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**BURMA ISSUES & CONCERNS VOL.7**

**LOCKED IN, TIED UP:  
BURMA'S  
DISCIPLINED DEMOCRACY**



**ALTSEAN**  
BURMA

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: WARDROBE CHANGE DOES NOT BRING DEMOCRACY**

On 30 March 2011, the military regime's long-running play 'roadmap to democracy' concluded almost eight years after its release. In the military stronghold of Naypyidaw, President-elect Thein Sein was sworn in along with Vice-Presidents Tin Aung Myint Oo and Maung Aung Mye Thazun and 30 new cabinet ministers. The ceremony also marked the dissolution of the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). "Peace and Development Council" offices across Burma were renamed as "General Administrative Departments." Twenty-six out of the new cabinet's 30 ministers are either retired SPDC military officials or former junta ministers. Beyond the change from military uniforms to Burmese traditional dress, which has been described by the regime as a "transfer of power to a civilian government", nothing has changed in Burma as a result of the 7 November election and the convening of a Parliament dominated by former high-ranking SPDC officials.

The roadmap sequel, "discipline-flourishing democracy" has been scripted to legalize and perpetuate the SPDC's infamous malgovernance and oppression. "Retired" SPDC Chairman Sr Gen Than Shwe ensured he would continue to dominate Burma's politics by naming himself the leader of a newly-created State Supreme Council. Even before Parliament convened, Than Shwe issued a series of laws that were designed to shackle the Parliament and make it a hostage of the military. When Parliament met in late January, the proceedings took place under tight control. SPDC-imposed procedures for parliamentary proceedings stifled debate and severely restricted media coverage.

The situation in ethnic nationality areas has deteriorated since the November election. In Karen State, SPDC Army forces and a breakaway faction of the DKBA have been engaged in ongoing fighting. The conflict has caused hundreds of civilians to flee to Thailand. SPDC Army forces also brought increased pressure against ceasefire groups, in particular the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) in Kachin State and the Shan State Army – North (SSA-N) and the United Wa State Army (UWSA) in Shan State. The regime is clearly preparing to launch major offensives against all of these groups, which rejected the SPDC's Border Guard Force scheme. The situation is grim for communities living in conflict areas, as the military prepares to step up its notorious 'four cuts' campaign. The 'four cuts' strategy that targets civilians in an attempt to undermine resistance forces is one of the main causes of serious international crimes in ethnic areas.

There has been no improvement of the human rights situation in Burma. More than 2,000 political prisoners languish in Burma's jails under harsh detention conditions and inadequate access to treatment for serious health conditions. Freedom of information and freedom of speech are severely restricted. Recently, the regime sentenced reporter Sithu Zeya to eight years in prison for taking photos in Rangoon when there were a series of deadly bomb blasts on 15 April 2010. In February, a SPDC Court sentenced DVB reporter Maung Maung Zeya to 13 years in prison under the Electronics Act and the Unlawful Association Act. Following the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the SPDC Censorship Board restricted coverage of Daw Suu's release and her subsequent activities. In mid-November, it was reported that SPDC authorities ordered internet cafe owners in Rangoon to install CCTV cameras to monitor internet users. In March, the SPDC-controlled Myanmar Post and Telecommunications ordered all internet cafés across Burma to stop providing Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) communication services.

As for Burma's economy, the sham transition to civilian rule has been marked by a mass sell-off of state-owned properties to regime cronies. The widening gap between salaries for civil servants

and private sector workers has led to strikes over low wages and poor working conditions. The most serious blow to Burma's ability to improve the quality of life for its people came when MPs failed to address the country's serious and ongoing education and health issues. The national budget for the 2011-2012 fiscal year allocated a staggering 1.8 trillion kyat (US\$2 billion), or 23.6%, for military expenditures. By contrast, the health and education sectors received a paltry 99.5 billion kyat (US\$110 million), or 1.3%, and 314 billion kyat (US\$349 million), or 4.13% respectively. In addition, it appears that the budget fails to accurately reflect revenues especially from exports of oil and gas.

The final step in the junta's roadmap has not changed conditions in Burma in the slightest – with the possible exception that many international corporations now think they can respectably invest in the country and exploit its cheap labor. The SPDC has perpetuated a cruel hoax on its own people and the international community. Whether the SPDC is successful in its sleight of hand depends on the resolve of international leaders to stay the course in keeping pressure on Burma's new regime so it will enact true reform and engage in genuine dialogue for peace and national reconciliation. World leaders cannot let the regime's mirage of democracy to continue while Burma's people still suffer under authoritarian rule. The promise of democracy in Burma must be genuinely fulfilled.

## SPDC STILL IN POWER

- **SPDC dissolves itself, but the newly-elected Parliament is still controlled by former SPDC officials.**
- **SPDC bypasses the new Parliament and issues laws designed to maintain the military's grip on power.**
- **Parliamentary laws gag MPs and restrict civilian access to Parliament.**
- **Many MPs complain about detention-like conditions in Naypyidaw.**
- **No room for debate in the new Parliament.**
- **No women in the Cabinet.**

On 30 March, the SPDC completed its transformation to the façade of a civilian regime. President-elect Thein Sein was sworn in along with Vice-Presidents Tin Aung Myint Oo and Maung Kham and 30 new cabinet ministers.<sup>1</sup> The ceremony also marked the dissolution of the SPDC.<sup>2</sup> To complete the cosmetic makeover, “Peace and Development Council” offices across Burma were renamed as “General Administrative Departments.”<sup>3</sup>

Despite the regime's much touted “transition to a civilian government,” it is clear that the same military men who were in power under the SPDC's reign are still ruling Burma. The newly-elected Parliament placed former SPDC high-ranking officials at the top of the country's political system:

- Former SPDC PM **Thein Sein** is Burma's new President.<sup>4</sup>
- Former SPDC third-in-command **Shwe Mann** and former SPDC Minister of Culture **Khin Aung Myint** are the Speakers of the People's Assembly and National Assembly respectively.<sup>5</sup>
- Former SPDC Secretary-1 **Tin Aung Myint Oo** is one of the two Vice Presidents.<sup>6</sup>

- Out of the new cabinet's 30 ministers, 26 are either **retired SPDC military officials or former junta ministers**, while only four are civilians.<sup>7</sup>
- Of the 14 Chief Ministers at the Division and State level, **six are former SPDC Commanders** and **three are former SPDC ministers**.
- **Tin Aye** is the Chairman of the incoming Election Commission.<sup>8</sup> A former Lieutenant General, Tin Aye is a protégé of Sr Gen Than Shwe.<sup>9</sup>
- **There are no women in the Cabinet.** Only two out of 39 Deputy Ministers are women.

### Than Shwe calls the shots

Despite stepping down as Burma's Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Sr Gen Than Shwe ensured he would continue to steer Burma's politics. In a surprise move, Than Shwe created and named himself as leader of the eight-member State Supreme Council. The Council, which is not mentioned in the 2008 constitution, is expected to provide “guidance” to the new regime. The Council comprised several former top SPDC generals: Sr Gen Than Shwe, Vice Sr Gen Maung Aye, People's Assembly Speaker Shwe Mann, President Thein Sein, Vice President Tin Aung Myint Oo, and Election Commission Chairman Tin Aye.<sup>10</sup>

Not everyone in the military was happy with Than Shwe's efforts to place his loyalists in the new regime's top posts. On 10 February, the SPDC reportedly placed Lt Gen Myint Aung under house arrest because he refused the post of Defense Minister.<sup>11</sup>

### New laws strengthen military power

Beginning in October 2010, SPDC Chairman Than Shwe issued a series of laws designed to maintain the military's grip on power. By enacting these laws before the

newly-elected Parliament convened, Than Shwe ensured that lawmakers had no say with regard to key policy issues that are vital to the military.

- **21 October 2010: Laws governing parliamentary proceedings**

These laws impose severe restrictions on parliamentary debate and participation.<sup>12</sup> As a result, nothing can happen in the Parliament that does not meet with the approval of regime officials. [See below *Restrictions dominate parliamentary proceedings*]

- **4 November 2010: Military draft law**

The law stipulates that males aged 18 to 45 and females aged 18 to 35 may be drafted to serve in the armed forces for two years.<sup>13</sup> The service term could be increased to five years in times of national emergencies.<sup>14</sup> The law also states that those who avoid conscription could be imprisoned for up to five years.<sup>15</sup> Observers suggested that the SPDC adopted the new law in an attempt to avoid future claims that recruiters forced people to join the army and to offset the increasing rate of desertions.<sup>16</sup>

- **17 January 2011: Special Fund Law**

The law allows the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces to use a “special fund” for any expenses related to national defense and security.<sup>17</sup> The law also states that the Commander-in-Chief is not accountable to any institution for the use of the fund.<sup>18</sup>

- **27 January 2011: Budget for the 2011-2012 fiscal year**

The SPDC allocated 23.6% of the 7.6 trillion kyat (US\$8.45 billion) budget for military expenditures.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, the regime allocated a paltry 5.4% to the health and education sectors combined.<sup>20</sup> The budget also earmarked 20 billion kyat (about US\$22 million) for the office of the SPDC.<sup>21</sup>

## **New Parliament: MPs under “house arrest”**

*“Under the tightened security, even USDP members felt like people under house arrest.”* - A USDP MP from Mandalay.<sup>22</sup>

On 31 January, the People's Assembly and the National Assembly convened amid tight security in Naypyidaw for Burma's first parliamentary session in 22 years.<sup>23</sup> The 14 Division and State Parliaments also convened.<sup>24</sup>

Many MPs complained about living in detention-like conditions in Naypyidaw.<sup>25</sup> When MPs were not in session, they faced severe restrictions on movement.<sup>26</sup> MPs were confined to guesthouses in small rooms without radio or TV and no clean running water.<sup>27</sup> MPs were barred from receiving visitors at the guesthouse.<sup>28</sup> MPs who attended parliamentary proceedings received a 10,000 kyat (US\$11.50) daily allowance but ended up spending most, if not all, on meals, accommodation, and transportation.<sup>29</sup>

## **Restrictions dominate parliamentary proceedings**

The laws governing parliamentary proceedings gag MPs and restrict civilian access to the newly-elected Parliament.<sup>30</sup>

- The laws prevent MPs from making any comment which is deemed to endanger national security, the unity of the country, or violate the 2008 constitution.<sup>31</sup>
- MPs face up to two years in jail if they “write, print or distribute by any means parliament-related documents, information, statistics, drawings, charts or other references.”<sup>32</sup>
- MPs must submit parliamentary questions ten days before the start of a meeting. Questions must not affect international relations, lead to the disclosure of state secrets, or undermine the interests of the state and its citizens.<sup>33</sup>

- Any person who stages a demonstration in Parliament can be sentenced up to two years in prison.<sup>34</sup>
- Anyone, other than MPs, who enters Parliament without authorization while the body is in session, is subject to a one-year jail term.<sup>35</sup>

The SPDC also barred MPs from bringing cameras, laptop computers, mobile phones, and any type of voice transmission or recording devices inside the Parliament buildings.<sup>36</sup>

In addition, the SPDC barred domestic journalists and foreign correspondents from covering the parliamentary proceedings. The junta allowed only state-run media to cover the session.<sup>37</sup> SPDC authorities questioned reporters who took photographs near Parliament buildings and journalists who tried to approach MPs outside the Parliament premises.<sup>38</sup>

### **Political Parties Registration Law still threatens parties and MPs**

Article 12 of the Political Parties Registration Law states that the Election Commission must dissolve parties that fail to expel a member who is convicted and sentenced to a prison term.<sup>39</sup> This provision, which still applies to newly-elected MPs, is an additional tool used by the regime to silence lawmakers. MPs brave enough to speak out will have to consider the consequences for their parties.

In addition, Article 12 of the Political Parties Registration Law states that parties can be dissolved if they “contact or abet” “unlawful” organizations or their members.<sup>40</sup> In a thinly veiled attempt to isolate the NLD, on 5 April, the Election Commission issued a warning to all registered political parties to remind them not to contact unlawful organizations.<sup>41</sup>

### **Parliamentary debate a sham**

*“The Parliament representatives [...] are to discuss any matters in unison. It is important not to have a sense of contradiction. The precious time will be lost if they argue with each other. The Parliament should not be in a debate-like situation.”* - National Assembly Speaker Khin Aung Myint<sup>42</sup>

During the Parliament's initial meetings, the proceedings were exclusively devoted to the nomination or election of the new regime's cadre. However, the constitution did not allow for debate over the appointments. The MPs' only task was to certify that nominees met the constitutional qualifications for the position. MPs complained that they could not assess the qualifications of the nominees because of the short time allocated to the process and because personal biographies were usually incomplete.<sup>43</sup>

On 9 March, after being in session for over five weeks, MPs in both Houses of Parliament were finally allowed to discuss motions and pose questions to ministers.<sup>44</sup> However, it was readily apparent that the process was just for show. Ministers brushed off questions that dealt with important issues such as the release of political prisoners, land ownership rights, and education in ethnic nationality areas.<sup>45</sup> The ministers' responses often included a large amount of statistical and background information but failed to address the substantive issues raised by the MPs.<sup>46</sup> In addition, the Speakers rejected many questions because they were deemed “irrelevant.”<sup>47</sup>

### **Parliamentary committees to control legislative activity**

On 30 March, the National Parliament's first session concluded.<sup>48</sup> According to the constitution, the National Parliament is required to convene for a regular session “at least once a year.”<sup>49</sup> As such, the Parliament will not have to convene again until 2012.

Committees formed during the Parliament's first session will carry out the legislative groundwork until the Parliament reconvenes.<sup>50</sup>

President Thein Sein hand-picked the MPs that make up the 10 parliamentary committees (four each for the People's Assembly and the National Assembly<sup>51</sup> plus two joint committees for the National Parliament<sup>52</sup>).

USDP MPs hold the Chair and at least a 75% majority in all but one committee. In addition, the committees perform their duties with utmost secrecy. According to the parliamentary rules, the committees' proceedings must "not be leaked out" and minutes of the meetings must "not be handed out."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>1</sup> AP (30 Mar 11) Myanmar's junta is 'dissolved' after new, military-dominated government is sworn in; AFP (30 Mar 11) Myanmar swears in new president; AFP (30 Mar 11) Myanmar military rule ends, but army retains grip; DPA (30 Mar 11) Myanmar's new president sworn in, junta disbands; BBC (30 Mar 11) Burma's new parliament and head of military sworn in; Xinhua (30 Mar 11) Myanmar's new president sworn in, previous ruling body dissolved; DVB (30 Mar 11) President sworn in, junta dissolved; Mizzima News (30 Mar 11) Thein Sein sworn in as Burma's president

<sup>2</sup> NLM (31 Mar 11) Notification No. 5/2011; AP (30 Mar 11) Myanmar's junta is 'dissolved' after new, military-dominated government is sworn in; AFP (30 Mar 11) Myanmar swears in new president; BBC (30 Mar 11) Burma's new parliament and head of military sworn in; AFP (30 Mar 11) Myanmar military rule ends, but army retains grip; Xinhua (30 Mar 11) Myanmar's new president sworn in, previous ruling body dissolved

<sup>3</sup> AFP (30 Mar 11) Myanmar military rule ends, but army retains grip

<sup>4</sup> AP (05 Feb 11) Burma appoints junta figure as president; NYT (04 Feb 11) Military insider selected as Myanmar's president; FT (04 Feb 11) Burmese parliament chooses junta insider Thein Sein for president; Mizzima News (04 Feb 11) Thein Sein chosen as regime's new President; Myanmar Times (07 Feb 11) U Thein Sein named president; Irrawaddy (04 Feb 11) Junta PM Elected as Burma's First 'Civilian' President

<sup>5</sup> DPA (31 Jan 11) Myanmar parliament elects military men as house speakers (Roundup); Irrawaddy (31 Jan 11) Senior Junta Officials Elected as Heads of Parliament; Mizzima News (31 Jan 11) Speakers elected to both houses of Parliament; DVB (31 Jan 11) Shwe Mann elected as speaker

<sup>6</sup> NLM (04 Feb 11) Meeting of Group of Pyithu Hluttaw representatives-elect of Presidential Electoral College resumes; NLM (04 Feb 11) Meeting of Amyotha Hluttaw representatives-elect group of Presidential Electoral

College resumes; NLM (04 Feb 11) Group of Defence Services Personnel Representatives elects Thiha Thura U Tin Aung Myint Oo as Vice-President; AP (03 Feb 11) Junta's PM chosen Myanmar's new vice president; AFP (03 Feb 11) Myanmar junta party 'sweeps presidential race'; Xinhua (03 Feb 11) Myanmar union parliament representative groups set last 3 candidates; DVB (03 Feb 11) USDP dominates presidential race; Irrawaddy (03 Feb 11) Two USDP Vice-Presidents Elected; Military Set to Chose Third; Mizzima News (03 Feb 11) Thein Sein and Sai Mauk Kham elected as vice presidents

<sup>7</sup> NLM (12 Feb 11) Fourth-day regular session of First Pyidaungsu Hluttaw held - Approval sought for Union Ministers Nine members, Chairperson for Constitutional Tribunal of the Union submitted to Pyidaungsu Hluttaw; AP (11 Feb 11) Myanmar's Parliament approves all Cabinet nominees; AP (09 Feb 11) Myanmar president nominates 30 for new Cabinet; DPA (09 Feb 11) Only four civilians on Myanmar's next cabinet lineup; AFP (12 Feb 11) Ex-military dominate Myanmar's new cabinet; DVB (10 Feb 11) Women absent from new Burma cabinet

<sup>8</sup> NLM (19 Feb 11) Ninth-day regular session of First Pyidaungsu Hluttaw held - Approval sought for appointment of Union Election Commission Chairman - Person suitable to be appointed as Attorney-General of the Union nominated

<sup>9</sup> Irrawaddy (17 Feb 11) Tin Aye to Become Chairman of Election Commission

<sup>10</sup> Irrawaddy (10 Feb 11) Than Shwe to Head Extra-Constitutional 'State Supreme Council'

<sup>11</sup> Mizzima News (10 Feb 11) Myint Aung rejects defense minister job; reportedly under arrest; Irrawaddy (10 Feb 11) Myint Aung Dismissed, Placed Under House Arrest; Irrawaddy (10 Feb 11) Myint Aung Dismissed, Placed Under House Arrest

<sup>12</sup> Irrawaddy (20 Jan 11) Burma's Disciplined Democracy

<sup>13</sup> AP (10 Jan 11) Myanmar enacts military draft law for men, women; Mizzima News (11 Jan 11) Military draft seen as threat to ethnic armed groups; DVB (10 Jan 11) Burma introduces military draft; Chinland Guardian (13 Jan 11) Conscription Law Likely to Drive More Youths out of Burma

<sup>14</sup> AP (10 Jan 11) Myanmar enacts military draft law for men, women

<sup>15</sup> AP (10 Jan 11) Myanmar enacts military draft law for men, women

<sup>16</sup> Mizzima News (11 Jan 11) Military draft seen as threat to ethnic armed groups

<sup>17</sup> Irrawaddy (04 Mar 11) Than Shwe Grants Himself Power to Access 'Special Funds'; AP (04 Mar 11) Myanmar democracy group slams military fund

<sup>18</sup> AP (04 Mar 11) Myanmar democracy group slams military fund; Irrawaddy (04 Mar 11) Than Shwe Grants Himself Power to Access 'Special Funds'; DVB (07 Mar 11) Politicians decry military budget

<sup>19</sup> AP (01 Mar 11) Myanmar allocates 1/4 of new budget to military; AP (04 Mar 11) Myanmar democracy group slams military fund; DVB (02 Mar 11) Military prioritised as Burma expands airforce

<sup>20</sup> AP (01 Mar 11) Myanmar allocates 1/4 of new budget to military

<sup>21</sup> AP (01 Mar 11) Myanmar allocates 1/4 of new budget to military; Irrawaddy (04 Mar 11) Than Shwe Grants Himself Power to Access 'Special Funds'

<sup>22</sup> Irrawaddy (04 Mar 11) Than Shwe Grants Himself Power to Access 'Special Funds'

<sup>23</sup> AP (31 Jan 11) Tight security as new Myanmar parliament opens; CNN (11 Jan 11) Myanmar parliament opens after 20-year lapse; Reuters (31 Jan 11) As Myanmar new parliament opens, junta's shadow looms large; DPA (31 Jan 11) Myanmar parliament elects military men as house speakers (Roundup); Al Jazeera (31 Jan 11) Myanmar parliament opens doors

<sup>24</sup> AP (10 Jan 11) Myanmar parliament set for 1st session in 22 years; Telegraph (11 Jan 11) Burma to hold first parliamentary session in 22 years; DPA (31 Jan 11) Myanmar parliament opens amid tight security; Irrawaddy (31 Jan 11) Senior Junta Officials Elected as Heads of Parliament

<sup>25</sup> Irrawaddy (01 Mar 11) Burmese MPs Complain of Detention-like Conditions

<sup>26</sup> Irrawaddy (01 Mar 11) Burmese MPs Complain of Detention-like Conditions; Mizzima News (01 Mar 11) Daily MP life: everything you ever wanted to know

<sup>27</sup> Mizzima News (01 Mar 11) Daily MP life: everything you ever wanted to know

<sup>28</sup> Mizzima News (01 Mar 11) Daily MP life: everything you ever wanted to know

<sup>29</sup> Mizzima News (01 Mar 11) Daily MP life: everything you ever wanted to know

<sup>30</sup> Irrawaddy (20 Jan 11) Burma's Disciplined Democracy; NLM (11 Jan 11) 17 books on law and bylaw in circulation; Xinhua (21 Jan 11) Myanmar heads for first parliamentary sessions in two decades; Xinhua (10 Jan 11) Myanmar enacts 17 new laws under new state constitution; Mizzima News (10 Jan 11) Burmese Parliaments to convene Jan 31

<sup>31</sup> AP (10 Jan 11) Myanmar parliament set for 1st session in 22 years

<sup>32</sup> Irrawaddy (20 Jan 11) Burma's Disciplined Democracy

<sup>33</sup> Irrawaddy (20 Jan 11) Burma's Disciplined Democracy

<sup>34</sup> AP (10 Jan 11) Myanmar parliament set for 1st session in 22 years

<sup>35</sup> AP (10 Jan 11) Myanmar parliament set for 1st session in 22 years; Irrawaddy (20 Jan 11) Burma's Disciplined Democracy; Myanmar Times (24 Jan 11) Electronic devices banned in parliaments

<sup>36</sup> DVB (18 Jan 11) Rules for parliament released; Mizzima News (18 Jan 11) Foreign reporters prepare to cover Parliament news; Irrawaddy (19 Jan 11) Conditions Set for MPs to Attend Parliament; Mizzima News (19 Jan 11) EC asks MPs to wear national dress in Parliament sessions; Irrawaddy (20 Jan 11) Burma's Disciplined Democracy

<sup>37</sup> DVB (31 Jan 11) Journalists barred from parliament; DPA (31 Jan 11) Myanmar parliament elects military men as house speakers (Roundup); Irrawaddy (31 Jan 11) Senior Junta Officials Elected as Heads of Parliament; Mizzima News (02 Feb 11) Media group criticises Parliament for lack of media access

<sup>38</sup> Mizzima News (03 Feb 11) Most reporters leave Naypyidaw, return home

<sup>39</sup> Political Parties Registration Law, Article 12 (a) (vi)

<sup>40</sup> Political Parties Registration Law, Article 12 (a) (iii)

<sup>41</sup> Irrawaddy (19 Apr 11) Election Commission Warns Burmese Parties; DVB (20 Apr 11) Politicians warned against 'unlawful' contacts

<sup>42</sup> Mizzima News (02 Feb 11) A Parliament without debate?; Irrawaddy (22 Feb 11) Burma's '15-Minute' Parliament

<sup>43</sup> Mizzima News (22 Feb 11) Lack of information, short sessions upset lawmakers; Irrawaddy (22 Feb 11) Burma's '15-Minute' Parliament

<sup>44</sup> Xinhua (09 Mar 11) Myanmar parliaments due on legislation process

<sup>45</sup> Mizzima News (08 Mar 11) Parliament to discuss prisoners' release, right to form associations; Irrawaddy (11 Mar 11) Burmese MPs Question, Get Stonewalled by Ministers; NLM (10 Mar 11) Existing farmland laws most appropriate to safeguard peasants' rights - Pyithu Hluttaw continues first regular session for sixth day; NLM (16 Mar 11) Education Minister replies to Pyithu Hluttaw representative U Zaw Tun's question

<sup>46</sup> Irrawaddy (11 Mar 11) Burmese MPs Question, Get Stonewalled by Ministers

<sup>47</sup> Irrawaddy (11 Mar 11) Burmese MPs Question, Get Stonewalled by Ministers; DVB (16 Mar 11) Clamp tightened on MPs questions

<sup>48</sup> First Pyidaungsu Hluttaw regular session concludes successfully - Elected President, elected Vice-Presidents, Union level organization members make affirmation - President delivers address, his address recorded

<sup>49</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar; Art. 79

<sup>50</sup> Irrawaddy (07 Mar 11) Parliamentary Debates to Be Concluded Before April; Myanmar Times (14 Mar 11) MPs encouraged by committees

<sup>51</sup> Bill Committee; Public Accounts Committee; Rights Committee; Government's Guarantees, Pledges and Undertakings Vetting Committee;

<sup>52</sup> Bill Joint Committee and Public Accounts Joint Committee

<sup>53</sup> NLM (02 Mar 11) Second day regular session of First Pyithu Hluttaw held - Pyithu Hluttaw Bill Committee formed; NLM (04 Mar 11) First regular session of Pyithu Hluttaw continues for third day - 15-member Public Accounts Committee formed; NLM (05 Mar 11) First Pyithu Hluttaw Regular Session continues for fourth day - 15-member Hluttaw Rights Committee formed - Hluttaw Rights Committee formed to scrutinize cases concerning breach of duties, powers and rights of Hluttaw, Hluttaw Committee or Hluttaw representative; NLM (08 Mar 11) First regular session of Pyithu Hluttaw continues for fifth day - 15-member Government's Guarantees, Pledges and Undertakings Vetting Committee formed - Government's guarantees, pledges and undertakings shall be implemented within fixed period and on; NLM (02 Mar 11) First regular session of Amyotha Hluttaw in its second day - Amyotha Hluttaw Bill Committee formed; NLM (04 Mar 11) First regular session of Amyotha Hluttaw goes on for third day - 15-member Public Accounts Committee formed; NLM (05 Mar 11) Amyotha Hluttaw carries on first regular session for fourth day - 15-member Hluttaw Rights Committee formed - Suitable number of members, nominations for members, chairman and secretary will be submitted to the hluttaw for approval; NLM (08 Mar 11) First regular session of Amyotha Hluttaw continues for fifth day - 15-member Government's Guarantees, Pledges and Undertakings Vetting Committee formed - Committee shall present an interim report if Amyotha Hluttaw fails to present a final report on the scheduled day

## THEIN SEIN: THAN SHWE'S "YES MAN" BECOMES PRESIDENT

### Personal info

#### Date of Birth:

20 April 1945

#### Place of birth:

Bassein, Irrawaddy  
Division



#### Marital Status:

Married to Khin Khin Win; he and his wife are on the April 2011 EU blacklist.<sup>1</sup>

### Key attributes

- Best suited to office work. Often referred to as “Senior Clerk”.
- Lacks ambition. Despite being promoted to Brigadier General in the War Office, he remained in the post traditionally held by a Colonel or Staff Officer.
- Obedient and non-confrontational. Considered a “yes man” of Sr Gen Than Shwe, his loyalty dates back to the early 1990s when he served as his personal assistant in the War Office.
- Not respected by other high ranking military officials, including Burma's newly-elected Vice President Tin Aung Myint Oo, and considered too weak for the position of Prime Minister.
- Described among military officials as “Mr. Clean” because he is allegedly not as corrupt as other generals.<sup>2</sup>
- Lacks business and economic acumen. Often relies on junta cronies Tay Za and Zaw Zaw for advice on economic issues.
- Known to be a close associate with drug lords from the Wa Army while serving as Commander of the Triangle Region Command.
- Developed a reputation of being “anti-Thai” when he was Commander of the Triangle Region Command and dealt with Thai authorities regarding conflicts along the border.

### Key “achievements”

- Represented the junta at ASEAN summits, where he was known to be the quietest leader at the meetings.<sup>3</sup>
- During the 2007 ASEAN summit in Singapore, prevented UN Sec Gen's Special Advisor on Burma Ibrahim Gambari from briefing attendees, by threatening to pull out of the association.<sup>4</sup>
- Led the National Convention Convening Commission, which served as the first step of the junta's seven-step roadmap to democracy.
- As point man for relief efforts related to cyclone Nargis, delayed the issuance of visas to foreign aid workers and played a key role in preventing aid from reaching survivors.
- Failed to convince several armed opposition groups in Eastern Shan State to enter ceasefire agreements with the junta when he was Commander of the Triangle Regional Command.
- Confiscated land from local paddy farmers which was sold to Wa officer Sai Mya for the production of amphetamines when he was Commander of the Triangle Regional Command.
- In 1998, as Commander of the Triangle Regional Command, failed to respond to a plane crash that killed 39 people near Tachilek Township, Shan State; opting instead to play golf.<sup>5</sup>

### (In)famous quotes

In February 2007, as Chairman of the Committee for Prevention against Recruitment of Minors, Thein Sein said: **“No forced recruitment is carried out and all the soldiers have joined the army of their own accord.”**<sup>6</sup>

In August 2007, during the final sessions of the National Convention, Thein Sein said

with regard to the duration of the National Convention: **“Actually we could have wrapped all of it up in a day, but there's a need to make it look good, isn't there?”**<sup>7</sup>

In August 2010, in a speech sent to SPDC ministries, Army battalions, and universities and colleges directing them to vote for the USDP in the 7 November election, Thein Sein said: **“Vote for the USDP because only the USDP can bring peace and tranquility to the country—only vote for the USDP, don't vote for the wrong people.”**<sup>8</sup>

On 30 March 2010, in his inaugural address to the National Parliament, Thein Sein said: **“[...] [E]very citizen has to avoid any activities and speeches that harm the image of the country and interests of the people.”**<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Council of the European Union (12 Apr 11) Council Decision 2011/239/CFSP

<sup>2</sup> Irrawaddy (31 Jan 11) Thein Sein Set to Be New President

<sup>3</sup> Irrawaddy (31 Jan 11) Thein Sein Set to Be New President;

<sup>4</sup> DPA (04 Feb 11) Thein Sein, Myanmar's malleable new president

<sup>5</sup> SHAN (17 May 08) PM Thein Sein wrong man for handling disasters?

<sup>6</sup> AP (02 Feb 07) Myanmar junta says Western allegations of child soldiers are untrue

<sup>7</sup> SHAN (22 Aug 07) Convention to conclude on September 3

<sup>8</sup> Irrawaddy (02 Sep 10) Vote USDP Orders PM

<sup>9</sup> NLM (31 Mar 11) We have to strive our utmost to stand as a strong government while conducting changes and amendments in order to catch up with the changing world - President U Thein Sein delivers inaugural address to Pyidaungsu Hluttaw

## Thein Sein's career

- Feb 2011 – Present** – **President of Burma**  
Received 408 out of 659 votes in the National Parliament.
- Feb 2011 – Present – **Head of the National Defense and Security Council (NDSC)**  
Thein Sein has the power to make key decisions without Parliament's approval, including the ability to declare a state of emergency and restore military rule.
- Oct 2007 – Feb 2011 – **SPDC Prime Minister**  
Military Rank: General - He resigned from the military in April 2010 to contest in the elections as a USDP candidate. In May 2007, Thein Sein took over the duties of Prime Minister when former PM Gen Soe Win's health declined. He was promoted to the post officially in October 2007.
- Nov 2010 – Feb 2011 – **Member of Parliament**  
Elected as the USDP candidate to the People's Assembly in Naypyidaw's Zabuthiri Township.
- Apr 2010 – Feb 2011 – **USDP Chairman**  
Resigned from the USDP after being elected as Burma's President.
- Oct 2008 – Feb 2011 – **Chairman of the National Disaster Preparedness Central Committee**  
Tasked to oversee relief efforts for cyclone Nargis.
- May 2004 – Sep 2007 – **Chairman of the National Convention Convening Commission**  
Oversaw the National Convention's proceedings.
- Jan 2004 – unknown – **Chairman of the Committee for Prevention against Recruitment of Minors**
- unknown – **Chairman of the Police Reform Committee**
- Oct 2004 – Oct 2007 – **SPDC Secretary-1**
- Aug 2003 – Oct 2004 – **SPDC Secretary-2**
- Nov 2001 – Aug 2003 – **Adjutant General of the War Office**  
Military Rank: Major General.
- 1996 – 2001 – **Commander of the Triangle Regional Command**  
Military Rank: Brigadier General; Location: Kengtung Township, Shan State.
- 1995 – **Military Operations Command- 4**  
Location: Hmawbi Township, Rangoon. Assigned to establish the newly-formed military command.
- 1992 – 1995 – **General Staff Officer at the War Office**  
Military Rank: Colonel; Location: Rangoon.
- unknown – **Commander of Infantry Battalion 89**  
Location: Kale, Sagaing Division.
- unknown – **Commander of Strategic Command 2 of the Eastern Regional Command**
- 1989 – **Graduate of the Command and General Staff College**  
Location: Kalaw, Shan State.
- 1988 – **Light Infantry Division 55**  
Military Rank: Major; Location: Kalaw, Shan State.
- 1968 – **Graduate of the Defense Services Academy - 9<sup>th</sup> intake**

**VICE-PRESIDENT  
#1: TIN AUNG  
MYINT OO**

**Date of Birth:**  
29 May 1950



Tin Aung Myint Oo was nominated by the military MPs as Vice President and elected on 3 February 2011. He was elected to the People's Assembly in Naypyidaw's Pobbathiri Township. Former SPDC fifth-in-command, Tin Aung Myint Oo is known to be foul-mouthed, abrasive and considered a hardliner.

In 1988, Tin Aung Myint Oo rose to prominence for his combat against Communist rebels in Eastern Shan State, which earned him the honorific title "Thiha Thura." During the 1990s he quickly rose through the military ranks as a protégé of junta's Vice Sr Gen Maung Aye. In 1990, he served as Commanding Officer of the LIB 111 based in Sagaing Division until his appointment as Commander of Tactical Operations Command in 1992. In 1994, he was promoted to Brig Gen of MOC-1 based in Kyaukme, Northern Shan State. He was appointed SPDC Army Quartermaster General in 2002.

In October 2007, he was promoted to Secretary-1 of the SPDC, replacing Gen Thein Sein who had just been appointed Prime Minister. According to military sources, there is a rivalry between Tin Aung Myint Oo and Thein Sein, whom he considered a weak candidate for the position of PM. In March 2009, Tin Aung Myint Oo was promoted to the rank of General. Following his promotion, he became more influential among regional military commanders and the commanders of the Bureau of Special Operations. He reportedly used his military power and position as Secretary-1 to undermine PM Thein Sein's authority, by not allotting any of the military's budget to projects run by

Thein Sein. This led many Ministers to say that the Secretary-1 had taken over the PM's power.

Tin Aung Myint Oo also serves as Chairman of the Myanmar Economic Corporation (MEC), the military's economic arm. He is reputed to be extremely wealthy and corrupt, having used his position as head of the Myanmar Trade Council to enrich himself, his family business, and business allies.

He is considered loyal to Sr Gen Than Shwe and Vice Sr Gen Maung Aye. According to military observers, Tin Aung Myint Oo is part of Than Shwe's divide and rule strategy - also including former SPDC Generals Shwe Mann and Aung Thaung - to create three rival factions within the military.<sup>1</sup> He is on the April 2011 EU blacklist.<sup>2</sup>

**VICE-PRESIDENT #2:  
MAUK KHAM aka  
MAUNG OHN**

**Date of Birth:**  
1950



Mauk Kham was nominated by the National Assembly as Vice President and elected on 3 February 2011. He is an ethnic Shan from Muse Township, Shan State. Initial results from the 7 November 2010 election found he lost his constituency by thousands of votes. However, after advance votes were counted, he was elected to the National Assembly in Shan State's Constituency 3.

According to observers, his ethnic nationality made him a preferred choice for Vice President to garner support for the new Parliament among ethnic nationality groups.

Mauk Kham studied at the Mandalay Medical Institute. He is a physician by profession and runs a private clinic and manages a private hospital in Lashio Township, Shan State. Before the elections, he was reputed not to have any political

aspirations and best known for his support for Shan culture. Between 1995 and 2004, Mauk Kham was closely linked with Col Gonyawd, leader of the ceasefire group Shan State National Army (SSNA). He was also known to associate with Tin Aung Myint Oo while he was based in the Northeast Regional Command.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Irrawaddy (29 Sep 09) A Rising Four-star General; Irrawaddy (12 Nov 09) The Junta's No 4 Unexpectedly Resigns; Irrawaddy (25 Feb 11) Burma's President-Elect: A Clever Puppet?; Irrawaddy (03 Feb 11) Will Likely Vice President Be Brave?; Irrawaddy (25 Oct 07) Burma appoints new premier: Lt-gen Thein Sein; International Crisis Group (07 Mar 11) Myanmar Post-Election landscape

<sup>2</sup> Council of the European Union (12 Apr 11) Council Decision 2011/239/CFSP

<sup>3</sup> Irrawaddy (02 Feb 11) Who Will Be Ethnic VP?; Irrawaddy (07 Feb 11) Shan VP is Window Dressing, Say Observers; International Crisis Group (07 Mar 11) Myanmar Post-Election landscape; SHAN (4 Feb 11) Sai Mawk Kham: As I knew him

## THE CABINET: 100% ARE MEN, 86% ARE MILITARY MEN

Despite the convening of the newly-elected Parliament, Burma's 'democratically-elected' regime is nothing more than a disguised version of the military dictatorship that has ruled Burma until 30 March 2011. The new cabinet is composed of 30 Ministers.<sup>1</sup> Only four have no prior connections to the military. The remaining 26 are either retired military officials or ministers in the former SPDC cabinet.<sup>2</sup> Twenty-five are on the April 2011 EU blacklist.<sup>3</sup> No women were appointed to the cabinet. Two out of 39 Deputy Ministers are women. However, deputies are not considered part of the Cabinet.<sup>4</sup>

	Ministry	Minister	Additional Info
		Deputy Minister	
1.	Ministry of Home Affairs	<b>Ko Ko</b> Brig-Gen Kyaw Zan Myint	Ko Ko is a USDP member elected to the Pegu Division Parliament from Thanatbin Constituency 2. He is a former Lieutenant General and Chief of the SPDC's Bureau of Special Operations-3. He is on the EU blacklist.
2.	Ministry of Defense	<b>Hla Min</b> Maj-Gen Kyaw Nyunt; Col Aung Thaw	Hla Min is a USDP member elected to the Irrawaddy Division Parliament from Nyaungdon Constituency 1. He is a former Major General and SPDC Army's Southern Command Commander. <sup>5</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
3.	Ministry of Border Affairs	<b>Thein Htay</b> Maj-Gen Zaw Win	Thein Htay is a former Major General and SPDC Deputy Minister of Defense, Vice-Chief of Ordinance, and Chief of Military Ordinance. He is on the EU blacklist. He is also Minister of Industrial Development.
4.	Ministry of Industrial Development	<b>Thein Htay</b> Han Sein; Chan Maung	Thein Htay is a former Major General and SPDC Deputy Minister of Defense, Vice-Chief of Ordinance, and Chief of Military Ordinance. He is on the EU blacklist. He is also Minister of Border Affairs.
5.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	<b>Wunna Maung Lwin</b> Maung Myint; Myo Myint	Wunna Maung Lwin is a former military officer and Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva from 2007 until 2011. <sup>6</sup>
6.	Ministry of Information	<b>Kyaw Hsan</b> Soe Win	Kyaw Hsan is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Pale Township, Sagaing Division. He is a former Brigadier General and SPDC Minister of Information. <sup>7</sup> He is on the EU blacklist. He is also Minister of Culture.
7.	Ministry of Culture	<b>Kyaw Hsan</b> Sanda Khin (F)	Kyaw Hsan is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Pale Township, Sagaing Division. He is a former Brigadier General and SPDC Minister of Information. <sup>8</sup> He is on the EU blacklist. He is also Minister of Information.
8.	Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation	<b>Myint Hlaing</b> Ohn Than; Khin Zaw	Myint Hlaing is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Dekkhinathiri Township, Mandalay Division. He is a former Lieutenant General, SPDC Army's Northeast Command Commander, and Chief of Staff for the SPDC Air Force. <sup>9</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
9.	Ministry of Commerce	<b>Wunna Kyaw Htin aka Win Myint</b> Pwint Hsan	Win Myint is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Hlaing Township, Rangoon Division. He is the former President of Union of the Myanmar Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and an SPDC crony in the oil industry. <sup>10</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
10.	Ministry of Construction	<b>Khin Maung Myint</b> Soe Tint; Kyaw Lwin	Khin Maung Myint is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Sagaing Township, Sagaing Division. He is a former Major General, SPDC Minister of Electric Power-2, and SPDC Minister of Construction. <sup>11</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.

11.	Ministry of Hotels and Tourism	<b>Tint Hsan</b> Htay Aung	Tint Hsan is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Myaungmya Township, Irrawaddy Division. He is the owner of the ACE construction company. <sup>12</sup> He also serves as the Minister of Sports.
12.	Ministry of Sports	<b>Tint Hsan</b> Aye Myint Kyu	Tint Hsan is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Myaungmya Township, Irrawaddy Division. He is the owner of the ACE construction company. <sup>13</sup> He also serves as the Minister of Hotels and Tourism.
13.	Ministry of Communications, Posts and Telegraphs	<b>Thein Tun</b> Tint Lwin	Thein Tun is a USDP elected MP. He is a former Major General and SPDC Deputy Minister for Communications, Posts, and Telegraphs. He is on the EU blacklist.
14.	Ministry of Finance and Revenue	<b>Hla Tun</b> Win Than	Hla Tun is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Kyaukpadaung Township, Mandalay Division. He is a former Major General and SPDC Minister of Finance and Revenue. <sup>14</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
15.	Ministry of Mines	<b>Thein Htaik</b>	Thein Htaik is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Dagon Seikkan Township, Rangoon Division. He is a former Lieutenant General. He is on the EU blacklist.
16.	Ministry of Transport	<b>Nyan Tun Aung</b> Win Shein	Nyan Tun Aung is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Natogyi Township, Mandalay Division. He is a former SPDC Deputy Minister of Transport, former Central Executive Committee member of the USDA, and former National Convention Convening Management Committee member. He is on the EU blacklist.
17.	Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development	<b>Tin Naing Thein</b> Kan Zaw	Tin Naing Thein is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly's from Kalaw Township, Shan State. He is a former Brigadier General and SPDC Minister of Commerce. <sup>15</sup> He also serves as the Minister of Livestock and Fisheries. He is on the EU blacklist.
18.	Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries	<b>Tin Naing Thein</b> Khin Maung Aye	Tin Naing Thein is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Kalaw Township, Shan State. He is a former Brigadier General and SPDC Minister of Commerce. <sup>16</sup> He also serves as the Minister of National Planning and Economic Development. He is on the EU blacklist.
19.	Ministry of Forestry	<b>Win Tun</b>	Win Tun is the former Director of the SPDC Ministry of Forestry. <sup>17</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
20.	Ministry of Labor	<b>Aung Kyi</b> Myint Thein	Aung Kyi is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Mingala Taungnyunt Township, Rangoon Division. He is the former SPDC Minister of Labor. He served as the SPDC's key public relations figure on numerous occasions. In March 2007, he helped defuse tensions with the International Labor Organization over the issue of forced labor. In October 2007, he was appointed as the Liaison Officer with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. <sup>18</sup> He also serves as the Minister of Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement. He is on the EU blacklist.
21.	Ministry of Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement	<b>Aung Kyi</b> Phone Swe	Aung Kyi is a USDP elected to the People's Assembly from Mingala Taungnyunt Township, Rangoon Division. He is the former SPDC Minister of Labor. He served as the SPDC's key public relations figure on numerous occasions. In March 2007, he helped defuse tensions with the International Labor Organization over the issue of forced labor. In October 2007, he was appointed as the Liaison Officer with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. <sup>19</sup> He also serves as the Minister of Labor. He is on the EU blacklist.

22.	Ministry of Cooperatives	<b>Ohn Myint</b>	Ohn Myint is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Hpakant Township, Kachin State. He is a former Lieutenant General and Chief of the SPDC's Bureau of Special Operations-6. He also served as SPDC Army's Northern Command Commander and Coastal Region Command Commander, and SPDC official for Kachin State. <sup>20</sup> In 2008, he coerced the ethnic ceasefire groups in Kachin State to support the constitutional referendum. <sup>21</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
		Than Tun	
23.	Ministry of Industry-1	<b>Kyaw Swar Khaing</b>	Kyaw Swar Khaing is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Ottharathiri Township, Mandalay Division. He is a former General and SPDC Deputy Minister of Industry-2. <sup>22</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
		Thein Aung	
24.	Ministry of Industry-2	<b>Soe Thein</b>	Soe Thein is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Kyunsu Township, Tenasserim Division. He is a former Lieutenant General and SPDC Minister of Industry-2. <sup>23</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
		Myo Aung	
25.	Ministry of Energy	<b>Than Htay</b>	Than Htay is a USDP elected MP. He is a former Brigadier General and SPDC Deputy Minister of Energy. <sup>24</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
		Soe Aung	
26.	Ministry of Rail Transportation	<b>Aung Min</b>	Aung Min is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Taungoo Township, Pegu Division. He is a former Major General and SPDC Minister of Rail Transportation. <sup>25</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
		Thaung Lwin; Thant Shin	
27.	Minister Ministry of Education	<b>Mya Aye</b>	Mya Aye is the former rector of the Mandalay Institute of Medicine. <sup>26</sup>
		Aye Kyu; Ba Shwe	
28.	Ministry of Religious Affairs	<b>Myint Maung</b>	Thura Myint Maung is elected with the USDP in the People's Assembly's Thonegwa Township, Rangoon Division. He is a former Brigadier General and SPDC Minister of Religious Affairs. <sup>27</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
		Maung Maung Htay	
29.	Ministry of Immigration and Population	<b>Khin Yi</b>	Khin Yi is a former Brigadier General, Chief of the National Police, and SPDC Deputy Minister of Home Affairs. <sup>28</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
		Kyaw Kyaw Win	
30.	Ministry of Electric Power No.1	<b>Zaw Min</b>	Zaw Min is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Magwe Township, Magwe Division. He is a former Colonel and SPDC Minister of Electric Power-1. <sup>29</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
		Myint Zaw	
31.	Ministry of Electric Power No.2	<b>Khin Maung Soe</b>	Khin Maung Soe is the former Chairman of the Rangoon City Electric Power Supply Board. <sup>30</sup>
		Aung Than Oo	
32.	Ministry of Science and Technology	<b>Aye Myint</b>	Aye Myint is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Wetlet Township, Sagaing Division. He is a former Major General, SPDC Minister of Sports, and SPDC Deputy Minister of Defense. <sup>31</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
		Ko Ko Oo	
33.	Ministry of President's Office	<b>Soe Maung and Thein Nyunt</b>	Soe Maung is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Yesagyo Township, Magwe Division. He is a former Lieutenant General, Judge Advocate General, and Military Judge General. <sup>32</sup> He is on the EU blacklist. Thein Nyunt is a USDP member elected to the People's Assembly from Maubin Township, Irrawaddy Division. He is a former Colonel, SPDC Minister of Progress of Border Areas, National Races and Development Affairs. <sup>33</sup> He was Mayor of Naypyidaw from 2006 to March 2001. <sup>34</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
34.	Ministry of Health	<b>Pe Thet Khin</b>	Pe Thet Khin is a pediatrician and a former head professor at the Rangoon University of Medicine-1. <sup>35</sup>
		Myat Myat Ohn Khin (F); Win Myint	

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- <sup>1</sup> NLM (12 Feb 11) Fourth-day regular session of First Pyidaungsu Hluttaw held - Approval sought for Union Ministers Nine members, Chairperson for Constitutional Tribunal of the Union submitted to Pyidaungsu Hluttaw; NLM (31 Mar 11) Appointment of Union Ministers; NLM (11 Mar 11) Appointment of Deputy Ministers
- <sup>2</sup> AP (11 Feb 11) Myanmar's Parliament approves all Cabinet nominees; AP (09 Feb 11) Myanmar president nominates 30 for new Cabinet; DPA (09 Feb 11) Only four civilians on Myanmar's next cabinet lineup; AFP (12 Feb 11) Ex-military dominate Myanmar's new cabinet; DVB (10 Feb 11) Women absent from new Burma cabinet; NLM (31 Mar 11) Appointment of Union Ministers
- <sup>3</sup> Council of the European Union (12 Apr 11) Council Decision 2011/239/CFSP
- <sup>4</sup> Irrawaddy (10 Feb 11) Burma's Next Cabinet to Include Only Four Civilians; Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday; NLM (31 Mar 11) Appointment of Union Ministers
- <sup>5</sup> Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday
- <sup>6</sup> Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday
- <sup>7</sup> Irrawaddy (11 May 10) Prime Minister, Ministers Set to Resign
- <sup>8</sup> Irrawaddy (11 May 10) Prime Minister, Ministers Set to Resign
- <sup>9</sup> Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday
- <sup>10</sup> Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday; DPA (09 Feb 11) Only four civilians on Myanmar's next cabinet lineup; Irrawaddy (10 Feb 11) Burma's Next Cabinet to Include Only Four Civilians
- <sup>11</sup> Xinhua (28 Apr 10) Myanmar Officially Confirms PM Quits Military Post
- <sup>12</sup> DPA (09 Feb 11) Only four civilians on Myanmar's next cabinet lineup; Irrawaddy (10 Feb 11) Burma's Next Cabinet to Include Only Four Civilians
- <sup>13</sup> DPA (09 Feb 11) Only four civilians on Myanmar's next cabinet lineup; Irrawaddy (10 Feb 11) Burma's Next Cabinet to Include Only Four Civilians
- <sup>14</sup> Xinhua (28 Apr 10) Myanmar Officially Confirms PM Quits Military Post
- <sup>15</sup> Mizzima News (30 Apr 10) PM, now a retired general, leads USDA party
- <sup>16</sup> Mizzima News (30 Apr 10) PM, now a retired general, leads USDA party
- <sup>17</sup> Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday
- <sup>18</sup> Irrawaddy (30 Jul 10) USDP Assigns Constituencies to Ministers; Altsean's Who's Who
- <sup>19</sup> Irrawaddy (30 Jul 10) USDP Assigns Constituencies to Ministers; Altsean's Who's Who
- <sup>20</sup> Irrawaddy (06 May 10) Naypyidaw: No More 'Military Government'
- <sup>21</sup> Kachin News (24 Jun 08) Junta Supremo praises protégé in Kachin State
- <sup>22</sup> Irrawaddy (06 May 10) Naypyidaw: No More 'Military Government'
- <sup>23</sup> Irrawaddy (06 May 10) Naypyidaw: No More 'Military Government'
- <sup>24</sup> Mizzima News (30 Apr 10) PM, now a retired general, leads USDA party
- <sup>25</sup> Mizzima News (28 Apr 10) PM and cabinet ministers resign from military posts
- <sup>26</sup> DPA (09 Feb 11) Only four civilians on Myanmar's next cabinet lineup; Irrawaddy (10 Feb 11) Burma's Next Cabinet to Include Only Four Civilians
- <sup>27</sup> Irrawaddy (06 May 10) Naypyidaw: No More 'Military Government'
- <sup>28</sup> Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday
- <sup>29</sup> Xinhua (28 Apr 10) Myanmar Officially Confirms PM Quits Military Post
- <sup>30</sup> Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday
- <sup>31</sup> Mizzima News (30 Apr 10) PM, now a retired general, leads USDA party
- <sup>32</sup> Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday
- <sup>33</sup> Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday
- <sup>34</sup> Asia Tribune (18 Mar 06) Mayor appointed for Myanmar's new city- "Nay Pyi Daw"; NLM (23 Mar 07) Lao PDR President and wife plant star-flower tree marking Myanmar-Laos friendly relationship; Reserve Bank of Australia: Burma Annex <http://www.rba.gov.au/media-releases/2007/mr-07-19-annex.html>
- <sup>35</sup> Mizzima News (09 Feb 11) List of new ministers to be appointed on Friday

## AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: ETHNIC NATIONALITIES UNDERREPRESENTED

- **In Division and State Parliaments all Speakers and Deputy Speakers are USDP MPs.**
- **All but three of the State and Division Chief Ministers are former high-ranking military officials or SPDC Ministers.**
- **Division and State Ministers of Security and Border Affairs are military personnel nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.**
- **USDP MPs account for over 60% of the remaining ministers in ethnic States.**

Despite hopes that the elections would bring greater representation for ethnic nationalities in Burma, USDP MPs filled all the key positions in the Division and State Parliaments. Ethnic nationality parties also remain underrepresented in ministerial positions compared to the number of seats won.

On 31 January, the State and Division Parliaments elected Speakers and Deputy Speakers for their respective Parliaments.<sup>1</sup> All the Speakers and Deputy Speakers are USDP MPs. In Karenni State, the Speaker is a former SPDC Army Regional Commander and is on the EU blacklist.<sup>2</sup> On 11 February, the 14 State and Division Parliaments approved the appointment of their respective Chief Ministers.<sup>3</sup> All but three of the State and Division Chief Ministers are former high-ranking military officials or SPDC ministers. Six of the Chief Ministers are former SPDC Commanders and three are former SPDC ministers. Thirteen are USDP MPs and one is a military-appointed MP.<sup>4</sup> Thirteen are on the most recent EU blacklist.<sup>5</sup>

On 30 March, President Thein Sein appointed the Division and State ministers

who had been selected by the respective Chief Ministers.<sup>6</sup> However, all the Division and State Ministers of Security and Border Affairs are military personnel nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.<sup>7</sup> In addition, USDP MPs account for over 60% of the remaining ministers in ethnic States.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws

<sup>2</sup> Council of the European Union (12 Apr 11) Council Decision 2011/239/CFSP

<sup>3</sup> NLM (12 Feb 11) Second-day regular sessions of first Region and State Hluttaws take place - Approval sought to designate chief ministers, numbers of ministries, ministers and high court judges in Regions and States

<sup>4</sup> Official Journal of the European Union (27 April 10) Council Decision on Renweing Restrictive Measures Against Burma.

<sup>5</sup> Council of the European Union (12 Apr 11) Council Decision 2011/239/CFSP

<sup>6</sup> NLM (31 Mar 11) Republic of the Union of Myanmar - President Office: Order No. 19/2011; 30 March 2011; Appointment of Region/State Ministers

<sup>7</sup> NLM (31 Mar 11) Republic of the Union of Myanmar - President Office: Order No. 19/2011; 30 March 2011; Appointment of Region/State Ministers; Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar; Art. 262

<sup>8</sup> NLM (31 Mar 11) Republic of the Union of Myanmar - President Office: Order No. 19/2011; 30 March 2011; Appointment of Region/State Ministers

Key positions at Division and State level				
State	Position	Name	Party	Additional information
<b>Arakan State</b>				
Total MPs: 47 Ethnic: 20 USDP: 14 Military: 12 NUP: 1	Speaker	Htein Lin	USDP	Elected in Gwa Constituency 1. <sup>1</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Tha Nyun	USDP	Elected in Manaung Constituency 2. <sup>2</sup>
	Chief Minister	Hla Maung Tin	USDP	Elected in Ann Constituency 1. He is a former SPDC Army Colonel. <sup>3</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 5; RNPP: 3; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Chin State</b>				
Total MPs: 24 Ethnic: 11 USDP: 7 Military: 6	Speaker	Hauk Khin Kham	USDP	Elected in Tonzang Constituency 2.
	Deputy Speaker	Ohn Lwin	USDP	Elected in Matupi Constituency 1. <sup>4</sup>
	Chief Minister	Hong Ngai	USDP	Elected in Mindat Constituency 2. He is a former Brigadier General and SPDC Army Tactical Commander. <sup>5</sup> He is also the former SPDC Chairman of Chin State. <sup>6</sup> In July 2009, despite food shortages in Chin State, he prohibited all local SPDC officials from receiving foreign assistance. <sup>7</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
	Eight ministers (USDP: 3; CNP: 1; CPP: 1; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Irrawaddy Division</b>				
Total MPs: 72 USDP: 48 Military: 18 NUP: 6	Speaker	Hsan Hsint	USDP	Elected in Yekyi Constituency 1. <sup>8</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Htein Win	USDP	Elected in Kyaungon Constituency 1. <sup>9</sup>
	Chief Minister	Thein Aung	USDP	Elected in Ingapu Constituency 1. He is a former Brigadier General and SPDC Minister of Forestry. He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 7; NUP: 1; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Kachin State</b>				
Total MPs: 51 USDP: 20 Military: 13 NUP: 11 Ethnic: 6 Independent: 1	Speaker	Ra Wam Jon	USDP	Elected in Machanbaw Constituency 1. <sup>10</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Myint Kyaw	USDP	Elected in Hpakant Constituency 2. <sup>11</sup>
	Chief Minister	La John Ngan Hsaing	USDP	Elected in Tanai Constituency 1. <sup>12</sup>
	Nine ministers (USDP: 5; UDPKS: 1; NUP: 1; SNDP: 1; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Karen State</b>				
Total MPs: 23 Ethnic: 9 USDP: 7 Military: 6 Independent: 1	Speaker	Aung Kyaw Min	USDP	Elected in Kyainnseiky Constituency 1. <sup>13</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Mahn Hla Myaing	USDP	Elected in Kawkareik Constituency 1. <sup>14</sup>
	Chief Minister	Brig Gen Zaw Min	Military-appointed	Military-appointed MP. He is a former SPDC Army Southeastern Command Commander. He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 3; PSDP: 2; KSDDP: 1; AMRDP: 1; KPP: 1; Military-appointed: 1)			

<b>Karenni State</b>				
Total MPs: 20 USDP: 15 Military: 5	Speaker	Kyaw Swe	USDP	Elected in Loikaw Constituency 1. He is a former Major General and SPDC Army Southwestern Command Commander.
	Deputy Speaker	Aye Maung	USDP	Elected in Shadaw Constituency 2. <sup>15</sup>
	Chief Minister	Khin Maung Oo aka Bu Reh	USDP	Elected in Bawlakhe Constituency 1. <sup>16</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 8; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Magwe Division</b>				
Total MPs: 68 USDP: 47 Military: 17 NUP: 4	Speaker	Ye Myint	USDP	Elected in Magwe Constituency 1. <sup>17</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Win Maung	USDP	Elected in Taungdwingyi Constituency 2. <sup>18</sup>
	Chief Minister	Phone Maw Shwe	USDP	Elected in Minbu Constituency 1. <sup>19</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP:7; NUP: 1; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Mandalay Division</b>				
Total MPs: 76 USDP: 55 Military: 19 DPM: 1 Ethnic: 1	Speaker	Win Maung	USDP	Elected in Thaungtha Constituency 2. <sup>20</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Aung Htay Kyaw	USDP	Elected in Maymyo Constituency 1. <sup>21</sup>
	Chief Minister	Ye Myint	USDP	Elected in Maymyo Constituency 2. He is a former Major General and SPDC Army Central Commander. <sup>22</sup> He was Commander of the SPDC's Bureau of Special Operations-1 from 2003 until 2008 and was appointed Chief of Military Affairs Security in 2010. He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 8; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Mon State</b>				
Total MPs: 31 USDP: 14 Military: 8 Ethnic: 7 NUP: 2	Speaker	Kyin Pe	USDP	Elected in Chaungzon Constituency 2.
	Deputy Speaker	Htay Lwin	USDP	Htay Lwin was elected in Kyauktiyo Constituency 1. <sup>23</sup>
	Chief Minister	Ohn Myint	USDP	Elected in Mudon Constituency 1. He is the former SPDC Minister of Mines. <sup>24</sup> He is a former Brigadier General and retired from the military in April 2010 to join the USDP. He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 5; AMRDP: 2; NUP: 1; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Pegu Division</b>				
Total MPs: 76 USDP: 52 Military : 19 NUP: 4 Ethnic: 1	Speaker	Win Tin	USDP	Elected in Pegu Constituency 1. <sup>25</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Win Myint Soe	USDP	Elected in Gyobingauk Constituency 2. <sup>26</sup>
	Chief Minister	Nyan Win	USDP	Elected in Zeegone Constituency 1. He is the former SPDC Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is a former Major General and retired from the military in April 2010 to join the USDP. He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 7; NUP 1; Military-appointed: 1)			

<b>Rangoon Division</b>				
Total MPs: 123 USDP: 75 Military: 31 NUP: 8 NDF: 4 DPM: 2 Ethnic: 2 88GSY: 1	Speaker	Sein Tin Win	USDP	Elected in Kungyangon Constituency 2. He is a retired military official. <sup>27</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Tin Aung	USDP	Elected in East Dagon Constituency 2. He is a former Chairman of the Government Cooperatives Association in Rangoon. <sup>28</sup>
	Chief Minister	Myint Swe	USDP	Elected in Seikgyikanaungto Constituency 2. He is a former SPDC Army Lieutenant General and Commander of the SPDC's Bureau of Special Operations-5. He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 5; NUP: 1; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Sagaing Division</b>				
Total MPs: 101 USDP: 67 Military : 25 NUP: 8 Ethnic: 1	Speaker	Thin Hlaing	USDP	Elected in Kantbalu Constituency 1. <sup>29</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Thaung Sein	USDP	Elected in Pale Constituency 2. <sup>30</sup>
	Chief Minister	Tha Aye	USDP	Elected in Butalin Constituency 2. <sup>31</sup> He was Commander of the SPDC's Bureau of Special Operations-1 in 2009-2010. He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 7; NUP: 1; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Shan State</b>				
Total MPs: 143 USDP: 54 Ethnic: 50 Military: 36 Independent: 2 NUP: 1	Speaker	Lone Hsaing	USDP	Elected in Kengtung Constituency 1. <sup>32</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Kham Hmat	USDP	Elected in Lashio Constituency 2. <sup>33</sup>
	Chief Minister	Aung Myat	USDP	Elected in Pindaya Constituency 1. He is an ethnic Shan-Danu and a former SPDC Army Commander of Infantry Battalions 14, 228, and 242. He retired from the military in April 2010 to join the USDP. <sup>34</sup> He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 6; SNDP: 2; Military-appointed: 1)			
<b>Tenasserim Division</b>				
Total MPs: 28 USDP: 21 Military: 7	Speaker	Htin Aung Kyaw	USDP	Elected in Palaw Consituency 2. <sup>35</sup>
	Deputy Speaker	Kyi Win	USDP	Elected in Kawthaung Constituency 1. <sup>36</sup>
	Chief Minister	Khin Zaw	USDP	Elected in Mergui Constituency 1. He is a former Lieutenant General and Commander of the SPDC's Bureau of Special Operations-4. He is on the EU blacklist.
	Nine ministers (USDP: 8; Military-appointed: 1)			

**ACRONYMS:**

USDP: Union Solidarity and Development Party  
 NUP: National Unity Party  
 DPM: Democratic Party (Myanmar)  
 NDF: National Democratic Force  
 88GSY: 88 Generation Student Youths (Union of Myanmar)

<sup>1</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws  
<sup>2</sup> Narinjara News (31 Jan 11) USDP Members Elected Heads of Arakan State Parliament  
<sup>3</sup> Narinjara News (12 Feb 11) Ex-Army and USDP Official Appointed Prime Minister of Arakan State  
<sup>4</sup> Chinland Guardian (1 Feb 11) Minoritarian Tyranny: USDP and Military Appointees to Dictate Chin State Parliament

- <sup>5</sup> Khonumthung News (1 Feb 11) USDP members elected to posts in Chin assembly; Mizzima News (14 Feb 11) Chief ministers of regions, states to be approved Monday; Khonumthung News (30 Jul 09) Chairman of Chin State bars foreign aid
- <sup>6</sup> Mizzima News (14 Feb 11) Chief ministers of regions, states to be approved Monday
- <sup>7</sup> Khonumthung News (30 Jul 09) Chairman of Chin State bars foreign aid
- <sup>8</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>9</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>10</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>11</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>12</sup> NLM (12 Feb 11) Second-day regular sessions of first Region and State Hluttaws take place - Approval sought to designate chief ministers, numbers of ministries, ministers and high court judges in Regions and States
- <sup>13</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>14</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>15</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>16</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>17</sup> NLM (12 Feb 11) Second-day regular sessions of first Region and State Hluttaws take place: Approval sought to designate chief ministers, numbers of ministries, ministers and high court judges in Regions and States
- <sup>18</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>19</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>20</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>21</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>22</sup> Mizzima News (08 Feb 11) Thein Sein submits ministry list to form new government
- <sup>23</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws; Mizzima News (31 Jan 11) USDP member elected chief of Mon State Assembly
- <sup>24</sup> Mizzima News (31 Jan 11) USDP member elected chief of Mon State Assembly
- <sup>25</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>26</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>27</sup> DVB (01 Feb 11) USDP takes top spots in Rangoon parliament
- <sup>28</sup> DVB (01 Feb 11) USDP takes top spots in Rangoon parliament
- <sup>29</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>30</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>31</sup> NLM (12 Feb 11) Second-day regular sessions of first Region and State Hluttaws take place  
Approval sought to designate chief ministers, numbers of ministries, ministers and high court judges in Regions and States
- <sup>32</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>33</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>34</sup> SHAN (18 Feb 11) Shan-Danu chosen as Chief Minister of Shan State; Mizzima News (14 Feb 11) Chief ministers of regions, states to be approved Monday
- <sup>35</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws
- <sup>36</sup> NLM (01 Feb 11) Regular sessions of first Region/State Hluttaws opened Chairpersons, Hluttaw speakers and Deputy Hluttaw speakers elected in respective Region/State Hluttaws

## PARLIAMENT WHO'S WHO: STRONGMEN, DRUG LORDS, AND CRONIES

### The generals' new clothes

In April 2010, more than 50 high-ranking SPDC officials resigned from the military to contest the elections as civilian members of the newly-formed USDP. The USDP emerged from the SPDC-backed mass organization Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA).

Key players from the military regime elected to the parliamentary assemblies included five former top SPDC generals and about 30 former SPDC Ministers and Deputy Ministers, including former SPDC PM Thein Sein.

### Shwe Mann *Speaker of the People's Assembly*

Shwe Mann was elected to the People's Assembly from Naypyidaw's Zeyathiri Township.<sup>1</sup> On 31 January, he was elected Speaker



of the People's Assembly. Shwe Mann is the junta's former third-in-command. He became a powerful figure in the regime when he was appointed Joint Chief of Staff for the Army, Navy, and Air Force in November 2001, a position he held until he stepped down in April 2010 to contest the elections with the USDP.

In the aftermath of the 2003 Depayin Massacre, he met with ethnic leaders in Sagaing Division to obtain their silence about the incident. Military analysts suggested that Shwe Mann was behind the resumption of military offensives in Karen State in 2006. Despite working under the direct command of Maung Aye, he is thought to be loyal to Than Shwe.

### Khin Aung Myint *Speaker of the National Assembly*



Khin Aung Myint is the former SPDC Minister of Culture. He holds the Mandalay Division Constituency 8

National Assembly seat as a USDP candidate. He became Speaker of the National Assembly on 31 January. Khin Aung Myint is a reputed regime hardliner.<sup>2</sup> He is the former Director of Public Relations and Psychological Warfare under the SPDC Ministry of Defense.<sup>3</sup> He was also joint secretary of the National Convention Convening Commission and a member of the SPDC's Constitution Drafting Commission.<sup>4</sup>

He is considered quite knowledgeable about ethnic nationalities<sup>5</sup> and played a key role in pressuring ethnic nationalities and ceasefire groups to support the National Convention. In November 2007, he traveled to Shan and Kachin States to pressure ethnic ceasefire groups into issuing declarations against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's 8 November 2010 statement that expressed her willingness to have meaningful dialogue with the SPDC.<sup>6</sup> Together with SPDC Information Minister Brig Gen Kyaw Hsan and FM Maj Gen Nyan Win, Khin Aung Myint was a member of the junta's "Spoke Authoritative Team." The body represented the junta at meetings with international interlocutors, such as US diplomats in Beijing in June 2007 and UN Under-Sec Gen for Political Affairs Ibrahim Gambari during his visits to Burma.<sup>7</sup> He was a former board member of the Union of Myanmar Economics Holdings, and remains on the Central Organizing Committee of the GONGO, Myanmar War Veterans Organization.<sup>8</sup>

### Aung Thaung

Aung Thaung is the former SPDC Minister of Industry-1. He is one of Than Shwe's most trusted advisors and his son is married to the daughter of Vice Sr Gen Maung Aye. He is described as a hardliner within the USDP. Because of his family and business connections, he is also considered "untouchable." His family runs IGE, one of the richest firms in Burma which deals in the banking, pipeline construction, exporting, and logging industries. He is a former high ranking member of the USDA and said to have been behind the Depayin Massacre and the crackdown on the Saffron Revolution. He has a strong anti-Western stance and is thought to have organized demonstrations against the UN Security Council vote outside the US and British Embassies in Rangoon in early 2007. He reportedly opposed the November 2010 release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, as he considered her a threat to the regime. He was elected to the People's Assembly in his native Thaingtha Township in Mandalay Division.<sup>9</sup>



### Htay Oo

Htay Oo is the former SPDC Minister of Agriculture and Irrigation and the General Secretary of the USDA from 2004 to 2010. He is reportedly a close confidant of Than Shwe. During his election campaign, he led a so-called moderate party faction of the USDP, whose key members included Minister of Labor Aung Kyi and Railways Minister Aung Min. He was elected to the People's Assembly in his native Hinthada Township in Irrawaddy Division.<sup>10</sup>



### Aung Kyi

Aung Kyi is the former SPDC Minister of Labor. He has served as a key public relations figure for the junta. In 2006, he became Deputy Minister of Labor and helped defuse tensions with the International Labor Organization (ILO) over forced labor when the ILO threatened to refer the situation to the International Court of Justice. In October 2007, he was promoted to Minister of Labor and was also designated as the SPDC liaison officer to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. He met with Daw Suu nine times between October 2007 and January 2010. Aung Kyi is said to be more accessible and have a better understanding of the workings of the outside world than other generals. He was elected to the People's Assembly in Mingala Taungnyunt Township, Rangoon Division.<sup>11</sup>



### Kyaw Hsan

Kyaw Hsan is the former SPDC Minister of Information. As a former USDA leader in Sagaing Division, he is known for his central role in the Depayin Massacre. He was appointed Minister of Information in September 2002 and used his authority over the SPDC's Censorship Board to control media outlets and curtail any criticism against the regime. Since early 2006, he has taken a tough stance toward Western and exiled media agencies.<sup>12</sup> He was elected to the People's Assembly in Pale Township, Sagaing Division.<sup>13</sup>



### Nyan Win

Nyan Win is the former SPDC FM. He is considered loyal to Vice Sr Gen Maung Aye, as he served under him when he was Eastern Region Command Commander in Shan State. During his military career, he gained an extensive knowledge of military intelligence matters. Before his appointment as FM in 2004, he was the Deputy Chief of Military Training for the Armed Forces. Nyan Win had little international experience in diplomacy prior to his position as FM. He was elected to the Pegu Division Parliament in Zeegone Constituency 1.<sup>14</sup>



### Soe Naing

Soe Naing is the former SPDC Minister of Hotels and Tourism. He is thought to have played a role in the Depayin Massacre as he was Northwest Region Command Commander at the time. Before being appointed Minister of Hotels and Tourism in May 2006, Soe Naing served as Commander of the SPDC Army's Southwestern and Southeastern Commands. He was elected to the People's Assembly in Pyapon Township, Irrawaddy Division.<sup>15</sup>



### Myint Swe

An ethnic Mon, Myint Swe is personally close to Than Shwe and his family. He played a key role in the ousting of Khin Nyunt in 2004, which led to his promotion to head of



Military Intelligence and earned him the trust of top SPDC leaders. In early 2006, he was appointed as Chief of BSO-5. After his appointment, he launched a campaign to track down businessmen, civil servants, and local journalists who were feeding information to the international media. In August 2010, he was promoted to SPDC Army Quartermaster General and rumored to be prime candidate in replacing Than Shwe as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He was elected to the Rangoon Division Parliament in Seikgyikanaungto Constituency 2.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Irrawaddy (27 Jun 08) Shwe Mann: Soon to be Burma's Top Gun?

<sup>2</sup> Irrawaddy (01 Nov 10) Factionalism Within the USDP

<sup>3</sup> Irrawaddy (27 Nov 07) Ceasefire Groups Pressured to Support National Convention- Saw Yan Naing

<sup>4</sup> People's Daily Online (15 Nov 07) Myanmar state constitution drafting commission to meet for first time

<sup>5</sup> Irrawaddy (02 Feb 08) Junta pressures ethnic ceasefire groups on China border

<sup>6</sup> Mizzima News (22 Nov 07) Junta release Kachin leader, others still detained; Irrawaddy (27 Nov 07) Ceasefire groups pressured to support National Convention

<sup>7</sup> Irrawaddy (27 Nov 07) Ceasefire Groups Pressured to Support National Convention- Saw Yan Naing; VOA (28 Jun 07) US, Burma Hold Rare Talks; US State Department (28 Jun 07) US, Burmese Officials Hold Rare Senior-Level Talks in Beijing; AP (06 Nov 07) Myanmar summons foreign diplomats to meet with UN envoy

<sup>8</sup> Irrawaddy (27 Nov 07) Ceasefire Groups Pressured to Support National Convention- Saw Yan Naing

<sup>9</sup> Irrawaddy (Jun 07) Aung Thuang: Burma's Untouchable Minister; Mizzima News (04 Nov 10) Ex-USDA in election race 'have blood on their hands'; Irrawaddy (25 Nov 10) Naypyidaw's 'Friday Faction'

<sup>10</sup> Irrawaddy (10 Sep 07) Two Government Ministers 'Organized Crackdown on Protesters'

<sup>11</sup> Irrawaddy (01 Nov 10) Factionalism Within the USDP

<sup>12</sup> Irrawaddy (30 Jul 10) USDP Assigns Constituencies to Ministers

<sup>13</sup> Irrawaddy (15 Jan 08) Myanmar Times Falls Victim to Burma's "Comical Ali"

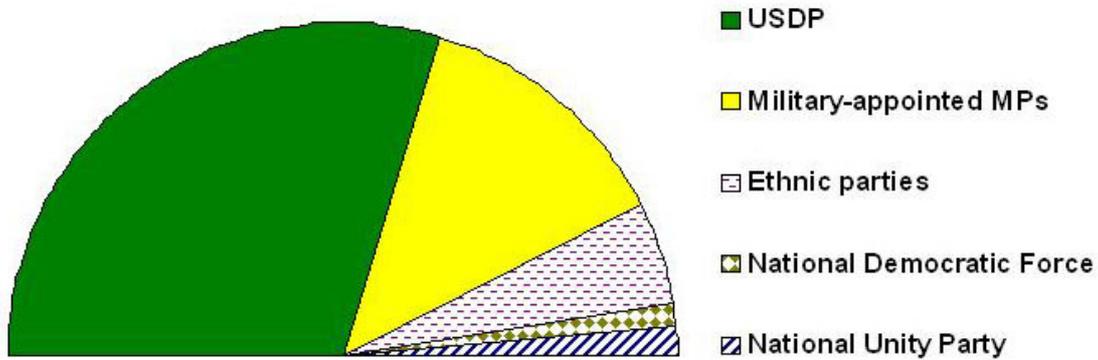
<sup>14</sup> Irrawaddy (18 Jan 08) Time for Kyaw Hsan to Switch Off; Mizzima News (17 Jul 08) Cronyism; unhealthy competition in media market; Nation (09 Dec 07) SPDC 'Comical Ali' no cause for mirth

<sup>15</sup> Irrawaddy (27, Aug 10) USDP Steps Up Campaigns Using State Funds; Asian Tribune (22 Sep 04) Foreign Minister Major-General Nyan Win; Irrawaddy (Oct 04) The Burmese Way to Confusion; Irrawaddy (20 Sep 04) Introducing Burma's New Foreign Minister

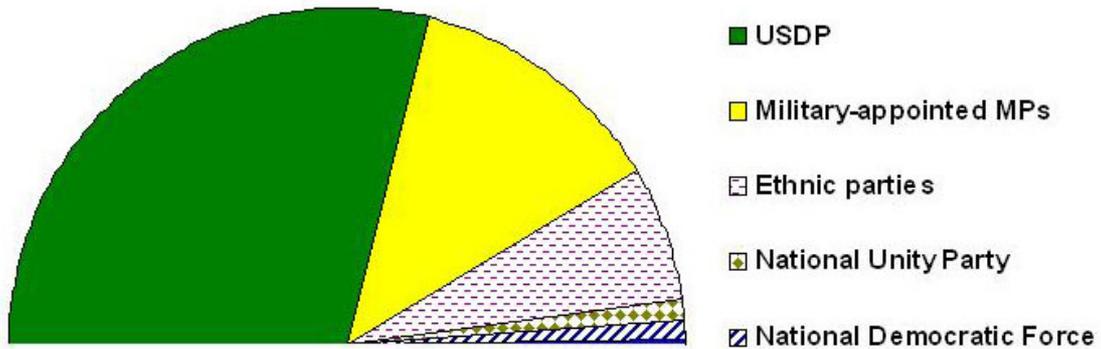
<sup>16</sup> Mizzima News (04 Nov 10) Ex-USDA in election race 'have blood on their hands'; Irrawaddy (25 May 05) Regional Commanders Reportedly Reshuffled; Irrawaddy (16 May 06) Burma Cabinet Reshuffle

<sup>17</sup> Irrawaddy (16 Sep 10) Top USDP Candidates to Run in Rangoon; Irrawaddy (20 Nov 09) Myint Swe: The Tatmadaw's Next Top Dog?

### PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY



### NATIONAL ASSEMBLY



People's Assembly	National Assembly	National Parliament*
Speaker: Shwe Mann (USDP) Deputy Speaker: Nanda Kyaw Swar (USDP)	Speaker: Khin Aung Myint (USDP) Deputy Speaker: Mya Nyein (USDP)	Speaker: Khin Aung Myint (USDP) Deputy Speaker: Mya Nyein (USDP)
Number of MPs: 435	Number of MPs: 224	Number of MPs: 659
259 USDP (59%) 110 Military (25%) 45 Ethnic Parties (10%) 12 NUP (3%) 8 NDF (2%) 1 Independent (<1%)	129 USDP (58%) 56 Military (25%) 29 Ethnic Parties (13%) 5 NUP (2%) 4 NDF (2%) 1 Independent (<1%)	388 USDP (59%) 166 Military (25%) 74 Ethnic Parties (11%) 17 NUP (3%) 12 NDF (2%) 2 Independent (<1%)
		*Joint sessions of People's Assembly & National Assembly

### **Drug lords and regime cronies elected to office**

Leaders of SPDC-backed militia groups responsible for drug production in various areas of Shan State also joined the USDP to contest the elections. Elected drug lords include:

**Myin Shaw Chan** aka Myi Shauk Chan aka Bai Xuoqian is the undisputed drug lord of the Northern Shan State's Kokang region.<sup>1</sup> He replaced local drug kingpin Peng Jiasheng following the SPDC Army offensive in the Kokang region in August 2009.<sup>2</sup> He was elected to an uncontested seat in the Shan State Parliament from Laogai Constituency 2.

**Lu Kwet Shu** aka Liu Guoxi is a drug kingpin who served as Myin Shaw Chan's deputy in the Kokang region.<sup>3</sup> He was elected to an uncontested seat in the National Assembly in Shan State's Constituency 11.

**Myint Lwin** aka Won Kway Tar aka Wang Guoda is an ethnic Chinese and leader of the Tamoeng-ngen militia group.<sup>4</sup> He was elected to the Shan State Parliament from Kutkai Constituency 2.

**T Khun Myat** is a former shareholder of the Myanmar Mayflower Bank, which was shut down for money laundering activities. He is the leader of the 600-strong Kutkai militia group.<sup>5</sup> He was elected to the People's Assembly from the Kutkai Township in Shan State.

**Kyaw Myint** aka Win Maung aka Li Yongqiang is a notorious militia chief in Namkham, Shan State. He is known for his illegal business activities, which include ownership of the Yongyang Casino on the Shweli River near Muse.<sup>6</sup> He was elected to the Shan State Parliament in Namkham Constituency 2.

**Keng Mai** is the chief of the 200 member-strong Mongpaw militia in Shan State's

Muse Township.<sup>7</sup> He was elected to the Shan State Parliament in Muse Constituency 2.

Businessmen with close links to the SPDC ran in the elections for the USDP. Elected cronies include:

**Khin Shwe** is a developer and the owner of the Zaykabar Company. He is known for playing a major role in Burma's tourism industry.<sup>8</sup> He serves as President of the Myanmar Construction Entrepreneurs Association and Chairman of the Myanmar Hotelier Association.<sup>9</sup> He has close ties with Shwe Mann, whose son married Khin Shwe's daughter.<sup>10</sup> He also participated in the National Convention.<sup>11</sup> He was elected to the National Assembly in Rangoon Division's Constituency 9.

**Htay Myint** is the owner of the Yuzana Company. He is involved in many of Burma's economic sectors, including transportation, construction, hotel and tourism, palm oil production, and plantations.<sup>12</sup> He serves as Chairman of the Myanmar Fisheries Federation, President of the Construction Owners Association, and President of the Fishing Vessel Owners Association.<sup>13</sup> He was elected to the People's Assembly from the Mergui Township in Tenaressim Division.

**Win Myint** is the Chairman of the Union of Myanmar Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (UMFCCI)<sup>14</sup> and is the owner of the Shwe Nagar Min company.<sup>15</sup> He is involved in numerous other business ventures including exporting rice and other agricultural commodities. He was elected to the National Assembly in Sagaing Division's Constituency 3.

<sup>1</sup> SHAN (10 Nov 10) Burma's druglords become lawmakers; SMH (12 Nov 10) Heroin traffickers elected in Burma

<sup>2</sup> SHAN (10 Nov 10) Burma's druglords become lawmakers; SMH (12 Nov 10) Heroin traffickers elected in Burma

<sup>3</sup> SHAN (10 Nov 10) Burma's druglords become lawmakers; SMH (12 Nov 10) Heroin traffickers elected in Burma

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<sup>4</sup> SHAN (10 Nov 10) Burma's druglords become lawmakers

<sup>5</sup> SHAN (10 Nov 10) Burma's druglords become lawmakers

<sup>6</sup> SHAN (10 Nov 10) Burma's druglords become lawmakers

<sup>7</sup> SHAN (10 Nov 10) Burma's druglords become lawmakers

<sup>8</sup> Irrawaddy (Sept 09) Tracking the Tycoons; Asia Times (26 Aug 09) On the march to do business in Myanmar

<sup>9</sup> Irrawaddy (Sep 09) Tracking the Tycoons; Asia Times (26 Aug 09) On the march to do business in Myanmar

<sup>10</sup> Irrawaddy (Sep 09) Tracking the Tycoons

<sup>11</sup> Irrawaddy (Sep 09) Tracking the Tycoons

<sup>12</sup> Irrawaddy (Sep 09) Tracking the Tycoons; Mizzima News (22 Jul 09) Tycoons close to junta to disburse agri loans; Asia Times (26 Aug 09) On the march to do business in Myanmar

<sup>13</sup> Irrawaddy (Sep 09) Tracking the Tycoons; Asia Times (02 Nov 07) Myanmar's generals hit where it hurts

<sup>14</sup> Irrawaddy (06 Sep 10) Businessmen Join USDP Candidate List

<sup>15</sup> Myanmar Times (11 Oct 10) Business association ease way for members to enter parliament

## ETHNIC NATIONALITY AREAS: CONFLICT ESCALATES

- In addition to the SPDC Army's ongoing offensives against ethnic non-ceasefire groups, the regime increasingly targets ceasefire groups who rejected the junta's Border Guard Force scheme.
- The regime relaunches its inhumane 'four cuts' strategy against civilians in conflict areas.
- In response to the SPDC Army's ongoing attacks in ethnic areas, 12 ethnic opposition groups form a new military alliance.

Despite the 7 November election's illusory promise of an inclusive democratic system, the situation in ethnic nationality areas continued to deteriorate. In addition to the SPDC Army's ongoing offensives against ethnic non-ceasefire groups, the SPDC increasingly targeted ceasefire groups who rejected the junta's Border Guard Force (BGF) scheme. The situation for residents living in conflict zones of ethnic States remained grim as the regime relaunches its inhumane 'four cuts' campaign.<sup>1</sup>

### Karen State: Conflict rages

Throughout January and February, SPDC Army and Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA) Brigade 5 forces engaged in heavy fighting.

- **10 January:** SPDC Army troops shelled DKBA forces near Wah Lay and Phaluu Villages in Myawaddy Township, Karen State.<sup>2</sup>
- **10-11 January:** Fighting broke out between 200 SPDC Army troops and 300 DKBA soldiers in Phaluu Village, Myawaddy Township.<sup>3</sup>
- **16 January:** DKBA forces attacked an SPDC Army convoy carrying ammunition to the frontline in Kawkareik Township.<sup>5</sup>

### 'Four-cuts': Cutting away homes and lives<sup>4</sup>

The Burmese military has used the 'four cuts' strategy, or *Hpyat lay hpyat*, since the mid-1960s. It targets ethnic communities in conflict areas in order to weaken armed opposition groups. SPDC Army soldiers will go to any length required to cut-off their opponents' potential access to four vital resources: food, money, potential recruits, and information. The notorious 'four cuts' is one of the main causes of serious international crimes in ethnic areas.

The regime forcibly relocates civilians, often by burning down their villages. This tactic, known as 'sweeping an area', is a way to break up and weaken ethnic communities and bring the areas under *Tatmadaw* control. The terrorizing of civilians, looting, torture and extra-judicial killings - where soldiers are given the authority to execute villagers without warning - are part of the standard operating procedure of the 'four cuts' strategy.

In recent years, thousands of villages in Shan, Kachin, Karenni, Mon, and Karen states have been targeted under the 'four cuts' strategy. It has resulted in significant internal displacement, particularly in Eastern Burma.

In early 2011, the military regime re-launched the 'four cuts' policy, with an additional 'cut' to sever communication routes between allied ethnic groups. The renewed campaign targets areas in Kachin State, Shan State, Karenni State, Karen State, and Tenasserim Division.

- **26-27 January:** SPDC Army and DKBA Brigade 5 forces clashed in Kyauk Khet, Myawaddy Township.<sup>6</sup>
- **1 February:** DKBA Brigade 5 forces attacked the SPDC Army's strategic "Three Mountain" military outpost located five kilometers from Kawkareik Township, Karen State, in an effort to cut off support for SPDC Army troops stationed in Myawaddy.<sup>7</sup>

Hostilities between the SPDC Army and the Karen National Union (KNU) and its armed wing, the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) also continued.<sup>8</sup>

- **10 March:** KNLA troops ambushed an SPDC Army convoy traveling to Wah Lay Village in Myawaddy Township, Karen State. The attack killed 16 SPDC soldiers and wounded 17.<sup>9</sup>
- **15 March:** KNLA Brigade 7 forces injured three SPDC Army soldiers in an attack on the SPDC Army's LIB 54.<sup>10</sup>
- **21 March:** KNLA forces killed seven SPDC soldiers and injured three during two attacks on SPDC Army troops near the Kanellay base in Wah Lay Village, Myawaddy Township.<sup>11</sup>
- **26 March:** Soldiers from KNU Battalion 22 killed five SPDC Army soldiers during a clash in Paingkyon, Hlaignbwe Township.<sup>12</sup>

### **Shan State: Attacks on multiple fronts**

Despite a ceasefire agreement signed in 1989, the SPDC Army and the Shan State Army-North (SSA-N) clashed numerous times in March 2011.<sup>13</sup> On 21 March, the state-run newspaper New Light of Myanmar described the Shan State Army-North (SSA-N) as "insurgents".<sup>14</sup> The timeline below details the offensives:

- **13 March:** Two hundred SPDC Army troops clashed with 60 SSA-N soldiers in Monghsu Township.<sup>15</sup>
- **14 March:** Fighting between SPDC Army and SSA-N forces killed three villagers in a clash in Kyethi Township and in Mong Awd Village-tract, Monghsu Township.<sup>16</sup> After the fighting, the SPDC Army dispatched reinforcements from LIBs 516, 248, 64, 191, and 290.<sup>17</sup>
- **15 March:** Two clashes broke out between SPDC troops and SSA-N. The first occurred in Monghsu Township and in the second skirmish SPDC Army troops attacked the SSA-N Nam Lao base in Tangyan Township.<sup>18</sup>
- **16 March:** SPDC troops overran and seized the SSA-N Nam Lao base. During the fighting, an SPDC Army artillery shell hit

Nam Lao temple, killing four monks and injuring three. SPDC Army troops also laid landmines.<sup>19</sup>

- **17 March:** The SPDC Army issued an ultimatum to the SSA-N to surrender by 20 March.<sup>20</sup>
- **18 March:** SPDC Army troops clashed with SSA-N forces in Monghsu Township.<sup>21</sup>

The SPDC Army also clashed with the Shan State Army-South (SSA-S) and the National Democratic Alliance Army (NDAA).

- **7 January:** SPDC Army forces open fire on the NDAA's base on Loi Parng Nao, Kengtung Township.<sup>22</sup>
- **22 February:** Fighting between the SPDC Army's LIB 328 and SSA-S troops killed three SPDC Army soldiers and wounded one near Mongton Township.<sup>23</sup>
- **25 February:** SSA-S forces ambushed SPDC Army soldiers near Ho Nam Taw Village in Mongton Township.<sup>24</sup>

In addition, the regime increased its military presence in Shan State with the deployment of thousands of soldiers near territory controlled by the Shan State Army - North (SSA-N) and the United Wa State Army (UWSA). SPDC Army personnel also blocked strategic transportation routes to hamper armed opposition forces.<sup>25</sup>

- **15 February:** The SPDC Army deployed more troops and 16 tanks to areas controlled by SSA-N Brigades 1 and 7 in Kunhing and Monghsu Townships.<sup>26</sup>
- **24 February:** SPDC Army forces closed roads leading to the SSA-N's base in Wanhai in Kyethi Township.<sup>27</sup> The SPDC also ordered the closure of the UWSA's Hongpang bus line, which ran between Tachilek and Kengtung.<sup>28</sup>
- **10 March:** About 200 SPDC Army soldiers were dispatched to the Lashio area of Northern Shan State to intimidate the SSA-N's Brigade 1.<sup>29</sup>

### **Kachin State: Ceasefire broken, militarization increased**

On 7 February, the Kachin Independence Organization's (KIO's) armed wing, the Kachin Independence Army (KIA), clashed with SPDC Army forces for the first time since signing a ceasefire agreement in 1994. The fighting was triggered by the incursion of SPDC troops into a KIO-controlled area near Mansi Township on the pretense of seeking illegal narcotics.<sup>30</sup> SPDC Army IB 15 Commander Lt Col Yin Htwe was killed and seven SPDC Army soldiers were injured in the fighting.<sup>31</sup>

Since the 7 February skirmish, the SPDC Army has deployed additional forces and military equipment in Kachin State. In addition, the SPDC's closure of major transportation routes, its increased presence, and its attempts to recruit Kachin youth into its ranks caused concern among the civilian population.

- **17 February:** Around 100 Kachin youth sought refuge in a KIO military base after the SPDC's Northern Command began a forced recruitment drive in Kachin State.<sup>32</sup>
- **22 February:** The SPDC Army deployed about 12 tanks and 200 soldiers near the KIO headquarters in Laiza.<sup>33</sup>
- **23-25 February:** SPDC troops from LIB 437 blocked a road connecting Mansi Township and Mung Hkawng with logs to prevent supplies reaching the KIA's forces. The roadblock made it difficult for civilians in Laika Zup Ja Village and other small villages to receive food and other commodities.<sup>34</sup>
- **1 March:** It was reported that the SPDC Army had deployed over 15 military tanks to Waingmaw and Sadong, east of Laiza.<sup>35</sup>

### **Chin State: Hostilities flare up**

Even in Chin State, which has seen little fighting in recent times, there were several outbreaks of violence in Paletwa Township.

- **3 January:** Arakan Liberation Army (ALA) forces killed four SPDC Army soldiers in a clash with SPDC Army troops.<sup>36</sup>
- **Mid-February:** Chin National Army (CNA) forces killed one SPDC Army soldier and wounded another in a clash with SPDC Army LIB 55.<sup>37</sup>
- **8 March:** ALA forces killed three SPDC Army soldiers in a skirmish with SPDC Army troops.<sup>38</sup>

In addition, SPDC authorities continued to harass local Chin communities. In February, the regime prohibited the use of a banner reading 'Chin National Day' and forced locals to adopt the title of 'Chin State Day' for the celebrations of their National Day.<sup>39</sup>

### **Mon State: Ceasefire on shaky ground**

The long-standing ceasefire between the New Mon State Party (NMSP) and the SPDC Army has been on shaky ground. On 4 February, the state-run newspaper New Light of Myanmar described the NMSP as "insurgents" for the first time since its ceasefire agreement in 1995.<sup>40</sup> In response, NMSP leaders stated they were ready to go to war with the regime.<sup>41</sup> Meanwhile, on 11 January the Mon National Defense Army, a former NMSP breakaway faction, reunified with the NMSP.<sup>42</sup>

### **New ethnic military alliance formed**

In February, in response to the SPDC Army's ongoing attacks in ethnic areas, 12 ethnic armed opposition groups, ceasefire groups, and political organizations from Burma<sup>43</sup> agreed to form a new coalition - the Union Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC).<sup>44</sup> The alliance was established during a 12-16 March conference in Chiang Mai, Thailand, and included Rakhine, Chin, Karen, Karenni, Kachin, Lahu, Mon, Pa-O, Palaung, Shan, and Wa groups.<sup>45</sup> The UNFC decided to establish four military regions in Burma with the objective of sharing military

resources if the SPDC Army attacked any of the coalition members. UNFC members also agreed that individual groups would not hold separate ceasefire talks with the regime.<sup>46</sup> UNFC General Secretary Hongsa stated that the coalition was open to any group that supported the alliance's aim "to establish a genuine union."<sup>47</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Irrawaddy (04 Mar 11) Naypyidaw Orders New "Four Cuts" Campaign

<sup>2</sup> Irrawaddy (10 Jan 11) Thais tighten border security amid clashes

<sup>3</sup> Mizzima News (11 Jan 11) DKBA and junta troops engage in two-day fight

<sup>4</sup> Forced Migration Organization: Patricia Hynes (August 2003) Burma: Causes and Consequences; Irrawaddy (07 Mar 11) 'Four Cuts' Forcing Shan Villagers from Homes; Irrawaddy (04 Mar 11) Naypyidaw Orders New "Four Cuts" Campaign

<sup>5</sup> Irrawaddy (17 Jan 11) Heavy Artillery Fire Continues in Karen State

<sup>6</sup> Irrawaddy (27 Jan 11) 26 Killed in Karen State Conflict; Irrawaddy (27 Jan 11) Clashes Continue in Karen State

<sup>7</sup> Irrawaddy (01 Feb 11) DKBA Attacks Junta's Strategic 'Three Mountain' Outpost

<sup>8</sup> Irrawaddy (11 Feb 11) DKBA Changes Tactics, More Civilians at Risk

<sup>9</sup> Mizzima News (11 Mar 11) Sixteen Junta Troops die in guerilla ambush, says KNLA

<sup>10</sup> KIC (21 Mar 11) Burmese Army officers hurt by KNLA guerrilla tactics

<sup>11</sup> KIC (22 Mar 11) Burmese Army force attacked near Kanellay Camp

<sup>12</sup> KIC (31 Mar 11) Soldiers from combined Burmese Army forces killed, injured by KNLA

<sup>13</sup> Irrawaddy (17 Mar 11) Civilians Killed in Shan State Clashes; Mizzima News (14 Mar 11) Second clash breaks out between junta and SSA-N; Mizzima News (15 Mar 11) Burmese Junta and SSA-N fighting continues; Mizzima News (17 Mar 11) Burmese troops overrun SSA-N base in Nam Lao; SHAN (14 Mar 11) Junta, Shan army exchange fire again

<sup>14</sup> Irrawaddy (21 Mar 11) State Media Calls Shan State Army-North 'Insurgents'

<sup>15</sup> SHAN (14 Mar 11) Junta, Shan army exchange fire again

<sup>16</sup> Irrawaddy (17 Mar 11) Civilians Killed in Shan State Clashes

<sup>17</sup> Mizzima News (14 Mar 11) Second clash breaks out between junta and SSA-N; SHAN (14 Mar 11) Junta, Shan army exchange fire again

<sup>18</sup> Mizzima News (15 Mar 11) Burmese Junta and SSA-N fighting continues

<sup>19</sup> Mizzima News (17 Mar 11) Burmese troops overrun SSA-N base in Nam Lao

<sup>20</sup> SHAN (17 Mar 11) SSA 'North' given ultimatum to surrender

<sup>21</sup> Irrawaddy (21 Mar 11) State Media Calls Shan State Army-North 'Insurgents'

<sup>22</sup> SHAN (10 Jan 11) Mongla base shelled by Burma Army artillery

<sup>23</sup> Irrawaddy (24 Feb 11) Three Burmese Soldiers Killed in Southern Shan State; SHAN (23 Feb 11) Junta army beefing up after fight

<sup>24</sup> Mizzima News (28 Feb 11) Fighting intensifies between the regime and Shan

<sup>25</sup> SHAN (17 Mar 11) Junta offensive puts ethnic alliance to the test; SHAN (14 Mar 11) Junta, Shan army exchange fire again

<sup>26</sup> Irrawaddy (15 Feb 11) Junta Troops, Tanks Deployed to Shan Rebel Territory; Irrawaddy (07 Mar 11) 'Four Cuts' Forcing Shan Villagers from Homes

<sup>27</sup> SHAN (24 Feb 11) All roads to Shan rebel base closed

<sup>28</sup> SHAN (23 Feb 11) More Wa wings clipped

<sup>29</sup> Mizzima News (10 Mar 11) Regime troops reinforced in northern Shan State

<sup>30</sup> Mizzima News (07 Feb 11) KIO, junta fighting breaks out; first since 1997; DVB (07 Feb 11) Gunfire exchanged in Kachin state; Kachin News Group (07 Feb 11) Fighting begins between Kachin and Burmese Armies in Northern Burma

<sup>31</sup> Irrawaddy (07 Feb 11) Burmese Officer Killed in Clash with KIA;

<sup>32</sup> Mizzima (24 Feb 11) Fleeing forced recruitment, young Kachin head to KIO bases

<sup>33</sup> Kachin News Group (24 Feb 11) Junta deploys tanks and troops near Kachin headquarters; Mizzima News (25 Feb 11) Junta sends more tanks to Kachin State

<sup>34</sup> KNG (02 Mar 11) Burmese troops block road with logs in response to KIA

<sup>35</sup> SHAN (01 Mar 11) Junta army continues reinforcing troops in anti-Border Guard Force program territories

<sup>36</sup> Chinland Guardian (05 Jan 11) Armed Fighting Erupts in Southern Chin State

<sup>37</sup> Irrawaddy (23 Feb 11) Junta Weighing Options to Reign in BGF Defectors

<sup>38</sup> Irrawaddy (09 Mar 11) Three Junta Troops Killed by Arakan Liberation Army

<sup>39</sup> Chinland Guardian (18 Feb 11) Celebration of 'Chin National Day' Banned in Chin State

<sup>40</sup> IMNA (07 Feb 11) Junta Calls NMSP 'Insurgents' After the Collapse of a 15-Year Ceasefire Agreement

<sup>41</sup> IMNA (21 Feb 11) We Will Use Guns for Our Freedom" Exclaim Mon Leaders

<sup>42</sup> DVB (14 Jan 11) Mon ethnic armies reunite

<sup>43</sup> The 12 groups are: Chin National Front (CNF); Kachin Independence Organization (KIO); Kachin National Organization (KNO); Karen National Union (KNU); Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP); Lahu Democratic Union (LDU); National Unity Party of Arakan (UNPA); New Mon State Party (NMSP); Palaung State Liberation Front (PSLF); PaO National Liberation Organization (PNLO); Shan State Progress Party / Shan State Army (SSPP / SSA); and Wa National Organization (WNO).

<sup>44</sup> DVB (18 Feb 11) Ethnic armies agree 'ring of resistance'; SHAN (17 Feb 11) Politics taking side seat to military in new alliance

<sup>45</sup> Chinland Guardian (19 Feb 11) Ethnic Groups Determined to Strengthen Unity towards Federal Union of Burma

<sup>46</sup> SHAN (17 Feb 11) Politics taking side seat to military in new alliance; IMNA (21 Feb 11) Ethnic Alliance Vows to Strive for Federal Union

<sup>47</sup> SHAN (17 Feb 11) Politics taking side seat to military in new alliance

## FREEDOM OF INFORMATION: THE CRACKDOWN CONTINUES

Following the 7 November 2010 elections, it soon became apparent that the regime had no intention of relaxing its severe restrictions on freedom of information.

### Media persons face harassment and imprisonment

The SPDC continued to sentence reporters to lengthy prison terms. On 21 December 2010, a court in Rangoon's Mingala Taungnyunt Township sentenced reporter Sithu Zeya to eight years in prison for taking photos near Kandawgyi Lake when there were a series of deadly bomb blasts on 15 April.<sup>1</sup> On 4 February, a Rangoon District Court sentenced DVB reporter Maung Maung Zeya to 13 years in prison under the Electronics Act and the Unlawful Association Act.<sup>2</sup>

The regime's crackdown on freedom of information targeted foreign nationals, too. On 11 November 2010, SPDC authorities deported two Australian film-makers who were working on a documentary about independent media in Burma.<sup>3</sup> On 10 February, SPDC authorities arrested Ross Dunkley, the Australian editor-in-chief and co-owner of the Myanmar Times.<sup>4</sup> Reports differed on the reasons for Dunkley's arrest.<sup>5</sup> However, observers suggested that the real reason for Dunkley's detention could be a business conflict with the Burmese co-owner of the Myanmar Times, USDP member Tin Tun Oo.<sup>6</sup>

### Internet monitoring, phone bugging stepped up

The regime tightened its grip on internet users with new measures. In mid-November, it was reported that SPDC authorities ordered internet café owners in Rangoon to install CCTV cameras to monitor internet users.<sup>7</sup> On 2 March, the SPDC-controlled Myanmar Post and Telecommunications

- **The regime's crackdowns on freedom of information and media continue. The junta sentences two reporters to lengthy prison terms.**
- **The regime increases monitoring of internet and phone communications and bans the use of VoIP services.**
- **Censorship on private media outlets intensifies in the post-election phase.**
- **Over 3,000 phones bugged.**
- **New body formed to control media personnel.**
- **Singers, actors, writers banned.**

ordered all internet cafés across Burma to stop providing Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) communication services.<sup>8</sup> The ban affects calls made over the internet through software such as Skype, Gtalk, and Pfingo.<sup>9</sup> Observers believed that the difficulty in monitoring this form of communication might have been the reason behind the ban.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, the regime increased surveillance of phone communications. On 4 January, it was reported that the SPDC Military Affairs Security (MAS) was preparing to monitor more than 3,000 mobile phones belonging to NLD leaders, politicians, social activists, journalists, artists, and corporate heads.<sup>11</sup>

### Censorship intensifies

Following the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the SPDC Censorship Board imposed severe restrictions over the coverage of Daw Suu's release and her subsequent speeches and activities.<sup>12</sup> On 21 November 2010, the Board suspended the publication of nine local news journals for up to two weeks because they reported on and published photos of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's activities.<sup>13</sup> One of the suspended journals, First Eleven, published a front page title on

the English Premier League that cryptically welcomed the release of Daw Suu.<sup>14</sup> In mid-December 2010, it was reported that the Board barred various local news journals from publishing interviews with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.<sup>15</sup>

The SPDC's censorship was not limited to print media. On 1 December 2010, The SPDC Information Ministry ordered local TV and radio stations not to broadcast interviews and performances of about a dozen actors, film makers, singers, and writers who had previously criticized the junta or showed support for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.<sup>16</sup>

Concerns over media freedom were further heightened after the SPDC set up its latest tool to control the flow of information.<sup>17</sup> On 7 January, the SPDC Censorship Board established the 25-member Committee for Professional Conduct (CPC).<sup>18</sup> The body, tasked with issuing guidelines to journalists and media organizations, includes members of the SPDC Censorship Board and the regime-backed Myanmar Writers and Journalists Association (MWJA).<sup>19</sup> On 13 January, the Rangoon-based Eleven Media Group quit the CPC over concerns that the body would not be independent from the regime.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> DVB (22 Dec 10) DVB reporter gets 8 year jail term; Irrawaddy (22 Dec 10) Bomb Scene Photographer Sentenced to Eight Years; Mizzima News (24 Dec 10) Lensman receives eight-year jail term over blast photos; Straits Times (23 Dec 10) Myanmar blast 'reporter' jailed for 8 years

<sup>2</sup> Irrawaddy (08 Feb 11) Crackdown on critics continues as Burma claims political change; RSF (09 Feb 11) Another journalist gets a long jail sentence; AFP (12 Feb 11) Watchdog slams Myanmar after reporter jailed; DVB (07 Feb 11) DVB video journalist gets 13 years

<sup>3</sup> AFP (12 Nov 10) Myanmar deports 2 journalists; AAP (12 Nov 10) Australian film crew deported from Burma

<sup>4</sup> AFP (12 Feb 11) Australian newspaper boss arrested in Myanmar; AP (12 Feb 11) Australian editor of Myanmar newspaper jailed; BBC (12 Feb 11) Burma: Australian publisher Ross Dunkley arrested; Bangkok Post (12 Feb 11) Myanmar Times editor arrested; DPA (12 Feb 11) Myanmar arrests Australian newspaper publisher (Roundup)

<sup>5</sup> DPA (12 Feb 11) Myanmar arrests Australian newspaper publisher; DPA (12 Feb 11) Myanmar arrests Australian newspaper publisher (Roundup); ABC (14 Feb 11) Charges against Burma newspaper

editor untrue: associate; BBC (12 Feb 11) Burma: Australian publisher Ross Dunkley arrested; Irrawaddy (15 Feb 11) Dunkley Accused of Assault; Irrawaddy (17 Feb 11) Leaked 'Statement' Adds to Dunkley Intrigue; Bangkok Post (20 Feb 11) Dancing with the devil

<sup>6</sup> AFP (12 Feb 11) Australian newspaper boss arrested in Myanmar; Bangkok Post (12 Feb 11) Myanmar Times editor arrested; DPA (12 Feb 11) Myanmar arrests Australian newspaper publisher; DPA (12 Feb 11) Myanmar arrests Australian newspaper publisher (Roundup); AP (12 Feb 11) Australian editor of Myanmar newspaper jailed; Mizzima News (12 Feb 11) Publisher Dunkley held in Insein Prison; NYT (12 Feb 11) Myanmar Arrests a Newspaper Editor; VOA (12 Feb 11) Burma Arrests Australian Publisher; BBC (12 Feb 11) Burma: Australian publisher Ross Dunkley arrested; Irrawaddy (17 Feb 11) Leaked 'Statement' Adds to Dunkley Intrigue; Bangkok Post (20 Feb 11) Dancing with the devil

<sup>7</sup> Irrawaddy (19 Nov 10) Internet Cafes Ordered to Install CCTV

<sup>8</sup> Mizzima News (16 Mar 11) Government bans Internet overseas calls; Irrawaddy (16 Mar 11) Junta Makes Internet Phones Illegal; Chinland Guardian (19 Mar 11) VoIP Services Banned After Junta's Order in Burma

<sup>9</sup> Mizzima News (16 Mar 11) Government bans Internet overseas calls; Irrawaddy (16 Mar 11) Junta Makes Internet Phones Illegal

<sup>10</sup> DVB (17 Mar 11) Internet calls banned as junta loses out; Global Post (21 Mar 11) Burma tries to strangle Skype

<sup>11</sup> Irrawaddy (04 Jan 11) Big Brother is Listening: Junta to Target 3,000 Cell Phones

<sup>12</sup> Irrawaddy (15 Nov 10) Junta Censors Suu Kyi News; DVB (15 Nov 10) Domestic media restricted on Suu Kyi coverage

<sup>13</sup> AP (22 Nov 10) Myanmar halts 9 magazines that sold Suu Kyi covers; DVB (22 Nov 10) Journals suspended for Suu Kyi coverage; Irrawaddy (22 Nov 10) No Change in the Censors' Restrictive Practises; Mizzima News (23 Nov 10) Journals suspended for Suu Kyi reports

<sup>14</sup> Irrawaddy (19 Nov 10) Sports Journal Suspended for Suu Kyi Coverage

<sup>15</sup> Irrawaddy (17 Dec 10) Local Media Barred from Publishing Suu Kyi Interviews; Mizzima News (20 Dec 10) Censor tightens grip on Suu Kyi stories; Irrawaddy (22 Dec 10) Junta Scrutinizing Censored Suu Kyi Interviews

<sup>16</sup> DVB (02 Dec 10) Airtime scrapped for 'political' artists; Mizzima News (03 Dec 10) Artists off-the-air after backing Suu Kyi; Irrawaddy (06 Dec 10) Socially-active Artists Banned from State TV, Radio

<sup>17</sup> DVB (17 Jan 11) Censor board launches new body

<sup>18</sup> Irrawaddy (18 Jan 11) Eleven Media Quits Journalism Committee; DVB (17 Jan 11) Censor board launches new body

<sup>19</sup> Irrawaddy (18 Jan 11) Eleven Media Quits Journalism Committee; DVB (17 Jan 11) Censor board launches new body

<sup>20</sup> Irrawaddy (18 Jan 11) Eleven Media Quits Journalism Committee

## POLITICAL PRISONERS: MORE THAN 2,000 STILL DETAINED

### No amnesty for political prisoners

In his March 2011 report to the UN Human Rights Council, the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Burma Tomás Ojea Quintana said that there were still 2,189 political prisoners, including 177 women, in prisons across Burma.<sup>1</sup> Despite hopes that the newly-elected Parliament could tackle the issue of political prisoners, the regime promptly ruled out the possibility of an amnesty law. During question time in the People's Assembly on 22 March, SPDC Minister of Home Affairs Maung Oo said that the SPDC-drafted 2008 constitution only allows Burma's President, not the Parliament, to grant amnesty to prisoners.<sup>2</sup>

### Detention conditions remain abysmal

According to the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Burma Tomás Ojea Quintana, 142 political prisoners suffer from serious medical conditions which require immediate attention.<sup>3</sup> Between December 2010 and March 2011, reports continued to surface of political prisoners' abysmal conditions, which included torture, ill-treatment, and the denial of medical treatment.

- **2 December:** 88 Generation Student Nilar Thein began a hunger strike in Thayet prison in Magwe Division. Prison authorities subsequently placed her in solitary confinement and on 6 December prevented family members from visiting her.<sup>4</sup>
- **8 December:** Buddhist monk U Naymeinda aka Myo Min aka Nay Win, 50, died in Moulmein prison, Mon State, because of the lack of adequate medical care for a serious health condition that prevented him from eating and drinking.<sup>5</sup> He was the 145<sup>th</sup> political prisoner to die in Burmese prisons since 1988.<sup>6</sup>

- **The SPDC rules out the possibility of an amnesty law that could free the 2,189 political prisoners still detained in Burma.**
- **Prison authorities continue to subject prisoners to torture, ill-treatment, and the denial of medical treatment.**

- **16 December:** It was reported that 88 Generation Student leader Min Ko Naing was in poor health in Kengtung prison, Shan State, due to inadequate food rations and lack of exercise.<sup>7</sup>
- **Early January:** Authorities in Rangoon's Insein prison placed Sithu Zeya in solitary confinement because he failed to stand in the presence of the jail's director.<sup>8</sup> For nine days, prison authorities regularly took him out of his isolation cell and forced him to squat and crawl.<sup>9</sup>
- **4 February:** Authorities in Rangoon's Insein prison placed political prisoner Phyo Wei Aung in solitary confinement for a month because he complained about senior inmates bullying other prisoners.<sup>10</sup>
- **8 February:** It was reported that authorities in Putao prison in Kachin State had denied family visits to Htet Htet Oo Wai for three months. Htet Htet Oo Wai is in solitary confinement and in poor health.<sup>11</sup>
- **9 February:** It was reported that authorities in Putao prison, Kachin State, denied medical treatment to Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) Chairman Hkun Htun Oo, 66, for his deteriorating health.<sup>12</sup>
- **15 March:** It was reported that prison authorities in Myingyan prison, Mandalay Division, denied medical treatment to 88 Generation Student Thet Thet Aung. Thet Thet Aung suffers from hypertension and an unspecified stomach ailment.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> HRC, 16<sup>th</sup> session, Progress report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, Tomás Ojea Quintana, 7 March 2011, A/HRC/16/59

<sup>2</sup> NLM (23 Mar 11) Home Affairs Minister replies to question on "Amnesty"; Irrawaddy (23 Mar 11) No Amnesty for Now: Home Minister

<sup>3</sup> HRC, 16<sup>th</sup> session, Progress report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, Tomás Ojea Quintana, 7 March 2011, A/HRC/16/59

<sup>4</sup> Irrawaddy (09 Dec 10) Political Prisoner Nilar Thein on Hunger Strike; Irrawaddy (09 Dec 10) Hunger Striker Nilar Thein Barred from Seeing Daughter

<sup>5</sup> Mizzima News (11 Dec 10) Ashin Naymeinda dies in jail

<sup>6</sup> UN News Center (13 Dec 10) Independent UN rights expert calls for release of political prisoners in Myanmar; OHCHR (13 Dec 10) Myanmar: UN expert urges Government to release over 2,200 remaining prisoners of conscience

<sup>7</sup> Irrawaddy (16 Dec 10) Min Ko Naing in Poor Health as Temperatures Drop

<sup>8</sup> DVB (10 Jan 11) Jailed DVB reporter in isolation cell

<sup>9</sup> DVB (17 Jan 11) Young DVB reporter 'tortured daily'

<sup>10</sup> DVB (22 Feb 11) Bomb suspect lawyer 'denied case report'

<sup>11</sup> AAPP (08 Feb 11) AAPP concerned about denial of family visits for sick political prisoners; Irrawaddy (08 Feb 11) Sick Political Prisoner Denied Family Visits; DVB (09 Feb 11) Ill political prisoner denied visits

<sup>12</sup> Irrawaddy (09 Feb 11) Jailed SNLD Chairman in Ailing Health

<sup>13</sup> Irrawaddy (15 Mar 11) Jailed Activist Refused Medical Treatment

## FLEEING BURMA'S 'DEMOCRACY': MORE REFUGEES AND IDPS

### UN says Burma is a regional burden

Since the convening of the Parliament, human rights abuses, persecution, and armed conflict have continued to displace large numbers of people. On 25 February, UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Burma Tomás Ojea Quintana said that Burma was burdening other countries in the region. Ojea Quintana said that the "grave" human rights situation in Burma was causing more and more people to flee human rights abuses and persecution.<sup>1</sup>

### More Rohingya take to the sea

In January and February, authorities in Thailand, India, and Indonesia detained over 450 Rohingya boat people who attempted to flee persecution in Burma:

- **22 January:** Thai Navy personnel arrested and detained 91 Rohingya boat people in Trang Province on charges of illegally entering the country.<sup>2</sup>
- **23 January:** Thai authorities arrested and detained another group of 67 Rohingya boat people at a police station in Satun Province.<sup>3</sup>
- **1 February:** After running out of provisions, a boat with 68 Rohingya reached landfall in Phuket, Thailand, while attempting to reach Malaysia. Thai authorities detained them for questioning.<sup>4</sup>
- **10 February:** It was reported that Indian police found over 90 Rohingya stranded on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.<sup>5</sup>
- **15 February:** One hundred and twenty-nine Rohingya boat people reached landfall in Aceh Province, Indonesia.<sup>6</sup>

### New arrivals at Thai-Burma border camps

In January, ongoing clashes between the DKBA and the SPDC Army in Karen

- **UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Burma Tomás Ojea Quintana says the ongoing refugee inflows from Burma are burdening other countries in the region.**
- **In January and February, authorities in Thailand, India, and Indonesia detained over 450 Rohingya boat people who attempted to flee persecution in Burma**
- **Ongoing conflict in Karen and Shan States results in hundreds of refugees and IDPs.**

State's Myawaddy Township forced about 650 civilians to flee into Thailand.<sup>7</sup>

### SPDC Army offensives fuel internal displacement

In March, the SPDC Army's military operations and attempts to cut support and supply lines to Shan State Army - North (SSA-N) forces resulted in the forcible relocation of hundreds of villagers.

- **2 March:** SPDC Army troops from IB 66 forced about 200 households in Nansang Township to relocate as part of the preparations for a new regional command.<sup>8</sup>
- **7 March:** It was reported that SPDC troops in Nansang Township forced the residents of three villages to abandon their homes.<sup>9</sup> It was also reported that between 200 and 300 villagers from Kunhing Township fled to safety.<sup>10</sup>
- **16 March:** The seizure of the SSA-N's Nam Lao base in Tangyan Township forced between 500 and 600 villagers from Monghsu Township to flee.<sup>11</sup>
- **17 March:** It was reported that SPDC Army personnel ordered the residents of 11 villages located in Kunhing, Nansang, and Kyethi Townships to leave their homes.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> UN News Center (24 Feb 11) Myanmar's human rights abuses burden region with exodus of refugees – UN expert;; DVB (25 Feb 11) UN says Burma 'a regional burden'; Chinland Guardian (26 Feb 11) Chin Refugees Get Surprise Visit from UN Rights Expert

<sup>2</sup> MCOT (23 Jan 11) Thai officials return 91 Rohingya boat people to Myanmar; AFP (24 Jan 11) Thai police to deport 91 Rohingya to Myanmar; Kaladan News (28 Jan 11) 158 Rohingya boat voyagers detained in Thailand

<sup>3</sup> CNN (25 Jan 11) New wave of Rohingya arrive in Thailand; UPI (25 Jan 11) More Rohingya refugees reach Thailand; Kaladan News (28 Jan 11) 158 Rohingya boat voyagers detained in Thailand

<sup>4</sup> Irrawaddy (03 Feb 11) Thailand Ignores Calls for UN Access to Rohingyas

<sup>5</sup> BBC (10 Feb 2011) Burmese Rohingya refugees rescued in India's Andamans; DPA (10 Feb 11) Rohingya refugees left at sea by Thailand rescued near India;p DVB (11 Feb 11) Rohingya refugees claim Thai 'pushback'

<sup>6</sup> AFP (16 Feb 11) 129 Myanmar migrants found off Indonesia: Police; BBC (16 Feb 11) Burma Rohingyas found drifting off Indonesia

<sup>7</sup> Mizzima News (11 Jan 11) DKBA and junta troops engage in two-day fight; Irrawaddy (27 Jan 11) Clashes Continue in Karen State; DVB (27 Jan 11) Villages empty as fighting intensifies

<sup>8</sup> SHAN (03 Mar 11) Forcibly relocated people to be forcibly relocated again

<sup>9</sup> Irrawaddy (07 Mar 11) 'Four Cuts' Forcing Shan Villagers from Homes

<sup>10</sup> Irrawaddy (07 Mar 11) 'Four Cuts' Forcing Shan Villagers from Homes

<sup>11</sup> Mizzima News (17 Mar 11) Burmese troops overrun SSA-N base in Nam Lao

<sup>12</sup> Irrawaddy (17 Mar 11) Civilians Killed in Shan State Clashes

## BURMA'S ECONOMY: A BOON FOR MILITARY, CRONIES, & FOREIGN INVESTORS

### Prices rise on political uncertainty

As Parliament convened in Naypyidaw, Burma's economy reacted to the political uncertainties of a new regime. In addition, there were reports on hefty wage increases for civil servants and rumors of the issuance of a new 10,000 kyat bank note.<sup>1</sup> As a result, commodity prices rose and wide fluctuations occurred in currency and gold values. In addition, an increase in diesel and gas prices caused further inflationary pressure.

- **Currency and gold:** The gold price in Rangoon rose from 630,000 kyat (US\$720) to 640,500 kyat (US\$732) while the exchange rate of the US dollar rose from 863 kyat to 875 kyat per dollar after state-run media announced the regime's new list of cabinet ministers.<sup>2</sup>
- **Rice and cooking oil:** Standard-size sacks of high-grade rice rose from 29,500 kyat (US\$34) to 33,000 kyat (US\$38) while another high-grade variety rose to 35,000 kyat (US\$40), up from 30,000 kyat (US\$34). The price of cooking oil rose as well. One viss (1.6 kilos) of peanut oil increased from 4,200 kyat (US\$4.80) to 4,500 kyat (US\$5.17) and sesame oil rose from 3,000 kyat (US\$3.45) to 3,200 kyat (US\$3.70).<sup>3</sup>
- **Fuel:** During February, the price of diesel increased from 3,000 kyat (US\$3.14) to 3,400 kyat (US\$3.56) per gallon.<sup>4</sup> During the first two weeks of March, the black market price of petrol rose steadily, reaching 3,800 kyat (US\$4.30) per gallon in Rangoon and 5,500 kyat (US\$6.20) in Mandalay.<sup>5</sup>

In February, rumors of a shake-up in the SPDC leadership also hit the banking sector. Following rumors that SPDC Vice Sr Gen Maung Aye was about to be forcefully retired, bank account holders rushed to withdraw their savings from Kanbawza

- **Uncertainty related to the new regime leads to an increase of commodity prices.**
- **SPDC allocates 23.6% of the 2011-2012 to military expenditure. Health and education combined receive a paltry 5.4%.**
- **SPDC nets about 800 billion kyat (US\$800 million) from the sale of state property to regime cronies.**
- **Workers and students continue strikes and protests over economic issues.**
- **New SPDC-enacted Special Economic Zone Law benefits regime cronies and leads to loss of livelihood for local residents.**
- **China makes up the lion's share of Burma's foreign investment, accounting for 89% of the investment in the country from November 2010 to January 2011.**

Bank, which is owned by junta crony and Maung Aye's associate Aung Ko Win.<sup>6</sup>

### Military spending still top priority

On 27 January, the SPDC enacted the national budget for the 2011-2012 fiscal year.<sup>7</sup> Out of the 7.6 trillion kyat (US\$8.45 billion) budget, the junta allocated 1.8 trillion kyat (US\$2 billion), or 23.6%, to military expenditures.<sup>8</sup> By contrast, the health and education sectors received a paltry 99.5 billion kyat (US\$110 million), or 1.3%, and 314 billion kyat (US\$349 million), or 4.13% respectively.<sup>9</sup>

### Thousands strike in Rangoon

In a trend that started in early 2010, workers continued to strike over low salaries and poor working conditions.

- **Early February:** About 700 employees of two United World garment factories located in Rangoon's Shwepyithar Industrial Zone went on strike in support of their demands for bonuses, overtime pay, an on-site medical clinic, and improvements to employee lavatories and water supply.<sup>10</sup>
- **8 March:** About 3,000 workers at the Chinese-owned Tai Yi leather factory in Rangoon's Hlaing Tharyar Township demonstrated against long working hours and pay cuts.<sup>11</sup>
- **22 March:** About 500 workers at the New Way shoe factory in Rangoon's Hlaing Tharyar Township went on strike after factory management rejected their demands for an increase in pay.<sup>12</sup>

### Students protest

Students staged protests against the cost of transportation and the inadequate supply of electricity.

- **12 January:** Around 800 university students in Kale, Sagaing Division, protested over a 100% increase in bus fares from 200 kyat to 400 kyat (US\$0.45). The students demanded reduced fares, more frequent and regular bus services, and a prohibition on cargo being carried on school buses.<sup>13</sup>
- **8 March:** More than 50 university students in Moulmein, Mon State, protested over power outages during their graduation exams period.<sup>14</sup>

### Burma has the world's sixth least free economy

On 12 January, the Heritage Foundation released its 2011 Index of Economic Freedom. The index ranked Burma as the

world's sixth least free economy out of a total of 179 countries assessed. The report stated that Burma's economy was "afflicted with extensive state controls and structural problems" and noted that "investment freedom, property rights, and freedom from corruption are extraordinarily weak."<sup>15</sup>

### Regime cronies acquire state properties

In January and February, the SPDC netted about 800 billion kyat (US\$800 million) from the sale of 291 state-owned properties.<sup>16</sup> Junta cronies Tay Za, Steven Law, Zaw Zaw, and Chit Khaing acquired most of the properties in an auction process that observers considered akin to money-laundering.<sup>17</sup>

### SEZs line the cronies' pockets

On 27 January, the SPDC enacted a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) Law to provide incentives for foreign investment in Burma, with a particular focus on the manufacturing, processing, and information technology sectors.<sup>18</sup> Proposed SEZ sites include the Thilawa port in Rangoon's Thanlyin Township and the Tavoy deep-seaport project in Tenasserim Division.<sup>19</sup>

The Tavoy project is already under construction by the Thai company Italian-Thai Development (ITD).<sup>20</sup> ITD is also building an industrial estate next to the port that will contain a power plant, a steel mill, an oil refinery, a fertilizer plant, a shipyard, and a variety of other industries. The primary purpose of the port project is to construct a natural gas pipeline that will link off-shore gas deposits near Tavoy to Pu Nam Ron in Thailand's Kanchanaburi Province.<sup>21</sup>

Foreign companies have been lining-up for investment opportunities linked to the port's infrastructure. The Japan Bank for International Cooperation and the Japan Business Federation are exploring involvement in financing the Tavoy

Project.<sup>22</sup> Thai conglomerate Loxley also showed an interest in investing in the project.<sup>23</sup> In January 2011, ITD arranged free visits to Tavoy for Thai entrepreneurs in order to encourage investment.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to foreign investors, regime cronies are expected to greatly benefit from SEZs. The regime awarded significant contracts related to the Tavoy project to Max Myanmar, the company owned by regime crony Zaw Zaw.<sup>25</sup> Regime officials also gave permission to the regime-controlled Union of Myanmar Economic Holdings and crony-run enterprises Htoo Trading, Max Myanmar, and Asia World to build new jetties at Rangoon's Thilawa port.<sup>26</sup>

### **Tavoy projects threaten local livelihoods and exploit workers**

Although SEZs are touted as a means to create employment, the Tavoy project has so far proved detrimental to the livelihoods of local residents.

Since the US\$8.6 billion Tavoy contract was signed in November, ITD and the regime confiscated the land of 11 villages located in or near the project areas. This resulted in a loss of livelihood for approximately 3,000 residents. In addition, reports surfaced of other villages being forced to relocate to make way for construction.<sup>27</sup> Local fishermen also expressed their concern that the Tavoy project would limit their ability to fish.<sup>28</sup>

The development of the SEZ also pushed up property prices. Within a month of the launch of the port, property prices in Tavoy increased tenfold.<sup>29</sup>

In addition, poor working conditions in projects related to the Tavoy SEZ caused worker unrest. In early February, about 70 Burmese construction workers employed by ITD who have been working on the Tavoy port project went on strike to protest low wages, long working hours, and unequal

treatment with their Thai coworkers. Workers also complained of poor housing and working conditions.<sup>30</sup>

### **China's looting of Burma continues**

China continued to make up the lion's share of Burma's foreign investment. China accounted for US\$3.18 billion (or 89%) of the US\$3.56 billion worth of foreign investment in Burma from November 2010 to January 2011.<sup>31</sup> China's latest investments put the country in first place as Burma's largest investor based on investments since 1988. Thailand slipped to second place.<sup>32</sup> Since the 7 November election, several Chinese companies signed deals with the regime regarding oil, natural gas, and hydropower projects:

- **10 November:** China's Three Gorges, Sinohydro, and China Southern Power Grid Companies signed an agreement with the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand and Burma's International Group of Entrepreneur to conduct a feasibility study of a proposed US\$10 billion hydropower project on the Salween River.<sup>33</sup>
- **24 November:** The SPDC Ministry of Electric Power-1 signed MoUs with China's Huaneng Lancang River Hydropower and SPDC-favorite Asia World to jointly develop the Shweli hydropower project in Sagaing Division and with Asia World to develop the Bilin hydropower project in Mon State.<sup>34</sup>
- **12 December:** Burma's state-run media reported that China had signed a US\$2.4 billion loan agreement with the SPDC related to reinforcing infrastructure around the construction of the natural gas pipeline from Kyaukpyu, Arakan State, to China's Yunnan Province.<sup>35</sup>
- **6 January:** The SPDC awarded a contract to China's Yunnan Construction Engineering and the junta-backed Yuzana Company for the rebuilding of a 312km-stretch of the Stilwell Road.<sup>36</sup>

- **7 January:** China's oil giant Sinopec and the SPDC-owned Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise discovered significant oil and natural gas deposits in Pahtolon, Magwe Division.<sup>37</sup>
- **20 January:** China Unicom and Myanmar Post and Telecommunications signed an agreement to jointly provide GSM international roaming services to China Unicom's users in Burma.<sup>38</sup>
- **21 January:** China and the SPDC signed an MoU for the construction of the Nam Tabat Hydropower Project in Kachin State by China's Guodian Corporation and Tun Thwin Mining Company.<sup>39</sup>
- **23 January:** The Tarpein-1 hydropower plant in Momauk, Kachin State, became operational. The plant is a joint venture between Datang (Yunnan) United Hydropower Development Company and the SPDC Ministry of Electric Power-1.<sup>40</sup>
- **14 February:** Burma's state-run media reported that Chinese company Sinopec International Petroleum, in a joint-venture with the SPDC-owned Myanmar Oil & Gas Enterprise, discovered natural gas deposits in Pale Township, Sagaing Division.<sup>41</sup>
- **16 February:** CITIC Group of China and the SPDC Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development signed a supplementary contract to an MoU for the Kyaukpyu economic and technical development zone and related infrastructure projects in Arakan State.<sup>42</sup>
- **1 March:** State-owned China National Heavy Duty Truck Group signed a deal with and the regime for the manufacture of heavy vehicles, funded by a US\$20 million loan from Beijing.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Irrawaddy (16 Feb 11) Gold, Dollar Jump Amid Rumors, Fears of Instability; Irrawaddy (01 Mar 11) Burma's Civil Servants Expect 380 Percent Salary Hike

<sup>2</sup> Irrawaddy (14 Feb 11) Prices for Gold, US Dollar Rise Following Announcement of New Cabinet

<sup>3</sup> Irrawaddy (25 Feb 11) Rice Prices Rising on Rumor of New Banknote

<sup>4</sup> Irrawaddy (16 Feb 11) Gold, Dollar Jump Amid Rumors, Fears of Instability

<sup>5</sup> Myanmar Times (14 Mar 11) Petrol prices soar 25 percent; Irrawaddy (02 Mar 11) Burma's Gasoline Prices Peak

<sup>6</sup> Irrawaddy (24 Feb 11) Maung Aye Rumors Lead to Run on Bank

<sup>7</sup> AP (04 Mar 11) Myanmar democracy group slams military fund

<sup>8</sup> AP (01 Mar 11) Myanmar allocates 1/4 of new budget to military; AP (04 Mar 11) Myanmar democracy group slams military fund; DVB (02 Mar 11) Military prioritised as Burma expands airforce

<sup>9</sup> AP (01 Mar 11) Myanmar allocates 1/4 of new budget to military

<sup>10</sup> DVB (08 Feb 11) Employers bow to strikers' demands

<sup>11</sup> Mizzima News (09 March 11) Rangoon workers demonstrate against excessive overtime

<sup>12</sup> Irrawaddy (22 Mar 11) Shoe Factory Workers in Rangoon Strike

<sup>13</sup> Mizzima News (12 Jan 11) Students' protest leads to cut in school bus fare

<sup>14</sup> Mizzima News (09 Mar 11) University students protest against power cuts in Mon State

<sup>15</sup> Heritage Foundation (12 Jan 11) 2011 Index of Economic Freedom

<sup>16</sup> Myanmar Times (04 Apr 11) 'Unbelievable' property sales push prices up in Yangon: agents; Myanmar Times (04 Apr 11) Govt property auction nets K800b

<sup>17</sup> Irrawaddy (23 Mar 11) Privatization Linked to Money Laundering

<sup>18</sup> Myanmar Times (14 Feb 11) SEZ law sparks industrial zone interest, but not for all; Mizzima News (17 Feb 11) Burma passes special economic zone law for investors

<sup>19</sup> Myanmar Times (7 Feb 11) SPDC signs Special Economic Zone law into effect on Jan 27

<sup>20</sup> Myanmar Times (7 Feb 11) SPDC signs Special Economic Zone law into effect on Jan 27

<sup>21</sup> Myanmar Times (21 Feb 11) Prices surge as speculators flock to Dawei

<sup>22</sup> Nation (18 Feb 11) Japan wants to join with Thailand in Dawei project

<sup>23</sup> Bangkok Post (21 Feb 11) Loxley eager to invest in Dawei project

<sup>24</sup> IMNA (11 Jan 11) Italian-Thai Promotes Tavoy Port by Flying in Prospective Investors

<sup>25</sup> Irrawaddy (12 Jan 11) Port Project Raises Concerns about Rights, Environment

<sup>26</sup> Irrawaddy (14 Dec 10) Asia World to Build New Jetties in Rangoon

<sup>27</sup> Myanmar Times (14 Feb 11) Dawei development stirs debate; Irrawaddy (20 Jan 11) Shan Coal Mine Affecting Local Health, Report Says

<sup>28</sup> Myanmar Times (14 Feb 11) Dawei development stirs debate

<sup>29</sup> Myanmar Times (03 Jan 11) Foreign investment will impact property market

<sup>30</sup> Irrawaddy (16 Feb 11) Tavoy Deep-sea Port Workers Strike

<sup>31</sup> Xinhua (23 Feb 11) Myanmar absorbs 3.56 bln USD of foreign investment in 3 months

<sup>32</sup> AP (21 Feb 11) China tops Thailand as biggest investor in Myanmar; Xinhua (22 Feb 11) China becomes biggest investor in Myanmar

<sup>33</sup> Bloomberg (16 Nov 10) China, Myanmar, Thailand Study \$10 Billion Hydro Dam

<sup>34</sup> NLM (26 Nov 10) MoA, MoU signed for Shweli (2), Bilin hydropower projects

<sup>35</sup> DPA (12 Dec 10) China loans Myanmar 2.4 billion dollars for gas pipeline project; Irrawaddy (13 Dec 10) China Loans Burma \$ 2.4 Billion for Gas Pipeline;

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Myanmar Times (13 Dec 10) Massive loan from China to fund gas investment

<sup>36</sup> Irrawaddy (06 Jan 11) China Wins Burma's Stilwell Road Contract

<sup>37</sup> DVB (7 Jan 11) Large onshore gas deposit found; Reuters (06 Jan 11) Sinopec finds large oil and gas deposits in Myanmar

<sup>38</sup> ChinaTechNews.com (20 Jan 11) China Unicom Launches International Roaming Service In Myanmar

<sup>39</sup> NLM (22 Jan 11) MoU signed for implementation of Nam Tabaat Hydropower Project

<sup>40</sup> Xinhua (23 Jan 11) Myanmar has one more hydropower plant in northern state operational

<sup>41</sup> Mizzima News (15 Feb 11) Natural gas discovered in Sagaing Division; Reuters (14 Feb 11) Sinopec JV finds large gas deposits in Myanmar; IMNA (14 Feb 11) Natural gas found at Thingadon Test-well No. 1 in Pale Township

<sup>42</sup> Xinhua (17 Feb 11) China, Myanmar sign new cooperation accord

<sup>43</sup> DVB (3 Mar 11) China to manufacture trucks in Burma

## **NLD & DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI: STILL KEY POLITICAL PLAYERS**

### **NLD, Daw Suu step up political activities**

The NLD, under the leadership of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, remain Burma's best hope for genuine dialogue and national reconciliation. While a minuscule and divided parliamentary opposition was bogged down in a fruitless political process, the NLD stepped up its activities to promote broad political participation across Burma.

On 8 and 9 February, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi held meetings with over 200 youths from Burma at the party headquarters in Rangoon. The meetings kickstarted the formation of the NLD-promoted nationwide network of activists.<sup>1</sup>

On 12 February, more than 400 people, including NLD members, veteran politicians, ethnic activists, and foreign diplomats, participated in a ceremony to mark the 64<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Union Day at the NLD headquarters in Rangoon.<sup>2</sup> Speaking at the ceremony, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said that the rule of law and an inclusive political system were needed in order to foster national unity and reconciliation.<sup>3</sup>

From 3 to 18 March, NLD Central Executive Committee members held talks with Township Committee representatives from 13 States and Divisions at the party headquarters in Rangoon.<sup>4</sup> In addition, in March NLD members from 19 townships established a farmers' network in coordination with the NLD Central Executive Committee.<sup>5</sup> The network was formed to provide legal advice and important information to farmers.<sup>6</sup>

On 27 March, about 300 people, including NLD members, ethnic leaders, veteran politicians, and foreign diplomats attended a ceremony to mark the 66<sup>th</sup> anniversary of

Resistance Day at the NLD headquarters in Rangoon.<sup>7</sup> Daw Aung San Suu Kyi marked the event with an appeal for better relations with the new regime "for the sake of the country."<sup>8</sup> Daw Suu also urged the authorities to create "fair political conditions by holding politically meaningful dialogue and releasing all political prisoners unconditionally."<sup>9</sup>

In addition, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi intensified meetings and contacts with UN officials and members of the diplomatic community to develop solutions for Burma's political, social, and economic crises.<sup>10</sup>

### **NLD outlines economic policy**

The NLD also issued statements and position papers on key policy issues, such as economic sanctions, trade, and foreign investment.

On 4 January, the NLD released "Analysis of the Economy," a position paper that outlined the party's stance concerning foreign investment in Burma. The NLD said that foreign investment in the country should take into consideration the social and environmental impact, respect for labor rights, and the creation of employment opportunities and technological investments. The NLD also highlighted the need to establish the rule of law and transparent, accountable governance in Burma.<sup>11</sup>

On 28 January, in an audio message to the World Economic Forum, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi reiterated the NLD's stance and added that without national reconciliation and political stability, "social and economic development will remain mere pipedreams."<sup>12</sup>

On 8 February, the NLD issued a four-page position paper that outlined the party's assessment of economic sanctions on

Burma.<sup>13</sup> The NLD's document concluded that:<sup>14</sup>

- Sanctions have not affected economic conditions in Burma “to any notable degree.”
- The regime's poor economic policies and mismanagement are the main causes of Burma's economic crisis.
- Land confiscation and lack of freedom in production and marketing - not sanctions - have negatively affected Burma's agricultural sector, which employs the majority of Burma's population.
- An unfavorable business environment comprised of multiple exchange rates, lack of accountability, and corruption has impeded productive investments.
- Burma's increased foreign trade and strengthened financial resources from the sale of the country's natural resources has not resulted in improved standards of living or increased budget allocations for health and education.
- Businesses that have already invested, or are thinking of investing in Burma should observe guidelines aimed at conserving the ecological environment, protecting the rights of workers, and promoting civil society.
- National reconciliation based on “an all inclusive political process” should be “central” to any consideration of changes in sanctions policies and the release of all political prisoners is a “critical requirement” for the removal of sanctions.

The paper also called for talks with the US, the EU, Canada, and Australia in order to reach agreement on “when, how and under what circumstances sanctions might be modified in the interests of democracy, human rights, and a healthy economic environment.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Daw Suu 360**

After her release from seven years under house arrest, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi spoke on a wide range of issues concerning the

past, present, and future of Burma. What follows is a selection of policy-oriented statement that Daw Suu has made since her release on 13 November 2010.

### **On the NLD**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said that the NLD continued to be a viable political party that was fully engaged in Burma's political affairs outside of Parliament.<sup>16</sup> She rejected the idea that the NLD became an NGO when it was dissolved by the SPDC. “This [the NLD] is a political party. [...] We said that we will work in humanitarian affairs. Humanitarian affairs cannot be separated from politics.”<sup>17</sup>

Daw Suu said that one of the party's top priorities is the establishment of a “network of people working for democracy” that includes all those who are “interested in bringing about necessary change.”<sup>18</sup>

On the NLD's internal operations, Daw Suu said she wanted to apply democratic principles within the party and indicated that the leadership should be “chosen from the bottom up.”<sup>19</sup> She said she did not believe in “one person dominating the whole party” and wanted to “give everybody a chance to take over, if they are good at it.”<sup>20</sup>

### **On the 2010 elections**

Daw Suu pointed out that “unfair elections do not bring about democracy,” and “it's no use saying that you can choose freely between a rock and a hard place. [...] We want meaningful choice.”<sup>21</sup>

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said the NLD didn't participate in the 2010 elections because they “didn't believe that there was going to be any major change.”<sup>22</sup> Daw Suu said she was surprised some of the political parties thought the election would have a different outcome. However, she expressed her willingness to work with all parties in the post-election period.<sup>23</sup> She said: “We are ready to co-operate with any [...] of the

thirty-seven contending political parties that really have the same objectives and want to work for democracy.”<sup>24</sup>

### **On the military and dialogue**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said she “highly regards” the *Tatmadaw* as an institution. “The *Tatmadaw* was founded by my father. I personally value and cherish it very much.”<sup>25</sup> She said: “I don’t want to see the military falling. I want to see the military rising to dignified heights of professionalism and true patriotism.”<sup>26</sup> Daw Suu also said she held “no grudge against” the military for keeping her under house arrest for 16 years.<sup>27</sup>

Daw Suu has shown interest in talking with the military and engaging in debates.<sup>28</sup> Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said she was “ready to cooperate with them [the military] if they are really looking for that, for the good of the country.”<sup>29</sup>

Although the military never seemed willing to hold debates, giving up on dialogue was not an option – “we have to persevere.”<sup>30</sup> Daw Suu pointed out that maybe the military does not fully understand what is meant by dialogue and national reconciliation and how these two concepts are “in everybody’s interest, including theirs.”<sup>31</sup> “Dialogue must be a win-win situation for all parties.”<sup>32</sup>

### **On ethnic issues**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said that ethnic groups, including the ceasefire groups, “expressed an interest” in the NLD’s efforts “to revive the spirit of true union.”<sup>33</sup> Daw Suu said the ongoing conflicts in ethnic areas should be resolved “through peaceful means” and not “through armed battles.”<sup>34</sup>

Daw Suu also advocated for the convening of another Panglong Conference “that reflects the feelings of the ethnic groups in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.”<sup>35</sup>

### **On a Commission of Inquiry**

Daw Suu said that she supported the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry on crimes in Burma. However, the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry should not lead to “a trial of the generals.”<sup>36</sup> “I only want to create a situation in which there would be no reason for sending anyone from our country before the ICC,” she said.<sup>37</sup>

### **On foreign investment**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi welcomed economic progress and foreign investment in Burma – with conditions. She urged businesses and companies to “put a premium on respect for the law, on environmental and social factors, [and] on the right of workers.”<sup>38</sup> Investment should promote “transparency and accountability” and “economic growth grounded in human resources development” in Burma.<sup>39</sup> She reiterated that investment should ultimately be designed for “the benefit of the people.”<sup>40</sup>

### **On economic sanctions**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi repeatedly stated that the issue of economic sanctions should be carefully “reviewed from time to time.”<sup>41</sup> Daw Suu said she was “prepared to work together” with the regime “to remove sanctions that were hurtful to the people at large.”<sup>42</sup> However, there must be “concrete justifications” before sanctions are lifted.<sup>43</sup>

She said she did not look at sanctions “as a bargaining chip but as a way of trying to improve the situation.”<sup>44</sup> Daw Suu said that she did not have “the impression that economic sanctions have really hurt the public.”<sup>45</sup> “Whether or not to lift the sanctions is something to be decided after discussions. At the present situation, I don’t see any reason to lift the sanctions.”<sup>46</sup>

### **On tourism**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi recently modified the NLD’s stance on tourism, thereby

welcoming politically aware, individual, and ethical tourists.<sup>47</sup> The NLD “would not object to individual tourists coming to study the situation and to find out what is really happening in Burma,” Daw Suu said.<sup>48</sup>

### **On international engagement**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said that “engagement is a good thing” but urged the international community to engage with pro-democracy forces, not just the regime.<sup>49</sup> She pointed out that the international community’s efforts should be coordinated, instead of being made “individually and discordantly,” in order to be more effective.<sup>50</sup>

### **On ASEAN and regional support**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi stressed the importance of ASEAN and regional countries to “work in coordination.”<sup>51</sup> She said “if Burma has stability, [...] it will benefit the whole region.”<sup>52</sup>

### **On India**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said India was “long-standing friend of Burma.”<sup>53</sup> However, she was “saddened” that the current Indian government had failed to support pro-democracy forces in Burma.<sup>54</sup> Daw Suu would like the world’s “biggest democracy” to “play a more active role in [...] the process of democratization of Burma.”<sup>55</sup> Daw Suu also encouraged more people to “learn more about Burma” and support the “establishment of democracy in Burma.”<sup>56</sup>

### **On China**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said she does not see China as an “enemy” of Burma’s pro-democracy movement.<sup>57</sup> Rather, she considered China to be a “neighbor” that has a “longstanding friendship” with Burma.<sup>58</sup> Daw Suu said the NLD was working towards establishing a line of communication with Chinese authorities in

order to convey the message that Burma’s stability can be guaranteed by a government elected by the people and not only by a military regime.<sup>59</sup>

### **On Thailand**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said she wished Burma to be a “good friend and good neighbor” to Thailand.<sup>60</sup> She understood the influx of Burmese refugees and migrants “is not easy for Thailand to cope with,” but she urged Thai people to do what they can for them.<sup>61</sup>

### **On the US**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi welcomed US engagement with the military regime, but she wanted Washington “to be practical about it.”<sup>62</sup>

### **On the EU**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said she would like to see the EU take “a more coordinated approach” with regard to its Burma policy and urged the EU to “speak with one voice.”<sup>63</sup> Daw Suu also called on the EU to continue pressuring for “the release of political prisoners, inclusiveness of the political process, specifically with the NLD, and negotiations.”<sup>64</sup>

### **On the UN**

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said the UN should “play a bigger role” in Burma’s affairs.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Irrawaddy (08 Feb 11) Suu Kyi Casts Her Net

<sup>2</sup> Mizzima News (13 Feb 11) Rule of law necessary for unity: Suu Kyi

<sup>3</sup> DPA (12 Feb 11) Myanmar democracy still in “infancy,” junta chief says; Mizzima News (13 Feb 11) Rule of law necessary for unity: Suu Kyi

<sup>4</sup> NLD (05 Mar 11) NLD CEC and Township Committees’ meetings began; NLD (06 Mar 11) Meeting of NLD CEC and Township Committees of Pegu Division held; NLD (09 Mar 11) Meeting of NLD CEC and Township Organizational Committees from Irrawaddy Division held; NLD (10 Mar 11) Meeting with Townships’ Committees continued; NLD (11 Mar 11) Meeting with NLD Townships’ Committees from Mandalay Division; NLD (13 Mar 11) Meeting with NLD members from Rakhine and Chin States; NLD (15 Mar

11) Meeting with Townships' Committees continued with representatives from Magwe Division; NLD (16 Mar 11) Meeting with Townships' Committees from Sagaing Division; NLD (20 Mar 11) The meeting with NLD Townships of Kachin State; NLD (18 Mar 11) The meeting with NLD Townships' Committees in Shan State

<sup>5</sup> Mizzima News (22 Mar 11) NLD forms social network for farmers

<sup>6</sup> Mizzima News (22 Mar 11) NLD forms social network for farmers

<sup>7</sup> NLD (27 Mar 11) 66th Anniversary of Anti Fascist Resistance Day held

<sup>8</sup> DPA (27 Mar 11) Suu Kyi calls for better relations with Myanmar military

<sup>9</sup> Reuters (27 Mar 11) Suu Kyi party seeks talks with Myanmar's generals

<sup>10</sup> DPA (18 Nov 10) Myanmar's Suu Kyi wants talks with United Nations (Roundup); Irrawaddy (22 Nov 10) Suu Kyi's Son to Visit Rangoon; DPA (23 Nov 10) Aung San Suu Kyi reunites with youngest son in Myanmar (Roundup); AFP (27 Nov 10) Suu Kyi, top UN official meet; AFP (03 Dec 10) Belgian ambassador meets Suu Kyi; SAPA (07 Dec 10) SA ambassador meets Suu Kyi; Irrawaddy (10 Dec 10) Suu Kyi Meets Senior US Official; Mizzima News (08 Dec 10) Suu Kyi urges independents to join NLD in social work; Mizzima News (11 Dec 10) NLD hears political inmates' relatives on UN rights day; Irrawaddy (24 Dec 10) Suu Kyi Meets Russian Ambassador; AP (22 Jan 11) Myanmar's Suu Kyi meets Thai Foreign Minister Kasit; AP (23 Feb 11) US talks with Myanmar's Suu Kyi about aid; Mizzima News (25 Feb 11) Suu Kyi supports expansion of ILO in Burma

<sup>11</sup> NLD (04 Jan 11) Analysis of the Economy (Unofficial Translation); Irrawaddy (05 Jan 11) NLD Outlines Four Principles for Foreign Investment

<sup>12</sup> AP (28 Jan 11) Suu Kyi asks investors at Davos to help Myanmar; BBC (28 Jan 11) Davos 2011: Aung San Suu Kyi calls for investment; Australian (31 Jan 11) Economic ties will set us free: Suu Kyi; Reuters (28 Jan 11) Aung San Suu Kyi seeks support for democracy in Myanmar; CNN (29 Jan 11) Suu Kyi to Davos: Myanmar must reconnect with world

<sup>13</sup> AP (08 Feb 11) Myanmar opposition: Sanctions work, should continue; AFP (08 Feb 11) Suu Kyi party urges talks with West on sanctions; BBC (08 Feb 11) Aung San Suu Kyi party seeks Burma sanctions talks; Reuters (09 Feb 11) Suu Kyi party seeks talks on sanctions with the West; WSJ (09 Feb 11) Suu Kyi Seeks to Discuss Sanctions With West; DPA (08 Feb 11) Myanmar opposition calls for review of sanctions (Roundup)

<sup>14</sup> NLD (08 Feb 11) Sanctions on Burma

<sup>15</sup> NLD (08 Feb 11) Sanctions on Burma

<sup>16</sup> Irrawaddy (20 Nov 10) "If We Want Change, We Have to Make It Happen"

<sup>17</sup> UNDP Rangoon (14 Nov 10) Transcript Press Briefing: Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>18</sup> CNN (14 Nov 10) Aung San Suu Kyi talks to CNN; Reuters (14 Nov 10) Suu Kyi: willing to work with other democratic forces; Mizzima News (18 Nov 10) Dialogue with The Lady, Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>19</sup> CNN (19 Nov 10) Aung San Suu Kyi focuses on future

<sup>20</sup> UNDP Rangoon (14 Nov 10) Transcript Press Briefing: Aung San Suu Kyi; CNN (19 Nov 10) Aung San Suu Kyi focuses on future

<sup>21</sup> VOA (14 Nov 10) Rangoon Diary: Democracy First on Suu Kyi's Agenda for Burma; Washington Post (15 Nov 10) Democracy leader Suu Kyi urges 'real genuine talks' in Burma

<sup>22</sup> CNN (19 Nov 10) Myanmar's Suu Kyi unveils her vision for her homeland

<sup>23</sup> Independent (19 Nov 10) Aung San Suu Kyi: Determined to build on national euphoria – Phoebe Kennedy

<sup>24</sup> Mizzima News (18 Nov 10) Dialogue with The Lady, Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>25</sup> DPA (27 Mar 11) Suu Kyi calls for better relations with Myanmar military

<sup>26</sup> AFP (15 Nov 10) Call for peaceful revolution

<sup>27</sup> RFA (12 Jan 11) 'Inclusiveness' key to reforms – RFA with Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>28</sup> ABC (14 Nov 10) Aung San Suu Kyi wants to engage with military junta; Washington Post (15 Nov 10) Democracy leader Suu Kyi urges 'real genuine talks' in Burma; Global Post (20 Dec 10) Interview: Straight talk from Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>29</sup> DVB (16 Nov 10) Suu Kyi: 'Our door is always open'

<sup>30</sup> Mizzima News (01 Dec 10) Aung San Suu Kyi talks to Mizzima; Japan Today (01 Dec 10) Suu Kyi calls for Japan's continued support for democracy in Myanmar; Statesman (02 Dec 10) Democracy comes first, says Suu Kyi; AFP (13 Dec 10) Suu Kyi to 'persevere' for dialogue with military rulers; Hankyoreh (20 Dec 10) Aung San Suu Kyi calls for support from S.Koreans

<sup>31</sup> VOA (17 Nov 10) Burma's Freed Democracy Leader Seeking Role in Politics; CNN (19 Nov 10) Myanmar's Suu Kyi unveils her vision for her homeland; CNN (19 Nov 10) Aung San Suu Kyi focuses on future; Irrawaddy (20 Nov 10) "If We Want Change, We Have to Make It Happen"; Irrawaddy (25 Nov 10) Two Separate Paths

<sup>32</sup> Irrawaddy (20 Nov 10) "If We Want Change, We Have to Make It Happen"; Irrawaddy (25 Nov 10) Two Separate Paths; Irrawaddy (26 Nov 10) A special interview with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi; Irrawaddy (01 Dec 10) A Visit with Suu Kyi in Her NLD Office

<sup>33</sup> Deutsche Welle (15 Dec 10) Suu Kyi calls on Europe and Germany to be more supportive

<sup>34</sup> UNDP Rangoon (14 Nov 10) Transcript Press Briefing: Aung San Suu Kyi.

<sup>35</sup> UNDP Rangoon (14 Nov 10) Transcript Press Briefing: Aung San Suu Kyi; RFA (12 Jan 11) 'Inclusiveness' key to reforms – RFA with Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>36</sup> Mizzima News (01 Dec 10) Aung San Suu Kyi talks to Mizzima; Al Jazeera and DVB (14 Dec 10) At the Crossroads: Dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi; RFA (12 Jan 11) 'Inclusiveness' key to reforms – RFA with Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>37</sup> RFA (12 Jan 11) 'Inclusiveness' key to reforms – RFA with Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>38</sup> CNN (29 Jan 11) Suu Kyi to Davos: Myanmar must reconnect with world

<sup>39</sup> Reuters (19 Nov 10) Interview - Suu Kyi sees army role in democratic Myanmar; CNN (19 Nov 10) Myanmar's Suu Kyi unveils her vision for her homeland; Reuters (28 Jan 11) Aung San Suu Kyi seeks support for democracy in Myanmar; BBC (28 Jan 11) Davos 2011: Aung San Suu Kyi calls for investment; CNN (29 Jan 11) Suu Kyi to Davos: Myanmar must reconnect with world; Irrawaddy (29 Jan 11) Suu Kyi Asks Investors at Davos to Help Burma

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<sup>40</sup> Mizzima News (01 Dec 10) Aung San Suu Kyi talks to Mizzima; IPS (07 Jan 11) The Lady speaks – Mon Mon Myat with Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>41</sup> Washington Post (15 Nov 10) Democracy leader Suu Kyi urges 'real genuine talks' in Burma; Spiegel (22 Nov 10) 'We Have to Tackle This -- With Peaceful Means'

<sup>42</sup> Asahi Shimbun (26 Nov 10) Suu Kyi says compromise needed

<sup>43</sup> UNDP Rangoon (14 Nov 10) Transcript Press Briefing: Aung San Suu Kyi; Reuters (19 Nov 10) Interview - Suu Kyi sees army role in democratic Myanmar

<sup>44</sup> AFP (17 Dec 10) Myanmar's Suu Kyi rules out party overhaul

<sup>45</sup> Deutsche Welle (15 Dec 10) Suu Kyi calls on Europe and Germany to be more supportive

<sup>46</sup> Reuters (12 Feb 11) Myanmar's Suu Kyi - No reason to lift sanctions

<sup>47</sup> FT (28 Jan 11) Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>48</sup> AFP (17 Dec 10) Myanmar's Suu Kyi rules out party overhaul

<sup>49</sup> Washington Times (28 Nov 10) Suu Kyi seeks to review sanctions; Nation (01 Dec 10) Suu Kyi calls on Thailand

<sup>50</sup> Washington Times (28 Nov 10) Suu Kyi seeks to review sanctions; DVB (01 Dec 10) Opposition leader calls for international unity; Statesman (02 Dec 10) Democracy comes first, says Suu Kyi; (10 Dec 10) Aung San Suu Kyi speaks with US students; Deutsche Welle (15 Dec 10) Suu Kyi calls on Europe and Germany to be more supportive

<sup>51</sup> Al Malaysia (24 Nov 10) Al Malaysia interviews Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>52</sup> IPS (07 Jan 11) The Lady speaks – Mon Mon Myat with Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>53</sup> Mizzima News (7 Dec 10) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi message

<sup>54</sup> Indian Express (24 Nov 10) 'India saddened me... let's talk now'

<sup>55</sup> PTI (08 Dec 10) Suu Kyi for more active role by India for democracy in Myanmar; DVB (08 Dec 10) Suu Kyi unhappy with Indian investment

<sup>56</sup> Mizzima News (18 Nov 10) Dialogue with The Lady, Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>57</sup> UNDP Rangoon (14 Nov 10) Transcript Press Briefing: Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>58</sup> Indian Express (24 Nov 10) 'India saddened me... let's talk now'

<sup>59</sup> IPS (07 Jan 11) The Lady speaks – Mon Mon Myat with Aung San Suu Kyi

<sup>60</sup> Nation (01 Dec 10) Suu Kyi calls on Thailand

<sup>61</sup> Nation (01 Dec 10) Suu Kyi calls on Thailand

<sup>62</sup> AFP (19 Nov 10) US must keep 'eyes open' in Myanmar talks: Suu Kyi

<sup>63</sup> DPA (24 Nov 10) Aung San Suu Kyi calls for united EU stance on Myanmar; Deutsche Welle (15 Dec 10) Suu Kyi calls on Europe and Germany to be more supportive

<sup>64</sup> Deutsche Welle (15 Dec 10) Suu Kyi calls on Europe and Germany to be more supportive

<sup>65</sup> Asahi Shimbun (26 Nov 10) Suu Kyi says compromise needed

## ANATOMY OF THE NEW REGIME

According to the SPDC's 2008 constitution, the 2010 elections seated a bicameral legislature that elected a President as head of state. While the illusion of a democratic presidential system with three branches of government is conveyed, a closer look at the government structure described in the constitution reveals that the military still has a central role in both the legislative and executive branches on both the national and local level. There are only token checks and balances in place between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government.

### Legislative

#### National Parliament (Pyidaungsu Hluttaw)

The National Parliament consists of two Assemblies or Hluttaws:

The People's Assembly (Pyithu Hluttaw) consists of 440 representatives who serve five-year terms.<sup>1</sup>

- 330 representatives are elected on the basis of township and population.
- 110 representatives are Defense Services personnel appointed by the Defense Services Commander-in-Chief.

The National Assembly (Amyotha Hluttaw) consists of 224 representatives who serve five-year terms.<sup>2</sup>

- 168 representatives are elected by each State or Division – 12 from each, including one representative from the one Self-Administered Division and five Self-Administered Zones.
- 56 representatives are Defense Services personnel appointed by the Defense Services Commander-in-Chief.

#### Division and State Parliaments

The unicameral Division and State Parliaments are comprised of the following:

- Two representatives elected from each township in the Divisions or the States, who serve five-year terms;
- Representatives serving five-year terms elected from each national race constituting 0.1% or more of the national population that are not allocated a Division/State or a Self-Administered Zone/Region in the Division/State in question;
- Defense Services personnel nominated by the Defense Services Commander-in-Chief to

comprise up to 25% of the total number of elected representatives.<sup>3</sup>

### Executive

#### Presidency

The Presidency consists of one President and two Vice-Presidents, elected by the Presidential Electoral College. The President and the Vice-Presidents serve five-year terms.<sup>4</sup>

The Presidential Electoral College is composed of three groups from the National Parliament:

- The 330 elected representatives from the People's Assembly;
- The 168 elected representatives from the National Assembly; and
- The 166 appointed Defense Services personnel from both Assemblies.

Each group elects a Vice-President. Then, the entire National Parliament elects the President from among the three Vice-Presidents.<sup>5</sup> Presidential responsibilities include:

- Appointing Union Ministers including the Chief Ministers of the States and Divisions;
- Granting pardons and granting amnesty based on the recommendations of the NDSC;
- Appointing diplomats;
- Establishing relations with foreign countries;
- Entering into international treaties subject to the consent of the National Parliament;
- Calling special sessions of parliament;
- Issuing laws between sessions of parliament;
- Taking military action in coordination with the NDSC; and
- Declaring war with the approval of the National Parliament.

#### Ministries

The President appoints Union Ministers. However, the constitution dictates that the President must obtain a "list of suitable Defense Services personnel" from the Defense Services Commander-in-Chief for the following ministries:

- Minister of Defense;
- Minister of Home Affairs;
- Minister of Border Affairs.<sup>6</sup>

### Defense Services

The supreme head of the military is the Defense Services Commander-in-Chief. The President appoints the Defense Services Commander-in-Chief with the proposal and approval of the National Defense and Security Council.<sup>7</sup> However, as the 11-member Council is comprised of at least six Defense Service personnel, the appointment of the Commander-in-Chief is likely to be a mere rubber-stamp.

### National Defense and Security Council

The National Defense and Security Council is comprised of the following persons:

- (a) President;
- (b) Vice-President #1;
- (c) Vice-President #2;
- (d) Speaker of the People's Assembly;
- (e) Speaker of the National Assembly;
- (f) Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services;
- (g) Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services;
- (h) Minister for Defense;
- (i) Minister for Foreign Affairs;
- (j) Minister for Home Affairs;
- (k) Minister for Border Affairs.<sup>8</sup>

The constitution does not define the day-to-day role of the National Defense and Security Council. However, the Council takes a lead role in a State of Emergency, wherein it exercises the powers of the legislature, executive, and judiciary before the Parliaments are again formed.<sup>9</sup> Of the total number, four persons will be appointed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services and one Vice-President chosen by Defense Services personnel, making it likely that at least six members of the Defense Services will sit on the NDSC.

### Judicial

#### Supreme Court

The Supreme Court is comprised of seven to 11 members, including the Chief Justice. The President has the authority to appoint the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and, in coordination with the Chief Justice, appoint the remaining Justices.<sup>10</sup> While the National Parliament must ratify the President's selections, they have "no right to refuse" unless it can clearly prove that the President's choice does not meet the constitutional requirements prescribed.<sup>11</sup> On the Supreme Court, judges must be 50 or older and must retire at age 70.

### State and Division High Courts

State and Regional High Courts are comprised of three to seven members. The President, in coordination with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Chief Minister of the Division or State concerned, nominates the Chief Justice of the High Court of the Division or State.<sup>12</sup> The Chief Minister of the Division or State concerned, in coordination with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court nominates Judges of the High Court of the Division or State.<sup>13</sup>

In both cases, the Division or State Parliaments must ratify the President's selections, they have "no right to refuse" unless it can clearly prove that the President's nominee does not meet the constitutional requirements prescribed.<sup>14</sup> The Division and State High Courts have the authority over courts at the District; Self-Administered Division and Zone; and Township level.<sup>15</sup> Judges serving on the State/Division high courts must be older than 45 and must retire at age 65.

### Constitutional Tribunal

The Constitutional Tribunal rules on constitutional questions and is comprised of nine members: three chosen by the President and three chosen by the Speakers of the People's Assembly and National Assembly respectively.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 109 (a) and (b)

<sup>2</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 141 (a) and (b)

<sup>3</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 161

<sup>4</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 61

<sup>5</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 60

<sup>6</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 232 (b, ii)

<sup>7</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 342

<sup>8</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 201

<sup>9</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 427

<sup>10</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 299

<sup>11</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 299

<sup>12</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 308

<sup>13</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 308

<sup>14</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 308

<sup>15</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 314

<sup>16</sup> Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 320-322

## ALTSEAN-BURMA

### VISION

We are committed to a free and democratic Burma where all the people enjoy human rights in accordance with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We are dedicated to the creation of a society of empowered individuals and communities in charge of their own destiny.

This can be realized through genuine national reconciliation, regional cooperation and mutual respect.

### MISSION

We are a regional network engaged in advocacy, campaigns and capacity-building to establish a free and democratic Burma.

We work with the democracy movement and its supporters to produce resources and create opportunities for:

- Building and strengthening strategic relationships among key networks and organizations from Burma, ASEAN and the international community.
- Implementing innovative strategies that are responsive to emerging needs and urgent developments.
- Inspiring and building confidence for empowerment among activists, particularly women and youth from the different ethnic groups of Burma.

### VALUES

- Adherence to the fundamental principles of human rights guides all our actions. In striving for a free and democratic Burma we are committed to:
- Reform through non-violent means.
- Non-discrimination, particularly with regard to gender equality and ethnic diversity.
- Idealism in thought and realism in action.
- We believe in the importance of education for the purposes of empowerment, especially for women.
- We value creativity, innovation and adaptability in achieving our goals.

### GOALS

- Contributing to efforts to achieve democratic transition in Burma.
- Advancing ASEAN reforms that will uphold democracy and human rights amongst members, particularly Burma.
- Contributing to a more effective regional Burma movement.
- Supporting meaningful participation of women and youth from Burma in the movement.
- Enhancing capacity-building programs to address the human resources and strategic needs of Burmese organizations.
- Promoting mutually reinforcing advocacy messages and strategies by the Burma movement.
- Consolidating and strengthening the effectiveness of the secretariat.

### LEARN MORE

Altsean-Burma publishes a monthly review of events in Burma, the "Burma Bulletin", as well periodic briefers on emerging issues. Have them delivered to your inbox by emailing [publications@altsean.org](mailto:publications@altsean.org).

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Cover Photo Montage from  
Uncredited: The “civilian” generals  
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# ALTSEAN BURMA

ALTERNATIVE ASEAN NETWORK ON BURMA  
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