

**Deciphering  
Myanmar's  
Peace Process  
A Reference Guide  
2015**

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A Reference Guide  
2015



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## Acknowledgments

Burma News International (BNI – [www.bnionline.net](http://www.bnionline.net)) is pleased to present the third book in its annual series covering Myanmar's complex peace process. The data compiled in this book is a culmination of media monitoring conducted over the past year by BNI's Myanmar Peace Monitor Project ([www.mmpeacemonitor.org](http://www.mmpeacemonitor.org)). Other important sources of information include interviews, primary documents and contributions by key actors involved.

The organization would like to thank the members of its Myanmar Peace Monitoring Team, Mr. Sai Leik, Ms. Donna Ong, and Mr. Zin Lin Oo for research and writing, Mr. Zin Lin (BNI Managing Director) and Mr. Khuensai Jaiyen (Director of Pyidaungsu Institute for Peace and Dialogue) for their expert insights, sharing information and proof reading of this book, and all BNI staff for logistic support. We would like to thank Mr. Eric Johnston for correcting grammar mistakes and polishing the writing. We would like to thank all editors of BNI member organizations for sharing information and suggestions. The team's research of the peace process was greatly aided by many who cannot be named here. Many key players in the peace process have provided us generous amounts of time and effort, and in so doing they have been a great encouragement in addition to helping to improve understanding and awareness of Myanmar's Peace Process.

This publication would not have been possible without generous financial support from the Open Society Foundation (OSF). BNI would also like to take this opportunity to express its profound gratitude to its donors for their continuing support over the years towards the organization's work for peace and democracy in Myanmar. We would appreciate Burma Relief Centre (BRC) especially for general operational support to BNI.

### **Notes to the reader:**

The political sensitivity and scale of the peace negotiations and conflict have again posed a major challenge in collecting complete and accurate information. While we have received generous support from insider sources for our data, the result is far short of painting a comprehensive picture encompassing the myriad components of Myanmar's peace process. We have, where possible, provided overview statistics to give a sense of the scale and impact of developments occurring over the past year. However, the figures are based on media reports that are usually unable to cover all events, and statistics quoted in the news and by different official sources often do not match. Therefore much of the data recorded here can be no more than a best estimate. Diagrams, graphs and maps aim primarily to provide a framework in which to understand the many aspects of peace and conflict. To avoid tedious repetition, as this publication centers upon the events of 2014,, in most instances only the day and month are given for dates occurring during the year in question. Due to unforeseen circumstances, the projected publication in March could not be met, but we have profited from the delay to cover major events which occurred between January and the end of June of this year, 2015. We apologize for any inconvenience the delay in publishing may have occasioned our readers.

## Acronyms

AA	Arakan Army - Kachin State
AA	Arakan Army - Karen State
AAPP	Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma)
ABSDF	All Burma Students' Democratic Front
ALP/ALA = RSLP	Arakan Liberation Party/ Rakhine State Liberation Party
BGF	Border Guard Force
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CNF	Chin National Front
CSFP	Civil Society Forum for Peace
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DKBA	Democratic Karen Benevolent Army (Formerly DKBA-5)
EAOs	Ethnic Armed Organizations
EBO	Euro-Burma Office
ENAC	Ethnic Nationalities Affairs Center
ENC	Ethnic Nationalities Council
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IPSG	International Peace Support Group
KIO/KIA	Kachin Independence Organization/Army
KNDP/A	Karenni National Development Party/Army
KNLP	Kayan New Land Party
KNO	Kachin National Organization
KNO-B	Kuki National Organization-Burma
KNPDP	Karenni National Peace and Development Party
KNPLF	Karenni National People's Liberation Front
KNPP	Karenni National Progressive Party
KNSO	Karenni National Solidarity Organization
KNU	Karen National Union
KPC	Karen National Union/ Karen National Liberation Army - Peace Council
KPF	Karen Peace Force
KPSN	Karen Peace Support Network
LDU	Lahu Democratic Union
MNDAA	Myanmar National Democracy Alliance Army
MPC	Myanmar Peace Center
MPDF	Mon Peace and Defense Front
MPSI	Myanmar Peace Support Initiative

NBF	Nationalities Brotherhood Federation
NCA	Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement
NCCT	Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team
NDA-K	New Democratic Army – Kachin
NDAA-ESS	National Democratic Alliance Army - Eastern Shan State
NDSC	National Defense and Security Council
NMSP	New Mon State Party
NSAG	Non-State Armed Group
NSCN-K	National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Khaplang
PCG	Peace Creation Group
PDSG	Peace Donor Support Group
PI	Pyidaungsu Institute for Peace and Dialogue
PMF	People’s Militia Force
PNLO	Pa-O National Liberation Organization
PNO	Pa-O National Organization
PSLF	Palaung State Liberation Front
SD	Senior Delegation
SEZ/SIZ	Special Economic Zone/ Special Industrial Zone
SLORC	State Law and Order Restoration Council (former Military Regime 1988-1997)
SPDC	State Peace and Development Council (former Military Regime 1997-2011)
SSA/RCSS	Shan State Army / Restoration Council of Shan State
SSA/SSPP	Shan State Army / Shan State Progress Party
TNLA	Ta’ang National Liberation Army
UNA	United Nationalities Alliance
UNFC	United Nationalities Federal Council
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UPCC	Union Peace Central Committee
UPWC	Union Peace-making Work Committee
USDP	Union Solidarity and Development Party
UWSA/P	United Wa State Army/ Party
WGEC	Working Group for Ethnic Coordination
WLB	Women’s League of Burma
WNO/A	Wa National Organization/Army
ZRO	Zomi Reunification Organization



## Official and Former Anglicised Names

Official Name	Former Anglicised Name
Ayeyarwady	Irrawaddy
Bago	Pegu
Dawei	Tavoy
Kayah	Karenni
Kayin	Karen
Mawlamyine	Moulmein
Myeik	Mergui
Myanmar	Burma
Rakhine	Arakan
Tanintharyi	Tenasserim
Thandwe	Sandoway
Yangon	Rangoon

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## Executive Summary

During the year under review, Myanmar's peace process veered in one direction and then another, swayed by fresh outbreaks of fighting. A commitment to peace by all parties to the conflict and a willingness to compromise would help towards a negotiated settlement. If the two sides can narrow down their demands to the essentials likely to prevent large scale military offensives, they can then move on to discuss political and military issues of a more prickly nature which must be resolved if peace is to be enduring. Both sides have matured during the seventeen months of negotiations necessary to agree a so-called "final draft" of a Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement. However, the draft drawn up conjointly by the Government and Ethnic Armed Organizations drafting teams has yet to be ratified by the assent of the policy-makers of the organizations concerned.

There have been many positive developments. The ethnic armed organizations held the Law Khee Ler Ethnic Conference from 20-25 January, and the Laiza Ethnic Conference from 25-29 July, 2014. They discussed matters specific to the NCA, displayed a sense of unity, and showed a willingness to move the peace process forward. The negotiations with the Government's drafting team went smoothly until the meeting of 22 September, when the military delegates in the Government team went back on the previous agreement. This very nearly resulted in a still-born Nationwide Ceasefire, and many saw it as an indication that the peace process was regarded lightly. Luckily, leaders from the two negotiating teams were able to resuscitate the talks. The situation improved in early 2015 despite some clashes between government forces and ethnic armed organizations [EAOs], especially in Kachin, Karen and Shan States. The two negotiating teams had many informal and formal meetings, whose tone steadily improved. EAO leaders attended the Independence Day and Union Day celebrations in the capital, Naypyitaw. The KNU, DKBA, KPC and RCSS signed a "commitment to peace and national reconciliation". Subsequent to which, on 31 March of this year, 2015, the negotiators finally agreed the "final draft" of the NCA. Although events that followed showed that it will not in fact be the final text, the negotiation of the terms it contains was, nevertheless, a very great achievement for the two sides, who had never undertaken such a task before. They agreed a "7-Step Roadmap". Many felt the peace process to be on the right path. However, influential people within the ethnic movement pointed out that this was a proposed agreement requiring the assent of the governing bodies of the ethnic organisations: it was not the agreement itself. The UWSA and the KIO then organized, from 1-6 May 2015 at the headquarters of UWSA, the Panghsang Ethnic Conference to thrash out matters relating to the NCA, such as whether or not to sign the existing document. However no agreement was reached on this latter point. Therefore the ethnic armed organizations organized the second Law Khee Ler Conference in a KNU-controlled area. This was held from 2-9 June 2015. They reviewed the "final draft" of the NCA; decided it needed thirteen amendments; and formed the "EAOs High-Level Delegation for the NCA" (also known as the EAOs Senior Delegation) to pursue negotiations with the Government.

On a negative note, fighting between ethnic armed organizations and government forces have been frequent, with each side blaming the other. Most clashes occurred in Kachin, Karen and Shan States. Although the incidence of armed conflict has diminished over the eighteen months to June 2015, it has produced a growing number of IDPs, especially in the

Kokang area. The EAOs have demanded the cessation of government offensives against their positions, claiming that these make them more wary, are an obstacle to a negotiated settlement, and are clearly not conducive to peace.

However, the KIA and the Kachin State Border Affairs Ministry were able to establish a “Joint Conflict Resolution Committee” to reduce clashes between the two sides. Although ethnic ceasefire groups have liaison offices located in urban centers, these are ineffective in solving problems between EAOs and government forces. Clashes are expected to be reduced when EAOs and the Government sign a mutually-acceptable NCA, form a ‘Joint Monitoring Committee’, evolve a ‘military code of conduct’, and establish demarcation lines between the opposing forces.

State and Union level bi-lateral agreements, which started to come into effect from late 2011, contain terms intended to reintegrate EAOs into the national patchwork and to assist conflict-affected communities. They have already started making important headway and foster an overall movement towards peace. They do this through legalization of EAOs, trust-building, recognition of ethnic rights, and resettlement. Assistance from the international community has played a crucial supporting role in producing these “peace dividends”, but it is essential to guard against ignoring the core political issues which continue to promote conflict. The marked improvement in the everyday life of post-conflict communities is a clear sign of the progress being made. However, the absence of efforts to address political issues, such as self-determination and equal political rights, causes many to remain skeptical of the Government’s sincerity and to fear a return of conflict to those areas where it has died down. Major developments in the peace process notwithstanding, the persistently high level of armed conflict in Kachin, Karen and Shan States are a cause for grave concern. It encourages pessimistic cautiousness, and calls into question the Government’s sincerity in pursuing the peace process, suggesting the possibility of a hidden agenda. EAOs have reported that the Myanmar military has not changed its aggressive policy of wiping them out, fueling distrust of the Government and souring the peace process. The ongoing violence related to ethnic and communal conflict has created new IDPs and prevented the return of existing ones; and threatens to slow or even reverse the reforms made in the country as a whole. The international community has criticized the Government’s human rights record and pushed it to respect and promote human rights. The expansion of opium production and trafficking is another contradictory outcome of the peace process which suggests inexplicable and as yet to be identified flaws.

A great deal more must be done to understand and to address the root political causes that drive Myanmar’s long-standing civil war. With its increasing integration into the international community, and as the ASEAN chair in 2014, Myanmar is more enthusiastic than ever to make up for damage done by decades-long conflict and to catch up with global standards. Visits to Myanmar by world leaders have been frequent of late, and both Government and opposition leaders have visited foreign countries. Western countries have removed economic sanctions and kicked off their “engagement policy” to strengthen the reforms and encourage the peace process.

## About this report

Burma News International ([www.bnionline.net](http://www.bnionline.net)) is a media network of 13 media organizations based both in the border area of Thailand and inside Myanmar. The Myanmar Peace Monitor (MPM) operates under the aegis of Burma News International (BNI). Its program, operational since 2011, has been mainly to monitor the peace process between the current Myanmar government and ethnic armed organizations (EAOs), concerning which it produces an annual Peace Monitoring Report.

This current document is a continuation of last year report, entitled "Deciphering Myanmar's Peace Process: A Reference Guide 2014". These reports are integral to BNI's ongoing Myanmar Peace Monitoring Program (see [www.mmpeacemonitor.org](http://www.mmpeacemonitor.org)). This report, covering the principal developments of 2014 and including major events up until March of this year (2015), has the purpose of facilitating understanding of the complicated components, of the stakeholders, and of the issues involved in the peace process. It should help to make sense of the many confusing relationships and assist key actors to make informed decisions in the year ahead. More broadly, the report is expected to assist experts, academics, civil society groups, the international community and the media to improve their monitoring and analysis of the peace process in Myanmar.

### Contents by Chapter

- I What happened to the peace process during the period under review
- II Peace plans, the negotiation process, and challenges
- III Ongoing efforts for long-term peace
- IV Participation of CBOs/CSOs in Peace Process
- V The Role of International Actors
- VI Factors influencing the unfolding of the peace process
- VII Update Information (Jan-Jun 2015)
- VIII A profile of the ethnic armed groups

Throughout the period under review, Myanmar Peace Monitor systematically collected information relating to the peace process between the government and the ethnic armed organizations, and, additionally, for the purpose of producing this report interviewed stakeholders in the peace process. Reports on related topics such as the drug trade and human rights abuses were collected and referred to.

The targeted readership of this report consists of government functionaries, members of the ethnic armed groups, Myanmar civilians, NGOs, INGOs, donors and the international community. Its aim is to broaden their understanding of the ramifications of the ongoing peace process and of the existing challenges to this process. The focus is mainly upon the events of 2014, but we touch a little bit on the process in 2015. The central government and the ethnic armed organizations were unable to sign a nationwide ceasefire agreement (NCA) in 2014 despite peace negotiation teams on both sides having made strenuous efforts to bring it about. In 2015, the rays of hope are bright again because the UPWC representing the government and the NCCT representing the ethnic armed groups held their 7th official meeting on 17-22 and 30-31 March. They agreed many important points including establishing a joint monitoring committee and a 7-step "road-map" that they were unable to agree upon in 2014. Representatives of the NCCT and the UPWC signed the final draft of the NCA on the 31 March in the presence of President Thein Sein. It is an important step forward in political dialogue that may lead to progress in solving the country's political problems.

**About us:**

Myanmar Peace Monitor is a project run by the Burma News International that works to support communication and understanding in the current efforts for peace and reconciliation in Myanmar. It aims to centralize information, track and make sense of the many events and stakeholders involved in the complex and multifaceted peace process.

Our website is being updated and developed regularly. If you would like to stay informed about the latest website updates and additions, please subscribe now at ([www.mmpeacemonitor.org](http://www.mmpeacemonitor.org)).

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HOME

BACKGROUND

PEACE PROCESS

CONFLICT

STAKEHOLDERS

RESEARCH

ABOUT US



## Peace Monitoring Dashboard - August

### ARMED CLASHES

Armed clashes between govt and resistance forces:  
-

### COMMUNAL CLASHES

Communal clashes between Buddhists and Muslims:  
-

### PEACE MEETINGS

between govt and resistance forces:  
- KNU, DKBA, KPC, RCSS - UPWC (3 Aug)

### SCHEDULED

Projected to meet in the month:  
- NCCT  
- KNU  
- RCSS  
- KIO

### PEACE RELATED ACTIVITIES

- Ms Yang Hee Lee visits Myanmar (03 Jul)  
- KNU, DKBA, KPC and RCSS leaders met president Thein Sein in Naypyitaw (03 Jul)  
- Some Ethnic armed groups urged President Thein Sein to serve for second term (03 Jul)

### INTERNATIONAL AID PLEDGES

-

### CONFLICT ALERT

- Military tension is high between Myanmar armed forces and UWSA

#	ARMED GROUP	STATUS
1	UWSA/P	Union level
2	NDAA	Union level
3	DKBA-5	Union level
4	RCSS	Union level
5	CNF	Union level
6	KNU	Union level
7	SSPP	Union level
8	NMSP	Union level
9	KPC	State level
10	KNPP	Union level
11	ALP/A	State level
12	NSCN-K	State level
13	PNLO	Union level
14	ABSDF	Union Level
X	AA	Combatant
X	KIA	Combatant
X	TNLA	Combatant
X	MNDAA	Combatant

### Tweets

Australia sends aid for Myanmar floods | SBS News [sbs.com.au/news/article/2...](https://sbs.com.au/news/article/2...)

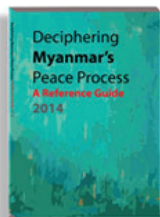
Police captured 1.5 million pills of methamphetamine in Yangon [burmese.voanews.com/content/lot...](https://burmese.voanews.com/content/lot...)

Norway provides NOK 10 million to assist flood victims in Myanmar [regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/nor...](https://regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/nor...)

## Peace Monitoring Dashboard - July



Deciphering Myanmar's Peace Process 2014 (Burmese Version)



Deciphering Myanmar's Peace Process 2014 (English Version)



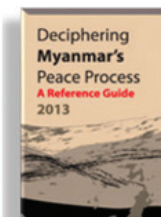
Economics of Peace and Conflict (English Version)



Economics of Peace and Conflict (Burmese Version)



Deciphering Myanmar's Peace Process 2014 (Burmese Version)



Deciphering Myanmar's Peace Process 2013 (English Version)

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Chin World Media  
www.chinworld.info



Independent Arakanese News Agency  
www.narinjara.com



Independent Mon News Agency  
www.monnews.org



Kachin News Group  
www.kachinnews.com



Kaladan Press Network  
www.kaladanpress.org



Kantarawaddy Times  
www.ktimes.org



Karen Information Center  
www.karennews.org



Khonumthung News Group  
www.khonumthung.org



Mizzima  
www.mizzima.com



Network Media Group  
သတင်းနှင့်မီဒီယာကွန်ယက်

Network Media Group



Phophtaw News Association  
www.burmese.phophtawnews.org



Shan Herald Agency for News  
www.english.panglong.org



Thanlwin Times  
www.thanlwintimes.org



## Introduction: New Peace Roadmap for the NCA

This is the fourth year of democratic transition in Myanmar, which was initiated when President Thein Sein acceded to power in 2011, since when changes have been ongoing. On taking presidential office, he kicked off the reform process by offering ceasefire talks with ethnic armed organisations. Despite widespread criticism and doubts about the government's sincerity, President Thein Sein and his administration managed to negotiate with the ethnic armed organizations and eventually signed a ceasefire agreement with them. Although some ethnic armed organizations were not invited to the negotiations, fourteen armed organizations have so far signed either State or Union level ceasefire agreements since 2011. The Union Peace-making Work Committee (UPWC) and the Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team (NCCT) were working hard throughout last year to agree a final single-text ceasefire agreement. The search for agreement to a definitive ceasefire agreement is still underway.

The year 2014 was an eventful one in terms of peace negotiations, conflict, protests and international engagement by the Myanmar government. The realization of 4th draft of a single-text ceasefire agreement was a notable achievement. The year opened with an ethnic armed organizations' conference in Law Khee Lar in Karen state. It raised expectations for an end to more than 60 years of civil war. Despite these hopes, during the latter half of the year, many armed clashes occurred between Myanmar army and the ethnic armed forces. This resulted in a surge in the numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and in human rights violations in the ethnic areas. The western part of the country was very quiet in 2014 without any major conflict, but in the east, in Kachin, Shan, Karen and Mon states, there was much fighting, problems caused by large-scale projects that threaten livelihoods and protests against these, more IDPs, ongoing human rights violations, and problems related to drugs.

2014 saw some milestone achievements such as the ability of the ethnic armed organizations to hold the Law Khee Lar and Laiza conferences which produced fruitful guidelines for the NCCT to negotiate with the government's peace negotiation team for a Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA). Ethnic armed organizations tried to advance the peace process

by participating in drafting a “Single Text” Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement. There was a diversity of ideas among the ethnic armed organizations as to whether or not to negotiate with the government prior to signing the NCA because some ethnic armed groups wished to sign the NCA before political talks. Some ethnic armed groups sought a guarantee of political dialogue and discussions on federalism before signing the NCA. A major difficulty arose during the 6th official meeting between the NCCT and the UPWC when army representatives rejected the agreement reached in the 3rd draft of the NCA to “agree to discuss federal issues in principle”.

Despite much progress in the peace process, the KNU’s temporarily suspension of its membership of UNFC was a contentious issue which brought into question the unity of the ethnic armed groups. Many criticized the KNU for walking out on the UNFC thereby displaying disunity in the ethnic alliance, which could have repercussions on the peace process. The Myanmar Army Commander-in-Chief also criticized the UNFC for its decision to delay signing the NCA. The end of year was filled with sorrow when Myanmar army shelled the KIA’s cadet academy, causing heavy loss of life. Fighting broke out again between the KIA and Myanmar army as a result of the attack.

The first part of this report provides an overview of the major events of last year, highlighting the positive developments and some persisting situations. As regards positive development, trust building and communication between the two sides have improved; peace brokers are no longer necessary to mediate between EAOs and the government; and meetings between the two sides, both formal and informal, have increased in frequency. As a result of ceasefires, reports on the ground show a reduction in human rights abuses in the western part of the country and some areas in eastern part; people enjoy greater freedom to move and to conduct business; more official border crossings have opened; as have more liaison offices.

On the negative side, the level of armed conflict has not improved, with the KIA and TNLA seeing increased fighting. Ceasefire violations continue, with especially intense fighting between Myanmar army and the RCSS and SSPP in Shan state and DKBA in Mon and Karen states. Though there was no major incident of communal violence during the year, nonetheless there have been anti-Muslim activities, notable amongst which was a bill submitted to parliament by Buddhist monks to ban interfaith marriages and religious conversion. Communal violence and tension between different religious communities is threatening another kind of war in the country, and it will be difficult to tackle in the long run. Buddhist radicalism has spread throughout the country. At the same time, the militancy of Myanmar Muslims has also grown. Al-Qaeda terrorist leader Al Zawahiri announced he is opening a new branch on the Indian sub-continent, focusing on India, Bangladesh and Myanmar.

The second part of the report is an in-depth review of the development of a single-text agreement and of the deadlock in negotiations between the NCCT and the UPWC. It includes a time-line of events, the background of important players, an explanation of the negotiation process, issues discussed and points rejected by army representatives. It also explains the different demands relative to the signing of the NCA.

The third part covers ongoing efforts related to the peace process. It includes support for peace dialogue, self-determination, the opening of new liaison offices, business opportunities for ceasefire groups, and anti-narcotic activities. In addition, the role of CBOs and CSOs in implementing peace terms and representing the voice of the local people at the decision-making level is briefly explained.

The fourth section explains the role and activities of the international community in helping the country progress positively towards peace. Foreign aid and assistance have been very important in expediting ceasefire implementation, trust building and policy making. Foreign observers' presence at peace meetings is also important in making the agreements more binding and worthwhile. How tripartite relations operate in the peace process is also covered.

The conclusion lists factors determining the success or hindrances of the peace process. The final section is a compilation of profiles of different stakeholders involved.

Despite the major challenges that continue to trouble the country, there is hope and commitment by both government and ethnic armed organizations. Government, army and ethnic armed groups have realized the impacts of war and willingly sit-down together for political negotiation and to build trust to achieve lasting peace. If leaders from both sides compromise and are willing to participate in building trust and commitment to peace, all Myanmar people will rise up from the smoldering ashes of the past and can build a genuinely democratic country.

# I. Overview

## Status of EAOs

The Myanmar Peace Process, which aims to end the more than 60 years of civil war, has been in progress for four years. It was initiated by President Thein Sein in 2011 and made rapid progress, which surprised many foreign observers. The NCCT, representing EAOs, and the MPC, which is a working group of the UPWC, held many formal and informal meetings in the course of the year. These meetings produced beneficial results culminating in the drafting of a National Ceasefire Agreement. However, ceasefire negotiations between the government and the EAOs had their ups and downs.

Despite continued outbreaks of fighting, a ceasefire is still considered to be in force when neither the government nor the ethnic organization concerned has declared it to be abrogated. Fourteen armed organizations have signed ceasefire agreements since commencement of the talks requested by President Thein Sein. Despite frequent outbreaks of fighting in Kachin and Shan states, the government nonetheless pursued talks with the KIA and the TNLA with a view to re-establishing ceasefires and with the SSPP in order to maintain the existing ceasefire agreement. Kachin State Border Affairs Minister and the KIO's technical support team established a "Joint Conflict Resolution Committee" (JCRC) to reduce the armed conflict in Kachin state. No further ceasefire agreements were signed with EAOs during 2014 in addition to those already reached between the government and the 14 groups referred to above. However, the KIA, TNLA, MNDAA and AA (based in Kachin state) are still engaged in armed conflict.

**Table 1:** EAOs ceasefire agreement status in 2014

No	Group	Agreement Level	Ceasefire agreement signing date
1	UWSA/P	Union Level	6 September 2011
2	NDAA	Union Level	7 September 2011
3	DKBA	Union Level	3 November 2011
4	RCSS/SSA	Union Level	2 December 2011
5	CNF	Union Level	6 January 2012
6	KNU	Union Level	12 January 2012
7	SSPP/SSA	Union Level	28 January 2012
8	KNPP	Union Level	7 March 2012
9	NMSP	Union Level	1 February 2012
10	PNLO	Union Level	25 August 2012
11	ABSDF	Union Level	5 August 2013
12	KPC	State Level	7 February 2012
13	ALP/A	State Level	5 April 2012
14	NSCN-K	State Level	9 April 2012
15	KIA	Combatant	-
16	AA	Combatant	-
17	TNLA	Combatant	-
18	MNDAA	Combatant	-

*\*\*Naypyitaw has declined to invite the AA for peace talks as it considers it to be subsidiary to the KIO/A. Instead it has called for all AA-Kachin, AA-Karen and other Rakhine groups including ALP/A to negotiate under the single banner of the ANC. The government has refused to negotiate with the MNDAA because it does not recognize it as having the status of a political armed group.*

Since agreement between EAOs and the government to draft a “single-text” proposal, the latter has ceased seeking bilateral ceasefire agreements with individual groups. As result, despite some ethnic armed groups wishing to negotiate and requesting this in writing, the government has refused to talk to them, giving as their reason that the UPWC and NCCT are drafting the NCA. When they have finished drafting the final version of the NCA, both ceasefire and non-ceasefire armed groups will be called upon to sign the document which is intended to end the deep-rooted armed conflict that has been tearing the country apart. According to the government’s peace negotiator, U Aung Min, there must be an all-inclusive participation in signing the NCA, with no absence of any armed organization.

So government–EAOs negotiations are now focused on producing a single-text proposal for the NCA. Essential elements in establishing long-term peace and national reconciliation will be the agreement on matters such as as code of conduct, amnesty, resettlement, recognition of ethnic rights, establishment of a federal union, and socio-economic development.

In 2013, the Kuki National Organization – Burma (KNO-B) — which had split from the previously united front with Indian Kukis, known as the Kuki National Organization — emerged as a new distinct NSAG and has attempted to initiate ceasefire talks with the government, but has been ignored. Although they have had no clashes with Myanmar army in 2014, they will continue to pose a potential threat to national stability if left out of the peace process.

The Kokang group, the MNDAA, has come to prominence once again since being attacked by Myanmar army in 2009, when it broke into two factions. One faction, led by Bai Suoqian, agreed to be incorporated into the newly-formed Border Guard Force (BGF) while the other, led by Peng Jiasheng, went underground. In 2013, Peng Jiasheng and soldiers loyal to him reformed the MNDAA and applied for membership of the UNFC. Initially the MNDAA was given observer status with the UNFC, subsequently becoming a full member. The first Laiza Conference at the end of 2013 established a Federal Union Army (FUA) under the auspices of the UNFC. In 2014 the UNFC formed a northern command of the FUA based in KIA-controlled territory. The MNDAA joined the FUA, alongside the KIA, and the TNLA. Since that time, the MNDAA has been militarily active in the Kokang area of northern Shan state.

Ethnic armed organizations held an ethnic conference called “Law Khee Ler conference <sup>1</sup>” in the KNU controlled area of Law Khee Lar in January 2014. It was the second ethnic armed group conference. The ethnic leaders agreed some common points to guide the NCCT in its negotiations with the Myanmar government. Subsequent to this, the ceasefire negotiations gained considerable momentum. A series of meetings between the NCCT and the MPC and also the UPWC resulted in the drawing up of the first draft of a “single text<sup>2</sup> “ National Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) in April. This was a first step and has had considerable impact on the negotiations between government and ethnic armed groups because it integrated the separate proposals of both government and EAOs into a single document. This led to the NCCT and UPWC, through formal and informal discussions, developing a second NCA draft in May and a third draft in August. The situation looked bright after agreement of the second draft even though some major points of contention remained.

EAOs held a second “Laiza Conference” on 25-29 July 2014.<sup>3</sup> Leaders of 16 ethnic armed organizations attended the meeting and reviewed the results of negotiations with the

1 KNU Headquarters, Second Ethnic Armed Organisations Conference – Law Khee Lar, Karen State, 25 Jan 2014, web.

2 Single text document is a combination document of the separate proposals from both Myanmar government and ethnic armed organizations. Both NCCT and UPWC are working to get the final version of single text document which will help to make moving forward the nationwide ceasefire in the country.

3 Eleven Media Group, Eleven News, NCCT to discuss ceasefire agreement in Laiza, 24 July 2014, web. And KNU headquarters, Laiza’s Spirit for Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement, 30 July 2014, web.

government's peace negotiation team and the second NCA draft. The Conference agreed on guidelines for the NCCT in its negotiations with the UPWC.

Both NCCT and UPWC worked very hard and, during the ceasefire negotiations in Yangon,<sup>4</sup> agreed the third NCA draft on 15-17 August. The members of both delegations held amiable and open discussions on the draft Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement and were able to negotiate smoothly and make critical progress. But there remained outstanding matters to be dealt with in the draft text reached after the second round of negotiations on 21-23 May. Significantly, both parties were able to agree in principle that the federal issue would be discussed at the political dialogue stage. This was a huge achievement.

Unfortunately, the NCCT and UPWC had problems in the sixth round of official meetings to discuss the 4<sup>th</sup> NCA draft. Myanmar Army delegates in the UPWC rejected the previous accord to "agree in principle to discuss federal union issues". The meeting on 22 September failed to make progress. Many critics said the peace process had stalled while some said it was "on a backtrack" as result of Myanmar Army's refusal to discuss federal union and a federal army as agreed in August.<sup>5</sup> Peace negotiations came to a standstill.

Following this failure of the ceasefire negotiations, in early October there were bloody clashes between Myanmar Army and SSPP forces in northern Shan state, resulting in many people fleeing their homes in the conflict zone to become IDPs. Myanmar Army finally captured the SSPP's military camp on 4 October after heavy shelling. Myanmar Army did not stop there and went into action in northern Shan state against the TNLA, the KIA, and the MNDAA. Myanmar Peace Monitor (MPM) recorded 113 clashes between Myanmar armed forces and Ta'ang National Liberation Front (TNLA) during 2014. Moreover, Myanmar Army bombarded with 105 mm howitzers the KIA's military cadet academy on 19 November, killing 23 cadets and wounding more than 20 others. Trust between the central government and the ethnic armed organizations deteriorated. EAOs demanded Myanmar army and government investigate this incident, but there was no response and no answers to their questions. They merely replied that the attack was unintentional, which did not satisfy the KIA and other EAOs. This kind of thing places barriers in the way of progress towards a nationwide ceasefire. The UNFC held its first conference in the KNU controlled area between 31 August and 2 September. Following on from this conference, on 28-29 November, UNFC-member military commanding officers held their first ever meeting, sharing their views on the current peace process, on military operations, and Myanmar Army troop movements. They released a statement after the meeting demanding Myanmar army halt offensives against ethnic armed groups while efforts are being made to achieve a ceasefire and condemning their military operations. Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing, the Commander-in-chief of Myanmar armed forces, was enraged by this statement. Instead, he blamed the UNFC for delays in signing the NCA.

## Positive Impacts: Trust building

Mutual trust is playing a pivotal role in the Myanmar peace process. The central government and ethnic armed groups have waged civil war since Myanmar gained independence from Britain in 1948. Distrust between central government and ethnic armed groups had grown since that time. Since EAOs signed ceasefire agreements from 2011, both the government and EAOs were able start building trust, which has steadily improved.

A major development during the course of 2014, until September, was a marked improvement in trust between the government and armed groups until. Both the NCCT and UPWC were able

4 NCCT, Joint Statement of the Union Peace-Making Working Committee and the Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team, 17 Aug 2014, MPM web.

5 RFA, Proposal by Myanmar's Rebel Groups to Discuss Federal Army Rejected, 23 September 2014, web.

to start drafting a single text document by combining the different documents proposed by the two sides. According to an MPC official, there was reason to be optimistic as both sides were willing and eager to make the peace process succeed. EAOs have established a direct communication channel with the government.

There are several possible reasons for this:

1. Commitment of leaders to engage in peaceful dialogue and realisation of the benefits of peace over conflict. e.g. Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk, the chairperson of RCSS, expressed on several occasions his commitment to peace. He also mentioned his belief and trust in the President. He said “We believe that President Thein Sein is an honest person.” and “We trust him, and we also want peace, so we are continuing to work on an agreement with him.”<sup>6</sup>
2. Positive reforms occurring in the country have been seen in the early stages of the transition period. The reform process is still ongoing but it seems to have become rather slow in late 2014.
3. Goodwill gestures by Aung Min and the government peace team, as well as fulfillment of promises made in peace agreements, has contributed towards gaining the trust of some NSAG leaders. The government’s willingness to accommodate demands of NSAGs helps improve rapport between the two sides. e.g. Minister Aung Min and his MPC team visited the Karen New Year celebration party. President Thein Sein also attended the Kachin State Day Celebration on 10 January 2015.
4. Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing said he wants to cooperate with ethnic armed groups for the betterment of the country. The government’s newspaper, *The New Light of Myanmar*, reported that “The Snr-Gen expressed he wishes to cooperate with the ethnic armed groups for the sake of the country, saying all national people are required to safeguard national security in unity.”<sup>7</sup> He also said soldiers really want peace because they are frequently in the front-line and on the battlefield, so they understand the negative consequences of armed conflict.
5. KNU soldiers and Myanmar army soldiers played a friendly football match in Karen state which had potential to improve trust and foster friendship. This kind of relationship was unthinkable until recent years.
6. The Myanmar government invited NSAG leaders to attend the Independence Day and Union Day celebrations held in Naypyitaw. Some ethnic armed group leaders accepted the invitation and were able to meet President Thein Sein and the Commander-in-Chief, Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing. They were able to discuss nationwide ceasefire issues. President Thein Sein and leaders of the RCSS, KNU, DKBA and KPC signed a “deed of commitment for peace and national reconciliation”.<sup>8</sup>
7. NSAG leaders said, in effect, “We have fought for over six decades and neither side could defeat the other, so it’s time to start solving political problems by political means. Negotiation is very important for us. It’s the best way to get peace for the country.”
8. “We are trying to restore peace in fulfillment of the people’s wishes. Both sides are key players in this. The consequences will benefit everyone. We can’t get peace through armed struggle. People are suffering a lot from the war and the country has lost much.” These

6 DVB, Yawd Serk bows out urging peace, compromise, 11 Feb 2014, web.

7 Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing met UWSA leader Bao You Yi and SSPP leader Sao Khur Tai in Lashio on 6 April 2014

8 President office website, Deed of commitment for peace and national reconciliation, 12 March 2015

remarks reveal an awareness of the contrasting differences between the past and present situations.<sup>9</sup>

9. “We will try our best to achieve the nationwide ceasefire agreement successfully,” Maj. Gen. Gun Maw said when he met President Thein Sein.

10. The Chin National Front (CNF) called for agreement on a national-level ceasefire between the Myanmar government and the ethnic armed groups at its fourth central committee meeting from 22-29 January 2015 in the Indo-Myanmar border area.<sup>10</sup>

11. An overwhelming show of support from the public for successful peace talks between the government and NSAGs to end the conflict. E.g. a Mon civilian rally in Kamarwet in Mon state; Kachin people showed their support for the KIA when representatives came to Myitkyina for ceasefire talks with the government.

12. Financial support from foreign and domestic donors to fund goodwill trips and meetings. E.g. Nippon Foundation’s sponsorship and hosting of visits to Yangon by UNFC leaders, Naing Hongsa, Khun Okker, Padoh Kwe Htoo Win, and Twan Zaw from 24-25 November. The EU promised to support Myanmar’s reform and peace process.

It’s a good omen for the country that both government and ethnic leaders expressed a real desire for, and commitment to, peace. They realize that peace can be achieved through negotiation and dialogue.

## Improvements on the ground

Even though the UPWC and NCCT have not reached the stage of signing an NCA, many improvements can be seen on the ground. For instance, there was a reduction in armed conflict. According to Lt. Gen. Myint Soe, clashes between the KIA and Myanmar army were reduced from around 1,450 in 2013 to 68 in 2014.

Clashes between EAOs and Myanmar army occurred in over 40 townships before the signing state and union level ceasefire agreements, whereas in 2014 this had been reduced to 30 townships. This major reduction in fighting is likely a result of the ceasefire agreements. Despite some ethnic armed groups and factions rejecting development projects in their control areas, construction of highways and minor roads and other projects were initiated in the course of the year.

The RCSS opened a new liaison office in Mong Pan (Mai Pan) township on 5 March 2014. Myanmar army and local government can communicate directly with the RCSS through its liaison offices including the new one in Mong Pan. The RCSS also has a direct communication channel with the government if they have something to discuss. Liaison offices and officers are important in building trust and easing tensions. The RCSS chairman, Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk, met President Thein Sein and Vice-President Dr. Sai Mauk Kham in 2014.

Relationships between government and some EAOs have improved in 2014. For instance, KNU leaders met President Thein Sein and Commander-in-Chief Min Aung Hlaing six times. This enabled them to build trust. U Aung Min and his MPC team attended the Karen New Year celebrations in Myawaddy, Karen state. According to MPM monitoring records, the KNU developed trust in the government and armed clashes were dramatically reduced. The Myanmar government began construction of the Asian highway from Myawaddy to

9 President Thein Sein met KIO leaders in Naypyitaw, 16 Mar 2015, (visited president-office website on 25 Mar 2015)

10 Khonumthung News, CNF urges signing agreement on nationwide ceasefire, 3rd Feb 2015, web.



Kawkareik in Karen state. The new Asian highway will be an important commercial transport link between Thailand and Myanmar as well as connecting with other Asian nations. However, KPSN sees that the exploitation of local natural resources and disrespect for land rights by central military authorities are two key causes of the more than 60 years of conflict in ethnic areas of Myanmar. This should be understood within the larger context of the state's denial of ethnic people's demands for self-determination. The current peace process has not yet led to a meaningful decentralization of constitutional powers, whereby local ethnic peoples have a voice in government development policies.

Another positive thing is that a Chin Ceasefire Monitoring Team (CCMT) office was opened in Thantlang Township on 14 June.<sup>11</sup> The Chin ceasefire monitoring team can now access the peace process between the government and the CNF. Chin CBOs and CSOs can play a direct monitoring role in the peace process. This is a huge achievement for both the CNF and the CBOs and CSOs, as it enables them to participate in restoring a long-lasting peace.

The KIA and Myanmar army significantly reduced the number of armed clashes in Kachin state even though the two armies have often fought and tension remains high. This was achieved through the formation of a Joint Conflict Resolution Committee (JCRC) involving KIO/KIA and Kachin State Border Affairs officials, including army officers. This resulted from an informal meeting in Myitkyina between the KIO and the UPWCI on 28 May. The aim of the JCRC is to mediate conflict between the KIA and government forces and reduce the incidence of fighting. The JCRC has equal representatives from each side. Col. Than Aung leads the government team and Col. Zau Tawng leads the KIO team. Since its formation, the JCRC has held regular meetings where information has been shared and discussions have aimed at reducing conflict. Lahpai Gun Ja, who is based at the KIO's technical advisory team office in Myitkyina, said "In August there was almost no fighting between the government and the KIO. It was reduced by 95%".<sup>12</sup> As a result of conflict reduction in Kachin state and improved relations between the KIA and the Myanmar government, Hpa-kant jade mine re-opened on 1 September. The government agreed to EAOs holding the second ethnic conference in Laiza, the headquarters of the KIO, on 25-29 July. EAOs representatives went to Laiza via cities inside the country rather than through border crossings.

Since ethnic armed organizations signed ceasefire agreements in 2011, border trade between Thailand and Burma has become an easier and faster and the trading volume has increased substantially. Moreover, locals in conflict-affected areas have reportedly seen a consistent decline in military activities and human rights abuses compared to the earlier situation. Surveys and interviews by MPSI, TBC, media reports and local groups have also found they enjoy more freedom to travel, to do business without fear for their security or the need to pay taxes to different militia groups.

## **Negative Impacts: Ongoing Clashes**

Even though the NCCT and UPWC have agreed to draft a "single text" document for a nationwide ceasefire agreement, armed conflict is still occurring in ethnic areas. Fighting has diminished in areas other than Shan State, but ironically there is growing distrust by EAOs because, under the guise of "development", government forces have constructed roads in EAO controlled areas heading towards their outposts; and have reinforced their forward positions with new concrete bunkers, more troops, ammunition stockpiles, etc. EAOs see Myanmar army to be exploiting the ceasefires to gain tactical advantage.

11 Khonumthung News, Chin Ceasefire Monitoring Team office opens for Thantlang township, 20 June 2014, web.

12 Kachin News Group, Clashes between Burma army and the KIO largely reduced, says KIO rap, 6 Sept 2014, web.

According to Myanmar Peace Monitor, despite fewer clashes in Karen State, and in the eastern Bago and Taninthari regions, some hundred of clashes occurred between the KIA and Myanmar army in Kachin State and between the TNLA, MNDAA, SSPP, RCSS and Myanmar army in Shan State. However, the true number of clashes likely exceeded those reported in the mainstream media. In addition to face-to-face combat, there were a number of bomb and landmine blasts.

**Table 2:** Clashes in Ethnic States in 2014

No	State	Clashes (media record)
1	Kachin	73 (KIA)
2	Kayah	0
3	Karen	13 (KNU, DKBA)
4	Chin	0
5	Mon	3 (DKBA)
6	Rakhine	3 (RSO)
7	Shan	148 (TNLA, MNDAA, SSPP, RCSS)
8	Bago	1 (KNU)
9	Taninthari	1 (KNU)

*Remark: MPM recorded the number of clashes between ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) and Myanmar armed forces in 2014. SSPP claimed they had 25 clashes in October but MPM only recorded 4 clashes from media. KIA claimed that they had 15 clashes in April but MPM only recorded 7 clashes.*

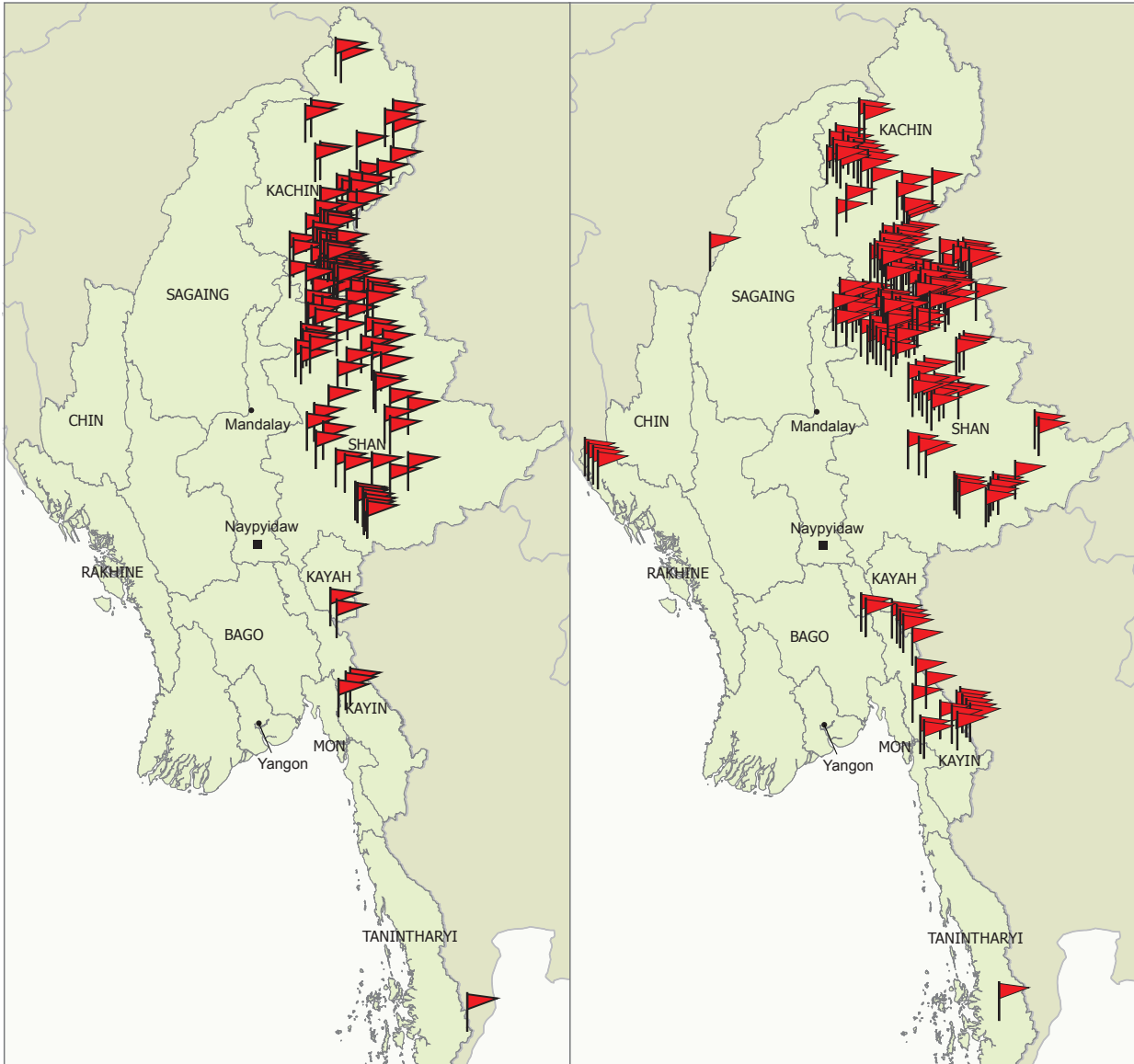
**Table 3:** EAOs clashes with Government forces in 2014

No	Organization	Clashes	Claimed by EAOs	Note
1	KIA	73		KIA said they had 15 clashes in April but MPM only recorded 4 clashes
2	RSO	3	-	
3	SSPP	17	100+	SSPP claimed they had 25 clashes in the first week of October but MPM only recorded 4 clashes
4	RCSS	13	21	RCSS claimed they had 21 clashes in 2014
5	TNLA	118	200+	TNLA claimed they had over 200 clashes in 2014
6	MNDAA*	15*	-	With FUA along with TNLA, and KIA
7	KNU	5	-	
8	DKBA	13	-	
9	CNF	0	-	
10	NMSP	0	-	
11	KNPP	0	-	
	Total	242	-	Mainstream media in Myanmar reported total number of 242 clashes between EAOs and Myanmar army in 2014, however, the actual number can be more than media records.

\* MNDAA has clashed with Myanmar army almost every day since 9 Feb 2015

**Figure 1: Clashes in 2013**

**Figure 2: Clashes in 2014**



*Note: Actual number of clashes between ethnic armed forces and Myanmar military forces may be much higher than the number of clashes reported in the media. Myanmar Peace Monitor has collected the following data reported in both domestic and international media, and noted official figures from NSAGs when available.*

According to our monitoring, there was no armed conflict in the western part of the country, where NSCN-K, CNF and ALP have their military camps. Not only in the western part of the country but also in the south the situation is very stable and only one clash occurred in 2014. The fact that relations between the KNU and Myanmar army have gradually improved is shown by the small number of incidents in the KNU's operational area. In 2014 there was one outbreak of fighting in the Kyauk Gyi Bago region, one in the Taninthari region, and three in Karen state, especially in KNU's brigade 5 areas.

However, government and DKBA forces fought several times in both Karen and Mon States. A misunderstanding caused intense fighting in Mon state in September. Many local residents had to flee the battle zone and some schools had to close. DKBA and Myanmar armed forces blamed one another for each of the outbreaks of fighting. However, there have been no further incidents since September.

The RCSS was involved in several clashes but very few compared to the number the previous year. We (MPM) recorded 13 clashes between the RCSS and government forces, while the RCSS counted 21, resulting in 47 dead and 30 wounded amongst Myanmar army troops and 5 dead and 3 wounded on RCSS side.<sup>13</sup> Compared to the previous year's figure of 86 clashes, this is a dramatic reduction. However there is sometimes tension between the two sides, but the situation is gradually improving in southern Shan State.

In 2014, the most intense fighting occurred in northern Shan state. The SSPP, TNLA, KIA and MNDAA operate there. The Federal Union Army (FUA), which was established by the UNFC, opened its northern military command in the KIA-controlled area at the end of 2013. The armed alliance had many clashes with government forces in this area. We recorded SSPP as having 17 clashes with government forces. However, the SSPP said that they had been involved in over 100 clashes with government forces, including heavy fighting in the area of the Ta Pha Soung brigade. The fighting broke out after Myanmar army sent an ultimatum, rejected by the SSPP, to withdraw from the Ta Pha Soung area. Then in early October Myanmar armed forces kicked off an offensive against the SSPP in the Ta Pha Soung area. This resulted in many local residents fleeing their homes and in human rights violations such as extrajudicial killings and detention without trial. According to the SSPP, in 4 days 25 clashes occurred. Myanmar army finally captured the Ta Pha Soung Bridge and the nearby strategic position.

In Kachin state, there have been thousands of clashes between the KIA and Myanmar army since 2011. However, the frequency has gradually reduced, there being less than 1,500 in 2013 in Kachin State and northern Shan State where KIA brigade 4 has deployed. In 2014, number of clashes between the KIA and Myanmar army dramatically reduced. According to Lt. Gen. Myint Soe, there were only 68 clashes between KIA and Myanmar army in Kachin state alone. However, Myanmar Peace Monitor, when totalling the figures for Kachin and Shan States, recorded 73 clashes between the KIA and Myanmar army; but the reality may be greater than our numbers show. Nonetheless, it is a major achievement to have reduced thousands of clashes to less than one hundred. It can be explained in part by the establishment of the Joint Conflict Resolution Committee (JCRC)<sup>14</sup> on 28 May. This committee has 5 members from each group, the KIA and government, and held meetings every month except November and December.

The TNLA had many clashes with government forces in northern Shan state. MPM recorded 118 during the year under review, but according to Ta Parn La, in charge of foreign affairs of the PSLF, there were over 200.. The TNLA is a member of the FUA. According to the PSLF, the reason behind the conflict with Myanmar army is that the TNLA has kicked off an anti-narcotics campaign in their operational areas in Nam Kham, Mann Ton, Muse, Nam Hsan, Kyauk Mae, Kutkai, Mong Ngao, Mong Meik and Mogok townships and have destroyed thousands of acres of opium poppies. The opium production is sponsored, according to the TNLA, by "people's militia groups" (PMFs), which are supported by Myanmar army and which are directly involved in poppy cultivation, opium refining, trading, taxation, etc. The absence of an agreed demarcation line between the TNLA and Myanmar army may help to explain the ongoing conflict..

The MNDAA led by Peng Jiasheng went underground after Myanmar army attacked the Kokang ceasefire group in 2009. Peng Jiasheng subsequently reformed his forces, and then the MNDAA applied to the UNFC for membership in 2012, becoming an observer until it got a full membership after the Laiza ethnic conference held at KIO headquarters in 2013. In

13 Shan Herald Agency for News, Decreased fighting, increased tension: RCSS/SSA, 16 Jan 2015, web.

14 Kachin News Group, Clashes between Burma army and the KIO largely reduced, says KIO rap, 6 Sept 2014, web.

mid-2014, the MNDAA began military operations alongside the FUA<sup>15</sup>. The KIA, TNLA, SSPP and MNDAA were the main opponents fighting Myanmar army in northern Shan State. The MNDAA re-entered the Kokang area and began military activities there on 9 Feb 2015. Since that moment, the MNDAA and Myanmar army have been in action against one another almost every day in the Kokang region. According to MRTV, there were 253 clashes between the MNDAA and government forces between 9 Feb and 16 April 2015. The UPWC's rejection of the MNDAA's proposal of ceasefire talks seems to be prolonging conflict in the Kokang region.

The Arakan Army (AA), based in KIA controlled territory, fights alongside KIA in Kachin state. An AA representative participated in the NCCT after the Laiza ethnic conference in Nov 2013. Myanmar Peace Monitor tracked AA soldiers who had fought against Myanmar army alongside KIA in Kachin State in 2014 and alongside the the FUA in the Kokang region in 2015. AA and Myanmar army clashed in Paletwa township in southern Chin state and Kyauktaw in Arakan state on 29 March, 10 April, and 17 and 18 April 2015. The UPWC doesn't recognize the AA as a dialogue partner because the AA is established in the KIA-controlled area and is active there. The AA therefore needs political recognition. Armed conflicts seem to be continuing in western Myanmar.

**Table 4:** Clashes comparison between non-ceasefire groups

Armed group	2012	2013	2014	Place
KIA	<2400 (since June 2011)	<1500	73* 68 (Govt Claims) 100+ ^	Bhamo, Moemauk, Mansi, Hpa-kant, Karmine, Injang Yang, Myitkyina, Waing Maw, Laiza in Kachin state and Mongkoe, Pan Hsai, northern Shan state
TNLA	80+	42* 120+ ^	113* 200+^	Nam Kham, Man Tong, Muse, Nam Hsan, Namtu, Kyaukme, Kutkai, Mong Ngaw, Naung Cho, Theinni, Tarmoeyne, Mong Mit and Mogok township
MNDAA**	-	-	15* (Alongside FUA)	Kun Lon, Kongyn, Theinni (Senwi), Mongkoe and Kutkai in Northern Shan state
AA***	Alongside KIA	Alongside KIA	Alongside FUA	Kachin state, Kokang area, Paletwa, Kyauktaw

\*Media record. ^NSAGs claim.

(MNDAA\*\*- MNDAA fought against Myanmar army alongside FUA in northern Shan state in 2014. MNDAA entered into Kokang area (Kongyan and Laukkai townships) and has fought against Myanmar army since 9 Feb 2015.)

(AA\*\*\*- Arakan Army (based in KIA controlled area) fought Myanmar army alongside FUA in Kokang in 2015. AA also clashed with Myanmar army in Paletwa township in southern Chin state and Kyauktaw in Arakan state in Mar 2015.)

15 FUA stands for Federal Union Army. FUA could open northern military command in KIA controls area. KIA, TNLA, AA, MNDAA and SSPP joined the FUA's northern military command. FUA could also open southern military command. Maj. Gen. Baw Kyaw Heh of KNLA is the commander of the FUA's southern military command.

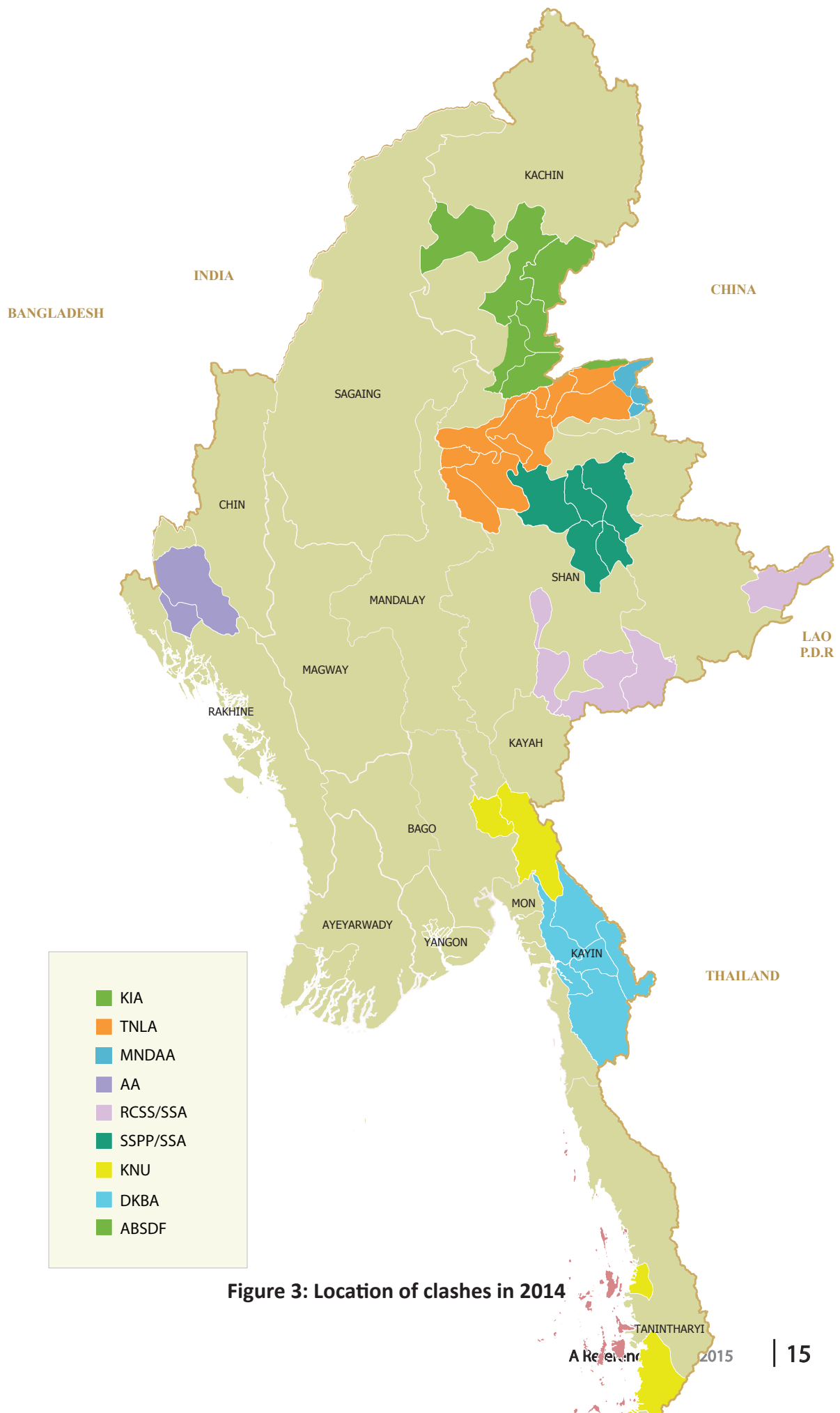
**Table 5:** Clashes comparison between ceasefire groups

Armed group	2012	2013	2014	Clash site (Place)
RCSS/SSA	68 <sup>^</sup>	27* 86 <sup>^</sup>	13* 21 <sup>^</sup>	Panglong, Mong Pan, Mong Ton, Maukme (Mauok Mai), Loi Lem, Mong Yawn
SSPP/SSA	130 <sup>^</sup>	25* 71 <sup>^</sup>	17* 100+ <sup>^</sup>	Naung Cho, Kehsi, Tang Yan, Mong Hsu, Hsipaw, Mong Yai,
DKBA	1	4	13*	Kyaukmaraw, Kawkareik, Hpa-an, Kamamaung, Myawaddy, Kyar-In-Seik-Gyi, Hlaing Bwe
KNU	6	4	5*	Kyaukgyi, Hpa-an, Hpa-pun, Boak Pyin, Kyauk Hto, Meik,
NMSP	-	2	0	-
KNPP	<10	0	0	-
ABSDF	ABSDF-NB Alongside KIA in northern Myanmar	ABSDF-NB Alongside KIA in northern Myanmar	ABSDF-NB Alongside KIA in northern Myanmar	-

\*media record    <sup>^</sup>NSAGs claim

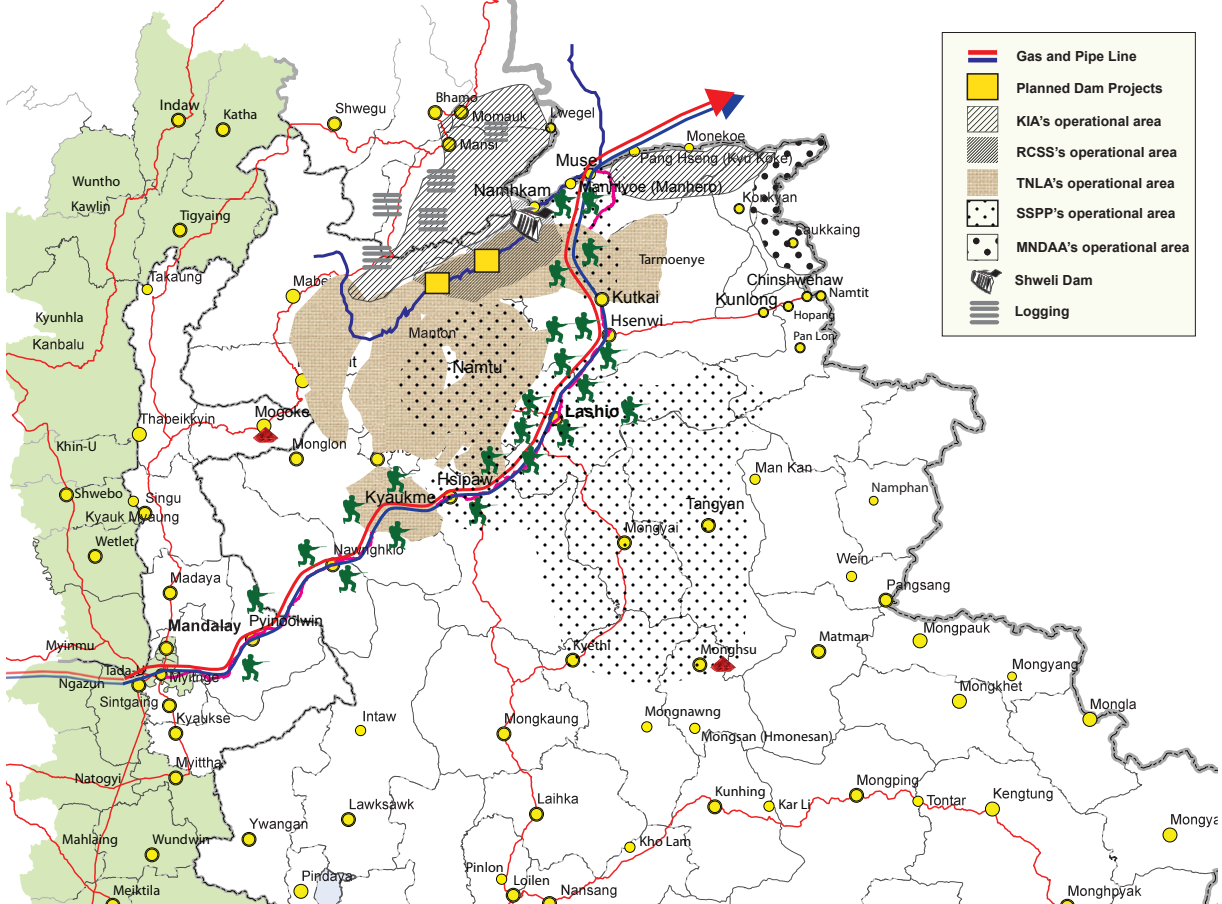
There are intense skirmishes between ethnic armed groups and Myanmar armed forces. Most clashes occurred in Shan State. According to MRTV, Myanmar armed forces and the MNDAA have clashed 253 times between 9 February, when fighting broke out, and 16 April 2015.<sup>16</sup> The TNLA had over 50 clashes, SSPP 7, RCSS 2, DKBA 5, KIO 5, KNU 3, unknown groups 6 against government forces between January and March 2015.

16 Myawaddy, Myanmar army captured MNDAA post in Shin Khouk Htan and Santa Aik Sheng hill area, Shwe Tee, 16 April 2015. Web.



**Figure 3: Location of clashes in 2014**

**Figure 4: Conflict situation map of northern Shan state**



## Reasons for clashes and ceasefire violations

The reasons for clashes between NSAGs and the government can be categorized as follows:

**Table 6: Reasons for clashes and ceasefire violations**

1	Competition for control of strategic and commercial interests (strategic hills, highways, hydropower dams, oil and gas pipelines)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hpakant area: jade mining. This is economically important for both government and KIA, and for the KIA it is one of its main financial resources. For the government, the area must be brought under control to prevent illegal business.</li> <li>• Northern Shan State: government forces are tasked with protecting the Shweli hydropower dams, oil and gas pipelines to China and national highways from Muse on the Sino-Myanmar border in Shan state to Mandalay in central Myanmar.</li> <li>• Government forces attacked SSPP in Kehsi township in early October and finally captured a strategic hill on the west bank of the Salween River. They want to control the area in order to hinder the activities of the UWSA.</li> <li>• Government forces attacked the MNDA in the Kokang area and captured strategically important hills there. Analysts said government forces want to sever liaison between the UWSA, the KIA and the TNLA.</li> <li>• The Government is attempting to build big dams in conflict affected zones and this can cause further conflict with ethnic armed organizations.*</li> </ul>
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2	Ownership and Natural Resources management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>EAOs and ethnic communities view themselves as rightful owners where Tatamadaw leaders view natural resources as centrally owned by the national government. This different perception of sovereignty has made conflicts.</li> </ul>
3	Government's attempt to clamp down on economic activities by EAOs (e.g. logging)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Myanmar army entered NSAG areas to suppress illegal activities, especially smuggling of timber to China; and they attacked NSAGs when they strayed beyond their designated areas.</li> <li>Myanmar army and the KIA clashed in Namlinpa, Kawng Lwin, and Mong Dainpa village in Mansi township in Kachin state. The reason given by Myanmar Army was that they intended to stop illegal logging in the area. The Government said that the army must prevent illegal logging and timber export, which they claimed is protected by the KIA in return for a tax.</li> </ul>
4	Government's attempt to wipe out ethnic NSAGs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NSAGs believe the government has a territorial extension policy and wants to expand into and control their areas. Commander-in-chief Min Aung Hlaing has reportedly said Myanmar's military has only ever acted defensively in the country's internal conflicts and he cast the blame for any violence on ethnic armed groups.</li> <li>He said Myanmar army has to defend "every inch of earth of our country"</li> </ul>
5	NSAGs campaign to eradicate and destroy poppy plantations run by the PMFs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The TNLA clashed frequently with the government-backed Pansay PMF in Nam Kham, Muse and Kutkai townships, and there was also fighting with Myanmar armed forces during the TNLA's anti-narcotics campaign in northern Shan state.</li> </ul>
6	Distrust and suspicion about each other's movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Myanmar army ordered the SSPP to remove from Tahpa Soung bridge in Kehsi township in southern Shan State.</li> <li>Myanmar army accused RCSS soldiers of killing government Forestry Department officials in southern Shan state. Later, police arrested the real perpetrators, and the RCSS is seeking an apology.</li> <li>The KNU's Brigade 5 rejected road-building and other mega projects in its control area in Hpa-pun township of Karen State. They believe that Myanmar army will use roads for military purposes in future assaults upon their positions.</li> <li>Maj. Gen. Gun Maw expressed his opinion that air attacks bring into question the government's commitment to a nationwide ceasefire. "When the peace talks are progressing ..... fighting operations [such as airstrikes] that are under direct high-level command can really damage negotiations," he said. (The Irrawaddy, Nationwide Ceasefire Unlikely Before Burmese New Year: KIA Leader, Nobel Zaw, 25 Mar 2015)</li> <li>Two soldiers from the ALP were detained on 16 June when traveling in Rakhine State, in defiance of the ceasefire agreement between the State Government and the ALP, which permits the latter's soldiers to travel freely within the State, so long as they do not carry weapons. (Narinjara news, ALP cadres detained by Burma Army, 27 June 2014, web.)</li> </ul>

7	Failure to adhere to agreements over control areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Myanmar army and NSAGs have not reached agreement over controlled areas, except in the case of the UWSA and the NDAA. Deployment of NSAG and government forces overlap which can lead to complications. The NCCT and UPWC were unable to discuss military matters but they agreed to discuss a code of conduct and to form a joint monitoring committee within one month of the official signing of the NCA by top leaders.</li> </ul>
8	Ineffective liaison offices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ineffective communication by NSAG liaison officers resulted from language problems, lack of ability, delays caused by excessive bureaucracy, and lack of understanding of the procedures for communicating with local government and military affairs security officers.</li> <li>Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk said that government officials fail to contact RCSS liaison officers when tension is high and when armed conflicts occur.</li> </ul>
9	Overlapping territories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is no clear demarcation line between Myanmar armed forces and ethnic armed forces. This is why the two sides frequently clash. Government forces and NSAGs heap mutual blame on each other when armed conflict occurs.</li> </ul>
10	Different perspectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Myanmar army views its operations as being in defence of the country's sovereignty.</li> <li>EAOs see themselves as countering aggression, occupation, and ethnic cleansing through cultural assimilation, by fighting a just war in defence of their rightful territories.</li> </ul>

(\*) - "The peace process underway in Burma is the single most important issue in the country's development," Paul Sein Twa said in the statement. "Building big dams in a civil war zone can only undermine peace and breed conflict, derailing the nascent emergence of the country from more than a half century of dictatorship." (MONGABAY, Environmental news, Dam proposals for Salween River threaten tentative ceasefire between Myanmar government and minority groups, Mike Gaworecki, 21 April 2015, web.)

## Communal violence

About 140,000 IDPs who suffered from the communal violence in 2012 are still living in camps in Rakhine State, where they face extreme hardship from lack of the means to meet basic human needs. They cannot return to the villages or wards where they used to live. The UN and INGOs have asked the Myanmar government to assist Rakhine and Rohingya (also known as Bangali) IDPs in western Myanmar.

There was no major incident of communal violence in 2014, although some minor ones occurred in Mandalay, Yangon, Bago and in Rakhine State. On 26 March 2014, local Rakhine people attacked UN and INGOs offices in Sittwe town.<sup>17</sup> They demanded the closure of the offices because they view INGOs as favoring “Rohingya IDPs”.<sup>18</sup> One girl was killed in the incident and 71 aid-workers including 32 foreigners had to flee. Thirty residential and office buildings were destroyed. Rakhine State government imposed a curfew (Section 144) in Sittwe to bring the situation under control.

A few incidents occurred in Hlegu township in Yangon and Nattalin in Bago Division. Individual fights broke out between young Muslims and Buddhists in Hlegu township, but when a crowd gathered in the area local police took control of the situation and issued orders under section 188. This took place on 4 April. Another minor incident occurred in Nattalin township on 15 April when an interfaith couple quarreled and the relatives from either side got involved. A total of four houses were burned down by the respective parties, before the police intervened to prevent escalation of the incident.

Communal violence broke out in Mandalay on 1 July after a rumor was spread in the city that a Muslim man raped a Buddhist woman. A number of people including police officers were wounded in the violence. The riot, which continued the next day resulted in one Muslim man and one Buddhist being killed. Vehicles and houses were damaged in the violence. Finally, on 3 July, the authorities issued a “section 144 curfew” in the city. Critics claim there are individuals and groups behind the scenes who are pulling strings to stir up trouble between the Muslim and Buddhist communities. On 3 August, the police arrested 56 people suspected of involvement in the sectarian violence, while a further 36 suspects were under investigation.

The Rohingya issue remains a sensitive and important issue for transition in Myanmar. The international community has often shown its concern over the matter and urged the Myanmar government to promote and respect their human rights.

No major sectarian violence between Muslim and Buddhist communities happened in Rakhine State in 2014. The Rakhine state government established the Rakhine state peace restoration and development committee and the Emergency Coordinating Committee (ECC)<sup>19</sup> to settle the IDP issue. The committee will monitor the implementation of restoring peace and stability in Rakhine state. The Government has tried to encourage INGOs to resume work in the State for the betterment of the two communities and of harmonious co-existence.

Not only has the government attempted to restore harmony between the two communities but also Myanmar CSOs and CBOs have tried to do likewise. Mandalay based CSOs held an interfaith workshop on 5 May, attended by prominent religious leaders from Muslim, Christian and Buddhist communities. Interfaith groups in Mawlamyine exchanged cultural

17 DVB, INGO offices attacked in Sittwe, Shwe Aung, 27 Mar 2014, web.

18 Myanmar people and Rakhine locals see Rohingya people as Bengalis who have crossed over from Bangladesh. As well, Myanmar government does not recognize the Rohingya as an ethnic minority group in Myanmar.

19 New Light of Myanmar, Emergency Coordinating Committee held the union level meeting in Sittwe, 3 May 2014. Newspaper.

views and visited each other's' religious buildings, to foster mutual understanding and respect.

CSOs in Mandalay formed a "peace maintaining committee"<sup>20</sup> on 4 July after the sectarian riot there. There are 23 members of the steering committee from different religious groups. The peace maintaining committee helps to maintain peace and stability in Mandalay.

The situation has gradually improved in Rakhine State where widespread sectarian strife occurred in 2012. The State government lifted the curfew on 11 September 2014.<sup>21</sup> Local authorities in Meikhtila township of Mandalay Division were preparing to resettle in 220 new houses IDPs from religious conflict there.<sup>22</sup> The Myanmar government permitted delegations of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) led by Tan Sri Syed Hamid Albar, the former foreign minister of Malaysia, to visit Sittwe, the capital of Rakhine state, on 3 September. The OIC delegation visited the IDP camps in Rakhine state.<sup>23</sup> Even though situation there has gradually improved, much still needs to be done by the government if peace, stability and harmony are to prevail.

Activists and monks staged public demonstrations in Yangon and Mandalay to pressure the Union Parliament to pass the bills such as a family population control bill, a religion conversion bill, a monogamy bill and an interfaith marriage bill. On 25 October, around 3,000 people, led by Buddhist monks and Yangon Division's Nationality and Religion Safeguarding Association, protested to show their support for an interfaith marriage law.<sup>24</sup> As well, with the same end in view, activists and monks (Nationality and Religion Safeguarding Association) staged a protest in Mandalay on 30 October. Finally, a representative of Attorney General's Office submitted to the Upper House on 19 January 2015, and to the Lower House on 22 January, bills covering religious conversion, interfaith marriage, monogamy, population control and health-care.<sup>25</sup> Many critics and human rights activists including women condemned these bills. They said it is a form of discrimination which violates basic human rights. The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) strongly condemns the package of race and religion bills that Myanmar MPs are going to discuss in the Union Parliament.<sup>26</sup>

The UN's Special Human Rights Rapporteur, Ms Yanghee Lee, urged the Myanmar government to give citizenship to the Rohingya (also known as Bangali). However, The Government responded that Myanmar it will check eligibility for citizenship under the terms of the 1982 Immigration Acts.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, in February 2015, the Government announced that all white card holders must surrender their cards to immigration offices. The validity of white cards expire on 31 March 2015. There are approximately 750,000 white card holders, Rohingya and others.<sup>28</sup> White card holders will lose their rights to vote in general elections. International human rights organizations have criticized the government's announcement.

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20 DVB, Peace Committee formed in Mandalay, Shwe Aung, 5 May 2014, web.

21 Curfew imposed in June 2012 after the communal violence broke out. Rakhine state government extended the curfew every three months until it's lifted.

22 Communal violence broke out in Meikhtila township in March 2013 and resulted total of 7845 becoming homeless and living in the IDP camp.

23 Narinjara news, OIC's sudden visit to Arakan, 7 September 2014, web

24 Asia News Network, 3,000 people stage protest in Yangon for interfaith marriage bill, 26 Oct 2014, web. (Thousands of protestors shouted slogans such as "We don't want those that are opposing the interfaith marriage law" and 'Those that violate nationality are our enemies' while holding the placards 'Immediately enact the interfaith marriage law in order to prevent extinction of Myanmar ethnic races', 'People who oppose the interfaith marriage law are those that don't want to safeguard their nationality'.)

25 RFA Burmese section, Bills of Interfaith marriage and one husband and one wife marriage system submitted in Parliament, 22 Jan 2015, web.

26 USCIRF, BURMA: USCIRF Strongly Condemns Race and Religion Bills, Press Release, 22 Jan 2015, web.

27 The country's 1982 citizenship law says members of any officially recognized minority must be able to prove their ancestors lived in Burma before the British invaded Rakhine in 1823.

28 Irrawaddy, Court Deems White Card Holders' Vote Unconstitutional, Sends Law Back to Parliament, Yen Snaing, 17 Feb 2015, web.

Communal violence is still a potential threat to restoring peace in the country. Many activists have used social media to spread hatred and rumors which can easily spark violence. In Rakhine State, the Muslim and Rakhine communities are still affected by the trauma of the communal violence of 2012. Neither community trusts each other nor want to live together. They are afraid of living together in the same area. For instance, many Rakhines demonstrated against UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon when he urged the Myanmar Government to grant citizenship to the Rohingya. A further protest by about 2,000 activists was staged in Yangon on 29 November against Mr. Ban Ki-moon when he visited Myanmar, for his use of the word “Rohingya”.<sup>29</sup> The Myanmar Government rejects the use of the term “Rohingya”.<sup>30</sup> When Ms Yanghee Lee visited Myanmar and used the term “Rohingya”. The Myanmar Government declared that this was “unacceptable”.<sup>31</sup> According to Ms Yanghee Lee, drafting bills such as those for population control, religious conversion, inter-faith marriage, and monogamy, as well as using “white cards” to identify Rohingya, may worsen ethnic tensions in the country.<sup>32</sup>

**Table 7: Communal Clashes in 2014**

No	Date	Organization	Location	Detail
1	27/03/2014	UN offices and INGOs office in Sittwe	Sittwe, Rakhine State	Locals attacked INGOs offices and residences in Sittwe, Rakhine state. One girl was killed and 71 aid workers including 32 foreign workers fled and 30 residential and office buildings were destroyed. Rakhine state government imposed curfews under Section 144 in Sittwe. Twelve Arakanese were detained in the police station after investigations.
2	04/04/2014	Muslim/Buddhist	Hlegu, Yangon	Personal fight between a Muslim shop owner’s son and a Buddhist shop owner’s son sparked the tension in Hlegu township. Local residents gathered and threw stones at some houses. Police imposed Section 188 on Hlegu township. Three Muslim and 10 Buddhists were detained.
3	15/04/2014	Buddhist/Muslim	Nattalin township, Bago Division	Four houses were burned down in an attack against an interfaith couple in Nattalin Township, Bago region on 16 April. No one was injured. A mob gathered, surrounding the house of a young Buddhist woman, but police controlled the situation.

29 Narinjara News, local activists stage a protest against Mr Ban Ki-moon in Yangon, San Maung Than, 29 Nov 2014, web.

30 The majority Buddhist country, also known as Burma, does not recognize the existence of the Rohingya ethnicity. Government officials, and many locals, instead view Rohingya as illegal migrants from Bangladesh and refer to them as "Bengalis."

31 VOA, Myanmar Condemns UN Official for Using Term ‘Rohingya’, 4 Feb 2015, web.

32 Ms Yanghee Lee said the population control bill and proposed laws on religious conversion, inter-faith marriage and monogamy could worsen ethnic tensions following a government plan in February to revoke temporary identification "white cards" for minorities. (REUTERS, Myanmar population control law threatens minorities: rights group, Kieran Guilbert, 22 April 2015)

4	01/07/2014	Muslims/ Buddhist	82 street, Chanaye Tharzan township, Mandalay	Muslim and Buddhist people attacked each other in Chanaye Tharzan township in Mandalay on 1 July. The communal violence broke out when a rumor spread that a Muslim man had raped a Buddhist woman. Three people including one police officer were injured in the riot. Myanmar police fired rubber bullets to disperse crowds of Buddhists and Muslims facing off.
5	02/07/2014	Muslims/ Buddhist	82 street, Chanaye tharzan township, Mandalay	Community riots continue a second day in Mandalay. One Muslim and one Buddhist are killed. Some shops and houses are destroyed and vehicles damaged. Curfew is imposed starting on 3 July.
6	04/07/2014	Muslims/ Buddhist	Kyar Nikan Cemetery , Mandalay	Hundreds marched through the streets of Mandalay, shouting anti-Muslim slogans. A Mosque is stoned. Tombs in Kyar Nikan Muslim cemetery are destroyed.
7	11/07/2014	Muslims/ police	34 street, Mandalay	Police fire shots into the air to disperse a group of Muslim people who are demanding the release of prisoners in the police station.
8	06/08/2014	Muslims/ police	Sittwe, Darpain IDP camp	Two Muslim boys from Darpain village went to buy things in Darpain Muslim IDP camp. Shop owners accused the two boys are theft and arrested the two boys. Security guards went there to solve the problem. Muslim people began to attack the security guards. Then police shot into the crowd, killing one refugee.
9	20/09/2014	Muslims	Myit Chay village in Pakukku township	Communal violence broke out in Myit Chay village in Pakukku township of Magwe Division on 20 September. The conflict occurred after a Buddhist woman was beaten by a Muslim couple when the Buddhist woman requested the Muslim couple to pay her husband's daily wages. A Mosque and a house were slightly damaged after the mob attacked but police arrived on time and controlled the situation.

Threats to the country's peace and stability resulting from communal violence come from both home and abroad. An Islamic extremist group has seized upon the communal violence in Myanmar to highlight it as oppression of and discrimination against a Muslim minority. On 3 Sept 2014, Al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri announced the formation of an Indian branch of his global armed group that he said would spread Islamic rule and "raise the flag of jihad" across the subcontinent.<sup>33</sup> According to Ayman Al-Zawahiri's video message, his new branch will implement its activities in India, Bangladesh and Myanmar.<sup>34</sup>

This is not a good sign for the country and its diverse communities, because if terrorists commit suicide bombings or other atrocities, security will be tightened, resulting in more human rights violations. Myanmar police arrested 20 Myanmar Muslims in August in Kunhing township in Shan State when they were traveling to a wedding party. They were accused being linked to the terrorist movement.<sup>35</sup>

Terrorist groups committed bombings and killings in India, Malaysia, Bangladesh and Indonesia 2013 in a retaliation for the communal violence in Myanmar: the impact of this spread to other countries. More than 20 Myanmar workers in Malaysia were murdered in 2014. The killings seemed to be linked to Buddhist-Muslim violence in western Myanmar's Rakhine State.<sup>36</sup>

Myanmar activists in Malaysia reported dozens of Buddhists killed in revenge attacks related to the Rakhine violence. Malaysian police have detained 15 people from Myanmar over a string of gruesome murders in a popular Malaysian tourist destination, and believe the killings are linked to ethnic unrest in their native country.<sup>37</sup>

It is no easy job to solve the Rohingya (Bangali) issue and the current government could not solve all the problems. However it did manage to keep the lid on communal violence in Rakhine State where most Rohingya live throughout the course of the year. However the situation remains extremely dire because IDPs are still living in the makeshift camps where they face hardships such as unhealthy conditions, insufficient shelters, food, and medicine and lack of schooling for their children.

On the other hand, many Myanmar people have realized that "unity and peaceful co-existence" among different communities is really important for all. That is why local NGOs have held interfaith workshops to foster understanding between the different religious congregations of their differing norms, values, and beliefs. For instance, on 24 March in Magway Division, Yadana Myay Social Development Association held an interfaith workshop, entitled "unity and peaceful co-existence among the people of all faiths". Leaders from four major religions attended the workshop.<sup>38</sup>

Columbia University organized an interfaith workshop with participation of religious groups such as Religions for Peace - Myanmar, the Sitagu International Buddhist Academy, the Islamic Center of Myanmar, and the Myanmar Institute of Theology/Judson Research Center.<sup>39</sup> The workshop, held in Naypyitaw on 19 January, was entitled "Interfaith Dialogue: The Roots of Social Harmony". The aim of the dialogue was to consider the religious roots of social harmony and to explore the development of teaching materials highlighting social harmony in the Buddhist, Muslim and Christian faiths, as well as a grass-roots roots education program.

33 ALJAZEER, Al-Qaeda leader announces India wing, 4 Sept 2014, web.

34 BBC, Al-Qaeda chief Zawahiri launches al-Qaeda in South Asia, 4 Sept 2014, web.

35 Irrawaddy, 20 Muslims Facing Trial on Terrorism Charges, Lawi Weng, 9 Dec 2014, web.

36 Radia Free Asia, Myanmar Demands Justice For Murdered in Malaysia, 19 Sept 2014, web.

37 The Malaysian Insider, 18 deaths in Penang May be linked to Myanmar unrest, 5 Dec 2014, web.

38 The New Light of Myanmar, Interfaith workshop held in Magway, Kaung Thuta (Minbu), 27 Mar 2014, newspaper, page 4.

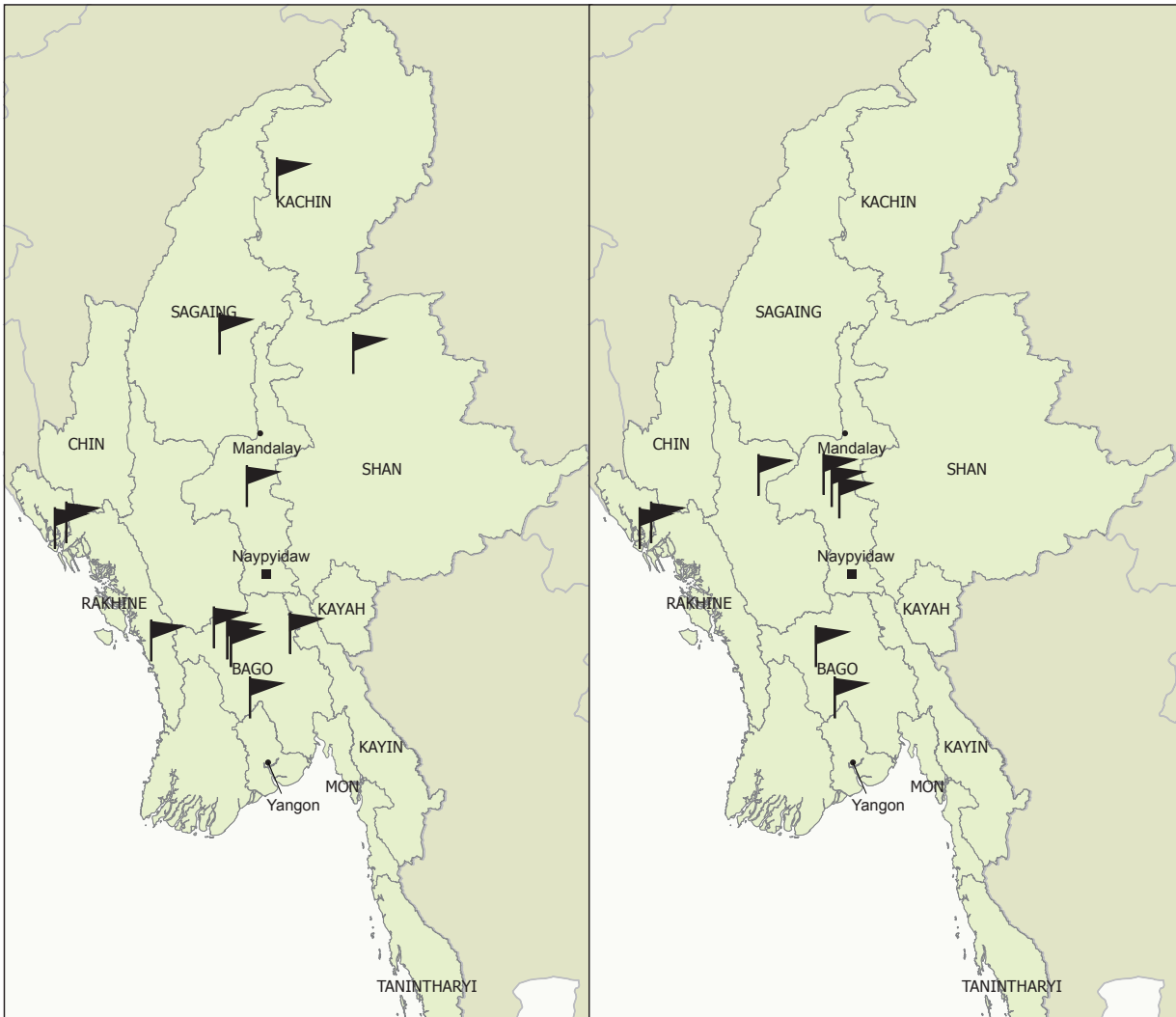
39 The Irrawaddy, Religious Roots of Social Harmony' Discussed in Rangoon, Lawi Weng, 21 January 2014, web.

Prominent leaders of the Buddhist, Muslim and Christian communities in Myanmar attended the workshop. Approximately 60 religious leaders, practitioners, senior scholars, educators and persons working at the community level on inter-faith dialogue attended the workshop.

The United Nations Secretary-General has warned that stability in Rakhine State cannot be achieved unless the issue of citizenship for the Rohingya is addressed. Mr Ban Ki-moon said the tensions “could be seriously destabilizing” and might jeopardize the country’s efforts to reform.<sup>40</sup> The resolution of this issue is of equal importance to that of the armed conflict between ethnic groups and the central government. The Myanmar Government needs to solve this problem in accordance with internationally acceptable standards.

**Figure 5:** Communal Violence in 2013

**Figure 6:** Communal Violence in 2014



40 AP news, UN: Burma’s stability is at risk if Rohingya issue not solved, 25 April 2015, web.



## IDPs/Refugees

Ongoing armed clashes and communal violence have created new IDPs and prevented the return to their homes of those displaced during previous years. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) estimates that there are up to 642,600 IDPs in Myanmar, who were forced to flee their homes by armed conflict and inter-communal violence. Of these, according to the IDMC, up to 400,000 are living in Shan, Kayah, Karen and Mon States and Bago and Tanintharyi Divisions; over 98,000 in Kachin and northern Shan States; around 140,000 in Rakhine State; and 5,000 in Mandalay Division.<sup>41</sup>

**Rakhine State:** According to OCHA reports of January 2015, there are 146,524 IDPs still living in camps in Rakhine State, while the UNHCR reported in 2014 about 140,000 IDPs in this State. They are victims of the communal violence which broke out in 2012 and which resulted in the death of over 200 people amongst Rakhine and Rohingya communities. The UNHCR and other INGOs have provided shelters, food and medicine. However, the IDPs in the camps face hardships such as lack of health-care support and children's education. Rakhine and Rohingya communities continue to fear each other and their mutual mistrust prevents harmony between the two communities. President Thein Sein has approved the expenditure of 2 billion Kyat for IDP resettlement projects. The first step will be to build houses for them.

**Meikhtila:** Over 3,000 IDPs are still living in five camps in Meikhtila township of Mandalay Division. There were about 8,000 IDPs in Meikhtila after communal violence broke out there in March 2013. A resettlement committee composed of the regional government, local authorities, private donors and IDP representatives was formed after the incident in 2013. The Chief Minister of Mandalay Division approved a resettlement plan proposed by the resettlement committee in 2014. Since then, the Mandalay Divisional Government and local authorities have built houses in the township for resettling the IDPs. Local authorities made available 220 houses in August 2014.<sup>42</sup> A further 350 houses were occupied by 350 families on 19 August that year.<sup>43</sup>

**Kachin State:** According to the OCHA, there were in excess of 90,000 IDPs in government- and KIO-controlled areas of Kachin State in 2014, the UNHCR reporting about 100,000 Kachin IDPs in the State itself and adjoining areas. Although there was a reduction of armed conflict in the State between the KIA and government forces, outbreaks of fighting nonetheless persisted. Therefore, most IDPs were afraid to return home, although a few did so. Clashes between KIA and government forces, in the Hpa-kant area in 2014 and Tanine township in early 2015, created a further 3,000 IDPs. These people have been living in conditions of great hardship from lack of food, medicine, shelter and absence of work to provide income. Their children are missing out on education because there are insufficient schools and educational materials. The UN and other INGOs attempted to send them humanitarian assistance but the government forces refused permission.

The Kachin State Government built houses for IDPs in Ngwe San Pyaw village in Myitkyina. Over 100 new houses in Ngwe San Pyaw village were transferred to Kachin IDPs in May 2014. This was a result of the formation that month of the Joint Conflict Resolution Committee composed of 5 members each from the KIO and the Government. According to Kachin State Social Welfare Minister, Daw Bauk Ja, the Kachin State Government would return 33 families to their homes at the end of August that year.

41 IDMC, Myanmar: comprehensive solutions needed for recent and long-term IDPs alike, 1 July 2014, web.

42 Irrawaddy, First Resettlements Set to Begin in Violence-Hit Meikhtila, Lawi Weng, 31 July 2014

43 RFA, 350 houses were transferred to IDPs in Meikhtila, 25 Aug 2014, web.

192 IDP families from Sein Lon Kabar, Sein Lon Kagi and Pan Mu villages in Moemauk township in Kachin State returned home on 11 October.<sup>44</sup> An outcome achieved by the Joint Conflict Resolution Committee (JCRC) meeting held on 3 October. Both the Union Government and the Kachin State Government delivered assistance to the returning IDPs.

Shan State: IDPs are living in camps in areas controlled by the Government and in those under the control of the ethnic armed forces. In the course of the year, armed conflict created new IDPs in northern Shan State where a significant amount of fighting occurred. There is no ceasefire accord between the TNLA and the Government, which helps explain the frequent clashes in this sector. According to the Ta'ang Women's Organization (TWO), there are at least 3,000 IDPs in the Ta'ang area of northern Shan State.

Additionally, the SSPP and government forces in northern Shan State fought one another despite a ceasefire agreement. Government forces launched an offensive against SSPP camps near Tapha Soung bridge in Kehsi township in early October. The fighting lasted five days and resulted in the flight of at least 2,500 villagers. Government forces took control of the SSPP camps after heavy fighting. A series of ceasefire talks between the SSPP and government officials resulted in the SSPP evacuating its camps and the cessation of hostilities in Kehsi township. Thereupon the Shan IDPs returned home.

The MNDA is a newly resurrected group. It was the first ethnic armed group to sign a ceasefire agreement with the previous military regime, in 1989. The Kokang region became known as Special Region One and was favored by the military regime during a long ceasefire period. However, when in 2009 the military regime ordered the MNDA to transform its forces into a BGF, the MNDA refused. Government forces then attacked and captured Laukkai, the capital of the Kokang region. Peng Jiasheng went underground and regrouped his troops. The MNDA struck back at government forces based in Laukkai on 9 February 2015, and since then fighting has taken place almost every day. According to mainstream media reports, this has boosted the number of IDPs in the Sino-Myanmar border area to about 100,000. Some fled to Lashio, the capital of northern Shan State. Armed conflict is still occurring at the time of writing. IDPs in the border area face hardship from lack of shelter, food, medicine and schools for children.

Karen and Mon States: There was no heavy fighting between KNU and government forces in 2014, but in September and October DKBA columns led by Col. Saw San Aung fought government forces in both Karen and Mon States. This created an additional 2,000 IDPs in these States. Luckily, the fighting only lasted a few weeks, and then these IDPs could go home. According to a UNHCR report, there are 230,000 refugees living in Thai camps while some thousands of IDPs are living in the border area of Myanmar. After Karen armed groups and the Government signed ceasefire agreements, a few Karen refugees returned home. Some resettled in the Kyauk Kyi project area which was provided by INGOs. Also, the KNU has built houses in Karen State to resettle its members' families plus some other refugees. However, most refugees living in the Thai camps do not want to go back home. One reason is that they are at risk from undiscovered landmines in their old village areas. Another reason is that Myanmar army, which experience has taught them to fear, is now deployed in their area. Officially-recognized refugees as well as IDPs are afraid that government soldiers will continue to commit human rights abuses.

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44 Eleven news, IDPs who shelter in Loi Jae town returned to their home, Tun Lin Aung (Myitkyina), 12 Oct 2014, web.

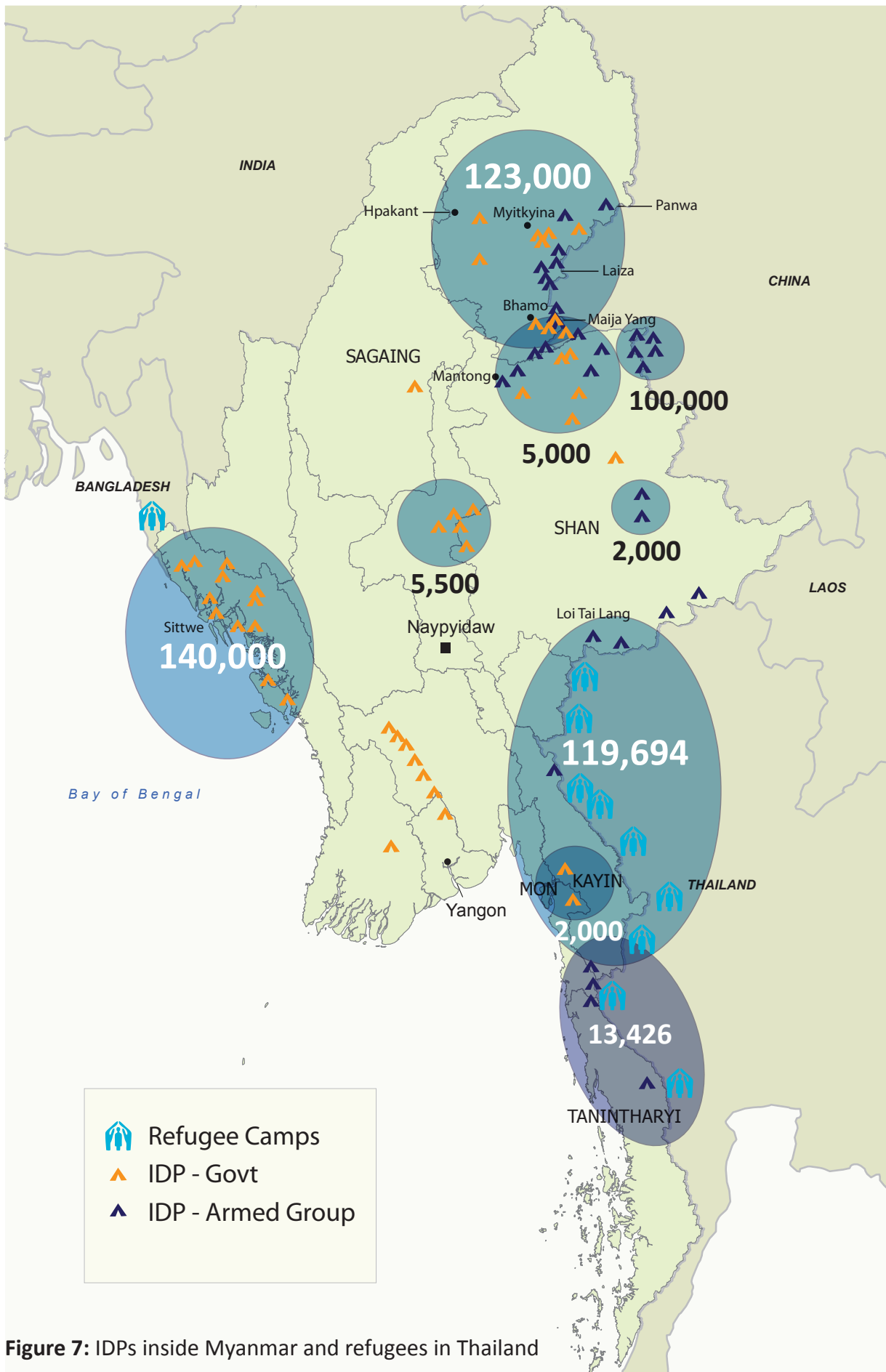


Figure 7: IDPs inside Myanmar and refugees in Thailand

**Table 8:** IDPs inside Myanmar and UNHCR-recognized refugees abroad (2014)

No	Area	Refugees/IDPs
1	Kachin State	Over 90,000 (OCHR, 2014) 100,000 (UNHCR, 2014)
2	Northern Shan State	About 100,000** (including IDPs in Kokang region)
3	Southeast Myanmar (Thai-Myanmar border)	230,000 (UNHCR, 2014)
4	Meikhtila	About 5,000
5	Rakhine State	146,524 (OCHA, Jan 2015) Almost 140,000 (UNHCR, 2014)
6	Bangladesh	30,000 (Registered) estimated 200,000-300,000 (unregistered) (UNHCR, 2014)
7	India	8,306 (UNHCR 2014)
8	Malaysia	42,309 (UNHCR, 2014)
9	Thailand	110, 607 (TBC, DEC 2014)
10	UNHCR recorded IDPs, Refugees, Stateless, Asylum Seekers in 2014	IDPs 374,000 Stateless 810,000 Refugees 479,706 Asylum Seekers 48,053

\*OCHA reported there are 98,500 in Kachin and northern Shan State (OCHA, Jan 2015).

\*\*media reported there are at least 60,000 Kokang IDPs, other Shan and Ta'ang IDPs.

#### UNHCR's global report on Myanmar 2014 – 2015:

- In Myanmar, inter-communal tension remains high with almost 140,000 people still displaced in Rakhine State. The fragile protection environment and efforts to promote coexistence and reconciliation will need significant support in the year ahead. UNHCR will work in close collaboration with the UN Humanitarian Country Team (HCT) to achieve durable solutions.
- Over 800,000 persons are estimated to be without citizenship in the northern part of Rakhine State. In addition, the majority of the internally displaced people (IDPs) are also believed to be without citizenship. UNHCR is advocating for steps to address the obstacles to citizenship.
- Fresh displacement was witnessed in 2014 with continued clashes between the Myanmar national army and non-state groups in Kachin and northern Shan States. UNHCR is part of the inter-agency response to internal displacement in Kachin State and northern Shan State, as well as Rakhine State, addressing the needs of more than 240,000 internally displaced people (IDPs). In Kachin State, the Government limits humanitarian agencies' access to IDP sites and aid organizations must seek permission to access areas not under government control.

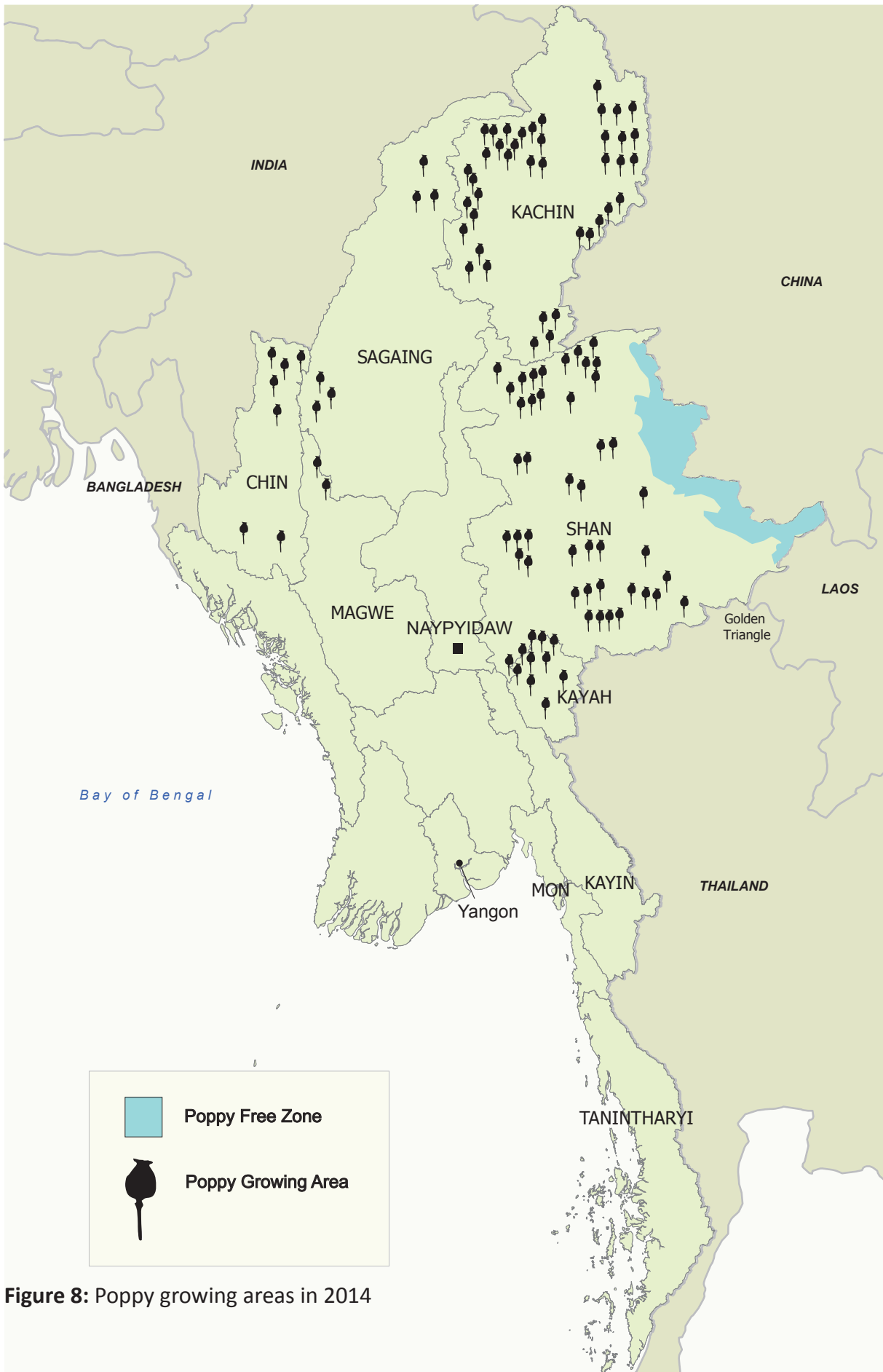
- An agreement to reduce hostilities in Kachin State between the Government and the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) has potentially opened the way for further peace efforts. Some 100,000 people are displaced. International humanitarian organizations have direct access to IDPs in government-controlled areas and local partners have played a vital role in ensuring that humanitarian assistance reaches IDPs in other areas. UNHCR will work within the UN inter-agency response, undertaking protection activities and assistance within its cluster remit. UNHCR will also support the HCT's promotion of durable solutions.
- It is estimated that over 230,000 IDPs remain displaced in the southeast of Myanmar, in areas where UNHCR is operating. Engagement by the Government and other parties to find solutions for IDPs has been growing. UNHCR's main focus in the south-east will be to be prepared for the potential return of refugees from Thailand; however at the end of 2013, conditions are not yet conducive for return. The Office will monitor spontaneous returns and continue to prepare for eventual returns, in consultation with the Myanmar authorities and with UNHCR Thailand, which maintains contact with the Thai authorities and refugees along the border. An estimated 128,000 refugees live in temporary sites along the Thai-Myanmar border.

## Increasing drug production and trade

According to the UNODC's 2014 report, the area under opium-poppy cultivation decreased by 0.3% (from 57,800 to 57,600 hectares) and opium production significantly decreased by 23% (from 870 tons to 670 tons) in 2014. According to independent observers, it was due to adverse weather and unexpected fighting in the north. The effect of government's eradication effort was very few on it. Police and local authorities destroyed 15,188 hectares of poppies in 2014. Surveys of farmers in Golden Triangle poppy-growing villages show that money from poppy cultivation is essential for villagers suffering from food insecurity and poverty.

The UNODC report says that southern Shan State grew more poppy than other areas of the country. A comparison of areas under cultivation in the various States shows: southern Shan State 44%, eastern Shan 30%, northern Shan 15%, Kachin 9%, Kayah 0.9% and Chin 1.1%. The most intensive poppy-growing areas in Shan State are in Kunhing, Pinlaung, and Loi Lem townships. According to police Lt. Col. Shwe Nyar Maung, the commander of Shan State drug abuse control, 30% of poppy growing by farmers is for food and daily survival, 65% is for business and 5% is for other reasons.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> 7Day Daily news, Over 65% poppy growing is for business, Sai Mong Lon, 23 April 2015, web.



**Figure 8:** Poppy growing areas in 2014

**Table 9:** UNODC Fact Sheet – Southeast Asia Opium Survey 2014\*\*

Country	2013	2014	Change
Opium poppy cultivation (hectares)			
Lao PDR	3,900 ha	6,200 ha	Not comparable
Myanmar	57,800 ha	57,600 ha	-0.3%
Thailand*	265 ha	Data pending	N/A
Weighted average dry opium yield			
Lao PDR	6.0 kg/ha	14.7 kg/ha	Not comparable
Myanmar	15.0 kg/ha	11.7 kg/ha	-22%
Thailand*	15.6 kg/ha	Data pending	N/A
Potential opium production			
Lao PDR	23 tons	92 tons	Not comparable
Myanmar	870 tons	670 tons	-23%
Thailand*	4 tons	Data pending	N/A
Opium poppy eradication			
Lao PDR	397 ha	Not reported	
Myanmar	12,288 ha	15,188 ha	24%
Thailand*	264 ha	Data pending	
Average price of opium			
Lao PDR	1,840 US\$/kg	1,855 US\$/kg	<+1%
Myanmar	498 US\$/kg	414 US\$/kg	-17%
Thailand*	2,734 US\$/kg	Data pending	N/A
Potential value of Opium Production			
Lao PDR	US\$ 42 million	US\$ 170 million	305%
Myanmar	US\$ 540 million	US\$ 340 million	-37%
Thailand*	US\$ 11 million	Data pending	N/A

N/A – not applicable.

\* The office of the Narcotics Control Board, Government of Thailand, is acknowledged for providing the figures on Thailand.

\*\* Lao PDR estimates for 2013 and 2014 are not directly comparable due to an update of the yield survey and the addition of areas have not previously been surveyed.

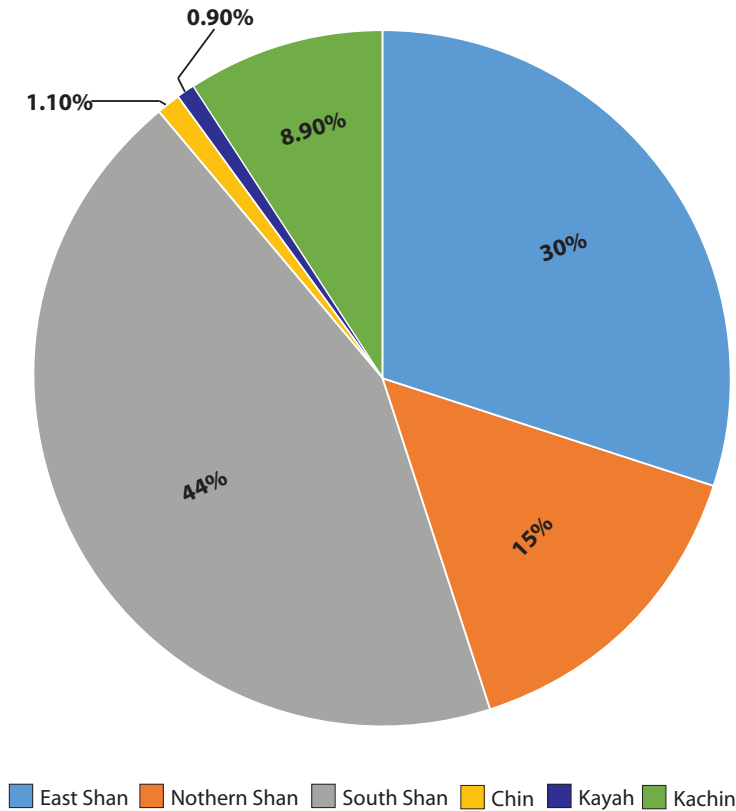
(UNODC, Southeast Asia Opium Survey 2014, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Thailand)

**Table 10:** Opium poppy cultivation areas, by region in Myanmar, 2013-2014 (Hectares)

State	2013	2014	Change	Percentage of total area of opium poppy cultivation
Eastern Shan State	18,400 (9,700 to 27,000)	17,500 (10,300 to 26,500)	-5%	30%
Northern Shan State	8,300 (4,600 to 12,000)	8,500 (4,800 to 13,300)	2%	15%
Southern Shan State	26,600 (19,100 to 34,100)	25,500 (12,500 to 41,700)	-4%	44%
Shan State total	53,300 (41200 – 65300)	51,400 (36,100 to 70,600)	-4%	89%
Kachin State	4,600 (3,000 to 6,100)	5,100 (2,200 to 9,300)	11%	9%

Kayah State	N/A	500	-	0.9%
Chin State	N/A	600	-	1.1%
National total (Estimation)	57,800 (45,700 to 69,900)	57,600 (41,400 to 87,300)	-03%	100%

**Figure 9:** Opium poppy cultivation areas, by region in Myanmar



According to the UNODC’s opium survey, Myanmar police and authorities destroyed 2,900 hectares more than the previous year. Myanmar produced only 670 tons in 2014, down from 870 tons the previous year. However, the decrease in opium production was due more to bad weather than to the government’s drug eradication program.

The reluctance of the government to push the drug eradication process is cited as a major factor in a trend towards increased opium cultivation. The RCSS, the UNDOC and the Myanmar police notably agreed in 2012 to eradicate opium production, but the RCSS subsequently claimed the agreement was just a worthless scrap of paper because the Government failed to implement the agreement. One anonymous researcher explained that the government is unwilling to tackle the drug problem because it does not want to disrupt its BGF and PMF schemes, since these government militia groups are self-financed with drug money. His study found that the “drug trade has become embedded in the Myanmar army’s dual strategy of extending its territorial reach and of using local militias more or less subservient to itself, but with little or no financial burden on the Government”.<sup>46</sup>

According to ethnic armed groups, poppy cultivation has increased in the control areas of BGFs and PMFs which have become involved in opium production. Some of these government-backed militias, which often take part in military operations alongside the Myanmar Army,

<sup>46</sup> “Researcher: Drug trade consolidating Army control over Shan State”, S.H.A.N, 6 Dec 2013, web.



are reportedly heavily involved in drug production and trafficking.<sup>47</sup> A Pa-O political leader criticized the government's drug eradication projects.<sup>48</sup>

According to the TNLA, the Pansay PMF leader, Kyaw Myint, also known as Li Shau Yung, a State-level parliamentarian and a member of the Union Solidarity and Development Party, owns 20,000 acres of remote and largely deforested territory in which poppy cultivation is rife. A Myanmar Army battalion permanently stationed in the area has apparently turned a blind eye.<sup>49</sup>

According to the TNLA, a number of PMFs are involved in drug production and trafficking. Amongst them are the following PMFs:

1. Tamoe Nye
2. Pansay
3. U Haw
4. Mantpang (Bo Mon)
5. Mant Mat (Man Mark)

The Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT), in its report "Silent Offensive" published on 8 October<sup>50</sup> accused PMF groups under Myanmar army command of involvement in production and trafficking of opium and other drugs. According to the KWAT report, opium and heroin production have increased in government-controlled areas, as have the number of armed clashes. Poppy cultivation has also increased in Chiphwe and Waingmaw townships of Kachin State, an area controlled by the Kachin BGF, led by Zakhung Ting Ying. Zakhung Ting Ying is an MP in the National Assembly, elected during the 2010 general election.

The Pa-O Youth Organization (PYO) and Action for High Land Society Development (SHLSD) published a drug watch report, named "Tears from the Opium Fields", on 24 October.<sup>51</sup> According to this report, The Government's drug eradication plan has failed and civil war continues. Failure of the plan is attributed to: too much power invested in central government (red tape), land-grabbing causing farmers to turn to poppy cultivation, corruption of authorities, illegal taxation, i.e. extortion, of farmers by local Myanmar army units, lack of markets for drug-substitution crops, the ineffectiveness of the drug eradication plan, and the burdens imposed on farmers by the Government's development projects in their area.

Brig-Gen. Kyaw Kyaw Tun, Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, said the Government's "15-year drug elimination project" ended in March 2014. The government has now extended the project for a further five years and will focus on eradicating poppy cultivation in 51 townships in major opium-growing areas of Shan, Kachin, Kayah and Chin States.<sup>52</sup> High opium production, with Myanmar still the world's No.2 opium producer, demonstrates the failure the Government's eradication program. Farmers continue to grow the poppy rather than substitute crops because there is no market for the latter, and they lack capital, know-how and equipment for the substitute crops.

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47 The Irrawaddy, On a Mission: Destruction of Opium, Niels Larsen, 24 Mar 2015, web.

48 The Irrawaddy, Take Control or Leave Opium Farmers Alone, Pa-O Leader Tells Burma Govt, Sanay Lin, 19 Aug 2014, web. "If the government doesn't want them to cultivate opium, it should effectively take control over that issue. But now, it is acting muddled and the ones who finally have to suffer are the local farmers."

49 The Irrawaddy, On a Mission: Destruction of Opium, Niels Larsen, 24 Mar 2015, web.

50 Kachin Women's Association Thailand, "Silent Offensive", 8 October 2014, Drug report.

51 PYO and AHLSD, Tears from the Opium Fields: drug report, 24 Oct 2014, report.

52 Irrawaddy, 15-Year Drug Eradication Effort Failed: Minister, 17 June 2014, web.

## Terrorism

Various unresolved issues and grievances have fuelled acts of terror in the country over the years, and remain a threat to the present day. According to media reports, the year saw the explosion of 25 improvised explosive devices and landmines, while a further 3 such devices were discovered unexploded. Most of the bomb blasts occurred in Shan State. The motives for these acts are unclear but they are generally attributed to ethnic unrest and religious tension.

A series of bomb blasts occurred in Taunggyi, the capital of Shan State in October, while earlier in the year, in January, a bomb was set off in Yangon, the business capital. The police failed to arrest the perpetrators. Landmines are used in armed conflict zones by both Myanmar army and ethnic armed groups as a means of hindering movement of their opponents. Myanmar is a major user of landmines. The Myanmar Landmine Clearance Initiative (MLCI) voiced its opinion that the Government should officially permit the clearance of landmines in Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Shan and Mon States, and Tanintharyi and eastern Bago Divisions. The MLCI is one of seven mine clearance teams awaiting Government permission to clear landmines in ethnic regions.<sup>53</sup>

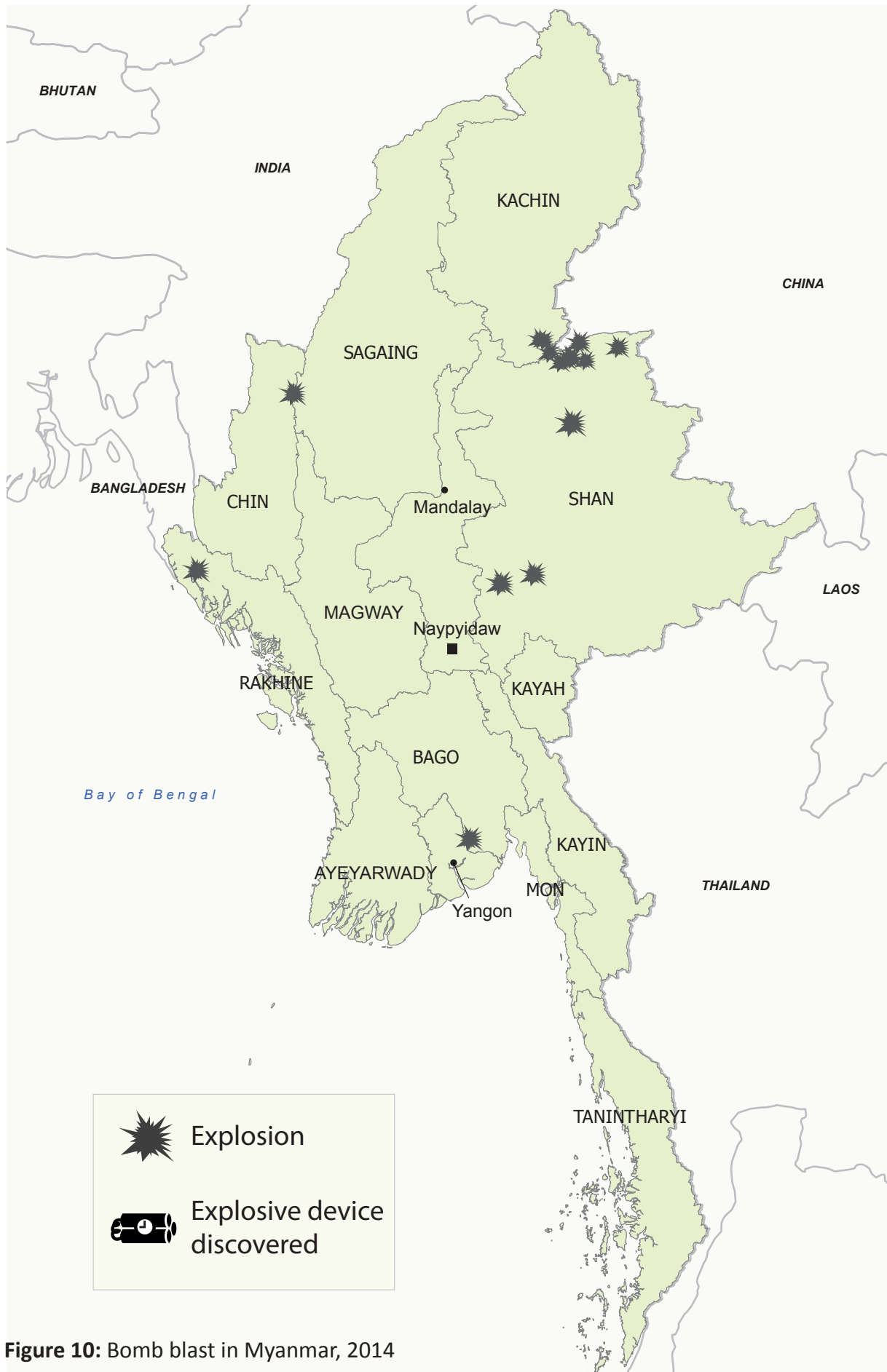
Religious tension and communal violence are amongst the root causes of terrorism. A series of murders of Myanmar nationals occurred in Malaysia, and these have been linked to the communal violence in their home country. The perpetrators, when arrested by the police in early 2015, admitted to being motivated by a desire for revenge for what had occurred in the country they came from.

A potential threat has arisen from the declaration, on 3 September, by Al-Qaeda leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, that he was forming a new branch of his global network to spread Islamic rule and “raise the flag of jihad” across the Indian subcontinent.<sup>54</sup> Myanmar and Bangladesh are included in his scheme.

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53 Eleven Media Groups, 5m in landmine peril, groups warn, 5 April 2015, web.

54 BBC, Al-Qaeda chief Zawahiri launches al-Qaeda in South Asia, 4 Sept 2014, web.



**Figure 10:** Bomb blast in Myanmar, 2014

**Table 11:** Bomb explosion and discovered in 2014

No	Date	Location	Detail
1	23/01/2014	Htauk Kyant town, Mingladon township, Yangon.	A bomb blast in a municipal housing compound wound 2 children in Htauk Kyant town of Mingladon township, Yangon.
2	27/03/2014	CNF liaison office, Tedim, Chin State	A bomb exploded near the CNF liaison office in Tedim township, Chin State. Nobody was hurt.
3	06/04/2014	Mongkoe town in northern Shan State	Three bombs blasts in Mongkoe town in northern Shan state. Two children seriously wounded.
4	23/04/2014	Nam Kham township, northern Shan State	A bomb exploded at the Khoe Lone Lishaw 888 Cigarette Factory owned by a Pansay PMF leader in Nam Kham township in northern Shan State. Nobody was hurt.
5	30/04/2014	Naung Mon village, Mansi township, Kachin State	A bomb exploded near Nam Tawn bridge in Naung Mon village in Mansi township, Kachin State. Two villagers wounded.
6	04/05/2014	on Kutkai - Nam Kham highway road in northern Shan State	A roadside landmine exploded between Ta Lon and Maw Tawng village on Kutkai – Nam Kham township in northern Shan State. Two vehicles were damaged and two Myanmar soldiers were killed.
7	06/05/2014	Near Pyidaungsu road in Nam Kham township	A roadside bomb exploded near Pyidaungsu road in Nam Kham township. Villagers wounded in the blast. The bomb explosion is not far from Shweli hydropower dam.
8	09/05/2014	Near Pan Kham and Kone Kham village in Nam Kham township	A bomb near Pan Kham and Kone Kham village in Manwain Gyi village tract in Nam Kham township killed one government soldier, with one civilian slightly injured.
9	16/05/2014	Bogyoke street in Lashio city in northern Shan State	Two bombs blasts near Cooperative Bank and Kanbawza Bank in Bogyoke street in Lashio city. Nobody wounded.
10	29/05/2014	near Hua Wine and Naung Kham village in Nam Kham township	A bomb exploded by the roadside of Nam Kham - Muse highway. Two civilians wounded by the blast.
11	15/06/2014	Ho Nar village in Nam Kham township	A bomb exploded in U Aik Lan's house in Ho Nar village in Nam Kham township. Two people were killed the the bomb blast and one wounded.
12	26/07/2014	MPT office in Aung Ban in Kalaw township	A bomb exploded in front of MPT office in Aung Ban in Kalaw township in Southern Shan State. Nobody wounded.
13	27/07/2014	A court in Mansi township in Kachin State	A bomb exploded in front of township court in Mansi township in Kachin State. Nobody was hurt.
14	18/09/2014	Nam Kham township	A bomb exploded in front of a house owned by a SNDF member. One civilian was injured.

15	04/10/2014	Taunggyi city in Shan State	Three bombs exploded near a police station in Taunggyi city. Two policemen were injured. Three unexploded bombs were discovered.
16	31/10/2014	Buthidaung in Rakhine State	Two bombs exploded in Buthidaung town in Rakhine State. Nobody was hurt in the blast.
17	13/11/2014	near Ho Nam village in Nam Kham township	Two bombs exploded in Nam Kham township in northern Shan State. Nobody was hurt.
18	24/11/2014	Hseng Khwang village Muse township in northern Shan State	A bomb blast in Hseng Khwang village in Sel Lent village tract in Muse township of northern Shan State killed one government soldier was killed and injured 2 more.

## Violence related to protests against land confiscation and development projects

As a result of democratic transition in the country, civil society has started a movement against land-grabbing by the previous regime. Farmers staged a protest against land confiscation and demanded the Government solve this problem. This issue is essential to the stability of the country and is directly linked to its potential for development.

Since the reforms and political liberalization of the new Thein Sein government, the country has seen a major increase in protests and violence connected with land rights and the negative impacts of development projects. Civilians are taking advantage of greater political freedom to voice their concerns. Repressed grievances, primarily over land confiscation by the previous military regime and damage caused by large-scale development projects, are now being aired. On several occasions this has resulted in violence, arrests, and death.

After President Thein Sein came into power in 2011, his government formed a Land Investigation Committee, and a Land Use & Distribution Committee. The two committees investigated cases of land confiscation by the previous regime. Then the Land Use and Distribution Committee began returning land to local people. Although the authorities stated that the Government and army had already returned unused land to local people, the latter are pressing for the return of further land. A good example of this is the protests by villagers claiming their right to land seized from them at the Letpadaung copper mine.

2014 was replete with protests over land confiscation and constant demands for government to hand back confiscated land. Some people demonstrated against mega projects such as the Myitsone dam on the Ayawaddy River and six hydro-power dams planned for the Salween. Others demonstrated against the planned construction of coal-fired electric plant such as at the Ann Din power station in Ye township. Unfortunately, police brutally repressed the demonstrations and made many arrests. At the Letpadaung Copper Mine, Daw Khin Khin Win was shot dead.

Several activist groups have warned that ceasefire agreements, by encouraging mining and economic projects in areas of fragile truce, are fueling the potential for further strife. On 19 Feb 2014, the Karen Environmental and Social Action Network (KESAN) published a briefing “conflict analysis” which aired their concerns over the JICA’s mega projects in Karen State. In September, the Karen Peace Support Network (KPSN) published a report, named “Critique of Japan International Cooperation Agency’s Blueprint for Development in Southeastern Burma/Myanmar”. The report highlighted the fact that the JICA’s blueprint for infrastructure development will not benefit locals but will instead fuel conflict. KNU Deputy Commander-

in-Chief Lt. Gen. Baw Kyaw Heh said that “it is clear that Hatgyi dam and similar projects are obstructing the peace process in Burma.”<sup>55</sup>

**Table 12:** Land Confiscation and movement in 2014

Date	Location	Detail
06/01/2014	Local residents in Mayangon in Yangon	Local residents in Mayangone demonstrated against condominium construction and demanded compensation. Their land was confiscated by the Government in 2013.
12/01/2014	Myeik residents	About 100 locals staged a protest in Myeik town against a plan to build a coal-fueled power plant in the area without consulting civic groups or seeking public opinion.
14/01/2014	Lwetamu villagers in Loikaw township	Farmers from Lwetamu village, in Loikaw township staged a protest and demanded the Government return their farmland.
17/01/2014	Farmers in Dawei township	Over 100 farmers in Dawei township demonstrated against land confiscation. Government forces had confiscated about 300 acres in 1990.
23/01/2014	Pa-O Farmers	25 Pa-O farmers staged a protest in Naung Kar village in Kyauktalon sub-township in Taunggyi by conducting a “plough-in” of the farmlands, which were confiscated by the PNO in 1997.
03/02/2014	Ta'ang Students and Youth Union (TSYU)	The TSYU demonstrated in support of the anti-drug campaign in northern Shan State.
05/02/2014	Moebyae residents in Pekon township	Locals in Moebyae area staged a protest and demanded the Government solve the problem of land confiscation in their area. Myanmar army LIB 422 confiscated over 700 acres in 1992
10/02/2014	Kune Chan Gone activists	Local residents in Kune Chan Gone township demonstrated against the construction of a coal-fired electric power station.
09/02/2014	Karen Rivers Watch and environmental activists	Karen Rivers Watch and environmental activists voiced their concerns over the planned Salween dams.
12/02/2014	Farmers in Thae Gone township, Bago Division	Farmers in Thae Gone township of Bago Division staged a protest against land confiscation. Myanmar army confiscated over 5,000 acres in the area. Farmers demanded the Government return it.
19/02/2014	KESAN	KESAN published a briefing and highlighted their concerns over the JICA's mega projects in Karen State.
21/02/2014	Taninthari Division	Local villagers staged a protest to demand Myanmar army return unused land. Myanmar army confiscated over 500 acres but only used about 30.
25/02/2014	Ta'ang Women Organization (TWO)	The TWO published the “Ignorant Crisis” report about conflict-affected IDPs who are afraid to go back home.

<sup>55</sup> Bangkok post, Salween dam projects jeopardise fragile ceasefire accords, DENIS D GRAY, 12 May 2015, web.

16/03/2014	Burma River Network	By this date 30,000 people had signed a petition opposing a series of dams planned along the Salween River in Burma's east. The petition demands an immediate halt to the six dams.
23/03/2014	Ex-political prisoners	Ex-political prisoners demonstrated against the Myitsone dam construction and gold mining in the Irrawaddy river, by walking from Myitkyina to Tanpre village in Myitkyina township.
24/03/2014	Michaung Kan residents	Michaung Kan residents set up a camp in downtown Yangon to protest and demand the Government return their land.
13/05/2014	20 civilians in Myitkyina	About 20 people staged a protest against forced recruitment by the KIA and demanded the release of newly impressed soldiers.
14/08/2014	Residents in Sintgu township in Mandalay Division	Local residents in Sintgu township demonstrated against land confiscation. Police attempted to break up the demonstration.
07/11/2014	Karen Environmental and Social Action Network (KESAN)	KESAN released a human rights report "Afraid to Go Home: Recent Violent Conflict and Human Rights Abuses in Karen State". A further 2,000 IDPs had just resulted from armed conflict between the DKBA and Myanmar army in Karen and Mon States during September and October.
17/11/2014	farmers	About 200 farmers staged a protest in Nattalin township of Bago Division. Farmers demanded the Government return their land. Myanmar army had confiscated about 450 acres of land in 1991.
09/12/2014	farmers	About 200 farmers from 6 villages staged a protest in Sagaing Division on 9 December and demanded the Ministry of Industry return land. The Ministry had seized over 1,000 acres of paddy fields in 1997.
11/12/2014	KCSN	Karenni Civil Society Network (KCSN) said that the Norwegian-led Myanmar Peace Support Initiative (MPSI) is putting the security of returning IDPs at risk by placing them in areas under Myanmar Army control.
11/12/2014	labors	Over 700 laborers from the Myanmar York Fashion garment factory in Hlaing Tharyar Industrial Zone 3 staged a protest and demanded the owner increase their wages.
12/12/2014	Michaung Kan civilians in Yangon	Michaung Kan farmers staged a protest and blocked the gates of Yangon City Hall. They demanded the Government resolve land confiscation issues.
13/12/2014	Civilians in Mandalay	About 100 people demonstrated in Mandalay, demanding the Government return 10 unused acres of land near the Yadanarbon bridge. The Government seized about 20 acres of land in Shwe Kyet Yet village in 2001.

14/12/2014	Civilians in Ye township	About 400 locals staged a protest in Ye (Yay) township against the construction of a coal-fired power-station.
20/12/2014	88 Gen- and civilians in Yangon	88 Generation student leaders and civilians demonstrated against a planned construction project on a sports ground in South Okkalapa Township.
22/12/2014	farmers	Hundreds of farmers demonstrated against the Letpadaung Copper Mine in Sarlingyi township of Sagaing Division. Police opened fire, killing a woman and wounding 10 other people.
27/12/2014	Civilians in Mandalay	About 500 people demonstrated in front of the Chinese Consulate in Mandalay. They demanded justice for the woman killed at the Letpadaung copper mine when the earlier protest was suppressed.
01/01/2015	civilians and activists in Yangon and Mandalay	Activists in Mandalay and Yangon staged a protest to show their solidarity with farmers affected by the Letpadaung copper mining project and demanded justice for the late Daw Khin Win.
05/01/2015	civilians and activists in Monywa	Around 300 people staged a rally in Monywa against land confiscation at the Letpadaung Copper Mine and the use of violence against local residents.
08/01/2015	Pa-O farmers in Taunggyi	Over 1,000 Pa-Oh farmers staged a protest in Taung Gyi against land-grabbing. The PNO/PNA confiscated over 3,000 acres of land in 1993.
12/01/2015	civilians and activists in Ye township	Local people in Ye township sent a signed petition to the Mon State Government opposing the planned construction of the Ann Din coal-fired power station.
15-16/1/2015	Karen farmers in Hpa-an township	Farmers and the KPF disputed land ownership in Kaw Kyeik village of Hpa-an township in Karen State. The KPF seized the land in 1990. Farmers want their land back.
09/02/2015	Laborers in Yangon	About 2,000 employees from Costec International, E-Land Myanmar, Ford Glory Garment and Han Jen Textile and Garment factories staged a protest and demanded the owners increase wages.
26/02/2015	farmers in Pauk township of Magwe Division	About 300 farmers from Pauk township staged a protest to get their farmland back. The army seized about 2,500 acres for an armaments factory. The farmers demand the army return the unused land.
26/03/2015	Michaung Kan protestors and police	About 200 Police broke up the Michaung Kan demonstration in Yangon against land confiscation.
10/03/2015	Farmers in Ayawaddy Division	About 200 farmers staged a protest in Thapaung town to demand the authorities return about 300 acres of their land, seized by the previous regime in 2000.



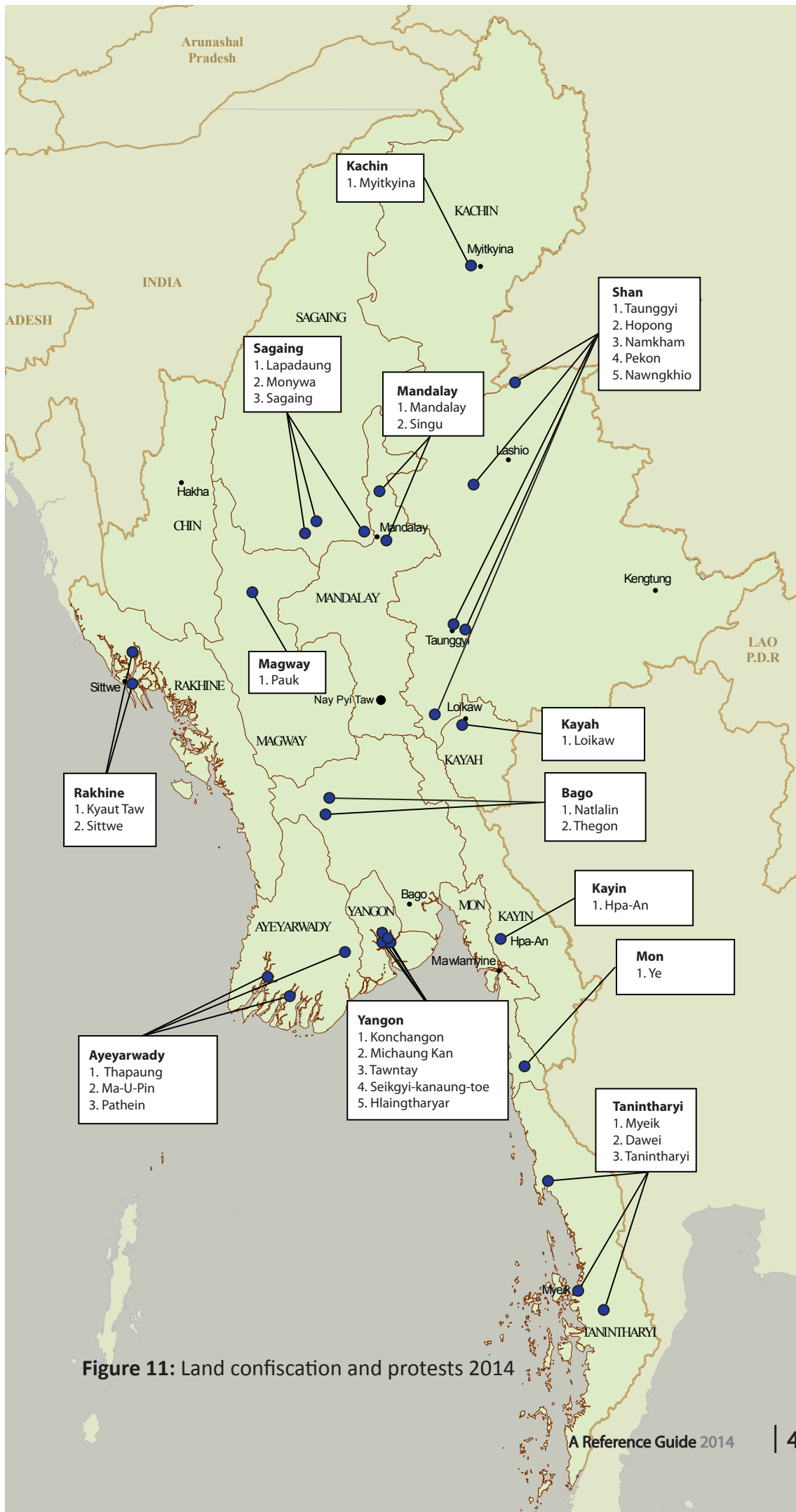
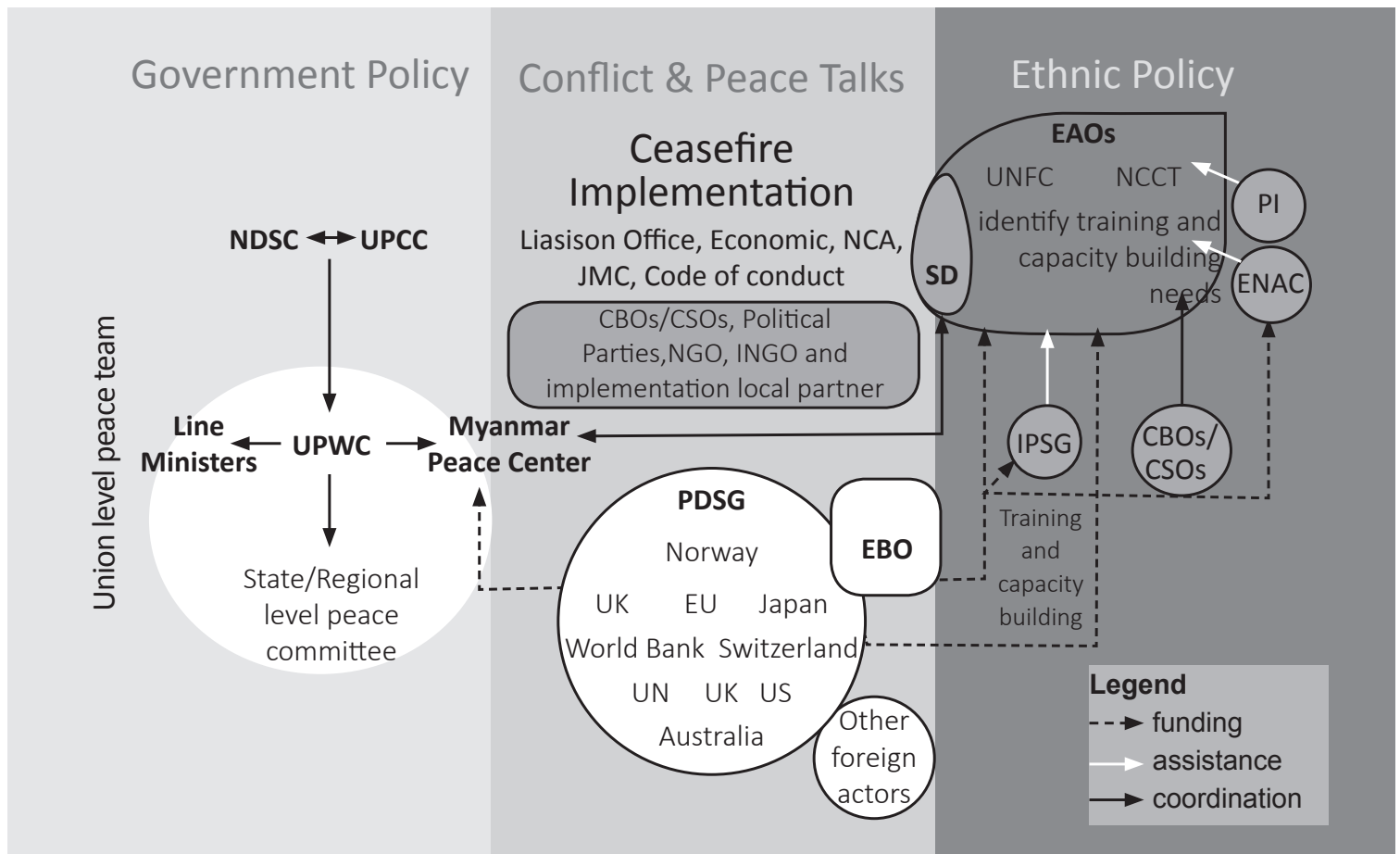


Figure 11: Land confiscation and protests 2014

## II. 2015 Peace Plan

### Tripartite peace process matrix



**Figure 12:** Tripartite peace process matrix

In 2014, all stakeholders involved in the peace process were active. The NCCT representing the ethnic armed organizations and the UPWC representing the government negotiated with a view to the signing of an NCA. Military generals led by Lt. Gen. Myint Soe, Lt. Gen. Thet Naing Win and Lt. Gen. Khin Zaw Oo were involved in the ceasefire negotiations. Members of Parliament such as U Thein Zaw, a Lower House MP, also attended. Thus, representatives of army, government and parliament participated with ethnic armed group leaders in the talks aimed at achieving a nation-wide ceasefire.

Additionally, political party leaders and representatives of CBOs and CSOs were indirectly involved in the peace process. For example, leaders from the UNA and representatives of CBOs and CSOs often held meetings to discuss the peace process, the political situation and the post-NCA situation. They also discussed how to draft the political framework and be ready for political dialogue in the post-NCA. Likewise, the National Brotherhood Federation (NBF) and allied political parties prepared themselves for political dialogue after the ratification of the NCA, by drafting the political framework for subsequent dialogue.<sup>56</sup> Fifty-six political parties, including NBF members, held a meeting to draft this framework. The NLD, the leading opposition party, has also drafted a framework for political dialogue in the aftermath of a ceasefire agreement.

<sup>56</sup> 56 political parties drafted and approved a common framework for political dialogue on 26 Nov 2014. It has 8 chapters.

Foreign countries and INGOs have helped with financial and technical assistance for the peace process in Myanmar. The Peace Donor Support Group (PDSG) was established by Norway, the UK, the EU, Japan, Switzerland, Australia, the US and the World Bank. The Myanmar Peace Center (MPC), a technical working team led by U Aung Min, assisted the UPWC in its negotiations with the NCCT, which represents the EAOs. Pyidaungsu Institute for Peace and Dialogue (<http://www.pyidaungsinstitute.org>) assisted ethnic communities, including CBOs/CSOs and some ethnic armed groups, with technical support and training in peace negotiations. The Ethnic Nationalities Affairs Center, ENAC, (<http://www.enacburma.org>), a technical support team for the UNFC and the NCCT, has provided resources, education, & training to support the peace process in Myanmar.

**Table 13:** The Evolution of Peace Plans

Government peace plan	Ethnic peace plan
<p>Peace Plan in 2011:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Enter the legal fold (disarm and transform into BGF/PMF, i.e. submit to Myanmar Army control)</li> <li>2. Set up political parties to contest elections</li> <li>3. Set up businesses</li> </ol>	<p>Peace Plan in 2011:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Political talks (amend the Constitution to ensure ethnic self-determination)</li> <li>2. Agreement on Federal Union</li> <li>3. Approval and ratification by parliament</li> </ol>
<p>Peace Plan in 2012: Three-Phase Plan</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. State Level Ceasefire</li> <li>2. Union Level Ceasefire</li> <li>3. Create political parties to contest elections and enter parliament to amend the constitution</li> </ol>	<p>Peace Plan in 2012: Six-point plan (UNFC)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Host a meeting with CBOs and EAOs</li> <li>2. A meeting between government and EAO representatives monitored by international community</li> <li>3. Referenda in each ethnic state to ratify the agreement reached</li> <li>4. A meeting with all ethnic people to talk about peace</li> <li>5. Tripartite dialogue between government, EAOs and democratic groups</li> <li>6. Implementation of agreement reached within a set time-frame.</li> </ol>
<p>Peace Plan in 2013:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Nationwide ceasefire agreement</li> <li>2. Negotiations to agree framework for political dialogue</li> <li>3. Political dialogue</li> </ol>	<p>Peace Plan in 2013:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Drafting the political framework</li> <li>2. Nationwide ceasefire agreement</li> <li>3. Political dialogue</li> <li>4. National accord</li> </ol>
<p>Peace Plan in 2014:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. NCA signing</li> <li>2. Drafting political framework</li> <li>3. Political dialogue (SSR/DDR)</li> <li>4. Union Convention</li> <li>5. Signing Union accord</li> <li>6. Interim Arrangement</li> <li>7. Implementation of the union accord</li> </ol>	<p>Peace Plan in 2014:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. NCA signing</li> <li>2. Drafting political framework</li> <li>3. Political dialogue</li> <li>4. Union Convention</li> <li>5. Signing Union accord</li> <li>6. Interim Arrangement</li> <li>7. Implementation of the union accord (SSR/DDR)</li> </ol>

### **NCA Final Draft: 7-Step roadmap signed by NCCT and UPWC representatives on 31 Mar 2015**

1. Leaders of government and ethnic armed organizations to sign the NCA
2. Representatives of government and EAOs together to draft the political framework within 60 days of signing the NCA
3. Representatives of government and EAOs to start national-level political dialogue within 90 days
4. Union Peace Convention to be held in accordance with the outcome of the political dialogue,
5. Leaders of government and ethnic armed organizations to sign the Union Accord
6. Myanmar Union Parliament to approve the Union Accord
7. Implementation of the Union Accord (**SSR implementation**)

## **The Differing Interpretations of ‘Ceasefire’ and of ‘Peace’**

Many people following the Myanmar peace process seem to confuse ceasefire and peace. The media often mistakenly report a ceasefire agreement as a peace agreement. The words ceasefire and peace do not have the same connotation. A ceasefire is a temporary cessation of fighting in which each side agrees to suspend firing and offensive operations. A ceasefire agreement may be broken at any time by the decision of one side to resume firing. The general meaning of peace is a period of harmony between different social groups that is characterized by a lack of violence and aggressive behavior and where there is freedom from fear of violence. When peace prevails there can be no firing or violence.

The Nationwide Ceasefire: The creation of a single-text nationwide ceasefire agreement has now supplanted the previous individual ceasefire agreements between EAOs and the Government. Previously signed ceasefire agreements are still in force but all new peace negotiations will be based on the nationwide ceasefire agreement (NCA). Despite the ups-and-downs in the negotiations between EAOs and Government, both parties have done their best to agree a final version of the NCA, another step forward along the road of dialogue leading ultimately to peace.

## **Single-Text NCA draft: the first step to the NCA**

The term “nationwide ceasefire” has been used in two different ways. Since the resumption of conflict in Kachin state in 2011, EAOs have called on the government unilaterally to declare a nationwide ceasefire, meaning to call a halt all offensive operations throughout the country. However, fighting is still ongoing in ethnic areas.

The second usage of the term was for the “nationwide ceasefire agreement”. Ethnic armed groups held their first conference in Laiza, the headquarters of the KIO, at the end of October 2013. By decision of the conference, a Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team (NCCT) was formed. Ethnic armed organizations gave a mandate to the NCCT to negotiate with the government peace team, the Union Peacemaking Work Committee. The NCCT and UPWC held their first official meeting in March 2014. The NCCT and UPWC finally agreed to combine their two different proposals into a “single-text document”.<sup>57</sup> The NCCT and UPWC held a second official meeting to discuss the draft NCA in April 2014.

The difference between the new nationwide ceasefire agreement and the previous State level and Union level agreements with individual groups is that it provides a more comprehensive approach to the ethnic problem and incorporates a plan for rendering ceasefires permanent

<sup>57</sup> NCCT and UPWC combined 14 chapters of the UPWC’s proposal and 11 chapters of the NCCT’s in March 2014. After the merging of the two proposals, they had a new “single-text document” (the NCA draft) which has 7 chapters.

and for using political dialogue to ensure a durable peace. It is also generally understood that a nationwide ceasefire is a precondition for substantive political dialogue.

Ambiguities and differences in interpretation of the term “nationwide ceasefire” contribute to the split between those that believe political dialogue should precede ceasefire and vice versa. For most, a ceasefire is understood as a complete stop to any kind of clash, without which a truce is not possible. In 2013, there was a dispute among the EAOs on whether or not to sign the NCA before political dialogue had taken place. Some ethnic groups wished to start political dialogue before the NCA was signed. They wanted a guarantee there would be discussions on political issues such as establishing a federal union and a federal army, self-determination, equal ethnic rights, and so on. However, other groups wanted to sign the NCA prior to starting political dialogue. Their reasoning was that political dialogue would take too long. Sensitive issues, such as the federal question, would take time to negotiate. The peace process needed to move forward. That is why some ethnic groups wished to sign the NCA in the hope of advancing the peace process.

In the year under survey, the negotiations made considerable progress. After a series of meetings the two peace negotiation teams, the NCCT and the UPWC, in March 2014 agreed to start work on a “single-text” document combining their differing proposals. There are seven chapters in the single-text document. Thereafter, on 5-8 April the NCCT and UPWC held the first official meeting to draft a single-text NCA. Then, after a couple of informal meetings, the 2nd NCA draft meeting took place in May, the 3rd draft meeting on 17 August and the 4th such meeting on 22 September. At this latter meeting tensions surfaced and negotiations were discontinued until March of this year, 2015.

Most EAOs, especially non-ceasefire groups like the KIA and the TNLA, were wary of signing without a guarantee that sensitive issues, such as federal union, federal army, self-determination, etc., were addressed by political dialogue. Military offensives by the Government’s armed forces fostered distrust and doubts about its commitment. Subsequent to the breakdown in negotiations, on 1 October Government forces launched an offensive against the SSPP’s Tapha Soung brigade in Kehsi township and on 19 November shelled the KIA’s military academy in Laiza. These attacks hardened the deadlock in negotiations and the peace process almost aborted.

**Table 14** : Main challenges in the 2014 negotiations: wording, issues, and mechanisms

Wording	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Revolution</li> <li>• Federal</li> <li>• Panglong spirit and Panglong Agreement (federal union, self-determination, equal political rights)</li> <li>• Lawkapala 3 causes (freedom, equality, justice)</li> <li>• Three national causes (disintegration of union, national unity, sovereignty)</li> </ul>
Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Federal union</li> <li>• Federal army</li> <li>• Self-determination</li> <li>• Equal Political rights and ethnic rights</li> <li>• 2008 constitution</li> <li>• Army’s 6-point guidelines</li> </ul>

Mechanisms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Joint monitoring committees</li> <li>• Road-map</li> <li>• participants in political dialogue</li> <li>• Ceasefire code of conduct</li> <li>• military code of conduct</li> <li>• Interim arrangements</li> <li>• Security Sector Reform (SSR)</li> <li>• Disarm, Demobilization, Reintegration (DDR)</li> <li>• Signatories</li> </ul>
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Some NCCT members criticized the Government’s attacks on ethnic armed groups and demanded government forces stop offensive operations. The negotiations stalled and debate revolved around words and their meaning. For example: ethnic armed groups wished to use the term “ethnic revolutionary army” but the UPWC rejected this in favor of “armed ethnic group”. The Government side refused to negotiate on federal issues, a joint monitoring committee, ceasefire code of conduct, military code of conduct, interim arrangements and a road-map for political dialogue, etc. Each blamed the other for lack of compromise and commitment to peace. Ethnic armed organizations held another conference in Laiza on 25 July where they discussed how to overcome the challenges they faced in negotiations with the Government.

The NCCT and UPWC resumed meeting in August, when they agreed some important points. The NCCT accepted “Lakapala 3 causes” and the “Three National Causes” proposed by the UPWC and removed “the Panglong spirit and Panglong promise” from their demands. The UPWC accepted establishing a Union based on federal principles and democracy, national equality and self-determination. This was a major step towards an NCA even though a military code of conduct, troop re-deployments, a joint monitoring mechanism, etc., could not be touched upon. However a 7-step road-map comprising 7 chapters was drawn up.

**Table 15:** The NCA drafts of 2014

Road-map (2 <sup>nd</sup> NCA draft)	Road-map (3 <sup>rd</sup> NCA draft)	Road-map (4 <sup>th</sup> NCA draft)
NCA signing	NCA signing	NCA signing
Drafting political framework	Drafting political framework	Drafting political dialogue
Holding political dialogue	Holding political dialogue	Holding political dialogue <b>(*SSR implementation proposed by army’s representatives)</b>
<b>*Security Sector Reform (Interim arrangement)</b>	Union Convention	Union Convention
Union Convention	Union Accord signing	Union Accord Signing
Union accord signing	Union parliament approval	Union parliament approval
Union parliament approval	Implementation <b>(*SSR implementation)</b>	Implementation
Implementation		

Then, in September the negotiations met an impasse when representatives of the Myanmar army rejected the draft NCA agreed at the previous meeting. The army's representatives wanted implementation of "Security Sector Reform (SSR)<sup>58</sup>" brought forward to fourth place in the road-map at a time when EAOs and Government would be engaged in political dialogue. In the previously agreed draft, SSR would be the last stage in the road-map. Tensions mounted and the negotiations were close to being aborted.

The army's representatives disavowed the previous agreement because they now wanted to implement SSR, which for them meant "Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR)", as a prelude to political dialogue; and not, as previously agreed, afterwards. The Government peace team was able to use "Ground Rule no.10<sup>59</sup>" to revoke its previous agreement with the NCCT.

**Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (final draft) between Republic of Union of Myanmar and Ethnic Armed Organizations (31 May 2015)**

Preamble

Chapter I: Basic Principles (11 points)

Chapter II: Aims and Objective (4 points)

Chapter III: Ceasefire issues (8 points - 39 sections)

**(Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee)**

Chapter IV: Ceasefire mechanism (8 points - 8 sections)

**(Military code of conduct)**

Chapter V: Guarantees of political dialogue (5 points - 17 sections and 2 sub-sections)

**(Road-map for political dialogue)**

Chapter VI: Implementation (3 points – 7 sections and 6 sub-sections)

**(Interim Arrangements)**

Chapter VII: General (6 points – 2 sections)

**(Signatory)**

Relations between the NCCT and UPWC deteriorated in late 2014 but the situation has gradually improved since early 2015. In January, twelve EAOs were represented at the Independence Day ceremony held in Naypyitaw, the capital, and there met President Thein Sein. But the KIA, KNPP, NF and TNLA did not attend. Representatives of thirteen EAOs also attended the Union Day ceremony on 12 February when EAOs leaders again met President Thein Sein and also the C-in-C Min Aung Hlaing. But once again the KIA, KNPP and TNLA did not attend. Leaders from the DKBA, KNU, KNU/KNLA Peace Council and the RCSS signed a "deed of commitment to peace and national reconciliation" on 12 February.<sup>60</sup> Some ethnic armed groups were concerned that the "deed of commitment" could adversely affect the NCA. Leaders of the KNU and RCSS responded by saying it was a commitment to peace that could help promote the peace process. Lower House MPs urged the entire nation to participate in the peace process because it would ensure national solidarity and consolidate state building.<sup>61</sup> Finally, the NCCT and UPWC agreed the ultimate draft of the NCA and five representatives from each signed it in the presence of President Thein Sein on 31 March 2015. This was after they agreed to discuss the sensitive agendas in the political dialogue

58 SSR stands for Security Sector Reform. In the 3rd NCA draft, SSR implementation is in no.7 place in the road-map. Army representatives put SSR in no.4 place in the 4th NCA draft.

59 The NCCT and UPWC made "Ground Rules" to be used in the ceasefire negotiations. There are 10 rules. Eg. Representatives clap if they agree a single point; representatives take a break when they agree with everything. Ground rule no. 10 says "Nothing is agreed until everything is agreed."

60 The Deed of Commitment to Peace and National Reconciliation is composed of five points: 1. To establish a union based on democracy and federal principles 2. To sign the NCA 3. To cooperate in holding an all-inclusive political dialogue 4. To draft a framework for political dialogue 5. To cooperate in preventing armed clashes.

61 Eleven Media Group, Army Demands Public Backing for Ceasefire, 5 April 2015, web.

stage such as federal issues, joint monitoring committee, military code of conduct, etc. This marks an essential step in the peace process via a pathway of political dialogue, in order to end over six decades of civil war. Mr. Vijay Nambiar, UN special adviser, remarked that this was a “historic and significant achievement”.<sup>62</sup>

**Figure 13:** Seven steps roadmap for peace and national reconciliation



## Challenges in Negotiations between the NCCT and the UPWC in 2014

**Revolution:** EAOs wished to refer to themselves in the NCA as “revolutionary” armed forces in order to differentiate themselves from Government-sponsored armed groups such as the PMFs and BGFs. But, the Myanmar army representatives resisted this, arguing there would be no need for the words “revolutionary” once the NCA was signed.

**A Federal Union:** Ethnic armed organizations wished to use the phrase “establishing a federal union based on ethnic national states” but the UPWC only agreed to “establish a union based on democracy and federal principles”. EAOs also wanted to include “establishing a federal army” but the UPWC argued “the Myanmar army is already a union army. We don’t need to establish another army”.

**The 2008 Constitution and the army’s 6-Point Guidelines:** The UPWC said that “the implementation of the peace process must be in accordance with the 2008 Constitution” but the EAOs did not accept the 2008 Constitution. An army representative, Lt. Gen. Myint

<sup>62</sup> MYANMAR TIMES, Military insists on its conditions for peace, Ei Ei Toe Lwin, 2 April 2015, web.



Soe, said on 31 March 2015 that “our Tatmadaw has already declared that genuine peace will happen if [the ethnic armed forces] adhere to our six principles. These six principles we [the Tatmadaw] hold firmly forever.”<sup>63</sup> Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing reaffirmed the army’s 6-Point Guidelines as peace principles but the EAOs did not accept these Guidelines and stated they were an obstacle to the ceasefire negotiations.

**DDR versus SSR:** Another challenge to the ceasefire negotiations arose over “Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration” (DDR) as opposed to “Security Sector Reform” (SSR). Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing said “DDR is an essential apparatus in implementing the peace process.”<sup>64</sup> The EAOs disliked the DDR policy which required surrender of their weapons, favoring in its stead the concept of “SSR”. Finally, the UPWC agreed to EAOs retaining their weapons until political dialogue has been completed.

**A federal constitution versus the 2008 Constitution:** This was another sensitive issue in the ceasefire talks. Under the 2008 Constitution, the Myanmar armed forces reserved for themselves an important role in national politics. Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing, the Commander-in-Chief of Myanmar army, said the army has full responsibility for safeguarding the Constitution.<sup>65</sup> Constitutional amendments must be effected in accordance with the conditions laid down in the 2008 Constitution, which limits the potential for significant changes to the existing power structure. Ethnic armed leaders rejected the 2008 Constitution and have sought to negotiate its change outside the handicapped parliamentary process, through political dialogue.

**Federal army vs existing army:** Ethnic leaders proposed to build a genuine federal union because Myanmar is a multi-ethnic country. They believe that equal political rights and self-determination can become accessible through federal union. The UPWC accepted in principle to “build a federal union”, however, the army representatives did not agree to the “building of a federal army”. Lt. Gen. Myint Soe said Myanmar defense army is already a union army and there is no need to replace it. The ethnic armed group leaders responded by saying if the Government agrees to build a federal union, a consequence of this is that it must consider building an army along federal lines.

**Open book agreement:** The NCCT and UPWC had a problem in ceasefire negotiations in September 2014 after the army representatives rejected the previous agreement that SSR be implemented after political dialogue. Tensions arose between the NCCT and the UPWC resulting in the ceasefire talks being almost scuttled. At that time, because of delays caused by some ethnic groups being unready to sign the NCA, it was rumored that the Government would use an “open book agreement” whereby the UPWC and the other ethnic groups would sign the Agreement and continue the peace process. The reason was that some ethnic groups were not yet ready to sign the NCA, which delayed the peace process. This in fact happened, with some EAOs signing and then beginning political dialogue. The UPWC left it open for the remaining EAOs to sign when they were ready and then participate in the ongoing political dialogue. This “open book agreement” is likely to be finalized in 2015. The TNLA, AA and MNDAA, whose operational areas have been the scene of fierce fighting, have threatened to quit the NCCT. U Aung Min has refused to negotiate with these groups which he does not recognize as dialogue partners. Many critics were of the opinion that if the Government implements its “open book agreement” an NCA which excludes some ethnic armed groups cannot be called a “nationwide ceasefire agreement” and it will be no different from the previous bilateral ceasefire agreements at the state and union levels. The ethnic leaders have called for an all-inclusive signing of the NCA and participation in the peace process.

63 Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing’s speech at the parade of the 70th Armed Forces Day on 27 Mar 2015

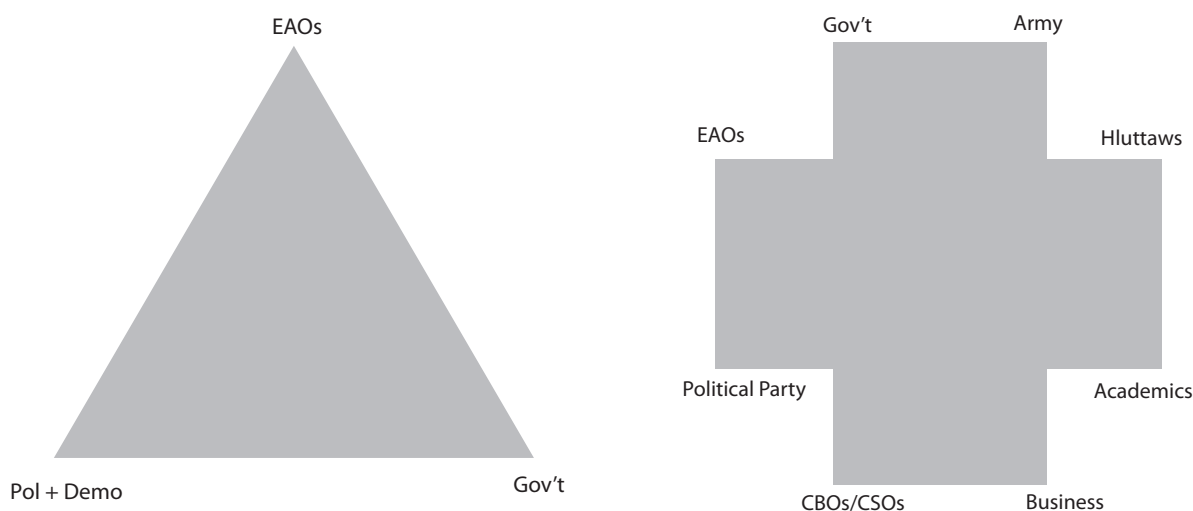
64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

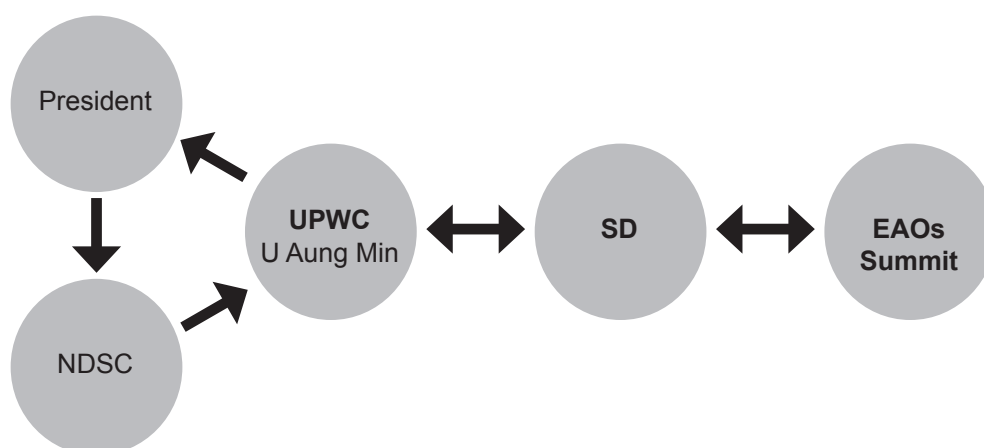
**Signatories:** Who was to sign was a major challenge in the negotiations because the two sides had different requirements on this matter. The EAOs wanted the President, the Lower and Upper House Speakers, the C-in-C and his deputy to sign. But the Government responded that no one of lower rank than UPWC members could do so. Moreover, EAOs also wanted senior UN officials, representatives of major powers, such as the US, EU, China, Japan and a neighboring country like Thailand to sign as witnesses to the Agreement. Eventually, it was agreed to discuss this issue at a later date.

Despite the NCCT and UPWC agreeing to draft the political framework within 60 days and to start political dialogue within 90 days, they could not resolve differences as to who would participate in the political dialogue. The EAO leaders proposed only three groups (EAOs, Government, and Political parties) to participate in the dialogue but the UPWC proposed eight (EAOs, Government, political parties, Upper and Lower Houses, academics, businessmen and CBOs/CSOs).<sup>66</sup> They deferred negotiations on this issue until later.

**Figure 14:** Demanded political dialogou groups



**Figure 15:** NCA Decision-making Process



66 NCA final draft: Chapter 5, section 22 (a) Base of all-inclusive participation at all levels in political dialogue, representatives from government, hluttaws, and army, EAOs representatives, ethnic representatives, and other distinguished persons will participate. (b) Representatives from CBOs/CSOs, business associations, academics, and other distinguished persons will participate in discussions on specialized issues. (c) Number of participants will be negotiated at drafting political framework discussion section.

**A Milestone:** The NCCT and UPWC agreed a seven-step road-map to achieve peace in the country at talks on 22-27 and 30-31 March 2015. Five representatives each from the NCCT and UPWC signed the NCA final draft on 31 March. This was the culminating achievement of nearly one and half years of negotiation. Nai Hongsa, Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win, Maj. Gen. Gun Maw, Col. Khun Okker, and Dr. Lian H Sakhong represented the NCCT and U Aung Min, U Thein Zaw, Lt. Gen. Myint Soe, Lt. Gen. Thet Naing Win and U Khet Htein Nan represented the UPWC in approving the final draft of the NCA. This is a draft agreement which requires ratification by the highest authorities from both ethnic armed organizations and the Union Peace Central Committee (UPCC). It is a step forward in the negotiation process which advances the prospect of peace in the country. President Thein Sein, who was present on the 31 March to witness the signing of the final draft by representatives of the NCCT and UPWC, said “Now we can open a new chapter for achieving peace in the country. It’s the light to end the civil war.”

U Aung Naing Oo, who is director of the Political Dialogue Department at the MPC, is also optimistic about developments resulting from the signing of the NCA. According to him, the NCCT and UPWC will form several joint committees including a Joint Implementation Coordination Meeting (JICM) to oversee the implementation of the NCA while the Joint Monitoring Committee will monitor clashes between EAOs and Myanmar armed forces.<sup>67</sup> On the political side, there will be the Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee (UPDJC) and Union Peace Dialogue (UPD), which will take care of implementing the political dialogue and negotiations between EAOs and Government.

The Ethnic Nationalities Affairs Center (ENAC), a think-tank close to the UNFC, felt there were five main reasons why it was unlikely the NCA would be signed on the schedule of Union Day, 12 February 2015.<sup>68</sup>

1. Negotiations over the NCA (draft) had not moved forward since September 2014. The September meeting led to increased dissention between the parties due to the Myanmar Army representatives rejecting previously agreed points.
2. There are important points not yet agreed in the NCA draft and achieving this will take time. For instance, there is still no agreement on the military code of conduct, the monitoring mechanisms, and the road-map for political dialogue.
3. The negotiation process does not encourage rapid decision making, and there was a limited amount of time prior to February 12. The NCCT and UPWC are the negotiating organizations for the two sides, but they are not the final decision-makers.
4. The intensified Myanmar Army offensives in Kachin and northern Shan States have damaged trust, and it has not been possible to start discussions on how to prevent future clashes.
5. The Government insists on restricting access to international observers and witnesses. To improve trust in the process, the NCCT has proposed that regional and western countries serve as witnesses to the NCA.

67 MYANMAR TIMES, Beyond the nationwide ceasefire, Aung Naing Oo, 23 April 2015, web.

68 ENAC, WHY THE NATIONWIDE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT WILL NOT BE SIGNED ON UNION DAY, Briefing No. 4, February 2015

## Nationwide Ceasefire Timeline

**Table 16:** Timeline for the NCA draft

No	Official Meeting	Date	Detail
1	1st official meeting	9-10/3/2014	Single Text document: NCCT and UPWC agreed to combine different proposals of NCCT (11 chapters) and UPWC (14 chapters). They agreed preamble and 7 chapters for a single text document. They decided to form a joint working group with 9 representatives from each side.
2	2nd official meeting	5-8/4/2014	First NCA draft: NCCT and UPWC discussed 104 points and agreed 49 points. They agreed the first NCA draft. Representatives from ABSDF, NDAA, NSCN-K, RCSS and UWSA attended the meeting as observers.
3	3rd official meeting	21-23/5/2014	Second NCA draft: NCCT and UPWC discussed remaining 55 points. They agreed 24 points. They agreed the second NCA draft.
4	4th official meeting	15-17/8/2014	Third NCA draft: NCCT and UPWC discussed remaining 31 points. They agreed 26 points. They agreed the third NCA draft.
5	5th official meeting	22-26/9/2014	Fourth NCA draft: NCCT and UPWC discussed remaining points. They didn't get any agreement. Representatives from army rejected previously agreed points. Tension mounted, resulting in deadlock. Both sides wished to revise the draft.
6	6th official meeting	22-23/12/2014	Representatives from the NCCT and UPWC held a preparatory meeting and discussed the remaining unsolved points.
7	7th official meeting	17-22/3/2015 30-31/3/2015	Final NCA draft: NCCT and UPWC discussed the remaining points. They discussed the challenging issues in the political dialogue. There were two separate convocations to the 7th official meeting. They convened first on 17-22 March and then on 30-31. The NCCT and UPWC agreed the final draft of NCA, which was then signed by five representatives from each of the two sides, in the presence of President Thein Sein. In the final draft of the NCA, there are 7 chapters, 33 sections and 86 sub-sections.

**Table 17:** Challenges in ceasefire talks

1	Time limit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Time limit is a challenge in negotiations. General elections will come soon and the Government has to prepare for them. This leaves little time to finalize negotiations with EAOs and sign the NCA.</li> </ul>
2	Different ideas and views held by different groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Despite EAOs sharing common ground on such matters as a genuine federal union, equal political rights and self-determination they have different ideas about how to achieve these things.</li> <li>• For instance, some EAOs want to sign the NCA and move forward to political dialogue while others seek guarantees, prior to signing, on federal issues, joint monitoring committees, and a military code of conduct.</li> </ul>
3	Different view in parliament, government and army	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There are also differences of opinion between the Union Parliament, the Government and the Army regarding the peace process. The Union Parliament and Government take into consideration the political situation, how to participate in the process, and how to move things forward.</li> <li>• However, the military representatives focus on security and stability. The Army's 6-point Principles for the peace process is a hindrance to the negotiations.</li> </ul>
4	Armed clashes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Armed clashes intensify misgivings. The laborious process of building trust can be undermined by military offensives. Whenever fighting breaks out it impacts upon the ceasefire talks. Each side holds the other responsible for the conflict. For example :-</li> <li>• Myanmar army attacked SSPP forces near Taphasoung bridge in Kehsi township.</li> <li>• KIA soldiers detained the Transport Minister of Kachin State in Hpa-kant township.</li> <li>• Myanmar army shelled the KIA Cadet Training School in Laiza with 105 mm howitzers.</li> </ul>
5	No focal point (spokes person) in both sides	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neither the Government nor the EAOs have a permanent spokesperson for the peace process and negotiations. Different leaders offer divergent statements to the media.</li> <li>• For instance: a representative from the UPWC or MPC will express optimism about the ceasefire negotiations, while a representative from the NCCT will be pessimistic.</li> </ul>

6	Too much political agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Government considers there are too many political items in the draft NCA, believing that if federal issues are discussed at this stage, there will be no ceasefire agreement any time soon. Political dialogue between central government and several ethnic armed organizations will take time. The UPWC considers that a military code of conduct and a ceasefire code of conduct must be discussed after signing the NCA.</li> <li>• Before signing the NCA, EAOs want guarantees as to what will be on the political agenda for discussion. EAOs have experience of signing ceasefire agreements with previous regimes which led to no subsequent discussion or review of their political grievances. That is why they are now insistent upon an undertaking to discuss them. They see political problems must be solved by political means.</li> </ul>
7	Lack of Joint working group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Currently, there is no joint working group to monitor the whole peace process, although some groups have a bilateral joint working group such as the JCRC which involves the KIO and Kachin State Border Affairs. The NCCT and UPWC have not been mandated to form a joint ceasefire monitoring group. Without such a group, when clashes occur, the problem lands on the ceasefire negotiators' table, where it causes disruption.</li> </ul>
8	Independent third party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is no independent third party to mediate and facilitate the negotiations between the NCCT and UPWC by smoothing out any problems.</li> </ul>
9	No clear power and resources sharing mechanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is no clear power and resource sharing program in the post ceasefire period.</li> <li>• EAOs want a clear mechanism and program for power sharing, post-NCA, that takes into account their requirement for self-determination. They also want managerial responsibility for natural resources located in ethnic areas. They want the power to make decisions.</li> <li>• Government said that the EAOs can raise these issues during the political dialogue, after the ceasefire. The Government's ceasefire negotiation team is not authorized to discuss power-sharing issues.</li> </ul>
10	Federal issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EAOs: The ethnic armed organizations desire a genuine federal union to reflect the multi-ethnic population of Myanmar. Only through a federal union can their political and ethnic rights be safeguarded. A necessary safeguard of effective power-sharing within a federal framework is a federal-based army.</li> <li>• Government: The Government accepts, in principle, the establishment of a federal union. However, it rejects the need for a federal army on the grounds that the existing army is comprised of soldiers of different ethnicity.</li> </ul>
11	Military code of conduct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The NCCT and UPWC were unable to discuss a military code of conduct which both government and ethnic forces would have to implement. This will involve long discussions because there is no clear demarcation line between government and ethnic forces, and military deployment overlaps in some areas.</li> </ul>

## Internal Conflicts within both Government and EAOs

A power struggle: There was a power struggle over the leadership of the UNFC. On 26 August 2014 the UNFC held its first conference since its formation in February 2011,<sup>69</sup> attended by 113 representatives from the twelve member organizations and observers from five non-member armed organizations.<sup>70</sup> At the conference, chairman of KNU submitted a proposal calling for a review of the policies and structure of the UNFC. The UNFC chairman and representatives of other member groups rejected the KNU's proposal. A faction of the KNU led by chairman criticized the UNFC structure for limiting the freedom of its members, describing it as a top-down system and urging the formation of "a parallel cooperation structure." Chairman of KNU also warned the UNFC to "be aware of activities that may slow or delay the peace process" and criticized its inconsistent policy in electing office-holders. On 31 August the KNU sent a letter suspending its membership of the UNFC.

The KNU was dissatisfied with the UNFC leadership, dominated by the KIO and NMSP. Analysts said that KNU leaders have painful memories of when the KIA and NMSP signed bilateral ceasefire agreements with the Government in the mid-1990s, leaving the KNU to fight alone against large-scale military offensives. The KNU faced similar accusations when it signed a bilateral ceasefire agreement in 2012, one year after the breakdown of the ceasefire between the KIA and the Government. Gen. Mutu Say Poe said "the decision to suspend our participation in the UNFC resulted strictly from our disagreements over sovereignty of decision-making authority."<sup>71</sup> The power struggle and disagreement among the UNFC members affected the peace process. Even though the KNU has suspended its membership of the UNFC it continues to play a key role in the NCCT.

There appears to be internal disagreement within the KNU over its suspension of UNFC membership, since the day after the Chairman sent the letter of suspension the KNU's Vice-Chairperson, Naw Zipporah Sein, sent another letter to the UNFC saying the KNU would convene a meeting to review the matter. Naw Zipporah Sein and her followers wanted the KNU to remain a member of the UNFC. Analysts say the KNU has two factions, one led by Gen. Mutu Say Poe and the other by Naw Zipporah Sein. Although Gen. Mutu Say Poe and his camp have built good relations with the Government, Naw Zipporah Sein and Lt. Gen. Baw Kyaw Heh have doubts about the sincerity of the peace process. Lt. Gen. Baw Kyaw Heh rejects the Government's mega projects purporting to be local development under the terms of implementation of the peace process.<sup>72</sup>

Kawthoolei Armed Forces (KAF): the forces of KNLA/KNU, KNDO, DKBA, and KNU/KNLA Peace Council formed the Kawthoolei Armed Forces (KAF) on 13 October 2014.<sup>73</sup> They will work together and stand for Saw Ba Oo Gyi's principles. However, the following day the main KNU organization released a statement that this combination of armed forces did not have official backing but was merely the responsibility of the person signing the agreement. This clearly demonstrates differences of opinion among KNU office-holders. However the matter was eventually smoothed over and did not affect the peace process.

The ABSDF split into two groups in September 2014.<sup>74</sup> The main ABSDF signed State and Union level ceasefire agreements with the Government. The breakaway faction led by Comrade Khin Kyaw formed the "ABSDF Union National Resistance Army" (UNRA) on 6 September. The reasons for establishing UNRA is, according to the UNRA statement released that day, a

69 RFA Burmese section, UNFC held the first conference in Chiang Mai, 26 Aug 2014, web.

70 UNFC has 12 members, namely, KIO, KNU, KNPP, NMSP, CNF, SSPP, PNLO, PSLF, LDU, ANC, WNO, MNDAA

71 The Irrawaddy, Why Did the KNU Withdraw From the UNFC? Saw Yan Naing, 3 Sept 2014, web.

72 Fox news, Dam projects on mighty Salween River threaten to re-ignite Myanmar's civil war, 11 Dec 2014, web.

73 KAF issued a statement on 13 Oct 2014. MPM received the statement. There are 9 points in the statement.

74 Burma Net News, Democratic Voice of Burma: Hardliner announces ABSDF split, 8 Sept 2014, web.

lack of democracy and transparency and too much centralized power in the ABSDF. Comrade Myo Win, Vice-Chairman of the main ABSDF, rejected this accusation. This split had no direct impact upon the peace process between the main ABSDF and the Government.

Thura Shwe Mann sent a letter to President Thein Sein to explain the development of the peace process. U Aung Min, a chief negotiator, MP, and Vice-Chairman of the UPWC, explained the development of the peace process to Parliament on 17 July. MPs claimed that they would like to participate in the peace process.<sup>75</sup> Many MPs wish to see the situation on the ground. Some are members of the UPWC but their roles and participation have been limited. According to the road-map, political dialogue will follow the signing of the NCA by the Government and ethnic armed organizations. MPs inquired about the disbursement of funds on the peace process, criticizing a lack of transparency in spending. U Aung Min replied that everything in the process is transparent. However, the Tatmadaw showed its support of the President and the implementation of the peace process. Some analysts say there are power struggles between Government, Hluttaws and Army. For instance, Thura Shwe Mann wished to hold “six top-leader talks” but President Thein Sein did not accede to his request. Another example is that the Hluttaws cut the military budget for the coming year. And Army-nominated MPs did not accept constitutional amendments proposed by civilian MPs, notably articles 436 and 59 (f).

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<sup>75</sup> Irrawaddy, MPs claim to participate in the peace process, Htet Naing Zaw, 24 Feb 2014, web.



### III. Ongoing Efforts for Long-term Peace

Agreement on the final draft of the NCA is an essential first step towards political dialogue between the Government and the ethnic armed organizations which can solve their long unsolved political differences and thus end the civil war, bringing lasting the peace to the country.

## Peace dialogue support

### Liaison offices

**Table 18:** Liaison Offices, 2014

Group	Liaison office location	Opening date
ABSDF	1. Myawaddy	Opened
	2. Loikaw	Opened
	3. Muse	Opened
	4. Myeik	Planned
ALP	1. Kyauk Taw	03/09/2012
	2. Paletwa*	Unknown
CNF	1. Teddim	25/09/2012
	2. Thantlang	Opened
	3. Matupi	23/06/2012
	4. Falam (Business liaison office)	09/06/2014
	5. Mindat (Business liaison office)	09/06/2014
	6. Rkhkhawdar (Business liaison office)	Opened
	7. Paletwa (Business liaison office)	Opened
DKBA-5	1. Myawaddy	Opened
	2. Hpa-an	Opened
	Kyar-In-Seik-Gyi, Kyaikdon, Phayar Thonesu, Myain Gyingu	Unknown
KIA	1. Myitkyina (Technical Advisory Office)	23/07/2013
KNPP	1. Loikaw	25/07/2012
	2. Shadaw	01/08/2012
	3. Hpa-saung	27/07/2012
KNU	1. Hpa-an	29/09/2012
	2. Phayar Thonesu	15/05/2012
	3. Dawei	12/04/2012
	4. Myawaddy	18/08/2012
	5. Kyaukkyi	09/04/2012
	6. Thaton	05/03/2013
	7. Mawlamyine (business liaison office)	22/11/2013
	8. Yangon (business liaison offices)	Opened
	9. Hpa-an (business liaison office)	Opened
KPC	Hpa-an, Myawaddy, Phayar Thonesu, Kawkareik, Mawtaung and Kawthoung	Reopened
NDA	Yangon, Taunggyi, Kentung, Tachilek, and Mandalay	Reopened

NMSP**	1. Mawlamyine	26/02/2012
	2. Mudon	26/02/2012
	3. Thanbyuzayat	26/02/2012
	4. Ye	26/02/2012
	5. Yaybyu	26/02/2012
	6. Phayar Thonesu	26/02/2012
	7. Kyaik Mayaw	26/02/2012
	8. Zin Kyeik (Paung township)	26/02/2012
	9. Myeik	26/02/2012
	10. Myawaddy	Unknown
NCCN-K	1. Khamti	Opened
PNLO	1. Taunggyi	22/01/2013
	2. Maukmai	Unknown
	3. Hsihseng	Unknown
	4. Thaton	Unknown
RCSS	1. Taunggyi	22/02/2012
	2. Kengtung	22/02/2012
	3. Tachilek	29/02/2012
	4. Mong Hsat	29/02/2012
	5. Kholam	21/03/2012
	6. Muse	Unknown
	7. Mong Pan	06/03/2015
SSPP	1. Lashio	Opened
	2. Taunggyi	Opened
	3. Kholam	Opened
	4. Muse	Unknown
UWSA	Yangon, Mandalay, Taunggyi, Kengtung, Tangyang	Reopened

\* Unable to open due to opposition from CNF and Chin locals

\*\* All NMSP liaison offices, first opened in 1995 after a ceasefire with the SLORC, were closed in April 2010 after the group refused to transform into a BGF, but reopened after a new ceasefire agreement on 25 Feb 2012.

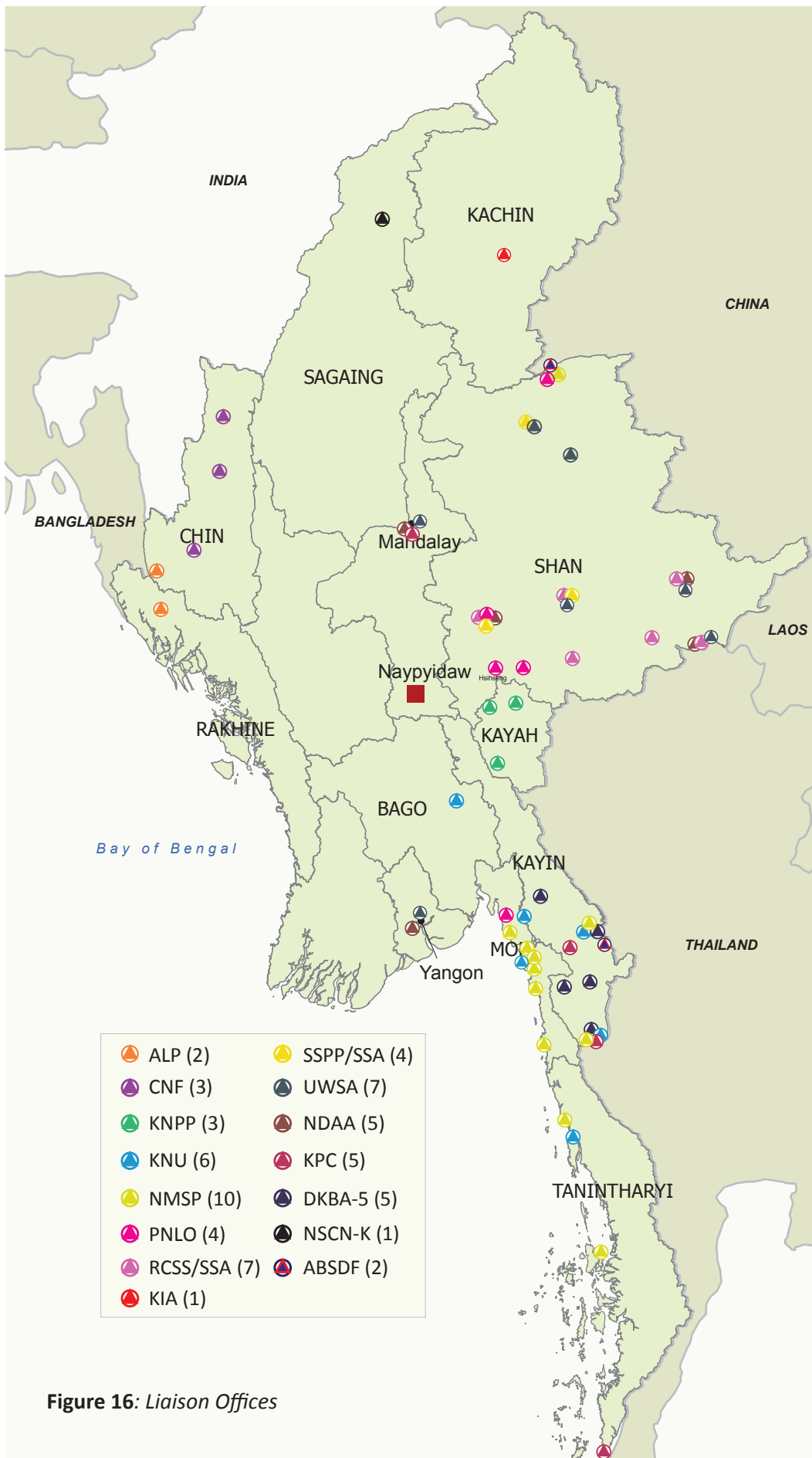


Figure 16: Liaison Offices

**UNFC:** The UNFC is a coalition of twelve major ethnic groups that has taken the lead in demanding ethnic political rights and is the largest ethnic nationalities front.<sup>76</sup> The UNFC held its first conference on 25-28 August 2014. They discussed whether or not to sign the NCA. The FUA, the armed wing of the UNFC, held its first meeting on 28-29 November after negotiations between the NCCT and the UPWC became deadlocked after Myanmar army bombarded with artillery the KIA's cadet academy. Commanders-in-chief and their deputies of the UNFC member organizations attended the meeting. They reviewed the development of the peace process, the NCA draft and the attacks by government forces on the SSPP in the Tapha Soung area and on the KIA in the Laiza area. Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing's response was to criticize the UNFC and refuse to recognize the FUA.

**Cooperation between EAOs:** The TNLA, AA, and MNDAA have coordinated their military operations since the MNDAA, on 9 February 2015, reentered the Kokang's Laukkai area to fight the Myanmar armed forces there. These three armed groups are members of the FUA. They have demanded government forces halt their offensives and engage in ceasefire talks but the Government does not recognize them as dialogue partners. The UNFC and NCCT have also demanded that Myanmar army ceases offensive operations in ethnic areas. When Myanmar army attacked the SSPP camp near Tahpa Soung bridge in Kehsi township in early October 2014, the RCSS demanded the Government call off the offensive and instead help the IDPs produced by such conflicts. The NCCT also suggested that the Government offensive could increase distrust and be an obstacle to further talks. The UWSA and NDAA issued a joint statement on 5 October condemning the attack on the SSPP camp in Kehsi township and demanding problems be solved by peaceful means.

NCCT members and non-members expressed support for the KIA when its cadet academy was shelled. The UWSA, NDAA and SSPP also issued a joint statement on 23 November condemning the attack.

**Signing the commitment to peace:** President Thein Sein and leaders of the KNU, RCSS, DKBA and KPC signed a "deed of commitment for peace and national reconciliation" on 12 February 2015. Although this "deed of commitment" is neither a binding nor a substantive agreement, it expresses a determination to achieve peace. It was a catalyst for the signing by the Government and NCCT, on 31 March 2015, of the final NCA draft.

**Karen Armed Groups Solidarity Committee (KAGSC):** it was formed in May 2013. Its aims are to foster cooperation among Karen armed groups and to resolve disagreements between them by peaceful means. They have cooperated in de-mining, anti-drug activities, and bringing stability to the region. They do not hold meetings on a regular basis. They met at Shwe Kokko in Myawaddy township on 7 July 2014 to discuss anti-drug issues, and have held emergency meetings to resolve differences between them, such as the successful resolution of a dispute between the DKBA and the Karen BGF.

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<sup>76</sup> MNDAA became a new member of the UNFC in 2013.

Chairperson	Gen. Saw Johnny	KNU
Vice-Chairperson	Maj. Gen. Saw Yin Nu	KPC
Secretary	Col. Paw Doh	KNU
Joint Secretary	Brig. Gen. Saw Kyaw Thet	DKBA
Members	Saw Kyaw Moo Hae	KNU
	Saw Yawshu	KPC
	Saw Moo Shay and Saw Than Aung	DKBA
	Saw Chit Thu, Dr. Saw Htay Myint, Saw Kyar Inn	BGF
	Saw Seeven, Saw Nay Win, Saw Eh Mwee	BGF (KPF)
	Saw Myint Than and Saw Kyaw Myint	BGF (Phayar Gone Peace)

**Liaison Officer Training:** Euro Burma Office (EBO), an INGO, organized training workshops for ethnic liaison officers. The aim of the training was to inculcate in liaison officers an understanding of how to deal with government officers. This kind of training workshop is very useful for liaison officers. Liaison officers play an essential role in communication between the Government and their parent organizations. If the methods of dispute resolution are well understood, misunderstandings leading to major violence may be avoided. Liaison officer training was held in Yangon (2013), Taunggyi (26-28 Feb 2014), Hpa-an (27 Feb - 1 Mar 2015), and Loikaw (28-30 May 2015).

## EAOs Cooperation with Ethnic Parties: Political Framework

NCCT leaders met Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at her home in Yangon on 18 August 2014. They exchanged opinions regarding the nationwide ceasefire agreement and constitutional amendments as well as the political framework and political dialogue after the signing of the NCA. The meeting helped to clarify the situation they face. According to the road-map of the NCA, EAOs and Government will draft a political framework at the second stage and political dialogue will take place at the third stage. Representatives of political parties and CBOs/CSOs will be able to participate in some parts of the political dialogue. The UNFC leaders met leaders of the UNA and of the '88 Generation Students' in Maesot, Thailand on 3-4 July 2014. They exchanged views concerning the NCA, federal issues, the political framework and political dialogue. This kind of meeting was a beneficial result of the ceasefire agreement between EAOs and the Government. Even though the Government has not rescinded article 17/1 of the Unlawful Associations Act,<sup>77</sup> ethnic leaders were able to meet and exchange ideas.

The UNFC also met representatives from political parties, 88 Generation Students, and CBOs/CSOs in Chiang Mai on 29-30 August. This had the potential to foster mutual understanding by way of sharing opinions. This kind of opportunity did not exist prior to the establishment of ceasefires.

Political parties began discussing the political framework in August. A group calling itself "56 Political Parties" held many meetings and drafted a political framework in preparation for participating in political dialogue.

A tripartite meeting of leaders from the NCCT, UPWC and 34 political parties including the NLD, was held at the MPC in Yangon on 18 August. They discussed the peace process and future plans including the political framework and political dialogue. It was an initial step

<sup>77</sup> The Unlawful Associations Act 1908: article 17 (1) Whoever is a member of an unlawful association, or takes part in meetings of any such association, or contributes or receives or solicits any contribution for the purpose of any such association or in any way assists the operations of any such association, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term [which shall not be less than two years and more than three years and shall also be liable to a fine]

towards political dialogue. The NCCT leaders also held a meeting with representatives of 34 CBOs/CSOs in Yangon where they exchanged opinions on the role of CBOs/CSOs in the peace process.

Currently, EAOs have no plan to participate in the forthcoming elections. Their priority is to hold talks with the Government to narrow down differences and seek political solutions, by which they intend to terminate more than six decades of civil war and bring lasting peace to the country.

**Rakhine conference:** Kyaukphyu Rakhine National Conference held in Kyaukphyu in Rakhine State from 27 April to 1 May 2014<sup>78</sup> brought together representatives of Arakan armed groups, political parties, government officials, Arakan CSOs/CBOs and observers. The 5-day conference discussed the peace process, ethnic rights, development, natural resource sharing, security and stability in the region.

**Shan unity:** The Committee for Shan State Unity (CSSU)<sup>79</sup> held a “Shan leaders” consultation meeting in Bangkok, Thailand on 2-4 Oct 2014. The aim was to seek “a common understanding” among different political groups. They discussed Shan State affairs and the peace process, and agreed to cooperate for the future of Shan State and for bringing peace to the State. U Aung Min (UPWC) and Gen. Mutu Say Poe (KNU) attended as observers. The CSSU held another meeting in Chiang Mai, Thailand on 25-27 February 2015 to discuss Shan State affairs, the peace process and other important issues. They now have a better understanding of each other. Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk also attended the SNDP conference held in Taunggyi on 17-18 February 2015<sup>80</sup>, where he gave the opening speech.

**Karen National Dialogue Workshop:** The KNU organized a Karen National Dialogue Workshop in Hpa-an on 16-17 January 2015. Representatives from Karen political parties, Karen armed groups, Karen CBOs and observers attended.<sup>81</sup> They discussed the nature of political dialogue, lessons to be learned from similar negotiations in other countries, and prepared for political dialogue after the NCA.

**KUPC:** leaders from Karen armed groups, Karen political parties, Karen CBOs and Karen religious leaders formed the KUPC on 30 March 2013. The KUPC held its third meeting in Patheingyi on 2-3 May 2014 and the fourth on 27-28 February 2015<sup>82</sup>. They discussed Karen affairs and the peace process and how to participate in the process. KNU representatives are used to cooperating with Karen politicians, religious leaders, and CBOs which facilitated sharing opinions on various topics related to Karen affairs, such as IDPs, development projects in Karen State, and the peace process.

**Youth and Peace Forum:** Myanmar Peace Center organized “Peace and Youth Fora” in Yangon, Taung-oo, Taunggyi, Mawlamyine, Monywa, and Patheingyi. Young leaders from youth organizations attended. Officials from the MPC explained the nature of the peace process, lessons learned, benefits of ceasefire agreements, and development after the NCA.

**Peace and National Reconciliation Workshop:** The KNU, RCSS and MPC organized a “Peace & National Reconciliation Workshop” in Yangon on 9 May 2015<sup>83</sup>. Representatives from

78 Irrawaddy, Arakan National Conference Gets Underway in Kyaukphyu, Nyein Nyein, 28 April 2014, web.

79 CSSU composes with 8 groups such as Shan State Joint Action Committee (SSJAC - a coalition of Shan Nationalities League for Democracy, Shan State Progress Party, and Shan State Militia Force), Shan Nationalities Democratic Party, Restoration Council of Shan State, Shan CBOs, Tai Youth Organization, Shan Lawyers Network, New Generation Shan State, Tai National Association Thailand.

80 S.H.A.N, CSSU: A bridge for peace, 9 Mar 2015, web.

81 KIC, KNU held a workshop to prepare for national interests, Nan Chaung Paw, 18 Jan 2015, web.

82 KIC, KUPC meeting finished in Patheingyi, Nan Chaung Paw and Saw Tun Lin, 5 May 2014, web.

83 S.H.A.N, Political parties, armed movements begin fusion of framework drafts, 25 May 2015, web.

ethnic armed groups, ethnic affairs ministers, government officials, political parties, CBOs and observers attended the workshop. They exchanged opinions on the political framework, the NCA, peace, and national reconciliation, etc.

## **Commitment to Resolving Conflict through Peace Talks**

**JCRC:** The KIO and Kachin State Government formed the “Joint Conflict Resolution Committee (JCRC)” on 28 May 2014 after the KIO and UPWC agreed on 13 May 2014 to set up a joint monitoring group. This comprises five KIO representatives led by Col. Zau Tawng and five from Government led by Col. Than Aung, who is Kachin State Border Affairs Minister.<sup>84</sup> The aims of the JCRC are to open channels of communication, to hold meetings, and to resolve conflicts through discussion. Regular JCRC meetings have been held, reducing armed conflict in the State. Though not the end of such conflicts, the number has been dramatically reduced.

**KNPP and Kayah State Government:** The KNPP and the Kayah State Government formed a “joint ceasefire monitoring team” after the KNPP signed a Union-level ceasefire agreement in 2012. According to a KNPP officer, the joint monitoring team needs to be changed. When KNPP troops made an organizing trip to Loikaw township the Kayah State Government blocked it. Tension mounted between KNPP and government forces in Loikaw township. Finally, KNPP and government officials met in Loikaw and resolved the problem.

**SSPP:** SSPP and government forces fought each other near the Tahpa Soung bridge in Kehsi township in early October. Officials from SSPP met the North-Eastern Military Commander in Lashio on 18 October<sup>85</sup>, and were eventually able to find a solution to the problems.

**Chin:** A Chin Ceasefire Monitoring Team (CCMT) was formed and opened its office in Thanlang on 14 June<sup>86</sup>. The CCMT has 45 members (9 representatives each for five townships in Chin state). The CCMT is composed of local elders, students, youths, women, and religious leaders. They are to monitor the peace process between the Government and the CNF. Further CCMT teams have been formed in Matupi, Tidim and Hakha townships.

## **Relationship Building and Goodwill Gestures**

**KNU:** KNU leaders met President Thein Sein five times and Commander-in-Chief Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing six times since the KNU signed a ceasefire agreement in 2012<sup>87</sup>. Among EAOs, the KNU was notable in building trust and good relations with Myanmar army since signing the ceasefire agreement. U Aung Min, who is also vice-chairman of the UPWC, attended the Karen New Year celebrations in Myawaddy. KNU leaders attended the Independence Day and Union Day celebrations as well as a dinner party, where they spoke with the President and high-ranking officials. They also met the Speaker of the House of Parliament, Thura Shwe Mann. And signed “the deed of commitment to peace and national reconciliation” on Union Day, 12 February 2015.

**DKBA and KPC:** DKBA leaders met government officials after fighting broke out in Karen state. They solved the problems through dialogue. DKBA and KPC leaders signed “the deed of commitment for peace and national reconciliation” on 12 February 2015.

**RCSS:** RCSS leaders met both President Thein Sein and the Commander-in-Chief, Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing, three times since signing the ceasefire agreement in 2011. RCSS leaders

84 BBC Burmese Section, Joint Kachin Conflict Resolution Team formed, 28 May 2014, web.

85 Mizzima, SSPP and UPWC discussed peace and military affairs, Phanida, 19 Oct 2014, web.

86 Khonumthung, Chin Ceasefire Monitoring Team office opens for Thanlang township, 20 Jun 2014, web.

87 RFA Burmese section, Commander-in-Chief and KNU leaders will meet again, 28 Nov 2014, web.

also met the Hluttaw Speaker, Thura Shwe Mann. RCSS leaders attended the Independence Day and Union Day ceremonies, and signed “the deed of commitment to peace and national reconciliation” on Union Day, 12 Feb 2015.

**Passports for Leaders:** Government authorities issued ID cards and passports to ethnic leaders. Therefore, they can now travel freely inside the country and abroad. The Government’s Immigration & Population Ministry has begun the “Moe Pwint” project to issue ID cards to local civilians who have been living in EAO-controlled areas. Immigration officers also issued ID cards to IDPs so they can resettle in their former places of residence. These positive developments are the result of ceasefires.

**Resettlement: Shan State:** RCSS has begun the construction of homes for Shan IDPs in Monghta sub-township of Mong Ton township in eastern Shan State. The RCSS and UPWC agreed in Kengtung that the RCSS could build 200 homes in Monghta.<sup>88</sup> According to the Union-level ceasefire agreement of 19 May 2012 between the RCSS and the UPWC, the former is permitted to build an industrial zone in Monghta. But this has not yet been started.

**Karen state:** KNU brigade 7 built 100 houses for Karen IDPs in Maw Phoekay and Mae Tharee village, within the area under its control.<sup>89</sup> They were completed in July 2014. The Myanmar Government funded the construction project to the tune of 500 million kyat. Fifty houses were built in each of the two villages. The houses can accommodate about 400 people.

The KNU began another project to build “a model village” in Lay Kay Kaw village tract in Kawkareik Township.<sup>90</sup> This is intended for IDPs living in camps along the Thai-Myanmar border who are closely associated with KNU members.

The KNU built a hospital in Kawkareik township. The DKBA and Karen locals also helped with construction. The hospital will offer free medication to local people.<sup>91</sup>

**Kachin state:** 192 refugees from Sein Lon Kabar, Sein Lon Kagyi and Pan Mu villages in Moemauk township of Kachin State returned home on 11 October 2014. Their return was a result of the JCRC meeting between the KIO and the Government on 3 October 2014. Both the Union Government and Kachin State Government donated money and material assistance.<sup>92</sup>

Kachin State Government built houses in Ngwe San Pyaw village in a government-controlled area of Myitkyina township. About 100 families resettled in Ngwe San Pyaw village in May 2014. According to Daw Bauk Ja, who is a Kachin woman MP in Parliament, the State Government intended to help 33 IDP families return to their homes.<sup>93</sup>

**Kayah state:** The KNPP and Kayah State Government cooperated to build 50 houses in Shadaw township of Kayah State.<sup>94</sup> They agreed in ceasefire talks to build houses for war-affected IDPs. U Plu Reh, who is KNPP liaison officer for Loikaw, said “this housing project is intended for conflict-affected IDPs. If this project goes smoothly and is a success, another housing project will follow.”

**Demining:** Karen armed groups will cooperate to remove landmines in Karen State. In April 2014, the British-based “No Landmines” group trained the KNDO in the KNU-controlled

88 S.H.A.N, SSA building homes across the border, 18 Mar 2014, web.

89 7 Day Daily, 100 houses built in KNU brigade 7 area for IDPs, Ei Phyu Mon, 1 Aug 2014, web.

90 Irrawaddy, KNU, Govt to build ‘Model Village’ for IDPs, Saw Yan Naing, 29 Jan 2015, web.

91 KIC, KNU built a public hospital in Kawkareik, Nan Chaung Paw, 26 June 2014, web.

92 Eleven news, IDPs who have stayed in Loi Je go back home, Tun Lin Aung (Myitkyina), 11 Oct 2014, web.

93 Eleven news, State government helps 33 IDP families to go back homes, 9 Aug 2014.

94 RFA Burmese section, KNPP and Kayah state government build houses for IDPs, 13 Jun 2014, web.



Doooplaya district, and set up a Karen People's De-mining Team after training. They kicked off activities by removing landmines in the proximity of KNDO headquarters.<sup>95</sup> Likewise, landmine clearance was commenced in Kayah and Mon States. "Humanitarian Mine Actions" began a non-technical survey in the MNSP-controlled Dawei area.

**Geneva Call ratification:** both ethnic armed groups and Myanmar armed forces have been criticized for using child soldiers. However, while some ethnic armed groups said that they will forbid the recruitment of child soldiers under 18, the PNLO was the first ethnic armed group to sign the international "Geneva Call" agreement. The **Pa-Oh National Liberation Organization (PNLO) and its armed wing, the PNLA, signed Geneva Call's "Deed of commitment" protecting children in armed conflicts, on 17 November 2014.**<sup>96</sup> By signing the Deed of Commitment to protect children in armed conflict, the PNLO has pledged not to recruit children under 18 or use them in hostilities.

CNF/CNA also signed Geneva Call's Deed of commitment protecting children in armed conflict and Deed of commitment protecting sexual violence and gender discrimination on 19 Mar 2014.

The Karen National Union/Karen National Liberation Army (KNU/KNLA) from Burma/Myanmar signed Geneva Call's Deed of Commitment protecting children in armed conflict and Deed of Commitment prohibiting sexual violence and gender discrimination on 21 July 2013.

The Pa-Oh National Liberation Army (PNLA) signed Geneva Call's Deed of Commitment protecting children in armed conflict on 17 November 2014.

**Child soldiers released:** The international community used to criticize Myanmar army for using child soldiers. Myanmar army has begun to release child soldiers from service since President Thein Sein came to power in 2011. Ethnic armed organizations have drafted a policy of 'no child soldiers'. Many have criticized both Myanmar army and EAOs for the use of child soldiers, but both sides reject the accusation.

Myanmar Army has implemented a policy of "no child soldiers". Child soldier recruitment is officially banned. Myanmar government agreed an 18-month plan with the United Nations Country Task Force on Monitoring and Reporting grave violations against children (UNCTFMR) on 27 June 2012 to end the recruitment and use of children as soldiers. The plan was extended for six more months on 28 December 2013 and again on 28 June 2014. Action was taken against 48 officers and 271 other ranks for recruitment of children.<sup>97</sup> According to Child Soldiers International, low-ranking officers in Myanmar army still use "an unofficial system of incentives" to reward recruiters at the battalion level.<sup>98</sup>

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95 VOA Burmese section, A British expert will help removing landmines in Karen state, 10 Jun 2015, web.

96 Geneva Call, India - Burma/Myanmar: two armed movements take on humanitarian commitments, 25 Nov 2014, web.

97 The Global New Light of Myanmar, Ceremony held to reunite 80 former child soldiers with parents, 24 Nov 2014, Page 2

98 Child Soldiers International, Under the radar: Ongoing recruitment and use of children by the Myanmar army, January 2015, report, Page 8.

**Table 19:** Myanmar army released child soldiers in 2014<sup>99</sup>

No	Release date	Times	Number Released
1	03 Sept 2012	1st	42
2	15 Feb 2013	2nd	24
3	07 July 2013	3rd	42
4	08 Aug 2013	4th	68
5	18 Jan 2014	5th	96
6	01 Aug 2014	6th	91
7	25 Sept 2014	7th	109
8	24 Nov 2014	8th	80
9	23 Jan 2015	9th	42

According to the UNICEF, there are 7 NSAGs listed by the UN Secretary-General as being “persistent perpetrators” in the recruitment and use of children in Myanmar.<sup>100</sup> They are the:

1. Democratic Karen Benevolent Army (DKBA)
2. Kachin Independence Army (KIA)
3. Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA)
4. Karen National Liberation Army Peace Council (KPC)
5. Karenni Army (KA)
6. Restoration Council of Shan State (RCSS)
7. United Wa State Army (UWSA)

## NSAG businesses:

Granting business concessions to EAOs plays an important part in the peace process in allowing them to financially sustain their organizations legally and contribute to the economic growth of their respective areas. The issue however remains a highly controversial topic as experience from the 1990s has shown that this has often led to corruption of NSAG leaders, and many see it as a government ploy to bribe them away from their original political fight for equal ethnic rights. The precedence of business over politics in the 1990s ceasefires is often blamed for the breakdown of ceasefires after the 2010 elections, and especially the resumption of conflicts in Kachin State and the Kokang region. EAOs are now very careful not merely to seek business concessions from a ceasefire but to push for their political goals.

**Table 20:** NSAG companies and business concessions after ceasefire agreements

NSAG	Registered Company	Details
CNF	Khonumhtung (2012)	Construction, logging, communications, trading, tourism Concession to build a 15-mile road from Thantlang Granted permission to cut 1000 tons of teak and 1000 tons of other hardwoods
DKBA	Unregistered	Rubber plantation, sandalwood plantation, mining, trading, transportation and teak logging

<sup>99</sup> Myawady, Army released child soldiers from armed forces and transferred them to their parents, Moe Oo, 26 Sept 2014, web.

<sup>100</sup> UNICEF, Over 400 children released by Myanmar Armed Forces in just one year, 23 Jan 2015, web.

Kayin BGFs	Unregistered (running business as a BGF)	agribusiness, mining, trading, manufacturing, tourism (According to BGF leader Col. Saw Chit Thu, more than 50 percent of net benefits have been used in local development, health-care and education for members' families).
KIO	Buga (1994)	Distribution of electricity to Myitkyina, Mining (jade), trading, agribusiness <i>(all activities except electricity distribution have stopped after the ceasefire broke down in 2011)</i>
KNPP	1. Kayah Htarnay Co. (2012) 2. Tamaw Hta (2012)	Kayah Htarnay Co. Lead exploration in Kayah state, Tamaw Hta will run as an import and export company focusing on timber (teak wood).
KNU	1. MOE KO SAN Travel & Tours Co. Ltd, Trading Company Ltd. (run by Brigade 7) 2. Saung Seesar Co.Ltd (run by Brigade 6 - Mawlamyine) 3. Doh Meik Swe transportation Co. 4. Unregistered businesses	Logging, mining, agribusiness, tourism, transportation
KPC	Unregistered	Rubber plantation, transportation and border trade Demanded exploration and trade licenses for timber and mineral extraction and tourism
NDAA	Shwe Lin Star Tourism (1989)	Mining, agribusiness, logging, trading, tourism, hotel, casino Granted 1000 tons of timber (out of 10,000 tons it had requested). It is also permitted to construct hydropower plants and operate mineral mines.
NMSP	1. Ramanya International (1995) 2. Hansawati Company (1995) 3. Ramanya United (2012)	Construction, agribusiness, transportation and trading
PNLO	Pending registration	Permitted to conduct logging, mining and minerals trading, cement, construction, as well as run hotels and warehouses
RCSS	Shan Taungdan Cherry (2012)	Permitted mining, road construction, logging, agriculture, power distribution, tourism, trading, transportation and agribusiness Proposed to establish industrial zone in Mong Hta in southern Shan state.
SSPP	Unregistered	Mining, logging, and sawmill

UWSA	Thawda Win (registered in 2012) previously Hong Pang Group (1988) 1. Tet Kham Co. Ltd 2. Myanmar Dagaung Co. Ltd 3. Mong Mau Co. Ltd 4. Thanlwin Taungtan Gem Co. 5. Wa Yoma Gem Co. 6. Pangkham–Panghsan Trading Co. 7. Wa Travelling Co. 8. Shan Shweli Gem Co.	Multiple businesses: construction, agribusiness, gems and minerals, logging, petroleum, electronics, telecommunications, factories, bank, distilleries, department stores, airline, hotels and brewery
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## Development projects in Ethnic area

Parliament approved the “Development Fund Bill” on 4 March 2014. According to the bill, the Government will provide 100 million kyat (around US\$ 100,000) for each township. There are 330 townships in Myanmar. Many believe the Government is seeking to improve its image and gain public support before its 5-year term is up. It is said that some township authorities did not use the the money allocated them but instead returned it to the Government. Some critics claimed it is a waste of resources because local office-holders will pocket some of the money. This is the first time such a development fund has existed in Myanmar.

The Government has implemented joint projects with foreign governments and INGOs. The Border Affairs Ministry is the main government body responsible for implementing rural development. Although EAOs remain cautious about infrastructure projects such as road construction in their areas, roads can be of benefit to local people.

**Table 21:** Ministry of Border Affairs Cooperating with International Organization<sup>101</sup>

No	Country/Org	Implementation Area	Project	Period	Planning budget
1	India	Chin State and Nagaland	Infra-structure, education, healthcare	2013 – 2018	US\$ 25,000,000
2	World Food Program (WFP)	Kachin, Chin, Rakhine, Shan, Mon, Karen States and Magwe, Yangon, Taninthari Divisions	Rice and food ration distribution	2013 – 2015	US\$ 167,687,584
3	World Vision	Karen state and Kokang region	Local development	2011 – 2014	US\$ 3,180,000
4	TPA	Shan State	Local development	2012 – 2015	US\$ 1,949,310
5	SWISSAID	Kachin and Shan States	Local development	2013 – 2015	US\$ 3,030,400

<sup>101</sup> Visit the Border Affairs Ministry’s web site on 30 April 2015. [www.mba.gov.mm](http://www.mba.gov.mm)

6	AMDA	Shan State and Kokang region	Local development	2012 – 2014	US\$ 1,561,126
7	UNHCR	Kayah, Karen, Chin, Mon and Shan States, Taninthari and Bago Divisions	Local development	2013 – 2015	US\$ 9,050,000
8	SDC	Mon and Karen States	Local development	2013 – 2016	US\$ 7,500,000
9	WHH	Northern Shan State	Local development	2013 – 2016	US\$ 3,048,000

**Table 22:** Ministry of Border Affairs Plan to work with International Organizations

No	Country/Org	Implementation Area	Project	Period	Planning Budget
1	Nippon Foundation	Shan State	100 school buildings	2013 - 2015	US\$ 5,000,000
2	Bridge Asia Japan (Nippon Foundation)	Rakhine State	100 school buildings	2013 - 2018	US\$ 6,000,000
3	Malteser	Shan and Karen States	Local development	2013 - 2016	US\$ 4,230,000
4	JICA	Northern Shan state	Local developments	2013 - 2018	US\$ 6,410,000
5	JICA	Karen and Mon States	- Drafting local development projects - Resettlement program for IDPs and returning refugees	2013 - 2017	US\$ 6,000,000
6	Groupe de Recherches et d'Echanges Technologiques (GRET)	Chin State	Local development	2013 - 2016	US\$ 3,474,830

## Drug eradication

Myanmar remains the largest producer of synthetic drugs in South-east Asia and, after Afghanistan, the world's second largest producer of opium, the raw material for heroin, according to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). Despite efforts by the Government and ethnic armed organizations, with the support of foreign bodies, UNODC's report shows that drug production in Myanmar is still at a high level. Analysts believe that the drug issue is strongly related to the political problems facing Myanmar, as drug money is needed to fund wars, and it is political issues that are the root cause of the armed conflicts in the country.

### Government efforts:

The Myanmar authorities reported having destroyed 15,188 hectares of poppy plantation in the 2014 growing season, accounting for 19% of the total of 57,880 hectares cultivated throughout the country. On 18 August, the Government and the UNODC signed a landmark integrated country program for 2014-2017, in which they agreed to collaborate to strengthen the rule of law and address significant crime and drug issues.<sup>102</sup>

According to UNODC Regional Representative Jeremy Douglas, "criminal activity in Myanmar is undermining development efforts, increasing human insecurity and threatening the peace process."<sup>103</sup> The UNODC will cooperate with the Government to improve law enforcement and criminal justice capabilities, increase the availability of quality health services for drug users, and offer sustainable economic alternatives for opium farmers and their families, to contribute to the economic and social development of the country.

The country program will comprise five sub-programs: transnational organized crime; anti-corruption; criminal justice; drugs and health; and alternative development for opium poppy farmers.

Myanmar authorities destroyed more than US\$130 million worth of narcotics seized in police raids to mark the 27th anniversary of the International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking on 26 June 2014.<sup>104</sup> Anti-narcotics police, army and police kicked off the campaign of against illicit drugs in eastern Shan State in July. The combined forces arrested drug traffickers and seized 445 blocks of heroin, 2,516 methamphetamine tablets, 0.505 Kg of methamphetamine crystals (Ice), 60 Kg of caffeine, 41,164.03 liters of ethyl, 7 weapons, 520 rounds of ammunition, 26 magazines, 3 grenades, and 3 radio transceivers, of an estimated total value of 2,987 million Kyat (equivalent to US\$ 2.99 million). (New Light of Myanmar, 7 Aug 2014, page 5)

Government forces and police: Myanmar army, and police kicked off an anti-narcotics campaign in Puta-O and Ta Nine townships between 15 and 20 January 2014. They destroyed a total of 33 acres of poppy plantation including 3.3 acres in the Supain area of Puta-O township, 2.3 acres in Makaw village tract in Ta Nine township. (Myawaddy, 26 Jan 2014)

The police arrested 2 Lahu drug traffickers near the border town of Tachilek on 28 July 2014, seizing 141.4 Kg of heroin blocks of estimated market value US\$ 2 million, and assault rifles and ammunition. (RFA Burmese, 29 July 2014)

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<sup>102</sup> UNODC, Myanmar and UNODC sign landmark agreement to strengthen the rule of law and counter crime and drug threats, 18 Aug 2014, web.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> MYANMAR TIMES, Police destroy drugs worth \$ 130 m - but production rising, Wa Lone, 30 Jun 2014, web.

Government and UNODC: The Myanmar government, in cooperation with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), will extend an opium substitute cultivation project in Shan State, the country's Deputy Minister for Home Affairs said on 18 January. At a meeting in Nay Pyi Taw with the Central Committee for Drug Abuse Control, donor countries and UNODC, Deputy Home Affairs Minister Brig Gen Kyaw Kyaw Tun said the project would start in Mongnai, Mongpan, Pinlaung, Pekhon, Langkho and Mongton townships of Shan State as part of efforts for ensuring food security for opium growers whose crops had been destroyed.<sup>105</sup>

**International assistance:** Over the last two decades, Myanmar has received a large amount of foreign assistance for drug eradication and crop substitution. Aid is channeled through the UNODC office or unilaterally. A significant drug eradication project that is part of the tripartite agreement between the Restoration Council of Shan State (RCSS), the UNODC and Myanmar government signed in Tachilek on 27-28 Oct 2012 is a new multi-million dollar peace initiative in eastern Shan State scheduled to run from 2014 to 2017. It is based on alternative development projects for opium farmers and aims to improve the State's infrastructure, health, education and crop substitution. It involves the Government and Tatmadaw, the RCSS and the UNODC; will allow survey staff into Shan State; and aims to develop trust between all sides.

The RCSS reported on 23 December 2013 that its anti-narcotics division had met several times with the UNODC officials to kick-start the needs assessment, but received contradictory messages from the UNODC and the Government that the other had to give authorization in order to begin. Moreover, it claimed that the Government's Central Committee for Drug Abuse Control had excluded them from several anti-drug activities. The RCSS concluded that "the government [commitment] is on paper only and [it] has no intention of cooperating on drug eradication." The experience severely affected trust building in the peace process.

#### **EAOs efforts:**

**RCSS:** On the International Day Against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, 26 June 2014, the Restoration Council of Shan State released a statement to the effect that it had repeatedly approached the Government with a view to cooperation in the implementation of the agreement but nothing had been achieved to date. Drugs have been adversely affecting the economy, education, health, the peace process and development. The RCSS encouraged the Government to adhere to the agreement and to implement it. And it believes the political issues should also be settled as soon as possible.

**DKBA:** On 2 Feb 2014, for the first time, the DKBA captured two drug dealers in Myawaddy with 3 billion kyats worth of drug tablets and handed them over to the Myawaddy District Administration Office. Government and DKBA have an agreement to cooperate in the fight against drug abuse. The DKBA say they will act against drugs whenever they have information to go on. (7 Days Daily, 10 Feb 2014)

**Committee of Karen Armed Groups Unity:** An alliance of Karen armed groups has got together to start a crackdown on the trafficking and use of illicit drugs in Karen State. The Unity Committee of Karen Armed Groups formed the alliance now known as the Anti-Narcotics Joint Committee, on 15 July 2014. The committee will cooperate with government authorities, will educate people on the effects of drugs, and take action against drug traffickers and users.

The committee is composed of 17 members from 6 different Karen armed groups. Before the

<sup>105</sup> Xinhua, Myanmar to extend substitute opium cultivation in Shan State, 18 Feb 2014, web.

Anti-Narcotic Joint Committee was formed, the illicit drug eradication program was initiated in May 2014 by members of The Unity Committee for Karen Armed Groups where they organized and conducted events in Kawkareik, Hlaingbwe, and Papun townships of Karen State to raise awareness of drug problems. (Karen Information Center, 18 July 2014)

**KIO/KIA:** The KIO designated 25 April as Kachin Anti-drug Day. The KIO's anti-drug committee campaigned in Myitkyina and Laiza and in IDP camps as a part of the anti-drug day activities. About 2,000 civilians participated in the events. (Irrawaddy news, 28 April 2014)

**NMSP:** on 20 May 2014, the NMSP Central Committee decided to fight against drug abuse and to set up rehabilitation camps for drug addicts. The Central Committee also decided to cooperate in anti-drug activities with government bodies, political parties, NGOs and CBOs/CSOs. The NMSP detained about 200 drug traffickers and users in its control area. (Mizzima, 20 May 2014)

The New Mon State Party (NMSP) arrested more than 30 young drug users from Mon State's Thanbyuzayat and Mudon Townships in the first week of March alone. "Now, we have arrested more than 30 drug users. Most of them are between 17 and 35 years old," said Nai Htun Ohn of the NMSP's Mudon Township liaison office, in Moulmein District. (Independence Mon News Agency, 10 Mar 2015)

**TNLA:** According to Tar Parn La, spokesperson of the TNLA, their anti-drug policy is "we will cooperate with local people to eradicate the drugs in our area. It's because drug is one of the major enemies of all Palaung people." PSLF/TNLA believes that successive military regimes have permitted the growing and production of illicit drugs in ethnic areas. Some authorities have directly or indirectly become involved in drug trafficking and "taxation". The PSLF/TNLA is fighting against poppy growing, opium production and drug trafficking in its control area. In 2013 they drafted an anti-drug policy and drew up a 5-year plan to eradicate drug abuse in the Ta'ang area. Their campaign is aimed mainly against (1) poppy growing and producing (2) drug trafficking and trading (3) consumption of drugs. (MPM interviewed Tar Parn La, 9 Feb 2014) According to its spokesperson, the TNLA has often clashed with both government forces and government-backed PMFs in northern Shan State since it initiated the anti-drug campaign which includes the destruction of poppy plantations. Some plantations are owned by PMF leaders. The TNLA has often clashed with Pansay PMFs in Nam Kham township and other PMFs in Kutkai, Kyaukme and Namhsan townships.

Tar Parn La said "Opium is another challenge in the area. Most of the men are addicted to it, and eradicating the drug is one of the main stated goals of the TNLA, which has a target to rid the area of poppies by 2017." (Irrawaddy News, 24 July 2014)

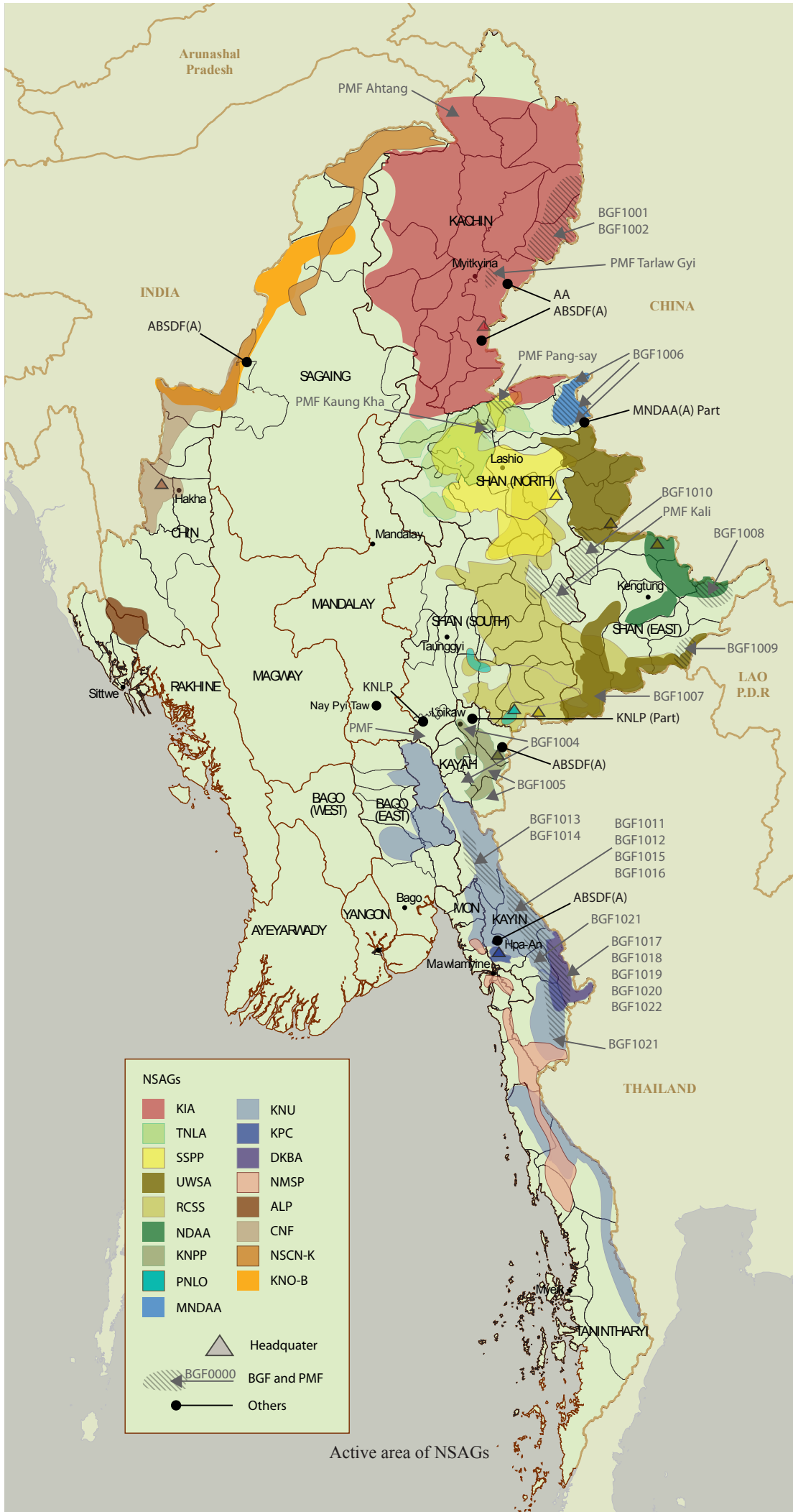
## **BGF/PMF**

Under the SPDC regime, ethnic armed groups were expected to reintegrate the legal fold by transforming into a Border Guard Force (BGF) or People's Militia Force (PMF) controlled by Myanmar army. BGFs and PMFs have assisted the Myanmar army in different ways including collecting information about the military activities of ceasefire and non-ceasefire armed groups and cooperating in military operations.<sup>106</sup> Over the last year, NSAGs continued to clash with BGFs and PMFs. For instance, there were firefights between KNU brigade 5 and Karen BGF in Karen State, Pansay PMF and TNLA in Nam Kham township of northern Shan State, TNLA and PMF in Kutkai township in northern Shan State, and DKBA and Karne BGF in Karen State.

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<sup>106</sup> For a full explanation of the BGF/PMF scheme, please see Deciphering Myanmar's Peace Process: 2013 p49-55.





Active area of NSAGs

#	State	Township	NSAG 1	NSAG 2	NSAG 3	BGF/ PMF	Others
1	Bago	30 Kyaukkyi	KNU (A) Part				
2	Bago	31 Kyauktaga	KNU (A) Part				
3	Bago	37 Taungoo	KNU (A) Part				
4	Tanintharyi	272 Dawei	KNU (A) BA	NMSP (A) Part			
5	Tanintharyi	278 Tanintharyi	KNU (A) BA				
6	Tanintharyi	280 Yebyu	KNU (A) BA	NMSP (A) BA			
7	Tanintharyi	279 Thayetchaung	NMSP (A) Part				
8	Sagaing	201 Nanyun	NSCN-K (A) BA				
9	Sagaing	183 Hkamti	NSCN-K (A) Part		KNO-B (Part)		
10	Sagaing	196 Mawlaik	NSCN-K (A) Part	CNF (A) Part			
11	Sagaing	209 Tamu	CNF (A) Part	NSCN-K (A) Part	KNO-B (Part)		ABSDF (A)
12	Sagaing	186 Kale	CNF (A) Part				
13	Sagaing	195 Lay Shi	KNO-B (A) Part				
14	Sagaing	184 Homalin	KNO-B (A) Part				
15	Chin	63 Tonzang	CNF (A) Part		KNO-B (Part)		
16	Chin	62 Tedim	CNF (A) Part				
17	Chin	57 Htantlang	CNF (A) Part - HQ				
18	Chin	56 Hakha	CNF (A) BA				
19	Chin	55 Falam	CNF (A) Part				
20	Chin	61 Paletwa	ALP (A) Part				
21	Rakhine	166 Kyauktaw	ALP (A) Part				
22	Mon	161 Ye	NMSP (A) Eastern Half - HQ				
23	Mon	159 Tanbyuzayat	NMSP (A) Part				
24	Mon	154 Kyaikmaraw	NMSP (A) Part				
25	Mon	153 Chuangzon	NMSP (A) Part				
26	Mon	160 Thaton	NMSP (A) Part	KNU (A) Part			
27	Mon	152 Bilin	KNU (A) Part				
28	Kayin	95 Thandaung	KNU (A) Part				
29	Kayin	91 Hpapun	KNU (A) Part [Brigade 5] (C)			BGF 1013, 1014	
30	Kayin	89 Hlaingbwe	KNU (A) Part (C)			BGF 1011, 1012, 1015, 1016	
31	Kayin	90 Hpa-an	KNU (A) Part [Brigade 7]	KPC (A) Part - HQ			ABSDF (A) cooperates with KNU
32	Kayin	92 Kawkareik	KNU (A) Part	DKBA (A) Part		BGF 1021	
33	Kayin	94 Myawaddy	KNU (A) Part (C) Worlaykhee	DKBA (A) Part		BGF 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1022	
34	Kayin	93 Kyar-inn-seikgyi	KNU (A) Part	DKBA (A) Part	NMSP (A) Part	BGF 1023	
35	Kayah	88 Shadaw	KNPP (A) Part - HQ Nyarmu				ABSDF (A) cooperates with KNPP
36	Kayah	85 Hpruso	KNPP (A) Part				
37	Kayah	83 Demoso	KNPP (A) Part				
38	Kayah	87 Maese	KNPP (A) Part			BGF 1005	
39	Kayah	86 Loikow	KNPP (A) Part			BGF 1004	KNLP (Part)
40	Kayah	84 Hpasawng	KNPP (A) Part			BGF 1004	
41	Kayah	82 Bawlakhe	KNPP (A) Part			BGF 1005	
42	Kachin	64 Bhamo	KIA (A) Part				
43	Kachin	65 Chipwi	KIA (A) Part			BGF 1001, 1002	
44	Kachin	66 Hpakant	KIA (A) Part				
45	Kachin	67 Injyangyang	KIA (A) Part				
46	Kachin	69 Machanbaw	KIA (A) Part				
47	Kachin	70 Mansi	KIA (A) Part				
48	Kachin	71 Mogaung	KIA (A) Part				
49	Kachin	72 Mohnyin	KIA (A) Part				
50	Kachin	73 Momauk	KIA (A) Part (C) Maijyang [Brigade 3]				AA and ABSDF (A) cooperate with KIA
51	Kachin	74 Myitkyina	KIA (A) Part				

#	State	Township	NSAG 1	NSAG 2	NSAG 3	BGF/PMF	Others
52	Kachin	76 Putao	KIA (A) Part			PMF Ahtang	
53	Kachin	77 Shwegu	KIA (A) Part				
54	Kachin	78 Sumprabum	KIA (A) Part				
55	Kachin	79 Tanai	KIA (A) Part				
56	Kachin	80 Tsawlaw	KIA (A) Part			BGF 1001, 1002	
57	Kachin	81 Waimaw	KIA (A) Part (C) Laiza-HQ + BA				AA and ABSDF (A) cooperate with KIA
58	Shan	216 Kengtung	NDAA (A) Part				
59	Shan	217 Matman	UWSA (C) Part			BGF 1010	
60	Shan	219 Monghsat	RCSS (A) Part	UWSA (A) Part			
61	Shan	221 Mongla	NDAA (C) Whole				
62	Shan	223 Mongton	RCSS (A) Part	UWSA (C) Part (A) Part		BGF 1007	
63	Shan	224 Mongyang	NDAA (C) Whole				
64	Shan	225 Mongyawng	NDAA (A) Part			BGF 1008	
65	Shan	226 Tachileik	UWSA (A) Part	RCSS (A) Part		BGF 1009	
66	Shan	222 Mongping	UWSA (A) Part				
67	Shan	220 Mongkhet	NDAA (A) Part				
68	Shan	227 Hopang	UWSA (C) Whole				
69	Shan	228 Hsenwi	UWSA (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part	TNLA (A) Part		
70	Shan	229 Hsipaw	SSPP (A) Part				
71	Shan	230 Konkyan	MNDAA (A) Part			BGF 1006	
72	Shan	231 Kunlong	MNDAA (A) Part			BGF 1006	
73	Shan	232 Kutkai	KIA (A) Part	TNLA (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part		
74	Shan	233 Kyaukme	TNLA (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part			
75	Shan	234 Lashio	SSPP (A) Part				
76	Shan	235 Laukkai	MNDAA (A) Part			BGF 1006	
77	Shan	236 Mabein	TNLA (A) Part	KIA (A) Part			
78	Shan	237 Manton	TNLA (A) Part				
79	Shan	238 Mongmao	UWSA (C) Whole				
80	Shan	239 Mongmit	TNLA (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part			
81	Shan	240 Mongyai	SSPP (A) Part				
82	Shan	241 Muse	TNLA (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part	KIA (A) Part		
83	Shan	242 Namhsam	TNLA (A) Part				
84	Shan	243 Nahpan	UWSA (C) Whole				
85	Shan	244 Namtu	TNLA (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part			
86	Shan	245 Namkham	TNLA (A) Part - HQ	RCSS (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part	PMF Pang-say	
87	Shan	246 Nawngkhio	TNLA (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part			
88	Shan	247 Panghsang	UWSA (C) Whole - HQ				
89	Shan	248 Pangwaing	UWSA (C) Whole				
90	Shan	249 Tangyan	SSPP (C) Part - HQ				
91	Shan	250 Hopong	RCSS (A) Part	PNLO (A) Part			
92	Shan	251 Hsihseng	RCSS (A) Part	PNLO (A) Part			
93	Shan	253 Kunhing	RCSS (A) Part			PMF Kali	
94	Shan	254 Kehsi	RCSS (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part			
95	Shan	255 Laihka	RCSS (A) Part				
96	Shan	256 Langkho	RCSS (A) Part				
97	Shan	257 Lawksawk	RCSS (A) Part				
98	Shan	258 Loilen	RCSS (A) Part				
99	Shan	259 Maukmai	RCSS (A) Part	PNLO (A) Part			
100	Shan	260 Monghsu	RCSS (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part			
101	Shan	261 Mongkaung	RCSS (A) Part	SSPP (A) Part			
102	Shan	262 Mongnai	RCSS (A) Part	UWSA (A) Part			
103	Shan	263 Mongpan	RCSS (A) Part - HQ (Loitaileng)	UWSA (A) Part	PNLO (A) Part - HQ (Homong)		
104	Shan	264 Namsang	RCSS (A) Part				
105	Shan	266 Pekon					KNLP

The scheme has for the most part drawn criticism as BGFs and PMFs have become notorious for their involvement in drug production, trafficking and “taxation”. Analysts believe the Government turns a blind eye to their illegal activities. Myanmar authorities have on occasion raided drug refineries run by PMFs. There have also been some positive cases of BGF/PMF groups that are successfully operating legal businesses and whose members have become elected MPs for their region.

According to Tar Parn La, the following PMF leaders have been directly involved in the drug trade.

1. U Kyaw Myint (a) U Win Maung (Pansay PMF) and U Aik Sam (Myoma PMF, Nam Kham township)
2. U T. Khun Myat (PMF, Kutkai township)
3. U Aung Myint (a) Yang Xi Hua, U Yan Naing (a) U Yan Lin Nein, U Duan Zhao Yon, U Ohn Khaing, U Xao Lou (a) U Xao Tar, U Myint Lwin (a) U Wan Keq Tar, U Sein Win (PMF, Lashio township)
4. U Bo Mon (Tang Yan township)
5. U Khwng Zel (a) U Keng Mai (Muse township)

## **Self-determination**

The struggle for self-determination and ethnic rights is the underlying cause of the decades-long armed conflicts in Myanmar. Solving this political problem can therefore theoretically bring an end to the ethnic struggle. The demands made during the state and union level agreements since 2011 have begun to raise the Government’s awareness of ethnic demands and rights. The Myanmar government has considered making decentralization of power a part of the transition, to help in achieving peace. However, ethnic armed groups want a devolution of power rather than merely decentralization. Ethnic armed organizations insist upon the building of a federal union with guarantees of equal political rights. While there is still a long way to go in guaranteeing, legally and structurally, full self-determination, political concessions and improvements in ethnic rights and equality will be necessary steps towards achieving lasting peace. The most contentious issues in the ceasefire negotiations between the Government and the EAOs have been power-sharing and the building of a federal union.

## **Constitutional reform**

The 2008 constitution has been criticized by both opposition democratic groups, including the NLD, and the ethnic armed organizations. Nai Hongsa, who is leader of the NCCT, said that “EAOs don’t accept the 2008 Constitution. That’s why we would like to amend the Constitution outside the parliament.” While the state and regional government structure takes a federal form, the excessive power reserved for the army and the central government are far from the self-determination that the ethnic NSAGs envisage to ensure equality for their people. Notably, ethnic groups’ ability to decide matters relating to their own affairs and most importantly access to revenues from their own natural resources, previously denied them, are a huge source of grievance which inflames the ethnic struggle.

The Union Parliament approved the formation of a “Constitution Amendment Drafting Implementing Committee” in early 2014. However, the NLD and the 88 Generation Peace and Open Society conducted nationwide rallies since January and launched petitions from 27 May to 19 July 2014 in an effort reveal public support for amending the 2008 Constitution. According to campaign organizers, they collected over 5 million signatures and sent them to the Government and to the Union Parliament. Maj. Kyaw Zwar Win, a Myanmar army officer, was jailed for two years on 5 December after he signed a petition to amend the 2008 Constitution.

Commander-in-Chief Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing said “The Tatmadaw is responsible for safeguarding the Constitution.”<sup>107</sup> Military MPs rejected proposed amendments to articles 436 and 59(f) of the current Constitution after parliamentary debate on 13 November 2014. Military MPs also proposed five points – which included recommendations to discuss with the NDSC matters concerning amnesties and peace talks, and to dissolve Parliament if one-third of MPs resign.<sup>108</sup>

Nai Hongsa said that “if the 2008 constitution is not amended, our peace negotiation talks won’t be improved. Current constitution is a barrier for ethnic solidarity and unity to achieve establishing a genuine federal union, equal political rights and self-determination. Therefore, country can’t build ethnic solidarity.”<sup>109</sup>

On 31 Mar 2015, NCCT leaders and UPWC officials signed the final NCA draft which includes a 7-step road-map as part of the peace process. In the road-map, political dialogue is the third stage, at which the county’s future will be discussed.

On 10 June 2015, 289 MPs from nine political parties, including the USDP and the NLD, submitted a proposal to discuss constitutional amendments in Parliament. Many criticized the absence from the agenda of articles 59(f) and 436(b). However, some felt the presence on the agenda for debate of article 246(a) and appendices 1 and 2, concerning power-sharing between Union and States and Divisions, to be an achievement.

## Demining

According to the Landmine and Cluster Munitions Monitor (LCM), Myanmar has the third highest number of deaths caused by landmines. According to the LCM, landmines are to be found in 50 townships in Myanmar, posing a major problem to resettlement efforts and to cultivation in remote areas.

Landmines are still present in the following areas.

**Kayah State:** all seven townships

**Kayin State:** all seven townships

**Kachin State:** Chipwi, Mansi, Mogaung, Momauk, Moenyin, Hpa-kant, Karmine, Tanine, Myitkyina, Tswlaw and Waingmaw

**Mon State:** Bilin, Kyaikto, Mawlamyine, Thanbyuzayat, Thaton, and Ye

**Bago Division:** Kyaukkyi, Shwekyin, Tantabin, and Taungoo

**Rakhine State:** Maungdaw

**Shan State:** Hopong, Hsihseng, Langkho, Loilen, Mawkmai, Mongpan, Mongton, Monghpyak, Namhsan, Tachilek, Namtu, Nam Kham, Kutkai, Kyaukme, Yaksawk, and Ywangan

Tanintharyi region: Bokyin, Dawei, Tanintharyi, Thayetchaung, and Yebyu

De-mining has therefore been included in several peace agreements and EAOs are working with each other and the Government. The Karen Armed Group Unity Committee has a policy of cooperation in landmine clearance. However, the de-mining campaign faces great difficulty owing to the location of landmines being uncharted.

The KNU’s three-step de-mining program includes: educating locals and putting up warning signs, technical and non-technical surveys, and removing mines. The KNU and the KNPP claim that the Government is disregarding the peace agreement by failing to make the de-mining process clear.

<sup>107</sup> Irrawaddy, Army Chief Defends Constitution, Says Meeting Suu Kyi Problematic, 24 Nov 2015, web.

<sup>108</sup> DVB, Military MPs demand to dissolve parliament, Shwe Aung, 13 Nov 2014, web.

<sup>109</sup> Irrawaddy, UNFC said if constitution is not amended, there is no way for achieving peace, Kyaw Kha, 18 Nov 2014, web.

Norwegian People's Aid is the only humanitarian mine action actor in Myanmar with a MoU to conduct a non-technical survey and clearance (signed on 26 Sept 2012 for the clearance of landmines in Kayah, Kayin and Mon States as well as Tenasserim and Bago Divisions). They have been involved in conducting non-technical surveys in mine-affected areas and were requested by the Government of Myanmar to assist in establishing and building capacity of a national mine action center – Myanmar Mine Action Center (MMAC) in cooperation with the MPC.

Karen armed groups will cooperate to remove landmines in Karen State. The UK-based “No Landmines” group trained the KNDO in Dooplaya district, under KNU control, in April 2014. They set up a Karen People's De-mining Team after training. They began by removing landmines around the KNDO headquarters.<sup>110</sup> Likewise, an anti-landmines campaign kicked off in Kayah and Mon States to raise landmine awareness amongst local people. “Humanitarian Mine Actions” commenced a non-technical survey in the Dawei area under NMSP control.

In Kachin State, UNICEF and local people held Mine Action Day on 4 April 2014. The event was held in Mainar refugee camp in Waingmaw township. Organizers held a landmine awareness campaign.

## **Ethnic languages**

In response to several peace agreements and the hard campaigning of EAOs, the government announced on 25 January 2014 that textbooks in several ethnic languages had been distributed.

No. 1 Basic Education Department has distributed primary school textbooks in Kayin (Sgaw, Pwo and West Pwo languages), Mon and Rakhine. No. 2 Basic Education department distributed in Kachin, Kayah, Chin and Shan States.

The Minister of Education visited schools in Nyaung Lay Pin township, Bago Division for Sgaw Karen language teaching. 26 schools in Nyaun Lay Pin township have started teaching Sgaw Karen language.

A school in Mon state's Thanbyuzayat Town has started teaching Mon language during regular hours by using spare class time. (IMNA, 5 Feb 2014)

The Mon State Parliament has passed a bill to allow the teaching of ethnic languages in government schools for the first time in more than half a century. The state legislature voted on 9 April to allow primary school students to take classes in Mon language and literature. Students can also elect to study ethnic Pa-O or Karen languages. All other classes will be conducted in Burmese language. (Irrawaddy, 10 April 2014)

Thousands of Karen students from as many as 370 schools in Bago Division can now officially learn their mother tongue. Saw Jubilee San Hla, the Minister of Karen Ethnic Affairs in Bago Division told Karen News that the teaching of the ethnic Sgaw Karen language would be taught in all government primary schools in the Bago Division in the 2014-2015 school year. (KIC, 22 May 2015)

The Myanmar Ministry of Education has permitted the teaching of the Shan language in state-run schools in Lashio in north-eastern Shan State, starting from the 2014-15 academic year. It is the first time that the teaching of an ethnic language is permitted in Myanmar's

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<sup>110</sup> VOA Burmese section, A British expert will help removing landmines in Karen state, 10 Jun 2015, web.

state schools. The Shan language teaching will be conducted in schools in 25 villages and it will not affect the state school hours. (Xinhua news, 6 Aug 2014)

UNICEF, Save the Children, and Partners of the Myanmar Quality Basic Education Programme (QBEP) organized a workshop on “Sharing Regional and National experiences of Language Education and Social Cohesion” in Myanmar on 18 September 2014.<sup>111</sup> Over 150 participants including regional guest speakers from Malaysia and Thailand, National and State Parliamentarians, Ministry of Education staff, non-government and ethnic organizations, civil society, UN agencies, development partners and academics attended the workshop. Non-state actors such as the Mon National Education Committee (under the NMSP), the Karen Education Department (under the KNU), the Literature and Culture Committees of Shan and Kachin, and the Shalom (Nyein) Foundation also participated in the workshop. (UNICEF, 18 Sept 2014)

## National day

Previous military regimes ignored ethnic holidays and celebrations. However, these events are now celebrated openly across ethnic states, both in government and EAO-controlled areas. In addition to the state days, which are now recognized public holidays in their respective states, several groups have requested an ethnic national day.

**Table 23:** Ethnic National Day

Kachin	67th anniversary of Kachin State Day held in Myitkyina organized by State Government on 10 Jan 2015. President Thein Sein attended the event.
Kayah	Government permitted KNPP to hold Karenni National New Year Day celebration in Demowso township of Kayah State on 31 Mar 2014. 63rd anniversary of Kayah State Day held in Loikaw organized by state government on 15 Jan 2015. 140th anniversary of Karenni National Day on 21 June 2015 will be held for the first time in Loikaw.
Kayin	Kayin State day held in Hpa-an organized by Kayin State Government on 7 Nov 2014. This was a big celebration in the capital of Kayin State. KNU officials attended. Karen New Year Day held on 21 Dec 2014 and Kayin state officials attended the event.
Chin	Chin State government held Chin National Day celebrations in Hakha with the CNF on 20 Feb 2014. Chin National Day marks the Chin ethnic group’s struggle for self-determination and was recognized as a holiday in Chin State by the central government in Dec 2012.
Mon	68th anniversary of Mon National Day on 4 Feb 2015 (1st Waning Day of Tapoetwe). The celebrations were held throughout Mon State and in the border area. The NMSP also organized the Mon National Day celebrations in Phaya Thonsu (Three Pagodas Pass) and Government officials attended. 41th anniversary of Mon State Day held throughout Mon State on 5 Mar 2015. The events were organized by the Mon State Government.

<sup>111</sup> UNICEF, Language and Education: A Force for Peace, 18 Sept 2014, web.

Rakhine	Rakhine State Day held in Rakhine State on 15 Dec 2014. The event was organized by the state government. Rakhine people wished to celebrate their National Day like other ethnic groups, and this desire was fulfilled when the first Rakhine National Day celebrations took place inside and outside the State on 14 May 2015 (1st Waning Day of Kason). However, the central government has yet to recognize officially Rakhine National Day.
Shan	Shan State National Day was celebrated in Taunggyi, the capital of Shan State and throughout the State, including SSA-controlled areas, on 7 Feb of 2014 and 2015.

## Political consultation

EAOs are still technically illegal organizations in Myanmar, despite having negotiated peace agreements with the Government and despite being permitted to consult with locals in Government-controlled areas on how best to proceed with the peace process.

**KNU:** Karen Unity and Peace Committee (KUPC) and KNU held a public consultative meeting in Patheingyi, the capital of Ayawaddy Division, where KNU leaders explained to Karen people developments in the peace process between the KNU and the Government. (Irrawaddy news, 1 Feb 2014).

**KNU:** Leaders of the KNU attended a forum organized by Karen Community Based Organizations (KCBOs). The forum was held on 17 February 2014 and representatives from 14 Karen CBOs attended. They discussed improving communication between KCBOs, collectively responding to emergencies, representation on issues related to Karen people, and supporting the peace process. Padoh Naw Zipporah Sein said that the KNU will continue to support KCBOs and advise them about its activities. She urged them to work for social affairs, national affairs, and the peace process, and to communicate and cooperate with overseas-based Karen organizations. (Karen Information Center, 17 Feb 2014).

**KNU:** Karen community leaders and the Karen Unity and Peace Committee (KUPC) organized a public gathering in Pyin Oo Lwin in Mandalay Division on 10 April 2014. The first ever Karen public gathering since the Karen revolution started in 1949 was attended by more than 100 people from the neighboring towns and villages of Mandalay, Lashio, Hpakant and Myitkyina. Religious leaders also participated. The Karen National Union General Secretary Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win who attended this gathering explained to the public about the current KNU Peace Process, Nationwide Ceasefire talks and future Political Dialogue. (KIC, 10 April 2014)

**KNU:** On 7 May 2014 Vice chairperson Padoh Naw Zipporah Sein traveled to the Ayawaddy Delta region where at a meeting of the Myanmar Council of Churches she met about 500 Karens. She told them “The peace process needs to be inclusive. I am here to listen to your concerns. The peace we want is for all the people in the country, not for the KNU only.” (KIC, 15 May 2014)

**KNU:** A workshop to foster unity among Karen armed groups was held at the Taungkalay Ayeyikthar monastery in Myawaddy, Karen State, on 4 May 2014. Not only officers but religious leaders such as monks and priests attended. (RFA, 7 May 2014)

**KNU:** Padoh Zipporah Sein met Karen communities in Yangon and in Bago Division during a trip in May 2014 after KNU delegations met the UPWC in Yangon on the 6th of that month. (Irrawaddy, 9 May 2014)



**KNU:** On 12 May 2014, KNU leaders met Karen political parties and civil society representatives in Hpa-an, the capital of Karen State, to explain the peace process. (RFA, 12 May 2014)

**KNPP:** The Karenni Youth Union organized a meeting in Loikaw on 16 May 2014 to review policies and the peace process. The meeting was attended by over 100 delegates from six political parties and other organizations: the Karenni National Progressive Party, Karenni Nationalities People's Liberation Front, Karenni State Peace and Development Party, Kayan New Land Party, Karenni Women's Organization, youth organizations and Karenni CBOs. They discussed how to change the Constitution. Khu Oo Reh, Vice-Chairman of the KNPP, explained the current peace process between the Government and the KNPP. (DVB, 16 May 2014)

**KNU:** A KNU delegation held a public consultation in Hlaingbwe township on 21 May 2014. KNU leaders explained their land and forestry policies. Local Karen raised the issue of land confiscation. (KIC, 21 May 2014)

**KNPP:** The KNPP held a public consultation in Demawso township of Kayah State. Vice-chairman Khu Oo Reh expounded upon the peace process and answered questions from local Karenni people. Representatives from political parties in Kayah state, CBOs, Peace Monitoring Groups, and local elders attended the meeting. (Kantarawaddy Times, 27 Sept 2014)

**KNPP:** The KNPP also held a public consultation in Loikaw township of Kayah State on 30 September 2014. Representatives from political parties, CBOs, elders, women and youth groups participated in the meeting. Vice-chairman Khu Oo Reh explained the peace process between the KNPP and the Government. He also asked for suggestions from the participants. (Kantarawaddy Times, 30 Sept 2014)

**KNU:** The KNU organized a Karen National Dialogue workshop at Zweekabin Hall in Hpa-an town on 16-17 January 2015. Representatives from Karen political parties, Karen CBOs/CSOs, KNU, Karen locals, religious leaders and government officials attended the two-day workshop. They discussed how to participate in political dialogue. (KIC, 18 Jan 2015)

**CSSU:** The CSSU held a meeting in Chiang Mai on 1-2 May 2014. Representatives from the RCSS, SSPP, SNLD, SNDP, and Shan CBOs/CSOs attended the meeting and discussed the NCA and peace process. They also discussed the political framework. (Shan Herald Agency for News, 2 May 2014)

## IV. Role of CBOs/CSOs

Domestic civic groups make direct and indirect contribution to the current Myanmar peace process, from conducting peace campaigns to mediating between government and ethnic armed organizations. Last year, civic groups engaged in many activities such as participating in meetings, publishing reports highlighting the situation on the ground, participating in workshops, etc. They have participated in the current Myanmar peace process through workshops with some political parties to draft a framework for future political dialogue. Civic groups have also pushed both government and EAOs to consider civic-group participation in the peace process. Their views are strongly reflective of the desires of grassroots people. And they have initiated campaigns such as those against the Salween dams and against other mega-projects and their environmental impacts; for the promotion of human rights; on child-soldier issues; against land grabbing and coal-fired power stations; and have conducted ceasefire monitoring, etc.

Below are a number of key CBOs involved directly in the peace process:

The **Peace Creation Group (PCG)** was formed by Kachin businessmen in 2012 to assist ceasefire negotiations between the government and KIO. Good relations with both sides has allowed them to play an important role initially as a broker and now as a facilitator for peace talks. They have been instrumental in communicating between the two sides and managing the logistic arrangements for KIO representatives. In particular, they were involved in forming the KIO's technical advisory team (on 23 July 2013) responsible for undertaking necessary measures for the peace process. U Yup Zau Hkawng used to attend the peace talks between the UPWC and KIO. The PCG also facilitated the Joint Conflict Resolution Committee (JCRC) meeting between the KIA and Kachin State Border Affairs during clashes in Hpakant and Mansi townships.

The **Karen Unity and Peace Committee (KUPC)** aims to assist the KNU in implementing and facilitating peace negotiations, as well as ensuring an active role for civil society groups, media and public participation in the peace process. It was formed on 8 April 2012 by Karen armed groups, politicians and civic groups together with Karen cultural and religious groups. The KUPC and government officials held a meeting in Taungoo on 4 Oct 2014. They discussed clashes in Karen State and the peace process between the KNU and the Government. The KUPC held a meeting in Lay Wah camp where they discussed how to prepare the political framework and political dialogue. They suggested the KNU focus on benefits for the Karen people and how to achieve peace.

The **Chin Ceasefire Monitoring Team (CCMT)** was formed on 14 June 2014. It was composed of 45 representatives from 9 townships in Chin state. Local elders, students, youths, women and religious leaders joined the monitoring team. The CCMT will monitor the peace process between the CNF and the Government.

**Pyidaungsu Institute for peace and dialogue (PI** - <http://pyidaungsuinstitute.org>) was formed in August 2013 but it's officially launched in February 2014. The PI has been providing important and independent spaces, resources and assistance to communities in building the union (Pyidaungsu).

The **International Peace Support Group (IPSG)** is made up of INGOs involved in capacity-building initiatives to help the ethnic NSAGs negotiate a just and equitable peace. It is an informal network of 20 members that holds a coordination meeting once a month. These include the International Crisis Group (ICG), Center for Humanitarian Dialogue, Euro-Burma

Office (EBO), Fairness International, The Border Consortium (TBC), Geneva Call, Transnational Institute (TNI), Nippon Foundation, Open Society Foundation, World Bank, and Shalom.

**Euro Burma Office (EBO)** has been a key figure in brokering peace talks between ethnic armed organizations and the Government. It aims to coordinate ongoing ceasefire negotiations and develop a common peace plan. Their activities are wide ranging from finding funds for EAO's political activities and capacity building to channeling start-up funds for opening liaison offices. EBO has subsidized operational costs for 29 EAO liaison offices across the country and helped in capacity-building workshops for liaison officers. EBO has also provided funding assistance to civic groups to participate in the peace process. EBO assisted the Working Group on Ethnic Coordination (WGEC). The WGEC was responsible for drawing up the "comprehensive union peace and ceasefire agreement (draft)". The UNFC took some points from the WGEC's comprehensive proposal for a Union peace and ceasefire agreement drafted by EAOs, CBOs/CSOs and experts and added new demands to formulate their own proposal for a nationwide ceasefire agreement. A new think-tank, Pyidaungsu Institute for Peace and Dialogue (PI) which it funds, is now another key player involved in drafting, and advising on, the single text document for the NCCT.

**Myanmar Peace Support Initiative (MPSI):** after the Norwegian Government accepted President Thein Sein's request to help with the Myanmar peace process, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NMFA) set up the Myanmar Peace Support Initiative (MPSI) as a mechanism to test the ceasefires and to identify practical ways for the international community to build trust and confidence in the peace process. MPSI kicked off pilot projects in ethnic areas after it got permission from both the Government and ethnic armed groups. The aim of implementing pilot projects is to help war-affected local people, to build trust, and to monitor the ceasefire agreement between the Government and EAOs.

**The Nippon Foundation** has helped in delivering assistance to ethnic people living in war-affected areas. It has also donated funds to ethnic leaders for some traveling and meeting expenses. The Nippon Foundation signed an MoU with ethnic leaders to deliver humanitarian assistance in their areas as a way of promoting peace and benefiting local people.

**Others:** CBOs have been an important voice for the people, to communicate their needs to governments and EAOs through reports, campaigns and trust-building activities. They have also participated in joint task-forces with the Government (e.g the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative Multi-Stakeholder Group) and assisted in drawing up policies related to social, economic and environmental affairs. Some CBOs have also pushed the Government and EAOs to consider important issues such as political, economic and social rights to be discussed in the political dialogue due to take place after the signing of the NCA. There are some local NGOs which are directly or indirectly involved in the peace process. They are: Nyein (Shalom) Foundation, Shan Human Rights Foundation, Burma River Network, Paungku, Equality Myanmar, Kachin Development Network Group, Women's Organizations Network, Women's League of Burma, Land Core Group, Kachin Peace Network and Karen Women's Empowerment Group.

**The National Brotherhood Federation (NBF)** is comprises 56 political parties. They held meetings and workshops to draft a proposed political framework. According to the Peace-Process Road-map agreed by both the UPWC and NCCT, they will draft a political framework within 60 days and hold political dialogue within 90 days of ratification of the NCA. Political parties will be able to participate in the political dialogue stage, according to the Road-Map. Their efforts are helping to advance the peace process. There are alternative proposals for a political framework drafted by the UNA and NLD parties.

## V. The Role of International Actors

International assistance and funding has been instrumental in implementation of the peace process, provision of humanitarian aid, and brokering and mediating negotiations. International interest in Myanmar's reforms has attracted a flurry of high-level foreign visits, including the visit of former and current leaders, who have expressed their support for the peace process. Foreign aid has played a key role in expediting negotiations between the Government and EAOs.

However, foreign aid is also complicated by the politics of conflicting interests of foreign nations and this may explain why they have not always been fully transparent about their activities, finances or assistance plans. Moreover, the aid has also come under criticism for putting development before political settlement which ethnic EAOs feel works in favor of the government and against their interests. In an interview with the Irrawaddy, KNLA's Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Lt.Gen. Baw Kyaw Heh, explained his concern that the Government will exploit development projects and use NGOs as tools to strengthen its presence and extend its control over ethnic communities, citing the case of Tamil rebels and the Sri Lankan government.<sup>112</sup> MPSI's consultant Ashley South warned that foreign donors are content to channel aid through Government-controlled structures without fully understanding the political complexities of the country.<sup>113</sup>

Most foreign aid so far has been towards humanitarian assistance and support for peace dialogue and implementation. Foreign countries have tried to engage with the Myanmar armed forces to encourage them to support reforms and the peace process. Notably, the EU supported the police and in 2014 trained them in such things as crowd control. This was supposed to further the reform process. Another example is the attendance of Myanmar Army officers as observers at the 2014 Cobra Gold maneuvers, organized by the US army. This was an important token of acceptance of the Myanmar armed forces by the other countries involved. High-ranking military officer visits were made between Myanmar and China, Japan, the USA, India, the EU, and other ASEAN countries. Myanmar was the host nation for ASEAN meetings in 2014 and many world leaders including the US President attended these meetings. The US also expressed a desire for further military engagement to help promote political reform, but faced strong resistance from some senators. President Obama warned that Myanmar's reform is incomplete and urged the Myanmar Government to continue the process.

### Foreign observers

Due to ongoing distrust between the EAOs and the Government, the EAO side has insisted on the presence of foreign observers at the ceasefire talks. The EAOs have proposed that representatives from foreign countries must witness the eventual ratification of the NCA. However, there has been no agreement as to who and from which countries the witnesses are to be drawn. The EAOs desire representatives of the UN, the US, the UK, China, Japan, and Thailand to sign as witnesses. The Chinese special envoy, the UN special envoy and a representative of the Nippon Foundation have so far been the only witnesses at the ceasefire negotiations between EAOs and Government in Myitkyina, Kachin State and Law Khee Ler, Karen State.

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<sup>112</sup> Irrawaddy, "Interview: Is Naypyitaw Learning From Sri Lanka to End Civil War?", Saw Yan Naing, 29 Jan 2014, web.

<sup>113</sup> Myanmar Times, "Inside the peace process", Ashley South, 6 Jan 2014, web.

## Neighbouring Countries

**China**, as a close and powerful neighbor, continues to play a pivotal role in Myanmar's peace process. Spillover effects of the ongoing conflict and cross-border crime show how the peace process has a direct impact on its own national security. China's stake in Myanmar is not confined to the large economic interests it has in the country.

Artillery shells and aerial bombs have fallen on Chinese soil since 9 February 2015 during the Government offensive against the MNDAA, killing four Chinese farmers. The Chinese Government urged the Myanmar Government to promote stability in the border area. Chinese forces deployed along the border after the Myanmar airforce mistakenly dropped bombs a second time. Later, the Myanmar Foreign Minister visited China and agreed to compensate the families of the victims. The Chinese army warned Myanmar army to control its forces and not to cross the border. The Chinese People's Liberation Army conducted maneuvers along the border of the Kokang region where fighting was taking place.

On 11 March 2013 China appointed a former Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Wang Yingfan, as its first special envoy on Asian affairs (prioritizing Myanmar). His role was to play a constructive role in the peace process. At the Yunnan Regional Government's initiative, a fruitful meeting between the KIO and the Myanmar Government was held in Ruili, Yunnan Province. This helped in moving things forward between the KIO and the Government. Mr. Sun Guoxiang, the special envoy on Asian Affairs, attended the Law Khee Ler ethnic conference in Karen state. He also met Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing in Naypyitaw. However, China continues to maintain close ties with powerful EAOs on its border, especially the UWSA and NDAA. The Chinese government encouraged MPs and representatives from opposition parties to regard China in a favorable light. Opposition leader and NLD chairperson Daw Aung San Suu Kyi visited China for the first time.

According to analysts, China has been gradually drawn into the Myanmar peace process. There may be various reasons for this, but an important one is likely to be ensuring stability along its border and the protection of Chinese business interests. Hence its desire to foster good relations with all sides. It wishes to continue to exert influence in Myanmar in the face of growing western involvement. The MNDAA announced a unilateral ceasefire on 10 June 2015 after China expressed its desire for stability in the border area.

**Bangladesh** has seen severe spillover of insecurity from Myanmar's ongoing conflict, with growing threats of terrorism, religious tension, refugees, and production and trafficking of drugs. Since Al-Qaeda leader Al-Zawahiri announced the opening of a new branch on the Indian sub-continent focusing on India, Bangladesh and Myanmar, these countries have been concerned by the threat of jihad. Bangladesh border guard forces and Myanmar border police clashed on several occasions last year, but the problems were resolved by negotiation. The boat-people crisis has been a headache for both governments. However, a positive development is that they have agreed to strengthen cross-border trade.

**India** maintained strong military ties with Myanmar. The Indian Defence Minister visited Myanmar and the Myanmar Commander-in-Chief reciprocated the visit. The Myanmar navy participated in exercises in the Indian Ocean under the direction of the Indian navy. The two countries agreed to boost trans-border trade. India has provided aid for the development of ethnic border areas and has tried to cooperate with the Myanmar government in tackling northern insurgents based on the Myanmar side of the border. The Indian army launched "a surgical operation" against Naga rebels on Myanmar soil in June 2015. Even though this incursion was publicly condemned by Myanmar authorities, Indian media surmised that the operation may have been privately approved.

**Thailand** takes a low profile in Myanmar's peace process with its main role as a host country for peace talks where many EAOs and the ethnic alliance UNFC are based. Key issues between the two countries include drug trafficking, cross-border economic partnerships, refugees and migrant workers in Thailand. In September 2014, Thai authorities tightened security and ordered opposition groups including ethnic armed groups from Myanmar to inform the Thai authorities before they held any kind of meeting. Some critics said that Myanmar authorities, especially the MPC, requested this move because they wanted to exhibit their power and control over EAOs and opposition groups. Myanmar's Commander-in-Chief, Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing, visited Thailand on 4 July 2014, and the Thai Prime Minister, Mr. Prayut Chan-O-Cha, visited Myanmar on 9 October 2014. The two countries have good relations these days.

Border trade has increased substantially between the two countries. Construction of an Asian highway, which is part of an east-west economic corridor, is almost finished. Human rights and land rights activists have criticized construction of the Myawaddy-Kawkareik highway because the Myanmar Government confiscated without compensation land owned by Karen farmers. But trans-border trade will be boosted because the new highway will increase the rapidity and decrease the cost of transport. Some analysts opined that the new Asian highway is a fruit of the ceasefire agreement between the KNU and the Government. Another significant achievement is the "Dawei Special Economic Zone and Dawei Deep Sea Port" in Taninthari (Tenasserim) Division. The road links between the Special Economic Zone and Thailand will pass through the KNU's Brigade 4 area. Security along the road will depend on how the KNU and Myanmar Government handle the peace process.

**ASEAN** has been supportive of the peace process through experience sharing, such as Indonesian officials visiting Myanmar to describe their country's transition to democracy. Myanmar hosted the Asean summit in Naypyitaw in November 2014. This was a result of openness and reforms in Myanmar and positive engagement by the other ASEAN countries. ASEAN is due to launch the "ASEAN Economic Community" in 2015, which should result in Myanmar being urged to improve human rights and restore peace. The Forum of Federations and Myanmar Egress organized an "Indonesia – Myanmar Dialogue" workshop at The Habibie Center in Indonesia on 17-18 February 2014. The aim of this workshop was to promote a democratic constitution, free and fair elections and national reconciliation. The President's Office Deputy Minister U Aung Thein, Col. Sai Nguen of the RCSS, Maj.-Gen. Isaac and General Secretary Padoh Kwe Htoo Win of the KNU participated in the workshop.<sup>114</sup>

## Other Countries

Japan has played a prominent role in Myanmar's peace process through the Nippon Foundation and as the main foreign supporter of the EAOs. On 19 February 2013, its Chairman, Yohei Sasakawa, was officially named Japan's special envoy to help achieve national reconciliation in Myanmar. He has assisted ceasefire and peace negotiations between the Myanmar government, ethnic minorities, and the governments of other countries. Japan reaffirmed the important role of ethnic people in Myanmar's future and discussed using the Nippon Foundation to help Myanmar with political dialogue, alleviating poverty and improving the people's living standards.

The Nippon Foundation signed a formal MoU with the UNFC, an ethnic umbrella organization, in 2012 for the distribution of US\$ 3 million worth of humanitarian aid. The application of funds is administered by the Greater Mekong Sub-region Agriculture and Education Development Centre (GMSAED) under Thai-Japan Education Development Foundation (TJEDF) and the Nippon Foundation. On 6 January 2014, Japan announced plans to spend US\$ 96 million in

<sup>114</sup> RFA Burmese Section, Karen leaders said to take lessons from Indonesia, 19 Feb 2014, web.

the next five years to improve living standards and promote peace in Myanmar's war-torn ethnic areas.

Aside from humanitarian work, the Nippon Foundation also works closely with both the MPC and UNFC to host ceasefire talks between the NCCT and UPWC on the NCA, and meetings of the UNFC and ethnic political parties, etc. With the consent of the Government, the Foundation delivered bags of rice, medicine boxes, mosquito nets, and solar panels to local residents living in war-affected zones of the ethnic regions. To foster the peace process, the Japan International Cooperation Agency has helped with technical support and investment in development projects intended to help poverty reduction, rural development, health, and education, etc.

The European Union's Comprehensive Framework setting out its policy and support for the ongoing reforms it has undertaken to provide until 2015, was adopted by its Foreign Affairs Council on 22 July 2013. The EU's main areas of engagement are restoring peace, democracy, development and trade and Myanmar's engagement with the international community. The joint EU-Myanmar Task Force was established after a meeting between 13 and 15 November 2013 in Yangon and Naypyitaw. The Task Force aims to provide comprehensive support for the transition in both political and economic sectors. These include development aid, parliamentary cooperation, support for the peace process, and investment.

The European Commission proposed the following main sectors for development cooperation with Myanmar during 2014–2020: Rural Development, Education, Governance, and Support for Peace Building. Funding levels for this period are likely to be substantially increased, to €90 million annually. The EU and its Member States are preparing joint programming of support for Myanmar for 2014-2020, aligned on the Government's Framework for Economic and Social Reforms (FESR).

Norway has played a leading role in the peace process as the initiator of the PDSG and its secretariat, the MPSI. It maintains close ties with the Government as demonstrated by several high-level visits in 2013, including that of President Thein Sein to Oslo in February, a Norwegian ministers' visit to Myanmar in April, and the Norwegian Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Torgeir Larsen's visit to Myanmar in May of that year. The Norwegian Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Borge Brende, visited Myanmar on 1-2 March 2014. According to him, Norway will continue to offer strong support for Myanmar's peace process as well as long-term development cooperation on sustainable natural resource management and energy.<sup>115</sup> He met President Thein Sein and opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, as well as some ethnic armed organization leaders. He also chaired the Peace Donor Support Group meeting in Naypyitaw. Their Majesties King Harald V and Queen Sonja of Norway visited Myanmar from 1 to 5 December. The main purpose of the visit was to highlight Norway's longstanding support of the on-going reform process and to develop bilateral relations between Norway and Myanmar including development and business cooperation.<sup>116</sup>

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115 The Royal Norwegian Embassy in Yangon, Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Borge Brende, visited Myanmar on 1-2 March, web.

116 The Royal Norwegian Embassy in Yangon, State visit to Myanmar in December, web.

**Table 24:** Donation, Loans and assistance

No	Date	Country	Detail
1	06/01/2014	Japan	Japan government plans to spend US \$96 million in the next five years in order to improve living standards and promote peace in ethnic areas.
2	09/01/2014	Denmark	Denmark officially cancelled 295 million Kroner of Myanmar's debt.
3	11/01/2014	Denmark	Denmark gives 85 million Kroner to help the health care system educate women on contraception and family planning and to support HIV victims and young mothers.
4	12/01/2014	UN	UNOCHA delivered food, shelters, medicines, clothing, etc for Kachin IDPs living in Lweg Je in Moe Mauk township, Kachin State.
5	17/01/2014	UN	UN agencies will allow US\$ 5.5 million to maintain operations in Kachin and Rakhine states, where thousands of families have been affected by fighting and displacement.
6	21/01/2014	UNDP	UNDP will support livelihood and basic needs to 20,000 IDPs in Rakhine state.
7	25/01/2014	ICRC	ICRC budgeted US\$ 24.41 million for 2014 to be used for humanitarian aid.
8	26/01/2014	World Bank	US\$2 billion dollar multi-year program will support the Government's plans to deliver health care and access to electricity.
9	28/01/2014	Japan	Japan donated 384.148 million Yen to deliver water pumps to villagers living in the dry zone.
10	28/01/2014	Japan (JICA)	Japan pledged a 63.2 billion Yen loan (about US\$ 610 million) for four projects: upgrading the Yangon-Mandalay railroad, water supply in Yangon, infrastructural development in Thilawa Port, and development of irrigation facilities in the west of Bago Division.
11	29/01/2014	ADB	The ADB and the Government signed an MoU of US\$ 60 million for the electricity supply network in 4 Divisions.
12	05/02/2104	Japan	Japan built 13 schools at a cost of US\$ 58 million in the Cyclone Nargis hit area of Latputa and Bogalay townships. The project began in 2013.
13	05/02/2104	UK	US\$ 6.6 million for English teaching in universities.
14	14/02/2014	ADB/ Japan	US\$ 22 million for poverty reduction, improvement of HIV/AIDs Care.
15	20/02/2014	China	Chinese Red Cross Society delivered 10,000 humanitarian assistance boxes worth 5 million RMB to Kachin IDPs.
16	20/02/2014	Japan	Japan provided 1,716 million Yen (US\$16.82 million) for two projects: 978 million Yen for medical equipment at general hospitals in Yangon and 738 million Yen for road and bridge construction in Rakhine State.



17	20/02/2014	EU	The EU is funding an 18-month training program for police in Yangon at a cost of some 10 million euros (US\$13.8 million).
18	24/03/2014	Japan	Japan has given 1.6 billion yen to 3 United Nations agencies to support their activities in ethnic areas of Myanmar. They are the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the UN Children's Fund and the World Food Program. The UNHCR received Yen 300 million to assist those affected by conflict and especially IDPs in Kachin and Rakhine states.
19	02/04/2014	UN	UNOPS, the UN Country Team and the Resident Coordinator, provided vehicles, communications and office equipment to enable the day-to-day operation of the Myanmar Peace Center. (UN Peace Building Fund)
20	01/05/2014	UN	UNICEF kicked off a child development project in Rakhine State. UNICEF will spend US\$ 12 million over 2 years.
21	08/05/2014	EU	The EU pledges to help Myanmar by donating US\$ 1.5 billion over the period 2014 – 2020. 35% is for education, 35% for rural development, cultivation, food and nutrition, 15% for the peace process, 14% for administration and rule of law and 1% for other sectors. The 35% of funding for education will be provided under the Millennium Development Goal project.
22	20/05/2014	Germany	Germany signed an MoU with the Myanmar Government to supply 7 million euros to build infrastructure in rural areas.
23	21/05/2014	US	US Foreign Affairs Department offered over US\$ 88 million for 2015 to help Myanmar's democratic transition.
24	21/05/2014	World Bank	The World Bank will start disbursing US\$ 100 million to improve the quality of education for more than 8 million Burmese schoolchildren and will extend financial assistance to some 100,000 underprivileged students. (the Decentralizing Funding to Schools Project)
25	21/05/2014	3MDG	The Three Millennium Development Goals Fund (3MDG) has committed US\$ 91 million to help Burma deal with HIV, tuberculosis (TB) and malaria.
26	22/05/2014	Norway	The Myanmar Peace Support Initiative (MPSI), a Norwegian government-backed project to mobilize international support for Myanmar's peace process, will continue despite criticism and the fact that it was originally set up as a short-term initiative.
27	01/06/2014	World Bank	The World Bank supported a national community development project to help improve rural infrastructure and people's standard of living, to the tune of US\$ 86.3 million.

28	05/06/2014	EU and French	The EU and the French Government provide about US\$ 1.3 million to help establish savings cooperatives in Karen State. It is a three-year project. The EU is providing 82% of the money with the rest coming from France's international development agency.
29	17/06/2014	UN	The UN delivered food, shelters, medicines, clothing, etc to Kachin IDPs living in Lwe Je in Moe Mauk township in Kachin state.
30	16/06/2014	Japan	The Government of Japan, under its Grant Assistance for Grass-roots Human Security Projects (GGP) Scheme, has provided a total of US\$ 680,224 to four humanitarian assistance programs.
31	23/06/2014	Netherlands	The Netherlands provided US\$ 20 million for a pilot project to improve water usage from the Irrawaddy River.
32	26/06/2014	World Vision Myanmar	In cooperation with the Border Affairs & Ethnic Development Department, World Vision spent US\$ 3.18 million over the three years Sept 2011 to Sept 2014. This was a project to support community-based rural development in such areas as child education, water supply, improved hygiene, micro-finance and disaster-risk reduction. (The project area covered 21 villages in Hpa-an, and 14 villages in Hlaing Bwe townships of Karen State and 32 villages in Kongyn township in the Kokang region)
33	04/07/2014	Australia	Australia will contribute more money to support Myanmar's peace process. They are giving US\$ 24.5 million for economic development, US\$ 5 million to modernize financial management systems, US\$ 9 million for the peace process and US\$ 10 million for urgent humanitarian aid, providing food, water and sanitation.
34	04/07/2014	Australia	The Australian government will provide over US\$ 27.8 million in aid for Myanmar's education sector. The aid is to boost services in 43,000 schools and teacher training colleges in Myanmar.
35	13/07/2014	EU	The EU donates 4 million euros to respond to the impact of environmental changes, channeling this through UN agencies and Government ministries.
36	14/07/2014	France	The French Government provides the Myanmar Journalism Institute with US\$ 800,000 over 2 years.
37	12/07/2014	UK	The UK committed £10 million to the census, with £9 million already spent and £1 million to follow for "data analysis, thematic reports and dissemination of information".

38	23/07/2014	Japan	Japan signed an MoU with the National Planning Ministry to provide US\$ 25 million for research development at Yangon Technology University and Mandalay Technology University.
39	18/07/2014	Japan	Japan granted US\$ 222,913 to build a post-primary school in Hpa-an township of Karen State.
40	27/07/2014	Denmark	Denmark began aiding the Myanmar education sector in 2006 and its assistance since then has amounted to US\$10 million.
41	27/07/2014	Denmark	Denmark will provide a grant for Myanmar's five-year development project with emphasis on the education sector. The Danish Government signed an agreement with UNICEF to provide US\$ 3.5 million for the education sector.
42	13/08/2014	Japan	The Nippon Foundation will deliver food to the value of 180 million Kyat to nine townships in Chin State to fight starvation in the area.
43	19/08/2014	Thailand	Thailand offered US\$ 200,000 for humanitarian aid in Rakhine State.
44	15/09/2014	UNDP-Finland	The UN Development Program (UNDP), in partnership with Finland, will support Myanmar's democratic governance. Under an agreement signed between the two parties, Finland will contribute 2 million euros (2.6 million US dollars) towards the work of the UNDP in strengthening democratic governance in Myanmar.
45	02/10/2014	Japan	Japan will give US\$ 584,493 to build five schools in Ayawaddy and Bago Divisions and Shan State.
46	09/10/2014	3MDG	3MDG and the Myanmar Health Ministry signed an MoU on 9 Oct 2014. According to the MOU, 3MDG will give US\$ 11.5 million to the National Anti-Tuberculosis Department. 3MDG will also support Public Health Centres, Prison Health Services, new health infrastructure and the repair of the existing infrastructure.
47	11/10/2014	World Bank	The Myanmar government signed a new agreement with the World Bank and the Government of Australia aimed at helping millions of Myanmar students benefit from quality education. The Decentralizing Funding for Schools Project is financed by a US\$ 80 million credit from the International Development Association (IDA) and US\$ 20 million in grants from the Government of Australia through the Myanmar Partnership Multi-Donor Trust Fund. It will improve and expand the Myanmar Government's School Grants and Student Stipends Programs.

48	14/10/2014	World Bank	The World Bank's Board of Executive Directors approved a US\$ 100 million credit from the International Development Association (IDA) to improve maternal, newborn and child health in Myanmar.
49	17/10/2014	World Bank	The UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy for AIDS in Asia and the Pacific, J.V.R. Prasada Rao, met Myanmar's Health Minister, Than Aung, on 17 Oct and confirmed an increased grant of US\$ 5 million for HIV treatment.
50	25/11/2014	EU	The EU announced it will pledge 257 million euros (US\$ 320.6 million) to Myanmar over the next three years to fund rural development, political reform, peace initiatives and other issues.
51	16/12/2014	Denmark	Denmark has made an additional contribution of US\$ 5.1 million to the Three Millennium Development Goals Fund (3MDG Fund), again demonstrating its commitment to improving the health of the poorest and most vulnerable people in Myanmar, and particularly of women and children.

## VI. Factors determining peace process development

How the peace process will develop over the coming year will depend on a variety of factors, some of which are identified below. These will answer the crucial questions of how to end armed clashes, how to settle the political demands of both sides, and how to sustain positive developments in the peace process.

**Table 25:** Factors determining peace process development

1	Sign the NCA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Signing the NCA is the first step to knock on the window of political dialogue, narrowing down the different demands and achieving long-term peace.</li> <li>• Although delegates of both the Government and the EAO's agreed a "final draft" of the NCA on 31 March 2015, they lacked the authority to ratify it. Demands for amendments were put forward at the Law Khee Ler Conference of ethnic leaders.</li> <li>• To demonstrate their commitment to peace, both sides need to terminate the fighting which is still occurring in Kachin State and northern Shan State. A genuine commitment to peace is essential if the fighting is to be stopped.</li> <li>• The ultimate ratification of the NCA hinges primarily upon how well forthcoming negotiations are handled and upon a genuine commitment to peace and consideration for the people's wishes on the part of both parties.</li> </ul>
2	Code of conduct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A major reason for continual violations of local ceasefire agreements is the vagueness of territorial demarcation especially in areas where there are overlapping claims by several armed groups. EAO leaders believe it necessary to agree a ceasefire code of conduct before the NCA is signed while the Government wants this to come afterwards. This is the stumbling block preventing the establishment of demarcation lines between Government and Government-affiliated forces and the ethnic armed groups. A ceasefire code of conduct and a military code of conduct are imperative if ceasefires are to be effective.</li> <li>• The allocation of active and control areas poses a major challenge that must necessarily be overcome.</li> </ul>
3	Joint Political Framework Drafting Committee and Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee and Joint Political Framework Drafting Committee have a key role to play after ratification of the NCA. These committees are destined to shape the future political dialogue and to umpire the ceasefire agreement between the Government and the EAOs. The various representatives on the committees must have equal influence in decision-making, and the committees themselves should have full authority to initiate action and to arbitrate in the event of ceasefire violations.</li> </ul>

4	Mediator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The peace process lacks an international or domestic body to mediate between the Government and the EAOs. When we look at successful peace processes elsewhere in the world, a prominent mediating group has nearly always played a key role. For example, the Aceh peace process and a Finnish mediating group and the Camp David negotiations between Israel and Palestine.</li> <li>• The UPWC and NCCT faced serious challenges which almost resulted in an end to negotiations after their meeting of 22 September 2014. Another sticking-point occurred after the Lawkheeler Conference on 2-9 June 2015.</li> <li>• An independent mediating group, agreed by both sides, had it existed, might have facilitated negotiations and obviated the risk of failure.</li> </ul>
5	Focal point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A focal point is needed for the benefit of both parties to the negotiations. Leaders from both sides have given the media differing interpretations, highlighting different points, and this can give rise to misunderstanding. Had there been a spokesperson to provide an unbiased focus, this danger might have been avoided.</li> </ul>
6	Resolving persistent distrust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rumors persist that the Myanmar military's true intention is to wipe out the EAOs and gain control of all frontier territories and their valuable natural resources. There is reportedly an unchanged aggressiveness of the Myanmar military towards the EAOs and frequent ceasefire violations. Consequently, many believe the Government's engagement in negotiations is merely a sleight-of-hand designed to gain political kudos, especially internationally, and to lull the EAOs into lowering their guard, while continuing to pursue a decades-old policy of domination by brute force.</li> <li>• On the other hand, the Government argues that EAOs provoke attacks by indulging in illegal activities that call for action by the security forces.</li> </ul>
7	Resolving political issues including federal issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many grievances that drive conflict have yet to be fully identified and addressed. The Government has pushed EAOs to sign the NCA and then go on to political dialogue, believing political problems can be solved in this way. However, EAOs complain that the Government lacks transparency and dismisses the EAOs' insistence upon a genuine federal union, a federal army, and decision-making power. They feel the need for guarantees that issues of capital importance to them such as devolution of power under a federal constitution, self-determination, etc are truly on the agenda. The federal issue is a critical one for bringing to an end decades of civil war. Success of the Myanmar peace process depends on the Government and EAOs working together to implement a federal union.</li> </ul>
8	Communal conflict – high levels of tension and possible way to tackle this problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religious tension still exists in Myanmar and the international community has criticized the Government for not tackling the problem vigorously. Failure to take the necessary steps to solve this challenge is likely to hurt the reform and peace processes.</li> </ul>

9	Internal politics within government and among EAOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If rumors of power politics behind-the-scenes are correct there may be unexpected changes in the people currently leading the negotiations. It is said there is a power struggle between the Government, the Union Parliament and the Army.</li> <li>• On EAO side there are also conflicts between soft-line and hard-line camps.</li> </ul>
10	Ongoing reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The successful implementation of ceasefire terms and the creation of a new political settlement engendered by the ceasefire talks is highly dependent on the Government and the Army carrying them through in good faith. Overall national reforms to address rule of law, transparency, corruption, and military professionalism will therefore influence developments in the peace process, assuming they are applied in practice rather than remaining dead letters on the statute books. Political, constitutional, military, economic and social reforms will change the tenor under which negotiations are conducted and will therefore influence the decisions made.</li> </ul>
11	Involvement of the military	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Myanmar Army, under the 2008 Constitution, has full power and control over all Government forces including the police and other security branches.</li> <li>• Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing has said that the army must protect the 2008 Constitution and the country, and stand by its 6-Point Guidelines.</li> <li>• EAO leaders have in the past said they cannot accept the 2008 Constitution which bestows preponderant power on the army. They have also publicly announced the army's 6-Point Guidelines to be unacceptable. The role of the army is pivotal to the peace process whose outcome depends on how the army deals with it.</li> </ul>
12	The Involvement of Parliament	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The monopolization of the peace process by U Aung Min and the MPC has raised questions about how he will implement an eventual agreement without the power to change laws. In the past year, the question of Parliament's role in the peace process has been given more prominence, but it is not yet clear exactly in what manner it will become involved.</li> </ul>
13	Constitutional amendment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constitutional amendment must be effectively done with regards to power sharing between the State and Union governments. This will help increase the ethnic leader's confidence that they can effectively participate in building a union. For instance, state chief ministers must be elected.</li> </ul>
14	Elections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elections must be free and fair. More ethnic candidates must participate in the elections and be elected in their respective ethnic states, so that they can effectively run the state government and increase the space for ethnic participation.</li> </ul>

## VII. Update Information: January – June 2015

### The Peace Process: a Roller-coaster

Many see the Myanmar Peace Process as a roller coaster of alternating ups and downs. The negotiations were on a fast track subsequent to the Laiza Ethnic Conference in Oct-Nov 2013 and Jan 2014. The EAOs and UPWC agreed to draft a “single text” document which would evolve into “the NCA final draft”. All stakeholders were optimistic, with high hopes for the outcome of the peace process. However, the negotiations between the NCCT and UPWC were almost aborted in September 2014 after military representatives rejected the previous agreement. Many critics claimed the Myanmar transition is on a back track, citing continuing fighting and a stalled peace process. Then ethnic leaders and government officials redoubled their efforts and the negotiations were able to resume. Things seemed to be going well when representatives of the two sides signed the NCA final draft on 31 March 2015. Both the domestic and international community believed the peace process to be moving forward and hopes were high among all stakeholders. However, the government officials insisted on signing the NCA with only 16 NCCT members omitting the AA, the MNDAA and TNLA. The ethnic armed organization leaders for their part insisted on an “all inclusive signing of the NCA”. In order to agree a joint negotiating position, the EAOs held a summit conference in Panghsang, the headquarters of UWSP/UWSA from 1-6 May 2015. The Government pressured the UWSA “not to invite the AA, MNDAA and TNLA”, but this was ignored by the UWSP which invited these groups to attend the Conference. The Government expressed its dissatisfaction. The EAO leaders openly discussed the NCA and peace process, and since their host sought support for a Wa State, separate from Shan State of which it is currently nominally a part, this topic was also discussed. The EAO leaders failed to reach agreement as to whether or not to sign the NCA. The UWSP position was that it will not sign the NCA but will participate in the political dialogue that follows.

Representatives from the following 12 EAOs participated in the Panghsang ethnic conference.

1. United Wa State Party
2. National Democratic Alliance Army
3. Kachin Independence Organization
4. Karen National Union
5. Karenni National Progressive Party
6. New Mon State Party
7. Pa-Oh National Liberation Organization
8. Shan State Progress Party
9. Restoration Council of Shan State
10. Arakan Army
11. Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army
12. Palaung State Liberation Front

A major issue arose when the TNLA, MNDAA and AA proposed to quit the Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team (NCCT). Leaders of the three resurrected armed groups said that they did not trust the UPWC because government armed forces continue to launch military offensives against them, as well as opposing their attendance at the Panghsang conference.

The ethnic armed organizations held the Lawkheeler Ethnic Conference in a KNU-controlled area on 2-9 June 2015. UNFC members, NCCT members and non-NCCT members attended the Law Khee Ler Conference and it was decided to amend the NCA “final draft” of 31 March 2015, with 13 points including an all-inclusive signing. The Conference also established an



“EAO’s high-level delegation for the NCA or EAO’s senior delegation” with 15 members, who have full authority to negotiate with the Government side.

The new EAO Senior Delegation members are as follow:

1. Padoh Naw Zeporrah Sein (group leader)
2. Dr. La Ja (deputy group leader 1)
3. Pu Zin Cung (deputy group leader 2)
4. Khine Soe Naing Aung (member)
5. Nai Hongsa (member)
6. Myo Win (member)
7. Khun Myint Tun (member)
8. Shwe Myo Thant (member)
9. Sao Khun Hseng (member)
10. Brig. Gen. Tar Aik Bone (member)
11. Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win (member)
12. Maj. Gen. Gun Maw (member)
13. Dr. Salai Lian H. Sakhong (member)
14. Col. Khun Okker (member)
15. Saw Mra Raza Lin (member)

Leaders of the ethnic armed groups claimed an expression of unity by their insistence on an “all-inclusive signing” of the National Ceasefire. However, UPWC and army representatives showed dissatisfaction by refusing to recognize the EAO’s new negotiating team. The Government side showed its disappointment by saying the “NCCT can negotiate with government negotiation team for the new 13 points amendment drafted by EAOs conference”, and “why they want to form a new negotiation committee?” The EAOs responded by saying the new negotiation committee (EAO’s SD) has a wider mandate to negotiate with the Government side. The talks stalled and a dark cloud hung over the peace process. The Government showed unwillingness to discuss the proposed amendments. The Army representatives bitterly refused to negotiate with the three resurrected groups, the AA, MNDAA and TNLA. According to U Aung Min, the proposed twelve amendments must be noted as a request and not form part of the Agreement. On the other hand, the EAOs have stood firmly for the Law Khee Ler principle of an “all -inclusive signing” and the twelve amendments. Broadly speaking, there are four major contentious issues in the twelve amendments to be negotiated with the Government.

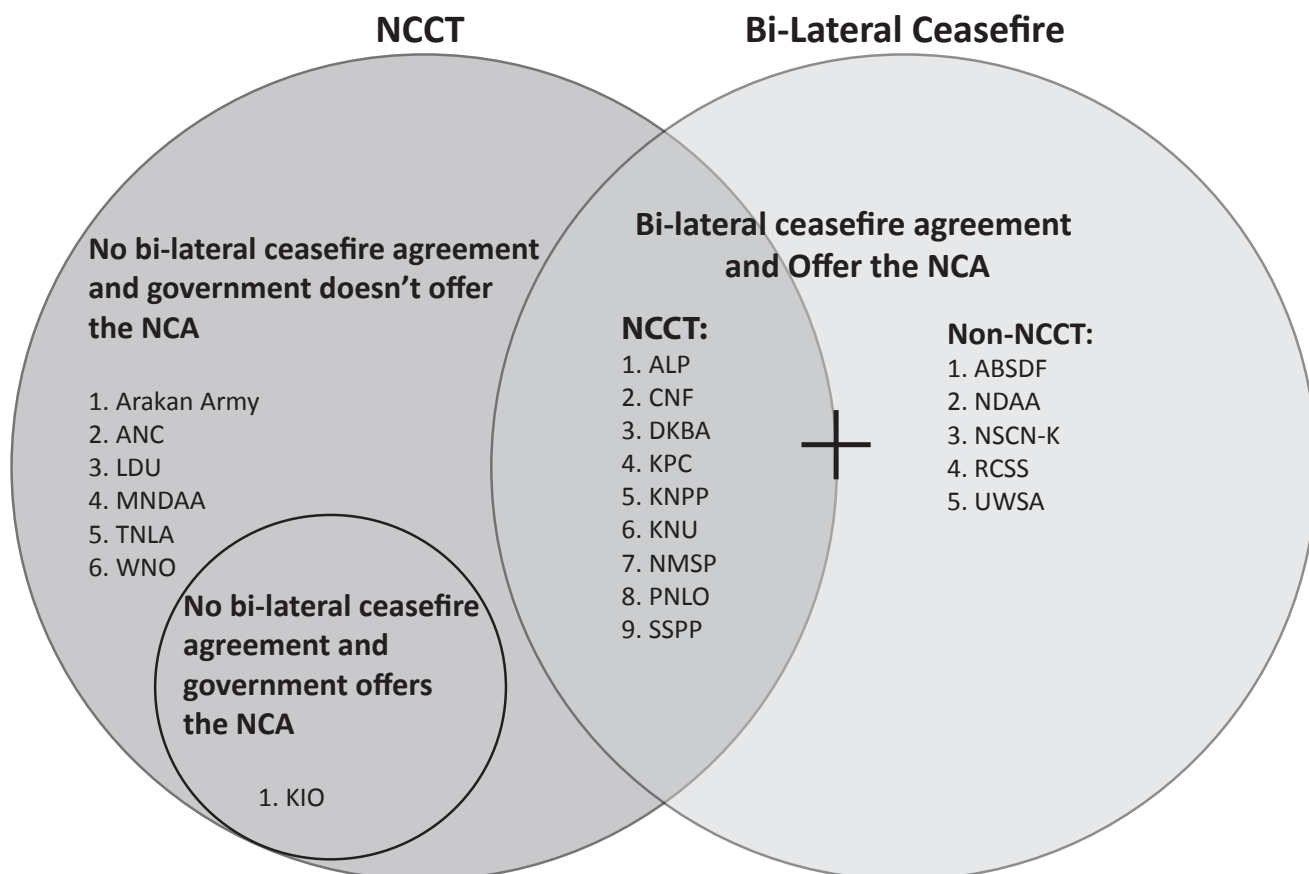
The most contentious issues are:

- (1) All-inclusive signing of the NCA (including AA, MNDAA and TNLA)
- (2) Change from “Security Sector Reform” to “Security Affairs Issue”
- (3) Signatories (who amongst government and EAOs are going to sign the NCA)
- (4) Witnessing by the international community

Rays of hope have arisen once again. The EAOs have indicated that they want to sign the NCA before the general elections on 8 November 2015, and President Thein Sein has said that the Government will try to reach agreement with the ethnic armed organizations and sign the NCA before the elections. Finally, the UPWC led by U Aung Min and the EAO’s SD, the new negotiating committee, led by Padoh Naw Zipporah Sein held an informal meeting in Chiang Mai on 3-4 July 2015. The UPWC and the EAO’s SD agreed to meet again for discussions regarding the twelve amendments. The PLSF/TNLA released a statement on 6 July 2015 saying they will sign the NCA if it is all-inclusive, will cooperate in drafting the political framework, will participate in political dialogue and will reduce armed clashes in the Palaung area of northern Shan State. The MNDAA declared a unilateral ceasefire in the

Kokang area on 10 June 2015. Critics say that to sign the NCA before the general elections will depend on negotiations concerning the twelve amendments. To call it a “nationwide ceasefire agreement” would be misleading if the PSLF/TNLA, AA and MNDAA are excluded. It would mean continuing armed clashes in their areas and would make other ethnic armed groups suspect the motives behind the peace process. If the Government and the ethnic armed organizations can negotiate a compromise, the peace process can move forward.

**Figure 17:** Ceasefire Status of EAOs in NCA process



Bilateral ceasefires signed and invited by the government to sign the NCA.		No bilateral ceasefire signed, but invited by the government to sign the NCA	
NCCT	Non-NCCT	NCCT	Non-NCCT
ALP	ABSDF	KIO	Arakan Army
CNF	NDAA		ANC
DKBA	NSCN-K		LDU
KPC	RCSS		MNDAA
KNPP	UWSA		TNLA
KNU			WNO
NMSP			
PNLO			
SSPP			

The government said that they would like to initially sign the NCA with the 14 EAOs who have already signed bilateral ceasefire agreements with the government. Additionally they will invite the KIO, who has not signed a bilateral ceasefire, to sign the NCA. But, the government said they will also allow other ethnic armed groups who have not signed the NCA to participate in the political dialogue. According to the statement of EAOs released on 29 July, all EAOs will stand for all inclusive signing on the NCA.

According to U Aung Min, EAOs must first have signed a bilateral ceasefire with the government before they can sign the NCA. According to MPM's observations, while 9 NCCT members and 5 non-NCCT members have signed bilateral ceasefire agreements with the central government 7 NCCT members are yet to sign the NCA. Critics have said that if there is no all-inclusive signing, armed clashes are likely to happen in areas under the control of non-ceasefire groups or the Myanmar Army will launch offensives in those areas.

A critic said the UPWC is using a "divide and conquer method" to break the UNFC and the NCCT because the government has invited the KIO to sign the NCA, even though they have not signed a bilateral ceasefire agreement. The KIO did not officially sign a bilateral ceasefire agreement after their 17 year ceasefire with the government was broken by fighting which started on 9 June 2011 and has continued until now.

## **Clashes engender wariness and suspicion**

Despite constant meetings between Government and EAOs, fighting is still occurring, especially in Kachin, Shan, Karen and Rakhine States. Generally, there are many clashes between government forces and non-ceasefire groups and a smaller number involving ceasefire groups. Armed clashes between government forces and ethnic armed organizations induce a more cautious attitude towards the peace process and increased distrust. Trust cannot be built while fighting is in progress. Armed conflict must be halted for the potential signatories to have confidence that the NCA is something meaningful, and not mere window-dressing. The NCA should be seen as the first step in a process of solving political differences by political means.

The MNDAA and its military alliance under the name of the FUA have attacked government forces in the Kokang region since 9 February 2015. The MNDAA said "we are coming home". The Government used jet fighters and heavy weapons to attack MNDAA camps. There were many casualties on both sides. The clashes between the MNDAA and government forces have displaced more than 100,000 civilians. According to Myawaddy News, there were 253 armed clashes between the MNDAA and government forces during the period 9 February to 16 April 2015. Myanmar Peace Monitor was only able to record 71 clashes between the two forces between 9 February and June 2015, but this is certainly short of the true figure. The MNDAA declared a unilateral ceasefire on 10 June 2015, since when the number of clashes has diminished.

The TNLA and government forces have clashed almost every day. MPM recorded 103 clashes between January and June 2015. The TNLA said the Myanmar army should stop attacking ethnic armed organizations if the Government really wants to move the peace process forward. Opposing sides have differing versions of the causality of the clashes.

KIA and government forces have clashed in Mansi and Hpakant township in Kachin state and the Mongkoe area in northern Shan State. The Government used jet fighters to strafe KIA forces in Mansi township, the army saying the operation was aimed at suppressing illegal logging, an explanation rejected by the KIA. Bitter fighting broke out between the Myanmar army and the KIA in the Hpakant area, in which thousands of civilians were caught

up. The KIA called for a joint investigation of the clashes but the Myanmar army refused to cooperate in this. There exists the Joint Conflict Resolution Committee (JCRC) formed by KIA and Kachin State Border Affairs, but its effectiveness is limited. Critics say that if fighting between Government and ethnic forces cannot be stopped, this will clearly impede ceasefire negotiations and increase cautiousness.

Despite absence of any fighting between the UWSA and the Myanmar army, high tension in the Thai-Myanmar border area has adversely affected relations between the UWSA and the Government. Tension mounted when Myanmar soldiers arrested Wa soldiers and illegal Chinese loggers on 2 July. Many critics believe the tension is not only related to illegal logging but also to the UWSA's proposal for the Wa to have "a separate state" within Myanmar and other undisclosed issues. This issue must be discussed in the political dialogue.

**Table 26:** Clashes between EAOs and Government forces (Jan – Jun 2015)

No	Organization	Clashes	Claimed by EAOs	Note
1	KIA	57		
2	TNLA*	103		
3	MNDAA*	71		
4	AA*	24		
5	KNU	8		
6	DKBA	3		
7.	SSPP	2		
8.	RCSS	2	6^	RCSS claims there are 6 clashes between Jan and June 2015. MPM could only record 2 clashes.
9.	RNSC	1		
10.	Bomb	6		
11.	Unknown attacks	12		
12	UWSA	0		
13	NDAA	0		
14	CNF	0		
15	NMSP	0		
16	ALP	0		
17	KNPP	0		
18	KPC	0		
19	PNLO	0		
20	NSCN-K	0		
	Clashes 270, bomb explosions 6 and unknown attacks 12 (figures include FUA operations)			

\*MNDAA, TNLA and AA have conducted joint military operations under the name of the FUA. Myanmar Peace Monitor could only record the number of clashes reported in the mainstream media but the actual numbers may be more than this.

**Table 27:** Clashes, meetings, agreements, IDP numbers (Jan – June 2015)

Month	Clashes	Meeting	Agreed	IDPs, Refugees	Note
Jan	23	3	-	2,000+	EAOs leaders attended the Independence Day celebration
Feb	50	6	-	100,000+ (Kokang area and other area)	DKBA, KNU, KPC and RCSS signed “Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation”
Mar	48	6	1	2,000+	Representatives of NCCT and UPWC signed the NCA final draft
April	53	2	-	1,700+	-
May	40	9	-	unknown	12 EAOs attended the Panghsang meeting
June	34	3	-	200+	EAOs held the Law Khee Ler Conference
	248*	29	1	105,700+	*including bomb and unknown attacks

**Note:** Myanmar Peace Monitor could only record statistics of clashes, meetings, agreements and IDPs reported in the mainstream media but actual numbers can be more than what MPM records. TNLA claims that there were 18 clashes in 18-30 June but MPM could only record 12 clashes between TNLA and government forces.

## The Failure to Amend the Constitution

The Union Parliament formed “a Study Committee” of 109 members, which collected proposals for constitutional amendments. It also formed an “Implementing Committee for Constitutional Amendment” with 31 members. The implementing committee selected which proposals were to be discussed in parliamentary session. The Myanmar public imagined that this would lead to the amendment of some articles in the current Constitution. Political party leaders were saying that the Constitution must be amended before the forthcoming elections. Ethnic armed organizations have also spoken out that they do not accept the 2008 Constitution. Political parties have tried to change the Constitution from within parliament while the EAOs have tried to change it from without. But, to date, neither has succeeded.

MPs from the USDP, NLD and other ethnic political parties requested a parliamentary debate on constitutional amendment. This was granted and the debate, in the third week of June, covered the most controversial articles such as 59 (D), 59 (F), 60 (C), 418 (B), 436 (A), and 436 (B). However, when it came to the vote, the preponderant military bloc, of appointed serving officers and elected ex-military officers, threw out the amendments. Therefore, the move for constitutional amendment was a failure. This caused widespread disappointment and caused many to doubt whether the Myanmar army is genuinely committed to democratic transition. There was criticism of the army’s unwillingness to change and of its seeking instead to gather more powers to itself. This demonstrates that building a federal union remains a distant goal. The negative outcome of the parliamentary moves to amend the Constitution is likely to impact the peace process because negotiating amendments to the Constitution through weight of arms is now the only remaining avenue. The EAOs have repeatedly expressed their rejection of the current 2008 Constitution, however, army representatives countered by saying that continued fighting with the EAOs were posing as obstacles against amending the

charter. According to the 7-Step Roadmap, the Union Parliament must approve the post-NCA Union Accord to be thrashed out in political dialogue between the UPWC and the EAOs. A critic has suggested that, before they ratify the NCA, the EAOs should require a guarantee from the Government to the effect that the Union Parliament cannot reject the Union Accord. For without such a guarantee, if this, the result of the political dialogue, is voted on in parliament the military MPs and their associates can reject it.

**Table 28:** Ethnic Armed Organizations Membership and Status (June 2015)

No	EAOs	Ceasefire status	NCCT Member	UNFC Member	Gov't recognizes to sign NCA	New High Level Delegation for the NCA
1	ABSDF	Union level	-	-		Myo Win (vice chairman of ABSDF)
2	AA	Combatant	Lt. Col. Kyaw Han	-	no	-
3	ALP/ALA	State level	Saw Mra Raza Linn	Member		Mra Raza Lin (NCCT rep) Khine Soe Naing Aung (ALP)
4	ANC (ASA-NUPA)	Combatant	Twan Zaw (ANC)	Dr. Khin Maung (ANC)	no	-
5	CNF	Union level	Dr. Lian H. Sakhong	Salai Thla Hei - Joint GS 2)		Pu Zing Cung (GS of CNF) Dr. Lian H. Sakhong (NCCT rep)
6	DKBA	Union level	Col. Saw Lont Lon	-		-
7	KIO	Combatant	Gen. Gun Maw	Lt. Gen. N'Ban La (Chairman of UNFC and vice-chairman 1 of KIO) Dr. La Ja (GS of KIO)		Dr. La Ja (GS of KIO)  Gen. Gun Maw (NCCT Rep)
8	KNPP	Union level	Shwe Myo Thant	Khu Oo Reh - General Secretary of UNFC and vice-chairman of KNPP) Gen. Be Htoo (CEC)		Shwe Myo Thant (S2 of KNPP)

9	KNU/ KNLA	Union level	Padoh Kwe Htoo Win	2 places reserved for KNU		Naw Zipporah Sein (KNU vice- chairperson) Padoh Kwe Htoo Win (NCCT rep)
10	KNU/ KNLA Peace Council	State level	Saw Nay Soe Mya (CEC of KPC)	-		
11	LDU	Combatant	Col. Solomon	Member	no	-
12	MNDAA	Combatant	Tun Lwin	Member	no	
13	NDAA	Union level	-	-	-	-
14	NSCN-K	State level	-	-	-	-
15	NMSP	Union level	Nai Hongsar	Nai Hong Sar (Vice-chairman 1)		Nai Hongsar (NCCT rep)
16	PNLO	Union level	Col. Hkun Okker	Col. Hkun Okker (Patron of PNLO)		Col. Hkun Okker (NCCT rep)  Khun Myint Tun (PNLO)
17	PSLF/ TNLA	Combatant	Tar Vael Khroure	Member	no	Tar Aik Bone (PSLF/TNLA)
18	RCSS/ SSA	Union level	-	-		-
19	SSPP/ SSA	Union level	Sai Ba Tun	Sao Sai Htoo (CEC)		Sao Khun Hseng (CEC of SSPP)
20	UWSP/A	Union level	-	-		-
21	WNO	Combatant	Ta Aik Nyunt	Member	no	-
		14 Orgs for Union/ State level and 7 combat- ant groups	16 represent- atives	9 members, 5 Associate Members, and 2 reserved	-	15 leaders from 10 EAOs (10 new rep and 5 NCCT members)

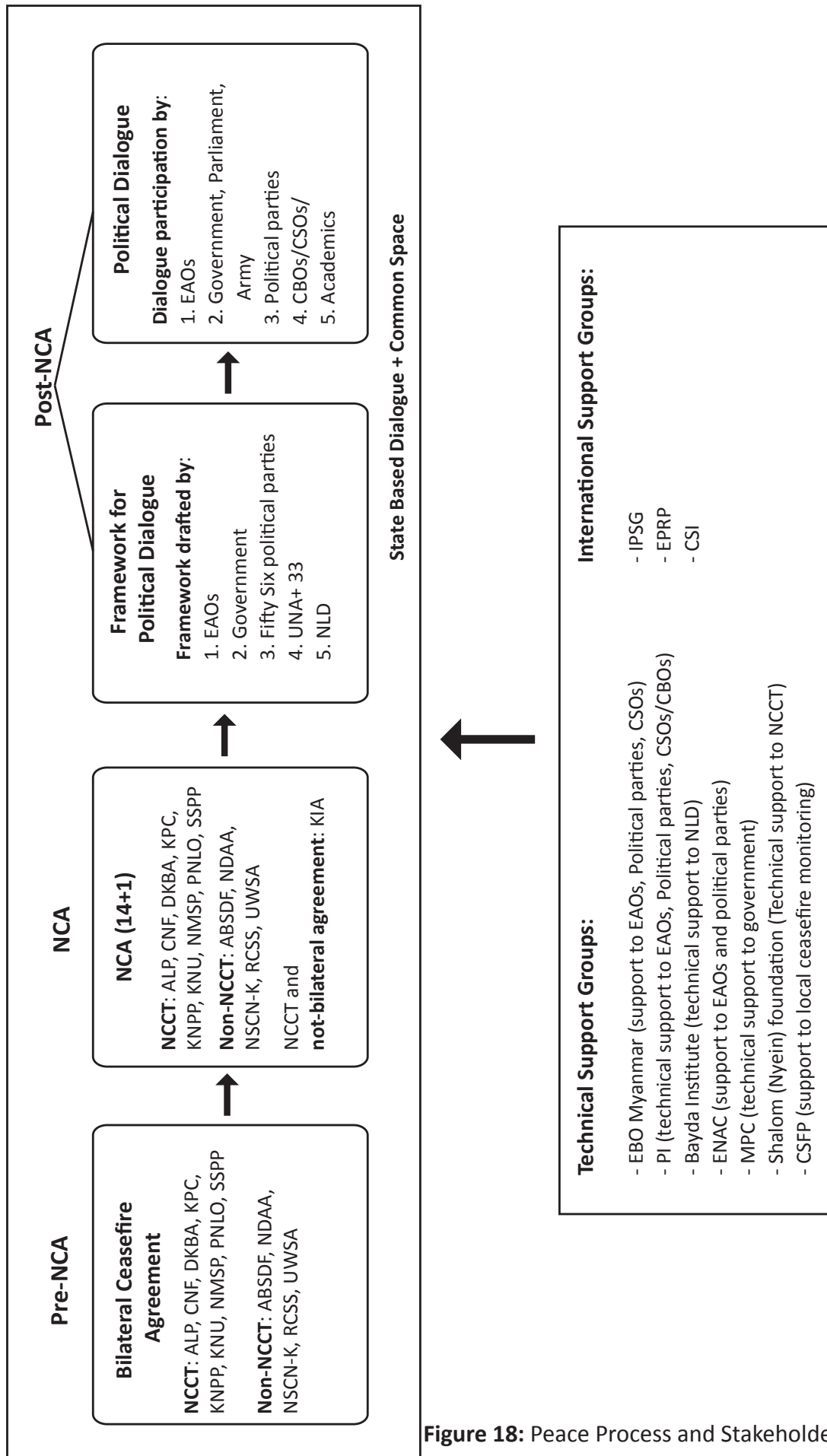


Figure 18: Peace Process and Stakeholders





**EOs SD - UPWC held 8<sup>th</sup> official meeting at MPC on 24 July 2015**



**UWSA and UPWC held a meeting in Mongmao on 22 Nov 2014**



**EOs met Senior General Min Aung Hlaing on 5 Jan 2015**



**EOs Senior Delegation at 8<sup>th</sup> Official meeting on 22-23 July 2015**



**EOs leaders in Law Khee Ler Ethnic Conference on 2-9 June 2015**



**President Thein Sein met EAOs leaders on 5 Jan 2015**



**EAOs SD and UPWC 8<sup>th</sup> official meeting in Yangon on 22-23 July 2015**



**UPWC, NCCT and Political Party's leaders meeting on 18 Aug 2014**



**Foreign Observers at Law Khee Ler meeting on 2-9 June 2015**

## **VIII. Profiles**

EAOs, NCCT, SD and Myanmar Peace Process Stakeholders

# Arakan Army

ရက်္ခိၼ်း တပ်မတော်

<http://facebook.com/thearakanarmy1>



NCCT member



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 10 April 2009

**Headquarters:** HQ (temporary) in KIA controlled areas

**Operational Area:** Kachin Independence Army (KIA) controlled area

**Estimated Strength:** 2,000+

**Leader:** Brig. Gen. Twan Mrat Naing (commander-in-chief)

Col. Dr. Nyo Twan Awng (second-in-command)

**CEC member:** Lt. Col. Kyaw Han (AA representative in NCCT)

The Arakan Army (AA) was founded to protect the Rakhine people, and to establish peace, justice, freedom and development. The AA has fought alongside the KIA since the conflict with the government army resumed on June 9, 2011. More than half their troops have been trained by the KIA.

1. Self-determination for the multi-ethnic Rakhine population.
2. Safeguard national identity and cultural heritage.
3. Promote national dignity and Rakhine interests.

## Peace Process

Combatant/Non-ceasefire

Clashes # Fighting against Myanmar army alongside FUA

#2014 - Joint Operation with KIA

#2015 - 24 (Jan-Jun)

## Official delegation team

None

## Liaison offices

None

#	Date	Location	AA rep	Govt Rep	Details
1					

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Member	Through ANC
2	NCCT	Member	
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	KIA	
6	Meetings with other groups		
7	Meeting with foreign actors		
8	National conferences	Attended	Attended the Rakhine National Conference held in Kyauk Phyu Town.
9	Partnerships		
10	Observers at meetings		

## Statements

28 Apr 2015 - AA statement on current conflicts in Rakhine state

01 Mar 2015 - MNDAA, TNLA and AA released a joint statement on Kokang armed conflicts

20 Nov 2014 - Arakan Army released a statement on Myanmar army attacks KIA academy

27 Apr 2014 - Araken Army sent a message to Araken National Convention

10 Apr 2014 - 5th Anniversary of Arakan Army held in laiza, Kachin State

22 Mar 2014 - Arakan Army released a statement to boycott census related rohingya terms

# All Burma Students' Democratic Front

မြန်မာနိုင်ငံလုံးဆိုင်ရာကျောင်းသားများ ဒီမိုကရက်တစ်တပ်ဦး

<http://absdf8888.org/profile/>



EAOs SD Member



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 1 Nov. 1988

**Headquarters:** KNU controlled area

**Operational Area:** KIA and KNU controlled areas

**Estimated strength:** 400+ (about 200 in Kachin state)

**CEC members:** U Than Khe (Chairperson)  
U Myo Win (Vice-Chairperson)  
U Sonny Mahindra (General Secretary)

The ABSDF is a student army that was formed after the 1988 uprisings. Their objectives are to fight for restoring democracy, human rights, establishing a federal union and dismantling the dictatorship in Myanmar alongside other democratic and ethnic nationality forces.

They have 7 camps along the Myanmar-Thailand border, 3 camps along the Myanmar-India border and 3 camps on the Myanmar-China border. The ABSDF also has foreign branches in the US and Australia.

## Aims and Objectives:

1. To liberate the peoples of Burma from the oppression of military dictatorship
2. To achieve democracy and human rights
3. To attain internal peace
4. To bring about the emergence of a federal union in Burma

## Strategy

In order to fulfill its aims and objectives, the ABSDF upholds the strategy, "Armed struggle in combination with political activities."

## Membership and Camp Information

The ABSDF currently holds seven camps on the Burma-Thailand border, one camp spread over three separate locations on the Burma-India border, and one camp spread over three separate locations on the Burma-China border. It also has foreign branches such as in the United States and Australia.

The ABSDF is a member organisation of the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB), an umbrella organisation of the border-based opposition.

The ABSDF is also a member organisation of the Asian Students' Association (ASA), the International Union of Students (IUS) and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

## Leadership

The ABSDF elects its leadership democratically. Leaders of the organisation serve for a certain period of time (Three years) in accordance with the ABSDF constitution. The following is the list of the organisation's current leaders who were elected in ABSDF's Eight Conference convened in December 2006, to serve for a three-year executive term.

### CEC members:

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Comrade Than Khe                    | Chairman                 |
| 2. Comrade Myo Win                     | Vice-chairman            |
| 3. Comrade Sonny                       | General Secretary        |
| 4. Comrade Myint Oo                    | Secretary 1              |
| 5. Comrade Ye Htut (a) Hla Htay        | Secretary 2              |
| 6. Comrade Lwan Ni                     | CEC                      |
| 7. Comrade Mi Sue Pwint (a) Ma Lay Lon | CEC                      |
| 8. Comrade Maung Oo                    | CEC                      |
| 9. Comrade Salai Yaw Aung              | CEC                      |
| 10. Comrade Chit Win                   | CC                       |
| 11. Comrade Kyaw Lin                   | CC                       |
| 12. Comrade Thura                      | CC                       |
| 13. Comrade Soe Htut                   | CC                       |
| 14. Comrade Min Htay                   | CC                       |
| 15. Comrade Thant Chain Myint          | CC                       |
| 16. Comrade Yan Naing Soe              | CC                       |
| 17. Comrade Win Tint Han               | CC                       |
| 18. Comrade Thein Lwin                 | CC reserve               |
| 19. Comrade Yee Htun                   | CC reserve               |
| 20. Comrade Moe Kyaw Oo                | CC reserve               |
| 21. Comrade Nay Myo Htike              | CC reserve Peace Process |



**New Ceasefire:** 5 Aug. 2013

**14th** resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks (10 Aug. 2013)

**# Post-Ceasefire Clashes:**

#2013: unknown

#2014: Joint Operation with KIA in Kachin State

#2015: unknown

## Official delegation team

Rotational

## Liaison offices

1. Myawaddy

2. Muse

3. Loikaw

Proposed: Kalay, Payathonsu, and Myeik

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	ABSDF rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	17/01/2012	Mae Sot, Thailand	Vice-chairman Myo Win	U Aung Thaung	ABSDF presented a 'peace talk' paper that defined their position. They accepted the government's peace offer as a constructive first step and are ready to talk if they are allocated equal rights. The government sent a formal letter offering to engage in peace talks with the ABSDF on Jan. 10, 2012.
2	09/02/2012	Mae Sot, Thailand	Vice-chairman Myo Win	Major Saw Khin Soe (representing Aung Thaung)	No agreement was made, but both sides agreed to meet again for further negotiations.

3	09/11/2012	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Chairman Than Khe, General secretary Myo Win and 4 others	U Aung Min	Both parties agreed on two points: (1) allow an ABSDF delegation to safely conduct a series of studies on the conditions in Myanmar (2) to continue political dialogue with the government. Hla Maung Shwe, Nyo Ohn Myint were present
4	18-24/12/2012	Naypyidaw and MPC Yangon	Chairman Than Khe, Secretary Sonny Mahindra and 7 others	U Aung Min and MPC members	An ABSDF delegation organized a study trip to better understand the government's development and implementation of the
					peace process in the country. During the trip, they consulted 88 Generation Student Group leaders, SNLD leader Khun Htun Oo and other ethnic political party leaders. The ABSDF delegation also met with their respective families.
5	21/05/2013	MPC	Ko Kyaw Ko and Ko Sonny Mahindra	U Aung Min	ABSDF reaffirmed the importance of peace and implementation; both sides discussed the continuation of peace talks. Representatives from Northern region did not turn up as they were not provided govt. assistance or security.
6	12/07/2013	Chiang Mai, Thailand	ABSDF technical team	MPC technical team	No reported result
7	05/08/2013	MPC, Yangon	ABSDF- 24 from CEC, 5 from northern and 5 from India	U Aung Min	4-point State level agreement

8	10/08/2013	MPC, Yangon	ABSDF Chairman Than Khe, Vice- Chairman Myo Win, General Secretary Sonny and CEC members	U Aung Min	12 point Union Level agreement
9	08/11/2013	MPC, Yangon	General Secretary Sonny and CEC members	MPC technical team	Informal meeting
10	09/11/2013	MPC, Yangon	ABSDF/ ALP	U Aung Min	Informal meeting
11	20/11/2013	Naypyitaw	ABSDF	U Aung Min	Discussed terms signed at union level talks.
12	30/05/2014	Naypyitaw	Ko Sonny and KoKyaw Lin	Minister of commerce U Win Myint	Business issues
13	2/1/2015	Naypyitaw	Ko Than Khe and KoMyo Win	Minister Aung Min, Khin Yee, Khin Maung Soe, Win Myint, Than Htay, Maj. Gen Tin Aung Chin, and Lt. Col. Thet Phyo Aung	Leaders from the two groups exchanged on the ceasefire agreements between ABSDF and government, and peace process. They also discussed about the NCA.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	-	
2	NCCT	-	Vice-chairman Myo Win was elected in EAOs SD team.
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Observer	An observer n the ethnic armed organizations meeting held in Laiza, hte headquarters of KIO.
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 2	Observer	An observer n the ethnic armed organizations meeting held in Law Khee Ler, hte headquarters of KNU.
5	Military allies	KIA KNU	(1988-96, 2011-ongoing) (1988 - ongoing)
6	Meetings with other groups	12/2012	NLD, SNLD, UNA, 88 generation student group (2012, 2013), UNA (24 Dec 2014)

7	Meeting with foreign actors	-	
8	National conferences	-	
9	Partnerships	-	UNA+
10	Observers at meetings	Observer	An observer at the meeting between NCCT and UPWC in Yangon

## Developments

Dialogue			
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	A	To officially invite political forces, political parties and organizations and persons for their inclusiveness in the country's political processes;  To continue holding discussions on democratic affairs, national equality and autonomy which are proposed by ABSDF.
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire	A	
3	Code of Conduct: control area	A	
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body		
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body	A	
6	Military relations		
7	Observers		An observer at the meeting between NCCT and UPWC in Yangon
Political			
8	Public consultation	A	√ ABSDF delegations met with parents of fallen students in the battles, delivered honorable certificates to the parents of fallen students.  To have rights to engage with news agencies freely and independently.
9	Legalisation	A	To hold continued discussions on the removal of ABSDF members from the blacklist and the cancellation of the charged members in accordance with the law.
10	Release political prisoners	A	To carry out continued discussions and scrutinizing to release remaining political prisoners scrutinizing committee for the release of all political prisoners.
11	Human Rights	D	

12	Ethnic Rights	D		
13	National day			
Resettlement				
14	ID card			
15	Resettlement plans			
16	Demining			
Economic				
17	NSAG company			
18	SEZ/SIZ			
19	Development projects			
20	Development initiatives	A		Rights to liaise with local and foreign based NGOs and CBOs in line with the existing laws.
21	Development: Tourism			
22	Development: Internet			
23	Car licenses		√	20 cars for tax free and 40 car licenses with preferential tax rates
Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school			
26	others			
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication			
Environment				
28	EIA			

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started; √ = Achieved; X = Failing

## Statements

27 Jan 2015 – ABSDF released a statement on student’s protest for education reform

2 Jan 2015 – ABSDF released a statement on the meeting between ABDF and UPWC

24 Dec 2014 – ABSDF released a statement on the meeting with UNA

20 Nov 2014 – ABSDF released a condolence letter for the fallen soldiers in KIA academy

20 Nov 2014 - ABSDF released a statement on Myanmar army attacked KIA academy

1 Nov 2014 – ABSDF released a statement on the 26th anniversary of ABSDF

9 Aug 2014 – ABSDF sent a well-wishing letter to the 66th anniversary of KNPP revolution day

8 Aug 2014 –ABSDF released a statement of the 26th commemoration of 8888 strikes

27 June 2014 – ABSDF sent a condolence letter for the pass away of Gen Saw Tamala Baw

21 Mar 2014 – ABSDF released a statement on the meeting of 1990 elections winning

candidates

10 Aug 2013 - UPWC and ABSDF signed 12 points Union Level peace agreement (Eng)

10 Aug 2013 - UPWC and ABSDF signed 12 points Union Level peace agreement (Bur)

05 Aug 2013 - 4 points agreement ABSDF and UPWC

30 Jul 2013 - ABSDF's statement on peace talks

07 Jan 2013 - War conflict in Kachin state

07 Jan 2013 - Requesting Buddhist monk

03 Jan 2013 - Press conference in Yangon

# Arakan Liberation Party

ရခိုင်ပြည် လွတ်မြောက်ရေး ပါတီ



**Armed wing:** Arakan Liberation Army (ALA)

**Government name:** Rakhine State Liberation Party (RSLP)

<http://arakanalp.com/>, **ALP facebook:** <http://goo.gl/I4kPC4>



UNFC member (under ANC)



NCCT and EAOs SD member (Under ANC)



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 9 April 1967, 1973, 1981

**Headquarters:** HQ in Indian border

**Operational Area:** Northern Rakhine and Karen states

**Estimated strength:** 60-100, (2000 party members)

**Leader:** U Khine Ray Khine (Chairman)

U Khine Tun Win (deputy chairman 1)

U Khine Soe Naing Aung (deputy chairman 2)

U Khine Soe Naing (General Secretary)

U Khine Aung Soe Than (Joint GS)

The Arakan Liberation Party (ALP) is advocating freedom and ethnic rights for Rakhine people in Myanmar. Its headquarters based on the Indian border near Rakhine State. The ALP's armed wing, the Arakan Liberation Army (ALA), have fought against the Myanmar army near the Indo-Myanmar and Thai-Myanmar border.

ALP/ALA has 4 military camps: battalion no. 9 (Bangladesh border), Danyawaddy battalion and Arakan Ranger (India border), Yamarwaddy battalion (Karen state).

ALP Branch: Maesot (Thailand), Dhaka (Bangladesh), New Delhi and Guwahati (India), Malaysia branch and USA branch.

**CEC members:** 4th Conference elected (19-24 Nov 2014)

1. U Khine Ray Khine (Chairman)
2. U Khine Tun Win (deputy chairman 1)
3. U Khine Soe Naing Aung (deputy chairman 2)
4. U Khine Soe Naing (General Secretary)
5. U Khine Aung Soe Than (Joint GS)
6. U Khine Aung Zan Phyu (CEC)
7. U Khine Moe Chan (CEC)
8. U Khine Yan Min Soe (CEC)
9. U Khine Soe Mya (CEC)
10. U Khine Myo Chit (CC)
11. U Khine Ye Lin (CC)
12. Dr. Khine High Nilar Aung (CC reserve)
13. U Khine Min Soe (CC reserve)

**Military Affairs:**

C-in-C: Khine Ray Khine

Lt. Col. Khine Soe Naing

Maj. Khine Myo Win

Maj. Khine Bone Myint Zaw (Yamarwaddy battalion commander)

Capt. Khine Nay Min (deputy Yamarwaddy battalion commander)

\*Daw Saw Mra Raza Lin is an NCCT and SD member

\*Khine Soe Naing Aung is a EAOs SD member

**Peace Process**

**New Ceasefire:** 5 April 2012

**11th** resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 1:** State level peace talks

**Clash#:**

#2012: None

#2013: None

#2014: None



## Official delegation team

Joint Secretary Khine Aung Soe Than

## Liaison offices

1. Kyauk Taw (Arakan State) 3/9/12

2. Paletwa (Chin State) – Pending

**\*Planned:** Sittwe, Kyauk Phyu (planned to open liaison office), Maungdaw, Yangon and Myawaddy (economic)

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	ALP rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	4-5/04/2012	Sittwe, Rakhine state	Deputy Chairman U Khaing Soe Naing Aung, and ALP Joint Secretary Khine Thukha	Rakhine State Minister of Security and Border Affairs Colonel Htein Lin	State level ceasefire agreement
2	06/06/2012	Sittwe, Rakhine state	Khine Thu Kha	Rakhine state government officials	Discussed peace efforts, communal violence and opening a liaison office in Rakhine state
3	10/11/2012	Chiang Mai, Thailand	U Khine Soe Naing Aung	U Aung Min	Discussed October communal
4	09/09/201	Chiang Mai, Thailand	ALP	U Aung Min, U Khin Yi MPC- 13 representatives	Informal meeting
5	08/11/2013	MPC, Yangon	ALP	MPC technical team	Informal meeting
6	09/11/2013	MPC, Yangon	ALP/ ABSDF	U Aung Min	Informal meeting
7	16/2/2014	MPC, Yangon	KhineThukha	U Aung Min and MPC team	For the Araken Conference in April, ALP Secretary General KhineThuKha and his team meet with Minister Aung Min in MPC, Yangon.

8	27/4/2015	KyaukPhyu, Rakhinie state	ALP, ANC , AA	Aung Min, U Tin NaingThein, Vice minister of livestock Gen Mg Mg Ohn, Rakhine State Minister - U Hla Maung Tin,	They discussed about the Rakhine national conference and peace process. Minister Aung Min also gave an opening speech in the conference.
9	18/7/2014	Naypyitaw	U Khine Soe Naing, Daw Saw Mya YarZar Lin	Minister Khin Yee, Minister Aung Min	Discussed about ALP wants to expand the liaison offices in Araken State wide, but currently it has only one liaison office situated in Kyauktaw township.
10	11/2/2015	Naypyitaw	ALP and other EAOs	U Aung Min	Discuss about the "deed of commitment for peace and national reconciliation" signing on 12 Feb. It's a pre-meeting for Union Day meeting.
11	12/2/2015	Naypyitaw	ALP and other EAOs	President TheinSein	ALP leaders attended the Union Day meeting in Naypyitaw. ALP didn't sign "deed of commitment for peace and national reconciliation" on 12 Feb.
12	13/2/2015	Naypyitaw	ALP and other EAOs	House speaker ThuraShwe Mann and C-in-C Snr. Gen. Min AungHlaing	They discussed about the NCA and peace process

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Member	
2	NCCT	Member	EAOs SD Member
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	-	

6	Meetings with other groups	-	
7	Meeting with foreign actors	-	Nov 8, 2013: met PDSG reps in Yangon  Feb 15-19, 2013: 7 delegates of ALP visited the Philippines to learn about the country's peace process
8	National conferences		Attended the Rakhine national conference held in Kyauk Phyu.
9	Partnerships	-	
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Developments

Dialogue			
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	D	
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire		Working together with NCCT through ANC
3	Code of Conduct: control area		
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body		
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body		
6	Military relations		
7	Observers		
Political			
8	Public consultation	D	
9	Legalisation		
10	Release political prisoners		
11	Human Rights		
12	Ethnic Rights	D	
13	National day		
Resettlement			
14	ID card		
15	Resettlement plans		
16	Demining		
Economic			
17	NSAG company		
18	SEZ/SIZ		
19	Development projects:		
20	Development initiatives		
21	Development: Tourism		
22	Development: Internet		

23	Car licenses		√	5 cars for tax free and 10 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)
Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school			
26	others			
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication			
Environment				
28	EIA			
<b>A= Term sign in peace agreements, D= Demand, →= started, √ = Achieved</b>				

## Statements

Dec 31, 2014 - ANC released a statement on 230th Lost Sovereignty Day

Nov 28, 2014 – ALP released a statement on the 4th ALP conference

Jun 26, 2014 - Two ALP cadres are under detention of the Government Army

Feb 05, 2014 - ALP leader vice president Khine Son Naing Aung interview in Voice of Arakan

Dec 04, 2012 - ALP Statement on UN third committee resolution (Burmese)

Nov 26, 2012 - Statement of Arakan Liberation Party (Burmese)

Sep 27, 2012 - ALP statement on the Arakanese Public Seminar

Sep 20, 2012 - ALP statement on present illegal Bangali problems inside Arakan

Jun 14, 2012 - Our statement (ALP statement on the crisis in Arakan state)

Jun 10, 2012 - ALP statement on current infiltration and genocide by illegal immigrants

Jun 05, 2012 - ALP statement on Sittwe-Riot

Mar 10, 2012 - 2nd annual CC meeting statement

Jan 23, 2012 - Thank statement for peace trip

# Arakan State Army

ရခိုင်ပြည် တပ်မတော်

Contact: aa.arakanarmy@gmail.com

[http://www.facebook.com/pages/](http://www.facebook.com/pages/Arakan-Army/318576794899066)

Arakan-Army/318576794899066



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 2010

**Headquarters:** Karen State

**Operational Area:** Arakan & Karen States

**Estimated strength:** < 150

**Leader:** Col. Mong Htwam aka Marm Zan Wai (GOC, Arakan Army)

From 2008 onwards, AA has been operating as a shadow army and fighting alongside with KNLA troops. During the splinter within DKBA following 2010 elections, it officially declared its existence, sided with the anti-government faction and established its base somewhere in Karen State.

As the representative, AA representatives attended the second conference of EAOs held in Laiza, the headquarters of KIO/A in 2013 and Law KheeLer in Karen state on Jan 20-25, 2014. AA also attended the third conference of EAOs held in Laiza again in July 2014 and attended the Law Khee Ler conference on 2-9 June 2015.

\*AA is a member of Arakan National Council (ANC) and Federal Union Army (FUA).

- Aims:**
1. To gain self-determination for multi-ethnic masses of Arakan
  2. To safeguard national identity (character) and cultural heritage
  3. To promote national dignity and interest
  4. Liberate every citizen and ethnic nationality of Burma from dictatorship
  5. Ensure peace and development for all human race

## Peace Process

Non-ceasefire

**# of clashes:** 2011: Unknown

2012: Unknown

2013: Unknown

2014: Unknown

## Official delegation team

None

## Liaison offices

None

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Attended	
2	NCCT	Attended	
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attended	Signed the Laiza Agreement.
4	Law kheelar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attended	Signed the Law KheeLar Agreement.
5	NCCT Summit & EAOs Summit at Laiza	Attended	
6	Military allies	FUA	Fighting against Myanmar army alongside DKBA, KNLA
7	Meetings with other groups	-	
8	Meetings with foreign actors	-	
9	National conferences	Attended	Sent a felicitation letter to the Rakhine National Conference in Kyauk Phyu town
10	Partnerships	-	
11	Observers at meetings	-	

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	AA Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	16 Feb 2014	MPC, Yangon	Col. Mong Htwam	U Aung Min	Informal Meeting was held at MPC in Yangon on 16 Feb. 2014 along with the facts finding mission to Arakan.
2	18 Feb 2014	Rakhine State Government Hall, Sittwe	Col. Mong Htwam	U Hla Maung Tin	The public consultation meetings around 10 townships of Rakhine State throughout Feb. and Mar. of 2014. On 18 Feb. 2014, the ANC delegation led by Ven. U Thiha had an informal meeting with the Rakhine State Government delegation led by U Hla Maung Tin in the State Government Hall. The AA representatives as part of the ANC delegation attended the public consultation meetings in Sittwe, Ponnargyun, Kyauk Taw, Mrauk U, Min Bya, Pauk Taw, Butheedaung, Maungdaw, Rathaedaung townships.

## Statements

April 25, 2015 - Arakan army released a statement on current conflicts in Rakhine state

Apr 27, 2014 - Araken Army message for Araken National Convention

# Chin National Front

ချင်းအမျိုးသား တပ်ဦး

**Armed wing:** Chin National Army (CNA)



<http://chinland.org>

<http://facebook.com/pages/Chin-National-FrontArmy/163071607069642>



UNFC member



NCCT and EAOs SD member

## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 20 March 1988

**Headquarters:** Thantlang, Chin State (Camp Victoria)

**Operational Area:** Thantlang Township, Tlangpi village tract, Dawn village tract and Zang Tlang village tract

**Estimated strength:** 200+

**Leader:** Pu Thang Nang Lian Thang

The Chin National Front (CNF) was formed on 20 March, 1988, dedicated to securing the self-determination of the Chin people, to restore democracy, and to establish a Federal Union of Burma. They are based along the Indo-Myanmar border and other locations inside Chin state. At least 70 CNA soldiers were killed during fighting with the Myanmar military between 1988 and 2012. After 2003, fighting with government troops stopped. The CNF (like most of the ethnic armed groups) oppose the 2008 Constitution.

**CEC Members:** CNF Chairman of the fifth-term Conference Pu Thang Nang Lian Thang

General Secretary Pu Zing Cung

Joint General Secretary Dr. Sui Khar (Shwe Khar)

Supreme Council that guides the CNF central committee was established in December 2011 and formed with 1 representative from each of the 9 townships, 1 representative each from Kuki, Lushine and Asho Chin tribes, CNF members, 3 patrons, 1 intellectual, 1 woman representative, 1 general secretary, and 3 joint general secretaries.

**Supreme Council:**

1. Dr. Zalay Htan (chairman 2012)
2. Pu Lian Uk (chairman 2013)



3. Pu Salai Kapkho Liang (chairman 2014)
4. Pu Htan Nang Lian Htan (chairman 2015)
5. Pu Zing Cung (general secretary)
6. Pu Benjamin Turein – member
7. Pu Salai Htan Neing Kee – member
8. Pu Larh Ram Lawma – member
9. Pu Zo Tum Homung – member
10. Pu Paul Sehta – member
11. Dr. Sui Khar – member
12. Pu Hkwa Oak Lian – member
13. Pu Thomas Htan Noe – member
14. Pu Htan Yann – member
15. Pu Rahl Ninn – member
16. Dr. Lian H. Sakhong – member

## **Peace Process**

**New Ceasefire:** 6 Jan. 2012

**11th** resistance group to sign ceasefire with government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks (7 May 2012)

### **# Post-Ceasefire Clashes:**

#2012: None

#2013: None

#2014: None

#2015: None

## **Official delegation team**

Chin Peace and Tranquility

Committee 24-31 August 2012

Twenty committee members were selected from the Central Executive Committee, Central Committee, Supreme Council members and CNA leaders.

Leaders: Supreme Council Chairman Pu Thang Nang Lian Thang and Secretary General Pu Zing Cung

## Liaison offices

1. Tedim (25/09/2012)
2. Thantlang (29/06/2012)
3. Matupi (23/06/2012)

## Economic liaison office

1. Paletwa (19/10/2013)
2. Yangon
3. Tio, India-Myanmar border
4. Falam (permitted 9 June 2014)
5. Mindat (permitted 9 June 2014)

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	CNF Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	19/11/2011	Mae Sai, Thailand	Dr. Sui Khar and Pu Zing Cung	U Aung Min	Preliminary discussions, informal ceasefire
2	06/01/2012	Hakha, Chin state	Joint Gen-Sec Dr. Sui Khar, 10-member delegation	U Aung Min	State level: 9-point ceasefire agreement signed. Members of the govt delegation included: Forestry Minister Win Tun, State level peace and stability committee members and Chin state Security and Border Affairs Minister Colonel Zaw Min Oo, Strategic Command Commander Lieutenant Colonel Ko Ko Gyi and 5 state govt cabinet members.
3	07/05/2012	Hakha, Chin state	Dr Sui Khar	Aung Min	Union level: 15-point peace agreement signed. These included travel restrictions lifted for CNF members in Myanmar and travel visas allowed for resettled Chin. Other participants included: MPSI Consultant Ashley South, Executive Director of Chin Human Rights Organization Salai Bawi Lian Mang.

#	Date	Location	CNF Rep	Govt Rep	Details
	U Aung Min	Union level: 15-point peace agreement signed. Other participants included: MPSI Consultant Ashley South, Executive Director of Chin Human Rights Organization Salai Bawi Lian Mang.	Secretary Pu Zing Cung and Sec-Gen Dr. Sui Khar and other leaders	U Aung Min	2nd Union level meeting: 28-point agreement signed. An agreement to form an independent commission on human rights abuses in Chin state was decided. Govt participants included: U Tin Maung Than, U Hla Maung Shwe, U Kyaw Soe Hlaing, Dr. Min Zaw Oo, Dr. Kyaw Yin Hlaing, U Thihan Myo Ngunt, U Aung Naing Oo, U Ne Myo Naing, Colonel Chit Ko Ko and U Tin Aung Moe.  International observers included: Kristine Gould (PACRIM Research Associates); USA, Mr. Yohei Sasakawa, (chairman of Nippon Foundation), Mr. Yiji Mori (Nippon Foundation), Ms. Suzuka Yoshida (Nippon Foundation); Japan, Charles Petrie ( MPSI), Mai Chin Chin (Shalom Foundation; Yangon, Salai Bawi Lian Mang, (Executive Director of Chin Human Rights Organization); Indo-Myanmar border
4	07/12/2012	MPC, Yangon	Secretary Pu Zing Cung and Sec-Gen Dr. Sui Khar and other leaders	U Aung Min	2nd Union level meeting: 28-point agreement signed. International observers included: Kristine Gould (PACRIM Research Associates), Mr. Yohei Sasakawa, (chairman of Nippon Foundation), Mr. Yiji Mori (Nippon Foundation), Ms. Suzuka Yoshida (Nippon Foundation), Charles Petrie (MPSI), Mai Chin Chin (Shalom Foundation, Salai Bawi Lian Mang, (Chin Human Rights Organization)
5	31/08/2013	Naypyitaw	RCSS + KNU+ CNF (Gen. Mu Tuu Say Phoe, Maj. Htoo Htoo Lay, Maj. Sai La and Maj. Sai Mein from RCSS)	Vice President Sai Mauk Kham	UPWC Chairman Sai Mauk Kham expected to get nationwide ceasefire in October. (1) commitment of ceasefire (2) framework from both sides negotiation for political dialogue (3) all inclusiveness in Conference (4) midterm working process negotiations is proposed by KNU-RCSS. informal meeting.
6	20/2/2014	Mindat, Chin State	CNF	Chin State Govt	CNF held Chin National Day in Mindat town. Chin state government attended the ceremony.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Member	
2	NCCT	Member	EAOs SD member
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law Khee Lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	-	CNF officer cadets attended the training in KIA's cadet officer training school
6	Meetings with other groups	-	UNA Chin civic groups
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	
8	National conferences	-	Chin National Congress
9	Partnerships	-	
10	Observers at meetings	-	Nippon foundation, PACRIM Research Associates, MPSI, Shalom Foundation, Chin Human Rights Organization

## Developments

Dialogue			
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	A	
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire	A	
3	Code of Conduct: control area	A	<p>CNF/CNA will be temporarily based out around 5 village tracts in 2 townships: Tlangpi, Dawn and Zang Tlang village tracts in Thantlang Township, and Zampi and Bukphir village tracts in Tedim Township.</p> <p>Other possible bases include: Kung Pin, Ra O, Shweletwa, and Ra Kan village tracts in Paletwa Township; Para and Pathiantlang, Belhar, Vanzang, Lungding, Lulpilung in village tracts in Tedim Township; Dampi, Tui Dial village tracts in Thantlang Township.</p> <p>CNF opened Camp Victoria in Thantlang Township (January, 2013 as their new headquarters.</p>

4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body	A		Arbitrate any physical violence resulting from accidental nature between the CNF and Myanmar army. To be formed under the leadership of the Chin state Security and Border Affairs minister and will also involve both the CNF liaison officer and CNA leaders responsible for the areas where such incident occurs. This can also include the in-charge/ commander of the CNF/CNA, commander of the Myanmar army, police force, chairman of the Chin Peace Monitoring Body or any such duly authorized individual.
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body	A		“Ceasefire Monitoring Body” consisting primarily of the Chin Peace and Tranquility Committee but also with active participation from other legal experts.
6	Military relations	A	√	agreed to allow the presence of only the Myanmar army and the CNF within Chin state  CNF must obtain permission from the government before conducting military exercises  A CNA refresher training course covering public relations was held on the Indo-Myanmar border on 24 October 2014
7	Observers			
Political				
8	Public consultation	A	√	CNF granted permission to hold public consultations regarding the peace process (20/11/ 2012: preliminary meeting for an upcoming CNF’s public consultation took place in Matupi, Chin state)
9	Legalisation	A		under existing laws the CNF/CNA are still considered unlawful organizations by the Union government, both parties have agreed this will be amended at a later date once full confidence has been firmly established.  CNF/CNA members immune from criminal prosecution for being part of the organisation (effective after the signing of this agreement).  UPWC will remove the names of all individuals who have been blacklisted for being affiliated or members of CNF/ CNA (effective after the signing of this agreement).  official registration allowed for community-based organizations.
10	Release political prisoners	A		both parties agreed that the UPWC team will submit a list of any individual(s) who have been arrested and imprisoned on account of CNF/ CNA activities to the president’s office for immediate amnesty (effective after the signing of agreement)

11	Human Rights	A		<p>cooperation to uphold human rights, punish violators in accordance with the 2008 Constitution</p> <p>the formation of an independent Chin human rights committee</p> <p>consideration made towards the international agreements that have been acceded to by the Union government, including other international human rights moral obligations</p>
12	Ethnic Rights	A		<p>religious freedom</p> <p>no discrimination on the basis ethnicity, religion and gender for civil service positions</p>
13	National day	A	√	official recognition of Chin National Day (February 20) and Chin State Day on (February 3)
<b>Resettlement</b>				
14	ID card	A		the state immigration department will issue national identity cards for CNF/CNA members after a membership list is submitted
15	Resettlement plans	A		all Chin nationals who have resettled abroad will be allowed to return and assistance will be provided for issuing visas
16	Demining	-	-	
<b>Economic</b>				
17	NSAG company	A	√	Khonumthung Company (2012)
18	SEZ/SIZ	A		with the financial support from the Union government the CNF will play a leading role in developing the state in accordance with laws governing the new Special Economic Zone (SEZ)
19	Development projects	A		<p>the Union government will construct at least 2 airports.</p> <p>The govt is building a domestic airport in Surbung mountain in Falam Township, Chin state. The site was surveyed by a CNF delegation, administrator of Falam Township and residents on December 19, 2012.</p> <p>construction of a national highway that will connect northern Tonzang Township to southern Paletwa Township</p>

20	Development initiatives	A	→	<p>both parties will cooperate on development projects</p> <p>permission for INGOs and social economic organisations (both inside and outside the country) to support development initiatives that will improve the quality of life for Chin state residents</p> <p>CNF will establish committees or organizations to carry out new development initiatives in cooperation with domestic/ international social economic organisations and INGOs</p> <p>CNF allowed to seek independent funding for implementing development projects in the state</p> <p>An additional one billion kyat (US\$1 million) budget was approved for development in Chin state at an emergency meeting of the regional parliament in Hakha, targeted at improving transportation links and government buildings across the state, also include development projects.</p> <p>17 November, he pledged to provide 100 million kyat (\$100,000) for development to every township in Chin state.</p>
21	Development: Tourism	A	→	<p>restrictions lifted for international tourists to travel in the state</p> <p>Chin State is likely to see a new phase of development in eco-tourism as three new places are to be transformed into visitor attractions, plans to establish tourist sites at Rih Lake, Bawipa and Zinghmuh mountains in Chin State announced (15/08/2013) .</p>
22	Development: Internet	A	√	<p>development of information technology and computer skills</p> <p>basic services such as water, electricity, food, security, health and education to be made available to everyone</p> <p>CNF installed 90 computers and internet in all 30 high schools in Chin state.</p>
23	Car licenses		√	20 cars for tax free and 40 car licenses with preferential tax rates
Social				
24	Media	A		<p>the establishment of a community radio broadcast program for promoting Chin media and culture in each of the various dialects</p> <p>media e.g newspapers, journals, magazines, newsletters, radio, internet and television programs</p>

25	Ethnic language in primary school	A	√	
26	others			both parties will cooperate in the development of out of state guest houses for travelling Chins (Naypyitaw, Yangon, Mandalay, Pakokku, Kalay, Sittwe, Seih Town) open schools to promote Chin culture and music
<b>Drugs</b>				
27	Drug eradication	A		both parties agreed to cooperate in the eradication of poppy cultivation and other illegal drug businesses, this includes smuggling operations in northern Chin state drug production is increasing despite the agreement
<b>Environment</b>				
28	EIA	A		environmental impact assessments shall be conducted on all in state development projects by an independent committee of experts both parties agreed that the extraction of natural resources in Chin State will adhere to the points stipulated in the ceasefire agreement

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started; √ = Achieved; X = Failing

## Statements

19 Mar 2014 - CNF signed Geneva Call documents in Geneva, child protection and prohibition of sexual violence

18 Feb 2014 - A statement of CNF to review the census process

05 Jan 2013 - CNF statement on govt offensives in Kachin and Shan states (Burmese)

31 Aug 2012 - The 5th CEC Statement

19 May 2012 - CNF press release after 2nd peace talk (Burmese)

10 May 2012 - CNF press release on peace negotiations (Burmese)

15 Jan 2012 - CNF Press Release To The People

16 Dec 2011 - Appeal To The Chin People

16 Dec 2011 - Emergency-Conference-Statement (Burmese)

20 Feb 2010 - CNF statement on 52th Chin National Day (Burmese)



# Democratic Karen Benevolent Army

ဒီမိုကရေစီ အကျိုးပြု ကရင်အမျိုးသားတပ်မတော်



**Armed wing:** Klo Htoo Baw Battalion

**Political wing:** Klo Htoo Baw

**Other names:** Karen Klo-Htoo-Baw Organisation (KKO)

**Government name:** Kaloh Htoo Baw armed group

(Former Democratic Karen Buddhist Army - Brigade 5)



NCCT member

ဒီမိုကရေစီ အကျိုးပြု ကရင်အမျိုးသားတပ်မတော်



**D.K.B.A**



**D.K.B.A**

## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 8 Nov. 2010

**Headquarters:** Sonese Myaing, Myawaddy township, Karen State

**Operational Area:** Three Pagodas Pass, Myine Gyi Ngu, Hlaing Bwe and Kyar-In-Seik-Gyi, Kawkaik townships, Manerplaw (former KNU headquarters)

**Estimated strength:** 1,500+

**Leader:** Gen. Saw Lah Bwe aka. Na Kham Mwe (Commander-in-chief)

Brig. Gen. Saw Moo Shay (Deputy commander-in-chief)

Led by Gen Saw Lah Bwe, the DKBA Brigade 5 is a breakaway faction of the original Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (now a BGF) and renamed itself the Democratic Karen Benevolent Army. During the 2010 elections, Brigade 5 attacked government troops and security forces in Myawaddy, Karen state.

DKBA has Klo Htoo Baw, Klo Htoo Wah and Klo Htoo Ler strategic commands.

**CEC member:** Gen. Saw LahBwe

Brig. Gen. Saw Moo Shay

Brig. Gen. Saw Kyaw Thet (discharged in July 2015)

Brig. Gen. Saw Kyaw Beh

Col. Saw Kyaw Dah

Col. Saw Lont Lon (NCCT member)

Col. Saw San Aung (discharged in July 2015)

Lt. Col. Saw TunTun (Spokesperson)

## Peace Process

**New Ceasefire:** 3 Nov. 2011

**3rd** resistance group to sign ceasefire with government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks (11 Dec. 2011)

**Post-ceasefire Clashes:**

#2012: 1

#2013: 4

#2014: 13

#2015: 40+ (Jan-Jun)

## Official delegation team

None

## Liaison offices

1. Hpa-an city (Opened in Nov 2011)

2. Myawaddy (Opened in Nov 2011), Kyar-In-Seik-Gyi, Kyaikdon, Three Pagoda Pass, Myain Gyingu (pending)

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	DKBA rep.	Govt Rep	Details
1	26/10/2011	Mottama, Thaton District, Mon state	Brigadier General Saw Moo Shay	Thein Zaw	Preliminary meeting  Maung Maung Thein, commander of the Southeast Regional Military Command and chief ministers of Karen and Mon states were also present

2	03/11/2011	Hpa-an, Karen state	Brigadier General Saw Moo Shay	Col Aung Lwin Minister for Security and Border Affairs of Kayin state	State level 5 point ceasefire agreement signed, both sides represented by 4 member delegation
3	11/12/2011	Hpa-an, Karen state	Saw Lah Bwe, 6 member delegation	Aung Thaug, 7 member delegation	Union level peace agreement
4	22/01/2013	Myawaddy, Karen state	Saw Lah Bwe, 8 member delegation	Aung Min, Gen Maung Maung Ohn + 9 others	Agreement on 3 points: demarcation of control areas, open liaison offices, provide assistance to DKBA
5	04/05/2013	Kayin State government office in Hpaan	Maj. Maung Lay	Kayin State Security and Border Affairs Minister Aung Lwin	Discussed recent fighting between the DKBA and local BGF, however the issue was not resolved .
6	06/05/2013	Naypyidaw	Maj. Maung Lay	Aung Min	Discussed fighting in Myaing Gyi Ngu and ways to how to avoid conflict in the future. Aung Min to follow up on the matter. DKBA reconfirmed its commitment to the ceasefire agreement and suggested a liaison group be formed to mediate between the DKBA and other ceasefire groups.
7	11/05/2013	Sonsee Myaing in Myawaddy township, Karen state	Gen. Saw Lah Bwe, Gen. Saw Moo Shay, Brig. Gen. Kyaw Thet, Brig. Gen. Kyaw Beh from DKBA	Dr. Min Zaw Oo and U Aung Naing Oo from MPC's technical team	MPC technical team met representatives from DKBA and Karen BGFs to solve the conflict between them.
8	09/02/2014	Yangon	Gen Saw Lah Bwe	Aung Min	Goodwill
9	01/04/2014	Karen State	Col Saw San Aung	Karen State minister Zaw Min and Police Forces	It's an Informal meeting to solve the resettlement of Thameegalay villagers in DKBA controls area.
10	06/10/2014	Myawaddy	Col Saw San Aung	Commander of southeast military command	It's an informal meeting between DKBA and Myanmar army to control armed conflicts in Karen state and handed the seized weapons.

11	29/10/2014	Sone see Myine, Myawaddy township	DKBA	-	Karen armed groups held a meeting to establish a Kawthoo Lei Armed Forces (KAF).
12	04/01/2015	Naypyitaw	DKBA	-	DKBA delegations attended the Independence Day ceremony held in Naypyitaw.
13	05/01/2015	Naypyitaw	DKBA	-	Ethnic leaders including DKBA leaders met president TheinSein and commander in chief Snr. Gen. Min AungHlaing. They discussed about NCA.
14	18/01/2015	Yangon	Gen. Saw Leh Bwe	U Aung Min	It's an informal meeting between them. They discussed about NCA.
15	11/02/2015	Naypyitaw	DKBA	U Aung Min	EAOs leaders including DKBA leaders met U Aung Min. The discussed about "deep commitment for peace and national reconciliation" to sign on Union Day.
16	12/02/2015	Naypyitaw	DKBA	President TheinSein	DKBA signed "deep commitment for peace and national reconciliation together with KNU, KPC and RCSS.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	-	
2	NCCT	Member	
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law Khee Lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	-	Work together with ABSDF, AA (Karen)
6	Meetings with other groups	-	
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	
8	National conferences	-	

9	Partnerships	Member	Karen Armed Groups Solidarity Committee (KNU, DKBA, KPC, Karen BGFs) KAF (2014), KUPC (2015)
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Developments

Dialogue			
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	A	
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire	A	
3	Code of Conduct: control area	A	
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body		
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body		
6	Military relations		
7	Observers		
Political			
8	Public consultation		
9	Legalisation		
10	Release political prisoners		
11	Human Rights	D	
12	Ethnic Rights	D	
13	National day		
Resettlement			
14	ID card	A	
15	Resettlement plans	A	Temporary settlement of Kalo Htoo Baw armed group at the environs of Sonesee-myaing  Settlement of members of Kalo Htoo Baw group and their families
16	Demining		
Economic			
17	NSAG company		DKBA has operating business concession
18	SEZ/SIZ		
19	Development projects		

20	Development initiatives	A		Cooperate with the government in regional development, and improvement of socio-economic status in Sukali region under existing laws, based temporarily in Sonese Myaing region
21	Development: Tourism			
22	Development: Internet			
23	Car licenses		√	20 cars for tax free and 40 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)
Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school			
26	others			
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication	A		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- declared Myawaddy district as a drug-free zone on May 20, 2012</li> <li>- DKBA captured 2 drug dealers in Myawaddy for the first time on Feb 2, 2014</li> <li>- DKBA kicked off anti-drug campaign in its control area (2014)</li> </ul>
Environment				
28	EIA			

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started; √ = Achieved

## Statements

Nov 2, 2014 - DKBA released a statement on KAF formation

Oct 30, 2014 - KAF formation statement released after the meeting

Oct 21, 2014 - DKBA discharged Lt. Col. Saw San Aung

Oct 13, 2014 - KAF Agreement in Burmese

Oct 13, 2014 - KAF Statement in Burmese

Oct 13, 2014 - KAF Statement in English

Jan 4, 2013 - DKBA statement condemning government offensives in Kachin and northern Shan states, and threatening to cancel its ceasefire agreement.

# Kachin Independence Organisation

ကချင်ပြည် လွတ်လပ်ရေး အဖွဲ့



**Armed wing:** Kachin Independence Army

**Government name:** Kachin State Special Region-2

www.kachinnet.net



UNFC member



NCCT and EAOs SD member



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 5 Feb. 1961

**Headquarters:** Laiza, Kachin state

**Operational Area:** 5 brigades across Kachin state and Northern Shan state

**Estimated strength:** 10,000+ (excluding the KIO's MHH and MKM civilian militia forces: over 10,000+)

**Leader:** Lanyaw Zawng Hra (Chairman and President), Lt. Gen. N'Ban La (Vice-President), Lt. Gen. Gauri Zau Seng (Vice-Chairman), Lt. Gen. Gam Shawng (Chief of Staff), Maj. Gen. Gun Maw (Vice Chief of Staff), Brig. Gen. Dr. La Ja (General Secretary), U La Nan (Joint General Secretary)

The KIO's armed wing the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) is the second largest ethnic armed group in Myanmar. The KIO claims to have 10,000 troops with another 10,000 reservists in the civilian population ready to fight. The KIO generates large revenues from its rich natural resources, which has enabled them to create a powerful army and develop trade centers in several cities along the Sino-Myanmar border. e.g. Laiza, Mai Ja Yang

A 17-year ceasefire, which for many years was the only written agreement that the government had with any armed group, ended less than 3 months after the nominally civilian government took power. The contributing factor was the KIO's refusal to join the government's BGF scheme. Construction of the Myitsone dam - that would flood large tracts of land in KIO-controlled territories - was also a major source of tension. Although the Myanmar state media started referring to the KIO as an illegal organization from 2009- 2010, the ceasefire did not breakdown until government troops attacked the KIO's Sang Gang outpost on June 9, 2011.

### CEC members:

- Chairman of KIO and President of Kachin Independence Council (KIC): Lanyaw Zawng Hra
- Vice-President 1: Lt. Gen. N'Ban La
- Vice-President 2: Lt. Gen. Gam Shawng (CS)
- General Secretary: Brig. Gen. Dr. La Ja

- Joint General Secretary: La Nan (Spokesperson)
  - Chief of Staff: Lt. Gen. Gam Shawng
  - Vice Chief of Staff: Maj. Gen. Gun Maw
- \* **General Secretary Dr. La Ja is a deputy EAOs SD member.**
- \* **Maj. Gen. Gun Maw is a deputy leader in NCCT.**

**KIA has 5 brigades:**

- Brigade 1 (Putao area)
- Brigade 2 (Tanine area)
- Brigade 3 (Bhamao area)
- Brigade 4 (northern Shan state)
- Brigade 5 (Laiza area)

## **Peace Process**

Preliminary Peace Talks

non-ceasefire

# **clashes since 9 June 2011 - 2012:** 2,400 clashes (KIO) 1095 clashes (government)

# **2013:** 1,400+ (estimate)

# **2014:** 73 (MPM record) (Govt said 68 in Kachin state alone)

# **2015:** 57 (MPM record) (Jan-Jun)

**Previous ceasefire:** 24 Feb. 1994

## **Official delegation team**

Rotational led by U Sum Lut Gam

## **Liaison offices**

**Previously:** 22 liaison offices in Kachin and Shan states under the 1994 ceasefire

All Liaison offices were ordered to close in November 2010

## **KIO Justice and Negotiation center**

**Located:** Prang Ngawn village, Loijay area, Kachin State, Myanmar



## KIO's Technical Advisory Team

**Located:** No. NR/114, Shatapru ward, Myitkyina Township, Kachin State on 24 July 2013

### **KIO member:**

1. Gawlu La Awng (deputy director of foreign Affairs Dept)
2. Col. Phongan Khun Nawng
3. Col. Sin Wah (Deputy GS-1)
4. Sara Dumsa Dau Hka

### **Civilian:**

1. Saranum Lu Nan
2. Sara Brang Mai
3. Min Zai Dau Lum
4. Sara La Yeik

**KIO's Joint Conflict Resolution Committee (JCRC):** formed on 28 May 2014

Col. Zau Tawng and 4 officials from KIO side

## Peace-talks Creation Group

**Website:** <http://peace-talkcreationgroup.com/>

**Facebook:** <http://facebook.com/PeaceTalkCreationGroup>

**Email:** [welcometopcg@gmail.com](mailto:welcometopcg@gmail.com)



The Peace-talk Creation Group is made up of Kachin businessmen. They have been instrumental in assisting peace talks between the KIO and government by mediating between the two sides to schedule and make necessary arrangements. They occasionally provide financial assistance for meetings.

### **Membership includes:**

- Yup Zaw Hkawng of Jadeland company
- Lamai Gum Ja
- Hkapra KhunAwng
- Nshan San Awng.

The group also has a 7-member official documentation team.

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	KIO Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	17/06/2011	Laiza, Kachin	KIO Central Committee	4 leaders of the Kachin National Consultative Assembly (KNCA)	The government offered a verbal ceasefire with the KIO but was rejected unless there was a recognition of political rights, political talks outside the country and with the presence of foreign mediators. KNCA reps: Tsum Hpawng Sin Wa, Labang Gam Awng, Ding Yau Zau In -- sent by U Thein Zaw (MP and former military general)
2	30/06/2011	Laja Yang Village, Kachin State	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw and 4 other leaders	Col. Than Aung	Discussion about a ceasefire
3	01-02/08/2011	Laja Yang village, Kachin state	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw and 4 other leaders	Col. Than Aung	The KIO demanded that the government negotiate a nationwide ceasefire with all ethnic armed groups. The government urged the KIO to sign a ceasefire, no agreement was reached but both sides agreed to continue meeting for further discussions.
4	19/11/2011	Mae Sai, Thailand	Lt. Gen. N'Ban La	U Aung Min	Informal meeting Individual participants included: Nay Win Maung; Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing and Tin Maung Than; Harn Yawnghwe
5	29/11/2011	Ruili, China	Lanyaw Zawng Hra	U Aung Thaug	Full scale delegation level talks. No agreement was reached. Other KIO reps: Col. Lahpai Zau Raw, Lt-Col. Lazing Ji Nawng, Lt-Col. Maran ZauTawng, Sumlut Gam and Lama Gum Hpan
6	18-19/01/2012	Ruili, China	Sumlut Gam and 11 other leaders	U Aung Thaug	The government continued to urge the KIO to sign a ceasefire but no agreement was reached. KIO complained that the Myanmar military was attacking their frontline position while talks were being held.
7	08-10/03/2012	Ruili, China	Sumlut Gam and 7 other leaders	U Aung Thaug	No agreement reached but a joint statement was signed that tentatively agreed five points, continue political dialogue, building trust, a drawdown in troop levels, coordination of military activities in the conflict zone.

#	Date	Location	KIO Rep	Govt Rep	Details
8	21/05/2012	Chiang Rai, Thailand	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw, Brig. Gen. Dr. La Ja	U Aung Min	Informal Meeting
9	01/06/2012	Maija Yang	Sumlut Gam and 4 other leaders	U Aung Min	Informal Meeting
10	20/06/2012	Maija Yang	Sumlut Gam and 4 other leaders	U Aung Min	Informal Meeting Agreed to work towards more meaningful talks in the next round and include the presence of army C-in-C Soe Win. Aung Min laid out a map detailing the government's proposal for the relocation of military bases to sites where both armies would be farther apart.
11	30/10/2012	Ruili, China	Sumlut Gam	U Aung Min	Agreement was reached to continue talks and proceed with further political dialogue.
12	04/02/2013	Ruili, China	Sumlut Gam, Maj. Gen. Gun Maw	U Aung Min	Preparatory meeting
13	11-12/03/2013	Ruili, China	Sumlut Gam, Maj. Gen. Gun Maw	U Aung Min	5 point statement Observers: 4 from UNFC, 2 from SSPP, 2 from RCSS, 2 from NDAA, 4 from PCG and Chinese Minister-Counselor Mr Wang Zongying and 2 from the PRC
14	28-30/05/2013	Myitkyina, Kachin State	Sumlut Gam, Maj. Gen. Gun Maw and other leaders (48 delegates)	U Aung Min, Lt. Gen. Myint Soe and ministers (44 delegates)	Both parties signed a 7-point agreement
15	08-10/10/2013	Myitkyina	Sumlut Gam, Maj. Gen. Gun Maw, Col. Laphai Zau Raw, Col. Zau Tawng, Naw Htoi, 8 representatives from KIO	U Aung Min, Lt. Gen Myint Soe ( 30 from govt/ 53 from KIO/ 24 from ethnic armed groups/ and CSOs/ total 115)	7-point preliminary agreement
16	16/09/2013	Myitkyina	KIO Advisory team	MPC technical team	Informal meeting

#	Date	Location	KIO Rep	Govt Rep	Details
17	02/10/2013	Myitkyina	KIO Advisory technical team	MPC technical team	Informal meeting discussed 1. military provocations by both sides 2. IDPs 3. Military code of conduct (joint monitoring committee) 4. political talks 5. Others
18	29/1/2014	Chiang Mai	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw	Minister Aung Min	It's a goodwill meeting. It's an informal meeting between Maj. Gen. Gun Maw and minister U Aung Min and his MPC team.
19	13/05/14	Myitkyina, Kachin state	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw and U SuamLut Gam	UPWC	UPWC and KIO held a formal meeting on May 13, 2014. KIO and UPWC met on May 13 in Myitkyina, Kachin state and released a joint statement after the meeting. They agreed to form a Joint Conflict Resolution Committee to reduce the clashes between the two forces.
20	28/05/14	Myitkyina, Kachin state	KIO, Col. ZawTawng from KIO	UPWC, Col. Than Aung from Kachin state Border Affairs minister	KIO and UPWC held an informal meeting on May 28, 2014 in Myitkyina, Kachin state. After the meeting, KIO and UPWC formed a Joint Conflict Resolution Committee (JCRC) to mediate the conflicts between KIO and government forces and reduce the clashes in Kachin state. In the joint committee, Col. Than Aung leads the government team and Col. ZauTawng leads KIO team. The joint committee has equal number of representative. There are 5 representatives from each side included in the joint committee.
21	19/06/2014	Chiang Rai	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw	Minister Aung Min	It's an informal meeting as well as a goodwill meeting.
22	05/07/14	Myitkyina, Kachin state	KIO - JCRC led by Col. ZauTawng	Govt – JCRC led by Col. Than Aung (minister of Kachin state border affairs)	It's an Informal Meeting.  It's a JRCR monthly meeting to reduce skirmishes between KIA and Myanmar forces.
23	12/08/2014	Myitkyina	KIO - JCRC led by Col. Zau Tawng	Govt – JCRC led by Col. Than Aung (Kachin state border affairs minister)	It's an informal Meeting of JCRC to solve the conflicts following recent skirmishes between Burma army and KIA forces in Hpakant area on August 8 and 10.

#	Date	Location	KIO Rep	Govt Rep	Details
24	05/09/2014	Myitkyina	KIO – JCRC led by Col. Zau Tawng	Govt – JCRC led by Col. Than Aung (minister of Border Affairs and Security in Kachin State)	It's a regular monthly meeting. They held a crisis resolve meeting in Myitkyina. They discussed about how to reduce the armed conflicts between the two forces in Kachin State.
25	06/02/2015	Chiang Mai	KIO led by Dr. La Ja	UPWC led by U Aung Min	It's an informal meeting between them. U Aung Min invited KIO representatives to attend the Union Day celebration in Naypyitaw.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Member	
2	NCCT	Member	EAOs SD Member
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	Alliance	TNLA, MNDAA, AA and ABSDF FUA northern Command Center opened in Laiza
6	Meetings with other groups	-	88 Generation Students Group leaders (06/01/2013)
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw visited the USA
8	National conferences	-	
9	Cooperations	-	Panghsang conference
10	Observers at meetings	-	China, UN, Euro Burma office, Center for Humanitarian Dialogue

## Developments

Dialogue				
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	A		
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire			Discussion through NCCT
3	Code of Conduct: control area			Discussion through NCCT
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body	A	√	KIO's Technical Advisory Team, Joint Conflict Resolution Committee (JCRC)
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body			Discussion through NCCT

6	Military relations	A		The Parties agree to undertake efforts to achieve de-escalation and cessation of hostilities  continue discussions on military issued related to repositioning of troops
7	Observers			
Political				
8	Public consultation	A	√	KIO held public consultation meetings in Laiza and meeting with civic groups in Myitkyina.
9	Legalisation			
10	Release political prisoners		√	Released some KIA soldiers from prisons in 2013
11	Human Rights			
12	Ethnic Rights			
13	National day			
Resettlement				
14	ID card			
15	Resettlement plans	A		continue to undertake relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of IDPs in consultation with each other.
16	Demining			
Economic				
17	NSAG company			
18	SEZ/SIZ			
19	Development projects			
20	Development initiatives			
21	Development: Tourism			
22	Development: Internet			
23	Car licenses			
Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school		√	
26	others			
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication			Unilateral campaign for drug eradication in Kachin state
Environment				
28	EIA			

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started; √ = Achieved

## Statements

11 Mar 2015 - KIO released a statement on students protest in Letpadan

12 Feb 2015 - KIO released a statement on Union Day

20 Nov 2014 - KIO released a statement on Myanmar army attacked on KIA military academy

13 May 2014 - KIO and UPWC joint statement of the Myitkyinar talk to form the conflict mediation team

28 Mar 2014 - An interview with KIO Spoke Person in Irrawaddy News

19 Jan 2013 - KIO reply to the President's office statement saying Burmese stop the conflict in Kachin state

20 Jan 2013 - KIO's statement on armed conflicts in Kachin state

10 Oct 2013 - KIO and Govt 7 points agreement

# Kuki National Organisation - Burma

ကူကီး အမျိုးသား အစည်းအရုံး (မြန်မာပြည်)

**Army wing:** Kuki National Army (Burma)

**Website:** <http://issuu.com/knoknaburma>



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 29 July 2013

**Headquarters:** Mobile Headquarters

**Operational Area:** The land strips of Myanmar's townships (sub-division or districts) located along the border with India such as Tonzang township, Tamu township, Myothit township, Homalin township, Laysi township and Khamti township.

**Estimated Strength:** 200+

**Leader:** Pu. Letlam

### CEC members:

- President: Pu Letlam
- Vice President: Pu Chuchung
- General Secretary: Pi Ngangai
- Joint Secretary: Pu Khupmang
- Defence Secretary: Pu Paulneo
- Information and Publicity Secretary: Pu Seigin
- Home Secretary: Pu Michael Sasat
- Head of Intelligence: Pu Letkholun
- Secretary, External Affairs and Liaison: Pu Boipu
- Secretary, Human Rights Law and Analysis Wing: Pi Lalam

The first Kuki National Organisation/ Kuki National Army (KNO/KNA) was founded on 24 February 1988 with the sole aim of realising the Kuki Peoples' lost rights and fights for recognition in the form of Federal State Unit in both India and Myanmar where their land has been divided. Following the 2010 Myanmar elections, a series of consultation meetings with Kuki CBOs and political groups decided to separate the KNO into two organisations for India and Myanmar. The bifurcation was officially inaugurated at a ceremony held between 27-28 July 2013.

Since 1988, the KNO-B has had about twenty armed confrontations with the Myanmar army and lost three comrades. It has been able to obtain and recover over fifty weapons, and





killed nine personnel and one officer from the Myanmar army. However since 2010 elections they have had no clashes with the Myanmar army. The KNO-B reformed on 29 July 2013 during the consultative meeting.

## **Aims and Objectives:**

### **KNO/KNA(B)'s Political Stand:**

- To ensure every Kuki man or women enjoys the fundamental and inalienable rights articulated by the Universal Declarations of Human rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
- To re-establish the Kuki peoples' lost dignity by integrating the Kuki peoples' ancestral land and getting it accorded as a self-administered state unit under the Federal Union of Burma.
- To fight against the common enemy of military regime until it is totally uprooted from Burma.
- To work for establishment of a genuine Federal Union of Burma, where every indigenous and ethnic nationality, including the Kukis, has security and equal enjoyment of the first, second and third generation rights.
- To grant citizenship to all the victims and their descendants of Khadawmi Operation, 1967 in which over 20,000 Kukis have been unjustly dislocated from their homesteads into refugees.

## **KNO/KNA(B) stands on the Kuki Nation**

- To protect the collective rights and dignity of the Kuki peoples of Burma, which posses all the characteristics of a distinct ethnic group.
- To preserve and promote the literature, tradition, custom & culture of the Kuki people.
- To promote and propagate patriotism, love and unity among the Kuki people.
- To work for the welfare of the Kuki peoples' healthcare, education, economy and living standard.

## **Peace Process**

Combatant/Non-ceasefire

### **Clashes #:**

#2012: None

#2013: None

#2014: None

#2015: None

## Official delegation team

None

## Liaison offices

None

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	AA rep	Govt Rep	Details
1					

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	-	
2	NCCT	-	
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1	-	
4	Law kheelar ethnic conference 2	-	
5	Military allies	-	
6	Meetings with other groups	-	
7	Meeting with foreign actors	-	
8	National conferences	-	
9	Partnerships	-	
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Statements

21 Oct 2013 - KNO (B) sent an open letter to UPWC for ceasefire talks

20 May 2006 - KNO (B) released a statement on the 87th anniversary of Kuki rising

# Karenni National Progressive Party

ကရင်နီ အမျိုးသား တိုးတက်ရေးပါတီ

**Armed wing:** Karenni Army

**Government name:** KNPP

KNPP facebook: <http://goo.gl/hqVEVG>



UNFC member



NCCT and EAOs SD member

## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 1957

**Headquarters:** Nyar Mu, Shardaw Township, Kayah state (also known as Karenni)

**Operational Area:** Loikaw, Shar Daw, Ho Yar (Phru So township), Daw Tamagyi (Dee Maw So township)

**Estimated strength:** 600+

**Leader:** Chairman Abel Tweed

KNPP's armed wing the Karenni army has fought the Myanmar military for the self-determination of its people. Decades long war has resulted in thousands of civilians being displaced from their homes, many of whom have sought shelter in Thai refugee camps.

**CEC members:** Chairman: Abel Tweed

Vice- Chairman: Khu Oo Reh

Secretary 1: Aung San Myint

Secretary 2: Shwe Myo Thant

**Members:** Abel Tweed

Khu Oo Reh

Aung San Myint

Shwe Myo Thant

Khu Hte Bu

Khu Daniel

Khu Plu Reh

Maj. Gen. Aung Myat

Khu Taw Reh  
Khu Shar Reh  
Maw Day Day Phaw  
Khu Nyay Reh

**Military leaders:** Commander-in-Chief: Gen. Bee Htoo

Deputy Commander-in-Chief: Maj. Gen. Aung Myat

## **Peace Process**

**Stage 1:** 7 March 2012

**10th** resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks (9 June 2012)

**Clashes:**

#2012: <10

#2013: None

#2014: None

#2015: None

## **Official delegation team**

Rotational

Established a joint Ceasefire monitoring committee after signing of Union Level Ceasefire Agreement.

## **Liaison offices**

1. Loikaw 25/07/2012
2. Shadaw 01/08/2012
3. Hpa-saung 27/07/2012

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	KNPP Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	19/11/2011	Chiang Rai, Thailand	Gen. Bee Htoo, Khu Hte Bu	U Aung Min	An informal preliminary meeting. Mediators: Nay Win Maung, Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Tin Maung Than, Harn Yawngwe
2	01/12/2011	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Khu Oo Reh	U Aung Min	Preliminary peace agreements.
3	01/02/2012	Chiang Mai, Thailand	KNPP	U Aung Min	Discussed allowing the KNPP to open liaison offices, free movement in Myanmar, and rehabilitating IDPs in Karenni State.
4	07/03/2012	Loikaw, Kayah	Khu Oo Reh	U Aung Min	State level 3 point ceasefire signed  KNPP participants: Commander-in-Chief Bee Htoo, Colonel Phone Naing; 7 Buddhist monks and 7 Christian priests.  International mediators: U.S. attaché Andrew Webster, Second Secretary of the British Embassy Joe Fisher and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees representative Hans Ten Feld.
5	21/04/2012	Mae Hong Son, Thailand	Vice-chairman Abel Twee, Khu Oo Reh	U Aung Min	Preparatory meeting for Union level talks
6	09/06/2012	Loikaw, Kayah	Khu Oo Reh	U Aung Min	Union level 14 point agreement
7	10/11/2012	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Abel Twe	U Aung Min	Preparatory meeting. KNPP participants: General Secretary Khu Oo Reh, Second Secretary U Aung San Myint, Commander-in-Chief Gen. Bee Htoo Mediators (govt affiliated): Hla Maung Shwe, Nyo Ohn Myint
8	19-20/06/2013	Loikaw, Kayah	Khu Oo Reh	U Aung Min	Union Level 8 point agreement
9	16/08/2013	MPC, Yangon	KNPP secretary-2 Shwe Myo Thant	MPC technical team	Informal meeting. Shwe Myo Thant handed over the name list of KNPP's technical team.
10	22-23/10/2013	Loikaw, Kayah	KNPP	U Aung Min	Discussed the govt's Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement draft and implementation of previous peace agreements.

11	14/11/2013	Loikaw, Kayah	KNPP	Kayah state chief minister	9 KNPP reps met the Kayah state minister about education and health care issues.
12	31/03/2015	Loikaw, Kayah	KNPP	Kayah State Govt	KNPP and Kayah State Government held a meeting in Loikaw. They agreed to extend joint monitoring committee.
13	09/05/2015	Loikaw, Kayah	KNPP	Kayah State Govt	KNPP liaison officers and Kayah state government met in Loikaw on 9 May. They discussed about the KNPP troops traveling to west bank of Salaween river.
14	13/05/2015	Loikaw, Kayah	KNPP	Kayah State Border Affairs minister	KNPP officials met Kyayah state border affairs minister and Loikaw ROC commander in Loikaw. They discussed about the KNPP troop's organizing trip. After their discussion, KNPP officials agreed to retreat their troops from Loikaw.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Member	
2	NCCT	Member	EAOs SD member
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	-	
6	Meetings with other groups	-	88-Generation Student Group (11/9/12), Kayah BGFs: KNPP, KNPLF, KNDP, KNSO, KNPD (17/9/13)
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	US ambassador (26/10/12)
8	National conferences	-	
9	Partnerships	-	KNPP, KNLP, KNPLF (cooperation on health programs), attended Panghsang Conference
10	Observers at meetings	-	UNHCR, UK, USA

## Developments

Dialogue			
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	A	To hold talks with all ethnic ceasefire groups, organisations and political parties
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire	A	

3	Code of Conduct: control area	A		To discuss the demarcation of controlled territories, define military camp locations and movement
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body	A		Joint monitoring committee with 5 from KNPP and 5 from Govt.
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body	A		Technical team CBO observer team
6	Military relations	A D		To safeguard the Mae Sae border gate between Thailand and Myanmar  (Withdrawal of government's forces from Kayah state), (transform a military training center into a social center)
7	Observers			
Political				
8	Public consultation	A	√	KNPP public consultation held in Loi Kaw (9 Oct 2014)
9	Legalisation			
10	Release political prisoners	A		Release all KNPP members and affiliates
11	Human Rights	A		KNPP will cooperate with the government's Human Rights Commission, both sides agree to form a locally based human rights monitoring group
12	Ethnic Rights	D		
13	National day			
Resettlement				
14	ID card		√	Some KNPP leaders got Myanmar passport.
15	Resettlement plans	A		Both sides will discuss the systematic resettlement of IDPs; the government will assist in the resettlement of KNPP families providing support for business ventures  Govt to assist the food-shelter -clothing for the KNPP soldiers.
16	Demining	A		KNPP, KNPLF
Economic				
17	NSAG company		√	September, 2012: Kayah Htarnay (Kayah Land) company (lead exploration) and Tamaw Htar (import/export of teak wood), KNPP's business companies are still operating in the country (2014).
18	SEZ/SIZ			
19	Development projects			

20	Development initiatives	A		Cooperate with INGOs and NGOs on health, education and social development, communicate with the Kayah state government
21	Development: Tourism			
22	Development issues	A		To provide the region with electricity in 2014.
23	Car licenses		√	20 cars for tax free and 40 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)
Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school		√	
26	others	A		Kayah state government will form an observer group to survey public opinion about construction of a govt military training school
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication	A		
Environment				
28	EIA	A		Transparency and monitoring for development projects, especially the Ywa Thit hydro-electric dam on Salween river)

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started; √ = Achieved; X = Failing

## Statements

3 Mar 2015 – KNPP released a statement after holding the 12th party congress

12 Jan 2015 - KNPP sent a letter against the heavy weapon shooting training near DawtamaGyi village

23 Oct 2013 - 7 points agreement between KNPP and UPWC

3 Mar 2012 - KNPP Statement-on Ceasefire Talks

1 Jun 2012 - KNPP stated that the “peace roadmap” put forward by Naypyidaw won’t be successful on its own. Only an alliance based on the policies of the United Nationalities Federal Council can ensure that the ceasefire will endure.

31 Jul 2011 - KNPP demanded that the govt hold dialogue for national reconciliation, resolving the conflict and a ceasefire with all ethnic armed groups.



# Karen National Union

ကရင် အမျိုးသား အစည်းအရုံး



**Government name:** Kayin National Union (KNU)

**Armed wing:** Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA)

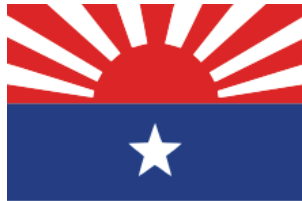
<http://karennationalunion.net/> <http://knuhq.org/>



UNFC member



NCCT and EAOs SD member



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 1947

**Headquarters:** Mobile HQ

**Operational Area:** Than Daung, Taungoo, Nyaung Lay Bin, Hlaing Bwe, Hpa-an, Hpa-pun, Kawkareik, Kyar-Inn Seik Gyi, Kyeik-don, Karen state, eastern part of Bago region and Northern part of Tanintharyi region

**Estimated strength:** 5,000+

**Leader:** Gen. Saw Mutu Say Poe

The KNU has been fighting for determination and autonomy in one of the world's longest civil wars. Following Myanmar's independence from the British in 1948, the Karen National Defence Organization (KNDO) was formed to fight against the central government. This name was later changed to the KNU.

**CEC members:** Chairperson: Gen. Saw Mutu Say Poe

Vice-Chairperson: Naw Zipporah Sein (SD Leader)

General Secretary: Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win

Secretary-1: Padoh Saw Thawthi Bwe

Secretary-2: Padoh Mahn Mahn Mahn

Defence department: Maj. Saw Roger Khin

Commander-in-chief: Gen. Saw Johnny

Deputy Commander-in-chief: Lt. Gen. Saw Baw Kyaw Hae

**Member:**

Padoh Saw Thamein Tun, CEC Member

Padoh Mahn Nyein Maung, CEC Member

Padoh Ta Doh Moo, CEC Member

**Department heads:**

Padoh Mahn Ba Tun, Forestry Department

Padoh Saw Kawkasar Nay Soe, Transportation and Communication Department

Padoh Saw Eh Kalu Shwe Oo, Health and Welfare Department

Padoh Saw Hla Tun, Organizing and Information Department

Padoh Saw Lah Say, Education and Cultural Department

Padoh Saw Mya Maung, Breeding and Fishery Department

Lt. Col. Saw Roger Khin, Defense Department

Padoh Saw Ker Ler, Mining Department

Padoh Saw Eh K'lu Say, Justice Department

Padoh Saw David Tharckabaw, Alliance Affairs Department

Padoh Saw Aung Win Shwe, Foreign Affairs Department

Padoh Saw Ah Toe, Interior and Religion Department

Padoh Saw Kay Hser, Finance and Revenue Department

Padoh Saw Dot Lay Mu, Agriculture Department

**Peace Process**

**New Ceasefire:** 12 Jan. 2012

6th resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks

**Clashes:**

#2012: 6

#2013: 4

#2014: 5

#2015: 8 (Jan-Jun)

## **Official delegation team**

### **Union level peace talks**

Chairperson: Gen. Mutu Say Poe

Vice-Chairperson: Naw Zipporah Sein

General Secretary: Padoh Saw Khwe Htoo Win

Secretary 1: Padoh Saw Thawthi Bwe

Secretary 2: Padoh Mahn Mahn Mahn

Commander-in-chief: Gen. Saw Johnny

Defence Dept: Lt. Col. Saw Roger Khin

## **Liaison offices**

1. Pa-an (29/09/2012)
2. Three Pagoda Pass (15/05/2012)
3. Tavoy/Dawei (12/04/2012)
4. Myawaddy (18/08/2012)
5. Kyauk Gyi (09/04/2012)
6. Thaton (5/3/2013)

## **Economic liaison office**

1. Mawlamyine (22/11/2013)
2. Pa-an
3. Yangon

## **Unity Committee for Karen Armed Groups (UCKAG)**

Unity Committee for Karen Armed Groups (UCKAG) was established after the KNU's the 15th Congress. The aim of the committee is to work towards a unified political principle.

The unity committee was formed with 17 members—three from the KNU led by Gen. Johnny, three from the KNU/KNLA (PC) by Brig. Gen. Yin Nu, three from Karen BGF by Col. Saw Chit Thu, three from the DKBA by Brig. Gen. Kyaw Thet, three from the KPF by Maj. Phartadar and two from the Phayagyigone peace organization by Phado Saw Myint Than.

The Unity Committee for Karen Armed Groups held its first meeting on the 28 May 2013 in Hto Kaw Koe, Pa-an district with members from the KNU, the DKBA, the KNU/KNLA Peace Council, the HaungTharaw special area of peace group, Payargone (a) PadohAung San group and Karen Border Guard Force (BGF).

**Kyaukkyi, Nyaunglebin District, Bago Region**

9th April 2012 – opened by P'dohNawZipporahSein

Responsible person – Saw PahKhu

Vice-responsible person – Saw Peter

Address – KyaukKyι Mu Ban Street.

Phone – 05449168/ 09428175017

**Dawei, Tanintharyi Division**

12th April 2012 – opened by P'doh Saw KweHtoo Win

Responsible person – General PeHtoo

Vice-responsible person – P'doh Saw Htoo Poe

Address – 8/2-4, New Town, Wei Kyoe Section (4) No.8 Street.

Phone – 05923322/ 09422191050

**Hpayarthonesu, Karen State**

15th May 2012 – opened by General Saw MutuSae Poe

Responsible person – General Edward

Vice-responsible person – Saw HtooHtoo

Address – No.3 Chaw Som Section, Three Pagoda Highway

Phone – 09255708236

**Myawaddy, Karen State**

18th August 2012 – opened by General Saw MutuSae Poe

Responsible person – General PahKe'

Vice-responsible person – General S.June

Address – House No.146/No.4 Myit Ta (8),Myawaddy

Phone – 05851259/ 0931486759

## **Hpa-an, Karen State**

29th September 2012 – opened by General Saw MutuSae Poe

Responsible person – Saw SheeSho

Vice-responsible person – Saw Ma Thein

Address – 4/500 The Ree Street, KaThaYa, Pa-an

Phone – 05822723/ 09425032747

## **Karen Peace Support Team (KPST)**

8 April 2012

Address: No.410, 3rd Street (South), East Gyo Gone, Insein Township, Yangon, Myanmar.

Telephone Number: +0095-9-8575 225

### **Contact Persons:**

1. Rev. Mathew Aye, coordinator of Karen Peace Support Team)
2. Susanna Hla Hla Soe, Co- Coordinator of Karen Peace Support Team)

Full details see a statement document

### **KPST's Role in Peace Negotiation**

1. organizing media (domestic and international)
2. observers
3. facilitating meetings
4. community participation

### **Members:**

1. Honorary Moderator: Prof. Saw Tun Aung Chain-Individual
2. Coordinator: Rev. Matthew Aye- Karen Development Network
3. Co-coordinator: Nant Khin Aye Oo (Cum treasurer) - Karen Development Committee
4. Co-coordinator: Naw Susanna Hla Hla Soe - Karen Women's Action Group
5. Member: Saw True Blood - Individual

6. Member: Saw Kenneth Wai Thaw - Individual
7. Member: Saw Alan Saw U - Individual
8. Member: Mahn Kyaw Nyunt - Individual
9. Member: Saw Kyaw Swar - Karen Affairs Committee
10. Member: Nan Myint Tin - Karen Affairs Committee
11. Information Disseminator: Nyaw Nyaw (secretarial support) - Individual

## **Karen Unity and Peace Committee (KUPC)**

KUPC was established after representatives from KNU and Karen armed groups, religious leaders and Karen CBOs/CSOs meeting on 28-29 Jan 2013. The outcome of the meeting was a 'preliminary consensus' to convene a Karen Affairs Seminar for wider consultations and preparation towards an All Karen Conference in the future. Aims are:

1. United for Karen people
2. Peace for Karen people and the Nation
3. All the conference that will focus on the future of Karen

### **KUPC Working Group members:**

1. Ashin Sandawara – Chairman of the Group
2. Ashin Agga Wuntha
3. Robert Htwe
4. Father Joseph Thein Khin
5. Mathew Aye
6. P'doh Saw HlaTun
7. P'doh Saw Tah Doh Moo
8. Mahn Aung PyiSoe
9. Saw Win Soe
10. Naw Rebecca Htin
11. Nant Khin Aye Oo

### **Secretarial Support Members**

1. Naw Kanyaw Paw
2. Naw Hsar Htoo

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	KNU Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	22/09/11	Mae Sot, Thailand	Saw Dot Lay Moo (GS 2)	Saw Poe Nie, Saw Victor	Informal meeting: KNU leaders told the government delegation that they did not want to hold peace talks with state-level officials because they lacked the authority to reach a binding agreement. The meeting was attended by Christian community leaders, Buddhist monks and MP Saw Poe Ni.
2	27/09/11		Col. Saw Soe Soe, Gen. Mutu Say Poe, Maj. Saw Roger, David Taw	Saw Khin Soe (former president of Karen State)	Bringing a letter of requesting to do development project in Papun area along with a permission letter from Karen State chief minister.
3	09/10/11	Mae Sot, Thailand	Naw Zipporah Sein	Aung Min	It's a Preliminary meeting.
4	19/11/11	Mae Sai, Thailand		Aung Min	Informal ceasefire agreement. Mediators included: Nay Win Maung, Dr. Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Tin Maung Than and Harn Yawnghwe.
5	06/12/11	Mae Sot, Thailand	David Thakapaw	Aung Min Gov't advisers: Dr. Nay Win Maung and Hla Maung Shwe	Preliminary meeting. Talks centered on rules and agreements that affect armed troops.  Other Karen delegates included: KNU C-in-C Gen. Mutu Saypo, Padoh David Htaw, Padoh Ah Toe, Hpa-an District chairman Saw Aung Maw Aye, KNU health department Saw Roger Khin and KNU central committee member Saw Thawthikho.
6	21/12/11	Mae Sot, Thailand	Padoh Saw David Taw		David Taw , Kwe Htoo win, Saw Roger Khin, Gen. Mutu Say Poe
7	12/01/12	Hpa-an, Kayin	Gen. Mutu Say Poe	U Aung Min	State level 11 point ceasefire
8	24/03/12	Mae Sot	Naw Zipporah Sein	Aung Min, Aung Lwin, Khin Yee	Preparatory meeting.  Other KNU delegates: David Taw, Gen. Mutu Say Poe, Kwe Htoo win, Htoo Htoo lay, Mae A Sein, Saw Mu, Rogers Khin,
9	05/04/12	Hpa-an, Kayin	Naw Zipporah Sein	U Aung Min	Cease-fire monitoring rules and liaison offices were discussed.

10	06/04/12	Yangon	Naw Zipporah Sein	U Aung Min	Union level 13 point ceasefire
11	07/04/12	Naypyitaw	Naw Zipporah Sein	President Thein Sein	Goodwill visit
12	08/04/12	Yangon	Naw Zipporah Sein	Aung San Suu Kyi	Goodwill visit
13	10/04/12	Bago and Hpa-an, Kayin state	Naw Zipporah Sein	U Aung Min	Discussions on maintaining the ceasefire and the opening of liaison offices. There was a ceremony for the presentation of two vehicles for use at KNU liaison offices in Hpa-an and Dawei.  KNU delegates included: Chief of Staff Gen. Saw Mutu Say Poe.  Govt delegates included: U Khin Yee from UPWC, Kayin State Chief Minister U Zaw Min and other officials.
14	26/06/12	Mae Sot, Thailand	Naw Zipporah Sein	Aung Min	Discussions centered on liaison offices.
15	06/08/12	Myawaddy, Thailand	Naw Zipporah Sein	Aung Min	It's a Preparatory meeting.  Karen leaders included: Padoh Saw Thawthi Bwe, Naw May Oo and Saw Aung Win Shwe. Govt officials included: Minister Khin Yee, SoeThein and the Karen State Minister Zaw Min. Mediators: Dr. Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Hla Maung Shwe, Tin Maung Than, Ngwe Soe, Ko Ko Maung and spouse Ma Su from the Dawei Princess Company.
16	03-04/09/12	Hpa-an, Kayin state	Saw Zipporah Sein	Aung Min	34 point Code of Conduct agreement (in principle were agreed for further discussion)  Also discussed and submitted the Burmese army troops out post relocations with detailed positions in Karen states.  Govt reps included: Immigration Minister Khin Yee, Soe Thein and Karen state chief Minister Zaw Min  Mediators included: Four domestic and three foreigners, Hla Maung Shwe.



17	05-06/01/13	Naypyidaw	Gen. Mutu Say Poe	Thein Sein, Aung Min, VP Sai Mauk Kham, C-in-C Min Aung Hlaing	Union Level Peace talks: Ongoing discussions and the implementation of peace agreements.
18	14/06/13	Yangon	Gen. Mutu Say Poe	Aung Min and MPC	Closed door meeting
19	15/06/2013	MPC, Yangon	Padoh Saw Tar Doh Moo	MPC officials/ technical Team	“Code of Conduct” both delegations plan to meet again in July. Head of the KNU Technical Team of Ceasefire Code of Conduct
20	23/08/2013	Yangon	RCSS + KNU	MPC	Discuss on Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement
21	31/08/2013	Naypyitaw	RCSS + KNU+ CNF (Gen. Mu Tuu Say Poe, Maj. Htoo Htoo Lay from KNU, Maj. Sai La and Maj. Sai Mein from RCSS)	Vice president Dr. Sai Mauk Kham, Vice Snr. Gen. Soe Win, U Aung Min, U Thein Zaw	It’s an Informal Meeting.They discussed about Govt’s plan to sign nationwide ceasefire agreement in October. (1) Commitment of ceasefire (2) Framework for political dialogue (3) All inclusive in Conference (4) midterm working process negotiations is proposed by KNU- RCSS. It’s an informal meeting.
22	28/09/2013	Naypyitaw	9 KNU leaders including Gen. Mutu Say Poe	UPWC and Commander-in- Chief Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing	It’s an Informal Meeting. 9 KNU leaders meet government and commander-in-chief for 2nd time in Naypyitaw,
23	19/10/2013	Naypyitaw	KNU Padoh Mahn Nyein Maung	Soe Thein, Aung Min, Khin Yi and Lt. Gen. Thet Naing Win	It’s an Informal Meeting. Discussed series of bomb explosion sin Yangon and other towns.
24	08/11/2013	Dawei	6 representatives from KNU brigade 4	Taninthari regional regional minister Myat Ko	Agreed 4 points. 1. To return the villages in KNU’s control area which were seized by government troops in 1997 2. To negotiate with military liaison officers for activities in the region 3. Permit Karen language teaching in schools 4. To cooperate with government for local development

25	18/12/2013	Taungoo	KNU	Police officers, officials from border affairs ministry	It's an Informal Meeting. KNU discussed to help Myanmar police to arrest the bombers.
26	01/01/2014	Myawaddy Karen State	Four Karen Arms Groups	UPWC	It's an Informal Meeting. Karen New Year Celebration held in Myawaddy, 4 armed groups together. Aung Min and MPC attend the ceremony.
27	05/01/2014	Naypyitaw	Gen. Mutu Say Poe, Mahn Nyein Maung, Saw Kwe Htoo Win	U Aung Min	They discuss about nationwide ceasefire
28	05/01/2014	Naypyitaw	Gen. Mutu Say Poe, Mahn Nyein Maung, Saw Kwe Htoo Win	Commander in Chief and Military Generals	They discuss about nationwide ceasefire
29	14/3/2014	Hpa-an, Karen state	KNU/DKBA/NMSP	Minister Khin Yee, Karen State Chief Minister Zaw Min and immigrations officers	Government officials, representatives from Karen armed groups and NMSP meet in Hpa an. Government officials explain about the nationwide census, immigration laws and asking for their cooperation for census.
30	27/1/2014	Thaton	Brig Gen. Saw Kyaw Lin (Brigade 1)	Mon state Chief minister OhnMyint	Mon state chief minister OhnMyint met Brig. Gen. Saw Kyaw Lin of KNU brigade 1 in Thaton town. They discussed for cooperation of rural and village development.
31	06/05/2014	Yangon	Naw Zipporah Sein	Aung Min and MPC team	It's an informal meeting. They discussed how to reduce clashes and NCA.
32	04/06/2014	Naypyitaw	Gen. Saw Mutu Say Poe, Saw Roger Khin, Pado Mann Nyein Mg, Saw Johnny	President TheinSein, Aung Min	It's an Informal Meeting. Gen. Mutu Say Poe also met president TheinSein at his Leltaw house (farm house) in Naypyitaw. It's the 5th meeting between KNU leaders and the president.
33	04/06/2014	Naypyitaw	Gen. Saw Mutu Say Poe, Saw Roger Khin, Mahn Nyein Mg, Gen. Saw Jonny	Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing, v-Snr. Gen. Soe Win	It's an Informal Meeting. Gen. Mutu Say Poe met Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing in Naypyitaw on 4 June 2014. It's the 6th meeting between them.

34	05/06/2014	Naypyitaw	Gen. Mutu Say Poe, Saw Roger Khin, Mahn Nyein Mg, Gen. Saw Jonny	Parliament Speaker - Shwe Mann	It's an Informal Meeting. Parliament speaker Shwe Mann meet the Chairman of KNU for the first time and introducing the new relationship between the ethnic arms and parliament.
35	05/08/2014	MPC in Yangon	KNU brigade 1, 4, 6, and 7	Col. Aung Lwin (Karen border affairs minister) and MPC team	It's an informal Meeting. They discussed how to cooperate for regional development in Karen state. JICA, Japan Plat form, Nippon Foundation and staff from Japanese Embassy attended the meeting.
36	29/11/2014	Naypyitaw	Gen. Mutu Say Poe, Padoh Kwe Htoo Win, Mann Nyein Maung, Saw Roger Khin, Padoh Shwe Maung, Saw Issac	Myanmar army (Min Aung Hlaing, Hla Htay Win (army, navy, air), other high ranking officials	KNU leaders and Myanmar army C-in-C Min Aung Hlaing met in Naypyitaw on 29 Nov 2014. Min Aung Hlaing said all ceasefire groups have to respect the army's 6-point guideline. It's the 7 <sup>th</sup> officials meeting between KNU leaders and C-in-C Min AungHlaing since KNU signed ceasefire agreement in 2012.
37	30/11/2014	Hintha Garden Hotel, Bago	KNU, KNPP, CNF, NMSP, CSOs, Gen. Mutu Say Poe, Dr. Shwe Khar, Mann Nyein Maung,	U Aung Min and MPC team; and Norwegian foreign minister H.E Mr. BørgeBrende	Norwegian foreign minister H.E Mr. BorgeBrende, Union Minister U Aung Min and Ethnic leaders from KNU, KNPP, CNF, NMSP and CSOs, CBOs leaders met in Hintha Garden Hotle in Bago on 30 Nov 2014.
38	5/1/2015	Naypyitaw	12EAOs, KNU, RCSS, SSPP, ABSDF, ANC, DKBA, UWSA, NDAA, PNLO, KPC, NMSP, NSCN-K	President Thein Sein (morning section) Min Aung Hlaing (afternoon section)	Representatives from 12 EAOs held a meeting with president TheinSein in the morning and Commander in chief Min AungHlaing in the afternoon in Naypyitaw. They exchanged their views and opinion on NCA. TheinSein told the meeting in the capital Naypyidaw that he wants to sign a peace deal with the groups on Union Day on Feb. 12. EAOs demanded Snr Gen Min AungHlaing to implement ceasefire as fast as he can.

39	11/2/2015	Naypyitaw	KNU, DKBA, KPC, NMSP, CNF, ANC, UWSA, NDAA, RCSS, SSPP, PNLO, ABSDF, NSCN-K	Minister Aung Min	They discussed whether to sign the commitment agreement proposed by government. The commitment agreement is called "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation". KIA, TNLA, KNPP didn't attend the meeting in Naypyitaw.
40	12/2/2015	Naypyitaw	KNU, DKBA, KPC, NMSP, CNF, ANC, UWSA, NDAA, RCSS, SSPP, PNLO, ABSDF, NSCN-K	Thein Sein, UPWC, 62 political parties	Only four armed groups: KNU, DKBA, KPC, RCSS and president TheinSein signed "deed commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation".

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Member	
2	NCCT	Member	EOs SD member
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	-	
6	Meetings with other groups	-	KNU leader Naw Zipporah Sein met with NLD leader Aung San Suu Kyi in Yangon (08/04/2012).
7	Meetings with foreign actors	USA  MPSI Norwegian People's Aid  Nippon Foundation	KNU leaders met with US Ambassador Derek Mitchell on 11 Jan 2013 in Hpa-an to discuss the country's current political landscape and ongoing ceasefires.  <b>Kyaukkyi</b> project: resettling an estimated 1.5 M Karen IDPs, providing food, farming equipment, clearing land mines and establishing liaison offices. Funded by Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) and implemented by CIDKP (Committee of Internally Displaced Karen People).  Agreed to supply food donations for IDPs
8	National conferences	-	
9	Partnerships	Member	Unity Committee for Karen Armed Groups (KNU, DKBA, KPC, Karen BGFs), KUPC

10	Observers at meetings			The Dawei Princess Company was involved in facilitating the peace process between the KNU and Myanmar government, as well as financing and arranging meetings and travel for the government peace delegation. It also paid for the setup and the running cost of the KNU liaison office in Dawei. Company boss U Ko Ko Maung and Managing Director U Ngwe Soe (retired military officer) attended peace meetings at the early stage of negotiations,
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## Developments

Dialogue				
1	Panglong agreement and spirit			
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire	A		
3	Code of Conduct: control area	A	D	KNU will separately discuss with Myanmar army for military code of conduct.
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body			
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body			
6	Military relations		D	relocation of government troops  07/09/2012 KNU requested for the government to move 90 of their 300 military bases areas from KNU-controlled territories
7	Observers			allow national media outlets to participate in the peace process to provide accurate information about developments
Political				
8	Public consultation		D	The Karen Baptist Convention (Burma) invited officials from the KNU and community based organizations from the Thai-Myanmar border to attend a meeting to explain the ongoing 'peace talks' with the government (17/11/2012)  KNU has done public consultation in Yangon, Bago, Ayayawaddy, Taninthari region and Karen state (2014)
9	Legalisation			

10	Release political prisoners	A	√	19/03/2012 Myanmar pardoned Mahn Nyein Maung, a member of the Karen National Union (KNU) central committee
11	Human Rights			
12	Ethnic Rights	D		
13	National day			
Resettlement				
14	ID card	A	→	Kyaukkyi project, Palaw project
15	Resettlement plans			Still negotiating with Myanmar government
16	Demining		→	Cooperating among KNU, DKBA, KPC, Karen BGFs
Economic				
17	NSAG company	A	→	Moe Ko San travel and Tours Co. Ltd, Soungsee Hser company, Doh Meik Swe bus line, gold mining and other unregistered business concession
18	SEZ/SIZ			
19	Development projects	A		support the basic needs of the people and ensure that development projects have the full participation and support of residents
20	Development initiatives	A		resolve rehabilitation and land problems for civilians  The KNU land policy to be proposed to the government - an effort to protect lands that were confiscated or stolen for recent development projects and business development in Karen State. It was the result of a 2 day workshop with KNU leaders and CSOs, and the group promised to start documenting land confiscation cases. (25/07/2013).
21	Development: Tourism			
22	Development: Internet			
23	Car licenses		√	40 cars for tax free and 80 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)
Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school		√	Government has permitted Karen language teaching in primary schools in Taninthari region.

26	others Education  Health		→  →	<p>Education: Karen State Govt announced that during 2013-2014 budget year, 95 schools will be built in Karen State in replacement of old schools. There are more focus for Pha-am Township.</p> <p>Karen Education Department and the Karen Teachers Working Group held a summer camp for teacher training in a government controlled area, Pway Poe Kla village, east of Taninthayi.</p> <p>KNU health department Development and government health director for Karen State, agreed to cooperate to fight malaria at a meeting in April (04/04/2013). On 23 May meetings between officials from the KNU Department of Health and Welfare and the government's Health Directorate for Karen State resulted in plans to coordinate health care services in Karen State.</p> <p>The KNLA announced they had set up the Big Tiger Foundation with a startup amount of 100,000 Thai Baht (USD 3100), to provide medical care and basic supplies to poor patients. Multiple offices of the Foundation were inaugurated in hospitals in Kawkareik Township, Karen State on August 31. KNU opened a medical clinic in Kawkareik township on Nov 20, 2013.</p>
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication			The Unity Committee for Karen Armed Groups held Public Community Consultation and Drug Education Meetings from the 21-28 May 2014.
Environment				
28	EIA			

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started ; √= Achieved; X = Failing

## Statements

15 July 2015 - KNU released a statement on the conflicts between DKBA and gov't forces

5 March 2015 - Statement of KNU on Peaceful March for Democratic Education

28 Feb 2015 - Karen Unity and Peace Committee Fourth Quarter Statement

11 Feb 2015 - Letter of Felicitation by KNU President Gen. Mutu Say Poe on 67th Anniversary of Karen National Day

31 Jan 2015 - KNU President Mutu Sae Poe's Address on 66th Anniversary of Karen Resistance Day

20 Nov 2014 - KNU released a statement on Myanmar army attacks on KIA academy

30 Oct 2014 - KAF formation statement released after the meeting

29 Oct 2014 - KNU released a statement after the emergency meeting (Bur)  
14 Oct 2014 - KNU's Defence Department released a statement on KAF formation (bur)  
14 Oct 2014 - KNU's Defence Department released a statement on KAF formation (eng)  
14 Oct 2014 - KNU Defense minister press release  
13 Oct 2014 - KAF Agreement in Burmese  
31 Oct 2014 - KAF Statement in Burmese  
31 Oct 2014 - KAF Statement in English  
01 Sept 2014 - KNU suspension letter  
31 Aug 2014 - KNU suspension letter  
05 June 2014 - KNU wants presidentTheinSein to remain in 2015 presidency (June 05)  
31 May 2014 - 10th Karen Unity Seminar statement held in Lawkhelar  
27 Mar 2014 - Statement of the Central Standing Committee Emergency Meeting  
03 Jan 2013 - KNU-Statement on President Thein Sein invited  
09 Jan 2013 - The Communique of KNU on meeting with President Thein Sein  
17 Jul 2013 - KNU & RCSS Joint Statement  
21 Jul 2013 - KNU Geneva call statement (Karen Version)  
21 Jul 2013 - KNU Geneva call statement (Burmese Version)  
21 Jul 2013 - KNU Geneva call statement (English Version)  
26 Sep 2013 - KNU Information Release (English Version)  
26 Sep 2013 - KNU Information Release (Burmese Version)  
25 Oct 2013 - Statement of Emergency KNU Leadership Meeting on Recent Bomb Plots (Eng)  
25 Oct 2013 - Statement of Emergency KNU Leadership Meeting on Recent Bomb Plots (Bur)  
26 Oct 2013 - KNU and RCSS joint Statement (English Version)  
26 Oct 2013 - KNU and RCSS joint Statement (Burmese Version)  
21 Nov 2013 - KNU's brigade 6 released a statement (Burmese Version)



# KNU/KNLA Peace Council

ကေအဲန်ယူ-ကေအဲန်အယ်လ်အေ ငြိမ်းချမ်းရေးကောင်စီ



Government: Karen Peace Council (KPC)



NCCT member

## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 31 Jan. 2007

**Headquarters:** Tokawko, Kawkareik Township, Karen state

**Operational Area:** Tokawko village, Kawkareik Township, and Mae Hla Hta village in Hlaing Bwe Township, Karen state

**Strength:** <200

**Leader:** Gen. Saw Htay Maung (also known as Gen. Saw Htein Maung)

The KNU/KNLA Peace Council was formed after the former KNLA brigade 7 commander Gen. Saw Htay Maung was dismissed by the KNU for initiating peace talks with the Myanmar army without the approval of the KNU central committee in 2007. Gen. Saw Htay Maung signed a peace deal with the Myanmar junta on January 31 that year and transformed his brigade 7 into the KNU/KNLA Peace Council.

### CEC members:

Chairman: Gen. Saw Htay Maung aka Saw Htein Maung

Military mission member: Maj. Gen. Yin Nu

\*Saw Nay Soe Mya is a member of NCCT.

## Peace Process

**New Ceasefire:** 7 Feb. 2012

9th militia group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 1:** State level peace talks

**Previous ceasefire:** 11 Feb. 2007

### Clashes:

#2012: None

#2013: None

#2014: None

#2015: None

## Official delegation team

Saw Htay Maung, Saw Yin Nu, Dr. Naw Ka Paw Htoo, Saw Eh Kaw Htoo, Saw Joseph, Dr. Saw Aung Than, Naw Karen Ma

## Liaison offices

1. Myawaddy
2. Paya Thone Sue
3. Kawkareik
4. Mawtaung
5. Kawthoung

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	KPC Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	07/02/2012	Naypyidaw	Htay Maung	Aung Thaug	<p>Signed State level 7-point ceasefire</p> <p>KPC delegates: CC members Dr Timothy, U Saw Yin Nu, Dr Naw Kapaw Htoo, U Saw El Kaw Htoo, U Saw Joseph, Rev Dr Saw Aung Than Hnit and Naw Kharin Nar</p> <p>Govt Delegates: U Thein Zaw, U Ohn Myint, U Maung Maung Thein, Maj-Gen Zaw Win, Attorney-General U Tun Tun Oo, Kayin state Border Affairs Col Aung Lwin, Lt-Col Zaw Naing Oo of the C-in-C's Office, Environmental Conservation and Forestry DG U Htay Aung and U Saw Khin Soe</p>
2	21/1/2013	Pa-an, Karen state	Htay Maung	Aung Min	The government requested the KPC to become a political party and surrender arms, however the KPC rejected and will try to discuss the issues further.
3	05/01/2015	Naypyitaw	12 EAOs including KPC	President Thein Sein (morning section) and Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing (Afternoon)	<p>Representatives from 12 EAOs held a meeting with president Thein Sein in the morning and C-in-C Min Aung Hlaing in the afternoon in Naypyitaw on 5 Jan 2015. They exchanged their views and opinion on NCA. President Thein Sein said that he wants to sign a peace deal with the groups on Union Day on Feb. 12. EAOs also demanded to Snr Gen Min AungHlaing to implement ceasefire as fast as he can.</p>

4	11/2/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including KPC	Minister Aung Min	They discussed whether to sign the commitment agreement proposed by government. The commitment agreement is called "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation". KIA, TNLA, KNPP didn't attend the meeting in Naypyitaw.
5	12/2/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including KPC	Thein Sein, UPWC, 62 political parties	Only four armed groups: KNU, DKBA, KPC, RCSS and president TheinSein signed "deed commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation".

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	-	
2	NCCT	Member	
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	-	
6	Meetings with other groups	-	10/02/2012 met Aung San Suu Kyi 10/03/2012 met with Maj. Saw Hla Ngwe, joint secretary of the KNU
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	Nippon Foundation
8	National conferences	-	
9	Cooperation	Member  Member	Unity Committee for Karen Armed Groups (KNU, DKBA, KPC, Karen BGFs)  Karen Unity and Peace Committee (KUPC) includes Karen armed groups, Karen CBOs/CSOs and Karen BGF.
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Developments

Dialogue				
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	-	-	
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire	-	-	

3	Code of Conduct: control area	A		Members of KNU/KNLA Peace Council are allowed to maintain a presence at Maela Hta and Tokawko village
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body			
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body			
6	Military relations			
7	Observers			
Political				
8	Public consultation			
9	Legalisation			
10	Release political prisoners			
11	Human Rights			
12	Ethnic Rights			
13	National day			
Resettlement				
14	ID card	D		
15	Resettlement plans	A		State will allow and render assistance for self-reliant undertakings for quickly fulfilling the basic needs, education, health, transport, water and electricity supply in the area for resettlement of national races that are residing in another country and render assistance for self-reliance  Provide accommodation to “region peace and development troops”
16	Demining			Cooperating with KNU, DKBA and Karen BGFs
Economic				
17	NSAG company	D		More exploration and trade licences for timber and mineral extraction to avoid exploitation from Thailand  Unregister business concession
18	SEZ/SIZ			
19	Development projects			
20	Development initiatives	√		
21	Development: Tourism	D		
22	Development: Internet			
23	Car licenses		√	20 cars for tax free and 40 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)

Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school			
26	Other			
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication			
Environment				
28	EIA			

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started; v= Achieved; X = Failing

## Statements

Oct 13, 2014 - KAF Agreement (Burmese)

Oct 13, 2014 - KAF Statement (Burmese)

Oct 13, 2014 - KAF Statement (English)

Sep 17, 2014 - KNU peace council statement

Sep 14, 2014 - Myanmar army order knu peace council

Jun 09, 2014 - Clarification statement of KPC on PadohMahnNyeinMaung's speech

Feb 10, 2012 - KNU/KNLA Peace council letter to Aung San Suu Kyi

Apr 28, 2010 - KPC request all levels of the government to work them for a prosperous future

Apr 07, 2010 - KPC's Response To 22nd April Deadline Of Merger With Burma Army

Apr 04, 2010 - Reasons for refusing Border Guard force (BGF)

# Myanmar National Truth and Justice Party

အမှန်တရား နှင့် မျှတမှု အတွက် မြန်မာ အမျိုးသား ပါတီ



**Armed wing:** Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA) (aka Kokang army)



**Political wing:** Myanmar National Truth and Justice Party (MNTJP)

**Government name:** Shan State Special Region 1



UNFC member



NCCT member

## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 11 March 1989

**Headquarters:** Mobile headquarters

**Operational area:** Mong Koe, Kongyn and Laukkai in Kokang region

**Estimated strength:** 3,000+

**Leader:** Peng Jiasheng (Patron)

Peng Deren (a) Peng Daxun (General Secretary and Commander in Chief)

Yan Win Zhong (deputy commander in chief)

Peng Dechuen (chief of staff)

Peng Ah De (a) U Tun Myat Lin (Secretary and Spokesperson)

Myanmar National Truth and Justice Party (MNTJP) and Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA) was established after the Kokang army led by Peng Jiasheng split from Burma Communist Party and signed a ceasefire agreement with State Law and Order Restoration Council in 1989. Kokang region became Shan State Special Region (1) after MNDAA signed a ceasefire agreement. However, when 20 years later, Myanmar army attacked MNDAA in Laukkai on 27 September 2009 after MNDAA rejected to transform into Border Guard Force (BGF). Kokang army split into two factions after Myanmar army captured Laukkai. One faction become BGF 1006 and another faction led by Peng Jiasheng went underground. MNDAA has become a UNFC and NCCT member in 2013. MNDAA has fought against Myanmar army along with FUA forces.

**Political Demand:** Restoring self-administration in Kokang region; Kokang people must have ethnic rights like other ethnic; Kokang people must have full citizen rights.

**Political views:** Reject the narrow minded nationalism

## Peace Process

Non-ceasefire group

# Clashes:

#2014: fought together with KIA, TNLA, SSPP

#2015: 300+ (Jan-Jun)

## Official delegation team

None

## Liaison offices

None

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	AA rep	Govt Rep	Details
1					

## Developments

MNDAA sent an open letter to President Thein Sein on 16 Feb 2015. In the letter, MNDAA called for political talks.

MNDAA announced unilateral ceasefire on 10 June 2015.

## Statements

10 June 2015 - MNDAA announced unilateral ceasefire

19 April 2015 - MNDAA released a statement of battle news

01 Mar, 2015 - MNDAA, TNLA and AA released a joint statement

16 Feb, 2015 - MNDAA sent an open letter to President Thein Sein on 16 Feb 2015

# National Democratic Alliance Army

အမျိုးသား ဒီမိုကရေစီသွေးစည်း ညီညွတ်ရေးတပ်မတော်

**Government name:** Shan State (East) Special Region No. 4

**Other names:** Mongla group



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 1989

**Headquarters:** Mongla, Eastern Shan state

**Controlled Area:** Mongla, Shan state (Special Region # 4)

**Estimated strength:** 4,500+

**Leader:** Sai Leun (also known as U Sai Lin and Lin Mingxian)

The National Democratic Alliance Army-Eastern Shan State (NDAA-ESS) is an ethnic ceasefire group based in Mongla, Myanmar. It was a former CPB 815<sup>th</sup> division. The NDAA was formed in 1989 after troops separated from the former Communist Party of Burma (CPB) and still maintains close ties with other groups that used to make up the CPB: MNDA, UWSA and the NDA-K.

### CEC members:

Chairman: SaoSaiLeun aka Sai Lin

Vice Chairman: SaoSan Pae/ Hsan Per

Vice Chairman: Sao Sam Lu

Vice Chairman: U Htein Lin

General Secretary: U Kyi Myint (aka) Zhang Zhiming

## Peace Process

**New Ceasefire:** 7 Sept. 2011

**2nd** resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks (27 Dec. 2011)

**Previous ceasefire:** 30 June 1989

**Post ceasefire clashes:** #2012: None

#2013: None

#2014: None

#2015: None



## Official delegation team

Rotational

## Liaison offices

Yangon, Taunggyi, Kengtung, Tachilek, and Mandalay

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	NDAAs rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	07/09/2011	Kengtung, Shan state	San Pae	Aung Thaung	State level 7 point ceasefire agreement
2	8/10/2011	Kengtung, Shan state	San Pae	Aung Thaung	The Mong La group will be allowed to reopen its liaison offices, reassignment of staff for ensuring better education, health, agriculture and transport in Special Region (4) and the elimination of illegal narcotic drugs, and signed agreements.  Other govt. delegates: Thein Zaw; the Shan state Chief Minister Sai Aung Myat; Col. Aung Thu
3	27/12/2011	Mongla, Shan state	Sai Lin	Aung Thaung	Union Level 6-point ceasefire agreement other NDAAs delegates: Vice-Chairman U San Pae and Secretary U Kham Maung  Other govt. delegates: U Thein Zaw, U Ohn Myint and U Win Tun met Chairman of Special Region (4) U Sai Lin, Vice-Chairman U San Pae and Secretary U Kham Maung
4	06/10/2012	Kengtung, Shan state	Sai Lin	Vice-snr Gen. Min Aung Hlaing	Agreement to cooperate against drugs
5	03/12/2012	Mongla, Shan state	Sai Lin	Aung Min	Granted permission to produce 1,000 tons of timber (out of 10,000 tons it had requested), construct hydropower plants and operate mineral mines  Other govt. delegates: U Thein Zaw, U Soe Thein, Lt. Gen. Thein Htay, Sao Aung Myat, Shan State Chief Minister; Col. Aung Thu, Maj. Gen. Than Tun Oo, Commander, Triangle Region Command; and Maj Gen Aung Soe, Commander, Northeastern Region Command

6	09/05/2013	Mongla, Shan state	NDAA	UPWC vice chairman 3 Thein Zaw	Discussed the 2014 national census and ongoing development projects in the area
7	03/09/2013	Kengtung	NDAA	Shwe Mann	Goodwill meeting.
8	04/10/2013	Pang Sang	NDAA	UPWC	It is an Informal meeting. Discussed the national census and ID card issues.
9	01/03/2014	Naypyitaw	UWSA: Pao Yu Yi, NDAA: Khun Sam Lu, SSPP: Sao Khun Hseng	U Thein Sein	It is an Informal meeting. President Thein Sein met leaders from UWSA, NDAA and SSPP in Naypyitaw after the census workshop.
10	03/03/2014	Naypyitaw	vice- chair- man U Sam Lu	Thura U Shwe Mann	It is an Informal meeting. Along with UWSA leaders, NDAA leaders visited Union Parliament and met Union Parliament chairman Thura Shwe Mann.
11	21/03/2014	Mongla	NDAA leaders	U Thein Zaw	It is an Informal meeting. They agreed 7 points for peace and taking census after discussion.
12	25/08/2014	Naypyitaw	NDAA: U San Pae	President TheinSein	It is an Informal meeting. They discussed about NCA. President Thein Sein urged NDAA, UWSA and SSPP to participate in NCA. UWSA: Xiao Min Liang, SSPP: Gen. Khur Tai attended the meeting.
13	25/08/2014	Naypyitaw	NDAA: U San Pae	Commander in Chief Min Aung Hlaing	It is an Informal meeting. Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing met leaders from NDAA, UWSA and SSPP at Bayintnaung Hall in Naypyitaw. They discussed to participate in NCA. UWSA: Xiao Min Liang, SSPP: Gen. Khur Tai attended the meeting.
14	26/08/2014	Naypyitaw	NDAA: U San Pae	Parliament Speaker Shwe Mann, Khin Aung Myint	It's an Informal meeting. Leaders from NDAA, UWSA and SSPP met parliament speakers ThuraShwe Mann and Khin Aung Myint. UWSA: Xiao Min Liang, SSPP: Gen. Khur Tai attended the meeting.

15	22/10/2014	Mongla	NDAA: SaiLeun and UWSA: Xiao Ming Liang	U Thein Zaw	U Thein Zaw persuaded UWSA and NDAA leaders to sign NCA as a role model, to accept 6 guiding points of C-in-C and to open up Mongla for tourism and trade. >>> The UWSA Vice President Xiao Ming Liang also proposed 6 points: assistance for road construction, license for 60 Wa trucks, national IDs for Wa people, hydropower plant on the Salween, coal mining project and hydropower plant in Hsipaw. >>> NDAA President SaiLeun aka Lin Mingxian proposed assistance for schools and hospitals in his area.
16	05/01/2015	Naypyitaw	12 EAOs including NDAA	President Thein Sein (morning section) Min Aung Hlaing (afternoon section)	President Thein Sein met leaders from 12 EAOs in the morning and Commander in chief Min Aung Hlaing in the afternoon in Naypyitaw on 5 Jan 2015. They exchanged their views and opinion on NCA. Thein Sein said that he wants to sign a peace deal with the groups on Union Day on Feb. EAOs leaders also demanded Snr Gen Min Aung Hlaing to implement ceasefire as fast as he can.
17	11/02/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including NDAA	U Aung Min	Leaders from 13 EAOs and UPWC held a meeting in Naypyitaw on 11 Feb. They discussed whether to sign the "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation".
18	12/2/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including NDAA	President Thein Sein	President Thein Sein, leaders from RCSS, KNU, DKBA and KPC signed the "Deed Commitment of Peace and National Reconciliation" but NDAA didn't sign on it.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	-	
2	NCCT	-	
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	-	
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	-	
5	Military allies		UWSA

6	Meetings with other groups	-	SNLD chairperson U Khun Tun Oo visited Mongla (Dec. 6-9, 2012) accompanied by RCSS/SSA liaison officers.  KNU, RCSS, UWSA and NDAA held a meeting in Mongla (30 Jan 2015)
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	China
8	National conferences	Attendee	"Trust building for peace" Shwegontai Township, Yangon on Nov. 26, 2012.
9	Cooperations	-	UWSA and MNDAA
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Developments

Dialogue			
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	D	
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire		
3	Code of Conduct: control area		
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body		
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body		
6	Military relations	A	Cooperate with defense forces of the state for security and defense of the state
7	Observers		
Political			
8	Public consultation		
9	Legalisation		
10	Release political prisoners		
11	Human Rights		
12	Ethnic Rights		
13	National day		
Resettlement			
14	ID card	D	
15	Resettlement plans		
16	Demining		
Economic			

17	NSAG company			Hotel, mining, trading and Unregister business concession
18	SEZ/SIZ			
19	Development projects	D		To allow the NDAA access to mining, coal and gold exploration and production
20	Development initiatives	A D D D D D D		Cooperate to improve tourism, mining, and electricity in NDAA controlled areas To allow outside business groups to invest in the NDAA areas To send researchers to the area to assess natural resources To allow access to teak wood trading for 10,000 tons, as well as 10,000 tons of other hardwoods To allow NDAA control of border checkpoints and to receive border checkpoint tax fees To allow NGOs and the U.N. to help improve the area To supply NDAA areas with rice, fuel oil and money
21	Development: Tourism	D		To open tourism areas for Thai and Chinese tourists
22	Development: Internet			
23	Car licenses	D	√	25 cars for tax free and 50 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)
Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school			
26	others	A A		Cooperate to improve education, health and transportation in NDAA controlled areas Government officials will be sent to run government offices in NDAA areas and NDAA people will be sent to work in NDAA liaison offices in government controlled areas
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication	A		NDAA to take part in government's 15 year (1999-2014) drug elimination plan
Environment				
28	EIA			

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started; √= Achieved; X = Failing

## Statements

5 Oct 2014 - UWSA and NDAA released a joint statement

21 Mar 2014 - NDAA and UPWC released the Joint statement for the development issue after ceasefire

21 Mar 2014 - UPWC and NDAA informal meeting in Mongla, NDAA headquarters for the Nationwide ceasefire agreement

10 Jan. 2013 - NDAA, UWSA and SSPP/SSA issued a joint statement for the government to stop its offensive against the KIO/KIA and start political dialogue

# New Mon State Party

မွန်ပြည်သစ်ပါတီ



**Armed wing:** Mon National Liberation Army (MNLA)



UNFC member



NCCT and EAOs SD member



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** July 1958

**Headquarters:** Ye Chaung Phya, Mon state

**Operational Area:** Thaton, Paung, Chaungson, Mawlamyine, Hpa-an, Kawkareik, Kyeikmayaw, Mudon, Thanbyuzayap, Ye, Yayphyu, Three Pagoda Pass, Myeik-Dawei, and Kyar-Inn-Seik Gyi

**Estimated strength:** 800+ (2,000 reserved)

Mon separatists formed the Mon Peoples Front (MPF). The group was later reformed and renamed as the New Mon State Party (NMSP). Since 1949, the eastern hills of the state (as well as portions of Thaninthayi Division) have been under NMSP control. In 1995, they agreed to a ceasefire with the Myanmar government.

The NMSP tried unsuccessfully to promote constitutional and political reform through the National Convention until 2008. Communications broke down in April, 2010 after refusing to transform into a Border Guard Force (BGF). However the situation did not deteriorate into outright armed conflict. Negotiations following reforms led to the renewal of the ceasefire agreement at the state-level and a commitment from the government to negotiate ceasefire agreements with all non-state armed groups before the end of 2012 so that inclusive political dialogue can commence at the Union level.

The Myanmar military originally granted the group nominal control of an area of Mon state spread out over 12 cantonments, largely along the Ye River and two areas to the north in Thaton and Moulmein Districts. In addition they were also given 17 industrial concessions in areas such as logging, fishing, inland transportation and gold mining, and were also allowed to make trade agreements with companies in Malaysia and Singapore.

The Myanmar military recognized the creation of 3 refugee camps along the Thai-Myanmar border. These camps, based at Halokhanee, Bee Ree, and Tavoy in Mon state, were supported by the Mon Relief and Development Committee (MRDC) with cross-border assistance from the Thai-Burma Border Consortium (TBBC) - now known as The Border Consortium (TBC).

The Myanmar military originally agreed to supply the NMSP with four million kyat (nearly US \$3,500) in economic aid each month for the political body to function, however, this ended in 2005 after the NMSP boycotted the National Convention. A number of other concessions were also later withdrawn, most notably lucrative logging rights that were revoked in 1997 purportedly over the group's signing of the Mae Tha Raw Hta agreement which had a provision supporting the NLD.

The NMSP fought alongside the KNU and was an active member of a number of ethnic alliance fronts including the National Democratic Front (NDF), the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) and the National Council Union of Burma (NCUB) with the latter two including Bama pro-democracy groups.

On 5 August 2009, Mon Revolution Day, the NMSP announced that it would not transform its armed wing into a Border Guard Force (BGF).

**Central Committee members: 27**

Chairman: Nai Htaw Mon

Vice-Chairman: Nai Hongsar (Nai Han Thar)

General Secretary: Nai Aung Min

Joint Secretary (1): Maj. Gen. Joi Yaet

Member: Nai Tala Nyi

Member: Lt. Col. M Seik Chan (in charge of Mawlamyine office)

Member: Maj. Kyi San (in charge of Mawlamyine liaison office)

**Central Military Committee: 7**

Commander in Chief: Brig. Gen. Layi Gakao

Deputy Commander in chief: Col. Banya Mae San

Member: Lt. Col. Hangsar

Member: Lt. Col. San Aye

## **Peace Process**

**New Ceasefire:** 1 Feb. 2012

8<sup>th</sup> resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks

**Previous ceasefire:** 29 June 1995

**Rejected the BGF scheme:** April, 2010



## # Post-Ceasefire Clashes:

#2012: None

#2013: 2

#2014: None

#2015: None

**Refugee Camp:** Ban Don Yang (Thai side)

**IDP camps:** Halokhanee, Balikdon Figt, Chel Daik, Pa Nan Pain (inside Myanmar)

## Official delegation team

**Outside the country:** Nai Hong Sa, Nai Tala Nyi, Nai Hong Sa Bun Thai

**Inside the country:** Nai Htaw Mon, Nai Rawsa, Nai Tala Nyi, Gen. Zay Ya, Nai Aung Min (GS), Brig. Gen. La Yi Kao

## Liaison offices

NMSP's liaison offices opened in 1995 after a ceasefire agreement with the SLORC. They were closed in April, 2010 after the NMSP rejected transforming into a BGF. All liaison offices reopened one day after the new ceasefire agreement on 26 Feb. 2012.

1. Mawlamyaing\*
2. Mudon
3. Thanbyuzayat
4. Ye
5. Yaybyu (Yaphu village)
6. Three Pagoda Pass\*
7. Kyaik Mayaw
8. Zin Kyeik (Paung township)
9. Myeik (Mreuik)
10. Myawaddy\*

\*economic office

## Mon Peace Monitoring Group

Following a peace process monitoring workshop in Shwe Myint Moh Tun Hotel, Mawlamyine city, Mon state on 7 June 2013, 15 members were selected to run a peace monitoring group for Mon State.

About 120 representatives from Social Welfare minister of Mon State, Economic and Planning minister of Mon State, Mon affairs minister in Karen State, Politicians, Mon state MPs, businessmen, civic groups, youth groups and individuals attended the workshop.

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	NMSP Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	06/10/2011	Ye Township, compound of govt. Infantry Unit No. 61	Nai Tala Nyi	Mon state Minister for Security and Border Affairs, Col. Htay Myint Aung	<p>Preliminary meeting</p> <p>The party also proposed that the government announce a nationwide ceasefire and to hold a dialogue with the UNFC to solve political problems.</p> <p>Other NMSP delegates: Nai Baya Lai; and Nai Hongsa</p> <p>Other govt. delegates: Colonel Tun Tun Nyi of the Southeast Command</p>
2	13/11/2011	Ye Chaung Phya, NMSP headquarters	Nai Htaw Mon	5 member envoy from the Mon state Govt as peace create team (peace mediators)	<p>Preliminary Meeting</p> <p>Other NMSP delegates: Nai Rawsa, Nai Hong Sa</p> <p>Govt Delegates: former NMSP central executive member Nai Tin Aung and former central committee member Nai Soe Myint; Mon National Democratic Front central executive member Nai Thet Lwin, Dr. Min Kyi Win</p>
3	22/12/2011	Sankalaburi, Thailand	Nai Hong Sa	U Aung Min	<p>Preliminary Meeting</p> <p>Other NMSP delegates: Bun Thai, Nai Banyar Leh, Nai Shwe Thein</p>
4	01/02/2012	Mawlamyine, Mon State	Nai Rawsa	U Aung Min	<p>State level 5 point Ceasefire</p> <p>Other NMSP delegates: Brig. Gen. La Yi Kaung, Nai, Tala Nyi, Maj. San Aye, Nai Arca</p> <p>Other govt. delegates: U Soe Thein, U Zaw Min, State Chief Minister U Ohn Myint, Commander of South-East Command Maj. Gen. Tin Maung Win, Col. Htay Myint Aung</p>
5	25/02/2012	Mawlamyine, Mon State	Nai Rawsa	U Aung Min	<p>Union level 4 point Ceasefire</p> <p>Other NMSP delegates: Brig. Gen. La Yi Kaung, Nai Tala Nyi, Maj. San Aye, Nai Arca</p> <p>Other Govt. Delegates: U Soe Thein, U Zaw Min, U Win Tun and State Chief Minister U Ohn Myint, Commander of South-East Command Maj. Gen. Tin Maung Win, Deputy Minister for Border Affairs Maj. Gen. Zaw Win, Col. Htay Myint Aung</p>

#	Date	Location	NMSP Rep	Govt Rep	Details
6	11/04/2012	Mawlamyine, Mon State	Nai Aung Min, Nai Tala Nyi	U Aung Min	Union level meeting - perpetuation of ceasefire  Other Govt. Delegates: U Khin Yi, State Chief Minister U Ohn Myint, Commander Maj. Gen. Tin Maung Win, Lt. Col. Zaw Naing Oo of the Office of the Commander-in Chief of Defence Services, Minister for Security and Border Affairs Col Htay Myint Aung, Lt. Col. Kyaw Myint from the South-East Command, the Secretary of State Government, U Shwe Thuang
7	04/08/2013	Mawlamyine, Mon State	NMSP	MPC	It's an informal meeting regarding National Ceasefire agreement
8	14/01/2014	Hpa-an	Karen Armed Groups 4 and NMSP	U Khin Yee, U Zaw Min and immigration officers	Minister U Khin Yee, Karen state chief minister U Zaw Min and government officials met leaders from Karen armed groups and NMSP in Hpa-an, Karen state. Government officials explained about taking census nationwide, immigration laws and requesting for their cooperation for census.
9	01/09/2014	Mawlamyine	NMSP	-	It's a public consultation meeting. NMSP representatives met Mawlamyine based CSOs/ CBOs at NaiShweKyin library in Mawlamyine city, Mon state. About 20 CBO/CSO organizations attended the meeting. NMSP explained about the current Myanmar peace process and requested suggestions from CBOs/CSOs.
10	30/10/2014	Taninthari	NMSP	Regional government	NMSP and Taninthari regional government discussed to receive the JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) development assistance for schools, clinics, electricity, road construction and water in NMSP controls area.

#	Date	Location	NMSP Rep	Govt Rep	Details
11	06/11/2014	Taninthari	NMSP: (Nai Win Hla (internal affairs), M Seik Chan, Nai Aung Ma Ngae, Lt. Col. NyanTun	U Myat Ko (Chief minister), Col. Zaw Lwin	NMSP and Taninthari regional government discussed for working together on regional development and security under the NMSP controls area in Taninthari region on 6 Nov 2014. They agreed Taninthari government will construct 3 Mon primary schools and clinics as well as provide nurses to the area. They also agreed that NMSP must take care of security in the area (Ye Phyu and Ye township).
12	05/01/2015	Naypyitaw	12 EAOs, including NMSP	President Thein Sein (morning section) Min Aung Hlaing (afternoon section)	Representatives from 12 EAOs held a meeting with president Thein Sein in the morning and Commander in chief Min Aung Hlaing in the afternoon in Naypyitaw. They exchanged their views on NCA.
13	11/02/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs, including NMSP	Minister Aung Min	They discussed whether to sign the "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation".
14	12/02/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including NMSP	Thein Sein, UPWC, 62 political parties	KNU, DKBA, KPC, RCSS and president Thein Sein signed "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation". NMSP didn't sign the deed commitment.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Member	
2	NCCT	Member	EAOs SD member
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law kheelar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	-	
6	Meetings with other groups	-	ethnic political leaders 88 generation leaders who visited Mon state (11 Nov 2012)
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	Nippon Foundation
8	National conferences	-	Plan to hold national conference
9	Cooperations	-	
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Developments

Dialogue				
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	D		To start political dialogue between representatives of armed national races organizations and representatives of the government after ceasefire of all armed national races organizations. In case ceasefire is not secured with all the organizations till December 2012, to start the political dialogue between representatives of the ceasefire organizations and representatives of the government.
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire	A		
3	Code of Conduct: control area	D		
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body			To continue talks on national reconciliation, based on political compromises with participation of representatives of domestic national political parties and democratic forces.
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body	D		
6	Military relations	A		To not extend military strength in Mon state and related areas in period of ceasefire.
7	Observers	A		Allowing observers to participate in meetings.
Political				
8	Public consultation	A	√	To have the right to communicate with the public and help each other. To have the right to communicate with domestic political parties. To have the right to communicate with news agencies and media. To inform the public of outcomes of political dialogue as required. To conduct negotiation in advance in communicating with the foreign diplomats.
9	Legalisation			
10	Release political prisoners	A	√	To release all political prisoners remaining in the prisons and to free comrades of New Mon State Party in prisons with sympathy as well. Releasing imprisoned party members including Nai Myo Thway and Nai Yekka (2012)
11	Human Rights	A		To avoid forced labour by both sides, apart from volunteers. To solve problems of land confiscation by the Myanmar military.

12	Ethnic Rights	D		
13	National day			
Resettlement				
14	ID card			
15	Resettlement plans			
16	Demining			
	Economic			
17	NSAG company		√	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NMSP has been doing business including construction, agro-business, trading and timber under Ramanya United Company established by NMSP in 2012.</li> <li>• Transportation</li> <li>• Unregister business concession</li> </ul>
18	SEZ/SIZ			
19	Development projects			
20	Development initiatives			
21	Development: Tourism			
22	Development: Internet			
23	Car licenses		√	25 cars for tax free and 50 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)
Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school	D	√	
26	others	A		To work for stability and development of education, health and social sectors of the region in coordination with respective national races armed organizations and the government as the ceasefire comes into effect.
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication			Cooperation with Myanmar police(2014)
	Environment			
28	EIA			

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started ; √= Achieved; X = Failing

**Agreed:** negotiation terms/process:

1. To start political dialogue within 45 days of ceasefire.
2. Allowing observers to participate in meetings.
3. To start political dialogue between representatives of armed national races organizations and representatives of the government after ceasefire of all armed national races organizations. In case ceasefire is not secured with all the organizations till December 2012, to start the political dialogue between representatives of the ceasefire organizations and representatives of the government.
4. To continue talks on national reconciliation, based on political compromises with participation of representatives of domestic national political parties and democratic forces.
5. To initiate procedures for prompt implementation of agreement reached in the above-mentioned dialogue.
6. To not extend military strength in Mon state and related areas in period of ceasefire.
7. To work for stability and development of education, health and social sectors of the region in coordination with respective national races armed organizations and the government as the ceasefire comes into effect.
8. To have the right to communicate with the public and help each others.
9. To have the right to communicate with domestic political parties.
10. To have the right to communicate with news agencies and media.
11. To inform the public of outcomes of political dialogue as required.
12. To conduct negotiation in advance in communicating with the foreign diplomats.
13. To release all political prisoners remaining in the prisons and to free comrades of New Mon State Party in prisons with sympathy as well.
14. To avoid forced labour by both sides, apart from volunteers. To solve problems of land confiscation by the Myanmar military.

## Statements

06 May 2014: British Ambassador Meets With Mon Political Parties and NMSP

30 Jan 2013: The NMSP issued a statement on the intensive armed conflict in Kachin state

19 Jun 2012: The NMSP has threatened to break its four-month-old ceasefire agreement with the Myanmar government if Naypyidaw fails to hold political talks with all the ethnic armed groups by the end of this year, according to the party secretary.

08 Feb 2012: NMSP chairman said that the group will not sign a ceasefire with the Myanmar government while it continues to wage war against ethnic Kachins

# National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang

နာဂအမျိုးသား ဆိုရှယ်လစ် ကောင်စီ (ကပ်ပလန်)



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 1 Jan. 1980

**Headquarters:** Unknown

**Operational Area:** Lahe, Lay Shi, Hkamti and Nanyun in Sagaing Region

**Estimated strength:** <500

**Leader:** S. S. Khaplang

The NSCN-K has been fighting to to achieve a union between Naga living in the northeast states of India and the Sagaing Region in Myanmar. In 1988, the NSCN split into two fractions; the NSCN-K led by S. S. Khaplang based in northern Lahe and Nanyun townships in Sagaing Region, Myanmar and the NSCN-IM, led by Isak Chisi Swu and Thuingaleng Muivah in India. According to the 2008 Constitution, the Leshi, Lahe and Nanyun townships in Sagaing Region are described as a Naga Self-Administered Zone. Since 2010, the NSCN-K and the Myanmar government have not engaged in armed clashes. After the ceasefire in 2012, many of their soldiers have reportedly deserted.

### CEC members:

Chairman: S. S. Khaplang

General Secretary: Dali Mangru Ao

Commander-in-Chief: Khole Konyak

U Kyaw Wan Sein (Religious Affairs)

No major developments since ceasefire agreement and also did not participate in the ethnic conferences. The group however did receive 15 cars for tax free and 30 car licenses with preferential tax rates.

## Peace Process

**New Ceasefire:** 9 April 2012

**12th** resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 1:** State level peace talks

**# Post Ceasefire Conflict:** #2012: None

#2013: None

#2014: None

#2015: None



## Official delegation team

Unknown

## Liaison offices

Khamti, Sagaing Region

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	09/04/2012	Khamti, Sagaing Region	Y. Wangtin Naga and six others	Sagaing Region Minister for Security and Border affairs, Col Kyi Naing	State level 5 points ceasefire Other govt delegates: Sagaing Chief Minister U Tha Aye
2	16/08/2013	MPC, Yangon	4 representatives from NSCN-K	U Aung Min	NSCN-K leaders discussed about to open liaison office in Khamti.
3	05-08/04/2014	MPC, Yangon	Kyaw Wan Sein alongside other EAOs leaders	UPWC	NSCN-K leader U Kyaw Wan Sein attended as an observer in the first draft single text meeting.
4	05/01/2015	Naypyitaw	12EAOs including NSCN-K	Thein Sein (morning section) Min Aung Hlaing (afternoon section)	President Thein Sein met leaders from 12 EAOs in the morning and C-in-C Min Aung Hlaing in the afternoon in Naypyitaw.
5	11/02/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including NSCN-K	UPWC, U Aung Min	Leaders from 13 EAOs and UPWC held a meeting in Naypyitaw on 11 Feb. They discussed whether to sign the "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation".
6	12/2/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including NSCN-K	President TheinSein	President Thein Sein, leaders from RCSS, KNU, DKBA and KPC signed "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation" but NSCN-K didn't sign.

# Pa-Oh National Liberation Organization

ပအိုဝ်းအမျိုးသား လွတ်မြောက်ရေးအဖွဲ့



**Armed Wing:** Pa-Oh National Liberation Army

**Email:** pnlopower@gmail.com

**Website:** <http://pnlo.org/>



UNFC member



NCCT and EAOs SD member

## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 2009

**Headquarters:** Laybwer camp, near Homong, Southern Shan State

**Operational Area:** Hsi Hseng, Hopong, Nam Zang, and Mawk Mai in Shan State

**Estimated strength:** 400+

**Leader:** Khun Myint Tun

The PNLO is the combined force of the Pa-Oh People's Liberation Organization (PPLO) and the former PNLO. The PPLO was led by Col. Khun Okkar and formed on 18 June 1991 to continue the armed struggle after its mother organisation Pa-Oh National Organization (PNO) led by U Aung Kham Hti, signed a ceasefire with the government. The former PNLO was a SNPLO splinter group (Shan State Nationalities People's Liberation Organization) led by Brig. Gen. Khun Ti Hsawng and formed on 10 June 2007.

The two groups were officially united at a Pa-Oh National Conference held on 7-9 Dec. 2009 that formed the newly structured PNLA and PNLO, and drafted the PNLO constitution. Attendees included the Pa-Oh Youth Organization, Pa-Oh Labor Union and individuals such as U Khun Myint Tun (Thaton MP in 1990 election) and Khun Tin Swe (member of NCUB and PDC). Col. Hkun Okker was elected as the chairman, and Brig. Gen. Khun Ti Hsawng as vice-chairman. The conference chose the name PNLO to honor the former PNLO's initiation and commitment to the "third revolution".

The first PNLO congress held in Laybwer military camp on 16-20 May 2013 elected new central committee members in which Khun Myint Tun was appointed the new chairman. Previous chairmen Col. Hkun Okker and Brig. Gen. Khun Ti Soung have since become patrons.

The PNLO's current headquarters is located near the Thai-Myanmar border opposite Mae Hong Son, Thailand.

**Central Committee Members:**

Patrons: Col. Hkun Okker, Brig. Gen. Khun Ti Hsawng, Khun Tet Lu

Chairman: Khun Myint Tun

Vice-Chairman: Col. Khun Thurein

General Secretary: Col. Aung Kyaw

Joint General Secretary (1): Khun Thomas

Joint General Secretary (2): Nang Nwe Nwe

CEC Member: Khun Tin Shwe Oo

CEC Member: Lt. Col. Khun Ohn Maung

CC Member: Khun Tun Tin

CC Member: Lt. Col. Khun Kyaw Htin

CC Member: Lt. Col. Khun Swe Hto

CC Member: Nang Phyu Pyar

Chief of Staff: Col. Khun Thurein

Khun Myint Tun is a EAOs SD member and Hkun Okker is an NCCT member.

**Vision:**

To Establish the Pa-Oh State for the Pa-Oh people, a state which possesses full power of self-determination and equality with other nationalities.

**Mission:**

- Oppose and fight against chauvinism and parochialism
- Eradicate the Military Dictatorship
- Establish national democracy
- Achieve self-determination and equality
- Build a federal union

**Values:**

- PNLO shall fight for the liberation of Pa-Oh people.
- The PNLO shall coordinate with all ethnic communities.
- For the liberation of each and every ethnic person from suppression, the PNLO will strive to coordinate with all ethnic groups.
- The PNLO will strive for the complete eradication of military dictatorship, suppression, and civil war, in the hopes of building a peaceful federal union which fully practices a democratic system of government.
- The PNLO will obstinately oppose the deceptive policies of the enemy, including negotiation and surrendering of arms, and will not become lackey of the enemy, military junta.

## Peace Process

**New Ceasefire:** 25 Aug 2012

**13<sup>th</sup>** resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks (23 March 2013)

### # Post-Ceasefire Clashes:

#2012: None

#2013: None

#2014: None

#2015: None

## Official delegation team PNLO Peace-Making Group

### State level: 7 members

1. Khun Myint Tun (Team leader)
2. Col. Khun Thurein (Deputy Leader)
3. Brig. Gen. Khun Ti Hsawng (Member)
4. Maj. Khun Kyaw Htin (Member)
5. Khun Ooh (Member)
6. Khun Tun Tin (Member)
7. Maj. Khun Swe Hto (Member)

### Union level: 12 members

1. Col. Hkun Okker - Team Leader
2. Khun Myint Tun - Deputy Leader
3. Col. Khun Thurein - Member
4. Col. Aung Kyaw - Member
5. Khun Ooh - Member
6. Khun Tin Shwe Oo - Member
7. Maj. Khun Swe Hto - Member
8. Khun Htee - Member
9. Khun Tun Tin - Member
10. Khun Thomas - Member
11. Nang Nwe Nwe - Member
12. Nang Myint - Member

## Liaison offices

1. Taunggyi (26/01/2013)
2. Thaton (21/08/2013)
3. Maukmai (08/12/2013)
4. Hsi Hseng (Pending)

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	PNLO Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	23/12/2011	Bangkok, Thailand	Col. Hkun Okker	U Aung Min	<p>Informal peace meeting for both PNLO and UNFC leading to preliminary talks.</p> <p>PNLO Chairman HKun Okker said that his group will observe talks involving other ethnic organization that are members of the UNFC and met with the government separately in order to study the issues being presented.</p>
2	5/2/2012	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Khun Myint Tun, Khun Thurein, Khun Tun Tin	U Aung Min	<p>Preliminary meeting</p> <p>Both sides plan to hold a formal state level meeting in the following month.</p>
3	22/04/2012	By phone	Col. Hkun Okker	U Aung Min	<p>Preliminary meeting</p> <p>Both sides plan to hold a formal state-level meeting in the following month.</p>
4	27/06/2012	Bangkok, Thailand	Col. Hkun Okker, Khun Myint Tun	U Aung Min	<p>Preliminary meeting</p> <p>Agreement to sign a 7-point draft agreement.</p> <p>Other PNLO delegates: Khun Myint Tun</p> <p>Other govt delegates: U Khin Yee</p>
5	28/07/2012	Yangon	Khun Myint Tun and Col. Khun Thurein	U Aung Min	<p>Preliminary meeting</p> <p>Discussed ideas for the upcoming official meeting for State level ceasefire agreement. Meeting followed an exploratory trip by the PNLO peace delegation inside the country (Taunggyi, Thaton township).</p>

6	25/08/2012	Taunggyi, Shan State	Khun Myint Tun and Col. Khun Thurein	U Aung Min	State Level ceasefire agreement  Other government delegates: union Ministers, representatives of the Lower house and Upper house, Shan state Chief Minister Sao Aung Myat and state government members, Commander of Eastern Command Maj. Gen. Soe Htut
7	23/03/2013	MPC, Yangon	Col HKun Okker, U Khun Myint Tun, Col Khun Thurein	U Aung Min, U Khin Maung Soe, U Win Tun, U Ohn Myint, Sao Aung Myat	Union Level peace agreement in ten major sectors including relief, social affairs, anti-drug, regional development, continued ceasefire and political dialogue.
8	02/09/2013	Taunggyi	RCSS, PNO, PNLO	U Shwe Mann, U Thein Zaw, Gen. Aung Than Htut	It's an Informal meeting.  Shan state government asked for 50% of Shan state revenue to spend in Shan state
9	20/09/2013	Taunggyi	RCSS, SSPP, PNLO	U Aung Min	Informal meeting at the sidelines of the Shan-Kayah-Mon Trust Building Conference on 21-23 Sept 2013.
10	5-6/09/2013	Naypyitaw	Khun Myint Tun and Khun Tin Shwe Oo	U Aung Min, U Khin Yee, U Win Tun, U Soe Thein and U Than Htay	It's an Informal meeting.  They discussed the continued implementation of union level peace agreements, nationwide ceasefire, participating in national census.
11	13/03/2014	Taunggyi	PNLO, KNPP, NDAA, RCSS, SSPP, and UWSA	Representatives from local Govt and MPC	Liaison Coordination Meeting held in Taunggyi on 13-14 March 2014. Representatives from Tatmadaw, State Government officials and six ethnic armed groups KNPP, NDAA, PNLO, RCSS, SSPP, and UWSA attended.
12	17/9/2014	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Khun Myint Tun	MPC working team	PNLO led by chairman Khun Myint Tun and MPC technical team led by Hla Maung Shwe met in Chiang Mai. It's an informal meeting between the two groups. They discussed for preparation of next round of NCA talks
13	05/01/2015	Naypyitaw	12EAOs including PNLO	President Thein Sein (morning section) Min Aung Hlaing (afternoon section)	President Thein Sein met leaders from 12 EAOs in the morning and Commander in chief Min Aung Hlaing in the afternoon in Naypyitaw on 5 Jan 2015. The exchanged their views and opinion on NCA.

14	11/02/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including U KhunTun (PNLO)	UPWC, U Aung Min	Leaders from 13 EAOs and UPWC held a meeting in Naypyitaw on 11 Feb. They discussed whether to sign the "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation".
15	12/2/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including U Khun Myint Tun (PNLO)	President Thein Sein	President Thein Sein, leaders from RCSS, KNU, DKBA and KPC signed the "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation" but PNLO didn't sign on it.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Member	
2	NCCT	Member	EAOs SD member
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	-	
6	Meetings with other groups	-	Shan-Kayah-Mon Trust Building Conference
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	
8	National conferences	-	
9	Cooperations	-	Nippon Foundation donated 1,200 rice bags to PNLO (January 2013)
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Developments

Dialogue			
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	D	
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire	D	Working with NCCT
3	Code of Conduct: control area		
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body		
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body		

6	Military relations	A		to maintain the location of PNLO/ PNLA troops both sides agreed to be positioned at designated areas both sides agreed not to take arms to other regions except in designated areas discussions will take place regarding any violations of the signed code of conduct to jointly manage food, clothing and shelter for troops cooperate on public security
7	Observers			
Political				
8	Public consultation		√	22/07/2012: As per the invitation from U Aung Min, seven members from PNLO's peace delegation visited Myanmar for ten days from 22 -31 July to hold several consultation meetings with individuals, the state Pa-Oh political parties, religious leaders, and Pa-Oh activists. They visited PNO patron U Aung Kham Hte, as well as the PNO chairman and other PNO senior leaders; held consultation meetings with Pa-Oh CBOs and CSOs at the PNO headquarters, and met with the abbot of Taung Kyaung Kyi monastery; traveled to Thaton Township in Mon state to hold several consultation meetings with the Pa-Oh community, senior Pa-Oh monks, and National League for Democracy Thaton (NLD-Thaton).
9	Legalisation			
10	Release political prisoners			
11	Human Rights			
12	Ethnic Rights	D		
13	National day			Pa-Oh National Conference held in Thaton town on 16-17 Feb 2015
Resettlement				
14	ID card	D		
15	Resettlement plans			
16	Demining			
Economic				
17	NSAG company			Transportation, agri-business, Unregister business concession
18	SEZ/SIZ			
19	Development projects:			
20	Development initiatives	A		cooperate on agricultural projects
21	Development: Tourism			
22				
23	Car licenses		√	15 cars for tax free and 30 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)



Social				
24	Media	A		cooperate in establishing Pa-Oh media *requested setting up an independent Pa-Oh news and media organization
25	Ethnic language in primary school			
26	others			
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication	A		Informal partnership with KNPP and ABSDF to combat drug addiction and rehabilitation.
Environment				
28	EIA			

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started ; √= Achieved; X = Failing

## Statements

11 Dec 2014 - PNLO released a statement to commemorate the 65th Anti-Feudalism anniversary

12 Jan 2014 - Message to 51st anniversary revolution day of T'ang (Palaung)

21 May 2013 - Statement of PNLO 1st Congress

26 Mar 2013 - National Day Message

23 Mar 2013 - PNLO Union Level Agreement (Burmese)

23 Mar 2013 - PNLO Union Level Agreement (English)

01 Jan 2012 - PNLO 2012 New Year Statement

31 Jan 2011 - Statement of PNLO Annual Meeting

21 Sep 2010 - PNLO Statement on International Day of Peace

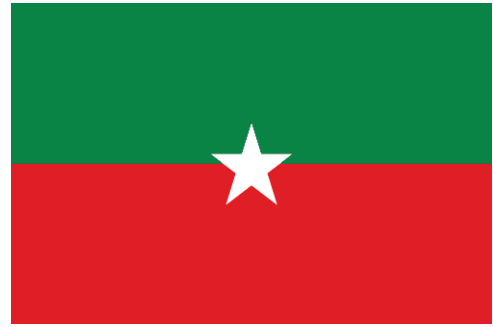
27 Feb 2010 - PNLO Statement on Pa-Oh-National Day

27 Feb 2010 - PNLO Honorable Message for Pa Oh National Day

# Shan State Progress Party

သူျမ်းပြည်တိုးတက်ရေးပါတီ

(သူျမ်းပြည်တပ်မတော် - မြောက်ပိုင်း)



## Government Name:

Shan State Army (North) Special Region-3



UNFC member



NCCT and EAOs SD member



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 1964/1989

**Headquarters:** HQ in Wan Hai, Kehsi Township, northern Shan state

**Operational Area:** Nam Kham, Langkho, Hsipaw, Kyauk Mae, Mong Hsu, Tang Yan, Mongyai, Kehsi, Lashio Townships

**Estimated strength:** 8,000+

**Leader:** Lt. Gen. Pang Fa

The Shan resistance was born on May 21, 1958. On April 25, 1960 the Shan State Independence Army (SSIA) was formed in Loi La, Mong Yawn, Kengtung state with Hkun Maha as chairman and Sao Hso Hkan as secretary general. On April 24, 1964 Shan resistance forces formed the SSA with Sao Nang Hearn Kham (Mahadevi of Yawnghwe) as chairperson. In 1971, SSPP was established and its first congress was held on August 16, 1971. The SSPP signed a ceasefire agreement with Myanmar government in 1989. Burma army gave a pressure on the SSPP to transform into BGF in 2009. The SSPP/SSA brigade 3 and 7 transformed into BGF in the following year but brigade 1 led by Col. Pang Fa rejected the transformation into BGF. After that, Col. Pang Fa (now Lt. Gen) rejuvenated the SSPP/SSA and have kept the ceasefire agreement even though the Shan army has been some clashes with Burma army.

**Central Committee Members :** 31

Vice Chairman - Sao Khur Tai

General Secretary – Sao Khun Hseng,

Sao Kham Ti

Spokesperson - Sao Sai La

Member - Sao Naw Lek, Sao Sai Ba Tun

Commander-in-chief: Sao Pang Fa

\* Sao Khun Hseng is a EAOs SD member and Sao Sai Ba Tun is an NCCT member.

## Peace Process

**New Ceasefire:** 28 Jan. 2012

7<sup>th</sup> resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks (28 Jan. 2012)

**Previous ceasefire:** 02 September 1989

### # Post-Ceasefire Clashes:

#2012: 130

#2013: 71

#2014: 100+

#2015: 2 (Jan-Jun)

## Official delegation team

Rotational

## Liaison offices

1. Lashio (Opened - Ko Latt; in-charge)
2. Taung Gyi (Opened - Sai Kyaw Zaw; in-charge)
3. Kho Lam (Opened - Sai Kyaw Lwin; in-charge)
4. Muse (not opened)
5. Tachileik (unconfirmed)

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	SSPP Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	29/10/2012	Naypyidaw	Sao Naw Lake	U Aung Min	SSPP asked the government to withdraw the Myanmar military from 4 locations around Wanhai. Other govt delegates included: MP Thein Zaw
2	28/01/2012	Taunggyi, Shan state	Col Khun Hseng	U Aung Thaung	State and Union Level agreement Other SSA-N delegates: Sao Kherh Tai Other govt delegates: Col Aung Thu

3	22/06/2012	Mandalay	Unknown	Unknown	Emergency meeting following heavy fighting that started on 17 Jun. 2012. The government agreed to withdraw from two of SSPP military bases. The bases include: Kunnamile and Loi Pha Pheung in Monghsu Township.
4	10/10/2012	Northeastern military head-quarters, Lashio	Col. Khun Hseng	U Aung Min	Both sides agreed to cooperate on a new village for families of the SSPP and IDPs. The arrangements were made in exchange for the release of Myanmar military soldiers who were being held by SSPP. The government donated 1,000 sacks of rice and 2 hand-push tractors.  Other govt delegates: U Thein Zaw, Shan State Chief Minister Sao Aung Myat, Brig. Gen. Aung Soe, Brig. Gen. Min Naung, Maj. Gen. Zaw Win, Ohn Than and Aye Myint Maung, Deputy Attorney-General Tun Tun Oo.
5	31/10/2012	Kho Lam, central-east military command HQ in Shan state	Col. Khun Hseng	Central-east military command commander Gen. Min Naung	Agreement: SSPP will open a liaison office in Kho Lam, SSPP camp does not need to move from Ta-Sampu boat port area, allowed to explore lead and ruby in Mong Shu area.  Other SSPP delegates: Sao Naw Lek, Sai Kyaw Win, Maj. Khur Mao Other govt delegates: G1 Myo Htut Oo, Maj. Ye Yint Win, Maj. Kaung Kyaw (intelligence)
6	21/02/2013	Lashio, Shan State	Maj. Naw Lae	Gen. Aung Soe	Discussed recent skirmishes
7	03/04/2013	Lashio, Shan State	Col. Khun Hseng	U Khin Maung Soe, U Win Myint, and military high ranking officials	Emergency meeting. SSPP demanded Myanmar army columns to withdraw from their control area. Government's representatives promised they would inform the president.

8	11/05/2013	Tangyang town in northern Shan state	Sao Kherh Tai, Sao Kam Maing (liaison office), Sao Aung Hla (Liaison office), Sao Kham Maung (CC), Sao Shwe Hla (Sec), Sao Naw Lek	U Thein Zaw	4 points agreement: adhere to the Jan 2012 agreement, solve problems by peaceful means, both sides should not burden civilians, meet with military officials about demarcation control areas.  Ministers U Win Myint, U Khin Maung Soe, U Kyaw Kyaw Win, Sao Aung Myat, Gen Than Htut Oo (Triangle command), Brig. Gen. Min Naung (Central east command), Brig. Gen. Aung Soe (Northeast command), Col Aung Thu, Col. Soe Win, U San Shwe Aung
9	13/07/2013	Lashio, Shan State	U Sao Khun Hseng	U Thein Zaw	Cementing already established peace and stability, trust, disciplinary procedures and friendship and called on SSPP to make necessary preparations for advancing to a political dialogue.
10	06/09/2013	Lashio, Shan State	SSPP	U Shwe Mann, Thein Zaw	Informal meeting
11	20/09/2013	Taunggyi, Shan State	RCSS, SSPP, PNLO	U Aung Min	Informal meeting on the sidelines of the Shan-Kayah-Mon state Trust Building Conference held on 21-23 Sept 2013.
12	01/03/2014	Naypyitaw	Sao Khun Hseng		Leaders from UWSA, NDAA and SSPP met president Thein Sein after attending the census workshop in Naypyitaw.
13	03/03/2014	Naypyitaw	Sao Khun Hseng	Thura Shwe Mann	3 delegates from SSPP led by Sao Khun Hseng met Thura Shwe Mann in Naypyitaw when they visited union parliament along with UWSA and NDAA leaders.
14	06/04/2014	Lashio	Col. Sai La	Commander in chief Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing	SSPP and Myanmar army Commander in Chief met in Lashio for the first time. He explained the 6 military guideline points. UWSA and NDAA leaders also attended.

15	08/07/2014	Naypyitaw	General Secretary Col Khun Hseng, and 11 leaders	Thein Zaw, UPWC Vice Chairman	It's an informal meeting. U Thein Zaw invited SSPP representatives to discuss over a recent tension in northern Shan state between SSPP and Myanmar army. SSPP demanded Myanmar army to withdraw from SSPP controls area.
16	25/08/2014	Naypyitaw	SSPP: Gen Khur Tai (Vice chairman)	President Thein Sein	It's an Informal meeting. President Thein Sein explained that government already decided to restore peace in the country and have done the policy for it. Myanmar army will follow the policy. He also urged all ethnic armed groups must participate in NCA. NDAA: U San Pe (Vice chairman), UWSA: Xiao Ming Liang (Vice Chairman) also attended.
17	25/08/2014	Naypyitaw	SSPP: Gen Khur Tai (Vice chairman)	Commander in Chief Min Aung Hlaing	It's an informal meeting. They met at Bayintnaung hall in Naypyitaw. Commander in chief Min Aung Hlaing explained military's 6 points guideline. They also discussed about NCA, regional development and anti-drug cooperation. NDAA: U San Pe, UWSA: Xiao Ming Liang also attended the meeting.
18	26/08/2014	Naypyitaw	SSPP: Gen Khur Tai (Vice chairman)	Parliament Speaker Shwe Mann, Khin Aung Myint	It's an informal meeting. SSPP, NDAA and UWSA leaders visited Union Parliament and met parliament speakers Thura Shwe Mann and Khin Aung Myint. NDAA: U San Pe (Vice chairman) , UWSA: Xiao Ming Liang (Vice Chairman) also attended.
19	02-04/10/2014	Bangkok	SNLD, SNDP, RCSS, SSPP	U Aung Min	Minister Aung Min gave an opening speech at Shan political parties and armed groups meeting held in Bangkok.
20	06/10/2014	Lashio, northern Shan state	SSPP leaders	High ranking officers from army, Shan state government officials	This is a conflict control meeting. They discussed to stop war in northern Shan state between SSPP and Myanmar army. Battles broke out between SSPP and Myanmar army on 1-5 Oct.

21	18/10/2014	Shweli hall in Lashio, northern Shan state	SSPP: 6 representatives led by Sao Khun Hseng	U Thein Zaw, Khin Maung Soe, Win Myint, Lt. Gen. Thet Naing Win, Maj. Gen. Aung Soe, Maj. Gen. Ko Ko Naing, Col. Kyaw Soe Win, Col. Aung Thu, Sao Aung Myat.	SSPP and UPWC met at Shweli hall in Lashio, northern Shan state on 18 Oct 2014. UPWC proposed 4 points such as a joint team for stability of region and development, upgrade liaison office, negotiate the military affairs through liaison office, and implement regional development. The meeting discussed under the title of "Peace and Development".
22	31/10/2014	Naypyitaw	SSPP delegations led by Sao Khun Hseng	UPWC: U Aung Min, MPC: Dr. Min Zaw Oo	They discussed to establish a joint monitoring for stability and development of the region, however, they couldn't get any agreement for it because both parties have to report to higher authorities. SSPP proposed that CBOs, elders, representatives from political parties must be involved in the joint committee but UPWC proposed that state government officials, minister of state border affairs, and military officers must be in the joint monitoring body.
23	05/01/2015	Naypyitaw	12 EAOs including SSPP	President Thein Sein (morning section) Min Aung Hlaing (afternoon section)	President Thein Sein met leaders from 12 EAOs in the morning and Commander in chief Min Aung Hlaing in the afternoon in Naypyitaw on 5 Jan 2015. They exchanged their views and opinion on NCA.
24	11/02/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including SSPP	UPWC, U Aung Min	Leaders from 13 EAOs and UPWC held a meeting in Naypyitaw on 11 Feb. They discussed whether to sign the "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation".
25	12/02/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including SSPP	President Thein Sein	President Thein Sein, leaders from RCSS, KNU, DKBA and KPC signed the "Deed Commitment of Peace and National Reconciliation" but SSPP leader didn't sign the commitment.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Member	
2	NCCT	Member	EAOs SD member
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	-	UNFC and FUA member
6	Meetings with other groups	-	
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	
8	National conferences	Attendee	Shan Conference "Trust building for peace" (26 Nov 2012)
9	Co-operations	member	CSSU
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Developments

Dialogue			
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	A	non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuation of sovereignty at all times based on the Panglong spirit.
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire		
3	Code of Conduct: control area	A	SSPP soldiers be allowed to be based in Wanhai and other temporary locations.
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body		
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body	D	SSPP proposed to form a joint monitoring committee but couldn't form in 2014
6	Military relations		
7	Observers		
Political			
8	Public consultation		SSPP has done public consultation meeting in northern Shan state in 2014
9	Legalisation		
10	Release political prisoners		
11	Human Rights		
12	Ethnic Rights	D	
13	National day		
Resettlement			
14	ID card		



15	Resettlement plans	A		Will continue talks for ensuring regional peace, stability and development, enabling the troops to earn their living and ensuring lasting peace in the region.  Resettlement of over 3500 people including SSPP family members to Mong Kaung sub-Township and Mongshu Township. Responsibilities for the livelihoods of family members, transportation, better living standards.
16	Demining			
Economic				
17	NSAG company			Trading, logging, mining and agro-business and unregistered business concession
18	SEZ/SIZ			
19	Development projects:			Discuss with state government in 2014
20	Development initiatives	A		Regional development tasks and recuperation of vacant and virgin lands for cultivation of long-lasting trees and seasonal crops,.
21	Development: Tourism			
22	Development: Internet			
23	Car licenses		√	20 cars for tax free and 40 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)
Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school			
26	others			
Drugs				
27	drug eradication	A		
Environment				
28	EIA			

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started; √= Achieved; X = Failing

## Statements

30 June 2015 - SSPP released a statement after bi-annual meeting (Eng)

30 June 2015 - SSPP released a statement after bi-annual meeting (Bur)

14 Feb, 2015 - SSPP released a statement on Kokang armed conflicts (Eng)

14 Feb, 2015 - SSPP released a statement on armed conflicts in Laukkai

31 Dec 2014 - SSPP statement on annual conference (Eng)

31 Dec 2014 - SSPP statement on annual conference (Bur)  
13 Dec 2014 - SSPP/SSA sent an open letter to US ambassador (13 Dec)  
10 Oct 2014 - SSPP released a statement on Myanmar army attacked SSPP (eng)  
10 Oct 2014 - SSPP released a statement on Myanmar army attacked SSPP  
04 Oct 2014 - SNLD, SNDP, RCSS, and SSPP released a joint statement (4 Oct)  
03 Oct 2014 - Shan leaders sent an open letter to president  
31 Dec 2013 - SSPP/SSA released a statement on Central Committee meeting  
21 Sep 2013 - An interview with SSPP General Hso ten 7 days news  
08 Jul 2013 - SSPP/SSA released a bi-annual meeting statement  
10 Jan 2013 - NDAA, UWSA and SSPP/SSA joint statement for the govt to stop its offensive against the KIO and start political dialogue

# Restoration Council of Shan State

သျှမ်းပြည်ပြန်လည်ထူထောင်ရေး ကောင်စီ  
(သျှမ်းပြည်တပ်မတော် - တောင်ပိုင်း)



Government: Shan State Army - South (SSA-S)

<http://rcssanc.org>

<http://taifreedom.com>



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 1964/1996

**Headquarters:** Loi Tai Leng, Southern Shan State

**Operational Area:** Mong Ton, Mong Hsat, Mong Yawng, Kengtung and Mong Phyak in Eastern Shan State, Mong Pan, Mong Nai, Laikha, Kunhing, Lawksawk, Maukmai, Mongkoug, Nam Zang in Southern Shan State, Kyaukme and Nam Kham in Northern Shan State

**Estimated Strength:** 8,000+

**Leader:** Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk

RCSS also known as SSA-South was formed from the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) by the late Gen. Gawn Zerng that opposed the alliance with the CPB in early 1970s. The SURA led by Sao Yawd Serk, later broke away from the Mong Tai Army led by Khun Sa when he decided to surrender in 1996. Shan State National Army (SSNA) led by Sao Sai Yee merged with RCSS on 21 May 2005. RCSS has been struggling for forging a genuine federal union, political equality and self-determination.

**Affiliations:** Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) and Mong Tai Army (MTA)

RCSS holds election every four years. Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk was re-elected in Feb 2014 as a chairman of RCSS for another four years term.

**CEC members:** 11 members

Chairman and Commander-in-chief: Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk

Vice chairman 1: Maj. Gen. Sai Yee

Vice Chairman 2: Col. Kherh Ngeun

General Secretary: Lt. Col. Siri

Chief of Civil Administration and chief of peace delegation: Brig. Gen. Pawng Kherh

Commander of eastern military command: Lt. Col. Gawn Zeun

Spokesperson 1: Col. Sai Lao Hseng

Spokesperson 2: Lt. Col. Sai Hseng Meung

CEC: Col. Sai Nguen (peace delegation)

\*RCSS is a member of Committee for Shan State Unity (CSSU). The CSSU was established on 17 Oct 2013. The CSSU's members include the Restoration Council of Shan State (RCSS), Shan State Joint Action Committee (SSJAC- a coalition of SNLD and SSPP) and the Shan Nationalities Democratic Party, as well as 13 civil society organizations.

## Peace Process

**New Ceasefire:** 2 Dec 2011

4<sup>th</sup> resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks (16 Jan 2012)

**# Post-Ceasefire Clashes:**

#2012: 68

#2013: 76

#2014: 21

#2015: 2 (Jan-Jun)

## Official delegation team

Chief Negotiator: Brig. Gen. Pawng Kherh

## Liaison offices

1. Taung Gyi (22/02/2012)
2. Keng Tung (22/02/2012)
3. Tachilek (29/02/2012)
4. Mongton (29/02/2012)
5. Kho Lam (21/03/2012)
6. Muse (business liaison office)
7. Mong Pan (05/03/2014)

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	RCSS Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	19/11/11	Thai-Shan border	Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk	U Aung Min	Informal ceasefire Other SSA-S delegates: Sao Khuen Sai Mediators: Nay Win Maung, Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing and Tin Maung Than, Harn Yawngwe
2	02/12/11	Taunggyi	Sai Lu	U Aung Min	State level 8 point ceasefire Other govt delegates: Khin Maung Soe, Col. Aung Thu, the minister of Border Affairs and Security; Shan State Chief of Justice Maung Maung; and General Staff Officer (Grade-1) of Triangle Regional Command Lt-Col. Zaw Tun Myint.
3	01/01/12	Taunggyi	Col. SaiHla	U Khin Maung Soe	Preparatory meeting
4	16/01/12	Taunggyi	Sao Paung Kherk	U Aung Min	Union level 11 point ceasefire Other govt Delegates: U Win Tun, Minister of Forestry; No 2 Electric Power Minister, U Khin Maung Soe; Sao Aung Kyat, Chief Minister of Shan State; Deputy Minister of Defense, U Zaw Win; Attorney General, U Tun Tun Oo; Minister of Shan State Border Security, Col. Aung Thu; Col Kyaw Soe Lin (Defense ministry); Triangle Region G1, Col. Zaw Tun Myint and Central Eastern Region G1, Col. Zaw Min Aye.
5	19/05/12	Kengtung	Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk	U Aung Min	12-point agreement Deputy C-in-C Gen. Soe Win, Energy Minister U Than Htay, Electric Power 2 U Khin Maung Soe, Shan State Chief Minister U Sao Aung Myat, Commander of Eastern Command Maj-Gen Soe Htut, Commander of Central East Command Brig. Gen. Tun Tun Naung, Commander of Triangle Region Command Maj. Gen. Than Tun Oo, Deputy Attorney General U Tun Tun Oo, Shan State Minister for Security and Border Affairs Col Aung Thu and Col Kyaw Soe Win of C-in-C Office

6	28/10/12	Tachileik	Pawng Kherh	Col. Aung Thu (Shan State border affairs)	Tripartite 9 point anti-drug agreement between RCSS, Govt and UNODC (Rep: Jason Eligh)
7	10/06/13	Naypyitaw	Lt. Gen. Yward Serk	U Thein Sein, U Aung Min. U Soe Thein	President said to cooperate Reposition of Arms groups, Resettlement, Job Creation, Education and Development Project. For constitution amendment, Hluttaw will proceed. RCSS said they are fighting not for Confederation State, it is for Federal, Democracy, Self-determination, Participation.
8	12/07/13	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Col. Sai La	MPC Technical Team	Informal meeting
9	15/08/13	MPC in Yangon	Col. Lao Hseng	MPC Technical Team	Informal meeting. They discussed the nationwide ceasefire and political talks. RCSS also demanded Government forces retreat from their military camp area.
10	23/08/13	Yangon	RCSS + KNU	MPC Technical Team	Discuss Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement
11	31/08/13	Naypyitaw	RCSS + KNU+ CNF (Gen. Mutu Say Po, Maj. Tu Tu Lay, Maj. Sai La and Maj. Sai Mein)	VP Sai Mauk Kham, Vice Sr Gen Soe Win, U Aung Min, U Thein Zaw	UPWC president Sai Mauk Kham expected to get nation wide ceasefire in October. (1) commitment of ceasefire (2) framework from both sides negotiation for political dialogue (3) all inclusiveness in Conference (4) midterm working process negotiations is proposed by KNU-RCSS. It's an informal meeting.
12	02/09/13	Taunggyi	RCSS, PNO, Ya La La Pha	U Shwe Mann, Aung Than Htut	Informal meeting
13	07/09/13	Chiang Mai, Thailand	RCSS/ KNU	U Aung Min, U Khin Yi	Informal meeting - The NSAG 14 point draft nationwide ceasefire accord was in principle accepted by the govt's technical team
14	20/09/13	Taunggyi	RCSS, SSPP, PNLO	U Aung Min (UPWC)	(Informal meeting) Sidelines of the Shan-Kayah-Mon state Trust Building Conference 21-23 Sept 2013. RCSS discussed recent clashes with the Myanmar army.
15	30/01/2014	Chiang Mai	Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk	Minister Aung Min	It's an informal meeting. RCSS agreed government's ceasefire plans and also ready to sign NCA.

16	05/03/2014	Mong Pan	RCSS	Shan state border affairs	RCSS opened its liaison office in Mong Pan. Government officials attended the opening ceremony.
17	06/06/2014	Yangon	RCSS: Sao Lao Hseng, Sao Sai Nguen	U Aung Min and MPC working team	Discuss about peace talks and nationwide ceasefire. RCSS demanded to abolish the 17/1.
18	18/06/2014	Chaing Rai, Golden Triangle	Gen Yawd Serk	Aung Min and MPC	It's an Informal meeting. Minister Aung Min with his MPC working team and RCSS leaders have dinner together at the bank of the Maekong river in Chaing Rai, Thailand. They discussed about NCA.
19	14/07/2014	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Maj. Gen. Paung Khur, Col. Sai Lao Hseng, Col. Sai Nguen, U Khun Hseng (PI)	Hla Maung Shwe, Dr. Min Zaw Oo, Dr. Andrew, Aung Naing Oo, Nyo Ohn Myint	It's an Informal and preparatory meeting between RCSS and MPC technical team. They discussed about next round of peace talk and other peace related issues.
20	16/09/2014	Chiang Mai	Col. Sai Lao Hseng	Hla Maung Shwe, MPC team	RCSS led by Col. Sai Lao Hseng and MPC technical team led by Hla Maung Shwe met in Chiang Mai. It's an informal meeting between the two groups. They discussed for preparation of next round of NCA talks.
21	02/11/2014	Chiang Mai	Col. Sai Lao Hseng, Col. Sai Nguen	Hla Maung Shwe, MPC team	Representatives from RCSS and MPC met in Chiang Mai on 2 Nov 2014. They explained about the recent heavyweights meeting (Aung Sann Suu Kyi, U Thein Sein, Min Aung Hlaing, Shwe Mann in Naypyitaw.
22	27/11/2014	Chiang Mai	Col. Sai Lao Hseng, Col. Sai Nguen	Hla Maung Shwe, MPC team	It's a good will meeting between RCSS and MPC representatives. RCSS is ready to participate in political dialogue. There is no problem with NCA.
23	05/01/2015	Naypyitaw	12 EAOs including RCSS	President Thein Sein (morning section) Min Aung Hlaing (afternoon section)	President Thein Sein met leaders from 12 EAOs in the morning and Commander in chief Min Aung Hlaing in the afternoon in Naypyitaw on 5 Jan 2015. They exchanged their views and opinion on NCA. Thein Sein said that he wants to sign a peace deal with the groups on Union Day. EAOs leaders also demanded Snr Gen Min Aung Hlaing to implement ceasefire as fast as he can.

24	11/02/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk (RCSS)	UPWC, U Aung Min	Leaders from 13 EAOs and UPWC held a meeting in Naypyitaw on 11 Feb. They discussed whether to sign the "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation".
25	12/2/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk (RCSS)	President Thein Sein	President Thein Sein, leaders from RCSS leader Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk signed the "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation" alongside KNU, DKBA, and KPC.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	-	
2	NCCT	-	
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	RCSS didn't sign the Laiza agreement but attended as an observer
4	Law KheeLar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	RCSS attended as an observer
5	Military allies	-	
6	Meetings with other groups	-	RCSS and UWSA held a second meeting for counteract narcotic drugs and harvest replacement planning (28-29 Dec 2012),
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	RCSS liaison officers accompanied SNLD chairperson U Khun Tun Oo to visit NDAA
8	National conferences	-	Shan Conference "Trust building for peace" held in Taw-win-ninsi hall, Shwegontai, Yangon 26 Nov 2012.
9	Cooperation	Member Anti-drug UNODC MPSI	Committee of Shan State Unity (CSSU) PNLO anti-drug partnership Tripartite anti-drug agreement IDP needs assessment (2013)
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Developments

Dialogue			
1	Panglong agreement and spirit	A	
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire	D	



3	Code of Conduct: control area	A		<p>Coordinate with each other in advance before moving with arms out of designated positions.</p> <p>The two sides will remain at positions agreed upon by both sides.</p> <p>Designation of areas will be discussed further at the Union level talks.</p>
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body			
5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body	A		<p>Two sides to conduct joint field survey A peace-monitoring group will be formed before the end of July 2012 after the nomination by the two sides of suitable persons</p> <p>RCSS organized a meeting of the Shan State scholars on 22-23/08/2012 and formed Peace Monitoring Committee consisting of 19 members, some of them highly regarded in the Shan community, volunteered to become Peace Monitors to be watchdogs against truce violations between government troops and the armed resistance.</p>
6	Military relations			
7	Observers			<p>RCSS attended as an observer in two Laiza ethnic conference and Law KheeLar conference (2014)</p> <p>RCSS also attended as an observer on NCCT – UPWC meeting for NCA discussion (2014)</p>
Political				
8	Public consultation	A	√	<p>The RCSS is free to hold political consultations with individuals, groups and communities throughout the country</p> <p>A small team of SSA led by Awng Hseuk spoke to the public gathering in Pongpakhem, located 16 km north of the Thai-Myanmar border and announced that the RCSS will stop collecting taxes and recruits from the ordinary people. (19/01/2012)</p> <p>The RCSS will urge the people for their participation in the political negotiations with the government during the upcoming 2013 (14/12/2012)</p>
9	Legalisation	A		Two sides will continue to build up mutual trust to enable the RCSS to be totally withdrawn from the list of unlawful associations.
10	Release political prisoners	A	√	Members and supporters of RCSS who are in prison will be released except for those who have been imprisoned on criminal charges.
11	Human Rights			
12	Ethnic Rights	D		
13	National day			

Resettlement				
14	ID card	A		National ID cards will be issued to members, family members and people residing with the RCSS. The RCSS will help Shan IDPs and Shan Migrants to get ID Cards.
15	Resettlement plans	A		Government will assist families of the RCSS members to earn adequate.
16	Demining			
Economic				
17	NSAG company	A	X	<p>Has set up a 6 companies under the name Shan Taung Tan Cherry on 14 May 2012, these include travel and tours gems and jewelry, trading, services, industry and hotel.</p> <p>RCSS leaders concluded a seven-day tour of businesses. At the invitation of the government peace team led by Railway Minister Aung Min, a seven-member RCSS team visited Yangon and Mandalay and a three-member team visited Muse in northern Shan State.</p> <p>Despite business permits, the RCSS has not been allowed by the Myanmar army to start agro-business activities in the agreed area.</p>
18	SEZ/SIZ	A		Special industrial zone will be set up and controlled by the RCSS.
19	Development projects			10-day visit inside the country from 15-24 January 2012, included the signing of the Union level agreement for security and development and meetings with both Shan political parties and civil societies.
20	Development initiatives	A		RCSS is permitted to request assistance from and coordinate with NGOs and INGOs.
21	Development: Tourism			
22	Development: Internet			
23	Car licenses		√	20 cars for tax free and 40 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)
Social				
24	Media	A		RCSS/SSA will be allowed to register its Tai Freedom news agency after the new media law comes into effect
25	Ethnic language in primary school	D	√	
26	others			Government will assist the RCSS in the preservation and promotion of Shan literature and culture
Drugs				

27	drug eradication	A	X	Government, UNODC and RCSS will undertake surveys in Mongnai and Mongpan townships for a crop substitution pilot project to be jointly implemented.
Environment				
28	EIA			

A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started; v= Achieved; X = Failing

## Statements

03 July 2015 - RCSS/SSA released a statement after bi-annual meeting

26 June 2015 - RCSS released a statement on International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking (Eng)

3 June 2015 - RCSS released a statement on the NCA

28 April 2015 - RCSS released a statement on Panghsan trip

15 Jan 2015 - RCSS released a statement after annual meeting

04 Oct 2014 - SNLD, SNDP, RCSS, and SSPP released a joint statement

03 Oct 2014 - Shan leaders sent an open letter to president

03 Oct 2014 - RCSS released a statement on Myanmar army launch military operation on SSPP

26 Jun 2014 - On International Day Against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking

14 Feb 2014 - RCSS leader Lt Gen YawdSerk interview by Irrawaddy

14 Feb 2014 - RCSS leader Lt Gen YawdSerk reselected for chairman

13 Feb 2014 - RCSS recruited new 4,000 members with 4 years

23 Dec 2013 - RCSS's analysis over pilot drug eradication project with UNODC and govt

09 Dec 2013 - Interview with RCSS leader Yawrt Serk

09 Nov 2013 - RCSS statement on 11 common position

02 Nov 2013 - An interview with RCSS representative Col Sai Hla in 7 days news.

26 Oct 2013 - KNU and RCSS joint Statement

01 Oct 2013 - RCSS statement to ask govt and army to follow the agreement.

17 Jul 2013 - KNU & RCSS Joint Statement

29 Jun 2013 - RCSS statement on peace talk with UPWC

26 Jun 2013 - International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking

19 Jan 2013 - RCSS-Statement13th Annual Meeting Headquarters Loi Tai Leng

# Ta'ang National Liberation Army

တအာင်း အမျိုးသား လွတ်မြောက်ရေး တပ်မတော်

<http://palaungland.org/eng>

<http://pslf-tnla.blogspot.com>

<http://www.facebook.com/PsIfTnla?fref=nf>



UNFC member



NCCT EAOs and SD member



**Political wing:** PSLF is a political wing of TNLA (latest Palaung political group; not to be confused with PSLO that was disarmed in 2005 and transformed into a Militia)

## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 1992 (Jan)

**Headquarters:** Mobile

**Operational Area:** Nawng Khio, Kyaukme, Hsipaw, Kutkai, Namtu, Man Tong, Nam Kham, Muse, Hsenwi, Namhsan, Mong Mit, Mongoke in northern Shan state

**Estimated strength:** 4,500+

**Leader:** Brig. Gen. Tar Aik Bong (Chairman),

Col. Tar Bone Kyaw (General Secretary)

Palaung State Liberation Organization (PSLO/A) concluded ceasefire with the government in 1991 and was disarmed in April 2005. Palaung leaders Tar Aik Bong and Tar Bone Kyaw formed the Palaung State Liberation Front (PSLF) to fill the gap of armed struggles and continued to fight against the Myanmar military. Ta'ang National Liberation Army (TNLA) is the army wing of PSLF. Currently, TNLA are fighting alongside the KIA and SSPP/SSA against the government in northern Shan state.

After the 2010 elections, the government recognized the areas that Palaung (also known as Ta'ang) inhabit in northern Shan state as an administration zone. However it remains very underdeveloped and there are very few schools and hospitals.

THE AIMS OF THE PALAUNG STATE LIBERATION FRONT (PSLF):

(1) To free all Ta'angpeople from oppression.

(2) To build Ta'ang self-determination state; under guarantee of democracy and Human rights.

(3) To oppose superior minded racism and dictatorship system.

(4) To gain national equality and self-determination rights.

(5) To build federal union country that ensures self-determination and national equality.

**Central Committee:** 23

**Reserved Committee:** (8)

Chairman: Brig. Gen. Tar Aik Bong

Vice-chairman: Brig. Gen. Tar Jok Jar

General Secretary: Col. Tar Bone Kyaw

Commander-in-Chief: Tar Hod Plarng

Information Department: Mai Aik Kyaw

Foreign affair Department: Tar Parn La

## **Peace Process**

Non-ceasefire group

**# clashes:**

#2012: 80+

#2013: 120+

#2014: 200+

#2015: 103 (Jan-Jun)

## **Official delegation team**

None

## **Liaison offices**

None

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	TNLA Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	31/07/2013	Muse, Shan State	Lt. Col. Tar Bone Kyaw, Tar Khu Larn	U Aung Min, Pyithu Hluttaw Socio-economic Development Committee Chairman U Maung Maung Swe	Preparatory meeting
2	14/10/2013	Shwe Li, China	Lt. Col. Tar Bone Kyaw	MPC technical team	Informal
3	05/Sep/2014 and 25/Sep/2014	-	-	-	PSLF sent a letter to UPCC chairman President U Thein Sein for ceasefire talks but he didn't response it.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	Member	
2	NCCT	Member	EAOs SD member
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
4	Law khee lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	Attendee	Signed agreement
5	Military allies	-	KIO/KIA, SSPP/SSA and MNDAA. FUA member.
6	Meetings with other groups	-	Being a member of NCCT and UNFC, representative of PSLF/ TNLA attended the NCCT and UNFC meetings.
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	
8	National conferences	-	
9	Co-operations	-	
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Developments

### Demands from PLSF Central Committee meeting (from Aug 6-8, 2012):

1. To stop military offensives in Ta'ang areas.
2. To declare a nationwide ceasefire.
3. To hold all inclusive political dialogue with all ethnic groups.

## Anti-Narcotic Campaign

PSLF/TNLA has kicked off the anti-narcotic campaign in TNLA's control area in northern Shan state. TNLA could destroy many acres of poppy plantation in northern Shan state in 2014. To end drug problems in Palaung area is one of the goals of PSLF/TNLA.

## Statements

- 06 July 2015 - PSLF/TNLA released a statement on the NCA
- 24 June 2015 - PSLF/TNLA released a statement after bi-annual meeting
- 17 Mar, 2015 - TNLA released a statement on current armed conflicts and peace talks
- 10 Mar, 2015 - TNLA released a statement on police cracked down on student protest
- 01 Mar, 2015 - MNDAA, TNLA and AA released a joint statement
- Feb 17, 2015 - PSLF/TNLA released a statement on war in Laukkai
- 12 Jan 2015 - TNLA released a statement on 52<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of Ta'ang National Revolution Day
- 20 Nov 2014 - TNLA released a condolence statement on the dead of officer cadets
- 17 Jul 2014 - Statement on TNLA's Central Committee biannual meeting on 12-15 July 2014
- 10 Mar 2014 - PSLF's explanation statement on tea leaf farmers
- 27 Feb 2014 - Condolence letter of PSLF for the village head death by Govt attack
- 10 Feb 2014 - TNLA Statement to denounce the fighting of government
- 06 Feb 2014 - TNLA released a statement on taking census
- 27 Jan 2014 - P.S.L.F/T.N.L.A open letter to Military for related to peace
- 12 Jan 2014 - PSLF statement on 51st Anniversary of Ta'ang National Resistance Day
- 05 Nov 2013 - TNLA Statement over conflict with government army
- 04 Aug 2013 - PSLF/TNLA held a public meeting in Mann Ton township
- 01 Aug 2013 - PSLF/ TNLA Statement on peace talks in Muse town
- 31 Jul 2013 - TNLA's 9 points proposal in Muse meeting
- 26 Jul 2013 - Statement on the meeting between TNLA and UPWC
- 08 Feb 2013 - Letter to the President requesting an invitation to ceasefire talks
- 18 Jan 2013 - Palaung statement on the 50th Golden Jubilee National Revolutionary Day
- 12 Jan 2013 - Statement on Golden Jubilee Palaung National Revolutionary Day
- 23 Sep 2012 - Palaung group statement on peace
- 15 Oct 2012 - PSLF statement to encourage the Palaung community about the peace process
- 12 Jan 2012 - PLSF statement on 49th National Revolution day

# United Nationalities Federal Council

ညီညွတ်သော တိုင်းရင်းသား လူမျိုးများ ဖက်ဒရယ်ကောင်စီ



**Government name:** UNFC

**Facebook Page:** <http://goo.gl/LT206d>

## SUMMARY

**Founded:** Feb. 16, 2011

**Headquarters:** Chiang Mai, Thailand

The UNFC is the latest coalition of ethnic armed organizations. It was renamed and reformed from the Committee for the Emergence of Federal Union (CEFU), founded in Nov. 2010. The UNFC wants to represent all of the ethnic armed forces during peace negotiations with the government.

**Previous Ethnic Alliances:** National Democratic Front (NDF), 1976-ongoing  
Ethnic Nationalities Council (ENC), 2001-2014 (officially abolished on 12th April 2014)

**Objective:** The UNFC wants to establish a Federal Union in Myanmar. They have already formed the Federal Union Army (FUA) to protect ethnic areas.

### UNFC members (previous members of CEFU)

1. Kachin Independence Organization (KIO)
2. New Mon State Party (NMSP)
3. Shan State Army-North (SSPP /SSA)
4. Karen National Union (KNU)
5. Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP)
6. Chin National Front (CNF)

### 6 new members:

1. Lahu Democratic Union (LDU)
2. Arakan National Council (ANC)
3. Pa-Oh National Liberation Organization (PNLO)
4. Ta-ang National Liberation Army (TNLA) also known as Palaung State Liberation Front (PSLF)
5. Wa National Organization (WNO)
6. Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA)

Remark: previous 6<sup>th</sup> new member Kachin National Organisation has merged with the KIO.

MNDAA became full member of the UNFC in the end of 2013.



## UNFC Technical team (2013)

1. Padoh Mahn Mahn (KNU)
2. Col. Ji Nawng (KIO)
3. U Aung San Myint (KNPP)
4. Khun Myint Tun (PNLO)
5. Nai Kwe Hong Mon (NMSP)
6. U Twan Zaw (ANC)
7. Saw Aw Baw Mu Ku Thay (KNU)

## UNFC Technical team (2014)

unknown

**Comprehensive Union Peace & Ceasefire Agreement  
Memorandum of Understanding with Nippon Foundation  
(only one year 2013-2014)**



### Organisation structure:

Each member organization appoints 2-4 individuals for representation in the UNFC Council. Presently, there are 22 members of the UNFC council, 10 were elected central executive committee members in 2012.

UNFC held the first congress on 25-28 Aug 2014. About 100 leaders attended the congress. UNFC elected 12 executive committee members after the first congress in 2014. FUA commanders also held the first conference on 28-29 Nov 2014.

Central Executive Committee: 12 members

Central Committee: 32 members

FUA has northern command center and southern command center.

\*UNFC established Federal Union Army (FUA) on December 2011.

FUA war commission: 15 members

Maj. Gen. Bee Htoo (KNPP) - FUA Commander in Chief

Lt. Gen. Baw Kyaw Heh (KNLA) - FUA Deputy Commander in Chief 1

Brig. Gen. Khawng Lun (KIA) - FUA Deputy Commander in Chief 2

## CEC members:

Rank	2011	Org	2012-13	Org	2014-2016	Org
Chairman	Lt. Gen. N'Ban La	KIO	Lt. Gen. N'Ban La	KIO	Lt. Gen. N'Ban La	KIO
Vice Chairman #1	Lt. Gen. Gauri Zau Seng	KIO	Khun Abel Tweed	KNPP	Nai Hongsa, spokesperson	NMSP
Vice Chairman #2	Khun Abel Tweed	KNPP	Padoh David Tharckabaw	KNU	Reserved for	KNU
General Secretary	Nai Hong Sar	NMSP	Nai Hong Sar	NMSP	Khu Oo Reh, spokesperson	KNPP
Joint Secretary #1/ spokesman	Col. Hkun Okker	PNLO	Padoh Mahn Mahn	KNU	Khun Okker, spokesperson	PNLO
Joint Secretary #2	Shwe Myo Thant	KNPP	Col. Hkun Okker	PNLO	Salai Thla Hei	CNF
Member	Mahn Nyein Maung	KNU	Dr. Khin Maung	ANC	Dr. La Ja	KIO
Member	Dr Laja	KIO	Dr. La Ja	KIO	Maj. Gen. Bee Htoo	KNPP
Member	Dr Suikhar	CNF	Naw Zipporah Sein	KNU	Sao Sai Htoo	SSPP
Member	Bawmwang Laraw	KNO	Nai Kwe Hong Mon	NMSP	Bawm wang Laraw	KIO
Member	-		-		Dr. Khin Maung	ANC
Member	-		-		Reserved for	KNU

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	23/12/2011	Bangkok, Thailand	Col. Hkun Okker	U Aung Min	Informal discussions before Preliminary meeting.
2	09/11/2012	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Nai Hong Sar, Col. Hkun Okker, and several other UNFC leaders	U Aung Min	Informal meeting Meditators: Hla Maung Shwe, Nyo Ohn Myint

3	20/02/2013	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Nai Hong Sar	U Aung Min	5-point joint statement, discussed how to arrange the future implementation of government and international development projects in ethnic regions, timeframe for political dialogue.
4	13/07/2013	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Nai Hong Sar, Padoh Mahn Mahn, Other Leaders	MPC Technical Team	Preliminary meeting, discussed the peace negotiation roadmap, mediators and organizations. UNFC will try to solve political problems with political means for long lasting peace in the country.
5	27/08/2013	Chiang Mai, Thailand	UNFC technical team	MPC technical team	Discussed nationwide ceasefire agreement and political dialogue.
6	08/09/2013	Chiang Mai, Thailand	UNFC	U Aung Min, U Khin Yi ,13 MPC reps	Discussed Govt 8 points road map and UNFC 6 points road map and framework. Govt announced nationwide ceasefire agreement will be held on the third week of October.
7	07/10/2013	Chiang Mai, Thailand	All UNFC members		UNFC held a meeting in Chiang Mai on 7-9 Oct 2013. They discussed about the political framework for political dialogue with government and nationwide ceasefire issue.
8	22/11/2013	Chiang Mai, Thailand	UNFC, RCSS, WGEC	Nyo Ohn Myint (MPC)	MPC and Nippon Foundation organized the meeting holding in Chiang Mai. Representatives from NDF, DP (Myanmar), SNDP, Yangon Rakhine affairs minister, Yangon Karen affairs minister, Sagaing Chin affairs minister, CNP, SNLD, Peace and Diversity Party, and NLD attended the meeting.They exchanged their view and opinion about establishing federal army and federal union and for trust building in future political dialogue.
9	23/11/2013	Yangon	Naing Hong sa, Abel Tweed, and David Thakacbaw	UPWC-Aung Min	Three UNFC leaders met U Aung Min on 23 Nov 2013. It's a goodwill trip. They discussed about peace processes

10	03-04/07/2014	Maesot, Thailand	UNFC and UNA, 88 generation students, NLD	-	It's an Informal Meeting.  UNFC meet the political parties of UNA, 88 groups and other political parties. They discussed about: 1. democracy, 2. peace process, 3. political dialogue
11	07/10/2014	Chiang Mai	UNFC and SNLD	-	It's an informal meeting. Shan leaders and UNFC leaders met in Chiang Mai on 7 Oct. The meeting took at least 2 hours. They exchanged opinion over current peace process.
12	10/11/2014	Naypyitaw	Nai Hongsa, Khun Okker, Salai Thla Hei, Twan Zaw	U Aung Min	It's an informal meeting. UNFC leaders could explain for the accusation made by government and discussed for NCA.
13	11/11/2014	Yangon	Nai Hongsa, Khun Okker, Salai Thla Hei, Twan Zaw	-	UNFC representatives Nai Hongsa, Khun Okker, Tawn Zaw, and Salai Thla Hei and UNA representatives met at SNLD office in Yangon on 11 Nov 2014. U Khun Tun Oo explained about the heavyweights meeting on 31 Oct 2014 and Nai Hongsa explained about the recent deadlock situation of the meeting between UPWC and NCCT, and how to break the deadlock situation.

## UNFC meetings:

29/07/2013	Chiang Mai, Thailand	MNDAA, NBF, UWSA, NDAA	
07/10/2013	Chiang Mai, Thailand	All UNFC members	Discussed the framework for political dialogue with government and nationwide ceasefire.
21-22/04/2014	Chiang Mai	UNFC – CEC members	United Nationalities Federal Council, held a two-day meeting in Chiang Mai. They analysed the peace process. They also discussed about single text and NCA.
26-29/08/2014	Chiang Mai	UNFC members	UNFC held annual meeting in Chiang Mai on 26-29 Aug. The CEC boards explained what UNFC has done for 3 and half years. They also discussed about structural of UNFC, Peace, Unity, and political dialogue.

20-22/10/2014	Thai-Burma border	UNFC members	UNFC held a meeting in Thai-Burma border area on 20-22 Oct 2014. They discussed about current political situation and exchanged views and opinion on nationwide ceasefire issue.
28-29/11/2014	Thai-Burma border	UNFC members	FUA commanders held the first conference in Thai-Burma border area on 28-29 Nov 2014. They discussed military issues, Myanmar army C-in-C 6-point guideline, Myanmar armed force's military operation in Kachin and Shan state. They agreed 9 points.
22/11/2013	Chiang Mai, Thailand	UNFC, RCSS, WGEC	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Khin Mg Swe - NDF</li> <li>2. DawThan Than Nu - Democratic Party Myanmar</li> <li>3. Myo Nyunt - Democracy and Peace party</li> <li>4. Sai Aik Pao - SNDP</li> <li>5. Zaw Aye Maung (Rakhine minister in Yangon)</li> <li>6. Saw Tun Aung Myint (Karen minister in Yangon)</li> <li>7. Noe Htan Khat (Chin minister in Sagaing)</li> <li>8. U Zoe Zam - CNP</li> <li>9. Sai Nyunt Lwin - SNLD</li> <li>10. Nay Myo Wai - Peace and diversity Party,</li> <li>11. Nan Khin Htwe Myint - NLD</li> </ol> <p>They discussed about federal army and federal union, for trust building in future political dialogue</p>

## Workshops:

13-15 Jan 2014, Political framework workshop co-organized by UNFC and NCCT.

9-11 Jan 2014: Nationwide Ceasefire Accord workshop co-organized by UNFC and NCCT.

2-5 Dec 2013: Security Sector Reform outcome of the Northern Ireland Peace Process

24 Nov 2013: UNFC and political parties held a workshop for federalism

7-10 Oct 2013: UNFC held an emergency meeting in Chiang Mai

29-31 July 2013: UNFC held a conference

5-7 July 2013: Lessons from Aceh peace process

## Roadmaps

The 6 points Ethnic Peace Roadmap: (27/09/2012) - alternative to government's peace roadmap

1. The armed ethnic nationality organizations, political parties, women and youths organizations and civil society organizations will hold meetings to lay down points that will be included in the Framework for Political Dialogue.
2. Union government representatives and unified representatives for ethnic armed organizations will hold meetings to establish the Framework for Political Dialogue.
  - a) Holding meetings in a place acceptable for both sides.
  - b) Proceedings of the meetings are to be conducted in the presence of neutral international observers and the points agreed upon are to be promulgated jointly for public knowledge.
3. After establishing the Framework for Political Dialogue by representatives of the government and the armed ethnic resistance organizations, conferences of the ethnic peoples are to be held in the states or divisions, as necessary, for clarification and approval.
4. To hold a national conference of the various nationalities participated by representatives of the ethnic armed organizations, political parties, civil society organizations, women and youth organizations.
5. A Union conference, participated by an equal number of representatives from the ethnic forces, the democratic forces and the government is to be held in the form acceptable to the three forces, and based on Panlong Spirit; the agreements adopted by the conference are to be regarded as the "Union Accord".
6. The Union Accord is to be implemented in accordance within a precise time frame.

### **Demands**

#### **UNFC requested to discuss four main issues in 2012**

- (1) To plan a meeting between UNFC and the government in Japan under the moderation of The Nippon Foundation.
- (2) Ways to solve the ongoing sectarian violence in Rakhine state.
- (3) The implementation of UNFC's Six Point Ethnic Peace Roadmap.
- (4) Ending the fighting between the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) and Myanmar military.

#### **Informal agreement: (9 November 2012)**

- (1) To resolve political issues by political means.
- (2) Hold political dialogue with all armed organizations as one and not separately.
- (3) To discuss the following topics during the formal meeting that is being planned at the newly established Myanmar Peace Center (MPC) in Yangon next month: framework for political dialogue, agenda, timeline, technical assistance and logistics.

## Foreign activities

24 Apr 2012 - Tokyo, Japan: Three UNFC Central Executive members, Dr. La Ja, Col. Hkun Okker and Padoh David Tharckabaw traveled to Tokyo to talk with the Japanese government. UNFC leaders discussed the current political situation in Myanmar, the UNFC's role in resolving the ongoing conflict and about peace talks between the government and ethnic armed forces.

27 Sept 2012 - USA: A UNFC and National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB) joint delegation led by KNU Central Executive member Padoh David Tharckabaw and Joint General Secretary and Spokesperson for the UNFC Col. Hkun Okker travelled to the US. During this time they met with US and UN officials to talk about Myanmar's ethnic peace process. Other members of the delegation included UNFC Member of Foreign Affairs; Sao Swy Mangrai, UNFC Member of Military Affairs; La Awng and U.S. Representative for the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB); Moe Chan.

1-5 April 2013 - Tokyo Japan: UNFC members visited Japan to meet the new Japanese prime minister and discuss the new granting of humanitarian assistance to ethnic people in Myanmar

May 2013 - UK: UNFC sent a delegation to the United Kingdom, led by the alliance's chairman Lt-Gen N.Ban La and Secretary General Nai Hong Sa to study the peace process in Northern Ireland. N'Ban La (Chairman), Nai Han Thar (Secretary), U Solomon (CNF), U Solomon (Lahu), Bum Wam Laraw (KIO), and a representative from ALP.

## Statements

27 July 2015 - UNFC released a statement on 8th official meeting between SD and UPWC

07 April 2015 - Position Statement on Signing of Approval on Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement Draft Reached between NCCT and UPWC

28 Mar 2015 - UNFC released a statement on Current Talks and Raging of Ferocious Battles on the Ground

08 Mar 2015 - UNFC released a statement regarding violent crackdown on democratic education movement

21 Feb 2015 - UNFC Statement on the Fighting in Kokang Region

20 Feb 2015 - UNFC released a congratulation letter for Chin National Day

11 Feb 2015 - UNFC released a statement on Union Day (1/2015)

30 Jan 2015 - Burma Peace Process Briefing

29 Jan 2015 - UNFC released a statement on 68th anniversary of Union Day

05 Jan 2015 - UNFC's New Year Felicitations Letter

01 Dec 2014 - Federal Union Army released a statement after the first FUA meeting

20 Nov 2014 - UNFC released a condemn statement on Myanmar army attacks on KIO

15 Nov 2014 - UNFC press release (02-2014)

22 Oct 2014 - UNFC released a statement after the 1st UNFC Congress

15 Oct 2014 - UNFC released a statement on Burma army's offensive on EAOs

03 Sep 2014 - UNFC released a statement after the first conference concluded

01 Sep 2014 - UNFC statement on 1st conference

04 Jul 2014 - Joint Statement of UNFC and political forces for the political conference  
30 Apr 2014 - UNFC sent an open letter to UPWC  
23 Apr 2014 - UNFC statement condemning Govt Army's offensive in Kachin and Shan-North  
23 Apr 2014 - UNFC's condolence letter on death of U Win Tin calling him Democracy Martyr  
27 Nov 2013 - UNFC Press Release  
25 Nov 2013 - Joint Statement of UNFC & UNA  
22 Nov 2013 - UNFC Press Release (5/2013)  
22 Nov 2013 - UNFC Press Release (6/2013)  
12 Nov 2013 - UNFC statement on Laiza summit and Myitkyina meeting  
11 Oct 2013 - UNFC emergency council meeting statement  
11 Oct 2013 - UNFC statement on Laiza summit and Myitkyina meeting  
10 Sep 2013 - Information Release on 2nd Preliminary Meeting between UNFC and UPWC  
08 Sep 2013 - Joint statement between Government and UNFC  
01 Aug 2013 - UNFC Press Statement on Ethnic Conference on Peace & National Reconciliation in Myanmar  
14 Jul 2013 - UNFC Press Statement of The Technical Team Meeting (5/2013)  
09 Jul 2013 - UNFC Press Release  
21 Jan 2013 - The UNFC and NCUB released statements condemning President U TheinSein's government's war in Kachin state as a step backward in achieving peace and democracy in Myanmar  
20 Jan 2013 - UNFC Public Relation and News Unit press statement  
10 Jan 2013 - UNFC annual meeting statement  
01 Jan 2013 - UNFC statement on Myanmar military offensives in Kachin state



# United Wa State Party

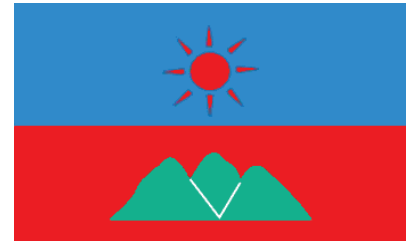
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**Political wing:** United Wa State Party (UWSP)

**Armed wing:** United Wa State Army (UWSA)

**Government Name:** Shan State (North) Special Region-2



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 1989

**Headquarters:** Pangkham (also known as Panghsang)

**Operational Area:** Panghsang, Mongmau, Pangwai, Nahphan, Mongpawk, Mongton, Mong Hsat, Tachileik

**Estimated strength:** 30,000 (reserve 10,000)

**Leader:** Bao You Xiang 鲍有祥

The UWSP administers 6 designated townships of the Wa Self-Administered Division as stipulated in the 2008 Constitution. Its official name was announced by decree on 20 Aug. 2010. The UWSP rejected the government's Border Guard Force scheme in 2009. The group maintains close ties with China (both politically and economically) and uses Chinese as the party's working language.

The UWSP military wing the Wa army is estimated to number 30,000 troops and 10,000 auxiliary members. They are the largest ethnic army in Myanmar and reported to be a major player in the opium, heroin and amphetamine drug trade. However the UWSA control area has been declared drug free and the group owns large business conglomerate Thawda Win Company, formerly known as the Hong Pang Group. It was originally formed from members of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB) following its collapse in 1989.

With the 2008 constitution, a Wa self-administration region composed of Hopang, Mong Mau, Pangwai, Narphan, Mark Mang and Panghsang (Pang Kham) township in Shan State, of where Mong Mau, Pangwai, Narphan and Panghsang are under UWSA control, while Hopang and Mark Mang are under government control.

The UWSA has 5 brigades deployed along the Thai-Myanmar border and 3 brigades in China-Myanmar border.

### On Thai-Myanmar border:

1. 778<sup>th</sup> Brigade
2. 772<sup>nd</sup> Brigade
3. 775<sup>th</sup> Brigade

4. 248<sup>th</sup> Brigade

5. 518<sup>th</sup> Brigade

**On China-Myanmar border:**

1. 318<sup>th</sup> Brigade

2. 418<sup>th</sup> Brigade

3. 468<sup>th</sup> Brigade

4. 618<sup>th</sup> Brigade (was formed in 2009)

**CEC Members:**

Chairman: Bao You Xiang

Vice-Chairman: Bao You Yi

Vice-Chairman: Xiao Minliang (Shauk Ming Lyan)

Commander-in-chief: Bao You Xiang

Deputy commander in chief: Zhao Zhongdang

Spokesperson: U Aung Myint (aka) Li Zhulie

In charge of external affairs: Zhao Guo-an

Deputy in charge of external affairs: Sam Khun

Supreme court chief: Li Zhao Guo

In charge of finance and business affairs: Bao You Liang

## **Peace Process**

**New Ceasefire:** 6 Sept. 2011

1<sup>st</sup> resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

**Stage 2:** Union level peace talks (25 Dec. 2011)

Previous ceasefire: 9 May 1989

Sporadic clashes with the Myanmar army have occurred since 2009 (no official announcement of fighting by either side).

**# Post-Ceasefire Clashes:**

#2012: None

#2013: None

#2014: None

#2015: None

## Official delegation team

Unknown

## Liaison offices

1. Lashio
2. Tang Yang
3. Keng Tung
4. Tachileik
5. Taung Gyi
6. Mandalay
7. Yangon

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	UWSA Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	06/09/2011	Kengtung	Bao Youliang	U Aung Thaug	State level ceasefire agreement. Other government delegates: Thein Zaw
2	01/10/2011	Lashio	Xiao Ming Liang	U Aung Thaug	Union level Agreement. The UWSP agreed not to secede from the Union. Discussions included: the reopening of education, health and liaison offices, reassignment of staff, drug eradication in cooperation with the government, implementing measures for border region development, arrangements made for economic-driven industries. Related agreements were signed.
3	26/12/2011	Pangsang	Xiao Ming Liang	U Aung Thaug	Union Level 6 Points agreement. Government representative Aung Thaug urged the UWSP to take part in the upcoming by-elections expected to take place early next year.
4	09/05/2012	Pangsang	unknown	unknown	Regime officials visit Panghsang, Shan state for meeting with UWSA officials.

5	17/08/2012	Wiangkao and Panghsang	Xiao Ming Liang	Deputy Border Affairs minister Maj Gen Zaw Win	Official visits by Maj. Gen. Zaw Win to the Wa area. Other UWSA delegates: Bao You Yi, Zhao Zhongdang, Bao Youliang, Ai Lone, Zhao Guo-an, U Aung Myint, Bo Laikham and others
6	06/10/2012	Kengtung	Xiao Ming Liang	C-in-C Min Aung Hlaing	Both sides agreed to cooperate in eradicating drugs.
7	16/11/2012	Pangsang	Xiao Ming Liang	Maj. Gen. Aung Soe	Goodwill visit and inspection of UWSA's Hong Pang Company.
8	04/12/2012	Pangsang	Xiao Ming Liang	U Aung Min	The discussions centered on economic and development programmes.  Other government delegates included: U Thein Zaw, U Soe Thane, Border Affairs Minister Lt. Gen. Thein Htay, Sao Aung Myat, Col. Aung Thu, Maj. Gen. Than Tun Oo, Maj. Gen. Aung Soe.
9	20/03/2013	Lashio, Shan State	Xiao Hsarm Khun	U Aung Min	Sideline meeting at the Shan-Kayah Trust-building for Peace Conference.  Wa called for a separate statehood could be decided only by the Union legislature.
10	12/07/2013	Kengtung	Zhao Guo-an	UPWC	Crisis meeting: 5-point agreement
11	03/09/2013	Kengtung	UWSA	U Shwe Mann	Informal meeting.
12	04/10/2013	Pang Sang	Xao Ming Liang	U Thein Zaw and Deputy Minister of Border Affairs Lt. Gen. Thein Htay	Informal meeting.  U Thein Zaw proposed 9 points including the national census, ID cards, local development, permitting government servants to work in Wa territory and nationwide ceasefire signing ceremony.
13	01/03/2014	Naypyitaw	UWSA: Bao You Yi, Zhao Zhongdang,	U Thein Sein	It's an Informal meeting. Leaders from UWSA, NDAA and SSPP met president Thein Sein after attending the census workshop in Naypyitaw. NDAA: U Sam Lu, SSPP: Sao Khun Hseng also attended the meeting.
14	03/03/2014	Naypyitaw	UWSA: Bao You Yi, Zhao Zhongdan, NDAA: U Sam Lu, SSPP: Sao Khun Hseng	Thura U Shwe Mann	It's an informal meeting. Three UWSA delegates led by vice-chairman Bao You Yi and deputy C-in-C Zhao Zhongdang met Thura U Shwe Mann in Naypyitaw when they visited Union Parliament alongside NDAA and SSPP leaders.

15	06/04/2014	Northern Shan Head Quarter office	UWSA	Min Aung Hlaing (Commander in Chief)	It's an informal meeting. Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing met UWSA leaders alongside NDAA and SSPP leaders for the first time. He explained the 6-point military guideline.
16	25/08/2014	Naypyitaw	UWSA: Xiao Minliang SSPP: Gen Khur Tai, NDAA: U San Pe	President Thein Sein	It's an Informal meeting. President Thein Sein explained that government already decided to restore peace in the country and have done the policy for it. Myanmar army will follow the policy. He urged all ethnic armed groups to participate in NCA.
17	25/08/2014	Naypyitaw	UWSA: Xiao Minliang, SSPP: Gen Khur Tai, NDAA: U San Pe	Commander in Chief Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing	It's an informal meeting. They met at Bayintnaung hall in Naypyitaw. C-in-C Min Aung Hlaing explained military's 6 points guideline. They also discussed about NCA, regional development and anti-drug cooperation.
18	26/08/2014	Naypyitaw	UWSA: Xiao Minliang, SSPP: Gen Khur Tai, NDAA: U San Pe	Parliament Speaker Shwe Mann, Khin Aung Myint	It's an informal meeting. SSPP, NDAA and UWSA leaders visited Union Parliament and met parliament speakers Thura Shwe Mann and Khin Aung Myint.
19	22/10/2014	Mongla	NDAA: Sai Leun and UWSA: Xiao Ming Liang	U Thein Zaw	U Thein Zaw persuaded UWSA and NDAA leaders to sign NCA as a role model, to accept 6 points army's guiding and to open up Mongla for tourism and trade. >>> UWSA Vice-chairman Xiao Minliang proposed 6 points: assistance for road construction, license for 60 Wa trucks, national ID for Wa people, hydropower plant on the Salween river, coal mining project and hydropower plant in Hsipaw. >>> NDAA chairman Sai Leun aka Lin Mingxian proposed assistance for schools and hospitals in his area.
20	05/01/2015	Naypyitaw	12EAOs including UWSA (Bao You Yi and U Aung Myint)		President Thein Sein met leaders from 12 EAOs in the morning and Commander in chief Min Aung Hlaing met in the afternoon in Naypyitaw. They exchanged views and opinion on NCA. Thein Sein said that he wants to sign a peace deal with the groups on Union Day on Feb.

21	11/02/2015	Nyapyitaw	13 EAOs including UWSA (Bao You Yi and U Aung Myint)	U Aung Min	Leaders from 13 EAOs and UPWC held a meeting in Nyapyitaw on 11 Feb. They discussed whether to sign the "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation".
22	12/02/2015	Naypyitaw	13 EAOs including UWSA (Bao You Yi and U Aung Myint)	President Thein Sein	President Thein Sein, leaders from RCSS, KNU, DKBA and KPC signed the "Deed Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation" but UWSA didn't sign on it.
23	04/03/2015	Lashio	UWSA	Lt. Gen. Aung Than Htut	Lt. Gen Aung Than Htut (special military operation bureau) demanded UWSA not to provide weapons to MNDAA. 618th brigade commander and 7 other high ranking officials from UWSA attended the meeting.

## Ethnic cooperation

1	UNFC	-	
2	NCCT	-	
3	Laiza ethnic conference 1 and 2	-	
4	Law Khee Lar ethnic conference 1 and 2	-	
5	Military allies	-	NDA
6	Meetings with other groups	-	
7	Meetings with foreign actors	-	
8	National conferences	-	Shan-Kayah Trust-building for Peace Conference (2013)
9	Cooperation	-	Panghsang Conference (2015)
10	Observers at meetings	-	

## Developments

Dialogue			
1	Panglong agreement and spirit		
2	Efforts for Nationwide ceasefire		
3	Code of Conduct: control area		
4	Monitoring: crisis mediating body		

5	Monitoring: ceasefire monitoring body			
6	Military relations	A		continue holding talks to cooperate on defence forces of the State for security and defence of the State as one as it agrees not to disintegrate the State and secede from the State at all
7	Observers			
Political				
8	Public consultation			
9	Legalisation			
10	Release political prisoners			
11	Human Rights			
12	Ethnic Rights	D		Demanding more self-administration and autonomous township  continue negotiating matters related to enabling representatives in townships of "Wa" Special Region (2) take seats in each Hluttaw r - encouraging proper representation of Wa in their respective areas
13	National day			
Resettlement				
14	ID card	D		
15	Resettlement plans			
16	Demining			
Economic				
17	NSAG company		√	Enterprises: Hong Pang Company (founded in 1998) changed its name to Thawda Win Company in 2012. It is a conglomerate involved in construction, agriculture, gems and minerals, logging, petroleum, electronics, telecommunications, factories, bank, distilleries, department stores, airline, hotels and brewery. The group is based in Panghsang with offices in Yangon, Mandalay, Lashio, Tachileik and Mawlamyine. Ho Chun Ting, aka Aik Haw aka Hsiao Haw, the son-in-law of Bao You-Xiang, is the principal owner and managing director of Yangon Airways and chairman of Tetkham Co Ltd that runs a chain of hotels. Thawda Win Company has subsidiary companies including (1) Tet Kham Co. Ltd (2) Myanmar Dagaung Co. Ltd (3) Mong Mao Co. Ltd.
18	SEZ/SIZ			
19	Development projects:			

20	Development initiatives	A		adopt short-term and long-term socio-economic development plans  Union government to help increase opportunities for national races youths in “Wa” Special Region to pursue education with the mindset to develop their insights, to equip them with vocational education and to realize human resources development.  Union government agreed to cooperate in developing healthcare initiatives in Wa” Special Region (2), these initiatives include: treatment, prevention and education
21	Development: Tourism			
22	Development: Internet			
23	Car licenses		√	40 cars for tax free and 80 car licenses with preferential tax rates (2013)
Social				
24	Media			
25	Ethnic language in primary school			50 Wa students to study in government schools (2014)
26	others			
Drugs				
27	Drug eradication			Already declared drug free zone
Environment				
28	EIA			

**A= Term sign in peace agreements; D= Demand; →= started; √= Achieved; X = Failing**

## Statements

6 May 2015 - EAOs released a statement after Panghsang meeting

05 Oct 2014 - UWSA and NDAA released a joint statement

02 Jun 2014 - Who Are the Wa: The article written by Bertil Lintner published

10 Jan 2013 - NDAA, UWSA and SSPP issued a joint statement for the govt to stop its offensive against the KIO/KIA and start political dialogue

02 Aug 2012 - RCSS + UWSA commanders say tensions between the two armies have subsided following a “misunderstanding” that caused a face off opposite Chiang Mai’s Fang District in northeast Myanmar.

16 Jun 2011 - UWSP’s statement concerning ongoing clashes between the Myanmar military with the RCSS/SSA, KIA and KNLA.



# Government's peace plan

အစိုးရ၏ ငြိမ်းချမ်းရေး အစီအစဉ်



## 18 August 2011: President Thein Sein appealed to dozens of ethnic groups to start talks (announcement No. 1/2011)

President Thein Sein has pledged to make the ethnic issue a national priority, offering dialogue with all armed groups and dropping key preconditions for talks. Specifically, dropping the demand for the groups to become border guard forces, and then an unprecedented national conference to seek political solutions to ethnic divisions. Plans for a peace process were drawn up by the Ethnic Affairs and Internal Peace Committee set up by both Houses of the People's Parliament and the National Parliament.

## Union-level peace team (reformed 3 May 2012 - Decree 12/2012)

The latest Union-level peace team is made up of a central committee for making policies and a working committee for implementing policies associated with ceasefire negotiations. The central committee (UPCC) is chaired by President Thein Sein, while the working committee (UPWC) is chaired by Vice President Sai Mauk Kham. The MPC was created in November 2012 to assist the UPWC.

**Tasks:** In 2013, the government changed its state and union level peace plan towards the nationwide ceasefire and political dialogue towards a union accord. The NDSC made the executive decisions for the ceasefire, while the Chief negotiator minister U Aung Min, assisted by the MPC's technical team, has negotiated peace agreements with the NSAGs. Peace and trust building between the ethnic and government side, as well as public outreach are also important tasks of the peace team. Implementation of peace related policy is carried out by the MPC, government ministers, union and state level ministries. Humanitarian work is also overseen by the chief minister of state and State Security and Border Affairs ministry with the assistance of foreign donors and organisations. Other key ministries include the Border Affairs ministry, Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement ministry, Environmental Conservation and Forestry ministry and Health Ministry.

**Funding:** The exact amount of funding for the peace process is unknown. The government initially did not allocate any state budget for the peace plan when new ceasefire talks were renewed in 2011. In 2013, there was a 1 million kyat endowment for peace, diverted from original funding for the construction of housing for parliamentarians in Naypyidaw. The New Light of Myanmar reported donations by government ministries, parliament and domestic companies for humanitarian aid and development. The Peace Donor Support Group which was requested by President Thein Sein is also a crucial source of funding. Money is channeled through various routes, some through the MPC, while others go through the Border Affairs ministry and other related ministries. In January 2014, the President requested K7 billion for government's peace plan from the 2014 state budget beginning in April.

**Final Draft Signing:** UPWC and NCCT held the 7th official meeting on 17-22 Mar 2015. Representatives took a break and then they continued the meeting on 30-31 Mar 2015. The UPWC and NCCT representatives signed the final draft of the NCA on 31 Mar 2015 in the presence of President Thein Sein.

2011-2013	2013-
<p>Three-phase peace plan</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. State level: Ceasefire, set up liaison offices and travel without holding arms to each other's territory</li> <li>2. Union level: Confidence building, holding political dialogue, implement regional development tasks in terms of education, health and communication</li> <li>3. Sign agreement for eternal peace in the presence of the parliament represented by nationalities, political parties and different walks of life.</li> </ol>	<p>Army proposed:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To have an actual desire to achieve peace</li> <li>2. Keep the promises made in agreements</li> <li>3. Not to take advantage from the peace agreement</li> <li>4. Not to add burden on locals</li> <li>5. Action must be in line with current laws and regulations</li> <li>6. Action must be in accordance with the 3 main national causes and 2008 constitution</li> </ol> <p>President Thein Sein's guideline:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To cooperate and negotiate for the demands of ethnic armed groups</li> <li>2. Reapprove the ceasefire agreement</li> <li>3. Move forward to political dialogue after signing a ceasefire agreement</li> <li>4. Working together with all ethnic armed groups (all inclusive) for peace</li> </ol>
<p>Peace Working Committee - Ceasefire guidelines</p> <p>In order to reach peace agreements (with ethnic armed groups), Union-level Peacemaking Work Committee will carry out the following duties and report to the Union-level central executive committee:</p> <p>State level Peace negotiation - 5 Terms</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To ceasefire from both sides</li> <li>2. To deploy troops only in agreed territories</li> <li>3. Prohibit carrying arms outside the designated territories</li> <li>4. Open liaison offices in areas agreed by both sides (no arms allowed)</li> <li>5. In order for the negotiation process to proceed to Union Level negotiation, each group will have to form an official delegation team and negotiate the place and time for Union Level negotiation.</li> </ol>	
<p>Union Level Peace Negotiation - 8 Points</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To remain forever in the Union</li> <li>2. To accept the Three National Causes: non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national sovereignty and perpetuation of national sovereignty</li> <li>3. To cooperate in economic and development tasks</li> <li>4. To cooperate in the elimination of narcotic drugs</li> <li>5. To set up political parties and enter elections</li> </ol>	

<p>6. To accept the 2008 Constitution and to make necessary amendments via Parliament by majority consent</p> <p>7. To fully enter the legal fold for permanent peace and live, move, work in accord with the Constitution</p> <p>8. To coordinate existence of only a single armed forces in accord with the Constitution</p>	
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	Government	Parliament	Military
<p>NDSC (11)</p> <p>National Defense and Security Council</p> <p>executive decisions</p>	<p>1. President Thein Sein</p> <p>2. Vice-President Nyan Tun</p> <p>3. Vice-President Dr. Sai Mauk Kham</p> <p>4. Wunna Maung Lwin Minister of Foreign Affairs</p>	<p>5. People's Assembly Speaker Thura Shwe Mann</p> <p>6. National Assembly Speaker Khin Aung Myint</p>	<p>7. Commander-in-Chief Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing</p> <p>8. Deputy C-in-C Vice-Snr. Gen. Soe Win</p> <p>9. Minister of Defense Lt. Gen. Wai Lwin</p> <p>10. Minister of Home Affairs Lt. Gen. Ko Ko</p> <p>11. Minister of Border Affairs Lt. Gen. Thet Naing Win</p>
<p>UPCC (11)</p> <p>Union Peace Central Committee</p> <p>Creates policy</p>	<p>Chaired by</p> <p>1. President Thein Sein</p> <p>2. Vice President U Nyan Tun (replaced U Tin Aung Myint Oo, Aug.16, 2012)</p> <p>3. Vice President Dr. Sai Mauk Kham</p> <p>4. Attorney-General Dr. Tun Shin</p> <p>5. Director of President's office U Min Zaw</p>	<p>6. Speaker of the Upper house Thura Shwe Mann</p> <p>7. Speaker of the lower house U Khin Aung Myint</p>	<p>8. Commander-in-Chief Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing</p> <p>9. Minister of Home Affairs Lieutenant-General Ko Ko</p> <p>10. Defense Minister Lt. Gen. Wai Lwin</p> <p>11. Border Affairs Minister Lt. Gen. Thet Naing Win</p>

<p>UPWC (52) Union Peacemaking Work Committee implements policy</p>	<p>Chairman: Vice-President Dr. Sai Mauk Kham</p> <p>Vice-Chairman: President Office Minister Aung Min, Vice Chairman: D-G of the Govt. Office U Myo Tint Kyi</p> <p><b>8 ministers</b></p> <p>U Ohn Myint (Livestock, Fisheries and Rural Ministry), U Soe Thein (President Office Ministry), U Than Htay (Rail Transport Ministry), U Khin Yee (Immigration and Population Ministry), U Win Htun (Environmental Conservation and Forestry Ministry), U Khin Maung Soe (Electrical Power Ministry), Maj. Gen. Tin Aung Chit (Deputy Minister, Border Affairs Ministry) (replaced Maj. Gen. Maung Maung Ohn in 2014), U Htun Htun Oo (Chief Justice),</p> <p><b>10 region or state chief ministers</b></p> <p>U La John Ngan Seing (Kachin State), U Khin Maung Oo (aka) U Bu Reh (Kayar state), U Zaw Min (Kayin state), U Hong Ngai (Chin State), U Thar Aye (Sagaing Region), U Ko Myat Ko (Tanintharyi Region), U Nyan Win (Pegu Region), U Ohn Myint (Mon State), Maj. Gen. Maung Maung Ohn (replaced U Hla Maung Tin in 2014) (Rakhine state), U Sao Aung Myat (Shan state)</p>	<p><b>Vice Chairman:</b> Parliament Member U Thein Zaw (head of the Lower House National Races Affairs and Internal Peacemaking Committee)</p> <p><b>18 ethnic parliament members</b></p> <p><b>Lower House</b></p> <p>Daw Dwe Bu (Kachin), U Soe Reh (Kayar), U Saw Thein Aung (Kayin), U Ngun Maung (Chin), Daw Mi Yin Chan (Chin), U Ba Shein (Rakhine), U Sa Ti Phan (Shan), U Hla Tun (Naga), U Kyin Wan (Wa)</p> <p><b>Upper House</b></p> <p>U Sa Khont Taint Yain (Kachin), U Sann Reh (Kayar), U Saw Htun Mya Aung (Kayin), U Paw Lyan Lwin (Chin), U Saw Ohn (Mon), U Ohn Tin (Rakhine), U Sai Kyaw Zaw Than (Shan), U Myat Ko (Naga), U Sai Pao Nap (Wa)</p>	<p><b>Vice Chairman:</b> Deputy Commander-in-Chief and Commander of the Army Vice-Snr. Gen. Soe Win</p> <p><b>12 regional commanders</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Brig. Gen. Win Bo Shein (Northern Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Aung Soe (North-Eastern Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Aye Win (Eastern Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Ko Ko Naing (Central-Eastern Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Than Htun Oo (Triangle Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Tin Maung Win (South-Eastern Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Khin Maung Htay (Coastal Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Min Naung (North-Western Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Aung Kyaw Zaw (Southern Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Soe Htut (Central Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Lu Aye (South-Western Region)</li> <li>- Maj. Gen. Aung Lin Dwe (Western Region)</li> </ul>
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# Myanmar Peace Centre (MPC)



Website: <http://www.myanmarpeace.org/>

Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Myanmar-Peace-Center/103982913079402>

Secretariat for the Myanmar Peace Committee and reports to the President's officempc

**Opened:** November 3, 2012

**Headed by:** Aung Min (President's Office Minister)

**Run by:** Soe Thein (President's Office Minister), Khin Ye (Home Affairs Minister)

Kyaw Yin Hlaing (Myanmar Egress), Hla Maung Shwe (Myanmar Egress), Aung Naing Oo (Vahu Development Institute), Dr. Min Zaw Oo (Academic), Kyaw Soe Naing (Myanmar Egress)

**MPC technical team:** U Hla Maung Shwe, U Tin Maung Than, U Kyaw Soe Hlaing, Dr. Min Zaw Oo, Dr. Kyaw Yin Hlaing, U Aung Naing Oo, U Nyo Ohn Myint, Dr. Andrew Ngun Cung Lian, Dr. Naw Rebecca Tin

**Staff:** About 120

**Email:** [info@myanmarpeace.org](mailto:info@myanmarpeace.org)

**Address:** No.11, Shwe Li Road, Kamayut Township, Yangon, Myanmar (11041-11044)

**Phone:** +95 1-230 4168

The Government of Myanmar opened the Myanmar Peace Center (MPC) in Yangon as part of an agreement with the Norway-led Peace Donor Support Group (PDSG). It was established to assist the Union Peacemaking Central Committee and the Union Peacemaking Work Committee for the peace process. It coordinates all peace initiatives and acts as a one-stop service center for donor governments and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) that want to support the peace process. In addition, it serves as a platform for government officials, members of ethnic militia groups, civil society organizations, international donors and INGOs to meet and negotiate.

The MPC opened on November 3, 2012 with a start-up fund of EUR 700,000 from the European Union (a member of the PDSG) and four houses provided by the Myanmar government. The opening ceremony was attended by the European Commission (EC) President Barroso. On March 25, 2013 it also received \$1.2 Million from the Japanese government for its running costs. On November 5, 2013 it also requested 1 billion kyats for the peace budget in Parliament, 100 million kyats already used in advance for the MPC.

The European Commission has proposed the following main sectors of rural development, education, governance and support to peace building for development cooperation with Myanmar for 2014-2020. The EU has set up the comprehensive framework to provide 2015 to the ongoing reform in Myanmar. Funding levels for the upcoming programming period

are likely to be substantially increased, up to €90 million annually. The EU and its Member States are engaged in a process of preparing joint programming of support to Myanmar/Burma for 2014-2020, aligned to the government's own development planning with their Framework for Economic and Social Reforms.

The joint **EU-Myanmar Task Force** meeting held in Yangon and Naypyitaw on 13 to 15 November 2013. The Task Force aims to provide comprehensive support to the transition in Myanmar. These include development aid, parliamentary cooperation, support to the peace process and investment.

### **Vision**

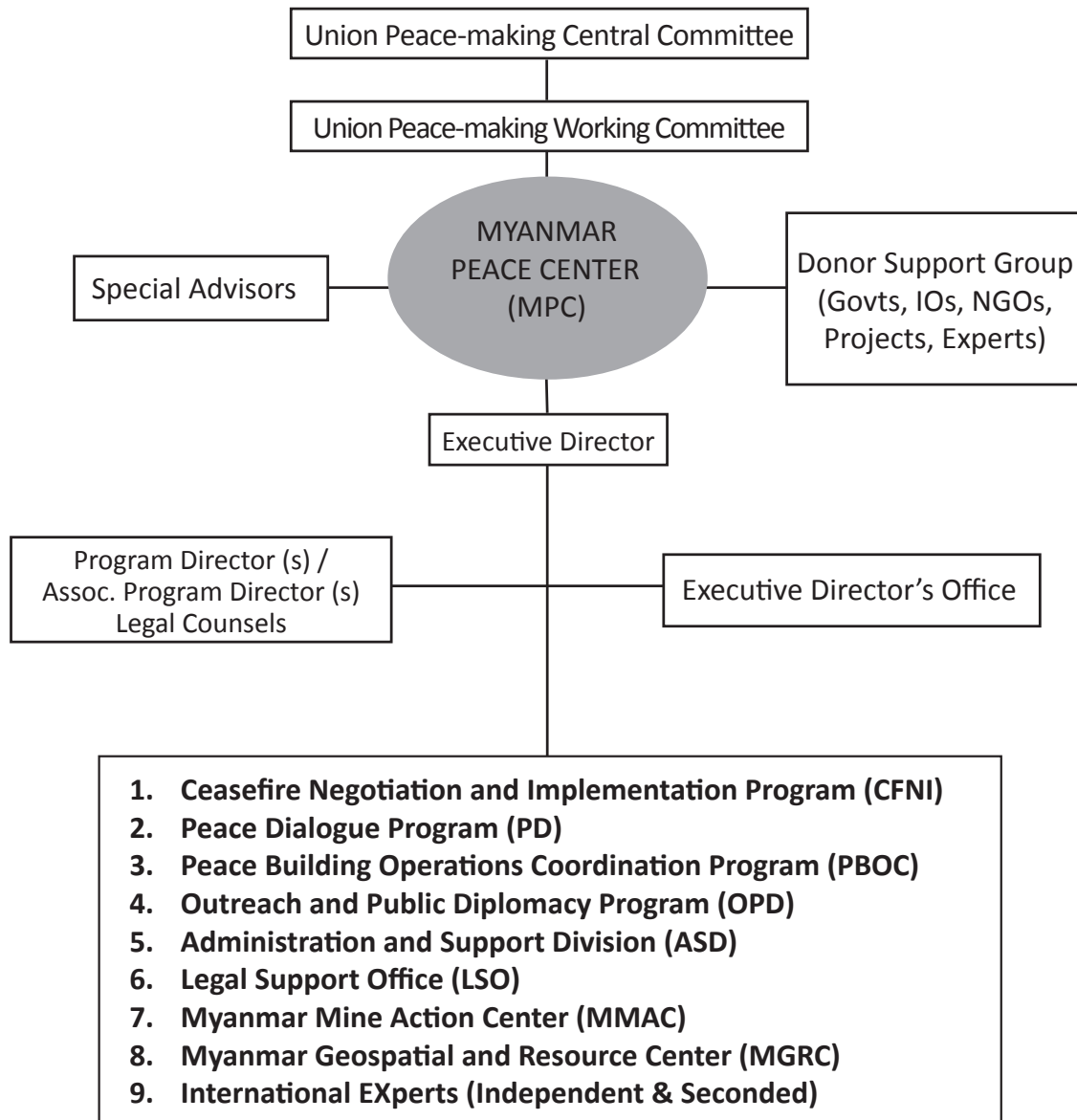
The Myanmar Peace Centre plays a key role in the development of a peaceful nation inclusive of Myanmar's ethnic diversity.

### **Mission**

To contribute to sustainable peace and an overall political settlement to the benefit of all the citizens of Myanmar.

The Myanmar Peace center achieves its mission by providing policy advice and strategic level guidance as well as coordinates government activities in five key areas:

1. Ceasefire negotiations and implementation
2. Peace negotiations and political dialogue
3. Coordination of assistance in conflict affected areas
4. Outreach and public diplomacy
5. Mine Action
6. Geospatial and Resources



## Donors and Partners

1. Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID)
2. Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPCS)
3. Columbia University
4. Department for International Development (DFID)
5. European Union (EU)
6. Institute for Security and Development Policy (ISDP)
7. Inter-mediate
8. Internews
9. International Crisis Group (ICG)
10. International IDEA
11. International Management Group (IMG)
12. International Media Support (IMS)
13. Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)
14. Japan Platform (JPF)
15. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
16. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NMFA)
17. Norwegian People's Aid (NPA)
18. Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)
19. Peace Donor Support Group (PDSG)
20. Peace Nexus (PN)
21. Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs
22. The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD Centre)
23. The Nippon Foundation (TNF)
24. United Nations (UN)
25. World Bank Group (WB)



# Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team

တနိုင်ငံလုံး အပစ်အခတ်ရပ်စဲရေးဆိုင်ရာ ညှိနှိုင်းရေး အဖွဲ့



## SUMMARY

**Founded:** 2 November 2013

Created at the Laiza ethnic conference 30 Oct - 2 Nov 2013, the NCCT will represent member ethnic armed organizations when negotiating with the government's peace negotiation team. The NCCT is expected to be temporary until member NSAGs sign the NCA, and will be replaced by another committee to write up the political framework and dialogue. It is primarily run by funds from member NSAGs, and miscellaneous support by the Nippon Foundation e.g. venue fees for the meeting. Chiang Mai meeting held at Alpine Golf Resort in Chiang Mai on 29 Dec. 2013.

Representatives of RCSS attended the Laiza conference but did not sign the 11-common position. The two other major ethnic armed groups UWSA and NDAA were also invited to attend the Laiza conference but could not attend the conference.

Following by the Laiza ethnic conference I, ethnic armed organizations could hold ethnic conference II in Law Khee Ler in Karen state and another ethnic conference III in Laiza again in 2014. Law Khee Ler Conference was held again in June 2015.

## Member organisations

1. Arakan Liberation Party
2. Arakan National Council
3. Arakan Army
4. Chin National Front
5. Democratic Karen Benevolent Army
6. Kachin Independence Organization
7. Karenni National Progressive Party
8. Karen National Union
9. KNU/KNLA Peace Council
10. Lahu Democratic Union
11. Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army
12. New Mon State Party
13. Pa-Oh National Liberation Organization
14. Palaung State Liberation Front
15. Shan State Progress Party
16. Wa National Organization

\* RCSS did not sign the Laiza agreement

## NATIONWIDE CEASEFIRE COORDINATING TEAM members:

No	Name	Position	Mother Organization
1	Nai Hongsa (aka) Nai Han Tha	Team Leader	NMSP
2	Padoh Kwe Htoo Win	Deputy leader 1	KNU, General Secretary
3	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw	Deputy leader 2	KIO, Deputy C-in-C
4	Lt. Col. Kyaw Han	Member	AA
5	Daw Saw Mra Raza Lin	Member	ALP, CEC member
6	Twan Zaw	Member	ANC, General Secretary
7	Dr. Lian H. Sakhong	Member	CNF, Presidium
8	Col. Saw Lont Lon	Member	DKBA
9	Khu Taw Reh (S)	Member	KNPP
10	Saw Nay Soe Mya	Member	KPC, CEC member
11	Col. Solomon	Member	LDU, Vice Chairman
12	U Tun Lwin	Member	MNDAA, General Secretary
13	Col. Hkun Okker	Member	PNLO, Patron
14	Tar Vael Khroure	Member	PSLF/TNLA, Joint General Sec. 2
15	Sai Ba Tun	Member	SSPP, CEC member
16	Ta Aik Nyunt	Member	WNO, Secretary General

## NCCT meetings:

Major meetings: Laiza conference (30 Oct - 2 Nov 2013), Law KheeLar conference (20-25 January 2014), Laiza conference (25-29 July 2014), Law Khee Ler Conference (2-9 June 2015)

NCCT held a 3 days workshop holding in Chiang Mai on 9-11 Jan. 2014.

NCCT will have political framework workshop on 13-15 Jan. 2014.

## NCCT-Government Meetings

#	Date	Location	EAOs rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	04-05/11/2013	Myitkyina	18 arms groups	U Aung Min, Thein Zaw	Government presented their proposal.
2	26/11/2013	Chiang Mai	NCCT		Reviewing the Govt draft of nationwide ceasefire agreement, Laiza agreement. Federal Army
3	15/12/2013	Yangon	NCCT	MPC technical team	It's an informal meeting.

4	29/12/2013	Chiang Mai	NCCT	U Aung Min and MPC technical team	It's informal meeting. They discussed single text document and nationwide ceasefire.
5	9/01/2014		NCCT	MPC technical team	It's an informal meeting. They discussed for nationwide ceasefire.
6	13/01/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	-	Workshop for political framework - NCCT organized 2 workshop - one is from 9 to 11- for ceasefire accord, and one is from 13 to 15 for political framework.
7	20-25/01/2014	Hpa-an	NCCT, RCSS + ... (17 Arms Groups)	-	Ethnic armed groups held an ethnic conference II in Law Khee Lar in Karen state. RCSS and ABSDF attended as an observer in the conference. UWSA and NDAA didn't attend it. They discussed about nationwide ceasefire.
8	29/01/2014	Chaing Mai	NCCT	Aung Min and MPC technical team	It's an informal meeting. The draft proposal of nationwide ceasefire agreement made by NCCT submitted to U Aung Min.
9	09/03/2014	Yangon	NCCT	UPWC	It's the 1th official meeting. NCCT and UPWC agreed to combine their separate proposals to become a single document. (combined 2 proposals)
10	19/03/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	-	NCCT meeting held in Chiang Mai. Padoh Kwe Htoo Win, Dr Salai Liang H. Sakhong, U Shwe Myo Thant and U Tun Zaw, Naing Hongsa and Maj. Gen. Gun Maw were selected as NCCT negotiating team.
11	05-08/04/2015	Yangon	NCCT	MPC	It's the 2nd official meeting between NCCT and UPWC. They discussed about a single text document. There are 7 chapters.  <b>(Single text 1<sup>st</sup> draft)</b>
12	28/04/2015	Chiang Mai	NCCT	-	NCCT held a meeting in Chiang Mai. They discussed about single text and nationwide ceasefire. They decided if NCCT cannot decide the agreement points with government, there will be an executive meeting with top leaders for decision making over the NCA.

13	21-23/05/2015	Yangon	NCCT	UPWC	This is 3rd official meeting between NCCT and UPWC. In the meeting, UPWC accepted Federal principles such as 1. Democracy 2. Equality 3. Self-determination writing in the NCA draft. (Single text 2nddraft)
14	12-16/06/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	-	NCCT members held a formal meeting in Chiang Mai, Thailand on 12 - 16 June. They analyzed the peace process and negotiation with government. They also discussed the preparation for coming EAOs summit meeting in July.
15	16/06/2014	Chiang Mai	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw, Nai Hongsa, Padoh Kwe Htoo Win	MPC technical team (Hla Maung Shwe, Nyo Ohn Myint)	It's an Informal Meeting.  U Hla Maung Shwe and U Nyo Ohn Myint of MPC technical team and Maj. Gen. Gun Maw, Nai Hongsa and Padoh Kwe Htoo Win met in Chiang Mai on 16 June. They discussed the preparation for coming NCCT-UPWC meeting.
16	01-02/07/2014	Chiang Mai, Thailand	NCCT	-	NCCT held a meeting in Chaing Mai. They discussed about the single text document and negotiation with government.
17	06/07/2014	Chiang Mai, Thailand	NCCT	MPC technical team led by Hla Mg Shwe	It's an Informal Meeting.  NCCT and MPC technical teams held a meeting in Chaing Mai. They discussed about single text draft and NCA.
18	07/07/2014	Chiang Mai, Thailand	NCCT	Inside 12 political parties	It's an informal meeting. NCCT members meet representatives of 12 inside political parties including ethnic political parties in Chiang Mai on 7 July. They discussed about PR system, peace process, federal union, etc.
19	13/07/2014	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw, Padoh Kwe Htoo Win	MPC technical team led by Hla Maung Shwe	It's an informal meeting.  They discussed about next round of meeting for single text document and about EAOs conference planned to hold in Laiza on 24-26 July.

20	03/08/2014	Myitkyina	11 from NCCT and 7 from technical team	U Aung Min, U Thein Zaw, U Tun Tun Oo, Lt. Gen. Thet Naing Win and MPC team	It's the 4th official meeting. NCCT and UPWC discussed about NCA, how to build a federal union and army. They will meet again at MPC in Yangon. They exchanged their proposals.
21	09-11/08/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	-	NCCT members held a meeting in Chiang Mai, Thailand. They analysed the UPWC's new proposal and reviewed process.
22	12/08/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	MPC technical team	It's an informal meeting. NCCT led by Nai Hongsa and MPC technical team led by Hla Maung Shwe met in Chiang Mai. They discussed for the upcoming meeting on 15-17 Aug in Yangon and agenda.
23	15-17/08/2014	Yangon	NCCT	UPWC and MPC technical team	It's the 5 <sup>th</sup> formal meeting between NCCT and UPWC. UPWC led by U Aung Min and NCCT led by U Nai Hongsa held a meeting on 15-17 August 2014 in Yangon. They agreed 3rd draft of single text document. NCCT and UPWC released a joint statement on 17 Aug after the talks. UPWC agreed to build a federal union in principles. <b>(single text 3<sup>rd</sup> draft)</b>
24	18/08/2014	Yangon	NCCT leaders	34 Political Parties, UPWC	It's an informal meeting. It's a tripartite meeting between UPWC, NCCT and political parties on 18 Aug. They discussed political framework and political dialogue. Representatives from 34 political parties including NLD attended the meeting.
25	18/08/2014	Yangon	NCCT leaders	Daw Aung San Suu Kyi	Nai Hong sa, Maj. Gen. Gun Maw, Col. Hkun Okker and Twan Zaw met Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at her home on 18 Aug. They exchanged opinion on peace process, and situation in Hluttaws.
26	19/08/2014	Yangon	NCCT	88 Students Open Society	NCCT leaders met 88 generation leaders and CBOs in Yangon on 19 Aug. They exchanged opinion on peace process.

27	19/08/2014	Yangon	NCCT	54 CSOs/ CBOs	NCCT leaders met 54 Civil Society Groups. They exchanged views and opinion on peace process and NCA.
28	9- 11/09/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	-	NCCT members held a meeting in Chiang Mai. They analysed and discussed about NCA and peace process. They also discussed about the temporary suspension of KNU in UNFC.
29	15/09/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	MPC technical team	NCCT led by Nai Hongsa and MPC technical team led by Hla Maung Shwe met in Chiang Mai, Thailand. The two teams discussed for preparation of next round of NCA talks.
30	22- 26/09/2014	Yangon	NCCT	UPWC	It's the 6th official meeting between NCCT and UPWC in Yangon on 22 Sept. Representatives: UPWC 14, MPC 12, NCCT 14, NCCT technical team 18 attended the meeting. Representatives from ABSDF and RCSS are observers in the meeting. They discuss NCA. Army representatives rejected the previous agreement about federal army and federal union issues. <b>(single text 4thdraft)</b>
31	28/09/2014	Yangon	NCCT	CBOs/CSOs	NCCT and representatives from 29 CBOs/CSOs held a meeting in Green Hill hotel in Yangon on 28 Sept. NCCT explained the current situation of peace talks with government and NCA draft. CBOs/CSOs discussed about education, refugees resettlement, women and children, land grabbing issue, development and investment issue.
32	03/11/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	MPC technical team led by Hla Maung Shwe	Representatives from NCCT and MPC technical team met in Chiang Mai on 3 Nov. MPC representatives explained about the recent political figures meeting held in Naypyitaw on 31 Oct.
33	24- 25/11/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	MPC technical team	NCCT and MPC technical team held an informal meeting in Chiang Mai on 24 Nov. They discuss about NCA draft and meeting schedule.

34	27/11/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	MPC technical team	NCCT leaders and MPC team met in Chiang Mai on 27 Nov. They discussed about how and when to meet and discuss for NCA in near future as well as they discussed how to solve the obstacles occurred in the last meeting.
35	30/11/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	CBOs/CSOs	NCCT and CSOs/CBOs from inside Myanmar met in Chiang Mai on 30 Nov. CSOs/CBOs urged ethnic leaders to keep going for political dialogue and consider for peace what people really want to restore in the country.
36	01/12/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	-	NCCT members held a regular meeting in Chiang Mai on 1 Dec. They analyzed the obstacles in the 4th NCA draft and discussed how to solve the problem. They also discussed about Myanmar army attacked KIA military academy on 19 Nov.
37	02/12/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	MPC technical team	NCCT and MPC technical team held a meeting in Chiang Mai, Thailand on 2 Dec. They discussed the obstacles in the NCA draft, agenda and schedule for next meeting.
38	15/12/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	MPC technical team	NCCT and MPC technical team met in Chiang Mai on 15 Dec. They discussed about the negotiation agenda for coming meeting between UPWC and NCCT.
39	22-25/12/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	UPWC led by U Aung Min	It's an informal meeting. NCCT demanded to hold a meeting with stakeholders to solve the KIA academy attacking and to avoid this kind of incidence. NCCT also demanded 5 points. (1. to solve Laiza attack case 2. to avoid this kind of incidence 3. safety of NCCT members traveling for peace talks 4. how to solve for the victims death in Laiza attacks 5. representatives from western countries must participate as observer alongside China and KNU.
40	21/01/2015	Chiang Mai	NCCT	MPC technical team	NCCT and MPC technical team held a meeting in Chiang Mai on 21 Jan. NCCT submitted their proposal. MPC will hand over it to UPWC. They agreed to meet again in Chiang Mai.

41	05/02/2015	Chiang Mai	NCCT	UPWC, MPC technical team	It's an informal meeting. NCCT and UPWC held a meeting on 5 Feb. Both NCCT and UPWC agreed to meet in Yangon after union day. They didn't announce the exact schedule. U Aung Min and his team also met NCCT team and KhuOoReh, Dr. La Ja, at dinner party on 5 Feb.
42	21/02/2015	Chiang Mai	NCCT	UPWC, MPC technical team	NCCT and MPC team met in Chiang Mai on 21 Feb. It's a preparing meeting for NCCT and UPWC 7 <sup>th</sup> official meeting going to hold at MPC in Yangon.
43	27/02/2015	Chiang Mai	NCCT	-	NCCT held a meeting in Chiang Mai on 27 Feb. They reviewed on the proposal submitted by UPWC and analyzed the Peace process and NCA.
44	28/02/2015	Chiang Mai	NCCT	MPC technical team	NCCT and MPC team met in Chiang Mai on 28 Feb. They discuss about next meeting between NCCT and UPWC in YGN. They agreed to hold meeting in YGN on 16-21 March.
45	01/03/2015	Chiang Mai	NCCT	MPC technical team	NCCT and MPC team met in Chiang Mai on 1 March. They agreed NCCT and UPWC will meet in Yangon on 16 March and NCCT - UPWC will discuss topic such as how to reduce the fighting, how to avoid the clashes, etc as a separate topic.
46	17-22/03/2015	Yangon	NCCT	UPWC	It's the 7 <sup>th</sup> official meeting between NCCT and UPWC. They could discuss many topics. They agreed important points.
47	30-31/03/2015	Yangon	NCCT	UPWC	NCCT and UPWC continued the 7 <sup>th</sup> official meeting on 30-31 Mar. NCCT and UPWC agreed the NCA draft ( <b>5th Single text</b> ) in principle after they agreed to discuss the difficult points in political dialogue. Both NCCT and UPWC will submit this NCA draft to mother organization and wait for final decision. They will sign the final version of NCA.



## Statements

- 29 July 2015 - EAOs SD released a statement on the high level meeting
- 24 July 2015 - EAOs SD released a statement after 8th official meeting
- 24 July 2015 - EAOs SD and UPWC released a joint statement after 8th official meeting
- 23 July 2015 - EAOs SD released a state on 8th official meeting with UPWC
- 22 July 2015 - EAOs SD released a statement on 8th official meeting with UPWC
- 21 July 2015 - EAOs SD released a statement on the NCA discussion
- 18 July 2015 - EAOs SD released a statement on 18 July 2015 after SD third meeting
- 05 July 2015 - EAOs Senior Delegation for the NCA released a statement after 2nd meeting
- 9 June 2015 - EAOs summit released a statement after the conference
- 20 Mar 2015 - NaiHongsa denied disarm in his interview
- 23 Dec 2014 - NCCT - UPWC released a joint statement
- 17 Aug 2014 - NCCT-UPWC joint statement released after ceasefire talks on 17 Aug 2014 -
- 31 Jul 2014 - A statement of Ethnic Arms Organizations summit
- 29 Jul 2014 - 10 point guide line of EAOs
- 23 May 2014 - Joint Statement of NCCT and UPWC after single text drafting meeting
- 15 May 2014 - NCCT leader Nai Hongsa's speech at Myitkyina public consultation meeting
- 13 May 2014 - NCCT leaders observed the meeting between Govt and KIO in Myitkyina
- 10 Mar 2014 - A Joint Statement of NCCT and UPWC on Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement-
- 25 Jan 2014 - NCCT's released statement
- 02 Nov 2013 - Laiza statement for common agreement

## **Appendix**



1	24/06/2015	Naypyitaw	Conflict control	informal	UWSA: U Aik Lu	UPWC: U Thein Zaw	They discussed to solve military tension in Mongton township.
2	22/06/2015	MPC, Yangon	NCA amendment	informal	EAOs SD	UPWC	They discuss about how and when to meet again and also discussed the NCA draft amendment.
3	11/06/2015	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	NCCT	MPC	NCCT handed over the amendment for the final draft of NCA. They discussed about SD negotiation.
4	29/05/2015	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	RCSS	UPWC	It's an informal meeting.
5	28/05/2015	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	NCCT,	UPWC	They discussed about how to develop the political framework and to form a joint committee.
6	21/05/2015	Myitkyina	conflict resolution	informal	KIO (JCRC)	Col. Than Aung	They discussed how to reduce the armed conflicts in Nam Lin Par in Mansi township.
7	13/05/2015	Loikaw	Conflict control	informal	KNPP	Kayah state govt	KNPP officials agreed to retreat their troops.
8	09/05/2015	Loikaw	KNPP troops traveling	informal	KNPP: Khu Nyeey Reh	Kayah state government	Discussed about the KNPP troops traveling.
9	09/05/2015	Inyar Lake hotel, Yangon	Forum	formal	EAOs	U Aung Min and other ministers	It's a Forum for Peace and Reconciliation. Reps of KNU, RCSS, ABSDF, ALP, DKBA, KPC, and CNF attended.
10	08/05/2015	Kengtung	goodwill discussion	informal	UWSA: Zhao Zhongdang, Bao You Yi	President Thein Sein	It's a god will meeting.
11	08/05/2015	Kengtung	goodwill	informal	Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk	President Thein Sein	It's a god will meeting.
12	08/05/2015	Kengtung	goodwill	informal	NDAAs: Sai Leun	Thein Sein	It's a god will meeting.
13	07/05/2015	Loikaw	conflict control	informal	KNPP: GS Aung San Myint	Col. Zaw Myo Tin	They discussed about the KNPP's troops traveling in Kayah state.
14	27/04/2015	Myitkyina	JCRC	formal	KIA: Col. Zau Tawng	Col. Than Aung	JCRC meeting. They discuss how to reduce armed conflicts. They agreed a joint team will investigate ground situation.
15	06/04/2015	Myitkyina	JCRC	formal	KIO	Col Than Aung	Joint Conflict Resolution Committee (JCRC) meeting. They agreed to reduce the conflicts and exchange information.
16	31/05/2015	Loikaw	Joint committee	informal	KNPP	Kayah state government	They agreed to extend of Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) formation.
17	30-31/03/2015	MPC in Yangon	7 <sup>th</sup> official meeting	formal	NCCT	UPWC	Continued the 7 <sup>th</sup> official meeting.
18	17-22/3/2015	MPC in Yangon	NCA 7 <sup>th</sup> official meeting	formal (7 <sup>th</sup> )	NCCT:	UPWC:	It's 7 <sup>th</sup> official meeting. NCCT and UPWC agreed many important points. They agreed to meet again on 30 March.
19	16/03/2015	Naypyitaw	NCA/Peace	informal	KIO	Thein Sein, Min Aung Hlaing	They discussed about the NCA.
20	15/03/2015	Naypyitaw	NCA/Peace	informal	KIO	Dr. Sai Mauk Kham	It's an informal meeting.
21	04/03/2015	Lashio	Conflict control	informal	UWSA	Lt. Gen Aung Than Htut	They discussed Kokang issue.
22	01/03/2015	Chiang mai	NCA/Peace	informal	RCSS	MPC	It's an informal meeting.
23	28/02/2015 - 1/3/2015	Chiang Mai	NCA/peace	informal	NCCT	MPC	They agreed to hold NCCT - UPWC meeting in YGN on 16-21 March.
24	22/02/2015	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	RCSS	MPC	They exchanged view on NCA.
25	21/02/2015	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	NCCT	MPC	It's a pre-meeting for the NCCT-UPWC 7th official meeting.
26	12/02/2015	Naypyitaw	peace commitment	formal	13 EAOs	Thein Sein, political parties	KNU, DKBA, KPC, RCSS signed the "deed commitment for peace and national reconciliation".
27	11/02/2015	Naypyitaw	NCA	informal	13 EAOs	UPWC	Discussed whether to sign the deep commitment agreement.
28	06/02/2015	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	KIO	UPWC	Invited KIO representatives to attend the Union Day celebration.
29	05/02/2015	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	NCCT	UPWC	Invited all EAOs to attend the Union Day.
30	05/02/2015	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	RCSS	UPWC	Discussed 5 points.
31	21/01/2015	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	NCCT	MPC	Exchanged their proposals.
32	18/01/2015	Yangon	goodwill	informal	Saw Leh Bwe	U Aung Min	Goodwill meeting.
33	05/01/2015	Naypyitaw	NCA	formal	12 EAOs	Thein Sein	Good will meeting.
34	02/01/2015	Naypyitaw	Peace talks	formal	ABSDF	U Aung Min, U Khin Yee	They discussed and reviewed the ceasefire agreement.
35	22-23/12/2014	MPC in Yangon	6th official meeting	formal	NCCT	UPWC	NCCT demanded 5 points.
36	15/12/2014	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	NCCT	MPC team	They discussed and negotiated the agenda for coming meeting between UPWC and NCCT.
37	02/12/2014	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	NCCT: Nai Hongsa, Padoh Kwe Htoo Win, Gen. Gun Maw	MPC working team	It's an informal meeting. They discussed the obstacles in the NCA draft and the Myanmar peace process.
38	30/11/2014	Bago	Goodwill	informal	KNU, KNPP, CNF, NMSF, CSOs/CBOs	U Aung Min and MPC team	It's a goodwill meeting. Norwegian foreign minister H.E Mr. Borge Brende, met EAOs leaders.
39	29/11/2014	Naypyitaw	NCA	informal	KNU: Gen. Mutu Say Poe, Padoh Kwe Htoo Win	Sr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing	It's the 7 <sup>th</sup> officials meeting between KNU leaders and C-in-C Min Aung Hlaing in Naypyitaw
40	28/11/2014	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	ABSDF: Ko Sonny, Mi Su Pwint	MPC team	It's a good will meeting.
41	27/11/2014	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	RCSS: Col. Sai Lao Hseng, Lt. Col. Sai Nguen	MPC team	It's a good will meeting. RCSS is ready to participate in political dialogue.
42	27/11/2014	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	NCCT	MPC working team	They discussed about how and when to meet again and discuss for NCA in near future
43	24-25/11/2014	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	NCCT	MPC	They discussed how to continue the NCA talks.
44	10/11/2014	Naypyitaw	NCA	informal	UNFC	UPWC	They also discussed about the obstacles in the peace process and how to overcome it.
45	06/11/2014	Taninthayi region	development and security	informal	NMSP officials	U Myat Ko, Col. Zaw Lwin	Discussed for working together on regional development and security.
46	03/11/2014	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	NCCT	MPC working team	Explained the recent political figures meeting held in Naypyitaw. Discussed possible next meeting.
47	02/11/2014	Chiang Mai	NCA	informal	RCSS	MPC working team	They exchanged views on the heavyweights meeting.
48	31/10/2014	Naypyitaw	conflict control	formal	SSPP (Sao Khun Hseng, Secretary)	U Aung Min (UPWC)	Discussed to establish a joint monitoring committee for stability and development of the region but couldn't get any agreement for it
49	30/10/2014	Taninthri	development	informal	NMSP	Taninthari regional government	NMSP and Taninthari regional government discussed to receive the JICA development assistance for schools, clinics, electricity, etc.
50	22/10/2014	Mongla	NCA signing	informal	UWSA and NDAAs (Xiao Min liang and Sai Leun)	U Thein Zaw (vice-chairman of UPWC)	Persuaded UWSA and NDAAs leaders to sign NCA as a role model. They also discussed business issues.
51	18/10/2014	Lashio, northern Shan state	Conflict control	informal	SSPP/SSA (6 representatives led by Sao Khun Hseng)	U Thein Zaw, Lt. Gen Thet Naing Win, Maj. Gen Aung Soe, Maj. Gen Ko Ko Naing	Conflict Control meeting.
52	06/10/2014	Lashio, Shan state	Conflict control	informal	SSPP	Northeastern commander	They discussed to stop clashes in northern Shan state.
53	06/10/2014	Miyawaddy	conflict control	informal	Maj. Saw San Aung (DKBA)	Southeastern military commander	They discussed to transfer the seized weapons and to solve problems peacefully.
54	04/10/2014	Taung-Oo township	political consultation	informal	KUPC, KNU	Karen MPs, govt officials	They discussed about current peace process in the country and agreed to cooperate for unity
55	02-4/10/2014	Bangkok	Alliance	informal	SNLD, SNDF, RCSS, SSPP	U Aung Min (UPWC)	They discussed how to cooperate and to find the common ground, etc. They agreed 12 points on Shan state affairs.
56	22-26/09/2014	MPC in Yangon	NCA 5th official meeting	formal	NCCT	UPWC	5th official meeting. Negotiation deadlock after army representatives reversed the previous agreement.
57	17/09/2014	Chiang Mai	preparation for NCA	informal	PNLO	MPC technical team	They discussed for preparation of next round of NCA talks
58	17/09/2014	Chiang Mai	preparation for NCA	informal	ANC	MPC technical team	They discussed for preparation of next round of NCA talks
59	16/09/2014	Chiang Mai	preparation for NCA	informal	RCSS	MPC technical team	They discussed for preparation of next round of NCA talks
60	15/09/2014	Chiang Mai	preparation for NCA	informal	NCCT	MPC technical team	Discussed for preparation of next round of NCA talks.

61	05/09/2014	Myitkyina	KIO: JCRC	crisis resolve	Col ZawTaung	Col. Than Aung, (Kachin State Border Affairs)	They discussed about Hpakant mining issue, anti-drug issue, KIO's taxation issue and to reduce the clashes.
62	26/08/2014	Naypyitaw	USWA, NDAA, SSPP	Informal	U San Pe, Xao Minglian, Gen Khur Tai	Thura Shwe Mann, Khin Aung Myint	Goodwill meeting.
63	25/08/2014	Naypyitaw	USWA, NDAA,	Informal	U San Pe, Xao Minglian, Gen Khur Tai	Commander in Chief , Min Aung Hlaing	Goodwill meeting
64	25/08/2014	Naypyitaw	USWA, NDAA, SSPP	Informal	U San Pe, Xao Minglian, Gen Khur Tai	President TheinSein	Goodwill meeting. President urged EAOs to participate in peace process.
65	18/08/2014	Yangon	NCCT-UPWC- Pol Parties (Tripartite)	Informal	NCCT	34 Political Parties, UPWC	Tripartite meeting. Discussed about the peace process and future plan.
66	15-17/08/2014	Yangon	NCA 4th official meeting	formal	NCCT	UPWC	Discussed for single-text draft of the NCA.
67	12/08/2014	Myitkyina	KIO: JCRC	formal	Col. Zau Tawng	Col. Than Aung	JCRC meeting. They discussed about the recent skirmishes in Hpa-kant.
68	12/08/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	informal	NCCT	MPC technical team	Discussed for next meeting agenda for NCA third draft.
69	05/08/2014	MPC in Yangon	KNU	Informal	KNU brigade 1, 4, 6, and 7	Col Aung Lwin	Discussed regional development, how to cooperate for development project.
70	03/08/2014	Myitkyina	NCCT	Informal	11 members of NCCT, 7 NCCT-technical staff	Aung Min, Thein Zaw, Lt. Gen. Thet Naing Win	They discussed about NCA, how to build a federal union and army
71	18/07/2014	Naypyitaw	ALP	Informal	Khine Soe Naing, Saw Mra Razar Lin	U Aung Min and U Khin Yee	Discussed to open liaison office.
72	14/07/2014	Chiang Mai, Thailand	RCSS	informal	Maj. Gen. Paung Khur, Col. Sai Hla, Col. Sai Nguen, U Khun Hseng (Pi)	MPC technical team	They discussed about next round of peace talk and other peace related issue.
73	13/07/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	informal	NCCT	MPC technical team	The discussed about next round of meeting for single text document.
74	08/07/2014	Naypyitaw	SSPP	informal	General Secretary KhunHseng	TheinZaw	Discussed over a recent tension innorthern Shan state.
75	06/07/2014	Chiang Mai, Thailand	NCCT	Informal	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw, Col. Hkun Okker, Tawn Zaw, Padoh Kwe Htoo win	MPC working team	NCCT and MPC technical teams meeting in Chiang Mai for Nationwide ceasefire agreement -
76	05/07/2014	Myitkyina	KIO: JCRC	Informal	KIO technical team	Col. Than Aung (minister of Kachin state border affairs)	JCRC meeting. They discussed how to reduce skirmishes.
77	19/06/2014	ChaingRai	RCSS	informal	Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk, U Khun Sai	Aung Min	U Aung Min told that NSAGs would be removed from "unlawful associations" list after signing the NCA.
78	19/06/2014	ChaingRai	KIO	informal	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw	Aung Min	It's an informal meeting.
79	18/06/2014	ChaingRai	RCSS	informal	Lt. Gen Yawd Serk	Aung Min	Goodwill.
80	16/06/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	informal	Maj. Gen. Gun Maw, Nai Hongsa, Padoh Kwe Htoo Win	Hla Maung Shwe, Nyo Ohn Myint	They discussed the preparation for coming meeting of NCCT-UPWC.
81	06/06/2014	Yangon	RCSS	Informal	Sai Lao Hseng, Sai Nguen	AungMin, MPC	Discuss about peace talks and nationwide ceasefire. RCSS demanded to abolish the 17/1 article.
82	05/06/2014	Naypyitaw	KNU	Informal	Saw Mutu Say Poe	Thura Shwe Mann	Goodwill meeting.
83	04/06/2014	Naypyitaw	KNU	informal	Saw Mutu Say Poe, and KNU officials	Snr. Gen Min Aung Hlaing	It's six times of meeting between Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing and KNU officials.
84	04/06/2014	Naypyitaw	Trust building	informal	Saw Mutu Say Poe, and KNU officials	President TheinSein	Goodwill meeting.
85	30/05/2014	Naypyitaw	ABSDF	informal	Ko Sonny and Ko Kyaw Lin	Minister of commerce U Win Myint	They discussed business issues.
86	28/05/2014	Myitkyina	JCRC meeting	formal	Col. Zau Tawng	Col. Than Aung	Agreed to form Joint Conflict Resolution Committee
87	21-23/05/2014	Yangon	NCA 3rd official meeting.	formal	NCCT	UPWC	(Single text second draft agreement)
88	13/05/2014	Myitkyina	KIO	informal	Sumlut Gam, Maj. Gen. Guan Maw	Aung Min, Thein Zaw, Khin Yee, Ohn Myint	Discussed to form joint Conflict Resolution Committee.
89	06/05/2014	Yangon	KNU	Informal	Naw Zipporah Sein	Aung Min, Daw Yin Yin Nwe	Goodwill.
90	05/05/2014	Yangon	DPA, NUPA	Informal	Dr. Khin Mg, Nyi Nyi Lwin	U Aung Min	Goodwill.
91	27/04/2014	KyaukPhyu	Araken National Conference	Conference	ALP, ANC, AA	Aung Min, U Tin Naing Thein, Mg Mg Ohn, U Hla Maung Tin	Participated in Kyaukphyu Conference.
92	06/04/2014	Lashio	27 PMFs	Informal	27 People Militia Forces	Min Aung Hlaing	SnrGen Min Aung Hlaing met PMF 27 groups in Northern Shan State.
93	06/04/2014	Lashio	SSPP-SSA	Informal	Col SaiHla	Min Aung Hlaing	Goodwill meeting.
94	06/04/2014	Lashio	UWSA	Informal	UWSA	Min Aung Hlaing	Goodwill meeting for first time.
95	05-08/04/2014	Yangon	NCA 2nd official meeting	formal	NCCT 16 + RCSS, NSCN-K, ABSDF	Thet Naing Win, Aung Min, Thein Zaw	Single text draft 2nd meeting
96	21/03/2014	Mongla	NDAA	Informal	NDAA	U TheinZaw	Agree to step up cooperation in peace, stability and development.
97	13/03/2014	Taunggyi	Liaison officers workshop	informal	(KNPP, NDAA, PNLO, RCSS, SSPP, and UWSA).	Representatives from local Govt and MPC	Liaison Coordination Meeting. Representatives from the Tatmadaw, State Gov't and EAOs attended.
98	09-10/03/2014	MPC, Yangon	NCA 1st official meeting.	formal	Nai Hongsa, Padoh Kwe Htoo Win, Khun Okker, and other leaders	Aung Min, Lt. Gen. ThetNaing Win, Lt. Gen. Myit Soe	1st Official Meeting. Agreed 7 chapters agreement. (Single text first draft agreement)
99	07/03/2014	Naypyitaw	KNU	informal	Mutu Say Poe	Min Aung Hlaing	Goodwill
100	07/03/2014	Naypyitaw	KNU	informal	Mutu Say Poe	Vice President Sai Mauk Kham	Goodwill
101	05/03/2014	Mong Pan	liaison office open	formal	RCSS	Shan state government	RCSS opened its liaison office in Mong Pan on 5 March 2014.
102	03/03/2014	Naypyitaw	UWSA, NDAA, SSPP	Informal	Pao Yu Yi, Zhao Zhongdang	Thura U Shwe Mann	Visited the union parliament.
103	01/03/2014	Naypyitaw	UWSA, NDAA, SSPP	Informal	Pao Yu Yi, Zhao Zhongdang, U Sam Lu and Sao Khun Hseng	U TheinSein	Goodwill
104	20/02/2014	Mindat, Chin State	CNF	National Day	CNF	Chin State Govt	66th anniversary of Chin National Day
105	19/02/2014	Jakarta, Indonesia	ceasefire dialogue workshop in Jakarta	Informal	Col Sai Nguen, Maj. Gen Issac and Pado Kwe Htoo Win	President office vice minister U AungThein, MPC	Indonesia hosted a workshop in Jakarta, titled (Indonesia-Myanmar Dialogue). KNU, RCSS and Govt. Indonesia govt officials attended.
106	16/02/2014	Yangon	ALP	Informal	KhineThukha	U Aung Min	Discussed for KyaukPhyu Conference
107	16/02/2014	Yangon	ANC	Informal	ANC	U Aung Min	Arakan National Council and UAung Min held a meeting at MPC in Yangon.
108	07/02/2014	ThanTaungGyi	KNU/ KUPC	Informal	KNU, KUPC	SaiPaung Nap	Census and other affair are discussed
109	09/02/2014	Yangon	DKBA	informal	Gen Saw Lar Bwe	Aung Min	Goodwill
110	30/01/2014	Chiang Mai	RCSS	Informal	Gen YewkSerk	Aung Min	RCSS is ready to sign with NCA.
112	29/01/2014	Chiang Mai	KIO	Informal	Gun Maw	Aung Min	Goodwill meeting.
113	29/01/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	Informal	NCCT	Aung Min	They discussed for the NCA.
114	27/01/2014	Thaton township	KNU brigade 1	Informal	Brig Gen Saw Kyaw Lin	U Ohn Myint	Mon state chief minister OhnMyint and KNU brigade 1 discussed for cooperation of rural development.
115	14/01/2014	Hpa-an	KNU, DKBA, KPC, NMSP		Karen Armed Groups and NMSP	U Khin Yee, U Zaw Min	Govt explain about the nationwide census, immigration law and asking for their cooperation for census.
116	09/01/2014	Chiang Mai	NCCT	Informal	NCCT	U Aung Min	Ceasefire Accord Discussion and consultation.
117	05/01/2014	Naypyitaw	KNU	informal	Mutu Say Poe	Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing	Goodwill
118	05/01/2014	Naypyitaw	KNU	informal	Mutu Say Poe	President	Goodwill
119	01/01/2014	Myawaddy	KNU	informal	4 Karen Arms Groups 4	UPWC	U Aung Min and MPC team attend the Karen New Year ceremony.

## **Appendix 2:**

### **Deed of Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation**

February 12, 2015

We, the signatories to this Deed of Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation, pledge, in order to achieve lasting peace in Myanmar, to work together towards realizing the goals envisioned in this Commitment in the spirit of responsible action, transparency and accountability.

1. Aiming to safeguard sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity on the basis of the peace process; and building a Union based on democratic and federal principles in the spirit of Panglong and in accordance with the outcomes of Political Dialogue to ensure freedom, equality, justice and self-determination for all citizens;
2. Striving together at the outset to conclude the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement without delay while recognizing that a nationwide ceasefire is vital for the political dialogue process;
3. Establishing a new political culture of ending long-existing armed conflicts and solving grievances through dialogue instead of resorting to force of arms; and striving together to promptly hold an all-inclusive political dialogue process;
4. Working together to promptly draft the Framework for Political Dialogue after concluding the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement and commencing political dialogue prior to the 2015 General Elections in accordance with the Framework on Political Dialogue;
5. Undertaking jointly to prevent armed clashes and confrontations between various armed groups and to refrain from taking actions or measures that will harm the peace process;

All signatories to this Deed of Commitment for Peace and National Reconciliation promise to endeavor together for the success of the peace process in order to achieve peace and national reconciliation desired by all citizens.

Naypyitaw

Republic of the Union of Myanmar

February 12, 2015

## EOs High-Level Delegation or Senior Delegation for the NCA



Ethnic Armed Organizations held the 2nd Law Khee Ler Ethnic Conference in KNU controlled area on 2-9 June 2015. Both UNFC members, NCCT members, other invited ethnic armed groups, foreign observers and independent observers attended the meeting. They openly discussed the final draft of NCA. EAOs leaders made a list of amendment points for the final draft of NCA. The Law Khee Ler Summit formed the EAOs High Level Delegation or Senior Delegation (SD) for the NCA during the conference.

Objective of the formation of SD is to negotiate with government over the necessary points in the amended and supplemented NCA (approved draft) adopted by the Summit of the top leaders of EAOs.

The Senior Delegation (SD) is composed with EAO's high ranking officials and NCCT leaders, which was the former ceasefire negotiation team. The Summit formed and assigned the "EAOs' High-Level Delegation for Nationwide Ceasefire" with the following 15 top leaders of EAOs.

(1) Naw Zipporah Sein	Delegation (Team) Leader
(2) Dr. La Ja	Deputy Delegation Leader (1)
(3) Pu Zing Cung	Deputy Delegation Leader (2)
(4) Khaing Soe Naing Aung	Member
(5) Nai Hongsa	Member
(6) U Myo Win	Member
(7) Hkun Myint Tun	Member
(8) Shwe Myo Thant	Member
(9) Sao Khun Hseng	Member
(10) Brig General Tah Aik Bone	Member
(11) Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win	Member
(12) Maj General Gun Maw	Member
(13) Dr. Salai Lian Hmung Sakhong	Member
(14) Colonel Hkun Okker	Member
(15) Daw Saw Mra Raza Lin	Member

Duties (Terms of Reference): their duties will be to meet and negotiate with responsible persons of government side until a final NCA acceptable to both sides is achieved.

Mandate: They have a clear mandate to negotiate with government's negotiation team led by minister U Aung Min. Their mandates are: (1) To have authority to make efforts to obtain agreement acceptable to both sides on the amended and supplemented NCA (draft) reaffirmed by the Summit of the top leaders of Ethnic Armed Organizations held on 2-9 June 2015. (2) Not to have authority for signing approval. (3) Respective organizations and top leader's summit will resolve disagreements.

EAOs SD and UPWC held the 8th official meeting for the NCA at MPC in Yangon on 22-24 July 2015. They discussed the remaining points in the final draft of NCA and summit's amended points. EAOs SD and UPWC held the 9th official meeting for the NCA at MPC in Yangon on 6-7 Aug 2015.

# Political framework of 56 political parties

## (Unofficial Translation)

### Preamble

### Aims and Objectives

### Chapter I: Basic principles (11 sections)

### Chapter II: Representatives for political dialogue in every level (Composition)

(Representatives from government, army, parliament, ethnic armed organizations, political parties, and CBOs/CSOs/Academics)

### Chapter III: Mechanism and schedule (2 sections)

(Union Convention, State/Regional Level Public Consultation)

### Chapter IV: Management committees for dialogue meetings (3 sections)

(To form the Supreme Joint Committee, Steering Joint Committee, Technical Task Force)

### Chapter V: Supporting groups for political dialogue and structural management

(To form Joint Dialogue Secretariat)

### Chapter VI: Discussion Agenda or Issue

(1) Political Sector (Federal union system, Rule of Law, National security, Nationalities and Citizens, Foreign policy or international relation, Democracy and Human Rights, General matters related to elections)

(2) Economic Sector (National economic policy, financial policy, Land policy, Natural Resources policy, Environmental policy, and Infrastructure)

(3) Social Sector (Education, Healthcare, Culture, National disaster prevention, Reintegration and Resettlement, and Media)

### Chapter VII: Political Roadmap and Implementation Mechanism (2 Sections)

Roadmap:

(1) NCA signing

(2) Ratification by Parliament

(3) Agreement on the framework for political dialogue

(4) State/Region Level public consultation (1 Month but 3 months consultation period for outstanding issue)

(5) Union Convention

(6) Union Accord (Phase-One)

(7) Postpone political dialogue in election period

(8) State/Region Level public consultation (1 Month) and (3 months consultation period for outstanding issue)

(9) Final Union Convention

(10) Final Union Accord

(11) Ratification by Parliament

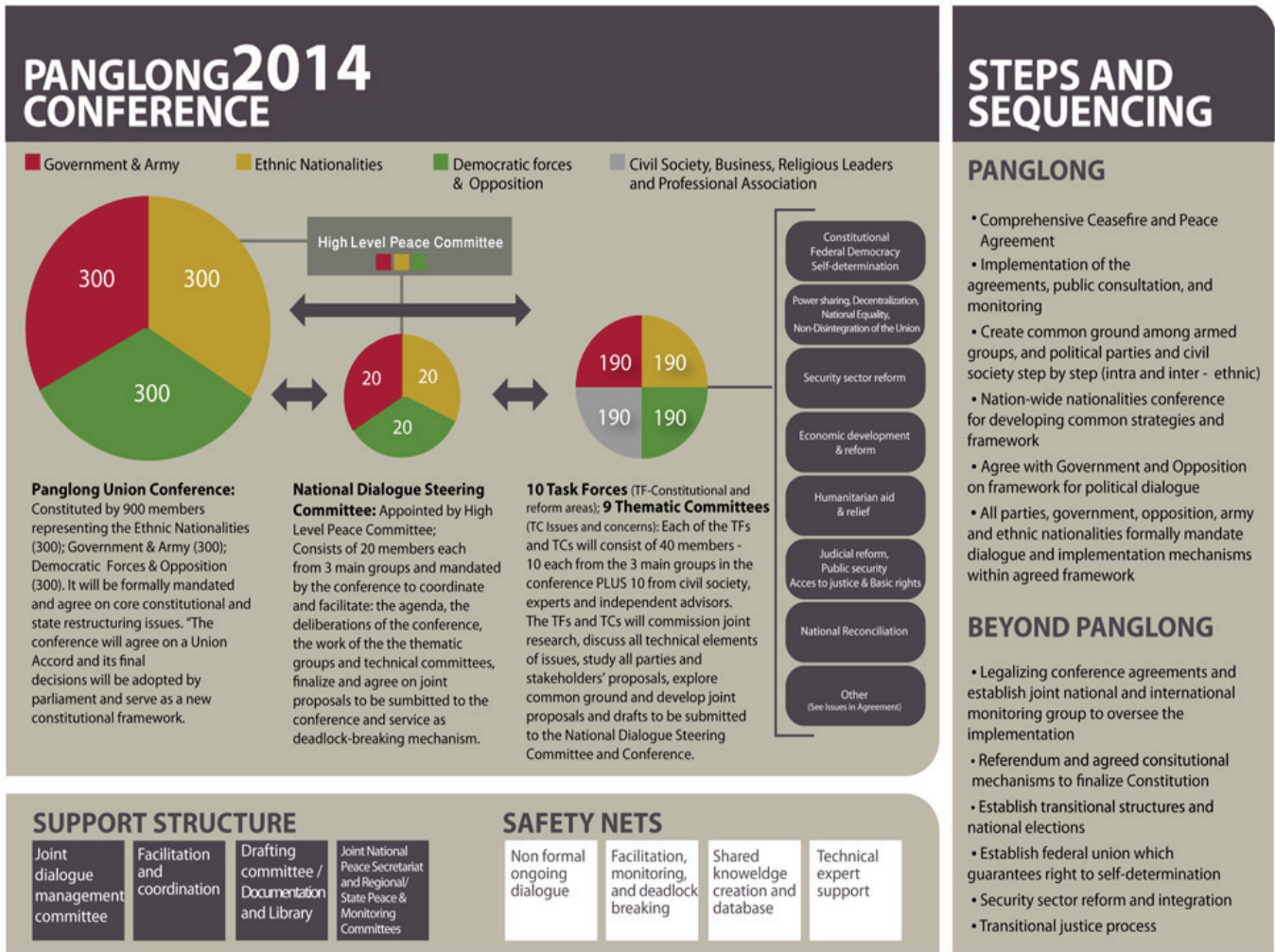
(12) Constitution amending and Implementation

### Chapter VIII: Communication Channel (2 Sections)

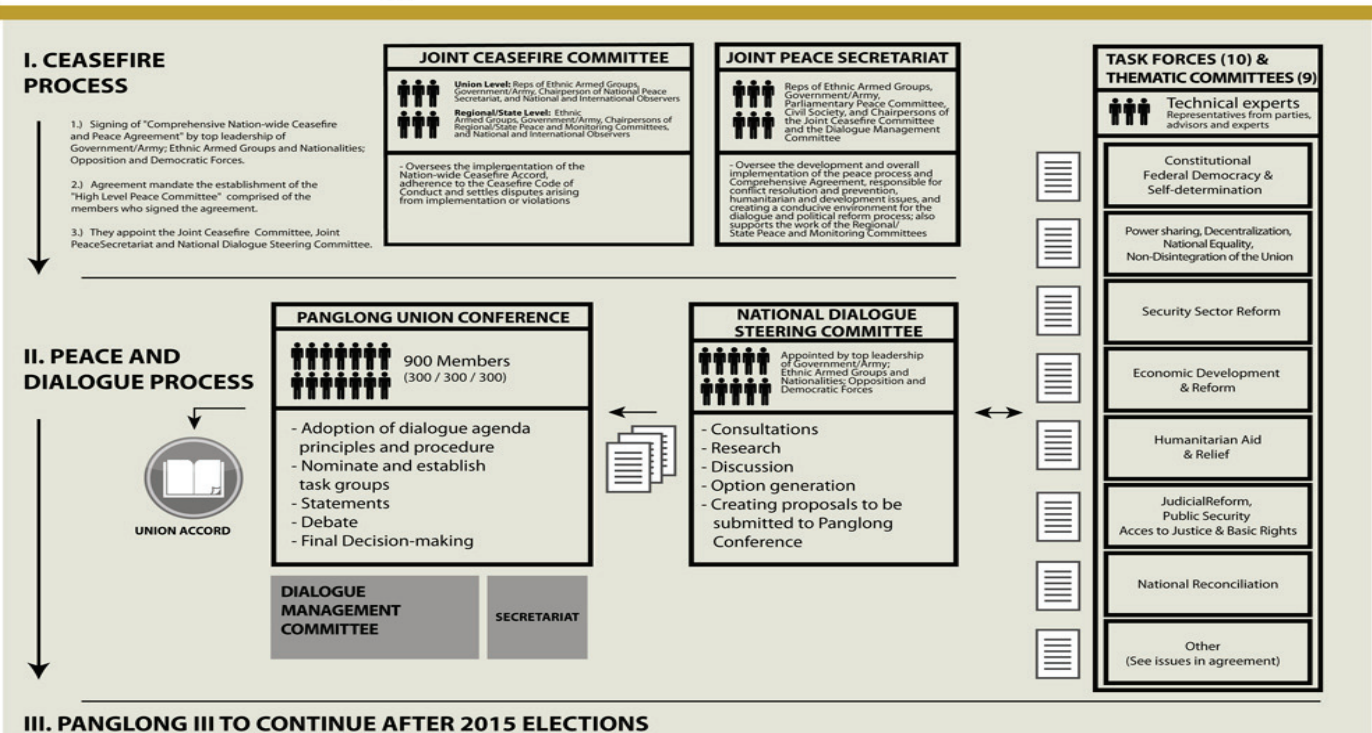
(Communication among committees, and Press release or Media release)



# Appendix 3: WGEC framework



## PANGLONG II Dialogue and Peace Process & Structures



# PANGLONG II Roadmap

