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POPULAR PROTESTS AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE 8888 UPRISING IN BURMA (MARCH-OCTOBER 1988)

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the topic (popular protests and the outbreak of the 8888 uprising in Burma, March - October 1988), a period that witnessed important political transformations, during which the Burmese people were expecting a breakthrough and emancipation from the tyranny of the ruling military clique over the reins of power since 1962, after the economic decline, the Burmese people rose against the government, which failed in raising the country to the desired level, after the continuous popular protests (especially students) during the period (March - August 1988) against the government, which culminated in the August Uprising, but the people did not succeed in overthrowing the government, but He forced it to change its heads, but the ruling system remained unchanged until September of the same year, in which the government of the Socialist Program Party ended and the State Council government restore law and order in the management of the country's affairs, and during this uprising, the people expressed their rejection of the ruling military regime, The Governing Council of State, until it revealed its oppressive policy towards the people, which did not differ from its predecessor in persecuting the people, and their suffering continued. In the country, so that a government would emerge from it that would lead the country and be prepared to enact the laws that organize it.

Introduction

Burma is in Southeast Asia, and occupies an important geopolitical position on the borders of some important Asian powers, such as China, India and Thailand. Principal of National Unity (Mridul,2008).

And the city of Rangoon is the capital of the country, and Burmese is its official language, and most of its residents adopt Buddhism, whose number was estimated in 2018 at (6058,450) people, and its area is estimated at (676,578) km², and it is divided into seven regions and seven states, and most of the population lives in Rangoon. speaking, Burma comprises eight major races called the major national ethnicities, (Burman, Mun, Karen, Kareni, Shan, Kachin, Shin, and Rakhine), and about 135 other races are divided from them (Imtiyaz, 2018).

Burma was administered by a local royal government, but the British deposed its last king in 1885, and it became part of the British Empire's possessions in Southeast Asia until 1937, when it became a region to be administered and from the British administration in India, and after the outbreak of war. World II (1939-1945) Britain could not defend its colonies, and after the war, Britain transferred power to the Burmese people and their local leaders (Mridul, 2008; Pamela, 2016).

After successful negotiations led by Leader Aung San with the British, which resulted in the declaration of Burma's independence in 1948, and in conjunction with that, Aung San negotiated with some national leaders with most of the representatives of the ethnicities in the country, and he persuaded them to join the Union of Burma, but events sped up Aung San was assassinated with a group of national leaders and ministers, and the country then plunged into civil unrest and ethnic conflicts, despite the existence of an elected government, formed by sharing power between the main ethnic groups in the country, but the government could not control ethnic tensions and civil unrest, especially Armed ethnic separatist movements claiming independence from the Union of Burma (Mridul,2008).

Because of the inability of the elected Burmese government to extend its control over the internal situation in the country, the influence of the armed forces escalated, and in March 1962 they launched a military coup led by General Ne Win, who founded A socialist system in the country, and it formed the Burmese Socialist Program Party, and some private institutions that supported it, but they did not last long, so they were dissolved in 1964 (Martin, 2002).

Under the rule of General Ne Win (1962 - 1988), the country became more isolated from the outside world, and in 1978 it withdrew from the Non-Aligned Movement (Martin, 2002), and the national economy deteriorated, although Burma was one of the largest rice exporters in the world, By 1987, it was one of the ten poorest countries in the world (Mridul,2008).

Meanwhile, a set of circumstances reacted against the government of the Burma Socialist Program Party, which arrested the government in 1962. With government arbitrariness against the people, the severity of the economic crisis escalated in 1987,

which the government moved to address and combat it. The black market, however, matters worsened further, after it made an illegal move on September 5 of the same year, as it replaced the category of (25, 35 and 75) kyat's with categories (45 and 90) kyat's, which made the situation worse. And Burma has become one of the backward countries in the world, and the people criticized the government, for realizing that the crisis could not be addressed in this way, and the people prepared to hold demonstrations against the government in the capital, Rangoon and other regions of the country, and demanded effective solutions to solve the crisis (Konsam, 2014).

Method: The study followed the historical research method (chronological) to study the conditions of Burma before the start of the March protests in 1988, then followed the course of popular protests (especially students) from March until their exacerbation on August 8 of the same year, and revealing the most prominent stations experienced by the people. Burmese after the armed forces took control of the reins in the country.

The historical method coincided with the use of the analytical (philosophical) method, to analyze some historical events that need to be stopped, because they are important during the period of the study.

The aim of the study: is to shed light on the policy of military governments in managing the affairs of the countries that govern them, to know the conditions of peoples under such tyrannical governments, and their policy towards opposition forces, and to reveal the means that these governments use in order to remain in power, even if at the expense of freedom The people and their rights.

Hypothesis of the study: - The study assumes that in the outbreak's absence of popular protests and the uprising of 8888 in Burma, will General Ne Win and his comrades remain in power? Or will he rule Burma until his death? Did the 1988 uprising have a role in destabilizing the military rule in the country? Or was the military rule more firmly established after it?

Results and Discussions

Student protests and the resignation of Ne Win (March - July 1988)

With the economic decline, student demonstrations began in March 1988, which escalated because of the Burmese authorities' mishandling of students, and the riot police's use of excessive force to break up a quarrel between some students of the Rangoon Institute of Technology on March 12, 1988, which caused the death of Three of them, and as a result, students gathered against the government (Megan Clymer, 2003), and the police arrested (154) students on the 16th of the same month, which led to the expansion of the demonstrations, and because of the abuse of Burmese security personnel in dealing with the demonstrators, he lost The ruling party has a lot of its reputation. However, the most influential case was the case of the police arresting (71) people on March 18, and after two hours of roaming with them in the

police car, (41) of them died because of suffocation, and this day was described as “Bloody Friday” (Rudy Guyon, 1992), and the Burmese authorities hid the news for about four months - the details of which were revealed on July 19 - and the Burmese authorities justified that delay by saying: “The delay was to contain any further escalation of the demonstrations And unrest “(MaungAungMyoe, 2007). Despite this, protests against the Burmese government continued, and the army used weapons against the demonstrators. On May 9, the Burmese army killed three students and arrested hundreds of them, then killed 70 people in the city. Pegu after the outbreak of its demonstrations on June 23 (Rudy Guyon, 1992). It is clear from the foregoing that the economic crisis motivated the people to rise against the government, but it is not the only reason, rather the political conditions were like the economic. The circumstances over the unprofessionalism of the Burmese army, which used excessive force against its people, which kept it from being a governmental institution operating under professional frameworks.

Because of this governmental arbitrariness, the Burmese people complained more about the government, lose confidence in it, and demand democracy, but the ruling party tried to contain the crisis through its emergency meeting on July 7, through which it announced the release of the imprisoned student leaders, but the situation has become It is difficult for the government to deal with it in this way, so the Student Union has been active in inciting the people against it, which has failed to address the miserable economic situation in the country, and then called the professional organizations and the various factions of the people to attend the general strike that will be held on August 8, 1988 (Megan Clymer, 2003). It is clear from the above that the first group that rose against the government was the class of students, who rejected the injustice and injustice inflicted on the people, and assumed leadership of the strike.

To prevent a general strike, the ruling party held a second emergency meeting on July 23, inaugurated by the party leader, General U Ne Win, by announcing, to all attendees, of his suggestion to hold a national referendum, whether or not based on a multi-party system (Franziska Blum & Other's, 2010), and that the idea of a political transition starts from a political system based on one party to a political system that adopts multi-party politics. During the meeting, the Burmese army delegate pledged to the Burmese forces' commitment to implement all the duties entrusted to them for the success of the national referendum in the country, However, Ne Win's proposals were not supported, and most of the attendees rejected them, prompting Ne Win, President U San Yu and three of their colleagues to resign from their posts, and on July 26, retired General U SeinLwin took over. The positions of party and government leadership, which renewed the disappointment of the Burmese people, who were waiting for change (MaungAungMyoe, 2007). Through these differences, the people realized they had got the key to change in the country, after weakness crept in the pillars of the ruling party, and it gave positive indications of the government's response to the people's requirements, and the achievement of democracy in the country.

The declaration of martial law and the escalation of events

(July - September 1988)

In late July, demonstrations in the capital, Rangoon, were renewed. To confront them, President SenLewin declared martial law in the country and ordered security forces to beat protesters (MaungAungMyoe, 2007), which expanded demonstrations calling for democracy and rejecting military rule in the country, which reached their climax during The general strike that occurred on August 8, 1988, when tens of thousands of demonstrators from various regions took to the streets, and in Rangoon, they walked the main streets until they stopped at the civil center where the American embassy is located, because the students believed that the United States of America is the only country capable of helping them. To deliver their demands to the international community and to get the support, and near the embassy, the students gave enthusiastic speeches that inflamed the feelings of the masses, and criticized the crouching military rule for a period of (26) years, because it was a dictatorial rule, and made Burma one of the poorest countries in the world, and they urged the demonstrators to withstand the rule The dictatorship collapses (Megan Clymer, 2003). Perhaps the demonstrators approached the US embassy to get direct intervention in their favor, and stand up to the military regime.

With these events, the Burmese authorities' fears of the Rohingya minority rose for two reasons. First, because some Rohingya organizations such as the ArakanRohingya National Organization (ARNO) and the Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) were in contact with some leaders of the terrorist Al-Qaeda organization, and the second is the Buddhist belief that the number of The Muslims in Arakan are increasing, which will affect the structure of the Burmese people, which have a Buddhist majority, and the Buddhist monks felt the danger of the expansion of Muslims at the expense of the Buddhists (Haradhan Kumar Mohajan, 2018). The government's fear of the Rohingya was two-dimensional, the first is direct and immediate represented by the possibility of armed Islamic escalation against them, after the supply of weapons from Al-Qaeda, which will change the balance in favor of the Rohingya, who may declare an independent state in Arakan. The second dimension, which is indirect, stems from a fear of the increasing number of Muslims in Arakan at the expense of the Buddhists. Arakan's wealth, economy and security will depend on satisfying the Rohingya.

Because of the large number of demonstrators and the severity of their influence, the day of the general strike was called "the 8888 Intifada", because it occurred on 8/8/1988, and the government suppressed it by force, after it had killed thousands of citizens; In implementation of the martial law (AlinaLindblom& Other's, 2015), during the period (8-12) August, more than (3000) people were killed from various regions of the country, and despite this brutality, it did not help the government put down the uprising, so the party called The governor held his government to hold another emergency meeting on August 12, to address the crisis. This meeting resulted in the dismissal of President SenLewin (whom the students called the butcher) in The same day of his position (presiding over the party and government), after a period of

(17) days in power, and the appointment of Dr. MaungMaung on August 19 as head of the party and government as well (Megan Clymer, 2003). The numbers of dead and arrested reveal the arbitrariness and brutality of the military regime against its people, and its weakness as it floundered in deciding, especially dismissals of prime Ministers.

After assuming the reins of power, President MaungMaung showed great wisdom and patience in dealing with the demonstrations and managing the government. On August 24, he lifted the state of martial law and ordered the armed forces to return to the military barracks and withdraw from the cities. Banners of victory, however, the situation deteriorated further and got out of control. In late August, leaders of the ruling party expressed their concern about the possibility of the collapse of the state and the fall of the government, which was described as “dead” (MaungAungMyoe, 2007). This reflects the difference in thinking to deal with the crisis in the country, MaungMaung because he is a civilian person, his way of thinking was to avoid bloodshed, give a space of freedom to the people and keep the army away from city centers, unlike those who preceded it, for whom the military option was the first for them to confront the crisis.

One day before the martial law was lifted (that is, on August 23), a special group of members of the ruling party held a closed meeting in the house of General Ne Win, and it is believed that those who attended the meeting were former President SenLuen, Prime Minister Dr. MaungMaung and Yu I Koo (U Aye Ko), Prime Minister Thura U Tun Tin, U Than Tin, U KyawHtin, Chief of Staff General Saw Maung, and some former senior members of the government And DawKhinSandaWin, the daughter of General Ne Win, described the minutes of their meeting as “top secret.” This meeting dealt with running the government and how to deal with the opposition. From the Burmese army and the armed forces of the ruling party, and they affirmed that the multi-party system will marginalize the role of the army and its leaders who fought for the system and the state and they drew the plans to eliminate the opposition, and it was in two steps, the first step is to isolate students from the masses, and the second, Annihilate the leaders of the war And the militants, and this will be done by the army by sending some of its members to most regions of the country, to create a state of chaos, due to which people and party organizations will seek the help of the army to intervene to impose security and stability, and with the continuation and escalation of chaos, people will live in a state of turmoil, and they will realize the necessity Abolishing the multi-party system, and a coup will take place against the opposition that calls for democracy, and they emphasized that whenever the chaos was strong and overwhelming, It will be urgent for the army to intervene, but if chaos does not occur and is extinguished, then work must be done to leave the criminal elements free and free in the country, to create chaos, and through this scenario, the authority of the army will appear again, even if it is only for a transitional period (MaungAungMyoe) this meeting, in the presence of the prime minister, to conspire against the people, is unacceptable, and reveals that the political equation was made up of two poles, the first being the ruling party allied with the army against the second pole represented by the people, and instead of the army and

the party thinking about dealing with The crisis and fulfilling the people's demands, he was thinking of how to suppress the people in order to remain in power, and the intersection between them became clear.

However, the contents of this meeting were leaked to the demonstrators in Rangoon in the last week of August of the same year (MaungAungMyoe, 2007), and the demonstrators got new support, represented by the appearance of Aung San SuuKyi, daughter of the Burmese leader Aung San SuuKyi, who presented Her first speech was in Shwedagon Temple on August 26, 1988 in front of a large crowd that supervised the organization of the students, and the number of attendees reached about (500,000) people, demanding democracy and reform in the country, and during which, Su Kai declared, "The aim of the meeting is to convey the voice of the people." Burmese demands democracy and party pluralism to the whole World, and the formation of an interim government that runs the country's affairs, and for that, students will sacrifice their lives to achieve this goal, although she does not favor the politics of power, and since she is the daughter of the national independence hero Aung San, she cannot stay away from the people. And isolation from him in his ordeal, as she bears the responsibility to defend them and their rights, and cannot remain indifferent in their crisis. She described this crisis as "the second struggle for national independence," and expressed her ambition for Burma to become a democratic country, and its armed forces formed by her father They should be in solidarity with the people, and these forces should deal in a way that makes the people restore confidence in them, and the people should forget what happened and maintain sympathy with the army, so everyone should go forward united by using peaceful means, and the students should be united and able to block The gap that some organizations may create, bridging the gap that exists between young and old, and for this generation to take its role in the country, and this speech inflamed the feelings of the Burmese people, who considered it a leader of the forces calling for democracy (Franziska Blum & Other's, 2010). The emergence of Su Kai added an important momentum to the democratic movement, given its historical and social heritage in Burmese society, and gave the democratic movement more flexibility in dealing with the government. After students were a target for the government, Su Kai became another goal for it.

After this meeting, the demonstrators published statements calling on the military officers to move away from the alliance with the government, cooperate with the people to achieve victory, and called on the armed forces to preserve the unity of the country And commitment to professional and institutional work, protecting the people from some destructive elements, and resolving differences of opinion by peaceful means, to understand each other and raise suspicions. Military and military personnel assassinate a civilian under any circumstance. Civilians consider senior army commanders as their fathers. These statements seem to have won the military sympathy towards the demonstrators. Stephen J. Solarz, a member of the US Congress, said after a one-day visit to Burma on September 3, 1988, "that the Burmese army, from a soldier to the rank of colonel, were sympathetic to the demonstrators. Anti-government, and they were unanimous on unifying the military

position towards the country's crisis. The statements of the demonstrators have already reached the ears of the military leaders. On the night of September 8-9, the General Military Commander summoned all military leaders in Burmese cities to come to the capital, to hold a meeting to discuss the internal situation, and during the meeting, the meeting discussed the professional and institutional frameworks for the armed forces considering The worsening political conditions, and they studied the possibility of restoring law and stability by force (MaungAungMyoe, 2007). Through this move, the students wanted to split the existing alliance between the ruling party and the army, end the dispute between the army and the people, instill confidence between them, and miss the opportunity for the party that used the army to remain in power, even if it was at the expense of the people. This move reflects the level The development the democratic movement has reached, which is thinking of winning the army in its favor and at the expense of the ruling party.

With the escalation of the demonstrations, Leader Ne Win announced he was the legitimate ruler of the country, and on September 9 he formed a government parallel to the Rangoon government, announced the names of his ministerial formation, and contacted foreign missions and embassies in his country to recognize his government, which created a state of panic among the leadership of the ruling party Of those who held a special meeting on September 12, but they had to meet on the 10th of that, and canceled the proposal for a general national referendum and adhere to holding general elections according to the multi-party system, and, some members of the People's Assembly (PyithuHluttaw) insisted on the necessity of holding General elections based on the multi-party system for the next three months, and Sao Maung called on the party leadership to direct a request to the army leaders to leave the cities and go to the military barracks, as President MaungMaung had called for them in advance (MaungMaung, 1999). The formation of the parallel government reveals the state of confusion the ruling party leadership has reached, and the deepening of the disputes of its leaders.

Considering these developments, Su Kai issued a statement on the same day (September 10), in which she clarified, "Achieving democracy based on party pluralism is just one of our demands, after neglecting our demand to form An interim government, so they must hold fair and fair elections, which cannot be accepted if it is under the auspices of an interim government made up of members of the Socialist Program or one member of the current government, but we want it to be a provisional government acceptable to the entire Burmese people"(Working People Daily Newspaper, 1988).

On September 12th, General SauMaung (Chief of Staff) read on television a statement directed to the Burmese people, in which he promised them to hold free and fair general elections based on the multi-party system. Following this government statement, U AungGyi, one of the most prominent leaders of the demonstrations, welcomed this statement, describing it as a "victory," and called on the demonstrators to withdraw and end the demonstrations, and said: "The road to democracy is open"

(MaungMaung, 1999). Indeed, after the sacrifices of the people and their insistence on change, the path to democracy became open.

External threat and formation of the State Council

(September 11-19, 1988)

The internal political situation worsened after signs of external interference appeared on the horizon in Burma. On the morning of September 12, they saw an American naval fleet of five warships with an aircraft carrier inside Burma's territorial waters, which raised the concern of the military leadership in Burma. He withdrew after a short period, but the Burmese authorities submitted on the same day a complaint and a letter of inquiry to the US Embassy in Rangoon, which confirmed that the entry of the ships was to evacuate the 276 employees of the US embassy in Rangoon, after they evacuated the previous day (11 September). Part of them on board a chartered plane, because the Burmese authorities refused an American request to send an American military plane (C 1300) to transport them, under the pretext that the disembarkation of the military plane and the evacuation of American personnel would cause concern among citizens and send a wrong signal about the Burmese situation to regional countries, and they issued The US embassy on the following day (September 13) announced a statement about the incident, in which it denied that there was an American fleet in the territorial waters of Burma, and the matter was just a rumor (MaungMaung, 1999). Perhaps the entry of the US Fleet into Burmese territorial waters is to protect the embassy staff, and not to interfere in the interest of the democratic movement, because the movement has got a government promise to hold free and general elections, and thus the US intervention in This time is unjustified, I would describe to that, that the opposition movement did not ask for American intervention in its favor.

Meanwhile, there were military movements from some units of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) along the China-Burmese border, and several People's Liberation Army brigades were deployed along the border and were put on alert, and towards this matter, The Burmese military leadership informed the Chinese military attaché in Rangoon that "the situation will be under control as soon as possible," and they sent a government delegation to the Chinese border to meet the commander of the Chinese border forces, and after meeting him, they reassured him that the situation would stabilize and assured him that no foreign power could Interfering in Burma's internal affairs, however, some reports confirmed Chinese forces were ready to annex the border state of Shan, in cooperation with the Burmese Communist Party wing in the state, if US forces entered Burma. Besides the challenge, Burmese Military Intelligence has got proactive information about attacks from some of the rebel forces in the country, especially communist forces stationed in the northeastern region of the country, and attacks from the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA). In the southeastern region of Burma, and thus the country was living in a state of real threat and a struggle for survival, the border areas were difficult for government forces to control, so the cities were in a state of chaos and the forces could not withdraw from them, and there were no necessary supplies for government forces to control the areas.

The border, logistical support was weak, and the fuel was not available for military wheels to cover long distances along the Burmese border, and based on these data, the military forces had to go to the two fronts, but the difficulty of supply prevented focusing on the border front, and efforts were directed to address unrest and demonstrations in Cities, and taking swift measures to restore law and order in cities (MaungMaung, 1999). The American and Chinese moves towards Burmese lands, It is part of the current state of competition in the Cold War between the capitalist and socialist camps, but it is what is believed by the military regime that it has kept the country out of the furnace of this war.

Besides this success, the military authorities tried to bring about certain changes in the political and economic systems in the country, but they failed even on the social side, because they lost the support of the people, who no longer trusted them, and the people became more daring in demanding justice and freedom and holding general elections to form a new government. It works to achieve the aspirations of its people, but the military government fought these popular demands. She disavowed her, despite announcing her approval of the elections (MohamadFaisolKeling& Others, 2010).

To address the situation, on September 12, a special group of the ruling party held a meeting in the house of Leader Ne Win to discuss the steps to break the political deadlock and restore law and order as soon as possible. The discussion revolved around the importance of using force against the demonstrators, and most of them agreed it should be used in the path to re-stabilizing cities and ending the state of chaos and turmoil (MaungMaung, 1999). It confirmed this through the course of events, that the military regime insists on using force to solve the crisis.

Meanwhile, internal events sped up in the country. On September 16, the ruling party issued a special statement in which it requested the military elements affiliated with it to withdraw their membership from the party, and on the following day (September 17) the party issued a public statement demanding the armed forces to take their true role. Its official duty is to preserve the “Union of Burma” and “national unity” and impose national sovereignty. Under these circumstances, a group of demonstrators detained a military faction comprising (24) members in the Ministry of Trade building, and the platoon commander ordered his soldiers not to shoot at The demonstrators, however, this incident could mobilize the armed forces on September 18 to use force against the demonstrators and impose order and stability, and at four o’clock in the evening of the same day (September 18), the army confirmed its control over the situation, and announced on the local radio the formation of the Council of State To restore law and order (The State Law and Order Restoration Council) (SLORC), thus, the political transition from the one-party system to the multi-party system ended with a military coup, and immediately after its formation (MaungAungMyoe, 2007), General Sau Mo introduced Ng (Saw Moun), Chairman of the State Council, a government decision (program or plan of action) in the name of the State Council, centered on four main tasks he will work to achieve, namely (Franziska Blum & Other’s, 2010):

1- In order to put an end to the deteriorating conditions in the country, and for the sake of the people, the army assumed from today (September 18, 1988) the reins of power in the country, to achieve many goals as quickly as possible, including.

A - Restoring law and order, peace and stability.

B - Providing security and facilitating transportation and communication.

C- This organization (the State Council) will do its utmost in order to secure the people's needs of food and clothing and shelter, providing as much help as possible to agricultural cooperatives, as well as other special interests.

D - After fulfilling the aforementioned responsibilities, efforts will conduct general democratic elections under the plurality system Partisan.

2- A committee will be formed as soon as possible to oversee the holding of general democratic elections based on multi-party politics.

3- To prepare for holding general elections, all gatherings and organizations that believe in and practice democracy must form their own political organizations, which they will contest amid the elections, and take the preparations for that event.

4- We ask all active organizations, individuals, clergy (monks) and all people to help us in achieving the above goals. Despite these promises, the regime was a continuation of its predecessor, as it is a clear military system, administered by officers, who rule according to the martial law (military).

In fulfillment of the second mission of the decision, the State Council announced on the same day (September 18) the formation of the General Election Commission. On the same day, General Sao Maung added, "The army took the initiative, and the State Council was formed, which comprised (19) An officer, who is in charge of the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities." The council declared a curfew in the country, prohibiting gatherings of five or more individuals, and armed forces hit demonstrators, and the streets emptied them (International Commission of Jurists, 1992), and the forces pursued Burmese students and political activists and threw many of them into cells of torture and murder, and many of them fled across the border to neighboring countries or joined the anti-government revolutionary groups stationed along the border (Mohammed Ashraf Alam, 1999). During September, in one week, the Burmese army killed thousands. The demonstrators were in the streets, some of them were executed after the arrest, and in Rangoon alone, up to 3,000 demonstrators were killed in one day (Rudy Guyon, 1992). This is not surprising considering the existence of a military clique running the country's affairs and controlling its capabilities.

One day after the formation of the State Council (September 19), São Maung ordered his forces to confront any attempt to overthrow the authority, and took the steps to

expand the army to reach (321,000) soldiers, and to move To purchase weapons and increase the country's intelligence capabilities (Resource Information Center, 1998). Through this, the State Council is heading towards the militarization of society and the policy of oppression.

The council continued its work, abolishing the 1974 constitution, dissolving the People's Assembly (Parliament) (Hnin Yi, 2014), and some reports confirmed that General Nie Win was the one who led the State Council and General Yu Sau on the face, and imposed his authority over the press, two days later. The coup, Burmese soldiers started wandering around Rangoon and some other cities, and they were shooting everyone found in the streets, killing thousands of civilians, including children, youth, and monks, even if they were unarmed, and the matter reached the burning of some of those who took part in the demonstrations while they were alive, and their voices were heard calling for help Of these crimes, the number of deaths exceeded the number of those who fell in the Chinese Tiananmen Square in June 1989. The Islamic state of Arakan and the Rohingya minority suffered double injustice, because the military regime used the Rohingya issue as the most important means of mobilizing people. Towards Burmese nationalism and a turn towards the government, because of which they suffered the woes and injustices of the Burmese army (Rudy Guyon, 1992). The killing of civilians is evidence of the ugliness of the ruling regime, and its tendency to create a crisis in the national identity, after it tried to gain legitimacy through the suppression of the Rohingya.

Part of that is confirmed by the secret document leaked in 1988, which was adopted by the State Council as proposals (or policy) to expel the Rohingya from Burma, and determined not to provide the Rohingya with the national registration card and describe them as insurgents, and to limit their population growth by imposing gradual restrictions on decrees. Their marriage, applying all methods to suppress them, and striving to increase the number of Buddhists at the expense of Muslims, by establishing "Natala Villages" (called model villages) in Arakan, settling Buddhists in them from different regions, even if they are from outside the country, and allowing the Rohingya By moving from one village to another and from one town to another (which applies to foreign nationals in Burma), and prohibiting them from traveling to Sittwe, the center of the state of Arakan, preventing them from continuing their university education, refusing their appointment in state institutions, and stripping them of ownership of land, shops and buildings. Confiscating their lands and appropriating them to Buddhists, stopping their economic activity, prohibiting building and restoring homes, mosques, and Islamic religious schools, and working to convert Muslims to Buddhism, and if there is any problem between a Muslim person and another A Buddhist, then the court must issue the ruling in favor of the Buddhist, and if the problem is between two Muslims, it is preferable for the court to decide in favor of the richest among them, so that the poor are forced to leave the country, and the armed forces must avoid the mass killing of the Rohingya, so as not to draw the attention of Islamic countries (Penny Green and Other's, 2015). What came in the document is not excluded from a sectarian military regime, so it was not surprising that it extends its predecessor, who tortured the Rohingya and mastered

their persecution, and turned them into a reprehensible group among the Burmese people.

Because of this government extremism, the United States of America denounced the Burmese government's policy towards the people, suspended its financial aid and banned the sale of weapons to it, and the European Union shared the position, which criticized the Burmese government's approach towards the people and its violation of human rights, Canada supported sanctions, and called for The ruling military regime was isolated, and many civil society organizations stood by the US sanctions and demanded more international pressure on the military regime in Burma and its commercial boycott (International Crisis Group, 2000). But it is strange that this pressure came from Christian, not Islamic, countries and organizations, and if we concede that this pressure was not for protecting the Rohingya, but for the sake of the Burmese people this is also praiseworthy, because they dealt with human values and not specific religious ones.

The Law of Parties and the Policy of the State Council towards the Opposition Forces (September 27 - October 1988)

After these sanctions, the State Council enacted on September 27 a new law supporting the government's direction to hold Burmese elections, known as the "Political Parties Registration Law". Based on this law, the National League for Democracy was formed. On September 27, 1988 headed by former Brigadier General AungGyi and former general OoThura Tin as his deputy, DawAung San SuuKyi was chosen as General Secretary of the League, but months later From its founding, President Aung Jae broke away from the League and established his own party, after internal struggles over the presidency of the League, whose organization was accused of Communist infiltration, and despite the announcement of the formation of many parties after the announcement of the Party Registration Law, they were registered as political parties in the Office of the Commission General elections on October 1, 1988 (KhinKyaw Han, 2000). The passage of the Political Parties Law is a step in the right direction by the State Council in favor of the democratic movement in the country. As for forming the National League, it revealed the first opposition organizations in an official manner before the people, even though they were detected while at the beginning of their formation.

After its official registration, the National League for Democracy revealed its goals, the most important of which is to demand the rights of the Burmese people, to implement a democratic system that has the support of the United Nations, to demand the rights of ethnic minorities, and to work to form a democratic parliamentary system to replace the ruling military system, and to preserve the independence of the two authorities. The executive and the judiciary and the removal of the army from it, and the suggestion of the principle that every ethnic minority may issue laws only within its geographical area, or to allow them to legislate their own laws in the areas of politics and economics, and considering these declared goals, the National League has gained the support of national minorities in Burma (MohamadFaisolKeling and

Others, 2010). Through this, the League wanted to be the authentic voice expressing the aspirations of the people, after addressing the rights of minorities.

Conclusion:

The study reached several conclusions:

- 1- The Burmese people rose because of the political and economic conditions they lived through under the military rule led by General Ne Win, who took power in 1962.
- 2- The students of Rangoon were the first to ignite the spark of protests, after which it flared up on August 8, 1988 as a general uprising, in which most of the Burmese people took part.
- 3- The capital Rangoon (the center of military rule) was the major stronghold of the uprising, although the rest of the Burmese regions had registered their presence in the uprising, but it was not at the level of Rangoon.
- 4- The Burmese people, with all their nationalities and religious sects, rejected military rule in the country, and took part in the uprising in 1988.
- 5- The uprising of 1988 ended a difficult era of military rule in the country, in which General Ne Win and his companions seized the reins of power since 1962, thus putting an end to a period of (26) years of backwardness, retardation and isolation from the civilized world.
- 6- The 1988 uprising did not have a well-known Burmese national leader. Rather, the entire Burmese people were its hero, and the uprisers were not able - during the uprising period - to choose a national figure to lead their project, and perhaps this matter caused the uprising to lose an important element of its strength and success, so it had dispersed leaders. Perhaps she was the one who lost the spirit of maneuvering with the ruling authorities and enabled government forces to disperse the demonstrators and attack them.
- 7- During the period of their uprising (March - September 1988), the Burmese people did not receive any external support to confront the ruling military junta, and they remained isolated and struggled against them.
- 8- The 1988 uprising broken the chains of fear - for a few months - so that the Burmese people set out through them, expressing their rejection of military rule in the country, their desire for freedom, openness, and modernization, and the consolidation of the origins of democratic rule in Burma.
- 9- The uprising revealed the injustice and cruelty of the military government towards the people, after the oppressive method it used with the uprisings of the Burmese people.

10- The uprising of 1988 could not end the military rule in Burma, but it replaced one military group with another, despite its commitment to laying sound foundations for democracy.

11- The Buddhist clergy (Sangha) had no role in fighting the ruling military regime, despite their influential position among the Burmese people, and the students were the bravest of their stance towards the ruling military clique.

12- The Burmese people succeeded through their uprising in destabilizing the military rule in the country, and the army leaders became concerned about the fewest human gatherings in the various regions of Burma.

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