Challenges to Build a Federal State in the Process of National Reconciliation of Myanmar

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Abstract
Myanmar became the democratic state in 2011 after new constitution which was drawn in 2008 and the election was held with the democratic system in 2010 and 2016 according to this constitution. In order to apply the democratic system, it adopts relevant policies in order to develop the country in political, economic and social affairs. It tries to take part in the whole society as role of civil society plays an important role for democratization. However, it has the biggest challenges to rebuild national consolidation in order to apply a federal state for the whole society although Myanmar is facing many issues such as political conflict of the government and ethnic nationalities and socio-economical problem because the citizens are lack of political culture as it was controlled by the military government over 50 years so that it did not contact with the external world. This study discusses about analysis of research problem that Myanmar is facing many issues such as political conflict of the government and ethnic nationalities and socio-economical problem that the crony groups seize only the state business and the ethnic nationalities does not get the equal opportunity like privilege of one citizen etc. Therefore, what are the main challenges of civil society to build a federal state in the process of national reconciliation in Myanmar?

Keyword: constitution; democracy; national reconciliation; peace; federal state

Introduction
Myanmar practiced the democratic system with political, economic and social reforms since 2011. The quasi-civilian government U Thein Sein formed Myanmar Peace Center (MPC) to implement national reconciliation as the first priority so that the government held political dialogues and invited representative of the military, parliament and armed ethnic groups to sign National Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) from 2011 to 2015.

Thus, Karen National Union (KNU), Karen National Liberation Army- Peace Council (KNLA/RC), Pao National Liberation Organization (PNLO), Shan State Rehabilitation (RCSS/ SSA), Arakan National Party (ANP), All Bamar Students’ Democratic Front (ABSDF), Chin National Front (CNF), Democratic Karen Benevolent Army (DKBA) has signed NCA on 15th October 2015 in Nay Pyi Taw. However, Arakan Army (AA), Kachin Independence Army (KIA), Ta’ang National Liberation Party (TNLA), Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA), United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC), Shan State Progressive Party (SSPP), Karen National Progressive Party (KNPP), the United Wa State Army (UWSA), Kachin Independence Army (KIA) and Shan State Army-North (SSA-N) need to sign this agreement but UWSA, KIA and SSA-N refused to sign NCA.

The election was held in accordance with the democratic principle in 2015. National League for Democratic Party (NLD) won this election and the civilian government took the power and continues implementing the previous tasks of the senior leader such as national consolidation, internal peace and forming of a federal union.

NLD accepted national reconciliation as the top task so that 21st Panglong Conference is born again through negotiation. So, he changed the name of Myanmar Peace Center (MPC) to National Reconciliation and Peace Centre (NRPC) which aims relevant political policies led by State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi (DASSK) as the President including ten people in Nay Pyi Taw, the capital of Myanmar.

Therefore, the plenary meeting including ethnic groups and the armed groups was held to reach 21st union peace conference at the end of July of 2016 in Mai Ja Yan which is located in the Kachin State, at the northern part of Myanmar. It means to discuss different views between eight signatories and non-signatories by exchanging positive views to get a final decision.

The framework of political dialogue was reviewed by representatives of Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee (UPDJC) and all armed groups in the regional level from 11 to 13 August in Yangon. It brought

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about UPDJC in regards to the result of review of political framework in order to reach the 21st Panglong from 15 to 16 August 2016 in Nay Pyi Taw.

The first session of 21st Panglong known as Union Peace Conference was successfully held from 31 August 2016 to 3 September 2016 at Myanmar National Convention Center II (MNCCII) in Nay Pyi Taw. Not only eight Signatories to the National Ceasefire Agreement but also eight non-signatories to the National Ceasefire Agreement and political parties attend this Conference.

The second session of 21st Union Peace Conference was held from 24 May 2017 to 29 May 2017 led by State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi based on the results of the first session of 21st Union Peace Conference in Shan State. Seven groups of non-signatories including UWSA, KIO, AA, TNLA, MNDAA, NDAA and SSPP participate in this conference. Only UNFC could not attend this Peace Conference because he got invitation letter lately.

Stakeholders signed 37 points as parts of Pyidaungsu Accord which includes Agreement of Principle on Political Sector bases on Principles of Federalism, Policy and Agreement on Economic Sector based on Federal Economy, Social Sector Agreement, Principles for Regional Development, Social Sector Agreement and Land and Natural Environmental Sector Agreement.

The third session of 21st Union Peace Conference was held from 11 July to 16 July 2018 led by State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi based on the results of the second 21st union peace conference in Nay Pyi Taw. In this third session, TNLA and MNDAA signed the NCA. UWSA, KIO, AA, NDAA, SSPP and UFC need to sign the NCA. However, 14 points of as parts of Pyidaungsu Accord from the second session of 21st Union Peace Conference was signed.

The fourth session of 21st Union Peace Conference was held from 31 August to 4 September 2020 led by State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi based on the results of the third session of 21st union peace conference in Nay Pyi Taw. In this fourth session, ten ethnic groups have signed NCA and Pyidaungsu Accord is still negotiated how to apply.

To be concluded, Myanmar got independence from the British by signing Panglong Agreement. Like so, holding 21st Union Peace Conference is to construct national reconciliation by discussing the conflicts. However, only the ten armed ethnic groups took part in the fourth session of 21st Union Peace Conference and six armed ethnic group does not participate in this conference to reach gradually a federal state.

Theoretical Framework

Advocacy coalition framework is linked with this topic “Challenges to build a federal state in the process of national reconciliation in Myanmar” because Paul Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith describe that it has coalitions, learning of policy process, and policy change based on level of policy analysis in the complicated policymaking environment. So, there are at least two groups which is competing based their actors’ beliefs and resources in the policy subsystem. The actors translate their beliefs into policy core beliefs in order to influence a policy subsystem. The actors of two coalitions apply various strategies to influence the decisions of the government which draw institutional rules to become policy outcome.

The policy output generally involves not only social, cultural, economic and physical structures but also external subsystem which includes external relations of policy subsystem based on decisions of internal subsystem. Moreover, it consists of external events to change the policy based on socioeconomic conditions, relevant of subsystem, technology, public opinion, design of governing coalitions and the effects of other policy subsystem. Therefore, there is long-term coalition to do the major policy change for opening of the policy subsystem as there are social cleavages among the coalitions.

And then, there have been short term constraints and resources of actors to occur long-term coalition which has important subject to maintain parameter in the policymaking system as there are controversial questions between internal events and external events in the country which bring about new policy subsystem but it has short term constraints in the complicated policymaking environment. Actors think of stability of coalitions, supporting of coalitions, and role of actors for coalitions, encouraging of levels of actors for coalitions and strong actors which express their beliefs within coalitions to be difficult for organizing coalition.

However, shared beliefs are important for coalitions because hierarchical beliefs system influence on the society for a long time as traditional methods are not fixed for the complicated policy subsystem so that
it add this facts: dominant and minority coalition, overcoming threats to collective action, principal and auxiliary coalition actors and resources, strategies, and activities.

Therefore, the role of actors, coalition actors, coalition resources, coalition strategies, coalition activities, the role and types of coalitions members, design of coalitions, the arguments of other coalitions to organize coalition and development of dominant and minority coalitions.

Above the said mention that Myanmar has challenges to construct one belief system as there are eight ethnic groups with over 100 ethnic nationalities to negotiate each other by solving disputes problem for a long time as they have different interpretations about autonomy and federal which can be represented by the whole society. At this time, the disputes become the biggest to consider the new policy so that Myanmar changed the democratic system to participate in the policy subsystem. When this democratic system can’t be undertaken as a real policy, Advocacy coalition actors is applied through negotiation process in order to get their national goals.

The internal and external actors involve in national reconciliation process activity as the main actors, this process cannot be successful as they have differences belief among diverse groups. The main obstacles entrust each other among various coalitions because they had historical lessons in the past as the government who is mostly the Burmese take the power and could not deliver shared power to other ethnic groups. It caused often internal conflicts among diverse ethnic groups as other ethnic groups felt inequality between rural and urban area so that there have been controversial question about federal state.

When there are challenges to describe negotiation process, ACF shows that this challenge can be solved legitimate and implementable cooperation. Myanmar needs to reconstruct or amend two categories such as substance and practice. Substance can be designed how to describe public disputes solutions. Practice can be utilized how to overcome challenges in order to get the main goal by using strategies like negotiation process. Thus, Myanmar tries to tackle Rohingya issues and Ethnic conflicts by adopting legislation and cooperating with the society so that Myanmar organizes committee including external experts to solve Rohingya issue.

Research Structure and Data Sources
The structure of the paper is divided into the three parts for my research task by using data from existing studies and online documents. The first step we introduce concept of Advocacy Coalition Framework. In the second step, we will continue describing based on the first step. In the third step, we use

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the best strategy to rebuild national consolidation although public participation is challenges to apply the federal state.

The data sources are used in this research paper such as two parts: the first type of data is newspaper, journals, books, the government’s ministry official website from websites of the civil associations and local activist group in social networks. The second type of data is the results of index interviews taken by sending questions to them with regards to my topic whose is taking care of this topic in our country by using social media such as Messenger and Viber.

**Research Methodology**

Research Methodology involves case study, analysis which consists of data, methods and structure, data collection and data analysis. Case study is that my research topic is investigated in more detail and express causation and consequences by searching for sources of information which is accepted in reality. These sources of information are used to compare with another scholar’s theory or many theories. And then, which kind of sources of information can be analyzed by using data, methods and structure.

**Limitations**

This study has literature gap based on Applied Qualitative Methods how to use theories and methodology approach to build national reconciliation in order to create because there are divided in two groups such political parties and ethnic groups. It is on-going processing to be one coalition for two groups by implementing and negotiating peace conferences.

However, civil society that could play a key role in the national reconciliation process is weak because of lack of political culture, religion and tradition of public etc and freedom of media did not get under the military regime for a long time so that it is challenges to reconstruct national consolidation in Myanmar.

In conclusion, it is described own descriptions based on theory and own logic by using relevant research title from online documents and existing studies from the government newspapers and journals although it is not easy to receive specific information about the political affairs.

**Role of main actors as political actor in Myanmar**

There are three groups including the government, the military and ethnic nationalities as the main influence actors for politics of Myanmar. First is the military (Tatmadaw) which was established to fight colonies with the view to get Independence. After obtaining the Independence, it stands as the protection organization of the country. However, the military controls the country so that the military can be seen as protection organization.

Second, the government who represents the civilian government takes the power from the military government with the public desire as the economy is unstable. Its obvious goal is in order to develop not only economy but also social condition with the democratic rule and regulation. Thus, the present government fights the institution of the military since 1988 as this institution is weakness to develop the country.

The last is the ethnic nationalities that are made up of eight ethnic groups with over 100 nationalities. Their ambition is to secede from the controlling of Burmese government as their division is not developed equally between rural and urban area so that they try to create own territory as there are different views between the government and ethnic groups.

It can be said that the government, the military and ethnic armed groups are the main stakeholders of politics in Myanmar. The civilian government and the military government tried to build national reconciliation but its strategy is not enough to achieve efforts because of history of political background and strategy of colonies. Therefore, union peace process is still ongoing to negotiate with the ethnic groups.

The civilian government and the military government take the power alternately in the history of Myanmar because of unstable political and economic crisis. The government tries to develop the economic situation by applying new appropriate policies while the government engages in union peace process by holding political dialogue and peace conflict in the internal and external environment.

**Role and place of internal and external influence in Myanmar**
The government implements appropriate policies for politics, economic and social affairs based on the situation of the country. When the government undertakes tasks by using these policies, it can be found that it is weakness to cooperate with the public involved in the different classes of public; high, middle and basic who is lack of political culture and lack of awareness. So, it is the main issues that there are differences concept between the government and ethnic groups.

Economy and politics are interrelated so that politics will be better if economy is in good situation. Like this, one reason is that Myanmar is in bad economic situation so that politics is not unstable situation relating social affairs such as Myintsone Dam Project and Rakhine Affairs etc. Second is that there are differences background between the ethnic groups as Myanmar is multi-ethnic group with over 100 nationalities to understand each other lived under colonies time and the military regime for a long time.

Third, some of ethnicarmed groups do not want to forgive their armed to live in peace and stability because of taking from providing non-states and non-governmental organizations that are in interfering in Myanmar’s affairs. Fourth is not trustable between the government, the military and ethnic groups although they tried to negotiate with them each other. So, it’s negotiating is still on-going process.

The final is that they don’t want to share the power to other nationalities because they control the public by using own strategy since the military regime although Myanmar has own constitution which can be described only to give favor those some groups so that the peace process has failed to continue discuss about federal and autonomy. Therefore, the government has challenges to engage in not only ethnic nationalities but also ethnic armed groups.

On the other hand, the government has internal pressures because there are differences concepts about federal and autonomy between the military and the ethnic armed groups (Northern part of Myanmar) and between the military and the ethnic armed groups (Eastern part of Myanmar). This situation can’t lead to achieve union peace process.

Therefore, there are external pressures in Myanmar because Rohingya issue happen in the western part of Myanmar. Neighboring countries including especially India and China is standing its Myanmar Side because this issue is solved between Myanmar and Bangladesh. But non- states mediator takes part in this issue. It leads to unstable stability so that it becomes turmoil to negotiate in union peace process.

In addition, that political situation becomes a disturbance to develop economy of the country so that the government has challenges to cure weakness economy in local and external environment when the civilian government can transform smoothly democratic transition from the military regime.

However, Myanmar is a higher complex with political, economic and social affairs so that the government has big challenges to take part in union peace process by solving local and external pressure. Three groups should participate in political dialogues and peace talk not only states level but also basic level.

Myanmar cannot reach a prosperous country due to above facts without stability of political so that three groups solve the political, economic and social issues at political dialogues and peace talks. Participating of those talks can narrow the group by discussing and exchanging views.

It takes the time to cooperate each other among three groups by using trust strategy such as transparency, accountability and responsibility when they implement practically in solving political, economic and social problems because it is the main solution to close among main stakeholders and non-stakeholders.

The government needs to broadcast news to public to understand the situation of the country and to cooperate with non-governmental organizations in respective sectors because he has only a little mark to share information so that the Rakhine issue occurs a huge issue because of media arm from non-states such as BBC, Al jazeera, Twitter and Facebook etc.

To sum up, the main actors are the government, the military and ethnic groups with differences views of federal and autonomy. They are not eager to participate in political dialogues talks because of their misunderstanding as they have not enough political awareness to share information to public under the military regime. Those facts are uprising doubt to take part in political dialogues and peace conference etc.

Role of China of national reconciliation in Myanmar

Myanmar promotes policy formulating for policy framework by describing a democratic system. Thus, policy decision maker plays a key role for its policy formulating as the government, the military and
the ethnic leader in internal arena and international actors in external arena. United States, China, Bangladesh and Thailand influence national reconciliation process of Myanmar.

Especially, China is the most influential country for peace process because it is not only neighboring country but also bilateral relationship. As Myanmar is known as important as the place of location in Asia, it is interested by the international community. Myanmar stood independently without involvement of competition between the West and the East in the time of Cold War.

In this time, China practiced the communist system so that it extends its power in regional area but also in external arena while the military took the office in Myanmar as the country was unstable because the ethnic minority was mostly against the Burmese government by using arms in the borders of northern and eastern part in cooperating with the communist parties in China. So, the Burmese troops fight against the ethnic armed groups which are UWSA, KIA, AA, NDAA, SSPP and UFC have not signed NCA.

AA is cooperating with the Muslim Word in the western and KIA and UFC in northern of the country and UWSA, SSPP in the eastern part of the country is still cooperating with the communist parties in China by doing illegally smuggling and trafficking in the border area as they want to get autonomy because the Burmese groups control the whole country. Those armed groups fight often against the military with differences view between them since the independence from the British colony. It leads to be difficult to involve in National Reconciliation Process.

Ethnic armed groups in Myanmar cooperate illegally with China which changes the policy as the first priority by protecting the security and promoting economic development after 1990. Therefore, the cities near border area between both countries are developed because of economic development. It brings about other cooperation like politics and socio-culture. Those groups claim the Burmese Government to get autonomy. However, he does not accept their demand so that there has been civil war in the border area till now.

The government undertakes national reconciliation with the ethnic leaders and ethnic armed groups since Myanmar changed new policy in 2011. Some of ethnic groups don’t involve in the negotiation process. Especially, those ethnic armed groups cooperate illegally with the Chinese by demanding autonomy so that their conflict reaches at the top to become civil wars.

These wars lead to loss of death for human beings as the Burmese government want to live together without dividing the places. So, China takes care of national reconciliation process of Myanmar to urge ethnic armed groups in order to maintain the security in the borders. Therefore, ethnic armed groups attend the peace conference as observers. It can be said that China influence on this groups.

However, China always stood the side of Myanmar when the international community oppressed Myanmar with regards to Politics of Myanmar since the military regime by using veto at the United Nations Conference. So, Myanmar became closely cooperating with China. When Myanmar changes the democratic system, China welcomes the civilian government to maintain the diplomatic relationship and supports Myanmar about Rohingya issue when the international community accuses currently it.

With regards to South China Sea, China needs to maintain the relationship of Myanmar which is situated as the geo-political situation in order to compete with the United States. Then, China gives necessity assistance to Myanmar to get natural resources like oil from Rakhine States which occurs Rohingya issue and energy from Kachine States which the civil war between the military and ethnic armed groups occurs often in order to extend economic development.

To be concluded, China is important for national reconciliation in Myanmar as interdependent. So, China promotes the relations with Myanmar although the policy maker changes in Myanmar while Myanmar is small country that needs to take political assistance from the super power countries and the economic cooperation from China in order to protect the national security and to develop the economy of the country.

Overview of Internal and External Experts

I interviewed ten persons including six civilian person, one external civilian person, two external experts and one internal expert under the questions during studying the research paper. Among of Answers of interview are two external experts and one internal expert. Two external experts are Petr Kozma and Dr Ksenia A. EFREMOVA and one internal expert is Mr. Ko Ko Hlaing.
1. How you can describe current state of Myanmar society? How diverse is it and what is the role of religion in society?

2. What is national reconciliation process in case of Myanmar? What are the goals and mechanisms of it?

3. How you can describe current situation in the country in terms of security?

4. Who are the actors of national reconciliation in Myanmar? What is the role of internal and external actors in the process? Can you formulate goals of these actors and their level of involvement into process?

5. How do you think: what are the main obstacles and possibilities for achieving internal peace in the country? Can international community really help to solve this issue?

According to Answers (1) of Based on Experts, in my perspectives, Myanmar practices a multinational society as there are over 100 nationalities so that this society is greatly diverse. In reality, these different groups rarely integrate in one or another organization. They tend to be isolated and unique to their own territories even in major cities like Yangon, Mandalay and Mawlaymine etc. Buddhism is greatly soaked in Myanmar's tradition and culture that it is inseparable.

However, other religions including Christianity, Hindu and Islam etc can have freedom of religion as in the commercial city known as Yangon, we can see pagoda, mosque and church as the same place at the center of city. With regards to Rohingya conflict in Northern Rakhine, the nationalist doesn’t welcome Rohingya as one ethnic group because those Rohingya are extreme who believe mostly in Islam as they fight each other for a long time and Rakhine is not developed so that it can’t provide all Rohingyas as Citizens in Myanmar. It cause often riot among nationalities so that it may damage security around the country.

According to Answers (2) of Based on Experts, I see that the national reconciliation process is being undertaken starting from 1990. But it cannot be achieved. This peace process becomes effective in 2011. So, there are 16 ethnic insurgent groups but only 8 groups were participated in the National Ceasefire Agreement in 2015 under the administration of U Thein Sein. Two ethnic armed groups from left 8 groups signed this National Ceasefire Agreement on 13 February 2018 under the civilian government U Htin Kyaw.

I added that there are 135 national ethnic groups in Myanmar but this list is not included Rohingyas for a long time as Rohingyas who does not comprise in the history book, however, the case of Bengali Muslims, who call themselves “Rohingyas”, since the Rohingyas are not officially recognized as one of the 135 national races or 136 national race. The government recognizes Rohingyas as Citizens who were born and resides in this conflict area, in Northern Rakhine but the authority cannot accept Rohingyas which practice extremism according to National Accord in 1997 between Myanmar and Bangladesh.

According to Answers (3) of Based on Experts, in my opinion, security is nonexistent so that the lives of the people is not prevented by any party in conflicted areas which situated in Northern Rakhine, Eastern part of Myanmar and Northern Part of Myanmar. In addition, the ethnic arm insurgency groups who reside in various place of Myanmar fight the troop of the government because there are differences concepts between them as they have differences interpretation about a federal state.

There are various social classes like high, middle and basic class around the country. The highly and wealthy places are the most secured places but the crime happens often in middle and basic environment who reside in this place. Social classes inhabit together so that it can be one organization between classes as there are differences beliefs systems and activities. Crimes can’t be prevented totally around the country because most crime is related with the economic affairs.

According to Answers (4) of Based on Experts, in my view, there are internal and external actors for national reconciliation process in Myanmar. Internal actors are (1) the Union government, and personally the State Counselor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi; (2) the Tatmadaw, and personally the commander-in-chief Senior General Min Aung Hlaing; (3) leaders of the ethnic groups who signed the National Ceasefire Agreement; (4) leaders of the ethnic groups who have not signed the National Ceasefire Agreement (5) Political Parties includes 97 parties and Individual for Public.
The development of the country is the duty of all citizens. As every citizen in the country are actors to describe the country because Myanmar practices a democratic system since 2011, Individual are actors to build national reconciliation. And then, coalition actors from integrating Individual are the main actors to drive the Peace Conference in order to construct national consolidation in Myanmar based on Advocacy Coalition Framework.

External actors are neighboring countries like China, India, Bangladesh and Asian Countries. Western countries like UN and Unites States of America involves in national reconciliation process to achieve the goals of citizens. On the other hand, some of organizations which support Rohingya hinder the security of Myanmar so that it is one hindrance for national reconciliation process in Myanmar.

To be concluded, each of these actors strives to act on the basis of its understanding of how everything should be, and tries to maximize its own the benefits. Therefore, any agreements should be the result of balance of interests, which, in turn, should reflect the strength and activity of each of the actors, Coalition actors of Internal and External arena maintain peace and security of the country or misuse the power for their personal interests.

According to Answers (5) of Based on Experts, my understanding is that there are differences concepts for internal and external actors so that there have obstacles and possibilities for internal peace process. The main responsible person is every citizen to take part actively in national reconciliation process. At this time, Myanmar needs external supporting like experiences of politics and technical assistance because Myanmar is not developed equally between urban and rural area in the country as economy of the country cannot be achieved under the closed market of administration.

Conclusion

Myanmar changes the democratic system from the military regime led by the quasi-civilian government in 2015 so that the democratic actor known the NLD political party who gains the present power in 2016 began the democratic movement since 1988. It took almost 20 years to change the democratic system due to lasting obstacles and challenges of internal peace among advocacy coalition actors such as the government, Tatmadaw, political parties, ethnic leader and so on.

As the role of the society is important, the civil society wants to take part in politics, but diverse actors influence on politics affairs for a long time in the past so that it is still difficulties to participate in negotiating process among ethnic leaders in the present because there have been internal conflicts about various concepts and interests. Diverse interpretations of politics and diverse resources led to be difficult in order to organize one coalition organization for national consolidation.

Concept of actors and their tasks which are difficult to understand the civil society are analyzed in order to build national reconciliation as the civil society is lack of political culture. Learning of their tasks leads to be easy to understand the gap concepts between coalition actors and ethnic leaders. And then, understanding of ethnic leaders can provide fruits for national reconciliation although they have been a lot of obstacles and challenges of internal peace in Myanmar.

According to the theory of ACF, national reconciliation process can be achieved through negotiation so that advocacy coalition actors such as the government, Tatmadaw, political parties and ethnic leader created Panglong Conference to build national consolidation since 2011. Thus, eight ethnic armed groups signed NCA in 2015. Two ethnic armed groups signed NCA in 2017. Only six ethnic armed groups left to sign this Agreement.

We can find out that the peace process can’t be successful because there are obstacles and possibilities such as historic memories, internal conflict, technical assistance and external pressure. Such kind of challenges can be overcome with the theory of ACF based on this fact substance and practice. Those tasks can be solved through legislation and implementation. Therefore, advocacy coalition actors play a key role to build national reconciliation process.

Advocacy coalition actors have diverse goal, interests and activities so that it is difficult to cooperate in the short time because there have been gap of development between urban and rural area. At this time, first thing is political knowledge because education needs to promote around the country. Second thing is that economy is underdeveloped so that the government is more responsible to give opportunities for the society. As the politics and the economy are interrelated, the whole society takes responsibilities for the development of the country.
But, the administration of the history reflects the current situation so that it is not easy to amend the practice system. Third thing is that it needs to technical assistance to share information not only urban but also rural area in the country. The main thing is trust among the ethnic nationalities. So, peace conference is held in order to get trust each other. However, the external actors interfere in internal conflicts such as civil war and Rakhine conflict that leads to be difficult to negotiating with the ethnic nationalities.

With regards to the challenges of the research topic, Myanmar needs assistance of internal and external community. According to Constitution, every person has the right of equality. Thus, the government gives the equality to all ethnic groups. But, ethnic nationalities cannot get equality in the current situation. For example, the most take the political power as the Burmese nationalities. Describing of rule and regulation in the practice system is weak so that every citizen should have the knowledge what needs in the society.

External community should provide assistance what Myanmar needs. However, they fire the internal conflict such as Rakhine conflict in the practice system. In this conflict, they accuse Myanmar as Genocide without analyzing the source of the conflict by using media. Myanmar is weak of media strategy so that the security of Myanmar is threatened around the world and the loss of the life occurs mostly in this conflict area at the border of Myanmar and Bangladesh.

To be concluded, every citizen should take the responsibility in order to create a federal state as the main goal. The actors should take accountability, responsibility and transparency in political, economic and socio-cultural affairs etc when the policy system is described in cooperating with the society. The external community should help Myanmar affairs as the positive view without interfering internal conflict. If both facts are perfect, my research problem can be solved easily.

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