



PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS OF
THE NEW LIGHT OF MYANMAR

MAY KYAW OO

A THESIS SUBMITTED
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURES
MA-ELL

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ENGLISH (GSE)
ASSUMPTION UNIVERSITY
BANGKOK, THAILAND.

NOVEMBER 2009

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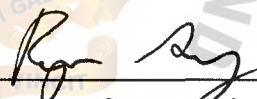
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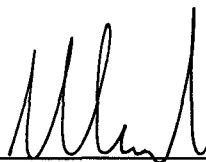
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PLAGIARISM STATEMENT

I hereby certify that all materials in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and acknowledged, and that no material is included for which a degree has already been conferred upon me.



May Kyaw Oo
(Signature)

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Abstract

This thesis, entitled “Propaganda Analysis of *The New Light of Myanmar*,” examines *The New Light of Myanmar*, a state-owned newspaper of Myanmar to discuss the possibility of the newspaper being a propaganda tool used by the powerful elite in the country to influence the perceptions of the readers by disseminating selected information which support the propagandists' causes. The thesis follows a Propaganda Model developed in reference to Jowett-O'Donnell's Propaganda Analysis Techniques (*Propaganda and Persuasion*). The data used in this thesis have been collected from the periodicals printed between January 2006 and August 2009. This thesis argues that the newspaper can be used to influence the majority of people and that by reading a newspaper of a country, we can learn about the status of the freedom of the press in that particular country, the newspaper owner's policies towards other countries and local opposition groups, the newspaper's expectations and presumptions of the readers, and its objective of being a newspaper, that is, whether its purpose is to serve the reader by giving them relevant and useful news or whether it is used solely as a powerful information disseminator presenting carefully chosen information or misleading information to control the audience's understanding of a situation in favor of the powerful elite or, in other words, the propagandist.

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Chapter (1): Introduction

The first issue of a newspaper in Burma was published on 3 March, 1836. The newspaper in question was *The Moulmein Chronicle*. It was also the first English newspaper to be published in Burma. It was published by American missionaries with the aim of educating the Burmese people who were under British rule at that time. Seven years after publishing *The Moulmein Chronicle*, Burma had the first Burmese language newspaper, *The Religious Herald*. It was also produced by the missionaries with the aim of spreading Christianity. Apart from being published in the Burmese language, that newspaper was printed in Karen, the language of one of the major ethnic groups in Burma. After the emergence of *The Moulmein Chronicle*, many other newspapers appeared in print in the territories which were under British. Some of those whose records can be found include *The Rangoon Daily Mail*, *Moulmein Free Press*, *Daily Review*, *British Burma Review*, *Advertiser*, *Bassein News*, *Arakan News*, *Pegu Gazette*, and *The Rangoon Times*.

Although numerous newspapers were printed at that time, they were usually short-lived and lasted for not more than one year on the average, because of the ongoing wars between the British and the Burmese monarchy. In 1874, Burmese King Min Don started the first official newspaper to be produced under Burmese rule, *The Mandalay Gazette*. After 1885 when Burma lost her independence, both Burmese and English language newspapers appeared under different newspaper press owners but they were all short-lived as the times then were turbulent and the owners would frequently leave or sell the newspapers to others. The period after independence also

produced a substantial amount of newspapers but they did not last long and went through name changes under different governments. As a result, at present there are two official newspapers in Burma, *The New Light of Myanmar* and *Kyemon* (*The Mirror*). Both newspapers are produced in Burmese and English at the same time. Although they are different newspapers, the contents of the newspapers remain very similar from the headlines to the editorial articles, which is the reason why only *The New Light of Myanmar* has been chosen for analysis in this thesis.

Looking back at those old newspapers can be an interesting way to study history other than reading history books. Patterns can be found concerning the newspapers' choices and omissions of news items. These newspapers also bear witness to the evolution of language and people at the same time. Official newspapers produced by governments can serve as their mouth-piece which relays their perceptions of the world and from reading these we can see how the governments wish to present themselves to the world. At any period in history, newspapers serve as an information provider to the mass public and because of this power to reach out to a large amount of people who want information, newspapers can sometimes be used as a tool by a powerful elite group to disseminate information to the readers which will benefit them more than it does the readers. The term "powerful elite" used here can represent several groups: the newspaper's owner, the government that can control what the newspaper writes about, and the advertisement companies that also have their preferences. The main argument of this thesis is that *The New Light of Myanmar* does not serve as much as an information provider but rather as one of the

propaganda tools used by the powerful elite in Burma to disseminate ideologies beneficial to them.

The New Light of Myanmar has been chosen for the thesis for two reasons. First of all, as a newspaper it is more influential and appears to have more readership than *Kyemon*. Secondly, there are complete sets of *The New Light of Myanmar* available on the website created by the Online Burma Library which can provide us with a substantial sample for analysis. At this point, let me briefly recount the history of *The New Light of Myanmar* to explain the amount of materials which is used in the thesis. *The New Light of Myanmar* started running in 1914 under the title, *Working People's Daily* and became nationalized in 1969 when its name was changed to the present name. It has been running for 20 years as a daily and because of that there is an abundance of information to be analyzed. Due to a time constraint, this paper focuses on the four most recent years of data only accumulated from *The New Light of Myanmar*, 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2009.

The thesis has been organised into three chapters focusing on domestic issues, international issues and the analysis of the propaganda, respectively. The first chapter will present a selection of news items taken from the domestic news section of the newspaper. The objective of this chapter is to explain how the news are presented, chosen and omitted to serve the purpose of the newspaper owner. The second chapter's objective is similar to the first, except for the fact that the data presented will be taken from the international news section. The third and the last chapter is the analysis part where some of the data presented in the previous chapters will be expanded upon and combined with additional material comprised of the editorial

articles written on the Armed Forces Day. This data will be cross-examined against a propaganda model developed in reference to the Jowett and O'Donnell's (*Propaganda and Persuasion* 275) propaganda analysis method.

The method has been chosen because the techniques used by Jowett and O'Donnell include 10 flexibly designed divisions which are meant to be used in observing the media, analysing the media and the audience's responses to the media. The techniques have not been created for one type of media only but are suitable for analysing more kinds of media, and Jowett and O'Donnell prove this by using all their techniques in their four case studies. The flexibility of the techniques is an important factor as this thesis considers one medium only, i.e. the daily newspaper. Another important benefit of using the Jowett-O'Donnell's techniques is that although originally, the authors grouped the techniques in certain order, the order can be changed and some techniques can be omitted and still can serve as a sufficient framework for this thesis.

Because the Burmese media are quite unique, analyzing them following other people's techniques can be difficult. The selected techniques used in this thesis for the sake of the analysis of *The New Light of Myanmar* and its propaganda methods have been selected as the most beneficial for the task. While there are obviously many other prominent techniques to analyze propaganda in the news, such as for instant the one developed by Chomsky and Herman in *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, or the method produced in Jacques Ellul's *Propaganda and Persuasion*, these methods are more appropriate for analyzing a genre of media system different from the Burmese media.

For example, Chomsky and Herman's method of analyzing media bias focuses on the financial dependency of newspapers and how this affects newspaper policies, content and preferences in the news coverage. This method can be more efficient if we apply it to analyzing one continuous topic only. This thesis does not focus on one singly issue, as its objective is to show that propaganda is present in all facets of the newspaper. Similarly, for Jacques Ellul's techniques, the main focus is the idea of propaganda and its motivation for existence. Ellul does not provide his readers with a how-to-analyze-propaganda model; instead he focused on bigger concepts, such as the necessity of propaganda, the role it plays in the social system, the ideology behind it and its effects and relation to democracy and public opinion. Ellul's idea of propaganda has been used in the last chapter when political ideology is analyzed in one of the steps of analyzing propaganda instead of using it as a technique to analyze propaganda itself.

Before making these analyses, it is essential to clarify the terms involved in the main argument of the thesis. In *Propaganda and Persuasion*, propaganda has been defined by Jowett and O'Donnell as a deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist (269). A similar definition is given by Jacques Ellul in *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, who describes propaganda as a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulation and incorporated in an

organization (61). The understanding of propaganda as used in this thesis has been derived from these two definitions.

In this thesis, propaganda is defined as a deliberate attempt to shape the understanding of an individual or group of people by manipulating their process of thoughts and directing their behaviour to achieve a response that supports the intent of the propagandist by disseminating information carefully selected to support their purposes through different mediums such as the press, radio, television, film, posters, slogans, billboards, education, internet, etc. depending on how powerful the propagandists are. It is quite obvious that the definition of propaganda in this thesis leans towards the purpose of propaganda. In this thesis, propaganda in the newspaper, the possible intentions of the propagandist and the purpose of the propaganda is analyzed. Because the propagandist wants to achieve certain results in the described communication process between the newspaper and its readers, the definition of propaganda in the thesis highlights the potential purposes of the newspaper.

Although different types of media are used to get through to the public, the one which will be studied is the printed press, specifically the newspaper. The newspaper as a disseminator of public information is expected to fulfil a number of criteria. Among these criteria are: providing the news in a timely manner, with proximity to the readers and their lives, and also giving priority to the news which have prominence and interest to the local people (Itule and Anderson 14). Whether *The New Light of Myanmar* achieves these goals will be discussed in the thesis.

Last but not least, when discussing the rationale for this thesis it is hard not to mention the fact that in the eyes of the world Burma is undoubtedly a nation in

trouble and its government's intent and its limitation of the freedom of press have been highly questioned. I write this thesis in hope that it will prove to be useful to anyone who is interested in knowing more about Burmese newspaper standards and the way the newspaper has been used under the rule of a powerful elite. This thesis also aims to highlight the significant role newspapers play in a totalitarian state where the government-run newspaper serves as the official mouth-piece of the government.



Chapter (2): Domestic News

Before spelling out the main focus of this chapter, let us describe the general format and layout of *The New Light of Myanmar*. On an average day, the newspaper has sixteen pages in total and about thirteen of them feature both domestic and international news. From the thirteen pages, around four to five pages are devoted to domestic news and the rest are international news. Editorials always make up either one or two pages. The remaining pages are shared between the weather reports, TV and radio schedules, government slogans, sports news, and, at very rare times, a few advertisements and condolences can be seen. The decisions as to which news is to be excluded or included in the newspaper are supposedly taken care of by the Myanmar News Agency (MNA), a sector under the Ministry of Information in Burma. *The New Light of Myanmar*, the longest-running newspaper in the country has been published since 1914 and it became nationalized in 1969 during the Socialist party rule. It is printed daily in both English and Burmese in the Berliner format (17 in x 11.5 in). It was originally known as *Working People's Daily* and the name was changed in 1993 under the present government.

This chapter focuses on analyzing the news concerned with domestic affairs. News reports on issues such as voting processes, natural disasters, multiethnic issues, everyday news of the representing bodies of the country and relationships with other countries will be brought into the spotlight to show *The New Light of Myanmar* newspaper's perspective on news reporting.

Although there is no universal method for a newspaper to follow when choosing which news are to be printed, there are some criteria which newspapers across the world comply with, a set of standards that a newspaper should follow in order to be a newspaper regardless of who owns the press agency. The criteria in question include timeliness, proximity to local readers, conflict reporting starting from the development of an issue, whether it is being resolved or not and who are the people involved, eminence and prominence to see whether events reported involve people who are noteworthy, and are the stories of human interest (Itule and Anderson p.20). As regards language and word choice, it is a common agreement between journalists across the world that the news should be “objective” and the language should be neutral. The main objective of this chapter is to build an argument for the thesis by examining *The New Light of Myanmar* against a propaganda model to support an opinion that *The New Light of Myanmar* is very likely one of the tools used by the political elite of the country for their political agenda and to convey their views to the possible readers, the general public in Burma and to scholars and those who want to learn more about the country and its government.

This chapter, relating to the news concerned with domestic affairs only, is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the timelines issue and the referendum voting topic is examined in detail. In addition to the news concerned with the referendum, related slogans and comic strips will also be discussed here. The second section will focus on the newspaper's duty to inform the people of health threats and in this case, the tainted milk issue is discussed. The last section addresses the newspaper's coverage of freedom of assembly in Burma by focusing on news

stories relating to the September Saffron Revolution. In addition to these three main sections, slogans and exhortations present in *The New Light of Myanmar* everyday together with the rare advertisements are also included in this chapter.

Referendum for the New Constitution

According to *The New Light of Myanmar*, Burma (Myanmar) has been eagerly anticipating the moment when the National Convention will be able to draft a new constitution since April 24, 1992, when the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) made the announcement. A committee was formed to plan the convention but it had to suspend its activity several times, the latest stint being the departure of the National League for Democracy (NLD), Burma's main opposition party, in 1996. In 2003, SLORC, became SPDC (State Peace and Development Council), announced "*The Seven Steps Road Map to Democracy*" and, as the first step, it started urging people to participate in the national referendum. Since then *The New Light of Myanmar* has started to include slogans motivating people to vote "Yes" in the referendum in both Burmese and English language editions of the newspaper.

This chapter analyzes the slogans and news related to the referendum published in the month in which the voting took place, beginning with the day of the referendum to the day the results were announced. What is of specific significance here is the fact that during the time the referendum was held, Burma was hit by the cyclone Nargis in the lower delta region near the Irrawaddy River. Although international organizations such as the United Nations estimated the death toll to have

340 e-1

risen over 63,000 (USAID, 14 Aug 2008), *The New Light of Myanmar* headlines were still seen urging people to vote in the referendum without revealing the actual number of deaths. The information below show the *The New Light of Myanmar's* coverage relating to the referendum issue.

Topics relating to referendum issue from headlines and other pages from *The New Light of Myanmar*

- 1st May, 2008: The headline of the newspaper on that day is as follows:
'To approve the State Constitution is a national duty of the entire people today. Let us all cast "Yes" vote in the national interest.' (page 1)
- Slogans seen inside the newspaper:
'Towards the new nation, Will ratify Constitution.' (page 7)
'We remain ever united whoever tries to divide us And will cast "Yes" vote' (page 7)
'To ratify Constitution Let's go to the polling booth' (page 8)
'For ratification of Constitution Let's go to polling booth to cast "Yes" vote' (page 8)
'For flourishing of democracy Ratify Constitution' (page 9)
'Let's get democracy by voting at polling booth' (page 9)
- Smaller news articles which show the general public's acceptance of the referendum:
"Billboards set up in Yangon North District to hail Referendum" (page 8)
- On the last page of *The New Light of Myanmar*, the following slogans and catch phrases and a poem are printed:
Let us all
* who are equipped with ardent patriotism,
* who cherish genuine independence,
* who aspire perpetuation of sovereignty,
* who loathe foreign interference and manipulation, and
* who oppose puppet government with strings of colonialists,
VOTE "YES" for ratification of the Constitution.

Figure 1: Vote "YES" slogan from 1 May 2008, NLM

POEM: Victory within reach

— Our strong belief it is
Approval of the constitution
Will be soon achieved
Men are so satisfied
Women are so gratified
Heading for polling booth
With unanimous vote to approve
Within reach is victory

Zaw Min Min Oo (Trans.)

- Democracy cannot be achieved by anarchism or violence, but by Constitution.
- Let's approve Constitution to shape our future by ourselves.

Figure 2: Another kind of slogan to support the Constitution from 1 May 2008, NLM

- 2nd May, 2008 : The same headline slogan as yesterday is seen in today’s newspaper on the first page. In addition, the following cartoon is included.

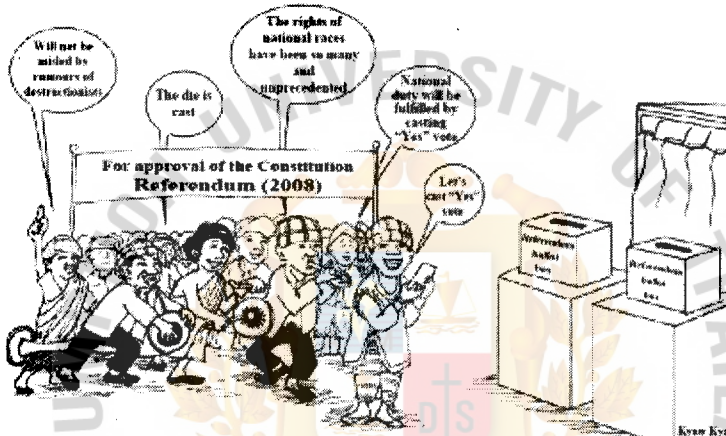


Figure 3: A cartoon to support the referendum from 2 May 2008, NLM

- The last page of the newspaper remains unchanged with the same slogans but the poem has been changed to a different one.

POEM: * Let's vote in favour *

Written is the State constitution
 In the interest of entire nation
 Not of any particular person
 Never to fall again under subjugation
 Let's vote in favour

Hlaing (Trans.)

Figure 4: Poem to support the Constitution from 2 May 2008, NLM

Note: 2 May is the day the cyclone Nargis struck the lower Irrawaddy delta sometime in the afternoon around 3 pm.

- 3 and 4 2008: No publications were made, possibly because of the cyclone.
- 5 May 2008: On the first page of the newspaper the announcement made by the government of Burma can be seen. This is a response to the comment made by the United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon to postpone the referendum to fully concentrate on the 'national tragedy' (Bangkok Post: 5

May 2008) The last page of the newspaper has reduced the number of slogans to only one similar to the ones used before: 'Let's go to the polling booth to cast vote.'

Government of the Union of Myanmar issues Announcement No 1/2008

NAY PYI TAW, 4 May — The Government of the Union of Myanmar today issued Announcement No 1/2008. The following is the full text of the announcement.

Government of the Union of Myanmar

Announcement No 1/2008

14th Waning Day of Oo Tagu 1370 ME

(4 May 2008)

The Government of the Union of Myanmar is much surprised by the Security Council Presidential Statement on 2 May 2008 even though the situation in Myanmar does not threaten regional as well as international peace and security.

The Government of Myanmar has announced that a referendum for the draft constitution will be held on 10 May 2008 and that multi-party democracy general election will be held in 2010 in accordance with a new constitution. The referendum is going to take place in a few days time and the entire people of the country are eagerly looking forward to that.

Myanmar is a sovereign Member State of the United Nations. The referendum to approve the draft constitution is a matter to be decided solely by the people. Moreover, the holding of a referendum is a matter which falls within the domestic jurisdiction. The draft constitution can be adopted and transition to democracy can be materialized through the holding of such referendum.

The Government of Myanmar will continue to implement together with the people the seven-step Road Map which has been welcomed by countries of the world including neighbouring countries and ASEAN countries.

By Order,

(Signed) Thant Shin
(Colonel)
Secretary

Government of the Union of Myanmar

Figure 5: A refusal announcement on not postponing the voting due to national tragedy

- 6 May, 2008: One slogan, "Let's go to the polling booth to cast vote." is included on the last page of *The New Light of Myanmar*.
- 7 May 2008:

The Commission for Holding the Referendum will hold the referendum on 10 May 2008 as scheduled in all the states and divisions except the 40 townships in Yangon Division and seven townships in Ayeyawady Division that have been announced to remain the disaster-hit areas under Announcement No 5/2008 of the State Peace and Development Council of the Union of Myanmar.

Figure 6: Announcement relating to referendum voting

- The above statement can be seen on the first page of *The New Light of Myanmar* newspaper. It can be seen as an indication that it is so important for the government to get the voting process over with that the government cannot wait for the people to rehabilitate after the disaster.
- On the same page of the newspaper, the following announcement is made for the general public.

Union of Myanmar
Commission for Holding Referendum
Announcement No 8/2008
2nd Waxing of Kason 1370 ME
(6 May 2008)

1. The commission has announced that the referendum will be held on 10 May 2008 for approval of the draft constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar.
2. However, due to the cyclonic storm 'NARGIS' that hit Myanmar on 2 May 2008, the State Peace and Development Council announced Ayeyawady, Yangon and Bago Divisions and Mon and Kayin States as the affected areas.
3. Now, some townships in the disaster-hit areas have returned to normalcy. The State Peace and Development Council hereby releases Announcement No 5/2008 on 6 May 2008 that the followings townships remain as the affected areas.
 - (a) Ngazun, Labutta, Mawlaikinegyun, Pyaw, Bogale, Kyaukse and Dedaye in Ayeyawady Division, totalling seven townships.
 - (b) Tamu, South Okkalapa, Dagon (Seikkan), Dagon Myodit (South), Dagon Myodit (North), Dagon Myodit (East), Dawbon, Pazundaung, Botataung, Mingala Taungnyunt, North Okkalapa, Yankin, Thakaya, Thangayun, Kamavut, Kyimyindine, Kyauktada, Saungyoung, Seikkan, Dagon, Pabedan, Bahan, Mayangon, Ladu, Hine, Lannadaw, Ahlon, Thadyin, Kynktan, Thongwa, Kayan, Twantay, Kungvong, Kawmu, Dalla, Seikkyi Khanungto, Insein, Mingaladon, Shwepyitha and Hlindethaya in Yangon Division, totalling 40 townships.
4. The referendum due to be held in the townships stated in para (3) are postponed to 24 May 2008.

(Aung Toe)
 Chairman
 Commission for Holding Referendum

Figure 7: Announcement made for referendum voting dates according to regions

- 8 May 2008: The title of the editorial article reads: '*The Most Appropriate Constitution 2*' (page 6). Other news concerning the referendum include '*MPT to issue three new stamps to mark Referendum 2008*' (page 7). The usual slogan, "*Let's go to the polling booth to cast vote*" is inserted on the last page of the newspaper on that date.
- 9 May 2008: Before the headlines there is the slogan urging people to not just vote but to vote "yes." Continuation of the same editorial article from the previous day is featured, '*The Most Appropriate Constitution 3*' (page 4)
- On the last page of the newspaper this slogan is printed again:

Let us all

- * **who are equipped with ardent patriotism,**
- * **who cherish genuine independence,**
- * **who aspire perpetuation of sovereignty,**
- * **who loathe foreign interference and manipulation, and**
- * **who oppose puppet government with strings of colonialists,**

VOTE "YES" for ratification of the Constitution.

Figure 8: Vote "YES" urging announcement

- 10 May 2008: On the first page of the newspaper: '*To approve the State Constitution is a national duty of the entire people today. Let us all cast "Yes" vote in the national interest.*' (page 1). The feature article of that date is named "*On the March to the Golden Land*" (page 4). The article mentions the referendum. The last page carries the same slogan encouraging people to vote in the referendum.

Let us all

- * who are equipped with ardent patriotism,
- * who cherish genuine independence,
- * who aspire perpetuation of sovereignty,
- * who loathe foreign interference and manipulation, and
- * who oppose puppet government with strings of colonialists,

VOTE "YES" for ratification of the Constitution.

Figure 9: Another Vote "Yes" announcement

- Another shorter slogan carrying a similar intent is placed at the bottom of the newspaper, *'To ratify Constitution let's go to the polling booth'* (page 16)
- 11 May 2008: The headline of the newspaper on that day shows the representing body of the country and his wife voting in the referendum: *'Senior General Than Shwe, wife Daw Kyaing Kyaing cast votes in Referendum for Approval of the Constitution'* (page 1)
- Referendum activities shown to be held in divisions and states of the country.
'Referendum for Approval of Constitution held in Mandalay Div' (page 2)
'Referendum for Approval of Constitution held in Kayin State' (page 2)
'Diplomats observe Bago Division Referendum' (page 2)
'Myanmar holds referendum for emergence of modern developed discipline-flourishing democratic nation.' (page 2)
'Referendum for Approval of Constitution held in Nay Pyi Taw' (page 2)
'Referendum held in 19 Townships of Ayeyawady Division' (page 2)
'Referendum for approval of the constitution held in Shan State (North)' (page 4)
'Referendum held in Kachin State' (page 4)

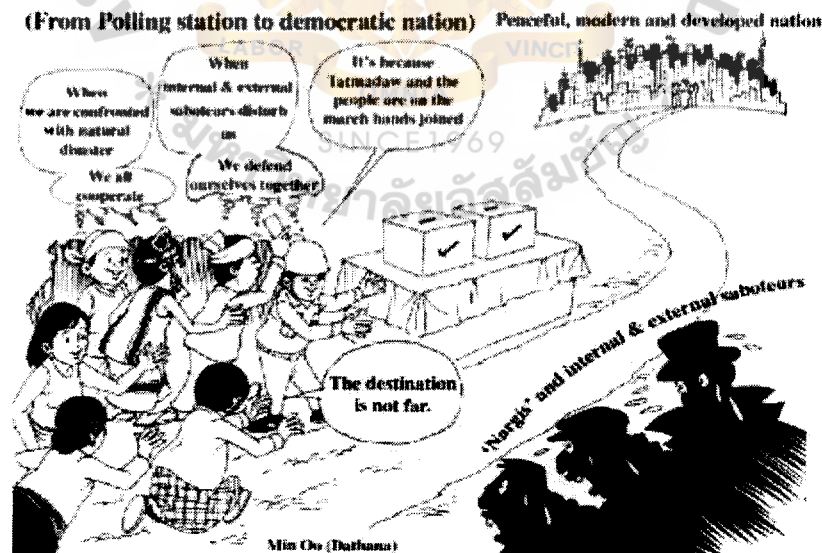


Figure 10: A cartoon depicting all ethnics marching for the same destination

- This comic puts Nargis into the same category with the “internal and external saboteurs.” It is odd because, whereas internal and external saboteurs, if they exist are made up of people and can be predictable to some extent, a natural disaster cannot be fully anticipated and it does not have an intention to sabotage the country and prevent it from reaching its goal of becoming a “peaceful, modern and developed” nation. A government that wants to gain people’s support thorough a legitimate means frequently uses a time right after a natural disaster to show they care for the people. This, however, is not the case here so the motives of the government are highly questionable and it reflects upon the newspaper it owns and runs.

'Referendum held in Shan State (East)' (page 8)

'Diplomats observe polling stations in Bago Division (West)' (page 8)

'Referendum held in five townships in Yangon Division' (page 9)

'LPDR Deputy Defense Attaché observed referendum in Taunggyi' (page 10)

'Diplomats conducted around polling stations in Nay Pyi Taw' (page 10)

'Referendum for approval of constitution held in Mandalay Division' (page 10)

'Referendum held in Dawei' (page 10)

- The sentence below is a unique piece of news because this is the first mention in the newspaper talking about the mechanics of the voting process and it's hint at legitimacy by showing the international community's audience to the voting process. But the news article mentions neither the specifics of the voting process nor the details of how the votes will be counted once the voting period end. Therefore, here it is reasonable to ask whether *The New Light of Myanmar* have fulfil the duty of a newspaper and observations from the diplomats cannot be indefinitely translated to the fair and just voting because the newspaper fail to report on this issue any further.

'Diplomats observe vote casting, counting of ballot papers in Taikkyi, Hlegu' (page 10)

- 12May- 14 May 2008: No mention of the referendum in the entire newspaper except for one slogan on the bottom of the first page, which says, *'Emergence of the State Constitution is the duty of all citizens of Myanmar Naing-Ngan.'* (page 1)[Naing-Ngan is a Burmese word meaning country]
- 16 May 2008: The result of the referendum is announced on the first page of the newspaper together with the announcement concerning the cyclone Nargis. The two announcements are displayed side by side. The headline concerning the referendum states: *'Over 92 percent say “Yes” to Referendum'* and it shows and explains about the number of “yes” and “no” votes together with the eligible number of voters. Other reports on the same issue includes a short news item named, *“Commission for Holding Referendum holds meeting No 9/2008” (page 6)*

- Another news item concerning the referendum is the article, “*Referendum held in Kawthoung*”(page 9). Again here, this news article questions the vote counting process because the results are already out yet a specific region is still voting. If all regions have not finished voting then
- 17 May- 26 2008: '*Emergence duty of the State Constitution is the duty of all citizens of Myanmar Naing-Ngan.*' (page 1)
- 27 May 2008:

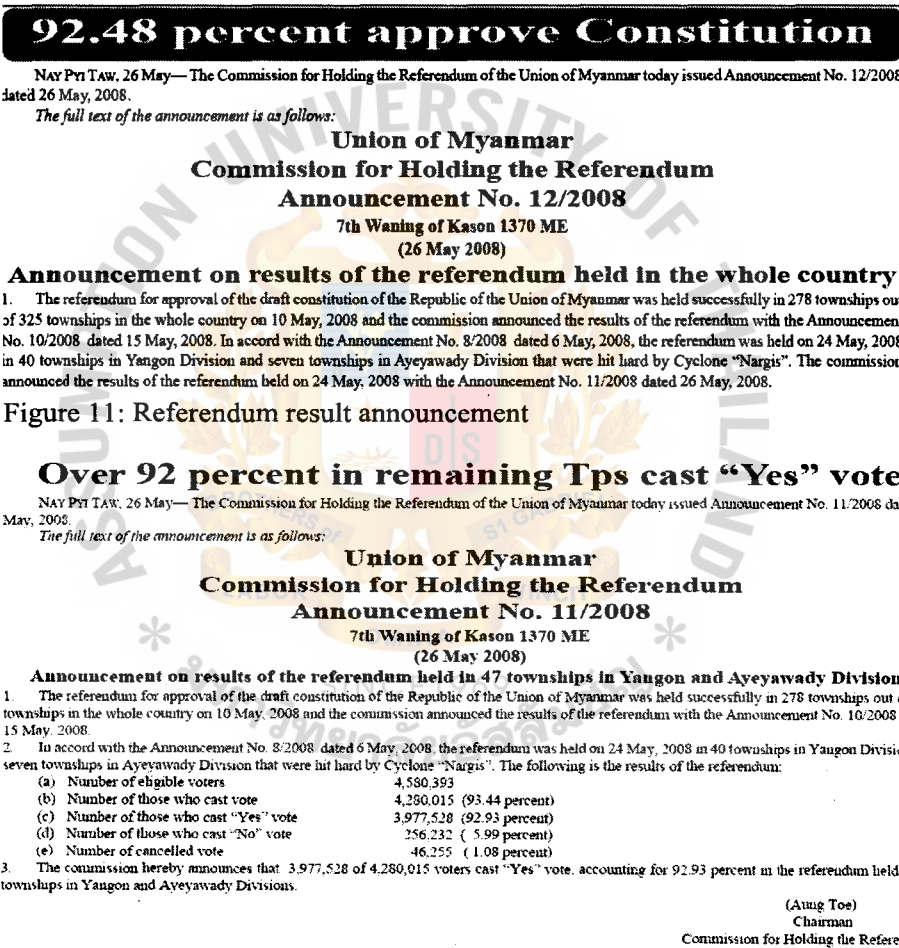


Figure 12: Referendum result announcement with percentages

As we can see, the above table focuses on the events of May 2008 and the materials which were printed during that month. The materials gathered include

poems, editorial articles, comics and slogans which appeared in the newspaper during that month together with the announcement of the referendum results.

The objective of this table is to show that even during a time of natural disaster the newspaper's focus does not lie in the natural disaster updates. Its focus is as we can see on the referendum as the voting was not postponed either. The priority given in *The New Light of Myanmar* here can be seen as equal to the government's priority. And this priority is to have the constitution rectified. Also, from reading the slogans, we can see that what the government wants is for the people to vote "YES," in the name of, "patriotism" and "nationalism" and not just to vote. From the slogans we can see that the government is very enthusiastic about the referendum and wants people to support it. But the slogans also show us that the people are not given any reasons why they should vote "yes" in the referendum. What is done instead is telling people that if they do not cast an affirmative vote they are not being patriotic and nationalistic enough. In effect this can lead us to a conclusion that real opinions of the people do not matter. This fact challenges the newspaper's reliability and trustworthiness.

Similarly, if we look at the pictures in the comics, we can see that they try to simplify people's opinions by making them say things such as, "We all corporate" and "We defend ourselves together." This is clearly an oversimplification of the diversity of people and their opinions. Lastly, the above table tries to challenge one of the major criteria used to evaluate a newspaper: priority. If priority is not given to the more important topic, then this newspaper's objective to serve as an information provider the public is greatly challenged. In the next section we will discuss *The New*

Light of Myanmar's coverage of some news with regard to their timeliness, and priority.

Cyclone Nargis

The following section deals with the way the newspaper reports natural disasters, disease outbreaks and threats. This section will focus on *The New Light of Myanmar's* announcements before the cyclone Nargis disaster (2008). The table below shows the weather reports before the Nargis Cyclone hit Burma.

<p>Bay inference: According to the observations at (09:30) hrs MST today the tropical storm over Southeast Bay and adjoining Southwest Bay still persists. It is centred at about (525) miles Southwest of Coco Island and forecast to move Northeastwards. Weather is partly cloudy to cloudy in the Andaman Sea and Bay of Bengal.</p> <p>Forecast valid until evening of 29-4-2008: Rain or thundershowers will be scattered to fairly widespread in Kachin, Chin, Rakhine, Shan, Mon, Kayah and Kayah States, upper Sagaing, Mandalay, Bago, Yangon, Ayeyawady and Tanintharyi Divisions, weather will be partly cloudy in the remaining States and Divisions. Degree of certainty is (80%).</p> <p>State of the sea: Squalls with rough seas are likely at times off and along Myanmar Coasts. Surface wind speed in squalls may reach (45) mph.</p> <p>Outlook for subsequent two days: Continuation of rain or thundershowers in Lower Myanmar areas.</p>	<p>According to the observations at (18:00) hrs MST today, the severe cyclonic storm (NARGIS) over the Bay of Bengal is centred at about (310) miles Southwest of Gwa. During the past (12) hrs, it is intensified and moved Eastnortheastwards. It is forecast to cross the Coast between the Southern Rakhine State and Northern Ayeyawady Division during the next (36) hrs commencing noon today.</p> <p>Under the influence of this storm, Rain or thundershowers will be widespread in Rakhine, Mon, Kayah, Shan and Kayah States, Ayeyawady, Yangon, Bago and Tanintharyi Divisions, isolated to scattered in Chin and Kachin States, Mandalay Division. Frequent squalls with rough seas will be experienced off and along Myanmar Coasts. Surface wind speed in squalls may reach (50) mph.</p>	<p>Bay inference: According to the observations at (12:30) hrs MST today, the severe cyclonic storm (NARGIS) over the Bay of Bengal is centred at about (410) miles Southwest of Gwa. During the past (12) hours, it is intensified and moved Eastnortheastwards. It is forecast to cross the Coast between the Southern Rakhine State and Northern Ayeyawady Division during the next (36) hours commencing noon today. Weather is partly cloudy to cloudy in the Andaman Sea and elsewhere in the Bay of Bengal.</p> <p>Forecast valid until evening of 1-5-2008: Rain or thundershowers will be widespread in Rakhine, Mon, Kayah, Shan and Kayah States, Ayeyawady, Yangon, Bago and Tanintharyi Divisions, isolated to scattered in Chin and Kachin States, Mandalay Division, weather will be partly cloudy in the remaining areas. Degree of certainty is (80%).</p> <p>State of the sea: Squalls with rough seas will be experienced off and along Myanmar Coasts. Surface wind speed in squalls may reach (45) to (50) mph.</p>
Weather report: <i>The New Light of Myanmar</i> . 29 Apr 2008	Weather report: <i>The New Light of Myanmar</i> . 1 May 2008	Weather report: <i>The New Light of Myanmar</i> . 2 May 2008

Table 1: Weather reports before and after the Nargis cyclone.

On May 2, 2008, the Cyclone Nargis, a category 3 cyclone struck the Irrawaddy Division of Burma and then moved on to striking Burma's largest city, Rangoon with winds of up to 190 kph around 6:30 pm local time (Martin and Margesson. p.6). According to the Indian Metrological Department (IMD), the cyclone started forming since April 27th and on April 28th, IMD upgraded the storm into the Cyclonic Storm Nargis while it was located about 550 km (340 mi) east of Chennai,

India (*Voice of America News* online). Initially, Nargis was estimated to hit the Bangladesh region only but on April 29 the wind slowed down, on May 1 the cyclone intensified rapidly and on May 2 the cyclone reached its peaked winds of 215 km/h (135 mph). According to *The Times*, the Indian Metrological Department stated that they had given a forty eight hours warning to the Burmese agencies to prepare for the incoming cyclone (*The Times* online).

The table above shows that *The New Light of Myanmar* could have done more to alarm the general public about the natural disaster which was expected to happen in the country since the weather department also had known beforehand that it was going to happen. The lack of news about the cyclone resulted either because the newspaper was pressurised by the government to focus on the referendum only or perhaps it was due to a simple mistake of not getting the information on time as it was claimed. There might be other reasons involved but either way, the impression that the readers are likely to get is that the newspaper failed to inform the people about a natural disaster which might have saved the lives of some of those who died during the disaster.

Next, we will discuss the media coverage after the Nargis cyclone. After taking a break from printing the newspaper for two days due to the disaster, *The New Light of Myanmar* resumed its publication on 5 May 2008. Nargis was in the headlines of the newspaper until 19 August 2008 and we will look at some of the news articles, editorials and pictures included in the newspaper during this period.

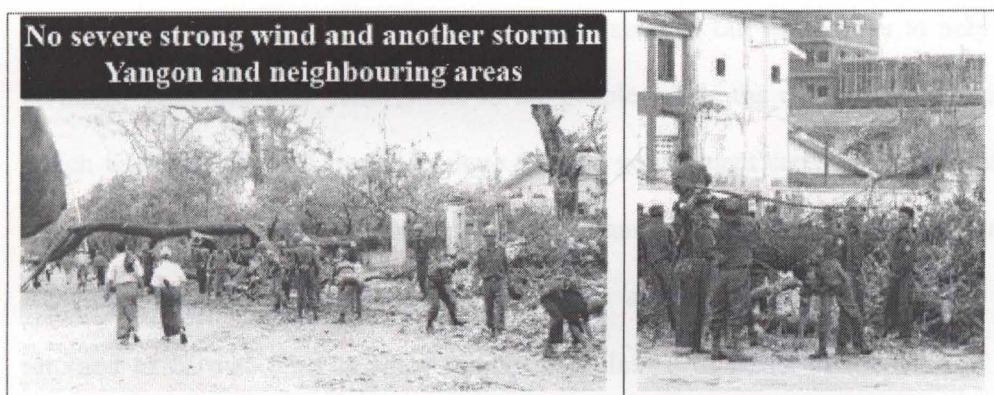


Figure 13: Headline and pictures showing the soldiers helping to clear the roads after Nargis (5 May 2008)

If we look at all the headlines of the news articles on 5 May, 2008, we can notice a pattern. The main headline reads *“Relief measures taken in Nargis-hit areas,”* the next headline being, *“No severe strong wind and another storm in Yangon and neighbouring areas,”* with the picture of soldiers removing the fallen trees on a street in the old capital of Burma. Another picture under the same article shows a street in downtown Rangoon (Yangon) with moving vehicles. The next headline reads *“Two ministers provide cash and kind to storm victims of Mawlamyaingyun,”* together with pictures with the caption of, *“Yangon returns to normalcy after clearing of debris caused by cyclone Nargis”* and so on. Some of the remaining articles have titles such as, *“Measures coordinated for normalcy of communication services,”* *“Roads re-cope with vehicles,”* *“Relief aids arrive in Haingyi,”* and *“External and domestic flights will operate regularly beginning 5 May.”*

As it can be observed from the two pictures provided, we can understand that the government wants to make use of the natural disaster to prove that the authorities are helping the people by printing pictures showing soldiers helping clean up the debris and trees blocking the roads. Such pictures can serve as a way to tell the

international community that the government is sending out its soldiers to help the civilians. They can also demonstrate to the people inside the country from regions which were not affected by the cyclone that the government cares in compensation for not postponing the referendum. Other pictures show the downtown area of Rangoon with traffic and people on the roads suggesting that the situation has returned to normal. This urgency might be explained in terms of the need of the government to show to the international community that it was not necessary to postpone the referendum after all.

It is important to notice that the essential information, such as the death toll of the disaster or the damage assessment were not discussed in the newspaper at all, except for a small article with the title of, "*Death toll after storm Nargis*" sourced from the MNA (Myanmar News Agency) which stated that the death toll in one township out of the three divisions and two states affected by the storm amounted to 109 people. This fact demonstrates the dishonest nature of the newspaper because when flipping through its pages the readers might be fooled to believe that the newspaper is quoting the number of casualties, when in reality only the death toll from one small region is being noted. What we can understand from the gathered information is that the newspaper not only failed to make the urgent announcement concerning the oncoming cyclone, but also it did not provide any realistic assessment of the disaster. Also the government can be observed to manipulate the existing situation to suit its politics and paint a good image of itself.

The Tainted Milk Issue

In this section we will discuss *The New Light of Myanmar's* biased coverage of a recent health hazard issue: tainted milk products from China. Before getting to the data a brief background of this issue needs to be mentioned. In September 2008, dangerously high levels of the industrial chemical known as melamine in powdered baby milk and other dairy products in China sparked worldwide safety concerns (*BBC News* online). The issue came under spotlight on September 10 when China revealed that 14 babies fell ill after drinking the same brand of powdered milk. On September 12, the Sanlu Group admitted that its powdered milk was contaminated with the toxic melamine. On September 23, numerous countries across Asia started to test the powdered milk from China or pull it out from the shops. While there were high concerns about the tainted milk in the neighbouring countries, the Burmese state-run daily is not seen to carry any report related to the issue until September 25.

On September 25, the state-run daily carried a report on the Health Minister Kyaw Mint's inspection tour of hospitals and the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) department. The Minister instructed paediatricians on how "to check children" for possible illness related to the consumption of contaminated milk and checked on the possible presence of melamine in powdered milk at the FDA laboratory in Rangoon. Despite several references to the tainted milk issue, the report failed to link the milk to China.

Similarly, on 26 September, in the article titled "Milk Powder and Health" in *The New Light of Myanmar*, the author—a doctor—failed to mention China in relation to the incident, saying "According to a news story, two children in Hong

Kong had gall stones in their kidneys.” Concluding, the article said, “The problem is now rife across the world, not in one country alone.”

A Xinhua report and unsourced Internet reports were published in the international news sections of *The New Light of Myanmar* on 20 and 24 September. The Xinhua report said: “Most liquid milk in China does not contain melamine.” What the papers characterized as “Internet” reports carried upbeat references to China, saying: “China removes 7000 tonnes of tainted milk from retail outlets” and “China strengthens quality supervision on export foods and goods.”

During the month of October as well, *The New Light of Myanmar* continues to show its sensitivity in reporting the milk issue. Two of the government-issued announcements cautioning the public to avoid certain products because they contain melamine seemed carefully designed to obscure China’s involvement in the issue. The announcements – “No.41/2008” on 9 October and “No. 42/2008” on 13 October – were widely publicized by Burma’s state-run newspapers.

The 9 October announcement mentioned China only once, explaining that there are “children in some countries including China are suffering from kidney stones after consuming the tainted milk powder contaminated with melamine, and some children died.” The announcement then warned the public not to consume several products – which are known to be produced in China - but did not indicate the country of origin for any of the products. As published, the list reads: “(a) Star Milk Powder (20gm) (b) Crown (c) Happy Baby Toys (d) Dulac (Dumex) step 1 (Infant Formula) (e) Star (450 gm) (f) Mandalay-Raw Milk Powder (g) Whole Sweet Milk

Powder (Two Cows Shi Lin) (h) Rainbow Milk Powder (i) Enfagrow Milk Powder”
(*The New Light of Myanmar*, 10 October).

- * **For the health of babies**
 - Mother’s milk the best**
 - * **If mother’s milk is not sufficient**
 - Cow or goat’s milk can be used**
 - * **Always boil the milk**
 - The best for health**

Figure14: Notification concerning with the milk contamination

The 13 October announcement added additional products to the list and provided country of origin tags – “Korea” and “China” for two products. As published, the second list reads:

“(j) Full Cream Milk Powder-Golden River (k) Calcium milk Powder-Butterfly (l) Full Cream Milk Powder-Yu-Li (m) Sweet Whey Powder (n) Non-Dairy Creamer (Korea) (o) Non-Dairy Creamer (China) (p) Elfalac A1+” (*The New Light of Myanmar*, 14 October). As par Figure 14, the notification is made without any mention of either China or tainted milk – appeared in the newspaper since 10 October (*The New Light of Myanmar*, 10 October.)

The nature of these reports and announcements shows the close ties Burma has with China, who is not only its leading investor but also its primary ally, supporting the junta in various decisions regarding its iron fisted rule which are frequently opposed by the international community. As a result of this close tie, the newspaper’s objectivity to inform the public has been pushed aside and only a limited view of the general scope of the situation is discussed in the newspaper. It shows the government’s priority when choosing between the interest of the public’s safety and its relationship with close allies. A possible conclusion that can be reached is that the

government is willing to risk the lives of its citizens in favour of protecting the image of its ally.

The Saffron Revolution

The following section is devoted to the notions of the freedom of assembly and the freedom of press. If a country enjoys a certain amount of freedom a newspaper is expected to carry two sides of the story in a conflict situation. We will look at the September Saffron Revolution in this part to discuss this topic. The freedom of assembly is defined in this thesis as the right of people to gather in a peaceful protest without fear of government harassment or intrusion. It is related to issues of freedom of speech, religion and the right to petition to the government (UDHR, Article 20). These issues are in turn related to the freedom of opinion—any person should have the right to have opinions and to express them without the fear of interference and to receive information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers (EDHR, Article 19). With these definitions in mind, let us now look at the newspaper's presentation of the September Saffron Revolution.

The New Light of Myanmar has mostly been seen to openly denounce the actions of National League for Democracy (NLD), the only prominent Burmese opposition group working inside the country, yet the NLD's voice is never present in the state-run newspaper to counter argue any accusations made by the government. On the other hand, the newspaper never ceases to present the news related to the gatherings of people in support of the government's decisions and on some days, this news is mentioned several times in different articles. In this section, the nature of this type of news coverage is compared.

Firstly, we will look at the largest public gathering in Burma after two decades since the last military coup in 1988. The protest was initially known to have been started by students and women, mostly housewives, who could not afford to buy food for their families. The protest started on August 24 2007, although there have been sources reporting an earlier date as well (Booth, *The Times* online). The monks are known to have led the protest from September 2 until September 27, 2007 when the authorities arrested the protesters. *The New Light of Myanmar* has been surprisingly slow in reporting about the protests.

The state-run newspaper maintained a total blackout in reporting of the protests until September 25, nearly a month after the protests had started. The first acknowledgment of the protests by the newspaper is featured with the headline announcement, “*State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee has duty to reinforce and observe basic principles and rules and regulations and implement religious matters. The directives state all the rules and regulations for the monks prohibiting them from participating in secular affairs*” (*The New Light of Myanmar*, 25 Sep. 07. page 1). The announcement warns monks not to participate in the protests. The feature articles of the day also aim at preventing the monks from participating in the protests while stressing the alleged US and foreign media (VOA, BBC, RFA and DVB) news broadcasters’ major involvement in instigating the people to start civil unrest. As the protests continue the official newspaper continues to carry reports on government’s endeavours – building bridges, roads, and dams, as well as on military families donating cash and provisions to monks. All these actions are showcasing the

government's efforts to improve the living conditions in Burma and particularly to indicate the government's support for Buddhist monks.

On 26 November, the newspaper stated that "*protest is not the work of Sangha [monks]*" in its headlines. On 27 November, on the back cover of the newspaper we read: "*Protesters throw stones at members of security forces and use catapults. Two senior police, six others wounded. Two senior police, six others wounded. One protestor killed, three wounded.*" At the same time, media organizations outside the country estimate the number of casualties to be much higher although no one knows the exact number of arrests and deaths. On 28 November, *The New Light of Myanmar*, again on the back cover of the newspaper states that the "*Demonstrators stone security forces, use catapults, Security members fire warning shots as protesters turning blind eye to repeated requests.*" On all the three days there are no photographs present regarding the situations and the headlines on the cover of the newspaper report about high-ranking ministers attending several trade fairs, praying and making merits for the full moon day, paying homage and donating to the monks at the same time urging the monks not to protest.

Another important fact misreported by the newspaper is the death of the Japanese journalist, Nagai Kenji, who was the only foreign journalist who died during the crackdown of the protest. The footage of his death, shot by a citizen from his apartment window with his mobile phone camera, was immediately widely disseminated and was available to be seen on several news websites (*The Times* online). While the international response to this video was full of anger and shock, with accusations of "deliberate shooting," *The New Light of Myanmar* reported the

case on 28 November, 2007, one day after the incident, stating, “*Among the dead was a Japanese named Mr Nagai Kengi, 52. He was killed while gathering news amidst the protests although he was here on a tourist visa. Together with him at the time were a Canon video camera and a mobile phone, it is learnt.*” From the language used, we get the impression that although Mr. Nagai Kenji was shot to death, he was not supposed to be filming the protest since he was on a tourist visa. The language used is not apologetic, but rather distant and maybe even to a certain extent putting the blame on the victim. On another level, the message can also be read as a warning to all the journalists and others who dare to take pictures of the protests with their cameras and mobile phones that they too may be shot.

The headlines of *The New Light of Myanmar* for the rest of the month remain unchanged, carrying similar messages of warning aimed at the protesters while blaming the foreign media and broadcasting stations and accusing the United States of instigating instability in the country. Judging from the headlines in the newspaper only (without taking into account the information from other news media from both the local and international community), we can see that the protests are definitely continuing and that they are led by monks, which must be the reason why the generals are making announcements and giving warnings. But if this is the case, we are also told that the monks are the people who build the catapults and hurt the soldiers and authorities.

It is indeed a questionable, if not a doubtful, image to paint in one’s mind that shows the monks building catapults and throwing rocks at the soldiers. If the monks did attack the authorities, what had the authorities done to deserve such a response?

Another discrepancy is the fact that no pictures of the protesters were shown in the newspaper at the time of the protests. If the monks did commit the crimes they were accused of, why did the newspaper not print any photographs as evidence in support of their statements? One possible explanation is that perhaps the photographs did not carry the same message as the headlines and articles. If there is a protest then there must be demands but the demands of the people, i.e. to lower the prices of commodities, were not mentioned directly. The only mention of the protesters' demands can be found in the feature articles but the follow up on how these demands were answered is not reported.

The objectivity of *The New Light of Myanmar*'s news reporting is highly questionable at this point, but to make the point stronger, let us will compare it with the way the newspaper reports on the multiple gatherings of the people in support of the government's constitution, in denunciation of the National League for Democracy (NLD), and of the rallying to denounce the protests led by the monks. What is interesting, in the case of these kinds of rallies and supportive demonstrations, many photographs are presented and multiple articles focusing on the same topic in various geographical locations are seen published on the same day.

Editorial Article Titles

The following section summarises the editorial article topics which have been written during four years (January to December 2006, 2007, 2008 and January- August 2009), together with the density or the approximate number in which they appear in *The New Light of Myanmar*. The table has two columns: the first column shows the topics which fall into different categories and the second column shows the numbers of articles in the specified categories.

The first category is **National Convention** and the articles which fall under this category have titles, such as: *"All citizens are to take part in tasks to successfully hold the National Convention"* (26 January 2006), *"Rights will be available only if they are rightful"* (26 May 2008, NLM), *"Delegate groups submit suggestions on detailed basic principles for legislation of Pyidaungsu Hluttaw," "Pyithu Hluttaw," "Amyotha Hluttaw, and Region and State Hluttaws to the Plenary Session of the National Convention"* (10 January 2006) and so on.

The second category is **Articles Written in Support of Constitution and Seven-Step Roadmap**: *"The New Constitution and Union System"* (1 April 2008, NLM), *"Do not derail the democratic process"* (28 September 2008), *"Myanmar pursuing goal of democracy with transparency and time frame"* (26 September 2008), *"True Patriotism and Nobel Tatmadaw"* (29 March 2006) and so on. The third category is **Educational Articles**, such as *"Fire Prevention"* (4 August 2006 NLM), *"Health Education"* (18 September 2009 NLM), and so on. The fourth category is **Awards and Ceremonies** and any opening ceremony or awards are included under this category, such as *"Literacy Day"* (6 September 2006 NLM), *"Independence*

Day” (4 January 2008 NLM), and so on. The fifth category is **Press Conferences**, such as “*Press conference on economic growth of Myanmar*” (17 December 2006 NLM), “*Press Conference regarding John Yettaw*” (7 August 2009 NLM). The sixth category is for articles which showcase the developments during the time of the **Tatmadaw** (Military) government. Some example articles here are “*Developments in the Shan State under the Tatmadaw (Military) government*” (26 May 2008), “*Progress of Communication Sector in the Time of Tatmadaw Government*” (27 March 2009) and so on.

The seventh category is **Government Policies on ASEAN and Neighbouring Countries** and the eight category is **Articles Discriminating Against Specific Opposition Leaders and Western News Agencies**. Some sample titles are – “*Tsunami, Mattel and Skyful of lies*” (27 September 2007), “*Beware of rats that are trying to make holes in the walls of the granary*” (19 June 2008) and so on. The final, ninth category refers to **Intentionally Chosen Historical Facts** to support the government’s actions and some headlines under this topic are: “*Myanmar did not become democratic due to early restoration of independence by the British*” (29 June 2006 NLM), “*Trickery employed by Opportunists*” (23 November 2006. NLM), “*No one should serve as stepping stones of politicians*” (13 October 2007), and so on.

Topic	Approximate number of articles written within four years
1. National Convention	348
2. Assertive Articles Written to Support the Constitution and the Seven Step Road Map	263
3. Educational Articles	57
4. Awards and Ceremonies	108
5. Press Conferences	63

6. Showcase of Developments of the States and Divisions	140
7. Government Policies on ASEAN and Neighbouring Countries	139
8. Articles Discriminating Against Specific Opposition Leaders and Western News Agencies	217
9. Referring to Intentionally Chosen Historical Facts to Support the Government's Actions	105

Table 2: Frequency of editorial articles under different categories written during the last four years

The objective of the above table is to show that during the last four years from an approximate total of 1,440 editorial articles, give or take about seven days due to the unavailability of some issues, the number of articles written in support of the government is very large. The data in the table has been calculated on the basis of examining every available issue of *The New Light of Myanmar* newspaper. From the numbers we can see the basic number of articles written to support the government. Compared with this, the number of educative articles is very low, and there is also the question of whether these articles were truly educational or not. The numbers from the table show that *The New Light of Myanmar*, writes articles for the government all year round and every article coincides with the government's plan. There are also no different opinions and no voice of the opposition mentioned in the newspaper. This data will be used again in Chapter 3 to help in examining the purpose and ideology of the propaganda presented in the newspaper.

Slogans, Exhortations and Advertisements

In this final section, I would like to present two more types of materials extracted from *The New Light of Myanmar*: all the usual slogans and exhortations presented every day and in every version of *The New Light of Myanmar* and the advertisements which are sometimes included in the newspaper.

- On top of the front page of all the issues of *The New Light of Myanmar* there is always an indication of the way to auspiciousness, changed on a weekly basis, e.g.:

"Dhammacariya ca - lawful-conduct; this is the way to auspiciousness", "Virati papa, to refrain from sin; this is the way to auspiciousness", "Brahmacariyañca, chastity; this is the way to auspiciousness."

- All the issues carry some or all of the following slogans or exhortations:

"Emergence of the State Constitution is the duty of all citizens of Myanmar Naing-Ngan"

PEOPLE'S DESIRE

- * Oppose those relying on external elements, acting as stooges, holding negative views
- * Oppose those trying to jeopardize stability of the State and progress of the nation
- * Oppose foreign nations interfering in internal affairs of the State
- * Crush all internal and external destructive elements as the common enemy

FOUR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES:

- * Stability of the State, community peace and tranquillity, prevalence of law and order;
- * National reconsolidation;
- * Emergence of a new enduring State Constitution;
- * Building of a new modern developed nation in accord with the new State Constitution.

FOUR ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES:

- * Development of agriculture as the base and all round development of other sectors of the economy as well;
- * Proper evolution of the market-oriented economic system;
- * Development of the economy inviting participation in terms of technical know-how and investments from sources inside the country and abroad;
- * The initiative to shape the national economy must be kept in the hands of the State and the national peoples.

FOUR SOCIAL OBJECTIVES:

- * Uplift of the morale and morality of the entire nation;
- * Uplift of national prestige and integrity and preservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage and national character;
- * Uplift of dynamism of patriotic spirit;
- * Uplift of health, fitness and education standards of the entire nation.

People's Desire

- ☐ We favour stability.
- ☐ We favour peace.
- ☐ We oppose unrest and violence.

Who are the winners, who the losers from violent protests?

☐ Due to violence and unrest, Peace-loving people have to live in state of alarm, Learning of students disrupted, Commodity flow stagnant, Vendors have hard times, Passenger transport services delayed
☐ Due to violence and unrest, Only the notorious neo-colonialists benefited, Instigators covertly earning dollars, Expatriates and ax-handles living in luxury, Followers of colonialists earning handsome dollar rewards

- ☐ RFA, VOA and BBC airing skyful of lies
- ☐ RFA, VOA and BBC saboteurs, watch your step!
- ☐ The public be warned of killers in the air waves — RFA, VOA and BBC

- Skyful liars attempting to destroy nation
- BBC lying VOA deceiving RFA setting up hostilities
- Beware! Don't be bought by those slickers

Table 3: Slogans and exhortations carried by *The New Light of Myanmar*

As seen from the material presented in this table, *The New Light of Myanmar* appears as an obvious tool used by the government to instil the kind of thinking which the government wants to see. The economic, social and political objectives appear not only in *The New Light of Myanmar*, they also appear in every text book, novel, magazine, any type of print publication, films, radio and television programs made with the consent of the government. The purpose of these objectives will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. At this point, these slogans and exhortations are quoted to demonstrate that the newspaper aims to create the appearance of the unity, "People's Desire," yet we do not see any trace of what individual people actually have to say because they are always mentioned as a group with the same desires or objectives.

Another important issue here is to see how the government tries to unite the people by giving them a common external enemy: BBC, VOA, RFA and other internal and external individuals who are supposedly trying to destabilize the nation. If this is so, we can always ask, where are these other people and why do they not make their voice heard? And the answer might either be because they are not real or

because they do not have any freedom to make their voices heard in the government-owned newspaper. Referring to the definition of propaganda, this is an example of limiting information to the people because chances are there will always be those who will want different objectives and who will have different political ideologies in any country so everyone should get a chance to be heard and to be convinced with reasons why they should support a certain political option. A government-owned newspaper indicates the nature of the government and also reflects on the government's view and expectations of the citizens. The above table can help us deduce who the readers of the newspaper are as well. We will return to this issue in Chapter 3.

Newspapers mostly fund themselves from advertisements and they are known to be somewhat influenced by the person who provides the majority of funds for the newspaper and his/her ideology. They also frequently have to print stories in accordance with the readers' expectations and provide enough information to satisfy their curiosity because readership is the most important fact in publishing a newspaper. Advertisements are a rarity in *The New Light of Myanmar*. As mentioned before the newspaper is owned and funded by the government and to show that it does not need any special funding, in this last part of the chapter, I would like to quote some advertisements which actually appear in *The New Light of Myanmar*.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF MYANMAR
MINISTRY OF RAIL TRANSPORTATION
MYANMA RAILWAYS
INVITATION TO SEALED TENDER

1. Sealed Tender is invited by Myanma Railways, for supply of the following Stores which will be purchased in Myanmar Kyat;

Tender No.	Description	Quantity
12(T)2 MR(ML) 2008-2009	Rubber Hose, Bolt & Nut, Washer, MS Pipe, A-800 Compressor, Main Exhauster 2 NMV, Roller Bearing, Ball Bearing, Radiator 1200 mm, Grinding Machine, Drill Machine, MS Plate, Welding Electrode, Flexible Cable Wire, Cable Eye Socket, Circuit Breaker, Collier Clip, Marking Sleeve Pipe, Prolongator, Voltage Control Relay and etc..	1 - Lot (337-Items)

Closing Date/Time - 31.7.2008 (Thursday) (12:00) Hours

2. Tender documents are available at the office of the Deputy General Manager (Supply), Myanma Railways, Corner of 51st Street and Merchant Street, Botahtaung, Yangon starting from 18.6.2008 during the office hours.

3. For further details please call: 01-298583, 291994 Deputy General Manager Supply Department, Myanma Railways, Botahtaung, Yangon

Figure 15 : One of the common advertisements in *The New Light of Myanmar*

CLAIMS DAY NOTICE

MV BANGSAPHAN VOYNO (67)

Consignees of cargo carried on MV BAN-
GSAPHAN VOYNO (67) are hereby notified that the
vessel will be arriving on 11.10.2008 and cargo will be
discharged into the premises of M.I.P where it will lie at
the consignee's risk and expenses and subject to the
byelaws and conditions of the Port of Yangon.

Damaged cargo will be surveyed daily from 8 am
to 11:20 am and 12 noon to 4 pm up to Claims Day now
declared as the third day after final discharge of cargo
from the vessel.

No claims against this vessel will be admitted after
the Claims Day.

**SHIPPING AGENCY DEPARTMENT
MYANMA PORT AUTHORITY
AGENT FOR: M/S WONG SAMUT OCEAN
SHIPPING CO, LTD**

Phone No. 256919/256916/256912

Figure 16: Another usual type of advertisement found in *The New Light of Myanmar*

This chapter has tried to show in more than one ways that *The New Light of Myanmar*'s reporting the news is biased and that, most of the time, it does not meet the expectations of what a newspaper should be like, based on the qualities, such as: timeliness, proximity to local readers, and conflict reporting starting from the development of an issue till the end. What we find in *The New Light of Myanmar* instead is that it disseminate information and models of the expected behaviour of the

people approved of by the government and also that it limits information to create wrong impressions so that the readers have no choice but to agree with what the powerful elite wants them to. This chapter has been concerned with the news in the domestic sector only and we can guess that the publishers do want people to read the newspaper because of all the slogans and exhortations printed therein. But these slogans can also serve as a purpose to undermine the opinions of other countries who openly criticize the government and to boldly and blatantly promote the government by means of the newspaper. The next chapter will be concerned with the international news and the preference given to different countries.



Chapter (2): News Concerning the International Community

In this chapter, topics concerned with international events included and excluded in *The New Light of Myanmar* are discussed with the aim of suggesting that the selection of news reported by the newspaper indicates a form of shaping the worldview and mental habits of the populace in favour of the newspaper's owner. Although these are necessary characteristics of dictatorial language, they cannot be called "propaganda" yet. Still, to prevent others from thinking of an alternate interpretation by not giving them a choice to think otherwise can be considered as such. This is what this chapter tries to achieve: to highlight the limited amount of news given by *The New Light of Myanmar* as possibly motivated by the aim of limiting its readers' views.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section focuses on the news relating to the Western nations, such as the United States and the Great Britain. We will discuss which news gets to be reported together with the editorial articles, which are usually used to support the newspapers' agenda. The second section will compare some of the headlines to discuss the differences in the treatment each country receives, depending on its relationship with the Burmese government. Due to the abundance of data, the period of time has been limited to 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2009. The "significant" events which happened in the world discussed in this chapter are the events which have generally been accepted as significant on the global level, not merely important for a given country or a geographical location. These are major and ongoing events which have been tracked by media around the world and the list, used

for the sake of comparison to find out whether certain news were included in *The New Light of Myanmar*, has been compiled from several sources (*Infoplease* online).

United States of America

Before taking a look at the news reports concerning the relation between the United States and Burma, presently called Myanmar under the rule of the current government, some facts regarding the relationship between the two countries in question need to be explained briefly to help the reader explore possible reasons for the obviously strained portrayal of the United States in the state-run newspaper, *The New Light of Myanmar*. There is certainly a possibility of the United States having a baseline stance on describing Burma in their numerous newspapers and news agencies, but as this is not directly related to this paper, it will not be discussed. This paper discusses the reporting and journalistic standards seen in *The New Light of Myanmar* and the possibility of its being a propaganda tool for the Burmese State to influence and limit the views of the population by reporting certain news which might benefit their political agenda.

The tensioned relationship between Burma and the United States begins with the terms, “Myanmar” and “Burma.” Burma was the original name of the country until 1989 when the military government enacted the Adaptation of Expression Law to Myanmar, but since the democratically elected but not convened Parliament of 1990 has not recognized the change of name, as a supporter of democratically elected governments, the U.S. Government does not support the term, Myanmar.

In recent decades, the U.S. Government maintained broad economic sanctions imposed on Burma and objected to many of the human rights violation issues regarding the Burmese government's actions in cases, such as the crackdown on the 1988 student uprising, the closed trial imprisonment of political party members, and the recent crackdown on Buddhist monks in September 2007. The United States also remains the most outspoken petitioner for the famous political prisoner, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi's, who has remained under repeated house arrest for 13 years. Based on these facts, the relationship between the US and Burma is full of tension and in recent years it has become more severely strained. The question arising here is how will a country represent an enemy state in its state-run newspaper? We will start by looking at how the news regarding the United States' policy on Burma and vice versa is reported in *The New Light of Myanmar*.

In the aftermath of the cyclone Nargis, while acknowledging the receipt of relief assistance from several countries – Thailand, China, Singapore, Japan, Bangladesh, India, Laos, and the UN agencies – the official newspaper is not known to have reported on the aid offered by the United States. On May 7th 2008, in the article named, “*International organizations donate medicines, food, cash and relief items to storm victims in Myanmar*” (page 8), it failed to mention any US aid – neither the initial emergency aid of \$250,000 nor the follow-up aid of \$3 million – while the newspaper named other donor countries and organizations.

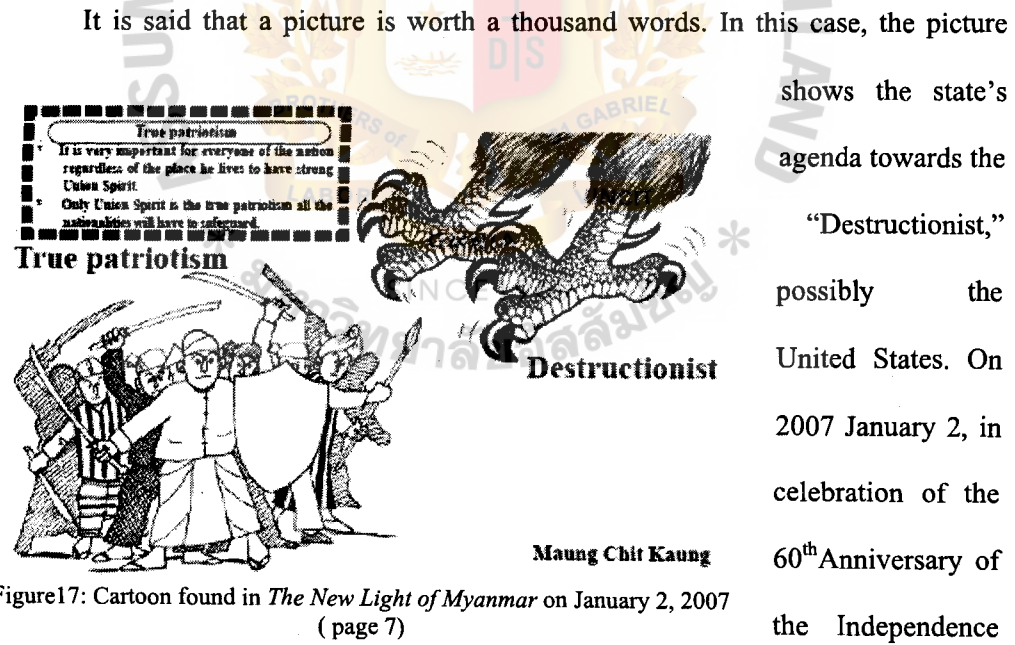
On 15th May 2008, the first comment regarding the US' assistance to victims of the natural disaster was mentioned in the article, “*Let's work together for the nation to be able to rise from natural disaster*” by Hlaing Aung in *The New Light of*

Myanmar. Although, the article looks like it expresses a private opinion, as the name of the journalist is given, it has to be kept in mind that articles in the Burmese state-run newspapers are written with consent or on request from higher authorities and they fall under heavy censorship. The article mentions that the assistance received by Burma is “rather small” if compared with the assistance given to other countries in the region that suffered natural disasters. The writer recalls the assistance received by Bangladesh from the US in 2007 as “14.4 million US dollars” and by Indonesia during the tsunami in 2004 as “more than 800 US million dollars.” It asserts that Myanmar people accept any kind of foreign aid with appreciation, regardless of the amount and that Myanmar leaves the door open to assistance from “friendly countries that have goodwill” for it. It also says that Burma “will not rely too much on international assistance and will construct the nation on self-reliance basis.”

On a similar topic, on 20th and 21st May 2008, a two-installment article, “*Let’s replace earth bricks with stone ones*” by Kyaw Min Lu, emphasizes in the first part that despite difficulties, the state is trying its best to send relief supplies to the storm victims as soon as possible by taking “systematic measures” for relief and distribution “in order not to cause delay.” In the second part of the article the author emphasizes the “strings attached to the relief supplies” received from United States, by quoting an article by Sara Flounders, “*US hostility hampers relief*,” who stated in her article that the Bush Administration was trying to profit from giving aid to Burma, hoping to receive natural resources and gas deposits in return. Kyaw Min Lu agrees with this notion and he concludes at the end of his article: “Myanmars are not a people who

are able to rise only with others' assistance and who know how to deal with things only after others have provided methods."

On the other hand, the article confirms some news which the newspaper originally failed to mention. For example, *The New Light of Myanmar* did not mention that the US and French Naval ships which were carrying supplies for the victims were anywhere in the vicinity of Burmese waters, but the author of the article unwittingly or purposefully makes it a point to deny the fact that the government did not accept the supplies and also in a way acknowledges the presence of the US warships near the Burmese waters. As another example, the article also indirectly mentions possible transportation difficulties some regions might be facing due to the cyclone which the official newspaper news article failed to tackle.



we assume the bird to be an eagle, it is easy to make a connection with the United States that uses the eagle as a symbol of the country. This assumption can lead us to the apparent objective of the cartoon which suggests that true patriotism means to fight against the destructionist, the United States.

In the following year 2008 January 2, another cartoon depicting a similar concept is found (Figure 2). In this comic as well we can observe what appears to be a foreign man, judging from the attire, most



Figure 18: A cartoon found in *The New Light of Myanmar* on January 2, 2008

likely a Western man with a top hat and a striped necktie who is called the, “Neo-colonialist” appeared to be shaken by a hand representing “the entire people” of



Figure 19: A cartoon found in *The New Light of Myanmar* on January 3, 2008.

Burma. It is obvious the character has prominent similarities with the typical caricature which represents America. On January 3, 2008 a similar cartoon is printed again

human figure again resembles depictions used to represent the United States.

Also, on January 2, 2009 another cartoon was printed in *The New Light of Myanmar* (Figure 4). This time the cartoon clearly indicates the foreign force which

is out to “invade” other countries by pasting news titles such as, “US chopper guns down Iraqi civilians” and “Over 3200 Afghan civilians killed due to US and NATO air strikes.” These statements make it clear for the readers who exactly the newspaper

means every time it uses such terms

as, “neo-colonialist,” and

“alien invading forces.” The

uniqueness of all these political cartoons is the fact that they were

included in *The New Light of*

Myanmar as part of celebration of

the Independence Day of Burma.

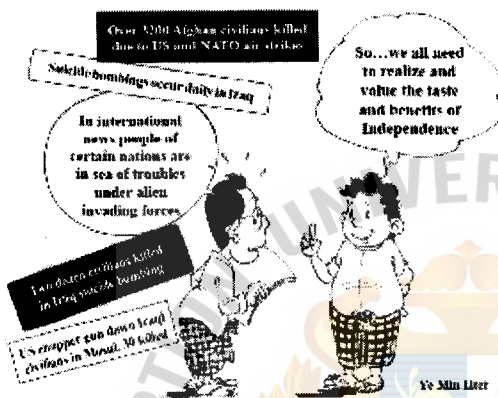


Figure 20: A cartoon found in *The New Light of Myanmar* on January 9, 2009

Burma was colonized by Britain and not by the United States. And all the feature articles and the cartoons mentioned before all carry one message: the United States is a neo-colonialist nation and all the people in the country must unite under the military government as to be protected from being colonized again. These kinds of cartoons are not found for other countries except for the United States.

The same can be said about the editorial articles as well – they only carry a consistent resentment towards the United States accusing Americans of wanting to get economic gains from invading Burma. Since *The New Light of Myanmar* is a state-run newspaper, it is safe to assume that all its editorials and cartoons serve as a tool for supporting the political agenda of the government, and are meant to serve as an indication that a strong military government is needed for the country because of the countries like the United States. The articles paint the image of the United States

as a powerful yet ruthless nation with no respect for other countries' boundaries. On the other hand, the lack of contradiction from the opposition side makes the newspaper one-sided and biased, having low or non-existent journalistic standards and being an unreliable news source for its readers.

Let us have a look on some more examples. The Secretary of the State, Hillary Clinton's Asian visit was given an extremely limited coverage that included reports of public protests against her taken from unnamed sources. On 19th February, 2008 *The New Light of Myanmar* carried an article from Jakarta sourced to "Internet" titled, "*Some protests set for Clinton's Indonesian Visit.*" Another example of *The New Light of Myanmar's* coverage on anti-American protests during a high-profile US visit can be the coverage of the former US President George W. Bush's visit to Asia in August 2008. On the 9th August, 2008 *The New Light Myanmar* published a news article sourced to Xinhua reporting that protesters were fired at with water cannons as "*President Bush got a volatile reception*" in South Korea at the start of his Asian trip.

President Barack Obama was elected to become the 44th American president on 4th November. The Burmese state-run newspaper reported sending the congratulatory note out on 8th November. The newspaper reported President's Obama's win on 5th November 2008 under the title, "*Americans vote in historic poll*" (page 3). The newspaper report indicates the Head of State and Vice-Senior General of Burma's slow response in sending the congratulatory note meanwhile other congratulatory notes to countries, such as Russia on the election of President Dmitry Medvedev was sent on 8th May, 2008 and appeared in the official newspaper on 9th

May 2008, on time. This can be a matter of bad journalism but on the other hand it is a significant matter on the global level and a major breakdown in the barrier of racial issues and the whole situation can be seen as a deliberate signature representing the state's choice to decrease the importance of events when they concern the United States.

Similarly, in the case of sending congratulatory notes related to important national holidays, on July 5th 2008, the state-run newspaper broke its baseline coverage style of reporting news on sending congratulatory notes. Normally such notes are mentioned on the next day after they have been sent. This time the headlines read, "*Senior General Than Shwe felicitates President Mr. Hugo Chavez*" (page 1). This is a unique gesture because the Independence Day of the United States is on July 4th and the Independence Day of Venezuela is on 5th July, which shows that not only did the government choose to ignore the Independence Day of one of countries which paid the largest amount of money to aid the Burmese people affected by the cyclone Nargis, but also that it deliberately decided to congratulate a nation that is in an obviously tense relationship with the United States. It also indicates the influence of the military on what is being put in the newspaper.

North Korea

The official ties between North Korea and Burma were cut after the deadly terrorist attacks in 1983 when North Korean agents attempted to murder top-ranking South Korean government officials visiting Rangoon, the old capital. But over the past ten years, the two countries have renewed their ties and Burma has been rumoured to be upgrading its military equipments by buying it from North Korea. Due to the similarity in governing systems (both countries have military governments, and both are isolated), the relationship between Burma and North Korea seems to be progressing very fast with unconfirmed high-ranking officials' visits (not mentioned in *The New Light of Myanmar*) between the two countries. Both Burma and North Korea have been suspected by the UN and many international countries including the US, Britain and France, to be involved in the purchase and supply of weapons and army vehicles.

On 26th April 2007, North Korea's official news agency, Korea Central News Agency (KCNA), reported the signing of the "joint communiqué" on the resumption of ties between North Korea and Burma but *The New Light of Myanmar* is not known to have reported the event on 27th April and did not report later either. There were three other belated reports on Burma's agreements with three other countries during 2006. On those occasions, the reports appeared a few days after the agreements were reached at Burma's Permanent Mission to the UN in New York which means there was delay in reporting of the events in *The New Light Myanmar*. The signing of the joint communiqué on the establishment of ties with East Timor at the UN on 26

September 2006 was reported in *The New Light of Myanmar* four days later. Similarly, in December 2006, the same paper reported Burma's new ties with Slovenia 10 days after the agreement was signed in New York and, also that same month, with Montenegro, 11 days after the ties were established.

Recently, a North Korean cargo ship named *Kang Nam I*, which set to dock at the Burmese port, Myanmar International Terminals Thilawa (MITT), was rumoured to be carrying weapons in defiance of the United Nations embargo (*BBC News* online). The state-run newspaper denied the accusations by stating on 25th June 2009 that *Kang Nam I* was not headed for Burma. However, it was added that Burma was expecting another North Korean ship, the *MV Dumangang*, to arrive in Burma on June 27 to pick up 8,000 tons of rice. The ship was later known to return to North Korea without reaching Burma. There was no follow up to that information.

When it comes to sending congratulatory notes to North Korea, not only did the newspaper make the announcements on time but also the notes appeared to be upbeat in tone as well. On September 9th, 2007, three notes of felicitations were sent separately to Kim Jong Il, Chairman of the National Defence Commission, Kim Yong Nam, President of Presidium Supreme People's Assembly, and Kim Yong Il, Premier of Cabinet on the occasion of the "Day of the Foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea." This was the first time the official Burmese newspaper has acknowledged the re-establishment of ties between the two countries. Similar messages were observed to have been sent in 2008 on the same occasion. No editorial articles which focus on North Korea have been written so far in *The New Light of Myanmar*.

China

China and Burma have had a long standing business relationship since 1949. The Burmese word “*Swemyo Paukphaw*,” which means “friends like relatives” or “friends like siblings” is used to describe the relationship between the two countries. This term is reserved for China only signifying the strength and the unique relationship the two countries share. However, the close ties China and Burma share today were not always like that. In 1967, anti-Chinese riots took place bringing the relationship to a halt.

This changed, however, after the 1988 military coup in Burma. In 1954, Burma, China and India jointly proclaimed the “Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence” that were subsequently adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement as the basic for international relations. The five principles are: (1) Mutual respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty (2) Non-aggression (3) Non-interference in each other’s internal affairs (4) Equality and mutual benefits, and (5) Peaceful co-existence and peaceful settlement of dispute (*The Embassy of PRC in India website*). Policies towards China changed under the current military government because of China’s foreign policy of non-interference and Burma’s geographic location. Burma’s strategic location on the tri-junction of South Asia, Southeast Asia and China is potentially important for China to achieve its strategic presence in the Indian Ocean, and hence become a two-ocean power (Geng, p.14).

For economic reasons, China and neighbouring countries have been attracted to Burma's natural oil and gas resources. In fact, China and Burma have been in trade relations since as far back as the 11th century. At the present, China is involved in many infrastructure developments in Burma; it is also the biggest foreign investor. Other factors contributing to the close relationship between the two countries include the pressure from Japan and the Western countries, and the European Union's stance towards Burma and its policy makers. The sanctions imposed on Burma by the US and the EU also seem to bring Burma closer to China.

The New Light of Myanmar is seen to protect China by not mentioning some negative or difficult issues and presenting mostly positive information and reports about it. The recent issue which was covered up in *The New Light of Myanmar* was the tainted milk issue (mentioned in more detail in Chapter 1), where the consumption of powdered mil products containing melamine resulted in 296,000 children falling ill (*BBC News* online).

Close ties between Burma and China can also be seen from reading some of the editorial articles included in *The New Light of Myanmar*. On 1st January, 2008 in celebration of the Independence Day of Burma which falls on January 4th, the paper published an editorial article with the title, "*Maintain Justice and Independency*" (page 8) by Kyaw Min Aye. The article's main theme concerned Burmese history focusing on how China and Burma have managed to retain their relationship over the years only to come out as the closest allies. The article describes the long-standing relationship between China and Burma through the turbulent times in the past and through the modern times while at the same time criticising the United States by

using terms such as, "the US and its allied forces constructed Ledo Highway linking India, Myanmar and China in a desperate manner" or in another paragraph, "the CIA provided the remnant Chinese nationalists with arms and enabled them to take stronghold in Myanmar."

Another part of the article, however, mentions China's role in giving a helping hand and financial aid for the economic development of Burma. It also states that because of the "Five Principles of Co-existence," China and Burma have agreed to be "good neighbours" while allowing each other to remain in one own "sovereignty and independence," meaning the "non-interference policy" imposed by the Five Principles of Co-existence. The important fact about the article is that it was written in celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Independence Day of Burma, yet it focuses mostly on the strong ties Burma has formed with its neighbours, China and India, while putting down the United States, even if Burma was actually occupied by the British.

Comparative Analysis of Media Bias

In this section of the thesis, we shall examine sample headlines featured in *The New Light of Myanmar* in January 2008. The tables have six columns each: the first column numbers the items; the second one states the date on which the headlines appeared; the third column lists the headlines; the fourth column gives the section of the newspaper the headlines were taken from, e.g., economic, or international news; the fifth shows the page number the stories appeared on; and the last column indicates the news source(s) from which the international news were taken from. The section includes five tables: The United States, China, North Korea and other countries. The objective of these tables is to compare the headlines for different countries to see the choices of the articles included in *The New Light of Myanmar* to show as evidence that there is media biasness in the newspaper. Below are the five tables:

The United States

No.	Date	Title	Section	Page No.	News Source
1	1.1.08	Bin Laden says US seeks to exploit Iraqi oil	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
2	1.1.08	US, Iraqi forces kill 5 gunmen in N Iraq	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
3	2.1.08	Petraeus says Iraq security fragile, gains reversible	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
4	2.1.08	Belarus threatens to expel US ambassador	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
5	2.1.08	US Soldier dies of non-combat injuries in Iraq		15	MNA/Xinhua
6	3.1.08	US anti-war activists plan protest near Rose Parade	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
7	3.1.08	US Marine faces lesser charges in Haditha killings	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua

8	3.1.08	Romney says Bush mismanaged Iraq war		15	MNA/Reuters
9	4.1.08	US chopper kills suspected insurgent in Iskandriyah	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
10	4.1.08	American wounded in attack on US embassy car in Sudan	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
11	4.1.08	Two US sailors found dead in hotel room in Ghana	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
12	5.1.08	US launches criminal probe into CIA tapes destruction	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
13	5.1.08	Maryland prisoner shoots, carjacks way out of hospital	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
14	5.1.08	US soldier dies of non-combat injuries in Iraq	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
15	7.1.08	Three US soldiers killed in Iraq	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
16	7.1.08	Group sues US in push for new antibiotic warning	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
17	8.1.08	Two slain US soldiers were killed by Iraqi soldier	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
18	8.1.08	US Democratic fundraiser gets three years in jail	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
19	8.1.08	Storm buffets California, millions lose power	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
20	8.1.08	US dollar dragged down by soft job data	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
21	8.1.08	US unemployment rate rises to 5% in Dec		12	MNA/Xinhua
22	9.1.08	Egypt reiterates rejecting US aid with conditions	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
23	9.1.08	Iran says US failing in Middle East	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
24	9.1.08	Two US soldiers killed in bomb attacks in Iraq	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
25	9.1.08	Japan, US, EU eye new energy-saving body	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
26	9.1.08	Hamas dismisses Bush Mideast visit as "photo op"	Economic News	6	MNA/Reuters
27	9.1.08	Two US "F/A-18s" crash in Gulf		7	MNA/Reuters
28	10.1.08	Clinton vows to continue US presidential battle	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
29	10.1.08	Iran has no plan to normalize ties with US	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
30	10.1.08	Live mice found on US flight to China		7	MNA/Xinhua
31	10.1.08	Obama recalls being broke seven years ago		10	MNA/Reuters

32	10.1.08	Mexican army battles drug gang near US border		10	MNA/Reuters
33	10.1.08	US arrests eight in online sports betting operation		15	MNA/Reuters
34	11.1.08	Thousands protest in Gaza against “vampire” Bush	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
35	11.10.08	Hamas lawmaker criticizes PA ceremonies to welcome Bush	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
36	11.10.08	US considers 3,000 more troops for Afghanistan	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
37	11.1.08	151,000 Iraqis killed since US-led invasion	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
38	11.1.08	Rocket strikes continue as Bush arrives in Israel	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
39	11.1.08	Iran’s IRGC says US video of Hormuz ship incident fake	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
40	12.1.08	Obama says New Hampshire loss shows change not easy	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
41	12.1.08	Richardson to drop US presidential bid	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
42	12.1.08	Message, not gender turns US voters from Clinton	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
43	12.1.08	US diplomats critical of Bush Iraq policy	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
44	12.1.08	Critics try to sway debate on US-India nuclear deal		6	MNA/Reuters
45	12.1.08	Six killed in US winter storm		6	MNA/Xinhua
46	12.1.08	Most vulnerable homeless at risk of dying in LA		6	MNA/Xinhua
47	12.1.08	Chrysler recalls Jeep models in China over brake flaws		10	MNA/Xinhua
48	12.1.08	Six US soldiers killed in booby-trap bomb attack in Iraq		12	MNA/Xinhua
49	13.1.08	Iran releases own video of US Gulf incident	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
50	13.1.08	Romney attacks McCain at US Republican debate	International News	3	MNA/Reuters

Table 4: List of headlines concerned with the United States (*The New Light of Myanmar*, January 2008)

China

No.	Date	Title	Section	Page No.	News Source
1	1.1.08	China opposes US on anti-subsidy probe into tyres	Economic News	4	MNA/Xinhua
2	1.1.08	China to slap export taxes on grains	Economic News	4	Internet
3	1.1.08	China to slap export taxes on grains	Economic News	4	Internet
4	2.1.08	China's commuter aircraft receives 20 new orders	Economic News	4	MNA/Xinhua
5	2.1.08	China to crack down on illegal food production, sale	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
6	2.1.08	Ancient Chinese boat arrives at purpose-built museum	Advertisement	12	MNA/Xinhua
7	2.1.08	Chinese famous actor Sun Daolin dies	Advertisement	13	MNA/Xinhua
8	3.1.08	China's NDRC to contain amounting inflation pressure	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
9	3.1.08	5.54m Chinese born on New Year's Day		12	MNA/Xinhua
10	3.1.08	China coal mine death toll rises to 19		15	MNA/Reuters
11	4.1.08	Shanghai port continues to rank first in the world	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
12	4.1.08	Kung fu actor Jet Li tops 2007 star income list		12	Internet
13	4.1.08	Police dogs start patrolling Beijing subway stations		12	MNA/Xinhua
14	4.1.08	China auto maker to develop hydrous ethanol engines		13	MNA/Xinhua
15	4.1.08	China puts quota on grain powder exports		15	MNA/Xinhua
16	5.1.08	Beijing's top universities remain popular		12	MNA/Xinhua
17	5.1.08	China bans online sale of lotteries to ensure regulation		12	MNA/Xinhua
18	5.1.08	Finger length could predict arthritis		13	MNA/Xinhua
19	6.1.08	Beijing's Top Universities remain popular		12	MNA/Xinhua
20	6.1.08	China bans online sale of lotteries to ensure regulation		12	MNA/Xinhua
21	7.1.08	Sinopec posts net profit of 70b yuan in 2007	Economic News	10	MNA/Xinhua
22	7.1.08	China says North Korea delay "natural"		12	MNA/Xinhua
23	8.1.08	China's toy exports grow in	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua

		first 10 months of ‘07			
24	8.1.08	China’s high-tech industry boosted		13	MNA/Xinhua
25	10.1.08	China donates water pumps	Cover page	1	MNA
26	10.1.08	Chinese Defence Minister meets with Singaporean guest	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
27	10.1.08	China’s Customs revenue in 2007 hits record high	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
28	10.1.08	Plastic bags set to be banned in China		12	Internet
29	11.1.08	China to further cooperation with foreign trade unions	Economic News	12	MNA/Xinhua
30	12.1.08	China auto production, sales to hit 10 m units in ‘08	Economic News	4	MNA/Xinhua
31	12.1.08	China’s union charity drive benefits 71 m poor families		6	MNA/Xinhua
32	12.1.08	China’s Internet consumption to rise 45.8% in ‘08		8	MNA/Xinhua
33	12.1.08	2007 China Yearbook Published		12	MNA/Xinhua
34	12.1.08	Chinese customs uncovers 1,190 smuggling cases in 2007		12	MNA/Xinhua
35	12.1.08	China to limit use of plastic bags from one June		13	MNA/Xinhua
36	14.1.08	China’s progress in human rights should be applauded		7	MNA/Xinhua
37	14.1.08	China’s migrant workers’ income rose in 2007		11	MNA/Xinhua
38	15.1.08	China completes first 300,000-ton man-made waterway		4	MNA/Xinhua
39	15.1.08	China’s digital camera sales surge 30% in 2007	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
40	15.1.08	Beijing beefs up security for Olympics		10	MNA/Xinhua
41	15.1.08	Chinese expedition team reaches Antarctic icecap peak		13	MNA/Xinhua
42	16.1.08	China paper sees West to blame themselves in Kenya chaos	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
43	16.1.08	Sino-Indian relations face “strategic chances”	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
44	16.1.08	China imports record 163 m tons of crude oil in ‘07	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
45	16.1.08	Migrant workers, 7.6% satisfied with social status in China		6	MNA/Xinhua
46	16.1.08	China to improve nutrition labelling on food		12	MNA/Reuters
47	16.1.08	Beijing has 295,000		12	Internet

		overweight kids			
48	16.1.08	China humiliated by Germans but chief still confident		14	MNA/Reuters
49	17.1.08	China, India vow to expand trade, economic cooperation	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
50	17.1.08	China, Britain to discuss financial turbulence	Economic News	5	MNA/Reuters

Table 5: List of headlines concerned with China (*The New Light of Myanmar*, January 2008)

North Korea

No.	Date	Title	Section	Page No.	News Source
1	2.1.08	Leading newspapers in DPRK issue joint New Year editorial	International News	10	MNA
2	8.1.08	DPRK blames other countries" delay in fulfilling commitments	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
3	11.1.08	DPRK top leader visits power plant construction site		13	MNA/Xinhua
4	15.1.08	US urged to end hostile policy toward DPRK	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
5	16.1.08	New S Korean leader ready for summit with North	International News	7	MNA/Reuters
6	23.1.08	DPRK accuses US of deploying warplanes in S Korea	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
7	24.1.08	S Korea suggests further eco ties with Russia, DPRK	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
8	25.1.08	DPRK chief demands to develop software tech faster		6	MNA/Xinhua
9	26.1.08	North Korea tells US to remember the "Pueblo"	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
10	18.2.08	DPRK urges US to withdraw forces from South Korea	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
11		DPRK voices strong stand against US provocation		12	MNA/Xinhua
12	20.2.08	North Korea says aid holds up disarmament deal	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
13	27.2.08	N Korea says US-South drill could hurt N-talks		12	MNA/Reuters
14	29.2.08	S Korea, DPRK fail to agree on World Cup qualifier		14	MNA/Xinhua
15	8.3.08	German auto part plant to operate in DPRK's Kaesong	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
16	20.3.08	DPRK vows to boost friendly cooperation with Russia	International News	4	Xinhua

17	23.3.08	DPRK, Russia to jointly to implement Khasan-Rajin railway		15	MNA/Xinhua
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Table 6: List of headlines concerned with North Korea(*The New Light of Myanmar*, January 2008)

Other Countries

No.	Date	Title	Section	Page No.	News Source
1	1.1.08	UK drug giants probed over bribes to Saddam regime	Economic News	4	Internet
2	1.1.08	Foreign Minister sends felicitations to Cuba	Economic News	6	MNA
3	2.1.08	North Korea slams US ahead of nuclear deadline	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
4	2.1.08	Iran ready for N-tech coop with Egypt	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
5	2.1.08	Chart Thai Party confirms joining PPP coalition govt	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
6	2.1.08	Brazil's Christmas e-commerce rises 55%	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
7	2.1.08	Tax reform bill approved in Ecuador	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
8	2.1.08	Tax reform bill approved in Ecuador	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
9	2.1.08	Peru's exports to hit record high in 2007	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
10	2.1.08	Japan to back targets for new climate deal	Advertisement	13	MNA/Xinhua
11	3.1.08	Senior General Than Shwe sends message of condolence to King of Thailand	Cover page	1	MNA
12	3.1.08	Thai monarch pleads for national stability	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
13	3.1.08	Singapore's economy to grow 4.5-6.5% in 2008	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
14	3.1.08	Canadian PM reiterates economic worries for 2008	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
15	3.1.08	Peru confiscates 20 tons of drugs in 2007		13	MNA/Xinhua
16	4.1.08	Pakistan issues Bhutto killing photos, offers reward	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
17	4.1.08	Saudi Crown Prince hopes to boost ties with China	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
18	4.1.08	Israeli Embassy evacuated in Canberra	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
19	4.1.08	Israeli economy booms at 5.3% GDP in 2007	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua

20	4.1.08	Iran, Vietnam ink MoU on commercial cooperation	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
21	4.1.08	Vietnam to build first 6-star hotel	Economic News	5	Internet
22	4.1.08	Bolivia seizes 431 tons of drugs in 2007		12	MNA/Xinhua
23	4.1.08	21,233 arrested for drug trafficking in Costa Rica in '07		12	MNA/Xinhua
24	5.1.08	54 rescued after Chile volcano eruption	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
25	5.1.08	Vietnam receives more blood donations in 2007	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
26	5.1.08	S Korea's exports reach record high in 2007	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
27	5.1.08	Shanghai airports report double-digit rise in passengers	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
28	5.1.08	Vietnam's farm export surges last year	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
29	5.1.08	Indonesia export up 13% in first 11 months	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
30	5.1.08	Afghan police seize 400 kilos of heroin		12	MNA/Xinhua
31	5.1.08	Vietnam eyes five mln foreign visitors this year		13	MNA/Xinhua
32	5.1.08	Aids delivered to flood, landslides zones in Indonesia		13	MNA/Xinhua
33	6.1.08	Pakistan bars British envoy seeing detained lawyer	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
34	7.1.08	Protesters throw rocks at British base on Cyprus	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
35	7.1.08	BBC presenter arrested over fiancée's death	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
36	7.1.08	Russians rescued after missing for three months	International News	3	MNA/Reuters
37	7.1.08	India not to replicate western model of industrialization	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
38	7.1.08	Pakistan criticizes Crisis Group for meddling	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
39	7.1.08	Britain's energy prices increased by double-digits	International News	4	MNA/Xinhua
40	7.1.08	Thai "stealth coup" threatens PPP victory	International News	4	MNA/Reuters
41	7.1.08	German expert says oil prices likely to double in 10 years	Economic News	10	MNA/Xinhua
42	7.1.08	S Korea's "IT" exports increase	Economic News	10	MNA/Xinhua
43	7.1.08	Vietnam sees record auto	Economic News	10	MNA/Xinhua

		import turnovers in 2007			
44	7.1.08	New gas field found in east Bolivia	Economic News	10	MNA/Xinhua
45	7.1.08	Britain's manufacturing growth slows	Economic News	13	MNA/Xinhua
46	7.1.08	Germany expects lower economic growth in 2008	Economic News	13	MNA/Xinhua
47	8.1.08	Bhutto's party to seek UN probe if wins power	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
48	8.1.08	Iran to test fly third generation of home-built "Saegheh"	International News	3	MNA/Xinhua
49	8.1.08	Vehicle sales to rise at slower pace in Brazil this year	Economic News	5	MNA/Xinhua
50	8.1.08	British journalist forced to stop working in Iran		11	MNA/Reuters

Table 7: List of headlines concerned with countries, such as Thailand, Vietnam, British, Pakistan, Germany, Iran, Brazil, etc. (*The New Light of Myanmar*, January 2008)

Firstly, we have to explain that on an average day, news coverage of different countries varies equal, covered so from all the data only 50 entries of each of the country are presented in the tables with an exception for news concerning with North Korea. As we can see from the tables, in the case of the United States, news about the war and the country's problems and disputes with other countries are prioritized to give the readers the impression that the United States is a bullying nation without any regard for its own soldiers and that it is not accepted by other countries as a peaceful nation around the world. This is not the case of China and stories concerning China usually show the Chinese as a responsible and fast developing nation with peaceful ties with Burma and countries in the region. The news concerning China includes topics which are not of particular importance for the local people in Burma, but rather are significant for the people in China instead. To support the point that the bias found in the newspaper towards the United States is quite unique, other news concerning countries such as Russia, Korea, Thailand, Germany, Brazil, Vietnam,

and most of the south-east Asian countries are presented here to show that the newspaper can actually also remain neutral.

The news sources shown in the table demonstrate that most of the time *The New Light of Myanmar* takes its materials from the Chinese-owned Xinhua News Service. For the domestic items, MNA or Myanmar News Agency is the one which decides which news should be printed or not. Taking information only from a limited number of sources can be a sign of the government's trust towards them, and in the case of Xinhua, it might be an indicator of the Burmese government's close ties with China.

The evidence presented in this chapter clearly shows the bias in reporting news concerning different countries in *The New Light of Myanmar*. Media bias can be found everywhere but somehow for most of the time it goes unnoticed because usually newspapers provide both sides of the story, even if one of the sides is prioritized. This is a way persuading people to see the issue the way the press want them to see it but still, the people are given a choice to read more about the topic and both sides of a conflict are shown voicing their opinions. In *The New Light of Myanmar*, information is revealed only to the point the newspaper owners want it revealed. In other words, by limiting the information the newspaper limits its readers' thinking and controls their minds by channelling them in the direction it wants. In the next chapter, the data presented so far will be analyzed in relation to a propaganda model with a view to reaching a conclusion to this analysis.

Chapter (3): Propaganda Analysis

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, propaganda can be defined as a deliberate attempt to shape understanding of an individual or group of people by manipulating their thinking process and directing behaviour to achieve a response that supports the intent of the propagandist. This can be achieved by the propagandists by providing information which supports their purposes only through the press, radio, television, movies, posters, slogans, billboards, education, or the Internet, depending on how powerful the propagandists are. Logical thinking would lead us to the conclusion that in order to succeed in this purpose, the propagandist must keep bombarding the target audience with propaganda from all different forms of media for years to embed the desired thinking to the point that it becomes part of the people's culture.

To analyze propaganda, one must do historical research, examine propaganda messages and media sensitivity to audience responses, and scrutinise the entire propaganda process (Jowett-O'Donnell 269). This is what this chapter aims to achieve in general, but due to the time limitations and the overabundance of information available from the daily issues of *The New Light of Myanmar*, this thesis focuses only on four years of data.

In this chapter, information and facts presented in the previous chapters will be analyzed following a propaganda model developed from Jowett-O'Donnell's propaganda analysis divisions or steps. In addition to the data from Chapter 1 and 2, three editorial articles written on the Armed Forces Day, March 27 are analyzed as

well. To explain the propaganda model used in the chapter, Jowett-O'Donnell's propaganda analysis steps will be explained briefly.

First published in 1986, Jowett-O'Donnell's *Propaganda and Persuasion* was written in hope to encourage students to take interest in propaganda analysis. The authors devised a 10-step model that could be used when analyzing propaganda: (1) The ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign; (2) The context in which the propaganda occurs; (3) Identification of the propagandist; (4) The structure of the propaganda organization; (5) The target audience; (6) Media utilization techniques; (7) Special techniques to maximize effect; (8) Audience reaction to various techniques; (9) Counterpropaganda, if present; and (10) Effects and evaluations (270).

As we can see the model has not necessarily been made for a specific propaganda study but rather to analyze any system which is considered to be propaganda. Jowett and O'Donnell provided four case studies: Women and war, Gulf War, and two corporate propaganda analyses on smoking and drugs; and analyzed them using the model, accordingly. In the case of this thesis, while the steps quoted above can be applicable to analyzing *The New Light of Myanmar*, a slightly different model has been developed by adding, rearranging and combining some of the steps to better suit the specific case of this examination. The main difference between the presented model and the Jowett-O'Donnell's model is that the first one has been created for studying specifically only one medium in which propaganda appears, whereas the latter focuses on different media but targeting one area of interest only.

Some of the steps have been combined to facilitate their analysis and avoid redundancy, as many of the discussed areas overlap.

The developed model consists of 4 steps and the steps are as follows: (1) Ownership and identification of the propagandist; (2) Context, ideology and purpose; (3) Propaganda techniques; (4) Target audience; and (5) Effects of the propaganda techniques used in *The New Light of Myanmar*.

The main objective of the first step is to identify the propagandist from the economical and political point of view. The source of propaganda is likely to be an institution or organization, with the propagandist as its leader or agent (Jowett and O'Donnell 273). In this case, the identity of the propagandist is quite open and easy to identify due to three facts.

The first fact is that *The New Light of Myanmar* has been a state-run newspaper since its production in 1941, going through a name change from *Working People's Daily* in 1993. It is no secret that it is funded by government rather than from commercial advertising, as the only advertisements we see are related directly to the government (see the samples provided in Chapter 1). The second fact, also based on the information presented in Chapter 1, is that domestic issues are taken from one source only, Myanmar News Agency (MNA) and not from private-owned news agencies, if there are any. The third fact is that the domestic news features, again as seen in Chapter 1, describe high-ranking military officials on a daily basis as people of authority who are taking part in opening ceremonies, making inspections and giving instructions in all sectors relating to the domestic issues. By looking at these three items, we can conclude safely that the propagandist is the government that owns

and funds the newspaper and has enough power to influence the newspaper's choices in news selection and editorial matters. The newspaper is merely an agent set out to perform the duty assigned to it by the military government. Here, it is important to clarify that the term "military government" encompasses only a handful of the powerful high-ranking military officials and does not include the entire army.

With the propagandist identified, the next step is for us to understand what exactly is the ideology and purpose behind the propaganda in *The New Light of Myanmar*. We will start by looking at the context in which the propaganda occurs. As mentioned before, any analysis of propaganda requires historical research and a clear understanding of the intent of the propagandist. In this paper, the research focused on the material from four years only and at this point we need to clarify the context of the materials gathered.

Firstly, propaganda can be instilled in any form of media or at least in more than one type of media at the same time. Especially in a country with a rigid and totalitarian regime, such as Burma, propaganda can be found in all possible forms of communication with the public: radio, TV, magazines, newspapers, movies, posters, billboards, group activities and any other demonstrations of ideological strength. For the sake of clarity, this thesis focuses only on one government-run and government-funded print medium, the daily newspaper, *The New Light of Myanmar*.

To find out the ideology and purpose of *The New Light of Myanmar's* propaganda, we have to look back on the information presented in the first chapter. As we can see from the presentation of the news coverage of the referendum, even during the time of a natural disaster there were 29 news articles with big headlines

which asked people not only to vote, but to vote “YES” in the referendum. The editorials at that time also urged people to vote “YES.” Also pictures of soldiers helping people remove debris and trees from the roads were printed in great numbers. Before the referendum, it seems the newspaper was too busy to headline the storm warning and help the general public take precautions. After the cyclone Nargis, the government did not postpone the referendum to give priority to the restoration of order. On the contrary, the newspaper stated that the country has already returned back to normal without mentioning any specific number of death toll or the exact regions which were affected.

Judging from this information we can suggest that the purpose of the military propaganda is to make use of every situation to whitewash the image of the military as a whole and also to enforce the opinion that in order to keep the nation strong, all the patriotic people have the duty to vote “Yes” in the referendum and if they do not do so they will be seen as traitors. What can be seen in this situation is that, even at a time of a natural disaster, the only thing the government wants to focus on is the referendum and every other event is utilised to support that purpose.

To strengthen the argument that the ideology and purpose of *The New Light of Myanmar's* propaganda campaign is to empower the military rule without giving much choice to the people, let us look at three editorial articles written in 2006, 2008 and 2009 on 27 March, which is the Armed Forces Day in Burma. Firstly, let us examine the editorial article, “*Fine National Political Tradition of Tatmadaw*” (official Burmese term meaning the military or the armed forces) with the

subheading, *"Nation will be strong only when Tatmadaw is strong,"* written by Kaytu Nilar on 27 March 2006 to celebrate the 61st Anniversary of the Armed Forces Day.

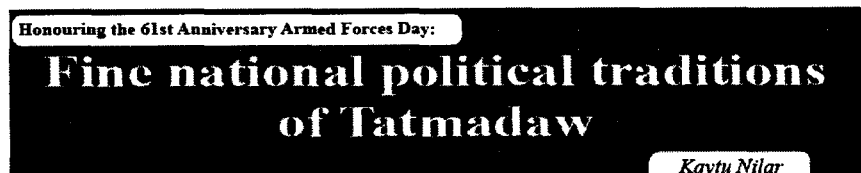


Figure 21: The headline for the editorial article which appeared on 27 March 2006

The article was written on the 61st Anniversary of the Armed Forces Day in Burma which is March 27. This article has been chosen for analysis for two reasons. The first reason is quite simple: because it is the anniversary of the Armed Forces, the government will undoubtedly want the newspaper to write editorial articles in support of its aims. The second reason is based on the first one: because editorial articles are expected to mention the military government's good points, the articles will either clearly state or hint the purpose and ideology of the government or the propagandist.

From reading the text, the first obvious observation is that the author has no personality. There is no reference made to him or her in the text at all. The author seems to be detached from the article dealing only with facts, such as dates and numbers, and incidents which happened in the past. The author's tone seems to be consistent throughout the article. The article is written with a mixed purpose of providing information and justification of the military government's intermissions in the turbulent history of post-colonial Burma.

From the stylistic point of view, the second obvious fact about the article is the usage of the terms, "Armed Forces" and "Tatmadaw." Firstly, the term "Tatmadaw" is a Burmese word and it is undoubtedly used in the original Burmese

language article but in the translated English article, the decision not to use the English term instead seems a deliberate choice. In the entire article, the term “Tatmadaw” is used 42 times and the term “Armed Forces” is used only one time as seen in the headline .Perhaps this was done for no specific reason at all, but it is also reasonable to assume that, the article expects its readers to be familiar with the term or to find out what the word means, if the reader is not familiar with the Burmese language. If we find this word choice deliberate, it is easy to speculate about the reason why the Burmese word is preferred.

The term “armed forces” is a rather strong phrase that brings to mind an image of weapons or any objects capable of hurting people. Additionally, the word “forces” has a connotation of something large or a group of people that has the power to crush anything. These two words carry much stronger meaning and image in English than the Burmese term does. In Burmese, the term does give the readers an image of men carrying weapons but it does not sound as harsh as the English phrase, which might be the reason why the Burmese term is preferable. If we follow this line of thinking a possible explanation of why the term Tatmadaw is used in the article might be that the government would not like the readers to think of the military as of the negative entity.

In addition, the main theme of the article can be interpreted as the Tatmadaw's vital role in national and political spheres. We can see that from looking at the vocabulary used in the article and especially at the words paired together. The first pair we can frequently see in the article is the term “Tatmadaw” together with the words “national,” “political,” or “traditions” and “independence.” For example, in the

first paragraph of the article, “The **Tatmadaw** has stood magnificently as a strong national force since its birth [...] Tatmadaw’s leadership roles in the **national politics** as a strong **national** force,” or in the second paragraph, “The **Tatmadaw** is endowed with fine and significant **traditions** in the **political** sphere.” And to provide more examples, in the third paragraph, “At that time, the **Tatmadaw’s national** objective was **independence**, which was one and only objective.” in the ninth paragraph, “This indicated that the **Tatmadaw** could uphold the **national political tradition** that the **Tatmadaw** and the people always remained united,” in the fifteenth paragraph, “[...] the **Tatmadaw** discharged **national political** duties fully as the Caretaker Government” and so on. The entire article is included in the appendix.

Relating the word combinations used together with the term Tatmadaw, one possible way of understanding the purpose of the text is that the article tries to relate the Tatmadaw in the national and political spheres by naturalising the thinking that the role of the military is not necessarily limited to being a force of protection from the outside intruders but also from domestic problems, and that this role also extends to governing the country on a political level. This is the purpose of the article and basically the purpose of all the propaganda presented in the newspaper.

A similar conclusion can also be reached when thinking of the context of the article. From the beginning of the article, the author uses the term Tatmadaw, the military, which consists of thousands of soldiers seen as a single unit. In addition to that, the author refers to the Tatmadaw as to a person, e.g. “The Tatmadaw has stood magnificently ...,” “The Tatmadaw is endowed with fine and significant traditions ...,” “[...] Tatmadaw’s national political traditions,” “Later, the Tatmadaw exposed

the mastermind of ...” and so on throughout the article. This makes us wonder who is included when the term Tatmadaw is used – is it the entire military force or is it only a specific group of people? To think that the entire army achieved all these is oversimplifying the structure of the military and also making a rather bold statement saying that the numerous soldiers included either do not have opinions or their opinions are not taken into account.

In the fourth paragraph of the article, the author writes that independence was the Tatmadaw’s national objective and in the sixth paragraph, the article states that Myanmar became independent on 4 January. This is all true except that it is not the entire picture. Before Burma got its independence, there was no official Burmese military force in the country. People from all walks of life took part in the fight for independence, which is why March 27 was originally named the National Resistance Day of Burma. The name was changed to the Armed Forces Day in 1958 under the Socialist government whose leader was a general. The former name was more accurate as it uses the word “national” to indicate that the day belongs to all the people in Burma, while the latter term makes it appear that the fighting was done by the Tatmadaw only without the help of the people, which is impossible. This fact adds to the analysis of the ideology which is donned by the propagandist. It is that, as mentioned earlier, the propagandist makes use of any situation to profit their campaign on keeping the ruling power with the military elite, even if it involves stretching the truth or leave out details which can question their motives and claims.

In another thread of the article, the author accuses the British government of causing all the ethnic problems after their departure. The author writes, “[...] owing

to the wedge driven by British colonialists, racism, suspicions among national races, dogmatism of leftist Burma Community Party (BCP)..." to clearly state that the any civil unrest in the country happened because of the British. It is true to say that the British colonialist government failed to lay a good foundation to build a modern nation state of Burma. But it is also grossly opportunistic to blame the British for sowing the seed of mistrust and animosity among the ethnic groups in Burma. Although it was never the conscious objective of British imperialist to imbue the concept of nation, democracy and freedom, the British education system and being invaded opened up people's eyes to the value of democracy and freedom.

After the departure of the British, just like in any other state emerging out of the colonial rule, the young national government was weak and inexperienced, politically and administratively, which led to the some of the worst civil wars in Burma. But as we can read from the article, whenever there was a war, instead of helping the civilian government gain control over the troubled regions, the Tatmadaw took over the power. After becoming a provisional government, the military did not return the power to the civilian government after the 1990 elections. This is also not discussed in length in the article. Only one sentence is mentioned about the issue, "On 27 May 1990, it held multi-party democracy elections." The following sentence does not relate to the previous one.

From all the above, we can conclude that the possible purpose of this article is to reflect that the present government does not need to return the power to a civilian government because civilian governments were given the chance to rule the country

in the past and failed. And since the military had to take over to save the country more than once, this justifies the fact that they should stay in power.

At the end of the article, the author wrote: “At the National Convention, discussions are being held on basic principles and detailed basic principles to be included in the State Constitution, [...] that is essential for the building of a future state.” This is a reference to the referendum mentioned in Chapter 1. Since the article was written in 2006, we can see that the government has been planning the referendum on the new constitution at least since 2006 and the ideology which the article is hinting on is to ensure that the military plays a vital role in building the future state.

This assumption might become more believable after we analyze the newspaper articles written on March 27 in 2008 and 2009. 2007 is a gap because the English language version of the newspaper was not available from the source. The articles written in 2008 and 2009 have similar structure and they will be studied together. Both articles are factual and graphic without using many words. In both articles, a table showing the developments in the country since 1988 (the year when the present government took over the role as a provisional government), is compared with the present years. The table presented in 2008 focuses on the progress in the communication sector in the time of the “Tatmadaw Government.” It states the number of post offices, telegraph offices, telephone offices, microwave services, internet and satellite channels and stations and compares them to their non-existence or low numbers during 1988. The second table basically does the same thing as the first table but the subjects have changed to the number of earth, gravel, or tarred roads

being made, the number of new bridges, health care centres, dams, canals, forest reservations, nurseries, livestock breeding farms, TV stations, post offices and telephone offices, once again given in comparison with 1988 again. The tables are shown below.

*Nationalities Youth Resource Development Degree College (Yangon)
established for broadening the horizons of national race youths of
border areas.*

No.	Subject	1988	2008	Progress
1.	Miles of earth road	-	3834/3	3834/3
2.	Miles of gravel road	-	2683/0	2683/0
3.	Miles of tarred road	-	448/1	448/1
4.	Large bridge	-	88	88
5.	Small bridge	-	1127	1127
6.	Suspension bridge	-	54	54
7.	Hospital	-	80	80
8.	Dispensary	-	102	102
9.	Rural health care centre	-	62	62
10.	Rural health care branch	-	139	139
11.	BEPS, BEMS, BEHS	-	855/90/92	855/90/92
12.	Agriculture office	-	31	31
13.	Agriculture camp	-	118	118
14.	Dam	-	60	60
15.	Canal	-	5	5
16.	Tractor station	-	11	11
17.	Forest reserve (designated/being arranged)	-	11/14	11/14
18.	Nursery	-	14	14
19.	Livestock breeding farm	-	20	20
20.	Veterinary office	-	41	41
21.	Generator	-	268	268
22.	TV retransmission station	-	112	112
24.	Telephone office	-	85	85

**Progress of Communications Sector in
the Time of Tatmadaw Government**

Sr.	Subject	1988	2007	Progress
1.	Telegraph Office	310	504	194
3.	Telephone service			
	- Telephone station	245	891	646
	- Number of lines	71855	747565	675710
	- Number of carrier boards	245	650	405
	- Rural telephone exchange	-	241	241
	- Direct lines	67016	659313	592297
	- Auto/hand carrier	67016	87636	20620
	- ARTS radio telephone	-	3981	3981
	- CDMA telephone	-	30390	30390
	- D-AMPS telephone	-	23710	23710
	- DECT-Radio telephone	-	2574	2574
	- GSM Cellular telephone	-	211812	211812
4.	Microwave station	71	232	161
5.	Internet	-	7772	7772
6.	External satellite ground station	1	3	2
7.	External satellite channel	26	543	517
8.	International telephone channel	26	2031	2005

Figure 22: Tables shown in the articles written in *The New Light of Myanmar* on 27 March 2009 and 2008

It is true that a picture, or in this case, a table is worth a thousand words. In this case, it is plain to see that the government wants the readers of *The New Light of Myanmar* to notice that it has been performing tasks to develop the country in various sectors by showing the developments in figures. This definition of development is debatable one can always ask about the legitimacy of the numbers. In this case, the credibility of the data is easily questioned, as we see when we compare the areas highlighted in red: the number of post offices is vastly different. In the first table, there were no post

offices at all in 1988 which is already a very unusual fact, but in the second table, there were suddenly 1114 post offices. It is true that the first table does not include border areas but the article does not specify the exact border areas it talks about. Also if there were no post offices in border areas at all, how did people who lived there receive and send posts before 1988? As a conclusion, in the continuation part of the 2008 article, the newspaper provided pictures from the opening of the Zoological Garden in the new capital, Nay Pyi Taw. The article shows pictures of all animals in the zoo.

The question that needs to be asked here is how the building of new bridges, telephone offices and gardens translates into the country's development? What does it do for the people? Does it relate to education, improving economy or building a modern nation? What percentage of these facilities is being utilized by the general public? If so, how much is the government charging for the use of these facilities? These questions cannot be answered from reading the above articles, and it is plain to see that the newspaper features the only developments in the country no other issues relating to the problems occurring in the country. From what we know, these so-called developments might not even be aimed at helping the people at all but rather at helping the government. If essential questions like these are not being answered, then I believe it is safe to say that the articles like the ones analysed are not meant to inform the general public of their country's developments at all.

In addition to everything that has been said here, let us take a look at Table 2 from Chapter 1 now. The table, as explained before lists the topics of the editorial articles written within the last four years. The articles are divided into different

categories, which are: National Convention, The Constitution and the Seven-Step Road Map, Educational Articles, Awards and Ceremonies, Press Conferences, Showcases of Developments within the States and Divisions, Government Policies on ASEAN and Neighbouring countries, Articles Discriminating Against Specific Opposition Leaders and Western News Agencies, and Intentionally Chosen Historical Facts to Support the Government's Actions. (For more details about what is included under each topic see Chapter 1).

In the table, the number of articles written within four years which falls under these categories shows 1440 editorial articles in total. 348 of them were written for the National Convention, 263 were urging to support the Constitution and the Seven-Step Road Map plan made by the government, 217 articles were criticising opposition leaders (especially Daw Aung San Suu Kyi), Western news agencies and Western countries, 139 articles were on Government Policies on ASEAN and neighbouring countries, and 10 articles showcased the developments in States and Divisions under this government. Out of all these articles, only 57 were educational or relating to education system. (See Chapter 1 for details). From these numbers we can see that almost all the articles in *The New Light of Myanmar* are written to reflect the government's policies and plans.

Another form of publication which helps to support the purpose and ideology of the propagandist are the slogans and objectives which have been included in the newspaper for over 20 years. Firstly, the objectives, such as in the figure shown below, are one of the many slogans which have appeared in *The New Light of Myanmar* daily for over seven years. These objectives were written supposedly for

the nation as whole, which makes it difficult to believe because it is impossible for an entire nation full of people from different levels of society, from different ranks of life to want the same things, especially concerning politics and economy. According to the objectives all the people in Burma want the same thing. This might be telling us that the government wants all the people to want what they want, regardless of whether the consent of people is given willingly or not. This may well be the ideology behind the propaganda – to make people accept everything the government says just because these things appear to be accepted by the majority.

<p>Four political objectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stability of the State, community peace and tranquillity, prevalence of law and order • National reconciliation • Emergence of a new enduring State Constitution • Building of a new modern developed nation in accord with the new State Constitution 	<p>Four economic objectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of agriculture as the base and all-round development of other sectors of the economy as well • Proper evolution of the market-oriented economic system • Development of the economy inviting participation in terms of technical know-how and investment: from sources inside the country and abroad • The initiative to shape the national economy must be kept in the hands of the State and the national peoples 	<p>Four social objectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uplift of the morale and morality of the entire nation • Uplift of national prestige and integrity and preservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage and national character • Uplift of dynamism of patriotic spirit • Uplift of health, fitness and education standards of the entire nation
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Figure 23: One of the many slogans included everyday in *The New Light of Myanmar*

Just as the objectives above, these slogans (shown below) or exhortations are carried in all the issues of *The New Light of Myanmar*.

PEOPLE’S DESIRE

- Oppose those relying on external elements, acting as stooges, holding negative views
- Oppose those trying to jeopardize stability of the State and progress of the nation
- Oppose foreign nations interfering in internal affairs of the State
- Crush all internal and external destructive elements as the common enemy

Let us now turn to the propaganda techniques used in *The New Light of Myanmar*. This is the third step of the model and it is most important for this thesis because it makes use of all the information presented in the first two chapters and tries to determine which propaganda techniques are used. This step will also support

the main argument of the thesis which is to prove that *The New Light of Myanmar* is a propaganda tool used by the powerful small elite to influence the public by showing that the newspaper does use propaganda, which is the reason why we can find these different techniques in the material analysed.

Before the techniques are defined, their origin and names should be discussed briefly. All the referenced techniques have been taken from a variety of sources and only the common ones, present in all the sources, have been taken into account. The first source is the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA), established in 1937, with the objective to help the general public understand more about the propaganda techniques used upon them. IPA suspended its operations in 1942 and a new organization, an online source called The Propaganda Critic (<http://www.propagandacritic.com/>) is used as the third reference. Here it is important to understand that multiple terms are available for similar techniques but in order to find the most appropriate category which the propaganda used in *The New Light of Myanmar* falls under, these three sources are taken into account in parallel. Some of the techniques are present in all the three sources. In the case when some techniques are overlapping the one which fits the best will be chosen.

We will now define the techniques used in the newspaper. A wide variety of techniques, sometimes overlapping, were found in the news presented in Chapter 1, 2 and the editorials written in *The New Light of Myanmar*. The first technique is known as the assertion technique, taken from the IPA. Assertion refers to an enthusiastic and energetic statement which is used without explanation or backup and which the readers are expected to accept without any question (IPA online). In *The New Light of*

Myanmar, assertion technique can be seen in slogans and headlines. Examples are - “Emergence of the State Constitution is the duty of all citizens of Myanmar Naing-Ngan” or “To approve the State Constitution is a national duty of the entire people today. Let us all cast “Yes” vote in the national interest.”

These messages appeared in *The New Light of Myanmar* from 1 May 2008 until the end of the voting period, 10 May 2008. These messages used phrases such as, “national interest” and “national duty.” It is clear that in any civilized society there are certain expectations that people are supposed to fulfil in order to be a good citizen who wants what is best for the country. Such values have been embedded in all of us through our education systems since we were young. The messages carried by the newspaper have been phrased in such a way as to tell the readers that if they do not do as the statement says, they will break one of the basic social rules and neglect their duty as a citizen.

The next technique found often in *The New Light of Myanmar* is the bandwagon technique, where people are convinced to join the crowd because other people have already done so (*Propaganda Critic* online). This technique is found usually in domestic news articles. For example, on 26 April 2008, a news article titled, “*Billboards set up in Yangon South District to hail Referendum*” was included in the newspaper to urge the people to join others who have already accepted the referendum.

Another technique found in the editorial part of the newspaper is the plain folk technique. It is a technique where people with plain names assuming to be an ordinary person are doing the convincing. This technique is quite popular in *The New*

Light of Myanmar during specific seasons, such as the National Convention and the Constitution voting seasons. A sample article can be seen on 27 April 2008 with the title, “*True heart of a Union*” written by *A Reader*. The plain folk technique is usually used together with testimonials. Another example is – “*The Most opportune time to take off*” by *A Pensioner* written on 2 May 2008. One last example is – “*No place for saboteurs in new nation to be built in accord with new constitution*” by Maung De Doh. This article is written as a conversation between the author and his uncle, Bagyi Toe, which is a common name in villages. This article is a cross between the plain folk technique and the next technique, pinpointing the enemy.

This technique is usually found in the international news section. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the Western countries, especially the United States of America, are pinpointed as rather unpleasant nations in conflict with other countries. This is done so by choosing only specific news relating to the country. Pinpointing the enemy is used to simplify things for the general public by giving them a black and white reason why someone should be labelled “bad.” The most common place where this technique is seen are the slogans, such as —

- ★ RFA, VOA and BBC airing skyful of lies
- ★ RFA, VOA and BBC saboteurs, watch your step!
- ★ The public be warned of
killers in the air waves —
RFA, VOA and BBC

Figure 24: One of the slogans which appears on some days of *The New Light of Myanmar* (26 February 2008)

The next technique which is used abundantly in *The New Light of Myanmar* is the testimonial technique. Below are shown the testimonials which appeared in *The New Light of Myanmar*.

Magway Division USDA will constantly participate in the drive for equitable development, peace and stability and seven-step Road Map

Figure 25: A headline of an editorial article in *The New Light of Myanmar* on 21 November 2007.

Mongkaung Special Force Announcement

Letter No. 0010/ Ta Wa Ra/ 2007

Date: 15 November 2007

Mongkaung Special Force was formed on 10 June 1983 with the aim of ensuring regional security, the rule of law and regional development. In addition, under the leadership of the Tatmadaw, we are working together with the State.

We object to the point in the statement of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi released through Mr Gambari, adviser to the UN Secretary-General, on 8 November implying that she represented all national races.

Furthermore, we disapprove of the point that she was responsible for the wishes and interests of the national races stated of her statement released at the decision of the NLD meeting on 12 November.

We hereby announce that we will take part in the successful implementation of the Seven-Step Road Map under the leadership of the government.

Mongkaung Special Force

Figure 26: A testimonial made against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on 15 Nov 2007

Announcement of national race delegates from Shan State (East) to National Convention

Date: 21 November 2007

Altogether over 1000 national race delegates from 325 townships in the country attended the successfully-completed National Convention and eight delegate groups participated in the discussions. Out of the eight delegate groups, the delegate group of national races comprises 641 delegates and it is the largest in number. A total of 29 delegates from Shan State (East) participated in the discussions of the delegate group of national races.

We view the meetings between Minister for Relations U Aung Kyi and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as positive move to national reconsolidation.

Mr Gambari, special adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General released the statement of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi written in English on her behalf in Singapore on 8 November.

Obviously, the usage contained in the statement is seen as arrogance and does not reflect Myanmar customs and Myanmar way of life. We are opposed to the statement in such a time.

Those who are going to draft the State Constitution must be the ones who have a wide range of knowledge of Myanmar history, culture and customs. During the period of independence struggle, the constitution was drawn with the assistance of foreign experts. However, nowadays we believe that the constitution capable of serving the interests of Myanmar nationals will emerge as educated and experienced Myanmar citizens are going to draft it.

Therefore, we hereby declare that we support the Commission for Drafting State Constitution formed on 18 October 2007.

**Delegates from Shan State (East)
Delegate Group of National Races**

Figure 27: Another opposing testimonial by supposedly the Shan State delegates (*The New Light of Myanmar* 25 Nov 2007)

These are only some of the abundant examples found in *The New Light of Myanmar* and if all the slogans, articles, news stories, and poems were to be included, this thesis would have been extremely thick. Because these materials relate to a single step in a model, only limited information is presented here. But more details can be found in Chapters 1 and 2.

For any propagandist to achieve its goals a specific audience must be chosen. The propaganda message is aimed at the audience most likely to be useful to the

propagandist, if it responds favourably (Jowett and O'Donnell 275). We can try to determine the possible target audience of *The New Light of Myanmar* by looking at the level of difficulty of language and vocabulary usage, the jargon used, if any, the sentence structure of the editorial articles and the overall context in which these sentences occur. Since this thesis has a time constraint we will only look at the available information used therein.

Based on the analysis made in previous steps, it can be revealed that the target audience is assumed to be foreigners who have extensive knowledge on Burma and also the mass public who can read and understand English at a more than average level. The reasons for such claims can be given in reference to the sentence structure used in the editorial articles.

From the sentence structure, it appears that the target audience needs to have more than average knowledge of English. The editorial and news articles use complex vocabulary and long sentence structure which can be difficult for new learners of English to understand. The vocabulary used in *The New Light of Myanmar* is politically-oriented and might not be commonly found in textbooks used by students in Burma. The length of the sentences, especially in the editorial articles is substantial. Moreover, sometimes the articles might carry concepts which can be difficult for young people to grasp or understand. Also the jargon used in the editorial articles, such as the usage of Burmese names, or the usage of commonplace man technique as mentioned in step 3 can add to the fact that to understand these articles fully, one would have to have more than a basic knowledge of Burma. The last fact and the most important one, in the foreign news section of *The New Light of*

Myanmar, the Western countries, especially and mostly the United States are depicted as untrustworthy while China is shown as the complete opposite of the States. Such descriptions seem to be aimed at the countries concerned to show that within Burma, foreign powers can be anything the newspaper wants them to be. These are the reasons why one part of the target audience is assumed to be the foreigners with extensive background knowledge on Burma.

On the other hand, when we look at the domestic news articles, and all the slogans (see Chapter 1 and 2 for details) included in *The New Light of Myanmar*, we can see that the newspaper is aimed at the mass public of Burma. The sentence structure in news and editorial articles might be lengthy and the ambiguities might be difficult to grasp for both younger and older generation with limited English reading skills, especially the young generation lacking knowledge of the full history of Burma, but perhaps this is part of the intention. Additionally, daily weather forecasts and television schedules and major event announcements are evidently aimed at the readers inside Burma, while also letting the readers outside the country to have a basic idea of what is going on inside the country.

Based on all the above, the target audience is believed to consist of foreigners and general public inside and outside the country. Factors such as what the readers understand from reading these newspapers and the availability of the newspaper both inside and outside the country have a result on the effects of the propaganda, which is the last step of the model and the last part of the analysis in this thesis.

Approaching the effectiveness of propaganda, there has to be a clear distinction between effectiveness and involuntary effects (Ellul 259). The objective of

this step of the model is not to give a black and white answer evaluating whether the described propaganda campaign was successful or not. This would be impossible to do here, since we are examining only one type of dissemination medium. As said before, propaganda is total and to study its effects properly one must look at all the sources of propaganda messages from all the possible media. In the case of this thesis, the final step is meant to show the possible outcomes of the propaganda by referring to the information presented and analyzed before.

Firstly, we know for a fact that people were urged to vote “Yes” in the referendum and that the results show that 98% of the population voted in support of the constitution. From the information provided in Chapters 1 and 2, especially from the editorial articles, we know that daily news was quite similar in contents and preferences. Editorial article topics also highlight the government’s achievements and the articles usually speak for the entire nation. Interesting news topics found in most newspapers in other countries, such as the domestic economic situation, the government’s plans for healthcare issues, education system, murders and crimes, and lighter topics such as travel documentaries, festivals, interviews with famous people in the country are very rarely included. Also, when these topics are mentioned, there is never any criticism of any sort to these issues and the articles are found to be highly agreeable to the government. Yet the referendum results were shown to be nearly 100% which gives us a reasonable doubt and makes even the reader who has no knowledge on Burma to question the freedom of the press in the country. In addition to that logic, we also have to ask the question, what other media are available to the

people. If there are none, there is a big chance that the newspaper can brainwash the people after a certain period of time.

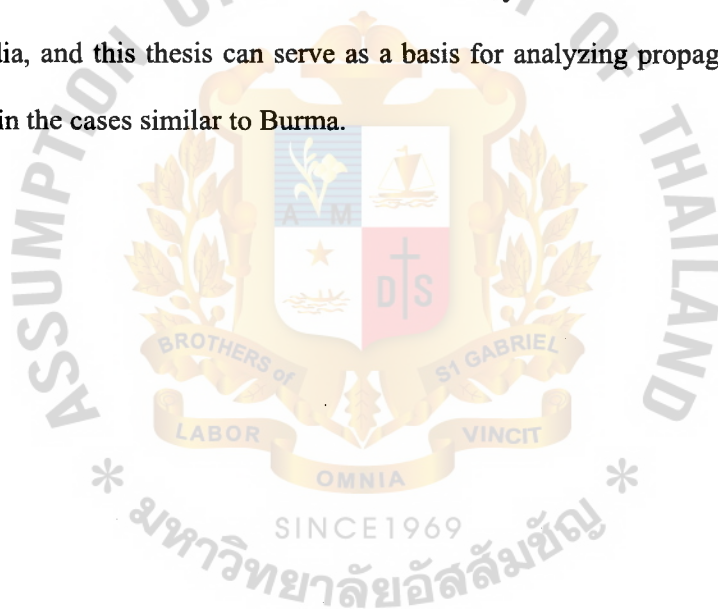
The fact that the propagandist wanted the public to accept the referendum and the 98% acceptance it received indicate that the desired result was achieved and shows us that the propaganda is working to a certain extent. But on the other hand, it is arguable whether the newspaper alone is responsible for this. Yet again, there is no proof that the numbers were not tampered with.

Let us assume for the sake of argument that the results have been tampered with and that there are people who do not accept this. In that case we could rightly expect some kind of act to counter the propaganda. One way to counter the propaganda in the newspaper is to write sentences which might be ambiguous and open to interpretation. For example, in the article analyzed earlier, "*Fine national political traditions of Tatmadaw*," the author included some sentences which should not be included as they stand out and make the readers question the validity of the very subject the author is trying to argue. This might or might not be intended, but assuming it to be intended, it could be seen as an attempt to counter the propaganda.

There might be other types of counter-propaganda present in other forms of media and they might even take bolder stances, but they are not discussed here. Unfortunately, the model employed for the sake of the thesis comes short in analysing the last step. If the thesis covered more media, then this last step could be more thoroughly explored.

This chapter has attempted to provide the reasons why we could evaluate *The New Light of Myanmar* in terms of a propaganda tool used by the powerful elite to

serve their purposes by making use of all the information gathered in Chapter 1 and 2. The chapter also was organised based on a model developed from Jowett-O'Donnell's 10 steps to analyze propaganda (Jowett and O'Donnell 270). The model has its constraints and benefits for this specific analysis. While it does not have the capability to highlight the effects of propaganda in one type of media it allows the reader to see the actual examples of techniques used in *The New Light of Myanmar* and also to identify the propagandist and his purpose and ideology, and the target audience. The model can be used for further study which will encompass more types of media, and this thesis can serve as a basis for analyzing propaganda for the print media in the cases similar to Burma.



Conclusion

In this thesis it has been argued that *The New Light of Myanmar* is a propaganda tool used by the government to disseminate selected information to serve the purpose of distilling some ideologies to affect the way people think and perceive certain issues. I have based my analysis on information taken from the newspaper. The first chapter have given some insight into how the domestic news is chosen and combined with government slogans and exhortations present in the newspaper every day to show that the newspaper compromises its integrity as a government information deliverer. In the second chapter, the differences in reporting about friendly and unfriendly states have been presented demonstrating the obvious bias of the newspaper. The last chapter has analysed the selected materials using a propaganda model developed from Jowett and O'Donnell's propaganda analysis methods.

Whatever we say, one thing is obvious: newspapers play an important role shaping both history and the present. If a person wants to know more about a country, its government and its relationship with other countries, one method is to start by reading the official newspaper of the country. We can learn a lot by observing the topics included and not included, and the language used, as it will somehow reflect on those who have the power to influence the country. More than that, an experienced reader can easily form an opinion about the political and economic situation, or education system of that country. The government's priorities and underlying intentions can also be revealed by reading an official newspaper of a country. This fact is very important for analysts concentrating on countries such as Burma, which

do not have too many news sources apart from the official ones. This is what makes this thesis an achievement for me because it has provided me with an ability to read the newspaper of my country with an open mind, because even at its worst, when it appears to tell nothing, it tells us something. We only have to know where and how to look.

Putting this thesis into a bigger context, its findings can hopefully serve as a basis of further research projects on propaganda analysis in the media in countries with similar circumstances as Burma, or even doing more research on Burma's journalistic standards, or on propaganda in other media, such as films, posters, billboards, radio, television, slogans and printed press from the private-owned sector. It is also hoped that this thesis has allowed its readers to see at least a glimpse of what's behind the closed doors of a totalitarian state.

It is my hope that this thesis will serve as a starting point for bigger projects in analyzing propaganda in other types of media in Burma, and making comparisons among different propaganda methods and journalistic standards between the private and government-owned newspapers, and other media such as television, films, radio and other types of print media. Research on the history of Burma's newspapers and comparative studies on the past and the present-day newspapers published in different times and under different governments can also be undertaken in the future. It is hoped that this thesis can become a small portion of broader and much more in-depth analysis concerning *The New Light of Myanmar*.

Lastly, I would like to conclude by stating what I have learned from writing this thesis. The first thing I have learned is that even dealing with a newspaper article

full of assumed propaganda materials, there are many ways to read a text and that even if the text appears to be written for a specific purpose it can never be confined to one way of reading and interpreting only, not even in the case of a simple news article.

The second thing is the importance of silence. Silence of opinions, and silence in the coverage of certain news is also making a statement. In the kind of newspaper such as *The New Light of Myanmar* which operates under strict censorship rules and suffers from tight control concerning which contents can or cannot be published, the silence or the omissions speak louder than the propaganda the news and the editorials try to portray. The silence itself is a form of counter-propaganda.

The third and the last thing is the fact that propaganda is and always will be all around us and although propaganda cannot be considered a crime, it may come very close to it, depending on the methods used to follow up on it and the severity with which these methods are implemented. Most newspapers, advertisements and research papers aim to persuade their audiences by giving them reasons and statistics but this is still persuasion because the readers are provided with choices. Propaganda can become a crime if it is practiced to make people stop thinking and when choice is not given to the readers any more. In short, propaganda will always be there but at the very least people should be given the right to choose what they believe in because to have an opinion of one's own is to be human.

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Honouring the 61st Anniversary Armed Forces Day:

Fine national political traditions of Tatmadaw

Kayin Nilar

The Tatmadaw has stood magnificently as a strong national force since its birth. In reality, the Tatmadaw's leadership role in the national politics as a strong national force is not like something looted from others nor one created, but was bestowed to it according to the historical requirement of the State. The history of Myanmar has proved that a hero does not create the history, but the history gave birth to the hero.

The Tatmadaw is endowed with fine and significant traditions in the political sphere. It preserves such good traditions at risk to life. The Tatmadaw was born in the period of anti-colonialist struggles, anti-fascist resistance and independence struggles and has come of age and developed, safeguarding and protecting the motherland from all forms of dangers and harms in order not to lose her independence and sovereignty again.

To be brief, the Tatmadaw-

- (1) helped the nation regain independence and sovereignty,
- (2) has protected the territory and sovereignty of the nation,
- (3) has saved the nation several times from falling into collapse,
- (4) gives priority to national unity,
- (5) protects lives and property of the people and has made constructive efforts at every opportune time to initiate national reconsolidation,
- (6) is always loyal to the State and the people,
- (7) lays down and implements national policies in accordance with the prevailing conditions of the nation,

(8) grapples with hardships of the nation as national duty in times of emergency after the nation has regained independence,

(9) has decisively discharged national political duties without bias towards any party, organization or individual in the interests of the nation and the people.

Here, it is required to study Tatmadaw's national political traditions that have gone down in the annals of the history. National patriotic youths who had showed unyielding spirits, nationalistic fervour, great aims and sustained perseverance throughout the period of independence struggles were organized into the Tatmadaw. At that time, the Tatmadaw's national objective was independence, which was one and only objective.

The Tatmadaw helped bring about the historic tradition that the Tatmadaw and the people have been always harmonious by discharging duties in the independence struggles whatever role it may be hand in hand with the people in the anti-colonialist struggles, anti-fascist resistance and independence struggles.

Myanmar became independent Union of Myanmar on 4 January 1948. At that time, the AFPFL Government played a leading role in Myanmar that had just regained independence and sovereignty. The government made arrangements and endeavours to carry out national reconstruction tasks and nation-building tasks in the post-independence period.

Nevertheless, owing to the wedge driven by British colonialists, racism, suspicions among national races, dogmatism of leftist Burma Community Party (BCP) and Red Flag Communist Party (Communist Party-Burma) gave birth to armed conflicts in the

period of three months after independence was regained.

Then, armed insurgency reigned supreme throughout the nation. The authority of the AFPFL Government took effect in the area of 50-mile radius of Yangon. Therefore, foreign newspapers branded the nation as Yangon government.

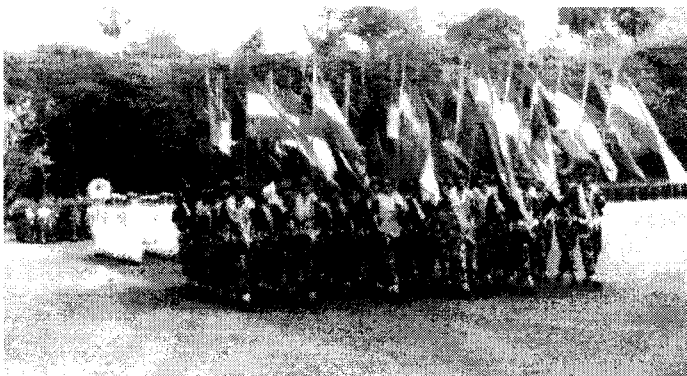
Meanwhile, some politicians suggested through the newspapers that the Tatmadaw mount a coup. In an interview, journalists made a suggestion that the Tatmadaw stage a coup. However, instead of thinking of seizing State power, the Tatmadaw exhorted them to ensure national reconsolidation.

With whatever strength of its members and arms power it had, the Tatmadaw managed to put an end to internal strife raging the length and breadth of the country. It gave the top priority to community peace and tranquillity, and prevalence of law and order. In 1950-51, it declared that peace and stability had been restored in 85 per cent of the area of the nation. It managed to ensure community peace and stability and prevalence of law and order at district, township, village and ward levels. A large number of people who lost their property and were helpless and homeless could lead a peaceful life again in earning their livings. The insurgents could not come close to cities but they were active in far-flung areas. So, there emerged a conviction that the people could place ultimate reliance and trust on no organizations but on the Tatmadaw. This indicated that the Tatmadaw could uphold the national political tradition that the Tatmadaw and the people always remained united.

In addition to internal armed insurgents, the Tatmadaw had to crush the dangers of Kuomintang nationalist Chinese who intruded into Myanmar beginning 1950-51. At that time, localized wars were taking place in many parts of the world due to the cold war in which the East bloc led by Soviet Russia and the West bloc led by the US vied each other for superiority. In particular, the Korean war was raging at the time. If Myanmar could not repulse the invasion of the Kuomintang nationalist Chinese, there would be grave danger to the territory, independence and sovereignty of the nation. Later, the Tatmadaw exposed the mastermind of Kuomintang nationalist Chinese's invasion. So, it reported on the case to the UN through its government. At the same time, the Tatmadaw managed to quell the Kuomintang nationalist Chinese whose arms and manpower was superior to that of the former. The operations including the Operation "Yan Gyi Aung" and the "Operation Bayintunang" launched to crush the invaders made history of the nation.

(See page 7)

**Nation will be strong only when
Tatmadaw is strong.**



Honouring the 61st Anniversary Armed Forces Day:

Fine national political traditions of Tatmadaw

Kaytu Nilar

(from page 6)

With the brilliant performance of the Tatmadaw to eliminate all the internal and external enemies, the nation had witnessed peace and development in various sectors since 1952-53. At that time, the Socialist Party of the AFPFL Government split into two due to disagreements over political ideology regarding the Korean war. In consequence of the split, the ruling AFPFL Government broke into Stable AFPFL (Swe and Nyein) and Clean AFPFL (Nu and Tin). Prior to the undesirable event, the Tatmadaw made a suggestion that the two groups be reunited taking into consideration the background histories and attachments of the two groups and visualization that if the AFPFL, the strongest national force, was split into two, that would bring many miseries to the nation. That reflected the Tatmadaw's efforts to restore national solidarity.

However, because of personal animosity, dogmatism and sectarianism, the AFPFL split into two groups and turned their back to each other.

Then, the case was put to the vote in the parliament and Clean AFPFL (Nu and Tin) won by eight more votes. But, the winning party could not restore peace and stability to the nation. The disunity of the ruling government was followed by rivalry between the two groups in organizing the people. Due to the disunity of the then government, the nation was on the verge of civil war for the second time. Clean AFPFL (Nu and Tin) Government that was not in a position to control the general conditions of the nation asked the Tatmadaw for ensuring community peace and stability and prevalence of law and order and holding free and fair elections and then it handed over State power to the Tatmadaw through the Pyithu Hluttaw (legislative body). The Caretaker Government the Tatmadaw formed on 28 September 1958 had to expose illegal weapons across the nation for ensuring community peace and tranquillity and prevalence of law and order. It also had to crush the kidnapping gangs and dacoit gangs in Yangon and Insein and its surrounding areas, and to disband the pocket armies formed by the ruling AFPFL Government.

Simultaneously, the Tatmadaw persuaded the internal armed insurgents to realize the true situations of the nation and extended a warm welcome to those who returned to the legal fold. The Tatmadaw also launched a campaign to eradicate the evil legacy of feudalism left by British colonialists. On 21 April 1959, Sawbwas (chieftains) signed the agreement to relinquish their power. Furthermore, the Tatmadaw could sign the agreement on delineation of China-Myanmar border on 28 January 1960.

The Caretaker Government led by the Tatmadaw could pay a serious attention to the drive for stability in the political, economic and social sectors, community peace and prevalence of law and order. After it had put its plans into reality, it held free and fair elections for Pyithu Hluttaw on 6 February and the elections for the Chamber of Nationalities on 29 February 1960. And it handed over State power to the winning party Clean AFPFL (Pa Hta Sa) on 4 April 1960.

Thanks to the efforts the Tatmadaw Caretaker Government made in 18 months (1958-60) to regenerate the conditions of the nation, the problems, the political parties could not address for a decade after independence was regained and national affairs ignored, could be solved in such a short time. At the same time, the Tatmadaw managed to restore community peace and stability, law and order, and to revitalize the essence of State Constitution and democracy. The above-mentioned facts were part of the national political chapter in which the Tatmadaw discharged national political duties fully as the Caretaker Government.

The Pha Hta Sa Government that took over State power from the Tatmadaw was not able to grapple with the prevailing problems such as mass rallies held to decide as to whether the states should be given the rights to secede from the Union, the case in which Sawbwas who did not want to relinquish power, and the federal policy for which political parties with racism collectively demanded. To make matters worse, disunity between U-Bo (civilians and ex-servicemen) group and Thakshin (politicians) group brought political and organizing adversities to the Pha Hta Sa Government.

The Pha Hta Sa Government was not in a position to restore peace and stability to the State and to prevent politically and organizationally the Union from breaking up and from losing independence and sovereignty again.

The Tatmadaw thus had to form the Revolutionary Council and took over State power in 1962. Although the Revolutionary Council strove for co-operation of the leaders of the political parties in the political objective of building up a socialist nation, it did not achieve success owing to negative attitude and wrong acts of the politicians and armed insurgents.

From 1962 to 1974, the council took measures for regaining national unity and building a new nation based on peace. It promulgated the 1974 Constitution through a referendum. It handed over State power in accordance with the Constitution to the Myanma Socialist Programme Party on 2 March 1974. The Tatmadaw discharged national defence duties and security duties entrusted to it in line with the Constitution.

The Myanma Socialist Programme Party did not achieve success in its drive for transforming the nation into a socialist one, and the nation faced economic crises. Consequently, the trust and support of the people for the party dwindled, and the people got fed up with the one-party system.

The instigation and agitation stirred up by leftist and rightist political groups who were anxious to seize State power by exploiting the desire and correct attitude of the people who were longing for political changes, instigation of intervention of certain foreign countries, and the plundering and looting of State-owned and private-owned property by anarchists culminated in 1988 unrest.

The 1988 unrest posed grave dangers to independence and sovereignty of the State, perpetuation of the Union, and national cohesion. Therefore, the Tatmadaw again had to assume State duties on 18 September 1988.

The Tatmadaw Government placed emphasis on restoration of community peace and stability and prevalence of law and order, smooth transport and swift commodity flow. It also gave effective encouragement to cooperative societies and private enterprises for public well-being. On 27 May 1990, it held multi-party democracy elections. Since 1989, it has made peace with many armed groups including 17 major national race armed groups, and it has been implementing projects for the development of border areas and national races. That has showed a fine tradition of the Tatmadaw for national solidarity.

The nation-building tasks the Tatmadaw has been shouldering in political, economic and social sectors have yielded fruitful results that are unprecedented in the nation. Now, it is implementing the seven-step Road Map as the national political policy for the accomplishment of the national goal of the State — emergence of a peaceful, modern and developed democratic nation with flourishing discipline. It is convening the National Convention, the first step as well as the fundamental one of the Road Map. At the National Convention, discussions are being held on basic principles and detailed basic principles to be included in the State Constitution that is essential for the building of a future state.

In a nutshell, from the time of independence struggles to date, the Tatmadaw with genuine goodwill and correct acts has been discharging national political duties inclusive of nation-building tasks and national defence duties in conformity with its fine national political traditions in the interests of the State and the people. Therefore, the Tatmadaw will be upholding its fine traditions and will exist perpetually.

Translation: MS
Kymon: 26-3-2006

Let us all

- * who are equipped with ardent patriotism,
- * who cherish genuine independence,
- * who aspire perpetuation of sovereignty,
- * who loathe foreign interference and manipulation, and
- * who oppose puppet government with strings of colonialists,

VOTE "YES" for ratification of the Constitution.

Figure 1: Vote "YES" slogan from 1 May 2008, NLM

<p>POEM: Victory within reach</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Our strong belief it is Approval of the constitution Will be soon achieved — Men are so satisfied Women are so gratified Heading for polling booth With unanimous vote to approve Within reach is victory <p style="text-align: right;">Zaw Min Min Oo (Trans.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Democracy cannot be achieved by anarchism or violence, but by Constitution. ● Let's approve Constitution to shape our future by ourselves.
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Figure 2: Another kind of slogan to support the Constitution from 1 May 2008,

NLM

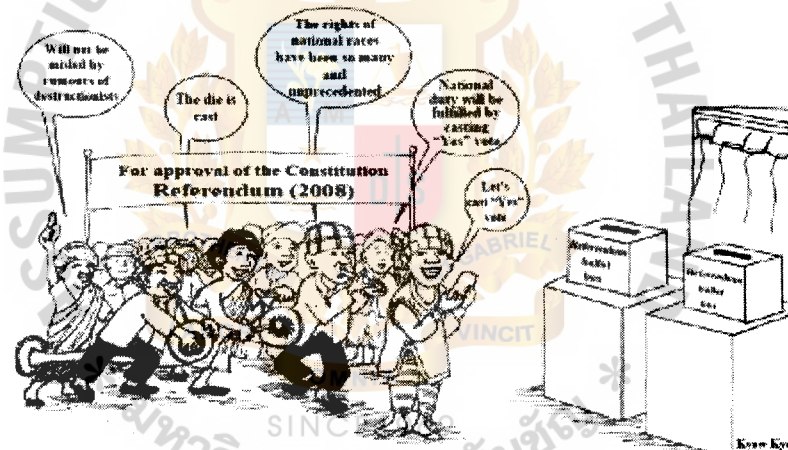


Figure 3: A cartoon to support the referendum from 2 May 2008, NLM

POEM: Let's vote in favour

Written is the State constitution
In the interest of entire nation
Not of any particular person
Never to fall again under subjugation
Let's vote in favour

Hlaing (Trans.)

Figure 4: Poem to support the Constitution from 2 May 2008, NLM

Government of the Union of Myanmar issues Announcement No 1/2008

NAY PYI TAW, 4 May — *The Government of the Union of Myanmar today issued Announcement No 1/2008. The following is the full text of the announcement.*

Government of the Union of Myanmar

Announcement No 1/2008

14th Waning Day of Oo Tagu 1370 ME

(4 May 2008)

The Government of the Union of Myanmar is much surprised by the Security Council Presidential Statement on 2 May 2008 even though the situation in Myanmar does not threaten regional as well as international peace and security.

The Government of Myanmar has announced that a referendum for the draft constitution will be held on 10 May 2008 and that multi-party democracy general election will be held in 2010 in accordance with a new constitution. The referendum is going to take place in a few days time and the entire people of the country are eagerly looking forward to that.

Myanmar is a sovereign Member State of the United Nations. The referendum to approve the draft constitution is a matter to be decided solely by the people. Moreover, the holding of a referendum is a matter which falls within the domestic jurisdiction. The draft constitution can be adopted and transition to democracy can be materialized through the holding of such referendum.

The Government of Myanmar will continue to implement together with the people the seven-step Road Map which has been welcomed by countries of the world including neighbouring countries and ASEAN countries.

By Order,

(Signed) Thant Shin

(Colonel)

Secretary

Government of the Union of Myanmar

Figure 5: A refusal announcement on not postponing the voting due to national tragedy

The Commission for Holding the Referendum will hold the referendum on 10 May 2008 as scheduled in a and divisions except the 40 townships in Yangon Division and seven townships in Ayeiawady Division that announced to remain the disaster-hit areas under Announcement No 5/2008 of the State Peace and Development of the Union of Myanmar.

Figure 6: Announcement relating to referendum voting

**Union of Myanmar
Commission for Holding Referendum
Announcement No 8/2008**

**2nd Waxing of Kason 1370 ME
(6 May 2008)**

1. The commission has announced that the referendum will be held on 10 May 2008 for approval of the draft constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar.
2. However, due to the cyclonic storm 'NARGIS' that hit Myanmar on 2 May 2008, the State Peace and Development Council announced Ayeyawady, Yangon and Bago Divisions and Mon and Kayah States as the affected areas.
3. Now, some townships in the disaster-hit areas have returned to normalcy. The State Peace and Development Council hereby releases Announcement No 5/2008 on 6 May 2008 that the followings townships remain as the affected areas.
 - (a) Ngaputaw, Labutta, Mawlamyinegyun, Pyapon, Bogale, Kyaiklat and Dedaye in Ayeyawady Division, totalling seven townships.
 - (b) Tamuay, South Okkalapa, Dagon (Seikkan), Dagon Myothit (South), Dagon Myothit (North), Dagon Myothit (East), Dawbon, Pazundaung, Botahatung, Mingala Taunggyunt, North Okkalapa, Yankin, Thakayta, Thingangyun, Kamayut, Kyimyindine, Kyauktada, Sangyoung, Seikkan, Dagon, Pabedan, Bahan, Mayangon, Latha, Hline, Lanmadaw, Ahlon, Thanlyin, Kyauktan, Thongwa, Kayan, Twantay, Kungyangon, Kawhmu, Dalla, Seikkyi Khanaungto, Insein, Mingaladon, Shwepyitha and Hliththaya in Yangon Division, totalling 40 townships.
4. The referendum due to be held in the townships stated in para (3) are postponed to 24 May 2008.

(Aung Toe)
Chairman
Commission for Holding Referendum

Figure 7: Announcement made for referendum voting dates according to regions

Let us all
* who are equipped with ardent patriotism,
* who cherish genuine independence,
* who aspire perpetuation of sovereignty,
* who loathe foreign interference and manipulation, and
* who oppose puppet government with strings of colonialists,
VOTE "YES" for ratification of the Constitution

Figure 8: Vote "YES" urging announcement

Let us all

- * who are equipped with ardent patriotism,
- * who cherish genuine independence,
- * who aspire perpetuation of sovereignty,
- * who loathe foreign interference and manipulation, and
- * who oppose puppet government with strings of colonialists,

VOTE "YES" for ratification of the Constitution

Figure 9: Another Vote "Yes" announcement

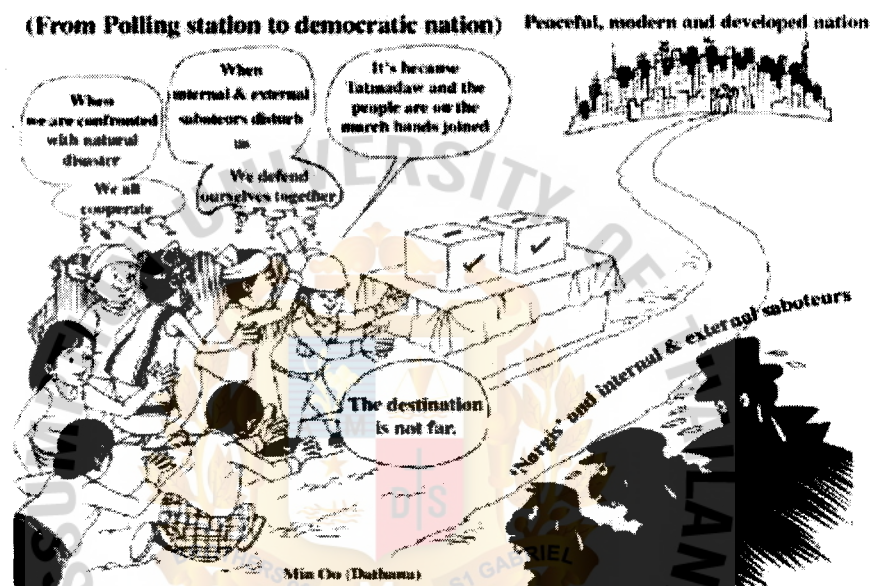


Figure 10: A cartoon depicting all ethnics marching for the same destination

92.48 percent approve Constitution

NAY PYI TAW, 26 May—The Commission for Holding the Referendum of the Union of Myanmar today issued Announcement No. 12/2008 dated 26 May, 2008.

The full text of the announcement is as follows:

Union of Myanmar
Commission for Holding the Referendum
Announcement No. 12/2008
 7th Waning of Kason 1370 ME
 (26 May 2008)

Announcement on results of the referendum held in the whole country

1. The referendum for approval of the draft constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar was held successfully in 278 towns of 325 townships in the whole country on 10 May, 2008 and the commission announced the results of the referendum with the Announcement No. 10/2008 dated 15 May, 2008. In accord with the Announcement No. 8/2008 dated 6 May, 2008, the referendum was held on 24 May in 40 townships in Yangon Division and seven townships in Ayeyawady Division that were hit hard by Cyclone "Nargis". The commission announced the results of the referendum held on 24 May, 2008 with the Announcement No. 11/2008 dated 26 May, 2008.

Figure 11: Referendum result announcement

Over 92 percent in remaining Tps cast “Yes” vote

NAY PYI TAW, 26 May— The Commission for Holding the Referendum of the Union of Myanmar today issued Announcement No. 11/2008 dated 26 May, 2008.

The full text of the announcement is as follows:

Union of Myanmar Commission for Holding the Referendum Announcement No. 11/2008

7th Waning of Kason 1370 ME

(26 May 2008)

Announcement on results of the referendum held in 47 townships in Yangon and Ayeyawady Divisions

1. The referendum for approval of the draft constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar was held successfully in 278 townships out of 325 townships in the whole country on 10 May, 2008 and the commission announced the results of the referendum with the Announcement No. 10/2008 dated 15 May, 2008.
2. In accord with the Announcement No. 8/2008 dated 6 May, 2008, the referendum was held on 24 May, 2008 in 40 townships in Yangon Division and seven townships in Ayeyawady Division that were hit hard by Cyclone “Nargis”. The following is the results of the referendum:

(a) Number of eligible voters	4,580,393
(b) Number of those who cast vote	4,280,015 (93.44 percent)
(c) Number of those who cast “Yes” vote	3,977,528 (92.93 percent)
(d) Number of those who cast “No” vote	256,232 (5.99 percent)
(e) Number of cancelled vote	46,255 (1.08 percent)
3. The commission hereby announces that 3,977,528 of 4,280,015 voters cast “Yes” vote, accounting for 92.93 percent in the referendum held in 47 townships in Yangon and Ayeyawady Divisions.

(Aung Toe)
Chairman

Commission for Holding the Referendum

Figure 12: Referendum result announcement with percentages

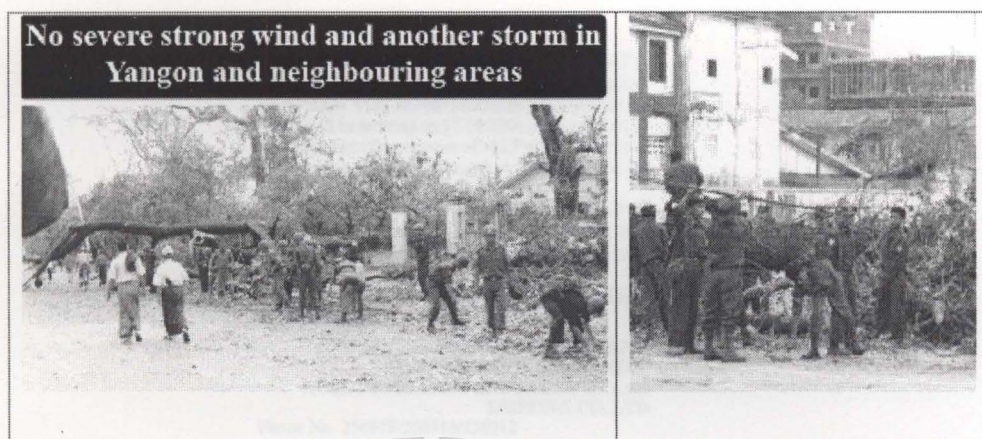


Figure 13: Headline and pictures showing the soldiers helping to clear the roads after Nargis (5 May 2008)

- * For the health of babies
Mother's milk the best
- * If mother's milk is not
sufficient
Cow or goat's milk can be
used
- * Always boil the milk
The best for health

Figure14: Notification concerning with the milk contamination

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF MYANMAR
MINISTRY OF RAIL TRANSPORTATION
MYANMA RAILWAYS
INVITATION TO SEALED TENDER

1. Sealed Tender is invited by Myanma Railways, for supply of the following Stores which will be purchased in Myanmar Kyat;

<u>Tender No.</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
12(T)2-MR(ML) 2008-2009	Rubber Hose, Bolt & Nut, Washer, MS Pipe, A-800 Compressor, Main Exhauster 2 NMV, Roller Bearing, Ball Bearing, Radiator 1200 mm, Grinding Machine, Drill Machine, MS Plate, Welding Electrode, Flexible Cable Wire, Cable Eye Socket, Circuit Breaker, Collier's Lip, Marking Sleeve Pipe, Prolongator, Voltage Control Relay and etc..	1 - Lot (337-Items)

Closing Date/Time - 31.7.2008 (Thursday) (12:00) Hours

2. Tender documents are available at the office of the Deputy General Manager (Supply), Myanma Railways, Corner of 51st Street and Merchant Street, Botahtaung, Yangon starting from 18.6.2008 during the office hours.
3. For further details please call: 01-298583, 291994. Deputy General Manager Supply Department, Myanma Railways, Botahtaung, Yangon

Figure 15 : One of the common advertisements in *The New Light of Myanmar*

CLAIMS DAY NOTICE

MV BANGSAPHAN VOYNO (67)

Consignees of cargo carried on MV BANGSAPHAN VOYNO (67) are hereby notified that the vessel will be arriving on 11.10.2008 and cargo will be discharged into the premises of M.I.P where it will lie at the consignee's risk and expenses and subject to the byelaws and conditions of the Port of Yangon.

Damaged cargo will be surveyed daily from 8 am to 11:20 am and 12 noon to 4 pm up to Claims Day now declared as the third day after final discharge of cargo from the vessel.

No claims against this vessel will be admitted after the Claims Day.

SHIPPING AGENCY DEPARTMENT
MYANMA PORT AUTHORITY
AGENT FOR: M/S WONG SAMUT OCEAN
SHIPPING CO, LTD

Phone No: 256919/256916/256912

Figure 16: Another usual type of advertisement found in *The New Light of Myanmar*

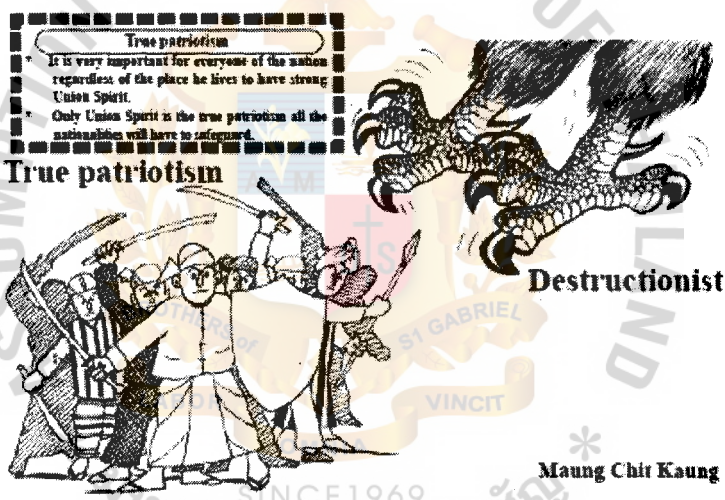


Figure 17: Cartoon found in *The New Light of Myanmar* on January 2, 2007 (page 7)

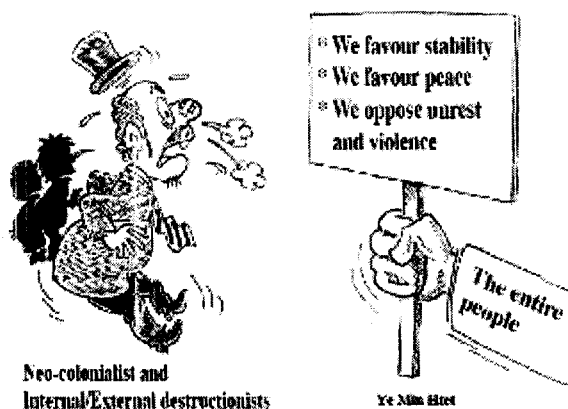


Figure 18: A cartoon found in *The New Light of Myanmar* on January 2, 2008



Figure 19: A cartoon found in *The New Light of Myanmar* on January 3, 2008

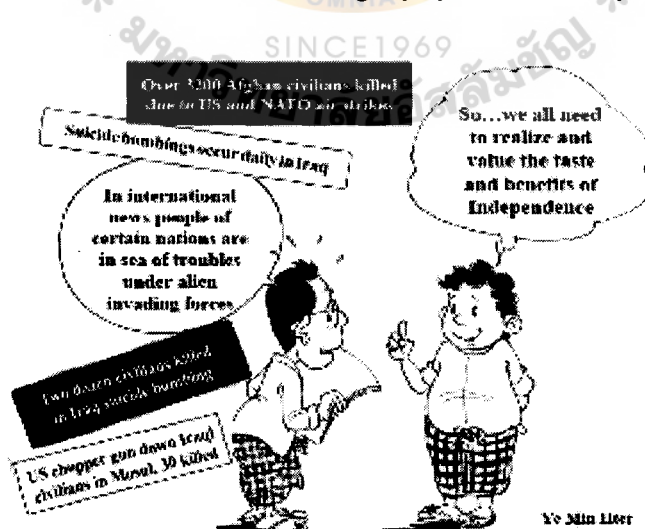


Figure 20: A cartoon found in *The New Light of Myanmar* on January 9, 2009

Honouring the 61st Anniversary Armed Forces Day:

Fine national political traditions of Tatmadaw

Kaytu Nilar

Figure 21: The headline for the editorial article which appeared on 27 March 2006

Nationalities Youth Resource Development Degree College (Yangon)
established for broadening the horizons of national race youths of
border areas.

No.	Subject	1988	2008	Progress
1.	Miles of earth road	-	3834/3	3834/3
2.	Miles of gravel road	-	2683/0	2683/0
3.	Miles of tarred road	-	448/1	448/1
4.	Large bridge	-	88	88
5.	Small bridge	-	1127	1127
6.	Suspension bridge	-	54	54
7.	Hospital	-	80	80
8.	Dispensary	-	102	102
9.	Rural health care centre	-	62	62
10.	Rural health care branch	-	139	139
11.	BEPS, BEMS, BEHS	-	855/90/92	855/90/92
12.	Agriculture office	-	31	31
13.	Agriculture camp	-	118	118
14.	Dam	-	60	60
15.	Canal	-	5	5
16.	Tractor station	-	11	11
17.	Forest reserve (designated/being arranged)	-	11/14	11/14
18.	Nursery	-	14	14
19.	Livestock breeding farm	-	20	20
20.	Veterinary office	-	41	41
21.	Generator	-	268	268
22.	TV retransmission station	-	112	112
24.	Telephone office	-	85	85

Progress of Communications Sector in the Time of Tatmadaw Government

Sr.	Subject	1988	2007	Progress
1.				
2.	Telegraph Office	310	504	194
3.	Telephone service			
	- Telephone station	245	891	646
	- Number of lines	71855	747565	675710
	- Number of carrier boards	245	650	405
	- Rural telephone exchange	-	241	241
	- Direct lines	67016	659313	592297
	- Auto/hand carrier	67016	87636	20620
	- ARTS radio telephone	-	3981	3981
	- CDMA telephone	-	30390	30390
	- D-AMPS telephone	-	23710	23710
	- DECT-Radio telephone	-	2574	2574
	- GSM Cellular telephone	-	211812	211812
4.	Microwave station	71	232	161
5.	Internet	-	7772	7772
6.	External satellite ground station	1	3	2
7.	External satellite channel	26	543	517
8.	International telephone channel	26	2031	2005

Figure 22: Tables shown in the articles written in *The New Light of Myanmar* on 27 March 2009 and 2008

Four political objectives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Stability of the State, community peace and tranquillity, prevalence of law and order * National reconciliation * Emergence of a new enduring State Constitution * Building of a new modern developed nation in accord with the new State Constitution 	Four economic objectives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Development of agriculture as the base and all-round development of other sectors of the economy as well * Proper evolution of the market-oriented economic system * Development of the economy inviting participation in terms of technical know-how and investments from sources inside the country and abroad * The initiative to shape the national economy must be kept in the hands of the State and the national peoples 	Four social objectives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Uplift of the morale and morality of the entire nation * Uplift of national prestige and integrity and preservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage and national character * Uplift of dynamism of patriotic spirit * Uplift of health, fitness and education standards of the entire nation
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Figure 23: One of the many slogans included everyday in *The New Light of Myanmar*

- ☆ RFA, VOA and BBC airing skyful of lies
- ☆ RFA, VOA and BBC saboteurs, watch your step!
- ☆ The public be warned of
killers in the air waves —
RFA, VOA and BBC

Figure 24: One of the slogans which appears on some days of *The New Light of Myanmar* (26 February 2008)

Magway Division USDA will constantly participate in the drive for equitable development, peace and stability and seven-step Road Map

Figure 25: A headline of an editorial article in *The New Light of Myanmar* on 21 November 2007.

Mongkaung Special Force
Announcement

Letter No. 0010/ Ta Wa Ra/ 2007
Date: 15 November 2007

Mongkaung Special Force was formed on 10 June 1983 with the aim of ensuring regional security, the rule of law and regional development. In addition, under the leadership of the Tatmadaw, we are working together with the State.

We object to the point in the statement of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi released through Mr Gambari, adviser to the UN Secretary-General, on 8 November implying that she represented all national races.

Furthermore, we disapprove of the point that she was responsible for the wishes and interests of the national races stated of her statement released as the decision of the NLD meeting on 12 November.

We hereby announce that we will take part in the successful implementation of the Seven-Step Road Map under the leadership of the government.

Mongkaung Special Force

Figure 26: A testimonial made against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on 15 Nov 2007

Announcement of national race delegates from Shan State (East) to National Convention

Date: 21 November 2007

Altogether over 1000 national race delegates from 325 townships in the country attended the successfully-completed National Convention and eight delegate groups participated in the discussions. Out of the eight delegate groups, the delegate group of national races comprises 641 delegates and it is the largest in number. A total of 29 delegates from Shan State (East) participated in the discussions of the delegate group of national races.

We view the meetings between Minister for Relations U Aung Kyi and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as positive move to national reconsolidation.

Mr Gambari, special adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General released the statement of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi written in English on her behalf in Singapore on 8 November.

Obviously the usage contained in the statement is seen as arrogance and does not reflect Myanmar customs and Myanmar way of life. We are opposed to the statement in such a time.

Those who are going to draft the State Constitution must be the ones who have a wide range of knowledge of Myanmar history, culture and customs. During the period of independence struggle, the constitution was drawn with the assistance of foreign experts. However, nowadays we believe that the constitution capable of serving the interests of Myanmar nationals will emerge as educated and experienced Myanmar citizens are going to draft it.

Therefore, we hereby declare that we support the Commission for Drafting State Constitution formed on 18 October 2007.

Delegates from Shan State (East)
Delegate Group of National Races

Figure 27: Another opposing testimonial by supposedly the Shan State delegates (*The New Light of Myanmar* 25 Nov 2007)

<p>Bay inference: According to the observations at (09:30) hrs MST today the tropical storm over Southeast Bay and adjoining Southwest Bay still persists. It is centred at about (525) miles Southwest of Coco Island and forecast to move Northeast wards. Weather is partly cloudy to cloudy in the Andaman Sea and Bay of Bengal.</p> <p>Forecast valid until evening of 29-4-2008: Rain or thundershowers will be scattered to fairly widespread in Kachin, Chin, Rakhine, Shan, Mon, Kayin and Kayah States, upper Sagaing, Mandalay, Bago, Yangon, Ayeyawady and Taninthayi Divisions. Weather will be partly cloudy in the remaining States and Divisions. Degree of certainty is (80%).</p> <p>State of the sea: Squalls with rough seas are likely at times off and along Myanmar Coasts. Surface wind speed in squalls may reach (45) mph.</p> <p>Outlook for subsequent two days: Continuation of rain or thundershowers in Lower Myanmar areas.</p>	<p>According to the observations at (18:00) hrs MST today, the severe cyclonic storm (NARGIS) over the Bay of Bengal is centred at about (310) miles Southwest of Gwa. During the past (12) hrs, it is intensified and moved Eastnortheast wards. It is forecast to cross the Coast between the Southern Rakhine State and Northern Ayeyawady Division during the next (36) hrs commencing noon today.</p> <p>Under the influence of this storm, Rain or thundershowers will be widespread in Rakhine, Mon, Kayin, Shan and Kayah States, Ayeyawady, Yangon, Bago and Taninthayi Divisions, isolated to scattered in Chin and Kachin States, Mandalay Division. Frequent squalls with rough seas will be experienced off and along Myanmar Coasts. Surface wind speed in squalls may reach (50) mph.</p>	<p>Bay inference: According to the observations at (12:30) hrs MST today, the severe cyclonic storm (NARGIS) over the Bay of Bengal is centred at about (410) miles Southwest of Gwa. During the past (12) hours, it is intensified and moved Eastnortheast wards. It is forecast to cross the Coast between the Southern Rakhine State and Northern Ayeyawady Division during the next (36) hours commencing noon today. Weather is partly cloudy to cloudy in the Andaman Sea and elsewhere in the Bay of Bengal.</p> <p>Forecast valid until evening of 2-5-2008: Rain or thundershowers will be widespread in Rakhine, Mon, Kayin, Shan and Kayah States, Ayeyawady, Yangon, Bago and Taninthayi Divisions, isolated to scattered in Chin and Kachin States, Mandalay Division, weather will be partly cloudy in the remaining areas. Degree of certainty is (80%).</p> <p>State of the sea: Squalls with rough seas will be experienced off and along Myanmar Coasts. Surface wind speed in squalls may reach (45) to (50) mph.</p>
Weather report: <i>The New Light of Myanmar</i> . 29 Apr 2008	Weather report: <i>The New Light of Myanmar</i> . 1 May 2008	Weather report: <i>The New Light of Myanmar</i> . 2 May 2008

Table 1: Weather reports before and after the Nargis cyclone.

