



Evaluation on Humanitarian Intervention in Myanmar: Is It a Placebo Effect?

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Abstract

Historically, humanitarian intervention has been used to support political and economic interests. As the globalization effect, humanitarian intervention was carried out sincerely to deal with a humanitarian crisis by providing assistance. Myanmar is a country that experienced a humanitarian crisis a long time ago. Various humanitarian intervention methods have been done in Myanmar to handle the humanitarian crisis. Since the military coup in February 2021, the crisis has escalated and the effectiveness of the humanitarian assistance is still questionable in dealing with the crisis. This article will evaluate the governance of humanitarian interventions provided by INGOs and how they resolve the humanitarian crisis. The analytical methods used were qualitative research that used theory of domestication policy. In evaluating the effectiveness of humanitarian intervention governance, the authors analyze it from the point of view of the international humanitarian agency and the Myanmar government. This study found that due to the domestic policy made by the junta, which seem not want to empower the people. Further evaluation is on the humanitarian assistance to Myanmar that is not covered the needs and only temporary or placebo effect.

Keywords: *Humanitarian Intervention; Myanmar; INGOs; Domestication Policy; Assistance*

Introduction

Longstanding localized conflicts between Myanmar's armed forces/ the Tatmadaw and various insurgent groups, including militias and ethnic armed organizations, are driving the humanitarian situation in Myanmar. Since its independence from Britain in 1948, the conflict between ethnic minorities and the government heavily influenced by the socio-political life in the post colonial time. Most of population in Myanmar is the Barma which are the Buddhist. There are 135 ethnic groups in Myanmar but the most politically important ethnic minorities is the Karen, the Shah, the Chin, the Kachin, the Mon and the Rohingya (Dittmer, 2014).

In situations of severe crises, such as in response to violent conflict or natural catastrophes, humanitarian aid is expressly designed to lessen suffering. Myanmar has a complicated humanitarian situation and has been a long-term recipient of humanitarian assistance. In 2015, Myanmar was the seventh-largest recipient of international aid. As the violence involving the Rohingya minority grew more violent in 2017, the situation worsened, involving widespread violence and grave human rights abuses.

Myanmar military planned and carried out attacks that resulted in the massive and deliberate slaughter of Rohingya civilians, including systemic sexual violence and the looting, burning, and leveling of entire communities. Myanmar's security forces slew numerous Rohingya, and over 700,000 were forced to escape into Bangladesh. There were urged situations for the international community to step up efforts to bring offenders to trial and provide the Rohingya with justice inside and outside Myanmar (Carr, 2018).

A third of Myanmar was also impacted by persistent violence before the coup, where they faced forced displacement, extreme food insecurity, and constant threats to their health and safety. In daily basis of life, human right abuses frequently happened in the conflict between ethnics group that comitted by the state which involved by the soldiers. The Rohingya is the most discriminated and marginalized ethnic minorities in Myanmar. The increase of refugees in Cox Bazar was a heartbreaking reminder of the Myanmar military's brutal legacy and the prolonged human suffering it has caused over several decades (Parmar et al., 2019; Sarkin & Pietschmann, 2006).

On 1 February 2021, the Myanmar military took control of the National League for Democracy, alleging unconfirmed charges of extensive fraud in the 2020 elections. Since the military coup, there has been a significant deterioration in the security and human rights situation in Myanmar. Following the coup d'etat on February 2021, violence against civilians and an intensified armed conflict drove thousands of refugees into neighboring countries and displaced over 200,000 people within Myanmar, adding to the 370,000 existing IDPs in desperate need of humanitarian assistance. The effects of COVID-19 have already burdened vital services, especially those related to health and education, and those pressures are now getting worse. Healthcare and education are tough to get in a lot of the country. The coup and COVID-19 combined impacts have significantly influenced Myanmar's economy, leading to increased unemployment, poverty, and financial industry disturbances (Al-Jazeera, 2022; UNHCR, 2022).

Since the military seizes power from the coup, the economy has suffered a setback, and millions of people are plunging into poverty. Myanmar's social and economic development remains slow even though the military claimed that over 15 years, they made progress in the socioeconomics sector. However, poverty is expected to have doubled since March 2020, with about 40% of the population living below the national poverty line in 2022, undoing nearly a decade of progress on poverty reduction. According to World Bank, the Myanmar Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) in 2022 was 0,176, with a high score of 1. The Human Development Index of Myanmar went from 0,6 in 2020 to 0,585, which put Myanmar in the medium human development category at 149 out of 191 countries. Nearly half of the population lives in poverty, returning to levels last seen in 2005. Currently, moderate or severe food insecurity affects over 13 million people. People are turning to risky coping mechanisms more frequently to survive, raising the hazards to their safety (World Bank, 2022).

Various types of interventions have been made by various actors. Despite the number of interventions by the state, organizations and the international community, the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar is still happening and even increasing. Even tough Myanmar got attention from the world with the number of assistance that just gave to people of Myanmar recently, those humanitarian intervention still not covering up the people. The humanitarian aid in Myanmar just contemporary covers the needs of the people. This article will evaluate the governance of humanitarian intervention on resolving the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar. By asking a question about the reasons for the failure of aid to cover the need, the authors will trace the governance of humanitarian agencies especially those operating to deal with the crisis in Myanmar.

Literature Study

The term humanitarian military intervention or humanitarian intervention is always associated with coercive action involving armed forces such as local military or UN personnel. The used of Humanitarian intervention is to avoid/prevent crimes against humanity in a failed state and defend its

citizens rights. The UN Security Council is a legitimate institution to take steps to intervene without the consent of the affected country. The Security Council appoints fact-finding missions to investigate and report alleged violations of international law. These missions can simultaneously provide early warning about humanitarian crises that occur and negotiate with the leaders of countries where the crisis is taking place to find ways to resolve and efforts to use military force. Military personnel deploys to provide humanitarian assistance to those in need without conducting rescue operations. Therefore, humanitarian interventions were restricted to rescuing one's citizens in other countries or ethnically or religiously similar populations (Sationo, 2019; Seybolt, 2007; Weiss, 2013; Welsh, 2004).

According to (Heinze, 2004), the complexities of the conflict in international relations in the post-Cold War have made a humanitarian intervention with military forces illegal. The use of military force must be a last resort if a country is deemed to have failed to protect its citizens and if the peaceful means adopted have also failed. Before taking the military mission, the international community used to adopt a peaceful mission. Those done in many ways including negotiation, mediation, and the application of sanctions. The humanitarian problem is a global problem, both international society and international organizations have a moral responsibility.

Handling the humanitarian problem is part of the country obligation to protect and enforce the human rights of its citizens. In commenting on this concept, the high-level United Nations panel stated the emerging norm of collective international responsibility to protect. It encompasses not only any State's right to intervene but also every State's responsibility to protect when it comes to people suffering from avoidable catastrophes. Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a set of norms or principles that refer to an idea that sovereignty is not an absolute right. The human rights violations that occurred in Rwanda in 1994 became the background for this doctrine to be formed. Ending humanitarian crises is a global responsibility through R2P. However, when states are unable to fulfill these obligations, state sovereignty is temporarily suspended and responsibility is transferred to the international community (Yaghy & Shields, 2021).

Humanitarian intervention actions through R2P actions in journal research of (Faisal et al., 2021) conclude Kenya's success in overcoming humanitarian problems. Together with the United Nations and Africa Unions and a strong commitment from Kenya, intervention through R2P came as a solution before Kenya fell into mass atrocities. The rapid response of the Africa Unions as a regional organization also accelerated the settlement of the Kenya conflict in 2007.

Along with the development of time, humanitarian intervention can be used through a soft power approach by providing humanitarian aid. According to UN Charter, the flow of humanitarian assistance is coordinated by the Security Council by requesting permission from the host country to enter the country. The effect of globalization has recently led to a dependency on one another. The existence of dependence allows for intervention in economic sanctions, military intervention, and peacekeeping operations. If in the past the United Nations and big countries could intervene, now the emergence of humanitarian agencies like international organization, international states, humanitarian alliances, and philatelists are helping to overcome the humanitarian crisis. Humanitarian agencies will distribute aid through the host country and request permission to enter its borders—the more donations made, the more crises can be handled. Therefore, there is a need for cooperation between humanitarian and international agencies so that aid distribution runs smoothly (Alexander, 2018; Welsh, 2004).

The governance of humanitarian intervention is a joint unit made to address global problems. Behind the cooperation in global humanitarian governance, there is always an interest. Apart from ending crimes against humanity, it also contains political reasons. Humanitarian agencies must create humanitarian governance that does not injure the sovereignty of the recipient country. The success or failure of an intervention will be related to how the cooperation is built between external agents and the State or local political actors. Therefore, humanitarian intervention in a country is not only a global

problem. It also involves domestic problems such as the strength, culture, and complexity of the State (Lidén, 2019).

Theoretical Framework

Domestication Policy

A considerable and rising literature on international relations contends that domestic politics is often an important element of explaining governments foreign actions and strives to better understand its influence. Domestic politics plays an important role when taking strategic foreign policy decisions because the threats anticipated or already executed are to do with national security issues. International Organizations no doubt have an influence on international society, but a nation-state may ignore decisions by such organizations to achieve domestic agendas. Although international organizations have an influence over the foreign affairs of member states, sometimes domestic agendas take precedence. The head of such Organizations is sometimes nothing but a mediator between heads of governments. Foreign policy decisions are ultimately taken by the head of governments, with consideration of both domestic and international agendas (Hussain, 2011).

Foreign-policy domestication is the constant and substantial emphasis in foreign policy on low-politics issues. It is motivated by the federated units with constitutional competencies and vested systemic interests to develop a foreign-policy role to protect their constitutional rights. Also, it motivated the country to be able to respond to the modern challenges of international life, including, increasingly, issues of low politics (Brown et al., 1994).

The domestication approach has been used to study how global policy models are nationalized and distinguish them from global models. It stresses nationalization as naturalization, the process by which a global norm model appears local. It is a critical step in seeing national policymaking as the domestication of global models. Since there is dependence between countries as a result of globalization, it indirectly causes politics to adopt global norms through international institutions. Domestication also explains local actors or political elites should adopt global norms as sustainable and inclusive resource management for the development of their country (Gustafsson et al., 2020; Heimo, 2019).

Lancaster found that a country's domestic politics can influence the way the country views foreign aid. Furthermore, Lancaster has identified four categories of domestic political forces shaping foreign aid, namely the existence of ideas, political institutions, interests, and aid organizations. The domestic politics of foreign aid that have had a major impact on aid's purposes include widely shared ideas relevant to aid-giving and a country's political institutions. The interests competing for control over aid-giving and how governments organize themselves to manage their aid (Lancaster, 2007).

The complexity of Myanmar's domestic situation shapes international aid as something that can lead to new disintegration. Historically Myanmar is a multi-ethnic country, and since the 1962 coup, Myanmar has been under the military. The transition of ideas from isolationist to democratic is still challenging for Myanmar, especially those in power. Myanmar's openness only began in 2011, and it adopted a democratic government after Aung San Suu Kyi won elections before the military finally re-coupled in 2021. The junta made some regulations to control the donors if they wanted to enter the Myanmar border.

Furthermore, this regulation still needs to be clarified and stand the citizen. However the transition to democracy has been happened when Suu Kyi came to power, but the truth is everything already nationalized by the junta. The domestic situation are more important than compete with foreigners. So that, the constitution made by the junta contains their interest to protect their legitimacy. Therefore, the junta keeps their business as a domestic affairs so that foreign participation is limited.

Research Methods

This research is a descriptive research with a qualitative approach. Descriptive research is research on problems that can be proven by existing facts. The collection of data sources is obtained from collecting secondary data related to the topic under study. The second data source uses literature studies taken from books, journals, and online sources. Beside that, we also collect data that comes from interviews with representatives of AICHR H E Yuyun Wahyuningrum.

Discussion

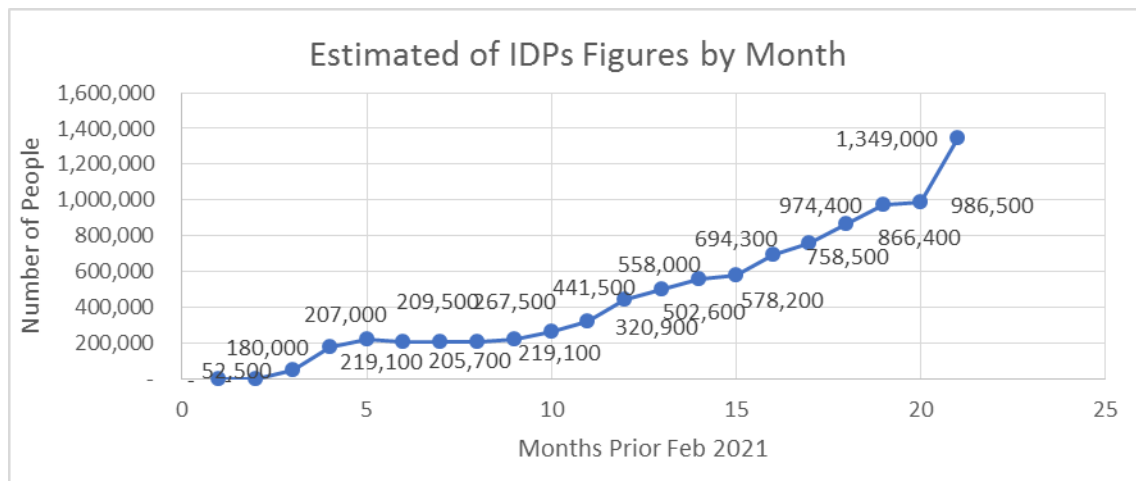
Various Action of Humanitarian Intervention in Myanmar

International humanitarian intervention is permissible and does not violate international law. Interventions also gain legitimacy based on general principles such as humanitarian principles and human rights law principles, namely the principle of equality. International legal instruments explicitly state that non-intervention is one of the fundamental principles in international law. These principles can be seen in Articles 1 (1), 2 (4), and (7) of the United Nations Charter. Arrangements for humanitarian intervention are contained in the United Nations Charter which are regulated in Article 2 paragraph (4), Article 24, Article 25, Article 26, Article 33, Article 34, Article 39, Article 40, Article 49, Article 50, and Article 51. So that the use of military intervention becomes legitimate because it aims to stop crimes against humanity (Gulati & Khosa, 2013).

The leading causes of the complex humanitarian crisis in Myanmar are insecurity, protracted displacement, underdevelopment, and poverty. Due to the escalation of conflict and political unrest post coup 2021 has been increased the need of humanitarian intervention in Myanmar. The coup that lead by the Senior General Min Aung Hlaing in Februari 2021 detained some political leader, including State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi, President Win Myint along with the ministers of parliament. The outbreak of coronavirus in 2020 also worsening the humanitarian problem. The United Nations claims that many civillians of Myanmar are trapped in tough situations with no way out as a result of the COVID-19 outbreak and the country's post-coup economic malaise.

Before the coup, Myanmar has been facing serious problem in human right violations toward the Rohingya in 2017. After the coup risen in 2021, the number of IDPs is doubled. Internally displaced people unlike the refugee, they left from their own home for seeking a protection and live-saving assistance but they still remain in the country. According to UNHCR there were an estimated 1,349,000 internally displaced people, including 1,019,00 people who have been newly displaced within the country as October 3 2022. Most of IDPs moved to near the Myanmar border such as Kachin State, Chin State, Shan State, Rakhine State, Kayin State and Mon State also in Bago, Tanintharyi, Sagaing and Magway Regions. Approximately 153,000 of the estimated 600,000 stateless Rohingya in Rakhine State have been living in camps since 2012 in addition to living among the host population (UNHCR, 2022).

Table 1.1 Estimated of IDPs Figure by Month



Source: UNHCR Regional Bureau for Asia and Pacific

(The UN Refugee Agency, 2022)

Due to a history of underinvestment, Myanmar has the highest poverty rate in the region and critical infrastructure and social service deficits, making it a priority for many development agencies. To build a more substantial base for long-term economic growth and poverty reduction, Myanmar joined Asian Development Bank or ADB in 1973. ADB had given Myanmar 120 loans, grants, and technical assistance commitments totaling \$3.7 billion for the public sector. The total loan and grant disbursements to Myanmar from ADB is \$2.18 billion. After the coup situation, ADB only focused on non-sovereignty project with supporting the people of Myanmar and holding on the assistance for sovereignty project. In order to help the people of Myanmar to tackle the COVID-19, ADB assisted Myanmar in reducing the COVID-19 pandemic's negative health, social, and economic effects. ADB has been given \$702.49 million for non-sovereignty project (Development Bank, 2021).

Each countries and NGOs has been responded the coup differently. During the mass protest of military coup, some states responded to the political crisis with imposing economic sanctions and delaying the humanitarian aid that could benefit the military. The President of United States, Joe Biden had imposing an economic sanctions. Additionally, the U.S. Treasury imposed fresh sanctions against Myanmar Ruby Enterprise, Myanmar Imperial Jade Co., and Cancri Co. that were involved in or supported the coup. It will be difficult for these businesses to financing the coup because they won't be able to access any assets or interests situated in the US. Moreover, New Zealand are suspending all of the high political contact with Myanmar and delayed the providing of the humanitarian aid. The announced sanctions also included travel restrictions on senior military officials in Myanmar and requests for a special session of the UN Human Rights Council to discuss Myanmar. However, the sanctions and prohibitions imposed on the junta government have hampered the distribution of humanitarian aid (Cornish, 2021).

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has demanded the junta handle the control of the government to NLD. Instead of being prepared to handle the power, the military announced a state emergency which lasted for a year. As adopting non-intervention norms, ASEAN has tried to communicate with the military, but they don't have any response. With the escalations of IDPs and refugees, ASEAN proposed the Five Points Consensus in order to end the political crisis. The five points of consensus are that the violence in Myanmar must stop immediately, there must be a constructive dialogue, ASEAN will facilitate mediation, ASEAN will provide humanitarian assistance through the

AHA Center, and there will be a special ASEAN envoy to Myanmar. Unfortunately, the senior generals were not interested in being agreed with the consensus. As a response to it, ASEAN blocks all Myanmar activities and Myanmar's participation in various ASEAN high-level meetings (Sim, 2022).

However some countries and NGOs tried to reached the people of Myanmar directly in order to delivered the assistance. The EU allocated more than €27 million in humanitarian aid funding in 2022 to address the most vulnerable populations, including displaced and conflict-affected communities. Since 1994, the EU has provided humanitarian aid in Myanmar to victims of both conflict and natural disasters, totaling €315 million. The EU has channelled €85,000 to support those affected by a deadly landslide in a jade mining community in northern Kachin in mid 2020 (European Commission, 2022).

Japan's government has given more than \$20 million in humanitarian aid to Myanmar since the coup to help the country's people. In response to the COVID-19 outbreak, Japan has also provided ambulances and oxygen concentrators. The Japanese government has decided to provide supplementary humanitarian assistance to Myanmar totaling approximately US \$18.5 million that aimed at resolving the situation, particularly the increasing poverty of the people of Myanmar caused by the coup's economic stagnation. Through international organizations and the ASEAN Secretariat, Japan will deliver food, daily necessities such as shelters and mattresses, and medical supplies to the people of Myanmar (Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2022).

Since the escalating number of IDPs and Refugees, on behalf of the United Nations, UNHCR provided assistance to Myanmar. UNHCR has acces to send the asisstance directly to the refugee and the other populations of concern who are in the greatest need and at the greatest risk. In 2021, Core relief supplies were sent to 44,000 households (including IDPs and stateless individuals), \$2.6 million in monetary support was given to 17,000 people of concern, and 47,000 people of concern received emergency shelters from UNHCR. Because of the flexibility of UNHCR in order to reached the citizens who concern, the donors doubled their assistance and contributed more than \$10 million in the next year. According to UNHCR data, the requirements for humanitarian needs in Myanmar is about \$358.6 million. The total amount of donors from countries and private donors has reached 53% funded with amount \$189.148.362 and left an indicative funding \$169,464,178 that represented 47%. Those donors are included countries around the world and private donors. The allocations of the aid also for the requirement in affected country such as Bangladesh, Thailand, India, Indonesia, and Malaysia (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2022).

Because of the inceased of casualties and the need of supplies, the Humanitarian Response Plan for Myanmar was unveiled by the UN on January 30 2022. But the funding just covered about 22,5% from the total requirement of US\$ 825.7M. Based on the total needed for Myanmar's total population of 54 million, 20.6 million have received assistance. The rest will be selected by humanitarian partners, who will prioritize low-cost life-saving and vital actions that do not provide the required depth of relief or contribute to people's general well-being, dignified living standards, or the possibility of finding long-term solutions. The need of humanitarian aid still high while the regulation over distribution of the aids still impartiall (OCHA, 2022).

Myanmar Policies on Humanitarian Issues

The complexity of Myanmar's political and bureaucratic environment, as well as tensions in Myanmar's interactions with the international community, contribute as much to the difficulty in delivering humanitarian aid as Myanmar's domestic policy, competence, and will. Myanmar's ethnically diverse population has been subject to military rule since 1962, and the military has since shared power with the government under the 2008 constitution. In order to change the system from military to semi-democratic system, the military shared its power with others parties in Myanmar. However the influence of military constitution of 2008 still remained problem in economic and ethnic issues.

Historically, the military tightly controlled Myanmar through an isolationist and a stranglehold on the economy. The junta's increasing limitations on foreign aid, nationalization of vital businesses, and tight control over foreign trade isolated Myanmar economically. The transition of ideas from isolationist to democratic is still a challenge for Myanmar, especially those in power. In order to democratic transition, the role of civil society such as civilian group, local government group and INGOs are important to provide the needs of democratization process. The presence of INGOs in Myanmar happened when Cyclon Nargis hit the Myanmar delta in 2008. Because of the highest needs of the humanitarian response, a great number of new organizations were invited into Myanmar. While local civil society organizations were the primary actors in emergency response, there was a considerable influx of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). There were approximately 40 INGOs on the ground prior to the cyclone. The number increased to more over 100 the following year (Carr, 2018).

Myanmar's openness officially started in 2011 and began to adopt a democratic government after the National League of Democracy Party which led by Aung San Suu Kyi won the elections in 2016. The openness from political reform led to the high number of civil society or NGO that operated in Myanmar. On the list of INGOs/NGOs in this country, there are no official data or complete directories. According to the INGO Forum Myanmar, there are likely more than 110 INGO member groups in Myanmar working on sustainable development initiatives. All INGO/NGOs must legally register with the Ministry of Home Affairs and execute a fundamental cooperation agreement with the Union of Myanmar regarding the intended project. INGOs/NGOs asking for permits must be in accordance with the rule of law, security, and current state regulations, as well as the development of the state's social sectors. Although, there are many organizations operating in Myanmar with legal permission from the government, in carrying out the distribution of aid there are still obstacles in the field (M.Ravi Law, 2019).

The coup in February 2021 has changed the regulation back to the restriction and the silencing of opinion. The role of civil society became increasingly limited and weak, with many eventually surrendering owing to overwhelming military pressure. This was also a problem for the NLD, which is losing ground in negotiations with the government of Myanmar. In the other hand, the Tatmadaw imposed a variety of legal barriers to limit civil society's influence and involvement. A new draft of international NGO law in ICNL (International Center for Non-profit Law) serve as a basis for barriers to entry. The operation of NGOs and Civil Society Organization must be authorized by the members of parliament. The junta took advantages on several laws to control freedom of expression and speech. Under The Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful Act, every activities of civil society must request for a permit and gain access from government. The senseless barriers were barriers to resources. It means NGO or civil society that not registered under the 2014 Association Registration Law were not allowed to approach international funding without approval (Bawana, 2022).

Evaluation on Humanitarian Intervention in Myanmar's Humanitarian Crises

Myanmar has a long story of a military government, and it led to the isolationist and nationalized policy, which is domestic situation must be far away from foreign intervention. When the Cyclon Nargis happened, the junta limited the movement of humanitarian agencies by lessening the grant of entry to Myanmar. Not only during the cyclone but also during the slaughter of a hundred thousand Rohingya in 2017. In addition, the coup that happened in Myanmar was coordinated by members of parliament, and most of them were military officers. The rise of a coup was not only to take the handle of the government but also to protect their interest and legitimacy in parliament. The goal of the coup was to support a fallen government in the facing of a demonstrated uprising. As a result, many contracts under foreign aid were suspended or canceled, and most foreign assistance was cut off for human rights reasons by the junta.

The complexity of Myanmar's domestic situation shapes international aid as something that can lead to new disintegration. The intervention of humanitarian agencies in Myanmar can sabotage national security. Myanmar's foreign policy adopts non-alignment principles which are respecting states' sovereign

is a must. Under the Constitution of 2008 military has shared power about 25% of all seats in the country's national and regional assembly, with the commander-in-chief appointing them. Because the Constitution could only be modified with a quorum of more than 75% of the legislature, the military effectively had a veto over any constitutional amendments proposed by elected officials. Even though Suu Kyi won the election, her power is limited, as stated in the Constitution of 2008 (Shang, 2021).

Donor representatives frequently rely on and create simplified interpretations of the political context when confronted with complex situations of conflict and poverty. When the assumption of giving donors by the political elite is not in line with the interests of the political elite, it will affect the practice of aid. The existence of an interpretive crisis created by the political elite resulted in the regulation of donors and the view of humanitarian agents also changing. The interpretative happened when the transition from the military government to the NLD government, which should have had great potential for changing donor practices to save thousands of Rohingya, finally failed. Even though the NLD government is in power, its movement is limited by the military government. The NLD government refused all humanitarian aid because Nay Pyi Taw referred to the military as able to solve humanitarian crises. The existence of an oversimplified interpretative about the existence of NLD that can help INGOs turns out to be just a fairy tale (Décobert & Wells, 2020).

Myanmar's domestic situation explains that since the coup attempt in February 2021, the Myanmar military has quelled various protests, civil disobedience, and armed resistance using violence in response to these actions. The military launched violent, indiscriminate, large-scale, and systematic violence to crush dissent. However, his inability to control the masses led to violence that became even more brutal. Less than 50% of the country's territory is highly vulnerable to attacks that routinely operate using jets, helicopters, and ground troops. The military carries out cleaning operations to kill terrorists or resistance forces anywhere and anytime. The result is a humanitarian crisis getting bigger and spreading to various regions.

Another obstacle in providing the humanitarian assistance to Myanmar is the distribution. According to (Wahyuningrum, 2022) in her statement at the Eighth of International Student Conference on Humanity Issues (ISCOHI) on July 2022 stated that humanitarian agencies faced threats in the field. The climate of fear is very thick inside Myanmar. Mass gathering more than three people will be arrested by the Tatmadaw. Some of the humanitarian assistance distribution that provided by the local CSO was robbed on the road not only by the military but also the People Defense Force (PDF) and local people. The system has been collapsed so people need foods. Some church working with the donor to help the distribution but the electricity not available for 24hours and the internet has been blocked. All people of Myanmar needs food and health supplies while the distribution could not reached them.

Even though the INGOs, like the UN agencies, released the total funding given to Myanmar, some things still need to be evaluated. Humanitarian agents are having problems getting into Myanmar, so many operate close to the border. When conflict escalates, INGOs need more supplies, which will also impact the high cost of operations needed for aid distribution. Despite the large amount of total funding released by INGOs, a closer look at these figures does not give accurate data on the actual situation. The large amount of funding can happen because INGOs projected everything before carrying out humanitarian operations, but the reality on the ground says otherwise. Not to mention when inflation occurs in 2022, increasing operating costs (Blazevic, 2022; The UN Refugee Agency, 2022).

In addition, with the release of funding in October and November by UNHCR, only about 20% of the funds can be operated, so the existing assistance seems only to package the image of INGOs rather than ending the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar. As if providing humanitarian assistance, but the assistance cannot be felt permanently. The hit-and-run distribution due to the uncertain domestic political situation also made the aid process unable to run perfectly.

Conclusion

Ending humanitarian problems is a shared global responsibility through R2P. In addition, humanitarian problems are global problems, and it is appropriate for the international community, international organizations, and military intervention to be considered legitimate because they are based on overcoming humanitarian problems. Myanmar's basic social services are disrupted, and necessities like medical equipment and supplies are in shortage. The humanitarian response has been hampered even as demands have increased due to COVID-19-related challenges, such as movement restrictions, economic slowdown, coupled with the coup challenges of ongoing protests and rising insecurity, restrictions, and the junta's deliberate blocking of aid.

The governance of humanitarian intervention is a unit made together to address global problems. Behind cooperation in global humanitarian governance, there is always an interest. Apart from ending crimes against humanity, it also includes a political element. Humanitarian agencies must create humanitarian governance that does not injure the sovereignty of the recipient country. The success or failure of an intervention will be related to how cooperation is built between external agents and the State or local political actors. Therefore, humanitarian intervention in a country is not only a global problem. It also involves domestic problems such as the strength, culture, and complexity of the State.

The aid provided to Myanmar is not simultaneous and does not reach all the people in need. The existence of restrictions and restrictions on movement by the military makes humanitarian assistance difficult to distribute. In addition, the increasing number of humanitarian crises also resulted in the number of assistance not reaching its destination. From the international humanitarian agency side, there is still an evaluation related to the allocation of funds. The received fund must be evaluated with how much was given to the people of Myanmar and how much was used for the allocation of cost operations during the distribution. This inequality is also a new problem that must be addressed quickly

Although humanitarian agencies have provided a number of data on aid funding, the distribution of humanitarian assistance must go through the military government. This explains that humanitarian aid cannot be used to strengthen communities to bargain with the government. The government does not want to empower the community because the more empowered the community is, the more likely it is to jeopardize the legitimacy of the military.

Humanitarian intervention in Myanmar is far from successful. The success of humanitarian intervention through humanitarian assistance can be seen when countries achieve positive peace where there is reconciliation, life expectancy increases, and harmony increases. Despite the enormous amount of funds provided by humanitarian agencies, the assistance provided was only temporary or a placebo.

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