



ELECTIONS AMID CONFLICT: MYANMAR'S 2025 ELECTIONS

ABSTRACT

As Myanmar's Junta strives hard to hold onto power, the rebels, general population and foreign players all eye at their piece of cake in the mineral rich country devastated by internal security issues.

Devyani Kumare

Research Fellow, Foresight



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Elections Amid Conflict: Myanmar's 2025 Elections



11-09-2025

Junta announces elections with voting limited to 30.9% of townships amid displacement and boycott threats



15-09-2025

Fear grows with new repressive election laws, citizen boycotts and election disruptions forecast



16-09-2025

Controversial politician Aye Maung cleared to run; voting cancelled in 56 townships; USDP dominates



21-23 Sep 2025

Thresholds was lowered for party participation; opposition boycotts polls; election seen as lacking credibility



20-23 Sep 2025

Global protests in unity with opposition; calls to deny junta legitimacy and support genuine democracy

Hypothesis

Myanmar's upcoming elections are finalized in December 2025 amidst chaos and fear, the scheduled elections which the junta military calls a "vote" is seen as a staged performance by citizens and observers, with millions of people already displaced and polling restricted to less than a third of the country. The citizens speak of harassment on almost daily basis, surveillance cameras watching them like a hawk, and army patrols that make even daily life unsafe, let alone guarantee a free political participation.

For people on the ground, the elections feel less like a choice and more like a trap. Yet even as domination of the junta grows, the spirit of resistance remains unbroken even around the globe. On September 20, thousands gathered outside the UN in New York and in cities from London to Tokyo, raising their voices for Myanmar's democracy movement, these rallies, conducted by the country's vast diaspora, protesting as a reminder that the Spring Revolution is alive. For many inside and outside the country, the call is clear and they believe the world must not legitimize the junta's biased elections, but instead support a truly representative future for Myanmar.

Introduction

Elections in December 2025 in Myanmar are expected to be extremely unpredictable and difficult due to the country's severe political division, armed conflict, and mass displacement. The four scenarios that could determine the country's course, according to analyst **Sike Chan** are a "baseline" scenario, in which the junta holds partial elections in areas under its control to show authority; a "worst-case scenario", in which resistance groups target polling infrastructure and armed conflict worsens; a scenario of "external interference or



reconciliation” through international pressure and dialogue; and the possibility of “internal breakdown or regime collapse” if the military breaks down from within.



When we look at the current situation,

- the ‘baseline scenario’, which calls for a controlled, authoritarian election, is the most likely short-term result. The junta needs a façade of legality and legitimacy, since it is actively opposed, and does not have complete territorial control which sort of threatens them. It uses authoritarian procedures or ways to limit voting to areas under its control and excluding places controlled by the opposition or under opposition as they know it could lower their chances of winning. But the situation is still unstable
- in the Second scenario, the Junta might be forced to engage in political dialogue with the NUG and other EROs if the elections are impossible, reintegrate in ASEAN with Chin’s help and release Aung San Suu Kyi
- The junta’s refusal to hold elections could deepen tensions and prompt calls for a counter coup. Facing ICC arrest threats, the junta leader might flee to Russia. The NDSC may reconvene to reinterpret the 2008 Constitution as transitional, with the military stepping back politically. A Constitutional Assembly involving opposition and revolutionary groups could then work toward abolishing the current charter and transitioning to civilian, federal democratic rule through dialogue and reform.
- . As witnessed by recent airstrikes on schools and refugee camps, the regime’s willingness to use force makes the ‘worst-case scenario’ that is the escalating conflicts and election-day violence as a real concern. An internal junta breakdown or external intervention are less likely to occur but can be possible, especially if **ASEAN** or **China** puts more pressure because of worsening humanitarian conditions or if conflicts arise within the military over election scheduling or strategy.
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What’s in it for India?

India is engaging with Myanmar through a mix of diplomacy, security, and humanitarian efforts in 2025. We can infer that, as it has supported the junta by sending election monitors and holding talks with military leaders and providing earthquake relief. Recently, India is pursuing rare earth elements (REEs) from Myanmar, collaborating with the Kachin Independence Army a non-state actor to access northern Kachin State deposits, aiming to reduce dependence on

China. While this offer is strategic in nature as they need rare earth minerals used in high-tech manufacturing found mainly in Kachin region, it involves reputational and environmental risks. In general, India's position is a practical balancing act that aims to safeguard its strategic and economic interests while preserving regional influence and bilateral connections with Myanmar, safeguarding crucial mineral resources, and avoiding a global backlash.



Regarding India's approach towards Myanmar's election can be to diplomatically handle the process as well as balance the engagement with the military regime and opposition groups along the border. India supports fair elections involving all parties and stakeholders but the legitimization of flawed and unconstitutional process will lead to major political fallout. At the same time, India should provide humanitarian support, maintain strong

border security, and engage in dialogue with both the junta and local groups to safeguard its strategic interests and regional stability.

September's news review

Sr No.	Date	Sector	News Headline	Source
1.	01/09/25	Economy	Myanmar Junta to Double Electricity Rates	The Irrawaddy
2.	04/09/25	Economy	CBM injects over US\$1M into edible oil sector	Global New Light of Myanmar
3.	04/09/25	Economy	Tin market still beholden to the fortunes of Myanmar mine	Reuters
4.	10/09/25	Economy	CBM pumps huge forex into market	Global New Light of Myanmar
5.	12/09/25	Economy	Coord meeting on national plans and local plans for 2026-2027FY	Global New Light of Myanmar
6.	12/09/25	Economy	MIFER Union Minister joins 25th China Investment & Trade Fair	Global New Light of Myanmar
7.	13/09/25	Economy	Myanmar urged to farm exports	Global New Light of Myanmar
8.	17/09/25	Economy	Myanmar exports over 3,700 tonnes of shrimp in five months	Global New Light of Myanmar
9.	17/09/25	Economy	MRF urges members to keep buying rice	Global New Light of Myanmar
10.	19/09/25	Economy	Value-added products drive regional growth	Global New Light of Myanmar
11.	23/09/25	Economy	Yangon palm oil reference price remains unchanged	Global New Light of Myanmar
12.	23/09/25	Economy	Taninthai Marine Exports Set To Rise	Global New Light of Myanmar

13.	24/09/25	Economy	Shan State approves 26 projects worth over K46B, with US\$25M in foreign	MOI
14.	27/09/25	Economy	Myanmar, Russia to formulate roadmaps on economic cooperation	Global New Light of Myanmar
15.	27/09/25	Economy	19 new projects approved, creating over 4,000 jobs	Global New Light of Myanmar
16.	02/08/25	Foreign affairs	Myanmar and Japanese civil society urge Tokyo to act against the junta's sham	Mizzima
17.	03/08/25	Foreign affairs	Acting President of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Chairman of the State Security and Peace Commission of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Senior General Min Aung Hlaing delivers speech to families of Myanmar Embassy and Military Attaché Office	Myawady
18.	05/08/25	Foreign affairs	Myanmar delegation heads to China for Global South Media & Think Tank Forum.	Myanmar Digital News
19.	09/09/25	Foreign affairs	Protect people fleeing conflict in Myanmar: UN Rights Chief	asianews
20.	09/09/25	Foreign affairs	MyanTrade in talks to import high-grade cotton from India	Global New Light of Myanmar
21.	10/09/25	Foreign affairs	Exclusive: India explores rare-earth deal with Myanmar rebels after Chinese curbs	Reuters
22.	10/09/25	Foreign affairs	New route to boost Myanmar-Thailand border trade	Global New Light of Myanmar
23.	10/09/25	Foreign affairs	Rakhine State traders want border pass for Bangladesh; US imposes sanctions on	dvb

24.	12/09/25	Foreign affairs	Border trade still halted in Karen State; Ambassador Kyaw Moe Tun attends 80th	dvb
25.	13/09/25	Foreign affairs	Dala Bridge bans undercrossing in designated area during form traveller	Global New Light of Myanmar
	15/09/25	Foreign Affairs	UNICEF condemns deadly attack on Rakhine school	Mizzima
26.	17/09/25	Foreign Affairs	Myanmar and China to enhance trade and investment	Global New Light of Myanmar
27.	17/09/25	Foreign Affairs	Tatmadaw (Army, Navy and Air) friendship delegation leaves for India	Global New Light of Myanmar
28.	18/09/25	Foreign Affairs	Arakan Army Denies Smuggling Drugs to Bangladesh	Irrawaddy
29.	19/09/25	Foreign Affairs	Myanmar and Timor-Leste hold bilateral talks to promote relations	Global New Light of Myanmar
30.	20/09/25	Foreign Affairs	Thailand faces rising migration pressures, new report calls for coordinated	Mizzima
31.	22/09/25	Foreign affairs	Thai Immigration Department Denies Links to Scam Gang Abductions	thedi diplomat
32.	22/09/25	Foreign affairs	Czech Republic Supplies Planes to Myanmar Airline Tied to Junta	Irrawaddy
33.	23/09/25	Foreign affairs	The Revolution's Resolve: Myanmar's Unbroken Will Resounds Globally	Mizzima
34.	23/09/25	Foreign affairs	BHRN calls on UN to enforce global arms and fuel embargo on Myanmar Junta	Mizzima
35.	27/09/25	Foreign affairs	China, Myanmar strengthen cooperation through Global Governance Dialogue	Global New Light of Myanmar
36.	10/09/25	Politics	Spring Revolution Daily News for 10 September 2025	Mizzima



37.	11/09/25	Politics	The National Unity Government (NUG)	Mizzima
38.	11/09/25	Politics	The Military Commission	Mizzima
39.	11/09/25	Politics	The commander election-millions voting	Bbc Myanmar
40.	12/09/25	Politics	UEC holds election press briefing	Global New Light of Myanmar
41.	15/09/25	Politics	Myanmar Citizens Fear More Harassment, Violence as Election Nears	Irrawaddy
42.	16/09/25	Politics	Aung San Suu Kyi's son meets with two Myanmar resistance leaders	dvb
43.	16/09/25	Politics	Controversial Rakhine politician to run in regime elections; UEC states polls will	DVB_English
44.	17/09/25	Politics	Arakan Army leader Twan Mrat Naing meets Muslim community in Rakhine State	DVB_English
45.	17/09/25	Politics	Regime plans to retake four towns in Rakhine State; Military crony to helm	DVB_English
46.	18/09/25	Politics	Development of the development of the Thingangyun Township, Yangon Region	myawady
47.	18/09/25	Politics	Mandalay Regional Parliament approves interim political program for	Mizzima
48.	20/09/25	Politics	NUG, NUCC and CRPH declare rebranded Myanmar junta illegitimate	Mizzima
49.	22/09/25	Politics	Myanmar Junta Pushing South to Break Karen Resistance Ahead of Poll	Irrawaddy
50.	23/09/25	Politics	Myanmar junta lowers threshold for nationwide political parties ahead of planned	Mizzima

51.	23/09/25	Politics	People's Defence Force seizes town in Sagaing Region; Regime begins	DVB_English
52.	24/09/25	Politics	Look to Myanmar for a terrifying vision of a world where authoritarians have	theguardian
53.	25/09/25	Politics	If Agreement Reached Between KIA and Tatmadaw, China-India Route Will Benefit Myanmar	CNI News
54.	26/09/25	Politics	Min Aung Hlaing Pledges to Transfer Power to Elected Government	DVB News
55.	26/09/25	Politics	Myanmar Military Urges Anti-Coup Forces to Give Up Struggle and Join Talks	Al Jazeera
56.	15/09/25	Social	Conflict in Karen State displaces another 4,000 Myawaddy residents	DVB_English
57.	17/09/25	Social	Forest management drives environmental protection and sustainable growth	Global New Light of Myanmar
58.	18/09/25	Social	Human Rights Myanmar sees hope for Myanmar's revolution in youth-led	Mizzima
59.	20/09/25	Social	SHRF says farmland downstream from rare earth mines destroyed by mud-laden	Mizzima
60.	25/09/25	Social	Myanmar Earthquake: Plan International Myanmar's Emergency Response	Plan International Myanmar

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