Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies
PEACE AND RECONCILIATION
www.burmaethnicstudies.net

Report March 2012 - March 2014
The Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies (BCES) is an independent think tank and study centre founded in 2012 to generate ideas on democracy, human rights and federalism as an effective vehicle for “Peace and Reconciliation” in the Union of Burma.

The root cause of sixty years of ethnic armed conflict in Burma is a constitutional problem due to the failure of implementing a federal system as it was envisaged when the Union of Burma was founded at the Panglong Conference in 1947. After the military coup in 1962, the constitutional crisis was compounded by the lack of democracy and violation of human rights in the country. The Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies therefore views the promotion of democracy, human rights and a federal system as essential for ending ethnic armed conflicts and building peace in Burma.

Objectives

The main objectives of the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies are:

- To promote Peace and Reconciliation;
- To promote the ideas and practices of democracy, human rights and federalism;
- To promote constitutional knowledge, the rule of law and good governance;
- To expand and consolidate the network of organizations and leaders to promote autonomy and internal self-determination within a federal arrangement as a means of addressing and ending ethnic armed conflict in the Union of Burma.
Missions Statement

• To engage in research and publication on democratic principles, human rights and federalism to disseminate knowledge.
• To organize seminars, forums and conferences to advance public policy for peace and development.
• To conduct activities for the development of the rule of law, human rights, democracy and effective and accountable governance.
• To engage in programs to promote and develop democratic and political institutions.
• To initiate programs and activities to assist the strengthening of good governance and evolving meaningful policies to make effective autonomy and internal self-determination in member states of the Union.
• To develop new strategies and communication networks to strengthen communication between ethnic areas and central Burma.

Centre staff meet with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at her residence, 6 September 2013
To promote the concept of decentralization within the framework of federalism; the development of democratic values and respect for human rights; and the culture of dialogue, negotiations and compromise to resolve political problems in the Union of Burma, the Centre is engaged in research and activities in the following areas:

2. Curriculum Development and Training for Democracy, Human Rights and Federalism;
3. Publication of Biographies and organisation histories for preserving, protecting and promoting ethnic culture, history and language as a means to find an alternative to armed resistance movement;

Dr. Lian H. Sakhong’s presentation at the Laiza Conference
To ensure good communication between central Burma and ethnic areas the organisation has established strong networks to allow a better flow of information. This information better enhances the relationship between all the ethnic nationalities and promotes a better understanding using shared experiences via our publications and analysis papers. These papers provoke further discussion on issues that guide the future of the country and provides policy makers a comprehensive background thus allowing them to better understand the issues the country faces.

Dr. Lian H. Sakhong discusses with Thura U Shwe Mann, the Speaker of Union Parliament, 22 October 2013
Additionally, the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies also produces biographies detailing important individuals who have contributed to the political and ethnic landscape of the country. The Centre has produced a number of detailed histories of the various ethnic organisations. These give interested individuals and policy makers the opportunity to see the reasons why the ethnic nationalities in Burma have had to resort to forming armed resistance movements. They show how armed groups would like to end sixty years of ethnic armed conflict in Burma, what kind of policies that they have adopted to solve political crisis in the country, and what methods, techniques and strategies that they have applied for the survival of ethnic populations in Burma.

The Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies is also involved in the ongoing “Peace Talks” between the government and ethnic armed groups by providing technical assistance to relevant ethnic actors. In February 2012, the United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC), an umbrella organization of ethnic armed groups, formed the “Working Group
for Ethnic Coordination” (WGEC) and Lian Sakhong was appointed as one of the five resource persons for that working group. He contributed at least five papers, including the concept paper for the “Framework for Political Dialogue”, which was officially adopted on 31 March 2013.

The “Framework for Political Dialogue” was also officially presented to the Government by the KNU and RCSS on 13 May 2013; and again by the WGEC representative to the Government on 23 August 2013. The Ethnic Technical Team, comprised of members from the WGEC, KNU, RCSS and Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies met again with the Government’s Technical Team and discussed the “Framework for Political Dialogue”, particularly in relation to a “Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement”, from 11-12 September 2013.

The WGEC, KNU, RCSS and Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies as ethnic representatives and academics met with the Union Peace Working Committee, chaired by the Vice-President of the Union of Burma, Dr. Sai Mauk Hkam, in Naypyidaw on 31 August 2013.
Additionally, the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies team, Dr. Lian Sakhong and Sai Mawn, met with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on 6 September 2013 and briefed her about the peace process and the “Framework for Political Dialogue”. Lian Sakhong met with Thura Shwe Mann, speaker of the Pyithu Hluttaw, on the 22 October 2013 at his office in Naypyitaw where they were able to discuss the current ethnic peace process.

The Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies Director, Lian Sakhong, was involved in the Laiza and Myitkyina meetings held in October and November 2013. The Laiza meeting led to the formation of the National Ceasefire Coordinating Team (NCCT), and Lian Sakhong was appointed as a member. Sai Mawn was also appointed to the technical team of the NCCT. Additionally, Lian Sakhong was assigned as the main drafter of both the Laiza and Law Khee Lah agreements that became the basis for ethnic armed group’s official proposal for a Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement, and was officially submitted to U Aung Min, the Government’s Negotiator on 29 January 2014.
Throughout 2012 and from Jan-Sept 2013, the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies has conducted a series of public consultations with civil society organizations, political parties, elected members of parliament, and ethnic armed groups in order to get strategic input from local communities and grass-roots people. These consultations are useful for the Centre in prioritizing its activities based on the local needs and the people’s demands. Because of these consultations, and other experience that the Centre has accumulated so far, these activities will be continued, developed, and adapted by the Centre in the coming years.

The Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies continues to be heavily involved in the on-going peace process and is committed to supporting the Ethic Groups as they seek to find a conclusive peace in the country. Our activities contribute to a more effective international and domestic policy response to help bring about a peaceful transition in Burma, and create the space for a better understanding between the ethnic Burman/Myanmar group from central Burma and ethnic nationalities from the seven ethnic states; and this will eventually bring peace and reconciliation to the country.

Law Khee Lah Conference, cements ethnic unity and produce a Framework for Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement
Strengthening the Peace Process: Meeting with Dr. Sai Mawk Kham, Vice President of the Union of Burma/Myanmar.

Dr. Lian H. Sakhong, the principle drafter of Laiza and Law Khee Lah Agreements meet with U Aung Min, the Government’s Chief Peace Negotiator, in Naypyitaw.
Curriculum Development, Training, and Workshop Program

In order to strengthen democratic practices and institutions, the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies had developed a curriculum that increases the awareness of students. The general public, and political party leaders in relation to the core ideas of democracy and federalism. To achieve its objectives, training sessions for trainee teachers utilising the new curriculum are conducted and participants are encouraged to return to their communities and train further individuals. Participants from various political and ethnic organisations are also encouraged to develop systems for research and preservation of their individual organisations. This in turn can be used to both support the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies’s work and, perhaps more importantly, further enhance civil society and cultural organisations.

The Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies aims to support activities that encourage the following:

- The concept of the rule of law;
- Parliamentary rule and parliament as a democratic institution;
- Political parties that are accountable to the people as democratic institutions;
- People’s participation in the legislative process;
- A greater understanding of the concept of decentralisation and federalism;
- A culture of dialogue, negotiations and compromise to resolve political problems;
- The inclusion of disenfranchised (“left out”) communities in the political process.
1. Democracy:

1. Democracy and Democratization: Theory and Practice;
2. Political Parties: Development of Political Parties and requirement for Codes of Conduct and practice to ensure internal democracy;
3. The role of Political Parties in democratic transition, building a democratic and open societies;
4. Civic Education: The role of Civil Societies and NGOs in democratic transition, building democratic and open societies;

The Centre’s Training with the RCSS and Shan Community
2. Constitution Knowledge and Federal Education:

1. Background History: Constitutional Crisis in Burma;
2. General Principles of Federalism: State and Federal Constitutions;
3. Federal and State Relations: Division of Powers between Federal and State Governments;
4. Local Governments and Decentralized Democratic Administration;
5. The Rule of Law and the Rights of Citizens;
7. Minority Groups: How Federalism Provided Protection to Ethnic and Religious Minorities, etc.
3. Human Rights:

1. Human Rights: Theory and Practice;
2. Human Rights, Indigenous People Rights, and Minority Rights within the frameworks of UN Conventions and how to apply in Burmese contexts;
3. An analysis on the nature of Human Rights violation in Burma;
4. To guarantee Human Rights as a tool of Building Peace in Burma.

To promote our objectives, the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies organised a field trip to Rangoon/Yangon and Naypyitaw (the new capital of Burma/Myanmar), in October 2012. The Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies team included Prof. Kjell-Åke Nordquist, Chairman of the Board, Dr. Lian Sakhong, Director, and Mr. Paul Keenan, Senior Researcher. The Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies team conducted a series of training courses and public meetings, including one in Naypyitaw on Democracy and Electoral Systems for elected members of the Union Parliament. This training was conducted in collaboration with the Rangoon based Shalom Foundation.
In addition to training, the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies also organized a series of public lectures in Rangoon, Haka and Thlantlang. A public lecture in Rangoon was attended by more than 300 participants, and was organized jointly with Chin University Students at Rangoon University. In Haka, there were more than 1,000 participants, and in Thlantlang around 700 participants attended the public lecture which was delivered by the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies Director.

In 2012 and 2013, the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies conducted a number of training courses on the “Principles of Democracy and Federalism” in Chin State, Kachin State, Karenni State, Shan State, Rangoon and Naypyitaw, details are as follows:

1. Training on Democracy for the Chin National Front (CNF) in Aizawl, Mizoram State of India, on 19-21 April 2012.
2. Training on Democracy for the Restoration Council of Shan State (RCSS) and Shan community, on 28-30 August 2012.
3. Training on Democracy for the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) on 4-9 September 2012.
4. Training on Democracy for the Karen National Union (KNU) on 3-5 October 2012.

6. Training on “Principles of Democracy” for Political Parties & MPs: Jointly organized by Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies & Shalom Foundation in Naypyidaw from 19 – 20 October 2012


11. A Workshop on “Oral History” with Chin groups in Rangoon, on 5-6 February 2013


14. Training on “Principles of Democracy & Federalism” in Loikaw, Kayah State, on 09 August 2013, organized by EBO; the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies Director was a resource person on the subject.
15. Training on “Principles of Democracy & Federalism” in Myitkyina, Kachin State, on 13 August 2013, organized by EBO, on 14-15 with the Kachin Cultural Association & Kachin Consultative Assembly; the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies Director was a resource person on the subject.

16. Training on “Principles of Democracy & Federalism” in Yangon, on 2-3 September 2013, organized by National League for Democracy (NLD). The Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies Director was a resource person on the subject.

17. A Workshop on “Principles of Democracy & Federalism” with Chin Civil Society groups in Rangoon, on 12 September 2013.


19. A Workshop on the “Principles of Democracy & Federalism” was held in Nyaunglebin from November 4-6, 2013.

Program Director Sai Mawn conducts a Workshop on Federalism jointly organised with the KNU

Attendees at the BCES/ KNU Workshop
Oral History

The Ethnic Studies Project seeks to document the lives of all those people who have played a part in the development of the country’s political process. An oral history project documenting the experiences of ethnic people’s from all walks of life will be created and this information will initially be made available on the internet and where possible in published form.

One of the main objectives of the project is to preserve, protect, and promote the ways of life of ethnic nationalities in Burma, including their language, culture, history, and local traditions in ethnic communities. Many ethnic armed groups claim that one of the reasons for holding arms and fighting against the central government is to “preserve, protect, and promote their ways of life which are inroad by the government policies since independence”. It is hoped that finding an alternative means and ways to preserve, protect and promote the ways of life in ethnic communities in Burma will enhance building peace and reconciliation in Burma.
NCCT and UWPC/MPC members meet in Chiang Mai, Thailand, January 2014

Liaza Press Conference
Publications

Burma Centre staffs have been active in ensuring that the concerns in relation to the political situation in the country are better understood. Consequently staffs have written the following books:

1. Lian H. Sakhong: *The Principles of Democracy* (in Burmese, 2012, reprinted 6 times & distributed over 40,000 copies);

2. Lian H. Sakhong: *Some Characteristics of Federalism: What the Ethnic Nationalities are fighting for?* (in Burmese, August 2013, reprinted in Dec 2013);


With the 88 Generation leaders

The Silver Jubilee of 8888 Democracy movement
Biographies and Histories

Throughout the last six decades of struggle, a number of individuals have contributed their lives and time to ensuring that successive Burmese governments grant equality to all its peoples. While the names of some of these people are well known many others, who have played just as an important role, are not.

The centre shall embark on a project of producing a number of biographies of these people who have worked so hard for change in the country. Those individuals who are currently still engaged in the struggle will be asked to write their biographies and supported in this endeavour by the centre. Biographies of those who have given up their lives in the struggle will be based on first-hand interviews with those who have known them and secondary source information.

Biographies will be made available in a published format and serialised on the centre’s website. Such biographies are essential in understanding the motivations of those people concerned. They allow the reader to appreciate what the people in the struggle have given up in the name of self-determination and democracy.

In addition, it is hoped that such material shall further enlighten the country’s youth and provide them with an historical foundation upon which to base their knowledge of the people who have worked for their rights. Books published to date include:

Centre Board Members meeting

Ethnic Leaders
Since gaining independence in 1948, a number of ethnic organisations were founded to represent the aspirations of their people. Throughout the past sixty years, these organisations have often been reorganized and have attempted to change their strategies in the face of a constantly political environment. While armed conflict has often seen these organisations depicted as fighting for independence, such characterization fails to recognise the changing nature of such groups.

Forced to adapt to new Burmese governments and the changing international political situation, these groups are often misunderstood and misrepresented. To allow these groups to provide their own background to their story the centre seeks to support them in writing their own histories. These histories will be used to further educate interested parties and to encourage further debate on the strategies that have thus been employed.

It is hope that to allow this project to happen the various ethnic groups will be able to identify an individual who would best be suited to write the definitive history of their movement. This would then be produced in book form and once more serialised on the website.

The importance of recognising the part ethnic resistance movements have played in the country’s politics cannot be over emphasized. It is necessary to allow people to see how such groups, which have been a part of the longest civil war in current history, have developed and attempted to adapt to the constantly changing situation. Histories published to date include:


3. Nai Han Tha: *The NMSP and the Mon Revolutionary Movement* (Rangoon: Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies, November 2013)
Seniar Researcher Paul Keenan at the launch of his book “By Force of Arms”

RCSS Training
Briefing and Analysis Papers

Briefing Papers

While the analysis papers provide a more detailed assessment of certain areas of concern, to further inform the various interested parties in the country’s affairs frequent briefing papers are also produced. These papers summarise current events in relation to ethnic and political affairs and provide a brief yet in-depth breakdown of the situation in the country. These briefings further support the analysis papers and allow individuals to be constantly informed of the many changes that affect the country over the coming years.

Such constant attention to the affairs of the country is even more important than ever as the new government seeks to reform the country and appeal to the international community. While such briefings remain impartial, they are able to inform interested parties and the international community of reforms undertaken, the ethnic situation, areas of conflict, and changes to the country. Papers released so far include:

1. Burma’s Ethnic Ceasefire Agreements
2. Conflict in Kachin State - Time to Revise the Costs of War
3. An Uneasy Peace
4. People’s Militia Forces - Time To Re-Assess The Strategy?
5. Burma’s By-Elections - A Chance for Future Reconciliation?
6. Establishing a Common Framework
7. Seeking Peace in Arakan State
8. Enduring Peace in Shan State
9. Karenni (Kayah State)
10. Re-Opening Mongla
11. Awaiting Peace in Mon State
12. Allied in War, Divided in Peace
13. Engineering Peace in Kachin State
14. Parties to the Conflict
15. The Border Guard Force
16. The UNFC and the Peace Process
17. Business and Armed Groups
18. Ethnic Political Alliances
19. The Laiza Agreement
20. The Law Khee Lah Conference

Public Meeting organized by BCES in Haka, Chin State
November 2012
Analysis Papers

To ensure a clearer understanding of the current situation in Burma, especially from an ethnic perspective, the centre researches and produces a number of analysis papers highlighting particular areas of concern. These papers reflect on the problems facing the country and provide a better understanding of appropriate strategies that need to be applied by the Burmese government, ethnic organisations, and the international community.

Utilising close contacts with members of the ethnic community and other interested parties, these papers provide an accurate and unbiased depiction of the needs of the people of Burma and the organisations that seek to support them. While there are number of international organisations that provide such analysis the centre is much closer to those involved in the country’s decision making processes and as such are able to provide analysis based on the needs of those individuals with interests in the future development of the country. Analysis Papers released thus far discuss the following issues:

1. The Dynamics of Sixty Years of Ethnic Armed Conflict in Burma
2. The Challenges of Ethnic Politics and Negotiated Settlement
3. The Dilemma of Military Dictatorship and Internal Peace
4. Realising Change in Karen Politics
5. The 2008 Constitution and Ethnic Issues
6. Changing the Guard - The KNU Congress
7. Tensions and Concerns in Shan State
In addition, to our English language papers the following were also produced in Burmese:

1. The Challenges of Ethnic Politics and Negotiated Settlement
2. Self-Determination and Ethnic Future
3. From Ceasefire to Dialogue
4. The Principles for a Union Agreement

**Working Papers**

In addition, to publishing briefing and analysis papers, the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies publishes in-depth Working Papers and encourages individuals to submit their papers for publication. So far papers include:

1. The Karen National Union Negotiations 1949 - 2012 - Paul Keenan
2. Institutional Design for Divided Societies - *A Blueprint for a Multi-ethnic Burma* - Zaceu Lian
Dr. Kjell-Åke Nordquist
Chairman, Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies

Dr. Kjell-Åke Nordquist is Associate Professor in Peace and Conflict Research from Uppsala University, Sweden, and was previously the Head of the Department with the same name at Uppsala University. He is presently working at the Research Program on Human Rights and Peace-Building at Stockholm School of Theology, Sweden.

His teaching has been focused on conflict theory, international humanitarian action and local forms of self-government and his research specializations are conflict resolution, self-rule, mediation, and political reconciliation. Nordquist has for many years contributed to peace processes in East Timor, the Middle East, and Colombia.
Mr. Bosse Temnéus is Director of the Swedish Institute of Mission Research at Uppsala University. The role of the Institute is to facilitate international cooperation in teaching and research about the role of religion in society. For twelve years, he served in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands doing language analysis as well as training and guiding of translators.

He has also worked in the Republic of the Philippines for eight years, teaching and developing school curricula for Catholic priests-to-be. Apart from some basic studies in England, Temnéus completed most of his studies at Uppsala University, where he received an MA in Linguistics and Theology, and a Licentiate degree in Church History.
Dr. Robert Delaplane is presently Secretary for the Chinland Development & Research Society. He is retired from a position of Senior Research Scientist (1979 to 2006) at the Neutron Research Laboratory at Studsvik, Uppsala University and the Institute of Chemistry, Uppsala University. He has previously served as Professor of Chemistry at the University of Congo (Zaire) in Kisangani, Democratic Republic of Congo from 1969 to 1979. He received a Ph. D in Physical Chemistry from Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A. in 1969 and Docent competence in Inorganic chemistry from Uppsala University in 1985. During these years, he was engaged in fundamental research on studying the structure and physical properties of materials; teaching included courses in chemistry, physics and mathematics.

Dr. Delaplane also organized, together with Dr. Sakhong, a series of trainings for the Chin groups in exile in Mizoram and Shillong, India, on democracy, federalism and conflict resolution in 2010-2011, and visited Haka, Chin State, in 2013.
Dr. Margareta Ehnfors
Board Member, Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies

Dr. Margareta Ehnfors is Professor Emeritus in Health Care Sciences at Örebro University, Sweden. She has been teaching for many years both theory and practice in relation to various health care education disciplines at several Universities and Colleges. She also worked both as a Professor and Director of Studies for many years.

Her research areas are mainly focused on quality of care in nursing and health, on patient participation in care, on nutritional status and on nursing informatics such as the representation of nursing care in patient medical records. She has had many national and international positions in her research areas and is currently a Fellow of the American College of Medical Informatics Association.

Professor Ehnfors and Dr. Malin Prenkart have been conducting a field study on the health situation of children in Chin State, Burma, and their findings will be published soon.
Run Pen Sakhong
Board Member, Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies


She is currently a Welfare Officer for the Youth Department at the Social Welfare Office in Uppsala. She is author of *Understanding Peacebuilding in the Context of Burma*, published in 2003.
Dr. Lian H. Sakhong, Director of the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies, is a long-term political activist, served as the Chairman of the “Chin National Council” (CNC, 2008-2010), the Vice-Chairman of the “Ethnic Nationalities Council - Union of Burma” (ENC, 2008-2010) and Chairman (2010-2012), and combining the General Secretary post of ENC, Chin National League for Democracy-Exile (CNLD), and United Nationalities League for Democracy-Liberated Areas (UNLD-LA) in 2001-2008. He also was a coordinator of the “Supporting Committee for State Constitutions Drafting Process” (SCSC), 2001-2006; Secretary of “Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordinating Committee” (FCDCC), 2006-2008; and worked as a Research Director of the National Reconciliation Program (NRP), 2001-2006, and the same position at Euro-Burma Office (Brussels), 2006-2010.

He is also currently a member of the Nationwide Ceasefire Coordinating Team (NCCT), Board member of the Pyidaungsu
Institute, and a member of Supreme Council of the Chin National Front (CNF).


` He was awarded the Martin Luther King Prize in January 2007.
Paul Keenan is a Senior Researcher of Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies and writer on ethnic issues in Burma, specialising in strategic studies and policy research. He has spent the last fifteen years working closely with ethnic and pro-democracy groups on the Thai-Burma border. He has written a number of working papers for, and works closely with, various ethnic organisations. He is co-founder of the Karen History and Culture Preservation Society and is author of *By Force of Arms – Armed Ethnic Groups in Burma* and the forthcoming book: *A Just Country – The Karen of Burma – Nationalism and Conflict.*
Sai Mawn is Project Director and trainer at the Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies. He was an administrator for the United Nationalities League for Democracy - Liberated Areas, from 2001 to 2008, and a senior staff member of the Ethnic Nationalities Solidarity and Coordination Committee (ENCSS), from 2001-2004, and Ethnic Nationalities Council - Union of Burma, from 2004 until 2011. He was also a staff coordinator of the Supporting Committee of State Constitution (SCSC) from 2001-2006 and a senior staff member of the Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordinating Committee (FCDCC), from 2006-2008. He is also currently a technical assistant to the Nationwide Ceasefire Coordinating Team.
IN DEFENCE OF IDENTITY
The Failed Nonviolent Struggle for Democracy, Human Rights, and Federalism in Burma
A Collection of Writings and Speeches: 1994-2010
Lian H. Sakhong

By Force of Arms
Amedullah Gani
Burma
Pauk Keiri
With a Foreword by Professor Khet Maung Tin

IN SEARCH OF CHIN IDENTITY
A Study in Religion, Politics, and Ethnic Identity in Burma
LIAN H. SAKHONG
Burma Centre for Ethnic Studies

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