



Burma News International  
Myanmar Peace Monitor

# A Riddle For International Donor Governments or Finding Solutions to Humanitarian Crisis



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## Research Methodology and Process

This research paper is an approach and solution for international humanitarian assistance to actually reach millions of Myanmar people who need help. For this paper, we reference data on the battles from the Dataset of our BNI-Myanmar Peace Monitor, the number of the IDPs and official data released by international governments and the INGOs.

In addition, the Burma News International (BNI)-Myanmar Peace Monitor Team held a series of discussions to formulate the research questions for this paper. We selected and interviewed the persons and organizations who are leading humanitarian activities in their respective fields. However, it was impossible to contact and question all the selected individuals within the limited time available for the preparation of the paper. We would like to respectfully inform you that we were not able to ask humanitarian aid officers from some local organizations and some leaders of Ethnic Resistance Organizations (EROs).

What makes this paper significant is that we interviewed some of the people displaced by the resurgence of fighting following the military coup in Lay Kay Kaw, the new town set up as a symbol of peacebuilding, in Myawaddy Township of Karen State and the surrounding areas. Their expectations, voices and personal experiences are collected in this paper.



## Objective of paper or Introduction

This paper attempts to review actions and approaches of the UN agencies and ASEAN, which are managing humanitarian aid for the people of Myanmar contributed by international governments. It is necessary to question how effective the method of cooperation with the coup group has been in managing the delivery of humanitarian aid to the people of Myanmar who have faced the military coup since 1 February 2021. It is high time for all UN member states to find ways to bypass difficult situations in which aid delivery is unlikely without the junta's approval.

During more than 2 years of military coup attempt in Myanmar, there are 1.5 million civilians who have fled their homes due to fighting and insecurity. If this is added to already-existing IDPs, the total number of IDPs has reached 1.8 million according to the UNOCHA's report released on 6 May 2023.

"Humanitarian operations continue to be hampered by physical and administrative obstacles," the report says.<sup>1</sup>

According to the BNI – Myanmar Peace Monitor's record till 9 May, there were 2,770 days of clashes in Myanmar since the coup, and the number of clashes may be higher than that. More than 98 percent of the clashes are between the EROs, the People's Defense Forces/Local Defense Forces (PDFs/LDFs) and troops of the military council, and the PDFs/

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<sup>1</sup> Myanmar Humanitarian Update No. 29, 6 May 2023 <http://rb.gy/03g7d>

LDFs account for 68 percent of it. During the military coup, the momentum of the people's resistance and revolutionary war became more apparent.<sup>2</sup>

As a result of the coup, civil war has become widespread and millions of people had to flee their homes. Based on possible responses within a challenging access and funding environment, the UN's response plan targeted only 4.5 million Myanmar people by 2023, with a decrease of nearly two million aid recipients in Myanmar compared to 2022.<sup>3</sup> It can be said that only the people of Myanmar suffered the consequences of cooperation only with the junta made by international humanitarian aid organizations and UN agencies which signed memorandums of understanding (MoUs) with it.

International humanitarian aid organizations and UN agencies have failed to find new ways to ensure access to humanitarian aid for the people of Myanmar amid the difficulties and challenges created by the military council's tighter restrictions and regional security conditions.

Now, the people of Myanmar who are really in need of help across the country have to rely only on people-to-people contributions. The National Unity Government (NUG), the EROs and the spring resistance forces are providing aid through regional networks. According to a list by the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management (MOHADM) under the NUG, it received a fund of 6.6 billion-MMK donated from 16 April 2021 to 31 March 2023. The NUG provides emergency aid to more than 200,000 people every month.

"Funding comes from the people-to-people contributions. More than 90 percent are from the people of Myanmar inside and outside the country. Especially Myanmar expats help a lot", Union Minister for Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management Dr. Win Myat Aye said.<sup>4</sup>

In order to maintain power, the junta burned down the villages in townships which are not under its control. A total of 60,459 civilian houses

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<sup>2</sup> Myanmar Armed Conflict Dashboard. 9 May 2023 <http://rb.gy/b4l79>

<sup>3</sup> Myanmar's neglected crisis demands a different response <http://rb.gy/8jbeb>

<sup>4</sup> An interview with the Union Minister for the MOHADM (BNI-MPM)

were burned down by the military council across the country.<sup>5</sup> The military council is carries out targeted airstrikes from religious buildings, schools, IDP camps to towns, villages and civilians every day. Since the coup till 9 May 2023, the military council carried out airstrikes for 404 days. The number of airstrikes may be thousands, and most of them targeted civilians.<sup>6</sup>

Due to the targeted attacks on civilians by the military coup and escalation of internal conflicts, the number of people who have lost their homes and fled their homes is increasing day by day. Consequently, the need for humanitarian assistance is growing. Due to the military council's restrictions, humanitarian aid from international governments for the Myanmar people remains out of reach for those who really need help.

Therefore, on 30 May 2022, the MOHADM under the NUG, the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP), the Karen National Union (KNU) and the Chin National Front (CNF) issued a joint statement on humanitarian support to Myanmar proposed by the ASEAN and UN.

The joint statement called for increasing support for credible local Civil Society Organizations/Community-Based Organizations (CSOs/CBOs) and NGOs for the emergency relief from of the suffering of the people of Myanmar and, providing support to credible local and international actors already involved in humanitarian support in ethnic and liberated areas. The statement also called for organising cross-border clearance or facilitation of cross-border movements for the long-term benefits of hundreds of thousands of displaced people.

It is time for ASEAN, the United Nations and international donor governments to review the source and direction of the humanitarian aid they provide to the people of Myanmar. The legitimacy of the military council should be reviewed, and ways of delivering humanitarian aid to the people freely and independently sought.

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<sup>5</sup> Data for Myanmar, 28 February 2023, <http://rb.gy/bu5f2>

<sup>6</sup> Military Regime's Airstrikes in Myanmar, 9 May 2023, <http://rb.gy/2ylau>

This research paper studies whether the approaches of UN agencies and ASEAN which manage international humanitarian aid contributed by foreign governments are working or not and seek ways to deliver humanitarian aid to the people of Myanmar who really need help.

It provides approximate answers to the research questions such as the areas in Myanmar most in need of aid, where the civil war is accelerating, difficulties and challenges of "people-to-people" sharing and supporting and the measures to avoid targeted attacks by the junta.

## The origin and direction of humanitarian aid in Myanmar

If humanitarian aid which inflows into the country during the coup is observed, two kinds of aid can be seen - aid by Myanmar citizens and international contributions.

It can be said that traditionally, being the world's most generous country brings relief to the people who are suffering the consequences of the military coup. It can be said that donations from local citizens and Myanmar expats regularly go to the Myanmar people who really need help through the forces of the Spring Revolution in time.

It is found that aid is being provided directly to the people who really need it through the forces of the Spring Revolution such as the NUG, the EROs, the federal units which collectively emerge along the lines of ethnic groups and regions, the NGOs and religious organisations by establishing a network with the community-based Civil Society Organizations that are closest to the public, charitable organizations, civil servants who joined the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM), elected representatives and relevant regional humanitarian aid officers.

"It's just to respond to their needs. If there are displaced people in an area, our department cannot go and survey. We are responding to the needs through the networks," Dr. Win Myat Aye explained.<sup>7</sup>

If the flow of international aid is looked into, most of the donor countries send their humanitarian aid through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the World Food Programme (WFP), other related organizations and the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre). ASEAN and the UN agencies are managing their programmes

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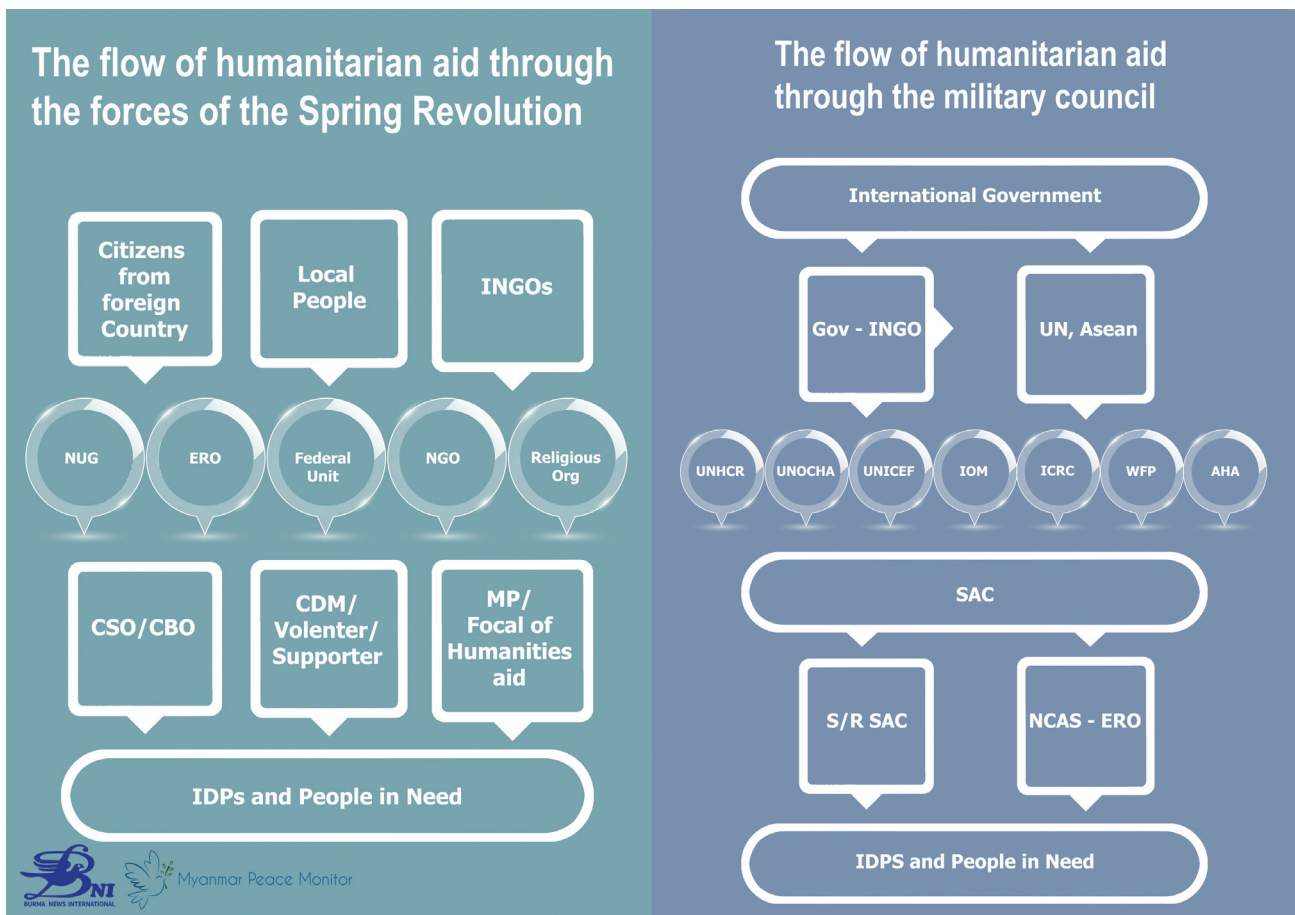
<sup>7</sup> An interview with the Union Minister for the HADM (BNI-MPM)



in cooperation with the military council led by Senior General Min Aung Hlaing who seized power.

Noticeably, they are occupied with following the restrictions set by the military group rather than ensuring the arrival of international aid to those who really need humanitarian aid since they have to perform their work by the MoUs with the military council.

“Government to Government (G to G) is not okay. Aid cannot really reach the people,” Naw Say Say Hae, Joint Secretary-2 Organization (KWO) commented.<sup>8</sup>



The KWO is an organisation that has been working on education, health and social issues of women, children and vulnerable civilians in seven refugee camps in seven districts under the control of the Karen National Union (KNU) since 1949.

<sup>8</sup> An interview with Naw Say Say Hae, Joint Secretary-2 Organization (KWO) , (BNI-MPM)

“After the military coup, they are facing various difficulties,” said Naw Say Say Hae.

Since the emergence of the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) in 2015, international humanitarian aid has flown to the Union government only. Now it creates difficulties for the people who really need international humanitarian aid.

“It gets worse after the coup. Donors ask for more requirements. Funds are low. There are borderline restrictions. After the NCA was signed, most of aid flew into Myanmar. Aid is no longer reaching the border line,” the KWO’s Joint Secretary-2 explained.

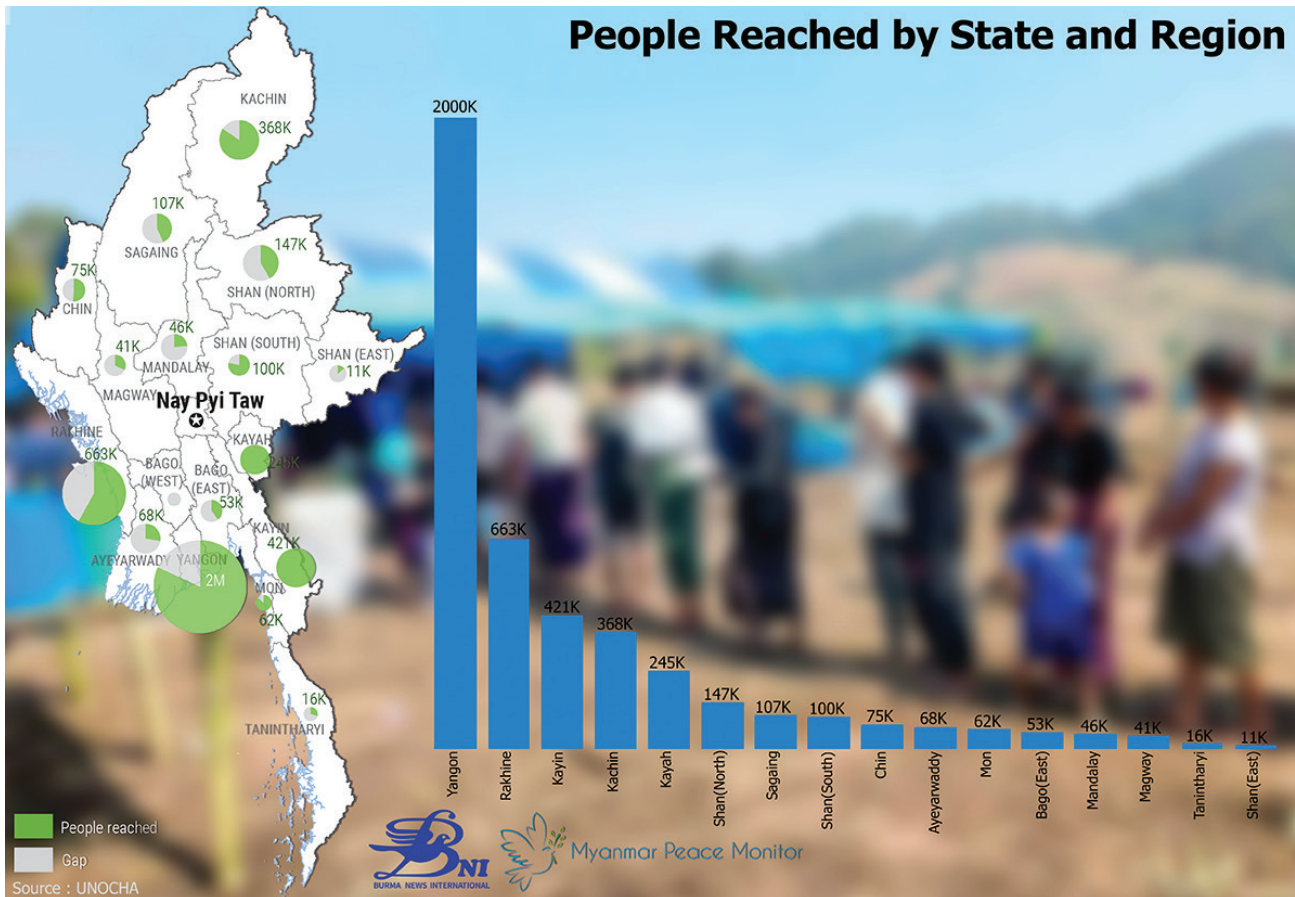
## The coverage of humanitarian aid

The international governments who witnessed the dire situation of Myanmar people during the military coup, are making approaches using various forms of encouragement, support and sympathy. It must be said that they still do not have the ability to evaluate whether humanitarian aid is reaching the people who really need it in Myanmar.

According to the end-of-year report regarding the Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP) for Myanmar released by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), even though there were 14.4 million people in need of humanitarian assistance in Myanmar, the target was to reach 6.2 million people, but only 4.361 million people were able to receive humanitarian aid. More than 500,000 people, which is 11.8 percent of the population in need, are internally displaced persons (IDPs). Because the UNOCHA was only able to use nine million US dollars for them, each IDP received support equal to US\$17 only in the whole year of 2022.

The original target was to support US\$68 per IDP. In addition, the 2022 HRP annual report said that although US\$826 million was proposed

for the people of Myanmar, the amount that was actually spent was only US\$292 million.<sup>9</sup>



Nearly 1.8 million people in Myanmar are in need of humanitarian aid. According to the HRP for 2023, the UNOCHA will provide targeted aid for 4.5 million people in Myanmar. The number of targeted people has declined by nearly two million. The UNOCHA has proposed a humanitarian fund of US\$ 88 million for over 95,000 IDPs. The US\$ 92 will be disbursed to an IDP in Myanmar for 2023.<sup>10</sup>

Neineh Plo, Coordinator of the Coordination Team for Emergency Relief (CTER) formed by the KNPP said: "According to the information available, the aid provided by ASEAN and the UN agencies in Karenni (Kayah) State cover only 35 percent of the people who really need it."

<sup>9</sup> Myanmar Humanitarian Response Plan 2022 End-Year Report, 11 Apr 2023  
<http://rb.gy/el0c7>

<sup>10</sup> Myanmar Humanitarian Response Plan 2023, 25 January 2023, <http://rb.gy/3hnb6>

“Aid has not yet reached those in real need. There is no way that their aid can reach the people who are taking shelter in forests and the border areas. Their aid reaches only the people in the cities and suburban areas. Only a small amount of aid reaches the areas under the rule of the military council,” Neineh Plo reviewed.<sup>11</sup>

U Banyar Khun Aung, Spokesperson of the Humanitarian Committee of the Karenni State Consultative Council (KSCC) said: “The WFP provides some food, the UNHCR, non-food items, the ICRC, cash assistance for IDPs and wounded civilians and Save the Children, healthcare, in Karenni (Kayah) State.

The UNOCHA held talks with the chair of the Karenni state military council about the distribution of rations for the IDPs. The aid will go only to those included in the list of the military council.

“Some statistics are released, but local residents who are not IDPs are also on that same list with IDPs. In 2022, we experienced a situation where some people withdrew rations by showing the list although we did not know where they came from. What's worse is that we could not provide aid in the places where the IDPs are taking shelter,” U Banyar Khun Aung pointed out.<sup>12</sup>

International humanitarian aid by the UN agencies, people-to-people aid by the KNPP and the KSCC and undeclared aid by NGOs and INGOs can merely cover 50 percent of the people including the IDPs. “The remaining 50 percent have to struggle for their survival,” U Banyar Khun Aung commented.

It is found that the MOHADM under the NUG which has received a fund of MMK 6.6 bn contributed by the people during two years can provide aid for around 300,000 people by classifying them into the groups—the IDPs, CDM civil servants, the family members of those killed and political prisoners and vulnerable family members.

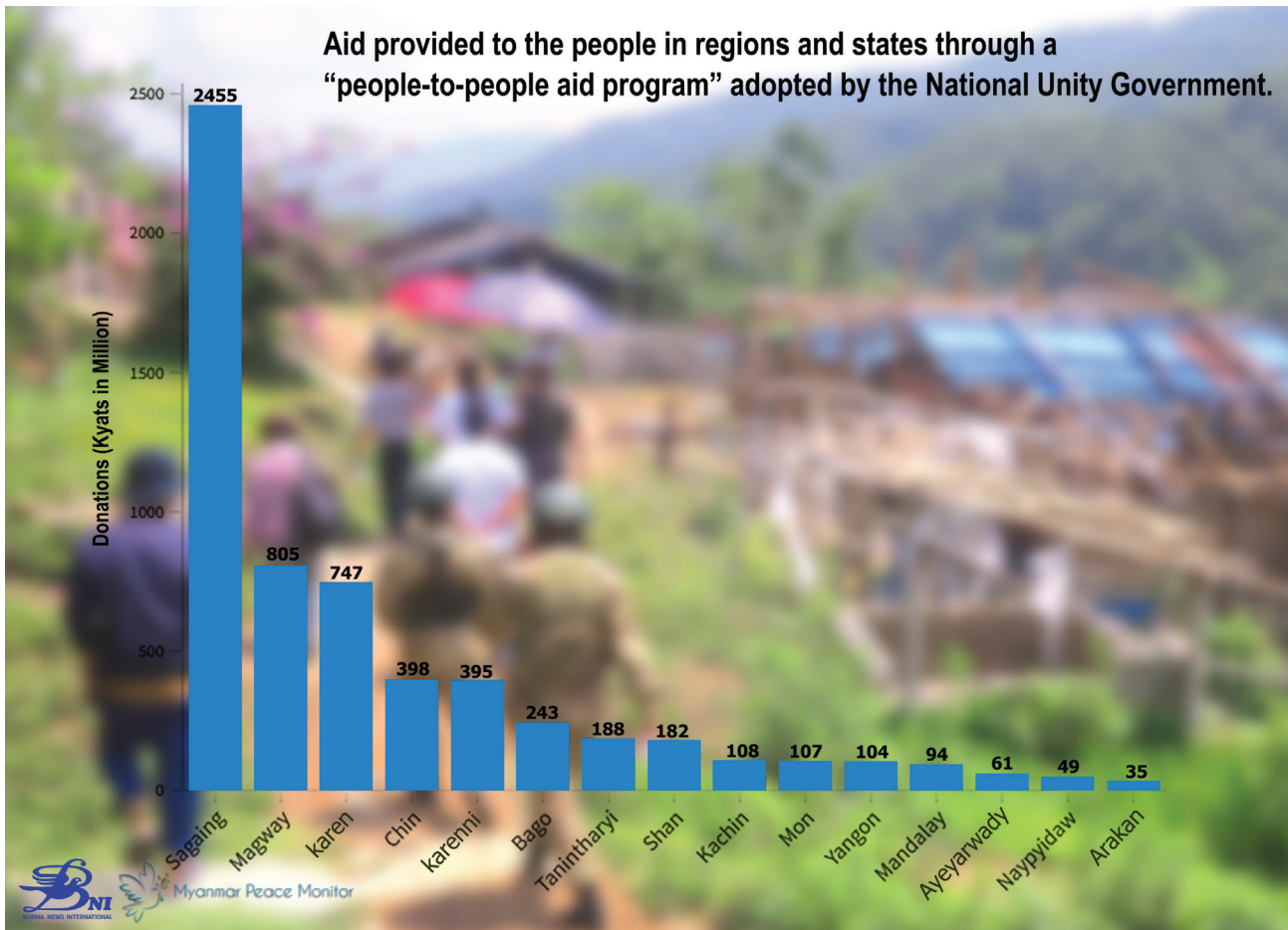
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11 An interview with Neineh Plo, Coordinator of the CTER formed by the KNPP, BNI-MPM.

12 An interview with U Banyar Khun Aung, Spokesperson of the Humanitarian Committee of the Karenni State Consultative Council (KSCC), BNI-MPM.



“We have to provide aid based on the data presented by the people who can work on the ground. We don’t know where they are taking shelter after fleeing their homes. There may be some people who cannot contact us. Such people are not included in the list yet,” said Dr. Win Myat Aye explained about the civilians the ministry cannot help.<sup>13</sup>



Due to various reasons such as the military council’s targeted attacks on civilians, airstrikes, arsons and indiscriminate shooting with small and heavy weapons and the escalation of internal resistance war which is the result of the military coup, the number of displaced people across the country has reached 1.8 million. (Remark: around 300,000 IDPs are included in 1.8 million.)

<sup>13</sup> An interview with the Union Minister for the HADM, BNI-MPM.



The UN agencies and ASEAN which manage humanitarian aid have faced a lot of restrictions as they are cooperating by signing the memorandum of understandings (MoUs) only with the military council on the delivery of humanitarian aid to the people who need international humanitarian aid. Therefore, efforts to fully achieve the aid target remain a big challenge.

"These organizations usually present the reports and issue the statements on how many million dollars they donated in Karen State, only after all figures are summed up. However, these numbers don't mean the amount they said has not actually been received by the people," Neineh Plo, Coordinator of the CTER formed by the KNPP said.

"For instance, the money they spent to help ten thousand people covers the cost of running their office, travel expenses and employee salaries. Aid which comes through the military council and the formal channels does not reach the people who are in real need," Nal Nae Palo explained.

Dr. Ngai Tam Maung, Chair of Chin State Humanitarian Aid and Rescue Committee said: "According to their Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP) in 2022, United Nations agencies used about 70 percent of all budgets (expenditures) in Yangon alone. I feel sorry as they did not get enough aid in areas where tens of thousands of homes were burned down nationwide, especially Sagaing Region, Magway Region, Chin State and Karenni State, where the military council burned down the harvested and stored rations."

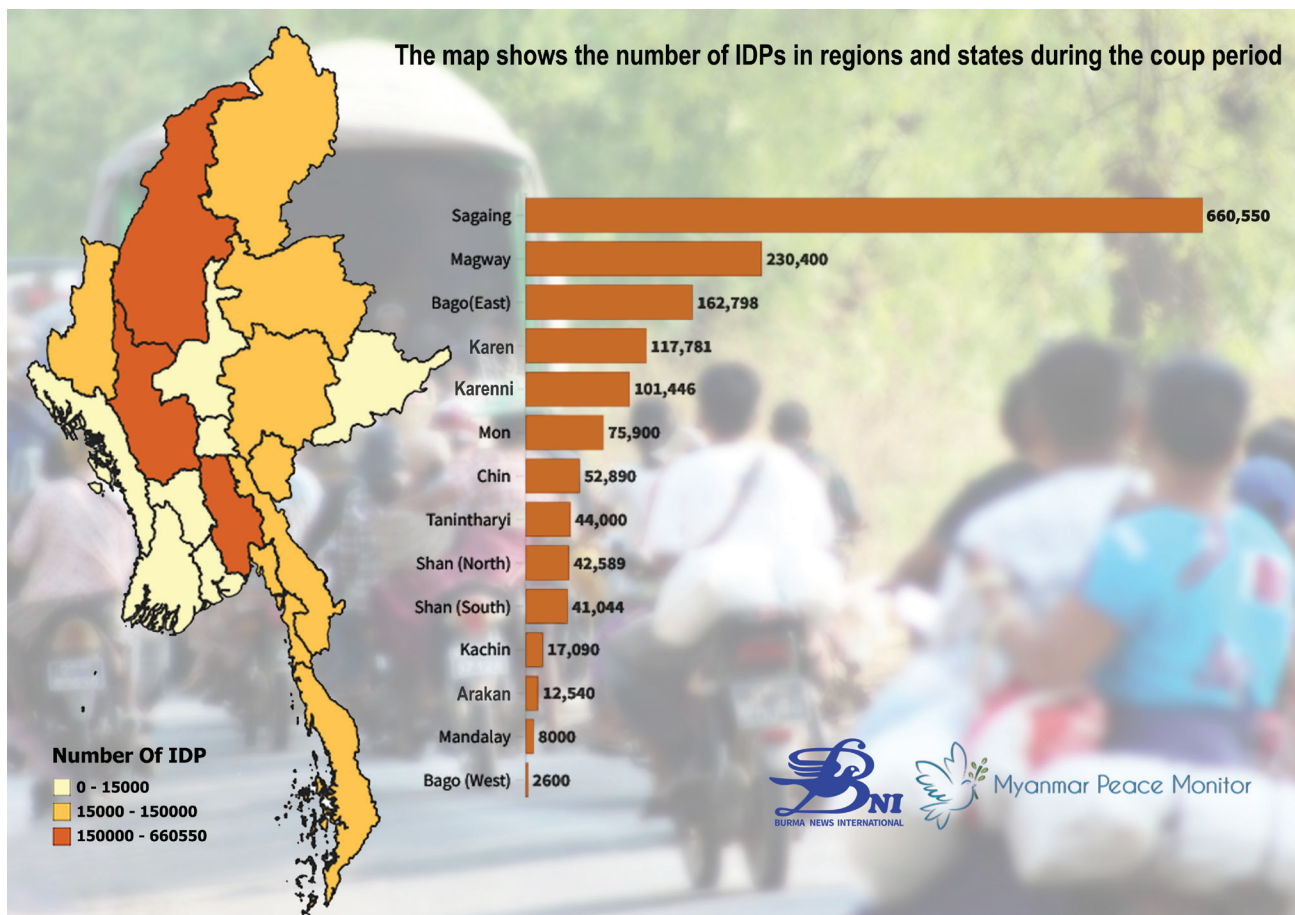
"No matter which region they are in, all are Myanmar citizens. I am glad (that they received aid). On the other hand, I feel sad because aid can't reach those who are in real need," said Dr. Ngai Tam Maung who is also the deputy minister of the HADM.<sup>14</sup>

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14 An interview with Dr. Ngai Tam Maung, Chair of Chin State Humanitarian Aid and Rescue Committee, BNI-MPM

## The region most in need of humanitarian aid and the most difficult

According to the daily report of our BNI - Myanmar Peace Monitor, as of 16 May 2023, more than 1.56 million people have been displaced since the military coup. Sagaing Region topped the list of IDPs with 660,550, followed by Magway Region with 230,400. There are more than 100,000 IDPs each in Bago Region (east), Karen State and Karenni State.<sup>15</sup> (Remark: According to the UNOCHA list, there are 76,1300 IDPs in Sagaing Region.)



Sagaing Region is home to the highest number of the PDFs/LDFs which have been making armed resistance against the military council troops. Except for Khamti and Lahal Townships in Sagaing Region which

<sup>15</sup> Internally Displaced Persons Situation in Myanmar, 16 May 2023, BNI – MPM

<http://rb.gy/s9yvm>

has 35 townships, there have been fighting between the PDFs/LDFs and the military council for 654 days in the remaining 33 townships.<sup>16</sup> The BNI-Myanmar Peace Monitor records only days of fighting, but the number of fighting may be in thousands.

With the strongest resistance against the military council army, there were 104 days of airstrikes in 28 townships in Sagaing Region which experiences the military council's airstrikes the most.<sup>17</sup> The incidents such as the deadly airstrike on Pazigy village of Kanbalu Township<sup>18</sup> and the bombing on a school in Letyetkone village of Depayin Township in Sagaing Region<sup>19</sup> have already been recorded as inhuman acts of the military council.

The interviewees who are managing humanitarian aid in their respective regions have selected Sagaing Region and Magway Region as the areas which need humanitarian assistance most for this paper although the whole country has experienced challenges and difficulties.

"Magway Region and Sagaing Region should be on the priority list when compared with other regions in terms of pre-existing socioeconomic and livelihood status and the nature of war," said U Banyar Khun Aung, Spokesperson of the Humanitarian Committee of the KSCC.

"Civilians from Sagaing and Magway Regions are should be given top priority due to the lack of war, IDPs in the past and limited experiences in fleeing battles and sheltering in the forests, displacement pattern, the hardship for movements in the plain area and limited areas covered by by forests and scarcity of natural resources to survive with," U Banyar Khun Aung explained.<sup>20</sup>

The NUG's Minister for Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management viewed that Karenni, Karen and Chin States, even though they are

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16 People's Defense Force Dashboard, 16 May 2023, BNI-MPM <http://rb.gy/rti75>

17 Military Regime's Airstrikes in Myanmar, 16 May 2023, BNI-MPM <http://rb.gy/58jmv>

18 May Pazigy be blessed with merits shared by the whole country. – Issue 100 <http://rb.gy/rnlldd>

19 The Day of Tragedy in Let Yet Kone Village – Issue 72 <http://rb.gy/n76tj>

20 An interview with U Banyar Khun Aung, Spokesperson of KSCC Humanitarian Committee BNI-MPM





Photo - CJ

*Local farmers fleeing fighting between Myanmar army troops and PDF*

unofficial, still have access to some humanitarian aid through the border, such as Thailand and India, while people in the central Myanmar such as Sagaing and Magway Regions, are seen as experiencing more hardship. “Sagaing Region and Magway Region have no easy access to cross-border aid. The central region is the most troublesome with people in dire need of help but with minimum accessibility,” said Dr. Win Myat Aye.

Dr. Ngai Tam Maung, who is participating on behalf of the Interim Chin National Consultative Council (ICNCC), in the Coordination Committee on Humanitarian Assistance of the National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC) reviewed that when the regions that need help across the country are examined, Sagaing Region could be ranked as number one, Magway Region number two, and Chin, Karenni and Karen States number three on the priority list.

“The junta burned down the whole village, including rations stored for a year. Also, as the cattle used for farming in the rural area were also killed, they really need help. On the other hand, the military council adopts a “four-cuts” strategy in order that food rations cannot be provided in those places. Sagaing Region, Magway Region, Chin State and Karenni State will be the most difficult ones,” Dr. Ngai Tam Maung explained.<sup>21</sup>

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21 An interview with Dr. Ngai Tam Maung, Chairman of Chin State Humanitarian Aid and Rescue Committee, BNI-MPM

Sagaing Region, which has seen the fiercest resistance of Myanmar Spring Revolution and hosts the largest number of IDPs, experiences the military council's burning of houses as well as offensive land, naval and air warfare and acts of violence every day. However, the people in Sagaing Region have not received humanitarian aid provided by foreign governments.

According to UNOCHA's statement, until the end of September 2021, while managing 12 million US dollars out of US\$ 15.6 million of humanitarian funds for Myanmar supported by foreign governments, most was used in Arakan State, Kachin State and Shan State used and only nine per cent of the fund was used in Chin State and Magway Region.

According to UNICEF's report (No.7) as of 31 August 2022, humanitarian aid has yet to be provided for more than 665,000 IDPs in the northwestern region of Myanmar, which includes Sagaing Region, Magway Region and Chin State. According to UNICEF's report, the aid organizations are unable to enter the northwestern region of Myanmar due to the military council's travel restrictions. They are interacting with the military council for more access to the townships in the area.<sup>22</sup>

The UN agencies and ASEAN which manage humanitarian aid contributed by the foreign governments, should review the method of cooperation with the military council and find ways in order that humanitarian aid can reach the people of Myanmar who are in real need.

"They are afraid of the military council. The international community is not in a position to feely support those in need of humanitarian aid. Only when we have freedom, can we provide aid effectively. They did not reveal their difficulties to us. In my view, their difficulty is that they are not given permission to freely enter the areas and support the IDPs in the places controlled by the military council or by the PDF/NUG or by the ethnic groups without discrimination against those in need," the Union Minister for the HADM reviewed.

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22 Sagaing (OR) The Region Where IDPs Have Not Received UN's Aid – Issue 73

<http://rb.gy/p8b9p>



## Voices of Karen IDPs

For this research paper, we went to Thay Baw Boe village in Myawaddy Township, Karen State, and interviewed the IDPs in order to find out their voices and expectations. All the refugees living in bamboo huts on a hillside near Thay Baw Boe village are hoping to return home.

The IDPs from the Lay Kay Kaw, known as the new town of peace and Hteemalwarkhee, Rathegu, Maekanal and Thay Baw Boe villages, have been living in bamboo huts on the hillside for years. Saw Lar Doh, a 50-year-old administrator of Thay Baw Boe village, has to find and manage food and supplies for the IDPs.

"I went to meet the military council's tactical operations commander. I told him to help the villagers to travel and work freely when they return to the village. The main point is I want no harm to the village. The thing is soldiers has to obey the orders," said Saw Lar Doh who has been serving as an administrator of Thay Baw Boe village since 2015.

Ten thousand baht is paid as annual rent for the hillside near Thay Baw Boe village where more than 50 families are living. He explained that he had to ask for help from the military-backed Border Guard Force (BGF) and the Democratic Karen Benevolent Army (DKBA) in order to provide food for each household. He said he also has to find monthly donation from religious organizations, philanthropic organisations and individuals.

"We have to live here on donation. Our living conditions here are not too difficult. But IDP camps like Sone Si Myaing and Ukariththa don't receive much donation. So their situation is very difficult," said Saw Lar Doh, the village chief of Thay Baw Boe.<sup>23</sup>

"I had never experienced anything like this in my whole life. Gunshots were heard from behind. We had to run for our lives," Naw Mayrea, a 38-year-old teacher, recounted her experience.<sup>24</sup>

"Everything is fine. Once a month they come and provide aid. But I

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23 An interview with Saw Lar Doh, the village chief of Thay Baw Bo, BNI-MPM

24 An interview with Naw Mayrea, an IDP from Maekanae village



*Thay Baw Boe IDP camp in Myawaddy Township (Photo: BNI-MPM)*

have never asked who it's from for fear that they'll think I am nosy. If I can, I just want to go back to the village," she said about the situation of the monthly provision of aid.

U Myint Sein, a man in his 50s, and Daw Tin Aye from Hteemeiwahkhee village cannot return home because Myanmar army troops are stationed on their property in the village.

"I returned to the village last month. I was not allowed to enter the house, but were allowed to look around the yard. They dug communication trenches around the house. They were also in the chicken run. They also set up a sniper position. They said they were there on duty and did not know when they would be allowed to return home," Daw Tin Aye, 50, recounted her experience in late April 2023.

U Myint Sein and Daw Tin Aye said they only wanted to return home, although they have no particular difficulties in the current IDP camp.

"All I want is to be back home. I don't want to say anything to anyone," U Myint Sein described his feelings.<sup>25</sup>

22-year-old Naw Phot Muhsar and her family members from Yathaytgu village, which is adjacent to Lay Kay Kaw Myothit, had to seek refuge in Hpalu village for three days after being displaced from their

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<sup>25</sup> An interview with U Myint Sein, an IDP from Hteemeiwahkhee village

village before fleeing again to Thay Baw Boe village. Her most difficult time was when they had to flee in the rain during the battle of Thay Baw Boe, which broke out in the third week of May 2022.

"Planes flew overhead every night. We were very scared. Those on the Thai side of the border asked us to turn back if they saw us crossing



*Thay Baw Boe IDP camp in Myawaddy Township (Photo: BNI-MPM)*

the border. With the flood, it was very difficult for us," said Naw Phot Muhsar, who used to sew before fleeing to the Yathaytgu IDP camp.<sup>26</sup> Naw Phot Huhsar said her only wish is to return to Yathaytgu village, although food supplies in the current IDP camp are sufficient.

Saw Aye Maung, 45, who moved to Lay Kay Kaw Myothit from Insein Township in Yangon for his children's education, said, "I had never fled this way before. During the battle of Meiwahkhee, we had to hide in a stream. When there is no more fighting, we will return to our village or to Myawaddy"

"There are donors for food, although we have to wait for it every month. But there is no future for children's education. We don't have IDP cards. We don't even dare to tell them that we fled Lay Kay Kaw," said

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<sup>26</sup> An interview with Naw Phot Muhsar, an IDP from Yathaytgu village



Saw Aye Maung.

Although food aid for IDPs interviewed by BNI-Myanmar Peace Monitor can be considered sufficient, humanitarian aid groups, including the village head of Thaybawboe, who have been involved in the procurement of relief supplies, face many difficulties.

"We can only meet emergency needs, but not long-term needs. We don't have high hopes there," said a woman in charge of distributing relief goods to IDPs. Because five IDP camps on the banks of the Thaung Yin River in Karen State, home to more than 16,000 people, rely on monthly aid shipments coming informally across the Thai border, formal approval from the Thai government is crucial", she said.

"International cross-border aid is really important. But the respective governments impose restrictions. Under the previous Thai government, there was little hope. I hope things will improve if the new candidate who just won the election can form the government. I want cross-border humanitarian aid provision to be legal," said the woman from the pioneer committee for emergency aid in the country.<sup>27</sup>

From discussions held on the ground with displaced people and those responsible for relief efforts, it appears that a large number of displaced people have a strong desire to return to their homes as soon as possible as hope for long-term food supplies is limited.

## Effective approaches to reach people in need

On 16 March 2023, Noeleen Heyzer, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General on Myanmar, when asked by a Japanese news agency about the biggest challenges in Myanmar that the international community urgently needs to address, responded as follows:

"We have a situation where the crisis has created a huge humanitarian crisis in Myanmar. It's a multidimensional crisis. It's a political crisis. It's a human rights crisis. It's a humanitarian crisis, and it's also a

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<sup>27</sup> A woman from the pioneer committee for emergency aid, BNI-MPM

socioeconomic crisis as well. And therefore what we need now is to ensure now that the people who need humanitarian assistance are taken care of in the most effective way." <sup>28</sup>



Ms. Noeleen Heyzer said she also spoke separately with NUG leadership, organizations providing humanitarian assistance to local people, women's organisations, ethnic revolutionary organisations, and the Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH).

This research paper, based on facts and figures as well as interviews with individuals or groups working in the field, explores the best possible approaches for effective delivery of international humanitarian assistance to Myanmar's vulnerable communities.

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<sup>28</sup> Noeleen Heyzer, Special Envoy on the situation in Myanmar - Security Council Media Stakeout, 16 March 2023 <http://rb.gy/m3vcc>



## ● Approach 1

The first and foremost priority of foreign governments and agencies under ASEAN and UN is to review the purpose of their international humanitarian assistance programs. Ngai Tam Maung, Chairman of Humanitarian and Relief Committee for Chin State, pointed out that the management and distribution of international humanitarian aid should be undertaken with pure intentions.<sup>29</sup>

Ngai Tam Maung, who is also deputy minister of the NUG's Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management, said he found that UN and ASEAN organizations have been adopting "kill-two-birds-with-one-stone" approach by linking humanitarian aid activities to the peace process in the country.

"Peacebuilding is linked to politics. The humanitarian efforts have not been as effective as they should be because they have been attached to the peacebuilding process. They are trying to kill two birds with one stone. Now they have failed to achieve both goals. They need to start reevaluating the delivery of their humanitarian assistance because it is not achieving the goal it was supposed to. It would be better if they acted in accordance with humanitarian principles and with pure intentions"

U Banyar Khun Aung, spokesperson for the Karenni State Consultative Council (KSCC) Humanitarian Committee, pointed out that ASEAN and UN agencies managing international humanitarian aid should definitely reconsider their approach of working only with the Myanmar military council.

"There are stakeholders in different regions. There are reliable civil society organizations. The role of civil society organizations is critical in this state. They live closest to the affected communities. There are many trusted groups that provide the basic needs of their own people... Aid should be provided not just from one side, but from all sides."<sup>30</sup> He also

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29 An interview with Dr. Ngai Tam Maung, Chairman of Chin Humanitarian and Relief Committee (BNI-MPM)

30 An interview with U Banyar Khun Aung, Spokesperson of KSCC Humanitarian Committee (BNI-MPM)

criticized international humanitarian aid organizations for "knowingly" taking this one-dimensional approach, violating the principles of neutrality and equality for fear of risking the registration of their organizations and the employment of their staff. In addition, U Banyar Khun Aung made the following recommendations:

"If they are unable to do so, they should formally leave the country. That would be of great help to us. We will do it with other groups that have the resources. Only the people will suffer when they present aid provided for a month as if it is for a year. Public information is more accessible to the military council, which in turn brings more dangers to us. They (aid agencies) should pull out boldly if they can't do it."

The conclusion to Approach 1 is that it is essential to review the purpose of international humanitarian assistance to Myanmar's vulnerable communities.

## ● Approach 2

Noeleen Heyzer, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General on Myanmar, said there have been discussions between officials of UN agencies working with the military regime and the NUG, but the agencies have yet to issue transparent statements on the matter.

"We have asked them if they have any problems, but they haven't told us openly. They did not bother to make their meeting with us public. They are afraid of the military council. The international community has not been able to provide unhindered humanitarian aid to those in need," Dr. Win Myat Aye, Minister of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management, said of the status of international organizations in working with the NUG.<sup>31</sup>

Looking at the actual management of humanitarian aid, a network-like model can be seen among the Spring Revolution forces, while "people-to-people" aid is distributed by civil society organizations, charity groups,

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31 An interview with Union Minister of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management (BNI-MPM)

participants in the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM), and elected members of parliament closest to the public. Beyond that, it is more of a collaborative effort, distributing relief supplies through local networks working to provide humanitarian assistance to those in need.

"The NUG cannot do this alone. Most of the people who are truly in need are in areas controlled by ethnic forces and the NUG/PDF. That is why we have pointed out to the international community the need to work together," said Dr. Win Myat Aye.

The National Unity Government and the ethnic revolutionary organizations (EROs) jointly proposed more than a year ago that relevant countries should come together and convene an Inclusive Humanitarian Forum (IHF) as the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar has reached a level that concerns the international community as a whole. On 10 May 2023, NUG, KNU, KNPP, and CNF issued a joint statement that they had received broad support for the humanitarian initiative after the proposal was taken up by Ms. Noeleen Heyzer. She continued to promote the idea to ASEAN members, including the ASEAN Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Myanmar, as well as to the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly.

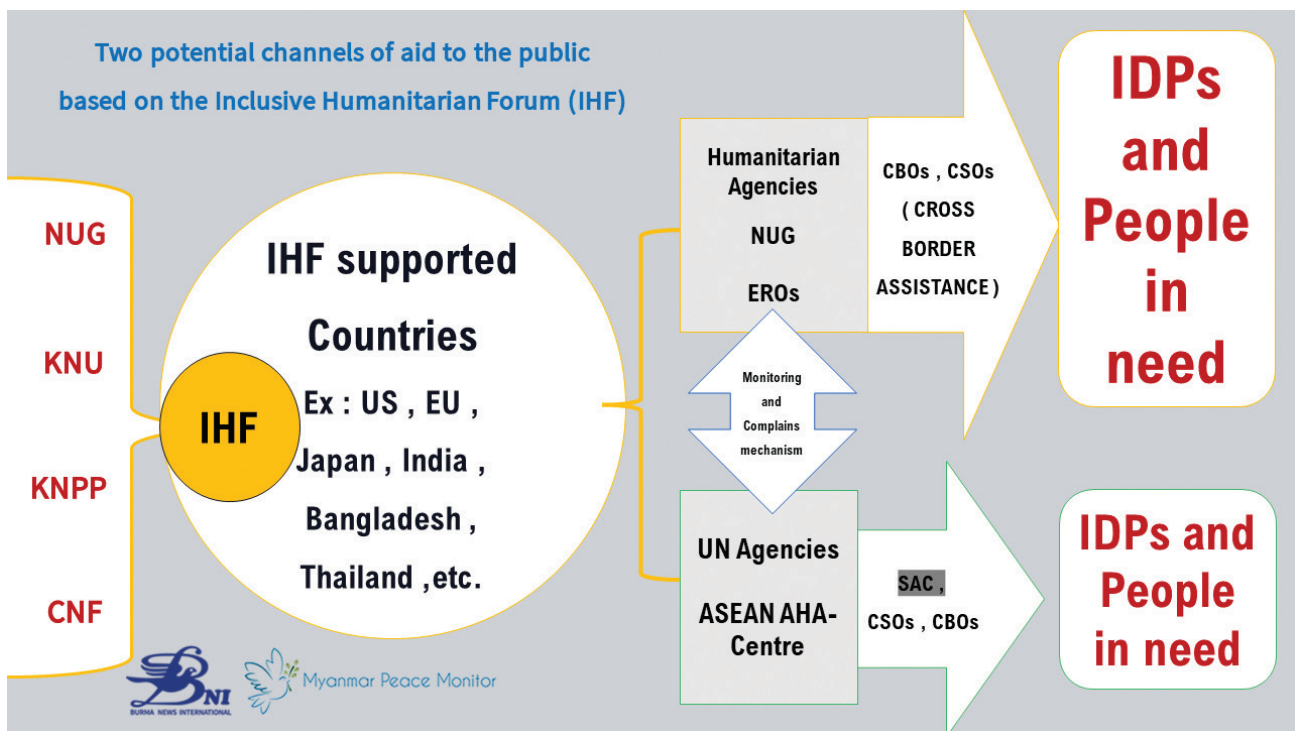
Neineh Plo, a member of the KNPP Committee on International and Alliance Affairs, said that the IHF aims to establish formal cross-border humanitarian access with the participation of the international community, particularly the United Nations.

"The initiative aims to create a distribution mechanism that is networked with EROs in areas where humanitarian assistance is needed," he said. In this hope, the EROs and the NUG have begun to work with the mechanisms of UN in areas where people are in need," said Neineh Plo.

The statement by Neineh Plo, who is also the coordinator of the KNPP's Coordination Team for Emergency Relief (CTER), indicates that the IHF mainly aims to establish a cross-border channel for international humanitarian aid and distribute aid to those in need in cooperation with Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Community-Based Organizations

(CBOs) in the areas under the control of the EROs, while the same strategy also applies to the areas under the control of the Spring Revolution forces, including the NUG. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that the IHF would hinder the ASEAN Humanitarian Coordination Center for Disaster Management (AHA) if it opted for the current approach of the UN agencies to work with the junta in Myanmar. Neineh Plo explained the role of the military council in the IHF program as follows:

"We have not considered the role of the military council for the IHF program. If a ceasefire is needed to carry out humanitarian activities, some organisation may have to enter into some kind of negotiation. The regime will not play a role in decision-making, transportation, and security."<sup>32</sup>



International donors and governments, including the United Nations, should be aware that the inclusion of the military council in the International Humanitarian Forum (IHF) could lead to undesirable complications. A joint statement by the NUG and EROs on 22 May 2022, noted the need for a third party to be involved in negotiating and

32 An interview with Neineh Plo, Coordinator of KNPP Coordination Team for Emergency Relief (CTER) (BNI-MPM)

monitoring a humanitarian cease-fire agreement if necessary for the delivery of aid.

The spokesperson of the KSCC Humanitarian Committee, U Banyar Khun Aung, considered that it is now necessary for the UN agencies to help the needy in the country by closely monitoring the situation in the country and decisively declaring a humanitarian ceasefire.

"Declaring a firm ceasefire in cooperation with local civil society organisations would be much more useful than the meagre aid they are providing now. Anyone who rejects call for a humanitarian ceasefire can be considered to be an accomplice in the crime against humanity."<sup>33</sup>

A report released on 27 March 2023, by the KNU's Human Rights Committee and Research and Documentation Department identified the following three points to deter the military regime from attacking civilians and to provide humanitarian assistance:

"To announce no-fly zone in Myanmar and the international community should monitor it to ensure compliance; to establish internationally guaranteed civilian protection zones for villages, IDP camps, hospitals, clinics, and schools; and to announce negotiated humanitarian corridors at the international level."<sup>34</sup>

For Approach 2 to channel international assistance to the needy people of Myanmar, one practical way to accelerate the implementation of the IHF would be to formally engage the Spring Revolution forces, including the NUG and EROs representing the people. In addition, supporting the people by declaring a humanitarian ceasefire and safe zones that can protect civilians, as well as monitoring no-fly zones, are considered feasible methods.

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33 An interview with U Banyar Khun Aung, Spokesperson of KSCC Humanitarian Committee (BNI-MPM)

34 "Lives lost due to war crimes perpetrated by Myanmar military" – Report (Page 84-85, 27 March 2023)



### ● Approach 3

Based on approaches 1 and 2, it is imperative that ASEAN and UN organisations establish a cross-border assistance program so that humanitarian assistance contributed by international governments reach the people of Myanmar who truly need it and administer it.

Myanmar borders China to the north, Laos to the east, Thailand to the southeast, Bangladesh to the west, and India to the northwest. Because the military regime known as the Tatmadaw ruled for nearly 60 years after Myanmar's independence, these neighbours have maintained closer relations with the regime rather than with Myanmar people. Relations between the so-called Tatmadaw and neighbouring governments pursuing their own interests in resource-rich Myanmar have been close for too long.

However, 1 February 2021 coup has put relations between the regime and neighbouring governments in a more difficult position, given the protests and resistance of Myanmar people against the military council and pressure from the international community. They are still undecided whether to clearly and courageously side with the people of Myanmar who are trying to free themselves from military rule or side with the military regime. However, the positions of neighbouring governments toward the military regime remains highly questionable.

During the military coup in Myanmar, the Chinese government has only openly negotiated with the military council and excluded the Spring Revolution forces, including the NUG and NUCC. China has only reached out to the Myanmar regime and military-linked businessmen to obtain investment for their own interests; it continues to ignore the cries of Myanmar people struggling against the military coup.

Thailand treats Myanmar nationals who have come to it for various reasons, depending on pressure from the governments of China and the United States. If the Thai government were serious about using and managing humanitarian aid from foreign governments and international organisations, Myanmar refugees and illegal immigrants in Thailand would not be in such a difficult situation.

Although the Bangladesh government has condemned the terrorist acts and human rights violations of the Myanmar military regime at every opportunity, it has only approached Myanmar to seek the repatriation of Rohingya refugees to Myanmar and has taken little interest in the Spring Revolution.

Similarly, the Indian government has shown no interest in the Spring Revolution and the situation of the people in Myanmar who have been trying to repel military rule. It can be observed that India is solely interested in securing its border but keeps finding ways to secure business interests in Myanmar. On the one hand, the Indian central government is watching the steps the Chinese government is taking to exert influence on the military regime in Myanmar.

As mentioned in Approach 3, cross-border assistance is an important option if international humanitarian aid is to actually reach the people of Myanmar, but it depends in large part on the sincerity of neighbouring countries such as China, Thailand, and India. Therefore, for humanitarian aid to reach millions of people in need, it is essential that ASEAN, UN, and foreign governments make consistent efforts and exert constant pressure alongside the Spring Revolution forces, including the NUG and EROs.

## Neighbouring countries to be approached for cross-border aid

The Union Minister of the NUG's Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management said that Noeleen Heyzer, UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Myanmar, has held in-depth discussions with Myanmar's four neighboring countries - China, India, Thailand and Bangladesh.

"The participation of neighbouring countries is particularly important for the cross-border assistance," said Union Minister Dr. Win Myat Aye.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> An interview with Union Minister of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management (MO-HADM), BNI-MPM

Myanmar's neighbouring countries should reconsider many questions, such as: does the existence of the military regime bring peace to the people of Myanmar? Does the military regime really have humanitarian intentions? Are their (China's, India's) economic investments and interests safe by cooperating with the military regime? The cross-border aid program will be a "kill-two-birds-with-one-stone" approach that can significantly contribute to ending the violence and promoting stability and peace in the border areas, as Dr. Win Myat Aye pointed out.

"First of all, we will receive humanitarian aid. The violence will come to an end. When there is stability and peace, the economic plans of neighbouring countries will no longer be hindered. There will be many benefits. If they carefully think again whether the existence of the military council is beneficial for them or not, if they carefully compare which approaches are actually beneficial for them, and if they actively cooperate in the implementation of the cross-border aid program, it will be a success."

Although the importance of neighbouring countries to international humanitarian assistance reaching the people of Myanmar through the cross-border assistance program is immense, it should be noted that Thailand and India are the two neighbouring countries that should be approached. Since the entire southeastern part of Myanmar shares a common border of more than 1,500 miles, the assistance will be further extended to those in need in southern Shan State, Karen State, Karenni (Kayah) State, Mon State and Tanintharyi Region.

"I think we can put pressure on the Thai government. If UN organizations communicate properly with the Thai government, there will be many opportunities," said Banyar Khun Aung, spokesman for the KSCC Humanitarian Committee.<sup>36</sup>

A woman, who asked not to be named, from a local pioneer emergency committee that distributes humanitarian aid, including monthly food rations, to tens of thousands of displaced people on the

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<sup>36</sup> An interview with U Banyar Khun Aung, Spokesperson of KSCC Humanitarian Committee (BNI-MPM)

banks of the Thauang Yin River in Karen State, said official approval from the Thai government is crucial.

"It's important to send aid across the border from Thailand. But it's not official. It has to go through Thai villages. In doing so, we can encounter a lot of problems. Usually we don't get arrested, but there have been cases where we have been forced to carry items back. Above all, we need permission from the township office," the woman recounts her experience.<sup>37</sup>

Pita Limjaroenrat, chairman of the Move Forward Party, which won the most seats in Thailand's 14 May 2023 election, said at a 15 May press conference, "We will establish the border corridor between Thailand and Myanmar for humanitarian assistance. We will work with the international community to implement the Burma Act of the United States for Myanmar's issue."<sup>38</sup>

U Rawmar, chairman of the NGO United for Democratic Burma, a group of 15 Civil Society Organizations in the Indian State of Mizoram, suggested that the United Nations should approach and coordinate with India's central government to ensure that international humanitarian aid actually reaches the people of Burma.

"The central government's authority is too strong. The state can't do anything. The state government has no right to intervene in international and foreign affairs... The state government has no authority to do anything other than unavoidably take in the people of their own race for humanitarian reasons. Everything will be all right if the central government is open to negotiations."<sup>39</sup>

U Rawmar considers that this year is a good time for the international governments which want to provide humanitarian assistance to the forces of the Spring Revolution and the people of Myanmar, including the NUG,

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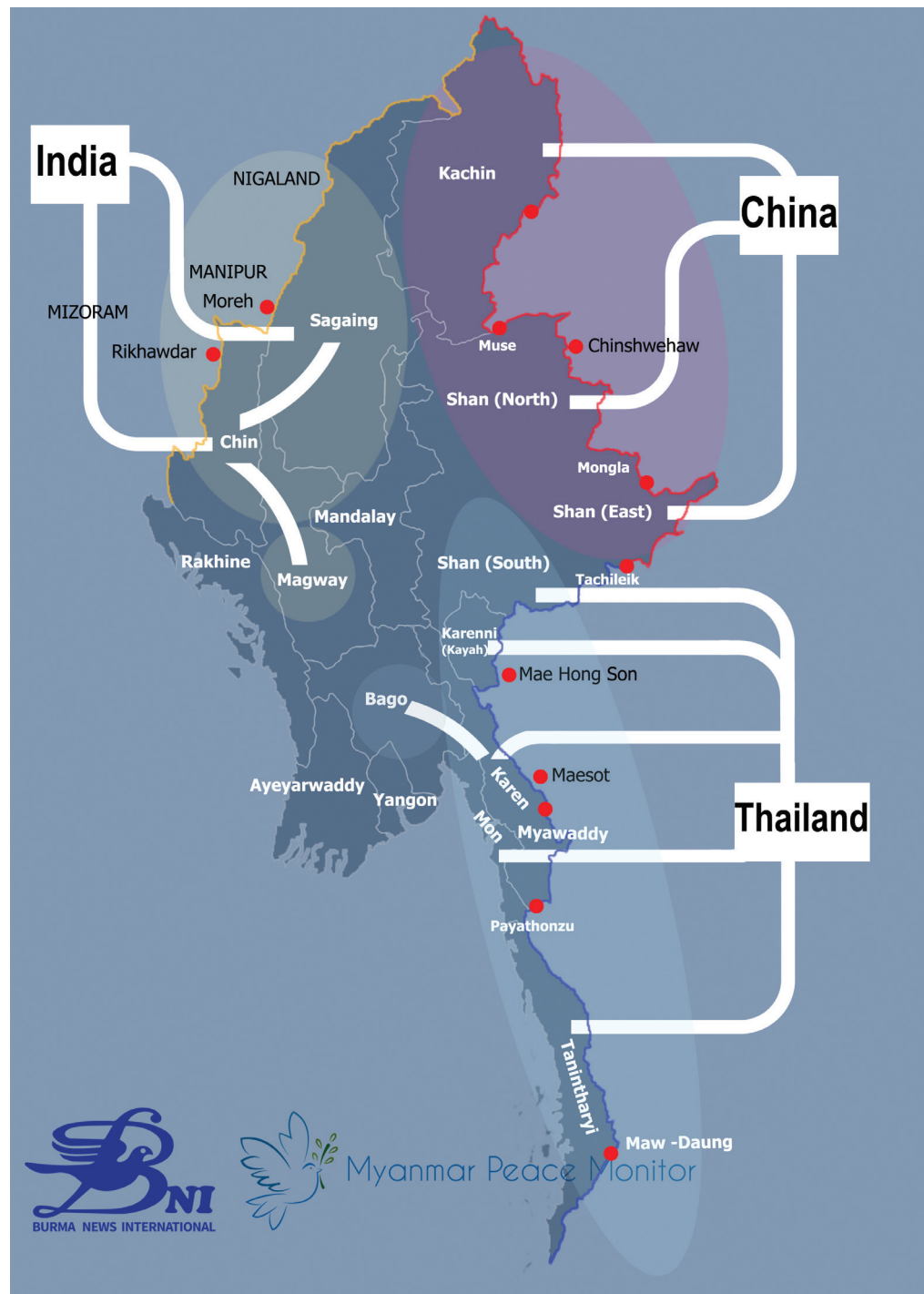
37 An interview with a woman from the pioneer committee for emergency aid, BNI-MPM

38 Press release from Pita Limjaroenrat, leader of Move Forward Party <http://rb.gy/4fc8x>

39 An interview with U Rawmar, Chairman of NGO United for Democratic Myanmar, Mizoram State (BNI-MPM)

to approach and negotiate with the central government of India, as India holds the G20 presidency until mid-November this year (2023) and has proclaimed the slogan "India - the Mother of Democracy" on the occasion of Constitution Day.

"If we look at these two points, I think this year is the best year to approach India. I think India will adopt a lenient policy toward humanitarian issues this year."



During the ongoing Spring Revolution, as much as 80 percent of the territory of Chin State was taken under control by the Chin defence forces. If the Indian central government agrees to the cross-border assistance with good intentions, the humanitarian aid can reach Magway and Sagaing within two days through coordination with the relevant local defence forces and administrative groups, U Rawmar said.

Chairperson of NGO United Democratic Burma, U Rawmar, who once managed 53 million rupees provided by the Nippon Foundation for the landslides during the 2013 rainy season, said, "In two weeks, we brought all the relief supplies to the areas that were inaccessible from mainland Burma. We called that cross-border assistance. We can still do that," he explained.<sup>40</sup>

The Indian states of Mizora, Manipur, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh border nearly 1,000 miles of Chin State, Sagaing Region and Kachin State in Myanmar. During the Spring Revolution, the Chief Minister of Mizoram has provided protection for the people who were displaced from Chin and Sagaing.

In other words, while the role of China, Thailand, Bangladesh, and India in providing cross-border assistance to millions of people in need of humanitarian assistance in Myanmar is important, Thailand and India are the most important countries to approach.

## General review

With the expansion of the civil war after the 2021 military coup, more than 1.5 million people have been displaced across the country. If we look at the humanitarian aid available to them, we can find two ways: "people-to-people" aid contributed by the people of Myanmar and humanitarian aid provided by international governments.

"People-to-people" aid flows directly to those who desperately need it through the forces of the Spring Revolution, although most aid is

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<sup>40</sup> An interview with U Rawmar, Chairman of NGO United for Democratic Myanmar, Mizoram State (BNI-MPM)



emergency aid. Therefore, people-to-people aid is sufficient for a day, a week or a month; there is no guarantee of year-round support due to the limited availability of funds.

Humanitarian assistance provided by foreign governments ranges from emergency relief to annual support programs, that have been planned for continuous assistance to people in Myanmar who need help. However, the UN organizations, including ASEAN, that manage humanitarian assistance from the international governments mentioned above work with the military council through MoUs, which limits the provision of emergency assistance to those in need.

These organisations have not yet been able to provide emergency assistance to civilians who have lost their homes and had to flee to safety due to the Myanmar army's arson attacks. These organisations were still waiting until 25 May (while this article was being written) for permission from the junta to distribute their aid to the victims of the massive Cyclone Mocha that struck on 14 May 2023.

In addition, on 7 May 2023, a convoy of the ASEAN Coordination Center for Humanitarian Assistance in Disasters (AHA) was fired upon on the Hsi Hseng-Seikkaung Road on its way to the Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO) liaison office to deliver aid in Hsi Hseng Township in southern Shan State. In light of this incident, the regional stability and territorial supremacy status of the military council should be re-examined.<sup>41</sup> The convoy included diplomats from Singapore and Indonesia, as well as officials from the AHA center. No group has claimed responsibility for the shooting, with allegations still being traded between the Pa-O National Organization/Pa-O National Army (PNO/PNA), which is under the military council, and the Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO), a signatory to the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA).

According to UNOCHA's 2022 Annual Report on the Humanitarian Response Program (HRP), the United States government made the largest

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41 The Attack On Humanitarian Convoy, A Lesson To Be Taken. - Issue 103 <http://rb.gy/78gsd>

contribution of US\$ 88.4 million, followed by contributions of more than US\$ 20 million from the European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO), the United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, and the Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF), and a contribution of more than US\$ 5 million from Australia, Sweden, Switzerland, Canada, and Denmark.<sup>42</sup>

It is likely that the current humanitarian crisis in Myanmar can be alleviated if all of the people-to-people emergency assistance and aid from international donor governments reaches the people of Myanmar who truly need help through proper means.

The question of whether the humanitarian crisis currently facing the people of Myanmar is the result of collaboration with the military regime that seized power in a military coup must be answered by UN agencies and international donor governments, including ASEAN. By working with the military council, these agencies are forced to abide by the rules and regulations set by the regime in the name of "humanitarian assistance." The question of the military council's actions in allowing the delivery of aid to certain locations while denying those truly in need needs to be reconsidered.

Resolution No. 2669 (2022), adopted on 21 December 2022, at the Security Council meeting in New York ( UN ), calls for "the need for full, safe, and unimpeded humanitarian access to all those in need and underscores the need for the full protection and security of humanitarian and medical personnel."

International donors should abide by the resolution on Myanmar (Resolution 2669), which was adopted by the Council's 15 members: five permanent members-China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States-and 10 non-permanent members-Albania, Brazil, Gabon, Ghana, India, Ireland, Kenya, Mexico, Norway, and the United Arab Emirates.

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42 Myanmar Humanitarian Response Plan 2022 End-Year Report, 11 Apr 2023

<http://rb.gy/el0c7>

It is imperative that the ASEAN AHA center also effectively implement the 15 points of the November 2022 ASEAN Summit resolution. ASEAN leaders blamed the military regime for failing to implement the Five-Point Consensus agreed to by coup leader Senior General Min Aung Hlaing. However, it is unlikely to prevent the military council's possible interference in the delivery of humanitarian aid to the people of Myanmar because junta's representatives are sitting in the center's governing body ASEAN AHA.

"We have urged the center AHA to carry out its activities independently. But that depends on the efforts of Indonesia, the current ASEAN chair," said Dr. Win Myat Aye.

ASEAN and the UN organizations should take responsibility for ensuring that international aid reaches the people of Myanmar who really need help by strictly adhering to the decisions and agreements that has already been made.

It is necessary for the regional bloc to listen with good intentions to the voices of the Spring Revolution forces, including the National Unity Government (NUG), ethnic revolutionary Organizations (EROs), and Civil Society Organizations/Community-Based Organizations (CSOs/CBOs) that are marching towards the removal of military dictatorship and the establishment of a federal democratic union.

"I would like to say that it would be good if the will of the people were taken into account, because this revolution is a people's revolution. Doing something out of fear will not work," suggested the Union Minister of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management (MOHADM).

The NUG and EROs have already announced that they can assume full security responsibility for providing humanitarian assistance in areas under their control, with the exception of risk of airstrikes by the military council. The United Nations should also seriously consider declaring no-fly zones, safe zones, and humanitarian ceasefires to ensure the full delivery of humanitarian assistance to the people of Myanmar.

It is imperative that the relevant countries come together and implement the Inclusive Humanitarian Forum (IHF) as soon as possible, as the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar has raised concerns for the international community as a whole. It would be extremely important to review with genuine concerns the effectiveness of the humanitarian assistance that has been provided and to urgently look for effective ways.

Given these circumstances, it is of utmost importance to conduct an objective review of the advantages and disadvantages of collaborating with the Myanmar military council, and the effectiveness of cross-border assistance, as highlighted in the findings of this paper. A coordinated effort must be undertaken to ensure that humanitarian aid reach the millions of Myanmar people in need.

## Acronyms

- ERO - Ethnic Revolutionary Organization
- PDFs-LDFs - People's Defence Forces-Local Defence Forces
- UNOCHA - United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
- NUG - National Unity Government
- MOHADM - Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management
- KSCC - Karenni State Consultative Council
- KNPP - Karenni National Progressive Party
- KNU - Karen National Union
- CNF - Chin National Front
- CSO-CBO - Civil Society Organization/Community-Based Organization
- CDM - Civil Disobedience Movement
- NGO - Non-governmental organization
- INGO - International non-governmental organization
- UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
- UNICEF - United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
- IOM - International Organization for Migration
- ICRC - International Committee of the Red Cross
- WFP - World Food Programme
- AHA Centre - ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management
- KWO - Karen Women's Organization
- IDP - Internally displaced people
- HRP - Humanitarian Response Plan
- CTER - Coordination Team for Emergency Relief, KNPP
- NUCC - National Unity Consultative Council
- ICNCC - Interim Chin National Consultative Council
- CRPH - Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw
- IHF - Inclusive Humanitarian Forum
- NCA - Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement
- PNO/PNA - Pa-O National Organization/Pa-O National Army
- PNLO - Pa-O National Liberation Organization



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The participation of neighboring countries is particularly important for the cross-border assistance.



Union Minister  
Dr. Win Myat Aye