#### PRELIMINARY CEASEFIRE TALKS:

The Karen National Union is always looking for an opportunity to solve the conflict by political means. Because of this basic principle we have engaged in 5 previous ceasefire talks that have broken. These ceasefire talks failed because the successive governments did not respond by political means to the negotiations.

After the new Burmese/Myanmar government established its office, President U Thein Sein on 30 March 2011 stated in his inaugural speech that he wanted to build national unity by addressing the decades of armed conflict with the ethnic nationalities. This was then followed up on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2011 with an announced for peace talks. Four months later, the KNU held an emergency CSC meeting on 8-11 November 2011 to discuss this invitation to peace talks and it was during that meeting that the KNU decided to join the peace process. At the emergency CSC meeting a 7 members Peace Building Committee was formed, whose mandate was to handle the peace process and respond to the Governments announcement and call for peace talks. The committee consisted of:

P'doh Saw David Thackerbaw — Committee Chairman General Mutu Sae Poe — Vice-Chairman P'doh Saw David Taw — Secretary P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein - Member P'doh Saw Roger Khin - Member P'doh Saw Ah Toe — Member P'doh Saw Aung Maw Aye — Member

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The first peace talks were in 1949 with Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) Government lead by U Nu; 1958 with General Ne Win; 1963 with the Revolutionary Council lead by General Ne Win; 1995-1996 with State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) and; 2004-2005 with State Peace & Development Council (SPDC).

# **September to December 2011:**

No	Date	Location	KNU Representatives	Govt Rep	<b>Details</b>
1	28/9/11	Mae Sot, Thailand	P'doh Saw Dot Lay Mu	KS Peace Building Committee	Karen State Peace Building Committee approached KNU for informal meetings to look at ways to build peace at State level. P'doh Saw Dot Lay Mu, P'doh Thawthi Baw, Col Paw Doh from KNU met with Saw Poe Ni, Saw Victor, Saw Chit Hlaing, and Saw XXXX from the Karen State Peace Building Committee. The KNU told the KS Peace Building Committee that they would not deal with them but rather directly at Union level. KNU leaders told the government delegation that they didn't want to hold peace talks with state-level officials because they lacked the authority to reach a binding agreement.
2	09/10/11	Mae Sot, Thailand	P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein	U Aung Min	Informal Meeting: Government officials, U Aung Min, General Chit Than, Dr Tin Maung Than, Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing, U Hla Maung Shwe and U Ngwe Soe, brought the message from Thein Sein Government inviting them to meet and talk about peace. They wanted to set up a communication line between KNU and Government. KNU representatives were P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein, P'doh Saw Ah Toe and P'doh Saw Hla Tun. At the meeting the government officials offered a schedule to the KNU to meet officially the KNU did not accept the schedule and said they would discuss and reply later.
3	20/11/11	Mae Sai, Thailand	General Mutu Sae Poe	U Aung Min	Informal Preliminary ceasefire meeting: This is the first meeting of the 3 representatives lead by vice-chairperson of the Peace Building committee of the KNU, Gen Mutu Sae Poe, Secretary of the Committee P'doh Saw David Taw and P'doh Saw Ah Toe as a member.  Government mediators included: Nay Win Maung, Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing and Dr Tin Maung Than, Harn Yawngwe and U San Ni. This informal meeting was a preparation meeting for setting up the preliminary ceasefire talks.
4	21/12/11	Mae Sot, Thailand	P'doh Saw David Thakapaw	U Aung Min	Informal Preliminary meeting: This meeting focused on the agenda for the first formal meeting in January 2012.  Other Karen delegates included: KNU military chief General Mutu Sae Poe, P'doh Saw David Taw, P'doh Saw Ah Toe, Hpa-an District chairman P'doh Saw Aung Maw Aye, P'doh Saw Roger Khin of the KNU health department and KNU central committee member Saw Thawthi Bwe. Mediators included: Dr. Nay Win Maung and U Hla Maung Shwe.

#### January to June 2012:

No	Date	Location	KNU Representatives	Govt Rep	Details
5	12/01/12	Pa-an, Karen State	General Mutu Sae Poec	U Aung Min	First Formal Meeting: A five points preliminary agreement was agreed at State level by both sides. They also agreed to talk on 11 discussion points that need to occur at Union level for a Peace Building Process. There were 19 KNU members that attended the meeting lead by vice-chairperson of the Peace Building Committee, General Mutu Sae Poe and Secretary P'doh Saw David Taw and Member P'doh Saw Ah Toe together with delegation members Brigadier General Johnny, Lt Col Roger Khin, Major Shi Sho, Major Ei Tha, P'doh Saw Kwe Htoo Win, P'doh Saw Lay Law Hsaw, P'doh Saw Aung Maw Aye, P'doh Saw Shwe Mawn, P'doh Saw Eh Wah and office in charge P'doh Saw Thawthi Bwe and 2 staffs, P'doh Saw Gyi Gyi, who was responsible for general healthcare for the delegation and three security personnel responsible for the safety of the delegation team.
6	24/03/12	Mae Sot, Thailand	P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein	U Aung Min	Informal Meeting: KNU was General Mutu Sae Poe, P'doh Saw Roger Khin, Brigade General Mae A Sein, Brigade General Dah Kyaw Lu, Col Kyaw Moo, P'doh Saw Kwe Htoo Win, Col Saw Htoo Htoo Lay, P'doh Saw Shwe Maung, P'doh Thawthe Bwa, P'doh Saw Hla Tun, Col Saw Ner Dah Mya, Major Ba Khet, Major Saw Hsar Say, Saw K'neh Mi, Government representatives were U Aung Min, Minister of Immigration U Khin Ye, Col Aung Lwin, Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing, U Hla Maung Shwe, U Tein Maung Than and U San Ni Nyut Thein.  This was a preparation meeting and setting the agenda for the second formal meeting; it included discussion about the cessation of fire to be sustainable, military and civilian issues and political issues. They (government) brought back P'doh Maung Nying Maung.
7	04/04/12	Pa-an, Karen State	P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein	U Aung Min	Second Formal Meeting: State Level discussions on 4 out of the 5 preliminary points agreed at State Level from the 12 <sup>th</sup> January 2012 formal meeting. Four agreements were made including agreeing on the Code of Conduct to be discussed at Union level; and agreeing to discuss a monitoring system at Union level; KNU liaison offices locations will be submitted to the President for approval and; regarding travelling outside of the designated area and staying in the designated areas will be discussed among local organisations (KNLA and Burmese military) and after discussing the detail this will be resubmitted for approval. The delegation party was made up of twenty one members and lead by KNU General Secretary P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein, including GOC General Mutu Sae Poe, EC members Lt Col Saw Roger Khin, P'doh Saw Ah Toe, Secretary of Military Affairs Committee Col Saw Htoo Htoo Lay, G2 Col Saw Moe Pyu, CSC and No 3 Brigadier General Saw Eh K'Lu Thein, CSC members P'doh Saw Kwe Htoo Win, P'doh Saw Shwe Mawn, P'doh Saw Thawthi Bwe, and Candidate CSC members P'doh Saw Tah Doh Moo, P'doh Saw Hla Tun and Naw Bloomingnight Zan, Secretary of Foreign Affairs P'doh Saw Aung Win Shwe and Assistant to General Secretary Naw May Oo, Foreign Affairs Naw Htoo Paw, Assistant to Secretary of Military Affairs Lt Captain Saw Baw Boe and Assistant to GOC Saw Gyi, Information Department Saw Du Plaw Soe and Kwe Kalu News Saw Eh Na and Karen Information Media Nan Paw Gay
	06/04/12	Rangoon			Union Level Talks: Delegates from the Burmese/Myanmar government were U Aung Min, Union Minister of Railway U Soe Thein, Union Minister of Electric Power 1 U Zaw Min, Union Level Industrial Minister U Zaw Thein, Union Level Minister of Immigration and Population U Khin Yi, Chief Minister of Karen State U Zaw Min, Minister of Military Power 2 U Khim Maung Hoe, Minister of Environmental Conservation and Forestry U Win Tun, Minister of Energy U Than Htay, Deputy Minister of Border Affairs Major-General Zaw Win, Deputy Attorney General U Tun Tun Oo , Yangon Regional Minister of Security and Border Affairs Col Tin Win, Minister of Karen National Race Affairs U Zaw Tun Aung Myint, Office of the Commander in Chief of the Defense Service Lt Col Zaw Maing Oo, Peace Mediators: U Tin Maung Than, U Hla Maung Shwe , U Sunny Myunt Thein, Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing, U Ngwe Soe and U Ko Ko Maung.  At this meeting 6 out of the 11 points agreement from Pa-an was discussed. From this 13 more points were agreed. (See link)
	07/04/12	Naypyitaw			Goodwill visit to President Thein Sein, U Aung Min, H.E U Zaw Thein, H.E U Khim Yi and Peace Mediators U Hla Maung Shwe, U Tin Maung Than, Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing and U Ngwe Soe and Ma Su. The KNU delegation was P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein, General Mutu Sae Poe, Lt Col Roger Khin, Col Htoo Htoo Lay, P'doh Saw Tah Doh Moo, Lt Captain Baw Boe and Naw Htoo Paw.
	9/4/12	Kyuakkyi, Kler Lwee Htoo District			The Kyuakkyi Liaison office was officially at 10.30am opened by P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein. Following lunch a public meeting was held in Kyuakkyi, Myitta Ward and was attended by 5,000 people and General Secretary explained the Peace Process and answered questions from the public.
	09/4/12				The KNU group divided into two smaller groups as P'doh Saw Kwe Htoo Win was asked by P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein to officially open the liaison office in Tavoy. P'doh Saw Roger Khin, P'doh Saw Shwe Maung and P'doh Saw Eh Na also went to Tavoy.

	09/4/12	Pegu Town, Pegu Region			Regional Level Peace Talks: 4 out of 5 of the preliminary State/Regional level agreement points were discussed. Three points were signed and agreed to. To cease the fire: 1. A district/township level Peace Building Committee would be formed and cooperate with the respective KNU Peace Building Committee. To set up Confidence Building Measures (CBM's) based on tri-partite relationships occurring between both armed groups and the people. Create public awareness on every level by providing information about the ceasefire CoC and the peace process. Both army commanders would hold another local level meeting on the 3rd week of May 2012. Agree to implement transparently in the ceasefire monitoring system. 2. Travelling outside the designated areas and stationed in the designated areas. Both groups would submit the discussion between local level organisations for approval. 3. The liaison offices would be set up by the approval of both sides. For communication purposes - at Regional level Col Thet Tun and KNU CEC Col Roger have been agreed and appointed. From the Central level the Foreign Department Secretary P'doh Saw Aung Win Shwe from KNU side and one officer from Deputy Director lead Office, which is established for the Peace Process by H.E U Khin Yi from the Burmese/Myanmar government side.  Regional Level Peace Talks: Discussion centered around the 4 points that were agreed to at State Level talks on the 4th April 2012. The Code of Conduct, Monitoring, Liaison office and troop movement. Two cars were presented to P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein and General Mutu Sae Poe for use in the liaison office in Dawei and for Myawwaddy.  P'doh Saw Kwe Htoo Win officially opened the second liaison office in Megui-Tavoy district.
	12/4/12	Dawei	P'doh Saw Kwe Htoo Win		
8	15/05/12	Hpayarthonesu, Karen State	General Mutu Sae Poe	U Aung Min	Opening of Liaison Office: General Mutu Sae Poe in Hpayarthonesu, Karen State, officially opened the third Liaison office.
9	26/06/12	Mae Sot, Thailand	P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein	U Aung Min	Informal Meeting: Discussions centered on liaison offices that could serve for improving communication and negotiations between the KNU and Burmese/Myanmar govt. The KNU believed this could help maintain the ceasefire and work out problems resulting from ongoing land confiscation by the Burmese/Myanmar military.

## July to December 2012:

No	Date	Location	KNU Representatives	Govt Rep	<b>Details</b>
10	05/08/12	Myawaddy, Burma	P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein	U Aung Min	Informal Meeting: KNU members included P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein as leader, P'doh Saw Thawthi Bwe, Naw May Oo and Saw Aung Win Shwe. The Burmese/Myanmar government delegation was lead by Minister of the President's office of Myanmar - U Aung Min, Minister for Immigration and Population of Myanmar - U Khin Ye, Minister U Zaw Thein, and Karen State Chief Minister U Zaw Min. In addition to the government delegation included Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing, U Hla Maung Shwe, U Tin Maung Than from Myanmar EGRESS and U Ngwe Soe, U Ko Ko Maung and his wife Ma Su from the Dawei Princess Company attended.  The meeting talked about preparation for the forthcoming 3 <sup>rd</sup> formal meeting where they would discuss the ceasefire Code of Conduct in Pa-an.
11	18/08/12	Myawaddy, Karen State	General Mutu Sae Poe	U Aung Min	Opening of Liaison Office: General Mutu Sae Poe officially opened the fourth KNU liaison office in Myawaddy, Karen State.
12	03/09/12	Pa-an, Karen State	P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein	U Aung Min	Third Formal Meeting: A two day meeting to discuss the Ceasefire Code of Conduct agreement and troop relocation. The Code of Conduct was agreed in principle, and would be resubmitted to each of their superiors, and then there would be another meeting. KNU delegation was lead by P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein, Naw May Oo, Brigade General Hsa Tu Gaw, Major Tamla Thaw, Saw Thawthe Bwa, P'doh Saw Aung Win Shwe, Major Kler Doh, P'doh Saw Hla Tun, P'doh Saw Ah Toe.  Govt reps included: Minister of Immigration and Population of Myanmar - U Khin Ye, Soe Thein and Karen state Minister Zaw Min, General Tin Maung Win, Col Kyaw Soe Win, Col Aung Lwin.  Mediators included: Four domestic and three foreign, Hla Maung Shwe.
13	29/09/12	Pa-an, Karen State	General Mutu Sae Poe	U Aung Min	<b>Opening of Liaison Office</b> : General Mutu Sae Poe officially opened the fifth KNU liaison office in Pa-an, Karen State as requested by the districts. The KNU delegation consisted of P'doh Saw David Taw, P'doh Saw Roger Khin, and General Jonny. This resulted in General Secretary P'doh Naw Zipporah Sein expelling General Mutu Sae Poe, P'doh Saw David Taw and P'doh Saw Roger Khin from the KNU.

At congress in December 2012 a new KNU leadership was elected

#### January to June 2013

No	Date	Location	KNU Representatives	Govt. Rep	Details
14	05/01/13	Naypyidaw	General Mutu Sae Poe	President Thein Sein	Goodwill visit: KNU representatives were General Mutu Sae Poe, P'doh Kwe Htoo Win, P'doh Saw Mahn Mahn, P'doh Mahn Nying Maung, P'doh Saw Hla Tun. Burmese/Myanmar government representatives were Minister no 4 of the President's office of Myanmar - U Aung Min, Immigration Minister for Immigration and Population of Mynamar - U Khin Ye, Union Minister no 3 of President office - U Soe Thein.  Goodwill visit: To Commander-in-chief of defense services - Senior General Min Aung Hlaing and Deputy Commander-in-chief of defense
15	06/01/13 05/03/13	Naypyidaw Thaton, Mon State	General Mutu Sae Poe	U Zay Ya Aung	services - General Soe Win.  Informal Meeting: at Thuwanna Yaiktha with KNU representatives Chairman General Mutu Sae Poe, P'doh Saw Kwe Htoo Win, P'doh Saw Tah Doh Moo, General Johnny, P'doh Saw Shwe Maung, P'doh Saw Lah Say, P'doh Saw Hla Tun, P'doh Saw Per Nu.  Burmese/Myanmar government representatives was Minister of Trains U Zay Ya Aung, General Tin Maung Win, Minister of Karen State U Zaw Min, Minister of Mon State U Ohn Myint, Vice deputy Prime Minister U Aung Thein and Col Aung Lwin.  The parties had a general discussion about the local level peace process including local administration and education.
16	28/03/13/	Pa-an	P'doh Maung Nyin Maung	U Aung Min	Informal Meeting: KNU representatives were P'doh Saw Tha Main Tun, P'doh Saw Tah Doh Moo, P'doh Saw Shwe Maung, P'doh Saw Hla Tun, P'doh Saw Thawthi Phy, P'doh Saw Klar Say. Burmese/Myanmar government representatives were U Aung Min, U Khin Ye, U Zar Min, Col Aung Lwin, U Hla Maung Shwee, U Tin Maung Than and U Myo Aung Htay. Talked about Code of Conduct, troop relocation and forthcoming formal meeting. Administration issues, population census, liaison offices, development and economics were also discussed. The KNU shared their concept on the economic policy that states that they will not allow any economic development unless it supports and involves the local community and supports the peace process.
17	15/06/13	Rangoon	General Mutu Sae Poe	U Aung Min	Informal Meeting: KNU representatives lead by Chairman General Mutu Say Poe, P'doh Saw Roger Khin, Col Htoo Htoo Lay, P'doh Shwe Maung, including the Technical Team members. KNU emphases that the CoC meeting is needed and a way needs to be found to open this meeting up as an official technical team meeting between KNU technical team lead by P'doh Saw Tah Doh Moo and Burmese/Myanmar government technical team lead by Deputy Attorney General – General Tun Tun Oo. The meeting discussed other issues regarding strengthening the preliminary CF situation and further formal talks. Burmese/Myanmar govt. representatives were Minister U Aung Min, Minister U Khin Yi, Minister U Zay Ya Aung, and Minister of Border Development Affairs & Commander of Bureau of special operations-4 - General Thet Naing Win, Col Aung Lwin – Karen State Border Affairs Minister
			P'doh Saw Tah Doh Moo	MPC officials	Formal Technical Team Meeting: The Karen National Union and MPC officials representing Burmese/Myanmar government held a Technical Team meeting at the Myanmar Peace Center (MPC) in Rangoon on 15 June 2013. The technical team discussed the ceasefire "Code of Conduct." KNU representatives were Technical Team Leader for Code of Conduct P'doh Saw Tah Doh Moo, P'doh Saw Eh K'Lu Say, Major Tamla Thaw, P'doh Saw Aung Win Shwe, P'doh Saw Tamula and documentary P'doh Saw Hla Tun.

## July to December 2013

No	Date	Location	KNU	Govt.	Details Details
			Representatives	Rep	
18	25/08/13	Rangoon	Col Htoo Htoo Lay		Technical meeting: