

Militancy in Swat and the Media
Content Analysis of the dailies Dawn and The News

M.Sc. Thesis

Session 2007-09

R-06456



DATA ENTERED

Research Scholar
Ghufran Shah
Reg No: 43-FSS/MSCMC/Fo7

Supervisor
Dr. Farish Ullah Yousafzai

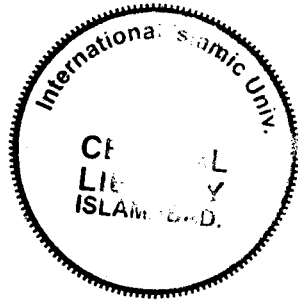
Centre for Media and Communication Studies
International Islamic University – Islamabad

MS⁹¹⁰
363.325
LHM

DATA ENTERED

@
9/4/202

28/10/10
§3



Accession No. TH-6456

Terrorist
Political Science
Violence

2009

International Islamic University, Islamabad

Faculty of Social Sciences

Department Center for Media & Communication Studies

Dated: _____

Final Approval

It is certified that we have read this thesis submitted by Ghufuran Shah. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University Islamabad for the Master Degree in Media and Communication Studies.

Committee

Supervisor

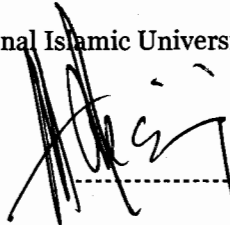
Dr. Farish Ullah



Center for Media and Communication Studies
International Islamic University, Islamabad.

External Examiner

Dr. Siraj



Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad.

Internal Examiner

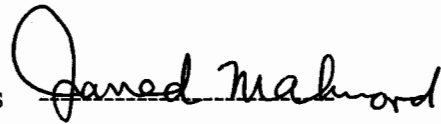
Syed Inaam Ur Rehman



Center for Media and Communication Studies
International Islamic University, Islamabad.

Director

Center for Media and Communication Studies



Dean

Faculty of Social Sciences



Declaration

This thesis has been submitted as a partial fulfillment of master in Media and Communication Studies. I greatly declare that this is my original work and I have not plagiarized any bits and pieces and weather I quoted from a secondary source proper certified and reference have been made.

Ghufran Shah

Reg. # 44-FSS/MSCMC/F07

Abstract

Islamic militancy in the form of armed protests against established regimes prevails in many parts of the world, including West Asia, North Africa, etc. As this study demonstrates, militancy in Swat is not a new phenomenon. It has existed and been manifested in different ways for a long time. This study reveals how the new era of militancy erupted in the Swat valley once it was known as the Switzerland of Pakistan. The situation in Swat became worse when the TSNM a banned organization started illegal FM radio transmission in the region and had challenged the writ of the government.

The objective of this study is to investigate the coverage of the national English dailies to military operation and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The nature of research is content analysis of selected newspapers.

₹

To my family and those who suffered and became
Internally Displaced Persons due to military operation in
Malakand Division

₹

Acknowledgement

This thesis is the laborious endeavor of two months which I did after the completion of the course work at the Center for Media and Communication Studies, International Islamic University, Islamabad. I am sincerely thankful to my supervisor Dr. Farish ullah Yousafzai, whose patience and kindness has been valuable to me, in the preparation of this thesis. I am immensely grateful to my friend M. Noman Nafees, and Rashid Hussain who helped me a lot during the whole period of my thesis.

Thanks to my parents and brothers for emotional, moral and of course financial support- during my educational career.

Ghufran Shah
September 12, 2009

Contents

Chapter One.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Emergence of Taliban.....	1
FATA.....	3
History of SWAT.....	8
Islamic Militancy in Malakand Division.....	12
Latest wave of militancy in Swat.....	16
Purpose of the Study.....	26
Research Question.....	27
Chapter Two.....	28
Literature Review.....	28
Hypothesis.....	29
Chapter Three.....	30
Methodology.....	30
Sampling and variables.....	30
Chapter Four.....	32
Finding and discussion.....	32
Space given to army operation and IDPs in daily Dawn and the News.....	38
Comparison of the Daily Dawn and the News on IDPs issue.....	39
Conclusion.....	44
Discussion.....	45
Recommendation.....	46
References.....	47

Introduction

Emergence of Taliban

Afghanistan was devastated by the soviet invasion in (1979-89). This took an enormous human and economic toll. After the Soviet withdrawal, in 1989 the government steadily lost ground to the guerrilla forces. The victorious guerrillas proved unable to unite, however, and the guerrilla forces launched attacks on the new government. The consequences of these guerrillas' attacks were that Afghanistan was divided into several independent zones. Beginning in late 1994 Taliban, Islamic fundamentalists' militia of Afghanistan and later Pakistan, originally consisting mainly of Sunni Pashtun madrassah students educated and trained in Pakistan. (Ahmad Rashid, 2000)

Probably the most widely recognized image of the present day is that of airplanes hitting the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. On that fateful day, the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda and their hosts, the Taliban in Afghanistan, became household names around the world. Although the Taliban had featured occasionally in news reports, after 9/11 they received massive media attention with stories about their brutality and connections to terrorist organizations.

The Taliban emerged as a significant force in Afghanistan when they were assigned by Pakistan to protect a convoy in Afghanistan, which marked the beginning of a long-term alliance between the group and Pakistani security forces. The Taliban was initially a mixture of mujahedeen who fought against the Soviet invasion of the 1980s, and a group

of Pashtun tribesmen who spent time in Pakistani religious schools, or madrassas, and received assistance from Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency (ISI).

The Taliban subsequently won control of Kandahar, and by 1996 they had gained control over much of Afghanistan, including Kabul, either by force or through forming alliances with other mujahidin. The Taliban established a government headed Mullah Muhammad Omar, the group's spiritual leader (and a military leader as well). Although the civil war continued, mainly with the Northern Alliance in N Afghanistan, Taliban rule ended much of factional fighting and corrupt rule that had afflicted Afghanistan after the collapse in 1992 of the Soviet-aligned government, but it also rigidly enforced puritanical laws that were influenced by Wahhabi Islam and Afghan tribal customs. (Ahmad Rashid, 2000)

After the attack on the World Trade Center in New York on Sept. 11, 2001, President Bush gave the Taliban an ultimatum to hand over Mr. Bin Laden. When it refused, the United States joined forces with rebel groups that had never accepted Taliban rule, notably the Northern Alliance, which represented minority tribes. An air and ground campaign began that drove the Taliban out of the major Afghan cities by the end of the year.

On the eve of the U.S. attack on Afghanistan, Islamabad offered intelligence, air space, and ground facilities for the U.S.-led operation to dislodge Afghanistan's Taliban regime and capture Osama bin Laden and his associates. By Dec., 2001, the Taliban had surrendered their last urban stronghold, Kandahar, and they and Al Qaeda retreated into

the mountains along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border or dispersed among the Pashtuns in Afghanistan and neighboring Pakistan. But the Taliban continued to exist, living as a guerrilla warfare operation based in the mountainous and largely lawless tribal area on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border.

FATA

Soviet invaded Afghanistan in 1979. FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Area) was a base camp for mujahedeen from all over the world especially mujahedeen (holy warriors or freedom fighters) from Arab countries because Muslims living all over the world declared jihad against the soviet USSR. These mujahedeen was assisted by the United States, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and others. The CIA trained and provided assistance to anti Soviet forces through the Pakistani intelligence services, in a program called operation cyclone. Finally these mujahedeen compel Soviet to withdrawn their forces from Afghanistan. The first half of the Soviet contingent was withdrawn from May 15 to August 16, 1988 and the second from November 15 to February 15, 1989. Once the Soviet withdrew, US interest in Afghanistan ceased. They handed over the interest of the country to US allies, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

FATA, a territory covering some 27,500 square kilometers perched on the border between Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province and southern Afghanistan and home to over 3.5 million Pashtun (also Pakhtun) tribesmen and some 1.5 millions on refugees from Afghanistan, continues to be the center of global attention in the wake of the United States invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. FATA is one of the most underdeveloped regions

of Pakistan. Its people are poorly educated, lack accesses to adequate health care, and are deprived of basic facilities such as sanitation and potable water (FATA Sustainable Development Plan 2007-15).

After the terrorist attack of 9/11 on World Trade Center United State of America declared that it was an attack on the world. America had launched the war against terrorism on Oct 2001. With the fall of the Taliban regime the al-Qaeda and Taliban militant fled from Afghanistan to Pakistan Federally Administered Tribal Area. They launch attacks in Afghanistan and more recently, within Pakistan itself. To curb the militancy from FATA the Pakistani establishment decided to enter the armed forces in to the area. It was in July 2002 that Pakistani troops, for the first time in 55 years, entered the Tirah Valley in Khyber tribal agency. Soon they were in Shawal valley of North Waziristan, and later in South Waziristan. This was made possible after long negotiations with various tribes, who reluctantly agreed to allow the military's presence on the assurance that it would bring in funds and development work. The Pakistan's government has stationed 100,000 troops on the border to stop the activities of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda militants against the US and NATO forces in Afghanistan.

The Al-Qaeda militants and Taliban fled to the neighboring mountainous region of FATA and continuous there strike on the US and NATO allies. To tackle with Taliban and al-Qaeda militants the Government of President Bush realized soon and inked an agreement with the Pakistani establishment, according to this agreement the US can use

Pakistan space to hit the al-Qaeda and Taliban militants hide outs in Pakistan. The US army utilized Drone predators to target the militants hide out.

At first the US government used these attacks without the consultation to the Pakistani government, but the newly elected president of United State of America Mr Barack Obama expresses his desires that his government will consult Pakistan on drone's attacks. Drone strike target tribal region, mostly Waziristan. Under the George W. Bush administration, these controversial attacks were called a part of the US' "War on Terrorism" and sought to defeat the Taliban and Al-Qaeda militants who are thought to have found a safe haven in Pakistan.

The first strike came on July 14, 2004. This strike claimed five lives including Taliban commander of Waziristan Naik Muhammad Wazir near Wana. A month before his death, Naik made an agreement with the Pakistan government. According to the government, Mohammed agreed to lay down arms and register foreign militants living in the area. Gen. Safdar Hussein, a top army commander, was sent to bless the deal. The Pakistan army said, "We have killed him." But the general perception is that he was killed by the U.S (Dawn, 2004).

According to the American state Department these attacks are on target in FATA in northwest of Pakistan. The Pakistani nation strongly reacted and demonstrated when the U.S pilotless predator fired missile on religious school (Madrassa) in Dammadola, Bajure. In this strike several innocents' students, who were studying in this madrassa were killed. The American military and intelligence sources spoke of the possible death of

Ayman al-Zawaheri, the second in command of al-Qaeda. He was considered to be the brain behind the militant group's strategy (BBC, 2006).

Pakistan has repeatedly protested these attacks claiming that they are an infringement of its sovereignty and that civilian deaths have also resulted including women and children who have further angered the Pakistani government and people. The powerless Prime minister of Pakistan Gillani shows his concerns over the drone attacks. The opposition benches of Pakistan have been forcing the government to halt U.S drone strikes in tribal belt or at least raise the issue at United Nation. The president of Pakistan sent a message to U.S, that we would much prefer that the US share its intelligence and gives us the drone technology that will allow the Pakistani government to take care of this problem on our own.

Tehreek Taliban Pakistan had asked the Pakistani government to halt these drones' attacks and threatened if they didn't the TTP will target the security personnel and government institutions. But Leon Panetta the US Central Intelligence Agency chief during his visit to Islamabad had refused to halt these drone attacks. Richard Halbrook the US special representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan has stressed that the United State might expand the area of its strikes from Northwestern Pakistan to Baluchistan province which border violent South Afghanistan. The next few months were dreadful for Pakistani nation and government, when TTP started suicide attacks on government institutions and security personnel (The Washington Post, 2009).

US officials stated in March 2009 that the Predator strikes had killed 9 of Al Qaeda's 20 top commanders, and that many top Taliban and Al Qaeda leaders, as a result of the strikes, many had fled to Quetta or even further to Karachi. According to Pakistani authorities, from January 14, 2006 to April 8, 2009, 60 U.S. strikes against Pakistan killed 701 people, of which 14 were Al-Qaeda militants and 687 'innocent civilians'.

Several drones' attacks by the U.S in Bajaur forced the Pakistan army to tackle the Militants and push them back to Afghanistan. Militants started their activities in Bajaur in 2005 and by the summer of 2008 they were in control of almost the entire agency. Bajaur agency is a crucial hub for insurgents. It has access routes to Afghanistan and the rest of Pakistan. In the first week of the August 2008, the Pakistani military launched an offensive against militants in Bajaur. This operation was called by Sherdil (Lion heart). In this operation 8,000 troops were involved backed by Cobra helicopters, and fighters' jets that pounded militant's hideouts.

The army claimed that this operation was more intense than the previous operation conducted in FATA (Daily Times, 2008). The army claimed they have killed 2744 terrorists including 321 foreigners. Minister of Interior informed the joint houses about the infiltration from across the border the availability of sophisticated arms with militants and capturing of foreign currency including Afghani rupee and U.S dollar. He asserted that the arms were smuggled in to Pakistan from across the border. (Dawn, 2008). Due to the military operation around 0.4 million people had left their homes and fled to the safe and sound parts of the country (The News, 2008).

History of SWAT

With green meadows, high mountains clear lakes, Swat is a favorite tourist destination, often called the Switzerland of Pakistan. The beauty, attraction and grace of the valley of Swat are well known throughout the world. It has always been a favorite place of tourists from all over the world. This area is witness to the generosity of nature. Its fragrance, enchanting sights, moderate climate, pleasant environment, snow covered high peaks, tumultuous Swat River, singing waterfalls, crystal clear rills and springs and the beautiful valley of lilies attract everyone to itself (Dr. Sultan-i-Rome, 2008).

The names found in ancient sources for Swat are Udyana and Suvastu because of the scenic beauty of the valley and the name of the river respectively. The historical and cultural remains of the area provide evidence about human activities covering a large period of time. Swat Valley lies between 34°-40' to 35° N latitude and 72' to 74°-6' E longitude and is part of the Provincially Administrated Tribal Area (PATA) of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. The valley is an integral part of the strategic and significant region where three parts of the Asian continent—South Asia, Central Asia and China, meet. The mountain valley of Swat, covering 10,360 sqkm, is about 170km north-east of the NWFP capital, Peshawar, and about 160km north-west of Islamabad. Approximately 1.5 million people live in this culturally rich area. The history of Swat begins with Alexander The Great, who defeated Persia and conquered swat in 326 BC.

Between 324 and 185 BC Buddhism spread widely throughout Swat and reached its peak during the Kushan era in the 2nd century AD. A great number of colleges and monasteries with innumerable stupas were built in the valley and a great quantity of

Gandhara sculptural work was produced. Statues of the Buddha, stupas, monasteries, rock carvings, art, coins, pottery and other artefacts can be found everywhere in the valley. Emperor Ashoka is also said to have ordered the erection of a stupa in the region.

This area was a capital of the Gandhara civilization. Now there is only one such statue left - the Buddha of Jehanabad. A beacon of Gandhara heritage, the Buddha of Jehanabad is the only remaining Buddha of its size and quality carved into the rock in the area. Standing at 23 feet, the 7th-century statue is considered the most important statue of its kind. In March 2001, the Taliban from Afghanistan destroyed the Bamiyan Buddhas. The Swat valley's Buddha of Jehanabad was considered second in importance after the Buddhas of Bamiyan. This time Taliban from Swat under the umbrella of Maulana Fazlullah had defaced the Jehanabad Buddha Statue.

In early tenth century CE/AD, the Muslims occupied Swat. After the occupation of the valley by the Muslims, people from different Pukhtun tribes settled in Swat. They came to be known as Swati Pukhtuns. They established their rule for centuries. Practically, they remained independent and out of the sphere of the neighboring Muslim rulers of Afghanistan and India throughout their occupation. The Yousafzais conquered Swat in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and emerged and remained a dominant segment. The Swat Yousafzai enjoyed freedom and neither had paid taxes to Delhi or Kabul nor yielded obedience to any foreign law or administrative system. They fought Akbar's mighty arms for years and incurred great losses over them. At that time, the last decade

of the fifteen-century, Swat was in the possession of the Swati Pukhtuns and Sultan Uwais was its chief ruler.

The Yousafzai spread across and took over the control of lower and Upper Swat, the old Swati Pukhtoons were compelled to leave possessions that was taken by the Yousafzai. The yousafzai of Swat retained their independent position during Baur's, Kamran's and Humayun's reign. Akber had made many attempt to rule over Swat but he did not succeed. The Mughal faced stiff resistance and suffered great hardships (W. R. Hay, 1934).

With the invasion of the Punjab and occupation of Peshawar by the English, a new phase in the history of Swat began. When Peshawar fell to British rules in 1849 the yousafzai became worried and tried to form government in the valley to preserve their independence. Akhund of Swat played a vital role in the unity of Pakhtun tribes and formed Islamic Pukhtuns rule in Swat valley. Anxious for their independence, the Swati chiefs got alarmed with the British power at their doorstep. They held jirgas and appointed Sayyad Akbar Shah (grandson of Pir Baba) as the king of Swat. He died on 11 May 1857.

The year 1857, year of the War of Independence in India and The British quickly regained control of Delhi, passed off without disturbance in Swat because the king of the Swat State died on 11 May 1857. Swat itself plunged in to civil war and remained entirely engaged with its own affairs. When the British forces made their advance through the Ambela pass, in October 1863, in order to pass through Buner territory and crush the

followers of Sayyed Ahmad Brailwi, in their colony, at Malka. Their advance was blocked and the tribes of Buner and Swat rose up against them. The British Government ordered to accomplish the operation by 15 November 1863, but it received telegram after telegram from the frontier, begging for more and more troops.

Swati and Bunery tribes firmly resisted the mighty British forces and gave them tough time for about two months. The British Imperial failed to conquer but its diplomacy worked. A truce was concluded and tribes dispersed. In 1895, the internal developments once more resulted in a collision and stiff fighting between the Swatis and the British forces when the Swatis resolved to block the passage of the British forces, through their country, to Chitral. The Britisher offered the Swati tribes if they remained neutral and did not try to molest the passage of troops no harm would be done to them or to their property. Disregarding the Britishers proclamation, the Swatis held all the three passes from which the troops could enter Swat en route Chitral. On 1 April 1895 the Chitral Relief Force left Nowshera under the command of Sir Robert Low. The Swati tribesmen, most of whom were unarmed, defended themselves with great bravery, against the well-equipped and well-organized massive British troops. They continued their resistance and stopped the advance of the troops and artillery of the largest State of the world till 1895.

At the end, the Britishers succeeded in making their advance and entered the green belt of the Swat valley. The Britishers established garrisons at Malakand and Chakdara. Swat state since 1917 has come in to being in the Tribal Territory on the North

West Frontier of British India. Abdul Jabbar Shakir was the first king of the swat state (1915-1917) and was the originator of the administrative system of the state. Spending two years as a king of the swat, the Jirga broke relation with him and asked him to go back. Miangul Abdul Wadud was declared as the next king. Miangul Abdul Wadud formed an administrative systems with courts that were headed by the religious scholars known as Qazi courts and judicial courts were headed by the area tehsildar. The judicial system was Islamic in the state at that time.

He remained the king till 1949 and abdicated in favor of his son Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb on 12 December 1949, with which Jahanzeb became the next ruler and ruled till the merger of the state in 1969. During his reign swati people enjoyed an amazing peace and development in the field of education, communication and health. However he changed some of the policies of his father.

In 1975, these former independent states were declared as Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA). The manifestations of militancy did not arise spontaneously, but was deliberately encouraged by the Pakistani government, with the subversion of Pashtun tribal structures in the early 1970s.

Islamic Militancy in Malakand Division

In North West Pakistan, three semi-autonomous state-Dir, Swat, Chitral-were amalgamated to form the Malakand Division of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) in 1970. The laws of Pakistan were extended to the area, but the old legal systems such as Sharia law in Swat were ignored. Islamic militancy erupted in the 1990s when

Maulana Sufi Mohammad, a radical cleric, had asked the government to impose sharia law in Swat and neighboring areas of Malakand, Dir as well as in the Bajaur tribal region on the Afghan border. In 1992 Sufi Mohammad set up an organisation, Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM). He was an active leader of the Jamaat-e-Islami in the 1980s. He quitted the Jamaat and formed TNSM. While issuing a decree declaring that religious political parties and politics of votes were unlawful and contrary to Islamic principles (Hasan Abbas, 2006). On May 9, 1994 addressing a gathering in Timergara, Dir district the TNSM leader demanded implementation of Sharia Law in Malakand Division.

In 1994 hundreds of TNSM followers occupied Government offices, blocked all roads leading into and out of Swat through a sit-in. Airport at Saidu Sharif were taken over and the local administration brought to a standstill (James Town, 2009). Apart from clashes with security forces, an MPA was kidnapped and killed in the Swat District. They were demanding the implementation of an agreement reached with the government in 1994 to enforce Sharia in Malakand Division. Frontier Corps was deployed to regain control of the Saidu Sharif airport, roads, police stations and judicial courts in the area.

Approximately 40 persons, including 12 security force personnel, were killed in a week of fighting before the Government was able to reestablish its writ. Sufi Muhammad was arrested by the Government but for only a short period of time, and by November 1994 senior government official sent him official letters updating him about government directives to enforce sharia law and requesting his cooperation.

The situation was brought under control after the PPP government in NWFP under Sherpao agreed to introduce Islamic law in Malakand Division. Qazi courts were established, however, in practical terms the system didn't work since the civil judges were named as Qazis and courts as Qazi courts. Normal civil courts and Qazi courts functioned side by side giving option to the litigants to choose any of the two parallel systems of justice. Once the government regained control it agreed that an Islamic judicial system would be introduced to head off future trouble, but never lived up to its promises, according to Swat's Islamists. This was the time when TNSM earned more praises instead of other religious political parties. The federal government who had agreed to accept TNSM's major demand, which was the enforcement of Sharia.

Malakand Division suffered in the process greatly. The roots of extremism were established in the region. Sufi Muhammad, as he declared the politics of votes were unlawful and contrary to Islamic principles, the female candidates (to fill the special seats reserved for women) were compelled to affix their husband's photograph onto registration papers instead of their own. Subsequently, husbands of elected women even began attending official activities. Further, on September 6, 1998, the TNSM threatened to attack American property and also abduct American citizens in Pakistan unless the USA apologized to the Muslim world for the August 1998 missile strikes in Afghanistan. In April 2001, the TNSM had rejected the government's judicial system which, in perception, lacks authority and finality under Islamic injunctions. In his speeches the TNSM chief said, there is no room for vote in Islam and the concept of democracy which some religious-political parties are demanding is wrong (Amir Mir, 2009).

Their next great expedition aroused in 2001, when the Taliban were being ousted out of power by the American Invasion of Afghanistan. The TNSM in Malakand organized a protest procession in Mingora on September 20, 2001 where the speakers called for raising a voluntary army in order to extend support to the Taliban militia against the then coming US strikes. Sufi Muhammad has sent 7,000 -8,000 TNSM armed cadres to Afghanistan to fight alongside the Taliban militia and help the Taliban in their resistance. They were armed with Kalashnikovs, rocket launchers, missiles, anti-aircraft guns, hand grenades and swords.

The TNSM armed cadres led by their chief Sufi Muhammad crossed the Pak-Afghan border via Bajaur agency to join Taliban. The political administration of Bajaur Agency allowed the TNSM cadres to pass through the agency jurisdiction on their way to Afghanistan. Qazi Ihsanullah, a TNSM spokesperson, said in Bajaur

"We will resist if the authorities try to stop us. The jihad (holy war) will start here...Initially Mullah Omar advised us to wait and come to Afghanistan only when necessary but we have told them that we will stay in Afghanistan as a reserve force" (Shaheen Bunery, 2008).

Many of his men ended up being killed or arrested by the National Alliance and this cause the relative few, including Sufi Muhammad, to return to Pakistan. On his back, the Pakistani authorities captured, arrested and imprisoned Sufi Mohammad. He was ultimately convicted on April 24, 2002, along with his 30 companions, to ten years (Many about Taliban) of imprisonment for inciting people to go to Afghanistan and for violating

state restrictions. The organization was no longer a legitimate entity and was banned by President General Pervez Musharraf in January 2002 under the Anti-Terrorism Act 1997. The government of Pakistan seizes the accounts of the banned organization. Members of the banned organization drifted towards another extremist organization.

Latest wave of militancy in Swat

On 2 July 2007, the Pakistani government reinforced Ranger Force deployed near the Lal Masjid, or Red Mosque in Islamabad. The chief cleric Maulana Abdul Aziz and his brother deputy chief cleric of the mosque, Maulana Abdul Rasheed Ghazi demanded to implement the Islamic Law in Islamabad. There students set fire to Two adjacent buildings belonging Ministry of Environment and Capital Development Authority (CDA). They also attacked CDs shop and massage centre. By the time "Operation Silence" was broken, on 11 July 2007, the death toll had reached 106 however this figure remains shrouded in controversy as many believed it to be a lot higher. Al-Qaeda and leader of the Swat Taliban Maulana Fazlullah called his men to arms after a military assault on the Red Mosque. They were calling for revenge against the Pakistani Army (Intikhab Amir, 2007).

With Sufi Mohammad in jail, his firebrand son-in-law, Maulvi Fazlullah, emerged as the main militant leader in Swat. His followers have waged a violent campaign to enforce Sharia Law (Islamic law). Most of the Red Mosque students belonged to these areas, and so the possibility of a backlash was never wholly discounted – rather, it was expected – and according to leading Pakistani journalists, the immediate spate of terrorism targeting security forces was retaliatory in nature and were meant to harm

those who had taken part in the military operations at the mosque and madrassah complex in Islamabad.

Maulana Fazlullah was promoting his organisation using numerous illegal radio stations. This has helped him to spread his propaganda and even rally much support for his radical missions, as well as earn him the title of Maulana FM. In October 2007, Matta area, a sub-division of Swat district was reportedly under the control of local Taliban who were constantly communicating through an illegal FM radio channel. On some occasion the airwaves were used to glorify Taliban's progress: announcements about the [Taliban] advance were made on a pirate FM radio station run by cleric Mullah Fazlullah, as militants hoisted their party flag on police stations and government buildings and distributed sweets. The Pak-Taliban is also known to disseminate pamphlets as part of its campaign to dispel fear and dread in the locals, which would ensure successful Talibanization.

Maulana Fazlullah has also a student of Sufi Muhammad and has worked with him for the promulgation of Nifaz-e-Sharia in Swat. During the imprisonment of Sufi Muhammad, Fazlullah got full control of the organization and finally merged his own organization with the TTP led by Baitullah Mahsood. In the wake of the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, Fazlullah joined an army of 10,000 young militant under the leadership of Sufi Mohammad in crossing into Afghanistan to fight against U.S.-led coalition troops. On his return, Maulana Sufi Mohammad was arrested and imprisoned for illegally crossing into Afghanistan. Fazlullah escaped arrest on his return and shifted the TNSM

headquarter from Dir to his Swat village of Imam Dherai, exerting his influence in the region by launching an illegal FM radio station in 2006. Taliban used FM radio as a tool of propaganda. The people of Swat became regular listeners of the FM radio channel run by the Mualana Fazlullah as they want to know about new threats or decrees issued by the militants. This has enable the Taliban to spread their influence in parts of Upper Dir and Lower Dir. Shah Dauran, who belongs to Qambar village near Swat's biggest city, Mingora, At 8 pm every night begins his daily broadcasts by reciting the holy Quran with translation and interpretation in Pashto .He made announcements about Swat Taliban Shura decisions, providing information about the day's events and militants' attacks, and issuing threats to all those violating Taliban decrees

Fazlullah has issued fatwas (religious decrees) on a regular basis from his illegal FM radio against secular politicians and anyone serving in the military. His Shaheen Commando Force is armed with heavy weaponry and ready to carry out his orders to destroy schools, bomb police stations, and target military check-points. They attacked shops in the Swat valley that sold local and foreign music and video cassettes. Taliban asked the people to refrain from engaging in un-Islamic practices of listening to music, watching television and shaving beards.

Fazlullah strictly banned the female education in the swat area. He conceded that girls may attend school until 5th grade. The government pledges girl will be allowed to attend school, but must wear veils. In Swat, Taliban has destroyed 238 out of 1,576 schools affecting more than 56,250 students in the province. They were threatening girls and

forcing the management of Saidu Medical College and other educational institutions to stop imparting education to Female students. The Taliban has ordered that women should not step out of home unescorted by a male family member. Shopkeepers have been told not to sell goods to unescorted women. The local people have asked to pay money to help Taliban. Women donated money and even their jewelry to the Taliban. No one was dared to criticize Taliban because those who have criticized they had been killed or hanged at public places. In Mingora, main town in Swat, an area known as Green Square has been renamed "khooni chowk" (blood square) or "chowk zibakhana" (slaughterhouse square) after the daily stringing up of two or three bodies of people seen to have defied the Taliban, even for mild criticism in a private conversation.

In some parts of the Swat people offered resistance to Taliban but they have been eliminated soon by the Taliban. Pir Samiullah, a local landlord and spiritual leader, issued a fatwa against Fazlullah's jihad. Fazlullah mounted an armed attack on the Pir. Some 150 farmers who worked on Samiullah's lands put up a battle but could not save their leader. The Pir's followers buried his body but the Taliban, afraid it would turn into a shrine, exhumed the body and strung it up as an example of what would happen to those who did not fall in line. Taliban asked the government employees to quit the government services if they did not, they will have to face the consequences. The Swat police comprise of around 2000 policemen. The police was mostly targeted by the militants in Malakand division. The Taliban advised policemen to advertise their names in a local paper if they quit. As a result, nearly 800 policemen half the authorized force in Swat have either resigned or gone on long leave. Only one of the 600 recruits trained by the military at the

Punjab Regimental Centre in Mardan volunteered to serve in what is becoming known as the "valley of death," according to a local newspaper.

In 59 villages, the militants set up a "parallel government" with Islamic courts imposing sharia law. The militants had challenged the writ of the government and the whole civil administration were paralyzed as the militants occupied majority of the police stations, BHUs, RHCs (Basic/Rural Health), educational institutions, and other government offices and vehicles and even started kidnapping and slaughtering of government servants. To combat the rising militant threat and establish the writ of the government, the interim government of the NWFP deployed more than 60,000 army and paramilitary troops, police and helicopter gunship into Swat valley on 24th November, 2007 with the consensus of local population. The government said that the progress of army is to restore the law and order and to control the activities of militants who are trying to challenge the writ of the government. NWFP home secretary said in a press conference that the government had no plans to launch an operation in Swat and wanted to resolve the issue by peaceful means and the government is ready to negotiate to resolve the issue peacefully.

Maulana Fazlullah has also told his followers to get ready for Jihad. He deployed 2,000 armed volunteers to Matta, Sangota and Khwazakhela sub-districts of Swat which have been badly affected by militancy. Falullah denied that he had challenge the writ of the government. Security forces set up check posts and troops took positions on hilltops. Frontier Corps (FC) had been deployed in Mingora, and Saidu Sharif. The bloodbath

began in the “Switzerland of Pakistan” (Swat) when a powerful bomb blast occurred near police line Mingora, which claimed at least 17 paramilitary soldiers. DIG Police claimed it was a suicide attack.

The next day Taliban kidnapped 4 security personnel and beheaded them publicly. The government warned the Taliban that the situation is going out of control, but Fazlullah asked the government to enforce Sharia in the Malakand division to end the conflict. A massive operation was launched in the suburbs of Swat and Shangla. Heavy artillery and Gunship helicopters were targeting the trenches of the militants.

The fighting between the militants of radical cleric Maulana Fazlullah and Pakistan security forces had forced thousands of people in Swat and Shangla valleys to flee their homes about 60% of the 1.6 million population in Swat and Shangla valley had left their houses and took refuge either with their relatives or rented houses in Mardan, Buner, Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Karachi. The people fled the area because of intense shelling. The hometown of Fazlullah was targeted by the army and fired artillery and rockets on suspected positions of militants. Administration was unable to help the displaced people; even the district administration did not have enough tents for the displaced people.

On February 18, 2008 in general election ANP (Awami National Party) a Pukhtoon Nationalist party in NWFP took majority seats of the Provincial Assembly and formed the coalition government in Frontier province. NWFP government launches a fresh peace process, setting up a committee to initiate dialogue with different groups of militants.

Taliban militants operating under Fazalullah in Swat District sign a 9-point peace agreement on April 21, 2008 with the NWFP government and agree to disband their militia; they also denounce suicide attacks and stop attacks on the security forces and government buildings. But this ceasefire does not work and attacks on schools and other buildings were continued in Swat. The Taliban blamed the military for not retaining troops. The Taliban promptly disobeyed the terms of the deal, and began to overrun police stations and enforce sharia law in the district. The military moves tanks, heavy artillery and helicopters into Swat to combat militants. Thousands of people have fled the conflict area (Bill Roggio, 2008).

The provincial government continued their effort to restore peace in the region. This time they contacted with Sufi Muhammad leader of the TNSM who was in jail. Sufi was released from custody in late November 2008 as the government was seeking to arrange a peace deal after the TNSM took control of the districts of Swat and Shangla in the Northwest Frontier Province. Fierce clashes were continued between the army and militants beyond this peace process. The ANP government was constantly forcing both the militants and military to come under the peace agreement.

On February 16, 2009, NWFP government and Sufi Muhammad signed a deal according to which government will implement Islamic sharia in Malakand division under nizam-e- adal Regulation and restoration of peace in the militancy-plagued Malakand division after 18 months long military operation (Shamim Shahid And Essa Khan Khail, 2009).

Two months after the deal on April 13, 2009, the president of Pakistan signed the Nizam-e-Adal Regulation after the National Assembly of Pakistan unanimously passed it. The peace deal comes after several rounds of negotiations. Some countries were expressing their concern about the peace agreement between militants and government, saying they are not serious in negotiations but want time to regroup, reorganize their ranks and fill their sources. Despite all these concerns the people of Swat welcome the peace caravan led by Maulana Sufi Mohammad, who has shifted from Dir Lower to Swat along with his followers and common masses with the pledge that he would not return until complete peace is restored in the Swat valley. Despite severe national and international pressure, the ANP signed the peace deal.

The major points of the deal were to implement Sharia law in Swat and Malakand, security forces will gradually withdraw from the region, the government and Taliban will exchange the prisoners, Taliban would recognize the writ of the government and cooperate with the security forces, to halt attacks on barber and music shops, ban on display of weapons and Taliban would lay down heavy weapons. Taliban would denounce suicide attacks and will cooperate with the government to vaccinate children against diseases like polio. Fazlullah madrassah, the Imam Dheri would be turned in to an Islamic university. Only licensed FM radio stations would be allowed to operate in the region.

(Paracha, 2009).

By early April 2009, Sharia law had been imposed as part of a deal between the authorities and the local Taliban. However, the militants failed to disarm completely in

line with the accord and their fighters spread to neighboring districts Buner and Shangla. On April 06, 2009 some 100 militants from Swat valley entered Buner.

The Taliban consider Buner as part of the Malakand Division and apparently the move was to bring Buner under the fold of Nizam-e-Adal Regulations. The Taliban easily got control of the important areas of the district and the government remained a silent spectator. Buner is some 60 kms away from the Capital City Islamabad and is adjacent to the district Haripur which borders Islamabad through the Margalla Hills. This was the time when alarms bells started ringing inside Punjab and the capital city Islamabad. The US which was already annoyed with the peace deal in Swat started forewarning of Taliban capturing Islamabad and seizing the Nuclear Weapons.

Taking over the control of District Buner without any resistant from the government sides, Pakistani establishment came under pressure of the international community to tackle with the Taliban. The Pakistani high commands hold a meeting with commanders in the region to discuss a military operation in Buner and Swat. Hundreds of paramilitary troops were deployed to Buner after Taliban militants began setting up checkpoints in the district, less than 100 kilometers from Islamabad. Hundreds of paramilitary troops were deployed to Buner after Taliban militants began setting up checkpoints in the district, less than 100 kilometers from Islamabad (Dawn, April, 2009).

On May 7, 2009, Pakistani prime minister went on air to inform Pakistanis that the country was now at war. To restore the honor and dignity of our homeland and to protect our people, the armed forces have been called in to eliminate the militants and

terrorists, he said in his special address to the nation. (Dawn, 2008) On the directive of the Government of Pakistan, Army started a full- scale operation to eliminate all anti-state elements from Swat. The full military thrust started on the May 7 or 8.

In the context of three failed operations conducted in Swat since November 2007 that had left locals skeptical about the army's willingness to eliminate the Taliban threat, but now they have more faith in the army this time around, mainly because the army increased the numbers of troops and more sophisticated equipment. All the major political parties back the operation Rah-e- Rast. The main city of the Swat valley had secured after a several days of street to street fighting between the security forces and Taliban militants (Dawn, 2009).By the end of August the Pakistani army claims to have killed 2000 militants while captured hundreds of others. But no key Taliban leader killed in military operation (Times of India, 2009).

The military operation caused the exodus of millions who became IDPs. Peace loving Swatis pushed out of their homes and hearths, into the makeshift camps in sizzling midsummer, was a tragedy and test of the resilience of the suffering people. The nation stood as a rock behind the IDPs. Due to intense fight, more than 2.4 million people have been displaced in Swat valley and neighboring districts of Dir and Buner (dawn, 2009). This is the fastest and largest displacement of people since the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Hundreds of thousands of people have left their homes and have taken shelter in neighboring districts. Facing such problems Pakistani government appealed the international community for humanitarian aid (Riaz Mayar, 2009).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to draw the attention of the government, the army and the news media to the issue of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The humanitarian situation in NWFP is one of the worst in the world. Here 3 million people are internally displaced as the government try to defeat the militancy. The camps are overcrowded, and the IDPs were constantly afraid, both outside and inside of the camps. They are extremely poor, with limited possibilities for cash income, almost no credit available, and very few receive remittances from relatives. They depend on humanitarian aid.

This study provides an overview on the situation of IDPs that how much coverage has been given to this issue by the Pakistani leading English newspapers. How significantly they covered the issue of IDPs.

Research Question

This study addressed such questions like,

- How much coverage was given to the military operation in Swat by the dailies Dawn and The News?
- How much coverage was given to the IDPs issue by the dailies Dawn and The News?
- Whether or not there is a difference in the coverage of space in these two dailies. The dawn and the News.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

In this modern era of technology media has a vital role. The media became mirror of the society and it is now considered the Fourth pillar of the state. The media, particularly electronic media makes it easy for the people to become aware of what happening around the globe. It is the prime duty of the news reporter to bring news story from the front line and to keep up to date their viewers. The choice of what to show and the interpretation of what is shown can shape the public's attitude toward the war and its perpetrators. The public entrusts reporters to approach these issues fairly; and communicate their findings honestly, comprehensively and ethically.

The media's Newspapers, Radio, TV and Cable have a variety of interests of their own and set goals to be achieved. They have their fulsome share of rogues, incompetents and avaricious vultures. Yet at their best, the media provide the nation with a vital service it can get nowhere else. It is one of the pillars of the state (Sultan M Hali, 2000).

The war which America had started against terrorism had reached Pakistan long ago and had become its own war. America had formed an alliance against these terrorist elements like Al-Qaida and Taliban and most of the developed world had joined hands. Now, Pakistan is among those countries which are fighting this menace of terrorism but in the past Pakistan was one of those three countries that had recognized the Taliban government in

Afghanistan. The eradication of terrorist elements from Swat, the management of displacement of thousands of people from war-torn region, providing them temporary abode with food and other necessities and then their safe return to their homes was a mammoth task (Syed Wasif Arshad, 2009).

The US does not have any legal right to launch missile attacks on Pakistan through drones or otherwise. There is mounting criticism at all levels in Pakistan against the US drone attacks. However, the US continues unabashedly to carry out targeted killings of suspected terrorists through drone attacks in Pakistan (Dr Tariq Hassan, 2009).

By early June 2009, most of Swat was freed from Taliban and Mingora, the main town of Swat, was in complete government control. According to reports around 1200 militants were killed in the operation (Waqar Mehdi, 2009).

Hypothesis

This study examined whether or not this was true of national newspapers. Thus,

H1: The dailies The Dawn and The News devoted more space to army operation as compared to Internally Displaced Persons.

H2: The daily News gives more coverage to Internally Displaced Persons than The Dawn newspaper.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This study used content analysis which is defined as a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description on the manifest content of communication (Burlison 1952, p. 18)

The purpose of this study is to investigate the coverage of the dailies Dawn and The News to Swat military operation, and news coverage to the internal displace Persons (IDPs).

This study has examined the content of two English leading dailies, The Dawn and The News. These two are the most widely circulated English newspapers of Pakistan. This study addressed such questions like:

How much coverage was given to the military operation in Swat by the dailies The Dawn and The News?

How much space was given to the IDPs issue in these English dailies?

Sampling and variables

Stempel III (1952) found that “increasing the sample size beyond 12 does not produced marked differences in the results” (p.33). This study used the criteria suggested by Stempel and the sampling techniques used by Vilanilm (1967), with some modification.

This research covered 2 months, the month of May and June. The sampling selected in this study is random sampling. Thus, there are 8 weeks in sample. All the news stories

related to variables in front (as well as jump page) and back page (except advertisement and supplementary materials) published each newspapers on the selected weeks were coded and analyzed. The method to measure the size of the story was Column Centimeter. First we measured the height of the story then we multiply it with the number of column the story contained, so in that way we conclude the size of the story. In this research we used weekly result for the month of May and then showed the overall result of the month of June to analyze the first hypothesis. Analyzing the second hypothesis we distributed the Two months in four tables to describe the coverage of the newspapers regarding IDPs.

Chapter four

Finding and discussion

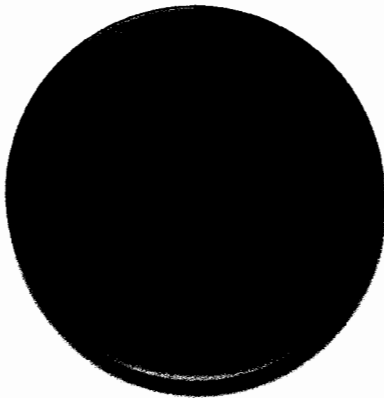
Space devoted to army operation as compared to Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

The below pie charts' shows that in the first week of the operation the daily Dawn published highest proportion of space to operation that is (59%) as compared to IDPs (41%).

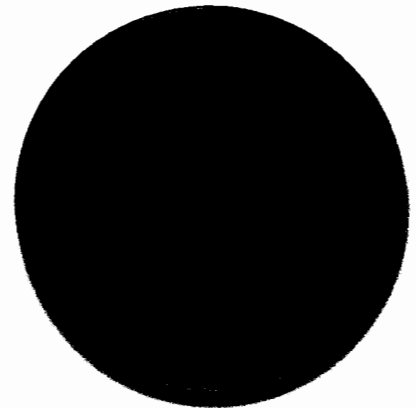
The daily News published enormous coverage to the operation news (82%) as compared to IDPs (18%) in the first week of their coverage to the operation.

Chart of First week: Space devoted to army operation and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

First Week of Dawn



First week of The News



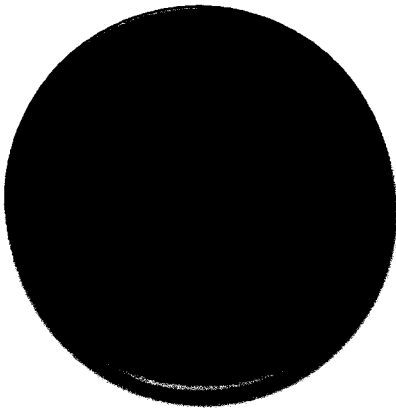
Week Two

In the second week of the Swat operation the daily Dawn published (79%) of operation news and published (21%) of IDPs news.

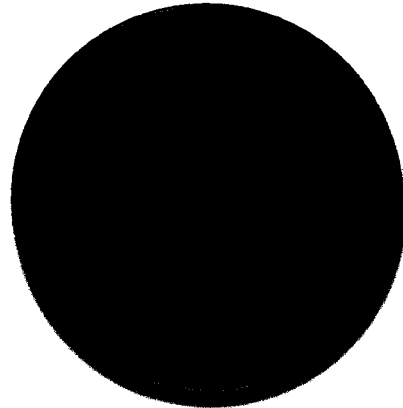
The daily News published highest proportion of space to operation news (75%) as compared to IDPs news (25%) point out in the below chart.

Chart of week Two: Space devoted to army operation and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Week Two of Dawn



Week Two of The News



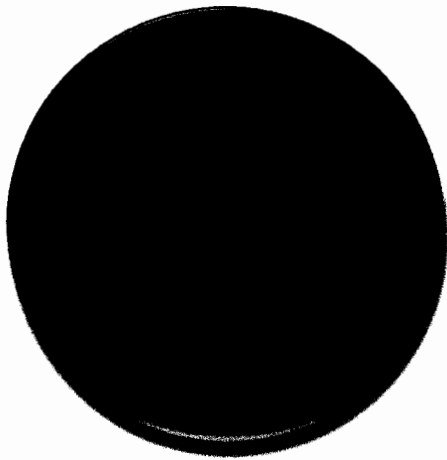
Week Three

The chart below shows that in the Third week of the operation the daily Dawn placed high proportion of space to the operation news (61%) and published (39%) of IDPs news.

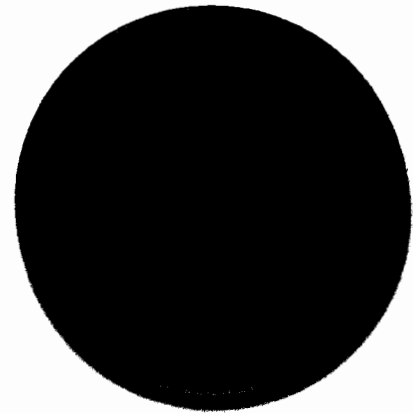
This chart shows that the daily News published (73%) of operation news and space devoted to IDPs news is only (27%).

Chart of week Three: Space devoted to army operation and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Week Three of Dawn



Week Three of The News



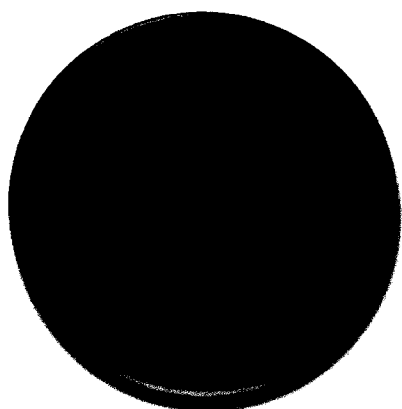
Week Four

This chart shows that the daily Dawn placed (56%) of army operation news. The newspaper showed concerned to IDPs news, and placed (44%) of IDPs news.

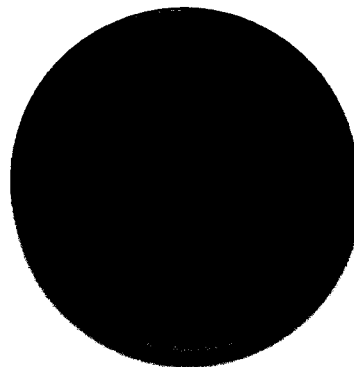
The daily News published high proportion of space to the army operation that is (67%), and published (33%) of IDPs news.

Chart of week Four: Space devoted to army operation and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Week Four of Dawn



Week Four of The News



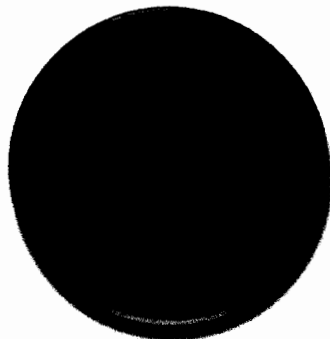
The Month of May

This chart describe that by the end of the month of May, the daily newspaper Dawn published high proportion of news related to army operation in Swat region. The daily Dawn placed low proportion of news regarding Internally Displaced Persons. The total spaces of coverage to the army operation in the month of May in daily Dawn were 68%. The coverage received to IDPs was only 32% in daily Dawn. The daily News devoted high proportion of space to the army operation (71%) and placed (29%) of IDPs news in the month of May.

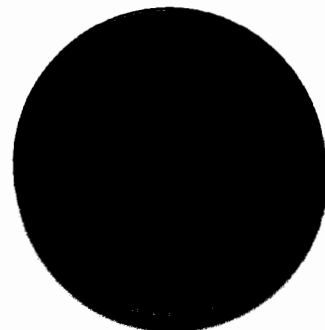
Table 1: Space devoted to army operation and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

	Dawn		The News	
	IDPs	Operation	IDPs	Operation
Number of news	32	54	35	54
Size of news (ccm)	1175.3	2546.9	1337.5	3242.9
Percentage	32	68	29	71

The daily Dawn (May)



The daily News (May)



The month of June

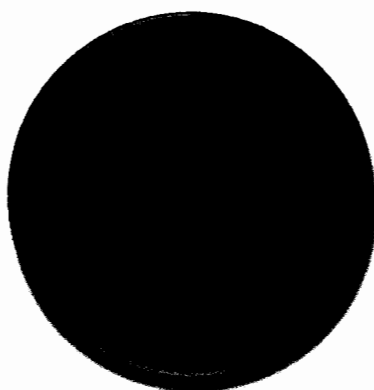
In the month of June the daily News devoted high proportion of space to army operation (73%) and low proportion (27%) to the Internally Displaced Persons.

The below chart mentioned that the daily Dawn published (57%) of army operation news and placed (43%) of IDPs news.

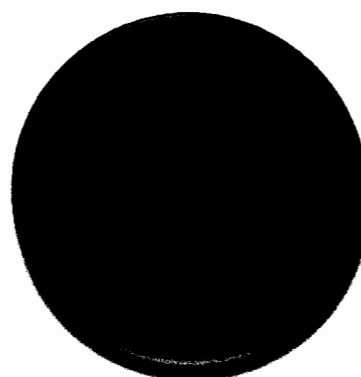
Table 2: Space devoted to army operation and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

	Dawn		The News	
	IDPs	Operation	IDPs	Operation
Number of news	12	16	14	32
Size of news (ccm)	544.5	720	596.3	1621
Percentage	43	57	27	73

The daily News (June)



The daily Dawn (June)



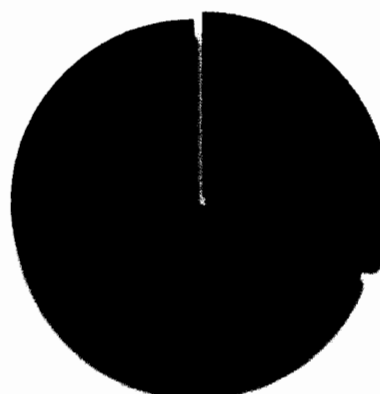
Space given to army operation and IDPs in daily Dawn and The News

The table 3 show that the dailies Dawn and The News devoted high proportion of space to army operation. Daily Dawn published total 112 numbers of stories during the Swat issue. Dawn published 44 news stories on IDPs issue with the 34%, and 68 on the army operation in Swat with the 66%. The daily News published 135 numbers of news stories regarding the Swat issue. The News published 49 news stories, and the percentage was 28%. The numbers of stories published in The News regarding the army operation in swat were 86, with 72%.

Finding after this analysis hypothesis which claims that the dailies Dawn and the News devoted high proportion of space to army operation as compared to IDPs proved true.

Table 3:	Dawn		The News		Both newspapers	
	IDPs	Operation	IDPs	Operation	IDPs	Operation
Number of news	44	68	49	86	93	154
Size of news (ccm)	1719.8	3266.9	1933.8	4863.9	3653.6	8130.8
Percentage	34	66	28	72	31	69

Both The Newspapers



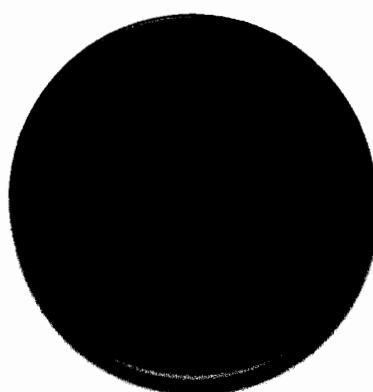
Comparison of Dawn and The News on IDPs issue

This table described the first two weeks (May) of the coverage to the IDPs. The daily Dawn gave high space to the Internally Displaced Persons as compared to the daily News. The daily dawn published 16 news stories, with 59%. The daily News published 11 news stories, with 41%.

Table 4: Comparison of Dawn and The News on IDPs issue

Coverage to IDPs	Dawn	The News
	IDPs	IDPs
Number of news	16	11
Size of News ccm	712.1	497.6
Percentage	59	41

First two Weeks (IDPs)

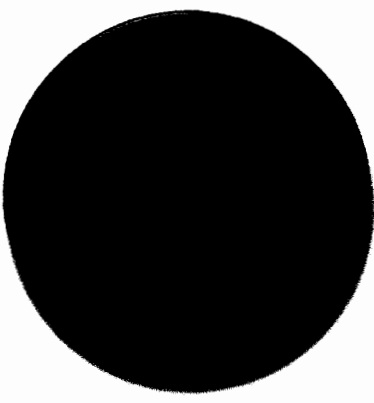


The table 5 shows that the daily News gave high proportion of space to IDPs comparatively the Dawn newspaper by the end of the first month of army operation (May). The News published 60% of IDPs news, whereas dawn published 40%.

Table 5: Comparison of Dawn and The News on IDPs issue

Coverage to IDPs	Dawn	The News
	IDPs	IDPs
Number of News	16	24
Size of News ccm	594.8	88.14
Percentage	40	60

Last two weeks (IDPs)



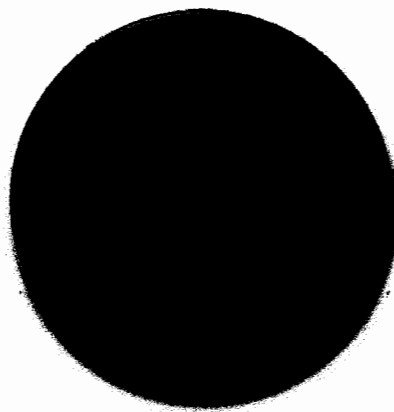
This table shows that the daily News gave high proportion of space to IDPs comparatively the Dawn newspaper in the second month (June) of the army operation. The News published 59% of IDPs news, whereas dawn published 41%.

The stories related to IDPs were 10 in number published by The News. The daily Dawn published 9 stories.

Table 6: Comparison of Dawn and The News on IDPs issue

Coverage to IDPs	Dawn	The News
	IDPs	IDPs
Number of News	9	10
Size of News ccm	333.9	473.8
Percentage	41	59

First two weeks (IDPs)

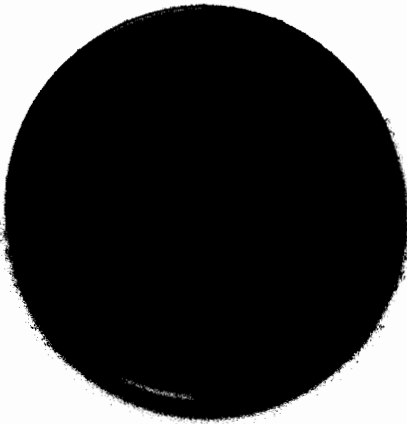


This table shows that by the end of the month of June the dailies Dawn and The News showed their little concerned to IDPs news. The daily Dawn published only 3 stories related to IDPs news and the daily News placed 4 stories.

Table 7: Comparison of Dawn and The News on IDPs issue

Coverage to IDPs	Dawn	The News
	IDPs	IDPs
Number of news	3	4
Size of News ccm	79	81
Percentage	49	51

Last two weeks (IDPs)



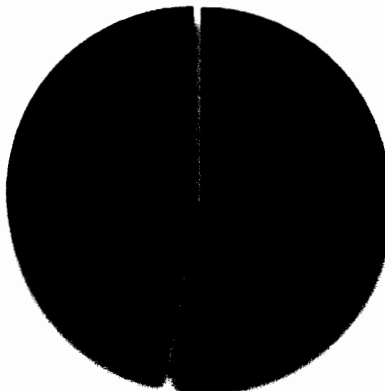
The daily News gives more coverage to IDPs than the Dawn newspaper

Table 8 shows that the daily News published high proportion of space to Internally Displaced Persons. The daily Dawn published 47% news stories whereas the daily News published 53% stories in the month of May and June. These confirm our hypothesis trueness that the daily News gives more coverage to the IDPs than the Dawn newspaper.

Table8: The dailies Dawn and The News coverage to IDPs.

Coverage to IDPs	Dawn	The News
	IDPs	IDPs
Number of news	44	49
Size of News ccm	1719.8	1933.8
Percentage	47	53

The dailies Dawn and The News coverage to IDPs



Conclusion

In this study we reveal that our hypothesis regarding coverage of military operation in Swat and IDPs issue are true on the basis of finding discussed above.

This study shows that the English dailies give more coverage to army operation instead of IDPs. Displacement is a part of war, but the media can highlight this issue through proper coverage to the humanitarian crisis. As the military assault on Swat began front and back pages of the selected two newspapers has given high proportion of space to military operation and showed little concerned to IDPs.

The finding shows that both the newspapers placed 69% of operation news and 31% of IDPs news. Although to some extent it is satisfactory, being a mirror of the society we have to analyze both sides of the picture.

Discussion

Media is the only source in this 20th century to keep aware what happening around the world. It is the responsibility of the media to present both sides of the picture. The media can play a vital role in war journalism to aware their readers and audience. This study shows that the English dailies such as the daily Dawn and The News these are the leading newspapers in Pakistan gave much preference to operation news as compared to Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

In this study we also compared the two English newspapers the daily Dawn and The News, on the issue of IDPs. The daily News tries its best to devoted high proportion of space to IDPs news coverage as compared to the daily Dawn.

Recommendation

- ∂ Displacement is very core issue in war and during Swat operation we saw the biggest displacement of the history. It was the responsibility of the media to give appropriate coverage to the displaced persons without any prejudice.
- ∂ The only source of information on daily events in Swat and other areas in which fighting is taking place is the Inter-Services Press Relations (ISPR). Sadly press reports rarely note that there are no alternate means to verify the ISPR's version of events.
- ∂ It is the responsibility of the government to ensure the security of the reporters those who are working in the conflict region.
- ∂ It is the primary duty of the press to investigate the story and to promote the investigative journalism.

References

- A. Khan, Iftikhar.(2009) "Action triggered by Taliban plan to take over Buner". Dawn.
- Abbas, Hasan. publication: Terrorism monitor volume: 4 Issue: 23 nov30, 2006.
- A. Khan, Iftikhar.(2009) "Army told to crush Swat militants". Dawn.
- Arshad, S. Wasif.(2009) "Bravo supreme commander and his team". The Frontier Post.
- Abdul Qayum Balala. "The Charming Swat". <http://www.swatvalley.com/swat/cs>, accessed 7 July 2009
- Intikhab Ameer. *کے مراکز نہیں، مدارس دہشت گرد* August 2007, *BBC News Urdu* website, http://www.bbc.co.uk/urdu/pakistan/story/2007/08/070802_madaras_pakistan_as.shtml, accessed 20 august 2009
- A. Khan, Javed. "Police on the run in Malakand region". The news, May 26, 2009.
- "Army takes Mingora". Dawn, May 31, 2009.
- "A Who's Who of the Insurgency in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province" Volume VII, Issue 4 march 3, 2009. http://www.jamestown.org/uploads/media/TM_007_4_03.pdf, accessed 10 July 2009
- Bunery, Shaheen. "Talibanization of Paradise & A Profile of Fazlullah" February 6, 2008. <http://swatvalley.org/index.php/Articles/talibanization-of-paradise-aamp-a-profil-1?blog=1>, accessed 23 June 2009
- Berelson, B. (1952). Content analysis in communication research. Glencoe III: The Free Press.
- Chand, Manish. "Swat valley; Transition from Buddha to Radio Mullah". February 22, 2009. http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/uncategorized/swat-valley-transition-from-buddha-to-radio-mullah_100158231.html, accessed 24 July
- Hassan, Tariq. (2009) "The illegality of drones". Dawn.
- Dr. Sultan-I-Rome. "Pre State Era In Swat Valley".2008
http://www.valleyswat.net/history/prestate_p2.html, accessed 11 August 2009
- Hali, m. Sultan. "The Role Of Media In War". 2000.
<http://www.defencejournal.com/2000/aug/role-media-war.htm> accessed 27 August 2009

Hay, W. R. "The Yousafzai State Of Swat." *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 84, No 3(Sep, 1934), pp.236-246. Blakwell Publishing.

Khan, Hameedullah. (2007) "Forces deployed in Swat to curb Militancy". Dawn.

Khan, Hameedullah.(2007) "Bloodbath in Swat: 17 FC personnel killed". Dawn.

Khurshid Khan. "Swat A Paradise Lost".

http://www.valleyswat.net/articles/paradise_lost.html, accessed 16 July 2009

Khan, M Ilyas. "Pakistan Mulls US Drone Action." BBC News, November 26, 2008,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7749463.stm, accessed 18 August 2009

Khan, Anwarullah. "Thousands Flee Bajaur Area." Dawn, Aug 11, 2008.

Khan, Omer Farooq.(2009) "Mysterious executions of militants continue in Swat". The Times of India.

Mayar, Riaz.(2009) "Largest displacement after WW-II". The Nation.

Mehdi, Waqar.(2009) "Govt's successful measures against terrorism". The News.

"Many killed in US drone attack". BBC, April 1, 2009,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7975871.stm, accessed 11 August 2009

Miangul jahan Zeb. "The History of Swat Valley".2008

<http://www.malakandhills.com/malakand>, accessed 5 August 2009

"Mily intercepts Fazlullah's fatwa". The Nation, July 22, 2009.

Mir, Amir.(2009)." Peace deal to legitimise TNSM". The News.

Masood, Azhar.(2008) "Suspected US drone attack on Damadola". The Guardian.

Nadeem, F. Paracha.(2009) "Smokers' Corner". Dawn.

"Nearly 2.4 million displaced: UN". Dawn, May 25, 2009.

Nasir, A. Sohail. "Baitullah Mehsud: South Waziristan's Unofficial Amir," *Global Terrorism Analysis*, Jamestown Foundation, July 5, 2006,

<http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2370054>, accessed 23 July 2009

Rana, M.Amir and Yousaf Ali. Swat Pact: Restoration of Peace Should be the Objective. SouthAsiaNet, February 20, 2009, Pakistan.

Rashid, Ahmed. Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000.

Roggio, Bill. "Pakistani government inks peace deal with Swat Taliban". *The Long war Journal*, May 21, 2008.

Shuja, Nawaz. *FATA—a most dangerous place : meeting the challenge of militancy and terror in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan*. January, 2009.

Shamim Shahid And Essa Khan Khail.(2009)." Agreement signed to restore peace in Swat". *The Nation*

Sammon, Robert Lane "Mullas And Maliks: Understanding The Roots Of Conflict In Pakimstan's Federally Administrated Tribal Areas". *The Lauder Institute, University of Pennsylvania* 2008.

Stempel, G.H. (1952). Sample size for classifying subject matter in dailies. *Journalism Quarterly*. 39/150.

Smith, Martin. "Return Of The Taliban".2007
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/taliban/etc/script.html>, accessed 17 August 2009

Tohid, Owais. 'Pakistan killing weakens Al Qaeda, inflames tribes'. *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 21, 2004, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0621/p07s02-wosc.html>, accessed 14 July 2009

Watson, Caroline. (2007) "Radio Mullah vs Gandhara Buddha." *Asia Times*.

Young, De Karen, and Joby, Warrick. "Drone Attacks Inside Pakistan Will Continue; CIA Chief". *The Washington Post*, Page A10. February 26, 2009.

Yousafzai, Rahimullah.(2009) "Taliban rule the roost in Swat through FM radio". *The News*.

Yousafzai, Rahimullah. "Accord and discord". August 2007, *Newsline Pakistan website*, <http://www.newsline.com.pk/NewsAug2007/specrepaug2007.htm>, accessed 7 July 2009

"Zawahiri strike sparks protest". *BBC*, January 14, 2006,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/4613108.stm, accessed 2 July 2009

