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Date: 2020/08/10 (yyyy/mm/dd)

Report on the Final Exam

Name of the Chair: Maung Aung Myoe

On behalf of the Thesis Examining Committee, I would like to report the result of the Final Exam as follows.

1. Student ID	1B7D09
2. Name	Ye Phone Kyaw
3. Cluster	IR
4. Thesis Examining Committee	Chair: Maung Aung Myoe
	Referee: Jun Honna
	Referee: Motohide Saji
	Referee: Naoko Kumagai
5. Dissertation Title	The Development of Myanmar Naing-ngan-taw Warda(s): Political Socialization, the Structure of Civil-Military Relations, and the Role of the Tatmadaw since the Second World War
6. Submission Date	Draft: 19 April 2020
	Final: 17 August 2020
7. Final Exam Date	27 July 2020
8. Faculty Meeting Date	19 August 2020
9. Degree Title	PhD in International Relations
10. Result	Pass

I. Dissertation Overview and Summary of the Presentation

The dissertation studies the evolution of Naing-ngan-taw Warda(s), which is essentially a state ideology, in Myanmar politics since the time of the World War II and how the Myanmar military, the Tatmadaw, has played an instrumental role in shaping them. It examines the development of Myanmar Naing-ngan-taw Warda within a broad context of its political socialization, the relations to the structure of civil-military, and the role of the Tatmadaw. The author defined “Naing-ngan-taw Warda” as an all-embracing political ideology, doctrine, or political belief system that is used to legitimize a state or a political system by encompassing the political, socioeconomic, and security environment to build a nation-state. The central argument is that Myanmar has had four dominant stages in the development of Naing-ngan-taw Warda, while the fifth is ongoing. These developmental stages of Naing-ngan-taw Warda also shaped and constructed the structures of Myanmar civil-military relations. Following these developmental stages, Myanmar experienced only the subjective types of civilian control, and the Tatmadaw promulgated “collective democratic control” in the 2008 constitution, guaranteed the Tatmadaw’s leading role in national politics to establish a disciplined democracy. The fifth stage is an ongoing process of national reconciliation or peace led by State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi’s government, an effort that started in 2011 under President Thein Sein’s government. In this process, the fourth stage of Naing-ngan-taw Warda, “Our Three National Causes,” is still vital to upholding the principles for a future Democratic Federal Union and the structure of civil-military relations. In each of these developmental contexts, the Tatmadaw has been central in the prescription, implementation, and socialization process of these ideologies and the structure of civil-military relations.

The candidate has carefully constructed his arguments and solidly presented his analyses during the oral defence. His presentation was satisfactory and the defence went well. As he had addressed all the recommendations and questions raised during the first round of the defence held on 19 May 2020, the committee decided to give him a PASS grade at the second round of defence conducted on 27 July 2020.

II. Notes from the Thesis Examining Committee (including the changes required to the dissertation by the committee)

During the first round of defence, the examination committee found that the manuscript suffered several important structural problems, both conceptual and empirical.

Professor Jun Honna, the external examiner, raised the following (4) broad issues. They are: (1) *How self-image and role perception have contributed to the development of state ideology (Naing-Ngan-Taw-Warda)?* - guardian of the state; freedom fighter; (2) *What is the basis of military's ideology formulation and structure of CMR? (How the Tatmadaw has contributed to national ideology development and structure of CMR? How military formulates its own ideology development in different periods?);* (3) *Do you see any change in the process of education within the military or training within the military in response to this transition?;* and (4) *What is the worldview of the Tatmadaw? How Tatmadaw perceive international environment? How Tatmadaw perceive the changes in international environment? How does the Tatmadaw reflect these views in ideology formulation and structure of CMR?*

Professor Saji raised an important question on “National Ideology” in Myanmar and asked the candidate to clarify it. Professor Kumagai raised some issues related to research questions and casual relations between ideological development and civil-military relations and she advised the candidate to rethink research question No. 2. Professor Myoe commented that “Naing-ngan-taw Warda” is essentially the military’s institutional belief and that the transformation of such institutional belief into a national ideology was a disaster since it had encountered challenges from different segments of the society that territorially bound by the state of Myanmar. He advised the candidate to clarify some key concepts when he revises for the second round of defence. Since there were many important issues to be addressed, the examination committee decided to give a “referral” and to reschedule a second round of defence when the manuscript would be ready.

Consequently, another round of defence was conducted on 27 July 2020 and the committee found that all issues were adequately addressed. There were a few minor questions and comments, related to the Tatmadaw’s world view and the current civil-military relations, particularly in the period of political transition under the incumbent NLD administration, and the candidate was ready to address all these issues.

III. Confirmation by the Chair that changes have been done to the satisfaction of the committee

The committee confirms that the revised version reflects the recommendations and questions during the oral examinations as listed in the previous section of this report.

IV. Overall Evaluation

The examination committee finds that the dissertation is well researched and the candidate comes up with a conceptual model of “collective democratic control” in civil-military relations. It is also a major attempt to study the ideological development of the Myanmar military and how it tries to socialize different phases of development to be state ideologies. More importantly, the study highlights how and why the Tatmadaw has engaged in the fifth phase of ideological development (*Warda*) and making it truly a “national ideology”. In general, the dissertation is a good contribution to the literature on Myanmar politics and the study of Myanmar military.