



THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND STATE FROM THE
PERSPECTIVE OF REINHOLD NIEBUHR: A CASE STUDY
OF NORTHERN SHAN STATE, MYANMAR

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ABSTRACT

As a Christian living in Myanmar I am always wondering about the nature of church and the nature of Government. The title of this research is the relation of Church and State. In this research I try to understand the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr who was a twentieth century theologian and ethicist and apply his theory to the context of Northern Shan State. There are three main parts in this research.

The first part is about Reinhold Niebuhr, his life and his theology. In order to understand about the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr, it is good to know about his life and time. Therefore I will describe the life of Niebuhr. He was not interested much about the nature of God or Jesus Christ. Instead he was most interested about the nature of human being. His understanding of human being shaped his theology. So I will explain about his understanding of nature of human beings. And I go to the relation of Church and State. The existence of the State is to restrain or reduce injustices from society. The responsibility of the church to the state is to help in this process by revealing the sinful nature of human being.

In the second part I present about the situation of Myanmar and Northern Shan State. Many Christian especially from my place are not interested about the relation of Church and State and they separate their lives into two; one is church life, which means holy and society life. This means trying to avoid conflict as much as possible by adjusting with the norm and standard of society. Our country is transforming into a Democracy so we as church members need to participate in this process.

The third part is mainly about the application of the political theology of Reinhold Niebuhr. I do not believe that I could apply directly the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr into my context because he live in twentieth century in Democratic country but I live in twenty first century in newly Democratic country. However this does not mean I learnt nothing from Niebuhr. There are still relevant facts that still can apply to my place.

Niebuhr's core understanding of Democracy was shared power among people and group. Holding power only by one particularly group is dangerous because human being is sinner. Human being is capable of sin and faith because created in the image of God but unfortunately people prefer to sin.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Christians particularly Kachin Christian living in Northern Shan State in Myanmar have a poor understanding of political theology. Some of them have probably never even heard about political theology. There may be many reasons why we are not familiar with political theology. But I see two main reasons. The first reason is that we come from a Baptist tradition. According to Robin W. Lovin, “Baptist tends to focus on the differences that separate Christians from the goals and values of the world around them and seeks to maintain a distinctive Christian way of life.”¹ The second reason is that the military government of Myanmar prevents its citizens from pursuing issues of injustice.

The reality, however, is that the church is living in a society and society is also part of the church. The church member is also the member of the state in the same way the member of the state is also the member of the church. So we Christians are supposed to participate not only in the work of the Church but also the work of the society. And many church members are already participating in society affairs. For example, ministers and church members are working at Internal Displaced Camp for people. In my place we are facing the problem about social injustices. The civil war has been taking place in my place, Northern Shan State and many problems followed such as many people are staying at internal displaced camp, local people were killed in many places and many villagers are facing threat from the army. People are trying

¹Robin W. Lovin, *An Introduction to Christian Ethics; Goals, Duties, and Virtues* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2011), 54.

to solve the problem as they could. In this kind of situation I hope that it will be helpful if we have some theological guideline about the relationship between Church and State or the responsibility of the church to society. Therefore I will try to understand and describe about political theology particularly about the relation of church and state understanding of Reinhold Niebuhr.

There are, generally, four kind of Christian Stances² being distinguished in relation to the responsibility of the church called; Integrity, Synergy, Liberation and Realism. Stanley Hauerwas is in the group of Integrity. He believes that we are living in a fragmented and violent world and Christianity is not about solving the problem of the world but to live peacefully and patiently as Jesus lived in a fragmented and violent of the world. So Integrity focuses on the different values and goals of Christians and not interested in the life and goal of political affair. They set apart from the state and witness Christian lives which are different from society. Synergy emphasizes on common good and goal of the world or human society. They are willing to work together with others for the common good. They do not hesitate to compromise Christian faith with others. John Courtney Murray is a Synergy man. Liberation stresses the freedom of the poor and the least from political and economic and psychological oppression. They identify Jesus with the poor and the least because Jesus was born within poor society and lived for the poor and fought for the poor. Christian Realism does not emphasize on the distinctiveness of Christian as Integrity does and does not believe that Jesus is only for the poor as Liberation does and does

²Stance can be understood as world view Give the definition of Christian Stance of Lovin!!!!. Charles Curran said that stance suggests a person who has taken a position that is prepared for action, like a tennis player waiting for an opponent's serve.

not expect perfect society by working together with others as Synergy does. Reinhold Niebuhr was a Christian Realism man.³

So in this paper I hope that we will learn some insight from theologian Reinhold Niebuhr concerning the responsibilities of the church to the society specifically in unjust society. The reason that I chose to study Reinhold Niebuhr is because of his Christian Realism: “Realism approaches moral problems by maintaining balance between human freedom and human limitations, between the transforming power of love and the restraining influence of self-interest.”⁴ And at the same time while Christian Integrity stance emphasizes on the holiness of the church and seems avoid participating in political and society affair, Christian Realism take the responsibility for society and its problems.

In this paper I hope, at least, two things will be a benefit for us. First I would like to have an understanding of the relation between church and state from the perspective of Reinhold Niebuhr based on his understanding of human nature. And second is to reflect this concept in proper ways in our context.

This study is divided into three chapters. I will start with the general introduction. In Chapter one, I will study about theology of Reinhold Niebuhr especially about the relation of Church and State. I will mention the situation and background of my place in chapter two. And then in chapter three I will reflect upon the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr about church and state in relation in the context of Shan State. And finally I will finish with conclusion.

³Robin W. Lovin, 46-63.

⁴Robin W. Lovin, 57.

Chapter 2

Theology of Reinhold Niebuhr

In this chapter I will explore about the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr. There are three main parts in this chapter. In the first part I trace back a little about the life of Reinhold Niebuhr. I explain about the understanding of human nature by Reinhold Niebuhr in the second part. In this part I present how Niebuhr saw about the different understanding of human nature by other stand. In the third part I will explain about the relation of church and state by Reinhold Niebuhr.

2.1 The life of Reinhold Niebuhr

I came to know about Reinhold Niebuhr during my study of Christian ethic subject in McGilvary College of Divinity, Payap University instructed by lecturer Hendrie. Reinhold Niebuhr was one of the twentieth- century theologians and Christian ethicist and one of his distinctive contributions is Christian Realism. Christian Realism, according to Lovin, is a Christian stance which “recognizes the effects of sin and the weaknesses of human nature and warns against the human tendencies to overestimate our power to control events and to think too highly of our own virtues.” And Lovin also mentioned that the first task of Christian Realism is to match the requirements of the Christian stance to the realities of the present situation.⁵

Although I am using different sources or ideology for my Independence Study, I will mostly focus on the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr. In order to understand more about the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr, it is good to know about his life too.

⁵Robin W. Lovin, 55- 58.

Although I could not cover the whole story of Reinhold Niebuhr, I will present his life briefly. If it is needed I will describe some more part of his life. The book about Reinhold Niebuhr edited by Larry Rasmussen is good to know the life of Reinhold Niebuhr. I will mostly cite from this book.

Reinhold Niebuhr was born in Wright City, Missouri, on June 21, 1892. His father was Gustav Niebuhr who was a pastor of the German Evangelical Synod and his mother was Lydia Hosto Niebuhr. The family moved to Lincoln, Illinois when he was ten.

He finished his study from Eden Theological Seminary near St. Louis in 1913. After his father died he was installed as the pastor of his father church on June 29th 1913. He admitted that his first formative religious influence on his life was his father. He also shared his father's fierce drive and his mother's devotion to work. By the end of his two year study in Yale, 1915 he had both a B.D and M. A. He started working at Bethel Evangelical Church on West Grand Boulevard in Detroit in August 1915. He left Detroit for Union Seminary in 1928. He taught in this seminary from 1928 to 1960 which is the year of his retirement. He actually did not do his doctoral studies and did not possess Ph.D. And he also was not a scholar but a preacher. But the interesting thing is he finally owned a title as 'Christian Realist.' In the book it is mentioned that "Christian realism was the configuration of thought that would soon develop as Niebuhr's distinct theological contribution."⁶

In '20th Century Theology' written by Stanley J. Grenz and Roger E. Olson, it is said that "Niebuhr never gained the usual academic theological credentials. The highest degree he completed was the M.A from Yale. Nevertheless in terms of impact,

⁶Larry Rasmussen, *Reinhold Niebuhr; theologian of public life* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 5- 10.

he has been hailed as the most influential American theologian of the first half of the twentieth century.” And according to this book, his activities as a Detroit pastor helped him to national prominence. He was called, as a result, to teach ethics at New York’s Union Theological Seminary.⁷

Niebuhr also was involved in political affairs, for instance, in third party (socialist) politics in New York until the late 1940s. And he was the moving spirit of the Fellowship of Socialist Christians and had worked in the socialist cause, within the churches and beyond. He helped to set up the Delta Cooperative Farm in Hillhouse, Mississippi and the Southern Tenant Farmer’s Union. He got married with Ursula Keppel-Compton in Winchester Cathedral by the following spring of 1930- 31 academic years. And he studied together with Dietrich Bonhoeffer in the courses of ‘Religion and Ethics’ and ‘Ethical Viewpoints in Modern Literature.’⁸

Lovin talked in his book how life experience of Niebuhr had changed his understanding and stance. When Niebuhr was in Detroit he watched economic conflict between labor unions and auto manufactures in the 1920s and saw racial tensions grow as the city’s African American population swelled with newcomers from the South. He had been close to the Social Gospel movement which emphasizes on the kingdom of peace and justice. But after he moved to New York, he had abandoned any expectation of easy social transformation. He saw people with power tended to hold on to it, even if they talked about fair wages and racial equality. His brother Richard Niebuhr wondered whether it is better for the church to stay silence instead of facing the crisis after Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. Reinhold Niebuhr

⁷Stanley J. Grenz and Roger E. Olson, *20th Century Theology: God and the World in a Transitional Age* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter Varsity Press, 1992), 99- 100.

⁸Larry Rasmussen, 11- 12.

shared his brother's gloomy observation but he decided to preserve the possibility for a realistic Christian response that would avoid the despair of inaction.⁹

He had written many books including *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932), *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (1941, 1943), *the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* (1944), *Faith and History* (1955) and others. And he published a bunch of articles even within ten years from 1942 to 1952 he published 767 articles. He also served the World Council of Churches and Federal Council of Churches. Even after he got sick and paralyzed on his left hand in 1952, he was still doing thinking and writing. And one of his famous prayers in his old age that I like is as follows, "God give us grace to accept with serenity the things that cannot be changed, courage to change the things that should be changed, and the wisdom to distinguish the one from the other." Reinhold Niebuhr died at home in Stockbridge the evening of June 1st, 1971.¹⁰

2.2 The Nature of Man

I include the understanding of Man because this is important to understand the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr. He was a theology of Man or anthropologies which means he constructed his theology mostly based on the understanding of human nature. Whenever I use the word 'man' I do not exclude woman too. It implies to both man and woman and I understand Niebuhr also used the same way. In the book of the nature and destiny of man written by Niebuhr himself, he analyzes and explores the nature of man but I will put only some sections or parts that are important to understand about Man. In this section I will present mostly about human from the

⁹Robin W. Lovin, 56.

¹⁰Larry Rasmussen, 13- 15.

standpoint or perspective of (1) the classical view of man, (2) modern view of man (3) Christian view of man.

2.2.1 The Classical view of man

The classical view of man primarily comes from Greek philosophy such as Platonic, Aristotelian and Stoic. In classical view of man, their standpoint is the uniqueness of rational faculties, and they also believe in dualism. The uniqueness of man is *Nous* (Greek word) probable means ‘spirit’ but the primarily emphasis lies upon the capacity for reason and thought. Mind is distinguished from the body in both Plato and Aristotle’s understanding. The focus of classical view of man is much about rational faculties. Therefore it has much influence on modern doctrine of man. One of the consequences of classical view is that rational man identifies himself with divine; for reason is identical with God. They gave final authority to knowledge of man.

And another feature has to do with dualism which identifies body with evil and mind or spirit with goodness.¹¹ The very popular philosophy, ‘Matter is evil and spirit is good’ came from this classical view of man. Matter is evil because it can be seen and touched and it is impermanent. But spirit is good because it cannot be seen and touched and it is permanent. So they did not see human as a whole being but as the component of permanent and impermanent. They had negative on the body of man. For instance, Plato taught that human soul is divine and exists before the body exists even before the creation of the world. They dwelt in the stars before they dwelt in human body and they continue to exist after the death of the body too. The body

¹¹ Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), 6- 11.

had negative effect because the body imprisons the soul.¹² According to Niebuhr, the classical view of man contradicts to the biblical understanding of man. I will mention later when he talks about the Christian view of man.

2.2.2. *The Modern view of Man*

The modern view of man is a mixture of classical view, Christian view and modern motifs and it leads to various difficulties and confusions. One of them is the emphasis of the idealists and the naturalists. Idealists protest against the Christian concept of man as creature and sinner while naturalistic protest against man as the image of God. This was the mood of the Renaissance. Niebuhr gave some examples; for instance Brono is concerned to establish the infinity of human self-consciousness. Brono gave credit to Copernican astronomy because Copernicus set free our knowledge for the prison house because before it saw stars only through small windows. And Leonardo da Vinci intended to prove the greatness of the human mind because the mathematical method unlocks nature's mysteries and discloses her regularities and dependable recurrences. And Petrarch saw nature as a mirror in which man beholds his true greatness. Modern man ends by seeking to understand himself in terms of his relation to nature but he remains confused about the relation of reason, nature and man. French enlightenment is an example of this confusion. Idealistic believe man master nature while naturalistic believe nature master man. The middle-class world begins with the belief that man master nature but ends by seeking asylum in nature's dependability and serenity. Modern capitalism expresses the attitudes of Idealistic and naturalistic. The spirit of capitalism exploited nature and believed riches

¹²Delbert Burkett, *An Introduction to the New Testament and the Origins of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 82.

might be the good life. However the social organization of capitalism rests upon the belief that pre-established harmonies are essential for human enterprise to prevent any serious catastrophes. The question is whether the conflict can be solved with the understanding of modern man because some of the certainties of modern man are in contradiction with one another.

Another view is about individualism and freedom of spirit which challenge Christian idea of man's dependence and weakness. Niebuhr quoted from Pico della Mirandola who was the best known philosopher of Renaissance period that "You alone are not bound by any restraint, unless you will adopt it by the will which we have given you. I have placed you in the centre of the world that you may the easier look about and behold all that is in it. I created you a creature, neither earthly nor heavenly, neither mortal nor immortal, so that you could be your own creator and choose whether form you may assume for yourself." This concept was one of the foundations for modern man life. This idea must be the mixture of Christian inheritance and the experience of the medieval world. Bourgeois individual emerged from the historical and traditional cohesions, patterns and restraints of the medieval world. They believed they themselves were the master of his own destiny and impatient with both religious and political solidarities. However he lost his individuality as soon as he established it by destruction of the medieval solidarities. He found out that a technical civilization creates more enslaving mechanical interdependencies and collectivities than before. Therefore there is no place for individuality.

The last modern view of man is optimistic treatment of the problem of evil. The sinful nature of man is universally rejected. And because of this rejection Christian gospel became simply irrelevant to modern man because the gospel has to

deal with sinful nature of human being. The modern man understands the root of his evil in natural impulses and natural necessities. And he believes that he can be free from sin by increasing of his rational faculties. And modern man expects some kind of perfect society which is impossible according to Niebuhr.¹³

I also want to mention German theologian Jurgen Moltmann because he also disagree the understanding of human nature by modern view like Niebuhr. He also warns how this understanding has led to destruction of people and earth. In modernity, humans, through science and technology, are getting back what they lost through original sin. Francis Bacon said 'domination over the earth.' Immanuel Kant said, 'Enlightenment is the departure of human beings from their self- inflicted immaturity to the free and public use of their reason.' Therefore they not only rejected original sin but also diminish the sin nature or weakness of human being. Instead they enlarge the ability and capacity of human being because they believe that human being is good and can become better and better. I do not see Moltmann agree with all this idea because he also sees the weakness of modernity. He explains this as sub-modernity which is understood as the bad consequences of modernity. Moltmann gave an example; thousands of black African slaves were being sold to America every year when Lessing and Kant published their enlightenment treatises. He said that the industrial build-up of the modern world always cost the earth destruction. The progress of modern world comes only with the expanse of other nations, nature and the expanse of the next generation.¹⁴

¹³ Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, 18- 24.

¹⁴ Jurgen Moltmann, *God for a Secular Society: The Public Relevance of Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 10, 14.

2.2.3 Christian view of Man

The human nature in Christian thought appreciates and agrees on the unity of body and soul because of God's creation. Trying to understand the man as the rational faculties or the relation to nature is not the right way, instead the understanding of human nature must be based on God, particularly the image of God. Man is not only image of God but also sinner. The image of God implies the capacity of self-transcendence in God through obedience to the divine will. This means that man has the ability or capacity to strive for justice and to do justice because he is the image of God. But man is not identified with divine or God. On the other hand when we talk about man as the sinner, sin is understood as rebellion against God or divine will. The cause of sin is the refusal to admit being creature and to acknowledge himself as merely a member of a total unity of life. In short, the essence of man is free self-determination and sin is the misuse of his freedom and its consequent destruction.¹⁵

Niebuhr saw liberalism as the rejection of biblical anthropology because liberalism focuses on the perfectibility of humankind and the idea of progress. Perfectibility is understood as the goodness without weakness. Therefore man has the capacity or ability to do good by himself. And in modern view, 'sin' is understood as the imperfections of ignorance and can be abolished or overcome by education. People have more faith in reason and education than in God. Niebuhr summarized biblical anthropology in three dimensions. First, dualism view which divided man into body and soul was rejected because human being is creature and finite being in both body and spirit. Second, humans are to be understood primarily from the standpoint of God rather than in terms of rational being or relation to nature. Third, humans are sinner therefore they are to be loved not to be trusted. Niebuhr talked a lot

¹⁵ Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, 4- 25.

about sin because he saw the concept of sin is lacking in modern mindset. For Niebuhr sin is the misuse of the capacity that constitutes human uniqueness and which cause man to refuse to acknowledge our being as creature. We can see in the Fall of Adam and Eve. Sin is the act of the whole person. The right question people should ask is not how we can know about God but how we can be reconciled with God.

But Niebuhr rejected the traditional understanding of original sin. I would like to mention the traditional understanding of original sin particularly from Augustine understanding and which contrast from Niebuhr understanding. Augustine believed that salvation is purely by God's grace alone not by the work of man because of the fall of man; the fall of Adam and Eve. The disobedience of Adam and Eve fall all man into the sin and guilt. The first sin was committed by free will and which cause the whole race fell from the original state of righteous. This original sin is transmitted not by imitation but by the sexual procreation of human race. Therefore everyone is born in sin and guilt. The result of original sin is men are left darkened and weakened and in need of light and healing. Adam sin is a disease and needed to be cured. The healing can be done only by the grace of God. Men are not sufficient to fulfill the law in order to be saved. Therefore men are not capable of doing good thing before God.¹⁶

For Niebuhr, the original sin is better understood that the potential to do sin is rooted in human self. And Sin is the opposite of faith. Sin is the denial of our creature being while faith is the acceptance of our dependence on God. Sin comes in two forms. First is sensuality which means trying to deny human freedom by retreating man as the level of animal nature. The second is already mentioned that sin comes when we deny our limitation. Sin is universal but this does not mean necessary therefore we are not responsible for it. Finally we are capable of sin which is denying

¹⁶Larry D. Sharp, "The Doctrines of Grace," *The Evangelical Quarterly* (1980), 84- 85.

our true being as image of God and sinner or faith which means to trust in the ultimate security of God's love.¹⁷ Niebuhr called this human nature as the ambiguity of human being. Man has freedom and limitation because he was created in the image of God.

The action of human being is motivated by self-interest or self-love and no one can get rid of it. Human can be blinded by his freedom by assuming that he knows more than he actually know, to control people and environment more than he can control. If a man only focuses on his freedom then he is easily fall into blind. His position about the nature of human being is paradoxical, which means in one hand we are supposed to strive perfect society with justices but on the other hand we need to be aware that we will never reach that level or situation. Individual can check his or her natural self-righteousness through conscious self discipline in love. Individual could be moral to certain degree but the group especially the nation cannot be moral because the nation are not interested in being moral or immoral. Indeed nation are more interested in protecting their sovereignty and security, their power and desire to dominant over other groups and nation. That is why Democracy which basically is a system of separation of power or sharing of power is the best system. Niebuhr said that man capacity for justice makes democracy possible but man inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary. History has show that the privilege group seldom gives up their privilege voluntarily. Group are more immoral than individual. Freedom is never given voluntarily by the oppressor it must be demanded by the oppressed.¹⁸

¹⁷Stanley J. Grenz and Roger E. Olson, 103- 104.

¹⁸ Joseph Chuman, *The Looming Specter of Reinhold Niebuhr.wmv*, uploaded 13 November 2011, accessed 16 Feburary 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fog-6AsmYoE>

2.3 The Relation of Church and State

In this part I will explore the understanding of relation of Church and state by Reinhold Niebuhr. In order to do that, I will mention about the nature of Church and State and then their relation. I want to start simply by the definition of politics and religion. I found that the article of T Adeusz Kondrusiewicz about Christian Attitudes to Politic explain easy and clear about the nature and definition of politics and religion. Here I quote politics in terms as State and religion in term of Church. It is mentioned that, “the term politics is derived from the Greek *polis*, ‘the state’. Politics is the art of ruling.” And this ruling is for the development of human being in every aspects of life; physical, intellectual and ethical. So political associations and international communities are essential. On the other hand the task of religion is to bring people to God in order to be saved. Therefore both politics and religion are for people and they are working for people. They also have their uniqueness and autonomous from each other.¹⁹

2.3.1 *The understanding of politics or state by Reinhold Niebuhr*

Larry Rasmussen said that “Politics for Niebuhr was the continuous effort to find proximate solutions for the perennial problems of public life.” On the one hand, he wanted to see religion and politics separately. On the other hand he also wanted to apply Christian faith in the political decisions too.²⁰ The concept of the separation of church and state is revealed because the church is not the state and the state is not the church in the same way. But at the same time the separation does not mean without intervening or participating especially in politics by the church. Christians are

¹⁹ T Adeusz Kondrusiewicz, “The Christian Attitudes to Politics,” *Religion, State and Society*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (1995), 187.

²⁰Larry Rasmussen, 17.

supposed to be involved in the decision making of politics by applying our faith. Therefore the nature of politics and religion might be different and distinctive from each other but this doesn't mean the church should stay away from politics. Indeed the church has the responsibility to practice Christian faith in public life. Lovin also point out Niebuhr's thought about the continuous task of politics in term of critical thinking; better people cannot become or create perfect society because they are sinners. Therefore critical thinking about society is a continual task. Self-interest is an important and essential to be aware of society because that can distort every program of action.²¹ As mentioned above in his biography, he never stopped writing books and articles for finding solutions the problem of public life.

Why do we need government? For Niebuhr, the conflict is happening because of the failure to do justice and that conflict is threatening society. We need government not to get away that conflict; because of human sin it is impossible to get away from conflict, but to reduce by redressing injustice and commanding obedience to law. They need authority to demand obedience and if central authority is weakened too much, it will end up with and unorganized balance of power threatening anarchy.²² And how do freedom, order and justice work? In this book it continues to mention that, in order to do justice, order (rule of law) is required but at the same time order also threatens justice. Justice seeks proper limit of freedom and too much freedom also can challenge order. Justice without freedom is not justices and freedom without order can lead to anarchy. So it becomes very clear that freedom, justice and order (rules of law) are supposed to work harmoniously which Niebuhr called equilibrium. How did Biblical tradition address the moral ambiguity of government?

²¹Robin W. Lovin, 166.

²² William Werpehowski, *Reinhold Niebuhr: The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, ed. Peter Scott and William T. Cavanaugh (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 186- 189.

“Both as an ordinance of God with authority that reflects the divine majesty and as always and constantly subject to divine judgment insofar as rulers oppress the poor and defy such majesty.”²³

2.3.2 The nature and responsibility of the church to society

What is Christianity doing with the state or politics? As I mentioned in introduction about the stance of Christian Realism, it is no doubt that the task of Christianity is to participate in making history not only within the church but also in society. Larry Rasmussen quotes from Niebuhr’s work of ‘Ten Years that Shook My World’, “Christianity is not a flight into eternity from the tasks and decisions of history. It is rather the power and wisdom of God which makes decisions in history which are usually obscured either by optimistic illusions or by the despair which followed upon the dissipation of these illusions.”²⁴

In his life Niebuhr saw many people wanted the separation of church and state. For instance, Roger Williams believed that religion is a purely private matter. This means that the church would not speak in public and social issue. Nevertheless Niebuhr rejected this kind of concept and he stated that American never had that kind of separation of church and state and they never desired it. He said that Christian conception teaches social content and that situation makes a certain overlapping between church and state authority inevitable. This implies that the authority of human decision does not only come from the state but also from the church. Therefore the church also speaks in social and political issues. He also reminded that when the state is to appreciate the function of religion which means religious sources of moral

²³William Werpehowski, 186.

²⁴Larry Rasmussen, 18.

convictions, the religious teachers is also necessary to have a proper sense of responsibility toward the true function of political society. The religious teachers need to see political society not merely as unethical and immoral and need to appreciate the function of political society.²⁵

But for Niebuhr the question is with what expectation or hope should the church be involved in political affairs. In this part understanding the nature of man by Niebuhr became crucial. Based on human situation itself which means finite self, Niebuhr said that we can hope to feel or to experience only a partial experience of justice with our good intention because we are sinners. Perfection is an impossible goal. We can only hope that today is better than yesterday.²⁶ We can never achieve complete fairness because of the social forces and no side in war is completely innocent of aggression. But this does not mean the struggle has to continue forever or we should not resist invaders.²⁷ He was living during First World War and Second World War. Therefore he may be talking about the context of that time when he talked about invaders.

Niebuhr himself asked the question about the criteria to justify our actions to society. And his answer is that the law of love is the final criteria because it reveals the sinful element of self-seeking and of coercive restraint in all forms of human community. And he proposed that the Christian should not have specific 'Christian politics.'²⁸ As mentioned above, the action of a man is motivated by self-interest or self-love but this does not mean self-interest and self-love is completely wrong.

²⁵Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Church and the New World Applied Christianity* (New York: Meridian Books, 1959), 86.

²⁶Stanley J. Grenz and Roger E. Olson, 102.

²⁷Robin W. Lovin, 166.

²⁸ Reinhold Niebuhr, *Christian Faith and Social Action*, ed. John A. Hutchison (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), 228- 229.

During World War II, Niebuhr agreed with the act of United State military to Japan although the atomic weapons affected to innocents people because he believe that this is the way for the enemy to surrender unconditionally and to save American lives.²⁹ This event also shows that the priority of group or nation is not about being moral or immoral but about the security or sovereignty of the country and nation.

²⁹William Werpehowski, 189.

Chapter 3

The Relation of Church and State in Northern Shan State

In this chapter I would like to mention about the current situation of Myanmar briefly because this will show us the needs of the country. In order to know the practice of our Kachin People it is good to know a little about the history of mission to Kachin people. Therefore I will mention a brief history of Kachin Baptist Church especially the beginning of the mission to Kachins. I will also mention the relation of church and state in history and I will also how current people understand this relation in our society.

3.1 The present situation of Myanmar and Northern Shan State

Nowadays many people believe that Myanmar is changing to Democracy society. The government also claimed in the same way. They have made 2008 constitutions and they have held 2010 election and 2015 election. The opposition party NLD has recently won the election and this party already started running government. People around the world welcome the transition of Myanmar into Democracy society. But at the same time Burmese Army is still playing in important role. They still want to control the political power of Myanmar. Bertil Lintner also wrote about the situation of Myanmar under the title of “Opposition Wins in Myanmar, But Military Still Holds the Reins” in Yale Global Online Journal. He said that “Myanmar’s military is autonomous and does not take orders from the president

or government.”³⁰ It is very clear that Burmese Army is not under the control of President of Myanmar and the implication is they still hold power not only in the sphere of security of the country but also in the sphere of political system. And even further, any government need to get on well with them in order to run the politics of Myanmar. We can see clearly by looking at the current situation; Daw Aung San Su Kyi who is the chairman of NLD party has been meeting with the general of Government Army or Burmese Army. According to 2008 constitutions those got married to a foreign man or woman cannot become the president of Myanmar. So people believe that this meeting is probably discussing this matter. (Voice of America, Burmese 17 February, 2016)

When we look at the present situation of Northern Shan State and Kachin State, we can see that people are facing difficulties and problems. The civil war is still taking place and all of people are suffering from the consequences of civil war. Many people are fleeing from their home and stay away from their home. People are losing their dignity, rights and freedom. In the executive summary of one journal, I see one interesting things. It is said, “The victims of rape have commonly been non-Burman ethnic females, such as Shan, Karen, Kachin, Karenni, Palaung, etc.”³¹

When we particularly look at the situation of Northern Shan State civil war is still going on. Palawng national armed group is fighting against with Shan armed group and Burmese army is marching day by day to the places where minority armed groups live. There are many Internal Displaced camp in Northern Shan State like in Namphaka, Galeng and Kutkai which is my home town. There are also bunch of

³⁰Bertil Lintner, “Opposition Wins in Myanmar, But Military Still Holds the Reins,” *Yale Global Online Journal* (12 November 2015), accessed 19 February 2016, <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/opposition-wins-myanmar-military-still-holds-reins>

³¹LAN & KWAT, “Executive Summary,” *Justice Delayed, Justice Denied* (2016), 1.

corruption in my place. People need to bribe to the office to get fast service. I will mention one of my personal experiences. When I went to immigration office to get my national identity card last ten years ago they said that if I was in hurry I will get very soon by giving some extra money. Actually this happened last ten years ago but I am still hearing how people paid money to get fast service in government office. All of these things are happening because of the potentiality of human being to sin. According to Niebuhr man has the potential both to sin and to do justice and righteous way. But many people are choosing to the way of sin.

3.2 The history of Kachin Baptist Church

In order to understand about the beginning of Christianity among Kachins I will trace back to the history of Church of England because that is where Baptists started. Puritan Church started because they were not happy with Church of England. And then Separatists Church also came out. Anabaptists Church also arose and Mennonite started by Menno Simons was one of the main groups of Anabaptists. When the persecution came some people fled to Holland including John Smyth. He studied the Bible and he found out and believed that immersion into water is the best way to get baptized as Jesus himself show example in the Bible. Therefore he baptized himself through immersion in the water and started Baptist Church in 1609 along with his friends Thomas Helwys and John Morton. This is the beginning of the Baptist Church. And then his two friends came back to England and started Baptist Church in England. They sent Roger Williams to America in 1631. Roger Williams started American Baptist Church in March of 1639. And American Baptist churches were increasing. American Baptist again sent missionaries too many places and including Myanmar. The first missionary came to Kachins was Lyon and his

wife. They arrived to Kachins people in Bhamo in 13 February of 1878.

Unfortunately Lyon died one month after he arrived from Malaria. And then William Roberts and his wife arrived in 12 January of 1879. They shared the Gospel of Jesus Christ and after three years in 19 March 1882 the Kachins people started believed in Jesus Christ. Seven Kachins were baptized in the stream of Nammawk, Bumwa village, Kachin State and from that time Kachin Baptist Church was started. These seven Kachins were; Bawmung La and his wife, Maran Adan Yawng and his wife, Nangzing Yung and his wife and then Gawlu Htang Yawng.³²

3. 3 A survey of the history on the relation of church and state among Kachins

From the time of mission era to 1960-64, the churches not only Kachin Baptist churches were growing in holistic way. The missionaries not only shared the Gospel but also worked for the development of human life. They started school for higher education, theological education, agriculture training school and vocational school. We still have Judson College in Yangon started by missionaries. The first Bible School started in Bhamo in 1932 and move to Kutkai, Northern Shan State in 1935 and established Kachin Bible School (nowadays Kachin Theological College, Kutkai) at Kutkai. The missionaries also did healing ministry. Dr Jonathan Price and Dr J. Dawson were medical missionaries of American Baptist Mission. And in 1890s Nursing school and hospital were started in Shan State; Hsiphaw, Mongnai, Namkham and Kengtung. Agricultural School was opened in Pyinmana (Nowadays called Nay Pyi Daw and this is the current capital city of Myanmar) by J. E Case and his wife in 1915. In these ministry school not only Christian study but also Non-

³² Theology Department of Kachin Baptist Convention, *KBC Pastoral Guidebook* (Myitkyina: Hanson Press, 2006),

Christians studied. So we can say that the contribution of the church to society was big. There are also a lot of mission schools around the country. The school that I studied till the end of my middle school was also one of the mission schools. The name of this school was NCS and now it is called No. 2 Middle School, Kutkai. But something happened and these things changed from the time when U Nu got power in politics.

The majority ethnic group of Myanmar is Burmese and 89 % of Burmese are Buddhists. Among them U Nu was also one of Burmese and Buddhist. He was devoted to his religion Buddhism. He had tried to stay close Buddhism and the politics of Myanmar in another word he had tried to stay close state and religion. During his time Myanmar leading by U Nu hosted the Sixth Great Buddhist Council in 1954- 1956. He also proposed to make Buddhism the state religion. This issue became an important and attractive case for the 1960 election. His party got support and came into power and finally the constitutional amendment was passed to declare Buddhism as the state religion. In that time minority groups were trying to oppose this law but they lose because they were minority compare with Burmese Buddhists. Fortunately or unfortunately General Ne Win took political power from U Nu in March 1962. It was fortunate because the state religion ceased to exist under the Burma Socialist Programme Party which did not recognized state religion. It was unfortunate because from that time on the military was involved an important and decisive role in the politics of Myanmar until now.

The government demanded all the organizations in including Christian organizations to register. And then in 1965- 66, all the Christian schools and hospitals were nationalized and government refused to give permission to missionaries to stay anymore. Therefore missionaries around the country were leaving from Myanmar.

The consequence was 234 Catholic priests and nuns, 56 American Baptist, 29 Anglicans, 18 American Methodists, 15 British Methodists, 8 Salvation Army and 7 A.G workers were expelled from the country. 17 Christian literatures, journals and magazines came into the strict censorship of government and the government even controlled buying papers, books and magazines. All these things happened under the title of nationalization.³³ This is a brief history of Myanmar and Kachin people about the relation of church and state. When the government nationalized all the schools and hospitals, they did not accept negotiation and they did in the way of authoritative.

As I already mentioned in introduction part, we Kachin became Christians through the mission of Baptist particularly American Baptist missionaries. Why do I mentioned this fact, because American Baptists started to think and ...practicing the separation of church and state since the early 1800s although this is not directly mentioned in the constitution.³⁴ The Baptist missionaries came to the place of Kachin after this time. My point here is the missionaries already had clear understanding of the concept of church and state. As Lovin mentioned the nature of Baptist itself tend to separate the church from society, this concept became the tradition of Kachin Christianity. When we look at the history of Baptist, one clear thing is that Baptist came out from the one group who disagree with Church of England. The Church of England stayed very closely with the state because the leader of the church is also the leader of the state. The core beliefs of Baptist are; 1. The bible was the foundation in all matters of faith and practice, 2. Only the believers should be the member of the church, 3. And only the believers should govern the church. They also believe in the

³³Rev Khup Za Go, "A Brief History of Christianity in Burma," *Chin People in the World*, accessed 19 February 2016, <https://sialki.wordpress.com/the-stories-of-zomi/a-brief-history-of-christianity-in-burma/>

³⁴Steven K. Green, "The Separation of Church and State," *the United States in American History: Oxford Research Encyclopedias* (2014), 2.

equality of church members, no one is above none. They are congregational, each church runs with self-support and self-governing. The final authority did not rest on the church leader; minister or deacons. The final authority rested upon the meeting of the church member. Although each church had fellowship and connection, they practiced and believed in local church autonomy. They believed in priesthood of all believers. And finally and the most important fact is they strongly believed in the separation of Church and State. They disagreed with the interference from outside of the church in decision making. Therefore they rejected state Church like Lutheran. In the same way they were not interested in the matter of the state.³⁵

How does Kachin Baptist believe and practice especially about the relation of church and state. In the guidebook for the minister published by theology department of Kachin Baptist Convention we can see the belief about the relation of church and state. In section two, sub title no. 5 we can see two statements about this. 1. The nature of leading the church and leading the state is different, so we cannot mix them together. The bible quote is from Mat 22: 21; ‘therefore render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s. 2. Although the church is different from the state, the church members should be light and salt and serve the world for justices, peace under the guidance of Holy Spirit. The scripture text is from Matthew 5: 13- 16.³⁶

In the thesis of Maran ZauBawk, I found two reasons that enforce the separation of church and state. The first reason has to do with the 3 M method of American; missionary, merchant and military especially during First World War and Second World War. Whenever the local people saw white people they confused

³⁵ Baptist Churches, “Religion,” *BBC*, (25 June 2009), accessed 19 February 2016, http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/christianity/subdivisions/baptist_1.shtml

³⁶Theology Department of Kachin Baptist Convention, 16.

missionary with military man. For example the first missionary Adoniram Judson was imprisoned under the accusation as spy. So the missionaries and Christians need to make very clear the separation of church and state. And another reason is when U Nu got power in Myanmar, he tried to make Buddhism as state religion. In response to that the Kachin and minorities had to voice up for the separation of church and state.³⁷(Bawk, 2015, pp. 62- 69) Therefore intentionally or unintentionally the church has been living away from the state particularly from politics until 2011 when civil war broke out again Kachin Independent Army and Burmese Army.³⁸

3.4 Understanding of the relation of church and state by some ministers from Northern Shan State

I would like to continue by describing the understanding of church and state by some ministers from my place. I did interviews last December 2015. I will mention the full interviews for three of them in the appendix therefore you can read the whole interviews.

The first one is the understanding of Sara Kaba Maran Gum Wa Li. He used to be an administrator of education department of Kutkai area. And he is currently serving as an elder and advisor in Kutkai Kachin Baptist Church. According to Sara Gum Wa Li, the church is spiritual and the state is physical. The interest or the purpose of the state should be physical development of the society. The state is running plans for secular education of the society, for the health care of the society and for the economic or product of the society. On the other hand in order to talk

³⁷ Maran Zau Bawk, *“The Concept of God, Karai Kasang in the Kachin Religious Tradition: Towards Developemnt a Christian Theology Relevant for Kachin Indigenous People of Northern Myanmar.”* M.Th, Thesis, (Dehradun, Uttarakhand: New Theological College, 2015), 62- 69.

³⁸ _____, “Burma: Army Committing Abuses in Kachin State,” *Human Rights Watch* (October 18, 2011), accessed 19 February 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/video-photos/photo-essay/2011/10/07/burma-army-committing-abuses-kachin-state>

about the church he mentioned that human being is different from animals. The church is giving the message of hope which prescribes or describes the way of living. The church is directing how people should live, act and in society. The church also gives ways of sharing the physical things that the state brought among people and society. He believes that true peace society can be found or built by religion, the state cannot do it. This does not mean the church is more superior to the state. This indeed shows that the state and the church have different interest or purpose. The priority of the state is more about development of the physical things of the society while the priority of the church is more about the ethical life of society such as peace and love.

The second person is Rev Hpauwung Gun Tang. He is a general secretary of Kutkai Association. Kachin Baptist Convention (KBC) has 15 different associations and Kutkai is one among them. According to Gun Tang the state means government which includes people and land and constitution. And the church is the assembly of people who believe in Jesus Christ and the church represents the truth which includes righteousness and justices. And the state and the church are not the same. The church is under the state although it has freedom. The ultimate goal of the church and the state are the same because the goal of the church is building up the Kingdom of God through serving and changing. The church always seeks the Kingdom of God and righteousness and the church has the responsibility to form the state from secular country to godly country. The goal of the state is also creating society with truth, justices and peace. Therefore the church and the state are working together. But our context is a little different from others. For example we Kachin also have other armed groups not government arm group. Our situation is we are mostly working together with these armed groups indirectly than government armed group to liberate the people from the oppression. The church and these armed groups on the one hand have

similarity and on the other hand the differences. For example armed group hold weapons and the church hold the Bible. They have their rules and law and the church also own constitution. They are working with guns in the battle and we are working with the word of God in society. But we are facing the same oppression and we are heading to the same goal. We have more similarity than differences.

The last one is Sara Maran ZauBawk. He is a lecturer of Kachin Theological College and he has recently finished his M.Th from India. According to ZauBawk, both the church and the state are essential for building up human society. They have different responsibilities. The state rule and protect people through laws and constitution. For example the state is more like the group who are in charge of cooking and preparing the food in celebrating the feast. Like these people take care for the food for the congregation, the state takes care for the food of people. As they considers healthy food for congregation, the state takes care of the health of people. So the church is more about the physical things. On the other hand the church takes the responsibility of the inner life of human being. The church differentiates human from animals and lead them to live a good moral life or ethical life. Therefore the church is more like a decoration committee. As this committee emphasis the beauty of nature and beauty of human being, the church does the same things. The church recalls the creation of God by decorating human being especially non-physical part such as mind, heart and spirit. As the group is working for the feast and decoration committed works for the same feast, the church and the state are working together for the same benefits. But according to Zaubawk, it is not appropriate for the state to intervene the works of the church although it is good and appropriate for the church to participate in the work of the state. But this does not mean that the church does not need help from the state, the point is that it is not good for the state to limit the

freedom of the church. The reason for the church to participate in the state is that the church has ethical and moral church members. Only with the participation of the church in the work of state can make godly society.

As I mentioned many people are suffering from oppression and injustice in the whole country and in Northern Shan State, the ministers that I have interviewed are reflecting about the current situation of the society. In general they all believe the different role of the church and the state. They all recognize the needs of the society and the responsibilities of the church to society. But through this interviews I found out that two of them do not want to accept the existence of the state which means government because they mostly do not want to work together with this government. They do not have trust upon this government and one of them prefers working with other groups. In his mind Kachin Independent Organization and Kachin Independent Army are the state for Kachin people. He said that although KBC and KIA are not the same we are working for the same goal and KBC is the church and KIA will be the state. The only different will be KIA holds gun and KBC holds the Bible but we are fighting for the same goal; the freedom of the oppressed and the justice society. One of them does not see in this way, the state is still government and KIA is one force group although we work together in many areas. He also talked about the transition of Myanmar into Democracy society. Although the government is not good to our society they are still our government. Finally they all agree the unsatisfied situation of Northern Shan State and they gave different answers to handle this situation. I mention the whole interview in the appendix section.

Chapter Four

Application

Now is the time to reflect political theology of Reinhold Niebuhr into my society. Actually he lived in twentieth century and we are living in twenty first century. Some people might easily say that he is out of date because his theology is mostly to do with his time. Hauerwas also criticized Niebuhr's theology as the approval of American Democracy rather than standing as the prophetic role or speaking as the prophetic voice. He lived in America and I am living in Northern Shan State so the context is completely different. I am mentioning these things because I am aware that there are definitely the weaknesses of theology of Niebuhr. But at the same time there are things that we can learn from Niebuhr and apply to our society. So in this chapter I will reflect the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr into my context.

4.1 The role of government or state

Niebuhr did recognize the weakness of government or state but he did not see the state or the politics as evil and he approved the existence of government or state organization. He also prescribed the meaning of and purpose of government. In short, human being is sinful so the people cannot create perfect peaceful and justice society. There is always a need of justice in society. The purpose of the existence of government is not to abolish or wipe out injustice from society but to reduce injustice.

We can never wipe out injustice from our society but we can reduce injustice because man is the image of God. The government is to work out for this task. But in reality government is still very weak in performing this task. As Bertil Lintner assess that Burmese army still hold power of running the country, when we talk about government, it does not purely mean different departments of government. It also implies Burmese army because their role is still big in the governing of country. Many businessmen still are cringing to Burmese army group to do business.

On the other hand we need to recognize the existence of state or government for our society. The church alone cannot do all the work of society. As the church we always need to find ways to encourage the state or government to fulfill his duty; the duty to reduce injustice. When the state or government fails to fulfill his duty, the church need to take responsibilities of the state but this will be appropriate or acceptable only for short run because the church is not the state.

As a citizen of the state, we also need to be aware the relation of freedom, justice and order. Justice is our purpose or goal and freedom is our ability and order is our guideline. We have freedom to do justices because we are image of but we need order too because we are sinners. We should not reject our freedom because rejecting freedom also falls into sin because it will get down to the level of animal. We need to appreciate and protect our freedom and we need to be free from any enslavement by anything and anyone. Freedom is the gift from God from the time of our born.

4.2 The responsibilities of the church to society

The first things worth to consider through learning Christian Realism of Reinhold Niebuhr is our attitudes to society affair which means more than the society of the church. As the stance of Christian Realism is to think and take responsibility

about the needs of the society, we need to reflect more our attitudes to society. When our society is in suffering the church cannot keep quiet, instead the church need to share the suffering of our society. When our society is oppressed by any kind of power, the church need to work out for releasing from oppression and the church is supposed to maintain the freedom of human life. The church cannot close her eyes to society and ignore the society, indeed the church need to open her eyes not only to the society of the church but also beyond society of the church.

Actually we can say that Kachins churches already started changing our attitudes to society especially from the time of breaking out civil war between Burmese Army and Kachin Independenct Army (KIA). One of the consequences of the civil war is people particularly Kachin (Not only Baptist, but also Roman Catholic and others) from many villages from Kachin State and Shan State are needed to move and stay at Internal Displaced Camp. The church is leading in the role of taking responsibilities of these people from many different places through working together with many organizations (NGOs and INGOs). Kachin Baptist Convention is already involved in the society affair. Some of the examples are; the ministers or pastors are taking care of people from this IDP camp not only spiritually but also physically, KBC organizes anti-drug movement in Kachin State and also in Shan State, and many churches from KBC already established church based education centers not only in Shan State but also in Kachin State.

Another significant event I have recognized the church is taking care the life of people is for the tragedy of rape and murdered of two Kachin voluntary teachers sent by Kachin Baptist Convention in the village of Kawngghka, Northern Shan State. These two teachers were raped and killed in Kawngghka village on 19 January of 2015. Kachin Baptist Convention forms a group of people to work this case in order to

prevail the truth and they are on the process of working out. These are some examples that show that the church is already working for society. I totally support on these activities of the church and Niebuhr will confirm this. When the church moves forward to the society affair of political affair, the law of love must be the guideline for the church to participate in society or politics.

Niebuhr said that the group especially the nation is more immoral than individual. The very essential role of the church should be the morality. The basic product of the church to the society should be morality or ethical living. Niebuhr pointed out the situation of American that only a few voices in the church were raised against the gambling fever which possessed the country between 1925 and 1929.³⁹ Therefore every individual of the church should produce ethical live and the church need to check and restrain ethical live.

In our country, there are many different groups of people such as Kachin, Kaya, Kayin, Chin, Burma, Mon, Rakhine, Shan and also other groups. I belong to the group of Kachin. It is necessary and essential to love our nation or our group of people because God created different group of people. But we need to be aware of group bias because when we do activities as a group it is easily tempted to be immoral. The purpose of the group can turn more easily into protecting the security and power of the group rather than being moral. I would like to see the term moral as godly living which reveals or reflect the image of God.

4.3 The nature of human in our society

The nature of human being is ambiguous; on the one hand human has the ability and captivity to do justice because man is the image of God, however, on the

³⁹ Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Church and the New World Applied Christianity*, 70.

other hand man has potential to sin because he is sinner. Reinhold Niebuhr denied or rejected classical view human because dualism is very strong in classical view of human nature. In classical view of man, sin is not inside of human being, it is outside of human being. Sara Lagai Zau Nan who is a professor from Myanmar Institute of Theology also sees the situation of Kachin people concerning understanding of humanity closed to this classical view of man. He said that, “many Kachin Christians have been trained that there is always dichotomy between body and spirit, individual and community, church and society, human and non-human, sacred and profane. But the right view should be the whole being; individuals will be considered in terms of society. Parts will be seen in the light of wholeness or totality.”⁴⁰ So one thing we need to be aware is that sin is not outside of us and sin is not only with some people or some group. Where there is human being there is potentiality to sin. We need to develop our understanding of human being as a whole. Human being is a composition of limited body and limited spirit. We cannot separate spirit and body to define as human being. Indeed human being is a combination of body and spirit. So when we talk about salvation, it must be not only for spirit but also for the body.

⁴⁰ Karen Zau Nan Daniel, “Awmdawm (Freedom) Spirituality: Formulating a Myanmar Contextual Theology in the Light of the Kachin's Socio-Politics,” *Rays: MIT Journal of Theology* 14 no. 9 (June 2013), 170.

Conclusion

When I look at my place and my people, people are in need of hunger. When I say hunger, which means hunger from love, hunger from peace, hunger from justices, hunger from liberation, hunger from freedom. They are really in needs of these things and they are really longing for these things. Why all of these things happening in our place and country? In these kinds of situation why the church prefer to keep silence instead of lifting up voices for the needy people?

I found out through studying theology of Niebuhr that theologically the cause of all of these things is sin. Sin means the rejection of the nature of human being. On the one hand people overestimate their power upon other people and trying to control and decide the destiny of other people. They forget the sinful nature and limitation of human being. On the other hand people are sinning because they deny the capacity of human being which comes from being the image of God. Indeed they are capable of doing justices and better world although it is impossible to formor to build the perfect world.

Practically, the church has been silenced in the midst of the starvation because of two reasons. The first one is the theological misunderstanding of the church which is about the separation of church and state. And the second reason is the political oppression of the authority particularly by the military regime.

In this kind of situation, what did the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr offer? In other word how does the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr relevant to our context and situation? I don't think my research can feed all of these starvations. However I

believe that my research is telling something about the cause of hunger and this is my purpose to do this research.

When I study about theology of Reinhold Niebuhr, he is not the one who fed the hunger. He is the one who is telling why all of these starvations are taking place and he is talking how to reduce these starvations from our society. And I found out that the very response of the church in this kind of situation is to applying the Christian faith in society. This means expressing about the truth, justices and righteousness of the Kingdom of God by revealing or pointing out the paradoxical nature of human being which is image of God and sinner.

And I have one idea or concept that I got through doing this research. Normally when I got itchy, I cannot think of the cause of itchy. And I start scratching my skin and scratching again and again until it starts feeling pain or it feel good. And most of the time I just left my itchy skin without checking with any physician. Actually sometime I recognized that I need to do some checking and medical treatment for my itchy skin, but I cannot just go to see the physician.

In our lives too, people start feeling starvation when there is no food. And most of people just talking and blaming about starvation but forget to trace back the cause of starvation. Unless we see the cause of starvation as it is and unless we could reduce the cause we cannot stop starvation. And the starvation will always continue. Therefore in order to solve the problem of our society we really need to trace back and understand the cause of problem.

I believe that Niebuhr's theology is still talking even though he died. Niebuhr encourage to study about the nature of human being in order to understand the cause of crisis. Nowadays in my place and in my country according to Niebuhr, although man is capable of faith or justices and sin, most people including Christian are

choosing the way to sin. We need more people who understand man nature which means image of God and sinner. We need more people who choose to do justices.

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APPENDIX A QUESTIONNAIRE

Q means question

A means Answer

1. Interview with Sara Kaba Maran Gum Wa Li

Q:Shawng nnan, Sara Kaba hku na nawku hpung hte mungdaw (church and state) hpe gara hku mu mada ai hpe tsun ya rit.

A: State ngu ai gaw physical daw hpe grau nna emphasis galaw mat wa ai le. Shingyim masha ai sha na, lu na, nga pra na ndai hpe madung tawn ai. Hpa majaw i nga yang, ndaini shim jang she survive byin na rai nga ai, dai gaw state na main rai nga ai. Dai re ai majaw state hku na shi planning galaw ai shaloi census hta rai nna sha na kade ra ai, nga na shara kade ra ai, service a matu hpa ni galaw ya ra ai, infrastructure ni hpa baw galaw ya ra ai, ndai hpe shi gaw yu ai, ndai hpe matut na develop byin hkra galaw ra ai ngu hpe shi mu ai, hpa majaw mungdan langai mi matut manoi galu kaba, grin mat wa lu na matu gaw shi a generation hte generation matut na ndai bungli hpe matut jum mat wa ra ai. Shaloi next generation gaw kaning re generation rai ra ai nguai hpe bai myit wa ai shaloi gaw ndai hpaji lam hpe myit wa ra ai. Bai nna production gaw state langai mi a main economic rai nga ai. N dai gaw state rai mat wa ai.

Makam masham gaw shingyim masha ngu ai hpa ta?ngu individually bai myit mat wa ai lam re. Shingyim masha ngu ai gaw kaga du sat hte hpa baw shai ai, shingyim masha gaw manu dan ai. religion ma hkra hope jaw ai. Dai hope hpe myit nna, dai “hope” hpe kam hpa nna, dai “hope” hpe ra sharawng nna dai hku masha tai ra nga ai ngu hpe ndai religion gaw bai jaw taw nga ai re. Dai majaw spiritual leader rai nga ai hpung sara ni gaw anhte gara hku myit tawn ra ai, gara hku ganawn mazum ra ai, mi na lu ai physical property hpe gara hku jang lang ra ai ngu ni hpe woi ai re. Shi gaw spiritual re, bai nna anhte Hkristan ni gaw law malawng love community rai nga ai. Dai love the simsa ai society hpe hpaw lu ai gaw religion rai nga ai.

N dai state hku na rai jang gaw simsa ai hta galu kaba wa ai, physical thing shai wa hkra, masha ni a madang dep wa hkra galaw ai re. N dai hpe anhte makam masham gaw mu lu ai rai ni tsaw wa ai ngu tim shingyim masha shada kanawn mazum ai lam hta cruel byin wa ai langai hte langai discriminate galaw hkat mat wa ai langai hte langai a lapran e gentleness n nga mat wa ai, ndai ni hpe religion gaw n jaw ai, develop byin ai n re ngu htawng madun ai. State gaw develop society, masha a living standard, physical the seng ai daw hpe emphasis galaw ai ni re, church ni gaw spiritual hpe emphasis galaw ai. ndai lahkawng rai nga ai state the church ngu ai gaw.

Rai yang ndai religion mung shi a nature rai nga ai simsa ai hku grai si mani ai hku shi gaw masha hpe woi nna organize galaw mat wa ai. Rai yang shi manu mana myit galu ra ai, manu mana sacrifice galaw ra ai, share galaw ra ai. Shi dai hku galaw ai majaw another generation gaw grau nna myit hta manang wa hte grau nna peacefully living together ngu hpe grau nna mai kaja ai society de du shangun nga ai. Church and state shada da wa dependent mung byin taw nga ai re. “Law” hte sha masha hpe hkang na ngu n mai byin ai, Law n dep hkap lu ai shara ni grai nga ai. state hku na religion n lawm ai sha mung dan de na matu n loi ai hte maren religion bai rai jang mung mung masa ni a woi awn lawm ai kaw hkan nang ra ai, malu masha, bu hpun a matu machyu ra nga ai majaw n mai di hka ai.

Q. Interdependence masa hku i sara kaba?

A. E E dai hku mung rai, shi a kaga laksanakan status mung nga ai re hku rai nga ai.

Q. Dai hku nga jang gaw sara kaba n bung ai daw hpe tsun ga nga jang state gaw physical development hpe emphasis galaw ai. Church gaw anhte shingyim masha ni a na myit masa ni, myit masin, si mani lailen ni n mu mada ai daw ni hpe emphasis galaw ai. dai gaw shan 2 a n bung ai daw ni rai nga ai i. bai na shada da dependent mung byin ai daw ni mung nga ai hku rai nga ai i sara kaba

A. Re re..State ni mung church n lawm jang kade mi arung arai ni rawt jat nga tim ndai simsa ai lam hpe n lu yang shi n mai hparan ai manghkang ni nga ai. church de na mung shyimgyim masha ni lu na, sha na, bu na, hpun na hpe state wa hparan ya ai re majaw ndai hpe myit dum na kanawn yang she, wenyi hte production hpe gara hku matut mahkai mahkri shawn na ngu ai hpe

Q. Sara kaba ndai hta bai mahta na ga san gaw ya yeng e Sara Kaba hku nna anhte buga grupyin kaw gaw sara kaba myit mada ai hku byin nga ai i, shing n rai yang gara lam hta gaw gara hku ningra nga ai ngu hpe sara kaba na ning mu kachyi mi matut tsun dan ya rit.

A. Anhte ndai ga, anthe kaw ya byin taw nga ai mabyin gaw law malawng mung masa hta hkan mat wa ai hku rai nga ai. mung masa wa hpyen la ni up hkang ai kaw na, hpyen du hpyen la ngu tatwe tatan taming (order) hku re ai system rai nga ai. Dai majaw shanhte na problem langai hpe solve galaw yang pressure “the fear the force” hte galaw ai dai hpe woi practice galaw mat wa ai. dai galaw jang she religion ni hpe mung lu hkra, ya hpungkyi hpung grai law ai dai ni hpe by force hku na organize galaw kau re, dai hte maren ndai religion department hpe mung hpaw da na shi a ahkang n lu yang ndai n mai galaw ai, wo ra n mai galaw ai nga buga shingra hta hkan grau nna lu dip ai kaw dip dik dik di, nau n mai dip da ai kaw masha law law mu ai kaw loi mi shayawm e dai hku di mat wa ai. e ndai akyang dai wa she hpyen la kaw na office de gale wa re hta mi na ideology hpring hkra lu la sai the maren hpa lam hpe mung by force hku hparan nga ai. Nandai lai nig aw hpaji jawng de du mat wa ai. Education system mung hten, kaga ngam ai mahkra mung hkan hten nang rai nga ai. Production, education, health care ngu ai ni gaw order hte n mai sa nga ai, galoi mung galai shai nga ai, lak lai nga ai, discover galaw ra ai, dan re tam sagawn na nnan nnan idea hte hkrang shapraw na masha n nga mat ai.

Q. by force hte i, ndai jahkrit ai hte n-gun lang ai hte kun?

A. e re, dai hku di jang she ndan re masha chye ai ni, kung kyang ai ni mung hpawng ma sai, shi hpe manu shadan ai shara hkan pru mat sai. upadi (law) n nga ai, hpyen du wa hte myit hkum jang ngut mat sai. dai akyang ni gaw shanglawt zawn re wo ra rawt malan hpung ni hkan mung dai zawn re manghkang ginchya wa ai. mung masha ni mahtang dan re kaw nga man jang she dan n di jang n hkrit mat sai gaw. n dip da jang n jahkrit ding sa shi hpa n galaw, benevolence shawang myit ngu n nga mat wa, hkrit na sha ndai hku, n hkrit ai hte hpa mung n galaw sai ndai hku. Htaw counsel kaw na governor kaw na yawng ndai hku rai yang she dut lu dut sha ai da kanawn mazum ai lam ma hkra dai hku rai wa ai, dan re mang hkang. Anhte ginra kutkai hkan mung army leader (tai mu) wa kam ai hku galaw dai the maren shi npu na ni mung kam ai hku galaw upadi (law) ngu n nga ai marai langai a myit ra ai lam langai the galaw ya lu ai masa, up hkang lam mung dai the maren, up hkang ai ni tsun ai hku ra ai hku hkan galaw ya ra mat ai.

Q. mai sa sara kaba ndai kaw mahta na ya sara kaba tsun ai daw ni gaw ya yang anhte buga ginra kaw byin taw ai state the seng na gawngkya ai lam ni hpe htawng madun ai hku rai nga ai i. sara kaba shaloi jang ndai zawn re masa kaw e anhte nawku hpung ni hku nna gara hku tsap ran a?

A. Roma prat kaw nawku hpung ningbaw ningla ni shanhte survival matu ma, shahte myu sha hpung ni a matu ma survive byin na hpe grau nna shanawng mat wa ai, dai majaw ndai Yesu hte grai shai mat wa ai le, e dai hpe shingran wa mu ai, ndai kaw mung ya dai ram wa n rai hkra rai tim, dai ni hte n ginchya ai sha anhte physical development hpe galaw la na ngu n mai byin ai ndai lam ni nga taw nga ai, ah hkawng aya lu ai ni she anhte hpe hpa mung mai galaw ya alu mai jaw ya ai le i, ga shadawn nawku jawng langai lug aw gap na matu pyi loi mi gumhpraw grau lu ai wa hpe abawp ra taw ai. ndan rai taw ai. shaloi jang anhte kata gaw makam masham sara ni mung grai hkan tsun grai hkan hkaw chyum laika hta ning nga ai nga majaw hpung masha ni gaw grai dang di dang dep lu ai darum myit hpe sharai rai na nga ai hku gaw rai nga ai. raitim lu na, sha na, bu hpun na the ndai wa baw hkrum head to head wa byin taw ai. ndai de mung galaw nang de mung rai ra ai hku rai nga ai.

Q. dai nga jang gaw san san di chyoi pra ai wuhpung wuhpawng gaw de na matu gaw yak ai i

A. e e yak ai, yak ai, lu, sha, bu, hpun na lam hpe wo ra ni mahtang jum tek da nga ai gaw. Dan re jang she yu anhte hpe ya san wa ai anhte alu kaning re alu re ta, 4 dut ai kaw na re i nga, myit yu hpa rai nga ai. bai na anhte the n seng ai bungli galaw nga ga ai eg, sport htung hking lam ni ya yu yu u hpung kongsi gaw da ai hkrang hpe yu dat yu shi a ga baw shi pyi yu yu u, social work law ai, sasana nga dai ni sha she makam masham a bungli ni rai taw nga ai.

Q. shaloi jang gaw mi na state na ra rawng gawng kya ai shara kaw she nawku hpung ni mahtang shara la ra taw ai masa rai taw ai hku i?

A. e e dai hku mung rai taw nga ai, yu ndai kaw moi de gaw sport ni ma hkra gaw kaga ni she woi awn lai wa ai gaw. Rai yang ya ten hta woi awn na ni n woi awn ai majaw anhte hpung kaw na ni hkrai di jang she budget mung n dang ai. Baina tang du hkra ma n lu galaw ai. n lu galaw ai ngu mung shi gaw specialist n rai nga ai gaw. Hpung mung hpung hte seng ai galaw yang budget mung dai de grau jai na grau mung manu na. Nkau mi n hkra ai. shi mung democracy re gaw he...rai yang she ndai hpung ni a shang jum ai lam i, social life ndai kaw wa mahkra, hkam ja lam, ginsup lam kaw na ndai ni kaw na hkawt, htunghking kaw na hkawt yu hpung kaw na she. Teng nga jang hpung hpe she ndai wuhpung ni karum madi shadaw ra ai. Ya gaw ndai hpung kaw na hpaw da ai ramma hte she wo kaga kaw mung dai ni hpe she jai lang nga ma ai. Makam masham gaw yu ya dai ni na zawn nga kaga makam masham hpe n kaja ai law hpa law nga pru wa ai ni grai law nga ai. Hka yu u para church ni mung grai n-gun dat wa ai le i, shan the mung shanhte a tsap grin nga lu na matu mung rai nga ai. Hpung kaba wa na matu hkrai hkrai gaw rai nga ai. dai hpe ya anhte n ra wa nga ai. sa adawt dat nga yang gaw Karai langai sha adawt hkat na hku, dai mung n tsawm. N di nga jang gaw yu n manu wa. Shan hte galaw ai ladat hte anhte hkam la ai lam i shai ai loi li nga mat wa nga ai. Dan re jang she myit gaw n gut wa. mying gaw anhte kaw rawng taw na she san di kau ga nga wa ai rai nga ai. dai majaw hpang e hpa baw byin wa a ta nga jang nawku hpung ngu ai the Karai ngu ai gara hpe madung dat wa ai ngu pyi myit ra wa nga ai. teng nga Karai hpe madung dat ai rai yang gaw nawku hpung ni gaw shada da dai ram ahtik ahtawk hkat na lam n nga ai. nawku

hpung ni a tara hte hkam la ai lam n bung ai marang e Karai langai sha nawku ai ni shada da n ju n dawng hkat wa ai gaw n byin ging ai le. wo ra church lung ai ni hpe jahkring kau saga nga hku rai nga ai.

Q. lahkawng maga kabye ai gaw n manu ai hku rai nga ai i?

A. E e wo de zawn zawn, ndai de zawn zawn wo de grau law nang de gaw mying rawng taw re rai nga ai. Buddhism langai hte n ju n dawng byin ai hta anhte Hkristian shada da n ju n dawng hkat ai she grau law wa nga ai. ndai gaw bai dinglik yu ra sai. Nandai hku she rai ra ai nga atik anang hkapa la taw ai dai loi mi baw ja mayu mat wa ai a matu hte myit galu ai ni a matu ndai debate langai gaw pyi galaw ra mat wa sai hku rai nga ai. ndai gaw grai sadi ra ai gaw rai nga ai, n chye galaw jang mung hka wa ai. Shingna ya nkau mi gaw anhte hpung masha raitim shi a ra wa ai hte hkan nna magam bungli a majaw mi rai rai, jinghku masa hku mi rai rai shang lawm ra nga ai. Nandai zawn re lam hta anhte ndai hku nan rai ra ai ngu ai masa gaw loi yak wa nga ai.

Q. Shaloi jang ya du hkra sara tsun ai hpe madat yu yang mi sha tsun ai nawku hpung hte mung daw mung shi na ra rawng ai lam, gawng kya ai lam hpe sara kaba tsun mat wa sai dai hte maren nawku hpung mung shi mayak ni, myit garan ai lam, chye na shai hkat ai lam ni law law nga taw ai i, ndai hpe wa mu mada ai hku rai nga ai. shaloi jang ndai hta bai mahta na matut na bai san mayu ai gaw ya yang e ndai anhte mungdan kata kaw e n teng man ai zawn re, n tara ai lam ni hpe gaw anhte karum hparan yang mai ai baw re i, shing n rai yang ndai gaw state na bungli she re gaw ngu na dai hku state hpe sha dai hku kabai ap da ai baw i. ga shadawn IDPs magam bungle?

A. ya ten dai ahkyak ai hku rai nga ai. Asuya kam tim n kam tim shi mung Democracy gale ra wa sai ndai hku gale wa na matu mung anhte zawn re makam masham hpung ni law law, Buddha, Hindu, social organization ni ma hkra a pressure mung ra nga ai. Yawnggaw loi mi jin wa ai hku rai nga ai. Dai majaw n teng n man ai lam shara magup nga ai gaw kadai mung ya chye taw nga ai. Rai yang ndai hpe galai la na matu gaw anhte lit langai mi gaw anhte nan galaw ra ai. Anhte a n-gun n lawm n mai ai. Kagani yawng a n-gun ma lawm ra ai dai hpe kahkyin dat jang she n-gun kaba wa na. Masha ni galaw ai hpe sha yu na nga taw nga yang nau gaw n hkrak nhten. Anhtenan mung galaw ra ai. Anhte nan mung teng man ai lam hpe hkra machyi ai lam ni gaw nga wa na re raitim dai ni gaw Kaman machyi ai gaw n rai na re. Ngam ai shingyim masha yawng a matu heros ni she rai na re. Anhteap nawng ai ni rai nga ai. Dai majaw ndai IDPs law ngu ai ni mung galaw ra ai. Raitim mung bai myit ra ai, hpa galaw tim mung aten na jang shi a ningmu ni masa ni galai wa ai. Nana ndai ni independent syndrome ngu ai shamyet mayu ai myit rawng mat yang yak sai. Shan hte lagaw shanhte n lu tsap mat wa ai. Dai majaw aten ladaw mi du hkra karum na shi hte shi lu pru wa na matu lam hpaw ya ra ai. Push galaw ra ai, dang dep ai darm arang shapraw na karum ya ra ai. anhte hkrai hkrai ra mara hparan taw na shanhte n chye hparan mat wa sa. Nandai grai sadi ra ai.

Q. dai nga jang gaw anhte nawku hpung hku shi na shadawn shadang langai mi du hkra gaw anhte kaw na shang lawm ra ai ngu hpe asan sha chye na lu ai hku re i. Matutna bai san mayu ai gaw hpa majaw IDPs ngu ai ni byin wa ai npawt hpe gara hku mu mada ai kun i?

A. Anhte buga kaw na IDPs ngu ai gaw ndai laknak lang ai wuhpung wuhpawng lahkawng a baw chya hkrum ai a majaw rai nga ai ndai society kata kaw e wo ra ni

mung ndai kaw arang bang, masha law organizer law nga, hkangse law nga, dai hte maren nang ndai de na ni mung Asuya n re ai ni hpe hkangse bang ai ngu gaw Asuya hpe ninghkap ai, dai majaw nanhte hpe anhte gara hku mung anhte ndai shara kaw n mai tawn da ai nga baw rai wa ai. Wu ra ni mung shanhte a hkangse hta mahta na she shamu shamawt nga ai gaw. Ndai myu kata na san seng ni yawng mung hkangse she n bang nga ma a dawng. Dai hpe asuya mung chye ai ni chye na re, dai kaw she asuya mung normal Asuya n rai nga ai, hpyen dap Asuya. Ginjaw na hpyen du ni mung shan hte kam ai hku mungdan ting hpe hpya sha. Shanhte npu na ni mung dai hte maren. Shanhte yawng gaw mungdan hpe up hkang ai gawng n rai ai sha hpaga uhpung langai sha rai mat sai. Not a politicians but a gang stars. Dai hku byin mat ai. Mungdan a matu nga tsun tim malawng gaw shi a matu myit mat ai. Shi matu she hpyen dap hpe jai lang nga ai. Dai re majaw shi na gaw mungdan hpe makawp maga nga tim dai n rai nga ai, hpaga lam hpe makawp maga na shanhte a matu gat lawk tam ai, dai n hten n mat na matu makawp maga ai she rai nga ai. Dai majaw hpaga lam galaw ai mung masha ni nkau mi, n re ai hpaga ga na mung shahte hte jahkrup na galaw ra ai. N kau hpaga la ni gaw zen ai wo de mung asin pye, nang de mung asin pye hkra chye kanawn nga ai. Dai majaw shanhte gaw grau myat nga ma ai. Maga mi de sha lu jaw na maga mi de atsawm n lu jaw kau dat ai ni gaw manghkan pru ai. Ndai kata kaw na ni she woi kasat ai ni, woi shiga jaw ai ni pru wa sai gaw. Shi manang wa ai akyu ara shi akyu ara rai yang she anut sai gaw hpaga la wa a akyu mung shi matu ahkyak nga ai gaw. Dai majaw gumlang hpung ni ngu shamyang na shakrip sai gaw. Ahkaw ahkang n nga ai sha hkangse hta ai, gumhpraw nyap sha ai ni nga, ga baw shakap la na anut sai gaw. Wu ra maga na ni mung anhte a Asuya nga ai hku. Daigaw major conflict. Daikaw she dai kahtawng kaw sha lahkawng maga a masha ni nga taw ai majaw n mai nga sai gaw. Lahkawng maga na ni shiga jaw hkat re majaw hpang jahtum n mai nga mat ai de du ai rai nga ai. Dai majaw wo ra ni mung n dep ndai ni mung n dep re de sa nga ai hpe IDPs camp nga rai nga ai. Ndaigaw anhte ga na IDPs rai nga ai. Htaw ra ga e.g Hpakan, na gaw natural resource nga ai shara de n ni wa na matu shabra kau dat ai hku rai nga ai.

Q. Shaloi jang gaw ya anhte ndai ginra hta gaw ndai government ngu ai Asuya hpyen hpung mung shi hte shi nga taw sai dai kaw she Asuya ni masat ai gumlang hpung ngu ai minority ni law law mung bai nga taw sai. Asuya n kaja ai ngu hpe mung masha ni mu mada ai i? raitim shanhte maga hku bai yu yang rules of law ngu ai ga baw n pu kaw mai gang bang ai lam ni mung nga taw nga ai. Hpa majaw mungdan langai kaw hpyen hpung law law nga jang n sim sa ai. Hpyen hpung langai sha nga jang she simsa ai masa ni rai nga ai. Ndai lapran kaw nawku hpung a tsap shara gaw gara kaw rai na? Asuya tsun ai rules of law hpe shakut nang na i shing nrain minority law law a gawng malai nsen tai ya ra na i? Gara hku raina?

A. Rai nga ai, ya anhte dai de lahkam sa wa ra na masa nga ai ya ndai democracy wuhpung wuhpawng shara lawan la constitution ni hte law ni hpe lu galai shai wa ai shaloi gaw, mung shawa masha human ngu hku bai yu ra sai. Amyu sha hku n mai yu mat sai. Ndai lam gaw humanism hku human right hku human ethics hku bai yu wa ra sai. Mi shanhte nnan amyusha lam san san galaw jang she anhte minority ni mung amyusha hku bai htan ai ga rai nga ai. Umdai hta shanhte hku na amyusha lam hku n tsap ai sha mung chying sha hku tsap wa jang tinang mung mungchying sha langai hku na sha tsap mat wa na lam ni nga ai. Dai hku shai wa ai. Dai majaw hpa baw amyusha bawsang ngu tsun na hta myen mung mung chying sha ngu hku rai ra wa na. Dai majaw black American, white American, Asian American yawng maren sha

nguai masa ni rai nga ai. Dai majaw shi tsun ai ga ni mung amyu sha langai a matu sha n rai sai sha shynggyim masha, mungchying sha yawng a matu rai wa ra ai. Anhte nawku hpung ni mung amyu sha a matu ngu na hta shynggyim masha ni a matu tsun shaga wa ra na masa ni rai nga ai. Shi mi madung mung dai she re, amyu sha langai sha a htunghking maka hpe makawp maga taw ai n re, masha yawng nga manga myit kaja rawng wa na htani hta na asak lu la na de she rai nga ai. Kajatim n kaja tim ya gaw galai shai nga ga. Karai Kasang hpe grau nna madung dat wa na dai rai nga ai.

Q. shaloi jang gaw ya yang anhte nawku hpung kaw kalang lang byin ai masa gaw Jinghpaw Hkristan ngu ai Patriot ni nau wa n-gun ja mat jang mung tsang wa ra na baw rai nga ai i sara kaba?

A. grai nan tsang ra ai, kachyi sha n re. Ndaigaw hpa baw byin wa a ta nga jang radical byin wa ai. Karai hte mung tsan wa ai. Shigaw hpabaw byin wa a ta nga jang amyu sha langai ai majaw, hkam sha lam gaw n kam hkam ai kaw na byin wa ai. Shinggyim masha a yubak mara hpe shi n mu mat wa sai. Ndai hkum ngau shagu a yubak hpe shi n dum mat wa. Ndai amyu langai gaw amyu langai hpe dang sha ai ngu ai hpe sha shi hkam sha mat wa ai le. Ndai hku hkam sha janggaw chyum daw ni hpe mung dai hte seng ai hpe sha hti sawk wa na shi tang ai shaloi tsawra myit the n lu htang mat sai. N kam hkam ai majaw matai htang ai ngu ai ladat hpe lang wa nga ai. Dai majaw ndai amyu sha myit n-gun ja ai hpung masha langai ni a makam masham gaw sawng dik mat wa chye ai. Masha pyi gwi sat wa ai, grau zingri wa ai. Dai hku byin wa ai.

Q.dai nga jang gaw anhte makam masham gaw amyu sha hta n mai mahta ai masa rai nga ai i, shingyim masha hta mahta ai masa rai nga ai i.

A. E re re, Karai hpe madung ai, shi a mungga hpe madung dat ai amyu sha yawng de sasana sa na lam she rai nga ai. Hkam sharang na matu she tsun da tim amyu sha lam hta mahta mat wa ai majaw n lu hkam sharang mat wa ai ndai lam ni byin wa sai. Num kasha langai hpe roi jang Jinghpaw amyu sha hpe roi ai ngu hku hkam la nna grau myit n pyaw wa ai baw byin ai le. Shingyim num sha ngu ai hku n lu hkam sha mat wa ai. Ndaiwa anhte hpe rai nna roi ai ngu hku sha mu mat wa sai. Ningmuwa grai shai wa ai. Dan re majaw ndai extremist byin mat wa ai. Ya IS ni dai rai nga ai. Dai majaw mung masa galai wa ai hta anhte mung hpa baw byin wa ra a ta nga jang human rights, woman right, child right, justices ngu ai maga hku sa wa ra ai ndai ni gaw yawng a matu le. Hkam sha ai lam hta mung dai masa hku hkam sha mat wa ra ai. Nau gyip gyeng ai hku n mai hkam sha sai. Dai gaw ndai byin ai, ya Myen ni tim Yangon hkan Myanmar idol law hpa law nga kam ai hku bu, hpun re ni pru wa sai. Ngai ya hte tsun ai ndai ni gaw gara kaw mung training n jaw ai shi hte shi gwi gwi hka ja la nna pru wa magang sai. Gai Myen lai htung hking atik anang myen lai shachyaw taw ai myen mung le. Ndaini gara kaw na pru wa ai. N dang hkang ai. Ya pru wa ra ai shara magup. Myit she n ru nga ma dawng. Ndaigaw yu shanhte gaw amyu sha myit n-gun ja taw ai le. WO ra gaw globa rai taw nga ai. dai kaw she shanhte na gaw kaji kadun ai, masha ni ram popular n byin ai. Dan re jang she grau n law jang she masha gaw grau tsang ai le. Grau tsang na grau hte train galaw. Moina myen htung hking ka ni kumhpa mana maka shalaw hkra di na grai shapraw wa masai le. Raitim nau n madat nga ma ai Myen audience ni. Ndaigaw radical rai mat wa sai le. Hpa majaw madu hkum hpe kaji kadun dum ai a marang e, madu myu mat na hkrit nna, madu a hkung hking mat na hkrit na shakut ai gaw rai nga ai. Jawngkaw tim yu

law law nga ai. Anhte jinghpaw mung e tim Sam jawng ma ni mung galoi n hka ai gaw. Tsun mayu ai gaw n law magang zimlum magang, zimlum jang she survive byin na rai nga ai. Ndaigaw instinct le, nature le. Myengaw mungkan kaw hpa n re ngu mu chye magang kahkyin magang rai nga ai. Anhte jinghpaw ni mung dai rai nga ai moi de htam Myen longyi bu jang shakrin raw dat na kahtam azat kau ya ai nga ni na ga ai n re i.

Q. Ndaigaw minority na inferior complex ngu rai nga ai i. mung masa hpe woi awn ai ni sha n ga nawku hpung kata na ni law law a n sen hta mung anhte majority hta byin taw ai manghkang gaw majority ni labau hpe manu n shadan ai majaw ga shadawn panglung ga shaka, ndai majaw byin taw ai re nga nsen grai ja nga ma ai ndai kaw

A. Ndaigaw Pang Lung ga shaka hta gaw moi kaw na ana asa nga ai. Awng San wa Myen mung ting hpe lu gahkyin na matu England de sai jahkrup taw ai ten hta ndai ni lawm wa na matu grai hkrak hkra kanawn mazum ai majaw lu htu shagrinn tawn ai rai nga ai. Dai ten hta ndai hpe ndai hku hkan galaw ai hpe manu mana n ra ai ni shanhte kata hta grai nga ai gaw. Myen mung ting anhte a kata kaw rai ra ai nga kam ai hpung ni nga ai.

Q. Takin Ko Daw Mine ni

A. Galung U Saw ndai U Saw ni gaw Nay Win a sara re nga tsun ma ai. Wo ra (Awng San) ni gaw mung masa hte manu mana manu ai hku rau sha kahkyin let rai mat wa na hku hkyen sam ai. Raitim ndai ni gaw dai hku n re ai. Dai majaw Awng San wamaw sat katut ai kaw ndai lam ni ma lawm sam ai. Shanhte hku na myen mung ting Myen a npu de bang kau na masing ni nga ai hta Awng San wa gaw nanhte pawng yu na n hkrak jang bai karan mu nga le i. Dai majaw shanhte shada lajang kau hkat ai kaw du ai hku rai nga ai. Dai rai yang she pang Long hpe U Nay Win a prat kaw na Masala prat ting hta shi rai nga ai gaw, hpye dap kaw na ma hkra hpe jahkrit kau nu ai. Union ngu ai gaw dumbri dumbra rai bra mat na hpe tsang ai majaw galaw da ai lam sha re. Dai majaw kaga ni yawng hpe n-gun karan kaji kau ya na shanhte a npu de shawn kau na nga lam de maw wa ai rai nga ai. Ndaigaw idea ndai hpe shaning 50 ning jan bang kau sai gaw. Propaganda galaw kau dat ai kaw na ya she bai hprang wa nga ai. Ya she shiga hkan myen ni mung myen a awm dawm ahkaw ahkang ra ai zawn jinghpaw ni mung ra sharawng na rai nga ai le nga ga ni pru wa sai re. Arau n mai nga na i hpa majaw anhte gaw mungdan kaba lahkawng a lapran hta arau nga ra nga ai. Ndaigaw lam mung rai nga ai, raitim marai langai a myit ra ai hku sha gaw n mai nga ai, shang lawt ahhkaw ah hkang jaw ra na rai nga ai. Shi a mung daw hpe she hpe up hkang lu na ah hkang me n jaw ai sha kadai wa myit hkrum na. Lak nak jahkrat na matu sha shatut taw tim kadai n kam mat sai le. Kadelang ting masu lai wa sai re majaw. Mungdaw Asuya mung shi hte shi nga na ginjaw Asuya hte garan gun hpai na nga ra ai. Mungdaw hpe shi a madang langai du hkra gaw wanglu wanglang ahkang jaw da ra nga ai. Ya yawng gaw dai hkaw la nga ai, myen nkaw mi du hkra hkaw la nga ai.

Q. hpum dim hku na ya na zawn re lapran hta nawku hpung hpe hpa baw htet matsun mayu ai rai kun?

A. Lama na democracy mungdan galai mat wa jang gaw anhte nawku hpung mung anhte a makam masham madang hpe grau pure byin hkra, ndai wuhpung wuhpawng a pressure hpe loi gaw shayawm ra ai. Hpa baw hpe n-gun dat ra na ta nga jang

mungkinan hpe mung naw yu ra nga ai, paradigm nga i, mi na gaw chyum laika hta rawng ai hte raw hkan mayu ai myit law ai. Ya prat na masha gaw half half rai mat sai. Yana Hkrstian ni gaw, Karai Kasang ning nga nga ai, hpa baw hpe yaw shada nga a ta dai she madung rai mat wa sai. Hpa rai na dai tsun ai, hpa hpe tsun mayu ai. Shi a lachyum namnak hpe manu mana myit shang sha nga ai ya. Dai hpe sawk tam ai. Ndai chyum laika hta law malawng gaw ga shadawn ni hte sharin shaga ai lam ni rai nga ai. Ya gaw dai aten hta ndai hku tsun shaga ai gaw hpa hpe ngu mayu ai ngu ai hpe sawk sagawn mat wa ai ten prat rai wa nga ai. Anhte makam masham na ni gaw mi na raw tsun taw ai majaw htung lai langai zawn she rai mat wa ai. Ndai teng man ai hta htung hking hku rai mat wa ai. Chyum laika hta lawm ai hpe tsun na hta Karai Kasang tsun mayu ai yaw shada lam hpe sawk mat wa ra sai. Dai she truth hte grau ni wa na. Mi na hku sha rai taw yang wenyi kalu kaba wa ai lam n nga wa ai le. Dai majaw ndai hpe anhte myit let galaw ra mat wa sai. Grau nna mara dat hkat lu na lam de rai wa ra ai.

2. Interview with Rev. Hpauwung Gun Tang (KGZ)

Q. Nawku hpung hte mungdaw a shingra hpe loi mi sang lang dan rit sara kaba

A. Anhte na shingra masa hku nga jang state gaw grau law taw ai hpe mu lu ai. Ga sahdawn myen mung asuya gaw state langai hte shanglawt gaw state langai. ndai gaw anhe Kachin ni a kaga ni the n bung ai nature rai nga ai. ndai ni hpe myit shalawm ra ai. state kata kaw gaw land lawm ai, people lawm ai, government nga ai, constitution nga ai, maigan matut mahkai rung ndai ni lawm nga ai. anhte chyena taw ai lam gaw state ngu yang government rai nga ai. the church gaw truth hta tsap ai wuhpung rai nga ai. ndai truth hta gaw justices ni righteous ni yawng lawm mat wa sai.

Q. church and state gaw n bung ai hku rai nga ai i

A. nature n bung ai hku rai nga ai. church gaw state a kata kaw na rai nga ai bai na teng man ai lam hta tsap ai hpung re.

Q. church a magam bungli hte pandung gaw hpa baw ni rai na kun i? state na gaw gara hku?

A. ndai lahkawng gaw nature n bung tim goal gaw langai sha re hpu mu lu ai. church gaw serve galaw na ndai mungdan hpe Karai Kasang a mung dan de du wa lu na matu rai nga ai. dinghpring ai tengman ai mungdan tara rapra ai mung dan gaw gap na. secular country kaw na God's country de galai shai na gaw church abungli rai nga ai. dai hte maren state mung rap rap ra ra hpyen hpyen pa pa di naw kabu pyaw ai wuhpung woi gaw de na teng man ai hta woi sa na bungli rai nga ai. tara rap ra ai hku woi dawdan na, tsawra myit hte woi galu kaba na matu rai nga ai. dai majaw church hte nature n bung tim pundung bung nga ai. ultimate purpose bung ai ngu na mai hkap la nga ai.

Q. ya yang anhte buga ginra kaw church hte state arau bungli galw taw nga ai ngu na mai tsun na kun

A. myen asuya hte shanglawt asuya nga ai hta na myen asuya hte gaw rau n galaw sai. shanlawt ni hte grau arau shading sharai let jawm galaw taw nga ai re. shanglawt hte nawku hpung nature gaw n bung tim bungli rau jawm galaw nga ai hku re. shanhte gaw laknak hpai ai wuhpung wuhpawng re, anhte gaw chyum laika hpai ai wuhpung

wuhpawng re. raitim oppress gaw arau hkrum nga ai ni rai. dai majaw shanhte hte lam yawng hta rau n lu galaw tim lam nkau mi hta rau pawng galaw nga ai hk re. ga shadawn ka-ni namhpan pat jasan ai lam, hpaji masing masa lam. ndai hta anhte a oneness byin ai lam ni grai law nga ai re. amysha htunghking lam, labau lam ni yawng hta re. nbung ai gaw shanhte gaw majan gap anhte gaw akyu hpyi re rai nga ai. KBC mung kawngkha kasa hpawng kaw dawdan ai gaw awmdawm ah hkaw ah hkang ngu ai de rai nga ai. e dai majaw shanglawt mung awm dawm, KBC mung awm dawm de sa wa sai. e n bung ai lam hta up hkang lai ni gaw n bung nga ai. hpyen a shingra gaw top down, anhte na gaw dai hku n rai nga ai.

Q. ya yang buga ginra hta byin nga ai n tara n hku n shawp lam ni nkau mi hpe tsun dan rit le

A. document gaw atsawm n lu mahkawng da ai re. raitim ga shadawn Mawhan kaw na anhte masha sat hkrum ai lam rai nga ai. hpa mara n lu ai hpun hta nga ai masha hpe sat kau ai lam rai nga ai. Bai na Kawngkha na sarama lahkawng hpe roi rip sat kau ai, e ndai lam ni rai nga ai. ndai yawng gaw myen hpyen dap a tawt lai ai lam ni rai nga ai. raitim anhte hta sakes madun na ni wa mi gawng kya taw tim. bai na kaga ni ga shadawn, Mamgut na num kasha hpe hpyen dap ma ni roi ai. physical oppression sha n rai myit masin dip sha ai du hkra rai nga ai. jahkrit shama ai zawn re. anhte nawku jawng hkan machyu ai zawn re. shahte hte hpa n seng ai shara rai nga ai. bai na mare masha ni hpe jep adup zingri, du sat ni hpe aben sat sha re lam ni. grai law ai

Q. hpa majaw ndai lam ni byin nga ai ngu na mai tsun na (theological understanding)

A. selfishness (tinggyeng) rai nga ai, myen mung state government a selfishness rai nga ai. labau lasang ni hpe jahten mayu ai, amysha kaba kyang lai machyu ai lam ni rai nga ai. amysha kaji ni yawng hpe shagrit kau mayu ai majaw rai nga ai. dai majaw roi dik dik, dip dik dik ndai gaw ah-na-shin sanit gaw de mayu ai lam ni rai nga ai.

Q. ndai zawn re lapran hta church a stand (nawku hpung a tsap shara) hpe naw sang lang dan rit.

A. nawku hpung gaw asan sha re, mungga kaw tsap ai re. teng man lam kaw tsap ai re. nawku hpung gaw state government injustices galaw jang htawng madun ra ai re. dai anhte n gwi na rai nga ai. separately tsap na gwi gwi htawng madun ra nga ai. bai maga mi hta gaw myen mung mung chying sha rai taw sai re majaw mungdan asuya kaw na matsun wa ai mai kaja ai magam bungli hpe jawm gun hpai na ma lit nga ai re. truth kaw separately tsap na shi hpe n jaw jang shading na, jaw jang madi shadaw na lit nga ai re. shi sumbu na masha n mai tai mat ai dai hte maren anhte mung shi hpe anhte sumbu kaw n mai bang kau nga ai. shi up hkang lam the shi sa na shada hkungga hkat ra nga ai. church gaw state a kata na hpung re ai the maren state masha ni mung church member ni rai nga ma ai. dai majaw state mung church ni shatsam ai sasana bungli ni hta karum gun hpai ra nga ai. bai na church a magam bungli ni hta mung hpaji mai jaw mai shang lawm nga ai. ka-up ai hku n re ai sha. baiga shadawn langai mi, IDP na slg Brang Shawng hpe rim mat wa na n re ai hku tsun, maw ai e ndai zawn re ni hpe church gaw shading sharai tsun shadum ra ai hku re. matut na mung grai naw galw ra ai anhte zim taw nga ai, ga shadawn namhpam hte seng ai zawn re ni, hpaji hte seng ai zawn re ni, anthe a lamu ga hpe zingla ai hpe hparan na zawn re ni. zim ai ngu mung shahte gaw laknak lang na galaw taw ai majaw rai nga ai.

Q. matut na gara hku galaw sa wa na, shai wa na i, ya na zawn sha i?

A. context hta hkan na galaw ra nga ai. ya na zawn yak ai majaw ndai hku galaw nga tim ya grau yak wa jang mung means ni gaw shai yang shai wa na le.

Q. Democracy mungdan rai wa jang gaw gara hku?

A. Democracy nga jang grai yak ai law, shanhte chyena hkap la ai hte anhte ra sharawng chyena ai n bung taw nga ai. e lama na ndai lahkawng bung wa sai, ni wa sai nga jang gaw rau bungli mai galaw ai de galai shai wa na rai nga ai. ya du hkra gaw loin aw tsan taw ai, step grain aw gang taw ai hpe mu mada ai hku re. ya pyi grau yak wa na kun ngu le i, hpa majaw nga jang ya bai lung wa ai asuya a policy hpe anhte atsawm n chye shi ai majaw le. ndai shana ai lam hpa grai n nga ai majaw anhte a matu uncertainty grai kaba ai hku re. raitim anhte gaw process hta hkan nna contextualize galaw let sa wa ra na re.

Q. kaga hpa baw naw tsun mayu ai kun?

A. no. langai anhte gaw makam masham dagraw la ra ai, no. lahkawng gaw htunghking dagraw la ra ai. masum gaw present situation hpe dagraw la ra ai. grau nna anhte yawng myit hkrum ra ai. bai na anhte KBC gaw grai n-gun ja nga ai re, dai hpe ayai mat wa hkra masha ni maw taw ai hpe ma chyena da nna galoi mung myit hkrum na tengman lam hta tsap nga ra na re. anhte yawng Karai Kasang hpe kam ai majaw galoi mung Karai hpe madung tawn ra nga ai. Kalang lang gaw anhte shingyim masha hku myit mang na galaw ai majaw shut chye nga ai. Raitim anhte hpe lagaw lahkam htawt shangun ai gaw Karai Kasang re majaw Karai Kasang hpe kam hpa manoi manat ra nga ai. myit hkrum na, tengman dinghpring lam ni hta tsap le n jaw n teng ai ni hpe sharai sa wa ga.

3. Interview with Sara Maran Zau Bawk

Q: Shawng nnan shara chye ai Church gaw hpa baw and State gaw hpa baw re? Bai Church a bungli the State a bungli gaw hpabaw dai hta bung ai daw hte n bung ai daw a defination hpe sang lang dan ya u le.

A: Nawku hpung the Mungdan lahkawng yan gaw shinggyin u hpawng lagai hpe gaw gap ai hta n nga n mai re ai. Rai yang state a lit the nawku hpung a lit shai hkat ai lam ni nga ai shingyim uhpawng gaw gap ai kaw state hku na gaw ndai shi man ang ai kaw htung tara lai len lit magam bungli dai hku na makawp maga lam jaw ai. Hpa the bung a ta nga yang Christmas poi langai byin wa na matu: lamang hpe jawm gun hpai ai, shabyin shatai ai lam hta state a amu daw gaw shat gawk bungli the bung na shi gaw tsawm htap ai hkung ga shan ni hpe hparan gadoi ai tsawm htap ai hpe mung gwi gwi a tawk na mu mai ai lusha byin tai lu hka, zup hpawng ginra grau na ngwi pyaw hkra, ma chyi makaw n nga hkra yu gawn lajang ai. Shing lum lam the seng na makawp maga let shabyin dat ai dai gaw mung masa the mung dan up hkang ni a shinggyim uhpawng hpe gaw gap ai hta shang lawm ai lam re. Maga myi de gaw Church gaw makam masham hpe madung tawn na shinggyim uhpawng a makam the thung hking hpe gashatawn dusat hte masha hpe jashai na si mani ai the Karai a simani tsawm htap ai hpe ta tut hkrang shala rai gun hpai ai gaw Church a daw jau ai

lam re. Dai majaw n dai Christmas poi byin wa na matu shat gawk the nawku na shara kaw mawn sumli woi ai the madi na lahkawng yen a magam amu bungli myit hkum let ngut ai shaloi gaw ngwi pyaw simsa let myit pyaw lam ni hpe yawng hkam la na re. N dai lam hku nna Church daw the State a daw hpe chye na let shalen mayu ai hku re.

Lahkawng yen gaw kaning rai nna sa ra a ta nga jang gaw? Shinggyim uhpawng hpe gaw gap ai lam hta lahkawng yan gaw nnga nmai re majaw lit hpe myi yat na shat gawk bungli the mawng sumli ai bungli shi a shingra sat lawat hpe yu ginhka la chye jang church hte state a shai ai hku na galaw gun ai daw the anhte chye na mai ai. Gashatawn maw sumli ai ni a lahpran kaw shat gawk de na shat gawk kaw manam shagram let nampan kaw wa jum lawm ai rai yang mawn sumli ni a myit manawn kaw ra ai kun nga yang akajawng has shahte ni n tsawm n htap ai hkum sa hkra nga tsun wa chye ai the maren, kalang lang gaw church up hkang ai daw dan ai gin ra hkan state du ni sa gayau lam sai kaw na gaw sai kap ai awu asin rai dingbai dingla sa jaw ai hku myit la wa chye ai. Dai majaw church the ai magam kaw state a masa hta hkan rai nna daw dan ra ai mung masa mungga ga si ga ngau dai ni the ga up nna daw dan ai rai yang church a Karai kasang the sent ai chyoi pra ai magam hpe n tsawm n htap ai hku na sa shabyin dat ai zawn re ni nga wa ai. Maga myi de gaw langai myi rai jang shat gawk bungli galaw taw ai kaw nampan mawn ai ni gaw ngut sai law nga na shat gawk bungli kaw sa wa sa i nga jang shat gawk shan tawk the shakau yen ai ni gaw nngut hkraw tem tsam htap taw ai mawn sumli ai ni hpe mu jang shan the a bungli hpe she malap hkra lawan ngut mayu rai wa ai dai re majaw Mung up ai asuya a magam kaw hpung magam bungli hku nna shang lawm gun hpai ai daw ni sa shang lawm jang gaw state hku nnan makam masham lam hta mung shang lawm wa sai re majaw dai kaw shan the gayau gumchya na ngun shatai kau ai grau nna tinang galaw ra ai bungli kaw wuhpung wuhpawng hkum sumhpa yawng shang lawm ai ngu ai hpe n gun la sa mat wa lu ai. Dai majaw mungdan up hkang ai lam kaw hpung de na ni sa lawm jang gaw mungdan asuya a matu kabu hpa ngun nnan tai mat wa ai.

Mang hkang gaw nnga ai rai yang sung ai hku na daw dan ai dap kaw bai sa shang lawm sa i nga jang state hku na gaw ndai hpung woi ni hpe daw dan ai lam kaw pyi garai nsa tsun ai kaw na myit la rai nna hpung magam gun ni nang kaw sa tsun ai rai yang anhte a daw dap kaw stun hkat ra ai lak nak hpai ra ai lam daw dan ai lam kaw dingbai dingna shabyin ai nga ning mu chyawm e nga ai. Dan re majaw lahkawng maga shinggyin uhpawng hpe woi awng ai lam hta myiyat tsun ai the maren nnga nmai re ai hpe ahkyak shatai tatut asung jashawn lu na matu gaw state the seng, up hkang ai the seing ai mung masa mung ga myi jut hku hprut rai chye tsun mat wa jang gara kaw sa shaga tim mang hkang nnga ai. Church the seng ai mung ga ni mung shi a magam amu a na lak nak kaba gaw hpa baw rai ta nga shaloi? Shi a mung ga majing gaw Karai Kasang a mung ga maging hpe jai lang nna daw dap shgu kaw lam ang ai hte maren tsun mat wa jang kade a matu mung mang hkang nnga ai n gun lu hpa tai ai. Dai majaw masha gaw nbung na re masha langai myi kaw mug masa the seng na da hpung the seng na da kalang lang gaw ginrun na gun hpai ra ai lit ni nga ai. Anhte a labau kaw 1890 ning kaw na 1940 ning laman kaw na Britist ni a anhte hpe up hkang lam kaw jai lang ai ladat yu ai shaloi tinang amyung ai shara kaw tinang a na du, salang ni hpe up hkang aya jaw ai. Gashatawn ndai mungji de na Hpung shwi du wa Maran Zau La hpe 'Wunji' ngu ai arawng aya hpe ap dat ai shaloi buga hpung kaw na hpung tau hku na mung jai lang a sung jashawn mat wa ai. Kutkai mare kaw na Kareng Hkam ndai ni shi e mung ndai uphkang ay ajaw ai tte maga myi de

hpungtau hku na shi e mung shatsam mat wa ai. Dai majaw masha langai myi hpe church the state the ginrun na gun hpai shangun ai re majaw n mai jahka ai zawn gaw re tim shanthe galaw ai hpe yu mat wa ai shaloi kam sham the seng ai daw dan ai kaw du sa I nga jang kam sham ai the seng ai hpe sha san san hpe sha tsun shaga mat wa ai lam hpe mu ai. Ngut jang mung masa daw dap kaw du sa I nga jang gaw hta Karai Kasang a mungga hpung the seng ai hku nre ai sha mung masa daw dap the seng ai gasi hpe asan sha tsun shaga mat wa ai lam hpe mu lu ai. Dai majaw masha gaw lahkawng maga bungli gun hpai ai raitim garan ginhka na tsun shaga tsun shaga mat wa ai. Rai jang gaw anhte kaji kawa ni dai hku n awoi lang ai. Nkau myi de gaw state the church a up hkang ai lam kaw shinggyim masha hku yu yang lahkra the lapai lata the bung ai. Lahkawng yen nlang nmai re, bai hpung sara a amu madung gaw hkra lata maga ngu ai chyum lai ka ngu ai mungga gaw shi a madun rai nga ai tim shi a daw chyen rai ng ai lapai lata gaw sha a kap nang nga ai. Dai majaw bungli madung rai nga ai ra kaji the ra kaba lahkawng zawn ndai state the church up hkang ai the seng ai kaw lapai lahkra lata zawn rai galoi mung byin pru nga ai. Ga shatawn ndai lapai lata man ai wa gaw lapai ma madung dat na sak hkrung ai. Lahkra the n gun dat madun ai lahkra the man ai hku na sak hkrung ai. N dai gaw minor the major bungli hpe masha hkumnau shagu lu ai the bung ai. Major bung li hpe galaw na matu hpa baw hpe shawng shagut ra a ta minor bung li ngu ai dia hpe shawng shagut la rai na major hpe shabyin ai zawn, Major bungli hpe n mu mada ai sha dai minor kaw sha gum nya mat wa sa nga jang lapai hte nai zep ai zawn nkung kyang ai madung nre hku the sak hkrung ai mat wa chye lahkawng a matu akyu nbyin chye ai. Lapai lahkra lahkawng gayau gum nya kau na n mai lang ai ngu dai hku rai wa ai.

Q: Kalang myi sara kaba Ja Gun Tsun ai na ga ai Amareican ni a seperation of chuch and state garai n pru wa shi yang na mabyin hta shi gaw ga shadawn jaw na tsun ai ndai hpung up mung rai mungdu mung rai wa gaw nawku jawng kaw tsawra myit the seng ai mara dat ya the seng na mung ga hkaw rai na loi hkring gaw mara tawt lai ai ndai mung masa hta tara tawt lai wa hpe gyit majaw let shi kaw woi sa wa shaloi jang ndai kaw clash mai byin wa na kun? Shara tsun mat wa ai kaw na major hte manor lapran mai byin wa na kun shing nrai yang de ntsa kaw chyena shut wa na kun?

A: n dai gaw yawng hpe anhte Chriatian rai sai gaw christian mu jut hku n ahtai ra ai . Chyum laika hta mung masa hte shang lawm, nshang lawm mai ai bai kaning re hpe mara shagun mai nmai ai nga jang gaw. Majan gaw mungshawa n madat n mara ai ni hpe gara hku galaw na , majana hpe gara hku mu lu ai. Mungshawa n madt mara asu ya langai a daw dan ra ai magam amu re. Dai hpe chyum lai ka hta madi shadawn da ai hpe chye ra ai. Ndai kaw Pacific ni rai jang gaw arawn alai hku na da mungga hku na da, mungmasa majan, mara jaw mai ai nmai ai ngu ni gaw shut ai lam ni re. Yesu a mungga rai nga ai matai htang n mai nga ai hta npawt shatai na n jaw ai hpe njaw ai hku matai hkum htang ngua I hpe npawt shatai na ningre bungli gaw yesu a bungli the n htang shai ai majaw nmai shang lawm ai nga ai. Activite ngu ni a nseng gaw majan the mungshawa n madat n mara bungli ni gaw chyum laika kaw Roma 13 hpe la rai na mungup asuya, mungdu ni gaw Karai Kasang a shangun da ai nchyang mayam ni lakung lakap ni re majaw mahkra shanhte daw dan ai hpe hkannan hkan sa ra ai. Ndai shanghte a lam kaw hkansa ai gaw jaw ai shang lawm mai. Mara yu ai hpe gaw ning pawt hta hkan na Slativit ngu ai justic galaw la ai, shi a mabyin hta hkan nnan daw dan ai baw she re tara ai majan n tara ai majan hpe yu na daw dan ai baw she re nga ai. Chruch

seperation nrain sa ten masha n bung ai majaw ndai lam masum hpe npawt shatai na hkannan hkansa ma ai ngu ai hpe mu lu ai hku re. Dai majaw sin praw hkan de na ni gaw kayau gumchya na langai hku rai sa taw ai, tim American ni gaw chyum lai ka kaw na madi shataw ai langai hpe la rai na shanhte a mungdan a tara hpung a tara kaw da dai hku na garan kumran rai daw dan ai. Anhte Jinghpaw ni Christain hpung ni gaw American ni sasana hkring thawng hpe lu la ai majaw dai hpe tatut luhkan tim nlu hkan tim dai hkap la shakut nga ai re. Rai yang tatut kaw anhte a masa gaw shanglawt lu tim dai shanglawt hpe lata kaw manat jailang lu hkra shakut nga ai re. Daini du hkra anhte pandung kaw nawku hpung the up hkan ai lam kumran ai hku na sa mayu ga ai rai tim tatut kaw gaw anhte gaw langai sha hku na matut na sa taw ai zawnre hpe mu lu ai.

Q: dai hku nga jang ya yang na anhte a buga the mahta na shara mu mada ai ahte a state a church a relationship gaw sara hku na yu jaw dum ngun yu lu dum ai kun? Shing nrain yang kaga masa hku mu ai kun? State ngu ai kaw gaw Myen mung asu ya nga na maga myi de anhte minority re majaw anhte Jinghpaw myu sha hpyen hpung ni nga na ndai lapran anhte na nature kaw nbung taw ai majaw nde a ntsa shara gara hku mu mada ai kun?

A: Ndai daw gaw anhte myen mung gaw myi kaw na church the state lahkawng hpe garan kumran na yu mat wa ai shaloi gaw hpa majaw KBC na hka lup makam gaw kumran ra ai ngu ai gaw KBC a makam kri dun lagnai hku n ahang lawn ma tawn da ra a ta? Ndai mabyin gaw 1960 ning hkan UNU asuya ten kaw mundan ting hpe Budah mungdan shatai re ndai gaw n kaja nga ai re ngu ai mahkrum hpe lu ai re majaw re. Christan rai tim Christan mungdan asuya wa byin tai mat wa tim Christan asuya nre sha Christan makam hpe hkap la ai Jinghpaw mung up du ni tai mat wa hkrai tim Christian mungdan nmai shabyin ai ngu ai hpe shanhte hkap la lu sai re majaw law malawng gaw galoi mung dinghta mungkan lam hpe shanang ai secularism ngu ai enlish latin hku rai na ai 'time' ngu ai aten rai nga ai. Mundan a ya yang na aten, kaning re masha ni up nga ai ngu ai hpe tsun mayu ai. Dai zawn htung hking nbung makam nbung ni rau shanu nga ai aten re majaw anhte mungdan hta dai ni ra sharawng ai amyu nbung, makam nbung re hpe gara hku na tara upade ni hpe gyin shalat mat wa ai shaloi gaw hpa baw hpe madung tawn na ra sharawng a ta ngai hku na mung byin shangun mayu ai byin yang mai na re yu ai shloi gaw ndai dinghta mungkan hpe npawt tawn ai secularism jaw ai masa re ngu mu lu ai hku re. Dai majaw anhte mungtan hta yayang sa taw ai dai hku na mung mulu tim gashatawn anhte mundan makawp maka dap ni nnan hpaw wa ten hta Kawng Hka kaw gawkung galaw ai shaloi anhte a ningbaw ni gawkung galaw ai lam hta ngun jaw, shanhte nan mung ta tut wa hkungga ai zawn re ni, Pang wa de na ning baw ningla ni dai zawn ngun jaw ai ten gashatawn mungup asuya hkring mang daju Hkin Nyun a ten hta anhte chrisntan ningbaw ningla tai taw nga ai ni htaw kaw ssa hkung ga lam rai jang anthe shingdu de na masha gaw grai jahpyak lam ni hpe mung mu lu ai. Raitim tinang mungdan hpe simsa primen hkra tara rap ra hku na up hkan ai ngu jang gaw mungup asuya ni na matu gaw kaning re makam masham hpe tim maren mara karum shingtau lam phe mungmasa mujut hku dai hku daw dan mat wa ai hpe chye na ya ra ai. Daini gaw anhte mungdan dai zawn re chyena ai lam kaw ngun naw yawm taw ai. Dai majaw dai ni KBC hku nna woi awn mat wa ai hkying ten hta hpa baw kaw shanang mat wa a ta nga yang? Ndai majan mahpan kaw grau nna ngun wa dat taw ai shaloi gaw chyum laika the nhtan shai mat wa ai zawn re hku na mu mada ya ai law taw nga

ai. Hpa majaw nga yang shi a mungdan the shi a dinghpring ai lam hpe shawng tam u nga na Karai up ai lam hpe shawng tam na matu chyum laika kaw tsun da ai nga yang anhte amyuni a ta tut magam bung li gaw mungdan she kanu shanwg lawt she kanu amyuni a masa madaw shi a ningshawng tawn ra ai maga hpe grau na woi sa mat wa ai hpe mu lu ai. Dai majaw ndai gaw shut a ta nga ta myi yet ngai tsun mat wa ai secularism ngu ai aten masa hta mahta na ningpawt shatai na woi awn ra ai ten re ngu majaw dai ni anhte a christian hpung ginjaw kaw na woi jasat sa ai mung aten hta hkan nna daw dan mat wa ai woi ka ai I dan re masa naw rai nga ai ngu ngai hku na chye na ya ai. Rai yang ndai majan shabyin ai lam hpe hpa majaw ngun jaw ra ata? Ngun njaw ra a ta? Dai shaloi anhte nannan yubak galaw ai a marang e Karai a ga hpe n madat ai marang e majan gasat ra a my re ngu ai dai hkring htawng hpe kaja wa nan hkap la ai ni a hking htawng matu anhte wa tai taw sai re majaw gara hku myi majan n kam kasat ai ngu tsun tim ntsun tim Karai nan chyum lai ka kaw tsun da sia mabyin hpe anhte nan shachyaw hkap la taw sai re majaw anhte gaw shangwng lawt lutim nlutim ya yanng na mara rai tim n rai tim pyaw mat ma tim anhte shanglawt a matu gaw galoi mung ding yang majan kasat sa ra hpan re ngu hpe chyum lai ka htat nna madun da ai. Tara Jahparang 5□□:7; 7:5 dai kaw yu ai shaloi hkanan mung de shang wa ai shaloi hkanan mung dan kaw nga ai gawk ngu sumla ma hkra hpe jahten kau mu shanhte num hpe hkumla nanhte kasha ni hpe mung hkum jaw ya hkum jaw sha Mawshe a ngup hku na Karai Kasng tara jahprang ai raitim Mawshe si mat ai hpang na shi a lahpa galai ai Yawshu wa hkanan mung de tatut majan kasat shang mat wa ai hkyingten kaw kyinyu ni hpe shalawt dat ai shawa num dum nta ni gaw nanhte Israela hpyen hpung ndai de shang sai nga jang ahwa ni hpe chyeju madun rit nga ai the maren chyeju htang ai hku na jahku jahkau la ai. Shekem mare kaw na hpyen hpung ni gaw Israela hpung shinngkang hpe na lu ai majaw anhte gaw n gasat na ga ai nga ai majaw jinghku hku na nga ga ai nga na sa pang la kau ai dat ai majaw shang mat wa sa. Rai jang gaw KK matsuna ai the maren Isreala masha ni Hkanan mung shang mat wa shaloi jan she hpyi jahkring rai hkra kasat shang mat wa ai. Ngam ai nkau gaw jinghku hku na shang mat wa ai majaw Yawshu si ai the gaw Tara Agyi ni a ten hta gaw Tara Agyi 2:1-11 yu ai shaloi nanhte ngai matsun da ai ga hpe n madat myit dai”. Tara Agi 3:1-6 kaw gaw “ nanhte ngai tsun ai ga hpe n madat ai sha ndai ni the jing hku hku na pawng la manit dai majaw ya kaw na nanhte a grup yin na hpyen ni hpe ngai n shaza kau sana , ndai hpyen lahpran kaw nanhte nhtu nwa lang lak nak lang rai nna mungmasa hku nna nga mat wa mu masat kau dat sai . Dai ten kaw na Isrealite ni Karai Kasang up ngu na chye na ai tara agyi ni prat kaw na Israela amyuni ai gaw majan gasat ai amyuni ni ding yang rai mat wa ai. Dai hkring htawng hpe anhte makam masham hku n anhte hkap la sai re majaw Karai a my rai tim majan ngu gaw galoi mung kasat ra amyuni rai taw nga ai . Ndai gaw shi a amyuni masha a na Karai Karang dun kayin ai lam, hkan la shakung jahpan ai lam n dai majam kaw gaw majan gasat ai lam re. Karai nan shabyin da ai ai lam re majaw dai mahkrun kaw anhte nkam timung anhte gaw naw hkan ra nga ga ai. Ngai hku na anhte a mu jut hku na gaw dia ni na ahte a majan n hpan lam kaw makam masham hpung hku na ngun atsawm myi alu rai na shang lawm taw ai gaw naw mai hkap la ai daw rai nga ai ngu hku na mu lu ai hku re. Rai yang shinggyin masha ma hkra matu chyawm e gaw Karai Kasang a magam amu shi tsun ai lam hpe hkan nan hkan sa ra ai. Dai ni Yesu a anhte Christan mujut hku na christan the seng ai magam bungli ngu ai gaw hpa baw rai ta nga shaloi gaw? Yahan 6:29 yu jang dai Karai Kasang dat dat ai wa a ga hpe madat mara na matu sha re ai. Nga jang gaw Karai a ga madat ai ngu mung masa, hpung kata daw dap kaw rawng ai ni ma hkra gaw Yesu a ga madat na sak hkurng ra ai lam sha

rai taw ai. Hpa majaw majan kasat ai kaw Yesu gaw myidi ship rai na; hki ba la nna litli gun ai ni yawng the e ngai kaw wa marit nga nna Mathe 11:28 kaw hpa baw na dai zawn tsun a ta hkyi ba la nna litli gun ai ni hpe bansa shangun na shalawt dat na maka hpe shapraw lu na matu gaw Karai a mungga hpe madat jang gaw shang lawm mai n mai ngu ai the seng na yu yang dai ni anhte gaw hung sara langai chye ra ai gaw hpung up wa e na a sagu ni gaw kadai rai ma ta? Na a hpung masha kadai rai ta? hpe chye yang gaw mungdan asuya a woi hparan ai lam kaw shang lawm na nshang lawm na gaw na a hpung masha kadai re hpe nang chye jang gaw gaka n shaleng ra ai. Na a hpung masha kadai rai ta nga yang gaw masha wa a adip arip rai na shagyeng rai nna chyawm wang tawn rai na hpyen hpung ni hpe e woi awng taw nga ai hpyen hpung ni hpe shagyen g rai nna nye a myu ni nye a hpyen hpung ni hpe ya ning rai nna hpyen wa wang tawn ai hpe ngai gara hku dawdan ra ai kun? Hpyen wa kaw lak nak jahkrana kun njahkrak na kun jahkrat ai rai yang a myu matu nra yawng htum ma si htum ma pala, lak nak, gumhpraw mung nlaw masha mung n grung ningre hkying ten kaw ngai gara hku daw dan na ta? Masha sat ai amu mung n kam tim galaw ra sat ra nga na tim grai myidi shim di dung taw ai wa gaw kadai rai ta nga yang hpung up wa e shaloi gaw. Nye a hpung masha ajet rai nga ai hpyen du wa gaw hpung masha re chye ai shaloi gaw. Hpyen du wa a mu gaw mung massa hpyen masa she re majaw ngai hpung sara wa the nsen gai nga na hprawng kau da ai wa rai yang gaw. Nang gaw na a sagu hpe hpa zawn n nawn ai wa ahkrak nsha tawn ai wa sagu rem wa kaja nre ngu ai de du mat wa na re. Dai majaw Yesu tsun ai bawng dung htawng rawng ai ni hpe shalawn ai hpe shalawt na matu du sa ai re ngu ai dai hpe hkap la ai hpungup wa a majam lit amu gaw. Dai ni anthe mungdan gaw du hka tsin yam hkrum nna daw dan na matu lahtan salat pru taw ai hpyen du ni a mang hkang hpe kachyi myi sha pyi myi n jahpaw la mung ga njaw la woi n gun atsawm njaw ya yang gaw shang lawt ngu ai gaw gara nga a ta II Cor 3:17 kaw dai Karai a woingyi nga ai shara shagu kaw shang lawt ngu ai nga ai. Shanglawt ngu ai gaw tinang kam ai hku na wanglu wang lang ngu na sawn la ni a matu gaw. Shanglaw t gaw tinang nang gun hpai ang ai galaw ang ai magam lit hpe atsawm rai na tatut hakrang shala lam she re. Ndai hku na chye na mat wa sa nga jang Yesu tsun ai shanglawt tai na matu ngai nanhte hpe shalawt dat ni ai. Gasa Paulu gaw Galati 5:1 kaw tsun da ai gaw dai mayam kangdang kaw hkum bai a chya nga, dai re majaw Yesu the Pawlu tsun ai Chrsitain ni gaw nnan hpan aiai amu nga jang gaw nnan hpan ai lit ningnan hpe atsawm rai na hkap la galaw gunhpai lu ai ndai gaw shang lawt majaing rai nga ai. Ndai shang lawt tam ai ndai kaw hpung up sara ni atsawm rai na hpung bungli galaw lu na matu gin shalat dat ai amu hta hpan da amu langai re majaw dai ni na hpung masa hku nna mu mada ai kaw gaw hpung bungli re ngu tim hpung anhte a sara ni a majam a mu gaw rawt malan ai shawng lawt tam ai kaw madung dat na shakut lawm nga ai lam gaw jaw ai re ngu na ngai hku na chye na ai hpe tsun mayu ai hku re.

Q: Sara sang lang dan ai kaw chye na ai daram nga jang dai ni na 'secular' aten hta mahta na sara hku na mu mada ai gaw anhte nawku hpung hku na me e hpung hpe woi awng ai ning baw nignla langai hku na amysha hku na tsap ai rai na i? Myen mung dan a mung chying sha langai rai sai majaw myen mungdan a mungchying sha ngu ai hku na tsap nga ai i? Shing nrai Karai a kasha image of God ngu ai ndai kaw tsawp na i? Ndai masum garahku shing nrai yang yang gara hku tsap ra na gara hku sa ra nga ngu ai hpe sara gara hku mu mada ai kun?

A: Dai ni gaw Karai Kasang hpe anhte gaw 'Wa Karai Kasang' ngu tsun ai rai itm dai hpa majaw 'Wa' ngu tsun ra a ta nga dai hpe n myit ai hku na sak hkrung ai law nga ai. Dai majaw asan sha tsun ga ng ajang Karai a kasha majing hku n ayin la hkam la Karai kasang hpe mung Kawa majing hku na hkap la ai rai yang gaw anhte a shut shai ai myit ningma ni ana ahkra ni gaw nrawng na re ngu hkap la ai. Dai majaw Karai a kasha majin hku na anhte myen mung dan kaw sak hkrung ra ai shaloi she Karai a majin hku na sak hkrung ai ngu ai gaw nang masha re the maren sak hkrung ai Karai jaw ai thungking the lit dai hpe gara amyuu ni hpe gaw kaning re htungking nga ai majaw dai a my re ngu ginghka nna amyuu ga mung nbung ai hku na nga ai majaw dai timang a amyuu ga majing lang nna sak hkrung ai dai hpe sharawt ai hku na shinggyim masha a laprawn kaw sak hkrung ai gaw Karai a kasha majing tai ai. Kawa nlu ai galoi mung hkrit gari let sak ai ni ngu sak hkrung ra ai dai gaw madung re ngu na mu lu ai hku re. Rai yang dai atsawng de nchye na ai marang e nga jang anhte hpa baw myit mat wa a ta. Ndai nationalism ngu ai my sha lam yan masa hpe madung dat na sak hkrung mat wa ai myit gyit gyeng ai tai na kadai the nmai kanawn ai shing gyim u hpawng kaw myit hkrum ga nga na tinang nan woi garan ai jasat hpe jaw mat wa ai dai majaw myu tsaw ai ngu ai re tim myu tsaw ai a lachyum gaw shai mat wa ai . Myu tsaw ai a lachym majin gaw Karai shabyin ai Karai amyuu re ka sha re ngu asan chye na ai ni a matu gaw Karai a shatai la ai amyuu hpan hku na sak hkrung jan g gaw nang hpe nhkung ga na lam n nga ai sa jahka n alam mung nng ai. Dai majaw amyuu majanign my sha lam yen de a majing gaw gara hku na htai ra ata Karai Kasang jaw ya ai mu jun maga hku na anhte htai la ai hku rai yang jaw ai lam re. Nrai sa i nga jang myu tsaw masa nga jang gaw dai ni anhte nre hku na mu lu ai nga jang gaw myu tsaw ai ngu ai gaw tinang a na masat da ai lamu ga gai wang hta shanu ng ai ni amyuu ru sai ni sha yu na anhte mungmasa sut masa lam de dai de shanang galaw gun hpai mat wa sa nga jang mung masha ni the mung myen mungdan a mungcying masha majing re ngu hkap la nga sak hkrung ai rai tim kaga nbung ai mungchying masha ni kanawn na matu grai bai yak mat wa ai. Dai majaw ginlawm masa ang na matu gaw Karai Kasan g gaw yawng hpe ginlawm lu ai ginlawm na shaga ai Karai Kasang a hpang hkan anhte rai sai re majaw shi mahkrun hkun ahkan jang gaw yawng hpe ginlawm nasa ai hku na anhte daw dan jang gaw grau na kaja hku na byin ra ai.

Q: dai nga jang gaw ndai hta mahta na Jing hpaw re majaw teng man ai hku dai hku nre sha Karai a kashu kasha ni anhte Jing hpaw sa tai nga sai majaw teng man ai lam hkan ai ding hpring ai de hkan ai ngu ai Karai Kasang a kasah ngu ai kaw anthe madung dat ra na dai masa re ka nga i?

A: Teng man ai nga jang gaw teng man ai lam htaw BC labau kaw na Myit sawn hpaji ning hkring ni Yesu masha hku rai n dan shi ai ten kaw na teng man ai lam hpe tam taw ai rai nga ai shinggyim masha gaw. Dai majaw myit sawn hpaji ning hkring ni gaw teng man ai lam gaw hpa baw re ta? Tengman ai lam tinannng nan teng man ai lam hpe nchye ai wa gaw teng man ai lam hpe gara hku n lu galaw ai nga na tsun ai. Teng man ai lam ngu ai gaw tinnga a na machye machang the maren chye myit chye mang ai dai madaw she teng man ai lam re dai hku nrai sa I nga jang Roman myit sawn hpaji the gaup ai Heleni hku na myit mat wa ai sinna dan myit sawn hpa ji hku n ang aai nga jang e tinang a machye machyang hku n anga ai hku nre sha manang a madun ai hku na sak hkung ai shaloi ai na a matu i jaw a ta n jaw ai nteng ai de re majaw teng man ai lam ngu ai gaw tinan g a myit kaw na chye myit chye mang machye machang ai lu la ai gaw teng man ai lam re.

Langai bai tsun ai gaw Teng man ai lam ngu ai gaw nga ging ngara ai shara ai kaw re the maren nga ai dai gaw tengman ai lam re. Yesu bai tsun ai gaw teng man ai lam gaw shinggyim masha ni tsun hku nre sha teng man ai shi hkum nan re nga dai hpe tsun ai . Dai ni na teng man ai lam hpe tam ai shaloi mung anthe hpe shalawt dat nga re majaw dai teng man ai lam hpe lu jahkang la ra nga ai.

Q: Maisa sara bai thing nut ai hku na myi sha sara tsun ai mungdaw gaw shatdap the bung ai nawku bung gaw mawnsumli hta hkan nna me e, dai ni anhte mu mada ai dai ni anhte nawku hpung ni gaw mawn sumli ai hpe kaja wa nan atsawm sha galaw taw sai kun? Dai the maren mung daw asuya shanhte mung dai hpe atsawm galaw taw sai kun? Dai hpe sara gara hku na mu mada ai?

A: shawng de gaw mung daw hpe woi awn ai ni gaw tinang kam ai nat hpara ni hpe shaga la nna majan gasat lai wa sai majaw mung dan ngu ai pyi garai nchye tsun tsinlum nchye gaw ten kaw nna shinggyim masha galoi mung nmu lu ai n gun hpe shamyet shanat nga ai. Dai ni na mung dan asuya mung gashadawn ya yang na hpyen asuya du hkra ndai mandan lawkle ni hpe e ningpawt shatai na mungdan hpe up hkan ai dai hku ngai ai. Dan re kaw anhte a myu sha ning baw ningla ni hku na mung lai wa sai hkying ten hta mung gumgun gumhpai nat ni hpe ngun la na majan rawt ai lam nga ai. Ndai gumgun gumhpai nat a ngu gaw dai ni na ginlawm masa hku tsun ga nga ayang amyu baw the seng ai naw hpung hpe hkan na majan woi rawt lai wa sai. Dai ni na hkying ten hta gaw Yesu na tara hpe lu la sai majaw anthe a mundan asu ya tai taw nga ai hpaawn ni hpe yu ai shaloi gaw Karai a mungga hpe ningpawt shatai rai nna daw dan mat wa ai lam hpe law malawng mu mada mat wa sai. Dai ni na nawku hpung ni gaw mawn sumli ai bungli hpe galaw ai daw de shang tsap taw nga ai sai ngu re hpe mu lu ai . Hpa majaw nga yang myi moi gumgun gumhpai ni hpe la rai mungkan hpe woi awn rai na daw dan mat wa ai shaloi gaw masan sa lam nmu ai ngu hpe mung up du ni hku na chye na mat wa ai. Ndai gaw kade a majaw Karai a mungga hpe hkaw tsun ai ni a mahtai ra. Dai majaw anthe buga a hpung hpe woi awn ai ni Karai a mawn sumli hpe woi galaw ai ngu ai de a mahtai hpe mu lu magang sai nug hpe mu lu ai hku re.

Q: Nawku hpung mung nawku hpung a bungli hpe galaw taw sai ngu na anhte dai hku mu lu nga sai masa re ka re I?

A: re Mung ga kaw n pawt shatai na asuya magam gun ni share shagan ni hpe mungga hpe npawt shatai na awng dang ai lam tatut mu ai shaloi gashadawn hpung shara ni pyi mungga nhkaw yang hpendu ni pyi mungga hpe npawt shatai hkaw tsun mat wa ai hpe mu lu ai. Mung up ai ni a ntsa Karai Kasang a mungga tara nhtoi tsim shang mat sai majaw dai ma hkrun kaw gaw hkan mat wa ai hpe mu lu ai.

Q: Raisa, Sara tsun ai mungdaw ngu na gaw grau na anhte a shang lawt asuya hpe madi mayu re ka rai nga ai i?

A: Rai nga ai . Mungdaw mung dan nga jang gaw anhte na gashadawn tsun ga nga yang shang lawt ngu na anhte a Wunpawng Mungdan Shanglawt ndai hpe shanang na tsun zawn rai tim ndai mungdan makawk maga ai uhpung uhpawng ni ma hkra dai mahkrun hta hkan mat wa ai majaw yawng hpe hkyam na tsun ai lam rai sai.

Q: Shaloi jang sara hku na ya matut na hpa baw lam ni jahpring shatsup mayu ai kun? Ya na church state relation the seng na shawng de gara hku ya na hta mahta na gau gaja ai gara masa hku sa mat wa yang grau awng dang mat wa na, mai kaja lam de rai mat wa ngu ai sara hku na kaga hku na ning mu hku i? mahkrun nga ai rai jang...

A: Nye a bying shangun mayu ai ning mu nga jang kara hku rai tim tangdu hkra galaw na magam amu dai hpe lata ai lam hta tinang myit lawm ai dai hpe grau na la lata mat wa ra sai dai hpe mu lu ai hku re. Dai majaw ndai lam langai hta madung dat na hkawm shangun mat wa mayu ai ndai gaw shinggyim mayu gaw hpyi sep hkat ai masha hpawng shabya ai magam amu re ai. Dan re majaw hpyi sep hkat ai hku nre sha hprang shatsawm ai dai kaw hpa baw jai lang ra a ta nga shaloi mung masa daw dap hta shang lawm ai wa gaw mung masa mungga hte anhte a kaji kadun nga ai nchye ai ni hpe chye na hkra galaw kaw mungmasa mung ga hpe asan hprung hprut lu jaw na lu hkaw tsun hku na asan sang chyang wa hkra lam madun lu ai masha ra sai dai hku ria wa ra sai. Maga myi de Karai Kasang a mungga hpe tangdu ai hku na mungga ntawng nhtu the hput hput lu madi madun hkaw mazum ai dai de sa wa ra sai ngu hpe nga hku na hkap la ai. Dai majaw anhte shanglawk law magam a mu lawt wa na kaw mung masa na da wenyi hku na da koi yen nmai re re tim aten masan ginra hta hkan tinang gara daw dap kaw dung taw nga sai re tsawm tawa ai ginra hta hkan na daw dan gwi ai tsun shaga gwi ai gwi ai the maren chye ai up nawng ai up nang ai kaw nchye tim myi di chyip rai sam ai ning mu dai gaw galoi mung alawm ra ai shaloi she na a ap nawng ai lam gaw nang hpe lit grau na shatsang na re. Ap nawng ai kaw ning mu dam lada ai hta ap nawng sa ra ai. Dan re byin wa hkra anhte madung dat ai langai myi re hkum ding nun shahkum shatsun la ai hpe jahkum na madung de du hkra sa mat w ra ai . Timang myit lawn gai kaw gwi lata la na anhte tsap lu ai rai yang nbung ai amy my the bung ai pang dung kaw lakung lakap jahkum hku na sa wa ra na . Dia majaw mungmas, sut mas, lai li lai ka , nga rem ai kaw na yu sun galaw ai mahkra gaw tinang man ang taw ai bung li kaw nye a bungli ndai ngu ht shawng lam de tang du hkr mung dan hpe hpung phe kaw jawng ai ni shang lawm ai ni . Ning mu atsawm marai nbung ai asi hpe jaw dat ya lu ai ni tai shangun mayu sai.

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