

1. Testimony of survivor of the Mung Lai Hkyet bombing, from an interview conducted by KWAT

Introduction

On 1 February 2021, the Burmese military attempted a coup, resulting in the rise of a national resistance movement on an unprecedented scale. Following a brutal crackdown and a national uprising on an unprecedented scale, 4,160 people, including pro-democracy activists and civilians have been killed by the junta and pro-military groups, 25,353 people have been arrested and 19,632 are currently in detention².

Resistance to the junta took many forms, including establishment of the Committee Representing the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH)³, National Unity Government (NUG)⁴ and National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC)⁵. The People's Defense Force (PDF) was established in May 2021 by the NUG, to serve as the armed wing of the resistence movement. Since then, the PDF in various forms has operated nationwide, both under and outside of NUG authority, including in the areas that were historically non-conflict, such as Sagaing and Magway Region and in areas controlled by Ethnic Revolution Organizations (EROs).

Chin State, Karen State, Karenni (Kayah) State, Kachin State, Sagaing and Magway regions are among those targeted with routine air and ground strikes by Military Junta. According to UNHCR, the number of estimated of IDPs displaced within Myanmar at the beginning of the coup was 306, 200 and IDPs increased in post-coup as of 23rd October 2023 is 1,659,600⁶, which means displacement has increased by 441% since February 2021.

^{2. &}quot;Daily Briefing in Relation to the Military Coup", AAPP, October 27, 2023.

^{3.} The CRPH was established in February 2021 by ousted MPs and lawmakers who had been elected in the national election in November 2020.

^{4.} The NUG was established in April 2021, with representatives appointed by the CRPH and NUCC. Is sometimes referred to as the shadow government of Myanmar.

^{5.} The NUCC, established in March 2021, represents a coalition of anti-coup actors, including the CRPH, NUG, CDM groups, general strike councils, CSOs and EAO representatives. It serves as a consultative council to the CRPH and NUG to ensure inclusion of a broader range of the political spectrum.

^{6. &}quot;Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 23 Oct 2023)", UNHCR, 26 October 2023.

Since the coup, the junta has failed to take control of the country, and the Special Advisory Council for Myanmar (SAC-M)'s own report released in 2022 stated that the junta can only control of around 20 percent of the country's townships⁷. The rest areas were either controlled or heavily contested by ethnic resistance organizations (EROs) and local PDFs.

Some powerful EROs have supported for the National Unity Government (NUG), strongly against military coup and help to the PDFs in their areas are under ongoing attacks by the junta who continue to use violent tactics to crush the various opposition forces which have emerged since the failed coup.



^{7. &}quot;Briefing Paper: Effective Control In Myanmar", Special Advisory Council Myanmar, September 12th 2022.

Kachin state

Kachin state in northern Myanmar has endured some of the most intense conflict since the coup, although fighting between the Burmese army and the dominant ERO in Kachin, the Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO) has been in a constant state of conflict since the breakdown of the ceasefire agreement in 2011. Therefore, civilians in Kachin have been locked in a cycle of war, poverty and displacement for over 22 years. The coup intensified this conflict, and Kachin state's IDPs population is 110,700, up from 86,300 before the coup, according to UNHCR8. However, local estimates of IDP population can be differ from CSOs on the ground. The Karen Peace and Support Network commented: "UNOCHA continues to vastly underestimate the total number of IDPs in Southeast Burma, reporting only 322,600 IDPs for all Kawthoolei areas in their 15 July 2023 humanitarian update. As the Yangon-based UN agencies are operating under the restrictions of the State Administration Council (SAC) regime, and have no physical access to most parts of Kawthoolei, the accuracy of their figures needs to be questioned - particularly by donor countries who continue to channel most of their humanitarian funds via Yangon."9

"Bloodstained Gateway: Escalating SAC abuses in Northern Burma
Pave the way for BRI expansion" (October 2023), the Kachin Women's
Association Thailand (KWAT) documented multiple cases of human rights
violations in Kachin and Northern Shan States, perpetrated by the Burmese
army. These included airstrike and indiscriminate shelling on civilian areas,
arbitrarily arrests, arson, and the use of civilians as human shields. KWAT

^{8. &}quot;Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 23 Oct 2023)", UNHCR, 26 October 2023.

^{9. &}quot;A shifting power balance Junta control shrinks in southeast Burma", KSPN, 26th September 2023.

previously documented the devastating Burmese Army airstrike that resulted in high civilian casualties in A Nang Pa, Hpa- kant township, in October 2022.¹⁰

The report confirmed that the airstrike was a brutal and disproportionate response by the Burmese army to a skirmish between the Kachin Independence Army (KIA)¹¹ and the Burmese military, where the KIA successfully defended their outposts on Lung Ja Mountain from capture. This attack violates international human right law as it is an example of arbitrary targeting of civilians¹². As consistently documented in the past, this attack may also constitute another example of collective punishment of civilians for their perceived support of resistance forces. Historically this institutionalized revenge has taken the form of air strikes, scorched-earth, forced relocation, arbitrary arrest and use of human shields in the most impacted fighting areas. These atrocities continue right up to present day; in September 2023 the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights reported to the UN Human Rights Council the methods of military junta include burning civilians alive, dismembering, raping, beheading, stabbing, bludgeoning and using people as human shields¹³.

The Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar (IIMM) stated "there is strong evidence that the Myanmar military and its affiliate militias are committing increasingly frequent and brazen war crimes, according to information collected and analysed"¹⁴.

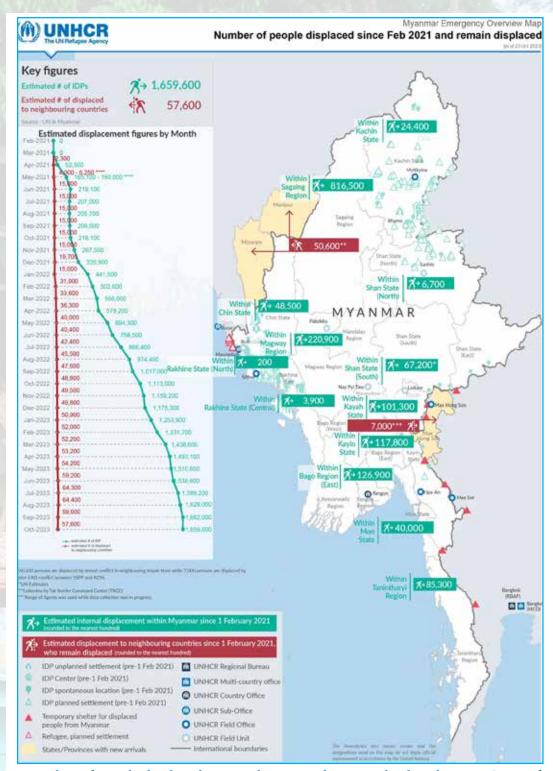
^{10. &}quot;Bloodstained Gateway: Escalating SAC abuses in Northern Burma Pave the way for BRI expansion", Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT), 9th October 2023.

^{11.} The KIA is the armed wing of the KIO, established in 1961

^{12. &}quot;International Human Rights Law", OHCHR.

^{13. &}quot;A/HRC/54/59: Situation of human rights in Myanmar - Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights". 19th September 2023.

^{14. &}quot;Press Release: War crimes by Myanmar military are more frequent and brazen – Myanmar Mechanism Annual Report", IIMM, 8th August 2023.



Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced, UNHCR as of 23 Oct 2023

The report also mentioned "these war crimes include indiscriminate or disproportionate attacks on civilians from aerial bombing, such as the military airstrike in Sagaing in April 2023 that reportedly killed more than 155 people"¹⁵.

15. Ibid.

"Every loss of life in Myanmar is tragic, but the devastation caused to whole communities through aerial bombardments and village burnings is particularly shocking," said Nicholas Koumjian, Head of the Mechanism. "Our evidence points to a dramatic increase in war crimes and crimes against humanity in the country, with widespread and systematic attacks against civilians, and we are building case files that can be used by courts to hold individual perpetrators responsible" 16.



Mung Lai Hkyet IDP camp was destroyed in the deadly strike by Military Junta, and all the houses inside the camps were seriously damaged (Photo: Awng Ja)

16. Ibid.



Mung Lai Hkyet Camp Attack

On 9 Oct 2023, at 11:30 pm, a deadly airstrike hit Mung Lai Hkyet IDP camp in Waimaw township, resulting in the deaths of 29 people, including 11 children, and 76 civilians injured. The strike left the whole camp utterly destroyed, and the village near the camp was also severely damaged. Mung Lai Hkyet camp had 168 households with a population of over 856. In one case, the airstrike killed an entire family in an instant. The survivors of the bombing are temporarily housed in Woi Chyai IDP Camp and a nearby church. These same IDPs have already been displaced in 2016 due to overcrowding Woi Chyai IDP camp. People in Laiza, the capital city of KIO territory which is around two miles away from Mung Lai Hkyet also felt the explosion.

A subsequent KIA investigation determined that the military had used a drone carrying "a huge bomb" in the attack, KIA spokesman Colonel Naw Bu told AFP. The Military Junta has denied the allegations.¹⁷

^{17. &}quot;My house was shaking': deadly strike leaves Kachin camp ruined, deserted", AFP, 11th October 2023.



KIA General Gwan Maw spoke with BBC Burmese on 25th October 2023:

"we don't know exactly what kind of weapons they (the military junta) used. On the night of the incident, the military junta launched with artillery and exploded. Still has some inexplosive shells around there. We still have not excavated those shells yet in two places. We got reliable information from our closed source that the next day, the Northern Command Chief paid the prize to the artillery unit which launched the attack. We don't know what type of weapons they used when they were launching the artillery. We confirmed that the explosion wasn't caused by the gunpowder (as Military Junta had accused) at night because we investigated the explosion but found no clues about gunpowder and fire there" 18.



Houses from Mung Lai Hkyet IDPs Camp were badly affected and the community was attacked by the Military Junta. (Photo : Awng Ja)

On the 23rd of October, the International Institute for Strategic Studies published a report on the conflict in Kachin state since the coup, and asserted that the scale of the damage caused by the explosion was more consistent with a bomb hitting a storage facility or warehouse containing ammonium

^{18. &}quot;KIA General Gwan Maw exclusive interview with BBC Burmese", BBC, 30th October 2023.

nitrate or "another, unidentified munition" in KIO territory. 19 While both Amnesty International²⁰ and Human Rights Watch²¹ have reported that the damage was due to a junta airstrike, and that the explosions in Mung Lai Hkyet were a result of mortar fire from a junta encampment, it is not clear at the time of reporting whether the extent of the blast was due to a junta deployment alone, or a junta deployment that hit a munitions warehouse. As investigations continue, it should be noted that all reports, excepting those of the junta, agree that an attack was carried out by the Burmese army on a civilian area.

This is consistent with the actions of the Military Junta in recent attacks in KIO controlled area such as on the 27th August, when the Military Junta launched an air strike on Aung Gyar village north of the Nam Sam Yan village, nearby Laiza²², and in 9th September, where bombs were dropped around Laiza and Dot Phone Yan village. In this attack, 2 school teachers were injured²³, and on 25th September, there was an air strike on Ma Dee Yan and Aung Gyar Yan villages, Moe Mount township²⁴. After the Mung Lai Hkyet attack, in the afternoon of 31st October, 4 jet fighters launched at least three air strikes on Laiza²⁵ and repeated air strikes on Laiza in the afternoon of 1st November²⁶.

^{19.} "Myanmar regime brings significant escalation to the doorstep of key opponent" IISS, 23rd October

^{20.} Myanmar: 28 civilians killed in military air strike- new investigation and witness testimony", Amnesty International, October 13th 2023

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[&]quot;Myanmar: Airstrike on village an apparent war crime", Human Rights Watch, October 17th 2023 ်လိုင်ဇာအနီး ကျဧးရွာတရွာကို စစ်ကဓာင်စီတပ်က လကေဓြာင်းမှ ဗုံးကဲတြိုက်ခိုက် ။ DVB, 28th August 22.

^{&#}x27;လိုင်ဇာမျိုအှနီးတဝိုက်ကို လက်နက်ကီးများပစ်ခတ်၍ ၂ ဦး ဒဏ်ရာရ '။ DVB, 10th September 2023. 'မိုးမဓာက်မျိနယ် မဒီးယန်းနှင့် အဓာင်ဂျာယန်ရွာအနီးကို စစ်တပ်က ဗုံးကဲတြိုက်ခိုက် '။ DVB, 26th Sep-23.

^{&#}x27;လိုင်ဇာမြဲအြနီးကို စစ်ကဓာင်စီတပ်က တိုက်လယေဉ်လ**ေးစီးဖ**ြင့် လကေခြာင်းတိုက်ခိုက်'။ DVB, 1st No-vember 2023. 25. ်လိုင်ဧာမျှိအြနီးတကို စစ်ကဓာင်စီတပ်က အပငြ်းအထန် ဗုံးကဲတြိုက်ခိုက် ' ။ DVB, 2nd November 2023. 26.

"SAC troops have also fired shells at civilian targets in KIA-controlled areas, without any immediate provocation, apparently as a warning to KIA against escalation of fighting. On October 30, 2022, SAC fired shells at Mung Lai Hkyet village, near Laiza, and on November 5, fired shells into the Mai Ja Yang residential area." ²⁷

Ah Seng who was in the camp recalled her experiences of this night:

"The Incident took place when we were asleep. I think a heavy bomb dropped from sky. We were woken by the explosion and thought we will be killed for sure so we stayed on the bed. Later I called my youngest child among my three children, but he was perhaps unconscious, so I put him on my back. My other two children were alive and awake, so we went across the road and try to get a temporary bunker for IDPs, when another bomb exploded... I called people in the camp to get here, so they all came to the bunker. We were all amazed; our jaws dropped and we can't speak each other.



After the deadly attack by the Military Junta, Mung Lai Hkyet IDPs Camp sustained huge damage. (Photo: Awng Ja)

^{27.. &}quot;Bloodstained Gateway: Escalating SAC abuses in Northern Burma Pave the way for BRI expansion", Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT), 9th October 2023.

Some of my friends told me that they heard sound of airplane...We are used to getting shot by artillery and we know how to escape from shelling. [But] I have never ever seen such a kind of explosion. When I saw the damage of the direct hit to the bomb site, I assume that was dropped from an airplane.

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We have lost all of our belongings which we have gained by our own effort and from a local humanitarian group since we escaped from the fighting. We can only try to survive without our homes from this night. Many people were killed and injured, so we tried to escape ourselves alone. When we saw the camp the next day, we were surprised because of huge of damage by the bomb... We have heavy trauma from this incident. Previously we were displaced by the fighting and lost everything we owned, so now we start our life again from zero. We faced similar situation again so I'm disappointed and don't want to live anymore. I can't find proper word to describe our life. Now we all are stay together difficulties in the temporary shelter .'28

Kaw Hpang, another survivor from Mung Lai Hkyet explained her experiences:

"We heard sound of the airplane around 7:00 pm on the 9th October, and later we didn't hear [it again]. In the past we were warned [by the KIA] whether there would be a potential air strike or artillery attack. At that night we didn't receive any warning so we did not expect this deadly strike. When I and my young son were asleep, part of the roof dropped on us, I called for help but no one can come. I ran out from my home, and I saw horrible scenes; people screaming, some are dead and burning houses, so I tried to escape from there. When I got to shelter at a bunker, artillery exploded again, I think at least four times. My house is a little bit far from the bombsite,

^{28.. &}quot;ND-Burma interview #1.



so we didn't get any injuries, but the houses were reduced to dust. Two churches and a school in the camp were also damaged. Mung Lai Hkyet used to be a village administrated by Laiza, and it has been previously hit by artillery attacks several times. Now we fled to Woi Chyai camp temporarily. We receive rice from Health Poverty Action and 5 Yuan (around 2,000 MMK, 0.68 USD) per person for food per day. I don't want anything; I just need a temporary shelter where we can stay safely and just enough food for survive. We are worried that Woi Chyai, where we relocated, will faces a similar attack to Mung Lai Hkyet²⁹.



IDPs have to flee and are displaced again after deadly attacks by Military Junta. (Photo: Awng Ja)

^{29.} KWAT interview #2.



"We have received some humanitarian assistance, [however] furthermore we need counseling for our mental health; even when we hear phone ring, we are sacred." 30

The incident at Mung Lai Hkyet camp was devastating and caused severe civilian casualties, and the survivors escaped only with their lives. Therefore, the needs of survivors are high.

A humanitarian worker supporting survivors from Mung Lai Hkyet camp said: "now the survivors from Mung Lai Hkyet camp temporary stay in Woi Chyai camp and church, they need access to all basic resources such as clothing, food, permanent shelter and hygiene and sanitation. The IDP Refugee Relief Committee (IRRC), a local humanitarian group, has coordinated with the KIO to support for relocation. Volunteers prepared and provided daily food worth 5 Yuan, and local groups have been donating from their own

30. ND Burma interview # 1

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funds. Since the Coup 2021, local humanitarian groups in here (around Laiza area) do not receive international funding. Not only the humanitarian aid but also lack of response from UN agencies and foreign governments. Even though they (UN agencies and western governments) don't have much choice and collaborate with SAC [when providing humanitarian aid], [they should] provide the assistance through local CSOs and NGOs who practically operate on the ground for humanitarian aid to the people who need urgent assistance. We also known UNICEF signed an MoU with the SAC, [this is] worse and worse for the people of Myanmar. They [the INGOs] should have a comprehensive strategy to provide the people who needs urgent assistance." 31



One of the IDPs, gazing in despair that his house was ruined and turned into dust due to Military Junta attack. (Photo : Awng Ja)

CSOs in northern Myanmar have repeatedly called on international organizations, including the UN, to provide humanitarian aid by land through cross-border channels to IDPs in Kachin and northern Shan states, and for direct support for ethnic social service structures which have underpinned humanitarian relief efforts for IDPs for more than a decade³². A document

^{31.} ND-Burma interview # 2.

^{32. &}quot;Urgent Requests: Concerns and Requests Related to the Humanitarian Situation in Kachin and Northern Shan States, Myanmar", Joint Strategy Team, 14th October 2016.

leaked in September 2023 reported in Myanmar Now showed that UNICEF has planned to allocate more than USD3 million for military-controlled humanitarian projects in Myanmar.³³

Following this revelation, SAC-M released "How the UN is failing Myanmar" in October 2023. The report reveals six occasions that on which representatives of UN entities including UNICEF, FAO, WHO, UNICEF, IOM, UNAIDS and UNHCR have presented credentials to the junta's representatives between 2022 and 2023.³⁴ The report also mentioned that details of agreements made between UN entities and the junta during these meetings have not been released, with MoUs, letters of agreement and other documents being withheld from the Myanmar public, despite calls for transparency.³⁵ The UN has not responded directly, but in a letter to UN staff in October 2022 the Resident Coordinator Ad Interim (RCAI) defended the UN's actions, saying they were required to ensure ongoing operations in the country and that each incident was "handled very carefully on a case-by-case basis, weighing the benefits and risks."36 Just one month before, in September 2022, 638 Myanmar CSOs had published an open letter to the UN Secretary-General condemning the formal engagements and signing of agreements between UN representatives and the junta.³⁷

SAC-M continued to point in their report that even though UN entities signed MoUs with the Military junta, they have not been allowed to assist people who need urgent assistance. The report uses the recent cyclone as an example:

^{33. &}quot;UNICEF signs \$3m agreement with Myanmar junta, leaked documents show", Myanmar Now, 13th September 2023.

^{34. &}quot;How the UN is failing Myanmar", SAC-M, 3rd October 2023,.

^{35.} Ibid.

^{36.} Ibid.

^{37. &}quot;LETTER TO THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL: REGARDING UN AGENCIES, FUNDS, PRO-GRAMMES AND OTHER ENTITIES ENGAGEMENT WITH THE MILITARY JUNTA", PROGRES-SIVE VOICE, 23RD SEPTEMBER 2023.

"Cyclone Mocha made landfall in western Myanmar on 14 May, causing massive devastation. The Cyclone affected approximately 5 million people. OCHA subsequently launched a Flash Appeal for additional funds to assist 1.6 million people in the five states most severely affected. But the junta has refused to allow UN agencies and international humanitarian organisations to access the affected areas to provide humanitarian assistance"³⁸.



Funeral services of 29 IDPs (including 11 children) who were killed in the fatal attack by Military Junta. (Photo : Awng Ja)

^{38. &}quot;How the UN is failing Myanmar" in 3rd October 2023, SAC-M.



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"A war crime is defined as an act carried out during armed conflict that violates the international rules of war, also known as international humanitarian law. International humanitarian law regulates how wars are conducted. It is based on fundamental principles, including the prohibition of military actions that may cause excessive injury, death or damage in relation to the anticipated military advantage; the distinction between combatants and civilians; and the avoidance or minimalisation of harm to the civilian population. An act that violates these principles is a war crime.³⁹"

During the interviews for this research, a local humanitarian volunteer pointed out that attack of Burmese Army has been increasing since July 3rd around the Laiza area, as well as using road blocks and ground assaults in engaging with the KIA. Despite this, the KIA has held their ground, gained some outposts. There have been casualties on both sides, but reportedly the damage on the side of the SAC has been more grievous. Due to this, military retaliation against civilians has been intensified. One of the survivors of the attack gave their perspective; "for my opinion, [the] SAC observed the map of surrounding area, therefore they know exactly where is military post (KIO/ KIA) and civilian areas. Now they launched to the civilian area...they targeted [attacks] to the civilian clearly⁴⁰"

^{39. &}quot;Legal Concepts", IIMM.

^{40.} ND Burma interview # 1

In the case of the Mung Lai Hkyet attack, the Military Junta is in clear breach of International Humanitarian Laws and, as they have deliberately targeted civilian areas that they are familiar with from decades of conflict.⁴¹ It is the view of this research that the attack on the Mung Lai Hkyet likely constitutes the crimes against humanity of murder and persecution, defined as "an act committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack on a civilian population in a single location or across a territory. Any act of violence or serious mistreatment of a civilian population can be considered an attack for this purpose.⁴²"

^{41.} The Burmese Army is stationed on Hka Ya Bum mountain which is located opposite Laiza since January 2013 so they are familiar with landmarks such as the KIA/KIO headquarter and Mung Lai Hkyet IDP camp.

^{42. &}quot;Legal Concepts", IIMM

Conclusion

Since the coup, the KIA has provided material and operational support to PDFs in Sagaing, Magway and Mandalay, in addition to its existing support provided to other EROs. In response, the military has escalated airstrikes and shelling of towns and villages in Kachin and northern Shan, causing further large-scale displacement⁴³. According to our observation and research, the SAC has clearly committed both War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity nationwide since the 2021 failed coup.

The NUG Ministry of Human Rights has gathered evidence confirming 158 cases of massacres resulting in the deaths of 1,723 persons, as of 19 October, 2023. The region most affected has been the Sagaing Region, followed by Kachin, Bago, Magway, Yangon, Shan, Chin, Karenni, Rakhine, Mandalay, Tanintharyi, and Ayeyarwady, affected by crimes such as arson, killing, arbitrary arrest and other form of human rights violations⁴⁴.

This report, as well as KWAT, ND-Burma, the Spring University and the Spring Archive make the following recommendations to the international community, in light of the crimes being openly committed by the SAC: Work with local CSOs and NGOs to deliver humanitarian aid effectively, as they know the situation on the ground and are able to those from the local community who need urgent assistance. The military junta is not a government, but an illegal entity operating without a mandate in Myanmar. Therefore, registration with this group in order to be recognized as a legitimate service provider should not be considered as a factor when looking at points of intervention.

^{43. &}quot;Deadly reprisals: regime steps up attacks on civilians in retaliation for conflict losses in northern Burma", KWAT, June 2021.

^{44. &}quot;International Crimes Against the People of Myanmar - War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity", MoHR, NUG, 20 October 2023.

Recommendations

- The international community must sanction and cease the sale of all aviation fuel going to the Burmese military.
- Senior members of the Myanmar junta must be referred to the International Criminal Court, with supporting evidence from the NUG and the IIMM used to bring them to justice.
- The UN Security Council should immediately adopt a resolution which acknowledges the worsening of the human rights crisis on the ground in Myanmar.
- Impose a global arms embargo which would halt the free flow of weapons into the country.
- The UN General Assembly and Human Rights Council must adopt strong resolution to stop human rights violations.
- UN agencies, funds and programmes to stop engaging with the military junta as if it is a government.
- ASEAN must act beyond the 5 points consensus and disregard any member of the junta as a representative of Myanmar.
- Urgent and long-term support must be prioritized by the NUG and ensure all the Transitional Justice mechanisms to be implemented in order to support the victims of human rights violations, according to the articles of the new federal democracy constitution.

Glossary

AAPP : Assistance Association for Political Prisoners

ASEAN : Association of South East Asian Nations

EROs : Ethnic Revolution Organizations

HPA : Health Poverty Action (HPA)

IRRC : IDP Refugee Relief Committee

KIA : Kachin Independent Army

KIO : Kachin Independent Organization

KSPN: Karen Support Peace Network

KWAT : Kachin Women's Association Thailand.

MoHR : Ministry of Human Rights

NUG : National Unity Government

PDF : People's Defense Force

SAC : State Administration Council

SAC-M : Special Advisory Council for Myanmar

