

Strategic initiatives Capacity-building Advocacy

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Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw: Burma/Myanmar's legitimate government until parliament resumes

- On 1 February 2021, the Burma military (Tatmadaw) violated the 2008 Constitution—which it wrote—when it detained the elected parliament, usurped the Presidency, and seized power. It thus has practical (de facto), but not legal (de jure), authority.
- Millions have protested the junta, with daily demonstrations nationwide. The Tatmadaw and its security forces have responded violently to maintain power, killing at least 521, injuring many more, and detaining at least 2,608 politicians, activists, journalists and others.
- The Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH) is the legitimate interim
 government of Burma. These 378 MPs—i.e., 76% of elected parliamentarians—
 stepped up to govern and officially swore themselves in on 4 February, despite the
 junta's attempts to detain, incapacitate, or otherwise silence them.
- The CRPH enjoys popular legitimacy and increasing international recognition. It cements its legitimacy and ensures democratic steering of Burma's future by consulting civil society, ethnic leaders, and the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- The CRPH has taken important governing measures, including on policing, local administration, interim appointments, foreign investments, repercussions for the junta, and deferment of taxes and loan repayments for civilians.
- The CRPH has committed to forming a unity government and federal military.

On 1 February 2021, Burma's military (Tatmadaw) detained President Win Myint, State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi, and hundreds of other politicians from the National League for Democracy (NLD). It forcibly confined the parliament—set to convene on the same day—to its quarters in Naypyidaw; jailed some MPs, and put others under house arrest. It gave power to Commander-in-Chief Min Aung Hlaing, and replaced at least 15 cabinet ministers with its own appointees.

Millions of people have opposed the power grab by joining the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) and other protests.⁴ The junta and its security forces have responded with brutality, killing at least 521, injuring many more, and arresting at least 2,608 politicians, activists, journalists and others during 1 February–30 March.⁵

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¹ Frontier Myanmar (1 Feb 2021) Tatmadaw seizes power under state of emergency, to rule for a year

² Al Jazeera (2 Feb 2021) Myanmar legislators remain held in 'open-air detention centre'

³ Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Office of Commander-in-Chief of Defense Services (1 Feb 2021) Order No 6/2021: Appointment and Duty Assignment of Union Ministers; State Administration Council (SAC) (2 Feb 2021) Order No 9/2021: Appointment and Assignment of Union Ministers; SAC (4 Feb 2021) Order No 25/2021: Appointment and Duty Assignment of Union Minister; SAC (16 Feb 2021) Order No 66/2021: Appointment of Union Minister

⁴ New York Times (22 Feb 2021) Myanmar's Protests Are Growing, Defying Threats and Snipers

⁵ Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (AAPP) (30 Mar 2021) Daily Briefing in Relation to the Military Coup

The Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH)

On 4 February, 378 MPs-elect circumvented military restrictions and swore themselves in, in compliance with parliamentary procedure, at the hostel where they were confined.⁶ On 8 February, the CRPH publicly announced its formation, condemned the coup, recognized the CDM's existence and goal of a federal union, and pledged "its deepest and unwavering commitment to work towards achieving this common goal." It has committed to forming a unity government and federal military.⁸

The CRPH, through online convenings, has established a foreign delegation based in the US; ⁹ informed all Burma diplomatic missions that they should be representing the CRPH instead of the Tatmadaw; ¹⁰ and established a plan of action for civilians to uphold democracy until the legitimate government is in power. ¹¹ It promulgated the "Law on the State Counselor 2021," affirming the State Counselor as Burma's continuing head of government. ¹²

More details of the CRPH's work during the months of February and March appear on pages 6 and 7 of this briefer.

Junta threatens CRPH with death penalty, supporters with lengthy jail terms

CRPH members serve their duties despite persecution.

The military State Administration Council (SAC) has declared that members of CRPH and local CRPH administrative bodies can face death or lengthy prison terms for treason. It warned that anybody who communicates with them can face up to seven years in prison for committing incitement and intimidation to civil service personnel.¹³

SAC also declared the CRPH an unlawful organization under Burma's Unlawful Associations Act, meaning that anybody promoting or assisting the CRPH can get five years in prison.¹⁴

Assertion of legitimacy

The CRPH asserts that it is the legitimate governing body of Burma, rather than the unlawful junta:

- 1. We, the Representatives of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, have been elected as representatives of the people in the General Elections held on 8 November 2020.
- 2. The parliamentary session was due to be held on 1 February 2021, but on that day the military staged a coup without any justifiable or legitimate reason, and the people became aware that the parliamentary session could not be conducted as planned.
- 3. Nevertheless, the elected Representatives who were sworn in on 4 February 2021 at Sipin Hostel (2) are duly mandated to legislate and to select and appoint the Presidents as the selection

Key CRPH actions:

- √ 378 MPs swore themselves in
- ✓ Condemned the coup
- Recognized and pledged to support CDM
- ✓ Reaffirmed role of UN delegate and former MP
- ✓ Reaffirmed roles of President as head of state, & State Counselor as head of gov't
- ✓ Appointed key ministers and acting Vice President
- ✓ Committed to forming a unity government and federal military, and overturning the 2008 constitution
- √ Asserted civil servants' right to conscientious objection by protesting the junta
- Asserted police staff members' right to conscientious objection by standing down
- ✓ Condemned the military, designated them a terrorist organization, and moved toward their prosecution domestically and internationally

Who's who in the CRPH:

Win Myint: President (detained)

Aung San Suu Kyi: State Counselor (detained)

Man Win Khaing Than: (acting)

Vice President

Zin Mar Aung: (acting) Minister of

Foreign Affairs

Lwin Ko Latt: (acting) Minister of the President's Office Minister; and

Union Government Office

Tin Tun Naing: (acting) Minister of Planning, Finance and Industry; Investment and Foreign Economic Relations; and Commerce

Zaw Wai Soe: (acting) Minister of Labour, Immigration and Population; Education; and Health and Sports

Win Myat Aye: Minister of Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement

⁶ Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH) (5 Feb 2021) Over 300 elected representatives convened Emergency Union Parliament Meeting

⁷ CRPH (8 Feb 2021) Announcement 1/2021

⁸ Asia Times (11 Mar 2021) Democratic shadow government taking form in Myanmar

⁹ CRPH (8 Feb 2021) Notification 7/2021

¹⁰ CRPH (20 Feb 2021) Letter to Myanmar foreign diplomatic missions and official staff

¹¹ CRPH (20 Feb 2021) Interim governance of the people

¹² CRPH (21 Feb 2021) Law on the State Counselor (1/2021) (Burmese); see generally crphmyanmar.org

¹³ SAC (5 Mar 2021) Announcement for CRPH that commits high treason and its organizations

¹⁴ SAC Ministry of Home Affairs (21 Mar 2021) Order 2/2021 Declaration of Unlawful Association

- committee for the Presidents, and appoint new cabinet members in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar.
- 4. We, the elected Representatives of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, will not recognise any institutions, ministries, and the cabinet appointed by the military who seized power through an illegitimate coup, and we declare that the military's cabinet is illegitimate.
- 5. We officially announce to the international community, including the United Nations, that only the government led by President U Win Myint is the official Government of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar.
- The illegitimate coup carried out by the military Commander-in-Chief is unconstitutional and it does not revoke our legitimate authority entrusted upon us by the people.
- The military coup, therefore, has not taken away our authority, and cannot officially deter us from performing the responsibilities entrusted upon us by the people.¹⁵

On 26 February, Burma's permanent representative to the UN, Kyaw Moe Tun, stood in solidarity with the CDM and CRPH, receiving applause at the UN General Assembly and support in Burma. The junta dismissed him from his post on 27 February and accused him of high treason.¹⁶

Key concerns from ALTSEAN-Burma:

- (1) The CRPH must work in genuine partnership with ethnic groups and stakeholders in the broader prodemocracy movement. The CRPH must ensure that the human rights of Burma's diverse communities are central to all political processes.
- (2) The CRPH should explore adoption of an updated version of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of the Union of Burma, which resulted from a decades-long inclusive and independent drafting process. The second draft*, produced by the Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordinating Committee (FCDCC) in 2008 is aligned to the principles of ethnic self-determination and gender equality.
- * Bilingual PDF version available at https://www.mmpeacemonitor.org/images/p df/The-constitution-of-the-federal-republic-of-the-union-of-burma-second-draft.pdf

On 28 February, the CRPH noted that the UN continues to recognize President Win Myint and Foreign Minister Aung San Suu Kyi, and thus it clearly does not recognize the junta; that the junta thus has no power to remove Kyaw Moe Tun; and that he continues to legally represent Myanmar to the UN.¹⁷ On 3 March, the CRPH added foreign relations and diplomatic affairs to his list of duties.¹⁸

Constitutional legitimacy

Burma's 2008 Constitution vests legislative power in the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (national parliament), along with State/Region Hluttaws (parliaments). ¹⁹ Members of parliament (MPs) are elected democratically, in line with the Constitution's assurance that "[e]very citizen shall have the right to elect and be elected in accord with the law."²⁰

Under the Constitution, the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw may be convened by the speaker of the house with a minimum of a quarter of its 664 members, and decisions are taken by majority of those voting. ²¹ The CRPH meeting on 4 February involved 378 MPs—i.e., 57%—well exceeding the 25% requirement. The Pyithu Hluttaw (upper house) can operate with vacant seats, as long as half of its 224 members are represented. ²² The Amyotha Hluttaw (lower house) has no such requirement.

Popular democratic recognition

At least 378 MPs have joined the CRPH. This means that the Committee represents at least 76% of the 498 democratically-elected members of Burma's parliament.

The CRPH recognizes the CDM and its goals. The CRPH's political visions, "to build a 'federal democratic republic' for the people, of the people and by the people" are:

¹⁵ CRPH (5 Feb 2021) Statement 2/2021; CRPH (22 Feb 2021) Announcement 1/2021

¹⁶ The Irrawaddy (28 Feb 2021) Myanmar Military Regime Dismisses UN Ambassador; SAC (28 Feb 2021) Press release

¹⁷ CRPH (28 Feb 2021) News Statement 9

¹⁸ CRPH (3 Mar 2021) Order 1/2021

¹⁹ Republic of the Union of Myanmar (2008) Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, § 12

²⁰ Republic of the Union of Myanmar (2008) Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, § 38

²¹ Republic of the Union of Myanmar (2008) Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, §§ 82,84,85,86,88

²² Republic of the Union of Myanmar (2008) Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, §§ 128,129,131

- 1) To end military dictatorship;
- 2) To ensure the unconditional release of all unlawful detainees including President U Win Myint and State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi;
- 3) To achieve full-fledged democracy; and
- 4) To rescind the 2008 Constitution and write a new Constitution based on the federal system.²³

CDM members, for their part, seek some combination of a return to civilian power, scrapping the 2008 Constitution, and establishment of a federal democracy. ²⁴ The General Strike Committee, another resistance group composed of members from 25 political, ethnic, and religious groups, agrees, with leader Ke Jung saying: "The [CRPH] announcement is a good first step. We and our colleagues from ethnic political parties and ethnic armed groups, though, need to see more concrete commitments to the abolition of the constitution and the construction of a genuine federal system."²⁵

The CRPH said it supports the CDM, encourages civil servants to stop working (but not quit), and will support these people financially or otherwise. ²⁶ On 16 March, it said that it will record the name of any supervisor taking action against civil servants participating in the CDM, opening investigations into them, or sending them threatening letters; and that it will take action against these supervisors and remedy any damage to civil servants. ²⁷

The CRPH has consulted with civil society organizations and formed a CRPH-CDM Support Team, to support striking civil servants and their needs.²⁸ It has published data on civil servants participating in the CDM and donated MMK 25.8 million (US\$ 18,306); and it intends to recognize these people as heroes when the coup is reversed.²⁹ It announced that the junta is illegally using the Civil Servants Law to punish those participating in the CDM; those protesting the coup are within their rights; and those supporting the military are the ones violating the Civil Servants Law.³⁰

Respect for ethnic people

The CRPH has promised to work with all ethnic people on these goals.³¹ These commitments are important because they open the path to a stronger relationship with ethnic and other groups marginalized, not allowed to participate, or not represented in elections.

On 17 March, the CRPH announced that any ethnic armed organization (EAO) previously listed as a terrorist organization or unlawful organization no longer has this status.³² On 18 March, it recognized and welcomed the establishment of the Kachin Political Interim Coordination Team (KPICT) and KPICT's 15 March statement outlining its political objectives, and said the CRPH would work with KPICT until the military dictatorship is removed.³³

EAOs, including all signatories to the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA), have voiced opposition to the coup and military rule.³⁴ They have supported the CDM and other protesters, sheltered and even used force to defend them against security forces,³⁵ for which the CRPH has expressed gratitude.³⁶

International recognition

Numerous international actors have publicly supported or acknowledged the CRPH. On 5 March, European parliamentarians met with the CRPH, and days later said they are "committed to supporting

²³ CRPH (5 Mar 2021) CRPH (Union Parliament) Political Visions

²⁴ The Diplomat (27 Mar 2021) Myanmar's Ethnic Groups Join Together to Reject Military Rule; Frontier Myanmar (4 Mar 2021) How the CDM can win

²⁵ Asia Times (11 Mar 2021) Democratic shadow government taking form in Myanmar

²⁶ CRPH (9 Feb 2021) Announcement 2/2021

²⁷ CRPH (16 Mar 2021) Order 2/2021

²⁸ CRPH (6 Mar 2021) Informing the public

²⁹ CRPH (6 Mar 2021) Informing the public

³⁰ CRPH (7 Mar 2021) Announcement 11/2021

³¹ CRPH (5 Mar 2021) CRPH (Union Parliament) Political Visions

³² CRPH (17 Mar 2021) Announcement 14/2021 on the removal of terrorist organization or unlawful organization of all Ethnic Armed Organizations

³³ CRPH (17 Mar 2021) Declaration 15/2021

³⁴ Peace Process Steering Team (2 Feb 2021) The statement of Special Meeting of the Peace Process Steering Team (PPST); Kachin Independence Organization, Central Committee (17 Feb 2021) Statement

³⁵ Edith Mirante (via Twitter) (19 Mar 2021) https://twitter.com/EdithMirante/status/1372802987874119685

³⁶ Myanmar Now (17 Mar 2021) Myanmar military, not EAOs, only terrorist organisation in Myanmar, CRPH says

the CRPH's ongoing work [...] and to lending them support in every way it is possible for us."³⁷ On 3 March, the German Bundestag sent a letter to CRPH and the speaker of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, acknowledging them. 38 On 25 March, 24 MPs from 12 countries formed the International Parliamentarians Alliance for Myanmar (IPAM), to support fellow lawmakers from Burma, including CRPH members, promote democracy, and ensure accountability.³⁹

Indonesia has had "intensive communication" with both the CRPH and the junta. 40 Canada's special envoy to Burma has been in contact with the CRPH and "believes that the organisation is the closest body to an elected, representative government in Myanmar today."41 The UN continues to recognize the democratically-elected government of Burma, 42 as do the US and EU. 43

Precedent in Burma

In 1998, the NLD formed the Committee Representing the People's Parliament (CRPP), a ten-member group supported by 251 elected parliamentarians from the 1990 election, as well as eight ethnic political parties. 44 It declared that all laws issued by the military since 1988 were invalid unless approved by CRPP.⁴⁵ Though the CRPP was a strong move against the military's hegemony since 1962 and failure to recognize the 1990 election results, it did not raise sufficient support to achieve democracy in Burma.

The CRPH, formed within days of the power seizure, is more powerful than the CRPP because of its relationship with the CDM, a movement of tens of thousands of civil servants and health workers nationwide who refuse to work for the military dictatorship.

The illegitimate State Administration Council

The SAC, by contrast, violated Burma's 2008 Constitution—which it drafted—when it grabbed power. 46 For further information, see ALTSEAN-Burma (1 Mar 2021) Coup Watch. It follows that the SAC has no power to issue legislation, orders, or directives of any type.

On 1 February 2021, Vice President Myint Swe seized the Presidency and transferred all executive, legislative, and judicial powers to Min Aung Hlaing, alleging voter fraud in the 2020 national elections and citing Sections 417–19 of the Constitution.⁴⁷

Section 417 says: "if there is sufficient reason for a state of emergency [...], the President may, after co-ordinating with the National Defence and Security Council, promulgate an ordinance and declare a state of emergency." The basic conditions for a state of emergency did not exist, so it was unconstitutional to declare one and transfer power.

The declaration of a state of emergency was also did not follow proper procedure. The declaration was signed by military-nominated Myint Swe as "Pro Tem (President)"; 48 meanwhile, The President of Myanmar was (illegally) detained by the Tatmadaw on 1 February and remains incommunicado.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the President could not have coordinated with the National Defence and Security Council on 1 February because five members of the Council were being detained by the Tatmadaw.⁵⁰

³⁷ European Parliament (9 Mar 2021) Leading MEPs on latest developments in Myanmar, 9 March 2021

³⁸ German Foreign Office (via Twitter) (3 Mar 2021) https://twitter.com/GermanyDiplo/status/1367067696458825734

³⁹ Asian Parliamentarians for human rights (25 Mar 2021) Global MPs form International Parliamentarians Alliance for Myanmar ⁴⁰ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia (24 Feb 2021) Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia - Press Briefing on the Outcome

⁴¹ Southeast Asia Globe (12 Mar 2021) Vying for legitimacy as Myanmar's recognised government, who are the CRPH?

⁴² UN News (4 Feb 2021) Security Council calls for release of Aung San Suu Kyi, pledging 'continued support' for Myanmar's democratic transition

⁴³ The White House (11 Feb 2021) FACT SHEET: Biden-Harris Administration Actions in Response to the Coup in Burma;

Associated Press (22 Feb 2021) ÉU prepares measures against Myanmar coup leaders ⁴⁴ Human Rights Watch (9 Nov 1998) U.N. Must Take Action on Human Rights in Burma

⁴⁵ Human Rights Watch (9 Nov 1998) U.N. Must Take Action on Human Rights in Burma

⁴⁶ Melissa Crouch (10 Feb 2021) "Why section 144 orders are unconstitutional"

⁴⁷ Myanmar Times (1 Feb 2021) Myanmar announces state of emergency

⁴⁸ Republic of the Union of Myanmar (1 Feb 2021) Order 1/2021

⁴⁹ Myanmar Times (4 Feb 2021) Myanmar State Counsellor and President Charged, Detained for 2 more weeks

⁵⁰ Republic of the Union of Myanmar (2008) Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, § 215; Jurist (17 Feb 2021) The Constitutional Fiction of Myanmar's Coup

Key recent actions/statements by CRPH

Interim appointments

- Appointed four acting ministers, covering nine ministerial portfolios, in light of the fact that the State Administration Council (SAC) had unlawfully grabbed power and the previously appointed ministers cannot perform their duties. 51
- Appointed acting Vice President Man Win Khaing Than to perform duties of state.⁵²
- Announced reinstallation of Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement Minister Win Myat Aye.53

Local administration

- Ordered the establishment of township-level administrative bodies, as legitimate alternatives to the military-led General Administration Department.
- The Committee Representing Yangon Hluttaw said it had formed administrative bodies in 44 of 45 Yangon townships;⁵⁴ and the Committee Representing Magway Hluttaw said it had formed administrative bodies in 25 Magway townships.55

Policing

• Produced an order revoking the 4/1995 Myanmar Police Force Maintenance of Disciplinary Law. Asserted that the 1995 Police Disciplinary Law was unnecessary, because: the important duties were already included in the 1899 Burma Military Police Act and 1945 Police Act: the 1995 Law makes it hard to protect the people: some parts of it violate the rights of the police; and the police must follow their oath to protect the people.56

taxes & loans

- Deferment of Produced an order (in the name of President Win Myint) saying it amended the union tax law, putting a moratorium on the collection of taxes until 30 Sep 2021.57
 - Declared that Oct 2020 loans given to permanent civil servants for COVID-19 do not have to be paid back, in light of the coup and ongoing COVID-19 situation.⁵⁸
 - Declared that agriculture loans from 2020, previously due for repayment on 15 Apr 2021, are now extended to 15 Apr 2022 without fines or additional interest. 59
 - Announced households and businesses do not need to pay for electricity used since 1 Feb.60
 - Announced that Apr 2020 loans from the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, and Irrigation (for new projects and small-scale subsistence farming, at 0.5% interest) that were due for repayment Apr 2021 are deferred without further interest or fees until further notice.61

⁵¹ CRPH (2 Mar 2021) Declaration 11/2021

⁵² CRPH (9 Mar 2021) Statement 12/2021 appointing acting Vice President

⁵³ CRPH (23 Mar 2021) News Release 10

⁵⁴ Committee Representing Yangon Hluttaw (6 Mar 2021) Statement 11/2021

⁵⁵ Committee Representing Magway Hluttaw (6 Mar 2021) Announcement 9/2021

 ⁵⁶ CRPH (7 Mar 2021) Order revoking the 4/1995 Police Disciplinary Law
 ⁵⁷ CRPH (4 Mar 2021) Order 1/2021

⁵⁸ CRPH (8 Mar 2021) Order 1/2021

⁵⁹ CRPH (12 Mar 2021) Order 2/2021

⁶⁰ CRPH (18 Mar 2021) Announcement 3/2021

⁶¹ CRPH [President's Office] (19 Mar 2021) Order 3/2021

Key recent actions/statements by CRPH

Foreign investments

- · Announced that the Myanmar Investment Commission has suspended issuance of investment permits and endorsements for investment projects, investors should refrain from submitting applications, and all permits or endorsements issued by the junta are illegal and invalid.62
- Announced that foreign companies involved in oil and gas extraction and production were warned on 5 Mar not to pay taxes or dividends from their activities, estimated at US\$ 75-90 million/month; that this money belongs to the people, but instead is being used by the Tatmadaw to commit violence against them; that these and related companies should consult each other in order to refrain from making the next payment at the end of March; and that if they ignore this and do pay the junta, the legitimate government of Burma will not recognize this payment, and will demand it again when it reassumes power.63

the State Administration Council (SAC)

- Action against Declared the military SAC as a terrorist group, citing its unlawful power seizure, violent crackdowns and killings of unarmed civilians, unlawful detentions of politicians and protesters, and declaration of war against the Union; and its ongoing violence.⁶⁴
 - Announced that the 1 Feb power grab was treason, and filed a case with the Union Attorney General under Penal Code Sections 122(1) and 124a.65
 - · Hired international law firm Volterra Fietta to bring international cases against the military junta and all who have committed violence, including hired thugs. 66
 - Announced that the junta's order demanding that everybody go back to work by 22 Mar is void, because the junta is not a legitimate government. Those who made the order and those who carry out the order will have legal action taken against them as collaborators in treason.67
 - Announced that social security payments for those 85 and older were paid out for Oct-Dec 2020, and the Ministry of Social Welfare, Relief, and Resettlement should make the next payment at the end of Mar 2021; and anybody abusing or misappropriating funds will be investigated/ prosecuted according to the law. It said that since the 2018-19 fiscal year, these payments are made every three months for those 85 and older; and for 2020-21, MMK 9150.87 million was already allocated. 68
 - · Urged companies and merchants not to participate Burma's approaching annual national gem sale, and said those who do participate will be blacklisted from conducting business in the future and will have actions taken against them under the law.69

⁶² CRPH (13 Mar 2021) Announcement 1/2021

⁶³ CRPH (16 Mar 2021) Last notice to oil and gas companies

⁶⁴ CRPH (1 Mar 2021) Statement 10//2021 declaring terrorist group

⁶⁵ CRPH (9 Mar 2021) News Release #9

⁶⁶ CRPH (12 Mar 2021) Hiring the legal advisor to sue the military council

⁶⁷ CRPH [Ministry of Education] (22 Mar 2021) Order 1/2021 to take punitive action

⁶⁸ CRPH [Ministry of Planning, Finance, and Industry] (22 Mar 2021) Statement 5/2021 on social security for those over 85

⁶⁹ CRPH [Ministry of Planning, Finance, and Industry] (22 Mar 2021) Statement 4/2021