



Special Advisory Council for MYANMAR

SAC-M's New Briefing Paper: Myanmar's Way Forward

5 December 2025

Myanmar's revolutionary stakeholders require urgent international support to advance their shared vision for a genuine and inclusive federal democracy, the Special Advisory Council for Myanmar (SAC-M) says in a new briefing paper published today.

Drawing on submissions from 25 key revolutionary stakeholders, including the National Unity Government (NUG), the National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC), Ethnic Resistance Organisations (EROs), State/Federal Units and Ethnic Councils and Civil Society Organisations, SAC-M's paper explores numerous initiatives that make up a coherent revolutionary vision for Myanmar's federal democratic future.

The paper also addresses the Myanmar military junta's planned elections – scheduled to begin on 28 December – which are a ruse for the junta's larger ambition to secure control over the levers of state. The international community – including ASEAN, the United Nations (UN) and Myanmar's neighbours – must unequivocally reject these sham elections and deny the junta the legitimacy it so desperately needs.

"For almost five years the Myanmar people have sacrificed everything to preserve their democratic opening and to resist the junta's bloody campaign to return their country to the dark days of dictatorship," said SAC-M Member Yanghee Lee. **"Governments must stand with the Myanmar people by outright rejecting the junta's sham elections. Anything less is a betrayal of the people and the values the international community claims to uphold."**

Examining international electoral frameworks and good practices, SAC-M finds that the junta's elections would in no way be free, fair or inclusive. The paper documents the junta's use of extreme violence as an enabler for its planned polls, including through mass political imprisonment, draconian "laws", the weaponisation of humanitarian aid, mass forced conscription and intensifying air attacks to punish civilians and perceived opponents in areas outside of its control. So limited is the junta's territorial control that it even lacks the capacity to conduct polls in over half of the country.

"Elections conducted by an illegitimate junta that has hand-picked almost every candidate, jailed and killed democratic opposition, and uses violence and repression to coerce participation fails on every count," said Marzuki Darusman of SAC-M.

"Every democratic and rule of law-abiding government that is silent on these sham elections will be giving them shameful tacit endorsement and be fully complicit with



info@specialadvisorycouncil.org



www.specialadvisorycouncil.org



@SpecialCouncil



special-council.bsky.social



Special Advisory Council for MYANMAR

the junta in committing violent anti-democratic actions against the whole people of Myanmar," Darusman added.

SAC-M's paper also dispels the myth that these elections might reopen the limited democratic space of the 2010s. Junta leader and alleged war criminal Min Aung Hlaing has solely pursued lasting power for himself and, by extension, the military since his February 2021 attempted coup far in excess of that permitted by the now defunct 2008 Constitution.

At the same time, sham elections will not provide the "offramp" that the junta's backers seek. They will foreclose prospects for dialogue, deepen Myanmar's political crisis, inflame the conflict and worsen the spiralling humanitarian crisis.

In stark contrast to the junta, revolutionary organisations present a common vision for a peaceful and equitable federal Union built on a new constitution that guarantees civilian governance, self-determination, justice, human rights and the rule of law. They speak candidly of the enormous challenges they face, the progress they are making, and the forms of support they need.

A consensus of organisations identifies the military as the single greatest obstacle to genuine peace in Myanmar. Blunting the junta's capacity to wage war on the people – including through sanctions and embargoes – is critical to Myanmar's post-military democratic future.

"Myanmar's peoples are implementing their vision for a peaceful, equitable future where rights are protected and respected, and no groups or individuals are above the law," said Chris Sidoti of SAC-M. **"For far too long the international community has let the Myanmar people shoulder this burden alone, at huge cost. States must double down and provide tangible political and material support to the NUG, ethnic organisations and civil society."**

"At the same time, States also have a responsibility to support accountability in Myanmar, including efforts to prosecute Min Aung Hlaing for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide," he added.

SAC-M echoes the calls by revolutionary stakeholders on all States to reject the junta's planned elections and their outcome, and to expand support to Myanmar's legitimate representatives.

SAC-M also urges States, ASEAN Members and UN entities to avoid engaging with the junta or any successor body in ways that may confer legitimacy on it and risk derailing genuine processes for peace and an open and inclusive Myanmar.

