POLITICAL MONITOR NO.29

OFFICIAL MEDIA

PRESIDENT THEIN SEIN ATTENDS BRISBANE G-20 SUMMIT

President Thein Sein addressed the G-20 Summit meeting on the agenda of global economic growth and promotion of job creation. On the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, he said that the Southeast Asian bloc has become more integrated in recent decades and Myanmar as ASEAN Chair 2014 adopted the theme "Moving forward in unity to a peaceful and prosperous community". He also stated that the establishment of the ASEAN economic community will ensure a free, smooth flow of commodities, investments and currencies in the region, thereby enabling skilled workers to migrate and while assuming the chairmanship, adding that ASEAN and the G-20 share the same objective in the effort to initiate macroeconomic development. Thein Sein added by saying that ASEAN welcomed the Brisbane Action Plan and that the G-20 Agenda, "Stronger, Sustainable and Balanced Growth", is aimed at narrowing the inequality gap between the rich-poor countries. The world leaders at the G-20 Summit discussed the global economy and energy at the 2-day event and Myanmar President also attended plenary and other working sessions. Myanmar President also met leader of the opposition Labour Party Bill Shorten and discussed bilateral relations as well as issues on promoting education and labour issues in Myanmar.¹

EU PLEDGES 250 MILLION EUROS TO MYANMAR'S REFORM PROCESS

The European Union (EU) and its partners have pledged to give Myanmar euro 250 million every year under a strategic cooperation programme from 2014 to 2016, together with loans from EU financial institutions. EU Ambassador to Myanmar Roland Kobia said that EU countries and partner countries of the development programme have made an agreement to give financial support to Myanmar in view of the progress being made in the country. Of the annual 250 million Euros, 30 million will be used for peace-making efforts; Euro 31 million for parliament, the 2015 election, the rule of law and the judicial system, management, and a census-taking project. Of the remaining funds Euro 70 million each year for a rural development programme; Euro 40 million for the health sector; Euro 44 million for education; Euro 14 million for trade and economic development; Euro 5 million for human rights issues; Euro 16 million for civil societies; and Euro 1 million for environmental conservation respectively. The EU Ambassador said that the assistance proves that the EU is very optimistic about the future of Myanmar, and sends a message that the EU will cooperate with Myanmar in major reform processes, including the 2015 election.²

HLUTTAW SESSIONS – Highlights

Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (Union Parliament) sessions

The <u>11th Regular Session of the First Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (Union Parliament)</u> held its <u>27th day</u> meeting on 17 November and the report of the Constitutional Reform Implementation Committee was discussed at the session.

¹ President U Thein Sein says ASEAN has become more integrated in recent decades – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GNLM2014-11-16-red.pdf</u> (GNLM) 16 November 2014 (p. 1 &3)/ President U Thein Sein and other leaders discuss global economy at G-20 Summit – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GNLM2014-11-17-red.pdf</u> (GNLM) 17 November 2014 (p. 1)

² EU to give Myanmar financial support under development programme – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GNLM2014-11-25-red.pdf</u> (GNLM) 25 November 2014 (p. 1)/ EU Working Together For Myanmar: EU Announces Cooperative Strategy – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GNLM2014-11-26-red.pdf</u> (GNLM) 26 November 2014 (p. 1)/ Senior General Min Aung Hlaing receives EU ambassador – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GNLM2014-11-26-red.pdf</u> (GNLM) 26 November 2014 (p. 3)

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- <u>Defence Services Personnel Representative Brig-Gen Thet Tun Aung</u> proposed that **the union** chief justice, judges of the supreme court of the union, judges of regions and states and judges should be appointed by the president in line with the 2008 constitution.
- <u>MP Sein Tun of Htantabin Township Constituency</u> called for term of the Union Election Commission to be limited and stated that the term of the commission should expire after it has submitted its final election report.
- <u>Representative Mi Chan Yin of Kyaikmaraw Constituency</u> suggested that the constitution should be amended so that the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw may invite the president to deliver an address at the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw if the latter informs the former to do so.
- <u>MP Kyaw Min of Letpadan Township Constituency</u> proposed **amending the constitution so** that it can be amended with the consent of two-thirds or half of the representatives of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.
- <u>Sai Po Aung of Muse Constituency</u> said that the number of Pyidaungsu Hluttaw representatives should be increased.
- <u>MP Zar Teliam</u> proposed that a true democratic people's government should be established by separating the defence and security sector, and that chief ministers and ministers of regions and states should be chosen from parliamentary representatives.
- <u>MP Nan Ni Ni Aye</u> suggested that the rank of parliamentary committees and commissions should be union level so that they can work effectively with other pillars.³

The <u>11th Regular Session of the First Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (Union Parliament)</u> held its <u>28th day</u> meeting on 18 November and discussed the report submitted by a committee responsible for the implementation and amendment of the constitution.

- <u>MP Sanda Min of the Zabyuthiri constituency</u> said that constitutional change is not a onetime matter and needs step by step approach, adding that the purpose of constitutional amendment is to reinforce national reconciliation rather than instigating conflicts. <u>She also</u> called for greater cooperation in changing the constitution within the framework of the law to ensure a better future of the country.
- <u>Sai Kyaw Zaw Than of the Shan State constituency- 2</u> pointed **out that the report should be** discussed with a focus on national stability and development, national integrity, national reconciliation and rule of law.
- <u>Defence services personnel representative Colonel Hla Win Aung</u>, noted that amending the constitution is unavoidable as public desires change with the passage of time, adding that the constitution should be changed in national and public interests in line with the law, if any of its sections or articles limits the efficiency and freedom of executive, legislative and judicial branches.
- <u>MP Naing Ngan Lin of the Dekkhinathiri constituency</u> stated that **constitutional change will** help the democratic system take shape, thereby propelling internal peace processes and called for a compromise solution to national reconciliation and mutual understanding and trust.

³ Constitutional amendment debate continues at Pyidaungsu Hluttaw – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GNLM2014-11-18-red.pdf</u> (GNLM) 18 November 2014 (p. 2)

• <u>MP Myint Tun of the Bago Region constituency-10</u> suggested an increased role of people and their representatives in constitutional amendment.⁴

The <u>11th Regular Session of the First Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (Union Parliament)</u> held its <u>29th day</u> meeting on 19 November and continued its debate on the report of the Constitutional Amendment Implementation Committee.

- <u>MP Myat Ko of Sagaing Region Constituency- 12</u> expressed and endorsed his support in favour of the system of appointing union ministers and deputy ministers from parliamentary representatives, saying that only then will the union ministers and deputy ministers be able to work in the interests of the people.
- <u>Representative Daw Khin Thanda of Tada-U Constituency</u> said that it is necessary to draw a timetable to undertake amendments of the constitution in 6 months ahead of the 2015 general elections by enacting a law. She highlighted that currently, all are to focus on peace and democratisation of the nation by setting aside their interests. All the citizens have the rights to enjoy the rights of fair and standardized democracy.
- <u>Defence Services Personnel Representative Lt-Col Thein Htut</u> preferred conferring some legislative powers to state and region governments to contribute to equality and national unity of ethnic national races while another military representative, <u>Lt-Col Pe Kyaing</u>, said he was against the insertion of the phrase "with the consent of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw" into Section 40 (c) of the constitution as doing so could hinder the commander in chief of defence services from exercising his powers in a state of emergency conferred by provisions of the constitution.
- <u>MP Mi Myint Than of Ye Constituency</u> encouraged the representatives to amend Section 436 of the constitution while <u>Representative Dr Aye Maung of Rakhine State Constituency-1</u> urged MPs to try their best for the constitution. ⁵

The <u>11th Regular Session of the First Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (Union Parliament)</u> held its <u>30th day</u> meeting on 20 November and the report of the Constitutional Amendment Implementation Committee was discussed at the session.

- <u>Defence Services Personnel Representative Lt-Col Moe Kyaw Oo</u> was against conferring powers for defence, security, foreign affairs and finance to states and regions, arguing that new laws enacted by states and regions may contradict one another and this may undermine national unity.
- <u>MP Phyu Phyu Thin of Mingala Taungnyunt Constituency</u> said that a constitution that is simple and easy to understand helps the public and contributes to the stability of the country.
- <u>MP Salai Khwe Yan of Chin State Constituency-12</u> said that a solution must be sought through negotiations in the interests of the nation amidst challenges and that section 436 of the constitution should be open to amendment.⁶

The <u>11th Regular Session of the First Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (Union Parliament)</u> held its <u>32nd day</u> meeting on 24 November and the debate on the report of the Constitutional Reform Implementation Committee was discussed at the session.

⁴ MPs suggest constitutional change for national stability, development and reconciliation – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GNLM2014-11-19-red.pdf</u> (GNLM) 19 November 2014 (p. 2)

⁵ Pyidaungsu Hluttaw continues debate on constitution – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GNLM2014-11-20-red.pdf</u> (GNLM) 20 November 2014 (p. 2)

⁶ Constitutional amendments debated at Pyidaungsu Hluttaw – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GN2014-11-21.pdf</u> (GNLM) 21 November 2014 (p. 2)

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- <u>Daw Tin Tin Yi of Kyunsu Constituency</u> said that Myanmar needs the Constitution to have plans of sound foundations. That is why it is necessary to amend and substitute laws that need such action.
- <u>U Sai Thant Zin of Shan State Constituency No 4</u> said that necessary provisions should be amended in the Constitution with farsightedness for peace and stability and development of the nation, national reconciliation, prevalence of law and order, the democratization process, and fundamental rights of citizens.
- <u>Defence Services Personnel Representative Major Thein Tun</u> said that in amending the Constitution, it is necessary to consider the actual situation of the nation and farsightedness of political parties. He noted that the MPs are to adopt the best solutions through coordination in order to not harm the stability of the State.⁷

The <u>11th Regular Session of the First Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (Union Parliament)</u> held its <u>33rdday</u> meeting on 25 November and the session discussed the proposal to hold 6-parties round-table talks.

- <u>MP Myint Tun, representative of Bago region constituency (No. 1)</u>, submitted **the proposal**, suggesting the talks to develop a constitution which is suitable for the existing situation of the country and to create opportunities for the future of the country.
- Regarding the report of the Constitutional Reform Implementation Committee, <u>MP Thein</u> <u>Swe, representative of Ann township constituency</u>, said the 2008 Constitution has resulted in parliamentary and democratic systems in the country, saying that systematic steps must be taken in charter amendment. <u>MP Khin Saw Wai, representative of Yathedaung township</u> <u>constituency</u>, said the priority of constitutional amendment should be placed on changing some articles which are major hurdles to this endeavour, and also suggested that all the relevant bodies consider the future of the state.
- <u>Military MP Major Kyaw Naing Htay</u>, said that the Tatmadaw, together with the public, is taking part in the efforts of national unity and the peace-making process, commenting that the amendments are to be carried out in line with the Constitution.
- <u>MP Tin Mya, representative of Sagaing region constituency</u>, said that the amendment process should be carried out in accordance with the suggestions of parliamentarians while <u>Thein Zaw, representative of Myitkyina township constituency</u>, said that the amendment process should not rely on the biases of political parties, ethnicity and organizations, but rather be based on the welfare of people and the country, with a focus on national reconciliation.
- <u>Chairman of the Committee Nanda Kyaw Swa</u> urged the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw to discuss constitution amendment processes at the 12th regular session of this Hluttaw after reviewing the report of the committee and discussions of 140 parliamentarians.⁸

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ARTILLERY ATTACK ON KIA TRAINING SCHOOL LEAVES 23 DEAD AND 13 INJURED

23 officer cadets were killed and 13 injured when an officers' training camp near Laiza was hit directly by an artillery shell on 19 November. Spokesperson for the KIA, La Nan said the training camp in Wei Kyaing Bum was hit by a 105mm shell fired from Burmese government forces' positions on nearby Hkaya Bum Hill. "This was an intentional assault – there was a clash at around 8:30 to 9am

⁷ Debate on constitutional amendment continues at Pyidaungsu Hluttaw – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GNLM2014-11-25-red.pdf</u> (GNLM) 25 November 2014 (p. 2)

⁸ Pyidaungsu Hluttaw accepts proposal for six party round-table talks – <u>http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs20/GNLM2014-11-26-red.pdf</u> (GNLM) 26 November 2014 (p. 2)

the night before in an area some six miles from the camp. The Burmese army had been firing artillery from their positions in Kandaung village," said La Nan.

The Burmese Army base at Hkaya Bum was once held by the KIA but was captured by government forces in 2012. La Nan said clashes between the KIA's 26th Battalion and the Burmese 6th Infantry Battalion in Hupin continue. KIA positions north of Laiza were assaulted by the Burmese 384th Light Infantry Battalion (LIB) concurrently with an attack by the 390th LIB on the KIA's Kandaungyan base on the morning of 19 November.

He said it was too early to comment whether the attacks will hamper the ongoing ceasefire talks, and that the KIA has reported the incident to the UN Secretary-General's Special Adviser to Burma Vijay Nambiar and other key players in the ceasefire process.⁹

2014 CEASEFIRE 'IMPOSSIBLE', SAYS ETHNIC LEADER

Officials from the Myanmar Peace Centre (MPC) sat down with the ethnic armed groups' Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team (NCCT) in Chiang Mai on 27 November to continue discussions about the peace process; however any talk of a ceasefire was overshadowed by the recent shelling of a Kachin training camp by the Burmese army, which left 23 cadets dead and 20 injured.

Vice-chairman of the NCCT Nai Hongsa said it would now be "completely impossible" to sign a nationwide ceasefire agreement by the end of this year following the Burmese army's deadly assault on the boot camp which was located near Laiza, headquarters of the Kachin Independence Army (KIA). He said that meeting focused on mending the growing level of distrust between the ethnic armed groups and the government. However the latest killings by government troops on the Laiza had effectively brought negotiations to a standstill. "The level of trust has plummeted to a new low," said the Vice-chairman Nai Hongsa. "Now we must focus on mending the relationship to keep negotiations from breaking down completely."

Although the training camp was run by the KIA, the 23 young cadets who were killed on 19 November were not Kachins, but members of other affiliated militias. 11 were from the Palaung State Liberation Front, 8 from the Arakan Army, two from the Chin National Front, and 2 from the All Burma Students Democratic Front. The Burmese military has claimed that the artillery shell that killed the cadets was a warning shot which inadvertently hit the camp.¹⁰

56 PARTIES APPROVE FRAMEWORK FOR POLITICAL DIALOGUE

56 political parties have approved a framework for post-ceasefire political dialogue. The Peace and Political Framework Drafting Committee submitted a draft document to representatives of 56 parties on at a meeting held from 25 to 25 November

"The main aim is to establish a federal union," said Vice-Chair of the Federal Union Party Saw Than Myint. "The results [of the political dialogue] will involve decisions taken by all stakeholders, and they will include amendments to the Constitution." The representatives of the 56 political parties are

http://english.dvb.no/news/23-kachin-cadets-killed-13-injured-in-artillery-attack/45986 (DVB) 20 November 2014/ KIO Calls For Withdrawal of Troops and Heavy Artillery from Hka Ya Bum –

http://kachinlandnews.com/?p=25237 (KLN) 20 November 2014/

Burma Army shelling of Laiza training ground was deliberate says KIO -

⁹ 23 Kachin cadets killed, 13 injured in artillery attack –

http://kachinnews.com/news/2697-burma-army-shelling-of-laiza-training-ground-was-deliberate-says-kio.html (KNG) 20 November 2014/

KIA fight with Burma Army in Kachin state -

<u>http://kachinnews.com/news/2696-kia-fight-with-burma-army-in-kachin-state.html</u> (KNG) 18 November 2014 ¹⁰ 2014 ceasefire 'impossible', says ethnic leader –

http://english.dvb.no/news/2014-ceasefire-impossible-says-ethnic-leader-burma-myanmar/46211 (DVB) 28 November 2014

now scheduled to meet with other parties that were not included in the Drafting Committee, the opposition National League for Democracy and the government's USDP being the most noteworthy. Both were invited but declined to participate.¹¹

SSA-SOUTH CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE LAUNCH OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE

Shan State Army (South) Brigadier General Paung Khay has questioned whether armed ethnic groups should sign a nationwide ceasefire agreement and proposed the immediate launch of political dialogue. General Khay said the nationwide ceasefire, which has been under negotiation since mid-2013, was unnecessary because armed ethnic groups already have bilateral ceasefires. "We have already signed a ceasefire agreement and think that political talks should begin at once. We make this demand whenever we meet with Senior General Min Aung Hlaing," he said. A senior official from the Restoration Council of Shan State – the political wing of the SSA-South – said collectively negotiating with other armed ethnic groups slowed down the process. "Waiting to sign a nationwide ceasefire agreement can lead to disagreements among the ethnic armed groups," he said. Representatives of the Shan group said there was also a clear lack of unity between the government, parliament and military. "We can see this because skirmishes erupted even though the president agreed to a ceasefire," the senior official said. "It is clear that the government does not have complete power." Brig Gen Paung Khay rejected rumours that the SSA-South was recruiting new soldiers, and said they were instead drug addicts being forced into rehabilitation. He said the rumours were spread by drug dealers who "hate us because we are running rehabilitation centres".12

UNITED WA STATE ARMY DENIES ANTI-AIRCRAFT PURCHASE

A November 18 report by Jane's Defence Weekly stated that the United Wa State Army (UWSA) had come into possession of third-generation FN-6 surface-to-air missile launchers and a claim strongly denied by the Wa Army. "We are not people who wanted to go to war," Aung Myint, UWSA spokesperson Aung Myint stated that the Wa Army people did not want to go war and was not in possession of such weapons and the reports in the foreign media has led to misunderstanding. Aung Myint added that, "They [foreign media] need to make sure what we have when they report about it. Of course, we bought aircraft—and two submarines. But there are no engines inside them. We put those machines beside the road to grow gardens in them," he said.

In April 2013, Jane's Information Group reported that the Burmese government and ethnic minority sources believed China had sold helicopter gunships to Wa rebels, a claim promptly denied by the UWSA and Beijing. The following month, Burma's state-run Myanma Ahlin newspaper revealed that the UWSA had purchased an unspecified "water craft", a Fokker aircraft and a helicopter—all engineless—for the ostensible purpose of placing them in a Shan State national park to "raise general knowledge among local people." Despite the denials, in August 2013 an ethnic Kachin military leader reported seeing two helicopters at a UWSA base near the army's headquarters in the Shan State town of Pangshang, a claim corroborated by several other sources and leaked documents. Aung Myint told media at the time that the claim was groundless, as no one in the UWSA was capable of flying a helicopter. In February of this year, however, a senior officer of the Karen National Liberation Army who visited Pangshang told local news media that Wa officials had

¹¹56 parties approve framework for political dialogue – <u>http://english.dvb.no/news/56-parties-approve-framework-for-political-dialogue-burma-myanmar/46181</u> (DVB) 27 November 2014

¹² SSA-South calls for immediate launch of political dialogue – <u>http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/12383-ssa-south-calls-for-immediate-launch-of-political-dialogue.html</u> (Myanmar Times) 26 November 2014

informed him of the selection of 30 soldiers to receive pilot training in China. The UWSA remained steadfast in their denial of the recent Jane's Defence Weekly report.¹³

NCCT MEETS WITH CSO, CBOS FOR THE FIRST TIME

The Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team (NCCT) met with a number of civil society organizations (CSOs), led by the Women's League of Burma (WLB), and community-based organizations (CBOs) based on the Thai-Burmese border from 22 to 23 November in Chiang Mai. "Mainly, the topics discussed at the meeting included the participation of the women's sector in the peace process, how the ceasefire agreement can provide protection for women and children, and how those who have violated [citizens'] human rights would be punished. The NCCT must include these topics and lay down respective policies the next time they meet with the government side [in national ceasefire talks]," said General Secretary of the WLB Tin Tin Nyo. She also stated that when the NCCT next meets with the government, the CBOs and CSOs urged the NCCT address the issue concerning freedoms afforded CBOs and CSOs to monitor human rights abuse cases and observe the peace. "For us [CBOs and CSOs], we expected to work closely with the public. At the same time, we urged that not only the United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC), but also the NCCT, gather the pubic and rally their support, because the government side has also been gathering people by organizing a youth forum. So, the ethnic leaders must pay more attention to this matter," said Tin Tin Nyo. Vice-Chair of the NCCT Nai Hongsar explained to the community organizations the process involved in nationwide ceasefire talks with the government's UPWC, and accepted advice provided by the organizations. About 42 representatives from 25 organizations attended the meeting, including the Karen Human Rights Group, the Assistance association for Political Prisoners (AAPP), the Kachin Women's Association of Thailand (KWAT), the Karen Women's Union, as well as various media outlets. Secretary Khun Oo Reh of the UNFC and Nai Hongsar, Ko Htun Zaw, and Colonel Sai Htoo of the NCCT were also present.¹⁴

TERROR SUSPECTS ARRESTED IN LASHIO, SHAN STATE

Four alleged terror suspects were detained by police in northern Shan state's Hsenwi Township in the afternoon of 14 November and immediately taken to Mandalay, according to local police. Hsenwi police station confirmed that arrests had taken place but refused to provide further details.

Shan Nationalities Democratic Party member and Lower House MP for Hsenwi Sai Win Khine , said "4 Bengalis" were detained when police stopped a bus travelling from Lashio to the border town of Muse. "The 4 Bengalis were arrested on 14 November around 2:30pm," said Sai Win Khine. "Only one had ID, the others did not. They are suspected of terrorist activity and taken straight to Mandalay." The police spokesman declined to identify whether the 4 detained were the alleged "RSO bombers" whose faces have appeared in wanted posters first published by authorities in Mon State and distributed widely in central Burma in the days leading up to the ASEAN Summit in Naypyidaw. The poster claims the 4 are members of the Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO) who are, it says, "trained terrorists". The campaign warns members of the public to immediately report any sightings of the 4 men to local police. The Police Department was unavailable for comment.¹⁵

¹³ United Wa State Army Denies Anti-Aircraft Purchase – <u>http://www.irrawaddy.org/burma/united-wa-state-army-denies-anti-aircraft-purchase.html</u> (the Irrawaddy) 20 November 2014

¹⁴ NCCT met with CSO, CBOs for the first time – <u>http://monnews.org/2014/11/25/ncct-met-cso-cbos-first-time/</u> (IMNA) 25 November 2014

¹⁵ Four terror suspects arrested in Lashio District – <u>http://english.dvb.no/news/four-terror-suspects-arrested-in-lashio-district-burma-myanmar/45926</u> (Democratic Voice of Burma) 17 November 2014

MYANMAR STILL HAS 75 POLITICAL PRISONERS, AAPP SAYS

In a report released on 17 November, the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (AAPP) says there are 75 political prisoners still put in prison and another 121 awaiting trial for their activities in Myanmar. The report said that 8 activists face legal actions and 26 penalized for their activities although 21 political prisoners were released from prisons in October.

The suppression of media in the country and the use of Section 18 to stifle political dissent remain of paramount concern, it said. Including the death of freelance reporter Aung Kyaw Naing or Par Gyi, human rights violations are at the forefront, the report says. Myanmar freed more than 3000 prisoners on 7 October as part of a presidential amnesty. Among them included only one political prisoner officially recognized by organizations working for affairs of the political prisoners.¹⁶

ANALYSIS

The latest assault and shelling of the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) military academy by government forces on 19 November, has raised doubts on the prospect of achieving a nationwide ceasefire between the Myanmar government and ethnic armed organizations (EAOs).

President Thein Sein in the past has reiterated the importance of achieving peace and that its success will be pivotal in shaping the reform process in Myanmar. When national reconciliation is entering a crucial stage it is important for both government forces and EAOs to avoid military operations. In some cases, they need to adopt restraint and understanding. However, after decades of fighting, mistrust runs deep and achieving national reconciliation will not be easy. Questions have surfaced as to whether the military (Tatmadaw) is truly committed to peace. The killing of 23 officer cadets has not helped the cause. But in such situations, it is even more important that the ceasefire talks continue, to avoid an escalation in the war. Both sides need to realize that if the nationwide ceasefire talks fail, it will be a return to war. Is that truly what they want? Will such a move benefit their people?

The on-going debate in parliament to amend the Constitution aimed at limiting the role of the Tatmadaw has been seen by military MPs as an act of aggression towards their institution. This tension is also having a negative impact on the ceasefire negotiations. The military on its part is keen to preserve its role as a key decision-maker in 'protecting' the nation and will not want to relinquish it lightly. Therefore, the reforms in Myanmar including transformation from military rule to democratic governance should not be implemented hastily but gradually.

¹⁶ Myanmar still has 75 political prisoners, AAPP says – <u>http://www.elevenmyanmar.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8129:myanmar-still-has-75-political-prisoners-aapp-says&catid=32:politics<emid=354</u> (Eleven News Media) 18 November 2014