



INTERNATIONAL COMPLICITY IN **MASS MURDER** BY MILITARY'S AERIAL ATTACKS

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Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica is a non-governmental research organization that continuously monitors political and societal change.

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PREFACE

Historically, the military has been practicing its brutal military strategy upon Ethnic Revolutionary Organizations and are still continuing to this day. Then, after the coup attempt of 2021, the protest and armed resistance against the dictatorship flourished all around the country with Anyar(Central plain of Myanmar) emerged as a new armed revolution area. The junta has responded to uprisings and armed resistance by deploying its forces extensively and employing a brutal military strategies and operation methods. Frankly, the pro-democracy activists shall undergo abductions which may result in death due to torture, a death sentence, family members getting arrested as well, then, intentional killings in any form of gatherings suspect to oppose their rule, showing a complete disregard for human life and a willingness to use violence to maintain their grip on power.

This terrorist organization is employing mass-killing weapons with an escalated level of force at the frontline, demonstrating its willingness to commit horrific acts of violence. Additionally, the junta increased the military's budget after 2021, planning to purchase advanced weapons and technology by mostly purchasing aircrafts and related weapons to crackdown revolutionary groups.

By coordinating with its major allies, Russia, India, and China, it purchases newly tested weapons and aircrafts to take advantage of the air force as the upper hand during the conflict.

This paper shall talk about the military's tactics in the ongoing conflict focusing on

- (1) Accelerated use of air force in the frontal line with the strategy targeting civilians,
- (2) International supports and connections to purchase aircrafts, and reinforce aerial attacks and
- (3) International complicity in the violations due to their actions and standpoints

It also mentioned the responsibility of the international community, particularly ASEAN and neighboring countries, to solve the problem of the worsening Humanitarian crisis and to initiate justice in the country.

This initial report describes the junta's airstrikes, international standing points on terrorism; it's policies and actions. After this report, Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica shall continue monitoring it in the future as well.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the independence in 1948, the people of Myanmar have been facing unstable political situations, oppressive military rule, and battles between military group and armed revolutionary groups for decades. The people have been suffering from killings, and their livelihoods destroyed, resulting in Human Rights violations and war crimes. It was documented even before the coup attempt of 2021 that the Myanmar Military has been immensely using force and destruction in frontier areas, particularly in Kachin, Shan, Karen, and Rakhine for generations. The Military hardly hesitates in applying war strategy on civilian and public areas and therefore, heavy weapons and land mines of the Military have taken lives away. The tactics of a military operation targeting civilians include aerial attacks on civilian areas, blocking humanitarian aid, arson, torture, human shields, rapes, massacre, and destroying the historical and cultural buildings of the ethnic groups. Internally Displaced Monitoring Center mentioned that in 2020, due to the wars, there has been around 70.4K of internal displacements with 505.4K of IDPs all over the country.

2021 SPRING REVOLUTION

Later, the military committed a coup attempt with the announcement of a “State of Emergency” in February 2021 by ignoring the 2020 General Election results, and this shattered the hopes of Democracy and Human Rights in the country. The public's widespread opposition against the coup attempt and the military junta has flourished with street strikes and protests. As the military experienced brutal suppression from sequence uprisings in history, invariably, it ruthlessly crackdown on the pro-democracy movements of 2021 through shots, mass killings, abduction,

and death rolls. A total of 3,229 individuals, including pro-democracy activists and civilians were killed due to the crackdown by the military towards peaceful protests. (AAPP, 2023)

From protest to gradually evolving into armed resistance; either existing ethnic organizations since the independence or newly emerged People Defense Forces (PDFs), armed revolutionary organizations, and People Protection Forces (Pa-Ka-Pha) are actively rebelling against the military and its associated collaborators. Civil war and guerrilla attacks spread into all parts of the country both in rural areas and urban cities. The junta uses intensive tactics with the mass use of force when facing them. It would use any means of force to destroy whenever rumors of PDFs are in a particular place whether in a village or in the woods, resulting in whole villages being fired on, mass killings, aerial attacks, torture, and raiding. Moreover, one of the infamous strategies by the Military, the “Four Cut Strategy - cutting off funding, food, intelligence, and recruits” is practiced as a whole region without paying attention to the residing civilians. Yet, the IDP camps and civilians are striving to overcome the consequence of no Humanitarian aid, food source, basic health care, and internet shutdown since the civil war ever took place. Around 330 townships were affected by the civil war according to the OHCHR report.

The junta's air force has always brought the upper hand in the civil war against Ethnic Revolutionary Organizations for decades to scout the region or aerial attacks. Similarly, during the Spring Revolution, they have been using aerial attacks towards EROs and PDFs. The relentless attacks have become deadly tactics after the 2021 coup attempt for both armed organizations and civilians as the attacks were conducted against villages, IDP camps, hospitals, schools, and cities. These aerial attacks are tactics which not only bring death to the revolutionary groups but

Buildings on Fire in Htangtalan, Chin due to the Military Council's Airstrike Attacks

Source: Stringer—AFP
(Getty Images)



Buildings Destroyed after being torched

Source: Radio Free Asia

also the civilians. Internal displacement in the country has drastically at its peak by 2021, reaching 447.8K, according to IDMC¹ due to the junta's aerial attacks and offensive operations. Htangtalan, a city with over 56,000 population civilians turned into a paper city with destroyed historical buildings as the civilians fled due to the war air strike at the end of 2021.

The junta committed civilian-targeted aerial operations both before and after the coup attempt. Having denied their operation in which civilian mass killings broke out to the public's eyes, by spreading propaganda that due to misinformation, or PDFs were residing among the civilians, or it was organized by EROs and PDFs. The jet fighters, Mi 35 and helicopters have more or less taken the lives of civilians not limited to children, in the case of Letyetkone in 2022 in which over 13 children were

¹ IDMC (Internally Displaced Monitoring Center)

mass killed by the aerial operation on the primary school. (BNI, 2022) In late January 2023, a monastery in Mindat, Chin was under aerial attack, four bombs were dropped and they opened fire from Jetfighter while people were distributing cleaning materials. (Myanmar Now, 2023)

Their use of indiscriminate military operations which doesn't differentiate battle targets or civilians, has accelerated and remarkably, the aerial attacks have significantly expanded throughout the years after the coup attempt and the detailed analysis shall be mentioned in this paper. Moreover, there are (142) massacres of more than 5 civilians killed since the coup attempt till April 2023.²

The junta violates Geneva Convention and International Humanitarian Law ever since the hostility against EROs in previous decades, and the violation continued after the coup attempt with disproportional use of force targeting unarmed civilians and civilian areas. Ranging from mutilation, carrying out operations without considering the damage to the lives of civilians, mass killings, abducting locals for human shields, and any form of murder to the unarmed, committed by the military troops were recorded, however, still far from being able to bring justice. Although some international actors announced their condemnation regarding the junta's action on the coup attempt and human rights violations, its intentional civilian target operations have been worsening. US and its allies are putting treasury sanctions on the military high-rank persons and entities closely associated with them, however, the junta is engaging with Russia, China, India, Thailand, and Singapore for military operation training, technology, aircraft dealings, and arms.

That is why the international community requires an effective approach to bring justice and protect civilians from further killings and violations of the junta. While the junta has been using aircraft mainly made by Russia

² Data by Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica

and China against the people, not withstanding the evidence, the international community as well as respective international organizations are far from taking powerful actions that directly compress the abuses.



2. METHODOLOGY

The report mentions civilian killings due to aerial attacks carried out by the junta across the country from February 2021 till April 2023. The data on civilian killings by aerial attacks are based on digital preservation through independent media outlets and announcements from armed organizations. A total of 42 media outlets with over (1300)³ Facebook social media pages of revolutionary armed forces were covered.

Due to security and war strategy, EROs, and revolutionary organizations do not mention the detailed numbers of attacks, therefore, the numberings can be less than actual ground attacks. Moreover, the aerial attack numbers mentioned in independent media and armed organizations might be different and general due to the different approaches of calculation methodology.

In the Spring Revolution, different ethnic organizations, armed organizations, political leaders, and pro-democratic revolutionaries have been working together for the forming of genuine Federal in the country. Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica is accurately aware of and shall recognize the potential emergence of new federal units and reformation. However, at the current moment when monitoring and analyzing aerial attack incidents, due to the limited resource and technique, Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica monitored based on the territorial divisions that most public are familiar with.

³ This doesn't mean that there are 1300 forces, as some forces have more than one Facebook page according to each company of one force.

3. ESCALATED USE OF AIR FORCE

Starting from 1947, it has been 75 years since the Myanmar Air Force (MAF) was founded. By 1948, around 60 air crafts of different types were handed down by colonies, the Royal Air Force.⁵ Afterward, the air force was empowered by foreign imported aircraft. The early importer includes Israel, UK, China, Russia, and Poland. There were records of aircraft purchases from Belarus in the early 2000s as well.

According to WDMMA, the MAF owns a total of 292 aircraft at the current moment while 234 aircraft (80% of the total) are in readiness. At the Diamond Anniversary of MAF, Min Aung Hlaing made a speech about manufacturing the SR 1-UAV and MTX-1A.⁶ The following are the types of aircraft the military owns and its imported countries.⁷



Min Aung Hlaing at Diamond Jubilee Air Force Day

Source: Global News Light of Myanmar

⁴ BAF (Burma Air Force) as known till 1989.

⁵ Aeroflight <http://www.aeroflight.co.uk/waf/aaeastasia/burma/burma-af-home.htm>

⁶ The Global New Light of Myanmar. 2022

⁷ The data is from WDMMA, GFP and Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica.

List of Aircraft Types owned by the Military Council and Purchase Country

TYPES	MODEL	PURCHASE COUNTRY
Jet fighters	MiG-29 SE	Soviet Union
Jet fighters	F-7M	China
Jet fighters	A-5C	China
Jet fighters	JF-17A/B Block 2	China
Jet fighters	F-6	China
Jet fighters	SU-30 SME	Russia
Helicopter	Mi-2	Soviet Union
Helicopter	Bell 205	United States
Helicopter	Alouette III	France
Helicopter	Mi- 17	Russia
Helicopter	W-3	Poland
Helicopter	Mi-24	Soviet Union
Helicopter	KA MOV KA-27	Russia
Helicopter	KA MOV KA-28	Russia
Trainers	G- 120 TP	Germany
Trainers	Yak - 130	Russia
Trainers	PC – 7	Switzerland
Trainers	K – 8	China
Trainers	MiG- 29 B	Soviet Union
Trainers	PT – 6	China
Trainers	PC-9	Switzerland
Trainers	FT – 7	China
Trainers	G – 4	Serbia
Trainers	H 120	France
Trainers	FTC – 2000 G	China
Trainers	MTX 1 A	Myanmar
Transport	Beech 1900	United States
Transport	ATR 42	France
Transport	PC-6	Switzerland
Transport	Y-8	China
Transport	Y-12	China
Transport	F-27	Russia



**YAK-130 reviewed by
Military Junta**

Source: Asia Military Review



SU-30 by Russia

Source: The Irrawaddy

The major suppliers of the current aircrafts are Russia and China while Germany, the US, the UK, Switzerland, France, and Poland used to be secondary suppliers. In 2021, Justice for Myanmar revealed the connection between aircraft and weapons sales by Ukraine to the Myanmar military. Since early 2022, with the back-and-forth relation by the military high-rank persons and Min Aung Hlaing himself, it has been purchasing aircraft from Russia and China. Yak-130, SU-30 SME, and FTC-2000G were the latest purchases. In January 2022, it is known that the Iranian flight Kesham Fars Air landed in Myanmar for recent times with arms and drones. **(Rozario, 2022)** This suspicious interaction between Iran and the junta received high criticism from CSOs and NGOs. For the issue, the article by Asia Times mentioned an unconfirmed

dialogue that “The plane will carry some drones and chemical weapons used and tested in Syria’s war.... In addition, this Iranian plane will stop over Uzbekistan and will bring in paper and other stuff to print more money in [Myanmar].” Additionally, the junta asked to send maintenance for JF-17 fighter jets which were purchased in March 2015 from Pakistan.⁸ At the same time, the fact that MAF manufactures aircraft means the parts and techniques required for the product were imported by unannounced international actors.



People in Sagaing fleeing due to Junta Raids

Source: Radio Free Asia

By gaining a more manageable position in terms of finance, the military has been enlarging its army with technology, training, and arms by coordinating with Russia, China, Pakistan, and Iran since the coup attempt. While empowering its resource, the military operation has become amplified with the excessive use of weapons and air force. It outrageously used its air force by relocating the helicopter gunship for the purpose of deployment and operation to some regional military command that is the regional command can use the air force as required without permission from Myanmar Air Force. (**Yangon Khit Thit, 2022**)

⁸ Chaudhury. 2023. “Pakistan team sent to Myanmar to repair combat aircraft”. The Economic Times https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/pakistan-team-sent-to-myanmar-to-repair-combat-aircraft/articleshow/98640757.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst

Let alone conflict against EROs and PDFs by itself, the junta also supported RCSS (Restoration Council of Shan State) which is a close ethnic armed organization on the NCA track, with its air force during the conflict between RCSS and SSPP (Shan State Progressive Party) in early 2022.¹⁰



Min Aung Hlaing and Yawd Serk Shaking Hands at Nay Pyi Daw in May, 2022

Source: Radio Free Asia

Compared to early 2021, the use of the air force by the junta for various reasons has drastically accelerated. In early April 2023, Min Aung Hlaing increased US\$ 2.7 billion for the military budget for the 2023-24 fiscal year. Compared with US\$ 2.1 billion of the military budget in 2021, the junta would increase its deliberate and indiscriminate use of artillery in the coming year as it has been trying to enlarge its purchase of arms and aircraft since the coup.

⁹ Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement

¹⁰ People's Spring. 2022 "ပင်လုံရှိ SSPPတပ်စခန်းအနီး စစ်ကောင်စီနှင့် RCSS စစ်ကြောင်းများ အင်အားအလုံးအရင်းဖြင့် စစ်ရေးလှုပ်ရှားလာ" <https://www.facebook.com/LuduNwayOo/posts/pfbid027pFxJoJAH9yhpibixkuQBtYbJmrJM6udjvfhdx6uZLz1s5ftvo7suSr5T2BC6aRI>

4. TARGETING THE CIVILIANS

The civilians murdered, injured, or displaced due to the military operation are not collateral damage. It was purposeful and precisely abusing the civilians in the operation. Supposing that the junta conducted civilian-targeted aerial operations for several reasons including one of the supporting strategies to operate the “Four-cut Strategy”. Civilians in Sagaing and Magway are a potential source of funding and recruits for the EROs and armed forces. Newly enlarged war zone areas, notably Sagaing and Magway, are fencing high in pro-democracy Movements of strikes including armed revolution. Presumably, the junta purposely retaliates in these areas by using the uttermost military tactics. Therefore, the junta targeted not only EROs and PDFs to disintegrate but also indirectly threaten the civilians to not support revolutionary groups or hold gatherings for any purpose.

The junta sees civilians as a triumph card for military operations against EROs and armed forces, creating civilian internal displacements and humanitarian crisis to reduce the armed strategy and capacity of the EROs, People Defense Forces, and anti-military movements. **“The intention is to create a humanitarian crisis that soaks up the capacity of resistance forces, as well as to try to force the population into submission through terror.” (M.Farmaner, I.Blazevic , 2023)**

Another reason that the junta conducts civilian target operations, particularly airstrikes in ethnic areas is that ethnic revolution organizations which have existed for decades, would not help or support

the pro-democracy activists and revolutionaries that emerge from the Spring Revolution. It conducted successive attacks both the air force and ground on Lay Kay Kaw town under KNU authority, Brigade 6. The place is near the border of Thailand and Myanmar where many revolutionaries, activists, NLD (National League for Democracy) party members, and political leaders resided. The junta forces first attacked the town at the end of 2021, and 30 activists and party members were arrested. Nearly 7,000 civilians left the city as a ghost town and since then it has turned into a conflict zone. Additionally, the junta has been attacking Demoso, a township in Karenni with the air force and extensive operations from the very beginning of the revolution. In Karenni, PDFs are expanding together with KNDF (Karenni Nationalities Defense Force). Following in January 2022, it operated air strikes on Loikaw, the capital city of Karenni. More than 150,000 residents from 13 wards have left the city. **(The Irrawaddy, 2022)** No sooner than the revolution has built up into armed resistance, the junta has been making a move on the ethnic organization's area, especially, the civilian area to narrate that the areas were attacked for letting the revolutionaries and activists live in.

5. CIVILIAN KILLINGS BY AERIAL ATTACKS

Aerial attacks of the junta hold a broader effect on civilians and areas where the operations can be effortlessly and ruthlessly conducted. It conducted air forces in the conditions of (1) mist of frontal attack when they face defeat (defense), (2) scouting, (3) operation after receiving EROs and PDFs information (4) transport/ deployment (allocating the military source). Consequent to deployment is that the aircraft conduct open fire while deploying the militants to the area. This strategy pattern targets civilians to trap between the aerial attack and detachments.

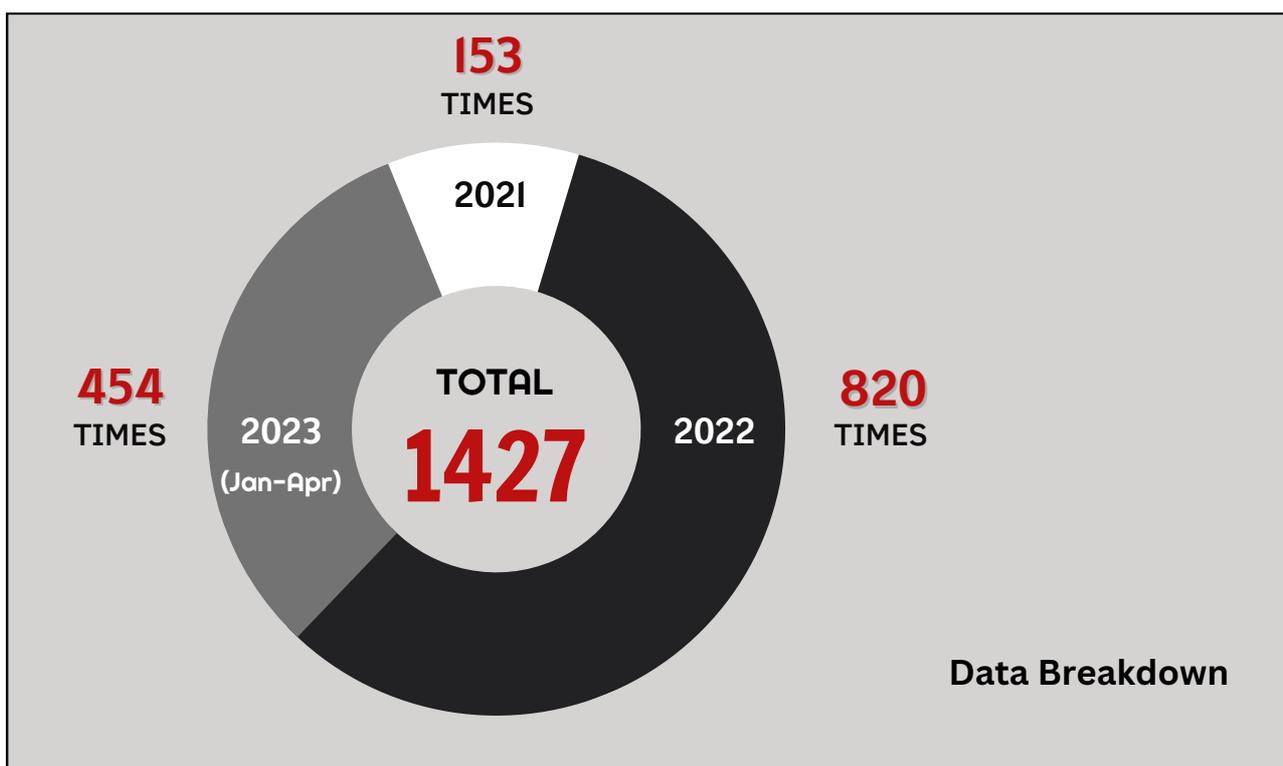
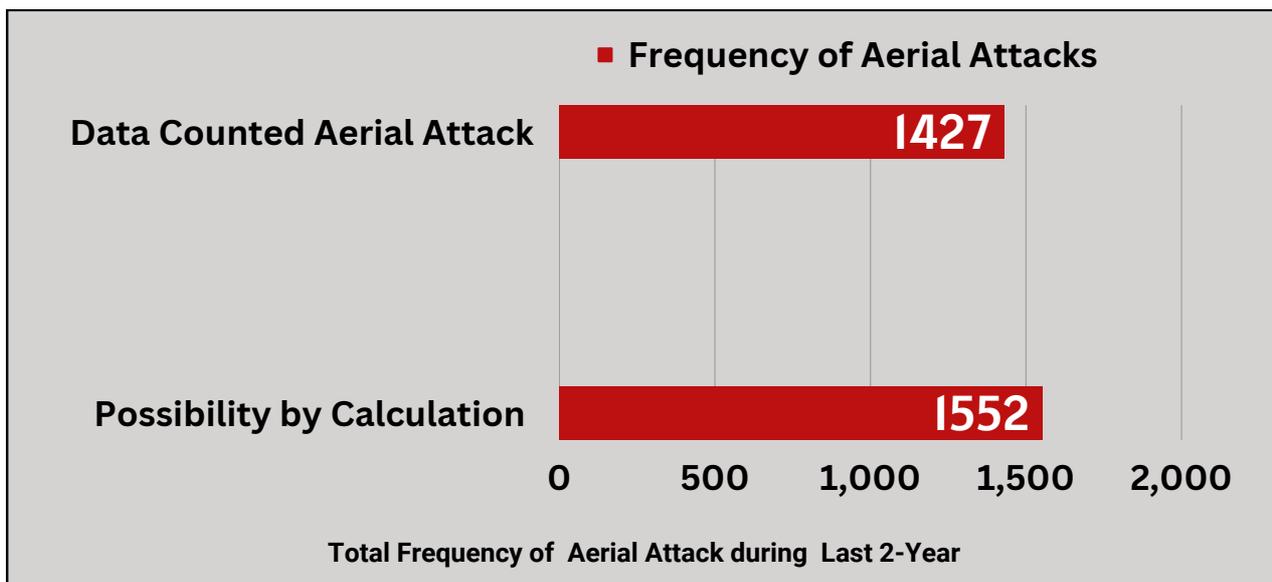
It uses different types of jet fighters, helicopters, drones, and other air trainers for the purpose of direct attack, gunship, and bombing.¹¹ According to the data after February 2021, the air strike targets had varied from EROs and PDFs' quarters and camps, villages and cities, assemblies, and events of civilians, and temporary IDP camps or shelters, including hospitals and religious buildings.



It has been 850 days (2 years and 4 Months) since the coup which means junta is applying airstrike every 3 days.

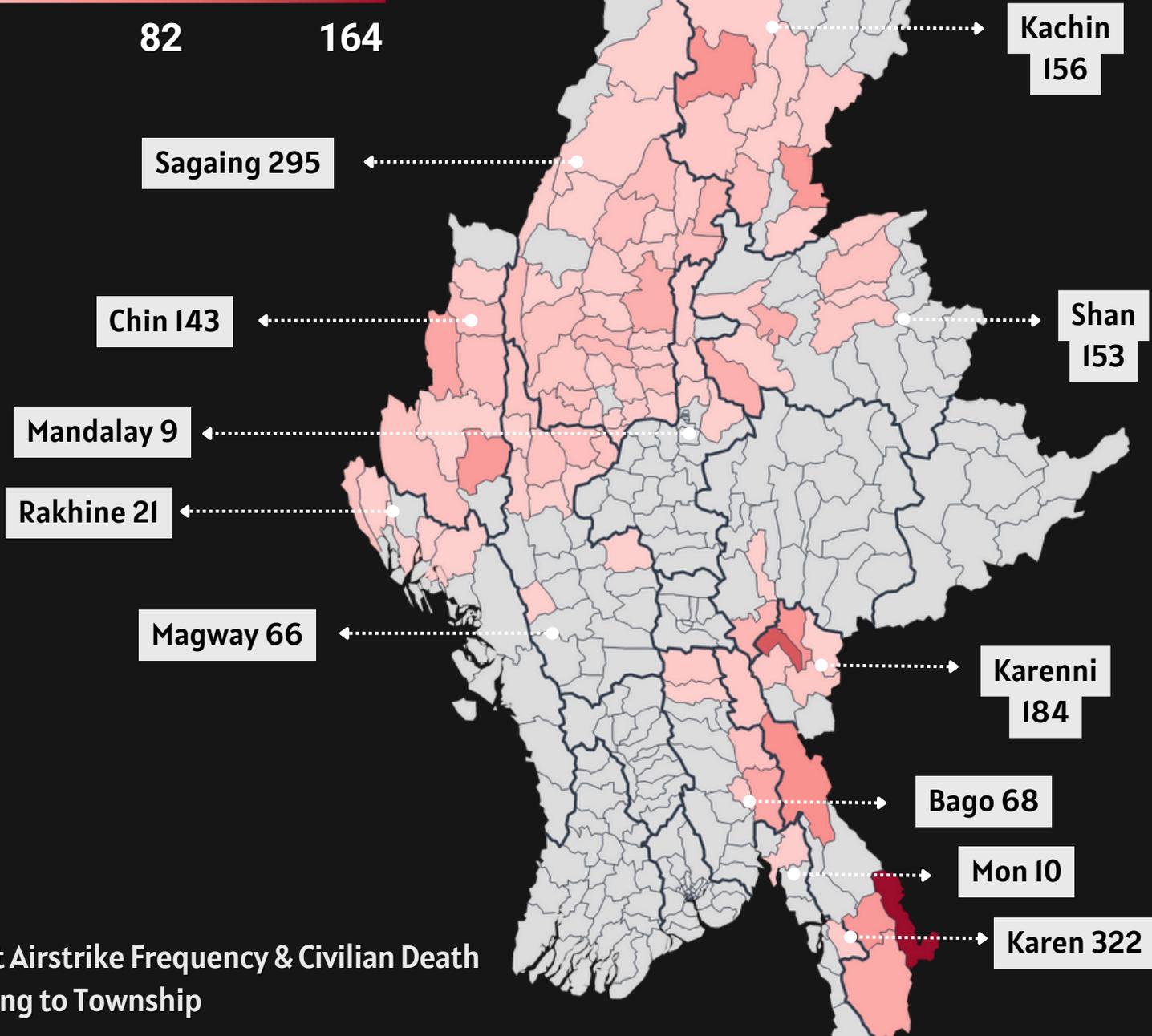
¹¹ WDMMA. 2022 "Myanmar Air Force (2023) Current Active Inventory: 292 Aircraft". <https://www.wdmma.org/myanmar-air-force.php>

Counting in days, it has been 850 since the coup attempt by the junta, and within over 2 years timeframe, the military has used the air force against armed organizations and civilians for 360 days as military operations with different purposes. Among them, Karen and Sagaing faced the highest numbers of aerial attacks. Altogether 1427 aerial attacks were operated by the junta from February 2021 to April 2023 with possibility of 1552¹² aerial attacks.



¹² The announced air strike number may be less than in actual operation due to security and armed strategy.

FREQUENCY OF AIRSTRIKE SINCE 1 FEB 2021 TO 30 APRIL 2023



Highest Airstrike Frequency & Civilian Death According to Township

No	Township	Frequency	Township	Death
1	Myawaddy	164	Kanbalu	188
2	Demoso	109	Hpakant	66
3	Hpapun	61	Yinmarbin	39
4	Hpakant	57	Pinlaung	31
5	Loikaw	54	Myinmu	30

5.1 Civilian Killings by Aerial Attacks (2021)

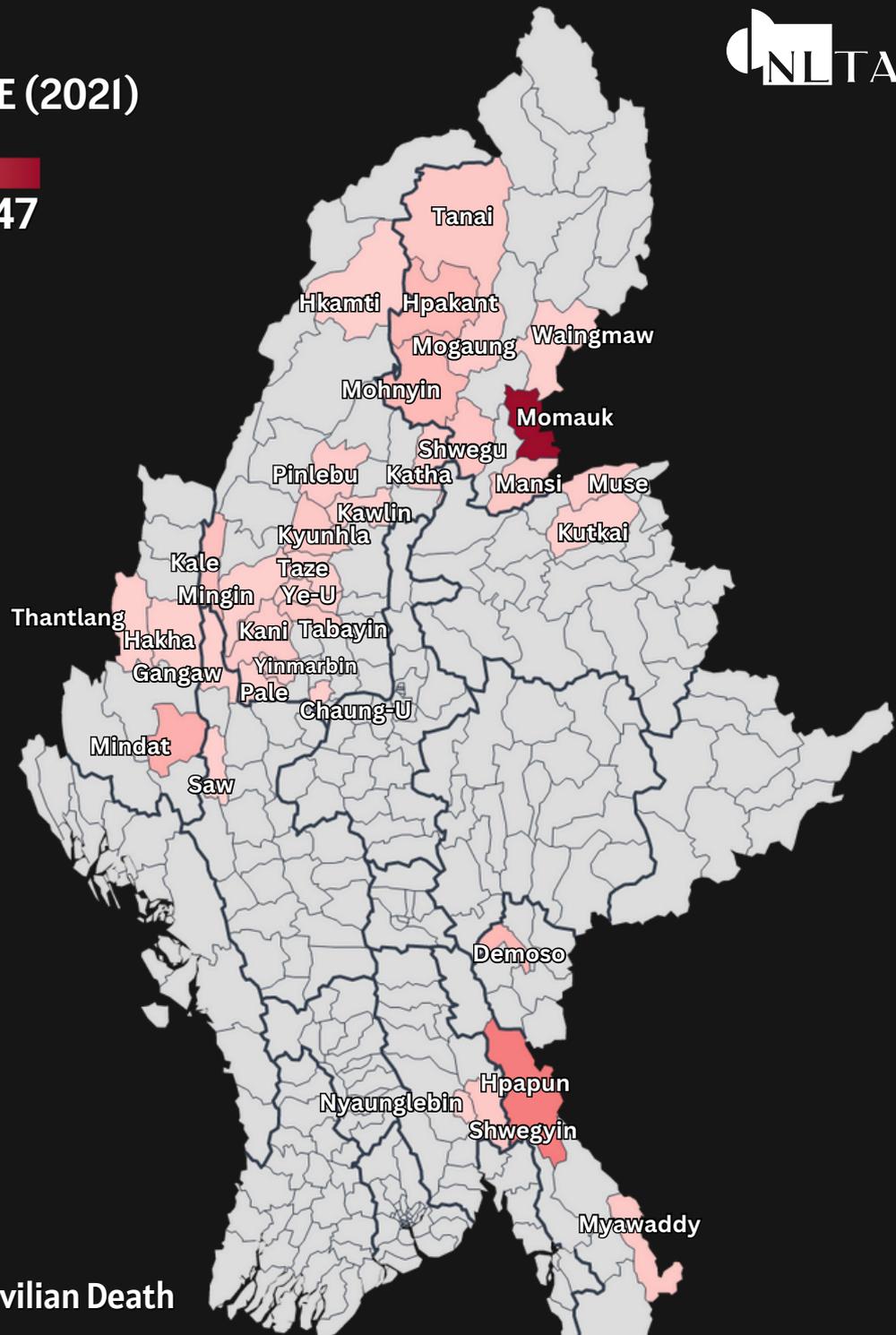
The junta announced a temporary ceasefire agreement between April 1st and 30th 2021, however, from late March to May, the junta forces launched heavy ammunition and air offensive to the Mutraw of KNU (Karen, Hpa Pon) in which 12 civilians were found dead. (Long, 2022) noted that it was the first air strike in KNU areas in 25 years. Free Burma Rangers also stated that the airstrikes in Hpa Pon and Nyaung Lay Pin are the most intensive attacks in 20 years. (RFA, 2021) Over 12,000 civilians were displaced due to the attack.

In later months, the junta conducted aerial attacks in the armed conflicts in Kachin, Karenni, Upper Shan, and Karen according to the recorded data from the media. There were 153 airstrikes with the possibility to be 165¹³ airstrikes in the mentioned regions. A total of 74 civilians were found dead.¹⁴

¹³ The announced airstrike number may be less than in actual operation due to security and armed strategy.

¹⁴ Data by Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica

FREQUENCY OF AIRSTRIKE (2021)



Highest Airstrike Frequency & Civilian Death According to Township

No	Township	Frequency	Township	Death
1	Momauk	47	Shwegyin	17
2	Hpapun	23	Ye-U, Kale	10
3	Mindat	10	Gangaw, Momauk	9
4	Demoso, Mohnyin, Hpakant	7	Nyaunglebin, Hpapun	6
5	Kale	5	Tabayin	4

5.2 Civilian Killings by Aerial Attacks (2022)

The aerial attacks targeting civilians can vividly be seen in 2022: attack on monastery school, church, hospital opening ceremonies and not limited to metal mines. The junta aircraft dropped bombs to the Tha Pyu lead mines in Kyainseikgyi for 4 times although there were no armed conflicts near the area and the first incident in November, 2022 killed 3 workers. (KIC, 2022) Later in January 2023, the fourth aerial attack was committed on the same mine. The junta's aerial attacks have significantly increased in 2022 with a total number of 820 attacks with the possibility of reaching 924¹⁵ attacks. It destroyed at least 336 households and killed 268 civilians in 2022.

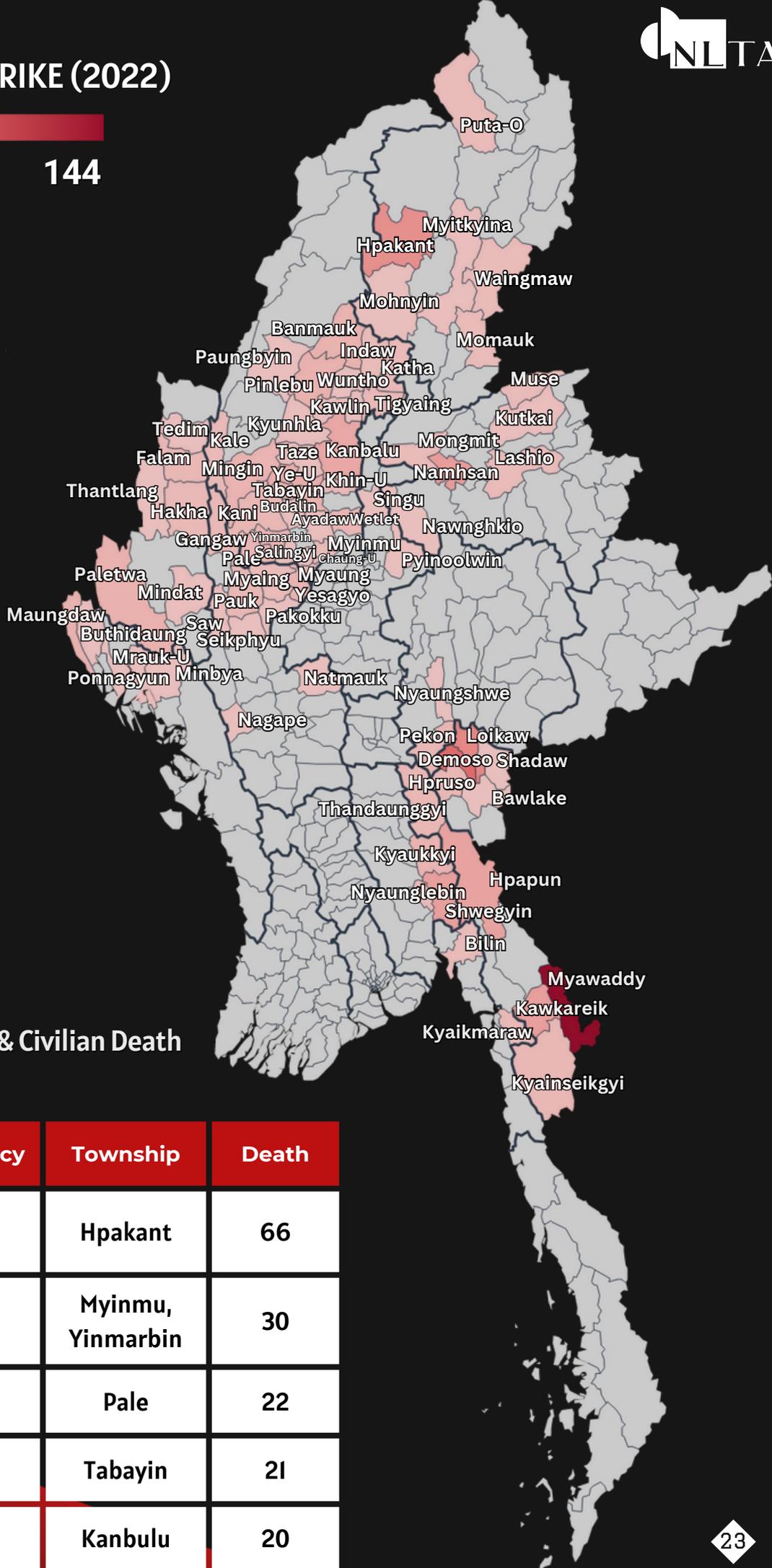


People in Karen fled to Thai border due to Air Strikes

Source: Myanmar Now

¹⁵ The announced air strike number may be less than in actual operation due to security and armed strategy.

FREQUENCY OF AIRSTRIKE (2022)



Highest Airstrike Frequency & Civilian Death According to Township

No	Township	Frequency	Township	Death
1	Myawaddy	144	Hpakant	66
2	Demoso	75	Myinmu, Yinmarbin	30
3	Loikaw	52	Pale	22
4	Hpakant	44	Tabayin	21
5	Namhsan	32	Kanbulu	20

CASE 1 Let Yat Kone Massacre

The junta forces opened fire to the monastery where children were studying on the 16th of September 2022. The monastery was in Let Yat Kone village, in Depeyin, Sagaing, where the armed revolutionary has been active. The Russian-made Mi-35 helicopter opened fire to the compound while children were playing and studying. The ruthless attack lasted nearly an hour and killed 13 people, undoubtedly 7 were children. (Yuzana, 2022) Moreover, 20 injured people were taken by the military troops and still could not locate them according to a father answering to DVB news. (DVB, 2022)



Aerial attack in
Let Yat Kone Monastery

Source: Radio Free Asia



Aerial attack in Let Yat Kone Monastery

Source: Cable News Network

CASE 2 Ah Nant Par

On the 23rd of October, 2022, civilians, artists, and political leaders gathered for the 62nd Anniversary of the foundation of the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) in Ah Nant Par village, located in Hpa Kant which was accompanied by entertainment and music events. On the night, supposedly Yak-130 model trainer dropped three bombs in the crowd that resulted in 62 casualties and over one hundred were injured. Not only the military deliberately attacked a public assembly, due to the blocking of medical treatment, but the death toll also increased and five days after the incident, there were 75 casualties.



“ The death toll will continue rising because many are in critical condition and cannot be taken to the hospital. ”

**Colonel Naw Bu- KIA Spokesperson
(The Irrawaddy, 2022)**

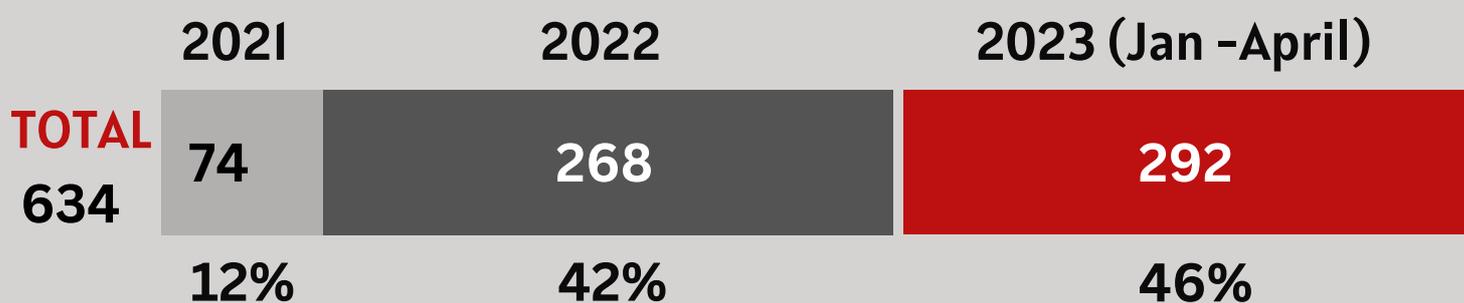


**The Military Bombing
in Ah Nant Par Event**

Source: Voice of America

5.3 Civilian Killings by Aerial Attacks (2023)

It is documented that altogether 454 aerial attacks with a possibility of 463¹⁶ in the first four months of 2023. These aerial attacks have killed 292 civilians especially in Kachin, Karen, Karenni, Chin, Magway, Sagaing and Shan. Compared to previous years, the military drastically launched aerial attacks since at the beginning of the year.

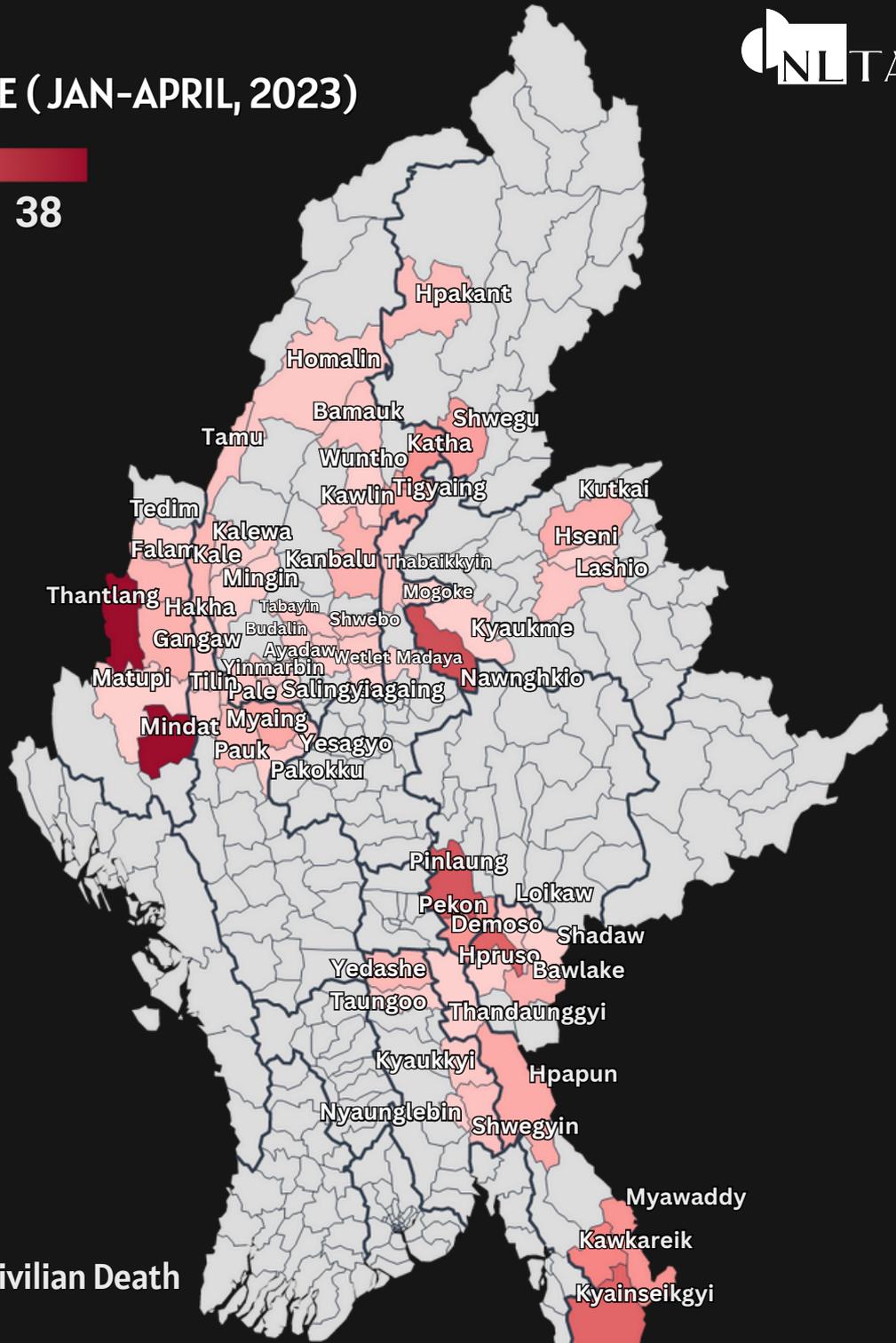


Civilian Deaths Due to Airstrikes by Military Junta

Source: Data Collection by Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica

¹⁶ The announced air strike number may be less than in actual operation due to security and armed strategy.

FREQUENCY OF AIRSTRIKE (JAN-APRIL, 2023)



Highest Airstrike Frequency & Civilian Death According to Township

No	Township	Frequency	Township	Death
1	Mindat, Thantlang	38	Kanbalu	168
2	Nawngkhio	30	Pinglaung	31
3	Pinlaung	29	Thantlang	18
4	Kyainseikgyi, Demoso	27	Falam, Hpapun	11
4	Kawkareik	21	Yinmarbin	9

CASE 1 Pa Zi Kyi Massacre

On the 11th of April, 2023, 168 villagers were killed due to aerial attacks, including bombing and gunship. It took place in Pa Zi Kyi village, Kantbalu where around 400 civilians are residing. On that day, the villagers are gathering for the opening event of the local administration office which was relocated at the outskirts of the village. Children, women, village chiefs, and a number of guests from near villages gathered. Around 8 am of local time, a jet fighter dropped two bombs onto the hall. Then when people were fleeing to hide, a helicopter committed gunship to the crowd. Within that day, in the evening when volunteers were performing assistance, another jet fighter came again and attacked the volunteers with guns. Within a day, the area was under attack for three times and 18 administration chiefs and 168 civilians were found dead: 118 males, 46 females, and 4 unidentified. Among them, 40 children of under 18 were included. There were two times that the military troops have come to Pa Zi Kyi but no conflict happened between the military troops and revolutionary organizations. However, villages at the west of villages were under attack for several times. At that time, jet fighters and helicopters were frequently seen around the areas. A week after the tragic operation, 3 military columns arrived in Kantbulu. Later, 200 militants came to Pa Zi Kyi village and performed area cleansing. Over 300 Pa Zi Kyi villagers and thousands from 6 villages around the area were displaced.

**Paziky Village After Aerial Attack**

Source: PVTV



Massacre in Pazigy Village,
Sagaing in April 2023

Source: MOH, NUG



“It is difficult to identify the dead bodies as the survival was little. Moreover, the bodies were burnt when being shot from the gunship. They were rotten and could not collect.”

Interview with a Volunteer
Working at the Scene

Children from Pazigy Village After Aerial Attack

Source: Yangon Khit Thit Media

CASE 2 Aerial Attacks in Chin**Htantlang, Khuafu village**

On 30th of March, Mi-35 combat helicopters of military attacked Khuafu village, Htantlang, Chin. Despite no conflict in the village, the military target aerial attacks on the civilian area that killed 10 civilians and destroyed the village.

Falam, Webula Town

On the same day of the military bombing at Pa Zi Kyi village, it also attacks Falam Township in Chin as well. The incident occurred when a jet fighter bombed at high school in Webula of Falam despite no ground military operation took place at the area. The attack killed at least nine residents at the high school. CNDF claimed that this civilian-targeted operation was in retaliation for the military operation that took place near Manipur earlier on that day. (Zaw, 2023)



Funeral at Kwar Pho Village After Aerial Attack

Source: Democratic Voice of Burma

6. STRIVING AGAINST AERIAL ATTACKS

6.1 No Fly Zone

Several times, the junta violated the temporary ceasefire agreement with EROs, and they would use air strikes even in the middle of the agreement. After the State of Emergency announcement, then in April 2021, Ambassador U Kyaw Moe Htun called for a no-fly zone and international sanctions at the United Nations. Since then, CSOs and the public are calling for a no-fly zone in the country towards the international community to safeguard air raids in civilian areas. Later in December 2021 and January 2022, Karen National Union (KNU), Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP), and Chin National Front (CNF) urged the international community to announce a no-fly zone in response to the ASEAN humanitarian aid plan by the UN envoy, Noeleen Hayzer, as the junta escalated aerial attacks in the villages of Chin, Sagaing, Magway, Karen and Karenni. **(The Irrawaddy, 2022)**

The Socialist and Democrats in EU parliament also demanded its partners and the Security Council to declare a no-fly zone to prevent further escalation and large scales of death. **(S&D, 2022)** Though EROs, CSOs, and Human Rights organizations have been petitioning to announce a no-fly zone, not much action taken for the demand by the international community and ASEAN, probably due to the high cost, neighboring countries do not allow it or due to the invasions and power crisis in the international community.

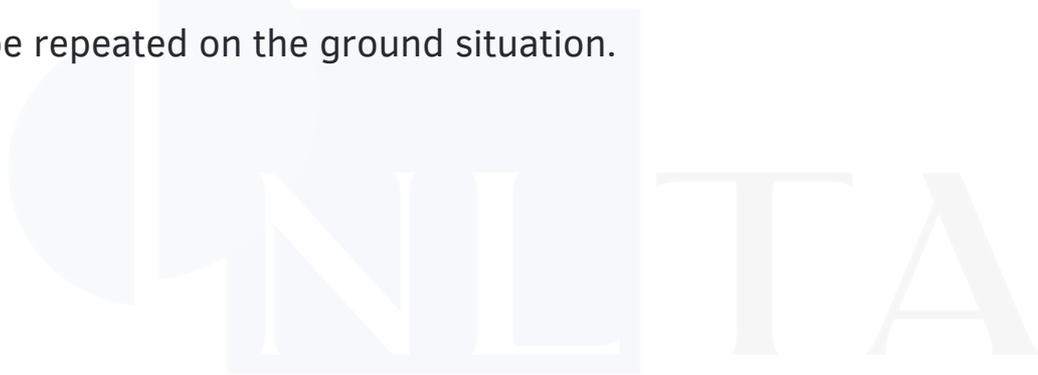
6.2 Suspending Aviation Fuel

Following the pro-democracy movements, another significant strategy of the people is boycotting junta goods and supporters in order to freeze money flow. To delay the junta's aerial attacks, revolutionary groups, CSOs, and the public are trying to pressure the oil and fuel company to not make sales to the junta, encourage the international community to put sanctions on the business individuals and companies associating with the junta for aviation fuel and arm.

This action also brought success that US, UK, Canada, EU and Australia have been sanctioning on the junta and affiliated cronies since the coup attempt. Sanctions covered treasury, and aircraft suppliers and the latest sanction announced in late March 2023 by US, UK and Canada was jet fuel suppliers that are six individuals and entities – Asia Sun Group and Trading and Cargo Link Petroleum Logistics. **(OFAC, 2023)** Until February 2023 EU has also been sanctioning 93 individuals and 18 entities. **(Aljazeera, 2023)** Additionally, foreign investments on energy and fuel such as Woodside, Total, Petronas, ENEOs, Mitsubishi, and Chevron announced to leave from the country after several petitions and pressures by advocacy groups. **(Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica, 2023)** At the same time, albeit some countries are putting sanctions as a condemnation for the junta's action, the countries must ensure that the sanctions also hold effectiveness on private enterprises of respective countries when the government makes sanctions. There are still entities like PTTEP and Puma Energy supplying jet fuel (Jet A-1) to the Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE) according to Deadly Cargo by Amnesty International.



Although some international actors are putting economic sanctions on both individuals and entities associated with the junta, it remains in power in the international arena with its selected partners. According to China Desk by ISP-Myanmar, China, Singapore, and Thailand are the highest economic neighbors for the 2022-2023 fiscal year with 56% of the trade. Therefore, it is necessary to find effective means of sanctions on fuel and arms. The international must amend required policy to strengthen the efficiency that is making the sanctions of governments cover its private enterprises. The fact that the junta can still trade with its allies despite the sanctions must be blocked at all cost, if not, loss of lives be repeated on the ground situation.



7. INTERNATIONAL COMPLICITY IN MASS MURDER BY MILITARY'S AERIAL ATTACKS

It has been two years of coup attempt and massive murders, however, the junta still gains a standing in both international and regional. Yet, it being able to withstand the oppositions and pressures were partly due to the bogus policy and indistinct actions of the international community. The goalless international measures and pressure shall be futile for junta that has been in power of using maximum armed force and financial.

The international community, including ASEAN needs to solve the humanitarian crisis of Myanmar by thinking outside the “Five-Point Consensus” box. The junta continuously committed violence against civilians even though the junta leader made the agreement in April 2021. Yet, it has already been two years and it is time for ASEAN to realize that the consensus might be redundant when neither the junta would follow their Five-point Consensus, nor the consensus would protect the civilians. When the junta has repeatedly violated international conventions, the “Five-point consensus of ASEAN”, is in vain and the UN and ASEAN cannot act behind such a smokescreen whenever the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar comes up. All things considered; ASEAN required a tangible resolution that would prone to solve the humanitarian crisis of Myanmar. The fact that ASEAN and the UN are transferring the responsibility of solving unjustified transgression of military and Myanmar's political downfall, by delaying and taking little to no action, encourages the junta to continue its brutality.

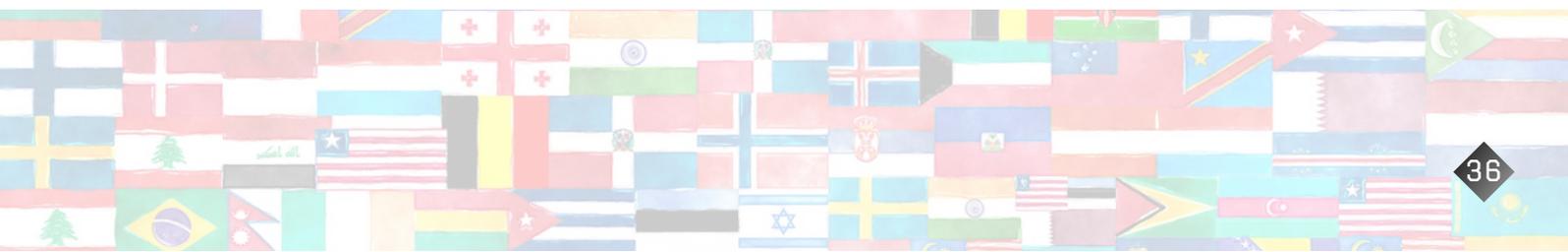
Historically experienced, the international community must further find a means to overcome the sanction trap, which is currently happening with the junta. Despite the treasury and aircraft sanctions by countries and organizations, it compacts international standing through its close related countries, such as Russia and China, and some neighboring countries like India, Thailand, and Singapore.

Evidence that some military craft has been imported from members of ASEAN, such as anti-drone jammers from a Singapore-based enterprise or Thailand-based aviation fuel partner, PTTEP, proves that the sanction should also be mandated under the regional organizations. The junta still engaging in the trading of oil, arms and military operation system, even though the sanction of Western countries means, effective cooperation between ASEAN as a regional organization and neighboring countries are still lacking, as they play a crucial role in successful pressure on the military.

Meanwhile, Russia and China not only the major aircraft and technical supporters of the junta but also members of the five-permanent at the UN Security Council, shall only lengthen the man-made crises in Myanmar. Similarly, the government's sanctions must cover its private enterprise as well. No matter how much sanctions are pressuring, when the private enterprises of respective countries can still coordinate directly or indirectly with the military, these correlations will continue benefitting the military high-rank person and their operations. That is why, including regulating the aid and rehabilitation with local organizations for civilians, the international needs to work on security measures protecting civilians from attacks of the military.

It is time to ask whether the international community and certain actors take enough action on the Myanmar issue. The condemnation and hazy sanctions are certainly not the limits of an international community and some actors. Frankly speaking, the sanctions by the US and its allies are to promote themselves and their values on democracy. Dr. Zarni claimed that **“the truth is neither the US (nor NATO for that matter) really care about the genocide of any group, unless screaming genocide advances Western interest” (Zarni, 2022)** Several controversies that, the genocide of Myanmar which was never formally intervened except showing intentions by a country, compared to 33 nation-states declared intervention to the genocide of Ukraine Vs Russia which happened months ago. **(University of Tasmania. 2023)** At some point, for the sake of humanitarian crisis and democratic transition, the international community must act accordingly by passing over respective nations' interests. The approach of the international community must be through a sense of genuine protection measures for the civilians rather than their power struggle, power alliance, or economic alliance. Both self-interests based, lagging actions taken and unconscious racism by the different international actors and communities are hindering the rights of Myanmar civilians and culprits of the worsening violations.

The international community must admit that they remained silent when the political downfall and unjustified actions began in Myanmar. For commercial and geopolitical interests, some actors like China intervene and draw conclusions in their favor while others turn a blind eye as Myanmar is not a geopolitical proxy for them compared to other countries facing a crisis. The actors mediating with the junta must realize



that unless justice would bring to the victims with indiscriminate political identity, fairly, revolutionary forces are reluctant to come to a closure for the sugar-coated peace resolution. They must recognize that the revolution against dictatorship and discriminated identity has existed in the country for decades, and the Spring Revolution and its escalation can be regarded as a continuation of such oppression. The junta oppressed - people revolve - the junta intensive oppression to the revolution - then people revolving for continue violations, has been a vicious circle since no later from the independence. Therefore, when initiating the approach, the international community is required to consider the institutionalized and politicized crisis rather than roughly drawing conclusions solely on the Spring Revolution and their interests. The international community must listen to the voices of revolutionaries and EROs either to solve the crisis or political reform, not the ones who are committing Human Rights violations. The only dialogue with the junta should be to condemn the violations without any political purpose.

Since World War II, the international community has been engaging through organizations like the UN or conventions and treaties, not only for the development in terms of social and economy but also to protect from unjustified death and violations against humanity. Bringing justice as a cure for the humanitarian crisis doesn't relate to either external or internal affairs. Myanmar civilians have been facing excessive violations including genocide, and a crime against humanity by the military. The fact that the international community lacks a credible approach to finding justice for the victims is an insult to the whole purpose of international engagements and mechanisms.

8. CONCLUSION

Since 2021, the number of aerial operations by the military has escalated together with mass death and displacements in the region. Most of the operations took place in Kachin, Karen, Karenni, Shan, Chin, Sagaing, and Magway. With accelerated air attacks, there are a total of (1427) cases in which the junta used air strikes, and these took (634) people dead. The military uses air crafts in the conditions of deployment, scouting, when facing defeat in the frontal or when receiving information regarding EROs, PDFs' quarter. It shows little to no mercy that it conducts aerial attacks despite the civilians residing in the area: villages, shelters, religious buildings, and hospitals. That is, the case of Paziky village and Ah Nant Par, which took 168 civilians and 62 civilians respectively, can help to assume that the military committed civilian target air strikes. These cases show the vandalism of using air forces can be ruthless and result in worsen humanitarian crisis. With the more frequent use of air forces through the years, the lives of civilians are endangered without any credible prevention and humanitarian aid.

The junta's foreign relations are mainly with its selected handful allies and through them, it is accessing the international arena. Russia, China and India being allies with military for their interest by selling armed, aircrafts, technology, and regional actors – Thailand: its enterprise supporting air fuel. On the other hand, other international actors such as UN, US, UK, Canada and EU countries are condemning the military's

actions and continue putting ineffective sanctions in reality. However, the junta is still managing to remain in power and the worst is, it holds the highest position of manipulating the finance and force. No wonder, the sanction trap has resulted.

The international community viewed the crisis and political downfall based on the 2020 General Election and coup attempt. In reality, the junta's abuse of power has never completely halted. The military controlled and limited the politics and economic for their interest blockage caused Myanmar not being able to perform political reform since 1960s. The international community must see the whole prolong process, complexity in politics between military which mainly consists of Burmans and other revolutionaries to solve the problem of Myanmar.

The military's indiscriminate and deliberate use of force, targeting civilians and civilian infrastructure is never an internal affair. Relatedly, after the 2021 coup attempt, the violations of Human Rights, the Geneva Convention and International Humanitarian Law have enlarged either in the frontier area or urban as well. The international community is responsible to protect and help civilians from this man-made disaster. The community especially neighboring countries should regulate humanitarian aid and cross-border aid with revolutionary organizations, such as NUG and EROs which are directly dealing with the displaced people or victims of violations by the military junta. If not, the disregarding actions of international community will turn as a silent perpetrator to military's mass murder: Genocide, crimes against humanity and war crime.

9. ABBREVIATION

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CNF	Chin National Front
CSO	Civil Society Organization
ERO	Ethnic Revolutionary Organization / Ethnic Resistance Organization
EU	European Union
KNPP	Karenni National Progressive Party
KNU	Karen National Union
MAF	Myanmar Air Force
NUG	National Unity Government
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
PDF	People's Defense Force
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America

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9. Yangon Khit Thit Media
10. The 74 Media
11. Mizzima News
12. Burma VJ
13. Democratic Voice of Burma
14. Than Lwin Khet News
15. 1221 cd.org
16. Golden Hope Defence Force- Ye-U
17. Dragon Urban Guerrilla
18. Shan News- Burmese
19. Karenni Nationalities Defense Force - KNDF BO
20. Karenni Nationalities Defense Force
21. Myaelatt Athan
22. သံမဏိ Force_MPDF Battalion
23. Kachin Waves
24. Khonumthung Burmese
25. Thit Htoo Lwin News
26. Shwe Phee Myay News Agency
27. Mandalay Free Press- MFP
28. PDF Reference News
29. Chatthin Revolution- CTN-R
30. Karen Information Center- KIC
31. Kawlin Revolution - KR
32. People's Spring
33. Than Lwin Times
34. Ayar Times
35. People Revolution Army
36. ရွှေဘိုမြို့နယ်တော်လှန်ရေးတပ်ပေါင်းစု
37. Development Media Group
38. Delta News Agency
39. Chin National Front - Headquarters
40. Myanmar Peace Monitor
41. PSLF- TNLA
42. Time

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