

**fidh**

International Federation for Human Rights

**ALTSEAN**  
**BURMA**

# BURMA/MYANMAR SPDC ELECTION LAWS SET THE STAGE FOR SHAM ELECTIONS

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. Article 2: Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty. Article 3: Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security



26/04/2010  
N°537A



# BURMA/MYANMAR SPDC ELECTION LAWS SET THE STAGE FOR SHAM ELECTIONS

Highlights .....	3
Unfair Election Laws .....	4
SPDC'S Election Moves .....	6
Deteriorating Border Situation .....	7
The 2008 Constitution: The Institutionalization of Military Rule .....	9
Recommendations .....	9
Annexe .....	10
Footnotes .....	13

# Introduction

**The Alternative ASEAN Network on Burma (ALTSEAN - Burma) and the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) have been long documenting serious human rights violations occurring in Burma/Myanmar under the current military rule, one of the most repressive regimes in the world. Both organizations are supporting Justice and Democracy in Burma and, together with major Burmese organizations, are raising awareness on the crucial challenges that the country is currently facing, in the course of the shameful “road-map to democracy” that the regime has established in order to guarantee its continuous ruling under the facade of a civil government. The following paper gives a concrete update since the last report ALTSEAN published on the electoral process in Burma<sup>1</sup>. It also explains how the regime is preparing itself for the day after the elections which are organized with only one aim: to ensure that the country will remain still hostage of the military for many more years to come.**

## Highlights

- The State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) issues five repressive election laws that will ensure that the polls held in Burma later this year will be neither free nor fair.
- Some of the repressive provisions include:
  - Giving the Election Commission the authority to deny or delay elections in ethnic nationality areas for “security reasons”.
  - Excluding those who convicted of a crime and serving a jail term from being a member of a political party.
  - Forbidding those associated with armed opposition groups - and potentially including those associated with ceasefire groups that reject the SPDC’s Border Guard Force (BGR) ultimatum - from taking part in the elections.
- The SPDC continues to place severe restrictions on freedom and expression and assembly.
- In response to the unfair and undemocratic election laws, the National League for Democracy (NLD) announces that it will boycott the SPDC’s elections.
- In the meantime, the SPDC prepares to transfer its authority to junta-backed political parties and sell state assets to its loyal cronies.
- On the border, ethnic tensions escalate as ceasefire groups refuse to accept the SPDC’s ultimatum that their militaries become BGFs.
- In early 2010, SPDC military offensives in Eastern Burma displace more than 4,100 villagers.
- UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Burma recommends the UN consider establishing a Commission of Inquiry into war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by the SPDC.

- Regardless of how the elections are conducted, the SPDC's constitution will perpetuate military rule, because it stipulates that:
  - The military occupies 25% of the seats in Parliament and controls 3 key Ministries;
  - The military has effective veto power over constitutional amendments;
  - The National Defense and Security Council further entrenches the military;
  - Basic human rights are still threatened.

# Unfair Election Laws

On 8 March, the SPDC issued five laws related to elections that will be held later in 2010: the Election Commission Law; the Political Parties Registration Law; the People's Assembly Election Law; the National Assembly Election Law; and the Region or State Assemblies Election Law.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the SPDC's repeated pledges for "free and fair" elections, the junta's legal framework for the polls is repressive and undemocratic. As with the 2008 constitution and the 2008 Referendum Law, the SPDC election laws were the result of a unilateral, non-transparent, and non-inclusive process. The laws contained provisions designed to tightly control the electoral process and exclude pro-democracy activists from carrying out political activities and participating in the polls:

## The Election Commission Law

- Under the Election Commission Law, the junta handpicked the 17-member Election Commission, which presides over all aspects of the electoral process.<sup>3</sup> The Election Commission Chairman Thein Soe is a former Army Major General who served as a military judge.<sup>4</sup>
- The Election Commission Law gives the Election Commission the authority to deny or delay elections in ethnic nationality areas for "security reasons".<sup>5</sup>
- The Election Commission Law states that the Election Commission decisions regarding political parties are not subject to appeal to any court.<sup>6</sup>
- The Election Commission has the authority to disband and abolish political parties that:
  - 1) fail to uphold the constitution; or 2) accept persons as members barred from joining political parties under the Political Registration Law. [See, below].<sup>7</sup>

## The Political Parties Registration Law

- The Political Parties Registration Law excludes the following from forming or joining a political party:
  - a) anyone convicted by a court *and* serving a jail term (e.g.: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi);
  - b) anyone associated with "outlawed organizations";
  - c) Buddhist monks or members of other religious orders;
  - d) civil servants.<sup>8</sup>

- The Political Parties Registration Law forbids armed opposition groups from taking part in the elections.<sup>9</sup>
- Political parties must vow to safeguard the 2008 constitution and not to engage in activities that could affect religious or racial sentiment or create social commotion that would impact “dignity or morals.” The law is loosely defined to restrict campaigning against the SPDC.<sup>10</sup>
- Current political parties that are legally recognized must apply with the Elections Commission by 7 May to maintain their legal status. Those parties who fail to apply will be declared illegal and their properties will be subject to seizure by the SPDC.<sup>11</sup>

## Other restrictions

The SPDC also continued to impose restrictions on the freedom of information and freedom of assembly:

- The SPDC Censorship Board barred private news outlets from publishing any comment or analysis of the election laws that did not conform to the regime’s views.<sup>12</sup>
- SPDC authorities prevented some NLD offices from reopening in Mandalay Division and Arakan State.<sup>13</sup>
- On 17 March, the SPDC Censorship Board issued an order that required registered political parties to post a 500,000 kyat (US\$500) bond with the Board for permission to print election-related material.<sup>14</sup> According to the order, party literature cannot criticize the military or the SPDC and must not disturb “law and order and tranquility” of the nation.<sup>15</sup>

## NLD boycotts elections

On 29 March, the NLD announced it would not apply as a political party to contest the elections. The decision was the result of a vote by more than 100 NLD Central Committee and Central Executive Committee members who gathered at the party headquarters in Rangoon.<sup>16</sup> The decision is consistent with the party’s April 2009 Shwegondaing Declaration<sup>17</sup>.

NLD spokesman Nyan Win said the party decided not to register because the SPDC election laws were “unfair and unjust.”<sup>18</sup> On 23 March, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said that she would “not even think” of registering the NLD as a party because of the “unjust” SPDC election laws.<sup>19</sup>

The NLD’s decision to boycott the polls sent a strong message to Burma’s people and the international community that the upcoming elections are nothing more than a façade aimed at prolonging military rule in Burma.

# SPDC'S Election Moves

In the past few months, the SPDC has moved to consolidate its power at the polls and protect its economic interests.

## SPDC starts its election campaign in earnest

Pro-junta parties have already begun to register and started campaign activities:

- **9 March:** SPDC Prime Minister Gen Thein Sein and two ethnic-Shan SPDC Army officials campaigned for the elections in Muse, Northern Shan State.<sup>20</sup>
- **17 March:** SPDC Deputy Minister for Home Affairs Brig Gen Phone Swe held meetings with local Muslim leaders and USDA officials to discuss the elections in Maungdaw, Arakan State.<sup>21</sup>
- **22 March:** Pro-junta 88 Generation Students (Union of Myanmar) and Union of Myanmar Federation of National Politics parties filed their registration papers to participate in the upcoming elections.<sup>22</sup>
- **27 March:** In his Armed Forces Day speech in Naypyidaw, SPDC Chairman Sr Gen Than Shwe warned political parties against “engaging in divisive acts that lead to disunity” and said that the armed forces can take part in politics “whenever the need arises.”<sup>23</sup>
- **29 March:** The pro-junta National Unity Party filed registration papers to participate in the upcoming elections.<sup>24</sup>

## Privatizations ahead of the elections

In 2010, the SPDC moved to protect its economic interests through deals that put the control of key industries into the hands of its loyal business cronies, such as the notorious Htoo Trading chairman Tay Za.

On 26 January 2010, SPDC Energy Ministry officials announced that the SPDC would privatize all of its 256 gas stations across Burma.<sup>25</sup> The junta appointed the Fuel Oil Importers and Distributors Association (FOIDA) to oversee the privatization.<sup>26</sup> Tay Za is chair of the FOIDA, while Aung Thet Mann, son of third ranking SPDC member Gen Thura Shwe Mann, is vice-chair.<sup>27</sup>

Other privatizations and business deals to junta cronies included:

- **Late December 2009:** The SPDC awarded a major contract for construction of two dams for hydropower plants to Htoo Trading. Htoo Trading became the first private Burmese company to be awarded such a contract in the hydropower sector.<sup>28</sup>
- **22 January 2010:** The SPDC’s privatization commission announced that it will sell off more than 100 state-owned buildings and factories including the former Supreme Court buildings and the Inspector General’s Office in downtown Rangoon.<sup>29</sup> On 1 March, it was reported that 70% of this property ended up in the hands of junta cronies while the rest ended up in the hands of foreign companies.<sup>30</sup>
- **1 February 2010:** Rangoon-based weekly “Voice” reported that the SPDC will hand over the operation of three Rangoon port terminals to private enterprises.<sup>31</sup> Rangoon’s ports account for about 90% of Burma’s imports and exports.<sup>32</sup>

- **3 February 2010:** Weekly journal “7 Days” reported that Myanmar Airways International will sell 80% of its shares along with corporate control to Kanbawza Bank. Kanbawza Bank owner Aung Ko Win, who is on UK and EU sanctions lists, is close to SPDC Vice Sr Gen Maung Aye.<sup>33</sup>

# Deteriorating Border Situation

## Elections exacerbating ethnic tensions

In the build up to the elections, the SPDC has moved to assert its control over the ethnic nationality areas in Burma’s border regions. In late April 2009, the SPDC issued an ultimatum to ethnic ceasefire groups to incorporate their armies into a new Border Guard Force (BGF) prior to the 2010 elections.<sup>34</sup> This mandate means that the ethnic armies would have to relinquish command authority to the SPDC Army.<sup>35</sup> Many ethnic ceasefire groups have repeatedly rejected the SPDC’s ultimatum. This has forced the SPDC to extend the deadline to accept its BGF ultimatum five times. If the ceasefire groups fail to comply with this order, it is likely that the SPDC will declare them unlawful associations and ban their political wings from taking part in the elections.

Name of ceasefire group	Response to BGF order	No. of soldiers	Notes
<b>United Wa State Army (UWSA)</b>	Rejected	20,000 – 36,000	SPDC has begun crackdown on the Wa drug trade. 50,000 or more refugees expected if war breaks out with junta.
<b>Shan State Army (SSA) “North”</b>	Rejected	5,000	
<b>New Mon State Party (NMSP)</b>	Rejected	3,500	Warned other ceasefire groups against becoming BGFs.
<b>Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA) [aka Kokang]</b>	Rejected	600 - 1,000	MNDAA leadership fled Kokang region in late August after the SPDC offensive and is now hiding in Wa territory.
<b>Kachin Independence Army</b>	Rejected	4,000 -6,000	Its proposal to create independent border guard force has been roundly rejected by SPDC.
<b>National Democratic Alliance Army (NDAA) [aka Mongla]</b>	Rejected	1,200 -5,000	Along with the Wa, are seen as potential next targets for the SPDC.
<b>Kayan New Land Party (KNLP)</b>	Rejected	200	
<b>Pa-O National Organization</b>	Accepted	800	
<b>Kayan National Guard (KNG)</b>	Accepted	150	
<b>Karenni Nationalities People’s Liberation Front (KNPLF)</b>	Accepted	600	Planning on forming a political party and contesting the election.
<b>Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA)</b>	Accepted	6,000	On a recruiting drive to expand to 9,000 troops. Includes child soldier recruits. Has shown recent hesitation about BGF.
<b>Kachin Defense Army (KDA)</b>	Accepted	400 - 800	
<b>New Democratic Army Kachin (NDAK)</b>	Accepted	1000	
<b>Lasang Awng Wa Peace Group in Kachin State</b>	Accepted	N/A	

Because of the reluctance of the ceasefire groups to accept the BGF ultimatum, the SPDC Army increased its military presence in Kachin, Shan, and Karen States in a show of force designed to coerce the ceasefire groups into joining the BGF.<sup>36</sup> The SPDC Army has already launched one offensive against a ceasefire group that resisted the BGF mandate. In August 2009, the SPDC Army broke a 20-year ceasefire agreement with the Myanmar National Democracy Alliance Army (MNDAA) and attacked their Kokang Self-Administered Zone in Northern Shan State.<sup>37</sup> After toppling the MNDAA, the SPDC installed a new provisional government in Kokang whose armed forces promptly joined the BGF.<sup>38</sup> The SPDC Army offensive against the MNDAA pushed nearly 37,000 refugees into China.<sup>39</sup>

In early 2010, both the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) and the United Wa State Army (UWSA) offered counter-proposals to the regime's BGF ultimatum that would limit SPDC Army control over their forces.<sup>40</sup> The SPDC rejected these offers and responded with military escalation.<sup>41</sup> On 15 March, sources reported that the SPDC Army sent more than 70,000 troops to areas near KIO and UWSA bases in Kachin and Shan States.<sup>42</sup> Military observers and analysts predict that if the SPDC Army launched an offensive against the UWSA, an estimated 50,000 Shan and Wa refugees would flee to neighboring Thailand and even more to China.<sup>43</sup>

## **More displacement in 2010**

Despite the upcoming polls, the SPDC Army continued mounting military offensives against civilians in Eastern Burma in 2010. Since the beginning of January, the SPDC Army has destroyed over 80 homes and displaced more than 4,100 Karen villagers from Kyaukkyi Township in Eastern Pegu Division.<sup>44</sup> On 9 March, the Thailand Burma Border Consortium said that SPDC's constitution's failure to address "ethnic aspirations" could mean that conflict in the border areas would continue for "many more years to come."<sup>45</sup>

## **UN condemns SPDC's abuses**

On 11 March, in his report to the Human Rights Council, the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Myanmar Tomás Ojea Quintana said that the ongoing "gross and systematic violations" of human rights in the country were "the result of a state policy." Due to the regime's lack of accountability for those abuses, Ojea Quintana made the unprecedented recommendation that the UN consider establishing a Commission of Inquiry into war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by the SPDC. He also called for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the 2,100 political prisoners in Burma.<sup>46</sup>

On 26 March, the UN Human Rights Council passed a resolution that condemned the SPDC's "systematic and gross" violations of human rights, including disappearances, arbitrary detentions, torture of prisoners, and recruitment of child soldiers.<sup>47</sup> It was the 21st resolution passed by the Geneva-based body against Burma's military regime since 1992. The resolution welcomed the report of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Myanmar and urged the implementation of his recommendations, including the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry, in favor of which FIDH and ALTSEAN have lobbied for a long time<sup>48</sup>.

The resolution called on the junta to release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all political prisoners ahead of the elections. It also urged the junta to "ensure a free, transparent, fair electoral process which allows for the participation of all voters, all political parties."<sup>49</sup>



# The 2008 Constitution: The Institutionalization of Military Rule

Even if the elections are held under the best of circumstances, the 2008 constitution will entrench military rule:

- Gives the Defense Services Commander-in-Chief the power to:
  - Appoint 25% of the seats in both the upper and lower houses of Parliament;
  - Appoint 25% of the seats Regional Parliaments;
  - provide the President with a list of approved candidates for the Ministers of Defense, Security/ Home Affairs, and Border Affairs;<sup>50</sup>
- Gives the military de facto control over constitutional amendments as over 75% of legislative members of both houses of Parliament are required to pass an amendment;<sup>51</sup>
- Ensures that the National Defense and Security Council is dominated by members of the military;<sup>52</sup>
- Deprives people of their basic human rights by stipulating “exception clauses,” which preserve draconian laws<sup>53</sup> that explicitly prohibit freedom of speech, association, and assembly;<sup>54</sup>
- Serves as a green light for the continued Burmanization of the ethnic nationality areas by ceding authority over ethnic nationality areas to the Commander-in-Chief-selected Minister of Border Affairs.<sup>55</sup>

## Recommendations

Based on the information provided, and the extremely broad consensus observed among the Burmese movement which categorically reject the electoral process, our organizations strongly urge the United Nations, the European Union and the Association of the South - East Asian Nations (ASEAN) as well as national governments to:

- **Reject the regime-organized elections;**
- **Support all of Burma’s human rights defenders and its democratic movement;**
- **Call on the SPDC to release all political prisoners, cease hostilities with ethnic nationality groups and to engage in genuine tripartite dialogue with all key stakeholders, undertaking an essential reform of the Constitution as a first step, in particular regarding the provisions which guarantee impunity and violate basic fundamental rights;**
- **Call for a UN mandated Commission of Inquiry into crimes against humanity and war crimes in Burma.**

# Annexe

## International Reactions to the SPDC Election Laws

### ASEAN

- “The new regulations were regrettable because the poll should be inclusive. The new regulation may undermine the poll because it will result in an election that fails inclusivity.” - Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman Teuku Faizasyah, 12 March.<sup>56</sup>
- “The junta [...] should no longer create new laws or anything to bar Suu Kyi.” - Indonesian MP Muhammad Najib, 12 March.<sup>57</sup>
- “Unless they release Aung San Suu Kyi and allow her and her party to participate in elections, it’s a complete farce and therefore contrary to their roadmap to democracy.” - Philippines Foreign Secretary Alberto Romulo, 11 March.<sup>58</sup>

### UN

- “Under these current conditions, elections in Myanmar cannot be considered credible.” - UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Burma Tomás Ojea Quintana, 15 March.<sup>59</sup>
- “It is frustrating and disappointing that we have not seen the progress we expected. The current electoral laws do not measure up to what is needed.” - UN Sec-Gen Ban Ki-moon, 25 March.<sup>60</sup>
- “Without full participation, including by the some 2,100 prisoners of conscience, and an environment that allows people and parties to engage in the range of electoral activities, the elections cannot be credible.” - UN Sec-Gen Ban Ki-moon, 25 March.<sup>61</sup>
- “[The Human Rights Council] expresses regret and concern that the newly adopted electoral laws do not meet the expectations of the international community regarding what is needed for an inclusive political process.” - Human Rights Council, 26 March.<sup>62</sup>

### US

- “I think it would be fair to say what we have seen so far is disappointing and regrettable.” - US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs Kurt Campbell, 10 March.<sup>63</sup>
- “The political party registration law makes a mockery of the democratic process and ensures the upcoming election will be devoid of credibility. We are deeply disappointed with the political party law which excludes all of Burma’s 2,000 political prisoners from political participation. This is step in the wrong direction.” - US State Department spokesman P J Crowley, 10 March.<sup>64</sup>
- “We were clearly disappointed by them [the SPDC election laws]. It by no means does what Burma has to do in terms of opening up its political process and having meaningful dialogue with parties, including Aung San Suu Kyi’s, as well as the various ethnic groups within Burmese society.” - US State Department spokesman P J Crowley, 26 March.<sup>65</sup>

## **UK**

- “[The British government is] concerned at the implications of the laws we’ve seen so far, and regret that they are not based on genuine and inclusive dialogue between the regime, opposition and ethnic groups. Our position remains that elections in Burma will not be credible unless such dialogue takes place.” - UK Foreign Office Minister Ivan Lewis, 10 March.<sup>66</sup>
- “Burma has ignored the demands of the UN Security Council, the UN Secretary General, the US, EU and its own neighbors by imposing restrictive and unfair terms on elections. The targeting of Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD is particularly vindictive and callous.” - UK PM Gordon Brown, 15 March.<sup>67</sup>
- “[T]he electoral laws [...] fall well short of what the international community expected in a free and fair process and fell short of the expectations set out in previous statements by the Security Council, which had highlighted the importance of releasing all political prisoners, of establishing a national dialogue and creating the right conditions for reconciliation. By contrast, we believe that these laws set up a process which is not conducive to free and fair elections later this year, and in many ways, seemed designed to target Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD opposition party and to make it very difficult for them to register for the elections.” - UK Ambassador to the UN Mark Lyall Grant, 24 March.<sup>68</sup>
- “The instability that could be caused by a flawed electoral process is a threat to international peace and security.” - UK Ambassador to the UN Mark Lyall Grant, 24 March.<sup>69</sup>

## **Canada**

- “Canada is deeply concerned by the new election laws unveiled by the Burmese regime this week. [...] what we have seen to date suggests that the Burmese regime is resolutely failing to deliver on its promise of free and fair elections this year.” - Canada FM Lawrence Cannon, 11 March.<sup>70</sup>
- “Elements of the laws point to a deliberate effort by Burmese military leaders to prevent legitimate democratic actors from participating in the promised elections.” - Canada FM Lawrence Cannon, 11 March.<sup>71</sup>
- “We are very disappointed with the electoral laws, which exclude Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and more than 2,100 political prisoners from political participation.” - Canadian Parliamentary Friends of Burma, 15 March.<sup>72</sup>

## **Australia**

- “[O]n the basis of the publication of these electoral laws, I have very grave reservations as to whether it is possible for an election to be conducted appropriately in Burma with the full, free and fair participation of all those concerned. I very much regret this development. We had in some respects hoped very much that the authorities were more completely embracing a genuine return to democracy. This is a disappointment [...]” - Australia FM Stephen Smith, 16 March.<sup>73</sup>

## **Japan**

- “This clearly differs from a free election where all stakeholders can participate, such as Japan wishes.” - Japan FM Katsuya Okada, 26 March.<sup>74</sup>

## **India**

- “Unless Suu Kyi is allowed to participate the electoral laws would have no credibility and not be counted as free and fair.” - Indian MP Sharad Joshi, 17 March.<sup>75</sup>
- “The electoral laws enacted on 8th March 2010 are extremely undemocratic. We don’t

believe the election held under such a law meets any democratic norms. It will not resolve the problems of Burma.” - Indian Parliamentarians’ Forum for Democracy in Burma, 17 March.<sup>76</sup>

### **China**

- “These are the internal affairs of Myanmar, which need to be properly resolved by the government and people of Myanmar.” - Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang.<sup>77</sup>
- “[The] general election [...] is a matter of sovereign state, so that should be respected, so this principle applies to the case in Myanmar. [The election] is a very important step in the process of national reconciliation, democracy. It is very important for the international community and the Security Council to help Myanmar promote a constructive, healthy environment conducive to the coming general election.” - China Ambassador to the UN Li Baodong, 24 March.<sup>78</sup>

# Footnotes

1. See ALTSEAN - Burma report on 2010 Elections : a recipe for continued conflict on: [www.altsean.org/Reports/2010Electionsbis.php](http://www.altsean.org/Reports/2010Electionsbis.php)
2. AP (08 Mar 10) Myanmar enacts election laws, paving way for polls; AFP (08 Mar 10) Burma enacts first election laws; Irrawaddy (08 Mar 10) Regime Announces Election Law; Mizzima News (08 Mar 10) Burma to announce details of election laws tomorrow; Chinland Guardian (08 Mar 10) Burma Announced Elections Laws with No Details
3. AFP (09 Mar 10) Myanmar vote unfair but hope for change remains: analysts; NLM (12 Mar 10) Formation of Union Election Commission; Mizzima News (11 Mar 10) Burmese regime discloses Election Commission members; Chinland Guardian (11 Mar 10) Burma Appoints Election Commission as Canada Slams Junta
4. Irrawaddy (12 Mar 10) Election Commission Members from Various Backgrounds
5. Reuters (09 Mar 10) Myanmar junta unveils first of five election laws
6. The Political Parties Registration Law (SPDC Law No. 2/2010) Chapter 5
7. The Political Parties Registration Law (SPDC Law No. 2/2010) Chapter 3
8. Mizzima News (09 Mar 10) Burma bans imprisoned dissidents from up-coming elections; Mizzima News (29 Mar 10) USDA transformed to political party
9. Mizzima News (09 Mar 10) Burma bans imprisoned dissidents from up-coming elections
10. The Political Parties Registration Law (SPDC Law No. 2/2010) Chapter 2
11. Irrawaddy (09 Mar 10) Party Registration Laws Set NLD a Deadline
12. Mizzima News (12 Mar 10) Election analysis barred in Burmese publications; Irrawaddy (13 Mar 10) Junta Bans Election News; DVB (17 Mar 10) Election views blocked in Burmese media
13. Mizzima News (11 Mar 10) One third of NLD offices reopen; Narinjara News (12 Mar 10) Two NLD Offices Open in Arakan State
14. Mizzima News (25 Mar 10) Party literature cannot criticize military: Junta
15. Irrawaddy (26 Mar 10) Censorship Board Issues Political Parties Order; Mizzima News (25 Mar 10) Party literature cannot criticize military: Junta
16. AP (29 Mar 10) Myanmar opposition party to boycott elections; Reuters (29 Mar 10) Suu Kyi's party says won't stand in Myanmar polls; FT (29 Mar 10) Suu Kyi's party to boycott Burmese election; BBC (29 Mar 10) Suu Kyi's NLD party to boycott Burma election; DPA (29 Mar 10) Myanmar opposition party rejects polls; Kyodo News (29 Mar 10) Suu Kyi's NLD announces intention to boycott election; Guardian (29 Mar 10) Burma's National League for Democracy fails to register for election; DVB (29 Mar 10) Suu Kyi's party to boycott elections; Straits Times (30 Mar 10) Suu Kyi's party to boycott polls; Irrawaddy (29 Mar 10) NLD Says 'No' to Election; Mizzima News (29 Mar 10) NLD not to re-register with Election Commission
17. The "Shwegondaing Declaration", issued on 29 April, outlined the NLD's conditions for participating in the polls. The NLD said it would take part in the elections only if the SPDC released all political prisoners, reviewed the Constitution, and held "inclusive free and fair" elections "under international supervision." The NLD also said that it would have to wait until the publication of the election and party registration laws before deciding whether to contest the polls
18. AP (29 Mar 10) Myanmar opposition party to boycott elections
19. AP (23 Mar 10) Myanmar's Suu Kyi against party joining elections; BBC (23 Mar 10) Suu Kyi 'opposes election role for her party'; Reuters (23 Mar 10) Detained Suu Kyi says would snub Myanmar polls; Al Jazeera (24 Mar 10) Suu Kyi slams 'unjust' Myanmar vote; DVB (23 Mar 10) Suu Kyi 'wouldn't think of registering' for elections; Mizzima News (23 Mar 10) Aung San Suu Kyi against party contesting polls
20. SHAN (11 Mar 10) Junta tries to win over people with ethnic officers
21. Narinjara News (18 Mar 10) Deputy Home Minister Arrives in Maungdaw for Election Campaign
22. NLM (26 Mar 10) Union Election Commission accepting applications; Irrawaddy (22 Mar 10) Political Parties Begin to Register in Naypyidaw
23. AP (27 Mar 10) Myanmar junta chief sets ground rules for polls; Reuters (27 Mar 10) Myanmar junta chief warns against "divisive acts"; Straits Times (28 Mar 10) Junta to keep political role; UPI (27 Mar 10) Shwe vows fair elections in Myanmar; Kyodo News (27 Mar 10) Myanmar junta chief warns parties, hints at political role for army
24. NLM (30 Mar 10) Continued existence as political party applied
25. Reuters (26 Jan 10) Myanmar to privatise fuel retailing -energy official; DPA (25 Jan 10) Myanmar to privatize all fuel stations by March, source says; Mizzima News (25 Jan 10) Junta to privatize oil industry; DVB (26 Jan 10) Burmese junta to privatise gas stations
26. Reuters (26 Jan 10) Myanmar to privatise fuel retailing -energy official; DPA (25 Jan 10) Myanmar to privatize all fuel stations by March, source says; Mizzima News (25 Jan 10) Junta to privatize oil industry; DVB (26 Jan 10) Burmese junta to privatise gas stations
27. Reuters (26 Jan 10) Myanmar to privatise fuel retailing -energy official; DPA (25 Jan 10) Myanmar to privatize all fuel stations by March, source says; Mizzima News (25 Jan 10) Junta to privatize oil industry; DVB (26 Jan 10) Burmese junta to privatise gas stations; Irrawaddy (27 Jan 10) Burmese Tycoon Takes Over Fuel Imports and Sales; Xinhua (27 Jan 10) Private enterprises to run fuel filling stations in Myanmar
28. Irrawaddy (04 Jan 10) Tay Za granted electricity contract; Irrawaddy (07 Jan 10) Regime Privatizing to Retain Control of Resources; Xinhua (05 Jan 10) Myanmar encourages private companies to implement hydropower projects
29. Irrawaddy (22 Jan 10) Junta puts more state-owned properties up for sale
30. DVB (01 Mar 10) 70 percent of Burma property goes to junta cronies
31. Reuters (08 Feb 10) Myanmar to privatise Yangon port facilities; WSJ (18 Feb 10) Myanmar Moves to Privatize Key State Enterprises; Irrawaddy (06 Feb 10) Burma Sell Off Echoes Russia's Carve Up by the "Oligarchies"; DVB (09 Feb 10) Sweeping privatisation in Burma continues; Xinhua (01 Jan 10) Myanmar to privatize port terminals handling business
32. Reuters (08 Feb 10) Myanmar to privatise Yangon port facilities; Irrawaddy (06 Feb 10) Burma Sell Off Echoes Russia's Carve Up by the "Oligarchies"; DVB (09 Feb 10) Sweeping privatisation in Burma continues
33. WSJ (18 Feb 10) Myanmar Moves to Privatize Key State

- Enterprises; Mizzima News (03 Feb 10) Burma's national airline sold to private bank; Irrawaddy (03 Feb 10) Western-sanctioned Kanbawza Bank Buys Airline; Xinhua (03 Feb 10) Myanmar Airways International To Be Privatized; Flightglobal (10 Feb 10) Myanmar's MAI set for ownership change as Singaporeans exit
34. Mizzima News (28 Apr 09) Junta meets leaders of ethnic ceasefire groups; Irrawaddy (28 Apr 09) Junta Commanders Court Ceasefire Groups; Kachin News Group (04 May 09) KIA told to change to border force by junta; DVB (04 May 09) Intelligence chief meets with ceasefire groups; SHAN (04 May 09) Junta tells Wa ceasefire days are over
  35. Irrawaddy (04 May 09) Armed Ceasefire Groups to be 'Border Guard Force'
  36. Kachin News Group (11 Aug 09) Four ethnic ceasefire groups to take on junta in event of war; Mizzima News (14 Aug 09) KIO trains administrative staff; Irrawaddy (25 Aug 09) Tension Mounts between Junta and Kokang Ceasefire Group; SHAN (24 Aug 09) Tension sparks people to flee into China; SHAN (14 Aug 09) Junta's ploy is to push Kokang to shoot first; Irrawaddy (10 Aug 09) Kokang Thwart Burma Army Drug Raid; Irrawaddy (13 Aug 09) Tension Mounts at Three Pagodas Pas; Irrawaddy (31 Aug 09) Junta Sends Major Reinforcements to Shan State
  37. SHAN (27 Aug 09) Rebels say junta shell kills Chinese soldiers
  38. Reuters (02 Sep 09) Myanmar rebels head home 'in disarray'; SHAN (03 Sep 09) Junta's next move still a question mark; Xinhua (11 Sep 09) Kokang group ready to participate in 2010 Myanmar vote
  39. DVB (01 Sep 09) Kokang conflict 'could spark bigger problems'; SHAN (08 Sep 09) Junta engages in diversionary tactics; Straits Times (02 Sep 09) Border intrigue, or was it?
  40. Kachin News Group (18 Mar 10) Junta wants KIO to come clean on BGF
  41. SHAN (15 Mar 10) Junta spurns Wa proposal
  42. Irrawaddy (15 Mar 10) Tension Rises Further as BGF Deadline Passes
  43. Mizzima News (10 Sep 09) Civil war imminent in Burma: Observers
  44. Reuters (23 Jan 10) Over 2,000 Karens flee Myanmar army raids-aid group; AFP (24 Jan 10) Karen flee Myanmar army attacks: rights groups; Mizzima News (27 Jan 10) Villages burnt, Karen villagers hide in jungles; Free Burma Rangers (12 Feb 10) 2,100 Displaced, Villages Burned, Schools Abandoned as Seven Burma Army Battalions Attack; Irrawaddy (11 Feb 10) Karen Villagers Flee as Burma Army Escalates Attacks; Mizzima News (12 Feb 10) Army sets ablaze Karen villages, 1,000 villagers flee
  45. Irrawaddy (09 Mar 10) Border Conflict Could Last 'Many More Years,' TBBC Warns
  46. Reuters (11 Mar 10) U.N. rights envoy seeks Myanmar war crimes inquiry; AFP (11 Mar 10) Myanmar abuse may be crimes against humanity: UN expert; AFP (12 Mar 10) UN urges war crimes probe in Myanmar; DVB (11 Mar 10) Burma war crimes probe gets UN backing; Irrawaddy (11 Mar 10) Quintana Recommends UN War Crimes Commission on Burma; Irrawaddy (11 Mar 10) Quintana Recommends UN War Crimes Commission on Burma
  47. HRC, 13th session, Situation of human rights in Myanmar, 19 March 2009, UN Doc A/HRC/13/L.15; Reuters (26 Mar 10) U.N. rights forum condemns Myanmar, extends probe
  48. See FIDH - BLC- ALTSEAN-Burma report entitled "Burma: An International Commission of Inquiry more urgent than ever", can be downloaded at <http://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/bu08.pdf>
  49. HRC, 13th session, Situation of human rights in Myanmar, 19 March 2009, UN Doc A/HRC/13/L.15; Reuters (26 Mar 10) U.N. rights forum condemns Myanmar, extends probe
  50. Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 109, 14; Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 232 (b); Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 161 (d)
  51. Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 436 (b)
  52. Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 342; Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 201
  53. Such as the 1975 State Protection Law, 1962 Printers and Publishers Law, 1985 Television and Video Act, 1996, Computer Science and Development Law, and 2000 Internet Law
  54. Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 354, 376
  55. Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Article 232
  56. Jakarta Post (12 Mar 10) Indonesia hits out at Myanmar junta over new poll regulation
  57. Jakarta Post (12 Mar 10) Indonesia hits out at Myanmar junta over new poll regulation
  58. Business Mirror (Philippines) (11 Mar 10) New Burma election law 'a farce'
  59. Reuters (15 Mar 10) Myanmar elections "not credible" - U.N. envoy
  60. CNN (26 Mar 10) U.N. critical of Myanmar election process; Mizzima News (26 Mar 10) Burma faces critical challenges: Ban
  61. UN News Center (25 Mar 10) Upcoming polls in Myanmar must be transparent, say Ban and Group of Friends
  62. HRC, 13th session, Situation of human rights in Myanmar, 19 March 2009, UN Doc A/HRC/13/L.15
  63. AFP (10 Mar 10) US says Myanmar election law 'disappointing, regrettable'
  64. AFP (10 Mar 10) Myanmar polls 'devoid of credibility': US
  65. Irrawaddy (27 Mar 10) US Ready to Engage in Military Dialogue with Burma: Official
  66. Mizzima News (12 Mar 10) World Reacts to Burma election laws
  67. Number 10.gov.uk (15 Mar 10) PM calls election terms in Burma "restrictive and unfair"
  68. Irrawaddy (25 Mar 10) UNSC Differences Emerge after Burma Briefing
  69. Reuters (25 Mar 10) U.N.'s Ban frustrated and disappointed over Myanmar
  70. Canada Ministry of Foreign Affairs (11 Mar 10) Canada Deeply Concerned by Burmese Election Laws
  71. Chinland Guardian (11 Mar 10) Burma Appoints Election Commission as Canada Slams Junta
  72. CPFOB Letter to SPDC Chairman Sr Gen Than Shwe (15 Mar 10)
  73. Australian Minister For Foreign Affairs (16 Mar 10) Question Without Notice – Subject: Burma
  74. Irrawaddy (29 Mar 10) Junta on Collision Course with Asia
  75. Mizzima News (17 Mar 20) Opposition urges India to take stand on Burmese polls
  76. Narinjara News (18 Mar 10) Protest against Burma election laws; Kachin News Group (17 Mar 10) Burmese in New Delhi protest 2010 electoral laws
  77. AFP (11 Mar 10) Myanmar's Suu Kyi calls for united response to 'unjust' law
  78. AFP (24 Mar 10) Security Council mulls Myanmar's electoral laws; Xinhua (24 Mar 10) China backs world efforts to promote Middle East peace process

## Keep your eyes open

### Establishing the facts – Investigative and trial observation missions

Through activities ranging from sending trial observers to organising international investigative missions, FIDH has developed, rigorous and impartial procedures to establish facts and responsibility. Experts sent to the field give their time to FIDH on a voluntary basis.

FIDH has conducted more than 1 500 missions in over 100 countries in the past 25 years. These activities reinforce FIDH's alert and advocacy campaigns.

### Supporting civil society – Training and exchange

FIDH organises numerous activities in partnership with its member organisations, in the countries in which they are based. The core aim is to strengthen the influence and capacity of human rights activists to boost changes at the local level.

### Mobilising the international community – Permanent lobbying before intergovernmental bodies

FIDH supports its member organisations and local partners in their efforts before intergovernmental organisations. FIDH alerts international bodies to violations of human rights and refers individual cases to them. FIDH also takes part in the development of international legal instruments.

### Informing and reporting – Mobilising public opinion

FIDH informs and mobilises public opinion. Press releases, press conferences, open letters to authorities, mission reports, urgent appeals, petitions, campaigns, website... FIDH makes full use of all means of communication to raise awareness of human rights violations.



ALTSEAN  
BURMA

**ALTSEAN-Burma** (Alternative ASEAN Network on Burma) is a network of organizations and individuals based in ASEAN member states working to support the movement for human rights and democracy in Burma. The network is comprised of human rights & social justice NGOs, political parties, think tanks, academics, journalists and student activists. ALTSEAN-Burma was formed at the conclusion of the Alternative ASEAN Meeting on Burma held at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, in October 1996.

**This document has been produced with the financial assistance of the European Union.**

**The contents of this document are the sole responsibility of FIDH and can under no circumstances be regarded as reflecting the position of the European Union.**

#### FIDH - International Federation for Human Rights

17, passage de la Main-d'Or - 75011 Paris - France  
CCP Paris: 76 76 Z  
Tel: (33-1) 43 55 25 18 / Fax: (33-1) 43 55 18 80  
[www.fidh.org](http://www.fidh.org)

Director of the publication: Souhayr Belhassen

Editor: Antoine Bernard

Auteurs: Altsean Burma

Coordination: Emmanouil Athanasiou, Debbie Stothard

Design: Bruce Pleiser

# FIDH represents **164** human rights organisations on **5** continents



of person. Article 4: No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms. Article 5: No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Article 6: Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law. Article 7: All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination. Article 8: Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law. Article 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest,

## ABOUT FIDH

- FIDH takes action for the protection of victims of human rights violations, for the prevention of violations and to bring perpetrators to justice.

- A broad mandate

FIDH works for the respect of all the rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: civil and political rights, as well as economic, social and cultural rights.

- A universal movement

FIDH was established in 1922, and today unites 164 member organisations in more than 100 countries around the world. FIDH coordinates and supports their activities and provides them with a voice at the international level.

- An independent organisation

Like its member organisations, FIDH is not linked to any party or religion and is independent of all governments.

**fidh**

International Federation for Human Rights

Find information concerning FIDH 164 member organisations on [www.fidh.org](http://www.fidh.org)