

# Myanmar & Crisis Response

Summary Report 2024-2025



## About ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights

ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) is a regional network of current and former parliamentarians committed to advancing human rights, democracy, and sustainable development in Southeast Asia.

With over 170 members from Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Timor Leste and Thailand, APHR draws on a strong network of lawmakers and deep policy and field expertise to advocate for and uphold

human rights both within parliaments and on the regional and global stage.

Established in 2004 as the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus (AIPMC), the organisation transitioned into APHR in June 2013, reflecting its broader mandate to address regional human rights challenges and the urgent need for cross-border parliamentary leadership and solidarity.

## Introduction

Four years after Myanmar's February 2021 military coup, the country faces an escalating humanitarian disaster, a grave human rights emergency, and a deep political crisis. The junta's indiscriminate violence, mass displacement, and systematic repression have dismantled democratic institutions and worsened the suffering of millions.

Since the coup, broad-based resistance led by women, youth, students, workers, and farmers has demanded the restoration of peace and

democracy, including the reinstatement of democratically elected representatives.

Meanwhile, under the flawed 2008 Constitution, the junta's push for national elections is widely seen as an attempt to legitimize authoritarian rule. Its ongoing campaign of terror includes forced conscription, extrajudicial killings, torture, arbitrary arrests, enforced disappearances, looting, and severe restrictions on information through media blackouts and internet shutdowns.

***Since the 2021 coup, Myanmar's military junta has killed more than 6,000 people, arbitrarily detained more than 30,000, and renewed judicial executions.***



Myanmar's ongoing crisis presents an urgent test of ASEAN and the international community's capacity to uphold human rights, democracy, and regional stability. ASEAN's cautious response—including the ineffectiveness of the Five-Point Consensus—has failed to mitigate humanitarian suffering, political repression, and escalating security risks.

## APHR's Myanmar & Crisis Program

In solidarity with the people of Myanmar and their struggle for democracy and peace, APHR established the Myanmar and Crisis Response (MCR) program. The initiative addresses human rights violations, the humanitarian emergency, and support for pro-democracy movements through:



Policy recommendations



Evidence-gathering



Parliamentary inquiries



Advocacy campaigns

Through the program, APHR engages regional and international actors to push for accountability and sanctions; amplifies pro-democracy voices and supports “federalism from below”; promotes inclusive political participation in Myanmar’s transition process; raises awareness on forced conscription, displacement, repressive laws, and the impact of airstrikes on civilians.

Guided by consultations with democratic actors, ethnic revolutionary organizations, civil society, and international partners, APHR developed the **Myanmar Strategy 2025**, identifying four interlinked advocacy priorities:

### ***Promote inclusive federal democracy in Myanmar***

- Support locally-driven federal initiatives (“federalism from below”).
- Enable inclusive dialogue among the NUG, ethnic actors, civil society, and women leaders.
- Strengthen democratic institutions and empower Myanmar lawmakers to uphold democracy and human rights.

### ***Advance humanitarian response and protection for people in crisis***

- Advocate for effective delivery of humanitarian aid through local networks and cross-border facilities.
- Influence bilateral donors to prioritize Myanmar’s humanitarian needs.
- Enhance refugee protection and strengthen regional coordination mechanisms.

### ***Ensure justice, accountability, and rights-based governance***

- Advance transitional justice and accountability mechanisms for crimes committed by the junta.
- Counter militarized economies and cross-border crime that fuel conflict and repression.
- Support women’s political leadership for gender-inclusive governance.

### ***Challenge the legitimacy of the military junta and push for regional action***


- Reject sham elections aimed at legitimizing military rule.
- Advocate for Myanmar military regime’s suspension from ASEAN until genuine democratic progress occurs.
- Mobilize Southeast Asian parliamentarians for people-centered, rights-based approaches in ASEAN and beyond



## Key Activities & Campaigns





### Myanmar Stakeholder Consultation

 Chiang Mai, Thailand  
 February 2025

Brought together women parliamentarians, civil society, ethnic groups and international experts reaffirming community-led governance models and calling for inclusive dialogue, local aid delivery, transitional justice, democratic institution-building, and the protection of women and minority rights.





### Women's Role in Peace-building in Myanmar

 Bangkok, Thailand  
 March 2025

Headlined by democratically-elected Myanmar women lawmakers, the roundtable discussion on women's role in the transition highlighted systemic exclusion in patriarchal governance, but brought out women's leadership in humanitarian aid, community governance and cross-sectoral advocacy.




### Thai Parliament Conference on Myanmar

 Bangkok, Thailand  
 March 2025

The conference examined the Myanmar crisis' regional impact, particularly on Thailand's borders, stressing the need for human-centered strategies that address conflict drivers, strengthen regional cooperation, protect vulnerable populations and pursue holistic peace and democracy.





### Fact-Finding Mission

 Mae Sot, Thailand  
 April 2025

The mission documented worsening humanitarian and human rights conditions along the Thai-Myanmar border with refugees facing violence, aid restrictions, deportation risks and limited services; while exiled activists endured surveillance and detention.



### Fact-Finding Mission

 Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh  
 September 2025

The mission found Rohingya refugees facing food insecurity, lack of access to education, gender-based violence, and legal identity gaps worsened by declining aid support. APHR urged sustainable solutions, an ASEAN Humanitarian Fund, and continued support for protection of vulnerable groups.



### **Federalism from the Bottom Up and AFTA Process:**

Four years after the 2021 coup, a bottom-up federalism movement has emerged as one of the most promising pathways toward inclusive governance in Myanmar. For over seven decades, ethnic and local communities have faced neglect, marginalisation, and broken promises from successive central governments. A genuine federal democracy, where communities govern their own states while contributing to a shared national framework offers the best chance of redressing these injustices.

In pursuit of this vision, the National Unity Government (NUG), ethnic revolutionary organizations (EROs), and civil society are advancing the Articles of Federal Transitional Arrangement (AFTA), a Federal Transition Constitution. This process seeks to empower local leadership, ensure equitable representation, and lay the foundations for trust and sustainable peace. However, progress remains fragile, constrained by limited coordination mechanisms, lingering mistrust, and unresolved questions of legitimacy and centralization rooted in past failures.

### **Ethnic Governance and Local Administration:**

In liberated areas, ethnic governance initiatives have become vital lifelines. Through their own administrative structures, ethnic authorities provide essential services such as healthcare, education, and local administration. These grassroots governance models fill the vacuum left by the state, maintaining order while demonstrating tangible pathways toward federal democracy “from below.” Yet these efforts remain precarious: vulnerable to military attacks, under-resourced, and lacking international recognition or sustained support.

### **Junta Attacks Sustained by Jet Fuel and External Support:**

The junta’s intensifying use of airstrikes and Paramotor assaults against civilians is enabled by ongoing supplies of jet fuel and logistical networks. These attacks have devastated communities, killing civilians, destroying homes, and fuelling mass displacement. The reliance of Myanmar’s air force on foreign supply chains exposes a critical pressure point: a robust, enforced embargo on jet fuel and arms could significantly degrade the junta’s capacity to conduct aerial warfare. Without such measures, atrocities will continue. Reports



of the junta's potential nuclear ambitions add a dangerous regional and global security dimension, underscoring the need for urgent, coordinated international action.

**Illegitimate Electoral Process - Entrenching Authoritarianism:** The junta is preparing sham elections under martial law and the 2008 Constitution as a means to entrench its control. With fundamental rights suspended under the Privacy and Security Protection Law and martial law imposed in 63 townships, the regime is reshaping administrative structures, detaining opponents, and suppressing dissent. Both the NUG and ethnic revolutionary groups have rejected these elections, recognising them as attempts to fragment opposition and legitimise authoritarian rule. Communities on the ground also view the process as a distraction from the civil war and a vehicle for deepening repression. Any international engagement that treats these elections as credible risks conferring dangerous legitimacy on the junta.

**Humanitarian Crisis on Rohingya and the Internally Displaced People in Myanmar:** The humanitarian catastrophe continues to escalate. Inside Myanmar, 22 million people need assistance, including 3.5 million internally displaced with many sheltering in forests without food, water, or protection while under bombardment and facing junta aid blockages. In Bangladesh, over 1.2 million Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar endure shrinking aid, food insecurity, and stalled repatriation prospects. Along the Thai - Myanmar border, 81,000 refugees in camps and 5,500 in urban areas suffer underfunded services, abuse, and deportation risks. Global funding cuts, driven in part by shifting priorities toward crises in

Gaza and Ukraine, have further compounded these vulnerabilities. Without urgent corrective action, the humanitarian crisis will deepen, reinforcing the junta's control over populations and resources.

**Women's Political Participation and Leadership:** Women remain largely excluded from political negotiations, peace processes, and decision-making. Yet at the grassroots level, women lead humanitarian relief, governance efforts, and advocacy campaigns. Their participation is not only a matter of justice but also essential for the legitimacy and effectiveness of Myanmar's democratic transition. Key priorities include humanitarian protection, justice and accountability, democratic transition, education, livelihoods, and regional advocacy. Rejecting the junta's fraudulent 2025 elections and strengthening women-led initiatives are critical steps to building an inclusive, people-centred future.

**ASEAN's Action and Regional Dynamics:** Regional geopolitics continue to shape Myanmar's crisis. China, India, and Russia provide the junta with vital economic, military, and diplomatic support, helping shield it from international accountability. ASEAN's cautious diplomacy, including its Troika mechanism, has failed to exert meaningful pressure, while slow, fragmented sanctions from the wider international community have emboldened the regime. The result has been continued atrocities: indiscriminate airstrikes, mass arrests, and attacks on civilians, religious sites, and schools. Without decisive regional and international action, the junta's impunity will persist.



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### **Reject the Junta's Sham Elections**

- The EU must categorically refuse to recognise any junta-sponsored polls or governing authority.
- Condition any credible transition on an immediate ceasefire and the release of political prisoners.
- Issue strong public statements and coordinate with ASEAN and international partners to prevent recognition or participation in the junta's electoral process.
- Deepen diplomatic engagement with the NUG, the AFTA process, ethnic revolutionary groups, and civil society to support inclusive, people-centred political solutions.

### **Support "Federalism from Below"**

- Enhance political recognition for Myanmar's legitimate democratic actors, including the NUG, ethnic organisations, and civil society as key partners in shaping a federal, democratic future.
- Provide flexible, direct funding to community-based governance initiatives through trusted local partners and cross-border channels.
- Recognise emerging ethnic and local governance structures in EU statements as legitimate expressions of democratic federalism.
- Convene EU-ASEAN dialogues that include NUG, ethnic leaders, women leaders, and civil society representatives.
- Build technical capacity for federal governance, focusing on rule of law, inclusive political processes, and democratic administration.

### **Address the Humanitarian Crisis in Myanmar and Bangladesh**

- Urgently scale up humanitarian funding for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, internally displaced persons in Myanmar, and refugees along the Thai-Myanmar border.
- Ensure assistance bypasses the junta by channeling aid through local and cross-border networks to protect civilians and prevent further entrenchment of military control.

## Strengthen Sanctions and Diplomatic Pressure

- Expand and enforce EU sanctions to include all actors in the jet fuel and logistics supply chain, coordinating with G7 partners to close loopholes.
- Impose a comprehensive arms embargo to halt atrocities and human rights violations.
- Publicly denounce airstrikes and paramilitary operations against civilians as violations of international humanitarian law.
- Support monitoring of Myanmar's nuclear activities and work with international partners to prevent military nuclear development.

## Conclusion



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The people of Myanmar, inside and outside the country, continue to show extraordinary courage in resisting militarisation and building inclusive, democratic alternatives from the ground up. Yet this vision of a rights-based future is under siege: millions remain displaced, atrocities escalate unchecked, and the junta seeks legitimacy through sham elections scheduled for December 2025. Meanwhile, over one million Rohingya in Cox's Bazar face dwindling aid, food insecurity, and stalled prospects for repatriation. ASEAN's inaction has left civilians vulnerable to relentless repression.

APHR, together with lawmakers across Southeast Asia, reaffirms its commitment to amplifying the voices of Myanmar's pro-democracy movement and strengthening international solidarity.

We urge the EU and its global partners to take principled, coordinated, and sustained action: protect civilians, expand humanitarian aid, support federalism from below, and hold the junta accountable for its ongoing atrocities. Immediate intervention is critical to securing a democratic and rights-based future for all people of Myanmar.







### ***Supporting Democracy, Human Rights and Accountability in Myanmar***





Myanmar stands at a tipping point - yet communities and pro-democracy actors are bravely building inclusive alternatives. As a network of Southeast Asian lawmakers, APHR is uniquely positioned to influence governments, shape policy, and keep Myanmar's crisis on the international agenda. Donor support for APHR means directly strengthening policy advocacy work, fact-finding missions, cross-border research and monitoring and humanitarian access advocacy.

For funding opportunities or partnership discussions, please contact APHR at [\*\*info@aseanmp.org\*\*](mailto:info@aseanmp.org)



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FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

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