

**NARRATIVE REPORT OF
THE SEMINAR ON BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR FUTURE FEDERAL
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF BURMA**

(9-12 February 2005)

Summary

On the Union Day of 2005, more than 106 representatives from 42 organizations, including elected MPs, senior leaders of ethnic nationalities and political parties, and representatives of women and youth organizations adopted the “Basic Principles for Future Federal Constitution of the Union of Burma”.

They all agree that political crisis in present Burma is not ideological confrontation between a democracy and totalitarianism, but a constitutional problem rooted in the question of self-determination for non-Burman nationalities who joined the Union of Burma as equal partners in 1947 at Panglong Conference. The best means of solving political crisis in Burma, therefore, is the establishment of a genuine Federal Union based on the principles of equality for all ethnic nationalities, the right of self-determination for all member states of the Union, and the democratic rights for all citizens of the Union of Burma.

On the same day at the same seminar, all the participants unanimously decided to form a “Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordination Committee” (FCDCC), based on National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), National Council of Union of Burma (NCUB), National Democratic Front (NDF), Nationalities Youth Forum (NY-Forum), Students and Youth Congress of Burma (SYCB), and United Nationalities League for Democracy (UNLD), and Women League of Burma (WLB). The “Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordination Committee” (FCDCC), therefore, was formed on 19 April 2005.

We would like to express our heartfelt thanks to the Danish Burma Committee (DBC) and the Danish government for granting us financial assistance to formulate the “Basic Principles for Future Federal Constitution of the Union of Burma”.

Introduction

The process of formulating the “Basic principles for Future Federal Constitution of the Union of Burma” began in May 2004, when the Danish Burma Committee (DBC) organized a seminar on “Democracy, Constitution and National Reconciliation”. At that seminar, Dr. Lian H. Sakhong, General Secretary of UNLD-LA and ENC, presented a paper entitled: “What’s Next?: An Analysis on Current Political Situation in Burma”. He

argued that the most effective means of responding the SPCD's National Convention is "to produce the Basic Principles, as Aung San had done in 1947." "If we can produce the Basic Principles", he argued, "such principles can easily be compared with the SPDC's Road Map and its 6 objectives of National Convention, including 104 Articles. Unless we produce the Basic Principles for the future of our country as alternative to the SCDC's National Convention and its Road Map, the people of Burma will be forced to accept the result of the SPCD's National Convention, the way Ne Win had done in 1974, without any choice. So, we must give the people an alternative, so that they see what we are doing is a better option for the country, which will bring peace and democracy to the country". He also suggested that the "Basic principles", which can also be termed "National Accord", will serve as "the common ground for finding peaceful resolution and negotiated settlement". In order to produce such a "National Accord", he called for a "Parallel National Convention", to be convened in liberated areas on Thai-Burma border.

The call for a "Parallel National Convention" and the formulation of the "Basic Principles" and "National Accord" were received very well, and to do so, the resolution was passed at the seminar. After the seminar, the DBC agreed to help the process of formulating the "Basic Principles for Future Federal Union of Burma". We would like to express our sincere thanks to the DBC, especially to Annette Berentzen and Peter Mortenssen, for their kind helps and personal commitments that they have shown to succeed the process.

This report, therefore, will cover the activities of Joint Action Committee (JAC) for formulating the Basic Principles, which was formed by NCGUB, NCUB, NDF, UNLD-LA, and WLB, in collaborating with the Federal Constitution Drafting Committee (FCDC) and Supporting Committee for State Constitutions (SCSC); during that period of October 2004 to February 2005. The report will be concluded with the follow-up activities and the formation of a new committee called the "Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordination Committee" in April 2005.

The Formation of Joint Action Committee (JAC) and Its Activities

The Joint Action Committee (JAC) for formulating the Basic Principles was formed on 10-12 September 2004. The JAC members are as follows:

1. Chairwoman	Daw San San, MP.,	NCGUB
2. Member	Khun Marko Ban, MP.,	NCGUB
3. Member	U Thein Oo, MP.,	NCUB
4. Member	Hkun Okker	NDF
5. Member	Hseng Noun	WLB
6. Member	Ying Loang	WLB
7. Member	Aye Nang	WLB
8. Secretary	Myo Win	NCUB
9. Secretary	Dr. Lian H. Sakhong	UNLD-LA

The JAC has conducted 5 meetings-cum-workshops between October 2004 and February 2005. Most of the meeting lasted two to three days. The JAC regarded itself as a neutral body of working committee, rather than a group of political organizations, and the main task of the JAC was to produce the legal framework of the principles by identifying unbiased historical facts, objective truth and the very principles when the Union of Burma was founded at the first place in 1947 at Panglong Conference. By doing this, the JAC was able to produce the principles for the Future of Burma.

The JAC Working Method

The JAC has applied three dimensional approaches to formulating the Basic Principles for the Future Union of Burma, which includes;

- (i) Identifying the Original Principles of Union of Burma in 1947;
- (ii) Collecting Historical Facts and Supporting Documents;
- (iii) Defining and Writing a Concept Paper on the Basic Principles for the Future Union of Burma.

(i) Identifying the Original Principles of the Union of Burma in 1947

The JAC, after careful analysis and deep research, identified the 10 Basic Principles that reflected principles of Gen. Aung San and ethnic leaders during the independence struggle, which are as follows;

1. Sovereignty
2. Voluntary Association
3. Equality
4. Self-determination
5. Federal Principles
6. Minority Rights
7. Democracy, human rights and gender equality
8. Multi-party Democracy System
9. Secular State
10. Secession Right

(ii) Collecting Historical facts and Supporting Documents

After identifying the Ten Original Basic Principles in 1947, the JAC collected historical facts and supporting documents. The following is an example for the Seven Principles they identified at an early stage of the work.

1. Voluntary Association

Before Independence

- 1945 August 19 Nay Thu Rain Statement
- Panglong Agreement- Preamble
- 10 June 1947 Gen. Aung San proposition to constituent Assembly

1988- Present

- ENSCC Policy Paper (The new Panglong Initiative: Rebuilding the Union of Burma)

2. Equality

Before Independence

- 1945 August 19 Nay Thu Rain Statement
- 1945 November 18 AFPFL Conference proposition no. 6
- 1947 February 7 Shan, Kachin and Chin Agreement
- Panglong Agreement and Agreement from the Panglong Conference
- Frontier Learning Commission Report
- 7 Principles of Gen. Aung San

1988- Present

- NLD Statement no. 9 12 February 1989
- 7 Principles of UNLD
- NLD and UNLD Bo Aung Kyaw Road Statement No. 1 Paragraph. 4 29 August 1990
- Manarplaw Agreement 31 July 1992
- Union Day Message from Cease-fire Groups
- Maetrawhta Agreement Paragraph. 1 14 January 1997
- CRPP's Ethnic nationalities problems and building the Future Federal Union

3. Democracy, Human Rights and Gender Equality

Before Independence

- Gen. Aung San Message to Karen National Conference 19 February 1945
- Panglong Agreement No. 7
- 7 Principles of Gen. Aung San No. 4
- 1947 Constitution Art. 13

1988- Present

- NLD and UNLD Bo Aung Kyaw Road Statement No. 1 Paragraph 4 29 August 1990
- 7 principles of UNLD No. 2
- NCUB's Political Aim No. 2

- WLB Constitution, Preamble
- WLB 2nd Conference Statement December 2002
- CRPP's Ethnic nationalities problems and building the future federal union

4. Self- determination

Before Independence

- 1945 August 19 Nay Thu Rain Statement
- 1945 November 18 AFPFL Conference proposition no. 6
- Panglong Agreement
- 7 Principles of Gen. Aung San No. 2
- 1947 Constitution

1988- Present

- NLD constitution principles (Draft)
- NLD and UNLD Bo Aung Kyaw Road Statement No. 4 (c)
- NLD Statement No.9 12 February 1989
- Manarpalaw Agreement Paragraph. 5
- Maethrawhta Agreement Paragraph. 4
- NCUB ???
- ENSCC Lawkhilar Statement 30 August 2001
- CRPP's Ethnic nationalities problems and building the Future Federal Union

5. Minority Rights

Before Independence

- Gen. Aung San 14 proposition No. 7 on AFPFL Pre- conference
- 7 principles of Gen. Aung San No. 5

1988-Present

- Federal Principle NO. 9 of 1990 UNLD 3rd Conference
- NCUB federal constitution first draft
- NLD Statement No. 9 12 February 1989
- CRPP's Ethnic nationalities problems and building the future federal union

6. Federal Principles

Before Independence

- 1945 August 19 Nay Thu Rain Statement
- 1945 November 18 AFPFL Conference proposition No. 6
- 1947 February 7 Shan, Kachin and Chin Agreement
- Agreement of Panglong Conference
- Frontier Learning Commission Report
- Gen. Aung San 14 proposition at AFPFL Pre- conference

- 7 principles of Gen. Aung San at constituent Assembly
- 1947 Constitution

1988- Present

- NLD and UNLD Bo Aung Kyaw Road Statement No. 4 (b)
- 7 principles of federal constitution of UNLD 27 June 1990\
- NLD position on Ethnic Nationalities
- Manarpalaw Agreement Paragraph- 5
- Maethrawhta Agreement No. 1
- NCUB Political aim NO. 4
- NCUB federal constitution (first draft)
- Aung San Suu Kyi's speech on 50 anniversary of Union day 12 February 1997
- 16 September 1999 5 principles on future federal union
- CRPP's ethnic nationalities problems and future federal union

7. Secession Right

Before Independence

- 1945 November 18 AFPFL Conference proposition No. 6
- 1947 February 7 Shan, Kachin and Chin Agreement
- Frontier Learning Commission Report
- 7 principles of Gen. Aung San at constituent Assembly
- 1947 Constitution Chapter 10 Art. 201, 202

(iii) Defining and Writing a Concept Paper on Basic Principles

After identifying the original principles and collecting historical facts and supporting documents, the JAC defined the 8 Basic Principles for the Future Federal Union of Burma. This 8 Basic Principles are;

1. Sovereignty
2. Equality
3. Self-determination
4. Federal Principles
5. Minority Rights
6. Democracy, human rights and gender equality
7. Multi-party Democracy System
8. Secular State

Meanwhile, the JAC assigned Dr. Lian H. Sakhong to write a concept paper of the Basic Principles, which he produced in November 2004. The original concept paper is written in Burmese, and a shorter version in English also was distributed together with original Burmese at the seminar. The concept paper in Burmese is divided three parts; the first part identifies the basic federal principles that reflected principles of Gen. Aung San

and ethnic leaders during the course of struggle for independence. The second part covers the period from 1948 to 1988, with special references to the struggle for restoration of federal system, and how ethnic leaders in particular strived to amend a federal constitution based on genuine federal principles as founders of the federal union of Burma aimed and hoped for. In the third part the continuous efforts after the famous tetra-eight nationwide democratic demonstration in 1988 by the democratic forces as well as ethnic nationalities, with special references to the statements, policy papers and agreements released by political parties, ethnic armed groups, students and activists from both inside and outside Burma, are reported. (See the concept paper of “Basic Principles” in English in Appendix 1).

The concept paper was sent out to all the political parties and organizations, including women and youth groups (not only to those who are in Thailand but also to India, Japan, USA, Germany and other countries as well as to inside Burma), to be discussed within their own organizations and parties. Between December and January, at least five group discussions on Basic Principles were held in Thai-Burma border alone.

Seminar on the Basic principles for Future Federal Union of Burma

The seminar on the Basic Principles for Future Federal Union of Burma was held on 9-12 February 2005. The seminar was attended by 106 elected people’s representatives, leaders from political organizations, women organizations, youth organizations, and civic society institutions from the Union of Burma. (See participant list in Appendix 2)

The seminar, according to the plan, was supposed to conduct in the KNU controlled liberated areas. However, due to strong pressures from both Thai authority and the SPDC regime in Rangoon, we were unable to go to the liberated areas. (The main reason for such pressures that amounting from both governments was that the news leaked out to the media because of an interview given one of our elected MP from Indo-Burma border.) We have no choice but divided the participants into five groups during the first two days, held separate discussions in five separate locations in Mae Sod. These group discussions proved to be a blessing in disguise, because the participants had more opportunity to discuss the principles into dept and detail manners and more people had a chance to talk and discuss.

On the third day of seminar, all the groups were gathered together to adopt the Basic Principles. This time, the seminar was held in the basement of a very big Buddhist Monastery. After they all unanimously adopted the Basic Principles and passed the resolutions, an auspicious signing ceremony was held at the dinning room of *Watterna*, on the Union Day of 2005. Thus, history will remember one day that the Burmese oppositions in exile had adopted the Basic Principles for the future of their country and their future generation to comes, in the basement of Buddhist Monastery in Mae Sod, Thailand, and their effort to do so was financially assisted by the Danish Burma Committee from Denmark.

The seminar issued the statement on Basic Principles, which read as follow;

Statement on 'Basic Principles' Seminar

February 12, 2005

For decades, the entire citizenry of Union of Burma has been suffering under successive military dictatorial regimes because of the demise of democracy and the loss of equal rights for the Ethnic Nationalities. The problem that faces the Union of Burma is political in nature and is a constitutional crisis. Hence, in establishing the Union in the future, it is imperative to lay down Union principles which take the wishes of all the nationalities into account and which are backed by guarantees.

With this in mind, a seminar to lay down the basic principles for the future federal constitution was successfully held at a location on the Burmese border from 9 to 12 February 2005. It was attended by 106 elected people's representatives, leaders from political organizations, women organizations, youth organizations, and civic society institutions from the Union of Burma.

Following the seminar, the delegates unanimously endorsed the following basic principles for the future federal constitution:

The Basic Principles

1. Popular Sovereignty

The people of the Union of Burma, not a particular ethnic group or state, shall be vested with the sovereign power of the Union.

2. Equality

All citizens of the country shall enjoy equal rights and equal opportunity before the law; all ethnic nationality shall be granted equal rights to preserve, protect and promote their culture, language, religion and national identity; and all member states of the Union shall be entitled to exercise equal political powers and rights.

3. Self-determination

All ethnic nationalities and member states of the Union shall enjoy the rights to self-determination in the areas of politics, economics, religious, culture and other social affairs.

4. Federal Principle

All member states of the Union shall have their separate constitutions, their own organs of state, that is, State Legislative Assembly, State Government and State Supreme Court. Moreover, the Union Assembly must be a bicameral legislature consisting of a Chamber of Nationalities (Upper House) and a Chamber of Deputies (Lower House), and each member state of the Union shall send an equal number of representatives to the Upper House regardless of its population or size.

5. Minority Rights

The new Federal Constitution of Burma shall protect legally the minority nationalities in the member states of the Union, they shall be granted not only the rights to preserve and develop their own culture, religion, language and national identity, but also personal autonomy, which will enable them to ensure their rights by acting themselves within the framework of their own institutions.

6. Democracy, Human Rights and Gender Equality

Gender equality, democratic rights and human rights shall be enshrined in the new Federal Constitution of the Union of Burma; including, freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of voting and contesting in general election, freedom of holding public office, freedom of pursuing education and professional life, and freedom of pursuing happiness in life. This includes gender equality, equal rights and equal opportunity for every citizen regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, language, religion and age.

7. Multi-party Democracy System

A Multi-party democracy system shall be applied for the country governing system.

8. Secular State

The Union Assembly shall make no law that proclaims a state-religion; and the abuse of religion for political purposes shall also be forbidden. Moreover, the Union shall strictly observe neutrality in religious matters.

The delegates to the seminar are unanimous in their view that the "National Convention" being held by the SPDC [State Peace and Development Council] military clique will not bring about political equality and self-determination that the Nationalities aspire for nor will the 'Roadmap' of the SPDC offer any solution to the political, economic, social, and general hardships that the Union of Burma is facing today.

Hence, in order to take the wishes of all the nationalities into account when establishing the Union of the future and to prescribe Union principles which can provide life guarantees for all the Nationalities, the delegates to the Seminar believe that a dialogue be urgently held for national reconciliation.

Resolutions of the 'Basic Principles' Seminar

February 12, 2005

In addition to the abovementioned basic principles, delegates at the seminar also agreed to include the following issues when drafting the future federal constitution:

1. Civilian Supremacy: The Union Defense Services shall be subordinate to and subject to the control of civilian authority.
2. Conditions that permit the establishment of new states within the Union
3. (a) Protection of the environment
(b) Promotion of the welfare of women and children and safeguarding of their interests through special measures

Resolutions relating to future tasks

The Seminar resolves:

- (1) To continue the federal constitution drafting process based on the basic principles agreed at the seminar for drafting the future federal constitution,
- (2) To assign the NCGUB (National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma), NCUB (National Council of the Union of Burma), the NDF (National Democratic Front, the UNLD (LA) [United Nationalities League for Democracy (Liberated Area)], the KNPP (Karen National Progressive Party), the SDU (Shan Democratic Union), the WLB (Women League of Burma), and youth organizations to carry out the task
- (3) To establish the Constitutional Drafting Coordination Committee and an Experts Committee to facilitate the federal constitution drafting process, and
- (4) To make dynamic efforts toward winning broad and extensive support for the basic principles from the following:
 - a. All the people
 - b. Political parties inside the country
 - c. Armed ethnic forces which have concluded ceasefire agreements
 - d. The SPDC's Defense Services

- e. Governments globally and international institutions

Press Conference

In addition to Statements that we issued from the seminar, we also conducted Press Conference on the Basic Principles at the Foreign Press Club in Bangkok on 14 February 2005. The seminar had selected Five leaders for the Press Conference. They are:

- (1) Teddy Buri (MP, and Chairman of Parliamentary Union)
- (2) Seng Noun (General Secretary, WLB)
- (3) U Thein Oo (MP, JAC member)
- (4) Maung Maung (General Secretary, NCUB)
- (5) Dr. Lian H Sakhong (General Secretary, UNLD-LA)

The Press Conference highlighted the reason for adopting the Basic Principles, and emphasized that this process, compare to the SPDC National Convention, is the best option for the future of Burma.

Follow-up Activities: The Formation of Federal Constitution Drafting Committee

As the resolution was passed at the seminar, the “Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordination Committee” (FCDCC), was formed on 19 April 2005; consisting of National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), National Council of Union of Burma (NCUB), National Democratic Front (NDF), Nationalities Youth Forum (NY-Forum), Students and Youth Congress of Burma (SYCB), United Nationalities League for Democracy (UNLD), and Women League of Burma (WLB). The FCDCC committee members are as follows;

1. Chairman	General Aung Than Lay	KNPP
2. Vice-Chairman	Khun Marko Ban	NCGUB
3. Vice-Chairwoman	Mi Suu Pyoint	WLB
4. Secretary	Dr. Lian H. Sakhong	UNLD-LA
5. Secretary	U Thein Oo	NCUB
6. Secretary	U Myo Win	NCUB
7. Member	Sao Seng Suk	SDU
8. Member	Col. Htoo Htoo Lay	NDF
9. Member	Col. Hkun Okker	NDF
10. Member	Makhaw Khun Sa	UNLD-LA
11. Member	Ying Loang	WLB
12. Member	Able Tweed	KNPP
13. Member	Tin Tun Aung	NCUB
14. Member	Shwe Myo Thant	NY-Forum
15. Member	Khun Tun Hla	SYCB

The FCDCC is determined to produce the first complete draft of the Constitution of Federal Union of Burma, in March 2006. They are intending to present their draft constitution to all the political parties and organizations, including women and youth groups, at the Constitutional Seminar for Burma, which will be organized by the FCDCC in Thai-Burma border.

The Framework of Future Federal Constitution of the Union of Burma

Based on the Basic Principles that they adopted and the resolutions that have passed, the Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordinating Committee outlines the framework of the Future Federal Constitution of the Burma, at its first workshop-cum-meeting in May 2005. The constitutional framework is as follows:

- Preamble
- (i) The Federal Union of Burma (Form of State)
- (ii) Basic Rights
- (iii) Member States of the Federal Union of Burma
- (iv) Assembly of Federal Union of Burma
 - (a) Chamber of Nationalities
 - (b) Chamber of People's Representatives
- (v) Federal Legislation
- (vi) Federal President
- (vii) Federal Government
- (viii) Federal Judiciary
- (ix) Citizenship
- (x) Federal Defense and Security Services
- (xi) State of Emergency
- (xii) ***The Rights to Initiative and Referendum***
- (xiii) General Provisions
- (xiv) Transitional Provisions
- (xv) Amendment of Constitution

Conclusion

At the seminar on the “Basic Principles for Future Federal Union of Burma”, all the participants agree that political crisis in present Burma is not ideological confrontation between a democracy and totalitarianism, but a constitutional problem rooted in the question of self-determination for non-Burman nationalities who joined the Union of Burma as equal partners in 1947 at Panglong Conference. The best means of solving political crisis in Burma, therefore, is the establishment of a genuine Federal Union based on the principles of equality for all ethnic nationalities, the right of self-determination for

all member states of the Union, and the democratic rights for all citizens of the Union of Burma.

Due to the nature of political crisis in Union of Burma, and owing also to multiethnic composition of the country and long years of confrontational politics based on ethno-nationalistic perceptions and demands, the democratic forces and ethnic nationalities leaders are seriously engaging on both federal and state constitutions processes since 1988. For instance, the UNLD, which was the largest non-Burman ethnic nationalities political alliance in inside Burma, had produced their first draft of Federal Constitution in 1990.

In Liberated Areas, the Democratic Alliances of Burma (DAB) and National Council of Union of Burma (NCUB), in collaboration with the Burma Lawyer Council (BLC), also started Federal Constitution drafting process in 1994, and produced their first draft in 1998. However, this process was adjourned because of several reasons.

Since 2001, the UNLD-LA and NDF, two of the largest non-Burman ethnic nationalities organizations, started the state constitutions drafting process. In this process, leaders from various ethnic nationalities can not only participate but share their different experiences and learn the new insight together. The reason why this is important is because how the state constitution is drafted -- and the mechanisms and structures that it provides -- will significantly determine how different ethnic groups will live and work together within each member state of the future democratic, federal Union.

With the adoption of the “Basic Principles for Future Federal Constitution of the Union of Burma”, the two drafting processes of Federal and State Constitutions, at least in terms of the essence of federalism if not in term of working processes, are converged. It is believed that looking into federalism, the concepts and principles of federalism, federal structures and mechanisms, and importantly, drafting both Federal and State Constitutions, will enhance the capacity of nationalities leaders to help their ethnic nations determine their future in a peaceful and democratic manner. Moreover, the process of drafting both Federal and State Constitutions constitutes a very important step in reaching the goals of the democracy movement. The State Constitutions would lay a firm, bottom-up foundation for federalism (i.e., genuine federalism), and the draft Federal Constitution could and would collectively serve as a solid political platform for both democratic forces and ethnic nationalities leaders in negotiation with other players and actors, especially with the generals, on the Burma political stage.

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Note:

This report is a supplementary to the report we have published in Burmese. We therefore, would like to acknowledge that in this report of English version;

- (i) JAC activities are not mentioned in detail,
- (ii) Group discussions and reports from five groups are not mentioned,

- (iii) A concept paper, which we attach in Appendix 1, is a much shorter than original Burmese version (Burmese version is 40 pages).
- (iv) Financial Report is omitted here, because it was submitted separately to the DBC already.

Sincerely,
Dr. Lian H. Sakhong
(On behalf of JAC)
Chiang Mai, 15 June 2005

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APPENDIX ONE

The Basic Principles for Future Federal Constitution of the Union of Burma

(A Concept Paper for the Seminar)

Preamble

The Union of Burma was founded in 1947 at Panglong Conference by pre-colonial independent nations, namely, the Chin, Kachin, Federated Shan State and Burma Proper or Ministerial Burma; and the peoples of Karen, Karenni, Mon and Rakhine (Arakan) who later ratified the “Panglong Agreement” through the constitutional arrangement of independent Burma. The essence of “Panglong Agreement” was not only to “speed up” their own search for freedom but also to establish a new multi-national-state of the Union of Burma for those who struggled together to free themselves from colonial power. Based on the “Panglong Agreement”, the Constituent Assembly of the Interim Government of the Union of Burma promulgated a new constitution on September 24, 1947, thereby paving the way for securing “independence” from the Great Britain on January 4, 1948.

Ever since the independence, however, the Union of Burma has been suffering more than five long decades of civil war, in which thousands of lives were sacrificed. In the name of civil war the successive governments of the Union of Burma have violated not only basic human rights and civic rights but also all kinds of collective rights. In the name of national sovereignty the right of self-determination for the ethnic nationalities who joined the Union as equal partners are rejected; in the name of national integration the right to follow different religions, to practice different cultures, and to speak different languages are deprived; and in the name of national assimilation the rights to up-hold different identities and traditions are denied. As a result, the entire population in Burma has miserably underwent for forty years of human rights abuses, the demise of democratic principles, the plummeting of nation's economics and its attendant poverty and hardship under the authoritarian rule of BSPP and present military dictatorship.

Therefore it is so urgent to rebuild the “Union of Burma” based on the spirit of Panglong, which General Aung San and ethnic nationalities leaders had anticipated in 1947. The

Panglong Spirit is for “democracy, equality and self-determination”. Thus, the future “Federal Union of Burma”, which shall be built upon the spirit of Panglong, will guarantee the fundamental rights for all citizens including the principles contained in the United Nation’s declaration of universal human rights, political and ethnic equality for all nationalities and the rights of self-determination for all member states of the Union.

We, the representatives of the Chin, Kachin, Karen, Karenni, Mon, Myanmar (Burman), Rakhine (Arakan) and Shan, therefore, in the spirit of Panglong, adopted the following “Basic Principles” for the future Federal Union of Burma. These principles, in fact, are the same Basic Principles as when the Union was founded in the first place in 1947. In essence, therefore, what we are putting forward as our vision for the future Union of Burma is the revival of the “Pang long Spirit”, which, we hope, everyone in the Union of Burma can agree upon.

The Basic Principles of Federalism at the time of Union Formation

There are ten basic principles that were borne in mind by General Aung San and the Founding Fathers of the Union when they signed the Panglong Agreement for setting up a Federal Union. They are:

1. Sovereign State

The Union of Burma shall be a sovereign multi-national-state, and the sovereign authority shall be rested with the people. General Aung San and the Founding Fathers of the Union particularly emphasized “popular sovereignty”, which opposed the concepts of both “the sovereignty belongs to the nation” (French Revolution’s tradition) and “sovereignty is vested in nation’s parliament” (British system). It was, therefore, assumed that the people of the entire Union of Burma, not merely a people from any particular ethnic group or state, are vested with sovereignty, it shall be exercised on their behalf on the basis of a functional division of powers between the central Federal Government and the member states of the Union.

2. Voluntary Association

The founding members of the Union, who signed the Panglong Agreement in 1947, were leaders from pre-colonial independent “nations”. In principle, therefore, they all had the rights to regain their own independence directly from Great Britain, and to form their own respective independent nation-states. However, they all opted to establish a new multi-national-state of the Union of Burma together. The principle for joining the Union, or becoming a member state of the Union, was “Voluntary Association” which was strongly emphasized by General Aung San and the leaders of ethnic nationalities at the Panglong Conference and also at the Constituent Assembly of 1947, at which the Union Constitution was framed.

3. Equality

In political domain, the term “equality” implies individual rights for all citizens, collective rights for all ethnic nationalities in the Union, and political rights for all

member states of the Union. At individual level, every citizen of the country shall enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities before the law; at collective level of ethnicity and nationality, every nationality has equal right to preserve, protect and promote their culture, language, religion and national identity. At political level, all member states of the Union shall enjoy equal political rights and political powers; which mean all political powers of legislative, administrative and judiciary shall be equally bestowed upon all member state of the Union. In order to exercise political powers freely and fairly, all member states of the Union shall be entitled to establish a State Legislative Assembly, State Government, and a State Supreme Court. Moreover, each of all member states of the Union shall elect and send an equal number of representatives to the Chamber of Nationalities (Upper House) of Union Assembly.

4. Self-determination

For the Founding Fathers of the Union, the principle of the right to self-determination was meant to have two aspects; “external aspect” and “internal aspect”. External aspect of self-determination implies colonial situation of being subjected to foreign domination, thereby emphasized as the right of the peoples of the Union of Burma to determine collectively to establish a sovereign multi-national-state and freely determine their international status as an independent country. An internal aspect of self-determination implies the right of all ethnic nationalities and member states of the Union to choose their own system of government and the right to participate in the political process that govern them. An internal aspect of self-determination also implies that all ethnic nationalities in the Union, by virtue of the right to self-determination, have the right to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural developments. Moreover, all ethnic nationalities of indigenous peoples in the Union of Burma have the rights to possess their natural wealth and natural resources in their own respective homelands.

Politically speaking, the internal aspect of “self-determination” implies the rights of member states of the Union to exercise political powers of legislation, administration and jurisdiction; and the rights to set up political institutions, namely, State Legislative Assembly, State Government and State Supreme Court, in order to ensure the free practice of political powers in accordance with laws.

Ethnic nationalities leaders who signed the Panglong Agreement with General Aung San took this issue of self-determination very seriously and accordingly made an ardent request for it. They retained the idea of “internal self-determination” in the administration and planning of their own internal affairs of respective states, even though they agreed that the Sovereign Power must be vested in the entire population of the Union in order to be able to set up a Federal Union. In that way they vested the sovereignty power in the Union while retaining in their hands the self-determination of legislative, administrative and judiciary powers; that will ensure them to legislate freely in each of all member states of the Union.

5. Federal Principles

One of the most important principles that helps the realization of the above three principles (Principles 2 to 4) at the time of the formation of a Union is the “Federal Principle”. In other words, “Voluntary Association”, “Equality” and “Self-determination” cannot be materialized in any other constitutional form except for the Federalism. That means the principles of “Voluntary Association”, “Equality” and “Self-determination” cannot be realized in a system of a Unitary State. They can be implemented only through the political system of Federalism.

At the time of Union formation, this fifth principle, i.e., “Federal Principle”, was indeed a fundamental principle because it had to do directly with the constitution of the newly independent multi-national-state of the Union of Burma. Questions like: Shall we set up the new Union in the form of Unitary State? Or shall we set it up in the form of a federal system? etc., were the crucial questions for both General Aung San and the ethnic nationalities leaders at the Panglong Conference. It was General Aung San who first raised and also answered the question. And he said:

When we build our new Burma, shall we build it as a Union or as a Unitary State? In my opinion it will not be feasible to set up a Unitary State. We must set up a Union with properly regulated provisions to safeguard the rights of the national minorities.¹

The “Federal Principle” was the corner stone of Aung San’s version of a (draft) Constitution of the Union of Burma, which was ratified by the ASPFL convention in May 1947.² Moreover, based on the federal principle, Aung San submitted his “Seven Basic Principles”, which would form the main components and guidelines in drawing the Constitution of the Union of Burma, at the Constituent Assembly of Interim Burmese Government, and the Assembly duly ratified before he was assassinated.

In his now classic work: *Burma’s Constitution*, Dr. Maung Maung mentioned that the intention of General Aung San and the Founding Fathers of the Union at Panglong, was as follow:

The original idea was that the Union States [member states of the Union, i.e., Chin, Kachin, Karen, Karenni, Mon, Rakhine and Shan States] should have their own constitutions, their own organs of state, viz. Parliament, Government and Judiciary.³

The “Federal Principle”, therefore, implies the notion of two or more orders of government with combining elements of ‘shared rule’ and ‘self-rule’: shared rule through common institutions, and regional self-rule through the governments of the

¹. Aung San, *Burma's Challenge* (Rangoon, 1947), reprinted in Josef Silverstein, *The Political Legacy of Aung San* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), cited in Maung Maung, *Burma's Constitution* (The Hague, 1959), p.169.

². U Nu and U Chan Htun changed Aung San’s version of Union Constitution after he was assassinated in July 1947.

³. Dr. Maung Maung, *Burma’s Constitution* (1959), p. 170.

constituent states. The federal principles of self-rule and shared rule, in turn, are based on the fact that all member states of the Union are entitled to exercise legislative, administrative and judiciary powers within their respective states, on the one hand, and, on the other to make sure that at the Union Assembly there must be a bicameral legislature consisting of Chamber of Nationalities (Upper House) and Chamber of Deputies (Lower House), and each member state of the Union should send an equal number of representatives to the Upper House regardless of its population or size.

This is the main principle of the federal system envisioned by General Aung San and leaders of Chin, Kachin and Shan when they signed the Panglong Agreement in 1947.

6. Minority Rights

As mentioned, the Union of Burma was founded at Panglong by four former British colonies, namely the Chin, Kachin, Federated Shan State and Burma Proper, all of which already had their own constitution. All of these former colonies were territorial states; none of them were ethnically homogeneous. For example, there lived Karen, Mon and Rakhine peoples besides Burmans in the Burma Proper or Ministerial Burma, which was formed according to the 1935 Burma Act. The Chin Hills Regulation, which was promulgated in 1896, represented not only the Chins but also the Naga people living in present India and Burma, the indigenous peoples in present Manipur State in India, and also the peoples in the whole of Magalia State (excluding the Silong municipality). The same can be said about the Federated Shan State where many ethnic nationalities, such as Lahu, Pa-laung, Pa-o and Wa are living side by side with the Shan.

Therefore, for General Aung and the Founding Fathers of the Union, an important issue to be considered seriously was the rights of minority nationalities living in each of the member states of Union when it came to the issue of forming a Union. The rights of the minority nationalities should be protected legally in accordance with laws in many ways.

To well protect legally the minority nationalities in the member states of the Union, General Aung San proposed in his draft of the Union Constitution that those areas where minority groups are living must be designated as Autonomous Regions and National Areas. He proposed that those minorities shall be granted not only the rights to preserve and develop their own culture, religion, language and national identity, but also personal autonomy, which would enable them to ensure their rights by acting themselves within the framework of their own institutions.

7. Fundamental Rights

The 1947 Constitution of the Union of Burma enshrined the fundamental rights, such as freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom of association, freedom of movement, and also freedom of voting and contesting in general elections, freedom of holding public office, freedom of pursuing education and professional life, and freedom of pursuing happiness in life. This also included

gender equality, equal rights and equal opportunity for every citizen regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, language, religion and age.

8. Multi-party Democracy System

Though this “Multi-party Democracy System” had been an important principle at the time of the Union Formation, this particular principle caused the most heated debate. At that time many Burmese political leaders were more or less under the influence of Marxist-left-wing ideology. Accordingly the extremist left wings and those who were members of the Communist party and the Socialist party did not support the multi-party democracy system. On the other hand, there were some extremist right-wing politicians that admired Fascism in Japan and Nazism in Germany, who wanted to set up an absolute authoritarian system.

Moreover, the Chin, Kachin, Karen, Karenni, Shan and most of other ethnic groups were still practicing feudal systems with its attendant titles, such as *Ram-uk*, *Duwa*, *Sawke*, *Saophya* and *Saobwa*, respectively, and thus did not understand much about the multi-party democracy system.

It was due to General Aung San and the Founding Fathers of the Union’s far-sighted vision, however, that democratic rights were definitely enshrined in the 1947 Constitution of the Union of Burma. The multi-party democracy system lasted only 12 years, and General Ne Win, with the support of left- and right-wing politicians, militarists and chauvinists, seized power and established a one-party socialist-military dictatorship. As a consequence the country has witnessed repeated abuse of human rights, the demise of democracy, and bitterly suffered from various sorts of political, economic and social crises including civil war for more than 50 years.

The essence of this basic principle is that there should not be a lasting monopolization of power and bullying hegemony by one ethnic group or one ideology or one organization or one party, but a political ideology which envisions peaceful multi-ethnic, multi-ideology and multi-party coexistence; also envisions peaceful administration of the nation in accordance with the laws for the benefits of all people, and alternative participation in the administration during one’s elected term through a free, fair and just process of multi-party election contests.

9. Secular State

Like “Multi-party Democracy System”, the principle of “Secular State” also received a heated debate among the Burmese politicians. Leaders like Dedot U Ba Chu argued that, “if we cannot proclaim Buddhism as a state religion, independence would be a hallow freedom”. General Aung San, however, rejected such argument, and said:

Religion is a matter of individual conscience, while politics is social science. We must see to it that the individual enjoys his rights, including the right to freedom of religious belief and worship. We must draw clear lines between politics and religion because the two

are not the same thing. If we mix religion with politics, then we offend the spirit of religion itself.⁴

In his draft constitution, General Aung San clearly stated his policy on religion as follows:

- 14(1). The abuse of the church or of religion for political purposes is forbidden.
- 14(2). The state shall observe neutrality in religious matters.
- 14(3). Religious communities whose teaching is not contrary to the Constitution are free in practice and exercise of their religion and religious ceremonies and are also free to have schools for the education of priests: but schools shall, however, be under the general supervision of the State.

However, after General Aung San was assassinated, U Chan Htun, under the supervision of U Nu, reversed the Union Constitution as follows:

- 14(1). The State recognizes the special position of Buddhism as the faith professed by the great majority of the citizens of the Union.
- 14(2). The State shall not impose any disabilities or make any discrimination on the ground of religious profession, belief, or status.
- 14(3). The State may extend material or other assistance to any religious institution.

U Chan Htun's version of the Constitution, which was promulgated in September 1947 as the Constitution of the Union of Burma, officially proclaimed a "confessional policy of religion". The reversion of "secular state" to "confessional policy of religion", and the promulgation of Buddhism as state religion of the Union of Burma in 1961, were the beginning of religious-oriented ethnic conflict in Burma.

10. Rights of Secession

When the basic principles were laid down at the time of the Union formation, the "Right of Secession" was included as the principle that safeguards and underlines all the rest of the principles.

The essence of the "Right of Secession" is that the newly formed Union shall be multi-national-state and be founded on the principle of Federalism, and all member states of the Union shall decide for themselves to become a member state and accordingly join the Union in accordance with their own consent. All the member states of the Union shall enjoy equal rights politically and socially when they decide to join the Union as a member State. The member states of the Union shall also enjoy the right to self-determination in the areas of politics, economics, social and

⁴ Aung San's speech entitled "Problems for Burma's Freedom", delivered on January 20, 1946, in Josef Silverstein (ed.), *Political Legacy of Aung San* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 96.

cultural affairs. What is meant by this is that all member states of the Union shall be entrusted with legislative, administrative and judiciary powers; and also that all member states of the Union shall send an equal number of representatives to the Chamber of Nationalities (Upper House) of the Union Assembly. In this way, the essence of a Federal Union formed by member states of the Union that are equally entrusted with the right of self-determination will be brought to light.

Moreover, the right of minority nationalities in each of all member states of the Union shall be protected legally and constitutionally. The democracy and fundamental rights shall be guaranteed for all citizens, and the Union shall observe neutrality in religious matter. To prevent the emergence of chauvinism and narrow-minded nationalism, a clear guideline for the Form of State and Form of Government must be provided legally and constitutionally in accordance with above principles.

If it is found that the Form of State and Form of Government do not conform to the principles agreed upon or go astray from the intention of those principles, all member states of the Union have the right to secede from the Union. Thus, it was clearly enshrined in chapter 10, article 201 and 202 of the Constitution of the Union of Burma, adopted in 1947, that:

Chapter (X): The Right of Secession

201. Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Constitution or in any Act of Parliament made under section 199, every state shall have the right to secede from the Union in accordance with the condition hereinafter prescribed.
202. The right of secession shall not be exercised within ten years from the date on which this Constitution comes into operation.

The above principles are the lifeblood of the Union at the time of its formation. The Union would never be set up unless there were these principles. Therefore it is hoped that more or less these basic principles would be of help for the restoration of the Union.

Proposal for the Future:

Basic Principles for the Future Federal Constitution of the Union of Burma

All ethnic nationalities in the Union of Burma have lived together, sharing the fates of each other for more than 50 years. In this period they have faced together five long decades of civil war, and also passed through together the bitter experiences of dictatorship and associated persecution of various kinds. Together they have also suffered bitter severities of all sorts under military dictatorship. Likewise, they are waiting together for a new light of hope for the future.

Therefore we are now fighting in the hope of creating a situation in which all ethnic nationalities can live together peacefully and fraternally. All ethnic nationalities are still fighting the resistant war against the military regime in Rangoon, in the hope of creating the opportunity for all the peoples of Burma to fully enjoy their human right, to establish a democratic system, to create open society, and to materialize the right to self-determination for all member states of the Union. To build up a peaceful Union the following principles are outlined.

These principles are based upon those principles envisioned by General Aung San and the Founding Fathers of the Union at Panglong. In other words, it can be seen as a refurbished policy of national leader General Aung San.

However, due to the experience of 50 years two important principles at that time are omitted. These two principles are “Voluntary Association” and “Right of Secession”. For after 50 years of living together the “Voluntary Association” seems no longer necessary. Though this principle was important at the formation of the Union in the past, it is considered not to be important in the present Union, which has already attained 50 years chronologically.

Moreover, another important principle at the time of Union formation, that is, the “Right of Secession” is also omitted. The sole reason for the insertion of “Right of Secession” in the 1947 Constitution was for the protection of the right of non-Burman ethnic nationalities who joined the Union as equal partners in 1947 at Panglong. The “Right of Secession”, however, failed to protect the rights of ethnic nationalities on one hand, and it rather encouraged, on the other hand, the emergence of one-party dictatorship (BSPP) and military dictatorship (Revolutionary Council in 1962 to present military junta), to bully the rights of the peoples at their whim. For taking his cue from this “Right of Secession” General Ne Win seized the political power on March 2, 1962. Using the “Right of Secession” as a pretext the civil war was created and fought, thereby causing huge casualties of both human lives and natural resources of the indigenous population of ethnic nationalities for more than 50 years. The military dictatorship is established on the conviction that “The Union will disintegrate without a strong army” on the backdrop of the “Right of Secession”.

Therefore it is believed that instead of emphasizing the “Right of Secession”, making a new constitution that will protect the rights of “democracy, equality and self-determination”, which are the very essence of “Right of Secession”, will bring more benefits to the Union and the people, and will also guarantee the survival and prosperity of the future generation.

Therefore for attainment of peace and progress for the future Union, the following principles are presented:

1. Popular Sovereignty

The people of the Union of Burma, not a particular ethnic group or state, shall be vested with the sovereign power of the Union.

2. Equality

All citizens of the country shall enjoy equal rights and equal opportunity before the law; all ethnic nationality shall be granted equal rights to preserve, protect and promote their culture, language, religion and national identity; and all member states of the Union shall be entitled to exercise equal political powers and rights.

3. Self-determination

All ethnic nationalities and member states of the Union shall enjoy the rights to self-determination in the areas of politics, economics, religious, culture and other social affairs.

4. Federal Principle

All member states of the Union shall have their separate constitutions, their own organs of state, that is, State Legislative Assembly, State Government and State Supreme Court. Moreover, the Union Assembly must be a bicameral legislature consisting of a Chamber of Nationalities (Upper House) and a Chamber of Deputies (Lower House), and each member state of the Union shall send an equal number of representatives to the Upper House regardless of its population or size.

5. Minority Rights

The new Federal Constitution of Burma shall protect legally the minority nationalities in the member states of the Union, they shall be granted not only the rights to preserve and develop their own culture, religion, language and national identity, but also personal autonomy, which will enable them to ensure their rights by acting themselves within the framework of their own institutions.

6. Democracy, Human Rights and Gender Equality

Gender equality, democratic rights and human rights shall be enshrined in the new Federal Constitution of the Union of Burma; including, freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of voting and contesting in general election, freedom of holding public office, freedom of pursuing education and professional life, and freedom of pursuing happiness in life. This includes gender equality, equal rights and equal opportunity for every citizen regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, language, religion and age.

7. Multi-party Democracy System

A Multi-party democracy system shall be applied for the country governing system.

8. Secular State

The Union Assembly shall make no law that proclaims a state-religion; and the abuse of religion for political purposes shall also be forbidden. Moreover, the Union shall strictly observe neutrality in religious matters.

Drafted by:

Dr. Lian H. Sakhong
General Secretary, UNLD-LA and ENC
For the JAC of FCDC, SCSC and WLB

Chiang Mai, 2005-01-31

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APPENDIX TWO

Participants to the Seminar on the Basic Principles for a Future Federal Consultation of the Union of Burma

9 to 12, February 2005

Members of MPU

No.	Name	Organization
1.	Khun Teddy Buri	MPU
2.	U Peter Limbin	MPU
3.	Daw San San	MPU
4.	Dr. Myo Win	MPU
5.	Dr. San Aung	MPU
6.	Dr. Tint Swe	MPU
7.	Duwa Zau Awng	MPU
8.	Khun Manko Ban	MPU
9.	U Bo Hla Tint	MPU
10.	U Bo Thaung	MPU
11.	U Daniel Aung	MPU
12.	U Hla Oo	MPU
13.	U Khin Kyaw Han	MPU
14.	U Lian Uk	MPU
15.	U Tha Noe	MPU
16.	U Thang Lian Pau	MPU
17.	U Thein Oo	MPU
18.	U Tin Tun Aung	MPU
19.	U Tin Tut	MPU
20.	U Kyaw Twin	MPU

Organizations

No.	Name	Organization
21.	U Har Mit	ABMU
22.	U Than Khe	ABSDF
23.	U Lwin Ni	ABSDF
24.	U Onna Thi Ree	ABYMU
25.	Khaing Soe Naing Aung	ALP
26.	Col. Khaing Myo Win	ALP
27.	Dr. Shwe Khar	CNF
28.	Thaumas Tan Noe	CNF
29.	U Ngwe Lin	DPNS
30.	U Khin Mg Tint	DPNS
31.	U Maung Maung	FTUB
32.	P' Doh Saw Ba Thin Sein	KNU
33.	Gen. Ta Ma La Baw	KNU
34.	P' Doh Mahn Sher	KNU
35.	Col. Saw Htoo Htoo Lay	KNU
36.	P' Doh Saw David Thakapaw	KNU
37.	U Khun Aung	LDF
38.	U Tin Shin	MDUF
39.	U Kyaw Moe	MLOB
40.	U Kyaw Hla	MLOB
41.	U Htay Aung	NDD
42.	U Maung Maung Gyi	NDD
43.	U Tin Aung	NLD-LA
44.	U Myint Thein	NLD-LA
45.	U Aung Zaw Htwe	NLD-LA
46.	U So Sa	NNLD
47.	Mahn Ba LA Shin	OKO
48.	U Maung Maung Nyein	PDF
49.	U Aye Soung	PLF
50.	Dr. Phyu Lay	PPF
51.	Khun Htet Lu	PPLO
52.	Col. Khun Okker	PPLO
53.	U Ngwe Win	PPP
54.	Mai Ei Phone	PSLF
55.	U Hla Swe	ALD
56.	U Kyaw Htin	ALD
57.	Jodan Cinza	CNLD
58.	Makaw Khun Sa	KNCD
59.	Khu Sha Reh Shwe Maung	KSNDL
60.	Nai Poe Pa	MNDF
61.	C. Tha He	MPP
62.	Han Nyunt	UKL
63.	Steven Sungmaung	ZNC
64.	Sao Seng Suk	SDU
65.	Gen. Aung Than Lay	KNPP
66.	Khun Rel	KNPP
67.	U Tack Naing	AAPP
68.	KO Than Dock	BLSO
69.	KO Swein Mying	CCPRC
70.	Khaing Du Wy	NY

71.	Ko Htut	SYCB
72.	Nai Pakaung	SYCB
73.	U Min Naing	ABSFU(FAC)
74.	U Maung Maung Soe	Fort Wnye
75.	U Tint Zaw	
76.	Dr.Lian H.Sakhong	UNLD-LA Organizing Committee
77.	U Myo Win	NCUB Organizing Committee
78.	1.Naw Bwee Paw (KNOW)	WLB
79.	2.Noë Noë Htet San (BWU)	WLB
80.	3.Daw Chi Chin (KWHRO)	WLB
81.	4.Naw Khaing Mar Kyaw Zaw 5.(KWO)	WLB
82.	6.Ma Aye Aye Myint 7.(LWO)	WLB
83.	8.Lway Aye Nang (PWO)	WLB
84.	9.Nang Yin Thwe (PWU)	WLB
85.	10.Saw Mra Raza Lin (RWU)	WLB
86.	11.Nang Hseng Noun (SWAN)	WLB
87.	12.Yang Loa	WLB
88.	13. Ma Tin Tin Khaing (TWU)	WLB
89.	14. Daw Molly (WRWAB)	WLB

Seminar Staff Members

90.	Mahn Hla Aye	Seminar Office
91.	Ko Kaung Zan	Member
92.	Ko Zaw Zaw	Member
93.	Ko Eh Moo	Member
94.	Ko Than Htun Aung	Member
95.	Ko Jonney	Member
96.	Ko Zaw Win Htut	Member
97.	Ko Thaw De	Member
98.	Ko Ta Thee Nyar	Member
99.	Saw Sar Mu Taw	Member
100.	Ko Pe Ter	Member
101.	Ko Saw Chit	Member
102.	Myo Htut Zaw	Member
103.	Ko Naing Kyi	Member
104.	Sai Mawn	Member
105.	Nyaing Nyaing (Ms.)	Member
106.	Lwae Ninn Moe (Ms.)	Member