကို ငါ့ချက် ရွေးချယ်စေသည်။ မိမိ၏ နောက်ဆုံးအရေးကြီးများကို ရေးသားလိုက်သည်။

(၂) မိုးအောင်မြင်နေသူကြီး သောင်ချမ်း ဖြစ်သော မိမိ၏ နောက်ဆုံး အဖြစ် အပြစ်အစိတ် အရေးကြီး နှင့် အခြား အရေးကြီးများကို ငါ့ချက် ရွေးချယ်စေသည်။ မိမိ၏ နောက်ဆုံးအရေးကြီးများကို ရေးသားလိုက်သည်။
မိန့်ခွင်းများအား အစားထိုးနိုင်သည်။

စာမေးခွန် (၂၆) သို့ (၃) မီးရွက်စိုက်၍ စာမေးခွန်းကို စိပ်အားဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲနိုင်ရန်အတွက် အခြေခံအကြောင်းပြုလုပ်နိုင်ပါသည်။ ယင်းကို လူသိများစွာ အကြားဝင်စိုက်ရန် စာမေးခွန်းအား စိုက်ရန် အခြေခံအကြောင်း ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။ စာမေးခွန်း အခြေခံများအား လူသိများစွာ ဆိုရာတွင် စာမေးခွန်း အခြေခံယူဆရာများက စေရာမှ ပါဝင်သိမ်းပါသည်။

စာမေးခွန်း (၂၆) သို့ (၃) မီးရွက်စိုက်၍ စာမေးခွန်းကို ပြောင်းလဲနိုင်ရန်အတွက် အခြေခံအကြောင်းပြုလုပ်နိုင်ပါသည်။ ယင်းကို လူသိများစွာ စိုက်ရန် အခြေခံအကြောင်း ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။ စာမေးခွန်း အခြေခံများအား လူသိများစွာ ဆိုရာတွင် စာမေးခွန်း အခြေခံယူဆရာများက စေရာမှ ပါဝင်သိမ်းပါသည်။

စာမေးခွန်း (၂၆) သို့ (၃) မီးရွက်စိုက်၍ စာမေးခွန်းကို ပြောင်းလဲနိုင်ရန်အတွက် အခြေခံအကြောင်းပြုလုပ်နိုင်ပါသည်။ ယင်းကို လူသိများစွာ စိုက်ရန် အခြေခံအကြောင်း ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။ စာမေးခွန်း အခြေခံများအား လူသိများစွာ ဆိုရာတွင် စာမေးခွန်း အခြေခံယူဆရာများက စေရာမှ ပါဝင်သိမ်းပါသည်။

Boe Thein | 93
ဘာသာဖန်တီးသော စာမျက်နှာများကို ပြန်လည်ဖောက်ရွှေ့ပြောင်းထားပါသည်။ အခြားသော အချက်အလက်များကို သိရှိပါသည်။ စာမျက်နှာများကို ဖန်တီးပေးပါသည်။ အချက်အလက်များကို ဖန်တီးပေးပါသည်။
(၁) အခြေချနေထိုင်အားဖန်တီး သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၂) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၃) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၄) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၅) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၆) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၇) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၈) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၉) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၁၀) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၁၁) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၁၂) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၁၃) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၁၄) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၁၅) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၁၆) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၁၇) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၁၈) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၁၉) သတင်းပေးသည်။
(၂၀) သတင်းပေးသည်။
ယခုအခါမှာ အားလုံးရှိသော အခြေချချက်ကို အခြေချက်ပေးသည်။ သူ们都ဖော်ပြထားမှု အကြံပြိုင်မှုများကို ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလားအလာ ကျွန်တော်များအနေဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းဖြင့် အရေးရှိသော အခြေချချက်များကို ပြုလုပ်သည်။ ပြင်းထန်စွာ သူ们都ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

အားလုံးရှိ အခြေချချက်ကို ဖော်ပြထားသော အခြေချချက်များကို ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလားအလာ ကျွန်တော်များအနေဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းဖြင့် အရေးရှိသော အခြေချချက်များကို ပြုလုပ်သည်။ ပြင်းထန်စွာ သူ们都ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

အားလုံးရှိ အခြေချချက်ကို ဖော်ပြထားသော အခြေချချက်များကို ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလားအလာ ကျွန်တော်များအနေဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းဖြင့် အရေးရှိသော အခြေချချက်များကို ပြုလုပ်သည်။ ပြင်းထန်စွာ သူ们都ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

အားလုံးရှိ အခြေချချက်ကို ဖော်ပြထားသော အခြေချချက်များကို ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလားအလာ ကျွန်တော်များအနေဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းဖြင့် အရေးရှိသော အခြေချချက်များကို ပြုလုပ်သည်။ ပြင်းထန်စွာ သူ们都ဖော်ပြထားသည်။
Network for National Education Reform (NNER)
"Boe Thein

(100) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(101) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(102) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(103) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(104) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(105) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(106) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(107) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(108) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(109) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(110) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(111) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(112) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(113) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(114) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(115) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(116) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(117) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(118) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(119) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား

(120) ဗား၊ သို့မဟာ ဗား
National Network for Education Reform (NNER) (အဖွဲ့)

အခြေခံတတ်ညှရာ အခြေခံတတ်ညှသညျွန်း အားထုတ်
အခြေခံတတ်ညှသညျွန်း အားထုတ် အိမ်ရှင်
အားထုတ် အိမ်ရှင် အိမ်ရှင် အိမ်ရှင် အိမ်ရှင် အိမ်ရှင် အိမ်ရှင် အိမ်ရှင် အိမ်ရှင် အိမ်ရှင် အိမ်ရှင် အိမ်ရှင်

မြန်မာစာရင်း
National Network for Education Reform

The National Network for Education Reform is an organization that works to improve education in Myanmar. They focus on issues such as teacher training, curriculum development, and educational policy. Their goal is to create a more effective and equitable education system for all students in Myanmar. The organization collaborates with schools, governments, and international partners to achieve its objectives.
My Participation in the 1996 Student Movement

Lay Lay Mon

Abstract

In this 2016 article, Lay Lay Mon reflects on her student activist experiences, her time in prison and her professional career. For Lay Lay Mon, activists from generations X, Y and Z fail to meet the high standards set by earlier generations of political activists. She outlines four differences between these activist generations and three of her core political objectives.

Introduction

I am 38 years old; I was born in Yangon in 1978 to parents who were very involved in politics. My father was a civil servant and my mother, whose family has a military background, was from Hsipaw Township, Northern Shan State. I have been in prison twice, for 12 years in total. The first time was from 1997 to 2005, and the second time was from 2007 to 2011. I started working in 2012 as a journalist. At the time of writing, in 2016, I work as a Senior Broadcast Journalist for the Democratic Voice of Burma.

I started to learn about politics in 1988 when I was in fifth grade. I had the opportunity to participate in the Ah Ka Tha, or Basic Education Student Union, and protested with the union at the Basic Education High School 2 (the Yarmakwin school), and with the Basic Education Middle School, Tamwe Township, which I attended. I learned about politics from practicing it, not by studying, and it was a wild experience.

In my view, learning about politics should begin with theory and move on to practice. This helps people become responsible citizens. But I myself never had the chance to learn about high level political theory. I grew up in Myanmar where human rights are not guaranteed, and I had to struggle to express my political views on the street.
When I was just a teenager I participated in the 1996 student demonstrations, leading a section with other older student leaders, who were applying their experiences from the previous 1988 uprising. On 9 December 1996, when I was studying the first year of my botany degree, I took part in a Dagon University student demonstration. At that time, I worked as a coordinator for the Dagon University Student Union (DUSU). In 1997, with the arrest of the Da Ka Tha, which is the Central Executive Committee of the DUSU, I was sentenced to 10 years in prison under section 5/J of the Emergency Act and section 17 of the 1962 Printers and Publishers Registration Law, along with another 13 students. I was only 17 years and eight months old, and I was imprisoned for eight years in the Insein and Thayarwaddy prisons. I was finally released under an amnesty in 2005 after the dismissal of Intelligence Chief Khin Nyunt’s faction from the ruling military regime. The title of the amnesty that freed me was “Free the Prisoners on Independence Day”.

My Professional and Political Life

After being released from prison in January 2005, I continued to be involved in politics, following Min Ko Naing of the 1988 generation. I furthered my professional career by learning and working as a freelance translator and writer for Teen Magazine, with the help of Ma Thida (Sanchaung), who was one of my acquaintances in prison. I also took the chance to attend university, but not as a day student, as I was only accepted into a distance education university under a Myanmar language degree specialization. At 27 years old I was again a first-year student, though this time doing a distance education degree. At the same time, I studied media literacy and learned about journalism during English classes for former political prisoners at the American Center (AC). Following that, despite failing the intermediate level of ‘English 5’ at the AC, I was chosen to participate in high level courses on women’s leadership at the British Council, which I started but never finished. That was my educational journey in the first two years after being freed from prison.
The 2007 Saffron Revolution happened while I was attending my second year of distance education. I was imprisoned again for 11 years for joining the revolution and following the banner of the 88 generation, led by Min Ko Naing. I was charged with article 6 (conspiracy and defamation of the state) of section 505(B). I was imprisoned for four years, moved around from prison to prison, from Insein, to Mandalay, and Shwebo, from which I was finally released in October 2011, after filing an appeal. I was 33 years old when I got out of prison the second time. When I finally completed my university education and received a bachelor’s degree, I was 36 years old. I did not attend the graduation ceremony. At that time, I was working for an international media organization.

Notes on Student Politics and Different Generations

Students do not come from the gutter. We are peacocks from the campuses, we are fighting peacocks. Every student generation should pass on the thoughts of their own student generation to the next. If I have the opportunity to discuss my longstanding political objectives, let me use the terms of hope, vision and representativeness.

**Hope:** I want to see the next generation of students evolve from students into political actors in a more systematic way.

**Vision:** My vision is the next generation of students learning how to negotiate through political dialogue and to advance democracy in our society for future generations.

**Representativeness:** The act of representing others in student politics needs to change according to the political system, the timeline, the conditions, the scope and the structure of the student politic.

Regarding hope, I strongly recommend the work and thought of U Nu. Highly qualified politicians and national leaders were
originally youths and students before they achieved their senior positions in education and politics, for instance, U Nu and General Aung San. U Nu writes about how to guide the next generation based on his work as a student and a political leader. His writing on ‘students and politics’ is worth reading for generation X and Y students to understand U Nu’s political legacy. U Nu and his generation experienced World War II.

Another book I recommend is *Lat Thi Bone Thakin Ba Tin*,¹ which was written by Thakin Ba Tin. This book is about Ireland and Burma, both of which have strong patriotic spirits. The colonizers, the British, respected, recognized, and admired these two countries, even though the British were the rulers of “the empire on which the sun never sets”. Thakin Ba Tin points out that the British struggled to occupy both nations, which were nationalistic until they gained independence. As a member of generation X, I admire the generations that struggled during independence and view them as worthy of respect in terms of Myanmar politics. They knew about the world without TV, smartphones, and computers. To compete in the world, they had to be highly advanced regarding political and personal qualities, they had instinctual awareness and knowledge, and can be referred to as a strong model generation. The preceding generations were strong model generations who achieved Burma’s independence, even though most of the people born during World War II had very troubled lives.

For Myanmar, people born between 1960 and the early 1980s are known as generation X, and those born between the early 1980s and 1994 belong to generation Y, but there is no precise data or agreement on labeling these generations. Generation Z, born after 1995, cannot survive in the world without the help of modern technology such as computers, phones, and so on. The majority of the self-concept theories that generation Z people imitate come from the previous generation, so we can refer to them as the ‘empty generation’.

¹ စိုက်ပျိုး, သူ့ဗုဒ္ဓသို့ကြည့်ချင်သည်}
People from the older generations struggled in terms of politics even under the ‘Bamboo Curtain’ policy of the military regime. Similarly, in terms of armed revolution and protest demonstrations, no generation has produced new political or revolutionary ideas from 1960 to the present. Instead they replicate those of the older generations. As a result, it is possible to argue that generation Z, the empty generation, has been destined to be brainwashed since the days of the Burma Socialist Programme Party. It has been very rare for high-level Burmese politicians to emerge as leaders who could broadly speak out and proclaim civil rights and human rights in the same way as truly global leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King and John F. Kennedy.

These points can be considered both conventional and acceptable today, in Myanmar’s contemporary situation. We cannot build a new democratic society because this country has a tradition of locking up student activists. When given the choice of “confrontation or compromise”, most of our political leaders prefer confrontation. We do not have a habit of negotiation, which leads to pressure, threats, and coercion, and we have not had the chance to thrive in a civilized society.

We cannot create a new society using this approach. We only replicate the same revolution of the previous generation in our modern time. Thus, we cannot have a new generation with an open mind for the future. Note that replicating and imitating are different. By replicating, you lack your own individuality; it is like stealing, and limits creativity. Imitation on the other hand is the approach of ‘collect, imitate, act’. You feed your own political thoughts first, and then imitate the ideas relevant to you. Because of replicating, this new generation is becoming a generation of emptiness, the zero generation: a generation that is replicating the older generation and choosing only confrontation as its form of revolution.

For this reason, we have to back away from replicating when it comes to the ideas of representation and representativeness. We have to aim for a new way of thinking, based on what the current political reality is, and we need to change our student
movement and behaviors. If we are only basing our activities on previous experiences, in practice, our actions will become harsher, and the result will not be smooth. It does not result in a win-win situation.

If we study social theory on the other hand, we can transition our experience smoothly and achieve a good result. Based on my experience, I think it will give us a good, dignified stance. When we present a new idea, we steam upstream using our revolutionary thinking as the engine. So, this is revolutionary. That is the key point. If I knew the theory well enough back then, I would have chosen a gentler approach. I do not like being put in prison.

In order to build a democratic society, we need more democratic leaders produced by civilian education institutions. Learning how to transition from study to politics will sew good political seeds for the future. This is my analysis of my current generation and of future generations. My perspective is held out of personal and historical respect for the previous generations. It is not based on ideology.

The previous student generations that came before are different from my own generation in four strong ways. The first is that they are like teachers with strong minds like whetstones, capable of sharpening and passing on their revolution, their ideas, and their ideologies to the next generation. They look at the new generation as a clay figure that can be molded and carved, and they are willing to offer their brains and ideas to the younger generation.

Second, they have honed their perception and conviction. They struggle on their own. They have strong visions and clear ideologies.

Third, they are able to choose paths to survive. They devoted themselves to things that reproduced politics, such as literature, novels, poems, translations, education. It is called going underground. They were able to see the world without technology like computers and cellphones. Since they had strong enthusiasm and a long-term survival path in politics, it is hard not to respect them.
Fourth, they were ready to give all they have learned to the new generations. They lacked prejudice toward the new generations.

Even in an oppressive political system that tortured them, they were able to pass down seeds to grow and flourish in the next generation. One of their weak points is that they could not share with us the legacy of “unity”. They mixed problems with the revolution. Some older generations are stuck in an old system and cannot strike out with new ideas. This is partly due to political fatigue. They became political pensioners, their emotions leading to anger; they attempt to divide others and feel alienated.

My generation lives as deviants instead of living like young leaders. There are many opportunists. Instead of having their own character, people continue to replicate those of the older generation. They seem to put these older people first, but they still want to be shoulder to shoulder with them. We do not have minds like whetstones. We lack strong convictions and high ambitions.

Most of my own generation follow wrong paths, such as playing games, using drugs, replicating others, and living as opportunists. Instead of giving it their all, they are reluctant to share and even have the habit of giving misleading messages. My generation cannot move forward without technology. They claim their own ideas, ideologies, and theories, but they are merely replicating the older ideas with the support of technology. Their ideas expand only a little with the support of technology.

But one good thing about this generation is that instead of creating problems, they tend to look for unity, solutions, and peace more than the previous generation.

References

ဗျိုင်း ဝိဝိ (ကြည်းစားပါး-ကြွယ်) (ဗိုလ်) ဗိုလ်ဦးစံ ဗိုလ်ဦးစံးတို့
လက်ရာအပ်ခန်းနှင့် အတူအားဖျင်သော လက်ရာအပ်ခန်းကို အခြေခံပေး ဖော်ပြသရန် အမှန်တကယ်ကို အော်ဖော်ရန်

များကိုအားဖျင်သော လက်ရာအပ်ခန်းကို အခြေခံပေး ဖော်ပြသရန် အမှန်တကယ်ကို

ရေးသားခြင်း 

ယူသောကြွက်များနှင့် ပူးပေါင်းစွာ အားဖျင်ခြင်း အတွက် လက်ရာအပ်ခန်းကို အခြေခံပေး ဖော်ပြသရန် အမှန်တို့ကို အော်ဖော်ရန်

များကိုအားဖျင်သော လက်ရာအပ်ခန်းကို အခြေခံပေး ဖော်ပြသရန် အမှန်တကယ်ကို

ရေးသားခြင်း 

ယူသောကြွက်များနှင့် ပူးပေါင်းစွာ အားဖျင်ခြင်း အတွက် လက်ရာအပ်ခန်းကို အခြေခံပေး ဖော်ပြသရန် အမှန်တို့ကို အော်ဖော်ရန်

ရေးသားခြင်း 

ယူသောကြွက်များနှင့် ပူးပေါင်းစွာ အားဖျင်ခြင်း အတွက် လက်ရာအပ်ခန်းကို အခြေခံပေး ဖော်ပြသရန် အမှန်တို့ကို အော်ဖော်ရန်

များကိုအားဖျင်သော လက်ရာအပ်ခန်းကို အခြေခံပေး ဖော်ပြသရန် အမှန်တို့ကို အော်ဖော်ရန်
လေးလေးမော်မှာ ပြည်ထောင်စုတွင် ပို့နှုန်းခြင်းများ အတွက် အရွယ်အစား ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ သို့မဟုတ်ပြည်တွင် ရှိပြီးသော အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။ ပြည်တွင်း ပြည်ပွဲများတွင် ပြည်တွင်းအချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။

အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။ အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။

အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။ အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။

အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။ အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။

အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။ အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။

အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။ အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။

အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။ အချက်များအား အနည်းဆုံး အထွေထွေ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားရမည်။
လက်ရှိများလာရောက်အားကား ပညာသူအဖွဲ့ကောင်းက လူအယ်အတွက် အခြေခံ ထူးခြေခံ ၇၂ မျိုးကို ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

တစ်ဦးစာလောက်သူအရာအလိုအပ်သည် media literacy နှင့် high intermediate level 5 အတွက် အုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ အပေါ်ကြားနေသော အိမ်မှာ လမ်းကြောင့်နှင့် အုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ အပေါ်ကြားနေသော high level women’s leadership အုပ်ဆိုင်ရာနှင့်စပ်လျက်ရှိသည်။

အခြေအနေကြီးမားသောကြောင့်များသည် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခွင့်အတွက် လိုအပ်သည်။

(1) အရာအလိုအပ်သည် media literacy နှင့် high intermediate level 5 အတွက် အုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ အပေါ်ကြားနေသော high level women’s leadership အုပ်ဆိုင်ရာနှင့်စပ်လျက်ရှိသည်။

(2) အရာအလိုအပ်သည် media literacy နှင့် high intermediate level 5 အတွက် အုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ အပေါ်ကြားနေသော high level women’s leadership အုပ်ဆိုင်ရာနှင့်စပ်လျက်ရှိသည်။
လူသားများ၏အကြောင်းအရာများ လူသား ၏ အဓိကပြုလိုအပ်သော (၁) နှင့် (၂) တို့ အပြောင်းအလဲကို အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။ လူသား ၏ အဓိကပြုလိုအပ်သော (၃) နှင့် (၄) တို့ လူသားများရှိသောအရာများ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။ လူသားများကို အကြောင်းအရာများဖြင့် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။

လူသားများ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ လူသားများ၏အကြောင်းအရာများ ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။ လူသားများ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။ လူသားများ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။

လူသားများ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။ လူသားများ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။ လူသားများ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။

လူသားများ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။ လူသားများ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။ လူသားများ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ၏ အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြသည်။
116 | Lay Lay Mon

ဗော်စျေးပြောလေး။ စာပေလျင်မှာ အပြည့်အစား အခြားသောအခါမှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ
ရှိရင်စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ
အလိုလျင်မှာ (X) ရှိရင် (Y) ရှိလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ
အလိုလျင်မှာ (X) ရှိလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ

စာပေလျင်မှာ အလိုလျင်မှာ (X) ရှိရင် (Y) ရှိလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ
ဗော်စျေးပြောလေး။ စာပေလျင်မှာ အပြည့်အစား အခြားသောအခါမှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ
ရှိရင်စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ
အလိုလျင်မှာ (X) ရှိရင် (Y) ရှိလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ စာပေလျင်မှာ

1 သက်တမ်း အလိုလျင်မှာ
Lay Lay Mon

(Translation:)

In the vicinity of the village, Lay Lay Mon was seen taking a walk in the darkness.

He was returning from his daily chores when he suddenly heard the sound of footsteps behind him. He turned around to see a person approaching him from the darkness. The person was carrying a bamboo curtain, and Lay Lay Mon recognized the person as his neighbor, Z. Z had come to inform Lay Lay Mon about a confrontation that had taken place between two families in the village.

Z explained that the two families had been involved in a long-standing dispute over land ownership. The situation had escalated to a point where they were considering taking legal action against each other. Z was concerned about the potential consequences of such action and wanted Lay Lay Mon to offer his advice.

Lay Lay Mon listened attentively, but he was unsure of how to respond. He knew that the situation was delicate and that any wrong move could lead to unnecessary complications.

Z added that he had already consulted a lawyer, but Lay Lay Mon's opinion was still important to him. Lay Lay Mon thought for a moment and then suggested that they should hold a meeting with the two families to discuss the matter further.

Z agreed and thanked Lay Lay Mon for his advice. He promised to arrange a meeting as soon as possible.

Lay Lay Mon nodded, feeling relieved that he could contribute to resolving the dispute. He knew that his role would be crucial in ensuring that the outcome was fair and amicable.
နောက်ဆိုဒါကောင်းတယ်ဆိုတာကို ဖော်ပြနေပါတယ်။ အချိန်ကကြားပြောင်းချက်နှစ်ချက် မှန်ကန်ပါတယ်။

အကောင်းဆုံး သတင်းပေးနေသည့်စာကြောင်းငါ့က အကောင်းဆုံး ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။ open-minded ဟာကြောင်းသတင်းပေးနေသည့်စာကြောင်းငါ့က အကောင်းဆုံး ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

အောက်ပါကြည်စေတာ။ ပေါင်းစပ်ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။ လူမှုကို ပေါင်းစပ်ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

ဗိသုကာပေး မှန်ကန် ဝင်ဝင်လေးတော့မှာ အကောင်းဆုံး ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

အမိန့်ကို ပေါင်းစပ်ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

အကောင်းဆုံး ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

ဝင်ဝင်လေးတော့မှာ အကောင်းဆုံး ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

ဆိုပေးတယ်ဆိုတာကို ဖော်ပြနေပါတယ်။

အနည်းဆုံးကို ပေါင်းစပ်ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

အကောင်းဆုံး ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

အောက်ပါကြည်စေတာ။ ပေါင်းစပ်ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

အကောင်းဆုံး ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

အောက်ပါကြည်စေတာ။

အကောင်းဆုံး ပြောင်းလဲပါကြည်စေတာ။

အောက်ပါကြည်စေတာ။
(၅) ကြုံတင်ပြချက်၏ သင်္ချင်းဖြစ်စေချက် (အေးရှည်နှစ်မျိုး သင်ကြားမှုများ) အချိန်အထိ သင်္ချင်းဖြစ်စေချက်များ တိုးတက်သော ကြုံတင်ပြချက်၏ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်စေချက်များ ဖြစ်နိုင်စေရန် အခြေအနေများ အထောက်အထားမှန်ကန်သော အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ (၆) အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ (အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။)

(၆) အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ (အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။)

(၇) ပျက်စစ်မှန်ချက်ကို အေးရှည်နှစ်မျိုး အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။

(၈) အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။ အချိန်အထိမှတ်စုများ ဖြစ်နိုင်မည်။
၀ သုံးစွဲသည့် ကျော်စကားများစွာမှာ ဖြင်ဆိုပိုင်ဆိုင်သည်: ဒီနည်းတွင် ပြောသည့် ကျော်စကားများသည် မြေစွာ ပြောသည်။ ဒီနည်းတွင် ပြောသည့် ကျော်စကားများသည် မြေစွာ ပြောသည်။ ဒီနည်းတွင် ပြောသည့် ကျော်စကားများသည် မြေစွာ ပြောသည်။

အလောက်မှာ သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များဖြင့် တိုးတက်စေပါသည်။ သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များဖြင့် တိုးတက်စေပါသည်။ သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များဖြင့် တိုးတက်စေပါသည်။

အချက်များအတွက် သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များဖြင့် တိုးတက်စေပါသည်။ သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များဖြင့် တိုးတက်စေပါသည်။ သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များဖြင့် တိုးတက်စေပါသည်။

share (ချိုး) သည် ကျော်စကား ဖြင့်သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များအတွက် ပြောသည်။ Message သည် သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များအတွက် ပြောသည်။ ကျော်စကားများကို ဖြင့်သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များအတွက် ပြောသည်။

သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များအတွက် သာဖွယ်သောအချက်များဖြင့် တိုးတက်စေပါသည်။
ညွှန်ကြားခြင်းမှာ:

သူမှာ မြေ (သော်ရှိန်ကြီး။) (လူဝင်) သော်ရှိန်ကြီး။ သော်ရှိန်ကြီး။
Opportunities and Challenges for Student Unions

Phyoe Phyoe Aung

Abstract

Written in 2016, this article discusses the opportunities and challenges for student unions at a time of political change, focusing on the ongoing (re-)institutionalization of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions and the tension between this process and the longer-term, repressive political context that encouraged the continuation of underground organizing. Tensions also existed between proxy organizations formed by school authorities and legitimate student unions.

Introduction

This article is based on my presentation at the “Student Activism in Burma: Inspirations, Aspirations and Representation” workshop organized by the Myanmar Institute for Democracy on 19 November 2016. Before my own speech, reputable student leaders from different student union generations presented on issues related to student unions and their historically valuable activities. These included U Hla Shwe, Dr. Min Thein, U Tin Aye Kyu, Ko Thet Tun, Ko Sai Kyaw Nyunt, Ma Lay Lay Mon, and Ko Zayah Oo. The successful event included question and answer sessions and allowed active members from their respective student unions to enthusiastically discuss the on-the-ground experiences shared by representatives of different generations.

I have always believed that with its strong spirit and glorious experiences, with its pure and indestructible soul, the All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU) will embrace every one of our comrades from different generations and exist for many years to come.

This article continues in eight parts. The first four sections concern internal affairs which are related directly to the student unions:
1. Representativeness of student unions within campuses.
2. Systematic planning and delegation of an institutionalized organization.
3. Trust-building among student union members.
4. Unity.

The next four concern the external challenges that student unions encounter:

5. Different political contexts over time.
6. The popularity of the ABFSU.
7. The status and legitimacy of the ABFSU.
8. Attitudes of authorities toward student unions.

When going through these eight points it becomes clear that they are interrelated.

**Representativeness of Student Unions Within Campuses**

We have been repeatedly questioned by different stakeholders whether current student unions can genuinely represent the students within their respective campuses. In a country where different military regimes have ruled by fear and systematically oppressed and crushed apart student unions, many students were forcibly isolated from unions, student leaders, political movements, and student activities from late 1962 until 2015 when civilian leaders won that year’s general elections and formed government. Specific fears were relayed not only by students themselves but also by lecturers, professors, rectors, and staff in the education sector. Aside from these, due to being systematically wiped from history, and because of university authorities’ strict control of free campaigning, organizing, and movement within campuses, the ABFSU has been separated from students and considered a harmful institution. Thus, the
organization’s campaigning works within campus have been weakened.

**Systematic Planning and Delegation of an Institutionalized Organization**

I find many organizations in our country to be weak in setting out rules and regulations related to accountability and responsibility and strictly complying with preexistent rules. In other words, although specific duties were assigned according to applicable organizational structures, there has been no systematic planning and delegation of institutionalized organization in many of today’s student unions. The unsystematic working patterns of the ABFSU, with its members who are familiar mostly with working only underground, will negatively impact its organization, operations and mutual understanding among members, and provoke derivative and repeating problems in the long run. Therefore, members must get familiar with organizational meetings, consultation workshops, and delegations before and after working hours, excepting confidential information. While striving to solve complexities within the organization, movements will be delayed, and hence, time, money, and valuable energy could be lost in vain due to endlessly recurring problems. Therefore, if we can immediately solve the institutionalization problem, which is the primary cause, our comrades will be able to get rid of the problems mentioned above and develop a more prosperous and relevant ABFSU.

**Trust-building Among Student Union Members**

Trust-building issues among members can be resolved once the ABFSU is well established as an institutionalized organization. Endless conflicts will arise among student union members due to loosely planned actions if the organization is only occupied by cult followers and opportunists rather than those who joined after thoroughly understanding the policies which have already existed. Therefore, students, especially student union members,
should be clear about the needs of the ABFSU, the policies to be set out, and tactics to be applied.

When the 2007 ABFSU was formed as an underground organization by book club members and went on to carry out movements, there were no mobile phones or communication devices and very poor internet access. However, few trust issues arose among members because we could build trust and coordinate smoothly among our comrades. As we all understood during those days that we could be arrested once any secret information was revealed, we minimized the number of members as much as we could. Although there are still security concerns in 2016, we are now able to organize and perform our activities freely to a certain extent, and therefore, we no longer need to minimize our members. Because too much secrecy within the organization would amplify trust issues, it is essential that the ABFSU delegate specific tasks according to an organizational structure already agreed to by all members, and that there is transparency within the organization, at least to an extent.

**Unity**

When we talk about unity among the student unions, many would agree that this implies “conferences”. Since the early days, student union members have discussed rules and regulations, elections, and activities at conferences. We would like to maintain these good practices; the ABFSU and other student unions currently face existential challenges such as dissension and weaknesses in campaigning. Speaking of “unity”, it is essential not to lack specific policies. The existence of a unity based only on individuals, rather than on policies, will face difficulties in the long run.

Reforming the institutionalization of the organization is also essential. Unity attained through effective negotiation based on policy can only portray a successful congress rather than deliver it. A conference with new generation student union members who are unfamiliar with the culture of an organizing congress would be flawed. However, suppose we can show the
spirit of the student union and the strength of unity by reuniting the power of students with carefully planned strategies. In that case, I am sure that student unions will be able to open a new page in history.

Different Political Contexts Over Time

The years before 1962, when the organization could stand officially within campuses, was the golden age of the ABFSU. However, confrontation after the 7 July 1962 events, which turned to political repression; student movements within 1974-76 (even though these were not entirely maneuvers of the student union); the rebirth of the ABFSU among students and civilians during the 1988 revolution; student movements in 1996-98 attempting to organize the ABFSU and demand political freedom; the organization of the ABFSU just before the Saffron Revolution in 2007; and the attempt to reform the ABFSU in 2013, were all activities carried out mostly underground. Movement strategies and the means of communication of university student unions, ethnic minority student unions, township and district level student unions, basic education student unions, as well as today’s ABFSU, in its current institutional form since 2012, are mixed with secrets and non-institutional structures and their organizational structures are not announced publicly. This is due to the country’s political instability.

Myanmar’s political context is one where it is difficult to trust authorities in good faith and this has an enormous impact on politically active organizations like student unions. Although this new transition period could be an opportunity for student unions, it could become trickier at any time. Under the rules of previous military regimes, underground organization and movement systems were most appropriate, since union members faced arrest. In January 2012, the ABFSU Central Organizing Committee, along with official organizational delegations, was formed by our 2007/2008 ABFSU members in collaboration with the members from 2003. Although there were many forms of threats and impediments under the rule of the nominally
civilian government from 2011-2015 (still a partially military government), there were no arrests made on the basis of organizing student unions.

Impediments remained, including the twenty-four-hour arbitrary detention of at least a dozen student union members from different parts of the country before 1987’s 25th Anniversary of the 7 July 1962 protest against the military coup, and the imprisonment of hundreds of student union members who protested against the National Education Law in 2014-15 and their supporters. Although the organizational structure of the ABFSU was announced publicly because of these situations, some parts were still kept secret to prevent security breaches and unnecessary exposure. Even though the National League for Democracy (NLD) government took power in 2015, today in 2016 the ABFSU is still the most prominent enemy of the Ministry of Home Affairs, according to a Union Minister of Security and Border Affairs report to the Magway Regional Parliament, which depicted student movements as transgressive. During the present moment, when there is much political awakening and the return of many political movements, and transparency is believed to be improving in politics, at least to some extent, the ABFSU movement needs to be more widespread among students and the general public and should spread according to advocacy strategies. However, we still need to take extra precautions against security breaches since nothing can be taken for granted during this period. Since we are currently in the middle of a transition period, we must take our part in writing the student union history’s while continuously analyzing the changes in prevailing political dynamics.

The Popularity of the ABFSU

As a result of being systematically written out of history by different military regimes, the phrase “student union representative” was replaced with “student representative” in amendments to the National Education Law in parliament. This meant the prestigious ABFSU was degraded to just one of many student
welfare organizations. It is a tragedy that ABFSU is perceived by many as an ordinary student organization that engages in political activities both inside and outside the student community. The popularity of ABFSU increased after it stood with workers and farmers in fighting for their rights, as well as for leading the education protest movements in 2014 and 2015. However, after the new government took over in 2015, the ABFSU has become like an abandoned organization due to negative propaganda by government lobbyists against the union, the inability to implement activities due to problems the union alone cannot solve, and conflicts and dissension within the organization. In order for the ABFSU, once a prestigious organization in history, to be able to return with its five key policies, it is essential that it stay close to the general public and not be isolated from the student community. It is crucial to keep in mind that the organization cannot be called a student union if it is separated from the students.

The Status and Legitimacy of the ABFSU

After 1962, the establishment and movements of student unions were targeted, prosecuted, and considered by the military junta to be political transgressions, right up until the 2007 ABFSU. Although no one has been detained for establishing a new student union since 2012, there are still threats, investigations, and misdirection in different ways by university authorities and government institutions (e.g., military intelligence under the Ministry of Home Affairs). Therefore, students who participated in the democracy education protests in different parts of the country in 2014 and 2015 demanded to acknowledge the legitimacy of student unions in National Education Law. The amended law enacts rights to organize the student unions under respective charters of universities. However, university acts were being drafted without any transparency. It indicates that the legitimate status of the existing student unions is not guaranteed by the regulations. An important fact is that the lack of recognition of current student unions in the original law gives fearful
bureaucratic university authorities absolute power to control the unions. The present student unions exist in the same way as other student organizations even though they do not have any legitimate status. Student unions that are not legally recognized either must carry out their establishment, campaigning, and activities within narrow boundaries verbally set by university authorities, or end up facing objections. Another huge challenge for the ABFSU is the emergence of proxy student organizations, which were formed by university authorities to substitute for unions. Even though organizations with unrepresentative origins usually do not last long, we need to be cautious about these since they are intended to detach students from the union and blemish the student unions’ importance in history.

Attitudes of Authorities Toward Student Unions

Since different military regimes have successively treated student unions as a prominent enemy, antagonistic narratives are deeply rooted in government institutions. By closely monitoring student union leaders and their activities like criminal gangs, and portraying student union members as rebellions or radicals, authorities can harm student unions at any time. The NLD government cannot save student unions from the predation of the Ministry of Home Affairs, since they are also trapped within the 2008 Constitution. Moreover, they also failed to legally recognize the legitimate status of the ABFSU. Therefore, there have been clashes between the ABFSU and lower-level administrative bureaucrats overwhelmed by fear and with weak political awareness. Hence, university authorities, ward administrators, and police intelligence consecutively committed legal prosecutions.
Conclusion

The discussion above is only my opinion. While I barely suggest solutions to overcome the challenges presented, I firmly believe that solutions able to work on the actual ground will emerge only if our new generations face these current issues and future challenges. History will determine whether these solutions are right or wrong. Therefore, I welcome the new steps of our younger generations, who are honest and brave and in whom we put our trust. In order to move forward with the confidence of our elder generations, the most important thing is to overcome all challenges by ourselves, since the future is now in the hands of a new generation.
Student Activism in Burma: Inspiration, Aspiration and Representation Workshop (proxy) အိုး ရှေး သဟုတ်သည်မှာ အခြေခံအပြောင်း အကြည်းဆောင်းပါမည်။
(4) အချင်းအရာ စုစောင်နှင့် စုစောင်တွင် ကြည့်နိုင်ပေမည်

(5) အခြားသော စာရင်းတွင် စာရင်းပေးသည်

(6) အချင်းအရာအတွက် အောက်ပါအရာများ

(7) အချင်းအရာအတွက် စာရင်းပေးသည်

(8) အချင်းအရာအတွက် အောက်ပါအရာများ

(9) အချင်းအရာအတွက် အောက်ပါအရာများ

(10) အချင်းအရာအတွက် အောက်ပါအရာများ
(၃) အကျိုးပြုမှု ရှာဖွေသည်: ဗုဒ်ဝန်းကျင်း မိုးမိုးခြင်း
(၀) အခင်အားဖော်မှုသော် သောင်လာရောင်ချက်ကိစ္စည်းများစွာ ပြုလုပ်သည်
(၄) အရွေးအဟုတ်တည်း ပြသနေစဉ်

...
(၂) ပြသူ:

အစားအားဗုဒ္ဓဟူးကြီးသူမှာ စိုက်ပျိုး အမျိုးသားရေး အနေရှင်တွင်းဂီတ် ဝင်ရောက်ထားသော မိသားစုနှင့် ဒီဗုဒ္ဓသူများနှင့် တူညီကြောင်း တင်းမောင်ပြုသော အတွက် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လုပ်ငန်းမှုများနှင့် အတူတူပင် ရရှိသည်။ သူများ အသက်ရှင် အတွက် အသက်ရှင်းလင်းသူများနှင့် တူညီကောင်း တင်းမောင်ပြုသော အတွက် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် အတူတူပင် ရရှိသည်။

(၃) ထိုသူများ မိသားစုနှင့် အမျိုးသားရေး

အနေရှင် အသက်ရှင်းလင်းသူများနှင့် တူညီကောင်း တင်းမောင်ပြုသော အတွက် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် အတူတူပင် ရရှိသည်။ သူများ အသက်ရှင် အတွက် အသက်ရှင်းလင်းသူများနှင့် တူညီကောင်း တင်းမောင်ပြုသော အတွက် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် အတူတူပင် ရရှိသည်။
အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။ အိုက်ခွန်ရ်ရှင်တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာအားဖြင့် ရွေးချယ်ရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ရှင်းလင်းပွဲများမှ လေးလိုက်ပါသည်။
(6) ဗိုလ်မှုမှာ အာဆီမှ ကြွက်ကြား

ဗိုလ်မှုမှာ ကျန်းမာရေးနှင့် အာဂိုနီးယားမှ ကြွက်ကြား တွေ့ရှိနိုင်သည်။ ဗိုလ်မှုမှာ အာရှမှာ ကြွက်ကြား တွေ့ရှိနိုင်သည်။ အကြီးအကျိုး ကျောင်းသားများနှင့် အာရှမှာ ကြွက်ကြား တွေ့ရှိနိုင်သည်။ အကြီးအကျိုး ကျောင်းသားများနှင့် အာရှမှာ ကြွက်ကြား တွေ့ရှိနိုင်သည်။ အကြီးအကျိုး ကျောင်းသားများနှင့် အာရှမှာ ကြွက်ကြား တွေ့ရှိနိုင်သည်။
(၄) အသံကြောင်း သဘောတူညှိချက်များ

ကျော်မှု သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သဘောတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်များကို သagateတူညှိချက်
(3) အကြောင်းအရာအပေါ်-ağyaw kay nay thwe thwe

**.proxy**

**Phyoe Phyoe Aung | 141**

**Phyoe Phyoe Aung | 141**
ယူးဒွာ ကာလနှင့် အကူအညီစာများပေးသောအချက်နှင့် အခြားသော စကားလုံးများမှ အယူအဆကို ဆန်လှယ် ဆီကျွန်ုပ်တို့ စိုးရိမ်ပေးမည်။ သောက်ပြည်သူများက စားသောက်ပေးသောအချက်များ စိုးရိမ်ပေးမည်။ အစိုးရက ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ စားသောက်ပေးသောအချက်များ စိုးရိမ်ပေးမည်။ စားသောက်ပေးသောအချက်များ စိုးရိမ်ပေးမည်။ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ စားသောက်ပေးသောအချက်များ စိုးရိမ်ပေးမည်။
From Student Activism to Peace Negotiation: A Life Story of Trying to Build a Democratic Union

Sai Kyaw Nyunt

Abstract

Intended to contribute to the building of a democratic union in Myanmar, this autobiographical article follows the life of Sai Kyaw Nyunt, from his admission to the Yangon Institute of Technology in 1995 to becoming secretary of the Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee in 2016, the year the article was written. After getting involved in student politics, Sai Kyaw Nyunt was persecuted and imprisoned in 1998. He met political prisoners across various prisons and was released in 2002. After starting a business career, Sai Kyaw Nyunt then became a founding director of the Myanmar Institute of Democracy, before leaving to join the Shan National League for Democracy. He participated as a secretary in the Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee and helped convene the 21st Century Panglong Conference.

Introduction

*In the Union, if one kyat is given to Bama, so must Shan and Kadu be given one kyat each!*

*A Lisu self-administered zone must be established.*

*Shanni State must be established.*

*(We want) the development of a Pa-O national state.*

*(We want) the development of a Palaung state.*

*We Akha people want our own self-administered zone in federal democratic system with representation granted in the union, state and regional-level legislative and executive bodies to protect the rights of our people.*
Wa State is willing to discuss a policy for building a new union. Self-administered zones must have self-autonomy over the state and shall have equal executive power to Bama ethnic people at the national level.

The new federal union should not be called the ‘Federal Union of Myanmar’. Naming the nation either in Burmese or English as ‘Burma’ or ‘Myanmar’ will reinforce a notion that it only refers to the Bama nationals, which is just one of the ethnic people inhabiting the territory of what is now the union. Therefore, a new name for the union must be determined to guarantee equality for all the different people inside the country and to build a federal union.

All armed forces must remain under the control and governance of the civilian government.

We must amend or rewrite the 2008 Constitution.

We must build a democratic federal union!

A review of the 2008 Constitution should be approached ensuring union solidarity is not undermined, and amendments should be made to accord with laws guaranteeing sharing the three powers of the nation.

We, the Tatmadaw, present our strong opinion for each organization to accomplish their political desires strictly under and on the basis of the 2008 Constitution.

The 2008 Constitution, which was autocratically enacted against the people’s will by the State Peace and Development Council, is difficult to amend and only complicates ethnic people’s affairs. Moreover, in a situation where the 2008 Constitution grants the military a wide range of powers and privileges, and the military is protecting the Constitution, the armed forces greatly influence efforts for equality and self-determination by ethnic people.
The root cause of armed conflict with and between ethnic people is the failure to implement the commitments in the Panglong Agreement, and lack of opportunity to resolve the political conflict by political means.

These are just a few of the statements made during the 21st Century Panglong Conference from 31 August to 4 September 2016, which was broadcast nationwide. The conference was meant to progress the resolution of Myanmar’s nearly 70-year-long internal conflicts and solve issues related to the demands of minority groups, such as the Akha and Lisu, to have their own self-administered zones; the demands of other groups, including the Pa-O, Palaung, and Shanni, to be able to have their own states; general requests for minority rights to be protected; the continuous usage of the term ‘state’ to refer to mere ‘self-administered zones’; issues of national equality and self-determination; discussions and recommendations to amend the 2008 Constitution; and protective standpoints on the 2008 Constitution, etc.

These quotes are excerpted from my own discussions as a member of the Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee (UPDJC) secretariat, which was responsible for the successful convention of the 21st Century Panglong Conference. Let me recount some of the story of how I came to be involved in this conference, which was aimed at negotiating for internal peace and resolving political conflict.

Life as a Yangon Institute of Technology Student

1995 November. A Lashio native from Shan State got off the bus at the Burma Pharmaceutical Industry bus stop and stepped into the compound of the Yangon Institute of Technology (YIT). I felt small and inferior as I approached the 18 poles of the portico of the main auditorium. The school is so grand and glorious, quite intimidating. I murmured to myself, “I have finally become a student of YIT”.

147
YIT is one of the most renowned universities among students in Myanmar. An institution filled with the best and the brightest students. It has been known by many names: a ‘rebellious school’ because it gave rise to anti-military dictatorship students, politicians, and activists, and ‘the blood-red school’ and the ‘red school’ because of its students’ bravery. Little did I know then that it stood up to its name.

My first year was completed without many challenges. I was one of those students who got called by the registrars and lecturers and given warnings, as I used to walk across Awbar Street, which was strictly prohibited due to its potential for students grouping together. And I was one of those students who kept their hair long. I was given the nickname ‘Clinton’ in place of my original name. I was always hyperactive and present at the top of the line whenever there was a gathering or meeting.

At around 9 p.m. on 19 October 1996, when I was in second year, the police beat and kicked YIT students with their military boots at the Sawbwargyikone Highway bus stop. In response students from each Yangon college, including YIT, protested at the roundabout in Hledan, at the junction point of Kamaryut Township; and at the Yangon University compound, calling for:

1. The arrest of the municipal police who unlawfully attacked and beat the students;
2. The perpetrators to appear before the students and officially apologize for their actions;
3. The arrest of the persons behind the incident who gave the orders; and
4. The publication of accurate facts of the incident in newspapers and radio.

The responsible officials not only did not take any action in response to the students’ requests but responded to the protests by sending the students back to their families, and special branch intelligence officers frequently called students into the registrar’s office to interrogate them. This demonstration was my introductory experience to a movement against the military
dictatorship. This particular movement was like trying to break a brick wall by banging your head against it. Since it was my first experience, I was merely a follower, fervently following the leadership of other student leaders.

At the end of November 1996, a letter was sent to the families of each student leader who participated in the movement. The letter read:

All people love students. University students are seen as the hope for our country’s future. But now, people have to run and hide when they see students. Why? Students hitch a ride on the bus without paying fares just because they are students; fight with the bus crew; then fight with the waiter at the restaurant at late hours—they try to portray these situations as ones of unfair treatment and discrimination against students, causing incitement. They then inflate the issue and cause unrest. Use your common sense: is fighting with the bus crew, restaurant waiter, and municipal worker good and relevant for the reputation and honor of the students? People want to live and do business peacefully these days. Causing unrest is a problem for governance and power. Students should no longer be used for political reasons. Politicians are taking advantage of and using students.

- From the students who want to pursue education peacefully.

Starting at 9:30 a.m., 2 December 1996, students gathered at the 18-pole portico of the main auditorium of YIT and protested again, calling on authorities:

1. To identify and take action against those who wrote and sent the derogatory and divisive letters;
2. To not expel the student leaders;
3. To not shut down the school since it is not a political affair; and
4. To publish the true facts of the incident in newspapers and broadcast them on the radio, and to officially apologize to the students.

These four points were in addition to the overall demand for the authorities to come and negotiate with the students. The authorities only agreed to two of the requests: not to expel the student leaders and not to shut down the school. The rest of the students agreed to one student leader’s proposal to go out and try to gain assistance from the public, so the students finally took the demonstrations onto the roads.

The student group gathered with propriety and made a line from the entrance of YIT to Hledan junction, walking and demonstrating. At the Hledan crossroad, the group met and joined other students from Regional College 2 of Yangon Main University. As evening came, speeches extended beyond students’ rights and included statements from the All Burma Federation of Student Unions, and chants about human rights, government corruption, the suffering of the general public, the oppression meted out by the military regime, and general anti-military chants.

The mass of protesters marched from the Hledan crossroad point towards downtown along Hledan road, then across Strand road in Kyimyindaing Township. They passed Mahabandoola road, Theingyi Market, Sule Pagoda, and then on to the previous site of the American Embassy, to Yangon Central Railway Station, and Pansodan Road; and continuing from there, they planned to establish a protest camp at the Shwedagon Pagoda. However, the authorities planted some imposters to influence the route of the protesters so that they crossed the military command office on Signal Pagoda Road and went along U Htaung Bo Road. Protesting students and civilians were then blocked in by security forces from the front and the rear, just in front of the religious hall donated by the police force, between the U Htaung Bo roundabout and Shwedagon Pagoda. Although the students
were well aware of the troubling situation, they remained calm and began to sing the songs of the Student Union, planning to face whatever was coming next, to the end. The students then prayed, paid homage to the pagoda, and prepared for the worst.

The security forces showed a letter to the diplomatic cars which had accompanied the students throughout the march and the cars began departing the area, leaving the students at the mercy of the soldiers. Soon after the cars left, authorities began cracking down on the demonstrators, hitting them with batons. The protesters were then forced into security vehicles, including many injured people, and women, according to student leaders. They were taken to the Kyaikkasan field, and the military’s special intelligence began interrogating them individually. In response, students from other universities began preparing to march onto the streets to protest if the arrested students were not released. As a result, at around noon on 3 December, professors, and the heads of the departments from each corresponding university, were allowed to come and take the detained students back to their universities.

On 6 December 1996, YIT students took to the streets again to protest despite a ban on protesting put in place by their teachers. They were stopped by security forces at the Thamine junction point and had to retreat to the university. I was there, holding a peacock flag at the frontline. The students then discussed secretly regathering again at Hledan and left the university compound, employing their tactics. Students from different institutions gathered at Hledan junction and began the mass protests. At around 3 a.m. the following day, the students were dispersed by water cannon. The security forces unlawfully destroyed and broke the windows of nearby shops, cafes, and vehicles. Some students were detained.

United mass demonstration by students from different universities intensified, and so did general political awareness. A month later, from 9-11 January 1997, the students’ movement spread to more schools and colleges, including the Government Technological Institute (GTI) in Insein Township, the University of Medicine, and Dagon University, followed by protests in
Mandalay, Mawlamyine, and Sittwe townships. The military government responded by closing down all universities ‘indefinitely’.

As it turned out, the universities were allowed to reopen again in 1998. However, they did not practice the full academic year. YIT students had to attend classes in shifting groups. First, the final-year students of all different majors were allowed to attend classes for only two weeks and had to sit through qualification exams for reentrance the following year. As final-year students would be graduating after the exams, they were hesitant to protest or make any ripples. Similar attendance, testing, and exam regulations were also applied to fourth and fifth year students. Again, there were no protests whatsoever. Following that, the authorities finally announced universities could allow a month-long learning period for first, second, and third-year students before taking their exams. Students from different townships across the country started flooding in to attend classes.

At that time, engineering-related teaching and learning materials sent by international donors were rerouted from YIT to the Defense Service Technological Academy. First, second and third-year students then informed the professor that they did not accept the current ‘two weeks/one month-long class opening’ program, demanded a full academic term for learning, and requested that the Science and Technology Minister come and resolve the issue.

When the Minister, U Thaung, came to explain, I, personally, debated him face-to-face. Seeing my appearance, it was not hard for the informers at the university, who were reporting to military special intelligence, to recognize me—I wore a t-shirt imprinted with the United Nations (UN) emblem and the flags of UN member countries; had long hair; and was notorious for my nicknames “Shan Gyi” and “Clinton”. Students were not satisfied with the minister’s resolution and began protesting. This time, the students had no opportunity to take to the streets as they were already surrounded on all sides.
Twenty-eight students, including me, were not allowed to sit for the exams at the university; we had to take the exam at Insein’s GTI instead, under the watch of our parents and guardians. One month after the exam, police and intelligence forces arrived at the private hostel I was staying at, and said, “Brother, we have a few questions”. I was detained and taken away. The night was the full moon day of Tazaungmone, 3 November 1998. I was eventually taken to Insein special prison and processed with no right of defense or power of attorney; an ad-hoc tribunal was formed beside Insein Prison to try people like me.

Other student and political movements occurred soon after the YIT student protests in 1998. Different movements and underground activities supported the formation of the Committee Representing Pyithu Parliament, aimed at implementing the results of the 1990 General Elections. However, the military regime arbitrarily arrested hundreds of students, members of political parties and politicians, and activists; and imposed long prison sentences. These responses seemed aimed to cut the roots of and eradicate anti-military organizations and individuals.

**Becoming an Inmate in Insein**

When I was arrested, I knew I was innocent, so I did not resist and followed the security forces with a brave face. When I arrived at the police station near Hledan junction, I gave my name and some background information; then had my head blindfolded by a sack, being told “we’re only doing our duty”. The police then put me in a vehicle and took me somewhere. It was difficult to know where I was being taken with the blindfold on.

Eventually, I had to leave the car and walk for a while. I was asked to keep my head down at several points. Then they asked me to sit on a chair, head still covered. It seemed that I was in a house of some sort. The legs of the chair I was sitting on were imbalanced; I had to be very careful since it often tilted as I moved. Soon, a man appeared and asked me several questions, including about my biography and how and why I participated in the student protests. His voice was tranquil and placid, as if
he was questioning someone he knew or of his acquaintance. Then things went silent. It seemed that he had gone away. And then someone else came in: the one who would call my name, followed by cursing and beating.

“So you’re Shan Gyi, huh?” the person shouted at my covered face. Bam! Bang! Pow! He rained his fists down upon me before I could even say anything. He repeated this basic questioning and physical torture at his own discretion. No matter whether I responded or stayed silent, he would instantly beat me. He would then leave me and the calm investigator would appear again, asking questions, only for the violent aggressor to return once more. I cannot remember how many times this taking turns repeated. I also cannot remember how many times I answered the same questions over and over again. There were also numerous other torture techniques.

The headcover was removed only when having my meals. I could finally look about while eating and left alone. I saw I was inside the room of a ground-level bungalow. (Later, I found out that it was a building attached to Insein central prison for special prisoners.) After three days of this brutal treatment, I was moved again. I was full of worry: would I be taken somewhere even worse?

The security forces put me in a room and removed my headcover. A wooden bedstead, aluminum bowl, and a pot of water near an iron-barred door came into my vision. I lay down on the bedstead. There was no one there to interrogate me. I removed one of my shoes and put it under my head for a pillow. I had not slept for three days and was exhausted. I blanked out my mind, temporarily forgot all my current sufferings and slept very well.

The next day, I heard noises from the neighboring cell: people were introducing one another. My life as a person without freedom had begun. I became acquainted with other detained students from the YIT and made new friends with students from Insein GTI. A week later, student detainees were separated into two groups. Five YIT students, including me, and eight Insein GTI students had to remain, and the rest of the students were sent back home. Since our cells were side-by-side, I remember
they were constantly pounding on the walls to signal that they wanted to leave the prison and return home. The day after that batch was released, we remaining detainees from YIT and GTI were sent to the Insein central prison. We were transported with our head covers on as usual. We entered the central prison, and as we approached Building No. 2 (known as *yin kwel tike* in the prison), I heard someone calling and greeting “Shan Gyi, Shan Gyi”. (I found out later that it was an old friend, who seemed encouraged to have seen me. This was indeed a strange feeling.)

On 15 January 1999, we 13 YTI and GTI students were sentenced to seven years imprisonment under Section 5-J of the Emergency Provisions Act. Our trial proceeded inside the prison, not at the outer court. An ad-hoc tribunal was formed near the prison, and we were imprisoned without the right to a defense or power of attorney. Surprisingly, none of the students were interested in their prison sentences. Instead, they talked to each other, not even listening to the judge.

After six months of staying inside Insein Prison, we students and some other political prisoners were transferred and sent to prisons located in other townships. We were first taken to the military halls and had our legs chained, then we were sent to Yangon Central Railway Station. We were transported in a special compartment on a train leaving for Mandalay. The day was 6 April 1999.

A Shan Man in Mandalay (Obo Prison)

We arrived at Obo (Mandalay Central) Prison in Mandalay on 7 April 1999. Although Obo prison turned out to be the final destination for some in the group, including me, others were sent on again to other prisons. There were a lot of political prisoners from different organizations in Obo prison. Freedom inside the prison was somewhat restricted at the beginning. However, after a visit from the International Committee of the Red Cross, and some in-prison resistance, a few freedoms were secured to a certain extent. We prisoners could play games of cane ball (*chinlone*), move and communicate between buildings, and
access cultural and religious literature. Prisoners inside Obo prison ranged from members of student unions, members of the All Burma Students Democratic Front North army (they experienced the Pajaung Massacre, when 39 people were killed during a purge in Waingmaw Township), members of the National League for Democracy, who won the 1990 General Elections but were prevented from forming government, and even members of the Burma Communist Party.

Inside the prison, prisoners spent their days participating in music groups, Chinese and English language learning groups, etc. Some learned political lessons and concepts from seniors who had political experience. There were also a lot of protests inside the prisons. Prisoners protested against in-prison oppression so that they could read books, receive education, enjoy freedom of movement, and access to sports. As such, our prison experience was almost as if the political activists were enrolled in a postgraduate degree in politics. Discussing politics outside the prison posed a risk of imprisonment—but inside the prison, it was standard conversation.

Requests and demands from the political prisoners in Obo prison only increased in scale, resulting in prison authorities and special intelligence trying to end it on 30 May 2000. They scrutinized some of my sculptures and suppressed, beat and punished the political leaders who led and participated in inmate protests. These leaders were then sent to other respective state prisons. Fifteen minutes after beating inmates with rubber-covered batons, they allowed official doctors to provide medical attention, like putting ice on the wounds, to avoid bruises being left. It was obvious that their torture was premeditated and well prepared. Ten prisoners were transferred due to this incident.

Paying Daily Homage to Kyaikthalan of Yarmanda Land (or) Meeting with Mon Ethnic Leaders

On 31 May 2000, Ko Wanna Maung (Thakin Bathaung’s grandson), Ko Htein Lin, Maung Tin Thit (Ko Yee Mon), and I were sent
to Mandalay airport. We were taken to Yangon from Mandalay by air. As we arrived at Yangon airport, two military vehicles awaited us. Ko Htein Lin and Maung Tin Thit were asked to get into a second car where they would be taken to Myaungmya prison. Ko Wanna Maung and I were transported to Mawlamyine prison. On a side note, this was my first time getting a free ride from the government.

My body ached from the beating at Obo prison for two months after I arrived at Mawlamyine. In the beginning I was kept separate from other political prisoners. I was put in a compound with inmates who were being punished for their activities while in prison, along with those on death row. The compound was notorious for being haunted. Even the prison officers dared not patrol around at night alone. There were many inmate protests during our stay there; participants were being taken to our compound and tortured. There was one death. The sounds of all the screams and beatings traumatized me and I was petrified the officers would come for me one day. I survived in that compound for four months, unable to talk to anyone. Not even the prisoners who helped deliver meals to other inmates or prison staff spoke to us. They were warned that anyone seen talking to us would be punished. From this experience, I learned that forbidding someone from being talked to is cruel. It is a form of hell. I had to cope entirely independently and learn how to spend each passing day. I was starting to comprehend why the political prisoners from the colonial era descended into insanity, a period where they would be threatened with the saying, “six months prison term for every young activist”.

After four months in this compound, I was put in the section where other political prisoners were kept. Strangely, the Kyaikthalan pagoda, high on top of a mountain, could be seen from this compound. Perhaps the most invaluable experience for me during my stay in that prison was meeting and getting to know Mon ethnic leaders. They patiently and enthusiastically explained ‘ethnic politics’ to me, a person of Shan ethnicity. They talked about the history of ethnic politics, discussed the root
causes of the struggles for federalism, and explained why the civil war was happening.

Apart from Mon ethnic leaders, there was quite a diverse group in Mawlamyine prison, including members of democratic forces, senior politicians and political leaders, students, and youth activists. Little did I know that my experience in Mawlamyine prison would become a good foundation and stepping-stone for my future life as a politician. I did not think it would become such a driving force for me to get involved in ethnic politics.

Finally, after two years of internment and valuable life lessons in Mawlamyine prison, political prisoners were given pardons to ease the tense political situation on the outside. Students from YIT and GTI, who were imprisoned explicitly for their affiliation with student politics, were taken from their respective prisons on 27 July 2002. We were assembled at the special intelligence department at nine-and-a-half-mile in Yangon before being handed back to our parents on 28 July. Since my hometown was Lashio, military intelligence connected with the corresponding branches from Shan State and sent me there.

Myanmar Institute for Democracy: Rendezvous for the 1996-1998 Student Generations

When I reached the outside world, there was not much opportunity for me to dive into politics immediately. Not only was my social circle not wide enough, but my experiences in politics were relatively few. Therefore, I prioritized generating income through a business career. The job hunt is challenging for ex-political prisoners. Nevertheless, I secured some work I was interested in.

I was employed first as a ‘work check’ at a construction site; then a site manager; detail designer; project manager; project director; chief operating officer; and construction consultant. My career extended to small and medium-sized enterprises, including gem extraction and trading businesses. Like a beating drum rhythm that undeniably lured a theatric performer to
dance, what dragged me back into the world of politics was the news that an organization would be founded with the ex-prisoners and students of the 1996-1998 movement.

From January 5-6 2013, the students of the 1996-1998 movement held a congress. At the congress, the Myanmar Institute for Democracy (MID) was founded by the unanimous vote of all attendees. Future plans were discussed. The constitutional charter of the MID was validated and 11 directors, including me, were elected by majority to lead the organization under a democratic system. I was able to reintegrate into and be part of Myanmar politics by acting as a director of MID, which did its best to contribute to Myanmar politics. Although MID did not reach its aims, it achieved recognition to certain extent. The MID still firmly stands as a sanctuary, a rendezvous, and a place of union for the 1996-1998 student generations.

**Shan Nationalities League for Democracy: Building a Federal Union**

I had heard about the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) or as people call it, the “Tiger Head Party”—its strong policies, affirmative beliefs, and standpoint on building a federal union, and that the party leaders actively participated in ethnic affairs. But I never thought I would become one of its members, nor one of its leaders. Life is sometimes mysterious—is it a coincidence or a deliberate creation of a higher force?

During my term as a director of MID, I organized a meeting in Yangon with Dr. Min Soe Lin, general secretary of the Mon Party, whom I met in Mawlamyine prison; and with Sai Nyunt Lwin, general secretary of the SNLD, and Sai Laik (or) Sai La, co-general secretary of the SNLD. We met at the Million Coin restaurant, near the entrance road to Yangon airport. The leaders persuaded me to get involved in ethnic politics. However, according to the MID charter, MID directors cannot be members of a political party. I made a decision to actively participate in ethnic politics, officially resigned from the MID director position, and joined the SNLD.
I engaged in dialogue during two conferences led by the SNLD, attended by the United Nationalities Alliance (UNA) and partners; and other meetings between the UNA and the United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC). As political dialogues bloomed and I was aware of the importance of a framework for such dialogue, I led the drafting of a political dialogue framework for the SNLD. Afterwards, I also led the drafting of the political dialogue framework of the UNA. I also represented the SNLD countless times at meetings and dialogues between the UNA and its alliance, the UNFC.

On 15 October 2015, the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) was signed between eight ethnic armed organizations and the ruling government. According to the NCA, the Joint Implementation Coordination Meeting was responsible for forming a Joint Monitoring Committee and the UPDJC. At the second UPDJC meeting held on 24 November 2015, I represented the SNLD and was elected as a secretary of the UPDJC. As such, my duties and responsibilities involved performing the role of secretary of UPDJC, a key driving force in striving for national peace.

I was then elected as co-general secretary two of the SNLD during the multi-township conference of the party. The party’s empowerment of and trust in young people was incredibly encouraging. Serving as co-secretary of the party for a few years enlightened me on the party’s commitment, its democracy literacy, and the trust it has vested in youths. Right now in 2016, I am serving as a co-general secretary of the party, a technical assistance member of the UNA, a secretary of the UPDJC, and a secretary member of the UPDJC’s working committee.

This short article is an attempt to document and portray my life as a student activist, the ups and downs, the trials and tribulations of life, my experiences of imprisonment, my affiliation with a political party, and my works to advance the union peace process on behalf of the SNLD. I sincerely hope this article will help sow a seed that contributes to building a democratic union.
ဗားညွှန်းထားသောအဖက်များအတွက်ကမ်ပင်ကြည့်စေပါသည်။ အဖက်များအတွက်မှာကမ်းစွာစီးပွားခြင်းသည် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံအတွက်တိုက်ခိုက်သောအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို ဖြစ်ရိုက်စေနိုင်သည်။

ရှေးဟောင်းသောအဖက်များအတွက် ကမ်းစွာစီးပွားခြင်းကို ဖြစ်ရိုက်စေနိုင်သည်။

မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ ဒီမိုကရိတ်စုံကြီးအဖွဲ့

"ဗားညွှန်းထားသောအဖက်များအတွက်မှာကမ်းစွာစီးပွားခြင်းသည် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံအတွက်တိုက်ခိုက်သောအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကိုဖြစ်ရိုက်စေနိုင်သည်။"

"ကမ်းစွာစီးပွားခြင်းကို ဖြစ်ရိုက်စေနိုင်သည်။"
“မိမိတို့အတွက် ရွေးချယ်ရန် ဖြစ်ရမည်”

“စိုက်ရှင်စံသေချာဖြစ်သည်”

“မိမိတို့အတွက် ပြောတွေ့ရန်ဖြစ်ရမည်”

“မိမိတို့အတွက် ပြောတွေ့ရန်ဖြစ်ရမည်”

“မိမိတို့အတွက် ပြောတွေ့ရန်ဖြစ်ရမည်”

“မိမိတို့အတွက် ပြောတွေ့ရန်ဖြစ်ရမည်”

“မိမိတို့အတွက် ပြောတွေ့ရန်ဖြစ်ရမည်”

“မိမိတို့အတွက် ပြောတွေ့ရန်ဖြစ်ရမည်”

“မိမိတို့အတွက် ပြောတွေ့ရန်ဖြစ်ရမည်”

“မိမိတို့အတွက် ပြောတွေ့ရန်ဖြစ်ရမည်”

“မိမိတို့အတွက် ပြောတွေ့ရန်ဖြစ်ရမည်”
ဆိုက်ရာမှာ သင်မျက်နှာဖော်ပြထားသော အောက်ပါ အချက်များအတွက် အောင်မြောက် အောက်ပါ ဝေါဟာရကို ရေးပေးပါသည်။

"စိုက်ရာမှာ သင်မျက်နှာဖော်ပြထားသော အောက်ပါ အောက်ပါ ဝေါဟာရကို ရေးပေးပါသည်။

"စိုက်ရာမှာ သင်မျက်နှာဖော်ပြထားသော အောက်ပါ အောက်ပါ ဝေါဟာရကို ရေးပေးပါသည်။

"စိုက်ရာမှာ သင်မျက်နှာဖော်ပြထားသော အောက်ပါ အောက်ပါ ဝေါဟာရကို ရေးပေးပါသည်။

"စိုက်ရာမှာ သင်မျက်နှာဖော်ပြထားသော အောက်ပါ အောက်ပါ ဝေါဟာရကို ရေးပေးပါသည်။
“ဗိုလ်ချင်းအသေးစိတ်များ နေထိုင်ချက်အပေါ် အသိပေးလျှင် ထိုမှားသည်။ အသက်ဆိုင်ရာ အမွေအနှစ်များ အသိပေးပေးပါ။ အသက်ဆိုင်ရာ ဗိုလ်ချင်းအသေးစိတ်များ နေထိုင်ချက်အပေါ် အသိပေးလျှင် ထိုမှားသည်။

~

အချို့ ဒေသအခြေခံ အသေးစိုက်မှုများ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အတွက် အသိပေးပေးပါ။ အသက်ဆိုင်ရာ အမွေအနှစ်များ အသိပေးပေးပါ။ အသက်ဆိုင်ရာ ဗိုလ်ချင်းအသေးစိတ်များ နေထိုင်ချက်အပေါ် အသိပေးလျှင် ထိုမှားသည်။

နေထိုင်ချက်တစ်ခု အသိပေးခြင်း နေထိုင်ချက်အပေါ် အသိပေးပေးပါ။ အသက်ဆိုင်ရာ ဗိုလ်ချင်းအသေးစိတ်များ နေထိုင်ချက်အပေါ် အသိပေးလျှင် ထိုမှားသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချင်းအသေးစိတ်များ (၁) ဗိုလ်ချင်း ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အတွက်ကြည့်ရှုသပ်မှုစနစ် (UPDJC) လုံးချင်းအားဖြင့် အသိပေးပေးပါ။ အသက်ဆိုင်ရာ ဗိုလ်ချင်းအသေးစိတ်များ နေထိုင်ချက်အပေါ် အသိပေးလျှင် ထိုမှားသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချင်းအသေးစိတ်များ (၁) ဗိုလ်ချင်း ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အတွက်ကြည့်ရှုသပ်မှုစနစ် (UPDJC) လုံးချင်းအားဖြင့် အသိပေးပေးပါ။ အသက်ဆိုင်ရာ ဗိုလ်ချင်းအသေးစိတ်များ နေထိုင်ချက်အပေါ် အသိပေးလျှင် ထိုမှားသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချင်းအသေးစိတ်များ (၁) ဗိုလ်ချင်း ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အတွက်ကြည့်ရှုသပ်မှုစနစ် (UPDJC) လုံးချင်းအားဖြင့် အသိပေးပေးပါ။ အသက်ဆိုင်ရာ ဗိုလ်ချင်းအသေးစိတ်များ နေထိုင်ချက်အပေါ် အသိပေးလျှင် ထိုမှားသည်။
စာလိုက်တစ်ချက် မြင်ကွင်းနှင့် အရေးအကြီးများကို BPI မှာ ဆောင်ရွက်ရန် အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ပြည့်နှစ်သက်ရှိပါသည်။ ပြည့်နှစ်သက်ရှိပါသည် (၃) စာလိုက်တစ်ချက် မြင်ကွင်း အရေးအကြီးများကို ဖျင်ပွားစွာ ပြည့်နှစ်သက်ရှိပါသည်။ ကျွန်တော်တို့ သက်ရှိစွာ ပြည့်နှစ်သက်ရှိပါသည် အရေးအကြီးများကို “ကျွန်တော်တို့ မြင်ကွင်းမှာ စီရင်ခဲ့ပါသည်” ဟူ ပြပါသည်။

စာလိုက်တစ်ချက် မြင်ကွင်းနှင့် အရေးအကြီးများကို BPI မှာ ဆောင်ရွက်ရန် အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ပြည့်နှစ်သက်ရှိပါသည်။
(o) ယောက်ားအပတ်စီမံကို ဗျူဟာနှင့်အတူတူ ကျင်းပစ္စုများ

(嘧) ကျောင်းရွာသို့ပြောင်းလဲမှုများ ဗျူဟာအခြေခံအစီအစဉ် အထိမ်းအား

(፹) ကျောင်းစီးရန်သို့ပြောင်းလဲမှုများ ဗျူဟာအတွက်အစီအစဉ်

(ڤ) ကျောင်းစီးရန်သို့ပြောင်းလဲမှုများ ဗျူဟာအတွက်အစီအစဉ် အထိမ်းအား

ဤစီပွဲပေါင်းစည်းသုံးရာ ဗျူဟာအပြောသည် အပြောသော အခြေခံသို့ လာထွင်သည်

ယောက်ားအပတ်စီမံကို ဗျူဟာနှင့်အတူတူ ကျင်းပစ္စုများ

(-described in Burmese script)
ဗားစိုး ကား၊ စိန်နှစ်ဆုံးရုပ်ရှင်ကျပ်တို့ဖြစ်ပြီး ကြည့်ရှန်းသော စိန်နှစ်ဆုံးရုပ်ရှင်ကျပ်တို့ကို ကြည့်ရှုခြင်း နေထိုင်ပါသည်။ အပ်တစ်ခါ နိုင်ငံတကာလူငယ်များ၏မိုးမိုးတိုက်တွေကို အသည်တွေ့ရှိရန် အားလုံးရှိပါသည်။ နိုင်ငံတကာလူငယ်များ၏မိုးမိုးတိုက်တွေကို မဟုတ်သည်သော အသည်တွေ့ရှိရန် အားလုံးရှိပါသည်။ နိုင်ငံတကာလူငယ်များတို့၏ မိုးမိုးတိုက်တွေကို မဟုတ်သည်သော အသည်တွေ့ရှိရန် အားလုံးရှိပါသည်။ နိုင်ငံတကာလူငယ်များတို့၏ မိုးမိုးတိုက်တွေကို မဟုတ်သည်သော အသည်တွေ့ရှိရန် အားလုံးရှိပါသည်။ နိုင်ငံတကာလူငယ်များတို့၏ မိုးမိုးတိုက်တွေကို မဟုတ်သည်သော အသည်တွေ့ရှိရန် အားလုံးရှိပါသည်။Сai Kyaw Nyunt | 167
Regional College-2 (RC2) က စိန်တွင် စိတ်ကူးခြင်းနှင့် စိတ်ကူးသိရိယာအား ကျင်းပပြီး အခြေချိ အကူအညီပေးသည်ကို အချက်အလက်များ အဖွဲ့အစည်းအဖွဲ့အစည်း အပြုလုပ်ခြင်း များ စစ်ဆေးတာ နည်းပါဝင်သည်။

ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အစဉ်အလာဆိုရင် ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးအား ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ စတင်အမြင့်ဆုံး ရည်ရွယ်ချက်များ အစိတ်အပိုင်းများ ယူဆပါလိမ့်မည်။

၁၆၈ | Sai Kyaw Nyunt
လူဦးရေကျရားပါသည် မောင်ကီးရှားပါဝင်သည် ပြဲမှာ စိုးမိုးပြီး အိမ်ထောင်မှာ ထိရောက်သည် လက်ရှိသော ကာလတွင် အားလုံးတစ်ခုချင်းစွာ အခြေခံသည်။ လူဦးရေကျရားရွေးချယ်သော အချက်အလက်များအား အဆင့်များပြန်လည် မောင်ကီးရှားဗျူဟာအဖွဲ့၏ ပြည်သူ့ဝန်ကြီးများမှ ဗျူဟာဆောင်ရွက်မှု တစ်ခုချင်းစွာ လူဦးရေကျရားရွေးချယ်သည်။ လူဦးရေကျရားမှ လူဦးရေအပျက်သည် လူဦးရေကျရားရွေးချယ်သော ကာလတွင် အားလုံးတစ်ခုချင်းစွာ အခြေခံသည်။

ဗျူဟာဆောင်ရွက်မှုများ လူဦးရေကျရားမှ လူဦးရေအပျက်သည် လူဦးရေကျရားရွေးချယ်သော ကာလတွင် အားလုံးတစ်ခုချင်းစွာ အခြေခံသည်။

ဗျူဟာဆောင်ရွက်မှုများ လူဦးရေကျရားမှ လူဦးရေအပျက်သည် လူဦးရေကျရားရွေးချယ်သော ကာလတွင် အားလုံးတစ်ခုချင်းစွာ အခြေခံသည်။
ဤစီးအုပ်အကြောင်းများကို အားလုံးဖော်ပြပါလိမ့်မည်။ အစီစဉ်အနေဖြင့် ဦးစီးမှု ဖြင့်စီးရင်းသားရေးဝေါဟာရ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများမှ ဗဟုသုတ်ချက်တွင် အမှန်သော အခြေခံဘာသာစကားကို အနေဖြင့် ဖော်ပြသည်။

ဂျစ်စာသားအင်အားဖြင့် ကူညီပေးသူ (၄၆) ခုကို ပြောင်းလဲရေးသားတွေနဲ့ ရှေးဆုံးပြောင်းလဲတွေကို အသုံးပြု၍ GTI ကူညီပေးသူများကို ပိုက်ဆံပြောင်းလဲပါက်စားတန်း ပြုလုပ်သည်။ သို့သော် ကူညီပေးသူအဖြစ် အားလုံးရှိသော အခွင့်အရေးများကို ထိုသို့နှင့် လက်ရှိတွင်းပေးချက်များသား လုပ်ဆောင်သည်။

ဤအကြောင်းအရာကို စီးရစ်ရေးအဖြစ် (၂) ခုထဲမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကူညီပေးသူများသည် ပြောင်းလဲသော လုပ်ဆောင်မှုများကို ထိန်းသိမ်းနေသည်။ ပြီးလျှင် အမှန်များကို လုပ်ဆောင်ပေးသည်။

ဗဟုသုတ် ရေးသားအားလုံး စီးရစ်ရေးအဖြစ် အားလုံးသော ကူညီပေးသူများကို စီးရစ်ရေးအဖြစ် ဦးစီးမှုတွင် ပြောင်းလဲသော လုပ်ဆောင်မှုများကို ဗဟုသုတ်ချက်တွင် အားလုံးသော ကူညီပေးသူများကို ပြောင်းလဲသော လုပ်ဆောင်မှုများကို ထိုသို့နှင့် လက်ရှိတွင်းပေးချက်များသား လုပ်ဆောင်သည်။
ပုစ္စမိုက်ကို မြန်မာပြည်တွင် ပြုလုပ်ထားသော အောင်မြင်ညီညွှန်းချက်အသစ်ကို ဖော်ပြရမည်။ စိတ်ဝင်စားသူများ၏ မြန်မာလက်ရာတွင် ပြုလုပ်ရမည်။ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း အရေးခိုက်မှုများကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်မည်။ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း အရေးခိုက်မှုများကို ရှာဖွေနိုင်မည်။
ယုံကြည်ရာအလင်းနောက်စဉ် ကြားနေပေးသည် လို့ပြောင်းလဲသင့်ပါတယ်။ ရှိနေသော ကြက်စာမျက်နှာပေးမှုများအားလုံးကို ဖြစ်သော စာသီးသီးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရန် အမှန်အနည်းငယ်အားဖြင့် ချပ်ထားသည်။ အမျိုးသားများ ကြက်စာမျက်နှာပေးမှုများမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖြစ်သော စာသီးသီးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရန် အမှန်အနည်းငယ်အားဖြင့် ချပ်ထားသည်။ အမျိုးသားများ ကြက်စာမျက်နှာပေးမှုများမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖြစ်သော စာသီးသီးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရန် အမှန်အနည်းငယ်အားဖြင့် ချပ်ထားသည်။ အမျိုးသားများ ကြက်စာမျက်နှာပေးမှုများမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖြစ်သော စာသီးသီးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရန် အမှန်အနည်းငယ်အားဖြင့် ချပ်ထားသည်။ အမျိုးသားများ ကြက်စာမျက်နှာပေးမှုများမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖြစ်သော စာသီးသီးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရန် အမှန်အနည်းငယ်အားဖြင့် ချပ်ထားသည်။ အမျိုးသားများ ကြက်စာမျက်နှာပေးမှုများမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖြစ်သော စာသီးသီးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရန် အမှန်အနည်းငယ်အားဖြင့် ချပ်ထားသည်။ အမျိုးသားများ ကြက်စာမျက်နှာပေးမှုများမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖြစ်သော စာသီးသီးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရန် အမှန်အနည်းငယ်အားဖြင့် ချပ်ထားသည်။ အမျိုးသားများ ကြက်စာမျက်နှာပေးမှုများမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖြစ်သော စာသီးသီးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရန် အမှန်အနည်းငယ်အားဖြင့် ချပ်ထားသည်။ အမျိုးသားများ ကြက်စာမျက်နှာပေးမှုများမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖြစ်သော စာသီးသီးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရန် အမှန်အနည်းငယ်အားဖြင့် ချပ်ထားသည်။ အမျိုးသားများ ကြက်စာမျက်နှာပေးမှုများမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖြစ်သော စာသီးသီးများကို ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ရန် အမှန်အနည်းငယ်အားဖြင့် ချပ်ထားသည်။
အလိုအပေါ်ကြောင်းသော အချက်များကို ပြောပြပါပြီး YIT နှင့် GTI ကုန်ကျစရိတ် (၁၂) ပိုဒ် အခြေခံနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ရှေးပြောပြပါမည်။

ပြည်ထောင်စုမှာ ဖြစ်ပါက စာပေမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖော်ပြချက်များကို ပြောပြပါသည်။ GTI ကုန်ကျစရိတ် (၁၂) ပိုဒ် အခြေခံနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ရှေးပြောပြပါမည်။

ယူးယာမှ ဖြစ်ပါက စာပေမှာ အားလုံးကို ဖော်ပြချက်များကို ပြောပြပါသည်။ YIT နှင့် GTI ကုန်ကျစရိတ် (၁၂) ပိုဒ် အခြေခံနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ရှေးပြောပြပါမည်။

ထိုကြောင်းကြောင်း မိမိကို ပြောပြပါသည်။ GTI ကုန်ကျစရိတ် (၁၂) ပိုဒ် အခြေခံနိုင်သည်။ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ရှေးပြောပြပါမည်။
အိမ်သစ်အပေါ်ရှိ လမ်းပေါ်တွင် ချိုးအောက်ရှိ ရှိသော သစ်ပေါ်တစ်သစ်တွင်လိုက်ရမည်။

ကွန်ပြူတာအမှတ်အခြေအနေတွင် လူ့အခွင့်အရေးကို ရှာဖွေလိုက်ရမည်။

နောက်ဆုံးပိုင်းတစ်ချက်တွင်လည်း ချိုးအောက်ရှိ ရှိသော သစ်ပေါ်တစ်သစ်တွင်လိုက်ရမည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ် ကိုးကွယ်ရေးပြုလုပ်နေရာ (ဗိ) MID
မြန်မာစိုက်ပျိုးရေးဦးစီးချုပ်အဖွဲ့ (Myanmar Institute for Democracy-MID) နှင့် ခရစ်ယာန်ဒီယိုပိုလောဂ်အဖွဲ့ (Shan Nationalities League for Democracy-SNLD) ကို ပြုလုပ်ခဲ့သည့် “ဒုတ်ကြွေးခြင်း” ရှိ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ အတွက် ယူနိုင်သော လွေ့ခြားအခြေခံအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ တရားမဝင် သေချာချိန်တွင် သတိပေးချက်များကို ပါဝင်သည်။ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ သဘာဝပေးချက်များကို ပြတ်သားစေရန် မြန်မာ ဒီယိုပိုလောဂ်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အဖွဲ့အစည်းအဖွဲ့အစည်းအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ ကျွန်တော်တို့၏ အဖွဲ့အစည်းအတွက် လွေ့ခြား ခြင်း သက်ရှိခြင်း လေ့လာခြင်း ငှားချက်များကို ပါဝင်သည်။
MID ပြောင်းလဲခြင်းမှ တစ်ရာရှိစေရာတွေလျှပ်စစ်မှုတွင်ရှိသည်။ သူတို့ အနေဖြင့် အသုံးပြုသူအတွက် အသုံးပြုချက်များဖော်ပေးသည့်အချက်များကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

MID ပြောင်းလဲခြင်းမှ တစ်ရာရှိစေရာတွေလျှပ်စစ်မှုတွင်ရှိသည်။ သူတို့ အနေဖြင့် အသုံးပြုသူအတွက် အသုံးပြုချက်များဖော်ပေးသည့်အချက်များကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

MID ပြောင်းလဲခြင်းမှ တစ်ရာရှိစေရာတွေလျှပ်စစ်မှုတွင်ရှိသည်။ သူတို့ အနေဖြင့် အသုံးပြုသူအတွက် အသုံးပြုချက်များဖော်ပေးသည့်အချက်များကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

MID ပြောင်းလဲခြင်းမှ တစ်ရာရှိစေရာတွေလျှပ်စစ်မှုတွင်ရှိသည်။ သူတို့ အနေဖြင့် အသုံးပြုသူအတွက် အသုံးပြုချက်များဖော်ပေးသည့်အချက်များကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

MID ပြောင်းလဲခြင်းမှ တစ်ရာရှိစေရာတွေလျှပ်စစ်မှုတွင်ရှိသည်။ သူတို့ အနေဖြင့် အသုံးပြုသူအတွက် အသုံးပြုချက်များဖော်ပေးသည့်အချက်များကို အသုံးပြုပါ။
ယော်ဳမီးများါးရွေးချင်သော (၇၃) ကြိယာကြယ္ော့ရွေးချင်းနှုတ်ပြီး ဗိပျားသော NCA ကို ပြန်လည်ရွေးချင်းလို့ NCA ပြန်လည်ရွေးချင်းေရး (Joint Monitoring Committee - JMC) ရုပ်ရှင်ဦးလက်ရာ (Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee – UPDJC) မှာ ဗိပျားရွေးချင်းလို့ ပြန်လည်ရွေးချင်းေရး NCA ဗိပျား (Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement – NCA) ရုပ်ရှင်ဦးလက်ရာ (Joint Implementation Coordination Meeting - JICM) မှ ဗိပျားေရး အိမ်းပြောသည်။

ယော်ဳမီးများါးရွေးချင်း (၇၂) ကြိယာကြယ္ော့ရွေးချင်းနှုတ်ပြီး ဗိပျားသော UPDJC ကို ပြန်လည်ရွေးချင်းေရး (Joint Implementation Coordination Meeting - JICM) ရုပ်ရှင်ဦးလက်ရာ (Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee – UPDJC) မှာ ဗိပျားရွေးချင်းလို့ ပြန်လည်ရွေးချင်းေရး NCA ပြန်လည်ရွေးချင်းေရး (Joint Monitoring Committee - JMC) မှာ ဗိပျားေရး အိမ်းပြောသည်။

ယော်ဳမီးများါးရွေးချင်း (၇၁) ကြိယာကြယ္ော့ရွေးချင်းနှုတ်ပြီး ဗိပျားသော UNA ကို ပြန်လည်ရွေးချင်းေရး (Joint Implementation Coordination Meeting - JICM) မှာ ဗိပျားရွေးချင်း ပြန်လည်ရွေးချင်းေရး (Joint Monitoring Committee - JMC) မှာ ဗိပျားေရး အိမ်းပြောသည်။
သူတို့အနေဖြင့် သီးခြားသောဖျင်သည်ကိုရိုက်နှိုင်းယူ ပြုလုပ်သည်ကို အမှန်တကယ် အကူအညီထောင်သော ပြောပြချက်များဖြင့် ပြသချဲ အကူအညီ အပြင်အဆင် အားလုံး ရွေးချယ်ပြီး သူတို့အား ပိုမို အကူအညီ ဆောင်ရွက်သော ပြုလုပ်မှုများဖြင့် ပြသချက်များနှင့် ပတ်သက်သော အကူအညီ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အကူအညီသည် ပြိုင်ပွဲများတွင် ရှိသော အကူအညီကို ထောက်ခံချက် ပြသချက်များဖြင့် ပြသချက်များ။ အကူအညီသည် ပြုလုပ်မှုများ ထိန်းသိမ်းရန် အကူအညီကို ထောက်ခံချက် ပြသချက်များဖြင့် ပြသချက်များ။
The Call of the Peacock: The Objectives of Student Movements in the 1970s

Tin Aye Kyu

Abstract

In Burma, ever since there were schools and universities, there have been student movements. Students have protested because of the poor education system, social and political conditions, and because of the laws, acts, orders and rules and regulations that suppressed students. Students must be involved in politics and require student unions—necessary characteristics of democracy—in order to organize. Students have been and continue to be vital to the progress of the country and are inseparable from the public, who have long supported them.

I

Progress is carried on by the few people who are passionate about it.

- Dagon Taryar

What is progress? Progress is a move from nothing to something, from being dependent to being independent, and from being a colony to a self-governed polity. If we look back at the history of Myanmar (Burma), gaining independence from British colonial rule was one instance of progress. Being victorious in the fight against fascism with the spirit of the people’s freedom was also progress.

Transitions from dark to light, from a one-party dictatorship to a multiparty political system, from no democracy to democracy, from lack of human rights to enjoying them, from civil war to national peace, from a nation divided to a nation unified; these are all examples of progress. During Myanmar’s struggle against colonial rule and fascism, through its attempts to gain
freedom for the whole nation, with all the efforts made to gain independence, the people most passionate about progress led the revolutionary movements and organizations.

Throughout history, who are the few that passionately carry progress forward through investing their sweat and blood? The answer is “students”. Students can be defined as those who are actively studying at educational institutions and therefore moving societal progress forward. In this way, the history of the progress of Myanmar (Burma) is intertwined with the history of student movements.

Thanks to the coordination of the Rangoon College Buddhist Association, which was organized by students, the Young Men’s Buddhist Association was founded in 1906. Those students, who also organized and led the Burma Youth Association, founded the Dobama Asiayone (We Burman Association), the central group in the independence movement.

Once the British invaded Myanmar and ended the Konbaung dynasty after the third Anglo-Burmese war, our country lost its royal army. When the Dobama Asiayone was founded, the Dobama Ye Tat (police force), an unarmed force, was organized. The All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU) also organized the Thamani Force (Steel Force). These were the core forces that made up the new Myanmar armies. From them, the Burma Right Hand Army, Burmese Defense Army, Burmese Patriotic Army, Bama Army, and People’s Army were formed. Therefore, we can say that students were the origin of these new armies.

The students in unions were selfless, did not earn any money from their activities, and sacrificed themselves for the good of others. They founded the Nagani Book Club with the aim of spreading progressive ideologies. The most united organization in Myanmar history, the Hpa Hsa Pa La, the Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL), was also organized by students. Members of the union were grouped into the Thirty Comrades, as well as the Parachute Force who bravely sacrificed their lives to gain independence.

The people of Myanmar value the ABFSU, with its storied history, and love students. If there are students, there must be a
union, and a building for that union. But why should anyone organize a student union? A student union is essential in a democratic country. It is necessary to have unions for workers in every sector. Such civilian organizations provide checks and balances to hold the government to account in a democratic system. In one record by the famous Myanmar author, Theik Pan Maung Wa, he explains how students were trained to become good leaders by the Oxford University Student Union.¹

“We have organized the All Burma Students’ Union (ABSU) to train students to be united and to know what to do and how to do it. Joining the union is the duty of patriotic students”, said Ko Aung San, the chairman of the union. These words still live within the Myanmar people. In building a democratic nation, a student union is necessary to build unity, to know what to do and how to do it, and for leaders and the people to be able to communicate effectively.

“The student union must be free from the undue influence of political parties”, said Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at the Taunggyi National League for Democracy party office on 13 February 1989. “A student union is not a true union if it is not allowed to be involved in genuine politics”, she continued. She also said, “If youths are not to be involved in politics, democracy will never develop”. Therefore, students must be involved in politics. To be able to do so, student unions must be formed. Student unions are essential to democracy.

II

Students do not come from some special walk of life. They are the sons and daughters of people. Water cannot be divided. Similarly, students and people cannot be divided. Consider fish and water. Just as fish depend on water to survive, students depend on the support of parents. If parents are not well off and cannot support their children to study at school, then children cannot continue their studies.

¹ တီ၀တ်အိမ် တွဲခြင်း

---

1. Theik Pan Maung Wa.
When parents have hard times and are in difficult situations, they protest against the authorities and let their feelings out. At such times, students join their parents in the protest. Likewise, every student movement is supported by the people. To use a martial example, the students and the people are like the tip and the handle of a spear. In combat it is ineffective to use only one part. The sharp point must be fixed strongly to the handle so that the target is not missed.

From the first students strike in 1920, to those in 1936, 1938, 1962, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977 and then the people’s revolution in 1988, the support of the people has been amazing. For the students at the strike camps, everything they needed, such as bags of rice, cans of cooking oil, blankets, pillows, mosquito nets and mattresses were provided by the public, including people from Theingyi market in Rangoon and Zegyo market in Mandalay. In the U Thant uprising of 1974, people took off their jewelry and offered it to the strikers to show their respect to U Thant and show their love to students. Those who witnessed this event had goosebumps.

As students are supported by the people, they never hesitate to join and help the people whenever they are in trouble. The most famous relevant event in recent history is the strike of oil field workers led by student leader Ko Ba Hein. Up until the 1930s, oil field workers worked like cattle and their life was not of a human standard. They had no chance to enjoy the fruits of their labor. There was no guarantee for their social welfare. Although they reported their difficulties and problems to the officials concerned, no one helped them to solve their problems. Therefore, a group of strikers led by Thakin Po Hla Gyi marched to Rangoon to protest against the oil field authorities. Along the way common people and farmers also joined and helped the protesters.

The strike force, composed of 2,000 workers and 20,000 farmers, was suppressed by the British authorities. They imposed a curfew under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and captured the strike leaders. The strike force could not continue their journey and was stranded in Magway Division, so
the ABFSU sent two leaders, Ko Ba Swe and Ko Ba Hein, to help the strikers. The Dobama Asiayone also sent representatives to help the strike force. In this joint event of workers, farmers and students, Ko Ba Hein’s remarkable words of confrontation were recorded in history: “At one strike of the horse hoof, there will be burning fire”.

In 1962, General Ne Win began nationalizing the country’s economy—at the barrel of a gun. To make their military dictatorship official and perpetual, the ruling generals created a new constitution. Although the people were against the 1973 constitutional referendum, the military dictators still enacted the constitution with fake votes, and the 1974 Constitution was promulgated.

Following this, socialism was formally introduced by the military dictatorship, and the people of the country became very poor. As poverty-stricken workers could not stand their difficult situation, they decided to fight for their rights instead of facing starvation, and went on strike. In March 1974 a strike started at the Paleik textile factory and was joined by workers in towns down the Ayeyarwady river, before spreading across the whole country like a wildfire, sparking still further strikes.

Although the student union building was destroyed, there was union spirit in the hearts of students, and they felt that workers’ problems were their own. So they joined and helped the Paleik workers’ strikes with all their might. Students occupied the factory, closed the gate, and helped the striking factories to communicate with each other and exchange information. Students collected food, medicine, and other necessary items from the public and gave them to the strikers. Groups of guitarists, who regularly entertained female university students in the evening, also went to the camps and entertained the strikers to give moral support.

The military dictators at the time never dealt with any problems by identifying and solving the root causes; instead they accused political left- and right-wing forces of instigating the strike. The workers responded bravely and said, “Yes, but if it was instigation, it was one inspired by hunger”.

Instead of giving the rice and oil (basic foods) asked for by the workers, the dictators gave them bullets. As far as I remember, on 6 June, at Thamaing Red Square, Ko Win Aung (a law student) was shot dead on the street. Ko Soe Win (a student from the Institute of Medicine 2), Ko Win Sein (a student from the Rangoon Institute of Technology), and Ko Khin Maung Aye (a student from the Arts and Science University) were wounded and detained. Because of the brutal suppression by the military dictators, at least 46 workers, students and civilians were shot dead and 123 were wounded in the aftermath of the 1974 strike in Rangoon alone.

If there is fuel, a spark can cause a great fire. The 1974 U Thant uprising, the 1 June 1975 anniversary of the workers’ strike (also called the Shwedagon Pagoda uprising), and the 1976 centenary of the Thakin Ko Daw Hmaing uprising followed the 1974 workers’ strike.

In addition to entrenching the new 1974 Constitution, the dictator Ne Win and the military also distorted the national anthem. They deleted the initial part of the anthem which says “justice, freedom, equality” and the word “Bama” was replaced by “Myanmar”, although it does not rhyme with the words at the beginning: “kaba ma kyae”. With the problematic change of “ba” into “ma”, the authorities cunningly tried to destroy the unity shared by different ethnic groups in the country, and new unions were founded.

Inmates in all prisons had to sing the new national anthem each morning. Though the strikes in 1974, 1975 and 1976 had different aims, their main aim was to eliminate the military dictatorship and to repeal the 1974 Constitution. The heads of the students who were imprisoned during the strikes were bloody. They never kneeled. In the prison, they refused to sing the national anthem to show that they disapproved of the new constitution. They received brutal beatings and solitary confinement as punishment without complaint.

When civil war spread around the whole country soon after independence, some people celebrated the march for peace led by Thakin Ko Daw Hmaing. In line with the song of the ABSU:
“We march, holding the hand of the people, we always trust the people, we will always serve the people and the blood of the whole ABSU is always red”, the students helped the march with all their might. They welcomed and entertained the columns of people marching for peace. With the Kay Thi Pan music band, the songs of peace spread throughout the whole country and the wings of the dove fluttered.

When a destructive natural disaster, Cyclone Nargis, struck the country in 2008, it was students who buried many of the corpses upon which flies were resting. It was a sorrowful sight to see. The military government did not take any responsibility or accountability for the response. It was also students who planted the flag of the fighting peacock at Letpadaung Taung to show that people disapproved of China’s Wanbao mining project which aimed to sell off Myanmar’s public natural resources, enriching the generals at the expense of the country’s people and society.

Students offered free education to the poor. They personally went to war victims and offered food and clothing out of kindness and sympathy. They helped with the problems of workers, farmers, slum dwellers and children selling flowers at the roadside. Students perform the duties which history has put on their shoulders, actively fulfilling the needs of the people and helping the people to solve problems.

III

The British colonial rulers gave the Burmese people slave education, but the imperialists still valued education. They valued students. They valued the university and the student union. Under colonial rule, students had freedom of movement. The most serious punishment given to a student was dismissal from their educational institution. The government was rarely involved in students’ affairs.

After gaining independence, when the country finally had a government formed by its own citizens, the Rangoon University campus buckled under the noise of fire engines and water
cannons, which brutally blasted students. There were noises of tear gas and shooting. Every government that ruled the country tried to destroy student unions. The Rangoon University campus, with its rows of Ceylon ironwood trees, has seen much bloodshed since October 1953, when students asked for a month of holiday, and the Ava gate uprising took place. In 1956, the Minister of Education tried to replace the student union with a ‘Students’ Council’. They formed groups of students who were loyal to them with the aim of disintegrating student unity. After General Ne Win unlawfully took power in March 1962, the new Revolutionary Council government repealed acts two and three, the Rangoon University and Mandalay University acts. The military quickly intruded onto university campuses, shot students dead and destroyed the student union building at the University of Rangoon. Those students who did not die were captured and sent to the Coco Islands. If students evaded detention, their parents were taken as hostages. Students could not live in the cities and towns and had to seek asylum in liberated areas to continue the fight against the military government.

Similarly, students were killed, captured, and imprisoned during strikes in 1974, 1975 and 1976. The government committed an indelible offense in 1976, sentencing and executing Chin student leader Ko Tin Maung Oo, who did not commit any crime and who carried no weapon. As students could not bear the suppression, they went underground, armed themselves and participated in people’s democracy movements.

During the 8888 Uprising, the Myanmar military took the power from the people once more. They showed their capacity to rule by making blood pools on streets. Some students were killed, some were imprisoned, and some fled to liberated areas and joined ethnic armed organizations.

If the military is weak, no soldier can even afford to drive a jeep. To maintain its strength, the military keeps civil wars alive and continues to rule the country with fake peace. Seventy years after gaining independence, there is no major ethnic group in Myanmar without a corresponding armed organization.
With the longest-running civil war and military dictatorship in the world, a student-led armed force was founded, like no other country in the world. Due to the unbearable oppression of military rule, students took various means to rebel against the government, depending on the type of suppression and the political situation in each context. They went on strikes in towns and cities, carried out underground operations and armed themselves to fight against the government.

IV

Before WWII, Marxism was popular among the educated people of the world. Marxism has also long been popular among students in Burma. After getting a Bachelor of Arts degree, independence leader Ko Aung San decided not to continue his studies for a Bachelor of Laws degree and joined the Dobama Asiayone, taking the title Thakin (Master). He became actively involved in politics. When Ko Aung San and a group of students joined the Dobama Asiayone, the flag of the association was changed from a peacock with three colors to a hammer and a sickle (which represent workers and farmers respectively) with three colors.

Leftist content could be found in the magazines published by the union after 1936. After the fifth conference of the ABSU, the handwritten newspaper Ah Ye Daw Pon was published under the leadership of Ko Ba Hein, Ko Tun Shein (Bo Yan Naing) and Ko Ko. The logo of the newspaper was a hammer and a sickle. Then, in 1938, after the oil workers’ strikes (which are also known as the 1300 Uprising, named after the Buddhist era year), Ko Aung San, Ko Ba Hein and Ko Hla Pe (Bo Let Yar) founded the Communist Party of Burma, influenced by international Marxist ideology.

In the 1950s, the prospect of World War III threatened the world, with a major war in Korea and a nuclear crisis in Cuba. World-famous writers, musicians, singers, scientists and educated people founded the World Peace Congress to work toward world peace and stop nuclear weapons. For some of that time, the chairman of the World Peace Council was Ko Htay Myaing
(Dagon Taryar). Ko Soe Thein was also a member. Students of the union collected a petition for world peace and against nuclear weapons.

When war erupted in Korea in 1950, the United Nations (UN) decided that it was North Korea who had invaded South Korea. The Burmese government approved of the UN decision. The Rangoon University Student Union (RUSU) did not issue a public statement at the time, as the union was mainly composed of students who supported the government. However, union members with progressive ideas were against the UN decision.

After 1950, the ABSU became a member of the International Student Union and participated in international activities. They attended an anti-nuclear weapons conference in Hiroshima, Japan. They also attended the Peking Student Union conference in 1958 and the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the formation of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Although they could not attend conferences in Europe, they secretly asked Burmese students there to attend student union conferences when they could.

In the 1960s the United States (US) had a reputation for trying to be ‘the world police’. Not only did they colonize North America and rule the indigenous people there, but they also pretended to help certain countries in Latin America, only to interfere with these countries’ local affairs. Therefore, the ABSU had a meeting and decided to protest in front of the US Embassy.

The protests against military dictatorship in Myanmar in 1974, 1975 and 1976 coincided with protests at Seoul University in Korea and Thammasat University in Thailand. Students across Asia seemed to support and encourage each other. A strike in Czechoslovakia and the Tiananmen Square protests in the PRC also gave moral support to the 8888 Uprising in Myanmar.

Student leaders from the RUSU founded in 1930, and the ABSU founded in 1936, had ideologies consonant with their times. After the ABSU was founded, generations of student leaders practiced not only patriotism but also internationalism.
They could keep track of international affairs and were in touch with student activities in other countries.

V

In Burma, ever since there were schools and universities, there have been student movements. Students have protested because of the poor education system, and because of the laws, acts, orders and rules and regulations that suppressed students.

After the British colonists occupied Burma, they suppressed the Burmese people and crushed all rebellion. They tried to destroy the people’s nationalist and patriotic spirit. To destroy the Bagan spirit, they opened a government office in Nyaung-U Township and made Bagan a jungle. Similarly, they opened government offices in Tada-U Township in order to destroy the Innwa spirit. To degrade Rakhine pride in Mrauk-U Township, they made Sittwe Town into a city. In Bago and Sagaing townships, they planned towns in the sites of palaces and the city walls became roads and streets. In Mandalay, they turned the palace compound into an army camp and declared the area out of bounds.

The British colonists demanded the people call them “master” and the people had to use the term “payar” when replying to them (a response usually reserved for a monk or a king). They ordered that the people must pay obeisance to British teachers and education officials. This inappropriate order was successfully opposed by students in 1903, becoming the first victory of Burmese students under British rule. The British colonists tried to legislate the Rangoon University Act which was objected to by the Burmese people as it was not appropriate for their lives. However, the colonists continued their efforts, and the first students’ strike broke out.

More sparks flew from minor cases. Ko Soe Myint did not use the word “sir” in response to a roll call, and Ko Aung Myint took down a notice from a noticeboard, surmising it had expired. Because of these minor acts, these students were dismissed from Rangoon University. The editor Ko Aung San was
threatened with dismissal for editing the article, “Hell Hound at Large”, which appeared in Oway magazine. Because of the same article, the chairman of the ABSU, Ko Nu, was also dismissed. The sparks became a fire, and the second student strike of 1936 broke out. In fact, the cause of this strike was the mismanagement of the country by the colonists.

In 1936, when the oil field workers’ strike was suppressed, RUSU Chairman Ko Ba Hein, and Secretary Ko Ba Swe, together with representatives of the Dobama Asiayone, joined the strikers and helped them to march to Rangoon. Both were detained by British authorities as Ko Ba Hein’s speech was deemed disrespectful. Detaining the chairman and the secretary was an insult to the students, so they marched around the secretariat opposing the section 144 curfew, previously mentioned. Tensions escalated between the students and British authorities over the years and in 1938, student Ko Aung Kyaw was killed by police during a demonstration where students blocked access to the secretariat, and the third students’ strike eventually broke out.

We generally understand that the third students’ strike occurred because Ko Ba Hein and Ko Ba Swe were detained by British authorities.

When we were detained, it was like giving a signal to the students who were ready to go on strike. In fact, the strike might have been postponed if we had not taken. Whether we were abducted or not, there would definitely have been a strike sooner or later. So, detaining us was like setting sparks on an explosive. Our detention was not the only cause of the strike.2

This is true. Every student movement was a form of protest against colonial rule and for national freedom. Whatever the immediate cause was, students protested against suppression and unfair laws as their duty. The slogan of the first students’ strike in 1920 was, “We don’t want slave education”. The slogan of the

2 ပညာရေး လာရေး (n.d.)
second strike in 1936 was, “Change the education system into a new one”, and the third strike’s was, “Provide more funds to education”. Students protested against the unsuitable policies and laws of the colonists and became famous and honorable for doing so.

After independence the AFPFL won the general elections and was in power for ten years. When ex-students became incumbent politicians, they tried to control student unions and mobilize students to support their own political parties, leading to disunity between students. Burma was the most developed nation Southeast Asia in that period. However, students opposed the orders from the authorities and there was a student movement in October 1953. In fact, the students only asked for one month of holiday. The Minister of Internal Affairs, who was once a leader of a student union, solved the problem with violence, painting the wall of Ava Hall at Rangoon University with student blood.

On the last day of the seventh-grade exam in 1956, questions from the exam were leaked and published in the *Burma Times* newspaper. Instead of finding a proper and systematic solution to the problem, which was caused by the mismanagement of authorities, those very authorities simply announced that the exam would be canceled. At that time, those who passed the seventh-grade exam got good jobs. Students who were dissatisfied with the cancellation of the exam went to the newspaper and protested. The government solved the problem using weapons and a student, Harry Tan, was shot and killed.

The Mandalay University strike of 1961 is another example of the one-sided decisions and violence of the government of the time. The authorities scheduled exams without fulfilling their teaching requirements. The students first asked for classroom furniture and for university staff to deliver lectures. They also asked the authorities to postpone the exam until furniture and teachers were provided. The authorities did not consent to the students’ request and used weapons and violence instead.

All these events show that student protests occur because of inappropriate laws against the people and because of students’
wishes and needs. Burmese students love to study and protest peacefully. Yet their requests have always been responded to by the authorities with force.

As mentioned, after Ne Win’s military took power in 1962, the university acts were repealed. The university council, which was composed of university teaching staff, professors, students, and parents, was replaced by one formed by military officials. The freedom of youthful students was suppressed just as inmates were suppressed by prison authorities and privates were controlled by majors in the military. Student hostel regulations were like rules in the army. The authorities did not consider the nature of a university and neglected the will of students, causing problems. When students protested against the hostel rules, the authorities violently suppressed them. The student union building was bombed and destroyed.

After three strikes in 1974 and in 1975, the military imposed a section 144 curfew. During this strict military rule, why did the centenary of the Thakin Ko Daw Hmaing Uprising occur? To protest against the military dictatorship was one reason. The immediate cause was the raising of hostel fees. The previous fee of 57 Burmese Kyat was raised to 120. At that time, most government servants earned only 126 Kyat per month. So, poor students could not afford it. In training courses in Myanmar, trainees were told that it was ‘out of date’ to go onto the street and protest. However, in Korea, a developed country, the union building was destroyed from street protests, and in a leading democracy, America, the people took to the streets when Donald Trump became president.

The progress of a country does not depend on student movements alone. However, student movements are directly related to the government’s attitude toward education and students and its unjustly strict rules and regulations.

VI

To sum up, students are those who are currently studying and working for progress. Student unions are necessary
characteristics of democracy. Students join and support the movements of the people regardless of the time and situation. The nature of student movements depends on the policy controlling the degree of suppression inflicted by the government. International student movements, which have relevance to the lives of Burmese people, influence Burmese students’ movements. Student movements are not just concerned with the progress of a country but also the management, intelligence, and opinion of the government. The aim of the student strikes in Burma in 1974, 1975 and 1976 was to eliminate the military dictatorship and to repeal the 1974 Constitution.

References

[References in Burmese]
စိတ်သည်းချက်
(သခင် ကြည့် ကျောင်းသားများ၏ ပြင်သစ်အစား)

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်

စိတ်သည်းချက်

သီချင်းပြောပြချက်များသည် အသုံးအနှုန်းများဖြစ်ပြီး စိတ်သည်းချက်များကို အသုံးပြုပေးနိုင်ပါသည်။ သီချင်းပြောပြချက်များကို အသုံးပြုပေး၍ စိတ်သည်းချက်များကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ အသုံးပြုပေးနိုင်ပါသည်။ သီချင်းပြောပြချက်များကို အသုံးပြုပေး၍ စိတ်သည်းချက်များကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ အသုံးပြုပေးနိုင်ပါသည်။ သီချင်းပြောပြချက်များကို အသုံးပြုပေး၍ စိတ်သည်းချက်များကို ဖော်ပြရာမှာ အသုံးပြုပေးနိုင်ပါသည်။

- အောင်သောကြည့်
သင်အိုက် အချက်အလက်အားလုံးအတွက် သင်အိုက်အောက်မှာ စိတ်ဓာတ်ချက်များကို ချီးမြောက်ပါ။

ကမ္ဘာ့ကျောင်းကြီးနှင့် ကမ္ဘာ့ကျောင်းကြီးသားများ အတွက် အားလုံးအစား အချက်အလက်များကို ချီးမြောက်ပါ။ ကျောင်းကြီးသားများအတွက် အားလုံးအစား အချက်အလက်များကို ချီးမြောက်ပါ။

(Рangoon College Buddhist Association) နှင့် (Young Men Buddhist Association) အတွက် အားလုံးအစား အချက်အလက်များကို ချီးမြောက်ပါ။

ကျောင်းကြီးသားများအတွက် အားလုံးအစား အချက်အလက်များကို ချီးမြောက်ပါ။
“သုံးစွဲရပ်တည်ခန်း” စာရင်းကို အသုံးပြုသူများအား ပြောင်းလဲခြင်း (ဗ.ဝ.ဝ.) ကို ကြေညာဖော်ပြခဲ့သည်။

သည်ကြီးကားကို ဖြင့် လက်ရှိအခြေခံအားဖော်ပြခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သုံးစွဲရပ်တည်ခန်းက အခြားသောအချက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

အကြောင်းအရာကို သုံးစွဲရပ်တည်ခန်းများရှိသော လက်ရှိအားဖော်ပြခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

အကြောင်းအရာကို သုံးစွဲရပ်တည်ခန်းများကို ပြောင်းလဲခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

ဗ.ဝ.ဝ. သုံးစွဲရပ်တည်ခန်းများအားဖော်ပြခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

1 စာရင်းကို ပြောင်းလဲခြင်း
“ပေါ်လာခြင်းအပေါ်မှာ ရှေးဟောင်းတွေနဲ့ ပြောင်းလဲရေးကို သုံးစွဲပေးနိုင်စေပါမယ်” ကြောင်း အဆိုရှိချင်သော ပေါ်လာခြင်း အခြေခံလေ့လာကြည့်ကို အခြေခံချင်သော သောက်တိုက်တွင် ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

ငယ်စဉ်များစွာ သိရှိလာရေးကို ပြောင်းလဲရေးကို သုံးစွဲချက်အပေါ် အခြေခံကိရာဇ်စောင့်ရှယ်လေ့လာပါမယ်။ အခြေခံလေ့လာကြည့်ကို (၁၂) ကြိုးစားကြည့်စောင်းဖြင့် အခြေခံလေ့လာကြည့်ကိုအပေါ် ပြောင်းလဲရေးကို သုံးစွဲပေးချင်သော သောက်တိုက်တွင် ကြည့်ရှုပါ။
သူ အားလုံးကြီးနှင့် အဆိုတော်ကြီးများက ဒေသဝင်ရေးရာအချက်အလက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုလျင်မှာယူ၍ သေချာအောင် ဒေသဝင်ရေးရာအချက်အလက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုလျင်မှာယူ၍

ဗုဒ္ဓဗေဒ စိုက်စွဲရာ ပြည်သူများအား အခြေခံလျော် ပေးလျက် အားလုံးကြီးများ အဆိုတော်ကြီးများက ဒေသဝင်ရေးရာအချက်အလက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုလျင်မှာယူ၍ သေချာအောင် ဒေသဝင်ရေးရာအချက်အလက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုလျင်မှာယူ၍ သည် ဗုဒ္ဓဗေဒ စိုက်စွဲရာ ပြည်သူများအား အခြေခံလျော် ပေးလျက် အားလုံးကြီးများ အဆိုတော်ကြီးများက ဒေသဝင်ရေးရာအချက်အလက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုလျင်မှာယူ၍ သေချာအောင် ဒေသဝင်ရေးရာအချက်အလက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုလျင်မှာယူ၍

ဗုဒ္ဓဗေဒ စိုက်စွဲရာ ပြည်သူများအား အခြေခံလျော် ပေးလျက် အားလုံးကြီးများ အဆိုတော်ကြီးများက ဒေသဝင်ရေးရာအချက်အလက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုလျင်မှာယူ၍ သေချာအောင် ဒေသဝင်ရေးရာအချက်အလက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုလျင်မှာယူ၍ သည် ဗုဒ္ဓဗေဒ စိုက်စွဲရာ ပြည်သူများအား အခြေခံလျော် ပေးလျက် အားလုံးကြီးများ အဆိုတော်ကြီးများက ဒေသဝင်ရေးရာအချက်အလက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုလျင်မှာယူ၍ သေချာအောင် ဒေသဝင်ရေးရာအချက်အလက်များကို ကြည့်ရှုလျင်မှာယူ၍
ღვთის მიძღვნილად აღმოჩენილმა სისტემა ქვეყნის პოლიტიკურ და საზოგადო მდგომარეობაში აღწერილ საშინაო სიმსივნის შესახებ თვითგანვითარების პირობებში. აღწერილ სიმსივნის შესახებ გამოვლით საბჭოთა სისტემის ქვეყნის საშინაო სიმსივნის შესახებ თვითგანვითარების მასშტაბად. აღწერილ სიმსივნის შესახებ ქვეყნის საშინაო სიმსივნის შესახებ მართვის ფორმალურმა გამოვლით საბჭოთა სისტემის ქვეყნის საშინაო სიმსივნის მასშტაბად.
လက်ရှိအခြေခံ စာရင်းအများကို ကြိုးစားထားသောစာပေးမှုများနှင့် ခြေရာများတွင် အပြောင်းအလှယ်ထားသော ချက်များကို ရှာဖွေပြီး ကြောင်းရင်းများကို တင်ပေးပါသည်။

၁

ကြောင်းရင်းများကို စာပေးမှုအများကို အခြေခံ၍ အပေါ် ထားသော ချက်များနှင့် အပြားများကို ခေါ်တွေ့ရာ ချက်များကို ရှာဖွေပြီး ကြောင်းရင်းများကို တင်ပေးပါသည်။

၂

ကြောင်းရင်းများကို စာပေးမှုအများကို အခြေခံ၍ အပေါ် ထားသော ချက်များနှင့် အပြားများကို ခေါ်တွေ့ရာ ချက်များကို ရှာဖွေပြီး ကြောင်းရင်းများကို တင်ပေးပါသည်။
9

西安市の事情を経て、損害を受ける医師の数が増える。こうした事態に
対応するため、医師会は全国を巡り、「ピンクエイジ (Pink Age)」という名
称で開催される医師会議を設け、医師の意識を向上させるための講演を
行っている。B.A. と B.L. の二つの講演を行っており、会員の参加が要請
されている。講演の内容は、ピンクエイジにおける医師の役割を理解し
てもらうために、医師同士の交流を促進する。
အောက်ပါတိုင်းများကို ပြောင်းလဲစေရန် အာရုံစိုင်းပေးသော ကြိုးပမာဏကို ဝါကျဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲပြီး လူသိများသော အမည်ကို အက္ခူရန် အာရုံစိုင်းပေးသော ကြိုးပမာဏကို သိရှိပါသည်။

International Union of Students (IUS)

ဗုဒ္ဓကျောင်းသား လေ့လာသူများ အန်းတွင် အာရုံစိုင်းပေးသော ကြိုးပမာဏကို သိရှိပါသည်။
ဆိုးမြင့်သည် အဆိုးအဖြေရှိနေသော်လည်း သီးချင်းအချင်းအလေးအရ သင်တန်းသော သင်ချင်း သင်သူများရဲ့ အတွေ့အကြုးကို ဖော်ပြမည်။

ပြည်သူများက နေထိုင်သောအချိန်မှစ၍ ကျင်းပခြင်းများ သိမ်းဆည်းနေသည်။ သင်ရဲ့ အနောက်ဘက်သို့ မိတ်ဆွေးနှံရာမှာ အခြားသူများနှင် အသက်ရှဵးရမှုများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

ယခု သင်တန်းသော သင်ချင်း သင်သူများအတွက် သင်ပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာ ဝန်ထမ်းများတွင် အခြေခံပေးနေသည်။ အခြေခံပေးနေသည် ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ကျောင်းသားများအတွက် ဖော်ပြသည်။

ကျောင်းသားများအတွက် ပြည်သူများက ပြင်းထန်သော ရှင်များကို ထိန်းသိမ်းပြောဆိုသည်။

ကျောင်းသားများအတွက် တက်ရောက်သော ရှင်များကို လူနေသော သင်သူများအတွက် ဖော်ပြသည်။
ယောက်ဆောင်ချက်မှာ “ဝန်ထမ်း”ကို သေချာစေရန် လူငယ်များ ကျေန်းစားခြင်း စိတ်ပြန်သူများ နောက်ဆုံး အခြေခံပြုရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။

ယခုအခါ အခြေခံပြုချက်မှာ “ဝန်ထမ်း”ကို သေချာစေရန် လူငယ်များ ကျေန်းစားခြင်း စိတ်ပြန်သူများ နောက်ဆုံး အခြေခံပြုရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။

ယခုအခါ အခြေခံပြုချက်မှာ “ဝန်ထမ်း”ကို သေချာစေရန် လူငယ်များ ကျေန်းစားခြင်း စိတ်ပြန်သူများ နောက်ဆုံး အခြေခံပြုရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။

ယခုအခါ အခြေခံပြုချက်မှာ “ဝန်ထမ်း”ကို သေချာစေရန် လူငယ်များ ကျေန်းစားခြင်း စိတ်ပြန်သူများ နောက်ဆုံး အခြေခံပြုရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။
“အိုက်ချိန်ကြား သတ်မှတ်တမ်းသုံးစွဲခြင်းကြောင့်... အခြားနိုင်မှုကို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုဖြစ်စေ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း သတ်မှတ်ပေးသလိုပါ။ အစီရင်ခံရသူ အကြောင်းအရာများကို မျှဝေချင်သည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးသလို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုဖြစ်သည်။ အကြောင်းအရာများကို မျှဝေချင်သည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးသလို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုဖြစ်သည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးသလို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုဖြစ်သည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးသလို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုဖြစ်သည်။

“မိမိတိုက်နေပြီးလောင်းနောင်၌... ကိုယ်ပိုင်အိမ်အခန်းများကို မျှဝေချင်သည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးသလို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုဖြစ်သည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးသလို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုဖြစ်သည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးသလို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုဖြစ်သည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးသလို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုဖြစ်သည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးသလို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုဖြစ်သည်။”

စိတ်အုပ်စီးရိုက် သတ်မှတ်ပေးခြင်း၏အကြောင်းအရာများကို အခြားသော အာဏာပိုင်းများဖြင့် “သတ်မှတ်ပေးခြင်းကြောင့်” သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုအဖြစ် သတ်မှတ်ပေးသည်။

စာပိုဒ်၀ား ကျောင်းသားသောလူမျိုးများကို လေးထောင်သို့ သတ်မှတ်ပေးရပ်စီးပါ။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးခြင်း၏ အကြောင်းအရာများကို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုအဖြစ် သတ်မှတ်ပေးသည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးခြင်း၏ အကြောင်းအရာများကို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုအဖြစ် သတ်မှတ်ပေးသည်။ သတ်မှတ်ပေးခြင်း၏ အကြောင်းအရာများကို သတ်မှတ်ပေးမှုအဖြစ် သတ်မှတ်ပေးသည်။
ဝါစစ် ဖြစ်ပွားသူများကို ဖူးထားပါသည်။ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ ဗဟိုအချက်များကို ဖော်ထားသောအခါ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ဖူးထားပါသည်။

ယုံကြည်ရည် ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ ဗဟိုအချက်များကို ဖော်ထားပါသည်။ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ ဗဟိုအချက်များကို ဖော်ထားပါသည်။
စိုက်သုံးသောအခြေအနေရှိသော ကြောင်းတွေကို (နေ့) သီရိမေး (အိုး) ဗုဒ္ဓကြည့် ကြည့်စေရန် အစီအစဉ်တွေနဲ့ (အိုး) သီရိမေး ထွက်ရှိလာရေး လာရေးတွေကို အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည်။ အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည် (အိုး) သီရိမေးတွေ အသုံးအနှုန်းနေရာတွေကို သီရိမေးတွေကို အကောင်းဆုံးဖြစ်စေရန် အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည်။}

6

အချိန်က သီရိမေးနေရာတွေကို နေ့စုကြည့်ရန်လို့... ကြည့်ရှုရန် အစီအစဉ်တွေကို လေ့လာချက်တွေကို အလိုလျောက် ထွက်ရှိလာရေး လာရေးတွေကို အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည်။ အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည် အသုံးအနှုန်းတွေကို အလိုလျောက် ထွက်ရှိလာရေး လာရေးတွေကို အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည်။

အောက်ပါအတွက် အသုံးအနှုန်းတွေကို လေ့လာချက်တွေကို လေ့လာချက်တွေကို အလိုလျောက် ထွက်ရှိလာရေး လာရေးတွေကို အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည်။ အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည် အသုံးအနှုန်းတွေကို လေ့လာချက်တွေကို လေ့လာချက်တွေကို အလိုလျောက် ထွက်ရှိလာရေး လာရေးတွေကို အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည်။

အောက်ပါအတွက် အသုံးအနှုန်းတွေကို လေ့လာချက်တွေကို လေ့လာချက်တွေကို အလိုလျောက် ထွက်ရှိလာရေး လာရေးတွေကို အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည်။ အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည် အသုံးအနှုန်းတွေကို လေ့လာချက်တွေကို လေ့လာချက်တွေကို အလိုလျောက် ထွက်ရှိလာရေး လာရေးတွေကို အခြေခံဖော်ပြမည်။
ကြည့်ရှုရန် လူမှုများသည် ရေးဆိုသော ဝါကျအရ ပျမ်းမျှမှုတစ်ခုကို အထောက်အကူ ချက်ချင်သော စာရဲ့ အစိုးရအရာ ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ကြည့်ရှုရန် လူမှုများ

ထိုင်းလူမှု မှာ အချိန်အထဲတွင် စာရဲ့ အစိုးရအရာ ပြုလုပ်ချက်များကို စစ်ဆေးမည်ဖြစ်သည်။

ထိုင်းလူမှု မှာ အချိန်အထဲတွင် စာရဲ့ အစိုးရအရာ ပြုလုပ်ချက်များကို စစ်ဆေးမည်ဖြစ်သည်။

ထိုင်းလူမှု မှာ အချိန်အထဲတွင် စာရဲ့ အစိုးရအရာ ပြုလုပ်ချက်များကို စစ်ဆေးမည်ဖြစ်သည်။

ထိုင်းလူမှု မှာ အချိန်အထဲတွင် စာရဲ့ အစိုးရအရာ ပြုလုပ်ချက်များကို စစ်ဆေးမည်ဖြစ်သည်။
A Forgotten Student Movement: The 2002 Military Technological College Uprising

Zay Yah Oo

Abstract

It is well-known that students and their protests have greatly influenced the political history of Myanmar. Yet when people write about student politics and rebellions, they tend to focus on students at the many civilian institutions in the country and their grievances. This article furthers understandings of student activism in Myanmar by narrating an experience of the 2002 uprising at the Military Technological College in Pyin Oo Lwin. This college was set up by the military during a time when most civilian education institutions were kept shut by the regime and prospective higher education students had few options. Written by a student who participated in the uprising, this article uses firsthand experience, focus group discussions and primary sources to shed light on an unsung political event within the Myanmar military that led to the dismantling of an entire college, and the imprisonment of dozens of military students determined to have breached the Army Act.

Introduction

Students have consistently played an active role in the many protests against dictatorship in Myanmar. The student movement that emerged from the protests against the University of Rangoon Act of 1920 significantly influenced later generations of students to also oppose injustice in the educational system. But while students generally organize protests that are posited as being against the education system, these movements are in fact related to broader politics in one way or another. The unfair policies enforced by successive military regimes include betraying previous agreements with citizens and the student community has always resisted them. There are two root causes of
student protest movements under military rule in Myanmar—first, the unjust rules and regulations enshrined in the education system by the military dictatorship that serve to support and enhance its own power, and second, the military’s unilateral breaches of contracts with students.

Student movements in civilian universities and colleges have been the subject of many publications in Myanmar. But one major student movement, taking place in 2002 and stifled by a blanket media blackout, has found no place in historiography. It involved students not from a civilian university, but rather from a military college: the Military Technological College (MTC). More significantly, one of the two central demands made by the students was actually conceded to by military leaders. Further, once the movement was crushed, the MTC was completely terminated—the only such college to have been so definitively shuttered in the wake of protests among its student body. There was no official announcement after the movement was crushed. All the students were expelled, with the leaders imprisoned. The event was concealed, with the military spreading disinformation, and misinformation also spread broadly in the media.

This article proceeds in four sections. The first section deals with the emergence of the MTC, the second section touches on the background situation at the college before the uprising, and the third discusses the uprising itself. The fourth section concludes by discussing the disinformation and misinformation that led to an identity crisis for MTC students later in life.

The Creation of the MTC

After the military coup by General Ne Win on 2 March 1962, Myanmar was essentially under military rule for 48 years, until the general election in 2010. During that period, the Myanmar military was the ruling class in Myanmar society. Civil society was subjugated under martial law. Military rule became more direct during the regime that followed General Ne Win’s 1988 resignation and the May 1990 general elections, with its ignored results. For example, most ministers were military officers, and the top
ranks of the civil service bureaucracy were occupied by military officials. Other sectors like local administration, education, health, etc. were also in the hands of the military. In order to further maintain its grip on power, military leaders extended it into new areas of society. The MTC was a part of this direct military power expansion.

During the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) era that followed the 1988 coup, the military junta expanded their directly administrated education system, no longer limiting it to the Defense Services Academy (DSA), which trained future military officers. The military started programs and institutions to produce professionals like medical doctors, engineers, nurses, and paramedics. Although fresh graduates from civilian universities had been recruited as military doctors and engineers in the past, the recruitment of civilian professionals became difficult after the military’s atrocities against the people in the 1988 uprising. The SLORC barely trusted civilian students, and colleges and universities had been closed for some time. The military therefore struggled to recruit students from these shuttered universities to create a quality officer corps, which they hoped would remain loyal to the army under any circumstances. So they started to open their own colleges and universities.

In 1993, the military launched the Defense Services Institute of Medicine, which became the Defense Services Medical Academy (DSMA), and in 1994, the military launched the Defense Services Institute of Technology, which became the Defense Services Technological Academy (DSTA). In 1998, the Defense Services Electrical and Mechanical Engineering School (AGTI) was opened in Pyin Oo Lwin, Mandalay Division, and in 2000 the Defense Services Institute of Nursing and Paramedical Science was opened. Of these new military institutes, only the AGTI (after it changed its name, explained later) revolted against the military government, becoming the first and only military training institute in Myanmar to ever do so. A recruitment advertisement for the AGTI’s first intake was printed in the state-run newspaper The New Light of Myanmar and is translated below and shown in the original Burmese in figure 1, which follows.
Students Wanted for the Diploma Course at the AGTI, Pyin Oo Lwin

1. The applicant shall be:
   a. Not younger than 16 or older than 20 years of age on 1 January 1999;
   b. Single, and be a Union of Myanmar citizen;
   c. At least 5ft. 3in. tall and 105 pounds;
   d. On the matriculation examination A list;
   e. Interviewed in person if shortlisted and passed English and Mathematics in the entrance examination, and;
   f. Not bespectacled.
2. The selected shall enjoy the following benefits:
   a. Salary of 650 Myanmar Kyat for the first phase, 700 for the second phase, and 750 for the third phase during training;
   b. Benefits during training include free accommodation, rations, and healthcare plus uniforms, haircut and laundry costs.
3. It is a two-year course.
4. On the completion of the program, one can enjoy the following benefits:
   a. Being directly appointed to various service arms and units as a technical sergeant;
   b. Promotions to Warrant Officer Class 1 and 2 (WO-I & WO-II), and also to gazetted officer, will be carried out based on credentials.
5. On completion of the course, AGTI diploma certificates will be awarded.
6. If one qualifies, one may take entrance exams to attend a third year of education at any technological university.

---

7. Those selected shall serve in the military for at least ten years.

8. Free application forms can be obtained from and submitted to the Electrical and Mechanical Engineer Battalion or to the workshop squadrons in regional and divisional military commands.

9. Those who fail/ed relevant preliminary medical examinations need not apply.

10. The following documents must be submitted along with the application form:
   a. An original copy of a testimonial declaring the applicant has good moral character and is not involved in politics, provided by township, division, and state police officers, along with seven passport-sized photos;
   b. A photocopy of the applicant’s high school graduation certificate and a list of matriculation examination grades (bring the originals to the examination).


12. To take the entrance examination, the applicants shall arrive at the following locations no earlier than 21 October, and no later than 22 October 1998, reporting their arrival:
   a. No. 2, Main Workshop (Electrical), Amarpura Township, for Upper Myanmar.
   b. No. 656, Workshop Company (Electrical), Botataung Township or No. 1, Main Workshop, Hlegu Township, for Lower Myanmar.

13. Civil and Defense servants who meet the credential requirements can apply through the respective departments.

- Quartermaster General’s Office
Figure 1

The Burmese language recruitment advertisement for the AGTI diploma course.²

After this recruitment advertisement did its work, the first AGTI intake opened on 18 November with 407 trainees. According to the advertisement, trainees who completed the two-year course would receive an AGTI diploma, and those who passed the examination with high grades were supposed to be able to continue their studies at any technological university.

Simply put, the details in the advertisement formed part of the contract between the military government and applicants, and students applied for the course because they trusted this agreement would hold. However, 16 months after the training, the government renamed the AGTI to the Military Technological College, and changed the details of the program along with it. The AGTI had become the MTC. An English translation of the new recruitment advertisement follows, with the Burmese original text displayed in figure 2.

**MTC Engineering Trainees Wanted**

1. The applicant shall be:
   a. No younger than 16 or older than 19 on 1 January 2000;
   b. Single & a citizen of the Union of Myanmar;
   c. At least 5ft., 3in. and 105 pounds;
   d. Not bespectacled;
   e. One who passed the matriculation examination (and be able to present matriculation examination marks);
   f. One who passed the preliminary medical test at a township, state, or division general hospital.

2. Application forms can be obtained free of charge starting on 5 September 2000 and are to be submitted to the respective Regional Military Commands or Divisional Military Commands by 31 October 2000.

---

3. Along with the application form, original copies of testimonials attesting to the applicant’s good moral character and non-involvement in politics by township, division, and state police officers, together with three black and white photos of passport size taken within the last month, must be submitted.

4. Those who meet the credential requirements shall take a test on the following subjects by the matriculation curriculum at examination centers in locations including Myitkyina, Bamaw, Lashio, Kengtung, Taunggyi, Loikaw, Mawlamyine, Dawei, Myeik, Yangon, Pathein, Sittwe, Monywa, Kale, Mandalay, Meiktila, Magway, Taungoo, Bago, and Pyay:
   a. English;
   b. Mathematics.

5. One can check the list of eligible candidates at examination centers before 20 November 2000.

6. Candidate seat numbers are the same as in the application form; the timetable for the examination will be announced in the newspaper.

7. Shortlisted candidates who pass the entrance exam shall be personally interviewed in Yangon and Mandalay.

8. Salary and allowance will be granted based on academic year.

9. Those who pass each academic year shall enjoy the following benefits:
   a. Second-year graduates will receive a Diploma of Engineering Science (AGTI) and will be directly appointed to various service arms and units as a technical sergeant;
   b. Whoever passes with excellent grades will be allowed to attend third- and fourth-year programs, with graduates receiving a Bachelor of Technology and being directly
appointed to various service arms and units as WO-I at other specialist rating positions;
c. Whoever passes the fourth year with excellent grades will be allowed to attend the fifth year, and if one passes will be offered a Bachelor of Engineering, and will be directly appointed to various service arms and units as WO-I at a technical position;
d. For those mentioned above who hold a Bachelor of Technology, if they complete five years of service as a WO-II, or if Bachelor of Engineering holders complete three years of service as a WO-I, they can apply to become military gazetted officers.

10. The selected shall serve at least ten years in the army on completion of the training.

For detailed information, contact the Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Battalion/Unit.

- Quartermaster General’s Office
Figure 2

*Recruitment advertisement for the MTC.*

---

There are a few differences between the two advertisements. The first promises that on completion of the two-year course, an AGTI diploma will be awarded, and those who pass the exam with excellent grades can attend any technological university. The second advertisement, however, stipulates that those who pass with high grades will have the opportunity of attending third or fourth years only at the same school. Upon completion of the fourth year, a Bachelor of Technology will be handed over. If one passes the fourth-year exam with excellent grades and attends the fifth year, he will obtain a Bachelor of Engineering degree. When the program structure and opportunities were changed by the authorities, students who enrolled on the merits of the original recruitment advertisement were not consulted or informed. Recognition of intake issues also arose—whether the first intake under the MTC should be recognized as the first intake or the second, as the school title and programs changed after the original first AGTI intake.

The school’s original students were in a dilemma; they did not know which intake they belonged to. Worse still, the school authorities themselves did not seem to understand the relations between the two original intake years. It was in this fashion that 435 new students were recruited into the MTC in February 2000. Back in those days, the college fell under the administration of the Defense Services Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Directorate Office, known as Kaka Hlyat, under the supervision of Lieutenant General Tin Hla, Quartermaster General.

The chain of command in the MTC was inscribed on a plaque monument (original Burmese text is shown in figure 6) as follows:

The MTC was founded and opened on 14 January 2000, administrated directly by the Defense Services Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Directorate Office, headed by Lieutenant General Tin Hla, Quartermaster General, under the guidance of

---

5 “Pamphlet of the Recruitment”, 2000. This source is reproduced in full in appendix 1 of the Burmese version of the article on page 349.
Senior General Than Shwe, Chairperson of the State Peace and Development Council and commander-in-chief.

The inauguration ceremony was attended by Lieutenant General Tin Hla himself as well as the military-owned Myawaddy media. He delivered an opening speech and announced the opening of the MTC with its ‘first intake’, here referring to those recruited only after the AGTI became the MTC. The media interviewed that intake, but not those who were recruited the previous year under the AGTI, resulting in an identity crisis for these original students. They did not know which batch they belonged to or how they were being recognized, plunging them into despondency.

But some students increasingly expressed their dissatisfaction. Some military generals finally got wind of it through the school authorities. Brigadier General Aung Hlaing, who was then the director of the Kaka Hlyat, came to Pyin Oo Lwin from Mandalay to talk to the disgruntled original intake students. He simply reiterated what was stated by Tin Hla in his opening speech. Although they were recruited as “Defense Services Electrical and Mechanical Engineering students”, they had become students of the first batch of the MTC. When later students for the third intake were recruited, the recruitment pamphlets provided to prospective students featured a brief history of the MTC, described as follows:

In order to produce AGTI (Diploma) holders for the Tatmadaw (army, navy, and air force), the Defense Services Electrical and Mechanical Engineering School merged with the Engineering Science Training Department on 29 September 1998. Then to produce soldiers holding the AGTI (Diploma), Bachelor of Technology, and Bachelor of Engineering degrees, the MTC, encompassing the former Military Electrical and Mechanical Engineering School, was opened in Pyin Oo Lwin on 26 February 2000. The first batch of the MTC consisted of 407 trainees
and started on 18 November 1998. The second intake commenced with 435 trainees on 29 February 2000. The third batch will be recruited in October 2000.\(^6\)

With this speech, the students who were recruited under the former AGTI learned that they were to be officially designated as trainees of the first intake of the MTC.

**The MTC Before and Leading to the Uprising**

The MTC was plagued by inconsistency and breaches of agreement. The military unilaterally betrayed the commitments it made to MTC students. Following the merging of the two intakes, a sour senior-junior relationship was created by college authorities, which led eventually to a student revolt. There was even a bad omen, a harbinger of imminent misfortune, at the opening ceremony of the MTC: while all the students were saluting the national flag at the forefront of the parade ground, the flag fell off the mast. Training officers said that if the flag fell off the mast on significant occasions, the entire battalion could break down for one reason or another.

After the official inauguration, Lieutenant General Tin Hla would occasionally inspect the MTC on visits, holding official semi-formal meetings with the students. On one occasion, the students and school authorities prepared to welcome him with pomp and grandeur, only to learn that he could not make it. It was later learned that Lieutenant Generals Win Myint (then Third Secretary) and Tin Hla were forced to retire, along with other top-ranking officers, because of ‘some issues’ within the military leadership.\(^7\) The MTC was then transferred to the administration of the Chief of Armed Forces Training Office.

The succeeding officers in charge did not seem to fully understand what had occurred at the MTC. Chief of Defense Service

---

\(^6\) “Pamphlet of the Recruitment”, 2000. The pamphlet is reproduced in appendix 1 on page 349.

\(^7\) “Dateline of Myanmar”, 2003.
Training Major General Kyaw Win visited the college to discuss the issues with fourth-year students. They explained the difference between the recruitment advertisements of the AGTI and MTC, how the changes were unilateral without the consent of the students, and other student grievances. Kyaw Win said he did not know the root cause of the problems.

Another military school that opened at the same time as the MTC targeted high school graduates (those who passed the year 2000 matriculation examination): the Defense Services Institute of Nursing in Mingaladon, Yangon. It was later transformed into the Defense Services Nursing and Paramedical Academy (DSNPA). During that period, when most civilian universities in Myanmar were closed by the military, students who passed the matriculation examination (1998-99) had no choice but to study at military schools if they wanted to pursue tertiary education. In December 2000, a total of 2,183 freshly recruited students arrived at the MTC, and in January 2002, another 1,000 students were recruited.

There were several other military colleges that existed alongside the MTC. The one most relied upon by the military leadership, which has long been churning out high-ranking officers, is the previously mentioned DSA in Pyin Oo Lwin, Mandalay Region. It was established in 1955 and mainly recruits high school graduates aged 16-19 years. Formerly, its officer course was four years long, however, it shrunk to three years starting in 2000, when it began offering a Computer Science degree alongside arts and science degrees, similar to the civilian universities. DSA graduates serve in the army, navy, and air force as gazetted officers with the rank of second lieutenant.8

Another school in Pyin Oo Lwin is the Defense Services Technology Academy, established in 1994, which also mainly recruits high school graduates. Its courses are a full five years and graduates are conferred with a Bachelor of Engineering and are officially recognized as two-star lieutenants.9 There are two other major military schools in Mingaladon Township, Yangon—

---

the first is the DSMA, which recruits high school graduates aged 16-18 for six-year courses. Graduates are directly appointed to the army, navy, and air force as lieutenants. Another is the DSNPA, established in the same year 2000 as the AGTI/MTC, offering four-year courses. Graduates are conferred a Bachelor of Nursing Science and serve in military medical units as WO-II. Now it has been extended to the Defense Services Institute of Nursing and Paramedical Academy, and upon graduation, higher ranked positions are prescribed.

The MTC, which was opened at around the same time as the above-mentioned institutes, was to meet a very different fate to the others. After the issues and incidents related above, Colonel Pho Aung, a graduate and product of the DSA, took charge of the MTC as its new principal. The academic departments and training programs, and one deputy director, were all under his control. When the students of the second intake started their studies, there were seven modules—Computer Engineering, Civil Engineering, Electrical Power Engineering, Electronic Engineering, Mechanical Power Engineering, Machine Tools and Design, and Mechatronic Engineering. Computer Engineering and Mechatronic Engineering were new subjects that did not exist when the original AGTI intake joined. Only when the second intake students started to fill in the lecture hall were these subjects introduced.

The heads of the academic departments were military officers with engineering degrees; there were also some lecturers from civilian universities teaching academic subjects from alumni institutions such as the University of Yangon, the DSTA, the Technological University of Mandalay (TUM), and the Government Technical Institute (GTI). The training department was staffed with a consultant major, an adjutant, and other officers assigned to each division. Most of the training officers were graduates of the DSA. The principal was the wrong person in the wrong place. He was a colonel who graduated with a Bachelor of Science from DSA and had no engineering background.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{10}} \text{Ibid.}\]
The new principal’s focus was on military training, not on engineering in practice. While under the tutelage of Lieutenant General Tin Hla, the previous Quartermaster General, engineering was prioritized to some extent. Computers, teaching aids for engineering subjects, and materials for the multimedia system were well stocked on campus. But under the Chief of Armed Forces Training, the academic affairs of the college were no longer prioritized. Students lost access to teaching aids and materials for engineering subjects. Academic departments were understaffed. The curriculum was not well prepared. There was such a shortage of qualified teachers that the GTI’s graduated sergeants, warrant officers, and other fresh graduates were dragooned immediately into teaching at MTC.

The principal and college authorities, when asked about plans to improve the academic side of the MTC, showed no interest at all. Two female lecturers from TUM were asked to help with the schedule, and they did so for two weeks. Later it was learned that they were former classmates of the Department Head of Electrical Engineering. They were there at his request; no professional fees were given to them for filling in at MTC. The school did not even bother to cover their transportation fees. There were similar problems in other academic departments, too. Students of the Electrical Power Engineering and Electrical Engineering departments took the exam with no modules nor teachers to help them, even when the exam was drawing near, and students needed to be coached for extra periods. There were heated disputes and arguments between the academic and training departments.

The training department drilled new recruits at full throttle. They had to spend most of their time doing military training. Since the training officers were graduates from DSA, the students were trained hard like at boot camp. One academic year was divided into one month of leave, eight months of learning engineering theories, and three months of military training. The three months of military training were intense thanks to the training officers. What everyone, from those in basic positions to platoon commanders, needed to learn was taught practically
and theoretically; the way they trained and taught was very system-atic. Suffice it to say, they took great care of both. Occasion-
ally the vice-principal himself took part in some of the long
marches, carrying heavy loads alongside the students. While
only three months per year were allotted to military training,
students were often fatigued from this training and volunteer-
ing; from time to time, lecture periods were even canceled for it.
Over time, the students started to doubt what the training de-
partment was doing. A pressing question popped up: were they
bent on producing tough-as-nails soldiers ready for combat, or
a true corps of engineers?

In Pyin Oo Lwin, there were two other military institutes
along with the MTC. The students from all three institutes came
into touch with one another when they had days off, etc. In the
military there has long been a yawning gap in social status be-
tween officers and the rank and file at lower levels. This deep-
rooted hierarchical culture has had a great sway on soldier-to-
soldier relations and soured relations between students from
different institutes. Graduates of certain schools quickly became
officers while those from the MTC stayed in lower positions. The
former tended to look down on and even mock the latter. This
attitude affected civilians in Pyin Oo Lwin as well as officer in-
structors on campus who exercised this discriminatory attitude.
At this time in the early 2000s, the MTC students’ confidence and
trust in the system gradually started to wane.

As mentioned above, MTC had three graduate levels and a
five-year academic program, and positions and diplomas were
already lined up for each graduate level. Most of the students
were hoping to earn a Bachelor of Engineering, with no ambition
for military positions, but their dreams met stark reality. They
began to understand that they had different expectations from
the military school authorities.

The students had pinned their hopes on a grand graduation
day. Students’ ineligible to attend the third year, who would
have to enter the workforce after second-year diploma gradu-
ation, said they wanted to have their families and loved ones be
present for their graduation. However, on graduation day, all
the students were gathered in the workshop hall, and the leaders of each company of students, assigned by college authorities, were given AGTI diplomas on the graduating students’ behalf. Then they passed them around to the students. There were no parents present and not a sight of any high-ranking officer. The so-called graduation ceremony was held only in the presence of the MTC Principal Colonel Pho Aung.

In those days, military school graduation ceremonies at other schools were grand and attended by top military officers, with families of students invited. However, in this case, even the deputy director of the Military Electrical and Mechanical Engineering office, who oversaw college affairs, did not bother to show up. Some families, who came of their own accord, were not allowed to attend the ceremony. The question “Why is the graduation being kept secret?” crept into their minds.

Most students were also dissatisfied with the selection procedure for eligibility to attend the third year. Those who excelled in their exams believed they would be attending the third year, but these selections were not based on straight merit as expected; instead, selections were made by percentage. In other words, those who could move on to third year were chosen not because they achieved a certain baseline grade in the final exam (such as an A or B grade), but rather, the highest-achieving 25 percent of graduating students were made eligible, with the rest let go as warrant officers with AGTI diplomas. To the students, there were no significant grade differences between the eligible and non-eligible; it appeared arbitrary, frustrating students.

Perhaps the most crucial factor in the selection of who could attend third year was the evaluation of students’ military training. Most students who were not selected to study further achieved very high academic grades but poor grades in military training. The first and the second year each consisted of four terms and students could review their academic grades at the end of each of them. In this way they could evaluate their own performance and allocate time to study the subjects they found

---

more challenging. However, the grades received for military training were not made available to the students during the first two years. There was no explanation of the criteria used by the training department to choose who was eligible for third year, and students’ eligibility depended more on these opaque training department grades than on their academic performance. This led to wrong views for the later recruits, and students began bribing relevant officers to win favor and ensure they were chosen to continue into third year.

The students of the second intake watched this dramatic situation unfold and saw that it did not accord with the MTC’s recruitment advertisement they signed up under. Students felt frustrated and depressed at their prospects. More and more students dropped out from college. Initially, these students were lightly punished. However, when the groups of students dropping out became larger and larger, the military began enforcing severe punishments.

They pursued the students who left the MTC and returned home, arrested them there, and brought them back to the college. Then, all the students were told to gather at the college parade ground to see the handcuffed renegade students. Cashiering, or discharging from the military with dishonor, known as tat htoke pwe in Burmese, took place on a large scale. Deserters were sentenced to one-year imprisonment in a civilian cell. The deserters in handcuffs felt ashamed and humiliated in front of their comrades; their friends felt uncomfortable and sorrowful. “Does a deserter deserve this kind of punishment as a young man in his tender age?”, the students asked themselves repeatedly. The authorities were trying to stoke fear in the remaining students so they would not run from the college in the future. In carrying out the punishments, they referred to section 38(a) of the Defense Services Act which deals with absence without official leave (going AWOL). These students were liable to be treated as deserters, with public cashiering in front of the entire student body. Such dehumanizing acts stripped students of their human dignity. Should such public shaming be held? The authorities did
not seem to give the slightest thought to what the consequences could be.

The third intake of MTC recruits, conducted in December 2000, consisted of over 2,000 students. The intake before that had only 400 students. When the third intake arrived, the operation of the school somewhat settled, but two problems arose. The first one related to the second intake and the senior-junior hierarchy practiced at all Myanmar military institutions. In this system senior students rule over juniors with “one blood, one voice, and one order”. Juniors are monitored almost all the time. If juniors displease the seniors, they are punished. If one of the juniors is defiant, he is liable to be prosecuted for disobedience.

This senior-junior hierarchy results in juniors having less privacy than their seniors. This can suit students who attend all the years through at other military institutes and eventually become seniors able to inflict what they endured on others. However, it was problematic at the MTC, where most students graduated after only two years and only a few were able to attend third year and above. Almost all MTC students wanted to receive a five-year Bachelor of Engineering. In this context, was the senior-junior hierarchy necessary? This question lingered in student ears and caused some juniors to deliberately disregard certain college rules and take a defiant stance against seniors. Officer instructors severely punished them and tried to force the hierarchy down their throats.

In those days, the second intake students did not have full privileges as seniors normally would. The seniors of the first intake wore black taikpon (traditional Myanmar formal jacket for men) without buttoning it up. It was one of their privileges. But second intake students were not allowed this privilege. They knew any one of them could have bad luck and miss out on the third year. So, they started wearing the unbuttoned black taikpon without asking permission. Some seniors and training officers issued an order banning the practice. The frustrated second intake students then changed to pinni (fawn-colored) taikpon. The school authorities learned that the students were wearing the pinni taikpon as a statement against the officers in charge.
When they did, they allowed the students to wear whatever they wanted. In fact, no authorities had the slightest idea why this problem arose, which was not just because of the senior-junior hierarchy but because of depression, discrimination by military authorities, and inconsistent policies.

A second problem arose when the students of the third intake started their terms. Unlike the first and second recruitment advertisements, this time the pamphlets were passed around among the students. The pamphlets said the following subjects would be taught:

- Civil Engineering
- Electronic Engineering
- Electrical Power Engineering
- Mechanical Engineering
- Mechanical Power
- Machine Tools and Design
- Chemical Engineering
- Architecture Engineering
- Mechatronic Engineering
- Aeronautical and Aerospace Engineering
- Nuclear Engineering
- Information Technology
- Biotechnology
- Computer Engineering
- Industrial Engineering
- Metallurgical Engineering
- Defense Industrial Engineering
- Marine Engineering

Although the college authorities officially announced 16 subjects would be taught, when the students had to choose, they could only choose from six major subjects: Electronic Engineering, Electrical Power Engineering, Mechanical Power, Machine Tools and Design, Mechatronic Engineering and Computer Engineering. Unlike the second intake, even Civil Engineering was not there. This disappointed the third intake students.
Then, in January 2002, the MTC’s fourth intake arrived with over 1,000 new students. By then, students of the second intake had just completed their two years and the date for selecting those who could continue to third year was looming. Previous events were recounted by seniors to the third intake, who themselves had just completed a one-year term and were waiting to attend second year. These first-year students were nervous about experiencing what they heard about from their seniors. Prospective students and their families were also being dissuaded from enrolling in the MTC by current students. However, most families and prospective students did not listen or fully understand.

In March 2002, grades, and eligibility for the second intake students, who just finished second year, was released. Like before, only 25 percent of students were eligible to enter third year: 115 out of 432. Many students achieved high academic grades, but judgements on eligibility for further learning seemed again to be based on the opaque evaluations of the training department. Even students who were at the very top of their academic classes were deemed ineligible due to poor grades in military training. Students began bribing officers. Those who were blocked from attending third year, especially those who excelled academically, shed sorrowful tears among themselves and let out their feelings to their seniors. Their hearts were broken, and they felt embittered.

When it came time to bestow the two-year AGTI diplomas on students from the second intake, the graduation ceremony was even crueler than the first. Once more, parents of graduating students were not invited, no high-ranking officers were present, and only MTC Principal Colonel Pho Aung was present. Some students who could not accept this chose to boycott the ceremony and stayed in their barracks. Only two-thirds of the students were present there. The students responsible for the student barracks in each squad were gathered in the workshop hall and given the AGTI diplomas; they then distributed them to the students. Some third-intake students witnessing this sank into low spirits. They noticed that rather than an engineer, it
was the school principal, Colonel Pho Aung, a graduate of the military DSA, who affirmed all the diplomas. They were gradually losing trust in the diplomas.

A rumor started spreading that there was still no plan to confer the degrees that were owed to the fortunate third- and fourth-year students, soon to graduate. The students were extremely anxious about it. Would the MTC or another institute hand out the degrees? MTC students at the time did not know that in fact according to prescriptions in the Education Law a ‘college’ cannot confer a degree. They were expecting a grand graduation in a convocation hall, yet to be constructed.

The rumors stoked mistrust and doubt. Fourth-year students went to the relevant officers to try and solve the issue. The officers growled at them to mind their own business, saying it would all be arranged by their superiors. The problem continued smoldering and even reached the company commander of student affairs, who humiliated the students during an assembly on the parade ground, saying, “Don’t think too highly of yourself! Whatever degrees you hold; you belong to ranks other than officer. Learn to know your position!” Instead of helping the students or giving an explanation, he admonished them with these belittling words.

Factors such as these are what led to the eventual student movement at the MTC. Students were forced into a dead end. They were unhappy with the MTC’s management but knew that if they abandoned their programs they would be humiliated in front of their friends and comrades, cashiered, dishonorably discharged, and thrown into civilian jail for a year. There was one final straw that broke the camel’s back, leading directly to the MTC student revolt.

In 2002, the DSA had an intake of 3,500 students. In previous years, the DSA took in only 500 students. With this higher recruitment level, after completion of the three-year academic program at DSA, the academy would have accumulated about 11,500 potential graduates by 2005. Arrangements for a DSA rehearsal graduation parade of such a number had to be made. The parade ground needed to be prepared and preparations made
for rehearsals. There were not enough students currently enrolled at DSA to rehearse for such a future event; therefore, the authorities instructed students from the DSTA and MTC to join the rehearsals as well, in April 2002.

All the students gathered on the parade ground one day in April as instructed. There were 3,300 students from three MTC intakes present. A brigadier general, who was station commander of Pyin Oo Lwin, and the principal of the DSA, supervised the rehearsal. Students were organized by their company and battalion on the parade ground, and they were appointed to a company commander, battalion commander, and platoon commander respectively. Although the students of the DSTA were able to assign themselves to positions like company commander, battalion commander, and platoon commander, MTC students did not get to assume any ranks with authority and were all commanded by the DSA and DSTA students. The reason for this was students at the MTC were not officers-to-be and therefore could not make commands in the military hierarchy. The MTC students could not accept this. They put forward several motions requesting officers to allow them to choose their own positions, but these were rejected.

The MTC students thought they had been devalued, discriminated against, and put to shame in front of the students from the other academies. The fourth-year students were the most sensitive to this. The senior-junior hierarchy ideology had been indoctrinated into them. This injustice was urging them to act.

In those days, there were only three academic years at the DSA, and most seniors were third-year students. In military terms, three white bars on the arms of uniforms indicate which year the wearer is in. There were four white bars on the fourth-year MTC students’ uniforms, yet they had less rights than the DSA third-year students. The MTC students took this as an insult. The fourth-year students made a final proposal to the officers to at least leave them out of the rehearsals, but this proposal was also rejected.

In great dejection, the students had to stand in line at the rehearsal and follow the DSA cadets’ orders. One DSA officer
cadet commanding a company of MTC students hurled abuses at them. Some of the students could not tolerate this humiliation and were ready to stab him with the bayonets they were carrying. There were quarrels and even violence.

At the same time, a separate disagreement between MTC and DSTA students arose in another company. As MTC students were so displeased at being discriminated against, they broke order and no longer carried their guns in unison. They intentionally formed up when they should have been disbanding and regrouped during break times. They disbanded, regrouped, and dragged their rifles in a chaotic manner, to express their grievances directly in front of the high-ranking military officers who were staring at them. The station commander of Pyin Oo Lwin and other officers yelled orders through a loudspeaker to prevent the incident from escalating: “MTC students, follow military discipline!”

The problems did not cease after the parade rehearsal. Back at the MTC, aggrieved students shared their feelings among themselves. The insult by the officers was felt by the entire MTC student body. They decided to search for the root cause of this discrimination, so that the next intakes would not lose their dignity or be stifled. They set their minds to action.
Figure 3

*The main gate of the MTC in 2001, photo taken by an MTC student.*

Figure 4

*MTC students marching to classrooms in squadron in 2001, photo taken by an MTC student.*
Figure 5

*MTC students during military training exercises in 2001, photo taken by an MTC student.*

Figure 6

*The plaque monument of the MTC taken in 2001, photo taken by author.*
The Student Movement Erupts

Taking all that happened into consideration, it is fair to say that the MTC was rife with injustice and unfairness. In the first place, the military betrayed the students, who enrolled with very different expectations to what they encountered. According to the recruitment advertisement and the school authorities, students who passed exams with excellent grades would be able to go on and eventually earn degrees in technology and engineering. In practice, this agreement was broken. Although the school was designated an engineering college, school authorities did not care about engineering, as well evidenced thus far.

Students finally surmised the military authorities could be trying to reinforce army ranks by luring students with the prospect of engineering degrees. Seniors felt that if they did not handle the situation early, more and more students who passed their matriculation examinations would be recruited in this underhanded way. Spurred on by this conviction, fourth-year students decided to complain to the authorities.

They did not inform their juniors of their first attempt. All the seniors signed a complaint letter and put it forward to the principal in May 2002. The reason they left the juniors out is that the students of the third intake numbered over 2,000 and were considered young, likely to act impetuously. If the seniors’ demands were met, the benefits would apply to all and would still benefit the juniors.

The demands made in the complaint were:

1. To carry out the agreement that “those who pass the third year with excellent grades, recruited under the name ‘AGTI’ will be able to attend any engineering university”.
2. In selecting eligible candidates for the third-year progression, selection shall be made on merit, as mentioned in the advertisement, rather than on arbitrary percentages.
3. The principal who takes charge of the college shall be an officer who holds a PhD in Engineering.

4. Since the MTC is an engineering college, engineering subjects shall be prioritized, and it shall be fully staffed with qualified lecturers.

5. Given four years are required for a Bachelor of Technology and five years for a Bachelor of Engineering, the rank of officer shall be prescribed accordingly to graduates.

6. Diplomas and degrees shall be signed not by the present principal Colonel Pho Aung but by an engineering officer who is recognized by the Ministry of Education.

This list was presented to the MTC principal. There was no response for about a week. The seniors submitted the same letter again. There was no response the second time either. The fourth-year students decided to take it a step further. They discussed with the third-year students (of the second intake) sending the demands to higher authorities. Given their concerns related to education, a copy of the complaint letter would be first sent to Lieutenant General Khin Nyunt, chairperson of the education committee. Copies would also be sent to Chief of Defense Service Training Major General Kyaw Win, who was directly supervising the college, to Commander Major General Ye Myint of the Central Command, Mandalay, as the MTC was in Mandalay Region, and to Vice Senior General Maung Aye. The original copy of the complaint letter would be sent to Commander-in-Chief Senior General Than Shwe. The fourth-year students asked the third-year students if they had any contacts in the military to facilitate the letter’s distribution. Through these contacts the complaints were sent. However, nothing was heard back for about one month.

During this month a note of discord crept in between the senior and junior students. When they discussed the issues to be presented to the authorities, second-year students (of the third
intake) and first-year students (of the fourth intake) were marginalized. This upset the second-year students. The senior students believed that the first-year students, who had only been at the MTC for about two months, did not comprehend the real situation on the ground. Therefore, they reasoned it was a good reason to leave them out. However, the second-year students, who had been at the MTC for over a year, were also not invited to the discussion. This led to mistrust of the seniors by the juniors; some juniors believed the seniors were up to something. Such swirling discord was not without reason, as all students faced injustice and hardships, and all were trying in their own ways to put wrong to right.

Most students believed that attending the third year of study towards a Bachelor of Technology would be different from the first two years leading to an AGTI diploma. Second-year students thought that because third- and fourth-year students had already overcome the plight of being stuck with AGTI diplomas, and being limited to sergeant rank, these seniors were not taking their juniors’ plight seriously. All of this happened simply due to the inconsistency of school policy. The second-year students discussed filing separate demands by themselves. In this way, their own separate movement appeared.

The second-year students held discussions late every night in one of the out-of-the-way lecture halls at the back of the college, slowly building their confidence. They planned to put forward their demands with the signatures of second-year students to the education committee office, the department of the deputy chief of staff, and to the commander-in-chief. However, some objected by pointing out that if they presented their demands as such, they would only be cracked down upon. Finally, they decided to send the demands to Lieutenant General Khin Nyunt, the chairperson of the education committee.

The second-year students’ demands were strong for good reason. When the third intake of students met with Brigadier General Aung Hlaing, Director of the Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Department of the Ministry of Defense, soon after starting their studies, he said he was pleased and satisfied with
the recruitment of over 2,000 students, and he went on to encourage the students by telling them they would be able to attend a third year of study. Such false hopes and incentives were provided only to ease the mounting pressure. The second-year students demanded as follows:

1. a. There shall be no steps in between the AGTI diploma and the Bachelor of Technology. All students shall be allowed to do the bachelor’s degree.
   b. Academic performance must be prioritized over military training. To be more systematic, the school shall be staffed with enough lecturers, applicable teaching materials and aids shall be arranged, and all students must be taught competence in basic computer skills.
   c. In order for AGTI diplomas to be internationally recognized, the person who affirms the diplomas with his signature must be a suitably qualified engineer from the Ministry of Education.

2. If these demands are not met, authorities must allow students to return to their homes peacefully.

Students planned to return to their homes, even without approval, in the likely case that the authorities did not agree to their strong demands. Fourth-year students however did not have a plan B, so they could do nothing but wait for a response. Second-year students systematically divided and assigned duties to themselves in order to carry out their plan B. For instance, back then the MTC authorities took away students’ National Registration Cards (NRCs) when they arrived at the college. If a student wanted to return home, they needed their NRC. One duty assigned to second-year students was to get back their
NRCs by any means possible from the training department, where they were held, and to return them to the students. Other duties included preparing the demands, drawing up work plans, keeping meeting minutes, persuading other students into accepting their duties, and so on.

The second intake students, who were in their third year at the time, did not know which side they should take: the struggle of the second-year or fourth-year students. The first intake (fourth-year students) thought that the third-year students did not need to make separate demands since they had already been consulted, and most third-year students agreed with the fourth-years. However, when the second-year students made separate demands, the third-year students held meetings to discuss the issues. They held meetings in the drawing room in the far corner at the rear of the college late at night.

The third-year students, unlike the second-year students, did not visit one barracks after another to try and organize their fellow students. They instead invited only those who were interested and active. But as is the nature of young students, they disagreed and splintered into two groups—the first group supported the demands but the second were more lukewarm and wanted to wait and see. The first group argued that while they did not make any separate demands, they should stay in touch with those who made the demands and coordinate, if need be, they should stand up together in unity. The meetings ended in total disagreement without any solid results. However, the more active third-year students went on to coordinate with the second-year students. This was the final meeting of the overall movement, and for the third-year students (of the second intake), it was also their first and last meeting.

In this way, secret discussions, and meetings among MTC students were held continuously. The fourth-year seniors and second-year juniors made their demands incessantly. Finally, feedback came back from above. The Regional Commander of Mandalay Region and some other officers at different levels recognized the student movement. Coincidently, at that time some Myanmar military camps on the Thailand-Myanmar border
were attacked by Shan troops, and the Myanmar government stated that some Thailand soldiers were among the Shan fighting forces. Due to this, tension between Myanmar and Thailand heightened. It was also a time of full military service in the Myanmar military, with all able troops on deployment. The students saw that the military leaders were busy with these issues.

Amidst this chaos, the students continued their struggle. If their demands were not met, they would head for home. This worked as a reminder. Not only second-year students but other students as well actively participated in discussions. Here again, they came up with dissident ideas. Some students wanted to march from Pyin Oo Lwin to Mandalay and then go back to their own respective homes. Some took advantage of the ‘weekend out pass’, which allows students to roam freely on the weekends, to go back home independently. Students in general agreed to return to their homes, but their routes and methods were different. They continued to discuss what to do next when they got home.

This news spilled over and reached the fourth intake. But still, they did not fully comprehend what was going on. When they talked to their parents on the phone, they broke the news, and when they received their parents at the college as guests, they tipped them off. Some officers seemed to get the hint. The students started to distance themselves little by little from school routines. Students became sparse at physical training, voluntary services within the campus, and night study. The officers did not severely punish these offenders.

Since it was the time for military training for third-year students, almost all their time was spent outside. They were only sometimes on campus. To close out military training, there were long marches and combat drills in the villages and camps in the forest behind the school.

The MTC students resolved that they would wait a month for a response to the second- and fourth-year’s demands and if there was no response, they would return home for good. This resolution reached military intelligence (MI) through students’ parents. MI officers came to meet the principal of the college.
After that meeting, on 31 May 2002, the emergency whistle signal was sounded, and all students were gathered in lines. The authorities made surprise checks on the student dormitories. There, they found documents about the movement. At the parade ground, the principal Colonel Pho Aung himself interrogated one student after another.

The leading and most outspoken students were punched and kicked in front of the rest, arrested, and taken into custody. Students in their first, second and fourth years were present on the parade ground, witnessing the second-year students being assaulted. But at the same time, some fourth-year students were singled out for interrogation. Some prominent students were trucked away for what the MI said was “further investigation”. They were sent directly into the custody of other battalions outside of campus.

Afterwards, fourth-year students were separated from the rest in the workshop hall, which was normally used for other occasions. Simultaneously, second- and first-year students were locked in the practical workshop hall. They were locked away from 10 a.m., shortly after morning assembly, until 3 p.m. The intense heat, imprisonment, and lack of food was unbearable. They could not tolerate seeing their friends assaulted and demeaned. They were in a fit of rage after being confined for hours. They shouted out and pounded the doors in unison to let them out. The school authorities could not resist the cries of over 3,000 students any longer.

Then and there, the station commander and other officials were in fact discussing the students. When the screams spiraled out of control, the school authorities let some out. They were no sooner released than they demanded the remaining students in detention to be freed. When the authorities declined, they said that they would crash the doors open. They said they would go to the central outpost and surround it. The central outpost is an arsenal and the key base of any battalion. The intention of laying siege to a battalion outpost means an intention to occupy the battalion.
To stop a huge crowd of uncontrollable students from gathering, the guard soldiers fired into the air. While they were scared, when the students heard the gunfire, they still became angrier and went even more out of control. The station commander and the principal understood the situation and toned things down to coax them. The students calmed down but still insisted on freeing the students in detention. The station commander and the principal asked them to return to their barracks. The students said they would go back to their halls only when the detained students were set free. Finally, all the detained students walked free.

At the same time, fourth-year students were being kept waiting in the workshop room. That evening, the Chief of Defense Service Training Major General Kyaw Win arrived. He did not meet with the students. Instead, Deputy Chief of Defense Service Training, Brigadier General Aung Kyi (who was later appointed by the military junta to communicate with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who was under house arrest) held a solo meeting with the fourth-year students. At the meeting, the students presented the original 1999 recruitment advertisement for the AGTI and pointed out discrepancies between what was promised and what was delivered. Fourth-year students gave their explanations from a legal point of view. At that time, Brigadier General Aung Kyi admitted he knew nothing about the advertisement, and he did not know how to redress the situation. He said that in the Myanmar military, seniors were parents while students were their children and whatever the parents did was for the interest and wellbeing of their children. Therefore, the latter were obligated to heed whatever their parents did. The meeting ended with that. MTC authorities tried to cover this up as if it was just “following orders” in the army. Then the fourth-year students were ordered onto trucks to be driven to the Central Defense Services Electrical and Engineering Command, 31 miles outside of Pyin Oo Lwin.

When the incident took place, it just so happened to be the last day of the third-year students’ combat tactics training, which took place in Phaungdaw village, seven miles southwest
of Pyin Oo Lwin. On the following day, while the students were preparing to return to the MTC campus, an order from the tactical commander arrived stating combat training would be extended for another week in a new location. Soon after this, the BA 36 (G3) guns, which the students used for their training, were confiscated from them. It was later discovered by the students that the principal ordered this because of the incident at school.

The third-year students were concerned about the situation and two of them returned to the campus to investigate in the evening of 31 May. They had a chance to talk with some second-year students, including those who had been previously detained. The second-year students told them what happened there and that they had no idea about the fourth-year students’ whereabouts; Chief of Defense Service Training Major General Kyaw Win had already been there and was going to hold a meeting with the students the following day to resolve the matter. The two third-year students came to realize that each student cohort’s objectives were being systematically diverted by the authorities in isolation; divide and conquer. They decided that the third-year students should not agree to the extension of their military training and should instead return to the MTC and join with the second-year students for the meeting with Kyaw Win. The second-year students were told not to do anything rash in the meantime and to try and rein in the first-year students. The two third-year students went back to the Phaungdaw village monastery where they were stationed.

On arrival, they whistled to gather all the students to explain the situation. Some dissent arose: breaching their orders by leaving the station and returning to campus was tantamount to violating the Army Act and the students could be gravely punished, even subject to capital punishment. The students had tried desperately to do their third year of study and receive a Bachelor of Technology. For some students, violating their orders was simply too much, and they objected to the plan. This intense discord led to brawls among the students. But when the dust settled, a majority of the students wanted to go back to the college. They packed their stuff and headed on a night march
through the forest to the campus, facing various difficulties and hardships. Those who were in poor health were placed in the middle, and strong men in front and behind, holding sticks and flashlights. They had wooden mattock handles as weapons if they met any hostiles. About a hundred students hurried to the school. In this way, the third-year students of the second intake of the MTC knowingly violated the Army Act.

Some students peeled away from the main group overnight and went back to inform the students to the officers stationed in Phaungdaw village. These officers first tried to follow the students to talk to them, but it was impractical. They opted instead to speed to the MTC campus ahead of the students and stop them at the rear college gate, where the students would likely be arriving.

When the students finally approached the campus gate, the waiting military officers waved flashlights and greeted them with the words:

*Leaving one’s station without any orders to do so is an offense of mutiny, which is liable to be punished by a death sentence under the Army Act. Before it is too late, return to your station. You all are forgiven for what have done so far.*

One third-year student replied:

*It is impossible to go back. Here at the MTC all of the students are facing problems. The fourth-year students’ whereabouts are completely unknown. We are here to join our juniors and face these problems together. Tomorrow, we’re going to talk with the Chief of Defense Service Training.*

After these opening statements on the hill track behind the school, the students and officers argued back and forth for over one hour. When their persuasions fell on deaf student ears, the officers said the students would have to ‘stomp over their necks’,
or go through them with force, if they insisted on entering the school. The students retorted that the issue had nothing to do with those barring their way, but with their higher-ups. The officers should sympathize with the students as brothers and let them go. The students then sat down to pay their respects in propitiation to the officers before them. The officers had been training the students for years, and had developed relations with them, so they were like brothers. They were so saddened by the students’ plight that they stepped aside and told the students to peacefully enter the college and return to their barracks, promising that they would take responsibility and solve their problems. The officers then went away in sorrow. These officers were later punished by their superiors for stepping aside.

The second-year students came to welcome the third-year students happily and heartily when they entered the campus that night. Immediately they held a secret meeting to discuss what they would talk about with the Chief of Defense Services Training. The meeting was happening quicker than they expected and they were not sure what to do. They argued discordantly with no tangible results. The following day they held another meeting. This time they came up with one idea. Whichever student was asked whatever question, the answer must all be the same: if their demands were not met, they should be allowed to peacefully go their homes. If they were not allowed to go, they would go home of their own accord. They went on to discuss what they would do when they got back home. Even when they got back home, they would not give up on the issue.

That morning they waited for their chance to meet the Chief of Defense Services Training. However, no such meeting took place. It was 1 June 2002. Some student parents had been waiting outside the campus to see their sons since the day before. They unfortunately did have the chance to meet their children. The school was surrounded that day by an ambush patrol made up of soldiers from nearby platoons. All access to the town was cordoned off; even the phone connection was cut. Under these
circumstances, the students were still waiting inside MTC for their meeting with the Chief of Defense Services Training.

At that time, some students saw trucks removing the fourth-year students’ belongings and boxes from the student halls, and they flew into anger. The entire intake of fourth-year students was still being detained at the Central Defense Services Electrical and Engineering Command. One and a half hours later, some students suggested they mobilize and march to see the Chief of Defense Services Training right away, and they blew loud and lengthy notes on the whistles non-stop. In those days, each platoon commander, company commander, and battalion commander had a whistle. They alerted fellow students, blowing whistles. Starting with the second-year students, whistles reached the rest of the companies, and they followed suit. The whistles of the 3,000-strong student force, along with the respective commanders and others’, sent shockwaves across the campus and students from nearby companies came out onto the streets.

The students of the companies behind the campus, blowing their whistles all together, marched along the street that leads to the parade ground. Along the way, students from other companies were waiting for them. While marching, some students stated that whether they were allowed to talk to the Chief of Defense Services Training or not, they would head to the south entrance and march out of the school.

At that time, all the administrative mechanisms at the college had already come to a stop. Some training officers, who stood on guard to control the situation, simply went away. Unexpectedly, a mass student protest had just emerged. Driven by peak emotions, the MTC student protesters were ready for whatever came their way. They chanted that the authorities must release all detained students and fulfill their demands.

The commander of Mandalay Region at that time, Brigadier General Ye Myint, along with his bodyguards, approached the students and stopped 200 feet away. He whipped out his holstered gun and threatened them: “What do you take me for? I, the Mandalay Region Commander, am ordering you to stop”.
The bodyguards aimed their guns at the students. However, the students were already familiar with guns and showed no fear, in fact, their anger only increased. Some students swore at the Regional Commander, picked up pieces of rubble and growled that they would throw them if the bodyguards fired. The second-year students were in an emotional state. The third-year students intervened to calm the situation down.

The third-years told the second-years that they were losing control and discipline, and that their goals would be obscured if there was a violent crackdown. Even though they were not listening to the officers, they should listen to their senior students. Then 15 or so third-year students held hands, went to the front of the group, and implored the students to maintain discipline, before marching forward. The Regional Commander and his bodyguards left, scolding, and warning the students.

After the Regional Commander departed, the Chief of Defense Services Training Major General Kyaw Win soon arrived. He came in a convoy of armed soldiers. The students were at the threshold of the parade ground and the convoy stopped 100 feet away from them. The armed privates took positions in all directions, pointing their loaded guns at the students.

Kyaw Win walked up to the students. He was joined by Ye Myint (again) as well as MTC Principal Colonel Pho Aung, some cameramen in plain clothes, and some other officers. Kyaw Win stopped ten steps from the students and stared them down. After a pause, he spoke:

> How marvelous you big students are, huh? We have quelled all manner of university and college strikes. After firing a gunshot or two, we can control them. But you are unperturbed and indifferent. You aren’t scared, because you’ve acquired military training. Now you are protesters yourselves, right? You are not ordinary students but military engineering students...then, we will not use the simple G3 rifles, but sophisticated Uzis that fire hails of bullets instead.
While saying this, he pointed his finger at the armed soldiers dotted around the area with magazines slung over their shoulders.

_When the country is already dealing with chaotic problems, you choose to pose another. But I am empowered to put your problem to an end. I can shoot you all dead. Nothing would happen to me except that history would know Kyaw Win crushed the engineering students. But I’m not shooting you. What’s your problem? Let’s discuss it right here, right now. You go first!_

At that moment, the columns of students were standing. Since discussions could take some time, they were ordered to sit down on the spot. The discussion was lengthy but only its key points are presented in this article. Kyaw Win told the students to speak one after another; in total, seven students spoke sequentially. This was an official discussion between students and the person most responsible for the MTC, held in full transparency and heard by other officers. First, miscellaneous school problems were presented, such as the lack of lecturers, lack of focus on engineering, and poor access to computers and learning materials. Then came some student demands.

Kyaw Win said the school principal would help to redress the problems. But he also said it was not customary to comply with any protests or petitions. He said that if the students were not happy with that, they could run off to the jungle and go underground. The students stated they would continue their MTC studies only when their demands were met, and if these demands were denied, they should be allowed to go back home without any action being taken. Upon hearing this, Kyaw Win fell silent for a while. It looked like he did not expect this. It was likely that the letters to the high-ranking military authorities written earlier by the students had not reached their intended recipients, as if they had, Kyaw Win would have expected this demand. It was possible that the letters sent by the students
never even made it off campus and were buried by low-level staff.

After that, Kyaw Win said that nobody could make a demand on behalf of others within the Myanmar military and there was no such “representative system” in existence. He said he would make a judgment about the affair right then on the spot. He then ordered the students who wanted to go home to step out on the parade ground and those who did not to remain there. He warned them not to persuade any of their fellows by any means. Now it was the students’ turn to fall silent. On their left and right were loaded guns aiming at them. They were in a dilemma. Each student now had to display their defiance openly in front of the high-ranking officers but feared that if they did so, they may be shot. After a few minutes, the first students stepped out to stand as ordered. The cameramen were taking photos of them without a pause. And then another group of students followed. Then another. Kyaw Win’s face fell and so did the faces of the other officers. They started to realize their ‘divide and conquer’ tactic was not working. By now, two-thirds of the students had stood out in front. Kyaw Win raised his hand to stop them.

Well, I appreciate your brave decision. Since you are dying to go home, I am sending all of you home, informing your parents of what happened. We will continue the studies of the remaining students but remember this: What you did here has never happened before in Burmese history and will never happen again in the future. I don’t want you to rub your mindset on our Tatmadaw. Those who want to go home are allowed to do so without any blemishes from punishment. But whoever instigated this will not be forgiven. (Emphasis added.)

After giving instructions to the school principal, Kyaw Win hopped into his vehicle and disappeared. The principal asked students who wanted to go home to give their names to their respective companies and left as well. As one of the two key
demands had been complied with, most students were over-
joyed, except for those who wanted to stick it through. On the
outside of MTC they would be free to fly as they fancied, and they
could shape their future. From that day onwards they refused to
participate in the daily work that kept the school mechanism
functioning. Before they headed for home, they were able to lead
a carefree life on campus.

There were still armed forces on campus, tightening secu-
rity, and there were rumors of a standing order to shoot and kill
any suspicious attempts to leave the campus. The students could
do nothing but wait to be allowed to go back home. Most stu-
dents were having a great time; but simultaneously, one promi-
nent student after another was summoned by military authori-
ties to be investigated or taken away at night with no explana-
tion. Most did not come back.

The list of the names of the students who wanted to go back
home was duly taken as the principal had ordered. More and
more students decided they wanted to leave the MTC. Suddenly,
a piece of news arrived: each student bound for home had to pay
1,000,000 Myanmar Kyat in compensation. But their decision
was unshakable. By this time, only 100 of the 3,000 students were
willing to resume their MTC studies. Finally, the order came
from the above: all students could leave for home. A week later,
on 10 June, the students were driven to Mandalay in military
trucks. Then the MTC was officially closed.

Not long after that, on 10 June, the detained students were
sent to custody in Mandalay in three groups. Only when they ar-
ived in Mandalay and met the prison officers did they know
how many years they were to serve. They were separated into
three- and four-person groups and thrown into the prison wards
reserved for those with death sentences. After four weeks, they
were sent to different prisons across the country. The prisoners
from lower Myanmar were sent to upper Myanmar prisons like
Bamaw, Puta-O, Khamti, and Kalay; those from upper Myanmar
were sent to southern prisons like Mawlamyine, Hpa-an, and
Sittwe, so as to be far from their homes.
The fourth-year students, who were detained at the Central Defense Services Electrical and Engineering Command while the discussions with Kyaw Win took place, did not know what to do. Some of the prominent fourth-year students were interrogated and detained separately, but the rest were taken to Mandalay and allowed to return home. The unlucky ones were detained at other schools and commands—some at the DSA, some at the DSTA, some at the Defense Services Administration School (Ta Ah Kha), and some at Military Training Command 2. They usually stayed in one place for three days at a time before being moved on for further interrogation. There was a rumor among the students that all the offenders would be given a death sentence, but it was learned that there were dissensions among the military leaders, so no death sentences were given. Then they were court-martialed in custody at the command where they were already held.

In the movement overall, 11 fourth-year students, one third-year student, 33 second-year students, totaling 45 altogether, were sentenced to five to seven years in prison. Moreover, some training officers who served at the school during the movement were also punished. Except some officers who were away from the college doing courses or other training, and those who were witnesses for the government (the military government), the other training officers were forced to retire along with Colonel Pho Aung. As a matter of fact, true to the nature of military men, they carried out their duties according to the orders of their superiors. Since officers do nothing of their own accord in the military without orders, they should not have borne the full brunt of the consequences of wrongful orders and flawed policies. It was the military leaders, absent of responsibility and accountability, who adopted the flawed policies and unilaterally betrayed their students.

In this movement, one of the two demands was met, so it can be said to have been a success. The youths who lost their future regained it—they could choose their new path and mold their future. At the time of writing in 2016, these ex-students, who are now around 40 years old, are mostly successful in their
fields. While some have passed away, strong unity and mutual support still exists among most of the comrades who overcame their challenges and struggles together.

Disinformation About the MTC Incident and Students’ Identity Crisis

MTC students not only found it difficult to find their identities while in college, but they also faced an ongoing identity crisis after the college closed. They felt demeaned by their participation in the MTC. This is because disinformation was spread throughout the education and politics communities. The main lie that spread was that MTC students had supposedly demanded they graduate at captain rank. This was a cover-up intentionally spread by the military so that they could cover their breach of contract, mismanagement and injustices. They feared that people would find out how the MTC students questioned military policies. The MTC incident was a huge blow to military leaders, posing obstacles to the military’s goal of rapid expansion. When they later recruited students for the Military Computer and Technological Institute (MCTI), they made sure to avoid false promises and lures that could confuse students.

Another culprit perpetuating misinformation was the foreign media. Outlets like Radio Free Asia (RFA) and the Irrawaddy spread fake news without using reliable sources.\textsuperscript{12} Myanmar was under strict military rule in 2002 and the MTC was not a civilian university, presenting challenges for the media to reach the students involved or other witnesses. Another article by Miller erroneously suggested that the MTC students staged a revolt because of concerns over rank and “the quality of the food”.\textsuperscript{13} This article went on to be cited by others, such as scholar Mary Callahan.\textsuperscript{14} Another writer, Maung Aung Myoe, attributed further stigma to all MTC students by claiming that a brawl between the

\textsuperscript{12} For example, see the Irrawaddy news article by Kyaw Zwa Moe (2002).
\textsuperscript{13} Miller, 2002.
\textsuperscript{14} Such as Mary Callahan, 2003.
MTC and DSTA closed the school.\textsuperscript{15} Even worse, he claims the MCTI and MTC are the same institute. The MTC was designed to offer five-year courses, two years for the AGTI, another two for Bachelor of Technology and one year for Bachelor of Engineering, while the MCTI only offers two-year courses for AGTI diplomas.

Other outlets like the Democratic Voice of Burma also (re)published misinformation about the MTC.\textsuperscript{16} Military leaders falsely alleged the incident at MTC was fueled by politics, so domestic media outlets did not report on it comprehensively. Because of that, the student leaders who were detained and convicted by the military had no access to any assistance from foreign organizations. The media did not reveal the true story; therefore, the military’s disinformation and misinformation from guesswork spread instead. Under military rule in Myanmar getting access to facts, for anyone, let alone foreign media, is challenging. Even the parents of MTC students did not know what was happening to their children. As soon as the uprising started, the authorities locked down all entrances to Pyin Oo Lwin. So, the media cannot be blamed entirely for their poor reporting.

The MTC students who had been detained were accused of treason by military authorities. They lost the trust of political and military leaders and were wholly shunned. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) failed to include the MTC student leaders in its list of prisoners of conscience. MTC student prisoners stood up to the prison authorities to be treated equally as political prisoners. As a result, they were tortured. During their prison terms, they had to fight for the right to read in cells and to eat their fill. There was no assistance nor protection from any foreign organization.

This continues to impact ex-MTC students. The influence of fake news still demeans them. Even after 20 years have passed, they still suffer from the identity crisis they experienced at

\textsuperscript{15} Maung Aung Myoe, 2009.
\textsuperscript{16} မူအောင်မြို့ ၂၀၀၉.
college. When I am asked by somebody which school I went to, if I say MTC, they say something like, “Is that the military school that was closed because students protested about not having the officer rank conferred on them?”. As one of the student activists in the MTC student uprising, I hope this article contributes to wider knowledge of the event and can help MTC alumni with their ongoing identity crisis.

References

Appendix 1

*Pamphlet of the Recruitment Advertisement of the Military Technological College (2000).*

Please see page 349 in the Burmese version of this article for the appendix.
ဗိုလ်တော် သင်တန်းများကို တည်ထောင်သည်မှာ ဗိုလ်တော်တက္ကဦး(Military Technological College) ဖြစ်ပြီး သင်တန်းတာဝင်သည် အသိအမှတ်ပြုသော နည်းလမ်းများဖြင့် လေ့လာခြင်းဖြင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော် သင်ကြားများအတွက် ရေးသားထားသော သင်တန်းများဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲဆိုသည်။ သင်တန်းများကို လေ့လာရာတွင် အမှတ်ပြုသော နည်းလမ်းများဖြင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော် သင်ကြားများအတွက် လေ့လာခြင်းဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲဆိုသည်။

စာပတ်၀ား: အမေရိကန်နိုင်ငံတော် သင်တန်းများကို တည်ထောင်သည်မှာ ဗိုလ်တော်တက္ကဦး(Military Technological College) ဖြစ်ပြီး သင်တန်းတာဝင်သည် အသိအမှတ်ပြုသော နည်းလမ်းများဖြင့် လေ့လာခြင်းဖြင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော် သင်ကြားများအတွက် ရေးသားထားသော သင်တန်းများဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲဆိုသည်။ သင်တန်းများကို လေ့လာရာတွင် အမှတ်ပြုသော နည်းလမ်းများဖြင့် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော် သင်ကြားများအတွက် လေ့လာခြင်းဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲဆိုသည်။
ပို့ခဲ့ရာ လူမှုရေး အဖွဲ့အစည်း လှူဒါန်းချက် ပြင်းထန်သောကြောင့် ဝေဖန်သောဖျင်

၂၀၀၂ အထိပြောင်းလဲနေသောခြေအားဖြင့် ပြည်သူ ဗျူဟာသောကြောင့် အမှန် အစိုးရချက် (အဝိုင် အားဖြင့်) အားဖြင့် တင်းချိန်းသောကြောင့် ပြည်သူအစိုးရကြောင့် ရပ်တန့်ချက် (အားဖြင့်) အားဖြင့် ဖျင်သွင်းရာ အချက်အလက်များကို အပြုသောကြောင့် ပေးမည်။

ပေ - ၃

၂၀၀၂ အထိပြောင်းလဲနေသောခြေအားဖြင့် ပြည်သူအစိုးရကြောင့် ဝေဖန်သောဖျင်

စိတ်ဝင်စားသူများ၊ အစိုးရချက်အားဖြင့် (အားဖြင့်) အားဖြင့် ရပ်တန့်ချက် (အားဖြင့်) အားဖြင့် ဖျင်သွင်းရာ အချက်အလက်များကို အပြုသောကြောင့် ပေးမည်။

---

1 ဖျင်သွင်းရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ငွေကိုင် သောတွေ
2 ဖျင်သွင်းရာ အချက်အလက်များကို ငွေကိုင် သောတွေ
(a) တိုက်ကွယ်တွင် အချိန်အထောက် အောက်ပါ နောက်တစ်ခု သားတော်တွင် အချေထောင် (၁၃) သို့မဟုတ် အချေထောင် (၁၁) နောက်တစ်ခု အောက်ပါမည်

(b) ချိန်အထောက် အချေထောင် အောက်ပါ နောက်တစ်ခု သားတော်တွင် အချေထောင် (၁၃) သို့မဟုတ် အချေထောင် (၁၁) နောက်တစ်ခု အောက်ပါမည်

(c) ရုပ်မှော်စွာအချေထောင် အချေထောင် အောက်ပါ နောက်တစ်ခု သားတော်တွင် အချေထောင် (၁၃) သို့မဟုတ် အချေထောင် (၁၁) နောက်တစ်ခု အောက်ပါမည်

(d) မြောက်ချိန်အချေထောင် အချေထောင် အောက်ပါ နောက်တစ်ခု သားတော်တွင် အချေထောင် (၁၃) သို့မဟုတ် အချေထောင် (၁၁) နောက်တစ်ခု အောက်ပါမည်

(e) အချေထောင် အောက်ပါ နောက်တစ်ခု သားတော်တွင် အချေထောင် (၁၃) သို့မဟုတ် အချေထောင် (၁၁) နောက်တစ်ခု အောက်ပါမည်

(f) အချေထောင် အောက်ပါ နောက်တစ်ခု သားတော်တွင် အချေထောင် (၁၃) သို့မဟုတ် အချေထောင် (၁၁) နောက်တစ်ခု အောက်ပါမည်

(g) အချေထောင် အောက်ပါ နောက်တစ်ခု သားတော်တွင် အချေထောင် (၁၃) သို့မဟုတ် အချေထောင် (၁၁) နောက်တစ်ခု အောက်ပါမည်

(h) အချေထောင် အောက်ပါ နောက်တစ်ခု သားတော်တွင် အချေထောင် (၁၃) သို့မဟုတ် အချေထောင် (၁၁) နောက်တစ်ခု အောက်ပါမည်

(i) အချေထောင် အောက်ပါ နောက်တစ်ခု သားတော်တွင် အချေထောင် (၁၃) သို့မဟုတ် အချေထောင် (၁၁) နောက်တစ်ခု အောက်ပါမည်
(1) အခြားသော်လည်း ယောဇီဝလေ့လာပြီး သင်ကြား
နေကြား (၂) ပေါင်းအသွေးအဝေးပါး
(2) ကျွန်ုပ်ရဲ့ အချင်းအလေးကို ကျွန်ုပ်ရဲ့
ပြောပြပေးမှုများကို ကျွန်ုပ်ရဲ့ အချင်းအလေးကို
ထောက်ပြုပါသည်။ (၄) ပြသားသော
ယောဇီဝလေ့လာမှုများ
(3) ကျွန်ုပ်ရဲ့ ကျွန်ုပ်ရဲ့ အချင်းအလေးကို
ထောက်ပြုပေးသည် ထောက်ပြုပေးသည်
ယောဇီဝလေ့လာမှုကို အသေးသေးကြား
(၂) ပြသားသောကြောင့် (၄) ဖော်ပြသော ကျွန်ုပ်ရဲ့
ယောဇီဝလေ့လာမှုကို
(1) အခြားသော်လည်း နေကြား (၂) ပေါင်းအသွေးအဝေး
သင်ကြားမှုများကို သင်ကြားမှုများ
(2) ကျွန်ုပ်ရဲ့ အချင်းအလေးကို ကျွန်ုပ်ရဲ့
ပြောပြပေးမှုများကို ကျွန်ုပ်ရဲ့ အချင်းအလေး
ထောက်ပြုပါသည်။ (၄) ပြသားသော
ယောဇီဝလေ့လာမှုများ


3 အမြဲညွှန်းလျက်လည်း အသိသောအရာများ ၂၀၀၀ (၂၀၀၀) အချင်းအလုံအကြိုးအပြိုင်းနှင့် ပြန်လာစေရန် အများအားဖြင့် “အသိသောအရာများကိုလည်းကောင်း” စာရင်းအရ ပေါ်ထွန်းမှု အနွေးအမြဲ မိုးမိုးပြုပြီး ပြောပြပါသည်။

4 စာရင်းအတွက်များ ၂၀၀၀
၂၇၈ Zay Yah Oo

မြန်မာစိုက်ပျိုးရေးအဝင်မှုပညာရေးဖွံ့ဖိုးများ

MILITARY TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE
အတန်းများနှင့်ပတ်သက်သောအဖွဲ့ဝင်များ
(3) အသင်းသို့

(1) အထူး

(၁) အဆင့်သောကြန်သောအချိန်ကြည့်ရှုချက်ကြောင့် (၂၀၀၀) ထိုင်းနိုင်ငံတွင် ထိုင်းရိုက်ဆုံးကြည့်ရှုချက်ကြောင့် အောက်ပါတို့လောက်တွင် အခြေခံအလေးစာများ ဖော်ပေါ်လျက်ရှိသည်။

(၂) ဘွဲ့အားလုံးကြည့်ရှုချက်ကြောင့် မြန်မာပြည်တွင် စီးပွားရေး အောက်ပါတို့လောက်တွင် အခြေခံအလေးစာများ ဖော်ပေါ်လျက်ရှိသည်။

(၃) အားလုံးအားလုံးကြည့်ရှုချက်ကြောင့် မြန်မာပြည်တွင် အခြေခံအလေးစာများ ဖော်ပေါ်လျက်ရှိသည်။

(4) ပညာရေးသတင်းကြည့်ရှုချက်ကြောင့် ပညာရေးတွင် အခြေခံအလေးစာများ ဖော်ပေါ်လျက်ရှိသည်။

(5) အခြေခံအလေးစာများကို အထူးပြုလုပ်ပေးကြသည်။

(6) အခြေခံအလေးစာများကို အထူးပြုလုပ်ပေးကြသည်။
သင်္ကေတ သင်ဝေါ်ရေးသားတစ်ယောက်ထက် သင်္ကေတစိတ်ဖြစ်သည်

ဝါဆိုထားသော သင်္ကေတစိတ်ကို သင်္ကေတစိတ်ဖြစ်သည် သင်္ကေတ

ဤစိတ်ဖြစ်သော သင်္ကေတစိတ်ကို သင်္ကေတစိတ်ဖြစ်သည် သင်္ကေတ/သင်္ကေတ

ယူဆက်စိတ်ဖြစ်သည်:
အဆိုပေးသောအချက်များနှင့် သုံးစွဲနေသောအချက်များ ပြောက်စေ၍ သိရှိတွေ့ရှိသောအချက်များ (၁) ဖြင့်စီမံချေရာ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ ကမ္ဘာ့သားတို့ အသိရိုက်တွယ်ထားသောအချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသော (၂) ဖြင့်စီမံချေရာ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ ကမ္ဘာ့သားတို့ အသိရိုက်တွယ်ထားသောအချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသော (၃) ဖြင့်စီမံချေရာ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

(B.Tech) ဟူပြု၍ အသင်းတို့ အသိရိုက်တွယ်ထားသောအချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ B.E အသင်းအသိရိုက်တွယ်ထားသည်။ ထို့အပြင် ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အသင်းတို့ အသိရိုက်တွယ်ထားသောအချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

သဘာဝပေါ်ပေါက်လာခြင်း ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အသိရိုက်တွယ်ထားသောအချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အသိရိုက်တွယ်ထားသောအချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

ပြောင်းလည် ၁၀၀၀ ပေါက်အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

ဤဖျင် ၎င်းတို့ အသိရိုက်တွယ်ထားသောအချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။
မြန်မာစာမျက်နာများ

မြန်မာစာမျက်နာများအတွင်းတွင် သူ့ရဲ့ စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ခွဲခြားနိုင်ရန် ရှိသည်။

စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ခွဲခြားနိုင်ရန် ရှိသည်။

Military Technological College တွင် ကျွန်ုပ်ကို စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ဖော်ပြနိုင်မည်။

စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ခွဲခြားနိုင်ရန် ရှိသည်။

အောက်ပါအခြေအနေတွင် ကျွန်ုပ်ကို စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ဖော်ပြနိုင်မည်။

စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ခွဲခြားနိုင်ရန် ရှိသည်။

Military Technological College တွင် ကျွန်ုပ်ကို စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ဖော်ပြနိုင်မည်။

စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ခွဲခြားနိုင်ရန် ရှိသည်။

Military Technological College တွင် ကျွန်ုပ်ကို စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ဖော်ပြနိုင်မည်။

စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ခွဲခြားနိုင်ရန် ရှိသည်။

Military Technological College တွင် ကျွန်ုပ်ကို စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ဖော်ပြနိုင်မည်။

စိတ်ကူးအကြောင်းအရာကို ခွဲခြားနိုင်ရန် ရှိသည်။
ဗိုလ်တာလှန်းချောင်း ကလက်ကြက်ပြား ညွှန်ကြား သောက်ချက်ပြိုင်ပွဲများ အိုးစားချက်များ အရှင်းများကို တိုးတက်သောက်ချက်များဖြစ်သည်။ သူများ ပြသကြားချက်များကို တိုးတက်သောက်ချက်များဖြစ်သည်။

(1) အိုးစားချက်များကို တိုးတက်သောက်ချက်များဖြစ်သည်။ အိုးစားချက်များကို တိုးတက်သောက်ချက်များဖြစ်သည်။ အိုးစားချက်များကို တိုးတက်သောက်ချက်များဖြစ်သည်။

(2) AGTI (Diploma) ထိုးရာတွင် အိုးစားချက်များကို တိုးတက်သောက်ချက်များဖြစ်သည်။

(3) Bachelor of Technology ထိုးရာတွင် အိုးစားချက်များကို တိုးတက်သောက်ချက်များဖြစ်သည်။

(4) Bachelor of Engineering ထိုးရာတွင် အိုးစားချက်များကို တိုးတက်သောက်ချက်များဖြစ်သည်။

(5) အိုးစားချက်များကို တိုးတက်သောက်ချက်များဖြစ်သည်။
နေထိုင်ရာတွင် ပြင်သစ်ဝင်းလုပ်ငန်းများ၊ စိတ်ကူးဘာသာစကားအရအားဖွေ့စ်များ ပြင်ပြင်များ မြင်ရာတွင် ပြင်သစ်၏အရိုးအခံများ ထိန်းသိမ်းပါသည်။ ကျောင်းသားများမှာ ပြင်သစ်စိုက်ပျိုးရာ မြစ်မှန်းစေရန်အတွက် ပြင်သစ်စိုက်ပျိုးရာ မြစ်မှန်းမှုဖော်ပြထားသည်။

ကျောင်းသားများအားလုံးပါဝင်သူများအားလုံး အနေဖြင် ပြင်သစ်စိုက်ပျိုးရာကို လူကြိုက်သူများ၏ ပြင်သစ်စိုက်ပျိုးရာကို အဖြစ်ပြုလုပ်နိုင်ပါသည်။

၂၈၅
286 | Zay Yah Oo

...
Defense Service Academy
ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များကို မှီးသစ်များ ဖြင့် ကြိုးစားခြင်းကို ရှုပ်ထွေးစေရန် သင်ကြားချက်များကို ထည့်သွင်းသည်။

စေရာမှ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်တက္ကသိုလ်တွင် ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များကို ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များ ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်သွားသည် (Defense Service Technology Academy) ဆိုလျင် ရွေးချယ်ဖူးသည် စေရာမှ ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များကို ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်သွားသည်: (၁) ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များကို ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်သွားသည် (၂) ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များကို ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်သွားသည် (defense service technology academy)

စေရာမှ တိုင်းတာချုပ်ကြီးကို ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များကို ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်သွားသည် (Defense Service Medical Academy) အဖြေအယူအဖြစ်ပြုလုပ်သည်: (၁) ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များကို ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်သွားသည် (၂) ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များကို ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်သွားသည် (defense service medical academy)

စေရာမှ ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များကို ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်သွားသည် စေရာမှ ကြိုးကျင်းချက်များကို ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်သွားသည် (defense service technology academy) အဖြေအယူအဖြစ်ပြုလုပ်သည်:

7 Maung Aung Myoe, 2009.
8 Ibid.
Zay Yah Oo | 289

ကြွေးသော်လည်း စုစုပေါင်းမြောက်သည် စိတ်ကျင်းမှုပြောင်းလဲမှု အောင် မြင်စွာ နေထိုင်ပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကျောင်းသား ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကျောင်းသားများကို စုစုပေါင်း အားလုံးက ကြေညာမှုများ ပြောင်းလဲမှု အောင် မြင်စွာ မြောက်သော်လည်း စြာတွေ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကျောင်းသားများကို ကြည့်မှုများ အားလုံးက ကြေညာမှုများ ပြောင်းလဲမှု အောင် မြင်စွာ နေထိုင်ပါသည်။

BSc (DSA)
(၂) ယောက်သတင်းများ သင်ကြားနိုင်သည်။ အပိုင်းအစား စွဲမှုအနေနှင့် အဖြစ်အစား လေ့လာခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ သင့်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင့်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အလွန် သင်ကြားခြင်း သင်လိုအပ်သည်။ အဖြစ်အချိန် သင်ရဲ့ လေ့လာရေး လေ့လာလိုသည်။ အချိန် စိုက်ပျိုးရေး လေ့လာခြင်းသည် အ}
 cortical areas were consistently activated when the participants were asked to process affective stimuli. The affective processing of images was found to be associated with the prefrontal and parietal cortex regions. These findings suggest that the emotional engagement with the stimuli activated regions that are involved in the perception and processing of emotional information. This study provides further insights into the neural mechanisms underlying emotional processing and the role of different brain regions in these processes.
(၁) ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့၏ အဖွဲ့ဝင် အများဝင်များ တွေ့ ရိုက်ကူးဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းမှာ လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ဖော်ထားသောကြောင့် ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။

ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့၏ ဗိုလ်စားရေးမှာ တိုးတက်ခြင်းနှင့် ဗိုလ်စားရေးရေးရာအချက်များကို ပြင်းထန်းသောကြောင့် အလွန်အမြင်မှန်ကန်စေရန် အခြေခံအမှရသော အထောင်အမှန်အားလုံးကို ဖော်ထားသည်။ ယခုအခါ မိန်းကလေးနှင့် မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့သည် ဗိုလ်စားရေးမှာ ဖော်ထားသောကြောင့် လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ ယခုအခါ မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့သည် လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။

ယခုအခါ မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့သည် လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ ယခုအခါ မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့သည် လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။

ယခုအခါ မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့သည် လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ ယခုအခါ မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့သည် လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။

ယခုအခါ မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့သည် လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ ယခုအခါ မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့သည် လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။

ယခုအခါ မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့သည် လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ ယခုအခါ မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ဗိုလ်စားရေး အစိုးရအဖွဲ့သည် လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။

ယခုအခါ မိမိတို့၏ စိုက်ပျိုးမှုများကို သိရှိရန် AGTI ထိုကြည့်သည်မှာ လျှော့လျှော့ထားသည်ကို ကြေညာချက်တစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။
အောက်ပါအတွက် ဗိုလျားပစ်၊ ဗိုလျားပစ် စိုက်ပျိုးရေးမှုတိုက်လေးလာမှုနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍ အားကိုက်ဖျင် ဗိုလျားပစ်တိုက်လေးလာမှုတိုက်လေးလာမှုရှိသော နေရာကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။

AGTI ဗိုလျားပစ် စိုက်ပျိုးရေးမှုနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍ ဗိုလျားပစ်တိုက်လေးလာမှုရှိသော နေရာကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။

(first semester, second semester, third semester, fourth semester)

(1) ကျင်းပန်းနာယာရေးနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍ ဗိုလျားပစ်တိုက်လေးလာမှုရှိသော နေရာကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။

(2) ကျင်းပန်းနာယာရေးနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍ ဗိုလျားပစ်တိုက်လေးလာမှုရှိသော နေရာကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။

(3) ကျင်းပန်းနာယာရေးနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍ ဗိုလျားပစ်တိုက်လေးလာမှုရှိသော နေရာကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။ အားကိုက်ဖျင် လုပ်ငန်းများနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းများကို အလေးထောင်သည်။
ဘိုးရုံဟျင်း: အိုက်ရိုးတွင် ပထဝီဝင် အလုပ်လုပ်ရာ အခြားပြုလုပ်ပြီး ရှိနေသော အခြား အပြည်ပြည်ဆိုင်ရာ ပြုလုပ်မှုများကို အသိအမှတ်ပြုသည်။

စာရင်းအနေဖြင့် မှူးလောင်သို့ အဲဒ်သတ်မှတ်ပြီး အသုံးပြုသူများအတွက် အခြေခံသော အလုပ်လုပ်ခြင်း၏ အရေအတွက် (၁) အမှုစိတ်ချီးမှုကို သုံးစွဲပြီး စီစဉ်ထားသော အရေအတွက်၏ အရေအတွက် (၂) အမှုစိတ်ချီးမှုကို သုံးစွဲပြီး စီစဉ်ထားသော အရေအတွက်၏ အစိတ်အပိုင်းဖြစ်ရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ ပြည်သူများရဲ့ အလုပ်လုပ်ခြင်းများကို အစိတ်အပိုင်းပြုလုပ်ပါသည်။
არაგონთა ათასწლეულებში დიდი ნაწილი ადრინდელი დღესწორების დღის საუკუნებში გადაიმართა.

1990 წელს ვერთიპერბორალური უმზადი იყო (1), რომელზეც ცოტა ადამი გადაიმართა.

2000 წელს ვერთიპერბორალური უმზადი იყო (2), რომელზეც ცოტა ადამი გადაიმართა.

2010 წელს ვერთიპერბორალური უმზადი იყო (3), რომელზეც ცოტა ადამი გადაიმართა.

2020 წელს ვერთიპერბორალური უმზადი იყო (4), რომელზეც ცოტა ადამი გადაიმართა.

2030 წელს ვერთიპერბორალური უმზადი იყო (5), რომელზეც ცოტა ადამი გადაიმართა.

2040 წელს ვერთიპერბორალური უმზადი იყო (6), რომელზეც ცოტა ადამი გადაიმართა.

2050 წელს ვერთიპერბორალური უმზადი იყო (7), რომელზეც ცოტა ადამი გადაიმართა.
ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးငါလိုင်းမှ စိတ်ကူးစိတ်ဖျင်တီးကာ ပြသားသောအချက်အလက်များ ရင်စိန်ပြောပွဲများဖြင့် အခန်းများကို အစီအစဉ်ဖော်ပြသည်။ အစီအစဉ်များ (၁) အားလုံးကို စိတ်ကူးစိတ်ဖျင်တီးကာ ပြသားသောအချက်အလက်များ ရင်စိန်ပြောပွဲများဖြင့် အစီအစဉ်ဖော်ပြသည်။

(၁) အားလုံးကို စိတ်ကူးစိတ်ဖျင်တီးကာ ပြသားသောအချက်အလက်များ ရင်စိန်ပြောပွဲများဖြင့် အစီအစဉ်ဖော်ပြသည်။ အစီအစဉ်များ (၁) အားလုံးကို စိတ်ကူးစိတ်ဖျင်တီးကာ ပြသားသောအချက်အလက်များ ရင်စိန်ပြောပွဲများဖြင့် အစီအစဉ်ဖော်ပြသည်။ အစီအစဉ်များ (၂) အားလုံးကို စိတ်ကူးစိတ်ဖျင်တီးကာ ပြသားသောအချက်အလက်များ ရင်စိန်ပြောပွဲများဖြင့် အစီအစဉ်ဖော်ပြသည်။

• အာရှဒေသဆိုင်ရာ အောက်ပါ (Civil Engineering)
• အာရှဒေသဆိုင်ရာ အောက်ပါ (Electronic Engineering)
• အာရှဒေသဆိုင်ရာ အောက်ပါ (Electrical Power Engineering)
• အာရှဒေသဆိုင်ရာ အောက်ပါ (Mechanical Engineering)
  o (၂) အာရှဒေသဆိုင်ရာ (Mechanical Power)
• बिन्दु (j) Machine Tools and Design
• अन्वेषण इंजीनियरिंग (Chemical Engineering)
• पुरावा हायट्राउज़ कोर्पोरेटेड इंजीनियरिंग (Architectural Engineering)
• स्टाइलिश एंटरप्राइज इंजीनियरिंग (Mechatronic Engineering)
• लागुहाय साइंसिक एंटरप्राइज इंजीनियरिंग (Aeronautical and Aerospace Engineering)
• नासा इंजीनियरिंग (Nuclear Engineering)
• इन्फार्मेशन प्रौद्योगिकी (Information Technology)
• बि.टी. (Biotechnology)
• बसरा इंजीनियरिंग (Computer Engineering)
• इंडस्ट्रील इंजीनियरिंग (Industrial Management)
• अर्केटिकल इंजीनियरिंग (Metallurgical Engineering)
• सेफ्टी इंजीनियरिंग (Defense Industrial Engineering)
• सारी (Marine Engineering)
(၃) ကမ္ဘာ့ကြီးမှာ အနောက်တိုင်းသည်  B.E. သူများ နိုင်ငံတော်အပြီး ဖျင်သည်နှင့် မိသို့ ပြည်ပြည်အတွက် အခြေခံသည် ပြည်ပြည်အတွက် အခြေခံသည် ဖျင်သည်နှင့် မိသို့ ပြည်ပြည်အတွက် ဝိုင်ရိုးသည် များပါသည်။ ဤစာလုံးသည် ထို့အတွက် များပါသည်။ Roll No.1 Top 10 ရှေးသော စာလုံးများကို အခြေခံသည် များပါသည်။ ဤစာလုံးသည် ထို့အတွက် များပါသည်။
Zay Yah Oo | 303

နောက်ထိုးယူ: BSc(DSA) အားလုံးအထောက်အကူမှ သင်္ချာတစ်ခုသို့ စိတ်ပြော ပြောင်းလဲဖျင်သည်။ ချစ်သူများ၏ သိပ္ပံအား လေ့လာသော်လည်း ကျန်ရှိထားသော မေးခွန်များကို သိရုံများနှင့် စိတ်ပြောက်နိုင်သည်။

စုစုပေါင်း: ဒီစာလိုက်သည် စိတ်ပြောကူးစက်များကို သိရုံများ၏ စိတ်ပြောတစ်ခုသို့ ပြောင်းလဲဖျင်သည်။ (၁) သင်္ချာတစ်ခုသည် သင်္ချာတစ်ခုကို သိရုံများ၏ စိတ်ပြောတစ်ခုသို့ ပြောင်းလဲဖျင်သည်။ (၂) သင်္ချာတစ်ခုသည် သင်္ချာတစ်ခုကို သိရုံများ၏ စိတ်ပြောတစ်ခုသို့ ပြောင်းလဲဖျင်သည်။ (၃) သင်္ချာတစ်ခုသည် သင်္ချာတစ်ခုကို သိရုံများ၏ စိတ်ပြောတစ်ခုသို့ ပြောင်းလဲဖျင်သည်။ B.E. အားလုံးအထောက် အကြောင်းဖြင့် အထက် အားများ သင်္ချာတစ်ခုသည် သင်္ချာတစ်ခုကို သိရုံများ၏ စိတ်ပြောတစ်ခုသို့ ပြောင်းလဲဖျင်သည်။ ဗိသုကာ စစ်ဆေးရင်းပြောင်းလဲဖျင်သည်။
“စိုက်ဖိုး ဗုဒ္ဓကျားဗျူဟာပေးသော ကောင်းမွှေးရှိခဲ့သော “စိုက်ဖိုးဆောင်ရွက်ချက်”ကို အပေါ်မရှိခဲ့သော အချက် တစ်ခုကို ကျောင်းသားများသည် ပြည်သူများအတွက် အတိုက်အကူ တင်ပေးခဲ့သည်။ ကျောင်းသားများသည် တိုင်းပြည်နယ်များတွင် တိုင်းရင်းသား ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဗျူဟာအား တင်ပေးခဲ့သည်။ သို့သော် ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဗျူဟာအပေါ် အတိုက်အကူ တင်ပေးသော အချက်တစ်ခုကို ကျောင်းသားများသည် တိုင်းရင်းသား ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဗျူဟာအပေါ် အတိုက်အကူ တင်ပေးခဲ့သည်။ သို့သော် ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဗျူဟာအပေါ် အတိုက်အကူ တင်ပေးသော အချက်တစ်ခုကို ကျောင်းသားများသည် တိုင်းရင်းသား ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဗျူဟာအပေါ် အတိုက်အကူ တင်ပေးခဲ့သည်။ သို့သော် ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဗျူဟာအပေါ် အတိုက်အကူ တင်ပေးသော အချက်တစ်ခုကို ကျောင်းသားများသည် တိုင်းရင်းသား ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဗျူဟာအပေါ် အတိုက်အကူ တင်ပေးခဲ့သည်။

ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဗျူဟာအပေါ် အတိုက်အကူ တင်ပေးသော အချက်တစ်ခုကို ကျောင်းသားများသည် တိုင်းရင်းသား ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဗျူဟာအပေါ် အတိုက်အကူ တင်ပေးခဲ့သည်။
အခါများတွင် အမော်အမာလားစေရန် စိတ်ဝင်စားနေသော အချက်များကို လေ့လာသော်လည်း အဓိကအရာများကို လေ့လာရမည်။ လက်ရှိတွင် အခြားသော အချက်များကို လေ့လာသော်လည်း အဓိကအရာများကို လေ့လာရမည်။ အထူးသဖြင့် (DSTA) စနစ် အသုံးပြုသော အချက်များကို လေ့လာသော်လည်း အဓိကအရာများကို လေ့လာရမည်။ အခြားသော အချက်များကို လေ့လာသော်လည်း အဓိကအရာများကို လေ့လာရမည်။
တိုးတက်သည်အထိအချိန်တွင် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာ အရေးပါသော အချက်အလက်များ ကျော်ကြားခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သို့သော် စိန်ခိုင် ပြောင်းရွှေ့ခြင်းများဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲမှုများကို အခြေခံမှုများ စီစဉ်ခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များထဲမှ အလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စိန်ခိုင်များအားဖြင့် ကမ္ဘာ့အလျော်အားထိုးပြုပြင်၍ ဆိုင်ရာအလုပ်သင်္ကေတတို့၏ အဆင့်မြှင့်မှုများကို အကြံပြုခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။
ဆိုင်းကျင်းများကို ပေးပို့ရေးသို့ လူမျိုးလွှမ်းလား၊ ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်ရန် သတိပေးချက် ရှိသည်။ 

အချိန်များအတွက် မိတ်ဆွေများကို ပို့ပေးသူအဖြစ် သိရှိရန် လူမျိုးလွှမ်းလာသည်။

အချိန်များအတွက် မိတ်ဆွေများကို ပို့ပေးသူအဖြစ် သိရှိရန် လူမျိုးလွှမ်းလာသည်။
308 | Zay Yah Oo

မြန်မာစက်မှုဝန်ထမ်းများ၏ သင်တန်းများကို သင်တန်းရာစီးပွဲများအတွက် အားကိုယ်စားပြုသော မြန်မာနိုင်ငံရေး တိုးတက်မှုများကို ချိုးဖျင်သော စီးပွဲများအား တစ်စိတ်တွေ ရှာဖွေနေသည်။

ပြ - ၅

မြန်မာစက်မှုဝန်ထမ်းများ၏ သင်တန်းများကို သင်တန်းရာစီးပွဲများအတွက် အားကိုယ်စားပြုသော မြန်မာနိုင်ငံရေး တိုးတက်မှုများကို ချိုးဖျင်သော စီးပွဲများအား တစ်စိတ်တွေ ရှာဖွေနေသည်။

ပြ - ၆

မြန်မာစက်မှုဝန်ထမ်းများ၏ သင်တန်းများကို သင်တန်းရာစီးပွဲများအတွက် အားကိုယ်စားပြုသော မြန်မာနိုင်ငံရေး တိုးတက်မှုများကို ချိုးဖျင်သော စီးပွဲများအား တစ်စိတ်တွေ ရှာဖွေနေသည်။
ဗ - ၁

ဗြဟ္ခြန်းညှပ်မှုကျော်ကြားခြင်းကို အနော်ခံမှုရေးသားချက်ကို
မြန်မာစာ: ပြည်တော်သာကျောင်းတွင် မြန်မာမီးရောင်စိန်နေသာ ဆရာဝန်များနှင့် ထိုင်းပညာသာကျောင်းတွင် မြန်မာစာလုံးဝမ်းနည်းရာများ နှင့် အခြေခံပေးမှုများကို အမှတ်တမ်းရေးသားနိုင်သည်။
မြန်မာပြည်အတွင်းရှိ တိုက်ခို Pu Pu ကိုသေချာနေသော အခြေခံသူကြီးမှ မိုးမောင်ဝါ ဖိန်ဆောင်ရွက်မှုများနှင့် တွေ့ရှိနေစဉ်မှာ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးသူများအား သွားလာသည်။ ချင်းစားသော သေချာမှုများနှင့် အတိုအထိမ်း အခြေခံသူကြီးမှ မိုးမောင်ဝါ ဖိန်ဆောင်ရွက်မှုများနှင့် တွေ့ရှိနေစဉ်မှာ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးသူများအား သွားလာသည်။

မြန်မာပြည်အတွင်းရှိ တိုက်ခို Pu Pu ကိုသေချာနေသော အခြေခံသူကြီးမှ မိုးမောင်ဝါ ဖိန်ဆောင်ရွက်မှုများနှင့် တွေ့ရှိနေစဉ်မှာ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးသူများအား သွားလာသည်။ ချင်းစားသော သေချာမှုများနှင့် အတိုအထိမ်း အခြေခံသူကြီးမှ မိုးမောင်ဝါ ဖိန်ဆောင်ရွက်မှုများနှင့် တွေ့ရှိနေစဉ်မှာ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးသူများအား သွားလာသည်။

မြန်မာပြည်အတွင်းရှိ တိုက်ခို Pu Pu ကိုသေချာနေသော အခြေခံသူကြီးမှ မိုးမောင်ဝါ ဖိန်ဆောင်ရွက်မှုများနှင့် တွေ့ရှိနေစဉ်မှာ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးသူများအား သွားလာသည်။ ချင်းစားသော သေချာမှုများနှင့် အတိုအထိမ်း အခြေခံသူကြီးမှ မိုးမောင်ဝါ ဖိန်ဆောင်ရွက်မှုများနှင့် တွေ့ရှိနေစဉ်မှာ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးသူများအား သွားလာသည်။
အကယ်၍ (၁) စာပိုဒ်ကြားတွင် မော်တော်သို့ အပြောင်းအလဲ သုတေသန လေးမျိုးကို ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။ သင်ကြားသူများအားဖော်ပြကြည့်ပါ။

(၁) စာပိုဒ်ကြားတွင် မော်တော်သို့ အပြောင်းအလဲ သုတေသန လေးမျိုးကို ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

(၂) စာပိုဒ်ကြားတွင် မော်တော်သို့ အပြောင်းအလဲ သုတေသန လေးမျိုးကို ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

(၃) စာပိုဒ်ကြားတွင် မော်တော်သို့ အပြောင်းအလဲ သုတေသန လေးမျိုးကို ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

(၄) စာပိုဒ်ကြားတွင် မော်တော်သို့ အပြောင်းအလဲ သုတေသန လေးမျိုးကို ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

(၅) စာပိုဒ်ကြားတွင် မော်တော်သို့ အပြောင်းအလဲ သုတေသန လေးမျိုးကို ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။
ဗော်ဝင် အတွက် (၂) ဖောင်ဖြေသော ဝန်ဆောင်မှု ပြုလုပ်ပြီး အတွက် အဖြေရှင်းပြုလုပ်ကို အဆိုးသမီးက အထူးသဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ သို့သော် ပြုလုပ်သော အချက်အလက်များကို အထူးသဖြင့် ထိုအချက်အလက်များကို အထူးသဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ အထူးသဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

၂၀၁၂ ခုနှစ် မေလ ၃၉ နေ့ အထူးသဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

Zay Yah Oo | 315
(3) န) အခြားသော B.Tech တွင် လေ့လာအခြေအနေများ ပြုလုပ်ပြီး အခြေခံသော B. Tech သို့မဟုတ် အခြေခံများ

1) လေ့လာသောစားစွဲ လေ့လာရာ အခြေခံများ အခြေခံခွင့်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား အတွက်အခေါ်များ ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။ အခြေခံကို လေ့လာသောစားစွဲ အခြေခံများကို လေ့လာချက် အတွက်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

2) အခြေခံသောစားစွဲချက်များ လေ့လာရာ အခြေခံများ အခြေခံကို လေ့လာသောစားစွဲ အခြေခံများကို လေ့လာချက် အတွက်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

(4) အခြေခံသောစားစွဲချက်များ အခြေခံသောစားစွဲများ အခြေခံများကို လေ့လာချက် အတွက်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

ပေးထားသောစားစွဲချက်များ အခြေခံသောစားစွဲများ အခြေခံများကို လေ့လာချက် အတွက်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

Plan B နှင့် ပေးထားသောစားစွဲချက်များ အခြေခံများ ဖြစ်စေရန် အခြေခံသောစားစွဲများ အခြေခံများကို လေ့လာချက် အတွက်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အခြေခံများ အခြေခံများကို လေ့လာချက် အတွက်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

Plan B နှင့် ပေးထားသောစားစွဲချက်များ အခြေခံများ ဖြစ်စေရန် အခြေခံသောစားစွဲများ အခြေခံများကို လေ့လာချက် အတွက်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အခြေခံများ အခြေခံများကို လေ့လာချက် အတွက်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

Plan B နှင့် ပေးထားသောစားစွဲချက်များ အခြေခံများ ဖြစ်စေရန် အခြေခံသောစားစွဲများ အခြေခံများကို လေ့လာချက် အတွက်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။

ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အခြေခံများ အခြေခံများကို လေ့လာချက် အတွက်များကို လေ့လာချက်အား ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်။
နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်နေထိုင်

Zay Yah Oo | 317
drawing room တွင် စိတ်အိုင်းကို သွားလိုက်ကို ဒီနှစ်စဉ် ဖန်တီးမှသာ ချင်းစားလာသည်။ သို့မှသာ မိန်းငယ်များမှာ နာမဝိသေသစ်အပေါ် လက်မှတ်တင်ပေးသော ကြက် စိုက်လေးကို ဖော်ပေးသော နာမဝိသေသစ်ကို သွားလိုက်ကို ဖော်ပေးသည်။ အရက်အထိမ်း မိမိတို့၏ ကြုံတွေ့မှုအား ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သော သူများကို များနှင့် များတင်ပေးသည်။ သို့ဖြစ်ပါသည်။
Zay Yah Oo | 319

[Text in Myanmar, not translatable to English]
fatigue

night study
Zay Yah Oo | 321

...
322 | Zay Yah Oo

...
ზაი ია უ 323
–›ÀŸ·–²À
¢Ɵ›À‹‹ÀƏĊ½À
‹†ÀŸư§ŠÀˆÁŠÀš´²
(·§ˆÁ´–´§³µŠÀ)
˜´›¢³µŸ²¤ŠÀ–šÀ¾
·‡ƒ ¶‹«À†
·ƣ†²‡¸½·¤²
¤ŠÀ–šÀ¾·‡ƒ‹²
œ‹À¤ÀÑ
—³µ·‡ƒ‹²›±
¤–ÀŸÄ–À‡Á†ÀŸÁ²¾†³µ
·†Á²ŠÀ¾¤²¾ŸÁ²¾¤·ž²ŒƏſŸ›±›¸
–‹Àœ†À¤–À
›ŠÀŒŠÀ·Â›²ŠÀ¾¢¸¢³µ†À‡ŠÀ¾§·›ƒ
·†Á²ŠÀ¾¤²¾ŸÁ²¾†
·Ÿ¾‡ÃšÀ¾—µ–Àƣ†
¤ÀÑ
§Œ³µ›±·‡ƒ‹²¤À
·†Á²ŠÀ¾¤²¾ƏĊ½À
§‹³µ¾¡–³µƵƣ†²¾
‡ÁƳ›ÀŒ³µ‡¸½·¤²
Œ³µ¤ÀŸÄ²
ƏċÀ¬¾ƏċÀœ†À¤·ž²–¶ŸÄ¤²
‡µ§‡±
§‹³µ¾¡†
Ÿ³Ÿ³¤·ž²–‹À‡µ–À¾ÂœŠ½À
›ŠÀŒŠÀ¢³µ†À‡ŠÀ¾§–ÆÀ
·†Á²ŠÀ¾¤²¾ŸÁ²¾†
š‹Àšɜ¡·ƣ†²ŠÀ¾
‹–µ–żƏċÀ·†Á²ŠÀ¾¤²¾ŸÁ²¾†
«›·˜
Ɛư·—²Š½ÀŸÄ·šÓ
·Â›²Œ³µ¤ÀÑ
—³µ§‡Á³šÀ–ÊÀ
³µ¢ÀŸÄƴ¾‡ÁƳ›À·§²ŠÀƣ†À†³µ À–³µŠÀ†
§Œ³µ›±·‡ƒ‹²§·ƣ†²ŠÀ¾
¤¶ɕ§·šÂœŠ½À
¢¼µ¾£Ÿ¤³‡¸½¡·ƣ†²ŠÀ¾Ð
£šÀ‡¼¤Ã²¾‡¸½¡Ʀ›´¾
ŸÀ¤³µƵ·Âœ¡ÄŠÀ¾¡ŸÀŸÄšÀ¾
Ÿ¤³œ‹ÀƦ›´¾
·Œ²ŠÀ¡Ʈ†À·¢½¡Ä³·ƣ†²ŠÀ¾Ð
—³µ·ƣ†²Š½À
·†Á²ŠÀ¾¤²¾ŸÁ²¾§·šÂœŠ½À
¢¶Ƨ†´¾Ÿ³žŸÁ²¾Õ
·Œ²ŠÀ¡Ʈ†ÀŸư§–³µŠÀ¾¤²
šɜ‡¼¢µ›À·Œ²ŠÀ¡šÀ–²£šÀ¡Ä³·ƣ†²ŠÀ¾
–›ÀŸ·–²À–ÊÀ¾
§Ÿ³šƵÀ–‹À‡µ£ŠÀ¢²¤ÀÑ
–ÊÀ·–²½
ԊÀ¾–³µƵ†
Ÿ³žŸÁ²¾Âœ‹ÀƦ›´¾
·†²ŠÀ¾‹²¾·¡¾†³µ¤²
¡Ä³·ƣ†²ŠÀ¾Ð
—³µ·ƣ†²Š½À
·†Á²ŠÀ¾¤²¾ŸÁ²¾§·šÂœŠ½À
¢¶Ƨ†´¾Ÿ³žŸÁ²¾Õ
·Œ²ŠÀ¡Ʈ†ÀŸư†³µ
§Œ¼µ¾¤–À¢³µ†À¤ÀÑ
ԊÀ¾–³µƵ
·‡±ŠÀ¾·Œ²ŠÀ›³µŠÀ¾ŸÁ²¾ž†ÀŸÄ
›'³ŵ²À‡Á³Ƴ¾·œ²†ÀŸư†³µ
–›ÀŸ·–²À–ÊÀ¾
§Ÿ³šƵÀ
šɜ‡¼Ÿư¤·ž²–¡²¾ÂœŠ½À
œ¼µ¾†Ã Àœ³µƵ
Ƨ†³Ƴ¾‹²¾‡¸½Â‡ŠÀ¾¤²Âœ‹À¤ÀÑ
—³µƵ·šɜ†À
–ÊÀ·–²½
‹–µ–żƏċÀ·†Á²ŠÀ¾¤²¾ŸÁ²¾†³µ
†²¾·›ƒ¤³µƵ–†À‡³µŠÀ¾†²
›ŠÀ¬¾¢ÃŠÀƦŸ³Ƴƶ
§·šɜ†À
·Œ²ŠÀ¡Ʈ†ÀŸư§–³µŠÀ¾¤²
šɜ‡¼Ÿư¤·ž²–¡²¾ÂœŠ½À
œ¼µ¾†Ã Àœ³µƵ
§Œ¼µ¾¤–À¢³µ†À¤ÀÑ
–ÊÀ·–²½
‹–µ–żƏċÀ·†Á²ŠÀ¾¤²¾ŸÁ²¾†³µ
†²¾·›ƒ¤³µƵ–†À‡³µŠÀ¾†²
›ŠÀ¬¾¢ÃŠÀƦŸ³Ƴƶ
§·šɜ†À
·Œ²ŠÀ¡Ʈ†ÀŸư§–³µŠÀ¾¤²
šɜ‡¼Ÿư¤·ž²–¡²¾ÂœŠ½À
œ¼µ¾†Ã Àœ³µƵ
§Œ¼µ¾¤–À¢³µ†À¤ÀÑ
–ÊÀ·–²½
‹–µ–żƏċÀ·†Á²ŠÀ¾¤²¾ŸÁ²¾†³µ
†²¾·›ƒ¤³µƵ–†À‡³µŠÀ¾†²
›ŠÀ¬¾¢ÃŠÀƦŸ³Ƴƶ
သင်ကြားသည် စီးပွားရေးသားထားသော မြန်မာစာလိုက်ခံးစာမျက်နှာတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ မြန်မာစာလိုက်ခံးစာမျက်နှာကို သက်သွားနိုင်ပါသည်။ သင်၏ စာလိုက်ခံးစာမျက်နှာကို အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ဖော်ပြရန် နောက်ပိုင်းသို့ ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်ပါသည်။
လက်တွေ့ရှိသည်ာ တိုက်ခိုက်သည် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်တွေအတွက် အခြေခံနိုင်သည်ကို ကြည့်ရှုရန် နောက်ကို တွေ့ရှိသည် လမ်းလောက်သော အခြေခံအတွက် ပြုလုပ်သည်။ အခြေခံအတွက် ထိုသို့ လုံးလုံးသော အခြေခံအတွက် အားလုံးရှိသည် လွတ်လပ်ရေးသားသည်ကို ကြည့်ရှုရန် ဖော်ပြရန် မရှိသည်။ သို့သော် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်တွေအတွက် အခြေခံအတွက် မဖော်ပြထားသော အခြေခံအတွက် လုပ်ဆောင်ရန် မရှိသည်။ ဤသို့ လိုက်နာသည် အခြေခံအတွက် အခြေခံသည် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်တွေအတွက် အခြေခံအတွက် မဖော်ပြထားသည်ကို ကြည့်ရှုရန် ဖော်ပြရန် မရှိသည်။
ဟုတ်သော အခြေအနေကို သားယာဉ်များ သေယာဉ်အချက်အလက်များကို ဖြေဆိုခြင်း မရှိပေ။ (၁) ရှေးယာဉ်သူကြီး သည် တွေအတွက်သောကြော ဖြစ်ပါသည်။
မှူးကြားရင်းနား (၀၀) ချင်းများဖြင့် ဖြင့်ဖြင့် သုံးစွဲပြီးမှာ ကြည့်ရှုနေသော အချက်အလက်များကို ငှားချင်းကြည့်ရှုနေသော အချက်အလက်များကို မျှဝေစေရန် လေ့လာနိုင်မည်။

မိုးမိုး မြန်မာစိတ်အရ သိစ်သပ်မဖော်ပြထားခြင်းများကို သိရှိနိုင်သော အချက်အလက်များကို မျှဝေစေရန် လေ့လာနိုင်မည်။

မိုးမိုး မြန်မာစိတ်အရ သိစ်သပ်မဖော်ပြထားခြင်းများကို သိရှိနိုင်သော အချက်အလက်များကို မျှဝေစေရန် လေ့လာနိုင်မည်။

မိုးမိုး မြန်မာစိတ်အရ သိစ်သပ်မဖော်ပြထားခြင်းများကို သိရှိနိုင်သော အချက်အလက်များကို မျှဝေစေရန် လေ့လာနိုင်မည်။
နိုင်ငံတော်တွင်းသို့မဟုတ် အိုးကြက်ကြက်များသည် အိမ်အိမ် ဆိုရင်းနှင့် ကွင်းအိုးအတွင်းသိုလှောင်မှုကို လျှောက်လာသည်။ အကြောင်းရှင်းလေးတစ်ခု နောက်မှာ အမေရိကန် အမျိုးအစားတွေ့ရှိနေသော အခြေခံအိုးအိုးများ များကို သွားလိုက်နှစ်သည် စိုက်ချမ်းမှုကို လျှောက်လာသည်။ အရှေ့မြေ အိုးအိုးကြင်နားသော အခြေခံအိုးအိုးကြင်နား မှာ ကွင်းရိုးအိုးအိုးများ ရှာဖွေရန် အခြေခံအိုးအိုးများ တစ်ခုများကို သွားလိုက်နှစ်သည် စိုက်ချမ်းမှုကို လျှောက်လာသည်။
အခြား စိတ်ချမ်းလိုက်ချမ်းဆောင်ရွက်ပြီးသော သဘာဝ ပုံ ဖော်ပြသော စီးပွားရေး စိတ်ဝင်စားချက်: (၁) ဒါကို စိတ်ချမ်းလိုက်ချမ်းဆောင်ရွက်ပြီးသော သဘာဝ ပုံ ဖော်ပြသော စိတ်ဝင်စားချက်: (၂) ပြီးသို့ စိတ်ချမ်းလိုက်ချမ်းဆောင်ရွက်ပြီးသော သဘာဝ ပုံ ဖော်ပြသော စိတ်ဝင်စားချက်: (၃)
မူဝါဒကြီးဖြစ်သော စာသားတွေကို ပေးထားပြီး အားထုတ်ပေးပါတယ်။ မူဝါဒကြီးဖြစ်သော စာသားတွေကို ပေးထားပြီး အားထုတ်ပေးပါတယ်။
Zay Yah Oo | 333

აღწერილი ზოგადად განწილებით არ გამოიყენება ნაწილი ან შერჩებით ბრუნვა ან სხვა ზოგადად გამოიყენებულ ზომებს. ზოგიერთ ნაწილში გამოიყენება განწილება, რომელიც შეიძლება იქნეს არსებობით საბარებით, თუმცა არ გამოიყენება სხვა ზოგადად გამოიყენებულ ზომებს.

... ააგ. ... ააგ. საქმიანობით ჯერ ჯერ აღარ გამოყენება ნაწილი ან შერჩებით ბრუნვა ან სხვა ზოგადად გამოიყენებულ ზომებს.
ပုံစံများစွာအပေါ် အခြေချိန်အချိန်နှစ်ဦး ထွက်ပြန်လာသည့် လူလောက်တို့၏ လူဦးရေ ၂၀၀၀၀၀၀ဦးကို အခြေချိန်အချိန်ကို ချုပ်စီမှုတွေ့ရသည်။ ထို့နောက် နိုင်ငံချာအချိန်တွင် ကြောင်းချက်နှင့် ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာကို ကြေညာပေးသည်။

ကြောင်းရှင်တို့ အပုန်အစ်ကို ရှာဖွေပြီး ကြောင်းရှင်တို့၏ လူဦးရေကို ထောက်ခံသွားရာ ကြောင်းရှင်တို့၏အချိန်အချိန် ထောက်ခံရာ လူဦးရေကို ကြေညာပေးသည်။ ထို့ကြောင့် အခြေချိန်အချိန်တွင် ကြောင်းရှင်တို့၏ လူဦးရေကို ထောက်ခံရာ လူဦးရေကို ကြေညာပေးသည်။

ထို့ဖြစ်ပါတယ်။
“.... အတွင်း ကြိုးစားခြင်းနှစ်ချက် ကျင်းပချက်... ပြောင်းလဲခြင်း... အတွင်း ကြိုးစားခြင်း... အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... အတွင်း... ကြိုးစားခြင်း... သည်များကို ကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... အရင်ကို ကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များတွင် ကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များကို ကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သည်များ... အဗားကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သင်္ကေတ ကျင်းပချက် အောက်ပါပေါ်စိုးစြိုစွာ... သင်္ကေတ...
စိုက်သည်ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအားဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲပါသည်။ သည်ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအားဖြင့် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်စိုက်ခြင်းအရ အစိုးရအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။

အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။

အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။ အားလုံးနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းအရ ဆောင်ရွက်စိုက်ခြင်းနှင့် ပြောင်းလဲကို ဗိုလ်ချုပ် တွေ့ရစေသည်။
ထိုးထည်စံရေးကို အသုံးပြုသော ဝါဝိစုံအားအုံရှုံးရေး အချက်အလက်များအားလုံး အကြွင်းအမှန်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(၁) မြန်မာ့ ဖန်တီးရေးဖွင့်ပြန်လည်အနေဖြင့် အကြွင်းအမှန်ကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

(၂) မြန်မာ့ ဖန်တီးရေးဖွင့်ပြန်လည်အနေဖြင့် အကြွင်းအမှန်ကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

(၃) မြန်မာ့ ဖန်တီးရေးဖွင့်ပြန်လည်အနေဖြင့် အကြွင်းအမှန်ကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

(၄) မြန်မာ့ ဖန်တီးရေးဖွင့်ပြန်လည်အနေဖြင့် အကြွင်းအမှန်ကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

(၅) မြန်မာ့ ဖန်တီးရေးဖွင့်ပြန်လည်အနေဖြင့် အကြွင်းအမှန်ကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

(၆) မြန်မာ့ ဖန်တီးရေးဖွင့်ပြန်လည်အနေဖြင့် အကြွင်းအမှန်ကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

(၇) မြန်မာ့ ဖန်တီးရေးဖွင့်ပြန်လည်အနေဖြင့် အကြွင်းအမှန်ကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

(၈) မြန်မာ့ ဖန်တီးရေးဖွင့်ပြန်လည်အနေဖြင့် အကြွင်းအမှန်ကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

(၉) မြန်မာ့ ဖန်တီးရေးဖွင့်ပြန်လည်အနေဖြင့် အကြွင်းအမှန်ကို အသုံးပြုပါ။

(၁၀) မြန်မာ့ ဖန်တီးရေးဖွင့်ပြန်လည်အနေဖြင့် အကြွင်းအမှန်ကို အသုံးပြုပါ။
ပူးပေါင်းကြားနှင့်အတူ လူမှုဝိဇာန် ရောင်းချချိန် ရရှိပါကာ အလုပ်အကိုင် ယူဆရန် လူမှုဝိဇာန်တွင် အရွေးခံချက်ကို အခြေခံသော လူမှုဝိဇာန်များ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။

သို့အကြောင်းအရာများဖြစ်ပြီး အစိုးရအားဖြင့် လူမှုဝိဇာန်တစ်ခုကို ရရှိပါကာ အလုပ်အကိုင် ယူဆရန် လူမှုဝိဇာန်များ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။

(Identity crisis) ဖြစ်ပါကာ ယူဆရန် လူမှုဝိဇာန် စိတ်ကျန်ရှိရန် လူမှုဝိဇာန်များ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။

အသက်ရှိ (၂၀၀၀) ခုနှစ်များ ပျော်ရွှင်လျော် လူမှုဝိဇာန် စိတ်ကျန်ရှိရန် လူမှုဝိဇာန်များ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။

အသက်ရှိ (၂၀၀၁) ခုနှစ်များ ပျော်ရွှင်လျော် လူမှုဝိဇာန် စိတ်ကျန်ရှိရန် လူမှုဝိဇာန်များ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။

အသက်ရှိ (၂၀၀၂) ခုနှစ်များ ပျော်ရွှင်လျော် လူမှုဝိဇာန် စိတ်ကျန်ရှိရန် လူမှုဝိဇာန်များ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။

အသက်ရှိ (၂၀၀၃) ခုနှစ်များ ပျော်ရွှင်လျော် လူမှုဝိဇာန် စိတ်ကျန်ရှိရန် လူမှုဝိဇာန်များ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။

အသက်ရှိ (၂၀၀၄) ခုနှစ်များ ပျော်ရွှင်လျော် လူမှုဝိဇာန် စိတ်ကျန်ရှိရန် လူမှုဝိဇာန်များ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။

အသက်ရှိ (၂၀၀၅) ခုနှစ်များ ပျော်ရွှင်လျော် လူမှုဝိဇာန် စိတ်ကျန်ရှိရန် လူမှုဝိဇာန်များ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်သည်။
Kyaw Swa Moe, 2002.
Students Sentenced to Death

June 18, 2002—In response to demonstrations two weeks ago by students at Burma's “West Point”, the country's military regime has allegedly sentenced some students to death for their role in the protests, according to sources close to students at the college.

The protests occurred at the Military Technology College (MTC) in Maymyo, also known as Pyin Oo Lwin, in Mandalay Division and were in response to the quality of the school's food as well as a recent regulation that reduced the cadet's rank upon graduation, according to the Washington DC-based Radio Free Asia (RFA).

It remains unclear exactly how many students have been sentenced to death or what the exact charges are, however, sources told The Irrawaddy that the number is between three and 10. The sources also said that an additional 17 students have been sentenced to 20 years in prison and that a total of 72 remain in detention.

According to residents of Maymyo, 40 percent of MTC's 5,000 students have been expelled due to the protests. And that all students have been sent home as the school remains closed since the protests occurred. MTC is also rumored to be moving to Ho Pong in southern Shan State as a result of the protests.

Students at the Defense Services Academy (DSA) and the Defense Services Technological Academy (DSTA), both also located in Maymyo, were prohibited from going out last weekend and are also reportedly growing dissatisfied with the government's treatment of the students at MTC, according to the residents of Maymyo.

The source close to the students at MTC also said that the school's principal, Col Pho Aung, has come under investigation for not properly controlling the students. The source noted that it was doubtful that he played any role in the protests but was being used by the regime as a scapegoat.

The DSA was established in 1955 and is the most prestigious military school in the country. After 1988, however, the military junta expanded the DSA to include the Defense Services Medical Academy, the DSTA and the MTC in order to produce more professionals for the military.
In the early part of June, cadets at the Military Technical College, one of the colleges under the Defense Services Academy (the SPDC’s version of West Point) held protests. The issues that the cadets were protesting over were not huge ones. A recent policy change left cadets without the guaranteed rank of 2nd Lieutenant upon graduation, and there were complaints about the quality of the food at the school.

The response from the higher ranks of the military government was anything but forgiving or laid back. According to reports from Radio Free Asia and The Irrawaddy magazine the leaders of this revolt were sentenced to death, another 17 were given 20 years in prison, more than 70 are still in detention and 2000 of the 5,000 students were expelled.12

12 Miller, 2002.
Established on 26 December 2000 in Pyin Oo Lwin, the MCTI was known as the Military Technological College. The college was renamed as Military Technological Institute on 1 July 2002. The college recruited two intakes of students before being moved to Hopone on 22 October 2002 due to serious fights between its students and cadets from the DSTA. All students were sent back home and the institute was closed down for a year. Meanwhile the institute was reorganized on 28 November 2002 for a fresh start. A new batch of 500 students was recruited and classes began on 3 February 2003. Then on 8 May 2003, the institute was renamed Military Computer and Technological Institute.¹⁴

¹³ Callahan, 2003.
Zay Yah Oo | 345

(1) MCTI ṛ တွေ့ရှိသော ဗုဒ္ဓသီးသီးတစ်ခု (MTC) နှင့် ၎င်းသည် အလွန်ကြီးကျသော ဗုဒ္ဓသီးသီးတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။

၁၅ တွေ့ရှိသော ဗုဒ္ဓသီးသီးတစ်ခုများ။
အစိုးရအချက်အတွက်မှာ ပြည်သူများသည် လူနေခြင်းသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည်။ ဥပဒေအရ လူနေခြင်းသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည့် အရေးပေါ်များသည် ရေးရာပေါ်များသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည်။ ဥပဒေအရ လူနေခြင်းသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည့် အရေးပေါ်များသည် ရေးရာပေါ်များသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည်။

ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) သည် ကျန်းမာရေးအာဏာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည့် အရေးပေါ်များသည် သတင်းစာပေါ်များသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည်။ ဥပဒေအရ လူနေခြင်းသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည့် အရေးပေါ်များသည် ရေးရာပေါ်များသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည်။ ဥပဒေအရ လူနေခြင်းသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည့် အရေးပေါ်များသည် ရေးရာပေါ်များသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည်။ ဥပဒေအရ လူနေခြင်းသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည့် အရေးပေါ်များသည် ရေးရာပေါ်များသို့ ပြောင်းလဲခံရသည်။
348 | Zay Yah Oo

ဝါသောစစ်သရိယ်ဝတ္ထု (ဝါသော) (မြောက် ဒါရီ)
ဝါသောစစ်သရိယ်ဝတ္ထုအလိုအတိုင်း (၀+၃) ဖော် http://burmese.dvb.no/archives/11907

စာသီးသန္း (၀)

ဝါသောစစ်သရိယ်ဝတ္ထုအလိုအတိုင်း (၀)
MILITARY TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE
MILITARY TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE

အကြောင်းအရင်း:


(Bachelor of Technology) ပါဝင်ပြီးသွားသည် (Bachelor of Engineering) ထိန်းသိမ်းချက်ကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

အထိမ်းအမှတ်မှာပိုချင်သည်စေမည်။ (၆-၇-၉ဝ) များကို ကျောင်းသားဖြစ်သည်။

သဘာဝရင်း အမှတ်အတွက်မှာပိုချင်သည်စေမည်။

ဗျာတော်လိုက်ဟာ။

စိတ်ဝင်စားသောအမှတ်အတွက်မှာပိုချင်သည်စေ။ (A.G.T.I.) ကျောင်းသား ကျောင်းသားဖြစ်သည်။

(Bachelor of Technology) ကျောင်းသားဖြစ်သည်။

(Bachelor of Engineering) ကျောင်းသားဖြစ်သည်။
အယ်ချမ်းဖွယ်မှုများစွာ ထိုးဝင်နိုင်သော ကွန်ပြူတာပြားများစွာ အပေါ်ကြည့်ရှုပါသည်။

- ပန်းသားများ (Civil Engineering)
- အဲစိုက်ပျိုးရေးပညာ (Electronics Engineering)
- အဲလောက်ပျိုးရေးပညာ (Electrical Engineering)
- နေသေဖျင်စည်ပညာ (Mechanical Engineering)
  (a) နေသေဖျင်စည်ပညာ (Mechanical Power)
  (b) နေသေဖျင်စည်ပညာ (Machine Tools & Design)
- ပစ်မျိုးဖွဲ့စည်းပညာ (Chemical Engineering)
- အနောက်အလှုစိုက်ပျိုးရေးပညာ (Architecture Engineering)
- နားလည်စက်ယာနှင့်အားထုတ်ပညာ (Mechatronics Engineering)
- အားထုတ်ပညာ (Aeronautical & Aerospace Engineering)
- ပြီးဥပဒေစီစင် (Nuclear Engineering)
- အားထုတ်ပညာ (Information Technology)
- ပေါမီး (Bio - Technology)
- ကျွန်တော်စိုက်ပျိုးရေးပညာ (Computer Engineering)
- အစိုက်ပျိုးရေးပညာ (Industrial Management)
- အရှေ့င်ဆိုင်ရာပညာ (Metallurgical Engineering)
- ပြိုလောင်စာရေး (Defence Industrial Engineering)
- ဒေသကြောင့်စိုက်ပျိုးရေးပညာ (Marine Engineering)
မြန်မာ့အားကစား သင်္ချော် ကြည်ရှိတော်မူ

စိတ်ခံစားသော စစ်သစ် သင်္ချော်ကြီး
အသင်းအဖွဲ့အဝင်အများအပြား

- အားလုံးအဖွဲ့ (AGI) ရုံးစိုက်ရာဦးစီးပွဲတွင် ပြုလုပ်ရန်အတွက် အရေပေးမှုများစွာ

- (B.Tech.) ရုံးစိုက်ရာဦးစီးပွဲတွင် ပြုလုပ်ရန်အတွက် အရေပေးမှုများစွာ

- (B.E.) ရုံးစိုက်ရာဦးစီးပွဲတွင် ပြုလုပ်ရန်အတွက် အရေပေးမှုများစွာ

- ထိုများကို အထောက်အပံ့နှင့် အပြောင်းအလဲများစွာ ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်မှုများစွာ


table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ဌ</th>
<th>အမှတ်ဖောက်</th>
<th>အပေါ်(ရောစ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>၁</td>
<td>အပေါ်မှာ။</td>
<td>၃၀၀၀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>၂</td>
<td>အပေါ်မှာ။</td>
<td>၃၀၀၀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>၃</td>
<td>အပေါ်မှာ။</td>
<td>၃၀၀၀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>၄</td>
<td>အပေါ်မှာ။</td>
<td>၃၀၀၀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>၅</td>
<td>အပေါ်မှာ။</td>
<td>၃၀၀၀</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

အထောက်အပံ့အလားအတွက်

- အထောက်အပံ့စနစ်၊ အစိတ်အပိုင်းစနစ်

- အထောက်အပံ့စနစ်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ

- အထောက်အပံ့စနစ်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများတွင် သင်္ချာမှုများစွာ ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်မှုများစွာ

- အထောက်အပံ့စနစ်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများတွင် သင်္ချာမှုများစွာ ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်မှုများစွာ
မြန်မာစာတမ်း

စိတ်ကူးပြောဒီဇိုင်း

စိတ်ကူးပြောဒီဇိုင်း(၂)ရုပ်ရှင် (၂-၃-၃၃၀) ကြည်းများကြည်းများအမှန် ၅၀၀၀ကြည်းများကြည်းများ
စိတ်ကူးပြောဒီဇိုင်း(၃)ရုပ်ရှင် ၂၃-၂၃-၂၃၀၀၀၀ကြည်းများကြည်းများအမှန် ၅၀၀၀ကြည်းများကြည်းများ
စိတ်ကူးပြောဒီဇိုင်း(၄)ရုပ်ရှင် ၃၀၀၀၀၀ကြည်းများကြည်းများအမှန် ၃၀၀၀၀၀ကြည်းများကြည်းများ
Interview with Veteran Activist U Hla Shwe

Lin Nyein Eain

Abstract

In this interview, Lin Nyein Eain, the pseudonym of an organizer of the 2016 workshop on student activism held in Yangon, interviews U Hla Shwe, a veteran activist and student agitator, who served as a member of the secretariat of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU) and editor of Oway magazine. U Hla Shwe was involved in the 1962 student uprising and also fought for the Communist Party of Burma for nearly a decade. He ended up spending close to two decades in prison. He passed away during the COVID-19 Delta wave of 2021 due to a lack of supplementary oxygen. In this interview he goes into deep detail about the procedures of various student unions and the relationships between unions, university councils and other bodies in the 1948-1962 post-independence period.

Could you please introduce your experience in student politics, and the aspiration, vision, and representativeness of student unions in Burma?

I first began engaging in student union activities in 1951. I started out as a student leader in 1953, when I was in the seventh grade, and I was involved for ten years, up until 1963. The Bogalay Township Student Union was my first appointment.

During the British rule, there were only two unions: the All Burma Students’ Union (ABSU), which became the All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU) in 1951, and the University Student Union, which became the Rangoon University Student Union (RUSU), founded on 31 January 1931. The ABFSU is the country’s largest national student union. Thakin Ba Hein, Dr. Hla Shwe, Ko Aye Kyaw, and Ko Thein Aung were among the student leaders that founded the ABFSU on 25 February 1936 under its original title, the ABSU. Before the country’s independence
from colonial rule, its organizational structure was limited, but more latitude was granted for activities following independence, and the ABSU functioned more efficiently than previous student unions since it had national reach. For instance, student opinion was critical when discussing ending civil war. Despite occasional disputes with the government under the incumbent Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL) administration, no significant conflicts occurred when organizing student movements, regardless of public opinion or powerful political groups, in government or in opposition. The government’s connection with students in the post-independence democratic period was different from today.

We student union members held talks with former student leaders, including Dr. Than Tun, Dr. Maung Maung Kyaw, and U Soe Thein, to discuss how to alter the function of student unions based on their political influence, the country’s political background, and the scope of their operations. We then spoke to former student leaders like Dr. Than Tun and other former student leaders who were still alive at the time and with whom we could openly communicate.

The ABFSU held regular conferences every four years. Extraordinary meetings were also held; for example, when major events occurred, the ABFSU could call for an emergency meeting. The executive committee of the ABFSU did not make all the decisions. At least one provincial or university/college student union was negotiated with by the committee when solving issues. After independence, these student unions remained the same. There were concerns with the foundations of the ABFSU in the post-independence era since it elected its congress and executive council every four years, leaving a lot of time between elections.

As for the RUSU, it organized events, dealt with student problems, rights and general education issues. It also dealt with political affairs related to students. According to its constitution, the RUSU organized elections once a year, regardless of who won or lost. The academic year began on 1 June in those
days. When it began, the processes for holding the election and business meetings were the first tasks to be completed.

The RUSU was comprised of 11 executive council members. In the first phase of the election, the positions of president, vice president, and treasury officer were elected. All students were eligible for these roles, including the president and vice president. The treasury role, however, was only open to graduates. Joining RUSU did not require any active steps by the students. When a student enrolled at the university, they filled out a form and instantly joined the RUSU, making them eligible to be elected and to vote. Out of the entire university student body of 10,000 in those days, around 6,000 to 7,000 were interested in the student union’s activities and progress.

A business meeting was conducted before the election, open to all students. At that event, the previous batch of student union members from the last academic year reported on their activities and successes during their tenure. The date of the business meeting had to be announced at least two weeks prior to the event, at Rangoon University, Htee Tan College and Yankin College. The first agenda of the conference was to present a report on the activities of the student unions in the previous year and to ask whether students agree with the actions of the executive members. The student population voted to decide any disagreements. If most students voted that there had been an abuse or disagreed with a major measure by the council, the executive council member responsible would be dismissed. If the entire council was voted out, the executive council’s election officers would be responsible for planning the next election without the assistance of the council.

In those days, the whole of the executive council was seldom dissolved at once, as the council tried its best to avoid it. Students who attended the union business meeting debated various topics, posed questions and requested explanations for actions taken. The debate was always conducted in a civilized manner, with no use of violence. If the whole executive council was sacked, its individual members would be unable to run in the next election. At the business meeting, seven new election
officers had to be elected, with the current members of the executive council in control of the process.

An announcement for the forthcoming election would be made if no objections were raised during the business meeting. The present executive council would then organize the election alongside the election officers. Candidates had to complete the necessary paperwork and the election was conducted according to regulations. The first round of the election was for the positions of president, vice president, and treasurer, while the second phase elected six executive council members, one for each portfolio or function. The treasurer position in the RUSU executive council was usually held by a female, as people believed that females are more considerate regarding finances. If no one ran for a particular position, an announcement would be made, and the current council would appoint a new member in lieu of an elected candidate. The executive council would have nine total members after these two elections. The executive council would then appoint two more members themselves, who would take up the roles of editor of Oway magazine and librarian at the University Library. The new eleven-member executive council would then hold its first meeting to discuss the coming year.

Back then, every university student had to pay laboratory costs, library fees, and a student union subscription of one Burmese Kyat. The student union treasurer and the Rangoon University financial department collaborated to manage finances and accounts according to the rules. To withdraw funds, one had to fill out paperwork and provide their student registration number, dormitory, and union position. Funds needed for students’ health, educational activities, and welfare were taken from the university accountants: withdrawals had to be recorded in the credit and debit ledger, and the RUSU president and treasurer, as well as the university’s chief accountant, all had to sign the log. The RUSU was required to hold accountable elections, business meetings, and to manage finances according to protocol.

If the RUSU wanted to organize additional events and campaigns outside the basic budget provided by member fees, it had
to raise funds independently. In practice this meant that, because the student union had so many concerns to deal with, external funding was always needed. Executive council members would individually ask donors for funding on behalf of the union. One example of such a business donor was U Pwint Kaung, the owner of Pwint Kaung Fish Paste and Sauce Enterprise. An example of an artist was singer Myat Lay.

The fundraising did not have to come only from individuals in this way. The union always tried to raise as much money as possible. Every two years, a festival was held, and extra effort was made to cover the festival expenses. Occasionally there were no major events at all during the year, so there was minimal expenditure. If the present members of the executive council wanted to run for re-election, they had to raise their own funds for their campaign expenditures. Executive council members were prohibited from using union funds for campaigning.

If there were excess funds left over at the end of an executive council’s term, they had to declare it in the financial statement provided to members. Two government-recognized chartered accountants had to sign the financial information. The financial statement of the student union had to be confirmed as being lawful, following best practices and free from fraud. If the registered accountants did not approve the financial statement, the executive council members would be dismissed at the union business meeting.

In comparison to the pre-independence era of Ko Aung San, unions received more funds post-independence. The RUSU extended its operations and constitution. In the constitution of the RUSU, the editor of Oway and librarian are a part of the student union. The librarian had to take the initiative in forming a library committee and reporting the library committee’s members to the executive council. They also had to be made public when verified. The names of council members, as well as their functions, such as Oway editor, librarians, and other members, had to be documented and announced to students, like a government would to its citizens.
The British deliberately taught us Burmese to be systematic, work according to rules and regulations, and accustomed us to institutional boundaries, rules, and regulations. They did an excellent job at it. By example, let’s say the credit for the student union was 150,000 Burmese Kyat and was appropriately registered. Any credits from other sources, such as individual donor funding, had to be documented in the credit and debit ledger. Everything had to be invoiced and carried out in a systematic way. The procedures of the student union were like a miniature version of parliament. Experience in student unions prepared some of us for joining political parties. We could manage public services well even after independence.

**How were networking activities conducted between student unions, such as between the ABFSU and the RUSU?**

There were rules and regulations for networking in the constitution of ABFSU. There was a paragraph in the bylaw. For example, the executive council members of the Mandalay University Student Union (MUSU) had to be registered as members in the ABFSU according to obligatory rules and regulations. This extended to all universities and college wanting to be recognized by the ABFSU and participate in its conferences. The constitutions of student unions are linked. Each regional, provincial and college/university student union had to register with the ABFSU. The ABFSU in turn was registered with the International Union of Students (IUS), headquartered in the Czech Republic. While ABFSU conferences were held only every four years during the October holidays, the executive board could hold additional emergency meetings if they deemed it necessary. Representatives from many universities and colleges such as those in Pathein, Myitkyina, and Mawlamyine attended the seminars. There were also conferences led by the most prominent student unions, such as the RUSU and MUSU. All these were already denoted in the constitution of student unions.
During your time in student politics, how did university councils work with the student unions and student body?

I can discuss the Rangoon University Council (RUC). All the university professors were members. The RUSU also had the right to appoint two members to the RUC to represent the student union. For example, Dr. Maung Maung Kyaw and Mr. Ti Koh Haung, both well-known government-recognized lawyers, were chosen by the RUSU to represent them at the RUC. When student-related issues were raised in the RUC, these appointed representatives had to defend, question, and provide resolutions on behalf of the students. If an issue was raised that related to a student studying a particular subject, such as physics, the corresponding professor RUC member was held accountable in the discussion. Professors discussed academic matters such as failing examinations, giving awards, and qualifying for honors classes at the RUC. The Prime Minister of the Union of Burma was the RUC chairman, while the university rector was deputy chairman. Although Rangoon University had autonomous status, in practice the RUC was under the elected government.

A representative of the Prime Minister was assigned as he could not attend the council personally. There were also two representatives from each of the upper and lower houses of parliament assigned to the RUC. They facilitated cooperation between the RUC and government, enacting laws and financial regulations when cases were put forward by the RUC. The university required the approval of parliament to access its funding. The RUC had to report its expenditure to the university council administrative board to get the council’s approval, although the funding was from the students at the university. Not all spending needed to be reported. The RUC also had the right to expel students. When emergency events such as the 7 July 1962 student protests were discussed by the RUC, then-leader General Ne Win eliminated the two RUSU representatives from the university council, resulting in the loss of voice for students.
There was also a body called the Social and Reading Club (SRC) under the RUSU. There were dormitory committees, with a warden and an SRC for each. These SRCs organized events like dinners and social gatherings as well as raising funds. The report of dormitory wardens and opinions of the SRCs were required when the RUC expelled a student. If the warden reported an incident of rule breaking, the dormitory committee would expel the student from the dormitory. If the rule breaking was worthy of full dismissal, the RUC could decide to expel or protect the student.

As someone who led student activities, how do you view the term ‘student’ as a global symbol and how do Burmese student unions compare internationally?

There are student unions all over the world. Representatives of student unions from universities and colleges in places such as the People’s Republic of China, Japan, Germany, and the Czech Republic used to visit us. While our own student union constitutions might be the same or sometimes different, in my opinion, the difference was not too big. We once had a visitor from Iraq. He explained the constitution of the student union he represented in his country, and we presented the RUSU Constitution to him. There were a few differences, as our constitution had been drawn up by elite British professors and other highly qualified individuals who had visited other countries and gained international experience. They applied the knowledge that was suitable for the context in Burma and discarded that which was not appropriate.

The role of ABFSU should be mentioned here. All the issues related to the RUSU were managed by its executive council. However, RUSU is also a registered member of ABFSU. The biennial seminar of all the universities and colleges did not happen during British rule. This biennial seminar started only during the post-independence period and was regularly organized by the ABFSU. Also, when the ABFSU held its conference every four
years, student union representatives from all the nation’s universities and colleges attended the conference.

It is necessary to have a union that can represent all the universities and colleges and host conferences in which all institutions participate. The ABFSU took the role during our time, and it should have continued in that way. If there are 100 or 200 student unions in Burma, all these institutions should link to the ABFSU. Then, all national student unions of other countries should join the IUS. The student unions of Burma, Japan, and China were all members of the IUS. The IUS would sometimes hold continental conferences. For example, if the IUS conference is held in Africa, the ABFSU could participate at their invitation. In 1958, the IUS conference was held in China, and we sent 60-70 representatives. The U Nu government used to allow many student representatives to attend IUS conferences. Students from ethnic communities were also represented, with two representatives from each ethnic group.

Were any student leagues or unions related to particular ethnic groups back then?

Yes, but they did not take the name of ‘student union’. Instead, they used the term ‘student association’: the Chin Student Association, Mon Student Association, Pa-O Student Association and Shan Student Association. This was similar to the regional student associations like the Pyapone Province Association, Bogalay Township Association, Taungoo Province Association, and Pathein Province Association. In 1960, when I was a member of the executive council in both the RUSU and ABFSU, I solicited the opinion of former student leaders like Dr. Maung Maung Kyaw about founding a league for Rangoon University Ethnic Students. They approved of the idea and such a league came into existence. We RUSU leaders invited two representatives from each association to establish the league at that time. We coordinated with the league to solve issues together as they arose. For instance, we officially informed the league that we would be
demonstrating on a certain day and requested them to discuss the issue in their own executive council meeting.

Here, I would like to mention the relations between ethnic students and the RUSU. Student activists from ethnic minority backgrounds also participated in the RUSU executive council elections. Ko Aung Win, a Shan student, is an example. When he and I went to Htee Tan College together, before I attended Rangoon University, he was the president, and I was the secretary of the Htee Tan College Student Union. Later, the political significance of each ethnic group played an instrumental role in student politics.

We also encouraged the participation of some influential ethnic students in the league to coordinate with other institutions and to raise the voices of ethnic students. With such kinds of institutions, we could create a political link when there were important issues to discuss, like the Panglong Agreement. The ABFSU also facilitated meetings between the Internal Peace Committee and ethnic students. Peace within the union was a shared issue relevant to all ethnic groups. All the ethnic groups within the Shan States, for example, were united under the Shan Student Association. At this time, some wanted to organize more granular associations, but they only had very small minority populations. It is noteworthy that ethnic representation only catches on when there are ethnic-related issues.

Did student unions collaborate with other civil and political organizations in your time?

Many student groups run for student union election, and some distinguished groups are referred to as “forces”. My fellow leaders and I formed a group called the Student Unity Front in 1955. I also joined the Rangoon Students Progressive Force (RSPF), which was formed before independence. Not many students were interested in it. You would only join if you were interested in progressive politics. The organization was intended to study Marxism, with the label “progressive” meant to signal this, and its informal title was the Rangoon University Marxism Study
Group. It was not an SRC, but SRC members did join it. Politics during this time was open and flexible. The government allowed the studying, publishing, and distributing of Marxist literature. In 1953 the ruling government formed an organization called the Democratic Students Organization (DSO), with U Kyaw Nyein, the famous anti-colonial politician, playing a significant role in organizing it. There were many groups formed for students with similar interests at that time.

In 1953, incumbent politicians U Nu, U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nyein reduced the October university holidays from one month to 15 days, displaying dishonest intentions. Disputes took place. The DSO supported the decision while progressive student forces opposed it. Progressive students were more influential at the time as they were executive council members of the RUSU and ABFSU and held the positions of president and secretary in dormitory committees. When a student strike erupted in October that year, many students were expelled, and many others were arrested and sentenced to jail.

The clashes between student protesters and the police were intense, with the police using tear gas and live rounds to shoot students. This was one of the earliest public protests after independence. I was only in seventh or eighth grade when these protests happened. Later, when I became a student leader at Rangoon University, Ko Win Maung Than also became a leader at Mandalay University. He was a follower of Thakin Soe, the Red Flag communist party leader.

We can say there was democracy in general back then. During 1959-60, when we became university students, there was another organization called the Rangoon University Student Unity Front (RUSUF), which was unrelated to the RSPF. The RUSUF was formed to promote unity among students. After its formation, the government supported ‘Ye Gaung’ students to compete against it. The original Ye Gaung students were a group of students who wanted to fight against the Japanese during the Japanese occupation. U Kyaw Nyein gathered some students to compete against the RUSUF and revived the name Ye Gaung. These Ye Gaung students were government supporters.
Both the Ye Gaung and RUSUF students competed in the 1960 RUSU executive council election. As part of the RUSUF, I remember hiring cars and Willys jeeps for the election day. The rental fee was like 20 Kyat per day. We used these cars to campaign to students in Yankin, Htee Tan, and the medical technology compound.

The Ye Gaung students were defeated in 1960, an outcome not helped by the fact that the election committee downplayed or outright withheld individual candidates’ group affiliations. Candidates who chose to compete in the RUSU election could do so individually or formally aligned with an organization. If a candidate ran as a representative of an organization, the affiliation was not mentioned in any public election materials. The election committee only announced the number of candidates, and personal details such as name, specialized subject, dormitory, and residing address. The candidates themselves were required to campaign under and for their groups and try to create a memorable impression.

For the 1960 RUSU executive council election, the ballot box was placed in Judson Hall of Rangoon University. Students could vote freely and democratically. University lecturers managed giving out the ballots, supervising the polling place and listing the voters. There was a student register book and identification cards for every student. Two lecturers at the entrance to Judson Hall verified the registration number of every arriving student and gave out ballots. The voter had to tick off their unpreferred candidates, displayed on the ballot without their group affiliations. The votes were counted at night in the convocation hall. The counting tables were in the hall while the two blackboards were placed outside. The lecturers counted the ballots in front of some students in the hall. The names of candidates were written on the blackboard, and the number of votes were shown beside the name. A tally was kept for every ten votes.

To divide the RUSUF and Ye Gaung students who gathered outside the hall in front of the blackboards, the students tied a long rope from a lamppost in front of the convocation hall to a tree in front of the student union building. This led to an
enjoyable atmosphere without any violence. The winning group could celebrate their victory freely by dancing. There were two charming female candidates running under the Ye Gaung students, Ma Sein Aye and Ma Khin Hnin Yee, who had won positions in the Miss Burma Beauty Pageant. We thought students would vote for them, but they proved us wrong, and the two ladies got the least number of votes. The RUSUF won the most votes. There was no split in the RUSU executive council.

Before the 7 July 1962 student uprising, there were several different student groups that vied for influence in the RUSU and therefore the ABFSU. The DSO and Ye Gaung students generally sided with the government and were in fact created by the government. The government wanted supporters in the student body to back them, as most students tended to criticize their actions. But they were unsuccessful at influencing the student unions. The 1959-60 student union election, the third I directly participated in, turned out to be the last ever RUSU election held at Rangoon University.

Was there any collaboration between university student unions and other student unions?

The ABFSU organized biannual seminars for union representatives from the nation’s universities and colleges. The seminars rotated between different cities. These seminars were important and featured discussions on crucial issues such as education policy, public expenditure on education, passing rates for exams, curriculum, general academic issues and students’ rights. There were high-level discussions and academic papers presented. The ABFSU was responsible and accountable for overall union policy, which involved a lot of research. The union invited parliament representatives from the National United Front and academic experts such as Dr. Maung Maung Kyaw to attend the seminars. These education experts assisted union members to adopt firm positions on pressing issues. For example, there was an idea of omitting English subjects in tenth grade, but after research and discussion the union decided that skipping English subjects
would only cause obstacles for students’ further study. Some lecturers preferred English in general, while others preferred Burmese as the teaching medium. (I think it is better to teach in English. But students from rural areas who do not have strong English skills then face more learning difficulties.)

In addition to the biannual seminars, the ABFSU also held a conference on education every four years. The issues discussed there related to high school rather than university, and included education expenditure, the relevance (or not) of unions to high school students, student arrests, accommodation, teachers, the outdated examination system, and the curriculum.

Sometimes, the high school conference and university seminar overlapped in the same year. At that time, an extra session was added to discuss further issues. For example, if the ABFSU conference was held for five days as usual, then one extra day was added to discuss special issues such as forcing the students to repeat from grade nine if they failed the matriculation examination and such a policy’s consequences on students. In general, the issues at university level and high school level are dissimilar. The university level is more complicated due to the dormitories, exam system, and different prescribed subjects, with serious issues such as the lack of accommodation and lecturers, and the university’s inability to publish and deliver textbooks on time.

The ABFSU conference extended its invitations to all members. Township-level student unions could send only one representative and one observer, while province-level student unions could send two representatives and two observers. University and college student unions sent their representatives as needed after negotiation. There were logistic and accommodation problems given the large numbers of attendees. Funds were insufficient, although there were abundant materials. The leaders of the ABFSU had financial struggles. Each seminar would be organized by a student union from the host city and nearby (for example, if the host city was Mandalay, MUSU would be primarily responsible for organizing the event). The ABFSU did not have
any extra resources for funding, although its executive council had to travel often.

In 1958, the first student conference to discuss contemporary issues related to high school education was held in the Convocation Hall of Rangoon University. The convocation hall was decorated beautifully, and even the chairs were set up in an oval shape like the United Nations conferences. The conference focused on national high school education. Problems such as the examination system, curriculum, textbooks, and founding student unions were discussed, and there were talks from experts. The conference focused on high schoolers from grade 8 to grade 10.

Now it is 2016. Has the scope and nature of student activities altered due to the current government’s policies and actions?

I would like to say something about how party politics worked in the unions back in the old days. Let’s say you follow Marxism: that is your choice. Differences in political ideology are up to the individual. It did not matter if you supported U Nu back then, or Aung San Suu Kyi now. The student union, as an organization, would never make any comment about it or persuade others to support or oppose someone. The ABFSU mainly focused on discussing education policy. Supporting or opposing politicians was not relevant. The ABFSU did not give any opinion. We used to discuss issues related to the whole educational system in the university and college seminars, whether the government is democratic or not. As a senior student union member, I commented on the government’s practices of democracy, the strengths and weaknesses of educational policy, and government expenditure on education.

I believe that even high schoolers can participate in politics. It is essential for study at the university and college levels. U Nu once instructed that student unions should be off campus, although he was a student union leader on campus during his college days. The ABFSU argued with U Nu, and later, he agreed to
compromise. Now in 2016, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi should not comment on student unions. If she makes any comment, it is inevitable that we will respond. But we do not want to make any comment. For example, if students wish to operate a union office, they should be allowed; it is only democratic. If only supporters of The Lady are allowed to organize a student union, then she should return her Nobel Prize. Why would she refuse students operating their own unions? A student following Marxism can still be a student leader. They can believe in whatever they want. For example, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said, “let bygones be bygones, people should not talk about the 7 July 1962 uprising, it only increases tension with the military”. If so, what would she say about stopping celebrating Martyrs’ Day?

All that aside, we cannot simply comment on The Lady from a single perspective. Instead, we should analyze her actions from various angles, as she is currently the leader of the country. We should not make loose comments, but The Lady should also refrain from commenting in the same way.

How did relations with other countries and political leaders’ impact on the student unions when you were a student leader?

I already mentioned the ABFSU was a member of the IUS, headquartered in the Czech Republic. We had a Burmese student union member living in the Czech Republic as our representative. We communicated with him through many channels, sometimes through the Chinese Embassy, sometimes through the British Embassy, and sometimes through volunteers. There was another international student union too, the International Student Conference and its coordinating secretariat, which supported US foreign policy and was not as anti-imperialist and Marxist as the IUS, although there were both leftists and rightists in the IUS.
The ABFSU student leaders mostly followed Marxism. In Japan, there were the *zengakuren*,¹ who were tougher than us. They visited us once and asked if we were afraid. We said, “please do not ask like that, my friend. We do not feel afraid, as people’s movements should be peaceful and democratic”. We also politely said to them that they are a bit too harsh. We communicated through translators. Japanese people are a little too active and hot. Every cultural group in the world has its own significant characteristics. Just because China was a leftist country at the time, it cannot be assumed that there was no Kuomintang student union. Some leftist countries allow rightist activities; likewise, some rightist countries tolerate Red Flag parties. It depends on whether a country is politically and socially mature. Our country and our government were not mature. I said this to U Nu, and he laughed. I visited him with two friends. U Nu is very democratic. When we arrived at his place, his clerk, who arranged his meals, told us to wait because the Prime Minister was eating. A moment later, U Nu himself told us, “Maung Hla Shwe and Maung Thet, please kindly wait while I am eating”. The Prime Minister, of such a high rank, did not need to ask us visitors to “please wait for me”. We felt so awkward. We replied, “Uncle, please eat comfortably. We can wait”. U Nu treated us very well like that. We may not have liked his politics, but we did not hate him personally.

However, U Kyaw Nyein never welcomed us once in his lifetime. He was actively against communism. Not all of our student leaders were communists, and people knew that. Even the US Embassy treated us better than U Kyaw Nyein. They just asked us if we were reds (i.e. communists) and were very cultured and

---

¹ The *zengakuren* is a radical student movement that emerged in Japan in the late 1940s in response to the conservative establishment and U.S. imperialism. It became known for its militant tactics, such as direct action, street demonstrations, and demands for greater democracy, student rights, and social justice. However, the movement faced numerous challenges, including government repression, internal divisions, and the changing political climate of Japan in the 1980s, which led to its eventual decline. For more information, see Dowsey, 2012.
polite. They laughed when we said we were neither red nor blue. They were very diplomatic and sometimes they made jokes. I never heard about human rights at that time. They told us it was fine even if we did not like the U.S. and if they did not like us. They were talking about the same human rights we are discussing nowadays. While U Kyaw Nyein never treated us respectfully, we did not respond to him rudely, as he was one of the leaders of our country and the Minister of Home Affairs. We were instructed by our seniors to never disrespect him.

**In which key political struggles did you and the ABFSU play a role in?**

One area that we focused on was the internal peace process, which was a common issue related to the entire country. We focused on opposing civil war and the peacebuilding process. Thakin Kodaw Hmaing was the chairman and lawyer U Tun Tin was the secretary of the Internal Peace Committee. Another area the unions worked on in my time was the education system in general. We tried to replace it with a modern education system. We did not have the expertise to do this on our own, but we knew that education should result in higher career prospects. At that time to receive a degree a student had to study for 14 years: ten years in primary and secondary education and four years in higher education. If a degree cannot guarantee a decent livelihood, if you cannot make a respectable income for your family after 14 years of study, it’s just not worth it.

The education system of Burma was basically in chaos at the time I was in student politics and then after. We could not build a successful career out of our education. We struggled to apply the knowledge we acquired from our education. Hence, we actively participated in opposing the matriculation examination system, which was essential for high school.

In 1960, there was a demonstration against the matriculation examination system. At that time, it was too hard to pass the matriculation exam. Teachers in rural areas could not help us pass the exam as they struggled to teach English, Geometry
and Algebra subjects. When the results of matriculation exams were announced at that time, the pass rate was only around 2.1 percent. Students who failed had to repeat from ninth grade. Eighth grade was called pre-matric. So, the student who failed the matriculation examination had to repeat a whole year of study.

The demonstrations against the matriculation exam standards took place all over the country. As ABFSU executive council members, we were busy traveling to different colleges and provinces. Prime Minister U Nu refused to change the matriculation standards and results despite the demonstrations. Instead, he announced a supplementary result for students who scored close to the passing mark. The ABFSU told U Nu that it was difficult for students to repeat a whole year of study, especially for students from lower socioeconomic areas, which was most students. U Nu did not compromise, even though he said he felt empathy for the students, he claimed to worry that people would be unimpressed with the quality of the Burmese education system if the exam standards were lowered. There were some disputes between teachers and students who were given a pass in the supplementary results. Teachers hurled verbal insults at students who felt disrespected, and this sometimes led to physical violence. The ABFSU agitated for all student leaders to gather on Sule Pagoda Road, where the Shangri-La Hotel is standing today. More than 100 students, including students from the Htee Tan and Yankin colleges, gathered for a 72-hour hunger strike.

In addition to the hunger strike, we at the ABFSU took additional actions such as meeting with stakeholders, the Prime Minister, and the Minister of Education to try and solve the issue. During British rule, students who passed seventh grade could be assigned as an administrative assistant in an office. However, we could not do the same because of a lack of English language skills. A seventh grader would have been fluent in English during the British time, when the student population was few. At the current time in 2016, the number of graduates is enormous, and not enough jobs have been created.
Could you tell us a bit more about your personal experience after you entered the workforce and what happened to you after 1962?

In fact, my parents were lower-class people and could not afford my university tuition fees. Student leaders such as Ko Ba Swe Lay, Ko Thet, Ko Tin Tun, Ko Min Kyaw, and Min Hla Nyunt Kyuu pleaded with the ABFSU to sponsor my tuition fees. Later, I was offered 150 Kyat as a monthly salary to teach seventh grade in a private school, founded by a writer named Min Kyaw and a student leader named Min Hla Nyunt Kyuu, and located near the Kamayut guard house. I usually gave 90 Kyat of my salary to my family and enjoyed the rest.

Later, I became a history teacher, teaching middle school students, eighth and tenth grade, after choosing history as my specialized subject. There was a university subject called Triple History, which was Asian, Western and Burmese history. Students interested in arts and politics studied these Triple History subjects. The history of Burma, Japan and China were also studied separately. Triple History exams included three questions that had to be answered in a single article. It was hard to pass the tests without studying hard. I passed them and earned the right to become a history teacher.

Soon I was invited to become the headmaster of a male-only private school donated by the Tiger Balm Philanthropic Organization and located on Kamayut Railway Station Street. There was a monk called Sayadaw Ashin Nyanissara who did philanthropic tasks with the organization. I agreed to work there for a better salary. I really tried to support my children and family with my small income. My wife and I worked as senior assistant teachers and we struggled to get by. My wife, brother-in-law and I were among the school’s first-generation teachers.

At that time some private schools paid teachers up to 400 Kyats per month, whereas high school teachers in government schools earned around 300 Kyats. This was still a good salary. A tical of gold cost 300 Kyats. There were other incentives given to teachers too. But when General Ne Win put all the private
schools under public ownership after 1962, all private school teachers were reassigned to public schools. I became a teacher instead of being reassigned as a headmaster because I did not have a degree in education. Attending at least a one-year Diploma at the University of Education is mandatory to get a headmaster position in a public school. The Sayadaw offered to support me with school funding to get the diploma, so I ended up a headmaster again later, while my wife and brother-in-law were assigned as high school and middle school teachers, respectively. Our financial position was OK. Later, when the union peace talks failed, the military government attempted to arrest student leaders. I still held positions at the RUSU and ABFSU. I only had two options: to go underground or to be detained by Brigadier General Tin Oo, the Intelligence Chief. If I chose to rebel, I would have to leave my wife and children. If I was arrested, I might be killed in prison. There was a lot of news about Tin Oo having students killed in jail. But I felt like I was left with no choice. I had to rebel. When I went underground, I left my wife and two sons, young boys, around 5-6 years of age.

So many student leaders, including from the Mawlamyine, Kyaukpyu, Pathein, Mandalay, and Magway student unions, totaling over 70 people, went underground and became rebels. Some died in the Bago mountain range. Some went to Shan State and died there. Others died in battle in Rakhine State. I fought in two operations in the Ayeyarwady Division: Shwe Lin Yone and Shwe La Win. During the Shwe La Win operation, I was arrested and sent to Myaungmya Intelligence Unit 4. I was interrogated in brutal ways. We were in the Rangoon underground unit. So, the intelligence unit from Rangoon informed the Myaungmya unit that I, Hla Shwe (a.k.a) Aung Thar, must be sent to Rangoon.

Before I got there however, I was sent to Myitkyina to be brutally interrogated. Brigadier General Tin Oo was notorious for torturing and killing students. People captured on the battlefield were not tortured that intensely but were instead pushed to attend a ‘press conference’. I said to my captors:
You can sentence me to jail or do whatever you want. I could have died during that battle, and I now regret surviving. I am in your hands. You can kill me or keep me alive. I won’t do a press conference and betray my comrades.

The idea behind holding a press conference was to accuse and condemn the Communist Party, of whom I was a member. But we are comrades who protect each other. I told myself in my mind that I simply should have died in the battle.

When my wife, Khin Mar Aye, was taken to Yay Kyi Ai Interrogation Center, she also said I should have died. She was a Pa-O Student Association member. Kun Thet Lwin was the secretary of the Rangoon University Pa-O Student Association, while my wife was the associate secretary of the same organization. Captain Tin Aung from military intelligence told my wife, “Teacher, we tried to help him as much as possible, but your husband refused to cooperate”. My wife understood what he meant.

At that time, one or two student leaders, with whom I was familiar, surrendered and did the press conference; later, I tried negotiating with Bo Ni, Deputy Chief under Brigadier General Tin Oo. I told him that I was ready to face anything, and I could do a press conference, but I would not criticize my comrades. I would not alter my words later. Many people sacrificed their lives. Our leaders, Ko Tin Tun and Ko Thet, died in the Bago mountains. These people were like my brothers, and I refused to blame them in death.

“You can detain, release, or give me a death sentence, as you wish.”

That is why they detained me in prison. After six months in jail, Kun Thet Lwin came to see me. I scolded him and told him I did not want to see his face. Kun Thet Lwin told my wife Khin Mar Aye about that. My wife told him, “My husband cursed you because he was captured in the battle, but you surrendered to the army. So, he will stand his ground. As for me, I want to see my husband, but I will not welcome him if he surrenders”.

I told Captain Tin Aung this too, but he did not tell me my wife’s reply. He tried to persuade me by talking about my sons. I said:

*Stop trying to convince me. I don’t know how many battles you fought, but I fought at least some that I can be proud of. I fought bayonet-to-bayonet. You are also a soldier, so you should know the mindset of a soldier.*

In prison, they gave me food fit for an officer. Meat and side dishes were provided. After being detained for three months, they told me to pack my things and released me from prison. Although I packed my things, I really did not expect to go home. I did not even know where my home was.

I used to live in Shauk Pin Chan, Hledan Township. In the early years of our marriage, our house was at the back of Bwe Gyi’s House. Ko Min Kyaw’s son, Bwe Gyi (a.k.a. Ant Bwe Kyaw), was our neighbor. The U Chit Teashop originally opened near Hledan Market, and we used to go there at night. I was the youngest person in my group of contemporaries and learned a lot from these comrades. Anyway, I decided not to reveal anything if they released me or not. There was no difference. If I told anyone anything, I would not dare to look at my own face in the mirror, and I would not have the gall to face my comrades. Many people who fought together with me were dead. Many of my comrades were sent to Coco Island, including one comrade who was arrested together with me. I fought with these comrades. I had to keep silent even if I was tempted to reveal our secrets. I know what it is like to surrender. Many of my friends did so and cut ties with me. It was unpleasant that they did so even for me, who was captured in the battle, and did not surrender.

**Looking back, what were the major tasks of the student union during your tenure?**

There were two significant tasks during my tenure as student leader. The first was furthering anti-colonialism and working on
our own peace process. The struggle against colonialism has been waged since the time of Ko Aung San and Ko Aung Kyaw. The US was creating chaos in Southeast Asia and a huge conflict between the US and China was occurring in the Indochina region. We followed Sayagyi Thakin Kodaw Hmaing and General Kyaw Zaw and tried to end our own civil war and achieve internal peace. This was related to democratization, issues related to democratic rights.

The second major was fixing the Burmese education system, which did not benefit graduates as it should at that time. Students from lower socioeconomic areas faced many obstacles to passing the matriculation exam. As an ex-insurgent, I know more than others about the suffering and woes of people in disadvantaged areas and areas affected by conflict. I lived for ten years in rural farmers’ homes. If a house offered us rice with fermented fish paste and chilies, the family was doing well. I have been to homes that could offer only rice.

We organized a conference in 1958 to call for education reform, and approximately 700 student union members and other representatives attended the conference. We held the conference inside a compound, which was formerly the office of the prime minister and next to the University of Education today. Around 700 representatives attended the conference. U Nu served a buffet and a dinner party for the attendees. Fourteen policy papers were submitted at the conference to be put together as a single file. At the conference, Ko Zaw Win, then president of the ABFSU, and Ko Soe Thein, the president of the conference, delivered speeches. At the dinner hosted by U Nu, we handed the policy papers to the Prime Minister and to the Minister of Education at the conference. These policy papers were conducted by scholars, and experts such as Thakin Khin Aung. The papers included suggestions and recommendations for reforming the education system of Burma. The topics were basic education (primary, middle, and high school) and university education (both arts and science).

I handed the papers over and said we hope they will be of some help when you implement education reform. After
officially handing the papers over, U Nu asked if we requested anything. I said travel expenses for the student representatives because we could not raise enough funds. U Nu agreed to pay the travel cost of the student representatives. U Nu said to me:

_We have been criticizing and opposing each other all the time. I even had to arrest and then release some students. I am happy to meet you. It reminds me of being a student leader in the past._

Even so, none of the policy reforms we presented were implemented, and after the 7 July 1962 protests, we politically active students became rebels. Our options were to die in Yay Kyi Ai Interrogation Center, the jungle, or in prison. Most student leaders were killed in the fighting following these 1962 protests.

Approximately ten student leaders were killed during internal conflicts within the Communist Party of Burma (CPB) in the Bago mountain range. When there were splits in the party, the more powerful side simply killed the weaker side. Some student leaders killed were my colleagues. Soe Win, the elder brother of Po Than Joung, and my classmate, was one of the victims. Soe Win, Thein Htun, Soe Myint, Aung Thein Naing, and I were assigned to public relations, especially with senior people like Sayagyi Thakin Kodaw Hmaing, General Kyaw Zaw, and U Tun Tint. I am the only survivor from that whole group. Aung Thein Naing, Kyaw Khin, and Thein Tun were also killed in the Bago range. I do not know whether the CPB internal splits were democratic or not. It was the destiny of the CPB and its leaders. Some people still want to discuss it today. I used to make posters and campaign with the people killed in Bago. I was so sorry to hear about their fates. Po Than Joung is the younger brother of Soe Win, and Nyi Pu Lay was the youngest brother. The children of Ludu U Hla and Daw Amar were outstanding. Soe Win was qualified to attend honors classes available only in Rangoon. If he had come to Rangoon, he would have survived.

Twenty-three student leaders, including me, escaped death but were sentenced to prison. Yin Htun and I were imprisoned
in Thayat Prison. Student leaders like me, Ko Ba Swe Lay, Ko Thet (president of the ABFSU), Ko Tin Htun (secretary of the ABFSU), and other executive members were all the same age, around 20 years old, when this took place.

**How are student activism and political views related?**

If we talk about student activism in recent years, no substantial achievement has been seen from student activists, whether related to the National League for Democracy or not. Generally, they have not lived in a democratic era like we did and cannot build themselves up to become a student leader. Although it has become more open nowadays, students are divided into many groups. It is not a positive sign for sustainability and working together in the long run. Student activities cannot be successfully conducted if there are conflicts due to political beliefs, for example, between Marxists and non-Marxists. There were three different political groups among students during our time: Communist Party, Red Flag, and People’s Volunteer Organization. These political affiliations and beliefs were individual and were kept separate to the student unions.

Student unions have a responsibility to function according to their constitution. Student leaders have no obligation to force different political beliefs on people. For example, a student leader from China may talk about communism or try to persuade others to follow communism because the communist party is the ruling government in China. We did not have this context. We did not comment about Marxism when we were doing student union business. Members explicitly explained how it worked to other newer members. There was also no complication in the student union because senior student leaders admonished juniors thoroughly. I can’t tell if there is such a practice now in 2016. Political beliefs, for example, in Marxism or liberal democracy, are personal rights, not to be discussed in the student union.

During our time, Ko Ba Swe Lay, my fellow townsman, was president of the RUSU. The ruling party and government tried
to destroy student unity, first the AFPFL and then the military’s Burma Socialist Programme Party. When arrested, I was charged with having connections with the CPB, but not for being a student leader or for the other positions held in other organizations. It is a natural response because they consider communists as their enemy. Fortunately, they did not kill the communists that were captured. From my experience, unity among students fell apart while U Nu was the leader of AFPFL.

I mentioned the strike against the October student holiday changes in 1953 earlier. It was really horrible. The Ava Hostel was the base for the demonstrators at night. Mr. Raschid, a former president of the RUSU himself, and Bo Khin Maung Lay, the then-Minister of Home Affairs, led the crackdown on the strike. They came to Ava Hostel at 4 a.m. with riot police and used an armored vehicle to destroy the door. Riot police used water cannons and teargas and violently beat the students. Over 40 students in the Ava Hostel were hospitalized. This history should not be ignored. The truth must be claimed based on solid evidence.

As a student leader, I did everything except die for the cause. I was in life-threatening situations but survived. I would probably have died on 7 July 1962 if I was not arrested before the shooting started with live ammunition. Even though I was never given a formal duty or obligation in politics, I feel the responsibility as an experienced activist to voice my opinion on contemporary political issues.

On the other hand, I need to turn a blind eye to some issues. It is not appropriate for a person to talk too much and think very highly of himself. Do not consider that you know best about every issue. Politicians must have strong beliefs, a broad perspective, and be far-sighted.

References

အောက်ပါပြုစုမှ ကျောင်းသား အမျိုးသားအစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ:
)::

အောက်ပါပြုစုမှ ကျောင်းသား အမျိုးသားအစိုးရအဖွဲ့အစည်းများ:

All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU)

All Burma Student Union (ABSU)
အချက်ကြားသော သဘောဒီ တစ်စုံ တစ်ယောက် စိတ်ချချနားသော အကြမ်းဖက်ကြားမှုကို ဖြစ်ကြည်မှု၏ လူရောက်ကြွယ်ဝေသော စာရင်းများဖြစ်သည်။

သို့သော်လည်း အခြားသော ပညာရေးစနစ်များဖြင့် လွတ်လပ်ခဲ့သော အလုပ်တုံးများဖြင့်တို့လုံးကို ဖြေရှင်းနေသည်။

မှတ်ချက်၏ မျှော်လင်းသော ပေါင်းစည်းမှုဖြင့် လိုအပ်သော ပညာရေးအတွက် မဟုတ်ဘဲ အားပေးသော အချက်ကြားများဖြင့်တို့လုံးကို ဖော်ပြသည်။
Rangoon University Student Union (RUSU) ဗိဝါသနာများ၊ ဗိဝါသကျွမ်းကျင်များ၊ သက်ရှည်များ၊ ဝူရှိသည်များ၊ ရန်ကုန်တက္ကသိုလ် (Rangoon University)

ဗိဝါသနာများ၊ ဗိဝါသကျွမ်းကျင်များ၊ သက်ရှည်များ၊ ဝူရှိသည်များ၊ ရန်ကုန်တက္ကသိုလ် (Rangoon University)

ဗိဝါသနာများ၊ ဗိဝါသကျွမ်းကျင်များ၊ သက်ရှည်များ၊ ဝူရှိသည်များ၊ ရန်ကုန်တက္ကသိုလ် (Rangoon University)

ဗိဝါသနာများ၊ ဗိဝါသကျွမ်းကျင်များ၊ သက်ရှည်များ၊ ဝူရှိသည်များ၊ ရန်ကုန်တက္ကသိုလ် (Rangoon University)

ဗိဝါသနာများ၊ ဗိဝါသကျွမ်းကျင်များ၊ သက်ရှည်များ၊ ဝူရှိသည်များ၊ ရန်ကုန်တက္ကသိုလ် (Rangoon University)
သွေးစက်များ အကြံပေးသောစာမျက်နှာ သို့မဟုတ် ပျဉ်းမှု တွက်ချက်များ ကောင်းစားသော မိန့်ခွဲမှု

ပထမအကြိုး: အချိုးဖော်ရေးလမ်းကြောင်း ပျဉ်းမှုစျေးရေး ကျွန်ုပ်တို့သည် ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ကို မိန့်ခွဲမှုများ ကြားရစေ။ သို့ရား လက်ရှိသော အချိုးများ ဖော်ပြသော ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ကို နှိုင်းယှဉ်ပေးသော ပျဉ်းမှုစျေးရေး သို့မဟုတ် ပထမအကြိုးမှာ များပြုသော အချိုးချက်များ အခြေခံသောအခါ အော်ကြားသည်။ (၁) ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ first election ကို ခြင်းတို့ ရေးသားခြင်း အတွက် အချိုးဖော်ရေးလမ်းကြောင်း နှစ်ခေါ်မှုအနေဖြင့် ကျွန်ုပ်တို့သည် ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ ဖာရိုန်းစာမျက်နှာ အစိတ်အပိုက် သို့မဟုတ် ပြောင်းလ枝းပေးရန်လိုအပ်သည်။

Business meeting အော်ကြားသော အချိုးချက်များ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ ပြောင်းလ枝းမှုများ ပြောင်းလဲမှုများ အခြေခံသော အချိုးချက်များ အော်ကြားသည်။ ပြောင်းလ枝းမှုများ များပြုသော်လည်း ဖာရိုန်းစာမျက်နှာ သို့မဟုတ် ပထမအကြိုးများ စောင့်ရှောက်ပေးသော အရာများ ဖြစ်သည် [ဖျက်စားသော သော်လည်း ပြောင်းလ枝းမှုများ]

အချိုးဖော်ရေးလမ်းကြောင်း ပျဉ်းမှုစျေးရေးများ အလျောက် ဖော်ပြသော အချိုးဖော်ရေးလမ်းကြောင်း သို့မဟုတ် ဖော်ပြသော အခြေခံသော ပျဉ်းမှုစျေးရေးများ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ ပျဉ်းမှုစျေးရေးများ အဖြစ်ပြုသော ဖော်ပြပြောင်းလဲမှုများ များပြုသော်လည်း ဖိုးများများ ဖြစ်သည် [ဖျက်စားသော သော်လည်း ပြောင်းလ枝းမှုများ]

Business meeting အော်ကြားသော အချိုးချက်များ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ ဖိုးများများ ပျဉ်းမှုစျေးရေးများ အဖြေခံသော်လည်း ဖိုးများများ ဖြစ်သည် [ဖျက်စားသော သော်လည်း ပြောင်းလ枝းမှုများ]
Business meeting ကြွင်းဆောင်သွားရာ အိမ်မြင်ဆောင်ချက် ကြည့်ရှုခြင်း သို့မဟုတ် ပြန်လည်ပြန်လည် သော အခြေခံအဖွဲ့ ဖြစ်သည်။ Business meeting ကြွင်းဆောင်ဖြင့် သြားလာခြင်း သို့မဟုတ် အခြေခံအဖွဲ့က ဖြစ်သည်။}

Business meeting ကြွင်းဆောင်သွားရာ အိမ်မြင်ဆောင်ချက် ကြည့်ရှုခြင်း သို့မဟုတ် ပြန်လည်ပြန်လည် သော အခြေခံအဖွဲ့ ဖြစ်သည်။ Business meeting ကြွင်းဆောင်ဖြင့် သြားလာခြင်း သို့မဟုတ် အခြေခံအဖွဲ့က ဖြစ်သည်။
Election Officer နှင့် ဆိုင်မှုများကို နှစ်စဉ် အပေါ်တုံးပေးနိုင်မည်။ ကျန်တိုးတက်မှု နှင့် လူများ၏ ဝန်ဆောင်မှုများကို အပေါ်တုံးပေးနိုင်မည်။ နိုင်ငံတကာ စီမံခန့်ခွဲမှု အချိန်မှာ အပေါ်တုံးမြှင့်နိုင်ရန် ဖြစ်သည်။
Business meeting ပေးထားသော ကြည့်ရှုသော ၎င်းတို့ကို procedure အချိန်တွင် အလေးပေးသော စာသီးချင်း နေရာဖြစ်သော အချိန်ကို အားလုံးတွင် သိရှိနိုင်သည်။

Individual collection အသစ်ကို ဖော်ပြသော အခါမှ အားလုံးတွင် သိရှိနိုင်သည်။ ၎င်းတို့ အသစ်ဟု အလေးပေးသော စာသီးချင်းနေရာဖြစ်သော အချိန်အတွင်း သိရှိနိုင်သည်။

Individual collection ဖော်ပြသော အခါမှ အားလုံးတွင် သိရှိနိုင်သည်။
Lin Nyein Eain / U Hla Shwe | 391

မိမိကို သိချင်သူများနှင့် တွေ့ခိုင်ဖို့ သိမ်းပို့ခဲ့သည်။ အဘယ်ကြောင့် သိချင်သူများ ကျောင်းသိုလ်တွင် သင်တန်းနှင့် သိမ်းသူတစ်ဦး အားဖြင့် အောင်မြင်သည့် အချက်အလက်များကို ကျောင်းသိုလ်အတွင်း ကျောင်းသိုလ်တွင် သင်တန်းနှင့် သိမ်းသူတစ်ဦး အားဖြင့် အောင်မြင်သည့် အချက်အလက်များကို ကျောင်းသိုလ်အတွင်း

ယူနိုန်းရပ်စီးနိုင်ရန် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်၏ စာသီးစီးသူများနှင့် တွေ့ခိုင်ဖို့ သိမ်းပို့ခဲ့သည်။ ယူနိုန်းရပ်စီးနိုင်ရန် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်၏ စာသီးစီးသူများနှင့် တွေ့ခိုင်ဖို့ သိမ်းပို့ခဲ့သည်။ အကြမ်းဖက်သူများနှင့် တွေ့ခိုင်ဖို့ သိမ်းပို့ခဲ့သည်။ သင့်ရဲ့ လိုအပ်ချက်အား ကျောင်းသိုလ်တွင် သင်တန်းနှင့် သိမ်းသူတစ်ဦး အားဖြင့် အောင်မြင်သည့် အချက်အလက်များကို ကျောင်းသိုလ်အတွင်း သင်တန်းနှင့် သိမ်းသူတစ်ဦး အားဖြင့် အောင်မြင်သည့် အချက်အလက်များကို ကျောင်းသိုလ်အတွင်း

စာသီးစီးနိုင်ရန် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်၏ စာသီးစီးသူများနှင့် တွေ့ခိုင်ဖို့ သိမ်းပို့ခဲ့သည်။ စာသီးစီးနိုင်ရန် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်၏ စာသီးစီးသူများနှင့် တွေ့ခိုင်ဖို့ သိမ်းပို့ခဲ့သည်။ စာသီးစီးနိုင်ရန် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်၏ စာသီးစီးသူများနှင့် တွေ့ခိုင်ဖို့ သိမ်းပို့ခဲ့သည်။ စာသီးစီးနိုင်ရန် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်၏ စာသီးစီးသူများနှင့် တွေ့ခိုင်ဖို့ သိမ်းပို့ခဲ့သည်။
ပြီးသော စာလောက်ကလည်း ပေးလျှင် ဗားလှမ်းသော အချက်အလက်များ ရှိရင် မှန်ကန်သော ပြောင်းလဲကို သိရှိနိုင်သည်။ ပြောင်းလဲသည်များ အတွက် ကမ္ဘာ့ သဘာဝအဖွဲ့ အဖွဲ့ဝင် ထုတ်လုပ်ကို သိရှိနိုင်သည်။ ထို့ပြင် အခြေခံကို အဖွဲ့ဝင်အဖြစ် မိသားစု အဖွဲ့ဝင် အဖွဲ့ဝင်များ ပေးလျှင် သိရှိနိုင်သည်။

IUS အဖွဲ့ဝင်များ အဖွဲ့ဝင်အဖြစ် အဖွဲ့ဝင်အဖြစ် အဖွဲ့ဝင်များ ပေးလျှင် သိရှိနိုင်သည်။
သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်သို့ ဆိုင်ရာ၊ ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာ စိတ်ဝင်စားခြင်းများ အလွန်ပါဝင်ကြပေါ်လာပါသည်။ ပြည်ထောင်စု ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဓါန်ကျောင်းသို့ ဆိုင်ရာတွင် သင်္ချောင်းသည် ဗုဒ္ဦးသတင်းများ အလွန်ပါဝင်ကြပေါ်လာပါသည်။

time scale}
394 | Lin Nyein Eain / U Hla Shwe

£ÀƧ´¾ÁƳÀ¤À ·²À´¡¸ƶ Chairman ÂÀ
¡ÀµÀũ¤³µ¢À±ÁƳÀ

ÂÀ

ÀÑ

ÀÑ Áƴ´ Á

À

¡ÀµÀũ¤³µ¢À¤À

²À
¤´¾Â²¾

¢ÃÀ¢ÀÃ½À·Ã ·¾²¾¤½À³µÀ·§²À ·²À´Ä² §³µ¾¡¸Ƶ ¢²Á³À
²¾
³µ

ÀÑ

£ÀƧ´¾ÁƳÀ¢À¾

À²¾¢Ä

ÀÀ·

¤¶§Ʀ¸À¾

²À³µ ²¾²¾¡

³µÀƏ³µÀ·²½

¤¶ɕ

ÀÑ

·ɜÀÀµ ¥³µ¾µÀ¾ §À¢ƭÀ·²ÀÐ ·§²À¢ƭÀ·²À
³µ²¡Ä³
¢²¡


ÀÑ ·§²À¢ƭÀ·²À ³µ

À²¾¢Ä

ÀÑ §À¢ƭÀ·²À¢À¾ ³µ

À ƏÄÀ·

À²¾¢Ä

²À ·²À´³µ

À ƏÄÀ·

²À ¢²¡

ÀÑ ±²·ƣ²½À¢¸³µ·²½ ũ¤³µ¢À¸ƵÀ¤À¸½ Á³Ƴƶ«··Ã

ÂƔ²À¾

À³µ¡À university council 

À³µ¡ÀÐ Ɩ²·¡¾·Ã ÂƔ²À¾

¢ƭÀ·²À³µ

À¡

ÀÑ

¢ƭÀ·²À

¢³µ§À¸½¥²

«À¾²¾Ʀ´¾

¤·²¶Ä university council  ´·Ã³µ ¤¼µ¾Ã½À¡Ä³²Ñ ³µ¢³µ²
ũ¤³µ¢À¡¸ƶ·Ã¸Ð ·Á²À¾¤²¾·Ã ·¾²¾¸½·Ã¸Ñ ±·¸½ ´·Ã³µ
²³Ů§ÃÀ ¤¼µ¾ÁÀ¤¢¸ ³µ¢³µƵ¡Ä³¡À university council ¡Ä³¸½§ÃÀ
university council §µÀÁƳÀ·¡¾§Ã¸ƶ³µÀÑ ³Ů³µÀ¾·²½ À¡²
¥µÀ¶¾Ñ university council Ä² ¢Ã¸·¡Ä²À¤² ¤¼µ¾¡
(²)·Ã¡Ä³
À·

ÀÑ

À·¢²À³µ

²À³µ ·Á²À¾µÀ

¼µ¾ÂÀ³µÀÃ½À¡Ä³
¡Ä³

·Ã

·Á²À¾¤²¾

ÀÐ µÀ¶¾Ñ university council Ä²

ÀÑ ¤ū¡¸ƶ·§²ÀÄ² ¤¥²

ÀÑ §·²À·²À´·Ã ¡Ä³

§·²ÀÄƴ¾¡Ä³

¤¼µ¾¡¢¸Ñ

½À Amount

¸Ƶ ²À§¤À¾³µ²

ÀÑ Warden À·

²À ¡Ä³²·± ½Ñ

ÀÑ §·²À¡¸ƶ ¤²ưɜư·Ã³µ ¢µÀ¸½§Ã¸ƶ ¤¥²

ƏÄ½À

²À§¤À¾ S&R (The Social and Reading Club) ³µ² §·²À
³µÀ¾Ä² ¡Ä³

ÀÑ ²²¾Ã¸ ¢µÀ

ÀÑ ³ÀÀÃ¸¢µÀ

ÀÑ ¡À¼µ·Ã¡Ä²

§¶¾²²¾Ã̧Ñ ƏÄÀÀ¢À ²²¾Ã¸¢µÀ²³µƵ ¢µÀ¡
²´´·²À´ ²¤²¡À³µÀ¡² ·¡²ÀÀ²·Ã±
ƏÄÀ¡À ³µ

À²¾¢Ä

À·Ã±

À²¾¢Ä

·Á²À¾¤²¾·Ã§ÃÀ

ÀƏÄÀ·

À³µ¡À

ÀÑ §¸·²½ ²¢µÀÀ¢³µÀ¤¢¸

³µ·²½ ³µ¢À·£À¾·À·¡²À·²½
·Á²À¾¤²¾³µ

¶´

ÀÑ ¢ƭÀ·²À

ÀÑ «² 7 July ¢³µÁ³Ƴ¾ÂÀ

¶´²´´·²À´Ä² ·Ã¾·ƏÃ¾¡

ÀÑ

ÀÑ

¶´²´´·²À´Ä²¡Ä³¸½ ³µƵ¡¸ƶ

²À³µ µÀÀ¢³µÀ

·Â²·¾Ə³µÀ¸½

§Ã½À§·¡¾

ÀÑ §¸´·²½
¼µ¾Ɛ¼ư¾²·± ½Ñ


၀နီးစာအကြားတွင် အတိုခ်ဳပ်ရှိသော report အချက်များဖြင့် အတိုခ်ဳပ်ရှိသော အချက်များကို အထူးသတ်မှတ်ချက်ပြီး စီးပွားရေးသိမ်းမှု ရှိသည်။ အချိန်စဉ်မှ မိုးမိုးစိတ်ဖြာပြီး အတိုခ်ဳပ်ရှိသော report အချက်များကို သိရှိရန် Warden ကို အသေးစိတ်ထားသည်။ အတိုခ်ဳပ်ရှိသော စီးပွားရေးမှုကို တင်ဆက်ပြီး အပြောင်းအလဲဖြင့် စီးပွားရေးသိမ်းမှုကို ရှိသည်။ အဆိုသော စီးပွားရေးအဆိုသော စီးပွားရေးမှုကို တင်ဆက်ပြီး စီးပွားရေးကြီးမားသော စီးပွားရေးသိမ်းမှုကို ရှိသည်။ အဆိုသော စီးပွားရေးအဆိုသော စီးပွားရေးမှုကို တင်ဆက်ပြီး စီးပွားရေးကြီးမားသော စီးပွားရေးသိမ်းမှုကို ရှိသည်။ အဆိုသော စီးပွားရေးအဆိုသော စီးပွားရေးမှုကို တင်ဆက်ပြီး စီးပွားရေးကြီးမားသော စီးပွားရေးသိမ်းမှုကို ရှိသည်။ အဆိုသော စီးပွားရေးအဆိုသော စီးပွားရေးမှုကို တင်ဆက်ပြီး စီးပွားရေးကြီးမားသော စီးပွားရေးသိမ်းမှုကို ရှိသည်။
အခွန်အချင်းများ သို့မဟုတ် အခြဳေခံရာ ဆုံးဖြတ်ချက်များအတွက် အပြောင်းအလဲများကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များ ပြောင်းလဲ အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစ္စရောက် အချက်အလက်များကို ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့
အောက်ပါအတွက် အသင်းအဖွဲ့ထဲက ဦးဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းကျင်းပခြင်း။ အခါ ကလည်း နောက်ထပ်ချင်းစွာအဖြစ် စိတ်ပျမ်းမှုထဲကို ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ဖြစ်သည်။

အဖွဲ့အစည်း ပြုလုပ်ကြသည် ဦးဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းကို၏ အကြောင်းအရာကို ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ မှန်ကန်သော သင်္ကေတအကြောင်းအရာများ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အခွင့်အရေးများသာ အရေးကြီးသေးသော အချက်များကို ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

7 July ဖော်ပြထားရှိသော မူလုပ်ပေးရေး ဖြစ်သော အခွင့်အရေးများကို လေးသော အစိတ်အပိုင်းများ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ နောက်ပိုင်း၏ အခွင့်အရေးများသည် ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

၉ အချက်များ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။ ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း၏ အကြောင်းအရာငါးများကို ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

အားလုံးကို ပြုလုပ်ခြင်းကို အပြောင်းအလဲချင်းစွာ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။
common issue
The Rangoon University Students Progressive Force (ချိုးရိုးစိုက်တက်ရေးဟောင်းတို့) ဖြစ်သည်။ သို့သော် အဘယ်ကြောင်းဆိုသည်ကို progressive ဟုဖော်ပြထားသော် ပါသြားသော်လည်း အဘယ်ကြောင်းဆိုသည်ကို ပြန်လည် ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

intention ကို အပေါ်မှ လိုအပ်သည်။ အဘယ်ကြောင်းဆိုသည်ကို ပြည့်စုံသော်လည်း အဘယ်ကြောင်းဆိုသည်ကို ပြန်လည် ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

အခြေခံအားဖြင့် ကိုယ်ငွေ့အများအပြား အခြေခံအားဖြင့် ကိုယ်ငွေ့အများအပြား တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာ progressive ဖြစ်သည်။

DSO ကို အပေါ်မှ လိုအပ်သည်။ အဘယ်ကြောင်းဆိုသည်ကို ပြည့်စုံသော်လည်း အဘယ်ကြောင်းဆိုသည်ကို ပြန်လည် ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

အခြေခံအားဖြင့် ကိုယ်ငွေ့အများအပြား အခြေခံအားဖြင့် ကိုယ်ငွေ့အများအပြား တို့ကို ဆိုင်ရာ progressive ဖြစ်သည်။
စားသွားခြင်း အစိုးရပြိုင်ဆိုင်ရာ အစိုးရမှ ရွေးချယ်ရန် မြင်ရာ ရွေးချယ်ရပြီး အသိပေး ရွေးချယ်ရပြီး စာရင်းသုံးရာ စိတ်ကူးသော လိုအပ်ချက်များစွာ သိပ်သာရန် သင့်လာမည်။ အခြေခံ grouping အခြေခံ ဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

စားသွားခြင်း များကို ကွယ်လိုက်ပါ။ အကူအညီပေးနီးရောက် လိုအပ်သည်။

identity card ပေးနှုန်းနေပါသည်။ အကူအညီပေးနီးရောက် လိုအပ်သည်။

ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ လုပ်ငန်းများ ပေးနှုန်းနေပါသည်။ အကူအညီပေးနီးရောက် လိုအပ်သည်။

စားသွားခြင်း များကို ကွယ်လိုက်ပါ။ အကူအညီပေးနီးရောက် လိုအပ်သည်။

identity card ပေးနှုန်းနေပါသည်။ အကူအညီပေးနီးရောက် လိုအပ်သည်။

ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ လုပ်ငန်းများ ပေးနှုန်းနေပါသည်။ အကူအညီပေးနီးရောက် လိုအပ်သည်။

identity card ပေးနှုန်းနေပါသည်။ အကူအညီပေးနီးရောက် လိုအပ်သည်။

ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ လုပ်ငန်းများ ပေးနှုန်းနေပါသည်။ အကူအညီပေးနီးရောက် လိုအပ်သည်။

identity card ပေးနှုန်းနေပါသည်။ အကူအညီပေးနီးရောက် လိုအပ်သည်။

ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ လုပ်ငန်းများ ပေးနှုန်းနေပါသည်။ အကူအညီပေးနီးရောက် လိုအပ်သည်။
7 July အနောက်မှာ ပြောင်းလဲသော အချက်အလက်များ အတွက် ပထမဦးစွာ အကြမ်းဖျင်ခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ စိတ်ပြောက်းစီးသော တော်ဝင် အချက်အလက်များ အတွက် ပထမဦးစွာ အကြမ်းဖျင်ခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။
Further studies are needed to establish the exact relationship between these elements.
စာတိုက်ရိုက် ပြသချင်အားဖြင့် များစွာ ပြည်သူ့ အလူအယ်နှုတ်သုံးသင်ကြား ပြည်တွင်း များစွာ သိရှိနေသော မိုးရိုစွာ သိချင်သော အခြေအနေဖြင့် အခြေခံချက်တွေ}

စာကြောင်းများကို ကျင်းပသည်။ မိုးရိုစွာ ပြည်သူ့ အလူအယ်ကို အခြေခံချက်နှင့် အခြေခံထိုးသောကြောင့် အနေဖြင့် သိရှိနေသော များစွာ သိရှိရန် ပြုလုပ်လျော် ဖြစ်သည်။ စာကြောင်းတွေကို ကျင်းပသည်။
မိန့်နှင့် ဒီမိုကရိတ်က ပဲခူး နေသူ အများသော အခြေခံကြည့်စုစုပေါင်းဆိုချက်များ ကျန် ခြေအက်ပ်များကို အခြေခံပေါ်ကာ အသိပေးသည် မျိုးများ

အောက်နှင့် အသားအမများ အရောင်းဆိုသော စိန့်ဝင်ဆိုရာ အချိန် သေချာစေသည် အထူးသဖြင့် စိန့်ဝင်နှင့် အသားအမများ အရောင်းဆိုချက်များ ကျန် ခြေအက်ပ်များကို အခြေခံပေါ်ကာ အသိပေးသည် မျိုးများ
Let bygone, be bygone! 7 July, 7 July. Bygone! 7 July. 

Let bygone, be bygone! 7 July, 7 July. Bygone! 7 July.
Zengakuren အသည်း Zengaku kyōto kaigi အနေဖြင့် အသိအမှတ် မိသားစုများ ဖွင့်စင်သောကြောင့် အိုးဗုဒ္ဓဟူးကြီး ကြောင့် လောက်နေသည်။ Stuart J Dowsey အကြောင်း Zengakuren: Japan’s Revolutionary Students (2012) အရသာ ဖျင်သည် အားထိုင်သည်။ ဝါကျမှာ Zengakuren လောက်နေသည် မိသားစုများ အိုးဗုဒ္ဓဟူးကြီး ကြောင့် ທြွဲပေးသည်။
politically socially mature Red Flag
林倪烟 / 乌拉施伟 | 411

စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှ မိတ်ဆွေ လိုက်မှာ နောက်ခံသော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အောက်ရှိ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများကို သင်္ကေတမှ အဓိကအား မှန်ကန်သော်လည်း ပြသည်။ အခြား သောက်ဆိုင်ရာ လက်ရှိပြသည်ကို ဆုံးဖြင့် မျှဝေသောအခေါ် ဆုံးဖြင့် ကြည့်ရင် အောက်ရှိ အားလုံးကို သင်ကြားမှုစွာ အများအားဖြင့် ရှိသည်။ ရှိသည်နောက်မှာ လေးမျိုး သို့မဟုတ် လေးခုအသက်ရှိ ရှိသည်။

စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ထိုက်ခဲ့သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။

စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ လှုပ်ထွေးသော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။

စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ လှုပ်ထွေးသော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။

စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ လှုပ်ထွေးသော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။ ဆိုသည်မှာ စည်းညွှန်းပွဲမှာ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အားနှင့် လွတ်လပ်သော စည်းညွှန်းပွဲများ အဖြစ်ကို ကျော်လွန်ပြသည်။
private methods (200) are not visible to other (200) objects. All visibility is private (200) as specified.  

A hunger strike is a essential action.
င်းဝက်ဝိုင်းများ တွင် (၁၀) ဆောင်ရွက်နေသော အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ အရ သူများနှင့် တိုးလိုက်နာခြင်း အခြေအနေကို ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။ Private ကိုဖျင့်ခံသော အခြေအနေများ သို့မဟုတ် ကျော်ကြားမှုများကို ဖျင့်ဖူးသော အခြေအနေများကို ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။ ပြည်သူများ ပြောင်းလဲသော အခြေအနေများကို ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။ ပြည်သူများ မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။ ပြည်သူများ မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။

ကိုယ်ရောက် သယ်ယူနိုင်သည့် အခြေအနေများကို ဖြန့်ဖူး နေသော private ကိုဖျင့်ခံသော အခြေအနေများ ဖျင့်ဖူးသည်။ ပြည်သူများ ပြောင်းလဲသော အခြေအနေများကို ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။ ပြည်သူများ မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။

Triple History ကိုဖျင့်ခံသော Asian History/ Western History/ Burmese History ကိုဖျင့်ခံသော မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။ ပြည်သူများ မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။

second paper ကိုဖျင့်ခံသော မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။ ပြည်သူများ မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။

first paper ကိုဖျင့်ခံသော မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။ ပြည်သူများ မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။

အထူးသဖြင့် မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။ ပြည်သူများ မှတ်ချက်များ ဖြန့်ဖူးသည်။
Lin Nyein Eain / U Hla Shwe | 415

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌

‌
အမျိုးအစား ဖော်ပြသော စာရင်းကို ဖြည့်စုပ်ကြပါ။ (၁) နှင့် (၂) သို့မဟုတ် ပြုစားပြီးနောက် စိတ်ကူးနှစ်ခွဲတင် အသုံးပြုပါ။ အခြေခံ ဖော်ပြပါအောင် ဖော်ပြသော စာရင်းကို ဖြည့်စုပ်ကြပါ။ အရည်အချင်း သင်အားဖြင့် ဖော်ပြပါအောင် ဖော်ပြသော စာရင်းအား ဖြည့်စုပ်ကြပါ။ အားလုံး ဖော်ပြပါအောင် ဖော်ပြသော စာရင်းကို ဖြည့်စုပ်ကြပါ။ အကောင်းဆုံး ဖော်ပြပါအောင် ဖော်ပြသော စာရင်းကို ဖြည့်စုပ်ကြပါ။ အားလုံး ဖော်ပြပါအောင် ဖော်ပြသော စာရင်းကို ဖြည့်စုပ်ကြပါ။ အကောင်းဆုံး ဖော်ပြပါအောင် ဖော်ပြသော စာရင်းကို ဖြည့်စုပ်ကြပါ။ အားလုံး ဖော်ပြပါအောင် ဖော်ပြသော စာရင်းကို ဖြည့်စုပ်ကြပါ။ အကောင်းဆုံး ဖော်ပြပါအောင် ဖော်ပြသော စာရင်းကို ဖြည့်စုပ်ကြပြောင်း။
တွေဆိုင်ရာ အားလုံးက သိလိုက် သင်္ကေတတို့ ရင်စိုးများစွာ ဖတ်သွားရမည်။ ထို့ပြင် သင်္ကေတတို့ သိရှိဆဲလျှင် ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးတို့ ထို့အထိ အလှူရှု သိရှိပြီး ကြည့်ရှုရမည်။ သင်္ကေတတို့ ကြည့်ရှုရန် ရှိမှာ အကြောင်းပြချက်ပေးတော့သည်။ အချို့သူများက သင်္ကေတတို့ ပြောလိုက်နေသည်။ သင်္ကေတတို့ ပြောလိုက်အောင် သင်္ကေတတို့ ကြည့်ရှုရမည်။ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးတို့က သင်္ကေတတို့ ပြောလိုက်လိုက် သင်္ကေတတို့ ကြည့်ရှုရမည်။
Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform

Education Reform
ပြချင်းချင်သောအကြောင်းအရာများ၊ အရေးပါသော အလွတ်စွတ်ချက်များ ဖော်ပြချင်သော ပြပြုချက်များ၊ အရှည်အဟုတ်စွာ ပြောင်းလဲသော ဖော်ပြချက်များ ဖော်ပြမည်။

ယခုက ပြုလုပ်မှုများကို အလွတ်စွတ်ချက်များဖော်ပြချက်၊ ပြည့်ပြီးပြောင်းလဲချက်များ ဖော်ပြမည်။

ယခုက ပြုလုပ်မှုများကို အလွတ်စွတ်ချက်များဖော်ပြချက်၊ ပြည့်ပြီးပြောင်းလဲချက်များ ဖော်ပြမည်။

ယခုက ပြုလုပ်မှုများကို အလွတ်စွတ်ချက်များဖော်ပြချက်၊ ပြည့်ပြီးပြောင်းလဲချက်များ ဖော်ပြမည်။

ယခုက ပြုလုပ်မှုများကို အလွတ်စွတ်ချက်များဖော်ပြချက်၊ ပြည့်ပြီးပြောင်းလဲချက်များ ဖော်ပြမည်။

ယခုက ပြုလုပ်မှုများကို အလွတ်စွတ်ချက်များဖော်ပြချက်၊ ပြည့်ပြီးပြောင်းလဲချက်များ ဖော်ပြမည်။

ယခုက ပြုလုပ်မှုများကို အလွတ်စွတ်ချက်များဖော်ပြချက်၊ ပြည့်ပြီးပြောင်းလဲချက်များ ဖော်ပြမည်။
နိုင်ငံတကာတစ်ခန်း စိတ်ကူးပြောင်းနေပါသည်။ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ လုပ်ငန်းများသည် နောက်ဆုံး နိုင်ငံရေးတစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နောက်ဆုံးအချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ နိုင်ငံတကာ အောင်မြောက်နောက်တစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နောက်ဆုံးအချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အထူး စိုက်ပျိုးသော လူဦးရေအရေအတွက် ဆိုသော အချိန်မှာ နောက်ဆုံးအချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ လုပ်ငန်းများသည် နောက်ဆုံး နိုင်ငံရေးတစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နောက်ဆုံးအချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ နိုင်ငံတကာ အောင်မြောက်နောက်တစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နောက်ဆုံးအချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ လုပ်ငန်းများသည် နိုင်ငံတကာ အောင်မြောက်နောက်တစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နိုင်ငံရေးတစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နောက်ဆုံးအချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ လုပ်ငန်းများသည် နိုင်ငံတကာ အောင်မြောက်နောက်တစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နိုင်ငံရေးတစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နောက်ဆုံးအချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ လုပ်ငန်းများသည် နိုင်ငံတကာ အောင်မြောက်နောက်တစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နိုင်ငံရေးတစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နိုင်ငံရေးတစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ လုပ်ငန်းများသည် နိုင်ငံတကာ အောင်မြောက်နောက်တစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နိုင်ငံရေးတစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ လုပ်ငန်းများသည် နိုင်ငံတကာ အောင်မြောက်နောက်တစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နိုင်ငံရေးတစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ဆိုင်ရာ လုပ်ငန်းများသည် နိုင်ငံတကာ အောင်မြောက်နောက်တစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ နိုင်ငံရေးတစ်ခု အချိန်မှာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။ အားလပ်ရောက် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသည်။
ဗားစီးသူ့ အဓိကအယူအပေါ်သော ကြေညာချက် သဉ်ကူးရာ အဓိကမြင်သော စီးပွားရေးတွေ့ရစဉ်က နှိုင်းယှဉ်ရာ မေးခွန်းများကို ရိုးရိုးရှင်းလျှင် အောက်ပါအတိုင်း သဘာဝဦးဂုဏ်ထက် အခြေခံကြော နောက်မှန်ကန်သော အရေးပါသည်။

များစွာ နေရာယူ၍ အချိန်တွင် ကြေညာချက်သော အစားထိုးချက်များကို သောက်ရောက်လျှင် ပြင်ပြစ်ကြောင်း ဗားစီးသူ့များတွင် စီးပွားရေးသောက်ရောက်များကို ပြောပေါ်လေ့ရှိသည်။

ပြောလုန်းတံသား အမြင်ကြီးတွေ့ရစဉ်ကို ပြင်းလှစ်ပေးလျှင် အဓိကအယူအပေါ်သော ကြေညာချက်များကို ရိုးရိုးရှင်းလျှင် ဗားစီးသူ့များတွင် စီးပွားရေးသောက်ရောက်များကို ပြောပေါ်လေ့ရှိသည်။

far-sighted

Interview with Ko Soe Htun, Former Student of the Yangon Institute of Technology

Sa Waw Htang

Abstract

In this 2022 interview, Soe Htun discusses his participation in the 1996 student movement in detail with Sa Waw Thang, the pseudonym of a writer in Myanmar. He covers how he became involved in the initial protests at the Yangon Institute of Technology when he was already five years into his studies. He charts the movement’s expansion and the involvement of other university students, his experiences marching around the city and speaking at the Thamine and Hledan junctions in December of that year, and his interactions with ministers and the military intelligence. Eventually, Soe Htun was arrested and imprisoned for seven years by the military regime. Upon release, he was refused reentry to university to finish his degree and went on to work for several civil society causes instead.

Please tell us about the 1996 student movement.

On the evening of 21 October 1996, students from the Yangon Institute of Technology (YIT) marched to Kamaryut and Hledan townships to protest. I had no idea this was happening, despite living on Kamaryut Budaryone Road as a day student (I didn’t stay in the university dormitory like others). When I left home for the campus the following morning, someone I know asked me about the protest. I replied that I didn’t know.

By the time I arrived at the university, I was still thinking that the ‘protest’ must have been students fighting in a restaurant as usual, and that they would surely come back to the university to gather for more trouble, so I kept my nose out of it and didn’t ask any questions. There was often news about this kind of fighting at the university. At YIT, there were more male students than females. Most students didn’t like the education
system. To look for a way out of their depression, they drank alcohol. But other students, including some intelligent ones, just drank because they liked it. No matter how much these smart guys drank, they always attended class, and got the highest marks. One guy even renamed the dilapidated bus stop in front of our university, which was called the ‘BPI’ bus stop,¹ to the ‘B.E.’ bus stop.² On second thought, maybe it was called that by alumni who came before him.

**Why else did so many people drink alcohol so often?**

From my perspective it was also because that was a time when the military junta restricted student’s freedoms, including the right to form a student union. It felt like the junta intentionally created a situation for students to turn to drugs. I even witnessed outsiders, non-students, coming onto the YIT campus to use drugs because the environment was so permitting. This didn’t make me happy. I also disliked the university testing system, where examinations were only every four months for important subjects—both theoretical and practical.

**What else can you say about the situation at YIT at the time?**

In general, General Khin Nyunt, Chair of the National Education Committee, and his flunkies were destroying the education system. They brainwashed the minds of young people and students and got them hooked on drugs. They thought that they could keep young people and students away from politics. At that time I was already in my fifth year of study.

The Diamond Jubilee was approaching in 1996, so university dormitories and departments were being renovated. Khin Nyunt attended the Diamond Jubilee dinner party, asked businessmen

---

¹ This is an acronym for Burma Pharmaceutical Industry.
² Editor’s note: B.E. is a cheap mix of industrial ethanol and water that is often served without waiting for the two to commix. It is notoriously toxic to drinkers’ livers and heavy B.E. drinkers often die young.
to donate to the dormitory renovation fund, and took a picture with the students. This was the first time I saw him come out in public. He was actually late and arrived after dark, the last one to show up. It seems he was collecting full information about us because he was afraid of the power of the YIT student body. While waiting for him to arrive with my friends, I asked them, “Are you guys waiting to welcome him?” They replied that they were waiting to parade (bo shu khan). I liked that response.

That night some of us raised funds by selling cold drinks and fried gourd. I tried to sell the snacks and drinks with a microphone over a speaker system. In between my sales pitches, I also took the opportunity to preach some politics to the crowd. I said that good leaders needed to come forth. I said Myanmar would only improve if it had students with good education and morale. Even though I tried to keep it light by mixing in a little bit of religion with the politics, my friends interrupted me and stopped me from talking about sensitive stuff. The situation for most students was like that.

**Going back to the student movement now, what else happened on 22 October, the day after the first protests?**

That evening I went to a dormitory student friend’s house in Kyot Kone to sleep over and copy some lessons I missed in class. At around 8 p.m. we heard screams and checked what happened. We were told that some students had clashed with the police. The students who protested the day before were angry over the government releasing a false press release saying that the police intervened to resolve a clash between students and the public: “The police did not know students were involved, so the police mistreated them”. But there was no apology from the police or government. My friend and other dormitory students decided to go and join the protest. I agreed with their decision and went along to support them, even though I didn’t know them that well (because I was a day student). We gathered at the university campus and then took a bus to gather at Thamine junction.
Some stuff that night made me uncomfortable. The students were angry about the false press release and were trying to stop all the buses and cars on the road, including private passenger cars—and I helped them. One of my memories from that night was stopping a Renault bus at about 9 p.m. All the passengers were asked to get off, without us explaining to them who we were. Some of the passengers were panicking and I explained to them that we were students and not to worry about it. The driver also helped us.

One pickup truck refused to stop and drove away from us, but there was no escape as other students were waiting along the road. One angry student punched the driver through the window and unexpectedly made him bleed. His child was in the car with him and started crying. I was upset and asked the student why he punched the driver. He was remorseful and we both apologized. The driver just wanted to go home. He might have had family waiting and worrying about him. The drivers and the public that night dealt with the situation very impressively.

What I want to say here is that the public values students. Even when students make mistakes, they understand and forgive.

**What did you do after stopping the cars at Thamine junction?**

We went to the nearby dormitories around Thamine and explained what was going on to the students there, inviting them to participate in the protest. The resident hall directors came out hesitantly and watched us but didn’t stop us. We went around trying to recruit students, not only YIT dormitory students but also other university students, because we considered the violence and false press release to be a problem affecting all students. Some came out, but others stayed in because of the teachers blocking the stairways. Then we all went to Hledan Township, taking up position in the central traffic area of the junction. Students made speeches explaining the purpose of our demonstration. A group of us collected money to buy snacks and
food and went to Thirimingalar Market to buy bananas for everyone. Student protesters gave speeches for a long time. We shared the bananas among all the students. At that time, we find out that some student representatives had been called to negotiate with the *ah sa nya*.

**What problems did you encounter during this protest?**

After listening to the contents of the speeches for a while, I suggested to a student leader, who was in his final year of an electronics degree, that we should have student representatives in order to improve the education system. The leader immediately shouted to the crowd, “We students are demonstrating only to demand our student rights. We are not related to politics. We don’t believe in politicians. Politicians are liars”. I was disappointed.

The YIT students who went to negotiate with the *ah sa nya* authorities came back. They were talking among each other. After a while, one of them came to the rest of us, seated, and declared, “They will not fulfill our demands and asked us to disperse peacefully. If we don’t disperse, they will use force to break up the crowd”. Then he continued, “So we will go back to YIT and you will also go back to your universities”.

That was surprising to me. All students were invited to participate in the protest, as it was about all students’ affairs, but now these negotiators were asking everyone to go back to their universities without consulting any of the other students. I spoke up and said that they couldn’t do this. It wasn’t just YIT students at the protest. Shouldn’t the other university students be considered? One student protester said to me, “YIT is safe to go back to. It is good to go back”. I argued with him. Then some of the YIT rectors, professors, and lecturers came to the demonstration and told us to return to our dormitories. I stood up to them and identified myself: my name, university, and major. I talked about the purpose of the student protest. When I criticized the education system, voices from the student group shouted, “Don’t talk politics”. I changed the topic to being about
the three students who were beaten by police. The loudmouths went silent. In the end, most students agreed that we wouldn’t go back. The professors and lecturers gave up and left.

In general, there was discord between most of the YIT students, who insisted on going back to the university, and most of the Art and Science University students, who wanted to stay. The YIT students said they had to leave for their university for security reasons. I said I would stay here with the remaining students. There were only a few YIT students who stayed in the end, most went back. We who remained discussed among ourselves what to do, but the members of the public who came to support our protest also gradually decreased, and finally we decided to go back to our campuses instead of sitting at Hledan junction for longer.

We pushed through the Yutadan Gate onto the Yangon University campus and went to the dormitories to invite more students to participate. We then headed on down Chancery Road. After that, we sat in front of the graduation hall and took turns giving talks. We discussed whether we should stay until dawn or not. Eventually, students began to get up one by one and leave. I asked whether we should stay here or go outside as we could still be arrested on campus. If we went out, which way should we go? Inya Road or University Avenue Road? (When I asked whether we should leave via University Avenue Road, I was accused of being a politician and/or a National League for Democracy [NLD] supporter.) While we were thinking of what the best way might be, some YIT professors came through the Yangon University of Economics entrance and told us to go back to YIT as soldiers were already surrounding Yangon University. We felt like we had fallen into the well while thirsty. We YIT students went back to our own campus with the professors.

After arriving at YIT, we sat in front of the main building, introduced ourselves properly to one another and exchanged information, including room numbers. We then went our separate ways with the plan to meet again the next day. But the next day, we heard that there were some people who wanted to take political advantage of student affairs by interfering. We heard
rumors from others that YIT students could not be trusted. In order to avoid misunderstandings among students, we wrote a letter with the true story of the student beatings, the Saw Bwar Gyi Kone incident, and distributed it among students, as well as organizing discussions at the YIT dormitories and main campus. I knew a final-year student who had contact with NLD offices and ‘house number 54’, but I could not contact him.

While we were discussing the letter, resident hall directors interrupted us, and we had to disperse. This was a time when professor and student informants were always watching us. The rector and authorities asked students who were involved in the student movement to go back home. They called parents and asked them to take their students home. The three students who were beaten two days prior could not be found anywhere. The YIT students were still angry.

While we were trying to uncover the truth over the passing days, the rector called me by writing my name on a piece of paper and dropping it in our class. I went to wait for him at his office, where I saw Education Minister U Pan Aung with some other students on their way to the same office. In the past I heard that the minister would sometimes drive students who won sporting events back to the university to honor them. I heard that the rector was also asked to give awards in those situations. But this was not what was going on. The rector seemed to have called a meeting with the minister and some of us students for another purpose. The minister arrived and said:

_We are working for the betterment of the country, such as development, peace, and stability. We don’t want to see the suffering of our country when we get old and look back. We believe students will become the leaders of the country in the future. We want students to focus on their education and finish their education. We try to help as much as we can._

3 Editor’s note: Referring to the home of National League for Democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi.
I said to the minister, “I also want students to be educated. I come from a Buddhist family and am working hard to become an educated leader and a good human being. We want to have freedom to organize literacy talks. I don’t want to see students on drugs. If students were drunk and using drugs, legal action could be taken, but instead, municipal police use violence and beat students, which is not acceptable”.

**This led to no solution though, so what did you do?**

Well, the next day, the students who led and were involved in the Saw Bwar Gyi Kone incident were called to meet with professors and the rector. Officially they were summoned for putting up a poster in the dormitory. I didn’t know about it at the time. The rector didn’t seem to want me on campus. He told Professor U Ba Myint, who was in my department, to arrange for me to join a field trip. I said I couldn’t go, but they insisted. The rector, U Than Sein, said, “Just go. Even when you come back from the trip, you can still protest”. The rector seemed to be giving me a signal that another protest was going to happen. I even told one of my friends not to work so hard because we wouldn’t be able to graduate this year. He was shocked by what I said. He remarked, “No way, my friend, I have to graduate this year”. I still remember him saying this.

The field trip went for five whole days. Although it was tiring, it was a successful trip because I got to meet junior students. The day after I got back, a letter addressed to me was delivered to my house. The letterhead said, “Petition letter to students”. In the letter it said that “YIT students are bad; they drink alcohol, do not pay bus fares, get into fights, protest, and are stooges of politicians who disturb peaceful learners. That’s why we oppose these students”. At the end of the letter, it was signed off by “those who want to study in peace”. That letter was on the desk in the classroom as well as delivered to the students who led the event in Zaw Bwar Gyi Kone. The letter was typed on a computer. It looked very systematically prepared and sent to us. We assumed it was done by the authorities.
What a lot of tricks! How did you respond?

This letter was an opportunity for us. We YIT students decided to prepare our own statement defending ourselves and took the plan to the rector. Surprisingly the rector approved it. We were delighted. The first step was successful. We agreed to post our statement in the classroom building as well as on the notice board in Building 1 on the first day of school, which was to be Monday, 2 December. That morning, before meeting again with the rector, we asked students to bring along four or five people from each dormitory to show strength. We were excited. But when we happened to see the rector and professors at the entrance of Building 1 the rector’s face was very firm. It was like he didn’t remember us discussing the plan with him at all. The professors also seemed upset. We informed the rector that we had already gathered the students, as we had discussed with him. He said with consternation, “Come to my office”.

We followed him there at about 9 a.m. and he informed us that the statement had been rejected by the higher authorities. They had called our respective professors and asked whether we were students or not. We came out of the office, about six of us. Since the rector had not approved our action, it was now our own decision to go ahead. The students had gathered and were ready to go. They were eager to know what happened and asked us about our meeting with the rector. We explained it all. Should we read out and disseminate our letter of response anyway?

Many students were not happy about what happened with the rector and were now hesitant to distribute our reply. I was also worried but I decided to read out the statement to the gathered students anyway. When I started reading it, I had to keep my voice from shaking. I thought I wouldn’t make it. Fortunately, I managed to finish it quickly. More students had come down during the reading however, and they asked me to read it again. While I was reading it again, students made copies of it and went around explaining it to all the first- and second-year classes.
After that, all the students gathered at Building 1 and talked about our demands. Some students were invited to go and negotiate with the authorities. The remaining students insisted that if the authorities really valued students, as they often said they did, and if they really believed students are the leaders of the future, they should come to YIT to consider our demands. This went past lunch time, so we collected money and bought lunch. Not long after, the students who went to negotiate with the authorities came back. They demanded authorities refrain from taking action against the students who led the protest, from expelling students from university, and from closing the university. The authorities agreed on these points, but they disagreed on disclosing the truth to the press and issuing an official apology to students in the media.

We students began to leave. We protested in front of the Kyot Kone dormitory, shouting our demands, and then we had to decide whether to go outside the university or not. We wanted the public to know about the situation, but some students were hesitant to go out. One student brought a chair for me to stand on and asked me to make a unilateral decision. I decided we should go out, so that we could get support from students from other universities and from the public.

We decided to begin the protest proper in the evening time. We reached out to students from other universities and by the time we left the campus in the late afternoon, other students had already mobilized outside. We pushed down the campus gate that was locked with a big chain and left YIT. When we reached the public roads, we tried not to block them. We always kept to one side so that the public could use half the road without being disturbed. We used plastic rope so as not to mix with outsiders and began our protest by walking, demanding justice and freedom. As foreign media were informed in advance, some journalists joined us and reported on our departure from the campus. Ko Ko Thet was the one in charge of speaking to the media and translating to journalists the purpose of our protest.

Along the way, the support of the public was encouraging. They clapped and showed support. We shouted and chanted our
demands, explaining the purpose of our protests along the way. After we passed Thamine junction, we headed to Hledan junction and then continued walking to Marlar Hall and Judson Church so that the Yangon Art and Science University students would know about our protest. We stopped at the front of Judson Street and explained our protest and demands again. While I was explaining, my brother Aye Htut introduced me to a student from the geology department, Min Than Htut. He was once imprisoned for politics. He could not involve in protests actively. He said in a speech that if the protest was a failure, people should try not to get arrested, and he would also try not to get arrested. I gained strength from this.

Students had turned the 1997 calendar that were going to be sold for ‘YIT Buddhist Family’ fundraising into a poster, writing our slogans on it. We went back to Hledan junction when it got dark and spoke to students and the public about our protest and our demands to the authorities. I had already lost my voice since long before. The Yadana Tun store owner U Maung Muang donated water bottles to us. A woman stopped her car and donated packs of 200 Myanmar Kyat. Phyay Ko Oo, a fourth-year electrical power student, took responsibility as the finance manager, and some of us went to buy loudspeakers to speak in front of the crowd. One of my friends gave me a megaphone, but it didn’t last long. Many students from different universities participated in the demonstration and sat at Hledan junction. Aung Khine, an economics major, Ko Khin Maung Win from philosophy, Aung Naing Min from international relations, Min Than Htut from geology, Maung Maung from education, and others formed a makeshift student group. Other groups distributed their own papers and one student from each grouping read them aloud to the crowd.

**What kinds of papers?**

Some of the papers clearly attacked and criticized the military dictatorship. One student said to me they’d heard mutterings from some other students who didn’t like that. I monitored the
situation and told students to stop reading their papers aloud. We wondered whether we should keep sitting in Hledan junction as we could well be surrounded by soldiers. We also talked about what to do if the people were attacked with tear gas. In order to inform more of the public, we made a collective decision to move on and march to Kyeemyindaing Road.

From there we walked downtown to Thein Gyi Market and took a rest for a moment. We went up on the bridge there and again read out our main statement of demands about student affairs. Beyond that, there were also some voices calling for an end to the military dictatorship. We then went to Sule Pagoda and took a short break to pray and worship. The reason for doing this was to fill up on sacred substances and mental energy.

We didn’t know what was going to happen if we went east from Sule Pagoda and passed in front of City Hall. We thought there could definitely be troops in the City Hall compound. We decided to avoid it and turned toward merchant street. We stopped in front of the US Embassy and told an officer there what we were doing. We then went up Pansodan Road, and when I looked back from the flyover there, the crowd of demonstrators stretched back as far as the eye could see. We were absolutely satisfied that the public fully supported us. One of the students from the electrical power major was running from the rear to the front of the crowd passing on messages and he was drenched with sweat from the effort. From the flyover we explained the reason for the protest to passengers who were waiting to board trains at Yangon Central Railway Station, so they could inform students at Mandalay and Mawlamyine about the protest.

At this point, a student and some reporters came to me and said that they were going to stay on in the downtown area of Yangon. But others wanted to push ahead north. As my own group continued toward Kandawgyi Lake, we accidentally took the wrong route and ended up on the side where the military offices were. About half of the total protesters were with us and half left in the downtown area.
What happened when you passed in front of the military compounds there?

We went on and noticed that the soldiers on duty at one of the military offices we were passing by were active. Some of the female students were taking a break from all the walking and I tried to encourage them on. I asked them whether they could continue to walk or not. By the time we got to the U Htaung Bo roundabout, something weird had happened: our pole with the peacock flag was broken in the middle. The flag didn’t go down because everyone was still in control of it, but we couldn’t move forward anymore.

We turned toward the Shwedagon Pagoda, but soldiers and police surrounded us before we could get there. An officer I recognized from the US Embassy was arguing with an army officer. After a while I also saw that a soldier of major rank, supposedly the leader, was giving orders to soldiers who were hiding and waiting on the left side of the road. Then, Education Minister U Pan Aung arrived and told all of us to go back to our schools. He said we could go back by car as transport had been arranged for us. We wanted to go back by peacefully marching instead and tried to get the soldiers to remove the roadblocks, but it was useless.

The major spoke fiercely to U Pan Aung, who then came over to us students and said the major couldn’t be bargained with. Some professors and teachers also came and told us to go back and say goodbye. We expressed our respect for the teachers’ generosity, but we also wanted our teachers to understand our demands and requests. We expressed our gratitude to the teachers and paid homage to them before they left.

What happened once the teachers left?

All the male protesters and protest leaders sat at the front of the crowd, and we told most of the women to stay behind us in the center of the crowd, but many of them also came out to the front and linked arms with us. Our supporters from the public were in
the west and inside the crowd. We watched the soldiers walk towards us with their shields raised. When they realized that we would not put up any resistance, they dropped their shields. Most of them were very young, the same age as us students. The major in charge ordered them to interrogate us but they were reluctant.

Eventually, that commanding officer himself slandered the soldiers and forcibly pushed some of them towards us, but because we were linking arms, they couldn’t get through. Then, the soldiers started impatiently beating us on the heads and shoulders. When the violence started, the crowd dispersed and we were dragged into awaiting vehicles. When I was pushed into a car, one student alongside me shouted, with resentment, “The reason we’re protesting is to improve your lives too!” When one student cried out that the soldiers were being cruel, one soldier made a gesture implying, “write it down and send a complaint”. I told the students with me not to blame the soldiers and checked if anyone was seriously injured; they were OK. When the cars full of us detained students left the site, I saw one student leap out of a truck and melt away into the crowd. It was Min Than Htut, the geology major, who we found out later made it all the way to the Thailand border, where he died.

Where did the military take you?

First we were taken to Kyaikkasan stadium. I got down from the car and looked around while greeting other people alighting from another car. I saw that some of the women had been beaten and their skin had turned red, but most reported happily that they were unharmed. I admired and was proud of them. They were not frightened and their faces were smiling and clear. The soldiers ordered us to sit down and separated us into groups based on our university. Then, they verified us YIT students with a teacher there and forced us onto designated benches. Other students were asked to sit on the iron stands. Some students grumbled that discriminating based on our university was
unacceptable. The students from YIT made up only a very small component of the more than 700 people arrested.

I was identified by the military intelligence (MI) and called up for interrogation. They asked me my personal information: name, father’s name, university, class, address and forth on. They asked me why I protested. Then, they asked me to hold a wooden board with my name and father’s name written on it for a photograph. However, I managed to get away from them and avoid it—I didn’t accept being treated like a criminal. They tried to stop me but I pulled my hand away and mingled into the crowd. I was also getting a bit dizzy from a strike to my head earlier.

I actually dozed off for a while after that as I had stayed up the whole day and night. The soldiers found me again and this time came up to me with archivist and teacher U Hla Gyi, saying they had to ask more questions. U Hla Gyi even said to me that the authorities were correct and that I was responsible for my actions and had to explain them. But I refused to talk.

The soldiers backed off for a bit and we students took advantage of the break. We started talking to one another, congratulating each other, clapping and encouraging each other. But then two military people approached us: Aung Khine and another person whose name I don’t remember. They singled some of us out to meet General Than Tun, including me. We went along and listened. The general said that the authorities were going to release us, and they wanted us to stay on our best behavior. He also reproached us, saying “the government is doing as much as it can”, and that the authorities were repairing the school buildings and toilets. Finally, the Minister of Education called on the phone and rumors that the students would be imminently released went around. I went back over to the students.
Was everyone released? What happened to the non-students that were detained with you?

The students were happy and ready to leave, but we didn’t know about the other people who were detained with us. Some old men implored me directly to prevent them being imprisoned by the military just for supporting our protest. When the students started getting back in the cars and leaving, I stayed back and asked one of the soldiers nearby to go and get General Than Tun. It took a while, but I told him to release all the people detained there, since the reason they were detained was for simply supporting us. The general said that they would release them very soon but he still had some questions to check with them. I said that we students would only go back if they released the public supporters too. He went over to address the public supporters and told them that they would be released soon.

I decided to go back with the students then, but I left a message with my name, saying anyone could come to YIT if anything unusual happened. Back at YIT, many of us students again met up at Building 1 and discussed everything. We dispersed, deciding we would protest against the crackdown we had just experienced, and that we would go on strike until our demands are met. That day was 3 December 1996.

The following day when I arrived at the university, students were walking around the dormitories protesting. At Building 1 the students present again resolved to continue protesting the authorities’ treatment of students. But we dispersed after agreeing not to leave the campus without first connecting to students from other universities.

Two days later, in the morning of 6 December, before I had even left home to go to YIT, soldiers sent by General Aye Kyaw from the Ministry of Information detained me. They kept me at the Ministry for a whole month and finally let me go me with a press release. I immediately reunited with students and protested together with them in January. Our discontent endured. In order to facilitate meetings and connections, we opened a

Then, YIT student Ma Aung Mi Khine, who was majoring in civil engineering, was killed by a car owned by a leader of the United Wa State Army, who was in Yangon for ‘peace talks’. The driver and car fled the scene without taking responsibility. The case did end up being heard in court, at least, and we students visited the court to find out more information. We sent a letter to MI-7 Commander Major Hla Thet Maung urging him to ensure real justice was achieved in the case.

The next day, I was detained along with seven other students. I was imprisoned for seven years.

Thinking back, what were the results of the 1996 student movement?

Well, the student movement spread out to other universities and the authorities closed them down—but they didn’t announce this officially. Instead, they announced that courses were temporarily suspended. They forced dormitory students to leave campus and go back home. The movement was a major political awakening for students from many universities. Throughout early December, institutions like Insein GTI, University of Medicine, Dagon University and others protested. Even universities in other cities such as Mandalay and Mawlamyine participated. Although the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) crushed the movement with violence, it damaged their reputation in the international community, who witnessed video footage of peaceful students being oppressed thanks to an international journalist who reported directly from Yangon. CNN World News reported tanks on display in front of City Hall and cars loaded with machine guns roaming around Sule Pagoda and downtown. Radio Free Asia also began broadcasting on 1 January 1997, based in Hong Kong despite opposition by the Chinese government.

The United States put economic sanctions on the SLORC. It hit the National Education Committee Chair General Khin Nyunt
hard, as he was boasting that the country was stable and students supported the regime. Universities were kept closed and the authorities could not even dare to organize the mayor’s marathon, as they heard in advance that students would go there and make a speech with the peacock flag. They had to do events and ceremonies surreptitiously. They began using “divide and rule” strategies to sabotage student organizing by building universities far from the city and in smaller towns. Despite this, students still connected and networked well, and in 1998, the student movement was still going on amid prohibition by the regime. The December 1996 student movement was the result of all the previous democratic reform efforts in the history of Myanmar. I honor all the students and public who participated.

**What did you do after you were released from prison?**

I tried to go back to university but I wasn’t allowed to attend. At that time, the minister of Science and Technology was U Thaung, who was from the same military batch as General Than Shwe. They were powerful. The MI had no permission to refuse my attendance at university, and the professors and lecturers welcomed me, but U Thaung ordered the ministry to reject my application. They sent me a rejection letter saying that I might disturb ‘peaceful education’.

Then the Saffron Revolution hit in 2007. I continued to do underground politics and activism. I was named and given a prison sentence of 65 years without being actually detained, along with Ko Paw, Ko Mya Aye, Ko Ko Gyi and Ko Htun Myint. After Ko Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi, and Ko Pyone Cho were released in 2012, the 88 Generation Student Peace and Open Society group was formed and I joined them in their activism. We got involved in peace and national reconciliation and, together with Ko Mya Aye, I took charge as coordinator of the education and resettlement program. By establishing iSchool – Myanmar, we conducted trainings and discussions to strengthen civil society and peace by using information technology.
I also participated in the National Network for Education Reform, working together with student unions to try and reform the education system. I was involved in establishing the Federal Democratic Force and worked with Ko Mya Aye for peace and national reconciliation and ethnic rights. In addition, I co-founded the Nyan Media Group with colleagues and comrades, which is a news agency provides true information to build real peace, including on issues of equal rights and the self-determination of ethnic groups and for peace and national reconciliation. I worked there as Chief Executive Officer. I worked with civil society organizations and joined discussions and meetings with relevant hluttaw committees in Nay Pyi Taw to discuss amendments on freedom of association. I also worked with other social activities. Recently, I have been working with the Healthcare Center for Political Prisoners (HCPP). I worked with others including Ma Phyu Phyu Thin through this work at HCPP.
စာပေပြုချက်တွင် (၁၃) စာပေ ဗိမာန် စာပေလေယာဉ်အဖွဲ့အဝင်ကို RIT ကျောင်းသားများက အပ်ပြုသူများ ကျောင်းသားများ၏ ချက်များကို ပြသည်ကို ရက်စွဲပေးပါက။ အမှုချောင်း အောက် မှာ Day ကျွန်သားများ ပြောပြပါ။ အမှုချောင်းကို အလေးဖော်သိရှိသူ မှာ ကျွန်သားများ အကြောင်းအရာ ဖော်ထားပါက။ နောက်မှာ စာပေပြုချက်အဖွဲ့အဝင် ကျောင်းသားများကို စာပေလေယာဉ်အဖွဲ့အဝင်ကို အဆိုပေးပါက။ စာပေပြုချက်အဖွဲ့အဝင်ကို အဆိုပေးပါက။
လူတွေနဲ့ ကျွန်တော်တို့ကို အဖွဲ့အစား ထောက်ပံ့ခြင်း၊ ကျွန်တော်တို့ အဖွဲ့အစားသောက်ဆောင်ရာများနှင့် အခြေခံချက်များကို မဖြေဆိုခဲ့ရပါတယ်။ ပြည်ထောင်စုသူများကို ကျွန်တော်တို့၏အားလုံးကိုလည်း ဖော်ပြပါတယ်။ Roll 1 မှ လူတွေနဲ့ ပြောဆိုသောအချက်အလက် အတွက် BPI เော်ငါး B.E. + Pepsi + Ice ထိခိုက်သည်။ အချက်၏ နေရာကိုပြောဆိုသည်။ စျောက်စပ်သည်။

နေကျယ်စွာ အခြေခံချက်အလွယ်ကောင်း အခြေခံချက်များကို မဖြေဆိုခြင်း၊ အချင်းချင်း ကျွန်တော်တို့ကို ထောက်ပံ့နိုင်ပါတယ်။ အသိအမှတ်တ၀င်ကြားရန် ကျွန်တော်တို့ဒေသများတွင် ပြောဆိုချက်များကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။ အနီအဖျင် ပြောဆိုသည်။ အခြေခိမ်း လွန်ခဲ့သီးသားတွေ။ ကျွန်တော်တို့ ပြောဆိုသောအချက်အလက်များကို မဖြေဆိုခြင်း၊ လူတွေအတွက် ထောက်ပံ့ထားသည်။ စောင့်ရှောက်သည်။

အရေးကြီးသည် RIT လူတွေအတွက် စွာများဖြစ်သည်။
နည်းတန်းဖြင့် ပြောင်းလဲလိုက်နေသော စာအုပ်တွဲ ကျွန်တော် ပို့လျှော်စွာ ပြောင်းလဲလို့ အခြေခံပေးပါ။ အကြမ်းဖက်ကို သိရှိသော အချိန်မှ အချိန်အထိပြောင်းလဲရန်အတွက် အစီအစဉ်များ တည်ဆောက်ရန် ကျွန်တော် ၏အမှတ်တံဆာင်များနှင့် အရေးပါသည်။ ဒီမိုကရေစီအနီးက အကြမ်းဖက်အချိန်တွင် ပြောင်းလဲသော အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အထောက်အထားပေးရန် ကျွန်တော်တို့ လိုအပ်ပါသည်။ အချိန်မှစတင် အချိန်အထွေထွေ ပြောင်းလဲလိုက်သည်။

RIT ပေါ် အချိန်များ အချိန်များ အခြေခံ အမှတ်တံဆာင်များ စီစဉ်သော အချိန်များ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်အထွေထွေ အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်အထွေထွေ အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်အထွေထွေ အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း အချိန်များ ဖော်ပြန်သော်လည်း
ဗိုလ်တုတွင် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်ရန်သော အချက်အလက်များစွာ အပေါ် သိကြရာ သို့သော်အစိုးရသူများဖြင့် အခြေအနေများ သိရွက်စေရန် အကြံဉာဏ်ဖြင့် လေးသို့သော် လျှပ်စစ်သည် အခြေအနေအား ကြည့်ရှုပါသည်။ သို့သော်အစိုးရသူများဖြင့် အခြေအနေအား ကြည့်ရှုပါသည်။

အချက်အလက်များစွာ အပေါ် သိကြရာ သို့သော်အစိုးရသူများဖြင့် အခြေအနေများ သိရွက်စေရန် အကြံဉာဏ်ဖြင့် လေးသို့သော် လျှပ်စစ်သည် အခြေအနေအား ကြည့်ရှုပါသည်။
အထူးစိတ်ကူးပြန်သိမ်းပိုက်ရန်ရှိသော အခက်အခဲအားလုံးကို သိချင်သူများ၏ အကြောက်ကို အရင်းအမြစ် ဖော်ပြရန် မှတ်စုံစေရန်အတွက် ရှည်လျားတွင်လည်းကောင်း အထူးကို သိရှိနိုင်သည်။

Final Electronics က စိတ်ကူးပြန်သိမ်းပိုက်ခြင်းအချိန်တွင် ချီးမှန်းပြီး မပြောင်းလဲချက်ကို သိရှိနိုင်သည်။ ယခုအခါတွင် အရှည်လျားမှာ အချိန်အထား ချီးမှန်းခြင်းကို စိတ်ကူးပြန်သိမ်းပိုက်ခြင်းများသိရှိလိုသည်။
ရုက်စုံစွဲခြင်း လုံလောက်ရေးအတွက် အသိပေးပြီး (RIT ကို RASU အားလုံးကို RIT ကို နှိုင်းယှဉ်သော အတွက်) အနက်စွဲအနေဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်သ必将ချင်ပါသည်

RIT ကျယ်ဝန်း Building 1 သို့မဟုတ် Building 2 ဖြစ်သည်။ အရေးကြီးမားသော အချက်များဖြစ်သည်။ လုံလောက်ရေးအတွက် အသိပေးပြီး ပြုလုပ်သည်။ အနက်စွဲအနေဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်သင့်သည်။

RC2 မှာ စွဲောက်ရေး။ NLD ပေါ်မှ စွဲောက်ရေး ကျန်စွဲောက်ရေးသူ (ချ) ကို အားလုံးကို final စွဲောက်ရေး။ ဆိုရန်။ အချက်များဖြစ်သည်။ အနက်စွဲအနေဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်သင့်သည်။ မှန်ကြား၍

စုစုပေါင်းသော မှန်နွှေးတွေအတွက် အချင်းသော အချက်များဖြစ်သည်။ အနက်စွဲအနေဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်သင့်သည်။ မှန်ကြား၍

မှန်ကြားသော အချက်များဖြစ်သည်။ အနက်စွဲအနေဖြင့် ပြုလုပ်သင့်သည်။ မှန်ကြား၍
ရေးသားကြည့်နောက်ချိန်၌ စိတ်ကို ပြည်သူလေးများ ပြုလုပ်နိုင်စေသည်။ ဒါကြားမှာ လျှော့ချက်ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ပြင်းထန်သည်ဟု နိုင်သည်။

RIT ကျွန်တော်မှာ အခြေစိုက် လျှော့ချက်ကို တိုးတက်း၍ ကျွန်တော်ကို ရိုက်သူကို နိုင်သည်။ သို့သော် ပြည်သူလေးများ အခြေကို ကျွန်တော်မှာ အခြေစိုက်လျှင် ဖြစ်သည်။ ရှေးအနေဖြင့် ပြည်သူလေးများ တိုးတက်းအဖြစ် ရှိသည်။

အချိန်အတွက် အခြေစိုက်ကို ပြည်သူလေးများ တိုးတက်းအဖြစ် ရှိသည်။ ရှေးအနေဖြင့် ပြည်သူလေးများ တိုးတက်းအဖြစ် ရှိသည်။ ရှေးအနေဖြင့် ပြည်သူလေးများ တိုးတက်းအဖြစ် ရှိသည်။
ငှက်ပြင်တွင်သွားရောက်လာပါသည်။ သို့သော်လည်း အခြေခံသော ဝင်းရိုးကို သိရှိစေရန် အရောင်းချောင်းရင်းသားပါသည်။

စာရင်းအမျိုးအစား အခြေခံရသော လမ်းကြောင်းအားဖြင့် အရောင်းချောင်းရင်းသားပါသည်။ သို့မဟုတ် အခြေခံရသော လမ်းကြောင်းအားဖြင့် အရောင်းချောင်းရင်းသားပါသည်။ သို့မဟုတ် အခြေခံရသော လမ်းကြောင်းအားဖြင့် အရောင်းချောင်းရင်းသားပါသည်။
Building 1 အချင်များ လူငယ်အောက်ဆီးအပေါ်: အမျိုးမျိုးသော အစားအဝေးတစ်ခုဖြစ်သော လူငယ်အောက်ဆီးများ လူငယ်အောက်ဆီးတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်。 သို့သော် လူငယ်အောက်ဆီးများ လူငယ်အောက်ဆီးတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်。 သို့သော်လူငယ်အောက်ဆီးတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်。
အကြာအတွင်း နေထိုင်ရာ လုပ်ငန်းများကို စီမံခန့်ခွဲစားသည်။ လုပ်ငန်းများအတွက် နေထိုင်ရာ လုပ်ငန်းများကို စီမံခန့်ခွဲစားသည်။ Building 1 နှင့် ခြောက်စီးပွားရေးစွာ ကျင်းပန်းစားသည်။ အိုင်ရာ အချိန်မှ အချိန်အထိ လုပ်ငန်းများကို စီမံခန့်ခွဲစားသည်။ Building 1 နှင့် ခြောက်စီးပွားရေးစွာ ကျင်းပန်းစားသည်။ Building 1 နှင့် ခြောက်စီးပွားရေးစွာ ကျင်းပန်းစားသည်။ Building 1 နှင့် ခြောက်စီးပွားရေးစွာ ကျင်းပန်းစားသည်။ Building 1 နှင့် ခြောက်စီးပွားရေးစွာ ကျင်းပန်းစားသည်။
စာမေးရေးအရေးကြီးကို ဟာဝိုးလေး နှင့် စောင့်ရှေးများ အနေဖြင့် အင်အားဖြင့် ဒေသအားဖြင့် သူတို့ကို မရှိကြသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ နိုင်ငံရေးအားဖြင့် သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။

ကျွန်မတ်မယ်သို့မဟုတ် အကြောင်းကြောင်း ရှိရှိသော အချိန်များ၊ ဖျင်စာမေးရာ နှင့် စောင့်ရှေးများ အနေဖြင့် သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။

RC2 နှင့် RASU တို့ကို ဖျင်စာမေးရာ နှင့် စောင့်ရှေးများ အနေဖြင့် သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။

RC2 နှင့် RASU တို့ကို ဖျင်စာမေးရာ နှင့် စောင့်ရှေးများ အနေဖြင့် သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။

RC2 နှင့် RASU တို့ကို ဖျင်စာမေးရာ နှင့် စောင့်ရှေးများ အနေဖြင့် သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။

RC2 နှင့် RASU တို့ကို ဖျင်စာမေးရာ နှင့် စောင့်ရှေးများ အနေဖြင့် သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။ သူတို့ကို မရှိကြောင်း ပေါ်လာသည်။
လက်ရှိသောစျေးကောင်းစွာကြည့်ပါ။ သဘာဝကြီးမားသောစာလိုက်ချက်ကြားများသောစာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းကြောင့် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်းဆုံးရာတွင် စာစောင်ရံများကို ပြည်သူများအကြောင်း}
အချက်အလက်များ ရေးရှင်းနေသော အသက်ရှင်များ ရွေးချယ်ခြင်း၌ ၎င်းတို့များ ရေးရှင်းရေးမှုအဆုံး ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း၊ ရေးရှင်းလိပ်စာများ ရေးရှင်းရေးကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း၊ စိတ်လှုပ်ရာများ ရေးရှင်းရေးကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း၊ အချက်အလက်များ ရေးရှင်းရေးကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း၊ အချက်အလက်များ ရေးရှင်းရေးကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း သို့မဟုတ် အချက်အလက်များ ရေးရှင်းရေးကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း အရည်အချင်းဖြစ်သည်။ တစ်ဦးတစ်ယောက်တည်း ရေးရှင်းထောင်စုသည် ဖြစ်သည်။ ရေးရှင်းထောင်စုသည် ဖြစ်သည်။

**Electronical Power** ကို လိုအပ်သော အနေဖြင့် အလုပ်ဆောင်ရွက်မှုနှင့် ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း သို့မဟုတ် ဆိုသည်။

*Sa Waw Htang / Soe Htun | 465*
အားလုံးတွင်မူ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း အားလုံးပြီးစီးပါသည်။ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ အိုက်ပါသည် စိတ်ဝင်စားယူပါက အခြေခံနေရန်လိုအပ်သည်။

အနောက်မြေပြင်းယူရာ အားလုံးပြီးစီးစေချင်သည်။
စီစဉ်များသည် အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ပြောင်းလဲရေးနေထိုင်သည်။ ပြီးသော စီစဉ်များကို အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ပြောင်းလဲရေးသည်။ သို့သော် အစီအစဉ်များကို အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ပြောင်းလဲရေးသည်။

အခြားစီစဉ်များကို ပြောင်းလဲရေးသည်။ အစီအစဉ်များကို အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ပြောင်းလဲရေးသည်။ အစီအစဉ်များကို အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ပြောင်းလဲရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။

RIT နှင့် RIT ပေါင်းစည်းကို အထောက်အကူရေးသည်။
စိုက်ပျိုင်းချင်သူများအတွက် အခြေခံကြောင်းကို သေချာစေရန်
အနေဖြင့် ရေးသို့သော်လည်း အဖြေအပြောက်စိတ်ကြိုက်ရင် ရှာဖွေသူ
သည် ထောက်ပံ့သူများ အာ့သော လက်ရာကို တွေ့ရှိခြင်း
တာဝန်ထမ်းနေသည် အာ့သော်လည်း လျှပ်စစ်ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း
အခြေခံကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူ အခြောက်များ ရှာဖွေသူက လည်း
အနေဖြင့် မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက မိုးမွေကြောင်း ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
သူက MI အသုံးပြုသူများ ရေးသိန်းချင်သူများ ရှာဖွေ
(6) ဒီစကားလေးမှာ အသေးစိတ်ရှိသော စာကြောင်းများ ဖော်ပြပါတယ်။ သို့သော် မိဘကို လေ့လာရန်အတွက် ရှိသော တိုင်းရင်းတစ်ခုဖြစ်ပါတယ်။ စာပေစောင်မှာ လျှောက်လွှာများ ပျံ့ပွားနိုင်သည်။

(7) ယင်းစာပေမှာ အလုပ်တစ်ခုဖြစ်ပါတယ်။ ဒေသများအနေဖြင့် အရာဝါဒများပေးနိုင်သည်။ စာပေစောင်မှာ လျှောက်လွှာများ ပျံ့ပွားနိုင်သည်။

(8) ယင်းစာပေမှာ အများအားဖြင့် အရာဝါဒများကို စမ်တင်ပြုပြင်နိုင်သည်။ စာပေစောင်မှာ လျှောက်လွှာများ ပျံ့ပွားနိုင်သည်။

(9) ယင်းစာပေမှာ အများအားဖြင့် အရာဝါဒများကို စမ်တင်ပြုပြင်နိုင်သည်။ စာပေစောင်မှာ လျှောက်လွှာများ ပျံ့ပွားနိုင်သည်။

(10) ယင်းစာပေမှာ အများအားဖြင့် အရာဝါဒများကို စမ်တင်ပြုပြင်နိုင်သည်။ စာပေစောင်မှာ လျှောက်လွှာများ ပျံ့ပွားနိုင်သည်။

(11) ယင်းစာပေမှာ အများအားဖြင့် အရာဝါဒများကို စမ်တင်ပြုပြင်နိုင်သည်။ စာပေစောင်မှာ လျှောက်လွှာများ ပျံ့ပွားနိုင်သည်။

(12) ယင်းစာပေမှာ အများအားဖြင့် အရာဝါဒများကို စမ်တင်ပြုပြင်နိုင်သည်။ စာပေစောင်မှာ လျှောက်လွှာများ ပျံ့ပွားနိုင်သည်။

(13) ယင်းစာပေမှာ အများအားဖြင့် အရာဝါဒများကို စမ်တင်ပြုပြင်နိုင်သည်။ စာပေစောင်မှာ လျှောက်လွှာများ ပျံ့ပွားနိုင်သည်။
Na shawhawt aw tawm hweh na ha (G) (θ-ω-ω) nphawng aye shat GTI daw ahsawth a dinn hweh ari am o bir aq kyaw tawm ahsawh a thekyaw ngam ahsawh. Tawm hweh yinpe hweh a leh aq kyaw tawm ahsawh.

(A) CNN (Radio Free Asia) ahsawh ari am o bir aq kyaw ngam ahsawh. Aq kyaw aq kyaw hweh ari am (θ-ω-ω) nphawng aye shat aq kyaw tawm ahsawh. Tawm hweh yinpe hweh a leh aq kyaw tawm ahsawh. Tawm hweh yinpe hweh a leh aq kyaw tawm ahsawh.
ကြောင်းရွက်စိုက်ပျိုးတဲ့ မှုအတွက် သေချာစွာ သိထားသော ပြဿနာကို စိတ်ချိန်နေသည် စိုးရိမ် အရေးကြီး အခမ်းအနား မှန်ကန်စွာ ပြောင်းလဲပါသည်။

မေ့ခွင်စိတ်စီအပဲ အချိန်တော် အစီအစဉ်ကို ပြင်ဆင်နိုင်စေ အတွက် အရေးကြီး မှန်ကန်စွာ ပြောင်းလဲပါသည်။

ပြောင်းလဲအတွက် အလုပ်အလာကို အဆင့်မှန် ဖော်ပြသည်။

မေ့ခွင်စိတ်စီအပဲ အစီအစဉ်ကို ကောက်လုပ်နိုင်စေ အတွက် အရေးကြီး ကြိုးစားစွာ ပြောင်းလဲပါသည်။

ပြောင်းလဲအတွက် အလုပ်အလာကို စီမံခန့်ခွဲမှုကို အဆင့်မှန် ဖော်ပြသည်။

မေ့ခွင်စိတ်စီအပဲ အစီအစဉ်ကို အဆင့်မှန် ဖော်ပြသည်။

ပြောင်းလဲအတွက် အလုပ်အလာကို စီမံခန့်ခွဲမှုကို အဆင့်မှန် ဖော်ပြသည်။
အောင်မြင်ခြင်းအနေဖြင့် လူ့အချင်းအထောက်အကူရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းအတွက်

စာရဲ့စာမျက်နှာပြင်မှ ထွက်ရှိနေသော လူ့အချင်းအထောက်ရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းအတွက် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်များက ကျွန်ုပ်များ၏ အချက်အလက်များကို ကျော်လွှေ့စွာ စီစဉ်နေရာ အပြုအစုံဖြင့် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်များ၏ လူ့အချင်းအထောက်ရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းကို အားကျော်စွာ ကျော်လွှမ်းစွာ တည်ထောင်မှုပေးနိုင်စေရန် ဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

iSchool-Myanmar ကျောင်းသားစွာကြည့်ရှုလျက် ကျောင်းသားအချင်းအထောက်ရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းကို အုပ်စုနိုင်သည်။ စီးပွားရေးသားစွာ လူ့အချင်းအထောက်ရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းကို အုပ်စုနိုင်သည်။ ရေးရာသားစွာ လူ့အချင်းအထောက်ရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းကို အုပ်စုနိုင်သည်။

Nyan Media Group ကျောင်းသားစွာကြည့်ရှုလျက် ကျောင်းသားအချင်းအထောက်ရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းကို အုပ်စုနိုင်သည်။

Federal Democratic Force ကျောင်းသားစွာကြည့်ရှုလျက် ကျောင်းသားအချင်းအထောက်ရေးအဖွဲ့အစည်းကို အုပ်စုနိုင်သည်။
Chief Executive Officer အနေဖြင့် အထူးသဖြင့် အာဏာသိမ်းပိုက်ခြင်း ဆောင်ရွက်ချက်သည် အခေါ်မူနိုင်သော နည်းလမ်းတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ ထို့ပြင် ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းသည် အထူးသဖြင့် အာဏာသိမ်းပိုက်ခြင်း ပြုလုပ်သော နည်းလမ်းတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။ Healthcare Center For Political Prisoners အနေဖြင့် အာဏာသိမ်းပိုက်ခြင်း ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း ပြုလုပ်သော နည်းလမ်းတစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်။
Interview with Spring Revolution
Student Leader Min Han Htet

Kaung Sithu

Abstract

In this June 2022 interview, Kaung Sithu asks student leader Min Han Htet about student unions, politics, the nature of revolution and the transition from peaceful to armed resistance since the 2021 military coup. Min Han Htet was elected to the Dagon University Student Union’s Central Executive Committee in 2018 and to the position of chair in 2020. He co-founded the Student Armed Force in September 2021, the first student-based armed force since the founding of the All Burma Students’ Democratic Front (ABSDF) in 1988.

How do you understand the history and traditions of student unions in Myanmar?

Although it can be said that student unions were born from universities, their birth was beautifully meaningful, since in their infancy they worked solely for revolution and independence. For me, I prefer to understand revolution as the primary reason that student unions emerged. Student unions also led anti-military dictatorship movements several times since independence. So, they have this high reputation in history. Most importantly, student unions have had consistency and integrity, meaning that student unions have actively participated in political movements over time much more consistently than any other group. The student unions are closer to the people and to students than other organizations. They represent the latter’s voices. The student union has an unassailable tradition of always standing united alongside the oppressed in fighting against oppression.
Given that your parents and grandparents came from a political background, what was your early life like?

There was nothing particularly unique or peculiar about my early life. I was not book-smart, I did not receive high grades at school. I was not good at sports either. Just an ordinary kid. But despite my lack of direct exposure to politics [outside the home] when I was young, I always heard about these things indirectly, through the bedtime stories I was told.

The 1988 uprisings are at the center of my parents’ and grandparents’ political experiences. I don’t mean to brag, but my family has been involved in politics for a long time. You see, my father was a university student majoring in mathematics at the time of the 1988 uprisings. He participated in the revolution like many other people. In 1988 there were self-administration units formed by the people for each township, similar to at the beginning of the Spring Revolution in 2021. When these units were crushed, my father left the city to join the armed insurgency somewhere in southern Burma, but he was detained by the military in Mawlamyine Township and imprisoned. My mother, as a student at the Hlaing campus of Rangoon University, was involved in revolution awareness campaign activities such as distributing and posting papers. My grandfather was fired from his government position for participating in the 1988 uprising and joined the National League for Democracy. My parents also helped and supported the people during the 2007 Saffron Revolution.

At what age did you first comprehend what politics was and when were you first exposed to it?

There was this one memorable event when I was young. The military was about to reconvene a ‘National Convention’ to draft what became the 2008 Constitution. At that time, the convention was all over the national television news daily, and I would watch it with my family. I thought it was nothing when the military generals attended the convention in traditional Bama
dress rather than in their military uniforms. But my parents’ eyes were filled with resentment when they saw it. They frowned and tut-tutted in disappointment. I heard my father say, “We should have killed them all in 1988”. In my naivety I thought, “Why is my father having murderous thoughts, is he a bad man?”.

I still understood very little when the 2007 Saffron Revolution occurred. But I at least noticed political unrest here and there in Yangon; I knew something was going on. When I heard that the ‘revolution’ had risen, I thought, “What revolution?”. I did not know why it had occurred. I remember monks going in and out of our house, lodging at our home, and our parents also donating things to them. I vividly remember my parents taking monks in and hiding them at our place when the military cracked down on them.

How about reading? What kind of books do you like to read?

I love reading. I do not differentiate between categories, so long as I can access it, I will read it, ever since I was little, I would take and read the books from my parents’ shelves. By the time I was in third or fourth grade, I started getting addicted to reading fiction. My father was a fan of writer Nyein Kyaw, so his shelf was filled with his books. My first exposure to literature was Nyein Kyaw’s works. That was the beginning of my reading journey. After that, I started to read books written about university life, history books, biographies, and political texts. My father’s bookshelf held books about politics. I remember the books were so old, some did not even have their original covers anymore; they would have this cardboard paper folded to contain the pages, with the names of the authors handwritten on them. Since then and until now I have read a lot.
Were there any particular books that drew you into politics?

Not in terms of pushing me directly into politics, but there are books that fired my political interests. While written books are one form of stimulation, there are others too, such as what was passed down to me from my parents. The bedtime stories they told me when I was young were about the dark age they had to endure and their experiences, and this drew me into politics. In my childish thinking, I could imagine who the good guys and bad guys were. As I said, my parents participated in the 1988 uprising as students, my dad was imprisoned, they overcame all these ups and downs. It was quite tough for them. So, their stories, narratives, and their accounts provoked my interest in politics, it was like an inheritance gift from them.

Then, I read many stories about student unions and student movements, which had a significant influence on me ever since I was young. When I was in high school, I wanted to get in touch with a student union and work for them, proudly fighting for justice under their peacock flag. When we were young, there were not many books about politics that covered political ideology and such concepts. They were more about the student movements and student unions. Among them were the famous ones: As the Sun Rises from the East (As the Sun Rises from the East) and The Protest Student. We liked them a lot. We were hugely inspired. They had a powerful impact.

How did you join the student union?

We students were exposed to literature, books, and stories, of university life and the student unions ever since we were young. I dig those kinds of stories and am addicted to them. To my mind, life as a university student and life as a member of the student union are inseparable and indistinguishable. I have desired to become a student union member ever since I was young, even before I went to university.
But still, I did not go straight into the Dagon University Student Union (DUSU) when I started studying there. I first started working for other organizations, for instance, the Dagon University Reading Club. But during this time, I was interacting and relating with the student union. I had contact with the members and leaders. We would engage in dialogues and cooperate and collaborate. Then in 2018, I ran for the position of executive member in the DUSU elections.

Before that, when I was in high school, I was inquisitive about politics. I kind of stood out from my friends. They nicknamed me “future president” and teased me. I remember talking about politics and our country’s situation when we had conversations in high school. When I was about to sit for the matriculation exam in 2015, the police beat protesters and dispersed the pro-democracy student mass demonstration in Letpadan Township. When I heard the news, I told my parents that I no longer believed in the system and that I did not want to sit the exam. But my parents insisted that I did. We argued and quarreled. I had to attend university so that I could do more, they said. So even before going to university, the images of student unions, students’ battles, and the peacock flag had already been flashing in my mind.

You were elected as an executive member of the DUSU in 2018 and then as chair in 2020. For what purposes did you run in these elections?

Before running for election in 2018, I served as a focal person for literature and art in the DUSU. I had already worked with other union members on publishing an internal university journal and many other things related to literature. But honestly, I was not very satisfied with my efforts, we faced some challenges and difficulties. Something separating the DUSU from the student body, and perhaps the highest threat to the union in general, was the constant repercussions we suffered from the authorities. We could not do as much advocating for the students as we thought we needed to. These kinds of things. So, I began
thinking of a way to fix this and get the student union closer to
the student body at Dagon University to truly, genuinely repre-
sent them.

Then when the opportunity arose, I ran for election, even-
tually becoming chair of the DUSU. My platform was very clear:
to bring the student union closer to the students, as mentioned.
I also felt like 2020 was an important, pivotal moment in Myan-
mar politics, and the time was right to run. There were national
general elections planned and other political fluctuations, many
other events like the COVID-19 pandemic. The DUSU Central Ex-
ocutive Committee (CEC) considered the national political situa-
tion all the time; there had been talk between CEC members
about a potential military coup long before I joined.

What are your thoughts and views on student union
elections themselves?

Student union elections expose masses of students to the prin-
ciples of democracy. Because of entrenched military rule in My-
anmar, most students do not grow up in a democracy and lack
experience with democratic elections and voting before they
reach university. So, union elections are like their first experi-
ence of a democratic system where their votes are considered
important. That is pretty much what a democratic system is
about.

When you were chair of the DUSU, the students were
not really in favor of the union. Why?

That is true. When I was serving as chair, there was tension be-
tween the union and the students. The student union and the
students were divided by espionage. This is one reason why I in-
tended to bring the DUSU closer to its students. The reputation
of the student union had been systematically sullied. There were
a lot of such instances.

Then, the so-called ‘government’ began forming non-politi-
cal students’ associations. While students have the right to
associate, this right has long been curtailed by the condition that “they must not be involved in any political affairs”. The authorities planted this ideology in the student body so deeply. It is immensely troublesome. It reached the point where students perceived the student union as not doing its job stepping outside its bounds, meaning, getting involved in politics.

The students needed motivation for political spirit and awareness. With such a vision, we can make our voices heard and stand together with the oppressed. Our voices at the DUSU were loud regarding ethnic affairs. But instead of following our example, the students would say, “We need to just do our jobs as students” and, “Politics will be handled by the political parties” ... like that. These waves crashed over us student union members hard. Difficult times. The separation dividing the DUSU from the student body lasted for quite a long time. We could not fix it easily. But since the military coup of 2021, the DUSU and its students have become more united in the revolution. All the students can unanimously stand under the peacock flag. They can now follow the leadership of the student union. So, while there were some very real rough patches in the relations between the students and the union, in times of urgency, the students and the student union are united.

**What did you do for the Dagon University campus as chair of the DUSU before the coup?**

The campus is a very important part of the life of a university student. By campus, I mean a lot of things: educational affairs, freedom of association and expression, for instance. But if we think only of the physical infrastructure at Dagon University, we can say that it is weak. Someone without experience would be mesmerized by the way, for example, an alumnus of Yangon University describes its campus in a book about their student life, because good memories of the campus greatly influence the mind. It has seductive power. Unfortunately, the environment and infrastructure of Dagon University could cast no such spell. Conditions are extremely poor.
We tried to change that. But before we could think about how to transform the campus into a place to create memories and develop the university, we had to deal with corruption and bribery. It was like a disease. I do not mean that the time when I was in the DUSU was all bad, or necessarily worse than what came before, for corruption and bribery has always been part of Burmese society—but we were in what was supposedly an age of democracy. I could not really see it that way. Corruption existed even in this ‘democracy’.

Authorities would allocate money in the university budget—for building and road construction, for example, but the allocated funding would not reach its intended purpose, due to the rampant corruption. The DUSU tried to object to this. Boy, did we ever. However, this bad habit that has been perpetuated for decades could not be expunged in just a year. We simply could not achieve that. We tried as much as we could to prevent bribery and fraud and advocated for the construction of buildings and roads, for the safety of the students, for instance. There were no pedestrian lanes and platforms on the side of the roads, and it was very dangerous for students. The student union did a lot of work to push for increased road safety.

And that is all to do with just the physical infrastructure part of the university campus. The other part of the campus is the rights enjoyed by students, as I said. This is of great importance. The university had safety and security issues such as women and gender issues; sexual harassment and gender-based violence against female students, etc. Our student union did as much as it could to tackle these issues, for example, our executive members worked with the Women’s Affairs Committee for the rights of students. During my term as chair, I received such complaints daily. The DUSU had to intervene and refer more serious cases to the university administration or responsible authorities. A lot of work went into protecting the rights of both male and female students, in general.

Another part of the campus is ‘educational affairs’— also very important. Being university students and learners ourselves, we could suggest how to advance education standards
and outcomes, like bringing in academics and experts and identifying what needed to change. That included pursuing equality of educational opportunities for all. The DUSU worked for it. Our student union strongly upheld its principles and values, and we tried our best within our capacity to contribute to the development of our educational system.

**What do you think was the main reason for the 2021 military coup d’état?**

The military dictatorship still existed before the coup, which as an event was just the reawakening and resurgence of the still-powerful military. I see it that way. I mean, we Burmese have had generations and generations of activism and several revolutions aimed at eradicating the military dictatorship. But these revolutions never reached their goals. They always fell short, and the military dictatorship has endured. The recent 2021 military coup is just the next chapter in the story of dictatorship written by the military. That is my view.

**How did you feel on 1 February 2021 when you heard the coup had taken place?**

When I first heard the news, it was like 3 a.m. My friends woke me up with a phone call and told me to flee. The first thing that came to my mind was my family. I talked to them and said I had to be a part of the anti-military dictatorship revolution and that I could get arrested or killed. We discussed it and they finally said, “Okay, go on if you must”. We in the DUSU CEC had expected the coup and had discussed the likelihood of one happening several times. The military’s speech, supposedly ruling out a coup, just days before they did it, actually only affirmed our expectation. That is pretty much it.
How did you prepare to resist the coup on the ground? Please share your experiences.

Since the day of the coup, all student unions took precautions to maintain contact between themselves and between corresponding members and made efforts to communicate regularly. The DUSU began distributing papers and information sheets across Yangon, in the streets and in the markets, on 2 February. Some of the messages we shared were, “The military dictatorship must fail”, “Drive the military away from politics”, and “Let everyone participate in anti-military dictatorship movements.” CEC and regular members worked all night printing and cutting them.

Our second task was to prepare for the emergence of a mass public movement. We engaged in dialogue with the labor unions, the student unions, and teachers and lecturers that said they would participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM). We discussed students protesting on campus with other student unions. We said the revolutionary wave should start with the universities and that students needed to make it happen. At Dagon University, this began to happen on 5 February. University lecturers joined the CDM and hundreds of students from Dagon University started protesting. Following that, as we all know, mass demonstrations on the streets began to break out with millions of people.

Could you explain the story behind your famous quote, “We must instill fear into the military”?

Honestly, I never wrote any prepared speeches for going out protesting or planned to talk about fear. Normally I would just give spontaneous speeches on the spot, either on top of a car or on a table or someplace high. The quote you mentioned, I think I came up with it, but I do not remember anymore.

We must see this coup as an opportunity. Our nation has problems that cannot be resolved under dictatorship, and its people are trapped by suffering and complex problems. The military dictatorship thrives in our country, the army still
interferes in politics, and the 2008 Constitution still lives. There are also a lot of active sanctions which cannot be resolved by political means, not even by the Hluttaw parliament. In the past we had these issues, but we could not do anything. Ethnic areas also faced vast conflicts, wars, and oppressions; we could not do anything. But the 2021 coup has given birth to a revolution driven by people of all classes and statuses. This revolution could pour in new blood to build a new nation. So, I see the coup as an opportunity. The military is digging its own grave by staging this coup.

When I said, “we must instill fear into the military”, some people did not like it. Maybe because back then it was a very difficult time for this revolution. A bit like that. When we refer to the ‘military’ and ‘instilling fear’ into their minds; it means their whole institution, from the soldiers on the ground to those at the top of the command chain. It must be understood that the army can be obliterated by the people’s combined force and strength. And we need to make it happen. If we can truly separate the military from the revolutionary public, we will see who the nation’s real enemy is. We need to identify every individual underpinning the army and every soldier as a common enemy. In the time of my public speeches, we were not even thinking about a full armed revolution, it was too early. Since then, we thought we needed to employ more psychological warfare against them. I mean, it is good to demonstrate humanity and empathy toward soldiers and police but on the other hand, I do not appreciate it as a tactic of revolution. That is why I pushed for instilling fear into the minds of the military, clearly seeing the enemy for what it is. This rule still applies as the peaceful revolution transforms into an armed one.

The military is driven by greed and is composed of, basically, enforcers. They are not fighting for a righteous purpose. They will tremble, disintegrate, and fall into pieces once their hands go empty, their bellies go hungry, or their minds go craven. That is what I believe. We need to make continuous efforts to instill such fear into their minds. They need to be threatened by the strength of the people. Let’s look at all the revolutions of
different times across the world. Weren’t the militarily weaker forces fighting and winning against the stronger? Why? Because the stronger had the weaker spirit. There were situations where military personnel put their weapons down and surrendered instead of joining a firefight against the people. For us to reach that situation, fear must be driven into the minds of the military. And to stimulate such fear, we need to demonstrate the unity of the people, and the strength of the people. We need to build such powerful unity among the people, like one strong arrow that will penetrate right into their beating hearts. Only such unity will bring fear into the minds of the military.

You say the peaceful Spring Revolution has morphed into an armed revolution. Why did that happen? What is your opinion on peaceful vs. armed revolution?

There are numerous factors influencing and shaping the revolution right now. Yes, non-violence has transformed into armed revolution, due to both the given circumstances and the people’s will. If you look back at the history of Myanmar’s revolutions, we achieved victory through armed revolution. We had to undertake an armed revolution for the nation’s independence. And the same examples exist if you look at revolutions across the world. I think all the youths, students and other people need to believe and have faith in the path of armed revolution and continue this fight. There’s one caveat, however: we need to be more disciplined in order to sustain the armed revolution. What I mean by that is, holding a deadly weapon in one’s hand should never feel like a burden, and the trigger of these weapons should never be pulled toward the people. Arms should be used solely by the people, for the people, and their ultimate interest. We need to keep that in mind always.

As we walk down this path of armed revolution, wisdom must guide us. Political principles and political leadership must lead us. Strong and well-founded organizations must lead us. And we need to be very, very careful about this. Our feeling is a very important motivating force too. I mean, we need a fire
inside us, to ignite the flames of the revolution. The feeling of
resentment; the feeling, passion, and longing for truth and jus-
tice. This is vital. However, as we walk down this path, we re-
quire not only our ‘feelings’, but also our ‘guiding principles’, to
be able to continue this journey without deviation. The armed
revolution should be a fusion of our ‘feelings’ with our ‘guiding
principles’. It is important to cultivate not only our firm desire
to free this land and achieve democracy but also, the guiding
principle that an armed revolution should never be a burden for
the people. As simple as that.

Do you believe this armed revolution will win
eventually?

I do. I believe this armed revolution will bring victory for us.
That is why we all keep fighting. But there are a lot of lessons to
learn from the history of our country’s revolutions. Mistakes
were made during previous armed revolutions.

We must never forget the power within the nation. What I
mean by that is that there are many ethnic rebellious forces in
this country. Unity must be built among all these different eth-
nic groups. There is a kind of unity to an extent, currently. But
like I said, a stronger and more resilient form of unity is like an
arrow that will penetrate right into the enemy’s heart. We need
to keep building and reinforcing such unity. We need to learn
from our mistakes, prevent such mistakes from happening
again, build unity among people of all classes, and then the
armed revolution will be victorious.

It is said that student unions want to build a post-
revolution nation. What does that look like?

The new nation that we envision is very simple actually. To build
a society that respects each other’s freedom, rights, and has jus-
tice. This is the very foundation we are poking at, in general. To
elaborate, our country has many different and diverse people
and ethnicities. Different cultures, different languages, different
religions. It is not an easy task to bring harmony and unity among these different people in building a union. We must try very hard. The prolonged civil wars are also rooted in the problem of how to constitute a nation, and how to build a union. In other words, civil wars are created based on the constitution and structure of the nation. Bloodsheds, fights, and conflicts. For the nation to be reborn, we need a system that resolves all these problems among different people of all ethnicities; and a system that prevents these problems from occurring again in the future. That can be either a union, federal or not; or maybe, even a ‘confederation’ with more decentralization. But at this time, it is difficult to consistently name what kind of system there needs to be. We will keep moving toward nation-building based on the common acceptance of people of all ethnicities. Everyone should come together and do so, not because they are forced to, but because they are willing to. We must learn from the past and learn from our mistakes. We will need to build a system within the nation that prevents conflicts between our ethnic brothers and sisters. We must base the nation on a common agreement between all the people living on this land and in this water. That is the new nation we envision.

**Who do you admire in politics?**

I admire the student leader Ko Ba Hein, who had a great influence on me. I love his humanity. And I like his stance; his humility and closeness to the people; his spirit of unity with the people. Students and youths have been and are a major force in the

---

3 Thakin Ba Hein (1917-1946) was one of the founding members of the Communist Party of Burma and is a widely respected student leader who played important roles in Burma’s struggle for independence despite his relatively short life. He was well loved and remembered by his colleagues and friends and regarded as an inspiring icon for the generations of student activists to come, known for his charisma, camaraderie, kind composure, as well as the ability to deliver fiery speeches. His words “At one strike of the horse hoof, there will be burning fire” from the speech given on 12 December 1938 in Magway provoked the anti-colonial spirits nationwide. For more information about Ba Hein, see: [Ba Hein](#).
revolutions against dictatorship—from the days of the Thirty Comrades of the first generation, to the 1988 All Burma Students’ Democratic Front of the second generation, to the current anti-military dictatorship student youths as the third generation.

**What are the differences between these three generations?**

There are a lot of differences between the armed revolution for independence, the 1988-armed revolution, and the Spring Revolution. Perhaps the most important is that people participated in the war for independence because they accepted that war was imminent anyway; and that war was required for the revolution to achieve independence and freedom. Participating in revolutionary war does not mean all the people have to get armed and everything. The people must show support for the revolutionary war and provide support, all these kinds of things. We have witnessed such a form of holistic participation during the struggle for independence and during the ongoing Spring Revolution too.

In the armed revolution following 1988, while people showed their support, their participation, the idea of going into a full-on war was not very popular and there was a lot of hesitation. But this is just my opinion, of course. In the ongoing Spring Revolution, our strength comes from forces within the country, from people of different ethnicities. Moreover, we can see today that the people do not try to avoid war but instead actively participate and support it—they willingly accept that war is required and essential for the revolution, and the freedom of all. That is why we said, “we are living at an age when the anti-military dictatorship spirit is at its climax”.

During the struggle for independence, the Thirty Comrades received help from foreign countries. This caused unwanted negative consequences. We had to fight against fascism again, and the period of the war was stretched out and lengthened. Also, after winning the revolution, those from the Burma Independence Army who were involved in the armed revolution
ended up becoming the nation’s leaders; and those with beliefs in militarism ended up as military dictators.

What should be done to prevent the emergence of another generation of military dictators during and after this current revolution?

Every armed revolution must remain under political civilian leadership. The perpetuation of military dictatorship in Myanmar began with a military army formed for an armed revolution. Their thirst for power turned them into a fascist group. And the people had to face them again. Everyone participating in the current armed revolution must learn from this lesson. It is critical. Political leadership and political awareness mean knowing clearly and exactly why we are armed, and why we are partaking in this revolution. The fact that we are armed should not burden the people. This is a lifeline. The leaders from each of the current armed revolutionary groups and political organizations must lead in providing military and political training for armed comrades and revolutionaries. Raising their political awareness is essential. It is a must.

What are your plans after the revolution?

In this revolution, many students had to make sacrifices—their formal education, life with their families and loved ones. They sacrificed their precious personal time. I think post-revolution, we need to compensate for this lost time—being together with the family; living the easygoing and carefree life of a youth; spending quality time happily with friends on the university campus. I think those times will come for me to enjoy as well.

Is there anything you would like to add?

Revolution is extremely, vitally important. Our country is now undergoing a revolution that could overturn this whole system. The spirit of revolution is needed in every member of our society.
so it can develop positively. I believe, through this revolution, we will be able to resolve all the political conflicts and crises that have long existed in our country for many years. And then our nation will be reborn. So, let all the people and students see this revolution as an opportunity.

We must grab this opportunity and continue moving forward until we reach the final destination, the rebirth of the nation.

References
ဗိဆင် ကျော်စ်းလှန်းသော အားဖြင့် ခေါင်းစဉ် ကျော်စ်းလှန်းသော နေရာ၌ စိတ်ကူး၍ ချင်းစားသည်။

စိတ်ယဉ်ကျေးမှုတွင် မိနိုင်ငံတော်မှာ မိနိုင်ငံတော်ကို သိရှိသော အားဖြင့် ခေါင်းစဉ် ကျော်စ်းလှန်းသော နေရာ၌ စိတ်ကူး၍ ချင်းစားသည်။ 

ပြောက်ပြီးနောက် သိရှိသော အားဖြင့် ခေါင်းစဉ် ကျော်စ်းလှန်းသော နေရာ၌ စိတ်ကူး၍ ချင်းစားသည်။
စိုက် ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။ ဥပဒေမှာ များသည် စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။

အခြေခံမှု ပြုလုပ်ရာတွင် စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။

ဥပဒေမှာ များသည် စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။

အခြေခံမှု ပြုလုပ်ရာတွင် စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။

ဥပဒေမှာ များသည် စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။ ကြိုးစားသော စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြန်ပါသည်။

အခြေခံမှု ပြုလုပ်ရာတွင် စိုက်ခွဲခြားမှုကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
နောက် နောက်တဲ့အခါ လုပ်ရပါတယ်။ နောက်တဲ့ လုပ်ငန်းက လုပ်ရပါတယ်။ ပြည်သူ့ခွဲခြားရင် လုပ်ရပါတယ်။ သုံးစွဲနိုင်ပါတယ်။

သူတို့ ယုံကြည်စေတတ်တယ်။ အချင်းချင်းရင် လုပ်ရပါတယ်။ နောက်တဲ့ လုပ်ငန်းက လုပ်ရပါတယ်။
နေ့စဉ် ယုံကြည်ရာ စာမျက်နှာများအတွက် အခြေခံဖော်ပြသော နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကောင်းဆုံးအချက်များကို နောက်ဆုံးအချက်များနှင့် ကြည့်ရှုလိုသော ကြောင့်ဖြစ်သည်။
မြန်မာဘာသာဖွင့်ဆိုခြင်း မြန်မာစာသီးသီးသားစာမျက်နှာပြင် စိတ်ဝင်စားချက်အား အဖြေပြောပြပေးသည်။

အားလုံးကို မြန်မာစာသီးသီးသားစာမျက်နှာပြင် ဖော်ပြသည်။
ပေါင်းတွေကိုးသည်များတွေကို ဖျင်စွာစားသော်မှာ အကျိုးကျော်သေးကြည့်ပါ။ ပေါင်းစားသူတွေကို အနေဖြင့် ပိုင်းဆိုင်သင့်သော သောက်နေသောင့် အောက်မှာ ဖျင်စွာစားသော်မှာ အကျိုးကျော်သေးကြည့်ပါ။

အောက်ရောဂါကျော်စားသောင့် အကျိုးကျော်သေးကြည့်ပါ။

ထွက်စားပြုစားသောင့် အကျိုးကျော်သေးကြည့်ပါ။
နိုင်ငံတကာ ဖျင်တွင်းရေးလုပ်ငန်း လုပ်ငန်းများ လုပ်ငန်း မိတ်ဆွေစွာ စီစဉ်ထားပါတယ်။ အောက်ပါ ပထမဆုံး ကြိုဆိုပါကာ တစ်နေရာတွင် အားလုံးကို ကြည့်နေရန် ဖြစ်အောင် သိရှိပါမည်။ မိန့်မီးစေခါးတစ်ခုနှစ်ခုလုံးကို ပထမဆုံးတွင် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာခြင်းဖြင့် ပထမဆုံးတွေကို နောက်ပိုင်းသို့ ပိုမို အစားထိုးခြင်းဖြင့် ပထမဆုံး၏ အတိုးအတာကို ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ ပထမဆုံးတွင် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသောစီစဉ်များကို ကျော်လွန်တွေကို ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာရန် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ သို့ပြီးတက် ပထမဆုံးတွင် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသောစီစဉ်များကို လေ့လာပြီး ပထမဆုံးတွင် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသောစီစဉ်များကို ကျော်လွန်တွေကို ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာမည်ဖြစ်သည်။

infrastructure ကို ရှာဖွေပြီး မိန့်မီးစေခါးတစ်ခုနှစ်ခုလုံးကို ပထမဆုံးတွင် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာခြင်းဖြင့် ပထမဆုံးတွေကို နောက်ပိုင်းသို့ ပိုမို အစားထိုးခြင်းဖြင့် ပထမဆုံး၏ အတိုးအတာကို ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ ပထမဆုံးတွင် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသောစီစဉ်များကို ကျော်လွန်တွေကို ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာရန် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ သို့ပြီးတက် ပထမဆုံးတွင် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသောစီစဉ်များကို လေ့လာပြီး ပထမဆုံးတွင် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသောစီစဉ်များကို ကျော်လွန်တွေကို ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာမည်ဖြစ်သည်။
အကြောင်းများကို တွေ့ရစဉ်မှု့နေပါသော အချက်များ စောချိန် အဖြေအပေါ် ဗိသုကာမှ အကြောင်းရရှိခြင်း အခြေခံအနည်းငယ် ဖော်ပြချက်များ တင်ပါတယ်။ အဖြေအပေါ် ဗိသုကာမှ အကြောင်းရရှိခြင်း အခြေခံအနည်းငယ် ဖော်ပြချက်များ တင်ပါတယ်။
ခြေရောက်ခြင်းများနှင့် ကြားရေး ကို ကြောင်းဆိုရပါသည်။ အခြေခံသော သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ လေ့ကျင့်ကို မလျှင် သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်မန္းထောင်ပါသည်။ သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ လေ့ကျင့်ကို မလျှင် သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်မန္းထောင်ပါသည်။ သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ လေ့ကျင့်ကို မလျှင် သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်မန္းထောင်ပါသည်။ သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ လေ့ကျင့်ကို မလျှင် သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်မန္းထောင်ပါသည်။ သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ လေ့ကျင့်ကို မလျှင် သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်မန္းထောင်ပါသည်။ သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ လေ့ကျင့်ကို မလျှင် သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်မန္းထောင်ပါသည်။ သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ လေ့ကျင့်ကို မလျှင် သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်မန္းထောင်ပါသည်။ သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ လေ့ကျင့်ကို မလျှင် သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်မန္းထောင်ပါသည်။ သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ လေ့ကျင့်ကို မလျှင် သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်မန္းထောင်ပါသည်။ သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ လေ့ကျင့်ကို မလျှင် သူငယ်ချင်းများ၏ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်မန္းထောင်ပါသည်။
မိုးဦးရိုးသူသည် သူ၏အလွတ်မှုကို လျော်စားစေသော လက်နက်နှင့် ကျွန်ုပ်၏ အိမ်အား ၏နောက်ပိုင်းများကို “ကျွန်ုပ် သင်္ကေတတွေ့ရတာကို စွေးကြည်စေ” ၏စားစေသော ကျွန်ုပ်၏ အိမ်အား လက်နက်နှင့် ကျွန်ုပ်၏ အိမ်အား ကျွန်ုပ်၏ အိမ်အား လက်နက်နှင့် ကျွန်ုပ်၏ အိမ်အား လက်နက်နှင့် ကျွန်ုပ်၏ အိမ်အား
Kaung Sithu / Min Han Htet | 509

...
ဆိုင်သီးသနာကို ရူဖောင်ယူခြင်းမှု၊ သူလိုက်တင်ကြွင်းရေးရှိချင်သော ကျမ်းစာမျက်နှာပေါင်းများစွာ ခြေရာအရှင်မှုကို လျှော့ချရန် အဆိုအရှင်မှုကို ထိခိုက်ရန် နောက်ပိုင်းစွာ အသုံးပြုနိုင်မည်။ သူ့ကို ထိခိုက်ရန် အဆိုအရှင်မှုကို လျှော့ချရန် နောက်ပိုင်းစွာ အသုံးပြုနိုင်မည်။ သူ့ကို ထိခိုက်ရန် အဆိုအရှင်မှုကို လျှော့ချရန် နောက်ပိုင်းစွာ အသုံးပြုနိုင်မည်။ သူ့ကို ထိခိုက်ရန် အဆိုအရှင်မှုကို လျှော့ချရန် နောက်ပိုင်းစွာ အသုံးပြုနိုင်မည်။
ကြိုးကစားရသည့် စိုးရိမ်များနှင့် အိုးကြောင်းလိုအပ်သော အချက်များ

(စိုးရိမ်များကို ဆိုရာတွင် အထောက်အမြဲများ ဖော်ပြသည်)
Kaung Sithu / Min Han Htet | 513

·²À¢ÄÀ·¡¾Ʀ´¾¡À ÀÁ²¾³µƵ ¤ū·Ã Ə³µÀ¼·²À¤À³µ Á´À
ÁÀ

À

·Â²

ÀÑ

Ə³µÀ¼·²À¤À 

ÀÁ²¾³µƵ

·Ɵ²ÀÄÀ¾²¾¸½

§ɜÀ

À¢³µ¼µ¼¢¸Ñ

ƠÀ·²À³µƵ¡ÀÄÀ¾¸½Ð ƠÀ·²À³µƵ ¡À·Ɵ²À¸½ Ə³µÀ¼·²À¤À³µ²
Ɛ³µ¾¡ÄÀ¾±

ÀÑ ¢¶À¬¾À·

²ÀÁÀ¾´ §¸½´ À·

²ÀÁÀ¾´¡¸ƶ

ÂÀÀư³µ ·¢¾²¾À³µ¾²¾¸½Ð ¢ÃÀ¢ÀÃ½À¡Ä³¸½Ð ¡²¾Ɵư¡Ä³¸½
¢¶ɕ§Ã¸ƶÀ¾Àµ³µ À·²Àƣ³µƵ±¸Ñ ±¥² §ÀÀ§·Â¼Á¸½
·

µ

ÁÀÃ² ·Â²¸½³Ů±Ñ ±³µ §Á

ÀÁ¸ƶƦ´¾·Â²¡¡À ƠÀ·²À³µƵ

³µÀ¾ÂÀÄ² ¶´¸½ ¢¶Á³Ƴ¾µ·Ã §Á²¾Ƨ´¾¡Ä³ƣ

ÀÑ ¶´¸½

«À·Á¾ưÐ ¶´¸½ ²¤²²¾Ð ¶´¸½ ²¤²·¡¾·Ã §Á²¾Ƨ´¾
·± ½Á²Ñ ´¢³µ³Ů·Ã §Á²¾Ƨ´¾¡Ä³±

ÀÑ ±·Ã §²¾¢¼µ¾³µ µ·±À¾Ʀ´¾

ÂÀ·²ÀµÀµ§ÂÀ µÃ¸ƶ³µƵ³µ² ¢Ã

À¶¸½³Ů·²½ ¥µÀ±¶¾Ñ

ƠÀ·²À³µƵ §Á²¾Ƨ´¾ Ƨ³Ƴ¾²¾ƣ¡¢³½À

ÀÑ ¢ÃÀ¸½¸½ ƏÄÀ·±À¾Á²¾Ã²

Ä²¢À¾ ´ÂÀÃÀ¾À·Ã ÂÀ¢²¸½ ³Ů·ÃÐ ÁÀ¸½ Ə³µÀ¼·¡¾ÂÅɜ
·Ã

§²¾¢¼µ¾¥²

´¢³µÁ³Ƴ¾

ÂÀ·²ÀµÀµ³µ 

Ə³µÀ¼·²ÀÀµ³µ



À¢³µµÃ¸ƶƣ¢¸Ð

À¢³µµÃ¸ƶƣ¢¸³µ¸½ ÂÅɜ·ƒ ¶ÀƦ´¾

·²½ ÂÀ¢²ƣ²±Ñ ÀÀ¾§²¾Â½À ·Â²¡¡À Ə³µÀ¼·²À¡¸ƶ Ã¸ƶÀ¾
À·²Àư ¼µ¼·ƒÄ² ¶ÀƦ´¾ ƠÀ·²À³µƵ·Ã¡¸ƶ ÂÀÃÀ¾À·Ã
ÂÀƣ¡

ÀÑ Ã¸ƣÐ Ʀ¸ƣÐ ³µÀ³µÀƣÐ ³Ū·Ã ÂÀƣ·± ½Ñ ±·Ã

ÂÀ¸½ƣ¡

ÀÑ §¸´·²½ ƠÀ·²À³µƵ Ə³µÀ¼·²À¤ÀÀµ³µ ÂÀƦ´¾

·²½ ·Ã¾Ã²¾³µƵ³µ¢³µƵ¡Ä³¡À §³À¤³µÀ¾Ä² ¡Ä³¸½ƣ¸½ §Á³À·Ã§²¾¢¼µ¾
ƠÀ·²À³µƵ À¬¾¸ƵÀ¬¾ ¢¶Á³Ƴ¾µ Àµ¸ƵÀµ ƣ²¾¸Ä² ÂÀ·¸½
ÂÅɜ·Ã§²¾¢¼µ¾³µ ·Â¡ÄÀ¾Ə³µÀ¸½Ð §¸½´¢³µÂÀ·§²À ²Ã
²¾Ə³µÀ¸½ Ə³µÀ¼·²ÀÀÀµ³µ ƠÀ·²À³µƵ ¢³µ§À
§¸±¤À

ÂÀ·²Àµ

¤³µƵÀ¾¥µÀ 
«²§²¾Â½À

À¡

ÂÀÁÀÂÀ



À¡

À

ÀÑ ³µ·²½

ÂÀÁÀÂÀ

ÀÐ

ÀÀ³µƦ´¾·²½ decentralize ÂÀ¸½ÀÁ³Ƴ¾

confederation

¢³µ¥²Á³Ƴ¾

§¸´·²½ ƠÀ·²À³µƵ¥² ´Á³ÀÄ² 
·Â²³µƵÀ±

ÀÐ

À·¾

ÂÀ·²À¾

ÂÀ¢³½À

ÀÑ

À¢³µÀÁ³Ƴ¾±¢³µƵ À¤ÀÀ¾

ÀÑ ¢¶Á³ƴ¾µ§²¾¢¼µ¾ ¼µ¤·²¶¢À¼Ə³µÀ¸½Ð §²¾¢¼µ¾


forced together come together
ရေးသားရေးသားသော စိတ်ကူးအောင် အနောက်သားအောက်ျော်စီးချင်းများ နေထိုင် ပြောပြချင်

ရေးသားရေးသားသော စိတ်ကူးအောင် အနောက်သားအောက်ျော်စီးချင်းများ နေထိုင် ပြောပြချင်

ရေးသားရေးသားသော စိတ်ကူးအောင် အနောက်သားအောက်ျော်စီးချင်းများ နေထိုင် ပြောပြချင်

ရေးသားရေးသားသော စိတ်ကူးအောင် အနောက်သားအောက်ျော်စီးချင်းများ နေထိုင် ပြောပြချင်

ရေးသားရေးသားသော စိတ်ကူးအောင် အနောက်သားအောက်ျော်စီးချင်းများ နေထိုင် ပြောပြချင်

ရေးသားရေးသားသော စိတ်ကူးအောင် အနောက်သားအောက်ျော်စီးချင်းများ နေထိုင် ပြောပြချင်

ရေးသားရေးသားသော စိတ်ကူးအောင် အနောက်သားအောက်ျော်စီးချင်းများ နေထိုင် ပြောပြချင်

ရေးသားရေးသားသော စိတ်ကူးအောင် အနောက်သားအောက်ျော်စီးချင်းများ နေထိုင် ပြောပြချင်

ရေးသားရေးသားသော စိတ်ကူးအောင် အနောက်သားအောက်ျော်စီးချင်းများ နေထိုင် ပြောပြချင်
မိမိအားလုံးအားဖြင့် ဆိုသည်။ အခြေခံသည် အသုံးပြုသူရေးအရာကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။ သူများအားဖြင့် အသုံးပြုသူရေးအရာကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။ သူများအားဖြင့် အသုံးပြုသူရေးအရာကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။ သူများအားဖြင့် အသုံးပြုသူရေးအရာကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။ သူများအားဖြင့် အသုံးပြုသူရေးအရာကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။ သူများအားဖြင့် အသုံးပြုသူရေးအရာကို ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
Young Revolutionaries from Past and Present

Virtual Federal University Research Program¹

Abstract

Students have played key roles in Myanmar’s pro-democracy struggles, and the current Spring Revolution is no exception. This article summarizes the process and findings of research on student activism by the Virtual Federal University’s research program. We assess the impact of student and worker movements during the National League for Democracy period on post-coup mobilization; compare student armed struggles after 1988 and 2021; and analyze the tactics and strategies of contemporary student revolutionaries. Drawing on interviews and informed by our own experiences, our findings highlight the challenges, strategies, and strengths of Myanmar’s young revolutionaries.

Introduction

After the 1 February 2021 military coup, the people of Myanmar were forced to endure another instance of their country’s long history of suffering and survival, with movements resisting military rule taking root countrywide. The 2021 coup was hardly the first to occur in the country, and was even expected by some people, but most were stunned by it. They started joining the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM)² and banged pots and pans

¹ The Virtual Federal University is a free education platform and community committed to critical education for federal democracy in Myanmar. Within this collective alias, the individual authors’ names are: Pai Cheimt Khaung, Haymarn Soe Nyunt, and Ohn Nyo (group 1); Costa, Yay Chan, and Marla May (group 2); Tshin, Gaea, and Kat (group 3). Kay Zak served as research coach and Hilary Faxon and Elizabeth Rhoads as research advisors.
² Participating in the CDM can include banging pots and pans, street protests, refusing to pay bills and taxes, boycotting state-sponsored lotteries and
on the streets to express their refusal of the coup. On 6 February, led by workers and in cooperation with student unions, the first mass protest movement in Yangon occurred. Waves of protests across the country immediately followed, increasing in intensity, and acts of civil disobedience became commonplace. The military began shooting and detaining protesters. These violent actions did not stop the anti-coup resistance movement, but changed it, pushing many to take up arms in order to protect themselves and achieve their revolutionary goals. This has come to be known as the Spring Revolution.

As other articles in this special issue show, Myanmar students have participated in social and political movements since the colonial era, including during the recent period of democratic change. Due to the military’s brutal suppression of peaceful protests in 1988, students moved to border areas, and to southern and northern Burma, in order to pursue armed struggle. Some went on to form the All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF) in November 1988.

Later, students took part in other movements, including those in 1996 and 2007. Under the National League for Democracy (NLD)-led government from 2016-2021, many students and workers continued calling for rights and justice for the vulnerable in Myanmar, including, controversially, by protesting against Aung San Suu Kyi and the incumbent party.3

Given Myanmar’s history and ongoing social and political crises, understanding student activism is vital. This article summarizes three different research projects on this theme, conducted by student activists from different student unions who are actively taking part in the Spring Revolution. The authors conducted their research with support from the Virtual Federal University (VFU) that was envisioned and established in May

---

3 For an example of student protests against the NLD, see.
The three projects explore the vital role of students’ participation in the current revolution, the patterns of their movements, their commitments, their cooperation and networking with different communities, as well as the opportunities and challenges they face in comparison to student revolutionaries from 1988.

Group one’s research, titled “The Impact of Students and Workers’ Movements During 2016-2021 on the Early Period of the Spring Revolution” aims to understand how the movements during the NLD period impacted on the Spring Revolution during February and March 2021, when mass movements on the streets were at their peak, and before military violence prompted a tactical shift towards guerrilla protests and armed resistance. While movements led by workers and students in the NLD period were often criticized, especially on social media, this research aims to assess their value for the revolution, and therefore, for the greater good of the country.

Group two’s research, titled “A Comparison of Students’ Armed Struggles in 1988 and 2021”, asks “How did students’ participation in armed struggle affect the 1988 revolution and what lessons can current student revolutionaries learn from 1988?”. This research compares the experiences of the ABSDF formed in 1988, and the student armed forces formed since 2021, to answer this question.

Group three’s research, titled “An Analysis of Students’ Participation in the 2021 Spring Revolution in Myanmar: Probing the Peculiarities” is a work of applied research that was initially aimed at analyzing other countries’ student movements’ strategies, tactics and techniques to better understand Myanmar’s situation as it was in early 2022. However, the revolution has since intensified and become primarily one of armed struggle, a

---

4 The VFU is a free education platform and community of students and educators committed to the values of critical education for a multi-ethnic federal democracy.

5 For an example of public criticism of worker and student movements, see the public comments on this Facebook post: Myanmar Now, 2020.
method referred to by successful revolutionary Mao Zedong as “the highest form of revolution”.
Therefore, group three instead came to investigate the ways that students and youths envision and enact vibrant and diverse alternatives to shape the future of Myanmar: the reasons why they joined the revolution and the ways in which they contribute to it, including the means with which they do so and the challenges they face. This work is intended to inform a broader history of how students have shaped Myanmar and its future.

Together, we believe that the Spring Revolution is not only about fighting with arms but also about changing the corrupt existing system. To change the system, people must understand the system. VFU’s research program is a space where we, CDM university students, can continue our education, and conduct research that is aligned with our revolutionary goals, and create and distribute important fact-based papers to the public.

Methodology

Our research was designed and carried out by three teams of three researchers each, all of whom are CDM university students. Several of us are now in different liberated areas, some are participating in the armed struggle. Our backgrounds and experiences within the revolution motivated our questions and informed our approach. Throughout the research process, we worked closely with a VFU research coach, who provided methodological training and guidance on each stage of the process via online group meetings, and with VFU academic advisers with experience conducting research in Myanmar.

All three research teams used qualitative methods. In addition to reviewing secondary literature, social media and having informal conversations with stakeholders, each group conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs), using a purposive sampling strategy. In total,

---

6 Mao Tse-Tung writes in Problems of War and Strategy (1938): “The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution”.
The research teams conducted 26 key informant interviews (KIIs) and six FGDs with a total of 51 participants. An overview of respondents is provided in Table 1.

**Table 1**

**Summary of data collection.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Interview Type</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
<th>Participant Type</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>FGD 1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Members of workers’ unions</td>
<td>3 females 1 male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FGD 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Members of student unions</td>
<td>3 males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 KIIs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Students’ and workers’ movement leaders</td>
<td>2 females 5 males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>FGD 1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Student armed groups</td>
<td>4 males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FGD 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Members of student unions</td>
<td>3 males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 KIIs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Members of ABSDF, members of the Anti-Dictatorship Revolution People’s Army and members of the Student Armed Force (SAF)</td>
<td>7 males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>FGD 1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Student participants in the 2021 revolution</td>
<td>2 females 2 males 1 LGBTQ+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We faced several challenges while conducting this research. Asking about the internal dynamics and cooperation within and between movements can be sensitive, and we had to work through close personal networks, learn to introduce ourselves and our study, and build trust. Scheduling and conducting interviews was challenged by security concerns, which limited in-person meetings, made it difficult to interview frontline fighters, and necessitated greater precautions throughout the research process, as well as by poor internet connectivity, which made communication and facilitation more challenging. We had to balance our desire for diverse perspectives with the need to go through secure and trusted channels. We learned new interview techniques—for example, combining preplanned questionnaires with spontaneous questions to informants—and report writing skills. Due to security concerns, we took particular care to anonymize or remove sensitive information and specific details while still drawing well evidenced conclusions. Despite its limitations, we believe that this article offers valuable insights about students’ motivations, experiences, and tactics regarding their activism in Myanmar.

### Findings

**Group 1: The Impact of Students and Workers’ Movements During 2016-2021 on the Early Period of the Spring Revolution**
During the NLD government period, the demands and public movements of workers and students were often criticized, but we discovered that the connections, tactics and trust built within and among these movements during this period before the coup were critical to post-coup mobilization in February and March 2021.

The workers’ strikes from 2016 until the 2021 coup can be categorized by three central demands: adjusting the minimum wage, amending labor laws, and stopping labor rights violations. The student movements in the same period can likewise be sorted into three categories: political movements, such as demonstrations against the Rohingya genocide and the remembrance of 7 July, 1962; demonstrations related to ethnic affairs, such as those against internet blackouts in parts of Rakhine State; and demonstrations related to students’ rights and corruption on campuses, such as the strike against the corruption of the Rector of the University of Mandalay, the push to amend regulations of student hostels, and the movements against sexual harassment at the University of Yangon. The main challenges for both workers and students pursuing these causes were negative public opinion and oppression by the government. A member of the Solidarity Trade Union of Myanmar (STUM) said when interviewed: “The public is alienated from the workers’ movements. Since they are alienated, the public did not know what the workers were facing”.

After the coup, workers and students joined hands together and with the general public against the military junta, working together closely as part of a broader movement. We categorize the anti-dictatorial movement as a whole into four categories based on the methods used. First is strikes and demonstrations, including mass street demonstrations and the CDM affecting state and military institutions; second is boycotts, including of products made by military corporations or cronies; third is armed movements, and fourth is other types of mobilization.

---

7 STUM President, personal communication, August 25, 2022.
such as building and expanding organizational networks and underground activities.

In the following section we discuss the main impacts of the 2016-2021 worker and student movements on the early post-coup mass movements, based on our interviews and analysis.

**Increased Trust Among Different Organizations**

By collaborating and supporting each others’ causes during the earlier movements in question, the organizations and people who participated in them became closer and mutual trust and networks were formed. This in turn helped the movements after the coup. A representative of STUM said:

*We can never be sure whether someone is an actual protester or a spy from the military junta. We had to demonstrate on the streets with this kind of mistrust and concern. At that time, the mutual trust gained from previous movements helped us. Based on their past participation, we could be certain that these people were not traitors, and they would never betray their causes and the revolution. This drove the fear away.*

The fact that students protested in solidarity with ethnic minorities against oppression, such as the internet blackouts and Rohingya genocide in Rakhine State, helped strengthen relations between the students and ethnic revolutionary organizations. One movement leader talked about this as follows:

*As we stood alongside the ethnic revolutionary forces before, we showed that they can trust we students as true allies. This is very helpful. If we had simply reconciled with the authorities and ignored their misguided policies at that time, I believe the support of the ethnic revolutionary forces would not have reached the level seen in*

---

8 STUM President, personal communication, August 25, 2022.
today's revolution. I have personally seen and experienced these benefits with gratitude.  

Increased Trust Among Respective Masses and Unions

The movements also helped build a closer relationship between unions and those they seek to represent. According to our interviews, the actions of the unions during the movements showed what they stand for and whether they can be trusted. A member of a workers’ movement said in one FGD:

I believe that the workers' decision to protest on 6 February was motivated by their previous experiences with strikes. They had confidence in their leaders and trusted them to guide them through any challenges they might encounter during the demonstration. This trust was built on a belief that their leaders are dependable and responsible, as demonstrated by their past actions. Because of this, the workers had full confidence that even if something went wrong, their leaders would be able to handle it. I think this played a significant role in their decision to take to the streets on 6 February.

Support for the Formation of Mass Movements and Alliance Organizations

The previous movements also helped the formation of mass movements such as the early mass demonstration against the junta on 6 February. One participant said:

After the coup, it was important to mobilize a mass movement, and we realized that we could do this more effectively if we worked together in larger numbers. We

---

9 EYUSU (ABFSU) President, personal communication, May 12, 2022.
10 FGWM CEC Member, personal communication, August 4, 2022.
needed to cooperate closely, so we reached out to organizations and individuals that we had worked with before the coup. Having these preexisting connections made it easier to collaborate and organize more movements.\textsuperscript{11}

The networks and trust gained from the movements in question also helped the formation of alliance organizations such as the General Strike Committee. A member of the University of Yangon Student’s Union (UYSU) said:

\textit{We have a robust network of connections. As strong trust was built between these organizations from the very beginning, there is not much need for discussion. For example, this was how we were able to establish the GSC.}\textsuperscript{12}

Our interviews showed that preestablished trust among student and labor unions contributed substantially to the formation of mass movements after the coup. The patterns of connections were similar among the two groups. Student unions usually formed alliances based on their identifiable stances on regional issues, ethnic issues, and issues about educational rights. The student movements that occurred in individual universities were surrounded by other allied student unions, and student unions with the same policies worked together in ethnic affairs and political activities. Similarly, labor unions established close relations with other unions. Their mutual support can be seen in cases of demanding labor rights and increased wages.

These unionized workers and students, interestingly, did not focus solely on their own respective issues. Rather, close alliances were made between them during the 2016-2021 era. Prominent cases in point include the Fu Yuan factory strike, when students supported workers demanding their rights. A STUM member involved told us:

\textsuperscript{11} EYUSU (ABFSU), personal communication, May 12, 2022.
\textsuperscript{12} UYSU President, personal communication, May 2, 2022.
We immediately felt the same way. We realized that regardless of which government is in power, workers will always need to respond in the same way if their rights are threatened. I think all the people who went out together were able to build more understanding of one other.\textsuperscript{13}

This quote reveals how preexisting cooperation and mutual understandings between and among labor and student unions contributed to the formation of mass protest against the military coup. According to UYSU, the connections and discussions between labor and student unions about participating in mass protests were made just two days after the coup, further showing their close collaboration. Furthermore, their cooperation and collaboration during the mass movement was effective for further political processes. The mass movement increased understanding among organizations and this strengthened ties and led to more consistent political responses and methods during the early stages of the anti-military dictatorship resistance movement.

In addition to dealing with the violent oppression enacted by the military, a challenge for both students’ and workers’ movements after the coup was a leadership crisis sparked by differing political stands and populist tendencies. A workers’ movement member said, “I think it creates more distance when someone takes advantage of their popularity in politics”.\textsuperscript{14}

Regarding connections among labor and student unions, we can say that organizations that share interests and stances can build stronger connections for mass movements. Furthermore, collaborations during mass movements strengthen ties and make organizations closer, impacting their future anti-oppression activities.

\textsuperscript{13} STUM President, personal communication, August 25, 2022.
\textsuperscript{14} STUM President, personal communication, August 25, 2022.
Our interviews showed that oppression after the military coup is severe and challenging for both labor and student unions. Due to the economic decline after the coup, funding further movements has become a problem. Furthermore, due to the oppression of the military, student and worker unionists are experiencing security crises. The unions have lost the ability to mobilize participants widely on the ground, which leads to a lack of close communication between supporters and unionists. Even after the coup, such differences exist among revolutionary forces. Collaborations between organizations with different political stances and methods have weakened while those forces with closer political beliefs to one another strengthened their connections.

**Group 2: A Comparison of Students’ Armed Struggles in 1988 and 2021**

Just like in 1988, students in 2021 took up arms against the violent Myanmar military. Our research has found that while contemporary student armed forces received greater initial public support than the ABSDF did, they still face similar challenges in internal organization, external coordination, and maintaining momentum as the struggle continues over time.

Why did students take up arms after the 2021 military coup? The main reason was because there was no capacity for those in the anti-coup resistance movement to counterattack the Myanmar military, which brutally suppressed peaceful protesters. One student who has been working on the ground said to us:

*We already protested peacefully. But the people have gradually come to know that they need to respond with force as the military chose to crack down brutally [by] killing its own citizens.*

---

15 DRPA Member, personal communication, May 5, 2022.
The Myanmar military is a well-organized institution and non-violent revolution alone is not sufficient. Every possible means must be applied to revolt against the junta. The post-coup situation was not the first time in recent years that peaceful protesters considered violent revolution. During the military-civilian power sharing governments of the Union Solidarity and Development Party (2011-16) and NLD (2016-21), peacefully demonstrating students were already being detained, leading many people interested in politics and revolution to desire taking up arms. An armed organization’s spokesperson said to us, “They already considered toppling the military and dismantling it and related institutions by revolution due to the oppression of successive governments.”

Differing Conditions Between the ABSDF and the Current Armed Students

Students’ armed participation in the Spring Revolution follows in the footsteps of other such struggles in Burma/Myanmar, perhaps most famously, the 1988 uprising and concomitant forming of the ABSDF, from clusters of students, farmers and workers who headed into border areas to take up arms after the 1988 uprising, when the military killed hundreds of unarmed protesters. The ABSDF was founded on 1 November 1988 and executed battles against the Burmese military by coordinating with ethnic armed organizations (EAOs), with moderate success. However, the ABSDF split up due to disagreements on policy in 1991 when their third conference was convened. Although they signed a ceasefire agreement with the military government in 2010 and were quiet for nearly a year after the 2021 coup, the ABSDF now sides with the people in the Spring Revolution.

While their motivations were similar, a key difference between the 1988 and 2021 armed student movements is their levels and types of support. The only support that the ABSDF

---

16 SAF CEC Member, personal communication, June 18, 2022.
received from the people was political. Only from its allies did ABSDF receive material support and international help was secondary. Also, people choosing to participate in the 1990 general election over armed revolution was a significant factor hindering the ABSDF’s capacity to make larger attacks. During that era, the ABSDF was not welcomed tumultuously by the people, by EAOs or by politicians like armed students are welcomed today. Today, armed students are warmly welcomed and supported in EAO-controlled liberated areas. One member of the ABSDF said to us:

*Because the ABSDF was formed as an organization which built its representation based on the whole country since its inception, it achieved a certain degree of success in mediating with EAOs.*

Today students are better able to empathize with the situations of ethnic people, and EAOs are more welcoming of students participating in the Spring Revolution than they were of those participating in the 1988 uprising, due to the new armed student organizations’ more transparent structural stages, political standards and openness. Although the ABSDF received political support only from the people involved in the 1988 uprising, today student fronts gain extra financial support from elsewhere. During the foundational days of the ABSDF, social media did not exist, so the organization’s ability to directly inform the public what they were doing was limited. Today however social media is widespread and student revolutionaries are using it as a platform to keep up to date with people and to solicit and receive direct support.

**Strong and Weak Points of the ABSDF**

With the help of the National Democratic Force, those who participated in the armed struggle after the 1988 uprising and coup

---

17 Principal of Federal Law Academy, personal communication, June 14, 2022.
organized centrally under the ABSDF. One key strength of the ABSDF was this centralization, which avoided the scattering into many organizations seen in today’s revolution. The ABSDF could take actions quickly by organizing systematic constitutions and building trust with EAOs. The ABSDF also participated in public service and politically important cases like constitution-writing processes together with EAOs.

The ABSDF, however, also struggled with unclear policy priorities, said one former ABSDF member: “The ABSDF prioritized matters relating to armed forces, which made them lack action in political movements”.

Among ABSDF members, there were disagreements between those who wanted to prioritize armed struggles and those who preferred politics. Internal weaknesses, as well as external causes like the effects of the 1990 general election, ceasefires, and the junta’s divide and conquer strategies, brought failures on and beyond the battlefield.

In cooperating with EAOs, misunderstandings and lack of trust among the soldiers were key challenges. While cooperating in matters of armed struggle, the EAOs also doubted the abilities of the ABSDF. The collapse of the Burmese Communist Party and conflicts in Karen National Union areas also militarily and politically affected ABSDF.

**The Current Political Environment of Student Armed Forces**

Today, student armed forces use the identity of students in their names but are not comprised exclusively of students. They consist of many different classes of people. While students have cooperated with, and been supported by, many groups of people since the coup, differences remain. During the period of NLD government before the coup, there were clashes between students and NLD supporters due to students demonstrating

---

18 Principal of Federal Law Academy, personal communication, June 14, 2022.
against the military and against human rights violations and genocide. After the 2021 coup, ideological differences remain between people who strongly and singularly support particular organizations or political parties and students who openly criticize the exile National Unity Government (NUG), which was formed mostly by NLD members, for not going far enough in trying to build an inclusive federal democracy.

For today’s student armed forces, which were organized mostly by student union members, recruitment is a major challenge. Two years after the military coup, the decrease in people’s support is a bitter reality. Consequently, there is a limit to persuading more members to join and start new battles. In addition, since the students still have to stay in EAO-controlled liberated areas, finances and social relations with different ethnic people is a challenge. One ABSDF member said, “Students have history but no geography”. Today, like in 1988, the biggest difficulty that student armed forces face is lacking a region to reside in permanently.

**Advice of ABSDF Members to Today’s Student Armed Forces**

Former members of the ABSDF advise student armed forces to organize systematically and yet stay adaptable to cooperate with EAOs, a challenge the ABSDF also had to face. Although current student armed forces receive more support from people than the ABSDF did, it has been over two years since the coup, and revolutionaries and their supporters are becoming fatigued. ABSDF also faced these realities, causing financial difficulties and challenges in supplying provisions, as well as in cooperation. Current student armed forces face similar challenges.

**Group 3: An Analysis of Students’ Participation in the 2021 Spring Revolution in Myanmar: Probing the Peculiarities**

---

19 ABSDF Member, personal communication, May 22, 2022
Our research highlights some of the ways in which students’ creativity and determination have enabled novel contributions to the broader revolutionary struggle.

**Fluidity, Adaptability, and Creativity of Students Throughout the Revolution**

At the beginning of the Spring Revolution, peaceful young protesters were highly visible. They raised their voices and attracted international attention by using modern trends such as cosplaying as popular characters, showing the three finger salute adopted from the Hunger Games film as a symbol of supporting democracy, and using music and arts to amplify the voices of youths. After facing brutal crackdowns, they changed tactics to guerilla protests, flash mob protests, digital strikes and silent strikes, making silence the loudest voice one can hear in a country facing the brutal and inhumane actions of their own military. When the military froze the assets of some pro-democracy fundraisers (all banks in Myanmar are controlled or influenced by the military) the movement faced huge losses. In response, students and youths came up with new ways to get funding from digital platforms such as YouTube channels, websites, unplugged live music, and even created NUG Pay, a first ever blockchain-based Central Bank Digital Currency platform in Myanmar, backed by the Ministry of Planning and Finance of NUG, as an alternative to support the revolution financially.

**Cooperation and Communication Towards More Streamlined and Effective Results**

Resistance forces led or driven by students cooperate not only with those in their community circles but also with those from prior generations who experienced past military coups and oppression. They also formed transnational alliances. For example, the HK 19 Manual from the Hong Kong protests was commonly redistributed and adapted to the Myanmar situation with the
help and coordination of #MilkTeaAlliance. Students also lever-aged connections with Myanmar’s diaspora community to achieve goals they could not accomplish themselves from within the country.

A student representative from the Alliance of Students’ Unions described how the revolution is shaped, its different aspects and coordinative actions, in this way:

*We have created respective formations for the armed revolution, shared responsibilities, planned for who would stay on the ground, who would go underground completely, and who would go to the jungles, as such. Frankly speaking, we have made such arrangements for the distribution of roles and responsibilities, departing from Yangon, since March. From that moment on, we have continued fulfilling our responsibilities.*

On the other hand, the student fundraisers we interviewed told us they tend to deliver support directly to the places most in need. They use close connections and try to avoid channels and destinations that could lead to undesirable delays and losses.

**Overcoming Challenges Despite Difficulties**

Students have to face many challenges, ranging from pressure from parents to stop them doing what they believe is right, to the concern that the military might detain their families for no reason. Students even had to struggle with the pro-democracy bloc, with its politicians clinging to Suu, Yway, Hloot—the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the recognition of the election, and the convening of parliament in accordance with the 2008 Constitution. But they paved their own way, and now through checks and balances and political corrections, the pro-democracy bloc has changed to accept the abolition of the 2008 Constitution and strive for the eradication of the dictatorship from its

---

20 ASUY Spokesperson, personal communication, August 29, 2022.
roots. Before the coup, students were criticized when standing up to Aung San Suu Kyi’s government. Today, they still face criticism when they express something against the agendas of the NUG and National Unity Consultative Council, for example the recent statement by the All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU) on CDM policy, which disagreed with the NUG’s policy of taking action against people who do not participate in the CDM. Critics said that student unions are being manipulated by civil society actors. Students spoke about the need of doing what they believe is right for the people and that they would prove themselves over time with their actions.

Learning From Mistakes and Apologizing

After the coup, many students publicly apologized to the Rohingya for their prior negligence. Students participated in the #Black4Rohingya campaign on 13 June 2021, expressed their solidarity with the Rohingya and apologized on social media platforms. Contemporary students are research-oriented in finding solutions and try to take policies or actions after thoroughly exploring the background and context first. One key informant, a representative from an alliance of over 20 youth-led fundraising teams, explained how they usually do research before making decisions, including doing background checks on unknown so-called pro-democracy activists before letting them into the inner circle. When bank accounts are frozen by the military junta, they try to learn the root cause and successfully sort out solutions. On one occasion they offered apologies as some donated money was confiscated and unretrievable due to security concerns. They used the incident as a case study to avoid further complications. Analysis of our data revealed that most students prioritize making things right over doing things quickly. They answer questions with data and facts, rarely discuss uncertain

---

21 ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ရေးနှစ်ယောက်အပါအဝင်အဆိုအပွဲများ စခင်း စဲ့ပေး
Students’ Determination and Prospects for the Future

Today’s student movements are determined not only to end the military dictatorship in the country, but also to take further steps towards federalism with clear programs for disarmament and governance. One student leader noted that the struggle should not just end with the term “federal”, but rather should open up new ways forward for all the diverse people in Myanmar who desire to confederate. A student leader representing 23 student unions in Yangon, who also performs ideological training to Student Armed Force (SAF) put it this way:

We believe we have to look way further than the Federal Union. The root cause of all these political conflicts is our failure to find a solution in how to constitute our nation. Regarding federalism, we don’t want to constrain ourselves to going only that way, to a federation. If everyone accepts, if every entity, that is the citizens of every class, armed forces, revolutionary forces, ethnic nationalities, agree, we have to build a federal state. If not, and these entities need to secure further rights, for their own provisions, and self-determination, then we should go with that (confederation) together. We must not confine ourselves within a federal framework.\textsuperscript{22}

A common desire that arose after the military coup is “the eradication of the military dictatorship from its roots”. However, a representative from the ABFSU stated it aims for more than just the end of dictatorship and expressed it in this way:

The eradication of the military dictatorship means not only the end of this military. It means wiping

\textsuperscript{22} ASUY Spokesperson, personal communication, August 29, 2022.
out any forces that have roots in fascism and any bloc with such an ethos, such that a situation like this, where we must defend ourselves from an oppressive coup, can never occur again. We must stand up and revolt until those times come.\textsuperscript{23}

As for fundraisers, despite constant oppression putting their lives at risk, they continue supporting the cause in their own ways, adapting according to the situation—and for some, to resettlement and rehabilitation.

**Conclusion**

Together, these three research projects explored the influences, challenges and trajectories of student participation in the Myanmar Spring Revolution.

First, our findings show how tactics and connections from earlier worker and student movements enabled mobilization. Preestablished connections, trust and shared political stances and values helped drive the quick emergence of a mass movement immediately following the military coup. However, we also found that some factors hold back the full potential of the revolution. These include variety in political views by revolutionaries, a weakening of solidarity and mutual trust, and poor coordination hindering cooperation. We also observed a lack of inclusive and effective leadership and identify this as an ongoing challenge for the revolution.

Second, our findings also show some of the key differences and similarities between the 2021 and 1988 armed student movements and their contexts. Overall, the 2021 student armed forces gained much more support from the people politically, physically and materially than the ABSDF did. This could be due to the political interests of people, strong communications and connections between the revolutionary forces and the people,

\textsuperscript{23} EYUSU (ABFSU) President, personal communication, June 17, 2022.
and political transparency among the people. The other significant difference is that there was collective leadership for all the revolutionary forces under the ABSDF umbrella.

Another is that the students who joined the armed struggle in 1988 under the ABSDF, and other armed forces, were under EAO control, whereas the current student armed forces are scattered with far less collective leadership, with no leader or organization capable of uniting them. This also highlights a lack of leadership and coordination. The case of the ABSDF in 1988 provides important lessons for the current student armed forces to strategically prepare for current and future challenges, which include the importance of having strong physical supply chains, and the new challenges that arise as the duration of the revolution passes two years. These challenges are faced by all revolutionary armed forces and will require strategies to overcome.

Finally, our findings highlight the ongoing struggles and persistence of student revolutionaries. As students ourselves, when beginning our research project we expected to find that youths were the changemakers and sought to document how they are striving to achieve their goals of democracy and human rights. Our study underscored how students’ decisiveness, determination and persistence in policy was established throughout their fight for democracy. Students and student unions in Burma/Myanmar have always stood up for what they believe is right, with their beliefs proven correct after the passage of time.

An example is when the UYSU protested against war crimes committed by Myanmar’s military during a visiting lecture by Professor William Schabas, and international lawyer who defended Myanmar against genocide charges at the International Court of Justice, at the convocation hall of the University of Yangon on 5 March 2020. They published a strong critique of atrocities committed against Rohingya and ongoing injustice. The protest’s central statement “Hellhounds still at large” (referring to military impunity) sparked critique and controversy on- and offline. However, after time passed and the coup occurred, most

---

24 University of Yangon Students’ Union, 2020.
critics took their words back and deleted their negative comments from social media.

Myanmar’s student unions have long unwaveringly proven their honesty to the people and country while withstanding criticism in fighting for what they believe is right and best for the people and country.

As this research article takes three approaches to understanding a variety of student revolutionary organizations and groups, we hope it provides broad perspectives and food for thought about the different parties in the Spring Revolution to those studying and participating in current and future revolutions. Our research can inform broader revolutionary struggles by considering the nature of Myanmar’s democracy movements, successful revolutionary strategies and recurrent challenges, and the ongoing work of building networks and mutual trust. While our motivations for doing this research come from our participation in the revolutionary struggle, throughout our experience conducting this research, we tried to be open-minded, to pay attention to the perspectives of our informants, and to build respect, trust, and mutual understanding in order to achieve valuable insights and reasonable conclusions. This approach enabled us to learn about the movements in detail, such as how they cooperate and what their demands are. In order to successfully conclude research projects like this during this difficult time, we suggest other researchers research topics about which they already have contextual knowledge. They can work closely with respective organizations or communities to not only improve their study, but also to build trust and networks.

It is an honor to conduct this research about student activism and revolutionary participation in Myanmar, which is sometimes overlooked. After doing this research, we not only better understand the strategic importance of students but have a clearer understanding of the disposition and fighting spirit of young revolutionaries.
References


NUCC ฉันแสดงความคิดเห็นต่อการให้การอนุญาตในยุคการคุกคามทางการเมือง: ฉัน ฉัน https://www.ab-fsu.info/2023/01/nucc-cdm-policy.html
အောက်ပါ သင်္ကေတကို ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။

ထို့နောက် မျှဝေမှုကို မည်သူ၏ အကြောင်းအရာကို မျှဝေရန် အောက်ပါ အကြောင်းပြောင်းလဲ သင်ချင်းစွဲသည်။

1 စာရင်းများတွင် ကြည့်ရှုနိုင်သည်။

Virtual Federal University Research Program | 545
546 | Virtual Federal University Research Program

შეიძლება,

(1) მათემატიკის მიმართულებით, ქიმიის, ფიზიკის, ბიოლოგიის, თეორიული ამაზიური, გეოლოგიის, გეომეტრიის, განათლების, ეკოლოგიის, იუნივერსიტეტის სამეცნიერო ან საგანათლებლო კვეთის შესახებ.

(2) არის შეუძლია, რომ კათედრალური სახელმწიფო სწავლების პროგრამის ჩატარება მეცნიერების ფოტოთა სახელზე.

2 აღნიშნულ თქვენთან დახმარების შესაძლებლობა არ გამოიყენება არა ახლა აღმოჩენილი სამუშაო პროგრამა სახელობის პროგრამის ამ ვერსიაში. ამ აღმოჩენილი პროგრამა სახსრები შემდგომში კონკრეტული პროგრამის შესახებ მინიჭებული იქნება.
იქნებოდა დასკვნილი შეთავაზება, რომ სერიოზული პროგრამი, რომელიც შეიცავს ინფორმაციას, კომენტარს თუ ასეთ თემატიკაში, შეგვიძლია ყველა ერთი კალამობა უღომეს მოპოვება და გახდება კომენტარი დაფარება ან ამოჭრის მიხედვით.

1. ნეგატიური შეთავაზება, რომ სერიოზული პროგრამი, რომელიც შეიცავს ინფორმაციას, კომენტარს თუ ასეთ თემატიკაში, შეგვიძლია ყველა ერთი კალამობა უღომეს მოპოვება და გახდება კომენტარი დაფარება ან ამოჭრის მიხედვით.

2. სურათურთხვა ან გადახვით, რომ სერიოზული პროგრამი, რომელიც შეიცავს ინფორმაციას, კომენტარს თუ ასეთ თემატიკაში, შეგვიძლია ყველა ერთი კალამობა უღომეს მოპოვება და გახდება კომენტარი დაფარება ან ამოჭრის მიხედვით.

3. სტატიის სახელწოდება შეიცავს ინფორმაციას, რომ სერიოზული პროგრამი, რომელიც შეიცავს ინფორმაციას, კომენტარს თუ ასეთ თემატიკაში, შეგვიძლია ყველა ერთი კალამობა უღომეს მოპოვება და გახდება კომენტარი დაფარება ან ამოჭრის მიხედვით.

4. სტატიის სახელწოდება შეიცავს ინფორმაციას, რომ სერიოზული პროგრამი, რომელიც შეიცავს ინფორმაციას, კომენტარს თუ ასეთ თემატიკაში, შეგვიძლია ყველა ერთი კალამობა უღომეს მოპოვება და გახდება კომენტარი დაფარება ან ამოჭრის მიხედვით.

5. სტატიის სახელწოდება შეიცავს ინფორმაციას, რომ სერიოზული პროგრამი, რომელიც შეიცავს ინფორმაციას, კომენტარს თუ ასეთ თემატიკაში, შეგვიძლია ყველა ერთი კალამობა უღომეს მოპოვება და გახდება კომენტარი დაფარება ან ამოჭრის მიხედვით.
“အခြား များစွာ ၁၀ ကို ကြည့်ရှုရန် စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြင်း မဖော်ပြထားပါ။” ကျွန်တော်မှာ အချက်အလက်မှာ မျှဝေမှုစွမ်းချရပါသည်။ (၃) ကျွန်တော်မှ အခြေခံစာမျက်နှာ ကျွန်တော်မှာ အကျဉ်းများစွာ သတိပေးပါစေ။ (၄) ကျွန်တော်မှာ အခြေခံစာမျက်နှာ ကျွန်တော်မှာ အကျဉ်းများစွာ သတိပေးပါစေ။ (၅) ကျွန်တော်မှာ အခြေခံစာမျက်နှာ ကျွန်တော်မှာ အကျဉ်းများစွာ သတိပေးပါစေ။
Problems of War and Strategy (1938) ကို စာကြောင်းတွင် အဖျင်မြင်ကြောင်း “စီးပွားရေး စီးပွားရေးသော အကြောင်းအရာများကို အဆုံးဖော်ပြထားသည်။ အနေဖြင့် အဆုံးဖော်ပြထားသည်。” ထုတ်ကြောင်း
ယူးယောက်ထဲမှာ အတွက်အလွန်အဖြူအဆိုးအလေးစိုးစစ်ပေးထားသည် အကြားအပေါ် အကြာအတိုးနှင့် အရေးကြီးအပေါ် အသေးစိုးဖြင့် ရှာဖွေလိုက်သည်။ ထိုအကြား ဖော်ပြချက်များကို နှိုင်းယှဉ်လိုက်သည်။ အကြားအပေါ် အရေးကြီးအပေါ် အသေးစိုးဖြင့် ရှာဖွေလိုက်သည်။ ထိုအကြား ဖော်ပြချက်များကို နှိုင်းယှဉ်လိုက်သည်။

(secondary literature) နှင့် ပြောင်းလဲချက်လှန်ရာ၌ လူမှုပြောင်းပြီး နှစ်စဉ်ဖြင့် လူမှုပြောင်းပြီး အသေးစိုးဖြင့် ရှာဖွေလိုက်သည်။ သရာစိုးချက်များကို အပေါ် အပေါ် အသေးစိုးဖြင့် ရှာဖွေလိုက်သည်။

(purposive sampling strategy) နှင့် ပြောင်းလဲချက်လှန်ရာ၌ လူမှုပြောင်းပြီး နှစ်စဉ်ဖြင့် လူမှုပြောင်းပြီး အသေးစိုးဖြင့် ရှာဖွေလိုက်သည်။

(semi-structured in-depth interviews) နှင့် ပြောင်းလဲချက်လှန်ရာ၌ လူမှုပြောင်းပြီး နှစ်စဉ်ဖြင့် လူမှုပြောင်းပြီး အသေးစိုးဖြင့် ရှာဖွေလိုက်သည်။

(FGDs) နှင့် ပြောင်းလဲချက်လှန်ရာ၌ လူမှုပြောင်းပြီး နှစ်စဉ်ဖြင့် လူမှုပြောင်းပြီး အသေးစိုးဖြင့် ရှာဖွေလိုက်သည်။

(KIIs) နှင့် ပြောင်းလဲချက်လှန်ရာ၌ လူမှုပြောင်းပြီး နှစ်စဉ်ဖြင့် လူမှုပြောင်းပြီး အသေးစိုးဖြင့် ရှာဖွေလိုက်သည်။
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>အမ.</th>
<th>အမွေအနု</th>
<th>အဖွဲ့အစည်း</th>
<th>အဖွဲ့အစည်း၏ အဖွဲ့အစည်း၏ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</th>
<th>အဖွဲ့အစည်း၏ အဖွဲ့အစည်း၏ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</th>
<th>အချက်အလက်</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GenericType</td>
<td>စတင် FGD</td>
<td>၉</td>
<td>အကူအညီမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</td>
<td>၆ - ၉</td>
<td>လုပ်ငန်း - ၃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GenericType</td>
<td>စတင် FGD</td>
<td>၉</td>
<td>အကူအညီမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</td>
<td>၆ - ၉</td>
<td>လုပ်ငန်း - ၃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KII က က က က</td>
<td>ကြည့်ရှု FGD</td>
<td>၉</td>
<td>အကူအညီမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</td>
<td>၆ - ၉</td>
<td>လုပ်ငန်း - ၃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GenericType</td>
<td>စတင် FGD</td>
<td>၉</td>
<td>အကူအညီမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</td>
<td>၆ - ၉</td>
<td>လုပ်ငန်း - ၃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GenericType</td>
<td>စတင် FGD</td>
<td>၉</td>
<td>အကူအညီမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</td>
<td>၆ - ၉</td>
<td>လုပ်ငန်း - ၃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KII က က က က</td>
<td>ကြည့်ရှု FGD</td>
<td>၉</td>
<td>အကူအညီမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</td>
<td>၆ - ၉</td>
<td>လုပ်ငန်း - ၃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GenericType</td>
<td>စတင် FGD</td>
<td>၉</td>
<td>အကူအညီမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</td>
<td>၆ - ၉</td>
<td>လုပ်ငန်း - ၃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GenericType</td>
<td>စတင် FGD</td>
<td>၉</td>
<td>အကူအညီမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</td>
<td>၆ - ၉</td>
<td>လုပ်ငန်း - ၃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KII က က က က</td>
<td>ကြည့်ရှု FGD</td>
<td>၉</td>
<td>အကူအညီမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်း</td>
<td>၆ - ၉</td>
<td>လုပ်ငန်း - ၃</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ရွေးချယ်မှုအရ စတင် FGD ပေါင်းစပ်အား အဖွဲ့အစည်း ဆောင်ရွက်ပြီး လုပ်ငန်းများကို အဖွဲ့အစည်း၏ အဖွဲ့အစည်းအဖွဲ့အစည်းအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အဖွဲ့အစည်းဝန်းရှင်များကို ပြုလုပ်ပေမည်။ စတင် FGD ပေါင်းစပ်အား အဖွဲ့အစည်း ကြည့်ရှု့ခြင်းမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အဖွဲ့အစည်းအဖွဲ့အစည်းအဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အဖွဲ့အစည်းဝန်းရှင်များကို ပြုလုပ်ပေမည်။ စတင် FGD ပေါင်းစပ်အား အဖွဲ့အစည်းကြည့်ရှု့ခြင်းမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အဖွဲ့အစည်းဝန်းရှင်များကို ပြုလုပ်ပေမည်။ စတင် FGD ပေါင်းစပ်အား အဖွဲ့အစည်းကြည့်ရှု့ခြင်းမှုများ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို အဖွဲ့အစည်းဝန်းရှင်များကို ပြုလုပ်ပေမည်။
Վարիացված մակարդակային էկոլոգիական կազմակերchoսքի կանոնադրական ծրագրերը նոր ռելիվ ֆունկցիաներ կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականամոլ տեսակների պատճառով: Էկոլոգիական նորազատումները կարող են հետաքրքրություն ենթադրել էկոլոգիական մշակութար, որդին գիտողեր, որս երկրագիտության, համաշխարհային և ազգային ծրագրերի վերագրավման համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական համակարգերը սահմանվում են բնականագիտական կանոնների համաձայն և նորազատումների հիման վրա։ Հայտնի է, որ համալսարանները և մանրանիստ բարձրագույն դպրոցերը կարող են միավորել էկոլոգիական կիրառության հետ։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են հետաքրքրություն ենթադրել էկոլոգիական մշակութար, որն էկոլոգիական համակարգերի բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են հետաքրքրություն ենթադրել էկոլոգիական մշակութար, որդին գիտողեր, որոնք ենթադրում են էկոլոգիական համակարգերի բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրسերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերchoսքի ճարտարապետության բնականացուցչության համար։ Հայտնի է, որ էկոլոգիական կուրսերը կարող են կազմակերcho
အိုက်တမ်များသော အချက်အလိုများကို ပြည်များနှင့် သင်ကြားခြင်း လျှော့ချရေး” 7 ပြီးလျှင်

အချက်အလက်များသည် အချက်အလိုများကို ပြည်များနှင့် သင်ကြားခြင်း လျှော့ချရေး ဖြစ်သည်။ အချက်အလက်များကို ပြည်များနှင့် သင်ကြားခြင်း လျှော့ချရေး ဖြစ်သည်။ အချက်အလက်များကို ပြည်များနှင့် သင်ကြားခြင်း လျှော့ချရေး ဖြစ်သည်။ အချက်အလက်များကို ပြည်များနှင့် သင်ကြားခြင်း လျှော့ချရေး ဖြစ်သည်။ အချက်အလက်များကို ပြည်များနှင့် သင်ကြားခြင်း လျှော့ချရေး ဖြစ်သည်။ အချက်အလက်များကို ပြည်များနှင့် သင်ကြားခြင်း လျှော့ချရေး ဖြစ်သည်။ အချက်အလက်များကို ပြည်များနှင့် သင်ကြားခြင်း လျှော့ချရေး ဖြစ်သည်။

7 နိုင်ငံတကာဆိုင်ရာအချက်အလက်များအား အခြေခံမှုအားဖြင့် သင်ကြားခြင်း လျှော့ချရေး ဖြစ်သည်။
ვითარებს, როგორც საბოლოოო სახელწოდებით მოლაპარალულ და გარკვეულ ამოქმედებებში. ამ სიტუაციაში ჯარიდან, ზუსტად პრობლემა ითვლილია გარკვეული ალგორითმებით. ამ ფაქტით შეუძლია გამოიყენოთ გამოხატავადი და სწრაფი რეალურები ფუნქციები. ამ სამუშაოდ გამოიყენება გადაჭყვილი ან ქმნილი ფუნქციები. ამ სიტუაციაში პრობლემა ითვლილია გარკვეული ალგორითმებით. ამ ფაქტით შეუძლია გამოიყენოთ გამოხატავადი და სწრაფი რეალურები ფუნქციები. ამ სამუშაოდ გამოიყენება გადაჭყვილი ან ქმნილი ფუნქციები.
Virtual Federal University Research Program | 557

ယောက်ျဖာျီားနေရာ အသုံးပြုအားဖုံးဖွင့်ပေးသော အကြောင်းချက်ကို ဖျင်ပြောင်းလိုက်ပါ။

မိုးရာပေးအောက် အသုံးပြုမှု (၆) ခုထက် အသုံးပြုချက်ကို စိတ်ဓာတ်ပေးပါသော အကြောင်းချက်အားဖုံးဖွင့်ပေးသော အသုံးပြုချက်များ၏ အရေးပါသော ပြုလုံးဖြစ်သည်။

အကြောင်းချက်ကို ဖျင်ပြောင်းလိုက်ပါ။

ယောက်ျဖားအားဖုံးဖွင့်ပေးသော အကြောင်းချက်များ အရေးပါသော ပြုလုံးဖြစ်သည်။

နောက် အောက်ပါအားဖုံးဖွင့်ပေးသော အကြောင်းချက်များ များဖြစ်သည်။

11 EYUSU (ABFSU)}
သုံးစွဲတော်ကြားသော ဗဟုသ်ချင်းများ အသုံးပြုချက်များ
ကြားနှင့် အကောင်အထည်ချုပ်ရာ အချင်းအလှယ်များ ပျမ်းမျှပြုသော
ရေးသားချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။

ယခုအခါတွင် ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ ကျွန်ုပ်နှင့် စိတ်ဓာတ်အများအား ပြောင်းလဲခြင်းများ
ဖော်ပြသည်။

12 ဤစာသီးစီးသော စာပိုဒ်များ ဖော်ပြသည် စိတ်ဓာတ်အများအား ပြောင်းလဲခြင်းများ
ဖော်ပြသည်။ မိုးစိုက်ပျူးသည်
စိတ်ထွက်စောင်းခြင်းနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ရာ ကျောင်းသား စာရင်းအတွက် အခြေခံလိုက်သော စားအိုး သတိတွေ့ –

မေးခွန်းများပေးသည် အသုံးပြုထားသော အသိပေးမှုများ ဖော်ပြသည်။ မ့်မောင်ကြီးအဖြစ် အသိပေးမှု ဖော်ပြချက်များ ဖော်ပြသည်။ အသိပေးမှုများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ အသိပေးမှုများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ အသိပေးမှုများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။ အသိပေးမှုများကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

အကြောင်းအရာများ စိတ်ထွက်စောင်းသည် ဆောင်ရွက်ရာ ကျောင်းသား စာရင်းအတွက် အခြေခံလိုက်သော စားအိုး သတိတွေ့ –

13 စိတ်ထွက်စောင်းခြင်းနှင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ရာ ကျောင်းသား စာရင်းအတွက် အခြေခံလိုက်သော စားအိုး သတိတွေ့
အခြေချိချက်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ တွေ့ရှိကြည့်ပါ။
ဗား အတည်ပြုခြင်း: ဖျင်တီးနိုင်မှုအား အချက်အလက်များ: ဖျင်တီးနိုင်မှုအား အချက်အလက်များ

အောက်ပါ စာမျက်နှာမှ စာရင်းသို့ ပြောင်းလဲသည်။

စာရင်းသို့ ပြောင်းလဲသည်။
562 | Virtual Federal University Research Program

16 SAF ფულინგის დაპროგნაზებით გამოიყენება ფიქრობის დიდების რაოდენობა დაჯგუფება.
(1) Курсовой [курсовой] проект следует:

Абстрактная [абстрактная] концепция целостного [целостного] проекта:

Абстрактный [абстрактный] проект рассматривался [рассматривался]

ABSDF [ABSDF] Абстрактная [абстрактная] —

ABSDF [ABSDF] Абстрактная [абстрактная] целостного: [целостного]

EAO [EAO] [EAO] Абстрактная [абстрактная] целостного

17

ABSDF დო აკრონიმად ღია, რომელსაც ეწოდება სოციალური მიდგომები (social media) ჩატარება. მის ფუნქციები შედგებათ სოციალური მიდგომების გათვალისწინებით, როგორც მსჯავრები, ისე ელექტრონური გადაზიდვები.
ABSDF သို့မဟုတ် ဖရာဝန်စိုက်ပျိုးရေးမှုတွင် စီစဉ်ခွင်း ဖော်ပြထားပါသော ရှိသောအခါ သို့မဟုတ် အချင်းချင်းအခြေခံဖြစ်ပါသည်။

EAO တို့က ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ရေးဝန်းရာတွင် အများအပြားနေရာမှ အဖွဲ့ဝင်များအား မိတ်ဆွေသော နေရာတွင် ထိုအချက်အလက်များ EAO ဖော်ပြသော ABSDF သို့မဟုတ် ဖျင်သည်။

မိုးချင်သော ကိုယ်တိုင်ရှိ အချင်းချင်း အခြေခံက ထိုသော အချက်အလက်များ မိတ်ဆွေသော နေရာတွင် ထိုအချက်အလက်များ EAO ဖော်ပြသော ABSDF သို့မဟုတ် ဖျင်သည်။

NLD အဖွဲ့ဝင်များအား ကိုယ်တိုင်ရှိ အချင်းချင်း အခြေခံက ထိုသော အချက်အလက်များ မိတ်ဆွေသော နေရာတွင် ထိုအချက်အလက်များ EAO ဖော်ပြသော ABSDF သို့မဟုတ် ဖျင်သည်။
ბიუჯეტურ საბრძოლო სისტემად ახასიათებს ახალგაზრდობად ქვეყნის ვილანოვად ნუგ უძრ. ერთერთი ორგანიზაცია ახლა როგორც „NUG" რო ეგზიტივობს ალტერნატიულ პროგრამა უნივერსიტეტი".

ერთერთი გუმბათის ფორმატის პარამეტრები აითვალისწინებს ძველი საბრძოლო ქსელი გახდა ანტი პროდუქტი საბრძოლო ქსელი გახდა ანტი პროდუქტი საბრძოლო ქსელი გახდა ანტი პროდუქტი საბრძოლო ქსელი გახდა ანტი პროდუქტი

მაშინაც ერთერთი გუმბათის ფორმატის პარამეტრები აითვალისწინებს პროდუქტი საბრძოლო ქსელი გახდა ანტი პროდუქტი საბრძოლო ქსელი გახდა ანტი პროდუქტი საბრძოლო ქსელი გახდა ანტი პროდუქტი საბრძოლო ქსელი გახდა ანტი პროდუქტი

19 ABSDF აღწერილი ძველი სისტემი ახალგაზრდობა თანამედროვე ბიუჯეტულ სისტემა
အသုံးပြုသူများနှင့် သေချာချက်များအတွက် အခြေအနေအနည်းငယ်ကို တိုက်ခိုက်ရန် အကြွင်းအတွက် ကြည့်ရှုရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။

ဤနှစ်သန်းပေါင်း လူ့အားလုံး အားလုံးကို ဖော်ပြသည်။

(2) အိုး အကြဲမေးပြားမိသော အကြောင်းအရာနှင့် အခြေခံသော ကျွန်ုပ်များအား ဖော်ပြသည်။

စိတ်ကူးချင်းများအပေါ် အကြောင်းအရာအကြောင်း ဖော်ပြသည်။

Hunger Games များသော အကြောင်းအရာများကို တိုက်ခိုက်ရန် ဖော်ပြသည်။

အားလုံးကို ဖော်ပြသည်။
Virtual Federal University Research Program

...
အထူးအချိန်များကို ကြည့်သွားပြီး ယခုအထိ အချိန်ကို ကျင်းပခြင်း အားလုံးကို အကောင်းချင်ရန် ပြုသော အချိန်ကို ကြည့်သွားပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။ အထူးအချိန်များကို ကြည့်သွားပြီး ယခုအထိ အချိန်ကို ကျင်းပခြင်း အားလုံးကို အကောင်းချင်ရန် ပြုသော အချိန်ကို ကြည့်သွားပြီး ဖော်ပြသည်။

20 ASUY ကို စီမံခန့်ခွဲရေး ဆွဲရည်ပေးသည်။
အောက်ပါအကြိမ်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားပါသည်။ သင်ကြားသည် မှန်ကန်စေရန် သင်သည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။

 оргအောက်ပါအကြိမ်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားပါသည်။ သင်ကြားသည် မှန်ကန်စေရန် သင်သည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။

 #Black4Rohingya စိတ်ဝင်စားပါသည်။ ရှုပ်ထွေးသည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။

 မှန်ကန်စေရန် သင်သည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သင်ကြားသည်

 မှန်ကန်စေရန် သင်သည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သင်ကြားသည်

 မှန်ကန်စေရန် သင်သည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သင်ကြားသည်

 မှန်ကန်စေရန် သင်သည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သင်ကြားသည်

 မှန်ကန်စေရန် သင်သည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သင်ကြားသည်

 မှန်ကန်စေရန် သင်သည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သင်ကြားသည်

 မှန်ကန်စေရန် သင်သည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သင်ကြားသည်

21 မှန်ကန်စေရန် သင်သည် အေးချင်းအသင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သင်ကြားသည်
“တိုက်ခိုက်တ်ကြပ်ကို အခြေခံတ်ခြင်း” ယူနိုင်ပြီး သိရှိပေးမည်။ သိပ်သားစုံစမ်းစေဖို့ နိုင်ငူစိုးစံစေသော နည်းလမ်းများကို ပြသည်။

22 ASUY ကို အနေဖြင့် အထောက်အထုပ်နှင့် အများကျင် များစွာ ကြည့်ရှုခဲ့သောကြောင့် နိုင်သည်။

23 EYUSU (ABFSU) ကို အနေဖြင့် အထောက်အထုပ်နှင့် အများကျင် များစွာ ကြည့်ရှုခဲ့သောကြောင့် နိုင်သည်။
სრულიად ამასზე იყოფა თანამედროვე ტექნოლოგიები. მოქცეული მასში ცდილობით გამოიყენება საკმაოდ მეტი შემთხვევა წარმოდგენილი ხშირ და ძალიან მნიშვნელოვანი ტექნოლოგიები, რომლებიც ბრძანების განსაკუთრება მოიპოვებენ ხშირ და ძალიან მნიშვნელოვან გზებს. ეს მათი გამოყენებით მიღებული კონკრეტული რეზულტატები ფართო ჰქონდათ.

სარკმელი გამოყენებით ახასიათებელი კონკრეტული რეზულტატები მათი უფლებაში გამოჩნდნენ. ახასიათებელი რეზულტატები მათი უფლებაში გამოჩნდნენ, რამაც იმის შესახებ გვირჩევთ, რომ ამ შემთხვევაში მიღებული რეზულტატები ყველა საქმიანობებს განსაკუთრება მოიპოვება. ეს ერთხელ გამოჩნდა, რომ ახასიათებელი რეზულტატები მათი უფლებაში გამოჩნდნენ, რამაც იმის შესახებ გვირჩევთ, რომ ამ შემთხვევაში მიღებული რეზულტატები ყველა საქმიანობებს განსაკუთრება მოიპოვება.
Virtual Federal University Research Program | 575

The social media comment social media comment social media comment social media comment...
Myanmar Now. (2020, December 8). Students carry placards to the University of Yangon: [Facebook post]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/myanmar-nownews/posts/pbid0Gt5jchRWo7PrWxmTUocgk-SnThJM3DRfEvaMSWZo3Z1j1JVFaw6tmaVVPjwGh2ke4l


BBC News
https://www.bbc.com/burmese/burma-49057434

NUCC နှင့် တို့၏ တရားဝင်များကို CDM Policy စာရင်းတင်ပူးပေါင်းသည်။ https://www.ab-fsu.info/2023/01/nucc-cdm-policy.htm