

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

As the 2020 General Election is drawing near, the state-based political parties' considerations on electoral promises 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

Arakan League for Democracy, Arakan National Party, Chin National League for Democracy, Karen National Party, Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (White Tiger) and Shan Nationalities League for Democracy 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.

Arakan League for Democracy

Political Electoral Promises

- We want to build the Union which must have equality and full self- determination. This is party policy.
- Every State must have a State Constitution. State constitution must include the desires of state people and State government must be independent. Power sharing between the Federal or Union government and the State government, should be aligned. Ethnic parties will go by this model, ensuring the equality of ethnic people and self-autonomy with political and economic development aspects. So, we want peace.
- If amending the 2008 constitution, we must amend all (including the cover). So, if possible, we want to write a new constitution because the 2008 constitution doesn't fit with Federal standards.
- Linked the politics to development, our country still does not have this culture of connecting politics and economy.

Electoral Promises for Public Policy

- We hate corruption. We do not like that any individual or any institution is above the law. The first thing we need to do is to ensure government staff or public staff have enough salary. Only qualified people should be appointed. If the government staff do not need money, it will decrease corruption and they can perform their duty very well. So, we must start with how to appoint government staff or public staff and which opportunities will be given to them.

Economic Electoral Promises

- We have a party policy on it. One important thing for Rakhine is foreign investment. There are Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in Rakhine state, especially Kyauk Pyi SEZ, Gas pipeline, Port and Kalatan project. With these kinds of projects being implemented, we want to go along with the interest of the people, creating job opportunities and promoting their lives. When the foreign investments come, we want a rule on how much percentage of local people they will recruit, with proper skill building-up training, with proper international standard salary. This is our election promise that we want to give to the people.

Social Electoral Promises

- Minority rights – there must be freedom of religion. We must give special rights to some ethnic people who come to disappear or who come to lose their culture (ethnic language, culture, etc). So, we should give special rights to them. Next one is that our people must accept multi-culture and minority rights.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- Regarding international relations, as the State and as the ethnic people, we will have border trade, business relations, immigration relations and cultural relations, but international relations will be under the Union level.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- Environmental issues are an important issue but it is not our party's top priority.

Arakan National Party

Political Electoral Promises

- ANP's policy and objectives are that we are trying to transform Myanmar into the Federal Union with its standards and norms of Federalism and Democracy. Firstly, we will give public awareness about the true federal union, and prioritize self-determination and self-autonomy in Rakhine State. This is the party's policy.
- If we want to amend the current 2008 constitution, we have to amend it to fit with standards of Federal and Democracy. Whether amending or writing a new constitution, to fit with its Federal and Democracy standards.
- We must amend Article 261. Now, the President appoints Chief Ministers of states and Regions. Instead, Chief Ministers should be appointed by the election of the State Hluttaw. It is the main Article to be amended.
- Next one is Article 95 B. When Pyithu Hluttaw and Amyotha Hluttaw combine, they become Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. If there is a disagreement between the Pyithu Hluttaw and the Amyotha Hluttaw concerning a Bill, the bill shall be discussed and resolved in the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. There are 440 representatives in Pyithu hluttaw and over 200 representatives in the Amyotha Hluttaw. These two Hluttaw have a different number of representative seats. Resolving the bill at Pyidaungsu Hluttaw is against giving equal rights to both Pyithu Hluttaw and Amyotha Hluttaw representatives. Making the final decision depending on the majority votes though there are 440 seats at Pyithu Hluttaw and 224 seats at Amyotha

Hluttaw, is against the Article 95 and which is against the norm of possessing equal powers both for two Houses.

- It is necessary to prepare Amyotha Hluttaw to have special authority on decision making related to the union and ethnic affairs for having Federal features. For having Democracy standard at respective Hluttaws, it is also necessary to reform the involvement of Tatmadaw representatives at Hluttaw.
- The MPs must do their best for their rights either in the Hluttaws or other political ways.
- Our people do not have self- determination. Our party will contest, mainly in the states, not the whole Country. Without self-autonomy and self-determination in the state, we cannot do anything, we have to even propose at the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw for having a new school in our state. Firstly, we have to try to change the system of Central Government control, then we can work on other sectors like education and health. It needs to have a reform in the governance system, then Rakhine will have the opportunities we are losing.
- It is questioning how much the Union Election commission is free from government control. The winning party appoints the election commission, as said in the 2008 Constitution. So, it is questionable to the electoral commission on how impartial they can be when the NLD party is contesting at the upcoming 2020 election.
- Most of ethnic parties and some Burma parties have funding issues, which is difficult for party sustainability. Providing financial assistance to political parties is important to sustain multi-parties democracy since sustainability of political parties is important. We have been struggling since the beginning. The reason why we are struggling is our inherent ethnic rights to be recognized and to be constitutionally-guaranteed.
- There are four policies in our party. Our No.1 priority is the development of Rakhine people and Rakhine state. The next one is to have equality and equity of all ethnic people, then to have a genuine federal democracy state with democracy culture and democratic practices, and finally to become a federal union.
- We need those who know how to build our state better. Because of the habit of holding destructive weapons, we could not do state-building. State builders should know how to structure it and/or to build the state better. In the Constitutional Amendment Joint Committee so-called “45 members committee”, NLD members did not mention to amend Article 261. Actually, the ruling party needs to stand firmly for the rights of ethnic people but now, it seems that ethnic groups have to raise their voice for their rights.

- If the PR electoral system was adopted, who would take the responsibility for voter education? PR cannot guarantee that permanent government is strong. There is weakness in adopting PR. In this political transition, Myanmar needs a strong government. Currently, people have representatives to whom they can discuss their needs and desires but they would not get this chance when PR is used. In the 2008 constitution, it states that only citizens have the rights to vote but, in the 2010 election, people who are not citizens also gave votes. If we use PR, it would give the chance to the ones who are not citizens to get seats in the Hluttaw. So, we need to amend some laws before we practice PR. Then, voter education must be given to people before changing the electoral system.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- Foreign Policy – Active and Independent Foreign Policy – but it is questionable on how much independent and how much active. It can be seen easily that we rely much on China. So, we need strong foreign policy for the long-term and also need to let the international community know it. However, we make changes on foreign policy. We must communicate with neighboring countries and international countries. So, we must have foreign policy which helps the country to stand with the respect of other countries.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- Land, Natural Resources, these are related to federal things. Local people should have the rights to own farmland, the rights to manage it and the rights to enjoy natural resources. We are striving for the establishment of a genuine Federal Union to attain self-determination and to enjoy these rights.

Chin National League for Democracy

(Chin Democracy League+ Chin Development Party+ Chin National Democratic Party)

Political Electoral Promises

- The primary goal is for Chin Nationalism. We are going to prioritize promoting and preserving Chin Language, Chin Culture and Chin Traditions and Customs. Additionally, we are going to enact Law to preserve Chin Custom Land. The second goal is for the regional/state development. We have to do sustainable development in Chin state, mainly, for transportation, trade, education and health.

Electoral Promises for Public Policy

- We are in the process of writing appropriate policies for Chin, in preserving Chin nationalism, Chin culture and customs, and developing education and health.

Electoral Promises for Rule of Law and Judiciary Sector

- In the era of the NLD government, there is a decrease in the rule of law. We need to change executive management to have strong police departments, legislative and judiciary offices. Although the laws and procedures enacted during the colonial period are appropriate, we need to change judiciary management for exercising exactly as in the law.

Electoral Promises for Structural Reform

- We can have structural change after amending the Constitution. We have to amend the constitution based on three factors in accordance with the Panglong Pre-Agreement and promises and the Panglong Agreement; National Equality, Self-determination and building the Federal Union.
- For National Equality, Burmese ethnic must be a state like other ethnics. Amyothar Hluttaw has to work for national equality. If Burmese ethnic takes a state like other states, there will be national equality. Currently, Chin gets 12 positions in the Amyotha Hluttaw and Burmese gets 84 positions; which is the opposite of what the Panglong promises. So, it needs to be amended. Burmese ethnic has more influence in the Pyithu Hluttaw. So, Amyothar Hluttaw needs to ensure a check-and-balance. So, we do not need to have Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. Because of Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, the mandate of Amyotha Hluttaw cannot be fulfilled.
- There must be self-determination, but Article 261 prohibits it. State legislation is under Union legislation, which is the opposite of the Panglong Agreements. So, Article 261 needs to be amended.
- The 2008 Constitution is in the form of the Unitary State Constitution because the Union government takes almost all mandates. Moreover, the Union government takes the residual power given by Article 98 and 99. Thus, the following sectors must be conferred to the Union government by the ethnic leaders through the Frontier Area Committee of Enquiry (FACE):
 - International Affairs
 - Military
 - Communication

- Transportation
- Customs, and honorary certificates and awards. This is a federal Organ.
- We need to change Burmese influence at the offices. We need to develop a structure where at least one representative from one state. We cannot amend the structure without amending the constitution.

Economical Electoral Promises

- There are few resources in chin state, but there are beautiful sightseeing places, good natural environments, animals, birds, waterfalls and mountains. So, we must improve tourism. We must change the border trade and local agricultural product cultivation like white yum, coffee and pickled tea leaves to be businesses. Cattle breeding will be expanded. What is more, farmers can have loans.

Social Electoral Promises

- We will prioritize writing Chin policy for Chin People. We are also working on the policies that the plain-based parties will not consider.

Election Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- Foreign Policy must be under at the Union level, but for border trading, Chin government should exercise freely.

Karen National Party

We are not a state-based party. We will compete, especially in Irrawaddy, Yangon and Bago regions. We have not reached Tanintharyi Division yet. There are Karen people in Hpa-Saung Township, Kayah State, so we will compete there. We want to compete in those areas which are so sure to win.

Political Electoral Promises

- We will prioritize National Equality and Self-determination (building the Federal Union), Democracy and Human Rights. Being a member of UNA, we have alliances. We all will have to cooperate for the amendment of the Constitutional Law.
- The next one is that we want to bring peace in the country. Unless our country gets peace, the country will not be developed.

- For the reform in the Judiciary Sector, if we get into the Hluttaw, we will submit proposals in the Hluttaw. Still we cannot amend the 2008 constitution, we will submit that proposal.
- We want the Executive members at Ward and Village-tract level to be directly elected by the public.
- To allow the CSOs at the places where the government cannot reach.
- The Chair of the Union Election Commission must be just, but both at the former and the current UEC, the elected government appoints their people in their term.

Electoral Promises for Public Policy

- It would be better if the government took full responsibility in the health care system, rather than a cost-sharing system. In order to do so, appropriate tax must be collected.
- Education in the mother tongue should be practiced. Through NNER National Network for Education Reform, we learnt that the best point of the education system in the mother tongue is that it not only protects from losing the mother language but also helps to speak the country's official language – Burmese, and English fluently.
- It also needs to take consideration for the local people living where the industries and plants are located, not just on waste issues but also on social security, education, and health care.

Electoral Promises for Rule of Law and Judiciary Sector

- There needs to be rule of law.

Electoral Promises regarding Structural Reform

- Freedom of Expression, known as the fourth pillar, is important. Without this freedom of expression, it will return to the dictatorship.
- Corrupted civil servants are required to be investigated and taken actions on. If these structures are poor, nothing can be good. It can even affect the rule of law.

Economic Electoral Promises

- We are dependent so much on agriculture that it needs to use technical and mechanical support for the agriculture sector and also need to penetrate at the international our market with market demanding crops.

- To run a government, appropriate tax must be received. Only then, the government can provide support like public security and health care.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- We shouldn't be influenced by any country and it is the best policy. When our country gets peace, she will have her own power then do not need to be afraid of any powerful country.
- Great power countries are working only for their interest, but we cannot be influenced by them. We notice that, later in the conflicts, it characterized the war rather than the ethnic symbol.
- The principles of peaceful coexistence should be embraced.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- It needs to consider for the people whose lands have been confiscated as the wastes of the factories get into the farmland which destroy their farms. As they do not understand legal things, they are the one who lose a lot and suffer these consequences.

Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (White Tiger)

Political Electoral Promises

- First, we have to try bringing about Peace in Shan State.
- According to the constitution, resources sharing power is under the Union level. In the constitution. Schedule 1 and 2 are Region or State legislative list and Taxes collected by Region or States in Schedule 5. Pine trees are allowed under the legislation of the State under Schedule 5, but practically not under the legislation of the Region and State. The Union Government does not allow it. It also exercises their rights given by the Constitution. The Union Government specifies the pine trees as "Special Wood" and the State has no rights on this. Even the Ministers of Forest and Mines of the states and regions cannot do anything. (Only Nipa Palm and Bamboo are allowed) So, how can it be called resource sharing? The Union government takes control over all.
- It needs to change Schedule 1 to 2. As a fact, we want the Federal Union. There is just Defense, Security, Finance and International Relations under German Federal government, but other departments are under State governments. But the Military and the police departments are under the Federal Government. Thus, Federalism is all about self-autonomy and self-determination. If it becomes the Federal Union, there is equality – power sharing,

resources sharing, tax sharing and decentralization. For example, if it comes to tax sharing, Shan state has border trade with China which is 50 percent of the whole country Myanmar. It is about 15 billion each year. There are taxes on imports from China but the State cannot enjoy them. Geopolitically, the State-level administrators should be included in the policy making and policy coordination process, but we do not. All the decisions come from the Union level.

- If we win the seats of the Parliament, we will try to amend Article 261 and we try to move sub-sectors which are explicitly mentioned in the Schedule 1 from Schedule 1 to Schedule 2 and we will try to exactly define the Schedule 5. Because it is all about self-autonomy.
- There should not be a one-party ruling government. For example, in Rakhine, NLD won only for 9 positions while Rakhine party won 23 positions, but the Government was formed by NLD under the name of democracy. The Rakhine parties control the state Hluttaw with the NLD representatives controlling the Rakhine state government, thus the Hluttaw and the government in Rakhine state are not getting along with each other. People were not happy for their elected representatives not becoming the government. Similar thing happened in Shan State. USDP won, Shan Party won, then followed by NLD, but NLD formed the government. It is about self-determination. Rakhine won the most in Rakhine State, and so does Shan State, so they want to rule their state. So does Kachin and Chin want to rule theirs.

Electoral Promises for Structural Reform

- To develop the transportation and make the whole country get enough electricity
- To develop education, health, social and economic sectors

Economical Electoral Promises

- For the welfare of the people, there needs to be high employment opportunities and good transportation.
- Now, there is no electricity in Shan State. We have to try to fulfill it for the people.
- As 70% of the total population relies on agriculture, we must provide that the people are able to sell their agricultural products (corn, sesame and tea leaves) at the proper price in the market. Selling agricultural products at high prices can ensure economic development.

Social Electoral Promises

- To provide better education and create job opportunities for young people

- To development the lives of farmers and workers, economically; incomes, living standards

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- We must build good relations regionally and globally, in particular with neighboring countries. Thus, we need to craft good relations with the EU, America, ASEAM and the whole world.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Resources

- To give the confiscated lands back to the original owner (immediately)

Shan Nationalities League for Democracy

Political Electoral Promises

- The number one priority is Constitutional reform. We want the 2008 constitution to be amended. There are two members from our party in the 45-member committee. There are more than 1000 points made for the amendment. In short, our focus is to revise the 2008 constitution into a federal constitution. Taking a look at those points, both the frame and the concept are inclined towards federalism. To pick an example, we want a federal in which we can elect the Chief Minister of Shan State and we can form Shan State Government. As the promises we made to people in 2015, “Let’s vote for SNLD to amend the constitution”, now we are trying as we promised, as much as we could. It does not matter if we change it from the inside or the outside of Parliamentary; what matters is to change it. The most important point is that, no matter how it was processed, we are ready to participate in constitutional amendment. We participated fully 100% from the inside. We submitted more than 1000 facts. No matter how it was amended, what is important is to have common goals and objectives. When it has been decided to amend, it is not good putting only 10% of participation in the process.
- According to article 261, the Chief Minister is not elected by Hluttaw, instead, it was nominated by the President and then approved by the Hluttaw. Next, the Regional/State administrator of the Regional/State General Administration Department is the general secretary of the regional and state governments, the respective governments. They are included in the list of facts to be amended. Civil servants should be just civil servants. It is the chief ministers who should be accountable for their respective governments. Now, these two are unrelated. That is why we want to go to the Federal. We wish to amend it if we

could. And there is a feasible way to amend it. In reality, the NLD president can practice it, if he did not nominate the Chief Minister in 2015.

- In Myanmar, the peace process is mandatory. Rather than peace promises, our standpoint focus is to make all inclusive. It should not be a one-sided negotiation. Our joint general secretary (2) is one of the UPDJC secretaries. Therefore, we are not strangers to the peace process, and we have been actively and thoroughly participating in the process. In Myanmar, we cannot emphasize to go for Democracy alone. Peace also has to be brought together as we have a lot of armed forces. In Shan State alone, there are more than 1,000 armed forces estimated. Peace, Federal, Constitution; they are all connected and inter-related. In the matter of the Federal Union, Myanmar should not copy other models. Home-grow is better. We should initiate a pilot inclusively on how we should go on as we wish to go for real and fully federal.

Economic Electoral Promises

- Rather than economic promises, we have done something related to tax and fiscal policy. Conceptually, we wish to go for Federal. The regional governments have to have their own sustainable funding. Only then, it would be fine in the long term. There is a kind of subsidy which the Union government gives to regions and states. In practice, the state government finds those funding and then it goes directly to the Union government. The state government should have their own funding. Then, it would be self-independent. We would like to attempt for state governments to be able to enjoy their own funding. Then, fiscal policy would be more effective. The Shan State government is very close to the local people of Shan State. It would be better to provide the necessities and infrastructure system which meets their needs. The products of Shan State such as fruits, rice, corn and watermelon are sold at undervalue. Although we did not go to China and study their market, we find ways to prevent the cause of the decrease in prices and other ways out. We are attempting not to rely only on superpower states, China but we try to have competitive business fairness with other countries.

Social Electoral Promises

- In the social sector, we have done something on gender issues. It is not only about feminists, but also about men, women and LGBTQ, including the disables. We are going to promote gender equality in schools and society.
- Next is the Youth affairs. Young people have fewer education opportunities and job opportunities. We have a separate sector for them. There are about 50 million new eligible

youth voters who have not voted in 2015. We need to create opportunities for them. Besides, it is about human resource and migration. Human resources are mostly concerned with Shan State as there are migrated people to Thai for work or because of political reasons or war or education. To prevent this, we think about what to do with the salary they receive. We are considering it as a policy and we are working on it.

- The next thing is we are taking consideration of older people and IDPs, especially in Shan State. When there is a conflict, they have to evacuate. Their health and education should also be taken into consideration.
- We also consider the health sector. We support universal health care, focus on mother and child. As far as we have studied, the mortality rate of new-born children is 200-death in 100,000. That number is quite high in Southeast Asia. In other countries, the number is only about 28. We are trying to prevent this by having a policy on it, as we can't go on a field trip. According to released data, the number one reason for high mortality rate is because of making wrong decisions, followed by hesitation on the delivery method, being difficult transportation and insufficient capacity. We are attempting to meet the ASEAN standard.
- Next one is a drug issue. What we are working on is more rehabilitation because we are not a government, we can't do such tasks as preventing the cultivation of drugs. What is happening right now is that they are being arrested for having possession of 3 or 4 pills at hand. We have plans to create a comfortable environment for them when they come out from jail, not to feel as outcast, being labelled as a murderer. We are familiar with opium farmers. In fact, they don't get that much but the buyers are those who actually benefit from this.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- Regarding foreign policy, it would be a non-aligned policy. We considered BRI as one of the main topics and the migration issue with Thai, as it shares borders with Shan is complicated. Honestly, the migration issue is still new to us but this has to be solved. There are more than 100,000 of Shan nationalities who migrate and work in Thai. Although we have taken it into consideration, there is only a little we can do for their rights to vote. We do not forget about them. Together with Shan NGOs in Thai, we have discussed how to handle these issues.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- We are managing the issue of which the people are currently facing - land confiscation and land grabbing, drug issues and environmental issues. What has not finished or outstanding one is the issue of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in northern Shan State. We are trying to

always stand on the people's side, if related to the China-Myanmar economic corridor; for example, to have fair and deserved compensation when their lands are confiscated. Another thing is that most of the projects are managed by the upper levels without taking consideration for the people at the grassroots level. Now the President Xi Jin Ping came and there are a total of 33 agreements. At this point, the Shan government should publicize it to the people from the ground more or less; what the promises made concerning this. The projects should be transparent, fair, environmentally friendly and considered for long term. The Union government should be transparent in every project as the Union government. It is not for them; it is for the people. So should the Shan government. The projects should be disclosed, published to people and negotiated. Then, the real stakeholders who are the Hluttaw representatives, political parties, NGOs and CSOs and the people working in the projects and the citizens should cooperate and negotiate. It would take longer but it would produce an inclusive agreement, a consensus. We have prepared to stand on people's side.

- The BRI - called "China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC)" by the government - will pass through the Shan State. However, such cases were not discussed with the Shan State government, it shows the absence of transparency, responsibility and accountability of a government. According to the process, it should have been calling for tenders, having consultation with the people, including the environmental assessment, at least, it should be disclosed to Hluttaw representatives, discussed and conveyed. If the process is not in the way it should, that is the government is misusing their power; it is an abuse of power.

Others

- Voter education is not effective and efficient, especially for the rural voters. No matter how much effort the government put in, the people at the ground are still lacking knowledge in voting education. The thing is, Shan people from Shan State are able to read only in Shan language. Then, how can they cast their vote? That is a struggle.
- We take PR as something which should be considered. It is to include all voices. On the other hand, we should consider whether Myanmar is ready for this or not. We should consider whether we should immediately practice PR, at this time where the Political Science subject has been introduced to universities just recently. Even in PR, there are many systems; preferential - where four people win and one loses or whether his votes would be added to others or not - and quota system. Do the people actually comprehend this? If they really want to do it, they should just survey the whole country like the 2014 census, as a pilot.

United Nationalities Democracy Party

Political Electoral Promises

- We intend to amend the beginning, middle and end of the constitution. As a matter of fact, this constitution has to be abolished. We will attempt to replace the current constitution with a better new one. The current 2008 constitution is not going to work for our country. The constitution should be amended. If it cannot be amended, it should be replaced by a new one. We will work based on this idea.
- We do not believe that the constitutional amendment would succeed. If we are going to amend it, we will amend all of it. In fact, amending the beginning, middle and end is the same as writing a new one. That is, it should be written as a new one. The main points could be amended only if the military agrees. Without the consent of the military, they cannot be amended. Take Section 436 as an example. Trying to amend the laws which require the consent of the military in Hluttaw is just wasting time, all to no avail and is impossible. To turn this constitution into one which guarantees the equal rights and human rights of the Federal Union, it also should be acceptable for the military. That is why we think that it is more practical to write a new constitution than to amend the current one. If we could form a government or if we get into Hluttaw, we will work on writing a new constitution. We will strive for it. We will realize it.
- We will build peace on the one hand and reduce the role of the military on the other hand. They intertwine. If we seek to reduce the role of the military, we would have to make an effort to stop the war for peace.
- The army would absolutely go for the union army. We will organize a federal army. The major key to peace is the constitution. If this constitution was a federal union constitution, the army would be one single army. Now we have the Bamar army and many other armies. If we place the role of the army under the federal union constitution, there would be no reason to fight. And there would be no reason for conflict.
- The main point is that we are going to sign the Rome Statute. That is to control the government. We need treaties and systems that can restrain the government. It is the State that has to suffer when the government is given loose rein. There are unfair and incorrect laws as we cannot restrict the government. It doesn't matter who forms and leads the government, we want a government that respects laws and human rights. They are protected by Article 445 of the constitution. In addition to writing in the constitution that actions from the past could not be brought back to trial. If their actions go beyond the law, they should be

dealt with by law. If they did whatever they wanted during their term of government, who would be responsible for the ones who have suffered. The government which is responsible for the country should hold responsibility and accountability.

- When a new government writes a new constitution, I think, these factors should be included as measures to control the government. Do we have to tolerate a government which let the country summoned by ICJ and diminishes the dignity of its citizens just because we elected it or, do we sue them at the court? We have to think about it. If we make a new constitution, we intend to include these factors. We have to consider the country and the people. As we have to consider the country and the people, the need to stand clearly on this.

Electoral Promises for Public Policy

- To build the Federal Union, based on the historic Panglong agreement made on February 12, 1947, Panglong commitments and Panglong principles
- To establish the Federal Union which ensures democracy, national equality and self-determination
- We aim for peaceful living of the ethnic people in harmony based on mutual respect, love and unity.
- We will preserve language, literature, tradition and customs of the ethnic people.
- We strive for building peace together to be sustainable, to end dictatorship and chauvinism, and to promote the federal democracy system.

Electoral Promises for Structural Reform

- Regarding the budget, we need to think about to what extent the government and Hluttaw control the budget. If the government solely manages, the Hluttaw would be left. The major spender is the government and it is understandable since it has to run many departments. No matter where it spends, it must report to the Hluttaw.
- Spending budget has to be explained clearly and transparently as the budget may cause many problems. The budget has a tendency of corruption. Because the budget is money, it has many problems. It has to be explained very clearly. It has to be clearly stated how the budget is allocated and spent. We will not do anything unusual and untraditional which may cause misunderstandings between us and the citizens.

- The government and the Hluttaw have to be transparent. Things which should not be concealed should not be concealed. In cases like the Auditor General's report about using budget, people should get to know where they spend it, by whose permission they spend it, which committee spends it, how they use it, how much is left and what the follow up actions are. Hluttaw must know it. It is unacceptable if only the Auditor General and the government know and the Hluttaw has no knowledge of it. It should be transparent.

Economic Electoral Promises

- We want an economic system with least central government control. That is, the free market economy. We prefer international cooperation and other domestic industries to be less centrally controlled. And we will not let someone or some group monopolize the market. And we do not want a system where the government and the military do business. The government's job is to govern and manage the country. We will reduce the role of the government and set up private businesses. If the market was centrally controlled, then the country's economy would become imbalanced. We are not balanced now because many sectors are centrally controlled. We will promote businesses together with an uncorrupted economic system.
- We will let them function freely and will not control. But of course, we need regulations. We have private hospitals and schools. There should be regulations but the government intervention should not interfere with the market. That is because the government has controlled the market in the past 70 years but it has not succeeded. As long as the system and economy of the country is still inadequate, the privatization would not succeed. That is why we are trying to change the system. These sectors can change only when the country can systematically change. We are going to reduce the role of the government rather than prioritizing the private sector. But we can't completely withdraw from government control. At least, we will make sure that the intervention would be minimal.
- What is important is to concentrate on the domestic - domestic production is very weak and foreign export is next to none. Because of the weak domestic production, inability to export and low-quality products, we cannot get into the international market. Because of that, only a few international investments come to our country then we do not get foreign income. There are some countries which invest in Myanmar, Japan and Korea. But they do not bring any profit. The ones that come are not giant companies or big international cooperation. They are the small business of those countries that come and invest and bring back as much profit as they could. The profit left for our country is not much to say.

- Again, the only foreign export is natural resources. We sell our oil, gas and gems. We also sell timber and wood. But there is not much left. The resources which should be kept for the country have been sold. These natural gases and gems should be kept as a backup for the country. Materials which should be conserved for this generation and next are all used up. If it was used up in this generation, there would be nothing left for the next generation to use. Since the system has become like that, our current economic situation is just selling out domestic resources and we won't do that kind of economic system. Focusing on the domestic, we will prioritize two areas, promoting the domestic products and increasing the quality of the products, that is technology. We hope for a situation where our products can influence others' in terms of quality and condition. We want that kind of system. Although we say it is only the economy, in reality, we have to depend on others in every sector.

Social Electoral Promises

- There are policies for every sector; education policy and health policy. We have to revise these policies. Today's national education law is a law which needs to be amended. We can't go on with this national education law. They still use this national education law which has been initiated by students to amend since Latt Padan. Actually, this has to be revised.
- Today, there are successful countries in the world. We need to study those successful countries. Only after studying, we should reflect on the way they are doing and our country and try to break through. When it comes to education, we need to reform education. The government should not intervene in the education sector. We need to go for independent education. Right now, the government is interfering everywhere. We won't continue this system. We will provide a free and independent situation. And the laws we are using today need to be amended. The laws themselves have many flaws. It should be 'without government intervention' that the university would be able to function independently. The government intervention in university is something that should not be allowed. University of Yangon used to have a university administrative board long ago. The government did not intervene. Now the government steps in and takes control. Since everything is controlled, it is not convenient for students. That is why we intend to establish an independent education system where students and teachers learn freely and find unions independently. The issues of university and the matter of examination should be handled by the university itself and not the government. The government should step outside of the school education system and curriculum. Now they decide which should be included in the curriculum and which should be cut out. They skip the lessons which they do not like and they include what they like. Instead of that, we want a curriculum which is discussed and reviewed by professors and

teachers, education experts of the educational institution and the parents. It should not be the government's ideologies, policies and desires.

- Regarding education, for example, we will provide a free education system which is important for education. We will build up the quality and skill of the youths. When it comes to the youth sector, this category is quite broad. We need to create conditions that can promise their future. We don't have any condition or programme that can support and cultivate youngsters in our country. We don't have concrete mechanisms for young people. Since there is no mechanism, there is no programme. Because of the lack of those mechanisms and programmes, the way our country is doing is just like a formula. When people are born, they go to school, finish basic education and graduate and then get themselves a job. That is the way. The government cannot create opportunities for their ability, ideas or creative power. That is what a government is supposed to do. That is what the government should do for the young people by making policies. The government should create reliable and promising channels for their creativity. However, our country does not have anything like that. Nowadays, young people's interest in politics has considerably lessened. It is also because of the development of technology, computers and telephones. What's worse is that now a portion of the youth have somehow connected with drugs. We need to control such a noxious situation. On the other hand, we need to encourage their creativity. The main point is the development of the youths.
- We will cut the military budget from government spending. The number one important sector is education. The number two is health. We need to increase it by 20 percent. We should spend at least 20, 22, 23 percent of the country for education. We cannot make any educational changes without spending this much. To reduce the role of the military, we need to build peace. Our country's military spending is rising because we do not have peace. We are in conflict. The military spending is rising because we are fighting. And that is why the role of the military has increased.

Electoral Promises for Foreign Policy and International Relations

- The foreign policy is independent and neutral which has always been Myanmar's foreign policy. Based on this policy, we will try to be an honourable and respectable country in international relations. The point is, in international relations, we can't interact based on ideology and policy. We need to build the image of the country first; an honourable country which respects and protects human rights, a country which respects international laws. Now, under a lot of accusations, we have to face the problems of violating human rights. We need to change them. We need to work to make them change. It is a long process to change them.

We need to let them see that we could make it. We need to make promises. We need to sign international treaties. In international relations, we need treaties between States.

- If it was me, I would sign the Rome Statute. And I would sign the ICCPR. This is because only if we are restricted by rules and laws, we won't commit such crimes. Now we don't sign the Rome Statute and thus have to dispute so much about it. If we had signed it, then the process would go by itself. What I mean is that they should bear the consequences if they had committed crimes. If it was the government, then the government should take accountability for it. Currently, they haven't come to a decision on signing the ICCPR. So, we are going to sign it, especially the Rome Statute. If we can hold the power, we will definitely sign it. The problem is that our country signs international law but fails to adopt it in the country. I think we signed CEDAW? Not completely though, I think we only signed half of it. They also signed CRC, I think. If we become a government, we would sign everything that should have been signed. We will sign all treaties that protect the people. We will sign any law, treaty or pact that would protect the people.

Electoral Promises for Land Rights, Environment and Natural Resources

- There is Farmland Law for farmers, 2012 Farmland Law. The laws in many sectors themselves are full of flaws and shortcomings. We won't be able to get out of this circle if we keep using these laws. So, we will revise the laws from the basics to reflect the current situations.

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.

Kachin State People's Party- KSPP

We are still discussing electoral promises at the party conference and meetings of the Central Executive Committee. We are going to state party's promises at the time of election, published in the final report.

Kokang Democracy and Unity Party

Could not contact the party.

Tai-Leng Nationalities Development Party

As not having held a Central Executive Committee Meeting, the details cannot be described yet. Electoral promises will be established based on party policy.

Party policy- for getting peace and ethnic equality, for the emergence of the name of “Red Shan” and for getting self- determination.

Wa National Unity Party

We are going to contest at the upcoming 2020 election from Wa- Self Administered Division. Currently, we have been cooperating with three parties; “Wa” National Unity Party, “Wa” Democracy and “Wa” Liberal Democratic Development, so that common agreements on parties’ promises cannot be specified yet.

Akha National Development Party

There is no meeting decision yet.

Karen National Democratic Party

There is not any statement from the Central Executive Committee and it is going to be held in March. After this meeting, the statement on the electoral promises will be issued.