KOLOKIUM PENYELIDIKAN 2021 INSTITUT TADBIRAN AWAM NEGARA

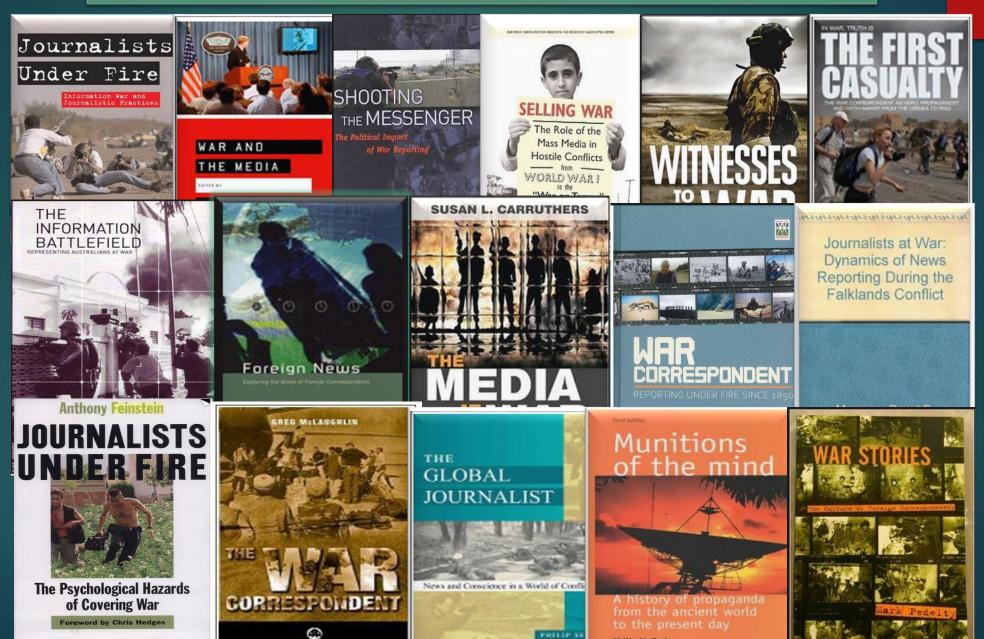
## THE CONSCIOUSNESS AND MEMORIES OF MALAYSIAN JOURNALISTS WHO COVER WARS

## Pushpa Al Bakri Devadason KEMENTERIAN PERUMAHAN DAN KERAJAAN TEMPATAN





## **ANGLO-EURO DOMINATED SCHOLARSHIP**



## **RESEARCH METHOD**

## ORAL HISTORY TESTIMONIES





## DOCUMENT/ LIBRARY RESEARCH

### **POLICY MAKERS**



### **NEWS MANAGERS**



## **REPORTERS: KONFRONTASI (1963-1966)**



REPORTERS: CONFLICTS OF 1980s - 1990s (IRAN-IRAQ, SOVIET-AFGHANISTAN, BOSNIA, ISRAEL-PALESTINE, SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES, SOMALIA)



REPORTERS: CONFLICTS OF 2000 – ONGOING (ISRAEL-PALESTINE, IRAQ, EGYPT-LIBYA-YEMEN-TUNISIA, SOMALIA, MYANMAR)



### **PHOTOJOURNALIST**



# **FINDINGS**

# THEME 1: THE GROWTH OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING

## THEME 2: THE IDENTITIES OF MALAYSIAN WAR JOURNALISTS

# THEME 3: THE ETHICS OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING

# THEME 4: THE STRUCTURE AND PRACTICE OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING

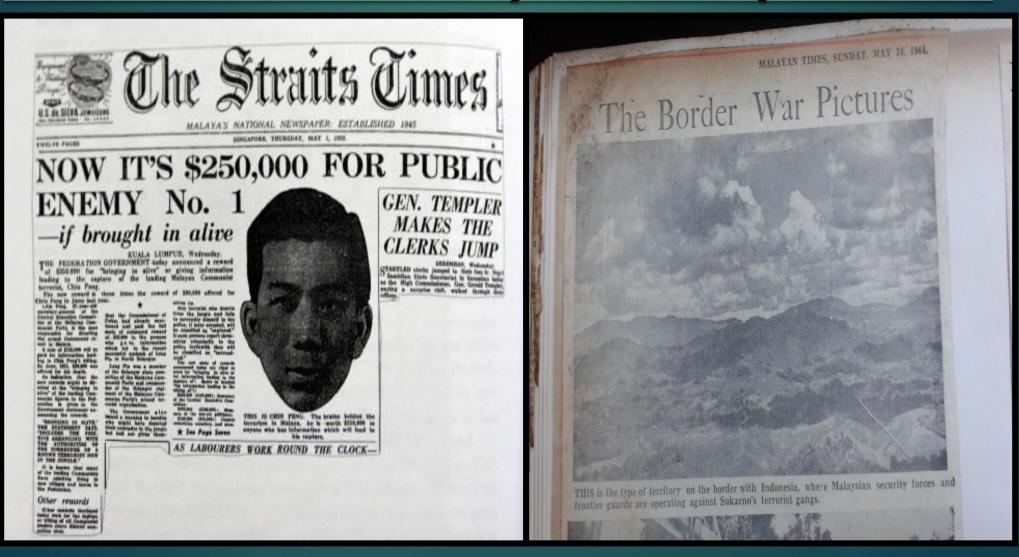
# **SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS**

## MEMORIES OF "OUR WARS"

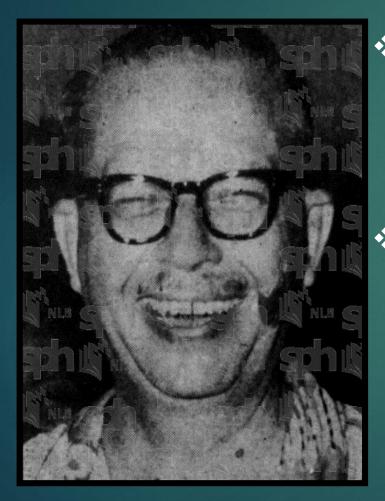
Malayan Emergency & Konfrontasi

- Incomplete and fragmentary
- Journalists were severely controlled by 3 mechanisms (accreditation, law, ownership)
- Memory that was a social construct of the authorities
- Evidence suggest memories excavated were politically orchestrated/staged
- Decades later such memories remain uncorrected
- From Emergency to Konfrontasi liberation (bylines/sources/eye-witness accounts)

## MALAYAN EMERGENCY (1948-1960) KONFRONTASI (1963-1966)



## MALAYAN EMERGENCY (1948-1960)



Anonymous bylines: "Our staff correspondence"/"From Our Staff Correspondent"/"From a Special Staff Correspondent"

Gerald Templer said to Harry Miller,
 "The emergency will be won by our intelligence systems – our Special Branch. And there are going to be many inside stories that may never be written."
 [The Straits Times, 25 Dec 1972, 'Story of Red War in Malaya]

## KONFRONTASI (1963-1966)

### WITHDRAWAL OF 32 INDONESIAN INSURGENTS IN TEBEDU

#### The Straits Times, 20 June 1964

### **PULL-OUT BEGINS** 32 guerillas appear at village

GIVEN SAFE CONDUCT PASSES, THEY SET OFF FOR CHECKPOINT TEBEDU-SIX MILES AWAY-AFTER COOKING EVENING MEAL

From

GEOFFREY GELDARD, STRAITS TIMES REPORTER at the border checkpoint

TEBEDU, Thursday

N EWS was flashed to the Thai verification team here this evening that 32 armed and uniformed Indonesians had turned up out of the jungle at the border post of Pangkalan Ammo, two hours' hard walking distance from this checkpoint, at about 3.45 this afternoon.

Up to late tonight, the Thais were waiting in front of Tebedu police station for the Indonesians to come.

Official sources said later the guerillas were expected to arrive at this checkpoint for counting between midnight and 2 a.m.

## **ORCHESTRATED WITNESSING**

The Straits Times, 22 June 1964 Friday's withdrawal of south the bo Indonesian guerillas a singi SATURDAY'S fake-came over day before INSIDE STORY No. 2 FROM GEOFFREY GELDARD

### 32 swing south of the border singing

SATURDAY'S HEADLINI

UCHING, Sun. with-The drawal of the 32 Indonesian guerillas from Tebedu. Sarawak, on Friday morning was a fake put on by the Indonesians.

The Indonesian gang came from a camp near Entikong checkpoint on the Indonesian side of the border. he day before

Utusan Melayu, 22 June 1964





الم باعثان الدولاين دان مرواد السون عادي عا دار الهار. UN MARCHARD JUNH

التولى ومنه فسنه دلم YH HY WIN H the whyo hid play the a 「ちてい」をもい when he is much all have and in the set



## THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING A MALAYSIAN JOURNALIST



### THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING A MALAYSIAN JOURNALIST



### AN INSTITUTION IN THE MEMORIES OF WAR



### **INFLUENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY**



### **CAN WAR JOURNALISTS BE OBJECTIVE?**

- **Origin** of Objectivity in Journalism
- Objectivity <u>"an ideology of the distrust of the self"</u> (Schudson, 1978, Discovering the News, p. 71)
- "Tawheed method of knowledge" objectivity & subjectivity (complimentary in the quest for knowledge)
- Objectivity never ceases to come into conflict with the humanity of war journalists (secular or God conscious) – Martin Bell, Christianne Amanpour, Michael Nicholson - Bosnia War
- Why do 4 of the 27 Malaysian war journalists aspire to "Objectivity"
  - Journalism training
  - Journalism education

THE ETHICS OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING: PLACING THE INNATE NATURE OF MAN IN ITS PROPER ORDER

## "TRUTH"

Truth as a moral obligation to home audiences
 Truth as a means of verifying information
 Truth seeking as a primary motive
 Truth as they perceived it





### THE ETHICS OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING: LETTING THEIR FITRAH PLAY ITS ROLE

Canon EOS DIGITAL

"Haji Anuar was the one who felt most pity and gave the girl some money. She refused to take the money. And Anuar then went to see the doctor and gave the doctor the money for medicine or for food for the girl. That, the doctor took and then they called me [in Jordon] and said "Can we bring this girl back?" I said, "Bawalah kalau boleh kan" ... We were not just journalists going there to cover, we were also there trying to be good Samaritans as well - life savers."

## THE ETHICS OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING: LETTING THEIR FITRAH PLAY ITS ROLE



"Saya terlupa saya jurnalis. Yang saya ingat saya manusia waktu itu untuk buat sesuatu." (Ainul Amriz, Utusan Malaysia, Bosnia)

"I just broke down and cried half way through my stand upper ... I was feeling really emotional. So, my boss had to call me. "Can you stop being emotional" [he said]. I said, "I cannot." I said, "You come here and you see the sufferings then you will [understand] ... Your story may not even do justice to the magnitude of suffering they are experiencing ... It was a job but it was not really a job because it was working in my heart."

(Melissa Ong, NTV7, Mogadishu)



## KEVIN CARTER, 33, COMMITTED SUICIDE 3 MONTHS AFTER WINNING PULITZER PRIZE FOR ICONIC PHOTO IN WAR-TORN SUDAN



### Suicide Note:

"depressed ... I am haunted by the vivid memories of killings & corpses & anger & pain ... of starving or wounded children, of trigger-happy madmen, often police, of killer executioners

### STRUCTURE AND PRACTICE OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING

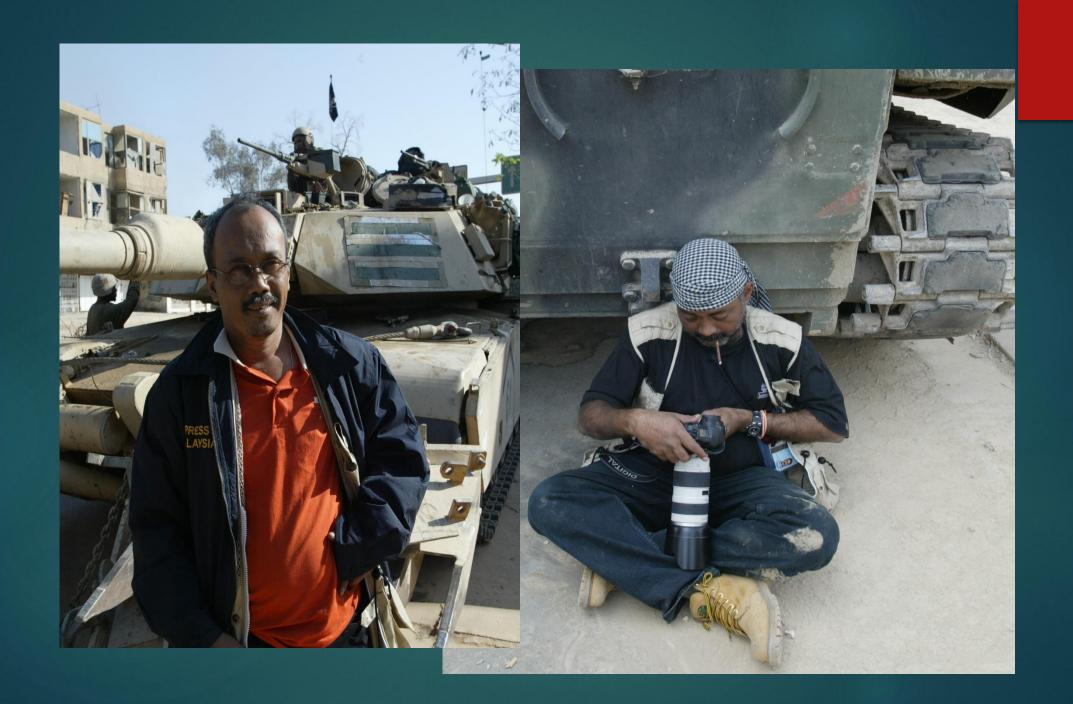
Instinctively conduct based on:
 ✓ the foundations of the profession
 ✓ their social memory as "the other"

Not merely dictated by technology, deadlines, norms and space as suggested by Reese, 2001.

2. Sources silenced/ignored by the international media:

- ✓ civilians
- ✓ insurgents
- ✓ humanitarian workers
- ✓ anti-war protestors
- ✓ others





# Penduduk Gaza sengsara Mesir isytihar darurat

» Penutupan sempadan Rafah tambah derita Palestin



A wal minggu ini, Mesir bertindak drastik dengan mengisytiharkan darurat selama tiga balan di wilayah tengah dan utara sinai akibat ancaman militan yang semakin membarah. Tindakan diumumkan Presi-

insiden terburuk dalam masalah domestik yang membelenggu negura itu sejak Presiden Mohamed Morsi yang dipilih secara demokratik, disingkirkan kudeta tahun lalu. Insiden itu membawa signifikan yang amat besar bukan hanya kepada Mesir, tetapi 1.8 juta warga Palestin yang terkepung di Gaza. Serentak dengan pengisytiharan darurat itu, pintu sempadan Rafah di bawah kawalan Mesir yang Juga satu-satunya 'talian hayat' bagi wanga Palestin di Gaza ditutup serta-merta atas faktor keselamatan,

ta-merta atas faktor keselamatan, rr Gaza yang mula pulih daripada k luka peperangan 50 hari akibat dise rang rejim Zionis sehingga gencakatan senjata tanga had dicapat pada d 26 Ogos Lalu, tentunya tertekan dengan perkembangan terbaru itu, rr

#### h Laluan utama

Selain pintu sempadan Karem Shalom yang di bawah kawalan Israel, Rafah juga menjadi laluan Shalom yang di bawah kawalan



## Brave rebels march on to 'break' Gaddafi's backbor



## CONCLUSION

Malaysian war journalists are significant players in the competing discourse and narratives of wars around the world



**THANK YOU** 

# NON WESTERN WAR REPORTING



Language and Intercultural Communication Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rmli20

The culture of witnessing: war correspondents rewriting the history of the Iraq War Noha Mellor <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Kingston University London , UK Published online: 14 May 2012.

Journal of War & Culture Studies Volume 5 Number 2 0 2012 Intellect Ltd Article. English language. doi: 10.1386/jwc5.52.157.1

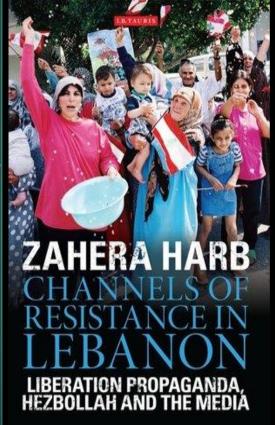
NOHA MELLOR Kingston University London

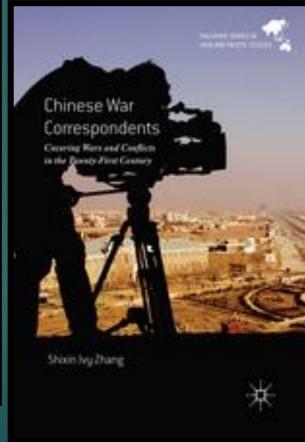
#### 'My Eyes Were There': A comparative analysis of war reporters' testimonies

#### ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to analyse a sample of war reporters' testimonies in Inaq, as cultural memories rather than journalistic practices. Although journalists here may reflect on their professional practice, their primary aim in publishing these memories is to establish an authoritative narrative about Iraq as a conflict zone. The article adopts a comparative method to juxtapose four testimonies about the Iraq War by two European and two Arab reporters. The analysis focuses on the journalists' role as eyewitnesses and how they have managed to foreground coents and people absent from the mainstream media coverage of the war. The aim is to show how hour allistor the mediate the war memory while bridging Iraq's past and present, which calls for the

KEYWORDS eyewitnessing Iraq War memory narrative New Journalism war correspondents





# **RESEARCH GAP**



# **PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Malaysian journalists have been reporting from war locations for more than half a century. Yet, little is known about Malaysian war reporting as it remains an under researched area of investigation

- Journalism scholarship influenced by Development Communication Model
- Dearth of documentation on Malaysian war reporting create indifference among researchers
- Malaysian newsroom agenda
- Professionalism of Malaysian journalists underestimated
- ✓ Western war correspondents given limelight

#### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

# "What are the memories of Malaysian war reporting?"

- RQ1: What shapes the memories of Malaysian war reporting ?
- RQ2: How do Malaysian war journalists construct their identities?
- RQ3: What are the values that drive Malaysian war journalists?
- ▶ RQ4: What is the structure and practices of Malaysian war reporting?

#### **RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

To explore the developments, identities, structure, professionalism and consciousness of Malaysian war reporting

To give Asian (Malaysian) journalists recognition as worthy subjects of investigation

To broaden the understanding of war reporting scholarship

To document the war memories and experiences of Malaysian journalists

# MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING

The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal, Vol. 16(3), 2011, article 4.

Journalists and News Sources: Implications of Professionalism in War Reporting

Faridah Ibrahim, Latiffah Pawanteh, Chang Peng Kee, Fuziah Kartini Hassan Basri, Badrul Redzuan Abu Hassan & Wan Amizah Wan Mahmud

#### ABSTRACT

The study of journalism covers in broad perspectives the principles of reporting in various situations, whether in normal time based on events and press conferences or during news breaking in times of crisis, conflicts or disasters. In this instance, journalists are expected to perform their duty without fear or favour, but with responsibility and ethical considerations. In other words, the journalists need to be professional in their job. Nevertheless, one dimension that involves great discretion, diligence and thoughtful analysis on the part of the journalists is during the reporting of conflicts, for instance war, whether the war news is in their country or another. Studies have shown that government, diplomats, military and humanitarian aid agencies are increasingly affected by the news media through the issues, people and countries the media choose to highlight in war stories. Indeed, the media are seen to have great potential to have enormous influence over decisions and public opinion as well as national and international agenda. Using a qualitative research methodology, the paper seeks to discover the extent the media in Malaysia are professional in their reporting of war stories, especially when they themselves come from a non-warring country. At this juncture, it is also interesting to find out the nature of the news sources and journalists relationship and the extent of professional values they uphold.

JURNAL PENGAJIAN MEDIA MALAYSIA Malaysian Journal of Media Studies Vol. 13, No. 2, 2011 Pages 65–74

#### VISUAL DAN PEMBERITAAN PERANG DALAM MEDIA DI MALAYSIA

NORMAH MUSTAFFA, NURUL AIN A. HAMID, FARIDAH IBRAHIM, FAUZIAH AHMAD & MOHD HELMI ABD RAHIM\_

#### ABSTRACT VISUAL AND WAR REPORTING IN MALAYSIAN MEDIA

Visual plays an important role in trying to relay messages effectively in a world where facts are not always sufficient to convince audience. Through visuals, personal perceptions can be seen in different perspectives in order to make reasoned judgments. In war reporting, portrayals of visuals are often highlighted in various positive, negative or neutral forms. Relatively whatever forms portrayed, positive, negative or neutral, will register a certain interpretation in the mind of audiences. Thus this research aims to identify visuals used in war reporting in local media. Content analysis method was used to evaluate news on Israel - Palestinian war as highlighted in two mainstream newspapers, Utusan Malaysia and The New Straits Times. Research results revealed that Utusan Malaysia portrayed more visual graphics in reporting war compared to The New Straits Times. The visuals given were related to the news highlighted. Apart from that, both newspapers often used visual source from foreign agencies such as AP, AFP and Reuters. Visual reporting is able to relay convincing evidence as visuals will always portrays the truth.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**



# **POTENTIALS**

- Reveal personal/collective identity
- Unearth consciousness
- Disclose silenced history
- Contest popular narratives of events
- Reconstruct history
- Contest universalizing of monolithic generalities
- Reflect goals and prejudices

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**



# MEMORY

 Memory as a Source of Identity

 Memory as Institutions of the Profession

 Memory as Sources of History

# **INFLUENTIAL WORKS**

Syed Muhammad Naquib Al Attas
 Ahmad Murad Merican
 Edward Said



# **ORGANIZATION OF FINDINGS**

<b>Theme 1:</b> The History of Malaysian War Reporting	<ul> <li>The Development of Malaysian War Reporting (Chapter 3)</li> <li>Reporting "Our Wars" – From The Malayan Emergency to Konfrontasi (Chapter 4)</li> </ul>
Theme 2:	<ul> <li>The Identities and Image of Malaysian War</li></ul>
The Identities of	Journalists (Chapter 5) <li>The Consciousness of Malaysia as a Nation-</li>
Malaysian War Journalists	State in Foreign War Zones (Chapter 6)
Theme 3:	<ul> <li>Can War Journalists Be Objective? (Chapter 7)</li> <li>The Ethics of Malaysian War Reporting: Placing</li></ul>
The Ethics of Malaysian	The Primordial Nature of Man in Its Proper
War Reporting	Order (Chapter 8)
Theme 4: The Structure and Practice of Malaysian War Reporting	<ul> <li>Structure and Practice of Malaysian War Reporting (Chapter 9)</li> </ul>

# CHAPTER 2: THE HISTORY OF MALAYSIA

- ✓ War Memory ≈ Nation Building
  - In the process of constructing the nation specific versions of national history/war memories have been promoted
  - National Culture Policy 1971 Malay centric history
- ✓ Role of Malay Journalism on Unity
  - fostered knowledge of the unity and diversity of the Malay world
    - Jawi Peranakan (1876-1893)
  - fostered the Malay's consciousness of the Muslim Ummah
    - Al-Imam (1906-1908)
    - Neracha (1911-1915)
    - Warta Malaya, Al Ikhwan, Saudara

#### CHAPTER 3: THE DEVELOPMENT OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING

# ✓ Linked to Malaysia's

- 1. socio-political administrative climate
- 2. foreign policies

✓ Japanese Occupation(1942-1948)
 ✓ British Colonization (1824-1942)
 ✓ British Recolonization (1948-1957)
 ✓ Independent Malaysia (1957-present)

# CHAPTER 8: THE ETHICS OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING: PLACING THE PRIMORDIAL NATURE OF MAN IN ITS PROPER ORDER

### **FAIR COVERAGE**

#### Shamsul Akmar, NST, Iraq War, 2003

"I was even prepared to have an open mind. To see, how evil was Saddam ... that he had to be removed at all costs ... we've heard all the stories about what Saddam was, how Saddam had run the country like his own personal domain, his own personal theatre .... Very brutal and ruthless and what not. But, at the same time we also hear stories about how the whole nation of Iraq get free food, support systems and education and everything. In fact, at that time, Iraq had the highest level of literacy and its level of literacy was even higher than some of the most accomplished western nations. So, all these gives you two sides of the whole thing.

If you were to rely on the western press at that time, everything about Saddam was evil. I saw what was evil about Saddam, but I also saw the more benign side of him - how he had built Iraq to be, what it was. Even during the sanctions, they were still able to provide food for the people of Iraq ... fuel was cheap ... for all that is said about Saddam, they [Western media] never took time, to show the much more benign side of him.

I would not dismiss or dispute that he was, a dictator, but, the level of evil that they have painted against him without showing the other side of him, is to me, something that is not balanced in terms

#### <u>Rosnah Majid, Utusan, Iran-Iraq War, 1983-1984</u>

"Saddam was close to America and he wanted to build up Iraq to be a superpower. That is why he sends his people anywhere in the world to seek education. They have many engineers. That is why when Bush Senior bombed their bridge, in less than a year they built a new bridge. They have manpower. Saddam believed in educating his people. If he is a bad leader, he won't do that. I visited the agricultural area. They are self-sufficient. They produce their own rice and vegetables ...

When I revisited Iraq in 1984, my colleagues there said, "Let's go have dinner at the Yugoslavian Club... there were 23,000 Yugoslavian workers working in Iraq at that time - engineers and technicians. They built the highways. Saddam made sure his people were together to learn the technology - transfer the technology. He is a man with a vision. That is why they had to destroy him.

Of course, no politics in Iraq. He gives you everything except politics. Media, he controlled ... People cannot own typewriters without a license ... This was a controlled item in Iraq because he did not want the people to use typewriters to write things against him. The spray paint also cannot be owned to avoid people paint walls to go against him. In terms of education and living he built houses ... he wants more people ... he encourages his people to get married ... dowry very expensive ... so he gave the men [subsidized] the men to get married

# CHAPTER 8: THE ETHICS OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING: PLACING THE PRIMORDIAL NATURE OF MAN IN ITS PROPER ORDER



# THE ETHICS OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING: PLACING THE PRIMORDIAL NATURE OF MAN IN ITS PROPER ORDER





#### SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Expands the war reporting scholarship

Reference to practitioners to make well informed decisions.

Reference for policy makers to formulate policies that are relevant, creative and constructive to the Malaysian setting (policy makers in a variety of disciplines)

# TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN'S ADDRESS TO THE FIRST MALAYAN UN PEACE CORP MISSION TO CONGO

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PRESS STATEMENT D. INF. 10/60/18 (PM)

English translation of text of Farewell Address in Malay given by the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Lutra, to the Malayan Special Force at Port Swettenham wharf this morning, October 4, 1960:-

We give thanks to Allah for on this day and at this moment the young nation of Persekutuan Tanah Melayu will be writing a page of history in the part she is about to play for the peace and security of the world in which we live because we are sending our Malayan Special Force to the Congo. This is our contribution towards that peace and security.

The people of this country and I will follow you wherever you go, follow your every activity. That is why we are sending with you the Malayan Film Unit and Radio Malaya to enable us to be present with you. As I said earlier you are writing a new page in the history of our country, and that history will be handed down. Your deeds will not only be remembered with pride, but will be an example both to the present and to future generations. That is why you must always be brave in spirit and carry out your responsibilities with good

# KONFRONTASI (1963-1966)



#### Khalid Yunus, Utusan Melayu, 2 Mac 2015

"I remember this was a historically important event. A very historical moment in my life as a person, as a citizen because I witnessed it. Nobody else witnessed it but I was there to see the withdrawal of these people, the "Guerillas.""

#### **INDIVIDUAL MEMORIES**

1. The male journalists presented a heroic selfhood in the thick of action

2. Women pride in surviving a male dominated environment



3. The women demonstrated greater courage, consistency and determination to get the story.

4. Women memories more intense, emotional and passionate Myth of war correspondents as heroic figures

## **COLLECTIVE MEMORIES**

- 1. National affiliation mnemonic memories Dr Mahathir
- 2. Privileged journalists
- 3. Photographers' memories were more graphic
- 4. Driven by sentiments of the Ummah

THE ETHICS OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING: PLACING THE PRIMORDIAL NATURE OF MAN IN ITS PROPER ORDER

- To be transparent
- Two (2) reasons for transparency:
  - 1. "Outsiders" with no vested interest
  - 2. Play moral role limited resources for in-depth analysis
- Truth becomes a means to attain "justice" for :-
  - **1.** Fair representation (balanced)
  - 2. Appeals for humanitarian compassion

# GENESIS OF JOURNALISM TRAINING AND EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA?

- Before 1957 journalism as a guild initiated NST
- ▶ 1963 1<sup>st</sup> training initiative International Press Institute (Zurich)
- ▶ 1971 1<sup>st</sup> teritiary prog. USM Alan Hancock (UNESCO)
- 1972 2<sup>nd</sup> tertiary ITM Ralph Kliesch (Ohio University)

#### STRUCTURE AND PRACTICE OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING

#### CATEGORY A

handful private self-initiated self-motivated independent secret travel move solo multi-task Legal/illicit entry

minimal funding less red tape greater flexibility

#### CATEGORY B

majority public/private accompany missions publicized travel specialized move in crews "sponsored journalists" legal entry

govt funded restricted by bureaucratic process less flexibility

### STRUCTURE AND PRACTICE OF MALAYSIAN WAR REPORTING

#### 3. Routinization (habitualization) $\rightarrow$ institutionalization

- ✓ Pre-departure preparations
- $\checkmark$  Hire fixers
- ✓ Invest in reliable sources
- $\checkmark$  Hire fixers
- ✓ Newsworthiness
- ✓ Technology

### 4. Cover wars at face value like their Western counterparts

- $\checkmark$  the deep level causes of war
- the causes and preludes to war
- $\checkmark$  the perspectives from all sides
- ✓ failure to identify the links between different wars over time