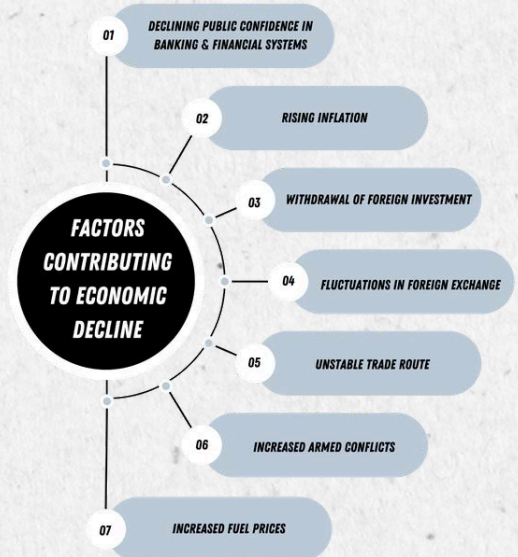


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9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township



Myanmar's political, economic, and social conditions have deteriorated rapidly following the military attempted coup in February 2021. In the aftermath of the coup, the country's gross domestic product (GDP) declined significantly. The GDP contracted by 12% in 2021, followed by modest growth of 4% in 2022 and 1% in 2023. However, economic performance weakened again, with GDP declining by 1% in 2024 and a further 2.5% in 2025.¹ These trends indicate that the country's fundamental economic structures remain fragile and continue to face significant challenges.

The economic decline has been driven by several key factors, including the continued withdrawal of foreign investment, declining public confidence in the banking and financial system, rising inflation, and the intensification of armed conflict. Similarly, unstable trade routes, increased fuel prices, and significant fluctuations in foreign exchange rates have severely affected domestic production and small-scale businesses. As a result, economic activities have been disrupted, livelihoods have deteriorated, and the overall resilience of local economies has weakened.

In addition, the military regime enacted and began enforcing the unlawful conscription law in 2024, prompting many young people to migrate abroad. This development has contributed to a significant loss of human capital, leading to a decline in the domestic labor force, shortages of skilled workers, and further reductions in productivity and economic output.

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

Economic Collapse – Socio-Economic Crisis in Sagaing Region

Amid the severe deterioration of socio-economic conditions across the country, Sagaing Region, which is a stronghold area for armed struggles, has experienced a growing socio-economic crisis. Prior to the escalation of armed conflicts, Sagaing Region was one of Myanmar's key agricultural production hubs, playing a vital role in supporting both the regional economy and the country's food security through the cultivation of rice, pulses, oilseed crops, and livestock farming. According to data from CEIC, the total area under paddy cultivation in Sagaing Region exceeded 2.1 million acres in 2019 and remained above 1.8 million acres in both 2020 and 2021.²

However, following the 2021 military attempted coup, Sagaing Region's agriculture-based economy was severely disrupted.

Particularly, repeated military village raids including burning and destruction of villages, airstrikes and artillery attacks caused extensive damage to local livelihoods and economic activities

These conditions led to a sharp increase in the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and resulted in significant labor shortages in the agricultural sector.

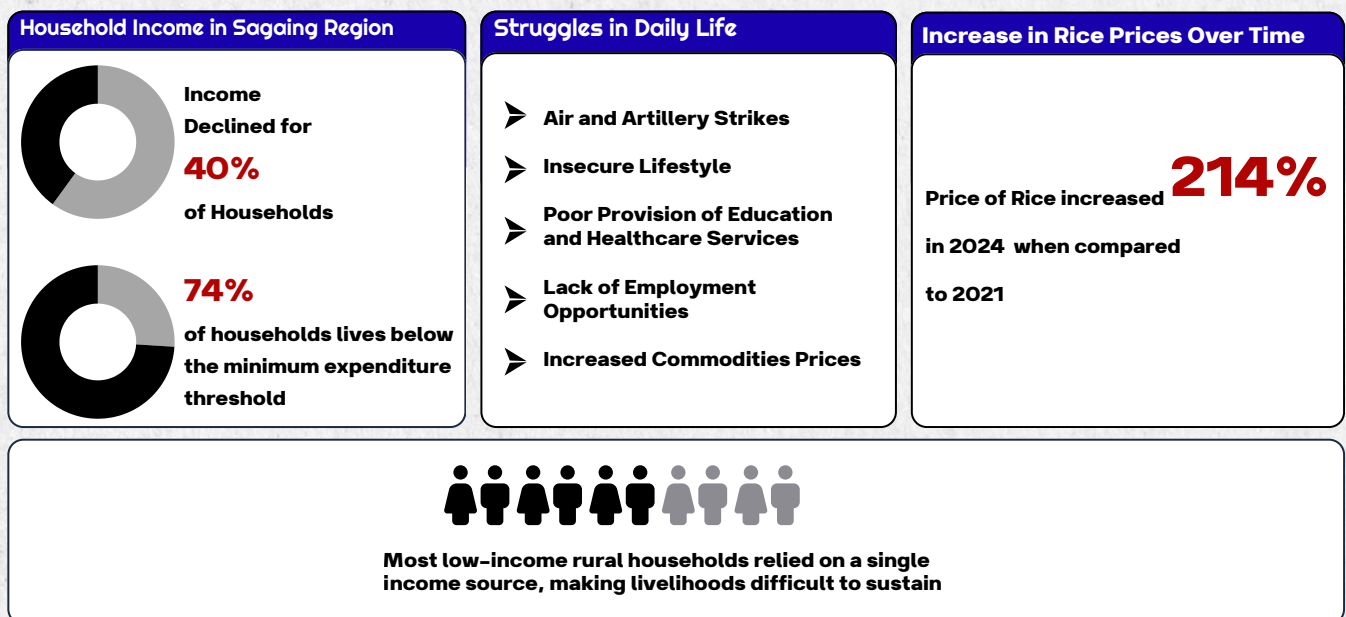


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9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

Consequently, many farmers were forced to abandon agricultural activities, and the total cultivated area declined substantially. Compared to 2020, the area under cultivation had decreased by 19% by 2023.³ Furthermore, disruptions to trade routes, coupled with sharp increases in fuel prices and agricultural input costs, placed additional pressure on the agricultural sector. As a result, GDP generated from agriculture and related production activities declined significantly, further weakening the region's economic foundation.



According to survey findings, 40% of households in Sagaing Region experienced a decline in income in 2023 due to job losses, limited market access, and the loss of assets and property. In addition, approximately 74% of households were found to be living below the minimum expenditure threshold. Most households relied on a single source of income, making it increasingly difficult for low-income families and rural households to sustain their livelihoods. Military checkpoints, security concerns, and rising prices of essential goods and services have significantly increased the cost of living for local communities. As a result, many households have faced growing economic hardship and reduced purchasing power. In Sagaing Region, the price of rice increased by 214% in 2024 compared to 2021, further exacerbating food insecurity and placing additional financial pressure on vulnerable households.⁴

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9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

Since 2021, socio-economic conditions in the region have deteriorated significantly, while the provision of basic social services has been severely disrupted. As armed conflict has persisted, the regular operation of education and healthcare services has weakened, and many schools and healthcare facilities in rural areas have been forced to suspend their activities. Students across Sagaing Region continue to pursue their education despite the constant threat of airstrikes and military village raids. Despite ongoing security risks and growing economic hardship, many parents remain committed to sending their children to school, recognizing education as essential to their children's future. However, repeated airstrikes by the military junta targeting schools and other populated areas have heightened fears among communities, making parents increasingly reluctant to send their children to school and undermining access to education.

Planes Overhead, Earthquakes Underfoot

The devastating 7.7-magnitude earthquake that struck near Sagaing City on 28 March 2025 further compounded the multiple crises facing Myanmar. The earthquake claimed the lives of 5,352 people and injured 7,108 others.⁵ At least 38,413 structures, including homes, schools, hospitals, and religious buildings, were damaged or destroyed, affecting an estimated 20 million people across the country.⁶



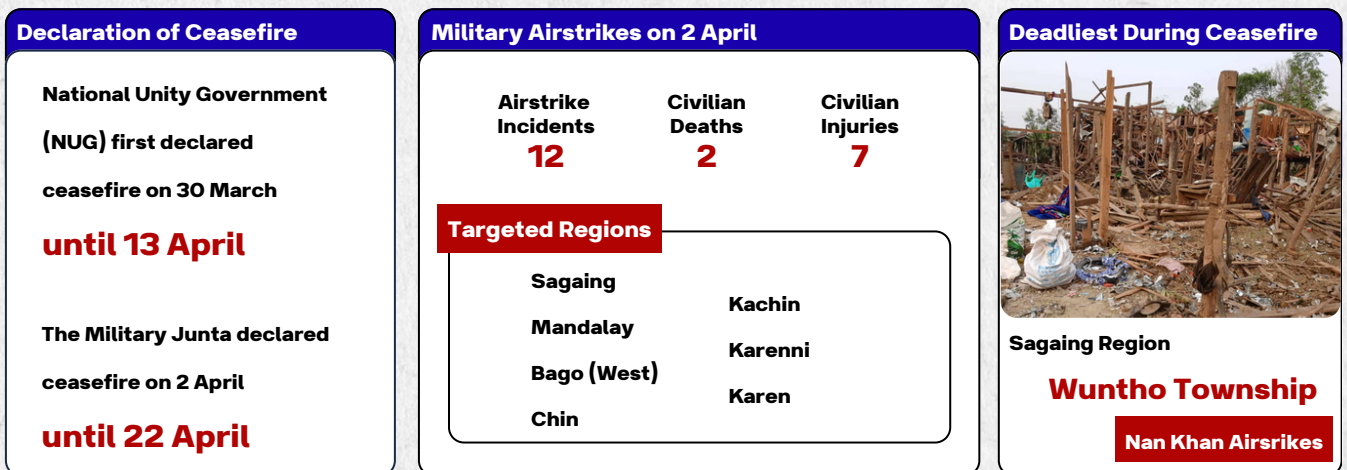
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9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

The Sagaing earthquake caused an estimated USD 11 billion in damages and losses which was equivalent to approximately 14% of the country's GDP, leaving affected communities in urgent need of humanitarian assistance and recovery support.⁷ Although the international community responded rapidly with emergency relief and rescue efforts, the military regime prioritized territorial control over humanitarian needs and imposed restrictions on emergency response operations. As a result, humanitarian assistance was delayed or obstructed in many affected areas, contributing to preventable loss of life and worsening the suffering of earthquake-affected communities. Sagaing Region was among the areas most severely affected by the earthquake, with approximately three million people impacted by the disaster.⁸ Despite the scale of the devastation, rescue and humanitarian response teams were only granted access to Sagaing Region two days after the earthquake occurred.

Violations of the Ceasefire Declaration



The devastating earthquake caused widespread casualties and extensive damage to homes and critical infrastructure across Sagaing, Mandalay, Nay Pyi Taw, Bago (East), and Shan (South) regions. Communities in these areas faced a severe humanitarian crisis, prompting the military junta to declare a state of emergency in the regions most heavily affected by the disaster.

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

To facilitate the effective delivery of emergency rescue operations and humanitarian assistance to earthquake-affected communities, the National Unity Government (NUG) announced a temporary ceasefire until 13 April 2025.⁹ Similarly, the military junta declared a 20-day ceasefire from 2 to 22 April 2025.¹⁰

However, on the very day it announced the ceasefire (2 April), the military junta carried out airstrikes in multiple locations, including Indaw Township in Sagaing Region, Singu Township in Mandalay Region, as well as townships in Bago (West), Chin, Kachin, Karenni, and Karen regions. A total of 12 airstrike incidents were recorded on 2 April alone, resulting in the deaths of two civilians and injuries to seven others. Despite its ceasefire declaration, the military junta continued conducting airstrikes throughout the ceasefire period.¹¹

Continued Airstrikes Amid Sagaing Earthquake

Between 2 and 22 April 2025, a total of 192 airstrike incidents were recorded across Myanmar. These attacks resulted in the deaths of 153 civilians and injuries to 336 others. In addition, two healthcare centers, 12 educational facilities and 21 religious buildings were damaged. Notably, Sagaing and Mandalay Regions, both of which were among the areas most severely affected by the earthquake, also experienced the highest number of airstrikes during the ceasefire period. In Sagaing Region, 36 airstrike incidents were recorded, resulting in 59 civilian deaths and 125 injuries. Similarly, Mandalay Region experienced 34 airstrikes, causing 44 deaths and 101 injuries.

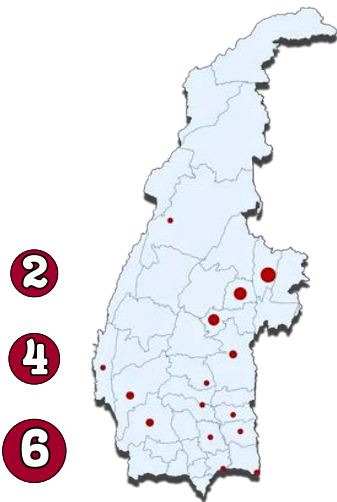
Although these regions were in urgent need of humanitarian assistance and disaster relief following the earthquake, local communities were forced to endure the dual impacts of a natural disaster and ongoing armed attacks. Despite announcing a 20-day ceasefire to facilitate relief efforts in earthquake-affected areas, the military junta failed to adhere to its declaration and continued carrying out airstrikes on a daily basis. Among these incidents, the airstrikes on Nan Khan Village, Wuntho Township, Sagaing Region, stands out as one of the deadliest attacks. The village was struck twice by fighter jets, resulting in severe casualties and significant destruction during the declared ceasefire period.

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9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

Airstrikes Impact in Sagaing (2-22 April 2025)



59+ [At least] **Civilian Deaths**

Across 15 Townships

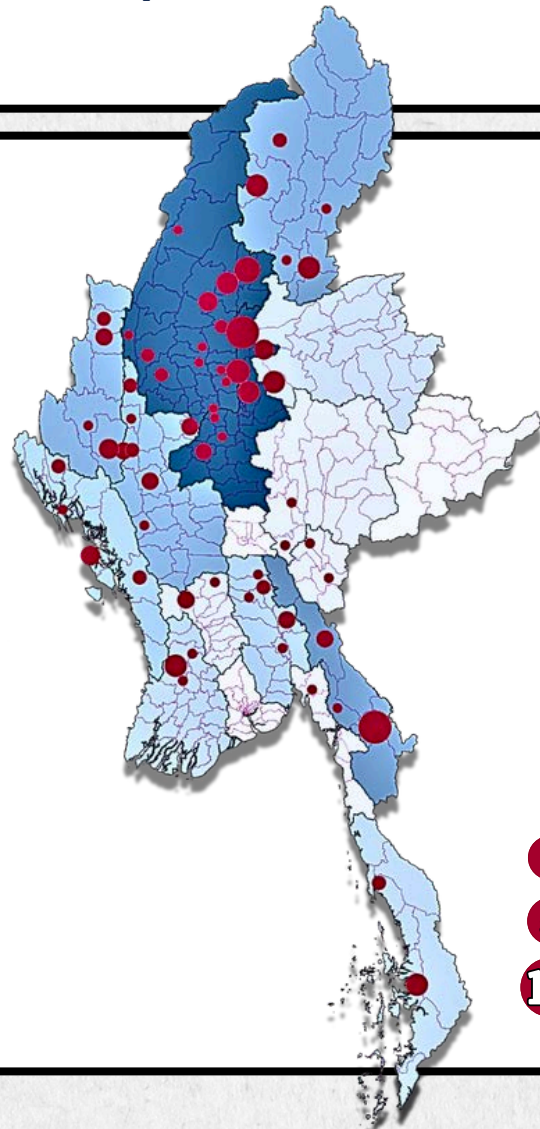
CIVILIAN INJURIES:	125+	[At least]
EDUCATION BUILDINGS:	4+	[At least]
HEALTHCARE BUILDINGS:	1+	[At least]
RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS:	7+	[At least]

Airstrikes Impact by Township (2-22 April 2025)

153+ [At least] **Civilian Deaths**

Across 68 Townships

Civilian Injuries	336+	[At least]
Education Buildings	12+	[At least]
Healthcare Buildings	2+	[At least]
Religious Buildings	21+	[At least]



NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

Nan Khan Village – Airstrike Incident

According to Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica, Wuntho Township experienced a total of 13 airstrikes between February 2021 and April 2026. These attacks resulted in the deaths of at least 30 civilians and injuries to at least 40 others. In addition, one school and two religious buildings were damaged.



Nan Khan Village, located in Wuntho Township, Sagaing Region, is a large and densely populated village with more than 2,000 households. Situated near transportation routes connecting Wuntho Township with Indaw and Kawlin townships, the village serves as an important socio-economic hub within the region. Following the military attempted coup in 2021, escalating military operations and intensifying armed conflicts across Sagaing Region transformed Nan Khan Village into a temporary refuge for internally displaced persons (IDPs) fleeing violence and insecurity in surrounding areas.

UNFORGETTABLE:

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

Nan Khan Village experienced its first airstrike on 10 February 2024. During the attack, three bombs were dropped from an aircraft near the village railway station and market area. The attack killed three civilians, including two children aged six and thirteen.

The second airstrike on Nan Khan Village occurred on 9 April 2025, 12 days after the Sagaing Earthquake. The military regime carried out two separate airstrikes using fighter jets, one at approximately 15:00 and another at around 18:00. These attacks resulted in the deaths of 26 civilians and injuries to at least 25 others. According to local sources, the bombs struck and exploded near the Nan Khan road junction and in the vicinity of the township-level hospital, causing extensive civilian casualties and damage.

According to a member of the local People's Administration Team (Pa Ah Pha), the explosion was so powerful that some victims suffered traumatic dismemberment. He further stated that, because the blast site was located close to the railway tracks, sections of the rail line were severed and damaged, with fragments of the tracks being thrown approximately 150 feet from the point of impact. The airstrikes also damaged eight houses. In addition, a building used as accommodation for medical personnel within the compound of Nan Khan Township Hospital was directly hit by the airstrikes.



NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

“We did not hear anything at all. We never heard the aircraft. By the time we realized what was happening, the bombs had already fallen, and everyone was thrown into panic and confusion. Some people ran, while others took cover on the ground. Around three or four bombs were dropped. Then, at about six o’clock in the evening, they carried out another strike. The first attack hit our compound, and the second hit the hospital compound.”

According to Win Win (pseudonym), a resident of Nan Khan Village, the airstrike occurred at approximately 15:00 on 9 April 2025 while family members were gathered and resting within their household compound. As is common in many rural communities, five households were residing together within the same compound. The airstrikes caused severe casualties among family members. One of her nieces was killed in the attack, while her son and another nephew sustained injuries so severe that they required leg amputations. Win Win herself lost sight in one eye as a result of the explosion.

The first airstrike, carried out at approximately 15:00 on 9 April, struck a row of market stalls and other crowded public areas. As a result, civilians returning from a local festival, individuals shopping in the market, and people at nearby food stalls were among those killed and injured in the attack. The second airstrike occurred at around 18:00 and targeted an area near Nan Khan Township Hospital.

However, due to the deteriorating security situation since 2021, the hospital had not been operating normally for several years. As the facility was not providing regular medical services at the time of the attack, no patients or medical staff were reported injured. Nevertheless, a residential building constructed to accommodate doctors within the compound was directly struck by a bomb and severely destroyed.

“Despite the aircraft circling overhead, the nurse refused to leave the injured, saying she would stay with the community no matter the risk. As the number of casualties exceeded what she could manage alone, she arranged for the wounded to be transported to the nearest hospital, about an hour away.”

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

Aftermath of the airstrikes

The airstrike on Nan Khan Village not only claimed lives but also profoundly altered the lives of local residents. On 9 April 2025, the military regime carried out two airstrikes against the village, resulting in the deaths of 26 civilians and injuries to 25 others. The force of the explosions was extremely powerful, causing severe bodily trauma to many of those killed. Survivors also suffered devastating injuries, including the loss of limbs, blindness caused by shrapnel wounds, and the loss of other parts of the body. The attack left many victims with life-altering disabilities and long-term physical and psychological consequences.

Following the first airstrikes in 2024, many residents were forced to flee the village. After nearly a year of displacement, villagers had gradually begun returning, and Nan Khan Village was once again becoming lively and crowded. However, the April 2025 attack struck directly near the crowded market area, resulting in a high number of civilian casualties and causing renewed disruption to local livelihoods. To this day, many residents whose homes and businesses were destroyed have been unable to return to the village. Instead, they continue to seek shelter in temporary makeshift tents in nearby forests.



NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

In addition to losing their homes and property, many remain fearful of further airstrikes, making them reluctant to resume their businesses or rebuild their lives. Some families are still unable to reconstruct their homes due to a lack of resources and ongoing insecurity. As a result, they continue to survive through casual and irregular work while living in temporary shelters in the forest areas.

More enduring than the physical destruction are the unforgettable psychological scars left behind by the attack. Prolonged displacement in temporary shelters has eroded many residents' sense of safety and security. The need to immediately seek cover whenever an aircraft is heard overhead has become a routine part of daily life. For some, even the sounds of cars or motorcycles can trigger fear and panic, as they associate unfamiliar noises with the threat of another airstrike.

"I believe more than 20 people were killed. The attack struck a busy road junction lined with shops and crowded with civilians. When the bombs hit, people in the shops, on the road, and in nearby homes were all affected. Our compound, where five households lived together, was directly hit, damaging all five houses and causing multiple deaths and injuries."

"Everyone who has experienced an airstrike lives in fear that it could happen again. Even those who have not experienced one directly are afraid. Whenever people hear an aircraft, they immediately lie flat on the ground without even looking up. Even the sound of an engine or a passing vehicle can trigger fear, as people wonder whether an aircraft is approaching. They have become used to constantly listening and staying alert to every sound."

Those who have lost family members continue to live with the fear of further loss, while survivors who were injured remain preoccupied with the possibility of permanent disability or the long-term consequences of losing limbs, eyesight, or other bodily functions.

In addition, Nan Khan Village has experienced frequent disruptions to telephone and internet services since 2021 and has had only limited access to healthcare services. The recurrence of airstrikes amid already weakened access to basic services has further compounded the hardships faced by local communities. The combination of insecurity, inadequate public services, and repeated exposure to violence has significantly undermined the resilience and overall quality of life of affected households.

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

Who Was Responsible for the Nan Khan Village Airstrikes?

Under the Myanmar military's command structure, Sagaing Region falls under the direct command of the Northwestern Regional Military Command (RMC). Within the military's operational command framework, the region is also placed under the operational control of the No. 1 Bureau of Special Operations (BSO-1). Subsequently, ground offensives, troop deployments, and other military activities conducted within Sagaing Region are directly supervised and commanded by the Northwestern RMC. At the strategic and operational levels, these military operations are coordinated and overseen by BSO-1. Consequently, the Northwestern Regional Military Command serves as the primary regional command responsible for directing ground military operations in Sagaing Region, while BSO-1 functions as the higher-level command authority responsible for operational planning, coordination, and strategic oversight.

During the period in which Nankham Village was subjected to aerial attacks in 2024 and 2025, two commanders of the Northwestern RMC and one commander of the BSO-1 held responsibility for military operations in the region. Major General Than Htike (Army No. 28146, DSA Intake 38) served as Commander of the Northwestern RMC from January 2022 to November 2024. He was succeeded by Major General Myo Min Htwe (Army No. 31049, OTC Intake 26), who held the position from December 2024 to November 2025. The Commander of BSO-1 during this period was Lieutenant General Ko Ko Oo (Army No. 28119, DSA Intake 38).¹² All three officers possessed extensive ground combat experience. During their respective tenures, Sagaing Region witnessed a marked escalation in military offensives, village raids, air and artillery attacks. The frequency and intensity of military activities increased significantly, contributing to the deterioration of the security situation and the heightened impact of armed conflict on civilian populations throughout the region.

UNFORGETTABLE:

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township



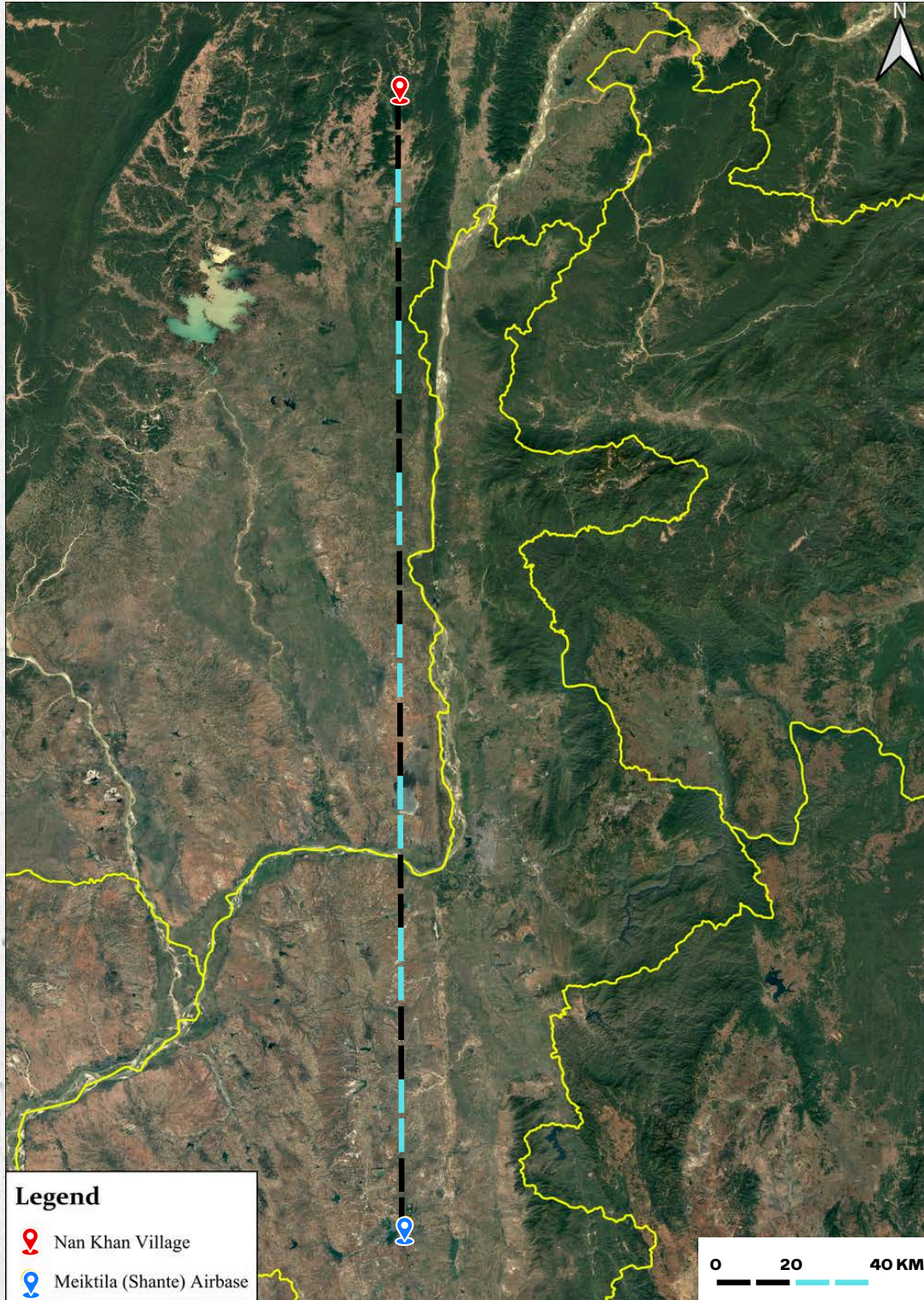
In addition, the military has frequently leveraged its air superiority to conduct aerial attacks not only during armed engagements but also against civilian-populated areas. The air bases used to launch these operations play a critical role in enabling such attacks. Located in central Myanmar, the Meiktila (Shante) Air Base possesses significant strategic advantages, allowing the rapid deployment of air operations to northern, northwestern, and eastern parts of the country. The base serves not only as a major training facility for the Myanmar Air Force but also as a key operational hub capable of supporting simultaneous military operations across multiple regions. Multiple reports indicated that the fighter jets involved in the 9 April 2025 airstrike on Nan Khan Village were deployed from Meiktila (Shante) Air Base. Since 2021, the military regime has streamlined its airstrike authorization process to facilitate more rapid aerial operations, allowing requests for air support to be submitted directly by ground force commanders and regional military commanders. Consequently, in the case of the Nan Khan Village airstrike, the commanders of the BSO-1 and the RMC overseeing Sagaing Region bear primary command responsibility for the operation. Given their authority over military activities in the region and their ability to request and coordinate air support, these commanders occupied key positions within the chain of command linked to the attack.

UNFORGETTABLE:

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township



DISTANCE FROM MEIKTILA (SHANTE) AIR BASE TO NAN KHAN VILLAGE

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

How Much Did Airstrikes During Ceasefire period cost?

The Myanmar Air Force primarily operates four types of jet aircraft: the Yak-130, FTC-2000G, K-8, and MiG-29. Research findings indicate that the airstrike on Nan Khan Village was carried out by fighter jets deployed from Meiktila (Shante) Air Base. The direct flight distance between Meiktila and Nan Khan Village is estimated to be approximately 365 kilometers. Taking both the outbound and return journeys into account, the total flight distance for the mission is estimated at approximately 700–800 kilometers. Aircraft such as the Yak-130 and FTC-2000G have a typical cruising speed of approximately 850–900 kilometers per hour, enabling them to reach Nan Khan from Meiktila in less than one hour. Accordingly, the round-trip flight is estimated to have taken approximately two hours, excluding any time spent loitering over the target area or conducting attack runs.

The cost of an airstrike cannot be measured by fuel consumption alone. A full assessment should also include the cost of munitions used during the operation, post-flight maintenance and repairs, depreciation of aircraft engines and airframes, replacement of spare parts, ground support and logistics operations, and pilot training and sustainment. Consequently, the overall cost of an airstrike reflects both the direct expenses of the mission and the broader resources required to maintain operational air capabilities.

Assuming a total mission duration of two hours which included outbound and return flights, target identification, and attack operations, the flight cost alone for Nan Khan Village airstrike is estimated to range from approximately USD 330 to USD 2,450, depending on the aircraft type used. When the cost of bombs and other munitions is included, the total cost of a single air operation could range from approximately USD 2,330 to USD 4,450, depending on the weapons employed. If two separate airstrikes were conducted on the same day and involved two or more aircrafts, the overall operational cost could be estimated to reach tens of thousands of US dollars. Between 2 and 22 April 2025, despite declaring a ceasefire following the earthquake, the military junta carried out 192 airstrike incidents across the country. Based on fuel consumption alone, these operations are estimated to have cost between approximately USD 63,360 and USD 470,400.

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

This estimate does not include expenditures related to munitions, aircraft maintenance, spare parts replacement, ground support operations, or other indirect costs associated with sustaining air operations. These expenditures not only illustrate the scale of military resources devoted to a single operation but also provide an important benchmark for understanding the broader impact of the attack. They allow for a comparison between the cost of conducting airstrikes and the losses suffered by civilians, including lives lost, homes destroyed, livelihoods disrupted, and communities displaced. Such a comparison underscores the significant human and socio-economic costs imposed on civilian populations as a result of military operations.

Perpetuating Insecurity and Fear

The military junta's reliance on air power has increased significantly as its ability to maintain territorial control on the ground has weakened. This trend has been particularly evident in areas where resistance forces have expanded their influence and operational presence. In response, the military regime has increasingly relied on aerial operations to exert military pressure in areas where its ground forces have limited control, rather than conducting large-scale ground deployments. In other words, the military junta has sought to compensate for its declining military and administrative influence on the ground by leveraging its superiority in the air.

The primary objective of these airstrikes appears to extend beyond the recapture of territory. Rather, they have contributed to the disruption of daily life, the spread of fear and insecurity among local populations, and the creation of an environment of persistent uncertainty. In areas regularly exposed to airstrikes, markets, schools, healthcare services, and livelihood activities are frequently disrupted or unable to operate normally. The continuing threat of attack not only affects physical security but also undermines community resilience, economic stability, and access to essential services, leaving civilians to cope with prolonged insecurity and fear.

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

Between 29 March 2025 and 30 April 2026, the military junta carried out a total of 490 airstrikes in Sagaing Region. These attacks resulted in the deaths of 625 civilians and injuries to 1,205 others. In addition, military offensives and village burning operations caused the deaths of 207 civilians and injured a further 64 civilians. The combined impact of airstrikes, ground operations, and the destruction of civilian property has also contributed to a growing number of people being forced to flee their homes and seek safety elsewhere.

Prior to the devastating earthquake, Sagaing and Mandalay regions had already been subjected to sustained airstrikes, ground offensives, and village raids by the military junta. While the earthquake inflicted further damage on livelihoods, infrastructure, and socio-economic conditions, it did not lead to a reduction in military attacks against civilians. Instead, airstrikes and other military attacks on civilians continued even though affected communities faced urgent humanitarian needs. As a result, local populations were forced to confront “double burden” of conflict and natural disaster simultaneously. The combined effects of armed conflict and the earthquake further weakened socio-economic conditions across the quake-affected regions and deepened the humanitarian crisis.

Nan Khan Village airstrikes represent more than the consequences of a military attack. It illustrates the profound impact that aerial attacks can have on the daily lives, social fabric, and psychological well-being of the affected communities. As a result of the military junta’s airstrikes, many residents lost family members, suffered life-changing injuries, or were forced to flee their homes and seek refuge in forests areas, becoming displaced overnight. The experience shared by one resident, stating, “Whenever we hear the sound of an aircraft, we run and hide in ravines,” captures the reality faced by communities living under the constant threat of aerial attacks. It reflects how fear of aerial attacks has become embedded in everyday life, shaping how people move, work, learn, and seek safety. Beyond the immediate physical destruction, the attack has left enduring psychological scars and contributed to a persistent sense of insecurity that continues to affect the community.

Enduring Poverty and Hardship

The experience of Sagaing Region demonstrates how armed conflict and natural disaster can combine to deepen humanitarian suffering and socio-economic hardship. More than a year after the earthquake, as of May 2026, approximately 1.3 million people remain displaced in the region, while many households continue to face food insecurity, disrupted livelihoods, and limited access to essential services.¹³

Despite growing humanitarian needs, military attacks have continued, further undermining recovery efforts and prolonging civilian suffering. At the same time, restrictions and controls on humanitarian access have limited the delivery of life-saving assistance, exacerbating the challenges faced by conflict-affected communities.

Addressing these challenges requires stronger international efforts to protect civilians and support humanitarian response efforts across Myanmar including Sagaing. This includes measures to disrupt the military junta's revenue streams, restrict access to weapons and aviation fuel supply networks, and limit the financial mechanisms that sustain military operations. At the same time, humanitarian assistance should be delivered through effective cross-border mechanisms and trusted local actors, including Ethnic Armed Organizations, the National Unity Government (NUG), civil society organizations. Such approaches are critical to ensuring that assistance reaches those most in need in a timely, accessible, and effective manner.

Acknowledgement

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the local residents, eyewitnesses, and information providers who generously shared information and participated in interviews with trust, making the preparation of this report possible.

We would also like to extend our special thanks to the relevant officials from the Ministry of Human Rights (National Unity Government) for their support in facilitating communications with local residents and eyewitnesses and for providing the photographs used in this report. Additionally, some photographs used in this report are credited to their respective organizations and original photographers. These images have played a significant role in illustrating the realities of the incidents and strengthening the evidentiary value of the report.

In addition, we would like to express our deep appreciation to all relevant organizations, including Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), as well as members of the NLTA, for their technical and resource support in the systematic preparation and publication of this report.

UNFORGETTABLE:

NAN KHAN

9 April 2025

Sagaing Region, Wuntho Township

Who We Are

Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica is an independent, impartial and non-partisan research organization that continuously monitors and documents war crimes and human rights violations.

It also works in collaboration with human rights defenders to implement civilian protection and emergency relief activities.

In addition, it engages in research-based advocacy by coordinating with research institutions, political forces, civil society organizations, and international stakeholders.



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