



EBO MYANMAR

AADB Inc - Canada
Euro-Burma Office - Belgium
EBO Foundation - Chiang Mai

DIALOGUE



EQUALITY



PEACE



2013 ANNUAL REPORT



FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Harn YAWNGHWE



ADDB/EBO is a very small organization attempting to implement a gigantic task: restoring and promoting democracy in the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. From the beginning, we were keenly aware of this fact. We knew that to succeed, we had to mobilize others to do the job. We could only act as an encourager and a facilitator to enable those within society who could do something about the situation to become catalysts and to motivate others to act.

In the early days, *ADDB* used media to build awareness about *Burma*. Most had no idea where *Burma* was. “*You mean Bahamas?*” was a frequent response. The story of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the 1991 Nobel Peace Laureate, a lone woman against a mighty army, caught the imagination of the public and *Burma support groups* sprung up across the globe. Combined with the campaign of the exile *National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB)* that was broadcasted by the *Democratic Voice of Burma*, the momentum against an ‘illegitimate’ regime grew domestically and internationally.

Then in 2010, general elections were held and the ‘civilianized’ government of President U Thein Sein ushered in a period of reconciliation, reforms and democracy.

Yes, deep societal wounds remain and many people are still suffering. The years of grave injustices and conflict have destroyed trust and torn communities, and even families, apart. The peace process is far from entrenched either on a political level, or in the daily lives of the people. But significant changes are taking place. We need to build on these changes to ensure that future generations never have to suffer oppression again.

Many find it hard to forgive. There is no easy path towards justice and peace through so much suffering. But Desmond Tutu, former Chairman of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* in South Africa said: “*We are deeply connected to each other whether we recognize it or not. We need each other. We evolved this way, and our survival depends upon it.*” (Desmond Tutu – *The Book of Forgiving*).

EBO has been working with a wide range of actors since 1997 to encourage and strengthen those who are drawing communities together and making peace where there is conflict and injustice. We want to ensure that justice is not subverted in the cause of peace, but rather that the peace process creates space for justice with a clear vision for the future of Myanmar.

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EBO

structure



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About EBO

The *Associates to Develop Democratic Burma Inc (ADDB)* is a registered Canadian not-for-profit corporation established in 1990 (incorporated 1994).

Its objectives are:

- 1 To restore democracy and respect for human rights in Myanmar
- 2 To encourage and enable all in Myanmar to participate in the democratic process
- 3 To facilitate the development of democratic values and traditions in Myanmar
- 4 To monitor and continue to promote democracy in Myanmar in the post-dictatorship era
- 5 To help future governments and the Burmese public consider, analyze and formulate social, economic and other policies critical to a democracy.



Street scene in Myanmar.

In 1997, *ADDB* established its operational centre in Belgium. It became better known as the *Euro-Burma Office (EBO)* www.euro-burma.eu. The operational objective of EBO was to help the Burmese democracy movement prepare for a transition to democracy.

In 2010, the *EBO Foundation* was established in

Chiang Mai, Thailand to take advantage of the possible changes after the elections.

In 2012, the operational centre of *ADDB* was moved to Yangon, Myanmar.

The operational objective of *EBO Myanmar* is to contribute to a peaceful transition to democracy in Myanmar.

Strategic Partners

EBO works with **strategic partners** to fulfill its vision of a peaceful transition to democracy in Myanmar:

Decision makers / political actors

We engage with decision-makers - political leaders, government ministers, military officers and parliamentarians - to promote dialogue and democratic principles. Expertise and financial support is provided for conferences, seminars, and workshops.

Ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) / peace process

In 2013, EBO assisted ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) to negotiate a nationwide ceasefire and a common political position with the Government of Myanmar. EBO helped the EAOs to sustain their ceasefire agreements by supporting EAO Liaison Offices in 29 locations across the country.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) / capacity building

A cornerstone of EBO's work is to empower civil society organizations - groups working with or on behalf of a community such as women, youth, and disenfranchised communities. Expertise and financial support is provided for conferences, seminars, workshops and trainings. EBO also supports internship programs with local organizations and a scholarship program in India and Thailand.

International community / research and advocacy

EBO provides briefings on political developments to diplomats, officials and to a diversity of organizations in Myanmar and abroad. EBO also produces a weekly *Political Monitor*, a *Daily News* summary as well as *Briefing papers*. EBO co-hosts the *International Peace Support Group*, an ad-hoc INGO coordinating network that is engaged in building the capacity of stakeholders.

Board of Directors

In 2013, ADDB strengthened its Board of Directors by appointing new members. ADDB now has a strong Board which is active in supporting the Management Committee and involved in strategic decisions of the organization. Board members meet at least once a year and discuss at regular intervals on EBO plans and strategies.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS IN 2013

- Paul Copeland, Canada, *Chair*
- Whitney de Courcel, France, *Vice-Chair*
- Nu Yawnghwe, Canada, *Member*
- Fred Shaver, Canada, *Member*
- Paul Pasch, Germany, *Member*
- Saw Weldone, Sweden, *Member*
- Angelique Berhault, Belgium, *Member*

In 2013, there were 22 fee-paying Associates who participated in the Annual General Meeting.



2013 Board members, from left to right: Saw Weldone, Fred Shaver, Angelique Berhault, Harn Yawnghwe (EBO Executive Director), Whitney de Courcel, Paul Copeland, Paul Pasch. (Nu Yawnghwe missing).

EBO Staff

The EBO staff is spread over several offices based in different locations. In 2013, it was composed of:

INTERNATIONAL STAFF

- Harn Yawnghwe, *Executive Director*
- Victor Biak Lian, *Operations Director*
- Cissy Yim, *Finance Director*
- Beaudee Zawmin, *Systems and Procedures Director*
- Thuzar Thant, *Management Assistant*

EBO MYANMAR

- Nge Nge, *Receptionist/ Bookkeeper*

EURO-BURMA OFFICE - BELGIUM

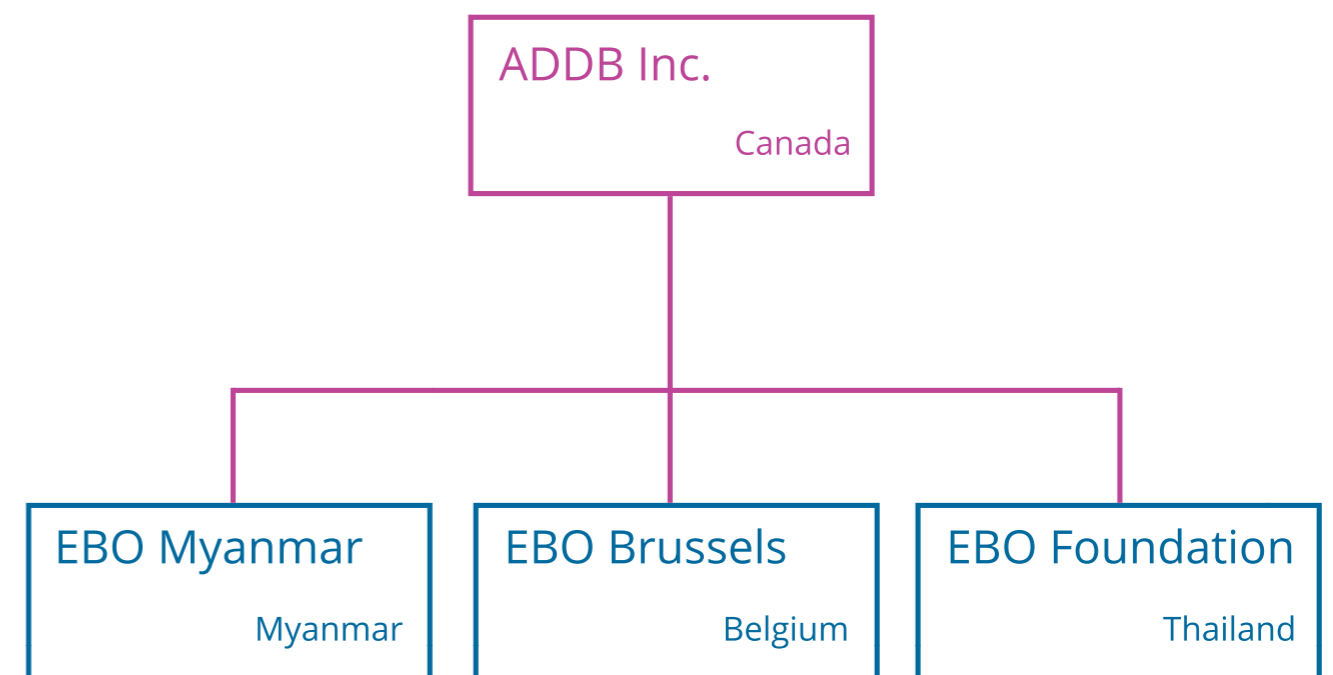
- Sarah Collen, *Europe Director (until Sept. 2013)*
- Tanja Gohlert, *Europe & Donor Relations Director*
- Tin Htut, *Research & Analysis (since Sept. 2013)*

EBO FOUNDATION - CHIANG MAI

- Aung Latt Waje, *Office Manager*
- Theh Reh, *Project Coordinator*
- Tawatchai Hoonghual, *Accountant*
- Nuon Hseng, *Senior Administrative Officer*

EBO STRUCTURE

The organizational structure of EBO is as follows:



A ctivity report



- ⇒ Decision Makers
- ⇒ Ethnic Armed Organizations
- ⇒ Civil Society
- ⇒ International Community

DECISION

MAKERS

STRATEGIC PARTNER

1

*Myanmar President Thein Sein (left) shaking hands with
EBO Executive Director, Harn Yawnghwe (right).*



Given that Myanmar is emerging from 50 years of military rule, Parliamentarians do not have a strong experience of parliamentary procedures.

In the past, it was illegal for ethnic armed groups and ethnic political parties to communicate. Therefore, there was a lack of understanding on how each group could complement each other in advocating for the rights of their people.

2013 key issues for Decision-makers

While everybody is generally not happy with the 2008 Constitution, political parties are not used to initiating legislation that they want. They are also not sure what role they can or should play in the peace process.

In a country where a culture of dialogue and compromise have for too long been supplanted by the use of force, there is a need to nurture a new political culture.

BUILDING CAPACITY FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS ELECTED IN 2010

EBO used the shift in power dynamics introduced by the 2010 elections to help members of all political parties on how to develop good legislative processes and how to support the peace process through supportive legislation. As a result, a major undertaking in 2013 was the EBO decision to support the capacity building needs of ethnic political parties that contested the 2010

elections and have representatives in both the Union and State parliaments. The establishment and development of political parties is critical to a peaceful and sustainable transition to democracy in Myanmar. Without them, the concerns and aspirations of the ethnic nationalities will not be heard.

FACILITATING DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES AND ARMED ORGANIZATIONS

EBO organized a series of workshops bringing together leaders from different political and military backgrounds to build understanding, discuss the peace process, and see how they may cooperate and develop common strategies. This was done for different ethnic groups across Myanmar.



Shan leaders meet for the first time. Yangon, June 2013

From left to right: Harn Yawngwe, Executive Director – EBO; Sai Ai Pao, Chair – Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (2010); Lieutenant-General Yawd Serk, Chair – RCSS/SSA-S; Hkun Htun Oo, Chair – Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (1990); and General Hso Hten, Chair – Shan State Progress Party (Shan State Army – North).

“EBO is the only group that can bridge all actors including the government, political parties, and civil society organizations inside and outside of the country.”

*Lieutenant-General Yawd Serk,
Restoration Council of the Shan State (RCSS) Chair*

→ EBO's actions

DESIGNING A FRAMEWORK FOR A POLITICAL DIALOGUE

In 2013, EBO worked with Hannes Siebert from the *Common Space Initiative (CSI Lebanon)* and the *Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM)* to help political parties to design a *Framework for a Political Dialogue*. This was done in collaboration with a number of actors by organizing workshops on *National Dialogues* for the *Myanmar Parliamentary Peace Committees* and the *Civil Society Forum for Peace* with *Nyein Foundation (Shalom)*, as well as the *Nationalities Brotherhood Federation*. Discussions paved the way for the development of a roadmap that would lead to the national dialogue and peace agreement (see Annexes 1 and 2).



From back to front: Harn Yawngnwe (EBO Executive Director), Saw Weldone (ADDDB Board Member), Hannes Siebert (CSI Lebanon).

“The work that EBO is doing with the political parties and civil society to understand and engage in the process is very crucial. Only EBO now is engaged with all stakeholders and has the potential to create a common space for all.”

Saw Htoo Htoo Lay, Leader of Karen Strategic Studies Group (KSSG) and adviser to the KNU Chairman Gen. Mutu Sae Poe on Political and Military Affairs.

REFLECTING ON CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

The 2008 Constitution does not represent the views and interests of all in Myanmar. Discussions on constitutional issues are crucial to develop the ability of political actors to think through current and initiate new legislations. In 2013, EBO supported the 3rd *Shan State Constitution Drafting Commission (SSCDC)* Conference in Chiang Mai. Participants from Kachin, Kayan (aka Padaung), Lahu, Lisu and Shan armed movements and CSOs

decided to adopt 10 guidelines:

- 1) To participate in forging a genuine federal union
- 2) To create a federal structure within Shan State
- 3) Right of self determination for Shan State
- 4) A democratic decentralized administrative system
- 5) Sovereign power derives from the people of Shan State
- 6) To guarantee equality among the Shan State's ethnic nationalities
- 7) To guarantee ethnic minority rights
- 8) To guarantee basic human rights and gender equality
- 9) To practise a multi-party democratic system
- 10) To be a secular state.

EBO's actions ←

This was a far cry from the first conference in 2000, when participants were divided on the question of Independence as proposed by the RCSS/SSA and the second conference in 2007, when the hardliners barely softened their stand

by agreeing *“To be a member state of a genuine federal union.”* The RCSS/SSA has since the signing of a ceasefire with Naypyitaw on 2 December 2011 replaced its *“Total Independence”* call to *“Right of Self Determination”*.

INITIATING DISCUSSIONS ON POLITICAL SYSTEMS

In 2013, EBO conducted several workshops to allow different stakeholders reflect on the type of political system that would best ensure a democratic and peaceful future for all citizens of Myanmar. One example is EBO's support for federalism workshops that were attended by representatives from State government, political

parties, ethnic ceasefire groups, as well as women and youth organizations. The participants noted that this type of training was an eye-opener to learn about the real meaning of federalism and to see that there are solutions for the country's deadlocked politics.



Training on federalism - November 2013

“What we knew before about federalism was separation from the Union and this was rooted in our mind, but this training changed my perspective.”
USDP representative

Events such as political trainings also serve as a venue for the State government officials, representatives from political parties, and ethnic armed organizations to openly discuss ideas, share feelings, explore solutions for the country's problems, and realize how they

could work together in the future to build a federal democratic country. Building up mutual trust and understanding amongst the different actors of the national dialogue is crucial for the establishment of a long-lasting peace.

ETHNIC

ARMED

ORGANIZATIONS

STRATEGIC PARTNER

2



2013 key issues for Ethnic Armed Organizations

(EAOs)



FACILITATING DIALOGUE BETWEEN MYANMAR GOVERNMENT AND THE EAOs

In 2013, bi-lateral ceasefire agreements were signed between the Government and some ethnic armed organizations (EAOs). EBO played a role in initiating, funding and facilitating these meetings. A key achievement was the assistance of EBO to *KNU* and *RCSS* leaders in their meeting with the *Myanmar Peace Center (MPC)* and the *Union Peacemaking Work Committee (UPWC)*. The negotiations resulted in the Government agreeing to re-ratify the individual state-level ceasefire agreements as part of the *Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA)* and to remove signatory organizations from the Unlawful Organizations list. Furthermore, to strengthen this agreement, it was arranged for the Chair of the *KNU* to meet with the President in Naypyitaw as well as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, who agreed to meet with the *KNU* on a regular



Lieut-Gen Yawd Serk, Chair of RCSS, shaking hands with Vice Senior-General Soe Win, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Tatmadaw, in Kengtung at ceasefire talks, May 2012.

basis to resolve military problems. This was a major breakthrough in the peace process as it is crucial that both the Tatmadaw (the Burmese military) and the EAOs abide by the ceasefires.

Following the Burma Army's offensive against the *KIO/KIA* headquarters, EBO played a significant role in facilitating discussions between the *KIO* and EAOs counterparts in order to discuss the shared challenges and potential of ceasefire negotiations with the Government. This was followed by informal talks with the Government, resulting in an historic meeting in February between the *KIO* and the Government in Ruili (Shweli) hosted by China that brought an end to the Burma Army's offensive.



Historic meeting between the *KIO* and the Government in Ruili (Shweli) hosted by China and which brought an end to military conflict. EBO acted as observer.

→ EBO's actions

BUILDING CAPACITY FOR THE ETHNIC ARMED ORGANIZATIONS IN THE PEACE PROCESS

In 2013, EBO took a leading role in facilitating the peace process by supporting the coordination and strategy work of the EAOs to engage in political negotiations. EBO's support to EAOs was strictly for the organization of meetings, workshops and trainings on political negotiations, i.e. in their active participation in the national peace process, thus mitigating risks of a return to armed conflict.

EBO also facilitated the *Working Group on Ethnic Coordination (WGEC)*, which brought the EAOs together to strategize on how to move from ceasefires to a political dialogue. In 2013, the WGEC met at least 16 times and organized, in collaboration with Hannes Siebert (CSI), the review of the *Comprehensive National Ceasefire*



WGEC workshop, March 2013

Agreement and re-affirmed the *Framework for a Political Dialogue* (see Annex 2) based on the decision of the September 2012 Ethnic Conference. The Framework was endorsed by the EAO leadership in February, then accepted in principle by the Government's *Union Peacemaking Work Committee* in August, and finally further endorsed by the Ethnic Armed Organizations' Conference in Laiza, Kachin state in October 2013.

CREATING MOMENTUM FOR THE PEACE PROCESS

Throughout 2013, workshops organized by EBO included sharing experiences from other peace processes, joint reflections on interests, objectives and strategies of the EAOs themselves but also those of the Government and opposition parties. EBO also helped facilitate the creation of and provides funding for the *Pyidaungsu Institute for Peace and Dialogue*

(<http://pyidaungsuinstitute.org>), which provides demand-driven research aiming to support the peace process negotiations. The institute was established in September 2013 to replace the WGEC and create a physical space where the EAOs can work together and do research to support the peace process.

EBO's actions ←

SETTING-UP AND MAINTAINING LIAISON OFFICES

In 2012, Liaison Offices (LOs) were set up in order to support the negotiations between the various EAOs and the Government. The LOs monitor the situation in their respective territories and provide a space for strategic discussions and policies to be formed between the various stakeholders in each territory. They also act as a space where different stakeholders can come to receive training and input on different aspects of the peace process. The LOs are an essential element for the EAOs to implement ceasefire agreements with the Government. They are needed to prevent misunderstandings and a

return to armed conflict, monitor the ceasefire agreements and consult with local civil society and INGOs. EBO funded 29 liaison offices in 2013 set up by seven EAOs in Chin, Karen, Kayah, Shan, Rakhine and Mon States, and Tanintayi and Bago Divisions.



LO Training, Yangon, 22-24 January 2013



Restoration Council of the Shan State (RCSS) Liaison Office
Taunggyi, Shan State

In addition to providing funding for set-up and maintenance, EBO also conducted a project management and reporting training for the LOs, which was an occasion to provide advice to LO staff from seven EAOs on how to operate their offices effectively, and to share experiences and lessons learned from each other.

"Since we set up our Liaison Office in Loikaw (Kayah State), we have been able to solve many problems by liaising and working in partnership with the assigned government counterparts. We have been able to transfer the issues of our community to the concerned authorities. We also facilitated several meetings between the key leaders of the KNPP and the authorities which led to a better relationship between them."

Khu Plu Reh, Liaison Office Representative, Karen National Progressive Party (KNPP), Loikaw Liaison Office

→ EBO's actions

CREATING SPACE FOR LOCAL PEOPLE TO EXPRESS THEIR CONCERNS

Through Liaison Offices, communities are now able to report civil right infringements and discuss the difficulties faced by their communities.

"In 2013, the New Mon State Party (NMSP) received funding from EBO for its 8 liaison offices to implement the party's plans for the peace process. Our LO has clearly helped on improving the welfare of our community. From workshops related to drugs in order to educate young people about the danger of drug abuse to solving problems arising between civilians and government authorities, our LO principle is to negotiate so that agreement is obtained by concerned parties. All LOs through Mon State concluded that the implementation of these offices avoid armed clashes and promote peace.

We believe this initiative is necessary and important for the development and success of the peace process."
Naing Khin Aye, Liaison Office Representative and Coordinator of the 8 NMSP's Liaison Offices.
New Mon State Party (NMSP), Mawlamyine Liaison Office

CONNECTING THE EAO'S TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

EBO facilitated the active engagement of the EAOs with the *International Peace Support Group (IPSG)*, an informal network of INGOs that meets monthly to discuss and coordinate capacity building initiatives to support the EAOs to negotiate for a just and equitable peace (see p.40). In addition, the EAOs also connected with foreign diplomats and initiatives via their Liaison Offices.

"Our Liaison Office has been of critical support in building trust and understanding between the KNU and Burmese Army as well as local government authorities. Our KNU LO also made it possible for us to receive representatives from international organizations and diplomats. As for our Karen community, the LO became a welcoming space for them to visit and ask for support. We have been able to help civilians with transportation, problems related to laws, health care and community problems."

Saw Shee Sh, Liaison Office Representative, Karen National Union (KNU), Hpa-An Liaison Office

EBO's actions ←

FACILITATING DISCUSSIONS ON RAKHINE STATE

In 2013, EBO organized a consultation between Rohingya leaders to discuss how the violence in Rakhine State could be contained and what political solutions can be found to the Rakhine conflict. Additionally, EBO and international partners enabled the *Arakan National Unity Facilitating Committee (ANUFC)* to organize a meeting between Rakhine leaders. They decided that the five armed Rakhine organizations should cooperate. All Arakanese armed organizations will then meet again in early 2014 to formulate a structure and a policy of cooperation for the peace negotiations. The leaders also decided that an *Arakan National Convention* would be held in April 2014 in Rakhine State bringing together armed organizations, political parties, CBOs, CSOs, and people from all walks of life to be as inclusive as possible. It was also decided that both factions of the *Arakan National Council (ANC)* must be merged and combined with other non-members to create a legitimate Rakhine political body. None of the Arakanese leaders want conflict and violence in Rakhine State. The leaders agreed that the Government must apply the 1982 citizenship law. In order to apply it, the Government must identify who are eligible and who are illegal immigrants. But the leaders acknowledged that the Government has difficulty collecting data and implementing activities.

CIVIL

SOCIETY

STRATEGIC PARTNER

3

Project partners of EBO-funded CSO project



2013 key issues for civil society organizations* (CSOs)

Lack of information and knowledge of the general public on crucial issues such as the peace process developments, constitutional rights, human rights, health issues, etc.

Lack of support, inclusion and empowerment of civil society in the peace process.

Lack of access to higher education.

Lack of media in ethnic languages.

Lack of information on land rights and environmental issues, which are key concerns for the rural ethnic communities which are dependent on the land for their livelihood.

Lack of interaction between the civil society and international counterparts.

INVOLVING CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS IN THE PEACE PROCESS

Throughout 2013, EBO encouraged civil society consultations and participation in the peace process at all levels, especially by supporting about 100 state- and division-based consultations to build support and consensus on the concept of a *Framework Agreement for a National Dialogue* (see Annex 2). EBO also initiated a series of workshops with key civil society activists to inform political stakeholders not yet involved in the peace process on the *Nationwide Ceasefire Plan* elaborated by the EAOs and on the *Framework Agreement for a National Dialogue*.



Victor Biak Lian, EBO Operations Director presenting the latest developments of the peace process to civil society groups.

Many more stakeholders are now involved in the peace process as a result.

SUPPORTING CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS



EBO's Project Cycle Management training for project partners.

EBO's goal is to support through sub-grants the most disenfranchised, under-represented and 'forgotten' communities. In order to support civil society organizations at a local level and in remote areas, EBO provides grants for local small-scale projects based on criteria mentioned on EBO's website (<http://www.euro-burma.eu/contact/apply-grants/>).

* Civil society is a very broad and generic term for any group that is working with or on behalf of a community in Myanmar – these groups can draw people to work towards a given aim – for example social justice, or land rights, environmental sustainability, or may work with a community which shares something in common – faith, ethnicity, gender, social demographic. Civil society is therefore the organized channel to reaching the diverse communities across Myanmar.

→ EBO's actions

EMPOWERING WOMEN'S GROUPS



EBO's women training, August 2013

Until recently women have remained a minority within the leadership of the Burmese democracy and ethnic movements. However, women form the backbone of the society and need to be more involved in the political process. Therefore, EBO has always made it a priority to fund organizations and projects to support the inclusion of women

in the democratic movement.

In 2013, EBO provided support to women groups by allocating funding to enable women organizations, leaders and activists to meet and share experiences on their activities, achievements, weaknesses and challenges when they work with their communities. Other issues raised in and/or focused on in workshops and trainings funded by EBO include how to improve the peace negotiations, the current political situation, and women's participation in the peace process, as well as IDPs in conflict areas and how to encourage people's participation in the peace process.

BUILDING THE CAPACITY OF ETHNIC YOUTH

Young people are also a priority in EBO project activities. They are an important constituency in the democracy movement, and EBO has empowered youth in their activities and encouraged their active participation in policy making processes. In 2013, EBO supported several youth organizations from different ethnic backgrounds in order to help them work together on areas of common interest. EBO provided funding for seminars on peace monitoring and

strategy planning which brought youth groups together to organize themselves as umbrella



Workshop organized by an EBO-funded youth empowerment project in Mon State.

EBO's actions ←

organizations on the monitoring of the peace process in different states. Other EBO funded workshops included meetings between leaders and representatives of different youth groups, who exchanged ideas and discussed challenges faced by young people. This resulted in the development of networks which foster better

communication and cooperation among youth groups scattered in various parts of the country, and working on different issues (education, health, employment, technology, sports, drugs...). In 2013, EBO also provided support to university students to discuss the formation of Students Unions.

STRENGTHENING THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIA

While the media landscape in Myanmar has opened up and Myanmar-language media is thriving, this is not the case for ethnic languages. EBO supports ethnic communities and organizations to publish news and cultural material in their own languages. In 2013, EBO supported ethnic media, which had an even more important function as the ceasefire negotiations gained momentum. People were not aware of developments both positive and negative, and media in their own language helped them

to understand the process better. EBO also funded the *Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB)*, a non-profit Burmese media organization, to train information officers from the *Myanmar Ministry of Information* from all states and regions on professional journalism and the need to cover local stories related to the political process. Together with Hannes Siebert (*CSI Lebanon*), EBO also conducted a workshop on the peace process for local journalists and editors.

PROVIDING SCHOLARSHIP GRANTS

EBO provides scholarships to ethnic students via two main programs, a Burmese program at *Martin Luther Christian University (MLCU)* in Shillong, India and a English Social Sciences BA program at *Chiang Mai University*, Thailand.

The students follow degree courses in health, social work, business administration, economy, contemporary society and social issues, or computer skills. The programs allow young people from disenfranchised communities of

→ EBO's actions

Myanmar to access higher education and pledge a further two years involvement in civil society projects after their studies. In 2013, the first stream of Burmese students to *MLCU* graduated.

"By studying Social Work, I have gained understanding on how to plan and implement projects for the improvement of social conditions. I am sure that this knowledge can help in the development of the state within different fields and sectors, which will in turn allow for positive outcome that will benefit the civil society at large. Therefore, I would like to invite EBO to continue their scholarship program for the holistic development, empowerment and well-being of all ethnic groups living in Myanmar."

Mr. Duh Hu Thang, Chin State. Graduated with a Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) from Martin Luther Christian University (MLCU), Shillong, Meghalaya State, Northeast India. Currently working at the Chin National Democratic Party (CNDP).



2011-2014 bachelor students at Martin Luther Christian University (MLCU), Shillong, Meghalaya, India.

RAISING AWARENESS ON THE PEACE PROCESS, HUMAN RIGHTS & CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS

EBO funded and enabled workshops and trainings to raise public awareness on the peace process, on constitutional matters and on human rights. Constitutional awareness workshops for grassroots communities were organized several times, across different ethnic states, where participants discussed various issues, including Burmese political history; lessons learned from Nargis; the 2008 Constitution; the advantages and disadvantages of the Shan State Constitution; a comparison of the 2008 and Shan Constitutions; the role of people participation in constitutional change; the importance of

peace building; international relations and the pros and cons of investment. Trainings and consultations were also held in several states to raise awareness of grassroots communities on the peace process, human rights, democracy, elections, and the role of civil society in politics. Other EBO funded trainings in 2013 covered topics such as peace-building, citizenship rights, rights of ethnic people, women's rights, economic, social and cultural rights, religious freedom, communications, networks set-up and team building.

EBO's actions ←

RAISING AWARENESS ON ENVIRONMENT AND POLITICS

EBO supported an environmental & politics training conducted by an environmental group, which was an interesting example of how a training can create an occasion which is democratic in character but has disappeared for so long from the country's state-public relation scene, for both the general public (villagers) and a Government institution (*National Park Office*) to meet and discuss openly and fervently on issues. This training focused on awareness on the environment and politics, the richness of

biodiversity, the environmental conservation laws and current environmental situation of the local area. EBO also provides funding to projects working on land right related issues.



EBO-funded project on environmental issues.

LINKING CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS WITH INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES

EBO participated in a *Civil Society Dialogue Network (CSDN)* meeting in Brussels organized by the *European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO)*. Existing peace structures and how the EU might get involved were discussed by Burmese and European organizations. The

conference discussions focused on a range of topics including citizen rights, minority rights, basic democracy, peace building and leadership. Participants included CSOs from different areas across Myanmar.

INTERNATIONAL

COMMUNITY

STRATEGIC PARTNER

4

From left to right: Harn Yawngwe, EBO Executive Director; Mariann Rudd-Hagen, Office of Special Advisor on Myanmar to UN General-Secretary; Major-General Gun Maw Sumlat, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Kachin Independence Army (KIA)



The dynamics of different ethnic armed organizations and politics is complex for the international community to grasp.

The international community was keen to see that the planned census in Myanmar should provide accurate data on the country's diverse population.

Other peace processes have taken place in other countries. It was important for Myanmar to learn about others' experiences and knowledge.

2013 key issues

for the international community

In 2013, there was overwhelming support for the peace process by international governments and donors. Although the Government of Myanmar had a channel for international governments to engage with on the peace process (the MPC), the ethnic armed organizations and political parties had no single voice institution to be supported. However, it was important that all groups were included in the peace process, that no one was overlooked and that all groups had access to capacity building opportunities.

PROVIDING BRIEFINGS AND CONSULTATIONS

Internationally, EBO has been successful in raising awareness of the complex situation in Myanmar.

In 2013, EBO gave over 300 briefings and consultations to the international community.

"EBO's greatest achievement over the past 5 years resides in providing constructive input, a voice of reason in an ocean of ideologically motivated blindness."

Andreas List, former Head of the EU Office in Myanmar

Briefings were given to:

- Governments: Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Development Ministries, Embassies in Yangon and abroad, a wide diversity of officials and diplomats based in Yangon, Southeast Asia and globally.
- Regional organizations such as the *Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)* and the *European Union (EU)* (including *EU's External Action Service; EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy; EU Mission in Yangon*).
- International organizations such as the *United Nations (UN)*, organizations working on security policy, regional peace, and external actions.
- International policy think-tanks such as the *International Crisis Group (ICG)*.
- Academics.
- Foundations, cooperation initiatives as well as organizations involved in conflict resolution.
- INGOs, NGOs, and civil society.

This activity has grown in importance as the reform process in Myanmar has developed. The

reasons for this change come predominantly from the fact that domestically the opportunity for a peace process and national reconciliation has become a reality. EBO's added-value as advisor/facilitator in the process is that it represents no political, economic or ethnic party or organization. It is able to present analysis on the basis of the realities on the ground, not to support a particular agenda.

EBO also participates in international conferences focusing on Myanmar, peace building, peace donors, violence prevention, etc.

In 2013, Hannes Siebert, *CSI Lebanon*, and EBO also conducted a series of workshops on the proposed *Framework for a National Dialogue and the Peace Process in Myanmar* (see *Annexes 1 & 2*) for the *UN Country Team (UNDP, ILO, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNODC, WFP)*, the *US Embassy and USAID in Yangon*; the *Myanmar Peace Support Initiative team*; and the *Myanmar Peace Center (MPC)*.

→ EBO's actions

COORDINATING THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE SUPPORT GROUP

EBO is one of the coordinators of a crucial international support network - the *International Peace Support Group (IPSG)*. In January 2012, international NGOs involved in capacity building initiatives formed the *IPSG* to coordinate their efforts in support of the peace process. The *IPSG* is an ad-hoc body to support the ethnic armed groups negotiate a just and equitable peace. The *IPSG* acts as a clearinghouse for training needs. Each INGO operates on its own budget but shares information and the task of building the capacity

of the ethnic groups to be able to enhance their capacities to negotiate. The *IPSG* directly facilitates the political process and meets once a month to ensure ethnic capacity building needs are met. Starting with 21 organizations, the *IPSG* now has more than 60 organizations. EBO also briefs donors at the *Peace Donors Support Group* which is the coordination mechanism between donor countries, and a contact point for peace support funding needs.

RAISING AWARENESS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 2014 CENSUS

At the request of the *United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)*, EBO enabled ethnic committees including Members of Parliaments in both Houses

to mobilize the ethnic population to participate in Myanmar's Census 2014 by organizing several consultations and trainings.

LEARNING FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

EBO convened a consultation in Bangkok of constitutional experts in 2013 to discuss the 2008 Myanmar Constitution and how it could be amended. The participants were from the *Berghof Foundation, Germany; Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies; Center for Constitutional Democracy, USA; Centre for Local Development, Thailand; Humanitarian Dialogue Centre, Switzerland; Karen*

Strategic Studies Group; Forum of Federations, Canada; International IDEA, Sweden; Myanmar Peace Centre; Shan State Constitution Drafting Committee; Sydney University Law School, Australia; UNDP Nepal; UNDP Thailand; and the United Nationalities Federal Council. The experts discussed federalism in its various forms and how it applies to the Burmese context.

EBO's actions ←

DISSEMINATING BRIEFING PAPERS, POLITICAL ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH PAPERS

EBO provides a wide range of research results from its own research team and from other organizations focusing on Myanmar:

-*EBO's Political Monitors* provide a summary of key political events occurring in Myanmar as well as an analysis from EBO's perspective and a synopsis of parliamentary questions. They are published on a weekly basis and freely accessible on EBO website.

-*EBO's Briefing Papers* focus on specific issues and offer a thorough analysis based on EBO's perception of the topic dealt with.

-*EBO'S Daily News* is a summary of the latest news headlines and articles that is sent out to an extensive mailing list and updated on EBO website on a daily basis.

-*Research papers* are articles, statements or press releases issued by other organizations.

EBO's research documents and website are well received and continue to grow in readership resulting in a better informed public.

"EBO's main achievements have been to raise awareness about the situation in Burma at the level of the EU Institutions in Brussels and among those, who follow Asian affairs; to provide full and accurate information about day-to-day developments in Burma, as well as more analytical research; and to undertake crucial training and liaison work on the ground inside Burma and within the expatriate Burmese community, especially in Thailand.

Without the work of EBO, it would be far more difficult for European Burma-watchers and think-tanks, such as EIAS, to follow and be fully informed about developments in Burma. The regular flow of information emanating from EBO is a most valuable and, probably, unique asset".

*Dick Gupwell, Vice Chair,
European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS)*

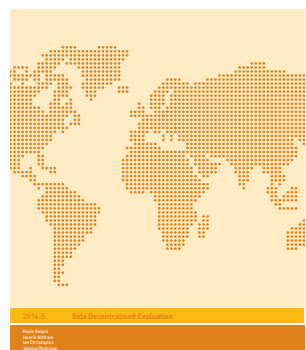
EBO evaluation



⇒ External evaluation

External evaluation

In October 2013, the *Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)* funded an external evaluation of EBO's activities in order to assess the relevance and sustainability of EBO project activities.



Evaluation of Sida's Core Support to the Euro-Burma Office (EBO): Promotion of Human Rights and Democracy in the Union Burma/Myanmar

Authors:
Kevin Kelpin, Henrik Alffram, Ian Christoplos and Jessica Rothman

ON EBO'S ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS

"The work of EBO is highly relevant to the current peace process in Burma. EBO and its Executive Director play a central role in mediating this highly complex and fluid situation. The EBO role has been especially critical in mediating the involvement of the ethnic armed groups, and has assisted them in coming to consensus positions

in advance of their meetings with other actors who are involved in the peace process."

"In recent years, as political developments have opened up new opportunities, EBO has also successfully contributed to increased dialogue between the government and the ethnic armed groups."

ON EBO'S ROLE IN CAPACITY BUILDING OF CIVIL SOCIETY

"There can be little doubt that EBO's programme, with its focus on civil society support and the peace process, provides support to a pluralistic civil society among ethnic minorities, often with a focus on rights issues and policy dialogue. A process of facilitated communication between, and strategy development among, the various

ethnic minorities has always been a central part of EBO's work, as has its focus on promoting the involvement of women in public life and decision making processes."

External evaluation

ON EBO'S ROLE IN MEDIATING WITH DIFFERENT GROUPS

"As one external voice commented '*EBO started when no one thought you could do anything inside*'.

A major reason for EBO's current high level of involvement is the broad and well-developed contacts it has with a wide range of civil society organisations, political parties and ethnic armed groups. EBO continues to maintain a high level of 'trust' with these different social actors, and often operates as a 'trusted insider' with all groups, thus allowing it to act as a mediator between

groups that mistrust each other."

"The role of its Executive Director has a higher level of visibility and is well respected and trusted by individuals in the government, the army and among the ethnic armed groups. He is in a unique mediating position that could only be filled by very few individuals in Burma and is frequently sought out by both internal and external actors to provide information."

ON EBO'S ROLE IN ALLOCATING FUNDING

"EBO is also considered to be a well-established channel through which international donors can provide support to actors which they would otherwise not be able to reach; that the donor would find difficult to directly support for political or other reasons (e.g. armed groups, trans-border support); or for which the donor has not yet managed to 'find their way' to these groups by establishing the necessary levels of trust to work directly together. EBO is also seen to provide an alternative to the 'big event' approach that some external voices describe as being popular with

other donors. As stated to the evaluation team by an 'external voice' that has lived and worked in Burma for decades, donors can be very hesitant to 'sign up' with cash for a peace process that moves through a series of smaller events that is less 'results-driven'. As an organisation with a recognised history of involvement in Burma, and with the ability to respond quickly with the flexible release of funds that pinpoint strategic interventions that are timely, EBO remains central to the peace process."

Financial report



⇒ Income

⇒ Expenditure

Income

Euro-Burma Office is deeply grateful to the following donors for supporting our work:



SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY (SIDA)

Sida is a government agency working on behalf of the Swedish parliament and government, with the mission to reduce poverty in the world.



NORWEGIAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs works for Norway's interests internationally, to safeguard the country's freedom, security and prosperity.



THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION'S EUROPEAN INITIATIVE FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS (EIDHR) PROGRAMME

The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) is the concrete expression of the EU's intention to integrate the promotion of democracy and human rights into all of its external policies.



THE ROYAL DANISH EMBASSY, BANGKOK

The Royal Danish Embassy in Bangkok maintains and strengthens the relationship between Denmark and Myanmar by providing significant development assistance.



MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FINLAND

The aim of Finland's foreign policy is to strengthen international stability, security, peace, justice, and sustainable development as well as promote the rule of law, democracy and human rights.



THE SWISS CONFEDERATION DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Swiss Confederation Department of Foreign Affairs objectives include the peaceful coexistence among peoples; respect for human rights and the promotion of democracy; relieving need and poverty in the world.

Income

DONOR	EUROS	%
SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY (SIDA)	1,048,053 EUR	49%
NORWEGIAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS	707,089 EUR	33%
MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FINLAND	600,000 EUR	28%
EUROPEAN COMMISSION'S EIDHR PROGRAMME	518,045 EUR	24%
ROYAL DANISH EMBASSY IN BANGKOK	162,195 EUR	8%
SWISS CONFEDERATION DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS	75,599 EUR	3%
FORUM OF FEDERATIONS (CANADA)	17,998 EUR	1%
OTHER INCOME	6,920 EUR	-
INTEREST	1,057 EUR	-
DEFERRED INCOME*	-997,240 EUR	-46%
TOTAL 2013 INCOME	2,139,716 EUR	100%

* Income received in 2013 to be allocated to 2014 activities.

Expenditure

	2012 Audited <i>Euro</i>		2013 Audited <i>Euro</i>	
Consolidated Profit and Loss Statement				
INCOME				
Total Income	2,450,739		2,139,716	
EXPENSES				
International Community (Strategic Analysis)	145,374	7%	326,695	12%
Decision-makers (Political Actors)	360,453	17%	537,378	19%
Civil Society	840,712	41%	889,543	32%
Peace Process (Ethnic Armed Organizations)	492,766	24%	810,413	29%
Internal Restructuring	71,067	3%	92,773	3%
Administration	166,695	8%	163,788	5%
Total Expenses	2,077,067		2,820,590	
Net Income	373,672		(680,874)	
Consolidated Balance Sheet - As of 31 December 2013				
ASSETS				
Cash in Bank	14,269		16,182	
Donors Funds	447,132		699,223	
Receivable from Donors	0		104,369	
Prepayment to EBO Offices	210,000		491,139	
Prepayment to Projects	161,869		(59)	
Total Assets	833,270		1,310,854	
LIABILITIES				
Accounts Payable/ Accruals	51,982		1,210,441	
EQUITY				
Opening Balance Equity	407,616		781,287	
Net Income	373,672		(680,874)	
Total Equity	781,288		100,413	
Total Liabilities and Equity	833,270		1,310,854	

Remarks:

-Expenses in 2014 are reclassified to reflect EBO's Outcome Mapping undertaken at the beginning of 2014 to clarify who EBO's 'Boundary Partners' are.
Boundary Partners are EBO's external partners that EBO works through to achieve an 'Outcome'.
-EBO accounting was changed from cash basis to accrual basis in 2013 on the recommendation of the independent external auditor - Ohrlings Pricewaterhouse Coopers AB, Sweden.

Expenditure

2013 funding allocation categorized by EBO Strategic Partners:



H

ighlights

1990 to 2012



1990
to
1997

ADDB published *"Burma Alert"*, one of the earliest newsletters on Burma and helped communities organize 'Burma Support' groups in various countries.



BURMA ALERT, Newsletter published by ADDB



Burmese demonstrating in Ottawa in -40C temp, 1994

1991

ADDB successfully applied for the first ever institutional grant of C\$100,000 for the exile National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB) of Prime Minister Sein Win.

1992
to
2002

ADDB assisted the NCGUB to lobby governments for UN General Assembly resolutions on Burma.

A key achievement in 1994 was the UN General Assembly resolution calling for a "Tripartite Dialogue" to resolve the conflict.

In 1995, ADDB testified before the European Commission on forced labour, which led to the withdrawal of GSP privileges for Burma and the International Labour Organization action on forced labour in Burma.

Key achievements in 1996 were the first European Union Common Position on Burma and the first ever commitment from the European Union to fund the Euro-Burma Office (1997-2000).



From left to right: Carter Centre staff; Dr Sein Win, Prime Minister, NCGUB; Nai Shwe Kyin, Chair, New Mon State Party; Jimmy Carter, President of the United States from 1977 to 1981; Saw Ba Thein Sein, Prime Minister of Kawthoolei, Karen National Union; Dr Manam Tuja, Vice-Chair, Kachin Independence Organization. USA, 1992.



From left to right: Harn Yawnghwe, ADDB Director and NCGUB Advisor; Peter Limbin, Foreign Minister, NCGUB; Dr Sein Win, Prime Minister NCGUB; Gareth Evans, Foreign Minister of Australia; Richard Butler, Permanent Representative of Australia to the UN. United Nations, New-York, 1992.

On the left: Traditional festival in Kachin State.

1992 Together with the Canadian Friends of Burma, ADDB undertook a **feasibility study to set up a National Fund for Reconstruction and Development for the NCGUB**. It was unsuccessful.



In Manerplaw, Kawthoolei, with and KNU Chair Bo Mya



NCGUB Information Minister Maung Maung Aye in DVB studio

1993 ADDB helped the Norwegian Burma Council to organize the **first ever meeting of agencies funding Burma projects**. This led to the **Burma Donors Forum and the Burma Donors Secretariat**, both managed by ADDB, being established in 1994.

1994 ADDB participated in the inaugural meeting of the **Forum for Democratic Leaders in Asia Pacific** in Seoul, organized by Dr Kim Dae-jung, later Nobel Peace laureate and President of South Korea.

1995 ADDB co-hosted the **first ever Convention of Burmese Elected Representatives** in Bommersvik, Sweden, with the Olof Palme International Centre and Norwegian Burma Council.



The signed Bommersvik Declaration



The new NCGUB Cabinet being sworn in.

1996 At the request of the NCGUB and the Norwegian Burma Council, ADDB **re-organized the Democratic Voice of Burma into a professional media organization**.



Original egg-carton DVB studio



Dr Aung Khin, Oo Oo Khin and Nelson Ku, DVB in 1996

1996 ADDB managed the **Economic Research project** funded by the Swedish Foreign Ministry that led the Burmese government to undertake a similar effort.

ADDB organized the **International Convention to Restore Democracy in Burma**, in New Delhi, together with Open Society Institute (OSI) and Indian Members of Parliament led by Minister George Fernandez. Two international conferences on Burma were also organized at the UN with the OSI and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

1997 EBO was established in Brussels and the first ever **Stakeholders Consultation of Burmese organizations** was held.

EBO organized a **Burma Donors Forum in Paris**.

1998 EBO funded:

- An **NCGUB Cabinet meeting** in Australia
- A **Burma Conference** in Canada that led to the formation of the **National Reconciliation Programme**
- A **Chin Seminar** bringing together eight Chin organizations that led to the formation of the **Chin Forum**
- A **women's meeting** in Thailand that led to the establishment of the **Women's League of Burma**.

1999 EBO established the **National Reconciliation Programme** to bring about a 'Tripartite Dialogue' as resolved by UN General Assemblies since 1994.

2000 Held extensive strategy consultations with Burma support groups and policy makers to promote the dialogue between Daw Aung San Suu Kyi (DASSK) and the SPDC.

A key EBO achievement was the **4-week training course for young activists** at the Irish Institute for Public Administration in Dublin. Eleven of the sixteen trainees were ethnic and most are today holding leadership positions.



First EBO-Rohingya meeting in Bangladesh, 2000

Another key focus was the **initiation of the EBO-Rohingya dialogue**.

2001 Supported the formation of the **Joint Action Committee** between the **National Democratic Front** and the **United Nationalities League for Democracy**. This led to the **Ethnic Nationalities Solidarity and Coordinating Committee** and the launching of the **"New Panglong Initiative"** to establish a federal and democratic Burma.

2002 Political support for the DASSK-SPDC dialogue, and preparations for a possible transition to democracy should the talks succeed.

2003 Organized a workshop for the ENSCC to work out a transition plan and produce an "Ethnic Road Map" to counter the SPDC's Seven-step Road Map.

2004 Supported the transformation of the ENSCC into the Ethnic Nationalities Council. ENC represents the seven ethnic states of the Union of Burma. Its objective is federalism rather than independence for the different states.



Participants traveling to the Ethnic Seminar in Lawkhila, early 2004, crossing the river from Thailand



Participants at the Ethnic Seminar in Lawkhila, early 2004, organized by the ENSCC before the formation of the Ethnic Nationalities Council

2005 Enabled DVB to start testing a satellite TV service inside Burma which in 2007 came into its own with its exclusive coverage of the Saffron Revolution. EBO also funded the Arakan History Workshop to enable the people of Arakan State to find common ground.

2006 Supported the ENC to start training staff for its Digital Mapping program.

2007 Funded the Mon History Conference at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand.

2008 Supported the Vote "No" Campaign against the referendum on the 2008 Constitution. EBO also funded the Chin History Seminar at Mizoram University in Aizawl, India.

2009 Funded the Shan Studies Conference at Chulalongkorn University and consulted extensively with civil society, political organizations and ethnic armies on the 2010 elections.

2010 Encouraged the formation of ethnic parties to contest the 2010 elections. This led to ethnic parties becoming the 3rd, 4th, and 5th largest parties in Burma.

Co-hosted the Rohingya Consultation with the Organization of the Islamic Conference in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. This led to the formation of the Arakan Rohingya Union of 26 Rohingya organizations, which agreed to seek a peaceful solution to the Rohingya question in Burma.

2011 Introduced the Government of Myanmar peace negotiator to the Chin National Front, Kachin Independence Organization, Karen National Union, Karenni National Progress Party and the Restoration Council for Shan State (Shan State Army, South). This led to ceasefire agreements which should eventually lead to a nationwide peace process.



KIO delegation led by Gen N Ban La greeted by Minister Aung Min



Dr Ne Win Maung, Aung Min, Tin Maung Than and Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing

2012 Supported the formation of the Working Group for Ethnic Coordination to facilitate the peace process for armed ethnic nationalist groups.

Co-founded the International Peace Support Group (ad-hoc NGO network) to support political negotiations for the conflict partners.

Participated in negotiations between the Government of Myanmar and the Peace Donors Support Group, which led to international funding for the Myanmar Peace Centre.

Supported the DVB initiative to engage with the Ministry of Information to promote Public Service Broadcasting in Burma. This led the Government to adopt a program to transform its news agencies into Public Service agencies.



Escort for RCSS Peace Talks, May 2012



Minister Aung Min's helicopter for KNU talks.

A nnexes



1. The Myanmar Peace Process,
an indicative timeline

2. Framework for a National Dialogue
developed by EAOs (May 2013)

➡ PEACE PROCESS ROADMAP

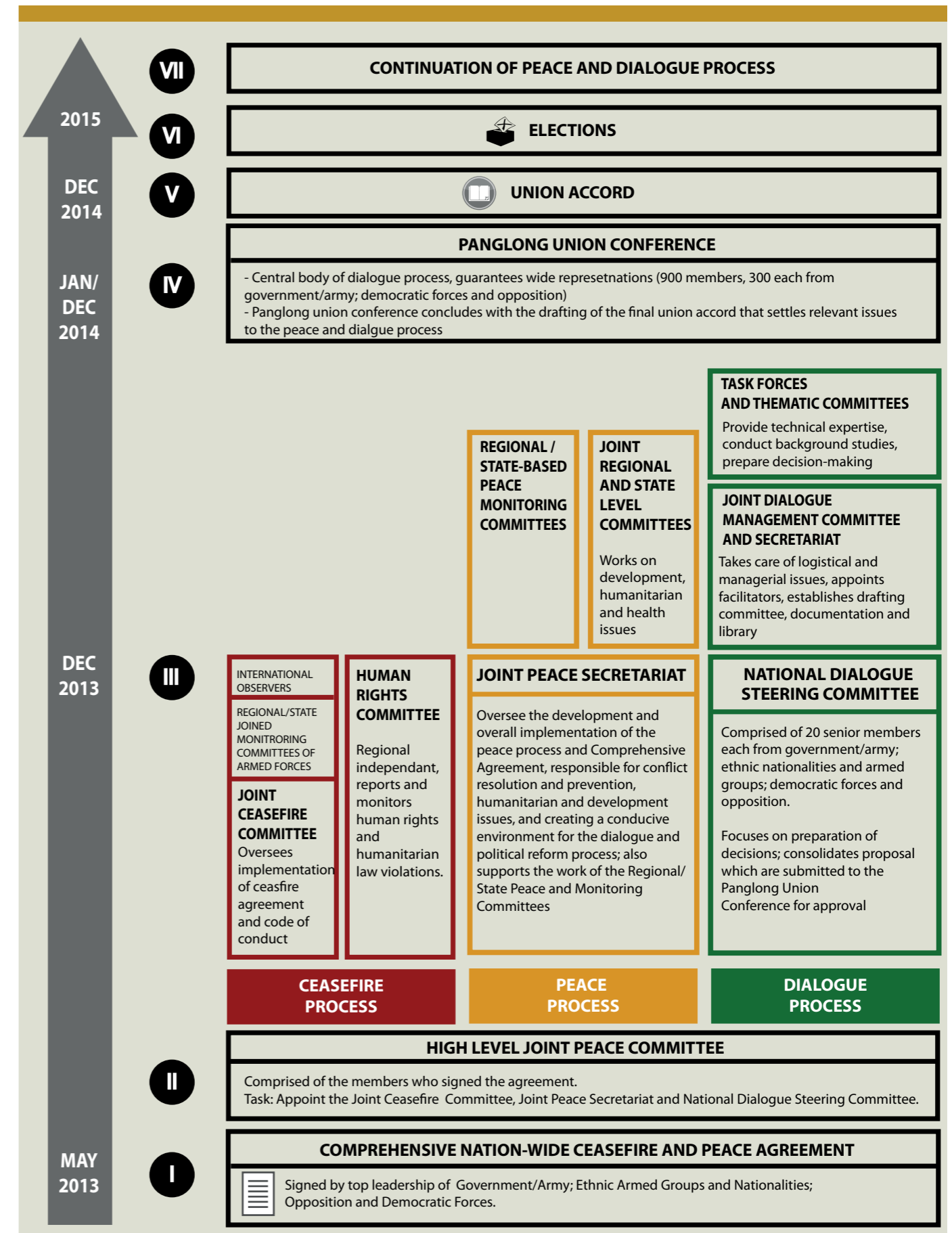
➡ PEACE PROCESS STRUCTURES

➡ PEACE PROCESS - NATIONAL DIALOGUE STRUCTURE

3. Maps: from British conquest to
Myanmar states division

- The Government of Myanmar announced peace talks in August 2011.
- Minister Aung Min requested EBO Executive Director Harn Yawngnwe in October 2011 to introduce him to EAOs (ethnic armed organizations).
- Since November 2011, bi-lateral negotiations have resulted in 15 separate ceasefire agreements.
- The Government's negotiating mechanism was consolidated in May 2012 into:
 1. Union Peacemaking Central Committee (UPCC) chaired by President Thein Sein
 2. Union Peacemaking Work Committee (UPWC) chaired by Vice-President Dr Sai Mauk Hkam
 assisted by three Vice-Chairs:
 - Parliamentary Peace Committee Chair Thein Zaw
 - Deputy Commander-in-Chief Vice-Senior General Soe Win
 - President's Office Minister Aung Min (Chief Negotiator).
- The Myanmar Peace Centre (MPC) was established in November 2012 to support the Chief Negotiator, Minister Aung Min.
- UPWC accepted in principle in August 2013 the EAO's concept of a *Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA)*, which will establish:
 1. A Ceasefire Process
 2. A Peace Support Process
 3. A Political Dialogue Process.
- The EAO's negotiating team was expanded in October 2013 (Laiza) to include EAOs that have not yet signed a separate ceasefire agreement – *Nationwide Ceasefire Coordinating Team (NCCT)*.
- Government's negotiating team, MPC, was replaced by the UPWC supported by MPC, in November 2013 (Myitkyina).

PEACE PROCESS ROADMAP



* EBO, FELM and CSI Lebanon facilitated the EAOs to develop the Framework for Political Dialogue.

PEACE PROCESS STRUCTURES

I. CEASEFIRE PROCESS

- 1.) Signing of "Comprehensive Nation-wide Ceasefire and Peace Agreement" by top leadership of Government/Army; Ethnic Armed Groups and Nationalities; Opposition and Democratic Forces.
- 2.) Agreement mandate the establishment of the "High Level Peace Committee" comprised of the members who signed the agreement.
- 3.) They appoint the Joint Ceasefire Committee, Joint Peace Secretariat and National Dialogue Steering Committee.

JOINT CEASEFIRE COMMITTEE

Union Level: Reps of Ethnic Armed Groups, Government/Army, Chairperson of National Peace Secretariat, and National and International Observers

Regional/State Level: Ethnic Armed Groups, Government/Army, Chairpersons of National Peace Secretariats, and National and International Observers

- Oversees the implementation of the Nation-wide Ceasefire Accord, adherence to the Ceasefire Code of Conduct and resolves disputes arising from implementation or violations

JOINT PEACE SECRETARIAT

Reps of Ethnic Armed Groups, Parliamentary Peace Committee, Civil Society, and Chairpersons of the Joint Ceasefire Committee and the Dialogue Management Committee

- Oversee the development and overall implementation of the peace process and Comprehensive Agreement, responsible for humanitarian and development issues, and creating a conducive environment for the dialogue and political reform process; also supports the work of the Regional/State Peace and Monitoring Committees

II. PEACE AND DIALOGUE PROCESS

PANGLONG UNION CONFERENCE

900 Members (300 / 300 / 300)

- Adoption of dialogue agenda principles and procedure
- Nominate and establish task groups
- Statements
- Debate
- Final Decision-making

NATIONAL DIALOGUE STEERING COMMITTEE

Appointed by top leadership of Government/Army, and Nationalities; Opposition and Democratic Forces

- Consultations
- Research
- Discussion
- Option generation
- Creating proposals to be submitted to Panglong Conference

DIALOGUE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

SECRETARIAT

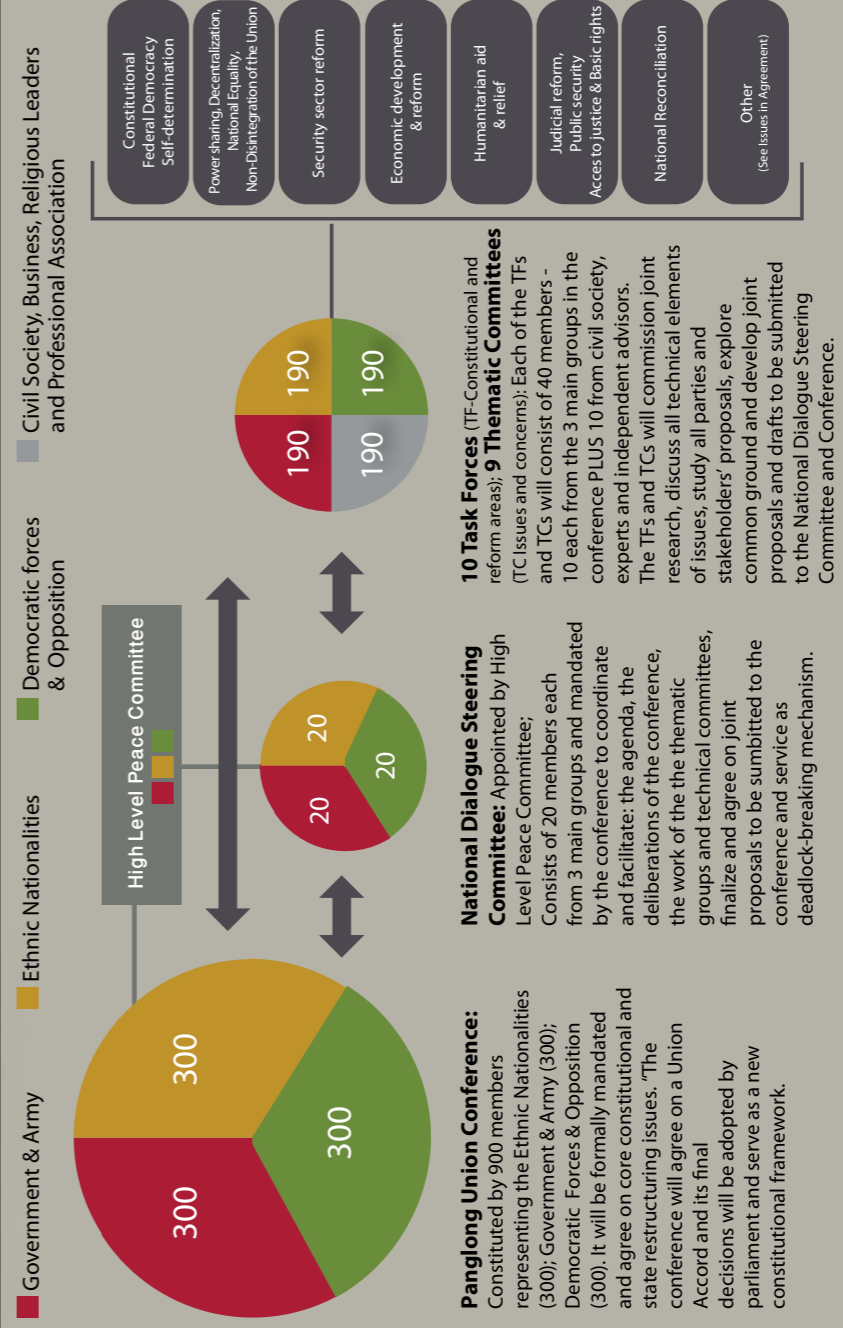
TASK FORCES (10) & THEMATIC COMMITTEES (9)

- Technical experts Representatives from parties, advisors and experts
- Constitutional Federal Democracy & Self-determination
- Power sharing, Decentralization, National Equality, Non-Disintegration of the Union
- Security Sector Reform
- Economic Development & Reform
- Humanitarian Aid & Relief
- Judicial Reform, Public Security Access to Justice & Basic Rights
- National Reconciliation
- Other (See issues in agreement)

III. PANGLONG III TO CONTINUE AFTER 2015 ELECTIONS

PEACE PROCESS - NATIONAL DIALOGUE STRUCTURE

PANGLONG 2014 CONFERENCE



SUPPORT STRUCTURE

- Joint dialogue management committee
- Facilitation and coordination
- Drafting committee / Documentation and Library
- Joint National Peace Secretariat and Regional/State Peace & Monitoring Committees

SAFETY NETS

- Non formal ongoing dialogue
- Facilitation, monitoring, and deadlock breaking
- Shared knowledge creation and database
- Technical expert support

STEPS AND SEQUENCING

PANGLONG

- Comprehensive Ceasefire and Peace Agreement
- Implementation of the agreements, public consultation, and monitoring
- Create common ground among armed groups, and political parties and civil society step by step (intra and inter - ethnic)
- Nation-wide nationalities conference for developing common strategies and framework
- Agree with Government and Opposition on framework for political dialogue
- All parties, government, opposition, army and ethnic nationalities formally mandate dialogue and implementation mechanisms within agreed framework

BEYOND PANGLONG

- Legalizing conference agreements and establish joint national and international monitoring group to oversee the implementation
- Referendum and agreed constitutional mechanisms to finalize Constitution
- Establish transitional structures and national elections
- Establish federal union which guarantees right to self-determination
- Security sector reform and integration
- Transitional justice process

* EBO, FELM and CSI Lebanon facilitated the EAOs to develop the Framework for Political Dialogue.

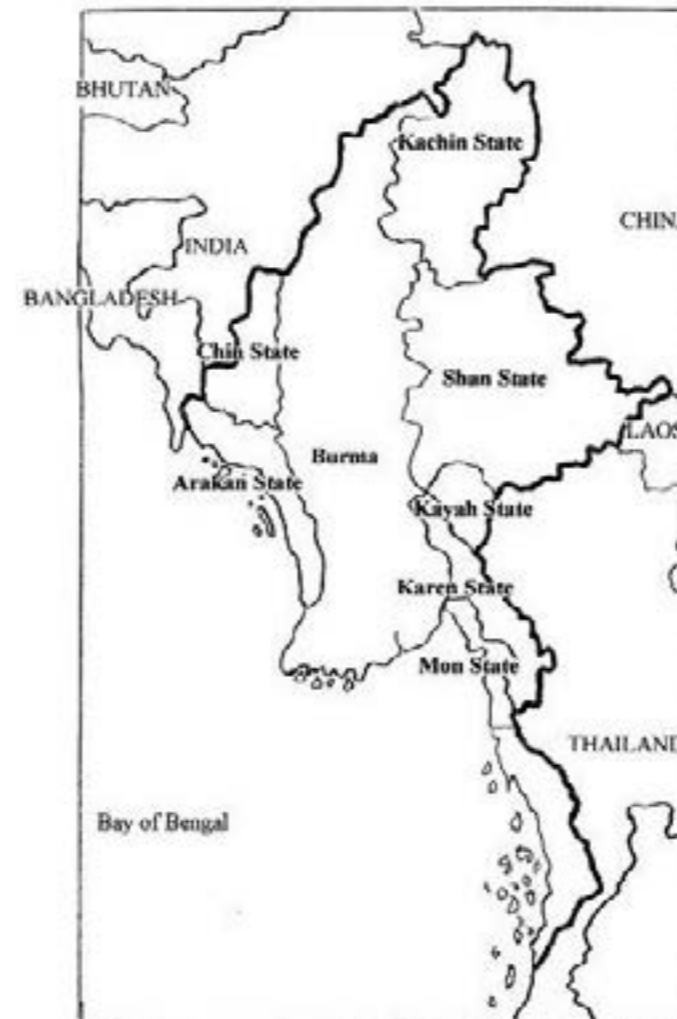
* EBO, FELM and CSI Lebanon facilitated the EAOs to develop the Framework for Political Dialogue.

BRITISH BURMA
Before the Second World War

BURMA UNDER JAPAN
During the Second World War

UNION OF BURMA
Independence 1948

MYANMAR STATES DIVISION



The maps on this page are reproduced with the permission of Mary P. Callahan and are taken from her book "Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma".



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With special thanks to Bruce Levin: www.studiolevin.com for his photographs donation to EBO.



EBO MYANMAR

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For more information: www.euro-burma.eu