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**Promotion and protection of human rights: human rights situations and reports of special rapporteurs and representatives**

## **Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar**

### **Report of the Secretary-General\*\***

#### *Summary*

The present report is submitted pursuant to General Assembly resolution [79/182](#) and covers the period from 1 August 2024 to 31 July 2025. It highlights the deepening crisis in Myanmar following the military takeover of 1 February 2021 and its profound impact on civilians. There has been no end to the violence, even after the country was struck by two powerful earthquakes on 28 March 2025, killing at least 3,800 people and exacerbating the economic hardship, food insecurity and public health crisis in central Myanmar. Although ceasefires were declared by some parties to the conflict in the wake of the disaster, they have gone largely unobserved. The crisis did not generate momentum towards peace. The Myanmar armed forces intensified security operations and increased the frequency of aerial bombardments, severely affecting civilians, while armed resistance remained strong as ethnic armed organizations and other parties to the conflict pursued territorial gains, especially in border areas. The military-dominated National Defence and Security Council extended the state of emergency until 31 July 2025, when it was discontinued, and subsequently announced the formation of a State Security and Peace Commission to oversee elections in December 2025, as well as national defence and security matters. Political leaders elected in 2020 remained in detention. A rising civilian death toll and increasing allegations of sexual and gender-based violence were reported. The enforcement of conscription had severe consequences, especially for young people. At the time of writing, nearly 22 million people required humanitarian assistance and close to 3.6 million remained displaced nationwide. Despite urgent appeals for humanitarian assistance and a response from the international community, efforts to deliver such assistance at scale were impeded by access challenges and funding constraints. Illicit activities remained rife in Myanmar, with high levels of drug

\* [A/80/150](#).

\*\* The present report was submitted to the conference services for processing after the deadline for technical reasons beyond the control of the submitting office.



production and large-scale cybercrime operations that had far-reaching regional and global impacts. In Rakhine State, the escalating conflict worsened the fragile situation for the Rohingya and other vulnerable communities. Civilians were caught in the crossfire between the Myanmar military and the Arakan Army and subjected to forced recruitment and other abuse. Continued violence forced more Rohingya Muslims to flee, including into Bangladesh, which continues to host over 1.1 million refugees from Myanmar. Desperate attempts to flee Myanmar and Bangladesh by boat have led to hundreds reported deceased or missing. No meaningful steps were taken to address the root causes of their displacement. The Secretary-General reaffirmed his solidarity with the people of Myanmar and continued to exercise his good offices, including through the Special Envoy on Myanmar, who visited Myanmar twice and engaged key stakeholders in the region. The Secretary-General bore witness to the urgent plight of Rohingya refugees and the growing pressures faced by host communities during his Ramadan solidarity visit to Bangladesh in March 2025. The United Nations continued to focus on strengthening cooperation with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in support of a Myanmar-owned solution.

## I. Introduction

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to General Assembly resolution 79/182, in which the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to continue to provide his good offices and to pursue discussions relating to Myanmar, involving all relevant stakeholders, to offer assistance to Myanmar, and to submit a report covering all relevant issues addressed in the resolution to the General Assembly at its eightieth session. The present report covers the period from 1 August 2024 to 31 July 2025.

2. The political, humanitarian and human rights situation in Myanmar has continued to deteriorate since the military takeover in 2021 as a result of the escalation in armed conflict, the worsening socioeconomic conditions and the earthquakes of 28 March 2025. Regional implications continued to intensify, including large-scale displacement and the proliferation of illicit activities, such as cybercrime centres, narcotics and arms smuggling. Against a backdrop of escalating violence and increasing rates of poverty and food insecurity, the protection needs of civilians increased and over one third of the population required humanitarian aid.

3. The devastating earthquakes of 28 March threw into sharp relief the country's ongoing vulnerability to natural disasters. On 3 April, the Secretary-General appealed for urgent funding and unimpeded humanitarian access, and for the natural disaster to be transformed into an opportunity for the people of Myanmar to unite behind a political solution to end the brutal conflict. He made an urgent plea for a stop to violence and for engagement in political dialogue and announced the deployment of the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator and the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Myanmar to support the earthquake response and advocate relief efforts.<sup>1</sup> On 4 April, in its first press statement on Myanmar since the adoption of resolution 2669 (2022), the Security Council expressed its solidarity with those affected by the earthquake, urging swift rescue and relief efforts and a safe, non-discriminatory environment for aid delivery. The Council also welcomed the ceasefire announcements and expressed gratitude and support for the work of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the region.<sup>2</sup>

4. The situation of the Rohingya Muslims and other minorities has deteriorated, particularly with renewed fighting in Rakhine State. On 23 August 2024, nearly seven years since the forced mass displacement of Rohingya people from Myanmar, the Secretary-General underscored the ongoing discrimination and persecution that they faced. He reiterated his call for strengthened protection efforts, increased funding to meet urgent humanitarian needs and concerted steps to create the conditions necessary for the eventual safe and voluntary return of Rohingya refugees to Myanmar.<sup>3</sup>

5. On 30 January 2025, as the country marked four years since the arbitrary detention of members of the democratically elected Government on 1 February 2021, the Secretary-General reiterated his call for a return to civilian rule through an inclusive democratic transition. He condemned all forms of violence and called for the protection of civilians and the cessation of hostilities.<sup>4</sup> The Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Myanmar remained actively engaged with all stakeholders, in close cooperation with ASEAN, in search of a Myanmar-led resolution to the crisis. The Special Envoy reinforced in all consultations that a viable future for Myanmar

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<sup>1</sup> See [www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/press-encounter/2025-04-03/secretary-generals-press-encounter-myanmar-earthquake](http://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/press-encounter/2025-04-03/secretary-generals-press-encounter-myanmar-earthquake).

<sup>2</sup> See <https://press.un.org/en/2025/sc16038.doc.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> See <https://press.un.org/en/2024/sgsm22340.doc.htm>.

<sup>4</sup> See [www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2025-01-30/statement-attributable-the-spokesperson-for-the-secretary-general-myanmar](http://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2025-01-30/statement-attributable-the-spokesperson-for-the-secretary-general-myanmar).

must ensure the protection and inclusion of all communities, including the Rohingya, and address the root causes of conflict.

6. In March 2025, the Secretary-General undertook his annual Ramadan solidarity visit to Bangladesh, where he broke the fast with the Chief Adviser of the interim Government, Muhammad Yunus, Rohingya refugees and their host communities in Kutupalong in the district of Cox's Bazar.

## **II. Context and political developments**

### **A. Situation on the ground**

#### **Conflict dynamics**

7. Intense clashes between the Myanmar armed forces and resistance actors, including ethnic armed organizations and armed resistance forces, continued across the country. The Myanmar military intensified security operations and increased the frequency of aerial bombardments, severely affecting civilians, attacking not only conflict zones, but also areas with no reports of recent fighting. Aerial and artillery attacks were largely reported in territories under resistance control, including attacks that hit schools, hospitals, religious sites and other protected infrastructure.

8. The level of violence continued to rise. Four years into the armed resistance, despite large-scale military troop reinforcements, several ethnic armed organizations had made territorial gains in key border areas. There continued to be devastating consequences for civilians, with over 3.3 million people displaced since 2021, bringing the total number of internally displaced persons to close to 3.6 million, of whom more than 30 per cent are children. The Secretary-General and the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Myanmar repeatedly condemned all forms of violence and called on all parties to exercise maximum restraint, uphold international human rights law and international humanitarian law, and prevent further incitement of violence and intercommunal tensions.

9. Following the earthquakes of 28 March, several parties to the conflict, including the military, announced temporary ceasefires to support humanitarian efforts. In practice, those ceasefires went largely unobserved and military operations continued. Aerial bombardments by the Myanmar armed forces reportedly increased in April, exceeding levels recorded in earlier months. Within one month of the earthquake, the military had reportedly carried out at least 243 attacks, including 171 air strikes, resulting in the deaths of over 200 civilians.<sup>5</sup> On 12 May, the Secretary-General expressed his deep concern regarding that trend, which included reports of an air strike by the Myanmar military hitting a school in the earthquake-affected Sagaing Region that killed and injured several children.

#### **Humanitarian situation**

10. The two powerful earthquakes that hit central Myanmar in March 2025 claimed at least 3,800 lives and caused the widespread destruction of homes, livelihoods and public facilities, as well as widespread trauma. More than 55,000 homes were damaged or destroyed, forcing families to live in makeshift shelters and tents, exposed to harsh weather and, for women, children and persons with disabilities in particular, growing protection risks. The earthquakes exacerbated an already dire humanitarian

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<sup>5</sup> See [www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/05/turk-warns-unremitting-violence-against-civilians-myanmar](https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/05/turk-warns-unremitting-violence-against-civilians-myanmar).

situation; almost 20 million people were already in need of assistance prior to the disaster.

11. Needs assessments were conducted and priority needs identified, which included cash, food, shelter and construction materials, in the worst-affected areas, such as the Sagaing Region and Mandalay Region, including the capital, Nay Pyi Taw. Food and health insecurity were major concerns, particularly for displaced people in the Bago, Kayin, Shan and Mandalay regions. Access to education, basic services and infrastructure such as water, sanitation and electricity was severely impeded under circumstances already constrained in conflict-affected areas.

12. The international community, especially neighbouring countries, responded quickly to the earthquakes, providing search and rescue teams and life-saving support. A flash addendum to the Myanmar Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan for 2025 was issued on 11 April,<sup>6</sup> calling for \$275 million to reach an additional 1.1 million people. Since the earthquakes, the United Nations and partners have supported at least 617,000 people in regaining access to clean water, delivered food assistance to 436,000 people and provided emergency shelter or essential household items to 196,000 people. Funding and access constraints impeded the response. As at 29 July, the revised Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan for 2025 and its flash addendum combined are funded at 22 per cent, or \$303.5 million of the requested \$1.4 billion.

### **Political developments**

13. Despite the ongoing violence, on 31 July 2025, the military-dominated National Defence and Security Council discontinued the state of emergency, which had been in place since 1 February 2021, and dissolved the State Administration Council. The National Defence and Security Council subsequently announced the formation of a new interim “Union Government” and the State Security and Peace Commission, also headed by military leader Min Aung Hlaing, to oversee general elections announced for December 2025, as well as national defence and security matters. Min Aung Hlaing remained the self-declared acting President and retained his position as head of the armed forces. In October 2024, the State Administration Council conducted a population and household census exercise as a preparatory step for electoral planning. However, the ongoing armed conflict severely constrained the exercise owing to access restrictions.

14. The deadline for new parties to apply for establishment under the revised Political Parties Registration Law was on 9 May 2025. Applications were reportedly submitted by a total of 77 parties, of which 55 have been registered. The Union Election Commission in late July said that political party registration remained ongoing. The National League for Democracy, the party that won more than 80 per cent of the vote in the 2020 general election, did not reregister. The Secretary-General reiterated his concern over the military’s plan to hold elections amid ongoing conflict and human rights violations and without conditions that permit the people of Myanmar to freely and peacefully exercise their political rights, including their rights to safety and security.

15. Senior leaders, including the State Counsellor, Aung San Suu Kyi, and the President, Win Myint, and more than 22,200 political prisoners, remained in detention. Reports of incommunicado detention, lack of access to legal counsel, and deteriorating conditions, which were exacerbated by the earthquakes and their impact on detention facilities, continued. Reports emerged stating that scores of prisoners were killed by the earthquakes and hundreds wounded as prison buildings collapsed.

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<sup>6</sup> See [www.unocha.org/publications/report/myanmar/myanmar-earthquake-hnrm-flash-addendum-issued-april-2025](http://www.unocha.org/publications/report/myanmar/myanmar-earthquake-hnrm-flash-addendum-issued-april-2025).

Local organizations reported that affected political prisoners had not received assistance from aid agencies and that the injured were being denied proper treatment.

16. The military continued implementation of the People's Military Service Law: at least 15 batches of 5,000 recruits had reportedly been called up since its enforcement. Several ethnic armed organizations also enforced conscription in the territories under their control. Thousands of young people sought to avoid forced recruitment, often fleeing the country through irregular channels and facing heightened risks of trafficking, exploitation and abuse. Many families reported being subjected to extortion or pressured to pay unofficial fees for exemptions. The widespread fear of recruitment disrupted education, livelihoods and family life.

17. The Special Envoy of the Secretary-General repeatedly urged neighbouring countries to provide access to safety for those fleeing persecution, stressing that the rule of law had been severely undermined and that the rate of transnational crime in Myanmar was rising rapidly. Myanmar has become the global epicentre of large-scale cybercrime operations run by transnational criminal groups. As a result, human trafficking related to those operations has sharply increased in recent years, with victims often lured under false pretexts. Survivors reported forced confinement, violence, sexual and financial exploitation, including quota-based punishments, ransom demands and resale between syndicates. In 2025, cooperation increased among security entities in the region, including the Myanmar military, to secure the release of foreign nationals who had been forced to work in scam centres, resulting in the release of more than 9,000 victims of over 40 nationalities.

18. Illicit activities and criminal operations in Myanmar have grave implications at the regional and global levels. The country remained a major producer of synthetic drugs, with methamphetamine seizures in East and South-East Asia reaching a record 236 tons in 2024, up from 190 tons in 2023. Opium cultivation stabilized at high levels: 45,200 ha were reported in 2024. Illegal mining of gold, jade and rare earth metals remained part of the criminal ecosystem. The rapid proliferation of unregulated mining operations in Myanmar has exacerbated environmental damage, health risks, exploitation and human rights abuses.

19. On 28 May 2025, the National Unity Government reaffirmed its strong commitment to collaborating with ASEAN to strengthen regional cooperation in response to growing transnational challenges, including drug trafficking, trafficking in persons and cyberenabled crimes. It stated that ASEAN had a vital role to play in resolving the crisis in Myanmar and expressed its appreciation for the Association's strong call for the immediate cessation of violence and the protection and safety of all civilians.

20. The Commander-in-Chief undertook several foreign visits during the reporting period. In November 2024, he travelled to China to attend the Greater Mekong subregional summit. In March 2025, he travelled to the Russian Federation and met with the President, Vladimir Putin, then conducted a visit to Belarus. The Commander-in-Chief also participated in the summit of the Heads of State and Government of the member States of the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation in Thailand in April. In May, he returned to Moscow, where he met with the President of China, Xi Jinping, in their first meeting since the military takeover in 2021. In June, he travelled to Belarus to attend the Eurasian Economic Forum and then to the Russian Federation.

21. At the fourteenth ASEAN-United Nations Summit on 11 October 2024, the Secretary-General stressed his support for strengthened cooperation between the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Myanmar and the Special Envoy of the ASEAN Chair on Myanmar on innovative ways to promote a Myanmar-led process,

including through the implementation of the five-point consensus.<sup>7</sup> In 2025, Malaysia took over the rotating ASEAN Chair and appointed Othman Hashim as Special Envoy of the ASEAN Chair on Myanmar. The ASEAN Chair and the ASEAN Special Envoy conducted outreach to various stakeholders, including the leadership of both the National Unity Government and the State Administration Council, which still existed at the time. Following the earthquakes, ASEAN and its member States responded by deploying search and rescue teams and medical personnel and by providing relief supplies and humanitarian assistance. At the ASEAN Summit in May 2025, ASEAN leaders called for an extended and expanded ceasefire as a step towards ending violence, enabling humanitarian aid and initiating inclusive national dialogue.<sup>8</sup> In July 2025, Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States members of ASEAN expressed deep concern over escalating conflict and the worsening humanitarian situation, condemned ongoing violence against civilians and attacks against public facilities, and urged all parties to enable inclusive national dialogue. The Ministers also welcomed the ASEAN Special Envoy's inclusive engagements and agreed to explore new strategies to ensure continuity in the role.<sup>9</sup>

22. Following the earthquakes, the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator visited Myanmar from 4 to 6 April to support the coordination of the earthquake response and advocate urgent relief efforts. The Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Myanmar visited the country from 8 to 11 April and advocated an extended ceasefire, a halt to aerial bombings and unrestricted humanitarian access. That was the second mission of the Special Envoy to Myanmar, following her first visit in October 2024.

23. The United Nations continued efforts, including by the Special Envoy on Myanmar, to build trust with a diverse range of Myanmar stakeholders, engaging with the country's neighbours, ASEAN member States, ethnic stakeholders, representatives of civil society and representatives of resistance groups. Discussions with marginalized groups were held, including meetings with Rohingya and women's organizations. Close cooperation with ASEAN continued, including with the Special Envoy of the ASEAN Chair on Myanmar and member States, in line with United Nations-ASEAN commitments. Prior to visiting Myanmar, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Myanmar had discussions with the Special Envoy of the ASEAN Chair on Myanmar in Kuala Lumpur to coordinate post-earthquake advocacy and support. The two Special Envoys facilitated a visit of Myanmar women to Jakarta to meet with interlocutors from ASEAN and share their experiences, which highlighted the importance of regional support.

24. Regarding the plight of Rohingya people, prior to the Secretary-General's visit, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Myanmar visited Bangladesh, which hosts over 1.1 million Rohingya refugees, and advocated increased international support, enhanced resilience-building and sustainable solutions for the refugee crisis.

25. The General Assembly held two meetings on the situation in Myanmar during the reporting period. On 29 October 2024, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Myanmar, the Head of the Independent Investigative Mechanism on Myanmar and the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar gave briefings to the Third Committee on their respective mandate implementation. On 10 June

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<sup>7</sup> See [www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2024-10-11/secretary-generals-opening-remarks-the-14th-asean-un-summit-delivered](https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2024-10-11/secretary-generals-opening-remarks-the-14th-asean-un-summit-delivered).

<sup>8</sup> See <https://asean.org/asean-leaders-statement-on-an-extended-and-expanded-ceasefire-in-myanmar/>.

<sup>9</sup> See <https://asean.org/joint-communique-of-the-58th-asean-foreign-ministers-meeting-kuala-lumpur-9-july-2025/>.

2025, the Special Envoy addressed the plenary in an informal meeting, calling for scaled-up support in view of the fact that the people of Myanmar had not only a conflict with which to contend, but also the consequences of a devastating natural disaster. On 17 December 2024, the Assembly adopted resolution 79/182 on the situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar. The Assembly decided to organize a high-level conference on the situation of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar at United Nations Headquarters to be held on 30 September 2025. The aim of the conference is to garner greater political support, draw international attention to the crisis and its root causes, and propose a comprehensive, innovative and actionable plan for a sustainable resolution.

26. The Security Council convened private meetings and closed consultations in September and November 2024, as well as in January and April 2025, with briefings by the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Myanmar, the Special Envoy of the ASEAN Chair on Myanmar, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs.

27. The Human Rights Council held two interactive dialogues on Myanmar. At its fifty-eighth session, the Council adopted resolution 58/20 on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, calling on all Member States to refrain from the export, sale or transfer of jet fuel, surveillance goods and technologies and less-lethal weapons to Myanmar. At the fifty-ninth session of the Council, the report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights was presented. The report is based on broad consultations with the people of Myanmar, united in their defiance of military authoritarianism and violence, and contained calls for renewed international resolve to end the military's hold on power and to support the democratic aspirations of the people. The report identified four key pathways to move forward: promoting accountability; supporting good governance; advancing sustainable development; and enhancing engagements of international and regional stakeholders.

28. On 5 June 2025, the International Labour Conference invoked article 33 of the International Labour Organization Constitution, the organization's strongest enforcement mechanism, for only the third time in its history in response to continued widespread violations of labour rights in Myanmar.<sup>10</sup>

## B. Human rights

29. The human rights situation in Myanmar has steadily deteriorated across the board. Credible sources have reported that at least 7,000 civilians have been killed by the military since the takeover in February 2021. The year 2024 was the deadliest for civilians in the country, with fatalities increasing by over 12 per cent compared with 2023.<sup>11</sup> Civilian deaths resulting from military reliance on air strikes and artillery attacks reportedly nearly doubled over the reporting period.

### Shrinking civic space and freedom of opinion and expression

30. Myanmar remains one of the world's most dangerous countries for journalists, with freedom of opinion and expression severely curtailed. At least four journalists were killed or died in military custody in 2024. While only eight arrests were recorded that year – down from 139 in 2021 – this likely reflects the shrinking presence of

<sup>10</sup> International Labour Organization, Resolutions concerning the measures recommended by the Governing Body under article 33 of the ILO Constitution on the subject of Myanmar, ILC.113/Resolution I.

<sup>11</sup> See [https://bangkok.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/2025-02/AnnualUpdateontheHumanRightsSituationinMyanmar2024v.final\\_.pdf](https://bangkok.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/2025-02/AnnualUpdateontheHumanRightsSituationinMyanmar2024v.final_.pdf).

independent media. Since the military takeover, 10 journalists and media workers have been killed and 212 arrested, with 54 remaining in detention. The licences of 15 media outlets have been revoked. Despite the risks, many journalists continue to report on the conflict. Female journalists face additional challenges, including gender-based discrimination, cultural restrictions and heightened safety risks.

31. The military has intensified its crackdown on freedom of opinion and expression, drawing on vague legal provisions to target dissent. Laws against “fake news” and sedition are commonly used to silence journalists and critics. Social media users face arrest, torture and imprisonment for exercising their right to freedom of opinion and expression, particularly when posting content critical of the military or supportive of resistance movements. Freedom of opinion and expression is virtually non-existent for Rohingyas in northern Rakhine. In Buthidaung township, phone access is restricted to registered vendors, who must report call logs to the Arakan Army.

### **Women and peace and security**

32. Given that women and girls are gravely affected by the crisis, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Myanmar and other United Nations entities supported the participation of 12 Myanmar women from across ethnic groups in events during the high-level week of the General Assembly to increase understanding of the views and challenges they face. The situation in Myanmar was raised in subsequent Security Council discussions on women and peace and security and on sexual violence in conflict. The United Nations continues to support the vital role of women’s groups as peace actors and multipliers.

33. Challenges in reporting, verification and support to survivors continue due to access restrictions, insecurity and protection concerns. Funding shortfalls further exacerbate these challenges, having left an estimated 1.1 million survivors of gender-based violence without critical support in 2024.<sup>12</sup> Women and girls in Myanmar faced escalating levels of gender-based violence, particularly sexual violence, amid intensifying conflict, displacement and economic insecurity. There have been reports of the continued use by the Myanmar military and affiliates of conflict-related sexual violence, including rape and gang rape, predominantly against women and children, during military operations, village raids and detentions and at checkpoints. Reports have also emerged of conflict-related sexual violence perpetrated by ethnic armed organizations and armed resistance forces. The earthquakes and the enforcement of conscription have heightened vulnerabilities, contributing to increased risks and reports of trafficking, forced marriage and sexual exploitation. In earthquake-affected areas, displacement, the lack of private and gender-segregated shelter and sanitation facilities, as well as food insecurity, have placed women and girls at severe risk of conflict-related sexual violence. Digital gender-based violence has surged, with online platforms targeting women and girls, particularly those affiliated with the resistance, through hate speech, doxing and the circulation of sexually explicit or manipulated content. Of 220 documented posts, 50 per cent included doxing and 28 per cent explicitly incited violence or punishment against the women targeted.

34. Rohingya and ethnic Rakhine women faced grave abuses, including alleged rape, killings and reprisals by both the Myanmar military and the Arakan Army. Sexual violence was also reported among Rohingya women and children fleeing to neighbouring countries. Survivors, especially those in displacement camps,

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<sup>12</sup> See <https://myanmar.unfpa.org/en/news/all-myanmar-women-and-girls-rights-equality-empowerment>.

encountered barriers to accessing support due to insecurity, stigma, limited mobility and reliance on male-dominated dispute resolution systems.

35. Despite major constraints, women-led and LGBTIQ+ organizations continued to complement efforts by the United Nations and partners to deliver critical services to survivors, including in areas affected by the earthquakes. Often operating under surveillance, legal ambiguity and severe funding shortages, they play an essential role in documenting violations and in aid delivery and advocacy. Women's participation in decision-making platforms remains limited due to persistent social and structural barriers that restrict their roles and leadership opportunities. These barriers include entrenched patriarchal norms, inadequate legal or policy frameworks, limited civic space for gender equality advocacy and women's own lack of confidence or perceived capacity to engage in decision-making.

### **Children and young people**

36. Children and young people continued to be severely affected by the ongoing crisis. Despite immense risks, including the enforcement of conscription laws, young people in Myanmar remained at the forefront of civic resistance, demonstrating political engagement through activism, community organization and participation in local governance structures. Access to education remained limited for children and adolescents across the country, including those with disabilities. Close to 5 million children had no or restricted access to learning.

37. High numbers of grave violations against children in armed conflict – including recruitment and use in combat and support roles, killing and maiming, and attacks on schools and hospitals – continued to be documented. In 2024, 2,138 grave violations were recorded involving 1,762 children (1,248 boys, 499 girls and 15 children of unknown sex). Verified cases of recruitment and use of children in armed conflict increased by 46 per cent from 2023 to 2024, and the United Nations confirmed two cases of rape and sexual violence against girls under the age of 18 perpetrated by armed actors. The growing use of explosive ordnance in populated areas has severely affected children, who accounted for almost 30 per cent of the 1,082 civilian casualties reported in 2024.

38. In March 2025, the Myanmar military released 93 individuals who had been recruited as children. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict welcomed the release, while stressing that children should never be recruited or used in armed conflict, and called for an end to all grave violations.<sup>13</sup>

### **Accountability**

39. Reports of the commission of serious international crimes in Myanmar continued. The Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar continued to collect evidence of civilian casualties from indiscriminate aerial attacks, the destruction of civilian infrastructure and torture and sexual violence in detention. The Mechanism has engaged with over 1,300 partners and collected extensive evidence, including more than 590 witness and victim accounts. It also contributed over 1 million items of evidence and analysis to support ongoing proceedings at the International Criminal Court, the International Court of Justice and the Federal Prosecutor's Office in Argentina.

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<sup>13</sup> See <https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/2025/03/statement-by-ms-virginia-gamba-special-representative-of-the-secretary-general-for-children-and-armed-conflict-on-the-release-of-child-recruits-in-myanmar>.

40. In November 2024, the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court announced that it had made a submission seeking an arrest warrant for the Commander-in-Chief, Min Aung Hlaing. The Court has not yet issued a public decision. In February 2025, a federal court in Argentina ordered arrest warrants for 25 individuals allegedly responsible for serious international crimes committed against the Rohingya. The written submissions phase of the proceedings at the International Court of Justice regarding alleged violations of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide by Myanmar concluded in late 2024, and oral hearings on the merits are expected to be scheduled later in 2025.
41. Complaints regarding possible international crimes committed by the military are pending consideration in the Philippines and Türkiye under the principle of universal jurisdiction.

## **C. Situation of the Rohingya and vulnerable communities**

### **Stateless and internally displaced persons**

42. More than 1.1 million Rohingya refugees, the majority stateless, are sheltering in Bangladesh, and over 130,000 are in other countries in the region without immediate prospects of returning. The dire security and humanitarian situation and access challenges have exacerbated the vulnerabilities of the people of Myanmar, including the Rohingya, who continued to face discrimination and persecution as the armed conflict in Rakhine State escalated.
43. The Secretary-General and the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Myanmar reiterated calls for all parties to the conflict in Rakhine to end the violence and ensure the protection of civilians. They renewed their appeals to strengthen regional protection efforts, provide access to conflict-affected communities and support host countries, including through the multi-year joint response plan for the Rohingya humanitarian crisis in Bangladesh.
44. The human right to a nationality remains unfulfilled for most ethnic minorities in Myanmar that are not among the 135 recognized groups. These communities continue to face discriminatory, exclusionary and arbitrary practices. Over 619,400 people in Rakhine are stateless, the vast majority of them Rohingya, including more than 253,000 who remain internally displaced, many in camps.
45. Access to citizenship and civil documentation remains severely restricted, particularly for the Rohingya, who are required to identify as “Bengali” or another officially recognized ethnicity to apply for citizenship – denying their right to self-identification. The United Nations has consistently raised concerns about the lack of legal recognition and civil rights for the Rohingya. Barriers to birth registration also persist for them and other minorities due to unequal access and restrictions on movement stemming from their undocumented status.
46. As at 21 July, close to 3.6 million people were internally displaced across Myanmar, an increase of over 300,000 in a year. Since the military takeover, 3.3 million have fled their homes, while 270,000 who were already displaced prior to 2021 remain in protracted displacement. The largest numbers are in the north-west of the country, in Sagaing, Magway, Mandalay and Chin, where over 1.7 million people are displaced. In the south-east, including in Kayin, Kayah, Mon, southern Shan, Bago and Taninthayi, over 1 million people are displaced. Rakhine State accounts for 312,000, with a further 213,500 in northern Shan and Kachin States and around 14,000 in Ayeyarwady and Yangon Regions.

47. Inadequate legislation and widespread, sometimes multiple displacement have increased tensions and challenges in recognizing customary land tenure. Land grabbing intensified owing to a lack of accountability and reliable legal institutions, including in Rakhine State.

#### **Displacement across borders**

48. Between 1 February 2021 and 7 July 2025, 202,900 refugees fled Myanmar, with 120,500 new arrivals in Bangladesh since January 2024. Some 61,500 new arrivals remain in India, and 18,000 in Malaysia. Of the 54,400 refugees and asylum-seekers who fled to Thailand, most subsequently returned. This brings the total number of refugees from Myanmar in the region to 1.49 million, of whom 1.27 million are Rohingya. Reports of pushbacks, removals and deportations continued across the region, raising serious concerns over potential violations of the principle of non-refoulement and shrinking asylum space.

49. Some progress was made in 2024 on third-country solutions for refugees from Myanmar, with 10,100 departing to resettlement countries, a 45 per cent increase from 2023. A further 1,785 refugees departed on complementary pathways. However, a significant decrease in resettlement spaces available globally in 2025 reduced prospects for third-country solutions.

50. Heightened security concerns reduced humanitarian funding, and the lack of solutions continued to drive irregular land and maritime movements in the region. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that a record 9,200 people embarked on perilous sea and river journeys in 2024, with 657 reported deceased or missing, making it the deadliest year on record since 2015.

#### **Voluntary, safe, dignified and sustainable repatriation of refugees**

51. The majority of the 1.27 million Rohingya refugees in the region have consistently expressed the wish to return to Myanmar, provided conditions for their safe, voluntary, dignified and sustainable return are in place. These conditions – citizenship, security guarantees and the ability to return to places of origin or choice – remain unmet. Insecurity in areas of potential return has deepened, particularly due to armed conflict and human rights violations in Rakhine. Some proposed return sites are now under the control of ethnic armed groups, including the Arakan Army, raising questions about coordination, access, and safety and protection guarantees. Discussions between stakeholders in Myanmar and the interim Government of Bangladesh continued, but meaningful engagement with refugee communities remained limited, and no viable pathway has emerged.

52. Rohingya refugees continue to live in difficult conditions in Bangladesh, including over 1.1 million in Cox's Bazar and some 37,000 relocated to Bhasan Char Island. Over 120,000 new arrivals since early 2024 have been identified biometrically to facilitate access to assistance. In Bangladesh and Rakhine, further humanitarian funding cuts in 2025 curtailed education, food assistance, healthcare and protection services, contributing to an increase in negative coping mechanisms, including risky boat journeys, high levels of household debt, child labour and child marriage.

53. The 2025 joint response plan in Bangladesh was only 35 per cent funded as at 28 July. As a result, the World Food Programme reduced food rations in April, and education programmes supported by the United Nations Children's Fund in the camps faced cuts, placing education for around 230,000 children at risk of being discontinued. A prioritized joint response plan and a flash appeal to address the unmet needs of new arrivals was launched on 15 July. Since the Global Refugee Forum in December 2023, pledging entities have reported a 56 per cent implementation rate for

the 45 commitments made to support the Rohingya community, including third-country solutions, addressing basic needs, strengthening self-reliance and climate resilience and supporting the creation of conditions conducive for return.

54. After years of displacement, refugees remain in overcrowded shelters with limited education, livelihoods and safety. Camp security continues to deteriorate, with criminal networks operating with impunity and reports of recruitment, including by force, threatening the civilian and humanitarian character of the camps. Protection risks are particularly acute for women, girls and unaccompanied minors.

#### **D. Public health and the socioeconomic situation**

55. The earthquakes severely affected the fragile health system of Myanmar, damaging an estimated 640 health facilities and exacerbating the shortage of medical services. Outbreaks of acute watery diarrhoea and skin infections have been reported in relief camps in Mandalay and Sagaing. Mental health needs are significant, especially among children and vulnerable groups. Psychosocial support for young people is a priority.

56. The lack of routine immunization remains a major concern, with an estimated 209,000 zero-dose children in 2024, despite efforts to expand coverage. Areas outside military control remain largely excluded from immunization efforts. Over 38 million people are at risk of malaria, with most cases in conflict-affected areas along international borders. Myanmar is among the five global acute cholera crisis countries, with 1,272 acute watery diarrhoea cases reported between January and April 2025. In December 2024, a confirmed cholera outbreak in neighbouring Thailand, originating from cases within Myanmar, highlighted the significant risk of cross-border disease transmission.

57. Access to sexual and reproductive health services remains critically limited. Import restrictions on medicines and supplies have caused widespread shortages. In conflict-affected areas, movement restrictions, security checkpoints and curfews obstruct access to maternal and newborn care, often resulting in untreated complications and preventable deaths. Women, girls and persons with disabilities face further challenges due to stigma and a lack of female health workers.

58. In Rakhine State, ongoing transport restrictions have led to severe shortages of life-saving medicines. A cholera outbreak in Sittwe between July and September 2024 resulted in 2,787 cases, 253 of which were severe. Health capacity across Rakhine, particularly in the north, is minimal, with only a few medical officers and reliance on smuggled medicines. Rohingya women face extreme barriers to accessing healthcare. Shortages of medical supplies and reproductive health services have led to significantly high maternal and infant mortality rates, compounding a growing mental health crisis among women and girls.

59. Attacks on healthcare workers and facilities continue to be documented, with the World Health Organization reporting 36 incidents with 81 deaths and 108 injuries of health workers and patients during the reporting period. Types of attacks include the use of heavy weapons against healthcare facilities and warehouses, the detention and arrest of health workers and the removal of healthcare assets, often causing services to shut down at the local level. Attacks on healthcare increased by 57 per cent in early 2025 compared with the previous year.

60. The economy of Myanmar remained fragile, showing limited signs of recovery. Foreign direct investment commitments totalled \$467 million between October 2024 and March 2025 and continue to lag well below pre-crisis levels due to an unfavourable business climate and persistent uncertainty. Inflation, driven largely by

conflict, trade disruptions and currency instability, has compounded economic hardship. Rakhine State remains one of the most severely affected regions, with over 75 per cent of its population estimated to be living in poverty. Ongoing conflict and movement restrictions have disrupted food systems, livelihoods and trade.

61. Natural disasters have further strained the economy and livelihoods. The earthquakes caused extensive damage to infrastructure and housing across central and north-western Myanmar, with economic damage estimated between \$6 billion and \$16 billion, representing roughly 10 to 16 per cent of the country's gross domestic product. The World Bank projects that the impact of the earthquakes will push the economy into contraction by 2.5 per cent in 2025–2026, 13 per cent below the pre-pandemic level.

62. Food insecurity remains a critical concern. Agricultural output has declined due to the earthquakes, movement restrictions, conflict-related displacement, monsoon floods and soaring input costs. Typhoon Yagi in September 2024 affected 2.4 million people and resulted in significant crop and livestock losses. The cost of a basic food basket has quadrupled since 2021, and 16.7 million people are projected to face high levels of acute food insecurity in mid-2025.

63. Nationwide, informal markets and labour opportunities are contracting with no recovery in sight under current conditions, and labour migration to neighbouring countries is growing. The World Bank and the Asian Development Bank have intensified their support for humanitarian relief, basic services and livelihoods in order to strengthen community resilience. They have approved aid packages totalling over \$230 million since the earthquakes, which will be implemented through the United Nations and other partners.

### **III. Observations**

64. I am alarmed by the deepening crisis in Myanmar, marked by an intensification of conflict, and repeat my condemnation of all forms of violence, which must stop. Military means will not bring about a sustainable resolution. Without a genuine cessation of hostilities and meaningful de-escalation and dialogue, there can be no inclusive political solution or durable peace. I call on all parties to prioritize the interests and rights of all people of Myanmar over political agendas, respect their obligations under international law, including the protection of civilians and aid workers, and ensure unhindered delivery of aid.

65. The earthquakes underscored the urgent need to reinforce national unity and extend support to those most affected. Although some parties to the conflict announced unilateral ceasefires following the earthquakes, they went largely unobserved. It is imperative that the humanitarian emergency becomes a driver for inclusive humanitarian action, unimpeded access and protection for all communities. I remain seriously concerned about the ongoing impact of the conflict on civilians, including women and children, and call for an urgent end to aerial bombardments. The protection of civilians must be the priority. I support the call by ASEAN for an immediate end to attacks on civilians and public facilities, its call for restraint and its demands for the protection and safety of all civilians.

66. I am concerned about the increased risks and shrinking civic space, including for journalists, women and young people to freely express their opinions without fear of reprisals. Women's and youth organizations must be supported and empowered to participate meaningfully in peace processes, the humanitarian response and community-level or local governance structures.

67. The continued use of forced recruitment by parties to the conflict, including of children, poses a serious threat to young people in the country and risks depriving them of their rights and prospects. I call for young people to be included in discussions and processes on the situation in Myanmar, so that the country's future is built on their aspirations and their rights are upheld. The people of Myanmar have shared with my Special Envoy aspirations for a stable form of national Government, including variations on federalism. I encourage support for alternative and community-based models of governance that reflect the evolving realities on the ground, foster local capacities and promote meaningful participation and protection for all.

68. Transnational organized crime, including trafficking in drugs and people and online scams, is now rampant in Myanmar, often exploiting governance vacuums and legal uncertainty, and poses acute regional and global security threats. The scale of these illicit activities means that Myanmar now ranks highest among all Member States for organized crime. I call on the international community to address this pressing challenge.

69. I am deeply troubled by the continued reports of serious violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law, including reports of indiscriminate air strikes, artillery shelling, attacks against schools, hospitals and places of worship and conflict-related sexual violence. I call on all armed forces to engage with the United Nations in full implementation of the 2012 joint action plan to end and prevent the recruitment and use of children in armed conflict and to adopt a new action plan to prevent other grave violations. Perpetrators must be held accountable for all serious international crimes and grave human rights violations. The international community must strengthen efforts to ensure justice, including through full cooperation with the Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar. I particularly call on Member States in the region, where much of the evidence and many witnesses are located, to enable the Mechanism's operations and access. I reiterate my call for the immediate release of all arbitrarily detained prisoners, including Win Myint and Aung San Suu Kyi, noting also the call from the Security Council in this regard in its resolution [2669 \(2022\)](#).

70. I reiterate my concern that military-run elections without inclusive dialogue and conditions that allow the people of Myanmar to fully exercise their political rights may lead to greater violence. A national election in the current context has the potential to entrench the status quo and undermine prospects for a genuine democratic transition.

71. I welcome efforts by ASEAN to implement the five-point consensus. I also welcome enhanced coordination between my Special Envoy and the ASEAN Special Envoy and the agreement on joint initiatives, such as support for Myanmar women. I encourage further joint initiatives. Engagement by regional actors, including ASEAN and the European Union, as well as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, remains critical to sustaining a coherent and principled response. I encourage greater efforts by Member States to build regional and international coherence and actively pursue pathways to de-escalation.

72. The humanitarian and socioeconomic situation remains dire. I urge all parties in Myanmar to grant immediate, safe, sustained and unimpeded access to those in need of assistance in all parts of the country, irrespective of governance arrangements. Obstacles to access, including bureaucratic impediments, denial of travel authorizations and movement limitations, must be lifted. Despite the immense needs, the humanitarian response remains severely underfunded. I strongly appeal to Member States to increase their support for the humanitarian and basic needs response in Myanmar.

73. I am deeply concerned by the situation in Rakhine State, including the escalation of conflict, incitement to intercommunal violence and the reported forced recruitment of Rohingya and other communities. I underscore the urgent need for humanitarian access without discrimination, including in hard-to-reach and conflict-affected areas. Landmine contamination must be addressed through comprehensive clearance and risk education, especially for returning displaced persons and humanitarian workers.

74. Conditions conducive to the safe, voluntary, dignified and sustainable return of Rohingya refugees do not yet exist. The structural drivers of displacement, including issues of citizenship, equal protection under the law and discriminatory policies, must be addressed in accordance with international human rights law and standards and the recommendations of the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State. A comprehensive political solution must include the Rohingya and address the root causes of their displacement. Any pathway to repatriation also needs to consider the evolving territorial control in Rakhine State and insecurity in many areas.

75. I thank all host countries, particularly Bangladesh, for continuing to offer protection to over 1.1 million Rohingya refugees. I call for strengthened international solidarity and increased funding. This includes fulfilling pledges made at the Global Refugee Forum in 2023. The High-level Conference on the Situation of Rohingya and Other Minorities of Myanmar, scheduled for 30 September 2025 and called for by the General Assembly, presents an opportunity to draw greater international attention to the urgency of finding durable solutions. It should generate more support to host communities, particularly in Bangladesh, and facilitate self-reliance among refugees, including accessing livelihoods, skills development and education. Rohingya voices, especially the voices of those who have fled Rakhine or are seeking refuge in Cox's Bazar, must be represented and heard.

76. The United Nations will continue to support access to education, food, healthcare, livelihoods and protection services for Rohingya refugees and internally displaced persons. I call on Member States to take additional steps to prevent dangerous onward movements by sea by taking a route-based approach, including expanding third-country solutions, and upholding the rights of asylum-seekers and refugees in line with international law and standards.

77. I reaffirm my commitment to a Myanmar-led political resolution grounded in inclusion, justice and accountability. As the crisis in Myanmar deepens, I call for a unified international response and encourage Member States, particularly ASEAN members and neighbouring countries, to leverage their influence to open up humanitarian channels in line with international principles, end the violence and seek a comprehensive political solution that leads to an inclusive and peaceful future for the country. Unless there is an end to the violence and an inclusive and transparent process, elections risk fuelling greater instability. The people of Myanmar are counting on the support of the international community in realizing their legitimate aspirations for peace, dignity and democratic transition. The United Nations remains steadfast in its solidarity with the people of Myanmar, committed to staying and delivering through all available channels and to addressing the challenges faced by Myanmar across all pillars in a coherent and coordinated manner. This requires unified backing from Member States.

78. I thank my Special Envoy, the country team and all staff members in Myanmar for their tireless work and dedication in support of peace and stability in the country.