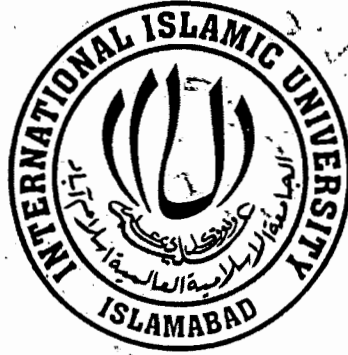


**Writings of Robert d Kaplan and Carlotta Gall: Analysis of media debate in
Pakistan's national security perspective**



Researcher: Taimur Shamil

Reg. No. 195-SS/ MSMC/ F13

Supervisor: Dr. Zafar Iqbal

Department of Media and Communication Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences

International Islamic University Islamabad



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**Writings of Robert d Kaplan and Carlotta Gall: Analysis of media debate in
Pakistan's national security perspective**

by

Taimur Shamil

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Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the program of study leading to the award of MS entitled "Writings of Robert D. Kaplan and Carlotta Gall: Analysis of Media Debate in Pakistan's National Security Perspective" is entirely my own work, that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge, breach any law of copy right and has been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

TaimurShamil

Reg. No. 195-SS/MSMC/F13

Email: writetoshamil@gmail.com Date: 07-06-2016

International Islamic University Islamabad
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Media and Communications Studies

Dated: May 09, 2016

Certificate of Approval

It is certified that we have read this thesis entitled "Writings of Robert D. Kaplan and Carlotta Galls: Analysis of Media debate in Pakistan's National Security Perspective" submitted by Taimur Shamil. It is our judgement that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University Islamabad for the award of MS Degree in Media and Communication Studies.

Committee

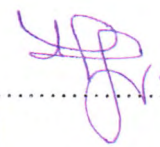
Supervisor
Dr. Zafar Iqbal



External Examiner
Dr. Masroor Alam Khan



Internal Examiner
Dr. Shabbir Hussain



Chairman DMCS, IIUI
Dr. Zafar Iqbal



Dean FSS, IIUI
Dr. Nabi Bux Jumani



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Abstract

The study examines the debate in the US media on Pakistan's national security issues. The study will examine the debate in the U.S media generated by the writings of Carlotta Gall's 'The wrong enemy' and Robert D Kaplan's 'Monsoon'. It takes into account the stance of the leading newspapers of US like The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal on Pakistan's national security issues. It discusses the coverage given to the conflicts in Afghanistan and Baluchistan by these writers. The research centers the coverage given to Pakistan's national security issues, related to the war in Afghanistan and conflict in Baluchistan, by the US print media. The research also focuses on how US media reports Pakistan in War on terror. Mainly, the research gathers the information related to Pakistan's national security, security agencies and state of Pakistan and their role played in conflict ridden areas as discussed by the US media. It also identifies the keywords and information from the above mentioned writers and the three leading newspapers and places them into the categories to examine the thematic clusters.

Chapter I

Introduction

The impact of the mass media on public perception is generally acknowledged, yet few know the incredible mark to which this occurs. The mass media has a substantial impact on public awareness about the issues to think about and how to approach or identify these issues. The role of media in having effect on consumers thinking was bordered by many researchers of social sciences. Throughout the world major media outlets form the public opinion by setting up their own agenda. This agenda setting dictates the worth for any news and determines how and when it will be reported and in what way. A variety of different environmental and network factors set the media agenda, that determine which story will be newsworthy. Another key component in the in this regard is framing. Framing refers to a story or piece of news which is portrayed in a particular way and is meant to influence the consumers' attitude one way or the other.

Scholars of international media are convinced that media is effective in setting the public agenda across the world and has potential to spread the agenda of one country to the other. Certainly, for the American public and for the world as well, not only are the media the chief foundations of material on foreign affairs and national security but also the famous writers, intellectuals and reporters are the sources of information for foreign policy and National security elites, including government officials.

The aim of this research is to explore the way the western media debates Pakistan and its security issues. Let it be Afghanistan, war on terror or Baluchistan there is a proportion of internationally known journalists who depict Pakistan in an undesirable way. We will converse how Pakistan is viewed through the vision of *Carlotta Gall* and *Robert d Kaplan* in their books "the wrong enemy" and "monsoon" respectively and the debate generated by these books in the leading newspapers of U.S.

The terms that have been used by the U.S. media is very important for Pakistan to identify the conflict and to analyze the involvement of different parties in this matter such as US, Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is also important to understand how these concepts have changed

over the period of time and events. Moreover, it is a vital attempt to place the changes that have occurred in a perspective, and understand the context of changes occurring in the relationship between US and Pakistan (if any) not only in global events but also in international equations.

Reporting wars and conflict ridden zones is a problem faced by most reporters and media professionals. An emotional message that inflicts extremity and hate which is driven in name of honor and righteousness, interplay a powerful propaganda for any cause, and specially during wars. U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson, said in 1917 that the first casualty that happens when a war comes up is the Truth. Therefore it is indispensable for the media to report without having any bias though reporting conflict as always a hard job and especially when media have to rely on the forces involved which have the access. Military control of information during the time of war is no doubt a major contributing factor to propaganda, especially when the unaccountable media goes along with it. The military recognizes the values of media and information control very well. The mainstream media is often manipulated by the military. It is done by restricting or managing the information that is presented and hence what the public is being told. For them it is a principal to control the media. This involve all kinds of conducts, such as organizing the media sessions and daily press briefings, providing a managed access to war zones, or even planting stories. Not only this has happened throughout the 20th century, but over time the way in which the media covers conflict has degraded in its quality, critique and objectiveness.

There are several explanations that have been offered on officialdom for the disproportionate reliance of the media. In 2003, during the short invasion of Iraq, many journalists were set in with various Coalition forces. The idea of doing so was generated by the public relations industry, and it provided media a fascinating and detailed view for audiences. However for the military, to some extent it provided a way to control what large audiences would see. At the time, independent journalists were looked upon more suspiciously, whereas embedded journalists made a biased decision in their reporting either unwittingly or/and sometimes knowingly, i.e. in favor of the Coalition troops. Embedded journalist would not get any cooperation if he reported unfavorably on coalition forces.

The research question being explored in this study is as to how these foreign writers portray Pakistan and its Security agencies as part of the problem in war on terror and how does the leading newspapers of U.S toe the line taken by these writers. Moreover, the Portrayal of

Pakistan as a troublesome country, (will also be brought under discussion) creating complications for the region in specific and for the world in general.

The significance of this study is to aim for studying the extent to which the U.S media discusses Pakistan's national security as projected by the writers on the conflict areas of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. In all these incidences Pakistan plays a key role and therefore invites criticism from all over the world especially from western national security experts. These experts consider Pakistan as a country threatening U.S interests in the region by promoting extremism and terrorism across its borders; in India and Afghanistan. This study explores the subtle way in which these writers portray Pakistan as a terrorist state and most dangerous country on earth.

National security is a basic concern for every nation, all of which depends on the non-military or economic security of the nation and espoused values of the national society. Thus, in order to achieve national security, nations need to possess economic stability, energy precautions and environmental security, etc. Security threats not only involve conventional foes but also involve non-state players such as narcotic cartels, violent non-state actors, non-governmental organizations and multinational corporations.

National security has always been a matter of hot debate for every nation. Internationally, this subject is taught at the world's best university whose aim is to discuss and understand the security concerns and issues of different areas, regions and countries. The very notion of national security has become a specific field in which the intelligentsia both political and social discusses countries, regimes and their performances. Media plays a key role in promoting such think tanks, groups, institutes and individuals whose main task is to discuss security concerns of countries and regions. Media, both print and electronic, plays crucial role in establishing these writers as experts and authority on subjects of national security. One such expert is Gall who mentions Pakistan at the very outset in her book that Pakistan is supposedly an ally but has practically proved to be insidious and is in a way responsible for driving the violence in Afghanistan for its own skeptical and hegemonic reasons. She mentioned that Pakistan's military generals and local mullahs had done greater harm, not only to their own people but also to their Afghan neighbors and NATO allies. In her view, Pakistan not Afghanistan, has been the true enemy. (Gall, 2014)

Whereas Kaplan exclaims his biased opinion in the book *Monsoon* that, as the Pakistan's government builds road and military installations, Baloch and minority Hindus are being forcibly displaced from their area, and are suspected of harboring sympathy for India, which according to Hindus and Baloch is a necessary act to counter weight to a Pakistani state, which according to them, oppresses them. (Kaplan, 2010) Here, it is inevitably evident that the writer is completely oblivious of Pakistan's perspective in managing its own affairs and fails to provide us with the other side of the picture.

These narratives being brewed by experts like Kaplan and Gall cast a dark shadow on the realistic portrayal of Pakistan's national security issues. It exerts such strong influence on the international media's opinion, as can easily be seen in the opinion of *New York Times*, Something that makes her book so convincing is the way in which she share her experiences of Afghanistan and Pakistan, that facilitates her to assemble the facts indicating Pakistan's military being in control of the Taliban. Demonstrating a connection between the two is easy enough, but proof that the Taliban are essentially under orders from the ISI is more difficult, not least because Pakistani intelligence has operated through proxies and witnesses who are either too frightened to speak or are dead.

International Policy Digest goes on to exclaim that one of the many things that makes Gall's description interesting is its reliance on primary accounts. For her biggest argument that Pakistan is the true enemy, she quotes stories of several Pakistanis whose lives have become troubled because of thier country's involvement in Afghanistan. In her book she mentioned about Brother of a Pakistani suicide bomber, who revealed to Gall that without the help of ISI it is. It is not possible to go to Afghanistan and all the Taliban are actually ISI Taliban.

In another example, *The International New York Times* supports Kaplan's views in *Monsoon* that Indian planners have begun to broaden their strategic horizons despite enduring worries over the internal stability and the unending problem of a hostile neighbor i.e. Pakistan. Kaplan explains that the pursuit of energy has caused China to become more efficient and visible in an area that India regards as its backyard.¹ hence putting a decisive stamping seal on Pakistan's role in the region, without making any references for the causes of this biased opinion.

These few instances of the international medias dependency on a one sided account of affairs related to the national issues of Pakistan raise suspicions. Pakistan's stance on all these issues is deliberately precluded and allowed to remain under mysterious shadows. It is this very nature of the propaganda that compels responsible writers to present Pakistan's case in a different and unbiased light. The Economist, for example, puts Galls' book to criticism by exclaiming that her account would have been stronger and much appreciated if she had balanced her personal views that she developed by gathering information through her own sources with other neutral views, because afghan intelligence sources are famously hostile towards Pakistan's army, thus an objective narration is not expected by this source. However, a better sense of background and circumstance would also have made her argument more powerful. Why did the West choose not to confront the ISI, despite copious evidence of its wrongdoing? Was it fear of instability and the rise of Islamic groups across South Asia, the need for Pakistan's help in promoting counter-terrorism in the West or was it an anxiety about the China's growing influence?

After 9/11 Pakistan has played a key role in war on terror. It has sacrificed the lives of innocent civilians and military men. Pakistan's direct involvement in the war on terror has raised many questions not just in Pakistan but abroad as well. On one side Pakistan and its army while fighting with the extremist elements is seen as an American ally. On the other hand, Pakistan is seen with suspicion by the American security agencies and international intelligentsia as an ally not doing enough to eliminate terrorists. The pressures for Pakistan and its security agencies are both external and internal. Foreign writers, literati and media have criticized Pakistan harshly. It has become a custom for the western experts on south Asia to criticize Pakistan's role on war on terror. After the incident of Osama bin Laden's controversial killing in Abbottabad, Western media and national security experts questioned the credibility of Pakistan as an ally of NATO in general and of U.S in particular. Many allegations were leveled against Pakistan; its support for terrorist groups that were operating in Afghanistan against NATO and U.S. Allegedly, though there are no evidences, Pakistan's intelligence agency ISI was fighting a proxy war in Afghanistan by supporting a specific group of Taliban. Carlotta Gall author of *The Wrong Enemy* writes about the involvement of Pakistan and its security agency ISI in Afghanistan. She goes on to write that Pakistan is responsible for being the main driving force behind the violence in Afghanistan, but it is dressed in the attire of being an ally. Galls questions the intentions of

Pakistan for doing so and states that Pakistani army views India as a prime threat to its national security; and mentions Pakistan's security concerns as paranoid impression of India. She writes that in order to avoid such a calamity, Pakistan has been training numerous terrorist networks to use against India in guerrilla warfare, carries out terrorist attacks within that country. We see Gall clearly taking India's side and accusing Pakistan of playing havoc in the region while disturbing its balance and peace. While talking about national security and especially north western areas, another writer who actually magnifies the problems of Pakistan and its national security issues is Robert D Kaplan, in his book *Monsoon* Kaplan relates first hand on ground experiences. As a character of the Great Game Kaplan tells his readers how insurgents are gaining grounds in Pakistan and what sort of grievances the people of western borders have against Pakistan in general and its center in particular. Kaplan's goal is to provide his fellow countrymen with just such a map, centered on "the Greater Indian Ocean". He explains that it is a region, which extends the eastward all the way to the Indonesian archipelago and beyond (from the Horn of Africa past the Arabian Peninsula, the Iranian plateau and the Indian subcontinent). However, in monsoon, as the winds shift direction it makes the water connect these far-flung shores as readily negotiable, even by primitive sailing vessels. It was first linked by Muslim merchants, which was later dominated by Portugal and British and most recently by the United States. It gained the position of strategic backwater during the cold war, this maritime domain was emerging as the center of gravity for global systems. Through which the huge tankers carrying a large portion of the world's energy pass. At its west, from Somalia to the Persian Gulf, Iran and Pakistan and along the shores of the Arabian Sea, lie the main sources of Islamist extremism. Most importantly, the Indian Ocean interests and influences India, China and the United States to overlap and intersect. Kaplan says, that the 21st century's global power dynamics will be revealed here. It is interesting to note how Kaplan portrays Pakistan while discussing it among many other countries in his book. He focuses on Pakistan as a country which is breeding terrorism and also soaring elements separation in its areas which are close to the Indian Ocean thus making Pakistan an unpredictable and strategically unstable country.

On the other hand we have writers and people who have positive approach towards looking at things, who don't really buy the idea that Pakistan is on the brink or going to disintegrate in a decade or two. The facts and figures of IMF and World Bank and many other organizations deny such apartheid ideas against Pakistan. Still there are many experts and writers

who believe that (NASR) that it isn't Pakistan because of which western journalist are being beaten up or in Pakistan or Afghanistan or it isn't because of Pakistan decisions that America is stuck in Afghanistan but the wrong policies of US political and military leadership that this part of the world has become a mess.

Pakistan so far has successfully conducted military operation against the Taliban and Al Qaeda who have been supported by the foreign agencies and organizations. Pakistan has gone all out for eliminating the Taliban from FATA, insurgents from Baluchistan, Taliban from Swat, and Taliban leaders from south and now from North Waziristan. The majority of people in Pakistan abhor the extremist mind set which has been aberration not norm. Many of the extremists were hanged recently in the wake of APS attack in Peshawar.

For all those writers who depict Pakistan as a monolithic religious-cultural state it would be a surprise to know that fact that "linguistically, we are home to many major languages. Punjabi is spoken in Pakistan by more people than the entire population of France; Pashto by more than the population of Saudi Arabia; Sindhi by more than Australia; Siraiki by more than Netherlands; Urdu by more than Cuba, and Balochi by more than Singapore." (Hamid, 2011) Therefore to generalize the idea of few people over the whole doesn't justify the point and negates the facts and figures.

1.1 Background of the Study

After 9/11 Afghanistan was accused of giving shelter to the masterminds of the attack on twin towers and other places in America. War on terror was declared on Afghanistan which was the place where Taliban ruled and gave shelter to Osama bin Laden. Pakistan became America's ally on war on terror and provided its routes and land to support U.S and NATO forces in Afghanistan. But as the years passed the war took sharp turns and due to various reasons the goals set by the U.S and allied forces were not achieved. Fourteen years on Afghanistan is still a problem not just for U.S and its allies but for other countries in the region as well. Pakistan has been fighting war on terror on the front line which has caused Pakistan immense damage to its security, economy and society in general. Some U.S media groups, in fact, some writers and correspondents have alleged Pakistan for the loss of U.S and ally's strong hold in Afghanistan. Pakistan shares a long border with Afghanistan and therefore invites infiltration of extremists

from the other side of the border. Since Pakistan has been fighting its war on terror its areas and provinces like Baluchistan have also become breeding grounds for the insurgent groups and Taliban. Few international newspapers and writers have portrayed Pakistan for being part of the problem; supporting Taliban in Afghanistan and also have exaggerated the insurgency and non-state actors in Baluchistan. Therefore the writings of both writers Carlotta Gall and Robert D. Kaplan and the articles in the leading U.S newspapers would be examined to know the stance taken by the U.S media on the issues raised by these writers.

1.1.1 Robert D. Kaplan and Carlotta Galls: A brief background of coverage of Afghanistan and Baluchistan

Carlotta Gall has reported from Afghanistan since November 2001 and is working as a reporter for The New York Times covering Pakistan and Afghanistan. Carlotta Gall reports in the *Times* today, interviewing a former Islamist militant, who claims that Pakistani military is behind much of the terrorist activity, taking place in south Asia. This may not be new, since Pakistan and its security agencies have been under such allegations, but the level of its detail is interesting. That adversely affects the image of Pakistan internationally.

Robert D. Kaplan portrays the image of Pakistan as a problem and case of instability. He also accounts the details of his visit to Pakistan's 'most disturb', Baluchistan, area where he interviewed people and came to the conclusion that on the route of Indian ocean, Baluchistan in general and Gawadar in specific are the most unstable and dangerous areas. Furthermore he states that India, on the other hand, has broader strategic horizons, despite the continuing worries of India over its 'hostile' neighbor, Pakistan.

1.2 Problem Statement

The study to explore the stance of Robert D. Kaplan and Carlotta Gall and the debate generated by the U.S media on Pakistan National security issues with relevance to Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

1.3 Research Objectives

Following are the main objectives that the study aims to achieve:

- To understand the coverage given by the U.S print media to Pakistan and Afghanistan in the light of discussions generated by Carlotta Gall and Robert D. Kaplan
- To apprehend and analyze the print media debates generated by Gall's and Kaplan's work on Pakistan's national security issues in relevance to Afghanistan and Baluchistan
- To evaluate the reflections of U.S foreign policy in the media content towards Pak-Afghan relations
- To understand how US media understands, describes and interprets Pakistan and its role in the region.

1.4 Research Questions:

The research questions designed to achieve the research objectives are as follows:

RQ1: What is the possible status of the articles of The New York times, The Washington Post and The Wall street Journal on Carlotta Gall and Robert D Kaplan's writings?

RQ2: How Pakistan and its national security issues are discussed by The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall street Journal?

RQ3: What discourse are The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall street Journal making on Pakistan's national security?

RQ4: What agenda is set by the articles of The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall street Journal?

1.5 Significance of the study

- The study will help the future researchers to know the status of U.S and Pakistan relations war on terror, especially the researchers in the field of media, international relations and terrorism studies for further research on the issue.

- As the issue of Taliban and extremism is a serious issue, the analysis in this study would help the policy makers and journalists to get informed how the U.S press is covering the issue and would help the policy makers to formulate their policies.
- This study will draw a link between critical discourse analyses and the agenda setting theory. It aims to find out how the U.S leading newspapers cover the issue of Taliban and Pakistan's role in the region.
- The study will determine whether the U.S leading newspapers endorse the opinion of Carlotta Gall and Robert D. Kaplan or other writers holding the same opinion about Pakistan and Afghanistan.
- The study will also be an auxiliary to the future researchers to find out how the U.S foreign policy is reflected in the U.S media.
- The study will also determine whether the U.S leading newspapers portray the security agencies and the state of Pakistan in a negative way or not.

Chapter II

Literature review

(Chomsky, 1991) Chomsky (1991) investigated the literal approach of terrorism and how it is applied. He used two approaches towards study on terrorism. He explains that one may take on the literal use of terrorism i.e. terrorism is discussed as a serious subject, on the other hand there is the propagandist approach where terrorism is exploited to serve specific gains and benefits by the system. According to Chomsky, the propagandist approach begins by officially labeling a group or enemy as terrorist and such an approach is by and large adopted by the government, media and academicians in the west. He put forwards the idea that there is no boundary between terrorism and legitimate resistance. Some countries operate individual terrorists and criminal groups but carry out violent activities in others. He mentioned the example of President Reagan, that in his regime, the U.S raised terror networks and client states that are used by U.S in financing and launching terrorist operations such as Taiwan, Israel, South Korea, Saudi Arab and others. CIA and Pentagon direct the proxy wars and their media also supported the policy. A clear message is conveyed i.e. 1) no country has the right to self-defense against the U.S attack which he terms as terrorist attacks 2) on terrorism, the doctrine of U.S is unchallengeable and whatever measures it takes are right 3) the resistance by the oppressed state is considered terrorism when attacked or invaded by U.S or Israel military operations. He concluded that the terrorist are termed as terrorist when claimed officially. Moreover, any act of retaliation is also considered to be a terrorist activity when the U.S and Israel are the perpetrators.

(Said, 1997) Said, (1997) analyzed the role of western media in framing a certain issue such as portrayal of the Islamic world by American media and the U.S. government's response to a part of world, seen to be of colossal importance to American geopolitical and economic interests. He also examined the connectivity between the U.S. media's portrayal of Islam, the community of American experts on the Islamic world, and the influence of Israeli and U.S. political interests, and how this has reinforced the media's depiction of Islam as a monolithic force on par with the West's Cold War image of Communism. Said made use of the hindsight of the previous fifteen years to re-examine the original declaration of his book, and review the events which led to

further media stereotyping of Islam in the eyes of the Western world. The 1997 edition contains a new introduction which is adding up to the original introduction, Said notes that during the years it was originally published i.e 1981, the American and Western media used the historical events and political developments of the Muslim world in a way that Islam was portrayed as a faith with a hostility and belligerence more intense than he had originally described. He argues with rationale that any racial or religious misrepresentations of any other cultural or religious group by media would have been unacceptable in Western society, but in this particular regard the media as well as the Western academics have no qualms reviving and bringing about discredited orientalist views.

(Ahmed, 2013) As discussed by Ahmed (2013) he analyzes U.S war on terror, war on tribal Islam and how the U.S uses the drone warfare to eliminate the terrorist as considered by the U.S government. Despite the fact that the argument in Washington still largely orbits around the use of drones against US citizens, the program has also instigated frequent diplomatic pressures between the U.S and its key allies in the war on terrorism. Among all the nations where drone strikes are conducted, the Pakistani nation in particular has not only declared the strikes as a blatant violation of its autonomy but also a counterproductive measure in battling extremism in the country's tribal region which is ungovernable. Those who have carefully followed the debate about drones have found these reports as too overwhelming as demonstrated by media, given the difference of claims made by both sides. It is observed that in the middle of intense discussions among diplomats and security experts, the opinions of the tribal communities have remained ignored for almost a decade, where strikes have been taking place. The tribal areas of Pakistan, such as Waziristan, had a history noteworthy for internal independence, widespread poverty and underdevelopment for many years. Today, if asked, the tribesmen not only believe that drone strikes have made every day like 9/11 for them but they also feel collectively terrorized, humiliated and displaced from their native lands. Dr. Ahmed inform his readers with personal experiences, as he has previously served as a Political Agent in Waziristan which is the highest official administrative post, that how tribal societies function and what are their customs and ethics and how much it means to them. He opens his book with a comparison of the U.S security agencies who are searching for Osama bin Laden and Safar Khan, a criminal back in the day (when the author was the political agent of the tribal region) by spending trillions of dollars. Dr. Ahmed argues that drones have aggravated the sorrows of tribal people in the Muslim world

since they have forced millions of people to flee their homes and seek shelter elsewhere as a result of being traumatized by national army attacks, American missiles, suicide bombers and tribal warfare. (Ahmed A. S., 2013) writes that Bush successors i.e. Barack Obama, located and killed bin Laden. And on its course it took a decade of war which cost trillions of dollars, lost thousands of lives and millions displaced. Many nations were thrown into turmoil and the whole world was set on high alert. He said that it was possible to bring justice through tribal framework and traditional social structure. (Ahmed A. S., 2013)

Dr. Ahmed maintains that U.S and Pakistan have been unsuccessful to deal with not only Taliban but other tribal problems as well, because of their obliviousness of tribal way of life. He argues that all major decisions and initiatives in the sensitive areas were being made by military officials, whereas the entire operation was led by the civilian administration to get Safar Khan in, by keeping a close cooperation with tribal elders and win the regions larger tribal networks that crossed several borders.” (Ahmed A. S., 2013) Ahmed debates how the ‘War on Terror’ has increased tensions between the Muslim tribes living on the periphery and the governments at the center. He discussed the bond between the tribes and the center in countries where drone warfare has not yet been encountered and has scrutinized at least forty case studies in three continents. His studies focus on the Pakhtun’s of Afghanistan and Pakistan’s tribal regions, the the Yemenis, Somali, the Asir and Najran regions of Saudi Arabia and the Kurds of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Dr. Ahmed debates that the citizens have not been provided with their due rights and the center has failed to protect its citizens on the borders. However the tribes have lived with a fierce resistance, the intensity and scale of the offense from the center has resulted in massive internal disruption in the periphery which also has consequence for the center. (Ahmed A. S., 2013)

While mentioning one of his studies, he explains that 92% of the people in the Pakhtun-dominated areas of Kandahar and Helmand had never heard of 9/11 and therefore have no idea that how significant it is for Americans. (Ahmed A. S., 2013) The book comprised of the one-to-one interactions of author with the tribesmen and how people have openly expressed their feelings about the ‘War on Terror’. a tribesman illustrated his feelings by saying that they have been declared terrorists in their own land. He believed that No one from his tribal area was involved in 9/11 or 7/7 or any other conspiracy. He declared that his whole nation has been destroyed for a couple of Arabs ... he shared his sentiments by saying that the life of a tribesman

is so valueless that anyone whoever wishes to bleed a human comes and fire at a tribesman and the agony adds up when no questions are raised.

Dr Ahmed in his conclusion suggests that the world needs to understand the issues in Afghanistan and anywhere else where the war on tribe has been named as war on terror, in a very objective way.

(Coll, 2004) Coll (2004) provided in-depth account of activities in Afghanistan by CIA from the time of the Soviet invasion to the aftermath of attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Particularly Coll took note of the interplay between CIA and its counterpart working in Pakistan i.e. Inter-Services Intelligence, which used CIA and funding from Saudi Arabian to build militant Mujahideen training camps, along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. It was build in an effort to create radicalized, militant fighters to attack the Soviet occupation, and were sourced from many Arab countries. Invariably, as Coll illustrated, that such a decision would have long-lasting effects on the area." The New York Times explains the policy of War on terror and Steve's account on Afghanistan that Coll, has given them a certainly finest historical narrative on the origins of Al Qaeda in the post-Soviet rubble of Afghanistan. He has threaded together the complex rolesplayed by diplomats and spies from Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and the United States in a coherent story which explains how Afghanistan became such a welcoming heaven for Al Qaeda. Further discussing the Afghan Soviet War and U.S allies The New York Times stated that Coll, in particular, has done a great work by enlightening on the aspect of how Saudi Arabia and its intelligence has enabled the rise of Osama bin Laden and Islamic extremism in Afghanistan, through operations. Saudi Arabia's suspected involvement in terrorism acts in Afghanistan has been the subject of wild conspiracy theories since Sept. 11; moreover, according to the New York Times, Coll gave a clear and unbiased analysis of Saudi Arabia's real ties to bin Laden. The links that he has revealed are serious enough to initiate an imperative debate about the nature of partnership between Saudi and American has in the fight against terrorism. Col stated that Saudi intelligence officials made a statement years later that bin Laden was never a professional Saudi intelligence agent, he writes, as he refers to the Saudi support for foreign Arab fighters against the Russians in Afghanistan in the 1980's, "*it seems clear that bin Laden did have a substantial relationship with Saudi intelligence.*" Further more as it comments on Clinton administrations' counter terrorism policy NYT stated that Coll

overlaps with Clarke in recounting Clinton administration's counterterrorism policy. However the difference was that unlike Clarke, Coll offered an evenhanded view of the internal battles that take place between the White House, the C.I.A. and other agencies. Moreover, "Ghost Wars" provided a fresh detail and explained the motivations behind many crucial decisions." New York Times also quoted Steve who argues that U.S national security and counter terrorism policy for eliminating Al Qaeda was never taken seriously. Steve states that because of the bureaucratic intricacies and complexities CIA and Pentagon the issue of Al Qaeda was not taken seriously in to account. It stated that As Coll makes an effort to explain why the Clinton team has never increased its efforts to go after Al Qaeda, even after the bombings in embassy in East Africa (1998), he put plenty of blame to go around 'Clinton's National Security Council believed that they were approaching every possible opportunity to get at bin Laden eve over calcified resistance or incompetence within the C.I.A and Pentagon bureaucracies, thus have they have been the most aggressive ones on the Al Qaeda case. From the other side of the Potomac, Clinton's White House often looked undisciplined, unfocused and uncertain. What they term as Ghost Wars, also corroborated many of Clarke's assertions that the new Bush administration largely ignored counterterrorism policy before Sept. 11. Coll and Clarke seem to agree, that until Sept. 4the Bush team didn't hold its first cabinet-level meeting on Al Qaeda and Afghanistan, i.e. one week before the twin towers fell. Coll closes with murder of Ahmed Shah Massoud on Sept. 9, 2001, he was an Afghan rebel leader who was cooperating with the C.I.A. in its futile efforts to track bin Laden around Afghanistan. As with so many other warnings before it, the full significance of Massoud's murder was missed until it was too late. According to NYT, in Ghost Wars, Coll's intriguing narrative makes the reader want to rip the page and yell at the American counterterrorism officials he describes - including Clarke - and tell them to watch out.

A British newspaper, The Telegraph, writes about Sandy Gall and his famous book on Afghanistan "*The War against the Taliban*" and reflects that, few people have a more passionate interest in the future of Afghanistan than Sandy Gall, the veteran television journalist. It's not just that his knowledge of this troubled land predates the Soviet invasion of 1979. But thirty years ago, as a foreign correspondent for ITN news, Gall has travelled with the mujahedeen to make a series of television programs about their David and Goliath struggle against the might of the Soviet army. It was however the first time that the heroism of the resistance was brought to a British audience. The Telegraph acknowledges the effort made by Sandy Gall in reporting

Afghanistan and US the reason, as what went wrong in Afghanistan? Which opportunities made Taliban to emerge as a unified & solid force in Afghanistan? It illustrates that, Gall sets out the West's decent in Afghanistan, sludge with admirable clarity. Just as in 2001 the Anglo-American intervention to defeat the Taliban there was a genuine opportunity to stabilize the country. Most Afghans were as delighted to see the back of the Taliban as their Western liberators, and in those days the atmosphere was so relaxed that former Southampton manager Lawrie McMenemy, flew to Kabul to organize a friendly football match between the Afghans and Nato. It was Bush administration's obsession with Saddam Hussein's Iraq, which meant that the Americans soon lost interest in Afghanistan and diverted their precious resources to another theatre of combat. The Afghans, who thought the Americans as friends for security and stability, felt betrayed, and not long before the Taliban was staged a remarkable comeback.

Sandy Gall (Gall S. , 2012) concludes in his book that after fighting for centuries in Afghanistan none of the senior British soldiers were able to provide the ministers with right kind of information about the deployment of the troops where they would be most effective in countering Taliban. Sandy shows how U.S and British forces proved fiasco in comprehending the dynamics of the conflict and war strategy.

(Clarke, 2004) analyzed the role played by the U.S Presidential administrations and the way they handled war on terror in Afghanistan. He specifically elaborates that how preoccupied the U.S presidential administrations were with Iraq war and how they miscalculated the importance of war on terror in Afghanistan. By Sept. 11, 2001, Dick Clarke became the vital White House insider; he was not only a holdover for Clinton but also for Bush administration and had the edge of serving in the Reagan State Department. He had worked at the National Security Council for about a decade, and was named White House counterterrorism coordinator by President Clinton in 1998. He was offered the same post by the second Bush administration. But he refused as he became frustrated by the new team of administration because they showed unwillingness to address the mounting threat from Osama bin Laden. By the morning of Sept. 11, he was still on the same post, but was planning to leave for a lower-profile assignment that involved dealing with cyber security. Clarke who was also former U.S. chief counter-terrorism advisor recalls his days in the office when he managed the work minutes after the 9/11 attacks, Clark seized the moment when he was asked to act as crisis manager in the White House

Situation Room by Condoleezza Rice, the national security adviser, in the first minutes after the attacks. In his account, he mentioned that it was him who recommended Vice President Dick Cheney to prevent President Bush from returning to the White House from Florida, and he gave the order for Continuity of Government procedures and the doomsday rules under which cabinet members and Congressional leaders undisclosed locations. By showing his involvement in the security affairs and key position in the office, Clarke states his observations about the then President, Bush, and the administration. In the words of NYT the president's eagerness to link the Sept. 11 attacks to Iraq was the most controversial incident in "*Against All Enemies*". Clarke writes that he saw Bush wandering through the Situation Room, alone. The president then stopped and asked Clarke and a few aides to go through every little detail again and inquire if Saddam did this. Clarke said he was "taken aback, incredulous." He told the president that Al Qaeda was responsible for the act but the president insisted on knowing if Saddam was involved in any way. Clarke is on record stating that the bush administration had few plans for war on terror which was already deteriorating and was more focused on Iraq and Saddam, who apparently, had nothing to do with the 9/11 attacks.

(Nasr, 2014) Discussed U.S foreign policy issues in the Obama administration, rather he calls his study as "*American foreign policy in retreat*" on the cover page of the book. (Nasr, 2014). Nasr's book elaborates about the confusion and lack of focus within the Obama administration and among other departments and institutions as well. At the very introduction of the book Vali Nasr states that the first story was of an administration that made it difficult for its own foreign policy experts to have a say on the issue. (Nasr, 2014) Nasr explains that it was hard for two incredible talented people Hillary Clinton and Richard Holbrooke to get their voices heard in the corridors of Presidents office at times it took days for the foreign policy experts to get time from Obama on issues like Afghan-Pak policy and Middle East. He made it clear that white house relied heavily on the military and intelligence agencies to guide its decisions on one of the diplomatically most crucial issues. Nasr reveals that there were times when the foreign policy experts where asked by the white house to sell obtuse proposals to the allies in the region. He also maintains that most of the times the allies were justified in thinking that U.S was making things difficult for them. Nasr while mentioning Afghanistan and Pakistan makes interesting points when he quotes Pakistan chief of army staff Gen. Ashfaq Pervez Kiyani. He states that when Gen.Kiyani visited Washington in 2010 he made his stance clear on the long standing

strategic issues between U.S and Pakistan. According to Nasr Gen. Kiyani made it clear to White House that U.S was not going to win the war in Afghanistan as Afghanistan has a long history of devouring empires. He asked the U.S to make a comprehensive strategy by which they could respectably quit Afghanistan while keeping it a safe place for the neighboring countries. Kiyani's counsel basically gave a silent message that they should leave without doing any more damage on their way out than for what they have already done. This seemed to be ubiquitous sentiments across the region. No one bought our argument for sending more troops into Afghanistan, and no one was buying our argument for leaving. It seemed everybody was getting used to directionless America." (Nasr, 2014) Mr. Nasr while discussing U.S global leadership notion discusses, that the continuous tactical operations never make a clear strategy of global leadership. There is the image of a world power weary, most evidently from the part of the world where it has been most deeply involved. Nasr gives insight into the professional relationship of former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and President Obama. He asserts that the foreign office had reach to the president only because of the intelligent approach of Hillary Clinton. He makes us understand the belligerent relationship that had developed between Mr. Holbrooke and the White House, which was the outcome of the theoretical dissimilarities and clash of personalities and opposing ideas about how to bring the war in Afghanistan to an end.

Nasr analyzes that the White House movement against the State Department, especially Holbrooke, was at times a drama of the absurd. Most of the times, Richard Holbrooke was not part of the Obama's video consultations with President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan. And was usually left out when Obama met the President of Afghanistan. Mr. Nasr says, that the white house disliked dropping Af-Pak to the State Department and that was the primary cause it was on a uneasy terms with Holbrooke. He was like a rock in the way of the white house and security agencies who wanted to drive issues their way in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Holbrooke never lost ground to white house or its advisers on important issues on which he himself was appointed as an official. These incidences as stated by Nasr clearly depict that white house and its related departments were themselves weren't sure about the policies that they had in mind for war on terror. Even after openly admitting the difficult circumstances inside Obama administration Nasr goes on to accuse Pakistan in a subtle way of the situation that was not suitable to U.S. While discussing about Pakistan and its relations with Taliban Nasr maintains the opinion that even

after the U.S broke ties with Taliban, Pakistan didn't, as if U.S was sure of its strategy and Pakistan wasn't. He accuses Pakistan for playing double role in war on terror. Nasr suggests that it is the job of the diplomats to manage conflict ridden areas like Afghanistan, not the job of the military and security agencies to chalk out the foreign policy or points of negotiation. He concludes that the situation in Afghanistan deteriorated because of the lack of trust that Obama had on the foreign office and the advisers and partly because that he relied heavily on the information of security agencies and military.

(Rashid, 2000) Discussed the Taliban and the international media coverage given to them by calling Afghanistan issue as one of world's orphaned conflict's. The nation would rapidly transform from orphaned to a month after 9/11 being the center of international politics. The United States displaced the Taliban regime, regrettably for just a short-term break. Rashid gives an understanding to its reader by incorporating thick social, religious, military, and emotional information and history of the group of radicalized Pashtuns who are now known to the world as Taliban. He delivered a comprehensive and detailed regional as well as historic summary of Afghanistan and has mentioned unusual geopolitical players who have been tangled in this conflict ridden country. The foreign policy blog discussed Rashid's book as a detailed note on the violent rise of the Taliban in power as they scuffle the fellow Pashtun groups, than the government in Kabul, and finally the Northern Alliance actors, who would never agree on Taliban-ruled Kabul and Kandahar. It is a book for those who don't know delicacy of peevishness of Afghan society with various ethnicities and sects. This book is full of conflict and violence that does not show real signs of ebbing. Rashid concludes that Taliban movement is the outcome of the role played by International actors in the region. The Taliban are the same people who were once considered mujahidin and have now become terrorists and Taliban.

(Ejaz, 2012) Discussed American media's agenda setting on Pakistan before and after 9/11. In his study Ejaz has explained the notion of foreign policy as not a new one; in fact, it is as old as the nations are. This agenda aimed to achieve national interests and goals while dealing with other nations. National interests are accomplished through tools under some strategies and drawn and arranged through foreign policy. A plan assists in making the most out of principal conditions and wipe out problems that may serve as burden. The purpose of the foreign policy is colossal to defend and develop national interests that policy makers pursue to attain. It decrees

political, societal, financial and military conduct of one country with other countries. Mass media, he says, is a vital source of information to effect and get effected by foreign policy.

Models and theories of media that can be applied on foreign policy matters are; framing, agenda-setting, embedded journalism, spiral of silence and gatekeeping. The agenda-setting role of the media elucidates how media agenda and policy agenda are connected with each other. Media obeys and echoes official and governmental agenda setting. The notion of manufacturing consent proposed by Noam Chomsky validates this point that media fits to be a vital instrument in the chase of national interests charted in the foreign policy. Media are influential in producing, propagating, and altering images of other nations and their leaders. As the technology has advanced the media has become more influential as the facts and figures are increasingly persistent, all-inclusive, and universal. Media as a device of political communication which frames national metaphors that connect diverse parts of the public, deliver a stage to voice public opinion and serve as overseer for the country. With the technological progress media has appeared as an influential body that affects politics from diverse dimensions. The choice of news items and framing by global media has intense effect upon foreign policy. He explains how US-Iraq war was covered by the corporate media. The debate was generated on weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq and dictatorship of Saddam was emphasized deliberately. He explains democracy is projected as a sacred and ideal thing in U.S and therefore the corporate media tried to justify US assault and presence in Iraq .Media sketches political images of the world in the present times. He observes the role played by media and states that media might not be successful, mostly, in telling public what to think but they are magnificently effective in telling people what to think about. Media has the command to highlight vital subjects, occasions and discussions. It can also weaken the issues of prime importance by overlooking them. The mass media supports to generate or draw the frameworks of foreign policy matters in the minds of the broader public, of structured groups and of administration officials from these specific matters. As a result, governments try to governor or twist media attention concerning policy matters. Hence, Agenda setting theory describes how policy agenda, public agenda and media agenda are linked. Framing, on the other hand deals with the news dealing, organization, preparation, choice of arguments, and wording. Media handling, of the matters and occasions that are interconnected to foreign policy, influence the eventual objectives of foreign policy. It is crucial to understand that media by its virtue of emphasizing or

relegating specific discourses may assist or obstruct the performance of foreign policy. He gives example of ignored or marginalized coverage of drone attacks in Pakistan and the discourses of war against terrorism are highlighted more in the global media (Ejaz, 2012). Since 9/11 not a single terrorist attack has taken place on the lands of US but since then Pakistan has coped with thousands of bereavements in the name of war against terrorism. Government strategies are highlighted and projected by media. For instance, Bush policy of 'preemptive attacks for security concerns' (Ejaz, 2012) has been highlighted by media as war against terrorism. The official declaration for attacking Iraq was described as national security strategy and stated that Washington has a sovereign right to practice force to protect themselves from countries that hold weapons of mass destruction and join forces with extremists and terrorists. Media has the ability to accelerate the procedures of intentional relations and foreign policy and can limit future policies. Media pictures of famine in Ethiopia (1984) organized public opinion that eventually swayed foreign policy. As the televised images of hungry people in Bosnia, Northern Iraq and Somalia and created a political outcry to feed them. Media can alter the foreign policy's main concern through its framing and agenda setting roles.

2.1 Theoretical frame work:

The study aims to analyze the debate generated by the writings of Carlotta Galls and Robert D. Kaplan in the U.S print media. It tends to study if the U.S media complies with the books written by these war reporters and writers discussing Pakistan's national security issues. The manufacturing consent theory explains the relationship between the national security, foreign policy and media. The agenda setting theory is applied to understand the how the media sets agenda on Pakistan's national security issues.

2.2 Agenda setting theory:

Agenda setting refers to importance given to an issue by repeating it frequently to set a public agenda. Agenda setting theory was presented by Dr. Max McComb and Dr. Donald Shaw in which they determined the agenda set by the media influences audience decisions. Agenda-setting theory describes the capacity of a news media to influence the topics on the public agenda. (E.McCombs & Shaw, 1972) . The study examines that if a news piece is covered regularly and conspicuously the audience will regard the topic as more significant. In the 1968

"Chapel Hill study," McCombs and Shaw establishes a strong correlation between which election issue did residents of Chapel Hill and North Carolina gave most important to and which issue was gained more importance by the local and national news media. McCombs and Shaw were able to find out the degree to which the media effects public opinion, by equating the salience of issues in news content with the public's perceptions of the most important election issue. From the time, 1968, of the study published in a 1972 edition of "Public Opinion Quarterly" more than 400 studies have been published on the topic of agenda-setting and respective function of the mass media, and the theory has been regarded relevant mostly.

Agenda setting aims at creating awareness on a particular issue by presenting it number of time enabling the audience to perceive the issue more important and of great concern. The agenda setting effect and attribute agenda setting effect, also known as first level or second level agenda setting, refers that the element prominent on the media agenda becomes the public agenda. The media not only can be successful in telling us what to think about they also can be successful in telling us how to think about. (E.McCombs & Shaw, 1972)

The attribute agenda setting or the second level agenda settings also links to framing. (E.McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Essentially, framing involves selection and salience i.e. to select some aspects of a professed reality and making them significant in a communicating text, the item is described in such a way that promotes a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. (Entman, 1993)

The latest leap in agenda-setting theory is Attribute agenda setting, which is the second level of agenda setting through which priming and framing come into play. It goes beyond the original premise of agenda setting in terms of the transfer of issue from media to the public and influence the issue attributes on evaluation by the audience. Priming deals with the importance of attributes in the public's judgments of public officials and candidates for public office, whereas framing deals with the salience of attributes in the public's judgments of issues. Thus, media not only tell us what to think about, but also how to think about it, as established by the first level of agenda setting. The controversy lies between whether framing and priming are extensions of agenda setting or they are different phenomena. (Chernov, 2009)

Cobb and Elder credited importance to decision makers as they are the protectors of the formal agenda, so in order for a subject to attain the importance of agenda status, it must be reinforced by its key decision makers. They stressed that certain notables in the media can perform the role as opinion leaders and can bring media attention to a specific issue.

Agenda setting helps to explore how the U.S media covers and discusses Pakistan National security issues. It helps to understand how the media represents the view of authors of national security issues. The attribute agenda setting or the second level agenda setting in which the media tells how to think about is the primary focus of the study.

2.3 The Manufacturing Consent theory:

Manufacturing consent is a critical literature written by Edward Hermann and Noam Chomsky in 1989. The theory centers on the propaganda model. This literature put deep emphasis that media organizations, government and powerful elites and the policies of the state influence the journalist writing in the form of news. There are two versions of manufacturing consent, the executive version and the elite version. The executive version refers to the extent to which the content to news media is shaped according to the instructions by the government officials as they termed as executive. In the second elite version of the manufacturing consent holds that news media coverage is influenced by the interests of the political elite. There are five editorial distorting filters proposed by Herman and Chomsky. These five filters related to reporting of news are:

1. **Size, Ownership, and Profit Orientation:** The large firms are obliged to cater the financial interest of their owners as they run for their profit and are also foremost mass-media outlets. Owners of these firms are usually corporations and meticulous controlling investors. The size of the firms is a necessary consequence of the capital requirements for the technology to reach a mass audience.
2. **The Advertising License to Do Business:** Majority of the major media outlets derives from advertising rather than from sales or subscriptions, thus it is said about advertisers that they have acquired “de facto licensing authority” which means that without the support of advertisers, Media outlets are not viable commercially. Therefore News

media must accommodate the political delicacies and cost-effective requirements of their producers. This has weakened the working class press, and explained the wear and tear in the number of newspapers.

3. **Sourcing Mass Media News:** Herman and Chomsky argue that powerful bureaucracies has subsidize the mass media, and thus in a way they have gained special access (to the news), because through their contribution they facilitate the media's costs of acquiring and producing, news. The prominent figures or firms who provide this subsidy have privileged access to the news. Whereas, other routine sources have to struggle hard for such an access, and can be overlooked by the arbitrary decision of the gatekeepers.
4. **Flak and the Enforcers:** this refers to a negative response to media statements or programs in the form of letters, complaints, lawsuits, or legislative actions. Flak can cost heavy to the media, either due to the costs of legal defense or due to loss of advertising revenue. Flak can be organized by powerful and influential think tanks. The prospect of flak can be a disincentive to the reporting of certain kinds of facts or opinions.
5. **Anti-Communism** was included in the original 1988 edition of the book as a filter, but Chomsky argued that since the end of the Cold War (1945–91), anticommunism was substituted by the "War on Terror", as the major social control mechanism.

2.4 Applying Theory to the study

The study investigates the U.S media debates in Pakistan's national security perspective. The study will also examine the leading authors and writers considered to be "privileged few" to cover war on terror while framing the issue, and the response of media to their writings. Manufacturing consent enables to explore the content through the fifth filter that is related to war on terror as Taliban, AL Qaeda and Da'esh have become a major terrorist group in the region and in war on terror that is directly related to Pakistan's national security issue. The agenda setting theory enables us to examine whether U.S media debates about or portrays Pakistan's national security issues with bias or negative way, as did Carlotta Galls and Robert D. Kaplan. What type of words and phrases are used to change people's perception and enable them to think in a specific direction; thus telling people how to think about it.

Chapter III

Methodology

Qualitative search is a type of research technique which is interpretive in nature and takes up a naturalistic approach to understand the world. Therefore qualitative research study takes place in a natural setting and attempts to interpret or make sense of, a phenomenon or any idea in terms of the meanings that people bring to it. (Norman K. Denizen, 2000). Qualitative data can be mainly in three forms i.e. text, images and sounds (Gery Ryan, 2003). The articles writings are the texts that are interpreted in this study through the critical discourse analysis method.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) conceives language as a social practice (Van Dijk, 1993) and considers the substance of the language use to be crucial. As Habermas refers to language as a medium of dominance and social vigor. According to him language serves to legitimize the relation of organized power and at the same time language is also ideological (Habermas, 1991) therefore the language used by the editors in their editorials is interpreted as they build the opinion of the public. Besides language critical discourse analysis tend to 'expose manipulated strategies adopted by dominant groups to maintain socio-political inequalities and injustice' (Van Dijk, 1993) says that media provides great coverage to the people in power such as politician, government representatives and others; which suggests that it can help in exploring the way social power's abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by transcripts and talks in not only the social but also the political context. (Van Dijk, 1993)

Another distinguished feature of CDA is that it is usually problem oriented research and thus it is primarily motivated by social or political problem rather a linguistic issue (Van Dijk, 1993) which means that CDA interprets the tone and language in which a problem or an issue has been addressed. The problem oriented dimension of CDA enhances the analysis by providing it the space for better information about the historical, political and social aspects of the problem which is under investigation (Van Dijk, 1993) the CDA method of qualitative research helps to find out the language approach and the context in which the newspaper articles discuss Pakistan's national security issues.

3.1 Research Design

This study is the qualitative content analysis of the print media articles to disclose the intentions of the US print media on the issue of Pakistan national security issues. The textual analysis method is employed in order to examine the discourse of the articles on Pakistan's national security issues by the three leading US newspapers; New York Times, Washington Post and Wall Street Journal. The articles are analyzed by the Van Dijk's principles of discourse analysis in the aspects of argumentation, rhetorical figures lexical style storytelling and context of discourse. The study also explores the stance of three newspapers through the agenda setting characteristic of mass media. Three levels of agenda setting, what to think about, how to think about and the inter media effect are employed. This helps in finding out the stance of the newspapers on the issue. Articles that highlighted the issue are selected for the analysis and all the discourses by the three newspapers are discussed.

3.2 Population

(Denise F. Polit, 1999) Defines population as an cumulative or totality of all the objects, subjects or members that go by traditions to a set of specifications. Therefore, the leading US newspapers are the population of the study as the study aims at finding the stance of the leading newspapers of US.

3.3 Sample Frame

The selected time period in the study (of all the articles in NYT, WSJ and Washington Post related to Gall and Kaplan) is the time of Publication of Carlotta Gall's 'The wrong enemy' published in 2014 and Robert D. Kaplan's book 'Monsoon' 2010 till date. This time period is selected because we intend to study the discourse in the U.S print media as the dynamics of war on terror have been changing since the time of these publications.

3.4 Research Technique

(Roger D. Wimmer, 2010) explains that Qualitative research involves the basic and thorough analysis of not only visual data (observations) but also verbal data (words) that reflect everyday experiences. Qualitative research comprises of a set of interpretive and materialistic practices that make the world visible (Norman K. Denizen, 2000). The newspapers also raise

voice on issues and the important issues and besides reporting on an issue or event, the article stance to from opinions of the audiences. The language content and agenda of the newspapers will be interpreted through the qualitative research technique.

3.5 Research Method

Within a CDA framework, mind control involves information which is more than just the acquiring of beliefs about the world around through communication and discourse (Van Dijk, 1993) conditions of mind control are largely contextual in other words, given a specific context, certain forms of meaning and discourse had e more influence on peoples mind than others as the very notion of persuasion (Van Dijk, 1993). When textual analysis is performed an educated effort is made to guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might or might not have been made (Mckee, 2003). Textual analysis is only part of semiotic analysis (Van Dijk, 1993). It allows us to link linguistic analysis with social analysis and thus takes up a stronger position to make a substantive contribution to social research (Wodak, 2013) . Therefore, textual analysis of the articles has been conducted as it helps in creating a link of critical discourse of the text of the articles with the agenda setting function of the mass media in the articles.

3.6 Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling technique was applied in the study. Purposive sampling is a commonly employed technique in qualitative investigations. It is a purposive non-random sample selection based on specific criteria for selection, thus the number of people interviewed is less important than how many of them meet the criteria for inclusion (Wilmot, 2005). As the study aims at exploring the stance of U.S leading newspapers on Pakistan's national security issues as debated by Carlotta gall and Robert d Kaplan, the articles selected for analysis are selected purposely as all the articles under study are written on Pakistan's national security by the three newspapers.

3.7 Unit Of Analysis

The articles of New York Times, Washington Post and Wall Street Journal on Pakistan's national security issue citing Carlotta and Kaplan since the publishing of their books ' The wrong enemy' and ' Monsoon'.

3.8 Indicators

Newspaper	Approach/Language	Context	Slants	Slants
			Favorable	Unfavorable
1. The New York Times	1. Argumentation	1. Political	Pro Us Govt.	Anti Us Govt.
	2. Rhetorical Figures	2. Social	Pro Gall	Anti Gall
2. Wall Street Journal	3. Lexial Style	3. Historical	Pro Kaplan	Anti Kaplan
			Pro Pakistan	Anti Pakistan
3. The Washington Post	4. Story Telling			

3.9 Reliability And Validity

As the method of the research is qualitative, the content presented in the literature review will serve the purpose of reliability and validity of the research. All the books articles newspapers websites mentioned in the literature review would serve as the base for validity and reliability of the research.

3.10 Variables

- Pro US foreign policy
- Anti US foreign policy
- Pro Pakistan national security
- Anti-Pakistan national security
- Pro-Taliban

- Anti-Taliban

3.11 Conceptualization Of Key Variables

1. Approach/Language

The articles are analyzed by van Dijk's social cognitive model in the following aspects:

- **Argumentation:** which refers to the negative evaluation that follows from the facts (Van Dijk,1993)
- **Rhetorical Figures:** which includes hyperbolic enrichment of the negative actions as well as positive actions such as denials, understatements etc (Van Dijk,1993)
- **Lexical Style:** which is the choice of words that imply evaluations as either negative or positive (Van Dijk,1993)
- **Story-telling:** refers to telling negative events as personally experienced; giving plausible details over negative features of the events (Van Dijk,1993)

2. Context

The word of "context" is frequently used in order to place or explain things such as putting facts and statements in their "proper context" and not to take or describe things "out of context". This is also why news report schemata have a special context category in the press, because that places progressing events in their political, social or historical context (Van Dijk,2008)

The context models control how things are said in the current situation (Van Dijk,2008)

- **Political-** explains the ongoing situation as a political situation, with political roles, party identities, relations and power (Van Dijk,2006.p.168)
- **Social-**an important inter subjective dimension that allows social interaction and communication in the first place (Van Dijk,2008)

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- Historical- historical dimensions of interaction and social structure(Van Dijk,2009)

3. Slants

i. Favorable- expressing approval

- Pro US- expressing approval to US policies
- Pro Pakistan- expressing approval to Pakistan's policies
- Pro Gall- expressing approval to Gall's Stance
- Pro Kaplan- expressing approval to Kaplan's stance

ii. Unfavorable- expressing or showing a lack of approval or support

- Anti US- opposed to US policies
- Anti-Pakistan- opposed to Pakistan's policies

4. Agenda

Three stages of agenda setting are: basic agenda setting, attribute agenda setting and sources of the media agenda (Mc Comb,2005), are employed to analyze the editorials.

- First level- transfer of salience from the news media to the public (Mc Comb,2005,p.544)
- Second level- media tells the audience how to think about(Mc Comb,2005,p.546)
- Inter-media- the influence of the news media on each other (Mc Comb, 2005,p.549)

3.12 Operationalization Of Key Variables

1. Approach/ Language

- Argumentation- negative evaluation of Pakistan's national security issues including ISI, and State of Pakistan.
- Rhetorical Figures- hyperbolic enhancements of their (Pakistan, ISI) negative actions and ours(US, Galls and Kaplan's) positive actions: euphemism, denials, understatements of (US, Galls and Kaplan's) negative actions
- Lexical Style- words that imply negative analysis of Pakistan's national security
- Story telling- giving details of the negative events regarding Pakistan's national security

2. Context

- Political- political views/ statements quoted in the articles on Pakistan's national security issue
- Social- Pakistan's national security agencies and their impact on the society and citizens of Afghanistan and Pakistan
- Historical- historical dimensions of US, Pakistan's national security agencies, Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan

3. Slant

i. Favorable

- Pro US- expressing approval or support of the U.S policies on war on terror
- Pro Pakistan- expressing approval or support of Pakistan's policies on war on terror
- Pro Gall- expressing approval or support of Gall's view on Pakistan and its security agencies

- Pro Kaplan- expressing approval or support of Kaplan's view on Pakistan and its security agencies

ii. Unfavorable

- Anti US- expressing disapproval of policies on war on terror
- Anti-Pakistan- expressing disapproval of Pakistan's policies on war on terror
- Anti-Gall- expressing disapproval of Gall's view on Pakistan and its security agencies
- Anti-Kaplan- expressing approval or support of Kaplan's view on Pakistan and its security agencies and their role in war on terror.

4. Agenda

- First Level- repetition of the issue to tell people to think negative of Pakistan national security agencies and their role in war on terror
- Second Level- focus on how the people should think about Pakistan national security agencies and their role in war on terror
- Intermedia- U.S print media and transfer salience to each other on discussing Pakistan national security agencies and their role in war on terror

Results

The data is analyzed through Van Dijk's method of critical discourse analysis. In which language is not the only variable being analyzed rather it is analyzed in context of the person who uses it and his status of power. This is how it gains its effectiveness. Thus, in this way ideology is discriminated as a vital aspect of constituting and retaining unmatched power relationship (Van Dijk, 1993). The articles of the newspaper present the policy and tilt of the newspaper on a specific issue.

It is interesting to see what came as the findings that moderate importance was given to Carlotta Gall and her writings in NYT and in other newspapers. Since the date of her writings she was not much quoted in Washington Post or Wall Street Journal. She herself came up stories covering Afghanistan and Pakistan. On the other hand Robert D. Kaplan was quoted very few times in newspapers, generally. Robert was given comparatively a little more space in Washington Post than in other newspapers, like WSJ and NYT where he was quoted very few times. The research will focus on the data that was available.

The analysis of the three newspapers had been done through critical discourse analysis method. The language of the articles was analyzed through discourse analyses and was further divided into four categories as argumentation, rhetorical figures, lexical style and storytelling. In order to understand and analyze the context in which the articles were written are analyzed in the political, social and historical context as projected by Van Dijk. Agenda setting and slants are examined through critical discourse analysis.

Discourse three newspapers make on Pakistan's national security issues

4.1 Approach/Language

4.1.1 Arguments:

Critical discourse (CDA) sees 'language as social practice' (Wodak, 2013) and considers the 'content of the language use to be vital' (Mckee, 2003). Therefore to analyze the language of the articles of the newspapers, the study analyzes the words and phrases that show the

argumentation on Pakistan's national security issues or security agencies. One of the Washington post's article while making argument on the story of Bin Laden who was caught from Abbottabad, Pakistan, was in fact backed by the ISI and was kept in custody the article goes 'At least two key parts of Hersh's bin Laden story have found a notable public backer. Carlotta Gall, who spent 12 years covering Afghanistan and Pakistan for the New York Times, wrote Tuesday that while reporting a book, she learned from a "high-level member" of the Pakistani intelligence service that the Pakistanis had been hiding and protecting bin Laden. She also said that a Pakistani army officer had indeed told the CIA where bin Laden was. Her article — which Hersh eagerly highlights — was the first time she went public with these claims.' (Farhi, 2015). In another article by The Washington post the newspaper discussed Pakistan and its security agencies from a retired Pakistani spy chief who admitted facts in an interview with Al Jazeera. It was scheduled to air in April, and stated that Pakistan's military intelligence agency ISI, has probably knew of bin Laden's location. Lt. Gen. Asad Durrani, who headed the ISI in the early 1990s, was speaking to Al-Jazeera's Mehdi Hassan, host of its "Head to Head" program.' (Tharoor, 2015). In another article of Washington Post the writer while quoting Gall portrays the image of Pakistan's military Generals as the US journalist Carlotta Gall shreds the Pakistani general's blueprint in her book "The Wrong Enemy" by arguing that Pakistan was responsible for the violence in Afghanistan and for its own cynical, hegemonic reasons." (Chaudhry, 2014). Talking about Kaplan's book 'Monsoon' Shashi Tharoor writes in Washington post, under the topic of 'A Pakistani dissident who claims that India was the role model for South Asia and called for open borders, while denounces his own nation i.e. Pakistan is itself a fall foul of of contract. (Tharoor S., 2010) it is very interesting to note that here Tharoor mentions what somebody says in Pakistan about the state of Pakistan but does not mentions Maoist rebels and Kashmiri's who have been fighting for their rights since partition. At another article in NYT where Ravi Sumaiya argues that Pakistan's relationship to Al Qaeda, and the idea that they had knowledge of Osama bin Laden's last hiding place was in its borders, was covered up rather censored from the front page of about 9,000 copies of the International New York Times in Pakistan, which was apparently removed by a local paper that has a partnership to distribute The Times. it further declares that the article by Carlotta Gall, explored the complicated relationship between Pakistani authorities and militant Islamic extremism — which its powerful spy agency, Inter-Services Intelligence, has long been accused of supporting with the aim of furthering its

own strategic interests.’ (somaiya, 2014). Thus, making it conceivable to the reader that authorities in Pakistan were hands in gloves with Al Qaeda. NYT in another article discussing Indian Ocean comments on Pakistan as ‘Those (like Pakistan and Myanmar) where authoritarian governments which seek to impose order on diverse populations which remain precariously prone to radicalization, instability, violence and the possibility of internal collapse, external meddling or both.’ (Friedberg, 2010), therefore making it easy for the reader to believe that Pakistan and Myanmar (where thousands of Rohingyas get killed) is dangerous place not India where thousands die in religious violence. On another point NYT’s writer Cockburn writes about Pakistan’s army as, Gall’s book was so convincing because of the way in which her personal experience of Afghanistan and Pakistan enabled her to gather together the evidence for revealing that Pakistan military was in control of the Taliban’. The study tells us that these newspapers used an argumentative style in proving Pakistan a dangerous place, and also attempted to prove that ISI and the Pakistan army are the main culprits in war on terror. Seth G. Jones in NYT writes an article making an argument about Pakistan’s and its involvement in cross border terrorism by saying that United States intelligence assessments argues that the agents from Pakistan’s chief spy organization, the Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence, or ISI, were deliberately involved in planning the attack. (JONES, 2014).

4.1.2 Rhetorical Figures:

Rhetorical figures denote hyperbolic enhancement of their negative actions (ISI, Pakistan) and our positive actions; denials, understatement of ‘our negative actions (Van Dijk, 1993). The articles of The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal are analyzed through CDA method. Different types of rhetorical figures are examined in these articles.

The study found that The New York Times rhetorical figures such as ‘a searing exposé of Pakistan’s involvement in the Afghan war’ (JONES, 2014) and ‘the ISI in such a high-profile attack illustrates one of the most ignominious undercurrents of the war in Afghanistan’ (JONES, 2014) shows that the focus of these articles is Pakistan and its security agencies (ISI) and that they are playing double game with U.S. Another article in NYT discusses Gall and her story writes, ‘Richard C. Holbrooke, the United States special representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan, who said: “We may be fighting the wrong enemy in the wrong country.” He was

suggesting that America's real opponent was the ISI and the Pakistan Army.' (Cockburn, 2014).

The study shows that a specific kind of rhetoric is used in all these articles which portray a negative and suspicious image of ISI and Pakistan. The NYT articles go on discussing ISI, 'For all the efforts of the ISI to hide Pakistani intervention in Afghanistan'. This shows that Pakistan is sponsoring terrorism in Afghanistan. The rhetoric in the study is important as it shows the way the issue is being discussed by the writers and the newspapers. The study shows that all the articles which wanted to prove Pakistan as negative player came up with extreme opposition to not just ISI but the generals of Pakistan as well. Phrases like 'ISI's continuing connection to Al Qaeda' (Cockburn, 2014) show how the U.S media depicts Pakistan's and its stance on war on terror. These phrases, as the study shows, also exaggerate the role of ISI and Pakistan in the region. The sentences like and words like 'Plainclothes intelligence agents smashed open the door of her hotel room and seized her notebooks, computer and cellphone' makes the role of ISI suspicious and negative. The same article goes on to portray the image of ISI as an agency that masters the killing of journalists by saying 'Saleem Shahzad, who wrote extensively about militancy and the ISI, was found dead in 2012 after being detained by intelligence agency personnel' (Cockburn, 2014) he further adds to the line while not making it ambiguous that 'He was killed on the orders of Pakistan's most senior generals' (Cockburn, 2014). On Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan the study found the rhetoric as 'Pakistan has masterminded the insurgency in Afghanistan' (Cockburn, 2014). The study found that NYT exaggerates the points more than other newspapers. On the other hand WSJ does not cover much from Gall or Kaplan. The Washington post while discussing ISI and the case of Bin Laden uses words as "Pakistan's notorious military agency, known as ISI" (Tharoor I., 2015). The words like 'The ISI, of course, has played a double game for some time' depict Pakistan as not serious in eliminating the Al Qaeda or Taliban from the region.

4.1.3 Lexical Style

In the lexical style the use of negative words and phrases by the newspapers were analyzed. The articles of NYT and Washington used different negative words to show negative image of ISI. words such as terrorist, militant, radical, double game, expose, cruel, insurgent, inhumane, killing, relentless, rage, rebel, Taliban, Al Qaeda, bombing, attack, notorious were used to describe ISI and its negative role. To project a negative image of ISI words like double

cross, double game, supporting Al Qaeda , Supporting Taliban , insurgent groups, covert role, special desk for Taliban , special desk for bin laden ,incompetence, supporting Bin Laden and notorious was used by The Washington Post.

4.1.4 Story telling

The story telling style is examined in the study by spotting the detailed information given to an event and making a negative argument in the articles of the newspapers. The study analyzes sentences and phrases used in these newspapers to make a detail of the event. Writing about Gall and her encounter with ISI the article writes 'In December 2006, Carlotta Gall visited Quetta in Pakistan, close to the border with Afghanistan, to trace the families of Taliban suicide bombers. Her investigations were not welcome to the powerful Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the main intelligence arm of the Pakistan military, which was determined to hide its close relations with the Taliban'(Cockburn, 2014). In another article that covered the suicide bombing in Afghanistan outside Indian embassy the article in NYT says that on some level, the attack was merely just like many others that occur across this war-torn country, it was terribly unfortunate but numbingly frequent as well. According to United States intelligence assessments, agents from Pakistan's chief spy organization (ISI), were involved in planning the attack on some level. After being briefed by American intelligence officials, President George W. Bush dispatched Stephen R. Kappes, the C.I.A.'s deputy director, to Pakistan' (JONES, 2014). In another article that projects Pakistan's link with Al Qaeda the article referring that Pakistan had knowledge of Osama bin Laden's last hiding place in its borders. But the news was censored from the front page of about 9,000 copies of the International New York Times in Pakistan on Saturday, apparently removed by a local paper that has a partnership to distribute The Times' (somaiya, 2014) The word "apparently" refers to the link between the authorities and Al Qaeda. Another article of NYT describes ISI that in 2006, the possible connection between Pakistan and the Taliban renaissance in Afghanistan, Carlotta Gall was attacked in her hotel room by agents of the I.S.I. dressed in plain clothes. She wrote that she was punched twice, and her computer, notebooks and cellphone were seized (Choi, 2014). In the same article while discussing about how the ISI works and their relationship with the journalists the articles say 'They don't actually have censors in Pakistan, so it's not like a totalitarian regime where you have the censors sitting in the editorial office and striking out pieces. I share in my book how the Pakistani intelligence

works. They give guidelines to journalists and editors that say, “You will not talk about that,” or, “You will emphasize this rather than that.” And then there are certain things that they all know are difficult to write about, such as Pakistan’s nuclear capability, support for the Taliban or criticism of the military.’ (Choi, 2014). The New York Times in another article portrays Pakistan and the incident of Bin Laden Killing as controversial, since the question remains whether Pakistan or its top military brass knew about Bin Laden or not, it said that when the tale was announced to the public, of how Osama bin Laden met his death in Pakistani land, in May 2011 has been a unreliable devour and president Obama has said that their counterterrorism cooperation with Pakistani authorities helped lead them to Bin Laden and the place where he was hiding but all such things were then denied by the Pakistani military, as the newspaper shows, that the authorities in Pakistan knew about Bin Laden but the top Pakistani generals, insisted that this was not actually the case. American officials announced at first that Bin Laden resisted the SEALs; whereas the Pakistanis swiftly leaked that Bin Laden wasn’t armed, therefore it resulted in making the role of ISI and Pakistan suspicious. The study finds that both the newspapers The New York Times and The Washington Post used a story telling technique in their articles to provide material on negative events for which ISI was responsible.

4.2 Context of the articles of the Newspapers

The study analyzed the content of the articles in political, social and historical context as proposed by Van Dijk. All words and phrase that show the political, social and historical context will be examined in the study.

4.2.1 Political Context :

A couple of articles in NYT and TWP were written not to mention WSJ as the research did not find any article written by or related to the research in WSJ. Pakistan and its national security were discussed at various points in these newspapers. The articles mentioned president Obama, Pakistan’s security agencies and also Afghanistan and its political stability. Taliban and Mullah Omar were discussed at times as hero’s by the articles in NYT by Gall, she say ‘Mullah Muhammad Omar, the leader of the fundamentalist Afghan Taliban movement, proved to be as enigmatic in death as he had been in life’ and then names Pakistan as a country that provided shelter to Omar ‘When the Afghan government announced on Wednesday that he had died more

than two years ago in a Pakistani hospital' (Gall C. , Mullah Muhammed Omar , enigmatic leader of Afghan Taliban, is dead, 2015) thus making three political statements that Mullah Omar was enigmatic leader and afghan government claiming that Pakistan gave shelter to Mullah Omar. In another article of NYT discusses the U.S and Pakistani government that their accounts contradicted themselves and each other on the immediate aftermath of the Navy SEAL team's assault in Abbottabad (Gall C. , The detail in Seymour Hersh's story that rings true, 2015). The study finds that politically Pakistan and U.S were not discussed extensively.

4.2.2 Social Context

The study found that few articles were written in newspapers that covered the social aspect of Pakistan's or Afghanistan's communities or groups and their social situation. The New York Times recorded that for three decades of war on terror, many Afghans have fled their homes along the eastern borders, and seek shelter in the Pakistani tribal regions (Carlotta Gall, 2014) . Farouq goes on to explain that a wave of refugees surged through the area. But in a reversal, it is Pakistanis, not Afghans, who are fleeing war at home. Sadamullah, a laborer who fled with his family from Dattakhel, a district in Pakistan's tribal area said that he not only witnessed but also experienced shelling, and the military forces were firing mortars on their villages. an operation was carried out in the area, and a woman was killed. (Carlotta Gall, 2014). While reporting on the mobility of the people living on the borders of Afghanistan and Pakistan Gall and Farouq reported that the armed forces have been clearing the territory since June, forcing at least 1.5 million residents to fled.. (Carlotta Gall, 2014). Therefore, blaming military for forcing the people out of their homes, the article shows how people are living and working in those areas. Many of whom have shifted to the Afghanistan and are living peaceful life in Afghanistan. The majority of tribal communities on both sides of Pakistan's border are Pashtun, and many of the refugees have found safe haven with relatives or sympathetic families on the Afghan side, mostly in Khost and Paktika Provinces (Carlotta Gall, 2014). According to the article the people of Pakistan are fleeing into Afghanistan because they were forced by the Pakistan army to leave the area and settle in Afghanistan. The study shows that very few articles focused on the social aspects of the problem, while still blaming Pakistan and its army for forcing people out of their homes in tribal regions.

4.3 Slants in the articles of The New York Times and Washington post

4.3.1 Favorable (Pro US/ Pro Pakistan)

Slants are referred to as inclination towards one side or favor to one group over the other. The study analyzes the words in favor of Pakistan or US. The words and phrases having positive connotation will be regarded as Pro Pakistan or Pro US.

The study analyzes the positive words used for Pakistan and US. The phrases and sentences that favor the policies or the tactics of Pakistan and US are: Pakistani military's continuing offensive against Islamist militants in the North Waziristan region' (Carlotta Gall, 2014). ' , President George W. Bush sent Stephen R. Kappes, the C.I.A.'s deputy director, to Pakistan after being briefed by American intelligence officials. (JONES, 2014). In another article criticizing Taliban, 'Mullah Fazlullah, the Pakistani Taliban commander who ordered the attack, had found safe haven in Afghanistan. The shooting underscored what many Pakistanis increasingly believed to be true: Afghanistan was complicit in Pakistan's destabilization (Chaudhry, 2014). The study examines that very few articles actually came up with the Pro US or Pro Pakistan statements.

4.3.2 Pro Gall

The articles in The New York Times and Washington Post show that few articles show the support for Carlotta Gall's stance. Even the articles that were written in Carlotta Gall's favor were written by herself or in collaboration with some other Afghani/ Pakistani or western Journalist. Therefore , the study shows that the phrases used in favor of Gall such as, Ms. Gall was in an extraordinary position to write the overdue book as she has been in Afghanistan and Pakistan for more than a decade, started shortly after Sept. 11., (JONES, 2014). 'The Wrong Enemy' was not the first book that wrestles about Pakistan's role in Afghanistan. Others have done so, including Ahmed Rashid'. However, Ms. Gall's reporting of Pakistan's role was the most comprehensive one. (JONES, 2014). In another article saying 'Carlotta Gall, explores the complex relationship between Pakistani authorities and militant Islamic extremism — which its powerful spy agency, Inter-Services Intelligence, has long been accused of supporting with the aim of furthering its own strategic interests' (somaiya, 2014). Somaiya further goes, 'In her article, Ms. Gall recounted being violently intimidated when she reported on the links to Islamic

extremists, and Pakistani journalists have been beaten or murdered in attacks that some claim have involved national security or intelligence forces.' (somaiya, 2014).

4.3.3 Pro Kaplan

The research shows that only one article was found pro Kaplan .

4.3.4 Anti US

The study found that no article was anti US. It is evident that none of the articles criticised US or its foreign policy or national security in any of the newspapers.

4.3.5 Anti-Pakistan

The study shows that number of articles in NYT and few in Washington post and WSJ were anti Pakistan. The research shows that NYT focused more on Pakistan as compared to WSJ and the Washington Post. The articles against Pakistan stated that Pakistan's relationship to Al Qaeda, and its knowledge of Osama bin Laden's hiding place in its borders, was censored from the thousand copies of the International New York Times in Pakistan (somaiya, 2014). Somaiya further states that Pakistan was a dangerous place for reporters, with at least 46 being killed in the last decade, this was reported by the Committee to Protect Journalists, which is an advocacy group (somaiya, 2014) . Another article that writes about Carlotta Gall being attacked in her hotel room in 2006 by agents of the I.S.I. and her gadgets being seized' (Choi, 2014). It is stated that America has failed to understand and confront Pakistan about its support for terrorists in Afghanistan' (somaiya, 2014). 'I share in my book how the Pakistani intelligence works. They give guidelines to journalists and editors that say, "You will not talk about that," or, "You will emphasize this rather than that." And then there are certain things that they all know are difficult to write about, such as Pakistan's nuclear capability, support for the Taliban or criticism of the military' (Choi, 2014). Choi writes about how Pakistan has made Taliban and is still controlling them in order to control Taliban and have their influence on Afghanistan. In the article Choi says that the Taliban's have not finished and Pakistan has not given up. They're obsessed with controlling Afghanistan through a proxy, and have done a nasty battle of bombings and killings in Kabul' (Choi, 2014). In another article of NYT Gall and Farouq depict a scene of shelling, and military forces firing mortars on villages in which a woman was killed (Carlotta Gall, 2014). In

an article of The Washington Post Ishaan Tharoor writes that the Abbottabad commission report made it clear that ‘gross incompetence’ led to ‘collective failure’ (Tharoor I. , 2015). The same article by Ishaan says that the former DG ISI Asad Durrani accepted it that there was gross negligence on Pakistan’s part and that he cannot rule out the possibility that the top military command in Pakistan knew the whereabouts of Osama Bin Laden.

4.3.6 Anti Kaplan

The study shows that there were no Anti Kaplan articles in the leading three newspapers.

4.3.7 Anti Gall

The research found that no article in The New York Times, The Washington post and The Wall street journal was found Anti Gall. Which means no article mentioned Gall in a negative way.

4.4 Agenda setting in the articles

As mentioned that media sets agenda for the wider public, the study explores three forms of agenda setting: first level, second level and inter-media agenda. In McComb’s view the agenda setting theory tells the audience ‘what to think about’ (E.McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The study examines how the leading US newspapers set agenda for the public. For this purpose the content and headlines of the articles were analyzed.

4.4.1 First Level Agenda

In order to analyze which of the articles of these newspapers fulfilled the criteria of first level agenda setting, the content and the headlines of the articles were focused. The articles of The New York Times , The Washington Post and The Wall street journal found phrase and words as ‘A Reporter Analyzes the Driving Role of Pakistan in the Afghan War’ (JONES, 2014), ‘Times Report on Al Qaeda Is Censored in Pakistan’ (somaiya, 2014), another title of The New York Times say ‘What Pakistan Knew About Bin Laden’ (Gall C. , What Pakistan Knew about bin Laden, 2014), ‘In Shift, Pakistanis Fleeing War Flow Into Beleaguered Afghanistan’ (Carlotta Gall, 2014). The study found phrase as , ‘the main intelligence arm of the Pakistan military, which was determined to hide its close relations with the Taliban’ (Cockburn, 2014) ,

'ISI to hide Pakistani intervention in Afghanistan' (Cockburn, 2014), 'ISI's continuing connection to Al Qaeda, 'Pakistan military being in control of the Taliban' (Cockburn, 2014), 'Taliban are essentially under orders from the ISI' (Cockburn, 2014), 'Pakistani intelligence has operated through proxies', 'Saleem Shahzad, who wrote extensively about militancy and the ISI, was found dead' (Cockburn, 2014), Gall's article further goes, 'He was killed on the orders of Pakistan's most senior generals', 'All Taliban are ISI Taliban' (Cockburn, 2014). Another article in The New York Times say, 'Inter-Services Intelligence, or ISI, were involved in planning the attack', (JONES, 2014) 'The Wrong Enemy' is a searing exposé of Pakistan's involvement in the Afghan', (JONES, 2014) 'Pakistan, not Afghanistan, has been the true enemy', 'Pakistani officials began conspiring against the nascent Afghan government', (JONES, 2014) 'Pakistan is still exporting militant Islamism and terrorism' (JONES, 2014), another article in NYT mentions Pakistan and say, 'Pakistan's relationship to Al Qaeda, and its knowledge of Osama bin Laden', (somaiya, 2014), 'complex relationship between Pakistani authorities and militant Islamic extremism' (somaiya, 2014). 'Pakistan remains a dangerous place for reporters' (somaiya, 2014).

In an article from NYT the article while discussing Bin Laden say 'prove everything to find him in Pakistan' (Choi, 2014), while discussing ISI the article says 'They give guidelines to journalists' (Choi, 2014), 'You will not talk about that', 'You will emphasize this rather than that' (Choi, 2014). An article on how Pakistan is involved in Afghanistan says 'The organizers of the insurgency were in Pakistan' (Carlotta Gall D. W., 2014), 'bombers, too, were coming from Pakistan', 'The madrasas are a cover, a camouflage' and goes on to say about ISI " , hidden in the shadows, lurked the ISI' (Carlotta Gall D. W., 2014) are telling wider public what to think about.

4.4.2 Second Level Agenda

The second level agenda tells the audience or the public 'how to think about' a specific issue. Different words and phrases from various articles of the newspapers were taken for study which say ' , hidden in the shadows, lurked the ISI', 'Pakistan's true relationship to militant extremism' (Carlotta Gall D. W., 2014). Another article says 'Who are the Pakistani Taliban?', 'Al Qaeda have been based in the Pashtun tribal areas in northwestern Pakistan' (Gall C. , What Pakistan Knew about bin Laden, 2014). Another article says 'everyone we interviewed was visited afterward by ISI agents', talking about Gen. Musharraf and Gen. Ashfaq Kiyani the article says 'maintaining and protecting the Taliban, both to control the many groups of

militants', 'show of cooperation with the American fight against terrorism', 'coordinating Taliban, Kashmiri and foreign Qaeda-linked militants' (Carlotta Gall D. W., 2014), 'Pakistan's true relationship to militant extremism can be discerned' (Carlotta Gall D. W., 2014), 'The ISI allowed the militants to do what they wanted out of sympathy', 'After years of nurturing jihadists to fight its proxy wars' (Carlotta Gall D. W., 2014), 'Osama bin Laden met his death in a Pakistani hill town', 'Pakistani government accounts contradicted themselves', 'Abbottabad compound', 'Pakistani intelligence officer who betrayed the secret', 'ISI had been hiding Bin Laden', 'Bin Laden was living there with the knowledge and protection of the ISI' (Gall C. , The detail in Seymour Hersh's story that rings true, 2015). These phrases and sentences were found that fit in the criteria of second level agenda setting. It builds public's view that Pakistan and their security agencies have been negatively involved in the supporting and protecting Taliban and Al Qaeda.

4.4.3 Inter-media Agenda Setting

The study shows that Inter-media agenda was found in articles that were written by the different journalists on specific issue of Afghanistan, Pakistan's intelligence agencies role and OBL. The phrases and words used by the media stated that the 10,000-word article was a contribution of Seymour Hersh's in The London Review of Books, which attempts to 'punch yet more holes', Hersh argued that the ISI directorate, held Bin Laden as a hostage since 2006 in the Abbottabad compound. (Gall C. , The detail in Seymour Hersh's story that rings true, 2015). Patrick Cockburn in NYT says 'In December 2006, Carlotta Gall visited Quetta in Pakistan' (Cockburn, 2014), 'Her investigations were not welcome to the powerful Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)' (Cockburn, 2014), 'Plainclothes intelligence agents smashed open the door of her hotel room and seized her notebooks, computer and cellphone. She protested when one of the agents grabbed her handbag, and he promptly punched her twice in the face, knocking her down' (Cockburn, 2014), 'The officer in charge accused her of trying to interview Taliban members, which he said was forbidden', about Gall's book he writes 'of this highly informed book by Gall' (Cockburn, 2014) , What made Gall's book so persuasive were her vivid accounts. (Cockburn, 2014). Seth Jones another journalist from NYT writes that the connection of ISI in such a high-profile attack exemplifies one of the most discomfiting undercurrents of the war in Afghanistan (JONES, 2014), he writes that Ms. Gall was no doubt in an extraordinary position to write on this

issue (JONES, 2014), At its core, “The Wrong Enemy” is an intense interpretation of Pakistan’s involvement in the Afghan war’ (JONES, 2014), on OBL case he writes ‘Ms. Gall credits an inside source’ (JONES, 2014), ‘ But Ms. Gall’s notes of Pakistan’s role in the afghan war were the most comprehensive of all (JONES, 2014). In Washington post’s article Paul Farhi writes, ‘At least two key parts of Hersh’s bin Laden story have found a notable public backer. Carlotta Gall, who spent 12 years covering Afghanistan and Pakistan for the New York Times’ (Farhi, 2015), ‘Her article — which Hersh eagerly highlights — was the first time she went public with these claims’ (Farhi, 2015). The research found that these articles, newspapers and the journalists fit in the inter-media agenda setting theory.

Chapter V

Discussion

Critical discourse analyses method by Van Dijk is used to find the debates generated in media (Washington post, The New York Times and Wall street Journal) by Carlotta Gall and Robert D. Kaplan in Pakistan's national security perspective. The study aims to find the stance of these writers and newspapers on Pakistan's national security and security agencies. Arguments found in the study regarding Afghanistan and Pakistan were 'ISI, were involved in planning the attack', 'The Wrong Enemy' is a searing exposé of Pakistan's involvement in the Afghan war'. This shows that the articles of NYT discussed ISI and Pakistan more than WSJ and Washington Post. At the same time the articles of NYT were focused on setting agenda on the specific issue of war on terror and OBL. The NYT discussed Pakistan in both these cases as 'Pakistani officials began conspiring against the nascent Afghan government'. Both newspapers while quoting Carlotta Gall made headlines like 'A Reporter Analyzes the Driving Role of Pakistan in the Afghan War', the tale of how Osama bin Laden met his death in a Pakistani hill town'. These articles show the agenda setting technique used by the NYT and other newspapers. In these articles the impact that was given was that Pakistan was directly involved in making Afghanistan a chaotic battlefield. It also implies that the newspapers specially NYT highlights the OBL episode and links it directly with ISI. The newspapers give the impression that ISI was sheltering and supporting OBL and other Taliban and Al Qaeda leaders. It is important to note that Washington Post had very few articles quoting Carlotta Gall on Pakistan. On the other hand WSJ had no article quoting either Carlotta or Kaplan. Therefore the research primarily focused on NYT and Washington post. Both newspapers came up with arguments against Pakistan. Both newspapers pointed out the double game played by ISI and Pakistan saying 'exposé of Pakistan's involvement in the Afghan war', 'Pakistani officials began conspiring', therefore blaming ISI for loosing grounds in battle. The rhetorical figures that suggest the exaggeration of the events or activities of the opposite group were found less in Washington post, none in WSJ and comparatively more in NYT. Phrases and words such as 'involved in planning the attack', 'exposé of Pakistan's involvement' are found to be exaggerating in the articles of NYT. There were articles in Washington post as well such as 'Pakistan's intelligence service had captured the al-Qaeda leader years earlier' and bombing, terrorist, supporting militants, connections with Al

Qaeda , attacking journalists, lurking in the dark , supporting madrassas were the words that exaggerated the way ISI and Pakistan were portrayed. This shows the negative stance of both newspapers. The story telling was constructed on OBL's case and ISI's involvement in Afghanistan. Most of the articles of NYT were written in political context, discussing how US say Pakistan as an ally on war on terror but how ISI turned out to be playing double game with US. It also states how the CIA officials came to know about Pakistan's negative role in the region and how the CIA officials were sent to meet Pakistani authorities.

All these phrase and depict Pakistan as being part of the problem and US as the solution. The articles written in the social context use the words such as crying women and children, people forced out of their home, bombing villages, firing killing journalists , torturing journalists, poor people dying, keeping watch on people and foreign reporters, portray Pakistan and its agencies as making people hostages. Few articles in the historical context were found discussing how Mujahedeen who later turned into Taliban were supported by ISI, how through different phases of history the terrorist received support from ISI and Pakistan and how US never came to know about it. There were words used by NYT and Washington post's journalists for each other in Inter-media agenda setting context, the words were, 'Gall supports Hersh's point', 'Gall was punched by the ISI officials'.

Thus the study found that both NYT and Washington post supported the stance of Carlotta Gall and not the stance of Robert D. Kaplan. Both newspapers exaggerated the role played by Pakistan's national agency and discussed Pakistan's national security issues in a negative way. The study also shows that the national security issues were given more importance by NYT and less by Washington post. The social issues also discussed about the suffering of people and journalists at the hand of Pakistan's security agencies.

5.1 Conclusion

Media plays an important role in circulating information to the public. It does not just transfers the information from one place to another but it also presents the information with specific meaning and agenda as it is elaborated by Mc Comb and Van Dijk. In this chapter I have made an attempt to concisely bring in words the finding of the research. The status of the articles of The New York Times, Washington post and The Wall street journal was examined through

Critical discourse analyses as presented by Van Dijk. The language of the article was checked through the categories of the argument; rhetorical, lexical style and storytelling. The discourse in the articles examined through the lexical style permitted the researcher to conclude that the articles in the newspapers majority of the words with negative connotation such as 'Double-game', 'notorious', 'attack', 'supporting and protecting Taliban and Al Qaeda'. This means that both the articles of the newspapers portray the image of Pakistan as bad and discuss Pakistan and its security agencies as negative. It is important to state that lexical style is observed more in The New York Times than in Washington Post or Wall street Journal. No article was found quoting Gall or Kaplan on Pakistan in Wall street journal from the dates of the publishing of their works. Therefore the research concludes that The New York Times portrays ISI and Pakistan more negatively than other newspapers. The articles, also, were analyzed in the political, social and historical context. Articles in both newspapers were written in political context discussing Pakistan and its national security, particularly on Afghanistan and war on terror and Pakistan's direct and indirect involvement in it. The articles which were written in social context depicted Pakistan and its security agencies as encroaching on people right and harassing journalists. The articles discussed Pakistan as a country supporting Taliban, AL Qaeda and OBL, while playing double-game with US and pretending to be an ally. The articles of The New York Times refer to Pakistan as the true enemy of US, not the Taliban. They also discuss Pakistan as a country fighting proxy war against US in Afghanistan. Less attention was paid to the people who became the victims of terrorism in Pakistan; still less attention was paid to the soldiers and politicians of Pakistan who lost their lives in fighting war on terror. The suffering and killing of the people of shrines and mosques who became victims of terrorism in Pakistan, was not given importance. Historical context is also worthy of observation where more focused was given to Pakistan and its links with mujahidin who later became Taliban and less to US and other countries which supported mujahidin during Afghan-Soviet War. No article was found in favor of Pakistan. Slants were used in order to examine the positive or negative connotation of words used for Pakistan. The study found that more articles criticized the role of Pakistan and depicted Pakistan in a negative way. While focusing less on US foreign policy or war strategies in Afghanistan. The first level agenda primarily focuses on ISI, Taliban, Pakistan and OBL, discussing Pakistan and its security agencies as a part of the problem. The second level agenda mainly focuses on what to think about therefore telling public that ISI and Pakistan not Taliban

are the main culprits in war on terror. The Inter-media agenda showed that the journalists of The New York Times supported the views of Gall who in return support the journalists with same ideas as her, against ISI and Pakistan, by co-writing article with these journalists on ISI and Pakistan's national security issues. It was also observed that no article in The New York Times or Washington Post or Wall street journal discussed Pakistan's national security issues by quoting Kaplan.

5.3 Limitations:

The study is very intricate as it brings three ideas together and it became very difficult for the researcher to draw the line between three different categories. Going through all the articles of The New York Times, The Washington Post and Wall street journal, since the time of publications of "Monsoon" and "The wrong enemy" was a difficult task which took a time. The manufacturing theory links media and foreign policy. It elaborates the concept that media is influenced by the elites in the society. This theory when applied will focus on the previous researches available on the subject.

5.2 Recommendations

Following recommendations are made for the future researchers and the policy makers based on the findings of the research.

- The leading international newspapers should be available for the research free of cost.
- Pakistan's national security agencies should emphasis on the way international media is portraying the image of Pakistan by setting up media and security Institutes.
- The study can provide ground for the future researchers on Pakistan's national security; therefore this research should be utilized.
- Software should be available for the researchers in the University to support serious researches on media.

- The researchers in future can also the employ the Critical discourse analysis theory and manufacturing consent theory to critically analyze the articles and content of newspapers, magazines and books.
- Archives of the leading national and international newspapers should be available to the researcher free of cost.

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