

Who's Who in the New Myanmar Government

Prepared for the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum by Richard Horsey¹ 14 April 2011

I. Introduction

This paper provides a brief analysis of the composition of the new Myanmar government, which came into power on 30 March 2011. Detailed appendixes are provided, which can serve as a ready reference. The appendixes are as follows:

- Appendix 1 Who's who in the national government: Provides a list of the members of the new government, and indicates the previous position held by each of these persons.
- Appendix 2 Composition of executive bodies: Provides a list of members of two powerful bodies, the National Defence and Security Council, and the Financial Commission.
- Appendix 3 Armed forces senior commanders: Provides a list of the new military leadership.
- Appendix 4 Who's who in the states and regions: Provides a list of the Chief Ministers of the states and regions, indicating the positions they previously held; also provides a list of Speakers of the state/region legislatures.
- Appendix 5 Composition of state and region executives: Provides a list of the members of the state and region governments, as well as the 'leading bodies' of the special administrative regions, indicating the party affiliation of each.

The main focus here is on the executive branch. This will be the most important and powerful of the three branches (executive, legislative and judicial). The armed forces, which are theoretically part of the executive, but in practice have a substantial degree of independence, are also included here. A future paper will provide an analysis of the functioning of the legislatures.

II. The new government

On 30 March 2011, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), the military body that ruled Myanmar for over twenty-two years, transferred power to a new government and dissolved itself.² Speculation in the exile media that the SPDC would continue to exist, or would transform itself into an extra-constitutional 'State Supreme Council' has proved to be unfounded.

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² From 1988 to 1997 the council was known as the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC).

The long-time leader of the ruling regime, Senior General Than Shwe, has relinquished all of his formal positions of power: head of state, commander-in-chief, defence minister. The leadership of the country, and of the powerful armed forces, has passed to a new generation. However, in the short term Than Shwe is likely to retain significant influence over the running of the country.

The new government is a nominally civilian one, but as would be expected in a country that has been ruled by the military for decades, it is dominated by recently-retired military officers. The new President is a retired general and was Than Shwe's Prime Minister. One of the two new Vice-Presidents is also a retired general and was Secretary-1 of the ruling military council. The other Vice-President, however, is an ethnic Shan civilian (and respected medical doctor).

The new cabinet, appointed by the President, consists of many familiar faces (see appendix 1). Of the thirty ministers:

- three are serving military officers appointed by the commander-in-chief to the key security portfolios (defence, home affairs, border affairs), as the 2008 Constitution provides;
- ten were ministers in the previous cabinet who have been reappointed (mostly with the same portfolios, some to different ones);
- five were deputy ministers in the previous cabinet who have been promoted (again, mostly with the same portfolios, but some to different ones);
- four are recently-retired senior military officers (Maj-Gen or Lt-Gen) appointed to technical ministries;
- eight are technocrats who are new to cabinet. Of these, three have military backgrounds but also extensive experience in the technical aspects of their portfolio;³ the other five are civilian technocrats.⁴

The Attorney-General (a civilian) is also well known, having previously held the deputy position.

Much has been made in the media of the fact that the vast majority of ministers have a military background. But this should not be surprising in a country where the military has been the pre-eminent institution for more than half a century, where the best education and career prospects were to be found in military academies, and where civilian education and the civil service have been chronically underfunded and marginalized.

A more relevant measure of the new members of the government is probably their management capacity, technical understanding, and level of corruption, rather than whether they graduated from a military academy. This remains to be seen, but initial indications are not totally negative: the President is regarded as relatively uncorrupt, and

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³ This includes the former Chief of Police, who has a military background, but whose long police career must presumably be considered technical expertise in the area of Immigration and Population, the ministerial portfolio he now holds. The other cases are new Foreign Minister, who has a military background, but who has served as ambassador in several bilateral and multilateral posts, most recently as Ambassador/Permanent Representative in Geneva; and the new Forestry Minister, who also started his career in the military, but who was most recently the Managing Director of the State-owned Myanmar Timber Enterprise.

⁴ These are the ministers for Health, Education, Commerce, Hotels & Tourism, and Electric Power 2.

he has made the need to combat high-level corruption a central theme of his inaugural speeches; there are more technocrats in this cabinet than in the past; and those members of the old cabinet who have been retained are mostly (but not all) among those considered to have been more effective. Whether this translates into better governance for the Myanmar people remains to be seen, and will depend not only on individual capacities, but also on the broader policy context, and whether there is an appetite and strong commitment to push through difficult but vital reforms.

III. Decentralization

A key development in terms of governance, particularly for minority populations in the ethnic states, is the introduction of newly-decentralized legislative and executive structures. While the constitution contains provisions concerning the division of power between the center and the states/regions, how this will work in practice remains unclear, and will probably be worked out in a fairly organic way.

As is to be expected, local-level legislatures and executives are dominated by the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), which was established by the former regime (see appendix 4). All Chief Ministers and all legislative Speakers are from the USDP – the single exception being the Chief Minister for Kayin State, who is a military legislator. Within the legislatures and governments, the situation is somewhat more diverse, and clear differences emerge between the Burman regions and the ethnic-minority states (see appendix 5):⁵

- *In the seven Burman regions* the USDP dominates governance and lawmaking, controlling nearly all of the legislative seats, and nearly all of the government posts.
- In the seven ethnic-minority states the USDP has an effective legislative majority (together with the military bloc), and controls a majority of the ministerial portfolios. However, a number of ethnic opposition politicians have been brought into local government, particularly as ministers for social sector portfolios, but also in areas such as infrastructure and industry.

There is certainly the potential for governance that is better informed by, and somewhat more responsive to, the views of local populations – local legislators and members of local government come from the area and will have a better understanding of the local context than bureaucrats in Nay Pyi Taw; they will also inevitably have an eye on reelection. But authoritarian instincts and feudal attitudes die hard, and better governance should not be regarded as inevitable.

The powers of local government and lawmakers are rather limited as defined in the constitution. Nevertheless, these powers extend to a number of areas that could have a significant impact on ordinary people's lives. They include: land allocations, microfinance and small business loans, agricultural loans, cultural issues, and a range of municipal

⁵ For details on the balance of power in the legislatures, see Richard Horsey, "Outcome of the Myanmar elections", CPPF Briefing Paper, 17 November 2010.

⁶ There is an overlap at the local level between legislators and the executive, since (unlike at the national level) members of state/region governments are not required to give up their legislative seats.

issues. Assuming the political will to use these powers to the benefit of local people exists, technical and management capacity will likely be a significant constraint.

IV. The role of the armed forces

The leadership of the country is dominated by former high-ranking military officers. But the armed forces as an institution is stepping back from its previous role of running the country.

Clearly, the military remains an extremely powerful institution, and it retains a strong influence over defense and security matters:

- The Commander-in-Chief has effective control of the powerful National Defence and Security Council, a key decision-making body, since he controls or appoints six of the eleven members (see appendix 2).
- He also controls the key security ministries (defence, home affairs, border affairs), which are headed by serving military officers that he appoints.
- The military has considerable legislative influence, through the twenty-five percent of legislative seats reserved for military appointees.
- Beyond this, the institution has significant autonomy: military matters, including
 military justice, are determined by the Commander-in-Chief, with no legislative,
 executive or judicial oversight.

At the same time, the military's governance role is significantly diminished compared to before. Legislative matters are determined by the USDP, which has an outright majority in the upper and lower houses (it only needs to join forces with military legislatures for those few issues that require a supermajority). The military budget is set by the President and the Financial Commission, on which the military is not represented (see appendix 2) – although the Commander-in-Chief does control a "special fund" for which there is no public oversight. Furthermore, the supra-ministerial policy committees (in health, education, foreign affairs, trade, and so on) that were chaired in the past by one of the regime leaders have now been abolished, meaning that the role of ministers has been significantly enhanced.

The status and power of the Commander-in-Chief position has also been downgraded. It is now a four-star general post (Than Shwe was a five-star "senior general") – the same as the rank held by the President, by Vice-President 1, and by the lower house Speaker before they retired from the army. Another significant factor is that the top twenty-one military posts are held by officers with roughly the same seniority – all graduated within a few years of each other (see appendix 3); this will likely increase rivalries and reduce the Commander-in-Chief's absolute power within the institution.

In the states and regions, the military's power will also be diminished. In the past, regional commanders were essentially local warlords, in charge of all aspects of governance, as well as military and security matters. That will now change. Governance will be under the control of a "civilian" chief minister in each region and state, who sits at the head of the local government, and who reports directly to the president. While it could be questioned

 $^{^{7}}$ It does have indirect representation, since the military nominates one of the three president/vice-president positions, who sit on the Commission.

whether regional commanders would allow such power to be taken from them, in practice the issue may not arise, for two reasons: first, most of the chief ministers are themselves retired senior military officers, who have several years of seniority over the regional commanders; second, the current regional commanders are newly-appointed to the posts, and all are relatively young and relatively junior military officers, who have not become accustomed to the power and privileges of the former system.

V. Conclusions

The key question at the current moment, as the new government takes over and the 2008 constitution is put into effect, concerns the prospects for reform. After more than half a century of autocratic rule (by Ne Win, and then Than Shwe), the system of governance is changing in important ways. But this is a very cautious transition, and a dramatic break with authoritarian habits of the past should not be expected.

Within such a context, however, there are some tentatively positive indications. The President's inaugural speeches struck a moderate tone, reaching out to sceptics and acknowledging many problems faced by the country and the need for technical reforms to address them. The newly-appointed cabinet consists of a higher proportion of technocrats than before (some with military backgrounds, some civilians). It has been possible for sensitive issues to be discussed in the legislatures (for example, political prisoners and military recruitment), and legislative committees that have been formed contain a relatively high proportion of opposition MPs – important, because these committees will conduct legislative business in the (possibly lengthy) periods when the legislatures themselves are in recess.

Political and security-sector reforms are likely to be slow and very tentative. But there is perhaps greater potential for social and economic reforms. In particular, there appears to be a central focus by the new government on economic reform (including combating corruption). This has the potential to have a significant impact on the lives of the Myanmar people, but achieving tangible progress will require not only new policies, but also addressing monopolistic practices, a pervasive culture of rent-seeking, and entrenched crony elites. Whether there is the political will and capacity to do this remains an open question.

Appendix 1: Who's Who in the National Government

<u>Position</u>	<u>Office holder</u>	Office holder's previous position
President	U Thein Sein	Prime Minister (retired General)
Vice-President 1	Thiha Thura U Tin Aung Myint Oo	SPDC Secretary-1 (retired
Vice-President 2	Dr. Mauk Kham (aka U Maung Ohn)	(medical doctor)
Ministers		
Defence	Maj-Gen Hla Min	Chief, Bureau Special Ops 3 (after Lt-Gen Ko Ko)
Home Affairs	Lt-Gen Ko Ko	Chief, Bureau Special Ops 3
Border Affairs	Maj-Gen Thein Htay (also Industrial Development)	Deputy Minister Defence
Foreign Affairs	U Wunna Maung Lwin	Ambassador/PR in Geneva
Information	U Kyaw Hsan (also Culture)	(same)
Agriculture & Irrigation	U Myint Hlaing	Chief, Air Defence (Lt-Gen)
Finance & Revenue	U Hla Tun	(same)
Construction	U Khin Maung Myint	(same)
National Planning & Economic Development	U Tin Naing Thein (also Livestock & Fisheries)	Minister for Commerce
Commerce	U Win Myint	President, Chamber of Commerce
Communications, Posts & Telegraphs	U Thein Tun	Deputy Minister Communications, P & T
Social Welfare, Relief & Resettlement	U Aung Kyi (also Labour)	Minister for Labour
Forestry	U Win Tun	Managing Director, Myanmar Timber Enterprise
Livestock & Fisheries	U Tin Naing Thein (also National Planning)	Minister for Commerce
Mines	U Thein Htaik	Inspector-General (Maj-Gen)
Cooperatives	U Ohn Myint	Chief, Bureau Special Ops 1 (Lt-Gen)
Labour	U Aung Kyi (also Social Welfare)	(same)
Γransport	U Nyan Tun Aung	Deputy Minister Transport
Hotels & Tourism	U Tint Hsan (also Sports)	Chairman, ACE Construction Company
industry-1	U Kyaw Swa Khaing	Deputy Minister Industry-2
industry-2	U Soe Thein	(same)
Rail Transportation	U Aung Min	(same)
Energy	U Than Htay	Deputy Minister Energy
Electric Power No. 1	U Zaw Min	(same)
Electric Power No. 2	U Khin Maung Soe	Chairman, Yangon City Electric Supply Board
Education	Dr Mya Aye	Rector, Mandalay University
Health	Dr Pe Thet Khin	Rector, Yangon University of Medicine 1
Culture	U Kyaw Hsan (also Information)	Minister for Information
Religious Affairs	Thura U Myint Maung	(same)
Science & Technology	U Aye Myint	Deputy Minister Defence (Maj-Gen)
mmigration & Population	U Khin Yi	Police Chief
Sports	U Tint Hsan (also Hotels & Tourism)	Chairman, ACE Construction Company
President's Office	U Thein Nyunt, and	Minister for Border Areas;
	U Soe Maung	Judge Advocate General (Maj-Gen)
Myanma Industrial Development	Maj-Gen Thein Htay (also Border Affairs)	Chief, Military Ordinance
Attorney-General		
	Dr. Tun Shin	Deputy Attorney-General

Appendix 2: Composition of Executive Bodies

National Defence and Security Council

President	U Thein Sein
Vice-President 1	Thiha Thura U Tin Aung Myint Oo
Vice-President 2	Dr. Mauk Kham (aka U Maung Ohn)
Lower House Speaker	Thura U Shwe Mann
Upper House Speaker	U Khin Aung Mint
Defence Services Commander-in-Chief	General Min Aung Hlaing
Deputy Commander-in-Chief	Lt-Gen Soe Win
Minister for Defence	Maj-Gen Hla Min
Minister for Home Affairs	Lt-Gen Ko Ko
Minister for Border Affairs	Maj-Gen Thein Htay
Minister for Foreign Affairs	U Wunna Maung Lwin

Financial Commission

President	U Thein Sein, Chairman
Vice-President 1	Thiha Thura U Tin Aung Myint Oo, Vice-Chairman
Vice-President 2	Dr. Mauk Kham (aka U Maung Ohn), Vice-Chairman
Attorney-General	Dr. Tun Shin
Auditor General	U Lun Maung
Chief Minister, Kachin State	U La John Ngan Hsai
Chief Minister, Kayah State	U Khin Maung Oo (aka U Bu Yal)
Chief Minister, Kayin State	Brig-Gen Zaw Min
Chief Minister, Chin State	U Hong Ngai
Chief Minister, Sagaing Region	U Tha Aye
Chief Minister, Tanintharyi Region	U Khin Zaw
Chief Minister, Bago Region	U Nyan Win
Chief Minister, Magway Region	U Phone Maw Shwe
Chief Minister, Mandalay Region	U Ye Myint
Chief Minister, Mon State	U Ohn Myint
Chief Minister, Rakhine State	U Hla Maung Tin
Chief Minister, Yangon Region	U Myint Swe
Chief Minister, Shan State	U Aung Myat (aka Sao Aung Myat)
Chief Minister, Ayeyarwady Region	U Thein Aung
Chairman of Nay Pyi Taw Council	U Thein Nyunt
Minister for Finance & Revenue	U Hla Tun, Secretary

Appendix 3: Armed Forces Senior Commanders

Commander-in-Chief of Defence Services	General Min Aung Hlaing	[DSA 19]
Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Defence	Lt-Gen Soe Win	[DSA 23]
Services, Commander-in-Chief Army		
Chief of Staff, Coordinator of General	Lt-Gen Hla Htay Win	[DSA 20]
Operations (Army/Navy/Air)		
Commander-in-Chief Navy	Rear Admiral Nyan Tun	
Commander-in-Chief Air Force	Lt-Gen Myat Hein	[DSA 17]
Chief, Bureau of Special Operations 1	Maj-Gen Myint Soe	[OTS 61]
(Kachin, Sagaing, Chin, Magway, Mandalay)		
Chief, Bureau of Special Operations 2	Maj-Gen Aung Than Htut	[DSA 20]
(Kayah, Shan)		
Chief, Bureau of Special Operations 3	[pending appointment]	
(Bago, Ayeyarwady, Rakhine)		
Chief, Bureau of Special Operations 4	Maj-Gen Thet Naing Win	[OTS 56]
(Kayin, Mon, Tanintharyi)		
Chief, Bureau of Special Operations 5	Maj-Gen Tin Ngwe	[DSA 22]
(Yangon)		
Chief, Bureau of Special Operations 6	[pending appointment]	
(Nay Pyi Taw)		
Quartermaster General	Maj-Gen Wai Lwin	[DSA 18]
Chief, Military Ordinance	Maj-Gen Thein Htay	
Adjutant-General, Chairman of UMEH	Maj-Gen Khin Zaw Oo	[OTS 56]
Inspector-General	Maj-Gen Thaung Aye	[DSA 20]
Military Appointments General	Maj-Gen Win Myint	[DSA 20]
Judge Advocate General	Maj-Gen Yar Pyae	[DSA 22]
Chief, Air Defence	Maj-Gen Sein Win	
Chief, Armed Forces Training	[pending appointment]	
Chief, Military Affairs Security	Maj-Gen Kyaw Swe	[DSA 22]
Defence Services Inspection and Auditor	Maj-Gen Kyaw Phyo	-
General		

The abbreviations in square brackets show the military academy, and intake batch, that each officer graduated from (if known). 'DSA' stands for 'Defence Services Academy' and 'OTS' for 'Officer Training School'. The training school intake batch is an important indicator of seniority. (OTS 56 is equivalent to DSA 20, and OTS 61 is equivalent to DSA 22.)

Appendix 4: Who's Who in the States and Regions

<u>Position</u>	Office holder		Office holder's previous position
Chief Ministers			
Kachin State	U La John Ngan Hsai	[USDP]	(Kachin businessman)
Kayah State	U Khin Maung Oo	[USDP]	(Prominent Kayah individual)
Kayin State	Brig-Gen Zaw Min	[Military legislator]	Chairman, Kayin State PDC
Chin State	U Hong Ngai	[USDP]	Chairman, Chin State PDC
Sagaing Region	U Tha Aye	[USDP]	Chief, Bureau of Special Operations 4
Tanintharyi Region	U Khin Zaw	[USDP]	Chief, Bureau of Special Operations 6
Bago Region	U Nyan Win	[USDP]	Minister for Foreign Affairs
Magway Region	U Phone Maw Shwe	[USDP]	Chairman, Magway Division PDC
Mandalay Region	U Ye Myint	[USDP]	Chief, Military Affairs Security
Mon State	U Ohn Myint	[USDP]	Minister for Mines
Rakhine State	U Hla Maung Tin	[USDP]	(Retired army Colonel)
Yangon Region	U Myint Swe	[USDP]	Chief, Bureau of Special Operations 5
Shan State	U Aung Myat	[USDP]	Retired Lt-Col, Light Infantry Division 66
Ayeyarwady Region	U Thein Aung	[USDP]	Minister for Forestry

<u>Position</u>	Office holder		<u>Constituency</u>
Legislative Speakers			
Kachin State	U Rawan Jone	[USDP]	Machanbaw 1
Kayah State	U Kyaw Swe	[USDP]	Loikaw 1
Kayin State	U Saw Aung Kyaw Min	[USDP]	Kyain Seikgyi 1
Chin State	U Hauk Khin Kham	[USDP]	Tonzang 2
Sagaing Region	U Thin Hlaing	[USDP]	Kanbalu 1
Tanintharyi Region	U Htin Aung Kyaw	[USDP]	Palaw 2
Bago Region	U Win Tin	[USDP]	Bago 1
Magway Region	U Ye Myint	[USDP]	Magway 1
Mandalay Region	U Win Maung	[USDP]	Taungtha 2
Mon State	U Kyin Pe	[USDP]	Chaungzon 2
Rakhine State	U Htein Lin	[USDP]	Gwa 1
Yangon Region	U Sein Tin Win	[USDP]	Kungyangon 2
Shan State	U Sai Lone Saing	[USDP]	Kengtung 1
Ayeyarwady Region	U Hsan Hsint	[USDP]	Yegyi 1

Appendix 5: Composition of State and Region Executives

Kachin State Government

Chief Minister	U La John Ngan Hsai	[USDP]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Than Aung	[-]
2. Economics	U Nyunt Aung	[USDP]
3. Agriculture and Forestry	U B Htaw Zaung	[USDP]
4. Development Affairs	U A Lay Pa	[USDP]
5. Transport	U Kaman Du Naw	[NUP]
6. Mines	U Aung Naing	[USDP]
7. Industry	U Sai Maung Shwe	[SNDP]
8. Health	U Khin Maung Tun	[USDP]
9. Education, Social and Religious Affairs and Culture	Daw Bauk Ja	[NDF]
10. Bamar National Race Affairs	U Pa (aka U Khin Maung Swe)	[NUP]
11. Shan National Race Affairs	Daw Khin Pyon Yi	[SNDP]
12. Lisu National Race Affairs	U Ah Si	[USDP]
13. Rawang National Race Affairs	U Gwam Rein Dee	[USDP]
Advocate-General	Daw Mary Minan	[-]

Kayah State Government

Chief Minister	U Khin Maung Oo (aka U Bu Yal) [USD	
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Tin Soe	[-]
2. Planning/Economics	U Taw Ye	[USDP]
3. Finance and Revenue	U Than Kyaw Soe	[USDP]
4. Economics	U Ye Win	[USDP]
5. Electric Power	U Saw Hu Hu	[USDP]
6. Social Affairs	U Koe Yel	[USDP]
7. Transport	U Chit Hla	[USDP]
8. Construction	U Poeyel Yan Aung	[USDP]
9. Information and Culture	U Aung Naing Oo	[USDP]
10. Bamar National Race Affairs	U Sein Oo	[USDP]
Advocate-General	U Htay Aung	[-]

Kayin State Government

Chief Minister	Brig-Gen Zaw Min [Milita	ry legislator]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Aung Lwin	[-]
2. Economics	U Chit Hlaing	[KSDDP]
3. Transport	U Saw Khin Maung Myint	[PSDP]
4. Energy	U Min Soe Thein	[AMRDP]
5. Social Affairs, Education and Health	U Saw Christopher	[KPP]
6. Mines	U Saw Sa Lawla	[USDP]
7. Industry/Communications	U Than Daing	[USDP]

8. Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	U Saw Win Htein	[USDP]
9. Forestry	U Saw Kyi Lin	[PSDP]
10. Pao National Race Affairs	U Khun Than Myint	[Ind.]
11. Bamar National Race Affairs	U Khin Kyu	[USDP]
12. Mon National Race Affairs	U Nai Chit Oo	[AMRDP]
Advocate-General	U Thein Lwin	[-]

Chin State Government

Chief Minister	U Hong Ngai	[USDP]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Zaw Min Oo	[-]
2. Finance and Planning	U Nan Zamon	[USDP]
3. Economics	U Yam Man	[CNP]
4. Agriculture	U Ban Htaung	[-]
5. Energy, Electric Power, Mines & Forestry	U Kyaw Nyein	[CPP]
6. Transport, Communications & Construction	U Kyint Lian Paung	[USDP]
7. Social Affairs	Dr Ba Maung	[-]
8. Management and Industry	U Nein Nine	[USDP]
Advocate-General	U Kapti Al	[-]

Sagaing Region Government

Chief Minister	U Tha Aye	[USDP]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Kyi Naing	[-]
2. Agriculture	U Sein Win	[USDP]
3. Forestry	U Saw Myint Oo	[USDP]
4. Trade and Cooperatives	U Sein Maung	[USDP]
5. Energy/Mines/Industry	U Than Htaik	[USDP]
6. Communications/Construction	U Tin Ngwe	[USDP]
7. Health	Dr Myint Thein	[USDP]
8. Education	U Tin Win	[USDP]
9. Social Welfare	U Kyaw Win	[NUP]
10. Chin National Race Affairs	U Noh Thang Bell	[CPP]
11. Shan National Race Affairs	U San Shwe	[USDP]
12. Naga Area	U Rhu San Kyu	[USDP]
Advocate-General	U Maung Maung Lin	[-]

Naga Leading Body: U Rhu San Kyu (Chairman) [USDP], U Wah Lo [USDP], U Kyawt Nah [USDP], U Yaung Ran [USDP], Lt-Col Soe Min Thu [Military], [plus others to be selected]

Tanintharyi Region Government

Chief Minister	U Khin Zaw	[USDP]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Zaw Lwin	[-]
2. Economics	U Myat Ko	[USDP]
3. Agriculture/Forestry	Dr Win Aung	[USDP]
4. Meat and Fish/Energy	Dr Win Aung	[USDP]
5. Industry/Mines	U Than Aung	[USDP]
6. Construction and Communications	Dr Kyaw Hsan	[USDP]
7. Education and Health	U Win Swe	[USDP]
8. Social Welfare/Information	U Thein Lwin	[USDP]
9. Culture	U Aung Kyaw Kyaw Oo	[USDP]
10. Kayin National Race Affairs	U Saw Harvey	[USDP]
Advocate-General	U Soe Myint	[-]

Bago Region Government

Chief Minister	U Nyan Win	[USDP]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Thet Tun	[-]
2. Management	U Ye Myint Tun	[USDP]
3. Finance and Planning	U Myint Lwin Oo	[USDP]
4. Social Welfare	Dr Kyaw Oo	[USDP]
5. Economics	U Kyaw Myint	[USDP]
6. Transport, Communications & Construction	U Tun Wai	[USDP]
7. Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	U Tin Soe	[USDP]
8. Energy/Electric Power/Mines/Forestry	U Kyaw Htay	[USDP]
9. Industry	U Baby Ohn	[USDP]
10. Kayin National Race Affairs	U Saw Jubilee San Hla	[KPP]
Advocate-General	U Myint Aung	[-]

Magway Region Government

Chief Minister	U Phone Maw Shwe	[USDP]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Arnt Zaw	[-]
2. Education and Health	U Aung Kyaw Min	[USDP]
3. Transport and Communications	U Nay Shin	[USDP]
4. Agriculture/Forestry	U Aung Naing	[USDP]
5. Planning/Finance	U Kyi Min	[USDP]
6. Construction	U Win Pe	[USDP]
7. Economics	U Myint Naing	[USDP]
8. Industry/Mines	U Thein Tun	[USDP]
9. Electric Power	U Win Myint Maung	[USDP]
10. Chin National Race Affairs	U Salai Hla Tun	[NUP]
Advocate-General	U Maung Maung Phyu Tint	[-]

Mandalay Region Government

Chief Minister	U Ye Myint	[USDP]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Aung Kyaw Moe	[-]
2. Economics	U Aung Zan	[USDP]
3. Agriculture/Forestry	U Myint Than	[USDP]
4. Education and Health	Dr Win Hlaing	[USDP]
5. Development Affairs, and Mayor of Mandalay	U Phone Zaw Han	[USDP]
6. Transport/Communications	U Kyaw Hsan	[USDP]
7. Social Affairs	U Than Soe Myint	[USDP]
8. Industry	Dr Myint Kyu	[USDP]
9. Labour	U Aung Maung	[USDP]
10. Shan National Race Affairs	U Sai Maung Hla	[SNDP]
Advocate-General	U Ye Aung Myint	[-]

Mon State Government

Chief Minister	U Ohn Myint	[USDP]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affair	Col Htay Myint Aung	[-]
2. Economics	Dr Khin Maung Thwin	[USDP]
3. Industry	Dr Toe Toe Aung	[USDP]
4. Education and Health	Dr Hla Oo	[USDP]
5. Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	U Myo Nyunt	[USDP]
6. Forestry	U Win Maw Oo	[USDP]
7. Religious Affairs and Labour	U Tun Hlaing	[NUP]
8. Energy and Electric Power	U Naing Lawe Aung	[AMRDP]
9. Social Affairs and Culture	Dr Min Nwe Soe	[AMRDP]
10. Kayin National Race Affiars	U Saw Aung Kyaw Thein	[USDP]
11. Pao National Race Affairs	U Khun Pe Mya	[USDP]
12. Bamar National Race Affairs	U Thet Win	[USDP]
Advocate-General	U Win Kyi	[–]

Rakhine State Government

Chief Minister	U Hla Maung Tin	[USDP]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Htein Lin	[-]
2. Agriculture, Forestry/Irrigation	U Kyaw Khin	[USDP]
3. Health/Education	Dr Aung Kyaw Min	[USDP]
4. Economics	U Mya Aung	[USDP]
5. Transport	U Soe Aye	[USDP]
6. Industry/Labour/Sports	U Tha Lu Che	[RNDP]
7. Meat, Fish, Mines and Energy	U Kyaw Thein	[RNDP]
8. Culture/Social Welfare and Relief	U Aung Than Tin	[RNDP]
9. Religious Affairs and Immigration	U Hla Han	[USDP]
10. Chin National Race Affairs	U Ko Ko Naing	[USDP]
Advocate-General	U Hla Thein	[-]

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Yangon Region Government

12. Bamar National Race Affairs

13. Lahu National Race Affairs

14. Lisu National Race Affairs

15. Akha National Race Affairs

16. Intha National Race Affairs

17. Wa Area 18. Danu Area

19. Pao Area

20. Palaung Area

21. Kokang Area

Advocate-General

Chief Minister

Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Tin Win	[-]
2. Development Affairs	U Hla Myint	
3. Education/Health/Foreign Affairs & Immigration	U Nyan Tun Oo	[USDP]
4. Agriculture/Economics/Commerce and Labour	U Soe Min	[USDP]
5. Electric Power/Energy/Industry/Construction	U Kyaw Soe	[USDP]
6. Finance/Forestry/Meat and Fish	U Than Myint	[USDP]
7. Transport & Communications, Posts & Telegraphs	U Aung Khin	[USDP]
8. Culture/Religious Affairs	Daw San San New	[USDP]
9. Social Welfare and Hotels and Tourism	Dr Myint Thein	[USDP]
10. Kayin National Race Affairs	U Saw Tun Aung Myint	[KPP]
11. Rakhine National Race Affairs	U Zaw Aye Maung	[RNDP]
Advocate-General	U Kyaw Moe Naing	[-]
<u>Shan State Government</u>		
Shan State Government Chief Minister	U Aung Myat	[USDP]
Chief Minister	U Aung Myat	[USDP]
Chief Minister	U Aung Myat Col Aung Thu	[USDP] [-]
Chief Minister Ministers		
Chief Minister Ministers 1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Aung Thu	[-]
Chief Minister Ministers 1. Security and Border Affairs 2. Planning/Finance 3. Economics	Col Aung Thu U Khun Thein Maung	[-] [USDP]
Chief Minister Ministers 1. Security and Border Affairs 2. Planning/Finance 3. Economics	Col Aung Thu U Khun Thein Maung U Thaung Shwe	[-] [USDP] [USDP]
Chief Minister Ministers 1. Security and Border Affairs 2. Planning/Finance 3. Economics 4. Education and Health 5. Transport and Communications	Col Aung Thu U Khun Thein Maung U Thaung Shwe Dr Myo Tun	[-] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP]
Chief Minister Ministers 1. Security and Border Affairs 2. Planning/Finance 3. Economics 4. Education and Health 5. Transport and Communications	Col Aung Thu U Khun Thein Maung U Thaung Shwe Dr Myo Tun U Tu Maung	[-] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP]
Chief Minister Ministers 1. Security and Border Affairs 2. Planning/Finance 3. Economics 4. Education and Health 5. Transport and Communications 6. Industry and Mines 7. Agriculture and Forestry	Col Aung Thu U Khun Thein Maung U Thaung Shwe Dr Myo Tun U Tu Maung U Sai Aik Paung	[-] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP] [SNDP]
Chief Minister Ministers 1. Security and Border Affairs 2. Planning/Finance 3. Economics 4. Education and Health 5. Transport and Communications 6. Industry and Mines	Col Aung Thu U Khun Thein Maung U Thaung Shwe Dr Myo Tun U Tu Maung U Sai Aik Paung U Sai Hsa Lu	[-] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP] [SNDP]
Chief Minister Ministers 1. Security and Border Affairs 2. Planning/Finance 3. Economics 4. Education and Health 5. Transport and Communications 6. Industry and Mines 7. Agriculture and Forestry 8. Construction	Col Aung Thu U Khun Thein Maung U Thaung Shwe Dr Myo Tun U Tu Maung U Sai Aik Paung U Sai Hsa Lu U Sai Naw Kham	[-] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP] [SNDP] [USDP]
Chief Minister Ministers 1. Security and Border Affairs 2. Planning/Finance 3. Economics 4. Education and Health 5. Transport and Communications 6. Industry and Mines 7. Agriculture and Forestry 8. Construction 9. Electric Power	Col Aung Thu U Khun Thein Maung U Thaung Shwe Dr Myo Tun U Tu Maung U Sai Aik Paung U Sai Hsa Lu U Sai Naw Kham U Sai Tun Yin	[-] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP] [SNDP] [USDP] [USDP] [USDP]

U Myint Swe

U Naing Win

U Win Myint

U Htoo Ko Ko

U Pe Sauk Chein

U Maung Maung

U San Lwin

U Shar Hmwe Lashan

U Peter Thaung Sein

U Whan Hsan (aka Raw Wi)

U Khun Tun Htoo (aka U Tun Lu) [WDP]

U Maung Kyaw (aka U Tun Kyaw) [TNP]

[USDP]

[USDP]

[USDP]

[USDP]

[USDP]

[INDP]

[USDP]

[PNO]

[USDP]

[-]

Wa Leading Body: U Khun Tun Htoo (aka U Tun Lu) (Chairman) [WDP], U Sai Hla Pe [WDP], Major Thurein Win [Military], [plus others to be selected]

Danu Leading Body: U Htoo Ko Ko (Chairman) [USDP], U Ko Ko [Independent], Major Htin Zaw Lwin [Military], [plus others to be selected]

Pao Leading Body: U San Lwin (Chairman) [PNO], U Khun Aye Maung [PNO], U Khun Maung Pei [PNO], U Khun Hla Hsan [PNO], Major Thet Naung Soe [Military], [plus others to be selected]

Palaung Leading Body: U Maung Kyaw (aka U Tun Kyaw) (Chairman) [TNP], U Aung Tun [TNP], Major Officiating Kyaw Zeyar Tun [Military], [plus others to be selected]

Kokang Leading Body: U Pe Sauk Chein (aka U Be Saw Chein) (Chairman) [USDP], U Myin Shaw Chan (aka Myi Shauk Chan) [USDP], Lt-Col Kyaw Zeya [Military], [plus others to be selected]

Avevarwady Region Government

Chief Minister	U Thein Aung	[USDP]
Ministers		
1. Security and Border Affairs	Col Maung Maung Win	[-]
2. Planning/Economics	U Tin Soe	[USDP]
3. Finance and Revenue	U Win Ko Ko	[USDP]
4. Commerce	U Hla Khaing	[USDP]
5. Electric Power	U San Maung	[USDP]
6. Social Welfare	U Soe Myint	[USDP]
7. Transport	U Than Tun	[USDP]
8. Construction	U Saw Mya Thein	[USDP]
9. Information and Culture	U Kyaw Win Naing	[USDP]
10. Kayin National Race Affairs	U Mahn Than Shwe	[USDP]
11. Rakhine National Race Affairs	U Ba Kyu	[USDP]
Advocate-General	U Chit Ko Ko	[-]