

2020 ELECTION

ELECTORAL PROMISES OF POLITICAL
PARTIES AND RETROSPECTIVE
DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY



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Electoral Promises of Political Parties and Retrospective Democratic Accountability

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Authors:

Kyi Shein

La Ring

May Thu Htet

Pyai Nyein Kyaw

Than Tun Soe

Thu Zar Zar Soe

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ABBREVIATION

AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AFPEL	Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League
AI	Artificial Intelligence
ANP	Arakan National Party
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BIMSTEC	The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-sectoral Technical and economic Cooperation
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BSPP	Burma Socialist Programme Party
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CMEC	China-Myanmar Economic Corridor
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
EU	The European Union
FACE	Frontier Area Committee of Enquiry
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FPTP	First Past the Post
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IDP	Internally Displaced People
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JPPCA	Joint Parliamentary Committee for Constitutional Amendment
KIA	Kachin Independence Army
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer
NLD	National League for Democracy
NNER	National Network for Education Reform
NUP	National Unity Party
PR	Proportional Representation
SEZ	Special Economic Zones
SME	Small and Medium Sized Enterprises
TVE	Township Village Enterprises
UEC	Union Election Commission
UNA	United Nationalities Alliance
UPDJC	Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee
USDP	Union Solidarity and Development Party

CHAPTER (1): INTRODUCTION

Legislative Electoral Systems, Political Executive Systems and Party Systems

According to the various legislative electoral systems around the world countries, there are generally three types of legislative electoral systems, and they are (i) Plurality and Majority System (First Past the Post), (ii) Proportional Representation System (PR), (iii) Mixed System (FPTP + PR) (Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, 2004). Moreover, in terms of the forms of political executives systems around the world, there are eight types: (i) Presidential System, (ii) Parliamentary System, (iii) Semi-Presidential System, (iv) Mixed Republican System, (v) Constitutional Monarchy, (vi) Absolute Monarchy, (vii) Military Dictatorship, (viii) Authoritarian and totalitarian One-Party Dictatorship, etc. And among these eight types, most electoral systems of Presidential, Parliamentary, Semi-Presidential, Mixed Republican, and Constitutional Monarchy, were generally held under dominant, two-party, and multiparty system (Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, 2004).

Electoral System in Myanmar

Having based on these concepts of legislative electoral systems, political executive systems, and party systems around the world, it is firstly needed to examine the electoral history of Myanmar from the British Colonial period to the contemporary era politically. Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, located in Southeast Asia, had encountered one authoritarian caretaker government between 1958 and 1960, two militaristic and totalitarian dictatorships, and a one-party dictatorship between 1962 and 2011. The first democratically elected government led by the 1st Prime Minister, U Nu had established an Independent Democratic Country between 1948 and 1958 firstly and secondly between 1960 and 1962 (Nicholas Farrelly and Chit Win, 2016). Before independence, to be precise, Myanmar was under British Colonial Rule from 1824 to 1942 and again from 1945 to 1948 and also under the Japanese Colonial Period from 1942 to 1945. Even in the era of the British Colonial Period, even though the people of Myanmar can have some forms of dissatisfaction to the suppression of British Colonial Authorities, Myanmar had been experienced four parliamentary elections in 1922, 1925, 1928, and 1932 under the era of Dyarchy Legislative Council from 1923 to 1935, one election (1936) under the era of "The Government of Burma Act 1935", and one election of Constituent Assembly (1947) to design the constitution for the preparation of independence from the British Empire (Taylor, 2009).

At the time, the electoral system was Plurality and Majority System, the political executive system was a relative parliamentary system, with the absolute holding of power under the British Governor, and the party system was even considered as a multiparty system as the party like Dobama Asiayone also had a chance to compete independently as “Komin Kochin Aphwe ကိုယ့်မင်းကိုယ်ချင်းအဖွဲ့” (Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, 2004).

After Independence, three parliamentary elections (1951 - 1952, 1956, 1960) were held under the era of parliamentary democracy, led by the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) from 1948 to 1962, and the electoral system was also Plurality and Majority System (FPTP), the political executive system was parliamentary system led by Prime Minister (the Leader of Largest Winning Party) and the party system was dominant party system under symbolic multiparty or two-party system as the AFPFL, and later Clean AFPFL led by U Nu stood as the strongest party due to the benefits of recognizing memories by voters for his opposition to British as the right-hand man of Independence Leader, General Aung San. After the military coup of General Ne Win in 1962 and the transition towards the era of one-party dictatorship, led by Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), four elections (1974, 1978, 1981, and 1985) were held with Plurality and Majority System under one-party dictatorship even though it was not under the multiparty system and lack of having free and fair quality for holding elections. After the 8888 Democracy Movement, 1990 Elections were held although the results were not recognized by the military junta and the military continued to govern from 1988 to 2010.

For the transition to hybrid democratic regime change, 2010 and 2015 Elections were held to elect the quasi-civilian government in 2010 (Thomas S. Knirsch and Annabelle Heugas, 2020) and the first democratically elected government in 2015 since the 1962 military coup. Between 2010 and 2015, the electoral system is still Plurality and Majority System (FPTP), the Political Executive System is Mixed Republican System (the President is elected not by the Popular Vote, but by the Members of Parliament through Electoral College), and the party system is a two-party system (Xianghui, 2019) under the symbolic multiparty system as the National League for Democracy (NLD) and the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) are now still standing as the two largest political parties although some parties led by famous figures are now preparing to enter for 2020 Myanmar General Election.

Whatever the Legislative Electoral Systems or Political Executive Systems or Party Systems in Myanmar, one similar fact about the elections, except for the One-Party Dictatorship System under the era of BSPP, is that political parties always have to give electoral promises to their constituency voters in every campaigning period of every election since 1948.

Their Electoral Promises are extremely important for the voters to fulfill their political, economic, and social willingness, and depending upon how those parties can serve their voters in accordance with their promises, it can sometimes have positive or negative effects on an interesting level of politics by those voters.

Photo: View of the Secretariat Building in Yangon, 1900s and it was taken by Arnold Wright in 1910. Now this work is public domain for reusing.



Moreover, if a party gave electoral promises to the voters, having based upon the majority interests of them, while without having consideration to the interests of the minority, it can even be extremely dangerous for the political stability of a country. For example, in the 1960 General Election, Former Prime Minister U Nu, who himself symbolized as an absolute devotee to Buddhist Faith, solidified the support of the Buddhist Majority by giving electoral promises to proclaim Buddhism as State religion and implemented it when he came to power (Richard Butwell and Fred von der Mehden, 1960). As a result of his actual implementation for an electoral promise to the Buddhist Majority, concerning with the issue of State religion, it had angered the mainly Kachin Christians and on 5 February 1961, Kachin Independence Army (KIA), headed by Kachin Veteran war hero, Zau Seng was founded in the hills, not far from the Hsenwi, and Mongmit and it set up the fire for longstanding civil war in Myanmar since 1948. Therefore, it is undeniable that the electoral promises, provided by politicians of political parties are extremely important, not only for the voters but also for the fortune of the sovereign state.

Recently, in a meeting with local people at Pinlebu of Sagaing Region, the Leader of Myanmar's Democracy Movement, 1991 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, and Incumbent State Counsellor and Foreign Minister of Myanmar, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, even told the local people of Pinlebu about her belief that the parliamentary representatives elected by the citizens must abide by their promises (Lin, 2020). Therefore, it was an inspiration for the researchers to carry out this report.

CHAPTER (2): CONCEPTUAL OBJECTIVE

The conceptual objective of this report is partially based on the concept of “Political Participation and democratic accountability”. It is needed to explain and define what political participation and democratic accountability is. Political Participation is the activity by individuals formally intended to influence who governs or the decisions taken by those who do so. Citizens can be classified both by the extent of their political involvement (i.e. Gladiators, Spectators, and Apathetics), and by the form of their engagement takes (e.g. Conventional, Unconventional, or both). The concept of accountability is widely used in different fields and its exact definition may vary accordingly (Jelmin, 2012). It means that the rulers that they are responsible to the people they govern and put the people’s interests above their own (Fukuyama, 2011). Accountability is shaped by local politics, power, and incentives (OECD, 2013). Although most decisions are made by elected representatives, appointed officials, and other power holders, rulers still have an obligation to be appropriately accountable to the ruled (Olsen, 2017). The definition of accountability is wide-range and applied in interdisciplinary such as cooperate governance, social accountability, and other areas. Many democracies suffer from weak accountability mechanisms such as faulty elections, weak parliaments, and non-credible political parties unable to fulfill their democratic role (Jelmin, 2012). The ruling party needs to serve the people in the country. If they do not follow their promises and less accountability, the role of the citizen is the cornerstone of democratization. Power without accountability is illegitimate, and unaccountable government implies a democratic deficit and an illegitimate political order (Olsen, 2017).

Political participation - three types of political participation are generally defined in the world and it can be described (i) ***Political Participation in Established Democracies***, (ii) ***Political Participation in New Democracies***, and (iii) ***Political Participation in Authoritarian Dictatorship States*** (Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, 2004). Currently, as Myanmar is still establishing and transitioning towards democracy, the combining characteristics of two types of political participation: Established Democracies, and New Democracies are worthwhile to use for analyzing this report.

In established democracies, three types of political participation are further divided: (i) People who always participate in political processes are called “Gladiators”, and this group includes politicians, well-educated, middle-class, middle-aged, etc., (ii) People who always only vote for the elections and just watch the contests are called “Spectators” who are mostly ordinary citizens, (iii) People who have less chance for participation, and even neither vote nor even follow politics through the media are called “Apathetics”, and this group includes non-participating underclass who are not interested in and cannot be interested in the politics.



Photo: Pyithu
Hluttaw
source: Pyithu
Hluttaw

However, in new democracies, civil society organizations are becoming the main pillar between State (led by ruling Political Parties) and Society (included by Ordinary Citizens and non-participating underclass) for political participation and consolidation of democracy after reaching the stage of absolute or relative democratic regime change as the democratic transition of those states are always facing with the reflection of the authoritarian legacy of political cynicism (Fear or Pessimism of the ordinary citizen to participate in Politics) among the people. As this kind of states needs to take time for relinquishing cynicism of political participation, CSOs have the responsibility to promote democracy and to provide opportunities for the people to participate in collective activities democratically which are neither pro-state nor anti-state but simply non-state actor (Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, 2004).

For Myanmar politics, from the perspective of political participation in established Democracies, the participatory role of a think tank is a gladiator and therefore, it has the responsibility to research and present the possibilities of political and economic policies to governments, well-educated and middle-class people (other gladiators) and also has the responsibility to research and present 2020 electoral promises of political parties to ordinary citizens (Spectators) and non-participating underclass (Apathetics).

On the other hand, from the perspective of political participation in New Democracies, the participatory role of a think tank is also included in the group of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), it also has the responsibility to stimulate the spirits of both ordinary citizens and non-participating underclass to participate in collective activities such as voting in 2020 General Election, by researching and presenting the findings from this report. The origin of the author's passions are based on the above two perspectives under two types of political participation from the Comparative Politics, Inya Economics conducted a retrospective review on the legislative efforts of political parties who represent in the parliament.

Additionally, the electoral promise of political parties for the 2020 general election is put to evidence and the purpose is to measure democratic accountability. The ultimate goal of this study will contribute to enhancing an exercise of democratic accountability in our society. Additionally, the analysis will bring the attention of the democratic government to balance the power dynamic between people and elected government.

CHAPTER (3): METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this study is based on a qualitative approach. In the process of data gathering, the data was gathered through primary interviews with leaders from selected political parties, and secondary data regarding electoral promises was gathered by media monitoring. 16 political parties are selected. As a selection criteria, particularly ethnic background and Barmar-dominated parties are specified in this study. Purposive sampling is applied. Additionally, the questionnaire was developed with key dimensions that are wider such as social problems (land, environment, and natural resources issues), economic problems, private sectors development, political development, public sector, rule of laws (justice sector reform), minority rights issues (marginalized group), institutional reform and foreign policy (international relation).

Stage (1): Design Development

Over 95 political parties will contest in the 2020 general election, according to the Union Election Commission's database. There have still active political parties and a few are disconnecting the politics. Inya Economics categorized political party which is still standing in three levels of Parliament without abolishing and merging with other parties since the 2015 general election, newly consolidate ethnic party or ethnic-based coalition parties, or well-known ethnic parties, promilitary parties. Two approaches analyze retrospective electoral promises in the 2015 general election and documented electoral promises for the 2020 general election.

Stage (2): Data gathering (secondary and Primary information)

Monitored electoral promises of selected political parties through online-based media. This assignment was undertaken by trained political interns from Inya Economics. The interns monitored electoral promises using the specific measurement indicators that were developed by Inya Economics. In this state, Inya Economics monitored electoral promises for the 2020 general election and traced retrospectively electoral promises in the 2015 general election and 2018 by-election.

To describe comprehensive electoral promises by political parties in this report, researchers from Inya Economics interviewed political leaders or members of the politicians which are at the senior management level from the parties.

Using measurement indicators, key interviews were conducted. We were unable to conduct a personal interview with a small number of political parties, due to limited financial resources to reach political parties located outside of the Yangon region.

Stage (3): Information Verification

Interview notes and transcripts were submitted back to political parties to verify and this process is vital to be corrected and to describe to people from constituencies. This back and forth information verification were completed through in-person and postal services.

Data and information provided by political parties were to receive confirmation and editing. This process was attempted through in-person and postal services. A few political parties' head offices are located in other states and regions, therefore, postal services are used to receive the confirmation from the political parties.

Limitation of this report

This inception report is unable to document the electoral promises of all political parties. Describe only selected political parties and electoral promises that early stage (a few parties are not ready for party manifesto) for political parties. Comprehensive electoral promises of political parties might be hopefully seen 60 to 90 days before general election day. Moreover, the electoral promise of political parties varies depending on local or constituencies problem-oriented. Some of the parties are interviewed through postal services and email, therefore, follow up questionnaires and additional insights were unable to be made.

CHAPTER (4): LEGISLATIVE EFFORT OF POLITICAL GROUPS IN THE PARLIAMENT [2016-2020]

This chapter presents the effort of political parties group and military as well as the government (ministries) in the parliament from 2016 to 2020 (31 August). More precisely, it presents political parties' electoral promises regarding the law reform [constitution amendment] and law-making for the country. From 2016 to 2020 (31 August), the effort of political groups in the parliament is compared in the process of legislation. The following figure shows a more clear landscape of the legislation in the parliament from 2016 to

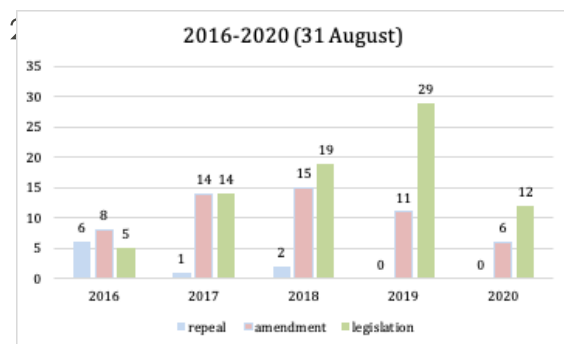


Figure 1 type of legislation in the parliament from 2016-2020 (31 August), source: parliament records

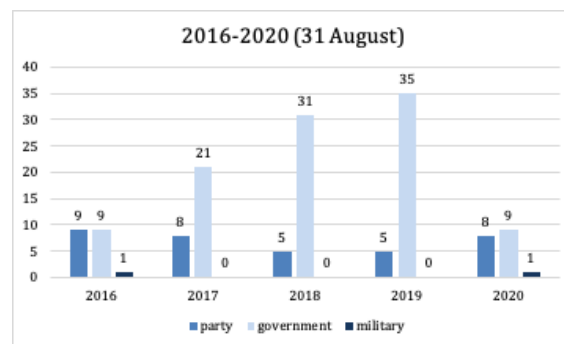


Figure 2 legislative effort of political groups in the parliament from 2016-2020, source: parliament records

This figure shows that three political groups are defined such as political party[1], government[2], and military[3] in the parliament. The numbers of legislative efforts by the above political groups can be described in this figure. In each number, new legislation, amendment, and repeal are generally calculated, for instance in 2016 in the figure, the number of legislative efforts of political parties in the parliament is 9 activities. In this number, three components (new legislation, amendment, and repeal) are covered. Therefore, the legislative efforts of the military in the parliament are a very small number from 2016 to 2020. It occurs precisely once in 2016 and 2020. In 2016 and 2020, legislative efforts of political parties in the parliament are significantly high. Those years are associating with the new administration of government and the end of a government administration (8 November 2020: General Election). Mid of parliament terms from 2017 to 2019, legislative efforts of political parties are fewer than mentioned above. In different directions between government groups and political party groups from 2017 to 2019 in the parliament, while the legislative efforts of the government led towards high, political groups turn down. The government's effort is significant.

[1] Political party refers - elected members of parliaments from political parties and individuals. But specific name of party and member of parliament are excluded in this presentation. This research defined political parties in the parliament is as a political group in the parliament.

[2] Government refers - departments, ministries and independent states institutions such as Anti-corruption Commission, Union Election Commission and Myanmar National Human Rights Commission, they are calculated as a political group in the parliament.

[3] Military refers - unelected member of parliament and Military institution are calculated in this group as a political group in the legislation process in the parliament

Legislative efforts of the political group are generally concluded that there are likely an association beginning and end of the election cycle. In other words, the new election comes up, the effort of political parties group reveals in the parliament.

Retrospection: 2008 Constitutional Amendment (2016-2020)

In this special focus emphasize particularly from 2016 to 2020, the effort of political parties in both Hluttaws on the constitutional amendment.

On 29 January 2019, the Union Parliament established the 45-member joint Parliamentary Committee for Constitutional Amendment (JPCCA), all parties in Pyidaungsu Hluttaw represented, and military involvement as well. This committee was to draft a report and submission to the Hluttaw. In that report, there were specific constitutional amendments and more than 3000 amendment proposals are submitted (Zulueta-Fulscher, 2020). Constitutional amendments are necessary to be made under section 436 (A), it refers to allow the amendment if there are more than 75 percent of all members of parliaments in the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw consent to amend the specific sections. In the operation process of JPCCA, decision-making rules within the committee were a cause for controversy. Between September and December 2019, five members of the committee decided to withdraw from the committee. There were one from NUP, two from ANP, and two from USDP. Those parties concerned about the voting system of the committee, it was a reason to withdraw from the committee. In the brief of the system, it was a non-inclusive voting system and it did not require consensus but allowed the NLD with the support of small parties to approve any given proposal (Zulueta-Fulscher, 2020). In early February, the committee finalized two amendment bills and sent them to parliament for debate alongside the five USDP and military bills (Myint, 2020). In the constitutional amendment process, two political groups appeared such as the democratic reform group and the pro-military group. NLD and ethnic political parties attempted to reduce the number of unelected seats of the military in the parliament. NLD-controlled committee attempted to amend concerning the articles[4] with the matters of reforms such as redesigning about forming defense and security committee in union parliament, amending the article about state-owned money, land, housing, vehicle, and property, legislative decentralization of state-level and self-administered zone level,

[4] These articles under article 436 (B), which needs to have approval only by a vote of more than 75 percent of all the representatives of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw without having a nationwide referendum. These articles under 436 (B) include 115 (b), 121 (k), 124 (a), 124 (b), 147 (b), 172 (a), 172 (b), 188, 196, 198 (b), 198 (d), 204 (b), 225, 226 (a), 226 (b), 232 (a) (i), 232 (b) (i), 232 (j) (ii), 232 (k), 234 (a), 234 (f), 235 (c) (ii), 237 (a), 237 (a) (iv) (dd), 239 (a), 239 (a) (iv) (dd), 239 (a) (iv) (cc), 244 (a), 244 (a) (iv) (cc), 262 (a) (i), 262 (n) (ii), 264 (b) (ii), 285 (a) (iv), 285 (f), 285 (g), 286 (a) (iii) (bb), 301 (d) (iv), 310 (d) (iii), 319, 333 (d) (iv), 338, 339, 344, 359, 376, 396 (b), 398 (b) (iii) (dd), 399 (f), 405 (a), 437 (a), 441, 442, 443, 444 (a), 444 (b), 445, 446, 447, 448, and 450.

concerning with Schedule 2, and 3 of Constitution, amending about the power to grant a presidential pardon, amending eligible qualifications for becoming some political or administrative positions such as union ministers and deputy ministers, attorney-general and deputy attorney-general, auditor-general and deputy auditor-general, ministers of regions or states, chairperson and members of Nay Pyi Taw Council, Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Federal Level and Chief Justice of High Court at States level, Members of constitutional tribunal, etc., gradual reduction of military role in the governance of national politics, etc (Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, 2020).

More precisely, the proposal of the NLD and its alliance proposed to reduce the unelected seat percent of the military in the parliament, 25 to 15 percent after the 2020 general election, 15 to 10 percent after the 2025 general election, and 10 to 5 percent after 2030 general election respectively. But NLD's proposal did not refer to zero percent of military seats in the parliament. To pass this amendment, more than 75 percent of consensus is needed. Furthermore, NLD and its alliance proposed to remove the veto power of the military in the process of a constitutional amendment (Aung, 2020). However, the NLD-controlled committee has failed to make radical changes in Myanmar that their campaign promised (Wast, 2020). In the amendment proposed by USDP was rejected within the committee, that was the Chief Minister of the states and regions be selected by their representative regional parliament instead of being appointed by the President (Heugas, 2020). Furthermore, the USDP party proposed to amend, substitute, remove, and supplement the articles concerning 436 (a). These articles include 5, 59 (c), 201, 248 (c) and in this way, these articles concerning with matters of reforms such as amendment of eligible qualifications for being President, redesigning of the National Defense and Security Council, and redesigning of the authority of President to form ministries at regional and state level, etc (Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, 2019). On the side of 436 (b), the articles[5] were proposed to amend regarding redesigning the elected pattern and authority of Chief Ministers of Regions and States, redesigning the authority of the Constitutional Tribunal and Electoral Commission, etc (Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, 2019).

Common results of analysis from other sources, voices of ethnic political parties in the committee were less considered, specifically in regards to federalism. As each political groups stand with its political agenda or political interest that ethnic political parties had backed the USDP's proposal of having state and regional ministers elected by state and regional parliaments instead of being appointed by the Union government (Heugas, 2020). Moreover, the NLD proposal emphasizes primarily on civilianization of governance institutions and the decision-making process (IDEA, 2020).

[5] These articles include 261 (b), 261 (b) (i), 261 (b) (ii), 261 (c), 261 (d), 261 (e), 264 (b) (i), 322 (b), and 402

As a consequence of NLD's less considers on the political agenda or political interest of the ethnic political party, ethnic political parties concern their political trust on the NLD in the 2020 general election. According to an interview with NLD, the reform plan of NLD reflects that the federalism as a long-term purpose, additionally, unless the 25 percent of military seats in the parliament can be eliminated (full democracy)[6], NLD considers that the federal issues will not be top agendas.

[6] Interview with U Myo Nyunt, spokesperson of National League for Democracy (NLD), February 2020, Central office of the party

CHAPTER (5): 2020 ELECTORAL PROMISES OF POLITICAL PARTIES: MAINLAND-BASED POLITICAL PARTIES [7]

As the 2020 General Election is drawing near, ethnic-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

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.

[7] The electoral promises of the political parties are described according to the interviews between Inya Economics and the parties' authorized persons. Either Inya Economics or the respective researcher does not intervene any part of the electoral promises of the political parties. And except from the parties which are connected and got the electoral promise with Myanmar post services and e-mail, the interview and validation process for the descriptions of this chapter are well passed.

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.



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 Federal Power and State Rights

- The peace conference is a way to democratic federalism. We discuss the Union Accord that has 51 agreed points, including drug cultivation, education and health.
- Our country is in between the Presidential system in the multiparty system and the Parliamentary system in the regional/state governmental system. This is because the capacity only lies at the central, not in the states and regions - for example, Chin and Kayah states. Under the federal system, most of these conditions must be amended, like the resource sharing. We must amend Schedule 2, which provides the Union government too much power.

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.



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.



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 privatesector 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.



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.



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.



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.

CHAPTER (6): 2020 ELECTORAL PROMISES OF POLITICAL PARTIES: STATE-BASED POLITICAL PARTIES

As the 2020 General Election is drawing near, ethnic-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.



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.



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 yam, 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.



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)



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.



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.

CHAPTER (7): CONCLUSION

Electoral promises of the political parties can deliver great hopes for the people, their future and can swiftly change the destiny of the country even in the opposite direction from the current direction of the nation. This is why electoral promises are important for the benefits of the people and the future of the people and of the country. Even unless looking thoroughly at the long process, the impacts of the electoral promises are undeniably vital for democratic accountability. To preserve this lifeblood of democratic accountability, the vows of political parties to the people, these electoral promises must be documented with valid proof. This is the rationale of this report for the benefits of the people and for strengthening democratic accountability in Myanmar.

This study does intend not to recommend what kind of electoral promises that the political parties should deliver to the people, not to criticize whether the electoral promises are suitable for the current status of political, economic, and social climates of the country and can bring the bright future to the people or not and last, not to propagandize for any political party and any political agenda. Therefore, what the report delivers to the people, the watch for Myanmar elections and democracy, researchers, the media, the academic, and the intellectuals? The report will deliver an excellent reference for all direct and indirect stakeholders in the democratization process of Myanmar.

The report will describe the promises of the political parties positively with their edition. This is about the collection of electoral promises under the six thematic titles, political electoral promises, economic electoral promises, social electoral promises, electoral promises of international relation and electoral promises of land affairs, the natural environment, and the resources which are entitled by the researchers. The people or anyone who studies or watch Myanmar through the elections can read and know the electoral promises without the researchers' intentional intervention to the understanding of the readers of the report.

The very overall findings of the report are as follow:

1. The majority of the electoral promises regardless of the political parties are under the title of political electoral promises and are concerned with the influence of current political dilemmas.
2. The parties which have the majority support by the people or by the people under an ethnic identity usually deliver political electoral promises.
3. The parties which have developmental thinking and deliver the economic electoral promises usually get less support than the parties which have a strong political agenda with less developmental plannings.

4. Most of the political parties' political ideologies (including economic and contemporary ideology such as multiculturalism) are less strong and meticulous.

5. The titles under which the electoral promises are least delivered are social electoral promises and electoral promises of international relations. The former concerns with most of the thinking of the politicians, some believe that politics should fully open first and some consider whether economics should place initiative but most of them neglect inclusiveness of the social sector. The latter concerns the belief of the parties which are not being able to win in the election. Because they cannot win the election in landslide and cannot form the government, they think that their consideration of foreign policy cannot affect the policy choice of the election winning party at the time.

6. The political parties which are backed up on ethnic identity except the minority ones who have developmental thinking are much more strongly desired for federal democracy than Bamar parties.

These above-described findings are based on the interviews with the political parties. The promises were gathered in the early of this year, therefore, these promises can change to some extent or increase with the evolving conditions of Myanmar polity, economy and society. The research team conducted this research and documentation with the strong belief and commitment to contribute for Democratic Accountability of Myanmar without any financial support of any local or international organization. To keep the promises which are given in the electoral season by the politicians to the people after winning the election, the report is an excellent document for this great cause.

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Inya
Economics

A/6 WaggiYeik Thar Street,
Kamayut Township
Yangon, Myanmar

+95 9 420 523 107
www.inyaeconomics.com
Inyaeconomics@gmail.com