

Burmans' Accusation on Kachins, *Pa-Yaw-Gah* (instigation): A Subaltern-hegemonic Reading Postcolonial Discourse on the text of the Context

By the Kachin Research Group

I. Introduction

The on-going civil war between the military regime and the ethnic armed groups has been labeled today in various ways from respective grounds. The root cause has been obvious due to the agenda behind the ruling regime's constitutional legitimization of all ethnic armed groups under the single administration of the military chief of the ruling regime in the name of the Border Guard Force (BGF).

Yet on the account of the issue of civil war, the ethnic nationalities, both armed and political groups alike, have observed as the plot of ethnic-exclusion neglecting the federal principle of equal sharing of political power between the majority Burmans and the ethnic nationalities. Rather, the Burmans' offensive has played of a mere role of the ruling regime's agent for its homogenized-Burmanization with military power instead. Meanwhile, the international communities such as the West, the European Union, and the Asia, as individuals and groups, have rendered their realistic and suggestive positions on it by calling the ruling regime to be the initiator for the political talks with the ethnic nationalities for the implementation of the principle and order of the federal democracy and national reconciliation in Burma.

This paper at this juncture focuses much attention on the attitude of the ruling regime since it rather has condemned all the ethnic groups exclusively to the Kachin with a mere accusing word, the "*pa-yaw-gah*" (instigation) these days. Indeed, having no comparable English word exactly, however, this implies the notion of "the influence, the point of causing something on one behalf." This label on the Kachin's issue once again continues the Burmans' accusation in the past upon Kachins' initiation of the Panglong Agreement with the federal principle as the "colonial influence." Similarly, the ruling Burmans do so without considering its root and reality for the solution of the political problem made by them over and over upon the Kachins and its struggle for formation of the federal state as *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation), revealing its sentiment upon the Kachin Independence Organization and its armed-wing Kachin Independence Army (KIO/KIA)'s position of defensive war on the Burman' troops with the federal policy. At this point it is the time to re-probe the Burmans' accusation of the "*pa-yaw-gah*" (instigation) to the Kachin.

It seems that it is the ruling Burman's psychological attack on the Kachins, accusing and condemning them into its lower status or dependent on the influence of others instead of surrendering its attention and input in solving the chronic political problems based on the Panglong Agreement. As a matter of fact, there will be a section of analysis on Burmans' accusation on the Kachins as *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) today and then, the alternative meaning of it from the subaltern-hegemonic reading will be redefined the issue afresh. Moreover, the role, the representation and the position of the subjugated Kachins and the ideology embedded in "*pa-yaw-gah*" (instigation) will be remapped within the postcolonial framework against the role and the function of the dominant Burmans by means of political solution since Burmans' employment of "*pa-yaw-gah*" (instigation) has been echoed political plot over the subaltern ethnic nationalities in Burma.

II. *Pa-yaw-gah*: Belief and Practice in Burma

The Burmese word *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation)¹ is associated with the belief and practice of witchcraft and sorcery. It literary, indicates into five such as; 1) stimulus, 2) the causing thing or instigation, cause to happen, 3) varied witchcrafts and sorceries causing harm to someone and 4) impediment, being used always in a bad sense.² Having observed such practice and tie as a common culture in the context of Burma, the word *pa-yaw-gah* indicates implicitly or explicitly two meanings such as one's practice to harm other by various witchcraft or certain unnatural power of demon and evil spirit, and exorcism."³

Therefore, the word hereby denotes a state of individual and group influenced by others just because of the backing support, evil spirit/power, advice rather than one realistic projection so that one would cause detriment to his/her opponent/enemy from the upper hand for one's success and achievement. On the one hand, this practice states one's attitude of dependence and of cowardice in not accepting oneself and one's situation to be solved accordingly as it is. On the other hand, this culture actually insults a fellow's own state, culture, philosophy, commitment and attitude condemning and underestimating him/her as *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) as not of that self.

Indeed, positively, the practice of *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) uncovers a hidden yet a certain intentional scheme of one "who drives out demons by magical formulas."⁴ This further carries one's practice by which he/she destroys his/her supposed enemy depending not on his/her own strength but completely on others instead. In the context of ruling Burmans' correspondence to the Kachin with the charge of the *pa-yaw-gah* denotes "the flagrant intention of making the ethnic issue as a scapegoat and pretext to enhance their [Burmans'] personal aggrandizement to the fullest extent."⁵ It, in relation to the Kachins, signifies the subjective accusation and absolutely exposed one's position as a dependent and an agent of the others and the rejection of one's deed as mere-influenced one and its action in current political struggle, accusing one's effort as a mere fake projection being publicized.

III. The Subaltern-hegemonic Reading

The subaltern-hegemonic reading takes a position of resistance against particular form of political domination occurring in the text of the context. The subaltern in this context is identified as the marginalized, the subordinate and the oppressed under a certain political domination. In such realm, the subaltern-hegemonic criticism has been a brilliant discourse of resistance against a political domination in this reading enhanced from the hegemonic criticism of Antonio Gramsci.⁶ In

¹ The Burmese word *pa-yaw-gah* is embedded the belief and practice of various witchcraft related to an exorcism. It means the third person such as that the unseen spirit, unseen power and the evil power acts and operates against its opponent as the agent on his/her behalf.

² According to the dictionary of the Myanmar Examination Board the Burmese word *Pa-yaw-gah* means 1) *hlukq-saw-hmu*, 2) *hpyit-pyet-se-thaw- achyaung*, 3) *htu tabaar gu hti khaik se thaw tsone-atat amyu myu* and 4) *ahnawk ahshet*.

³ The meaning is stated in Thar-lun Burmese-English dictionary and "Exorcism" in *Britannica: Ready Reference Encyclopedia, Volume 4 – Indian Edition*, 2004, 10.

⁴ The Greek words, "*exorkizw, exorkistes*" in *Walter Bauer: A Greek-English Lexicon o the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* edited by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago, 1979, 276.

⁵ The contextual interpretation of the *pa-yaw-gah* being accused upon the KIO/A and Kachins and their struggle for the restoration of the Federal Union as the right mean for political solution in Burma, has been made by Maran Zau Tawng, TEO, retired, a political analyst of the politics in Burma, residing in Myitkyina, Kachinland.

⁶ Antonio Gramsci was an Italian intellectual and politician and a student of The University of Turin. His influential writings particularly Letters from Prison, 1947 outlines a version of communism and his work

his context the hegemony criticizes the rule of the dominant bourgeoisies who enjoyed in their dominant positions and created certain functions for production by way of exploiting the profit and the labor of the working masses. This hegemony creates a “spontaneous consent” to its subaltern legally: and then on a matter of principle and apparatus, the norms of the historical normative are institutionalized by the coercive power whenever necessary.⁷ This mechanism functions on the basis of direct domination and judicial rule and thus hegemony and the exercise of power of the dominant go hand in hand.⁸

Based on such dominant ideology and exploitative and oppressive function, the theory of subaltern-hegemonic reading generates a “counter-hegemonic thought”⁹ and a subversive mapping by becoming subaltern intellectuals. In relevance to this theoretical framework, the ruling Burmans’ accusation, the *pa-yaw-gah*(instigation) to the Kachin issue related to the KIO/KIA’s defensive position in the civil war hereby redefines the meaning and representation of the subaltern issue and position against the Burmans’ hegemony. This rereading on the ethnic issue alters the dominant Burmans’ accusation and condemnation on it as *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation), complicated, padi-pet-kha (conflict) and so on. Because in the accusing word, there echoes the hegemonic function and agenda when coming to the issue of the ethnic nationalities, suppressing them as the degraded position and function as political subalterns under Burmans the dominant in politics.

For instance, the consent of the subaltern ethnic nationalities on Burman political principle has made in and through the forced legalization of 2008 constitution by the military power and its implementation in the form of civil-dressed government and its governance of elimination the Ethnic armed groups by its military might today; which is without the consensus of neither the public nor the federal principle of the Panglong Accord. Thus, the accusation, the *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) exclusively upon the KIO/KIA and the Kachins due to having rejected the Burmans’ hegemony of the legitimacy of the anti-federalist constitution hereby will render the alternative meaning of the *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) and the role of subjugated ethnic nationalities in this light as means for solution of the political chronic created by the Burmans in Burma.

IV. Analysis: Burmans’ Accusation on Kachin Issue as *pa-yaw-gah*

The analysis in this paper is made on the basis of the RFA radio interview with U Ko Ko Hlaing, the advisor to the President Thein Sein, about the current issue of Burmans’ offensive war against ethnic armed groups particularly to “the Kachins” on the morning of July 18, 2011. The substantial data will be supported on it from current reliable sources and realistic experiences of the Kachins as political outcasts in their own land since independence. The interview reached its peak when the civil war came to be the issue of Kachins saying,

“...in the Kachins’ issue, there has/involves pa-yaw-gah (instigation). So it is very complicated one and it is pa-yaw-gah (instigation)... we can wipe the KIO/KIA out within three days completely if we use military might. But we ought to solve it with care....”

It seems that the KIO/KIA’s position is the inevitable defensive war on Thein Sein’s troops after having denied and rejected its repeated appeals and demands for political talks during 17 prolonged years of cease-fire. By contrast, with the very oppressive rejection of the ruling regime, the principle of negotiation totally was collapsed along with the implementation of the BGF to all armed groups

has influenced sociology, political theory and international relation. *Britannica: Ready Reference Encyclopedia, Volume 4 – Indian Edition*, 2004, 195.

⁷ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notesbooks* (Madras: Orient Longman, 1996), 12-13.

⁸ Couze Venn, *The Postcolonial Challenge: Towards Alternative Worlds* (London: Sage Publication, 2006), 185.

⁹ John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, New Delhi: Viva Books, 2010, 48.

by means of authorization of the 2008 constitution. Indeed, no single demand of armed groups so far had been considered throughout though the government has claimed to the world of its political reform into the “disciplined democracy”. Then, do all demands of armed group outlaw of the principle of the federal democracy? At this juncture, under the policy of rejection and despising but homogenization, there is no other way for the KIO/KIA except to have resumed the current war as a part of political solution in the time of the political dead-lock.

Meanwhile, the accusation, the *pa-yaw-gah* towards the KIO/KIA is analyzed hereby within the framework of the policy and infuriated attitude of the military civilian government. The charge signifies that the KIO/KIA’s historic-political role in Burma is still yet to be recognized as to talk equal height with the ruling Burmans yet underrated as foolish one.

Secondly, the KIO’s demand for the Federal Democracy is considered not its own vow but of the influence of other(s) as the Burmans did accuse the Kachin’s leaders who signed at Panglong with the federal principle as the colonial influence so.

Thirdly, the KIA’s wage on war against the Burman’s troops is also condemned as mere setup of “*pa-yaw-gah*” (instigation) assuming the entire influence and support from abroad as the junta did to the KNU/KNLA¹⁰ so.

Fourthly, the accusing “the complicated, the headache” towards Kachin issue reveals the Burmans’ culture of denial/concealment of not accepting their plots the way in which how they have planned to rule out the Kachins’ unprecedented tie with the Union system rather manipulating them into the Burman Unitary Union, with the 2008 constitution.

Fifthly, the current Kachins’ struggle for the fundamental political rights and the federal principle for first survival and second, co-existence has been always neglected rather justified them under the Burmans’ principle with subordinate status, suppressing the ethnic issue ever to be minimized, unimportant, insignificant, worthless and so on. Rather the KIO/KIA’s defensive war against the Burmans’ troops has publicly denounced and condemned by U Kyaw San as “the rebellious and the act of terrorism” at the press conference, Naypyidaw on August 12, 2011.

Sixthly, these scenarios indicate the Kachin’s struggle for the federalism has been uncounsed as the right norm for the political talk in Burma whereas the Kachins and ethnic nationalities are being destined to be always second class under the Burmans.

Seventhly, the accusation overall solely echoes the materialistic interest and its campaign for Burmans’ glory approach.

Then, would the Kachin be still foolish in the stage of innocent on Burmans’ plot thus far and in which political framework the Kachins has to formulate whatever circumstance may be in order to implement the union principle on the basis of the Panglong accord. The KIO/KIA’s statement on August 30, 2010 on the federal principle is obvious that who/where the KIO or the Kachins are today, stating the Kachins’ political stance that could not allowed to be compromised by the West, the East and the Burmans. Rather it appears clear of self-commitment and grounding frame of the KIO/KIA’s struggle for political change into the federal democracy. Then asked here, who really are the

¹⁰ KNU is the Karen National Union and the wing the Karen National Liberation Front is the armed wing of it.

complicated and “stupid child”¹¹ in Burma when it comes to power and politics since post-independence? Is it decisive that the KIO/KIA’s position is to fight for the policy matter rather not merely for material sake: which means fighting against all the anti-federalists, the enemies of the Union of Burma such as the burmans, military troops and so on? In fact, the anti-federalists are the ones who are exactly what Ko Ko Hlaing said, the *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) of Burman-Buddhist-nationalism in Burma instead.

Unfortunately, honored the Icon of Democracy by Indian civil societies, the Public Leader in Burma and so on, bearer Aung San Suu Kyi too categorizes the ethnic issue in her speech always as a mere “*padi-pek-kha* (conflict).” Literary it is “antagonism” expressing rivalry as in betwixt two enemies. Chit Thaung considerably translates it as “contradiction” and for Karl Marx and Lenin it is “materialistic” in terms of class struggle¹² and the existence of binary opposition.¹³ Nevertheless, the “*padi-pek-kha*” (conflict) rightly is spelled out the very game of politics of and for the idea of social domination on the basis of materialistic value and arbitrating on appearance but not on ideological policy by creating both antagonism and contradiction betwixt the dominant class and the dominated class.

The NLD¹⁴ leader Aung San Suu Kyin’s word here in line with the *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) within the materialistic framework in looking at the Ethnic issue. These words denote the issue of ethnic nationalities has never been the major political issue of the country but of as if something “interpersonal conflict” on account of material sake, and as if just an issue of ethnicities as “not theirs” but “ours.” Then the question is asked that what has been the major issue in the Union of Burma since right after the independence? That means the issue of democratization is only the one as being claimed and will it be possible without solving the issue of ethnic nationalities¹⁵ which provided at the Panglong accord and the UN mandate for tripartite model? Do nationalities’ issue create certain “contradiction and antagonism” in position of contradictors and enemies to the Burmans, the major/dominant race? Then, when did all ethnic nationalities betray/disloyal to the Union of Burma on the basis of the Panglong agreement and to the ruling Burmans so far in the history of Burma? If there is “contradiction” then what are those “contradictions” ethnic nationalities made to the Union of Burma?

¹¹ Col. U Than Aung, a minister of Security and Boarder, the Government of Kachin State, categorizes the KIO/A as “the stupid child against its parents” during the last meets with the KIO delegates led by Vice Chief of Staff, Brig-Gen. Gun Maw in June and August for ceasefire at Laja Yang camp. This analogy is not sound rather questionable on which ground the charge is made that who is who and what child or parents are today in Burma.

¹² “Materialism” in The Dictionary of Politics by Col. Chit Thaung, 624.

¹³ In Burmese “contradiction” is stated as “wi-yaw-di” which anthropologically, indicates the nature of the dualistic opposition in life.

¹⁴ The NLD is the National League for Democracy founded right after the 8888 the students’ union led public demonstration for the parliament democracy in Burma. Consequently, the NLD won landslide victory during 1990 election conducted by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLOC). Yet, the NLD was denied of transferring political power of the state by the junta till today.

¹⁵ In Burma, “the democratization” is observed not the major problem so long as the political principle of the Union system has to be stipulated on account of the Panglong Accord, but the “issue of ethnicity,” being treated as marginalized “different, worthless, neglected, and unrecognized so on, not sharing rights and privilege with the Ethnicities, who belong to each unique history, culture, belief system and so on, under exclusively Burmese nationalism. You can refer to the VOA’s program: “the Burmese issue the global affair” the interview between U Kyaw Zan Thar and Dr. Josef Silverstein, Professor Emeritus at Rutgers University in New Jersey and a political expert on Burma, rebroadcast it on 18-19, August, 2011.

Being the political Nobel laureate in peace, the realistic cause for existence of ethnic armed groups and rejection of the 2008 constitution by the ethnic nationalities are to be highlighted rather simply degrading the “ethnic issue” as the “state of interpersonal sentimental contradiction” rather “the national policy matter in sharing political power between ethnic states and the Burmans with the norm of federal principle” in Burma. In fact, the ethnic nationalities are not the ones who contradict and oppose against the political norm provided at the Panglong and to the Burmans’ leaders as well.

Rather the every ruling Burmans have been the ones who have contradicted the Federal principle and toward Ethnic leaders down through the past till today. The very labels here depict neither the federal democratic policy and civilized ideology nor the Panglong principle rather the attitude of the “Burman materialism and sentiment reflecting its dominant nationalism” wholly in a way of “making trivial, neglecting and condemning” the political and national identities of the ethnic nationalities. The analysis on the account of accusing word the *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) towards the Kachins’ issue capitulate the flagrant scheme of the ruling/dominant Burmans “to create more perpetual internal warfare in order to enslave all the ethnic nationalities under their total domination, pretending their erroneous beliefs that the federalism may lead to the disintegration and disunity in Burma.”¹⁶ Having obvious, the KIO/A’s vow to the federal principle, on waging inevitable armed politics, its tie with the Panglong norm and its representation of the citizens and of the federal principle as the right solution for political disorder in Burma and has been ideologically and logically being ruled out according to the analyses on the accused *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) to the Kachins.

V. *Pa-yaw-gah* (instigation): Subaltern-hegemonic Interpretation

The re-definition of *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) is made in this section on the basis of the analyses made above as not self-stance and self-projection but others and influenced and ethnic issue is being ruled out with various norms of Burmans’ glorification. This Burmans’ control in politics has created all the ethnic nationalities to be subjugated as if in the Burmans’ Empire. Thus, this accusation, “*pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) in Kachins’ issue in response to KIO/KIA’s defensive war on the ruling regime” is echoed of political domination and misjudgment over the Kachins by power and consented constitution. Here the critical representation is to be made upon the Burmans’ accusation on the Kachins’ issue as *pa-yaw-gah*(instigation) in turn reflecting the Burmans’ *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) instead as follows in this light of alternative reading.

On account of the sentimental and material base on the Kachins issue not on the ideology made by the ruling Burmans, rather it is obviously projected by the Burmans’ *pa-yaw-gah* today. First, the Burmans’ *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) in power is completely influenced by and constructed on Buddhism as history proves of U Nu’s implementation of Burma as Buddhist Nation since 1948 onwards. Even the 2008 constitution stipulates that Buddhism is the “gung-htoo wiq-thae-thaq nit pyiae-sung-thaw-barthar– (a special characteristic, respectful perfect and the most citizens devoted religion)”¹⁷ in Burma. This indication expresses the presence of binary opposition between Buddhism and the other religions: highlighting while Buddhist religion is the noblest, honored, powerful and so on, and the other religions such as Christianity, Muslim, Hinduism, and so on are meant to be “the least devoted and not special and imperfect religion, not official and not respected religion and so on in Burma.

Second, the consequent *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) of the Burmans’ regime is the Burmese Nationalism which is constructed on the four major bases namely language, literature, racism and land. This plot has been proved by way of the militarization and borderland development projects across Myanmar treating the ethnic nationalities as savage, undeveloped, minority, obscure,

¹⁶ The analysis is referred to the same footnote no. 5.

¹⁷ The 2008 Constitution of the Union of Myanmar, draft, 151.

uneducated, uncivilized, illiterate, narrow-minded, separatists and so on. The current constitution is rejected mainly by all ethnic citizens for its provision of Burmanization by way of homogenization in terms of blood, culture, literature and life style and so on to the non-Burmans.

Third, the most threatening *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) of the ruling Burmans is the materialization of the unitary system mimicking and revitalization back to the Burmese monarchy by way of establishing monarchic culture in terms of literature (Naypyidaw), construction of pagodas and monarchies where there is no single devotee (in Kachinland), education (imposing Buddhist way of life) the traditional clothing (the President) and so on whereas not for that of respective ethnic nationalities in their own state. This *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) rightly indicates the discriminate binarism between the Burman race as always ruling, the noblest race and the ethnic nationalities and others are always peripheries and their subordinates. This system is exclusively framed in the recent imposed constitution in the name of the Union of Myanmar with the disciplined democracy which totally rejects all principle of the Panglong accord. This has been the major issue in Burma since pre and post independence in Burma. However this issue has been misspelled, neglected, pretended, overlooked and minimized having been trivial till today. Instead, the system of legitimization of the unitary system has been implemented one way or the other since the ruling Burmans are in power using the military might.

Moreover, the above political ideologies have been the *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) of the ruling Burmans rather which totally reject and negate the Union principle and the efforts of the national architect namely Gen. Aung San, Kachin leaders, Shan leaders, Chin leaders and so on. Nevertheless, with the theory of accusing Ethnic nationalities as *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation), the ruling regime has benefited from abroad: in the past the support from the West and Europe, the support from Australia today, from Japan and Asian countries. The current civil war between the Burmans' troop and the ethnic armed groups namely Kachins, Shans, Karens, Karennis and so on under the physical and political ideological alliance for the formation of the Federal Union in Burma, obviously depicts the *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) of the foreign influence upon the ruling Burmans' troops; for example economic, moral and military support and influence from China particular and India and Russia.

Though the accusation is made against the ethnic armed groups by the ruling regime, whereas, the *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) of the ethnic nationalities has played very decisive influence on the political truth the reconstructing the Union, in Burma with the norm of "the Federal Democratic principle." Thus, the position and the defensive armed-reaction of all ethnic nationalities represent the resistance against the ruling regime's *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) for "neglecting into wiping out" the Kachin issue or ethnic issue for formation of the federal union under the unitary system. This has been being implemented both constitutionally and militarily against the ethnic struggle for political equality and identities under its homogenized schemes. Therefore, the Kachins' *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) is constructive not destructive one as established its public political ideology and rights today. It is no longer exclusive-national-basis as did before rather as on the fundamental federal principle of national co-existence and solidarity embodying on equality, self-determination, freedom, human rights and democracy on the basis of the Panglong accord.

Thus, the reactionary wage of war and political function of all ethnic nationalities are re-identified and are represented today as the formation of political rights, federal democracy, self-determination and fundamental rights for equal existence in the Union of Burma instead. Meanwhile, the Kachins' *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) today is gaining the power, the strength, the unity, the moral, the support and so on since all individuals and groups from both inside and outside of the country and both armed and unarmed ones who have unanimously joined in various forms for the formation of the civilized federal democratic Union in Burma. In this reading, the subaltern-hegemonic reading hereby relocates the resistance mapping against the function/accusation of dominant in power for their

position and the alternative functions against all forms of homogenization, Burman aggrandizement, suppression and domination over all ethnic nationalities with the *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) of the right and fit political principle instead.

VI. General Conclusion

Having analyzed the ruling Burmans' accusation on Kachins' issue, the war with the ruling troops, ostensibly there abstracts the three findings: first, the position of the KIO/KIA or Kachins is not themselves but of totally other or outside support, second, the message of KIO/KIA's struggle has been never communicated to the ruling regime as the realistic and considerable one rather always rejected thinking that of useless, fed up and foolish one, nothing more than mere problematic to them, third, the ruling regime never ever has admitted or accepted what mistake has they ever done in formation of the Union, in Burma.

Instead, there is obvious of the character of the ruling hegemony on accusing *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) to the Kachins upon the KIO/KIA's inevitable reaction of defensive war on the Burmans' troops. In this context, the subaltern-hegemonic reading provides enough space relocating the position of the subjugated Kachins and reconstructing its reading of resistant role and representation of the KIO/KIA and the Kachins as anti-hegemonic mission against all form of hegemony of the ruling regime.

Thereby, the Kachins' *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) is identified and represented here for the mission to wiping and uprooting out all evil and enemies with the fundamental value and prevailing rule of human rights, federal democracy, equal demarcation of power between the Burmans and the Ethnic nationalities.

Thus, the current mission of the KIO/KIA led armed struggle remaps the alternative mission of divide and rule, complicated, disunity, instability, unrest, poverty and so on of the ruling Burmans into unity, solidarity and political stability and prosperity at the cause of Federal Principality in the formation of the Union in Burma. Not the least, it is obvious that the Ethnic *pa-yaw-gah* rather plays as the agent of the federal principle which resists against the ruling Burmans' *pa-yaw-gah* (instigation) for their unitary system for the glorification of Buddhism and of majority Burman.

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