

Myanmar Military Coup: Roots of Conflict and Alternative to Conflict Resolution from Indonesia as a Member of Asean

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Abstract

In recent months, international attention has been focused on Myanmar political conflict when the military junta staged a coup against the civilian government. Indonesia, whose voices are heard enough in ASEAN, should try to maintain stability in the region. Using qualitative descriptive method, we analyze the roots of this conflict and the alternative resolutions that Indonesia can carry out, with Conflict Triangle, Onion Analogy, and Back-Channel Diplomacy Theory as tools to analyze. It shows that the roots of conflict are the increasing influence of the NLD, the military perception that they are the only party who can lead Myanmar, and the desire of military officials in Myanmar to protect their economic interests. The back-channel diplomacy method has allow probability of success because the strength of the Myanmar military junta does not allow for intervention in any form. As one of the countries that has a great influence in Southeast Asia, Indonesia can increase the attention of regional and global countries to address the political crisis in Myanmar. Indonesia can also take the initiative to appoint a special envoy in order to bridge the interests of the conflicting parties.

Keywords: military coup, root of conflict, alternatives, Indonesia's role

Introduction

Conflict is a phenomenon that normally occur in life. According to Galtung (2013), conflict is like a living being that has cycles. Conflict arises, reaches an emotional point to a

violent climax, gets sharper, disappears, and can reappear one day. This phenomenon can occur because each conflicting party has its own goals, which often conflict with each other. When there is a conflict, a contradiction will be born, which leads to frustration. This frustration could be transformed into aggressive behavior that can manifest into hatred or physical violence.

In recent months, international attention has been focused on Myanmar. This Southeast Asian country experienced a political conflict that emerged to the public on February 1, 2021, when the military junta led by General Min Aung Hlaing staged a coup against the civilian government. Civil government figures, including Chancellor Aung San Suu Kyi and President Win Myint, were arrested. Subsequently, the junta declared martial law status for one year in preparation for re-election. There is a possibility that this emergency status will be extended for two years (CNN Indonesia, 2021).

This coup raised concerns for the public about the return of authoritarian government power and the loss of democracy (Wiyama, 2021). This concern is not without basis because the military seems reluctant to return power to the elected government, continues to arrest national political figures, and uses violence by the security forces and the military against demonstrations by civil society. Most of Myanmar's population staged demonstrations that were part of an organized civil movement of professional workers such as health workers, teachers, factory workers, and even some police and civil servants quit their jobs in protest of the military coup (Lee & McCarthy, 2021). Optimism for creating a democratic civilian government must now be countered by the presence of the military, which is again showing its influence in the struggle for political power in Myanmar (Jatmika, 2021).

This has made the international community increasingly concerned about developing the situation in Myanmar (Pramadiba, 2021). Resistance to the military junta is also carried out through political channels with the National Unity Government (NUG) formation, a government in exile that claims to be the legitimate government in Myanmar. NUG members are elected from legislators who were elected in the democratic elections in November 2020, where members consist of the National League for Democracy (NLD) Party, ethnic minority groups, civilian groups, and several other parties (Nachemson, 2021). To overcome the wave of violence in Myanmar, several major countries such as the United States, Canada, Britain, and the European Union have imposed sanctions on the Myanmar military junta (Iswara, 2021). However, this has not led the military junta to make constructive efforts to resolve the ongoing violent conflict.

At the end of April 2021, ASEAN held a summit in Jakarta, which discussed the political conflict in Myanmar. As one of the prominent regional organizations, ASEAN is expected to provide conflict resolution to accelerate the crisis resolution process in the country. At the summit, ASEAN agreed on five points related to the conflict in Myanmar, namely (1) ending violence in Myanmar, (2) urging a constructive dialogue between all parties involved in the conflict, (3) sending a special ASEAN envoy to facilitate dialogue. Moreover, mediation, (4) provide humanitarian assistance through the AHA (ASEAN Humanitarian Assistance) Centre, and (5) special envoys and delegates will visit Myanmar to meet with all relevant parties (Pramadiba, 2021). However, after the ASEAN Summit, the violent conflict in Myanmar continued, with the number of victims continuing to grow. As of June 2021, it is estimated that military forces have killed around 863 people after the coup (Halim, 2021).

According to Croissant and Kamerling (2013), Myanmar is a country with a high level of military intervention in politics. In contrast to other countries where military domination lasts quite a short time, military domination in Myanmar politics can last quite a long time. The

civilian government in Myanmar is only a 'window dressing' of the military's indirect control over the government. One of the concrete forms is the issuance of the 2008 Constitution, which guarantees 25% of active military members in parliament. With the significant military dominance in Myanmar politics, democratization efforts in Myanmar must arise from the military consciousness itself.

However, the Myanmar military is too afraid to democratize because they are not sure that they will control the democratization process. Efforts to democratize in Myanmar are too 'state-controlled,' so the participation of the opposition and ethnic minorities in Myanmar in these efforts is minimal. Power in Myanmar is still centered on elite circles, and some sectors are still dominated by the military (Nilsen, 2013). The military's dominance in Myanmar is also because the opposition who wants democracy in Myanmar tends to be divided. Likewise, international parties are divided between supporters of democracy and supporters of military rule in Myanmar (Pradhan, 2008).

The ongoing political crisis and conflict should be the focus of ASEAN. In addition to the principle of non-intervention, ASEAN countries must also ensure that other values in the ASEAN Charter are respected and implemented, such as democracy, human rights, the rule of law, and constitutional government (Hidriyah, 2021).

As one of the countries whose voices are heard enough in ASEAN, Indonesia should try to resolve the conflict in Myanmar to maintain stability in the Southeast Asian region. Therefore, this study aims to reveal the roots of the political conflict in Myanmar and alternative efforts that Indonesia can take as an ASEAN member to resolve the conflict.

Research Method

This research uses a qualitative approach. Specifically, we use qualitative descriptive method which are characterized by simultaneous data collection and analysis. It tends to draw from naturalistic inquiry which provides a commitment to study something that is possible within the context of the research arena. Thus, there is no pre-selection of study variables, no manipulation of variables, and no prior commitment to any one theoretical view of a target phenomenon.

In this research, we want to analyze the roots of the political crisis in Myanmar and the alternative of conflict resolutions that Indonesia probably can do as one of ASEAN state member. Research data were collected using interviews with credible figures in their field, such as Moe Thunzar (ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute), Thinzar Shunlei Yi (Burmese Democracy Activist), Rosalia Sciortino (Mahidol University & Chulalongkorn University Thailand), Gerard McCarthy (National University of Singapore).

Results and Discussion

Identification of the Roots of Myanmar's Political Conflict from the Perspective of Johan Galtung's Conflict Triangle Theory

Before discussing the roots of the political conflict that occurred in Myanmar in the February 2021 military coup, the researchers would like to give a brief description of the political system in Myanmar that has contributed to the development of political conflicts in the country. Myanmar is a country with a military dictatorship system from 1962 to 2010 with strong military dominance. This dictatorial system 'ended' in 2010 when the military

government decided to transition to a 'top down' and regime- led political system with the establishment of the 2008 Constitution, which did not accommodate the voices of pro-democracy parties, one of which was Aung San Suu. Kyi is the leader of the most prominent democracy activist in Myanmar. The 2008 Constitution stipulates that the military will have 25% representation in parliament without going through an election and gives the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces absolute power over three ministries in Myanmar, namely the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Ministry of Borders without any civilian oversight. Then no less important is the 2008 Constitution, which also gives the military a veto power to reject attempts to change/amend the constitution in Myanmar. Therefore, the political system in Myanmar was deliberately locked from the military so that their interests would not be disturbed, as stated by Prof. Gerard McCarthy from the National University of Singapore in an interview on June 22, 2021, as follows

“so the system was designed and then locked in. It could not change because the Myanmar military had the power to decide if any changes can be made to the constitution. Without the military’s support, even if 75 or 74 % of parliamentarians were elected. Even if all of those elected parliamentarians supported the constitutional change, they needed to win the support of Myanmar military and its parliamentarians also”

Thus, the political system that was in effect after the 2008 Constitution until before the 2020 military coup can be said to be a hybrid political system. This system combines the military's dictatorship system with a system that is considered democratic, with 75% of the members of parliament elected through elections.

In identifying and exploring the roots of the political conflict in Myanmar in the military coup in February 2021, the researchers use a conflict theory that is very familiar in the study of conflict and peace, namely Johan Galtung's conflict triangle theory. Johan Galtung (1996) describes conflict using a triangle which is often called the ABC conflict triangle. According to Galtung, A is an attitude consisting of assumptions (cognition) and attitudes (emotions). C is the content of conflict, or more easily called contradiction, where it can be described as a sense of 'frustration' when the goals of a person/group of people are hampered. Contradiction leads to an aggressive attitude that is part of A (attitude) and manifests itself into acts of aggression that are part of B (behavior). The act of aggression of a person or group of people can be unpleasant for another person or group of people, giving rise to a new contradiction in a new cycle of conflict. This shows that the conflict described in the ABC conflict triangle theory is a repeating cycle. An illustration of this theory can be seen from the image below

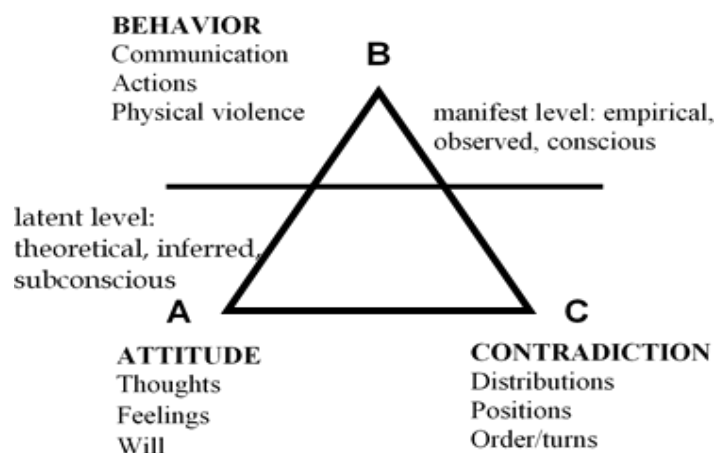


Figure 1. Galtung ABC Triangle

Source: Galtung (1996)

Efforts to resolve conflicts by dealing with A, B and C must be carried out in parallel, emphasizing C. It will be easier to handle A and B if it is preceded by handling C. In this case, the researchers consider that C in the conflict triangle is equal to the roots of the conflict, which then gave rise to A and B. Therefore, in further exploring the roots of the political conflict in Myanmar, the researchers will explore several things that become contradictions between the conflicting parties.

The first root of conflict or contradiction in the political conflict in Myanmar is the increasing influence of the party led by Aung San Suu Kyi, namely the National League for Democracy (NLD), during the 2015-2020 period. This impacted the crushing defeat of the military proxy party, Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), from the NLD in the elections held in November 2020. This crushing defeat made the NLD party entitled to occupy most seats in parliament (about 80% of the total seats available) contested). Thus threatening the opportunity for the Armed Forces commander, General Min Aung Hlaing, to enter the realm of civilian politics like his predecessors. For example, President Thein Sein was previously also a high-ranking military official. As a result of the landslide victory of the NLD, which made this party control the majority of the parliament, there was political tension between the NLD and the military.

Tensions increased because during the campaign period, the Myanmar government led by Aung San Suu Kyi limited crowd events, including political party campaigns, which the military said was the cause of the USDP's defeat. In fact, in 2020, the military had asked the Myanmar Government to postpone the election due to Covid-19, which this request was not complied with by the government led by Aung San Suu Kyi. Some of these things later became an accumulation of anger and frustration from the military, coupled with the USDP's crushing defeat in the 2020 election, as stated by Prof. Gerard McCarthy in an interview on June 22, 2021, as follows:

“So this tension over political irrelevant (USDP’s defeat in 2020 election) and Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD saying to the USDP ‘you are not relevant anymore, you are a small party, you only hold less than 10% of seats in parliament, so you are not very important, and we do not need to listen to you very much. So this created a lot of tensions. And again this is because of the electoral system that becomes a point of anger and frustration. And the military, who said last year that they should postpone the election after COVID, the military began to become more frustrated that they were not being listened to. This was the major point of tension which led up to the coup.”

In addition, with the NLD's landslide victory in the 2020 elections, that will control parliament. The military is concerned that there will be increasing public pressure to change or abolish the 2008 Constitution, which means that the military will have to give up their political power, as stated by Burmese Democracy Activist Khin Ohmar in an interview on June 23, 2021, as follows:

“.. especially when Aung San Suu Kyi’s party won another landslide in November 2021, so it becomes very clear to the military, especially to the number of the military commander in chief, it became very clear that the NLD’S second term will be the term that they will have to give up their power because the constitutional amendment has been a major public campaign for the past five years at least. Nobody was losing sight of it. So for that, they know, at this point, they know that majority being NLD in the parliament, there would be a lot more constitutional amendments that they would lose their power. So that also the very reason that they attempt to do a military coup. ”

The second factor that the root of political conflict in Myanmar. That is the military perception that they are the only party who can lead Myanmar because civilian leaders are considered unable to do this, as stated by Burmese Democracy Activist Thinzar Shunlei Yi in an interview on June 23, 2021, as follows:

“Soone of the roots caused as I see of the Myanmar conflict is the supremacist idea. Because the military always thinks ‘we are the ones who have to unite the country, we are capable of doing this. Because other civilian leaders in throughout their history, they failed. They always ended up fighting each other, arguing each other. They are not going anywhere. But military as our self, we believe, we are centralized, we can make things happen. Because there are chains of command, and it is easier for the military to move forward with their orders, their intimidations, and any plans they think that can happen on the ground.”

This perception of superiority by the military over him in the presence of civilian leaders then transformed into the assumption that they were the only protectors of the state. Thus, they feel they have the legitimacy to do what is necessary to unite and save the country from destruction. The military felt that the civilian government by the NLD was not able to bring Myanmar in a better direction and instead spread foreign values in Myanmar. In the case of the coup in February 2021, it was this perception of superiority that then prompted the military to take over from the civilian government led by Aung San Suu Kyi, under the pretext of fraud amid the Covid-19 pandemic in the 2020 Election by the NLD which won the majority of seats contested in parliament.

The third factor that became the root of the conflict that resulted in a military coup in February 2021 in Myanmar was the desire of military officials in Myanmar to protect their economic interests. The power granted by 2008 Constitution in the political field to the military also has implications for their power in the economic field. This power in the economic field makes the military so strong in Myanmar because they can obtain funds from various sources, both legally and illegally, without adequate supervision from civilian authorities. This can be seen in the results of interviews with Prof. Dr. Rosalia Sciortino from Mahidol University and Chulalongkorn University on June 22, 2021, as follows:

“The Tatmadaw (Myanmar military) is one of the strongest forces in the region. The country is extremely poor, but the Tatmadaw is rich. They have controlled Myanmar for decades. They have never given over their powerfully, and they have a lot this all, this all business. They have a lot of ways of getting resources from the holding company from everything from jade to gem, to oil, drugs in the Golden Triangle. Let us not forget there is a lot of illegal revenue in Myanmar, particularly from the drugs trade on the border with Thailand and Laos.”

The magnitude of the economic interest by the military in Myanmar can also be seen from an interview conducted with Burmese Democracy Activist, Thinzar Shunlei Yi in an interview on June 23, 2021, as follows:

“So they (military) have already formed different institutions, like cooperative institutions. They have all investors. They are many. And they use this profit to help the other different soldiers to buy stuff and so on.. In the past ten years, in the parliament, they could not check and balance any of the military money... So the military submits the military budget to the parliament, and the parliament has no option but to approve it.. They (parliamentarians) can get killed as well in the past ten years if they really investigate what is going on with the military money... And we are wondering they (military) keep civil wars going on because that is the business they get money from..”

The increasing spirit of democracy and growing public demands to abolish the 2008 Constitution if the NLD wins again in the 2020 elections have made the military feel that its economic interests are being threatened. Therefore, the military considers that a coup is the only way to save their economic interests in Myanmar. More specifically, the coup can also be motivated by the commander of the Myanmar Armed Forces, General Min Aung Hlaing, to become the number one person in Myanmar, which is most likely also related to his personal and group interests in the country. This can be seen from the results of an interview with Burmese Democracy Activist, Khin Ohmar in an interview on June 23, 2021, as follows:

“ in the three presidential posts, the military already automatically gets the one vice president position. One vice president is automatically appointed by the military, one of their own. But I think for Min Aung Hlaing, you know he is so power greedy, and I think he wants to get number one, not the number two or three.. But I have to tell you that the whole country agrees with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi not to give this position to the military commander in chief. The reality is that he does not get the people's support in the country. And everybody knows of how corrupt he is by the economic power as well as the political power.”

The conflict factors identified above, both the increasing power of the NLD followed by the landslide defeat of the USDP in the 2020 elections, the perception of the military's superiority over civilian leaders, to the economic and personal interests of military officials in Myanmar, are contradictions that shape the military's attitude towards the government. Civilian in power. These attitudes include the emergence of feelings of distrust and anger because they feel cheated in the election, assuming that they will lose their power if the civilian government is allowed to control the government for the next period. This attitude then accumulated with the release of the results of the 2020 elections, in which the NLD won most of the parliamentary seats, which made the military and USDP unable to combine forces to form the government they wanted. In the end, this attitude was manifested into behavior when the military carried out a coup on February 1, 2021, citing fraud in the 2020 General Election during the Covid-19 pandemic, accompanied by the arrest of civilian government figures, especially from the NLD and unconstitutionally taking over the government from civilian figures.

Identification of the Roots of Myanmar's Political Conflict from the Perspective of Onion Analogy

The Onion Analogy analysis tool is used to assess the position of actors (outer layer), interests (middle layer), and needs (inner layer). This tool can be used to review further the interests of the competing actors (Herbert, 2017). To clarify the analysis, the following figure represent the theoretical operationalization of the onion analogy to analyze the causes of the military coup in Myanmar.

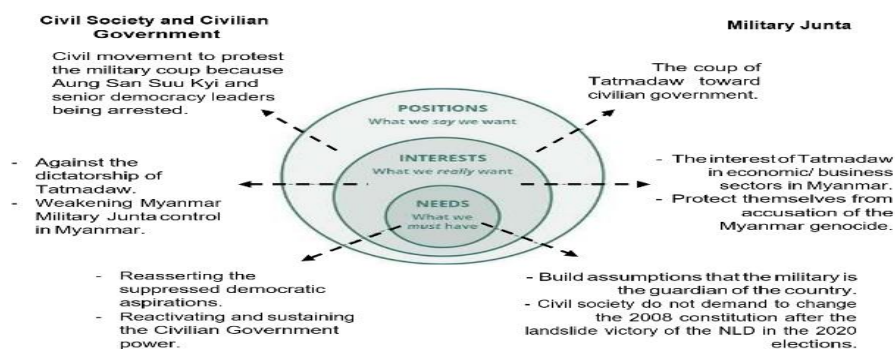


Figure2: *Onion Analogy Analysis–Actors’ Positions, Interests, and Needs*

Source: *Abstracted by Researchers*

Based on the picture above, it can be understood that there are two groups involved in the political conflict – military coup – in Myanmar, namely the civilian government supported by civil society, which opposed the coup carried out by the Myanmar military or the Tatmadaw. The figure briefly describes the positions, interests, and needs of the two actors. The outer layer of this onion analogy refers to the actor's position that can be seen explicitly from the outside. There was a movement carried out by civil society on the community or civil government side to protest the military coup because Aung San Suu Kyi and other high-ranking democracy officials were arrested in early 2021. Tatmadaw himself wanted to punish Suu Kyi and other political leaders because the election in 2015- 2020 saw Suu Kyi and the NLD become the dominant group in Myanmar politics. In 2020, the NLD won a landslide majority again, gaining even more votes than in 2015 (BBC, 2021). As stated by Gerard McCarthy in the KKLN Peace and Conflict Resolution Study Program, UNHAN, June 22, 2021:

“...between 2015-2020, the military became frustrated with the political dominance of Suu Kyi and the NLD. Aung San Suu Kyi remains under arrest... the response from people around the country has been extremely strong in the five months and almost six months since the military coup. It has been a widespread protest movement and civil disobedience movements, by government workers and also industry workers.”

A deeper analysis that causes the conflict – the military coup – in Myanmar is found in the middle layer of the onion analogy, which explains what the actors in the conflict want. Behind the arrest of Aung San Suu Kyi, this happened not only because of the NLD's victory in the 2020 election but also because of the Tatmadaw's interest in controlling Myanmar, especially in the business sector. The Tatmadaw conglomerate's interests in SOEs and its links to private companies have become Tatmadaw's interests, allowing it to evade democratic civilian military control. In addition, it also serves to protect the Tatmadaw from responsibility for serious crimes under international law (UNHRC, 2018), to protect itself from accusations of genocide in Myanmar. The Tatmadaw owns and operates two major holding companies – Myanmar Economic Holding Limited (MEHL) and Myanmar Economic Corporation (MEC). This can then prove that MEHL and MEC and their subsidiaries generate income that dwarfs any civilian-owned company in Myanmar. Moreover, significantly each parent company owns a large bank (UNHRC, 2018). Based on this, it can be concluded that the Tatmadaw is interested in the economic/business sector in Myanmar, so they try to control the regime.

Rebel groups in Myanmar have united with democratic forces against the military/dictatorship (McCarthy, 2021). Myanmar activists also carried out this movement to convey their interests to the Tatmadaw. Similarly, Burmese Democracy Activist Thinzar Shunlei Yi stated that the Myanmar people were disappointed by the coup carried out by the Myanmar Military Junta, and they wanted Suu Kyi and the democratic leaders to be released. This was stated by Thinzar Shunlei Yi on the 3rd day of KKLN, on June 23, 2021. Thus, civil society and the NLD want to restore the civilian government's power and govern the country as it was ten years before.

“...their interests are different. The military wants to condemn the NLD, grab the power, want to be the leaders, and show who the boss is. The NLD, their interest is to get back the power, to rule the country, to have their leaders to release from the prisons. But, under different ethnicities and activists, we have different interests. We are talking about a federal democratic nation, and we are talking about equality, decentralization of power. The military does not trust NLD. NLD does not trust the military. The NLD does not have power anymore, and they (civil society) hate that.”

Last but not least is the inner circle of the onion analogy, which contains the needs of the actors. This circle explains what the actual needs of the actors are so that a conflict occurs. The Myanmar Military Junta hopes that civil society will not demand changes to the 2008 constitution after the NLD's landslide victory in the 2020 election. In addition, from the Tatmadaw's perspective, they need to build on the assumption that the military is the state's guardian, as Thinzar said in his presentation. The only substance the Tatmadaw gained from the overthrow of Aung San Suu Kyi and other civilian leaderships was its longstanding monopoly on political power. As an organization with highly centralized leadership, the Myanmar military is an organization in which personality plays a huge role (Tun, 2021). A look at the past carried out by the Myanmar Military, and its relationship to the broader history of Myanmar, can provide some insight into the current situation in the country – and why the army chose to seize power today, which is about becoming a complete ruler in Myanmar. As stated by Thinzar Shunlei Yi on the 3rd day of KKLN, on June 23, 2021

“...one of the root causes as I see on Myanmar conflict is the supremacist idea, because the military always thinks, “We are the one who have to unite the country. We are capable of doing this”. Because all the civilian... the history, they failed, they are always ended up fighting each other, arguing each other, they are not going anyway. But military believes, “We are centralized we can make things happen.” because there is the order of commands that easier for the military to move forward with their orders with their implementation..”

The deepest layers of the onion analogy also point to civic and NLD needs. They have a need/want to reaffirm the democratic aspirations of the oppressed after the 2021 coup. Moreover, they are eager to reactivate and maintain the power of the Civil Government (McCarthy, 2021). Thinzar Sunlei Yi also conveyed this in the KKLN seminar, June 23, 2021 (Yi, 2021). The people of Myanmar had had high hopes for their country in the last ten years when the civilian government was still in power. However, this then greatly disappointed their high hopes.

“We are not designed that we only have one group ruling over the whole country just because they are the majority... Because our country has a different identity. In the past ten years, of course, I learned many different things... The constitution that we have is not the constitution that we are supposed to go. And the previous ten years, I feel like the last ten years were a waste. Many people think we have more democracy. We have more freedom. We have more phones. We have more internet. We have more young people talking about democracy and human rights..., of course, those are good things. NLD compared to the military is better; of course, NLD is a lot better.”

Alternative Conflict Resolution for Indonesia as an ASEAN Member

This study found that the back- channel diplomacy method has a low probability of success to be applied in the post-coup Myanmar conflict resolution process. This is because the strength of the Myanmar military junta does not allow for intervention in any form, including front-channel and back-channel diplomacy. Even from 2010-2020, Myanmar itself has never felt true democracy fully realized. During that period, Myanmar had a pseudo-democracy political system in the shadow of military power in the government (Chachavalpongpun, 2021).

In the interview process conducted with Prof. Dr. Rosalia Sciortino on June 22, 2021, she revealed that if we expect ASEAN's role to play a role in overcoming the political and humanitarian crisis in Myanmar and realizing democracy, then ASEAN member countries must be able to demonstrate democratic values well at the first place.

“... so how can you expect them to take a democratic position unless the people of ASEAN, meaning, the NGOs and democratic movement become stronger and force their governments to take a democratic position, they will not do it. Because at the moment, we have mostly, if not dictatorial, an authoritarian government.”

In the interview process, Prof. Dr. Rosalia Sciortino explains how most ASEAN countries do not fully adopt democratic values. Singapore, which adopted a one-party government system that limited the activities of opposition groups, thus showing Singapore's position as an authoritarian country.

Another example is Indonesia, which despite adopting good democratic values since the reformation period, many Indonesian government positions are filled by retired ABRI officers who have been active since the New Order era, so she still thinks Indonesia is still in a transitional period. Another example is the Philippines. Which, even though its leader Rodrigo Duterte is democratically elected. The government's extrajudicial killings in the country's war on drugs still show an undemocratic government.

However, that does not mean that Indonesia cannot do anything to help find a resolution to the conflict in Myanmar. Indonesia as one of the countries that has a great influence in ASEAN can help to increase the attention of regional and global countries to the crisis in Myanmar. In the midst of the principle of non- interference that applies among ASEAN countries, Indonesia can take advantage of this concern to at least raise humanitarian aid. This step can be carried out by the Government of Indonesia through official institutions or by non-governmental institutions such as NGOs and the people to people movement. This can be seen in the interview conducted with Moe Thuzar from ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute on June 21, 2021 as follows:

“I think Indonesia has had a very strong voice in raising attention and awareness to the Myanmar political crisis right now. And Indonesia has also been one of the leading country to bring about the ASEAN consensus and propose the humanitarian... So I think the commitment and dedication of Indonesia is not lost on the people of Myanmar...”

On the other hand, Indonesia can also approach the conflict parties in Myanmar by sending a special envoy from Indonesia as an individual state. This worth trying considering that the special envoy from ASEAN that was agreed upon at the ASEAN Summit, April 2021 has not yet been realized. Therefore, Indonesia can take the initiative to appoint a special envoy in order to bridge the interests of the conflicting parties, both the military junta, the NUG and ethnic groups who are carrying out armed resistance. This has big possibility to be done because Indonesia has experience in sending special envoys to Myanmar. This possibility was elaborated by Burmese Democracy Activist, Khin Ohmar in an interview conducted on June 23, 2021 as follows:

“Indonesia had the special envoy in the past during the past military regime. I think now, it's worth to try. But the only think that I would request to the Indonesian government is not only to talk to the military regime, military junta, but also talk to the elected people government, The National Unity Government, as well as the ethnic armed organizations who are also the major stakeholders of our country future. So talking the all sides from Indonesian special envoy would still be a great step, I would say.”

Conclusion

1. In identifying and exploring the roots of Myanmar military coup in February 2021, a *Res Militaris*, vol.12, n°4, December Issue 2022

conflict theory is used, that is very familiar in the study of conflict and peace, namely Johan Galtung's conflict triangle theory. Johan Galtung (1996) describes conflict using a triangle called the ABC Conflict Triangle and Onion Analogy Analysis.

2. There are three factors at the root of the conflict from ABC Conflict Triangle Theory. The identified conflict factors are the increasing power of the NLD followed by the landslide defeat of the USDP in the 2020 elections, the perception of the military's superiority over civilian leaders and military officials' economic and personal interests in Myanmar. These are contradictions that shape the military's attitude towards civilian government.
3. From the Onion Analogy Analysis, it shows that the arrest of Aung San Suu Kyi happened not only because of NLD victory in the 2020 elections but also because of the Tatmadaw's interest in controlling Myanmar, especially in the business sector. Besides, the Myanmar Military Junta hopes that civil society will not demand changes to the 2008 constitution after the NLD's landslide victory in the 2020 elections. In addition, Tatmadaw needs to build assumption that the military is the state's guardian.
4. In the post-coup Myanmar conflict resolution process, the back-channel diplomacy method has a low probability of success to be applied because the strength of the Myanmar military junta does not allow for intervention in any form.
5. If we expect ASEAN's role to overcome the political and humanitarian crisis in Myanmar and realizing democracy, then ASEAN member countries must be able to demonstrate democratic values well at the first place.
6. As one of state members of ASEAN, Indonesia can help to increase the attention of regional and global countries to address the political crisis in Myanmar. Indonesia can also take the initiative to appoint a special envoy in order to bridge the interests of the conflicting parties because Indonesia has experience in sending special envoys to Myanmar.

Recommendation

1. There is a need for the role of ASEAN countries to realize good democratic values in ASEAN by strengthening democratic values from the grassroots level. With increasingly embedded democratic values and strengthened social movements to fight for them, democratic values can be realized.
2. Strengthening the ASEAN community movement, in this case, NGOs and democratic movements to become healthier and make the state government more democratic so that it can be an impetus for the Myanmar military to participate in implementing a proper democratic system and leave the authoritarian government system.
3. Following up on the ASEAN forum meeting as a form of solidarity between ASEAN countries to create an atmosphere of peace and freedom from political crises through diplomacy to provide good conflict resolution for Myanmar.

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