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BURMA PRESS SUMMARY From the Rangoon "The New Light of Myanmar" Compiled for the Burma Studies Group by Hugh C. MacDougall Published by the Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Illinois Volume VII, No. 8, August 1993 Table of Contents POLITICAL CRISIS Slogans 2 Cartoons Political Articles Special Refresher Courses NLD Officials Prosecuted Returnees from Bangladesh Prisoners Released 5 Terrorist Demolition Group Captured 5 NATIONAL CONVENTION Delegate Discussions Plenary Session Proceedings Plenary Session Proposal Papers SNLD Representatives-elect and Party NUP Representatives-elect and Party 9 UPNO & SSKDP Representatives-elect 11 MKNSO Representatives-elect NLD Representatives-elect and Party 15 Nationalities Delegates 19 An Independent Representative-elect 22 Peasant Delegates 23 Worker Delegates 25 Intellectual & Intelligentsia Delegates State Service Personnel Delegates 32 Other Invited Delegates 41 UPNO Party 45 SSKDP Party 47 MKNSO Party 49 LNDP Party 50 52 UKL Party KDUP Party 53 WNDP Party 55 DIPLOMATIC Diplomatic Calls 57 New Myanmar Ambassadors 58 New Ambassadors to Myanmar Myanmar-China Border Commission 58 INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION Workshops 59 Foreign Donations 59 UN Environmental Photo Exhibition 59 FOREIGN VISITORS International Agency Visitors 59 Business Visitors 60 Chinese Special Envoy Thai Army Commander 60 Iranian Delegation 60 Thai Defence Minister 60 Singapore Economic Delegation 60 Lao Vice Foreign Minister Costa Rican Delegation 61 US Senator and Congressman

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FREE! FREE! FREE!

I will be moving in a few months, and must dispose of my accumulation of back issues of the Working People's Daily from 1985-1992. I will be happy to give them to any individual or institution that can make use of them; I hope that any recipient will offer to pay for shipping the 9-10 cartons. The accumulation runs from January 1985 through December 1992, with the following principal gaps: June-Nov, 1985; c. Jan. 15-Mar. 15, 1987; Sept. 18-Nov. 30, 1992. There are scattered other missing issues that got lost in the mails. The recipient may also expect to be offered further accumulations annually, so long as I continue to produce the Burma Press Summary.

If interested, write or telephone me promptly. Otherwise they get dumped!

Hugh C. MacDougall, Compiler

32 Elm Street, Cooperstown, NY 13326 Tel: (607) 547-2118

HIGHLIGHTS

-- Because of their potential significance, the bulk of this issue is devoted to the integral transcription (as integral as provided by the NLM) of all the proposal papers presented to the Plenary Session of the National Convention by the various Parties and Delegate Groups.

The proposals vary considerably, despite overlap in topics and in phraseology. The occupational Delegate Groups each presented a unified proposal paper, generally endorsing the SLORC's suggestions for Constitutional principles (e.g., Presidential government, Tatmadaw representation in legislative and administrative bodies, Tatmadaw independence from Government control, a Tatmadaw right to take over government in national emergencies, etc.). The Representative-elect and Political Party delegate groups split along Party lines, and their proposal papers frequently reject, directly or by implication, SLORC suggestions. [Three parties, including the NLM and the NUP, presented a the same paper twice, once by the Representatives-elect and again by the Party as such - although the NLM duly printed the text twice, we have transcribed it only on its first appearance.]

Your compiler decided that the potential importance of the National Convention proposals, and the nuances between the different papers, justified extending this issue of the Burma Press Summary to twice its normal length; we hope that readers will agree. [NATIONAL CONVENTION]

Issue for June 22 arrived (very) late and is covered herein. Issue for Aug. 6 not received.

POLITICAL CRISIS

Slogans

Regular Slogans: See January 1993 issue; notably, the bottom of each front page continues to bear the slogan Emergence of the State Constitution is the duty of all citizens of Myanmar Naing-Ngan.

Variable Slogans: Since August 1991, each issue has included a changing religious slogan at the top of each front page:

Aug. 1-3: Santutthi ca, contentment; this is the way to auspiciousness.

Aug. 4-17: Katannuta, gratitude toward the gratifying; this is the way to auspiciousness.

Aug. 18-31: Kalena Dhammasavanam, the timely discussion of the doctrines; this is the way to auspiciousness.

Cartoons

June 22: Office manager: "You're late. The bus, as usual, eh?" Employee (out of breath): "No, sir. I came on foot, what with car crashes."

There were no political cartoons during August, though cartoons promoting safe driving continued.

Political Articles

Following the pattern begun in October 1988, many issues contain lengthy feature articles, translated from Burmese, designed to bolster government views and policies. Editorials sometimes touch on similar themes. We note them briefly, with excerpts of typical or particularly significant portion:

June 22: Tatmadaw and its leadership role in national politics, by Min Maung Maung. [Cont. (5) (Tatmadaw after the Revolution). British efforts to disband the Tatmadaw in 1945.]

Aug. 1-3: The Tatmadaw and its leadership role in national politics, by Min Maung Maung. [Cont. (45) The Aftermath. Sept.-Nov. 1988. (46) The future Myanmar. 1989-93. "The country has now inescapably come to a stage where a definite role would have to be

given to the Tatmadaw in the nation's political leadership." (47) A Big National Political Force. "I now conclude this series of articles by pointing out that all those who have the welfare of the country at heart should concentrate their attention on providing the Tatmadaw with a leading role in national politics in writing a new constitution."

Aug. 3-5: Mischief-makers, provocateurs & rabble-rousers, by Sithu Aung. [(1) Myanmar and imperialism. "As early as at the beginning of Nineteenth Century when they were not yet able to take over the whole country and when they were, like a boa constrictor, swallowing their prey bit by bit, such missionaries as Judson and Donald Mackensie Smilton, had won over honest and simple hill peoples and fenced them in defensive wall...so effectively that [they] refused to take independence even when offered and expressed their desire to continue to live under imperialist bosses.... Imperialism continues. "Certain insurgent organizations that had seen the sincere good intentions of the State wanted steps to be taken for peace. But the most foolish President of the DAB {Democratic Alliance of Burma} and so-called general of KNU insurgents Bo Mya, who only recently had travelled the length and breadth of the United States seeking advice from his bosses, issued a decree for all DAB organizations to continue singing the song of war and heading towards a bloody path.... Insurgents sell Myanma natural resources at very cheap prices to greedy merchants of the other country who make arrangements to enable insurgents to buy their needed arms and ammunition with the sales proceeds. Foreign meddlers, under the guise of non-governmental organizations, supply all requirements of insurgents.... They also make arrangements for foreign mercenaries to come to the insurgents and train them in handling of modern sophisticated weaponry." Example of a Frenchman named Serge Loubert who was interviewed in the Bangkok Nation on July 25.

[(2 Pt. 1) Influx of West bloc mercenaries among the KNU. The first were "French, Belgian and Australian stragglers," especially French. "A group of doctors and nurses who called themselves 'Medicins san Frontieres {sic},' joined the KNU, followed by a handful of roque soldiers." In 1985 a French mercenary named Jean-Philippe Coureges Clercq was killed and an Australian named Martin Donnelly (known as Sonny Wingate) was wounded during a Tatmadaw offensive against the KNU. A 10-man group of Belgians, French, British, and Franco-Khmers was led by the Belgian Jimmy Vogler. In March 1986, a French commando instructor gave a course to the KNU, after which a Frenchman named Olivier led an attack. Also in 1986 a 19-man group of American doctors and nurses arrived at the KNU camp in November, and another five Japanese and French doctors in December. "In November 1988, a US Republican Senator stole into Myanmar territory from across the border. He met the misled students then seeking shelter in KNU camps and encouraged them to rush down the path to doom. A Mr Joseph {sic} Silverstein who is said to be an expert on Myanmar politics paid a call on Bo Mya. The same year, a certain Colonel Blue from the US came to confer with Bo Mya and KIA chief Brang Seng."

[(2 Pt. 2) 15-20 mercenaries fought for the KNU in 1991. The Frenchman Olivier (son-in-law of KNU Major Soe Soe), who was killed May 1989. An American, Lance Eugene Motley, died of injuries after serving as a KNU "demolishing officer" beginning Feb. 1989. In 1992, an Australian, and a Frenchman named Major Williams, were killed. The French Embassy in Bangkok repatriated Major Williams' body. "We are compelled to assume that the embassies concerned were in the know about these mercenaries being with the KNU." A Japanese mercenary died of malaria after returning home. Jonathan Falla, in his True Love and Bartholemew, said that some mercenaries joined for thrills, and others because they were heroin addicts, but most to make money. Rich KNU officers contrasted with poor and hungry rank-and-file and populace.]

Aug. 7: Time to stop the blood-baths, by Yebaw Thit Maung. [The KNU should "admit and apologize for misdeeds they have perpetrated,

return to legal fold and serve the interests of the entire people."]

Aug. 13: Editorial: Trust is vindicated. ["The Tatmadaw has proved ready, willing and able to shoulder whatever duties it is called upon to discharge. Trust is vindicated. If the new Constitution so provides that the Tatmadaw make available men to take seats and be part of the whole business of representing the people, side by side with their civilian counterparts, it will prove amply capable of doing so in the broader national interest."]

Aug. 15: Editorial: Time to preserve Myanma culture. ["'Art for art's sake' was the dogma of artists during the Italian Renaissance. 'Art for people's sake' too is far to the left extreme. What we have to say today is 'Art for art's and country's sake'. In line with this the {SLORC} is doing its utmost to channel the performing arts into a trend which not only entertains, but also is educative and revitalizes Myanma culture {Recently SLORC} Secretary-1 Maj-Gen. Khin Nyunt pointed out that alien cultures are trying to invade and influence the present-day Myanma culture. He warned that Myanma culture would fade away soon and hence independence will also be lost if our cultural heritage is swallowed by alien cultures. Independence can be lost if military, religious and economic affairs are penetrated and overwhelmed by foreign powers and that it can also be lost if the traditional culture is superseded by the alien, he added...."

Aug. 18: Some die once and some die twice in a life time, by Maung Thamadi. [Problems of corrupt officials who "twist and turn the law to serve their purposes.... When persons bend over backwards to offer bribes so that their desires are achieved and when dishonest officials accept those bribes in immaculately neat manners and when bribes are being accepted by systematically organized departmental rackets it is quite difficult to expose such bribery. An opportunity to take legal action is obtained only when a bribe-giver failed to get what he expected to get or only when a person from whom a bribe is demanded is extraordinarily honest and audacious and make a complaint. Otherwise, bribe giver is all too willing, the bribe taker is all too clever and the bribing is too neat and nothing is every known about it.... A large majority of government employees no longer consider bribery as a crime: they keep revelling in bribes taking that to be their good fortune." One remedy is to observe the affluent lifestyle of the bribetakers.]

Aug. 31: What is the reason for this blackout of information?, by Pyankyar Maung. ["As the honourable Congressman Charles B Rangel had pointed out, Myanmar friends abroad are being denied correct information on Myanmar. No wonder ...{they} occasionally have wrong perception of Myanmar."]

Special Refresher Courses

Aug. 3: Special Refresher Course No. 2 for Junior and Senior Assistant Teachers at the Central Institute of Public Services in Phaunggyi, Hlegu Twp. [Yangon], was opened by SLORC Secretary-1 Maj-Gen. Khin Nyunt. "Myanma traditional culture and Buddhist traditions, he said are being brushed aside and unsavoury elements are prevailing in most of the relationships today between parents and teachers and their pupils and added that observance of discipline among youths becomes lesser and lesser. As a result, bad consequences such as thinking too high and imitation of alien cultures is spreading among youths. He said that lesser observance of discipline leads to moral turpitude and that the students are doing activities including taking narcotic drugs which are against the law within the school compound. With lack of seriousness in everything they lost self-defence spiritually; under the circumstances they could be misled, he said. Destruction of youths culturally and spiritually, he said, was the worst thing for the country to suffer. Once the alien culture penetrated there was a general tendency of looking down upon own culture and thinking highly of the alien culture.... He said that at present some neo-colonialists and comprador organizations were attempting to interfere in Myanmar Naing-Ngan's internal affairs

through their lackeys. He said that such organizations colluded with terrorist groups rising against the State and discredited Myanmar by putting pressure on it. They did so in collaboration, he said.... It was common knowledge that comprador organizations and broadcasting stations of imperialists were misinterpreting and belittling all the endeavours of the State Law and Order Restoration Council in the interest of the country and the people with goodwill.... There had also been incorrect reports to belittle the National Convention which was in session for the emergence of an enduring State Constitution, he added.... There had been constant reports criticizing harshly Myanmar economy in order to cause loss of self-confidence among the Myanmar national races.... He said it would be due to the weakness of the teachers, the guardians of the student youths, if the spirit of the young was tainted by outside influences...." The four-week course is being attended by 1501 teachers from the States and Divisions. (NLM 8/4)

Aug. 9: Special Refresher Course No. 1 for Police Officers opened at the Central Institute of Public Services. The four-week course is being attended by 7 Police Colonels, 23 Police Lt-Colonels, 44 Police Majors, and 175 Police Captains. Minister for Home Affairs Maj-Gen. Mya Thinn "emphasized the national political leadership role of the Tatmadaw to be able to participate in the future State," and called on the police "to learn on their own as well as from their environment the Tatmadaw's role in participating in the national policy leadership role to be able to safeguard the nation." (NLM 8/10)

NLD Officials Prosecuted

Aug. 4: NLD National Convention Delegate Dr. Aung Khin Sint and Mingala Taungnyunt Twp. [Yangon] NLD Executive Committee Member Than Min (a) Tin Tun Aung were exposed for sending threatening letters to National Convention delegates. The letters [not described] were sent to many delegates in April 1993. In June 1993, Dr. Aung Khin Sint sent letters with seven extracts from the NLD papers presented at the National Convention, and also sent points from the paper of the Shan State Kokang Democracy and Unity Party. He also sent documents entitled "Whither NLD? "What are you NLD?", and "Whither U Aung Shwe? and What are you?". "Dr Aung Khin Sint of the National League for Democracy misused his right to attend the National Convention and sent letters of threats and anonymous letters to the National Convention delegates and fellow members of his party; he was found to have instigated the delegates through secret and unscrupulous means to cause disruption of the National Convention." [photos] (NLM 8/5)

Returnees from Bangladesh

Aug. 11: 320 persons from 78 households returned to Kanyinchaung camp on Aug. 91, bringing the total since Sept. 22, 1992 to 32,132. (NLM 8/12) [There may have been an earlier report in the missing issue for Aug. 6]

Aug. 17: 406 persons from 92 households returned to Kanyinchaung camp on Aug. 16, bringing the total to 32,985. (NLM 8/18)

Aug. 21: 393 "abscondees" from 90 households returned to Kanyinchaung camp on Aug. 20, bringing the total to 33,378. (NLM 8/21)

Aug. 25: 333 persons from 81 households returned to Kanyinchaung camp on Aug. 22, bringing the total to 33,711. (NLM 8/26)

Aug. 30: 214 persons from 51 households returned to Kanyinchaung camp on Aug. 28, bringing the total to 34,495 [sic, a report was evidently omitted]. (NLM 8/31)

Prisoners Released

Aug. 6: Six men were released from Insein Central Jail, Myeik Jail, and Pakokku Jail, under SLORC Declaration No. 11/92. (NLM 8/7) Aug. 12: 18 men were released from Insein Central Jail and Terrorist Demolition Group Captured

Aug. 20: On April 26, 1993, an explosion and small fire broke out between the Children's Hospital and the Chinese Embassy in Yangon. Three ABSDF and Mon terrorists were arrested Aug. 6 in Yangon's People's Park, while planning to explode bombs at a City Hall bus stop. They are Nyein Thu Aung (a) Taik Yin, 44; Nanda Marla (a) Naya Yaza (a) Tun Oo, 26; and Sandawbasa (a) Kyaw Kyaw, 30. Their careers as terrorists described at length. Eight others have since been arrested: U Zawana (a monk); Myint Tun (a) Pannacara (a monk); Nyi Nyi Win (a) Nay Lwin Aung (a) Nanda Thuriya (a monk); U Thaung Kyi of Insein; U Tun Kyaw (NLD ward secretary); Ni Toe (a) Khin Maung Aye (ex-NLD student officer); Maung Maung Than (NLD Youth officer); U Tun Myint (NLD officer). (NLM 8/21)

NATIONAL CONVENTION

Delegate Discussions

June 21: Six groups met: Political Parties, Representatives-elect (adjourned to June 24), National Races (adjourned to June 22), Peasants (adjourned to June 22), Workers, Other Invited Delegates (adjourned to June 24). (NLM 6/22)

Plenary Session Proceedings

Aug. 9: The Plenary Session of the National Convention convened at the Central Meeting Hall in the President's Residence Compound on Ahlone Road, with 669 of the 698 delegates present, and was addressed by Alternate Chairman U Myo Thant, who gave the following speech [full text]:

National Convention Convening Commission Chairman and members, Work Committee Chairman and members and delegates,

First I extend my greetings and best wishes for the spiritual and physical well-being of Commission and Work Committee personnel and all delegates present at this plenary session of the National Convention.

Today at this plenary session of the National Convention, delegate groups will be submitting suggestions compiled in accord with their own wishes in connexion with the prescribing of principles to form basis in formulating State fundamental principles that will constitute a chapter in the State Constitution.

It is found that political parties and Convention delegate groups have held discussions on their wishes and attitudes thoroughly and openly party-wise and group-wise taking nearly two months in order to get State fundamental principles to be incorporated into the State Constitution that is as important as life itself for the State and the citizens.

Convention delegates,

The State fundamental principles to be incorporated into the State Constitutions are guidelines for the chapter-wise headings. I would like to express great pleasure, pride and appreciation to see Convention delegates energetically discussing matters and giving suggestions with patience and interest to the best of their ability in their respective groups forgoing their personal affairs and giving priority to the tasks entrusted by the National Convention, for the cause of prescribing principles to form basis in formulating State fundamental principles of such importance.

At this plenary session of the National Convention, political parties and delegate groups will be presenting, fully with clarification of reasons, in the presence of all Convention delegates, the principles to form basis in formulating State fundamental principles, which they have got after discussions and coordinations within their respective groups.

These presentations are most important and they can also come under related discussion when the time comes for discussions on chapter-wise headings at a later stage and so in conclusion I would

like to urge all Convention delegates to hear them out with full interest and attention.

Proposals were presented by: Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) (representatives-elect and Party), National Unity Party (NUP) (representatives-elect and party), a joint proposal from the representatives-elect of the Union Pa-O National Organization (UPNO) and Shan State Kokang Democratic Party (SSKDP), and Mro or Khami National Solidarity Organization (MKNSO) (representatives-elect) (see below). (NLM 8/10)

Aug. 10: The Plenary Session met with 666 out of 698 delegates present. Three proposals were presented: Representatives-elect from the National League for Democracy, the Nationalities Delegates Group, and an Independent Representative-elect (see below). (NLM 8/11)

Aug. 11: The Plenary Session met with 664 out of 698 delegates present. Three proposals were presented: Peasant Delegates Group, Worker Delegates Group, and Intellectual and Intelligentsia Delegates Group (see below). (NLM 8/12)

Aug. 12: The Plenary Session met with 663 out of 698 delegates present. One proposal was presented: State Service Personnel Delegates Group (see below). ($NLM \ 8/13$)

Aug. 13: The Plenary Session met with 664 out of 698 delegates present. Five proposals were presented: Other Invited Delegates Group, Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (same proposal as read on Aug. 9), National Unity Party (same proposal as read on Aug. 9), Union Pa-Oh National Organization, Shan State Kokang Democratic Party, and Mro or Khami National Solidarity Organization (see below). (NLM 8/14)

Aug. 14: The Plenary Session met with 665 out of 698 delegates present. Five proposals were presented: Lahu National Development Party, Union Kayin League, Kokang Democracy and Unity Party, Wa National Development Party, and National League for Democracy (same proposal as read on Aug. 10) (see below). As all the proposals have been presented, the Panel of Chairmen will study the proposals and make recommendations to the Plenary Session, which will probably be resumed at 10 am on Aug. 23. The date on which the views of the Panel of Chairmen will be presented to the Plenary Session will be announced later. The Plenary Session then adjourned. (NLM 8/15)

Aug. 17: The Panel of Chairman on Aug. 16 began scrutinizing the proposal papers submitted by the various delegate groups, "to be able to submit a condensed overall view to the Plenary Session of the National Convention for it to prescribe the principles which will form the basis in writing the new Constitution." (NLM 8/18)

Aug. 24: The Work Committee held its 14th meeting, and was told that the delegate groups had submitted 22 proposal papers totalling over 900 pages. The Panel of Alternate Chairman was scrutinizing them and would compile a "condensed overall view of the Panel of Chairman" to be submitted to the Plenary Session. When the paper is completed, "a specific date is to be fixed for re-convening the National Convention Plenary Session for submission of the paper." (NLM 8/25)

Aug. 30: The National Convention Plenary Session will reconvene September 6. (NLM 8/31)

Plenary Session Proposal Papers

Aug. 9: The following proposal proposals were read to the Plenary Session [full texts as published in NLM]:

:SNLD Representatives-elect and Party;: Shan Nationalities League for Democracy;. A 35-page proposal presented by U Hkun Tun Oo (Hsipaw-1):

First of all I would like to express my high regard for the Chairman and members of the Panel of Chairman and the delegates to the National Convention. I also extend best wishes for your physical and spiritual well-being. I would also like to express my pleasure and honour at having the opportunity of discussion and speaking on behalf of Shan Nationalities League for Democracy. I am U Hkun Tun Oo of No 1 Constituency, Hsipaw township, Shan State, from Shan Nationalities League for Democracy.

First I would like to say beforehand that presentations and discussions put forward by the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy are free of bias for any party, any race, any region, any individual and any organization and aimed at promoting the interests of the State and the people, primarily for stability, strength, progress and peace of the Pyidaungsu Naing-Ngan-Daw.

We understand that national unity is essential for non-disintegration of the Union, and that is why it may be said that 'Non-disintegration of national solidarity' is the most important of 'Our Three Main National Causes'. Non-disintegration of the Union and perpetuation of national sovereignty will be ensured as long as there is solidarity of all national races.

To state succinctly, we utterly do not consent to changing the use of the term "state". Moreover we utterly do not consent to downgrading of states as regions.

Constituting the Pyidaungsu with member states should be in accord with the objective "For further burgeoning of the eternal principles of justice, liberty and equality", and another objective "For a genuine multiparty democracy system to flourish".

There must be right to freely form political parties if we are to practise multi-party democracy. It should not be controlled and limited by law. If we are to practise a genuine multi-party democracy, we consider that parties should not be placed under constraints.

In constituting the Pyindaungsu, how will powers be shared between the Pyidaungsu Government (Central Government) and the national state governments? We, Shan Nationalities League for Democracy, would like to suggest that powers to be exercised by Pyidaungsu Government (Central Government) be succinctly prescribed in the Constitution and a basic principle be laid down for enabling state governments to freely exercise the remaining powers. Concerning this, we shall present clearer details when we come to respective chapter-wise headings.

Our party is in favour of 'parliamentary executive system'. The fact that 'the Prime Minister is under constant anxiety, as he may be deposed at any time through a no-confidence motion' is still better than the chief executive becoming a dictator. If a presidential executive system is established, there must be private newspapers, broadcasting stations and freedom of the Press and there must not be such a thing as a censor board. Moreover, there have to be strong democratic practices. If such a situation is not brought about, who will guarantee the President will always work solely for the country?

One can recall the case of men from a President's party breaking into an opposition party office. It became exposed and extensively reported in the media, so much so that all attempts at coverup failed and the case came before an upright district magistrate, with the consequence that the President finally had to resign from office.

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All that has been presented with goodwill and sincerity with aims at unity and progress of the country.

We are making an honest presentation, within the framework of law, of the truth as we have always believed in, not to cause disintegration of the Pyidaungsu, not to break up national solidarity, but for stability and perpetuity of the Pyidaungsu and for building national solidarity.

In conclusion, we would like to propose the following points which should be incorporated as fundamental principles in the Constitution to be written:

- * For this nation to be an independent and sovereign nation;
- * To state that it is 'the genuine Pyidaungsu Naing-Ngan that

emerged from signing the historic Panglong Agreement';

- * To state that 'this Pyidaungsu Naing-Ngan is constituted, equally incorporating national states namely Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Mon, Bamar, Rakhine and Shan';
- \star To state that the sovereign powers of the State reside in the citizens;
- * All sovereign powers to be drawn from the people and exercised on behalf of the people, by or with the sanction of functional bodies and officers of the Pyidaungsu Naing-Ngan (or) Pyidaungsu members constituted and appointed under this Constitution;
- * For only people's representatives elected by the people to have the right to decide by vote in matters concerning three sovereign powers of the State - legislative, executive and judicial;
- * For service organizations and outside experts and persons to have a right to present their opinions before Pyidaungsu Hluttaw committees;
- * To be a Constitution that primarily aims at national solidarity;
- * To constitute a Pyidaungsu incorporating national states so as to be a genuine Pyidaungsu that is based on and that lays stress on equality;
- * To practise a free multi-party democracy system;
- * To hold fair elections in conformity with democratic practices;
- * To provide for the right to recall one's elected

representatives at different levels in accord with the law;

- * For every citizen, regardless of race, religion, status or sex, to be equal before the law and to have equal opportunities;
- * For every citizen to be able to enjoy benefits commensurate with one's own physical or intellectual efforts and diligence;
- * For every citizen to have the right of inheritance according to law;
- * To constitute the Pyidaungsu in consonance with three eternal principles of justice, liberty and equality;
- * To retain the names of the states and their territorial demarcations as they are;
- * Not to downgrade states to the status of regions;
- * To constitute a bicameral Hluttaw with people's representatives elected by the people;
- * To invest the Pyidaungsu Government (Central Government) with power prescribed by the Constitution and delegate remaining powers to national state governments;
- * To practise a parliamentary executive headed by a Prime Minister and not to practise an executive headed by the President;
- * To conduct administration of justice through formation of Taya Hluttaw Chok and Taya Hluttaw Yons in national states;
- * For every national race to have the right to act freely in connexion with its literature, culture and customs without any prohibition, hindrance, obstruction, interference, and domination;
- * To provide for freedom of publication and freedom of expression;
- * For every citizen to have opportunity to undergo military training:
- * To exercise supervision to ensure adherence in practice to provisions of the Constitution and enable enjoyment of such provisions;
- * To have provisions that protect classes and strata of people such as workers, peasants, youths and students and service personnel and provisions that enable them to serve the interests of the State;
- * For the State to practise market-oriented free economic system;
- * For the State to uphold principles of peaceful co-existence and practise independent foreign policy; and,
- * For this Constitution to be the highest law that cannot be overwhelmed by any other law.

:NUP Representatives-elect and Party;: National Unity Party;. A 47-page proposal presented by U Thein Tun (Ingapu-2) [full text]:

The National Unity Party would like to propose the following to be kept as State fundamental principles:

- 1. To always emphasize and safeguard national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity,
- 2. To maintain firm safeguards and provisions for non-disintegration of the Pyidaungsu, for further consolidation of national unity, for equality among national races, for own right to prescribe for oneself that enables one to shape one's destiny, for continued existence and development of less-strong national races,
- 3. To extend all-round cooperation for practising dignified multi-party system for flourishing of genuine democracy,
- $4.\ \mbox{To}$ adopt independent national economic policy for improvement of economic and social conditions of the country and the entire people,
- 5. To establish genuine democratic social system that guarantees democratic rights and liberties of the people based on the worthiest of worldly values such as justice, liberty and equality and also based, with respect and value, on human life, dignity and basic human rights,
- 6. To effectively safeguard the interests of peasants and workers who constitute the great majority of the country,
- 7. To lay down and carry out programmes for development and progress of the entire mass of youths and women with aims at a better future for the country,
- 8. To provide for freedom to worship, to abstain from mixing of religion and politics, to abstain from seeking political gain by using religion and religious organizations as stepping stones,
- 9. To consistently practise independent and active foreign policy and practically implement peaceful co-existence with all nations and friendly relations between nations. $x \times x$

The National Unity Party has already presented comprehensively nine "principles" under the heading "State Fundamental Principles". These nine principles include main principles for chapter-wise headings.

However, as required by the National Convention Convening Work Committee, the following fundamental principles will be presented for the remaining 14 chapter-wise headings:
Fundamental principles on State structure

- It should be such a Pyidaungsu as one where all nationalities will live unseparating hand in hand together forever.
- This Pyidaungsu should incorporate as its members 14 states of equal status with own right to prescribe for themselves.
- Constituent members of the Pyidaungsu should be firmly constituted inseparably with the Pyidaungsu.
- Distribution of powers between the Pyidaungsu and its members should be based on mutual trust, equality, right to prescribe for oneself, right of a national race to stand on its own and flourish, development, etc.

Fundamental principles on the Head of State

- The Head of State should be the President as the nation is to be constituted as a Pyidaungsu.
- The President should not be just a figurehead but one with authority.
- In accord with international practices, the President should be a person who was born in the country, both parents being nationals born in the country, and who is qualified to stand for election as Hluttaw representative.

Fundamental principles on legislature

- The set-up of the Hluttaw should be one in harmony with the State structure.
 - There should be two chambers of Hluttaw Upper Hluttaw and

Pyithu Hluttaw.

- In the constituent states of the Pyidaungsu, too, there should be Hluttaws in accord with the principle of right to prescribe for themselves.
- $\,$ Functions and duties of the respective Hluttaws should be prescribed precisely.

Fundamental principles on executive powers

- Pyidaungsu Government should be formed in accord with the concept of separation of three powers.
- Distribution of powers between the Pyidaungsu Government and member-states and between the states and local administrative bodies should be based on political harmony, national harmony and legal harmony.
- It should be firmly prescribed in the Constitution for a members-state of the Pyidaungsu to be provided with deserving rights and responsibilities.
- In the Constitution there should be principles for formulation of democratic local bodies at district, township, ward and village-tract levels.

Fundamental principles on judiciary

- There should be included provisions to safeguard genuine democratic social system from legal point of view.
- Administration of justice should be independent and in accord with law.
- Administration of justice should be conducted before the public unless prohibited by law.
- There should be right of defence and right of appeal according to law.
- It should be stipulated that punishments are not meted out in violation of human dignity.
- It should be stipulated that no penal law has retrospective effect. There should be formed Pyidaungsu Taya Hluttaw Chok (The Supreme Court), state Taya Hluttaws (High Court) and township courts. Fundamental principles on the Tatmadaw
- Importance of the role of the Tatmadaw must be recognized, in view of the course of history of the nation.
- The Tatmadaw should be closely associated unalienated with national politics $\left[\text{sic}\right].$
- There should be a single modern, dynamic Tatmadaw comprising Army, Navy and Air Force.
- In participating in the national political leadership it should participate as appropriate where due in the State's legislative and executive spheres.

Fundamental principles on citizens and their fundamental rights and responsibilities

- There should be provisions for freedom of worship, freedom of expression, freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of association, right to pursue livelihood according to law, right to work, the right to own, sell and transfer movable and unmovable property.
- There should be provisions against discrimination between men and women in law, for equal rights and status for men and women, for enjoyment of the benefits derived from one's labour commensurate with one's physical or mental efforts and diligence and for right to inheritance according to law.
- Every citizen should have democratic rights such as the right to vote, the right to stand for election and the right to recall the elected representatives.
- Every citizen should have the right to education, the right to freely conduct studies and the right to develop one's language, literature, culture, religion and customs.
- Every citizen should have the right to medical treatment, and women and children should have freedoms and privileges. Fundamental principles on election
- The essence of democratic practice of the people themselves electing persons to serve the interests of the people on behalf of the people should be made evident.

- People's representatives should be elected by holding elections that are free and fair and peacefully demonstrative of the true wishes of the people.
- $\,$ There should be opportunities for extensive participation of citizens in the elections.
- Organs of power at different levels are responsible to the people, and represent the people, and it should be made evident as such.

Fundamental principles on political parties

- Political parties are to serve as bridges between the government and the people.
- Political parties should be ones capable of adopting and implementing policies and working styles that will conform with the interests of the people concerning political, economic and social matters.
- Just as there are parties covering the entire country, there should also be parties of region-wise representation.
- Every party should be required to have suitable guiding philosophy, basic political programme and practices. Fundamental principles on emergency provisions
- There should be provisions to enable Organs of State Power at different levels to give effective protection to security, life and property of the people when situations threatening them arise.
- The Defence Services Commander-in-Chief should have action taken in accord with the provisions of the Constitution when there arise situations of national emergency that will harm independence and sovereignty, seizure of State power by violent ways and unlawful ways or attempts to do so, and attempts to cause disintegration of the Pyidaungsu.

Fundamental principles on amending of the Constitution

- It should be prescribed, after coordination of wishes of the majority, that the Preamble of the Constitution and the provisions involving principles shall be amendable only by means of a national referendum.
- The Hluttaw should be given the right to amend the provisions not involving principles in accord with changing times and conditions.
- State Hluttaws and democratic local bodies should be given the right to propose amendments to the Constitution. Fundamental principles on State Flag, Emblem, Seal, Anthem and Capital
- $\,$ $\,$ State Flag, Emblem, Seal, Anthem and Capital should bear national character of the State.

Fundamental principles on provisions on period of transition

- There should include provisions for uninterrupted performance of executive and judiciary duties and maintenance of peace and stability during the period of transition.
- There should include provisions stipulating that work done by the government that has been exercising State power before the Constitution comes into effect is legal.
- There should be provisions stipulating that, at the time of changeover from one government to another, undertakings of the government that has been exercising State power are to be inherited by the Government that will emerge under the Constitution. Fundamental provisions on general provisions
- There should be provisions dealing with the specific points which are not covered in the earlier chapters of the Constitution.
- There should be provisions to clarify points requiring separate clarification in the Constitution.
- $\,$ There should be an Indemnity Clause to the effect that undertakings of the government exercising State power prior to the day the Constitution comes into force are undertaking pursued in accord with the Constitution.

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These fundamental principles are presented to suit geographical and general conditions of the country based on experiences at home

and abroad. These also reflect the aspirations of the national people of the country. It can bee seen that national identity is evident as they are objectively based on absolute fundamentals of our own country and races.

These presentations of the National Unity Party in connexion with fundamental principles for chapter-wise headings are just extracts of main points. It will make more extensive presentations when the time comes for discussions on each chapter headings.

:UPNO & SSKDP Representatives-elect;: Union Pa-O National Organization and Shan State Kokang Democratic Party and an independent representative-elect. A 52-page proposal presented by U Aung Thein (Ywangan), introduced by U Tun Kyaw (Namhsan) [full text]:

I am representative-elect U Tun Kyaw of Namhsan Constituency, Shan State. This paper will be submitted by U Aung Thein of Ywangan Constituency, Shan State, U Khin Maung Cho of Dimawhso Constituency-1, Kayah State, and U Tun Kyaw of Namhsan Constituency, Shan State, on behalf of the representatives-elect of Union Pa-O National Organization and Shan State Kokang Democratic Party and independent representatives-elect Dr Hmu Thang of Thangthlang Constituency, Chin State, U Khin Maung Cho of Dimawhso Constituency-1, Kayah State, U Tun Kyaw of Namhsan Constituency, Shan State, U Thawng Hko Thang of Tamu Constituency, Sagaing Division and U Aung Thein of Ywangan Constituency, Shan State.

First of all I would like to say that I feel much honoured for having the opportunity of putting forward proposals at this National Convention that will remain historic in Myanmar and express my high regard for the Esteemed Chairman and all the delegates to the National Convention.

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I would like to present that the fundamental principles of the State should be laid down as follows:

- (1) The Union of Myanmar is a sovereign, democratic nation which practises the Union system and which is unified with states in equal status where all national races reside.
- (2) The basic foundation of the State must be structured with people's representatives elected by the people themselves, and the nation must be a republic composed of Union member-states where there is no mingling of politics with religion (or) where there should not be any chief religion of the State (or) there should not be partiality to any religion which cannot be proclaimed as the chief religion of the State. To put it short in English, a principles of "a republic, secular, democratic, sovereign and social State" must be practised.
- (3) The Hluttaw must be constituted bicamerally Upper House and Lower House and also with Pyi-ne Hluttaw (chamber of states).
- (4) All the sovereign powers of the Union of Myanmar must reside in the people composed of all the nationalities in the Union. Legal provisions must be prescribed so that there should not be any forcible seizure of power.
- (5) A principle must be laid down for adopting an administrative system in accordance with the wishes of the majority and also for protecting the rights of the minority, and the nation must be a State where eternal principles such as social justice, economic justice and political justice, freedom of thought, freedom of speech and expression, freedom of press, freedom to profess any religion, freedom of earning one's own livelihood, freedom of organizing, equality of status, equality of rights, equality before the law, etc flourish and where there is no such class of people as those enjoying special privileges or whatsoever [sic].
- (6) Nationalities' literary and cultural organizations must be formed legally at township and state levels. Plans must be formulated for the preservation and promotion of the nationalities' literary and cultural mores and traditions, without any prohibition on related activities of a national race. Legal provisions must be prescribed to

be able to help fulfil such activities of the national races with the assistance of the State in cash or kind and to be able to include nationalities' literary and cultural traditions in the curriculum of the University of Culture.

- (7) With the adoption of market economic system for the development of the State, incentives must be given to private, cooperative and State sectors and joint venture enterprises. Law must be promulgated for free trade and economic ventures.
- (8) Public utility undertakings and natural resources, which are potential wealth, must be regarded as solely owned by the State and the government must formulate a policy to enable the Union Government itself or local organizations or cooperatives or joint-venture enterprises to utilize them and plans must be implemented in accordance with the policy guidelines.
- (9) Economic plans must be laid down by the State with a view to augmenting the wealth of the State, increasing the quantity and improving the material conditions of public property, promoting the cultural standard of the public, perpetuating independence of the Union nation and invigorating the defence capacity of the State. A policy must be formulated by the State for providing economic organizations and enterprises with technology and cash and material assistance.
- (10) For the regions that have not achieved development to keep abreast with developing regions, plans must be laid down with priority laid on political, economic and social matters and other crucial sectors such as transportation and telecommunications and assistance must be given to efforts made to officials in charge of states in the implementation of the plans.
- (11) Freedom of the press, freedom of thought, freedom of speech and expression and freedom of association and organization must be provided by law.
- (12) Freedom to profess any religion, freedom of faith, freedom of speech and freedom of conducting missionary services and legal provisions must be prescribed so that there should be no partiality to any particular religion.
- (13) In the administration of justice, the State Supreme Court and local courts must be constituted with the adoption of a jury trial system and the fact that all are equal before the law must be demonstrated.
- (14) The State must formulate a policy for every citizen to ensure the right to work, the right to rest, the right to enjoy his or her own free time, the right to maintenance in cases of old age or invalid condition or loss of capacity to work and policy guidelines must be implemented in accordance with the policy.
- (15) The State is to provide free compulsory primary education, encourage especially children's education and extend assistance to high school and university education, arts and science studies, researches and cultural organizations.
- (16) The promulgate laws giving access to vocational education to national races of hill regions and those of the states in proportion to the requirements of the regions concerned.
- (17) Provisions are to be included in the Constitution giving primary and secondary and up to the high school education in order that literature and culture of the respective national races might be preserved and promoted.
- (18) Emphasis is to be laid on laying down health and physical education policies to bring about health, physical and intellectual development of the people.
- (19) Improvement of living conditions such as food, clothing and shelter and the health of the people residing in the Union is to be regarded as one of the main responsibilities and the State is to make available basic commodities such as rice, cooking oil, salt, meat, fish and eggs at reasonable prices for the welfare of the people at all times; it is to subsidize if necessary.
- (20) The State is to introduce relevant laws forbidding employment in disregard of the ability, age and sex, in order to

guard against harming the health of workers and against affecting children in their tender age.

- (21) A citizen of the Union of Myanmar shall have the right to ownership of the house he resides in, cottage industries he runs, livestock breeding he undertakes and personal belongings, and inheritance to the occupation and belongings for one's generations to come.
- (22) The State is to make arrangements to provide decent living conditions for the disabled war veterans and to enable them to undergo vocational training free of charge. It will have to take special care of children of the fallen Tatmadaw members and those who become orphans because of the war.
- (23) The State is to give mass and class strata such as peasants and workers, student youths, women, technocrats and intelligentsia the right to form Asiayons and organizations thereby enhancing their physical and intellectual strength and creating welfare and other opportunities. They should have the right to enjoy benefits derived from their labour in proportion to their contribution in labour.
- (24) The State is to form a strong Tatmadaw of the Union (Army, Navy and Air) for national defence and security. It is to form security units such as constabulary, security units and people's militia in the states as well.
- (25) Law requiring all citizens to undertake military service on coming of age is to be enacted.
- (26) With the exception of armed organizations responsible for protecting public life and security no citizen will be allowed to carry arms without licence.
- $\,$ (27) The State is to pursue an independent and active foreign policy maintaining fraternal relations with neighbouring countries in honour of the United Nations Charter.
- (28) All service personnel are to be loyal to the government in power. A principle is to be formulated specifying that service personnel who wish to enter politics can do so only after their resignation.
- (29) Laws are to be enacted requiring to always preserve and protect the natural environment of the Union and to systematically exploit the mineral resources above-ground and underground, and in and under waters; and these must be abided by accordingly.
- (30) A commission is to be set up to safeguard democracy and the Constitution. A law providing ways and means to take action against violators of democracy and Constitution is to be enacted.

We have presented formulation of the fundamental principles of the State in accordance with the instructions of the National Convention Convening Commission Chairman on 9-1-93 and 7-6-93, with the clarifications of the National Convention Convening Work Committee Chairman on 7-6-93 and with the six objectives of the National Convention; we have no prejudice in presenting this. With this we conclude.

:MKNSO Representatives-elect;: Mro or Khami National Solidarity Organization. A 10-page proposal presented by U San Tha Aung (Kyauktaw) [full text]:

- (1) The State is the sovereign democratic Union of the entire people guaranteeing fundamental rights.
 - (2) The State shall be called the Union of Myanmar.
- (3) Emphasis is to be laid and always acted upon on non-disintegration of the Union and non-disintegration of national solidarity.
- (4) Special attention is to be paid to and appropriate assistance extended for the economic and social progress of national races who lag behind in development.
 - (5) The State protects the interests of the entire people.
- (6) It is to be clearly stated in the Constitution that the State practises dignified multiparty system for the flourishing of

genuine multiparty democratic system.

- (7) There will be two Hluttaws (chambers) Pyithu Hluttaw and Chamber of Nationalities. The respective townships are to elect representatives for the Pyithu Hluttaw and nationalities are to elect their representatives to the Chamber of Nationalities.
- (8) Sovereign power of the State must lie on the citizens. The Union Hluttaw elected according to the wishes of the people is to receive the sovereign powers and then use, distribute and delegate them according to the Constitution.

 Affairs of national races
- (1) All the national races shall have equal rights such as political rights in all aspects and the right to self-determination to shape their own destinies.
- (2) Self-administered areas must be established for national races to enable them to have full authority to carry out duties in the respective areas.
- (3) National races have the right to create, adopt and teach the literature of the language they cherish. National races shall have the right to inheritance according to their own traditions or to other laws.
- (4) National races have the right to introduce laws and rules to be adhered to in dispensing justice or to be abided by based on their cultural traditions. Economy
- (1) State economy is based on market oriented economic system which suits the respective regions.
- (2) In the State there will be public, co-operative, joint-venture and private ownerships.
- (3) Priority will be given to ownership of the land for those who work on it, agricultural development and rural development.
- (4) [no item printed it is probable that a whole segment, with the end of the Economic, and beginning of the Social section was omitted by NLM; see paper presented by the same organization as a Political Party, below]
- (5) Punishments that exposes a person to humiliation and causes tarnished image to him or her should not be meted out.
- (6) The State must plan for disabled ex-military servicemen to enjoy a decent living and free vocational training. Wives and children of fallen servicemen and children orphaned by war must be under the special care of the State.
- (7) Workers and government employees who are not involved in politics must be allowed to legally form unions. National defence
- (1) The duty of defending the nation is a noble task. To bring about effective execution of national defence and security duties, a sole Tatmadaw composed of Army, Navy and Air Force must be formed in the State. Due regard and special recognition must be given to the essential role of the Tatmadaw that has had traditions in the historical trend of the State.
- (2) With lessons drawn from events in history, proper measures must be taken so that there should not be any political control or constraint and political influence on all armed organizations including the Tatmadaw. The head of all armed organizations of the State must be the commander-in-chief of the Defence Services. Foreign affairs

The State, adopting an independent and active foreign policy, is to abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter and to uphold the principle of peaceful co-existence among nations, maintaining goodwill and friendly ties.

An uprising emerged as there was depletion or lack of democracy under one-party system.

Hence, it is crucial time for a genuine multi-party democracy system to flourish and for the State to have prevalence of peace and tranquillity and prosperity and for all national races to have unity and solidarity.

As such, for a genuine multi-party democracy system to

flourish, to bring about conditions for the people themselves to exercise people's powers, for considerations to be taken for various national races to have the right to self-promulgation and self-administration, the principles now submitted should be included in the "Fundamental principles of the State" in the Constitution. I conclude here with these suggestions.

(NLM 8/10)

Aug. 10:

:NLD Representatives-elect and Party;: National League for Democracy. A 95-page proposal was presented in five parts by various members ["salient points" as printed in NLM]:

To esteemed chairman, members of the panel of chairmen, members of National Convention Convening Commission and Work Committee and all delegates, I extend my best wishes and goodwill for auspiciousness, and physical and spiritual well-being of all.

I am representative-elect U Hla Kyi, representing the National League for Democracy, from No 2 Constituency, Pathein East township, Ayeyarwady Division. This paper will be read out by me and by U Myint Thein, representative-elect from No 1 Constituency, Chauk township, Magway Division; by U Aung Myint, representative-elect from No 1 Constituency, Letpadan township, Bago Division; by U Tun Myaing, representative-elect from No 1 Constituency, Wetlet township, Sagaing Division; and by Daw Win Myint, representative-elect from No 2 Constituency, Mayangonn township, Yangon Division, in that order. We will discuss "The State fundamental principles" and present constructive suggestions.

As for the National League for Democracy, it will present matters and suggestions in the manner of finding answers within the family in the interests of the family. It will stand objectively, free of any bias and clear of any attachment. It will strive for the successful framing of a Constituency especially embibing the seven principles of the National League for Democracy, namely

- (1) Openness, sincerity and mutual respect and compliance
- (2) national reconciliation (This is the matter of national solidarity, in connexion with which it has been presented comprehensively and with special emphasis.)
 - (3) use of peaceful and smooth way
 - (4) aiming at general harmony free of any grudge
 - (5) mutual respect
 - (6) mutual co-operation
 - (7) mutual understanding.

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Presented in continuation below are discussions and suggestions on basic principles in connexion with which citizens must have right, under the Constitution, to litigate before the court of law. These basic principles are:

- (1) The sovereign power of the State resides in the citizen people of the country.
- (2) The highest organ of State power shall be formed to exercise the sovereign powers of the State. This organ shall be formed only with people's representatives elected freely and fairly by the people.
- (3) Only this highest organ of State power shall wield and delegate the three main State powers, namely legislative, executive and judicial powers, in accord with the Constitution.
 - (4) Multi-party democracy shall be practised in the State.
- (5) As multi-party democracy is practised in the State, the highest organ of supreme powers of State shall be formed only with people's representatives elected by the people. This highest organ of supreme powers of State shall be called Hluttaw (Parliament is supreme.)
- (6) There shall be no such entities as State organizations or machineries existing separately independent of supervision and control of the Hluttaw that is the highest organ of State power.
 - (7) The State shall be established as a democratic state that

with emphasis heeds the democratic rights of citizens.

- (8) The system of constitution and administration of the State is the system of administration based on democracy.
- (9) In order that the single-party system that is counter to the wishes of the majority of the people and destroys multi-party system does not emerge and flourish again, this Constitution prohibits any and all propaganda and organizational movement aimed at flourishing of that single-party system.
- (10) The principle of openness that is held in high esteem by mankind shall be practised in conduct of legislative, executive and judicial affairs. The practice of relations of such openness shall be regular practice of relations between the government of the State and the people.
- (11) The economic system of the State shall be market-oriented economic system.
- (12) As groups of nationalities have all along together inhabited the Myanmar Naing-Ngan and there have all along been demarcations such as States and Divisions, it shall be constituted as a Pyidaungsu Naing-Ngan-Daw comprising States and Divisions. The State shall endeavour for incessant flourishing of nationals' solidarity, equality, non-loss of rights due to them for their physical and intellectual efforts, tenacity and diligence, mutual amity and respect, and mutual help.
- (13) All groups of nationalities are family members of the Pyidaungsu; and living on the same land and drinking the same water, they will live unitedly unseparated forever together, with equality among themselves, sharing tranquillity as well as adversity, eggs and nest all intact, free of any suspicion among them. All States in this Pyidaungsu, in accord with this Constitution,
- (a) shall have the right of self-administration.
- (b) every legislation enacted by the State shall be in accord with the Constitution. The Hluttaw has the right to review any legislation enacted by the States if that legislation is liable to be detrimental to the interests of the Pyidaungsu.
- (14) If the Hluttaw has to prescribe matters concerning States, it shall do so only upon the consent of 75 per cent and above of all Hluttaw representatives of the State concerned.
- (15) The Naing-Ngan-Daw is a nation comprising groups of nationalities of equal status namely Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Bamar, Mon, Rakhine, Shan etc. There shall be utterly no domination, coercion, degradation, unlawful treatment, exploitation of one race by another, or among groups of nationalities. There shall be right to enjoy the fruits of the State in accord with one's own physical and intellectual efforts, tenacity, and diligence.
- (16) Respective nationals have right to freely profess, cultivate, preserve, use and practise their religion, cherish language, literature, culture and customs in accord with the Constitution but it shall not harm the interests of another.
- (17) Every citizen is equal before law. No one shall be above the law. It shall not be that, for a person, law is one thing, and for another, law is something else. There is freedom in administration of justice. There is right to file complaints against grievances and right to sue for action. No law, rule, regulation, order or proclamation etc shall have retroactive effect. There shall be no detention of a citizen for more than 24 hours without a court order. No one shall be deemed guilty until and unless so judged by the court. Examination or punishment that violates human dignity is prohibited. A person punished for an offence shall not be punished again for the same offence. Moreover, even a person who is undergoing punishment because he is guilty shall not suffer a violation of human dignity.
- (18) Time of elections shall be prescribed and elections duly held. Elections shall be in accord with democratic practice.
- (19) Citizens shall have right to elect and be elected people's representatives in accord with law. There is right of recall in accord with law of any-level representative one has elected.

- (20) The State is the ultimate owner of all natural resources above and below the ground, above and beneath the waters and in the atmosphere, and also of all lands.
- (21) The country is still one based on agriculture. Assistance and support must be given for all-round development of agriculture. Efforts shall also be made for development of mechanized agriculture and industries as much as it comes to be favoured by conditions.
- (22) Peasants and workers are currently basic forces of the State. Assistance and support shall be given for promoting their works and their rights shall be safeguarded. Bodies free of party politics shall be formed to truly represent respective classes and shall have right to submit for their rights in accord with law.
- (23) Intelligentsia, intellectuals, business entrepreneurs etc forming all sorts of strata of masses also are operators of enterprises serving the interests of the State. Assistance and support shall be given for them to flourish. Their rights shall also be safeguarded. Their inventions, innovations and performances shall be accorded recognition. Bodies free of party politics shall be formed to truly represent respective classes and shall have right to submit for their rights according to law.
- (24) Youths are ones who will become leaders of the State in future and ones who have abilities. The role of youths is duly recognized. Youths shall be cultivated and trained to develop their Five Strengths and become able to shoulder the duties of the State. They shall have the right to form youth organizations free of party politics.
- (25) Women shall have equal rights as men. They shall also have separate rights on account of their feminine nature in accord with law. They shall have right to form organization free of party politics.
- (26) Personnel in the service of the State are serving the interests of the State and citizens. Law and procedures shall be made to guarantee full safety of their career. Service personnel shall have the right to submit for their service rights, in a way free of party politics. Service personnel shall be for the people, not vice versa.
- (27) The State shall maintain friendly relations with world nations. Especially with neighbouring countries, it will maintain relations of understanding and good-neighbourliness. It will cooperate in matters of mutual benefit in international organizations, bloc organizations and regional organizations. As no nation can stand alone and practise isolationism in the present times, the State will enter into mutual co-operation in all matters of mutual benefit between nations. In world problems, it will always stand for what is right. It will steadfastly adhere to the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, namely (1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty (2) non-aggression (3) non-interference in each other's internal affairs (4) equality and mutual benefit and (5) peaceful co-existence despite differences in foreign policies. It will abide by the United Nations Charter. It will respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- (28) Myanma Tatmadaw is the people's Tatmadaw that safeguards, in accord with democratic practice, the tasks of national Independence, non-disintegration of Pyidaungsu, perpetuation of sovereignty, national security and defence etc. The State shall take responsibility to build it into a modern people's Tatmadaw that is worthy of confidence and reliance of the State and the citizens depending on the capability of the State and strategy laid down by the State. Rights of Tatmadaw members shall be guaranteed by law. Families of Tatmadaw members who are disabled shall be given protection and care. Being formed with members from all groups of nationalities and all classes of people in the country, the Tatmadaw is an armed organization representing the citizenry. Accordingly the Tatmadaw shall stand in splendour in the State and shall safeguard stability of the new democratic state and the Constitution.
 - (29) Research works in the country shall be conducted with

planning to meet the needs of the State. They shall be carried on through contacts with international research organizations in accord with the foreign policy of the State.

- (30) Environmental conservation shall be carried on with systematic planning. Especially forests, soil, land, watershed areas and water resources shall be protected.
- (31) Myanmar language shall be used as official language in Myanmar Naing-Ngan.
- (32) There shall be freedom of religion. The right to freely profess any religion shall be given. The State recognizes that Buddhism is the major religion, replete with distinguished attributes, professed by the majority of citizens. With reference to freedom of religion, there shall be no mixing of politics and religion.
- (33) The State shall prescribe for emergence, in accord with plan, of an education system that is truly effective for imparting of free and compulsory primary education. Moreover, the primary education system shall be aimed at bringing real benefit to the State and the children more than it does now. Moreover, it shall be provided to enable teaching of national languages in addition to Myanmar language as optional subjects at schools.
- (34) The Constitution is the highest law of the State. No other legislation shall supercede it.
- (35) Each and every people's representative elected to any organ of State power shall report on the work done by him or her to the citizens who have elected him or her, and shall also seek their wishes.

In connexion with the fundamental principles, the second part, namely the "State objective principles" will be presented and discussed. It is to be mentioned here again that these general objective principles are to be heeded and adhered to in conducting legislative, executive and judicial work. However, in such conduct of work, there shall be no right to sue before any law court.

The objective principles are generally as follows:

- (1) Now we are going to build the State by means of multi-party democracy. So, for the flourishing of multi-party democracy, it is true, political stability is especially necessary.
- (a) In order to have political stability, social and economic conditions have to be good. They must be progressing and developing. For the social conditions to be good in Myanmar Naing-Ngan, basically all groups of nationalities have to be united. For economic conditions to be good, basically a market-oriented economic system has to flourish.
- (b) For social and economic conditions to be good, the main requisite is that there must be capital and technology.
- (c) Emergence and capital and technology is possible only with the flourishing of genuine democracy and development of market-oriented economic system.
- (d) Capital and technology can flourish only under the administration of governments based on the wishes of the people especially under democratic system. Capital and technology do not grow instantly. They grow gradually with the flourishing of democracy and development of the market-oriented economy. Just as capital and technology flourish, so also will democracy become more stable and dynamic. (In other words) just as democracy has to flourish for growth of capital and technology, so also are capital and technology essentially necessary for flourishing of democracy.
- (2) To build a democratic state based on multi-party system which allows enjoyment of political, economic, social, democratic rights and basic human rights.
- (3) To protect citizens both within the country and without, in dealings with foreign countries.
- (4) To work towards giving due assistance when citizens become old and unable, when they can no longer work, when they become unwell.
 - (5) To work towards enabling citizens to enjoy at appropriate

time right to rest and right to free time.

- (6) For the State to give priority as much as possible and strive towards progress of still less-developed regions and citizens' lives.
- (7) For every citizen to get opportunity to pursue education; To encourage and extend monastic school education.
- (8) For the State to strive towards improvement of citizens' living standards and well-being.
- (9) For the State to strive towards uplift of the life of children, care of wayward youths, and protection of minors from having to do work not compatible to their strength.

A summary of all that has been presented now will show that, as we are going to build the new democratic state, it is specially for all groups of nationalities to be new men with fresh outlook, to have correct concept, to foster family spirit, and to keep up and strengthen unity. At the same time it is necessary to include all democratic rights as befits the democratic state, not just to include them, but to be able to enjoy them in practice. Moreover, it is necessary to succinctly lay down fundamental principles for constituting the Pyidaungsu Naing-Ngan-Daw, which the entire people are hoping and wishing for, and for delegation of powers and for correct implementation in practice. Moreover it must inevitably be included in the provisions to have mutual check and balance and harmonious relations between the organs of power and the people.

With such a concept, the National League for Democracy has conducted studies of historical background, national solidarity, democratic cause, and constitutional matters etc. and made a presentation as comprehensively as it possibly can. Especially in drafting the Constitution, fundamental principles are most primary. Accordingly fundamental principles and objective principles that should inevitably be included have been presented and proposed. If they are thoroughly scrutinized and improved upon with changes and additions, there will emerge fundamental principles that have full essence and that will truly serve the interests of the State and the citizens.

Moreover, in connexion with fundamental principles, the National League for Democracy is standing for the cause of building a genuinely democratic state by means of multi-party democracy; in democratic practice, the ultimate true owners of sovereign power are the people; likewise, only people's representatives democratically elected by them shall exercise the three sovereign powers of State; only then will it be tantamount to implementation of genuine democracy. Emphasizing these points, I conclude the presentation, with thanks.

:Nationalities Delegates; Group. A 68-page proposal in three parts was presented by various delegates ["salient points" as printed]:

I extend my best wishes for auspiciousness to all National Convention delegates.

I am Daw Hnin Mya, nationalities delegate of Thaton Township, Mon State. I will, together with U Myint Aung of Indaw Township, Sagaing Division, and U Tennyson Po of Kawkareik Township, Kayin State, present the proposal paper of the nationalities delegates group to the National Convention Plenary Session. I will present the first part of the paper.

In the nationalities delegate group, altogether 32 delegates of the 14 States and Divisions have thoroughly held seven rounds of discussions, representing the respective States and Divisions as well as individually, on the fundamental principles concerning the heading "State fundamental principles" for formulation of principles to form basis in writing the Constitution. The paper compiling team made up of the panel of chairmen and delegates then prepared a paper. The paper prepared together with the panel of chairmen was approved

unanimously by the nationalities delegate group meeting held on 23-7-93. That is, nationalities delegates of the 14 States and Divisions have presented what they favour, fully explaining their reasons, with the national conviction and concept that it shall be a firm Constitution for the State.

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A presentation will be made on State fundamental principles and all the 14 chapters to be included in the State Constitution in their set order. In connection with the State fundamental principles it is presented as follows:

The State shall be constituted as Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw that practises genuine multi-party democracy in accord with the noblest and worthiest of worldly values.

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The economic policies of the State are presented below:

- (1) State economic system is market economic system directed towards the national economic system;
- (2) The State is the ultimate owner of all the land, resources above and below the ground, above and beneath the waters, and in the atmosphere.
- (3) For development of the national economy, the State shall supervise sector-wise extraction of State-owned resources by State organizations, regional organizations, joint-venture organizations and private economic organizations.

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In connexion with the foreign policy of the State, it should be prescribed as follows in fundamental principles:

- (1) The State shall practise an independent and active foreign policy.
- (2) The State shall maintain friendly relations with all nations on the basis of equality with all nations and the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

As regards education, the following points should be included in the chapter on State fundamental principles:

- (1) Every citizen has the right to pursue education. Basic education up to primary education is compulsory.
- (2) The State education system shall be modern education system that will ensure correct thinking and good moral character in students and serve the cause of building the nation.

As regards health, the point wanted to be included in the fundamental principles is as follows:

It shall be moved to define and carry out activities to promote public health in order to reinforce and support endeavours of the State.

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In connection [sic] with national culture, the following point should be included in the State fundamental principles:

The State shall enact necessary laws for developing, strengthening and preserving national culture.

In connexion with the State Structure, it is presented as follows:

- (1) The 14 existing states and divisions will be formed as states of equal status and the names of the states shall be as they are now.
- (2) Within the states, suitable self-administered areas may be demarcated and constituted if necessary.
- (3) No state shall have the right to secede from the Pyidaungsu.

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In connexion with the Head of State, it is presented as follows:

- (1) The Head of State is the President.
- (2) The Sate will practise the system of executive headed by

the President to be elected by presidential electoral college.

(3) The President of the State shall be a citizen being a national loyal to the State and the citizens and qualified as prescribed by law.

- In connexion with legislature, it is presented as follows:
 (1) Legislative power resides in two chambers the Hluttaw representing the people, elected by citizens who have the right to vote, and the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw with equal representation from 14 States.
 - (2) In each state, there shall be a legislative Hluttaw.
- (3) In the legislative Hluttaws, there shall be representatives nominated by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief.
- (4) In enactment of laws, punishments that violate human dignity shall not be prescribed.
- (5) Laws to suit extraordinary conditions of the selfadministered areas shall be enacted.
- (6) Laws enacted by the state-level legislative Hluttaws should not be contrary to enactments by the central level.

- I will continue to present principles considered suitable in connexion with the executive. They are:
- (1) The system of leadership by the President will be practised.
- (2) The President shall delegate executive power to states and self-administered areas.
- (3) Local executive organs of states, districts and selfadministered areas, these being regional entities, shall include persons nominated by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief.
- (4) Persons chosen by the President and approved by the two chambers of the Hluttaw shall be appointed the Attorney-General and the Auditor-General.
- (5) Personnel in the service of the State shall be clear of party politics. The Government shall take responsibility to secure in-service guarantee for personnel in the service of the State.
- (6) The State shall strive as much as possible to ease food, clothing and shelter conditions of people who have retired from service.

Administration of justice shall be conducted on the basis of the following principles:

- (1) To administer justice independently according to law.
- (2) To conduct administration of justice in public, except on restriction by law.
- (3) To give the right of defence and the right of appeal in cases.
 - (4) No penal law shall have retrospective effect.

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Administration of justice is better done by a bench formed with judicial personnel including legal experts. That is why it is being submitted to prescribe as follows in the fundamental principles:

- (5) Justice shall be administered only by a bench.
- (6) The highest law court in Myanmar is the Pyidaungsu Taya Hluttaw. The highest law court in states is the state Taya Hluttaw.
- (7) Pyidaungsu Taya Hluttaw, state Taya Hluttaws, selfadministered areas' law courts, district law courts and township law courts shall be constituted in the State.

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Concerning the chapter heading "The Tatmadaw", it is suggested fundamental principles be laid down as follows:

- (1) A strong, modern, single Tatmadaw shall be built for strengthening national security and defence. In so doing, the Tatmadaw is empowered to plan and manage for participation of the entire people.
- (2) In addition to its original duties of defence and security, the Tatmadaw shall participate in implementation of legislative and

executive duties.

- (3) The head of all the armed organizations in the country is the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief alone.
- (4) The Tatmadaw shall have the right to manage all its affairs by itself independently.
- (5) The Tatmadaw shall safeguard the causes of non-disintegration of the Pyidaungsu, non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuation of national sovereignty.
- (6) The Tatmadaw shall have right of action in regional emergency situations for effectively protecting life and property of the people upon emergence of situations threatening security, life and property of people in some regions in the State.
- (7) The Defence Services Commander-in-Chief shall be permitted to secure and exercise State power in accordance with provisions of the Constitution in situations of emergencies concerning the whole country.
- (8) The Tatmadaw has responsibility to give protection for stability of and adherence to the provisions of the Constitution.

Extensive provisions will have to be made under the heading or the chapter 'Citizens and their fundamental rights and responsibilities'. We consider the following principles suitable to be prescribed under the heading.

- (1) (a) All persons born of parents both of whom are nationals are citizens;
- (b) Citizenship, naturalized citizenship and revocation of citizenship shall be prescribed by law.
- (2) Separate fundamental rights shall be prescribed for nationals in political, social and economic affairs.
- (3) All citizens, irrespective of race, official position, economic status, culture, birth, religion and sex, shall be equal before the law.
- (4) The interests of peasants and workers, who are playing the main role in national economic development, shall be safeguarded.
- (5) Every citizen shall have freedom to profess the religion of his or her own choice. However religion shall not be misused for political purpose.
- (6) Every citizen shall exercise restraint so as not to harm the causes of non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and preservation of national sovereignty.
- (7) Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of speech and freedom of publication.
- (8) Every citizen shall have the right of inheritance according to law.
- (9) Income earned legitimately through physical and intellectual efforts and diligence, savings, property, dwellings and other possessions of the citizens shall be protected by law.
- (10) The State shall enact laws and strive for youths to have strong patriotic spirit, to have correct way of thinking and to develop in Five Strengths physical, intellectual, moral, material and spiritual.
- (11) (a) Women shall enjoy equal political, economic, social and cultural rights and employment opportunities as men.
- (b) Mothers, children and expectant mothers shall enjoy rights prescribed by law.
- (12) The State shall take responsibility for less-developed national races to make progress so as not to lag in economic, social, intellectual and technical aspects.
- (13) Every citizen shall have the right to freely apply one's own language, literature, culture, religion and worthy customs and traditions. If such application has an effect of harming national solidarity, it shall be totally avoided. It shall not be to the detriment of others.

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As regards elections it should be presented as follows:

(1) Every citizen shall have the right to vote and stand for

election as prescribed by law.

(2) There shall be the right, as prescribed by law, for recall of elected Hluttaw representatives by the people who have elected them.

We cannot say that we will not encounter situations of impending danger of disintegration of the Pyidaungsu and disintegration of national solidarity. In such a situation, if the President too cannot keep control, the Tatmadaw would again have to take over responsibility whether it is asked by anyone to do so or not. In such a case, it would be blamed as seizing power. Untruths would be mouthed from abroad. If the Tatmadaw refrains from taking over responsibility the country will meet with disaster. So in order that the people do not misunderstand the Tatmadaw, in order that there are no accusations from abroad, and in order that the Tatmadaw itself too can serve the interests of the nation with due honour, it should be prescribed as follows:

The Defence Services Commander-in-Chief has the right to secure and exercise State power when there arises a situation designated as state of emergency in the country.

In connection [sic] with amending of the Constitution,, fundamental principle is presented:

Concerning the State Flag, emblem, anthem and capital, it is presented as follows:

"The State Flag, emblem, anthem and capital shall be prescribed in conformity with the State fundamental principles."

As regards provisions in the period of transition, it should be included in fundamental principles as follows:

"Laws, rules, notifications and directives that have been in force before the date on which this Constitution comes into effect shall continue to be in force providing they are not contrary to the provisions of this Constitution or provided they have not been cancelled."

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As regards general provisions the general principle is presented:

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In conclusion, we would like to assure that we, nationalities delegates group, submit our proposals comprehensively on the State fundamental principles that should be included under 15 Chapter Headings after having discussed them thoroughly and seriously with national objective.

:An Independent Representative-elect;, U Tun Hlaing of Bahann Constituency No. 1 presented a 15 page proposal [salient points as printed]:

In multiparty democracy, free citizens must be able to form a political party as they wish provided it is not contrary to the constitution. The parties must be able to act according to the arrangements made by their party members. No matter how many parties there are, the public will finally choose just two or three. This is the democratic procedure practised by all the countries of the world.

Another guidance given is the flourishing of the eternal values such as justice, liberty and equality. This is very good. Both the Constitution of 1947 and the Constitution of 1974 contained the eternal values and human rights in full. If people had indeed abided by them, then the citizens of our country would have loved one another and lived in unity [and] the country would have developed and

prospered.

Then another guidance is the matter for the Tatmadaw to be able to participate in the national political leadership role of the future State. Tatmadaw always participates in national political affairs. It must, too. The armies of the various countries of the world are not only engaged in the affairs of their respective countries but are seen to take part even in the affairs of other countries (Excerpts from the book "Doh Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan" written by Dr. Maung Maung is quoted)

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So, provisions will have to be made for the states in the Pyidaungsu to achieve a uniform development and for the people in the states to have opportunities to strive and build by themselves.

So, wherever in the Pyidaungsu they may reside, people will be able to enjoy right to decide by themselves and build by themselves without losing any opportunities.

Accordingly, efforts must be made by democratic means, with the wishes of the national races, to strengthen national solidarity and safeguard it from disintegration.

In market oriented economy there have to be well-defined rights for doing businesses. The authorities concerned must be not create restrictions and deduct here and there [sic]. Government must not turn a blind eye, either. It must give priority to nationals who can really operate businesses. It must protect the interests of nationals by deterring foreigners from getting control of businesses.

Children and youth, who hold future prospects of the country, and womenfolk must be protected, cared and cultivated. The aged and the infirm, who had shouldered their duties well by serving the interests of the State, must be fed and looked after.

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Another important matter is the freedom of the Press. As injustice and wrongdoings come to be exposed, the persons concerned will come to control themselves and then come to do what is just and right.

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It is highly praiseworthy that the State Law and Order Restoration Council has made endeavours to change over to a truly democratic State. It is only those who are brave who dare to make a decision to change over from an old system to a new one. Such changes are not easy and one has to venture a great deal. One must also be clever. One has to have goodwill. Some think that all the 40 million citizens have to consent in framing a constitution. In democracy, it is impossible for all to agree. Decisions are made with the approval of the majority. The consent of the entire people can be obtained only in countries which practise dictatorship. Such consent obtained is ineffective and therefore it is meaningless.

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In summing up, the convening of the National Convention, making preparations for laying down fundamental principles for the framing of the constitution and making efforts for the establishment of the State in unity in a friendly atmosphere among our own people is to be heartily welcomed. All must make concerted efforts with trust, free of suspicions. As a people's representative I would forward constructive suggestions most sincerely and speak of whatever I see along the path laid for the progress and development of the State. I conclude by asking all the esteemed delegates attending the convention to work hand in hand among themselves. (NLM 8/11)

Aug. 11:

:Peasant Delegates; Group: A 26-page proposal was read by U Shei Rei of Kayah State and U Tin Nyunt of Yangon Division [salient points]:

It is proposed that a fundamental principle be prescribed to

redesignate the existing seven states and seven divisions as regions of equal status under the present names, in keeping with Myanmar's geographical and objective conditions.

It is proposed that a fundamental principle be prescribed to demarcate self-administered areas within regions if necessary.

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It is proposed a fundamental principle be prescribed as follows:

The goal of the State is for all the national races to live together forever in close amity; for the flourishing of a genuine democratic system; for raising the living standards of people in the State and for all the national races to enjoy fairly and rightly.

Fundamental principles should be laid down for ensuring the rule of law and order in the different regions of the national races who are our national brethren.

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It is proposed that fundamental principles be laid down for effective distribution of the three State powers between the central and regional organs for the sake of unity in constituting the State.

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It is proposed that fundamental principles be prescribed so that there shall be no gap in regional government.

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The State should lay down fundamental principles of regional development so as to put emphasis on endeavours for greater development of the less-developed national races.

It is proposed that a fundamental principle that protects language, literature, culture and customs of the national races be laid down.

It is proposed that a fundamental principle for the State to supervise extraction and utilization of State-owned natural resources be laid down.

It is proposed that a fundamental principle be laid down for the State to provide assistance and support for commodity production, commodity distribution, investment and price stabilization to promote life of the people and boost investments in general in the country.

It is proposed that a fundamental principle be prescribed to the effect that the State shall be one that stands on its own without depending on other countries in matters of our own culture, customs, etc.

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A principle should be laid down for systematic formation of parties for flourishing of a genuine multi-party democracy through practice of a multi-party democratic system with integrity.

It should be laid down that all sovereign powers of the State shall reside in the citizens. Of the three branches of sovereign powers - legislative, executive and judicial powers - the legislative power shall be exercised by the Pyithu Hluttaw; the executive power shall be distributed between the central and regional organs to be formed in conformity with this Constitution; the judicial power shall be distributed between the central Taya Hluttaws and regional Taya

A principle should be laid down that the State shall practise an independent check and balance system between branches of power namely legislative power, executive power and judicial power of the State at central level.

A principle should be laid down as follows: The State shall have two chambers of Hluttaw. The legislative Hluttaw shall be elected by vote of every citizen who has the right to vote. The Upper Hluttaw shall comprise representatives chosen in equal numbers from 14 regions. Hluttaw representatives nominated by the Commander-in-

Chief of the Defence Services too are included in the two chambers of the Hluttaw. Lower Hluttaw (Legislative Hluttaw) shall have appropriate number of elected representatives and Upper House shall have equal proportion of representatives chosen from 14 regions.

It should be laid down as fundamental principles that representatives elected by electoral college from special areas shall attend Upper and Lower Hluttaws and that there shall be a legislative Hluttaw for each region.

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A fundamental principle should be laid down to practise an executive system headed by the President elected by electoral college.

For further burgeoning of the eternal principles of justice, liberty and equality, it should be laid down as follows:

- (a) All citizens shall be equal before the law and act according to law;
- (b) Administration of justice shall be conducted independently; it shall be done in public; and there shall be right of defence and right of appeal.
- (c) There shall be constituted Pyidaungsu Taya Hluttaw at central level, regional Taya Hluttaw in each region and courts in areas, districts and townships.
- (d) No penal law shall have retrospective effect and, for the State to exist in perpetuity with further burgeoning of eternal principles of justice, liberty and equality, no punishment shall be meted out in violation of human dignity.

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The Tatmadaw is a National Tatmadaw which came into being along with national politics, in response to the needs of the nation and out of endeavours of the nation. So it should be laid down as fundamental principle that the Tatmadaw shall participate in legislative and executive fields.

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It is proposed that a fundamental principle be laid down for the Tatmadaw to have right to plan and manage as necessary for participation of the entire people in building a single Tatmadaw.

A fundamental principle should be laid down to empower the Tatmadaw to control regional emergency situations and to plan and manage as necessary.

A fundamental principle should be laid down to empower the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services to secure and exercise powers of the State according to law when there arises a state of emergency covering the whole country.

The State should provide assistance and support for uplift of life of the people, for increasing and developing investments within the country; boosting production and distribution of goods, and investments and stabilising commodity prices; the State should promote national economy that permits all economic forces to participate in raising commodity production, increasing export of finished products, and in trade and commerce. Fundamental principles to this effect should be laid down.

A fundamental principle should be laid down for the State to bring forth an all-round applicable education system aimed at promoting livelihood leading from the classroom to the worksite in addition to objectives of physical, mental, moral, aesthetic and vocational development.

A fundamental principle should be laid down for the State to facilitate public pursuit of intellectual and technical knowledge and public health, taking into consideration the short-term and long-term interests of the State; and for the national working people on their part to assist and support the State in these endeavours.

The peasantry plays the main role in agriculture. It is

necessary for them to have appropriate right to farm and produce goods in accord with time and place, the right to make full use of their own labour in their worksites during working hours and guarantee of an appropriate value. In addition, they should be provided with necessary farming techniques and investments. A fundamental principle be laid down to that effect.

With aims at serving the interests of the peasantry, the State should lay down a principle incorporating the following points:-

- (a) To form class organizations of the peasantry systematically;
 - (b) to hold seminars;
- (c) to give the peasantry the right to cultivate and produce freely, and the right to store, transport, process and sell their produce freely;
- (d) as the peasantry represents about 85 per cent of the total population of the country, peasant representatives should be included to shoulder national political duties in various levels of the State's administrative sphere. A fundamental principle should be laid down to enable their participation through formation of peasants organizations from primary to central level.

Fundamental principles should be laid down to give workers right to due wages, right to worksite harmony, right to social security, assistance in the form of technology, investment, machinery and raw material supply for development of industries and provisions for protection of their interests.

As regards State service personnel, a fundamental principle should be laid down for the State to do its best for workers, to stay clear of politics and enjoy security of employment and for their food, clothing and shelter, social security and welfare.

A fundamental principle should be laid down for the State to do its best for food, clothing and shelter, social security and welfare of persons who retire from service.

A fundamental principle should be laid down to endeavour for development of the five strengths in youths.

A fundamental principle should be laid down to enable women to enjoy equal rights as men and to enjoy the rights concerning maternity.

A fundamental principle should be laid down to give freedom of worship and to prohibit misuse of religion for political purposes.

A fundamental principle should be laid down for the State to endeavour for development and preservation of national culture.

A fundamental principle should be laid down to practise an independent, active and non-aligned foreign policy and to maintain friendly relations between one another.

I conclude proposing that a fundamental principle should be laid down to the effect that the fundamental principles are to be followed in enacting laws and to be taken as guiding principles in interpreting the laws.

:Worker Delegates; Group: A 36-page proposal was read in three parts [salient points]:

I am worker delegate to the National Convention of Kyaing Tong Township in Shan State (East) U Bo Thein.

At the Plenary Session of the National Convention, I will present, on behalf of the worker delegates group of the National Convention, fundamental principles that should be included in the Chapter One "State Fundamental Principles".

The worker delegates to the National Convention would like to present the following fundamental principles that should be included in the Constitution and State fundamental principles.

- (1) This nation is a sovereign independent nation; independent sovereign powers, political, social, economic and military, free from dependence on another country, free from foreign dictation, shall be in force throughout the country.
 - (2) Political system of the State is the multi-party democracy

political system based on genuine democracy prescribing Our Three Main National Causes as the basic policy of the State.

- (3) The three powers of the State namely legislative, executive and judicial powers are to be exercised independently and separately according to law.
- (4) The State is the ultimate owner of all the land and resources above and below the ground, in the water and under water and in the atmosphere.
- (5) The State shall prohibit mixing of politics and religion; there must be a distinct line drawn between the two.
- (6) The State shall strive for development and preservation of national culture of nationalities.
- (7) The State shall pursue independent, active and non-aligned foreign policy and co-operate with other countries on the basis of amity and equality.

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In connection with fundamental principles on economy, I would like to present, on behalf of the worker delegates to the National Convention, the following principles to be prescribed in the Constitution.

- (1) The State economic system shall have right to operate in accord with market economic system compatible with objective conditions in the country, so as to be able to maintain international relations on equal footing.
- (2) The economic system practised by the State shall not be a burden for the citizens, peasants and workers; it shall allow the State to have opportunities to engage in vital undertakings.
- (3) The State shall create new farmland for the peasants; it shall also create opportunities to strive to get technical and material requisites of commodity production, commodity distribution and investment.
- (4) In implementing projects for economic development of the country, the State shall exert supervision on extraction of State-owned resources by economic forces such as State organizations, regional organizations, cooperative organizations, joint ventures and private organizations to be in accord with the interests of the people.
- (5) National economy should be shaped in such a way as to permit all economic forces to participate in endeavours for raising commodity production in general, boosting exports of finished products and expanding commercial activities.

- I will now discuss and present fundamental principles on the $\ensuremath{\mathsf{State}}$ structure.
- (1) The boundary of the State shall be the same as that of the present incorporating the land, atmosphere and waters of the State.
- (2) The State is a Pyidaungsu Naing-Ngan where all national races live together sharing tranquillity and adversity, all eggs and nest intact, with the concept that no area of the State shall ever secede from the Pyidaungsu.
- (3) The Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw is constituted with the existing 14 States and Divisions as regions of equal status.
- (4) States and Divisions should be renamed, with reuse of historical names as Kanbawza, Kantarawady etc. which are more natural and more in the nature of unity among the nationalities.

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In connection with the fundamental principles on the Head of State, we, all the worker delegates, unanimous propose the following:

The Head of State is the President; the State practises the presidential form of government with full authority.

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Concerning legislature, fundamental principles should be prescribed as follows:

(1) There shall be two chambers, a Hluttaw representing the people and another Hluttaw equally representing 14 regions of States and Divisions.

- (2) The two Hluttaws shall include representatives nominated by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief.
- (3) There shall be distribution of legislative, executive and judicial powers between the central and regional organs of power.

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In matters concerning the executive branch, fundamental principles should be laid down as follows:

- (1) Executive powers of the State shall be distributed between central and regional organs.
- (2) To narrow down the development gap between different regions as much as possible and to place emphasis on development of less developed nationalities.
- (3) Within regions of the State, it is necessary to constitute self-administered areas; it shall be done with necessary restrictions; and executive powers are to be delegated to self-administered areas.
- (4) The State shall do all it can to see that service personnel stay clear of party politics and enjoy guarantee of service security; to ease food, clothing and shelter conditions of service personnel and retired service personnel.
- (5) Central, regional, self-administered areas and district organs shall be constituted with elected representatives and Tatmadaw representatives proportionately.

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In connexion [sic] with judicial affairs, it is proposed as follows:

- (1) There shall be Pyidaungsu Taya Hluttaw at central level and regional Taya Hluttaw in each region.
- (2) Courts shall be set up in the self-administered areas, districts and townships for administration of justice.
- (3) Administration of justice shall be independent and in accord with law; it shall be conducted before the public unless prohibited by law; and there shall be the right of self-defence in court cases.
 - (4) No penal law shall have retrospective effect.
- (5) Punishments shall not be meted out in violation of human dignity.
- (6) No citizen shall be placed in custody for more than 24 hours without prior authorization of the competent court.

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Concerning the Tatmadaw, fundamental principles should be laid down as follows:

- (1) The Tatmadaw is responsible for safeguarding Our Three Main National Causes.
- (2) The Defence Services Commander-in-Chief is the head of all armed organizations.
- (3) Representatives nominated by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief shall take part proportionately in the legislative Hluttaws and executive organs.
- (4) The Tatmadaw shall not be under the influence of any political party; it should be a strong, modern, single Tatmadaw.
- (5) The Tatmadaw has the right to independently manage its own affairs; Only the Tatmadaw itself shall do so.

The following should be laid down as fundamental principles under the chapter heading "Fundamental principles on citizens and their fundamental rights and responsibilities".

- (1) All citizens are equal before the law.
- (2) Personal freedom and security of every citizen should be quaranteed.
- (3) Every citizen shall have freedom of press, freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom of faith and freedom of promoting the respective language, literature, culture and customs of nationalities according to law.
 - (4) Every citizen has the right to settle and reside in any

place within the State in accord with the law.

- (5) Religion shall not be misused for political purposes.
- (6) For development of citizens, peasants and workers, the State shall provide protection for their responsibilities and rights.
- (7) Women shall enjoy equal rights in employment as men; and married women in service shall enjoy maternity benefits.
- (8) The State shall plan and manage for youths to have strong patriotism and correct outlook and development in the Five Strengths.
- (9) The State shall establish a modern education system that will facilitate nation-building activities; it shall be based on a stable all-round education system that will contribute towards physical, intellectual and moral development and livelihood.
- (10) The State shall strive, and the people shall assist, to raise living standards of the people, to develop education and health and to help people who can work get suitable jobs.
- (11) The State has responsibility to provide and care for the aged.
- (12) The State shall strive with momentum to quash and ward off all dangers that will defoliate mankind [sic].

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Fundamental principles on elections are presented below:

- (1) The President shall be person who has experience political, administrative, economic, military etc. not a person who owes allegiance to another country, and shall be a person who can pass scrutiny on personal wealth and property.
- (2) The President shall be a citizen and national loyal to the State and citizens; the spouse to be an issue from two generations of citizens.
- (3) The President shall be elected by the presidential electoral college.
- (4) Every citizen shall have the right to be elected, the right to elect, and the right to recall one's elected representative.

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In connection with political parties, the following is proposed as a fundamental principle to be laid down:

Political parties shall be formed systematically according to law.

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In connexion with states of emergency, fundamental principles should be laid down precisely and firmly as follows:

- (1) The Defence Services Commander-in-Chief has the right to secure and exercise State power in accord with the provisions of the Constitution upon arising of a state of emergency concerning the whole country.
- (2) It shall be prescribed such exercise of State power by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief in such a state of emergency shall be only for a definite period prescribed by the Constitution.
- (3) It shall also be established that, under the Emergency Provisions, the Tatmadaw has the right to deal with the situation for the rule of law, public security and tranquillity in accord with emergency provisions of the regions concerned if there arises in some regions of the State threats to public security and public life and property.

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Relevant law shall be enacted to make amendments, additions and cancellations in the Constitution.

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As regards general provisions, the following is proposed for inclusion as a main fundamental principle:

These fundamental principles are ones that shall be adhered to by the Legislative Hluttaw in promulgating laws; they shall also be taken as guiding principles in interpretation of the Constitution and other laws.

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I have now come to the conclusion in presenting, on behalf of the worker delegates, the fundamental principles that should be included in the No 1 Chapter Heading "State Fundamental Principles" taking into account all causes and effects in a consistent manner.

:Intellectual & Intelligentsia Delegates; Group: A 57-page proposal was read by two delegates [salient points]:

I am Daw Po, Professor of Myanmar Language and Literature, a delegate of the intellectual and intelligentsia delegates group to the National Convention. The paper to be submitted now will be read together with me by Writer U Myth Thu (Tekkatho Myth Thu) and Daw Ye Ye Myint, Associate Professor of the Institute of Economics. I will now present the first part of it.

Regarding the State, we would like to suggest the following fundamental principles:

- (a) Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw is a State wherein our kinspeople of various national races live together sharing tranquillity and adversity, eggs and nest intact.
- (b) "Myanmar" is a term that refers to all national races. Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw is a sovereign, independent State of all the national races (or) Myanmars.
 - (c) Sovereignty of the State shall cover the entire country.
- (d) The territory of the State shall be as it is on the day this Constitution is adopted. It shall be a territory which is an indivisible consolidated whole. No part thereof shall secede from it nor shall any part be sliced off from it.
- (e) The State shall be constituted with 14 regions of equal status as a united and strong Pyidaungsu Naing-Ngan-Daw based on justice, liberty and equality. Self-administered areas may be designated where necessary within some regions.
- (f) The State shall be called "Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw".

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Regarding separation of sovereign powers, the intellectual and intelligentsia delegates group considers the following principles suitable to be adopted:

- (a) The three sovereign powers of the State legislative, executive and judicial shall be separately exercised with a system of reciprocal control between them.
- (b) In such separate exercise of the three sovereign powers, the way shall be open not only for political parties but also for the State's nationalist forces to participate in the affairs of the State.

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Regarding legislation, the following fundamental principles are presented:

- (a) There shall be two chambers of Hluttaws to effectively promote in legislative sphere the practice of multi-party democracy and the interests of the national people.
- (b) Persons assigned by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief shall be included as representatives in the two Hluttaws and in regional Hluttaws if they are formed in regions of equal status
- (c) Appropriate numbers of representatives of national peasantry, workers, intellectuals and intelligentsia shall be selected and assigned to the central-level Hluttaws and regional Hluttaws.

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Our country for various reasons is not as developed as our neighbours. It is now time to move without delay and carry out nation-building works. So we should opt for the system of President taking complete responsibility and control of the State administrative machinery. So the following fundamental principle should be included:

The executive system of the State shall be a system wherein the President takes leading responsibility.

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For separate exercise of the three powers and for prevalence of

law, it should be prescribed that "Administration of justice in the State shall be independent".

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It should be prescribed that "All citizens shall be equal before the law".

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It should be prescribed that "No penal law shall have retrospective effect".

Regarding the administration of justice, the following should be prescribed as fundamental principles:

- (a) All citizens, irrespective of race, religion, status and sex, shall be equal before the law.
- (b) No penal law shall have retrospective effect. A case shall be judged under the law which was in force at the time of the offence.
- (c) Punishments shall not be awarded in violation of human dignity.
 - (d) In the State -
- (i) Law courts shall be formed at different levels, namely Pyidaungsu Taya Hluttaw, regional Taya Hluttaws, self-administered area and district law courts and township law courts.
- (ii) Administration of justice shall be independent with responsibility to the Constitution.

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The intellectual and intelligentsia delegates group suggests the following fundamental principles to be provided in the Constitution to enable the Tatmadaw to participate, in accordance with the Constitution, in the affairs of the State in establishing a new State in future:

- (a) Safeguarding the Three Main National Causes, namely non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuation of the sovereignty of the State, constitutes the main duties of the Tatmadaw.
- (b) The Tatmadaw, having been born of the national people along with the struggles for independence, shall be a national Tatmadaw which always upholds the interests of the people in the fore, which is one with the people and which believes in the strength of the people.
- (c) Political parties shall not interfere or exert control in the affairs of the Tatmadaw; this is in order not to undermine solidarity of the Tatmadaw.
- (d) The Tatmadaw shall stay clear of party politics and not be partial for or against any of the political parties, formed in accord with law, in election campaigns.
- (e) All the armed organizations, including the people's police force, shall be under the control of the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief, who shall take necessary action for the prevalence of peace and tranquillity and in the defence of the State.
- (f) To ensure stable and dynamic leadership in the Tatmadaw, to uphold fine traditions of the Tatmadaw and to build a modern Tatmadaw, the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief shall have the right to independently plan and manage the affairs of the Tatmadaw in conjunction with the policies of the State.
- (g) There shall be the right for Tatmadaw representatives to take part, in appropriate proportions, in legislative Hluttaws at different levels and administrative organs at different levels so that the Tatmadaw would be able to participate in the affairs of the State hand in hand with other nationalist forces of the country.
- (h) The Tatmadaw shall also perform other duties as prescribed by the Constitution.
- (i) The Tatmadaw shall constantly adhere to, respect and safeguard the Constitution.

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The following are the fundamental principles suggested for the economy:

- (a) The State is the ultimate owner of all natural resources above and below the ground, above and beneath the waters and in the atmosphere, and it shall conserve, protect and safeguard them.
- (b) The State, cooperative, joint-venture and private sectors shall have the right to independently participate in the economy of the State.
- (c) The State shall pursue national economic policies that are directed towards common welfare and long-term interests, without harming national economic interests.
- (d) Laws shall be enacted to prevent profiteering buy wrongful ways and monopoly of ownership.
- (e) "Norms" suited to Myanmar Naing-Ngan shall be designated for promoting the quality of goods manufactured and sold by the citizens and keeping up the efficiency of related services.
- (f) A 'Social and Economic Commission' shall be formed for providing counsel for the success of the economic system of the State.
- (g) Measures must be taken for the progress and modernity of production from farms, meat and fish sectors and from forests and for development of domestic industries based on them.
- (h) The State shall be in the lead for laying an infrastructure essential for the development of national economy.

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The following are the fundamental principles regarding education:

- (a) Education in Myanmar shall be directed towards literacy for all citizens.
- (b) Every child of the citizens shall be provided with free and compulsory primary education.
- (c) Measures shall be taken for all-round development in middle and high school level education.
- (d) Emphasis must be laid on extensively prescribing vocational education.
- (e) In higher education, efforts must be directed towards modernity, progress and development of art, science and other technological subjects and emergence of outstanding skilled intellectuals and technicians.
- (f) Plans must be made and implemented for the development of research services and for their application.
- (g) Art, scientific and technological knowledge including the nature and aspects and practices of democracy must be disseminated among the people.

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Fundamental principles on health are suggested as follows:

- (a) Every person shall be entitled to primary health care services oriented towards development in health sector in the entire country.
- (b) Ways and means must be sought within the framework of law for recovering costs on primary health care services.
- (c) Encouragement and incentives must be given to cooperative, joint-venture [and] private sectors to enable them to come to participate extensively in primary health care services.
- (d) Promotion of sports and physical education work must be carried out in a national movement.

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We would like to submit the following fundamental principles concerning the literature, culture and fine arts:

- concerning the literature, culture and fine arts:

 (a) "Literary and cultural policies" must be laid down by the State for revitalization and preservation of Myanmar literature, cultural matters and fine arts and for implementing measures for their development in keeping with times.
- (b) The State shall give encouragement and incentives within the context of national culture to endeavours for the revival, innovation and creation of literature, culture and performing and fine arts.
 - (c) The State, in cooperation with well-wishers and social

organizations, shall create conditions for children, young women and the aged who do not have any means of reliance for their livelihood to enable them to enjoy physical and spiritual wellbeing.

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We would like to put forward the following fundamental principles regarding mass and class organizations.

- (a) The State shall protect the welfare of peasants, workers, intellectuals and technocrats and members of other mass and class strata
- (b) Peasants, workers, intellectuals and technicians and members of other mass and class strata shall have a role in national politics of the State.
- (c) The State shall cultivate youths to have them equipped with strengthening patriotic spirit, correct ideological outlook and physical, intellectual and moral development.
- (d) Measures must be taken for steering government employees clear of party politics and enabling them to have on-job assurances and for bringing about welfare for retired personnel.

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The following points are considered appropriate to be designated as fundamental principles:

- (a) The State shall undertake measures for national consolidation, ensuring mutual assistance, equality of status, mutual trust, reliance, respect and love and development in all sectors.
- (b) The national races shall enjoy freedom to profess religions of their choice and freedom of speech and publication for their religions, for the use and development of their cherished languages and literatures and for following their cultural traditions provided that enjoyment of such freedoms is not contrary to the laws or public interest.
- (c) All nationals have the duty to uphold and defend Our Three Main National Causes namely, non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuation of the sovereignty of the State.

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Fundamental principles regarding foreign policy are suggested as follows:

Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw shall adopt an independent and active foreign policy, adhering to the principles of peaceful co-existence.

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As rights of citizens are prescribed it will also be necessary to formulate codes of conduct and disciplines to be followed by them. It is therefore suggested that the following rights and responsibilities are to be formulated as the fundamental principles.

- (a) Every citizen should enjoy the rights such as freedom of expression, freedom of organization, freedom of press, freedom of faith and worship, freedom of thought and freedom of upholding one's traditions according to law.
- (b) Every citizen, regardless of race, religion or sex, is equal before the law.
- (c) Women should enjoy equal political, economic, employment, social and cultural rights as men commensurate with one's own physical and intellectual efforts and diligence.
- (d) Every citizen should have the right to elect candidates of one's choice in elections of the State at different levels and the right to stand for election according to law.
- (e) Every citizen should have the right of inheritance according to law.
- (f) Every citizen should be duty bound to abide by laws promulgated by the State.
- $\mbox{(g)}$ Every citizen should observe the rules of conduct and civic duties.
 - (h) To abstain from mixing of religion and politics [sic].
- (i) Rights and responsibilities of citizens should be prescribed by law.
 - (j) Every citizen should be duty bound to undertake military

service for the defence of the State.

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Political parties are responsible for educating and organizing the people for non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity, perpetuity of sovereignty and flourishing of genuine multiparty democratic practices. In doing so, they are to abide by the laws and rules systematically; then only will the democracy thrive and they serve the interests of the country and the people. Hence the following should be included in the fundamental principles of the State:

Establishment of political parties, organization by speech and by publications and their dissolution should be permitted according to law.

The following fundamental principles should be included under the General Provisions:

- (a) Appropriate laws should be enacted to ensure effectiveness and comprehensiveness regarding freedom, rights, benefits, responsibilities and prohibitions as prescribed by the Constitution.
- (b) Fundamental Principles of the State in the Constitution are the principles that must be abided by when the in-coming Legislative Hluttaws promulgate laws; they should serve as guiding principles in the interpretation of provisions in the Constitution or those of other laws.
- (c) The Sate should not be sued in connection with the work done on the basis of the fundamental principles and guiding points in the Constitution.
- (d) An organization should be set up in accordance with law to protect and safeguard the Constitution and deal with problems in connection with the Constitution.
- (e) The State is to prevent promulgation of any laws contrary to public interests, those disrupting the fundamental principles of the State and those which run counter to the fundamental principles of this Constitution, nor to sign international agreements and treaties of similar nature.

 Conclusion

The intellectual and intelligentsia delegates group does not stick to the idea that the principles it has presented are to be included without fail. It will cooperate happily and in unity in accordance with the wishes of the majority. (NLM 8/12)

Aug. 12:

:State Service Personnel Delegates; Group: An eight-part 180-page proposal was read by U Win Zaw Nyunt, U Hkun Ba Yin, Lt-Col. Zaw Win, U Kyaw Aye, Brig-Gen. Win Hlaing, Capt. (Navy) Thein Ngwe, Daw Khin Than Tin, and U Tun Shwe [salient points as printed in NLM]:

So far away would it be from the situation today when there is peace and tranquillity in the country and we are hold the National Convention to lay down principles to write a firm State Constitution vitally important for building the nation, had the Tatmadaw not safeguarded the Union by assuming State responsibilities during the 1988 disturbances, the Union would have disintegrated after suffering wartime disaster with flowing of blood and piling of bones of the people on account of fighting for power by those who did not care if the Union disintegrated or vanished into servitude. In order to avert such disaster and disintegration of the Union the Tatmadaw unavoidably assumed the State responsibilities and it adopted "non-disintegration of the Union" as the first and foremost of "Our Three Main National Causes". Hence, we submit the principle of "Building the State along Pyidaungsu system".

We propose

"To constitute the State with the existing 14 States and Divisions as regions of equal status."

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As national solidarity is of utmost importance, speeches of the Commission Chairman and the Work Committee Chairman delivered on 7 June 1993 observed that the existing seven States and seven Divisions

should be designated as major regions of equal status.

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As they are to be designated as regions of equal status, they should not be differentiated as States and Divisions but be given appropriate and specific term. What to call them - regions as proposed by both chairmen? or state? or a better term? - is a matter to be discussed extensively; so it would be more appropriate to discuss it in detail when we get to discussions on the Chapter "State structure".

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We will now present in connection with the principles "to set up suitable self-administered areas in the regions as necessary".

A fundamental principle should be laid down to set up self-administered areas where necessary so that local affairs, township affairs, social and cultural affairs and customs of the national races who reside closely and unitedly in the area concerned can be taken care of according to the wishes of the majority.

To determine which national races are to be granted the self-administered areas we will need relevant statistics; so, we should discuss it in detail after getting relevant statistics and when we deal with the chapter heading "State Structure".

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It is true the most basic concept is that "there shall be no secession ever of any territory from Myanmar Naing-Ngan". The Union of Myanmar had emerged on account of unity of all the national races and it will be of benefit for all the national races, in the future too, only if the Union endures.

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Hence, to be safe from the main danger to the Union, i.e. disintegration of the Union and loss of lives of innocent national people, a fundamental principle should be prescribed to the effect that "there shall be no secession ever of any territorial component of the Union that comprises regions and self-administered areas."

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In adopting "Our Three Main National Causes" to be upheld by all the national people, "perpetuation of sovereignty" is included as one of the three main national causes.

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Parties with definite political objectives, policies and working styles aimed at serving the Three Main National Causes and parties that cherish Myanmar culture and society need to emerge. Party leaders too should be ones endowed with Five Strengths and patriotic spirit. Only then will it be possible to guarantee Myanmar ways and cultures do not wither away in practising multi-party democracy. Only then will Myanmar endure. We also need a flourishing of practices and ways of thinking that are sincere and fair, that cherish one's own country and nationality, that give a clear understanding of development of Myanmar society, and that are free of tendencies to ape alien ways. Accordingly it is submitted to lay down a fundamental principle to practise, non a disorderly multi-party democracy, but a genuine one that can truly serve national interests and perpetuation of national sovereignty.

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[President, and his qualities] As to how we shall elect our President, we have to ponder in detail in the light of the course of political development of our nation and the situation of the life of our national people. These we will discuss in detail when we come to the heading Head of State.

For now we present the fundamental principle:

"The Head of State is the President".

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The President who will lead the entire nation has to have leadership qualities. He will have to decide and act promptly, effectively and successfully after an honest and just appraisal of objective conditions and the basic requirements in the country in the light of the world situation. He must be able to formulate correct

policies and programmes and be able to spot errors and correct them in implementation as well.

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I will elaborate on why the President has to have a rich store of knowledge and experience in political, economic, administrative and military affairs. In the political aspect, the President will have to deal with numerous problems such as the problem of building manpower to strive for solution of the problem to ease food, clothing and shelter situation of the 42 million population of Myanmar Naing-Ngan; the problem of providing leadership for having the entire people constantly serving the interests of the country and its citizens through organizational and authoritative means; the problem of possible outside interferences and attacks when constructive efforts are being made for national welfare; the problem of possible conflicts among the multi-parties arising out of their attempts to get into power; and the problem of possible attacks at home and abroad against Our Three Main National Causes; and so forth. Under such circumstances, he needs political wisdom and experience to solve problems based on political experience and lessons drawn from history. Moreover, he should be far-sighted to be able to visualize the future. Then only will he fulfil his political duty.

As regards the economy, he may not be permitted by situation to know as much as trained economists, but he needs to know basic principles such as the nature of demand and supply, the balance of trade, gross domestic product and gross national product, investments, and investment-generating natural resources etc. Furthermore, he has to have economic outlook to compare the economies of one's own and neighbouring countries and find ways to bring about improvements in the future, to formulate plans and motivate the driving force for the success of the plans. Only then will he be able to serve the national interests.

Another point concerns administrative outlook. He needs to know a leading executive's duties such as inspection, supervision and taking action to keep the administrative machinery running smoothly; taking effective action in the interest of the country against those who act counter to the country's interests and effectively commending those who serve the interests of the people. Only with administrative outlook will he be able to perform such functions as keeping in constant contact with the people, always harking at the wishes of the people and assigning administrative officers to solve problems of the people.

As for military matters, he must have military knowledge and military outlook one way or the other, either by having served in the armed forces, or by having taken military training or by having studied military science. It is said that war is continuation of politics by other means. In other means, the highest level is war fought with the use of arms. As various other means of warfare may be used such as felling by economic means, swallowing up by cultural means and religious and racial means, suppressing by educational means and breaking up national spirit of women by various means. Hence the need for military outlook. In the history of world civilization there exist eight pillars namely, economics, social relations, politics, religion, science and philosophy, literature and music, love for beauty of environment and famous leaders. A national race who can keep these pillars form will flourish and one that cannot will fade out and vanish. So a President has to have a cold war outlook just as he has to know such things as stages of armed conflicts, defensive, defensive-based offensive, offensive, etc. The President must have such military views. Vo Nguyen Giap of Vietnam had not attended military academies but he got well acquainted with the nature and basic principles of warfare and so became an able and successful military leader. That is why it is proposed that the President needs to be a qualified person possessing political, economic, administrative and military outlooks and experiences.

It is necessary for a President to be a citizen born of national citizen parents loyal to the State. Only those of true

lineage love their lineage. Only those who love their lineage are loyal, Only those who are loyal serve the good of the people.

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[Three branches of government] In seriously thinking of creating good conditions for flourishing of genuine multi-party democracy, it is found that the three branches of sovereign powers namely, legislative power, executive power and judicial power need to be exercised separately as much as possible to prevent misuse of democratic rights and freedoms. To quote John Adams, "the nation which will not adopt an equilibrium of power must adopt a despotism. There is no other alternative". With further reference to him, C. Wright Mills said "As developed by the men of eighteenth century, equilibrium, or checks and balances thus becomes the chief mechanism by which both economic and political freedom were guaranteed and the absence of tyranny insured among the sovereign nations of the world".

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If the elements of democratic system such as noblest and worthiest values of justice, liberty and equality are to flourish, separation of power and division of power of the three branches of sovereign powers is to be practised without fail. It is of utmost importance to maintain check and balance between persons and organizations that can separately exercise them. In doing so, the legislative power is to be entrusted to the Hluttaws, the executive power to the President, and the judicial power to the courts.

The legislative, executive and judicial powers are to be

The legislative, executive and judicial powers are to be exercised harmoniously. Similar exercise of powers in the regions will strengthen national solidarity; and respect for traditional cultures of nationalities.

Hence, taking into account historical trend of our country, flourishing of genuine multi-party democracy and that of noblest and worthiest values, we propose the fundamental principle:

"The three branches of sovereign powers - legislative, executive and judicial powers - shall be exercised as separately and independently as possible.'

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[Legislature] We will now present the fundamental principle, "Two chambers of Hluttaw - one representing the people at the central level and another representing equally the 14 States and Divisions shall be constituted in the legislative sphere".

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The noblest and worthiest worldly values of justice, liberty and equality will flourish only when the sovereign powers namely, legislative, executive and judicial powers are exercised independently and separately.

For that the Hluttaw representing the people at the central level and the Hluttaw representing equally the 14 States and Divisions shall enact and revise laws and formulate economic plans for the nation.

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The Union of Myanmar being home for the national races the two Hluttaws are to exert reciprocal control in exercise of legislative powers to ensure equal opportunities for involvement of all in discharging national political duties.

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Questions as to how many members should be there in regional Hluttaws and how to distribute legislative, executive and judicial powers will be discussed in detail when the chapter headings are dealt with. Now, we propose a fundamental principle "to constitute one legislative Hluttaw in each of the 14 regions".

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[Tatmadaw participation] In ancient Greek city states that practised direct or primary democracy, warriors not only performed defence duties but also took part in the administration of justice. Later in the Roman administrative system, many warriors participated in the senate. Even in the parliamentary system of Britain, that had developed over a long period of time, there are upper house and lower

house and many warriors and descendents had been included in the upper houses. Such representation of warriors in parliament still exists in some of the present countries. In a South-East Asian country not so far from us, 100 out of 500 representatives in the parliament are those of the Tatmadaw, who are assisting in national affairs.

Hence it is not unusual that Tatmadaw members were seconded to participate, as necessary, in legislative hluttaws for serving the welfare of the State and the citizens and safeguarding the sovereignty of the State. It is arranged within hluttaws in accord with own objective conditions and the world situation.

It is now time to tactfully guard against such a fate as that of developing nations and small nations whose sovereignty is in danger of being torn away by those taking foothold in and acting from beneath the cover of the circle of international organizations.

In view of such subtle, profound international situations and objective conditions in the country, it is appropriate that members of the national Tatmadaw that has always served the interests of the nation participate in due proportion in legislative Hluttaws, as had been done in olden times and as is also being done as nothing new today, it will be concurred by all those who truly desire to promote the interests of the State and the citizens. Accordingly we propose the fundamental principle:

"To constitute legislative Hluttaws with proportional inclusion of Tatmadaw member-representatives nominated by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief."

Suggestions in detail on the allocation of a suitable proportion for Tatmadaw representation will be put forward when we come to the chapter heading on legislation concerned.

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[Presidential executive] In constituting the states, the British constituted theirs as United Kingdom by unitary state system and the Americans constituted theirs as United States of America by pyidaungsu system.

In Britain, the Head of State and the Head of Executive are separate entities. The constitutional monarch, who has no executive power but influence, is the Head of State. The Prime Minister, who has executive power and influence, is Head of Executive. In the United States of America, there is no such separate entities as the Head of State and the Head of Executive. There is only the President, who has executive power as well as influence.

The difference between the two countries is the fact that monarchic ruling system in Britain, in which generation after generation of the royalty had ruling power, has taken its root and flourished since ancient times. In the initial monarchic ruling system, sovereign power of the country was exercised solely by the monarch who was the ultimate owner of the lives of his subjects. Hmugyi matgyi (minsters) wanted to share sovereign powers from the king. In so doing, official positions of Hmugyi matgyi, being branches of the system, i.e. the monarch, would disappear if monarchic ruling system was no longer practised. Hence, the position of the king was maintained as the constitutional monarch. In constitutional monarchic ruling system, the king wields influence as head of state with fitting facilities while Nan-yin-wun (prime minister) was given executive powers as chief executive. In that case, a cause for concern might arise. It was 'Will it be possible for two ketharaza king lions to reign in a single cave?' There are two reasons that make it possible - first, the king, having secured the right of rule for generations, might be contented with the position of the head of state despite the fact that he was influential but did not have executive power and secondly, the prime minister, having got full executive power, might be contented with the position of the chief executive despite the fact that he was not the head of state. In this light, it was found that there was harmony between the king and the prime minister. As such, the administrative system in Britain with premier as the chief executive has existed up

to this day and it is viewed that it serves the country and its citizens.

In the United States of America, though, there has been no such monarchic ruling system. So there is no need to have two separate entities namely the head of state with regalia and influence and the chief executive with full executive power. And so, there can be no contradiction for the president elected by the electoral college to be vested with powers both as the head of state and as the chief executive, like a single ketharaza king lion reigning in a cave. It is seen that the presidential form of executive system has not only existed up to this day it is also serving the interests of the country and the people well.

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If I am to put it in essence, our country in future will become a Union structured properly with a new Constitution which will come into force in accordance with the objective "Non-disintegration of the Union", the first of the six objectives for the present National Convention where basic principles to be incorporated into an enduring Constitution are being formulated. Such a Union will also be a nation where three sovereign powers will not only be separately exercised but also be distributed at different administrative levels. Under this circumstance, it will be compulsory to adopt the presidential form of an executive system where three powers of the State are separately exercised and distributed instead of the premier-led executive system where there is no separation or distribution of the powers. The president who will emerge under the presidential form of an executive system will be empowered to manage with might and main the affairs of the State and the citizens where necessary and will provide effective leadership to the State which will achieve expeditious and better development.

Hence, we would like to present the following principles suitable to be enshrined in the Constitution to be written in keeping with changing international situations and in view of the historical trend of our country:

We put forward this basic principle with genuine goodwill in the interests of the State and the citizens.

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[Tatmadaw leadership] As is known to all the Tatmadaw that has performed the task of safeguarding Our Three Main National Causes and will do so in future was born for regaining independence of the State, which in other words is the performance of our national politics. The Tatmadaw formed with patriotic youths belonging to various national races under the leadership of the Thirty Comrades led by Architect of Independence Bogyoke Aung San constituted a national political force. It succeeded in regaining independence of the State together with national races, sacrificing many lives. The unity of the Tatmadaw was undermined to some extent by ill-effects spawned by political parties, which put party politics in the fore rather than national politics, and gradually disappeared with the collapse of cohesion and waning of support of the people. However, a national force, the Tatmadaw, the unity of which has been intact, has become consolidated with the passage of time for its firm, correct stand for having stayed clear of party politics. Due to this, the Tatmadaw has remained constantly stable and strong as a sole cohesive national political force.

The following point is suggested to be adopted as a basic principle:

"The Tatmadaw, which is the sole, firm and enduring national political force with constant cohesion and unity, shall continue leading in the cause of the entire people safeguarding Our Three Main National Causes, that are the most fundamental in national politics."

If we desire to take timely action and foil attempts in various forms at home and abroad which are likely to cause destruction of the State in its future course, we will need to consult and co-operate

with the Tatmadaw in national political leadership. As is known to all, national politics is not just the affair of a particular party alone and cannot be managed by a single party. The best way to serve the interests of the people is to join hands with representatives of the Tatmadaw, an organization endowed with fine historic traditions, unity and capability, deliberate on and lay down policies and laws, and together carry out good programmes. There is the saying that what cannot be achieved by one can be achieved by ten thousand. So, a fundamental principle should be laid down as follows:

"For the Tatmadaw, which is endowed with great traditions, to have the right to participate in a deserving role in legislative duties of the State in addition to defence and security duties, its primary duties."

[Tatmadaw modernization] If a study is made of our neighbouring countries, it can be found that the armed forces in most of them stand as 'mechanized armies', armies equipped with modern weapons. It can be seen how much we have to endeavour to make our Tatmadaw equally strong and modern to counter any external threat.

Historical experiences and contemporary wars show that outdated weapons do not provide for effective defence capability. It is highly essential for the Tatmadaw to be a modernized one equipped with advanced military theories and techniques, modern technologies and scientific developments in dynamic combination.

In international situation today, inter-country relations are seen as dependent on economic progress and military might of the countries concerned. Only when a country is economically and militarily strong will it be regarded with respect by others. We specially cherish internal peace and stability and international peace. We wish to live in peace and dignity on international stage as a friendly and good-neighbourly nation desirous of relations with other countries based on equality for mutual benefit. Some countries are being misinformed about our country. Some are saying our Tatmadaw is increasing its strength while major powers are effecting reduction in arms. Some are creating obstructions - with instigations feigning good cries - at our efforts to build our own Tatmadaw in accord with our natural conditions and increasing population. They are falsely making it out as if we are oppressing our own national races. In truth it may be seen that even those countries and strongly-armed countries are still not strong enough to achieve a balance of forces. We detest militarist aggression on another country. However under no circumstances will we condone or accept any outside interference with our fundamental right to shape our own destiny, any outside interference in our internal affairs, and any aggression with use of force. Far from oppressing our own national races, the Tatmadaw has always been striving to maintain and promote fraternal amity and peace and tranquillity, as is known to all.

So, with due consideration of internal situation, international situation, geographical conditions and increasing population of our country, and international military buildup, the following point should inevitably be adopted as a fundamental principle:

"To build the Tatmadaw as strong, modernized and sole ${\tt Tatmadaw."}$

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[Tatmadaw independence] What is more, the Tatmadaw should have right to freely and independently manage its own affairs including the planning of operations, deployment of forces, ensuring boundary security, administration, military jurisdiction, formation, appointments, training, logistics, military accounts, etc.

appointments, training, logistics, military accounts, etc.

Obeying orders is good trait in the Tatmadaw. The system of control in the whole Tatmadaw is that of obeying orders. Obeying orders has been an essential requisite since it was formed and trained. The good trait of obeying orders within the Tatmadaw has won many a battle. In this way the Tatmadaw gained victory in the fight for Independence, and later in battles to safeguard it.

Independent management is essential for the Tatmadaw in its giving training as regards 12 traditions, in the pursuance of the

system of obeying orders at different levels and in managing its own affairs. Hence, the point -

"The Tatmadaw has the right to manage its own affairs independently", $% \left(\frac{1}{2}\right) =\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\right) ^{2}$

should be laid down as a fundamental principle.

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It will become necessary to safeguard the fundamental principles to be adopted at the National Convention and the Constitution to be written so as to be able to serve the interests of the State and the nationals best. Safeguarding them will serve the interests of the State and the nationals to the greatest measure.

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It is only the Tatmadaw which can provide effective protection against attempts to amend or revise the Constitution unnecessarily and threats to Our Three Main Causes. Hence, it should be prescribed

"The Tatmadaw shall take complete responsibility for the perpetuation of the Constitution and for ever strengthening of Our Three Main National Causes."

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[Political parties] If we are to direct our efforts towards the welfare of the State in view of historical trend and the current conditions, it is clear that political parties need to be formed strong and solid with adherence to discipline and rules. What is more, only those political parties with clear-cut, firm and resolute policies based on national politics, the causes of non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuation of sovereignty of the State and promotion of national interests should be allowed to be founded. There should not be parties of various sorts such as those formed for various reasons without any clear-cut policy and those formed for personal gain. Such parties would not bring any good to the State in any way but only be the ones which would be beckening evil effects and dangers, and as such, they should not exist.

Hence, the point "Political parties are to be permitted to be formed in accord with laws enacted for them to be those which serve the interests of the State" should be adopted as a fundamental principle.

[State of emergency] Although the Constitution of India is drawn up and promulgated based on democracy, emergency provisions are being included in order to effectively protect against the dangers posed by acts which oppose national and democratic affairs and those who wish to secede from India.

In the Constitution of France also, the President has the right to declare state of emergency to thwart the dangers of disrupting the implementation of tasks under the documents signed with international organizations and the usual tasks being implemented by the Government so as to protect the State organs of power and to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of the State. The President has a co-ordinate with the speakers of two chambers of parliament and the constitutional council to decide whether or not a situation has arisen to declare a state of emergency. However, it is only the President who has the right to make a final decision on whether or not an emergency situation has arisen. In the same way it is only for the President to make a decision on how to face the situation and the necessary arrangements and steps to be taken to overcome the situation. In taking such steps, the President has the full power to even act contrary to the constitution.

The delegation of such enormous powers to the President by the Constitution to tackle and solve the emergency situation in France is due to the condition and situation of that country. Prior to the emergence of the 1958 Constitution, there were several parties in France and due to the weakness of the administrative system headed by the Prime Minister, the government was unstable and the cabinet had to be reformed 20 times within some 12 years an the situation was such that it nearly had to give up its overseas territories. Hence,

such enormous powers to act at time of emergency were given in order to be able to have a stable government and to effectively face and tackle the problems in times of emergency.

In our country also the Constitution was drawn up promulgated once in 1947 and once in 1974 and provisions on how to declare the state of emergency and what action to be taken were also included in the Constitutions. However, they did not include any arrangements to hand over the powers of the State to the Tatmadaw which had ably and effectively brought the situation under control and protected the country against great dangers of disintegration of the Union; disintegration of national solidarity; loss of sovereignty of the State and danger to the lives and property of the people. Hence, in the de facto emergency situations which arose in 1962 and 1988, the powers of the State came into the hands of the Tatmadaw for nondisintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and for the perpetuation of sovereignty. In the future when there arises a situation which would undermine Our Three Main National Causes, endanger the lives and property of the people, it is necessary for the powers of the State to come into the hands of the leader of the Tatmadaw the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services not only de facto but also de jure as prescribed in the provisions of the Constitution. If this is to be prescribed under the fundamental principles of State in the Constitution, then it will silence those from within and without the country who wish to spread malicious rumours, and the Constitution for which we are making great efforts will also remain firm and durable perpetually.

Chairman of the National Convention Convening Committee Lt-Gen Myo Nyunt on 7 June 1993 said: -

"It would be necessary to lay down in advance the rights and responsibilities of the Tatmadaw Commander-in-Chief to be exercised at times of emergency. It is necessary to prevent the emergency situation from arising. It is necessary to bestow without fail the full power to act at times of emergency on one who can really protect and redeem the country from such a situation."

According to the reasons which I have clarified above, in laying down the fundamental principles of the State, I would like to seriously propose to lay down fundamental principles: -

"Prescribing the right to enable the Tatmadaw to take steps in protecting and safeguarding at times of regional state of emergency if the situation is such that the security and the lives and property of the people in some of the regions are affected and endangered", and "prescribing the right for the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services to take over the powers of the State in accord with the provisions of the Constitution at times state of emergency throughout the country arises due to wresting of State power by force such as insurgency or efforts being made to undermine "Our Three Main National Causes".

[Summary] The summary our proposal paper will include the following fundamental principles proposed to be set down: -

- (1) to constitute the State by a Pyidaungsu system;
- (2) to constitute the existing 14 states and divisions of the State as 14 regions of equal status;
- (3) to form and prescribe as appropriate self-administered areas in these regions where necessary;
- (4) none of the regions and self-administered areas that constitute the Pyidaungsu are ever to secede from the Pyidaungsu;
 - (5) for the perpetuity of the sovereignty;
- (6) the political system of the State must be a genuine multiparty democracy system;
- (7) the territory of the State shall be the land, sea and airspace as it is on the day the Constitution is adopted;
 - (8) the Head of State is the President;
- (9) the President shall be one who has political, administrative and military experience, must be loyal to the State and a citizen both of parents whom are national citizens loyal to the State;

- (10) the President who will lead and govern the State shall be elected by the President electoral college;
- (11) for the three sovereign powers of the State, the legislative, executive and judicial powers to be exercised separately as far as possible;
- (12) for the legislative power to reside in two chambers at the Central level Hluttaw representing the people and Hluttaw representing the 14 states and divisions on equal basis;
 - (13) to have a legislative Hluttaw in each of the 14 regions;
- (14) to have a proportionate number of Tatmadaw representatives nominated by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief in legislative Hluttaws;
- (15) for the State to practise the system of executive headed by the President;
- (16) for the State to make arrangements for the State service personnel to stay clear of party politics and to see to their food, clothing and shelter needs and welfare of retired service personnel;
- (17) the administration of justice shall be conducted independently and according to law on the basis of following principles: -
 - to hear and judge cases according to law;
 - to permit appeals and revision applications;
 - to give the right of defence according to law;
- to conduct administration of justice in public, except in matters restricted by law;
- (18) no penal law shall have retrospective effect and no punishment which would degrade the human dignity shall be meted out;
- (19) in exercising the judicial powers the highest law court is the Pyidaungsu Taya Hluttaw; the highest law court in the regions is regional Taya Hluttaw and law courts are to be constituted in the respective self-administered areas, districts and townships;
- (20) a tribunal in connection with the Constitution shall be set up;
- (21) the Tatmadaw is a single force of national politics in the State that has remained united and consolidated without disruption and the Tatmadaw is to continue to lead the entire national people to safeguard "Our Three Main National Causes" which constitute national politics;
- (22) the Tatmadaw, in addition to its original duties of defence and security, shall have the right to participate and assist in implementation of legislative and executive duties;
- (23) Tatmadaw shall be built into a strong and modern single $\operatorname{Tatmadaw}_{i}$;
- (24) the head of all armed organizations in the country shall be the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief alone;
- (25) the Tatmadaw shall have the right to manage all its affairs by itself independently;
- (26) a strong and modern Tatmadaw shall be built for strengthening national security and defence and in so doing, the Tatmadaw shall be empowered to plan and manage for participation of the entire people;
- (27) the Tatmadaw shall take the entire responsibility to give protection for stability of the Constitution and for keeping alive and dynamic "Our Three Main National Causes";
 - (28) all citizens: -
- irrespective of race, religion, official status or sex, shall be equal before the law;
- shall have the right to elect or be elected in accord with the Constitution or other relevant laws;
- shall have the right to enjoy benefits in proportion to his or her own physical or intellectual capabilities and diligence;
- [shall have] the right to enjoy the rights and liberties based on justice, liberty and equality; based on culture and traditions and based on respect for others interests under the democratic rights;
- shall have the right to reside in any region in Myanmar Naing-Ngan; to earn livelihood freely according to law and to abide by the

prescribed laws and discipline;

- shall in accord with law undergo military training and be responsible to undertake military service;
- shall be under a duty to pay taxes and duties as prescribed by law:
- (29) formation of parties systematically should be permitted by law so that they would turn out to be parties which serve the interests of the State;
- (30) the Tatmadaw shall have the right of action in regional emergency situations for effectively protecting life and property of the people upon emergence of situations threatening security, life and property of the people in some regions;
- (31) the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief shall be permitted to secure and exercise State power in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution in situations of emergencies concerning the whole country, arising from attempts at taking over of State power by the use of insurgency or use of force or attempting to do so;
- (32) the economic system shall be practised based on market economic system which should serve the national economic interests;
- (33) the State shall be the ultimate owner of all the land, resources above and below the ground, above and beneath the waters and in the atmosphere;
- (34) the State shall supervise the extraction and utilization of State-owned resources;
- (35) the State is to provide assistance and coordinate measures in production and distribution of goods, investments and in stabilizing prices of goods;
- (36) for bringing into effect the national economy in which all economic forces could participate in boosting production of general goods, stepping up export of finished products and in commerce and trade;
- (37) for the State to provide necessary assistance as far as possible in techniques, investments, machinery and raw materials for the development of agriculture and industries;
- (38) for the education system to be modern education system including vocational education that will ensure correct thinking and good moral character and would serve the cause of building the nation;
- (39) for the State to make arrangements and take necessary steps for improving public health;
- (40) for the State to take measures for development of national culture, for it to be firm and to protect and preserve it;
- (41) to allow all citizens, irrespective of race or status to freely profess the religion of one's choice; however, religion should not be misused for political purposes;
- (42) to constantly pursue independent and active and non-aligned foreign policy and to maintain fraternal relations with other nations;
- (43) for the State to provide assistance and to take measures to reduce the development gap between all the national races as much as possible;
- (44) for the State to safeguard the right and privileges of the peasants and workers;
- (45) to make arrangements for youths to have strong patriotic spirit, to have correct way of thinking and to develop in Five Strengths;
- (46) for women to enjoy equal employment opportunities as men and for women service personnel to enjoy rights regarding maternity;
- (47) to make arrangements in providing necessary assistance to Tatmadaw members who become disabled in order to ease their food, clothing and shelter need and to look well after the wives and children of Tatmadaw members who fell and to give special care to those who become orphans of war;
- (48) the fundamental principles of the Constitution are those which are to be abided by in enactment of laws by the Legislative Hluttaw and also to be taken as guiding principles for interpreting

the provisions of the State Constitution and other laws.

With this I conclude my presentation. (NLM 8/13)

Aug. 13:

:Other Invited Delegates; Group. A 38-page proposal was read by U Aung Hkam Hti [salient points, as published]:

I am U Aung Hkam Hti of Special Region 6 of other invited

I am U Aung Hkam Hti of Special Region 6 of other invited delegates group. I will present the proposals our group has prepared under the chapter heading Fundamental Principles to the plenary session of the National Convention today.

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State Fundamental Principles

1. Myanmar Naing-Ngan is a sovereign nation. The nation shall be called Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan.

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2. Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan is the home of various national races residing together in unity.

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3. The territory of the State shall be the land, sea and airspace which constitute the territory on the day this Constitution is adopted.

- 4.(a) The Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan shall be constituted with 14 regions enjoying equal rights. These regions shall be called as approved by the national races.
- (a) there are 14 regions included in the Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan. These 14 regions may be named according to the wishes of the national races residing in the respective regions. In discussing this principle, nine out of the 14 delegates of the other invited delegates group suggested that the Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw be constituted with 14 regions enjoying equal rights and four delegates suggested that the present seven States and seven Divisions be retained, and one delegate suggested that the present 14 States and Divisions be transformed into 14 self-administered areas or 14 states of equal status.
- (b) Self-administered areas are to be set up as necessary in the 14 major regions depending on the special conditions.
- (c) Citizens residing in the respective 14 regions may change the name of their regions.
- $5.\ \mathrm{None}$ of the regions constituted in the Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan, for any reason, shall secede from the Pyidaungsu. Clarification

None of the regions constituted in the Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan, for any reason, shall secede from the Pyidaungsu. All must always look forward to lasting existence of the Pyidaungsu with eggs and nest all intact.

6. The Constitution of the Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan is based on burgeoning of the noblest and worthiest worldly values of justice, liberty and equality and on the genuine multiparty democratic system.

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7. The Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan shall practise the system of executive headed by the President. Clarification ${\bf r}$

The executive head of the Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan is the President. The system of executive headed by the Prime Minister is found to be ineffective in bringing about national development. Hence, the system of executive headed by the President is formulated as a fundamental principle to serve the interests of the citizens effectively.

- 8. National sovereignty shall cover the whole country.
- 9. National sovereignty resides in citizens inclusive of all

the national races.

10. Legislative, executive and judicial powers of the State shall be exercised independently and separately.

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- 11. The three power of the State namely, legislative, executive and judicial powers, are to be exercised independently and separately at different levels of the organs of power.
- 12.(a) There shall be two Hluttaws Pyithu Hluttaw and Nationalities Hluttaw in the Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw
- (b) There shall be one Legislative Hluttaw in each of the regions of the Pyidaungsu.
- 13. There shall be Tatmadaw representatives nominated by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief at different levels of the Legislative Hluttaws.

Clarification

- It is proposed so as to enable Tatmadaw representatives nominated by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief to perform the State duties in accord with the No 6 objective of the National Convention.
- 14. Executive powers shall be exercised independently and separately at the different levels namely, at the central, regional and self-administered areas levels under the full authoritative presidential form of government.

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- 15. Tatmadaw representatives nominated by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief shall participate in the State administrative machinery from the central to the district levels. Clarification
- It means that Tatmadaw representatives nominated by the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief are to take part in the State's administrative machinery from the central to the district levels in accord with the Objective No 6 of the National Convention.
- 16. In the administration of justice, different levels of courts shall be set up at the central and in the regions, self-administered areas, districts and townships.

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- $17.\ \mathrm{No}$ penal law shall have retrospective effect. Clarification
- It is proposed so as not to be detrimental to the people and the accused in case the latter is taken to task once again for an offence for which punishment has already been taken [sic--see No. 19]
- 18. The courts shall not mete out punishment in violation of human dignity.

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- 19. No person shall be punished more than once for an offence. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
- 20. Administration of justice shall be independent and in accord with law. Administration of justice shall be conducted before the public unless prohibited by law. There shall be the right of defence and right of appeal.

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21. The highest court shall be bestowed with power to decide disputes arising out of misinterpretations in connection with the Constitution of the State. Or a court concerning the Constitution shall be set up.

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 $\,$ 22. The Tatmadaw being a consolidated force born out of national politics, it shall participate in the national political leadership role.

Clarification

Throughout the history of national politics, the Tatmadaw has saved the nation many times. It won back independence for the nation. It stands as a consolidated national force. It has taken control of

the country in situations and at times when there were dangers of losing sovereignty. There have been instances of fine traditions in which it has always risked the lives in serving the country. Hence, it is stated thus to enable the Tatmadaw to play a national political leadership role.

23. The Defence Services Commander-in-Chief is the head of all armed organizations in the Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw. Clarification

In the Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw, the Tatmadaw is the legitimate armed organization. The head of the Tatmadaw is the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief. It means that any armed organizations in the country shall be under the command of the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief.

 $24\,.$ The Tatmadaw itself has the right to take charge of the affairs of the Tatmadaw. Clarification

It is stated so to make it plain that the Tatmadaw has the right to independently manage affairs of the Tatmadaw free from interferences and interruptions.

25. The Tatmadaw shall safeguard "Our Three Main National Causes" namely, non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuation of sovereignty.

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26. The Defence Services Commander-in-Chief shall make necessary arrangements concerning armed units for maintaining peace in the special regions.

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 $27.\ \mbox{War}$ veterans in the State may be designated as the reserve force of the Tatmadaw.

28. Every citizen shall learn military science.

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29. Every citizen shall undertake military service for a specified period for the defence of the State.

30. Every citizen shall have freedom to profess the religion of his or her choice; however, religion shall not be used for political purpose.

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31. National races residing in the State shall have full freedom to profess, develop, promote, teach, learn and publish, in accord with law, religion, literature, language and the culture and customs they cherish. The State shall provide assistance for their further development.

- 32. Every citizen
- (a) is equal before the law irrespective of race, religion, status or sex;
 - (b) shall have equal opportunities;
- 33. The State shall bring about all-round development of the regions which lag behind in development. It shall attend especially to life and property, economic, education, health and social affairs of national races living in the border areas as well as to better communication service in those areas.

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- 34.(a) Every citizen shall have the right to freely undertake any vocation in any place provided he is qualified. He can do so with equal opportunities regardless of race, religion, status or sex.
- (b) Every citizen shall enjoy equal wages for jobs of identical nature.

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35. Every citizen shall have freedom of speech, freedom of expression, freedom of organization, freedom of association, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, freedom of procession and freedom of

staging demonstrations within the framework of law.

36. Every citizen shall be under a duty to abide by the provisions of this Constitution, as well as other laws promulgated by the State.

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37. Every citizen shall be under a duty to pay taxes and duties as prescribed by law.

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38. Laws may be enacted imposing necessary restrictions and responsibilities to enable the citizens fully [to] enjoy freedoms, rights and benefits prescribed by this Constitution.

39. Every citizen shall have the right to vote for representatives and to stand for election, in accordance with this Constitution and other relevant laws.

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40. All citizens have right to recall, according to law, representatives elected by them.

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41. People's representatives shall report to the voters and shall seek the wishes of the voters and take necessary action about them

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42. The state shall practise genuine multiparty democracy system.

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43. Political parties shall be permitted to be formed according to the law and rules.

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44. The Defence Services Commander-in-Chief shall have the right to use State power in accord with the provisions of the State Constitution when there arises danger to Our Three Main National Causes namely, non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuity of sovereignty.

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45. Provisions in the Constitution may be amended according to the provisions of the Constitution.

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- 46.(a) The State is the ultimate owner of all the land, resources above and below the ground, above and beneath the waters, and in the atmosphere.
- (b) Resources shall be utilized in coordination among the organizations of the central, regional and self-administered areas in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.
- (c) Resources shall be exploited under State supervision by private citizen entrepreneurs, joint ventures at home and abroad, cooperatives and local organizations in the interest of the nation and its citizens.

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 $\,$ 47. The State shall practise independent national economic system based on market economy.

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- 48. In order to improve and strengthen the independent national economic system, the State shall carry out tasks with utilization of the following economic forces.
 - (a) State sector,
 - (b) regional organizations sector,
 - (c) cooperative organizations sector,
 - (d) internal-external joint ventures sector,
 - (e) private sector.

49. The State shall set up the National Economic Council to ensure success in the objectives of the independent national economy.

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50. The State shall provide assistance to ensure uniform

development in regional and self-administered areas of less economic development where national races reside.

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51. The State shall coordinate with regional organizations to designate special economic zones and implement economic enterprises.

52. The State shall develop national economic system by establishing economic industrial enterprises in areas where availability of resources are favourable.

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53. The State shall provide easy access to economic, industrial and scientific technologies conducive to the national economic development.

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54. The State shall create favourable climate to improve domestic and foreign investments which will contribute towards the national economic development.

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55. The State shall help transform traditional farming into mechanized farming in the agricultural sector; achieve modern improvements in the industrial sector; and acquire appropriate technologies, industrial machineries, investments, raw materials, experts and water supply for agriculture.

56. The State shall give encouragement for freely conducting necessary researches and innovations in the mechanized farming and industries. Successful inventors and innovators will be handsomely rewarded. Measures will be taken to award patents for inventions.

57. The State shall make efforts to enable every child to acquire primary education fully.

58. The State shall take measures to promote education, health and sports standard by forming various high level committees with the help of the public "strength".

59. The State shall teach Myanmar fine arts, civics and the Constitution to children to keep patriotism alive and dynamic in them.

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60. The State shall create conditions to raise the standard of arts, science, technology, medical science etc. to the world standard and to make contributions by blending the world education and Myanma education.

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61. The State shall pursue independent, active and non-aligned foreign policy and practise the principles of peaceful co-existence with a view to maintaining peace and friendly relations among nations.

62. The State shall always safeguard the interests and rights of the peasantry and manual and intellectual workers.

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63. The State shall work for a pleasant atmosphere at worksites, raising the standard of living, life security and welfare of the State service personnel and easing the food, clothing and shelter situation and welfare of the retired service personnel.

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- 64. Every service personnel shall keep clear of party politics.
- 65. The State shall undertake public service selection and training in order to get skilled service personnel for the success of undertakings of the State.

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66. Priority will be given for selecting and appointing the national races in the regions to fill up the required posts of service personnel in regions and self-administered areas.

67. The State shall develop the five strengths of youths; strengthen their character, keep alive patriotic spirit in them and train them to think correctly.

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 $\,$ 68. The State shall protect and safeguard the interests and rights of children.

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69. Women shall bet equal rights as men in similar kind of occupation of work. Women shall enjoy full salaries before and after childbirth. They shall also have a right to keep their children at day nurseries.

 $\,$ 70. Women married to persons of any faith shall not forfeit their original rights.

71. The masses of womenfolk have responsibility to keep alive patriotism in the world of women, increase patriotic fervour in them, have the right kind of thinking and always keep to the cultural traits in their mode of dressing.

72. The State shall lay down and practise a firm and stable monetary policy and basic principles in monetary matters in the interests of the State and the citizens.

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73. These fundamental principles shall be followed as guiding principles in interpreting the provisions contained in the Constitution and provisions of other laws.

I conclude with the note that our other invited delegates made efforts with much patience and deliberated matters in real earnestness, in unity and in a pleasant atmosphere to search and get fundamental principles under the chapter heading "State Fundamental Principles". The above mentioned 73 fundamental principles, which we have submitted, we believe are good principles which we hope will be included without fail in framing the Constitution under the chapter heading "State Fundamental Principles".

:UPNO Party; Union Pa-Oh National Organization. 13-page proposal read by U Hkun Sein Win [salient points]:

First of all, I would like to express my high regard for the Esteemed Chairman and members of the Panel of Chairmen, delegates of the political parties' delegate group to the National Convention. I also extend my best wishes for your physical and spiritual wellbeing and for your peace of mind.

I am U Hkun Sein Win of the Union Pa-Oh National Organization. What I would like to express foremost is my pleasure and special pride for having the opportunity of putting forward suggestions on the fundamental principles to be included under the chapter heading 'State Fundamental principles' in the Constitution which is of special significance and great essence in the Myanmar history.

In view of the changing situation and times and various conditions of the national races who have become politically awakened, it is proposed that a Pyidaungsu Naing-Ngan-Daw be constituted with states or regions of equal status in respect of law and freedom to guarantee national solidarity and non-disintegration of the Union. It is also suggested that suitable self-administered areas, where necessary, should also be designated within the regions.

A review of the former constitutions of the Union of Myanmar will show that the President was designated as the Head of State. However, the position of the President remained only titular post and the Premier, despite the fact that he wielded genuine power, was responsible to the Hluttaw and non-confidence motion could be moved at any time on him. Taking the Myanmar's current situation into

consideration, we propose adoption of an executive system led by the President who exercises full administrative power.

The next point we would like to suggest is that the three main branches of the sovereign power - legislative, executive and judiciary - should be exercised separately in order not to let dictatorial system emerge. In so doing, if there is no reciprocal control among the three branches, organizations or bodies which exercise these powers would be without check in performing their duties, causing hindrance to national development. Hence, we suggest that the three powers be exercised separately with reciprocal control

In the executive sector, there are two systems practised by most nations - the premier-led administration and the president-led administration. In the former case, the premier is responsible to the Hluttaw and is not in a position to independently manage administrative affairs and what is more, cabinet changes and political chaos usually take place without stability, posting disruption and obstruction to endeavours for national development. As such, we would like to suggest that the president-led executive system under which the affairs of the State can decisively, effectively and independently be managed should be adopted.

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Continuing, the Tatmadaw's role will be discussed. The Tatmadaw is a consolidated and united national force as well as an organization that carries out, in addition to its primary duties, the tasks of safeguarding the State and maintenance of law and order whenever the country was faced with difficult situations [sic]. And so, our suggestion on the Tatmadaw, that has played a role in national political chapters, is for Tatmadaw representatives be included in different levels of legislative Hluttaws and administrative organs.

Experiences from Myanma political history show that the Tatmadaw has been on the verge of disintegration due to political influence and political parties' power struggles. If the Tatmadaw disintegrated, so would the nation and independence and sovereignty of the State would be lost. For that reason, it is suggested that the position of the head of all armed organizations be given to the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief.

For the Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan to be strong in security and defence, it is essential to organize a strong and modernized Tatmadaw and it is suggested that the Tatmadaw itself should have the right to freely and independently manage matters concerning efforts for its improved organization.

We would like to suggest that the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief be empowered to wield State power in times of national emergencies that would harm Our Three Main National Causes of non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of solidarity and perpetuation of sovereignty of the State.

It is important for the State to lay down fundamental principles in the Constitution for all the national races inhabiting Myanmar Naing-Ngan to have the right to develop, preserve and uphold the cherished language, literature, culture and customs.

It is considered appropriate for Myanmar Naing-Ngan to continue the practice of an independent and active foreign policy. It is also needed to maintain friendly relations with other countries. What we would like to suggest is for the State to adopt thorough, enduring and clear-cut basic principles to enable Myanmar to take an active part in agencies of the United Nations and to maintain peaceful coexistence with world nations and provide for them under the chapter heading "State fundamental principles".

Esteemed Chairman, we, the Union Pa-Oh National Organization, would like to propose the following basic principles to be laid down under the chapter headings of the Constitution to be written.

They are:

- (1) To constitute the Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan with states or regions of equal status.
- (2) To designate the President, who wields full executive power, as Head of State of the Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan.
- (3) To separately exercise three branches of State power legislative, executive and judiciary.
- (4) To establish two legislative Hluttaws in Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan.
- (5) To adopt the President-led executive system in the Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan.
- (6) To establish Pyidaungsu Taya Hluttaw and state or regional Taya Hluttaws in Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan.
- (7) To have Tatmadaw representatives included in legislative Hluttaws and administrative organs at different levels.
- (8) To assign the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief as head of the armed organizations.
- (9) For the Tatmadaw to have the right to manage its own affairs freely and independently.
- (10) To empower the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief with the right to wield the State power in time of national emergency.
- (11) To practise free market-oriented system in the Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan.
- (12) For all the people to be entitled to free treatment in health sector.
- (13) To adopt an educational system that contributes to all-round development of youths physical, intellectual and moral.
- (14) To give protection to the welfare and rights of the peasants and the workers.
- (15) To effect welfare in food, clothing and shelter of State employees and retired employees.
 - (16) For the women to enjoy equal job opportunities as men.
- (17) To have the right to freely profess the religion of one's own choice in the Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan.
- (18) For the national races to have the right to freely preserve and develop their religions, language, literature, culture and customs.
- (19) For the Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan to consistently practise an independent foreign policy and adhere to the principles of peaceful co-existence among the nations with a view to enhancing world peace and maintaining international relations of friendliness and amity.

With these suggestions put forward on fundamental principles to be laid down under the chapter headings of the Constitution to be written, I conclude our presentation.

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:SSKDP Party; Shan State Kokang Democratic Party. A 27-page proposal was read by U Ti Hkun Kyint (a) U Ti Jon Luan [salient points]:

Esteemed Chairman, members of the Panel of Chairmen and distinguished delegates to the National Convention. I am U Ti Hkun Kyint (a) U Ti Jon Luan of the Shan State Kokang Democratic Party. I wish you all the best wishes for physical and spiritual well-being. Principle on development of hill tracts and border areas Esteemed Chairman,

The people inhabiting the central and lower Myanmar lowland plains are more advanced in culture and customs, in modern literature and general knowledge as well as in advanced scientific knowledge compared to other national races. It has been found that the national races residing in the hill regions and border areas have been left far behind and cannot catch up with them in this respect. Hence, it is necessary for the Pyidaungsu Government to lay down and carry out development projects for the national races of the hill regions and border areas. And I would like to suggest that it will be appropriate to lay down a principle for development of hill regions and border areas for inclusion as a State fundamental principle.

Principle on environment protection of the Pyidaungsu and systematic extraction and utilization of natural resources Esteemed Chairman,

Our Union of Myanmar is a country rich in natural resources above the ground and below the ground and in the atmosphere. Although the country is rich in natural resources, if they ar extracted and used indiscriminately, the economy of the country will be greatly affected. Hence in order to extract and utilize the country's natural resources systematically, it is necessary to lay down policies. Moreover, it is also necessary to lay down fundamental principles on taking environmental protection measures scientifically.

Principle of designation of states and self-administered regions Esteemed Chairman,

There are many different national races residing together in a state, but there are differences in language, culture and customs. There is also difference in worship too in some. Due to such differences, fundamental principles should be laid down for designating self-administered regions and national areas in the states.

Esteemed Chairman,

Another thing is that in establishing a Pyidaungsu Naing-Ngan it is to be formed by bringing together and including all the states. Hence, in establishing the Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan in the future, a fundamental principle should be formulated on "states".

Principle on the duties of citizens Esteemed Chairman,

As we are enjoying the rights pertaining to citizens, it is a duty of a citizen to shoulder one's responsibilities dutifully. Therefore citizens shall be given the following duties: -

- (1) compulsorily to learn military science necessary for defence of the State and to undergo at least three years of military service;
 - (2) to pay taxes and duties in full regularly to the State;
 - (3) compulsorily to pursue national education;
- (4) to protect the natural environment and to protect and conserve all natural resources above the ground, below the ground and in the atmosphere.

Mass organizations mean organizations such as students organization, women's organization, peasants organization, workers organization, religious and social affairs organizations, war veterans organization, disabled persons organization, fine arts organization and culture organization. Principles should be prescribed so that these organizations may not be influenced by political parties and become their tools.

Principle on recognizing the powers of the State Esteemed Chairman,

"The sovereign powers of the State reside in the people", should be prescribed as a fundamental principle and the principle that the sovereign powers of the State or political parties shall not be taken over by force, should be prescribed and that principles for the political powers to be taken over only after holding fair and free election through democratic means and after holding of referendum should be laid down.

The 20 points of State fundamental principles of our party are as follows: -

- 1. principle on defence;
- 2. principle on foreign relations;
- 3. principle on economy;
- 4. principle on education;

- 5. principle on customs and literary affairs of national races;
- 6. principle on development of hill tract land and border areas development;
 - 7. principle on the freedom of worship;
 - 8. principle on establishment of democratic Pyidaungsu;
- 9. principle on environment protection and systematic extraction and utilization of natural resources;
 - 10. principle on formation of mass organizations freely;
- 11. principle on designating the states and self-administered regions;
- 12. principle on allowing and protecting democratic rights of citizens;
 - 13. principle on duties of citizens;
 - 14. principle on armaments;
- 15. principle on taking of action against those who violate democracy;
 - 16. principle for State service personnel to observe;
 - 17. principle for mass organizations to observe;
- 18. principle for keeping Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, state Hluttaws and self-administered regions' oozie aphwes;
 - 19. principle in connection with political parties;
 - 20. principle on recognizing the powers of the State.

The above-mentioned fundamental principles are the points of view of our party which is being suggested by us most humbly as we think they should be included in the State fundamental principles. The National Convention delegates and personnel concerned may scrutinize and review them. With this I conclude my presentation.

:MKNSO Party; Mro or Khami National Solidarity Organization. A 14-page proposal was read by U Maung Maung Htwe [salient points] [similar, but not identical, with presentation made Aug. 10 by MKNSO Representatives-elect]:

First of all I would like to express my high regard for the Esteemed Chairman and members of the Panel of Chairman and delegates to the National Convention.

- I am U Maung Maung Htwe of Mrauk-U Township, Rakhine State, representing the Mro or Khami National Solidarity Organization. Politics
- (1) The State is a Pyidaungsu democratic state with sovereignty of the entire people and quaranteeing basic human rights.
- (2) The State shall be called Pyidaungsu Thamada Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw.
- (3) Constant attention shall be paid and endeavours made with emphasis for strengthening the causes of non-disintegration of the Pyidaungsu and non-disintegration of national solidarity.
- (4) Special attention is to be paid to and assistance extended for economic and social progress of national races who lag behind in development.
 - (5) The State protects the interests of the entire people.
- (6) It shall be clearly prescribed in the Constitution that the State practises dignified multiparty system for the flourishing of genuine multiparty democratic system.
- (7) There shall be two Hluttaws Pyithu Hluttaw and Nationalities Hluttaw. The respective townships elect representatives to the Pyithu Hluttaw and nationalities elect representatives to the Nationalities Hluttaw.
- (8) Sovereign power of the State resides in the citizens. The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw elected in accord with the wishes of the people shall receive the sovereign powers from the people and then exercise and distribute them according to the Constitution. Affairs of national races
- (1) All the national races shall have equality in all aspects such as political equality and the right to prescribe for themselves to shape their own destinies.

- (2) Autonomous regions of national races shall be constituted to enable them to have full right to prescribe for themselves.
- (3) Autonomous regions of national races shall not be subordinate to any state. They shall deal directly only with the central government and there shall be reciprocal directing and reporting with the centre.
- (4) If an autonomous region is contiguous to another and if there is common identity of racial customs, they may join together.
- (5) National races have the right to create, adopt and teach language and literature on the basis of language they cherish. National races shall have the right to inheritance according to their own traditions or to other laws.
- (6) National races have the right to prescribe laws and rules on the basis of their cultural traditions.

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Economy

- (1) Economy of the State is based on regionally compatible free market national economic system.
- (2) In the State there shall be public, cooperative, jointventure and private ownerships.
- (3) Priority shall be given to agricultural development and rural development, with the tiller having the right to own land.
- (1) All the citizens, irrespective of religion, status and sex, shall be equal before the law. They shall enjoy equal opportunities. They shall be entitled to benefit commensurate with their physical and intellectual efforts and diligence.
- (2) Special emphasis shall be laid by the State on endeavours for bringing about a stable education system and the promotion of health and cultural standards.
- (3) The State shall cultivate youths for their all-round physical, intellectual and moral development.

 (4) No penal law shall have retrospective effect.
- (5) Punishment that violates human dignity shall not be meted out.
- (6) Primary and middle school education shall be made compulsory, with plans formulated and implemented by the State, for national races in less-developed, far-flung and hardly accessible areas.
- (7) The State shall plan for disabled personnel of military service to enjoy a decent living and free vocational training. The State shall give special care to wives and children of fallen servicemen and children orphaned by war.
- (8) Permission shall be granted for politics-free workers and service personnel to form legitimate unions. National defence
- (1) The duty of defending the nation is a noble task. To bring about effective and successful execution of national defence and securities duties, a sole Tatmadaw composed of Army, Navy and Air Force shall be formed in the State. Due regard and special recognition must be given to the essential role of the Tatmadaw that has fine traditions in the history of the nation.
- (2) With lessons drawn from events in history, there shall be no political control or influence on armed organizations including the Tatmadaw. The head of all armed organizations of the State shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services. Foreign affairs

The State, adopting an independent and active foreign policy, shall abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter and uphold the principle of peaceful co-existence among nations, maintaining friendly relations with other countries.

Esteemed Chairman,

The 1988 disturbances came about as there was waning of democracy under one-party system, it must be said from experiences gained in the history of Myanmar.

The present is a time of great need for flourishing of genuine multiparty democracy system, prevalence of peace, tranquillity and prosperity and solidarity of all national races.

I conclude the presentation submitting that the said State fundamental principles should be incorporated in the fundamental principles of the Constitution, for the flourishing of genuine multiparty democracy, for having opportunities for the people to exercise the powers belonging to them, and for the national races to have the right to prescribe and administer by themselves in accord with principles of justice, liberty and equality.

(NLM 8/14)

Aug. 14:

:LNDP Party; Lahu National Development Party. An 18-page proposal was read by U Yaw Aye Hla [salient points]:

I would like to wish the Esteemed Chairman, members of the Panel of Chairmen and distinguished delegates to the National Convention the best of physical and spiritual well-being.

I am U Yaw Aye Hla, National Convention delegate representing the Lahu National Development Party. I would first of all like to express my pleasure and honour at not only meeting you again, seeing you in good health and in good cheer, after the adjournment of the Convention, but also at having the opportunity to discuss and present matters in connection with the fundamental principles which ought to be included in the Constitution. We being the people of the hill regions are not very clever at speaking and if there are any errors, I would like to humbly ask to be excused by my national brethren. Esteemed Chairman,

As for our Lahu National Development party, we made a thorough study of the addresses delivered by the National Convention Convening Committee Chairman and the Work Committee Chairman and have noted down facts. We also understand that in discussing the fundamental principles we must do so with an overall approach to the entire Constitution.

Esteemed Chairman,

In studying and pondering over the political changes taking effect in the various parts of the world, with their sad and evil consequences and the situations and developments in Myanmar Naing-Ngan, I find that the most vital requirement is the unity among the national races. I also find the objectives of the National Convention "Non-disintegration of the State" and "Perpetuity of the sovereignty of the State" solely depend on national solidarity. Similarly, national solidarity is mainly based on the three eternal principles of justice, liberty and equality which should be essentially practised in the country. In like manner, the key to further flourishing of the eternal principles is "genuine multiparty democracy".

Esteemed Chairman,

The Constitution is the backbone of the State. Only when the backbone is firm and strong could all the affairs within the State, such as political, economic and social affairs become stable and the country could remain as a strong and stable State. Hence, in order to be able to lay down the best fundamental principles, it is necessary for all the delegates to make a united effort to their best of the physical and mental abilities. Esteemed Chairman,

All the national races fully know how the Union of Myanmar was constituted. It was built by Father of Independence Bogyoke Aung San some 45 years ago through the Panglong Agreement. It is known according to history that all the national races in our Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan are the descendants of the kith and kin who lived in Central Asia. This is the reason why it was seen that all came to stand united in defending the country and repelling attacks since the ancient times, according to the motto "Blood unity in emergency".

Esteemed Chairman,

I would like to submit that the State fundamental principles be laid down based on the above-mentioned facts as follows: -

- 1. Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan shall be a sovereign democratic State constituted with member states and practising the Pyidaungsu system;
- 2. The sovereign powers of the State reside only in the citizens;
- 3. Only the highest organ of power of the State elected by the citizens through a free and fair election shall exercise the sovereign powers legislative, executive and judicial powers.
- 4. The highest organ of power of the State shall be called the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw. This Pyidaungsu Hluttaw shall be constituted with: -
- (a) the Nationalities Hluttaw (Upper Hluttaw) represented by equal numbers of representatives from Divisions and States;
- (b) the Pyithu Hluttaw (Lower Hluttaw) also with the number of representatives from the divisions and states who are elected based on the population of the respective divisions and states;
- 5. Hluttaw alone shall select two people's representatives and appoint them as State President and Vice-President. The President and Vice-President are to be persons who are free of party politics. If they happen to be members of one of party or another [sic], they shall resign from the party or parties;
- shall resign from the party or parties;
 6. The Cabinet, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General and the Auditor-General shall be selected and appointed by the Hluttaw and confirmed by signature of the President;
- 7. As the State practises multiparty democracy, the democratic rights of every citizen shall be respected and these inborn rights shall be protected by law;
- 8. The administration of the State is the administration based on democracy. As the administration system is that of electing according to the wishes of the people and administration carried out on behalf of the people, the policy should be to act according to the wishes of the majority of the people and at the same time the rights of the minority should be protected;
- 9. Myanmar Naing-Ngan is a country wherein various national races reside. As all the national races are the family members of the Pyidaungsu who live on the same land and drink the same water and shall live forever in unity and harmony, sharing tranquillity and adversity, eggs and nest intact. Hence, all the member states of the Pyidaungsu: -
- (a) shall have the right to administer and prescribe for themselves;
- (b) the laws prescribed by the states are to be in accord with the fundamental principles of the Constitution and must be approved by the Nationalities Hluttaw;
 - (c) all the states shall have their own precise constitutions;
- (d) there should be, from chief court to customs office, in state courts;
- (e) permission shall be granted to the states to have their own private defence force and private police for the security of the states.

Regarding this point, according to experiences, it was seen that as there are difference in habits and culture in many different places, there arose misunderstandings between the Tatmadaw and the people, leading to racial problems and resulted in incidents which should not have taken place. Hence in order that such a problem does not arise again, the most appropriate and only way is to have own private defence force and private police force in each of the states to control and look after their own men;

- 10. In the division of power: -
- (a) Due powers shall be given to the Pyidaungsu Government and the residuary powers to the state governments;
- (b) there should also be concurrent powers to be exercised jointly by the Pyidaungsu Government and state governments;
 - (c) the highest power shall be given to the Central government

and most of the powers shall be given to state governments;

- 11. The State is constituted equally incorporating the national races such as Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Bamar, Mon, Rakhine, Shan, Wa, etc. Hence there should be no instance in which one national race influences, coerces, exploits, unlawfully treats, or degrades the other or their own national race;
- 12. All citizens have the right to work and enjoy the fruits of labour through their own physical and mental ability, perseverance and diligence;
- 13. The State shall be the ultimate owner of all natural resources above and below the ground, above and beneath the waters and in the atmosphere. The Pyidaungsu Government or the state governments or the organizations permitted by the Government, shall extract and utilize them with the permission of the State;
- 14. The economy of the State shall be based on free market economic system and permission must be given to State, co-operative and private sectors to engage in trade and economic ventures freely by law;
- 15. With a view to achieving a proportionate development in the State, communication links and other communication facilities should be established without fail under special projects to bring about political, economic and social development in the under-developed regions. Assistance should also be provided in the activities undertaken by authorities in the respective regions;
- 16. Economic plans must be laid down and implemented systematically to bring about all-round development to the State;
- 17. Every citizen has, in accordance with the Constitution, the right to freely profess the religion of his or her choice and the full right to carry out religious activities. However, there should be on no account instances of harming other religions;
- 18. Every citizen has the right to freedom of speech and criticism, to freely print and publish, to freely assemble and form organizations and to freely go in processions and hold demonstrations;
 - 19. In literature and culture section: -
- (a) All national races shall have the right to freely invent and make use of the alphabets they think appropriate for their own national literature;
- (b) All national races shall have the right to adopt their own culture and have free cultural relations;
- (c) Literatures of the national races shall freely be taught and learnt in the states. Esteemed Chairman, $\$

Let all of us citizens, beginning from today, leave all the suspicions, misunderstandings and blames heaped up upon one another, as acts of the past. Let us discard our grudge and forgive and forget and march hand in hand towards the genuine democratic State. With this I conclude my presentation. Thank you.

:UKL Party; Union Kayin League. A 7-page proposal was read by U Saw Daniel [salient points]:

I am Saw Daniel, General Secretary of the Union Kayin League. As I am glad of the opportunity of meeting all of you again for the third time at the venue of the Convention, I also express thanks to the departments and all personnel for all their arrangements to attend to our needs during our stay here.

After taking note in all seriousness of the guiding speeches of National Convention Convening Commission Chairman Lt-Gen Myo Nyunt and National Convention Convening Work Committee Chairman U Aung Toe given in the Hluttaw Hall on 7 June 1993 and with a view to the emergence of a legal instrument that will serve the interests of all of us, including all the national races, who inhabit Myanmar Naing-

Ngan together like eggs unbroken in a nest intact, sharing tranquillity and adversity, scarcity and prosperity, for generations to come, we, the Kayin Union League, wish to put forward, with special emphasis, suggestions as to how fundamental principles, necessary for writing a new Constitution which will emerge in due course, should be laid down.

Mindful of bitter experiences drawn from our history, we present our suggestions with genuine goodwill and sincerity and in $\operatorname{\mathsf{good}}$ faith.

We, the Union Kayin League, consider the following suggestions suitable to be provided under the chapter heading 'State fundamental principles' clarified first by National Convention Convening Work Committee Chairman U Aung Toe in his address on 7-4-93.

- (1) The Constitution shall be the Constitution of the independent, sovereign republic which shall be known as Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw. (To have two Hluttaws). [sic]
- (2) The Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw shall incorporate divisions and states and there shall be right of self-administration as provided by the Constitution.
- (3) All the rights and powers of the sovereign Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw, together with states therein, and all the government organs shall emanate from the citizens.
- (4) It must be sufficiently strongly prescribed in the Constitution that there shall be justice and fairness for every national of Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw in social, economic and political matters; they shall be absolutely equal in status, right and law; so long as it is not against law or public morals, they shall have freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of press, freedom of faith, freedom to profess the religion of one's own choice, freedom of worship, freedom of earning one's own livelihood and freedom of organization.
- (5) Sufficient safeguards for minorities shall be prescribed in the Constitution.
- (6) It shall be guarded with Taya Dhamma and law of inter-Pyidaungsu relations to ensure integrity and stability of the territory of independent and sovereign Pyidaungsu Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw and sovereignty on army, navy and air force of the State.
- (7) The system of State structure shall be based on genuine democracy, cultured democracy, disciplined democracy, coercion-free democracy.
- (8) It shall be prescribed that the national races resolve to live forever in unity and social equality, eggs and nest intact, come tranquillity or adversity, poverty or prosperity, good or bad.
- (9) Myanmar Naing-Ngan-Daw shall prescribe with firm resolve that it aims at peaceful progress and prosperity true to its prestige in the world, attaining a standard it should attain, do its best as of responsibility as well as with goodwill for the progress and for the goodwill of mankind, and, on the basis of taya dhamma and code of conduct of relations between states, maintain peaceful co-existence and co-operation, in friendship, with nations of the world.

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In affairs of national races, just as there is need to have the right to shape their own destiny, so too is it necessary to attend to and safeguard interests of the minority of national races living in areas outside states.

Moreover it is proposed that the Constitution include provisions for a Kayin Affairs Department, in the interests of the Pyidaungsu, to undertake all Kayin affairs, true to goodwill fostered by national leader Bogyoke Aung Sand and Kayin national leader Mahn Pa Hkaing and Mahn Win Maung, for the sake of Kayin nationals living in numerous areas outside the state.

:KDUP Party; Kokang Democracy and Unity Party. A 7-page proposal was read by U Yang Kyin Kan [salient points]:

Esteemed Chairman, Panel of Chairmen, National Convention

Convening Commission Chairman and members, National Convention delegates and members of the various committees, I extend my best wishes for auspiciousness and for your well-being.

I am U Yang Kyin Kan of the Kokang Democracy and Unity party. Esteemed Chairman, $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +\left$

Our party profoundly appreciates difficult and delicate nature of drafting a Constitution which can shape the destiny of the entire national people. Hence, we would like to inform you, first of all, that we will present our party's point of view as we deem appropriate on the heading "State Fundamental Principles" but whether it is suitable or not will be up to the wishes of the majority.

We will present our proposals with the objective of upholding the non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuity of sovereignty and for the burgeoning of the noblest and worthiest worldly values.

The State fundamental principle is, in fact, the State's policy objectives, and hence they should be precise and firm objectives of the State serving the interests of the entire people. Esteemed Chairman,

We submit the following points as we deem them suitable to be fundamental principles.

- 1. The State being the home of all the national races living together come tranquillity or adversity, the State structure shall be based on the Pyidaungsu system. Then only will it be possible to implement national solidarity in full essence.
- $2.\ \mathrm{The}\ 14$ existing States and Divisions shall be retained as regions with equal status.
- 3. As we have experienced the flaws of the centralized system in the past history, there shall be two Hluttaws one made up of people's representatives and another of nationalities' representatives in order not to lose contact with the entire people and always reflect, without losing sight of, the objective conditions and true situations of the national people.
- 4. The three powers namely, legislative, administrative and judicial powers shall be distributed to Pyidaungsu member divisions and states according to the democratic practice. But this shall be within the framework of perpetuity of sovereignty.
- 5. The economic system of the State shall be based on free, open-door market economic system.
- 6. Firm guarantees shall be given and protected by law to bring about further increase in domestic and foreign investments.
- 7. Rates of taxation by the State shall be revised to suit the emerging economic system.
- 8. As the State is the ultimate owner of the natural resources in the State, it has the right to use them in the interests of the entire people. However, part of proceeds from that shall be used also for economic and health development of the regions concerned.
- 9. The State shall seriously undertake economic, social, health, education and transport and communications works of the special areas lagging in development.
- 10. As literary and education level is indicative of the standard of a nation or a national race, the State shall supervise and endeavour for a high level of stable, firm and advancing education system.
- 11. The State shall create a modern education system that contributes towards national construction.
- 12. The State shall practise independent neutral foreign policy and maintain friendly diplomatic relations with nations of the global family. However, there shall be no political, economic and social domination by any foreign country.
- 13. The Tatmadaw, the main force in the defence of the State, has upheld fine traditions throughout history and participated in the role of leadership in the State; so it shall be accorded a deserving role as appropriate in conformity with the changing course of history.
 - 14. Within a framework no contravening the Constitution,

national races shall have the right to shape their own destiny in accord with their own literature, culture and customs. They shall have freedom of worship. All groups of nationalities shall have equal rights.

- 15. Pyidaungsu member nationals shall have the right to freely open their own national language schools to promote their literature with a view to freely preserving their own literature, culture and customs. They shall have the right to freely publish and distribute newspapers, journals and magazines within the framework of law. They shall have the right to form social organizations not entangled with politics. Then only will justice, liberty and equality emerge clearly.
- 16. All Pyidaungsu-born nationals shall have the right to move about, settle and reside anywhere within the territory of the State.
- 17. There shall be no downgrading or overwhelming of one person by another, one national race by another, or one class by another. There shall be precise provisions for citizens' privileges, rights and responsibilities.
- 18. Being a country dependent mainly on agriculture, the State shall fulfil all of the requirements in the agriculture sector.
- 19. Though not direct economic forces of the State, private agriculture and livestock breeding and small scale commodity production enterprises of the basic class that is part of the national economy shall be recognized, and assisted and supported with necessary technology, machinery and equipment, raw materials, etc.
- 20. Specific provisions shall be prescribed and put into practice for personnel in the service of the State to abide by their code of conduct, enjoy benefits in accord with their efforts, and become good ones truly serving the State as they are mainly involved in nation-building machinery and economic development endeavours.
- 21. Promotion of health of the entire people shall be carried out on a national scale on priority.
- 22. I conclude stressing that the fundamental principles just stated are meant to be policy objectives of the State and general guiding principles of the Constitution.

:WNDP Party; Wa National Development Party. A 31-page proposal was read by U Marcos (a) U Sai Lon [salient points]:

Esteemed Chairman and the Panel of Chairmen, National Convention delegates.

I am U Marcos (chairman) delegate to the Convention from the Wa National Development Party. I will submit to the plenary session of the National Convention today the proposal paper of the Wa National Development Party on formulation of the fundamental principles that should be included in the Constitution. I am very glad to have an opportunity to discuss formulation of the fundamental principles of the Constitution on behalf of the Was National Development Party. Esteemed Chairman,

It is the third time to redraft the Constitution in our country in less than half century after we made concerted endeavours to set ourselves free from servitude.

Esteemed Chairman,

We, Wa nationals, had been lacking in political knowledge and experience. We were also short of modern educated people old and young. This being so, we had been unable to take part in drafting the 1947 Constitution. We had to abide by the points as coordinated and decided by the then leaders. When states and divisions were constituted by the Constitution of 1974 as passed by a national referendum, we, Wa nationals, had been unable to participate and ask for what we wanted politically with a broad view for Wa nationals because we were assigned very little political duties; at that time, the main Wa regions too were under shadow of the Burma Communist Party (BCP) and were designated as black area, BCP area and enemy territory. Because Wa national leaders had not been able to take part

in the drafting of the Constitution at the time, there had been losses in many aspects.

For these reasons, I express my delight for having the opportunity to discuss and submit, on behalf of Wa nationals, the proposals to draft the Constitution of the State at the National Convention today.

Esteemed Chairman,

We present these matters for formulation of the principles because our Wa National Development Party wants to ensure that Wa nationals and Wa national race doe not lose political rights again as they did in 1947 and 1974 and in the interest of the other national races who, like the Wa nationals, had lost political, economic and social rights.

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Population of Wa nationals can be about 700,000 in the now white areas - formerly BCP black areas - including Wa south, Wa north and lower Thanlwin [Salween] region. Discrepancy in the figures, we realize, might be due to the fact that it was difficult to get to these areas.

A study in the implementation of border areas and national races development activities and projects in the border areas of the State Law and Order Restoration Council during these two or three years will enable one to visualize how wide was the gap in enjoyment of political, economic, social conditions and benefits between the hill-tract areas and states proper areas. Esteemed Chairman,

It is true that we, Wa nationals, lagged behind in different eras. However, during the time of British colonialism and the Japanese times Wa national leaders Saw Maha and Naw Hkam Oo and Wa nationals had been able with their own ways and means to prevent the region from falling into their hands. Moreover, although there was a lack [of] political awareness and educated persons, it will be seen Wa national leaders U Kyauk Nyi Lai and U Tah Like Pan organized Wa nationals in the Wa region and on 17 April 1989 successfully drove out BCP and BCP bureau leaders who had been perpetrating armed terrorism in Myanmar Naing-Ngan for many years after the independence.

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Esteemed Chairman,

Fundamental principles of the Constitution should be for the perpetuity of national sovereignty, for non-disintegration of the Union, for unity among national races free from suspicions and for the flourishing of genuine democratic system.

The Wa National Development Party, on behalf of the Wa nationals, proposes that the following fundamental principles be included in drafting the Constitution.

- 1. The Union of Myanmar is constituted with Pyidaungsu member states and divisions. Divisions and states may be reconstituted in accord with the Constitution. There shall be constituted local administrative regions.
- 2. It shall be coordinated and arranged to additionally constitute \mbox{Wa} State as a member of the Pyidaungsu.
- 3. The State is a sovereign independent State that practises genuine democracy and that is administered by the President.
 - 4. The State practises independent and just foreign policy.
- 5. In order to form the government of the State, the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw is constituted as follows: In the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, there shall be two Hluttaws namely,
 - (a) Nationalities Hluttaw (Upper House);
 - (b) Pyithu Hluttaw (Lower House).
- 6. The Pyidaungsu Hluttaw shall be constituted with Hluttaw representatives elected from respective divisions and states.
- (a) The Nationalities Hluttaw shall be constituted with equal numbers of Hluttaw representatives elected and sent from respective divisions and states;

- (b) Pyithu Hluttaw shall be constituted with Hluttaw representatives elected in proportion to the population of respective divisions and states (excluding representatives in the Upper House).
- 7. The President shall be elected, in accord with the Constitution, directly from representatives in Nationalities Hluttaw; there shall also be elected a Vice-President.
- 8. The Chief Justice, the Attorney-General and the Auditor-General shall be nominated by Pyidaungsu Hluttaw and confirmed and appointed by signature of the President.
- 9. Pyidaungsu member divisions and states shall set up division and state Hluttaws that have own rights to prescribe for themselves.
- 10. There shall be constituted local administrative bodies for self-administered areas.
- 11. In accord with the provisions of the Constitution, a modern, steadfast and strong Pyidaungsu Tatmadaw shall be built for defence and security of the State; if appropriate it shall be prescribed by law as to at least for how long every citizen shall undertake military service in order to keep Tatmadaw always youthful and dynamic.
- 12. It shall be precisely prescribed by law as to how state and division armed units shall be formed for regional security and for fighting together with Pyidaungsu Tatmadaw to counter foreign aggression. There shall also be formed regional people's militias.
- 13. People's Police Force is to be formed systematically for upkeep of law and order.
- 14. War veterans organization which is the reserve force for the defence of the State shall be formed systematically. Law shall be enacted to prescribe rights for the war veterans.
- 15. Laws shall be enacted to protect the rights of the service personnel, workers and peasants who are main forces for running the State machinery and commodity production in the State. The State shall plan and provide for smooth running of their activities and for modernization and improvement.
- 16. Women in general and women in service shall enjoy equal rights as men. They shall also be entitled to enjoy special rights because of women's nature in accord with law.
- 17. In connection with education, the modern and advanced national education system shall be brought about for all-round development of students and youths, who will take over State responsibilities and leadership duties in the future. Principles are to be formulated to provide opportunities to study educational and technological subjects, even in communication with foreign countries.
- 18. Every citizen is equal before the law. No penal law shall have retrospective effect. Punishments shall not be meted out in violation of human dignity.
- 19. No citizen shall be arrested or placed in custody unless it is in accord with law. Without the sanction of a court, no citizen shall be held in custody, under prohibition or restriction for more than 24 hours.
- 20. A citizen held in custody shall not be tortured physically or mentally, or subjected to forcible treatment or violation of human dignity.
- 21. The State is responsible for protecting its citizens abroad in accord with existing laws. A citizen who has obtained citizenship of another country shall not lose an in-born citizen's birthrights other than ceasing to be a citizen of Myanmar.
- 22. Every citizen shall have the right to freely receive and bestow inheritance.
- 23. It shall be prescribed every citizen shall compulsorily have free primary education. There shall be no discrimination at State schools on grounds of religion or race. No religious literature of any religion shall forcibly be prescribed in school curriculum.
- 24. Every citizen shall have freedom to profess the religion of his or her choice. The State shall not increase or decrease rights of citizens or discriminate against them because of their faith in any religion; it shall not use any religion for political purpose or

misuse it.

- 25. There should be no racial oppression, degradation or domination in the State.
- 26. All nationals shall have the right to freely preserve, make known and use their literature, culture and customs and the right to develop them.
- 27. Every citizen shall have a right to freely work in accord with his or her physical and mental abilities and to engage in trade and commerce.
- 28. There shall be freedom of expression and publication, freedom of assembly and organization without affecting the State, other nationals and citizens.
- 29. Political parties shall have the right to freely form, organize and carry out their activities in order that elections can be held by genuine democratic practices.
- 30. The economy of the State is free market economy. However, for long-term interests, the State shall systematically supervise and control the extraction of natural resources above and below the ground. Arrangements should be made to prescribe exactly how extraction of natural resources would be divided and shared between the Pyidaungsu and the states and divisions.
- 31. Myanmar language shall be the official language of the State .
- 32. The state shall not cancel or demonetise State currency as it would adversely affect the interests of citizens and national people. If there arises a situation in which the State currency is to be cancelled or demonetized, arrangements should be made in such a way that it would not harm the interests of citizens. With this I conclude my presentation. (NLM 8/15)

DIPLOMATIC

Diplomatic Calls

The following calls were paid on Burmese officials by foreign Embassy or UN officials accredited to Burma.

June 21: Australian Ambassador Geoffrey Charles Allen called on Minister for Construction U Khin Maung Yin. Singapore Charge d'Affaires Anthony Chng Chye Tong called on Minister for Cooperatives U Than Aung. (NLM 6/22)

Aug. 3: Philippine Ambassador Ms. Rosalinda V. Tirona paid a

Aug. 3: Philippine Ambassador Ms. Rosalinda V. Tirona paid a farewell call on Deputy Prime Minister Vice-Adm. Maung Maung Khin, and on Minister for Mines Maj-Gen. Kyaw Min. (NLM 8/4)

Aug. 4: UNICEF Resident Representative Steve H. Umemoto called on Deputy Minister for Health Col. Than Zin. (NLM 8/5)

Aug. 6: Pakistan Ambassador Muhammad Qurban called on Minister for Forestry Lt-Gen. Chit Swe. (NLM 8/7)

Aug. 9: Pakistan Ambassador Muhammad Qurban, who has completed his tour of duties, called on Deputy Prime Minister Vice-Adm. Maung Maung Khin. Philippine Ambassador Ms. Rosalinda V. Tirona called on Minister for Agriculture Maj-Gen. Myint Aung, and on Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel. (NLM 8/10)

Aug. 10: The Pakistan Ambassador called on Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel, and on Minister for Trade Maj-Gen. Tun Kyi. The Philippine Ambassador called on Yangon Mayor U Ko Lay. (NLM 8/11)

Aug. 11: The Philippine Ambassador called on Minister for Forestry Lt-Gen. Chit Swe, on Minister for Trade Maj-Gen. Tun Kyi, on Minister for Energy U Khin Maung Thein, and on Election Commission Chairman U Ba Htay. (NLM 8/12)

Aug. 12: Singapore Charge d'Affaires Anthony Ch
ng Chye Tong on Minister for Forestry Lt-Gen. Chit Swe
. (NLM 8/13)

Aug. 16: Singapore Charge d'Affaires Anthony Chng Chye Tong called on Minister for Agriculture Maj-Gen. Myint Aung. Philippine Ambassador Ms. Rosalinda V. Tirona called on Minister for Health Vice-Adm. Than Nyunt. Thai Ambassador Virasakdi Futrakul called on

Minister for Livestock Breeding & Fisheries Brig-Gen. Maung Maung. (NLM 8/17)

Aug. 17: UNICEF Resident Representative Steven H. Umemoto called on Deputy Minister for Health Col. Than Zin. (NLM 8/18)

Aug. 18: Philippine Ambassador Ms. Rosalinda V. Tirona called on Minister for Culture Lt-Gen. Aung Ye Kyaw. (NLM 8/19)

Aug. 19: The Philippine Ambassador called on Attorney-General U Tha Tun, and on Minister for Information Brig-Gen. Myo Thant. Indian Ambassador G. Parthasarathy called on Minister for Health Vice-Adm. Than Nyunt. UNICEF Resident Representative Steven H. Umemoto called on Minister for Education Col. Pe Thein. (NLM 8/20)

Aug. 20: Pakistani Ambassador Muhammad Qurban called on Minister for Information Brig-Gen. Myo Thant. (NLM 8/21)

Aug. 23: The Pakistani Ambassador called on Minister for Transport Maj-Gen. Thein Win. (NLM 8/24)

Aug. 24: The Pakistani Ambassador called on Minister for Agriculture Maj-Gen. Myint Aung. (NLM 8/25)

Aug. 26: The Pakistani Ambassador, "who has completed his tour of duties," called on SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe. (NLM 8/27)

Aug. 27: Philippine Ambassador Ms. Rosalinda V. Tirona, "who has completed her tour of duties," called on SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe. UNICEF Resident Representative Steven H. Umemoto, accompanied by Deputy Representative T. Sinnshaw, called on Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel to discuss UNICEF programmes and the Mid-Term UNICEF Country Programme Review to be held in October. (NLM 8/28)

New Myanmar Ambassadors

Aug. 4: The Government has accredited U Khin Maung Soe, Myanmar Ambassador to the Russian Federation, to be concurrently Myanmar Ambassador to Finland. (NLM 8/4)

Ambassador to Finland. (NLM 8/4)

Aug. 16: Myanmar Ambassador to Bangladesh U Hla Myint Oo left for his post. (NLM 8/17)

Aug. 20: U Aye on Aug. 17 presented credentials in Hanoi to Vice-President Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh as new Myanmar Ambassador to Vietnam. U Win Mra on Aug. 18 presented credentials in Jerusalem to President Ezer Weizman as new Myanmar Ambassador to Israel. (NLM 8/20)

New Ambassadors to Myanmar

Aug. 17: Mr. Stuart Hamilton Rawdon Hume presented credentials to SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe as new Australian Ambassador to Myanmar. (NLM $8/\ 18)$

Aug. 27: The Government has approved the appointment of Mr. Arthur C. Perron as new Canadian Ambassador to Myanmar. Ambassador Perron was born Aug. 12, 1944 and attended Laval University, Banff School of Advanced Management. In the Department of External Affairs is served as Second Secretary (Commercial) and First Secretary in Paris, Algiers, and Manila (1968-76), Deputy Chief of the Africa and Middle East Division (1976-78), Deputy Director, Assignments, Trade Commissioner Service (1978-80), Consul and Senior Trade Commissioner and Acting Consul-General in Sydney (1980-84), Director for Commercial/Economic Personnel Division and Director of Personnel Operation Bureau (1984-87), Director-General of Asia Pacific Department (1987-90). He is currently Canadian Ambassador to Thailand, Vietnam, and Laos, and resident in Bangkok, and will be concurrently accredited to Myanmar. He is married with two sons. (NLM 8/27)

Myanmar-China Border Commission

Aug. 2: Twenty Myanmar members of the Joint Boundary Inspection Group left for Shweli, in China, to carry out field inspection work from July-October 1993 as part of the second Myanmar-China Joint Boundary Inspection (first phase). Fifteen members left for Kunming on July 28. (NLM 8/ 3)

Aug. 4: An 8-member Chinese delegation led by Division Chief Mr. Sun Bonian of the Department of Survey, Ministry of Defence, arrived in Yangon to attend the Second Meeting of Surveying and Mapping Experts for the Inspection. (NLM 8/5)

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Workshops

Aug. 7: A seminar on organizing supportive dispensaries for systematic breastfeeding, jointly sponsored by the Myanmar Medical Association Systematic Breastfeeding Project and UNICEF, opened.

Aug. 18: An anti-AIDS course, sponsored by the Health Department and UNDP, began for 86 trainees in Yangon. (NLM 8/19) Aug. 19: A Presentation on Valuation of Enterprises on

Privatization, jointly sponsored by the Auditor-General's Office and UNDP, was held. Speakers included UNDP Deputy Representative Mr. Douglas Gardner, and Management Development Programme Consultant Mr. John Kennedy. (NLM 8/20)

Foreign Donations

Aug. 2: Philippine Ambassador Ms. Rosalinda V. Tirona donated three Buddha statues for Thiri Mingala Kaba Aye Pagoda and five sets of robes for members of the Sangha. (NLM 8/3)

Aug. 10: The Italian Embassy donated stationery worth K69,700 for 1,400 students, through the Red Cross. Earlier it had given K100,000 for Myingyan fire relief. (NLM 8/11)

Aug. 11: The Samsung Corporation of Korea, represented by Resident Representative Manager U Shwe Tun Hlaing, donated US\$5,000 to the Myanma Farms Enterprise. (NLM 8/12)

Aug. 14: Arvin International Inc. of the United States, represented by President Mr. Chris Harney, with the support of Coca Cola (USA), donated US\$1 million of new college-level textbooks (10,004 books) through the Myanmar UNESCO National Commission. They include books on economics (5,138), management (436), science (1,538), arts (1,787), computer science (380), medical science (459), engineering (62), and other topics (204). Further donations will be forthcoming. (NLM 8/15) // Aug. 26: Mr. and Mrs. Harney were given a dinner by Minister for Education Col. Pe Thein, as Chairman of the National UNESCO Commission, to thank them for their gift. (NLM 8/27) Aug. 16: The Republic of Korea has donated 85 "Kukje" power

Aug. 16: The Republic of Korea has donated 85 "Kukje" power tillers for agricultural development; 52 of them arrived on the MV Sittway Aug. 10. In past years, Korea has donated 365 water pumps. (NLM 8/17)

Aug. 18: Managing Director Chan Kai Meng of Kam Wa Co. of Macao donated 200 volleyballs to the Myanma Selected Volleyball team. Managing Director Mr. J.H. Park of Myanmar Daewoo International Ltd. gave K250,000 donated by Daewoo Corporation of Korea, to the Myanma traditional rowing team. (NLM 8/19)

Aug. 25: Managing Director Mrs. Doris Lai of Dorison Travel Pte. Ltd. of Singapore, and Managing Director Mr. Johnny Lim of TW Resources, Singapore, each donated K10,000 to the Buddhology Museum being constructed in Sittway, Rakhine State. (NLM 8/26)

UN Environmental Photo Exhibition

Aug. 26: An international exhibition of 146 photographs, chosen from 32,000 entries, entitled "Focus On Your World," sponsored by the United Nations Environmental Programme opened at the Foreign Ministry, and was viewed by Chairman Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw of the National Commission for Environmental Affairs, and by foreign diplomats and UN officials. It was sent over from Bangkok, and will stay until Aug. 28. (NLM 8/27)

FOREIGN VISITORS

International Agency Visitors

July 31: UN High Commissioner for Refugees Mme. Sadako Ogata,

accompanied by Asia and Oceanic Regional Director Mr. Werner Blatter and Desk Officer U Kyaw Zin Hla, visited Mandalay, Bagan-Nyaung-U, Inlay Lake, and Taunggyi on July 29-31, before returned to Yangon and leaving the country. (NLM 8/1)

Aug. 4: A UNDP Programme Framework Formulation Mission led by Dr. Mano Perera called on Minister for Education Col. Pe Thein, and on Deputy Minister for Health Col. Than Zin, accompanied by Acting UNDP Resident Representative Mr. Douglas Gardner. (NLM 8/5)

Aug. 23: International Atomic Energy Agency consultant Mr. S.D. Soman called on Minister for Education Col. Pe Thein. (NLM 8/24)

Business Visitors

Aug. 12: Ms. Mariam Marshal Segal of Mariam Marshal Associates International Ltd. called on Minister for Transport Maj-Gen. Thein Win to discuss "packing and distributing of cement at Yangon Port, installation and equipment and construction at Yangon International Airport and Myanmar marine products transport by air and warehouses." (NLM 8/13)

Aug. 14: Chairman Mr. Serge Pun of Serge Pun & Associates (HK), signed an agreement with Myanma Railways for "a railways hotel project." (NLM 8/15)

Chinese Special Envoy

Aug. 1: Chinese Special Envoy Mr. Bu He, Vice-Chairman of the People's Congress Standing Committee, and delegation visited Bagan-Nyaung-U and Mandalay on July 31-Aug. 1, before returning to Yangon. (NLM 8/2)

Aug. 2: The Chinese Special Envoy and his delegation departed. ($NLM \ 8/3$)

Thai Army Commander

Aug. 9: General Wimol Wongwanich, Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Army, arrived by special aircraft with a delegation, and was met by Myanmar Army Commander-in-Chief Gen. Maung Aye. Later he called on SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe. (NLM 8/10) // Aug. 10: He departed. (NLM 8/11)

Iranian Delegation

Aug. 10: The Iranian delegation led by Director-General Mr. Seid Hossein Mir Fakhkhar of the South and East Asian Division, currently in Yangon, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, called on Minister for Trade Maj-Gen. Tun Kyi. (NLM 8/11)

Thai Defence Minister

Aug. 13: A goodwill delegation led by Thai Defence Minister General Vijit Sookmark arrived and called on Prime Minister Senior General Than Shwe. (NLM 8/14)

Aug. 15: On Aug. 14-15 he visited Mandalay, Bagan-Nyaung-U, and Kyaing Tong. (NLM 8/16)

Aug. 16: He departed, after visiting Bago. (NLM 8/17)

Singapore Economic Delegation

Aug. 15: A 59-member high-level Singapore economic delegation led by Minister of State for Finance and Communications Commodore Teo Chee Hean will arrive tomorrow, returning the May visit of SLORC Secretary-1 Maj-Gen. Khin Nyunt. (NLM 8/16)

Aug. 16: The delegation arrived, and was greeted by Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel and others. It called on Minister for Trade Maj-Gen. Tun Kyi, on Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel, and on Minister for Finance and Revenue Brig-Gen. Win Tin. In the evening, a dinner was hosted for Commodore Teo Chee Hean by Minister for Industry-1 Lt-Gen. Sein Aung, while Minister for Trade Maj-Gen. Tun Kyi hosted a dinner for Singapore Trade Development Board Chairman Mr. Alan Yeo, and Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel hosted a dinner for Singapore Member of

Parliament Mr. S. Chandra Das. (NLM 8/17)

Aug. 17: The delegation called on Minister for Forestry Lt-Gen. Chit Swe, on Minister for Agriculture Maj-Gen. Myint Aung, on Minister for Industry-1 Lt-Gen. Sein Aung, on Minister for Transport Maj-Gen. Thein Win, and were given a dinner by Minister for Forestry Lt-Gen. Chit Swe. Numerous agricultural, industrial, and communications projects were discussed. They also visited several factories.

Meanwhile, the 17 members led by Mr. Sim Cheng Huat of the Emerging Markets Singapore Trade Development Board visited the Cooperatives Department, while 9 businessmen led by Director Mr. Willy Kwan of Ace Pressureweld International Pte. Ltd. of Singapore met with officials of the Ministries of Industry-1, Industry-2, and Mines, as well as with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Rice Wholesale Traders Association, Rice Millers Association, timber merchants and others. A 19-member delegation met with officials of the Ministries of Agriculture, Livestock Breeding and Fisheries, and National Planning and Economic Development. (NLM 8/18)

Aug. 18: The delegation called on SLORC Secretary-1 Maj-Gen. Khin Nyunt, who hosted a dinner for it. It also visited the Shwedagon Pagoda, where it was welcomed by Deputy Minister for Religious Affairs U Kyaw Aye. It called on Minister for Construction U Khin Maung Yin, was given lunch by Minister for Co-operatives U Than Aung, and called on Minister for Hotels and Tourism Maj-Gen. Kyaw Ba and on Minister for Communications, Posts & Telegraphs U Soe Tha.

Meanwhile, a 17-member group of entrepreneurs led by Managing Director Mr. Tan Wu Cheng of Canon International called on officials at the Ministries of Industry-1, Industry-2, and Mines. The delegation then visited the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and met with members of the Rice Millers Association, Timber Entrepreneurs Association, Industrial Producers Association, Beans and Sesamum Traders Association, Printing and Publishing Producers Association, etc. They also met with Cooperatives and Trade officials. A 15-member group led by Director Mr. Lim Theen Ee of Coastal Navigation Pte. Ltd. met with officials of the Ministries of Energy and Information, and officials concerned with electric power, oil and gas, radio and television, motion pictures, publishing, etc. They also met with timber officials at the Forestry Ministry. (NLM 8/19)

Aug. 19: A 15-member group led by Chairman Mr. Lou Kiat Bin of Chong Lee Leong Co. Ltd. called on tourism officials, and then met with Deputy Minister for Transport U San Wai. (NLM 8/20)

Aug. 20: The main delegation departed. (NLM 8/21)

Aug. 23: A group of the delegates led by Mr. Alan Yeo visited Mandalay, Sagaing, and Magway Divisions from Aug. 20-23, and then returned to Singapore. (NLM 8/24)

Lao Vice Foreign Minister

Aug. 23: A 10-man delegation led by Lao Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Soubanh Srithirath, arrived to attend the fourth meeting of the Myanmar-Lao Joint Boundary Commission. The delegation will remain until Aug. 26. (NLM 8/24) // Aug. 24: The delegation visited the Shwedagon Pagoda. It also attended the Boundary Commission meeting and the Foreign Ministry, and called on Minister for Foreign Affairs U Ohn Gyaw. (NLM 8/25) // Aug. 25: The delegation visited Bago. (NLM 8/26). // Aug. 26: The delegation left. (NLM 8/27)

Costa Rican Delegation

Aug. 24: Chairman Mr. Echeveria of the Numar Economic Board of Costa Rica called on Deputy Minister for Agriculture U Tin Hlaing to discuss palm oil, coffee, and banana cultivation. (NLM 8/25)

US Senator and Congressman

Aug. 25: A five-member delegation led by United States Senator Richard C. Shelby arrived at the invitation of Minister for Livestock Breeding & Fisheries Brig-Gen. Maung Maung, and called on Minister for Forestry Lt-Gen. Chit Swe. (NLM 8/26) // Aug. 26: The Senator,

accompanied by his wife and delegation, visited the Shwedagon Pagoda, called on Minister for Livestock Breeding & Fisheries Brig-Gen. Maung Maung, visited the National Museum, and Coop Showcase. A lunch at the People's Park Restaurant was given them by Minister for Foreign Affairs and Mrs. Ohn Gyaw. Then they visited the Myanma Gems Enterprise. (NLM 8/27) // Aug. 28: The Senator and his wife, accompanied by Minister for Livestock Breeding & Fisheries Brig-Gen. Maung Maung, visited Mandalay, Bagan-Nyaung-U, and Magway on Aug. 26-27, before returning to Yangon. On Aug. 28, a lunch for him was hosted by Minister for Livestock Breeding & Fisheries Brig-Gen. Maung Maung, and included Minister for Trade Maj-Gen. Tun Kyi, Minister for Prime Minister's Office Brig-Gen. Lun Maung, Minister for Communications, Posts & Telegraphs U Soe Tha, and numerous officials. Before leaving Myanmar in the evening, the Senator called on SLORC Secretary-1 Maj-Gen. Khin Nyunt. (NLM 8/29)

Aug. 27: A four-member delegation led by United States Congressman Charles B. Rangel arrived as guests of the Foreign Ministry. (NLM 8/28) // Aug. 29: Accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. William Richardson, Congressman Rangel flew to Kengtung Aug. 28 to visit crop-substitution projects, and then visited Mandalay; they returned to Yangon for a dinner hosted by Minister for Foreign Affairs U Ohn Gyaw. On Aug. 29, they participated in the "seventh destruction of narcotic drugs" [see below under Anti-Narcotics Activities], visited the Shwedagon Pagoda, and were given dinner by Minister for Home Affairs Maj-Gen. Mya Thinn. He also called on SLORC Secretary-1 Maj-Gen. Khin Nyunt and visited the Drug Abuse Exhibition. (NLM 8/30) // Aug. 30: He departed. (NLM 8/31)

Kuwaiti Envoy

Aug. 26: Kuwaiti Ambassador to China Mr. Ghazi Al-Rayes, as Special Envoy of First Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister Sheik Sabah Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah, called on Minister for Foreign Affairs U Ohn Gyaw to deliver a letter. (NLM 8/27)

Malaysian Intelligence Chief

Aug. 29: Major General Raja Dato Abdul Rashid Bin Raja Badiozaman, Chief of the Defence Intelligence Staff of the Malaysian Armed Forces, arrived with a delegation of three at the invitation of Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt, Chief of the Office of Strategic Studies of the Ministry of Defence, who hosted a dinner for him. (NLM 8/30) // Aug. 30: He called on Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel. (NLM 8/31)

MYANMAR DELEGATIONS

Study Delegations

Aug. 3: Demonstrator U Kyi Soe of the Geology Department, Yangon University (Hline Campus) left for Germany to attend a course on Hydrogeology and Engineering Geology of Tropical and Subtropical Regions "under the assistance of DAAD." (NLM 8/4)

Aug. 7: Managing Director U Thein Myint and Deputy General Manager Maj. Moe Paw of Myanma Agricultural Product Trading left for Bangkok, Thailand to study factories and workshops of the Rice Engineering Supply Co. Ltd. from Aug. 8-13. \\ Researcher Dr. Soe Soe of the Immunology Research Division of the Medical Research Department left for France to attend a WHO course on Determination of Immunoglobulin Subclasses. (NLM 8/8)

Aug. 12: Department Head (Admin) Daw Nyunt Nyunt Win of the Institute of Education and Research Assistant U Saw Aung of the Myanmar Research Bureau left Aug. 11 for Chaingmai, Thailand to attend an Aug. 13-23 Regional Workshop for Training of Continuing Education Personnel. (NLM 8/13)

Aug. 14: Assistant Manager Daw Thet Thet Wai of Myanma Posts and Telecommunications left for Beijing to attend an Aug. 16-Nov. 27 course on postal security. Assistant Manager Daw Samar Ja Rau of Myanma Insurance left for Switzerland to attend the Advanced Course

on Non-life Insurance of the UNDP-funded Swiss Insurance Training Centre; afterward she will attend on-job training courses in England for four months. (NLM 8/15)

Aug. 27: Assistant Lecturer Daw Sein Sein Yee of the Institute of Education and Research Assistant Daw Khaing Su Su of the Educational Research Bureau left for India to take a two-month course on Small Business Creation and Development for Women Entrepreneurs sponsored by the Colombo Plan. (NLM 8/28)

Aug. 30: Staff Officers Daw Theingi Thein and U Nyunt Shein of the Central Statistics Department and Daw Wah Wah Khin of the Planning Department left Aug. 28 for the United States to attend a three-month course on methods for census under an IMF aid programme. (NLM 8/31)

Religious Delegations

Aug. 1: Yangon Division Sangha Nayaka Committee Chairman Sayadaw Agga Maha Pandita Bhaddanta Kosalla left "to tour Hong Kong, Japan and Korea and perform missionary duties." He was accompanied by lay disciple U Kan Myint and valet Maung Htay Htaing. (NLM 8/2)

Delegations to Meetings & Events

Aug. 1: Sixth standard pupil Ma Thu Thu Aung of Pabedan Highschool No. 1 left for Japan to attend the prize distribution ceremony of the International Children's Painting Contest Aug. 4; she is accompanied by supervisor teacher Daw Khin Myint Yi. (NLM 8/2) // Aug. 8: She returned. (NLM 8/9)

Aug. 3: A six-member delegation led by Deputy Director U Tin Maung Win of the Trade Department left for Taejon, Korea, to attend the Aug. 7-Nov. 7 Taejon International Exposition. Other members are Cooperative Department Head U Aung Myint, Deputy Branch Manager U Hla Win of the Central Cooperative Society, Staff Officer U Than Latt Shein of the Forest Department, Stone Cutter U Tin Htut of the Myanma Gems Enterprise and Accountant U Maung Cho. A five-member advance delegation had left on July 10. (NLM 8/4)

Aug. 4: A delegation led by Deputy Minister for Trade Col. Aung Thaung left for China to attend the Aug. 8-18 Kunming Trade Fair. Other members are Managing Director U Hla Tin of Myanma Department Stores, Managing Director U Aung Myint of Construction and Electrical Stores Trading, Managing Director U Aung Kyi of Vehicles, Machinery and Equipment Trading, and Trade Ministry Head of Office U Htay Aung. (NLM 8/5) // Aug. 11: Managing Director U Aung Kyi of Northern Shan State Venture Co. Ltd., accompanied by U Kyaw Thein, U Win Aung, and U Harvey, left for the Fair. \\ The delegation led by Minister for Trade Maj-Gen. Tun Kyi returned. (NLM 8/12).

Aug. 4: An 18-member children's dance troupe led by Director U Ngwe Tun of the Fine Arts Department left for Kweiyang, Guangzhou Province, China, to attend the Aug. 8-14 International Children Get-Together. They were accompanied by Principal Daw Wai Mar Oo of the State School of Music and Drama (Yangon) as Secretary. (NLM 8/5) // Aug. 18: The delegation returned. (NLM 8/19)

Aug. 7: A Red Cross Youth Delegation led by Platoon Commander Myo Nyunt Wai of the Mayangonn Twp. Red Cross Ambulance Brigade left for Seoul, Korea, to attend the Aug. 8-17 International Red Cross Youth Camp. The two other participants are Ambulance Brigade Members Nan Kaythi Thaung from Lashio and Ma Wa Wa Nwe from Yenangyoung. Camping equipment was donated by the Daewoo Co. in Myanmar. (NLM 8/8) // Aug. 23: The delegation returned. (NLM 8/24)

Aug. 26: Director-General Dr. Than Htaike of the Cottage Industries Department left for Singapore to attend a meeting on staging and exhibition of the Packaging Council, at the invitation of J.K. Pte. Ltd., in preparation for the "Exhibition on support materials for packaging export products" to be held in Yangon in November 1993. He was accompanied by Superintending Engineer Daw Tin Swe Aye. (NLM 8/27)

Aug. 28: A delegation led by Minister for Construction U Khin

Maung Yin left for Manila, the Philippines, to attend the Aug. 30-31 Asia Development Bank Regional Economic Cooperation Planning Level (2) meeting. He was accompanied by Director Daw Win Win May of the Foreign Ministry, Director U Nyi Nyi of the Border Areas and National Races Development Work Committee Office, Director U Thein Lwin of the Energy Planning Department, General Manager U Aye Mu of Myanma Railways, Director U Kyaw Myint of the Foreign Economic Relations Department, and the Minister's PSO U Khin Maung Se. (NLM 8/29)

Aug. 30: Yangon University Rector Dr. Tun Maung left for Singapore to attend an Aug. 31-Sept.1 conference on South-East Asia: Challenge of the 21st Century. (NLM 8/31)

Business Delegations

Aug. 23: Deputy Director U Kyin Sein and Assistant Director U Kyi Nyein of Myanma Gems Enterprise, and Division Head Daw Lei Lei Win of Myanma Heavy Industries Division left for Singapore to inspect "LED display board and electronic apparatus which were ordered by MGE to be installed at the Gems Emporium Hall." (NLM 8/24)

Agriculture Minister

Aug. 25: A delegation led by Minister for Agriculture Maj-Gen. Myint Aung left to study agriculture for 10 days in Indonesia and the Philippines. Other members include North-West Commander Brig-Gen. Hla Myint Swe, Managing Director Dr. Mya Maung of the Myanma Agriculture Service, Deputy Director-General U Aye Ko and Deputy Director U Tin Htut Oo of the Agricultural Planning Department, Deputy Director-General U Than Myint of the Irrigation Department, and the Minister's PSO Capt. Moe Aung Chaw. (NLM 8/26)

Returning Delegations

Return of delegations that departed in previous months, and whose composition has been given in previous issues of the BPS:

June 21: Minister for Rail Transportation U Win Sein returned from a visit to China and the Republic of Korea. (NLM 6/22)

July 31: The delegation headed by U Khin Maung Htay returned from a mass media workshop in Thailand. (NLM 8/1)

Aug. 10: Presiding Sayadaw Bhaddanta Panditabhivamsa (Agga Maha Kammathana Cariya) of Pandita Yama Shwetaungon Sasana Yeiktha of Bahann Twp., accompanied by U Vivekananda "who was ordained into monkhood in Germany" returned after delivering Vipasana sermons in America, Canada, Germany, and France. Also present at the return was Ma Vimalanani, 21, A Nepalese nun studying at the Sayadaw's monastery. (NLM 8/11)

Aug. 30: A SLORC special diplomatic mission led by Myanmar Language Commission member U Win Pe returned from a two-month tour of Britain, Austria, Germany, United States, Australia, Hong Kong, and Japan "during which it explained objective conditions and developments in Myanmar Naing-Ngan." Other members were SLORC Legal Adviser U Hset Maung, Foreign Ministry Director-General U Ba Thwin, Economics Institute Rector Dr. Than Nyunt, and Maj. Ngwe Tun of the Defence Ministry. The delegation met former US President Jimmy Carter, Australian Foreign Minister Gereth Evans, Japanese Diet members including Japan-Myanmar Association President Mr. Tatsuo Ozawa, and many others. (NLM 8/31)

MYANMAR GAZETTE

Probationary Appointments

The SLORC appointed the following, on probation:

Aug. 4: Lt-Col. Than Nyunt (BC/11397), General Staff Officer, Directorate of Defence Services Intelligence, Ministry of Defence, to be Director-General, Internal Revenue Department, Ministry of Finance and Revenue. (NLM 8/5)

Appointments Confirmed

The SLORC confirmed the following appointments, after one

year's probation:

Aug. 4: Dr. Daw Win May as Principal, Institute of Nursing, Ministry of Health. (NLM 8/5)

Aug. 25: U Kyaw Myint as Managing Director, Inspection and Agency Services, Ministry of Trade.

U Htay Aung as Managing Director, Myanma Posts and Telecommunications, Ministry of Communications, Posts and Telegraphs. (NLM 8/26)

GOVERNMENT

Border Areas Law

Aug. 13: SLORC Law No. 11/93 of Aug. 13, the Development of Border Areas and National Races Law [full text published], is intended to "develop the economic and social works and roads and communications of the national races at the border areas...", to "cherish and preserve the culture, literature and customs of the national races," to strengthen amity among them, to eradicate totally opium poppy cultivation, and to preserve law and order in the border areas. To this end it forms a Central Committee for the Implementation of the Development of the Border Areas and National Races, with officers appointed by the SLORC, to establish policy, give guidance on master plans drawn up by the Ministry of the Development of Border Areas and National Races, establish priorities, take measures to preserve national races' culture, literature, and customs, and promote security and law and order. The Central Committee will establish a Work Committee, and appoint its officers, to implement policies, establish regional sub-committees, coordinate activities, etc. Ministerial powers are laid down at length for border area development. (NLM 8/14)

MILITARY

Insurgent Attacks

Aug. 3: A Kayan terrorist group led by Aik Daung on July 31 entered Myaynigon village, Phekhon Twp. [Kayah], killed two children, wounded for other persons, and burned 14 out of 15 houses. (NLM 8/4)

Aug. 28: A land mine killed a child in Ye Township, Mon State, on Aug. 19, and another wounded an old man in a nearby village. (NLM 8/29)

Insurgents Surrender

June 21: From May 1-9, 26 insurgents surrendered, with their arms [names and details]. (NLM 6/22)

July 31: From June 21-30, 19 terrorists surrendered, with their arms [names and details], bringing the June total to 54. (NLM 8/1)

Aug. 18: From July 1-10, 14 terrorists surrendered, with their arms [names and details]. (NLM 8/19)

Aug. 19: From July 11-15, 23 terrorists surrendered, with their arms [names and details]. (NLM 8/20)

Aug. 20: From July 16-31, 19 terrorists surrendered, with their arms [names and details], bringing the July total to 56. (NLM 8/21)

ECONOMIC

Economic Articles

[See also under CULTURAL: Sunday Supplements]

June 22: Development of wood-based industry, by Khayan Soe Myint. [Visit to a furniture factory.]

Aug. 4: Nurturing Small Businesses: A Challenge for the South, by Rustam Lalkaka. [Article on small business promotion by an Indian UNDP consultant.]

Aug. 8: Myanmar's first ever international business centre, by Myo Set Thit. [Description of building sponsored by the Ministry of Forestry at 88 Pyay Road, Yangon. It will be "the central show place for the City of Yangon by day and by night." Construction, by Turnkey

Contracts and Consultancy Company Limited of Singapore, is 80% complete.]

Aug. 10: 'Tegel' fowls, a boon for poultry farmers, by Kyaw Sein. [300,000 have been imported from Australia, with another 100,000 to go. Details of economics of raising them.]

Aug. 11: Plant trees and conserve forests, by Myat Wai Toe (Inst. of Education). [Value of forests.]

Aug. 14: An International Air Service JV Begins Operations, by Hla Tun (Twantay). [Inauguration of international air service by Myanma Airways International, a joint venture of Myanma Airways and High Sonic Enterprise Pte. Ltd. of Singapore, signed Feb. 19, 1993. It will provide service between Yangon and Bangkok, Singapore, and Hong Kong {see advertisement}. A plane is being leased from, and pilots trained by, Royal Brunei Airlines. Arrangements are being made to receive up to 500,000 tourists a year {about the number visiting Cooperstown, a village of 2,300, where the Burma Press Summary is prepared - HCMacD.!}.]

Aug. 15: Myanma Airways International and Boeing 757-200ER, by Hla Tun Twantay. [New plane for Myanmar international service, with 29 first class and 150 tourist class seats.]

Aug. 15: Boeing 757-200ER, a perfect medium range airliner, by Ko Kyi (Pyin Oo Lwin). [More on airplane.]

Aug. 17: The flight of pyinsa rupa, by An Observer. [On board the inaugural flight of Myanma Airways International, whose symbol is the pyinsa rupa, "a decorative mythical creature which Myanmar traditional artists have created" and which combines the elephant, lion, deer, hintha bird, and gudgeon.]

Aug. 17: A successful business front, by Ma Khwe Kiwi. [Visit to the Social Welfare Department shop in Bogyoke Aung San Market, which successfully sells textiles and other goods made by the blind.]

Aug. 20: Hotels in Myanmar: Kyaing Tong, an exotic place for Tourists, by Saw Hanson Yah (Hotels & Tourism). [Discussion of tourism coming by land from Thailand, and visiting Tachilek and Kyaing Tong {formerly Kengtung}. The Kyaing Tong Hotel can accommodate 24 persons in 12 air-conditioned rooms, and a 12 room expansion has been completed. A new 120 room hotel will soon be built. For those not wishing to drive seven hours from Tachilek to Kyaing Tong, a 30-minute Myanmar Airways flight is available. Travellers can also continue on to Sipsongpanna in China's Yunnan Province, via Mong La. Last October-March, 934 tourists visited Kyaing Tong, spending US\$ 38,174. "Kyaing Tong, the land of mountains, rivers and natural beauty awaits you."]

Aug. 21: Development of Tourism in Myanmar, by An Observer. [Tourism is picking up, with fourteen day visas now granted and many new areas opened to tourism. In 1992-93 26,600 tourists arrived in Yangon, and other entered at land crossings. From Yunnan travellers can enter at Lwege, Namhkam, Muse, Kyuhkok, and Kunlon, and organized group can travel on to Lashio, Mandalay, and Yangon. From Thailand, visitors can enter at Tachilek and travel to Kyaington, continuing on to Sipxhuangbana in Yunnan via Mailar. Day travelers can also enter at Myawady, Three Pagodas Pass, and Kawthaung. Travelers on organized tours across the border totalled 140,000 last year, and cross-border traffic was about 1 million. In the first quarter of this fiscal year {April-June}, 10,000 tourists arrived via Yangon and spent US\$1,300,000, up from 3,200 tourists and US\$670,000 in the same period last year. Most tourists are from Germany (20%), France (11%), Italy (15%), United Kingdom (6%), and the United States (8%), and business travellers from Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Expatriates visit from Hong Kong, Macau, the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Tour ships and charter flights also come. Bangkok Airway will fly chartered thrice-weekly flights from Chiang Mai to Bagan and Mandalay. Thai Flying Service runs charters from Chiang Rai to Tachilek and Kyaing Tong. As of this April, licenses have been granted to 83 tour operators, 69 hotels, motels, and guest houses, 85 coaches, motor vehicles, and motor boats, and training was given to 163 tour guides. The Myanmar Hotel

and Tourism Services runs 40 hotels with 1,014 rooms and three motels with 113 rooms. In the private sector there are 69 hotels, motels, and guest houses with 1,011 rooms. Since 1991, the Strand, Inya Lake, and Thamada Hotels have been under the Myanma Hotels International joint venture, and the Kandawgyi Hotel has been leased to Baiyoke Suite Hotel Ltd. (Thailand) since March, 1993. Altogether there are 116 hotels with 2,518 rooms. Seven foreign investment projects have been approved: (1) renovation of Strand, Inya Lake, and Thamada Hotels; (2) 600-room Yangon Hotel; (3) 200-room Goldent Triangle Paradise Resort; (4) 200-room Thahtaykyun {ex-Victoria Island} (Pulo Ru Island) Resort Hotel; (5) Yangon Airport Hotel; (6) Nawarat Hotel; and (7) renovation of Kandawgyi Hotel.]

Aug. 23: Hotel industry in Myanmar, by An Observer. [More details of hotel projects.]

Aug. 23: Smile a little smile, by Ko Kyi (Pyin Oo Lwin). [Need for courtesy towards customers and clients.]

Aug. 26: Village banks and village development, by Swe Thant Ko. [Visit to bank in Thameinhtaw Kondan Village, Pyapon. There are 12,257 village banks with a combined capital of over K500 million.]

Aug. 30: Meting out deterrent punishment in cattle smuggling cases, by KMO. [Supreme Court case including motor vehicles used in livestock smuggling in confiscation order.]

Yangon-Thanlyin Bridge Opened

July 31: The Yangon-Thanlyin [Syriam] bridge, built with Chinese aid, was opened one year ahead of schedule. Attending on the Chinese side was Chinese Special Envoy Mr. Bu He, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. On the Myanmar side were Deputy Prime Minister Vice-Adm. Maung Maung Khin, Deputy Prime Minister Lt-Gen. Tin Tun, SLORC Secretary-1 Maj-Gen. Khin Nyunt, and SLORC Secretary-2 Maj-Gen. Tin Oo, the Ministers, and numerous other officials. Speeches were made, and the rail and motor lanes opened. [photos]

The project was launched with China in 1980 [details of project agreements]. It spans the 1.8 km. Bago River from Tharketa to Thanlyin Townships in Yangon Division. It carries both railway trains and automobiles; with approaches, the railway bridge is 2939 metres and the highway 2151 metres, the length of the main bridge being 1822.4 metres. The superstructure is of riveted and welded trusses and girders, with 18 spans, set on 53 piers and abutments [numerous technical details]. At its peak in 1985, the project employed 1,565 persons. The first Chinese technicians arrived in October, 1985. (NLM 8/1)

Project Inaugurations

July 31: A new 110x45 ft. building was inaugurated at Mary Chapman's School for the Deaf in Dagon Twp. [Yangon]. (NLM 8/1)

Aug. 1: A China-Myanmar bridge was inaugurated July 6 in Kaunghmuto village, Muse Twp. [Shan]. Representatives from Shweli in China were present. (NLM 8/2)

Aug. 2: New Daewoo bus service was inaugurated in Loikaw Aug. 1. (NLM 8/3)

Aug. 11: A telephone exchange was inaugurated Aug. 8 in Tachilek [Shan]. (NLM 8/12)

Aug. 27: The new, K800,000 Dallah clock-tower was inaugurated at the Dallah-Twantay-Pyawbwegyi crossroads. (NLM 8/28)

Aug. 30: A new building for the Pathein West Township Maternal and Child Welfare Association was inaugurated Aug. 27. (NLM 8/31)

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(NLM 8/13)

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Rev. FR. S.K. MARTIN

Parish Priest

(NLM 8/21)

ATTENTION ENTREPRENEURS!

Yangon, 21 Aug - Myanma Hotels and Tourism Services will lease popular resort hotels, Shwe War Gyaing Hotel (Ngapali), Letkok-kon Hotel (Kungyangon), Kyaik Hto Hotel (Kyaikhtiyoe) and Toungoo Hotel (to private entrepreneurs, as a measure of enhancing the private sector's role in the hotel business. The leases will be on first-come-first-served basis. Enquiries can be made by dialing 73083/80814. (NLM 8/22)

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(NLM 8/24)

Joint Ventures

Aug. 14: Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development Notification No. 24/93 of Aug. 13 establishes the Myanmar Niino Joint-Venture Company Limited, "for the purpose of culturing and marketing of high quality pearls, shell and shell products," with an authorized capital of K12 million, divided into 2000 shares of K6,000, of which 1020 will be held by Myanma Pearl Enterprise, represented by its Managing Director, and 980 by Niino International Corporation, represented by Managing Director Mr. Ye Tun Niino, Watanabe Building, 303,33-19, SENJU, YANAGI-CHO, Adachi-ku, Tokyo 120 Japan. (NLM 8/15)

Tree-felling Banned in Yangon

Aug. 7: The Yangon City Development Committee announced that "no one shall fell shade trees and fruit trees in Yangon City" without YCDC consent. (NLM 8/8)

Counterfeit Bahts

Aug. 8: A report released today states that there was "secret, illegal circulation of counterfeit 500-baht notes in Rangong, Thailand, in July" with 5 counterfeit notes being given for one genuine one. "The merchants on the other side paid the 500-baht counterfeit notes among the genuine ones to cattle, timber, meat and fish smugglers during border trade and these counterfeit baht notes were circulated in Myanmar border towns." [photo] (NLM 8/9)

Agriculture and Fisheries

Aug. 6: A first consignment of 5,775 tons of urea chemical fertilizer, out of 10,000 tons purchased by the Central Co-operative Society from M/S Norsk Hydro (Far East) Ltd. of Hong Kong, arrived on the MV Mufaddal Aug. 4. A total of 30,000 tons of urea chemical fertilizer has been purchased on contract with foreign exchange earned by co-operative societies engaged in export. (NLM 8/9)

Aug. 20: Speaking in Pathein on Aug, 18, Minister for Trade Maj-Gen. Tun Kyi said that "The State is purchasing paddy to fulfil the needs of government employees as well as to use it in other important manners.... Paddy, he said, will be purchased at prices higher than the previous year and added that only 12 baskets per acre will be bought. (NLM 8/21)

Aug. 30: A project document on Strengthening of Fish Disease Diagnosis in Hatcheries, with a US\$197,000 grant from the FAO, was signed by FAO Resident Representative J.S. Lazo and Myanma Fisheries Enterprise Managing Director U Sein Hmat. (NLM 8/31)

Mandalay-Myitkyina Express

Aug. 10: The Mandalay-Malikha special express train began service between Mandalay and Myitkyina. Minister for Rail Transportation U Win Sein said that "Myanma Railways is not yet able to adequately fulfil the needs of passenger and freight transportation. He said that a basic method for solving the problem of railway ticket black-marketeering is not found yet, although ticket selling systems have been change variously and suggestions of passengers have been received. He said that the real solution to this problem is to double the number of trains." The MFF Company has invested K8.5 million in repairing old coaches; two TV sets are installed in each of the 10 upper-class coaches and one ordinary class coach "to entertain passengers with video plays." The train will stop at Ywahtaung, Kawlin, Naba, Mohnyin, Hopin and Mogaung; there are two trains a week in each direction. Fares are ${\tt K500}$ for upper class and K200 for ordinary class, with free breakfast and lunch on trains to Myitkyina and free dinner and breakfast on return trains. (NLM 8/11)

Myanma Airways International

Aug. 15: Myanma Airways International, a joint venture between Myanma Airways and Highsonic Enterprise Pte. Ltd. of Singapore, which will provide international air service between Rangoon and Bangkok, Singapore, and Hong Kong, launched its maiden flight to Singapore with its new Boeing 757-200ER plane. Speakers included Highsonic Managing Director Mr. Wong Fong Fui. (NLM 8/16)

Rainfall in Yangon

Rainfall, in inches, at Yangon's three weather stations of Yangon Airport (YA), Kaba-Aye (KA), and Central Yangon (CY) was:

		ľΑ	KA	CI
1987	7.01	100.98	95.43	
1988	99.17	100.00	107.76	
1989	96.22	100.59	102.76	

1990	118.35	109.92	122.84
1991	91.81	83.78	96.65
1992	81.34	96.02	95.98
1993, as of:			
August 1	43.94	60.83	54.84
August 15	52.32	71.18	64.45
August 30	63.90	87.52	78.94

SPORTS

Sports Articles

Aug. 7,14,25: Exclusively Yours in Sports, by Ivan King. [(1) American domination of heavyweight boxing due to good training. But great athletes are beginning to appear in Myanmar's dry zone. (2) History of boxing in Myanmar. (3) Problems of Myanmar soccer.]

Aug. 8,14: Myanmar soccer: back to golden era, by Maung Maung Soe. [Why Myanmar won silver at the 1993 SEA Games in Singapore.]

Aug. 21: Khin Soe Thaike who brought honour and glory to the State, by Thaung Win Bo. [Profile of woman who won two gold medals for shooting at the South-East Asian Games in Singapore.]

Aug. 27-28: Myanmar athletes of international fame, by Maung Maung Soe. [(1) Interview with gold-medal runner Tun Tin. (2) Interview with police judo team.]]

Myanmar Teams and Delegations

Aug. 7: Minister for Home Affairs Maj-Gen. Mya Thinn addressed the judokas of the People's Police Force who will compete in the Indonesian National Police Judo Open Tournament in Jakarta, Aug. 10-15. The team, led by Police Col. Myint Kyaw includes a coach and manager and 9 judokas, totalling 13. (NLM 8/8) // Aug. 17: The team returned "victorious," after ending up third among 38 teams, with two gold and four bronze medals. (NLM 8/18) // Aug. 19: Gold medal winners were 2nd-Lt. Tin Tin Maw and W.O. Thida Mon; bronze medal winners were 2nd-Lt. Tin Tin Maw, Lt. Kyi Kyi Wai, 2nd-Lt. Hta Hta Khaing, and L/Corp. Mi Mi Tun, all of the PPF. (NLM 8/20)

Aug. 22: The Mayor of Menorca, Spain, awarded 10-year old Maung Sithu Moe Myint a trophy as "the youngest and most outstanding athlete" in the Optimist class World Yachting Championships held July 12-23. [photo] (NLM 8/22)

12-23. [photo] (NLM 8/22)

Aug. 25: The Myanmar team headed by Manager U Hoke Sein returned from the Aug. 14-22 Fourth World Athletics Championships in Stuttgart, Germany. Other members were athletes Aye Aye Nwe and Gopal; neither made it to the finals, though Gopal broke Myanmar and SEA records. (NLM 8/26)

HEALTH

Health Articles

Aug. 2: Editorial: A Mother-Friendly Workplace. [The theme of the WABA {World Alliance for Breastfeeding Action} is to promote the creation of 'mother-friendly workplaces' where a mother can fully breastfeed and also work full capacity in her paying job... This goal can be achieved with the conscious participation of employers, organizations, communities and governments in this revolution based on the respect for the equal status and contribution of women. The New Light of Myanmar urges the National Health Plan to give some room for a breast-feeding encouragement project which will surely enhance the public health of Myanmar and also help to reduce the present child mortality rate."]

Aug. 5: Who is accountable for possession of Narcotic drugs and Psychotropic substances - mother or daughter, by KMO. [Mother and daughter were acquitted of possession of marijuana found on mother's property; Supreme Court properly reversed the acquittal against the mother, and sentenced her to 13 year in prison.]

Aug. 9: Why No Water?, by Professor Daw Mya Mya. [Why babies should not be given water for the first four months: dilutes breast

milk and may be contaminated.]

Aug. 19: Development of a health system, by Dr. Saw Myint. [Problems of health care, especially in rural areas; prevention more important than sophisticated care.]

Aug. 22: Dangerous drugs for diarrhoea under review, by Jillian Aldebron. [Hazards of some drugs, such as entero-vioform.]

Aug. 23: Legal aspect of the term "possession" under the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Law, by KMO. [Legal cases illustrating what constitutes possession.]

Tuberculosis

Aug. 23: A Coordination meeting on combating tuberculosis was addressed by Minister for Health Vice-Adm. Than Nyunt. He said that "Field studies estimated that there could be as many as 80,000 TB patients in Myanmar," and "warned that TB is in the form of an invalidity [sic], which can be very costly to cure.... He said that "statistics reveal that TB is the second-ranking malady in Myanmar, and curative measures alone would not be sufficient to remedy this problem, but preventative measures would have to take a major role." Problems in treatment, he said, include "high defaulter rate due to long treatment," and "immunity to the medicine due to irregular taking of treatment." The meeting will last until Aug. 25. (NLM 8/24)

CULTURAL

Sunday Supplements

[Because many Sunday Supplement stories are continued from one issue to the next, we will no longer list each week by separately.]

Aug. 1,8,15,22,29: Let us rally around the Tatmadaw, build and defend the country, by Minye Kaungbon. [Cont. (3) Myanmar resistance to British during the 19th Century. (4) Outline of First Anglo-Myanmar War (1824-26). (5) Outline of Second Anglo-Myanmar War (1852-54). (6) Background of Third Anglo-Myanmar War of 1885. (7) Outline of Third Anglo-Myanmar War.]

Aug. 1: Myitnge rail coach factory, by Ye Myint Pe. [Visit to factory, begun in 1947. Under a contract with Daewoo Corporation in 1990, 70 passenger coaches and 130 freight wagons were assembled. In 1992-93, 365 coaches and 1,266 wagons were repaired, way above targets.]

Aug. 1: Prevention of loss of top soil, by Than Saung

(Sikepyoyay). [Use of trees to prevent wind erosion.]

Aug. 1: Aphyauk, a new natural gas reserve, by Tekkatho Hla Kywe. [Visit to drilling rig on May 5, when gas was found at 7,700

Aug. 1,8: Yangon-Mandalay six-lane expressway, by Ahtet Minhla Nyunt Aung. [(1) Project begun April 1993. The 31-mile segment from Htaukkyant-Zayatkwin to Bago will be 100 feet wide, with a 300 foot right of way {diagram}. (2) More technical details of project, which will reduce travel time between Yangon and Mandalay to 10 hours.]

Aug. 1: Success of the green revolution, by Thandaung Bo. [Myanmar has 167 million acres, of which only 42 million are cultivable. In 1992-93, 700 million baskets of paddy were produced on 12.58 million acres. For 1993-94, 12 million acres will produce 57 baskets per acre of monsoon paddy, and 4 million acres will produce 70 baskets per acres of summer paddy. In forestry, "teak and other expensive hardwoods are now being extracted more for export than for home use." 11 million saplings are being planted each year, and 80,000 acres of new forests. 4.5 million quick growing trees are being planted for firewood.]

Aug. 8: Desert gold of..., by Magway Hla Myint. [Irrigation in the Sale Pakhan-nge area of Chauk Township, Magway Division.]

Aug. 8: Protect our precious teak forests, by Khin Maung Than (Sethmu). [Forest plantations in Lewe Township, Mandalay Division.]

Aug. 8: Agriculture & livestock breeding in Maingyang Silu area, by Taungdwin Bo Thein. [Great progress since peace restored in Silu, Maingyang {Mong Yawng} Township, Shan State.]

Aug. 8: The vital link, by Pe Than. [The new Yangon-Thanlyin Bridge.]

Aug. 8: Breed Ngakhu fish and get rich quick, by Sein Shwe Hlaing. [A fish breeding project successful elsewhere in Southeast Asia could also succeed in Myanmar.]

Aug. 15: A visit to the Institute of Agriculture, by Khayan Soe Myint. [Short description]

Aug. 15: The right time for paddy harvest, by Thandaing Bo. [Technical details.]

Aug. 15: The Good Festival, by Tekkatho Tin Kha. [Origins of

Aug. 15: The Yangon-Thanlyin bridge: A symbol of China-Myanmar friendship, by Tekkatho Chit Swe. [The new bridge.]

Aug. 15: Achievements of Mechanical Engineering Department of the Myanma Port Authority, by Kyaw Kyaw (Institute of Technology). [Visit to dockyards.]

Aug. 22: A pony named 'Shweli', by Saw Mon Nyin. [Remember a horse of childhood.]

Aug. 22: Conservation of fish stocks of our fisheries, by Ko Ko Oo. [Need for it. "In some places, dynamites, lime, narcotic drugs and poisonous substances are used to catch fish.... The use of...Endrin pesticides may lead to depletion of natural fish stocks.]

Aug. 22: Thanlyin-Kyauktan area geared for rapid development, by Win Myint (Insein). [Economic effects of new bridge.]

Aug. 22: Development of Hotaung, Silu, Mongyang border area, by Taungdwin Bo Thein. [Visit to border area.]

Aug. 22: Build up natural water reservoirs, by Myo Set Thit. [I.e., forests in watershed areas; statistics on silting up of reservoirs behind dams.]

Aug. 22: Verdant Chin Shwe Haw new town or the light of Kokang area, by Ye Myint Pe. [Development in Kokang.]

Aug. 29: What is to be done to produce 800m baskets of paddy, by Dr. Tun Saing. [Proper agricultural methods described.]

Aug. 29: How Myanmar teak forests have been conserved, by Aung Chit. [History of conservation in colonial times.]

Aug. 29: The Union highway for kinsmen to come together, by Khin Maung Than (Sethmu). [Pyinmanaa-Pinlaung highway project.]

Aug. 29: Ywataung workshop in the service of the people, by Myo Kyaw Aung. [Railway equipment repair shops.]
 Aug. 29: Eight hundred million baskets of Paddy, by Thandaing

Bo. [Achieving the goal.]

Literary and Cultural Articles

Aug. 1: Waso, the month of Ordination Festival, by Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt. [This year, there are two Waso months. Traditional festivals.]

Aug. 8: Juvenile courts vs punishment inflicted on juvenile offenders, by KMO. [Review of new Child Law provisions on juvenile courts, with review of case of Maung Po Kyaw, age 14, who eloped with another 14-year old and was sentenced to three years in prison; the Supreme Court reversed and discussed the rights of juvenile offenders.]

Aug. 9, 16, 22,30: Fauna Conservation, by Hmugyi Hla Aung. [(1) Under 1936 Law, the following animals are totally protected: rhinoceros, tapir, brow-antlered or Eid's deer, argus pheasant, masked finfoot, and the peafowl. The following are partially protected: elephant, Burmese bison or gaur, banteng, serow, and goral. There are closed hunting seasons, as follows: June 15-Sept. 30 for Hog Deer, Sambur, Barking Deer. Mar. 15-Sept. 30 for Pheasant, Partridge, Jungle Fowl, Quail, Wild Duck, Teal. No live bird may be captured, bought, or sold: Snipe, Wild Duck, Teal, Wild Geese. The protections were designed by the British to protect "game" animals sought by sportsmen.

[(2) Eleven {sic} game sanctuaries listed: Est. Sq.Mi. District 1918 279 Myitkyina Pidaung

1918 Shwe-u-daung 81 Katha 1929 Shwe-u-daung 45 Monamit 1918 49 Mandalay Maymyo Moscos Islands 1929 19 Tavoy 1928 62 Kahilu Thaton Mulavit 1936 54 Kawkareik

[(3) Problems of animal extinction; e.g., the passenger pigeon and the dodo. The Hlawga Park area near Yangon "was once rich in fauna, like barking deer and jungle fowl, but they have been hunted to the point of extermination by 'moksoes' of the neighbouring villages, so that it will be necessary to colonize or re-populate the proposed sanctuary with animals from the Yangon zoo."

[(4) Conservation techniques.]

Aug. 22: A visit to Japan, by Theimm Htut. [Visit to Tokyo, Yokohama, Hiroshima, Okayama, and Kyoto, in July 1993.]

Aug. 23: Promoting Myanmar Traditional Arts, by Pe Than. ["The fine tradition of our national performing art has degenerated to such a degree that genuine Myanmar traditional dance, music and song can hardly be seen or heard nowadays. Instead, the menace of alien cultural intrusions are seen looming large day by day."]

Cremation Video Tapes

Aug. 3: Documentary video tapes on the crematory rites of two leading Sayadaws who died recently (Bago Myoma Sayadaw Bhaddanta Indacara and Mingun Dhammanadha Sayadaw Bhaddanta Vicittasarabhivamsa) are available at the Religious Affairs Department Bookshop and at the Shwedagon, Sule, and Kaba Aye Pagodas, for K500. (NLM 8/4)

Education

Throughout the month there continued to be daily announcements of Radio and Television lectures intended for students of the University of Distance Education.

June 21: The Yangon University Physics Department will offer a Diploma in Applied Physics course for the academic year 1993-94. The English Department will offer a one-year course "on Diploma in English." (NLM 6/22)

Aug. 25: Editorial: Education at an affordable price. ["Nowadays, the price of education, like that of any other commodity on which all of us here or anywhere in the world must depend, has gone up. The price of rice, meat and fish, or even water-greens, the lowliest of vegetables, has gone up a great deal compared to what they cost even half a decade ago. So, why not the price of tuition meaning extra coaching of academic entrepreneurs. When what is taught in school is insufficient, children, or rather parents, have no choice but to seek recourse to tuition specially urbanites [sic]. Private tuition is a thriving business. Many parents who can afford it organize 'waing' or group tuition, with the pupils teaming at someone's house and the teachers coming there in succession throughout the weekend days. Good to hear about it, about how much individual attention they get. Also, there are tuition classes where several dozen pupils are taught by teachers who even have to use a microphone in order that the pupils may hear and fully understand them. But the price. It is simply atrocious. You had to pay through your nose. Suppose you had to pay for six subjects that a highschooler child would take - something like K1,200 - and your pay is just around that figure. That's daylight robbery. Today, most children in high school and in college cannot follow the subjects, which, save for Myanmar language, are taught in English. Most parents who have the time to do their own coaching do not know how to teach. Those who know how to do not have the time. So, those who are ambitious for their children get a better higher education have to scrape up the fees somehow.... If we are to realistically give a long hard look at education, specially that high price, it certainly is not decently affordable for many. A solution must be found."]

Archaeology

Aug. 8: SLORC Secretary-1 Maj-Gen. Khin Nyunt, accompanied by Minister for Culture Lt-Gen. Aung Ye Kyaw, Minister for Labour Maj-Gen. Aye Thoung, Minister for Education Col. Pe Thein, Deputy Minister for Religious Affairs U Kyaw Aye, Deputy Minister for Culture U Soe Nyunt, Deputy Minister for Agriculture U Tin Hlaing and others inspected the excavations of Bayintnaung Mintagyagyi's Palace Site in Thayagon village, Bago Township [Bago]. Arrangements are being made to move the residences and monasteries on the excavation site. (NLM 8/9) // Aug. 10: Plans were discussed for relocating those involved, including "establishing new plots, construction of main streets, erecting lamp posts, sinking tube-wells, opening construction material shops and making systematic plans for allotment of plots." (NLM 8/11)

of plots." (NLM 8/11)

Aug. 27: Workers in Kyayan Township [Yangon] on July 9 dug up
29 British gold sovereigns, dated between 1842 and 1869. They will
receive K418,310 (their current value plus K69,718 for antiquity).
[photo] \ On Aug. 24 workers excavating the palace site of King
Bayintnaung in Bago uncovered gold ornaments weighing 1 tical, 15 pš,
including 13 gold flowers, 6 gold buds, 24 pieces of gold, and 10
polished rubies. [photo] (NLM 8/28)

Buddhist Missionary Course

Aug. 8: A Buddhist Missionary Course in English opened in Insein "aimed at propagating Theravada Buddhist Sasana inland and abroad." "Lectures on Pali, Myanmar and Pitika scriptures will be given in English to Dhammacariya Sayadaws, lecturer Sayadaws and foreigners." (NLM 8/9)

Myanmar-English Dictionary

Aug. 27: A new 635-page Myanmar-English Dictionary, compiled by the Myanmar Language Department, will be published Aug. 30 and will cost K250. It has 28,000 words and 800 illustrations. A 108-page Myanmar Language and Literature book, with pronunciations, spellings, grammar, etc., will also be published, for K25. (NLM 8/28)

MISCELLANEOUS

Crime

Aug. 1: Police and forestry personnel have exposed illegal timber felling and sale in Mandalay and Sagaing Divisions. 216 teak logs and 70 tons of other hardwood were seized July 6 at Taungdaw and Thanlyetsun jetties in Tada-U Twp. [Mandalay], and action is being taken against two people; 11 illegal padauk logs were seized July 9 in Pyigyitagun Twp. {sic} [Mandalay] and action is being taken against five people and a GMC truck was confiscated; 164 illegal padauk logs were seized July 17 in Kanbalu Twp. [Sagaing] and action i being taken against 3 people; 38 illegal teak logs were seized July 17 in Singu Twp. [Mandalay] and action is being taken against 4 persons; 16 illegal padauk logs were seized July 19 in Pyigyitagun Twp. [Mandalay] and action is being taken against 3 people; 43 teak and other logs were seized in Aungmyethazan Twp. [Mandalay]; 37 logs of padauk and pyinkadoe and sawn teak were seized June 24 in Madaya Twp. [Mandalay) and action is being taken against the Township Deputy Forest Staff Officer, two forest wardens, and three forest rangers. (NLM 8/2)

Aug. 3: A bogus monk was arrested July 23 in Monywa. "In May, he resided at the Hninhnitkaung Kyaungtaik in Monywa under the name of Koe-na-win Maha Waikzar Ghandhayi Ashin Nagasenabhivamsa and also at the houses of those who idolized him, feeding chewed betel leaf, giving lottery tickets signed by him and asking for things he wanted. Moreover, he would watch video all night and have dinner. He and 36 disciples went to pay obeisance to Thar-myin-nya-taung Sayadaw in June and visited Mawlamyine, Kyaikkhami and Setse recreation camps and did the acts not suitable to Sangha's rules and molested some women. Legal action is being taken against Ashin Nagasenabhivamsa (a)

Hla Myint." (NLM 8/4)

Aug. 4: A Navy patrol boat on July 22 seized 30 tons of illegal teak logs being smuggled out of the country on the schooner Khema. The owner and crew of 14 were seized. Similarly, the Navy on July 29 seized 20 tons of illegal teak logs on the schooner Kyaw Myo Naing, and arrested the owner and 10 crewmen. (NLM 8/5)

Aug. 17: A government employee has been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for misappropriating K15.4 million in State funds at Nyaungbintha Plantation of the Myanma Agricultural Service; he took the money to gamble with. (NLM 8/18)

Aug. 18: The Bureau of Special Investigations has uncovered fraud involving misappropriation of chemical fertilizers by six people, including local LORC officials, in Hlaingbwe Twp. [Kayin]; fertilizer was bought for K200,000 using forged signatures, and then resold for K300,000. (NLM 8/19)

Aug. 19: The Tarmway Twp. [Yangon] court on Aug. 18 sentenced a reckless bus driver to nine years in prison with hard labour, for speeding and killing a teacher and student. A shoplifter who stole cassette recorders and clocks in Yangon was arrested July 5. (NLM 8/20)

Aug. 20: Two men and four women were arrested July 10 in Rakhine with irregular Citizenship Scrutiny Certificates obtained from Insein Township [Yangon] Immigration and Manpower Department. The were "natives of a neighbouring country." 2.55 viss of gold ingots, worth K5 million, were seized on the Mandalay-Monywa bus Aug. 24. (NLM 8/21)

Aug. 24: Between Aug. 12-18, 129 litterbugs were "nabbed and fined for indiscriminately disposing garbage" in Yangon. \\ Police on July 15 arrested two men for stealing K3 lakhs worth of gold ornaments from a Yangon house. (NLM 8/25)

Aug. 29: Yangon police are prosecuting three motor vehicles

parts thieves. (NLM 8/30) Aug. 30: A drunk hooligan was arrested at the National Theatre on Aug. 28. (NLM 8/ 31)

Anti-Narcotics Activities

Aug. 6: Police on July 24 seized 404 bottles of Phensedyl in Tamu [Sagaing]. (NLM 8/7)

Aug. 9: Police on July 21 seized 1.2 kilos of heroin at Hopin, Mohnyin Twp. [Kachin]. (NLM 8/10)

Aug. 11: Railway police on July 2 seized 4.5 kilos of raw opium from a train at the Mandalay station. (NLM 8/12)

Aug. 12: Military intelligence on Aug. 4 seized 6.5 kilos of raw opium in Pan Un village, 16 miles from Tachilek [Shan]. The Kalay anti-drug squad and military intelligence on July 25-26 and Aug. 5 & 8 seized 357 bottles of Phensedyl from various persons in the Kalay area. (NLM 8/13)

Aug. 19: During July 1993, the Tatmadaw seized 93.7 kilos of opium and 35.9 litres of Phensedyl. The police seized 215.7 kilos of opium (62 cases), 20.2 kilos of heroin (176 cases), 22.0 kilos of marijuana (45 cases), 215.9 litres of Phensedyl (22 cases), 0.1 kilo of opium oil (1 case), and 0.1 litre of Taradyl (1 case). There were 144 cases of failure to register as an addict, and 6 other drugrelated cases. Action was taken against 610 persons in 457 cases. (NLM 8/ 20)

Aug. 21: The Tatmadaw Intelligence Unit on Aug. 17 seized 0.3 kilo of heroin in Taunggyi. Anti-drug personnel on Aug. 6 seized 1.5 kilos of heroin in Muse. (NLM 8/ 22)

Aug. 23: 5.8 kilos of heroin were seized Aug. 19 from a truck in Hopin village, Mohnyin Township. Railway police on July 19 seized 7.5 kilos of raw opium on a train for Myitkyina. (NLM 8/24)

Aug. 24: Police seized 5.9 kilos of heroin from a house in Hopin village, Mohnyin (NLM 8/25)

Aug. $\bar{2}5$: The $\bar{\mathrm{M}}\mathrm{yitkyina}$ drug squad on July 23 seized 26.8 kilos of raw opium. The Lashio drug squad on July 18 seized 1.6 kilos of heroin. The Muse drug squad on July 29 seized 4.6 kilos of heroin.

The Mandalay drug squad and others on Aug. 9 seized 0.6 kilo of heroin at Mandalay railway station, and on Aug. 10 seized 4.4 kilos of raw opium. ($NLM \ 8/26$)

Aug. 27: An "Exhibition on Drug Abuse Education (Central level)" opened at the Tatmadaw Hall on U Wisara Road, in the presence of SLORC Secretary-1 Maj-Gen. Khin Nyunt, SLORC Secretary-2 Maj-Gen. Tin Oo, Ministers, and other officials. It will be open to the public until Aug. 31. Over 4,000 attended the opening day. (NLM 8/28)

Aug. 29: The Seventh Destruction of Narcotic Drugs Seized by Law Enforcement Agencies was held in Yangon, with the presence of US Congressman Charles Rangel and foreign diplomats. After a detailed outline of current anti-narcotics activities, Congressman Rangel "thanked the police official for a very informed presentation, and expressed his appreciation for all efforts in removing opium and the heroin, as an international threat, being done in agreement with the neighbouring countries, Asian countries in this area as well as the international communities at the United Nations, including the Drug Enforcement Administration. He asked, 'Why is it that you have such a difficulty in getting the message out to the world as to the efforts that you are making in this very very important area?'" After further speeches, 1,376 litres of Phensedyl were "crushed by road rollers," and the dignitaries present pressed buttons setting fire to 221.4 kilos of heroin, 1,838.3 kilos of opium, 15.0 kilos of opium oil, 1.5 kilos of liquid opium, and 201.2 kilos of marijuana. (NLM 8/30)

Obituaries

[English language obituaries only; there are obituaries in Burmese as well.]

July 31: Thray Sithu U Shwe Mra, ICS (Retd.), Chief Secretary (Rtd.), Special Adviser (Retd.) to the Economic Division, United Nations Headquarters, New York, husband of the late Daw Khin Tint, father of...Dr. Zan Mra-Dr. Aye Khin Tu (New York), died in Yangon, aged 84. (NLM 8/1)

Aug. 3: Daw Khin U U, Retd. Trade Divisional Manager..., wife of U Tun Tin, died in Yangon, aged 68. (NLM 8/5)

Aug. 4: Periyar P.S. Peer Mohamed, Life-President of Ali Myanmar Khal Vath Andavargal Thaikka, died in Yangon, aged 93. [Muslim] (NLM 8/5)

Aug. 6: Mrs. Dorothy Daye (a) Daw Khin Aye, wife of Robin Daye, died in Yangon, aged 75. [Catholic] (NLM 8/7)

Aug. 7: U Maung Ohn (a) Ko Shwe Ko, Retired Sergeant, Yangon General Hospital, husband of Daphne Alexander (a) Daw Htay Htay (FAO), died in Yangon, aged 58. (NLM 8/8)

Aug. 20: U Saw Oo, Agga Maha Thiri Sudhamma Manijotadhara, died in Yangon. [article] (NLM 8/21)

Aug. 21: Miss B. Mary, daughter of Mr. T.L. Raj (Battery Raj) (deceased), died in Yangon, aged 61. [Christian] (NLM 8/22)

Aug. 21: U Myint Too, Barrister-at-Law of Lincoln's Inn, Retired Judge of Rangoon High Court, husband of the late Daw Nyun Yee, died in Yangon, aged 90. (NLM 8/22)

Aug. 25: Saw Ba Yin, Retd. Headmaster (Chinese Methodist), husband of Nant Bessie (Rtd. Announcer, Pwo-Kayin Section), died in Yangon, aged 84. [Christian] (NLM 8/26)

Aug. 26: Dawood E. Baruwalla (a) U Hla Way, husband of Maimona, died in Yangon, aged 49. (NLM 8/28)

Earthquakes

Aug. 9: An earthquake (Richter 6) was recorded at 19.19.56 hours, Myanmar time, with epicentre 50 miles NW of Hkamti. (NLM 8/11) Aug. 27: An earthquake of moderate intensity (Richter 5.5) was recorded at 18.16.20 hours, Myanmar time, with epicentre 75 miles NE of Mandalay. (NLM 8/28)

Engagement

Aug. 1: Ma Thi Thi Zin, 2nd year History Hons, daughter of U San Myint and Daw Htoo Htoo Hlyan became engaged to Mr. Huh Chul,

Manager, KOMY TOUR, son of Mr. Huh Chan and Mrs. Bae Young Soon of Seoul. (NLM 8/13)

San Yu Makes Gift

Aug. 20: "Retired President U San Yu and wife Daw Than Shein donated K 20,000 worth of hospital equipment to No 2 Military Hospital in honour of the National Convention and the Tatmadaw members serving in the frontlines." (NLM 8/21)

New Postage Stamps

Aug. 24: Two new stamps, in denominations of K5 and K10, will be issued Sept. 1 depicting the legacy of Myanmar culture. [photo] (NLM 8/25)

During the last two weeks of August, there were repeated notices of flood warnings and flood bulletins for various Myanmar rivers, with expected crests above danger levels. There were, however, no reports of damage or injuries.

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Editorial correspondence, and requests for full texts of articles, should be sent to:

Hugh C. MacDougall

32 Elm Street

Cooperstown, NY 13326