



**Burma News International**

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Chiang Mai, 50202, Thailand website: <http://www.bnionline.net>

# **By-elections or Sell elections**

## **The Pre-election Observations to Burma/Myanmar 2012 By-elections**

**By**

**Burma News International**

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## **Acknowledgement**

BNI is pleased to present this By-elections report, which is a compilation of BNI member's by-election contents including news, features, photos, video and media releases. This report is a synthesis of accounts and reports by BNI members and its stringers deployed nationwide. It is based on interviews, research and observations of the conditions that prevailed during the pre-election period of by-election.

BNI also wishes to express its profound gratitude to members of BNI's elections monitoring team for their kind efforts in writing and editing this report, and thank BNI members for their moral support and resources made available to BNI's elections monitoring team.

BNI wishes to thank the media organizations, political parties and groups as well as other inside and exiled Burmese organizations, foreign organizations and individuals who assist us by contributing their services, time, energy and resources to assist in our monitoring exercises.

Finally, BNI wishes to extend our thanks to all the donors who assist our projects and who continue to support BNI's activities. Our funding partners have played a significant role in enhancing our capacity to make sustainable and effective interventions by their support of the communication structure, meeting costs, training costs as well as the costs of executing the monitoring project.

## List of Acronyms

<b>ABSDF</b>	All Burma Students' Democratic Front
<b>ANFREL</b>	Asia Network for Free Elections
<b>AMDP</b>	All Mon Region Democracy Party
<b>ASEAN</b>	Association of South East Asian Nations
<b>BGF</b>	Border Guard Force
<b>DKBA</b>	Democratic Karen Buddhist Army
<b>DP</b>	Democratic Party (Myanmar)
<b>DPNS</b>	Democratic Party for New Society
<b>DPP</b>	Democracy and Peace Party
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>ENDP</b>	Ethnic National Development Party
<b>FDB</b>	Forum for Democracy in Burma
<b>KDUP</b>	Kokang Democracy and Unity Party
<b>KIA</b>	Kachin Independent Army
<b>KIO</b>	Kachin Independence Organization
<b>KNU</b>	Karen National Union
<b>LNDP</b>	Lahu National Development Party
<b>MASDP</b>	Myanmar New Society Democratic Party
<b>MNC</b>	Myanmar National Congress
<b>MPP</b>	Modern People's Party
<b>NNDP</b>	New National Democracy Party
<b>NDF</b>	National Democratic Force
<b>NLD</b>	National League for Democracy
<b>NUP</b>	National Unity Party
<b>PDP</b>	People's Democracy Party
<b>PNO</b>	Pa-O National Organization
<b>SNDP</b>	Shan Nationalities Democratic Party
<b>SSA</b>	Shan State Army
<b>SURA</b>	Shan United Revolutionary Army
<b>UEC</b>	Union Election Commission
<b>UMFNP</b>	Union of Myanmar Federation of National Politics
<b>UNFC</b>	United Nationalities Federal Council
<b>UPP</b>	Unity and Peace party
<b>USDP</b>	Union Solidarity and Development Party
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>UWSA</b>	United Wa State Army

## Executive Summary

A few years ago, nobody thought Burmese military generals would change their rigid minds. The political situation has changed very fast in Burma since early 2012. The words "reform" or "change" in Burmese politics are still being debated by politicians, academics and opposition groups. Some people have optimistic views but some have pessimistic views regarding Burmese politics.

After the referendum, the 2008 constitution was officially approved. The military regime held the 2010 general elections and the military-backed USDP party won the elections, even though many people saw the elections as not being free and fair. The international community criticized the Burmese regime for holding unfair elections. After the elections, the Burmese parliament was full with active military officials, former military generals and pro-military MPs. A few months later, the new government was formally established. Former military generals and pro-military MPs from the USDP became president, vice-presidents, ministers and deputy ministers. They took important position in the new government and important ministries such as defence, foreign, internal affairs, border affairs, etc. As a result, there are 48 vacant seats in the parliament. The UEC announced the date for by-elections and also announced the names of 48 constituencies. It announced 3 constituencies in Kachin State cannot hold by-elections for security reasons. According the ANFREL, about 6.5 million voters in 48 constituencies will participate in the up-coming by-elections.

After the UEC announced the election date, 19 political parties registered including the NLD party which boycotted the 2010 general elections. The UEC approved 19 political parties to run in by-elections but abolished 2 political parties because they did not meet the requirements of the political registration law.

According to the commission, a total of 157 candidates from 17 political parties will run for the by-elections. Of the 157 candidates, 129 will contest for 37 seats of the House of Representatives, while 22 candidates for 6 seats of the House of Nationalities and 6 candidates for 2 seats of the Region or State parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Among the 17 political parties, there are 5 ethnic political parties running. Among the 157 candidates<sup>2</sup> from 17 political parties, there are 7 ethnic candidates from 5 ethnic political parties.

Candidates kicked off their campaigns in the first week of February. Some political parties have complained to the UEC about incorrect voter lists, threats and verbal attacks against opposition candidates. However, the parties have been silent about advance voting which was a controversial issue in the 2010 general elections. The government relaxed oppressive restrictions on the media. Even though government censorship is still a problem, Burmese media can publish news about Nobel Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, chairperson of the NLD party, and her party campaigning nationwide, as well as news about other party's campaigns. NGOs, INGOs, and CBOs have given voter education training. Interestingly, famous Burmese actresses and actors

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<sup>1</sup> There are total of 167 candidates intended to run in by-elections but the UEC cancelled 3 constituencies in Kachin State with security reasons. So, only 157 candidates remain to run in by-elections on April 1<sup>st</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-03/28/c\\_131494494.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-03/28/c_131494494.htm)

produced a short video for voter education. The UEC permitted candidates from political parties to present policy platforms, programs and agendas on the government-controlled TV channel, although their scripts had to be pre-approved.

Burmese government promised the by-elections will be free and fair. Many academics see that as a possibility because only 48 vacant seats in parliament are at stake, so, even if the opposition parties win all of them, the military's influence over the new government will not be threatened.

The international community wants to see free and fair elections held in Burma as proof of the new government's intention to continue its trajectory toward democratic reform and protection of human rights.

Firstly, the western nations and ASEAN countries will look very favorably on the results of free and fair by-elections. And, this may also help many Burmese people begin to trust their own government. Secondly, a positive election contest sets a precedent for the next general elections in Burma in 2015.

## **Introduction**

Despite criticism over perceived corruption during the 2010 election campaign, President Thein Sein and his party announced they would focus on peace and stability, economic and social development, and movement toward democratic reform after the new government was established.

President Thein Sein and his government made a deft political move by releasing well-known political prisoners, including prominent student activists, and establishing political dialogue with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her party, both of which were welcomed and applauded by the international community and the pro-democracy movements inside Burma.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and democratic opposition groups called for 'national reconciliation' to narrow the differences between oppositions groups and the government, to foster building a democratic nation which respects human rights, ethnic rights and peace. Then, the government took another step forward by starting peace negotiations with armed ethnic groups.

As a result, western governments, including the US and EU, considered lifting economic sanctions against Burma if the government continued its march toward reform. Political pessimists continue to doubt the sincerity of the Thein Sein government's agenda of reform. However, optimists say it is the first substantial movement toward democratic reform in over 20 years.

ASEAN countries endorsed Burma as the chair nation and host for the ASEAN meeting in 2014.

After talks between Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and President Thein Sein, the government changed the political party registration laws. Then the NLD party registered with the UEC again and has been campaigning nationwide for all 48 vacant seats in the National, People's and Regional Parliaments.<sup>3</sup>

Across Burma, voters find it difficult to access accurate, reliable and credible information which will help them decide how to cast their ballots in the by-elections. Therefore, BNI would like to help fill the gap with concrete information and help voters tell the world about their expectations and experiences during the election process.

## **Methodology**

The data informing this report is collected between the end of 2011 and the third week of March 2012.

The research team conducted several interviews, with senior reporters and chief editors from eleven Burmese media groups, including the Independent Mon News Agency (IMNA), Kachin News Group (KNG), Kaladan Press, Kantarawaddy Times, Kaowao News, Karen Information

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<sup>3</sup> New Light of Myanmar newspaper: Union Election Commission had issued the Announcement No. 61/2011 that the by-elections will be held on 1-4-2012 (Sunday) for 48 vacant constituencies where Hluttaw representatives of the Respective Hluttaws will stand for.

Center (KIC), Khonumthung News, Mizzima News, Narinjara News, Network Media Group (NMG) and the Shan Herald Agency for News (S.H.A.N).

The research team also spoke directly with several citizen journalists inside Burma, correspondents, staff from local NGOs, and CBOs, politicians, ordinary people inside Burma. The team collected information from both English and Burmese websites and Newspapers from inside and outside Burma, as well as from Burmese regime websites and newspapers.

The report uses the qualitative research method. The common language for the research team was Burmese, because interviews and interviewees spoke Burmese fluently rather than English. The research was then translated to English.

## **I. General Overview**

In early 2012, the Burmese government opened the door opportunity for political parties, including the National League for Democracy (NLD), ethnic parties and exile democratic organizations. At the same time, it released over six thousand prisoners- including about six hundred political prisoners- such as prominent political prisoners Min Ko Naing and Ko Ko Gyi.

The government formed the Peace Talk Creation Group (PCG), led by former minister U Aung Thaung and minister U Aung Min. Then, they invited leaders from ethnic armed groups for peace talks and they attempted to talk with other exiled democratic opposition groups, including the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF), Democratic Party for New Society (DPNS), Forum for Democracy in Burma (FDB), etc.

The USDP led government changed three points in the party registration laws and permitted the NLD party to re-register with the UEC. The NLD party, led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, changed their policy by re-register and prepared to run in 48 constituencies in the by-elections on April 1<sup>st</sup>. After registering, the NLD re-opened its branch offices.

Among the 17 political parties running, there are only 5 ethnic political parties. Eight candidates from 5 ethnic political parties are going to contest in 8 constituencies. Unfortunately, voting in one constituency was postponed for security reasons, according to the UEC. As a result, only 7 candidates from 5 ethnic parties will run. However, there are more female candidates running. Twenty-four out of 157 by-election candidates are women, compared to 44 out of 1542 in 2010. It shows women are willing to participate in politics. Twenty eight year-old Daw Khin Su Su Aung is one of the young women candidates from the NDF party.<sup>4</sup>

Currently, political parties and voters are complaining about the voter registration process and ballot papers in all 48 constituencies<sup>5</sup> because there are no standardized ballots in Burma. The government would like to change to a new model of ballot paper, according to U Ko Ni, Head of the Supreme Court.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The Hot News Weekly: Vol-2, No-83, 16-22 March 2012

<sup>5</sup> Venus News Weekly, Vol.3/36, 22-3-2012

<sup>6</sup> True News Vol-4, No 26, 20 March 2012



Contesting parties have to submit the names of the candidates to polling stations not later than March 25<sup>th</sup>, 2012 according to UEC.<sup>7</sup> The number of constituencies being contested by various parties are: NDF (12 seats), NLD (47), NUP (22 seats), SNDP (4 seats), PUP (3 seats), AMDP (1 seats), PDP (1 seats), NNDP (1 seat), USDP (48 seats), and individual (8 seats). There are total numbers of 157 candidates will contest in coming by-elections.<sup>8</sup>

The UEC and Burmese government invited observers from the USA, EU, Canada, Japan, China, South Korea, and the ASEAN to observe the elections. On the other hand, Asian Networks for Free Elections (Anfrel) Executive Director, Ms. Somsri Hananuntasuk, was forced by Burmese authorities to leave the country on March 21<sup>th</sup> and her assistants, Rangsimma Suttipongkiat and Tadzrul Adha, faced the same fate a day later<sup>9</sup> because they have given election monitoring training for journalists and other observers in Burma.

## **II. Electoral Frame Work**

According to the November 2010 election results, the USDP won over 80 % of the seats with 259 seats out of 330 in the lower house and 126 seats out of 168 in the upper house. Pro-change parties (ethnic nationalities parties and other democratic parties) got about 10 %. According to chapter I, article (14), of the 2008 constitution, the Burmese army automatically took 25% of the seats.

After establishing the new government, there are 48 vacant seats in Burmese parliament. Therefore, the government has to hold by-elections. There are 40 vacant seats in the People's Parliament (lower house), 6 vacant seats in the National Parliament (upper house) and 2 vacant seats in State and Regional Parliament. Total of 157 candidates will run in by-elections.

The USDP, which won a majority in the 2010 general elections, is going to contest in all constituencies and the NLD re-registered to contest in 48 constituencies.

According to 40 journals inside Burma, those journals can cover news related to politics such as political campaigning nationwide, even though government's censorship is still working. Many people see this development as a sign of openness in the country.

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<sup>7</sup> Flower News published by Yangon Media Group Limited Vol-8, No-12 March 20-26, 2012

<sup>8</sup> [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-03/28/c\\_131494494.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-03/28/c_131494494.htm)

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.bangkokpost.com/breakingnews/285525/anfrel-calls-for-myanmar-sincerity>

### III. Election Administration

#### a. By-election Constituencies

Sagaing Region (5 Constituencies)

- Sit-Kaing
- Pa-Lae
- Min-Kin
- Kant-Balu, Kyun-Hla, Yay-Oo, Tant-Sae
- Bamauk, Kawlin, Wontho, Pinlaebu

Mandalay Region (10 Constituencies)

- Maha Aung Myay
- Meik-Hti-La
- Kyauk-pan-taung
- Nwa-hto-gyi
- Tan-ta-Oo
- Pyin-Oo-Lwin
- Pokbathiri
- Zabuthiri
- Oaktarathiri
- Dakhinathiri

Magway Region (5 Constituencies)

- Magwe
- Yay-sa-kyo
- Myaing
- Pa-kauk-ku
- Pwint-phyu
- Taung-twin-gyi

Ayawaddy Region (6 Constituencies)

- Pa-Thein
- Ma-Au-Pin
- Myaung-Mya
- Phya-Pon, Day-Da-Ye
- Yay-Kyi
- Wah-Khe-Ma
- Myan-Aung



Kachin State (3 Constituencies)

- Pha-Kant
- Moe-Kaung
- Bhamo

Shan State (2 Constituencies)

- Kalaw
- Lashio, Tang Yang, Mueng Rel, Theinni, Komlon

Bago Region (6 Constituencies)

- Taung-Oo
- Htan-Ta-Pin
- Tha-Nap-Pin
- Let-Pan-Tan
- Oak-Twin and Htan-Ta-Pin
- Ka-wa

Mon State (1 Constituency)

- Mawlamyaing

Yangon Region (6 Constituencies)

- Kawtmuu
- Thon Khwa
- Dagon Myo Thit (Seik Kam)
- Mingala Taung Nyunt
- Hlae Kuu
- Mayan Kon

Taninthayi Region (2 Constituencies)

- Kyun-Su
- Laung-Lon

## Contesting political parties:

1. All Mon Region Democracy Party
2. Democratic Party (Myanmar)
3. Kokang Democracy and Unity Party
4. Lahu National Development Party
5. Modern People's Party
6. Myanmar New Society Democratic Party
7. Myanmar National Congress
8. National Democratic Force
9. National League for Democracy
10. National Unity Party
11. New National Democracy Party
12. Pa-O National Organization (PNO)
13. People's Democratic Party
14. Shan Nationalities Democratic Party
15. Union of Myanmar Federation of National Politics
16. Union Solidarity and Development Party
17. Unity and Peace Party

### **b. Population and Eligible Voters for by-election constituencies**

According to the 2008 constitution, every citizen has the right to elect candidates for, and to be elected to, the Amyotha Hluttaw (senate), the Pyithu Hluttaw (People's parliament), and the State/Regional Hluttaw, if the person is in compliance with the election laws.<sup>10</sup>

As well, every citizen who is 18 years of age on Election Day, is eligible to vote. The secret ballot voting system will be used in by-elections.

However, the constitution and the election law disqualifies religious leaders and members of religious orders, persons, those of unsound mind, and anyone convicted of breaking the election law, as well as the financially insolvent, have no right to vote in the election.

It's really difficult to get the exact number of voters in Burma but some academics predict there will be about 5 million eligible voters casting their ballots in coming by-elections holding in 48 constituencies but 3 constituencies was already postponed to hold by-elections.



<sup>10</sup>The 2008 constitution, chapter VIII, article 396 (a) and (b).





Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's election campaign in Tavoy city



NDF party leader Dr. Than Nyein



USDP candidate's election campaign in Yangon city



AMDP party's election campaign



Voters are looking for their name on the voter list



Democratic Party (Myanmar) chairperson  
U Thu Wai's election campaign

### **c. By-election Contest Political Parties and its candidates**

#### **Candidates for by-elections:**

##### **USDP candidates**

1. U Tun Tun Aung (PP)	Moe-Kaung township, Kachin State*
2. U Sai Thein Tun (PP)	Hpa-Kant, Kachin State*
3. U Myint Soe (PP)	Bhamo, Kachin State*
4. U Htay Naing (PP)	Palae, Sittkaing Region
5. U Soe Naing (PP)	Sittkaing township, Sittkaing Region
6. Dr. San Win (PP)	Min-Kin, Sittkaing Region
7. U Tin Maung Win (NP)	Kant-ba-lu, Kyun-la, Yay-Oo, Tan-Sel (Const no.3), Sittkaing Region
8. U Tin Mya (NP)	Bamauk, Kaw-lin, Won-tho, Pin-lae-bu (Const no.7), Sittkaing Region
9. U Seim Maung (PP)	Long-Lon township, Taninsari Region
10. U Chit Than (PP)	Kyun-Su, Taninsari Region
11. U Aung Thein (PP)	Let-Pan-Tan township, Bago Region
12. Dr. Daw Wei Wei Tha (PP)	Taung-Oo, Bago Region
13. U Kyaw Kyaw (PP)	Htan-Ta-Pin, Bago Region
14. Dr. Sein Htoo (PP)	Tha-Nup-Pin, Bago Region
15. Daw Than Than New (NP)	Oat-twin, Htan-ta-pin (Const no.7), Bago Region
16. U Aye Win (RP)	Ka-Wa (const no.2), Bago Region
17. U Kyaw Myint Than (PP)	Myaing township, Magwe Region
18. U Bo Win (PP)	Yay-Sa-Kyo, Magwe Region
19. U Aung Thein Kyaw (PP)	Magwe township, Magwe Region
20. U Tint Lwin (PP)	Pwint-Phyu, Magwe Region
21. U Kyaw Tint (PP)	Pakokku, Magwe Region
22. U Maung Maung Win (NP)	Taung-Twin-Gyi (Const no.4), Magwe Region
23. U Win Htay (PP)	Zabuthiri township, Mandalay Region (Naypyidaw)
24. U Thar Htay (PP)	Pokbathiri, Mandalay Region (Naypyidaw)
25. U Maung Shein (PP)	Dakhenathiri, Mandalay Region (Naypyidaw)
26. U Hla Thein Swe (PP)	Oaktarathiri, Mandalay Region (Naypyidaw)
27. U Aung Win KYi (PP)	Kyauk-Pan-Taung township, Mandalay Region
28. U Soe Win (PP)	Nwer-Hto-Gyi, Mandalay Region
29. U Than Tun (PP)	Maha-Aung-Myay, Mandalay Region
30. U Hla Myint (PP)	Meikhtila, Mandalay Region
31. U Khin Maung Win (PP)	Pyin-Oo-Lwin, Mandalay Region
32. U Aung Mon (PP)	Tanda-U, Mandalay Region
33. U Tin Soe Moe Naing (PP)	Mawlamyaing township, Mon State
34. Daw Lae Lae Aye (PP)	Mingala-Taung-Nyunt, Yangon Region
35. U Aung Win (PP)	Dagon Seik-kam, Yangon Region
36. Dr. Aung Myat Thu (PP)	Hlae-Kuu, Yangon Region
37. U Aung Kyaw Min (PP)	Thon-gwa, Yangon Region

38. Dr. Soe Min (PP)	Kaw-hmu, Yangon Region
39. U Ye Htut (PP)	Mayan-Kon, Yangon Region
40. U Mya Win (PP)	Kalaw township, Shan State
41. Dr. Nang Keng Phon Tit (NP)	Lashio, Tang-yan, Mueng-Reh, Theinni, Kun-lon (Const no.3), Shan State
42. Dr. Pyo Ko Ko Tint San (PP)	Myaung-Mya township, Ayawaddy Region
43. Dr. Myo Thant Tin (PP)	Ma-U-Pin, Ayawaddy Region
44. Dr. Than Htut (PP)	Myan-Aung, Ayawaddy Region
45. U Aung Tin Myint (PP)	Pathein township, Ayawaddy Region
46. U Tun Aung Kyaw (PP)	Wer-Khe-Ma, Ayawaddy Region
47. U Aye Kyaing (NP)	Phyar-Pon, Day-Da-Yeh, (Const no.10), Ayawaddy Region
48. U Tin Soe (RP)	Yay-Kyi (const no.2), Ayawaddy Region

\*According to the UEC announcement 16/2012, by-elections will be postponed in these constituencies in Kachin State.

#### **NLD candidates**

1. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi (PP)	Kaw-hmu, Yangon Region
2. Daw Suu Suu Lwin (PP)	Thon-gwa, Yangon Region
3. Dr. Myo Aung (PP)	Dagon Seik-kan, Yangon Region
4. Daw Phyu Phyu Thinn (PP)	Mingala-Taung-Nyunt, Yangon
5. U Phyo Min Thein (PP)	Hlae-gu, Yangon Region
6. Dr. Daw May Win Myint (PP)	Mayan-kon, Yangon Region
7. U Aung Soe Myint (PP)	Taung-Oo, Bago Region
8. U Sein Tun (PP)	Htan-Ta-Pin, Bago Region
9. U Myint Oo (PP)	Tha-nap-pin, Bago Region
10. U Kyaw Min (PP)	Let-pan-tan, Bago Region
11. U Min Oo (NP)	Oat-twin and Htan-ta-pin, Bago Region
12. U Myo Khaing (RP)	Kawa, Bago Region
13. U Ohn Kyaing (PP)	Maha-Aung-Myay, Mandalay Region
14. U Win Htein (PP)	Meikhtila, Mandalay
15. Dr. Zaw Myint Maung (PP)	Kyauk-pan-taung, Mandalay Region
16. U Paw Khin (PP)	Nwer-hto-gyi, Mandalay Region
17. Daw Khin Thanda (PP)	Tada-U, Mandalay Region
18. U Kyaw Thiha (PP)	Pyin-Oo-Lwin, Mandalay Region
19. U Phyo Zayar Thaw (PP)	Pokbathiri (Naypyitaw), Mandalay Region
20. Daw Sanda Min (PP)	Zabuthiri (Naypyitaw), Mandalay Region
21. U Min Thu (PP)	Oaktarathiri (Naypyitaw), Mandalay Region
22. U Naing Gan Lin (PP)	Dakhinathiri (Naypyitaw), Mandalay Region
23. Daw Khin Htay Kywe (PP)	Mawlamyaing, Mon State
24. Dr. Daw Than Ngwe (PP)	Kalaw, Shan State
25. Sai Myint Maung (NP)	Lashio, Tang-Yan, Mueng-reh, Theinni, Kun-lon, Shan State

26. U Win Myint (PP)	Pathein, Ayawaddy Region
27. U Sein Win Han (a) U Sein Win (PP)	Ma-U-Pin, Ayawaddy Region
28. U Mann Johnny (PP)	Myaung-Mya, Ayawaddy Region
29. Daw Myint Myint San (PP)	Wer-Khe-Ma, Ayawaddy Region
30. U Kyaw Myint (PP)	Myan-Aung, Ayawaddy Region
31. U Thein Swe (NP)	Phya-pon, Day-Da-Ye, Ayawaddy Region
32. Dr. Hla Myat Thwe (RP)	Yay-Kyi, Ayawaddy Region
33. U Dashi La Seng (PP)*	Pha-kant, Kachin State
34. Daw Khin Kyi (PP)*	Moe-Kaung, Kachin State
35. U Ba Myint (PP)*	Bhamo, Kachin State
36. U Khin Maung Thein (PP)	Sittkaing, Sittkaing Region
37. Daw Khin San Hlaing (PP)	Palae, Sittkaing Region
38. Daw Khin Mwe Lwin (PP)	Min-Kin, Sittkaing Region
39. Dr. Myint Naing (NP)	Kant-ba-lu, Kyun-hla, Yay-Oo, Tant-sel, Sittkaing Region
40. U Saw Hlaing (NP)**	Bamauk, Kawlin, Wonho, Pinlaebu, Sittkaing Region
41. Daw Tin Tin Yee (PP)	Kyun-su, Taninsari Region
42. U Aung Soe (PP)	Long-lon, Taninsari Region
43. U Myint Thein (PP)	Magwe, Magwe Region
44. Dr. Tin Htay Aung (PP)	Yay-sa-kyo, Magwe Region
45. U Myint Aung (PP)	Myaing, Magwe Region
46. U Paik Ko (PP)	Pakokku, Magwe Region
47. Dr. Aung Myo Nyo (PP)	Pwint-phyu, Magwe Region
48. U Aung Kyi Nyunt (NP)	Taung-twin-gyi, Magwe Region

\*Postponed by-elections in Kachin State, according to the UEC's announcement 16/2012 on March 23<sup>rd</sup>.

\*\*U Saw Hlaing is disqualified to run in by-elections because his parents don't have Myanmar citizenship card, according to the UEC.

### **NUP candidates**

1. U Win Myint (PP)	Dagon Seik-Kam, Yangon Region
2. Daw Sanda Myint (PP)*	Mingala-Taung-Nyunt, Yangon Region
3. U Kyi Myint (PP)	Oaktarathiri, Mandalay Region
4. U Aung Than (PP)	Nwer-Hto-Gyi, Mandalay Region
5. U Tun Kyi (PP)	Maha-Aung-Myay, Mandalay Region
6. U Maung Maung Thin (PP)	Ma-U-Pin, Ayawaddy Region
7. U Win Hlaing (PP)	Myan-Aung, Ayawaddy Region
8. U Than Aung (PP)	Wer-Khe-Ma, Ayawaddy Region
9. U Mann Thein Hla (NP)	Phya-Pon, Day-Da-Yae, Ayawaddy Region
10. Daw Win Kyi (RP)	Yay-Kyi, Ayawaddy Region
11. U Htay Aung (PP)	Min-Kin, Sitkaing Region

12. U Toe Myint Aung (NP)	Kant-Ba-Lu, Kyun-Hla, Yay-Oo, Tan-Sel, Sitkaing Region
13. U Chin Han (NP)	Bamok, Kaw-Lin, Won-Tho, Pin-Lae-Bu, Sitkaing Region
14. U Tin Win (PP)	Htan-Ta-Pin, Bago Region
15. U Than Hlaing (PP)	Tha-Nup-Pin, Bago Region
16. U Win Hlaing (PP)	Let-Pan-Tan, Bago Region
17. U Kyi Win (RP)	Ka-Wa, Bago Region
18. U Tint Lwin (PP)	Pwint-Phyu, Magwe Region
19. U Hla Myint (PP)	Magwe Township, Magwe Region
20. U Maung Win (a) U Aung Win (NP)	Taung-Twin-Gyi, Magwe Region
21. U Aung Than Oo (PP)	Mawlamyaing, Mon State
22. U Hla (a) U Khin Maung Hla (PP)	Kalaw, Shan State
23. NA	NA

\*\*\* According to the UEC, Daw Sanda Myint was disqualified because her parents are not Burmese. So, the UEC did not permit her to contest in by-elections on April 1<sup>st</sup>, in accordance with the UEC law, article 10 (c).

#### **NDF candidates**

1. Daw Bauk Jaa (PP)	Pha-Kant, Kachin State*
2. U Myat Moe Myint (PP)	Moe-Kaung, Kachin State*
3. U Win Tun (PP)	Taung-Oo, Bago Region
4. Daw Nan Kyu Than Win (PP)	Let-Pan-Tan, Bago Region
5. U Kyaw Aung (PP)	Maha-Aung-Myay, Mandalay Region
6. U Kyaw Sein Han (PP)	Mgwe Township, Mgwe Region
7. Daw Khin Phyu Phyu Nyein (PP)	Mayan-kon, Yangon Region
8. U Kyi Myint (PP)	Dagon Seik-Kan, Yangon Region
9. U Kyi Than (PP)	Thon-gwa, Yangon Region
10. U Aung Myo Hlaing (PP)	Myaung-Mya, Ayawaddy Region
11. U Tin Win (PP)	Pathein, Ayawaddy Region
12. Daw Khin Su Su Aung (PP)	Ma-U-Pin, Aywaddy Region

\*Postponed constituency

#### **SNDP candidates**

1. U Sai San Min (NP)	Lashio, Tang-Yan, Mueng-Reh, Theinni, Kun-Lon, Shan State
2. U Mar Kyin (NP)	Sittkaing township, Sittkaing Region
3. Sao Tha Oo (PP)	Kalaw, Shan State
4. U Saw Than Tint Aung (PP)	Moe-Kaung, Kachin State*

\*Postponed constituency



**AMDP candidate**

- |                            |                        |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Mi Myint Myint Wai (PP) | Mawlamyaing, Mon State |
|----------------------------|------------------------|

**NNDP candidates**

- |                                   |                                    |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. U Ye Min Thein (a) Ya Tha (PP) | Mayan-kon, Yangon Region           |
| 2. U Win Shwe (PP)                | Dagon Seik-Kan, Yangon Region      |
| 3. U Phone Myint (PP)             | Mingala-Taung-Nyunt, Yangon Region |

**MNSDP candidates**

- |            |                              |
|------------|------------------------------|
| 1. NA (PP) | Hlae-gu, Yangon Region       |
| 2. NA (PP) | Dagon Seikkan, Yangon Region |
| 3. NA (PP) | Thongwa, Yangon              |

**Democratic Party (Myanmar) candidate**

- |                   |                                    |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. U Thu Wei (PP) | Mingala-Taung-Nyunt, Yangon Region |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|

**KDUP candidate**

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. U Law Shin Kwan (NP) | Lashio, Tang-yan, Thenni, Mueng-reh, Shan State |
|-------------------------|---|

**LNDP candidate**

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. U Yaw Thup (NP) | Lashio, Tang-Yan, Theinni, Mueng-reh, Kun-lon, Shan State |
|--------------------|---|

**NMC candidate**

- |                            |                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. U Kaung Myint Htut (PP) | Mingala- Taung-Nyunt, Yangon Region |
| 2. NA (PP)                 | Dagon Seik-kan, Yangon Region       |
| 3. Daw Hay Mar Htay (PP)   | Mayangon, Yangon Region             |

**PNO candidate**

- |                           |                   |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. U Khun Than Maung (PP) | Kalaw, Shan State |
|---------------------------|-------------------|

**UMFNP candidate**

- |                        |                            |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. U Kyaw Swa Soe (PP) | Pwint Phyu, Magwe Region   |
| 2. U Win Zaw (PP)      | Meikhtila, Mandalay Region |

**UPP candidate**

- |                         |                              |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. U Aung Than Tin (NP) | Taung-twin-gyi, Magwe Region |
| 2. U Hsan Tin (PP)      | Ta-da-U, Mandalay Region     |
| 3. U Tin Yi (PP)        | Kaw-hmu, Yangon Region       |
| 4. U Thet Oo (PP)       | Htan-ta-pin, Bago Region     |

### **MPP candidate**

1. U Thein Shwe (PP) Ma-U-Pin, Awaddy Region

### **d. Independent Candidates**

1. Dr. Tuu Jaa (PP)	Moe-Kaung, Kachin State*
2. Daw Myint Myint Aye (PP)	Meik-hti-la, Mandalay Region
3. U Lwin Myint Than (PP)	Pokbathiri, Mandalay Region
4. U Khin Hlaing (Zawtika) (PP)	Mayan-kon, Yangon Region
5. U Han Shin Win (PP)	Yay-sa-kyo, Mgwe Region
6. U Sein Hla (PP)	Maha-Aung-Myay, Mandalay Region
7. U Nyunt Oo (PP)	Maha-Aung-Myay, Mandalay Region
8. U Kyaw Kyaw (PP)	Maha-Aung-Myay, Mandalay Region

\*Postponed by-elections in Kachin State

### **e. Cancellation of Constituencies**

According to the UEC's announcement no.16/2012 issued on 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2012, Pha-kant, Moe-kaung, and Bhamo constituencies cannot hold by-elections because of security issues.<sup>11</sup> Each candidate of the USDP, the NLD, the NDF, the SNDP, and Dr. Tuu Jaa (individual candidate) cannot participate in by-elections on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2012.

### **f. Voting Procedure**

According to the UEC, lists of eligible voters (electoral rolls) have been issued and displayed on notice-boards at the respective ward/village-tracts. It has been announced that those who are eligible to vote, but not included in the electoral registers, may submit an application to ward/village-tract sub-missions, according to the Rule 9 of the Election Law.<sup>12</sup>

To enable all voters to complete their voting within the given time frame and cast their secret ballots, the numbers of polling stations and their locations have already been designated.

On the day of the election, polling stations will be opened from 6 a.m until 4 p.m. Respective candidates, their representatives, their polling booth agents and assistant agents are allowed to enter the polling stations from the beginning of the polling until the end. Nobody is permitted to bring camera and sound recording equipment into the polling room.

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<sup>11</sup> The UEC issued announcement No. 16/2012 on March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2012. The announcement was issued in accord with Section 10 (f) of the Union Election Commission Law, and Section 50 (c) and Section 54 of the Pyithu Hluttaw Election Law that as the following constituencies in Kachin State have not the situations to hold the free and fair election on the security ground, the elections will not be held and postponed at these constituencies for the by-election to be held on 1<sup>st</sup> April 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Pyithu Hluttaw election law, chapter IX.

The UEC issued the eligible voter list on Feb 29<sup>th</sup> to March 6<sup>th</sup> through ward/village-tract election commission.<sup>13</sup> According to the UEC, election result will be announced within a week after the election.<sup>14</sup>

#### **IV. Voter Education**

Even though the military regime has given an 'electoral process course' to election commission members, polling officers and staff, nationwide, since early in January 2012, the regime has not given voter education training to ordinary citizens.

To fill the gap, Burmese NGOs, INGOs, and CBOs have given voter education training inside Burma. Some famous actors and actress, who support the NLD, produced a short video that demonstrates how to take ballot paper from polling officers, how to make a mark on the ballot paper, how to put ballot paper into the ballot box, etc.

The Burmese government doesn't have a plan to set up ballot boxes for refugees, displaced people, or Burmese migrant workers.

However, the government has a plan to set up ballot boxes in Burmese embassies.

#### **V. Campaign Process**

The UEC permitted candidates to campaign in their constituencies but they must follow the rules of the UEC. Political parties began their election campaign in February. According to the UEC, political parties must inform the UEC before kicking off canvassing in their respective constituencies. If parliamentary candidates want to use football grounds or public areas, they must inform the State/Regional Election Commission. If candidates want to use their party's office for campaigning and give training for voter education, they don't need to inform the UEC and State/Regional Election Commission.

As well, the UEC announced political parties registered to stand for the by-election will be allowed to present their policies and platforms through Radio and TV.<sup>15</sup>

Therefore, if the political parties to run in the by-election are willing to make presentation through Radio and TV, the chairmen and secretaries of the parties are to apply for a permit together with manuscripts of their presentation, with timetables, to the UEC at least seven days earlier than the prescribed date. (The A4 size-manuscripts applying for the permit must not be more than seven pages).

Action will be taken against the political parties that fail to follow any prohibition, restriction or rule and regulation included in the permit according to the law as well as the political party registration law.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> [http://www.news-eleven.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=12672:2012-03-07-03-25-57&catid=42:2009-11-10-07-36-59&Itemid=167](http://www.news-eleven.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12672:2012-03-07-03-25-57&catid=42:2009-11-10-07-36-59&Itemid=167)

<sup>14</sup> The UEC press conference in Naypyitaw on March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012

<sup>15</sup> The UEC announcement no.12/2012 issued on February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2012

## **VI. Advance Vote**

The UEC will permit advance voting, which was also used in the 2010 general elections. Voters who are away from their constituencies can cast advance ballots, specifically: (a) security personnel such as the military and the police; (b) civil servants; (c) students; (d) trainees; (e) detainees; (f) hospital in-patients; and (g) other voters who are away from their constituencies.<sup>17</sup>

Opposition groups complained to the UEC about cheating during advance voting during the 2010 elections. However, many analysts have optimistic views on advance voting during the by-elections. Analysts said by-elections will be free and fair because parliamentary candidates are going to contest for only 48 vacant seats, which cannot make trouble to the ruling party in both Hluttaws (lower and house houses).

Voters, who want to cast their advance vote, can start on March 30 and 31<sup>st</sup> at respective polling stations.<sup>18</sup>

## **VII. Media Coverage**

Not long ago, Burma was infamous for censorship and repression of its media, according to the 'Freedom House' and 'Reporters Without Borders' (RSF). However, the current Burmese government has begun to reduce media censorship in the country since early January 2012, after Daw San Suu Kyi talked with President Thein Sein.

Many Journals in Burma have printed news covering Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, 88 Generation Students, political prisoners and controversial mega-projects, such as the Myitsone Dam. Photos of the late Gen. Aung San and his daughter, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, have been printed on the front pages of journals inside Burma.

Burmese journals have covered news about Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's and the NLD's election campaign nationwide, as well as the campaigns of the NDF, the NUP and the USDP.

Seventeen registered political parties presented their party's policy platforms and programs on government controlled MRTV, for 15 minutes.

Such freedom was not allowed during the 2010 election.

Even though there are some limitations on the media and the censorship board is still functioning in Burma, Burmese media can cover political news with less obstruction by the government.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Pyithu Hluttaw Election Law, Chapter IX, article 45 (a)

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.news-eleven.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=12790:2012-03-14-07-32-40&catid=42:2009-11-10-07-36-59&Itemid=167](http://www.news-eleven.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12790:2012-03-14-07-32-40&catid=42:2009-11-10-07-36-59&Itemid=167)

## VIII. Electoral Fraud, Violence and Irregularities

The government said there will be free and fair elections held in Burma but violence and irregularities have been reported during the campaign period.

According to the NLD's statement issued on March 16<sup>th</sup>, the Township Election Commission issued an incorrect voter list in Kaw-hmu Township in Yangon, Taung-twin-gyi Township in Magwe, Sagaing Region and Taninthari Region.<sup>19</sup>

According to the NLD's statement issued on March 19<sup>th</sup>, a woman, who supports the NLD party, received injuries while NLD candidate, U Min Thu, was campaigning in Oattarathiri (Naypyitaw), in Mandalay Region, on March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2012. She was attacked by an unknown person, who shot into the crowd using a sling-shot.<sup>20</sup>

According to the NLD party's statement issued on March 19<sup>th</sup>, villagers were forced to attend the election campaign event held by the USDP in Samyin village, Minkin township, Sagaing Region on March 16<sup>th</sup>.<sup>21</sup>

U Win Hlaing, a member of the USDP, threatened Daw Than Than Htay, who is a government servant, because her son supported the NLD party in Mingala-Taung-Nyunt, in Yangon Region. U Win Hlaing allegedly threatened to arrest her. U Win Hlaing also tried to persuade her to vote for the USDP by promising to lend money. He said "if our party wins in elections, we will lend 30,000 Kyat".<sup>22</sup>

Dr. San Win, the USDP candidate for Minkin constituency, in Sagaing Region, allegedly verbally attacked Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the chairperson of the NLD party, on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2012, saying she was married to a British citizen and her two sons hold British passports, so she is a scapegoat of the western nations.

He donated 300,000 Kyat (about US\$ 375) for the primary school in Telgyi, Minkin Township, Sagaing Region. He promised that if he wins the elections, he will donate 500,000 Kyat (about US\$ 625) again for the school. It's not clear whether the money was his own or government funds. According to NLD officials, this kind of action violated the election laws.

The NLD's campaign poster, with pictures of Manh Jonney, the NLD candidate for Myaung-Mya constituency, and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was cut with knife in Shanway village, Myaung-Mya township, Ayawaddy Region on March 16<sup>th</sup>, according to the NLD.

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<sup>19</sup> The NLD party's statement issued on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2012

<sup>20</sup> The NLD party's statement issued on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

<sup>21</sup> <http://burmese.nldburma.org/media-press-release/press-release/549-election-violation-statement.html>

<sup>22</sup> The NLD party's complaint letter issued on March 12<sup>nd</sup>, 2012

## **IX. Complaints**

NLD officials have complaints about incorrect voter lists issued by ward/village and the Township Election Commission in all states and regions which will hold by-elections on April 1<sup>st</sup>.

NLD officials also have complaints that the USDP's candidates violating the UEC law by giving cement bags, lending money, donating funds and other materials, during the election campaign period in Yangon, Sagaing, Taninthari, Ayawaddy Region and Mon State.

NLD officials have complaints about verbal and physical attacks, as well as threats against supporters during election campaigning.

## **X. Observations on Challenges**

1. Locations: Political parties have had difficulty getting permission to use locations for campaign events. For instance, the NLD party requested the UEC give permission to use a football grounds in Hlaegu. The UEC permitted the NLD to use it but U Tint San, the Minister of Sports, didn't allow it. Finally, the NLD was granted permission. After this incident, the UEC did not permit any political party to hold election campaign events on the grounds.<sup>23</sup>

2. Party Funds: Only the NLD and the USDP parties intend to contest for 48 constituencies nationwide. The two largest parties can afford to campaign nationwide. Other small political parties do not have funds.

3. Campaign Period: Political parties have had rush to comply with election law and prepare their campaigns in only 2 months. The NLD party re-registered at the end of last year. So, the party had a very short period to recruit new party members, to find the right candidates and do fundraising. And, it has been difficult for them to find candidates who are willing to run in by-elections.

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<sup>23</sup> [http://www.news-eleven.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=12438:2012-02-20-14-59-27&catid=42:2009-11-10-07-36-59&Itemid=167](http://www.news-eleven.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12438:2012-02-20-14-59-27&catid=42:2009-11-10-07-36-59&Itemid=167)

## Conclusion

With only 48 of a possible 1,542 seats in the three parliaments, including the senate, lower house and regional parliament (659 seats in the Union Parliament of both the lower and upper houses, including military appointees and 883 seats in the Regional Parliaments, including military appointees available to be won by opposition parties in the by-election, the military-backed USDP still has a choke hold on the government of Burma.

The USDP will still control the most important positions- such as head of government, head of houses, commander in chief, foreign affair ministry, Interior ministry, Defense ministry and border affairs. The National Defense and Security Council will be formed in accordance with Chapter V, article 201. Therefore, the President shall declare the transferring of legislative, executive and judicial powers of the Union to the Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services.

The Commander In Chief of Defense Services has the right to exercise the powers of the legislature, the executive and judiciary. If the President learns or if the respective local administrative body submits that the administrative functions cannot be carried out in accord with the constitution in a region or a state or a union territory or a self-administered area, he may, after coordinating with the National Defense and Security Council, promulgate an ordinance and declare a state of emergency. (Chapter XI, article 410).

However, in the minds of the optimists, the government is opening space for opposition groups. And, however many seats are won or lost by opposition parties and candidates on April 1<sup>st</sup>, it is seen by many as an opportunity to strengthen the pro-democracy movement's toehold in the government and set the scene for further advances in the 2015 general election.

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## Appendix: 1

Republic of the Union of Myanmar  
Union Election Commission  
Nay Pyi Taw  
Announcement No. 62/2011  
5th Waxing of Pyatho, 1373 ME,  
29 December, 2011

Announcement of dates for nomination, scrutinizing, revocation and announcement of Hluttaw representatives for vacant seats in constituencies of respective Hluttaws Exercising the powers prescribed in the respective Hluttaw Election Rules (16), Union Election Commission has designated the following dates for nomination, scrutinizing, revocation and announcement of Hluttaw representatives for vacant seats in constituencies of respective Hluttaws.

- (a) Starting date for nomination of Hluttaw representatives for constituencies of respective Hluttaws 8<sup>th</sup> Waning of Pyatho, 1373 ME (16th January, 2012)
- (b) Last date for nomination of Hluttaw representatives for constituencies of respective Hluttaws 8<sup>th</sup> Waxing of Tabodwe, 1373 ME (31st January, 2012)
- (c) Last date for revocation of Hluttaw representatives for constituencies of respective Hluttaws 11<sup>th</sup> Waxing of Tabodwe, 1373 ME (3rd February, 2012)
- (d) Date for scrutinizing the nomination of Hluttaw representatives from 14th Waxing of Tabodwe to 3rd Waning of Tabodwe, 1373 ME (from 6th to 10th February, 2012)

Sd/Tin Aye  
Chairman  
Union Election Commission

## Appendix: 2

Republic of the Union of Myanmar  
Union Election Commission  
Nay Pyi Taw  
Announcement No. 16/2012  
1st Waxing of Tagu, 1373 ME  
(23rd March, 2012)

Announcement on list of constituencies postponed for by-election

1. An announcement was issued in accord with Section 10 (f) of the Union Election Commission Law, and Section 50 (c) and Section 54 of the Pyithu Hluttaw Election Law that as the following constituencies in Kachin State have not the situations to hold the free and fair election on the security ground, the elections will not be held and postponed at these constituencies for the by-election to be held on 1 April 2012.

Constituency

- (a) Phakant Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency,
- (b) Bhamo Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency,
- (c) Mogaung Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency

2. The by-election will be held in these constituencies at opportune time depending on the security.

Chairman  
Union Election Commission



## Appendix: 3

Republic of the Union of Myanmar  
Union Election Commission  
Nay Pyi Taw  
Announcement No. 61/2011  
5th Waxing of Pyatho, 1373 ME  
(29 December, 2011)

Announcement on date to hold by-elections for constituencies of vacant Hluttaw representatives at  
respective Hluttaws

The Union Election Commission, exercising the duties and powers prescribed in the Section 8 of the Union Election Law and in accord with the Section 34 (c) of the respective Hluttaw Election Laws and Rules 16 (a), announced that the by-elections will be held for the following constituencies of vacant Hluttaw representatives on 10th Waxing of Tagu, 1373 ME (1 April, 2012) on Sunday.

### **Vacant Pyithu Hluttaw Constituencies**

1. Phakant Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
2. Mogaung Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
3. Bhamo Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
4. Sagaing Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
5. Pale Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
6. Mingin Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
7. Kyunsu Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
8. Launglon Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
9. Toungoo Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
10. Htantabin Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
11. Thanappin Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
12. Letpadan Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
13. Magway Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
14. Yezagyo Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
15. Myaing Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
16. Pakokku Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
17. Pwintbyu Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
18. Zabuthiri Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
19. Pobbathiri Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
20. Dekkhinathiri Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
21. Ottarathiri Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
22. Kyaukpadaung Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
23. Natogyi Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
24. Mahaaungmye Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
25. TadaU Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
26. Meiktila Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
27. PyinOoLwin Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
28. Mawlamyine Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
29. Kawhmu Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
30. Thongwa Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
31. Dagon Myothit (Seikkan) Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
32. Mingala Taungnyunt Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency

33. Hlegu Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
34. Mayangon Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
35. Kalaw Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
36. Pathein Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
37. Maubin Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
38. Myaungmya Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
39. Wakema Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency
40. Myanaung Township Pyithu Hluttaw Constituency

**Vacant Amyotha Hluttaw Constituencies**

1. Sagaing Region Amyotha Hluttaw Constituency No. 3  
Kanbalu, Kyunhla, YeU, Taze
2. Sagaing Region Amyotha Hluttaw Constituency No. 7  
Banmauk, Kawlin, Wuntho, Pinlebu
3. Bago Region Amyotha Hluttaw Constituency No. 7  
Ottwin, Htantabin
4. Magway Region Amyotha Hluttaw Constituency No. 4  
Taungdwingyi
5. Shan State Amyotha Hluttaw Constituency No. 3  
Lashio, Tangyan, Mongyai, Hsenwi, Kunlong
6. Ayeyawady Region Amyotha Hluttaw Constituency No. 10  
Pyapon, Dedaye

**Vacant Region Hluttaw Constituencies**

1. Kawa Township Region Hluttaw Constituency No. 2
2. Yekyi Township Region Hluttaw Constituency No. 2

Sd/Tin Aye  
Chairman  
Union Election Commission