

Burman Troop's Offensive War against Kachin: A Postcolonial Nationalistic Interpretation

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I. Introduction

Amidst ongoing instability across Burma (Myanmar) due to the Burman troops' offensive war against the ethnic armed groups namely Karen, Kachin, Shan and so on, the analysis on military action over Ethnicities is hereby re-identified as that the policy of the newly civil dressed military government under the leadership of President Thein Sein.

Having been formed within the norms of military system in the name of the "Disciplined Democracy," this analysis will render the mastermind behind logical reasons of waging war on ethnic armed groups, particularly on the Kachin Independence Organization and its armed-wing Kachin Independence Army (KIO/KIA) at Sang Gang, N'mawk and the standing and unchanging policy towards the Ethnicities since the post-independence picture debated in the parliament in Burma. This research is scrutinized within the framework of *the postcolonial nationalism* which assumes the deployment of military might is an instrumentalization of the "agent of Burman power and domination" over the Ethnicities and their lands for generation after generation. This analysis will further enlighten the readers as to whether the "Federal Union of Myanmar" could be still the right path for political solution in order to restore pure peace and stability or not while the military is conducting all sorts of human rights violations and perpetration upon victims of war or innocent Kachins with the power of military might.

II. The Concept of Nationalism

Generally, it is a common western construction of nationalism based on the "spirit of the patriotic and chauvinistic."¹ In politics there are two kinds of nationalisms such as "of the oppressors and of the oppressed."² Having concerned the status of humankind, it intertwines with the definition of "pride, a feeling of pride in your own country and politics, the belief that a particular area should have its own government."³ It is suggestive and inclusive indicating about the political state, its system and conduct of a government belonging to one country.

Indeed, the term "nationalism" derived from a word "nation" representing a country and its inhabitants, states a spirit of patriotism, chauvinism and jingoism of its citizens. It is the spirit of love towards the nation and country with the norm of the spirit of its founding fathers for which one is devoted for its immediate and demand of necessity. Meanwhile it seems to maintain and enhance the same spirit in honor of the founding fathers leading one's passion to devote such extreme beliefs with their behaviors as to nation on the basis of race, land and identities.

¹ "Chauvinism" in *The Dictionary of Politics* by Col. Chit Thaung, 537 – 538.

² "Nationalism" in *The Dictionary of Politics* by Col. Chit Thaung, 637.

³ "Nationalism" in *The Cambridge Learner's Dictionary*.

On the one hand, it equates with the word *xenophobia* which expresses an “extreme dislike or fear of people from other countries” or “strangers.” The word “zeno” originates from the Greek word “zenos,” literally uses “strange” and “foreign divinities” and “strange teachings” and figures to “strange to something, estranged from it, unacquainted with it, without interest in it.”⁴ Thus conceptually, it could be concluded as a collective attitude to enhancing the patriotic spirit to the nation belonged to in a fright of strangers and others.

III. Nationalism: Agent of Representation

Not spelling back much about the extreme functional struggle to every group of people or tribe during the past era of colonization, the very ideology of nationalism since independence right after the World War II was reformulated as human civilization, is and more authentic and realistic for their existence. Indeed, it was all about a concern of people or one nation as a whole rather than about the issue of a particular group of people or ethnic groups as such.

It is the attitude of self-service and commitment of citizens themselves upon the nation or the country belonging to three dimensional loyalties such as “loyalty and devotion to one’s country, loyalty to the other groups and to individual interests.”⁵ On the contrary it was narrowed and framed as a primary strife for only “immediate locality, religious group,”⁶ ethnic group and so on during the era of post-city-states.

Power in relation to the Race and Ethnicity

On the one hand, according to the Jamaican writer *Mervyn Morris*, nationalism is “the feeling of ownership”⁷ and “oppression of some groups within the national population to the not-independent experienced,”⁸ and “nationalisms for domination”⁹ within the country. It becomes the important phenomenon when it comes to power in relation to the issue of “race and Ethnicity.” While both commonly shared as the victims under powerful conditioned with variety of characters in strife for “self-projection” to *Padmini Mongia* “ethnicity is to be acknowledged mostly in accordance with the context on the bases of the place of history, language and culture in construction of its subjectivity and identity.”¹⁰ In the process *Marrangoly George* connects it with a practice of power in the elimination of “race and ethnicity” by erasing their “specificities, setting norms and limits, lopping off tangential.”¹¹ It is the political construction of *racialization* to serve the interests of certain groups in power and over others, restricting them as second-

⁴ In Acts 17:18, Hebrews 13:9 as a kind of “strange” such as “surprising, unheard of, foreign, the term offers the meaning “the uprising or foreign of God’s chosen people” according to Clement. Therefore, the terms represent three subjunctive bodies such as the stranger or alien, Mt. 25:35, 38, 43; 27:3, a foreign country and the host who extends hospitality in Romans 16:23. “Zeno-j” 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. 548.

⁵ “Nationalism” in *Britannica: Ready Reference Encyclopedia* – Indian Edition, 2004, 74.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁷ Mervyn Morris, “Feeling, Affections, Respect” in *Disappointed Guest: Essays by African, Asian and West Indian Students*, ed. H. Tajel and J. L. Dawson, Oxford University Press, 1965, 25-26 cited by John McLeod in *Beginning Postcolonialism*, New Delhi: Viva Books, 2010, 71.

⁸ John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, New Delhi: Viva Books, 2010, 102-103.

⁹ John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, New Delhi: Viva Books, 2010, 103.

¹⁰ Padmini Mongia, ed., *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997, 86.

¹¹ Rosemary Maronngoly George, *The Politics of Home: Postcolonial Recocations and Twentieth-Century Fiction*, Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 1996, 41, cited in John McLeod, ..., 110.

class citizens in their own country. Thus, nationalism of the powerful is the way in which it constructs “racism and ethnicism”¹² and upholds the ideology of “discrimination, marginalization, extermination, oppression”¹³ and “unequal and disempowering action”¹⁴ on the ground of racial, cultural and identical difference. In this mission, the theories of “external and internal racism”¹⁵ are practiced by the group of people in power. Nationalism hereby depicts explicitly that *racialization* is the major function to suppress the powerless and weak, race and ethnicity with the reactional method of discrimination, oppression and various forms of extermination for their own interests.

This often is implemented with centralized political system which has abandoned the existential value of the ethnic nationalities in Burma though one’s nationalism is fundamentally designed on certain commonalities in terms of ethnicities, political heritage and history in bringing out the higher liberation movements inclusively from foreign domination. This movement could even lead to doom the power of British imperialism in which Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi was the spearhead and who could establish Indian Nationalism with a secular democratic principle for the powerless. When analyzed, the system of Burman political leaders and military generals, the rejection of the federal principle, the negligence of ethnic issues and ultimate exclusion of major Ethnic representation in sharing of power in constitution since 1962, rather deploying military might to exterminate ethnic armed groups, has obviously declared the Burman Nationalism, which aims to eliminate the ethnic groups who are conditionally powerless today.

Ethnic Nationalities in Union of Myanmar: Alienated and Alien Representation

The Union of Myanmar came into being with the effort and genuine collaboration of Ethnic nationalities, Kachins, Shan and Chin on account of the *Panglong* accord. However, the implementation of the *Panglong* principality in formulation of a Federal Union has been systematically relegated till today as stated in the idea that “the era of *Panglong* is over” by the Burmans in power. Having manipulated the power to rest only in Burmans and constructed Burman nationalism based on chauvinism and jingoism, the Burman groups grasped both the central and the state power rejecting the provision of sharing power by means of the Federalism. Moreover, all the “rights and privileges”¹⁶ provided are cut off. Instead the Burmans in power are treating Ethnic nationalities as their “alien and enemy.” Rather there have been all sorts of domination, suppression, controlling and threatening heaped upon all ethnic nationalities by means of the constitution and population in use of power. In the meantime, the Kachin Ethnic nationality has also been considered as “others, subordinates, rebels and enemy” of the Burmans. A postcolonial nationalistic reading on the Burman troops’ offensive war against KIO/A, deploying military might, has re-identified a campaign of Burman nationalism in

¹² The positing of boundaries in relation to who can and cannot belong according to certain parameters which are extremely heterogenous, ranging from the credentials of birth to being born in the right place, conforming to cultural or other symbolic practices, language, and very centrally behaving in sexually appropriate ways. Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Racialised Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Color and Class and the Anti-racist Struggle*, Routledge, 1992, 4 cited by ¹² John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, New Delhi: Viva Books, 2010, 111.

¹³ John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, New Delhi: Viva Books, 2010, 112.

¹⁴ John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, New Delhi: Viva Books, 2010, 115.

¹⁵ For Balibar external criticism is discrimination to a certain group of people outside of the border of the nation on the ground of their “race” while “internal racism” indicates a certain group of people rejected to belong to the imagined community yet being the national people due to “perceived ethnicities.”

¹⁶ The article 7 of The Panglong Agreement, 1947.

view of threat, mistreatment, hate, violation of human rights, perpetuation of killing being done to POWs and Kachins at the front, as below.

IV. The Current War: Thein Sein's Troops Fights against Kachin

The almost 17th year old cease-fire agreement between the Burmese Military and the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) completely collapsed once Thein Sein's troops invaded the KIO's territory at Sang Gang, the 15th Battalion, Dum Bung Krung, and seized the KIA's Bum Sen post on the 12th of June, 2011, amidst having been officially warned repeatedly by the KIO in order to avoid the civil war across the land. The Sang Gang war broke out the 9th of June as a defensive action against the military troops which started firing upon the KIA and lasted for three days and nights. This war made the KIO declare "civil war between Burmese Military troops and the KIA across Kachinland and beyond", on 12 June, 2011.

Consequently, for the sake of security, the KIA has cut out a dozen bridges used for major communication of government troops. As the war has spread out across the land, it is assumed that there is high numbers of casualties, particularly to the government side. Amidst the civil war, attention is given towards a particular issue of Burman Nationalism on the bases of the government's troops' mistreatment of and inhumane torture, rape, dehumanization and killing of local Kachins in the war zone, violating the UN Declaration of Human rights and the international law of war, in relation to prisoners of war.

Analysis: Practice of Burman Mission for Ethnic Elimination

Policy Matter in the Use of Military Might

The analysis below is based upon the available data in the form of radio news, news papers, messages and interviews. The first category is the analytical synthesis to the policy of waging war upon KIO by Thein Sein's troops as the state-run, *the New Light of Myanmar* "blames Kachin rebels for fighting"¹⁷ in the aftermath of the week long war.¹⁸ The paper claims that the fight at the KIA's Bum Sen post was its "inevitable reaction to the *ethnic Kachin rebels*, who fired first, in order to protect a major Chinese-built hydroelectric power project."¹⁹ This wording "the *ethnic Kachin rebels*" and "protection of a major Chinese-built hydropower project" are to be considered logically and realistically and reflect the plan and fundamental policy of *Burmanization*, exercised as Burmese Nationalism. Obviously, it indicates the government troops, sent by Thein Sein, are an official body deployed in order to protect the state-run project for the prospect of economic development with military might and KIA as "*the rebels*", which resist the state's policy and its project.

Labeling the Kachin Armed group as "*rebels*" actually is neither the norm of "human value nor federal democratic principle" and shows how Thein Sein's civil government can represent civilians since it rejected "the *Panglong* principle of federal democracy" in Burma. The rejection of Federal Democracy by the present Burman leaders, military generals and current uniformed

¹⁷ The State-run *The New Light of Myanmar* news papers of Yangon released Saturday on 18th of June 2011, blaming the ongoing fighting between Thein Sein's troop and KIO/A for the first time after a week long fight in Kachinland.

¹⁸ The Kachin Independence Army is the arm wing of the political body of the Kachin Independence Organization, which was founded in the year 1962 in response to the constitutional elimination of Panglong's federalism to Ethnic Nations, particularly to Kachins by every Burman dominated government.

¹⁹ *The New Light of Myanmar* on 18 June, 2011.

military leaders has solely declared the exclusion of Ethnic nations from the political platform of the Union of Myanmar. Thus, the Burmans' struggle today obviously has manifested that the central political power is to be rested only upon the Burmans, totally neglecting the role of Ethnicity in the formulation of the Union of Burma.

Therefore, it is observed that the central political power of the state is maintained and projected with military might in the name of Burman Nationalism or *Burmanization*. This attitude is clearly reflected when Thein Sein has resorted to use his power to exterminate the Kachin armed group in the name of State economic policy and politics. Actually the action is none other than an act of Burman Nationalism that will be reflected as further analyses with regard to the perpetuation and violence done by his troops at the front, now and then. It confirmed the Burmans' attitude towards Kachin as *other-ethnic* and the KIO/A as *rebels* and the major enemy for them and the Chinese investors, who have extracted all sorts of natural resources from Burma without the consensus of its citizens.

In contrast, the military troop's treatment of the KIO implicitly depicts the Kachins' exclusion from Burman Nationalism, resulting in the unlawful/inhumane treatment of KIA-POWs and innocent Kachin civilians, especially in the war zones.

The Burmese troops have been indoctrinated with the policy of Burman Nationalism.²⁰ Consequently, in the post-independence era, it has been observed that the "attitude towards aliens with violence" has become the "act of homogenization" of Ethnic nations, who are historically, anthropologically, racially, culturally, geographically and religiously different from the Burmans for over six decades. Now this policy has been legitimized through the recent constitution which has tended to have proved with the civil form of government. Thein Sein represents the Burman king, to whom all the Burmans gave support in the last election- which rejected federalism based on the *Panglong* accord.

Consequently, the military is never to be the one which is meant for protection of all citizens of the Union of Burma because Thein Sein's government deliberately designed the last constitution and this military controlled government with the principle of the unitary system, rather than the Union Federal principle. The current unitary system has mirrored the Burman monarchy exactly, which will never allow ethnic nationalities to be in their centre, rather destined to be their subordinates. It is the way *Burmanization* is being made that the military will be deployed over Ethnic lands in order to protect its interests and the power of Naypyidaw to subjugate Kachins and their lands under its monarchic empire.

It is this "internal racism" which the Kachins are suffering from; although the KIO/A is labeled as "rebel," it now represents the civil body which is striving for the formulation of the federal democracy in Burma, not the body devoted for "Kachin-ism/nationalism" as propagandized by the Burman military-led government. No matter what the government seeks in its offensive war against the KIA by giving security for the dam projects under Chinese construction as state

²⁰ It has been a chronological practice towards "aliens" who seem to be different from "Burmans" over the years since pre-independent and struggle for independence by way of organizing Burman nationalist sects like "Thakhin, BIA and Yebaw Tonechyaik" in order to fight against "intruders, missionaries, Fascist Japan and British colonizers.

projects for development, there is nothing legitimate except “the scheme of ownership” over Kachins by using military might.

The Practice of Burman Nationalism

Having justified the military attack upon the KIA at Sang Gang for reasons of providing security for the Taping (Ta Hkaw Hka or Dapein) Dams as a government project for economic development in the government owned papers, it is shameful and foolish media coverage accusing the KIO before the civilized world. Do you consider such projects will bring genuine peace and stability to the region without solving the political problems lawfully? Why are you wasting and the lives of innocent soldiers by sending them to battle in the name of restoration of peace and security for the sake of the military projects of the ruling Burmans? Do you think that your security and peace will be ensured by military might without acknowledging the peoples’ struggle for basic rights and survival in Burma? Do you think that security is to be acquired by means of extermination of “others,” “KIO/A” or Kachins?

And do you think that peace, authority and security are for your own properties and these are not to be owned by a particular group of people or an individual? Rather if it is to be considered that Thein Sein is a civic president then, how can civil government handle civil issues with military action without engaging in “political talk” if he really represents the civilian body who have been dehumanized under the yoke of military rule for generations? Thus, all these things are embedded in a single policy of Burman Nationalism coming not from civil societies but from a single body or person, even today. The very declaration now openly affirms a current political policy of Thein Sein’s Nationalism which implements military might in order to solve social, economic and political issues with the plan of elimination of the KIO/A, by the majority Burmans in Myanmar.

The torture and inhumane treatment of prisoners of war by the military has been one of the major actions which explicitly uncover the attitude of savage retaliation rather than humanitarian concern. Particularly, the dead body of KIA Corporal Chang Ying, who was already arrested, showed how much cruelty the government troops used when they tortured him to death. He was a KIA soldier, yet he was still human and a citizen of this country and world. This tragedy will be never be forgotten in this civilized the world. The KIO has declared and committed its mission of the implementation and emergence of a genuine Union of Burma, with the values of *Panglong*, such as human rights, equality, federal democracy, self-determination and ethnic rights. However, the commitment of Burman troops is clearly reflected in the Burmans’ attitude towards the extermination of the KIA and ethnic Kachins whom it has treated as enemies, animals and aliens.

Another major action by Burman troops is the violation of human rights of innocent Kachins at the frontlines. Only two weeks of war, all forms of human rights violations such as rape, killing, torture, dragging porters, discrimination, shooting and so on, has been perpetrated in the war zones. According to Kachin Women’s Association-Thailand (KWAT), since the war broke out at Sang Gang, N’mawk, children, women, and men, young and old of KIA’s Battalion 15 have been victimized by the Burman troops. So far, 18 instances of rape and murder, killing by shooting and torture of Kachin military personnel and innocent civilians by Burmese troops have been confirmed since the war broke out.

All these incidents were done to Kachins using insulting words, saying, “You’re a rebel; your village is a rebel’s village, you are an enemy,” and so on.²¹ It is believed that there will be more violations of human rights towards Kachins by the Burman troops, particularly in the war zones across Kachinland and Kachin sub-state (Northern Shan State). These entire perpetrations done by Burman troop ascertain the Burman policy of ownership and domination with the method of all kinds of violence and aggression, killing, torture, rape and murder and shooting, in order to eliminate the ethnic identities. This has explicitly reflected the policy and campaign of Burman Nationalism, which is totally against the values of the *Panglong* accord and the dignity of humankind.

Reconstruction of Nationalism: A Norm of Civilization and Agent for a Federal Union of Myanmar

There are three possible outcomes according to one Kachin analyst regarding the ongoing mission of extermination of Ethnic armed groups by the military. First, if the Thein Sein government really rejects the formulation of the Federal Union of Myanmar; he could manipulate the central political power gained since independence, by using military might in order to exterminate all ethnic groups as being planned. It might be possible to eliminate all ethnic armed groups from this soil for some time but surely there never be political stability in the country.

Consequently the perpetrators will have to confront the International Criminal Court for the denial of fundamental right to life, provided in federal democracy for non-Burman ethnic nationalities in Myanmar and crimes related to “ethnic cleansing along with extermination of armed groups.” But surely one day all citizens will come out to the road and fight against the ruling elite in power for their fundamental rights in order to liberate themselves from the pitfall of poverty and absence of human rights and democracy in Burma.

Second, if the Thein Sein led civil regime really desires to formulate “the Union of Myanmar,” it has to quit accusing all the ethnic groups of being Separatists: the Burmans always accuse them of making bilateral profit. In the name of ethnic armed groups the government could strengthen its military, technology and financial position, and China could gain more profit through the grant to extract all kinds of natural resources and energy projects, particularly from Kachinland. Instead, a suspicion, being major phenomena creating political friction between the Burmans and Ethnic nations, is to the Ethnic Nationalities condemned long ago. In fact, it is the plot of the Burmans, who are the ones responsible for all misery in Burma.

Indeed, the federalism in Myanmar comprised of such ethnic nationalities has been the only principle, for which Kachin leaders had left the principle of Dominion under the British regardless of this situation rendered to them. The point is that the “federalism means to be a true national cohesion and solidarity in which the demarcation of sovereign rights between the central government and the state, the guarantee of the rights of equality and self determination of ethnic nationalities are to be reconstituted, not separation nor cessation.”²² Thus, the

²¹ According to eyewitnesses accuse and insult to Kachins is done on account of racial prejudice, hatred and discrimination prior to perpetration done by Burman troop.

²² The author has precisely summarized the suggestions made by Maran Zau Tawng of Njang Dung, Myitkyina, the way in which the current war between the Burman troop and Ethnic armed groups could best be solved if the Union of Myanmar is to be remained.

Panglong spirit is the only platform for fraternity and unity and therefore, political dialogue is the right theory to solve the ongoing war between the Burman troops and Ethnic armed groups.

Third, it had been vexing that it has never been possible to engage in political talk and resolve the issues between the Burmans and Ethnic groups for the last six decades as Kachins and others had been anxious for. Rather, it has ended up with “the military means of solution” to a political conflict. Thus, there is no point of anticipating genuine peace talks as long as the Burman group initiates it once again, provided a third party representing the international body initiates it within a stipulated time and space. This way of solution seems to be out of the question for the ruling regime itself, since it never happened.

Therefore, since a federal democracy and fundamental rights to survive are in-born rights, any third party, whether a particular Ethnic nationality or pro-democrats could take up an initiative to design the federal Union of Myanmar with the support of pro-democratic citizens, this time. It is possible since all citizens are yearning for equality and the right to live and prosper with the value of democracy, the current regime and military *Tatmadaw* are the minority which has been the common enemy of all citizens since 1962. Therefore, it is suggested that any Ethnic groups can initiate the restoration of the Federal Union of Myanmar with the forces inside and outside, instead of merely engagement in fighting with the military.

Since the Burman regime has signaled dislike of reformulation of a federal union in spite of citizens’ demands for generations, any Ethnic nations or armed groups ought to struggle to get all citizens’ support and initiate the rule of the “Federal Union in Myanmar” along with its defensive war, for the benefit and prosperity of all citizens. Otherwise, in the agenda of “Burman Nationalism,” it is clearly seen that the issue of ethnicity which can be solved only by means of the *Panglong* principle, is never in the interests of the ruling Burmans in power, that they will never think of it as the major problem because the Burmans once manipulated Ethnic nationalities in the name of the Federal Union just to initiate independence from the British colonizers.

In fact, Nationalism thus represents the resurgence of self realization and intellectual constructing the attitude of “self-definition, solidarity, treasuring cultural legacy, identification of alternative histories and avoidance of neo-colonialism.”²³ Thus, it is “an ideological framework of replacement of the West”²⁴ as the colonizers and foreign rulers. At this juncture the ruling military-backed regime has obviously displayed the role of “local colonizer” to non-burman groups in terms of political realm and others. At this point, all citizens are reminded, who are the most responsible to proceed that “the concluding part of people struggle for equality and federal democracy in Myanmar, standing firm on the “truth in politics” which is “a must” to form the federal democracy with through the values of the *Panglong* agreement done between “Burman groups and Ethnicities.

Thus “Burma Nationalism” ought not to be the driving force of ethnic elimination: discrimination, oppression, domination, extermination, and erasing ethnic identities in Myanmar. It rather ought to be reformulated for the common prospects of all as a nation with

²³ John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, New Delhi: Viva Books, 2010, 90 and 91.

²⁴ John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, New Delhi: Viva Books, 2010, 108.

the norms of respect, sharing, caring, equality, unity, decentralization and solidarity among all citizens regardless of differences. The right nationalism has to be defined on the bond of the reality of Ethnicity, the commitment of loyalty to the truth of one's country, to the other groups and to individual interests instead. It is all about sharing of loyalty to the nation without discrimination between majority groups and minority ones with the norm of ideology rather than ethnicity.

Conclusion

The power has been the major phenomenon with which majority Burmans have manipulated over all the powerless ethnicities, over six decades. In this way the "political power" has become the major agent with which Burman Nationalism could function, "the burman groups to be more powerful and at the same time non-burmans to be weaker on various levels. As a matter of fact, Burma Nationalism once again could be reframed and reformulated for a nation building with genuine federal democratic values.

Ethnic nations like Kachin, Kayin and so on are not to be condemned by accusing them as "the separatists" from Union of Burma. Rather Kachins have struggled for federal democracy from the hands of Burmese bureaucratic nationalists and military generals, who represent the neocolonial powers within their own soil. The spirit of friendship and or brotherhood established between General Aung San and Kachin Duwas could activate the *Panglong* agreement. But at present Kachins are treated as the "enemy" of the Burman majority in various ways. Thus there is none except in the formation of Union of Burma in sharing the common political history and ideology initiated both by the ruling regime and ethnic groups or "the federal system" can be practiced by Ethnic groups themselves for the welfare and security of citizens statewide.

Therefore, it is not the time to stick too much on a certain nationalism which leads one to be disloyal to one's country. Instead, the right nationalism has to be the act of revolution, identification of a common political policy which could render hope, security, prosperity, peace and dignity for all. Therefore, the nationalism here has to be a civilized ideology, which is the real power in the contemporary era, resisting all uncivilized manner of discrimination, ethnic extermination and domination, not to love a certain group of people and to campaign on a mission in its interest by misuse of its power, particularly with military might.