



SPECIAL ISSUE TO COMMEMORATE THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF MYANMAR SPRING REVOLUTION



INTRODUCTION

It has been two years since Myanmar's development and democratic reform efforts were overturned due to the Myanmar military's complete disregard and annihilation of the rule of law and their desire to subjugate the people under the absolute power of a military dictatorship. Thus, we feel that the international community has begun to examine the behaviours and beliefs of Myanmar military dictators more and more.

This special issue of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the National Unity Government is published on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of Myanmar's Spring Revolution with an aim for the international community to provide support to achieve sustainable peace in Myanmar and to establish a new federal democratic state that all the people of Myanmar have been hoping for.

2023
MUST BE THE YEAR
THAT THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY SAYS
NO MORE TERROR,
NO MORE MILITARY DICTATORS,
NO MORE ATROCITIES AND
ENDS THEIR IMPUNITY.

- H.E. Zin Mar Aung,
Foreign Affairs Minister,
National Unity Government of Union of Myanmar

MYANMAR SPRING REVOLUTION: CULMINATIVE IMPACTS OF MOVEMENTS AGAINST MILITARY RULE SINCE 1962

Today, the public slogan of the Spring Revolution is that there is “nothing to negotiate in blood debt”. To understand the slogan, it is important to understand that today’s Spring Revolution is the culmination of a series of non-violent movements against military dictatorship in Myanmar. The struggle for democracy, human rights and federalism have been fought and passed on from one generation to another along with experience they have gained.

Figure 1 illustrates the non-violent resistance movements that continue across different eras and various generations against the military regime from the very first beginning of military dictatorship of 1962 for human rights and federal democracy. Today the Myanmar people say there is “nothing to negotiate in blood debt”. To negotiate with the junta, since the latter has accrued a colossal blood debt for all the innocent people of Myanmar that it has killed; will not end the cycles of violence. The people of Myanmar have arrived at a point of no toleration for the military’s crimes against humanity. The cumulative impacts of non-violent movements seeks an end to the generational harms of military dictatorship.

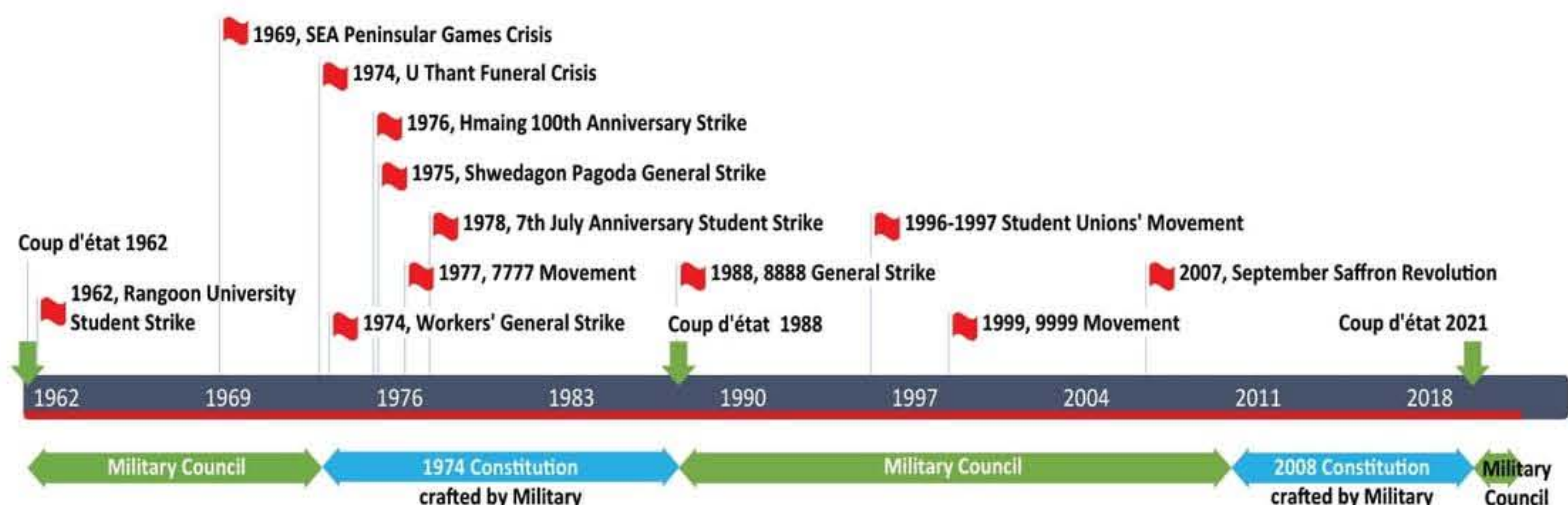
A series of non-violent movements against the military dictatorship including the movement of Rangoon University student strike in July 1962; the uprising of Southeast Asia Peninsula Games in December 1969; the labor strike in June 1974; the incident of the funeral of former UN Secretary-General U Thant in December 1974; General strike of Shwe Dagon Pagoda in June 1975; the Centenary celebrations of the birthday of literary figure and patriot Thakhin Ko Daw Hmaing in March 1976; 7777 uprising in July 1977; Rangoon Institute of Technology Student strike in July 1978; 8888 Pro-democracy public uprising in August 1988; student union movements in 1996-1997; the 9999 movement in August 1999 and the Saffron Revolution of Buddhist monks in September 2007 were brutally and lethally suppressed by Myanmar military and military leaders.

BEYOND THE FEAR THRESHOLD WITH ZERO TOLERANCE FOR MILITARY DICTATORSHIP



After the military coup d'état on 1 February 2021, the military leaders brutally suppressed the anti-coup movement and executed peaceful protesters because the military believed that inhumane crackdowns and killings would make shut the Myanmar people down just as they have done so before. However, the response of the Spring Revolution and the resilience of the Myanmar people today are different from the previous times for two reasons. Firstly, Myanmar people are now beyond the fear threshold of the atrocities and brutal killing and oppression of the military. The people are now more afraid of being ruled inhumanely for another lengthy period under a new military dictatorship than they are of death. Therefore, based on the bitter experiences of successive military regimes, people have crossed the fear threshold with the conviction that it is time to drive military dictatorship permanently away from Myanmar. Secondly, the people now have zero tolerance for military dictatorship. These two points are in fact the cumulative impacts of the non-violent movements against military dictatorship since 1962. It is necessary for the international community to understand this context in particular so as to understand the significance of the people’s struggles for change.

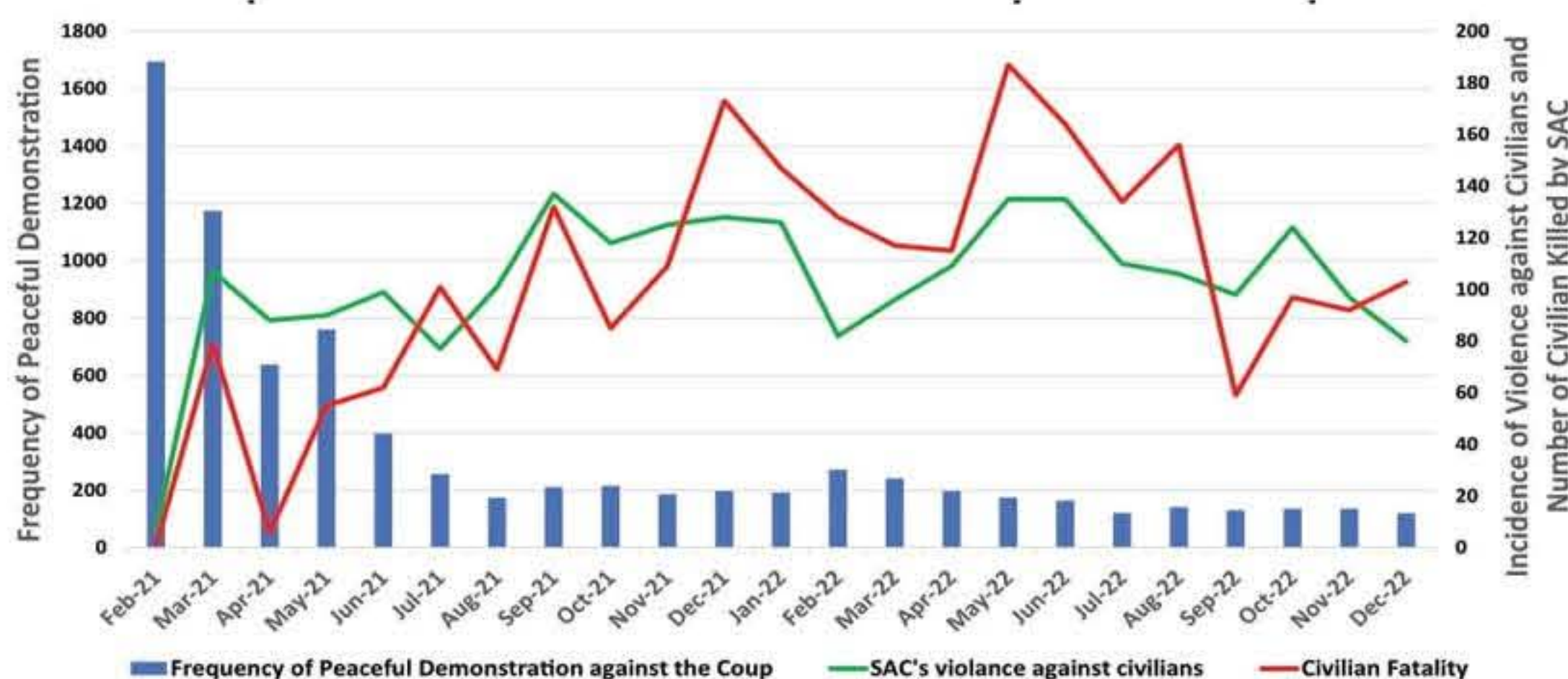
Figure 1: Non-violence Movement against Military Rule in Myanmar



In March 2021 when the military started brutally killing peaceful protestors (killing 23 peaceful protestors in February and 314 in March 2021), the public who no longer had any fear, took up homemade hunting rifles and began to fight back against the military according to their right to self-defense. Figure 2 shows how the public is still peacefully protesting against

the military despite being forced into armed defensive resistance by Myanmar military junta. Myanmar military has forced civilians to exercise their right to self-defense. However, the people still continue their non-violence movement against the military junta parallel to the people's defensive war.

Figure 2: People's Non-Violence Movement vs. Military's Violence Response



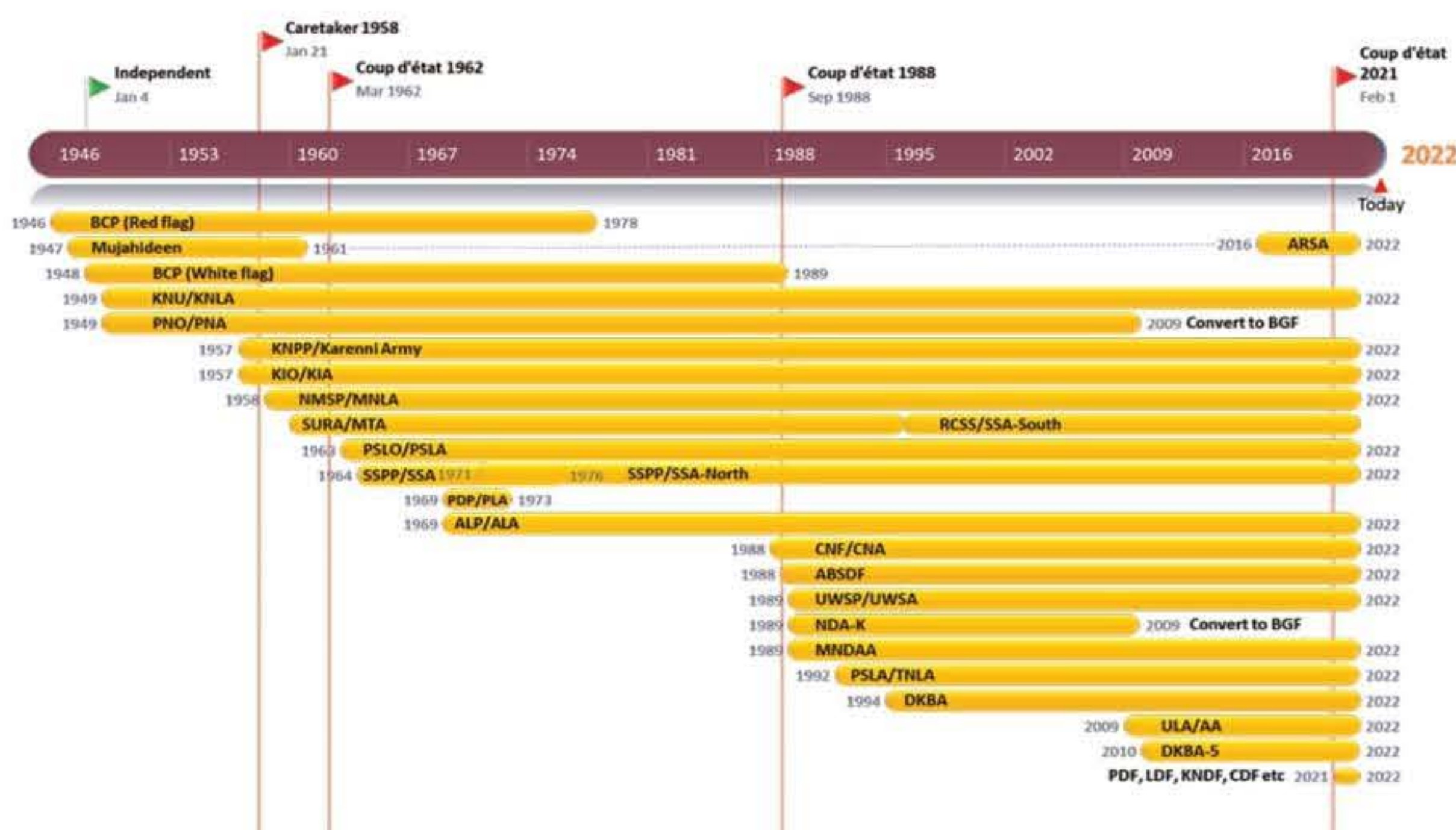
(Source: The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), <https://acleddata.com/about-acledd/>)

MILITARY RULE: PRIMARY CAUSE OF EXPANDING CONFLICT IN MYANMAR

Since Myanmar fell under military dictatorship in 1962, the country has become a hotbed of human trafficking, narcotics trafficking, money laundering and illegal arms trade. As well as a country disturbing peace and security in the Southeast Asian region. Yet, Myanmar military

leaders always claim that they are rendering the country peaceful and stable. Figure 3 indicates the falsehood of that claim by reflecting the situation starting from 1958 when the military forced to grab state power, a blatant coup d'état in 1962 and in 1988 resulting in Myanmar getting deeper into conflict and expansion of armed revolution. Now, after the 2021 military coup, the country is completely immersed in a quagmire of conflict. It is evident that the military-centered conflict resolution approach is not a solution to Myanmar's crisis.

Figure 3: Military Takeover and Escalation of Conflict in Myanmar¹



¹Abbreviations in Figure 3 > page 7

2022 CONFLICT INTENSITY INDEX: MYANMAR NEXT TO UKRAINE

According to ACLED's 2022 Conflict Intensity Index, Ukraine is experiencing the highest level of conflict in the world with over 28,000 conflict-related deaths. Myanmar has reached the second worst level with more than 19,000 deaths. Ukraine has the worst number of violent incidents in the world with more than 34,400 incidents. Syria is the second worst with more than 10,400. Myanmar ranks third worst with over 9,300.

CESSATION OF VIOLENCE IN MYANMAR

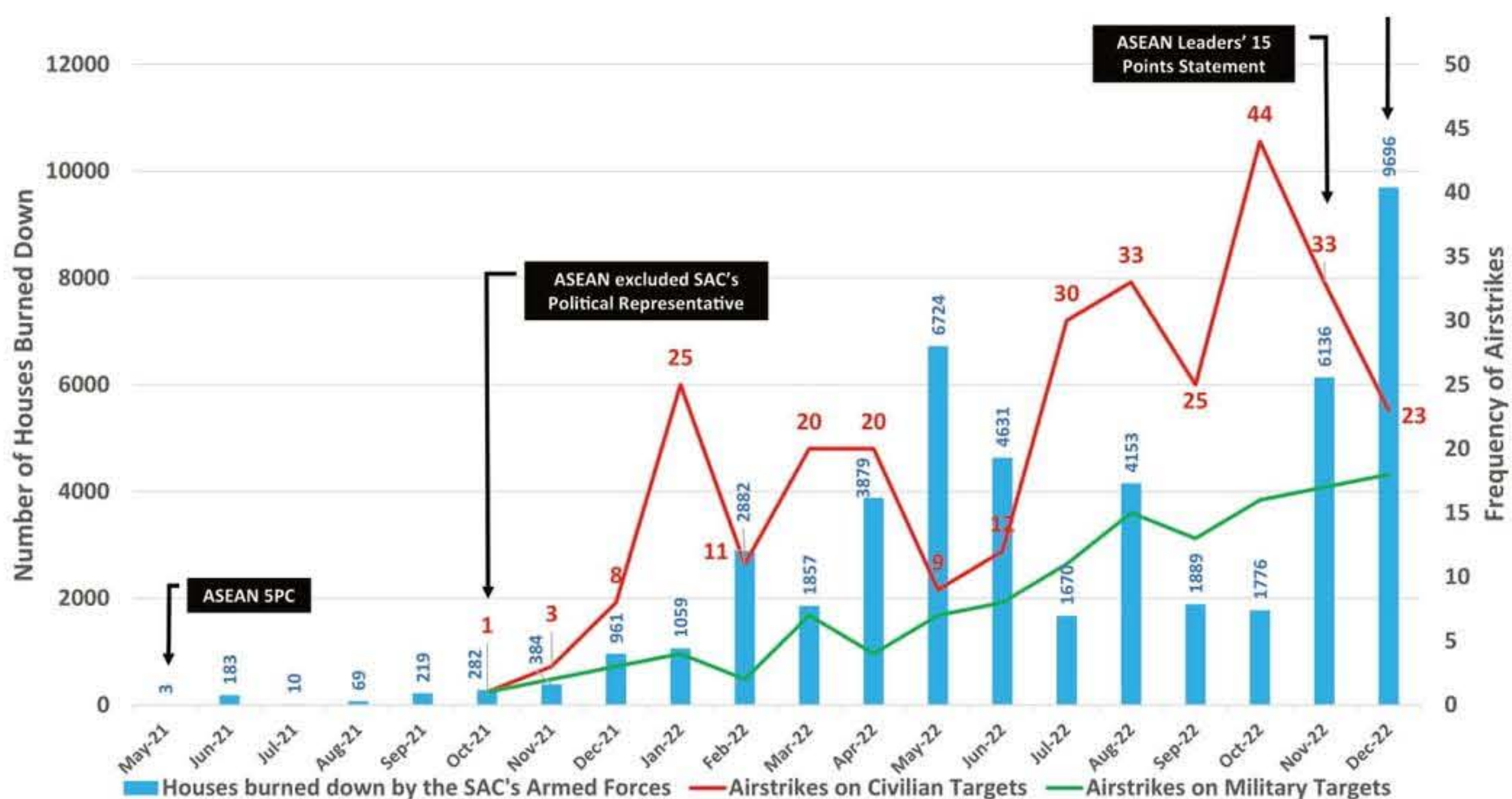
The Myanmar National Unity Government appreciates that shortly after the military coup of 1 February 2021, Indonesia took the lead in the ASEAN community to address the Myanmar issue. On 24 April 2021, ASEAN leaders invited Myanmar military leader Min Aung Hlaing and reached a 5-point consensus to resolve the Myanmar crisis. However, it is now known that the Myanmar military leader did not follow the points he agreed to. Thus, ASEAN leaders responded by

pressuring and not allowing the political representatives to attend ASEAN Summits, reviewing the current situation and putting pressure with a 15-point statement and finally, with the United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 2669. However, the Myanmar military has completely ignored all demands from the international community and continues committing greater and greater violence against its own people as shown clearly in Figure 4.

INDICATOR TO MEASURE MYANMAR MILITARY'S INTENTION TO REFORM

After President Thein Sein came into office in 2011 and called for a reform process in Myanmar, the international community estimated that the Myanmar military had begun the reforms. In fact, a true indicator that can measure the Myanmar military's willingness to reform is the military doctrine. The doctrine of the Myanmar military has not changed since the rise of the military dictator General Ne Win in 1962. All the military rank and file have been instilled with beliefs like: disdain and no acceptance of civilian politicians, lack of confidence in a parliamentary democratic system, federalism is secession and the only military must control the country. Therefore, successive military leaders have brutally killed their own people and burnt down houses without any desire to reform. Figure 4 demonstrates the violent character and behavior of the Myanmar military.

Figure 4: ASEAN and UNSC's Demands vs. SAC's Airstrikes and Burning Down Civilian Properties



(Source: Data for Myanmar and the Ministry of Defence, NUG)

A LONGER-TERM SOLUTION: SECURITY SECTOR REFORM

The people of Myanmar and their legitimate National Unity Government understand the attitude and behaviour of the Myanmar military very well, they have identified the complete reform of the security sector as the most important step for the establishment of a new federal democratic union of Myanmar.

Figure 5: Establishment of PDF and PDT units

NUG Ministry of Defence has formed:



A total of 303 units of the People's Defence Force (PDF). PDF units are operating across townships and states/regions under joint command systems established by the NUG and several EAOs; and



Set up People's Defence Teams (PDT) at 260 out of 330 townships in Myanmar with over 100,000 personnel and the teams are responsible for self-defense or community security militias operating at the community level.

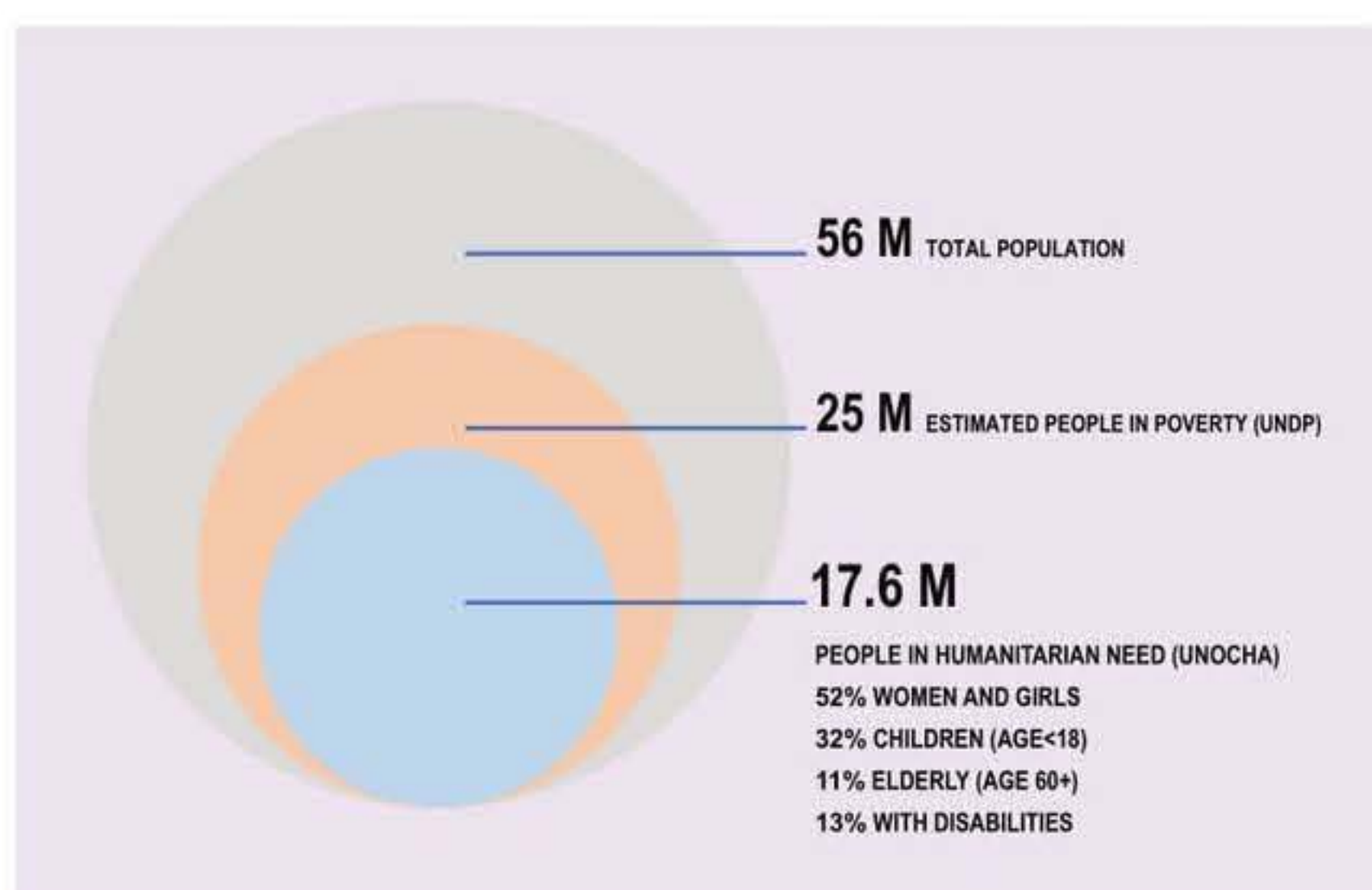
HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY: THE SAC'S STRATEGY TO DEFEAT THE ANTI-COUP MOVEMENT

The people of Myanmar are facing a humanitarian emergency created and deepened by the Myanmar military. Military SAC is launching aerial attacks, burning down and destroying houses and food supply almost on a daily basis. Aid from international and national organizations is controlled to ensure the support will not reach those affected areas. In addition, the military-controlled central bank applies an exchange rate that is less than half of the market rate as a way for the coup leaders to absorb almost half of the international humanitarian assistance funding to Myanmar. Moreover, the Association Registration Law has been amended with the aim of strictly controlling

the operations of local organizations. Figure 6 distinctly shows the situation of humanitarian needs in Myanmar.

In response, the NUG's Ministries of Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Management, Health, Education, and Women, Youth and Children Affairs are doing their best and coordinating efforts to help those who are suffering under the military's systematic widespread attacks. The Ministries funding comes from NUG government funds and public donations. Many ground organizations consisting of CDM teachers, students, medical professionals and volunteers have been founded (in 200 townships) and humanitarian assistance, interim health and education programs are implemented under respective management of Township Public Administrative Bodies, State Interim Consultative Councils, Regional Public Administrative Committees and national coordination committees.

Figure 6: Humanitarian Emergency Overview



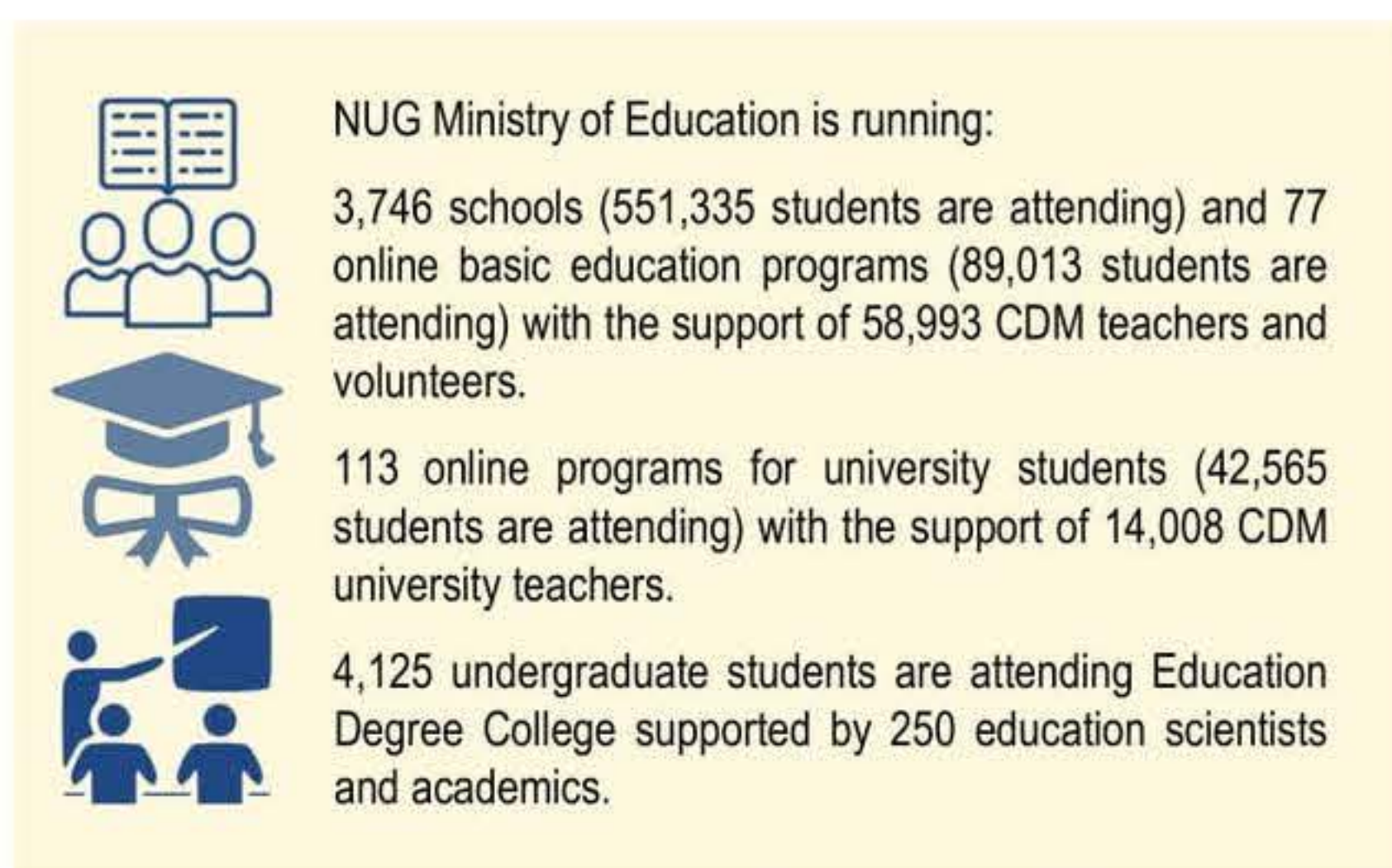
(Source: UNOCHA, Myanmar Humanitarian Need Overview 2023)

Figure 7: Basic Health Services delivered by the NUG



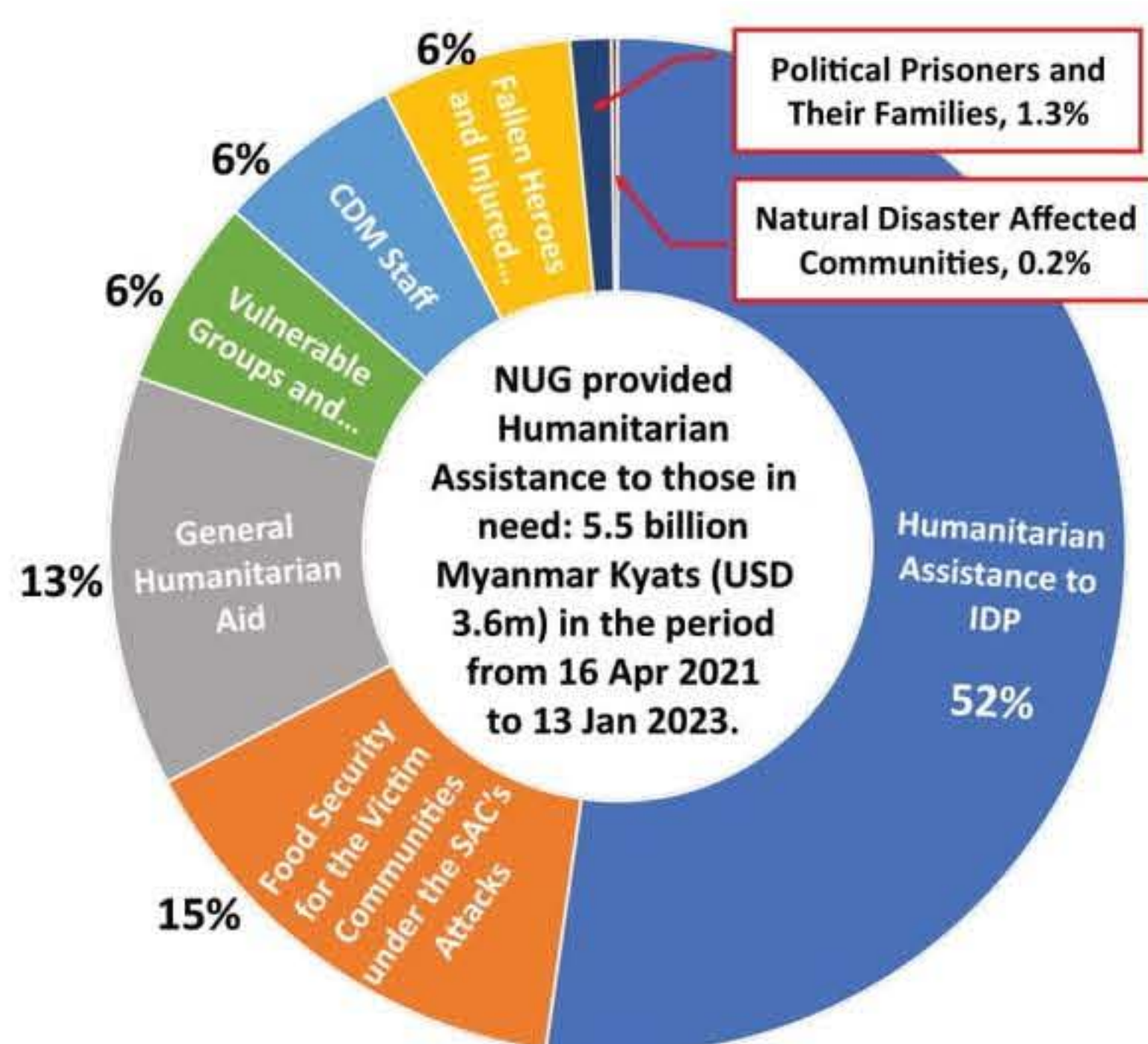
(Source: Ministry of Health, NUG)

Figure 8: Education Programs delivered by the NUG



(Source: Ministry of Education, NUG)

Figure 9: Humanitarian Assistance delivered by Ministry of Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Management



(Source: Ministry of Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Management, NUG)

SOLUTION FOR MYANMAR: IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM ACTIONS

The NUG and the people of Myanmar appreciate the efforts of the United Nations and ASEAN to help resolve the Myanmar crisis. Based on the above-mentioned points, the international community should consider two ways in order to solve the crisis in Myanmar: immediate and long-term actions.

IMMEDIATE ACTION:

The first thing to do is to immediately provide assistance to the people who are in urgent need of humanitarian aid due to the systemic violence of the Myanmar military. The NUG and people of Myanmar can help identify the most effective means for co-ordinating efforts to ensure it reaches the intended people in need. The military's participation in this action should be monitored by using the following indicators in Figure 9. Based on these indicators, the international community should intervene and if the participation is not sufficient, the international community should take necessary actions. The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is an approach to activate the non-compliance military junta. We suggest the international community employ the following four measurable indicators (figure 9) to check the coup leaders' compliance with the cessation of violence against civilians in Myanmar.

Figure 10: Measurable Indicators for the SAC's Violence Against Civilians

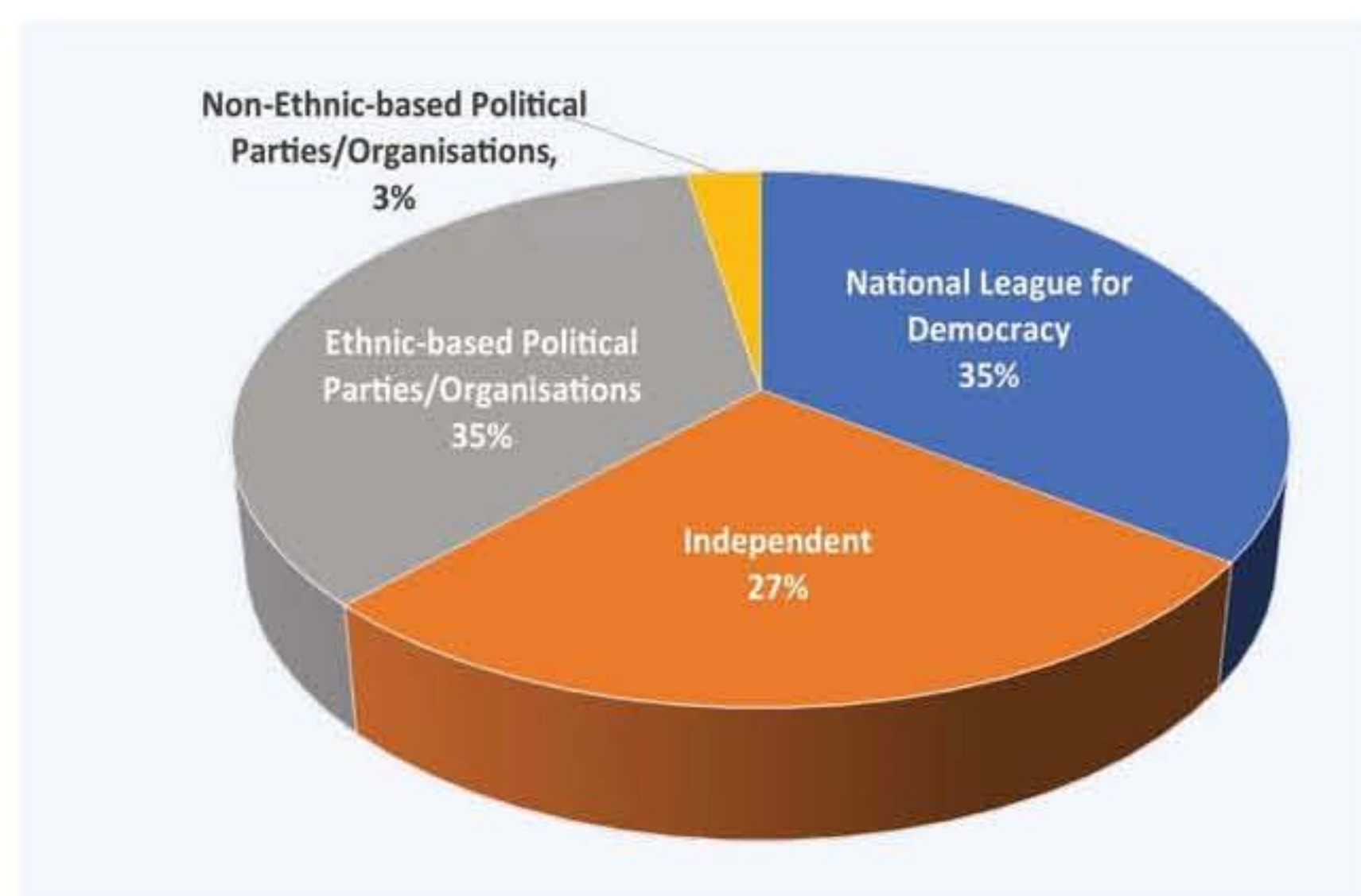


LONG-TERM ACTION:

The junta has deceived the Myanmar people as well as the international community for over 60 years. Figures 1, 2, and 3 indicate that the Myanmar military has no solution for sustainable peace and stability in Myanmar. This is the first point that the international community should accept. Only the approach and actions that prioritize the desires and aspirations of the Myanmar people and that are directed towards the will of the population are the way to find solutions to bring sustainable peace and stability to Myanmar.

Secondly, the international community must accept the fact that today's Myanmar Spring Revolution, unlike any other era, has already established good conditions that will bring sustainable peace and

Figure 11: Political Background of the NUG Government Members



(Source: The National Unity Government, <https://www.nugmyanmar.org/en/>)

stability to Myanmar. Sustainable peace and stability in Myanmar can only be achieved after the end of armed conflict. For this to happen, the structural matters at the root of the conflict must be resolved once and for all. It is also necessary to improve social cohesion in Myanmar and eliminate the hatred, prejudice, and stereotyping that existed in the past between groups. Only when these three factors are fulfilled, will there be long-lasting peace and stability in Myanmar.

In today's Spring Revolution, the approach of collective leadership (Fig 10) and collective resolution has already made progress in addressing structural matters. The hatred that existed in the past between groups is gradually easing and mutual understanding and values are already on the rise. With the military's scorched earth policy and four-cut strategy in Bamar majority regions like Sagaing and Magway, the ethnic Bamar have gained more empathy for the suffering of Kachin, Karenni, Karen, Chin, Mon, Rakhine, Shan, and Rohingya people who have suffered for decades under persecution of the military dictatorship and these people

have come to understand more about the Myanmar military's violence and oppression regardless of religion and ethnicity.

This situation has led to the development of greater social cohesion among the various ethnic groups in Myanmar and will continue to be addressed. Current NUG developments include the formulation of a specific policy for the Rohingya crisis, an issue that successive governments have not been able to resolve, and has already been able to present long-term plans. For the international community that wants Myanmar to be a stable country where democracy is flourishing and a state that will contribute to regional stability, they have never been in a better platform from which to help Myanmar than today.

Thirdly, the international community should accept that the 12-step political roadmap established by Myanmar's Spring Revolution as the plan that will bring sustainable peace and development to Myanmar. It is in everyone's common interests to assist the NUG and its allies to successfully implement this political roadmap.

CONCLUSION

Myanmar military must not only guarantee to withdraw from politics but also accept the new constitution to be drafted according to the 12-step political road map, the election to be held based on it, the security sector reform, and the military leaders must accept the decision of the judiciary under the transitional justice. The solution to the current Myanmar political crisis is pushing the Myanmar military from all sides to come to this agreement.

¹Abbreviations in Figure 3

ABSDf: All Burma Students' Democratic Front | ALP/ALA: Arakan Liberation Party / Arakan Liberation Army | BCP: Burma Communist Party | CNF/CNA: Chin National Front / Chin National Army | DKBA: Democratic Karen Buddhist Army | DKBA-5: Democratic Karen Buddhist Army – Brigade 5 | KNPP: Karenni National Progressive Party | KNU/KNLA: Karen National Union / Karen National Liberation Army | MNDAA: Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army | NDA-K: New Democratic Army – Kachin | NMSP/MNLA: New Mon State Party / Mon National Liberation Army | PDP/PLA: Parliamentary Democracy Party / Patriotic Liberation Army | PNO/PNA: Pa-O National Organisation / Pa-O National Army | PSLF/TNLA: Palaung State Liberation Front / Ta'ang National Liberation Army | PSLO/PSLA: Palaung State Liberation Organization / Palaung State Liberation Army | SSPP/SSA: Shan State Progress Party / Shan State Army | SUR/MTA: Shan United Revolutionary Army / Mong Tai Army | ULA/AA: United League of Arakan / Arakan Army | UWSP/UWSA: United Wa State Party / United Wa State Army |