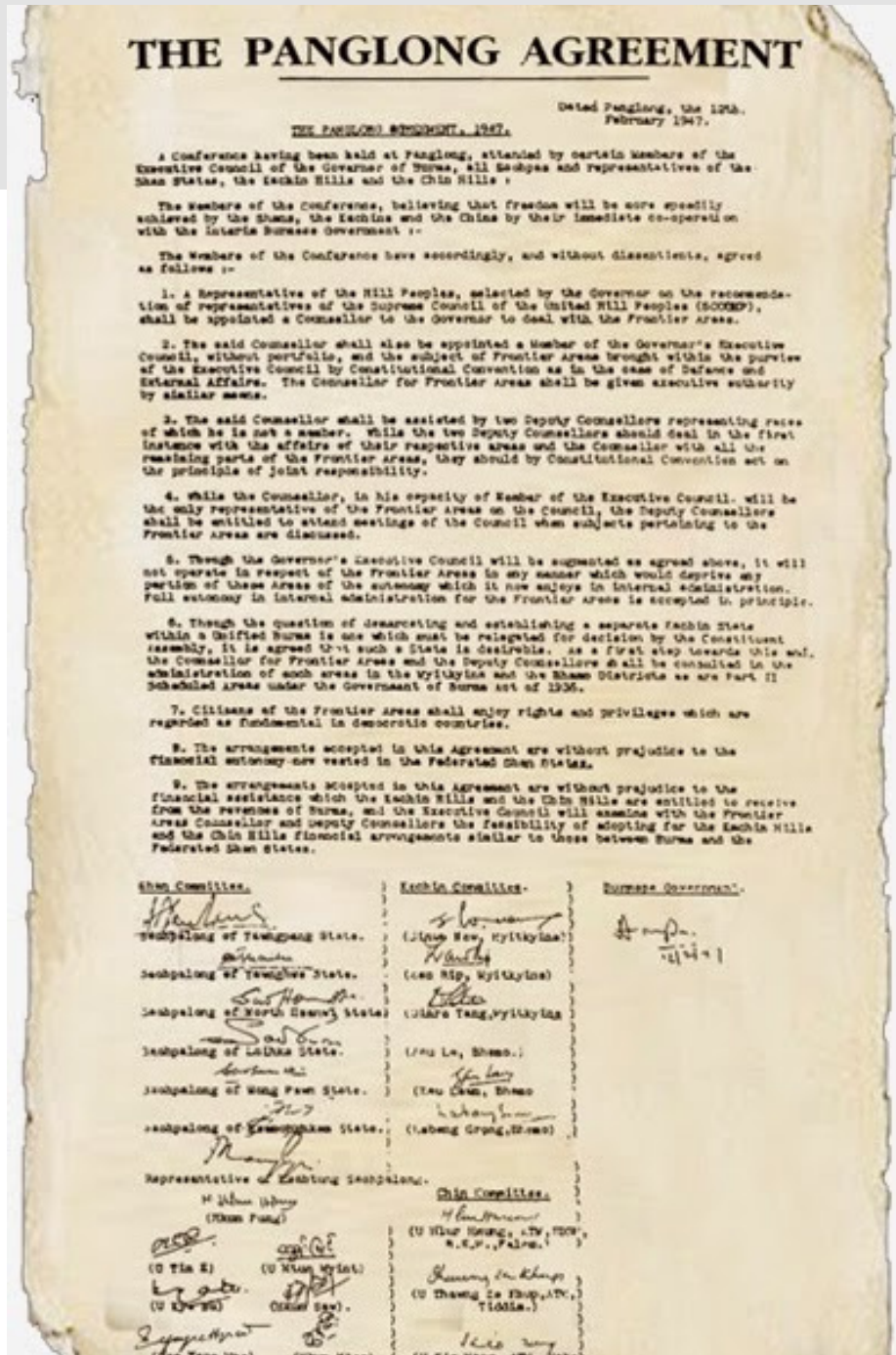


CONSIDERATIONS OF ELECTORAL PROMISES OF MAINLAND-BASED POLITICAL PARTIES FOR THE 2020 GENERAL ELECTION



Considerations of Electoral Promises of Mainland-Based Political Parties for the 2020 General Election

As the 2020 General Election is drawing near, the electoral promises of the mainland-based political parties for the 2020 General Election have been collected. The political parties which are going to contest in the upcoming 2020 election shares their thoughts at respective sectors as followed;

- Political Electoral Promises
- Electoral Promises for Public Policy
- Electoral Promises for Rule of Law and Judiciary Sector
- Electoral Promises for Structural Reform
- Economical Electoral Promises
- Social Electoral Promises
- Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations
- Electoral Promises for Federal Powers and States' Rights
- Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

Democratic Party (Myanmar), Democratic Party of National Politics, Democratic Party for a New Society, National Democratic Force Party, National Development Party, National League for Democracy, National Unity Party, People's Party, People's Pioneer Party and Union Nationalities Democracy Party are the parties which participated in the study.

The views expressed in this study are collected through primary interviews with the spokespersons or the leaders from the selected political parties and secondary data by media monitoring from December 2019 to February 2020, thus are not necessarily those of the trustees, board of directors, staff members of Inya Economics or an affiliated organization/members with Inya Economics.

Democratic Party (Myanmar)

Political Electoral Promises

- Our first priority is to exercise check-and-balance when we are in the legislature. We prioritize to have stability, instead of progress. Politically, the executive is enjoying having more power and better rights, but not the public. Specifically speaking, the right to recall is the rights of the people and the right of voters.
- As the existing constitution needs to be amended, we want expert politicians and lawyers to be in the legislature. It gives democracy only 40% and 60 % needs to be amended – only 40 percent is public rights but the rest 60 percent was taken by the government.
- Article 396 mentions the right to recall, but what Article 397 states is mandatory. Among the five pillars, the first one is the government, then the judiciary, the legislature, then the media, and the people. Even the media pillar is weak.
- Sovereignty is in the hands of the people according to Article 4 of the constitution. But it is only on paper and it does not give the right to recall. Article 38 (A) serves the right to elect and the right to recall. The right to recall is not given in practice.
- Article 451 limits the right to sue even the executive and the legislature when they do not carry out their responsibilities. As a result, people cannot exercise check-and-balance. Amending this Article, people will have the right to sue the government and the legislature.
- Article 21 (D) paves the way to enact the rights and duties of the people if necessary. According to this Article, the constitution must enact the necessary laws in order to make every citizen, regardless of where they live, enjoy the citizenship rights.
- Next ones to be amended are Article 219, Article 108, Article 209 (A) and (B), and Pyidaungsu Hluttaw Act (A) and (B). It does not mention any regular constitutional term for UEC. Whenever a new government comes into power, it can constitute the UEC, which indirectly paves the way to take sides for the Commission. Hence, like having no impeachment in Justice of the Union until they are 70 years old, the Commission can fully accomplish its duties and responsibilities without any governmental intervention for long term - like the Chief Justice of the Union and Judges of the Supreme Court of the Union.
- Another important one is the Constitutional Tribunal – it consists of three members chosen by the President, three members by the Pyithu Hluttaw and three members chosen by the Amyotha Hluttaw. Hence if the only one party comes to power, the Tribunal will become

that party's desire. Hence our suggestion is to constitute this Tribunal without any governmental intervention just like the judicial system. Moreover, we support the PR system in the elections.

Electoral Promises for Public Policy

- To have disable-friendly public transportation, pavements, road-crossing system and infrastructure for the disable people.
- To have the balance between income and tax.

Electoral Promises for Rule of Law and Judiciary Sector

- To implement Rule of Law and Judicial System
- To have fair punishment for the crime committed (Eg, fire while charging phone, car accident because of car tires).

Electoral Promises for Structural Reforms

- It is related to the legislature, the executive, public services, the judiciary and the constitution.

Economic Electoral Promises

- In an economic way, we accept Keynes theory as in democratic socialist.
- The government should have mid-term and long-term projects. In economic policy, the important ones would be managed by the government - some of them by the private, and some are by the government and some are by the private. Corporate culture in rural areas - corporate farming and farming alone result in quite differently. The merchants cannot play the price of the fruits produced by corporate farming. Hence, we demand successful corporate farming, but should be free from the government's control like in Europe. The reason for this farming being unsuccessful here is because it is only in theory: they cannot manage their property.
- In setting up industrial zones, each respective company must have a project plan that has a housing system for the workers, for the squatters and those from the other areas. We will reduce the tax paid by an industry, which provides housing for all of its workers (e.g. if the industry has 20 workers, it must provide housing for all of them). Besides, the people living in areas of the industrial zones must be prioritized in the recruitment, just like the companies need to employ the disabled people. Public companies are to be prioritized.

- The party will contribute to the development of the agricultural and livestock high schools. Technical schools should be in heavy industrial zones. Technical high schools and the industries can cooperate where students can do their on-job training in the industries – where they can practically learn like welding. Then, big companies will give stipends to the outstanding students in the industrial high schools, and then they would employ these students at their company. More vocational training schools are required for the development.
- In big cities, we want agricultural and livestock high schools, fish production here, and pickled leaves and apple production in Chin State. As soon as there are more agriculture and livestock high schools, all nationalities do not need to worry about jobs hunting outside the country. As farming is seasonal plantation for three seasons – when there is no work in the farm, farmers become jobless. For girls, they can have their home-weaving - weaving their own looms at home – which indirectly develops Myanmar traditions and economics. Then, girls do not need to migrate abroad. In this way, they can be middle-class citizens, and later they will become interested in politics.
- Banks need to give loans with mid-term and long-term plans because the newer in business will not be economically stable with short-term. Hence, they need banks which can give loan money at minimum 10 years, to 20 years or then to 30 years.
- Whether or not the taxes go into the union budget needs to be monitored. Whether it is seeping, if so, the holes must be mended.
- Event tax, alcohol tax and cigarette tax! Tax must be managed. If the more taxes are paid, he or she will be certified by a degree. The government should establish a fund in order to distribute the collected taxes in education and health. because mostly, poor people do not get access to education and health.

Social Electoral Promises

- Mobile phone tax will be spent in education.
- Alcohol and cigarette taxes will be allocated in health care.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Planning, Finance and Industry are related to each other. Our country will become more powerful when it gets more developed. In the

military, only when it possesses sophisticated weapons, it will become more powerful. These three are the main stools.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- Regarding lands, this constitution exercises the state ownership of the lands, the water and the air. It must be amended gradually. These are the tasks that must be done with great care.

Democratic Party of National Politics

Political Electoral Promises

- The party will exercise a multi-party democracy system practicing a national policy which is based on the interests of all Myanmar ethnic nationalities.
- The party will cooperate with civil society organizations to protect all people from any kind of danger that may befall. The party will actively take action for the sake of security which maintains peace within society.
- The party will work together with military, patriotic forces and political parties for national unity.
- The party will protect the culture and custom of all ethnicities by virtue of nationalism.

Promises concerning Governance

- The party will, in a practical way, implement a governance system which will focus on the interest of people.
- The party will implement a governance system which holds responsibility and accountability by law.
- The party will focus on the social security of the people.

Electoral Promises concerning Public Policy

- The party will strive for job opportunities for young graduates according to their educational level. The party will invite foreign investment and open workshops, factories, and seek opportunities for the citizens to get the jobs they deserve based on their skills and qualifications. The party will bring citizens who went abroad and work in poor conditions back to the country and help them to earn well in the country.

Electoral Promises concerning Rule of Law and Reformation of Judiciary Sector

- The party will apply a code of conduct that focuses on moral reform.
- The party will firmly practise the policy of "No One is Above the Law" and will make sure that every citizen is equal before the law.
- The judiciary sector shall be free to execute in accordance with laws. The party will promote the legal knowledge of people.

Military

- The party will exercise "Single Army as the only national armed force" policy.
- The party will not allow any foreign armed forces to station in Myanmar territory. If the national sovereignty and safety of the citizens are in danger, the military will defend, with citizens and national grand strategy if necessary.
- The party will help ethnic armed forces to disarm and cooperate for national and regional development.

Electoral Promises concerning System Reformation

- The party will strive to make laws that will protect the interest of all nationals.
- The party will abolish or amend the laws that do not contribute any interest to the people.
- The party will amend, abolish and bypass the laws concerning state security and national security.

Electoral Promises Concerning Economics

- The party will scrutinize the taxation that will burden the civil servants and the people.
- The party will help to develop public, private, and foreign banks within the country.
- The party will promote the production of industrial raw materials and crops to increase the production of food products and development of the industrial sector in accordance with market economy.

- The party will prioritize the stabilization of currency value in order to stabilize commodity prices.
- The party will develop infrastructure to promote foreign investment.
- The party will prioritize agricultural and livestock products to get reasonable prices at the international market.
- The party will promote small and medium-scale enterprises.
- The party will increase the production of electricity.
- The party will strive to help banks to advance the banking system to international level, by the establishment of a firm and internationally-recognized monetary system to prevent the currency depreciation of Myanmar Kyat (MMK) and inflation.

Social Electoral Promises

- The party will implement vocational training, technology and career education programs in order to develop the skills of workers and farmers in their respective fields.
- The party will protect and conserve the traditional culture, literature and customs of ethnicities that are in danger of rapid diminishing.
- The party will prioritize the development and security of women, children and elderly people.
- The party will work for social welfare – rights which all nationals can enjoy fundamental rights which cover health, education, unemployment allowances and pension for jobless and homeless people.

Electoral Promises Concerning Education

- The party will write a new policy to develop Myanmar's education sector.
- The party will attempt to grant scholarships and send scholarship winning students abroad in order to learn and attain higher technological education.
- The party will promote the standard of general workers, farmers and vocational education. Budget for the education sector will be increased.

Electoral Promises concerning Health

- The Party will work for qualified basic health care for all citizens.
- The Party will prioritize increasing the number of health workers in order to balance patient- health practitioner ratio. Budget for the health sector will be increased.
- The party will work seriously for the development of the traditional medicine sector.

Electoral Promises concerning Foreign Policy and International Relations

- The party will not accept but respond against and repel the invasion, provocation and the threat of any country or organization that infringe on Myanmar's Independence and sovereignty.
- The party will practise active, independent and non-aligned foreign policy.
- Based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the party aims for world peace and friendly relations among the states.
- The party will build friendly relations among all states and, particularly, will promote firm and good relations with neighbouring countries.
- The party will actively provide assistance to activities of international organizations such as the United Nations, ASEAN and BIMSTEC.
- The party will, in accordance with our national security policy, exercise the engagement in strategic alliance --launching joint war games military assistance and exchange of modern technology -- with the friendly organizations and the countries.

Democratic Party for A New Society

Political Electoral Promises

- The main important point is to have the constitution which assures the Standard of Federal Democracy whether or not the 2008 constitution is amended or rewritten.)
- Politically speaking, we must try to broaden the space of Democracy and, secondly, we must try to change the essence of the constitution. Thirdly, we will try to bring peace. According to party discipline, there will be no peace, unless there is no fair and square Democracy and National Equality. At this point, we will be working together with the alliances who are on the same page with us.

- 25 percent was the biggest hardship for transforming Democracy, so making these 25 percent to go back to their previous position is our main priority.
- As there is no peace in the country, we are aiming to work for Peace, Democracy, Human Rights, Federal Union and Social Justice.
- The people hope for the constitution to be amended or rewritten. If the current 2008 Constitution makes it impossible, we need to raise our voice at the Hluttaw on how the people's demands can be fulfilled if we are elected.
- We might or might not get the chance to change the whole, but we must have rights to raise voice on Self Determination and Equality for the ethnic people.

Electoral Promises for Public Policy

- The first star represents “workers” – there is labor law for the worker – who has the rights to raise the voice on the injustice cases. It must enact an annual basis salary of workers, which should be enough for his/her family. (But this annual basis salary cannot be set once for all, because it depends on annual price changes of goods) There must be a law enacted between employees and employers. Existing laws should protect the basic rights of the worker.
- Second one is related to farmers. The primary importance is social justice. There are laws in the agriculture Sector – land policy, Farmer Protection Law. The definition of the “farmer” in the Farmer Protection Law seems that the farmers are the ones who have to give their farm land to the land owners. To change this basic fact, it needs a Farmer Union and then make a voice at the Hluttaw, but it is not possible at this situation with the 2008 constitution. Why we bring about “Social Justice” is because there is not social justice everywhere, so we must push to broaden the space for Democracy.

Economic Electoral Promises

- We mainly want to stress economic inequality, discrimination bases on inequality - at some cases, the workers have been exploited on their workforce.
- Another one is that, when the investment comes, there is no induction to new investment while farmers are already losing their farms.
- Economic Crisis is because of having no policy. In some cases, there are policies, laws and regulations, but people do not put them into practice. There is a problem. We want to stress it, too.

Social Electoral Promises

- Party has a gender quota. When saying about gender, lesbian's participation is also important. According to social justice point of view, irreligion is also someone's belief. It is meaningless if politics is limited due to the religions. In our party, there is no political limitation for gay/ lesbian. If they really want to actively participate in the party, they are welcomed.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- We have the consideration on foreign policy, which is based on human rights – taking consideration on equality, justice, unity.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- According to the 2008 constitution, in Schedule V and in Schedule II, it provides the states legislation list for natural resources. According to study that we conduct, it is moving toward Fiscal Federalism, but what was found is that the central take control all however it was defined in 1947 and 1974 constitutions. This is the social structural inequality.
- We must have strong policies in our country for natural resources and investment. Otherwise, we can just highlight it. Thus, we need to broaden the space for Democracy.
- We must have a compensation plan and give recompense lands.

National Democratic Force Party

Political Electoral Promises

- If the electoral system is based on the population – PR (Proportional Representation), we can amend it without having the referendum. The current electoral system FPTP is not fair. If we want to go to the Federal, we cannot get it without PR because PR includes representation. It needs to amend the electoral system. It also needs to amend Articles 436 and 261 and Power Sharing part in Chapter 5. (When we were at Hluttaw, we amended resources sharing but it was not approved.) If we want to amend, we have to amend power sharing. It needs true representation. Federalism cannot happen as long as the majority take more. We have to amend article 261 and Chapter 5.

- The main objective is to include minority representation and to be Multi-party Democracy, then it can go to the Federalism system. Almost all do not like being influenced by one party. We are going to form a coalition government. Thus, we submitted PR. As there are mainly 7 major ethnic groups, our objective is to be multi- racial, to include minor ethnic groups in building the Federal Union. There must include minority races and majority races.

Electoral Promises for Public Policy

- We will strive for the socioeconomic development of the people.

Electoral Promises for Rule of Law and Judiciary Sector

- To have free and fair lead of the judiciary

Electoral Promises for Structural Reform

- We will adopt the system which leads to having multi-party Pyidaungsu Hluttaw

Economic Electoral Promises

- Our policy is market economy but we don't go directly to market economy. Firstly, we will go to a minimum market economy. If the market economy is opened directly, it can cause social gaps.
- For the development of the country, farmers need to be middle class. So, we prioritized the farming and farmers sector. No.1 is that every farmer must possess farm land. Their life security must be strong.
- The purchasers open their purchasing center and the price of rice must be regarded exactly. The farmers should have direct access to the market. Minimum Market Economy, as the medium, is not happening only at the upper level, but also at ground level.
- No.1 is that it relies on agriculture for economic development. Thus, the main economic agricultural product should be value-added and FDI Law will be amended to be aligned to this modern day.

Social Electoral Promises

- No.2 is Education. Saying about education, we tried to legalize compulsory middle education. But we could not do it. We can legalize only primary education. It is not enough just regulating compulsory middle-education, we also have to provide training for the teachers for it.

- We have a policy for the equality of workers.
- People should be provided for their living. Our promises are based on their needs and how to improve their agricultural products. The promises for the workers is to work for their rights and to create job opportunities for them. The promise for farmers is to promote the agricultural sector. It is the party's policy.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- There is active and independent nationalism. Nationalism is State' security.
- There are active and independent foreign policies. "Independent" means "Not being influenced" by anyone, and working for "National Interest and National Security". We are always against it, if it is again our national interest and national security.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- Regarding land issues, we will formulate population policy with accurate data.
- Regarding environmental and natural resources, it should be conserved with the proper extraction.

National Development Party

Political Electoral Promises

- As an ultimate objective, in politics, we will strive for a democracy system which would be suitable for the union and balancing executive, legislation and judiciary as in check and balance systems.
- We prefer the constitution to be amended which is acceptable by international standard. To speak more specifically, for constitutional amendment, if our candidates get into Hluttaw, we will support the amendment of something necessary and effective, something which is actually required for citizens but does not cross the line of national security.
- In constitutional amendment, we will definitely convey which part should be amended and how it should be amended through representatives if we won seats in Hluttaw. Since it is Democracy, it is the policy of people, the policy of ethnicities. But we will reduce central control and practice a people-centered approach. It will depend on the situation of local ethnicity. When we implement it, preventing the situation from being carried out by the sole armed group, we should discuss and negotiate the needs of local people.

Electoral Promises for Public Policy

- The municipal laws are already developed in the Constitution but ineffective in practice. In that case, we need to consider how to amend them. The laws should deliver service and protect people and it is not to support the respective regional government. Mother law is established in accordance with such democracy standards as Executive, Legislation and Judiciary. It should be people-centered. It should not be a law manipulated by respective governments for their own interest.

Electoral Promises concerning Rule of Law and Reformation of Legal Sector

- In the legal sector, we will work for more effective laws which benefit the people and correct the judiciary system.
- We will practice the policy of “No one is above the law.”

Electoral Promises for Structural Reform

- We need to bring back the good bureaucracy system where staff supervise each other according to their ranks, and systematic mutual respect between staff. We need to bring back democratic aspects like unity within the department. We need to reform bureaucracy. Good governance besides good government; we want to improve it to the level of Cooperative government. It is more like Cooperative Federalism than Dual Federalism.

Economic Electoral Promises

- In the economic sector, we prepare to establish a successful national interest by practicing, not privileged, but transparent and competitive market economy with skillful professionals.
- In the agricultural sector, we promise that the original land owner would get their confiscated land back. The agricultural law will be revised according to the will of farmers. The party will find a market for agricultural products where they can enjoy deserved benefits.
- In the labour sector, the party will strive for poverty alleviation, improve and increase skills, create job opportunities and make sure people enjoy as many benefits as they work.
- We will discuss how to increase the budget and how to distribute the current budget more effectively. Not only the representatives will effectively voice out and ask for more budget from the government, but also the party will suggest and discuss with the government.

Social Electoral Promises

- Regarding education, we will make policy in accordance with ASEAN standard and implement free education from primary to high-school.
- In the health sector, we will implement public health care as a free health system.
- The party will practice an effective free healthcare system while increasing the local production of medical products.
- Next one to promote is the traditional medicine sector. We will improve the mobile clinics to the rural areas.
- We will promote mobile health care services and infrastructure, as well as increase the budget for the education and health sector.
- In the healthcare system, we include disables and old age since they are people who should be cared for. They are also one of the resources for the country.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- In international relations, we decided to establish a neutral foreign policy based on national interest.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- Natural resources in Myanmar are the common property. We will distribute profits to the respective region according to their budget allocation, and will increase the budget for development projects of their region. We agree that they should get more shares of the budget. This money should be also used to support such detailed necessities as water, electricity and restrooms. That is providing not only environmental and cleaning supports but also other necessary supports to related regions and states.

National League for Democracy

Political Electoral Promises

- The promises we made during the 2015 election are still on-going, thus we will be carrying on these outstanding works. We are going to keep these promises. Next one is what was included in the President's speech: we are striving for the development of the people in their daily life. Currently, our effort does not focus only on the 2020 election. We are aiming to have good governance in our country. We consider that the government's bureaucratic mechanism is not strong yet. We want to promote the private sector. While promoting the private sector, we are going to take staff from the government mechanism to the private

sector and that will leave professionals/experts in a supervision role. At that time, we can give enough salary to them. Beyond 2020, we are hoping that we can build a strong government and staff can follow the democratic transition.

- As the military's role incidentally includes in current politics, our party considers that we must go by majority vote. Indeed, our party depends on our leader. In the next five or ten years, it will be contemporary politics. At that time, we see that our country will practice a multi-parties democratic system. Currently, we need to change the political role of the military. Later, the more qualified the public, the more they can participate in politics.
- Defense institutions must be under the absolute control of the civilian government. This is our primary goal.
- There is no proportional representation in any country. It is not possible to have proportional representation from the rest 75%, while the Military takes 25 %. The governments which use proportional representation are always weak. It can be discussed only when 25% does not belong to the Military.

Economic Electoral Promises

- Our focus is the market economy. Because of the market economy, we have to depend on foreign investment as a result of the low local investment within the country. Inviting foreign investments, we have a policy for foreign Investors to take responsibility and accountability, which also includes what the UN lays down as it already includes getting agreement from local people and protecting the environment. The investment should be mutual interest.
- Through the market economy, we can promote each citizen's capacity. There are State-owned Enterprises, which are politically linked. We will make changes to the military owned companies based on the profits they made.

Social Electoral Promises

- We strive for the development of the people, socially and economically. Some issues are also required to be regulated by laws, especially if it is related to religion and ethnic issues. As these issues are so sensitive and untouchable, there can be conflicts even if we manage democratically. We are saying this in order to prevent the unrest caused by the religious nationalists.
- Social welfare and insurance are the cases which need to be implemented systematically, we will continue working on this based on the public participation and their trust.

- We have a policy to prioritize the youths and ethnic people. We are trying to give them capacity building training to become qualified young people and women. Possessing equal qualifications, women and youths will be more favored. We believe politically well-experienced people are likely to be given higher priority.
- Concerning gender equality – our Myanmar traditions, even our religion, do not exclude female representation or participation. The constitution mentions that the government must take care of the women, children and the disables. This is also our policy. However, we are more likely to prioritize building the more important infrastructure.
- We practice equal rights under the current political situations.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- We always practice active and independent foreign policy. We need to be careful not to rely on any country. But we have to rely on our neighboring country - China in some cases. Thus the State Counsellor tries to build good relations with other countries as well. But due to the current political situation where the Rakhine issues got us international pressure, it pushes us to the other side. It was not the policy but because of the situation.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- We are handling the land issues by setting up deadlines. But we need to be really careful as the price of the land gets increased more than ever before, especially those near urban areas. And people become greedier, but we handle it according to the enacted land law. Hopefully, all of those problems will be solved in the next government term.

National Unity Party

Political Electoral Promises

- In accordance with the Party Policy, the NUP aims “Heading from the Ethnic Unity to the National Solidarity”, for the good of the people, mainly farmers, workers, and rural citizens.
- Land laws must be put into practice. Landowners must receive compensation. It also needs to make farmers to be really interested in agriculture – both mentally and physically.
- Land use policy must be established.
- Ethnic culture must be emphasized.
- Speaking of Federalism, the NUP desires proportional representation (PR). In the establishment of the Federal Union, sectarianism must be stepped aside. In the 2008

Constitutional Law, there are the articles that must be amended like Article 261, those required to obtain more than 75 percent of the votes, and its related articles of resource sharing and finance sharing. But it should be Constitutional Supremacy. The party will not definitely accept unconstitutional behaviors.

- Freedom of Information and Freedom of Expression is essential to Democracy. Media also needs to follow the ethics and norms of media conduct. Our party is open to criticism, thus it will not sue.

Electoral Promises for Public Policy

- We are totally against corruption.

Electoral Promises for Rule of Law and Judiciary Sector

- We want to amend the outdated laws that have existed since colonial period, and the laws on farmers.
- The Ministry of Ethnic Affairs can draft and propose a bill for the ethnic minorities that are in danger of disappearing.

Economic Electoral Promises

- As in Social Market Economy, the redistribution of the wealth gained the market mechanism, we the NUP are aiming for development with equity and development with justice.
- Politically, diplomatically and commercially, Trade must be stabilized (especially rice). As young people migrate abroad and engage in agriculture apathetically, food security can be affected later.
- Implementing the Fourth Industrial Revolution may worsen the unemployment rate. Our current situation requires a policy to invite foreign investment, applying labor-intensive.
- Having CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) on the one hand, and deforestation on the other, local people should not protest every project. Resource sharing must be functioned.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- Non-aligned and active foreign policy will be practised. Not just within ASEAN, diplomatic reach needs to be broadened.

People's Party

Political Electoral Promises

- It needs to amend the 2008 Constitution. At the same time, we must do what we can perform under the 2008 Constitution, but there has been no vigorous attempt to do that since 2015. This is our prime policy.
- We need to have an effective cooperation and coordination mechanism between the Union level Ministries, between the Ministries at Union level and at State/Regional level.
- It needs to clearly define the functions of State Government, those of Regional Government and those of Union Government. These are what can be done without having the 2008 Constitution amended.
- It needs to have a vision on how to operate the state structure and this vision needs to be realized by creating a proper mechanism.
- We support the Constitutional Amendment, but it needs to be pragmatic. Undeniably, the 2008 Constitution cannot be amended without the support of the military. This is a fact of life. Thus, it can be a waste of time as well. On the other hand, there are many other urgent things which can be done without having amended the constitution, for example, ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC).
- We should have the National Strategy, which is more like the frame, mentioning what will be done and how it will be functioned for the development of specific sectors (Eg, economic sector). But we all need to discuss and get agreement on this frame. After that, we can work on that frame regardless of who leads the government.
- After 2020, we need to have the National Unity Government. The 2020 Election result may be a landslide of a single party or victory of multiple parties. Whether they are from the winning party or from the opposition party, scholars and politicians should be included in the national unity government. The most important thing is that the elected parties and persons must accept the need of the national strategy and they must try to implement it by forming the national unity government.

Electoral Promises for Structure Reform

- It needs to reform the police department; which structure is not in shape.

Economic Electoral Promises

- There is no efficient mechanism on how to spend the budget. So, more importantly, it needs to be defined clearly.
- The Agriculture Sector is the most important one for the country. Likewise, in the SME sector, there is no comprehensive policy, plan and mechanism for the coordinated works. We do not have enough capital and technical expertise, and we do not have sufficient market access and management strategy. Thus, we need to have plans to have them all, at least we need to be well-coordinated.
- When trading with China, we need to make border trade to be normal trade, conforming with the laws and the contracts – it needs to be amended not to be in conditionality with the irreciprocal preference of China (As it depends on China - whether to open the market or close).
- The Agriculture Sector is the main sector for the country. If the agricultural sector improves and the GDP of the respective sector increases, the farmers will definitely get more benefits and their lives will surely be better. So, basically we intend to promote and make the sector developed with the primary objective of improving the living standards of the farmers. Another thing is that we need to export more types of commodities, as currently there is only rice, corn and peas. We can do Township/ Village Enterprises TVE, which is Agri-based-SME. Through the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor, we need to think about what can export more to China.
- In our country, the most are small-scale farmers, and so it is essential to consider how to improve their lives. For instance, in other countries, when farmers keep the paddy at the go-down, they receive the receipt and with this receipt, they can have loans from banks. Until now in Myanmar, paddy price happens to be lower at the harvest time, and on the other hand, farmers are in urgent need of cash at the harvest time. So if we manage the above mentioned go-down system, the farmers can sell at their preferred price. To do that, it needs to discuss with farmers and the experts.

Social Electoral Promises

- We need to formulate and install the Health Insurance System which covers basic health care for the public.
- We must consider two factors for the education sector – short-term plan and long-term plan. Short-term plan would include how to implement for development of the respective sectors and how to promote and upgrade the Human Resource Development system for the sake of more experts for various sectors in the future. In the long-term plan, we also need to prepare for the future - for example, AI.
- It can be basically said that we are social democrats, as we accept that we need to work for social welfare. But we cannot let the private sector work alone, instead that the government needs to give effective leadership for the required social change.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- Myanmar has been practising the non-aligned foreign policy. We need to have a good relationship not only with neighboring countries but also with American and the EU. Based on the current situation, we also need to show our respect and practice on human rights like other countries.
- At the same time, we need to keep our identity, as the country is situated between two large countries China and India, we need to keep sovereignty. Myanmar has a lot of indigenous ethnic groups, and so it is already a big challenge for our country to build the proper federal state. If we give an indigenous ethnic status to any group who had lived for long in the country due to migration, it will be like adding fuel to the fire.

People's Pioneer Party

Political Electoral Promises

- The objective aims at the economy, targeting to promote the socio-economic life of the people. We find out what barriers are and what the gaps between the linkages of the policies, as it needs to link the policies to put into practice.
- Regarding the Federal in the political sector, the party addressed it in a constructive way.
- There has to be a policy package as we need to consider the plans for each sector and the responsibility we are going to take.
- The party considers peace and ethnic topics in the policy package, including the reduction of the central control.

- As a political party, anticorruption is mandatory. The party first had consultation with professional experts in drafting the policy.
- The rights and authorities of regional and state governments are not fair in those schedules. It cannot be continued in this way – at least, Region/State Hluttaw should have the chance to form their respective regional and state governments. Even if this extent cannot be done, the party wants Schedule 1 moved to Schedule 2 as there is a huge gap between the rights of regional/state governments and the Union Government.
- Regarding peace, we want to go for genuine Federal Democracy – where still many problems lie between ethnic armed forces and the military. Therefore, it is undeniable that we have to recognize both of their existence and significance. Negotiation is the way to resolve it. We want to go to the Federal through negotiation. We also support the rights of the ethnic groups to stipulate their own languages and customs, self-determination in their respective regions and states.

Electoral Promises for Public Policy

- Myanmar needs to have right privatization in the appropriate sector. It should be planned after having situational analysis. There are some areas which cannot be privatized - for example, public health, vaccination and school health care. In this situation, the government should take the role.
- Undeniably, the government has to take the control as a steering role or a legislative role.

Economic Electoral Promises

- For economic policy, it can be said that the party stands for the socio-economic development of the people.
- The party thinks and drafts policies by linking the different sectors, for example, the policies on education and policies on labour, the agriculture and the environment, and natural resources and the conditions of Myanmar. In drafting the policy, the party invites professional experts from respective fields for having conferences, listening to them and reporting the situation.
- In the data of “Ease of business”, loans are hard to get in Myanmar, particularly for the small and medium enterprises. Although there are some attempts like JICA 2 Step Loan and SME Center, it cannot be done immediately to meet the needs.

- Similarly, it is really problematic in access to finance in the SME sector. These are the economic effects of the economy. The government is giving loans; some are from abroad like JICA 2 step loan, opening SME centres and such. When looking at what has been said in Hluttaw, they said that people do not take it though they are giving loans. On the other side, the SMEs said that they want it but it requires a 2-year profit and some other requirements, people do not get prepared. The government has to intervene in such situations. There are policies and regulations for this but it cannot not get to the point of implementation. There is a problem in public service delivery. So, the party wants to solve this as a priority, as a whole of the government approach like the Myanmar Business Forum - listening to what problems there and finding out the solution right there. With correct priority, we have means and plans to solve these problems with the lead of the private sector in the economy.
- There is the policy on the development of labour intensive industry and migrant workers. Compared to other countries, Myanmar was found to provide a very less skill-building up training given to the workers. Thus, the party considers to fulfil the needs of such skills.
- The party links the housing policy with labor policies for the welfare of the workers.
- The party focuses on trade with neighboring countries in order to increase the export sector. It is because we have to have trade relations with China and India by any means. The party knows that we have to identify more export items and have a regular market. It can do this when it comes to power.
- Tax system should be reconsidered. It needs to be developed through such measures as checking whether the right amount of tax is paid or not, using digital taxation or the tax system that supports entrepreneurship.
- As the private sector cannot do research, the State has to take lead and do the facilitation in these sectors.

Social Electoral Promises

- The party links policies in education with those in labour; social policies with policies for the disable; and then, TEVET skills with the youth sector.
- In the social sector, the party has formulated the plans to protect the disabled people, women and children.

- There are three domains to improve the women leadership; the state, civil society and household level domain. The State is the most powerful and it is responsible for making laws, bylaws and policies. We need to have their participation at this level.
- Freedom of religion (freedom of belief and worship) is mandatory. The party respects the diversity and the differences, and does not prioritize expressing the nationalities and religions. It also promises to protect and promote the rights of minorities.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- Briefly, it is based on the non-aligned policy. But it will go for the side that will benefit the country's economy, politics and military. The party will go for international relations balancing the local and global politics.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- We will carry out early warnings on weather forecasts and rescue programs. We will prevent unnecessary disasters like flooding and drought.
- We will educate people about the use of alternative fuels that are environmentally friendly; public health, sanitation and septic systems; as well as shifting weather patterns from hot to cold due to the unregulated deforestation, use of firewood, expansion of urban roads and bridges and industries
- “Reuse, reduce and recycle” method on the plastic waste and alternatives that are economically beneficial and environmentally friendly.
- We will urge to clearly define the roles and responsibilities of each level of government in establishing the federal principle of resource sharing.
- We will cooperate with the scholars, the locals and the CSOs to enact and implement the laws and regulations to minimize harm to the environment.
- We will systematically work together with the Union and the state governments in the step-by-step formulation and implementation of laws and regulations.

As the data collection of the preliminary study was conducted in February 2020, the considerations of the following parties on electoral promises are not included yet, as they are in the discussion process, which may be included, once the parties issue the statement later in the final report.

Union Betterment Party (UBP)

There already are electoral promises within our party, but we will publicize them later as electoral promises.