MYANMAR MILITARY AIR STRIKES TARGET CIVILIANS:

An ASEAN Member State's Air Force Bombing IDPs, Villages and Civilian Infrastructures

A SPECIAL REPORT

of the Associates to Develop Democratic Burma Inc.* 2 MARCH 2023, 61st Anniversary of the 1st Myanmar Coup of 1962



Min Aung Hlaing, Commander-in-chief of Myanmar military forces, is seen engaged in the ritual blessing of a fighter jet with eugenia leaves, photo: The Global New Light of Myanmar, 2021



AFTER the air strikes: The New Generation School complex of wooden buildings burnt to the ground in the aerial bombing on the night of 15 February 2023. Photo Credit: Padoh Tah Doh Moo, Karen National Union



BEFORE the air strikes: The New Generation School assembly of students at the main hall, Mutraw District, Karen State, December 2020. Photo Credit: Padoh Tah Doh Moo, Karen National Union

<u>The Associates to Develop Democratic Burma, Inc., better known as the Euro-Burma Office, is a</u> <u>not-for-profit organization established in 1990, incorporated in Canada in 1994 and led by</u> <u>long-time democrats drawn from Myanmar's diverse ethnic and religious communities.</u>

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ESCALATING VIOLENCE

& Terror Tactics by Myanmar Armed Forces (Tatmadaw)

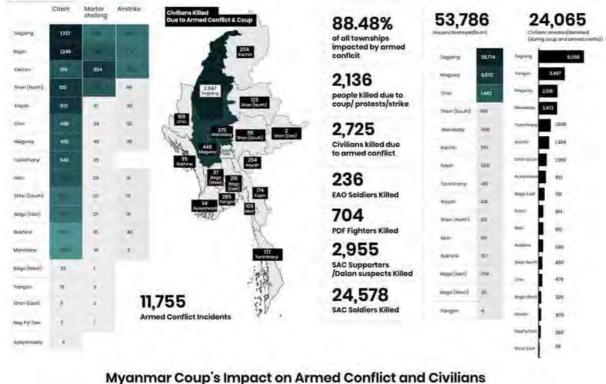
On 24 April 2021, in less than three months after the universally un-popular military coup of 1 February, ASEAN leaders convened a meeting in Jakarta hosted by Indonesian President Joko Widodo, nine heads of state met with Myanmar coup leader in the latter's capacity as the Commander-in-Chief of the country's Armed Forces, not as the head of state of Myanmar.ⁱ



Myanmar Coup leader Min Aung Hlaing (lower right corner) attended the ASEAN Leaders' Meeting, in his capacity as the Commander-in-Chief of Myanmar military forces, Jakarta, Indonesia, 24 April 2021.

With Min Aung Hlaing's consent, the ASEAN Secretariat subsequently issued a Chairman's Statement on the Leaders' Meeting. The statement consisted of nine points, with points 8 and 9 addressing the escalation of violence between the coupregime and the anti-coup opposition nationwide, and the situation of Rohingya people in Rakhine state, Western Myanmar, and the need for voluntary repatriation of Rohingyas in refugee camps in Bangladesh. Importantly, the statement included the Five Point Consensus (or 5PCs) regarding Myanmar's violent strife triggered by the coup. The statement begins with the point that "there shall be an immediate cessation of violence in Myanmar, and all parties shall exercise utmost restraint." Almost two years on since the ASEAN Leaders' meeting, Senior General Min Aung Hlaing has shown complete disregard for the ASEAN Consensus, which was adopted with his consent at the April 2021 ASEAN Leaders' meeting.

Min Aung Hlaing's clear breach of the 5PCs is particularly evidenced by the pervasive use of violence, including hundreds of airstrikes, aerial bombings, artillery and missile attacks against not only the anti-coup resistance groups but specifically against civilians.



From 02/02/2021 to 02/22/2023

Media Monitor Collective, Feb 2023

The chart containing the statistics of air strikes (and mortar shellings), from the start of the coup till the eve of its second anniversary, offers an overview of the frequency of the deployment of Myanmar Armed Forces fighter-jets and gunship helicopters. Notably, only the capital Naypyidaw, the Ayeyarwady Delta region, the commercial and former capital Yangon, and the narrow coastal region of Tanintharyi of Southern Myanmar have not been attacked by the Myanmar Air Force. The heavy losses which the Myanmar Forces have suffered in the vast rural and ethnic regions in the face of nationwide armed resistance and effective sabotage, is a factor behind the increasingly frequent and widespread deployment of air power against multiple regions and populations.

These post-coup developments are recorded in the leaked documents – marked "Secret", dated 23 December 2022 – which contain the detailed minutes of the 7-hour meeting of regional and national level heads of security agencies held at the Police Headquarters in Naypyidaw. The meeting was presided over by Lieutenant-General Soe Htut, Minister of Home Affairs and a key member of Min Aung Hlaing's State Administrative Council. Meeting participants reported to the Home Minister that out of the 14 regions (called states and divisions), 12 are zones of violent conflicts.

The same document recorded that the Myanmar Armed Forces have also suffered human intelligence failures owing to the lack of ethnic language speakers amongst its field intelligence units, which in turn prevents them from being able to penetrate the leading armed resistance organizations, which serve as the backbone of hundreds of armed resistance groups. Besides, the report noted, the rugged terrains in the mountainous and deep forested regions where most of the Ethnic Resistance Organizations (EROs) are located present the Myanmar military regime with another major obstacle in what the Commander-in-Chief Min Aung Hlaing and his military planners label "counter-terrorism" operations.

Many participants – chiefs of local security units – talked of the need for more bullet-proof vests, more air strikes and fortification of police and security stations across the country, in order to defend themselves against the people's defence forces.

Needless to say, only the Myanmar Armed Forces, the largest military in the mainland Southeast Asia after Vietnam, is capable of this sort of aerial violence – airstrikes and artillery shelling. The resistance groups known as People's Defence Forces or PDF – which mushroomed throughout Myanmar after the Myanmar military responded to the nationwide peaceful anti-coup protests with extreme violence – have to rely on small firearms, homemade explosive devices and hand grenades attached to small commercial drones, improvised as lethal weapons.

Myanmar Armed Forces had not suffered this level of widespread losses and defeats in the fields since its defensive war against the intruding Chinese Nationalist (Kuomintang or KMT) forces, which attempted to use Sino-Burmese and Thai-Burmese border regions as their bases to attack Mao Zedong's troops after the KMT were militarily defeated.

The greater the failures of conventional ground assaults against the phantomlike resistance fully supported by local communities throughout the country, the greater the brutality of the Myanmar military forces. In his commentary "Myanmar junta pursues five-pronged strategy as conflict enters 3rd year" published by the Radio Free Asia (English) on 2 February 2023, Zachary Abuza, a professor at the National War College in Washington and an adjunct at Georgetown University, offered his professional analysis on the escalation of violence by Myanmar military forces.

Under the subheading Ramping Up Air Strikes, Abuza writes:

the junta will increasingly rely on artillery and air power. For the latter, the regime has increased their acquisitions, including buying five FTC-2000G and the first two of six SU-30s from China and Russia, respectively.

There's been over 360 percent increase in airstrikes over the previous year. Mostly the regime has targeted civilian communities, but recently there was an escalatory attack on Camp Victoria, the headquarters of the Chin National Front that killed five.

New howitzers and multiple rocket launched systems imported from China will give the junta the ability to hit the NUG and its ethnic allies from a distance.

And of course the junta will try to terrorize the population into submission: nearly 40,000 homes have been set on fire throughout the country, 27,000 in Sagaing alone.^{*ii*}

MYANMAR AIRSTRIKES

Historically, the Myanmar Armed Forces has deployed Air-Ground coordinated operations in the military conflicts – typically labelled **counter-insurgency operations** – against the now defunct Communist Party of Burma (CPB), and the numerous ethnic armed organizations (for instance, the Karen National Union, Kachin Independence Organization, New Mon State Party, Shan State Army, etc.) which waged their respective armed struggles for ethnic autonomy at various points, following the country's independence from Britain in 1948.

During those counter-insurgency operations the Myanmar Armed Forces adopted the infamous Four Cuts Strategy which was based on the counterinsurgency strategies developed by British in Malaya and by the US in Vietnam. The concept was to cut off food/supplies, information/communications, recruits/manpower, and tax/finance to the resistance. Air strikes mainly targeted the resistance's military camps and head-quarters. It was the infantry units that typically led the air-ground coordinated attacks.

However, since the coup two years ago, there seems to be a sharp break from the previous decades. The new objectives behind airstrikes, their choices of civilians as targets, including the violence-fleeing refugees (or IDPs, in the language of humanitarianism), and the physical destruction (such as schools, hospitals, residential quarters and buildings or places of worship indicates an unmistakably troubling logic in the strategic planning of military operations by Myanmar military leaders.

Myanmar Air Force aerial attacks began shortly after Min Aung Hlaing's return from the ASEAN Leaders' meeting in Jakarta. But, the progressively criminal nature of these airstrikes, insofar as the international law, specifically, Myanmar Air Force's targeted killings of civilians from gunship helicopters, bombing of hospitals, schools and IDP camps, caught the United Nations' attention only in September and November last year.^{iv}



On 16 September Friday, Myanmar Air Force and the Army units launched a coordinated attack on a village school, according to the Associated Press news report.

Quoting the eyewitness who survived an hour-long attack, the AP reports, "school administrator Mar Mar, (not her real name), said she was trying to get students to safe hiding places when two of four government Mi-35 helicopters hovering north of Let Yet Kone village in Tabayin, about 110km (70 miles) north-west of Mandalay, began attacking on Friday.

She said the heliconpters began firing machine guns and heavier weapons at the school, which has 240 students from kindergarten to year 8 and is located in the compound of the village's Buddhist monastery." V



Myanmar junta attack on school condemned as child death toll rises to 11 | Myanmar | The Guardian, 21 September 2022.

Myanmar junta attack on school

As if to double down on its disregard for ASEAN 5PCs and repeated calls for restraint in the use of violence and widespread international media reportage, Myanmar Air Force launched even deadlier airstrikes against civilians – this time the Kachin Christians – who gathered for a communal concert. Just 30-days before the scheduled ASEAN Summit under Cambodia's Chair, Min Aung Hlaing – who is barred by ASEAN from any ASEAN meetings or from sending his political representation – ordered what the New York Times called "the deadliest aerial attack" by the military regime since the 2021 coup.

The New Hork Times

Airstrike Kills at Least 80 During Outdoor Concert in Myanmar

The bombing was the deadliest aerial attack mounted by the military regime since it seized power in a coup last year.



<u>Airstrike Kills at Least 80 During Outdoor Concert in Myanmar - The New York Times</u> (<u>nytimes.com</u>), 25 October 2022.

FROM COUNTER-INSURGENCY TO COUNTER-TERRORISM:

The New Doctrine of Tatmadaw

As the Salween Institute analysis of Myanmar Air Force, history and military doctrine and operations observes, the new objectives of the airstrikes and other uses of Myanmar military aircrafts appear to have shifted from its past counter-insurgency paradigm to a newly constructed and warped 'counter-terrorism' paradigm. (See Appendix 3.)

The new objectives appear to be to:

- break the morale local communities which are extremely supportive of the nationwide popular armed resistance against Myanmar military forces under the commandership of Min Aung Hlaing;
- create the humanitarian burden 1.1 million violence-fleeing IDPs since the coup –for the local democratic resistance groups, and particularly their backers – ethnic resistance organizations that have effective control of their regions bordering on India, Bangladesh, China and Thailand as the EROs are compelled to provide food and shelter for such volume of IDPs and provide protection for the latter;
- slow down the advances that the widespread resistance organizations are making throughout various regions except the two largest cities of Mandalay and Yangon, and the regime's seat of power – Naypyidaw (in the highly mountainous Chin State bordering on Mizoram State of India, the Chin National Front and its allied local resistance groups have effective control over 70+ percentage of the land area while the Buddhist Burmese heartlands – namely Saggaing and Magwe regions – in the Dry Zone, outside the second largest city of Mandalay, have seen fierce armed resistance against Myanmar military forces. These were, before the coup, areas where the greatest percentage of new Myanmar military recruits came from.

The targeting of civilians – not simply armed resistance units and their military camps – is a logical shift for the paranoid leaders of Myanmar military forces who, at the end of the Cold War and in the face of the Burmese democratic opposition backed by the United States, albeit notionally, adopted Mao's "people's war" doctrine (for fear of invasions for the regime change). However, as even the Buddhist Burmese majoritarian society no longer view the country's military as the protector or defender of their country, post-2021 coup ^{vi}, the military leaders appear to have adopted a new doctrine which may be termed "the war against the people."

In this new military doctrine, anyone, organization and community that openly opposes the military coup is framed as "terrorists", rendering any anti-coup individual a legitimate target for elimination, by any means necessary. The Home Affairs Ministry's 45-page leaked documentation mentioned previously makes frequent references to anti-coup resistance organizations and individuals as "terrorists," while the overarching theme of the military regime's approach to Myanmar society in open revolt is "counter-terrorism".

This "terrorist" framing of any pro-democracy (that is, anti-coup) civilian population results in Myanmar military regime's unprecedented shift post-coup to use the combined air-ground coordinated attacks against any community – Buddhist, Christian, ethnic majoritarian Bama or Burmese, national minorities, and so on.



This screen grab shows the concert area following an airstrike targeting a Kachin gathering by the Myanmar junta in Hpakant township, northern Kachin state, Myanmar, Oct. 24, 2022, resulting in the death of a large number of civilians.

There is emerging a disturbing parallel between the post-coup Myanmar military's widespread airstrikes against civilian populations and Israeli Defence Force (IDF) airstrikes, drone-attacks and mortar shelling of residential neighbourhoods in the Occupied Territories of West Bank and Gaza. Myanmar was the first UN member state outside of the then Western Bloc to recognize the establishment of the State of Israel. Israel and Myanmar militaries have established close ties over the last seven decades. Israel has trained thousands of Myanmar military officers, supplied Myanmar military with military hardware and provided Myanmar generals with public relations and other technical support. Undoubtedly, the two regimes have operationalized the old Colonial Era doctrine of "Four Cuts" against communities which resist the oppression and/or occupation.

By all indications (demolishing homes and neighbourhoods of "terrorists", calling in air strikes for indiscriminate slaughter, summary executions and long imprisonment, institutionalized use of torture against even peaceful anti-coup protesters, for instance), Myanmar military planners have taken a leaf out of IDF's new military strategy vis-à-vis Palestinian resistance.

In his commentary "Myanmar junta pursues five-pronged strategy as conflict enters 3rd year" published by the Radio Free Asia (English) on 2 February 2023, Again Professor Zachary Abuza at the National War College in Washington writes:

The generals in Naypyidaw should be very frustrated that they have not been able to terrorize the population into submission ... Nonetheless, the State Administrative Council, as the junta is formally known, has a five-part theory of victory, and believes that time is on its side.

First, the military will continue to wage a violent campaign across multiple fronts to wear down opposition forces through a war of attrition.

The violence will be excessive and intentionally target civilians. We have seen this play out most ferociously in Sagaing and Magway, where ethnic Bamar resistance is both new and threatens the military's long and vulnerable supply lines. ^{vii}



Bin village of the Mingin Township in Sagaing region, reported to have been destroyed by the Myanmar military, Feb. 2022. Credit: Reuters

Since US National War College scholar's prescient commentary appeared on the pages of the Radio Free Asia, Myanmar military regime has ramped up its airstrikes, unmistakably, against civilians and civilian physical infrastructures. As previously mentioned by Abuza, the year 2022, the second year of the coup, saw the 360% increase (over the first year of the coup of 2021) in the military regime's use of airstrikes. In that period, over 40,000 physical infrastructures – including churches, schools, hospitals, shops, rice storage facilities, mosques and monasteries, as well as entire residential neighbourhoods such as towns and villages in areas with very strong armed resistance – have been bombed out, mortar-shelled or set ablaze. Alarmingly, the number of buildings destroyed in the combined air-ground assaults by Myanmar military since the anti-coup resistance sprang up 2 years ago, equals roughly the number of physical infrastructures (37,700) in Rohingya villages and towns in Western Myanmar state of Rakhine destroyed during the most brutal genocidal campaign by Myanmar military forces in 2017.

In less than a month after its 24 October 2022 aerial attack on the civilian concert of Kachin minorities designed to commemorate the 62nd anniversary of the founding of the Kachin Independence Organization outside the famous jade mining town of Pha Hkant, Myanmar military escalated its airstrikes on the Chin National Front's community-based headquarters known as Camp Victoria, a short distance from the Indo-Burmese border.

Myanmar junta hit Indian territory during strike on rebel camp, say witnesses

Locals in Farkawan village said that two bombs were dropped on the Indian side of the border but no one was hurt





File image of the Farkawan village near the India-Myanmar border, in the northeastern state of Mizoram. Photograph: Rupak de Chowdhuri/Reuters

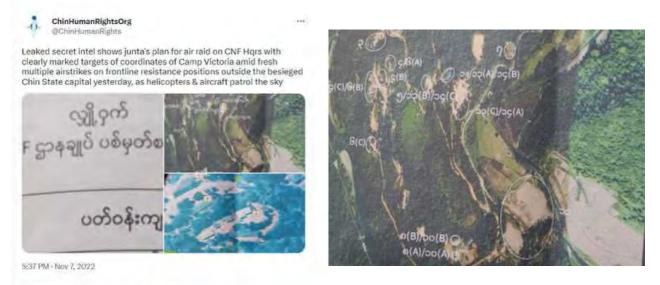
On 11 January 2023, UK's Guardian Newspaper reports^{ix} , citing a rebel commander, that:

seven rebel fighters were killed, including one woman, in the aerial bombings and over 20 people in Camp Victoria were injured.

Aerial strikes have become a common tactic used by the junta, particularly in areas held by ethnic rebels forces, as they continue a ruthless campaign of violence to consolidate their power.

It is the first time that Camp Victoria in Chin has been targeted with aerial bombings by the junta.

As a matter of fact, 2 months before the actual airstrikes on the CNF headquarters, the Chin Human Rights Organization 7 November tweeted the information that Myanmar military regime was planning to escalate airstrikes against ethnic Chin resistance communities.



111 Retweets 102 Quote Tweets 108 Likes

(<u>10</u>) ChinHumanRightsOrg on Twitter: "Leaked secret intel shows junta's plan for air raid on CNF Hqrs with clearly marked targets of coordinates of Camp Victoria amid fresh multiple airstrikes on frontline resistance positions outside the besieged Chin State capital yesterday, as helicopters & amp; aircraft patrol the sky https://t.co/HltxZk07Hc" / Twitter

Following the airstrikes in the Chin region in the west, Myanmar military air force jets and helicopters struck yet another civilian target, this time in the Karen region next to Thailand. On 15 February, Myanmar jets struck a school complex for Karen war IDPs including classrooms and the head teacher's home, in Mutraw district, Karen state along the Thai-Burmese boundary river of Salween. In her Facebook page the morning after, Naw May Oo (in picture: in red blouse standing in one of the classrooms), a former Karen refugee who resettled in the US and a founder of the school, decried the airstrikes against the school built with donations and managed and staffed by volunteer teachers. (See <u>https://www.facebook.com/mutraw</u>).



166

3 comments 32 shares

On 25 February 2023, as this Special Report is being prepared, Neineh Ploh, another US-educated Myanmar refugee, who now serves as a spokesperson for the Karenni National Progressive Party, sent the Euro-Burma Office the latest updates on the airstrikes against his Karenni ethnic community in eastern Myanmar across from Mae Hong Song district in Thailand.



🔝 Nei Nei K... 🛛 🗖 🗞

incidents in Jan and Feb 2023 that are not included in the report. I will give you details follow.

1. Feb 3, <u>2023</u>; SAC airstrikes against Hsin Sa Kang (ဆင်စခန်း) IDPs camp in eastern Loikaw township. School buildings, clinic buildings and food storages were destroyed. Luckily no casualty because of early warning system.

2. Feb 10, <u>2023</u>; SAC airstrikes targeted and destroyed a Catholic Mother Mary shrine (မယ်တော်ဂူ) in Western Kayan region of Phekon Township. No casualties reported.

Additionally, on Dec 20, <u>2022</u> around 10 am SAC planes few very close to an IDPs area in eastern Demawso. The plane made a nose dive to about 300 yards from the ground.

On Jan 10, 2023, SAC jets also flew over IDPs camps two times in western Phekhon township.

Signal Text: Neineh Ploh (in picture), KNPP Spokesperson, 25 February 2023.

In its situation update dated 25 February 2023, the Free Burma Rangers \times , a highly respected humanitarian organization staffed with highly trained medics and rights abuse documenters in Myanmar's minority regions, reports thus:

On 3 February 2023, at approximately 1800, the Burma Army attacked Elephant IDP Camp three times with airstrikes. Nearly all 957 households and 4,422 people in the camp have been displaced again and are fleeing to a safe place. The schools, medical store, and clinic in the camp were destroyed. Almost 200 rice sacks were destroyed and half of the medicine they had were also destroyed. No one was injured or killed by the airstrikes. The next day, 4 February 2023, from approximately 2220 (10:20pm) to 0030 (12:30am) the Burma Army attacked Wari Kaw Ku Village with over 42 mortars. Wari Kaw Ku Village has 270 households and 2000 people, some of which were IDPs who fled to Wari Kaw Village for safety. This attack displaced 200 people in the area. Burma Army Airstrikes and Mortars in Karenni State Destroy Homes and Displace Thousands

25 February 2023

Karenni State, Burma





Source: Free Burma Rangers, 25 February 2023 Update Following 3 February airstrikes, on 4 February 2023, from approximately 2220 (10:20pm) to 0030 (12:30am) the Burma Army attacked Wari Kaw Ku Village with over 42 mortars.

MYANMAR MILITARY AIRSTRIKES

& The Humanitarian Crisis



Student assembly at New Generation School (NGS), Dec. 2021



Airstriked NGS, 16 February 2023



Screen Grab of the school that caught fire as the result of the aerial bombing, 16 Feb. 2023



School founder and voluntary teacher Naw May Oo, June 2009

Myanmar military forces under the Commander-in-Chief, Min Aung Hlaing, launched different waves of what turned out to be genocidal destruction against Rohingya Muslims in 2017. Myanmar military then dubbed these brutal attacks on Rohingya villages and towns as "security clearance operations", while framing the targeted communities as supporters of the extremist Muslim militants, or "terrorists". The result was the exodus of approximately 700,000 Rohingyas, across the Bangladesh-Myanmar land-border, who survived the airstrikes, ground assaults including mortar shelling, arson and slaughter by the combined branches of the Myanmar Armed Forces.

Five years after the exodus of violence-fleeing displaced Rohingyas, the same military of Myanmar, under the same Commander-in-Chief Senior General Min Aung Hlaing is conducting frequent waves of intentional – not simply indiscriminate – attacks this time against virtually all ethnic and religious communities which the military leaders view as anti-coup and pro-democratic resistance. As the 45-page leaked document of Myanmar military's Home Affairs Ministry meeting minutes of 23 December 2022 clearly indicates Min Aung Hlaing and his coup deputies now frame their vicious and intentional assault on civilian populations as "counter-terrorism" operations.

In the last 24 months since the coup, Myanmar military has produced 1.1 million violence-fleeing civilians, according to the December 2022 figures by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). While 40,000 Chin refugees have been able to cross the land border into the Indian state of Mizoram where their ethno-linguistic kin have provided food, shelter and protection, despite the anti-refugee sentiments of the federal government of India in New Delhi. But the vast majority of Myanmar's fresh IDPs are trapped within the country's national boundaries where they continue to be attacked from the air by Myanmar military from whose violence they have fled in their places of origin in Chin, Karenni, Karen, and Kachin states.

1.5M	1.1M	330K	34K
People internally displaced across Myanmar	People currently displaced by clashes and insecurity since February 2021	People internally displaced due to conflict prior to February 2021, mainly in Rakhine, Kachin, Chin, and Shan	Civilian properties estimated burnt or destroyed since February 2021
Displacement figures fluc	tuate during any given month.	These figures represent the number of	people currently displaced
	tuate during any given month. eturns and displacement are no	These figures represent the number of t always available.	people currently displaced.
			people currently displaced.
			people currently displaced.
Cumulative numbers for re	eturns and displacement are no		

Source: <u>Myanmar Humanitarian Update No. 25 | 30 December 2022 - Myanmar |</u> <u>ReliefWeb</u>

Myanmar military's Air Strikes against civilians have immediate and long-term devastating consequences on the communities, economy and prospect for peace and reconciliation.

Not only do these frequent airstrikes cause, immediate death and destruction in the targeted communities the stricken populations of civilians – of all ages and genders – are left deeply traumatized long after the sound of fighter-jets has gone quiet.^{xi} In the 3rd year since the coup, Myanmar military airstrikes have become increasingly frequent and progressively deadlier. Civilian populations, particularly those rural communities including the Internally Displaced Persons (or IDPs), have been targeted for air-ground coordinated attacks by Myanmar military regime. Many of them are farmers and farming families, and they are terrified to return to their farms and the country's vast agricultural informal economy.

Coupled with the fuel price hikes and inflationary situation, the escalating violence in Myanmar, Myanmar's military forces' airstrikes and air-ground coordinated, against the general population, has become a primary driver behind the worsening humanitarian crisis including general economic insecurity and the absence of human security.

The UNOCHA Myanmar Humanitarian Update No. 35, 30 December 2022 notes that "conflict, contamination with landmines and explosive hazards, tight

security, access restrictions, and threats against aid workers, particularly in the Northwest and Southeast, are on the rise, endangering lives and hampering humanitarian operations."

Of the estimated 1.5 million IDPs scattered throughout the country, Myanmar's coup junta provides assistance to only 200,000 – presumably sub-populations with pro-military sentiments – while launching coordinated air-ground attacks on the rest of the IDP populations seen as supportive of the democratic resistance.

If one takes a look at the broader situation of the public welfare, the situation is really dire. Nearly one third of Myanmar's population is suffering from severe malnutrition. The above-mentioned OCHA observes thus:

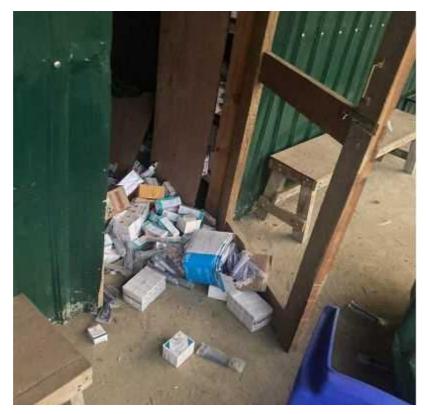
According to the Food Security Cluster, 15.2 million people are severely and moderately food insecure heading into 2023, up from 13.2 million people at the same time last year. To survive this multi-dimensional crisis, affected and displaced people have resorted negative coping mechanisms, including lowering food intake, selling their assets, dropping out of school, engaging in risky migration and marrying their children off early.

In the YouTube LIVE panel discussion on the subject of Myanmar military airstrikes on 21 February this year, Padoh Saw Tah Doh Moo, General Secretary of the Karen National Union, Myanmar's oldest minority resistance organization and a key pillar of the post-coup armed resistance, offered an overview of the air strikes against civilians in the KNU-controlled region.

In his words, "we have seven administrative districts under KNU control, from one hundred miles south of Naypyidaw to Tavoy, the southeast coastal region of the country. Since the coup, we have documented 307 air strikes. They were all targeted against civilians, villagers, IDPs, churches, schools, monasteries and clinics. These strikes destroyed six hospital and clinics, 12 schools, 5 Buddhist monasteries, 8 Christian churches of various denominations, in addition to killing 57 civilians, injuring 32, and destroying several hundred houses and other civilian buildings."



Source: Myanmar Air Strikes against Civilians as Acts of Terrorism - FORSEA



Scattered medicine packages after a bomb struck this clinic run by CNF, 2023. Photo Credit: CNF



A group of young Chin villagers among the ruins of wooden builders after an airstrike, 2023. Photo Credit: CNF



Shrapnel gathered from a Myanmar military airstrike that hit civilian targets, 2023. Photo Credit: CNF



A sample of a bomb dropped in a Myanmar aerial bombing of Chin National Front Camp Victoria on the Indo-Burmese border in January 2023. Photo Credit: CNF

Likewise, the 25 February 2023 situation update from the Free Burma Rangers pointedly observes:

the Burma Army's continued use of mortar and air attacks in Karenni State, has a devastating effect on civilians. From October to December, the Karenni Ranger team documented nine incidents that resulted in injury and or death. They have recorded 15 civilian injuries and 19 deaths of civilians. One example of the toll on civilians is the story of a family of four from Khone Tha Village: at 10pm on 23 October 2022, a mortar struck near their house, killing the two parents and injuring the two children, an 8-year-old boy and 6-month-old girl.

The continued use of mortars and attack planes and helicopters by the Burma Army causes rapid displacements across Karenni State. The civilian population is in continual flux, fleeing and then returning. The Karenni Ranger teams partner with Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) to anticipate which civilian populations may be attacked next. Once evacuation areas have been determined, they work to help the civilian populations flee to IDP camps in safe locations.



Photo: Unexploded ordnance discovered by resistance forces.

Source: <u>How Can We Survive in the Future: Atrocity Crimes in Karenni State</u>. A Report by the Karenni Human Rights Group, Karenni National Women's Organization, Kayan Women's Organization, and Kayah State Peace Monitoring Network, February 2023.

The latest UN report states that over 1.66 million people are displaced internally. These figures do not include people who fled during a battle and have returned to their wrecked homes after the battle; people who are sheltering with family and friends in nearby towns and cities that have not been attacked by the Myanmar military; and refugees who have managed to flee to a neighbouring country (mainly Thailand and India – estimated at 150,000 undocumented refugees). At the height of the fighting in Kayah State, the UN estimated that 200,000 out of the 286,627 population fled their homes.

1,659,700 Last updated 20 Feb 2023				Source	UN in Myanmar
DPs by State/Region					A NOEL
Location name	Source	Data date		Population	*
Sagaing Region	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023		42.6%	707,200
Rakhine State	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	14.1%		233,600
Magway Region	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	9.7%		161,700
Kayin State	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	6.5%		108,100
Kachin State	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	6.1%		100,600
Kayah State	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	5.5%		92,000
Shan (South) State	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	3.7%		60,800
Bago (East) Region	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	3.6%		59,900
Chin State	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	3.1%		51,600
Tanintharyi Region	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	2.5%		41,100
Mon State	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	1.6%		27,100
Shan (North) State	UN in Myanmar	20 Feb 2023	1 1.0%		16,000

HOW SHOULD ASEAN Deal with State Terrorism?

As recently as 11 November 2022, ASEAN leaders who gathered in Phnom Penh, Cambodia for the 41st ASEAN Summit "assessed the implementation of the Five-Point Consensus as agreed at the ASEAN Leaders' Meeting in April 2021."



Source: <u>06-ASEAN-Leaders-Review-and-Decision-on-the-Implementation-of-the-Five-</u> <u>Point-Consensus fin.pdf</u>

On their aforementioned 15-point statement, the 9-leaders of ASEAN member states - except that of Myanmar as the seat is kept vacant because no party is deemed legitimate to occupy the country's seat – specifically "urge all parties concerned to de-escalate tensions and exercise utmost restraints and all parties concerned that bear arms should be fairly held accountable and condemned for violence". The statement emphatically states, ASEAN leaders note "that the Myanmar Armed Force is the single largest military forces in Myanmar"

Myanmar's single largest military forces is the only organization with a modern air force, and heavy artillery divisions. Against the official consensus of the 9-heads of state, Myanmar's Commander-in-Chief Min Aung Hlaing continues to order hundreds of airstrikes. More than half of the targets of these airstrikes have been civilians. Myanmar military forces targeting civilian populations in their air-ground coordinated assaults and framing such unwarranted violence against civilians and civilian infrastructures (for instance, schools, hospitals, residential homes, places of worships, etc.) as "counter-terrorism" operations as an act of policy by the coup regime, poses the single greatest challenge to the ASEAN as a family of 11-nations of Southeast Asia.

Beyond the repeated calls for cessation of violence, peaceful resolution of conflict through inclusive dialogue and humanitarian access, it is well-past time that the ASEAN – and the United Nations, both General Assembly and technical agencies such as UNDP, UNICEF, and so on – ought to begin viewing Myanmar military uses of hundreds of air strikes against completely vulnerable civilian populations, through the prism of state-directed terrorism.

ASEAN as the oldest regional organization failed to intervene to end the genocide in Cambodia 4 decades ago. Furthermore, it failed to intervene in Myanmar's genocide against Rohingya Muslims 6 years ago. Myanmar military forces resorting to airstrikes against civilian populations among the communities of democratic resistance puts ASEAN's international reputation and credibility at grave risk.



Myanmar Commander-in-Chief Min Aung Hlaing seen here "blessing a fighter jet with eugenia leaves" on the 70th anniversary of the founding of Myanmar Air Force. Photo credit: The Global New Light of Myanmar

According to Myanmar military's official mouthpiece The Global New Light of Myanmar (22 February 2023) the State Administrative Council is, in effect, distorting the ASEAN 5PCs as it deems fit, and shows no signs that it will honour the consent expressly made by General Min Aung Hlaing at the Jakarta meeting of 24 April 2021.^{xii}

Quite the contrary, Myanmar military junta views the international calls for inclusive dialogue and for peaceful resolution of violent political strife in the country, particularly official statements concerning post-coup violent conflict in Myanmar issued by ASEAN Summit, G-7 and G-20 Summits, and China-ASEAN meeting, as well as the enactment of the Burma Act, as international drivers for "terrorism" in Myanmar.

လျှို့ဝှက် ၁၀ NUG, PDFs နှင့် ကြမ်းဖက်အုပ်စုများ၏ ဆောင်ရွက်နေမှုများ၊ G-7, G-20 Summit များမှ ထွက်လာသည့်ရလဒ်များ၊ တရုတ်-အာဆီယံမှ ထွက်လာသည့် ရလဒ်များကြည့်လျှင် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ၏ အခြေအနေသည် အကြမ်းဖက်မှုများ မြင့်မားလာနိုင်သည်ဟု သုံးသပ်ထားပါကြောင်း၊ အကြမ်း ဖက်မှုနှင့် အရေးယူပါက လွတ်ငြိမ်းချမ်းသာခွင့်မရှိစေရဟု ဥပဒေပြဋ္ဌာန်းခြင်းမျိုး ပြုလုပ်နိုင်ပါက အတိုင်းအတာတစ်ခုအထိ ထိန်းသိမ်းနိုင်မည်ဟု သုံးသပ်ပါကြောင်း၊ အမေရိကန်နိုင်ငံက အတည် ပြုသည့် Burma Act , UN က တောင်းဆိုနေမှုများ၊ အာဆီယံဒေသတွင်း ဖိအားများကြောင့် ပိုမို ခက်ခဲလာနိုင်ပြီး ဝိုင်းဝန်းစဉ်းစားဖြေရှင်းမှသာ အောင်မြင်နိုင်မည်ဟု ယုံကြည်ပါကြောင်း ဆွေးနွေး ခဲ့ပါသည်။

The page-10 of the leaked official and verified document marked SECRET spelled out Myanmar's military regime view of international calls for inclusive dialogue and the peaceful resolution as drivers for further "terrorist acts" (by the anti-coup resistance).

Source: Myanmar45-page minutes of the 23 December 202 meeting of the Central Counter-Terrorism Committee, Myanmar Police Headquarters, Naypyidaw. xiii

Evidently, the Commander-in-Chief of Myanmar military forces Senior General Min Aung Hlaing has not only reneged on his consent regarding the ASEAN 5PCs, but he has instead escalated the use of extreme violence by ramping up air strikes against civilians in armed conflict regions as part of the military's strategy to terrorize communities of democratic resistance into submission. In light of Myanmar military leadership's apparent disregard for the ASEAN's repeated calls for the de-escalation of violence and finding peaceful resolution through inclusive dialogue, the Leaders of the bloc ought to consider the following concrete steps as measures of accountability:

suspend security cooperation at all levels with Myanmar military's security ministries including Defence, Home Affairs and Border Affairs;



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ensure that none of the ASEAN member state is involved in supplying Myanmar military forces with lethal assistance and related support, such as the sale of aviation fuel; and finally,



consider adopting stringent measures to prevent ASEANbased commercial and financial institutions from financing Myanmar security ministries and their commercial affiliates.

ENDNOTES

[i] Malaysian Foreign Ministry statement dated 23 April 2021 issued on the eve of this Leaders Meeting in Jakarta in April 2021, identified Myanmar coup leader Min Aung Hlaing not as Leader of Myanmar but simply by his military title. "The meeting which will be held at Asean Secretariat at Jakarta, Indonesia will be attended by Asean leaders, as well as Asean Secretary General and Senior General Min Aung Hlaing of Myanmar." <u>See Foreign Ministry: Malaysia strongly supports Brunei's effort to convene tomorrow's Asean meet | Malay Mail, 23 April 2021</u>.

[ii] <u>Myanmar junta pursues five-pronged strategy as conflict enters 3rd year — Radio</u> <u>Free Asia (rfa.org)</u>, Zachary Abuza, 2 February 2023. (Myanmar junta pursues *five-pronged strategy*, hereafter).

[iii] For a thorough analysis of Myanmar military's strategic outlook and rationale behind airstrikes in the previous decades of counter-insurgency campaigns as well as the new pattern of the use of air strikes, specifically targeting civilian populations in virtually all communities of resistance, irrespective of ethnic or religious backgrounds, see <u>The Salween Institute Policy Brief</u> on Myanmar Air Force (10-pages in length. **In Burmese language**, Restricted Circulation), 2022.

[iv] <u>At least 11 schoolchildren killed in Myanmar attack (unicef.org</u>), Yangon, 19 September 2022.

[v] <u>Myanmar: seven children killed in junta strike on village school | Myanmar | The</u> <u>Guardian</u> 19 September 2023.

[vi] <u>Opinion | The Myanmar military is destroying its public image. Politics won't be</u> <u>the same. - The Washington Post</u>, Maung Zarni, 26 March 2021

[vii] Myanmar junta pursues five-pronged strategy, 2023.

[viii] <u>Myanmar Rohingya: How a 'genocide' was investigated - BBC News</u>, 3 September 2017.

[ix] <u>Myanmar junta hit Indian territory during strike on rebel camp, say witnesses</u> <u>Myanmar | The Guardian</u>, 11 January 2023.

[x] <u>Free Burma Rangers</u>, Accessed 26 February 2023.

[xi] Neineh Plo, the Karenni National Progressive Party spokesperson, pointed this out during the YouTube LIVE discussion. <u>Myanmar Air Strikes against Civilians as</u> <u>Acts of Terrorism - FORSEA</u>, 21 February 2023.

[xii] Interview With A Representative From The ASEAN Affairs Department, Ministry Of Foreign Affairs, On Myanmar's Stance And Cooperation With ASEAN In The Implementation Of The ASEAN Five-point Consensus - Global New Light Of Myanmar (gnlm.com.mm), 22 February 2023.

[xiii] To access the entire leaked document – in Myanmar language – click the link <u>Myanmar Air Strikes against Civilians as Acts of Terrorism - FORSEA</u>, 21 February 2023. The document is embed ded in the link.

Chin National Front Documentation on Myanmar Military Air Strikes, 28 February 2023



Chin National Front Documentation on Myanmar Military Air Strikes, 28 February 2023

2/2

No.	Date	Time	Place	Township	Type of Aircraft	Number of Aircraft	Number of bombardment
1	1.2.2023	9:30am	Thantlang	Thantlang	Yak-130	1	3
		9:30am	Thantlang	Thantlang	Yak-130	1	6
		8:00am	Lungler	Thantlang	Fighter Jet	1	2
2	9.2.2023	8:20am	Tlangpi	Thantlang	Fighter Jet	1	2
	_	9:00am	Thantlang	Thantlang	Fighter Jet	1	2
3	10.2.2023	11:40am	Thantlang	Thantlang	MI-35	1	1
		2:50pm	Timit	Hakha	Yak-130	2	4
4	13.2.2023	1:45pm	Auto tlang	Thantlang	Fighter Jet	2	6
5	14.2.2023	9:45pm	Thantlang	Thantlang	Fighter Jet	2	8
6	16.2.2023	8:30am	Thantlang +Vuichip	Thantlang	Fighter Jet	3	20
		8:30am	Thantlang	Thantlang	MI-35	1	1
7	22.2.2023	12:30am	Tlangpi	Thantlang	Fighter Jet	1	2
		1:00am	Thantlang	Thantlang	Fighter Jet	2	4
		4:00am			Fighter Jet	1	
		8:12am	Thantlang		Yak-130	1	
8	25.2.2023	8:40am	1		Yak-130	1	14
		4:40pm	1		MI-35	1	
	-		Total				75

မှတ်ချက်။ အမျိုးအစားမသိနိုင်သည့် တိုက်လေယာဉ်များကို fighter jet ဟုဖော်ပြထားပါသည်။

- ၂။ အကြမ်းဖက်စစ်ကောင်စီသည် ဇန်နဝါရီလမှ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီလအထိ နှစ်လအတွင်း ချင်းလဲန်အတွင်း၌ တိုက်လေယဉ်၊ စစ်ရဟတ်ယာဉ်များဖြင့် အနည်းဆုံး (၁၁၅) ကြိမ်ထက်မနည်း ဗုံးကြဲတိုက်ခိုက်ခဲ့သည်။ အဆိုပါဗုံးကြဲမှုတွင် ဘုန်းကြီးကျောင်းအပါအဝင် ပြည်သူနေ အိမ်များစွာ ပျက်စီးဆုံးရှုံးခဲ့ရည်။
- ၃။ နှစ်လအတွင်း လေကြောင်းတိုက်ခိုက်မှုတွင် Thantlang မြို့တွင်းမှလွဲ၍ ကျန်သည့်နေရာများမှာ စစ်ဘေးရှောင်များနေထိုင်သည့်နေရာ နှင့် ပြည်သူနေ ကျေးရွာများ ဖြစ်ကြသည်။

သတင်းနှင့်ပြန်ကြားရေးဌာန Chin National Front

"Enemy Air Strikes", Kachin Independence Army Documentation on Myanmar military air strikes, 6 December 2022

				AIRST	RIKES	BY THE	ENEMY	Date: 6 December 2022
1	2022			_	1. Jan	uary 201	2	_
No	Date/time	Location	Map Ref.	Nearest Village		Jet	Activity	note
É,	12/01/2022; 121245	Moe Da Gyi	GK- 450 961	Moe Da Gyi	3		3 enemy aircrafts bombarded the Modaevi village for three rounds	One 12 years old girl and 2 other boys wounded from shrapnel
2	13/01/2022: 130100	Training ground, 6 th battalion	KJ-245 600	Baw Sa Di (NW-13.6km)		2	2 enemy jet planes dropped two bombs at the training ground of the 6 th battalion	5 recruits, namely 1) Zaumu Tuhkam, 2) Ngasu La Tawng, 3) Hingpan Hkun Awng, 4) Aung Minn Oo, and 5) Lasang Gam were wounded from shrapnels, and Sgt. Kahtantu Naw, Tawng, a medic was seriously injured at right hand and head.
3	18/01/2022: 181430	Moe Da Gyi	KJ- 450 961	Moe Da Gyi		2	2 enemy jets flying from lower region dropped bombs in Moe Da Gyi for two rounds.	
4	21/01/2022 211553	Farmland near Moeda-Hena	KG-417 961	Hena (E 0.6 km)		2	2 enemy jets flying from lower region dropped bombs in dropped two bombs at farmland near Moe Da-Hena.	
1	03/02/2022:	Ja Ra Yang,	8J-516 103	Ja Ra Yang	2. Feb	ruary 20		[
	031315	26 th Battalion			-	1.2	bombs	
2	03/02/2022; 031630	Sum Pyi Yang, 1ª Brigade	LK-652 737	Sum Pyi Yang (W 0.3 km)	11	2	2 enemy jets dropped 3 bombs	
3	04/02/2022: 041210	Manaw Maw 24 th Battalion	KJ-51629 34282	Hkum Tsai Zup (SW 2.7 km)	1		1 eneroy helicopter attacked	1
4	041450	Manaw Maw	KJ-51629 34282	Hkum Tsai Zup (SW 2.7 km)		3	3 enemy jets dropped bombs	
5	041610	Near Hkrairun Village	KJ-496 716	Pya-ong (E 1 km)		4	1 enemy jet dropped bomb	
6	041640	Ja Ra Yang, 26 th Battalion	Kj-516 103	Ja Ra Yang	i i	2	2 enemy jets attacked to ground	
7	05/02/2022: 051300- 131600	Vicinity of Hkrai Run and Manaw Maw, 44th Battalion	KJ-496 837			2	2 enemy jets dropped bombs for 6 rounds	
8	05/02/2022: 051545	Kapmaw. viilage, 44 th Battalion	KJ-547 365	Kap Maw village	3	1	1 enemy fighter jet and 3 helicopters and dropped bornbs	 Deacon Maji Brang, 70 from Kag Maw village died, Mrs. Waig Htu Ra, 55 wounded from shrapnel at hand and foot Mrs. Pauhtum Hkawn, 86 wounded at foot Mrs. Ndau Hkawn Tum, 81 wounded at left hand and left feet Mr. Lahnai Hkaun Awng, 58 wounded at foot
9	22/02/2022 221040	Shingkap Bum, 7th Battalion	LK-704 758	Hpaw Wang Village (NW 1.7 km)		2	2 enemy jets dropped 6 bombs	
10	26/02/2022: 160120	HQ of 14 th Battalion and Wahka Post	KJ-529 824	Ting Kawk (W 19km)		1	1 enemy jet dropped bombs	
п	27/02/2022: 170120	HQ of 8 th Brigade	KH-655 334	Dewe (NE 13,7km)	1	2	2 enemy jets dropped bombs	
1	27/03/2022:	HQ of 11th	LJ-16157	Wan-gat	3. M	1 1 1	2 1 enemy jet dropped bombs	
ľ.	170225	Battalion	33851	Village (NE 2.8km)			month in April 2022	

"Enemy Air Strikes", Kachin Independence Army Documentation on Myanmar military air strikes, 6 December 2022

-				No anomy aires	telko da	tring the	e month in May 2022	
					trike du	iring the	month in June 2022	
1	11/07/2022:	Nang Zaw	LH-552	Wu Yan	7. J 2	uly 2022	2 enemy helicopters attacked	-
1	111450	frontline	985	(SE 9.6km)	4	-	3 times	
2	11/07/2022:	Nang Zaw	LH-552	Wu Yan	2		2 enemy helicopters attacked	
3	111730	frontline near Se Zin	985 JJ-917 056	(SE 9,6km) Shwe Dwin	2	-	to the ground for 2 times 2 enemy helicopters dropped	
	170830	village		Village (N 0.87km)		1:1	6 bombs	
4	18/07/2022: 180905	near Sezin village	13-991 056	Shwe Dwin (N 0.87km)		2	2 enemy jets dropped 9 bombs	
5	181640	Above Se Zin	JJ-991 056	Shwe Dwin	-	1	1 enemy jet attacked to the	
		village	N. C. C. C.	(N 0.87km	_	-	ground	
6	19/07/2022) 191530	Se Zin Block 2, along the Uni River, and near the Shanthar- Aye village, 26 th Battalion	GP-98591 04500	Se Zin		-1-	1 enemy jet dropped 4 bombs	
7	190500	Signal post of	KH-16198	Tong Pin		2	2 enemy jets dropped bombs	
8	191250	26th Battalion Above Se Zin	95171 JJ-991 056	(NE 9.3km) Shwe Dwin		1	J enemy jet dropped bombs	
•		Above Se Zin	33-331 020	(N 0,87km)			and attacked to the ground	
9	21/07/2022	Point 569	LJ-600 027	Wa Shawng (N 4.2km)		3	3 enemy jets attacked to ground	Pvt. Matsaw La (Hk/M A-66732) wounded at the head
			947	(19 4.28m)	8. Au	gust 20		wounded at the near
t	09/08/2022: 091130	In the vicinity of Se Zin, 26 th Battalion	GP-985 045	Se Zin		1	1 enemy jet dropped 5 bombs and attacked to the ground	
2	092155	Vicinity of Se Zin, 26 th Battalion	GP-985 045	Se Zin		а.	I enemy jet dropped 3 bombs and attacked to ground	
3	22/08/2022:	Between Ban Bway Gon and	KG-657 69	Ban Bway Gon (E 1.2km)		4	1 enemy jet dropped 9 bombs and attacked to ground	
		Chyauk Htonsgyi villages, 12 th Battalion						
4	24/08/2022; 140100	Old HQ of 8th Brigade	KH-649 336	Dawoi (NE 13.9km)		I	1 enemy jet dropped 2 bombs	
5	24/08/2022:	Vicinity of	KH-614	Dawei (E		3	4 enemy jets dropped 4	
6	141400 142230	Dawai village Hkabawng village, near	204 KH-575 202	0.6km) Dawoi (NE 3km)		2	bombs 2 enemy jets dropped bombs 2 times	
		Dawai		10.00				
1	07/09/2022	HQ of 9th	LG-919	Kho Naung	9. Sept	ember 2	1 enemy jet attacked for 2	1
	071230	Battalion	258	(SE 4km)		· · · ·	rounds	
2	07/09/2022: 071452	Old Kawng Sak, village, 9 th Battalion HO	LG-919 258	Kho Naung (SE 4km)	1		1 enemy helicopter attacked to ground	
		T Dananou HQ	-		10. Oc	tober 20		
1	22/20/2022: 221515	Around Udang Bum Post	LG-380 860	Moe Mauk (NE 5.6km)		1	1 enemy jet dropped 2 bombs	
2	23/10/2022:	Around Lung Ja	LG-399	Chyahkan Dap		1	1 enemy jet dropped bomb	
3	231400 23/10/2022:	Bum Mountain Yi Kawng and	874 KJ 286 477	(E 4.2km) Lay-Ein-Zu	_	3	3 enemy jet dropped bombs	
2	23/10/2022; 232027	Anang Pa of 6 th Battalion		(W 1km)		3		
4	24/10/2022: 140545	Around Lung Ja Bum mountain	LG-399 874	Chyahkan Dap (E 4.2km)	1	2	2 enemy jets dropped 2 bombs	1
5	24/10/2022:	Around Lung Ja	LG-399	(E.4.2km) Chyahkan Dap		3	3 enemy jets dropped 5	
	141040	Bum mountain	874	(E 4.2km)			bombs	
6	24/10/2022: 141615	Udang Kawng post, down the Lung Ja Bum	LG-380 860	Moe Mauk (NE 5.6km)		2	2 enemy jets dropped 2 bombs	
7	26/10/2022: 161330	Around Chyauk Htonggyi	LG-325 742	San Mai Village		1	1 enemy jet dropped 1 bomb	

"Enemy Air Strikes", Kachin Independence Army Documentation on Myanmar military air strikes, 6 December 2022

8	29/10/2022:	Around Udang	LG-380	Moe Mauk	[]	3	3 enemy jets dropped 6	
	191545	Bum	860	(NE 5.6km)	11. Nove		bombs	
1	14/11/2022:	Si Bying village	KG-811	Si Bying	II. Nove	2	2 enemy jets dropped 6	
2	141550	Old HQ of 26th	972 KH-123	(W 0.3km) Ton Pay		1	bombs 1 enemy jet dropped 2 bombs	
-	142405	Battalion	908	(NE 3.3km)				
3	16/11/2022: 162200	Football ground and Administrative office of Man Mung <u>village</u> , and Pan Daw, village Monastery		Man Mung and Pan Daw villages		2	2 enemy jets dropped 3 bombs	
4	21/11/2022: 210100	Old HQ of 8th Battalion	KH-649 386	Pansan (S 14.3km)		3	3 enemy jets dropped 4 bombs	
	1 210100	Datiation		(5.14.36.0)	Decemb	er 2022	bomos	
I.	14/12/2022: 210100	Si Bying Village	KG-11072	Si Bying (W) 0.3km		2	2 enemy jets dropped (6) bombs	
2.	17/12/2022	Seng Mai, 18 th Battalion area	LH-319627	(1) 0.581		2	Enemy jet presumably from Mandalay Tada Qo airport dropped bombs two times near factory (1) currently under construction near Seng Mai area.	No civilian casualties.
3,	19/12/2022 191512- 1515	HQ (8) area Around Dawai village				2	2 fighter jets from Northern Command dropped bombs 13 times and flew back to Northern Command	
4.	20/12/2023 200600	18 th Bn area, Laiza Region, Ja Pu township, Seng Mai village,				2	2 enemy jet flown from Myitkyina dropped bombs.	
		No. 2 Rock Grinding Factory						1
Contraction of the local distribution of the	 (4) Number of (5) Number of (6) Number of (7) Number of (8) Number of (9) Number of 	airstrikes by the en airstrikes by the en ber of airstrikes fo	emy in July 2 cmy in Augus emy in Septer emy in Octob emy in Nover emy in Decen	022 it 2022 nber 2022 er 2022 nber 2022 nber 2022	-9 -6 -2 -8 -4 -5	time times times times times times times		
					Januar	y 2023	F	
1.	03/01/2023: 031520	8 th Bn. Area, by the Irrawaddy River, near <u>Nyaunepinthar</u> village, Ja-ing- yang Village Tract,	LH-081 525		1	ł	One jet fighter and one a helicopter came from Mylikyina dropped bombs on gold mining boats and dredging machines. Shot to the grounds for three rounds.	One civilian casualty, 2 seriously wounded, 1 dredging machine destroyed. (<u>the</u> location is a river- side goldmining site, and erowded with miners and merchants)
2.	09/01/2023: 091600	31 ^a Bn. Area, Maikawng Outpost and 26 th Bn. Area, MHH Company, Bum Run outpost				2	2 enemy jets came from Myitkyina dropped 3 bombs on Maikawng outpost and Bum Run outpost.	
3,	09/01/2023; 091930	Health department	LK-060 030			2	2 enemy jets dropped bombs for 2 times	I casualty, Bawm Ting, a High- clark wounded, Ms. Laboai Nang

"Enemy Air Strikes", Kachin Independence Army Documentation on Myanmar military air strikes, 6 December 2022

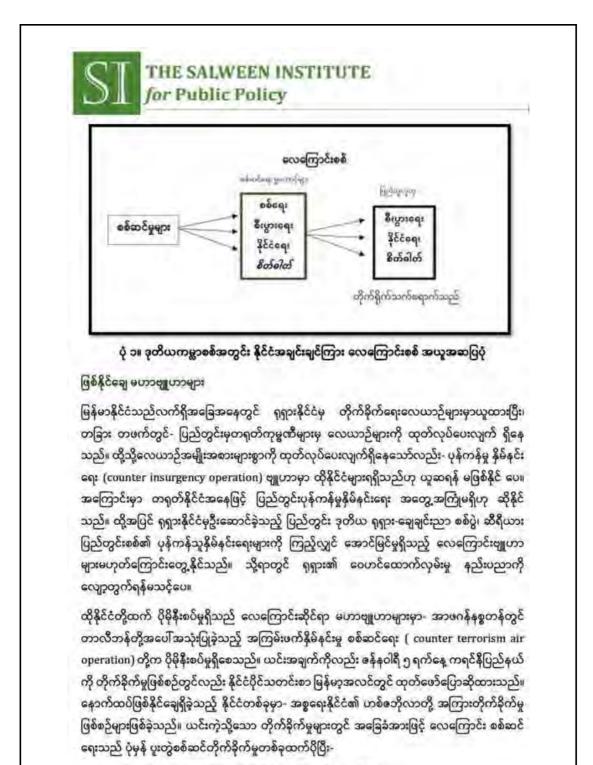
		clinic in 2nd Bg.						wounded, and later died in
4.	19/01/2023: 191644 191215 191720	HQ Vicinity of Moedalay		100		2	2 enemy jets came from Myitkyina dropped bombs three rounds, for ABSDF and alliance troops surrounded the	hospital.
-				-	2023 Febr	uary	SAC IB 77	
1.	04/02/2023: 040045	8 th Bg, Area, MKM Front, along the Namma range				2	2 enemy jets dropped bombs for two cycles	
2.	04/02/2023: 041250	41" Bn. HQ, Nawngpung- Gaugwi watershed				2	2 enemy jets came from south dropped bombs on 41 st Bn. HQ at <u>Nawngpung-Gaugwi</u> watershed	I K-PKDF combatant wounded
3;	14/02/2023: 142250	43 nd Bn. HQ, Muklung Mountain	KJ-847 857	111		1	1 enemy jet came from Thada-oo dropped one bomb at 43 rd Bn. HQ, at <u>Muklung</u> Mountain	
4.	14/02/2023: 141140- 115600	9th Bn. HQ at Kayunkawng	LG-913 252	:=:		1	1 enemy jet came from Tada- oo dropped bombs at 9 th Bn. HQ at Kayunkawng for 4 times	1
5.	14/02/2023; 141208	9 th Bn. HQ at Kayunkawng	LG-913 252	4		1	1 enemy jet came from Tada- go dropped 3 more bombs at 9 th Bn, HQ again	And retreated at 141216
6.	14/02/2023: 141419	Old <u>Kawngyen</u> village	LG-914 274	1: 1		1	1 enemy jet came from Tada- oo shot machine gun to ground around old Kawngyen village	And retreated at 141424
7.	15/02/2023:	9th Bn. HQ at	LG-913			- 1	1 enemy jet attacked at	
8	151338 15/02/2023:	Sayunkawng 9 th Bn, HQ at	252 LG-			1	Kayunkawug 1 enemy jet came to attack at	
9.	151352	9th Bn, HQ at	LG-913				Kayunkawng again	
9.	151620	Kayunkawng	252			1	1 enemy jet attacked again for third round	
10.	15/02/2023: 151621 - 163300	Kawngsak Mountain	LG-921 259			1	I enemy jet attacked Kawngsak Mountain for two times and dropped two bombs	
n.	15/02/2023; 151352	Old Kawngyen village	LG-914 274		1-11	2	2 enemy jets attacked at old Kawngyen village	
	2) Number of	airstrikes by the er airstrikes by the er per of airstrikes fr	nemy in Februa	ary 2023	- 4 tin - 11 ti - 15 ti	mes		
	III. Summa	ry of Number of .	Airstrikes by 1	he Enemy				
		airstrikes by the en airstrikes by the en				- 50 (
	2) Number of		emy from Jan	to Feb 2023	b 2023	- 15 t		

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ရန်သူကို အရှက်ရစေခြင်းဖြင့် စိတ်ပိုင်းဆိုင်ရာကို ချေမှုန်းခြင်း

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ဝယ်ယူလာပြီး- SU-30 နှင့် JF-17 တို့ကဲ့သို့သော လေယာဉ်များကို ပိုမိုမှာ စုဆောင်းနေသည်ကို တွေ့ရှိရသည်။ ထို့အပြင် ပြည်တွင်းထုတ် တရုတ်လေယာဉ်များဖြစ်သည့် K8/JL-8 လေယာဉ် များကို လည်း လေ့ကျင့်ရေး/ တိုက်ခိုက်ရေးများအတွက်ပါ ပိုမိုထုတ်လုပ်နေကြောင်းကိုလည်း တွေ့ရှိ ရသည်။

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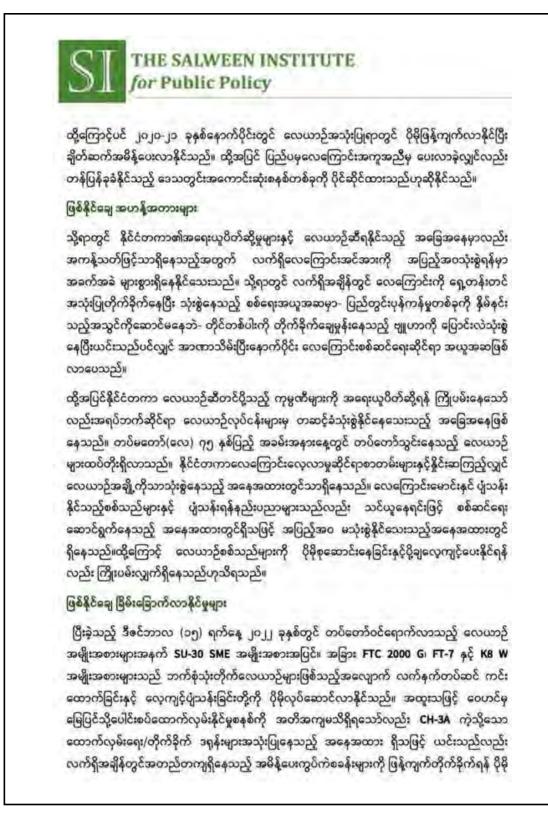
အထူးသဖြင့် တိုက်ခိုက်ရေး လေယာဉ်အနေဖြင့် ကြည့်လျှင် Su-30 ကဲ့သို့သော စတုတ္ထမျိုးဆက်လွန် တိုက်လေယာဉ်များလည်း အသုံးပြုလာနေပြီးဖြစ်ပြီး၊ ထိုကဲ့သိုသော လေယာဉ်အမျိုးအစားများသည် ယခင်ထက်ဗုံးတန်ချိန်များ ပိုမိုတင်ဆောင်နိုင်ပြီး၊ အကွာအဝေး နှင့် ပျံနှံသက်ရောက်နိုင်မှုလည်း ပိုရှိနိုင်သည်။ ထို့ထက်ထူးခြားချက်တစ်ခုမှာ- K-8W အမျိုးအစား လေ့ကျင့်/တိုက်ခိုက်ရေး လေယာဉ် များကို ပိုမိုအရေအတွက်တိုးထုတ်လုပ်ရန်မှာယူထားခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ K-8W လေယာဉ်များသည် လောက်ကိုင် တိုက်ပွဲနှင့် ကချင်ပြည်နယ်တိုက်ပွဲများတွင် အများဆုံးအသုံးပြုခဲ့ခြင်းဖြစ်ပြီး- အရေ အတွက်၁၂စီးသာ အသုံးပြုနေသော်လည်း။ ၂၀၁၀ ခုနှစ်ထဲက နောက်ထပ်မှာယူထားသည့် အရေအတွက်သည် ၅၀ စီးဖြစ်သည်။ ဖြစ်နိုင်ချေမှာ- တိုက်ခိုက်ရေး စစ်သည်တော်များကို ပိုမို လေ့ကျင့်လာစေခြင်း၊ ကင်းထောက်ခြင်း နှင့် လေ့ကျင့်ရင်း-စစ်ဆင်သည့်သဘောများပါ လုပ်ဆောင် နိုင်သည်။ (နောက်ဆက်တွဲစယား ကို ကြည့်ရန်)

ထို့အပြင် လေကြောင်းရန် ကာကွယ်ရေးစနစ်ကို နေပြည်တော်မှနေ၍ အချိန်နှင့် တပြေးညီ ကွဝ်ကဲနိုင် သည်အခြေအနေလည်း ရှိလာသည့်အတွက်။ ပြည်ပမှလေကြောင်းရန် များဝင်ရောက်လာနိုင်စွမ်းကို လည်းကာကွယ်ထားနိုင်သည့်အနေအထားတွင်ရှိနေသည်။ လေကြောင်းတိုက်ခိုက်ရေး စခန်း (၁၀) ခုရှိရာ လက်ရှိတွင် ၅ ခုသည် အသုံးပြုမှုအများဆုံးဖြစ်သည်ဟု သိရသည်။ ထို့အပြင် **မြန်မာ့အလွှာစုံ** ပေါင်းစပ်လေကြောင်းရန်ကာကွယ်ရေးစနစ် (Myanmar Integrated Air-Defense System (*MIADS*)) တို့ကိုလည်း ၂၀၁၀ ခုနှစ်တွင် ပြီးစီးတည်ဆောက်နိုင်ပြီး ဖြစ်သည်။

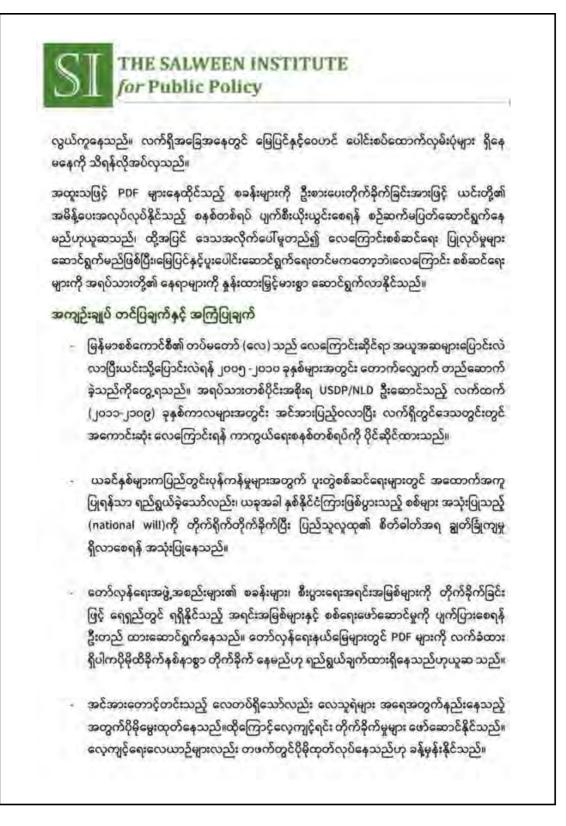


ပုံ ၄။ မြန်မာ့အလွှာစုံ ပေါင်းစပ်လေကြောင်းရန်ကာကွယ်ရေးစနစ် Myanmar Integrated Air-Defense System (MIADS) တည်ဆောက်ထားရှိပုံ

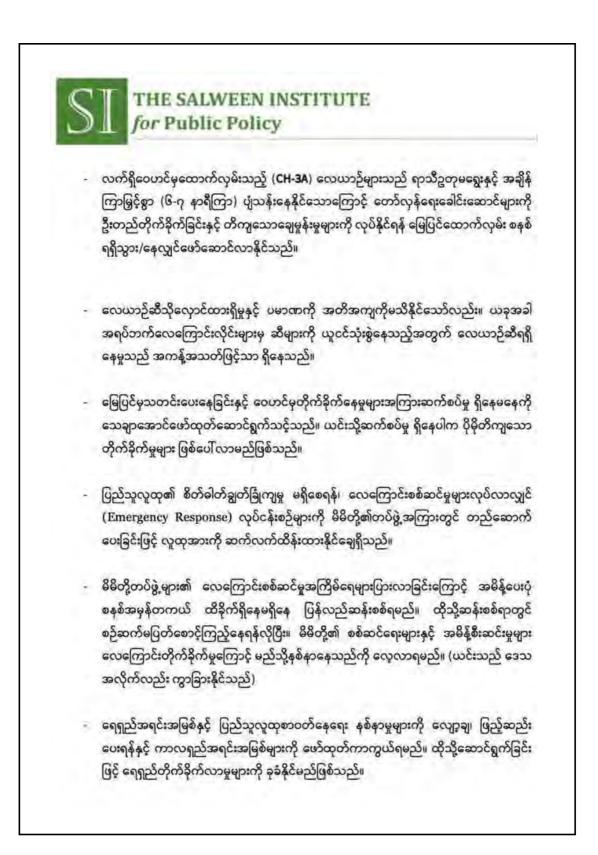
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for Public Policy		
နောက်ဆက်တွဲ ဖယား။ မြ <mark>န်မာ့တ</mark> ပ်မ	တော် (လေ) ၏ လေယာဉ် သုံး	စွဲ နှင့် မှာယူပြီး စာရင်း
အမျိုးအစား	သုံးစွဲ	မှာယူပြီး
တိုက်ခိုက်ရေး လေယာဉ်များ		
A-5	20	
F-6	1	
F-7	21	
JF-17/B	7	9
MiG-29	26	
Su-30	2	6
အထူးမစ်ရှင်များ		
BN-2 (MPA)	5	
သယ်ယူပို့ဆောင်ရေး		
ATR 42/72	6	
Beech 1900	7	
PC-6	5	
Y-8	5	
Y-12	4	
တိုက်ခိုက်ရေး ရဟတ်ယာဉ်		
Bell 205	2	
Bell 206	4	
Bell 212	1	
MI-2	22	
Mi-8/17	12	
MI-24	9	
SA316/SE316	13	
W-3	12	
ထောက်လှမ်းရေး		
CH-3A/ CH-3 (UCAV)	12	8
လေ့ကျင့်ရေး လေ/ရဟတ်ယာဉ်		
FT-76	6	
G-43	3	
G120TP	20	
H120	3	
K-8 or (JL-8)	12	50
MiG-29	5	
PC-7	16	
PC-9	10	
Yak-130	18	

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