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## Review on the flawed election

On 2 March 1962, the Burmese military staged a coup d'état and overthrew the rule of multi-party democracy system in the country. Since then, Burma has been under the rule of totalitarian by the military regime.

The military regime with different titles has tyrannically governed the country for 48 years in total --with the title of "Revolution Council" for 12 years (1962-1974), with the title of "Burmese Socialist Programme Party (BSPP)" for 14 years (1974-1988), and with the titles of "State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC)" and "State Peace and Development Council (SPDC)" for 22 years (1988-2010).

At the present time, any sovereign state in the world shall be ruled by a government of people's representatives under a constitution endorsed by the people.

The regime could no longer hide its true colour when the 1988 popular movement for democracy overthrew one-party rule of BSPP and its 1974 Constitution which shielded the military dictatorial system and thus, it apparently ruled the country as a military government.

Due to the question of its legitimacy before the people of Burma and the international community, the regime has for 22 years tried by all means for enduring its rule in the course of a constitution and an election in order to hide its military dictatorial character.

In the 1990 election, the military regime got it wrong with its presumption that a pro-military National Unity Party (NUP) would win and in fact, the National League for Democracy (NLD) won a landslide victory. Consequently, it failed to honour the 1990 election result and hand over power to the winning party. Besides, in 1993, it organized a sham national convention which lasted over 14 years, and on 30 August 2003, announced a seven-step roadmap. Since then, the military regime has disgustingly carried out its all efforts along with the roadmap in order to produce a constitution and a parliament of elected parties as the shields for a military dictatorial system in the long run.

With such motivation, the regime organized a referendum on 10 May 2008 and forcibly secured electorate's approval to the 2008 Constitution whilst hundreds of thousands lost their lives and

millions of the people faced with hardships and homelessness because of the catastrophe of Cyclone Nargis. Likewise, the SPDC military government fraudulently held the "2010 Election" on 7 November 2010 when many thousands confronted with severe impacts of Cyclone Giri.

In the 2010 election process, it is extremely obvious that many different forms of frauds were deliberately orchestrated by the military regime as the 2010 election is a very important step of the regime's roadmap for enduring a military dictatorial system.

Indeed, its preparation for lasting the military rule under the guise of civilian government began with the formation of "Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA)" on 15 September 1993. Thus, the then USDA leadership included all military brass including Gen Than Shwe.

As an attempt to cement the military rule as designed 17 years ago, military generals in the title of "Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP)", formerly known as USDA, unfairly and unjustly set to win in the 2010 election. The following are electoral frauds they committed in the election process.

- 1. On 27 April 2010, almost all generals including Prime Minister Gen. Their Sein resigned from their military positions in order to unfairly win the election.
- 2. To ensure the electoral process in their favour and to exclude prominent oppositions including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from the election, the military regime enacted electoral laws with unjust and unlawful clauses on 8 March 2010.
- 3. The election commission was formed with ex-military officers taking decisive positions.
- 4. Although the USDP in the name of USDA had been in operation for 17 years, other political parties were allowed to set up in just 6 months before the Election Day as the registration of political parties began on 28 April 2010.
- 5. The costs for party registration, submission of candidates, access to lists of eligible voters and making complaints for electoral fraud were set in much higher if compared with current commodity prices in the country.
- 6. As the election commission was formed by the military, the commission biased in its conducts during election campaign period and on the polling day in favour of USDP.
- 7. Unlike the 1990 election, some constituencies where USDP may win by no mean were withdrawn without any justification.
- 8. Prominent rivals to USDP candidates were allowed neither to form political parties nor to contest in the election as independence candidates.
- 9. In the case of voting, the SPDC administration, USDP and Election Commission committed the following frauds.
  - (a) The list of eligible voters included names of under-aged, deceased and those who do not exist, and their votes were counted in support of USDP.
  - (b) Some of those who were classified as supporters to other parties excluded from list of eligible voters, and thus they were not allowed to vote.
  - (c) A number of advanced votes were set and counted in support of USDP.
  - (d) To do so, counting votes were done during mid-night so that the people may not see, and in some cases, the results were managed to change in favour of USDP candidates by adding supplementary votes if a candidate from other party won.
  - (e) At about 9 in the evening of 6 November 2010, the eve of election, as reportedly said by instructions from authorities above, the actual advanced votes were unsealed and if found not in favour of USDP, replaced with the set-advanced votes in support of USDP.
  - (f) In some cases, the results that candidates from other parties won were approved and signed by local commissions, but when the official announcement came out from the state-owned media outlets, USDP candidates who actually lost in the election became the winners.

The following is the list of parties and their elected numbers to three assemblies respectively that was officially announced by the election commission up to the date of 17 November 2010.

No.	Parties	Pyithu Hluttaw (People Parliament)	Amyotha Hluttaw (National Parliament)	Region/State Hluttaw (Region/ State Parliaments)	Total
1	Union Solidarity and Development Party	259	129	494	882
2	National Unity Party	12	5	47	64
3	Shan Nationals Democratic Party	18	3	36	57
4	Rakhine Nationalities Development Party	9	7	19	35
5	National Democratic Force	8	4	4	16
6	All Mon Region Democracy Party	3	4	9	16
7	Chin Progressive Party	2	4	6	12
8	Pa-O National Organization	3	1	6	10
9	Phalon-Sawaw Democratic Party	2	3	4	9
10	Chin National Party	2	2	5	9
11	Kayin People's Party	1	1	4	6
12	Taaung (Palaung) National Party	1	1	4	6
13	"Wa" Democratic Party	2	1	3	6
14	Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State	1	1	2	4
15	Inn National Development Party	1	-	3	4
16	Democratic Party (Myanmar)	-	-	3	3
17	Kayin State Democracy and Development Party	-	1	1	2
18	Kayan National Party	-	-	2	2
19	National Democratic Party for Development	-	-	2	2
20	88 Generation Student Youths (Union of Myanmar)	-	-	1	1
21	Lahu National Development Party	-	-	1	1
22	Ethnic National Development Party	-	-	1	1
23	Independence	1	1	4	6
	Total	325	168	661	1154

Percentage of military representatives and political parties' representatives in parliaments can be seen as follows:

In the National Parliament (*Amyotha Hluttaw*):

•	Military representatives	25 % <sup>´</sup>
•	USDP	57.59 %
•	NUP	2.23 %
•	NDF	1.79 %
•	Ethnic parties	12.95 %
•	Independence	0.45 %

In the People Parliament (Pyithu Hluttaw):

•	Military representatives	25 %
•	USDP	58.86 %
•	NUP	2.73 %
•	NDF	1.82 %
•	Ethnic parties	10.23 %
•	Independence	0.23 %

In Union Parliament (Combination of National Parliament and People Parliament)

•	Military representatives	25 %
•	USDP	58.43 %
•	NUP	2.56 %
•	NDF	1.81 %
•	Ethnic parties	11.14 %
•	Independence	0.30 %

Therefore, the combination of military representatives and USDP representatives in the National Parliament, the People Parliament and Union Parliament are over 80% respectively.

Looking at the results of the flawed election, it is crystal clear that representatives of other parties will not have any opportunity to call for parliament sessions, to submit, discuss and review any bill, and to submit any proposal without consent of military and USDP representatives under the 2008 Constitution.

It is also concluded that having a few number of representatives from other parties in the parliaments is no other reason than the military regime's manipulation of their participation for legitimizing its sham multi-party democracy system.

Besides, if political parties want to raise any complaint for frauds in the election process, they have to submit it to the Election Commission. Since the Election Commission is itself responsible for such violations, there will be no matter whether to submit a complaint. It is thus ridiculous that any complaint against defendant has to be submitted to the judge whereas the defendant and the judge is the same person.

Unsurprisingly, it is concluded that the military dictatorial system continues to prevail in Burma because it is obvious that the post-election parliament is dominated by the military and USDP.

Furthermore, in post-election Burma, armed fighting between the Burmese military and ethnic armed forces are revived; prominent ethnic leaders, 88 generation students and other political activists are still detained in various prisons; the commodity prices including fuel prices are still skyrocketing; freedom of press and media is still under various forms of restrictions; and the SPDC military regime is still committing human rights violations.

Therefore, we would like to propose the following tasks when a sham parliament is in its course in order to free all the people of Burma from the rule of military dictatorial system.

- 1. To inform the international community evidently that the 2010 election result was engineered by the military regime
- 2. To mobilize all the people of Burma to boycott a sham parliament
- 3. To advocate and lobby governments and international organizations all over the world not to recognize the tailored election result, a sham parliament and the military-controlled USDP government

- 4. To have all political prisoners released and realize a political talk between the military regime, ethnic groups and pro-democracy groups
- 5. To void the 2008 Constitution and replaced it with a genuine federal constitution
- 6. To coordinate and cooperate among pro-democracy groups by any possible mean in order to have the only one political platform and work under common political programmes.

We would seriously like to state that we have by any possible mean enhanced our coordination and cooperation, and in future, we will improve our coordination and cooperation and continue our struggle in unity.

We would like to inform all the people that we will support Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the National League for Democracy (NLD) and Committee Representing People Parliament (CRPP) as the centre of our struggle and we shall put all our utmost efforts in unity for the above mentioned tasks.

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(Ashin Awbasa)

(Ashin Dhamma Thiri)

All Burma Monks' Alliance

(Zarni)

(Naw Aster)

**All Burma Federation of Student Unions** 

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(Khaing Zarny) (Khaing Nyan Lin)

**Arakan Students Union** 

(Pan Thu San)

(Htet Htet San)

Rakha Ray

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(Min Min Oo)

(Naing Lin)

**Basic Education Students Union** 

(Htun Myint Aung)

(Aung Kyaw Sint)

**The 88 Generation Students** 

(Min Thwae Thit)

(Aung Dakhun)

**2007 Generation Students Union** 

(Myat Min)

(Yan Naing)

All Burma Youths Union

(Yan Naing)

(Aung Zaw Moe)

 Democratic Students and Youths Force in Rangoon Division

(Min Soe Naing)

(Thu Yein)

**Students Group in middle Burma**