# Deciphering Myanmar's Peace Process A Reference Guide 2013



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A Reference Guide 2013

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### Acknowledgments

Burma News International (BNI) is pleased to present *Deciphering Myanmar's Peace Process: A Reference Guide 2013*, which is a compilation of information to date about the peace process in Myanmar from BNI's member organizations and various other groups. The information contained in this book is based on interviews, research and observations about the conditions that prevailed following the 2010 election period.

BNI wishes to express its profound gratitude to staff members, Mr. Sai Leik, Mr. Khoo Ai Plaisio and Ms. Donna Ong for research and writing, and Mr. Khuensai Jaiyen, Mr. Khin Maung Shwe and Mr. Brett Douglas for editing and proofreading all of the information contained in this book. We would also like to thank Ms. Nan Paw Gay and Ms. Thu Htike San for their logistical support, and all of BNI's member organization editors for their moral support and valuable resources made available to the BNI peace team.

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Finally, we wish to thank all the media organizations, political parties, ethnic armed groups, Myanmar organizations both inside the country and in-exile, foreign organizations, and individuals who have contributed their services, time, energy and resources to assist our monitoring activity. BNI is very grateful for the positive working relationship it enjoys with media and human rights organizations with which we share useful information and case studies on the peace process.

### Notes to the reader:

By the time this book is published and distributed, major changes and developments in the peace process will have taken place. Information included in this book was updated until Jan.30, 2013. Nevertheless, this reference guide serves to provide all stakeholders and researchers a clear explanation of all the elements and actors involved in the current efforts for peace in the country. We have tried to collect accurate and comprehensive data to the best of our abilities through both primary and secondary sources. Due to the complex and sensitive nature of the issues surrounding both conflict and peace negotiations, it is inevitable that several gaps and errors remain. We are extremely grateful to our sources who have provided

us a generous amount of information that has greatly enriched our research, and we have done our utmost to use it with respect.

The immense difficulties we faced in collecting, organizing and compiling this information for the contents of this book is a testament for the need for better monitoring and greater transparency in conducting all activities related to the peace process. While it is understandable that publicizing certain activities that are highly sensitive during negotiations and armed conflict, we have often found serious errors and contradictions in basic facts or data from media sources and other official sources. This hinders clear understanding necessary for all parties involved in pushing the peace process forward. As a result, we hope that this book will encourage more vigilant and systematic documentation for future peace activities.

### **Acronyms**

AA Arakan Army (Kachin state)

AAPP Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma)

ABSDF All Burma Students' Democratic Front

ALP/ALA = RSLP Arakan Liberation Party/Army = Rakhine State Liberation Party

ASA Arakan State Army
BGF Border Guard Force

CBOs Community Based Organizations

CNF Chin National Front

CSOs Civil Society Organizations

DKBA Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

DKBA-5 DKBA-5/ Klo Htoo Baw Battalion (Democratic Karen Benevolent Army)

DPNS Democratic Party for a New Society

EBO Euro-Burma Office

ENC Ethnic Nationalities Council

FDB Forum for Democracy in Burma

FTUB Federal Trade Unions – Burma

IDP Internally Displaced Person

IPSG International Peace Support Group

KDA Kachin Defense Army

KIO/KIA Kachin Independence Organization/Army
KNDP/A Karenni National Development Party/Army

KNG Kayan National Guard KNLP Kayan New Land Party

KNO Kachin National Organization

KNPDP Karenni National Peace and Development Party
KNPLF Karenni National People's Liberation Front

KNPP Karenni National Progressive Party

KNU Karen National Union

KNU/KNLA (Peace Karen National Union/ Karen National Liberation Army - Peace Council

Council)

KNUSO Karenni National Unity and Solidarity Organization

KPF Karen Peace Force

KSDDP Kayin State Democracy and Development Party

LDU Lahu Democratic Union

MMA Mon Mergui Army

MNDA Mon National Defence Army

MNDAA Myanmar National Democracy Alliance Army

MPC Myanmar Peace Center

MPDF Mon Peace and Defense Front

MPSI Myanmar Peace Support Initiative

MTUF Mergui-Tavoy United Front

NDA-K New Democratic Army – Kachin

NDAA-ESS National Democratic Alliance Army - Eastern Shan State

NDD Network for Democracy and Development
NDSC National Defense and Security Council

NMSP New Mon State Party

NSCN-K National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Khaplang

NUPA National United Party of Arakan

PDSG Peace Donor Support Group

PMG/PMF People's Militia Group/People's Militia Force

PNLO Pa-O National Liberation Organization

PNO Pa-O National Organization

PSLF/O Palaung State Liberation Front/ Organization

RRF Rebellion Resistance Force

RCSS/SSA Restoration Council of Shan State/ Shan State Army

SSPP/SSA Shan State Progress Party/ Shan State Army/

TNLA Ta'ang National Liberation Army
TNP Ta'ang (Palaung) National Party

UNFC United Nationalities Federal Council

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNODC United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UPWC Union-level Peace Work Committee

USDP Union Solidarity and Development Party

UWSA/P United Wa State Army/ Party
VDI Vahu Development Institute

WGEC Working Group for Ethnic Coordination

WLB Women's League of Burma

WNO/A Wa National Organization/Army

WRWAB Women's Rights and Welfare Association of Burma

ZRO Zomi Reunification Organization

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### **Executive Summary**

The new nominally civilian government is making serious efforts to achieve peace in Myanmar after more than 60 years of civil war. Peace is critical for ending human suffering and achieving stability; a precondition for overcoming poverty, ensuring long term development and protecting human rights. Most importantly, peace is essential for implementing a stable democracy. In 2015, Myanmar will become a full member of the ASEAN community in which it is responsible to meet the standards outlined in the ASEAN charter.

Although all sides want the conflict to end, achieving peace is no easy task. The protracted civil war in Myanmar is complicated not only by the sheer number of ethnic armed groups who are competing for regional and domestic interests, but also from the lack of trust and misunderstandings resulting from poor communication and transparency on all sides. Therefore it is crucial to carefully monitor the peace process to improve understanding and clarity necessary for establishing lasting peace.

This book serves as a reference guide for media outlets and stakeholders involved in the peace process. It provides an overall picture of the problems resulting from the ongoing conflicts, identifies the root causes that need to be addressed and maps out the entire structure of the peace plan. By identifying all the key actors, their interests and activities for peace, it becomes possible to make sense of the complicated relationships, as well as points of convergence and conflict related to their activities. In this sense, the information compiled in this book will help readers locate actors and events that form the larger picture to understand how they are interconnected in the peace process.

By both clarifying and tracking the developments, this book has identified some important issues that need to be addressed. One of these includes transparency; confusion and contradicting information about all of the activities is hindering the peace process. Transparency is not only key to effective policy planning and implementation, but also for overcoming distrust and building confidence between the various actors. An immediate end to the conflicts in Kachin and northern Shan state is also crucial to prevent the crisis from further spiraling out of control. At present there is a divergence between the government and ethnic road map to peace. A political settlement that details power sharing, fair distribution of natural resources and an alternative to the government's Border Guard Force (BGF) scheme that could unify all ethnic armed groups within the Union would help to bridge this current gap.

Burma News International (BNI) is a unique alliance of 11 independent media organizations, 9 of which represent different ethnic groups from Myanmar. BNI's bases of operation include Yangon and many of the countries bordering with Myanmar. Our members' extensive networks provided the means to an end to access all of the detailed information about the various

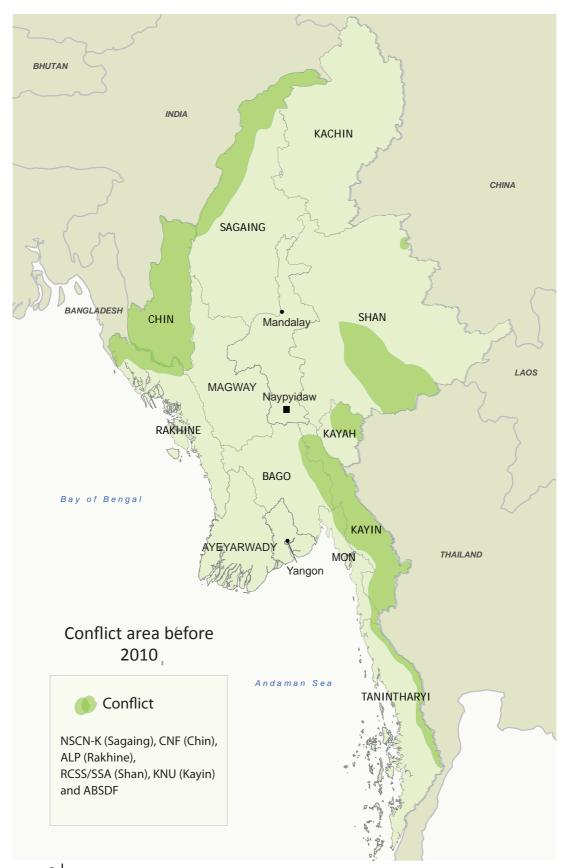
ethnic armed groups, community groups and the government that is compiled in this book. As Myanmar undergoes one of the most significant political transformations in the country's history, BNI will continue to monitor and advocate for both media freedom and transparency leading towards democracy and sustainable peace.

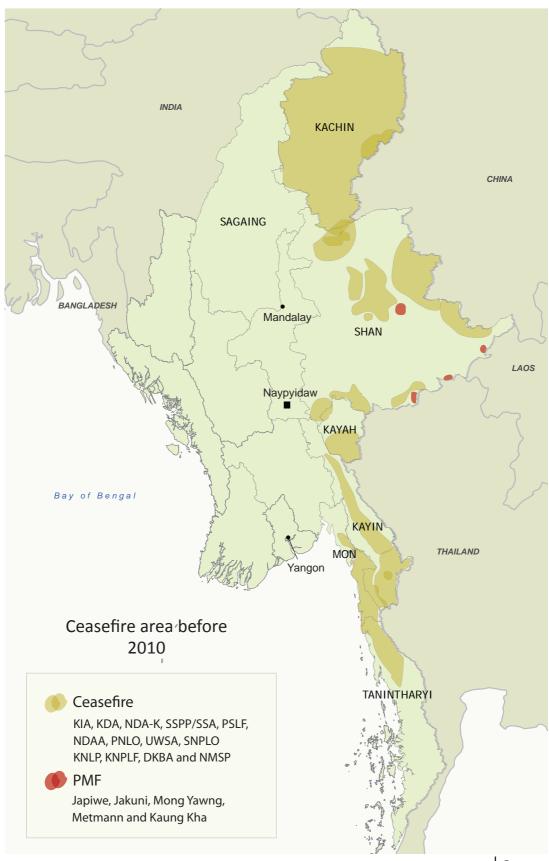
### Introduction to the Peace process

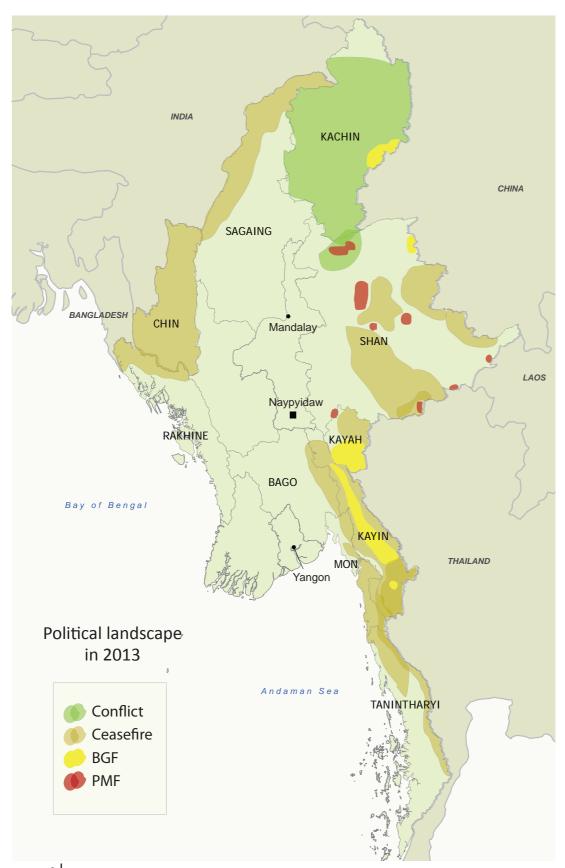
The 2010 elections in Myanmar followed by the installation of a nominally civilian government, have brought exciting developments in both economic and political liberalization. However the political transition has also reignited old conflicts and intensified sectarian violence. While the government has made impressive reforms towards dealing with the ethnic nationality problem, and achieved major headway in brokering peace deals with most of the ethnic armed groups, these ceasefires remain fragile at best. At the same time, the conflict in Kachin state and northern Shan state has intensified with no end in sight. Not only has this created a humanitarian crisis, but it also threatens the stability and potential economic growth for the entire nation. Most importantly, as the ethnic conflicts were the single legitimating factor for military rule from 1962 to 2010, the continuation of such conflicts undermines the democratic progress and even threatens to throw the country back into a military state.

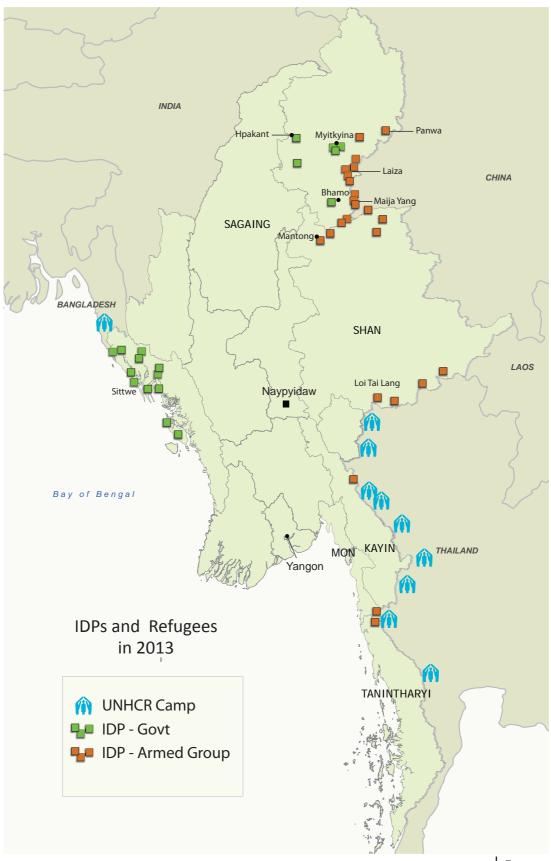
The contradiction between peace efforts and ongoing violence in Kachin, Shan and Rakhine states are hindering positive developments towards a peaceful settlement. To help make sense of the complex events in Myanmar, BNI's report and website <a href="www.mmpeacemonitor.org">www.mmpeacemonitor.org</a> aims to centralize and analyze information to foster more transparency, understanding, communication and trust between the various stakeholders. Past misunderstandings have fuelled suspicion and created distrust between all sides. Considering the vast number of stakeholders involved and the newly reformed government, patience is necessary for peace to take root. After more than 60 years of conflict, there is no better time than now to achieve national reconciliation that will lead to peace and a stable democracy in Myanmar.

Next Page: Changing political landscape before and after elections >>









### I. The Problem

### 2012 Overview

### Conflicts, communal violence and IDPs

The ongoing armed conflict between the Myanmar army and the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO), and allies (AA, ABSDF, TNLA), has created a severe humanitarian crisis in Kachin and northern Shan states. Not only has this caused death and destruction for armed groups and local civilians caught in the middle of the conflict zone, but it also threatens peace and security for Myanmar and its neighbors. This has led to substantial increases in poverty, lawlessness and drug production. The direct threats to both positive economic development and democratic reforms resulting from this instability highlight the urgency in finding immediate and long term solutions for resolving this crisis.

Apart from the ongoing conflict in Kachin and northern Shan states, ceasefire agreements that have been signed in all the other ethnic armed areas has seen a major decline in military activities and human rights abuses against civilians. However, The Border Consortium (TBC), formerly known as Thai Burma Border Consortium (TBBC), has reported that the Myanmar army has not withdrawn its troops, nor have they abandoned their outposts along the borderline. Troop rotations and the resupply of military rations to outposts have continued unabated. In northern Karen state and eastern Bago Region, the new reporting mechanisms on the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) troops' movements - stipulated in the ceasefire agreement - have strengthened the Myanmar Army's presence in these areas. At the same time, insufficient communication of troop movements have also led to skirmishes between KNLA and government troops, including the BGF. These incidents have also been happening in Shan state.

### Non-ceasefire groups:

Group	Clashes	Locations	Casualties
KIA/KIO	KIO report:	Kachin state:	KIO report <sup>3</sup> : at least 700 KIO soldiers (June, 2011-Oct., 2012),
+AA	over 2,400 clashes since June 9, 2011	Bhamo, Hpun Pyan Bum, Hpakant-Lonekhin and	govt soldiers killed between 5,000 and 10,000
+ABSDF		Lonebon, Mansi, Moenyin, Moekaung, Lajayang,	KWAT report: IDPs over 150,000 in Kachin and northern Shan states
	Govt report:	Momauk, Sinbo, Pangwa,	
	1095 clashes	Pangsai, Pajau-Laisin, and Waingmaw	Govt report <sup>4</sup> : 35 govt soldiers killed, 190 injured. 56 attacks on railroad tracks from Mandalay to Myitkyina, 15 attacks on
	Battalions in Kachin state:	Shan State: Nam San Bum mountain, Kutkai, Manton, Nant Hai, Tarmoenye. In el	Myitkyina-Sumprabum road, 42 attacks on Myitkyina-Bhamo road.
	46 bases before June 9, 2011		Infrastructures attacked: electricity towers, 1 electric power grid, 1 power plant
	$\rightarrow$ 128¹ or 150 after June 9, 2011²		
TNLA	over 50 clashes	Namkham, Kutkai, Mangton, Namhsan, Kyaukme, Mongmeik	<b>PWO report:</b> 2000 villagers from 15 villages displaced. Over 100 government soldiers killed <sup>5</sup>
Unidentified group	1	Maungdaw (northern), Rakhine state	1 killed and 3 govt soldiers taken hostage by an armed group on Nov. 6.

### **Kachin IDPs:**

Areas: Mai Ja Yang, Laiza, Kyatkar, Hpaikawng

<sup>1</sup> http://www.english.panglong.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=5226:laiza-as-good-as-occupied&catid=86:war&Itemid=284

<sup>2</sup> http://www.kachinwomen.com/images/stories/publication/ongoing\_iimpunity%20.pdf, p3

<sup>3</sup> Time for Thein Sein to come clean about Burmese losses in Kachin state, Kachin News, 22 September 2012 By Edward Chung Ho.

http://kachinnews.com/news/2408-time-for-thein-sein-to-come-clean-about-burmese-losses-in-kachin-state.html

<sup>4</sup> http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/3857-govt-declares-ceasefire-in-kachin. html

<sup>5</sup> http://www.scribd.com/doc/120929419/Pa-Laung-Statement

Over 100,000 civilians have been displaced from their homes by ongoing fighting between the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) and Myanmar military. About 58,282 IDPs are sheltering in Kachin-controlled areas along the Chinese border. There are also thousands of refugees in China. The rest are living in areas under government-controlled areas, including about 10,000 recently displaced persons from the Hpakant area.<sup>6</sup>

According to a Kachin Women's Association of Thailand (KWAT) report, villagers sheltering in Kachin-controlled territories and China have received almost no international support since the conflict started on June 9, 2011.<sup>7</sup> Data compiled from local relief groups shows that international aid agencies, including the UN, have provided only 4% of the basic food needs for the displaced population. The IDPs in KIO-controlled territories and China are depending almost entirely on private donations from local and overseas compatriots. Over US\$2M is needed to provide enough support for the IDPs every month. International donors have been blocked by the government in delivering sufficient aid for the displaced. The government stated that they were blocked because they feared the aid would be used to support the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO).

**Palaung IDPs** - Over 2,000 people from 15 villages were forced to flee their homes.<sup>8</sup> Several hundred have returned to their villages in the Kutkai and Namphakar areas after fighting died down in recent months.

No.	Locations of IDPs		Approx. no. of IDPs	Original Villages of Palaung IDPs
1	Manton township	Thoe Hone village	500+	Pan Khar, Mine Kha and Pan Hlone villages
2		Manton Church compound	260 (including 50 Palaung)	Lwae Mauk and Man San villages
3	NamKham township	Namkham town (Ta'ang National Party Office)	430+	Man Lwae (1), Man Lwae (2), Kyu Sai and Auu Lan Par village

### Ceasefire groups (clashes following the signing of new ceasefires)

Several of the skirmishes between ceasefire groups and the Myanmar army resulted from ineffective communication that lead to misunderstandings regarding troop movements.

<sup>6</sup> http://www.kachinwomen.com/images/stories/publication/from\_persecution\_deprivation.pdf pg2

<sup>7</sup> http://www.kachinwomen.com/images/stories/publication/from\_persecution\_deprivation.pdf

<sup>8</sup> http://eng.palaungwomen.com/Report/The%20Burden%20of%20War.pdf pg9

Group	Clashes	Locations	Casualties
RCSS/SSA	71 clashes <sup>9</sup>	Kyaukme, Mawkmai, Mongkeung, Kunheing, Mongnai, Mongpiang, Mongton, Mong Yawng, Tachilek	RCSS/SSA report: captured 69 assorted weapons, 113 govt soldiers killed and 129 <sup>10</sup> wounded (Nov. 2011 - Jan., 2013)
SSPP/SSA	40+ clashes	Langhko, Kyauk Mae, Hsipaw, Mong Mit (Mong Ngoe), Monghsu, Kayse, Tangyan, in northern Shan State	Unconfirmed
KNPP	<10 clashes	Mawchi Township	KNPP report:5 govt soldiers injured
DKBA-5	1 raid on military base Feb.19, 2012	Pa'an	DKBA-5 report: 3 govt soldiers killed, 2 soldiers wounded  Two villagers injured, and one killed <sup>11</sup>
KNU	6	Papun, Hlaing Bwe, Beelin Townships	GVT + BGF attack KNLA shortly after ceasefire in January, 2012 KNU report: 8 govt soldiers killed, 2 govt soldiers injured

### **Southeast Myanmar**

New IDPs in 2012, that resulted from ongoing clashes between government forces with the RCSS/SSA, KNPP, KNU and DKBA, and forced relocation from development projects.

States, Regions, and Townships	Population displaced in past 12 months	Population returned or resettled in past 12 months	Total IDPS
Shan state	6,700	5,000	125,400
Kayah state	700	210	34,600
Bago state	200	0	44,200
Kayin state	1,600	29,470	89,150

<sup>9</sup> Official statistic for clashes between November 2011-October 2012 was 68, including 3 in January 2013.

<sup>10</sup> RCSS/SSA "keeping our side of the bargain", 21 January 2013 11:58, S.H.A.N. http://www.shanland.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=5203:ssa-keeping-our-side-of-the-bargain&catid=85:politics&Itemid=266

<sup>11</sup> http://www.khrg.org/khrg2012/khrg12b61.html

States, Regions, and Townships	Population displaced in past 12 months	Population returned or resettled in past 12 months	Total IDPS
Mon state	200	700	35,000
Tanintharyi Region	600	1,620	71,650

(TBC 2012, pg. 60)

### Communal violence:

### Rakhine state (Arakan)

According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) as of Nov.4, 2012, the Myanmar government has stated that over 110,000 people have been displaced in Rakhine state. About 74,800 were displaced from the June, 2012 unrest and 36,400 from the October, 2012 unrest.<sup>12</sup>

### Affected areas:

Townships currently under curfew (11): Buthidaung, Kyaukpyu, Kyauktaw, Maungdaw, Minbya, Mrauk-U, Myebon, Pauktaw, Ramree, Rathedaung and Sittwe

IDP camps (9 townships): Kyaukpyu, Kyauktaw, Minbya, Mrauk-U, Myebon, Pauktaw, Ramree, Rathedaung and Sittwe

### **Govt statistics:**

Death	Injured	IDP	Damage Infrastructure (Houses, Temples, School, Business and Communal Buildings)
9	256	115,000	10,600

### UNHCR overseas refugees from before the 2010 election:

**Malaysia:** (Up until Oct. 9, 2012) Total- 92,560 Ethnic breakdown - 33,270 Chin, 24,880 Rohingya, 10,460 Myanmar Muslim, 6,750 Rakhine, 3,630 Mon, and other ethnicities from Myanmar.<sup>13</sup>

**Thailand:** There are currently 92,000 registered refugees as well as an estimated 54,000 unregistered asylum-seekers from Myanmar living in 9 camps along the Thai-Myanmar

<sup>12</sup> http://www.searo.who.int/entity/emergencies/crises/MMR\_OCHA\_12\_Rakhine.pdf and http://www.searo.who.int/entity/emergencies/crises/SEARO\_ESR\_4\_2012.pdf

<sup>13</sup> http://www.unhcr.org.my/About Us-@-Figures At A Glance.aspx

border. Following the 2010 Myanmar general elections in November, there was an influx of 16,000-18,000 civilians after clashes between ethnic armed groups and the Myanmar army erupted along the border. While they were allowed to stay temporarily, state authorities made them return shortly after fighting ceased. In some cases they were forced back, only hours after mortar fire was reported. An estimated 5,000 people still remain in areas along the Thai-Myanmar border. Sporadic fighting has been reported to be ongoing in the area of southeastern Myanmar. Despite the reforms by the new Myanmar government, the numbers of unregistered camp residents continues to grow. Refugees and asylum-seekers living outside the camps are regarded as illegal migrants under Thai immigration law and subject to arrest, detention and deportation by both the police and Thai army.<sup>14</sup>

**Bangladesh:** There are more than 29,000 refugees from Myanmar's northern Rakhine state. They reside in 2 camps in Kutupalong and Nayapara in Bangladesh's south-eastern district of Cox's Bazar. This population is mostly what remains of the 250,000 refugees from Myanmar who arrived in 1991, most of whom subsequently returned home. The Bangladesh government estimates that more than 200,000 unregistered civilians from Myanmar live in Bangladesh without any legal status, mostly in the villages outside the camps, but also in host communities. Up to 40,000 live adjacent to Kutupalong and Nayapara camps, forming two settlements called the Kutupalong Makeshift Site and Leda Site.<sup>15</sup>

**India:** According to official figures as of Nov.30, 2012, there are 7,427 refugees and 2,912 asylum seekers from Myanmar in India. According to other sources, there are around 110,000 Chin refugees that live in India, mainly in bordering states Mizoram and Manipur. In addition to Chin refugees, there are also communities of Kachin, Rakhine, Bama and Rohingya from Myanmar living in India. Around 3,000-4,000 are registered with the UNHCR in the capital New Delhi. 18

### Increased drug trade

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Myanmar is the second largest opium producing country in the world accounting for 25% of estimated production. It also remains a major source of methamphetamine pills and opiates in Southeast Asia. Despite positive political reforms, since 2011 the UNODC report South-East Asia Opium Survey 2012 - Lao PDR, Myanmar estimates that Myanmar poppy cultivation has jumped 17% to 51,000 hectares in 2012 (up from 43,000 ha in 2011) in spite of government claims to have eradicated 23,717 ha of poppy cultivation - more than three times the 7,058 ha that

<sup>14</sup> http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e489646.html

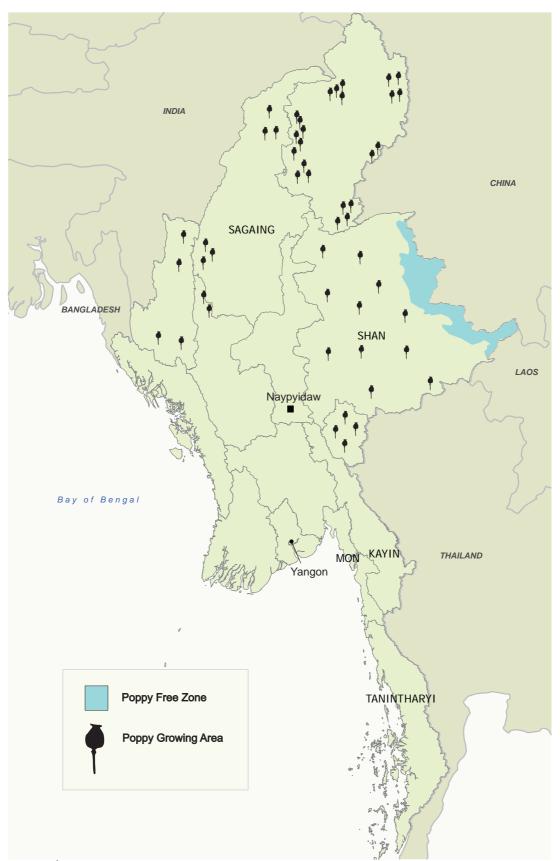
<sup>15</sup> http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e487546.html

<sup>16</sup> http://www.unhcr.org.in/pages/index/62

<sup>17</sup> http://crcmalaysia.blogspot.hk/2012/12/chin-christians-in-burma-face.html

<sup>18</sup> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burmese\_community\_in\_India

<sup>19</sup> http://www.unodc.org/documents/eastasiaandpacific//2012/12/ats-2012/2012\_Regional\_ATS\_Report\_ FINAL\_HQPDF\_3\_Dec\_2012\_low.pdf



they eradicated in 2011.<sup>20</sup> Poppy cultivation in Myanmar increased from 21,600 ha in 2006 to 51,000 ha in 2012. This contrasts with the downward trend of opium production in the country from 1998-2006, after cultivation was reduced by 83%.

According to the UNODC's research, the center of Myanmar's illicit drugs activities remains in Shan state, which accounts for 90% of poppy cultivation in the country, with the remaining 10% located mainly in Kachin state. In 2012, large increases of cultivation were reported by UNODC in south, east and north areas of Shan state, as well as in Kachin state. UNODC estimates that 300,000 Myanmar households are involved in poppy cultivation, a 17% increase from 2011 (256,000 households).

In comparison, the SHAN Drug Watch Newsletter, published in June, 2012 found that 21 out of 9 22 townships (or 18 out of 20 by today's count - after the government reorganized some of the townships) targeted for opium elimination under the government's 15-year master plan to permanently eliminate drugs from 1999-2014, are still growing poppy. During the last season from 2011-12, their researchers were able to visit previously unvisited townships to confirm that 49 out of 55 townships in Shan State were growing poppies. Aside from Shan state, the report finds that areas in Magwe and Sagaing regions, and Kachin, Kayah (Karenni), Chin and Rakhine states are also producing opium. Of these only Kachin, Kayah and Chin states are targeted in the government's 15-year plan.

Most of the drugs are traded on the world market, passing through China and Laos via the Golden Triangle, before continuing through Thailand and other Southeast Asia countries before reaching the rest of the world. Precursor chemicals are trafficked from neighboring countries for the production of methamphetamine tablets. India reported that reforms in Myanmar have led to an increase in Indian drug trafficking.<sup>22</sup> The Indian Narcotics Control Bureau seized 1 million pseudo-ephedrine tablets destined for Myanmar in 2012.

# Causes for increased drug production and trade despite political reforms

The major cause in the increases of drug production has been attributed to ongoing instability and conflict. In a survey done by the UNODC that asked farmers why they grow poppy, 79% said they were cultivating it because of the higher net income generated in relation to other crops, while 45% cited the need to buy food. In addition, in 95% of the villages in Shan state that were surveyed, residents said they received no agricultural assistance from the government. In rural mountainous areas that face economic hardships, and where other crops are difficult to grow, cultivating poppy is key for their survival. Some BGF, PMF and Myanmar armed groups also continue to collect taxes from poppy plantations, taking advantage of non-existent law enforcement in these areas.

<sup>20</sup> http://www.unodc.org/documents/crop-monitoring/sea/SouthEastAsia\_Report\_2012\_low.pdf

<sup>21</sup> http://www.english.panglong.org/images/stories/independence/shan-drug-watch-2012.pdf

 $<sup>22\</sup> http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-11-18/guwahati/35186424\_1\_myanmar-president-thein-sein-ephedrine$ 

The SHAN Drug Watch report identifies three main reasons for increases of poppy cultivation:

- 1. farmers are impoverished therefore necessary for survival
- 2. rebels need to generate funds to buy weapons for armed conflicts against the government
- government and the army encourage proxy armed groups to utilize the drug trade to generate funding for: food, clothing and equipment for conflicts with armed resistance groups

A number of experts have concluded that ceasefire groups like the United Wa State Army (UWSA), who rejected Naypyidaw's order to transform into a BGF, are producing more drugs to buy additional weapons to fight against the government if necessary.

The SHAN Drug Watch report lists other reasons for the increase in poppy cultivation:<sup>23</sup>

Myanmar military commanders allowing People's Militia Forces (PMFs) to establish their own drug production plants and trafficking networks to wrest the market away from ceasefire groups, while at the same time blocking all income generating activities, (especially drug production and trafficking) for ceasefire groups (in particular the UWSA)

shift investment from private drug producers, both domestic and foreign (mostly Thai and Chinese), away from the Wa and their allies to areas under the control of the Myanmar Army and the People's Militia Forces (PMFs) where their drug activities and profits are more secure reported increases in poppy cultivation, heroin and methamphetamine production are greater in areas controlled by PMFs than in areas controlled by ceasefire groups

Myanmar army's Self Reliance policy imposed on proxy armed groups in border areas require them to generate their own funding, illegal fundraising activities by proxy groups are ignored or tolerated

The SHAN report states the solution "should not be the Myanmar army and ceasefire armies joining hands together against the PMFs, which will only result in financiers moving their investments to new armed groups politically in favor with Naypyidaw. The solution should be political: an agreement that ensures both the integrity of the nation and the 'autonomy in internal administration' of the non-Burman ethnic nationalities that will put an end to strife and lawlessness in the country."<sup>24</sup>

Despite the worrying rise of drug production in the country, there are still encouraging signs that the government intends to address these issues. During his inauguration address, on March 30, 2011 President Thein Sein said "good governance" is regarded as one of the first requirements for the control of illicit drugs and he has been reportedly developing a 3-year project that will bring the 15-year master plan to fruition.

<sup>23</sup> http://www.english.panglong.org/images/stories/independence/shan-drug-watch-2011.pdf

<sup>24</sup> http://www.english.panglong.org/images/stories/independence/shan-drug-watch-2012.pdf

### **Human rights violations**

In areas of the country where new ceasefires have been signed, the incidence of human rights abuses has reported to have declined dramatically - although this varies from state to state. Government troops are no longer targeting civilians as supporters, or protectors of armed insurgents. In Taninthayi, TBC reported that civilians are less afraid to lodge formal complaints about mismanagement by administration authorities.

However human rights violations in ethnic areas still continue. Some of these human rights violations can be categorized as the following:

- 1. forced labor by the Myanmar military (fortifying army camps, road repair, porter)
- 2. land confiscation (especially near development projects and contested areas)
- 3. forced relocation
- 4. arbitrary taxation
- 5. religious discrimination
- 6. human trafficking
- 7. recruitment of child soldiers
- 8. restrictions on freedom of movement

In spite of the new ceasefires, civilians remain fearful of being caught in conflicts between government troops and ethnic armed groups. Their movements are restricted in fields and markets in close proximity to where Myanmar army operations are being conducted. Deprivations resulting from land confiscation exacerbate the lack of food security and chronic poverty that many civilians are already facing. Although many civilians welcome the ceasefires, this has not necessarily affected their distrust towards the government or the Myanmar army - there are still widespread perceptions that the ceasefire is just a means for the government to achieve international legitimacy and commercial profit.

# In conflict zones, human rights abuses that have been reported are much more severe, some of these include:

- 1. forced recruitment by the Myanmar army, PMF, BGF and ethnic armed groups
- 2. murder, rape, torture, interrogation, extortion, humiliation, religious persecution, and other inhumane acts

# For more detailed reports about human rights abuses in ethnic areas, please check reports by the following organizations:

- 1. Burma Issues (BI)
- 2. Chin Human Rights Organization (CHRO)
- 3. Committee for Internally Displaced Karen People (CIDKP)
- 4. Dawei Development Association (DDA)
- 5. Earth Rights International (ERI)
- 6. Free Burma Rangers (FBR)
- 7. Human Rights Education Institute Burma (HREIB)
- 8. Human Rights Foundation of Monland (HURFOM)
- 9. Human Rights Watch (HRW)
- 10. Kachin Development Networking Group (KDNG)
- 11. Karen Environment and Social Action Network (KESAN)
- 12. Karen Women's Action Group (KWAG)
- 13. Kachin Women Association of Thailand (KWAT)
- 14. Karen Human Rights Group (KHRG)
- 15. Karenni Civil Societies Network (KCSN)
- 16. Network for Human Rights Documentation (ND-Burma)
- 17. Palaung Women Organization (PWO)
- 18. Pa-O Youth Organization (PYO)
- 19. Shan Human Rights Foundation (SHRF)

### Negative implications: Domestic and Regional

- 1. threatens overall political developments and process
- 2. hinders healthy and rapid economic development
- 3. deters foreign investment
- 4. threatens regional security

### Threatens overall political developments and process

The ongoing conflict in Kachin and northern Shan states threatens the ceasefires signed with other armed ethnic groups. It also reduces confidence in the government's sincerity in solving the nationalities problem.

The DKBA-5 has threatened to nullify its ceasefire if the government does not stop its offensive against the KIA (Jan. 4, 2013). UNFC members (including KNU, KNPP, SSA-N, CNF, NMSP and PNLO) made a statement blaming the government for causing the conflict in Kachin state and called for an immediate stop of government offensives (Jan.1, 2013). SSPP/SSA released a statement along with the UWSA and NDAA saying that they would revise their ceasefire agreements if the conflict continues (Jan.10, 2013).

It is likely that a breakdown of the ceasefires and resumption of conflict with other armed groups would reverse the country back to a military state. According to the 2008 Constitution, armed forces can take over the government during a state of emergency. The army still remains the most powerful institution as the National Defense and Security Council (NDSC) and army commander-in-chief seem to be above the government and president. For instance, two presidential orders issued by Thein Sein to stop offensives against the KIA in Kachin and Shan states (December, 2011 and Dec.19, 2012) were ignored by the Myanmar military.

### Hinders healthy and rapid economic development

The long standing conflicts has had severe repercussions on the country's economic and political situation; before military rule in 1962 Myanmar was one of the richest countries in Asia, some say it was the richest in Southeast Asia and there were even those who claim it was the richest in Asia.<sup>25</sup>

Today the government continues to spend a large proportion of the national budget on defense. In 2011, according to reports in the state-run Government Gazette in March, 2011 the military expenditure of MMK1.8 trillion (USD 2.04 billion) represents around 23.6% of total national outlay, making defense the largest single recipient of government funds. This spending is estimated to amount to 5-10% of Myanmar's GDP.<sup>26</sup>

Minister of Finance and Revenue, U Hla Tun announced on Jan. 31, 2012, the military budget would decrease to 14.4% in the 2012-2013 budget, but still significantly higher than education 6.5% (increased from 3.7% in 2011) and health 3.4% (Increased from 1.1% in 2011). However in real monetary terms the total military budget actually went up by 57% after factoring in a 63% increase in the total government budget for this year. As the spending in the previous year was 7.9 trillion kyat in the previous year and 13 trillion kyat for 2012-2013, the proportion for the military budget for 2012-2013 will hence be 1.9 trillion kyat, or about US\$2.3 billion according to the widely used black market floating exchange rate.

<sup>25</sup> http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-02-23/investor-rogers-compares-myanmar-reforms-to-chinas-opening.html

<sup>26</sup> http://articles.janes.com/articles/Janes-Sentinel-Security-Assessment-Southeast-Asia/Defence-budget-Myanmar.html

<sup>27</sup> Myanmar Finance Ministry http://www.mofr.gov.mm/my?q=node/75

- Other funds are also available to the military through a special fund for 'defense against
- enemies inside and outside the country and safeguarding the constitution'. Furthermore,
- funding to the military can also be sourced from Myanmar's abundant offshore gas revenues and some of the many military-owned businesses.

### Deters foreign investment

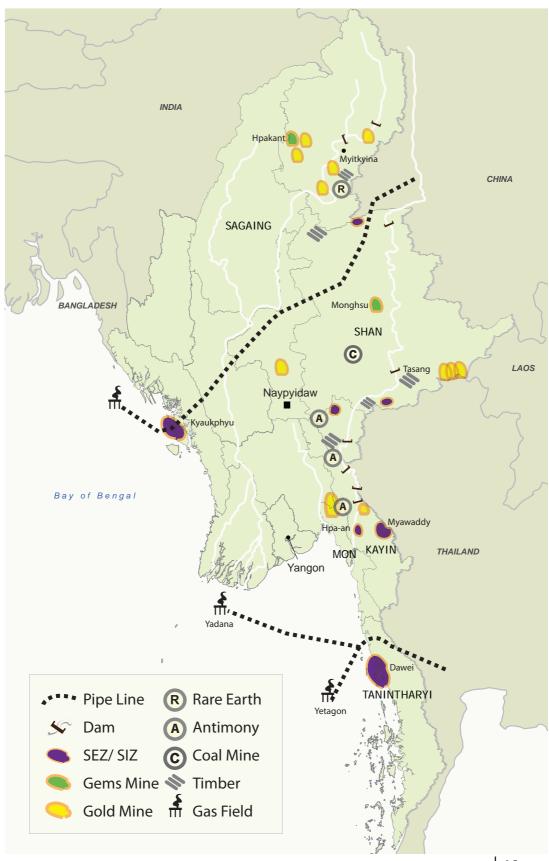
Disruption of current projects deters foreign investors from Myanmar despite the immense potential as the "last frontier" and the rich natural resources the country enjoys. Most of these natural resources are located in ethnic regions and several mega projects, such as gas pipelines, industrial zones, Dawei Mega project, have already started in these areas. At present armed conflicts and communal violence in ethnic regions are already hurting these foreign development project sites. The SSPP/SSA, KIA and TNLA have been clashing with the Myanmar army in northern Shan state where the Shwe Gas pipeline is being built. The pipeline will connect China's Yunnan province to Kyaukphyu in Rakhine state, Myanmar.

### Threatens regional security

The conflict in Kachin state has caused great concern for China after 3 bombs landed in their territory following a Myanmar military air raid on KIO's Laiza headquarters on Dec. 30, 2012. Another bomb landed in China on Jan. 15, 2013. It has been reported that China has been sending troops to its border with Myanmar to boost security. The ongoing conflict is also affecting India as its own insurgents continue to launch attacks from bases inside Myanmar. In the past Thailand has also suffered from conflicts waged along its borders. The flow of refugees from across the border has been an added burden for Thai border authorities.

The religious communal violence between Muslims and Buddhists in Rakhine state has spread to other countries in the region, e.g. Buddhist temples attacked and burnt in Bangladesh, protests in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and India. Several radical Islamic groups have also made threats to attack Myanmar to avenge crimes against Muslims in Rakhine state: these groups include the Pakistani Taliban, Afghan Taliban and Hezbollah.

Increasing drug production and trade as a consequence of national insecurity has given rise to cross border crime for Myanmar's neighbors. Organized crime remains rampant in the Golden Triangle area between Thai-Myanmar-Sino-Laos border regions. The recent case of the drug lord Naw Kham's murder of Chinese sailors is one recent example.



### II. Root Causes

### Historical legacy

Myanmar officially recognizes 135 distinct ethnic groups, grouped into 8 major national ethnic races. The non-Burman population constitutes 32% of the country's total population.

The conflict in Myanmar between the diverse multi-ethnic populations is deep rooted, dating back to British colonialism. The large number of foreign nationals - namely Indian and Chinese - settling in the country, has long been the target of nationalist hatred and racism. Today Indians make up 2% of the total population, Chinese make up 3%.<sup>28</sup> Their significant presence and the immense wealth that some have accumulated has been seen as unfair dominance at the expense of locals. The racial tension and violence in Rakhine state stems from racial resentment of Rohingyas, seen by many as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. However the issue remains controversial as some claim that they are indigenous to the northern part of Rakhine state bordering with Bangladesh.

Under the British administration, ethnic nationalities were also given favorable treatment for their compliance with the colonialists over the majority Buddhist Burman population. Many were given high ranking positions in the military, which may explain the origins of the strong military skill and power that many ethnic armed groups possess.

Civil war between some of the ethnic nationalities and Burman-led independent government broke out shortly after independence in 1948. The KNU in particular have waged one of the longest civil war in the world today. The inability of the civilian government led by U Nu in dealing with a country on the brink of collapse led to the military takeover of the government by Ne Win in 1962. The ethnic problem is hence the military's sole claim to legitimacy and entrenchment in government. This also explains why solving the ethnic problem remains key to ensuring long lasting peace and democracy in the country.

### Ethnic grievances

The ethnic populations have suffered the most as a result of long-standing hostilities with the central government. They have been perceived as enemies of the state and second class citizens. The effects of a protracted war and neglect by the central government have left many ethnic areas in a dire situation. In particular, the Myanmar Army's "4 cuts policy" that was targeted against resistance groups and civilians from 1996-98, has caused severe damage to the economy in areas within, and outside, of the conflict zone.

### The policy included:

- 1. cutting and blockading communications between rebel armed groups
- 2. embargo of people and consumer goods entering rebel territories

<sup>28</sup> https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bm.html

- 3. search and destruction of core members responsible for supply, information, funds and recruits
- 4. embargo on trade to reduce rebel revenue

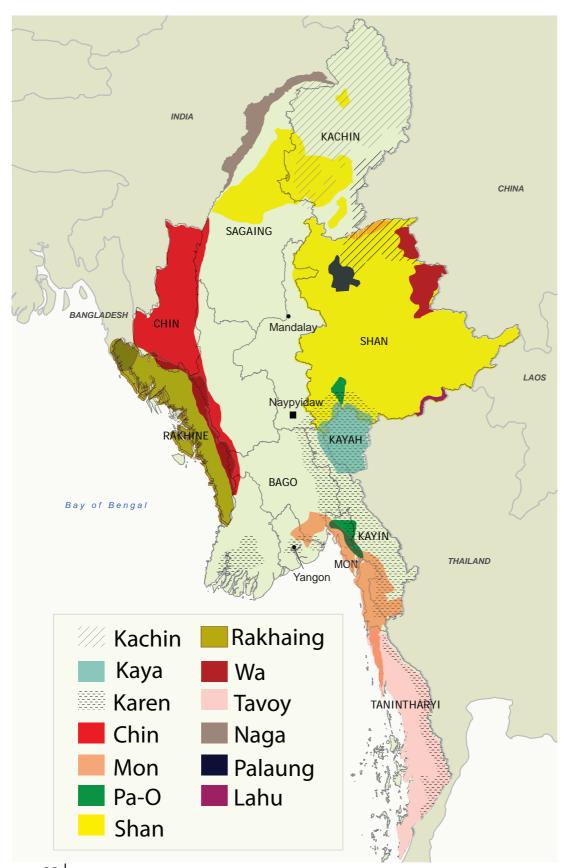
Until today, areas of the country with high ethnic density populations remain the most impoverished in the country. Lack of communication and understanding is also a major reason that deep ethnic cleavages and distrust still exist between the different nationalities and the majority Burman population.

### Below is a profile of ethnic grievances:

- ethnic states found to have the highest percentage of people living in poverty: Chin state (73%), Rakhine state (44%) and Shan state (33%)<sup>29</sup>
- under development in ethnic areas e.g. no electricity, proper roads and other basic infrastructure
- land confiscation and forced relocation
- unfair distribution of revenue from natural resources
- literacy levels are the lowest in ethnic states, according to 2010 statistics: Shan state (75% eastern Shan state 52.2%), Rakhine state (75.1%), Kayah state (84.7), Kachin state (87.2%), Chin state (87.4%), Kayin state (89%)<sup>30</sup>
- the incidence of drug abuse is highest among ethnic youth, especially in Kachin and Shan states some claim that it is a deliberate strategy by the government to weaken the ethnic youth and prevent them from joining insurgencies
- lack of social and cultural rights: currently many ethnic groups do not have the right to learn, or teach, in their own language, and there is no protection for traditional cultural practices or heritage sites
- environmental and social impact of development projects:
  - land confiscation for projects
  - flooding caused by projects
  - relocation caused by projects
- inequality in regards to political rights
- higher incidences of human rights violations (forced labor, arbitrary taxation, land confiscation, racial and religious discrimination)

<sup>29</sup> http://www.elevenmyanmar.com/business/2230-myanmar-unemployment-rate-near-40-percent-study-finds

<sup>30</sup> http://www.mm.undp.org/ihlca/01 Poverty Profile/index.html pg.90



### Economic and political stakes

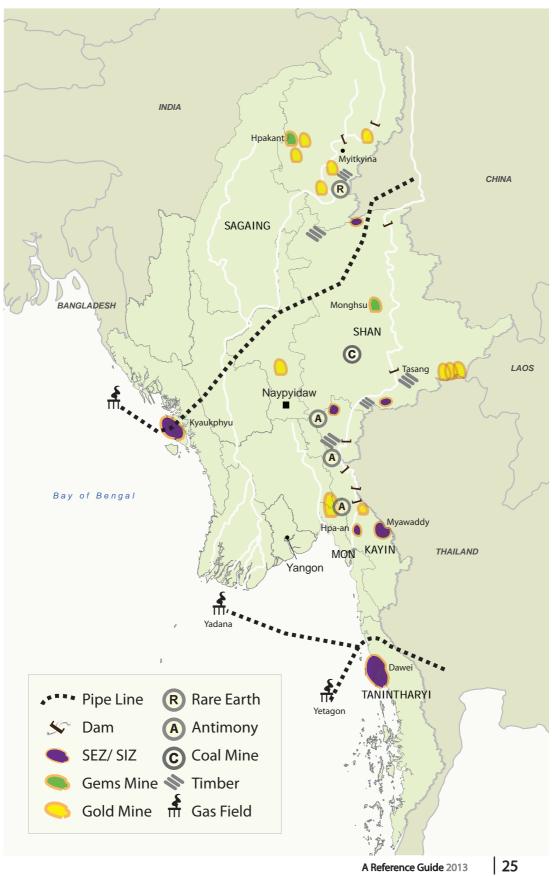
One of the most cited injustices affecting ethnic nationalities in their respective territories is unfair distribution of profits generated from natural resource extraction and large industrial projects by the central government and foreign investors. There is often little regard for the local populations who do not benefit from the wealth generated from their land, and yet have to endure the negative impacts resulting from development projects. Fair distribution of natural resource revenue has been raised as one of the main demands by several ethnic armed groups.

The government has been successful in negotiating ceasefires with ethnic armed groups by granting them some limited economic rights. This has especially been the case with groups such as the KIO in Kachin state and several others in Shan and Karenni states following the 1990 elections. After the 2010-elections, the government is once again offering economic and business incentives, both inside and outside of ceasefires, to convince armed groups to enter the legal fold.

To understand the economic topography of ethnic areas, below is a list of some major existing and proposed projects, as well as known unexploited resources.

Chin state	Tamu Economic Zone (proposed), development project (such as Tamu-kalay road) and tea leaf plantation
	6 dam projects: Zalui, Tongva, Ngasitvar, Paletwa, Namhlaung Creek, Laiva, Htweehsaung and Chichaung plant (all government)
Kachin state	Logging, mining (gold, jade), agribusiness (rubber, teak, sugar cane plantation, banana plantation), rare earth reserves
	Hydro-electric dams such as Myitsone, Tarpain, Chibwe, Pashe, Lakin, Phizaw
Karen state	Logging (teak), mining (gold, lead), hydropower, link with Dawei Project, and rubber plantations
	3 proposed Special Industrial zones: Myawaddy, Hpa-an, Phayathonzu
Karenni state	Private rubber and palm plantations, logging and mining (lead, antimony) concessions, marble factory, Loikaw industrial zone
	Dams: Lawpida, Beluchaung, Ywa Thit

Mon state	Cashew nut, betel nut palms, rubber and palm oil plantations, logging, Yadana and Yetagun natural gas projects
	Italy-Thai Development (ITD) Company's railway, oil and gas pipelines and electricity transmission tower along the Trans-Border Corridor
	Dawei Deep Sea Port and the Industrial Estate. There are also plans to establish two more industrial estates in Tanintharyi Region near the border at Teekee/Min The Mee Kee on ITD's trans-border corridor link, and at Maw Taung on the road to Mergui/Myeik.
Rakhine state	Shwe Oil and gas, Kyauk Phyu Economic zone, Sittwe and Kyauk Phyu deep seaports (proposed), Ponnagyun Industrial zone (proposed). Fishing and agribusiness, Kaladan River's waterway.
	Dams: Laymyo Chaung, Thahtay Chaung, Am Chaung, and Saidin
Shan state	Mining (gold, silver, lead, zinc, ruby, coal), logging (teak), Agribusiness (Rubber, rice), tea plantation
	Mong Hta industrial zone (proposed by RCSS/SSA), Namoum industrial zone (proposed by the government), Muse Trade Zone
	Dams: Kengtawng, Mobye, Nawngpha, Paunglong, Shweli, Tasang, Yeywa, Zawgyi.



## Constitutional issues

The 2008 Constitution, which came into force on January 31, 2011 shows optimistic signs of progress towards the ethnic nationalities' goal for self-determination. There are provisions for ethnic nationality rights and equality, and more importantly, it takes the form of federalism with decentralization and democratization of power.

At the same time there are important issues that have not been addressed, namely revenue sharing and division of power. Both of these are defined in general terms in the constitution without detailed implementation. In particular, how administrative functions will be divided and coordinated between central government ministries and regional governments have not been worked out in practice. In addition, the overriding power reserved for the military at all levels of government, which even supersedes that of the president, is the biggest concern for ethnic groups. The 25% seats in parliament reserved for the military also means that making any amendments will be difficult to pass without their approval. Most importantly, in a state of emergency, all provisions for human rights and democracy can be overturned. For these reasons, most active armed groups are demanding to hold political talks outside of parliament.

## Constitutional provisions:

Sections in the constitution providing rights and protection for "national races"

Chapter I Basic Principles of the Union

- 15. For national races with suitable population, National races representatives are entitled to participate in legislature of Regions or States and Self-Administered Areas concerned.
- 17 (c) For national races of which representatives are so permitted to participate in legislature of Regions, States or Self-Administered Areas in accord with Section 15, such representatives are to be permitted to participate, mainly, to undertake their National races affairs.
- 22.The Union shall assist :(a) to develop language, literature, fine arts and culture of the National races;(b) to promote solidarity, mutual amity and respect and mutual assistance among the National races;(c) to promote socio-economic development including education, health, economy, transport and communication, so forth, of less-developed national races.

Chapter VIII Citizen, Fundamental Rights and Duties of the Citizens

354. Every citizen shall be at liberty in the exercise of the following rights, if not contrary to the laws, enacted for Union security, prevalence of law and order, community peace and tranquility or public order and morality:

- (a) to express and publish freely their convictions and opinions;
- (b) to assemble peacefully without arms and holding procession;
- (c) to form associations and organizations;
- (d) to develop their language, literature, culture they cherish, religion they profess, and customs without prejudice to the relations between one national race and another or among national races and to other faiths.

#### Chapter IX ELECTION

391.c The relevant national races having right to vote in accord with the provisions contained in this Constitution have also the right to vote to elect Hluttaw representatives of national races for their Region or State Hluttaw

According to the ethnic umbrella group United Nationalities League for Democracy (UNLD) Policies & 8 Basic Principles in 1990, 5 out of 8 points have been met.

- 1. Popular Sovereignty: The people of the Union of Burma, not a particular ethnic group or state, shall be vested with the sovereign power of the Union
- 2. Bicameral Legislature at Union Assembly
- 3. Equal Representation at Chamber of Nationalities
- 4. State Assembly, State Government & State Supreme Court
- 5. Multi-party Democracy
- \*6. State Constitutions (self-determination & constitutional rights); No State Constitutions (gradual transition is needed)
- \*7. Democracy, Human Rights & Gender Equality (30% reserved seats for women at all levels of National & State Assemblies) 25% Military; No quota for women (gradual transition is needed)
- \*8. Equality and Self-determination Ambiguous & No real self- determination

(From Lian H. Sakhong "The 2008 Constitution and Ethnic Issues: To What Extent Did It Satisfy the Aspirations of Various Ethnic Groups?")

Structural challenges for implementing self-governance and federal autonomy

Several challenges remain for implementing a genuine federalist system; all of the decentralized powers and structures are dominated by the government's Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP). The speakers for all of state legislatures are from the USDP, as are the chief ministers, who head the state executives (with the exception of the Chief Minister for Kayin [Karen] State, who is a military legislator).

## **Speakers of the State Legislatures:**

State	Name	Party
Kachin state	U Rawan Jone	USDP
Kayah state	U Kyaw Swe	USDP
Kayin state	U Saw Aung Kyaw Min	USDP
Chin state	U Hauk Khin Kham	USDP
Mon state	U Kyin Pe	USDP
Rakhine state	U Htein Lin	USDP
Shan state	U Sai Lone Saing	USDP

#### **Chief Ministers of the states:**

State	Name	Party	Description
Kachin state	U La John Ngan Hsai	USDP	Kachin businessman
Kayah state	U Khin Maung Oo	USDP	Prominent Kayah individual
Kayin state	Brig-Gen Zaw Min	Military legislator	Ex-chairman, Kayin state PDC
Chin state	U Hong Ngai	USDP	Ex-chairman, Chin state PDC (retired brig-gen)
Mon state	U Ohn Myint	USDP	Ex-minister for mines (retired maj-gen)
Rakhine state	U Hla Maung Tin	USDP	Retired army colonel
Shan state	U Aung Myat	USDP	Retired Lt-col, Light Infantry Division 66

(see TNI report Burma policy briefing 6 May 2011)

Nevertheless, ethnic political parties will have some limited influence over these structures through their seats in the legislatures (some of which have sizable blocs):

#	Party	# Seats
1	SNDP - Shan Nationalities Democratic Party	58
2	RNDP - Rakhine Nationalities Development Party	35
3	AMRDP - All Mon Region Democracy Party	16
4	PSDP - Phalon-Sawaw Democratic Party	9
5	CNP - Chin National Party	9
6	PNO - Pa-O National Organization	8
7	KPP - Karen/Kayin People's Party	6

#	Party	# Seats
8	CPP - Chin Progressive Party	6
9	INPP - Inn National Progressive Party	4
10	WDP - Wa Democratic Party	4
11	TPNP - Taaung (Palaung) National Party	2
12	KSDDP - Kayin State Democracy and Development Party	2
13	KNP - Kayan National Party	2
14	LNDP - Lahu National Development Party	1

Membership of legislative standing committees and their ministerial positions in state governments (see table below). They include a number of areas that can have a significant impact on people's lives: land, including allocation of land and agricultural loans, local business (small business loans and some taxation), cultural promotion, and municipal issues. However, some argue that most of the power remains at the National and State level ministry representatives lack any real power.

### **State Ministers from Ethnic Nationality Parties:**

State	State Ministry	Name	Party
1. Kachin state	Industry	U Sai Maung Shwe	SNDP
	Shan National Race Affairs	Daw Khin Pyon Yi	SNDP
2. Kayah state	None		
3. Kayin state	Transport	U Saw Khin Maung Myint	PSDP
	Energy	U Min Soe Thein	AMRDP
	Social Affairs, Education and Health	U Saw Christopher	KPP
	Forestry		
	Mon National Race Affairs	U Saw Kyi Lin	PSDP
		U Nai Chit Oo	AMRDP
4. Chin state	Economics	U Yam Man	CNP
	Energy, Electric Power, Mines & Forestry	U Kyaw Nyein	СРР
5. Mon state	Energy and Electric Power	U Naing Lawe Aung	AMRDP
	Social Affairs and Culture	Dr Min Nwe Soe	AMRDP

State	State Ministry	Name	Party
6. Rakhine state	Industry/Labor/Sports	U Tha Lu Che	RNDP
	Meat, Fish, Mines and Energy	U Kyaw Thein	RNDP
	Culture/Social Welfare and Relief	U Aung Than Tin	RNDP
7. Shan	Industry and Mines	U Sai Aik Paung	SNDP
	Kayan (Padaung) National Race Affairs	U Lawrence	KNP
	Intha National Race Affairs	U Win Myint	INDP
	Wa Area Pa-O Area	U Khun Tun Lu (aka U Tun Lu)	WDP
	Palaung Area	U San Lwin	PNO
	. didding / ii cd	U Maung Kyaw (aka U Tun Kyaw)	TNP

(see TNI report Burma policy briefing 6 may 2011)

## Criticisms of the constitution:

Article 6: (f) Enabling the Defence Services to participate in the National political leadership role of the State.	The military should not have a role in politics.
Article 20: (b) The Defence Services has the right to independently administer and adjudicate all affairs of the armed forces.	****Major issue raised by ethnic armed groups
(c) The Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services is the Supreme Commander of all armed forces.	Too much power granted to the military. Military personnel should not have impunity.
	****Major issue raised by ethnic armed groups
Article 14: The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, the Region Hluttaws and the State Hluttaws include the Defence Services personnel as Hluttaw representatives nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services in numbers stipulated by this Constitution.	The military should not have reserved seats and should compete fairly with others.
Article 17: (b) In the executive of the Union, Regions, States, Union Territory, Self-Administered Areas and districts, Defence Services personnel, nominated by	Too much power given to the army at all levels, from union to state.
the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services to undertake responsibilities of the defense, security, border administration, so forth, shall be included.	****Major issue raised by ethnic armed groups - especially in ethnic states.

Article 40: (c) If there arises a state of emergency that could cause disintegration of the Union, disintegration of national solidarity and loss of sovereign power or attempts therefore by wrongful forcible means such as insurgency or violence, the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services has the right to take over and exercise State sovereign power in accord with the provisions of this Constitution.

State of emergency should only be allowed to be declared by the President - not only advise. The military should not be allowed to take over state power.

Article 141: (a) 168 Amyotha Hluttaw representatives elected in an equal number of 12 representatives from each Region or State inclusive of relevant Union territories and including one representative from each Self-Administered Division or Self-Administered Zone;

Should not be allowed reserved seats in the national parliament.

(b) 56 Amyotha Hluttaw representatives who are the Defence Services personnel nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services in accord with the law, four representatives from each Region or State inclusive of relevant Union territories;

Article 232: (b) In order to appoint the Union Ministers, the President shall:

- (i) select suitable persons who have qualifications prescribed in Sub-Section (a) from among the Hluttaw representatives or persons who are not Hluttaw representatives;
- (ii) obtain a list of suitable Defence Services personnel nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services for Ministries of Defence, Home Affairs and Border Affairs;
- (iii) coordinate with the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services if he desires to appoint the Defence Services personnel as Union Ministers for other Ministries apart from Ministries of Defence, Home Affairs and Border Affairs.

Defense, Home affairs and Border Affairs minister should not be decided by the Commander in Chief, but only by the President.

Article 232: (d) The appointment of a person as a Union Minister nominated by the President shall not be refused by the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw unless it can clearly be proved that the person concerned does not meet the qualifications of the Union Minister.

- (j) (i) If the Union Minister is a Civil Services personnel, it shall be deemed that he has retired according to the existing civil service rules and regulations from the day he is appointed as a Union Minister.
- (ii) The Defence Services personnel who are appointed as Union Ministers for the Ministries of Defence, Home Affairs and Border Affairs are not required to retire or resign from the Defence Services.

Defense, border and home affairs ministers should also be equally qualified and forced to retire or resign like other civil service personnel if proven to be under qualified.

338. All the armed forces in the Union shall be under the command of the Defence Services.

340. With the approval of the National Defence and Security Council, the Defence Services has the authority to administer the participation of the entire people in the Security and Defence of the Union. The strategy of the people's militia shall be carried out under the leadership of the Defence Services.

The ethnic armed forces do not want to come under the command of the Myanmar army before holding political dialogue and sufficient confidence measures are in place.

#### Chapter 12 Amendment of the constitution (6 steps)

Article 433: Any provision of this Constitution may be amended in the manner herein after provided

- (a) the proposal to amend the Constitution shall be submitted in the form of a Bill
- (b) the Bill to amend the Constitution shall not contain other proposals

Article 434: The Bill to amend the Constitution shall be submitted to the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.

Article 435: If twenty percent of the total number of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw representatives submit the Bill to amend the Constitution, it shall be considered by the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.

Article 436: (a) If it is necessary to amend the provisions of Sections 1 to 48 in Chapter I, Sections 49 to 56 in Chapter II, Sections 59 and 60 in Chapter III, Sections 74, 109, 141 and 161 in Chapter IV, Sections 200, 201, 248 and 276 in Chapter V, Sections 293, 294, 305, 314 and 320 in Chapter VI, Sections 410 to 432 in Chapter XI and Sections 436 in Chapter XII of this Constitution, it shall be amended with the prior approval of more than seventy-five percent of all the representatives of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, after which in a nation-wide referendum only with the votes of more than half of those who are eligible to vote.

article 436: (b) Provisions other than those mentioned in Sub-Section (a) shall be amended only by a vote of more than seventy-five percent of all the representatives of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.

It is too difficult to amend the constitution, therefore they are requesting to negotiate outside the parliament and refusing to compete in elections, or join parliament. i.e. believe there is little hope to make changes within the parliament

- → However the government believes that the constitution was endorsed by 93.82% of the population in a nationwide referendum.
- ← The opposition say the referendum does not reflect the true wishes of the people as it was pushed through during Cyclone Nargis. People were also pressured by the military to vote in favor of the referendum out of fear and therefore it was not free and fair.

## Insufficient confidence building measures

## **Border Guard Force Scheme**

During the run up to the 2010 elections, the previous military regime led by Gen. Than Shwe announced the BGF scheme in April 2009. This rushed attempt to absorb ethnic armed groups into the national army, required them to relinquish their autonomy without political discussions as promised in previous ceasefire agreements.

After several extensions of the deadline passed, the government announced all ceasefires "null and void" in September, 2010. The run up to and eventual breakdown in the first round of ceasefires saw the military step up pressure on ethnic armed groups.

- economically: blocked Chinese border trade through the KIO's Laiza headquarters, refused to renew the operating license of Yangon Airways run by the UWSA Chairman's son
- politically: ordered the closure of all, but two, of the KIO's liaison offices in governmentcontrolled areas, barred Kachin State Progressive Party (KSPP) from registering and contesting in the 2010 elections, and referred to ceasefire groups as "insurgents" in the state run media
- militarily: attacked the MNDAA (Kokang), capturing their headquarters (August 2009), forcing them to transform into a BGF, many other ethnic armed groups reported a military build-up near their outposts and some were even attacked - the worst being in Kachin and northern Shan states

The government adopted a less aggressive stance on August 18, 2011 when President Thein Sein pledged to make the ethnic issue a national priority, offered dialogue with all armed groups and key preconditions for talks were dropped - most notably the BGF requirement. Nevertheless the BGF scheme remains a part of the government's peace plan and listed as the last point in the Union Level Peace negotiation 8 points: "To coordinate existence of only a single armed forces in accord with the Constitution".

Many believe that the BGF scheme is a strategy by the government to control ethnic armed groups by using compliant armed groups already transformed into BGFs or PMFs to fight against them. For example: using DKBA-transformed BGF to fight against non-ceasefire Karen groups like the DKBA brigade-5 and KNU. In addition, the NDA-K transformed into a BGF and was used against the KIA. Setting up ethnic armed groups from the same area, or ethnicity, against each other has made many groups and civilians even more distrustful of the government's sincerity.

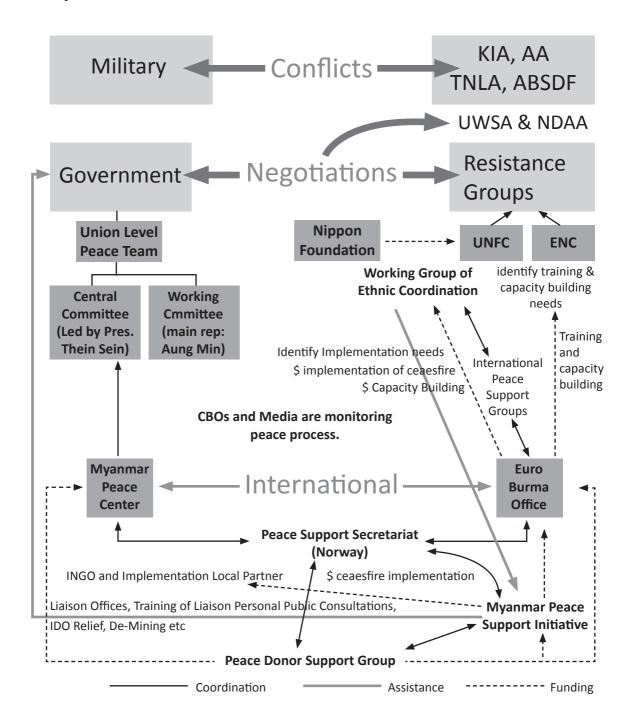
## **Contradictions and ongoing attacks**

The military continues to launch attacks and employ counterinsurgency tactics in the ethnic borderlands. The conciliatory rhetoric of central government and government peace negotiators are proving to be insufficient in winning the confidence of ethnic nationalities.

Issue	Government perspective	Ethnic perspective
Kachin conflict	The govt requested the KIA to move their bases away from the Taping dam so they could protect their investment. They were forced to attack, when the KIA did not comply. After a Myanmar army officer and several soldiers were captured by the KIA the govt was again forced to retaliate.  KIA trespassed on splinter group areas such as the former NDA-K, turned BGF, to collect taxes.  The govt needed to protect the people and public facilities from destructive acts committed by the KIA.	Attacked their outpost provoking war.
No budget for peace process	It will be part of the national budget soon.  They need time for improvement. The govt is still learning and righting the wrongs of the last government.	The govt is not sincere about the peace process.
Ongoing offenses	Both sides are guilty of provoking each other. Difficulty in controlling soldiers on the battlefield as emotions run high as the conflict intensifies. Ethnic leaders are not respecting ceasefire calls and other public demands for peace.  Ethnic armed groups are going beyond their control areas to collect tax and recruit new soldiers to solve ongoing financial difficulties.	and does not keep its end of the bargain. They do not want to solve political issues by political means.

## III. Peace Plan

## **Tripartite**



## Opposing peace plans

Government's plan			Ethnic's plan (led by UNFC)
<ol> <li>Enter the legal fold:</li> <li>give up arms/transform into BGF → now allowing ethnic armed groups to keep their arms</li> <li>set up political party</li> <li>contest in elections</li> </ol>		os to keep their arms	<ol> <li>political talks (according to the 2008 federal constitution drawn by ethnic and democratic opposition groups)</li> <li>union accord - agreement on power sharing and resource sharing = amending the 2008 constitution</li> <li>approval from parliament</li> </ol>
DKBA	BGF 1011 to	Kayin State Democracy and Development Party (KSDDP): 2 elected MPs U Mahn Aung Tin Myint (National Assembly) and U Chit Hlaing (State and Regional Assembly, Myawaddy (1) Kayin state)	UNFC members: CNF KNPP KNU KIO NMSP SSPP/ SSA-N
KDA	PMF 3 to 7	runs businesses and carries out development projects.	LDU NUPA/ ANC
KNG KNU Peace Group	PMF 	Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) member - Chairman U Padoh Aung Hsan (State & Regional Assembly, Papun(2) Kayin	PSLF/ TNLA WNO
KNDP KNPDP KNPLF KNUSO NDA-K	BGF 1004, 1005 BGF 1001, 1002, 1003	Business Groups  Sa Khon Ting Ying was elected as National assembly member in 2010 election.	Non-UNFC: unofficially following UNFC principles and plan  NDAA  UWSA  RCSS/ SSA-S  MTUF  AA

DNIG		D. O.N. C.	1
PNO		Pa-O National Organization	
		(PNO): 8 elected MPs U	ALP- (involved in WGEC)
		Nay Win Tun (National	DKBA-5-(Follow the KNU's political
		Assembly), U Khun Maung	leadership)
		Thaung, (Pinlaung), U Win Ko	KNLP- Under pressure from the govt
		(Hsihseng), U Khun Thein Pe	to transform into a PMF (April 7,
		(Hopong) (People's Assembly),	2010). However the KNLP continues to function as a ceasefire group. It is an
		U Khun Aye Maung (Hopong	observer of the UNFC and follows the
		(1)), U Khun Hla Thein,	group's principles.)
		(Hsihseng (1)), U Khun Maung	KPC- UNFC unofficial observer
		Wei (Hsihseng (2)), U Khun Hla	
		Hsan (Pinlaung (1)) State and	
		regional assembly	Ethnic groups not connected to the UNFC
PSLF	PMF	Ta-Aung (Palaung) National	
	Mann-	Party (TPNP): 2 elected MPs U	NSCN-K- primarily demanding economic and social development for
	pan &	Tun Kyaw (National Assembly)	their area.
	Mann	and U Aik Mone (People's	
	Ton	Assembly, Mantung, Shan	
		state)	
		SSPP/SSA (Brigade 3 and 7) and RCSS, ve transformed into PMFs	/

## Other undefined groups:

1	Special arrangement - surrendered on condition of economic privileges, but granted permission to protect their own area with government supplied arms
1	Special arrangement - granted permission to protect village and keep arms
ZRO	Non-ceasefire

## Government peace plan (official)

The government's policy towards the ethnic peace process is flexible and willing to accommodate to the changes in the country. Their approach is multifaceted, operating on the premise that the peace process is part of a much larger problem including not only military and political affairs, but also social and economic issues, to achieve broader peace dividends. Currently there is no official governmental budget allocated, apart from an endowment for peace to fund the peace team and its activities, but is said to be included soon.

The government is working to finalize all the ceasefires by the end of 2013, to hold political dialogue the following year and endorse agreements with all of the ethnic armed groups by 2015.

## Three-phase peace plan

- 1. State level: ceasefire, allowed to open liaison offices, ethnic armed groups allowed to travel without arms, Myanmar army can travel in ethnic armed group controlled territory bearing arms but must get permission to enter
- 2. Union level: confidence building, holding political dialogue, implement regional development projects in education, health and communication
- 3. create political parties for State Parliament, Lower House (Peoples Assembly), Upper House (National Assembly)

#### **Background**

August 18, 2011: President Thein Sein pledged to make the ethnic issue a national priority. He offered dialogue with all ethnic armed groups, dropping key preconditions for talks. Specifically, he stopped requiring that all ethnic armed groups become border guard forces before talks could take place. Thein Sein even offered a national conference to seek political solutions to solve the ethnic divisions.

#### Union-level peace team

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 the Vice President Sai Mauk Kham. Prior to the Union-level peace team, there were 2 government peace teams created by the Union-level Peace Discussion Group in December 2012. The teams were led respectively by U Aung Thaung and U Aung Min, who divided their tasks geographically. The group was renamed and reformed into the Union-level peace team by Presidential Decree No.12/2012 issued on May 3, 2012.

The Central committee has 11 members and is chaired by President Thein Sein:

- 1. Vice President U Nyan Tun (replaced U Tin Aung Myint Oo, Aug. 16, 2012)
- 2. Vice President Dr. Sai Mauk Kham
- 3. Speaker of the Upper house U Shwe Mann
- 4. Speaker of the Lower house U Khin Aung Myint

- 5. Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services Vice Senior-General Min Aung Hlaing
- 6. Minister of Home Affairs Lieutenant-General Ko Ko
- 7. Defense Minister Lieutenant-General Hla Min
- 8. Border Affairs Minister Lieutenant-General Thein Htay
- 9. Attorney-General Dr. Tun Shi
- 10. Director of President's office U Min Zaw

The UPWC consists of 52 members. It is chaired by the Vice-President Sai Mauk Kham and has three vice chairmen: President's Office Minister Aung Min, Deputy Commander-in-Chief and Commander of the Army General Soe Win, Parliamentary Member U Thein Zaw.

In addition there are 9 ministers, 10 regional or state ministers, 9 regional commanders, 18 parliament members (9 from the Upper house and 9 from the Lower house) that represent each state in the country and Director-General of the Government Office U Tin Myo Kyi.

## **Peacemaking Work Committee - Ceasefire guidelines**

In order to reach peace agreements with ethnic armed groups, Union-level Peacemaking Work Committee will carry out the following duties and report to UPCC central executive committee:

## State Level Peace negotiation - 5 Terms

- 1. Both sides agree to ceasefire
- 2. Deploy troops only in agreed territories
- 3. Prohibit carrying arms outside the designated territories
- 4. Open liaison offices in areas agreed by both sides (no arms allowed)
- 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.

## **Union Level Peace Negotiation - 8 Points**

- 1. Forever remain in the Union
- 2. Accept the Three National Causes: non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national sovereignty and perpetuation of national sovereignty
- 3. Cooperate in economic and development tasks

- 4. Cooperate in the elimination of narcotic drugs
- 5. Set up political parties and enter elections
- 6. Accept the 2008 Constitution and to make necessary amendments via Parliament by majority consent
- 7. Fully enter the legal fold for permanent peace and live, move, work in accord with the Constitution
- 8. To coordinate existence of only a single armed forces in accord with the Constitution

## **Myanmar Peace Center**

Secretariat for the Myanmar Peace Committee and reports to the President's office

Address: No. 11, Shweli Road, Kamaryut Township, Yangon

Opened: Nov. 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)

The Government of Myanmar opened the Myanmar Peace Center (MPC) in Yangon as part of an agreement with the Norway-led Peace Support Donor Group. It was established to assist the Union Peace-making Central Committee and the Union Peace-making 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 will serve as a platform for government officials, members of ethnic armed groups, civil society organizations, international donors and INGOs to meet and negotiate.

#### 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 Centre 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 actions

Phase 1: November 2012 – February 2013

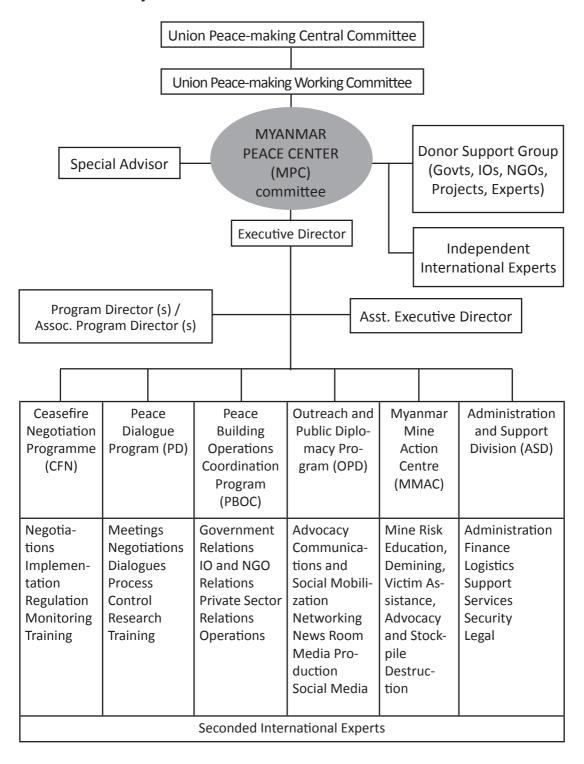
Phase 2: March 2013 to August 2014

Phase 1: November 2012 – February 2013

Specific Objective 1	Effective monitoring and implementation of ceasefire	
	agreements is ensured.	
Specific Objective 2	Consult with wide range of stakeholders to develop a plan for	
	political dialogue.	
Specific Objective 3	Peace building activities build confidence in the ceasefire	
	agreements and in the longer term political process.	
Specific Objective 4	Build widespread public understanding of the peace process.	
Myanmar Mine Action Centre (MMAC) is designed to complement efforts to achieve the		

Myanmar Mine Action Centre (MMAC) is designed to complement efforts to achieve the specific objectives, as a specialized project for humanitarian demining under the peace process.

## **Structure of the Myanmar Peace Center**



The MPC was originally reported to have opened in July, 2012 on U Wisara Road. It was actually opened on Nov.3, 2012 with a start-up fund of EUR 700,000 from the European Union (a member of the PSDG) and four houses provided by the Myanmar government. The opening ceremony was attended by the European Commission (EC) President Barroso.

The centre has been actively organizing seminars and workshops on confidence-building and peacemaking. However the MPC is officially scheduled to open in March, 2013. At that time more information about its structure and activities will be publicized.

## Progress of post-election ceasefire groups:

The information below shows the progress made for the government's ceasefire guidelines for the state and union level peace. In addition to the government's guidelines, the ethnic armed groups have also called for amnesty. These can be found in the comprehensive chart of agreed and demanded points made within and outside the peace talks.

See the Ceasefire Terms Chart in Appedix (1).

#### Ceasefires

All major active ethnic armed groups have signed ceasefires with the exception of the KIA and allies AA, ABSDF and TNLA.

#	Ethnic Armed Group	Govt. Rep	Date	State
1	UWSA/P	Aung Thaung	06/09/2011	Peace Process Stage 2
2	NDAA-ESS	Aung Thaung	07/09/2011	Peace Process Stage 2
3	DKBA-5	Aung Thaung	03/11/2011	Peace Process Stage 2
4	RCSS / SSA	Aung Min	02/12/2011	Peace Process Stage 2
5	CNF	Aung Min	06/01/2012	Peace Process Stage 2
6	KNU	Aung Min	12/01/2012	Peace Process Stage 2
7	SSPP / SSA	Aung Thaung	28/01/2012	Peace Process Stage 2
8	NMSP	Aung Min	01/02/2012	Peace Process Stage 2
9	KNU/KNLA (Peace Council)	Aung Thaung	07/02/2012	Peace Process Stage 1
10	KNPP	Aung Min	07/03/2012	Peace Process Stage 2
11	ALP/ALA = RSLP	_	05/04/2012	Peace Process Stage 1
12	NSCN-K	Col. Kyi Naing#	09/04/2012	Peace Process Stage 1
13	PNLO	Aung Min	25/08/2012	Peace Process Stage 1
X	AA		, , , , ,	combatant
x	ABSDF			combatant
x	KIA			combatant
x	MNDAA (non-			combatant
	BGF faction)			
x	TNLA			combatant
x	LDU			non-combatant
x	WNO			non-combatant
х	ZRO			non-combatant

<sup>\*</sup>Rakhine State Minister of Border Affairs, # Ministry of Border Affairs

#### Liaison offices

Manage all communication between government and ethnic armed groups.

If the liaison officer is in the central committee they will be given diplomatic protocols reflecting his/her position. The State Government shall provide necessary measures to ensure the physical security of the liaison officer. (Adapted from CNF ceasefire agreement)

Group	Liaison office location	Opening date
ALP	1. Kyauk Taw, Arakan state	3/9/12
	2. Pletwa, Chin state	unknown
CNF	1. Tedim, Chin state	25/9/12
	2. Thantlang, Chin state	29/6/12
	3. Matupi, Chin state	23/6/12
KNPP	1. Loikaw, Kayah state	25/7/12
	2. Shadaw, Kayah state	1/8/12
	3. Hpa-saung, Kayah state	27/7/12
KNU	1. Pa-an, Karen state	29/9/12
	2. Three Pagoda Pass, Karen state	15/5/12
	3. Tavoy, Taninthari Region	10/4/12
	4. Myawaddy, Karen state	18/8/12
	5. Kyauk Gyi, Bago Region	9/4/12
NMSP	1. Mawlamyaing, Mon state	26/2/12
	2. Mudon, Mon state	26/2/12
	3. Thanbyuzayat, Mon state	26/2/12
	4.Ye, Mon state	26/2/12
	5. Yaybyu, Taninthari Region	26/2/12
	6. Three Pagoda Pass, Mon state	26/2/12
	7. Kyaik Mayaw, Mon state	26/2/12
	8. Zin Kyeik, Mon state	26/2/12
	9. Myeik, Taninthari Region	26/2/12
	10. Myawaddy, Karen state	unknown

Group	Liaison office location	Opening date
PNLO	1. Taung Gyi, Shan state	22/1/13
	2. Maukmai, Shan state	unknown
	3. Hsihseng, Shan state	unknown
	4. Thaton, Mon state	unknown
RCSS/SSA	1. Taung Gyi, Shan state	22/2/12
	2. Keng Tung, Shan state	22/2/12
	3. Tarchilek, Shan state	29/2/12
	4. Mong Hsat, Shan state	29/2/12
	5. Kho Lam, Shan state	21/3/12
	6. Muse, Shan state	unknown
SSPP/SSA	1. Lashio, Shan state	opened
	2. Taung Gyi, Shan state	opened
	3. Kho Lam, Shan state	opened
	4. Muse, Shan state	unknown
UWSA	Tangyang & Lashio, Shan state	reopened
NDAA	Yangon, Taunggyi, Kengtung, Tachilek, and Mandalay	reopened
КРС	Myawaddy, Paya Thone Sue, Kawkareik, Mawtaung and Kawthoung	reopened
DKBA-5	Myawaddy, Karen state	temporary
	Kyar-In-Seik-Gyi, Kyaikdon, Three Pagoda Pass, Myain Gyinngu	unknown
NSCN-K	Khamti, Sagaing Region	unknown

## Official delegation team for union level negotiations

Currently only 6 out of the 13 post-election ceasefire groups have an official delegation team. These include: CNF, KNU, KPC, NMSP, PNLO, RCSS/SSA

Seven ceasefire groups have not established an official delegation team for peace negotiations with the government. These include: UWSA, NDAA, SSPP/SSA, ALP, NSCN-K, DKBA-5 and KNPP

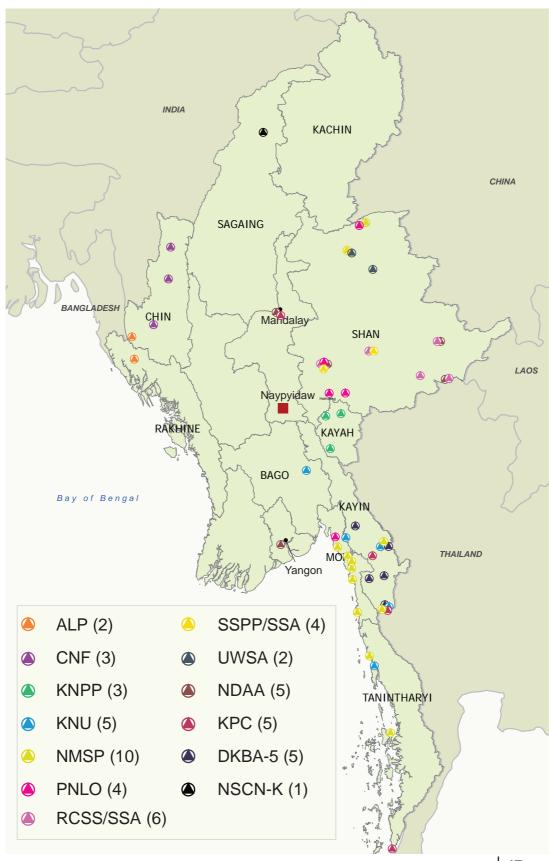
#### The 2008 constitution

None of the new ceasefire groups accept the 2008 for reasons explained above. However they accept the first 4 points: to remain forever in the Union, accept the Three National Causes: non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national sovereignty and perpetuation of national sovereignty, cooperate in economic and development tasks and eliminate narcotic drugs. The ceasefire groups do not accept points 5-8 of the Union level peace negotiation: accepting the 2008 constitution, setting up a political party to enter elections, make amendments via parliament, work towards a single armed forces (transform into a BGF). This is perhaps the biggest hindrance to the current peace process.

## Economic and development cooperation

Several parties have made major considerable headway in establishing economic and development partnerships with the government. However the KNU and NMSP have made few demands from the government so far.

CNF	Agreed: to set up a Special Economic Zone, establish an organizing committee to seek funding, allow tourists to freely travel in and out of Chin state, promote IT skills, develop a national highway, construct at least one airport			
DKBA-5	Development commitment			
KNPP	Cooperate with INGOs and NGOs on development issues, in communication with the Kayah state government			
	demanding: electricity in the whole of Kayah state.			
KPC	Demanding: border trade, regional infrastructure, exploration, trading (timber), tourism and mineral extraction			
NDAA	Agreed: INGOs can assist with development, commitment to develop tourism, education and health. cooperate to improve transportation mining and electricity.			
	Demanding: access to mining, coal, gold exploration and production, allow outside investors, researchers to assess natural resources, allow trading of 10,000 tons of teak wood and 10,000 tons of other hardwoods, control of border checkpoints and taxation, supply rice, fuel oil and money			



NMSP	Work for the stability and development of education, health and social sectors
PNLO	Coordinate with the government on agricultural projects
RCSS/SSA	Agreed to set up a special industrial zone run by the RCSS/SSA
	outside the ceasefire agreement: created the Shan Taungdan Cherry company

## Anti-drugs cooperation

The following groups have agreed to cooperate on the government's plan to curb narcotics in accordance with the Government's Order No. 17/2011:

CNF, DKBA-5, KNPP, NDAA, PNLO, SSPP/SSA, RCSS/SSA

In particular, RCSS/SSA signed a tripartite agreement between the government and UNODC to combat drug production and trade in the region. The RCSS anti-narcotics division also has an official website that covers their activities and programs. <a href="http://www.rcssantinarcotic.org/rcssanc.org/">http://www.rcssantinarcotic.org/rcssanc.org/</a>

## Setting up political parties

None of the post-elections ceasefire groups have set up political parties for upcoming elections.

During the 2010 elections, KIO's former Vice-president No. 2 Dr. Manam Tu Ja set up a political party called the Kachin State Progressive Party (KSPP), which included the NDA-K and Myitkyina-based Kachin Nationals Consultative Assembly (KNCA) - an umbrella organization for all the national Kachin politicians. However the election commission rejected their registration due to their close connections with the KIO. 14 KSPP leading members, including Dr. Tu Ja, tried to run as individuals but were rejected again by the election commission.

The political parties formed by former ceasefire groups that contested in the 2010 elections include:

- DKBA + Karen Peace Force → Kayin State Democracy and Development Party (KSDDP): 2 elected MPs U Mahn Aung Tin Myint (National Assembly) and U Chit Hlaing (State and Regional Assembly, Myawaddy (1) Kayin State)
- Pa-O National Organization (PNO): 8 elected MPs U Nay Win Tun (National Assembly),
   U Khun Maung Thaung, (Pinlaung), U Win Ko (Hsihseng), U Khun Thein Pe (Hopong)
   (People's Assembly), U Khun Aye Maung (Hopong (1)), U Khun Hla Thein, (Hsihseng (1)),

U Khun Maung Wei (Hsihseng (2)), U Khun Hla Hsan (Pinlaung (1)) State and regional assembly

- PSLF → Ta'ang (Palaung) National Party (TNP): 2 elected MPs U Tun Kyaw (National Assembly) and U Aik Mone (People's Assembly, Mantung, Shan State)
- KNU Peace Group → USDP candidate: Leader U Padoh Aung Hsan (State & Regional Assembly, Papun(2) Kayin State)

## BGF and PMF plan

The government's order to all ethnic armed groups to transform into BGF and PMF is the biggest obstacle facing the peace process. All of the post-election ceasefire groups have rejected the order that would require them to fall under the control of the Myanmar military. The UNFC proposed creating a Federal Union Army (FUA) that was formed in December 2011 and is led by Gen. Bee Htoo (KNPP).

There is not an official governmental document that defines their BGF policy. The people's militia force is mentioned in the Defense Services, Chapter 7, of the 2008 constitution. However, the wording is vague and no details about the role of the **people's militia** are provided.

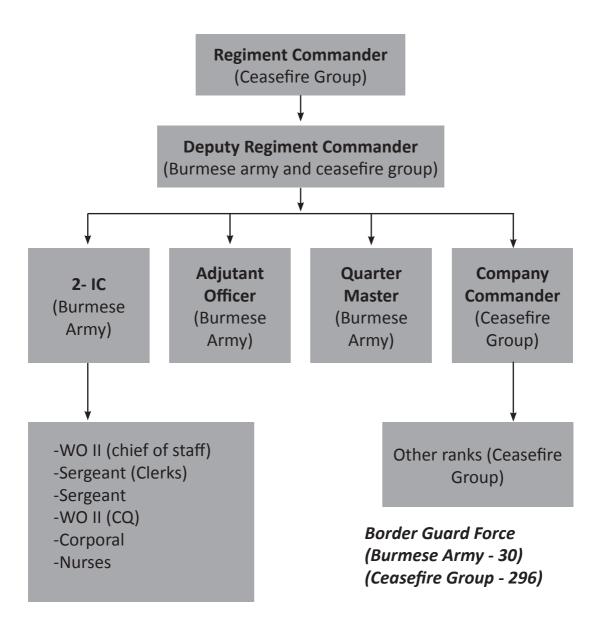
340. With the approval of the National Defence and Security Council, the Defence Services has the authority to administer the participation of the entire people in the Security and Defence of the Union. The strategy of the people's militia shall be carried out under the leadership of the Defence Services.

According to a report by the Network for Democracy and Development called "Civil and Military Administrative Echelon in Burma" (August 2011), the structure and organization of the Border Guard Force and People Military Group are detailed below:

**Border Guard Force (BGF)** is a regular military force and has a military structure like the Myanmar army. Although the battalion commander is from the ethnic armed group, the Myanmar army is in total control over the activities of the BGF and work together during military operations.

The BGF has a total of 326 personnel of which 3% are Myanmar army soldiers, including commanding officers and other rank officers. Among them, 30 soldiers from the Myanmar army including officers work together with ethnic soldiers in the battalion and take important administrative positions in the BGF.

BGF battalion commanders can promote their soldiers and are allowed to use heavy weapons like motors provided by the Myanmar army. However a BGF battalion is only allowed to patrol in their active area while a Myanmar army battalion can be deployed freely in any area. For instance, a Myanmar army battalion under LID 88 in Magwe region can be deployed in Kachin state, while a Karen BGF cannot be deployed in Kachin state.



Burmese Army	Number	Ceasefire Group	Number
-	-	Commander	Maj. 1
2nd Commander (admin)	Maj. 1	2nd commander	Maj. 1
Capt. (Adjutant)	Capt. 1	-	-
Capt. Quarter Master)	Capt. 1	-	-
-	-	Company Commander	Capt. 3
-	-	Platoon Commander	Lt. and 1st
RSM	1	-	-
WO-II (Office)	1	WO-II	4
WO-II (Quarter)	1	-	-
Sergeant (Clerk)	8	Sergeant (C.Q)	1
Sergeant	6	Sergeant	10
Corporal	9	Corporal	35
Medic	1	-	-
-	-	Lance Corporal	33
-	-	Private	198
Total	30	Total	296

<sup>\*</sup>RSM: Regiment Sergeant Major, \*WO: Warrant Officer

People Military Force (PMF), also formerly known as an anti-insurgent group is not a regular force like the Myanmar army and the BGF. It does not have a military structure or any Myanmar army soldiers. There is no official ranking system in the PMF. Nor does it have a determined number of soldiers like the BGF. For instance: each BGF battalion has 326 soldiers, but a PMF battalion may have less than 100. PMF soldiers are not required to attend military training provided by the Myanmar army, and salaries are not provided. But its activities are monitored by the Myanmar army. The PMF is also not obligated to engage in military affairs or operations fulltime, unlike the BGF and Myanmar army. Essentially, the PMF's main purpose is to assist the Myanmar army when required. This includes: collecting intelligence and guiding troops to ethnic armed groups' headquarters or camps.

PMF leaders are permitted to run their own businesses to finance military operations within its active areas. They are not allowed to patrol outside their designated areas or use heavy weapons.

So far, some of the ethnic armed groups that have transformed into a BGF or PMF include: NDA-K, KNPLF, MNDAA, Lahu Militia group, DKBA, KDA, battalions from SSA-N and SSA-S as well as other splinter groups from large ethnic armed groups. See below for a full list of BGF and PMFs.

**Border Guard Force** \*\*\*\*Each battalion of the Border Guard Forces (BGF) has 326 soldiers; this includes 18 officers and 3 commanders (one from the Myanmar military also known as Tatmadaw). BGFs are only deployed within their designated territories. Their same salaries are the same as Myanmar army soldiers.

#	BGF	Controlled area	Commander	Formed	Former Militia Group
1	No. 1001	Gant Gwan and Chi Phwe	Maj. Deltan Khaung Lum	Nov.8, 2009	NDA-K, Kachin state
2	No. 1002	Lupi, Chi Phwe and Pang Wah	Maj. Lanjaw Saung Taint	Nov.8, 2009	NDA-K
3	No. 1003	Sin Kyaing and Kan Pai Tee	Maj. Wamthe Dai Khaun	Nov.8, 2009	NDA-K
4	No.1004	Pan-tain and Loikaw	Maj. Ree Samar	Nov.8, 2009	KNPLF, Kayah state
5	No. 1005	Sop-pai and Loikaw	Maj. Se Moenel	Nov.8, 2009	KNPLF
6	No. 1006	Lauk-kai	Maj. Yang Xao Kying	Dec.4, 2009	MNDAA (Kokang army), Shan state
7	No. 1007	Ponpa-kyin and Mong Ton	Maj. Japi Kwe	Mar.30, 2010	Lahu militia group in Mong Ton and Mong Sert Township, Shan state
8	No. 1008	Mong Yu and Mong Yawng	Maj. Sai Aon	Mar.30, 2010	Combined forces of Lahu militia group in Mongkoe village and Jakuni militia group in Talay Township, Shan state
9	No. 1009	Tachilek	Maj. Sai Aung	May 18, 2010	Lahu milita group in Tachilek Township, Shan state
10	No.1010	Makman-Kengtung	Unknown	May 20, 2010	Makman militia group in Mong Pyin Township, Shan state
11	No. 1011	Pantawmi – Hlaing bwe	Unknown	Aug.18, 2010	DKBA in Hlaing bwe and Myaing-gyi-nyu area, Karen state
12	No. 1012	Kyonhtaw-Hlaing Bwe	Maj. Saw Beh	Aug.18, 2010	DKBA in Hlaingbwe and Myaing-gyi-nyu area, Karen state

#	BGF	Controlled area	Commander	Formed	Former Militia Group
13	No. 1013	Kataihte-Phapun	Maj. Saw Hla Kyaing	Aug.18, 2010	DKBA in Hlaingbwe and Myaing-gyi-nyu area, Karen state
14	No. 1014	Tanta-Oo and Pha pun	Unknown	Aug.18, 2010	DKBA in Hlaingbwe and Myaing-gyi-nyu area, Karen state
15	No. 1015	Paikyon – Hlaing bwe	Maj. Saw Win Naing Sein	Aug.20, 2010	DKBA in Paikyon area, Karen state
16	No. 1016	Dawlan – Hlaing bwe	Maj. Saw Myat Khaing	Aug.20, 2010	DKBA in Paikyon area, Karen state
17	No. 1017	Maepalae - Myawaddy	Unknown	Aug.20, 2010	DKBA in Maepalae area, Karen state
18	No. 1018	Shwe Kokko – Myawaddy	Maj. Saw Maung Win	Aug.20, 2010	DKBA in Maepalae area, Karen state
19	No. 1019	Taw-Oak and Myawaddy	Maj. Saw Lik Theint	20 Aug 2010	DKBA in Maepalae area, Karen state
20		Htiwakalay – Myawaddy	Maj. San Lin	Aug.21, 2010	DKBA in Hteehuthan area, Karen state
21	No. 1021	Hteehuthan and Kaw kareik	Maj. Saw Beelu	Aug.21, 2010	DKBA in Hteehuthan area, Karen state
22	No. 1022	Atwin-kwin-kalay and Myawaddy	Unknown	Aug.21, 2010	DKBA in Myitta-lin- myaing area, Karen state
23	No. 1023	Kyeikdon and Kya- Inn-Seik-gyi	Maj. Saw Eh Htoo	Aug.21, 2010	DKBA in Kyeikdon area, Karen state

**People's Militia Force** \*\*\*Most of the People's Militia Force has less than 100 soldiers that is controlled by the Tatmadaw.

#	Name	Controlled area	Commander	Formed	Split from
1	Lawayang militia group	Gwe-htu, Lawayang, Wine maw	Col. La San Awng Wah	Oct.16, 2009	KIO/KIA
2	Rawan militia group	Khaung Lan hpu (Puta-O)	Tan Ku Tan	Unknown	formed by Myanmar
3	Kaung-kha (1)	Kaung-kha, Kotkai	Unknown	Jan.19, 2010	Kachin Defence Army (KDA)
4	Kaung-Kha (2)	Loi-khan, Kotkai (kut khai)	Unknown	Jan.19, 2010	KDA

#	Name	Controlled area	Commander	Formed	Split from
5	Kaung-kha (3)	Hophyat, Kotkai	Unknown	Jan.19, 2010	KDA
6	Kaung-kha (4)	Loi Tauk, Kotkai	Unknown	Jan.19, 2010	KDA
7	Kaung-kha (5)	Manglin, Kotkai	Unknown	Jan.19, 2010	KDA
8	Sein-kyauk (1)	Sein-kyauk, Thipaw (Hsipaw)	-	May 10, 2010	SSPP/SSA
9	Sein-kyauk (2)	Sein-Kyauk, Thipaw	-	May 10, 2010	SSPP/SSA
10	Mong-khur	Mong-khay, Thipaw	-	May 10, 2010	SSPP/SSA
11	Kali	Kali, Kun Hein	-	May 10, 2010	SSPP/SSA
12	Want-pan	Want-pan, Laikha	-	Sept. 29, 2009	RCSS/SSA (Brigade-758)
13	Nar-pwe	Nar-pwe, Nam San	-	Sept. 29, 2009	RCSS/SSA (Brigade-758)

# **Regional People's Militia Group and Anti-insurgency Group** \*\*\*Each group is less than a 100 soldiers controlled by the Tatmadaw.

#	Name	Area/region	Leader
1	Mann-pan group	Mann-pan, Tang- yang	Sai Moon, Khun Hla (for- mer PSLF)
2	Mong-hin, Mong-ha	Tang-yang	Lao Mar
3	Naung Mo (Narkaw village group)	Tang-yang	Yar Bu Lahu area
4	Mong Kaung	Tang-yang	Police officer Saw Lu
5	Nar Kaw	Tang-yang	Police officer Lao Tar
6	Mong Yu	Muse	Unknown
7	Kyu-kok	Kyu-kok	Unknown
8	Mong-koe	Mong-koe	Naw Kham
9	Mong-Paw	Mong-koe	Gam Mai
10	Shou Haw	Mong-koe	Hla Myint
11	Lon Khan	Muse	Unknown
12	Pan-seinn	Muse	Unknown

#	Name	Area/region	Leader
13	Special Militia group	Kot-kai	Te Khun Myat elected MP in the 2010 election
14	Phong-hsai	Kot-kai	Kyi Khun Swe
15	Special Ranger militia group	Kot-kai	Unknown
16	Special militia group	Kot-kai	Police officer Zaw Aung
17	Ta-moe-nye	Kot-kai	Myint Lwin (a) Wamkawt Tar
18	Pang-say	Nam Kham	Kyaw Myint elected MP in the 2010 election
19	Lon Htan	Lauk Kai	Kokang area
20	Nam-matu	Nam-matu	Unknown
21	Mann Ton	Mann Ton	U Than Nyan (former PSLF) Palaung (Ta'ang) area

## Ethnic peace plan

All the ethnic armed groups believe that only negotiations that follow the Panglong Agreement (self-determination, federalism, ethnic equality) will resolve the ethnic conflicts. Currently there is neither a cohesive plan nor a body to represent all the ethnic armed groups and their various demands.

Several of the ethnic armed groups' main demands (excluding the government's guiding principles that were previously mentioned) are:

- 1. Amnesty/legalization of ethnic groups
- 2. International mediators, monitoring bodies, public consultation
- 3. Panglong terms and pan-ethnic dialogue
- 4. Cultural protection
- 5. Human rights and a special commission to ensure these rights are protected
- 6. Environmental protection
- 7. Resettlement/integration of refugees and soldiers

Presently the United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC) is the most active ethnic alliance. However it does not represent all of the ethnic armed groups. Several of its members are involved in the Working Group on Ethnic Coordination (WGEC), which is administered and financed by the Brussels-based Euro-Burma Office (EBO). The EBO is the main organization responsible for liaising and coordinating with the MPSI.

Both the UNFC and WGEC have called for alternatives to the government's BGF scheme. The government claims that all changes are possible through existing political platforms defined by the 2008 Constitution e.g. ethnic political parties that can contest elections and parliament.

## **UNFC**

The UNFC is the latest coalition of ethnic armed groups. The UNFC is a transformation of the former Committee for the Emergence of Federal Union (CEFU) founded in November 2010. Currently, the UNFC are advocating for talks with the government as a united ethnic front. Their demands during negotiations with the government are based on the second draft of the 2008 Federal Constitution.

Recently, the KIO claimed that they would only hold peace talks with the government through the UNFC, but on Feb. 4, 2013, only days after issuing the statement they independently met with the government's UPWC in Ruili, China.

## **Objectives:**

UNFC's objectives: establish a Federal Union (in Myanmar), form a Federal Union Army (FUA), protect ethnic areas.

Membership: 11: (originally 12 members \* Kachin National Organization (KNO) merged with the KIA)

UNFC members ( who were also in CEFU)	New UNFC members	
1. Chin National Front (CNF)	1. Lahu Democratic Union (LDU)	
2. Kachin Independence Organization (KIO)	2. National United Party of Arakan (NUPA) / Arakan National Council (ANC) - which	
3. Karen National Union (KNU)	includes the Arakan Liberation Party (ALP	
4. Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP)	3. Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO)	
5. New Mon State Party (NMSP)		
6. Shan State Progress Party (SSPP/SSA)	4. Palaung State Liberation Front (PSLF) / Ta-ang National Liberation Army (TNLA)	
	5. Wa National Organization (WNO)	
	6. KNO - merged with KIO*	

### Organizational structure:

Each member group appoints 2-4 individuals to act as representatives in the UNFC. Presently, there are 22 members that make up the UNFC Council, 10 have been elected to serve in the central executive committee.

#### **CEC members (2012-2013)**

#	Position	Name	Party
1	Chairman	Lt. Gen N'Ban La	KIO
2	Vice Chairman 1	Gen. Abel Tweed	KNPP
3	Vice Chairman 2	Saw David Thakapaw	KNU
4	General Secretary	Nai Hong Sa aka Nai Hantha	NMSP
5	Joint Secretary 1	Saw Doh Lay Muu	KNU
6	Joint Secretary 2	Khun Okker	PNLO
7	CEC member	Dr. Laja	KIO
8	CEC member	Dr. Khin Maung	NUPA/ANC
9	CEC member	Khu Oo Reh	KNPP
10	CEC member	Naw Zipporah Sein	KNU
11	CEC member	Nai Kwe Hon Mon	NMSP

**Federal Union Army:** formed in December 2011, Commander in Chief Gen. Bee Htoo (from KNPP)

#### **UNFC Six Point Plan:**

- 1. Meeting of armed and civil society organizations to lay down points to be included in the Framework for Political Dialogue
- 2. Meeting between the Union government and the armed movements' representatives to establish the Framework for Political Dialogue
- 3. Conferences of the ethnic people in state and regions
- 4. A national conference of the ethnic nationalities
- A Union conference held in the Panglong Spirit and participated by equal number of representatives from the ethnic forces, democratic forces and the government, to discuss and sign the Union Accord
- 6. A precise timeframe for the peace process

### UNFC's objection to govt peace plan:

**Points 5-8 ---** "are measures to control our armed ethnic resistance organizations and mould them into an entity as desired by the government, before any political settlement is achieved."

#### **UNFC Demands:**

UNFC has requested discussion on five main issues with the government

- 1. Planning a meeting between UNFC and the government in Japan under the moderation of The Nippon Foundation [rejected by the government, should not be done in a third country too far and expensive, should be inside the country at the MPC]
- 2. How 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 KIO and government troops
- 5. Legalize armed groups currently those that have signed new ceasefire agreements are still illegal organizations, although they are allowed to operate within government-controlled cities and towns [new demand]

## Informal agreement: (Nov.9, 2012)

- 1. Resolve political issues by political means
- 2. Government should hold political dialogue with armed groups collectively and not separately
- 3. Discuss the following topics during the upcoming formal meeting in the Myanmar Peace Center (MPC) in Yangon: framework for political dialogue, "talking points" or agenda, timeline, technical assistance and logistics

See the Comparison Chart in Appedix (2).

## **Euro Burma Office & the Working Group on Ethnic Coordination**

#### **Euro Burma Office**

**Director:** Harn Yawnghwe

The EBO has played a pivotal role in brokering peace talks between many of the ethnic armed groups and government. The organization convened a meeting of with ethnic groups involved in ceasefire negotiations with the government and hosted the monthly "Ethnic Coordination" meetings prior to the formation of the **Working Group on Ethnic Coordination (WGEC)** in June 2012. The WGEC is both logistically and administratively supported by the EBO. Several of the WGEC members overlap with the UNFC and Ethnic Nationalities Council (ENC).

#### **Working Group for Ethnic Coordination**

The WGEC aims to coordinate ongoing ceasefire negotiations and develop a common peace plan. Activities funded by the MPSI are primarily training and capacity building that are provided by INGOs of the **International Peace Support Group (IPSG)**. The EBO is currently the conduit for funds from the **Myanmar Peace Support Initiative** to the WGEC.

The WGEC was conceived at a conference attended by ethnic armed groups that took place from Feb. 26-28, 2012; 6 months after President Thein Sein issued a formal invitation for peace talks. Leaders of 17 armed groups were gathered at the meeting, 9 of which had already made positive responses to the President's call. These included 11 UNFC members and 6 UNFC observer groups RCSS/SSA, DKBA-5, KPC, non-BGF faction of the MNDAA (Peng Daxun, son of ousted leader Peng Jiasheng), KNLP and KNPLF (BGF).

The WGEC was created in June, 2012 and initially made up of representatives from ethnic armed groups and advisors from 7 states. Following the Ethnic Nationalities Conference in September, civil society organizations representatives (2 representatives each from youth, women and issue-based CBOs) were added. The WGEC meets once a month to work out a framework for upcoming political dialogue this includes: agenda, composition, mandate, structure, transitional arrangement and core principles, among others.

#### Agreement on the following terms:

- 1. the biggest challenge is to amend the 2008 constitution
- 2. trying to amend it within Parliament is out of the question
- 3. the basis for negotiations must be the 1947 Panglong Agreement through which the Union came into existence
- 4. there needs be a common set of principles and plan for all the groups involved
- popular participation and cooperation with democratic forces are necessary to achieve working solutions

#### Two resolutions:

- 1. 3 -stage peace plan (ceasefire, implementation of agreements, and political dialogue)
- 2. form a working group to develop common principles and plans for the peace process

#### **WGEC MEMBERS**

Resource Persons	CSOs	Ethnic States Representatives
<ol> <li>Khuensai Jaiyen (SHAN)</li> <li>Daw Shieley Seng (KWAT)</li> <li>Saw Tu Tu Lay (KNU)</li> <li>Salai Lian H. Sakhong (ENC)</li> <li>Col. Khun Okker (PNLO)</li> </ol>	women org. reps 1.Daw Moon Nay Li (KWAT and WLB) 2. Saw San Nyein Thu (Rakhine Women Union and WLB) youth org. reps 3. Naw Seng (SYCB - Student and Youth Congress of Burma) 4. Kya Yi Shay (Nationalities Youth Forum) issue based org. reps 5. Ko Shwe (KESAN - Karen Environmental and Social Action Network) 6. Ko Sai Sai (Burma River Network)	2. Sin Wah (Kachin)

All of WGEC's membership apart from advisers is derived from resistance and activist organizations. They do not receive salaries for their work and representatives from each group take turns in facilitating the monthly meetings. There are no permanent WGEC offices.

WGEC draft framework for political dialogue is waiting for comments and suggestions from each armed group before being proposed at the next meeting with the Union Peacemaking Work Committee (UPWC).

## Non-UNFC ceasefire groups

**UWSA, NDAA-ESS, RCSS/SSA, DKBA-5, KPC, AA, ABSDF** and **NSCN-K** are not members of the UNFC, but generally follow the same guiding principles: ethnic rights and federalism. RCSS/SSA, DKBA-5, KPC along with the KNLP, KNPLF and non-BGF faction of the MNDAA are observers of the UNFC. However an important issue raised by individual ethnic armed groups about the UNFC is that it works too slowly and is not as effective in achieving its goals as they would like.

**UWSA, NDAA, RCSS/SSA** did not join the UNFC as official members, which they see as too Western oriented. The three groups have good relations with each other and maintain regular contact.

**UWSA** already has a self-administered zone as stipulated by the 2008 Constitution, which consists of 6 townships in Shan state: Hopang, Mongmao, Pangwaing (Pangwai), Namphan (Nahpan), Metman (Markmang) and Panghsang (Pangkham). Its official name was announced

by decree on 20 August 2010. The division is set to be self-administered by the Wa people, but is administered by the UWSA aka the official Wa Special Region 2 of Shan state.

**DKBA-5** and **KPC** maintain close relationships with their former mother organization KNU and generally follow its leadership.<sup>31</sup> However, they have not joined the UNFC because they do not agree with all their principles and prefer to negotiate with the government on their own terms.

**ABSDF** and **AA** are also unofficially following UNFC policy.

## International assistance

## **Myanmar Peace Support Initiative (MPSI)**

Led by: Norway

Agreed: during a state visit by Norwegian Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Store to Myanmar in

January 2012

Funded by: Peace Donor Support Group

website: http://www.emb-norway.or.th/News and events/MPS

#### Personnel

Headed by Mr. Charles Petrie (former United Nations resident and humanitarian coordinator).

**Consultant:** Ashley South

**MPSI & PDSG Coordinating office:** The Peace Support Secretariat (Norway) run by Ingeborg Moa in Yangon until June, 2013.

#### **Co-coordinating structures**

Pilot Implementation Coordination Body

Mine Action Technical Coordination Committee

#### **Partner Armed Resistance Groups**

**Substantive interaction include:** the KNU (Kayin/Karen), NMSP (Mon), CNF (Chin) and RCSS/SSA-South (Shan).

<sup>31</sup> http://karennews.org/2012/03/knu-dkba-and-knuknla-peace-council-find-strength-in-unity.html/

Preliminary discussions: KNPP (Kayah/Karenni), SSPP/SSA-North (Shan), ALP (Rakhine/

Arakan) and DKBA (Kayin/Karen)

Information exchange: KIO (Kachin)

#### **Background:**

The Myanmar Peace Support Initiative is a Norwegian-led international initiative to support the ceasefires in Myanmar by providing humanitarian and development assistance. In parallel with the continued political efforts, it provides communities in the ceasefire areas with the necessary assistance to recover from conflict and build the momentum for implementing peace on the ground.

Norway is not involved in the ceasefire-negotiations, or peace-negotiations. The initiative does not replace the process towards a broad political settlement with all the ethnic groups. It is instead positioned as a relatively short-term effort to support the ongoing ceasefire negotiation process. The provision of peace dividends will in turn help in building confidence and establishing a favorable environment for the separate political processes.

#### The Role of Norway in the MPSI

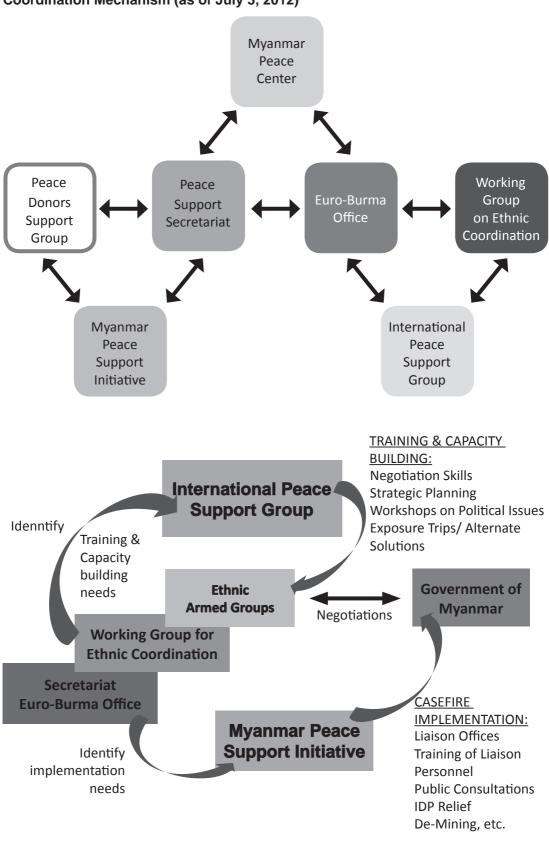
The Myanmar government has asked the Norwegian government to help facilitate and coordinate the delivery of assistance to the conflict-affected communities in the ceasefire areas where there has been minimal, or no prior access provided for aid-delivery.

The Norwegian government has also been asked to initiate a consultation process with a wide range of stakeholders, these include: potential donors, the government, non-state armed and political groups, civil society actors and communities in order to gather funds collected from various donor countries for the delivery of aid in these areas.

#### Main objectives:

- To build confidence in the ceasefire agreements amongst communities, armed groups and the Myanmar government/army
- To increase the space for aid activities in the former conflict-affected areas
- To contribute to positive interaction between the various actors on the ground
- To support increased capacity of local communities, civil society, and government authorities

#### Coordination Mechanism (as of July 3, 2012)



The MPSI works to assist both the government and ethnic armed groups in the peace process. It supports the government's peace plan through assistance for ceasefire implementation, and supports ethnic armed groups through training and capacity building. The Euro-Burma office is the MPSI's key liaison with ethnic armed groups that make up the Working Group for Ethnic Coordination (WGEC). Meanwhile, the International Peace Support Group (IPSG) made up of INGOs involved in capacity building initiatives, supports the ethnic armed groups to negotiate a just and equitable peace.

#### Projects (as of June 20, 2012)

1. Pilot project - Kyauk Kyi: 2010 - present (humanitarian assistance)

#### KNU ceasefire

To support the transition from active conflict to ceasefire, a US\$5M pilot project in Kyaukkyi township, Bago Region, has been initiated to focus primarily on resettling an estimated 1.5 million Karen internally displaced people (IDPs), establishing liaison offices, providing farming equipment and food, and clearing land mines. In this case, the focus of interventions is to build confidence among all involved in the process, including helping civilian populations feel that peace is possible, but without changing pre-existing power relationships that could distract from the ongoing political dialogues. The approach taken is through the launching of pilot projects. This pilot project is being implemented in the KNU-controlled eastern part of the state and based on a needs assessment undertaken by the KNU-affiliated IDPs assistance group CIDKP (Committee of Internally Displaced Karen People), and an initial non-technical survey of landmines in the target area by the NPA (Norwegian People's Aid).

--- in October 2012 there were rumors that the MPSI was going to suspend their projects in Karen state until the KNU resolved internal divisions. However, the Norwegian Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Kjetil Elsebutangen confirmed that they would continue their projects but not initiate any new activities in KNU controlled areas during that time.<sup>32</sup>

2. Support joint government and armed group activities (strengthening peace dialogue)

#### e.g. CNF ceasefire

The MPSI is being asked to facilitate a joint Government-CNF assessment of needs, as well as cooperation with traditional mediators (mostly religious leaders) to establish a local ceasefire monitoring network

3. Support the rehabilitation of infrastructure and services (development assistance)

e.g. The NMSP ceasefire broke down in 2010 (signed in 1995). Although there wasn't an outbreak of renewed armed conflict because the area was underdeveloped the situation

<sup>32</sup> http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/16264

created mass instability for the civilian population resulting in human rights violations instigated by the Myanmar army.

This project aims to create confidence in the peace process through support to the rehabilitation of infrastructure and services (peace dividends). In terms of services, a key need is support for education, which in turn raises the issue of national identity and the place of ethnic languages in schools. A community-owned needs assessment was planned in Mon state for June.

#### **Upcoming projects:**

- A second pilot is being discussed with the KNU.
- In Chin state, it is expected that a joint Government-CNF assessment will identify key infrastructure rehabilitation needs (such as roads and markets) to bring remote areas out of their geographic and economic isolation.
- The NMSP is in the final stages of preparing a request of support for education. It is likely that a community-based pilot project will also be implemented in Mon state.
- Support to the RCSS/SSA peace process is likely to consist of a community-based needs assessment, and related agriculture and livelihood projects. Supporting opium substitution and alternative livelihoods projects have also been discussed.

#### Controversies

The initiative has proved controversial with Thailand-based organizations, particularly given the Norwegian government's decision to cut funding to border-based NGOs in early 2012. In an attempt to allay some of these concerns, Mr. Larsen visited Chiang Mai on May 30, 2012 to discuss the initiative with some of the organizations.

#### Issues raised:

- Lack of transparency of a process they say has systematically excluded them
- Suspicions over Norway's economic motives and its "neo-liberal agenda"
- Fear it could coerce rebels into joining the government under the 2008 constitution
- Doubts over the speed of the project
- Concerns that it risks derailing, rather than consolidating the fragile peace processes
  in Myanmar's ethnic regions because the initiative prioritizes economic development
  ahead of political dialogue, it conceptualizes aid as a strategic tool to simultaneously
  "test and build confidence" in the nascent peace processes though ostensibly without
  supplanting political resolution

Karen Community Based Organizations issued a statement that claims the fund lacks transparency and community support. It called on the MPSI to:

- 1. Stop their current activities for long enough to review their process and procedures for implementation
- 2. Immediately release the fund design documents including the local languages translations, these documents should include sector targets, criteria and plans
- 3. Issue clear rationales for how each of the projects supported by the funds will contribute to conflict resolution
- 4. Develop and release project risk analysis and mitigation, and ensure that accessible monitoring and accountability mechanisms are in place
- 5. Develop and execute a robust consultation strategy both with local community members and with community-based organizations

Aug. 20, 2012: Five organizations concerned with the Karen peace process in Myanmar say they will not attend a meeting organized by Norway's MPSI because of its "flawed, nontransparent peace-fund consultation" process. They sent an open letter to Norwegian Ambassador Katja Nordgaard outlining their concerns.

#### The 5 Karen organizations:

- 1. Karen Women Organization (KWO)
- 2. Karen Environmental Social Action Network (KESAN)
- 3. Burma Partnership (BP)
- 4. Human Rights Education Institute of Burma (HREIB)
- 5. Women's League of Burma (WLB)

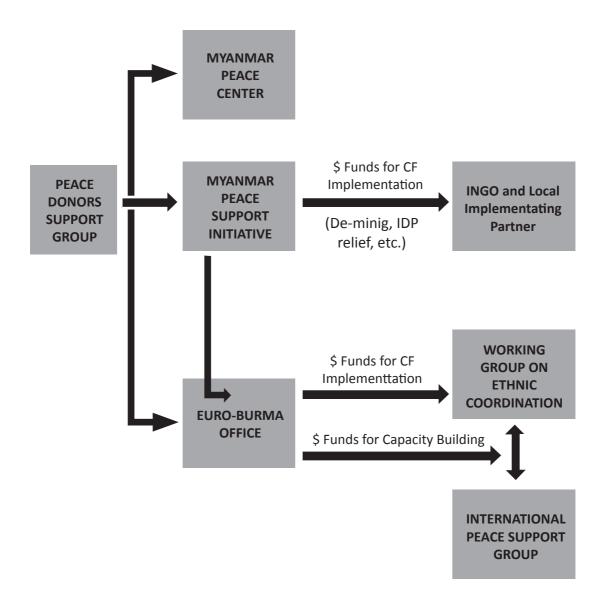
## **Peace Donor Support Group (PDSG)**

Formed: June 12, 2012

The group is part of the overall <u>Myanmar Peace Support Initiative (MPSI)</u> to provide a coordinated donor approach towards the Myanmar government. The group is led by Norway and initially includes Australia, the United Kingdom, the European Union, the United Nations and the World Bank. More countries are expected to join. A total of nearly US \$500M to support peace-building and other projects was announced on June 12, 2012.

Official press release (Burmese): <a href="http://www.president-office.gov.mm/briefing-room/daily-news/news697">http://www.president-office.gov.mm/briefing-room/daily-news/news697</a>





#	Country/Organization	Description	Amount
1	United Nations	initial contribution	US\$5M
2	Australia	Myanmar's health care services and dispatch technicians for clearing land mines	US \$5M
3	United Kingdom	aid package to "support current ongoing democratic reforms" and another \$300M over the next 3 years	US \$5M
4	European Union	technical assistance for clearing landmines and landmine education programs	3 to 4 mil- lion euros
5	The World Bank	provided cash and technical assistance in the construction of infrastructure and socio-economic improvement programs, as well as paying debts, opened a new country office in Yangon on Aug.1, 2012, will be submitting plans to its board to offer as much as \$85M million in grants for the country's development e.g. build roads, schools and other projects	eligible to borrow \$300M yearly

#### In addition:

**Norway** has provided financial support through the Euro Burma Office (EBO) (July -Dec. 2012):

#	Description	Amount
1	ethnic groups for liaison offices	€375,000
	WGEC activities - meeting, workshops, consultations	€50,000
3	IPSG-type activities	€25,000

Finland has provided financial support through the EBO (July -Dec. 2012):

#	Description	Amount
1	WGEC activities	€50,000
	IPSG-type activities - training, workshops, consultations exposure trips, etc.	€100,000

Finland has also appointed Kimmo Kiljunen as Special Representative to regional peace and mediation tasks

## **International Peace Support Group (IPSG)**

The International Peace Support Group is made up of INGOs involved in capacity building initiatives to support the ethnic armed groups negotiate for just and equitable peace. It is an informal network of 20 members that holds a coordination meeting once a month in Bangkok. These include the International Crisis Group (ICG), Center for Humanitarian dialogue (the HD Centre), Euro-Burma Office (EBO) and Fairness International.

## **Japan - Nippon Foundation**

In June of 2012, the Japanese government appointed Sasakawa Yōhei, the chairman of the Nippon Foundation as the *Ambassador for the welfare of ethnic minorities in Myanmar* to coordinate its assistance for the ethnic peace process. The Japanese foundation has been working with the UNFC on their plans for the peace process. They were also requested by the UNFC to act as a foreign mediator during negotiations with the government. The government has not responded to the UNFC's request but allowed members from the Nippon Foundation to attend several meetings as observers.

Nippon Foundation donated \$3M for humanitarian aid relief to be distributed in ethnic minority areas of Myanmar, beginning with an initial aid package of \$300,000 and the monitoring of its distribution.<sup>33</sup> U Aung Min said that the Japanese government eventually plans to provide another \$300M in support for refugee relief programs, \$60M of which will come directly from the Nippon Foundation.<sup>34</sup> The aid package was officially launched on Dec. 22, 2012 in Mon state.

#### Timeline of events:

April 24, 2012 Three UNFC Central Committee members met with the Japa Nippon Foundation and some government officials in Tokyo discuss the ongoing conflict and peace talks with the Myann government.	
June 2012	Sasakawa Yōhei was appointed as the Japanese government's goodwill ambassador for the welfare of ethnic minorities in Myanmar. During a trip to Myanmar the same month, Yōhei met with President Thein Sein and National League for Democracy (NLD) opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

<sup>33</sup> http://www.nippon.com/en/features/c01201/

<sup>34</sup> http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/3668-nippon-foundation-sends-aid-to-conflict-areas. html

Sept. 23, 2012	The Nippon Foundation signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the UNFC for the relief plan.
Oct. 6, 2012	The Nippon Foundation signed a MOU with the Myanmar government allowing them to carry out humanitarian aid relief in the ethnic areas.
Mid-October, 2012	A twenty member UNFC delegation, with representatives from 10 ethnic minority groups, worked out the details of the relief plan with the Nippon Foundation during the Conference on Emergency Humanitarian Aid to Myanmar Ethnic Groups in Tokyo. This was followed by a press conference at the Nippon Foundation's head office where they presented an outline of the plan on Oct.18.
Dec. 22, 2012	The project was launched during an official ceremony in Mon state capital Mawlamyine, during which representatives from the foundation gave emergency supplies worth \$70,000 to the New Mon State Party (NMSP). The supplies included 50 tons of rice, medical supplies for hospitals and 500 boxes of traditional herbal medicine.
Jan. 12, 2013	Nippon Foundation donated 1,200 bags of rice to Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO) peace group at Taunggyi Hotel in Taunggyi, Shan state.

## Neighboring China, India, Thailand and Bangladesh

Four of Myanmar's neighboring countries are all critical players and stakeholders in the country's ethnic politics. Sharing a porous border with the same ethnic populations living on both sides means that Myanmar's ethnic problems also affects them. The Myanmar government's policies regarding the peace process will influence the stability of the border for its neighbors. Some of these influences include: refugees/IDPs, drug trafficking and economic development.

**China:** Yunnan officials and intelligence agents maintain close, but largely informal contacts with some of the ethnic armed groups, namely the Kachin (KIO), Wa (UWSA), Kokang (MNDAA) and Mongla (NDAA-ESS). China plays a crucial role in ensuring and providing for both the livelihood and survival of these groups e.g. economic assistance, trading, provision of electricity, water and telecommunications and unofficially accepting refugees.

**Thailand:** Thailand similarly maintain close contact with border militia groups (RCSS/SSA, KNU, KNPP and NMSP) through local authorities and intelligence agents. The country also hosts a large population of refugees and migrant workers from Myanmar. Currently Thailand

is developing special economic zones, large industrial projects and roads through the ethnic areas both along the country's border and neighboring Myanmar.

**India:** India is working closely with the Myanmar government to fight against its northeast insurgent groups. The country has complained that insurgents continue to launch attacks against the Indian army from bases inside Myanmar. India is also developing better economic relations with Myanmar by opening free trade zones, building roads and investment projects like the Sittwe port in Rakhine state and Tamanthi dam in Sagaing Division.

**Bangladesh:** In comparison to Myanmar's other neighbors, Bangladesh does not maintain close ties with border militia groups. The country has accepted many Muslim Rohingyas in the past. But they closed their border during the sectarian violence between Buddhists and Muslims in Arakan state in June and October of 2012, despite UN requests to provide them refuge. Bangladesh would like to develop a special economic zone on the border but the Myanmar government have not complied with their proposal.

**ASEAN:** For the most part, ASEAN and member countries have not participated in Myanmar's peace process. The small role that the alliance have played involved information and experience sharing for peace negotiations with armed ethnic groups and addressing the ethnic crisis in Rakhine state.

Committee for Ethnic Minorities of SRV (Vietnam): The Committee for Ethnic Minorities of SRV (Vietnam) met with Myanmar's Ministry of Border Affairs in Yangon on Dec.10, 2012. During the bilateral consultation the signing of an amendment was made to the Agreement of Cooperation between Ministry of Border Affairs and the Committee for Ethnic Minorities of SRV. This was aimed at strengthening the friendship between the two countries through exchanging experiences that will lead to further cooperation in cultural, education, social affairs and economic affairs in border and rural areas.

In an event organized by Geneva-based Center for Humanitarian Dialogue, Chairman of the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) and former vice president Jusuf Kalla and a Filipino government team working on insurgency in the country's south met with Aung Min and members of the Myanmar Peacemaking Work Committee in Naypyidaw on Sept.10, 2012. The former Indonesian vice president was joined by former law and human rights minister Hamid Awaluddin, who led the government's negotiating team in the Helsinki peace talks with the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), and former Indonesian Military (TNI) Commander Gen. Endriartono Sutarto.

The Myanmar Peace Center invited ASEAN Foundation Executive Director Dr. Makarim Wibisono and Mr. Pratap Parameswaran, an official from the ASEAN Secretariat, for an informal brainstorming session on the peace process in Myanmar. Information about the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) that was launched during the ASEAN Summit in November, 2012 in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, was discussed during the meeting.

**U.S.:** The U.S. involvement in the Myanmar peace process has been largely through the issuing of statements and making recommendations to the government and some ethnic armed groups.

President Barack Obama made a historic visit to the country on Nov.19, 2012 with Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. This was the first ever trip by a U.S. president to Myanmar. During the trip Obama mentioned the importance of ending the conflict in Kachin state and solving the crisis in Rakhine state.

Hillary Clinton also sent a delegation to visit Myanmar and Bangladesh to learn first-hand about the situation in Myanmar's Rakhine State, including areas in the vicinity of the border. The delegation, led by the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs' Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary Joseph Yun and Ambassador Derek Mitchell, visited from Sept. 7-10, 2012.

US Ambassador Derek Mitchell led an 8 member delegation to visit Kachin state to visit relief camps and meet with local leaders in mid-December 2012. Mitchell discussed the possibility of providing aid to IDP camps in KIA controlled territories. He also visited Karen state to meet with key KNU leaders in Hpa-an in early January, 2013. During this time, Mitchell and Karen leaders discussed a range of issues about the current political climate, the ceasefire between the KNU and the government, and ceasefires with the other ethnic armed groups.

The U.S. has provided aid through USAID for Peace and Reconciliation.<sup>35</sup>

According to USAID's 2013 factsheet, its program covers strengthening the capacity of key leaders within ethnic and religious groups and between communities and newly formed government structures (focusing on women), landmine assistance, and humanitarian assistance. In the fiscal year of 2012, USAID and state humanitarian assistance to the country amounted to over \$30 million which were channeled through OCHA, UNICEF, WFP, UNHCR and other INGOs.

<sup>35</sup> http://transition.usaid.gov/our\_work/humanitarian\_assistance/disaster\_assistance/countries/burma/template/fs\_sr/fy2012/burma\_ce\_fs01\_09-30-2012.pdf

### **International Mediation**

UNFC has asked the Chinese government (October 2011) and Japanese government

(April 2012) to act as mediators in peace talks with the government, but both refused.

There have a number of international observers in some of the talks between ethnic armed groups and the government:

**KNPP** (state level talks) March 7, 2012: U.S. attaché Andrew Webster, Second Secretary of the British Embassy Joe Fisher, and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees representative Hans ten Feld were observers during the talks.

**KNU** April, 2012: Kristine Gould (PACRIM Research Associates), Emma Leslie (Center for Peace and Conflict Studies) and US embassy representative Craig Haltmeier.

Second talks: Sept.3, 2012: Three foreign observers were also present Ms. Meghan. Stewart, (Public International Policy Group), Emma Leslie (Center for Peace and Conflict Studies) and US embassy representative Craig Haltmeier.

**CNF** (code of conduct meeting) Dec.7, 2012: Kristine Gould (PACRIM Research Associates, USA), Mr. Yohei Sasakawa (Chairman, Nippon Foundation, Japan), Mr. Yiji Mori (Nippon Foundation, Japan), Ms. Suzuka Yoshida (Nippon Foundation, Japan), Charles Petrie (Myanmar Peace Support Initiative)

### **Business Peace Mediators**

All KIO and KNU peace talks with the government have been mediated and facilitated by prominent businessmen who have vested interests in industrial or resource extraction in Myanmar.

Kachin businessman Yup Zau Hkaung of the Jadeland Company is heading a **Peace Talk Creation Group** along with other Kachin businessmen, Lamai Gum Ja, Hkapara Khun Awng and N'Shen Hsan Awng. The group have been instrumental in brokering talks between the KIO and government. The Peace Talk Creation Group has arranged and provided financial assistance for the meetings. The group also has a 7 member official documentation team.

The **Dawei Princess Company** is involved in facilitating the peace process between the KNU and Myanmar government. U Ko Ko Maung, the company director, and U Ngwe Soe, managing director, attended all of the peace meetings between the KNU and government. The Dawei Princess Company finances, organizes and even provides travel arrangements for the government peace delegation during the peace talks with the KNU. Karen News also

reported that the company paid for the setup and operating costs of the KNU liaison office in Dawei (Tavoy) town. The Dawei Princess Company, also known as Hein Yadana Moe, is a subcontractor for the \$60B Dawei Special Economic Zone that is in part of the KNU's controlled area.

## **Community-Based and Civil Society Groups**

Activities can be categorized into three main areas:

- 1. Peace talks facilitation facilitating and mediating peace talks (e.g. Karen Peace Support team, Shalom Foundation for KIO talks),
- 2. Monitoring peace talks and ceasefire agreement monitoring both ethnic armed groups and government actions and violations relating to ceasefires and peace agreements (e.g. Mon Regions Peace Monitoring Group, Shan Women Action Network, Karenni Civic Society Network)
- **3.** Ceasefire implementation carrying out development and assistance programs, monitoring human rights, environmental issues (e.g. Committee for Internally Displaced Karen People, Karen Office for Relief and Development, Shan Relief and Development Committee)
- **4. Policy and peace advocacy** activities promoting peace: protests, rallies or prayer meetings (e.g. Women's League of Burma, White Holding Hands, Peace Network, Kachin Peace Network, Generation Wave)

It is still unclear exactly which groups are involved in what activities or their connections to various INGOs and donors. Several are involved with the MPSI such as the Norwegian People's Aid (NPA). Many have been advising both the government and ethnic armed groups on ceasefire talks as part of the IPSG. In addition to these, some are working independently with individual armed groups observing the peace talks, providing training and consultation (e.g. Center for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPCS), Swiss Peace).

At a Myanmar Peace Center meeting on Jan.27, 2013 that was hosted by Aung Min for CBOs involved in the peace process the following groups were involved:

#	Organization Name	#	Organization Name
1	Peace Network	16	White Holding Hands
2	Generation Wave	17	Karen Women Action Group
3	Women Organization Network	18	Karen Youth Network

#	Organization Name	#	Organization Name
4	Shalom Foundation	19	Former Political Prisoners Association
5	Kachin Peace Network	20	Karen Development Network
6	New Myanmar Foundation	21	Paung Ku Foundation
7	Student Christian Movement	22	Women's League of Burma
8	Community Management Center	23	Yangon Base Volunteer Youth Network
9	Mekong Peace Journey	24	Myitta Ein (Home of Love)
10	Open Network	25	Yangon Social Action Network
11	Норе	26	Shan State New Generation Forces
12	WPN	27	Loving Children Network
13	Vision of Peace	28	Sein Yaung So
14	Interfaith Youth Cooperative Action for Peace (IYCAP)	29	Karen Peace Support Team
15	Myanmar Social Development Network		

## Exile groups

The Thein Sein government has encouraged exile groups to return to Myanmar to cooperate with them in achieving peace and implementing democratic reforms in the country. Following the release of many prominent political prisoners and leaders in November, 2011 many individuals and groups that have been in exile for over 20 years were invited to return home. Some of these include:

Delegation	Organization	Arrival	Departure
Ko Taik Naing, Ko Bo Kyi	AAPP	5/1/13	unknown
Ko Han Gyi	ND-Burma	28/12/12	unknown

Delegation	Organization	Arrival	Departure
Ko Than Khe and 8 other members	ABSDF	18/12/12	3/01/13
Ko Ngwe Lin	DPNS	11/12/12	unknown
Daw Tin Tin Nyo and members	WLB	11/12/12	18/12/12
Ko Wong Aung	Shwe Gas Movement	30/11/12	3/1/13
Daw Khin Ohn Mar, Ko Nyi Nyi Aung	Burma Partnership	25/10/2012 (first trip)5/1/2013 (second trip)	23/11/2012 (first trip) unknown (second trip)
U Maung Maung	FTUB	11/9/12	14/9/12
Ko Aung Moe Zaw	DPNS	3/9/12	unknown
Moe Thee Zun and 4 others	Peace Mission in the Motherland	1/9/12	14/10/12
Dr Naing Aung, Dr Thaung Tun, U Nyo Ohn Myint	Individual	31/8/12	27/9/12
Ma Thin Thin Aung	WRWAB/WLB	2/3/12	unknown
Aung Thu Ngein, Ko Aung Na- ing Oo	Vahu (VDI)	10/2/12	unknown

### Efforts to resolve the Rakhine state crisis

### Government

The government has been actively holding discussions and workshops that they say will identify the reasons and find solutions to the crisis affecting Rakhine state. They set up an investigation commission to achieve these goals.

The government claims to be taking the necessary steps to amend the citizenship law so that those deemed eligible will be granted citizenship. However the situation in Rakhine state still remains extremely volatile. Thousands are still displaced - the majority of which are Rohingya Muslims - and the government has done little to rectify this. Nor have steps been

taken to address the rampant poverty and landlessness experienced by Rohingya Muslims and Rakhine Buddhists that existed prior to the June and October violence and arguably played a significant role in fueling the crisis. This impoverishment affects the majority of the population despite the construction of several multi-billion dollar industrial projects in the state most notably the Shwe Gas project.

#### Investigation Commission on communal strife in Rakhine State

**Formed:** Aug.17, 2012

Contact: rcic.information@gmail.com

27 members of the government-sanctioned commission, including:

- 1. Dr. Myo Myint, chairman
- 2. Dr. Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Myanmar Egress
- 3. Maung Wuntha, journalist
- 4. Zarganar, comedian
- 5. Ko Ko Gyi, 88 Generation leader
- 6. Dr. Yin Yin Nwe, retired UNICEF senior officer
- 7. Aye Thar Aung, Arakan League for Democracy (ALD)
- 8. Dr. Aye Maung, Rakhine Nationalities Development Party (RNDP)
- 9. Khun Tun Oo, Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD)
- 10. Than Than Nu, Democratic Party (Myanmar)
- 11. Khin Maung Swe, National Democratic Force (NDF)
- 12. Aung Naing Oo, Vahu Development Institute (VDI)
- 13. Tun Aung Chein, Myanmar National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)

Others members include legal experts, businesspeople and religious leaders. Presently there are no Muslims included in the commission. Haji Nyunt Maung Shein and Haji Tin Maung Than (respectively the president and secretary of the Islamic Religious Affairs Council Headquarters) were both members but were forced to resign last year for allegedly not following the principles of the commission.

**Sept. 8-15, 2012:** first tour to the affected region, visits were made to Rakhine state capital Sittwe, Kyauktaw, Rathedaung, Buthidaung, Maungdaw, Mrauk U, Ramree and Taunggoke townships.

**Sept. 17, 2012:** first press conference in Yangon, Maung Wuntha said the commission will form 8 sub-committees delegated to various tasks of the investigation, their findings will be compiled in November and then presented to the president, the commission stated they may need more time to produce an accurate report, the original Sept. 17 deadline was extended by 3 months.

**March 2013:** report expected to be released.

## **Local Community**

**Sept.25, 2012:** An estimated 3,000 people attended a two-day public forum on resolving the sectarian tensions between Arakanese Buddhists and Rohingya Muslims. The meeting took place in a Buddhist monastery in Rathedaung, 20 miles north of the Rakhine state capital Sittwe.

**Sept.18, 2012:** According to NLD party leader Aung San Suu Kyi the government should defuse the explosive situation in Rakhine state. She claimed the NLD is in no position to decide what to do, or what measures to take because they are not the party in power.

## **International Community**

The Rakhine state crisis has received immense international attention and assistance from various sources. UN humanitarian agencies and foreign aid teams have been monitoring, coordinating international aid and providing assistance for refugees resulting from the communal conflict.

Muslim countries and the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) has been especially active in trying to provide assistance to Rohingya victims. The OIC appointed the former Indonesian Vice President Jusuf Kalla as the special envoy to Myanmar to oversee matters involving the sectarian violence. On Sept.11, 2012 a memorandum was signed to open 2 OIC Offices for Humanitarian Affairs - one in Rakhine state and another in Yangon. However it was cancelled after thousands of Buddhist monks and other people protested against the opening of the offices in Mandalay, Yangon, Rakhine state and the US.

#### **Donations:**

Country	Description	Amount
Australia	administered by CARE Australia	US\$1M
EU	aid for both Rakhine and Kachin	€ 5.5M
India	Rakhine Chief Minister Hla Maung Tin for both Rakhine and Rohingya vis	US \$200,000
Indonesia	official aid Indonesian Red Cross sent a team of aid work- ers	US \$1M 500 hygiene kits, 3,000 blankets and 10,000 sarongs
Iran	members of Majlis (the Iranian Parliament), the Iranian Foreign Ministry, Imam Khomeini's Relief Committee, and the Iranian Red Cres- cent Society (Sent one shipment)	food, tents, blan- kets, and other basic commodities to be distributed to Muslims Total weight: 24 tons

Country	Description	Amount
Malaysia	Putra 1Malaysia Club, collected and transported relief supplies	aid package Total weight: 500 tons
New Zealand	for distribution to conflict areas of Rakhine state	NZ\$1M
Qatar	Qatar Red Crescent undertook relief efforts in Rakhine province with assistance provided by the Qatar government	\$ 1.5M
Saudi	Saudi King Abdullah donated money to be distributed by the UNHCR for Rohingyas the Khalifa Bin Zayed Humanitarian Foundation, under the directives of President His Highness Shaikh Khalifa Bin Zayed Al Nahyan	\$50M three ambulance vehicles and 1,300 tons of basic relief items
South Korea	for Rohingya refugees to be distributed by the UNHCR, offered more donations if needed	700 tents estimated value: US\$ 200, 000
Turkey	the prime minister's Disaster and Emergency Management Directorate, the Turkish Religious Affairs Foundation and the Kimse Yok Mu Association, a charitable foundation donated to Rohingya Muslims, Turkish Foreign Minister distributed humanitarian aid administered by the Red Crescent which consists of kitchen sets and food during a visit in August, 2012, sent relief assistance in October, 2012	60 million Turkish lira (US \$ 33 million)  Sent 30 tons of humanitarian aid, included 2,280 boxes of candy, 960 packages of instant ration, 11,000 bags of biscuits, 500 boxes of slippers, 1,000 bales of clothes, 1,000 items of stationary and 500 boxes of toys
USA	U.N. agencies in Rakhine State WFP and Save the Children	US\$ 2.73M US \$ 4.2M

## **IV. Prospects for Peace**

## Suggestions for stakeholders and key issues hindering peace:

Distrust and lack of confidence	More regard needs to be taken to resolve ongoing clashes between several of the ethnic armed groups and the government and address concerns about the excessive military power reserved in the 2008 Constitution  More transparency and effective communication is needed to overcome mistrust  In the case of military movements, clear coordination and communication is essential to prevent unintended conflicts
Escalating conflict in Kachin state	An immediate solution is needed to stop the conflict in Kachin and northern Shan states from spiraling further out of control, the situation has now become a vicious cycle in which the higher the incidences of fatalities, the more emotionally invested the opposing armies become. This is making both sides resort to revenge tactics and diverting energy from finding solutions that will bring about peace. The longer the conflict continues the harder it is to build confidence, not only between the government and combatant groups, but also those attempting to make headway in peace negotiations
No political settle- ment reached that details how power will be shared be- tween the govern- ment and ethnic armed groups	The government's peace plan expects ethnic armed groups to transform into political parties and compete in elections, thereby gaining the necessary power to make amendments to the 2008 Constitution  This does not guarantee or clearly define how the ethnic militia groups can win enough seats to make amendments when the military is reserved 25% of parliament In addition they believe that state level parliament does not have any real power  As a result, they want a guarantee of ethnic rights and more power on the state-level than currently stipulated in the 2008 Constitution
Border Guard Force/ People's Militia Force issue	An alternative plan for ethnic armed groups and the government, to coordinate and/or gradually integrate all of the various armed forces in the country

Fair and transparent distribution of resource revenue generated in ethnic states	Clear revenue sharing needs to be worked out In particular, some of the revenues from natural resources extraction and industrial projects in ethnic areas need to be reinvested to benefit the local community
Confusing and contradicting information about peace process activities	Policies and activities of ethnic armed groups, government bodies, CBOs and international agencies currently lack coherence and transparency - further complicating an already complex situation  More knowledge and clarity regarding the activities of all stakeholders is critical in forming a coordinated and effective peace process  Information about relevant activities is often not recorded in a systematic manner, making it difficult to understand and therefore plan and implement effective policies



**Recent Peace Talks** 





Ongoing Peace Process



# V. Active ethnic armed groups

Table of ethnic armed group profiles

## **Arakan Army**

ရခိုင်တပ်မတော်

#### **SUMMARY**

Founded: 2008

Headquarters: HQ (temporary) in KIA controlled areas

Operational Area: Kachin Independence Army (KIA) controlled area

Estimated strength: 500+

Leader: Col. Twan Mrat Naing (commander-in-chief)

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

The Arakan Army (AA) was founded to protect the Arakan 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.

Its 3 aims are:

- 1. self-determination for the multi-ethnic Arakanese population.
- 2. safeguard national identity and cultural heritage.
- 3. promote national dignity and Arakanese interests.

#### Peace Process

Non-ceasefire

# of clashes - Unknown

## Official delegation team

None

## **Liaison offices**

Unknown

## All Burma Students' Democratic Front

မြန်မာနိုင်ငံလုံးဆိုင်ရာကျောင်းသားများ ဒီမိုကရက်တစ် တပ်ဦး

http://www.absdf8888.org/profile/

#### **SUMMARY**

Founded: Nov.1, 1988

Headquarters: KNU controlled area

Operational Area: KIA and KNU controlled areas

Estimated strength: 600+ (about 200 in Kachin state)

Leader: U Than Khe (Chairperson)

U Myo Win (Vice-Chairperson)

U Sonny Mahindra (General Secretary)





The ABSDF is a student army that formed after the 1988 uprising. Their objective is to fight for democracy and human rights 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:

- 1. peace and national reconciliation
- 2. all inclusive dialogue
- 3. democracy, human rights, equality and self-determination of all ethnic people

### **Peace Process**

**Preliminary Peace Talks** 

## Official delegation team

Rotational

## Liaison offices

None

## **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	Militia rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	17/01/12	Mae Sot, Thailand	Vice- chairman Myo Win	Aung Thaung	ABSDF presented a 'peace talk' paper that defined their position. They accepted the government's peace offer as constructive first step and 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	09/02/12	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	09/11/12	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Chairman Than Khe, General secretary Myo Win and 4 others	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- 24/12/12	Naypyidaw and MPC Yangon	Chairman Than Khe, Secretary Sonny Mahindra and 7 others	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 with 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.

## **Developments**

#### Demands:

- 1. release all political prisoners
- 2. stop offensives in Kachin state and start political dialogue
- 3. nationwide ceasefire
- 4. build mutual trust and respect
- 5. all inclusive dialogue

Initial Agreements:

The government requested for the ABSDF to surrender their arms and set up a political party.

## **Activities with partners**

The ABSDF supported the KIA in military campaigns. (1988-96, 2011-ongoing) During the ABSDF delegation study trip in December, 2012, they met with NLD patron Tin Oo Ethnic Shan, Arakan and Mon leaders from the United Nationalities Alliance and 88 Generation Students group.

### **Statements**

January 7, 2013: War conflict in Kachin state (http://www.absdf8888.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=157:2013-01-18-05-20-07&catid=61:2012-05-29-03-48-08&Itemid=56)

January 7, 2013: Requesting Buddhist monk ( http://jinghpawkasa.blogspot.com/2013/01/blog-post\_4533.html )

January 3, 2013: Press conference in Yangon (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v= CJRa7HGeOzQ)

December 18, 2012: The first field trip to Yangon (http://www.absdf8888.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=156:2012-12-18-12-04-25&catid=61:2012-05-29-03-48-08&Itemid=56)

March 31, 2012: Postpone the Union level meeting date (http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-XrNyua64S6Y/T3b2fv122vI/AAAAAAAU1o/qvrui\_yNaJ0/s1600/000000000000000mandalay %2B%25281%2529o.jpg)

February 9, 2012: Preliminary meeting (http://www.absdf8888.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=132:2012-05-31-06-35-23&catid=61:2012-05-29-03-48-08&ltemid=56)

November 8, 2011: Ceasefire and peace process (http://www.absdf8888.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=129:2012-05-29-07-17-45&catid=61:2012-05-29-03-48-08&Itemid=56)

## **Arakan Liberation Party**

ရခိုင်ပြည် လွတ်မြောက်ရေး ပါတီ

Armed wing: Arakan Liberation Army (ALA)

Government name: Rakhine State Liberation Party (RSLP)

http://www.arakanalp.com/



### **SUMMARY**

Founded: Nov.20, 1968, 1973, 1981

Headquarters: Mobile HQ in Karen State

Operational Area: northern Rakhine and Karen states

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

Leader: U Khine Ray Khine (Chairperson)

U Khine Soe Naing Aung (Vice-chairperson)

U Khine Thu Kha (Secretary)

The Arakan Liberation Party (ALP) is advocating freedom and ethnic rights for Rakhine people in Myanmar. Their headquarters are 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.

### **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: April 5, 2012

11th resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 1: State level peace talks

## Official delegation team

Joint Secretary Khine Thukha

## **Liaison offices**

Kyauk Taw (Arakan State) 3/9/12 Paletwa (Chin State) - Pending

Requested to open liaison offices:

Sittwe

Maungdaw

Yangon

Myawaddy in Karen state

## **Meetings**

Date	Location	Militia rep	Govt Rep	Details
April 4-5, 2012	Sittwe, Rakhine	Deputy Chairman U Khaing Soe Naing Aung, and ALP Joint Secretary Khine Thukha	Rakhine State Minister of Security and Border Affairs Colonel Htein Lin	ceasefire

## **Developments**

- 1. ceasefire beginning April 6, 2012
- 2. opening of liaison offices
- 3. ALP/ALA allowed freedom of movement without arms
- 4. Rakhine State Liberation Party (RSLP) members also allowed to move freely without arms.

#### **Statements**

December 4, 2012: ALP Statement on UN third committee resolution (Burmese) http://www.arakanalp.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/ALP-Statement-on-UN-third-committee-resolution-English.pdf.pdf)

November 26, 2012: Statement of Arakan Liberation Party (Burmese) (http://www.arakanalp.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Statement-of-Arakan-Liberatin-Party-English-version.pdf)

September 27, 2012: ALP statement on the Arakanese Public Seminar (http://www.arakanalp.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/ALP-Statement-on-the-Arakanese-Public-Seminar-draft-1.pdf)

September 20, 2012: ALP statement on present illegal Bangali problems inside Arakan

(http://www.arakanalp.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/ALP-statement-on-present-illegal-bangali-problems-inside-Arakan.pdf)

June 14, 2012: Our statement (ALP statement on the crisis in Arakan state) (http://www.arakanalp.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Our-statement.pdf)

June 10, 2012: ALP statement on current infiltration and genocide by illegal immigrants

http://www.arakanalp.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/ALP\_statement\_on\_current\_infiltration\_and\_genocide\_by\_Bangali\_Muslims1.pdf)

June 5, 2012: ALP statement on Sittwe-Riot (http://www.arakanalp.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/ALP-statement-on-Sittwe-Riot.pdf)

March 10, 2012: 2nd annual CC meeting statement (http://www.arakanalp.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/2nd-annual-CC-meeting-statement.pdf)

January 23, 2012: Thank statement for peace trip (http://www.arakanalp.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Thank-statement-for-peace-trip.pdf)

December 31, 2011: ALP statement on 227th National Black Day (http://www.arakanalp.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/ALP-statement-on-227th-National-Black-Day.pdf)

## **Arakan State Army**

ရခိုင်ပြည် တပ်မတော်

Contact: aa.arakanarmy@gmail.com

http://www.facebook.com/pages/Arakan-Army/

318576794899066



#### **SUMMARY**

Founded: 2010

Headquarters: HQ in DKBA-controlled area

Operational Area: Karen state

Estimated strength: 30

Leader: Maj. Moe Hein

The Arakan State Army (ASA) was founded to protect the Arakan people, establish peace, justice, freedom and promote development. In the past, the ASA worked alongside the DKBA (Brigade-5).

#### Aims:

- 1. To gain self-determination for multi-ethnic Arkanese
- 2. To safeguard national identity and cultural heritage
- 3. To promote national dignity and related interests

### **Peace Process**

Non-ceasefire

# of clashes - None

## Official delegation team

Does not have

## **Liaison offices**

None

## **Chin National Front**

ချင်းအမျိုးသား တပ်ဦး

Armed wing: Chin National Army (CNA)



http://www.chinland.org/

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



**UNFC** member

#### **SUMMARY**

Founded: March 20, 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: Dr. Sui Khar

The CNF was formed to achieve self-determination of ethnic people in Myanmar. 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- 2012. After 2003, fighting with government troops stopped. The CNF (like most of the ethnic armed groups) oppose the 2008 Constitution.

**CEC Members:** 

Joint General Secretary Dr. Sui Khar

CNF Chairman of the fourth-term Conference Pu Zing Cung

### **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: Jan.6, 2012

11th resistance group to sign ceasefire with government

Stage 2: Union level peace talks

## Official delegation team

Chin Peace and Tranquility Committee Aug. 24-31, 2012

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

Leaders: Supreme Council Chairman Pu Za Hlei Thang and Secretary General Pu Zing Cung

## **Liaison offices**

1. Tedim 25/09/2012

2. Thantlang 29/06/2012

3. Matupi 23/06/2012

## **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	19/11/11	Mae Sai, Thailand	Dr. Sui Khar and Pu Zing Cung	Aung Min	Preliminary discussions, informal ceasefire
2	06/01/12	Hakha, Chin state	Joint Gen-Sec Dr. Sui Khar, 10-member delegation	Aung Min	State level: 9-point ceasefire agreement was 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.

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
3	07/05/12	Hakha, Chin state		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.
4	07/12/12	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. 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

## **Developments**

Ceasefire: 06/01/2012

Liaison Offices: Thanglang, Tedim and Matupi towns

Rights and Responsibilities for Liaison Offices

Both parties agreed that if the liaison officer is a central committee member of the CNF they will receive treatment that is consistent with the diplomatic protocols reflecting their position. The Chin state government shall provide necessary measures to ensure the physical security of the liaison officer. The parties accept to observe the rules defined in the ceasefire within the territorial areas that have been designated, and in accordance with the existing laws of the Chin state government

#### Panglong Agreement:

Both parties agreed in principle to points that were signed during the Panglong Agreement (Feb.12, 1947) by Bamar leader General Aung San and other ethnic groups in Panglong, Shan state.

Discussions regarding the military code of conduct for the Myanmar army and other ethnic armed groups were also discussed.

## Monitoring

- The formation of "Ceasefire Monitoring Body" consisting primarily of the Chin Peace and Tranquility Committee but also with active participation from other legal experts.
- The formation of a crisis mediating body that will arbitrate any physical violence resulting from accidental nature between the CNF and Myanmar army. It is agreed that such a mediating body shall 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.

#### Controlled areas

CNF/CNA will be temporarily based out around 5 village tracts in 2 townships. These include: Tlangpi, Dawn and Zang Tlang village tracts in Thantlang Township, and Zampi and Bukphir village tracts in Tedim Township.

Other possible bases will 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. CNF opened Camp Victoria in Thantlang Township (January, 2013). The military camp will serve as their new headquarters.

# **Military**

- · 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 Oct. 24, 2012.

### **Fconomic**

- 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)
- both parties will cooperate on development projects
- permission for INGOs and social economic organizations (both inside and outside the country) to support development initiatives that will improve the quality of life for Chin state residents
- CNF will establish committees or organizations to carry out new development initiatives in cooperation with domestic/international social economic organizations and INGOs
- the Union government will construct at least 2 airports.
  - 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 Dec.19, 2012.
- the construction of a national highway that will connect northern Tonzang Township to southern Paletwa Township
- restrictions lifted for international tourists to travel in the state
- development of information technology and computer skills
- basic services such as water, electricity, food, security, health and education to be made available to everyone
- CNF allowed to seek independent funding for implementing development projects in the state

#### Social

- the establishment of a community radio broadcast program for promoting Chin media and culture in each of the various dialects
- the Chin language will be taught in primary education schools
- open schools to promote Chin culture and music
- religious freedom
- no discrimination on the basis ethnicity, religion and gender for civil service positions

- official registration allowed for community-based organizations and Chin media e.g newspapers, journals, magazines, newsletters, radio, internet and television programs
- both parties will cooperate in the development of out of state guest houses for travelling Chins (Naypyidaw, Yangon, Mandalay, Pakhuku, Kalay, Sittwe, Seih Town).

### **Political**

- 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).
- consideration made towards the international agreements that have been acceded to by the Union government, including other international human rights moral obligations
- official recognition of Chin National Day (Feb. 20) and Chin State Day on (Feb. 3)
- 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
- both parties agreed that the Union-level Peace Working Committee (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 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)
- CNF/CNA members immune from criminal prosecution for being part of the organization (effective after the signing of this agreement)
- cooperation to uphold human rights, punish violators in accordance with the 2008 Constitution
- the formation of an independent Chin human rights committee

#### Drugs:

- 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

### **Environment:**

- 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

#### Resettlement:

 all Chin nationals who have resettled abroad will be allowed to return and assistance will be provided for issuing visas • the state immigration department will issue national identity cards for CNF/CNA members after a membership list is submitted

### **Statements**

Dec.16, 2011: CNF member Dr. Salai Andrew Ngun Cung Lian welcomed comments by former Union-level Peace Building Committee Chairman Aung Thaung "We are determined to work for peace during the tenure of this government but people need to be patient because many issues may be hard to resolve."

January 5, 2013: CNF statement on govt offensives in Kachin and Shan states (Burmese) (http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/CNF-Statement-2013.pdf)

August 31, 2012: The 5th CEC Statement

(http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/The-5th-CEC-Statement-2012.pdf)

May 19, 2012: CNF press release after 2nd peace talk (Burmese) (http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/CNF\_TO\_PUBLIC.pdf)

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

(http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Press-Release-2-2012.pdf)

January 15, 2012: CNF Press Release To The People

http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/CNF-Press-Release-To-The-People-2012.pdf)

December 16, 2011: Appeal To The Chin People

(http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Appeal-to-the-Chin-People.pdf)

December 16, 2011: Emergency-Conference-Statement (Burmese)

(http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Emergency-Conference-Statement-Burmese.pdf)

February 20, 2010: CNF statement on 52th Chin National Day (Burmese)

(http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/50-th-aniversary-of-Union-day1.pdf)

# **Democratic Karen Benevolent Army**

ဒီမိုကရေစီအကျိုးပြု ကရင်တပ်မတော်

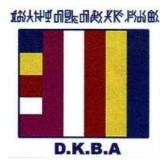
Armed wing: Klo Htoo Baw Battalion

Political wing: Klo Htoo Baw

Other names: Karen Klo-Htoo-Baw Organization (KKO)

Government name: Kaloh Htoo Baw armed group (former Democratic Karen Buddhist Army

- Brigade 5)





## **SUMMARY**

Founded: 08/11/2010

Headquarters: Sonesee Myaing, Myawaddy township, Karen State

Operational Area: Three Pagodas Pass, Hlaing Bwe and Kyar-In-Seik-Gyi townships, Manerplaw

(former KNU headquarters)

Estimated strength: 1,500+

Leader: Gen Saw Lah Pwe aka. Na Ka Mwe (Commander-in-chief)

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

Led by Gen Saw Lah Pwe, the DKBA Brigade 5 broke away from the original Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (now a BGF). During the 2010 elections Brigade 5 attacked government troops and security forces in Myawaddy, Karen state. After it renamed as Democratic Karen Benevolent Army.

## **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: Nov. 3, 2011

3rd resistance group to sign ceasefire with government

Stage 2: Union level peace talks

# Official delegation team

None

## **Liaison offices**

Hpa-an city (Opened in Nov 2011)

Myawaddy (Opened in Nov 2011)

Kyar-In-Seik-Gyi, Kyaikdon, Three Pagoda Pass, Myain Gyinngu (pending)

# **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	26/10/11	Mottama, Thaton District, Mon state	Brigadier General 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	03/11/11	Hpa-an, Karen state	Brigadier General Moo Shay	Col Aung Lwin Minister for Security and Border Affairs of Kayin state	State level meeting, 5 point ceasefire agreement signed, both sides represented by 4 member delegation
3	11/12/11	Hpa-an, Karen state	Saw Lah Pwe, 6 member delegation	Aung Thaung, 7 member delegation	Signed Union level peace agreement
4	22/01/13	Myawaddy, Karen state	Saw Lah Pwe, 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

# **Developments**

### Agreed:

- 1. Temporary settlement of Kalo Htoo Baw armed group at the environs of Sonesee-myaing
- 2. Cooperate with the government in regional development, and improvement of socioeconomic status in Sukali region under existing laws, based temporarily in Sonesee Myaing region
- 3. Settlement of members of Kalo Htoo Baw group and their families
- 4. Fight against narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.
  - declared Myawaddy district as a drug-free zone on May 20, 2012

## **Clashes**

Feb. 19, 2012: A joint force of Myanmar army and border guard force (BGF) troops raided a DKBA military base. They allegedly seized a cache of weapons including AK-47s, AR-15 rifles and RPGs belonging to DKBA. (DKBA: 3 killed, 2 injured)

### **Statements**

23/02/2012: DKBA threatened to void its cease-fire agreement with the government unless its arms are returned by the BGF that was responsible for the weapons seizure on Feb. 12, 2012.

27/12/2012 DKBA spokesperson Maj. San Aung said there will be no peace unless the military stops launching offensive attacks against KIO.

15/12/2012 DKBA staged a protest in Myawaddy while bearing arms call on the government to apologize for their actions against Buddhist monks during the Letpandaung crackdown and to stop the offensive in Kachin state.

04/01/2013 DKBA issue a statement condemning government offensives in Kachin and northern Shan states

(1) All ethnic people in Myanmar are our relation, the current government attacks to KIA, as like attach to us. We strongly object the launch an offensive to KIA. (2) Due to launch an offensive on KIA, we DKBA, and other Organizations and all civil have reduced trust on Government. if government continues to attack the KIA, Government will lose all recent ceasefire agreements.

(http://phophtaw.blogspot.com/2013/01/kia-dkba.html)

23/02/2012 DKBA threatened to end ceasefire agreement with the Myanmar government unless weapons seized by the BGF are returned.

# **Partnership**

The DKBA is working towards establishing closer relationships with the KNU and the KNU/KNLA Peace Council. The Karen groups met on March 6, 2012 to discuss rebuilding trust to strengthen the struggle for the Karen cause in accordance with the principles of Karen Martyr and revolutionary leader Saw Ba Oo Gyi. http://karennews.org/2012/03/knu-dkba-and-knuknla-peace-council-find-strength-in-unity.html/

# **Kachin Independence Organisation**

ကချင်ပြည် လွတ်လပ်ရေး အဖွဲ့

Armed wing: Kachin Independence Army

Government name: Kachin State Special Region-2



UNFC member,

Allies Arakan Army, All Burma Students Democratic Front



Founded: Feb.5, 1961

Headquarters: Laiza, Kachin state

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

Estimated strength: 7,000 to 10,000 (excluding the KIO's MHH and MKM civilian militia

forces)

Leader: Lanyaw Zawng Hra (Chairman), N'Ban La (Vice-Chairman), Gouri Zau Seng (Vice-Chairman), Gen. Gam Shawng (Commander-in-Chief), Gen. Gum Maw (Deputy Commander-in-Chief), Dr. La Ja (General Secretary), Sin Wa (deputy GS 1), U La Nan (deputy GS 2/Spokesperson)

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 - the water reservoir would of flooded 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 didn't unravel until government troops attacked the KIO's Sang Gang outpost on June 9, 2011.

#### **CEC** members:

Chairman: Lanyaw Zawng Hra

Vice-Chairman 1: N'Ban La

Vice-Chairman 2: Gouri Zau Seng





Vice-Chairman 3: Gen. Gam Shawng (C-in-C)

General Secretary: Dr. La Ja

Deputy General Secretary 1: Sin Wa

Deputy General Secretary 2: La Nan (Spokesperson)

Commander-in-chief: Gen. Gam Shawng

Deputy Commander-in-chief: Gen Gum Maw

### **Peace Process**

**Preliminary Peace Talks** 

non-ceasefire

# clashes since June 9, 2011: unknown

previous ceasefire Feb. 24,1994

# Official delegation team

Rotational

## Liaison offices

Previously: 22 liaison offices in Kachin and Shan states under the 1994: Myitkyina and Bhamo

All Liaison offices were ordered to close in November 2010,

## **KIO Justice and Negotiation center**

Located: Prang Ngawn village, Loijay Township, Kachin State, Myanmar

Function: archive for publically available records and minutes of peace talk meetings, may be used to host upcoming negotiations between KIO and govt, open to the public who can make suggestions and share views

## **Peace Creation Group**

Website: http://peace-talkcreationgroup.com/

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/PeaceTalkCreationGroup

Email: welcometopcg@gmail.com



The Peace Creation Group is made up of Kachin businessmen who have been assisting peace talks between the KIO and government. They have been mediating with both sides for scheduling and other arrangements. They also sometimes provide financial assistance for meetings.

## Membership includes:

Yup Zaw Hkaung of Jadeland company

Lamai Gum Ja

Hkapara Khun Awng

N'Shen Hsan Awng.

The group also has a 7 member official documentation team.

# **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	17/06/11	Laiza, Kachin		4 leaders of the Kachin National Consultative Assembly (KNCA)	The government offered a verbal ceasefire with the KIO. The KIO told them they must first agree to recognize their political rights before any discussion regarding a ceasefire could commence. A document was prepared and sent to Myanmar high ranking state officials and military leaders. However they would not sign it. They told the KIO that must discuss these details in a meeting. The KIO told them they will not accept any proposal for a political dialogue inside the country. It must take place in a third country under the aegis of foreign mediators. The KIO's request was refused.  KNCA reps: Tsum Hpawng Sin Wa, Labang Gam Awng, Ding Yau Zau In sent by U Thein Zaw (MP and former military general)

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
2	01/08/11	Laja Yang village, Kachin state	Gum Maw, La Nan	Col. Than Aung	The KIO demanded that the government negotiate a nationwide ceasefire with all ethnic armed groups. The government wanted them to sign a ceasefire.  No agreement was reached but both sides agreed to continue meeting for further discussions.
3	01/11/11	Ruili, China	Sumlut Gam	Aung Min	The government continued to try to convince the KIO to sign a ceasefire but they refused. Discussions lasted two hours.
4	19/11/11	Mae Sai, Thailand	N'Ban La	Aung Min	Informal meeting Individual participants included: Nay Win Maung; Myanmar Egress, Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing and Tin Maung Than; Burmese academics, Harn Yawngwe; executive director of the Brussels-based Euro-Burma Office.
5	29/11/11	Ruili, China	Lanyaw Zawng Hkra	Aung Min	Full scale delegation level talks. No agreement was reached. Other KIO reps: Col. Lahpai Zau Raw, Lt-Col. Lazing Ji Nawng, Lt- Col. Maran Zau Tawng, Sumlut Gam and Lama Gum Hpan
6	18/01/12	Ruili, China	La Nan	Aung Thaung	No agreement was reached. KIO complained that the Myanmar military was attacking their frontline position while talks were going on
7	08/03/12	Ruili, China	Sumlut Gam		3 day meeting  No agreement reached but a joint statement was signed that tentatively agreed on five points. Some of which included: continue political dialogue, building trust, a drawdown in troop levels, coordination of military activities in the conflict zone.

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
8	12/03/12	Ruili, China	Gun Maw	Aung Thaung	No agreement reached
9	21/05/12	Chiang Rai, Thailand	Gun Maw	Aung Min	Informal meeting
10	20/06/12	Mai Jai Yang, Kachin	Gun Maw	Aung Min	Agreed to aim toward more meaningful talks in the next round, including 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	30/10/12	Ruili, China	Sumlut Gam	Aung Min	Agreement was reached to continue talks and proceed with further political dialogue.
12	04/02/13	Ruili, China	Sumlut Gam	Aung Min	Release joint statement to continue peace talks. Chinese govt officials were present.

# Rejected meeting invitations:

01/06/2011 KIO's demand for political dialogue and withdrawal of the army from locations close to the areas under control of the KIA as a precondition to further talks were turned down by the government delegation.

09/07/2012 KIA refused to attend scheduled meeting in Bhamo because of an army offensive launched during the weekend near Laiza. The Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Gen. Soe Win was also scheduled to attend the talks.

25/08/2012 KIO rejected an invitation from the government to hold peace talks in Naypyidaw saying it would be "impossible" to meet in the country's capital while its own headquarters remains under siege.

15/04/2012 Rejection of 4th meeting in Myitkyina. Spokesman La Nang said the KIO could not meet in Myitkyina at this time because the government has escalated its military activities in the area, reinforced troops near KIO headquarters in Laiza, and appeared to be preparing for an assault on KIO outposts.

## **Developments**

The KIO agreed to continue talks with the government through the UNFC at a venue outside of government controlled areas of Myanmar (Jan. 22, 2013).

They want a formal "political dialogue" but will not take part in 'ceasefire talks". They are advocating for a pushing for an all-inclusive ethnic conference similar that follows the 1947 Panglong agreement. A wide range of ethnic issues and political problems could be discussed with the government, including the release of prisoners on both sides and the rebuilding of villages affected by the long-running war among ethnic groups

It was reported in June, 2012 that the government decided to drop Article 17/1 outlawing the KIO. However both the army and police officials continue to arrest people under 17/1 and those already charged were never released.

The KIO and Kachin peace brokers close to the Myanmar government opened a "justice and negotiation center" in Prang Ngawn, a village in Loijay Township. The center is supposed to be used for future negotiations and will store all records about the peace talks. It will also be place where "anyone can come and give advice" about the peace process (18/09/2012). The center has not yet been be used for peace talks.

## **Clashes**

2,400 clashes (according to KIO) 1095 clashes (according to government)

- At least 700 KIA soldiers are reported to have died since October, 2012 (anonymous source close to govt) It is believed that many died after the government launched a large scale offensive on KIO positions near Laiza in December 2012. Unofficial KIO estimates of the government death toll ranges from 5,000 -10,000 (anonymous source close to KIO)
- 35 govt soldiers killed, 190 injured (according to govt figures)
- Over 100,000 IDPs from Kachin and northern Shan states (various public sources)
- 56 attacks on railroad tracks from Mandalay to Myitkyina, 15 attacks on Myitkyina-Sumprabum road, 42 times attacks on Myitkyina-Bhamo road (govt source)
- attacks on infrastructures such as communication towers, 1 electric power grid, 1 power plant (govt source)

# **Partnerships**

The 88 Generation Students Group leaders held a meeting with high-ranking officials from the KIO/KIA in Laiza, Kachin state. (06/01/2013)

International observers

Harn Yawnghwe of the Euro Burma office and representatives of the Switzerland-based Center for Humanitarian Dialogue have attended some of the talks as observers.

### **Statements**

- demanded that the agreement be signed in the presence of an international organization;
   called on Japan to act as an international mediator in peace talks with the government (27/4/12)
- the government and ethnic Kachin rebels are blaming each other for fighting in northern Myanmar, the government is denying it carried out air attacks on rebel-held territory
- the Myanmar public has a right to know how many soldiers have been killed during the Kachin conflict, the war is taking up large amounts of the national budget, it could be spent on far better things like healthcare and education (24/09/2012)
- the KIO urged U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon to intervene in the Kachin conflict and do more to provide humanitarian aid to an estimated 75,000 internally displaced persons (26/09/2011, 01/05/2012, 15/05/2012), they also called on all stakeholders and the international community to help find a solution
- called to stop offensives (16/09/2012, 28/02/2012)
- claims that the government's peace process is just a show for the government as they continue to reinforce troops (03/11/2011)
- a KIO official said that the failure of talks was because Myanmar government ministers did not accept that fighting between the two sides is a political issue. (06/12/2011, 19/04/2012)

January 20, 2013 KIO's statement on armed conflicts in Kachin state

http://myitkyina.blog.com/2013/02/01/%E1%80%BDstatement/

January 19, 2013: KIO reply to the President's office statement saying Burmese stop the conflict in Kachin state

http://jinghpawkasa.blogspot.com/2013/01/blog-post 5920.html)

December 24, 2012: KIO object Myanmar Northern military command commander Brig. Gen Tun Tung Naing's warning letter

http://jinghpawkasa.blogspot.com/2012/12/blog-post 25.html

# **Karenni National Progressive Party**

ကရင်နီ အမျိုးသား တိုးတက်ရေးပါတီ

Armed wing: Karenni Army

Government name: KNPP



**UNFC** member



## **SUMMARY**

Founded: 1957

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

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

township)

Estimated strength: 600+

Leader: Vice Chairman Abel Twee

The conflict between the KNPP's armed wing the Karenni army and Myanmar military has resulted in thousands of civilians being displaced from their homes. Many of whom have sought shelter in Thai refugee camps. After the protracted civil continued over 3 decades some lost hope of ever returning to their homeland and have already resettled to third countries.

### **CEC** members:

Vice-chairman: Abel Twee

Secretary 1: Khu Oo Reh,

Secretary 2: Aung San Myint

Commander-in-Chief: Gen. Bee Htoo

Deputy Commander-in-Chief: Gen. Aung Myat

### Members:

Khu Hte Bu

- Khu Daniel

- Khu Shar Reh

- Shwe Myo That

Day Day Paw

## **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: March 7, 2012

10th resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 2: Union level peace talks

# Official delegation team

Rotational

# **Liaison offices**

1. Loikaw 25/07/2012

2. Shadaw 01/08/2012

3. Hpa-saung 27/07/2012

4. Pa-an (concerned with addressing health issues) 29/09/2012

# **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	Ethnic armed group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	19/11/11	Chiang Rai, Thailand	Gen. Bee Htoo, Khu Oo Reh	Aung Min	An informal preliminary meeting for arrangements to meet again in Kayah state capital Loikaw for further discussions.  Mediators: Nay Win Maung, Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Tin Maung Than, Harn Yawngwe
2	01/12/11	Chiang Mai	Khu Oo Reh	Aung Min	Preliminary peace agreements discussed.
3	01/02/12	Loikaw	Khu Oo Reh	Aung Min	Discussions about opening liaison offices, freedom of movement for KNPP members and rehabilitating displaced civilians.

#	Date	Location	Ethnic armed group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
4	07/03/12	Loikaw, Kayah	Khu Oo Reh	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	21/04/12	Mae Hong Son, Thailand	Vice- chairman Abel Twee, Khu Oo Reh	Aung Min	Preparatory meeting for Union level talks
6	09/06/12	Loikaw city, Kayah	Khu Oo Reh	Aung Min	Union level 14 point ceasefire  Unable to come to an agreement on military affairs  KNPP participants: Commander-in-Chief Bee Htoo, Colonel Phone Naing, Khu Hte Bu and U Aung San Myint.  Government participants: Aung Min (railway minister), U Than Htay (energy minister), U Khin Maung Soe (electricity minister), U Tun Tun Oo (union level deputy chief of lawyer), Gen. Zaw Win (border affairs development), U Khin Maung Oo (prime minister of Kayah state), Brig. Gen. Soe Htut (Shan east command), Brig. Gen. Win Myint (regional military command - Loikaw), Lt. Col. Win Tun Lin (G1 -military)

#	Date	Location	Ethnic armed group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
7	10/11/12	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Abel Twe	Aung Min	Union level  Informal discussions in preparation for upcoming 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

## **Developments**

Agreed points:

State level

- 1) Cease-fire
- 2) Open liaison offices
- 3) To officially form the representative teams leading up to Union-Level peace talks, coordinate date, time and place for meetings

### **Union Level:**

- 1. To discuss the demarcation of controlled territories, define military camp locations and movement
- 2. Follow terms in the Panglong agreement
- 3. To hold talks with all ethnic ceasefire groups, organizations and political parties
- 4. Formation of a local monitoring group made up of approved members representing both sides
- 5. Formation of observer group made up of approved members representing both sides
- 6. Agree to stop fighting in all areas of Kayah state
- 7. Cooperate with INGOs and NGOs on health, education and social development, communicate with the Kayah state government
- 8. Kayah state government will form an observer group to survey public opinion about construction of a govt military training school
- 9. Release all KNPP members and affiliates

- 10. KNPP will cooperate with the government's Human Rights Commission, both sides agree to form a locally based human rights monitoring group
- 11. Cooperate with State and Union government to eradicate drug production and implement drug rehabilitation
- 12. Both sides will discuss the systematic resettlement of IDPs; the government will assist in the resettlement of KNPP families providing support for business ventures

In March, 2012 the KNPP submitted a 20 point position paper for consideration from the Union government's. They agreed in principle to 14 of these points in May; the remaining contentious issues related to demarcation and separation of troops, and large scale development projects. A KNPP statement that said the political party would focus on improving living standards for its constituents as opposed to business opportunities was well received.

### **Ongoing issues:**

- 1. Salween Dam (Ywa Thit hydro-electric dam)
- 2. Withdrawal of government's forces from Kayah state
- 3. KNPP demands to transform a military training center into a social center
- 4. CBOs will form an observer group for careful monitoring of large development projects in the state

## **Ongoing clashes**

June 27, 2012: Fighting broke out between government troops and the KNPP near Mawchi area, highlighting the need for both parties to focus on resolving military conflicts in upcoming peace talks.

http://www.bnionline.net/index.php/news/kantarawaddy/13840-karenni-peace-talks-must-include-two-key-points-to-preserve-ceasefire.html

Fourteen Myanmar army battalions are permanently based in Kayah State. In addition. there are 6 roving battalions from neighboring Shan state, plus 1 special battalion that provides security for Ywa-thit dam. With the cessation of hostilities, government soldiers are frequenting villages near their bases much more. Security regulations previously required off-duty soldiers to remain in the barracks between 4 - 9 am, but many communities have reported soldiers are now staying in villages well into the night. This interaction might help build trust, but the increased troop presence is also increasing anxieties. (TBC 2012)

## **Statements**

March 3, 2012: KNPP Statement-on Ceasefire Talks http://www.burmapartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/KNPP-Statement-onCFTalks\_Page\_1-733x1024.jpg

July 31, 2011: statement-on-DASSK-call http://www.burmapartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/Page-1-from-Statement-onDASSKCall-1.jpg

01/06/2012 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.

http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/5810

31/07/2011 KNPP demanded that the govt hold dialogue for national reconciliation, resolving the conflict and a ceasefire with all ethnic armed groups.

http://www.burmapartnership.org/2011/07/statement-on-daw-suus-call/

# **Partnerships**

KNPP, KNLP, KNPLF (cooperation on health programs)

Leaders of 88-Generation Student Group and KNPP will cooperate to create a genuine Union' in which all ethnic nationalities will have the power to create their own destinies. An 88-Generation delegation led by student leader Mya Aye met with a KNPP delegation at the KNPP liaison office in Loikaw, Kayah state to discuss the current political climate in Myanmar (11/9/12). A six-point joint statement was issued that called for genuine peace talks and urged the government to stop all fighting in Kachin state as soon as possible. The two groups will cooperate with all the groups that support democracy.

Derek Mitchell, US ambassador to Myanmar, and Jerry White, deputy assistant secretary for Partnerships and Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations met with a KNPP delegation in Loikaw to discuss the development of the peace process between the government and KNPP. The ambassador said the US will provide humanitarian assistance. They also discussed removing landmines in the state. (26/10/2012)

## **Business concessions:**

Since September, 2010 KNPP started the Kayah Land company (lead exploration) and Tamaw Htar (import/export of teak wood).

# **Karen National Union**

ကရင် အမျိုးသား အစည်းအရုံး

Government name: Kayin National Union (KNU)



Armed wing: Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA)







http://www.karennationalunion.net/



**UNFC** member

## **SUMMARY**

Founded: 1947

Headquarters: Mobile HQ

Operational Area: Than Taung, Taungoo, Nyaung Lay Bin, Hlaing Bwe, Hpa-an, Hpa-pun,

Kawkareik, Kyar-Inn Seik Gyi, Kyeik-don, 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 Defense 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

General Secretary: Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win

Secretary-1: Padoh Saw Thawthi Bwe

Secretary-2: Padoh Mahn Mahn Mahn

Defense department: Maj. Saw Roger Khin

Commander-in-chief: Brig. Gen. Saw Johnny

Deputy Commander-in-chief: Brig. Gen. 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 Kawkasar Saw Nay Soe, Transportation Department

Padoh Saw Eh K'lu 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 Watery Department

Padoh Saw Roger Khin, Defense Department

Padoh Saw Kae Le, Mining Department

Padoh Saw Eh K'lu Say, Justice Department

Padoh Saw David Thakabaw, Alliance Affair Department

Padoh Saw Aung Win Shwe, Foreign Affair Department

Padoh Saw Ah Toe, Interior and Religion Department

Padoh Saw Khay Hsur, Finance Department and

Padoh Saw Dot Lay Mu, Agriculture Department

## **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: Jan.12, 2012

6th resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 2: Union level peace talks

## Official delegation team

November, 2011

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: Brig. Gen. Saw Johnny

Defense Dept chief: Maj. Saw Roger Khin

## Liaison offices

1. Pa-an 29/09/2012

2. Three Pagoda Pass 15/05/2012

3. Tavoy/Dawei 10/04/2012

4. Myawaddy 18/08/2012

5. Kyauk Gyi 09/04/2012

## **Karen Peace Support Team**

April 8, 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 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

# **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	30/09/11	Mae Sot, Thailand		Col Aung Lwin, minister border affairs	Preliminary meeting: KNU leaders told the government delegation that they didn't 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 Boe Ni.

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
2	19/11/11	Mae Sai, Thailand		Aung Min	Informal ceasefire agreement: Mediators included: Nay Win Maung, Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing and Tin Maung Than, Harn Yawngwe.
3	21/12/11	Mae Sot, Thailand	David Thakapaw	Aung Min	Preliminary meeting: Talks centered on rules and agreements that affect armed troops.  Other Karen delegates included: KNU military chief General Mutu Saypo, Pado David Htaw, Pado Ah toe, Hpaan District chairman Saw Aung Maw Aye, Saw Roger Khin of the KNU health department and KNU central committee member Saw Thawthikho.
					Mediators included: Dr. Nay Win Maung and Hla Maung Shwe.
4	12/01/12	Hpa-an, Kayin	Mutu Say Poe	Aung Min	State level 11 point ceasefire
5	05/04/12	Hpa-an, Kayin	Zipporah Sein	Aung Min	Cease-fire monitoring rules and liaison offices were discussed.
6	07/04/12	Yangon	Zipporah Sein	Aung Min	Union level 13 point ceasefire
7	09/04/12	Naypyidaw	Zipporah Sein	President Thein Sein	Goodwill visit
8	10/04/12	Hpa-an, Kayin	Zipporah Sein	Aung Min	Discussions on maintaining the ceasefire and the opening of liaison offices took place. 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 General Staff General Saw Mutu Say Poe.  Govt delegates included: U Khin Yi from the Union level Peacemaking group, Kayin State Chief Minister U Zaw Min, state ministers and other officials.

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
9	26/06/12	Mae Sot, Thailand	Zipporah Sein	Aung Min	Discussions centered on liaison offices that could serve for improving communication and negotiations between the KNU and govt. The KNU believed this could help maintain the ceasefire and work out problems resulting from ongoing land confiscation by the Myanmar military.
10	06/08/12	Myawaddy, Thailand	Zipporah Sein	Aung Min	Agreement to hold a 3 day meeting on Aug. 27 in Hpa-an to discuss "ceasefire code of conduct" and the withdrawal of government troops.  Karen reps. included: Padoh Saw Thawthi Bwe, Naw May Oo and Saw Aung Win Shwe.  Govt reps included: Immigration Minister Khin Ye, Soe Thein and the Karen State Minister Zaw Min.  Mediators: Dr. Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Hla Maung Shwe, Tin Maung Than from Myanmar Egress Company, Ngwe Soe, Ko Ko Maung and spouse Ma Su from the Dawei Princess Company.
11	03/09/12	Hpa-an, Kayin	Zipporah Sein	Aung Min	34 point Code of Conduct agreement (in principle).  Govt reps included.: Immigration Minister Khin Ye, Soe Thein and Karen state Minister Zaw Min  Mediators included: Four domestic and three foreign, Hla Maung Shwe.

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
12	05- 06/01/13	Naypyidaw	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.

## **Developments**

### Agreed points:

### Pan-ethnic dialogue

 to establish nationwide ceasefire - establishing a ceasefire especially in the ethnic nationality regions

### Monitoring

- to start the necessary arrangements for monitoring, analyzing and rectifying the peace process
  - The Karen Baptist Convention (Burma) has 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)

### Political:

- · to guarantee life, security and freedom from fear
- to develop the state to build confidence amongst the Karen
- to stop forced labour, arbitrary taxation and extortion of villagers
- to release political prisoners and resolve rehabilitation and land problems for civilians
  - 19/03/2012 Myanmar pardoned Nyein Maung, a member of the Karen National Union (KNU) central committee

#### Resettlement:

- national registration cards
  - started

### Military

ceasefire Code of conduct - 34 points

### Ongoing issues:

- 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
- allow national media outlets to participate in the peace process to provide accurate information about developments
- support the basic needs of the people and ensure that development projects have the full participation and support of residents
- set out clear principles for all parties to ensure a genuine peace process
- legitimate representatives involved in negotiations, provide adequate time for their consultation with respective constituencies and establish a clear roles for third parties
- implement a flexible process that guarantees progress will lead towards sustainable peace, all parties speak frankly, avoid using words that are easily misunderstood or misconstrued

## Repercussions

Internal conflict: KNLA Commander-in-Chief Gen. Mutu Say Poe and Central Committee members David Taw and Roger Khin were dismissed by the KNU for violating protocol by visiting Pa-an the previous week to set up a liaison office. (02/10/2012). However the KNU executive committee managed to iron out differences resulting from divisions over the peace talks with the government during the Central Standing Committee (CSC) (27/11/2012). Both Mutu Say Poe and Roger Khin were reinstated. Mutu Say Poe was eventually elected as the new chairman in December, 2012. (21/12/2012) David Taw died shortly after his dismissal resulting from deteriorating health conditions.

## Clashes

Skirmishes have decreased as a result of the new ceasefire and ongoing peace talks with the government. However Karen state remains heavily militarized resulting in some clashes between the KNLA and Myanmar army.

KNU	5 clashes	Papun,	Hlaing	Bwe,	Beelin	8 soldiers killed, 2 soldiers injured
		Townsh	ips			

Reports are circulating that government troops are preparing for an offensive against the KNLA's Brigade 5 in northern Karen state after the brigade barred them from conducting gold mining and other businesses in rebel-held territory. (03/01/2013)

The KNU claim the government army's is forcing Karen civilians to attend militia training, jeopardizing ongoing 'peace talks'. (21/11/2012)

# **Partnership**

KNU leader Zipporah Sein met with NLD opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Yangon. (08/04/2012)

Karen community based organizations (CBOs).

## **Facilitators**

The Dawei Princess Company is involved in facilitating the peace process between the KNU and Myanmar government. Company boss U Ko Ko Maung and Managing Director U Ngwe Soe have attended all the peace meetings between the KNU and government. Dawei Princess Company finances and arranges the meetings and travel for the government peace delegation. Karen News also reported that they paid for the setup and the running cost of the KNU liaison office in Dawei (Tavoy) town. The Dawei Princess Company, also known as Hein Yadana Moe, is a sub-contractor in the \$60B Dawei Special Economic Zone, which includes part of the KNU's controlled area

# **International Partnerships**

**MPSI** 

Kyauk Kyi Project Pilot project: 2010 - present

A \$5M (US) pilot project has been initiated in Kyauk Kyi Township, Bago Region. The project will focus primarily on resettling the estimated 1.5M Karen internally displaced people (IDPs). But it will also be used to provide food, farming equipment, clearing land mines and establishing liaison offices. The project that's receiving funding through the Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) is based on a needs assessment undertaken by the KNU-related Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) assistance group, Committee of Internally Displaced Karen People (CIDKP), and also involves an initial non-technical survey of landmines in target areas. Current status: Monitoring and Evaluation (Jan.15, 2013), As of September, 2012 the CIDKP distributed 517 bags of rice to villagers. Over the next few months, it's expected that other items such as different food products, mosquito nets and cooking utensils will also be delivered. http://www.emb-norway.or.th/News\_and\_events/MPSI/Monitoring-report-Kyauk-Kyi/

http://www.emb-norway.or.th/News\_and\_events/MPSI/The-Kyauk-Kyi-Pilot-Project-in-Bago-Region/

KNU leaders met with US Ambassador Derek Mitchell on Jan.11, 2013 in Pa-an (Hpa-an), Karen state to discuss the country's current political landscape and ongoing ceasefires.

Norwegian Peace Association: donations for food, clothes and education supplies; partner with MPSI

Nippon Foundation - agreed to supply food donations for IDPs

### **Statements**

The KNU reaffirms deeply its appreciation of effort by current Burma (Myanmar) government and its processes for securing ceasefire and peace with the armed ethnic organizations. 04/12/2012

Position Statement of KNU on Current Situation in the Country, 04/12/2012 http://www.burmapartnership.org/2012/12/position-statement-of-knu-on-current-situation-in the-country/

The KNU released a statement calling for tri-partite dialogue so that all ethnic and political groups can be represented and a consensus can be reached and provide a stable foundation for genuine peace and democracy in our country. 21/09/2012

Call to immediately end all Myanmar military operations in Kachin state. 21/09/2012

KNU Chairman Tamla Baw: "Though the government claims to be building peace with armed ethnic nationality forces, it is my analysis that, in practice, it is working with an emphasis only on business matters, rather than dialogue for peace with a political essence," he said. 09/08/2012

KNU Vice President David Takapaw: says INGOs are pressuring the KNU to talk with the government. 02/07/2012

KNU chief calls for close scrutiny of Myanmar. 14/05/2012

The KNU expressed hope that the peace negotiations would be more effective with the inclusion of the president, vice president and top military officers of the peace committee. 10/05/2012

KNU said the government and President Thein Sein appear to be sincere about implementing peace. (03/05/2012, 08/04/2012)

Ceasefires Are Not Peace: KNU lays out crucial steps to achieve lasting peace in Burma. 22/02/2012

Four-point statement calling for the withdrawal of all government troops from its controlled areas: a first-stage ceasefire, consolidating the ceasefire, political talks, political cooperation. 22/02/2012

KNU President Tamla Baw said that recent agreements reached with the Myanmar government were just "small initial steps" on the road to peace, and urged the Karen people to continue working for greater autonomy. 31/01/2012

KNU Statement on Peace Talks. 24/11/2011

Jan.9, 2013: The Communiqué of Karen National Union on meeting with President U Thein Sein http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/the-communique-of-karen-national-union-on-meeting-with-president-u-thein-se)

Jan.3, 2013: KNU-Statement on President Thein Sein http://www.scribd.com/doc/118763242/KNU-Statement-3-1-2013

Dec.27, 2012: Statement of Karen National Union 15th Congress (http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-of-karen-national-union-15th-congress

Dec.4, 2012: Position Statement of KNU on Current Situation in the Country http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/position-statement-of-knu-on-current-situation-in-the-country

Nov. 21, 2012: Statement of 4th Meeting of Central Standing Committee of 14th Congress http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-of-4-th-meeting-of-central-standing-committee-of-14-th-congress

Dec.4, 2012: Position Statement of KNU on Current Situation in the Country

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/position-statement-of-knu-on-current-situation-in-the-country

Oct.27, 2012: Position Statement of the KNU Central Standing Committee Special Emergency Meeting

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/position-statement-of-the-knu-central-standing-committee-special-emergency-

Sept.27, 2012: Statement of KNU Supreme Headquarters on Opening of Central Level Liaison Office in Pa-an

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-of-knu-supreme-headquarters-on-opening-of-central-level-liaison-o

Sept. 21, 2012: KNU Statement on International Day of Peace

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-on-international-day-of-peace3

Sept.1, 2012: KNU Delegations Departs for the Third Round Negotiation of Ceasefire with the Burmese Government

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knudelegations-departs-for-the-third-round-negotiation-of-ceasefire-with-t

Aug.31, 2012: Letter of Felicitation by KNU to the Wrist-Tying Ceremony

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/letter-of-felicitation-by-knu-to-the-wrist-tying-ceremony

Aug.28, 2012 Karen National Union (KNU) and the Burmese Government Set the New Dates for Third Round Negotiations

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/karennational-union-knu-and-the-burmese-government-set-the-new-dates-for-t

Aug. 28, 2012 Karen National Union (KNU) and the Burmese Government Set the New Dates for Third Round Negotiations

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/karennational-union-knu-and-the-burmese-government-set-the-new-dates-for-t

Aug. 25, 2012 Statement on the Burmese Government's Postponement of the Third Round of Negotiations with the

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-on-the-burmese-governments-postponement-of-the-third-round-of-neg

Aug. 8, 2012 KNU President Saw Tamla Baw's Address on 62nd Anniversary of Martyrs' Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-president-saw-tamla-baws-address-on-62nd-anniversary-of-martyrs-day

June 8, 2012 Statement of KNU Central Committee Third Emergency Meeting

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-of-knu-central-committee-third-emergency-meeting

April 8, 2012 KNU press release on meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-press-release-on-meeting-with-daw-aung-san-suu-kyi

April 7, 2012 The KNU Press Release on 1st Meeting between KNU Delegation and Union-Level Peace Delegation

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/the-knu-press-release-on-1st-meeting-between-knu-delegation-and-union-level

April 7, 2012 Karen National Union (KNU) and Myanmar President U Thein Sein Meeting

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/karennational-union-knu-and-myanmar-president-u-thein-sein-meeting

April 4, 2012 KNU and the Burmese Government Continued State-level Ceasefire Talks

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-and-the-burmese-government-continued-state-level-ceasefire-talks

April 4, 2012 KNU Leaves to Continue Talks on Ceasefires with the Burmese Government

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-leaves-to-continue-talks-on-ceasefires-with-the-burmese-government

March 26, 2012 KNU Statement on the Release of Padoh Mahn Nyein Maung

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-on-the-release-of-padoh-mahn-nyein-maung

Feb. 18, 2012 Statement of Seminar of Religious Organizations Organized by KNU Home and Religious Affairs Department

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-of-seminar-of-religious-organizations-organized-by-knu-home-and-r

Feb. 11, 2012 KNU President General Saw Tamlabaw's Address on 64th Anniversary of Karen National Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-president-general-saw-tamlabaws-address-on-64th-anniversary-of-karen-na

Feb. 5, 2012 Address of KNU President Gen. Tamlabaw on 65th Anniversary of KNU Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/address-of-knu-president-gen.-tamlabaw-on-65th-anniversary-of-knu-day

Jan. 31, 2012 Address of KNU President Saw Tamla Baw on 63rd Anniversary of Karen National Revolution

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/address-of-knu-president-saw-tamla-baw-on-63rd-anniversary-of-karen-nationa

Jan. 26, 2012 Statement of KNU Central Committee 2nd Emergency Meeting

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-of-knu-central-committee-2nd-emergency-meeting

Jan.13, 2012 Statement on Initial Agreement between KNU and Burmese Government

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-on-initial-agreement-between-knu-and-burmese-government

Jan.11, 2012 Position Statement on Peace Talks Between the KNU and the Burmese Government

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/position-statement-on-peace-talks-between-the-knu-and-the-burmese-governmen

Dec.22, 2011 Address of KNU President, Gen Saw Tamla Baw, on Karen New Year Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/address-of-knu-president-gen-saw-tamla-baw-on-karen-new-year-day

Nov. 24, 2011 KNU Statement on Peace Talks http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-on-peace-talks

Nov.2, 2011 KNU Statement Appealing UN and Democratic Countries

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-appealing-un-and-democratic-countries

Sept.15, 2011 KNU to Observe One-Day Ceasefire on International Day of Peace

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-to-observe-one-day-ceasefire-on-international-day-of-peace

Aug. 25, 2011 KNU Letter of Felicitation to Karen Traditional Wrist-Tying Ceremony

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knuletter-of-felicitation-to-karen-traditional-wrist-tying-ceremony

Aug.9, 2011 Address of KNU President Saw Tamla Baw on 61st Anniversary of Martyrs' Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/address-of-knu-president-saw-tamla-baw-on-61st-anniversary-of-martyrs-day

May 29, 2011 Statement of 8th Karen Unity Seminar

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-of-8th-karen-unity-seminar

May 26, 2011 Statement on the Use of Karen Civilians for Forced Labor and as Human Shield by Burma Army

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-on-the-use-of-karen-civilians-for-forced-labor-and-as-human-shiel

May 19, 2011 KNU Statement on Bombing near Capital of Burma's Dictators

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-on-bombing-near-capital-of-burmas-dictators

May 14, 2011 Statement of Expanded Meeting of the Political Leading Board and Central Executive Committee of UNFC

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-of-expanded-meeting-of-the-political-leading-board-and-central-ex

April 4, 2011 Statement on New Military Government & Concerns of Ethnic Nationalities

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-on-new-military-government-concerns-of-ethnic-nationalities

Feb. 28, 2011 84,000 Karen Civilians Call on Ban Ki-moon to Help Stop Attacks in Burma

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/84000-karen-civilians-call-on-ban-ki-moon-to-help-stop-attacks-in-burma1

Feb.24, 2011 KNU Statement on Baseless Accusation by SPDC and Call for Nationwide Ceasefire

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-on-baseless-accusation-by-spdc-and-call-for-nationwide-ceasef

Feb. 20, 2011 Statement of Ethnic Nationalities Conference

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-of-ethnic-nationalities-conference

Feb.10, 2011 KNU President Saw Tamla Baw's Message on 63rd Anniversary of Karen National Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-president-saw-tamla-baws-message-on-63rd-anniversary-of-karen-national-

Feb.8, 2011 KNU Statement on SPDC Parliament & Government

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-on-spdc-parliament-government

Feb.7, 2011 KNU Update on Impacts Resulting from Hatgyi Dam Construction

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-update-on-impacts-resulting-from-hatgyi-dam-construction

Feb.5, 2011 KNU President Gen. Saw Tamla Baw's Address on 64th Anniversary of KNU Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-president-gen.-saw-tamla-baws-address-on-64th-anniversary-of-knu-day

Jan.27, 2011 President's Address on 62nd Anniversary of Karen Revolutionary Resistance Day Dear Karen

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/presidents-address-on-62nd-anniversary-of-karen-revolutionary-resistance-da

Jan.10, 2011 State of Freedom Struggle

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/state-of-freedom-struggle

Dec.10, 2010 Address of KNU President Saw Tamlabaw on Karen New Year Day of 2750

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/address-of-knu-president-saw-tamlabaw-on-karen-new-year-day-of-2750-ke

Dec.21, 2010 Fourteenth KNU Congress, 3rd CSC Meeting Statement

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/fourteenth-knu-congress-3rd-csc-meeting-statement

Nov.17, 2010 KNU Statement concerning Release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-concerning-release-of-daw-aung-san-suu-kyi

Nov.10, 2010 KNU Statement Condemning Election-Related Violence in Burma's Border Areas

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-condemning-election-related-violence-in-burmas-border-areas

Nov.7, 2010 Statement on SPDC's 2010 Election Designed to Perpetuate Military Dictatorship Rule

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/statement-on-spdcs-2010-election-designed-to-perpetuate-military-dictatorsh

Oct. 21, 2010 Monthly KNU Report on Human Rights Violations in Karen State, Burma (August 2010)

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/monthly-knu-report-on-human-rights-violations-in-karen-state-burma-august-2

Sept.15, 2010 KNU to Observe One-Day Ceasefire on International Day of Peace

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-to-observe-one-day-ceasefire-on-international-day-of-peace1

Sept.3, 2010 Monthly KNU Report on Human Rights Violations in Karen State, Burma (July 2010)

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/monthly-knu-report-on-human-rights-violations-in-karen-state-burma-july-201

Aug.11, 2010 Address of KNU President Saw Tamlabaw on 60th Anniversary of Martyrs Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/address-of-knu-president-saw-tamlabaw-on-60th-anniversary-of-martyrs-day

July 27,2010 Pre-Election Military Operations by SPDC

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/pre-election-military-operations-by-spdc

July 27, 2010 Monthly KNU Report on Human Rights Violations in Karen State, Burma (June 2010)

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/monthly-knu-report-on-human-rights-violations-in-karen-state-burma-june-201

July 7, 2010 Monthly KNU Report on Human Rights Violations in Karen State, Burma (April 2010)

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/monthly-knu-report-on-human-rights-violations-in-karen-state-burma-april-20

June 26, 2010 Monthly KNU Report on Human Rights Violations in Karen State, Burma (May 2010)

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/monthly-knu-report-on-human-rights-violations-in-karen-state-burma-may-2010

June 26, 2010 Monthly KNU Report on Human Rights Violations in Karen State, Burma (March 2010)

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/monthly-knu-report-on-human-rights-violations-in-karen-state-burma-march-20

June 26, 2010 Monthly KNU Report on Human Rights Violations in Karen State, Burma (February 2010)

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/monthly-knu-report-on-human-rights-violations-in-karen-state-burma-february

June 26, 2010 Monthly KNU Report on Human Rights Violations in Karen State, Burma (January 2010)

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knureport-on-human-rights-violations-in-karen-state-burma-january-2010

March 31, 2010 KNU Statement affirming Full Support for Decision of NLD

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-affirming-full-support-for-decision-of-nld

March 16, 2010 KNU Statement on SPDC's 2010 Election Law (http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-on-spdcs-2010-election-law)

March 14, 2010 KNU Press Release on Recommendation of UN Special Rapporteur

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-press-release-on-recommendation-of-un-special-rapporteur

March 13, 2010 NDF Statement on Military Clique's Election Laws

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/ndf-statement-on-military-cliques-election-laws

March 4, 2010 KNU Statement Requesting UN SG to Call on SPDC to Stop Attacks against Karen Civilians

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-requesting-un-sg-to-call-on-spdc-to-stop-attacks-against-kare

Feb.16, 2010 New Attacks on Karen Require International Response

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/new-attacks-on-karen-require-international-response

Feb.11, 2010 KNU President Saw Tamla Baw's Address on 62nd Anniversary of Karen National Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-president-saw-tamla-baws-address-on-62nd-anniversary-of-karen-national-

Feb.5, 2010 President Gen. Saw Tamla Baw's Address on 63 Anniversary of KNU Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/president-gen.-saw-tamla-baws-address-on-63-anniversary-of-knu-day1

Feb.4, 2010 KNU position on Refugees

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-position-on-refugees

Jan.31, 2010 Address by KNU President Saw Tamlabaw on 61st Anniversary of Karen Revolutionary Day

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/address-by-knu-president-saw-tamlabaw-on-61st-anniversary-of-karen-revoluti

Jan.28, 2010 NDF Statement on Assassination of Mongla Leader

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/ndf-statement-on-assassination-of-mongla-leader

Jan.28, 2010 Bomb Blast in Kyaukkyi, Bago Division, and Blame against KNU

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/bomb-blast-in-kyaukkyi-bago-division-and-blame-against-knu

Jan.15, 2010 KNU Statement on Systematic Distribution of Narcotic Drugs by SPDC & Advice To The People

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/knu-statement-on-systematic-distribution-of-narcotic-drugs-by-spdc-advice-t

Jan.7, 2010 New Year Greetings & Call for National Unity by KNU

http://karennationalunion.net/index.php/burma/news-and-reports/news-stories/new-year-greetings-call-for-national-unity-by-knu

## **KNU/KNLA Peace Council**

ကေအဲန်ယူ-ကေအဲန်အယ်လ်အေ ငြိမ်းချမ်းရေးကောင်စီ

http://www.karenpeacecouncil.com/



#### **SUMMARY**

Founded: Jan.31, 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: Brig-Gen. Htay Maung (also known as Brig-Gen Htein Maung)

The KNU/KNLA Peace Council was started after the former KNLA brigade 7 commander Brig-Gen 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.

Brig-Gen Htay Maung formed the KNU/KNLA Peace Council with his brigade 7 on Jan. 31 the same year. He declared that a peace deal has been struck with the Myanmar junta and went back to Tokawko village in Kawkareik Township, Karen state.

#### **CEC** members:

Chairman: Saw Htay Maung aka Saw Htein Maung

Foreign Affairs Dept#: Dr.Timothy Laklem

#### **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: Feb.7, 2012

9th militia group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 1: State level peace talks

Previous ceasefire: Feb.11, 2007

### Official delegation team

Saw Htay Maung, Dr. Timothy Laklem, Saw Ray Nu, Dr. Naw Ka Paw Htoo, Saw Eh Kaw Htoo, Saw Joseph, Dr. Saw Aung Than, Naw Karen Na

### **Liaison offices**

Myawaddy, Paya Thone Sue, Kawkareik, Mawtaung and Kawthoung

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	07/02/12	Naypyidaw	Htay Maung	Aung Thaung	Signed State level 7-point ceasefire
					KPC delegates: central committee 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
					Govt Delegates: U Thein Zaw, Union Minister U Ohn Myint, Kayan Township Pyithu Hluttaw representative U Maung Maung Thein, Deputy Minister Maj-Gen Zaw Win, Deputy Attorney- General U Tun Tun Oo, Kayin state minister for Security and Border Affairs Col Aung Lwin, Lt-Col Zaw Naing Oo of the Commander-in-Chief's Office, Director General U Htay Aung of Ministry of Environmental Conservation and Forestry and member of the peace negotiation team U Saw Khin Soe
2	21/1/13	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.

### **Developments**

Agreed points:

- Members of KNU/KNLA Peace Council are allowed to maintain a presence at Maela Hta and Tokawko village
- Travel across borders with weapons after mutual pre-negotiations
- Provide accommodation to "region peace and development troops"
- Continue to negotiate until a permanent peace deal has been reached.
- 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

### **Demanding:**

- to cease of military operations in the region
- more development of border trade and regional infrastructure
- more exploration and trade licenses for timber and mineral extraction to avoid exploitation from Thailand
- tourism

Outside ceasefire:

Started Moe Pwint project (run by government), will receive ID cards (started in 2012)

#### Statements

February 10, 2012: KNU/KNLA Peace council letter to Aung San Suu Kyi http://www.karenpeacecouncil.com/statements/letter to aung san suu kyi

April 28, 2010: KNU/KNLA Peace Council request all levels of the government to work them for a prosperous future

http://www.karenpeacecouncil.com/statements/knu\_knla\_peace\_council\_statement 28 04 2010)

April 7, 2010: KNU/KNLA Peace Council's Response To 22nd April Deadline Of Merger With Burma Army:

http://www.burmapartnership.org/2010/04/knuknla-peace-council%E2%80%99s-response-to-22nd-april-deadline-of-merger-with-burma-army/)

April 4, 2010: Reasons for refusing Border Guard force (BGF) http://www.karenpeacecouncil.com/statements/knu knla peace council statement no 004 2010

## **Partnership**

10/02/2012 KNU/KNLA Peace Council met with Aung San Suu Kyi

 $10/03/2012 \qquad \text{KNU/KNLA Peace Council met with Maj. Saw Hla Ngwe, joint secretary of the} \\$ 

KNU

## **National Democratic Alliance Army-Eastern Shan**

**State** 

အမျိုးသား ဒီမိုကရေစီသွေးစည်း ညီညွှတ်ရေးတပ်မတော်

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: 3000+

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 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: MNDAA, UWSA and the NDA-K

#### **CEC** members

Chairman: Sai Leun aka Sai Lin

Vice Chairman: San Pae/ Hsan Per

General secretary: Sao Hsengla

#### **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: Sept. 7, 2011

2nd resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 2: Union level peace talks

Previous ceasefire: June 30, 1989

### Official delegation team

Rotational

## **Liaison offices**

Yangon, Taunggyi, Kengtung, Tachilek, and Mandalay (re-opened)

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	07/09/11	Kengtung, Shan state	San Pae	Aung Thaung	State level 7 point ceasefire agreement
2	8/10/11	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; Shan State Security and Border Affairs Minister Colonel Aung Thu; and the Shan state Advocate General Maung Maung
3	27/12/11	Mongla, Shan state	Sai Lin	Aung Thaung	Union Level 6-point ceasefire agreement other NDAA delegates: Vice-Chairman U San Pae and Secretary U Kham Maung Other govt. delegates: U Thein Zaw, Union Ministers 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	06/10/12	Kengtung, Shan state	Sai Lin	Myanmar army chief vice-snr Gen. Min Aung Hlaing	Agreement to cooperate against drugs

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
5	03/12/12	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, President's Office Minister; Lt-Gen Thein Htay, Border Affairs Minister; Sao Aung Myat, Shan State Chief Minister; Col Aung Thu, Shan State Security and Border Affairs Minister; Maj-Gen Than Tun Oo, Commander, Triangle Region Command; and Maj Gen Aung Soe, Commander, Northeastern Region Command

### **Developments**

#### Agreements:

- 1. Agrees to continue to hold talks to cooperate with defense forces of the state for security and defense of the state
- 2. Cooperate to improve tourism, mining, and electricity in NDAA controlled areas

#### Demanding:

- a. To open tourism areas for Thai and Chinese tourists
- b. To allow the NDAA access to mining, coal and gold exploration and production
- c. To allow outside business groups to invest in the NDAA areas
- d. To send researchers to the area to assess natural resources
- e. To allow access to teak wood trading for 10,000 tons, as well as 10,000 tons of other hardwoods
- f. To allow NDAA control of border checkpoints and to receive border checkpoint tax fees
- g. To allow NGOs and the U.N. to help improve the area
- h. To supply NDAA areas with rice, fuel oil and money

- 3. Cooperate to improve education, health and transportation in NDAA controlled areas
- 4. 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
- 5. NDAA to take part in government's 15 year (1999-2014) drug elimination plan

### **Demanding:**

- 1. To issue national identification cards for people in the NDAA controlled area of Eastern Shan state
- 2. To issue vehicle licenses for people in NDAA areas

#### **Statements**

10/01/2013 NDAA, UWSA and SSPP/SSA issued a joint statement for the govt to stop its offensive against the KIO/KIA and start political dialogue

### **Partnerships**

Shan Conference named "Trust building for peace" was held in Taw-win-ninsi hall in Shwegontai Township, Yangon on Nov. 26, 2012. Minister Aung Min (chief negotiator) gave the opening speech. Minister Aung Min and Minister Soe Thein also attended the meeting. One-hundred and fifty Shan representatives from the SNLD, SNDP, TNDP, RCSS/SSA-S, SSPP/SSA-N, NDAA and others attended the meeting.

SNLD chairperson U Khun Tun Oo visited Mongla from Dec. 6-9, 2012 where he met Mongla leader U Sai Leun. U Khun Tun Oo was accompanied by RCSS/SSA liaison officers.

## **New Mon State Party**

မွန်ပြည်သစ်ပါတီ

Armed wing: Mon National Liberation Army (MNLA)

http://www.nmsp.info/



**UNFC** member





#### **SUMMARY**

Founded: July, 1958

Headquarters: Ye Chaung Phya, Mon state

Operational Area: Thaton, Paung, Chaungsone, Moulmein, Hpa-an, Kawkareik, Kyeikmayaw, Mudon, Thanbyuzayap, Ye, Yayphyu, Three Pagoda Pass, Mergui-Tavoy, and Kyar-Inn-Seik Gyi

Estimated strength: 800+ (2,000 reserved)

Leader: Naing Htaw Mon

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 Thaninthaya 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 during the past year 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 Halochanee, 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 Burman pro-democracy groups.

On 5th of August 2009, Mon Revolution Day, the NMSP announced that it would not transform its armed wing into a Border Guard Force (BGF).

#### **CEC** members

Chairman: Nai Htaw Mon

Vice-Chairman: Naing Yao Sa (aka) Nai Rawsa

General secretary: Nai Hong Sa (aka) Nai Han Thar

Joint Secretary (1): Nai Aung Min

Joint Secretary (2): Gen. Zay Ya

Commander-in-chief: Gen. Zay Ya

Deputy Commander-in-chief: Brig-Gen La Yi Kaung

#### **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: Feb. 1, 2012

8th resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 2: Union level peace talks

Previous ceasefire: June 29, 1995

Rejected the BGF scheme: April, 2010

### Official delegation team

- official delegation team for outside the country: (Naing Hong Sa, Nai Tala Nyi, Nai Hong Sa Bun Thai)
- official delegation team for inside the country: (Nai Htaw Mon, Nai Rawsa, Nai Tala Nyi, Gen. Zay Ya, Nai Aung Min (S-1), Brig-Gen La Yi Kaung

### Liaison offices

NMSP's liaison offices opened in 1995 after the NMSP signed 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 Feb. 26, 2012. (ceasefire stipulated that offices could only be opened in locations agreed by both sides)

- 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\*

### Meetings

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	06/10/11	Ye Township, compound of govt. Infantry Unit No. 61	Nai Tala Nyi, Nai Banyar Lae, Lt.Col Hong Sa	Mon state Minister for Security and Border Affairs, Col. Htay Myint Aung	Preliminary meeting  The party also proposed that the government announce a nationwide ceasefire and to hold a dialogue with the UNFC [United Nationalities Federal Council] to solve political problems.  Other NMSP delegates: Nai Baya Lai; and Lieutenant Colonel Nai Hong Sar  Other govt. delegates: Colonel Tun Tun Nyi of the Southeast Command; and Mon state municipal officials

<sup>\*</sup>economic office

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
2	13/11/11	Ye Chaung Phya, NMSP headquarters	Nai Htaw Mon (chairperson), Nai Rawsa (Vice- chairperson), Nai Hong Sa (GS),	5 member envoy from the Mon state Govt as peace create team (peace mediators)	Preliminary Meeting  There were discussions about avoiding clashes between their respective armies, opening liaison offices and cooperating in undertaking business and development projects in the state. The talks included an agreement that both sides would inform the other side in advance if one side wanted to enter the other's control area with weapons.  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, Buddhist Abbot Sayadaw Bhaddanta Kaytumarlar
3	22/12/11	Sankalaburi, Kanchana buri Province, Thailand	Nai Hong Sa, Nai Hongsa Bun Thai, Nai Banyar Leh, Nai Shwe Thein	Aung Min	Preliminary Meeting
4	01/02/12	Moulmein, Mon state	Nai Rawsa, Brig-Gen La Yi Kaung, Nai, Tala Nyi, Maj. San Aye, Nai Arca	Aung Min	State level 5 point Ceasefire Other govt. delegates: Union Minister U Soe Thein, Union Minister U Zaw Min, State Chief Minister U Ohn Myint, Commander of South-East Command Maj- Gen Tin Maung Win, Mon state Minister for Security and Border Affairs Col Htay Myint Aung, the General Staff Officer (Grade-I) (People's Militia), the Mon state Advocate-General, the secretary of Mon State Government and officials

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
5	25/02/12	Moulmein, Mon state	Nai Rawsa, Brig-Gen La Yi Kaung, Nai, Tala Nyi, Maj. San Aye, Nai Arca	Aung Min	Union level 4 point Ceasefire  Other Govt. Delegates: Union Minister U Soe Thein, Union Minister U Zaw Min, Union Minister 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, Mon state Security and Border Affairs Minister Col Htay Myint Aung, the general staff officer (Grade I) from Commander-in-Chief (Army) Office, the general staff officer (Grade I) (militia) of South-East Command, Mon State advocate-general and officials
6	11/04/12	Moulmein, Mon state	Nai Aung Min, Nai Tala Nyi	Aung Min	Union level meeting - perpetuation of ceasefire  Other Govt. Delegates: U Khin Yi from Union level peace-making group, 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 Defense Services, Minister for Security and Border Affairs Col Htay Myint Aung from Union level peace- making group, the State Advocate-General, Lt-Col Kyaw Myint from the South- East Command, the Secretary of State Government, U Shwe Thaung from Region Development Supervisory Office,

### **Developments**

#### 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 abovementioned 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.

#### **Demands:**

- Releasing imprisoned party members including Nai Myo Thway and Nai Yekka
- To hold political dialogue

#### **Statements**

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. (19/06/2012)

NMSP chairman said that the group will not sign a ceasefire with the Myanmar government while it continues to wage war against ethnic Kachins (08/02/2012)

The NMSP issued a statement on the intensive armed conflict in Kachin state

http://democracyforburma.wordpress.com/2013/01/30/new-mon-state-party-nmsp-statement-for-kachin-conflict-burmese/

### **Partnership**

Nai Hong Sar, the secretary of NMSP and the United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC), told Mizzima in October 2011 that the NMSP wanted all discussions with the government to involve the UNFC while the government wanted to negotiate with the NMSP separately.

NMSP leaders had informal meetings with ethnic political leaders in 2012.

NMSP representatives met 88 generation leaders who visited Mon state (11 November 2012)

### **International Partnerships**

**MPSI** 

Nippon foundation - received US \$70,000 in humanitarian aid through the UNFC agreement with the Nippon Foundation. The "Emergency Humanitarian Assistance" ceremony was held in Mawlamyine and attended by the chairman of Nippon Foundation Mr. Yohei Sasakawa on December 22, 2012.

## **National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang**

နာဂအမျိုးသား ဆိုရှယ်လစ် ကောင်စီ (ကပ်ပလန်)

Government: NSCN-K

#### **SUMMARY**

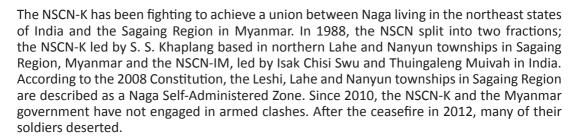
Founded: Jan. 1, 1980

Headquarters: Unknown

Operational Area: Lahe, Lay Shi, Hkamti and Nanyun in Sagaing Region Estimated strength:

< 500

Leader: S. S. Khaplang



#### **CEC** member:

Chairman: S. S. Khaplang

General Secretary: Dali Mangru Ao

Commander-in-Chief: Khole Konyak

#### **CEC** member:

1. U Kyaw Wan Sein

#### **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: April 9, 2012

12th resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 1: State level peace talks

### Official delegation team

Unknown

### Liaison offices

Khamti, Sagaing Region

### **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	09/04/12	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	February 2013				Planned

## **Developments**

The five points of the truce include:

- (1) Cessation of armed conflict with the Myanmar army April 9, 2012
- (2) Opening of a liaison office by NSCN-K at Khamti to facilitate further talks
- (3) Coordination among both sides for carrying arms beyond their agreed jurisdiction
- (4) Freedom of movement of unarmed NSCN-K cadres within Myanmar
- (5) Holding of sustained negotiations.

## **Pa-O National Liberation Organization**

ပအိုဝ့်အမျိုးသား လွတ်မြောက်ရေးအဖွဲ့

Armed Wing: Pa-O National Liberation Army

http://pnlo.org/



**UNFC** member



#### **SUMMARY**

Founded: 1949

Headquarters: Homong, Southern Shan State

Operational Area: Hsi Hseng, Hopong and Mawk Mai Shan State

Estimated strength: 200+

Leader: Col. Hkun Okkar

The PNLO was formed from several Pa-O and Shan leaders from the Shan Nationalities Peoples Liberation Organization (SNPLO) and various other ethnic armed groups that surrendered to the government. The others include: SNLO, SNLF, PPLO and PNO.

The PNLO current headquarters is near the Thai-Burmese border opposite Mae Hong Son, Thailand.

#### **CEC Members:**

Chairman: Col. Khun Okker

Vice-Chairman: Brig-Gen Khun Htee Saung

General Secretary Khun Myint Tun

Secretary-1: Col. Khun Thurein

Secretary-2: Khun Myo

Commander-in-Chief: Col. Khun Thurein

Deputy Commander-in-chief: Col. Aung Kyaw

#### **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: Aug. 25, 2012

13th resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 1: State level peace talks

### Official delegation team

PNLO Peace-Making Group (7 Members)

1. Leader Khun Myint Tun

2. Deputy Leader Col .Khun Thurein

3. Pa-Oh Youth Organization (PYO) general secretary Khun Chan Khe (aka) Khun Tun Tin,

### **Liaison offices**

1. Taung Gyi 26/1/13

2. Maukmai pending

3. Hsi Hseng pending

### **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	23/12/11	Bangkok, Thailand	Khun Okkar	Aung Min	Informal peace talk for both PNLO and UNFC leading to
					Preliminary talk.
					PNLO Chairman Khun Okkar 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.
2	22/04/12	By Phone	Khun Okker (Chiang Mai)	Aung Min (BKK)	Preliminary  Both two sides plan to hold a formal state-level meeting in the following month.

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
3	27/06/12	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Khun Okkar, Khun Myat Tun, Khun Thurein	Aung Min	Preliminary  Agreement to sign a 7-point draft agreement.  Other PNLO delegates: Khun Myint Tun  Other govt delegates: Minister of Immigration and Population U Khin Yee
4	28/07/12	Yangon	PNLO peace delegation led by Khun Myint Tun and Khun Thurein	Aung Min	Preliminary  Discussed ideas for the upcoming official meeting for State-level cease-fire agreement. Meeting followed an exploratory trip by the PNLO peace delegation inside the country (Taung-gyi, Tha Hton township).
5	26/08/12	Taunggyi, Shan State	PNLO peace delegation led by Khun Myint Tun and Khun Thurein	Aung Min	State Level ceasefire agreement signed  Other govt 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 and senior military officers

### **Developments**

- ceasefire signed 25/08/2012
- agreed to open liaison office in Taunggyi (opened now), Hsi Hseng and Mauk Mai (liaison offices will encourage more dialogue and strengthen truce)
- \*Union level peace talks will only be done through the UNFC

## **Military**

- 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 in the code of conduct
- to jointly manage food, clothing and shelter for troops

#### **Economic**

cooperate on agricultural projects

#### **Political**

- To cooperate in establishing Pa-Oh media
  - \*requested setting up an independent Pa-Oh news and media organization
- cooperate on public security
  - \*22/07/2012 As per the invitation from U Aung Min, seven members from PNLO's peace delegation visited Myanmar for ten days from July 22 -31 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).

### **Drugs**

- To cooperate on solving drug problem
  - informal partnership with KNPP and ABSDF to combat drug addiction and rehabilitation.

### **Partnership**

Nippon Foundation donated 1,200 rice bags to PNLO (January 2013)

#### **Statements**

January 1, 2012: PNLO 2012 New Year Statement

http://www.scribd.com/doc/76859548/PNLO-2012-New-Year-Statement

January 31, 2011: Statement of PNLO Annual Meeting

http://www.scribd.com/doc/47900957/Statement-of-PNLO-Annual-Meeting-31-1-2011)

September 21, 2010: PNLO Statement on International Day of Peace http://www.scribd.com/doc/37909451/PNLO-Statement-on-International-Day-of-Peace

February 27, 2010: PNLO Statement on Pa-Oh-National Day

http://www.scribd.com/doc/27593480/PNLO-Statement-on-Pa-Oh-National-Day-2010

February 27, 2010: PNLO Honorable Message for Pa Oh National Day http://www.scribd.com/doc/27593484/PNLO-Honorable-Message-for-Pa-Oh-National-Day-2010

## **Shan State Progress Party / Shan State Army**

သျှမ်းပြည်တိုးတက်ရေးပါတီ

(သျှမ်းပြည်တပ်မတော် - မြောက်ပိုင်း)

Government Name: Shan State (North) Special Region-3



**UNFC** 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 Yang, Mongyai,

Kehsi, Lashio Township

Estimated strength: 4,000+

Leader: Lt.Gen Pang Fa

The SSA renamed to Shan State Army (SSPP/SSA) in 1996. Until 1989 the SSA fought against the former Myanmar military regime. Following the collapse of their Chinese-backed ally, the Communist Party of Burma (CPB) - who supported with arms and ammunition - the SSA signed a ceasefire. The government pressured them to transform into PMF in 2010. The SSA brigade 3 and 7 complied but brigade 1 led by Lt. Gen Pang Fa rejected it. The SSPP/SSA finally agreed to sign a ceasefire with the government on Jan. 28, 2012.

#### **CEC Members:**

General Secretary : Khun Hsaing/Khun Hseng

: Sao Khur Tai

### **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: Jan. 28, 2012

7th resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 2: Union level peace talks

Previous ceasefire: Sept. 02, 1989

### 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. Tachilek (unconfirmed)

### **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	29/10/12	Naypyidaw	Sao Naw Lake	Aung Min,	SSPP/SSA asked the government to withdraw the Myanmar military from 4 locations around Wanhai. The government said they will consider their request.  Other govt delegates included: MP Thein Zaw
2	28/01/12	Taunggyi	Col Khun Hseng	Aung Thaung	State and Union Level Other SSA-N delegates: Sao Kherh Tai Other govt delegates: Col Aung Thu, Minister for Security and Border Affairs, and 4 others from the Shan state Government
3	22/06/12	Mandalay	Unknown	Unknown	An emergency meeting following heavy fighting between the SSA and Myanmar military that started on June 17, 2012.  The government agreed to withdraw from two of SSPP/SSA military bases. The bases include: Kunnamile and Loi Pha Pheung in Monghsu Township, southern Shan state.

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
4	10/10/12	Northeastern military headquarters, Lashio	Khun Hseng	Aung Min	Both sides agreed to cooperate on a new village for families of the SSPP/SSA and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The arrangements were made in exchange for the release of Myanmar military soldiers who were being held by SSPP/SSA.  The government donated 1,000 sacks of rice and 2 hand-push tractors to for the development of the village.  Other govt delegates included::Thein Zaw, Shan State Chief Minister Sao Aung Myat, Brig-Gen Aung Soe, Brig-Gen Min Naung, Deputy Ministers Maj-Gen Zaw Win, Ohn Than and Aye Myint Maung, Deputy
					Attorney-General Tun Tun Oo.  Mediator (govt):: Hla Maung Shwe
5	31/10/12	Kho Lam, central- east military command HQ in Shan state	Khun Hseng	Central- east military command command- er Gen. Min Naung	An agreement was made on the following: SSPP/SSA 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 SSA-N 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)

## **Developments**

SSPP agreed to negotiations after the government released their leader General Hso Ten and other leading Shan politicians including Khun Htun Oo.

### Agreed points:

Ceasefire

Liaison offices will open in Taunggyi, Lashio and Kholan. More offices will be allowed to be opened in other locations.

Panglong terms - non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuation of sovereignty at all times based on the Panglong spirit.

### **Military**

Agreed that SSPP/SSA soldiers be allowed to be based in Wanhai and other temporary locations.

Transgression and arms carrying will be allowed under negotiation between both sides.

Will continue talks for ensuring regional peace, stability and development, enabling the troops to earn their living and ensuring lasting peace in the region.

### **Drugs**

Cooperation on eradicating drugs.

#### Resettlement

Arrangements for improvement of the livelihood and social life of Shan State Progressive Party (SSPP) members and their families in line with the law and in cooperation with the government.

 Resettlement of over 3500 people including SSPP/SSA family members to Mong Kaung sub-Township and Mongshu Township. They also discussed responsibilities for the livelihoods of family members, transportation, better living standards. Also on the agenda were regional development tasks and recuperation of vacant and virgin lands for cultivation of long-lasting trees and seasonal crops.

#### **Ongoing issues:**

- working out details for a new village for 350 families in the Honam-Tawng Hio area.
- the govt refuses to discuss ongoing conflicts along the Shwe gas pipeline in northern Shan State. Neither did the two sides talk about Ta Hsarm Pu dam over the Pang river
   the Myanmar military demanded the SSPP/SSA to withdraw from the area
- more communication needed with Myanmar army regional commanders to avoid future clashes with SSPP/SSA

### **Clashes + Ceasefire Breaches**

Since ceasefire: >40 clashes	Langhko, Kyauk Mae, Hsipaw, Mong Mit (Mong Ngoe), Monghsu, Kayse, Tangyan, in northern Shan State	Before ceasefire: 30,000 displaced (esp. from Kehsi/ Kyethi and Monghsu Townships)#
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### **Partnerships**

Shan Conference named "Trust building for peace" held in Taw-win-ninsi hall, Shwegontai, Yangon on Nov. 26, 2012. Minister Aung Min, chief negotiator, gave the opening speech. Minister Aung Min and Minister Soe Thein attended the meeting. About 150 Shan representatives (SNLD, SNDP, TNDP, RCSS/SSA-S, SSPP/SSA-N, NDAA) and others attended the meeting.

#### **Statements**

January 22, 2012: SSPP/SSA statement http://www.scribd.com/doc/79087244/Shan-State-Progress-Party-sspp-statement-22-1-2012

July 19, 2011: SSPP/SSA general meeting statement http://www.scribd.com/doc/60622458/Shan-State-Progress-Party-SSPP-General-July-2011

March 29, 2011: United Nationalities Federal Council Union-Burma UNFC Statement http://www.scribd.com/doc/51794295/United-Nationalities-Federal-Council-Union-Burma-UNFC-Statement

# Restoration Council of Shan State / Shan State

Army

သျှမ်းပြည်ပြန်လည်ထူထောင်ရေး ကောင်စီ (သျှမ်းပြည်တပ်မတော် - တောင်ပိုင်း)

http://www.rcssanc.org

Government: SSA - South





#### **SUMMARY**

Founded: 1964/1996

Headquarters: Loi Tai Leng, Southern Shan State

Controlled Area: Mong Ton, Mong Hsat in Eastern Shan State, Mong Pan, Mong Nai, Laikha, Kunhing, Lawksawk, Maukmai, Mongkaung, Nam Sang in Southern Shan State, Kyaukme and Nam Kham in Northern Shan State

Estimated Strength: 6,000+

Leader: Lt. Gen. Yawd Serk

The SSA-S was formed from the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) by Lt-Gen.Yawd Serk that opposed the ceasefire with the government made by the mainstream SSA, now known as SSA-N. The SURA was a breakaway faction of the Mong Tai Army led by drug lord Khun Sa and previously the original Shan State Army.

Affiliations: Former Communist Party of Burma (CPB), Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) and Mong Tai Army (MTA)

### **Peace Process**

New Ceasefire: 2 Dec 2011

4th resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 2: Union level peace talks

Attacks since 2010?

## Official delegation team

Brig Gen Pawng Kherh (Chief Negotiator)

### **Liaison offices**

1. Taung Gyi 22/02/2012

2. Keng Tung 22/02/2012

3. Tachilek 29/02/2012

4. Mong Hsat 29/02/2012

5. Kho Lam 21/03/2012

6. Muse\*

7. Namkam\*

## Meetings

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	19/11/11	Thai-Shan border	Yawd Serk	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	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		U Khin Maung Soe	Preparatory meeting

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
4	16/01/12	Taunggyi	Sai Baung Khe	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	Yawd Serk	Aung Min	To keep the peacemaking talks on track, reached a 12-point agreement  Myanmar Deputy Commanderin-Chief Gen Soe Win  Union Minister for Energy U Than Htay, Union Minister for Electric Power No.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 Commander-in-Chief (Army)'s Office
6	28/10/12	Tachilek	Pawng Kherh	Col. Aung Thu (Shan State border affairs)	Tripartite 9 point anti-drug agreement between SSA-S, government and UNODC  Observer: Jason Eligh (UNODC-Myanmar)

### **Developments**

So far the local monitoring group is yet to be formed. U Aung Min said earlier that he was still drafting rules and regulations for the said body.

Points presented for the first step of peace process

U Aung Min	RCSS	
1. To make ceasefire	1. To make ceasefire	
2. To form delegation and set up offices for communication	To be able to discuss politics     To set up development area	
3. To allow each party without arms to pass through each party's area of control	4. To cooperate in the drug eradication	
4. To set up the date and venue for political negotiation with Naypyidaw level		

### Liaison offices

Taunggyi, Kengtung, Kholam, Tachilek and Mongton

#### **Monitoring**

- 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"
  - RCSS organized a meeting of the Shan State scholars on 22-23/08/2012 and formed this Peace Monitoring Committee consisting of 19 members
  - the SSA field team leader Brig-Gen Pawng Kherh told SHAN, 19 people, some of them highly regarded in the Shan community, have volunteered to become Peace Monitors to be watchdogs against truce violations between government troops and the armed resistance.
  - U Aung Min, the government's key negotiator, said on 1 July that regulations for peace monitors were still being drafted and that the body would include people nominated by the government, the resistance and the media."

### **Military**

- Coordinate with each other in advance before moving with arms out of designated positions.
- The two sides will remain at positions agreed upon by both sides.
- Designation of areas will be discussed further at the Union level talks.

#### Resettlement

- Government will assist families of the RCSS/SSA members to earn adequate.
- National ID cards will be issued to members, family members and people residing with the RCSS/SSA.

#### **Economic**

- Special industrial zone will be set up and controlled by the RCSS.
- RCSS/SSA is permitted to request assistance from and coordinate with NGOs and INGOs.
  - The 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. Shan State Army (RCSS/SSA) 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/SSA team
    visited Rangoon and Mandalay and a three-member team visited Muse in northern
    Shan State
- 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.

#### Social

- Government will assist the RCSS/SSA in the preservation and promotion of Shan literature and culture
- RCSS/SSA will be allowed to register its Tai Freedom news agency after the new media law comes into effect

#### **Political**

- Members and supporters of RCSS/SSA who are in prison will be released except for those who have been imprisoned on criminal charges.
- Two sides will continue to build up mutual trust to enable the RCSS/SSA to be totally withdrawn from the list of unlawful associations.
- The RCSS/SSA is free to hold political consultations with individuals, groups and communities throughout the country
  - A small team of SSA led by Awng Hseuk spoke to the public gathering in Pongpakhem, located 16 km north of the Thai-Burma border and announced that the SSA-S will stop collecting taxes and recruits from the ordinary people. (19/01/2012)
  - The RCSS/SSA will urge the people for their participation in the political negotiations with the government during the upcoming 2013 (14/12/2012)

### **Drugs**

- Government, UNODC and RCSS will undertake survey in Mongnai and Mongpan townships
- Choose sites for crop substitution pilot project
- Plans for the crop substitution pilot project will be jointly drawn up, explained and discussed with the people, and then implemented
- The crop substitution pilot project at the chosen sites will be implemented by the government-UNODC-RCSS as soon as possible\*
- UNODC will render technical assistance to the government-RCSS crop substitution project sites and discuss with international donors for the provision of immediately needed funds for the project
- RCSS will keep the local people as well as its members informed on protection against the dangers of drugs, reduction and total eradication of opium cultivation, cooperation in the control of drugs and implementation of the crop substitution project
- For effective implementation CCDAC, Shan State Police Force and RCSS will each appoint contact persons and exchange information through email, telephone and other appropriate means
- Security issues in the joint CCDAC-UNODC and RCSS crop substitution project sites will be presented to the higher authorities

### **Clashes + Ceasefire Breaches**

68 clashes	Kyaukme,	Mawkmai,	
	Mongkeung,		assorted weapons, killed 113
Govt Army - 44	Mongnai,	Mongpiang,	and wounded 129
PMFs - 24	Mongton, M Tachilek,	Iong Yawng,	

People in Laikha township, Shan State South, where the Shan State Army (SSA) 'South' is active, has been warned by military authorities to steer clear of the SSA or face charges on Section 17-1 (unlawful association) 22/10/2012

The UWSA and RCSS/SSA had a military standoff in mid-June 2012 when Wa troops surrounded the SSA-S camp of Lwal Kaw Wun, based in Mong Hsat, eastern Shan State, after Shan soldiers apparently trespassed into Wa areas. The two armed groups plan to have further negotiations to solve the border dispute so that future confrontations can be avoided. The UWSA released around 20 soldiers from the RCSS/SSA following a meeting between representatives of the two groups in August 2012.

#### **Statements**

Further violations of the ceasefire by the government army may result in the collapse of the treaty, warned Lt-Gen Yawdserk, 08/11/2012

RCSS/SSA launched a statement that it supporting to the standpoint of SNLD, 19/10/2012

RCSS/SSA commanders say they are frustrated with the government in trying to establish a true ceasefire, saying it was only with Naypyidaw, but not the government army. 12/09/2012

A recent report submitted by the month long RCSS/SSA field trip to its leadership says most people, despite the on and off clashes with the government Army, have recommended continued talks to reach a political solution is the best option available at present, 24/08/2012

A meaningful and successful political dialogue means both sides must be willing to make concessions - Lt-Gen Yawdserk, 26/10/2012

Brig Gen Pawng Kherh said if anyone were to be prosecuted with Section 17-1 (unlawful association) for assisting in the peace process, the first one should be his Naypyidaw counterpart U Aung Min. (13/12/2012)

RCSS/SSA launched their 5 aims for the future politics on one year anniversary of ceasefire agreement (14/12/2012)

October 29, 2012: RCSS Statement Standpoint SNLD\_(http://www.scribd.com/doc/111586763/RCSS-Statement-Standpoint-Snld-English)

July 2, 2012: Statement to urge Shan State people\_ (http://www.scribd.com/doc/99425105/RCSS-Stm-2-Urge-the-People-register-personal-identity-cards-Eng)

March 21, 2012: RCSS Statement: Policy to be implemented during ceasefire\_ (http://www.scribd.com/doc/87319320/RCSS-Statement-Policy-to-be-implemented-during-ceasefire-thai-engl-Shan)

January 27, 2012: Statement on Union Level Peace Negotiation\_ (http://www.scribd.com/doc/79848346/RCSS-Statement-on-Union-Level-Peace-Negotiation-27-January-2012-engl)

January 13, 2012: Statement on the release of Sao Khun Htoon Oo and political prisoners by Burmese government http://www.scribd.com/doc/78520773/RCSS-Statement-on-the-release-of-Sao-Khun-Htoon-Oo-and-political-prisoners

December 10, 2011: Statement on the ceasefire agreement between Burmese government and RCSS/SSA\_(http://www.scribd.com/doc/75445627/RCSS-Statement-on-Ceasefire-English)

October 20, 2011: RCSS Statement Seeking Opinion and Suggestions possibility of peace talks\_(http://www.scribd.com/doc/69740898/RCSS-Statement-Seeking-Opinion-and-Suggestions-possibility-of-peace-talks-engl)

August 15, 2011: Statement on the Accusation of RCSS/SSA by Burmese Government Press Conference 15 August, 2011\_ (http://www.scribd.com/doc/62395101/Statement-RCSS-SSA-by-Burmese-Government-engl-Shan-Bur)

June 26, 2011: Statement on the World's Anti-Drugs Day\_ (http://www.scribd.com/doc/59040519/RCSS-Statement-on-the-World%E2%80%99s-Anti-Drugs-Day-26-June-2011-eng)

March 27, 2011: Statement of condolence on the damage caused by the strong earthquake in Loi Muay, Tachilekand Keng Tung, Eastern Shan State\_(http://www.scribd.com/doc/51720183/RCSS-Condolence-Statement-Earth-quake-engl)

March 4, 2011: Statement on Shan State Army launched a raid on the drug refinery of militia unit of Wan Zit tract, Nam Zarn Township\_ (http://www.scribd.com/doc/50017601/statementn-SSA-Army-to-raid-on-the-drug-refimery-engl)

November 9, 2010: RCSS Statement on Battle Between DKBA and SPDC\_ (http://www.scribd.com/doc/41909913/RCSS-statement-on-the-battles-between-DKBA-and-SPDC-engl

November 7, 2010: RCSS-Statement-on Election\_ (http://www.scribd.com/doc/42041218/ RCSS-Statement-to-7-November-Election-11-11-2010)

August 21, 2010: RCSS Letter-to UN For bilateral dialogue regarding Union of Burma\_(http://www.scribd.com/doc/69745598/RCSS-Letter-to-UN-For-bilateral-dialogue-regarding-Union-of-Burma-engl)

June 26, 2010: Statement on World Anti-Drugs Day\_(http://www.scribd.com/doc/33596144/Restoration-Council-of-the-Shan-State-RCSS-Statement-on-World-Anti-Drugs-Day)

April 30, 2010: Statement on SSPP/SSA's Transformation into Home Guard Force\_(http://www.scribd.com/doc/31198278/RCSS-Statement-on-SSA-North%E2%80%99s-Transformation-into-Home-Guard-Force)

January 18, 2010: RCSS-Meeting-Statement\_ (http://www.scribd.com/doc/25420805/RCSS-Meeting-Statement)

### **Partnerships**

RCSS and UWSA held a second meeting for counteract narcotic drugs and harvest replacement planning (28-29 December 2012), first meeting?

Shan Conference named "Trust building for peace" held in Taw-win-ninsi hall, Shwegontai, Yangon on 26 November 2012. Minister Aung Min, chief negotiator, gave the opening speech. Minister Aung Min and Minister Soe Thein attended the meeting. Some 150 Shan Representatives from SNLD, SNDP, TNDP, RCSS/SSA, SSPP/SSA, NDAA and others attended the meeting.

SNLD chairperson U Khun Tun Oo visited Mongla on 6-9 Dec 2012 and he met Mongla leader U Sai Leun and was accompanied by RCSS/SSA liaison officers.

## PNLO anti-drug partnership

March 27, 2011: Statement of condolence on the damage caused by the strong earthquake in Loi Muay, Tachilekand Keng Tung, Eastern Shan State\_ ( http://www.scribd.com/doc/51720183/RCSS-Condolence-Statement-Earth-quake-engl)

April 30, 2010: RCSS's Statement on SSA-North's Transformation into Home Guard Force\_ (http://www.scribd.com/doc/31198278/RCSS-Statement-on-SSA-North%E2%80%99s-Transformation-into-Home-Guard-Force)

### **International Partnerships**

UNODC - tripartite agreement

MPSI

2/9/12: Representatives of the Myanmar Peace Support Initiative, Norwegian Refugee Council, the Shan State Army –South/Restoration Council of Shan State, and Shan Relief and Development Committee met to discuss the proposed pilot projects under the MPSI. The participants agreed to conduct an assessment among internally-displaced persons' camps, to learn their concerns, needs, and aspirations for the future. 'Needs' will mean both immediate needs in their host communities and in areas of return. This survey will be conducted at the end of the rainy season 2012, approximately late October, and will be implemented by local Shan organizations.

http://www.emb-norway.or.th/News\_and\_events/MPSI/Myanmar-Peace-Support-Initiative-Memorandum-2nd-September-2012/

# Ta'ang National Liberation Army

တအောင်း အမျိုးသား လွှတ်မြောက်ရေး တပ်မတော်

www.palaungland.org/eng

www.nawwhment.blogspot.com





Founded: 2009

Headquarters: Mobile

surrendered in 2005)

Operational Area: Naungkhio, Kyaukme, Hsipaw, Namlan, Lashio, Kutkai, Namtu, Mann Ton,

Mann Sam, Mann Pan in northern Shan state

Estimated strength: 600

Leader: Tar Aik Bone (Chairman), Tar Bone Kyaw (GS)

After the former Palaung State Liberation Front (PSLF) surrendered to the government in 2005, Palaung leaders Tai Aik Bone and Tar Bone Kyaw reformed the party using the same name and continued to fight against the Myanmar military. 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.

#### **CEC** member:

Chairman: Tar Aik Bone

General Secretary: Tar Bone Kyaw

Commander-in-Chief: Tar Hoi Plarn

### Peace Process

Non-ceasefire group

# clashes - unknown

## Official delegation team

None

### Liaison offices

None

## **Developments**

Demands from PSLF 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.

### **Statements**

January 18, 2013: Palaung statement on the 50th Golden Jubilee National Revolutionary Day http://www.scribd.com/doc/120929419/Pa-Laung-Statement

January 12, 2013: Statement on Golden Jubilee Palaung National Revolutionary Day

http://www.palaungland.org/media/statements/St%20of%2050%20Anny%20T%20N%20R%20Day%202013%20/St%20of%2050%20Anny%20TNR%20Day%202013%20%20in%20Eng.pdf

September 23, 2012: Palaung group statement on peace

http://www.palaungland.org/media/Report/palaung%20%28peace%29%20group%20statement%20on%20current%20situation.pdf

October 15, 2012: PSLF statement to encourage the Palaung community about the peace process http://www.palaungland.org/statements/2379-2012-10-16-07-36-22.html

January 12, 2012: PLSF statement on 49th National Revolution day http://www.palaungland.org/statements/1789-2012-05-20-13-15-58.html

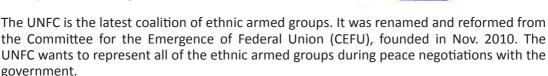
## **United Nationalities Federal Council**

ညီညွှတ်သော တိုင်းရင်းသား လူမျိုးများ ကောင်စီ

#### **SUMMARY**

Founded: Feb. 16, 2011

Headquarters: Chiang Mai, Thailand



#### **Previous Ethnic Alliances:**

National Democratic Front (NDF), 1976-ongoing

Ethnic Nationalities Council (ENC), 2001-ongoing

#### **Objective:**

The UNFC wants to establish a Federal Union in Myanmar. They have already formed the Federal Union Army (FUA) to protect ethnic areas.

### 11 Member groups:

UNFC members (were also part of CEFU)

- Kachin Independence Organization (KIO)
- New Mon State Party (NMSP)
- Shan State Army-North (SSPP /SSA)
- Karen National Union (KNU)
- Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP)
- Chin National Front (CNF)

#### 5 new members:

- Lahu Democratic Union (LDU)
- National United Party of Arakan (NUPA) / Arakan National Council (ANC)
- Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO)
- Ta-ang National Liberation Army (TNLA) also known as Palaung State Liberation Front (PSLF)
- Wa National Organization (WNO)



#### Organization structure:

Each member organization appoints 2-4 individuals for representation in the UNFC Council. Presently, there are 22 members of the UNFC council, 10 are elected central executive committee members.

### **Peace Process**

Preliminary talks

Working with the Working Group on Ethnic Coordination - part of the MPSI coordination mechanism

## Official delegation team

Not yet established

#### Federal Union Army (Formed December, 2011)

#### CEC members (2011)

Chairman	Lt. Gen. N'Ban La	KIO
Vice Chairman #1	Lt Gen Gauri Zau Seng	KIO
Vice Chairman #2	Khun Abel Tweed	KNPP
General Secretary	Nai Hongsa aka Nai Hantha	NMSF
Joint Secretary #1/ spokesman	Col Hkun Okker	PNLO
Joint Secretary #2	Shwe Myo Thant	KNPP
Member	Mahn Nyein Maung	KNU
Member	Dr Laja	KIO
Member	Dr Suikhar	CNF
Member	Bawmwang Laraw	KNO

### **CEC members (2012-2013)**

Chairman: Lt.Gen N'Ban La	(KIO)
Vice Chairman#1: Gen. Abel Tweed	(KNPP)
Vice Chairman#2: Saw David Thakapaw	(KNU)
General Secretary: Nai Hong Sa aka Nai Hantha	(NMSP)
Joint Secretary 1: Saw Doh Lay Muu	(KNU)
Joint Secretary 2: Khun Okkar	(PNLO)

#### **CEC** members:

1. Dr. La Ja (KIO)

2. Dr. Khin Maung (NUPA/ANC)

3. Khu Oo Reh (KNPP)

4. Naw Zipporah Sein (KNU)

5. Nai Kwe Hon Mon (NMSP)

### **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	UNFC Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	23/12/11	Bangkok, Thailand	Khun Okkar	Aung Min	Informal discussions before Preliminary meeting.
2	9/11/12	Chiang Mai	Nai Hong Sar, Hkun Okkar, and several other UNFC leaders	Aung Min	Informal meeting  Meditators (govt): Hla Maung Shwe, Nyo Ohn Myint

### Foreign activities

27 Sept 2012 - USA: A UNFC and National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB) joint delegation led by KNU Central Executive member David Thackarbaw and Joint General Secretary and Spokesperson for the UNFC Khun 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.

UNFC AND NCUB "Benchmarks for Renewed Engagement with Burma" statement.

24 Apr 2012 - Tokyo, Japan: Three UNFC Central Executive members, Dr. La Ja, Khun Okkar and Saw David Thackarbaw 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 groups.

## **Developments**

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 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

- (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 groups 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.

### **Statements**

January 21, 2013: The UNFC and NCUB released statements condemning President U Thein Sein's government's war in Kachin state as a step backward in achieving peace and democracy in Myanmar http://karennews.org/2013/01/govt-uses-ceasefire-as-tactic-to-deflect-international-concerns.html/

January 20, 2013: UNFC Public Relation and News Unit press statement http://www.english.panglong.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=5201:statement-unfc-public-relation-and-news-unit&catid=mailbox&Itemid=279

January 10, 2013: UNFC annual meeting statement http://www.scribd.com/doc/119923883/UNFC-STATEMENT-ANNUAL-MEETING-10-JAN-2013-ENGLISH

January 1, 2013: UNFC statement on Myanmar military offensives in Kachin state http://www.scribd.com/doc/118656921/January-2-UNFC-%E1%81%8F%E1%80%9E%E1%80%B1%E1%80%98%E1%80%AC%E1%80%91%E1%80%AC%E1%80%B8%E1%80%91%E1%80%AF%E1%80%90%E1%80%B9%E1%80%BB%E1%80%95%E1%80%94%E1%80%B9%E1%80%B1%E1%82%80%E1%80%80%E1%80%8A%E1%80%AC%E1%80%81%E1%80%BA%E1%80%80%E1%80%B9

November 15, 2012: UNFC letter to President Obama http://pnlo.org/2012/11/18/unfc-letter-to-president-obama/

November 1, 2012: UNFC and NCUB joint Statement on Peace and National Reconciliation in Myanmar http://pnlo.org/2012/11/02/unfc-and-ncub-release/

May 10, 2012: UNFC appeal to all concerned groups to collectively oppose the Myanmar military's ongoing offensives and correct the mistakes of the new U Thein Sein government http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/UNFC-Statement-May-2012\_-Eng1.pdf)

April 19, 2012: UNFC press release about current political, social issues in Myanmar http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/UNFC-press-release-Burmese-.pdf

April 3, 2012: UNFC statement congratulating NLD leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/UNFC-Statement-to-Congratulate-DASSK\_NLD.pdf)

December 4, 2011: UNFC statement regarding peace in Myanmar http://www.scribd.com/doc/74761244/UNFC-Stmt-on-Internal-Peace-Eng

October 8, 2011: UNFC statement requesting the international community and Myanmar to facilitate genuine peace negotiations

http://www.scribd.com/doc/68210132/United-Nationalities-Federal-Council-UNFC-Statement-08-10-2011

August 28, 2011: UNFC Letter To Burmese Government http://www.scribd.com/doc/63560129/UNFC-Letter-to-Burmese-Government-28-08-2011)

August 27, 2011: UNFC Chairperson letter to member groups

http://www.scribd.com/doc/63484508/UNFC-United-Nationalities-Federal-Council-Chairperson-Letter

August 15, 2011: UNFC-Letter To President U Thein Sein http://www.scribd.com/doc/62811085/United-Nationalities-Federal-Council-UNFC-Letter-to-President-U-Thein-Sein

August 5, 2011: UNFC Reply To DASSK

http://www.scribd.com/doc/61679321/United-Nationalities-Federal-Council-Union-Burma-UNFC-Reply-to-DASSK-Bur

May 14, 2011: UNFC Statement On Burma's Political Situation http://www.scribd.com/doc/55947718/UNFC-Statement-on-Burma-s-political-situation

March 29, 2011: UNFC urged the Myanmar military to stop their offensive against the Shan State Army- North http://www.chinland.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/UNFC-Statement.pdf

March 29, 2011: United-Nationalities Federal-Council Union-Burma UNFC-Statement http://www.scribd.com/doc/51794295/United-Nationalities-Federal-Council-Union-Burma-UNFC-Statement

February 17, 2011: Ethnics Alliance UNFC Statement http://www.scribd.com/doc/49189260/UNFC-Ethnic-Alliance-Statement-12-16-Feb-2011

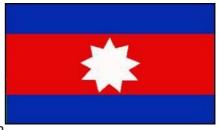
# **United Wa State Party**

ဝပြည် သွေးစည်းညီညွှတ်ရေးပါတီ

Political wing: United Wa State Party (UWSP)

Government Name: Shan State (North) Special Region-2

Armed wing: United Wa State Army (UWSA)



### **SUMMARY**

Founded: 1989

Headquarters: Pangkham (also known as Phanghsang)

Operational Area: Panghsang, Mongmau, Pangwai, Nahphan, Mongpawt, Mongyan),

Hopan

Estimated strength: 30,000

### **Leader: Bao You Xiang**

The UWSP administers 6 designated townships of the Wa Self-Administered Division as stipulated in the 2008 Constitution. The area's official name was announced by decree on Aug. 20, 2010. The UWSP rejected the government's Border Guard Force scheme in 2009. The UWSP maintains close ties with China both politically and economically, and uses Chinese as the party's working language.

The UWSP military wing the United Wa State Army (UWSA) is estimated to be about 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. It was originally formed from members of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB) following its collapse in 1989.

#### **CEC Members**

Vice-Chairman Xiao Mingliang (Shauk Min Lyan)

**Peace Process** 

New Ceasefire: Sept. 6, 2011

1st resistance group to sign ceasefire with the new government

Stage 2: Union level peace talks

Previous ceasefire: May 9,1989

Sporadic clashes with the Myanmar army have occurred since 2009 (no official announcement of fighting by either side).

# Official delegation team

Rotational

### **Liaison offices**

- 1. Lashio
- 2. Tang Yang
- 3. Unknown

# **Meetings**

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
1	06/09/11	Kengtung	Bao Youliang	Aung Thaung	New State level ceasefire agreement  Other govt delegates: Thein Zaw
2	01/10/11	Lashio	Xiao Ming Liang	Aung Thaung	Union level meeting  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.

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
3	26/12/11	Pangsang	Xiao Ming Liang	Aung Thaung	Union Level 6 Point agreement  Govt rep Aung Thaung urged the UWSP to take part in the upcoming by-elections expected to take place early next year.
	09/05/12	Pangsang	unknown	unknown	Regime officials visit Panghsang, Shan state for meeting with UWSA officials.
4	17/08/12	Wiang- kao and Pangsang	Xiao Ming Liang	Deputy Border Affairs minister Maj Gen Zaw Win	Official visits by Maj Gen Zaw Win to the Wa area:  16 August – Wiangkao, inspects Songpu hydropower plant  17 August – Panghsang, meets Xiao Minliang, Bao Youri, Zhao Zhongdang, Bao Youliang, Ai Lone, Zhao Guo-ang, U Aung Myint, Bo Laikham and others. Delivers K 30 million allowance and K 66 million for rice.  Other UWSA delegates: Bao Youri, Zhao Zhongdang, Bao Youliang, Ai Lone, Zhao Guo-ang, U Aung Myint, Bo Laikham and others
5	06/10/12	Kengtung	Xiao Ming Liang	Myanmar army chief vice-senior Gen. Min Aung Haling	Both sides agreed to cooperate in eradicating drugs.

#	Date	Location	Armed Group Rep	Govt Rep	Details
6	16/11/12	Pangsang	Xiao Ming Liang	Myanmar armed forces Northeastern Region commander Brig-Gen Aung Sue	Brig-Gen Aung Sue met with Vice-Chairman Xiao Mingliang for discussions. The brigadiergeneral also visited a facility of the UWSA's Hong Pang Company.
7	04/12/12	Pangsang	Xiao Ming Liang	Aung Min	Union level meeting  The discussions centered on economic and development programmes.  UWSA officials were invited to Naypyidaw to study Union parliament sessions. The govt delegation presented cash assistance of over K 290 million for regional development.  They also visited a Mongmaw Konmyintaung tea plantation in  Mongmaw region. Other govt delegates included: Thein Zaw, U Soe Thein, President's Office Minister; Lt-Gen Thein Htay, Border Affairs Minister; Sao Aung Myat, Shan state Chief Minister; Col Aung Thu, Shan State Security and Border Affairs Minister; Maj-Gen Than Tun Oo, Commander, Triangle Region Command, Maj Gen Aung Soe, the commander of Northeastern Regional Command.

# **Developments**

### Agreed points:

### Military

 continue holding talks to cooperate on defense forces of the State for security and defense of the State as one as it agrees not to disintegrate the State and secede from the State at all

#### Socio-economic

- agreed to adopt short-term and long-term socio-economic development plans
- Union government agreed 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

#### Political

• continue negotiating matters related to enabling representatives in townships of "Wa" Special Region (2) take seats in each Hluttaw of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar - encouraging proper representation of Wa in their respective areas

### **Business concessions:**

Enterprises: Hongbang Company (founded in 1998) is a Wa owned conglomerate involved in construction, agriculture, gems and minerals, petroleum, electronics and communications, distilleries and department stores. The Hong Pang Group is based in Panghsang with offices also in Yangon, Mandalay, Lashio, Tachilek and Mawlamyine.

Ho Chun Ting (also known as Aik Haw aka Hsiao Haw), son-in-law of Bao You-Xiang, is a Wa business man and the principal owner and managing director of Yangon Airways and chairman of Tetkham Co Ltd that runs a chain of hotels.

#### **Statements**

02/08/2012 SSA-S + UWSA Wa and Shan army commanders say tensions between the two armies have subsided following a "misunderstanding" that caused a standoff in southern Shan state.

June 16, 2011: UWSP 's statement concerning ongoing clashes between the Myanmar military with the RCSS/SSA, KIA and KNLA.

http://www.scribd.com/doc/58441362/UWSA-Statement-16-06-11

